ENCYCLOPEDIA OF

RELIGION

SECOND EDITION

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SECOND EDITION

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ATTENTION

LINDSAY JONES
EDITOR IN CHIEF

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Encyclopedia of Religion, Second Edition

Lindsay Jones, Editor in Chief

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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGION, SECOND EDITION 1

Volume 15 includes Appendix, Synoptic Outline of Contents, and Index

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

To participate in a revision of Mircea Eliade's *Encyclopedia of Religion,* first published in 1987, is an occasion of intense humility, but also a grand opportunity. Though not without its critics, the first edition was suitably heralded as the standard reference work in the field, a truly landmark achievement. The work of revision has, at nearly every turn, amplified rather than diminished appreciation for the accomplishment of those original volumes. Dealing firsthand with the conceptual and organizational challenges, coupled with the logistical labors of coordinating the efforts of countless scholars and editors, redoubles a sense of admiration, respect, and gratitude for the makers of the original version of this encyclopedia.

If the making of that original set posed innumerable theoretical, organizational, and practical challenges, the revision of such a work evokes no fewer questions of balance and compromise. On the one hand, the building and remodeling of a work of this wide scope is a preeminently collaborative enterprise. It is born of a vast community of scholars, together participating in an immensely collective project; the interactivity among editors, consultants, and contributors has indeed provided perhaps the most rewarding aspects of this project. Yet, on the other hand, such a large and multifaceted undertaking has a deeply impersonal, even anonymous, quality. Face-to-face meetings among participants are few, schedules fast, authors and editors far-spaced. By engaging the talents of so many people from so many places, large encyclopedias, and even more so their revisions, perpetuate the pretense of anonymous, objective, and interchangeable authors; numerous hands touch every piece, and the target of responsibility either for credit or for blame is not always easy to locate.

Such an encyclopedia requires, in one respect, a large measure of consensus among contributors as to what religion is and what academic students of religion ought to and ought not to circumscribe within their view. But, in another respect, it is a scholarly consensus of a very broad and pliant sort. Careful reading reveals enormous diversity of perspective among first-edition contributors, far more than is often assumed; and for the revision, even among the principal decision makers, and positively among the contributors, there is a very wide spectrum of opinions as to the most serviceable definitions of religion and the most worthy purview for the field of religious studies.

On the one hand, encyclopedias seem by nature vehicles of convention, destined to simplify, reify, essentialize, and provide falsely stabilized views of dynamic historical eras, religious traditions, doctrines, and practices. Yet, on the other hand, a large percentage of the contributors to this project understand their academic calling to be primarily one of disruption and destabilization; many have explicitly dedicated their careers to complicating and calling to question conventional wisdoms about religion and things religious. Thus in order to capitalize on their talents, contributors were provided explicit instructions, tidy scope descriptions, and specific word allotments, but they were also provided a fair measure of space for improvisation and flexibility. One member of the editorial board framed the balance this way:

> The letters to all contributors should include a general statement that we wish to respect their judgment in defining the general contours of each article, and the scope descriptions are meant only to be suggestive, although of course we do hope that we will be taken seriously. Also that we are looking for entries that reflect the current state of the field and that we are hoping that each entry will not gloss over problems of evidence or conceptualization in the current state of the field but will instead frankly acknowledge such problems and make them key parts of the entry in a bid to make the [second edition of the *Encyclopedia of Religion*] look to the future and help to shape things to come.

The intellectual challenges are likewise reflected in more practical tensions and balancing acts. Perhaps most onerously, the recruitment of literally hundreds of qualified scholars, available and willing to deliver their work in a timely manner, is no mean task. For some, participation in an encyclopedia of this stature is a high calling, a fortuitous opportunity to engage a uniquely wide readership; others, however, admit far less enthusiasm about undertaking assignments construed as diversions from their more technical research, more public service than privilege. Once aboard, contributors had to balance the standards of accuracy, sophistication, and scholarly nuance that would satisfy themselves and their academic peers with the encyclopedia's incentive to reach a far more broad, less specialized audience.

The balancing of word counts is likewise a constant concern, and the space allotted to various topics is, to some real extent, a telling indicator as to the relative importance of those topics, at least in the eyes of the editorial board. Yet, equations of article length and significance, a familiar assumption among reviewers, are invariably too simple, too little aware of the practical exigencies of accepted and declined invitations, met and missed deadlines, obeyed and ignored editorial recommendations. The most well considered intentions and the clearest of visions are, not infrequently, causalities in the stiff competition for the time of twenty-first century academics. In fact, it is both noteworthy and deeply disappointing that several dozen additional new articles were conceived but never successfully assigned, and also that at least three dozen promised articles had not arrived by the production deadline, and thus had to be omitted from the revision. Gaps and asymmetries in coverage could, therefore, have innumerable explanations.

Be that as it may, perhaps the most vexing acts of balance and compromise are built into the very notion of "revision" itself. Neither defense nor attack, revision demands commingled attitudes of respect for and discontent with the original. To revise requires, on the one side, that a goodly portion of the previous work will remain intact; this editorial board was not afforded a fully fresh point of departure. Yet, on the other side, the initiative of revising does afford, even necessitates, changes, reconceptualizations, and wholly new additions that respond both to recent events and to recent trends in scholarship. Revision is, by nature and by design, a balancing and a juxtaposition of old and new elements.

This complex intermingling of first-edition and new components enriches but also greatly complicates the critical use and assessment of these volumes. The synoptic outline of contents, the alphabetical list of entries, and the index provide usefully comprehensive guides, but to discover all that is new and different between the second edition and its precedent can, nonetheless, pose a difficult challenge. The remainder of this preface works, therefore, to direct attention (1) to some of the most prominent new elements of this revision; (2) to the decision-making processes that put those adjustments in place; and (3) to the conventions in this edition that can assist in ascertaining the precise status of individual entries.

ASSESSMENTS, ADJUSTMENTS, AND CONVENTIONS

The initial step in the revision process was a comprehensive evaluation of every one of the 2,750 first-edition entries. As though dealing out an enormous deck of cards, each of the original articles was assigned to suitable members of the thirteen-person board of associate editors or the slate of some two dozen consultants. Parity did not apply insofar as a sturdy few were taxed with assessing hundreds of articles, others with only a handful. In the subsequent entry-by-entry review, a relatively small number of articles were completely jettisoned while the huge remainder was assigned to one of three categories.

A first category of entries is composed of those approved to be reprinted with few or no changes. Though roughly 1,800 articles in this set were to remain largely or fully intact, attempts were made to reach the authors of those first-edition entries both with an invitation to modify or update their contribution in ways that they saw fit and with a request that they augment the bibliography with relevant sources that had appeared in the interim. Of course, many of those scholars were no longer active in the profession; others did not reply; and others declined to make any alterations to their original articles. Articles that were, therefore, reprinted essentially unchanged have a designation of "(1987)" following the author's name. In numerous instances, however, first-edition authors did take the occasion to adjust their own articles in small or large ways. For these articles, the attribution of authorship is followed by two dates, for example, Eleanor Zelliot (1987 and 2005). Additionally, where original authors of articles in this set were unavailable or nonresponsive, many of the respective bibliographies were nonetheless supplemented with relevant new sources; this accounts for those bylines that include the designation "Revised Bibliography," which signals that a "New Sources" section is appended to the bibliography.

A second category of entries comprises those judged to need significant revision or updating. These articles are perhaps most properly worthy of the title "revised" insofar as they both retain a substantial portion of the original work and introduce substantially new information and/or new conceptual formulations. This sort of revision took one of three forms. In some cases, original authors were enlisted to rework and update their own articles; those articles (not unlike those in which authors voluntarily revised their original articles) are consequently attributed to a sole author but with two dates, for example, Davíd Carrasco (1987 and 2005). In many other cases, the revision was undertaken by a different scholar, which accounts for those articles that are attributed to two authors, for example, Robertson Davies (1987) and Eric Ziolkowski (2005). Irrespective of whether the modifications were completed by the original author or by someone else, the revisions are, in some instances, modest, perhaps addressing recent events or attending to an important new publication on the topic; but, in other cases, the adjustments and reconceptualizations are more thoroughgoing. All of the revisions and "updates" of these sorts do, however, eventuate in entries that are, at once, old and new.

A third variation on this revision theme—and one of the more distinctive features of the second edition of *Encyclopedia of Religion*—is a consequence of those situations in which the original article was assessed as a still-valuable exposition of the topic, worthy of reprinting, but not a treatment that could any longer be represented as state-of-the-art. In many of these instances, the first-edition entry provided a seminal statement on the subject, but was distinctive, or sometimes idiosyncratic, in ways that precluded revision or updating per se. Thus, instead of reworking the original, it was more suitable to retain the integrity of that article by reprinting it unchanged and then augmenting it with a kind of supplementary addendum. For instance, Mircea Eliade wrote the first-edition entry "Sexuality: An Overview," which articulates a prominent, still-important exposition of the topic, but not one that can be regarded as current in a field of study where there has been enormous activity in the past two decades. The original entry is, therefore, allowed to stand with the parenthetical designation "[First Edition]" and then is complemented by a completely new entry titled "Sexuality: An Overview [Further Considerations]," which focuses attention on research and perspectives that have emerged since the first edition. This pairing of prominent but now dated first-edition entries with new complementary pieces—there are roughly fifty of these juxtapositions of old and new—adds a special texture to the revision; it facilitates a kind of historical, even archaeological, appreciation of the unfolding succession of ideas on a topic. But the same editorial tactic also places a special burden on readers. Accordingly, as a cautionary note, it would, in principle, never be suitable to rely on one of these "First Edition" pieces without reading ahead also to its complimentary, sometimes quite critical, "Further Considerations" counterpart.

In any case, the initial article-by-article assessment of the first edition eventuated also in a third category constituted of those entries for which a topic and title were retained but the actual article was completely replaced. There are well over three hundred of these new renditions of already-standing topics. As a rule, authors of these replacement articles were invited to employ the original entry as a resource but not necessarily a model, that is, to compose an essentially new treatment of the existing topic. Not surprisingly, one can find instances in which there is considerable continuity between the original and present articles while, in other cases, the first-edition article and its new, second-edition iteration share little beyond the title. That is to say, the great majority of these so-termed replacement articles are, for all practical purposes, thoroughly new entries. Consequently, author attribution for these articles includes a parenthetical date precisely like other new articles, for example, Mary MacDonald (2005).

NEW FEATURES AND CONFIGURATIONS

In addition to these various layers of revision and replacement, the second edition introduces entries on nearly six hundred topics that did not appear in the first edition. New topics and titles are added to almost every portion of the revision, but especially noteworthy are those that appear in related sets of articles—or so-termed composite entries. Many of these composite sets, which were also a very prominent feature of the first edition, provide a means of surveying the geographical distribution of a large tradition: The "Buddhism" composite entry, for example, is composed of articles that treat, in succession, "Buddhism in India," "Buddhism in Southeast Asia," "Buddhism in Central Asia," and so on. In many other cases, however, these composite sets are trained on a broad topic or theme such as "Pilgrimage," "Iconography," "Music," or "Soul," which is then addressed in a cross-culturally comparative fashion. In the main, these thematically configured composites open with a broad overview article, which is then followed by a series of articles that explore that large theme either in different contexts and/or from different angles of view. And, although every sort of composite entry enjoys a measure of revision, it is these thematically linked sets that are subject to the most venturesome innovation and growth. Several permutations and outstanding examples deserve quick comment.

In numerous instances, thematic composite entries that appeared in the original edition were reworked and very substantially expanded. For example, the first-edition "Afterlife" composite entry included an overview and only two area-specific articles, one on Jewish concepts of the afterlife and another on Chinese concepts. In the new edition, however, that pair is complemented by completely new entries on African conceptions of the afterlife, as well as Australian, Oceanic, Mesoamerican, Christian, Islamic, Greek and Roman, and Germanic concepts. The first-edition "Cosmology" composite is similarly expanded with thoroughly new entries on the cosmologies of Africa, indigenous Australia, Oceania, indigenous North America and Mesoamerica, South America, Islam, and finally, so-termed "Scientific Cosmologies." Or, to cite just one more such example of the enhancement of a standing composite entry, the original cluster of entries under the rubric of "Rites of Passage," which had included entries solely on Hindu, Jewish, and Muslim rites, is fleshed out to include new articles on African, Oceanic, Mesoamerican, and Neopagan rites of passage.

Other second-edition composite entries—article sets that provide some of the most notable new contributions to the revision—result from cases in which a topic that had received fairly limited coverage in the first edition becomes the subject of a much more extensive block of new articles. For instance, where the original edition had modest-length and broadly-framed articles devoted to "Healing," "Medicine," and "Diseases and Cures," the revision explores those themes far more fully via a composite entry that opens with "Healing and Medicine: An Overview," which is then followed by fourteen completely new articles trained on healing practices in various regions and traditions, for example, in Africa, in the African diaspora, in the Ancient Near East, in Judaism, in Islamic texts and traditions, in the popular healing practices of Middle Eastern cultures, in Greece and Rome, and so on. A sole first-edition entry on "Ecology" is supplanted by a full constellation of "Ecology and Religion" articles that includes eleven new tradition-specific articles on various ways of conceiving the interrelations between humans, the earth, and the cosmos, as well as thematic entries on environmental ethics and on science, religion, and ecology. "Law and Religion" is also much expanded and fully reconfigured in a set of thirteen articles that address the topic in six different regions or traditions and then in relation to six different sorts of themes, such as law and religion in connection with literature, with critical theory, with human rights, with morality, with new religious movements and, finally, with punishment. And, by the same token, the freestanding entry on "Politics and Religion" in the first edition is replaced by a ten-part composite entry that begins with a broad overview of the topic and then engages intersections of religion and politics in each of several traditions.

Additional composite entries are completely new insofar as they have no direct counterpart in the first edition. The treatment of literature, for instance, an enormous and multifaceted topic that streams through countless sections of the encyclopedia, was reconfigured in ways that issued in a completely new ten-part composite entry on fiction and religion in various guises. In that case, a lead entry titled "Fiction: History of the Novel" is complemented by all new entries that survey connections between religion and the Western novel, Latin American fiction, Chinese fiction, Japanese fiction, Southeast Asian fiction, Australian fiction, Oceanic fiction, African fiction, and Native American fiction. Another fully new composite entry under the rubric of "Transculturation and Religion" opens with an overview that situates "the problem of religion" within the context of the making of the modern world; subsequent elements of the set address the role of religion in the formation of, respectively, modern Canada, the modern Caribbean, modern Japan, modern India, and modern Oceania. Other innovative new composite entries, though on somewhat more modest scales, engage such topics as "Orgy," "Sociobiology and Evolutionary Psychology," and "Humor and Religion."

Particularly notable among new composite entries is the twenty-one-part "Gender and Religion," a wholly new set that deserves special mention not only as the largest such grouping in the revision, but also as part of a three-tiered initiative to engage the abundance of important work that has appeared in that field since the original version. At one level, the instructions to authors of *every* article for this edition, whether revised or completely new, included an incitement to consider seriously, and to make explicit, the gendered dynamics of the religious doctrines, practices, and institutions under consideration. A second level of revision focused on individual entries: standing articles like "Women's Studies," "Human Body," and "Spirit Possession" were revisited, then replaced or heavily reworked in light of contemporary approaches to gender and religion. Space was opened also for numerous new topical entries such as "Beauty," "Gynocentrism," "Lesbianism," "Men's Studies in Religion," "Patriarchy and Matriarchy," and "Thealogy"; for several midsized composite entries on "Feminism," "Feminist Theology," and "Nuns"; and for numerous new biographical entries on women. Finally, at a third and especially ambitious level, the completely new "Gender and Religion" composite entry employs the familiar pattern of an overview article, followed by a succession of region- or tradition-specific articles; but this set is unique in its scale of execution.

New religious movements is yet another area of major growth and reconceptualization. In fact, no segment of the encyclopedia enjoys quite such extensive enlargement. The original five-part composite entry is replaced by an eleven-part set that includes not only a revamped overview and new or reworked area-specific articles on the United States, Europe, Japan, and Latin America, but also thematic and comparative articles on the scriptures of new religious movements and on new religious movements in relation to women, to children, to millennialism, and to violence. Where the first-edition synoptic outline listed a couple dozen supporting articles under the heading of "New Religions and Modern Movements," the revision includes nearly three times that many. Among the wealth of new topical entries are "Anticult Movements," "Brainwashing (Debate)," and "Deprogramming"; "Neopaganism" and "Wicca"; "Swedenborgianism," "Rastafarianism," "UFO Religions," "Heaven's Gate," "Aum Shinrikyō," and "Falun Gong." Similarly abundant new biographical articles address figures ranging from Aleister Crowley, Daddy Grace, Matilda Joslyn Gage, Emma Curtis Hopkins, and L. Ron Hubbard to Jim Jones and David Koresh, to mention just a few.

An innovative new composite entry under the rubric of "Study of Religion" is one of several components designed to engage matters of theory, method, and intellectual history, concerns that were very important for the first edition and remained a priority for the second. Where the original edition had entries focused primarily on the emergence and development of religious studies in Western Europe and the United States, this new "Study of Religion" grouping works to survey ways in which the nature and study of "religion" have been conceptualized and institutionalized also in Eastern Europe, Japan, North Africa and the Middle East, sub-Saharan Africa, and South Asia. Also in a methodological realm, most of the eighteen first-edition "History of Study" entries (e.g., "Australian Religions: History of Study"; "Chinese Religion: History of Study"; "Egyptian Religion: History of Study"; etc.) were substantially updated or replaced, and entirely new entries were added to address the history of the study of African American religions, Baltic religion, Celtic religions, Confucianism, and Germanic religions, along with new entries on the history of the study of gender and religion, of Gnosticism, and of new religious movements. Numerous of the "Methods of Study" entries were revised, and wholly new offerings include "Ethology of Religion," "Literature: Critical Theory and Religious Studies," "Subaltern Studies," and a two-part set on "Sociobiology and Evolutionary Psychology." Of more than one hundred first-edition entries listed in the synoptic outline under so-called "Scholarly Terms," very few were deleted; some are substantially revised (e.g., "Conversion," "Dualism," and "Tradition"); some prominent terms are augmented with "Further Considerations" pieces (e.g., "Mysticism," "Ritual," "Religion," "Sacrifice," and "Syncretism"); and many others are replaced with essentially new entries (e.g., "Charisma," "Folklore," "Religious Experience," and "Sacred Time"). Completely new offerings under that heading include "Colonialism and Post-colonialism," "Creolization," "Globalization and Religion," "Implicit Religion," "Invisible Religion," "Orientalism," "Spirituality," and "World Religions." And with respect to "Scholars of Religion," another area of special distinction for *Encyclopedia of Religion,* we retained the policy of separate biographical entries only for scholars who are deceased, but nonetheless added more than fifty new names to the list.

The enumeration of important new articles and features could, as they say, go on and on. In the Judaism section, nearly all of the principal articles, the main "Judaism: An Overview" included, are thoroughly rewritten and more than thirty new topics were added. Among the articles on Islam, a high percentage both of the large geographical survey entries and the dozens of shorter supporting articles are revised in variously minor and major ways, and numerous wholly new topics have been introduced. The treatment of Buddhism, including the several composite configurations devoted to that tradition, received especially thoroughgoing reconceptualizations, as well as the introduction of more than two dozen completely new topics, numerous of them focused on Tibet. North American Indian religions was also a zone of especially extensive revision and expansion in ways that reflect the tumultuous changes in that field over the past two decades and the emergence of a generation of native scholars whose presence was largely absent from the first edition. The large lists under "Art and Religion" and, even more, "Science and Religion" were areas of considerable growth and innovation. Yes, the enumeration of new and reworked features could go on and on. It is, to be sure, only via direct engagement of the entries themselves that one can really begin to appreciate all that is new and different between the second edition and its precedent.

In sum, then, it is important to note that the associate editors and consultants—all of whom deserve enormous credit for their expertise, insight, and endurance—worked without any fixed quota as to how much would change and how much remain the same. This open policy proved a proverbial mixed blessing—both an ample benefit and what became a heavy burden insofar as, it is safe to say, the extent of revision and enlargement far exceeded anyone's expectation. The final tally of new and essentially new entries, in fact, exceeds by fourfold the initial projections, which were only whispered at the outset of the process. Were there anticipation in the beginning that this revised second edition would include, as it does, well over five hundred new topics, nearly one thousand completely new articles, and 1.5 million more words than the original *Encyclopedia of Religion* perhaps fewer would have agreed to participate in the editorial initiative.

The fortuitous result is, nevertheless, a scholarly resource too large and layered for anyone to master or even appreciate fully; no one can attain that vantage that affords a view of the whole. Instead—and happily—individual readers will inevitably be drawn to those parts that appeal to their distinct interests and serve their special purposes. This encyclopedia is, in an important sense, many encyclopedias, each of which emerges in dynamic relations with the persons who read and use it. Moreover, time and again, searching and serendipity blend so that an entry simply happened upon, an article or aspect other than that which you are seeking, evokes the strongest excitement and provides the most satisfying reward. Even those of us with much invested in this revision, continue to read, reread, and experience these volumes with a sense of discovery. It is our sincere hope, moreover, that this new edition can provide other readers that same ongoing sense of exploration and evocation of interest.

LINDSAY JONES
Ohio State University, September 2004

VISUAL ESSAYS: RATIONALE

Without exception, religions around the world and throughout time have included a vital visual dimension—whether it is icons to contemplate, sacred diagrams used in ritual, powerful objects charged with the capacity to protect or heal, the creation of sacred spaces, or the use of clothing, vestments, or liturgical objects in worship. Because human beings rely heavily on sight for information about their worlds, images of different kinds have always played an important role in the design of religious spaces and rites and in the daily practices of the devout. Art historians, anthropologists, archeologists, and historians of religion have long noted the significance of images in religious life.

The fourteen visual essays included in the second edition of *Encyclopedia of Religion* seek to demonstrate how pervasively visual culture permeates religion. Each of the essays is organized around a practice or theme common to many different religions. Since the goal was to explore the relevance and power of the visual culture of religion, the task in each case has been to show how images and visual practices participate in the lived experience of religion. This approach contrasts with the passive use of images sometimes used by scholars and reference works merely to illustrate religious practice or doctrine. In no instance does an image appear here in that capacity. Images are not used in these essays to recall or exemplify religious ideas or topics, but to provide concrete examples of how religions happen visually, that is, how images are put to use in visual practices that are the substance and experience of religious belief. Thus, the emphasis has been consistently on what images do.

The fourteen themes have been selected in order to show the great variety of ways in which images, objects, and spaces make religious practice take the form it does. Broadly speaking, images accomplish at least five operations:

1. They create a sense of time.
2. They create a sense of space.
3. They structure relations with other persons, beings, and communities.
4. They shape one's state of mind and body for ritual and devotional experience.
5. They visualize sacred texts, intermingling word and image or transforming them into one another.

Of course, a single image may do several or even all of these. But for the sake of clarity, selections for each essay focus on one function.

I do not suppose that any of these operations is unique to imagery. One might make the same points regarding food, dress, dance, or any of the arts regarding most, if not all, of the functions. But images will operate in different terms from other media. The larger point here is to show by means of example and comparison how images and visual practices provide rich evidence for the study and understanding of religion as a lived and visually engaging experience.

VISUAL ESSAY THEMES

The fourteen essays are organized under the five broad rubrics outlined above. It is important to underscore the fact that any given image might be classified simultaneously under several of the themes and rubrics. In fact, categories such as "space" and "time" are only extricated and regarded *in abstracto* since, in practice, they are often collapsed into a single domain of experience, as several examples of the sacred diagrams in the third essay will show. Moreover, images that perform such acts as healing or protection, or images that help one to remember or convey information, do so within the cultural contexts of their users. An image is not an autonomous entity, but is embedded in a life-world and a history, and charged with meaning and purpose within its society and civilization, deprived of which its function and power to signify and operate to purpose are necessarily compromised. Like any cultural artifact, images are not things in themselves, but organic components of an operating whole. But in order to convey as clearly as possible the individual functions of images, the fourteen themes are placed under discrete rubrics.

To remove images and visual practices from one habitat and history, as often happens through migration, colonization, warfare, and trade, means to inaugurate new cultural and historical meanings. The ability of images to transcend one context, to synthesize different systems of meaning, to help invent new traditions of practice and thought, and to lead many lives beyond those originally ascribed to them are all part of the power of images that will be explored visually in these essays.

The operative question posed throughout the organization of these themes and the examples gathered under each has been: what do images do in religious life? Images are not used identically in various religions, though there are many striking parallels. And images often mark and remember the boundary of one tradition and another. Not all of the categories listed below apply to every religious tradition. Not every religion in human history is represented. Indeed, far from it. The task was not universal coverage, but rather an attempt to register some of the most important things that images do, things that belong at the heart of any study of religious practice and history. Students and scholars should find in these categories and their examples a prompt for the visual investigation of virtually any religious group, behavior, or idea.

I. Time

1. Sacred Time—the creation of time in ritual, memory, prophecy, or dream time; that is, remembering, looking ahead, and stepping out of time.
2. Visual Narrative—the visual means of storytelling.
3. Cosmic Visions—maps, calendars, *maṇḍalas, yantras,* astrological charts, and sacred diagrams.

II. Space

4. Sacred Matter—the use of images and objects such as relics, reliquaries, amulets, or liturgical objects in religious practice.
5. Sacred Space—the role of images in creating shrines, monuments, gardens, temples, mosques, churches, and pilgrimage sites.

III. Structuring Social Relations

6. Community—imaging clan, tribe, ancestor, family, nation, congregation, ethnicity, and race.
7. Commerce of Images—the role that images play in the metaphysical as well as social economies of the sacred.
8. Appropriation and Identity—the manner in which images facilitate transformation, migration, and evolution of religious ideas and practices.
9. Efficacious Images—images that heal, protect, or enable their users to benefit or harm others.
10. Portraits—images of ancestors, teachers, saints, or deities that enable veneration, adoration, or union.

IV. Shaping Mind and Body

11. Sacred Gaze—images that assist meditation, visualization, memory, and aesthetic contemplation.
12. The True Image—visual traditions in certain religions that seek nonhumanly created images of a deity, founder, or saint.
13. Images and the Body—how images are used to condition the body, affect its operation, and control it.

V. Imaging Sacred Text

14. Word and Image—artifacts involving the integration of text and image in order to intensify the artifact's meaning and effect or evade taboos against pictorial representation.

DAVID MORGAN
Valparaiso University, September 2004

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

Such an encyclopedia as this has long been overdue. In all areas of religious studies—in the historical religious traditions as well as in nonliterate ("primitive") religious systems—the "information explosion" of recent decades has demanded a new presentation of available materials. Further, in the last half century, new methodological approaches and more adequate hermeneutics have enhanced our knowledge of the existential value, the social function, and the cultural creativity of religions throughout history. We understand better now the mind and the behavior of *homo religious* ("religious man"), and we know much more about the beginnings, the growth, and the crises of different religions of the world.

These impressive advances in information and understanding have helped to eradicate the cliches, highly popular in the nineteenth century, concerning the mental capacity of nonliterate peoples and the poverty and provincialism of non-Western cultures. To realize the radical change of perspective, it suffices to compare, for instance, the current interpretations of an Australian Aboriginal ritual, a traditional African mythology, an Inner Asian shamanistic seance, or such complex phenomena as yoga and alchemy with the evaluations *en vogue* a few generations ago. Perhaps for the first time in history we recognize today not only the unity of human races but also the spiritual values and cultural significance of their religious creations.

I shall not here attempt to survey all the decisive contributions of recent research to a more correct appreciation of the dialectics of the sacred and of so many ethnic and historical religious systems. A few examples will serve to underscore my point.

In some areas of religious studies, unexpected and astonishing consequences of recent archaeological or textual discoveries have become almost immediately apparent. Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, for instance, have revealed the grandiose proto-historical urban civilization of the Indus Valley, and discoveries of the library of gnostic writings at Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt and of a great number of Essene manuscripts at Qumran, near the Dead Sea, have given us documents of immeasurable value. Although publication and translation are not yet completed, much light has already been thrown on two problems that were extremely controversial until a generation ago.

A specific characteristic of the last several decades' activities has been the amazing number of Asian religious texts that have been edited and, in many cases, translated for the first time into a European language. This editorial enterprise has been accompanied by the publication of a series of monographs spanning a range of scholarship difficult to imagine a few generations ago. The significance of such works is enormous, and the consequences of their publication are far-reaching.

The esoteric and occult traditions, misunderstood or neglected by former generations of scholars born and brought up in a positivistic milieu, constitute but one area of study on which recent research has cast new light. Here, much that was once obscure has been illuminated by, for instance, the classic monographs of Gershom Scholem on Qabbalah and on Jewish gnostic and mystical systems. Scholem's erudition and insight have disclosed to us a coherent and profound world of meaning in texts that had earlier been generally dismissed as mere magic and superstition. Likewise, our understanding of Islamic mysticism has been radically improved by Louis Massignon's works, while Henry Corbin and his disciples have revealed the neglected dimensions of Ismāʿīlī esoteric tradition.

Also, in the past forty years we have witnessed a more correct and comprehensive appraisal of Chinese, Indian, and Western alchemies. Until recently, alchemy was regarded either as a proto-chemistry—that is, as an embryonic, naive, or prescientific discipline—or as a mass of superstitious rubbish that was culturally irrelevant. The investigations of Joseph Needham and Nathan Sivin have proved that Chinese alchemy has a holistic structure, that it is a traditional science *sui generis,* not intelligible without its cosmologies and its ethical and, so to say, "existential" presuppositions and soteriological implications. And it is significant that in China alchemy was intimately related to secret Taoist practices, that in India it was a part of Tantric Yoga, and that, in the West, Greco-Egyptian and Renaissance alchemy was usually connected with gnosticism and Hermetism—all of which are secret, "occult" traditions.

A most surprising result of contemporary scholarship has been the discovery of the important role that alchemy and Hermetic esotericism have played in Western thought, not only in the Italian Renaissance but also in the triumph of Copernicus's new astronomy, in the heliocentric theory of the solar system. Frances A. Yates has brilliantly analyzed the deep implications of the passionate interest in Hermetism in this period. For almost two centuries, Egyptian magic, alchemy, and esotericism have obsessed innumerable theologians and philosophers, believers as well as skeptics and cryptoatheists. Yet, only recently has the importance of alchemy in Newton's thinking, for example, been revealed. Betty J. T. Dobbs has pointed out that Newton probed in his laboratory "the whole vast literature of the older alchemy as it has never been probed before or since." In fact, Newton sought in alchemy the structure of the small world to match his cosmological system.

Among many other examples of the progress realized in the last several decades, I may also recall the reevaluation of European popular traditions. Until the 1930s, the religious systems of Australian Aborigines and North American Indians were more seriously investigated, and were better understood, than were European folk traditions. On the one hand, researchers were interested mainly in folk literature; on the other hand, their interpretations of rituals and "popular mythologies" usually followed one of the fashionable theorists, such as Wilhelm Mannhardt or James G. Frazer. Furthermore, many scholars, in both eastern and western Europe, considered rural traditions as fragmentary and debased survivals from a superior layer of culture, from that, say, represented by the feudal aristocracy or that derived from church literature. In sum, taking into account the powerful influences of the church and of urban culture, one was inclined to doubt the authenticity or the archaism of rural religious traditions in Europe.

Recent and more rigorous studies have revealed a quite different situation. The Austrian ethnologist Leopold Schmidt, for example, has shown that certain mythico-ritual scenarios that were still current among peasants of central and southeastern Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century preserved mythological fragments and rituals that had disappeared in ancient Greece before the time of Homer. Other scholars have concluded that Romanian and Balkan folklore preserves Homeric and pre-Homeric themes and motifs. According to the American linguist and anthropologist Paul Friedrich, "The attitudes of contemporary Greek peasants toward the Virgin Mary might bear in some way on our understanding of the Classical Demeter." And the archaeologist Marija Gimbutas has pointed out that the pre-Christian layer in Baltic folklore "is so ancient that it undoubtedly reaches back to prehistoric times—at least to the Iron Age or in the case of some elements even several millennia deeper." As to the archaism of Irish popular traditions, recent studies have demonstrated numerous analogies with ancient Indian ideas and customs.

Even more important, popular traditions around the globe reveal a specific originality in their reinterpretation of the Christian message. In many cultures, peasants practice what can be called a "cosmic Christianity," which, in a "total" history of Christendom, ought to have a place, for it represents a new type of religious creativity. Thus, parallel to the different Christian theologies constructed both on Hebrew scriptures and on Greek metaphysics, one must also set the "popular theology" that assimilated and christianized many archaic traditions, from Neolithic to Oriental and Hellenistic religions. In this way, the religious history of Christian Europe will be deprovincialized and its universal values will become more evident.

I may also recall some of the results of contemporary work on the religious meaning—or function—of oral, and even written, literature. Some years ago, a number of scholars pointed out the initiatory symbols and motifs of certain categories of fairy tale. Significantly, almost at the same time many critics in Europe as well as in the United States began to investigate the patterns of initiation recognizable in various literary works. In both types of narrative, oral and written, we are led into an imaginary world, and in both we meet characters who undergo a series of initiatory ordeals, a common plot structure that is generally presented more or less transparently. The difference is that, while some fairy tales can be regarded as reflecting the remembrance of actual initiation rites practiced in the past, such is not true of modern literary works.

Specialists have also identified initiatory elements in such classical sources as the sixth book of Vergil's *Aeneid,* in a number of scenarios and personages of the Arthurian legends, in the neo-Greek epic *Digenis Akritas,* in Tibetan epic poetry, and elsewhere. Most probably, these elements are ghostly souvenirs of the distant past, memories, vaguely recalled, of ancient initiatory rituals. But such cannot be so with initiatory structures found in modern literature from Coleridge's *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* and Eliot's *The Waste Land* to the many novels of James Fenimore Cooper, Jules Verne, Mark Twain, and William Faulkner. Nevertheless, these facts are relevant for an understanding of modern Western man. Indeed, in a desacralized world such as ours, the "sacred" is present and active chiefly in imaginary universes. But imaginary experiences are part of the total human being. This means that nostalgia for initiatory trials and scenarios, nostalgia deciphered in so many literary and artistic works (including the cinema), reveals modern man's longing for a *renovation* capable of radically changing his existence.

Of course, this is only an example of the unconscious reaction against the desacralization of modern Western societies, in some regards a phenomenon parallel to the acculturation of many traditional ("primitive") cultures. This complex and delicate problem warrants far more attention then I can give it here, but I do wish to note that what has been called the "occult explosion" in contemporary North America belongs to the same desperate effort to react against the growing desacralization of the modern world, specifically the almost general crisis of the Christian churches.

The most significant advance in religious studies of the past several decades has been realized in our understanding of primal religions—that is, the religious systems of "primitive," nonliterate peoples. There is no doubt that improvement of fieldwork methods and the growing interest of anthropologists in depth psychology, linguistics, and historiographical methodology have contributed to this success. Especially the researches, hypotheses, and controversies in relation to myths and mythological thinking have played a decisive role. The once-popular theories of the intellectual inferiority of "savages," or of their "pre-logical mentality," have been obsolete for some time. Anthropologists and sociologists as well as historians of religions nowadays emphasize the structural coherence of "primitive" religious beliefs and ideas. Although, as is always true in humanistic disciplines, no general theory on the "primitive mind" has been universally accepted, one methodological presupposition seems to be shared by the majority of today's scholars: namely, the "normality" and, consequently, the creativity of the primal religions.

Indeed, it has been repeatedly pointed out that the archaic mind has never been stagnant, that some nonliterate peoples have made important technological discoveries and that some others have had a certain sense of history. Such radical modification of our former understanding and evaluation of nonliterate religious traditions has been in part a consequence of growing interest in the structure and the morphology of the sacred—that is, in religious experience and in its ritual and symbolic expressions.

Progressively, scholars have realized the necessity of trying to discover the meanings given by nonliterate peoples to their own religious activities. W. E. H. Stanner, who dedicated his life to the study of Australian Aborigines, emphatically asserted that their religion must be approached "*as* religion and not as a mirror of something else." Stanner repeatedly criticized the fallacious presupposition "that the social order is primary and in some cases causal, and the religious order secondary and in some sense consequential." Equally significant is the affirmation of the British Africanist E. E. Evans-Pritchard that knowledge of Christian theology, exegesis, symbolic thought, and ritual better enables the anthropologist to understand "primitive" ideas and practices.

An obvious corollary may thence be drawn: that knowledge of the religious ideas and practices of other traditions better enables anyone to understand his or her own. The history of religions is the story of the human encounter with the sacred—a universal phenomenon made evident in myriad ways.

These, then, are some of the themes and topics that the interested reader will find in the hundreds of articles that constitute this encyclopedia. In planning it, the editors and the staff have aimed at a concise, clear, and objective description of the totality of human experiences of the sacred. We have, we hope, paid due attention to traditions both great and small, to the historical religions as well as to the primal religions, to the religious systems of the East as well as to those of the West. Wishing particularly to avoid reductionism and Western cultural bias, we have given far greater space to the religions of non-Western areas than have earlier reference books on religion. Finally, and in conformity with the international design of our encyclopedia, we have invited scholars from five continents to contribute articles related to their specific areas of research.

Our encyclopedia was not conceived as a dictionary, with entries covering the entire vocabulary in every field of religious studies. Rather, it was conceived as a system of articles on important ideas, beliefs, rituals, myths, symbols, and persons that have played a role in the universal history of religions from Paleolithic times to the present day. Thus, the reader will not find here entries on all the popes or on all the patriarchs of the Eastern churches, nor on all the saints, mystics, and minor figures of the various religious traditions. Instead, here is a great network of historical and descriptive articles, synthetical discussions, and interpretive essays that make available contemporary insight into the long and multifaceted history of religious man.

Here, among many others, are articles devoted to recent archaeological and textual discoveries and, particularly important, articles devoted to the reevaluation of facts and systems of thought ignored or neglected until a few decades ago: for instance, the history of Hermetism and of alchemy, the occult revival in our time, the creativity of "popular" religions, the millenaristic movements among contemporary "primitive" societies, and the religious dimensions of the arts. A more rigorous study of such themes not only illuminates their meanings but, in some cases, opens new perspectives on the evaluation of other cultural phenomena.

By consulting various entries in the encyclopedia, the reader will learn the latest results of anthropological research and the current evaluation of various primal religions. These, in turn, have led to the burgeoning contemporary interest in the structure, meaning, and functions of myth and of religious symbols. A number of articles herein are devoted to these subjects, which are equally important, I might add, for recent Western philosophical inquiry. As a matter of fact, the exegesis of mythical thinking has played a central role in the works of many distinguished modern philosophers and linguists. Similarly, a more adequate understanding of symbolic thinking has contributed to the systematic study of religious symbols, and, thus, to a reevaluation of the central role of religious symbolism.

I need not list here other examples of recent methodological progress that has made possible our present comprehension of religious structures and creations. It suffices to say that the researches of the last half century concern not only the historian of religions, the anthropologist, and the sociologist but also the political scientist, the social historian, the psychologist, and the philosopher. To know the great variety of worldviews assumed by religious man, to comprehend the expanse of his spiritual universe, is, finally, to advance our general knowledge of humankind. It is true that most of the worldviews of primal societies and archaic civilizations have long since been left behind by history. But they have not vanished without a trace. They have contributed toward making us what we are today, and so, after all, they are part of our own history.

MIRCEA ELIADE
Chicago, March 1986

FOREWORD TO THE FIRST EDITION

Mircea Eliade, the editor in chief of this encyclopedia, died in April 1986, shortly after drafting his preface. The publisher wisely chose to leave his preface substantially as he had composed it, and it was suggested that I spell out in a foreword what might be called the encyclopedia's "angle of vision," to supplement what had already been said by its editor in chief.

Needless to say, it would be virtually impossible for an encyclopedia of this sort to cover adequately every religious idea, practice, and phenomenon known to the human race. At the same time, the publisher, the editors, and our many advisers wished to produce not a dictionary but a genuine encyclopedia that would introduce educated, nonspecialist readers to important ideas, practices, and persons in the religious experience of humankind from the Paleolithic past to our day.

The present work has much in common with another major English-language encyclopedia produced earlier in this century, namely, the thirteen-volume *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* edited by James Hastings with assistance from John A. Selbie, Louis H. Gray, and others (Edinburgh, 1908–1926; reprint, New York, 1955; hereafter designated *ERE*). Both came into being at times when knowledge about the various religions had grown to such a degree that without an encyclopedic work of some sort, it would not be possible, as the architects of the *ERE* put it, "to have at our command the vast stores of learning which have accumulated."

The planners of both encyclopedias attempted to solicit contributions from the most advanced scholars at work in the various fields of study; they asked their contributors for the most up-to-date information available, to be sure, but also for histories of interpretation and the most current interpretive schemas. That much of what was said in the *ERE* has now gone out of date and that all of it reflects the scholarship of the time in which it was produced are melancholy reminders that any encyclopedia, including this one, begins to grow obsolete almost before it is published.

Readers will notice, of course, some basic differences between these two encyclopedias. Joachim Wach (1898–1955) often reminded us that religion usually has three "expressions" (his term) or dimensions, namely, the theoretical (e.g., doctrines, dogmas, myths, theologies, ethics), the practical (e.g., cults, sacraments, meditations), and the sociological (e.g., religious groupings, ecclesiastical forms). Our encyclopedia tries to do justice as much as possible to these three dimensions of religion, in contradistinction to the *ERE,* which focused primarily on the theoretical aspect to the exclusion of the practical and the sociological. Admittedly, the division of human experience into various compartments—religion, philosophy, ethics, art, and so on—is largely a Western convention; and historically, in the West, theology (cognitive attempts to systematize religious teachings) has occupied a conspicuously important place in defining religion, which in turn has enjoyed a traditionally ambiguous but close relationship with ethics and the philosophy of religion. Thus it is not surprising that the *ERE* was primarily concerned with theologies and philosophies of religion and with ethics, for it was the underlying theological and philosophical interest of the planners of the *ERE* that led them to look for normativeness in religion and ethics. In this sense, the *ERE* and the present encyclopedia are very different.

It is important to appreciate the difference between the mental world of the planners of the *ERE* and our own mental world. Unconsciously if not consciously, the planners of the *ERE* viewed non-Western peoples, histories, cultures, and religions primarily from the Western perspective. It was doubtless true that politically, socially, culturally, religiously, economically, and militarily the power of Western colonial nations reached its zenith during the nineteenth century, and that the most important events of the modern world occurred through the impetus and initiative of the West. Moreover, as has been aptly remarked, the ethos of the nineteenth century lasted rather longer than the actual calendar end of the century; and furthermore, although World War I undeniably weakened the unity and cohesiveness of the European family of nations, a persistent carryover of the vitality of the Western powers, Western civilization, and Western learning remained even in Asia and Africa until the end of World War II.

To many non-Western peoples, the year 1945 marked a significant line of demarcation between two worlds of experience. In their eyes, the Western colonial powers—even when they meant well—had acted in the manner of parents who refuse to allow their children to grow up by making all the important decisions for them. The years after World War II witnessed not only the emergence of many new and inexperienced nations but, more important, a redefinition on a global scale of the dignity, value, and freedom of human beings, including non-Western peoples. While knowledgeable Western scholars of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw non-Western peoples only as sources of religious and cultural data for Western scholars to analyze within their own (i.e., Western) methodologies and frameworks, after World War II these same non-Western peoples rightly began to insist on participating in the global effort to develop adequate interpretive schemes for apprehending the entire religious experience of humankind, past and present, prehistoric to modern. Accordingly, the present encyclopedia has attempted to enlarge the mental world of contemporary scholarship by drawing a large number of contributors from the non-Western world. This has turned out to be a far more difficult approach—but a far more rewarding one—than a primarily Western-based compendium modeled on the *ERE* would have been.

During the early twentieth century, three major areas of "scholarly" or "scientific" study of religion(s)—often called "comparative religion" or the "comparative study of religions"—were taken for granted. The first comprised a narrow historical and ethnological survey of a short series of particular religions, conceived as the simple collection of "raw" religious data—beliefs, practices, feelings, moods, attitudes—often colored by an evolutionary ideology. Scholars were keenly aware, however, of the personal and corporate aspects and the immanental and transcendental dimensions of religions. The second area aimed to classify religious data according to what Stanley A. Cook in the *ERE* called "certain persistent and prevalent notions of the 'evolution' of thought and … practices … in the history of culture" (*ERE,* vol. 10, p. 664). The third area was usually reserved for the philosophy of religion or sometimes for theology. In all three areas, scholars were conscious of the virtues of the comparative method of inquiry—"the unbiased co-ordination of all comparable data irrespective of context or age"—which aims to break down "racial, social, intellectual, and psychical boundaries, and to bring into relation all classes and races of men" (ibid.). They were careful to point out, however, that "similar practices can have different meanings or motives, and similar ideas and beliefs can be differently expressed … [so that] confusion has often been caused by naive comparisons and rash inferences" (ibid.). A rational scheme of interpretation of religious ideas, usually a philosophy of religion although sometimes a theology, was brought in to introduce order and to adjudicate nebulous, confusing, and competing religious claims. The following statement succinctly expresses the main concern of the *ERE*:

> Whenever the ethical or moral value of activities or conditions is questioned, the value of religion is involved; and all deep-stirring experiences invariably compel a reconsideration of the most fundamental ideas, whether they are explicitly religious or not. Ultimately there arise problems of justice, human destiny, God, and the universe; and these in turn involve problems of the relation between 'religious' and other ideas, the validity of ordinary knowledge, and practicable conceptions of 'experience' and 'reality.' (ibid., p. 662)

Undeniably the *ERE* was an important embodiment of the deep concerns of informed Western theologians and philosophers with religion and ethics in the early twentieth century, and it represented a high standard, with contributions from many of the most erudite scholars of comparative religion at the time.

Clearly, our encyclopedia of religion is the product of a different time and a different sort of scholarship. The multidimensional scholarly style of Mircea Eliade, our editor in chief, might best exemplify the character of our encyclopedia. Born in Romania, Eliade early aspired to be a physical scientist but was lured into the study of the philosophy of the Italian Renaissance during his college days. He studied Indian philosophy and Yoga at the University of Calcutta and in the Himalayas. Once back in Romania, he taught at the University of Bucharest and also established his reputation as a creative writer. After serving as a cultural attache in both London and Lisbon, he taught and wrote in Paris as a self-styled refugee. In 1956 he was invited to teach at the University of Chicago, and there he spent the next thirty years, until his death in 1986. While he taught the history of religions in the Divinity School and in the Committee of Social Thought, he also collaborated often with philosopher Paul Ricoeur and theologian Paul Tillich. His numerous writings include systematic works; historical studies; monographs on yoga, shamanism, folk religion, and alchemy; autobiographies; drama; stories of the occult; and novels.

Eliade hoped that the present encyclopedia would implement his lifelong vision of a "total hermeneutics," a coherent interpretive framework for the entire human experience (called once by Wach "integral understanding"). Eliade's total hermeneutics was based on his understanding of the general scientific study of religions (*allgemeine Religionswissenschaft*), known as the "history of religions" to the international association of scholars of the discipline, and was dependent as well on various social, physical, and biological sciences; law; humanistic disciplines, especially the arts and literature; philosophy (more particularly the philosophy of religion); and theologies. It was Eliade's conviction that all of these disciplines in combination must attempt to decipher the meaning of human experience in this mysterious universe. Indeed, from the dawn of history, human beings have been working, discovering, and religious beings simultaneously.

The editors agreed with Eliade that the basic methodology underlying our encyclopedia should be that of the history of religions (*Religionswissenschaft*), which consists of two dimensions, historical and systematic. In this framework, the historical dimension depends upon a mutual interaction between histories of individual religions—any of the prehistoric, early historic, historic, premodern, modern, or contemporary "primitive" religions—and the history of *religion-myths,* symbols, rituals, and so on. The systematic task consists of phenomenological, comparative, sociological, and psychological studies of religions. (Eliade's particular contribution here has been termed the "morphological" study of religion.)

Eliade and the editors were convinced that with the combination of the history of religions and all the other disciplines mentioned previously it would be possible to arrive at certain disciplined generalizations about the nature of religion, as well as a structuring of religious data, which would increase our understanding of the meaning of human experience or the mode of being human in this universe. Accordingly, in the early planning stage, at least, we created three categories of articles. Our first broad category was planned to include historical and descriptive essays on particular religious communities and traditions, both the "great" traditions (Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity, Islam) and the "small" (traditional African societies, Australian Aboriginal groups, Mesoamerican cultures, and others). Our second broad category was slated to cover topics in the history of religion (e.g., "afterlife," "alchemy," "myth," "ritual," "symbol," and so on). Finally, our third broad category was planned to include examinations of the relationships between religion and other areas of culture (e.g., law, science, the arts, and others).

Inevitably, there were bound to be duplications among topics in different categories, as in the case of "ritual," "ritual studies," and the rituals of individual religious traditions. There are also, we found, some religious phenomena that defy easy categorization. Thus, our three categories were merely the framework on which we based our plans; we expanded and embellished it as need arose.

In editing an encyclopedia on "religion," we have had to face many problems that editors of encyclopedias on other subjects might easily avoid. One such problem involves what H. Richard Niebuhr called the "inner" and the "outer" meanings of religious phenomena. Wilfred Cantwell Smith once remarked that to outsiders Islam is a religion of the Muslims but to the Muslims Islam is a religion of truth. Our encyclopedia has made a serious effort on this account to balance the inner, theological, soteriological meanings and the outer, historical, sociological, anthropological, historical, and cultural meanings; but it is doubtful that our efforts will completely satisfy those partisans who seek only the "inner" or the "outer" meanings of religious phenomena. There are surely some people who think that their religious tradition alone encompasses the whole and final truth. It is beyond the scope of our encyclopedia to address this issue.

Readers should, however, know what our stance toward religion(s) is. We have assumed that there is no such thing as a purely religious phenomenon. A religious phenomenon is a human phenomenon and thus is not only religious but also social, cultural, psychological, biological, and so on. Yet as Eliade rightly said, "To try to grasp the essence of such a phenomenon by means of physiology, psychology, sociology, economics, linguistics, art or any other study is false; it misses the one unique and irreducible element in it—the element of the sacred" (*Patterns in Comparative Religion,* London, 1958, p. xi). Thus, throughout this encyclopedia we have made every effort to avoid "reductionist" interpretations of religion.

By the same token, we have avoided the currently fashionable theory of dividing history into a simplistic formula of tradition versus modern. We recall that from the time of the Enlightenment in Europe many scholars sought the "origin" of religion in order to understand the meaning of religions. In their inquiry, they paid scant attention to the historical dimensions of religions because to them, history signified primarily the accretions of time and the process of degeneration, presumably from the origin of religion. On the other hand, many scholars today are preoccupied with the contemporary manifestations of religions without adequate appreciation of the historical processes that impinge on the present. They often equate the traditional with an inherited culture long identified with a stagnating society, and thus to them what is not modern has the derogatory connotation of tradition. It is our intention, therefore, to avoid both such a facile use of history and the formula of tradition versus modern.

Our editor in chief sincerely appreciated the dedication of the editors and the staff members who, over the years, created entries; wrote up descriptions for articles; solicited consultants, advisers, and contributors; read the submitted articles; made suggestions for revisions; and much more. Among the editors, Charles J. Adams and Annemarie Schimmel made important contributions in the history of religion in addition to their original assignment in the histories of religions, Islam. Martin E. Marty, Richard P. McBrien, and Robert M. Seltzer handled not only their original assignments of Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism, respectively, but were also indispensable in formulating theories and frameworks. Seltzer's assignment also included Israelite religion as well as other religions of the ancient Near East.

Jacob Needleman undertook the formidable task of relating religion to other areas of life. Eliade himself not only functioned as our editor in chief but also acted as a supervising editor for archaic, primal religions (with Victor Turner and Lawrence E. Sullivan, our associate editor) and for Hinduism (helped by William K. Mahony, our assistant editor). Turner, of course, covered the vast area of anthropology, folklores, and folk religions; and I, besides collaborating on the history of religion, was in charge of Chinese, Korean, and Japanese religions and of Buddhism. Sullivan worked with Eliade on the history of religion and with Turner on primal religions; Mahoney worked with Eliade on Hinduism and with me on Buddhism. All of us enjoyed the help of the project editors on the Macmillan staff.

We all witnessed Eliade's deep grief at the news of Victor Turner's death in 1983. Turner had at one time chaired the Committee on Social Thought at the University of Chicago, a committee on which Eliade served for many years. In him were combined abundant energy and multidimensional interests and a broad learning, all of which he freely offered to the encyclopedia. His death was a great blow to us all.

Eliade wished to acknowledge publicly all the formal and informal consultants, advisers, and contributors, many of whom were friends, colleagues, and former students of the editors. This is an appropriate place to express our gratitude to Franklin I. Gamwell, dean of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, and to Bernard McGinn, program coordinator of the Institute for the Advanced Study of Religion in the Divinity School, for providing facilities for editorial meetings of the encyclopedia. We also wish to thank Wendy D. O'Flaherty (on the study of Hinduism especially), other Chicago colleagues, and Gregory D. Alles and Peter Chemery, who served as Eliade's research assistants, for generously offering their scholarship, their time, and their labor.

All of the editors share Eliade's sentiment, often expressed at various meetings, in recognizing the initiative of Jeremiah Kaplan, president of Macmillan Publishing Company, and of Charles E. Smith, vice-president and publisher, for undertaking this gigantic and expensive enterprise, and the efficiency and effectiveness of the project editors on the publisher's staff in bringing this undertaking to a successful conclusion.

Of course, everyone involved in the realization of *The Encyclopedia of Religion*—editors, consultants, contributors, and staff—laments the untimely death of Mircea Eliade. But we should recall the epitaph of Sir Christopher Wren at Saint Paul's in London: "If you seek his monument, look around you." In like vein, we can say about Mircea Eliade, who passed away before his encyclopedia came to full fruition, "If you seek his monument, look in these volumes." This encyclopedia was his final undertaking, and he will remain alive in the minds of its readers for decades to come.

I consider it a great privilege to have known and worked with Mircea Eliade for more than three decades. I wish to express my personal gratitude to the Macmillan staff, to fellow advisers, and to the contributors who made this encyclopedia possible. Although the foregoing statement is largely mine, I hope that it expresses as well something of the sentiments of my colleagues on the board of editors.

JOSEPH M. KITAGAWA
Chicago, August 1986

INTRODUCTION TO THE FIRST EDITION

During the early days of the development of this encyclopedia, the board of editors and the senior members of the staff met often, both formally and informally, to exchange ideas, to decide editorial policies, and to discuss plans for the contents of the work we had undertaken to produce. At first, given the enormous scope of our topic, and the great variety of religious traditions and fields of study that it includes, it seemed impossible that any coherent system of articles could be devised that would limn the entire circle of current learning on religion and that would, further, serve the purposes both of the general reader and of specialists in various areas of religious studies. Soon, however, it became apparent that the conceptual scheme mapped out by Mircea Eliade, our editor in chief, and the editorial formats and systems used by Macmillan were extremely compatible. Indeed, quite early in our planning stage, we realized the possibilities of creating a work that would be both truly encyclopedic and widely useful. At the conclusion of the editorial meeting in which we had reached this happy consensus, Victor Turner remarked, with evident delight, "And so, then, we shall let a thousand flowers bloom."

As usual, Turner's metaphor was apt. Not only did his horticultural image echo Eliade's particular interest in vegetative symbolism—from the Goethean notion of the primordial plant to the widespread image of the cosmic tree—but it suggested a correspondence between editing and gardening that I have long known to be true.

The editor and the gardener do, in fact, have much in common. The one, just as the other, must know taxonomy, and he must plan his garden with care. He must consider the genera and species of vegetal materials he wishes to include, the size and shape of his plot, the number and arrangement of plants, their growing season and their heights and textures and colors. Then the soil must be prepared, stones removed, seeds sown and nourished. After a while, germination occurs and plants emerge. With an eye toward the planned appearance of the garden at maturity, individual plants must be tended and encouraged to grow; some must be pinched back to improve their shape, propped up to permit their development, or given extra nutriments to build their strength. Attention must constantly be paid, and the garden must be rid of noxious weeds and pernicious pests. This all done, and given favorable atmospheric conditions, a garden may grow and flourish.

The end result may be much as the gardener had planned, forming the orderly patterns of the original design and exhibiting the structural symmetries, pleasing contrasts, and pretty juxtapositions that the gardener had first imagined. But there will surely be some surprises along the way. Some seeds may fail to sprout; others may yield proliferous growth. A natural balance seems to obtain. Just as a few seedlings may be undersized, weak, and thin, some few early blossoms of disappointingly pallid hue, other plants may foliate and flower with unexpected vigor and splendor. For all a gardener's careful planning, a garden grows as it will.

Yet, if the conceptual scheme of a garden has been judiciously and imaginatively wrought and if the gardener works with skill and patience and knowledge of the needs of the various plants, the garden may, in the end, be a wondrous thing. A thousand flowers may indeed one day bloom, to enchant the eye, engage the mind, and enrich the spirit.

The present encyclopedia is a garden of nearly three thousand flowers, grown from seeds sown in scholarly fields around the globe and transplanted here to form this great collection of articles. The board of editors and the Macmillan staff have gladly labored in this large and elaborate plot during the seven years of its planning and cultivation, sharing our chores with uncommon congeniality and good will. Now that the season of bloom is upon us, it falls to me, as the senior project editor on the Macmillan staff, to recapitulate some of the editorial policies we established, some of the editorial decisions we made, and some of the editorial practices we followed in making our garden grow.

To cover the vast territory outlined by our editor in chief in his general plan for the encyclopedia, the editors undertook to develop specific plans for articles in their various areas of specialization. Governed only by a general word allotment and suggestions for certain patterns of coverage, each editor was given free rein to determine the number, kind, and length of articles for the area(s) assigned to him or her. Staff members assigned to corresponding areas coordinated and supplemented the editors' plans for coverage but did not substantially alter them. Some parts of our plans were assigned to project editors on the Macmillan staff and were developed by them on the expert advice of special consultants. Consequently, in the final conceptual scheme of things, selection and arrangement of materials on the various religious traditions and fields of study turned out to be generally similar but particularly diverse, reflecting not only the different states of current scholarship in different fields but also the personal judgments and emphases of the various supervising editors.

Entries in the encyclopedia, it was early decided, would be alphabetically arranged. To avoid the dilemma of "alphabetization versus systematization," however, we also planned to follow the admirable practice of earlier Macmillan encyclopedias in using "composite entries" to group two or more articles under one heading, thus permitting systematic discussion of various aspects of broad topics. As an aid to the reader, we planned to put a headnote to each composite entry to explain its organization and, where appropriate, to offer a rationale for its partition. In developing composite entries, I should note, we did not always strive for exhaustive systematization; instead, we sometimes allowed ourselves to design pairs or groups of articles reflecting the idiosyncracies of current scholarly interest in various topics.

Once our plans were laid, and details of the several parts of our conceptual scheme began to fall into place, contributors selected from the international community of scholars were invited to undertake assignments in their special fields of study. For each article, a length was specified and a brief scope description was suggested. Except in terms of length, however, contributors were not restricted. On the contrary, as experts in their fields, they were encouraged to develop their articles according to their best judgment. We requested that a selected bibliography accompany each article, to call attention to some of the most useful publications on the topics discussed, to make recommendations for further reading, and to indicate bibliographic resources. Our general aim was to procure fresh, original articles from the best writers and thinkers and scholars in the world, forming a collection that would accurately reflect what we currently know—or, as one distinguished contributor put it, what we think we know—about the particular histories of religions past and present, great and small, as well as of the general history of religion viewed on a universal scale.

Our reach, we believe, did not exceed our grasp. The response to our invitations was overwhelmingly affirmative, and as manuscripts began to arrive in our offices from all the four corners of the earth, we soon saw that our encyclopedia would fulfill its promise. Our garden flourished from the very beginning; almost every seed sprouted, and there were remarkably few weeds.

There were, however, many gardening tasks to be done. The arrival of manuscripts brought us finally and squarely face to face with certain editorial problems of writing style that we had earlier anticipated, and with a few that we had not. We were confronted, of course, by problems of translation, transliteration, and romanization of many foreign languages, which, given the international tenor of our contributors and the pandemic scope of our project, we had fully expected. But we were also confronted by some surprisingly thorny problems of vocabulary and orthography that arose from the need to coordinate various conventions employed in different areas of religious studies and the need to establish standards of writing style that would be both acceptable to scholars and intelligible to nonspecialists.

Given that we had set out to produce an English-language encyclopedia and that we had decided to invite contributions from leading scholars around the globe, regardless of their native languages, the specter of translation loomed large and early. Contributors who preferred to write their articles in languages other than English were encouraged to enlist the aid of a trusted colleague as translator. Many of them did so, and submitted their articles to us in English. Many more did not, and submitted their articles to us in a great variety of European and Asian languages. Drawing upon the talents of translators both here and abroad, as well as upon the language skills of staff members, we undertook to put all these articles into clear and accurate English. We hope that we have successfully avoided an equation that Italians make—"Traduttore a traditore" (roughly, "Translation is treachery")—and that we have everywhere been faithful to our contributors' meanings. Translators are credited at the end of each article that has been rendered into English.

Translation of prose does not, of course, lay to rest all editorial problems with foreign languages. Many linguistic issues hovered over us, awaiting resolution. As a general policy, we had decided to restrict ourselves to the Latin alphabet, not venturing into such other alphabets as those of Sanskrit, Hebrew, Greek, or Arabic or into such other writing systems as those used to transcribe spoken Chinese, Japanese, or Korean. Yet all these languages, and many more, are the stuff of religious studies, and we were obliged to deal with them sensibly within an English context. A multitude of names and technical terms in all the world's languages, couched in various alphabets and writing systems, demanded to be appropriately spelled via transliteration or romanization into the Latin alphabet of English.

Generally, we agreed to prefer the modern, scholarly spellings that most closely approximate the orthography and/or pronunciation of the original language. Thus we decided to follow the transliteration and romanization systems used by the United States Library of Congress. These, by and large, are the traditional systems of scholarship in the English-speaking world and are thus to be found in the majority of secondary sources in Western libraries.

For languages for which the Library of Congress has issued no romanization table and for which no scholarly consensus has yet clearly emerged, we have made decisions on romanization based on the most expert advice we could secure. The languages of many indigenous peoples of Africa, the Americas, Australia, and Oceania, for example, have long been spoken but only recently written. For those for which standard systems of romanization have been established (e.g., Khoisan, Navajo), we have used them; for others, we have followed traditional practices. For languages for which scholarly practices of romanization vary widely—as in transcription of the languages of the ancient Near East—we have generally preferred the simplest system commonly used. For languages on which scholarly preference seems to be about equally divided between two standard systems of romanization (e.g., Tibetan), we have, realizing the impossibility of pleasing everyone, chosen to please ourselves. Gardeners' choice, as it were.

The spelling systems we have followed employ a moderate range of diacritical marks to indicate pronunciation in various languages. In addition to standard diacritics (e.g., the acute accent, the grave accent, the macron, the circumflex, the tilde, et al.), we decided to use an apostrophe (’) to represent the hamzah in Arabic and the alef in Hebrew, a reversed apostrophe (ʿ) to represent ʿayn in Arabic and ʿayin in Hebrew, and a single quotation mark (‘) to indicate voiced consonants in Chinese. Besides these, we have used a few special characters (e.g., the thorn, the edh, et al.) in spelling Old English and Middle English, venerable ancestors of our modern language, and Old Norse, its ancient Germanic cousin.

Having made all these decisions regarding our preferences for scholarly usage of foreign languages, we found that personal names, both mythic and historical, continued to give us editorial trouble. We wished, wherever possible, to spell names according to the transliteration and romanization systems we had chosen, thus establishing a harmonious editorial consistency and, at the same time, restoring a certain linguistic and cultural integrity to names whose origins had, in Western scholarship, generally been englished or latinized or grecized beyond recognition. We wished, in short, to name Greeks in Greek, Chinese in Chinese, Arabs in Arabic, and so on.

To a certain degree we have been successful in our attempts to spell proper names "properly." Where our spellings differ markedly from those to which English readers may be accustomed, we have usually given traditional forms in parentheses: Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), Meng-tzu (Mencius), Óđinn (Odin), Zarathushtra (Zoroaster). For historical figures who habitually spoke or wrote more than one language, we have transliterated their names from the language of their major works. Appropriate spelling of the names of Jewish scholars—polyglots all, it seems—has involved some particularly fine decisions, but, faced with several choices, we have generally preferred to give them in Hebrew.

Common sense, of course, frequently overruled all our editorial principles. Many names are too firmly embedded in the English language to bear alteration to more scholarly forms. Consequently, we have used latinized forms of most ancient Greek names (e.g., *Athena, Plato,* and *Phidias,* not *Athēnē, Platon,* and *Pheidias*), and we have invariably used englished names of biblical figures (e.g., *Moses, Jeremiah,* and *Jesus,* not *Mosheh, Yirmiyahu,* and *Yeshuah*). Otherwise, we have used commonly latinized or grecized names (e.g., *Confucius, Maimonides*) followed by more accurate forms in parentheses. Widely known place-names are given in englished forms (e.g., *Tokyo, Vienna,* and *Rome,* not *Tōkyō, Wien,* and *Roma*); less well known places are named in the language of the locale.

Appropriate spelling of names and terms in foreign languages was thus among our major editorial concerns, but no less so, and perhaps more so, was appropriate use of English terms. In devising our plans for the contents of the encyclopedia, and especially in choosing the terms under which articles would be entered into the overall alphabetical order, we endeavored to be constantly attuned to the nuances of meaning, and to the limits of meaning, of the terms that we chose to employ. We have used English words, of course, as headings for many articles planned to present cross-cultural perspectives of broad topics. But in all instances where genuine doubts about the suitability of an entry term could legitimately be raised with respect to a particular religious tradition, we planned to present a separate discussion under the idiom employed by the tradition itself. In all articles on cross-cultural topics, we encouraged contributors to speculate on the usefulness of the entry term as an organizing principle in the study of religion. We often urged them, too, to venture beyond their customary range of specialization and to take the broadest possible view of their topics, thus developing rare hybrids of unusual texture and variegation.

The plants in our garden, then, are named by terms both English and non-English, and they are arranged in the order of the Latin alphabet, strictly letter by letter. Throughout the alphabetical order, articles are located under the terms that we hope will be first consulted by most readers, both specialists and nonspecialists. Entries under *alternative* spellings and synonyms give cross-references to the actual location of articles. In addition, an extensive system of cross-references within articles has been employed to direct the reader to discussions of related topics. As final aids to the reader, a synoptic outline of contents and a thorough topical index appear in volume 16, and it is there that curious researchers should turn for systematic references to the names, the terms, and the topics they seek.

Like mushrooms after rain, other issues of appropriate use of language sprang up all over our garden. Perhaps nowhere more than in religious studies are conventions of writing style so bewilderingly diverse and thus so challenging to editors intent on stylistic consistency. In establishing principles of capitalization, italicization, and other such minutiae of editorial style, we tried always to remain flexible, observing the scholarly shibboleths of various religious traditions and, wherever we could without generating confusion, accommodating contributors' preferences. We have striven for consistency, to be sure, but we have always let context be our guide, varying details of style to suit content wherever necessary. Our chief aim in all our decisions has been to make meaning clear.

By no means, however, did we abandon all standards of writing style and let chaos reign. Editing, like all creative acts, is a messy business, but, like gardening, it is also both an orderly process and a process of establishing order.

Order, engendering clarity, is a consummation we have devoutly wished. Through use of standard forms of names and parenthetical notations of alternate forms, we have tried to make sure that all persons and places mentioned are clearly identified. We have standardized year dates to those of the Gregorian calendar, generally cited in terms of the common era, but we have also given dates by other systems of chronology wherever context demanded them. We have kept abbreviations to a minimum, and we have listed those we have used in the front of each of our volumes. In devising bibliographies, we offered our contributors two standard formats, prose and list, and allowed them to choose the more appropriate to their articles. Regardless of format, our researchers have verified the accuracy of all bibliographic data, and we have taken pains to ensure that English-language editions are cited if they exist.

All these editorial concerns, among numerous others, have entered into the care of our garden. We are happy at last to see it in full flower, and we believe that it presents a splendid array of great variety, worth, and interest. We trust that Victor Turner would have been pleased.

Thanks due from the Macmillan staff to the many people who aided us in our gardening chores are expressed in a special section of acknowledgments in volume 16. I cannot close this introduction, however, without making a general acknowledgment of our gratitude to the contributors, whose ready cooperation greatly eased our efforts; to the consultants, who lent us the conceptual tools and technical devices that we needed; and to the board of editors, who shared our labors and became our friends. Most of all, we are grateful to have known and worked with Mircea Eliade, our editor in chief. In all his dealings with us, his generosity of spirit was boundless, his sweetness, kindness, and gentleness never failing. His genius is represented in these volumes, and through them it will live, in the words of Ben Jonson, as long as "we have wits to read, and praise to give."

CLAUDE CONYERS
New York, October 1986

LIST OF ARTICLES

Articles included in the Encyclopedia are listed below in alphabetic order. Contributors' names follow the article title; first-edition contributors are indicated by (1987) and second-edition contributors are noted as (2005). Articles updated or revised for the second edition have both dates listed. *Revised Bibliography* indicates that only the bibliography was updated for this edition.

A

AARON
Edward L. Greenstein (1987)

ABBAHU
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Revised Bibliography

ʿABD AL-JABBĀR
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ʿABD AL-RĀZIQ, ʿALĪ
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ĀDI GRANTH
Surindar Singh Kohli (1987)

ADLER, FELIX
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ADONIS
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ADRET, SHELOMOH BEN AVRAHAM
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Nanno Marinatos (2005)

AESTHETICS: PHILOSOPHICAL AESTHETICS
James Alfred Martin, Jr. (1987 and 2005)

AESTHETICS: VISUAL AESTHTICS
Rudolf Arnheim (1987)

AFFLICTION: AFRICAN CULTS OF AFFLICTION
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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED IN THIS WORK

abbr.	abbreviated; abbreviation
abr.	abridged; abridgment
AD	*anno Domini,* in the year of the (our) Lord
Afrik.	Afrikaans
AH	*anno Hegirae,* in the year of the Hijrah
Akk.	Akkadian
Ala.	Alabama
Alb.	Albanian
Am.	*Amos*
AM	*ante meridiem,* before noon
amend.	amended; amendment
annot.	annotated; annotation
Ap.	*Apocalypse*
Apn.	*Apocryphon*
app.	appendix
Arab.	Arabic
ʿArakh.	*ʿArakhin*
Aram.	Aramaic
Ariz.	Arizona
Ark.	Arkansas
Arm.	Armenian
art.	article (pl., arts.)
AS	Anglo-Saxon
Asm. Mos.	*Assumption of Moses*
Assyr.	Assyrian
A.S.S.R.	Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
Av.	Avestan
ʿA.Z.	*ʿAvodah zarah*
b.	born
Bab.	Babylonian
Ban.	Bantu
1 Bar.	*1 Baruch*
2 Bar.	*2 Baruch*
3 Bar.	*3 Baruch*
4 Bar.	*4 Baruch*
B.B.	*Bavaʾ batraʾ*
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BC	before Christ
BCE	before the common era
B.D.	Bachelor of Divinity
Beits.	*Beitsah*
Bekh.	*Bekhorot*
Beng.	Bengali
Ber.	*Berakhot*
Berb.	Berber
Bik.	*Bikkurim*
bk.	book (pl., bks.)
B.M.	*Bavaʾ metsiʿaʾ*
BP	before the present
B.Q.	*Bavaʾ qammaʾ*
Brāh.	*Brāhmaṇa*
Bret.	Breton
B.T.	Babylonian Talmud
Bulg.	Bulgarian
Burm.	Burmese
c.	*circa,* about, approximately
Calif.	California
Can.	Canaanite
Catal.	Catalan
CE	of the common era
Celt.	Celtic
cf.	*confer,* compare
Chald.	Chaldean
chap.	chapter (pl., chaps.)
Chin.	Chinese
C.H.M.	Community of the Holy Myrrhbearers
1 Chr.	*1 Chronicles*
2 Chr.	*2 Chronicles*
Ch. Slav.	Church Slavic
cm	centimeters
col.	column (pl., cols.)
Col.	*Colossians*
Colo.	Colorado
comp.	compiler (pl., comps.)
Conn.	Connecticut
cont.	continued
Copt.	Coptic
1 Cor.	*1 Corinthians*
2 Cor.	*2 Corinthians*
corr.	corrected
C.S.P.	Congregatio Sancti Pauli, Congregation of Saint Paul (Paulists)
d.	died
D	Deuteronomic (source of the Pentateuch)
Dan.	Danish
D.B.	Divinitatis Baccalaureus, Bachelor of Divinity
D.C.	District of Columbia
D.D.	Divinitatis Doctor, Doctor of Divinity
Del.	Delaware
Dem.	*Demaʾi*
dim.	diminutive
diss.	dissertation
Dn.	*Daniel*
D.Phil.	Doctor of Philosophy
Dt.	*Deuteronomy*
Du.	Dutch
E	Elohist (source of the Pentateuch)
Eccl.	*Ecclesiastes*
ed.	editor (pl., eds.); edition; edited by

ʿEduy. *ʿEduyyot*
e.g. *exempli gratia,* for example
Egyp. Egyptian
1 En. *1 Enoch*
2 En. *2 Enoch*
3 En. *3 Enoch*
Eng. English
enl. enlarged
Eph. *Ephesians*
ʿEruv. *ʿEruvin*
1 Esd. *1 Esdras*
2 Esd. *2 Esdras*
3 Esd. *3 Esdras*
4 Esd. *4 Esdras*
esp. especially
Est. Estonian
Est. *Esther*
et al. *et alii,* and others
etc. *et cetera,* and so forth
Eth. Ethiopic
EV English version
Ex. *Exodus*
exp. expanded
Ez. *Ezekiel*
Ezr. *Ezra*
2 Ezr. *2 Ezra*
4 Ezr. *4 Ezra*
f. feminine; and following (pl., ff.)
fasc. fascicle (pl., fascs.)
fig. figure (pl., figs.)
Finn. Finnish
fl. *floruit,* flourished
Fla. Florida
Fr. French
frag. fragment
ft. feet
Ga. Georgia
Gal. *Galatians*
Gaul. Gaulish
Ger. German
Giṭ. *Giṭṭin*
Gn. *Genesis*
Gr. Greek
Ḥag. *Ḥagigah*
Ḥal. *Ḥallah*
Hau. Hausa
Hb. *Habakkuk*
Heb. Hebrew
Heb. *Hebrews*
Hg. *Haggai*
Hitt. Hittite
Hor. *Horayot*
Hos. *Hosea*
Ḥul. *Ḥullin*
Hung. Hungarian
ibid. *ibidem,* in the same place (as the one immediately preceding)
Icel. Icelandic
i.e. *id est,* that is
IE Indo-European
Ill. Illinois
Ind. Indiana
intro. introduction
Ir. Gael. Irish Gaelic
Iran. Iranian
Is. *Isaiah*
Ital. Italian
J Yahvist (source of the Pentateuch)
Jas. *James*
Jav. Javanese
Jb. *Job*
Jdt. *Judith*
Jer. *Jeremiah*
Jgs. *Judges*
Jl. *Joel*
Jn. *John*
1 Jn. *1 John*
2 Jn. *2 John*
3 Jn. *3 John*
Jon. *Jonah*
Jos. *Joshua*
Jpn. Japanese
JPS Jewish Publication Society translation (1985) of the Hebrew Bible
J.T. Jerusalem Talmud
Jub. *Jubilees*
Kans. Kansas
Kel. *Kelim*
Ker. *Keritot*
Ket. *Ketubbot*
1 Kgs. *1 Kings*
2 Kgs. *2 Kings*
Khois. Khoisan
Kil. *Kilʾayim*
km kilometers
Kor. Korean
Ky. Kentucky
l. line (pl., ll.)
La. Louisiana
Lam. *Lamentations*
Lat. Latin
Latv. Latvian
L. en Th. Licencié en Théologie, Licentiate in Theology
L. ès L. Licencié ès Lettres, Licentiate in Literature
Let. Jer. *Letter of Jeremiah*
lit. literally
Lith. Lithuanian
Lk. *Luke*
LL Late Latin
LL.D. Legum Doctor, Doctor of Laws
Lv. *Leviticus*
m meters
m. masculine
M.A. Master of Arts
Ma ʿas. *Maʿaserot*
Ma ʿas. Sh. *Maʿ aser sheni*
Mak. *Makkot*
Makh. *Makhshirin*
Mal. *Malachi*
Mar. Marathi
Mass. Massachusetts
1 Mc. *1 Maccabees*
2 Mc. *2 Maccabees*
3 Mc. *3 Maccabees*
4 Mc. *4 Maccabees*
Md. Maryland
M.D. Medicinae Doctor, Doctor of Medicine
ME Middle English
Meg. *Megillah*
Me ʿil. *Meʿilah*
Men. *Menaḥot*
MHG Middle High German
mi. miles
Mi. *Micah*
Mich. Michigan
Mid. *Middot*
Minn. Minnesota
Miq. *Miqvaʾot*
MIran. Middle Iranian
Miss. Mississippi
Mk. *Mark*
Mo. Missouri
Moʿed Q. *Moʿed qaṭan*
Mont. Montana
MPers. Middle Persian
MS. *manuscriptum,* manuscript (pl., MSS)
Mt. *Matthew*
MT Masoretic text
n. note
Na. *Nahum*
Nah. Nahuatl
Naz. *Nazir*
N.B. *nota bene,* take careful note
N.C. North Carolina
n.d. no date
N.Dak. North Dakota
NEB New English Bible
Nebr. Nebraska

Ned. *Nedarim*
Neg. *Nega‘im*
Neh. *Nehemiah*
Nev. Nevada
N.H. New Hampshire
Nid. *Niddah*
N.J. New Jersey
Nm. *Numbers*
N.Mex. New Mexico
no. number (pl., nos.)
Nor. Norwegian
n.p. no place
n.s. new series
N.Y. New York
Ob. *Obadiah*
O.Cist. Ordo Cisterciencium, Order of Cîteaux (Cistercians)
OCS Old Church Slavonic
OE Old English
O.F.M. Ordo Fratrum Minorum, Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)
OFr. Old French
Ohal. *Ohalot*
OHG Old High German
OIr. Old Irish
OIran. Old Iranian
Okla. Oklahoma
ON Old Norse
O.P. Ordo Praedicatorum, Order of Preachers (Dominicans)
OPers. Old Persian
op. cit. *opere citato,* in the work cited
OPrus. Old Prussian
Oreg. Oregon
‘Orl. *‘Orlah*
O.S.B. Ordo Sancti Benedicti, Order of Saint Benedict (Benedictines)
p. page (pl., pp.)
P Priestly (source of the Pentateuch)
Pa. Pennsylvania
Pahl. Pahlavi
Par. *Parah*
para. paragraph (pl., paras.)
Pers. Persian
Pes. *Pesahim*
Ph.D. Philosophiae Doctor, Doctor of Philosophy
Phil. *Philippians*
Phlm. *Philemon*
Phoen. Phoenician
pl. plural; plate (pl., pls.)
PM *post meridiem,* after noon
Pol. Polish
pop. population
Port. Portuguese
Prv. *Proverbs*
Ps. *Psalms*
Ps. 151 *Psalm 151*
Ps. Sol. *Psalms of Solomon*
pt. part (pl., pts.)
1Pt. *1 Peter*
2 Pt. *2 Peter*
Pth. Parthian
Q hypothetical source of the synoptic Gospels
Qid. *Qiddushin*
Qin. *Qinnim*
r. reigned; ruled
Rab. *Rabbah*
rev. revised
R. ha-Sh. *Roʾsh ha-shanah*
R.I. Rhode Island
Rom. Romanian
Rom. *Romans*
R.S.C.J. Societas Sacratissimi Cordis Jesu, Religious of the Sacred Heart
RSV Revised Standard Version of the Bible
Ru. *Ruth*
Rus. Russian
Rv. *Revelation*
Rv. Ezr. *Revelation of Ezra*
San. *Sanhedrin*
S.C. South Carolina
Scot. Gael. Scottish Gaelic
S.Dak. South Dakota
sec. section (pl., secs.)
Sem. Semitic
ser. series
sg. singular
Sg. *Song of Songs*
Sg. of 3 *Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men*
Shab. *Shabbat*
Shav. *Shavu‘ot*
Sheq. *Sheqalim*
Sib. Or. *Sibylline Oracles*
Sind. Sindhi
Sinh. Sinhala
Sir. *Ben Sira*
S.J. Societas Jesu, Society of Jesus (Jesuits)
Skt. Sanskrit
1 Sm. *1 Samuel*
2 Sm. *2 Samuel*
Sogd. Sogdian
Soṭ. *Soṭah*
sp. species (pl., spp.)
Span. Spanish
sq. square
S.S.R. Soviet Socialist Republic
st. stanza (pl., ss.)
S.T.M. Sacrae Theologiae Magister, Master of Sacred Theology
Suk. *Sukkah*
Sum. Sumerian
supp. supplement; supplementary
Sus. *Susanna*
s.v. *sub verbo,* under the word (pl., s.v.v.)
Swed. Swedish
Syr. Syriac
Syr. Men. *Syriac Menander*
Ta‘ an. *Ta‘anit*
Tam. Tamil
Tam. *Tamid*
Tb. *Tobit*
T.D. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō,* edited by Takakusu Junjirō et al. (Tokyo,1922–1934)
Tem. *Temurah*
Tenn. Tennessee
Ter. Terumot
Ṭev. Y. *Ṭevul yom*
Tex. Texas
Th.D. Theologicae Doctor, Doctor of Theology
1 Thes. *1 Thessalonians*
2 Thes. *2 Thessalonians*
Thrac. Thracian
Ti. *Titus*
Tib. Tibetan
1 Tm. *1 Timothy*
2 Tm. *2 Timothy*
T. of 12 *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*
Ṭoh. *ṭohorot*
Tong. Tongan
trans. translator, translators; translated by; translation
Turk. Turkish
Ukr. Ukrainian
Upan. *Upaniṣad*
U.S. United States
U.S.S.R. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Uqts. *Uqtsin*
v. verse (pl., vv.)
Va. Virginia
var. variant; variation
Viet. Vietnamese

viz. *videlicet,* namely
vol. volume (pl., vols.)
Vt. Vermont
Wash. Washington
Wel. Welsh
Wis. Wisconsin
Wis. *Wisdom of Solomon*
W.Va. West Virginia
Wyo. Wyoming
Yad. *Yadayim*
Yev. *Yevamot*
Yi. Yiddish
Yor. Yoruba
Zav. *Zavim*
Zec. *Zechariah*
Zep. *Zephaniah*
Zev. *Zevaḥim*
* hypothetical
? uncertain; possibly; perhaps
° degrees
+ plus
– minus
= equals; is equivalent to
× by; multiplied by
→ yields

SACRED TIME

Time takes many different forms, and one of the primary tasks of visual culture in religious life is to articulate and maintain particular forms of time. Tracing the descent of one's people, customs, or teachers is common. The portrait of a Tibetan lama or teacher shown here **(a)** is surrounded by a long lineage of Indian and Tibetan *gurūs*. These figures include in the center, perched above the large figure, the historical Buddha himself, the source of knowledge and spiritual authority that extends through the generations of Buddhist sages to the large figure who now assumes the pose of a buddha. The royal court of the Luba people of southeastern Democratic Republic of the Congo relies on *lukasa*, or the memory board **(b)**, to remember the stories of heroes, clan migrations, king lists, and genealogies. This item is used on ritual occasions, often to install new rulers, inscribing them into the narrative of the court and people, as well as the cosmos. By making them part of the sacred time that envelopes a people and universe, the *lukasa* and its interpreters ensure the legitimacy of the king and consecrate his reign.

Other groups rely on ritual observations to secure the collective memory of their people. Jews annually celebrate the

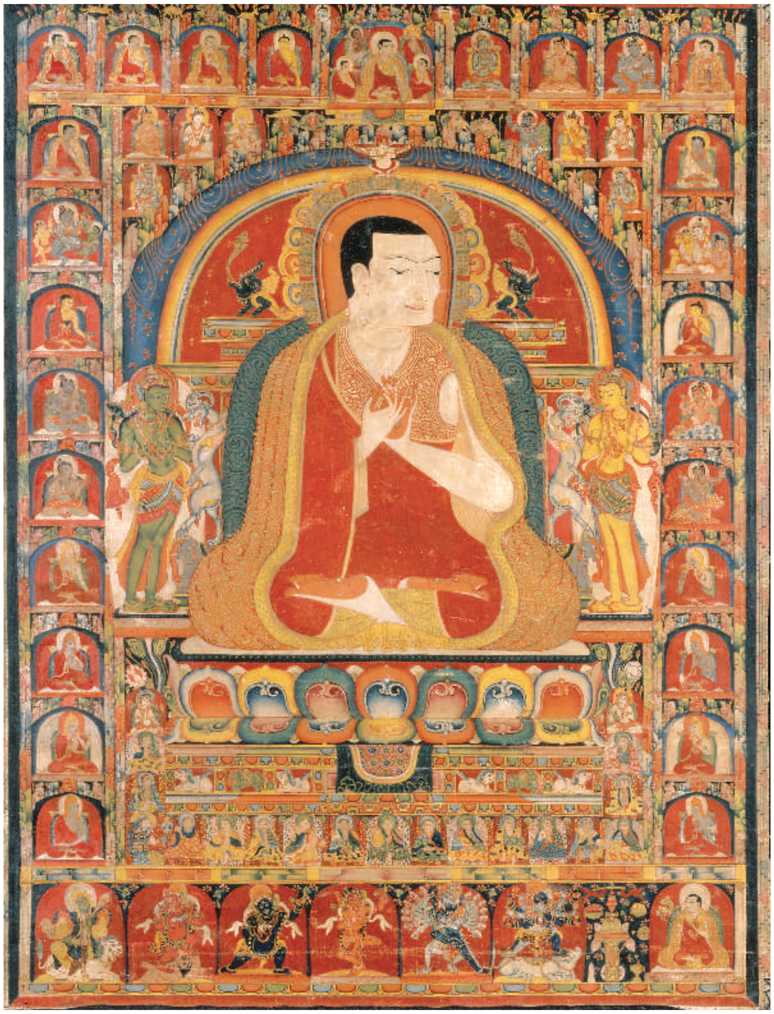

(a) Tibeten *thang ka* depicting Stag lung pa (Taglung Thangpa) and arhats, c. 1300 CE, distemper on canvas. *[©Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.]*

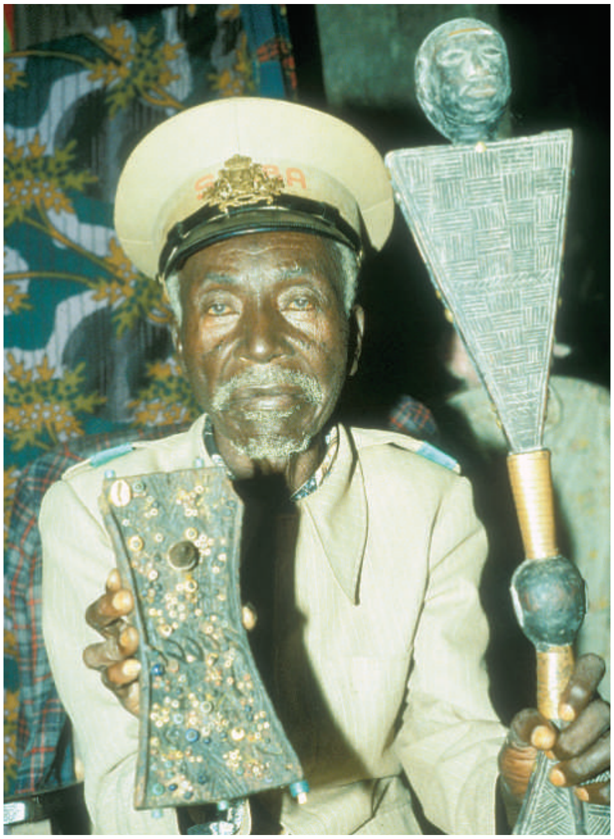

Passover with a ceremonial meal or Seder **(c)**, using the occasion to retell the sacred story of Israel's deliverance from bondage, as in the case of the rabbi shown here, who ritually poses historical and theological questions to a boy. Jews who came to the United States in the early twentieth century often purchased postcards, such as the one shown here **(d)**, in order to demonstrate visually the preservation of their rites to those who had remained in Eastern Europe. This visual mediation of the ritual keeping of the liturgical calendar or sacred time (the rite of Tashlikh, a prayer service held on the first day of Ro'sh

(b) **LEFT.** Luba chief with a memory board (*lukasa*) and staff, 1989, Democratic Republic of the Congo. ***[Photograph by Mary N. Roberts and Allen F. Roberts]*** **(c)** **BOTTOM.** A rabbi poses historical and theological questions to a Jewish boy during the Seder. ***[©Roger Ressmeyer/Corbis]***

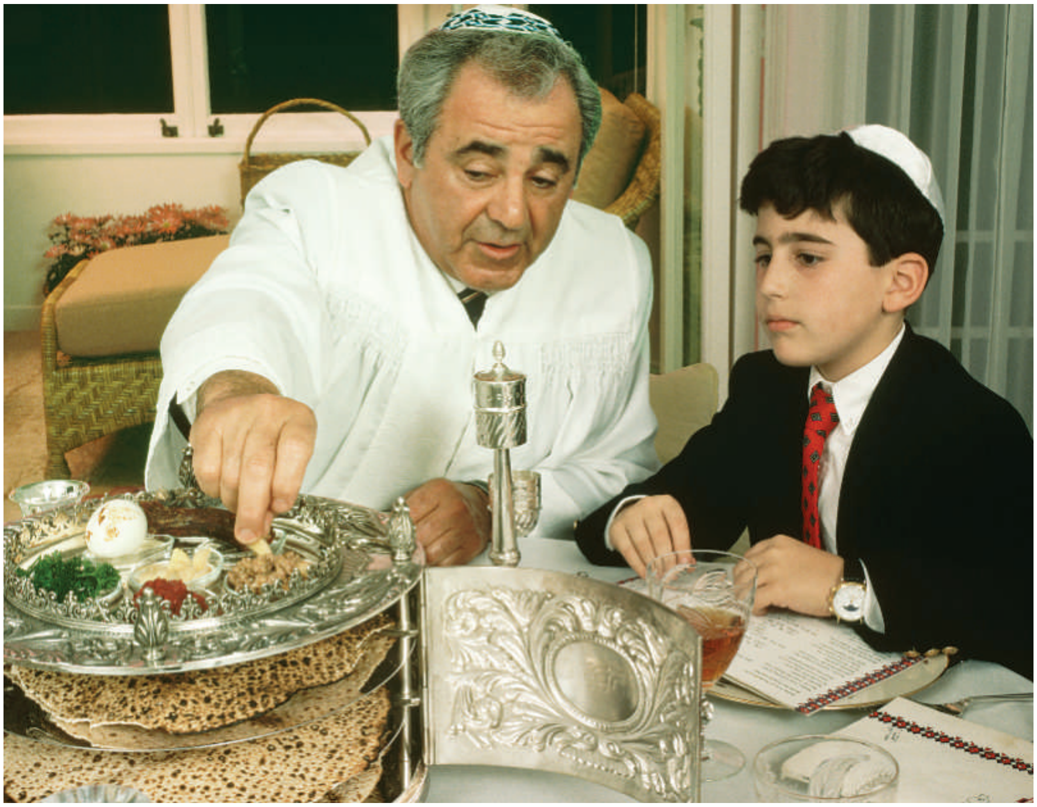

ha-Shanah) established a link that persisted in spite of distance. Other immigrants to the United States, Swedish Lutherans, invented certificates for display in the home **(e)** to commemorate such important events as marriage or confirmation in the faith. Memory is especially important for immigrants or displaced populations as a way of maintaining identity in spite of significant, even violent, change.

Another kind of reminder is the *memento mori*, or a reminder of human mortality, which may be older even

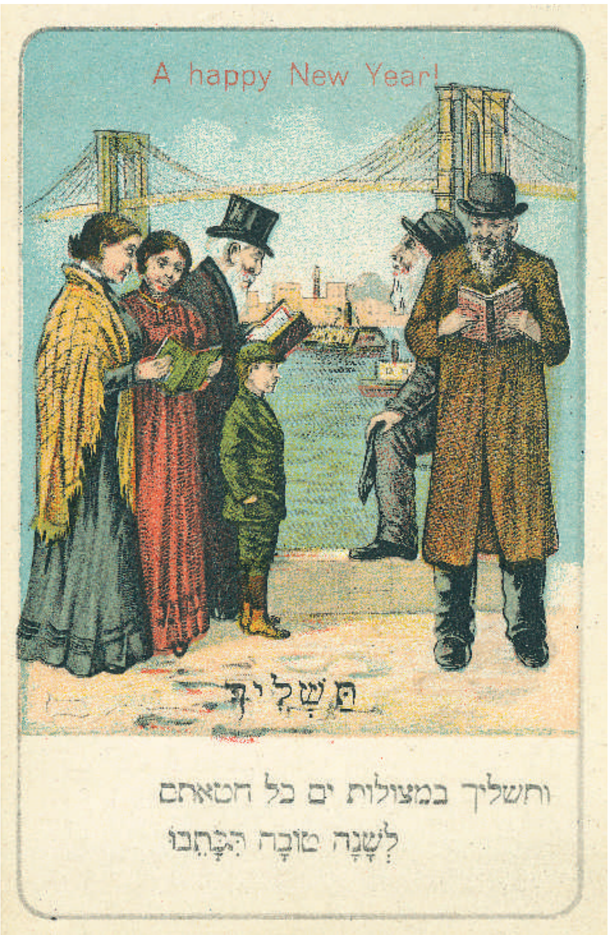
A happy New Year!
תַּשְׁלִיךְ
ותשליך במצולות ים כל חטאתם
לְשָׁנָה טוֹבָה תִּכָּתֵבוּ

(d) RIGHT. A postcard depicting a Jewish Tashlikh service near the Brooklyn Bridge in New York, c. 1915. *[©Snark/Art Resource, N.Y.]* **(e) BOTTOM.** Swedish-American Lutheran confirmation certificate, designed by John Gast, 1902. *[Photo by Michel Raguin/Courtesy of Virginia Raguin]*

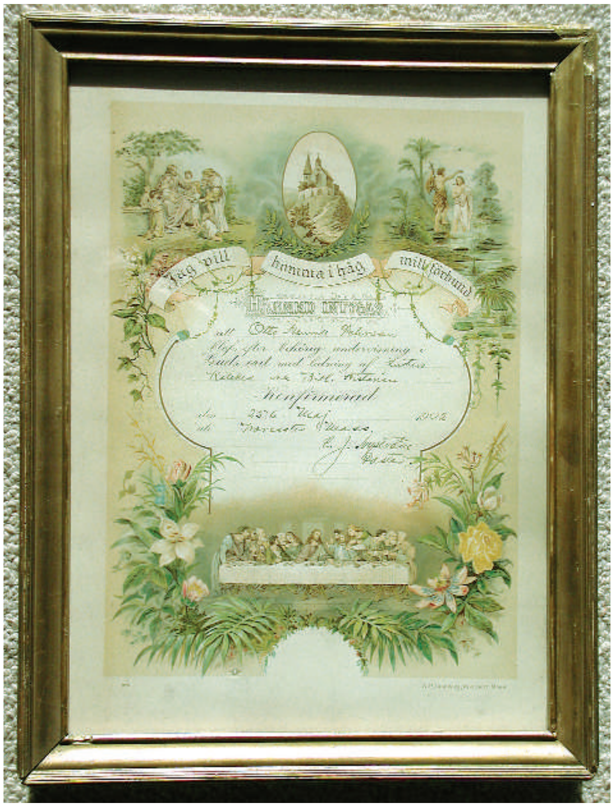
Jag vill komma i håg mitt förbund
Konfirmerad

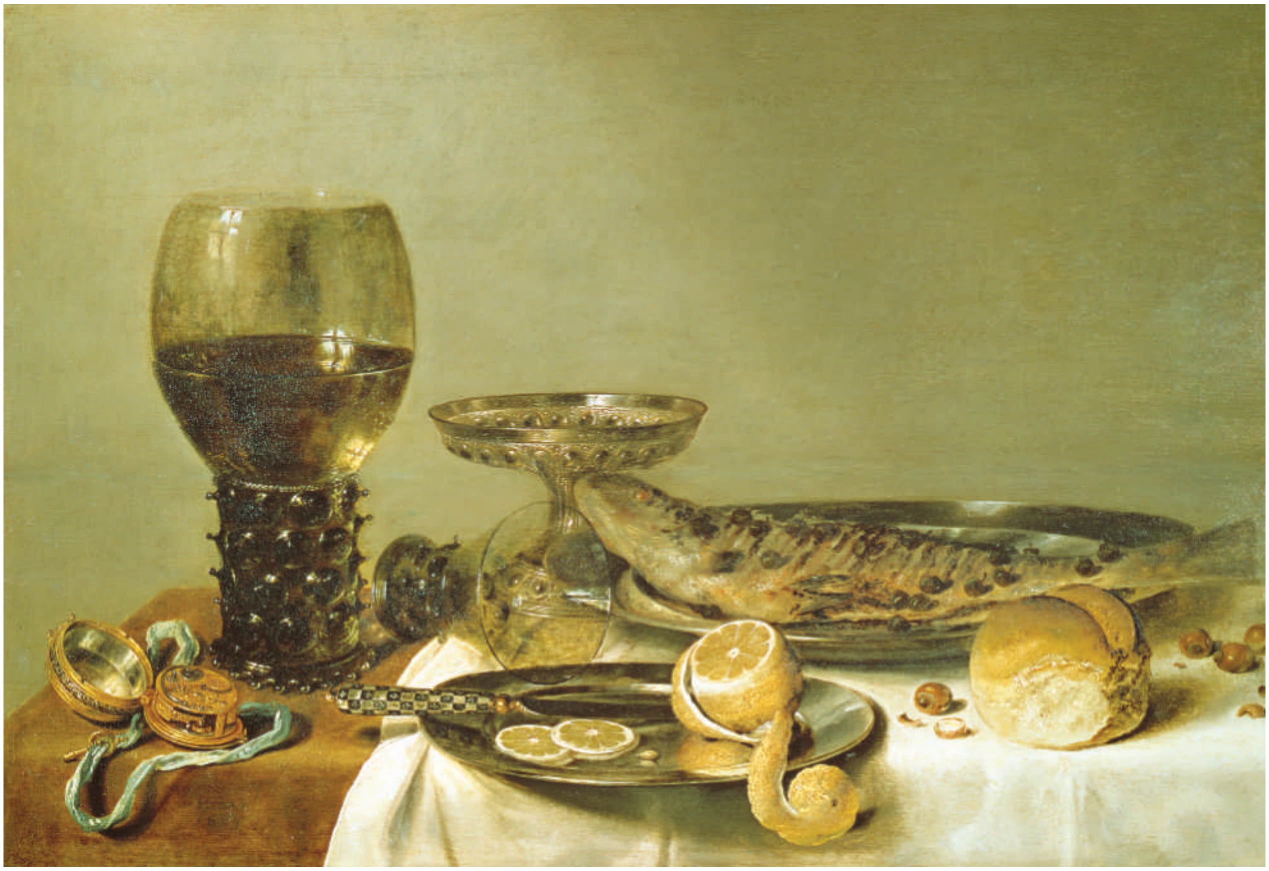

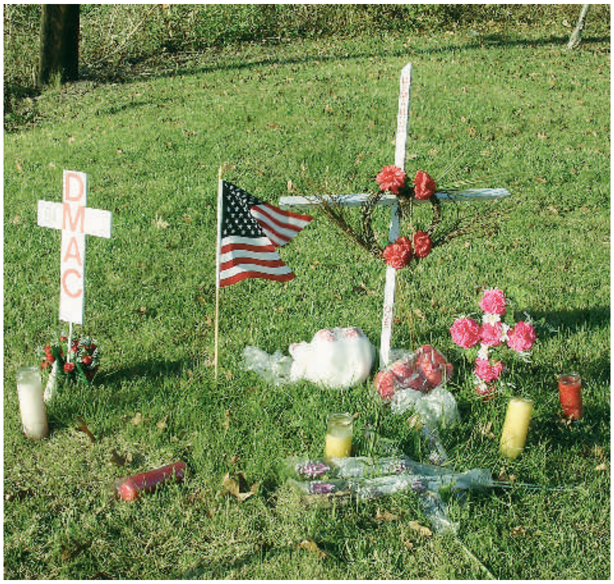

than Christianity, but was used by Christians from the Middle Ages to the modern age, as in the Dutch painting by Willem Claesz Heda **(f)**. The artist embeds in this modest still life a number of reminders of the mortal nature of human existence. The open pocket watch recalls the passing moments of life, the need for vigilance, and a dutiful attending to what is needful. The momentary freshness of the food and its frugal presentation signals the urgency and propriety of a mindful, ordered life. Remembering the transience of human existence and the caution to live in light of the inevitable end is often a message conveyed by those who construct roadside shrines like the one reproduced here **(g)**. These mark the site where

(f) Top. Willem Claesz Heda, *Breakfast Still Life*, 1629, oil on canvas. *[©Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.]* **(g) Left.** A roadside shrine for a man who was killed in an automobile accident on Highway 20 in northwest Indiana. *[Photograph by David Morgan]*

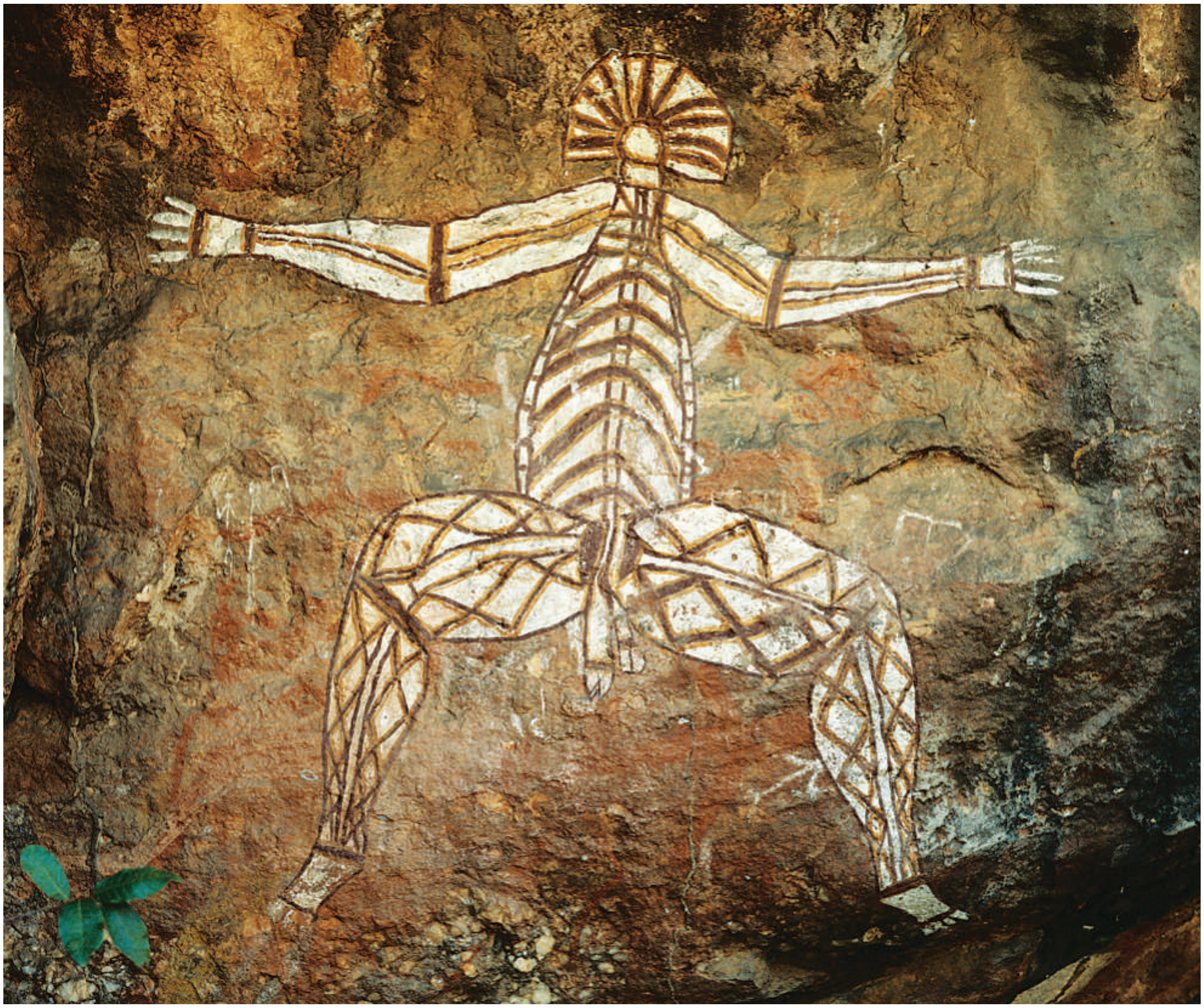

a loved one or friend died, but also warn passersby to be careful and reflective.

Images may also evoke the experience of a primordial time, one before, or outside of, or encompassing the present world. Australian Aboriginals refer to this time as *dreamtime*, which is the ancestral past and primordial age when the physical world was created as it now appears. The two most common forms of imagery associated with the portrayal of dreamtime are rock paintings and engravings, and bark painting. The rock painting **(h)** from the Australia Northern Territory shows a splayed, transparent

(h) Aboriginal rock painting of a Wanjana figure, from Nourlangie, Kakadu National Park, Northern Territory, Australia. *[©Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis]*

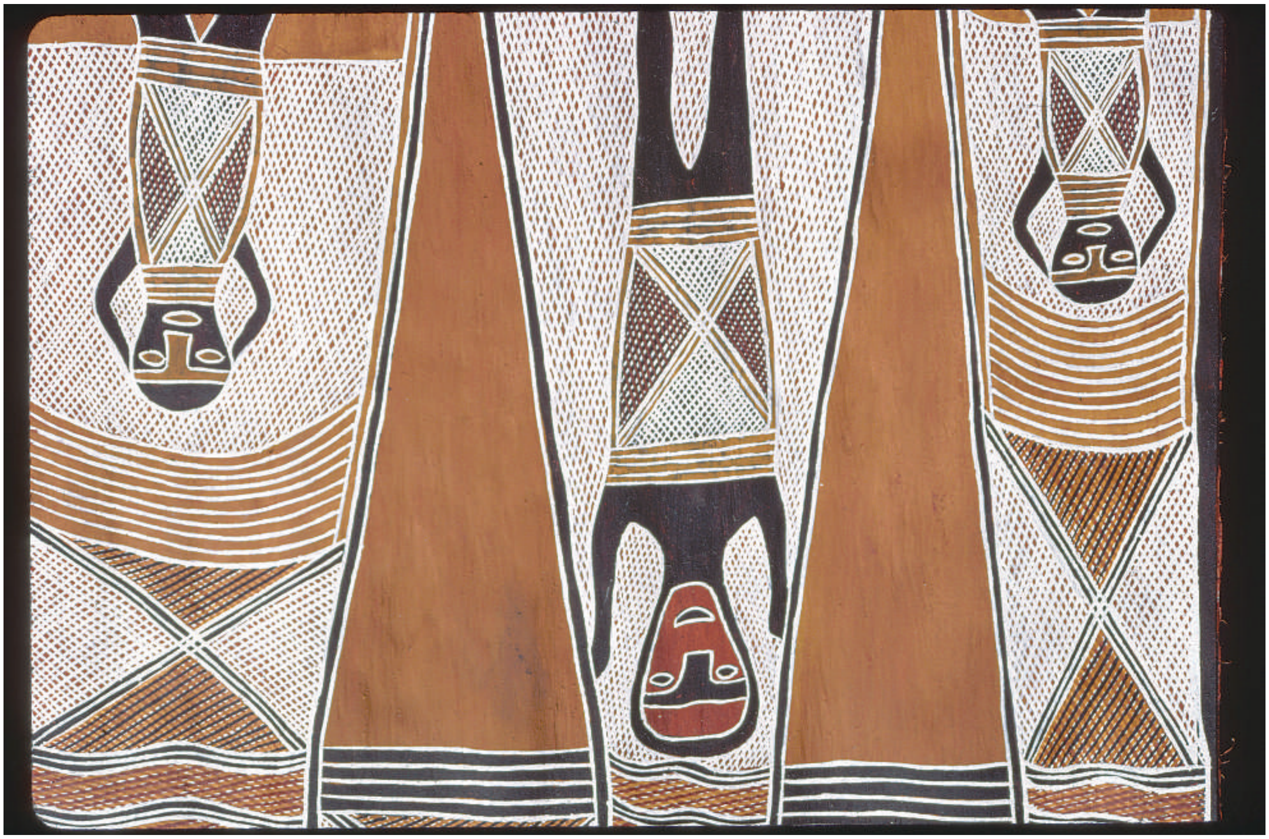

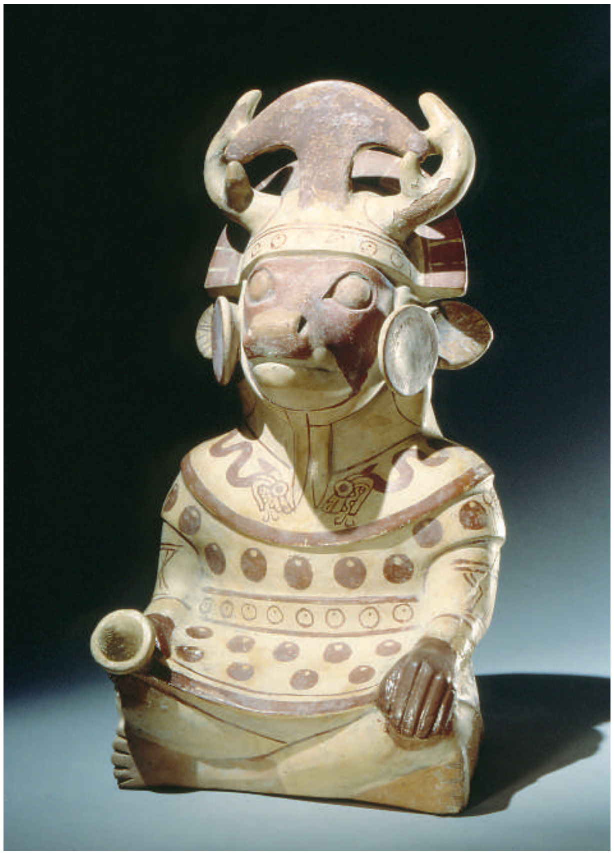

male figure that displays its skeletal structure and prominent sexual organs in what is called x-ray style. The bark painting **(i)**, also from northern Australia, features dreamtime figures. Originally created on the portions of bark used as covering for shelters during the rainy season, bark paintings are now made by Aboriginals as fine art. Other cultures visualize the link between present time and the transcendent by capturing the shaman's transformation into totemic animals, such as in the Mochican earthenware figure from the northern coast of Peru, a deer-headed anthromorph that may represent a shaman undergoing metamorphosis **(j)**.

(i) **TOP.** Australian Aboriginal dreamtime figures painted on bark. *[©Penny Tweedie/Corbis]* **(j)** **LEFT.** Mochican earthenware figure from Peru depicting a deer-headed anthromorph that may represent a shaman undergoing metamorphosis. *[©Werner Forman/Art Resource, N.Y.]*

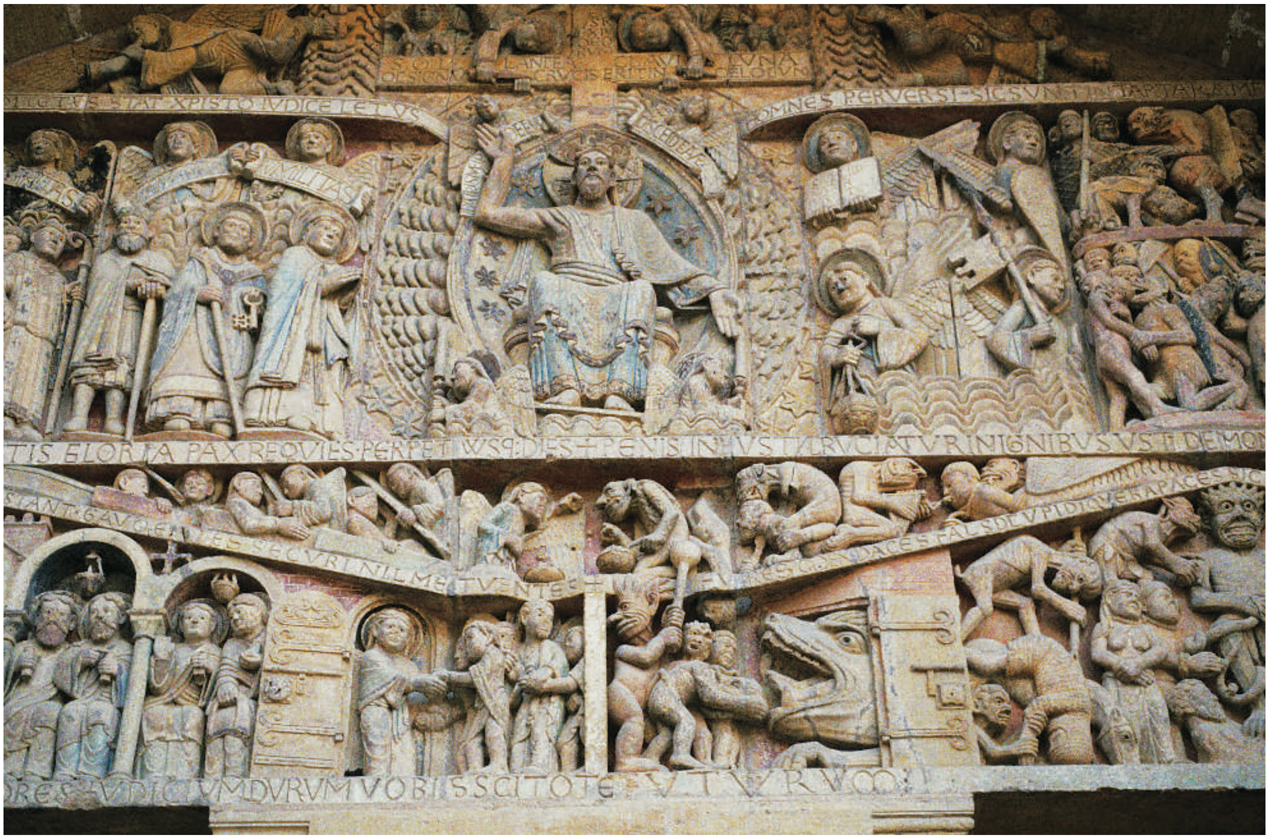

In Christian, Jewish, and Muslim religious traditions images have often visualized the future arrival of an apocalyptic figure who brings with him the end of the world. Rather than looking back to primordial moments, these images anticipate the end, as in the carving of the Last Judgment **(k)** from a twelfth-century church in France, in which the enthroned figure of Christ oversees the blessing of those chosen to enter heaven and the damnation of those (seen below) who enter the realm of eternal suffering and doom. For Shīʿī Muslims, images of a mounted Shīʿī rider portray the "hidden *imām*" or the *mahdī* (the well guided), a ninth-century leader of the

(k) Twelfth-century carving of the Last Judgement adorning a tympanum above the western portal of the Church of Saint Foy in Conques, France. *[©Vanni Archive/Corbis]*

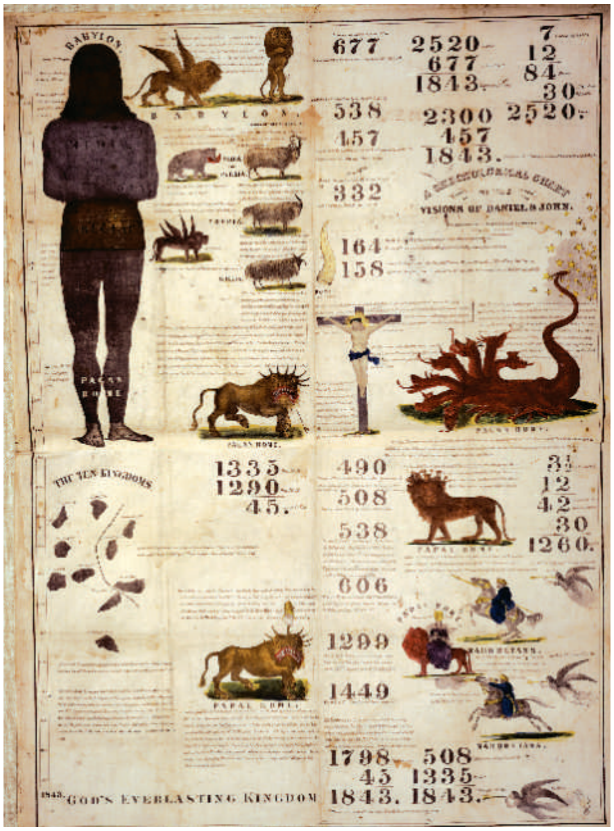
BABYLON
677
2520
677
1843
7
12
84
30
2520
538
457
2300
457
1843
332
A CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF THE VISIONS OF DANIEL & JOHN
164
158
PAGAN ROME
THE TEN KINGDOMS
1335
1290
45
490
508
538
3½
12
42
30
1260
PAPAL ROME
606
1299
1449
1798
45
1843
508
1335
1843
1843. GOD'S EVERLASTING KINGDOM

Imamite Shīʿah, Abul Qaim Muḥammad, who vanished in the tenth century and will return at the end of time to usher in justice. Such mass-produced images have a modern, Christian counterpart in two printed items from the United States (**l** and **m**), which offer a meticulous diagramming of time from biblical prophecies as millennialist Christians interpreted them in the Hebrew Bible to the second coming of Christ.

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DAVID MORGAN (2005)

(l) LEFT. *A Chronological Chart of the Visions of Daniel and John*, 1482, hand-tinted lithograph on cloth after an original design by Charles Fitch and Apollos Hale. *[Courtesy of James R. Nix]* **(m)** BELOW. Clarence Larkin, Dispensationalist diagram titled *The Mountain Peaks of Prophecy*, 1920. *[Used with permission of the Rev. Clarence Larkin Estate, P. O. Box 334, Glenside, Pa. 19038, U.S.A.; 215-576-5590.]*

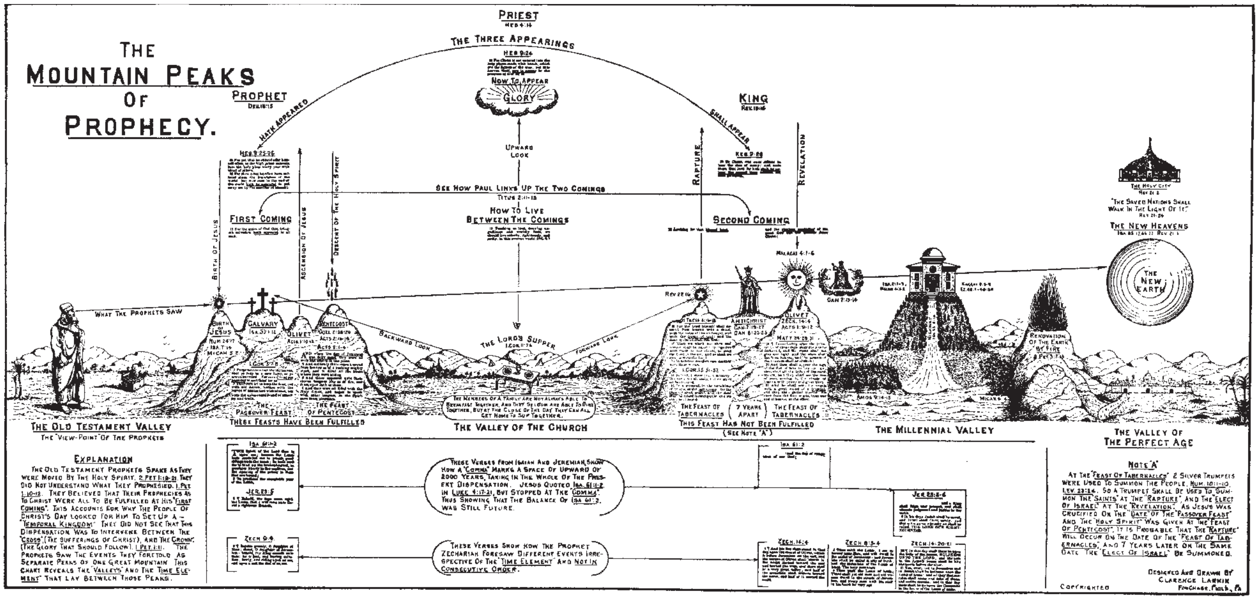
THE MOUNTAIN PEAKS OF PROPHECY.
PRIEST
THE THREE APPEARINGS
PROPHET
KING
HATH APPEARED
SHALL APPEAR
HOW TO APPEAR
GLORY
UPWARD LOOK
SEE HOW PAUL LINKS UP THE TWO COMINGS
TITUS 2:11-13
HOW TO LIVE BETWEEN THE COMINGS
FIRST COMING
SECOND COMING
RAPTURE
REVELATION
BIRTH OF JESUS
ASCENSION OF JESUS
DESCENT OF THE HOLY SPIRIT
WHAT THE PROPHETS SAW
CALVARY
OLIVET
PENTECOST
BACKWARD LOOK
THE LORD'S SUPPER
FORWARD LOOK
ANTICHRIST
THE HOLY CITY
THE NEW HEAVENS
THE NEW EARTH
THE OLD TESTAMENT VALLEY
THE "VIEW-POINT" OF THE PROPHETS
THE PASSOVER FEAST
THE FEAST OF PENTECOST
THESE FEASTS HAVE BEEN FULFILLED
THE VALLEY OF THE CHURCH
THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES
7 YEARS APART
THIS FEAST HAS NOT BEEN FULFILLED (SEE NOTE "A")
THE MILLENNIAL VALLEY
THE VALLEY OF THE PERFECT AGE
ISA. 61:1-2
JER. 23:5
ZECH. 9:9
ZECH. 14:4
COPYRIGHTED

THE MEMBERS OF A FAMILY ARE NOT ALWAYS ABLE TO BREAKFAST TOGETHER, AND THEY SELDOM ARE ABLE TO DINE TOGETHER, BUT AT THE CLOSE OF THE DAY THEY CAN ALL GET HOME TO SUP TOGETHER.

EXPLANATION

THE OLD TESTAMENT PROPHETS SPAKE AS THEY WERE MOVED BY THE HOLY SPIRIT. 2 PET. 1:19-21. THEY DID NOT UNDERSTAND WHAT THEY PROPHESIED. 1 PET. 1:10-12. THEY BELIEVED THAT THEIR PROPHECIES AS TO CHRIST WERE ALL TO BE FULFILLED AT HIS "FIRST COMING". THIS ACCOUNTS FOR WHY THE PEOPLE OF CHRIST'S DAY LOOKED FOR HIM TO SET UP A "TEMPORAL KINGDOM." THEY DID NOT SEE THAT THIS DISPENSATION WAS TO INTERVENE BETWEEN THE "CROSS" (THE SUFFERINGS OF CHRIST), AND THE "CROWN" (THE GLORY THAT SHOULD FOLLOW). 1 PET. 1:11. THE PROPHETS SAW THE EVENTS THEY FORETOLD AS SEPARATE PEAKS OF ONE GREAT MOUNTAIN. THIS CHART REVEALS THE "VALLEYS" AND THE "TIME ELEMENT" THAT LAY BETWEEN THOSE PEAKS.

THESE VERSES FROM ISAIAH AND JEREMIAH SHOW HOW A "COMMA" MARKS A SPACE OF UPWARD OF 2000 YEARS, TAKING IN THE WHOLE OF THE PRESENT DISPENSATION. JESUS QUOTED ISA. 61:1-2, IN LUKE 4:17-21, BUT STOPPED AT THE "COMMA", THUS SHOWING THAT THE BALANCE OF ISA. 61:2, WAS STILL FUTURE.

THESE VERSES SHOW HOW THE PROPHET ZECHARIAH FORESAW DIFFERENT EVENTS IRRESPECTIVE OF THE "TIME ELEMENT" AND NOT IN CONSECUTIVE ORDER.

NOTE "A"

AT THE "FEAST OF TABERNACLES" 2 SILVER TRUMPETS WERE USED TO SUMMON THE PEOPLE. NUM. 10:1-10, LEV. 23:24. SO A TRUMPET SHALL BE USED TO SUMMON THE "SAINTS" AT THE "RAPTURE", AND THE "ELECT OF ISRAEL" AT THE "REVELATION". AS JESUS WAS CRUCIFIED ON THE "DATE" OF THE "PASSOVER FEAST" AND THE "HOLY SPIRIT" WAS GIVEN AT THE "FEAST OF PENTECOST", IT IS PROBABLE THAT THE "RAPTURE" WILL OCCUR ON THE DATE OF THE "FEAST OF TABERNACLES", AND 7 YEARS LATER ON THE SAME DATE THE "ELECT OF ISRAEL" BE SUMMONED.

DESIGNED AND DRAWN BY
CLARENCE LARKIN
FOX CHASE, PHILA., PA

A

AARON, or, in Hebrew, Aharon; Israelite leader and priest who flourished, according to tradition, in the thirteenth century BCE. In its redacted form, the Pentateuch provides a fairly complete biography of Aaron, the first priest in the biblical tradition. Born to Amram and Jochebed of the Levite tribe when the Israelites were slaves in Egypt, he was the elder brother by three years of the great prophet-leader Moses, and he assisted Moses in liberating the Israelites and leading them through the Sinai wilderness to the Promised Land of Israel. Israel's God, YHVH, instructed Moses to appoint Aaron and his sons as the exclusive priests of the people, and Aaron ministered in the capacity of chief priest until he died, in the last year of the journey.

Most Bible scholars, however, regard this unified picture of the life and role of Aaron as a relatively late invention of the so-called Priestly school (the P source). Biblical traditions concerning Aaron present diverse views. In addition to the Priestly representation, in which the functions of Aaron and his sons establish precedents for the official priests of all succeeding generations (see, for example, *Exodus* 30:10, 40:15, and *Leviticus* 6:11), Aaron is remembered as a military-political leader who acts as a lieutenant of Moses in the Israelites' battle against the Amalekites (*Ex.* 17:12) and who serves as a magistrate in Moses' absence (*Ex.* 24:14). Aaron is cited as a leader of the Exodus in *Micah* 6:4 and in *Psalms* 77:21.

Aaron also fulfills an apparently prophetic role. He serves as Moses' spokesman to the Israelites and to the pharaoh of Egypt, performing magical feats by the power of YHVH. In *Numbers* 12, Aaron and his sister Miriam challenge Moses' unique prophetic status, claiming revelation for themselves as well, but YHVH rebukes them.

Two Pentateuchal narratives revolve around the legitimacy of Aaron's priesthood. In *Numbers* 17:16ff. Moses vindicates Aaron: he inscribes the names of the tribes on twelve poles, but only the pole of the Levite tribe, bearing Aaron's name, sprouts blossoms. In *Exodus* 32 Aaron succumbs to the people's plea to construct a physical image of God and makes a golden calf. The Pentateuch (*Ex.* 32:35, *Dt.* 9:20) condemns Aaron

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CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT CORNER. Fourteenth-century BCE terra-cotta hedgehog of Aegean Rhyton, from Ugarit, Syria. Louvre, Paris. *[©Erich Lessing/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Facsimile of prehistoric paintings in Lascaux Cave in southwestern France. Musée des Antiquites Nationales, France. *[©Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Ancient Egyptian underworld god Anubis. Cairo Museum. *[©Roger Wood/Corbis]*; Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan, Mexico. *[©Charles & Josette Lenars/Corbis]*; Late-nineteenth-century brass Altar of the Hand shrine from Benin. British Museum, London. *[©HIP/Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.]*.

for this apostasy and appears to favor those Levites associated with Moses over the priests represented by Aaron.

Aaron's golden calf is generally associated with the calves set up centuries later by King Jeroboam I (r. 928–907 BCE) in the far northern town of Dan and in the central town of Bethel after the northern tribes of Israel seceded from the Israelite empire circa 920 BCE. On the basis of this, and of the connection of Aaronite priests to Bethel mentioned in *Judges* 20:26–28, some scholars have concluded that Aaron was the founder of the northern priesthood, which was later assimilated into the Jerusalem priesthood. Others believe that the Aaronites originated in the south and because of their traditional legitimacy were appointed to positions in the northern cult.

As the various traditions were combined in the Pentateuch, Aaron became the paradigm of the priest and Moses of the prophet, but Aaron's role was clearly subordinated to that of his younger brother.

SEE ALSO Levites; Priesthood, article on Jewish Priesthood.

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EDWARD L. GREENSTEIN (1987)

ABBAHU (fl. toward the turn of the fourth century CE), Palestinian amora. Abbahu was the younger contemporary of both Shimʿon ben Laqish ("Resh Laqish") and Elʿazar ben Pedat, with whom he studied, but his main teacher was Yoḥanan bar Nappaḥaʾ. Abbahu eventually settled in Caesarea, where he became head of the rabbinic academy. Because of the cosmopolitan nature of that city he had frequent contacts with Christians, Samaritans, and other "heretics"; surviving reports suggest that Abbahu engaged in frequent polemics against these rivals.

Among the reports of these polemics are an exegesis attributed to Abbahu in which *Isaiah* 44:6 is taken to be God's explicit denial of a father or a brother or a son (*Ex. Rab.* 29.4) and a remark ascribed to Abbahu to the effect that "if a man tells you 'I am God' he is lying" (J.T., *Taʿan.* 2.1, 65b). Abbahu is also said to have brought about a change in the legal status of the Samaritans in the Jewish community so that now they were to be considered Gentiles in all respects (J.T., *ʿA. Z.* 5.4, 44d).

Abbahu engaged in secular studies and, to his colleagues' consternation, taught his daughter Greek (J.T., *Shab.* 6.1, 7d). His familiarity with the surrounding culture gave him relatively easy access to the Roman authorities, a privilege that he used to intercede for his brethren when the occasion demanded (B.T., *Ket.* 17a). This combination of openness to the surrounding culture and willingness to combat rival religious movements made Abbahu an effective advocate of the rabbinic viewpoint. He was able to insist on the exclusive legitimacy of rabbinic teachings without seeming to demand that Jews live in isolation from their surroundings or that they abjure any interest in the activities of their neighbors.

Some of Abbahu's ritual enactments, most notably concerning the sounding of the ram's horn on Roʾsh ha-Shanah, the New Year festival (B.T., *R. ha-Sh.* 34a), became normative practice in Jewish life. Despite his polemical activities, he was remembered within his own community as a peacemaker and a man of modesty (B.T., *Sot.* 40a). He was said to have been a man of wealth and good looks. His disciples included leading scholars of the next generation.

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ROBERT GOLDENBERG (1987)
Revised Bibliography

ABBAYE (d. c. 338), a leading fourth-generation Babylonian amora. Abbaye, who studied with his uncle Rabbah bar Nahmani and with Yosef bar Ḥiyyaʾ of Pumbedita, drew on teachings both from Babylonia and, indirectly, from Palestine; his teachings relay his erudition and subtle analytic ability. At Yosef's death (c. 323), Abbaye became the leading teacher in Pumbedita, where he taught legal, aggadic, and exegetical subjects to students individually and, in *pirqaʾ* gatherings held on sabbaths and special occasions, to the public at large. He applied rabbinic law in his role as judge of the local Jewish court and supervisor of the market's weights and measures.

With an independent mind, he evaluated both sides of issues and reportedly even resorted to curses to support or oppose a given opinion (B.T., *Ber.* 29a). Like Ravaʾ, Yosef's son, he used terminology to conceptualize the Mishnah's literary characteristics and taught *baraitot,* his own versions of formulated law that might dispute the Mishnah. Ravaʾ and Abbaye compared earlier teachings and assayed their underlying logic and relation to the Mishnah. The Talmud's records of these discussions may, however, have been shaped by postamoraic authorities. Because Abbaye refused to harmonize disparities between the Mishnah and other sources, he limited the Mishnah, saying its ruling did not apply to all cases, or admitted the inconsistency between the sources. This sensitivity to the text is likewise seen in his interest in assessing what are appropriate interpretations of scripture (B.T., *Ḥul.* 133a).

Stories about Abbaye portray him as humble; dedicated to Torah study, even when poor (B.T., *Git.* 60b); solicitous of students (B.T., *Shab.* 118b–119a), the elderly, and gentiles (B.T., *Ber.* 17a); and a doer of good works (B.T., *R. ha-Sh.* 18a). This reputation is reflected in his dictum that "to love the Lord your God" requires a person to make God's name become beloved by others, for people will attribute one's good deeds to one's devotion to God (B.T., *Yomaʾ* 86a). Related teachings of Abbaye assert that whoever follows the sages' teaching is called a saint, and Torah study and good deeds bring divine blessings and protection against evil. Reportedly exhibiting an awareness of God from his youth (B.T., *Ber.* 48a), he lectured on creation and the manifestation of the divine in the world as well as on sin and redemption, and taught that the divine presence is found in synagogues, though he elevated the piety of Torah study over that of prayer.

More supernatural stories circulated about Abbaye and Ravaʾ than about others in their generation, and in them he has contact with the divine realm even more frequently than Ravaʾ. People believed that Abbaye was protected from demons, a recipient of divine communications, a source of practical good advice, and, like some other ancient holy individuals, a juggler (B.T., *Suk.* 53a). On the other hand, later circles declared that the law follows Ravaʾ and not Abbaye in all but six cases (B.T., *B.M.* 22b).

SEE ALSO Amoraim; Ravaʾ.

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BARUCH M. BOKSER (1987)
Revised Bibliography

ʿABD AL-JABBĀR. Beginning his discussion of the eleventh generation of the Mu'tazilah, the biographer of al-Jushamī al-Bayhaqī (d. 494/1100) states:

> Belonging to this generation, and in fact the foremost of them and the leader of them with regards to his excellence, is Chief Judge Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Jabbār ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī. . . . I cannot conceive of any expression which will convey his status regarding his excellence or his elevated rank in [this] discipline [namely *kalām*]. He is the one who tore *kalām* open and spread it out, producing its major works as a result of which *kalām* spread far and wide reaching the East and the West. In these works, he put down the detailed arguments (*daqīq*) as well as the major theses (*jalīl*) of *kalām* in an entirely novel manner. (*Sharḥ al-'uyūn,* 365)

LIFE. ʿAbd al-Jabbār (Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Jabbār ibn Aḥmad al-Hamadhānī, Qāḍī al-Quḍāt) was born in the town of Asadābād in the district of Hamadhān around 320/932. He began his study of the *ḥadīth* (traditions of the Prophet), *fiqh* (religious law) and other religious sciences with local scholars in Asadābād and Qazwīn. In 340/951 he departed for Hamadhān and five years later went to Isfahan to study there. Soon afterwards he moved to the intellectual center of Basra, where he participated in debates and study-circles as an Ash'arī *mutakallim* and adherent of the Shāfi'ī legal school. According to al-Jushamī, he subsequently "recognized the truth and was guided," that is to say, he abandoned Ash'arī *kalām* and embraced Mu'tazilī *kalām,* becoming a student of Abū Isḥāq ibn ʿAyyāsh (his dates are not known). He later moved to Baghdad to study under Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 369/979) who, like Abū Isḥāq ibn ʿAyyāsh had studied under the famous Mu'tazilī master, Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā'ī (d. 321/933), the leader of the Bahshamīya (namely the Mu'tazilīs who inclined towards the views of Abū Hāshim). After several years of study during which he also taught and compiled several works, ʿAbd al-Jabbār took leave of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī in 360/970, departing for Rāmhurmuz where he began to teach and to dictate his *magnum opus—al-Mughnī fī uṣūl al-dīn.* Soon after, he joined the retinue of the Mu'tazilī-leaning Būyid official al-Ṣāḥib ibn al-'Abbād. In 367/977, al-Ṣāḥib ibn al-'Abbād became vizier to the Būyid ruler Mu'ayyad al-Dawla and then appointed his protégé, ʿAbd al-Jabbār, to the position of Chief Judge (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*) of Rayy and its environs. Intellectually curious, and himself a poet and scholar, al-Ṣāḥib ibn al-'Abbād had collected a vast library and gathered a distinguished group of philosophers, theologians, and literatteurs to his court in Rayy. ʿAbd al-Jabbār implies at the end of *al-Mughnī* that he profited from his participation at al-Ṣāḥib ibn al-’Abbād’s court gatherings. ʿAbd al-Jabbār held the position of Chief Judge until the death of his patron in 385/995. Subsequently, the Būyid ruler Fakhr al-Dawla seized al-Ṣāḥib’s property, dismissed his appointees, and confiscated their properties. Fakhr al-Dawla had ʿAbd al- Jabbār arrested, allegedly because of his refusal to recite the funeral prayer for al-Ṣāḥib ibn ʿAbbād. It is likely that ʿAbd al-Jabbār was released shortly afterwards. After the death of Fakhr al-Dawla in 387/997, Rayy was nominally ruled by his minor son Majd al-Dawla (actual control was wielded by his regent mother al-Sayyida). ʿAbd al-Jabbār was on good terms with Majd al-Dawla and wrote his *Kitāb al-Majd* for him. In 389/999 he went to Mecca on pilgrimage and was greeted with honor during his passage through Baghdad. This was due not only to his prestige as judge and author but also because ʿAbd al-Jabbār was considered the leader of the Bahshamīya Mu’tazilah after the death of his teacher Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Baṣrī in 369/979. On his return, he taught in Baghdad for some time and also in Qazwīn. During his later years in Rayy, ʿAbd al-Jabbār may have had the opportunity to meet Ibn Sīnā during the philosopher’s stay there in 403–405/1013–1015. The majority of historical sources state that ʿAbd al- Jabbār died in 415/1024.

As a result of his longevity, ʿAbd al-Jabbār was a teacher to many students in Rayy and other locations. Some students were Imāmī or Zaydī Shīʿah, indicative of the spread of Mu’tazilism among these Muslim denominations. Among the more prominent of his students were Abū Rashīd al-Nisābūrī (his death year is not known), who studied with him in Rayy and assumed the leadership of the Bahshamīya on ʿAbd al-Jabbār’s death; the Shīʿī Imāmī scholar al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044), who studied ʿAbd al-Jabbār during his stay in Baghdād in 389/999; Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad ibn Mattawayh (dates unknown), Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrı (d. 432/1040), the Zaydī scholar Aḥmad Abū Hāshim al-Ḥusaynī also known as Mānakdīm Shishdev (d. 425/1034), and the Zaydī imām al-Mu’ayyad billāh Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Āmilī (d. 411/1020)

WRITINGS. ʿAbd al-Jabbār scholarship extends over several of the Islamic religious sciences: Qurʾān commentary *(tafsīr),* prophetic tradition *(ḥadīth),* biography, theology (kalām), principles of jurisprudence (uṣul al-fiqh), and law. Most of his works have not survived. As a result of the Zaydī embrace of Mu’tazilism, Mu’tazilī texts continued to be studied in Yemen, where they held sway, resulting in the preservation of some of the works of ʿAbd al-Jabbār and his students. These works were rediscovered in the late 1950s and many of them have been published.

The most significant of these is ʿAbd al-Jabbār’s *al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa l-’adl,* which may be translated as “What one needs to know regarding God’s unity and justice.” Fourteen of the twenty volumes of *al-Mughnī* have been recovered. It is the most comprehensive text on classical Mu’tazilī *kalām* and preserves the doctrines, discussions, and differences of earlier generations, most significantly Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbā’ī and his son Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā’ī. The work is divided into two sections: the first discusses God’s unicity *(tawḥīd),* namely, a detailed presentation of the argument that the world is temporally created by an eternal Creator-God, the attributes of this Deity, and a refutation of the views of non-monotheists.

The second section treats God’s justice (*ʿadl*), explaining that God’s acts cannot be evil; that the Qurʾān is God’s created speech; that persons of sound mind have free will and are under obligation *(taklīf)* to God to fulfill duties that can generally be known by reason and that, as acts of kindness *(luṭf),* God has specified in the guidance He has provided to human beings in revelation through the institution of prophecy and teachings of prophets; that this guidance, as well as the endowment of reason and free will are necessary in order for God to be just; that by fulfilling these obligations human beings have the opportunity to earn a reward, namely Paradise, or by rejecting them to be condemned to Hell; that pain and suffering in the world which is not the result of human action is created purposefully by God in order to remind human beings of their obligations and thereby prevent the extreme harm of being condemned to Hell—in this sense they also constitute acts of kindness; and, that God will compensate minors and mentally incompetent individuals, and generally any person who is incapable of fulfilling obligations placed on them.

In the *Mughnī,* the section on God’s justice also includes the remainder of the “five principles of the Mu’tazila,” including, “the promise and the threat,” “the intermediate position,” and the “command to enjoin established and commonly-known virtuous action and to prohibit reprehensible action” which is the basis of the institution of post-prophetic leadership and political authority (*imāma*).

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ALNOOR DHANANI (2005)

ʿABD AL-RĀZĪQ, ʿALĪ (1888–1966), Muslim jurist and author. Born in a village of Middle Egypt, ʿAbd al-Rāzīq studied Islamic law at al-Azhar in Cairo, from which he was graduated in 1911. In 1912, he went to Oxford to study politics and economics, remaining there until the outbreak of World War I. In 1915, he was appointed a judge in the *sharīʿah* courts in Alexandria and other provincial towns. The publication of his book *Al-Islām wa-uṣūl al-ḥukm* (Islam and the fundamentals of authority) in 1925 aroused violent uproar. ʿAbd al-Rāzīq was formally condemned by a council of twenty-four leading *ʿulamāʾ* (Muslim scholars) of al-Azhar, with the rector at their head. Dismissed from his appointment and declared unfit to hold public office, he lived the rest of his life privately.

Al-Islām wa-uṣūl al-ḥukm, published only one year after Atatürk's abolition of the caliphate, is a treatise on the theory of government and the source of authority in Islam. ʿAbd al-Rāzīq's main argument is that there is no such thing as an Islamic system of government. Neither the Qurʾān nor *ḥadīth* (tradition) stipulates the existence of the caliphate or the combination of temporal and religious powers. *Ijmāʿ* (Islamic consensus) also provides no basis for the caliphate's legitimacy. In fact, historically the caliphate was based on power and coercion and is not, therefore, a necessary part of the religion of Islam.

ʿAbd al-Rāzīq's most radical theory had to do with the prophecy of Muḥammad. His view was that, like other prophets, Muḥammad had a spiritual mission: he was sent to reveal a truth about God and to guide men to a virtuous life; he was not sent to exercise political authority. Thus, ʿAbd al-Rāzīq denied any constitutional implications in *sharīʿah* (Islamic law). Herein lies his revolutionary departure from the orthodox position on Muḥammad's prophecy and the *sharīʿah*, and hence the violent opposition of the *ʿulamāʾ*.

Muslim theologians had always taught that Islam was unique because it was at once a religious and political community. ʿAbd al-Rāzīq disclaimed any political foundation in the *sharīʿah*. Condemned by the *ʿulamāʾ*, his ideas were nevertheless accepted by the ruling elites in Egypt and later in most Arab countries. Western-modeled constitutions were inaugurated, and the secular nation-state finally emerged in the world of Islam.

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IBRAHIM I. IBRAHIM (1987)

ʿABD AL-WAHHĀB SEE IBN ʿABD AL-WAHHĀB, MUḤAMMAD

ʿABDUH, MUḤAMMAD (AH 1266–1322/1849–1905 CE), Egyptian intellectual regarded as the architect of Islamic modernism and one of the most prominent Islamic reformers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He was born into a well-to-do family in a village of the Nile Delta. At the age of thirteen he went to study at the Aḥmadī Mosque in Ṭanṭa and continued his education at al-Azhar, the renowned university in Cairo, where he studied logic, philosophy, and mysticism. For a time he came under the influence of the pan-Islamic reformer Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and became involved in the ʿUrābī revolt against the British (1881–1882). Exiled for six years after the revolt was put down, he worked in Lebanon to establish an Islamic school system and collaborated with al-Afghānī in Paris on a number of activities, including the publication of a popular journal, *Al-ʿurwah al-wuthqā* (The firmest bond). The tone of the paper was radical and agitational, reflecting the revolutionary spirit of Afghānī rather than the reformist one of ʿAbduh. Although it was naturally banned in Islamic countries under British occupation, its eighteen issues were smuggled in and widely followed by Muslim intellectuals. The two men also established an association under the same name working for Muslim unity and social reform. In the course of these activities, ʿAbduh traveled to Britain and Tunis and reportedly entered Egypt in disguise.

During his career ʿAbduh held a number of important positions. In 1880, he became the editor of *Al-waqāʾī al-misrīyah*, the official gazette. In 1889 he was appointed judge and ten years later, he became the mufti of Egypt, the highest authority on the interpretation of Muslim law. As mufti he initiated reform of the religious courts and the administration of *awqāf* (religious endowments).

ʿAbduh's writings include *Risālat al-wāridāt* (Treatise consisting of mystical inspirations), *Risālat al-tawḥīd* (translated in English as *The Theology of Unity*), and the interpretation of Qurʾān known as *Tafsīr al-manār*. In these writings, one finds traces of different Islamic influences: mysticism, Muʿtazilī theology, activism, and orthodoxy. *Risālat al-tawḥīd* was intended to be a brief and simple statement on theological issues. Distinguishing between the essentials and inessentials of religion, ʿAbduh argued that major source of the Muslim decline was their inability to make this distinction. Revelation and reason are complementary ways to reach truth, since reason is the power that enables the Muslim to distinguish truth from falsehood. Freedom of will also depends on human knowledge or reason.

ʿAbduh considered Islam the cornerstone of private and public life. Yet he was struck by the decay of Islamic societies, which he saw as the main problem that all Muslim thinkers had to face. He sought to regenerate the religion and purify it of what he believed were alien accretions from the past. The aim of his life, as he defined it, was to free the minds of Muslims from the shackles of *taqlīd* (blind acceptance of tradition) and to demonstrate the compatibility of Islam with modernity. For him, the cure for the ills of Muslim societies lay in a return to true Islam through the recovery of its essentials in the Qurʾān and *sunnah* (traditions of the Prophet) and the interpretation of these texts in the light of modern times.

The best method to achieve these goals, ʿAbduh believed, was through *ijtihād* (the exercise of individual judgment) and the establishment of links between certain traditional concepts and the ideas of the modern age. Thus, *maṣlaḥah*, the public interest, became utility, and *shūrā*, the coliph's council, became a consultative assembly. He maintained that there was no incompatibility between Islam and reason or between revelation and science. Islam encouraged reason, condemned blind imitation, attacked fatalism, and affirmed the exercise of free will. The influence of Muʿtazilī ideas upon his thought is most evident at this point. He argued that Islam was in harmony with and tolerant of all rational inquiry and science. Thus, the scientific achievements of the West, to which the Muslims had contributed in their classical age, should be adopted without fear or hesitation. Failure to do so would lead either to stagnation and further underdevelopment or to the indiscriminate importation of Western ideas, resulting in a loss of Islamic values.

Concrete reform and social change were ʿAbduh's primary concerns. Like other reformers of his time, he addressed himself primarily to political issues rather than the rethinking of basic religious positions. He believed that the legal system was a crucial factor in the prosperity of countries and that laws should change according to circumstances. The reform of Islamic law requires that the principle of *maṣlaḥah* be upheld and that jurists exercise *talfīq* ("piecing together") to synthesize judgments from the four Sunnī legal schools. Stressing the need for social and political reform, he underlined the importance of education and attacked despotic rulers; for him the true Muslim leader was once bound by law and obliged to consult with the people.

The essence of ʿAbduh's legacy, then, is his attempt to conduct a dialogue between Islam and the modern world; by so doing, he, perhaps more than any other Muslim thinker, contributed to the development of modernist and reformist trends in Islam, especially in the Arab countries and Indonesia. Ultimately ʿAbduh owes his prominence to his search for an indigenous Islamic philosophy for modern times. He developed criteria by which the impact of Western civilization could be differentiated and controlled and elaborated a synthesis of Islam and modernity with which Muslims could remain committed to their religion while actively engaged in modern society. His synthesis was subject to criticism, but the approach has left a marked impact on modern Islamic thought and society.

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ABEL SEE CAIN AND ABEL

ABELARD, PETER (1079–1142), logician and Christian theologian. Peter Abelard was born at Le Pallet, outside of Nantes (Brittany). He chose to pursue the study and teaching of logic and journeyed to hear the lectures of Roscelin of Compiègne at Loches (Anjou); he later went to Paris to attend classes with the renowned dialectician William of Champeaux. His celebrated controversy with William on the question of universals revealed the persuasiveness of Abelard's quick mind and penetrating insight. Abelard's own teaching career began in Melun and Corbeil to the south of Paris, but he soon returned to Paris, teaching at Nôtre-Dame and at Mont-Sainte-Geneviève, just across the Seine from the capital.

Abelard's interest in applying twelfth-century methods of dialectical inquiry to Christian doctrine led him to study theology at Laon (c. 1113) with Anselm of Laon, who was recognized for his lectures on patristic teaching and for his role in the formation of a standardized biblical commentary (*Glossa ordinaria*). Abelard's return to Paris before he completed the course of studies was influenced by several factors. He was indeed disenchanted with Anselm's method, which, although it organized information in a systematic fashion, relied more on repeating past authority than on any personal critique. The work at Laon was a formidable accomplishment, but Peter wanted more. He was determined to bring a fresh approach to theology.

It was at this time that Abelard met Héloïse, the niece of Fulbert, a canon of Nôtre-Dame. Peter became her tutor, friend, and lover. Much of their early relationship—the love affair, the birth of their son Astrolabe, a secret marriage followed by the punitive castration of Abelard ordered by Fulbert—is recorded by Peter in *The Story of My Misfortunes.* After the tragedy and his loss of prestige as a teacher, Abelard insisted that Héloïse enter religious life at the convent of Argenteuil (c. 1119) while he made profession at the royal Abbey of Saint-Denis. Peter Abelard was officially affiliated with Saint-Denis for almost four years. During this time he studied the sources of the Christian tradition. The brilliant mind that had once captured the imagination of students of logic was now applied to sorting out a coherent presentation of doctrine from a nearly unintelligible accretion of teachings. The task was awesome. Abelard's *Sic et non* (Yes and No) faced the problem directly by arranging conflicting patristic opinions around key doctrinal issues. The work was timely and challenging. Students, armed with the exegetical principles enunciated in the prologue, were eager to resolve the 158 questions. Abelard's second theological work from this time was a discussion of the Trinity structured within dialectical analysis (*Theologia "Summi boni"*) and was not favorably received. The text was in fact condemned at a public trial in Soissons (1121). His treatise was burned, and Peter was temporarily confined to the nearby Abbey of Saint-Medard. He returned to Saint-Denis but only briefly; in 1122, Abelard was released from the obligation of residency there.

Humiliated at the turn of events in his life, Peter sought solitude. When he was given land along the banks of the Ardusson at Quincy (Troyes), he built an oratory and dedicated it to the Paraclete. Within a short time, however, students came to his retreat. In his teaching, he began to modify his approach in his discussion of the Trinity, and he composed the first draft of his second major theological treatise, *Christian Theology.* Abelard then accepted election as abbot of Saint-Guildas, a monastery near Vannes (Brittany), and unsuccessfully attempted monastic reform (c. 1127).

Little is known of Abelard's public activities after this. But in 1129, Suger, then abbot of Saint-Denis, reclaimed the lands of Argenteuil from Héloïse's community. She turned to Peter for assistance, and he gave them the oratory he had built. When the foundation was confirmed by Innocent II and the bishop of Troyes (1131), Héloïse became the first prioress. As cofounder with Héloïse, Abelard was considerably involved in the formation of the ideals that would shape the community's life. Héloïse's critique of the Benedictine rule (letter 6 of the published correspondence of Héloïse and Abelard), for example, elicited two doctrinal letters from Abelard: *On the Origin of Nuns* and *Rule of Life* (letters 7 and 8). Abelard also replied to forty-two questions on problematic scriptural texts sent by Héloïse (*Problemata Heloissae*) and commented extensively on the opening chapters of *Genesis* (*Expositio in Hexaemeron*). He prepared a collection of sermons, prayers, a breviary, and 143 hymns as well. His recommendations about the study of biblical languages (letter 9) and his instruction on reading scripture gave Héloïse extraordinary directives concerning the relationship of study to understanding the scriptures.

This work with the Paraclete was, however, only one aspect of Abelard's achievement. From 1135 onward, he was engaged in the composition of his *Ethics,* in expounding Paul's *Letter to the Romans,* and in drafting a new study on the Trinity (*Theologia "Scholarium"*). Several doctrinal letters and *Dialogue of a Philosopher with a Jew and with a Christian* are also the work of these fruitful years. But the newness of Abelard's ideas and the rigor with which he upheld the primacy of dialectics for a true theology threatened many. William of Saint-Thierry and Bernard of Clairvaux were among Peter's opponents, and through their efforts there was a second condemnation of Abelard by the Council of Sens (1140). Peter insisted that his teaching was misunderstood and intended to appeal his case with the pope. Ill health made a journey to Rome impossible, however, and Abelard retired to Cluny, where he was befriended by its abbot, Peter the Venerable. The final writings, *Apology* and *Confession of Faith,* reflect Abelard's sincerity and doctrinal orthodoxy. Abelard ultimately left Cluny for Saint-Marcel-sur-Saône, a smaller priory, where he died, probably in 1142.

Although Abelard's initial fame rested on his success as a teacher of logic, within a few decades his commentaries on logic (the *Introductiones parvulum* and the *Logica ingredientibus*), as well as his own treatise, the *Dialectica,* were replaced by the metaphysics of Aristotle. In the theological arena, Abelard exercised unusual leadership as a teacher during the formative years in the developing theology of the schools.

His students were numerous, and a few school works, such as the *Sentences of Hermann* (*Epitome theologiae Christianae*) or the considerable exposition of Pauline writings (*Commentaria Cantabrigiensis*), rely heavily on Abelard's teaching. Several well-known masters also turned to Abelard as a significant thinker. Perhaps the most important of these is Peter Lombard, whose *Book of Sentences,* modeled on Abelard's *Sic et non,* contains many of Abelard's opinions and became the primary text for training theologians during the next four hundred years. However, the most lasting influence Peter held was with the community of the Paraclete. Until its dissolution during the French Revolution (1792), the monastery held its own as the special foundation of Héloïse and Master Peter, preserving Abelardian manuscripts and conserving the finer points of his teachings.

The literary legacy of Abelard records the genius of a probing, mature, and experienced teacher. He expounded texts vigorously and forged seminal ideas for the development of Christian thought. He opposed Augustinian views on several counts, denying for example that the guilt of Adam was transmitted to humanity. Abelard created a more precise language to describe the interior character of sin and moral culpability and considered consent as the single factor that could render human behavior sinful. He also believed that the redemption theories that expressed the notion of a price or ransom imposed on God were unacceptable. Instead, Abelard held that Christ's redemptive work as the incarnate Word, in life as in death, was the supreme expression and fulfillment of God's creative love. Finally, Abelard's approach to theology was part of a new mode of thought that brought questions, debate, and systematization to the fore as the science of sacred doctrine. Abelard did this with bravado, drawing upon the best in these procedures, creating a few himself, and integrating both method and doctrine through the filter of his penetrating intelligence.

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ABHINAVAGUPTA (fl. c. 975–1025 CE), Kashmirian Śaiva theologian. Descended from Atrigupta, a brahman scholar brought to Kashmir from the Doab by King Lalitāditya (c. 724–760 CE), Abhinavagupta was the son, conceived in Kaula ritual, of Vimalā and Narasiṃhagupta. He lost his mother in early childhood—a circumstance that he saw as the start of his spiritual progress—and was trained by his learned Śaiva father in grammar, logic and hermeneutics. Later, when immersed in the study of the poetic arts, he became intoxicated with devotion to Śiva, and, giving up all thoughts of marriage and family, pursued the life of a student in the homes of numerous exponents of the various Śaiva traditions and their opponents.

Abhinavagupta's major works fall into four groups, treating the Trika, the Krama, the Pratyabhijñā, and aesthetics. In the field of the Trika his main effort went into the exegesis of the *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra*, which he saw not only as the fundamental scripture of the Trika but also as the essence of the entire Śaiva revelation in all its branches. In the *Mālinīvijayavārttika* he elaborated this claim, arguing for a "supreme nondualism" (*paramādvayavāda*) that attributed to the Absolute as autonomous consciousness the power to contain both plurality and unity as the modes of its self-representation, and thereby demonstrated that the Trika, as the embodiment in revelation of this Absolute, transcends and contains the dichotomy between the orthodox (dualist) and heterodox (nondualist) directions in Saivism then confronting each other.

The monumental *Tantrāloka*, composed later, expounded all aspects of the Trika, theoretical, yogic, and ritual, while seeking to integrate within the catholic authority of the *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra* later, more heterodox developments, particularly the Krama-based cult of Kālī. Between these two works he composed the *Parātriṃśikāvivaraṇa*, in which he focused on the elite Kaula practices of the Trika. The Krama, strongly present in the Trika of *Tantrāloka*, was the object of independent study in his commentary on the *Kramastotra* (Krama Hymn) of the lineage of Jñānanetranātha. This either has not survived or has not yet come to light. Of Abhinavagupta's work on the Krama we have only his short *Kramastotra* and a quotation from an unnamed work in which he follows the Krama worship of the *Devīpañcaśataka*.

In the philosophical tradition of the Pratyabhijñā we have two masterly commentaries, the *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśini* on the *Pratyabhijñākārikā* of his teacher's teacher Utpaladeva, and the *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivimarśinī* on that author's lost auto-commentary on the same. Through the profound philosophical scholarship of these works the nondualistic tradition was fully equipped to justify its rejection of the dualism of the Śaiva Siddhānta, the illusionism of the Vedānta, and the lack of the concept of transcendental synthesis in the nondualistic idealism of the Yogācāra Buddhists, while seeing these positions as approximations to its own.

In the field of aesthetics Abhinavagupta achieved pan-Indian recognition for his commentaries on the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana, fortifying the latter's doctrine of the primacy of suggestion (*dhvani*) in poetry, and on the *Bharatanāṭyaśāstra*. This second commentary, the *Abhinavabhāratī*, exhibits vast learning in the arts of drama, dance, and music, and is justly famous for its subtle theory on the nature of aesthetic experience as a distinct mode of cognition between worldly, appetitive awareness and the blissful interiority of enlightened consciousness. The study of aesthetics was traditional among the Śaivas of Kashmir, reflecting the importance of dance and music in their liturgies and the aestheticism of the Kaula mystical cults, which saw enlightenment not in withdrawal from extroverted cognition but in its contemplation as the spontaneous radiance of the self.

Abhinavagupta profoundly influenced the subsequent history of Śaivism in Kashmir, both directly and indirectly, through the simpler and more formulaic works of popularization produced by his pupil Kṣemarāja. The nondualistic doctrine which they expounded permanently colonized the cult of Svacchandabhairava, which was the basic Śaivism of the valley of Kashmir, and later it formed the basis of the Kashmirian cult of the goddess Tripurasundarī. This influence was not confined to Kashmir: Abhinavagupta's lineage established this tradition in Tamil Nadu, particularly at the great Śaiva center of Cidambaram, propagating the belief that Abhinavagupta was no mortal but an incarnation of Śiva himself. Many Sanskrit works by Tamils on the Trika, Krama, Pratyabhijñā, and Śrīvidyā (e.g. Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Śivasūtravārttika* and *Parātriṃśikālaghuvṛttivimarśinī*, the anonymous *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinīvyākhyā*, Maheśvarānanda's *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*, Tejānandanātha's *Ānandakalpalatikā*, Śivānanda's *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇavarjuvimarśini*, Amṛtānanda's *Yoginīhṛ-dayadīpikā*, and Śrīnivāsa's *Tripurārahasyajñānakhaṇḍavyākhyā*) maintained this tradition from the eleventh to the nineteenth century. Outside the Tantric Śaiva milieu the works of Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja provided the metaphysical infrastructure of the *Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā* and *Lakṣmī Tantra* of the Pañcarātra Vaiṣṇnavas and inspired the Śaiva Vedānta of Śrīkaṇṭha, devotee of Śiva at Cidambaram.

SEE ALSO Śaivism, articles on Krama Śaivism, Pratyabhijñā, Śaivism in Kashmir, Trika Śaivism.

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ABLUTIONS

ABLUTIONS are ceremonial washings of the human body or particular parts of it; of objects that come into close contact with the human body, such as cooking utensils or food; and sometimes of such special religious items as statues of deities or saints. Ablutions can be performed through washing with water, through immersion, or through sprinkling. And, instead of pure water, water mixed with salt, cow dung, sand, or urine can be used. Ablutions are symbolic actions meant not to create physical cleanness but to remove ritual uncleanness or pollution. Therefore, they should be interpreted not as forms of magical belief, manifestations of primitive hygiene, or expressions of savage psychology but above all as ritual acts performed to create order and abolish disorder in social reality.

Ablutions and related symbolic behaviors are carried out in societies that are characterized by well-defined and clearly marked distinctions between the phases of human life, ranging from birth through puberty and marriage to death. Ablutions are performed as well in relation to the different social roles of the sexes and to the various roles that a person can play in society. Carried out at transitional stages, ablutions are ritual and symbolic actions designed to avert the dangers inherent in those particular stages, where social forms are fluid. Ablutions mark transitions from one phase to another or from one area of society to another. They therefore belong, at least in part, to the category of rites of passage.

Ablutions that mark the transition from the profane sector of society to the sacred one are well known. The Babylonian high priest performed ablutions in water from the Tigris or the Euphrates before he carried out his daily functions. For ablutions and ritual sprinklings a special building, the *bit rimki* ("washing house") was constructed next to the priest's house or the temple. There, the life-giving water from *apsu* (the primeval deep of sweet waters) was used for all kinds of ablutions. Water, the creative element *par excellence*, was used to create order wherever and whenever this order was threatened, intentionally or not. In traditional Chinese religion, preparation for a sacrificial ceremony occupied three days and involved bathing and wearing of clean raiment. Before the pharaoh in ancient Egypt could participate in any religious ceremony his body had to be purified by a sprinkling with water and natron. The water, called "water of life and good fortune," was brought from the sacred pool that belonged to every Egyptian temple. The priests of Israel were subjected to very strict rules of purity (*Lv.* 21:22) and were not permitted to eat of the holy offerings unless they had washed their whole body with water (*Lv.* 22:6). Before entering the temple to perform their duties, priests in Israel had to wash their hands and feet in the "laver of brass . . . that they die not" (*Ex.* 30:17 ff.). Similar rites are observed in other religions.

Islam, a religion without a true priesthood, requires every believer to wash before the act of prayer (*ṣalāt*, performed five times a day facing toward Mecca) according to the prescriptions of the Qurʾān: "O believers, when ye come to fulfill the prayer, wash your faces, and your hands as far as the elbows; and rub your heads, and your feet unto the ankles, and if ye be polluted then purify yourselves" (5:9). *Sūrah* 4:46 allows the use of sand instead of water: "Wash yourselves; but if you be sick, or upon a journey, or one of you come from the privy or have touched a woman, and ye find no water, then take pure earth and rub your faces and hands therewith." This ritual ablution is performed at a tank or a reservoir provided with spouts that is to be found in or near the courtyard of every mosque. The water must be pure; therefore, rainwater is preferred, although water from other sources may be used. The rite is elaborately described in the *ḥadīth*. Muḥammad derived this purificatory rite, like other elements of Islam, from Jewish and Christian sources. In the latter religion the use of water for purificatory purposes, in particular by a person entering a church or by a priest before the beginning of mass, is another example of a partial ablution in the transition from profane to sacred territory.

As human beings undergo ablution before contact with the sacred, so the gods sometimes wash before exposure to ordinary people. In the highly elaborate daily ritual of an Egyptian temple, the cult statue was purified with water, natron, and incense every morning. In Indian Jainism the statues representing the gods are bathed every morning, and a man can worship in a temple only after he has taken a bath and doned clean clothes. Even offerings are ritually purified with water before they are presented to the gods. In ancient Egypt this was accomplished by pouring libations over them. The *Records of the Ritual and Music of the Holy Temple of Chinese Confucianism*, the latest edition of which was published in 1887, gives exact rules for purificatory rites in the Confucian ceremonial. Fifteen days before the sacrificial ceremony, the custodian of the temple and his assistants go to a park in which animals are kept and select unblemished ones. These animals are ceremonially washed with warm water that day and every day thereafter until the time for the sacrifice arrives. In all of the instances mentioned, ablution is not a removal of uncleanness or dirt but a symbolic action performed by man in order to prepare himself for and adapt himself to the crossing of a sociocultural frontier. The transition between two social forms in an ambiguous event, therefore, unclean and in need of purification.

Where social forms have been attacked, pollution looms, and purification, often in the form of ablution, is requisite. Ablution is consequently often a set element in puberty rites, in which the transition from childhood to full adult life is symbolically performed and marked. On the Fiji Islands, at the close of the ceremonies for entering adulthood all the initiates went to the river and washed off the black paint (the color of death!) with which they had been smeared. Ablution is here the mark of entering a new phase of life, a kind of death-and-renewal ritual. The Bathonga nubility customs for girls required a period of seclusion at the appearance of the menses. Girls undergoing this transition were covered each morning with a cloth and led to a pool in which they were immersed to the neck. Afterward they were imprisoned in a hut, where they received instruction about the behavior and duties of a grown woman. Bathonga boys likewise experienced a period of seclusion during which they received instruction and were smeared with white paint or white clay as a sign that they had abandoned the darkness of childhood. At the end of their period of seclusion, all the paraphernalia of the school were destroyed, and the boys were led to a stream, where they washed off the white, cut their hair, and put on new clothes.

The initiation rite is a symbolic death and revival often expressed through immersion in water. Jewish proselytes, for example, had to undergo immersion before entering their new life as believing Jews. In the same way, Christian baptism is an initiation rite incorporating all the symbolism of death and resurrection to mark the transition from the world to the church, from sin to grace, from the polluted earth to the pure kingdom of God.

Childbirth and death, entrance to and departure from the world of the living, are fundamental transitory phases, and therefore dangerous. In many cultures, the period after childbirth is one of uncleanness for women, in which they may pollute those, particularly men, who come into contact with them. Therefore, they must be ritually purified (i.e., must perform ablutions) before they regain their normal state and can return to their normal tasks. Among the Inuit

(Eskimo) a pregnant woman is separated from her husband and must leave her usual dwelling place since she may otherwise pollute the food. Immediately after the birth she must wash from head to foot, and after the first night following the birth she must make herself new clothes. Following this she is readmitted into society. In ancient Egypt the same customs were followed. During and after childbirth, women usually remained secluded in a special house, called the "birthhouse" or "house of purification," where for fourteen days they purified themselves through ablutions and fumigation with incense. When this purification was complete, they could resume their household duties. Judaism still has very strict rules for the purification of women after childbirth, detailed in *Leviticus* 12:1–8. The period of uncleanness varies according to whether a boy or a girl is born. After the birth of a boy the period of uncleanness is forty days; after that of a girl this period is doubled. During these days "she [the mother] shall touch no hallowed thing, nor come into the sanctuary." At the expiration of the period of uncleanness she has to offer a lamb and a young pigeon or turtledove.

Contact with a corpse also requires purificatory ablutions, in particular for those persons who handle the body, prepare the grave, and take care of the burial. Their activities are situated in the intermediary zone between death and life and are, therefore, especially dangerous and polluting. Among Indian tribes of the Northwest Coast of North America, the duty of disposing of the body is performed by gravediggers (never members of the family) who thus become unclean and, in addition to following special restrictions regarding food and sexual relations, must undergo ablutions. Among the Bathonga the men who dig the grave—again, a task not performed by relatives—must undergo a rite of ablution after the burial and, with their wives, are subjected to steam baths. These men and women use special spoons for five days and are not allowed to eat from the common plate. The purification is extended even to the hut in which a person dies. Among the Thompson Indians the hut in which a death takes place is washed with water.

Often widows and widowers share in the pollution that death causes. Among the various tribes of the Dene and Salish, for example, widows are regarded as particularly unclean. They must retire to the woods for a year, performing purificatory rites, bathing in streams, and taking sweat-baths. Participants in the worship of ancestors are often required to undergo purification rites, since they can be regarded as having had special contact with the dead. In China both husband and wife have to hold vigil, observe fasting regulations, and wash their heads and bodies before bringing a sacrifice to the ancestors. In ancient Egypt, frequent ablutions were part of a ritual performed by the dead or by the gods to secure entrance into a new life. In the "place of purification" (i.e., the embalmer's workshop), the dead body was washed with water and other liquids in order to preserve its integrity in the intermediary state between old and new life. The extensive and complicated purificatory rules of ancient Israel included the prescript that "every soul that eateth that which died of itself, or that which was torn with beasts, whether it be one of your own country, or a stranger, he shall both wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even" (*Lv.* 17:15).

Among the Amba in East Africa the funeral almost always occurs on the same day a person dies and is usually not performed by close relatives of the dead. The first ceremony after death is the most important mortuary rite. At dawn on the morning of the fourth day after the death all the men and women of the residential group take a bath and, after bathing, shave their heads. Following that, a long mortuary ceremony starts. Ablution and shaving are necessary to undo the dangers and the pollution that are inherent in the sphere between life and death.

Marriage is another rite of passage and, therefore, ablution rites often belong to its preliminaries. In Attica, in Classical Greece, the bride was purified by ablution with water from the sacred spring in preparation for the marriage ceremony. In the Southern Celebes the bridegroom bathes in holy water, whereas the bride is fumigated. In all Muslim countries purifying the bride with water and painting her with henna are the most important preliminaries to the wedding rite. The bath usually takes place a day or two before the bride's departure for the groom's house.

Extensive ablutions remain an essential part of the highly ritualistic life of the Mandaeans, a Gnostic sect that dates back to antiquity and whose present adherents live in Baghdad and in some regions in southern Iraq. Ablution undoes the pollution that is considered to manifest itself in various marginal situations in Mandaean social life. As all powers that are part of a given social system express it, so powers of pollution are inherent in the structure of ideas. To understand the function of ablutions in such societies a definition of pollution is requisite. It is a punishment or "a symbolic breaking of that which should be joined or joining of that which should be separate" (Douglas, 1966, p. 113). Concepts of pollution and ablution rites occur, therefore, only in cultures in which social and cosmic lines of structure are clearly defined and strictly maintained.

The Mandaeans are bearers of such a culture, which they, as a minority group, try by all means to keep intact. Since the human body functions as a symbol of society, the boundaries of the physical body symbolize those of the body social. Especially among minorities, rituals give expression to a deep anxiety about the body's refuse; this symbolizes a care to protect the unity of the group and its well-defined confines. The same phenomenon can be detected in the many purificatory rules of the ancient Israelites, also a religious minority. The Mandaeans follow an elaborate system of ablutions, in particular for birth, marriage, sexual contact, and death, that is, aspects of human life in which the orifices of the body are clearly important or bodily boundaries are transgressed. Birth, death, marriage, and coition pollute those involved, who are then segregated from their fellows until they have been purified through ablution, in this case, by immersion in living water. When the time of her giving birth approaches, a woman washes herself and prepares a place apart from the household. As soon as the child has come into the world, the midwife washes it, and the mother has to immerse herself three times in the river. The woman remains segregated for a time, and even pots and plates used by her receive ritual ablution. Mother and child have to undergo several ablutions and immersions before they can reenter normal life. If during these rites, which take place in the open air and in the often cold water of the river, the child soils or wets the clothing of the serving priest, the priest continues the ceremony as though nothing has happened. However, he must afterward go through a complete ablution at the hands of another priest. It often happens that during this rigorous ordeal the newborn baby dies. The ceremony is then continued with a dummy of dough in the place of the child in order to ensure the safe journey of the dead baby's soul to the world of light. The officiating priest, however, becomes defiled through contact with the dead and must undergo triple immersion and be provided with new clothes and new priestly paraphernalia before he is allowed to resume his duties. This illustrates the polluting power of the dead. A dying man is not permitted to die in his lay clothes. As death approaches, water is brought from the river, the sick man's clothes are removed, and he is doused three times from head to foot. Then he is lifted, placed on clean bedding facing the North Star, and clothed in new ceremonial dress. In this way the dying man is given his place in the cosmic order and crosses the border between life and death. Needless to say, the actual funeral is accompanied by the elaborate ablution of attendants and cult objects.

At marriage, the bride and bridegroom must undergo two immersions in water in the ceremonial cult hut, or *mandi;* they are then given new ceremonial dresses. The wedding ceremony has a clear cosmic symbolism that relates the social order to the cosmic one. Immersions and ablutions are an element of daily Mandaean practice that gives protection and the promise of everlasting life, since water is the life-fluid *par excellence.* Immersions and ablutions are also purificatory, undoing the pollution in marginal situations. The Mandaeans perform three kinds of ceremonial ablutions. The first is enacted by each Mandaean individually and daily just before sunrise, in other words, at the border between dark and light. The second ablution is a triple immersion in the river, done by a woman after menstruation and after childbirth, after touching a dead body, after coition, after nocturnal pollution, or after contact with a defiled person, since impurity is contagious. The third ablution, called *masbuta* ("baptism"), is performed by a priest and should take place every Sunday after major defilements. Not only the human body and its orifices but also vegetables and food need ablution and are, therefore, three times immersed in the river before being eaten. Pots and pans must at certain times be baptized, too. The ritual cleaning of food by immersion was also practiced in the Christian community of Elcasaite baptists in which Mani, the founder of Manichaeism, grew up. This ablution was a main point of controversy between Mani and other members of the sect, however, since Mani wished to emphasize not ritual cleaning but purity through asceticism. Food, in particular, enters the body by being eaten, and, therefore, ritual cleanness of food is especially important among minority groups, for whom the external borders of the social system are under constant pressure. The Israelites, the Mandaeans, and the Hindus provide examples of such purity and ablution systems. Hindu society consists of a range of castes, or cultural subunits, between which strict borderlines are maintained through purity rules, since each caste is like a minority group in relation to the whole. The higher the caste, the purer it must be. The body social is, therefore, like a human body: the high castes do the mental work; the lowest castes cut hair, carry away waste matter, and bury corpses. But the object of these purity rules is not one of hygiene but to keep the social system clean. Because belonging to a certain caste and, consequently, to a certain place in the hierarchy of purity is biologically determined, sexual purity, in particular of women, is strictly guarded. After sexual contact a woman has to perform ablutions. The most effective ritual purification is a bath in the Ganges (though the Ganges is one of the dirtiest rivers in the world!) or in another *tīrtha* ("ford"). In this context ablutions and immersions are clearly not hygienic activities, rather, they are ritual manipulations of the human body that symbolize social cleanness, which maintains the various social boundary lines.

SEE ALSO Baptism; Birth; Death; Purification; Rites of Passage; Water.

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ABORIGINAL RELIGIONS See AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS RELIGIONS, *ARTICLE ON* ABORIGINAL CHRISTIANITY

ABRAHAM, or, in Hebrew, Avraham; the ancestor of the Hebrews through the line of Isaac and Jacob and of the Arabs through Ishmael.

Abraham in the World of the Near East. The ancestors of Israel are portrayed in the Bible as living a nomadic or pastoral life among the older population of Palestine before the time of the Israelite settlement (c. thirteenth century BCE). With the great increase in knowledge about the ancient Near East during the past century, scholars have attempted to fit Abraham and his family into the background of Near Eastern culture in the second millennium BCE. Comparisons are made with the personal names of the ancestors; the names of peoples and places; social customs having to do with marriage, childbearing, and inheritance rights; and types of nomadism in the various stories in order to establish the background and social milieu out of which the ancestors came. The effort to place the patriarchs in the second millennium BCE has been unsuccessful, however, because all of the features in the stories can be attested to in sources of the first millennium BCE, and some of the items in the stories, such as the domestication of the camel or reference to Philistines, Arameans, and Arabs, belong to a much later time. The special effort to fit the war between Abraham and the kings of the east (*Gn.* 14) into the history of the second millennium by trying to identify the various kings and nations involved has failed to yield plausible proposals. The four eastern kingdoms, Elam, Babylonia, Assyria, and that of the Hittites, referred to cryptically in this text, never formed an alliance, nor did they ever control Palestine either collectively or individually during the second millennium BCE. The whole account is historically impossible, and the story is very likely a late addition to *Genesis.*

Abraham and Tradition-History. Another method of approaching the Abraham stories is through tradition-history, which attempts to identify the individual stories as legends ("sagas") and to regard them as separate units of tradition with their original setting in the nomadic life of the tribes during their earliest contacts with the indigenous population. The common concern of a number of the stories is the quest for land and progeny, which reflects the urge of the land-hungry nomads to gain a foothold in the land where they had temporary pasturage. The stories thus portray a process of gradual peaceful settlement by separate groups, each represented by a different patriarch. The combination of the traditions reflects the subsequent amalgamation of the groups with their traditions, which led to the creation of the genealogical chain of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. This whole process of tradition development is viewed as taking place at the oral tradition stage, before it reached the written form.

This approach has not gone unchallenged (Van Seters, 1975). The degree to which the stories of Abraham reflect a long process of oral tradition is debatable. For instance, the tradition of Beersheba as a cult place cannot belong to the premonarchy period because the excavations carried out under the direction of Yohanan Aharoni show that the city was a new foundation of the Judean monarchy. While some of the individual stories may reflect traditions of varying degrees of antiquity, the process of collecting and arranging the stories is still best explained as reflecting literary activity.

Religion of Abraham. The traditio-historical approach to the patriarchal stories has led to the view that the tradition reflects a nomadic form of personal religion in which the "god of the fathers" is the patron god of the clan. He is associated with a specific person, such as Abraham, who experiences a theophany and receives the divine promises of land and progeny. Also belonging to this "primitive" level of Israelite religion are the references to sacred trees and stones and the setting up of numerous altars. The frequent references to El in the patriarchal stories reflect either the encounter of the nomadic religion with the Canaanite religion of the land, with its high god El, or the original identity of the "god of the fathers."

The problem with these reconstructions of Israel's early religion is that the emphasis upon Yahveh as the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and the identifying of Yahveh with El are attested only in exilic sources. Furthermore, the themes of the divine promise of land and numerous progeny cannot be shown in a single instance to belong to the oral stage of the tradition's development. One must conclude therefore that the religion of Abraham is the religion of the authors of the present form of the tradition.

Abraham in the Written Sources. Scholars have long recognized that the story of Abraham is not a unity but combines the works of more than one author. The literary analysis of the Pentateuch, established by Julius Wellhausen and others in the nineteenth century, recognizes three independent sources. The earliest of these, the Yahvist (J), is dated to the united monarchy (c. 950 BCE) and is viewed as using the Abraham tradition to support the claims of the Davidic empire. The Elohist (E) in *Genesis* 20–22 is dated to the time of the prophets (c. eighth century BCE). The Priestly (P) source is of postexilic date (c. 400 BCE) and is found only in the episodes of *Genesis* 17 and 23 and in a few chronological notices.

While this literary analysis has long held sway, some scholars have begun to dispute the dates given to the sources and to understand their relationship to each other in quite a different way. In this view some of the early J stories (*Gn.* 12:10–20, 16, 18:1, 18:10–14, 21:2, 21:6–7) and the so-called E source were used by the J author along with his own material to shape the biblical story of Abraham as a major national tradition in the exilic period. The P writer made a few additions to this tradition in the postexilic period, while the story about the kings of the east in *Genesis* 14 was the latest addition in the Hellenistic period.

The Abraham Tradition in Genesis. A distinctive feature of the Abraham tradition is that it contains a number of short stories that are not linked in a continuous narrative. This has fostered the view that they reflect a stage of oral tradition before their collection into a literary work. Furthermore, the fact that a number of stories appear as doublets has suggested that tradition variants found their way into separate literary sources. The doublets, however, are actually carefully composed literary modifications of the earlier stories meant to put forward the author's own point of view and religious concerns.

The twice-told tales. There are two stories about how the patriarch's wife was passed off as his sister in order to protect himself in a foreign land. The first one (*Gn.* 12:10–20) is simply an entertaining folktale whereby Abraham appears to outsmart the Egyptians and come away with both wealth and wife. The second version (chap. 20) seeks to exonerate the patriarch of any moral wrongdoing. Abraham did not lie, because Sarah actually was his half sister, and God was not unjust in his treatment of the king but actually recognized his innocence and provided him with a way out of his dilemma. The whole matter is resolved amicably. Yet a third version of the story is found in the Isaac tradition (26:1–11), which makes use of elements from both of the earlier stories but with the emphasis here on God's guidance and providence. The account of Hagar's flight (chap. 16) and her later expulsion with Ishmael (21:8–21) are also doublets. The first is an ethnographic etiology on the origin and nature of the Ishmaelites, while the second transforms this theme into an aspect of the divine promises to Abraham, since Ishmael is also his offspring.

In none of these cases does the later version constitute an independent variant of the tradition. Instead, it is an attempt by a later author to modify the way one understands the earlier story in terms of a later attitude on morals and piety, as in the case of *Genesis* 20, or a later use of the Abraham tradition to emphasize ethnic identity and destiny.

Abraham and Lot. The inclusion of Lot in the Abraham tradition affords a contrast between the forefather of the Ammonites and the Moabites and the forefather of the Hebrews. When they go their separate ways (*Gn.* 13), Lot appears to gain the better territory by his choice of the fertile valley in the region of Sodom, while Abraham is left with the land of Canaan. But this merely anticipates the story of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (chaps. 18–19) and Lot's ultimate location in the eastern highlands.

The story of Sodom and Gomorrah follows a familiar classical theme, as in the story of Baucis and Philemon (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.616ff.), in which the gods send emissaries in the guise of strangers to investigate violence and corruption on earth. The strangers are ill treated by the population, except for an old couple who offer them hospitality and are rewarded while the rest of the population is destroyed. In the Bible, Abraham's hospitality is rewarded by the promise of Isaac's birth (18:1–15). Lot also entertains the two angels and protects them from the cities' inhabitants, who try to abuse them. This leads to the judgment on Sodom and Gomorrah, but Lot and his family are rescued, except for Lot's wife, who looks back and becomes a pillar of salt. The story also serves as the context for a discussion of the possible fate of the righteous along with sinners when God makes a judgment upon the wicked (18:16–33).

Abraham and Isaac. The account of Isaac's birth (*Gn.* 18:1, 18:10–14, 21:2, 21:6–7) was originally told as a single story quite separate from the story of Sodom and Gomorrah with which it is now combined. It emphasized the wonder of the birth of the child to the aged couple and played upon the meaning of Isaac's name, "laughter." The *ʿaqedah,* or "binding," of Isaac (chap. 22) became very important in the later development of the tradition. The frequent suggestion that the story arose as a protest against child sacrifice is speculative and has little support in the present text. The author makes clear at the outset that the command to sacrifice Isaac is a divine testing. While the sacrifice is stayed by divine intervention and a ram substituted in Isaac's place, Abraham's obedience is commended and the divine promises renewed. The matchmaking of chapter 24 recounts how Abraham sent his servant to Harran, the land of his kinsmen, to find a wife for Isaac, and how through divine guidance the servant was led to the house of Rebecca. The story stresses the providence of God in the destiny of Abraham's descendants. It also raises the theme of ethnic purity—a matter of some concern in the exilic period.

Covenant of Abraham. The Yahvist who brought together the diverse elements of the Abraham tradition created a sense of unity in the collection by means of the themes of the divine promises of numerous progeny and the gift of the land of Canaan. J begins with God's call to Abraham to leave his homeland for a new land and his promise of nationhood and divine blessing (*Gn.* 12:1–3). As soon as Abraham reaches the land of Canaan, God gives it to him as an inheritance (12:7). The promises are again repeated after Abraham's separation from Lot (13:14–17). The promise theme reaches its climax in chapter 15, in which God assures Abraham again of numerous descendants and makes a covenant with him according to which he gives him the region from the river of Egypt to the Euphrates. Thereafter the promises are again mentioned in a number of other stories about Abraham (16:10, 18:18, 21:13, 21:18, 22:15–18, 24:7) as well as in those of Isaac and Jacob. Unlike the covenant of Sinai, the Abrahamic covenant is not conditioned by law since the promises have already been guaranteed by Abraham's obedience (22:15–18, 26:3–5).

The Priestly writer's treatment of the covenant (chap. 17) builds directly upon J's version but introduces a number of modifications. First, God appears to Abraham as El Shaddai (17:1) instead of as Yahveh (15:7). This change is explained by P in *Exodus* 6:2–3 in the suggestion that the patriarchs knew God only by the name El Shaddai, whereas the name Yahveh was first revealed to Moses. Second, the writer marks the covenant by a change of names from Abram and Sarai to Abraham and Sarah and modifies the tradition accordingly. Third, the covenant with its promises includes the sign of circumcision. Only through this rite may Israelites of a later day be participants in the destiny of the covenant community. This is an ecclesial conception of identity most appropriate to those living in the Diaspora communities.

Burial of Sarah. In the account of Sarah's burial in chapter 23 (P), Abraham is portrayed as striking a bargain with the inhabitants of Hebron to purchase a piece of land and a cave in which to bury his wife. This becomes the special burial site for Abraham himself and for most of the other patriarchs. What is remarkable about the account is its lack of any religious treatment of the burial or of any reference to the deity in the story. The author's intention may have been to frustrate any ancestral veneration by such a "secular" account, but if so, it was not successful since the supposed location of the burial site in Hebron is regarded as a holy place by Jews, Christians, and Muslims down to the present day.

ABRAHAM IN OTHER BOOKS OF THE BIBLE. In the Pentateuch and the historical books mention is made of the promises to the patriarchs as the basis for God's mercy toward Israel in his rescue of the people from Egypt, in his forgiveness of their disobedience in the wilderness, in his gift to them of the land of Canaan, and finally in his rescue of Israel from Aramean domination. Abraham is not mentioned in preexilic prophecy. It is only with the crisis of the exile that the figure of Abraham becomes a paradigm of hope for the restoration of nationhood and Israel's return to the land of its forefathers. It is especially in "Second Isaiah" (*Is.* 41:8–10, 51:1–2) that Abraham is the focus of Israelite identity and destiny. So too in the exilic Psalm 105 Israel's identity is based upon the election and covenant of Abraham. The Sinai covenant is passed over in silence.

ABRAHAM IN POSTBIBLICAL JUDAISM. One use of the Abraham tradition in postbiblical times can be seen in the anti-Hellenistic work of the Maccabean period known as *Jubilees,* or the *Little Genesis* (chaps. 12–23). There Abraham becomes the model of appropriate Jewish piety. The book tells how Abraham, while still in Chaldea, came to a knowledge of the true God, learned the divine language of Hebrew, and repudiated the idolatry of his native land. After receiving the divine call he went to the land of Canaan. One significant amplification of the biblical tradition of Abraham is the emphasis on Abraham's observance of many of the Mosaic laws and of his giving instruction in these laws to Isaac his son and even to his grandson Jacob. Special emphasis is also given to the covenant of Abraham as the covenant of circumcision and a warning to those Jews who neglect this practice (see 15:9–14, 15:25–34, 16:14). The theme of Abraham's testing by God is more nearly paralleled to that of Job by including in the Abraham story the figure of Mastema (Satan), who becomes responsible for instigating the trials. Abraham endures ten trials, the climax of which is the divine command to sacrifice Isaac (17:15–18, 18:1–13; see also *Avot* 5.3, *Judith* 8:25f.).

Josephus Flavius, the Jewish historian of Roman times who was writing for a Gentile audience, presents Abraham in a much more apologetic tone—as a pious philosopher of great learning (*Jewish Antiquities* 1.7–17). He states that Abraham was the first to reason to a knowledge of God, creator of the universe, by his observations of the heavens. Abraham was, however, forced to leave Babylonia because of religious persecution (see also *Judith* 5:8). He took with him the Babylonian sciences of astronomy and mathematics, which he taught to the Egyptians during his sojourn in their country, and in this way the knowledge of such sciences eventually came to the Greeks. (See also the Hellenistic-Jewish fragments in Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica,* 9.17ff., where Abraham teaches the Phoenicians as well.) Josephus places little emphasis upon the distinctively Jewish features of the Abraham tradition. He even passes rather lightly over the episode of his circumcision and defers to another place a discussion of the law of circumcision.

Philo Judaeus of Alexandria devotes two treatises to Abraham: *On Abraham,* part of his *Exposition of the Law* (directed to Gentiles), and *On the Migration of Abraham,* part of his *Allegory of the Jewish Law* (directed to Jewish readers). The first work is primarily a Hellenistic biography to demonstrate Abraham's piety and wisdom and the Greek virtues of justice, courage, and moderation, to which, in place of prudence, the author adds faith. Abraham also observes the law, not, however, the Law of Moses (as in *Jubilees*) but the law of nature. The life of Abraham is further interpreted allegorically, especially in the second work, as the mystical journey of the sage who reaches perfection through education. From Chaldean idolatry, astrology, and sense perception the soul progresses through reason and philosophy to a knowledge of God. The outlook here is a form of moral and mystical Greek philosophy.

The rabbinic *aggadah* on Abraham is well represented by the *midrash Genesis Rabbah,* 39–62. For the rabbis, also, Abraham was the first man to recognize the existence of God while in Chaldea amongst the idolatry there. Abraham's call to go to an unknown land was the beginning of his trials of faith, of which the binding of Isaac was the climax and by which his rewards, blessing, and merit on behalf of others would be all the greater. The rabbinic tradition is very insistent that Abraham kept all the Mosaic commandments, both the written and unwritten law (see also B.T., *Yoma'* 28b; B.T., *Qiddushin* 82a; *Midrash Tehillim* 112; *Numbers Rabbah* 12). Abraham is also viewed as a prophet, primarily in the sense that he received revelations from God about the future and the unseen world. And Abraham is a priest whose priesthood is somehow linked with that of Melchizedek and whose sacrifice on Mount Moriah was at the site of the future Temple.

ABRAHAM IN CHRISTIANITY. The figure of Abraham plays a special role in the New Testament, especially in the thought of the apostle Paul. In *Romans* 4 Paul argues that Abraham was justified by faith in God prior to his being circumcised and therefore prior to any works of the law, so the law is not necessary for justification—that is, for being considered righteous before God. Abraham becomes the father of the faithful, and the election of Abraham is thus extended to all who have faith. Nevertheless, Paul is not willing to give up God's special election of the Jews and so argues for their ultimate salvation as well. In *Galatians* 3:6–9 and 3:15–18 Paul uses a somewhat different argument by suggesting that salvation came to the Gentiles through Abraham's blessing; this blessing was transmitted through Abraham's "seed," which Paul identifies with Jesus.

The *Letter to the Hebrews* (11:8–12, 11:17–19) uses Abraham as an example of faith, recounting his response to God's call to sojourn in the land of promise, his belief with Sarah in the promise of offspring, and his testing through the sacrifice of Isaac. All of these are made to reflect faith in God beyond the limitations of this life, a heavenly abode, and the belief in future resurrection of the dead. By contrast, *James* 2:20–24 uses the sacrifice of Isaac as an example of Abraham's being justified by works and not just by faith alone.

ABRAHAM IN ISLAM. Abraham is mentioned more frequently in the Qurʾān than is any other biblical figure. He is regarded as the first prophet because he was the first to convert to the true God and to preach against the idolatry of his people (*sūrahs* 19:41ff., 21:51ff., 26:69ff., 37:83ff.). He was also the first Muslim because he practiced *islam*—submission to absolute obedience to God—when he was tested by the command to sacrifice his son (2:124ff., 37:102ff.). Abraham, with the aid of his son Ishmael, the father of the Arabs, was responsible for the founding of the Kaʿbah in Mecca, the first sanctuary of God (2:125, 2:127). Muḥammad viewed himself as the reviver of this ancient faith, which he regarded as older than both Judaism and Christianity (3:65). Following Jewish tradition, he also regarded Abraham as the first recipient of the divine revelation of the book (2:129).

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ABRAHAM BEN DAVID OF POSQUIÈRES
SEE AVRAHAM BEN DAVID OF POSQUIÈRES

ABRAVANEL, ISAAC (1437–1508), known as Abravanel, Abrabanel, and Abarbanel; Spanish-Portuguese biblical commentator, theologian, and philosopher. Born in Lisbon into a wealthy Jewish family from Seville, Isaac ben Judah Abravanel succeeded his father as the treasurer to Alfonso V, king of Aragon, but in 1483 for political reasons he had to flee to Castille, where he remained in the service of Ferdinand and Isabella until the expulsion of the Jews on May 31, 1492. He then moved to Naples in the service of King Ferrante I until a French invasion forced him to flee with the king to Messina in 1494. Isaac resided in Corfu until 1496; then moved to Monopoli (Apulia), and in 1503 settled in Venice, where he spent the last years of his life.

Isaac's earliest work, composed when he was in his teens, was *Tsurot ha-yesodot* (Forms of the elements). His next, completed around 1465, was *ʿAteret zeqenim* (Crown of the ancients). The first deals with ontology; the second covers divine providence and the nature of prophecy. Between 1483 and 1505 Isaac wrote commentaries on the Pentateuch, *Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel,* and the twelve minor prophets. In 1496 he completed a commentary on *Deuteronomy* titled *Mirkevet ha-mishneh* (The second chariot); another on the Passover Haggadah, *Zevah pesah* (The sacrifice of Passover); and a third on the tractate *Avot* in the Mishnah, *Nahalot avot* (Paternal inheritance).

Between 1496 and 1498 Isaac composed a set of three books known as "The Tower of Salvation." The first, *Maʿyenei ha-yeshuʿah* (The fountains of salvation), is a commentary on the *Book of Daniel.* The second, *Yeshuʿot meshiho* (The salvation of his anointed), is a study of *midrashim* and passages from the Talmud that deal with the Messiah and the messianic age. The third, *Mashmiʿa yeshuʿah* (Announcing salvation), is a commentary on the messianic prophecies found in all of the books of the prophets.

Isaac wrote three books that deal specifically with the philosophy of Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon, 1135/8–1204): *Roʾsh amanah* (The principles of faith; 1494), a detailed commentary (1505) on Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed,* and the *Maʾamar qatser* (Short treaties; 1505), which discusses at length what Isaac considered to be the most difficult problems in the *Guide.* In 1505 Isaac also completed two works on creation, *Shamayim hadashim* (The new heavens) and *Mifʿalot Elohim* (The works of God).

Isaac's last written works were answers to questions raised by Shaʾul ha-Kohen of Candia. These *responsa* refer to two lost books: *The Inheritance of the Prophets,* an essay against Maimonides' theory of prophecy, and *The Justice of the Universe,* which deals with divine providence.

The dominant theme of Isaac's writings is his opposition to what he considered to be the excessive rationalism of the Jewish Aristotelians who followed Maimonides, particularly Gersonides (Levi ben Gershom). Isaac was motivated by the fear that this kind of sophisticated Jewish thought, given the threats to Jewish survival present in the exile, would undermine the faith of the simple Jew. Isaac rejected the claims of both Hasdai Crescas and Yosef Albo that it is possible to single out fundamental principles of Judaism. Isaac argued that Judaism has no conceptual axioms; every law and every belief in the Torah is equally fundamental.

Isaac opposed naturalistic interpretations of prophecy. He argued that all prophecy is produced directly by God and that the events reported in prophetic visions actually occurred in the physical world. Furthermore, prophetic knowledge differs qualitatively from natural knowledge. Natural knowledge at best yields claims that are merely probable, whereas revealed knowledge is necessarily true.

Isaac drew his political theory from the political structures of ancient Rome, the Venice of his day, and the Torah. He claimed that a political state is required only because of the human imperfection that resulted from the sin of Adam. Consequently, no political state is perfect. The best political order is that of theocracy; the next best is a monarchy, limited by the national laws of a superior court or Sanhedrin and the local laws of elected municipal lower courts.

Two cosmological judgments underlie Isaac's view of history. One is his rejection of the Aristotelian conception of the spheres as living entities. The other is his affirmation of a literal understanding of the doctrine of creation out of nothing. What philosophers mistakenly believe to be natural law is God's will made manifest through the actions of angels (God's agents for rewarding human beings) and demons (God's agents for punishing human beings), and/or the willed choices of human beings. Nothing occurs through impersonal, natural forces.

Isaac pictured the course of human history as a circle that began when humanity separated from God and that will end when humanity returns to God. However, after Adam's initial fall that began history, there was, is, and will be continuous disintegration until the messianic age. The penultimate state of history will begin when a revived Muslim empire in alliance with the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel will conquer the Christians and retake possession of Jerusalem. Next, the Messiah, who is not Jesus of Nazareth, will appear, and the Muslims will turn over Jerusalem to him. At that time all of the Jewish people will return to the Land of Israel, and the Messiah will rule the world. Then a reign will follow during which humanity will progressively improve until, in the end, the physical, human world will give way to a spiritual world of pure souls who eternally will contemplate God's essence. The two dates that Isaac cited for the coming of the Messiah are 1503 and 1531.

See Also Messianism, article on Jewish Messianism.

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ABSTINENCE See ASCETICISM; CELIBACY; FASTING; SPIRITUAL DISCIPLINE

ABŪ AL-HUDHAYL AL-ʿALLĀF (d. between AH 227 and 235, 842 and 850 CE), more fully Abū al-Hudhayl Muḥammad ibn al-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf al-ʿAbdī; Muslim theologian of the Muʿtazilī school. Little is known of the life of Abū al-Hudhayl. He was a client (*mawlā*) of the tribe ʿAbd al-Qays and is said to have studied with a certain Uthmān al-Tawīl, an agent for the Muʿtazilī propaganda of Wāṣil ibn ʿAtaʾ (d. 748/9). About 819 he entered the court of the caliph al-Maʾmūn, where he was renowned for his skill in disputation and for his ability to quote poetry. Of his numerous theological, philosophical, apologetic, and polemic writings, none has survived. He is reported to have been more than a hundred years old at the time of his death.

The fragmentary and somewhat gnomic reports of Abū al-Hudhayl's doctrine supplied by later writers allow only a superficial view of his teaching, nor is it possible to determine the significance of several apparent parallels to earlier Christian writers. His teaching is based on a systematic analysis of the predicates attached to things, where the primary assertion is indicated by the noun subject used in the analytic paraphrase. For example, "*x* moves" is analyzed as "a motion belongs to *x*," and "*y* knows," as "a cognition belongs to *y*." Since the subject term of the analysis is taken to designate an entity, the method tended to posit many reified properties, such as "location" (*kawn*), "conjunction," or "lifelessness." Abū al-Hudhayl's conception of material beings was atomistic: bodies are composites of discrete atoms (sg., *jawhar*) in each of which subsists a set of various entitative properties (sg., *maʿnā*), categorically referred to as "accidents." The atoms and some kinds of accidents perdure over many moments of time while other accidents exist only for a single instant. Because speech consists of accidents in a material substrate, the Qurʾān as God's speech is also created; it exists originally in a celestial archetype, "The Cherished Tablet," of which there are quotations.

Analyzing the descriptions of God given in the Qurʾān, Abū al-Hudhayl taught that God has cognition, power, life, eternity, grandeur, and so forth, but each of these attributes is God himself, even though they are distinguishable as such from each other. His volitions, however, come to exist temporally "in no substrate," simultaneously with his creation of their objects, as does his creative command, "Be," the reality of which is asserted by "creates." He held also that the potential objects of God's power are finite in number and that consequently there must come a time when even the activity of the blessed in Paradise will terminate in an unalterable state of bliss. This thesis he is said to have renounced late in his life.

Whether or not Abū al-Hudhayl first introduced atomism and the analytic method into the Muʿtazilī *kalām* is uncertain; in any event, Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī (d. 913) considers that it is Abū al-Hudhayl "who initiated *kalām*." His most important direct disciple was Abū Yaʿqūb al-Shaḥḥām, who was in turn the master of al-Jubbāʾī. The latter basically refined the system of Abū al-Hudhayl so as to lay the immediate foundation of what later became the predominant tradition of Muʿtazilī theology. Also through al-Jubbaʾī, who was the teacher of al-Ashʿarī (d. 935), the teaching of Abū al-Hudhayl came to play a significant role in the formation of classical Ashʿarī doctrine.

SEE ALSO Muʿtazilah.

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ABŪ BAKR (c. 572–634) was the first Caliph and close companion of the Prophet and founder of the Islamic Empire. In the classical Arab tradition a person is given an *ism* (name), *kunyah* (an agnomen consisting of Abū [father] followed by the name of a son), and *laqab* (nickname or title usually of a favorable nature). Hence Abū Bakr was so called, although his name was Abd Allah, and his *laqab*, Ati Atik (freed slave), was given to him by his mother because he was spared from the death in infancy that befell all her other sons. His father was ʿUthām of the clan of Taym of the tribe of Quraysh. His mother was Salma bint Sakhr of the same clan. He was born around 572 CE. He married four times and had six children, including ʿĀʾishah, who married the Prophet and played a significant role in some of the early events in Muslim history, and who also served as a transmitter of *ḥadīth.*

Ibn Isḥāq, the author of an early biography of the Prophet, describes Abū Bakr as a kindly man popular among his contemporaries and most knowledgeable about the genealogy of the Quraysh and the values and traditions of their ancestors. The people used to call upon him for his knowledge, his experience as a merchant, and his good companionship. He lived in the same area of Mecca as Khadījah, the wife of the Prophet, which may have brought about their friendship and may have been the reason that Abū Bakr was among the first adult male Muslims. We know very little about his life before the advent of Islam; the reports concerning the details of his life are sometimes contradictory and confusing. Nevertheless a reasonable picture of his life may be glimpsed through the different traditions and reports. As a relatively wealthy merchant, Abū Bakr used his wealth and resources to support the poor among the nascent Muslim community. In particular he bought and freed Muslim slaves, among whom was Bilāl the Abyssinian, who later became well-known as a devout Muslim and as a *muezzin* (the one who gives the call to prayer).

Abū Bakr's personal influence helped bring to Islam some of the leading members of Meccan society. As a result he faced the hostility of other Meccans, but remained one of the Prophet's closest companions. When the pressure on the early Muslim community became intolerable, some of them took refuge in Abyssinia, but Abū Bakr remained with the Prophet in Mecca. It is unlikely that his comparatively minor clan was able to offer Abū Bakr protection, even though he was its chief, but it might have been that his extended friendships and acknowledged gentle demeanor deterred the Meccans from being too harsh on him.

After the Prophet had built connections among the people of Yathrib he advised those who feared Meccan hostility to emigrate there. Abū Bakr stayed behind because the Prophet wanted him as his companion on the journey to Yathrib. Abū Bakr's family supplied the food and camels and helped to thwart the efforts of the Quraysh to capture the Prophet. Later his family, except his father Abū Kuhafa and his son Abd al-Raḥmān, followed him to Yathrib. Abd al-Raḥmān eventually converted to Islam, but earlier he had engaged in fighting against Muslims in the major battles of Badr and Uḥud.

In Yathrib, which the Prophet renamed al-Madīnah (Medina), Abū Bakr had a special place within the community. He was always at the side of the Prophet and took part in all the campaigns led by the Prophet. Abū Bakr's counsel was always sought and his closeness to the Prophet made him familiar with his ideas and intentions. It is said that among the senior companions he never questioned the judgments of the Prophet. When at Ḥudaybiyah the Prophet decided to make peace with the Meccans on conditions that were seen as humiliating by many other followers, Abū Bakr stood by his leader, who was facing a serious rebellion. This agreement was a prelude to the bloodless conquest of Mecca itself.

Earlier in Mecca, when the Prophet proclaimed the account known in Muslim traditions as the "night journey" (*isrāʾ*) from Mecca to Jerusalem and back, some Meccans thought that such a claim would shake Abū Bakr's faith in the Prophet's veracity; but he affirmed his faith in the Prophet and was given the title of al-Siddiq (the firm and trustworthy believer). In Muslim literature he therefore is often referred to as al-Siddiq.

The death of the Prophet in 632 threatened the order that he had established, and created a crisis regarding succession. At the time of his death almost all of the Arabian Peninsula was under his control. Nevertheless there was a possible threat from the north by Byzantium, which encouraged the northern tribes to defect. To ward off this threat the Prophet organized an army under the leadership of young Usāmah ibn Zaid with orders to march to the borders of Syria, deter Byzantium, and subdue the northern tribes. As the army camped outside Medina awaiting the Prophet's orders the news of his death arrived.

There were rebellions among various tribes led by "prophets" who modeled themselves on the Prophet, each claiming to have received their own "Qurʾān" through an angel of revelation. They claimed equal status to his, and one of them, Musaylamah, referred to in history as the "Liar," demanded that Arabia should be divided between himself and the Prophet. In Yemen, a local leader took over from the Prophet's appointed representative of Medina. Individuals claiming to be prophets and prophetesses cropped up among several tribes. Some groups who had given allegiance to Islam reverted to their pre-Islamic religion, while others remained faithful to Islam but refused to pay *zakāt*, which the Qurʾān had promulgated, to Medina on the grounds that the duty to remit it ended with the death of the Prophet. Muslim historians have named this particular rebellion Riddah (apostasy) and the struggle to subdue them as the wars of Riddah. These were uncoordinated groups, and mostly local, without any common leader; they were all eventually subdued under Abū Bakr's leadership.

When the death of the Prophet was announced the Anṣār (the Muslim inhabitants of Medina) gathered in the *saqifa* of Banu Saʾidah to elect one of their own as successor to the Prophet. The ancient tribal rivalry between the Aws and Khazradj, the two tribes of Medina, delayed their decision to allow the Muhājirūn (the Muslim immigrants to Medina) to join the meeting. According to historical accounts ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and Abū Akbr succeeded in persuading the gathering to choose Abū Bakr as the new leader. Abū Bakr gathered his advisors to plan his first move. Against their advice he ordered the army to march to the north, leaving Medina exposed to attack by hostile tribes. This daring move must have impressed his enemies as a sign of self-confidence. During the absence of the army Abū Bakr was able to defeat the tribe who attacked Medina. Abū Bakr came to be known as Khalifat Rasūl Allāh, that is, the deputy or successor to the messenger of God (the Prophet).

Once the Muslim army returned after putting down an early rebellion, Abū Bakr appointed Khālid ibn al-Walid commander of the main army to put down the other major insurgencies. After subduing one of the rebels, Khālid marched towards Yamana, where Musaylamah had gathered a large army that had resisted earlier attempts to subdue him. Khālid defeated and killed Musaylamah at the Battle of al-ʿAkrabaʾ. This was the bloodiest battle of the Riddah wars; thousands lost their lives, and the place came to be called the Garden of Death. This victory was crucial in restoring control of the center of Arabia to Muslim rule. The Muslims lost a good number of reciters of the Qurʾān in this battle. This prompted Abū Bakr, according to Muslim sources, to appoint secretaries to collect the Qurʾān, relying on the already recorded material and the memories of the surviving reciters. He also sent other commanders to subdue the remaining rebel tribes and to secure other regions of the peninsula.

While the Riddah campaigns were still raging, one of the Muslim commanders had already taken control of Persian-held centers and advanced to the Euphrates, opening up the possibility of conquering Iraq. On being advised that a victory against the Persians was likely, Abū Bakr recalled Khālid from Yamama and ordered him to march towards Iraq. This marked the beginning of the conquest of Palestine and Syria. Abū Bakr sent three columns towards Palestine and Syria under Muslim commanders. After some initial success, they were driven back by the superior forces of the Byzantine army. Abū Bakr ordered Khālid to leave Iraq and reinforce the army in Palestine. Their combined forces defeated the Byzantines at the famous Battle of Ajnadayn in July 634. Abū Bakr died soon after on August 23.

The caliphate of Abū Bakr was characterized by the constant struggle to restore the authority of Medina and by direct military action against rebellions in the Arabian Peninsula and eventually against the Persian and Byzantine empires. His rule marks the first major advances in Muslim rule over Byzantine and Sassanian controlled territories.

Abū Bakr was noted for his simple and austere life. It is said that on his deathbed, he gave back all that he had received as salary to the Muslim treasury. During his short tenure as caliph, he sought to bring order at a turbulent time in Muslim history after the death of the Prophet. He did not attempt to alter dramatically the administrative organization and arrangements in Medina or in the newly conquered territories. Before his death, he appointed ʿUmar bin al-Khaṭṭāb to be his successor, believing that this choice would prevent possible strife.

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ABŪ ḤANĪFAH (AH 80?–150/699?–767 CE), more fully Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nuʿmān ibn Thābit ibn Zūṭā; theologian, jurist, and founder of the first of the four orthodox schools of law in Sunnī Islam. As a theologian, he persuasively argued against Khārijī extremism and espoused several positions that became an integral part of the orthodox doctrine, especially the idea that sin did not render one an unbeliever. As a jurist, he reviewed the then-existing body of legal doctrines, elaborated the law by formulating views on new questions, and integrated these into a coherent system by anchoring them to an elaborate and basically consistent legal theory.

LIFE. Abū Ḥanīfah was born in Kufa, then the capital of Iraq and a major intellectual center of the Islamic world. He was of non-Arab origin: his grandfather was a freed slave from Kabul who became a client (*mawlā*) of an Arabian tribe, Taym Allāh. His father, Thābit, was certainly a Muslim, and presumably even his grandfather had converted to Islam. The family was prosperous, and Abū Ḥanīfah himself became a successful manufacturer and merchant of silk. Renowned for his honest dealings, he devoted a good part of his income to charitable purposes, especially to helping scholars in need.

Abū Ḥanīfah had a well-rounded education under a number of able scholars. Drawn to theology in his youth, he soon made his mark as a theologian through participation in theological debates. For some reason his infatuation with theology did not last long, and he turned instead to law, which occupied him for the better part of his life. His principal teacher in this realm was Hammād ibn Abī Sulaymān (d. 737), then the foremost representative of the Iraqi school of law. Abū Ḥanīfah remained his disciple for eighteen years and after his mentor's death was acknowledged as the head of the Iraqi school. He also learned from, and exchanged views with, a host of other scholars, notably Abū ʿAmr al-Shaʿbī (d. 722), ʿAṭāʾ ibn Abī Rabāḥ (d. 732), and Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 765). Abū Ḥanīfah also benefited from constant traveling, contacts with a wide variety of people, direct involvement in business life, and exposure to the heterogeneous and dynamic society of Iraq and the materially advanced conditions there.

Because of his independent income, Abū Ḥanīfah neither needed nor cared for governmental patronage and was thus immune from governmental pressure, a situation that helped Islamic law develop independently of political authority. Likewise, owing to his disposition and academic preoccupation, Abū Ḥanīfah did not involve himself in active power politics. At the same time, he was not entirely happy with the dynasties under which he lived—the Umayyads and the Abbasids—and his sympathies lay, if at all, with the opposition. It is probably for this reason, coupled with pietistic precaution, that Abū Ḥanīfah was unwilling to be identified with either of the two regimes; he repeatedly declined to accept governmental positions, especially judgeships, and presumably even lent moral support to the ʿAlid revolt of Muḥammad, who was popularly known as al-Nafs al-Zakīyah (d. 762). These facts explain the harsh treatment meted out to Abū Ḥanīfah under both dynasties, culminating in imprisonment from the time of the revolt to his death five years later.

CONTRIBUTION TO THEOLOGY. Abū Ḥanīfah's main theological doctrines may be determined primarily from a small treatise, the *Epistle to ʿUthmān al-Battī,* which was doubtlessly written by the not-so-prolific Abū Ḥanīfah himself. A few other brief treatises, especially those called *Fiqh Akbar I* and *Fiqh absaṭ,* also represent his theological views, though they may have been written by others.

His foremost concern, as reflected in these documents, was to refute the extremist theological positions of the time, especially those of the Khārijīs. Abū Ḥanīfah vigorously refuted the Khārijī doctrine that faith and good works were inalienable and that sins cast believers out of the fold of Islam, dooming them to suffer eternally in hell. He emphasized that faith, consisting essentially of verbal confession coupled with inner conviction, did not increase or decrease. Thus by mere sinning one did not lose faith. By taking this position Abū Ḥanīfah did not wish to demean moral uprightness or to lower the quality of religious life. Rather, in the context of the Khārijī denial to believing sinners the rights of Muslims, including their lives and property, a doctrine that had caused much bloodshed and seemed to threaten the orderly existence of the Muslim community, Abū Ḥanīfah's main concern was the juridical and communal aspect, of faith as the determinant of a person's membership in the Muslim *ummah* and the resulting entitlement to certain juridical rights and privileges.

The main opponents of the Khārijīs at the time were the Murjiʾah. Abū Ḥanīfah's opposition to Khārijī doctrines understandably earned him the reputation of being a Murjiʾī, a reputation that has been accepted rather uncritically by most Western scholars. The Murjiʾah, and especially their extreme wing, held the view that if one had faith, sin would cause that person no harm. Abū Ḥanīfah's position was significantly different. In the *Epistle to ʿUthmān al-Battī* he writes: "He who obeys God in all the laws, according to us, is of the people of paradise. He who leaves both faith and works is an infidel, of the people of the [hell] fire. But one who believes but is guilty of some breach of the laws is a believing sinner, and God will do as He wishes about him: punish him if he wills, and forgive him if he wills."

On the whole, Abū Ḥanīfah's approach to theological questions is characterized by the tendency to avoid extremes and to adopt middle-of-the road positions, and by his concern for the unity and solidarity of Muslims. His catholicity is reflected in many of his doctrines, as in his rejection of the schismatic positions of both the Shīʿah (who opposed ʿUthman) and the Kharjis (who opposed both ʿUthmān and ʿAlī): "We disavow none of the companions of the apostle of God; nor do we adhere to any of them exclusively. We leave the question of ʿUthmān and ʿAlī to God, who knows the secret and hidden things."

The kernel of Abū Ḥanīfah's position on sin became the standard orthodox doctrine. Moreover, his approach initiated a powerful theological movement that contributed to the final formulations of Sunnī theological doctrines on important questions relating to free will and predestination and the attributes of God. The impact of his ideas is reflected in the works of many major theologians, including al-Ṭaḥawī (d. 933), al-Māturidī (d. 944), and al-Samarqandī (d. 993).

CONTRIBUTION TO LAW. Abū Ḥanīfah's overriding interest for the greater part of his life, however, was law, and it is upon his contribution in this field that his fame mainly rests.

By Abū Ḥanīfah's time interaction among the different centers of Islamic jurisprudence, notably Medina, Kufa, and Syria, had led to a growing awareness of disagreements on legal questions. As a result, there was a perceived need for an integrated code of legal doctrines that could be justified by reference to a set of generally recognized principles and thus be universally accepted by Muslims. Abū Ḥanīfah addressed himself almost single-mindedly to this task. In collaboration with a sizable number of his students, who were specialists in Islamic law and its related fields, he thoroughly surveyed the entire field of Islamic law, reviewed the existing doctrines, and formulated new doctrines with a view to cover all possible contingencies.

Abū Ḥanīfah did not actually compose his legal corpus; instead, he dictated his doctrines to his students. The most reliable sources for these doctrines, therefore, are the works of his students, especially Abū Yūsuf (d. 799) and al-Shaybānī (d. 804). While their works abound with Abū Ḥanīfah's legal doctrines, statements about his legal theory are few and far between, and are of a fragmentary nature. Nonetheless, the assumption that he did not have a clear legal theory is contradicted by the high degree of systematic consistency found in his doctrines. Abū Ḥanīfah's legal theory can be, and has been, deduced by a careful study of his legal doctrines. In addition, works of a later period contain a few statements ascribed to Abū Ḥanīfah regarding his legal theory (see, e.g., al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād,* vol. 13, p. 368, and al-Makkī and al-Kardarī, *Manāqib,* vol. 1, p. 82). Whether Abū Ḥanīfah actually made those statements or not, they do seem to express broadly certain essentials of his legal theory. Likewise, later works also indicate that Abū Ḥanīfah had a set of fairly subtle and elaborate rules for interpretation of the authoritative texts, designating their relative authority and working out their legal significance.

On the whole, Abū Ḥanīfah's legal doctrines evidence a high degree of systematic consistency and seem to be the work of a brilliant albeit speculative juristic mind. Again and again, he disregards established practice and considerations of judicial and administrative convenience in favor of systematic and technical legal issues. His legal acumen and juristic strictness were such that Abū Ḥanīfah reached the highest level of legal thought for his time. Compared with the work of his contemporaries, such as the Kufan judge-jurist Ibn Abī Laylā (d. 756), the Syrian al-Awzāʿī (d. 774), and the Medinese Mālik (d. 795), his doctrines are more carefully formulated and systematically consistent and his technical legal thought more highly developed and refined.

Legal doctrines before Abū Ḥanīfah had been formulated mainly in response to actual problems; he attempted instead to formulate doctrines relating to questions that might arise sometime in the future. This method, which considerably enlarged the scope of Islamic law, further refined the already advanced legal thinking which was required for its application. It was also to lead, however, to extravagant use of imagination, and much energy was devoted to solving questions that would virtually never arise in actual life.

Abū Ḥanīfah's excessive use of analogical reasoning (*qiyās*), his wont to formulate doctrines in response to hypothetical legal questions, and above all his tendency to set aside isolated traditions (*āḥād*) if they tended to impose a restrictive interpretation on the legal import of Qurʾanic verses, earned him the reputation belonging to a group pejoratively called *ahl al-raʾy* ("people of independent opinion"), as opposed to *ahl al-ḥadīth* ("people of authoritative tradition"). This, however, was a polemical allegation rather than an objective statement of Abū Ḥanīfah's own standpoint or that of his school. More recent research has shown that there was scarcely any essential difference, in theory or practice, between the attitude of Abū Ḥanīfah and that of other legal schools regarding the use of a *raʾy* (independent opinion) on questions of religious law. As for traditions, there is ample evidence to show that Abū Ḥanīfah accepted traditions from the Prophet as well as from companions, and that he even accepted isolated traditions. He tended to disregard isolated traditions in cases involving a contradiction between those traditions and what he considered to be more authentic sources, and he did so not arbitrarily but in the light of an elaborate set of rules that he and his school had developed.

INFLUENCE. The legal doctrines of Abū Ḥanīfah were further developed by his disciples, especially Abū Yūsuf and al-Shāybanī. The resulting Ḥanafī school of law found favor with the Abbasid caliphs and a number of Muslim dynasties, especially the Ottomans, who accorded it exclusive official recognition. Today it enjoys more or less official status in most of the Arab countries that were formerly under Ottoman rule (e.g., Iraq, Jordan, Egypt, Sudan, Syria). Since large numbers of Muslims voluntarily accepted the Ḥanafī school, its adherents have become more numerous than those of any other school. They constitute a vast majority of the Muslim population of South Asia, Turkey, the Balkans, Cyprus, West and Central Asia, China, and Afghanistan and are well represented in the Arab countries, especially Syria and Iraq.

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ABULAFIA, MEʾIR (c. 1165–1244), known by the acronym RaMaH (Rabbi Meʾir ha-Levi). Abulafia was the first major Talmudist to appear in Spain in the period following Spanish Jewry's decisive transfer from Muslim to Christian rule in the mid-twelfth century. He was born in Burgos but moved early in his career to Toledo. His family included prominent communal leaders, some of whom served the Castilian monarchy as diplomats and administrators. Abulafia was fluent in Arabic and steeped in the culture of Spanish Jewry's "golden age"—its Hebrew linguistics and poetry, biblical exegesis, and philosophy. He was among the leading Hebrew poets of his generation, composing both secular and sacred poetry. Despite his versatility and breadth, Abulafia's religious sensibility was fundamentally conservative: his educational ideal was anchored in classical texts and his theological stance in tradition.

Abulafia's primary vocation was Talmudic studies. His detailed and highly original commentaries combine legal conceptualization with pragmatism. They also reveal the earliest traces of the northern European influence that was to transform Spanish *halakhah.* Only two of these commentaries (to the Babylonian Talmud tractates *Bavaʾ Batraʾ* and *Sanhedrin*) have survived intact, but quotations from others were preserved by later authors and influenced the subsequent development of Jewish law. Abulafia was widely consulted on halakhic questions, although only a fraction of his *responsa* survive.

Abulafia also composed an important work of biblical "text criticism," *Masoret seyag la-Torah.* This study of defective and *plene* spellings in the Pentateuch has been credited with the establishment of a virtually definitive consonantal text for Torah scrolls throughout the world.

Abulafia is remembered by modern historians mostly as a critic of Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon, 1135/8–1204). In the first years of the thirteenth century, he attacked Maimonides' interpretation of *ʿolam ha-baʾ*, "the world to come." Maimonides interpreted *ʿolam ha-baʾ* along the lines of the philosophical notion of immortality. Abulafia thought this reinterpretation tantamount to a denial of the rabbinic idea of bodily resurrection and protested loudly. The ensuing controversy, which involved scholars in Catalonia, Provence, and northern France, was apparently brought to a close by the European publication of Maimonides' *Epistle on Resurrection.*

More wide-ranging and intense was the controversy that engulfed Jewish communities throughout Europe during the 1230s. Abulafia, along with Spanish colleagues like Yehudah ibn Alfakhar and Moses Nahmanides, was aligned with French traditionalists critical of Maimonidean rationalism. But unlike his French allies, Abulafia often interpreted *aggadah* (the nonlegal component of Talmudic literature) nonliterally and engaged in extra-Talmudic scientific and philosophical studies. Moreover, he admired much of Maimonides' intellectual achievement. His antirationalism focused, rather, on radical tendencies present in Spain: a stringent and all-encompassing naturalism, as well as the doctrine of salvation by philosophy and the attendant threat of antinomianism. Against philosophical naturalism, Abulafia defended the primacy of God's free will, and against a philosophical soteriology, he defended the primacy of "Torah and good deeds."

Abulafia's mature years saw the emergence of Qabbalah as a vigorous competitor of Maimonidean rationalism for the loyalty of Hispano-Jewish intellectuals. Some traditions claim that Abulafia himself was a qabbalist. His writings do not, however, support this contention. They rather reflect a militantly antimythic sensibility and a conscious renunciation of the grand quest for cosmic "secrets"—philosophical or mystical—which Abulafia considered beyond humanity's ken.

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BERNARD SEPTIMUS (1987)
Revised Bibliography

ABŪ YŪSUF (AH 113–182/731–798 CE), more fully Yaʿqūb ibn Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī al-Kūfī; Islamic jurisconsult and, with Muhammad ibn Hasan al-Shāybanī (d. AH 189/805 CE), one of the founders of the Ḥanafī school of law. Abū Yūsuf flourished at a time of transition, when legal doctrine was still being formulated independently of the practice of the courts by groups of idealistic religious scholars in geographically determined schools. At the same time, individual scholars were appointed *qāḍīs*, or judges, by the government, especially under the Abbasids, who fostered a policy of official support for the religious law. The period also coincided with the beginning of the literary expression of technical legal thought. Abū Yūsuf's life and doctrines may be seen in the context of all these developments.

As a student and disciple of Abū Ḥanīfah, Abū Yūsuf is identified primarily with the tradition of Kufa in religious law and traditions. Born in Kufa, he was of Medinese ancestry. He is known to have studied with Mālik ibn Anas in Medina and others, but tradition states that Abū Ḥanīfah recognized the moral and intellectual excellence of the penniless young man and took him under his wing. Abū Yūsuf lived in Kufa as a practicing judge until he was appointed *qāḍī* of the capital (Baghdad), or chief judge, as his honorific (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*) indicates, by the Abbasid caliph, Hārūn al-Rashīd. The first to receive this title, Abū Yūsuf was not only consulted on the appointment and dismissal of the judiciary throughout the empire but acted as counselor to the caliph on legal and administrative matters and on financial policy. His chief extant work, the *Kitāb al-kharāj,* a treatise on taxation, public finance, and penal law, was written at the caliph's request and contains a long introduction addressed to him.

A number of works on religious law, most of which are either reasoned polemics or comparative studies of the doctrines of his contemporaries, are attributed to Abū Yūsuf, but few of these have survived. Abū Yūsuf's own doctrine can be seen within the framework of the developing technical legal thought of the Iraqi scholars, who lived in a more heterogeneous milieu and were inspired by a freer method of inquiry than that followed by the more tradition-bound Medinese. However, Abū Yūsuf tended to rely more on *ḥadīth* as the basis for legal rulings than had Abū Ḥanīfah, probably because a larger number of authoritative traditions from the Prophet had come into existence by Abū Yūsuf's time. Further, where Abū Ḥanīfah could proceed along lines of theoretical speculation and systematic consistency, Abū Yūsuf's experience as a practicing *qāḍī* caused him to mitigate his master's formalism, if often at the expense of his master's superior reasoning. In contrast to al-Shaybānī, an academic lawyer, prolific writer, and the systematizer of the school of Kufa, Abū Yūsuf was a man of affairs who made his influence felt in court circles. Since Abū Ḥanīfah himself left no writings on law, it was through the activity of these two men that the ancient school of Kufa was to become the Ḥanafī school of law.

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JEANETTE A. WAKIN (1987)

ACEHNESE RELIGION. Aceh, a province of Indonesia on the northern tip of Sumatra, is a predominantly Muslim region. More than 90 percent of the people are Acehnese speaking; other languages include Gayo, the language of people living in the central mountains, and Alas, a Batak dialect spoken by a people living south of the Gayo. Most Acehnese are currently bilingual, also speaking Indonesian, the national language. Malay was spoken by some in the coastal areas in the nineteenth century and was also the language of the Acehnese court and of the literature produced there. Acehnese, however, was both the everyday and the literary language of the countryside; religious texts are found in both Acehnese and Malay.

Aceh was once an Islamic kingdom. When Ibn Baṭṭūṭah visited Pasè, on the east coast, in 1345 CE he found Islam well established. Aceh served as a source of Islamic conversion for other parts of the Indonesian archipelago. It was also host to visiting Islamic scholars from India, Syria, and Egypt.

Aceh's early history shows marked influences from the Indian subcontinent. This, perhaps, is the source of the heterodox mysticism expounded by Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī and his successor Shams al-Dīn al-Samatrāʾ (d. 1630). Shams al-Dīn won the favor of Aceh's greatest ruler, Iskandar Muda, whose posthumous name was Makota ʿĀlam (r. 1607–1636). It has been suggested that Shams al-Dīn's teachings may not have been as heterodox as they were made out to be by succeeding Islamic teachers. Whatever the case, under the next king, Iskandar Thānī (r. 1636–1641), the followers of these mystics were banished from the court and their books burned. This was done after the arrival at court of the Gujarati Islamic scholar Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī in 1637, presumably with the aid of another scholar, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Sinkilī.

Since that time Acehnese Islam has remained in the orthodox tradition. Mystical movements have not been as strong there as in other parts of the Indonesian archipelago. When they did arise, however, they frequently took unique forms rather than becoming part of the standard *tarekat* (Arab., *ṭāriqah*) orders, despite the fact that, particularly in the nineteenth century, many Acehnese in Mecca joined such orders, most commonly the Qādirīyah or Naqshbandīyah.

The Acehnese countryside was only nominally ruled by the court. Local nobility (*uleebelangs*) administered law with and often without the help of *kali* (judges). Their administration was frequently vigorously opposed by the *ʿulamāʾ* (religious scholars) who ran religious boarding schools known as *rangkang*s.

In the villages there are two locations of religious practices. The first is the *meunasah.* Today, as in the nineteenth century, the *meunasah* is a dormitory for adolescent boys and often for some adult men as well. During the fasting month it is the site of the recitation of the voluntary prayers known as *traweh* and of the men's recitation of the Qurʾān. In the nineteenth century the official in charge of the *meunasah,* the *teungku meunasah,* collected the religious taxes (*zakāt* and *fitrah*); currently a committee of village members does this. In 1906 Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje reported that the *tenungku meunasah* lived off the *zakāt* and *fitrah* he collected as well as from the proceeds from arrangements of marriages and burial fees. Today, the *zakāt* and *fitrah* are distributed to the village poor while the local branch of the National Office of Religious Affairs is in charge of the registration of marriages. The *meunasah* is often the site of elementary instruction in Qurʾanic recitation, though this also takes place in the homes of teachers.

Curing rituals and rites of passage take place at the other site of religious practice, the house. A series of rituals governs the stages of life beginning with pregnancy. Snouck Hurgronje described these as practiced in the late nineteenth century; they persist today, but now as then the formalities of the rituals are unexplicated.

Such rituals nonetheless serve important functions that can best be seen by tracing the life patterns of men and women. Born into the house owned by his mother, at adolescence a boy moves into the *meunasah* to sleep. In later adolescence he is likely to leave the village altogether, moving to distant parts suitable for the growing of cash crops or offering opportunities for trade. Even after marriage he is unlikely to return home for any length of time. The house his family lives in is owned by his in-laws and later given to his wife, who is also likely to receive rice land for her maintenance. He is expected to provide money earned away from home for the care of his children. This pattern is most rigorously followed in the region of Pidie on the east coast and perhaps least prevalent on the west coast where cash crops are grown in the villages.

For the male, rites of passage mark many transition points of his movement out of his mother's house and his uneasy return to his wife's house. The negative quality of these rituals, by which is meant that they move men out of the households they are born into but never fully reestablish them in new ones, is partly responsible for the lack of Acehnese exegesis of the rituals. The male self is defined through them by movement away from women. The rituals sever connections that are to be reestablished not through ritual but through economic means. A man becomes fully a husband and father only when he provides money for his family. Even the wedding ceremony itself centers not on his relation to his wife but on his parents' relation to the parents of the bride. These ceremonies involve the negation of the signs that signify the boy's past rather than being the opportunity for their explication.

The Islamization of Aceh can best be placed within this context. Snouck Hurgronje described the religious schools ordinarily found away from the villages. The *ʿulamāʾ,* or teachers, who ran these schools were sometimes the leaders of reform movements that stressed the need for observance of the daily prayers and the fasting month, and for the combating of immoral practices. Popular response to such movements was enthusiastic but reform was never lasting. Paradoxically, the Acehnese adhered to Islam to the point, even, of willingness to die for it, as was proven by the long-lasting Acehnese War (1873–1914?), but only sporadically observed its major tenets. However the avidity for dying in a war against unbelievers, so often attested to by the Dutch who attempted to "pacify" the Acehnese, takes on a certain sense in the context of their rites of passage. The constitution of the self through the negation of its own history culminated in death in the holy war.

Even after the end of organized hostilities against the Dutch, what might be called an individual form of the holy war continued. The Dutch named the sudden and often suicidal attack on Europeans that Acehnese believed would result in their immediate entry into paradise "Acehnese murder." Such attacks occurred from the end of the Acehnese War through the 1930s. During the 1930s, however, they became considerably less frequent, probably as a result of the popular success of the Islamic reform movement. Under the leadership of the Acehnese religious scholar Daud Beureuʾeh, religious schools based on European models were established. These schools taught both religious and secular subjects and produced the leaders of Aceh during the Japanese and revolutionary periods. The other success of this reform movement was the institutionalization of *ʿibadah* (religious ritual), particularly the daily prayers.

As a result of the world economic depression during the 1930s, Acehnese men became unable to provide cash for their households as was incumbent upon them to do. It was in that context that the reform movement took permanent hold. The movement promised the construction of a new society if only men followed religious ritual. Prayer in particular was thought to put men into a state of rationality *(akal)* in which their passionate nature (*hawā nafsu*) would be contained and channeled into religiously sanctioned ends.

Reform brought with it a new interpretation of the male life pattern, according to which movement out of the household was associated with the proper channeling of *hawā nafsu.* With that came an institutionalization of Islamic belief and practice that colored the everyday relationships of men both with other men in the market and domestically with their wives and mothers.

In the lives of women also, ritual served not to integrate individuals into their roles so much as it did to separate them from influences that would prevent them from fulfilling their expected functions. In the nineteenth century, beliefs about spirits similar to those found in Java were common in Aceh. Spirits, particularly those called *burong,* which seemed to represent unfulfilled desires, were thought to disrupt life. Like curing rites, women's rites of passage prevented or ameliorated the actions of these spirits.

With the success of reformist Islam, belief in these spirits has become unimportant for men. Even for women belief in spirits has been muted by the criticism of the reformers. However, these beliefs still play an important role for women in a somewhat disguised form. Spirits are believed to bring dreams. Women, remembering their dreams, remember too that they have been visited by spirits who have, however, left them. Being free of spirits, they feel a certain competence and authority in their domestic roles.

The Acehnese War gave the *ʿulamāʾ* an importance that they had not previously attained. With the end of the war, their influence was confined to what the Dutch defined as religious matters and they were presumably depoliticized. The greatest success of the *ʿulamāʾ,* however, came with the popular acceptance of religious reform, which laid the basis for further political activity. Youth groups composed of former students of the modernist schools were the leaders of the 1945–1946 revolution, which resulted in the elimination of the Acehnese nobility. Daud Beureuʾeh himself became military governor of the province during the revolution and spent his time further consolidating modernist religious achievements. From 1953 till 1961, however, he led a rebellion against the central government; one demand of that rebellion was the acceptance of Islamic law as the law of the province. That demand was not met, and attempts to institutionalize Islamic law in the province continue as it seeks political independence from the Republic of Indonesia in a conflict that has brought great suffering and hardship to the region.

Today Aceh is the site of an Islamic university, but the form that Islam should take continues to be a major concern. The success of the reformist movement itself has aroused opposition. Mystical movements have sprung up in areas where the tendency of men to leave their villages in pursuit of a living was not so pronounced because of the possibility of raising market crops locally. The Naqshbandī *tarekat,* members of which were mainly older villagers, had great popular success in the 1950s and 1960s on the west coast of Aceh and has spread to other areas. During the 1970s, numerous heterodox mystical sects arose that have been met with vigorous opposition by the *ʿulamāʾ*.

SEE ALSO Islam, article on Islam in Southeast Asia.

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JAMES T. SIEGEL (1987)
Revised Bibliography

ACHUAR RELIGION SEE AMAZONIAN QUECHUA RELIGIONS

ADAD is the Old Akkadian and Assyro-Babylonian name of the ancient Middle Eastern storm god, called Adda (Addu) or Hadda (Haddu) in northwest Semitic areas and known later as Hadad, especially among the Arameans. A shortened form, Dad, occurs in personal names. Since the cuneiform sign for the "wind" (IM) was used regularly and as early as the third millennium BCE to write the divine name Adad in Mesopotamia, this is likely to have been its original meaning, just as *aḍu*, with a pharyngealized dental, means "wind" in Libyco-Berber, which is the Afro-Asiatic language closest to Semitic. The name is also related to Arabic *hadda*, "to tear down" or "to raze," a verb originally referring to a violent storm.

EXTENSION OF ADAD'S CULT. As a personification of a power of nature, Adad can bring havoc and destruction; on the other hand, he brings the rain in due season, and he causes the land to become fertile. This is why his cult plays an important role among sedentary populations in areas of rain-fed agriculture, such as northern Syria and Mesopotamia. He was not prominent in southern Babylonia, where farming was based on irrigation, and no similar Egyptian deity was worshiped in the valley and delta of the Nile, where agriculture depended on the flooding of the river. The cult of the Syrian storm god was nevertheless introduced in Egypt in the mid-second millennium BCE, and he was assimilated there with the Egyptian god Seth. The introduction of his worship in this region is probably related to the reign of the Hyksos dynasties, which were native to Canaan or Phoenicia.

CHARACTERISTICS AND RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER DEITIES. Adad is pictured on monuments and seal cylinders with lightning and the thunderbolt. In Assyro-Babylonian hymns, literary texts such as the flood story, and magic and curse formulas, the somber aspects of the god tend to predominate. For instance, the epilogue of the Laws of Hammurabi invokes Adad to bring want and hunger to the malefactor's land by depriving it of rain, and to cast thunder over his city, causing flooding. Adad is also known as Ramman, "the Thunderer," and his manifestations on mountain peaks and in the skies brought about his qualification as Baal of Heavens (i.e., Lord of Heavens, or Baal Saphon, Lord of Djebel el-Aqra) in northern Syria, thus blurring the distinction between the storm god and the mountain god. Due to the importance of his cult, he simply became Baal, "the Lord," and this antonomasia often replaced his proper name in northwest Semitic areas, at Ugarit and Emar, in Phoenicia, and in Canaan. The biblical condemnation of the cult of Baal refers likewise to the storm god.

Adad/Hadad also plays a role in entrusting royal power to kings. Hadad's prophets at Aleppo helped Zimri-Lim to regain the throne of Mari circa 1700 BCE. According to an inscription from Tel Dan from the mid-ninth century BCE, Hadad "made king" the ruler of Damascus, and in the eighth century BCE he gave "the scepter of succession" to Panamuwa II in the Aramean kingdom of Sam'al. Adad/Hadad appears sometimes as a war god, especially in Assyria and in Damascus, the Aramean capital city of which he was the chief deity.

Among his main cult centers were Aleppo and Sikkan/Guzana, biblical Gozan, in northern Syria, where he has been identified with the Hurrian storm god Teshub, and the Hittite and Luwian god Tarhunza or Tarhunt. In Anatolia, the storm god usually stood at the head of the local pantheon. His name is often concealed under the IM logogram, as it is in northern Mesopotamia and Syria. He was a heavenly god, a personification of the storm and its accompanying phenomena, such as thunder, lightning, and rain. His sacred animal was the bull.

In Syria, during the Old Babylonian period, Hadad's main sanctuary of Aleppo housed "the weapon with which he smote the Sea," regarded as a precious relic. This was a souvenir of Hadad's fight against the Sea, called Yam in Ugaritic mythological texts, which deal at length with this cosmic battle. Later Hadad became the chief god of Damascus; his temple stood at the site of the present-day Umayyad Mosque. Assyrian lexical texts identify him with Iluwer, a divine name appearing on the Aramaic stele of Zakkur, king of Hamat and Luʿash. This equation may reflect a particular syncretistic tendency of the late period and does not appear again in northwest Semitic sources. As in Anatolia, Adad's sacred animal was the bull, which symbolized might and vitality. On North Syrian stelae he is represented standing on the back of a bull, while a first-century CE stele from Dura-Europos on the Euphrates depicts him seated on a throne, with bulls on both sides.

Adad was usually accompanied by a consort, called Shala in Mesopotamia, Anat at Ugarit, and Atargatis in later periods. His father was Dagan, "the cloudy sky," and a "son of Adad," Apladda, was worshiped on the Middle Euphrates. In Greco-Roman times, Adad/Hadad was identified with Zeus, in particular at Damascus, and with Jupiter Heliopolitanus. He seems to have been identified with Jupiter Dolichenus as well, since priests attached to the latter's cult bore names such as "Son of (H)adad." Macrobius could still write circa 400 CE that "the Syrians give the name Adad to the god, which they revere as first and greatest of all." Of course, it should be made clear that we are dealing here not with a singular god, but with a name used to designate either the chief storm god of a country or a local corresponding deity, which generally had an additional qualification. The qualification usually indicated the mountain that was believed to be the abode of the deity, or a city with an important shrine. For instance, the neo-Assyrian inscription of Sargon II (r. 721–705 BCE) engraved on a stele erected in 717 BCE at Citium on Cyprus mentions "the Baal of the Mount Hurri." This is apparently the storm god of Mount Hor, present-day Ras ash-Shaqqah, which faces Cyprus and was situated on the northern border of the Holy Land according to *Numbers* 34:7–8. Ras ash-Shaqqah is one of the northern summits of the Lebanese range in the vicinity of the coast, between Byblos and Tripolis, and it was known to Greek writers as the hallowed Theouprosopon, "God's face." In the fourth century BCE, Hadad of Mabbuk was worshiped in northern Syria, in the town known later as Hierapolis, "holy city." On the obverse of a local coin, the god, horned and bearded, is represented in a long Persian-style robe. His symbols, the schematic head of a bull and a double-axe, accompany the figure. In Rome, at the time of the Empire, there was a Syrian sanctuary on Janiculum Hill, dedicated to, among others, Adad of the Lebanon.

Adad as Vegetation God. A misinterpretation of the "beating" of the breasts as a sign of mourning, compared in *Zechariah* 12:11 with the loud rumbling of Hadad the Thunderer, led to the opinion that Adad was a dying god. The mourning alluded to by the prophet was not occasioned by Hadad's death, but by the fate of Jerusalem. As for Hadad's thundering, it was not resounding "in the valley of Megiddo," as commonly proposed in commentaries and translations of the Bible, but "in the valley of splendor." This appellation is likely to refer to the fertile Beqaʿ Valley between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon ranges, where the thunder of the storm god, probably Hadad of Lebanon, resounded loudly in the mountains. The word *mgdwn* of the Hebrew text is an Aramaic loanword (*migdān*), meaning "splendor," and its plural is used in *Targum Onqelos* to designate "splendid gifts," for instance in *Genesis* 24:53 and *Deuteronomy* 33:13–14.

Nonetheless, according to a mythological poem from Ugarit, when the land suffers from lack of rain, Baal/Haddu is supposed to be dead for seven years, and the prosperous state is restored only after he returns to life. The mythical scheme of seven years of famine and of seven years of great plenty is echoed not only in the story of Joseph in Egypt in *Genesis* 41 and 45:6, but also in the inscription of Idrimi, king of Alalakh in the fifteenth century BCE. This inscription refers to the seven years that Idrimi spent in exile, comparing this period with the "seven years of the storm god." This septennial motive is interwoven at Ugarit with themes reflecting a seasonal pattern. At any rate, the myth reflects a development that brought about the identification of the storm god with a vegetation god. A stele from Ugarit expresses this syncretism in a plastic way, showing the storm god who proceeds to the right above the mountains, brandishing a mace in his right hand, and holding in his left a lance with the point resting on the ground and the upper part flourishing upward in the form of a plant.

The connection between rain and the storm god was so deeply rooted that the poet could say in a mythological composition from Ugarit that "Baal rains," while Mishnaic and Talmudic texts could later call "field of Baal" or "property of Baal" a piece of ground sufficiently watered by rain and requiring no artificial irrigation. In addition, in Arabic *baʿl* is the name given to land or plants thriving on a natural water supply. The Aramaic inscription from Tell Fekherye, dedicated in the mid-ninth century BCE to Hadad of Sikkan calls him "water controller of heaven and earth, who brings down prosperity, and provides pasture and watering place for all the lands, and provides water supply and jugs to all the gods, his brothers, water controller of all the rivers, who makes all the lands luxuriant, the merciful god to whom praying is sweet."

SEE ALSO Aramean Religion; Baal; Teshub.

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EDWARD LIPIŃSKI (2005)

ADAM is the designation and name of the first human creature in the creation narratives found in the Hebrew scriptures (Old Testament). The word *adam* may refer to the fact that this being was an "earthling" formed from the red-hued clay of the earth (in Hebrew, *adom* means "red," *adamah* means "earth"). Significantly, this latter report is found only in *Genesis* 2:7, where the creator god enlivens him by blowing into his nostrils the breath of life. Here the first being is clearly a lone male, since the female was not yet formed from one of his ribs to be his helpmate (*ʿezer ke-negdo; Gn.* 2:21–23). In the earlier textual account of *Genesis* 1:1–24a, which is generally considered to be a later version than that found in *Genesis* 2:4b–25, God first consults with his divine retinue and then makes an *adam* in his own "form and image": "in the form of God he created him; male and female he created them" (*Gn.* 1:27). If the second clause is not simply a later qualification of a simultaneous creation of a male and a female both known as *adam* (see also *Gn.* 5:1), then we may have a trace of the creation of a primordial androgyne.

Later ancient traditions responded to this version by speculating that the original unity was subsequently separated and that marriage is a social restitution of this polarity. Medieval Jewish Qabbalah, which took the expression "in the image of God" with the utmost seriousness, projected a vision of an *adam qadmon,* or "primordial Adam," as one of the configurations by which the emanation of divine potencies that constituted the simultaneous self-revelation of God and his creation could be imagined. And because Adam is both male and female according to scriptural authority, the qabbalists variously refer to a feminine aspect of the godhead that, like the feminine of the human world, must be reintegrated with its masculine counterpart through religious action and contemplation. Such a straight anthropomorphic reading of *Genesis* 1:27 was often rejected by religious philosophers especially (both Jewish and Christian), and the language of scripture was interpreted to indicate that the quality which makes the human similar to the divine is the intellect or will. Various intermediate positions have been held, and even some modern Semiticists have preferred to understand the phrase "image of God" metaphorically; that is, as referring to man as a divine "viceroy" (in the light of an Akkadian expression), and this in disregard of clearly opposing testimony in both Mesopotamian creation texts (like *Enuma elish*) and biblical language itself (cf. *Gn.* 5:1–3).

According to the first scriptural narrative, this *adam* was the crown of creation. Of his creation alone was the phrase "very good" used by God (*Gn.* 1:30f.). Moreover, this being was commissioned to rule over the nonhuman creations of the earth as a faithful steward (*Gn.* 1:29–2:9). Out of regard for the life under his domain, this being was to be a vegetarian. In the second version (where the specifying designation *ha-adam,* "the Adam," predominates; cf. *Gn.* 2:7–4:1), the creature is put into a divine garden as its caretaker and told not to eat of two trees—the tree of the knowledge of good and evil and the tree of life, that is, the two sources of knowledge and being—under pain of death (*Gn.* 2:15–17). This interdict is subsequently broken, with the result that death, pain of childbirth, and a blemished natural world were decreed for humankind (*Gn.* 3:14–19).

This primordial fault, which furthermore resulted in the banishment of Adam and his companion from the garden (*Gn.* 3:22–24), and the subsequent propagation of the human species as such (*Gn.* 4:1ff.), has been variously treated. The dominant rabbinic tradition is that the sin of Adam resulted in mortality for humankind and did not constitute a qualitative change in the nature of the species—it was not now set under the sign of sin as it was in the main Christian tradition, beginning with Paul and exemplified in the theologies of Augustine and John Calvin. For Christian theology, the innate corruption of human nature that resulted from Adam's fall was restored by the atoning death of a new Adam, Jesus (cf. *1 Cor.* 15:22). In one Christian tradition, the redemptive blood of Christ flowed onto the grave of Adam, who was buried under Calvary in the Holy Sepulcher. The typologizing of Adam in Jewish tradition often focused on him as the prototype of humankind, and so the episode in Eden was read as exemplary or allegorical of the human condition and the propensity to sin. In this light, various spiritual, moral, or even legal consequences were also drawn, particularly with respect to the unity of the human race deriving from this "one father"—a race formed, according to one legend, from different colored clays found throughout the earth. In addition, mystics, philosophical contemplatives, and Gnostics of all times saw in the life of Adam a pattern for their own religious quest of life—as, for example, the idea that the world of the first Adam was one of heavenly luminosity, subsequently diminished; the idea that Adam was originally a spiritual being, subsequently transformed into a being of flesh—his body became his "garments of shame"; or even the idea that Adam in Eden was originally sunk in deep contemplation of the divine essence but that he subsequently became distracted, with the result that he became the prisoner of the phenomenal world. For many of these traditions, the spiritual ideal was to retrieve the lost spiritual or mystical harmony Adam originally had with God and all being.

Apocryphal books about Adam and his life were produced in late antiquity and in the Middle Ages, and the theme was also quite popular in Jewish and Christian iconography, in medieval morality plays, and in Renaissance art and literature. Well known among the latter is John Milton's *Paradise Lost,* illustrated by John Dryden. Michelangelo's great *Creation of Adam* in the Sistine Chapel, the Edenic world in the imagination of the modern painter Marc Chagall, and the agonies of loss, guilt, and punishment seen in the works of Franz Kafka demonstrate the continuing power of the theme of Adam's expulsion from Eden.

SEE ALSO Eve; Fall, The; Paradise.

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MICHAEL FISHBANE (1987)

ADAMS, HANNAH. Well known in New England during her lifetime, Hannah Adams (1755–1831) has been remembered, if at all, as the first American-born woman to earn her living by writing. However, she also has a preeminent place in the history of the study of religion. Adams wrote three theological and didactic books: *The Truth and Excellence of the Christian Religion Exhibited* (1804), which offered biographical sketches of "eminent" lay Christians; *Concise Account of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews* (1816), which exhorted Americans to evangelize the "lost sheep of the house of Israel"; and *Letters on the Gospels* (1824), which aimed to help young people "read the New Testament with more pleasure and advantage." As these texts indicate, Adams shared a great deal with other theological liberals during the Early National period. A Congregationalist who sided with the Unitarians, Adams favored a supernatural rationalism that endorsed both reason and revelation as sources of religious authority. She bubbled with a millennialist optimism that supported missionary outreach, but also championed "religious liberty," bemoaned sectarianism, and condemned intolerance.

Impatience with intolerance—as well as poverty and curiosity—prompted her first and most important contribution to the study of religion. She started it after becoming "disgusted by the want of candor" in Thomas Broughton's *Historical Dictionary of All Religions* (1742). In 1778, Adams began researching and writing her *Dictionary of All Religions and Religious Denominations,* a survey of religions that first appeared in 1784 (as *Alphabetical Compendium of the Various Sects*) and went through four American editions and several British editions. Scholars of U.S. Judaism have taken note of her two-volume *History of the Jews* (1812) because it drew on correspondence with Jewish leaders to offer an important account of Judaism in the United States (Adams, 1812, vol. 2, pp. 204–220). However, it was Adams's *Dictionary,* especially the fourth edition of 1817, that secured her a preeminent place in the history of the study of religion. Trying to avoid Broughton's pejorative accounts and dismissive labels, Adams not only offered a glimpse of the increasing religious diversity of Early National America, but she also provided an angle of vision on the wider religious world.

The resourceful Adams used varied sources of information. She wrote to religious leaders, including the Catholic bishop John Carroll, and visited some groups, including the Swedenborgians. She also mined depositories of official documents, as she did when researching New England history. Adams had studied Latin and Greek, but she primarily relied on secondary sources in English that she found in bookshops and libraries, including the personal library of former president John Adams, a distant relative, and the collection at the Boston Athenaeum, where Chester Harding's oil painting of her still hangs.

Using the classification scheme that predominated at the time, Adams considered four broad categories of religions: Jews, Muslims, heathens, and Christians. The latter received disproportionate attention: 85 percent of the more than seven hundred entries covered Christian ideas and groups. However, she considered other religions more fully and less dismissively than Broughton. The dictionary format itself—unlike Broughton's thematic organization—conveyed to readers that all religions were on the same footing, and Adams included a number of entries on non-Christian traditions, including eleven on Judaism, six on Islam, five on indigenous religions, and four on Zoroastrianism. She also penned eleven entries on religions in East and South Asia, including Hinduism, Sikhism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Daoism, and Shintō.

However, it is Adams's approach that seems most noteworthy. She set out four methodological "rules," guidelines that anticipated those advocated by some later interpreters of religion. First, she aimed "to avoid giving the least preference of one denomination above another." That meant, for Adams, omitting passages where authors "pass judgment" and rejecting denigrating labels such as "Heretics, Schismatics, Enthusiasts, Fanatics," and so on. Second, she resolved to let adherents speak for themselves, taking accounts of religions and sects "from their own authors." Third, she aimed to identify the "general collective sense" of each tradition, thereby avoiding descriptions that take a marginal group to represent the larger tradition. Fourth, Adams announced that she would "take the utmost care not to misrepresent the ideas" of authors.

Adams was not able to "avoid giving the least preference." As with all scholars of religion, her social location and personal convictions shaped her interpretations. In the volume's introduction, which described the religious world at the time of Jesus, she noted that the "heathens" venerated many gods. To explain that diversity, Adams recounted naturalist and euhemerist theories of the origin of religion: the gods originated in encounters with nature or in the propensity to deify heroes. Yet none of the non-Christian faiths, including Judaism, were as lofty as the tradition initiated by Jesus. "Christianity broke forth from the east like a rising sun," Adams suggested, "and dispelled the universal darkness which obscured every part of the globe" (Adams, 1992, p. 11). In this passage from the introduction, and in some entries, Adams revealed her theological commitments. She sometimes recorded, almost word for word, misleading or negative descriptions. She sometimes seemed blind to the ways a borrowed phrase violated her commitment to fair representation. Yet, to her credit, Adams never treated a religion or sect more negatively than her sources, and when a British edition added denigrating labels and phrases she deleted them in the subsequent American edition. Most important, she anticipated later developments by prescribing a critical and judicious approach to the comparative study of religion. Louis Henry Jordan, who wrote an early history of the field, listed Adams as the only American included among the "prophets and pioneers" (Jordan, 1986, pp. 146–150). Even if most subsequent histories have overlooked Adams or minimized her contributions—and those of other women—Jordan's assessment still seems appropriate. If we consider the historical context—not to mention the obstacles she faced as the first American woman to earn her living by writing—Adams's *Dictionary* seems to be "a really notable undertaking" (Jordan, 1986, p. 149).

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THOMAS A. TWEED (2005)

ĀDI GRANTH ("first book") is the earliest scripture of the Sikhs; the second scripture is the *Dasam Granth* ("tenth book"). The *Ādi Granth* is an anthology of medieval religious poetry, relating to the radical school of the Bhaki Movement. Those whose verses are included in it lived between the twelfth and the seventeenth century CE. The *Granth* was compiled by Gurū Arjan Dev in 1604 at Amritsar, utilizing the material already collected by Gurū Nānak, the founder of Sikhism, and Gurū Amar Dās, third *gurū* of the Sikhs, who also made several of his own additions. Bhāī Gurdās was the scribe. The scripture was installed as the *Gurū Granth Sāheb* in the Harī Mandir (Golden Temple) by the *gurū* himself; the first high priest *(granthī)* was Bābā Budhā.

The original *Granth Sāheb* is known as *Kartārpur dī bīṛ* ("the recension of Kartarpur") because it came into the possession of Dhīr Mal, a grandson of Gurū Hargobind, the sixth *gurū,* who lived at Kartarpur in Jullundur district. While this recension was being taken for binding to Lahore, the second recension was prepared by Banno and is hence known as *Bhāī Banno dī bīṛ.* His additions to the end of *Granth Sāheb* were not approved by Gurū Arjan Dev. The third and final recension was prepared in 1704 by Gurū Gobind Singh, the tenth *gurū,* at Damdamā, where he resided for some time after leaving Anandpur. The scribe was Bhāī Manī Singh. This recension is known as *Damdame Wālī bīṛ.* The hymns of Gurū Tegh Bahadur, the ninth *gurū,* were added to it. The guruship was bestowed on this final recension by the tenth *gurū,* thereby ending the line of personal guruship.

Besides the hymns of the first five and the ninth Sikh *gurūs*, the hymns of the pre-Nānak saints, including Nāmdev, Kabīr, and Ravidās, and the verses of some contemporary poets, mostly bards, are included in the *Ādi Granth.* The poetry of the scripture is musical and metrical. Except for the *japu* of Gurū Nānak in the beginning and the *sloks* and *swayyās* at the end, all the other compositions are set in various *rāgas* and *rāginīs*. These compositions include hymns of the *gurūs* in serial order, in set patterns of stanza forms and musical notations. These are followed by longer poems with special subheadings, then the *chhants* and *vārs* of the Sikh *gurūs* in serial order. At the end of each *rāga* or *rāginī* appear the hymns of the various saints in turn, beginning with Kabīr and followed by Nāmdev, Ravidās, and others. Various forms of versification, including folk song forms, are used.

Because the saints and *gurūs* represented in the *Ādi Granth* belong to different regions and social strata, the scripture is a treasury of medieval Indian languages and dialects. Besides writings in the common language, called *sant bhāṣā* ("saint language"), containing affixes and case terminations of the language of the area of the saint concerned, the *Ādi Granth* also contains poems composed in Braj Bhāṣā, Western Hindi, Eastern Punjabi, Lahndi, and Sindhi. The influence of Eastern, Western, and Southern Apabhramsas, Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, and Marathi are discernible in various poems and hymns. The saint-poets have clothed their spiritual experiences in the imagery derived from both the world of nature and the world of man. Because of the similarity of spiritual experience, there is undoubtedly a good deal of repetition in the content of these verses, but the diverse imagery used in the hymns makes the poetry appealing and always fresh.

The saint-poets and *gurūs* represented in the *Ādi Granth* speak of the prevailing degeneration of religious life. They denounce formalism, ritualism, and symbolism. They consider ethical greatness the basis for spiritual greatness. The seekers must imbibe godly attributes and other qualities in their lives and avoid sinful acts. Prominence is given to truth, but still greater prominence to the practice of truth. The active life of a householder is considered the best life, and the division of humankind into castes and various stages is rejected. The hand and the mind both must act together to attain loftier ideals. There is a close connection in the *Ādi Granth* between the doctrine of *karman* and that of grace. Although it holds that *hukm* (the will of God) reigns supreme, the *Ādi Granth* does not deny the freedom of the individual. The reality of the world forms the basis of Sikh ethics. Though the world is transient, its existence is real.

The *Ādi Granth* opposes all distinctions of caste and color. It espouses universal brotherhood. Religious practices and outward symbols create ego, which can be overcome by remembrance of the name of the Lord, in the company of the saints *(sādh sangat)* and the grace of the true *gurū* and the Lord. We meet the true *gurū* by the grace of God and realize God by the grace of the true *gurū.* The ideal is the realization of God, and for the attainment of this ideal the disciple must seek the guidance of the true *gurū,* who has full knowledge of *brahman.* With the tenth *gurū*'s surrender of personal guruship to the *Granth* itself, the Word (Skt., *śabda*) henceforth is the *gurū.* The lotus-feet of the Lord are the only heaven for the true disciple. The state of realization is called *sahj* ("equipoise"). In this state the mind and intellect become absolutely pure.

According to the *Ādi Granth,* God *(brahman)* is one without a second. His name is Truth. He is the creator, devoid of fear and enmity. He is immortal, unborn, and self-existent. He is truth, consciousness, and bliss. He is omnipresent, omnipotent, and omniscient. He is changeless and flawless. When he wills to become many, he begins his sport like a juggler. Before the creation he is in abstract meditation and without attributes, but after the creation, he, as Īśvara, manifests himself as the treasure house of all qualities. The soul *(jīva)* is part and parcel of *brahman.* It has its own individuality, but since it comes out of *brahman* it is also immortal. The physical body decays, but the *jīva* continues forever. *Prakṛti,* or *māyā,* is not a separate ultimate reality. It has been created by God. It leads the *jīva* away from God and thus toward transmigration. When the influence of *māyā* vanishes, the *jīva* realizes *brahman.* It is wrong to delimit the creation of the infinite Lord. The Truth is immanent in the universe. The human body is its repository and an epitome of the universe. It is a microcosm.

SEE ALSO Guru Granth Sahib; Kabīr; Nānak; Singh, Gobind.

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SURINDAR SINGH KOHLI (1987)

ADLER, FELIX (1851–1933), social, educational, and religious reformer; founder of the New York Society for Ethical Culture. Born in Alzey, Germany, Adler came to the United States at the age of six when his father, Rabbi Samuel Adler, accepted the country's most prestigious Reform pulpit, at Temple Emanu-El in New York. By example and instruction his parents fostered his passion for social justice, religious sensibilities, and Jewish education. After graduation from Columbia College in 1870, he returned to Germany to study at the Berlin Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums with Abraham Geiger in order to prepare for a career in the Reform rabbinate. When the school's opening was delayed for almost two years, Adler immersed himself in university studies, first at Berlin and then at Heidelberg, where he received his doctorate in Semitics *summa cum laude* in 1873. His formative German experiences precipitated an intellectual break with Judaism: After his exposure to historicism, evolution, critical studies of the Bible, anthropology, and Neo-Kantianism, Adler's belief in theism and the spiritual uniqueness of Judaism was undermined. Kant's analysis of ethical imperatives lent authority to Adler's new faith in a moral law independent of a personal deity, and the German industrial order, with its attendant socioeconomic problems for labor and society, along with Friedrich Lange's proposed solutions, brought into focus the major ills of industrial society that Adler came to address in America throughout his life.

Upon his return home, it was expected that he would eventually succeed his father at Emanu-El, but his one sermon on October 11, 1873, alienated some of the established members. Adler's admirers, however, sponsored him as nonresident professor of Hebrew and Oriental literature at Cornell between 1873 and 1876, and they then served as the nucleus of a Sunday lecture movement that he inaugurated on May 15, 1876. The following February this movement was incorporated as the New York Society for Ethical Culture.

To Adler, this society represented a religious organization that transcended creeds and united people in ethical deeds; it was dedicated to the inherent worth of each individual, to personal and communal ethical growth, and to the application of an ethical perspective to every social context. Over the years, the society served as Adler's platform not only for philosophical conceptualizations but also for concrete social reforms. In the late 1870s he established the first free kindergarten in New York, the first district nursing program, and a workingman's lyceum; in 1880 he organized a workingman's school (later the Ethical Culture School), and in 1891 he founded the Summer School of Applied Ethics. Adler was also intimately involved in tenement housing reform and good-government clubs and served as chairman of the National Child Labor Committee from 1904 to 1921. He launched the Fieldston School in 1928.

As an intellectual, Adler enjoyed the esteem of his peers and accumulated impressive scholarly credentials: He founded the *International Journal of Ethics* (1890), was appointed professor of political and social ethics at Columbia (1902), and delivered Oxford's Hibbert Lectures (1923), published as *The Reconstruction of the Spiritual Ideal* (1924). Nevertheless, the fundamental intellectual effort of his last years—the philosophical justification of his ethical ideal of a spiritual universe—had negligible impact. Where this was attempted, as in *An Ethical Philosophy of Life* (1918), it was dismissed as an example of Neo-Kantian religious idealism. Indeed, his earlier, less abstruse works—*Creed and Deed* (1877), *Life and Destiny* (1903), *The Religion of Duty* (1905), *The World Crisis and Its Meaning* (1915)—were far better received.

In his day, Adler was publicly lauded as prophet, social visionary, and apostle of moral justice even by the Jewish community he had left. Yet toward the end of his life he was intellectually alienated from his own organization, and in the early twenty-first century most Ethical Culture members know him only as their movement's founder.

SEE ALSO Ethical Culture.

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BENNY KRAUT (1987)

ADONIS is a divine name coined in Greek from the northwest Semitic exclamation *ʾadōnī*, "my lord," probably shortened from the dirge *hōy ʾadōnī*, "Woe, my lord," which is echoed in Greek by *aiai*, *Adonin*.

ORIGINS. The Greek tradition connects Adonis with Byblos. Hence his worship must be of Byblian origin. It is unknown whether the male deity thus invoked or mourned in the first millennium BCE was initially a city god or heroic eponym, a Baal of Byblos, or a god of the countryside, as suggested by his assimilation with Tammuz and Dionysos in the Middle East, and by his characterization as a vegetation deity in later Greco-Roman tradition. The latter view is supported by Lucian's notice that Byblian women performed their mourning ritual for Adonis "through the whole countryside," and by a similar detail in the description of the Adonis festival at Seville circa 287 CE, as reported in the *Martyrology of Saints Justa and Rufina*. The center of Adonis's worship was at Aphaca in Mount Lebanon, a single day's journey from Byblos. At the site of the famous spring, the main source of the Adonis River or Nahr Ibrahim, stood a temple, where the cult of Adonis was maintained until the time of Emperor Constantine the Great, who ordered the destruction of the shrine. Although it was partially rebuilt by Julian the Apostate, little survives of the ancient buildings, except some Roman ruins.

Adonis's Semitic name or epithet *naʿmān*, "the beautiful" or "the lovely one," was preserved by *Isaiah* 17:10 and by Greek authors, especially when comparing the anemone to Adonis. Naʿmān or Naaman is a West Semitic proper name, attested from the second millennium BCE onward, and the epithet occurs frequently in literary texts from Ugarit. It implies that Adonis was conceived as a youth of remarkable beauty. Instead, he lacks any feature that would characterize him as a deity of the netherworld, except his secondary assimilation to Osiris, the king of the dead, in the Alexandrian ritual.

MYTHS. Several mythical stories are related to Adonis. According to the myth that Apollodorus cites from Panyassis of Halicarnassus, active in the early fifth century BCE, Adonis was the son of the Assyrian/Syrian king Theias by his daughter Smyrna, who by deceiving him as to her identity, conceived Adonis by him. When Theias discovered the truth he would have slain his daughter, but the gods in pity changed her into a myrrh tree. As the myrrh tree grows only in southern Arabia and in Somaliland, it is unlikely that it belongs to the original story. *Smyrna* must be a Graecized form of *šarmīna*, the evergreen cypress, which perfectly fits the Adonis myth. After ten months, according to Apollodorus, the tree burst, letting Adonis come forth. This epiphany characterizes him as a vegetation god. It is similar to the birth of Malakbēl as represented on an altar from Rome, one side of which shows the young god emerging from a cypress. This kind of epiphany is well known in the Middle East and it also occurs in Assyria. The Adonis myth uses the same theme as the story of Judah and Tamar, "the Date Palm," in *Genesis* 38. By deceiving her father-in-law as to her identity, Tamar conceived two sons by him. When Judah discovered the truth he would have slain his daughter-in-law, but Tamar made her justification by applying to the custom and duty of levirate marriage. Panyassis's fable may reflect another institution—the sacred marriage celebrated by the king with a priestess, possibly a king's daughter. Since Theias is apparently the same legendary character as Toi or Tai (Tʿy), king of Hamat (Syria), who entered the Bible in *2 Samuel* 8:9–10, the myth could be as old as the ninth century BCE, when the worship of Pahalatis, possibly the Mistress (Bʿlt) of Byblos, is attested at Hamat.

Adonis's agrarian nature of dying and rising god, like the Sumerian god Dumuzi and the Assyrian Tammuz, is implied also by Panyassis's complementary account of the seasonal split in Adonis's life between Aphrodite and Persephone, the queen of the netherworld. When Adonis was born, Aphrodite put the infant in a chest. This feature of the account parallels the case of Dionysos venerated at Delphi in a fan, but also recalls the stories of Sargon of Akkad and of Moses in *Exodus* 2:1–10. However, Aphrodite handed the child in the chest to the care of Persephone, who afterward refused to give him up. Zeus, an appeal being made to him, decided that Adonis should spend a third of the year with Persephone and a third with Aphrodite, and the remaining third at his own disposal.

Aphrodite is obviously Astarte, the mythic queen of Byblos according to Plutarch, but she is also Balthi, the great goddess or Mistress of Byblos, according to the Syriac homily of Pseudo-Meliton. As for Persephone, she probably corresponds to Sheʾol, a chthonic goddess whose name in Hebrew designates the netherworld. Zeus's verdict is a variant of a folktale, upon which Solomon's arbitration in *1 Kings* 3:16–

28 is also based. The antiquity of this particular myth of Adonis is confirmed by scenes engraved on Etruscan bronze mirrors from the fifth to third centuries BCE, showing Zeus's arbitration, the sadness of Turan (the Etruscan Venus), and her happiness when her lover Atunis rejoins her. Love scenes of Venus and Adonis also appear on mosaics, in particular at Lixus, the ancient Phoenician settlement on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. An interesting variant of these myths is represented on a Roman cameo: Adonis sleeps naked at the foot of a tree, guarded by his dog; two cupids try to wake him up, while Aphrodite waits amorously for his "awaking."

An important element in appreciating Adonis's agrarian connection is the story of the killing of Adonis by a "boar out of the wood," an animal known for ravaging the vines, as *Psalms* 80:9–14 complains. The story related to Adonis seems to be of Semitic origin as well, since Jerome's allusion to the killing of Adonis "in the month of June" must be based on Aramaic *ḥăzīr*, which in Syriac means both "boar" and "June." But its original protagonist may have been Attis, slain by a boar according to Pausanias. Adonis fighting the boar is represented as a hunter on a mosaic from Carranque near Toledo, dated to the fourth century CE.

Another version of the slaying of Adonis is preserved by Pseudo-Meliton, who calls him Tammuz. Since Balthi was in love with him, Hephaestus, her jealous husband, "slew Tammuz in Mount Lebanon, while he was clearing the land" (*šnīra burza*). Adonis was then buried at Aphaca, where Balthi also died.

CULT. The cult of Adonis was especially popular with women. Annual festivals, called Adonia, were held at Byblos and also, at least from the seventh century BCE onward, in Cyprus and at different places in Greece. Its earliest record is a fragment of a poem by Sappho, who was native to Lesbos in the Aegean. Her poem was apparently written in the form of a dialogue between a woman, possibly representing Aphrodite, and a chorus of young female attendants. It refers to "the lovely Adonis," using a Greek translation of Adonis's Semitic name or epithet *naʿmān*, and invites the young maidens to mourn for him by beating their breasts and rending their tunics. The Semitic features of the ritual are confirmed by Aristophanes' references to the Adonia being celebrated in Athens on the roof of a building by women shrieking "Woe, woe, Adonis!" and beating their breasts.

A very elaborate Alexandrian festival is described by Theocritus in the third century BCE. The rites consisted of a magnificent wedding pageant for Adonis and Aphrodite. The next day women carried Adonis's image to the seashore amid lamentations and expressed the hope of witnessing his return the following year. The Egyptian cult of Osiris most likely had a bearing on the Ptolemaic ritual and its influence could have reached Byblos, since the well-known legend of Isis finding the body of Osiris murdered by Seth localizes the mythical event at Byblos. A special feature of the festival was the "Adonis gardens," first recorded by Plato and alluded to in *Isaiah* 17:10–11. These were small pots of seeds forced to grow artificially, which rapidly faded. Egyptian origin is possible. They were similar, in fact, to the so-called beds of Osiris showing Osiris's shape; these were planted with corn seeds, the sprouting of which signified the god's resurrection.

There was perhaps considerable variation in the content of the Adonis festival and much of the original intent of the rites appears to have been forgotten. Originally, rites and mystery-plays reenacted dying and revival, disappearance and return. The mourning of Adonis is well documented in written sources, but his revival, return, or rebirth is not attested directly before Lucianus's *De dea Syria*, Origen, and Jerome. However, the "recovering of Adonis" by Venus, often depicted in Rome according to Plautus's comedy *Menaechmi* 143–145 (dated tentatively from 194 BCE), Adonis's marvelous birth from the evergreen cypress, and the division of his life between Aphrodite and Persephone all have the idea of revival, rebirth, or awakening in common and are concerned with vegetation. According to *De dea Syria,* sacred prostitution was included in the ritual at Byblos, a sacred marriage with Aphrodite took place in the Alexandrian ritual, and the cells of the temple of Adonis at Dura-Europos may have served the same purpose. Its mythical aim was probably the "rebirth" of Adonis.

According to *De dea Syria*, Adonis's revival was celebrated on the third day of the festival. The "third day" seems to have been a predestined moment for the revival, since the "finding of Osiris" by Isis took place on the third day according to Plutarch, the revival of the nation takes place on the third day according to *Hosea* 6:2, and Jesus' resurrection is dated to "the third day" in *1 Corinthians* 15:4. At any rate, the triduum has a larger application in cult and historiography.

It is difficult to answer the question whether Adonis was initially a god of vegetation in general, a vine god, a tree spirit, as is suggested by his birth from a tree, or a grain spirit. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, writing in the second half of the fourth century CE, the Adonis festival was "symbolic of the reaping of ripe fruits of the field." Origen stated one century earlier that Adonis is "the symbol of the fruits of the earth, mourned when they are sown, but causing joy when they rise." According to Jerome, the "slaying of Adonis is shown by seeds dying in the earth, and his resurrection by the crops in which dead seeds are reborn." These explanations favor the conception of Adonis as a grain spirit, the more so because a sentence from Pseudo-Meliton, usually emended and mistranslated, shows him laboring in the field. In this context Adonis's appearance as a hunter in one of the myths might signify that he was protecting the fields against wild boars.

SEE ALSO Dumuzi; Dying and Rising Gods; Eshmun.

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EDWARD LIPIŃSKI (2005)

ADRET, SHELOMOH BEN AVRAHAM (c. 1235–1310), known by the acronym RaSHBa' (Rabbi Shelomoh ben Avraham); Spanish rabbi and legal authority. Born into a leading family of Aragon, Adret studied with Yonah Gerondi and with the great Talmudist, biblical commentator, and qabbalist Moses Nahmanides (Mosheh ben Naḥman). During his four decades as rabbi of Barcelona, Adret was considered by the Aragonese kings to be the dominant Jewish figure in the realm.

Adret's scholarly reputation was established by his *novellae* (Heb., *ḥiddushim*) on many Talmudic tractates, and contemporaries recognized him as an outstanding authority on Jewish law. Rabbis of Aragon and of many distant countries submitted their formal legal inquiries to him, and his collected *responsa,* numbering in the thousands, made him one of the most prolific and influential of all Jewish legal respondents. An important source for the history of Jewish communal life, these *responsa* treat problems relating to communal self-government, fiscal administration, and institutions such as the synagogue, court, house of study, and voluntary societies.

Occasionally Adret was confronted with formal questions of a theological nature, usually flowing from problematic biblical passages or rabbinic pronouncements. Scattered through his *responsa* are significant statements on the proper role of philosophical speculation in interpreting traditional texts, the possibility of contemporary prophecy, astrology, dreams, magic and divine providence, the search for rational explanations of the commandments, the immutability of the Torah, and eschatological doctrine.

Adret strongly denounced the messianic pretensions of the eccentric mystic Abraham Abulafia and later claimed that without his firm opposition many Jews would have been deceived. He also warned Jewish communities against a Jew called the "prophet of Ávila," who maintained that a mystical work had been revealed to him by an angel.

His most controversial foray into public affairs was instigated by complaints from southern France about the destructive impact of philosophical learning upon young Jews. In 1305, after a three-year correspondence, Adret promulgated a formal ban in his Barcelona synagogue, prohibiting those less than twenty-five years old from studying books of Greek natural science or metaphysics. The writings of Maimonides were not proscribed, and the study of medicine was explicitly excluded from the prohibition.

Because of his role in this conflict, Adret was frequently depicted by nineteenth-century Jewish historians as part of a group of narrow-minded, obstinate zealots. His own work, however, especially his *novellae* on selected Talmudic *aggadot,* reveals an openness to the use of philosophical literature for exegetical purposes, although he clearly repudiated the extreme philosophical positions denying creation and individual providence. He also suggested qabbalistic interpretations of rabbinic statements. The fact that several of his disciples wrote commentaries on the Torah or explications of Nahmanides' commentary in which the mystical element was pronounced led Gershom Scholem to speak of the qabbalistic "school" of Adret.

Adret's writings include answers to Christians who used the *aggadah* to undermine the authority of the sages or to support Christian theological positions; one source describes an actual debate with a Christian thinker. Adret is also presumed to have written a *Ma'amar 'al Yishma'e'l,* published by Perles, responding to the anti-Jewish tracts of the eleventh-century Spanish Muslim intellectual Ahmad ibn Hazm. This apologetical work defends the Torah against charges of containing inconsistencies and describing repugnant behavior; it answers the claim that the original Torah had been lost and that Judaism contained perversions and distortions of God's authentic teaching.

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MARC SAPERSTEIN (1987)
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AEGEAN RELIGIONS. The Aegean world is composed of three distinctive regions, all located at the Eastern edge of the Mediterranean: the island of Crete, the mainland of Greece, and the islands between the mainland and the coast of Anatolia. The people of the mainland, the Mycenaeans, were Greek-speaking. The inhabitants of the island of Crete were the Minoans, who spoke an as yet undeciphered language. The islanders were apparently non-Greek, and fell into the political and cultural orbit of the Minoans and later the Mycenaeans in the second millennium BCE. The Aegeans shared many cultural traits with the Near East, but retained a distinctive regional character. The Minoans and Myceneans had palace cultures shortly after 2000 BCE, but for the people of the islands, no such claim can be made.

Little is known about the religion of the islands north of Crete that are collectively called the Cyclades. Numerous marble figures and figurines have been found but most of them are without context. It is uncertain whether or not they were used for worship. Dearth of data makes a reconstruction of Cycladic religion next to impossible.

MINOAN RELIGION. The religious beliefs of the Minoans are more accessible despite the absence of decipherable texts.

The myth of the great goddess and matriarchy. If Minoan religion is popular today, this is partly due to the great mother goddess (see figure 1). This is the legacy of the excavator of Knossos, Sir Arthur Evans (1851–1941), who may be said to have invented Minoan culture at the beginning of the twentieth century. For his interpretations he relied on images represented on wall paintings, rings, and seal stones. Most of all he was impressed by several faience statuettes of bare-breasted females handling snakes that he excavated in the palace of Knossos.

In his view, the snake goddess represented one aspect of a "Great Mother Nature Goddess." She was a patroness of kings and sailors alike; she embodied fertility and motherhood; and she ruled over sky, earth, and the underworld. There was one male divinity, but he was a subordinate boy god: the son or consort of the great mother goddess. Evans underplayed the fact that the so-called boy god was an armed mature young man. He was undoubtedly influenced by theories of matriarchy that were fashionable at the turn of the century. His theories found fertile ground: one of the reasons that the concept of the mother goddess is alive today is that it appeals to contemporary feminist movements. Yet there are reasons to question the definition of matriarchy; all palace cultures of the Near East in the second millennium BCE had potent female goddesses and mothers of gods, and none was a matriarchy. Evans's matriarchal society is perhaps best viewed as a modern myth.

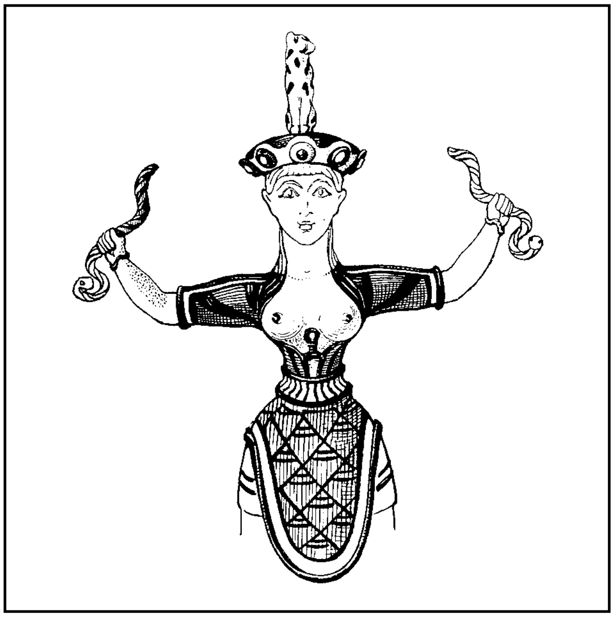

FIGURE 1. Snake goddess of Knossos (after Evans, 1921–1936, v. 1, fig. 362a). *Illustration courtesy of Nanno Marinatos.*

It is thus perhaps wiser to view Minoan religion in the context of other kingdoms of the Near Eastern Mediterranean in the second millennium BCE, all of which were theocracies with male kings and armies. All of them had young male warrior gods: Reshep, Baal, El, Adad, Sin, Ningirsu, and so on in the Mesopotamian and Levantine kingdoms. Egypt had its own warrior gods: Amon, Seth, Horus. All of these cultures also had powerful female deities. Some of these goddesses were even warrior-like and destructive: Anat, Ishtar, Sekhmet. Female deities could also have mother-goddess qualities: Asherah (Atrt) in Ugarit is called mother of gods; Hathor and Isis in Egypt were also mother goddesses. Most goddesses had in addition a strong sexual appeal that could be dangerous to males. The bare-breasted snake goddess of Minoan Crete (figure 1) would have been regarded as sexually alluring, but this dos not mean that she was *the* goddess. The Near Eastern frame makes it likely that Minoan Crete may have had a complex constellation of male and female deities, although the distinctive regional identity of Crete should not be lost sight of.

Yet it is difficult to go beyond theories when discussing Minoan religious mythology. This is because we lack narrative texts from the Minoan culture (Linear A is yet to be fully deciphered). On the other hand, many images exist, and they give information that is highly valuable, although it differs from the information we get from texts. An attempt to sort out the iconography and archaeological evidence was made by Martin P. Nilsson (1874–1967) in the 1920s. Although systematic, Nilsson fell into a methodological pitfall: he was more interested in Minoan religion as a precursor of Greek mythology than as a system in its own right. The striking parallels to the Near East were ignored. Thus, he was more eager to find the early forms of Athena, Rhea, and Artemis than to penetrate the nature of the deities themselves. His bias towards ancient Greek religion is evident in the title of his book: *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion* (2d ed., 1950). It is worth noting, however, that he was unconvinced of Evans's view of the great mother goddess.

Theocracy, polytheism, and the character of Minoan gods. Nilsson argued that the Minoans had polytheism (1950, pp. 389–425), and he was proven right. Recent evidence throws new light on the issue. A golden ring, excavated in a grave at Poros near modern Herakleion on Crete shows three gods together (Dimopoulou and Rethemiotakis, 2000). The center is taken up by an impressive male god holding a scepter. He faces an equally impressive seated goddess who is flanked by large birds. A third goddess is rendered as a minute figure descending from the air. There is only one mortal worshiper in the scene at the left edge of the ring's field. He is shaking a tree invoking the gods. The ring supplies firm evidence of polytheism: a divine gathering taking place in the vicinity of a tree. Such a congregation is echoed in the Hittite text about the god Telepinu: "The gods [were gathered] in assembly under the *hatalkesnas* tree. For the *hatalkesnas* tree I have fixed long years" (Pritchard, 1969, pp. 126–128).

The characterization of the gods is important. The female goddess is seated on an invisible throne in midair; her power is expressed through enthronement. The male god, on the other hand, exudes bodily rigor by extending his arm in a gesture of command. A similar male god occurs on a ring impression found at Chania (figure 2). He looms large over a cluster of buildings, which may be conceived as a palace or town, establishing himself as the patron of this town.

Further information is supplied by another ring, the impression of which has survived in several examples found by Evans at Knossos (figure 3). Here the central figure is a goddess who stands on the top of a mountain.

She is saluted by a male figure, who is usually interpreted as a human worshiper but who may well be a king because the vision of ordinary humans would not be recorded visually on a ring in a theocratic society. Behind the goddess is a building, which can be identified as a palace because it has many stories. Here we have a sacred landscape, which includes a palace and a mountain.

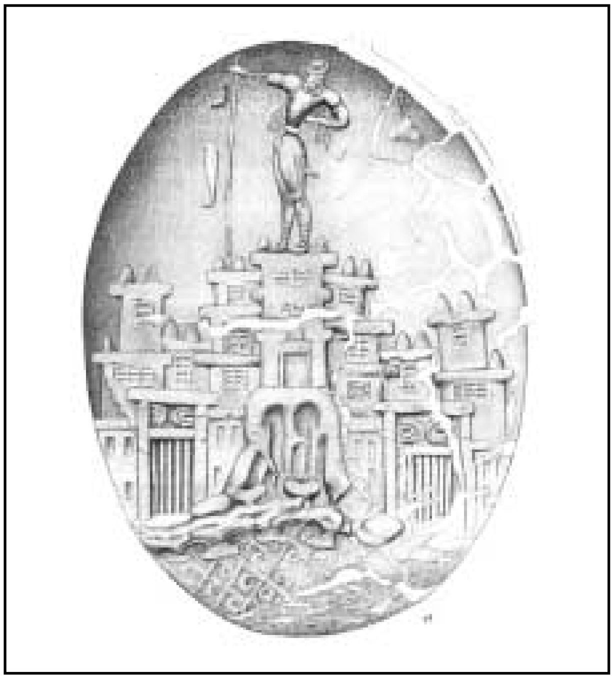

FIGURE 2. Ring impression from Chania showing a male god over a town (after Hallager, 1985, p. 50, fig. 11). *Illustration courtesy of Nanno Marintos.*

The three rings discussed above show that there existed a multiplicity of divinities and that power was not centered only around one dominant goddess; there was also a male god whose bodily vigor was evident in his standing posture. The Minoan pantheon was probably complex and must have included one or several divine couples. Moreover, gods and goddesses were associated with a multistory building that can be best defined as a divine palace. This association of god and palace supports the view of Evans that Minoan Crete was a theocracy.

Patronage of Minoan gods and gender roles. The Minoan gods probably had different spheres of power, such as hunting, war, and fertility. Most likely they also had different domains: the sea, the underworld, or the sky (in which case they would appear as stellar bodies). They also had social spheres: one of their functions must have been supervision of the raising of young people. This gender-oriented patronage is illustrated in a scene from a stone chalice found at Hagia Triada, Crete (figure 4).

A young male with a commanding gesture receives a procession of young hunters (Evans, 1921–1936, vol. 2, pp. 790–792). Although he is generally known as the "Chieftain" (thus named by Evans), his commanding gesture and posture rather suggest that he may be a god. Alternatively he is a king having assumed the identical appearance of the god. The ambiguity is revealing: gods and rulers were shown in a similar manner in Minoan art. At any rate, the god or his earthly representative acts as patron of the hunt.

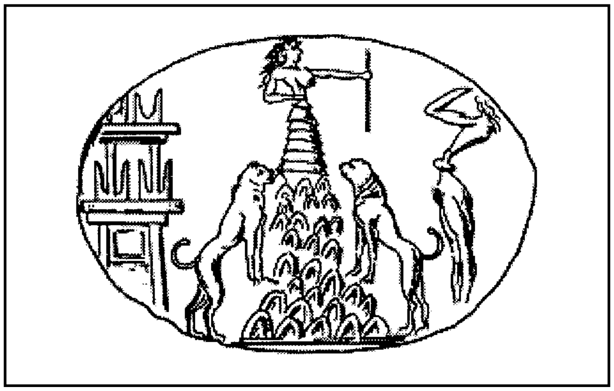

FIGURE 3. Goddess on mountain and male visionary (king?) (after Evans, 1921–1936, vol. 3, fig. 323). *Illustration courtesy of Nanno Marinatos.*

In the female sphere we find the same relationship: the young female goddess supervises her protégées. On a painting from Thera (Santorini), a goddess is seated on a platform and receives offerings from young women (Doumas, 1992, fig. 122). The dress and hairstyles of the worshipers reflect the divine prototype. There are many other instances as well where a goddess receives a female procession (Marinatos, 1993, pp. 147–165). This evidence suggests that there were gender specific roles for the Minoan deities. It also implies that the deities provided role models for the young. There is therefore an educational aspect to Minoan religion.

Although Minoan goddesses and gods are never depicted in the nude, the exposed breasts of the females (figure 1) and the pronounced phallus sheaths of the males (figures 2 and 4) suggest that sexuality was emphasized. The bare breasts of goddesses have a meaning equivalent to the complete nudity of Near Eastern goddesses. Female power is apparently expressed as sexuality in both cultural regions (Marinatos, 1993).

Rituals of Minoan religion: Ceremonial banqueting, sacrifice, and invocation. There can be no religion without rituals of offerings to the gods. As has been stressed by sociologists and historians of religion, the social dimension of offering is feasting. Food is a way of exchange and redistribution of wealth, especially in highly stratified societies. There is plenty of evidence for Minoan feasting in extra-urban sanctuaries and cemeteries. But the open courts in front of the palaces could also have accommodated a large number of banqueters. Most interesting evidence has been unearthed in the newly excavated palace of Galatas on Crete, which included a hearth and baking dishes (Rethemiotakis, 1999). Hittite texts from the second millennium offer us detailed descriptions of the role of the king and the queen during offering ceremonies. The royalty entered the temple and performed elaborate rituals of offering. An interesting inscription mentions that the king and queen drank from the cup of the storm god (Alp, 1983, p. 221). In this way the king and queen shared a meal with the god.

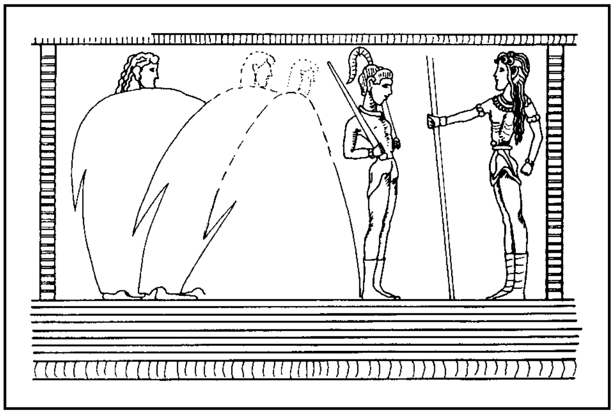

FIGURE 4. A god or king receiving a procession of hunters on a stone chalice from Hagia Triada (after Evans, 1921–1936, vol. 2, combination of figs. 476 and 517). *Illustration courtesy of Nanno Marinatos.*

The throne room in the palace of Knossos may have been used in a similar way. The throne, flanked by griffins and palm trees, has been viewed by some scholars as the seat of a female, a queen or a priestess, because only goddesses are flanked by griffins in Minoan art (Reusch, 1958; Hägg, 1986; Niemeier, 1986). It is less frequently noticed that there was a kitchen in the adjacent complex; this kitchen shows that ceremonial banqueting may be associated with the throne room.

Animal sacrifice is a prerequisite for banqueting, but it is also a rite of invocation: the gods are invited to participate in the feast. This aspect of sacrificial ritual is depicted on a terra-cotta coffin, known as the sarcophagus from Hagia Triada. One of the long sides of this sarcophagus shows a sacrificed bull tied on a table. A long-robed woman, who may be the queen, presides over the ritual, while a male plays the flute. To the right is a second separate scene involving a priestess dressed in a hide skirt. She stands before an altar, over which are a pitcher and a basket of fruit, which are bloodless offerings. The two panels show that the Minoans made a clear distinction between the two types of altars and the two types of offerings (compare with *Exod.* 25:2 and 27:1). This distinction between bloody and bloodless offerings is also made in Greek religion.

To whom are the offerings made on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus? The shrine in front of which the offerings are made stands to the right of the priestess in the hide skirt. It is a building with a gate surmounted by the so-called horns. Above the gate a sacred tree is protruding; it evidently was the focus of the cult, taking the function of a cult statue. If the viewer walks around the sarcophagus and looks at the short side, the gods will be found as well: there are two female deities arriving in a griffin-drawn chariot. Noteworthy are two facts: (1) The tree shrine has a function equivalent to a temple; namely, it is the house of god and it is the *locus*

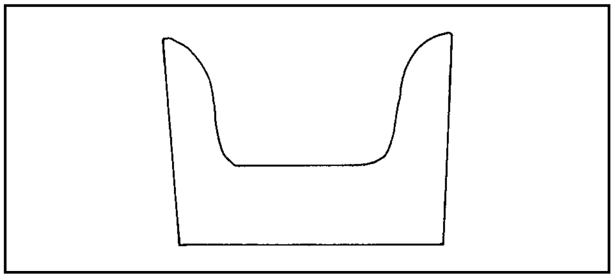

Figure 5a. Horns of consecration or mountain peaks. *Illustration courtesy of Nanno Marinatos.*

of the epiphany; (2) The goddesses are arriving at their tree shrine to partake in the sacrifice.

The sacred tree of the god or goddess was evidently also used as a medium of invocation. On certain gold rings found on both Crete and the Mycenaean mainland, we see male or female worshipers shaking or bending a tree. It was perhaps thought that frenzied movement on the part of the worshiper mobilized the gods to come. Alternatively, the tree was imagined as the abode of the deity. The invocation of the gods is depicted only on gold rings. It seems that this ritual was associated with the monopolization of religion by the upper classes.

The symbols of Minoan religion: "horns" and double axes. The Minoans surely had aniconic cults, as Evans had already surmised in a fundamental article written in 1901. Aniconic symbols, such as the double axe, loom large in Minoan imagery, but it is uncertain what they mean. At any rate, it is worth noting that cult standards with the symbols of the gods they represent are common in religions of the Near East, especially animal cult standards and standards with astral symbols.

Also common is the sign of the "horns of consecration," which occurs both as a graphic design and as a cult object (figure 5a).

The designation "horns" is due to Evans, who saw a superficial resemblance to bull's horns. But many scholars observed that there is a striking resemblance between the Minoan sign and the Egyptian symbol of the "two mountains of the horizon," the sun disk rising between twin peaks (figure 5b).

The similarity between the two symbols is too striking to be ignored. In addition, the Minoan sign is similar to its Egyptian equivalent in its framing of an object: a tree or a double axe, or sometimes other implements of cult, such as libation vessels. In view of this, it is likely that the so-called horns represent a stylized landscape of two mountains that define the east and west axis of the universe. If the horns are mountains, this would explain why in real and represented architecture, the object is always placed on top of a building (figure 3). Its function in such a case would be to allude to mountain ranges in an abstract manner.

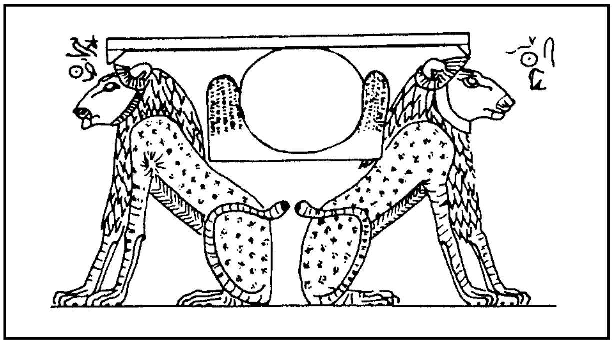

Figure 5b. Egyptian mountain sign with solar disk. *Illustration courtesy of Nanno Marinatos.*

The double axe (figure 6) is more elusive, and there is no equivalent sign in the Near East or Egypt. Evans thought that it symbolized the great goddess (Evans, 1901, p. 106; see also Pötscher, 1990, pp. 143–160).

Nilsson, who was more practically minded, considered it a simple sacrificial instrument (Nilsson, 1950, p. 226). Evans was probably more correct however: the double axe appears in contexts that suggest that it played a role in the cosmology of Minoan mythology. Noteworthy is its frequent occurrence on coffins. It seems unlikely in view of this that it was a mere tool of cult, especially since it never occurs as a sacrificial instrument in imagery. A clue may be that the axe can be conceived as a tree with sprouting leaves or even flowers. Was it a regenerative symbol as has sometimes been argued (Dietrich, 1974)? A second clue is that it occurs between the two tips of the mountain sign above (figure 5a, the so-called horns). This suggests that the double axe was perceived as an object that belonged between the edges of the two mountains of the horizon: is it a symbol of the sun or moon? This possibility is speculative but may explain the ubiquity of the sign and its centrality in Minoan religion better than the alternative theory that it is a sacrificial axe.

The palaces as cult centers. Whatever interpretation we give to the Minoan deities and their symbols the archaeological evidence is clear as to how society was organized. The cult centers were undoubtedly the palaces. They contained central courts with a multiplicity of modest shrine rooms arranged around them. Most palaces also had large west plazas where the public could gather. The walls were decorated with paintings that depicted (among other subjects) processional and ritual scenes. There is thus little doubt that they were the major cult centers of the community. To date no separate temples have been found (Rutkowski, 1986). The complete fusion of secular and religious authority points to a theocratic system.

Outside the town there were nature sanctuaries in caves or mountain peaks. These were the extra-urban sanctuaries of which Mount Juktas and Kato Syme have yielded the most impressive finds (Peatfield 1990; overview in Jones,

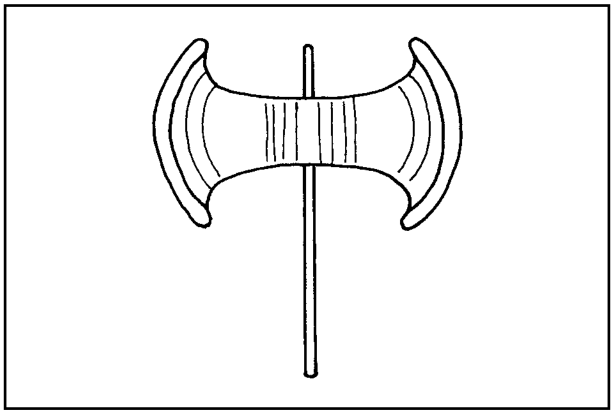

FIGURE 6. Minoan double axe. *Illustration courtesy of Nanno Marinatos.*

1999; Lebessi, 1985 and 2002). There is little doubt that the extra-urban sanctuaries were under palatial control in the middle of the second millennium BCE. Many, however, survived the end of the palatial system.

The palaces were abandoned shortly after the middle of the second millennium BCE, with the exception of Knossos that survived for another seventy-five years. The reasons are not yet completely understood, but they may have to do with social upheaval rather than a Mycenaean invasion. The end of the palaces certainly also meant the end of the theocracy.

The new era, termed *post-palatial*, takes us to the end of the second millennium. In this period, a new type of shrine was preferred: a modest room fitted with benches upon which were placed statues of goddesses, tables of offerings, and other cult implements. The type is common in the late Bronze Age and can be found on the mainland of Greece, as well as on the Levantine coast; we may speak of an East Mediterranean type of shrine or small temple. Typical of Crete are clay goddess statues with upraised arms and elaborate headdresses. Religious syncretism with the Mycenaean religion of the mainland certainly took place in all periods of Minoan Crete.

The end of the Minoan theocracy must have brought with it many changes of the social and religious structure, but the main symbols and (probably) the main gods survived into the end of the Bronze Age (c. 1200 BCE). The Greeks of later times thought of the island as one of ninety languages, multiple ethnic groups, and ninety cities (Homer, *Odyssey* 19.172–202).

MYCENAEAN RELIGION. Mycenaean religion is similar to Minoan in that it was also centered on the palaces and utilized the same symbols as Minoan Crete.

Places of worship. Mycenaean places of worship are different from those of Minoan Crete, however, the variations being detectable in the archaeological evidence (Hägg, 1998). One extra-urban mountain peak sanctuary was excavated on Mount Kinortion near classical Epidaurus, but mountain sanctuaries are not as common as on Crete. There were Minoan-type offerings there, including double axes and figurines (Lambrinoudakis, 1981).

On the whole, the similarities between Minoan and Mycenaean religion are striking. Both cultures had theocracies with palaces as centers. The Mycenaean palace seems to have played a major ceremonial role. Instead of an open central court, however, we find a roofed hall or *megaron* with a hearth. At Pylos, the wall paintings from the throne room are similar to those of Knossos (Lang, 1966, pl. 124, no. 44aH6) depicting griffins and lions flanking the throne. In addition, some of the Pylos throne room paintings show banqueting, which is compatible with the ritual inferred through the kitchen near the Knossos throne room.

In both cultures, the religious role of the king and queen is confirmed by the written records: in the Linear B tablets the word *wa-na-ka* (king) appears frequently. The queen may have been designated as *pot-ni-ja*, namely "mistress" (Laffineur and Hägg, 2001). The takeover of Minoan royal and religious symbols by the Mycenaean dynasts is here very evident. We find in the Mycenaean kingdom double axes and the mountain sign (figures 5a, 6).

Small shrines existed in addition to the palatial *megaron*. They had benches with statues on top, and hearths for offerings. Some were incorporated into the palace; others were physically independent and spread throughout the town, as in Tiryns (Kilian, 1988) and Methana (Konsolaki, 1999; Whittaker, 1997).

One shrine within the citadel of Mycenae is revealing because it included paintings above and around the bench (figure 7).

Above the bench two goddesses were painted facing each other. Between them hover two small sketchily rendered figures that probably represent souls of the dead (Marinatos, 1988). These may be two of the goddesses of Mycenaean religion. Below, on the side of the bench, is probably the queen identifiable by her tall headdress with a plume (or a minor goddess accompanied by a griffin). Although the iconography of this fresco is nowhere matched exactly on Crete, the visual vocabulary is familiar from the latter culture. The Mycenaeans borrowed the visual vocabulary of the Minoan palace culture to express their own theocratic institution.

Data from the tablets. The decipherment of the Linear B script in 1953 by Michael Ventris as a form of Greek threw a new light on Mycenaean religion by revealing a pantheon that included many names of the later Greek gods.

The tablets were made of unbaked clay and were used as scrapbooks. They were accidentally preserved because they were baked after a conflagration. They record lists and provide economic documents. Indications about religious rituals and gods are only incidental in the form of offering. Still, it is clear that a multiplicity of male and female deities are present, among whom is a male god who bears the name of the

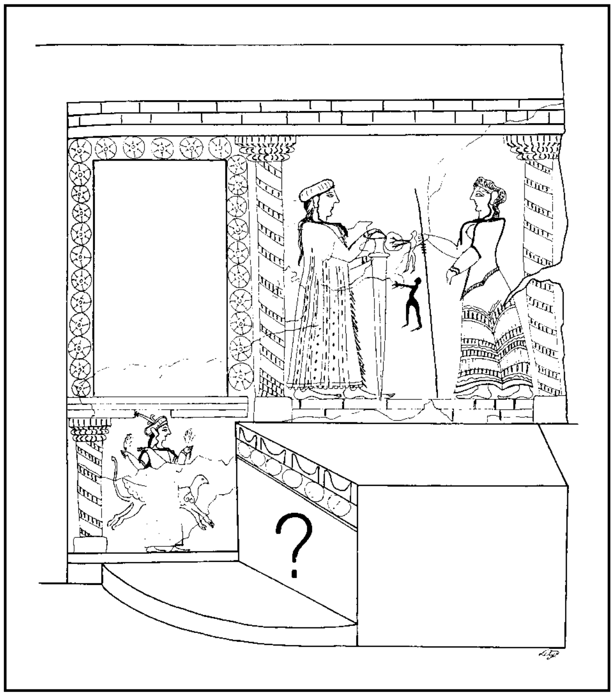

FIGURE 7. Fresco within a Mycenaean shrine within the citadel of Mycenaeas, reconstructed by Marinatos. ***Illustration courtesy of Nanno Marinatos.***

great god of the classical Greeks: Zeus. There was also a pantheon that we recognize as the later Olympian Greek divinities: Po-si-da-jo (Poseidon), He-ra (Hera), A-ta-na Po-ti-ni-ja (Athena), Erma (Hermes), Enyalios (Ares), and Di-wo-nu-so (Dionysos). Yet the hierarchy and articulation that define the Greek divine family do not seem to characterize the Mycenaean gods. It is to be noted that Po-si-da-jo (Poseidon) played a preeminent role at Pylos, whereas A-ta-na (Athena) is attested only at Knossos. There are also gods unknown to the later Greek pantheon, such as Ma-ri-neu and Ma-ka (Palaima et al., 2001).

The Mycenaean gods constituted a divine family, although relations between them were not necessarily the same as those of later Greek religion. For example, one god, Di-ri-mi-jo, is listed on a tablet from Pylos on the Greek mainland as being the son of Zeus and Hera. This god dropped out of the later Greek pantheon. But Di-wo-nu-so (Dionysos) seems to have been a son of Zeus both in the Creto-Mycenaean tablets (attested by a tablet found at Chania, Crete, KH. Gq 5) and in Greek times.

The offerings listed were sent from the palace to the sanctuaries. This proves that the religious organization was interwoven with the palace administration. This is typical of theocracies. Offered were animals—cattle, sheep, and pigs—as well as objects of value.

One term has been variously interpreted: *wa-na-ka.* It is undeniable that it constitutes the prototype of the word *wanax,* which in the Homeric poems is usually applied to the king.

The Minoan and Mycenaean Pantheon and the Near East. Despite their differences it is a priori likely that Minoan and Mycenaean religions had many similarities in the mythologies and the personae of their gods. Both were palatial cultures that maintained close contacts with each other and with the Near East. The Mycenaean presence in Crete (whether to be explained by dynastic links and intermarriages or by conquest) is securely attested by the presence of tablets written in Linear B shortly after 1400 BCE. After that time, there was a pool of common gods, such as Poseidon, Zeus, Athena, Dionysos, Diwija, and Hermes, all of whom are attested on both Crete and the Mycenaean mainland (Palaima et al., 2001). A religious synthesis between Minoan and Mycenaean religion in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BCE is thus certain. It is perhaps not correct to speak of a Mycenaean religion on Crete in the post-palatial period, but rather of a synthesis of the two systems. This synthesis may be pushed back into the sixteenth century BCE, however. This is the time when Crete was at the peak of its power, and spread its influence in the Aegean. The Mycenaeans (who were developing their own palatial system) readily adopted Minoan symbols and images of gods. The adoption of such symbols as the double axes and the mountain signs (horns) implies that there were already common elements in the two religions, and it was this commonality that enabled the transmission of the Minoan religious vocabulary to the Mycenaeans. The picture that emerges is a complex one, with influences flowing in both directions at different times.

We know, moreover, that such religious equivocations between deities took place between cultural groups in the Aegean and the Near East: Akkadian Ishtar was likened to Ugaritic Astarte and Sumerian Inanna; later on she was fused with the Greek Aphrodite. The Egyptian Seth was likened to Ugaritic Baal, both being young warrior gods. Anat and Baal, a famous couple in Ugaritic myth, resemble Isis and Osiris of Egypt. It is likely that the Minoan divine couple had properties similar to its Egyptian and Near Eastern counterparts. The religious translation of one god into another in cultures of the Near East makes it a priori likely that the same happened between Minoan Crete and the mainland Mycenaean religion. It is possible to go even further and suggest that the East Mediterranean was a melting pot of religious syncretism.

The following points may be established about the Minoan-Mycenaean pantheon. The prevalent idea that there was a dominant mother goddess in Minoan Crete (figure 1) must be revised. Both Minoan and Mycenaean religions had important deities of both genders. Even the Mycenaeans, who are considered a typical patriarchal society, had female deities that are referred to in the Linear B tablets as "mistress" (*pot-ni-ja*). This word undoubtedly represents a title (compare with the epithet "*st* lady" given to Anat or Ishtar in the Near East, the Akkadian "Belet-ili" given to the mother goddess in the *Atramchasis* epic, or the Ugaritic "ra-ba-tu" given to the great goddess of the sun [Wyatt, 1998, 224]).

The divine couple is attested iconographically in both Minoan and Mycenaean art, and textually in the Linear B tablets. It can be further established that the gods were conceived as members of a divine family. In a Linear B tablet from Pylos the triad Zeus, Hera, and Di-ri-mi-jo are attested (Tn 316). At Chania, Di-wo-nu-so is associated with Zeus, who is presumably his father.

The points above suggest that the Minoan and Mycenaean pantheons were (1) similar (although not identical) to one another and (2) similar to those of the Near East. It is tempting to postulate that myths that are common to the Near East and Egypt may also have been shared by the Minoans and Mycenaeans. There are many uncertainties about Minoan and Mycenaean myths, but they obviously did exist and they were more rich and complex than the Frazerian theories of the dying god and the fertility goddess would suggest.

SEE ALSO Labyrinth.

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AESTHETICS

This entry consists of the following articles:

PHILOSOPHICAL AESTHETICS
VISUAL AESTHETICS

AESTHETICS: PHILOSOPHICAL AESTHETICS

Many elements appear common to aesthetic and religious experience. Both are modes of apprehending and articulating reality. Theorists of both have affirmed that aesthetic and religious insights or intuitions afford direct, nonconceptual apprehension of the real, and that they are dependent on inspiration, genius, or other forms of giftedness. Both issue in forms, objects, and activities expressive of specific visions of reality that are frequently, though not exclusively, nondiscursive. In both realms, questions and criteria of judgment entail distinctive relations of particularity to universality and of matter to form in appraisals of truth. Further, both art and religion have sometimes exemplified and sometimes countered prevailing views of reality. In each realm, protocols of style and canons of authority emerge generically, appealing to disciplines internal to experience. Thus, examining aesthetic characteristics and considering the possible relations of aesthetic insight to religious truth and beatitude proposed by a number of seminal thinkers may achieve an enhanced understanding of religion as the apprehension and expression of distinctive experience.

CLASSICAL FORMULATIONS. Aesthetics, like theory of religion, did not emerge as a discrete discipline in the West until the eighteenth century, in the wake of the Enlightenment. In the East it was largely a secondary product of the practice of art until Eastern philosophers were influenced by modern Western thought. Yet Plato (c. 428–348 or 347 BCE) is in some respects the founder of philosophical aesthetics, having developed concepts central to subsequent reflection on the aesthetic. Foremost is that of art itself—*technē,* or knowhow: the recognition of an end to be aimed at and the knowledge of how best to achieve it through the skillful use of appropriate materials and means.

Poiesis, Plato's term for aesthetic making, broadly designates all craftsmanship and more narrowly refers to the making of poems, plays, pictures, or sculptures. *Poiesis* is the verb used in the Septuagint version of the Bible for the divine "making" or creation of the world proclaimed in the book of *Genesis.* Through this association of divine creativity with human creativity in received religious texts, later Western theologian-philosophers were encouraged to incorporate elements of Platonic theory into their reflections upon the nature of the good, true, and beautiful. Platonic theory thus affected Jewish, Christian, and Islamic traditions and persisted in the philosophical disciplines that emerged from the Enlightenment.

For Plato (*Philebus,* 64e), the evaluation of *poiesis* requires a sense of proper proportion of means and ends, of measure *(summetrica).* The concept of measure, or standard, became central to his thought as he sought to identify the standards of truth, justice, beauty, and goodness, which he also called the Forms, or Ideas. The concept of measure suggested the possibility of a Form of Forms, a prior source of reality and human beatitude, that could be termed "religious" and was considered such by some successors.

For Plato the highest form of art is that of the divine maker *(demiurgos)* who composes the universe as an imitation (*mimesis*) of ultimate and unchanging Forms. Practitioners of the fine arts, however, engage in imitations that are more complex and more problematic. In this *poiesis,* moral, psychological, and other factors color a more vivid rendering of reality through appearance. Plato therefore distrusted artists' claims to knowledge and was wary of the moral and political effects of epic and drama. He advocated a form of censorship by philosopher-guardians of the state and distinguished between true imitation *(eitastikē)* and false semblance *(phantastikē),* or illusion.

Plato also held that something in true art is not reducible to know-how. The poet, it appears, is inspired, and his achievement, insofar as it cannot be reduced to rules by the normal, conscious intellect, appears to be a form of madness. The poet imitates the divine *demiurgos* (Plato, *Phaedrus,* 245; *Ion,* 523–525). Plato's dialogue "Symposium" both describes and exemplifies the ascent of the soul to the vision of the Good through the allure of the Beautiful. The Beautiful is the chief propaedeutic to the Good, which is the Form of Forms, the end also of the religious quest.

Thus Plato includes concepts central to the relation of aesthetics to religion. The conviction that aesthetic vision is also religious apprehension appears in Jewish wisdom literature and in early Christian theology and is consonant with some Hindu and Buddhist accounts of salvific knowledge. Plato's emphasis on the discernment of measure and fittingness is echoed in some forms of Confucian philosophy as well. *Poiesis* is a metaphor for the relation of the divine to the world in the cosmogonies of many religious traditions. In some Hindu speculation, all that is only penultimately real is *māyā,* or illusion, and is said to be the sport or play *(līlā)* of the ultimately real *(brahman).* In many religions of archaic societies, poetic or prophetic (shamanistic) inspiration is a means to perception of the sacred, that which is foundational to and constitutive of ordinary or profane space and time and which is articulated in accounts of events *in illo tempore.*

Aristotle (384–322 BCE), like Plato, saw art as the capacity to "make," to cause the coming into being of ends set by reason. The character of the envisioned end (*telos*) determines the appropriate means for its realization. For Aristotle, however, the forms (patterns or essences of things) do not exist apart from the materials formed, except perhaps in the case of those ultimate ends, or reasons why, that reason may contemplate. It is in the capacity for such contemplation, Aristotle says in *Nichomachean Ethics,* that human beings are most godlike and, therefore, perhaps immortal. While some things in nature occur by reason of the material that constitutes them—that is, by necessity—the primary causes of all events are the ends to which they lead and for which they appear to be designed. There is a sense therefore in which for Aristotle nature is best understood as imitating art. The source of all processes is an Unmoved Mover whose ultimacy was taken by later theologians to be of religious significance.

Excellence or beauty in a work of art depends upon immanent standards: perfection of form and felicity of method, which render a work both a satisfying whole in itself and fruitful in its effects. A composition must exhibit symmetry, harmony, and definiteness. Aristotle's only surviving treatment of aesthetic issues, the fragmentary *Poetics,* focuses on one form, tragic drama. Like Plato he saw literary and dramatic *poietikē* as mimetic. Unlike Plato, however, he believed that tragic drama may be a definitive means of knowing reality through the presentation of philosophical truth and psychological insight in character, plot, and action. Tragedy arouses the emotions of fear and pity, but the well-made tragedy effects both a therapeutic purgation of these from the soul of the spectator and a resolution in the drama itself that is akin to ritual purification. Indeed it may be said that Aristotle saw in the art of tragedy the natural development of religious media that seek to negotiate the ambiguities and paradoxes of life, with their associated feelings of awe and guilt. For some who find traditional religious resolutions anachronistic, irrelevant, or superficial, expressions of the tragic in art can serve important religious purposes, as the irrational or nonrational dimensions of life are represented and lived through aesthetically.

The Aristotelian insistence on the significance of the material—the "of what" of anything that is to be explicated, what Aristotle himself called its "material cause"—is reflected in increased interest in material culture or subculture: the material objects and commodities prized in any culture or subculture. The seemingly spontaneous, natural, or transparently motivated products of material culture can be deconstructed to reveal operations of power on behalf of dominant ideologies or constituencies (races, classes, genders, religions) or to express resistance to sublimated power. This approach includes specific attention to aesthetic and religious elements of culture. Thus even Aristotle's "material cause" is subject to a hermeneutic of suspicion in pursuit of truth that frees. A major representative of this critical approach was Michel Foucault (1926–1984). Aristotle's attention to the ritual nature and effect of tragic drama is reflected in increased interest in "ritual studies" in the field of religious studies.

Plotinus (205–270 CE), in *The Enneads* (1.6, 5.8, 6.7), incorporates a Platonic vision of ascent into his understanding of contemplation as active and productive of a form of knowledge. His Neoplatonism decisively influenced the formulation of Christian doctrine and shaped mystical expression in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic traditions through the Middle Ages. Elements of his metaphysics were subsequently resurrected by Italian Renaissance humanists, by seventeenth-century Platonists of the Cambridge school, and by nineteenth-century German Romantics.

For Latin Christianity, Augustine (354–430 CE) gave the Neoplatonic tradition the form it would retain through most of the Middle Ages. Augustine saw the arts not simply as an embellishment of explicitly religious materials but as a direct means of participation in the divine. Human art, when guided by divine will, may reflect the art of the divine, as in numerical proportion, rhythm, and harmony (Augustine, *De musica; De ordine* 11–16). In keeping with his exaltation of auditory art, he exemplified and fostered a characteristically Latin attention to rhetorical forms of expression. While Greek Christianity tended to prize visual representations and look to liturgical praxis for the development of doctrine, Western theological reflection explored a multilevel textual hermeneutic in which metaphor, parable, and other narrative forms are seen as vehicles of revelation. Augustine applied that tradition not only to Scripture, in *On Christian Doctrine* (*De doctrina Christiana;* 3, 10.14, 15.23), but also, in *The Confessions,* to the life of an individual seen as an operation of divine grace. John Cassian (c. 360–c. 435 CE) formulated a fourfold distinction between levels of scriptural meaning that became standard in the Middle Ages and influenced the development of modern literary criticism.

Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) also turned to Scripture and Christian tradition for ultimate authority, relating them, however, to the newly recovered philosophical teachings of Aristotle. Every being *(ens),* he said, is one *(unum),* true *(verum),* and good *(bonum),* terms that apply to different beings variously according to their natures. Religious language, or talk of the divine being in terms of the finite, is possible by analogy, or proportion, as the created order displays the character of its origin. Truth is the equation of thought and thing, and good is fulfillment of desire in the truly desirable beauty. Contemplation of the good as beautiful renders knowledge of the good, because in it the soul resonates with the divine form. The beautiful is marked by integrity, proportion, harmony, and clarity. Thomas's doctrine of analogy and his emphasis on the revelatory character of the created order played major roles in subsequent theological development and in Thomist and neo-Thomist accounts of the relation of aesthetics to religion (cf. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 1.13.5, 1.16.1, 1.5.4, 2.1.27.1).

ENLIGHTENMENT AND POST-ENLIGHTENMENT FORMULATIONS. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century developments in "natural philosophy" undercut the authority not only of Western religious traditions, identified as they were with a discredited cosmology, but also of Platonic idealism and Aristotelian scientific method. In the "enlightenment" that followed, the sense-bound character of all experience became problematic in a new way; definitions and criteria had to be developed for subjective experiences that could not be quantified. Chief among these were experiences of the beautiful and of the holy. The use of such terms as *feeling* and *sensibility* and attempts to articulate the variety of subject-object transactions characterized this debate. The relation of feeling or sensibility to the good and true was explored in terms of religious theory by some and in terms of aesthetic theory by others. Still others sought to bring both art and religion under a comprehensive theory.

Although Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten (1714–1762) coined the term *aesthetics* in 1750, Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) was the first to develop a systematic theory of aesthetics as an integral, if not foundational, part of a philosophical system. Kant set himself the task of answering three questions: "What can I know?"; "What ought I to do?"; and "For what may I hope?" In *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781) he focused on imagination, whose work he traced from basic intuition or awareness of bare sensation, localized in the forms of space and time, to the reproduction of images schematized under "the categories of the understanding": quantity, quality, relation, and modality. These categories yield determinate concepts, expressed in propositions, analytic and synthetic, in the context of the "transcendental unity of apperception" or self-world consciousness. Such is all that the faculty of understanding can supply and all one can know in a sense warranted by the regnant conception of science. Yet reason requires the "transcendental ideas," or "regulative ideals" not only of self (or soul) and world but also of God as ground of world and soul.

Turning from the data of nature to the datum of freedom, of persons as moral agents, the dictates of pure practical reason (praxis) reveal a categorical imperative: never to make an exception of oneself to the demand of moral law; to treat all persons as ends and never merely as means; to recognize the moral dignity of persons as persons. In exploring the demands of moral life in *Critique of Practical Reason* (1788), Kant asks how disinterested moral virtue is to be related to the quest for happiness, which is also a legitimate component of the supreme good. A rational answer to this question, says Kant, demands the recognition of freedom in immortality.

A basic power assumed in the first two critiques, namely judgment, operates to subsume particulars in generals, parts in wholes, and so forth. Judgment is evidenced in acts, including logical operations, and expressed in the propositions of theoretical reason and the moral determinations of practical reason. In *The Critique of Judgement* (1790), however, Kant seeks to lay bare the general power of judgment as such. Here its form is expressive of pure feeling, of pleasure or displeasure. The controlling aesthetic category, beauty, is experienced when the free play of imagination, articulated in aesthetic forms, results in a "delight in ordering" produced by the creative artist and enjoyed by persons of aesthetic sensibility and informed taste. Feeling, however, is neither its cause nor its differentiating characteristic. Feeling merely signals that aesthetic judgment is at work.

Aesthetic judgment is characterized by four "moments":

(1) In quality, the grounding experience is that of "disinterested interest." The judging subject is fully engaged, but the focus of engagement is neither the self nor the fascination of being engaged, but rather that whose worth is not a function of the act of engagement.

(2) In quantity, judgment of the beautiful is singular yet of universal import. There is no class of which all beautiful objects are members; a specific work of art is judged to be beautiful. (Religious expressions of the unqualified

singularity of the divine display a similar resistance to systematic formulation or classification.)

(3) In terms of relation, aesthetic judgment expresses "purposiveness without purpose" or "finality without use." Parts are also wholes, and wholes are parts; means are also ends, and ends are means. This suggests analogies with religious judgment concerning the integrity or wholeness of the holy.

(4) In modality, aesthetic judgments are subjective and particular, yet they are also necessary and universal. Here the judgment bespeaks a universality and necessity that its logical form as analyzed in the first critique denies to judgments of particulars. This "given" of aesthetic judgment, Kant said, may suggest a *sensus communis,* a universal structure of intersubjectivity. Some theorists of religion appear to designate a similar structure as the *sensus numinous,* a shared sense of the holy or sacred.

Kant also examined another category of aesthetic experience, the sublime. While beauty is formal, limited, and related to discursive understanding, the sublime is experienced variously as the infinite or the overpowering. It arrests attention, "performs an outrage on imagination," and seems to draw us into a supraempirical or supernatural realm. For Kant, this experience is not mystical intuition and affords no privileged access to what lies beyond the world of appearances. Some successors, however, did associate the experience of sublimity with the experience of the holy.

Friedrich Schelling (1775–1854), pursuing an aspect of Kant's thought as amended by J. G. Fichte (1762–1814), produced a philosophy of seminal influence on literary figures such as Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834) and theologians such as Paul Tillich (1886–1965). Schelling's philosophy of identity appropriated Kant's notion of aesthetic purposiveness as that which makes scientific inquiry intelligible, but whereas this was only a regulative principle for Kant, it became for Schelling the objective determining principle of reality. In *System of Transcendental Idealism* (1800) Schelling affirmed that "intellectual or rational intuition" reveals the ultimate identity of thought and being, real and ideal. In art, he said, a fleeting glimpse of this harmony or identity is made fully objective. Philosophy therefore should ultimately pass over from reflection on art to become art itself. Even art, however, cannot fully express reality as understood in Schelling's final "positive" philosophy and in his philosophy of mythology and revelation. Positive philosophy, which asserts the primacy of will, is said to be verified in the actual history of religions, which points toward an "age of the spirit" in which all is fulfilled. The function of art is thus replaced by the history of religions.

For Coleridge, as for Schelling, philosophy begins in a "realizing intuition," an act of contemplation that is both theoretical and practical, the coincidence of subject and object on which all knowledge rests and to which all knowledge aspires. Here knowing, doing, and making, science and art, are least distinguishable. Coleridge's theory of imagination is central to his understanding of this basic apprehension. Primary imagination, he says in *Biographia Literaria* (1817), is the "living power and prime agent of all human perception, and a representation in the finite mind of the eternal act of creation in the infinite I AM" (Coleridge, 1956, p. 86). Secondary imagination differs from primary only in degree and mode of operation, but it is similarly creative, seeking "to idealize and unify." From this basic characterization spring Coleridge's theories of poetry, symbol, and religion. Religion, he says, "unites in its purposes the desiderata of the speculative and practical being; its acts, including its events, are truths and objects of philosophical insight, and vice versa the truths of which it consists are to be considered the acts and manifestations of that Being who is at once Power and Truth" (p. 167).

G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831) aspired to complete the movement of modern philosophy toward a conception of reality as Mind or Spirit. In his *Philosophy of Fine Art* (1807) he treated art and religion as authentic expressions of Spirit, whose concrete development, portrayed in his historical dialectic, would finally be superseded in true philosophy. Art, he said, is the sensuous appearance *(Schein)* of Idea, or the Real (Spirit). It seeks to give rich concreteness to unfolding reality; in it, a concept shows itself for itself. Its earliest form, Hegel thought, is the symbolic. In classical art, whose consummate form is sculpture, the divine is expressed through the perfection of the human form. Classical art, however, betrays its inadequacy for the expression of Spirit in the very concreteness of its forms. In the Romantic arts of painting, music, and poetry, Spirit is exhibited in increasing purity; in poetry, the art of sounded imaginative concepts, it achieves its most powerful artistic expression. This theme has been elaborated by poet-critics like T. S. Eliot (1888–1965) and others. Religion, thought Hegel, is a historically parallel manifestation of the Real in that it vivifies the Real as God in myth, ritual, and theology. Indeed, the God of Romantic art, he seems to suggest, is the God of Christianity. With full disclosure of the way the Real as Spirit works in the dialectic of history, the eclipse of art and religion in their historical forms had, he thought, begun.

Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855) reacted vigorously against Hegel's views of the ultimate character of reality and of the place of the aesthetic and religious in its perception. Truth, he said, is not the objective working out of Idea, Reason, or Spirit; a logical system is possible, but there can be no logical system of personal life as it is actually lived, of existence. Truth is a matter not of what but of how one thinks, as displayed in the engaged conduct of a life. Truth is an existential grasp of "essence" arrived at not by logical conclusion but by life-committing choice.

According to Kierkegaard, three major valuations of life are open to truth-seeking choice, or the quest for authentic existence: the aesthetic, the ethical, and the religious. The grounding principle of the aesthetic, which may include all forms of human making, is enjoyment. The aesthetic is basically ahistorical because its fulfillments are only accidentally related to temporal and spatial situations. It involves less than the whole person; its criterion is that of fittingness or definition. As life orientation, the aesthetic is ironic, because it expresses only the individual as he or she is, rather than positing a task for indefinite striving. Dependent for its satisfactions on the vagaries of fortune and taste, it leads, he said, to "the despair of not willing to be oneself."

In the ethical perspective, one experiences the dignity of the whole self and the equality of persons before the moral law; the moral imperative does set a task for unending pursuit. Herein, however, lies the irony of the ethical: one can always do more than is required by or consonant with moral law, or one experiences the impossibility of complete obedience to moral law as guilt, leading to "the despair of willing to be oneself despairingly."

It is within the religious perspective, Kierkegaard thought, that authenticity is to be experienced. Christian faith, in particular, entails the most inward and passionate—and therefore the most complete—engagement of the self, because it is committed to an absurdity: that the infinite became finite, that God became a historical person. This commitment, which is also openness to divine forgiveness and grace, restores the individual to the realm of authentic finitude. For Kierkegaard, the aesthetic, like the ethical, is not abandoned or denied in the religious attitude; it is fully affirmed and enjoyed, but in its proper place and not as a way of salvation. Other modern existentialists have found something approaching religious significance in various aesthetic forms, even though for many the authenticity proclaimed therein is that of the tragic vision or of unredeemed and unredeeming absurdity.

AESTHETIC AND RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE. Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834) turned to the life of affections or feeling to identify and celebrate the religious in his *On Religion: Speeches to Its Cultured Despisers* (1893). A brilliant preacher, hermeneut, translator of Plato, and teacher, Schleiermacher was identified with the circle of German Romantic artists whose attention to the affective dominated their work. Religion, he affirmed, is not primarily a matter of beliefs or of divine undergirding of moral law; it is rooted in a distinctive feeling, which he variously designated "the feeling of absolute dependence," "the sense of the Whole," or in his later work, *The Christian Faith* (1821–1822), the sense and taste for the Infinite (Schleiermacher, 1928, p. 55). Religious apprehension is akin, he said, to the experience of the sublime as described by Kant. While for Kant, however, the experience of the sublime bespeaks finally the dignity of man, for Schleiermacher it is a key to the experience of God. In the figure of Jesus as the Christ, he said, one sees exemplary God consciousness or complete transparency to the divine.

Rudolf Otto (1869–1937), whose *Idea of the Holy* (1917) decisively influenced developments in the theory of religion, was himself strongly influenced by both Schleiermacher and aspects of Kantian philosophy. Otto's book calls attention to nonrational dimensions of the holy, which is viewed as the distinctive religious category. Rational characterizations of the holy are expressed in conceptual superlatives (supreme being, supernatural) and other conceptual absolutes. A sense of its reality, however, must be evoked rather than rationally demonstrated, just as a sense of the aesthetic must be. The aesthetic realm thus provides for Otto the chief analogies for modes of apprehending the dimension of the holy that he termed "the numinous," the "*mysterium tremendum et fascinans.*" This realm of mystery is both awesomely overpowering and the source of that fascination that leads, through the history of religions, to beatitude. "Divination" (Otto's term for the discernment of the numinous), like aesthetic intuition, operates through the senses. The expressions of such discernments, like those of aesthetic intuition, may be nonconceptual or idiosyncratically conceptual ("ideograms"); they may issue directly in sound, light, darkness, or holy silence or be conveyed indirectly through music, poetry, or other art forms. The closest analogue to that which is so expressed, said Otto, is the sublime as described by Kant, though without Kant's critical restrictions.

Gerardus van der Leeuw (1890–1950), whose *Religion in Essence and Manifestation* (1933) influenced many theorists of religion, describes the phenomenological stance in terms strikingly similar to those employed by some in describing the aesthetic attitude. Phenomenology of religion, he asserts, is not philosophy of religion, insofar as it brackets questions of religion's relation to reality and truth. It is not poetry of religion, because it seeks to understand what is expressed through its poetry. The phenomenologist of religion, rather, seeks "lovingly to gaze" on that which is to be understood and, through understanding, cherished. Schleiermacher had said that the historical forms of religion are to religion as the various forms of music are to music. Leeuw sought to comprehend the temporal and cultural diversity of religious expressions through the exercise of "surrendering love," a sympathetic mode of cognition "linking old and new."

Mircea Eliade (1907–1986) frequently described his monumental work as history or science of religion, but the stance he commends is in part that of the phenomenologist. However, it is not simply a matter of "gazing at" or resonating with apparently alien religious forms. *Homo religiosus* is universal. Understanding the diversity of experience of the sacred requires trained sensitivity to the forms and functions of the sacred, many of which are explicitly aesthetic in character. Whether there is or could be in modernity a complete loss of the sense of the sacred is for him problematic; if such a loss did occur, it would be comparable to, though more fundamental than, the loss of aesthetic sensitivity or orientation in relation to works of art.

Some modern philosophers, eschewing traditional formulations of religious faith, have found an analogue in the aesthetic. George Santayana (1863–1952), poet, essayist, and novelist as well as professional philosopher, keyed his understanding of verifiable knowledge to a conception of science that, he believed, portrayed the world as an insensate, mechanical arrangement of atoms, one existing prior to human consciousness and destined to continue after human consciousness has disappeared. Spirit is unable to rearrange the forces of nature basically or permanently, or to eliminate the exigencies of life. From within the perspective of spirit, however, persons may perceive these exigencies as necessities of existence and experience a transmutation of them "under the aspect of eternity." The gifts of the spirit entail more, however, than the passive acquiescence in fortune. Imagination may envision and affirm ideal values that become goals of highest human aspiration and sources of endless delight, even though (or perhaps because) they are never fully incarnate in the realm of existence. Chief among these is beauty, which exemplifies the ideal harmony that is the good. A life conducted in the presence of these ideals is eternal because the ideals that thus constitute its essence are eternal. They are not everlasting; they are timeless. Partially embodied in aesthetic experience and vivified in the religious life, they provide for human beings another world in which to live, one that celebrates the distinctively human dimension of the real. Religion is poetry that guides life.

John Dewey (1859–1952) held a quite different understanding of scientific inquiry and its implications for life and society. Patterns of inquiry, beginning in doubt or problem and moving through experiment to resolution, are not limited to cognitively problematic situations in which we "do not know what to think." They are also exhibited in morally problematic situations, in which we "do not know what to do." The latter may be resolved through careful discrimination between the temporal ends of courses of action and the ends as goals of moral aspiration; that is, between the desired and the desirable. We are justified, Dewey thought, in choosing those ends that enlarge the range of possible fulfillments.

The aesthetic in experience is that which makes any experience an experience. In experience as aesthetic, exemplified in those experiential achievements called works of art, the continuities of form and matter and of creative initiation and aesthetic consummation are presented directly. Experience as aesthetic is consummatory and a good in itself. In the creation and enjoyment of a work of art, one gains new perspectives on and energy for the pursuit of all other forms of experience. The sense of communion generated by a work of art, says Dewey, may take on a definitely religious quality in what one interpreter has called "the religion of shared experience." In aesthetic experience thus understood, nature achieves its human culmination.

Dewey also understood the religious in experience in terms of adapting nature to human ends and accommodating human life to those aspects of it that cannot be changed. In *A Common Faith* (1934) he describes the religious in experience as expressing the deepest and most pervasive of accommodations: faith as basic confidence, which may sustain the envisagement of ideals and religious commitment to their realizations. Indeed, Dewey argues, one may use the term *God* to express the active relation of ideal to actual. The sense of belonging to a whole, he says in *Art as Experience* (1934), is "the explanation of that feeling of exquisite intelligibility and clarity which we have in the presence of an object experienced with esthetic intensity . . . it explains the religious feeling that accompanies intense esthetic perception. We are, as it were, introduced into a world beyond this world which is nevertheless the deeper reality of the world in which we live in ordinary experience. We are carried beyond ourselves to find ourselves" (Dewey, 1934, p. 195).

Between 1910 and 1913, Bertrand Russell (1872–1970) and Alfred North Whitehead (1861–1947) published their magisterial *Principia Mathematica,* foundational for later work in the logical structure of mathematics and symbolic logic. Both thinkers went on to engage in philosophical inquiry and theory in a wide range of human concerns. Whitehead eventually sought to articulate a metaphysical-cosmological view authentic "for our cosmic era." In the process he created a special vocabulary needed for the exposition of his thought. The basic ingredients of reality he called "actual occasions," "actual entities," "events," or "droplets of experience," emphasizing ongoing relatedness in the process of reality. In *reality*, each occasion incorporates a funding from the past and an "ingression" from the future. Novelty is a feature of all actual occasions, and freedom is a category. There are three formative elements in the process that is reality: Creativity, God, and Eternal Objects. Creativity is a "given," and it does not presuppose a Creator. Eternal Objects constitute the timeless realm of infinite possibility. "God," in Whitehead's term, in God's Primordial Nature timelessly envisions these Eternal Objects (cf. Santayana). Some logical possibilities are also ontological potentialities. God in God's Consequent Nature is involved in the actualization of these potentialities. God provides both "lure" and companionship.

Whitehead entitled his major work on religion, *Religion in the Making* (1926). Religions celebrate in various ways the mystery, awesomeness, and splendor of existence and its continuous coming to be or realization of actual occasions in the society of all other actual occasions in the cosmos. Whitehead's frequently quoted statement that "religion is what an individual does with his own solitariness" (Whitehead, 1926, p. 16) is sometimes construed to express an existentialist individualism. Actually, it is his way of saying that all individuals are individualizations of a reality that is inherently social, and religion itself is always "in the making." See below for why Whitehead thought the future of world faiths may lie between Christianity and Buddhism.

Whitehead never wrote a book on aesthetics as such. Perhaps he felt that he was writing about aesthetics in nearly everything he wrote. In his description of aesthetic experience he emphasized the transactional-transformative character and transfigurational effect of the experience. Beauty is the harmonious mutual adaptation of all of the elements of aesthetic experience, and beauty is the one self-justifying aim.

Martin Heidegger (1889–1976), like Whitehead, stressed the primacy of temporality in reality. (His basic work is titled *Being and Time* [1927].) But for him it is simply the "being-ness" of being that is foundational. He sought to recover for philosophy that primordial sense of being that, he believed, characterized early Greek philosophy and had been lost in Western philosophy by the attempt to dominate Being through the strategies of scientific inquiry and various patterns of technological cultural and institutional engagement.

Like Whitehead, he found that the articulation of his philosophy required a distinctive vocabulary. In the "temporalizing" of Being, Being "comes-to-light." *Dasein* is "there-being," which can question itself about its own being. It is *human* being. But *Dasein* is also transparent to various modes of unconcealments, in subjectifying and objectifying procedures. There are three "equiprimordial" elements in this unfolding. The first is *Befindlichkeit*—"feeling" or "moodness." The second is understanding—standing under or within that which comes to light. All understanding is interpretation. There is no bare uninterpreted engagement with Being. The third ingredient in Being's coming to light is discursive reasoning. *Dasein* is both being in the world—being in the "worldhood" of things—and being with others. The "thinghood" of things is first of all the thinghood of equipment—things at hand for use. Through abstraction, use relations may become theoretical relations. Being with others entails affirming and celebrating the otherness of others in their unique integrity. The ultimate future of all authentic beings as *Dasein* is death. Authentic living unto death courageously affirms death as finis and also death as telos—one affirms one's completion of being in finitude. In authentic living, thinking is thanking.

What mode of being is a work of art? It is at one level a thing as equipment. Conservation is an essential element of its being. But a work of art may also portray that form of being which is "thing" being. A work of art is also a kind of working—an artistic "creation." The work of the artist in all media is *poiein*—poetizing in a sense epitomized in Greek sensibility. In poetry Being comes to light most clearly, or as Heidegger would later say, is most clearly "heard." Does *poiein,* whether in linguistic or other form, have religious significance?

If religion celebrates a sense of transcendence, there is a sense in which others transcend self and Being transcends all beings. But Being is not a being among beings, or transcendent "Being-itself," or a degree of being—"Higher," "Supreme," or otherwise. For much of his career Heidegger seemed to emphasize the Mystery of *Being.* Later he has seemed to emphasize the *mystery* of Being. Many contemporary theologians seem to concur in this move.

EASTERN VIEWS. Eastern philosophers did not attend to the systematic development of comprehensive aesthetic theories until these were incorporated in influential Western systems. This does not mean, however, that profound reflection on aspects of aesthetic theory in relation to religious experience is not present in many classical Eastern texts. Ananda Coomaraswamy (1877–1947), a pioneer in introducing Eastern art and aesthetics to Western communities, incorporated many of these reflections in an original and influential theory that he described, in *Christian and Oriental Philosophy of Art* (1956), as a "doctrine of art intrinsic to the Philosophia Perennis." Its major themes, he thought, are expressed in Aristotelian, Neoplatonic, and other philosophies foundational to medieval Christian thought and culture and also in Indian, Buddhist, and Confucian classics. Central to his analysis is the view that all true art is iconographic; authentic art forms and objects are to be understood as media for embodying and transmitting "ideas" or spiritual meanings. Authentic experience of a work of art requires appropriate preparation of both artist and experiencer for the work and its appreciation, and it results in a transformation of the percipient. The supreme achievement of individual consciousness is to lose (or find) itself in what is both its beginning and its end. The transformation of the artifact also effects the transformation of the artist and the percipient. The object-subject of apprehension is an imaged idea that moves the will and attracts the intellect of the artist; the idea is the source of the formation expressed in and through the work of art. Universal themes and motifs or archetypes, he thought, are expressed in varying ways in great art, whether literary, plastic, or performed.

Coomaraswamy's articulation of the transactional nature of religious apprehension through aesthetic experience foreshadows later interest in general "response theory." A useful and suggestive work in this area, drawing on neuropsychological and general theories of perception, is Michael Stephan's *A Transformational Theory of Aesthetics* (1990). Stephan focuses on visual experience. He summarizes neuropsychological-evolutionary data on the sites of sensory information in lobes and modules of the brain and their paths of intercommunication, and he emphasizes the principal sites of visual experience in nondiscursive areas. Icons as unalloyed or uninterpreted visual experience are sui generis. Foundational experience, however, includes affective import that gives rise to emotional response (cf. Heidegger's *Befindlichkeit* or moodness). Psychological "item response" theories are discussed by Wim van der Linden and Ronald K. Hambleton in *Handbook of Modern Item Response Theory* (1997). A principal advocate of "reader response" theory in literary criticism is Stanley Fish, author of *Surprised by Sin: The Reader in Paradise Lost* (1998) and *Is There a Text in This Class?* (1980).

The ultimately Real is designated *brahman* in major schools of Hindu philosophy. *Brahman* is transspatial and transtemporal. The penultimately real is *māyā,* frequently defined as illusion, but it is as real as the realm of space and time. The ultimate reality in that world is *brahman* as *ātman,* usually defined as soul or self. The goal of human souls is *mokṣa* or deliverance from the realm of *māyā* through realization of (making real) the identity of *ātman* and *brahman.* The world of *māyā* is governed by *karma,* the law of cause and effect that regulates both physical and nonphysical reality.

In traditional Hindu culture the path to *moksha* leads, for souls that have been in human form for at least one lifetime, through four stages: studenthood, householderhood, forest-dweller (retreat to a life of meditation), and *saṃnyāsa,* (living in the world as one not of the world). In the householder stage one should be guided by *dharma* (religious duty), *artha* (worldly welfare), and *kāma* (sensory pleasure). The *Kāma-Sūtra* is the Hindu classic of forms of sexual pleasure. *Kāma* is an essential ingredient in the four-stage path to *moksha.*

The ideal measure of *kāma* is *rasa,* usually translated as "Beauty." But *rasa* is an elusive concept. There are at least thirty definitions in standard Sanskrit dictionaries. It is a specific blend of specified feelings and emotions, with various *rasas* assigned to various art forms. As in other theories discussed above, the experience of *rasa* incorporates all of the elements of aesthetic experience in a manner that is transactional, transforming, and transfigural. May it also be a form of religious experience? The acme of experience as *rasa* is *santarasa. Santarasa,* writes Eliot Deutsch, "is just that transcendental realization that is joy-ful and peaceful. It is grounded in the Self and is realized as a kind of self-liberation" (Deutsch, 1975, p. 19). And ultimately "*santa* is silence . . . . The art-work in the fullness of its experience as *santarasa* points to Reality and participates in it. In pure spiritual experience there is only the Real. To the enlightened—but only to the enlightened—all experience is *santarasa*" (Deutsch, 1975, p. 19).

Whitehead said that "Buddhism is the most colossal example in history of applied metaphysics . . . a metaphysics generating a religion," in contrast with Christianity, which is "a religion seeking a metaphysic" (Whitehead, 1926, p. 50). The metaphysics of Buddhism shares many affinities with the metaphysics of Whitehead. Siddhārtha Gautama (c. 563–483 BCE), known as "Śākyamuni"—"sage of the Śākya clan,"—inherited many of the basic Hindu beliefs of his culture, which were retained as basic in Buddhism. When, as a scion of a noble family, he experienced major confrontations with the facts of old age, disease, and death, he moved on to the stage of withdrawal for intense meditation on a Way that would transcend these features of life in *māyā.* He found that Way in an experience of enlightenment that made him the exemplary Buddha—Enlightened One—and that he shared with others, who became carriers of the Buddhist enlightenment, first to Southeast Asia, then to Central and East Asia, and eventually to other continents. In the process several themes were constant. One was the transitoriness of life. Another was the transitoriness of all of those elements that constitute a human self, leading to a doctrine of "no self" or "no ownership." Another was the role of *karma* in attaining the ultimate goal of beatitude: *nirvāṇa.*

As the Way spread, other concepts became important. One is that of the *bodhisattva,* one who has generated enough good *karma* to enter *nirvāṇa* but will not do so before he or she can be a means for all others to attain the goal. Much of Buddhist devotional, meditational, and aesthetic practice focuses on one of these or on enlightened masters who share their teachings with disciples through various forms of discipline.

Major forms of such schools or sects developed in Tibet, China, Korea, and Japan. They range from manifestations of faith to receive the grace of a *bodhisattva* to disciplined study and practice under the guidance of a master that can lead to *satori* or salvific enlightenment. The Chan school of China, source of the Zen school of Japan, is of the latter type. Zen practice has strongly influenced many of the arts in China and Japan. This includes that freedom and spontaneity that follows release from the hegemony of "normal" consciousness through *kōans* whose verbal form opens the way to supradiscursive insight. The pursuit of such insight may focus on complete concentration on the ingredients of a vocational activity, like that of the warrior or athlete. Or emphasis may be on the highly ritualized restraint that should characterize the work of the actor or other artist. The "spirit of Zen" may be made manifest in many forms.

In China, Buddhism encountered the indigenous Confucian tradition, which espoused the goal of harmony between "Heaven," humans, and earth, expressed aesthetically in poetry and landscape painting. The Daoist tradition emphasized spontaneity and paradox expressed in these media.

In Japan, Buddhism was related in a variety of ways to Shintō, the indigenous religion of the islands, which in itself exhibits many aesthetic elements in its practices. Donald Keene has noted several terms in shared Japanese aesthetic vocabulary. *Aware* expresses a sense of wonder at the "giveness" of things. It also means, he says, "a gentle sorrow, adding not so much a meaning as a perfume to a sentence. It bespoke the sensitive poet's awareness of a sight or sound, of its beauty and its perishability" (Keene, 1958, p. 72). *Miyabi* "was applied to the quiet pleasures which could be savored by (those) whose tastes had been educated to them—a spray of plum blossoms, the elusive perfume of a rare wood, the delicate blending of colors in a robe" (Keene, 1958, pp. 174–175). *Yugen,* says Keene, "was a word used to describe the profound, the remote, the mysterious" (Keene, 1958, pp. 174–175). *Sabi* suggested not only "the old, but the taking of pleasure in that which was old" (Keene, 1958, p. 278). It is most profoundly felt in the tea ceremony and the tea hut. It is a quality, says Keene, that is captured in many brief and allusive poems called haiku. Again attention is drawn to the impermanence of things. This is not bemoaned. As in the Buddhist Way, it is noted simply as "the way things are." This sense is further expressed in *ukiyo,* the "floating world" of wood-block prints and of the transient passions. Some followers of many religious traditions are asking anew what is "floating" and what is permanent or enduring in the realms of aesthetics and religion within the multicultural world of globalization.

See Also Aristotle; Art and Religion; Beauty; Biblical Exegesis, article on Christian Views; Icons; Images; Literature, article on Literature and Religion; Plato; Platonism; Plotinus.

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James Alfred Martin, Jr. (1987 and 2005)

AESTHETICS: VISUAL AESTHETICS

An article on the application of visual aesthetics to religion might be expected to concentrate on paintings and sculpture with religious subject matter as well as on architecture designed for religious functions. Such an article, however, would duplicate a monograph on sacred art. The following discussion undertakes in a more general way to describe some basic perceptual and cognitive aspects of visual imagery and to examine their effects on religious art. Particularly relevant to this discussion are forms of art and kinds of religion not bound to traditional legendary subject matter.

Visual imagery defines the things and events of the world by their perceptual appearance. To be sure, perceptual characteristics are supplemented by all kinds of knowledge, but since such knowledge conveys only indirect information, it is less immediately effective. Images act primarily not by what one knows but by what strikes the eyes. They speak through the properties of shape, color, space, and sometimes motion. These properties are the carriers of visual dynamics, directed forces whose configurations act as symbolical equivalents of the dynamics that determine one's own mental and physical existence. The expressiveness of pure form enables nonrepresentational art such as architecture and "abstract" painting or sculpture to make effective statements about human experience.

Religious Art and Reality. When put at the service of religion, art favors embodiment; that is, it favors objects of worship taking the shapes of physical existence, such as human figures, animals and trees, buildings and mountains, water and light. Not all visual images meet the conditions of art, but for reasons to be discussed later it is all but essential for religious purposes that they do so. Some of the conditions to which works of art are subject may create difficulties for their application toward religious ends. One such condition is that images, to be effective, must adhere to what may be called a unitary reality status: they must share a common universe of discourse, whether physical or metaphysical. As long as superhuman powers are represented as differing from terrestrial life only by degree, there is no problem. The Homeric gods, for example, are stronger and more beautiful than mortals and are exempt from the laws of nature, but otherwise interact with mortals at the same level. Therefore the nature and activity of these gods pose no difficulties for the painter. The same is true for biblical subjects. Regardless of how artist and viewer conceive the ontological status of God, Michelangelo's frescoes in the Sistine Chapel can show the creator only as a human figure, albeit one endowed with superhuman powers.

Even invisibility is no obstacle to the painter as long as it is represented as a phenomenon of the visible world; but if a supernatural power were to be shown as beyond the sphere of visibility, namely as purely spiritual, the painter could solve the task only by shifting the entire theme to the spiritual realm, the qualities of which would be represented symbolically. If, for example, the Pentecostal outpouring of the Holy Spirit were depicted in the manner of the Italian futurists by stylized flames descending on a group of dark abstract shapes, this visually coherent image could work very well as a symbolical representation of an entirely spiritual event. A painter would be unable, however, to show the interaction of a spiritual, immaterial power with a material event. Marc Chagall's Bible illustrations may be cited as an example of this limitation. Meyer Schapiro observes in his *Modern Art: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New York, 1978): "Chagall feels awe before the divinity. How can he render God, who has forbidden all images? He has given the answer in [one of his illustrations] the *Creation of Man.* God's name is inscribed here in Hebrew letters in a luminous circle in the dark sky" (p. 130). Here the qualitative difference between the immaterial and the material would seem to be indicated by the insertion of a diagrammatic sign, which can be understood intellectually but does not express visually the nature of the divine. This inherent break in aesthetic expression is circumvented in certain images created in medieval Europe and the Far East, where heaven, earth, and underworld are represented as separate entities within a continuous picture. Interaction is sacrificed, but the visual concreteness of each realm is safeguarded.

One can make a similar point by stating that visual imagery does not readily accommodate a worldview that suffers from the modern scission between what is considered accepted knowledge, especially scientific knowledge, and what is merely believed on the basis of what was held to be true in the past. In a work of art, everything is equally true, and all truth is known by one and the same means of visual evidence. The angel of the Annunciation is as real as the Virgin, and when, in a painting by Tintoretto, Christ walks on the waters of the Sea of Gennesaret, the walk is as real as the water and the boat. As far as aesthetic reality is concerned, no faith is needed where there is the certainty of sight. At the same time no picture offers scientific proof for the truth of anything it shows. A painted tree is no more real than a winged dragon. As a work of art, a painting or sculpture persuades only by the power of its visual presence. Thus it can satisfy a viewer who accepts the story as literal truth and equally one who considers it purely symbolical, but it balks at combining both views in the same image. Given its perceptual nature, visual art favors a conception of religious experience emerging from what is accepted as factually true.

KINDS OF AESTHETIC TRUTH. Works of art, then, call for the unitary reality status of everything they show and refer to. That reality status, however, is not always the same. One can distinguish the following kinds.

Iconic. What is the ontological status of an icon that is worshiped, offered gifts and sacrifices, asked for help or intercession? For believers it is clearly treated as a physically existent power residing in their world. At the same time, the admission of an image to the world of the living is rarely the result of an illusion. Typically, believers are not deceived about the reality status of the icon's body. They know that they are in the presence of an object of wood, stone, or painted canvas. A naive psychology would see here a puzzling contradiction. What counts, however, is not the biological reality of the iconic entity but the power attributed to it. As the carrier of such power, the icon is taken neither for a living creature nor for a mere representation of something active elsewhere in time and space. It is an immediately present source of active energy.

Historical. When an Egyptian sculptor made a portrait of Queen Nefertiti, or when Diego Velázquez depicted the surrender of the Dutch city of Breda to the Spanish conqueror in 1625, the artist was convinced that he was offering a likeness of someone who was actually living or had lived, or of something that actually had taken place. This conviction prevails regardless of how much or little an artist knows about the actual appearance of his or her subject. Religious images can be intended as such portraits or chronicles, that is, as representations at the same level of truthfulness as historical documentation or scientific illustration; but there is no telling by mere inspection in which cases this is in fact the artist's attitude. Certainly it would be a mistake to assume that in religious imagery the more realistic representations are necessarily the more "literally" intended ones or that, vice versa, the more stylized and abstract images are meant to be more remote from actual fact. An artist of the high Renaissance, for instance, may have depicted the repentant Mary Magdalene very realistically for the purpose of sensuous enjoyment, caring very little about the truth of the story the work was telling; whereas certain more abstract styles, which today look remote from nature, may have seemed quite lifelike to their originators and may have been inspired by a deep belief in the truthfulness of their images.

Universal. It is, however, in the nature of artistic perception that an image is seen not simply as an individual object, person, or happening, but as the representative of a whole class of things, the significance of which goes beyond that of the individual. One may know the name of a gentleman portrayed by Rembrandt, but beyond the image of the individual is seen in the painting an expression of melancholy and resignation, vigilance and thought. In fact, one of the principal virtues of a great artist is the ability to handle shapes and colors in such a way that universal validity imposes itself through the individual instance. This symbolic quality of images is entirely compatible with the belief in their historical truth. When Dante Alighieri, in his letter to Can Grande della Scala, explains that a biblical story, such as that of the departure of the children of Israel, can be understood "in more senses than one," he distinguishes the literal from the allegorical meanings. The individual story may or may not be intended or understood as historical truth. When such truth is excluded, the human validity of the presentation may be nevertheless entirely preserved. The viewer enters the aesthetic category of fiction.

RELIGIOUS SUBJECT MATTER. In fiction the historical truth of the subject matter is commonly considered irrelevant, or even an obstacle to the creative freedom of the artist. Concerning religious art there is the question of whether such an attitude toward the subject matter is acceptable. For example, can an artist who is not a believer create a convincing image? (The term *believer* may be defined for the moment in the limited sense of someone convinced of the historical truth of the depicted facts.) A telling example of an enterprise that has had considerable religious and artistic success but has also stirred up much protest is that of the Church of Nôtre-Dame-de-Toute-Grâce at Assy, France, commissioned by the Dominican fathers during the early 1940s. The story of the church, to which William S. Rubin has devoted an extensive monograph (*Modern Sacred Art and the Church of Assy,* New York, 1961), is complex. It involves the more general issue of popular aversion to modern art, but also the fact that prestigious painters and sculptors, known to be atheists, communists, or religious Jews, were called upon to design a mosaic for the facade, a tapestry for the apse, a crucifix, and other decorations. None of the artists testified to any particular difficulty with the religious subject matter, nor did they feel that the task differed in principle from the secular work to which they were accustomed. It seems safe to assume that the religious subject matter to which the artists committed themselves, the Apocalypse, the Crucifixion, the Virgin of the litany, and so forth, exerted upon them the evocative power that inheres in any great subject, whatever its origin. The impact of the universally human dimensions of the subjects upon the artists may account for the more specifically religious effectiveness of their contributions.

In a more general sense this episode raises the question of whether visual images can ever be called religious when they lack the traditional subject matter of any particular creed. One thinks immediately of representations of nature that are intended to testify to the existence and qualities of its creator. When Augustine in his *Confessions* (10.6) inquires about the nature of God, he reports:

> I asked the earth; and it answered, "I am not he"; and whatsoever are therein made the same confession. I asked the sea and the deeps, and the creeping things that lived, and they replied, "We are not thy God, seek higher than we." I asked the breezy air, and the universal air with its inhabitants answered, "Anaximenes was deceived, I am not God." I asked the heavens, the sun, moon, and stars: "Neither," say they, "are we the God whom thou seekest." And I answered unto all these things which stand about the door of my flesh, "Ye have told me concerning my God, that ye are not he; tell me something about him." And with a loud voice they exclaimed, "He has made us." My questioning was my observing of them; and their beauty was their reply.

The things of nature give their answer to Augustine's question through their "beauty" (species). When one views a painted landscape by Altdorfer or Rubens or Sesshū, one may note such qualities as power, inexhaustible abundance, variety, order, ingenuity, and mystery. The greater the artist, the more compellingly does he or she present the objects of nature as embodiments of these virtues. What the artist cannot do, however, is give them the voice by which Augustine heard them answer: "He made us." A landscape cannot do in a painting what it does in Augustine's verbal invocation; visually, cause and effect can be shown only as acting within the realm of the forces of nature themselves, as when in a romantic landscape a cataract smashes against boulders or when a blacksmith is seen striking the glowing iron. To be sure, images can be used superbly to illustrate the belief in a creator, as Augustine does with his enumeration of the things of nature, but the belief must be brought to the images as an interpretation; it is not pronounced by the images themselves.

In 1959 the Protestant theologian Paul Tillich was invited to lecture on the topic "Art and Religion" at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. Significantly, he changed the title of his lecture to "Art and Ultimate Reality," arguing that the quest for ultimate reality was an indispensable aspect of religion and also the aim of all true art. He proceeded to describe five types of stylistic elements that he considered expressive of ultimate reality—a survey suggesting the generalization that any artistic attitude whatever can meet the criterion, provided the work attains the depth that goes with aesthetic excellence. In the discussion following his lecture Tillich was willing to conclude that "ultimate reality appears in what is usually called secular painting, and the difference of what is usually called religious painting is real only insofar as so-called religious painting deals with the traditional subject matters which have appeared in the different religious traditions" (*Cross Currents,* 1960).

Even when such a thesis is accepted in a general way, it seems evident that certain kinds of secular subjects are more congenial to common forms of the religious attitude than others. Thus images of nature point more readily to supernatural powers beyond the objects of physical appearance than do images of the works of man. More generic views do better as religious images than those of specific things or episodes. Stylized presentations can more readily transcend individuality on the way to ultimate reality than realistic ones, and this makes a Byzantine mosaic look more religious than a naturalistic photograph.

The extreme case is that of nonfigurative art, where abstraction reaches a maximum. The predicament of abstract art, however, has been, from the beginning, that although it may claim, as the painter Piet Mondrian did, that it represents ultimate reality more directly than other kinds of art, its relation to concrete experience becomes so tenuous that it risks proclaiming everything and nothing. For example, Fernand Léger, in 1952, decorated the side walls of the United Nations Assembly Hall in New York with large abstractions; his two gigantic tentacled clusters might well convey the sense of consolidated forces, but this very generic meaning can be channeled into a more specific application only with the help of the architectural setting and its known significance.

The limitations of nonfigurative imagery are reinforced when the absence of narrative subject matter is combined with an ascetic parsimony of form. The grids of the late work of Mondrian were threatened by a discrepancy between what was intended and what was achieved. When the form is even more severely reduced while the suggested subject becomes more specific. An extreme case is that of the fourteen *Stations of the Cross* painted around 1960 by the American artist Barnett Newman. These paintings, limited essentially to one or two vertical stripes on a plain background, tend to transcend the boundary between the pictorial and the diagrammatic—a distinction of considerable relevance for the problems of religious imagery. A diagram is a visual symbol of an idea or set of facts. It often reflects some essential property of its subject; but although it can evoke powerful emotions in the viewer—as when someone contemplates a chart depicting the increase of nuclear warheads—it does not create these experiences through its own formal expression. It merely conveys information. Something similar is true for traditional signs, such as the national flag, the cross, or the star of David. They, too, can release powerful responses, which are based on empirical association, not on the visual expression inherent in the image.

AESTHETIC AND RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE. The distinction between mere factual information, as given for example in scientific illustrations, and aesthetic expression points at the same time to one of two fundamental similarities between aesthetic and religious experience. It is generally acknowledged that for a religious person it does not suffice to accept certain facts, such as the existence of God, but that the forces asserted to exist must be sensed as reverberating in the believer's own mind, so that when, for example, in the *Book of Job,* the Lord answers out of the whirlwind, the reader of the Bible is to be overcome by the greatness of the creation. This heightening of information into religious experience, however, is strongly aided by the poetry of the biblical language. It does not differ in principle from what distinguishes secular aesthetic experience from the mere conveyance of factual knowledge. One may learn all there is to learn about Picasso's response to the Spanish Civil War in his painting *Guernica* and yet never experience the painting as a work of art, unless the forces of suffering, brutality, resistance, and hope come alive in the viewer's own consciousness. For this reason the purpose of religious art can be greatly enhanced when the images are of high artistic quality and thereby carry intense expression.

But is there really no difference between aesthetic and religious experience? Is it not essential for religiosity that experiencing the nature of the world into which one is born leads to a corresponding conduct of worship, of living in conformity with the demands revealed by that experience? In comparison, aesthetic contemplation may seem to be mere passive reception. Such a view of aesthetic behavior, however, is too narrow. First of all, the very fact of artistic creation is the artist's way of placing his or her most important behavior, a life's work, actively into the context of the world he or she experiences. The art historian Kurt Badt, recalling Ruskin and Nietzsche, has defined the activity of the artist as "Feiern durch Rühmung," that is, as celebration through praise (*Kunsthistorische Versuche,* Cologne, 1968). Such a definition does not turn art into religion, but it highlights the affinity of the two.

In an even broader sense, no reception of a work of art is complete unless the viewer feels impelled to live up to the intensity, purity, and wisdom of outlook reflected in it. This demand to emulate the nobility of the work of art by one's own attitude toward the world was strikingly expressed by the poet Rainer Maria Rilke when he celebrated the beautiful forms of an Archaic marble torso of Apollo. He followed his description abruptly with the admonition "Du musst dein Leben ändern" ("You must change your life").

SEE ALSO Architecture; Art and Religion; Human Body; Iconography.

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For the more general aspects of visual symbolism see, for example, Margaret Miles's "Vision: The Eye of the Body and the Eye of the Mind in St. Augustine's *De Trinitate* and *Confessions,*" *Journal of Religion* 63 (April 1983): 125–142. I have also approached these issues in *Visual Thinking* (Berkeley, 1969), the chapters on "Art and Thought" and on "Models for Theory"; the essay "The Robin and the Saint," in *Toward a Psychology of Art* (Berkeley, 1966); and the chapter "Symbols through Dynamics," in *The Dynamics of Architectural Form* (Berkeley, 1977).

RUDOLF ARNHEIM (1987)

AFFLICTION

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AN OVERVIEW
AFRICAN CULTS OF AFFLICTION

AFFLICTION: AN OVERVIEW

Men, but more so women, have frequently viewed themselves as the victims of unsolicited and malevolent attention from the spirit world. Sometimes such affliction is thought to come out of the blue or to result from some quite trivial misdemeanor. More often it is thought to result from disputes or transgressions committed by the victim or by a relative. The outward signs of affliction are not uniform or obvious. They range from grossly stigmatizing conditions such as leprosy or madness, through trance, to a subjective malaise or a feeling that one has not received one's just deserts. The mechanics of attack vary. Some victims are able to describe the details of the method of attack with great precision. Others show no interest either in the reason for attack or in the method deployed. In the course of fieldwork in Maharashtra this author was told, "We are all laymen where witchcraft is concerned." In other words, no one likes to admit to a familiarity with the techniques of witchcraft for fear of being suspected a witch oneself.

Affliction is thought to be the result of human agency in some cases, divine in others. Under the rubric of divine agency lies a whole gamut of gods and spirits who are thought to take an interest in human affairs. The divine agents who interfere and cause damage in human lives have been described as peripheral to the central religious concerns of the society in question. This nomenclature is more fully discussed by I. M. Lewis in *Ecstatic Religion* (1971). Children's ailments in particular tend to be attributed to possession by a deity. In Nepal, for instance, there are three deities, Hartimata, Bhat Bhateni, and Swayambuth, whose special sphere of interest and activity is the diseases of children. In India smallpox is commonly attributed to the Hindu goddesses Sitala and (in some regions) Chechak. In such cases it is important to identify the deity responsible for illness or misfortune in order that he or she may be appeased and further damage averted. This is not the case where the afflicting agent is a spirit: in such instances victims and their families express a relative indifference concerning the exact identity of their adversary.

More often, however, affliction is thought to result from the malevolent machinations of another human being. This involves either capturing a spirit and directing it to possess the victim or else attacking the victim less circuitously by magical means. In either event the afflicted feels circumscribed by malice. Social anthropologists have often advocated a distinction between sorcery and witchcraft. The basis for the alleged distinction is that sorcery involves some physical manipulations and its efficacy depends upon learning the appropriate skills or techniques to achieve its ends, whereas witchcraft depends upon the possession of appropriate powers that transform malevolent desires into reality. (For a fuller discussion of this distinction see Middleton and Winter, 1963.) In practice this distinction appears to be more important to anthropologists than to those who bear the brunt of attack by witchcraft or sorcery. Far more important in terms of the severity of the illness, its prognosis, treatment options, and eventual outcome is the source of the affliction—in other words, whether it has been wrought by divine or human agency. It is widely held that where the afflicting power is of human origin the illness is of a more serious nature and less amenable to treatment, whereas illnesses of divine origin on the whole respond more readily to treatment. The idea that humans are less tractable and less persuadable than gods may seem strange from a Western perspective. However, whereas a dialogue can be initiated with a possessing spirit, witchcraft represents an irredeemable breakdown of human relationships: One may plead with the gods but not with an angry relative. In Maharashtra women who have lost status through, for example, divorce or barrenness interpret their plight in terms of attack by witchcraft. This observation appears to be borne out by literature from other parts of the world: Where society fails to care for an individual in the sense of allocating him or her a proper place, there witchcraft is held responsible for the stigmatized circumstances of the individual.

How is spiritual affliction identified and distinguished from natural illness? In some societies certain conditions are synonymous with spiritual affliction. For example, trance is well-nigh universally held to have a spiritual etiology, madness and leprosy widely so. Other symptoms are not so easy to place. In some societies categorization is made easier by immediate recourse to a healer who makes the diagnosis on behalf of the patient. In Nepal, for instance, the bulk of the population initially consult a healer in order to determine the causation of symptoms and to ascertain whether consultation with a medical doctor would be appropriate. The healer will determine whether or not the illness is likely to respond to Western medicine and, if so, when would be an auspicious time to consult the doctor. Failure to consult at a proper time and day may jeopardize one's chances of recovery. In practice, once the healer is consulted, few patients are turned away, as the healer's province of practice is all-embracing. Where the individual alone assesses the etiology of his or her illness, criteria for distinguishing spiritually caused from naturally caused illness are less clear-cut. Spiritual affliction is suspected if Western medicine and treatment fail to make one better, or even make one worse. Sometimes the quality of a pain has a distinctive and unusual flavor that raises instant suspicions in the patient's mind. Respondents are hard put to describe the precise quality of this distinctiveness, however confident they themselves may be of identifying it correctly. In other cases it may be the circumstances, such as an earlier dispute or envious comments, that alert the patient to the possibility of a nonnatural causation of his illness. In Nepal, among people who make use of both traditional healers and of doctors, there is a tendency to take routine ailments such as fevers and diarrhea to the doctor and more unusual or serious complaints to healers. Quite how such treatment choices are made remains to be studied.

It is widely held, but only partially true, that the spiritually afflicted are predominantly women. Informants themselves, both women and men, readily acknowledge that women are more vulnerable to spirit possession. Most often reference is made to women's alleged lack of willpower and alleged emotional liability. Frequently, mention is made of the greater risks run by women during menstruation. At such times women are held to be more vulnerable to attack by spirits. Members of the spirit possession and healing cults of northeast Africa described by Lewis (1971) are, indeed, almost exclusively female. Lewis has been most explicit and influential in his exposition of a specific epidemiology peculiar to spirit possession. Briefly, he argues that deprived women in a harshly repressive masculine culture succumb to spirit possession, particularly if they are embroiled in some personal dispute with their husbands. However, there is danger in extrapolating from these *zar* cults of Muslim societies to healing cults in other parts of the world.

Much of the literature in this area has concerned itself with an interpretation of the healer's art and an exegesis of the symbolism of healing rituals. For example, Larry Peters's *Ecstasy and Healing in Nepal* (1981) provides a uniquely literal interpretation of participant observation and is written from the perspective of a shaman's apprentice in the Kathmandu Valley. As such it provides an extraordinary account of shamanistic theory and practice but conveys predictably little information on the healer's clientele. Bruce Kapferer's study (1983) of demon possession in southern Sri Lanka likewise demonstrates through analysis of symbols why healing rituals may be therapeutically efficacious. A study by the Indian psychoanalyst Sudhir Kakar (1982) suggests that while most of the patients afflicted by *bhūt* (spirit) at a healing temple in Rajasthan were young women, affliction tended to shift between different family members. In other words, the original affliction may well have affected a male member of the family and may then have been transferred to a woman in the course of her caring for the patient. Similarly, studies of illness behavior in England show that women take on the burden of care and support for the sick.This author's study of a healing temple in Maharashtra (Skultans, 1986) finds that women attended the temple in gratitude for past cures, in lieu of another family member, or to accompany an afflicted person. Some women who were themselves afflicted came unaccompanied. All of these cases contributed toward creating a female majority. Similarly, in an earlier study of Welsh spiritualists (Skultans, 1974), this author found that although the spiritually afflicted were for the most part women, the problems that beset them were common to the family. It seems, therefore, that the afflicted are giving voice to wider problems that beset the entire family.

Affliction is most often a family affair or even a community affair. Its social structure is superbly described in John M. Janzen's highly esteemed account *The Quest for Therapy in Lower Zaire* (1978). The family is important in managing the patient and his affliction (Janzen uses the term *therapy managing group*) and is also implicated in the causation of the affliction. The affliction is thus seen as being in large part the responsibility of family and community. While the onus for making major treatment decisions lies with the kin therapy group, so does the obligation to resolve interpersonal conflicts and rivalries within the group. It has become well-nigh a truism that illness—spiritual affliction in particular—provides an opportunity for demonstrating social solidarity through a reassertion of mutual loyalties and common values, and most studies appear to bear this theory out. The very act of reintegrating the afflicted individual into his social group serves as a reminder of the group's identity.

In the course of fieldwork for a Maharashtrian study the author of this article uncovered a complex web of family involvement. Although initially one particular family member would be singled out as in need of help, it would soon be found that the entire family was afflicted. The typical pattern of affliction developed thus: Mothers, or sometimes wives, would bring their psychotic or mentally handicapped sons or husbands to the temple. A short while after arrival the patient's chief caretaker, usually the mother, would start going into a state of trance. Such trance was seen as a diagnostic tool whereby a dialogue could be initiated with the possessing spirit that would provide information concerning the nature of the illness. Trance invariably revealed that the source of the sufferer's affliction was witchcraft (*karni*) or possession by a spirit (*bhūt*). This malevolent power was directed at the whole family because of some dispute, rivalry, or envy, and the son or husband was seen as happening to be its unfortunate victim. It was thought that the original affliction might be deflected away from the first victim if the mother or some other person took over the burden of illness and that, since the family was the target of attack, any one member could substitute for another. While this belief augured well for the prognosis of individual affliction, it meant also that the individual's cure in no way signified an end to family distress. Informants cited patterns of family illness in support of this interpretation wherein affliction assumed a hydra-headed quality striking different members of the family in different ways. Sometimes one person, most often a woman, would pray that the burden of family affliction be transferred to her. If and when her prayers were thought to be answered she would begin to experience trance regularly and to decline into chronic ill health. Thus female sacrifice plays a central role in the maintenance of family health. A significant feature of this theory of affliction is the shared concern and responsibility it generates for conditions that might otherwise be perceived as extremely annoying. Typically a number of courses of action are open to the afflicted, which can be grouped under the categories of community care and specialist care.

COMMUNITY CARE. The afflicted person may join a community or cult of the afflicted. Here the emphasis is on learning to accommodate the affliction rather than removing it. Where the affliction involves trance, this means regularizing the times of trancing. The affliction is thus transformed from a sudden, unintelligible outburst into a routine and usually mild handicap carrying with it a number of secondary benefits. Foremost among these is the companionship of the similarly afflicted. Such communities do not usually offer specialist treatment, but they are run by veterans who have themselves experienced and learned to live with the full spectrum of affliction. Indeed, cults of affliction share many of the features of Western forms of group therapy.

SPECIALIST CARE. From a treatment perspective, healers can be categorized according to the amount of time they are able to devote to individual cases. Some healing rituals are lengthy affairs spanning several days. Social anthropologists have demonstrated the therapeutic goal, if not the effect, of such rituals. An important ingredient of all such rituals is the symbolic representation of internal conflicts and the process of their resolution; the rituals thus come to symbolize the newly reconstituted self. They are public and involve a large audience. Such demonic healing rituals have been particularly well described by Kapferer in the study already cited.

Most often, however, the confrontation between healer and afflicted is of a more fleeting and less intense nature. Healers who have acquired a reputation for the successful management of the afflicted attract a huge clientele. The more popular a healer becomes, the less time he is able to devote to any one patient. This results in the paradoxical situation that the elaborate healing rituals described in loving detail by social anthropologists are carried out by those healers who have relatively few patients. Such time constraints on treatment are evident in Arthur Kleinman's description of the practice of a popular Taiwanese shaman (Kleinman and Sung, 1979). This shaman is described as spending an average of five minutes with each patient and only two minutes on busy nights. No doubt such restrictions on consultation time inhibit the performance of healing rituals. Thus, it seems, the price one pays for consultation with a prestigious healer is the whittling away of healing rituals. However, the abbreviation and attenuation of contact between healer and patient do not appear to diminish the popularity of the healers or, indeed, their reputation for success in curing affliction. Perhaps, therefore, the power to alleviate the affliction lies as much in the circumstances surrounding the consultation as in the actual consultation itself. Family support for the victim, as well as an explanation of the affliction that lays the burden of responsibility on the family rather than the individual, may play a part in the recovery of the patient.

Psychiatrists have suggested various explanations of trance (the most frequent manifestation of affliction), but none is entirely satisfactory. The most commonly held view, derived from Freud, is that trance is akin to hysteria, a view that unwittingly reinforces the stereotype of trance as a female affliction. Freud himself made the much-publicized claim that he had restored dignity to patients who would in an earlier age have been branded as possessed by the devil. Certainly, there are similarities between the clinical description given of the convulsive attacks of hysterical patients and the behavior of people in certain kinds of trance. The anesthesia of hysterics and the occurrence of anesthetic and nonbleeding areas on alleged witches provide a further point of similarity. Jung views neuroses and possession states as sharing a common etiology, namely, moral conflict, which he claims derives from the impossibility of affirming the whole of one's nature. This state then gives rise either to symptoms that are in some sense foreign to the self or to possession by a foreign being. Both conditions involve an inability to express an essential part of oneself, which is thereupon suppressed and which demands alternative expression. The rudiments of this psychoanalytic approach to possession and trance have become incorporated into many later accounts. However, while having considerable explanatory power, such approaches fail to take into account the element of learning in trancing behavior. In many contexts trance is viewed in a positive, beneficial light and is consciously sought after.

Affliction has a variety of meanings. It may signal the start of a career as a religious specialist. It may usher in an entirely different lifestyle as a member of a cult of the afflicted. It may entail a round of consultations with various specialists who may or may not be able to lift the affliction. Or it may simply be a marker for one of the expected ailments of childhood or hazards of later life.

SEE ALSO Exorcism; Healing and Medicine; Spirit Possession; Witchcraft.

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AFFLICTION: AFRICAN CULTS OF AFFLICTION

An important feature of African religions, both historically and in the twenty-first century, has been the interpretation of adversity within the framework of cults, or specialized therapeutic communities. Although cults concerned with affliction and healing are widespread on the continent, the technical term *cults of affliction* has been used in scholarship specifically to describe the healing cults found among the Bantu-speaking peoples of central and southern Africa. The two major criteria of such cults are spirit possession and the initiation of the afflicted person into the cult. These cults have also been called "drums of affliction" because of the significance in their rituals of drums and rhythmic song dancing, both termed *ngoma* ("drum"), over a wide area. Also important in this context is the elongated *ngoma*-type single-membrane drum, which plays a central role in rituals throughout the region. The importance of the drum to these cults can be related to the fact that the drumming is considered to be the voice or influence of the ancestral shades and other spirits who possess the sufferer and also provide treatment.

Societies, History, and Therapeutics. Societies from the equator down to the Drakensberg Mountains and the Kalahari Desert in the south use many of the same terms and concepts to describe their cultural life (particularly in its religious and therapeutic aspects), including terms for sickness, health, and disease etiologies (especially prevalent is the notion that "words" or an ill will may cause sickness and misfortune). Equally common to these societies are various therapeutic techniques and materials, terms for the ancestors, and the concept of *ngoma* as it relates to song-dance communities and therapies. These shared characteristics occur in spite of much local and regional adaptation to a broad range of climates, widely divergent political and economic formations and colonial experiences during the seventeenth to twentieth centuries, as well as diverse responses to various diseases and stressful environments.

Many of the societies of the subcontinent were lineage-based agrarian communities, practicing some hunting and, in regions where the sleeping-sickness-carrying tsetse fly is absent, livestock tending. Especially in coastal regions, commercial cities have emerged, linking the continent to overseas mercantile centers. The region includes southern savanna matrilineal societies such as the Kongo, Lunda, Chokwe, Kimbundu, and Bemba of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Angola, Zambia, and Malawi; patrilineal societies such as the Luba, Lozi, Nyamwezi, and others of the central region; and in the southern region, the Shona, Sotho, and Tswana and the nearby Nguni-speaking societies of the Zulu, Swazi, and Xhosa. Numerous precolonial states and empires existed in the subcontinent, including the cluster of states of the Luba, Lunda, Kimbundu, and Chokwe; on the western coast, the Kongo, Loango, Kakongo, and Ngoyo states; the states of the eastern lakes, Kitara, Busoga, Bunyoro, Buganda, and, eastward, Nyamwezi; in the Zimbabwe region, the historic state of Monomotapa; and more recently, in the early nineteenth century, the Zulu empire and the Tswana chiefdoms, and the Sotho kingdom in the southern Africa area, associated with the great disturbances known as the Mfecane.

Cults of affliction have related dynamically to these states, either by having been brought under the tutelage of government and serving to legitimate it as a sovereign power, or by serving to preserve segments of society not directly related to the state. In the absence of the state, cults of affliction have provided a format for the perpetuation of such marginalized or afflicted social groups as women, the handicapped, and those struck with misfortune in economy-related tasks such as hunting. They are also expressly concerned with women's fertility and commerce. In some settings, the model of the cult has provided the basis for normative social authority, the definition and organization of economic activity, social organization, and more esoteric religious and artistic activities.

In colonial and postcolonial Africa, the use of affliction and adversity to organize social reproduction has contributed to the perpetuation (even the proliferation) of cults of affliction, often in a way that has baffled governmental authorities and outside observers. Cults have arisen in connection with epidemics, migration and trade routes, and shifts in modes of production. They have also emerged in response to changes in social organization and the deterioration of institutions of justice. Colonialism itself generated many of the cults of affliction appearing in the twentieth-century literature on the subject.

The cults of affliction have provided African societies with a far more pervasive concept of disease and health than that which has prevailed in the Western world. Before presenting examples of the distribution of cults of affliction in several societies, it is necessary to further describe their underlying common features.

Common Features and Variations. Beneath the diversity of cults of affliction there is a characteristic worldview regarding misfortune and how it can be classified and dealt with. Adversities that are regarded to be in the natural order of things are handled through the use of straightforward, often individual and private remedies, techniques, and interventions. Extraordinary adversities, or those that are attributed to human or spiritual forces, can only be dealt with by placating these forces or by intervening in the spiritual realm. Rather than everyday problems, cults of affliction address this second level of adversity. A hunter's chronic failure to find game, an employee's chronic loss of a job or failure to find one, accidents that occur despite taking every precaution, and misfortune juxtaposed with social conflict are all examples of extraordinary adversities.

The worldview that inspires cults of affliction includes as an axiom the idea that ancestral shades and spirits, ultimately expressions of the power of God, may influence and intervene in human affairs. The shades may either be direct, identifiable lineal ancestors or more generic "human" spirits. Other spirits of the central and southern African pantheon may include more distant nature spirits, hero spirits, or alien spirits that affect human events in varying ways. Old as well as new knowledge tends to be related to the shade and spirit forces, as events are interpreted and adversities dealt with. Thus, as common social problems increasingly occur outside the domestic community, there has been a tendency for lineal ancestors to be supplanted by more generalized spirit forces in cults of affliction.

Therapeutic attention to affliction, through the form of cults, often entails the initiation of the afflicted individual into membership in the cult, ideally resulting in his or her elevation to the status of priest or healer in the group. Whether or not this happens (there are many "dropouts" in cults of affliction) depends on the novice's progress through early stages of therapy and counseling, on his or her economic means, and the extent to which the cult's resources are controlled by an elite (where they are controlled, access is restricted). Throughout the wider cult of affliction region, initiation is marked by two distinct stages: an initial therapeutic neutralization of the affliction, and, if the novice progresses through counseling and further therapy, a second stage, a graduation to the status of fully qualified priest, healer, or professional.

The efficacy of the therapy, regardless of its specific techniques, is partly assured because of the support given by the community of the fellow afflicted, who may or may not be the sufferer's kin. In most instances of prolonged sickness in African societies the diagnosis and decisions relating to the course of therapy—the "quest for therapy"—are in the hands of a lay managing group made up of kin. In the cases that come into the orbit of cults of affliction, the support community broadens to include the cult members. The quality of support shifts from ad hoc aid from kin to a permanent involvement with a network in the initiate-novice's life, corresponding to the long-term involvement of the individual with the affliction, or as a healer-priest over it.

Some cults of affliction, such as Nkita among the Kongo of the western portion of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, are situated within lineages. Nkita responds to the unique circumstances and symptoms of lineage segmentation. Appropriately, when a generation of Nkita within a lineage fragment is afflicted, the cult provides the rationale and the setting for the regeneration of the lineage organization, and the members are reaffiliated with the ancestral source of their collective authority. Most cults of affliction, however, occur outside the kin setting. Functioning as a substitute for kin relations, they give the individual lifelong ties with others along the lines of the new affliction- or occupation-specific community. This feature has led some to hypothesize that the cults may proliferate where kin-based social units are in disarray. In the urban setting of South Africa, for example, recruitment to affliction cults is prevalent among those, especially women, who carry the burden of being single-parent household heads.

The cults of affliction are concerned with problems and responses that go well beyond trying to provide an alternative community when kin relations are in disarray. An important function of all the cults is the intellectual, analytical, and diagnostic evaluation of the nature of life and the reasons for misfortune. In this connection, distinction is often drawn between divination, the intellectual analysis of a situation, and ritual therapy, the attempt to intervene in the situation to change it. This distinction accounts for some of the diversity of affliction cult types, for where social change is intense, the need for cognitive clarity increases. Thus, in eighteenth-century coastal Kongo, during the decline of the kingdoms of the area and with the increase of trade, including the slave trade, divination cults—particularly those related to adjudication and conflict resolution—were extremely abundant. In southern Africa today, the term *ngoma* is often identified with divination because of the pressing need for analysis and interpretation of life in a region adversely affected by apartheid. Closer examination, however, shows that the functions of divination and network building are complementary, with both usually present in varying degrees and ways.

Divination, or diagnosis, always accompanies cults of affliction, either independently of the healing role or as a part of the specialized techniques and paraphernalia of a particular cult. Divination must be thought of as a continual querying of the whys, whos, and wherefores begun in the family setting in the face of misfortune, but carried through by specialists with expert judgment and training. These specialists may have had their own profound individual dilemmas or have been recruited to a particular mode of ritual life or been initiated and trained to deal with the spirit world. As a technique, divination may be based on a mechanistic system of signs and interpretations, such as the southern savanna *ngombo* basket, which is filled with symbolic objects signifying human life, the bone-throwing technique of southern African Nguni society, or the recital of scriptures from the Bible or the Qurʾān. Alternatively, divination involves direct recourse to possession, in which the diviner, as medium, speaks the words of the ancestral shade or spirit in answer to the query. Recent observers suggest that this form of divination is on the increase. Some diviners, however, use a combination of both techniques. In any case, these divined diagnoses, representing a type of analysis or interpretation of daily life, are the basis for the more synthetic, ritualized follow-through of the cults of affliction.

Although they vary tremendously, the rituals of initiation, healing, and celebration have common features throughout the area. Everywhere song and dance are at the heart of the participation of the initiate or celebrant. The *ngoma* ("song dance") is the product of the initiate's personal pilgrimage, and its lyrics tell of dreams and visions, as well as mundane experiences. These songs, and their rhythms, create a framework of reality within which the affliction or condition is defined and the remedy or mode of relating to it formulated. Thus, despite the collective setting, a great deal of individualized attention is available. The moving, pulsating context of ritual celebration is conducive to cognitive dissociation and restructuring, lending affliction cults a psychotherapeutic, even conversion-like quality, although they are not sectarian or exclusive in membership. The need to define and redefine experience persists throughout the career of the initiate and priest-healer; seasoned elders continue to deal with their own dilemmas and life transitions.

Beyond these core features, the content of affliction cults varies greatly depending on the scope of issues channeled into the format. It may range, as has been seen, from treating epidemic or chronic diseases and deformities to occupational roles that require specialized knowledge or may be dangerous to the individuals yet necessary to society. In one setting the range of issues may be placed into a single ritual format; in others, issue-linked communities may grow into numerous named orders or dances. These communities may in turn be organized as a decentralized series of local cells, or overlapping networks. Alternatively, the prevailing structure may become highly hierarchical, territorially centered on a fixed shrine or central administration. Economic and political factors often play a role in shaping the structure of affliction cults. However, the taxonomy of issues addressed usually depends on the environmental conditions or on the cults' leaders, who often express their visions of solutions to human needs. The parameters of homogeneous and diversified, decentralized and centralized structures in cults of affliction may best be described by sketching several historical and contemporary settings.

SETTINGS AND SAMPLES. The cults of affliction reveal the greatest concentration of common features in the area where linguistic homogeneity among Bantu-speaking societies is greatest—in a belt across the midcontinent that ranges from Kikongo speakers in the west to Swahili speakers in the east. A brief comparison follows of turn-of-the-twentieth-century accounts of cults of affliction among the coastal Kongo, the Ndembu of Zambia, the Lunda of Zaire, and the Sukuma of the Lake Victoria region of Tanzania, all decentralized societies.

While they were associated with individual affliction in the narrow sense, cults of affliction, or orders, in these societies also related to the sacralization and organization of technical knowledge and its relationship to the legitimation and reinforcement of the social order. Divination played a role, either specific to each cult as among the Sukuma, or as a more specialized set of techniques as among the Ndembu and Kongo, both of whom practiced the *ngombo* basket technique.

Some cults related explicitly to the prevailing economic activity in each society, largely through the cultic techniques that were preferred and the types of people who became afflicted. Thus, in Ndembu and Sukuma society, hunting was the focus of several *ngoma* orders, with specific organization centered upon the mode of hunting (whether bow and arrow or gun) and the type of animal (e.g., elephant, snake, porcupine). The Sukuma snake-handling order was, and is, a prime example of a cult devoted to the control and reproduction of technical knowledge. Known for effective snakebite treatments, the snake-dance society members possess antidotes to the numerous poisonous snake venoms of western Tanzania.

In coastal Kongo several cults dealt with trade and commerce, an appropriate focus, for these important economic activities brought divisive mercantile techniques and attitudes into lineage-based societies, as well as several contagious diseases. On the Kongo coast, where formerly centralized kingdoms had featured appeal courts, the cult of affliction format emerged in the eighteenth century as the vehicle for judicial affairs and conflict resolutions. In nineteenth-century Sukumaland, antiwitchcraft medicine cults were introduced from the Kongo Basin in response to the rising social disorder that characterized the early colonial period. The Ndembu responded to early colonialism with cults of affliction focused on new illnesses, including fevers, "wasting," and "disease of the paths," and other suspiciously colonial contagious sicknesses such as malaria, tuberculosis, and venereal diseases brought in by migrant labor. Everywhere, the cults paid much attention to twin and breach births, and other dangerous or unusual conditions of reproduction.

The label "affliction cults," understood in the narrow sense often used in the post-Enlightenment West, does not adequately fit the cults of central Africa. At the beginning of the twentieth century, in the setting of early colonialism, the *ngoma* groups provided a means of buttressing and celebrating social categories of economic pursuit (land, hunting, trade), social order and justice, and the very fabric of society (marriage, authority, women's health, reproduction), as well as specified areas of sickness in the narrower sense. The celebrative, reflexive dimension of the *ngoma* needs to be emphasized, as well. In some societies, notably those of East Africa, the *ngoma* served as a means of entertainment and competition, as sport, a role that is increasingly prominent today. Indeed, in much of East Africa, the distinction is drawn between therapeutic and entertaining types of *ngoma.* Perhaps the underlying characterization of the historical *ngoma* orders would be that they ritualized key points of the social and cultural fabric that were highly charged or highly threatened. Affliction or misfortune merely served as a mode of recruitment to leadership and a means of reproducing specialized knowledge.

The picture of cults of affliction within centralized states contrasts markedly with the settings described above. In societies such as the Tswana, where historically there has been a strong chieftainship providing social continuity and material support, cults of affliction are less influential or even entirely absent. Cults are known to have provided the impetus for the emergence of centralized polities, as in the case of the Bunzi shrine of coastal Kongo. They have also emerged in the wake of historical states, picking up the aura of royal authority and the trappings of sovereignty and transforming them into the source of mystical power. A prime example of this was the Cwezi cult of the interlacustrine region of eastern central Africa, which is today a limited cult of affliction whose spirits are the royal dynasties of the ancient Cwezi kingdom of the same region.

This dynamic relationship of cults to centralized polities has been accompanied by changes in the way spirits and shades are focused in consciousness and ritual. As the scale or function of a cult expands, narrowly defined ancestor shades may give way to nature, alien, or hero spirits. In a few instances, centralized shrine cults have persisted over centuries, defining primary values and social patterns for generations of adepts. The Bunzi shrine cult of coastal Kongo, the Mbona of Malawi, and the Korekore and Chikunda in Zimbabwe are examples of well-studied cults that, though centuries old, continue into the present. Some authors have distinguished between these centralized, regional cults and the topically focused cults of affliction. But the orders, taken in their entirety, suggest more of a continuum along several axes: centralized and segmentary, inclusive and specialized, controlled by state sovereignty versus independent, or even opposed to state sovereignty. Cults have crystallized opposition to states in both precolonial and colonial settings and, to a lesser degree, in postcolonial times. Thus, the Cwezi cult channeled opposition to hierarchical structures in a number of interlacustrine states, especially Rwanda. Cult leaders organized opposition to Rhodesian labor-recruitment practices and inspired strikes in the mines in the late nineteenth century. There are other cases of tacit resistance to colonial governments inspired by cult leadership.

Through the twentiety century and into the twenty-first, cults of affliction tended to be short-term movements born out of desperation; trying to provide a panacea for society's ills, they are an expression of the pains experienced by a large segment of the populace because of chronic social problems. There has been a great deal of interpenetration between these cults and independent Christian churches and with Islamic orders in some areas such as East Africa. New permanent cults have arisen around such characteristic ills as the nuclear family or the maintenance of a household in an urban setting; epidemic diseases such as tuberculosis and how to cope with the chronic problems related to it; the divination of problems such as unemployment in a proletarian setting; and how to succeed in business or retain a job. Many cults also focus on the alienation and entrapment so common in the African urban setting.

Affliction cults in central and southern Africa have thus used the classic themes of marginality, adversity, risk, and suffering in order to cope with the ever-necessary task of renewing society in the face of the profound economic and social change that has occurred since the late nineteenth century.

SEE ALSO Central Bantu Religions; Interlacustrine Bantu Religions; Kongo Religion; Mbona; Ndembu Religion.

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JOHN M. JANZEN (1987 AND 2005)

AFGHĀNĪ, JAMĀL AL-DĪN AL- (1838/9–1897), Muslim thinker and politician. Born near Hamadhan in Iran, al-Afghānī was Iranian, in spite of his later claim to be Afghan. His own version of his early life was not always accurate, but it seems clear that he had a traditional education in Iran and then in the Shīʿī holy city of Najaf, Iraq. He spent some early years in India, where he first learned of modern Western ideas and observed British rule over a partly Muslim population. From then onward his life was one of movement and shifting fortunes: in Afghanistan, Istanbul, and Cairo, then India again, then Paris and London, then Iran, Russia, and Iran once more, and finally in Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman empire. Through all the changes there is a recurrent pattern: everywhere he gathered around him groups of disciples; everywhere he tried to warn Muslims of the dangers of European, and particularly British, expansion; and, although he won favor with Muslim rulers, he ended by attacking them for being weak or corrupt and was several times expelled by them.

His writings are few: *Al-radd ʿalā al-dahrīyīn* (The refutation of the materialists), an attack upon certain Indian Muslims who were willing to accept British rule, and a periodical, *Al-ʿurwah al-wuthqā* (The indissoluble link), written with the Egyptian theologian Muḥammad ʿAbduh and addressed to the whole Muslim world. It is not always easy to discover what al-Afghānī really believed, for he wrote in different ways for different audiences. His main theme is clear, however: Muslims cannot acquire the strength to resist European expansion unless they understand their own religion rightly and obey it.

His understanding of Islam seems to have been that of such Islamic philosophers as Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), reinforced by what he learned from modern Western thinkers. Human reason properly enlightened can teach people that there is a transcendent God and that they are responsible for acting in accordance with his will. Ordinary people cannot attain to such knowledge or restrain their passions, and for them prophets have embodied the truth in symbolic forms (it is not clear whether al-Afghānī believed that prophets were inspired by God or were simply practicing a human craft). The Qurʾān is one such symbolic embodiment of the truth. Properly interpreted, its message is the same as that of reason; thus, as human knowledge advances, the Qurʾān needs to be interpreted anew.

The Qurʾān, rightly understood, teaches that Muslims should act virtuously and in a spirit of solidarity. If they do this, they will have the strength to survive in the modern world. Al-Afghānī's main endeavors were to stir Muslims to such activity and solidarity, yet his hopes of finding a Muslim ruler who would accept his advice were always disappointed. In later life he appealed more to the rising pan-Islamic sentiment of the time, and his writing and activities took on a more orthodox Islamic coloring.

Al-Afghānī's personality seems to have been powerful and attractive, and wherever he went he found followers. At times he had considerable influence, although less than he claimed. In his last years in Istanbul his fame declined, but it returned after his death, and he came to be regarded as the precursor of a wide variety of Islamic movements.

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ALBERT HOURANI (1987)

AFRICAN AMERICAN RELIGIONS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
MUSLIM MOVEMENTS
HISTORY OF STUDY

AFRICAN AMERICAN RELIGIONS: AN OVERVIEW

African American religions can be studied analytically and historically. Since American religion is a broad phenomenon, the term *African American religion* must be defined. Although Christianity is the predominant African American religion in the New World and blacks have joined every major Christian denomination, they also practice other faiths such as Islam, Judaism, vodoou, and Santeria. Moreover, historically and phenomenologically African Americans' religion and identity often interact. The religious traditions Africans brought to the New World have forged an African American identity, but this identity has developed through a new religious experience shaped by the conditions Africans underwent in the Americas.

Religion, as a discrete phenomenon that can be studied apart from the cultural, social, and political realms of human interaction, is a modern notion that was not held by most of the Africans who were brought to the Americas. Religion encompasses the meanings, symbols, and rituals that interpret and regulate human contacts and exchanges with other humans, the natural world, and the invisible world. Humans must conceptualize, ritualize, and determine the meaning and value of the power they experience in these contacts and exchanges. This meaning applies to African American religions within the historical and spatial context of the Atlantic World in which it arose. Atlantic World describes the world that was created through the contacts and exchanges that occurred between Africans, Europeans, and Native Americans beginning in the sixteenth century via the mechanisms of the colonization of the Americas and the slave trade. The religions of Africans and the religions of Europeans deeply and profoundly affected these exchanges. African American religions must be studied within the Atlantic World's broad geohistorical context and through a comparison with its transatlantic counterparts. African American religions demonstrate certain distinguishing features related to typology as well as to the impact of the race of its proponents within the complex formation of a religious orientation. In this world, where Africans, Europeans, and Native Americans came to inhabit the same geographic and social space, the issue and experience of power appeared in entirely new modalities of nonreciprocity that were legitimated through ingenious social classifications, customs, and mores created by those in power.

These new modalities gave rise to new religious meanings and indeed new religions. Africans discerned and exercised alternate meanings and practices that expressed their unique understanding of the world and their place in it. This practice led to an African American identity with its religious counterparts, originating in the Middle Passage and continuing through the period of slavery. These crucibles transmuted disparate African peoples and religions into an African American people endowed with a range of religious practices and beliefs that distinguished them from their European American counterparts.

AFRICAN BACKGROUND: CONTINUITY AND DISCONTINUITY. A historical treatment of African American religions must begin in West Africa and the religions practiced there; the vast majority of Africans who arrived in the New World came from this region. While African American religions can be studied in terms of their continuity with West African forms of worship, they must simultaneously be studied as religious responses to the radical discontinuity experienced by the Africans who were forced to undergo the ordeal of the Middle Passage. Moreover, these faiths also must be seen in dynamic terms, because African societies were undergoing a process of rapid change at the time of their first contact with Europeans. This contact not only intensified the speed of that change but also transformed its nature.

Unlike most Europeans, Africans came to the Americas involuntarily as chattel slaves; the involuntary nature of their journey provoked a severe crisis of meaning in the souls of the ten to fifteen million of them who survived the Middle Passage. Some of the dominant ethnic groups that comprised the slave population brought to the Americas included the Mandingo, Wolof, Fon, Fulani, Hausa, Yoruba, Akan, Ibo, and Kongo peoples; certain aspects of African American cultural and religious life originated among these ethnic groups. A significant number of Africans who were brought to the Americas from Upper Guinea had been converted to Islam, and some from the Kongo Kingdom had become Christian, but the religions practiced by the vast majority of Africans prior to enslavement are classified as traditional African religions. This term, however, is almost a misnomer because religion was inextricably interwoven with every other cultural aspect of life in most African societies. A person did not have a religious identification per se; rather, people's sense of identity was most often connected to their village and clan.

Traditional African religions were not static because African societies have continually undergone a process of rapid change through the contacts and exchanges resulting from trade, migration, and warfare. Extensive trade networks connected the fishing villages on the coast with the agricultural villages of the interior. When a dominant group settled in a host's territory, either the host group or the dominant group adopted the religion and sometimes language of the other people. Among the Ibo around the Niger Delta region, for example, the Aro society functioned in two important capacities—they performed a religio-juristic role by operating the sacred oracle, and they controlled trade. The Ibo were a stateless society, and because the Aro did not belong to any particular village, they were, at least theoretically, able to pronounce legal decisions through the oracle without partiality. The Aro's pronouncements of penalties became much more severe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, after its traders became middlemen in the slave trade.

CREOLIZATION IN THE ATLANTIC WORLD. A "creole" is a person of French or Spanish descent who was born in a country other than France or Spain, usually a tropical colonial territory. This definition was later extended to include the English settlers in colonial lands; thus, the English colonists living in North America before the American Revolution can also be called "creoles." Creole is much more than an issue of place of birth, however. Creole culture is the result of contact, subordination, and settlement of peoples and cultures within the Atlantic World. The term reflected this broader meaning when it was applied to persons of French and African parentage in Haiti and Louisiana. It has come to connote the result of biological as well as cultural contacts and exchanges. Creolization in this sense was something that started even before Africans were transported across the Atlantic Ocean. It occurred on the islands off the coast of Africa and on the Iberian Peninsula. Indeed, the first enslaved Africans that were imported to the New World in the early sixteenth century came from Spain and not directly from Africa. Some of the religious and cultural manifestations of their creolization established patterns of religious life that were continued by the slave population that arrived directly from Africa. Enslaved Africans in Spain's urban areas formed their own religious confraternities and mutual aid societies to assist with burials, participate in numerous saint's days associated with Iberian Christianity, and help raise funds for their member's manumission. Such organizations were replicated in the Americas and provided a structure through which Africans organized various aspects of their religious and social life. These organizations—called *cabildos*—were noted for the songs and dances they performed at fiestas and holidays according to their respective nations. Creolization is one way of understanding how African ethnic groups adapted, blended, and reinterpreted both African and non-African religious traditions. This process occurred differently in the Caribbean and in South America, however, where Africans retained much more of their ethnicity than in North America. Nevertheless, creolization, in the broader sense of the term, did happen. The first African American religious institutions in North America grew out of benevolent and self-help groups previously organized among the Africans.

NORTH AMERICA: SLAVE RELIGION. In North America, African American slaves did not embrace Christianity in large numbers until the Great Awakening, beginning in 1740. The revivalists of this period, including the preachers George Whitfield and William Tennent, noted that blacks were among the crowds who flocked to hear them. Despite the positive response to the revivalists made by an increasing number of slaves, by the early 1800s the majority of blacks remained only minimally touched by Christianity. Scholars speculate that the religious practices of American slaves during this period were eclectic adaptations of African retentions and borrowings from their contacts with Native Americans and European Americans. The task of reaching the rural areas where the majority of the black population resided fell to the plantation missions. The growing abolitionist movement in the North put pressure on the slave owners to admit the missionaries. At the same time, however, the missions were compelled to assure the slave owners that Christian instruction would reconcile slaves to their condition. The slaves heard preaching on the Sabbath and, in many cases, at a second evening meeting during the week. Because most states had antiliteracy laws for slaves, instruction was given orally. Sermons instructed the slaves that serving their master was synonymous with serving God and that they should be content with their condition of bondage.

Most plantation owners, however, were never really at ease with the missions' rationale that Christianity would pacify the slaves and rightly so, because the slaves generated their own interpretation of the faith. Even at the risk of beatings, there were always a few who taught themselves how to read out of an earnest passion to interpret the Scriptures directly. These interpretations were communicated by slave preachers in clandestine meetings—the invisible institution—where the slaves met in secret to worship, pray, and sing. In these meetings, they heard the preaching of such leaders as Nat Turner, Denmark Vessey, and Gabriel Prosser. If slaves were caught having secret meetings, they were severely punished. Spirituals that contained coded messages announced such meetings as well as stories of escapes from bondage on the Underground Railroad. At the secret "bush arbor" meetings, slaves could plan escapes and uprisings and contemplate the eschatological message of freedom through their songs.

CATEGORIES: INVISIBILITY, OPACITY, AND DOUBLE-CONSCIOUSNESS. W. E. B. Du Bois's *The Souls of Black Folks* was the first phenomenological study of African American religion. This compilation of essays was first published in 1901, and it confines itself to the black religious experience in the United States. What is evident in this classic is that African American religion must be approached through a phenomenology of African American consciousness. Phenomenology basically asks the question of how something appears.

Du Bois begins his book by describing how black people appear, both to themselves and to others, by introducing the concept of double-consciousness. The racial construct constituting an African American identity was seen by Du Bois in relational terms, but it was anything but ahistorical. He situated the black religious experience in the context of the Atlantic World. His doctoral dissertation, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, provided early documentation for the theme the scholar Eric Williams later developed more fully in *Capitalism and Slavery.* African American religion was situated at the core of the modern world's political economy—the slave was forced to undergo modernity and African American religion was a vital component of the struggle to survive that ordeal. William Pietz has documented how, during their initial economic exchanges with Africans, the Portuguese misinterpreted African traditional religions under the category of "the fetish," thus introducing the term into European discourse. African's religions were being "fetishized" at the same time that their bodies were being "commodified."

The experience of being powerless before the absolute power wielded over the slave by the master tended to deprive the slave of agency and self-definition. While undergoing this experience, however, the slave was also intuiting a realm of power that transcended that of the master; by relating to this realm, slaves could construct a collective identity independent of the one imposed upon them by their oppressors. Several African American thinkers, such as Howard Thurman *(The Negro Speaks of Life and Death)* and Benjamin Mays *(The Negro's God)*, have noted how African American religion functioned to help them survive the ordeal of slavery. An African American identity emerged out of the encounter and perception of a God who transcended the master and was for them and with them. Their experience of God's transcendence can be discerned in the lyrics to one spiritual: "Over my head I hear music in the air, there must be a God somewhere."

African American identity was connected with and invoked through this sort of revelatory experience. In *Trabelin' On*, Mechal Sobel argues that a distinctive worldview emerged concomitant with the black religious experience. The black religious experience is something to which white people had no access, because the very nature of their power over their slaves prevented them from encountering the slave as a subject. In his book *Significations: Signs, Symbols, and Images in the Interpretation of Religion*, Charles H. Long has shown that because whites were so assured that their definitions of those they enslaved and colonized corresponded with reality, the true identity of these "empirical others" was rendered opaque. In its "opacity," black religious experience serves as the "critique of the critique," according to Long.

MODALITIES: THE HOLY SPIRIT, MOAN, AND SHOUT. In one of the spirituals, the singer exclaims: "Every time I feel the Spirit moving in my heart I will pray." The Holy Spirit and spirits play prominent roles in African and African American religions. Slaves experienced the spirit through an ecstatic mode of religious perception as a power origination from a divine source that transcended the mundane powers that held them in degradation and bondage. This mode of religious apprehension was not entirely new. Spirit possession had already been something that characterized the indigenous religions Africans practiced prior to enslavement. When spirit possession takes place, the worshipper experiences being taken over by the entity that is invoked—a nature spirit, deceased ancestor, or a god. In the Kongo Kingdom during the late eighteenth century, a Christian convert named Dona Beatrice Kimpa, who may have been a medium prior to her conversion, claimed that she was possessed by Saint Anthony's spirit and that the Holy Family was African. This cultural heritage of participation or connection with the Creator through the intermediary of a spirit or power persisted in North America where, under the influence of Christianity, the African spirits were forgotten or abandoned. Nevertheless, the modality participation and possession by the object of religious devotion did persist in the New World. The example of Dona Beatrice Kimpa demonstrates the involvement of women in the African American religion—as prophets, healers, mystics, and social activists—although they could not serve as priestesses. Additionally, the study of African and African American women's history provides innumerable examples that highlight the relationship between mystical experience and social practice.

As in Africa, Africans in America had no uniform way of experiencing the spirit in religion. In fact, as can be surmised from Bishop Daniel Payne's objection to what he regarded as "the barbaric" practice of the ring shout, many disagreed over what was appropriate conduct in Christian worship. While it is sometimes preceded by fasting, prayer, tarrying, and what Howard Thurman called the "deep hunger" of the soul, receiving the spirit is not controlled by any prescribed technique or practice. The process depends on the temperament and conceptual tools of the person who has received the gift. Thurman, for example, wrote: "As a child, the boundaries of my life spilled over into the mystery of the ocean and wonder of the dark nights and the wooing of the wind until the breath of nature and my own breath seemed to be one—it was resonant to the tonality of God. This was a part of my cosmic religious experience as I grew up." Some viewed Life Spirit as a personal being, while others regarded it as an undifferentiated power. Regardless of the understanding, however, the phenomenon of spirit is a prominent feature in African American religion. Two modalities through which the experience of the spirit may be expressed are the moan and the shout. These modalities can also be discerned in other aspects of African American culture such as the blues, gospel, jazz, black art, black oratory, and black dance.

INSTITUTIONALIZATION. African Americans organized their own voluntary associations before they developed their own churches or denominations. In 1776 Prince Hall and fourteen other blacks founded the African Lodge No. 1 in Boston, Massachusetts. The African Union Society was organized in Newport, Rhode Island, in 1780. This society worshipped in its members' homes and accepted women. Hall and seventy-five other blacks petitioned the General Court for permission to immigrate to Africa. The plans included forming "a religious society or Christian church" on the continent with "one or more blacks [to be] ordained as their pastors or bishops." African American benevolent societies supported and reached out to one another across state lines. The Newport society sent a financial contribution to Saint Thomas Church's building project in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, just one example of what Will B. Gravely described as "the persistent symbiosis between churches and other voluntary associations in black life." African American ministers engaged in cooperative efforts aimed at social uplift and freedom across denominational lines after forming their own churches. Black ministers also often worked in cooperation with whites to oppose slavery. Black preachers who were prominent in the abolitionist movement were the African Methodist Daniel Payne; the African American Episcopal Zionists J. W. Logan and Christopher Rush; the Episcopalians Alexander Crummell, James Holly, and Peter Williams; the Congregationalists Amos Beman, J. W. C. Pennington, Charles Ray, and Samuel Ringgold Ward; and the Presbyterians Samuel Cornish, Henry Highland Garnet, James Gloucester, and Theodore Wright. During this period, African American Catholics were small in number. In Baltimore and New Orleans, however, they managed to organize religious orders for black women—the Oblate Sisters of Providence (1829) and the Holy Family Sisters (1842).

During the colonial and pre–Revolutionary War periods, the denominations most successful in attracting African Americans to their services were the Methodists and the Baptists. While discrimination caused blacks to form separate religious bodies, they also formed their own organizations to enable them to exercise the power needed to define their destinies and respond to their perception of God's claim on their life. As Gravely stated, "The sacred power that they felt, shared, and mediated could not be contained or isolated from more mundane forms of power." The formation of African American congregations was motivated more by practical and theological concerns rather than ideological—that is, black nationalist—considerations. The Methodists often organized their African American converts into separate congregations that were supervised by a white minister. In other cases, equally objectionable to the African American worshippers, the blacks were made to sit in segregated areas in the sanctuary; they could receive Communion only after the whites had been served. In 1787 Richard Allen (a former slave), Absalom Jones, and others protested the treatment they received at Saint George's Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia by withdrawing from that congregation and using the already established Free African Society as the center of their religious activity. The new organization, Saint Thomas's Protestant Episcopal Church, named Absalom Jones as the first African American Episcopal priest in 1794. The Bethel Church, another outgrowth of the Free Society, became the base for organizing the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) denomination. In 1816 a Philadelphia conference established the AME Church, with Allen replacing Daniel Coker as bishop. The AME Church adopted the Methodist Episcopal Church's Book of Discipline but with more stringent antislavery strictures. AME membership grew to eight thousand people by 1839. The AME spread the gospel not only through the efforts of camp meetings and revival services but also through printed materials generated from its own publishing house. The Book Concern Department, founded in 1818, was the first African American publishing house in the United States.

African American Baptists also organized their own churches during these periods. The first African American Baptist churches were probably those organized in the 1750s on the Byrd plantation in Mecklenburg, Virginia, and in Silver Bluff, South Carolina, by George Leiles. The Silver Bluff congregation's life was disrupted during the War of Independence; the church manager and others sought their freedom with the British in Savannah, Georgia. This move resulted in the formation of the First African Church of Savannah, which joined the Georgia Association of Baptist Churches in 1790. Other African American Baptist congregations were also organized during the revolutionary and postrevolutionary periods in Virginia (1774), Kentucky (1790), Massachusetts (1805), Pennsylvania (1809), New York (1808), and New Jersey (1812). By 1813 there were forty thousand African American Baptists; the majority them, however, belonged to the same churches as their owners.

The African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) church began around the same time as its AME counterpart and under similar circumstances. James Varick, Peter Williams, William Brown, June Scott, and others petitioned and received permission from Bishop Francis Asbury to hold their own services in New York City in 1796. This group did not declare itself to be the AMEZ Church until 1799, however, and the church was not incorporated until 1801, when it was recognized by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The first conference was held at Zion Church in New York City on June 21, 1821. The AMEZ Church was the first Methodist church to ordain women to perform all functions except ordination; notably, it was also the first to officially oppose slavery and include its opposition in its Book of Discipline (1820). In 1821 the AMEZ Church had a total membership of fourteen hundred members under the leadership of twenty-two ministers.

Most African American ministers did not exercise leadership beyond the level of their local congregation because they lacked either the means or the ability. Carol V. R. George points out that "while members of the clerical elite traveled, wrote books, and addressed antislavery audiences . . . their less distinguished brothers built Sunday schools, raised money, and joined or sponsored local groups responsive to the community needs, all efforts that had the effects of heightening the racial consciousness and collective identity of black people." The majority of black clergy who served individual congregations or traveled on the circuit lived a precarious economic existence. Few black congregations, whose members often consisted primarily of servants, could maintain a full-time pastor. To survive therefore black clergy had to rely on white patrons or also work as farmers, barbers, or teachers. This predicament left many ministers and their congregations with little time or energy to directly engage in abolitionist activity, even though there was no difference between their antislavery sentiments and those of their more visible counterparts. In *Black Religion and Black Radicalism,* Gayraud Wilmore asserted that, after the Civil War, African American churches became deradicalized. This impression might be justified when looking at the clergy elite, but the vast majority of clergy and churches continued to struggle to uplift their local congregations.

RELIGIOUS DIVERSIFICATION IN THE POSTEMANCIPATION PERIOD. Following the Civil War, African Americans made tremendous gains in the political arena during Reconstruction (1865–1877), when newly enfranchised blacks sent numerous elected officials of their own race to state legislatures and the U.S. Congress. When Rutherford B. Hayes was elected president of the United States, the Republican Party withdrew its support of the black cause, abandoning African Americans to the local white population that quickly disenfranchised blacks through intimidation, grandfather clauses, gerrymandering, poll taxes, and other devices. Approximately three thousand blacks were lynched between 1882 and 1910. In 1883 the Supreme Court ruled that the public accommodations section of the 1875 Civil Rights Act was unconstitutional. In 1896 the Supreme Court affirmed the nation's separate-but-equal policy in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision.

In this broad political environment, African Americans continued to organize religiously and socially. Emancipation provided greater latitude to their organizational efforts than what was experienced during slavery. Mobility among African Americans increased dramatically after the Civil War. The black Methodist denominations increased in number and influence among African Americans. The Methodists, however, were never able to compete with the Baptists in winning African American converts to their fold. The Baptist became the major religious force in African American life following the Civil War. As early as 1867 the Consolidated American Baptist Convention was organized. This body lasted until 1880. Baptists were organizing state conventions throughout the South by the 1870s. When the consolidated body dissolved, three smaller bodies arose—the Foreign Mission Baptist Convention of the U.S.A. (1880), the American National Baptist Convention (1880), and the American National Educational Baptist Convention (1893)—that later united into the National Baptist Convention of the U.S.A. Two underlying issues that triggered these bodies were the attempt of whites to exercise control over the black coreligionists and the conflict between conservatives and progressives in the denomination. For example, the refusal of the American Baptist Publication Society to accept contributions from blacks necessitated the formation of the National Baptist Publishing House under R. H. Boyd. Some black Baptist congregations continued to use the Sunday school literature produced by the white publishing house, while others used the material produced by the black publishing house.

The type of piety practiced by slaves did not disappear with the ending of slavery, because their social and material conditions did not change substantially with emancipation. Seventy-five percent of the African American population still lived in the South as late as 1880, and most of them earned their livelihood through some form of agriculture—often tenant farming and sharecropping. As ex-Confederates returned to power and survival became more difficult due to periodic economic depressions, African Americans began to migrate to the North and West. In the West, a new form of African American Christianity appeared: Pentecostalism. African Americans remained segregated, however, regardless of where they resided. The church served as the only institution that could provide group cohesion and self-help. Black churches continued to promote education through the encouragement of Bible reading and the formation of literary societies. They also became social service agencies by establishing mission programs in poor black areas, jails, hospitals, and homes for orphans and the elderly. A Bible school, nursery school, kindergarten, gymnasium, employment agency, and school of music were organized in Atlanta, Georgia, by H. H. Proctor's Congregational church. Another Congregational church, led by W. N. De Berry in Springfield, Massachusetts, organized an employment agency, a women's welfare league, a home for working girls, a handicraft club for boys and girls, and an evening school for domestic training. These kinds of mission programs were duplicated in most urban areas. By the beginning of the twentieth century, however, the complexity and magnitude of the problems encountered by urban African Americans were beginning to outstrip the black church's resources.

By the early twentieth century, African Americans had ceased to be a monolithic entity and were experiencing greater social differentiation, although they still represented a distinct caste in American society. Religious preferences diversified among African Americans, as some blacks became educated or urbanized. Some educated urban African Americans insisted on a dignified worship experience. On the other hand, many black migrants found the formality of the urban African American churches stifling. Thus greater differentiation in African American forms of piety developed starting in the early twentieth century. Many storefront churches proliferated in black urban areas, and various religious figures, such as Father Divine (1887–1965) and Daddy Grace

(c. 1881–1960), started significant religious movements. African Americans also joined non-Christian religions, such as the Nation of Islam—founded in the 1930s by Elijah Muhammad—and various black Jewish bodies that they regarded as being more compatible with their sense of black identity.

Pentecostalism represented a new form of Christianity that emerged among the African Americans who migrated to the western part of the United States. Its historical significance, according to David D. Daniels III, lies in the fact that in this movement African Americans did not just adapt a form of Christianity to fit their needs and circumstances—as had the African American Methodists and Baptists—but instead created a new form of Christianity.

Most historians agree that Pentecostalism has its roots in the Holiness movement that started in the Methodist Church around the end of the Civil War. The roots of the Holiness movement in turn can be traced to the heritage of revivalism in American Christianity. A holiness impulse or stream seems to infuse African American Christianity. The African American Nat Turner said in his *Confession*, "I sought to obtain true holiness before the great day of judgment should appear and then I began to receive the true knowledge of faith." In Topeka, Kansas, in the early 1900s the preacher Charles F. Parham (1873–1937) promulgated the Pentecostal doctrine of a third blessing of speaking in tongues to follow the second blessing of sanctification. The African American holiness Baptist preacher William J. Seymour took Parham's doctrine of speaking in tongues to Los Angeles in 1906, where he led a revival at 312 Azusa Street, the former sanctuary of the First African Methodist Episcopal Church. Within twelve months, the movement had spread internationally. Women played—and continue to play—a very prominent role in Pentecostalism's leadership. Perhaps the greater emphasis Pentecostalism places on prayer and healing helps account for this, since that office is more closely associated with a certain type of charisma.

The emphasis on speaking in tongues, prayer, and healing did not prevent a significant number of Pentecostal organizations from starting social programs, sending missionaries to Africa, and involving themselves in the Marcus Garvey movement and later in the Civil Rights movement. In the early twenty-first century, Pentecostalism was the fastest-growing religious movement among African Americans. Due to racial integration, social class differentiation, and the increased number of black immigrants from outside the United States, however, religious diversity among African Americans has increased significantly. Apart from mainline Christianity and Pentecostalism, African Americans have also embraced Islam, Afro-Caribbean religions, Afro-Brazilian religions, Judaism, and Buddhism.

Pentecostalism in particular and religious diversity in general challenge black theologians, feminist theologians, and African American religious scholars to determine whether these trends have any continuity with the liberationist impulse Wilmore and others have traced from the period of slavery through the Civil Rights movement led by Martin Luther King Jr., a Baptist preacher and theologian. Or should Pentecostalism in its megachurch permutation be critiqued as something that ultimately works against the quest of African American religions for freedom? The Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. led African American Christians in a profound and intense theological reflection on the nature of power in the ultimate sense and in the way it manifests itself in the lack of reciprocity in the global economy. Any new religious movements that appear on the horizon of the African American historical experience will have to come to grips with this question; in fact the viability of existing African American religious bodies will depend upon how effectively this issue is addressed.

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AFRICAN AMERICAN RELIGIONS: MUSLIM MOVEMENTS

The organization of African Americans into movements that identified themselves as Muslim began in 1913, but the history of Islam among black Americans is much older. Indeed, the case has been made that black Muslims, "Moors" in the company of Spanish explorers, were the first to introduce Islam to America. Muslims from Islamized areas of Africa were enslaved in British North America, and a few left narratives of their experiences. Several of these, written in Arabic, are still extant. Missionaries remarked that Muslim slaves in antebellum Georgia and South Carolina blended Islam and Christianity by identifying God with Allāh and Jesus with Muḥammad. In the 1930s descendants of these slaves still remembered how their grandparents used to pray five times daily, facing east toward Mecca. Islam was not widespread, however, among slaves in the United States, the vast majority of whom followed the traditional religions of Africa and adopted some form of Christianity.

Muslim emigration from the Middle East in the nineteenth century did not lead to extensive contact, much less religious proselytizing, between Arab Muslims and African Americans. The potential appeal of Islam for black Americans was enunciated most effectively by Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832–1912), minister for the government of Liberia, who lectured widely in the United States. In his book *Christianity, Islam, and the Negro Race* (1888) Blyden compared the racial attitudes of Christian and Muslim missionaries in Africa and came to the conclusion that Islam had a much better record of racial equality than did Christianity.

Moorish Science. In the late nineteenth century, black intellectuals became increasingly critical of white Christians for supporting racial segregation in America and colonialism in Africa. Europeans and Americans, they charged, were in danger of turning Christianity into a "white man's religion." After the turn of the century, Timothy Drew (1886–1929), a black delivery man from North Carolina, began teaching that Christianity was a religion for whites. The true religion of black people, he announced, was Islam. In 1913, the Noble Drew Ali, as his followers called him, founded the first Moorish Science Temple in Newark, New Jersey. Knowledge of self was the key to salvation, according to Ali, and he claimed that he had been sent by Allāh to restore to African Americans the knowledge of their true identity, stolen from them by Christian Europeans. African Americans were not Negroes; they were "Asiatics." Their original home was Morocco and their true identity was Moorish-American. Possessed of their own identity and their own religion, Moorish-Americans were empowered to overcome racial and economic oppression. The doctrines of Moorish Science were explained in *The Holy Koran,* a sixty-page booklet that bore no resemblance to the Qurʾān of Islam. By 1925, Ali had founded several temples and moved his headquarters to Chicago. There he died under mysterious circumstances in 1929. His movement split into several factions, but it survived, as various groups claimed allegiance to several rivals who claimed to be "reincarnations" of Noble Drew Ali. Though heretical in the view of orthodox Muslims, the Moorish Science Temple was the first organization to spread awareness of Islam as an alternative to Christianity among black Americans.

The first missionaries of worldwide Islam to attempt to convert African Americans came from the Aḥmadiyah movement which originated in India in 1889. The Aḥmadiyah, who regarded their founder, Mirza Ghulām Aḥmad, as a reformer of Islam, sent their first missionary to the United States in 1920. During the next decade a significant proportion of his converts were black. The Aḥmadiyah influence was far exceeded, however, by a second indigenous group of black Muslims, known as the Nation of Islam.

NATION OF ISLAM. In 1930, a peddler named Wallace D. Fard (later known as Walli Farrad, Professor Ford, Farrad Mohammed, and numerous other aliases) appeared in the black community of Detroit. Fard claimed that he had come from Mecca to reveal to black Americans their true identity as Muslims of the "lost-found tribe of Shabbazz." Like the Noble Drew Ali, Fard taught that salvation for black people lay in self-knowledge. Within a few years, he organized a Temple of Islam, a "university" (actually an elementary and secondary school), a Muslim girls' training class, and a paramilitary group, the Fruit of Islam. In 1934, Fard disappeared as mysteriously as he had come. The leadership of the Nation of Islam was taken up by Fard's chief minister, Elijah Poole (1897–1975), a black laborer from Georgia, whom Fard had renamed Elijah Muhammad.

Elijah Muhammad announced to the members of the Nation that Wallace D. Fard was actually the incarnation of Allāh and that he, Elijah, was his messenger. For the next forty years, he was regarded as such by his followers, who came to be known as the Black Muslims. According to the teachings of Messenger Muhammad, as he was called, humankind was originally black, until an evil scientist created a race of white people through genetic engineering. The whites he created turned out to be devils. Their religion is Christianity, while that of the original black people is Islam. Allāh has allowed the race of white devils to rule the world for six thousand years, a period about to end with the destruction of the world, after which a new world will be ruled by a nation of righteous blacks. Instead of striving for integration, then, blacks should separate themselves from white society which is corrupt and doomed.

Elijah Muhammad elaborated a detailed program for the Nation that included establishing Black Muslim businesses in order to achieve economic independence and demanding that the federal government set aside separate land for African Americans in reparation for slavery. Black Muslims refused to vote, to participate in the armed services, or to salute the flag. The separate identity of members of the Nation of Islam was reinforced by a strict ethical code. Alcohol, drugs, tobacco, sports, movies, and cosmetics were forbidden, along with pork and other foods identified as unclean or unhealthy.

In the 1950s, Malcolm Little (1925–1965), who had converted to the Nation of Islam in prison, rose to prominence as chief spokesman for Elijah Muhammad. As Malcolm X he became one of the most articulate critics of racial injustice in the country during the civil rights period. Rejecting the nonviolent approach of Martin Luther King, Jr., he argued that separatism and self-determination were necessary if blacks were to achieve full equality. During his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1964, however, he observed the racial cosmopolitanism of Islam and concluded that the doctrine of the Nation of Islam was incompatible with his new understanding of the religion. Breaking with Elijah Muhammad, he founded his own organization, the Muslim Mosque, Inc., in New York City. Shortly thereafter, he was assassinated. The life and death of Malcolm X helped to increase interest in Islam among black Americans.

In 1975, Elijah Muhammad died, and his son Warithuddin (Wallace Deen) Muhammad succeeded to the leadership of the Nation of Islam. Rapidly, he began to move the members of the Nation of Islam toward embracing orthodox Islam. He explained that the teachings of Wallace D. Fard and his father were to be understood allegorically, not literally. He opened the Nation of Islam to white membership and encouraged his followers to participate in the civic and political life of the country. These radical changes were symbolized by changes in name, as the Nation of Islam became the World Community of Islam in the West and then the American Muslim Mission. This last name signified the close connection that Imam Warithuddin Muhammad sought to develop between African American Muslims and the worldwide community of Islam. These changes were rejected by some Black Muslims. Under the leadership of Minister Louis Farrakhan, this faction has broken with the American Muslim Mission, returned to the original teachings and ideals of Elijah Muhammad, and readopted the old name, the Nation of Islam.

Although the Moorish Science Temple and the Nation of Islam have excited the most interest in the popular and the scholarly press, increasing numbers of black Americans have converted to Islam without having gone through the channels of these heterodox movements, as orthodox Muslim societies and associations have placed them in direct contact with the Qurʾān and with the history of Muslim culture and spirituality.

SEE ALSO Elijah Muhammad; Malcolm X; Nation of Islam.

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AFRICAN AMERICAN RELIGIONS: HISTORY OF STUDY

The theoretical and analytical foundation of African American religious studies was initially laid by the prophetic voices of New World blacks such as Frederick Douglass (1817–1895) and David Walker, who put forth critical proclamations that challenged the spiritual integrity of "Christian Americans" while making qualitative distinctions between the "Christianity of this land" and the "Christianity of Christ." The writings of these early scholars reveal the diversity of the black religious experience, providing glimpses into African religious practices (Olaudah Equiano, 1789); the conversion power of the "Voodoo dance" (Alexander Payne, 1886); the potency of rootwork and conjure (Frederick Douglass, 1845; Henry Bibb, 1849); the liberatory praxis of black religion (Nat Turner, 1831); the exigency of black religious institutions (Richard Allen, 1833; Jarena Lee, 1836; Christopher Rush, 1843; George Liele, 1790; Andrew Bryan, 1800; Lucius Holsey, 1898); the efficacy of Islam (Job ben Solomon, Mohammed Ali ben Said, Abdul Rahahman, Edward Blyden, 1888); and the religious revaluation of Africa (Alexander Crummell, 1862; Henry McNeal Turner, 1895). These early leaders and thinkers and their writings provided the scholastic rudiments for future studies and interrogations of the complexity, plurality, and vitality of African American religious life.

W. E. B. DU BOIS AND THE STUDY OF AFRICAN AMERICAN RELIGION. At the beginning of the twentieth century the study of African American religion advanced with greater precision as early black thinkers employed the scholarly tools of historical, sociological, and ethnographic methods. At the forefront of these new interdisciplinary approaches was W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963) and his 1903 publications *The Souls of Black Folk* and *The Negro Church.* These groundbreaking works insightfully placed the birth, evolution, and institutionalization of black religion in direct conversation with questions of primordial origins, religious evolution, and the sociological impact of race and urbanization. Du Bois's *The Negro Church* was the first to examine the institution of religion as a valid subject for sociological investigation. Methodologically, Du Bois engaged in both qualitative and quantitative research and conducted interviews, surveys, questionnaires and participant observation. In both *The Negro Church* and *The Souls of Black Folk,* Du Bois undertook the empirical study of black religion as it related to the comprehensive constituents of black life—institutional, political, historical, economic, and aesthetic.

Initially published as a separate essay in 1900, the chapter "Of the Faith of the Fathers" in *The Souls of Black Folk* proffered a nascent theorization of black religion. In this essay, Du Bois documented three salient characterizations of African American religion— "the Preacher, the Music, and the Frenzy"—derived from the encounter between Africa and the American slave experience. Du Bois's famous tri-categorization of black religion explored the complex dimensions of black religious leadership; the authenticity of black musical expression; and black somatic experiences with the transcendent. Du Bois positioned himself in these early works as the modern progenitor of intellectual discourses on African retentions, origins, and survivals. Preceding the Melville Herskovits–E. Franklin Frazier debate by several decades, it was Du Bois who first wrestled with scholarly questions of African primordialism and New World religious transformation. For authoring some of the earliest systematic discussions of "voodooism," "obeah," and "hoodoo," Du Bois stands as the forerunner for what would later become the study of African-derived religions in the United States and the Caribbean. More specifically, he provided an etymological explication of the practice of *obi* in the West Indies, arguing on behalf of its "African origin" and its possible connection to the Egyptian notion of *ob,* or divining serpent. Contemporary scholars of black religion often stress Du Bois's assertion that "the Negro church of to-day is the social centre of Negro life in the United States," while giving short shrift to his equally important claim at the end of the same sentence, that it is also "the most characteristic expression of African character" (Du Bois, 1903). The cost of this oversight to the field of black religion was that the church has been privileged as the totalizing symbol of African American religious life, and that issues of religious diversity and alternative religious meanings have been devalued.

Du Bois posited cogent categories of black religiosity that simultaneously oscillated from the African religious heritage of the slaves to their transformative innovations in the black church. A close reading of *The Negro Church* and *The Souls of Black Folk* reveals Du Bois's dual conception of the "Negro Church." Led by a "Negro Preacher" descended from African priests and medicine men, according to Du Bois the Negro Church among the enslaved "was not at first by any means Christian . . . rather it was an adaptation and mingling of heathen rites among the members of each plantation, and roughly designated as Voodooism." In his works Du Bois affirmed the intricate relationship between black religious identity in the United States and its parent traditions of Africa. Moreover, he ultimately critiqued the European categorical construction of fetishism and argued in his later works that it was "invented as a symbol of African religion" in order to reinforce the "idea of the 'barbarous Negro'"

THE NEGRO CHURCH. More monographs that dealt with the Negro Church followed Du Bois's, but many of them lacked the nuanced complexities and keen analytical insights of the pioneering works. Still, crucially valid in their own right, historical and sociological studies of religion such as Carter G. Woodson's *The History of the Negro Church* (1921) and *The Rural Negro* (1930) and Benjamin Elijah Mays and Joseph Nicholson's *The Negro's Church* (1933) stand as premier works in African American ecclesiology. An historian trained in social science method, Woodson provided an overview of the major denominations of the Negro Church and analyzed their development in rural and urban contexts. Along similar lines, Mays and Nicholson's *The Negro's Church,* which was commissioned by the Institute of Social and Religious Research, was a comprehensive study of 794 urban and rural churches in the early 1930s. The authors utilized ethnographic fieldwork and sociological method to examine the internal dynamics of Negro church life as it related to ministry, worship, economy, politics, and demography.

For the next thirty years, black religion and social demographic issues continued to be an important focus for scholarly study. Heralded as one of the earliest studies in urban American ethnography, Arthur Huff Fauset's *Black Gods of the Metropolis: Negro Religious Cults in the Urban North* (1944) expanded the parameters of Negro Church studies to include such religious movements as the Father Divine Peace Mission, Bishop Grace's United House of Prayer for All People, and Ida Robinson's Mount Sinai Holy Church of America, as well as Muslim and Jewish sects such as the Church of God and Noble Drew Ali's Moorish Science Temple. Published a year after Fauset's work and funded by the Works Progress Administration, Saint Clair Drake and Horace Cayton's *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (1945) examined black churches in Chicago as they negotiated the social challenges of urbanization, leadership, criminal delinquency, racial discrimination, and social class. More recent studies of religion and urbanization include Milton Sernett's *Bound for the Promised Land: African American Religion and the Great Migration* (1997), James Anthony Noel's dissertation "Search for Zion: A Social-Historical Study of African American Religious Life and Church Culture in Marin City, California from the Migration Period to the Present, 1942–1996" (1999), and Wallace Best's forthcoming book *Passionately Human, No Less Divine: Religion and Culture in Black Chicago, 1915–1952.*

Published posthumously, and nearly twenty years after Drake and Cayton, E. Franklin Frazier's *The Negro Church in America* (1964) continued the sociological study of the Negro Church in the northern United States, adding an extensive discussion of the loss of both an "African cultural heritage" and a structured "social cohesion," which Frazier argued was eventually reconstituted in the institutional Negro Church. The roots of Frazier's arguments were foreshadowed in his earlier texts, *The Negro Family in the United States* (1939) and *The Negro in the United States* (1949), and were highly contested by Melville Herskovits. Often reduced to a debate in the historiography, Herskovits and Frazier were both arguing against natural and social scientific theories of innate black inferiority and social deviance. However, their responses were different. Frazier attributed black social anomalies and cultural distance from Africa to the dehumanization caused by slavery and racism. Herskovits, on the other hand, disputed notions of black racial inferiority with theories of cultural continuity between African Americans and a sophisticated African heritage.

For many social scientists, including Frazier, the sociological study of black religion centered largely around the University of Chicago and stressed the primacy of institutions, social structure, and social organization as the basis of their analytical conceptions. However, as social scientists rather than trained religionists, their conclusive findings were often drawn at the expense of religious fluidity, theological complexity, and religious meaning.

THE BLACK CHURCH. After Frazier, studies of the Negro Church continued as a viable area of inquiry, eventually becoming black church studies. The works of C. Eric Lincoln and others have made important strides in sustaining the broad analytical category of the "black church." Some the these studies include Hart Nelson's *The Black Church in America* (1971) and *The Black Church in the Sixties* (1975); Dolores Lefall's *The Black Church: An Annotated Bibliography* (1973); C. Eric Lincoln's *The Black Since Frazier* (1974); Lincoln and Lawrence Mamiya's *The Black Church in the African American Experience* (1990); Ida Mukenge's *The Black Church in Urban America* (1983); William Montgomery's *Under their Own Vine and Fig Tree: The African American Church in the South, 1865–1900* (1993); Clarence Taylor's *The Black Churches of Brooklyn* (1994); Andrew Billingsley's *Mighty Like a River: The Black Church and Social Reform* (1999); Janet Cornelius's *Slave Missions and the Black Church* (1999); Clyde McQueen's *Black Churches in Texas* (2000); Anthony Pinn's *The Black Church in the Post-Civil Rights Era* (2002); and R. Drew Smith's *New Day Begun: African American Churches and Civic Culture in Post-Civil Rights America* (2003).

A major thematic strand that runs through much of black church historiography is Ethiopianism. Ethiopianism was largely predicated on identifying African Americans with the biblical prophecy of *Psalms* 68:31: "Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands to God." In much of the literature on Ethiopianism, Africa symbolizes for African Americans what Charles Long calls "the religious revalorization of the land," the source of "historical beginnings," and the place of "authenticated" humanity. For rich primary and secondary sources on Ethiopianism see the multiple volumes of Marcus Garvey's writings edited by Amy Jacques Garvey, John Henrick Clarke, Tony Martin, and Robert Hill. Also quite useful is Randall Burkett's *Garveyism as a Religious Movement* (1978). In addition, see St. Clair Drake's *The Redemption of Africa and Black Religion* (1970); the excellent explications of Alexander Crummell and Edward Blyden in Josiah Young's *A Pan-African Theology* (1992); Wilson Jeremiah Moses's *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism* (1978) and *Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms* (1982); and Edwin Redkey's *Black Exodus: Black Nationalist and Back to Africa Movements 1890–1910* (1969).

An additional subcategory of black church studies has been denominational histories that seek to shed light on the diversity of black Christian religiosity. For examples of these studies see Daniel Payne, *History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (1891, 1922); J.W. Hood, *One Hundred Years of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (1895); David Bradley, *The History of the A.M.E. Zion Church* (1956); Mechal Sobel, *Trabelin' On: The Slave Journey to an Afro-Baptist Faith* (1979); David Wills and Richard Newman, *Black Apostles at Home and Abroad: Afro-Americans and the Christian Mission from the Revolution to Reconstruction* (1982); Hans Baer, *The Black Spiritual Movement* (1984); Leroy Fitts, *A History of Black Baptists* (1985); James Melvin Washington, *Frustrated Fellowship: The Black Baptist Quest for Social Power* (1986); Cyprian Davis, *The History of the Black Catholics in the United States* (1990); Claude Jacobs, *The Spiritual Churches of New Orleans* (1991); Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church 1880–1920* (1993); Walter F. Pitts, *Old Ship of Zion: The Afro-Baptist Ritual in the African Diaspora* (1993); Cheryl Sanders, *Saints in Exile: The Holiness-Pentecostal Experience in African American Religion and Culture* (1996); Gardiner Shattuck, *Episcopalians and Race: Civil War to Civil Rights* (2000); Cheryl Townsend Gilkes, *"If It Wasn't for the Women": Black Women's Experience and Womanist Culture in Church and Community* (2001); Jualynne Dodson, *Engendering Church: Women, Power, and the AME Church* (2002); and Raymond Sommerville, Jr., *An Ex-Colored Church: Social Activism in the C.M.E. Church 1870–1970* (2004).

Finally, although many scholars find the denominational and "black church" approaches useful to the study of African American religion, others contend that while these categories lead to important understandings of black Christian formation, they often run the risk of obfuscating black religious variety. Important essays that complicate and interrogate the denominational approach to the study of religion include Charles Long's "The Question of Denominational Histories in the United States: Dead End or Creative Beginning?"; Nancy T. Ammerman's, "Denominations: Who and What are We Studying?"; and Laurie Maffly-Kipp's "Denominationalism and the Black Church," all of which are included in Robert Bruce Mullin and Russell Richey's *Reimagining Denominationalism: Interpretive Essays* (1994).

AFRICAN AMERICAN RELIGION: A SOCIAL SCIENCE PERSPECTIVE. Since the late 1920s social science scholars dominated the area of study currently known as African-derived traditions. At the forefront of these studies were noted anthropologist Melville J. Herskovits and affiliates of the Northwestern School. As the first department chair in African Studies at a U.S. university, Herskovits, along with other well-known social scientists such as William Bascom, George Eaton Simpson, Swiss scholar Alfred Metraux, and French scholar Roger Bastide, devoted their scholarly careers to the study of "syncretic cults" throughout the New World, simultaneously cultivating new theoretical paradigms of syncretism. More importantly, among them were some of the first scholars to engage in ethnographic research on the continent of Africa as a systematic way of exploring the African antecedents of the New World. This group of distinguished social science scholars produced an impressive collection of works. Leading the way was the publication of Herskovits's life-long fieldwork throughout Africa, the Americas, and the Caribbean, starting with his two-volume *Dahomey: An Ancient West African Kingdom* (1938) and continuing with *Acculturation: The Study of Culture Contact* (1938); *Myth of the Negro Past* (1941); *Rebel Destiny: Among the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana*; *Life in a Haitian Valley* (1937); *Trinidad Village* (1947); and *Franz Boas: The Science of Man in the Making* (1953).

Furthering the tradition of Herskovits were the works of many of his prominent students, including, by William Bascom, *The Sociological Role of the Yoruba-Cult Group* (1944), *The Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria* (1969), an early sound recording entitled *Drums of the Yoruba of Nigeria* (1953), *Continuity and Change in African Cultures* (coedited with Melville Herskovits, 1962), *Ifa Divination* (1969), *Shango in the New World* (1972), and *Sixteen Cowries: Yoruba Divination from Africa to the New World* (1980); and, by Daniel Crowley, *I Could Talk Old-Story Good: Creativity in Bahamas Folklore* (1966) and *African Folklore in the New World*; and Johnnetta Cole's *Traditional and Wage-Earning Labor Among Tribal Liberians* (1967) and *Race Toward Equality: The End of Racial Discrimination in Cuba* (1978).

While on a postdoctoral fellowship from the Social Science Research Council, George Eaton Simpson studied with Herskovits from 1936 to 1937. Simpson is cited as the first researcher to undertake the scholarly study of Jamaican Rastafari, "Pocomania," and "Revival Zion," which he detailed in his "Personal Reflections on Rastafari in West Kingston in the Early 1950s." In addition to Jamaica, Simpson conducted extensive fieldwork in Haiti, Trinidad, St. Lucia, and Nigeria, resulting in the following publications: *The Shango Cult in Trinidad* (1965); *Religious Cults of the Caribbean: Trinidad, Jamaica, and Haiti* (1970); *Black Religions in the New World* (1978); and *Melville J. Herskovits* (1973), which examined the theoretical and methodological contributions of the late anthropologist. Translated from French in the 1960s and 1970s, the works of Roger Bastide and Alfred Metraux have also made an enormous contribution to the study of African-derived traditions in the New World. Originally published in Paris in 1960, Bastide's *The African Religions of Brazil: Toward a Sociology of the Interpenetration of Civilizations* documented Afro-Brazilian religions such as Catimbo, Xango, Candomblé, Macumba, Umbanda, and Batuques. In addition, Bastide published *Le Candomblé de Bahia* (1958) and *African Civilizations in the New World,* translated in 1971. Also essential were Alfred Metraux's *Voodoo in Haiti,* translated in 1959, and his collection of photos, *Haiti: Black Peasants and Voodoo,* compiled with Pierre Verger.

THE HIDDEN VOICES OF WOMEN: HURSTON, DUNHAM, DEREN, AND THE STUDY OF AFRICAN DIASPORIC RELIGIONS. Neglected within most historiographical literature is the fact that as early as the 1930s, women scholars have been at the forefront of expanding the study of African American religion. As trailblazers in the field of African-derived religions, Zora Neale Hurston, Katherine Dunham, and Maya Deren excavated the historically maligned traditions of Africa practiced throughout the United States and the Caribbean, and engaged them in their publications as legitimate subjects for scholarly reflection. Combining ethnography and the arts, Hurston, Dunham, and Deren rescued the study of vodou and hoodoo from the nefarious categories of African magic and sorcery, and instead represented them as sophisticated religious and philosophical systems of thought with complex ritual integrity. Also informing their exceptional studies were their unique positions as "scholar-practitioners" who were able to engage their subject matter both as skilled ethnographers and as initiates within their respective vodou traditions. With strong support and encouragement from her mentor Franz Boas at Columbia University, Hurston embarked on ethnographic fieldwork throughout Alabama, Louisiana, and Florida, collecting folklore, tales, idioms, songs, and vodou rituals, which culminated in the 1935 publication of *Mules and Men.* In 1936 Hurston received a Guggenheim Foundation Fellowship to study West Indian practices which she called "Pocomania," "African obeah," and "voodoo." Her *Tell My Horse: Voodoo and Life in Jamaica and Haiti* (1938) is one of the earliest collections of photographic images, transcribed vodou songs, sacred drum rhythms, representations of spirit possession, and thick descriptions of vodou ritual ceremonies. As Ishmael Reed points out in the foreword, *Tell My Horse* is "more than a Voodoo work" in that Hurston "writes intelligently about the botany, sociology, anthropology, geology, and politics of these nations" Moreover, in *Tell My Horse* Hurston provided a foundation for trance-possession theory as well as for a distinct gender analysis of Caribbean and American women. In a similar vein, after acquiring special field training from Melville Herskovits and receiving a Rosenwald Fellowship to study "primitive dance and ritual" in the West Indies and Brazil in 1936, renowned choreographer Katherine Dunham traveled to Haiti, Jamaica, Cuba, Trinidad, and Martinique, documenting the sacred ritual dances of African diasporic communities. The fieldwork resulted in her seminal texts *Journey to Accompong* (1946), *The Dances of Haiti* (1947), and *Island Possessed* (1969). Like Hurston and Dunham, Maya Deren is another of the early female contributors to the scholarly study of Haitian vodou. Combining the methodological tools of filmmaking and ethnography, Deren explored the intricate world of Haitian vodou, documenting its clandestine sacred rituals in more than 18,000 feet of film footage over the course of seven years. Her interest in Haitian vodou was greatly inspired by her tours and travels with the Katherine Dunham Dance Company. In 1947 she received a Guggenheim Foundation Fellowship, which led to the publication of *Divine Horsemen: The Living Gods of Haiti* (1953). Her footage, produced under the same name, became the first depiction of Haitian vodou ritual and possession on film. Ultimately, the interdisciplinary work of Deren, Hurston, and Dunham forged the way for later female theorists of trance-possession such as Sheila Walker (*Ceremonial Spirit Possession in Africa and Afro-America: Forms, Meanings and Functional Significance for Individual and Social Groups*, 1972) and Herskovits-trained Erika Bourguignon (*Trance Dance*, 1968 and *Possession*, 1976).

STUDIES IN "SLAVE RELIGION." The study of African-derived syncretic cults throughout the Americas and the Caribbean by early male and female scholars helped in many ways to complicate and to advance future scholarly studies of "slave religion." Their archival legacies of film footage, photographs, sound recordings, crude musical scores, detailed ritual documentation, ceremonial recordings, etymological speculations, and comparative methods challenged prospective scholars in the field to avoid reducing the complexities of slave religion to binary debates on retentions, and to undertake instead careful studies of religious practice, ethnicity, population distribution of enslaved Africans, linguistics, ritual, culture, orientation, and meaning. Several scholars of the slave period who attempted this approach were Melville Herskovits in *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1941); Lorenzo Turner in *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (1949); Lawrence Levine in *Black Culture and Black Consciousness* (1977); Albert Raboteau in *Slave Religion* (1978); Vincent Harding in *There Is a River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America* (1983); Sterling Stuckey in *Slave Culture* (1987); Margaret Washington Creel in "*A Peculiar People*": *Slave Religion and Community-Culture Among the Gullahs* (1988); Mechal Sobel in *Trabelin' On* (1988); Joseph Holloway in *Africanisms in American Culture* (1990); and Sylvia Frey in

Water From the Rock (1991). Other useful monographs and theoretical perspectives on slavery include John Blassingame, *The Slave Community* (1972); Eugene Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll* (1972); Peter Wood, *Black Majority* (1974); Leon Higginbotham, *In the Matter of Color: Race and the American Legal Process, The Colonial Period* (1978); Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death* (1982); and William Piersen, *Black Yankees: The Development of an Afro-American Subculture in Eighteenth-Century New England* (1988). Recent scholars have also given greater texture and specificity to the study of slave religion by utilizing the primary resources of slave narratives and testimonials. Voices of the formerly enslaved can be found in collections such as B.A. Botkin, *Lay My Burden Down* (1945); Frederick Ramsey, Jr., *Been Here and Gone* (1960); Clifton Johnson, *God Struck Me Dead* (1969); John Blassingame, *Slave Testimony* (1977); John Gwaltney, *Drylongso* (1980); James Mellon, *Bullwhip Days* (1988); Donna Wyant Howell, *I Was a Slave* (1995); and Ira Berlin, *Remembering Slavery* (1998).

Existing alongside studies of slave religion have been important works that explore the intersecting boundaries of slavery, religion, and music. For further study in this area see W. E. B. Du Bois, "Of the Sorrow Songs" (1903); James Weldon Johnson, *The Book of American Negro Spirituals* (1925) and *The Second Book of Negro Spirituals* (1926); Zora Neale Hurston, *The Sanctified Church* (1981); Miles Mark Fisher, *Negro Slave Songs in the United States* (1953); Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans* (1971); John Lovell, Jr., *Black Song: The Forge and the Crucible* (1972); Morton Marks, "Uncovering Ritual Structures in Afro-American Music," (1974); Jon Michael Spencer, *Black Hymnody: A Hymnological History of the African American Church* (1992); Cheryl Kirk Duggan, *African American Spirituals* (1993); James Abbington, *Readings in African American Church Music and Culture* (2001); and Bernice Johnson Reagon, *If You Don't Go, Don't Hinder Me: The African American Sacred Song Tradition* (2001).

EXPANDED STUDIES OF BLACK RELIGION AND THE INFLUENCE OF BLACK THEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE. As scholars outside of the field of religion expanded the corpus on African religious cultures in the diaspora, those within the fields of religious and theological studies began to author texts that gave genuine content to the term *Black religion* within the boundaries of the United States. Within the context of black male-dominated political movements of the 1950s and 1960s, new studies on black religious radicalism and militancy emerged that complemented other scholarship within the broader field of African American studies.

Broadening the corpus to include research on non-Christian traditions, C. Eric Lincoln and Joseph Washington contributed significantly to studies of black "sects and cults." C. Eric Lincoln's dissertation on the Nation of Islam was published as *Black Muslims in America* (1961). Joseph Washington authored and edited several texts that compassed diversified permutations of black religion with attention to race, social power, and theological formation, including *Black Religion: The Negro and Christianity in the United States* (1964), *Black Sects and Cults* (1972) and *Jews in Black Perspective* (1984). Both authors gave attention to black religion as a sociopolitical phenomenon. Their studies also contested the categorical association of black religious cultures with aberrancy, pathology, or social deviancy. Lincoln accomplished this by situating the Nation of Islam within its historical context and by assessing its social influence and appeal through the lenses of gender and class. Washington engaged in similar analysis with reference to his treatments of black Islamic and Jewish movements as well as marginalized traditions of Christian persuasion, such as Holiness and Pentecostal churches, black Spiritualists, and the Shrine of the Black Madonna. Washington's most provocative text, *Black Religion: The Negro and Christianity in the United States*, interpreted black Christianity as a social protest movement lacking a sophisticated tradition of theological reflection, and he blamed white Christian institutions for this apparent deficiency. Washington's interpretation of black Christianity incited a considerable response from religious and theological scholars.

By the late 1960s African American theological scholars began to shape a new school of thought called black liberation theology. Among them were thinkers who wanted to discount Washington's representation of black Christianity. They also elevated his argument against white Christianity by exposing the racism in its theology and practice. James Cone, the most radical voice among them, pioneered this scholarly project with his texts *Black Theology and Black Power* (1969) and *A Black Theology of Liberation* (1970). In these and subsequent works, Cone deconstructed the racist ideological underpinnings of dominant European and white American theological traditions while proposing a contextual rendering of theology informed by six major sources: (1) black experience, (2) black history, (3) black culture, (4) scripture, (5) revelation, and (6) tradition. J. Deotis Roberts, Cecil Cone, Gayraud Wilmore, and Major Jones joined the conversation, each offering a distinctly nuanced interpretation of the connection between black religion and black theology. The conceptual shades of difference in their scholarship would become apparent as black theologians and scholars of religion engaged in forthright discussions about theory and method.

During the 1970s a prolific debate generated comparable scholarship concerning the appropriate aims, sources, approaches, and interpretations of black liberation theology. Three major concerns emerged as themes in solidifying the conceptual and prophetic tasks of black theology: (1) liberation, reconciliation, and violence, (2) black theology, black religion, and the African heritage, and (3) black theology and black suffering. The preoccupation with liberation, reconciliation, and violence derived primarily from a discussion between Cone and J. Deotis Roberts. In *Liberation and Reconciliation: A Black Theology* (1971), Roberts argued that black theology, as a Christian theology, had to include a mature ethic of reconciliation that would account for the imperatives of liberation praxis. Cone was not convinced that this directive was possible before giving extensive attention to the relationship between racial justice, social power, and liberation for African Americans. Writing in the shadow of the assassinations of civil rights leaders and black social unrest in urban centers across the United States, Cone was uncompromising in his willingness to entertain militant social resistance in African American struggles for justice. As many white American religious thinkers and clergy solicited support from black colleagues in decrying the Black Power movement, Cone and other black theologians resisted such cooptation by identifying the imperatives of the Black Power movement with the gospel of Jesus Christ. Cone in particular anticipated that a black theology of nonviolence ran the risk of being appropriated to conceal white racist theological hypocrisy and irresponsibility during an era when brutal racial violence against both nonviolent and militant black activists remained unchecked in white American theological discourse.

Roberts's scholarly contribution is not limited to his ethical imperative of liberation and reconciliation. His extensive corpus indicates a trajectory of scholarly reflection on philosophical theology prior to the formation of academic black theology. In addition, while we might be hard pressed to find substantive data on African contributions to slave religion in Cone's works, Roberts tangentially argued for the import of African religious and philosophical concepts to black theological discourse. This locates Roberts within the conceptual vicinity of scholars such as Gayraud Wilmore, Cecil Cone, and Charles Long on the question of the relationship between black religion and black theology.

The conversation about black religion emerged from a larger discussion among black theologians and scholars of religion, where the parameters of black theological method were tested against the data of black religious experience. In his seminal text *Black Religion and Black Radicalism* (1972) Gayraud Wilmore argued for the expansion of black theological sources to incorporate black folk religion and classical African religions. Wilmore traces the principle of black religious radicalism across diverse black religious cultures and social movements, arguing that when black radicalism waned in the established black Christian churches, it was harnessed in other religious and political institutions such as the Nation of Islam, Marcus Garvey's United Negro Improvement Association, and Black Power organizations and initiatives. Wilmore further raised the question of whether black theology, especially as articulated by James Cone, was ostensibly the "Blackenization" of white theology. In *Identity Crisis in Black Theology* (1975) Cecil Cone answered that question in the affirmative as he criticized his predecessors for premising their works upon Western European doctrinal categories as opposed to organic structures of black religious experience.

Charles Long, the sole historian of religion to enter the dialogue, redefined the discussion when he questioned the merits of the entire theological project as one that ultimately belies authentic features and contents of black religion. Long argued that the suppositional starting point of black theology could never equip scholars with the apposite tools for theorizing about the nature of black religion because many of its dimensions remain outside of the domain of established Christianity (extrachurch). In several essays that were subsequently published in *Significations: Signs, Symbols, and Images in the Interpretation of Religion* (1986), Long made the compelling case for interrogating African American religious formation within the "terror of history," suggesting three conceptual and methodological foci: (1) Africa as historical reality and religious image; (2) the involuntary presence of the black community in America; and (3) the experience and symbol of God and religious experience of blacks. Long's distinct contribution was a sophisticated analysis of attenuated facets of African American religion in black cultural forms, expressions, behaviors, modalities, and meanings such as black music, dance, culinary traditions, bodily memory, and approaches to land and water. Long called on scholars to decode these and other dimensions of black experience as germane sites of religious significations.

Black theologians were apt to talk about the justice of the Christian God and the freedom guaranteed through Jesus the Black Christ of liberation. Long, however, considered the motifs of justice and liberation within a more scrupulous exploration of how alternative symbols and experiences, such as Africa and the Atlantic, convey similar religious meanings of freedom, struggle, and divine Otherness in black experience. Black theological claims about justice and liberation proved especially unconvincing to the black humanist philosopher William Jones. In his text *Is God a White Racist: A Preamble to Black Theology* (1973) Jones identified incongruities in the theodicies of influential black theologians, and concluded that their arguments for a God of the oppressed were seriously flawed in the face of historical and collective experiential data concerning the racial subjugation and dehumanization of blacks in America. Taking this data seriously, Cornel West engaged in rigorous analyses of the systemic impoverishment plaguing African American communities. His article "Black Theology and Marxist Thought" distinctly exposed the superficial attention given to class stratification in black theology, and serves as a concise example of his approach to social criticism and liberation discourse.

Cone attempted responses to Jones, Long, Cecil Cone, Wilmore, Roberts, West, and other critics in subsequent texts and articles. Nevertheless, the early debate in black theological and religious studies is echoed in the arguments and subjects of study embraced by succeeding generations of scholars. In *A Pan African Theology: Providence and the Legacies of the Ancestors* (1992), Cone's student Josiah Young placed African religious cultures and political philosophy at the center of his reflections on Black Nationalism. He also reconceived black religious radicalism and prophetic theology within a distilled analysis of the methodological and theoretical discrepancies between Cone's and Long's approaches to black religion. Since Essien Udosen Essien-Udom's, Edwin Redkey's and Gayraud Wilmore's launching of the study of black religious nationalism, Young and others such as Wilson J. Moses, Edwin Redkey, Eddie Glaude, Elias Farajaje-Jones, and Tracey Hucks have broadened our understanding of this phenomenon across diverse religious traditions in the African diaspora. Although these works largely engage expressions of nationalism within black Christianity and Islam, Hucks's text *Approaching the African God: History, Textuality, and the Re-Ownership of Africa in the African American Yoruba Movement* (2005) distinctly treats the construal of black Nationalism within an African-derived religious context.

Other scholars have revisited important themes and introduced new theoretical treatments of black religion and black identity. Anthony Pinn's black humanist texts *Why Lord: Suffering and Evil in Black Theology* (1995) and *Moral Evil and Redemptive Suffering: A History of Theodicy in African American Religious Thought* (2002), and Victor Anderson's *Beyond Ontological Blackness: An Essay on African American Religious and Cultural Criticism* (1995) forwarded closer scrutiny of unsupported assumptions about theodicy and black suffering (Pinn) and the conceptual framing of "Black experience" (Anderson) in the black theological project.

WOMANIST RELIGIOUS THOUGHT. During the late 1980s womanist scholars began introducing new methodological and theoretical priorities through their approaches to black women's religious experience. Pioneer scholars Katie Cannon (*Black Womanist Ethics*, 1988), Jacquelyn Grant (*White Women's Christ and Black Women's Jesus: Feminist Christology and Womanist Response*, 1989) and Renita Weems (*Just a Sister Away: A Womanist Vision of Women's Relationships in the Bible*, 1988) established criteria for research that would consider the multidimensional oppression of black women in theological, ethical, and biblical studies.

Since the 1980s the womanist school of thought has generated a prolific corpus of reflection around intersectional analysis of race, gender, class, culture, and sexuality. This includes radical departures from theological doctrines and categories of analysis (Delores Williams, *Sisters in the Wilderness: The Challenge of Womanist God-Talk*, 1993, Kelly Brown Douglas, *Sexuality and the Black Church: A Womanist Perspective*, 1999, and JoAnne Terrell, *Power in the Blood: The Cross in the African American Experience*, 1998); studies of prominent black female leaders and black women's praxis traditions with attention to their religious, ethical, and theological import (Marcia Riggs, *Toward a Mediating Ethic for Black Liberation: Ethical Insights of Black Female Reformers of the Nineteenth Century*, 1999, and Rosetta Ross, *Witnessing and Testifying: Black Women, Religion, and Civil Rights*, 2003); studies of literature, music, and folk traditions (Cheryl Kirk Duggan, *Exorcising Evil: A Womanist Perspective on the Spirituals*, 1997); ethics, public policy, and social reform (Emilie Townes, *Breaking the Fine Rain of Death: African American Health Issues and a Womanist Ethic of Care,* and Joan Martin, *More than Chains and Toil: A Christian Work Ethic of Enslaved Women*, 2000); focused studies of intimate violence and abuse (Traci West, *Wounds of the Spirit: Black Women, Violence, and Resistance Ethics*, 1999); expansion of womanist theology to include analyses of African-derived traditions (Dianne Stewart, *Three Eyes for the Journey: African Dimensions of the Jamaican Religious Experience*, 2004); and collaborative texts on the motifs of suffering and hope (Emilie Townes, *A Troubling in My Soul: Womanist Perspectives on Evil and Suffering,* 1993, and *Embracing the Spirit: Womanist Perspectives on Hope, Salvation, and Transformation,* 1997). Indispensable contributions from Catholic womanist thinkers include Toinette Eugene, "Moral Values and Black Womanists" (1988); M. Shawn Copeland, "Wading Through Many Sorrows: Toward a Theology of Suffering in Womanist Perspective" (1993); and Diana Hayes, *Hagar's Daughters: Womanist Ways of Being in the World* (1999). Scholars such as Cheryl Townsend Gilkes and Linda Thomas have also bridged theoretical and methodological gaps between womanist religious thought and the social sciences. Collectively, womanist scholars have adopted and contributed innovative feminist analytical strategies that challenge the erasure of black women in the intellectual canons across the disciplines and that also contest the trivialization of women's studies research, its epistemological foundations, and theoretical frameworks.

SEMINAL ANTHOLOGIES AND DOCUMENTARY HISTORIES. Since the last quarter of the twentieth century, African American religious studies has reached a point of intellectual maturity, marked by its ability to generate several seminal anthologies in black religious and theological studies. Milton Sernett's *Afro-American Religious History: A Documentary Witness* (1985) was the first comprehensive volume to assemble original writings of pivotal black religious thinkers and leaders in the United States from the 1790s to the 1970s. Anthony Pinn also edited *By These Hands: A Documentary History of African American Humanism* (2001), which gave visibility to black humanist perspectives as a category of religious thought.

James Cone and Gayraud Wilmore's widely referenced volumes of *Black Theology: A Documentary History* chronicle the historical development of black theological studies from its nascent articulation within theologically inspired political organizations during the mid 1960s to scholarly treatments of black theology in academic discourse from the late 1960s to the early 1990s. Gayraud Wilmore's *African American Religious Studies: An Interdisciplinary Anthology* (1989) addresses theological studies methods and subject areas across several domains of scholarship in black Christian studies, including biblical studies, pastoral, historical and systematic theology, and ethics. Albert Raboteau and Timothy Fulop's *African American Religion: Interpretive Essays in History and Culture* (1997) and Cornel West and Eddie Glaude's collection *African American Religious Thought* (2003) cover broader interdisciplinary approaches and subjects in African American religious studies. Marcia Riggs's volume *Can I Get a Witness?: Prophetic Religious Voices of African American Women, an Anthology* (1997) interrupts the conventional pattern of associating African American public leadership with the masculine persona.

The history of African American religious studies also encompasses authored and edited volumes on influential black religious personalities. This genre includes multidisciplinary treatments of figures such as Martin Luther King, Jr. (James Washington, *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings of Martin Luther King, Jr.,* 1986; Lewis Baldwin, *To Make the Wounded Whole: The Cultural Legacy of Martin Luther King, Jr.,* 1992; Michael Dyson, *I May Not Get There With You: The True Martin Luther King, Jr.,* 2000); Howard Thurman (Alton Pollard, *Mysticism and Social Change: The Social Witness of Howard Thurman,* 1992); Anna Julia Cooper (Karen Baker-Fletcher, *A Singing Something: Womanist Reflections on Anna Julia Cooper,* 1994); Amanda Berry Smith (Adrienne Israel, *Amanda Berry Smith: From Washerwoman to Evangelist,* 1998); Theophilus G. Steward (Albert G. Miller, *Elevating the Race: Theophilus G. Steward, Black Theology, and the Making of an African American Civil Society, 1865–1924,* 2003); Reverdy Ransom (Anthony Pinn, *Making the Gospel Plain: The Writings of Bishop Reverdy C. Ransom,* 1998); and Malcolm X (Michael Dyson, *Making Malcolm: The Myth and Meaning of Malcolm X,* 1995).

Comparative studies of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King by James Cone (*Martin and Malcolm and America: A Dream or a Nightmare,* 1991) and of Howard Thurman and James Cone by Carlyle Stewart (*God, Being, and Liberation: A Comparative Analysis of the Theologies and Ethics of James H. Cone and Howard Thurman,* 1989) also address sites of intellectual correspondences among salient scholars and figures. Collectively, these volumes elucidate the religious significance of these definitive personalities within U.S. society and the import of their intellectual legacies to the study of African American religion and to the wider academy.

AFRICAN AMERICAN RELIGION AND APPROACHES TO SACRED TEXTS. The evolution of textual studies in black religion has mirrored the expansive trend in the broader field. In the arena of Christian theological studies biblical scholars have worked collaboratively and independently on themes including Africa and racial and ethnic identity, slavery, gender, power, justice, and liberation. Formidable scholars have interrogated these and other motifs in critical articles and texts that challenged established methods and theoretical assumptions in the wider field of biblical studies. These include contributions from thinkers such as Cain Hope Felder, Randall Bailey, Renita Weems, Vincent Wimbush, Clarice Martin, Allen Callahan, Demetrius Williams, and Gay Byron. Robert Hood combined his training in New Testament study with cultural criticism and theological inquiry to conduct studies of early Christianity, especially the hellenization of Christianity, in *Must God Remain Greek?: Afro Culture and God-Talk* (1974), and of anti-blackness in Christian literature and the history of Christian thought (*Begrimed and Black: Christian Traditions on Blacks and Blackness,* 1994).

Vincent Wimbush's concentration on the Bible in African American religious cultures and his extensive edited volume *African Americans and the Bible: Sacred Texts and Social Textures* (2000) represent a new expansive current in African American biblical studies. Wimbush's project sponsors and engages interdisciplinary research on biblical studies and cultural studies as they relate to African American religious communities. New studies hopefully will augur a broader conversation among scholars of sacred texts across diverse African American religions. This kind of initiative would involve biblical scholars as well as scholars studying ancient African texts of relevance to African American religious communities. Wande Abimbola's *Ifá: An Exposition of Ifá Literary Corpus* (1976), already widely referenced among Yoruba religious practitioners, would be central to such a discussion. as would Maulana Karenga's works on the Husia, especially *Selections from the Husia: Sacred Wisdom of Ancient Egypt* (1984) and his more recent interpretation of Yoruba sacred texts, *Odu Ifá: The Ethical Teachings* (1999).

NEW TRENDS AND CURRENTS IN AFRICAN AMERICAN RELIGIOUS STUDIES. Since the last two decades of the twentieth century, scholars have been proposing new categories of research and new approaches to established research areas. Two growing rubrics of scholarship concern black religious diversity and black religion, aesthetics, and popular culture, and books and articles on black folk religion and African religious cultures in the diaspora have been published at an increasing rate. These include contributions from Theophus Smith, *Conjuring Culture: Biblical Formations of Black America* (1994); Donald Matthews, *Honoring the Ancestors: An African Cultural Interpretation of Black Religion and Literature* (1997); Peter Paris, *The Spirituality of African People: The Search for a Common Moral Discourse* (1995); Joseph Murphy, *Working the Spirit: Ceremonies of the African Diaspora* (1994); George Brandon, *Santeria from Africa to the New World: The Dead Sell Memories* (1993); Jacob Olupona, *African Spirituality: Forms, Meanings, and Expressions* (2000); and Elias Farajaje-Jones and Kortright Davis, *African Creative Expressions of the Divine* (1991). Salim Faraji's article "Walking Back to Go Forward" is particularly important because it examines the Kemetic deity Heru (Horus) as an important symbol of black religious pluralism and liberation praxis, and it is distinctive in connecting liberation theology to Egyptian-inspired African American religious movements.

Women especially have advanced scholarly knowledge of the breadth and influence of these orientations through archival and ethnographic studies as well as through international research. Among their published findings are Yvonne Chireau, *Black Magic: Religion and the African American Conjuring Tradition* (2003); Rachel Harding, *A Refuge in Thunder: Candomblé and Alternative Spaces of Blackness* (2000); Tracey Hucks, *Approaching the African God: History, Textuality, and the Re-Ownership of Africa in the African*

American Yoruba Movement (2005); Karen McCarthy Brown, *Mama Lola: A Vodou Priestess in Brooklyn* (1991); Jualynne Dodson's forthcoming book, *Sacred Spaces: Religious Traditions in Oriente Cuba* (2005); Kamari Clarke, *Mapping Yoruba Networks: Power and Agency in the Making of Transnational Communities* (2004); Elizabeth McAlister, *Rara!: Vodou, Power, and Performance in Haiti and Its Diaspora* (2002); and Dianne Stewart, *Three Eyes for the Journey: African Dimensions of the Jamaican Religious Experience* (2004).

Studies of African American experiences with Islam and Judaism are also enhancing scholarly interpretations of black religious formation from slavery to the present time. Although it could be argued that the nineteenth-century writings of Edward Wilmot Blyden inaugurated a serious discussion of Islam within black religious thought, a constellation of interdisciplinary scholarly works are helping to contextualize African American Islamic traditions with greater clarity and specification. Significant contributions include Allan Austin's *African Muslims in Antebellum America: A Source Book* (1984); Richard Brent Turner's *Islam in the African American Experience* (1997); Michael Gomez's *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (1998); Aminah Beverly McCloud's *African American Islam* (1995); and Lawrence Mamiya's "Islam in America: Problems of Legacy, Identity, Cooperation, and Conflict among African American and Immigrant Muslims" (1993). *Black Zion: African American Religious Encounters with Judaism* (2000), edited by Yvonne Chireau and Nathaniel Deutsch, is also an indispensable contribution to the scholarship on African American religious traditions.

Within the area of black religion, aesthetics, and popular culture, Michael Dyson has authored several texts, including *Between God and Gangsta Rap: Bearing Witness to Black Culture* (1996); *Holler if You Hear Me: Searching for Tupac Shakur* (2001); and *Mercy, Mercy Me: The Art, Loves and Demons of Marvin Gaye* (2004). Other contributors to this emerging conversation among scholars of religion include Anthony Pinn (*Noise and Spirit: The Religious and Spiritual Sensibilities of Rap Music*, 2003) and Judith Weisenfeld, who has written several pieces on religion and black representation in film, including "'My Story Begins Before I was Born': Myth, History, and Power in Julie Dash's *Daughters of the Dust*" (2003) and "For Rent, 'Cabin in the Sky': Race, Religion, and Representational Quagmires in American Film" (2003).

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AFRICAN RELIGIONS

This entry consists of the following articles:

- AN OVERVIEW
- MYTHIC THEMES
- NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS
- HISTORY OF STUDY

AFRICAN RELIGIONS: AN OVERVIEW

Prior to the coming of Christianity and Islam to Africa, the peoples south of the Sahara developed their own religious systems, and these formed the basis of much of their social and cultural life. At present the indigenous religions, modified by colonial and postcolonial experience, continue to exist alongside Christianity and Islam and to play an important role in daily existence.

African traditional religions are closely tied to ethnic groups. Hence it may be said that there are as many different "religions" as there are ethnic language groups, which number more than seven hundred south of the Sahara. There are, however, many similarities among the religious ideas and practices of major cultural and linguistic areas (e.g., Guinea Coast, central Bantu, Nilotes), and certain fundamental features are common to almost all African religions. Although these features are not unique to Africa, taken together they constitute a distinctively African pattern of religious thought and action.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND. Except for the most recent colonial and precolonial past, there is little evidence concerning the early history of African religions, especially from the remote Paleolithic period. Because of the conditions of climate and habitation, archaeological remains, such as pottery, stone implements, bronze and stone figures, earthworks, and rock paintings, have been discovered at only a few places in eastern, western, and southern Africa, and the cultural contexts of these finds are largely unknown. It was once supposed that the various contemporary hunting-gathering, agricultural, and pastoral societies in Africa developed from a few basic cultural systems, or civilizations, each with its own set of linguistic, racial, religious, economic, and material cultural characteristics. Thus the early cultural and religious history of African societies was seen in terms of the interaction and intermixture of these hypothetical cultural systems, producing the more complex cultural and religious patterns of today. But it is now recognized that elements of language, race, religion, economics, and material culture are not so closely related as was assumed and that the early cultural systems were too speculatively defined. Hence historical reconstruction on these grounds has been abandoned.

Nevertheless, research has been able to bring to light important evidence concerning the early phases of religion in certain areas. The rock paintings of southern Africa, which date mostly from the nineteenth century but also from 2000 and 6000 and 26,000 BP, appear to represent a continuous tradition of shamanism practiced by the San hunters and their ancestors. Nineteenth-century and contemporary San ethnography suggest that shamanistic trance states, induced by dancing, are the subject matter of much southern African rock art. In trance states, San men experience the presence of a sacred power in their bodies, a power that also exists in certain animals, especially the eland, a large antelope. When this power enters the dancing men, they fall into a state of deep trance, or "half-death," as the !Kung San call it. Trance enables the men to perform three kinds of acts: the luring of large game animals to the hunters, the curing of illness, and the causing of rain by killing of special "rain animals." The rock art painted by the San and their ancestors shows men performing each of these tasks. The visual signs of trance that appear in the art are bleeding from the nose, perspiration, dancing, lines piercing (or extending from) the head, the wearing of caps with antelope ears, and the partial transformation of men into animals, especially antelopes. While manifesting these signs of trance, men are shown bending over people and drawing out illness, shooting rain animals, and luring game by ritual means. There is no indication that the art itself was regarded as magical; instead, the paintings depict the ritual acts and visionary experiences by which the shamans governed the relationships between human beings, animals, and the spirits of the dead. These relationships lay at the core of San society, and the rock paintings may well record practices that date from the earliest times in southern Africa.

When agriculture began to spread south of the Sahara around 1500 BCE, an important religious development accompanied the gradual change from hunting-gathering to agricultural economies. This was the emergence of territorial cults, organized around local shrines and priests related to the land, crop production, and rain. These autochthonous cults provided political and religious leadership at the local level and also at the clan and tribal level. In central Africa the oral tradition and known history of some territorial cults date back five or six centuries and have been the key to historical reconstruction of religion in this area.

When ironworking penetrated sub-Saharan Africa in 400–500 CE, it gave rise to a number of myths, rites, and symbolic forms. Ironworking was said to have been brought by a mythic culture hero, blacksmiths were regarded as a special caste subject to ritual prohibitions, and the blacksmith's forge was sometimes regarded as a sanctuary. Iron itself was thought to have sacred properties. Throughout West Africa ironmaking, hunting, and sometimes warfare formed a sacred complex of rites and symbols under the tutelage of a culture hero or deity.

In northern Nigeria more than 150 terra-cotta figures have been found dating from at least 500 BCE to 200 CE, the earliest known terra-cotta sculpture in sub-Saharan Africa. This sculpture, known as Nok sculpture after the site at which it was first found, consists of both human and animal figures. Although it is likely that these pieces had religious significance, either as grave goods or as ritual objects (or both), their meaning at present is entirely unknown.

The famous bronze heads of Ife, Nigeria, date from the twelfth to fifteenth centuries and may be distantly related to Nok sculpture. The sixteen naturalistic Ife heads were found in the ground near the royal palace at Ife. The heads have holes to which beards and crowns were attached. Each head may have represented one of the founders of the sixteen city-states that owed allegiance to Ife, and each may have carried one of the sixteen crowns. Among the Yoruba, the "head" *(ori)* is the bearer of a person's destiny, and the "head" or destiny of a king was to wear the crown. The crown was the symbol of the sacred *aṣẹ,* or power of the king, which the crown or the head itself may have contained. Bronze heads were also made in the kingdom of Benin, an offshoot of Ife located to the southeast, where they served as shrines for deceased Bini kings.

In southern Africa the wall ruins of Great Zimbabwe in present-day Zimbabwe belong to a cultural complex that evolved in the early twelfth century. Great Zimbabwe was the political capital of the Shona kings for two hundred years, until 1450. The ancestors of the kingship seem to have been represented by large, eaglelike sculptures with human characteristics, and these are thought to have been the focus of the royal ancestor cult.

Wherever kingship arose in Africa during the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, it became a dominant part of the religious system. The rulers, whether sacred or secular, generally attained total or partial control of the preexisting territorial cults above the local level. Oral tradition usually records the encounter between the conquering kings and the autochthonous cults, which sometimes put up resistance. This encounter was often memorialized in the form of annual rites that recalled the initial conquest and subsequent accommodation between the king and the autochthonous cults whose powers over the land were necessary fro the welfare of the state. For example, at Ife there is an annual ceremonial enactment of the defeat and return of the indigenous creator god Ọbatala (also known as Oriṣa-nla), and the restoration of his cult in the city. In other cases, the local cults were taken over and grafted onto the royal cult. Thus the Lundu kings took over the preroyal cults of the supreme being in Malawi, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique and incorporated their priests and prophets into the royal sphere.

Most kings were regarded as gods or as the descendants of gods and were spiritually related to the fertility of the land and to the welfare of the people. Even in Buganda in central Uganda, where they did not have such mystical powers, the kings were regarded as sacred personages. It has become recognized that the institution of sacred kingship, which was once thought to be derived from ancient Egypt because of some general similarities with sub-Saharan kingships, was independently invented in various places in the African continent, not only in Egypt.

From the seventeenth to early nineteenth centuries, there is evidence of two types of development: an increase in spirit possession and healing cults, generally known as cults of affliction, and an emphasis upon the concept of the supreme being. The emergence of popular healing cults seems to have been linked to a breakdown in local political institutions and to contact with outside forces and new diseases. The well-documented Lemba cult in the western portion of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which dates from the seventeenth century to the early twentieth century, was but one of many *ngoma* ("drum") therapies that were, and still are, characteristic of the religions of the Bantu-speaking peoples of central and southern Africa. During the same period, the growing importance of the concept of supreme being appears to have been linked to the enlargement of political scale and to the need to explain widespread social and political changes at the most universal level.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS. Common to most African religions is the notion of the imperfect nature of the human condition. Almost every society has a creation myth that tells about the origins of human life and death. According to this myth, the first human beings were immortal; there was no suffering, sickness, or death. This situation came to an end because of an accident or act of disobedience. Whatever the cause, the myth explains why sickness, toil, suffering, and death are fundamental to human existence.

The counterpart to this idea is the notion that the problems of human life may be alleviated through ritual action. African religions are systems of explanation and control of immediate experience. They do not promise personal salvation in the afterlife or the salvation of the world at some future time. The promise of African religions is the renewal of human affairs here and now, a this-worldly form of salvation. Through ritual action misfortunes may be overcome, sicknesses removed, and death put off. In general, bad situations may be changed into good ones, at least temporarily. The assumption is that human beings are largely responsible for their own misfortunes and that they also possess the ritual means to overcome them. The sources of suffering lie in people's misdeeds, or sins, which offend the gods and ancestors, and in the social tensions and conflicts that can cause illness. The remedy involves the consultation of a priest or priestess who discovers the sin or the social problem and prescribes the solution, for example, an offering to appease an offended deity or a ritual to settle social tensions. Belief in the perfectibility of human beings is not a part of African traditional religions. Instead, such religions provide the means for correcting certain social and spiritual relationships that are understood to be the causes of misfortune and suffering, even death. They assume that the traditional moral and social values, which the gods and ancestors uphold, are the guidelines for the good life and emphasize these rules and values in ritual performances in order to renew people's commitment to them.

At the theological level, African religions contain both monotheistic and polytheistic principles. The concept of a supreme God is widely known in tropical Africa and existed before the coming of Christianity and Islam. The idea of a supreme God expresses the element of ultimacy, fate, and destiny, which is part of most African religions. As the ultimate principle behind things, the supreme God usually has no cult, images, temples, or priesthood. These are unnecessary because he stands above reciprocal relationships with human beings, on which the lesser gods depend.

In contrast to the invisibility and remoteness of the supreme God, the lesser gods and the ancestor spirits, which often serve as the supreme being's intermediaries, are constantly involved in daily affairs. Their many shrines, images, and priesthoods make them highly visible and important features of traditional life. They are sources of both protection and harm, depending upon how faithfully they are served. People regularly attend their shrines to pray, receive advice, and make offerings, usually in the form of animal sacrifice. Thus African religions are both polytheistic and monotheistic, depending upon the context. In matters concerning the ultimate destiny and fate of individuals and groups, the supreme God may be directly involved. In matters concerning everyday affairs, the lesser gods and ancestors are more immediately involved.

From the point of view of African religion, a human being consists of social, moral, spiritual, and physical components united together; the individual is viewed as a composite totality. That is why social conflicts can make people physically ill and why moral misdeeds can cause spiritual misfortunes. Rituals that are aimed at restoring social and spiritual relationships are therefore deemed to affect people's physical health and well-being. A person's life is also seen to pass through several stages. One of the important tasks of traditional religion is to move people successfully through the major stages of life: birth, puberty, marriage, elderhood, death, ancestorhood. Each phase has its duties, and rites of passage make sure that people know their responsibilities. In this way people's lives are given shape and pattern. Important traditional offices, such as kingship, chieftancy, and priesthood, are also maintained by rites of passage. Other rituals divide the year into seasons and give the annual cycle its form and rhythm.

Ritual authorities, such as diviners, prophets, priests, and sacred kings, serve a common religious purpose: the communication between the human world and the sacred world. Shrines and temples facilitate this process by linking together the two worlds around an altar. The priest's job is to perform prayers and sacrifices that carry people's desires to the spiritual world; the priest, in turn, communicates the will of the spiritual beings to the people.

MYTHOLOGY: CREATION, HEROES, AND TRICKSTERS. African myths deal primarily with the origin of humankind and with the origin of social and ritual institutions. They explain both the structure of the world and the social and moral conditions of human life. Most creation myths posit an original state of cosmic order and unity, and they tell of a separation or division that arose between divinity and humanity, sky and earth, order and disorder, which resulted in human mortality. These myths explain why human beings are mortal by telling how they became mortal. Thus they presuppose that humanity was originally immortal and passed into a state of mortality. The myths usually say that mortality was the result of a deliberate or accidental misdeed committed by a human being, often a woman, or an animal. Although questions of human responsibility are sometimes involved, the underlying meaning is generally that death was a necessary, indeed, a natural, outcome; otherwise, human beings would not be truly human and humanity and divinity would not be properly separated.

Some myths explain the origins and significance of death by showing that it is essentially linked to the agents of human fertility and reproduction: women, food, sexuality, and marriage. The Dinka of the southern Sudan say that the first woman disobeyed the creator god who told her to plant or pound only one grain of millet a day, lest she strike the low-hanging sky with her hoe or tall pestle. When she lifted her pole to cultivate (or pound) more millet, she struck the sky, causing the sky and God to withdraw. Thenceforth, human beings suffered sickness and death and had to toil for their food. In this myth it is a woman's desire for plenty (life), which the Dinka view indulgently, that overcame the original restrictive proximity between humanity and God. The Nuer, who live near the Dinka, say that in the beginning a young girl descended from the sky with her companions to get food and that she fell in love with a young man whom she met on earth. When she told her companions that she wished to stay on earth, they ascended to the sky and spitefully cut the rope leading to the ground, thus severing the means for immortality. The myth reflects the choice that every Nuer woman must make in marriage when she leaves her childhood home and friends and goes to live with her husband. According to the Ganda of central Uganda, the first woman disobeyed her father, the sky god, which caused her brother Death to come into the world and kill some of her children. In Buganda a girl's brother is the traditional agent of marriage and has a temporary claim to one of his sister's children. The myth implies that death is viewed as a necessary counterpart to life, as the mother's brother is a necessary counterpart to marriage and a claimant to one of his sister's children.

Another widely known myth among Bantu-speaking peoples explains the origin of death in terms of a message that failed. In the beginning the creator god gave the message of life to a slow-moving animal (e.g., chameleon, sheep). Later, he grew impatient and gave the message of death to a faster animal (e.g., lizard, goat). The faster animal arrived first and delivered his message, and death became the lot of humanity. In this myth the natural slowness and quickness of the two animals determine the outcome, making death a natural and inevitable result. Other myths emphasize the similarity between death and sleep and the inability of human beings to avoid either. According to this myth, the creator god told the people to stay awake until he returned. When he came back they had fallen asleep and failed to hear his message of immortality. When they woke up he gave them the message of death.

Hero myths tell how important cultural discoveries, such as agriculture and ironmaking, originated and how major social and ritual institutions, such as marriage, village organization, kingship, priesthood, and cult groups, came into existence. Often the founding deeds of the hero are reenacted in ritual with creative and transforming effect. The hero may continue to live among the people in spiritual form through a priest or prophet and become manifest on important ritual occasions. Many African deities are said to have been heroes who died and returned in spiritual form to serve as guardians and protectors of the people. In Africa myth and history often overlap, and together they form a unified explanation of the world since the time of the beginning.

Another type of myth is the trickster story. Trickster stories range from fable-like satirical tales to accounts of world creation. The trickster may exist only as a character in stories or as an active deity. Whatever the particular form, the trickster image expresses the fundamental ambiguities of human life. The trickster is both fooler and fooled, wily and stupid, maker and unmade. A seemingly misguided culture hero, the trickster introduces both order and disorder, confusion and wisdom into the world. The trickster's comic adventures convey a widely recognized African principle: Life achieves its wholeness through the balance of opposites. The trickster's acts of disorder prepare the way for new order; death gives way to birth. According to the Dogon of central Mali, the trickster god Ogo destroyed the original perfection of the creator god's plan and could only partly restore it. Yet the trickster also helps human beings to discover the hidden dangers of life through divination. Among the Yoruba of western Nigeria, the god Eṣu is both the agent of social conflict and the peacekeeper of the marketplace, as well as the confuser of men and the messenger of the gods. His two-sided nature brings together the gods and human beings in a cooperative manner through divination and sacrifice, which he supervises. The Akan-Ashanti tales about Ananse the Spider in southern Ghana and the tales about the Hare in eastern and southern Africa express profound and ironic insights into the foibles and possibilities of human nature. In general, African trickster mythology expresses optimism about the paradoxes and anomalies of life, showing that cleverness and humor may prevail in a fundamentally imperfect world.

MONOTHEISM AND POLYTHEISM. African religions combine principles of unity and multiplicity, transcendence and immanence, into a single system; thus they generally contain both monotheistic and polytheistic aspects. Often there is also the concept of an impersonal power, such as the Yoruba concept of *aṣẹ* by which all things have their being. In different contexts each of these principles may come to the fore as the primary focus of religious thought and action, although each is part of the larger whole.

As ultimate principles, many supreme Gods are like African sacred kings: they reign but do not rule. They occupy the structural center of the system but are rarely seen or heard, and when they are it is only indirectly. For this reason the supreme Gods belong more to the dimension of myth than to that of ritual. However, the world would cease to exist without them, as would a kingdom without the king. Thus, in many instances the supreme God is the one, omniscient, omnipotent, transcendent, creator, father, and judge. From the time of the first contact with Muslims and Christians, Africans recognized their supreme Gods to be the same as the God of Christianity and Islam. It is not known whether African religions were more or less monotheistic than they are today, although it is certain that African concepts of God have changed over time.

DIVINITY AND EXPERIENCE. Unlike the supreme beings, which remain in the background of religious life, the lesser divinities and spirits are bound up with everyday experience. These powers are immanent, and their relation to human beings is reciprocal and interdependent. Hence they require many shrines, temples, priests, cult groups, images, rituals, and offerings to facilitate their constant interactions with people.

The gods and spirits are known through personal encounter as living agents who directly affect people's lives. Often associated with elements of nature, such as lightning, rain, rivers, wild animals, and forests, they may be understood as images or symbols of collective psychological and social realities that resemble these natural phenomena in their powerful, dangerous, and beneficial aspects. The most common form of encounter between the human and the divine is spirit possession, the temporary presence of a deity or spirit in the consciousness of a person. Spirit possession may occur in a formal ritual context or in the normal course of everyday life. In Africa, as elsewhere, possession behavior is culturally stylized and highly symbolic. It is neither extremely pathological nor physiologically uncontrollable. It is an integral part of religion and has a well-defined role within it. In some societies possession is regarded as an affliction, and the aim is to expel the intruding god or spirit so that the suffering person may resume a normal life. Once the god or spirit has made the reasons for its appearance known through the voice of the afflicted person or through divination, offerings are made and the spirit departs. Usually the cause is some misdeed or sin that must be redressed through ritual action. In other societies possession is a more desirable phenomenon. People may regularly seek to come closer to their gods, even to identify personally with them, through possession-inducing dances that have beneficial psychological and social effects.

MEDIUMS, DIVINERS, AND PROPHETS. Sometimes a divinity may wish to form a special relationship with an individual. The god usually makes his desire known through an illness. Indeed, sickness is sometimes seen as a sacred calling that is manifested in the form of a possession. The cure will take the form of apprenticeship and initiation into the service of the deity, and it will place the person in lasting debt to society. Henceforth, the chosen man or woman becomes professionally established at a shrine and becomes the god's medium, devoted to the healing of afflicted people. He or she treats illnesses and social problems through mediumship séances. Treatment begins with a payment of money and with the questioning of the client by the spirit speaking through the medium. The interrogation is skillful and focuses upon the client's social situation. The remedy usually involves moral advice, herbal prescriptions, ritual actions, and sometimes membership in a special cult group, as among the Central Bantu-speaking peoples. The client himself may already have thought of the diagnosis and of the remedies that the medium proposes, or the séance may reveal new insights and procedures. In either case, the client departs from the consultation knowing that his problem has been expertly investigated and that he has received authoritative advice.

In Africa the distinction between mediums, diviners, priests, and prophets is a fluid one, and transition from one to the other is made easily. Generally, diviners and mediums are spiritual consultants, whereas prophets are leaders of humans. Prophets may go directly to the people with programs for action and initiate religious and political movements. For this reason prophets are often sources of religious and political change. In circumstances of widespread political unrest, priestly mediums may develop prophetic powers and initiate socio-religious change. This occurred during colonial times in East Africa: traditional prophets became leaders of political resistance in parts of Sudan, Uganda, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe. In Kenya, the Mau Mau resistance movement was also significantly implemented and sustained by traditional ritual procedures.

A more indirect form of spiritual communication involves the use of divination equipment, such as cowrie shells, leather tablets, animals entrails, palm nuts, a winnowing basket, small animal bones, and animal tracks. After careful interrogation of the client, the diviner manipulates and interprets his material in order to reach a diagnosis. Such systems work according to a basic typology of human problems, aspirations, and casual factors. The diviner applies this framework to the client's case by manipulating a divination apparatus.

The most complex system of divination in Africa is Ifa. It is practiced by the Yoruba of southern Nigeria and in various forms by the Igbo, Igala, and Nupe of Nigeria, the Ewe of Togo, and the Fon of Benin. It consists of a large number of poems that are related to a set of 256 divination patterns. When one of the patterns is cast, the diviner recites the appropriate poems. The poems tell of real-life problems experienced by the gods and ancestors in the past. Without telling the diviner the problem, the client chooses the poem that best fits the situation. The client then asks more questions of the diviner, who makes additional casts of the divination chain, until the client discovers all the potential dangers and benefits destiny holds for the client, together with the ritual means of ensuring the best possible outcome. Like all systems of divination, Ifa's predictions are general and open to interpretation. The value of divination lies not in the precision of prediction but in the decision-making processes that it offers to the client. Divination procedures require the client (and often his or her family) to examine problems fully, to consider alternative courses of action, and to obtain professional guidance. The result is a course of action that is objectively based, divinely sanctioned, and socially acceptable.

Diviners and mediums employ methods of treatment that usually involve a mixture of psychological, social, medical, and ritual means. Many illnesses are regarded as uniquely African in nature and hence as untreatable by Western methods. They include cases of infertility, stomach disorders, and a variety of ailments indicative of psychological stress and anxiety. The causes of such illnesses are generally attributed to social, spiritual, or physiological factors, either separately or in some combination. Typically, a person's problems will be attributed to his or her misdeeds or to the ill will of other people because of the belief in the social source of illness and misfortune. Equally fundamental is the notion that religion concerns the total person, their physical as well as spiritual well-being.

To the extent that European Christianity relates only to spiritual matters, African societies have fashioned their own forms of Christianity whose rituals are aimed at both the physical and spiritual ills of society. These tend to be prophet-led, independent churches that utilize the power of Christian prayer and ritual to heal physiological and psychological maladies, much like the indigenous religions. Islam has been adapted along similar lines. Although Western medicine is recognized and sought after for the treatment of infectious diseases and physical injuries, ritual techniques continue to be used in both rural and urban areas because of African ideas about the social and spiritual foundation of personal health and well-being. Where the two systems are available, people often utilize both. Increased urbanization has tended to break down certain elements of traditional religions, for example, rites for ancestor spirits and nature gods, but urbanization has created its own social, psychological, and spiritual problems for which diviners and mediums have developed methods of treatment.

RITUAL: SACRIFICE AND RITES OF PASSAGE. Ritual is the foundation of African religion. To become possessed by the gods, to speak ritual words, to perform offerings and sacrifices, or to make children into adults is to shape experience according to normative patterns of meaning and thereby to control and renew the world. The ritual sphere is the sphere in which the everyday world and the spiritual world communicate with each other and blend into one reality. Almost every African ritual is therefore an occasion in which human experience is morally and spiritually transformed. The two most important forms of African ritual are animal sacrifice and rites of passage. Both follow common patterns.

The sacrifice of animals and the offering of vegetable foods accomplish a two-way transaction between the realm of divinity and the realm of humanity. The vegetable offerings and animal victims are the mediating principles. They are given to the gods and spirits in return for their favors. Animal sacrifice is especially prominent because the life of the victim and its blood are potent spiritual forces. By killing the victim, its life is released and offered to the gods for their sustenence in exchange for their blessings, especially in the case of human life that is threatened. The act of sacrifice may also transfer the illness to the animal victim, which thus serves as a scapegoat. An animal may also be sacrificed so that its blood may act as a barrier against malevolent spiritual forces. Fowl, sheep, and goats are the most common sacrificial animals; cattle are frequently sacrificed among pastoralist peoples. Animal victims usually possess certain characteristics of color, size, shape, and behavior that make them symbolically appropriate for certain spiritual beings. Through invocations, prayers, and songs, human desires are made known, sins are confessed, and spiritual powers attracted to the sacrificial scene. Generally, the ritual word performs a dual function: it says what is desired and helps to bring about the desired through the power of ritual speech.

Sacrifices are performed on a variety of occasions in seasonal, curative, life-crisis, divinatory, and other kinds of rituals, and always as isolable ritual sequences. Sacrifices that involve the sharing of the victim's flesh confirm the bond between the people and the spiritual power, to which a portion is given. Purifications may also be performed so that the participants may be cleansed of the potent sacred elements of the sacrifice. Major sacrificial rites usually have the following structure: consecration, invocation, immolation, communion, and purification. At the social level, sacrifices and offerings bring together individuals and groups and reinforce common moral bonds. Fundamentally, blood sacrifice is a reciprocal act, bringing gods and people together in a circuit of moral, spiritual, and social unity. In this way sacrifice restores moral and spiritual balance—the healthy equilibrium between person and person, group and group, human beings and spiritual powers—which permits the positive flow of life on earth. As a sacred gift of life to the gods, sacrifice atones for human misdeeds and overcomes the human impediments to the flow of life; thus it is one of the keystones of African religions.

Rites of passage possess a threefold pattern consisting of rites of separation, transition, and reincorporation. Their purpose is to create and maintain fixed and meaningful transformations in the life cycle (birth, naming, puberty, marriage, death, ancestorhood), in the ecological and temporal cycle (planting, harvest, seasonal change, lunar and solar cycles, new year), and in the accession of persons to high office. Without these rites there would be no significant pattern to traditional life and no enduring social institutions.

The important phase in these ceremonies is the middle, or liminal, period of transition. In this phase people are morally remade into "new" social beings. Newborn infants are made into human persons, children are made into adults, men and women are made into husbands and wives, adults are made into elders, princes are made into kings, deceased persons are made into ancestor spirits. Seasonal transtions are also marked and celebrated in this way. Thus the old year is made into the new and the season of drought is made into the season of rain.

This remaking of persons and time involves the symbolic destruction of the old and the creation of the new. It is a dual process of death and rebirth, involving symbols of reversal, bisexuality, disguise, nakedness, death, humility, dirt, intoxication, pain, and infantilism. These symbols of ritual liminality have both negative and positive connotations representing the paradoxical situation of the womb/tomb—the betwixt and between period when people are neither what they were nor what they will become. In the liminal stage, people are momentary anomalies, stripped of their former selves, ready to become something new. Similarly, the time between the seasons and the time between the years belongs neither to the old nor to the new but to both. The transition phase is a time out of time, when the usual order of things is reversed or suspended, ready to become reestablished and renewed. During the Apo new year's ceremony of the Ashanti, people openly express their resentments against their neighbors, chiefs, and king in order to "cool" themselves and rid society of its tensions, which may cause harm before order is restored and the new year begins.

The most fundamental rite of passage is that which initiates the young into adulthood. In this way a society not only moves its young into new social roles but also transforms them inwardly by molding their moral and mental disposition toward the world. A period of instruction may or may not be part of this process. A Nuer boy simply tells his father that he is ready to receive the marks of *gar,* six horizontal lines cut across the forehead. His socialization is already assumed. In many West African societies the rite is held in the confines of initiation groves where the initiates are given intensified moral and religious instruction. These rites may take place over a period of years and are organized into men's and women's initiation societies, such as the Poro society among the Senufo of the Ivory Coast, Mali, and Upper Volta. By means of stories, proverbs, songs, dances, games, masks, and sacred objects, the children and youths are taught the mysteries of life and the values of the adult world. The rites define the position of the intiates in relation to God, to society, to themselves, and to the world. Some form of bodily marking is usually done, and circumcision and clitoridectomy are widely practiced. The significance of bodily marking varies. Among the Gbaya of Mali, the initiates are cut slightly on the stomach with a “mortal wound” to signify their “death” to childhood. Generally, the marks indicate that the transition to adulthood is permanent, personal, and often painful and that society has successfully imprinted itself upon the individual.

PERSONS, ANCESTORS, AND ETHICS. African concepts of the person, or self, share several characteristics. Generally, the self is regarded as composite and dynamic; it consists of several aspects, social, spiritual, and physical, and admits of degrees of vitality. The self is also open to possession by divinity, and its life history may be predestined before birth. After death, the self becomes a ghost, and in the course of several generations it becomes merged with the impersonal ancestors. Each of these aspects and potentialities of the person, sometimes misleadingly described as multiple souls, is important in different contexts and receives special ritual attention.

In West African societies, the success or failure of a person’s life is explained by reference to a personal destiny that is given to the individual by the creator god before birth. A person’s destiny stems from a family ancestor (usually a grandparent) who is partly reborn in the person at birth and serves as a spiritual guardian throughout life. Although destinies are largely predetermined, they are also somewhat alterable for better or worse by the gods, witches, and guardian ancestors. To realize the full potential of one’s destiny, frequent recourse to divination is required to discover what destiny has in store and to ensure the best outcome. Successes and failures in life are therefore attributed both to personal initiative and to inherited destiny. After death, this immortal aspect of the personality returns to the creator god, ready to be reborn in the same lineage group. In societies where the concept of destiny is absent, the most important life-determining principle is the person’s inherited lineage component, and it is this that survives after death.

The human personality is also permeable by divinity. On ritual occasions the consciousness of an individual may become temporarily replaced by the presence of a spiritual being. Often the personality of the god resembles that of the individual, and professional mediums may have several gods or spirits at their command. These are said to mount “on the head” or “on the back” of the medium. Almost everyone is susceptible to spirit possession of some sort, and when controlled in a ritual manner it has therapeutic effect.

At death, new problems of social and spiritual identity arise. When a family loses one of its members, especially a senior male or female, a significant moral and social gap occurs. The family, together with other kinsmen, must close this gap through funerary procedures. At the same time the deceased must undergo spiritual adjustment if he or she is to find a secure place in the afterlife and remain in contact with the family left behind. This is accomplished by the construction of an ancestor shrine and sometimes also by the making of an ancestor mask and costume.

Almost every family and village has its ancestor shrines, and every town its heroes who founded and protected it. From the beginning, the ancestors helped to create the world; they gave birth to the people, led them to their present homeland, created agriculture, established social rules, founded kingdoms, and invented metalworking and the arts. Their deeds laid the foundations of African myth, history, and culture. Whether the ancestors lived in the remote past or in more recent times, they are regarded as immortal spirits who transcend historical time. Through spirit possession and mediumship rites, the ancestors continue to communicate with their living descendants, who seek their help in the affairs of everyday life.

The carved images of the ancestors are not intended to be representational or abstract but conceptual and evocative. By means of stylized form and symbolic details the image conveys the characteristics of the ancestor and also helps to make the spiritual reality of the ancestor present among the people. Thus the carved ancestral icon enables the world of the living and the world of the living dead to come together for the benefit of human life.

The relationship between the community of the living and the spirits of the dead, sometimes misleadingly called “ancestor worship,” has powerful social and psychological dimensions and plays a vital role in almost every African society. This is especially true in small-scale stateless societies in which sociopolitical rules are almost entirely governed by a descent system. In such societies ancestors are the focus of ritual activity, not because of a special fear of the dead or because of a strong belief in the afterlife, but because of the importance of the descent system in defining social relationships. In larger polities the royal ancestors often become the gods of the state. Superior to living kings and elders, the ancestors define and regulate social and political relations. It is they who own the land and the livestock, and it is they who regulate the prosperity of the lineage groups, villages, and kingdoms. Typically, when misfortune strikes, the ancestors are consulted through divination to discover what misdeeds have aroused their anger. The ancestors are also regularly thanked at ceremonial feasts for their watchful care, upon which the welfare of the community depends.

Not everyone may become an ancestor. Only those who led families and communities in the past as founders, elders, chiefs, or kings may serve in the afterlife as the social and political guides of the future. By contrast, ordinary people become ghosts after death. Such spirits require ritual attention at their graves, but they are finally sent away to “rest in peace,” while the more positive influence of the ancestors is invoked generation after generation. The more recent ancestors receive the most frequent attention, especially at family shrines. Such ancestors are not worshiped in either a devotional or idolatrous sense but are honored and prayed to as the senior leaders of the living community.

The sufferings and misfortunes brought by the gods and ancestors are punishments aimed at correcting human behavior. By contrast, the sufferings and misfortunes caused by witches and sorcerers are undeserved and socially destructive; they are unequivocally evil. The African concept of evil is that of perverse humanity: the human witch and sorcerer. The African image of the witch and sorcerer is of humanity turned against itself. Witches act only at night, they fly through the air, walk on their hands or heads, dance naked, feast on corpses, possess unsatiable and incestuous lusts (despite sexual impotence), murder their relatives, and live in the bush with wild animals. This symbolic imagery is consistent with the sociological characteristics of the witch: disagreeable, ambitious, lying, and envious.

Accusations of witchcraft and sorcerery therefore function as a means of social control. In the past accused witches and sorcerers were forced to confess or were killed or expelled from society. Witchcraft accusations also enabled quarreling members of the same lineage to separate from each other and establish their own residences, thus restoring village order. For the most part witchcraft accusations in Africa flourished in contexts where social interaction was intense but loosely defined, as between members of the same extended family or lineage group. In such cases witchcraft was sometimes thought to be an inherited power of which the individual might be unaware until accused. In other instances it existed in the form of deliberately practiced sorcery procedures, so-called black magic, which was effective at long range and across lineage groups. Whether deliberate or not, the witch and the sorcerer were regarded as fundamentally antihuman and thus as principles of evil in a world governed by fundamentally moral and social forces.

SHRINES, TEMPLES, AND RELIGIOUS ART. Shrines and temples serve as channels of communication with the spiritual world, and they may also serve as dwelling places of gods and spirits. Shrines may exist in purely natural forms, such as forest groves, large rocks, rivers, and trees, where gods and spirits dwell. Every African landscape has places of this kind that are the focus of ritual activity. Human-made shrines vary in form. A simple tree branch stuck into the ground is a shrine for a family ghost among the Nuer. A large rectangular building serves as the ancestor stool chapel among the Ashanti. Whatever its form, an African shrine acts as a symbolic crossroads, a place where paths of communication between the human and spiritual worlds intersect. If the shrine serves as a temple, that is, as the dwelling place of a spiritual being, it is built in houselike fashion, like the "palaces" of the royal ancestors in Buganda. Such shrines usually have two parts: the front section, where the priest and the people gather, and the rear section, where the god or spirit dwells. An altar stands between the two and links them together.

Shrines and temples often contain carved images of gods, spirits, and ancestors; indeed, such images sometimes serve as shrines themselves. Carved figures may function as altars for communication with spiritual beings and as physical embodiments of the spirits themselves. The Baule of the Ivory Coast carve figures to represent the spiritual spouse who everyone has in the otherworld before being born into this one. The human-shaped figure becomes a shrine through which the spirit may be propitiated. The Dan-speaking peoples of Liberia and the Ivory Coast carve wooden masks to represent and to embody forest spirits so that they may appear before the people of the villages.

More generally, African ritual art, including masks, headdresses, sacred staffs, and ceremonial implements, is fashioned according to definite stylistic forms in order to express religious ideas and major social values. The carved *chi wara* antelope headdress of the Bamana of Mali represents the mythic farming animal, called Chi Wara, that originally showed the people how to cultivate, and the antelope shape of the headdress expresses the qualities of the ideal farmer: strength, industriousness, and graceful form. Male and female headdresses are danced together, while women sing songs to encourage the young men's cultivation groups to compete with each other for high agricultural achievements. The Gẹlẹdẹ masks of the Yoruba honor the spiritual power of women, collectively known as "our mothers." This power is both creative (birth) and destructive (witchcraft). The Gẹlẹdẹ mask depicts the calm and serene face of a woman and expresses the feminine virtue of patience. The face is often surmounted by elaborately carved scenes of daily activity, for the spiritual power of "the mothers" is involved in every aspect of human life.

African traditional art is primarily concerned with the human figure because of the anthropocentric and anthropomorphic character of African religions. As has been seen, religion in Africa deals with the problems of human life, the causes of which are seen to be fundamentally human in nature. Thus social conflict produces illness, human misdeeds cause the gods and ancestors to bring misfortune, and the gods themselves are essentially human in character. African thought typically conceives of the unknown and invisible forces of life by analogy with human realities that are both knowable and controllable. Hence African sculpture represents the gods, spirits, and ancestors in a basically human form.

SEE ALSO Affliction, article on African Cults of Affliction; Central Bantu Religions; Drama, article on African Religious Drama; Iconography, article on Traditional African Iconography; Khoi and San Religion; Kingship, article on Kingship in Sub-Saharan Africa; Music, article on Music and Religion in Sub-Saharan Africa; Nuer and Dinka Religion; Tricksters, article on African Tricksters; Witchcraft, article on African Witchcraft.

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AFRICAN RELIGIONS: MYTHIC THEMES

It is common to regard myth as the chief intellectual product of cultures with strong oral traditions (in analogy to philosophical and theological texts in literate civilizations). However, this would oversimplify the African situation. While African myths, as the "true dramas" explaining how the fundamental realities came to be, do often embody profound reflections, other forms of African wisdom exist that can be equally insightful and systematic or religiously significant. Ritual, for example, can often do without myth because it evokes the living experience of realities that are controlled by ritual symbols shaped over many generations. Proverbs may form the sole content of initiatic instruction, for although perhaps trivial taken one by one, their cumulative impact may transform one's vision of life and teach a poise or stance on life that may be said to be the chief fruit of religion. The more complex divinatory systems often embody a total classification of possible events in life and may ground it in a philosophy that is impersonal and elemental. The teachings of such proverbial, ritual, or divinatory systems may not be duplicated by myths. In fact, many African religions seem to function without many myths.

However, myths do provide us with a deep insight into African religions. But this is only so if it is appreciated that many, if not most, of the published myths from African cultures deal with the quasi-folkloric tales available to outsiders and children. The existence of esoteric levels of mythology in many cultures cannot be denied. Of course, one culture's initiatic myth is often, in fragmentary form, another culture's childish tale, even though the narrative itself may remain the same. What has changed is the context, the overall meaning, and the integration of this story into a larger narrative vision. In interpreting African mythology, then, that larger context and meaning must be attended to if one is to discover the vision of the sources of reality that alone defines true myth.

Not all myth directly justifies everyday cultic life or social structures. For example, the powers that are invoked in the everyday cult of the LoDagaa of Ghana (the earth, ancestors, and medicine spirits) are hardly even mentioned in the initiatic myth of Bagre (which centers on God and the bush spirits). But this is because the Bagre myth concerns the more primordial realities that lie behind and permit the concerns of the ordinary village cult and its associated spirits. In fact, it articulates the basic vision of life that animates the LoDagaa, without which they could not exist at all.

GENERAL THEMES. There exist four major sets of themes in the rich variety of African mythologies. This classification is naturally not meant to be exhaustive. The first set centers on the primordial personal encounter of humanity with God, in which human destiny—and especially the basic boundaries and limited conditions of life—is directly determined forever. The second major set of myths centers on the process of mediation, change, and renewal in the universe, focusing on the sometimes demiurgic figures who embodied this process in the beginning of time: the trickster, the smith, the diviner, and the kingly culture hero. The third major set centers on the ways in which the present universe in all its aspects is a creative equilibrium built up by such dynamic interacting opposites as male heaven and female earth (in the first phase of creation), culture hero and chthonic earth monster (or cruel ruler), sacral king and aboriginal peoples, and even competing brothers or wedded twins (in the next phase). Sexuality, battle, and sacrifice control the transformations of this mythic history. The fourth set of major themes include highly philosophical esoteric myths found in many

Sudanic and West African religions; these theosophical syntheses, known only to the highest initiates, center on concepts of the cosmic egg or the primal word, and the inner mysteries of sacrifice.

THE PERSONAL ENCOUNTER WITH GOD. Many African religions take the basic forms of the universe for granted, and their creation myths center instead on the development of the human condition. In any case, God is usually the central actor in these myths. It must be stressed that African religions universally acknowledge a supreme being, and there is often a direct cult to this being, which may be personal (prayers to God morning and night) or communal (during such crises as famine or drought). Such movements can even be formal and enacted periodically by the group as a whole. A basic trait of the African supreme being is that he determines destiny, both personal and (in the creation myths) universal human destiny. These myths turn on that assumption.

One myth, found in the Sahelian savanna region (the region of northern Africa between the Sahara and the rainy tropics that extends from the Atlantic to the Red Sea) and in coastal West Africa, explains that God once dwelt close to or on the earth (for heaven was near then) until an accidental offense against him (or actual disobedience, usually by a woman wanting more or better food) compelled God to remove the heavens far away and to break his direct link with humanity. The Ashanti (southern Ghana) say that God, Nyame (also known as Onyankopon), withdrew heaven from the earth because he was annoyed when the low floor of heaven was knocked from below by the pestle of an old woman who was pounding *fufu* (mashed yams). So he climbed up to heaven on a thread, like the Great Spider (Anase Kokroko) that he is. Mischievous still, the old woman ordered her children to build a tower of mortars, one atop another, right to the sky. Needing one more mortar, the children took it from the bottom—and the whole edifice collapsed, killing many. The theme of the pestle knocking against heaven is surprisingly common in these myths. It would seem to link both eating and the major task of the culture, farming, to alienation from God. Among the Mbuti Pygmies of the Ituri forest, a basically similar mythic structure involves hunting instead, as the Mbuti do not farm. The first Pygmy provided food for God by hunting, and the Pygmy's two wives cooked and served the deity's meals, but were forbidden to look directly upon him. The youngest wife stole a look, and so the Pygmies were banished from heaven to earth, to hard work and death.

The Dinka (southern Sudan) say that there used to be a rope that hung down from heaven, and people could climb it when they wished to speak to God. But when the woman kept hitting the underside of heaven with her pestle, God withdrew the heavens and had the rope cut. A variant Dinka myth attributes the original split between humanity and divinity to fratricidal clan conflicts. The Nuer, a neighboring ethnic group closely related to the Dinka, say that when people grew old they would climb the rope, become young again, then come down and begin life anew. But one day the hyena (often the symbol or animal form of witches), which had been exiled from heaven, cut the rope. Since then people have not been able to renew their lives, and they die instead. The Lozi, or Rotse (northwestern Zambia), say that the arrogant, disobedient, and murderous tendencies of the first humans so irritated God that he finally sought to flee from them. But they pursued him everywhere. At a loss for a hiding place, God consulted the divining bones, which referred him to the spider. At God's order, the spider spun a thread to heaven, and God and his family ascended into the sky. The myth goes on to relate that the first ancestors tried to reach God even then by building a tower of cut trees—but the tower crashed down.

The motif of the tower built to reach heaven is very common in the versions of the separation of heaven and earth myth found among central Bantu-speaking peoples. The Luba say that humanity originally lived in the same village as God. But the creator wearied of the constant quarreling in the village and exiled humanity to earth (village quarreling is said to anger God, harm hunting and the crops, and even prevent pregnancies and increase deaths). There humans suffered hunger and cold and, for the first time, sickness and death. Following the advice of a diviner, who told them to go back to heaven to regain immortality, the people began building an enormous wooden tower, which after months of labor reached the sky. The workers at the top signaled their success by beating a drum and playing flutes, but God hated the noise and destroyed the tower, killing the musicians. The Kaonde, Lwena, Lamba, Lala, Chokwe, and other peoples date their dispersion from this event.

It is evidently dangerous to be too close to God; humanity cannot endure such powerful fusions. The human condition is only possible when God mercifully veils himself behind his creation and spirits. One example of this view is the attitude of the Bantu-speaking peoples to the rainbow being, considered a serpent spirit that is dangerous even to see. It links heaven and earth, or male and female life principles; its appearance drives away the rains and brings drought. It is considered a primary agent or, in some cases, as even a form of God.

There are many kinds of myths that explain how death entered the world. Among these is the myth of two messengers or the perverted message. According to this myth, God sent two messengers to humanity, the first with the command that humans would never die, the second with the command that they would. But the first messenger (usually the chameleon, an animal with certain resemblances to the variegated rainbow) traveled too slowly, and the second (often the lizard or hare) arrived first. The first declaration to be given fixed human nature forever. On the other hand, death may be blamed on the primordial exile from God's presence. Or it may be said that humanity was told to stay awake to await God's arrival with the declaration of human immortality, but everyone fell asleep and missed it. There is a complex irony in this story, for it turns on the view that sleep is a foretaste of death. Only if humans were already immortal would they have been able to banish sleep. Being mortal, they succumbed to sleep—and to death. The seeming arbitrariness of all of these myths of personal interaction with God masks a deeper necessity; however, when examined more closely, this necessity merely affirms that what is, is, and so is again arbitrary. The real significance of such myths, perhaps, is that finitude or arbitrary limitation is the very essence of life: only God escapes it, and he has ordained the present order.

Throughout Africa, the distinctions between social groups are explained by choices made before God in the beginning of time. The Nyoro (eastern Uganda) say that Kintu, the first human, asked God to assign the fates and names of his three sons. God therefore placed six gifts in their path. The eldest immediately seized the bundle of food and began eating, carrying off what remained with the help of the head ring, grabbing with his free hands the ax and the knife. And so he showed himself to be the ancestral peasant (*kairu*), greedy and impulsive. The second son picked up the leather thong, which was used to tie cattle, so his destiny was that of the herder (*kahuma* or *huma*). And the youngest son took the ox's head, a sign that he was the head, or ruler (*kakama*), of all.

In the countless versions of this fateful gifts myth, found everywhere in sub-Saharan Africa, it is almost always the youngest brother who gets the best fate. God is shown as the determiner of destiny par excellence. And surprisingly, the foolish ancestor who chooses the wrong gift is often the founder of the people who tell the story, an occurrence that was perhaps especially prevalent during the colonial period. In the common topical adaptations of the myth, White Man was the youngest brother, African the eldest. Sometimes cultural distinctions arise out of other kinds of events, however. The Shilluk (southern Sudan) say that when God began to create humans, God made them from light-colored clays, so that the whites emerged. Later, when God's hands were a bit soiled, the red Arabs and Turks were formed. But toward the end, God's hands were so dirty that the black-skinned Shilluk were the result. The Fang of Gabon used to say that in the beginning God lived with his three sons, White Man, Black Man, and Gorilla. But Black Man and Gorilla disobeyed God, so he withdrew to the west coast with his white son and gave all his wealth and power to him. Gorilla retreated into the forest depths, while the unhappy black people followed the sun to the west. There they found the white people, who slowly poisoned them (with malaria). As a result of this contact, they languish now, dying, and thinking of the time when they lived with God and were happy.

MEDIATORS BETWEEN ORDER AND DISORDER. Perhaps the most surprising of the mythic mediators between the primordial flux and the eventual divine order is the trickster. Certainly one part of the meaning of the African trickster is well summarized by the blunt name given him by the Nkundo: Itonde (death). Itonde has many traits linking him to the typical culture hero. Born to the first human couple, Itonde matured rapidly and soon became a ruler. However, he behaved cruelly and rapaciously (giving us a stereotypic image of the bad king); for example, he slaughtered huge numbers of the aboriginal Pygmies. But like so many African culture heroes and archetypal kings, Itonde set himself to conquer all aboriginal powers, including Indombe, the fiery (rainbow?) serpent, ruler of the forest depths and of the Pygmies. As the master of the serpent, Itonde gained possession of the land, while the serpent obediently went down into the river to control the waters and rain at Itonde's bidding.

Among Itonde's other achievements were the creation of the two staple agricultural crops, bananas and sugarcane. Sugarcane is the fruit of two murders. Indombe had killed Itonde's brother, so in revenge Itonde hunted down a surrogate of Indombe. This victim, an anonymous man of the forest, tried to escape by turning into a sugarcane, but Itonde seized him and killed and buried him. From his body sprang sugarcane plants, indicating that sacrificial death is creative.

Itonde's own death, which released his power into the world permanently, came about through the disobedient and selfish desire of a wife for food. Pregnant and gnawed by strange appetites, she demanded a certain rare fruit available only in a dangerous region. When Itonde died seeking it, the waters oozing from his body formed the first marsh rivers (evidently, Itonde and the water serpent Indombe were strangely akin). From his corpse the first maggots emerged. His wife later gave birth to all the other insects, as well as to the six ancestors of the Nkundo and related cultures and, last of all, to Lianja, the ideal king. So from Itonde, the trickster Death, come the essentials of farming culture, including the major food crops and the changing seasons, as well as the main lines of social organization and kingship, with all the suffering and joy that they imply. Human life in its entirety comes from Death.

The Banda (Central African Republic) say that God had two sons, Ngakola, who breathed life into the first human, and Tere, the spirit of excess and confusion. Tere was assigned the task of taking all the animal species and the life-giving waters down from heaven in baskets. But, like the Luba tower builders discussed above, Tere was overeager to announce his gifts to humanity and he beat his drum while still descending. The baskets slipped from his grasp and crashed to earth, scattering all the species and waters. Tere tried to recapture the animals; those he caught became the domestic species and those that escaped changed their original nature and became wild. The same happened with the plants, creating the distinctions between wild and cultivated species. Throughout the Sudanic region figures much like Tere crop up; in the eastern Sudan they sometimes even have the same name. In the area where the central Sudanic savanna merges into the forest of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Bandziri, Yakoma, and Azande call him Tule or

Tore; the Mangbetu speak of their trickster as Azapane and the Babua as Mba; the Manja call him Bele while the Mbuti Pygmies tell tales of Tore.

According to the Mbuti, Tore kept fire and sexuality for himself in the primordial forest; his old mother would warm herself by the fire while he swung through the forest trees like a monkey. Meanwhile the first human couple shivered in the cold, wet undergrowth. Finally, the first man stole the embers of fire from the side of the sleeping woman and raced off into the forest; Tore chased him and recovered the fire several times but at last failed. The old woman died of the cold, transforming herself into the vengeful Mother of the Forest, who ensnares solitary hunters, abducts small children, and rules the dead but who also occasionally blesses chosen hunters with exceptional luck. But Tore, enraged at the theft and the death of his mother, cursed humanity with death. He still roams the forest, especially in the form of the rainbow serpent.

Stories of Tore found among Bantu-speaking peoples may have been influenced by the Pygmy myths; the Azande say that Tore (whom they identify with the spider) gave people water by stealing it from an old woman who had hidden it. He gave them fire, too, although it was the accidental result of a visit to the smith spirits: his loincloth caught fire, and as he fled through the forest he begged the fire to leave him and pass into the trees instead. The fire did so, which is why it emerges now when sticks are rubbed together.

In general, the trickster appears most distinct in West African and Sudanic cultures, but he appears elsewhere, too: in South Africa among the Sotho and Venda as Huveane, a figure who is part god and part culture hero. Some of the San also call the creator of all life Huve; they pray to him in the hunt, and he presides over initiations. Huve may have been borrowed from their Bantu-speaking neighbors, but the Kaggen, or Cagn, of the southern San is clearly their own creator-trickster figure and shows that the basic concepts are native to them. The Bantu Huveane (little Huve) is also the hero of many trivial adventures. Growing up with startling speed, he plays many tricks on his parents and neighbors, but his parents prosper wondrously and the other villagers are beside themselves with rage and jealousy. They conspire to kill him but are constantly made to look like fools. Finally, it is said, Huveane ascended to heaven, but he will return one day to bring happiness and prosperity to humanity.

The favorite trickster of the Bantu-speaking peoples, however, has nothing to do with creation or with the primordial shaping of culture: he is the folkloric Hare (among some cultures, Jackal), prototype of Br'er Rabbit in the tales of Uncle Remus. The primordial and creative roles of the trickster in most Bantu cultures seem to have been absorbed by the general figure of the aboriginal ruler (often monstrous or serpentine) who is defeated by the archetypal king, the second, more refined culture hero, thus establishing human society.

Divination is one of the chief ways of dealing with disorder and generating order out of it. Often the trickster is the primordial diviner as well as the patron of diviners; in particular, the various spider tricksters, which exist in cultures ranging from Mali and Ghana through to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, are almost always associated with divination. The first diviner is a significant figure in many myths. There are several different versions, for example, of how the Ifa or Fa divinatory system (used by the Yoruba of Nigeria and the Fon of Benin, Togo, and Ghana) came to be. A common Yoruba account has it that the supreme being, Ọlọrun, or Olodumare, created two beings to rule the world on his behalf, Ọbatala (also called Oriṣa-nla), demiurge and royal archetype, and Ọrunmila (or Ifa), source of wisdom. *Ọrunmila* signifies "only heaven can affect salvation" and shows that Ọrunmila is, in effect, merely the mouthpiece of God. Ọbatala was killed one day by an evil slave, but Ọrunmila collected his scattered remains together, ordered them, and deposited them throughout the world; from this have arisen the cults to the many *orisha*, the divinities. Ọrunmila moved constantly between heaven and earth in those days, solving problems not only for humanity but even for the *orisha*, who also consulted him. His eight children founded the various Yoruba kingdoms. One day, insulted by one of his children, Ọrunmila withdrew to heaven, and the forces of life ceased to operate on earth: sterility and death affected the fields as well as humanity. (This works to remind that Ọrunmila's constant companion is the trickster Eṣu, a tiny man with a huge phallus, the very image of procreative powers.) The eight children of Ọrunmila came to him in a delegation, begging him to return, but he refused, giving each of them sixteen palm nuts instead. These sixteen nuts composed a person who could be consulted on all questions of life. Ọrunmila was thus present in them.

The Fon of Dahomey explain their Fa system with similar myths. Around Porto Novo, it is said that Fa was a formless or round man without members or bones, so he could not personally do anything. But all the powerful, including the vodoun (gods) revered him like a king. However, the accumulated resentments of those humans who did not like Fa's adherence to absolute truth—or, according to other accounts, the jealousy of Xevioso, the thunder god—led to Fa being sliced to pieces. Those pieces produced a sixteen-branched palm tree or the sixteen palm nuts themselves, from which the immortal Fa still speaks.

The primordial smith is one of the chief mediatory figures in African mythology. The manipulation of creative fires (often associated with the sources of sexual generation) and the working of earth substances into cultural products have often been regarded throughout Africa as a paradigm and repetition of creation. From southern Africa to the westernmost Sudan, the smith is often the presiding elder at initiation ceremonies, the traditional healer called upon to find witches and expel their influences, and the priestly repository of the deepest mysteries. In myths, he is often the chief agent of God on earth, the demiurge who shapes the world and culture, and/or the trickster.

Among the Yoruba, Ogun, the god of iron and patron of smiths, was the first to descend to the earth while it was still a marshy wasteland. He cleared the way for the other gods. But he preferred the wastelands, for there he could hunt, and there he still rules as the deity of hunters and warriors as well as of all artisans. When Ọbatala had finished molding the physical form of the first ancestors, Ogun took over and made the final details, as he did to the whole of creation. He still presides over initiations, for the finishing touches of culture, such as circumcision and the tribal markings of initiation, belong to him. Surgeons must worship him, too, as must all those who make oaths or covenants or undergo judicial ordeals.

The Fali (Cameroon) conceive of the primal ancestor as a smith who descended from heaven on a bean stalk with a chest or box, which escaped from him (much as the baskets escaped from the Banda trickster Tere) and fell to the earth, disintegrating into four triangles. These four divisions contained all the animal and plant species; the initiated know the classes still, although the fall scattered the creatures throughout the earth. Each class has twelve subdivisions. Every aspect of Fali life is ruled by these correspondences and harmonies, putting back into order what the primal smith disordered.

According to the Dogon (Mali), all of the primal spirits, or Nommo, were smiths, masters of creative fire. One of these escaped from heaven and descended to earth on the rainbow with the ark that he had stolen; it contained the fiery essences of all species, ranged in their proper categories. The first ancestors were also in this ark (which is alternately described as a basket, granary, anvil, or womb). The ark was a picture of the entire world system, which according to some Dogon was akin to a living being, a female, mate to the smith. The smith also bore with him his hammer, which represented the male element and contained the seeds of life. The descent of the smith was not an easy one: he had to fight off the other heavenly spirits, who resented his theft. The descent became uncontrolled and ended with a crash, causing the animals, plants, and human groups in the ark to scatter in the four directions, and even breaking the serpentine, flexible limbs of the smith, so that henceforth human beings would have elbows, wrists, hips, knees, and ankles, permitting them to work.

It is said that another primal spirit, in the form of a serpent, immediately engaged the thief in battle but was killed. Its body was given to humanity to eat (or was used as the model for the first cultivated field), while the head was placed under the first smithy forge. Every smithy thereafter is symbolically situated on the head of the primal Nommo-serpent. This serpent is the symbolic mate of the first smith, and the smithing process is a kind of spiritual intercourse in which the beautiful things that are shaped are the symbolic offspring. Every time the smith strikes the anvil with his hammer, generative vibrations go forth that are like the first scattering of the seeds of life; these are shaped by the smith into the forms of culture. The smith is therefore the human embodiment of the demiurge.

The smith, in these myths, has a peculiar link to disorder and the wilderness as well as to culture. He joins both. The Dogon smith is even thought to wander in the bush still, in the form of the pale fox known as Yurugu, or Ogo, the Dogon trickster and patron of divination. So it is not surprising to find that in some cultures smithing is directly revealed to humanity by the spirits of the bush. The LoDagaa (Ghana) teach their middle-level Bagre initiates that in the beginning there were two brothers who were troubled by God until Younger Brother set off to find a solution. Overcoming several obstacles, including the crossing of an impassable river, he passed into a forest where he met with the beings of the wild, the bush spirits who control hunting and fishing even today. They taught him how to be a farmer, to clear the bush and plant grain, to harvest it and to cook it. They also taught him how to make fire, how to forge metal, and even what tools to make. Finally, they revealed how to make a smelter and how to be a smith. Following this, Younger Brother, now the ancestral smith, had a vision of the primal essences of the universe engaged in generative intercourse: the rain mated with the earth. A tree was created by this intercourse, which lifted him to heaven. There God instructed him directly in the mysteries of sexuality and family life.

A major theme in the myths of mediatory figures is creative sacrifice. Such sacrifice often marks the break between the primal era of flux and the following heroic age when the basic elements of the divine order are clearly established. Fittingly, the foundation myths of kingship and other chiefly offices often include an account of how the king sacrificed his main opponent (the aboriginal ruler) or a surrogate of him and thus began his kingly office. The sacrifice equates to the determination of order out of disorder. A common variant has the hero himself sacrificed, so that his spirit may live on in those who possess his regal implements and who fulfill his role (in a kind of eternal spirit possession). So it is with the Dogon priest-chief, the *hogon*, whose career is modeled on the exemplary death and sacrifice of the first *hogon*, Lébé (whose death, in turn, mirrors the sacrifice of the serpent opponent of the first smith). Human sacrifices therefore often marked the installation of kings, and the royal candidate himself might have to go through a symbolic death and resurrection, being killed as a natural human being or aboriginal ruler so that he can be revived as primordial king made flesh. Aged or blemished kings were actually sacrificed in some cultures so that the archetypal royal spirit inhabiting them might be released and be able to take over the offered body of the candidate.

The Shilluk say that their founding king, Nyikang, left his home country and traveled to the Nile. The waters parted, and he walked across on dry land, or, as it is more usually said, a white albino slave bore him across the river (he could not touch the waters himself). The slave, tainted by this sacrilegious contact, was sacrificed on the other side, and Nyikang walked between the two halves of his body, symbolically entering into and possessing the new land. He went on to conquer the native inhabitants and to institute culture, marrying the daughter of the aboriginal chief and so becoming husband to the land she embodied. Some myths claim that Nyikang was the offspring of a waterspirit, the crocodile mother of water creatures; this is why he has control over the rains, the Nile floods, and the fertility of the land. However, when a king's generative powers begin to slacken (his watery semen cease to flow, drought occur, famine or disease spread, etc.), he must disappear and allow the spirit of Nyikang to be passed on intact and unblemished. The ritualized installation of the successor imitates the myth of Nyikang's first conquest of the land, even down to such details as the sacrifice of an albino slave.

The Dinka, neighbors to the Shilluk who share many of their cultural values, are led by spear masters (priests who own the land) and war leaders (metaphorically, younger nephews of the spear masters, their maternal uncles). The various accounts of how the spear masters first appeared agree that in the beginning there was a spirit or ancestor called Aiwel Longar (born, some say, after the river impregnated a human woman). Aiwel Longar was powerful and mischievous even as a child, and he eventually fled hostile human society to live with the river spirit for a time. After he returned, his prosperity made people jealous, for their herds were perishing in a drought. Finally, Aiwel Longar offered to lead all of them to paradisiacal pastures, but they refused and set off on their own. The crucial event of the myth then follows, alike in all versions. Aiwel Longar laid in wait for them at a river, and as they tried to cross it, metaphorically like fish, he speared them as Dinka fishermen spear fish. One leader (differing in name according to the subtribe telling the myth) placed an ox's sacrum on his head as he crossed through the reeds, and Longar's spear was deflected. A substitutionary ox sacrifice was henceforth the basis of cultic ritual. Longar confessed himself beaten and bestowed the powers of the spear masters on the leader who had outwitted him; he also established other major features of culture. In one verison, Longar was speared by God in punishment; his head and body pinned to the ground, Longar joined heaven and earth (just like the spear masters). Thus impaled, Longar promised his help to humanity and disappeared. Spear masters, his embodiments since then, are actually buried alive when they grow too old, releasing their spirits to continue their cultic mediation.

BINARY OPPOSITIONS AND INTERCHANGES. Almost universal in African mythologies is a dialectical interchange between male and female elements to produce the various aspects of the world. A creation myth of the marriage of heaven and earth often lays the groundwork. The Zulu (South Africa) may serve as an example for a closer look.

There has been some controversy concerning the status of uNkulunkulu in Zulu religion, but it appears probable that he is merely a culture hero given demiurge status, while the supreme being should be identified specifically with iNkosi yeZulu, "heavenly lord" (a title rather than a proper name, for one ought not presume to name the great directly, especially within its presence). Edwin W. Smith, in his *African Ideas of God* (1961), observed that while uNkulunkulu was spoken of as creator, it is in terms of his making things below as the agent and slave of God above (p. 108). A praise name of iNkosi yeZulu indicates this priority, which, with the fate-determining power, is one of the chief characteristics of the African supreme being: uZivelele (he who came of himself into being). Prayers used to be offered to iNkosi yeZulu for rain, and when storms were too frightening, rain doctors would pray to the celestial god as follows: "Move away, thou Lord of the Lord, move away, thou greatest of friends, move away, thou . . . Irresistible One!" (Smith, 1961, p. 109). God is also too close in thunderstorms or when the mist veils the earth; then people should stay indoors, for the lightning bird, sent by God, may strike down the guilty or unfortunate.

But if iNkosi yeZulu is self-created, he is also the firstborn of serpentine twins, and the earth is his female twin. The rain is likened to the semen of God (a widespread conception among Bantu-speaking peoples). Every spring the Zulu nation celebrated the nuptials of Heaven and Earth, the latter embodied in the ever-virginal uNomkhubulwana, or iNkosazana. Sometimes also called the daughter of the firstborn, she is said to be everything: river on one side, forest on the other, laden with all kinds of food, and surrounded by mist. The rainbow and the python are both identified with her and are forms of her or her servants; there is a giant python said to dwell in a sacred pool, surrounded by lesser snakes, the metamorphosed ancestral spirits. The python has a special relationship with the rainmaker doctor: when rain is needed, the doctor goes out to a certain rock in the pool in the dead of night. The snake emerges, licks off the fat from sheep or goat skins covering the motionless doctor, and recharges the medicines lying about. They will be used the next day to bring rain. Similarly, diviners are initiated by entering the pool in trance and meeting the great python under water. They may find giant mating serpents ruling there.

The marriage of the mythic archetypes Heaven and Earth provides the basic framework for such beliefs and can be symbolized by the mating of twin water serpents. From this all life originally comes. The ancestors return to dwell with the python being, too. Among some central Bantu-speaking peoples, the entire creation is said to have begun with two mating serpents or from within a giant serpent womb. In any case, the marriage of Heaven and Earth explains the otherwise enigmatic Zulu myth of the origin of humanity: the first ancestral couple emerged from a reed growing in swampland. Myths of the emergence of humanity from underground, or the primeval swamp, usually via a sacred plant or tree, are very common. Initiates throughout Africa are often made to emerge from actual or symbolic underground tunnels and/or to lie gestating beneath certain trees for long periods of time. As Jacqueline Roumeguère-Eberhardt has also shown, the symbolisms of Venda and other South African initiations, in which novices are said to lie within the womb of a great serpent, are precisely repeated in the initiatic symbolisms of such distant peoples as the Fulbe of West Africa. The Dogon also conceptualize the earth as a womb from which the first ancestors emerged via a bamboo. The first couple had been nurtured by serpentine twin spirits, the Nommo, in their underground placental chamber.

Following the mythic era in which Heaven and Earth generated the first forms of life comes the epoch of the culture hero and the founding of culture. Chieftaincy and kingship are legitimated by these myths, which installation rites may reenact. Here, too, the binary oppositions are repeated. They may be represented by the struggle of the culture hero with the forces of the primeval earth. The battle is often resolved by a conquest that is symbolized by a sacrificial rite, and is stabilized by a sexual relationship. Conquest, sacrifice, and sexuality are three powerful metaphors of transformation. For example, the Korekore, a Shona people of Chakoma District (Zimbabwe), say that Nyanhehwe, the ancestral culture hero who settled this area for the Korekore, had to fight the earth serpent Dzivaguru, who ruled the region and laid it to waste. It was a battle of forceful cunning against the magic of the earth, but Dzivaguru finally conceded defeat and even offered to share his mystical powers and medicines before retiring into the mountain pool where his shrine is still located. He also taught Nyanhehwe the social laws and the proper cult for obtaining rain from him. (These events may be compared with the history of Itonde and Indombe among the Nkundo, related earlier.) The culture hero henceforth viewed the earth as his wife, although this is a reciprocally applicable symbolism, since chiefs have had to offer virgins periodically to the spirit as its wives: some maintained the shrine, and some were ritually drowned in the pool. The rainmaker priests who preside over the shrine and its sacrificial cult protect the king mystically and are feminine to him.

Luc de Heusch has shown that throughout the central Bantu-speaking area and beyond, there is a complex mythic pattern involving a culture hero's conquest of a monstrous or uncouth opponent (an elder brother, a savage earlier ruler, or even a magician who turns eventually into a water serpent and goes down to rule the dead and the rains from the depths of a river or pool). The culture hero may be the Sun, who conquers his elder or twin brother, the Moon, thus instituting the primacy of day over night and culture over nature. (Formerly the sun and moon were of equal brightness.)

The Luba explain that the first king was an egalitarian but savage ruler of Pygmies, given to coarse habits and impulsive violence. This king, Nkongolo, who now assumes the form of a rainbow serpent, had two sisters, one of whom married a refined stranger, Mbiti Kiluwe. Mbiti's aristocratic ways shamed Nkongolo, and Mbiti was finally driven away by the king. But the sister gave birth to Mbiti's son, Kalala Ilunga, whom Nkongolo hated almost from his birth; after various conflicts, the king was prevented from attacking his infant rival because the infant had managed to flee to the other side of a river that the king could not cross (many African sacred kings are prohibited from setting foot in water, lest they fuse instantaneously with their true spiritual element, change into a water being, and leave the land and the people without the fertilizing presence of their ruler). This Luba Herod was finally decapitated by Kalala Ilunga, his body placed in the river and his head in a termite mound (termite mounds are generally regarded in central Africa as residences of the dead) or in the king's ritual hut. When the rainbow rises up and unites the body with the head, humanity cannot endure: this is the time of annual summer drought. The Luba also picture the rainbow as mating serpents, Nkongolo committing incest with his sister or heaven uniting with earth. Only when Kalala Ilunga decapitates the serpent and separates the halves of the body can the mediated human order and culture arise, with the gentler fusions of controlled rains aiding the growth of life instead of overwhelming it. So it is possible to sow and reap and depend on the seasonal recapitulation of archetypal myths. The Shilluk concepts outlined earlier belong in the same framework. This is why the death of a sacral king, embodiment of the culture hero, requires the reenactment of the basic symbolisms of the hero myth and even of the primal creation to reconstitute the world and its distinct gradations.

These polar oppositions are repeated endlessly in everyday life and thought. The Ila (Zambia) believe that every human being is shaped in the fiery womb by two tiny serpentine creatures (*bapuka*), an inert male and an active female who molds the semen and menstrual blood into the infant. The Ila homestead is likened to a similar womb in which the mother and father cooperate in procreating and then molding the children. The upper frame of each doorway has two breasts modeled on it and a symbol of fire placed below them, all of which is enclosed in the figure of an undulating serpent. Every granary has the same symbols modeled on it, and a basically similar symbolism controls smithing and even the entire layout of villages.

Examples have thus far been taken primarily from Bantu cultures, but as has been hinted already, similar oppositions appear in West African religions. According to the research of Percy Amaury Talbot in *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria* (1926), the figures of a celestial, fertilizing supreme being and a chthonic generative earth mother are encountered throughout this region and in nearly every tribe. There is often a direct cult to the supreme being, but the earth mother, as the nearest intermediary to God or, indeed, even as God herself, is more emphasized. God may be addressed as male in certain spheres and female in others. The people of the Nike region among the Igbo hold Chukwu to be the maker of everything, the one who divided the cosmos into two parts: the female Earth (Ani) and the male Sky (Igwe). Both reflect Chukwu. Each is in turn divided into two parts by the east-west travel of the (male) Sun and the south-north travel of the (female) Moon, creating not only the four directions but also the four days of the Igbo week. So, as in many cultures of the region, a constantly redoubled binary opposition shapes all levels of life. Villages in the Nike region are spatially and socially divided into upper celestial indigenes and lower earthly immigrants. Some villages extend this into a quadruple division. Even the most abstract expressions of southern Nigerian thought, such as the Ifa divinatory system, are shaped out of the doubled and redoubled combinations of male and female potencies, the father and mother creating the four spirits of the cardinal points, and these children creating the rest of the sixteen primal signs. These three generations, in their further interaction, generate the total of 256 signs, each of which represents some element of reality.

R. S. Rattray, in *Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*, a survey of indigenous cultures in the interior of modern Ghana, found the identification of the earth with a wife of the celestial supreme being without exception in all ethnic groups of the area, and her cult is central to the religions there. Sacrifices to her at tree shrines (the forest and the earth being identified) punctuate the seasonal calendar. The dead dwell with her. These ethnic groups also have earth priests as the heads of their clans, appointed from the direct descendants of the aboriginal settlers of the region. The legitimacy of kings who have invaded and conquered local peoples rests on their ritualized good relations with the earth priests. Often, however, chieftaincy and priesthood are merged in the same person (as in the case of the Dogon *hogon*). There is also a very sharp distinction made between the spirits of the cultivated fields and those of the bush. The Ashanti themselves, with their associated cultures, distinguish between Asase Afwa, earth mother of the cultivated fields, and Asase Yaa, her jealous sister of the underworld.

Many of the myths of these cultures deal with the question of how the wilderness emerged out of the garden of the primal era and came to almost overwhelm the scattered human settlements of the present. For from the beginning God intended for the world to be a tilled garden without bloodshed, work, hunting, or sorrow.

The Bambara (Mali), a Mande people of the western Sudanic region who formerly ruled a vast empire, developed their answer in astonishing detail and profundity. Only the general outlines of their cosmogonic myth may be sketched here because it is complex and exists in many versions. In the beginning, pure consciousness, or nothingness (*yo*), sought to know itself. Two mighty efforts at this task in succession formed two androgynous demiurges. The first, Pemba, contained all potentialities in still inchoate form, while the second, Faro, brought these potentialities into clear harmony and realization. Faro designed and created the heavens and the earth and eventually created the first human couple, distinct male and female, to counter the violent and clumsy sexual dualism created by Pemba. Pemba, seeking to rule over all, had planted himself in the earth as the first tree and generated from it a feminine being, the deformed woman Mousso Koroni Koundyé. Thus Pemba wrenched from himself his female half and together with it in bloody and violent intercourse generated all plants and animals. When Faro created humans, Pemba sought to rule them too, especially lusting after the women. Mousso Koroni Koundyé went mad with frustrated longing and jealousy and roamed the wastelands (as she still does), struggling to create life all by herself with the first crude agriculture. She also circumcised and excised all humans she met so that they would share her mutilations and pain, and to spite Pemba she told them his secrets. Thus the initiation cults were founded.

When Mousso Koroni Koundyé was no longer pregnant, she menstruated, thus bequeathing this to women as well. She polluted the earth, creating the true wilderness from this pollution, and then she died, thus introducing death into the world. Faro had to intervene and restore order to the universe; he overcame Pemba and taught the proper ways of farming in order to purify the earth from Mousso Koroni Koundyé. He revealed true speech and culture and reformed the cults. Blacksmiths continue to embody him in the world and, as such, they preside over initiations. Faro dwells in the terrestial and celestial waters, purifying and fertilizing the earth. The purpose of farming and of human domestic and cultural life is to cooperate with Faro in extending purity and divine order throughout the world, regenerating and transforming it.

An oddly similar answer to the problem of wilderness, as it may be called (the African form of the problem of evil, in a way), is given by the Fali (Cameroon), a people who live far from the Bambara. They believe that the universe is the result of the energies spiraling from two cosmic eggs. One, of the female toad (a water creature, cold and wet), spun to the west, like the sun; the other, of the male tortoise (a creature of dry land) spun to the east. These were twins. Within each egg, the contents turned in the opposite direction from the shell, constituting a kind of intercourse of male seed and female moisture, the twins within each egg. When the eggs touched, they shattered and projected outward two square earths (one black, the other red), each containing a half of all plant and animal life. The Tortoise aligned and joined the two earths so that they stopped spinning and were still. The eastern sector was the human, domesticated world, but the wilderness of the west was ruled by the black dog being, the smith. Descending from heaven the smith had touched down with the dawn in the east and planted the eight main grains in the center of the world. In this he obeyed God, for hunting had been forbidden; but he loved to hunt and eventually ignored God's command. So a drought came, forcing the smith to ascend to heaven. God lowered a new ark containing the seeds of life to the earth, but the evil smith again intervened, cutting the vine stalk and causing the ark to fall into a sterile land where it shattered into four parts (as recounted in an earlier section). So the world now stands, with the wilderness surrounding the habitations of humanity everywhere.

The task of the Fali is to re-create the original harmony of the two eggs and the balances established in the ark. The society is divided into two intermarrying clans—the Tortoise and Toad—and their interrelations must be in accord with the divine plan. Relations between husband and wife are also shaped by this motive. Every house is built so as to duplicate the ark, every village is laid out with this in mind, and the slightest rules of social and political life are structured in terms of the creation myth. Despite the false start given to culture by the evil smith (who continues to govern the wild), human life is directed by the desire to limit the disintegrations of chaos.

A penetrating point made by these myths is that human culture is not only shaped by a divine order or revelation but is also the product of a divine misdirection and perversity. The very cult that humanity celebrates is in part based on falsehood, a falsehood of the spirits. The myth of the Bagre initiation cult, among the LoDagaa, actually stresses this point explicitly several times: present life and even the cult is the product of the lies and tricks of God and the bush spirits. Nonetheless it remains a (generally) effective cult, and to preserve the ancestral beauties of this pitiful human condition, it must continue. The culture hero and trickster myths are illuminated by such unsentimental and unflinching comments.

COSMIC EGG AND PRIMAL WORD: THEOSOPHICAL MYTHS. As the above accounts indicate, many Sudanic and West African religions contain astonishing speculations known only to the higher ranks of the initiated. These speculations must often be called theosophical, for they attempt to describe the inner unfolding of the divine life itself, God's internal history, which is identified often enough with the universe's own coming-to-be. In two long articles Germaine Dieterlen (1955 and 1959) tried to show that a common myth is found throughout the western Sudan, among the peoples of the Niger River and beyond (especially those influenced by the Mande cultures). It involves the evolution of the world from the cosmic egg made by God (this egg may also be likened to an infinitesimal seed of the most ritually important crop). The cosmic egg contains twins, one of which comes out of the egg prematurely (thus making of itself an inauthentic elder brother); this would-be creator makes a bad world in which confusion and passion predominate. To regenerate the world, God sacrifices the younger (but authentically elder) twin, creating out of it an elaborately structured but perfectly harmonious order. Humanity must duplicate this order in all things. These religions give prominence to water spirits and center on fishing and agriculture; hunting is viewed negatively. Some of these cultures equate the cosmic egg to the primal word or speech uttered by God, which progressively unfolds through various stages of vibration into this perceptual universe.

A massive work by Viviana Pâques, *L'arbre cosmique*, has not only given substance to Dieterlen's claim but has also extended it in surprising directions. The myths outlined by Dieterlen are discovered in a multitude of forms extending from the Niger into the Muslim world of North Africa, preserved as a kind of pagan mystery in secret black brotherhoods, among those brought as slaves into the Muslim world. In the isolated oases of the Sahara, which have gone through millennia of internal development and gradual cultural blending, these myths are held by nonblack societies as well, despite Muslim pressures. For example, on the Fezzan oasis, the pre-Muslim Garamantes lived from prehistoric times, slowly absorbing other peoples (including black Africans from the entire Sudanic savanna) while maintaining their own culture; they were also deeply affected by Egyptian influences and, perhaps shared common Saharan motifs with prehistoric Egyptian societies. Their cosmogony was suggested in the sacrifice of a ram divided into forty-eight parts (made up of two halves, each composed of four times six pieces). This sacrifice, enacted at all personal and seasonal rites, commemorated the primordial sacrifice of the ancestral smith or serpentine water spirit who brought culture to them. The reason for the multiples of four and six is that four was considered male and three female, and the world is woven of the two together. This myth presented the key to the rhythms of the heavenly bodies, the seasons of the year, clothes, territorial structures, political and social divisions, and much else.

Some Sudanic cultures in northern Ghana, Burkina Faso, and Mali have had the reputation of, in pre-colonial times, offering human sacrifices at crucial times that required enactments of the myth. Virginal girls were preferred, but albinos were also acceptable. The name of the mythic sacrificial victim in southern Tunisia is Israel, suggesting the adaptation of the myth by Berber tribes formerly converted to Judaism. When sacrificed in heaven, Israel, also known as the angel ʿAzraʾel, is reconstituted in the world below as the sacred community of the Twelve Tribes and also as the plan of the cultivated field. More Muslim versions make Israel into the bush-trickster figure, illustrating again the historical adaptations of what is apparently a fundamental Saharan mythic structure. One of the most striking authentically sub-Saharan expressions of these conceptions is the mythology of the Dogon.

DOGON MYTHOLOGY. Of all cultures in Africa, it is of the Dogon of Mali on which exists the most voluminous and profound data relating to mythic themes. In the first years spent among them, Marcel Griaule and his students merely confirmed the impression of earlier observers that the Dogon possessed a rich ritual but only an impoverished mythology. These alleged characteristics of the Dogon were consistent with other descriptions of African cultures made by Europeans. The cult was pragmatic, directed to the clan ancestors (*binu*) and the nature spirits who resided especially in the streams (Nommo). The regional priest who presided over these cults, the *hogon*, was said to be the descendant of the first ancestral chief, Lébé, who led the people to Dogon territory. The *hogon* was, in particular, the high priest to Amma, the supreme being, and he had the standing of a chief, governing the region together with the clan elders. In an early work, Dieterlen related one of the few myths collected: in the beginning Amma dwelt with humans and they served him. When a Muslim refused to get him a drink of water, Amma decided to withdraw to heaven; but because a Dogon rushed to serve him, God revealed the present cult, by which he could be reached through his servant spirits, to the Dogon. (As known, myths of this sort, recalling the personal fateful encounters with God in the beginning, are perhaps the most universal of African mythic themes and are shared even by hunter-gatherers such as the central African Pygmies.)

In 1947, however, after fifteen years of fieldwork, Griaule was approached by Ogotemmêli, a blind elder of the Dogon, and rewarded for his many years of service to the people by the revelation of a totally unexpected world of myth, a world accessible only to initiated Dogon men. Griaule recorded this revelation in *Conversations with Ogotemmêli.* The symbolic depth, complexity, and length of this mythic narrative evoked irresistible parallels to ancient Egyptian mythology and to Christianity. Griaule discovered, for example, that the Muslim-caused withdrawal of God was merely a childish fable; in fact, Amma created the earth in the beginning, in the form of a woman. He cohabited with her to produce the Nommo, who came forth as bisexual twins. Even today the rain and the watery copper rays of the sun are like heaven's semen, generating life throughout the earth. The Nommo, masters of life force and of all wisdom, continue to govern the fertility of the world from their watery residences. Their eight seeds are carried by every human being, shaping sexual procreativity. The first eight ancestors of humanity were produced by the marriage of heaven and earth and nurtured underground by the twin Nommo. However, the first Nommo to be created, Yurugu, had no twin and was not bisexual but male; his frustrated passion for completion (not stopping even at the theft of an ark, or womb of creation, and incest with Mother Earth) threatened to disorder the whole of God's creation. God therefore exiled him to the bush, where he roams still as a jackal, but, oddly, he remains the patron of divination. To cleanse the earth of the pollution introduced by the jackal trickster, God took the last of the eight created Nommo and sacrificed him in heaven; his blood fell upon the earth as a sanctifying rain, and cleansed it, permitting life to continue.

The first human, Lébé, reduplicated the cosmic sacrifice here on earth, for he was swallowed and regurgitated by a Nommo serpent being. Lébé thus established the sacred role of chieftaincy and the cultic importance of sacrifice. Everything in human culture mirrors the primal form of Lébé and the dynamic of sacrifice, which through its transformations restores the world to the ideal form of the ark and its Nommo progenitor. The parts of houses, the sections of a family compound, the layout of a village, and the relations within the clan, all mirror the primal male and female. The female twin to the eighth Nommo still regularly visits the *hogon* in the shrine, licking him all over in the dead of night so as to regenerate his sacred energies before returning, in serpentine form, to the river. Everything in life is controlled by twinness, by male and female together. The *hogon* represents the interaction of both of these principles, and that is why he is the chief and high priest.

Griaule and his students found in these astonishing myths a complete key to Dogon culture, governing even the smallest details of everyday life. However, as it turned out, there are grades of initiation in Dogon culture, and as the years passed Griaule was introduced to deeper and deeper levels. He discovered that the universe did not actually first emerge from the marriage of Heaven and Earth, as so many other African religions held, but that there was an evolution from a cosmic egg or seed, similar to the fonio seed, which is the center of so much of the agricultural ritual of the Dogon. This egg contained four twinned couples, the quintessential elements of creation. The distorted nature of Yurugu was due to his premature attempt to break out of the cosmic egg before his brothers and sisters and to make of the placental egg itself (the universal matrix) his female consort—in short, to rule the universe. To restore the disturbed harmony of the cosmos, God permitted it to be expanded via the ark into this earth. Thus by building houses and villages and plowing their fields on the model of the cosmic egg or ark, humanity regenerates the harmonies of creation. This can only be done through knowledge of the initiatic truths; wisdom and serene insight are necessary to save or sanctify the world properly. This alone is the proper service of God.

In his last, posthumously published, magnum opus on Dogon mythology (written with Dieterlen), *Le renard pâle*, Griaule revealed that the cosmic egg was not the deepest secret of creation. Beyond that the wisest Dogon taught the mysteries of the primal word spoken by Amma, from which the entire universe emanated and which the universe reproduces. The egg may be taken as a symbolism of this deeper process. The primordial word or utterance is, in fact, Amma (God). It has, when truly spoken, eight syllables or cosmic vibrations, which became the twinned Nommo. All things echo these eight vibrations: there are eight kinds of insects, plants, animals, parts of houses and of human bodies, musical tones and modes, dialects of the Dogon language, and so on. Language—and consciousness itself—is the pivot of the universe. The wisest Dogon cultivate a meditative silence, attuning themselves to the divine utterance, which continues to be spoken and to generate the universe and all details in it. Yurugu, whose true name is Ogo, whose true animal form is that of the pale fox (not the jackal)—and who is also linked to the spider—actually serves God in ceaselessly transforming things and introducing change; this brings the universe nearer to perfection. The primal sacrifice of the youngest Nommo is part of the same process. In short, the myths of lower levels of initiation are all taken up again in this most esoteric version and subsumed under it as later, more materialized stages in the cosmic history.

Because the deepest wisdom centers on speech and its vibrations within the cosmic consciousness, Dogon sages developed the essentials of a script. Each of the first eight Nommo vibrations, for example, could be represented by a shape, rather similar in form to the Arabic letters. Dogon elders could show how these flowing shapes branched, diversified, and took material form as all the actual things of this world, stage by stage. In effect, this so-called illiterate culture had a form of writing. The priests would trace words into the foundations of altars and houses before building any further; the words contained the essence, of which the material things were the less perfect form.

Ironically, the most archaic and universally distributed types of mythic themes are preserved by the Dogon as childish folk tales or exoteric, ad hoc, and topical tales (as in the story of the Muslim and God's withdrawal). Each successive level of esotericism concerns a more recent cultural synthesis. The most esoteric myths evidently represent a response to the challenge of literate civilization, but unlike the topical and episodic response on the exoteric folk level, this response is thoroughly thought through and integrated with the entirety of Dogon culture by its sages. Each challenge is treated as a kind of revelation of deeper metaphysical realities guiding the universe, demanding a whole cultural response instead of a fragmentary one. The Dogon elders have been in the forefront of harmonious and constructive change, contrary to the European view of them as unchanging conservatives. The deep functional and spiritual relevance of myth and worldview could hardly be demonstrated more dramatically than in this process.

SEE ALSO Bambara Religion; Dogon Religion; Nuer and Dinka Religion; Southern African Religions, article on Southern Bantu Religions; Tricksters, article on African Tricksters; Zulu Religion.

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Interesting books devoted to the myths of particular cultures include Axel-Ivar Berglund's *Zulu Thought-Patterns and Symbolism* (London, 1976); Daniel P. Biebuyck's studies of the hero epics of the Nyanga of Zaire, *The Mwindo Epic from the Banyanga (Congo Republic)* (Berkeley, Calif., 1969) and *Hero and Chief: Epic Literature from the Banyanga, Zaire Republic* (Berkeley, Calif., 1978); Jack Goody's *The Myth of the Bagre* (Oxford, 1972); Marcel Griaule's *Conversations with Ogotemmêli,* translated by Robert Redfield (London, 1965), and *Le renard pâle* (Paris, 1965); Melville J. Herskovits's *Dahomey: An Ancient West African Kingdom*, 2 vols. (New York, 1938); E. Bolaji Idowu's *Olódùmarè: God in Yoruba Belief* (London, 1962); Randall M. Packard's *Chiefship and Cosmology* (Bloomington, Ind., 1981); R. S. Rattray's *Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland* (London, 1932); Percy Amaury Talbot's *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria* (London, 1926); and Roy Willis's *A State in the Making: Myth, History and Social Transformation in Pre-Colonial Ufipa* (Bloomington, Ind., 1981).

Comparative and analytical studies of African mythology have been pursued especially by French and German scholars. A brilliant structuralist analysis of the myths of central Bantu-speaking peoples is Luc de Heusch's *The Drunken King, or The Origin of the State* (Bloomington, Ind., 1982); de Heusch extends his analysis to political myths of Rwandan kings and to southern African myths and rites in *Mythes et rites bantous*, vol. 2, *Rois nés d'un coeur de vache* (Paris, 1982). Particularly valuable for an understanding of West African mythology is Germaine Dieterlen's *Les âmes des Dogon* (Paris, 1941); her two articles in *Journal de la Société des Africanistes* concerning the common mythic structure found throughout the western Sudanic region, "Mythe et organisation au Soudan Français," vol. 25, nos. 1–2 (1955): 39–76, and "Mythe et organisation sociale en Afrique occidentale," vol. 29, nos. 1–2 (1959): 119–138, are also useful. Viviana Pâques's work *L'arbre cosmique dans la pensée populaire et dans la vie quotidienne du Nord-ouest Africain* (Paris, 1964), uses Dieterlen's analysis and applies it in interesting ways to a wider geographical region.

Somewhat outdated but still very informative historical and comparative analyses of African creation myths are two works by Hermann Baumann, *Schöpfung und Urzeit des Menschen im Mythus der afrikanischen Völker* (Berlin, 1936) and *Das Doppelte Geschlecht* (Berlin, 1955); the latter work surveys mythologies of other continents as well. Harry Tegnaeus's *Le Héros civilisateur* (Stockholm, 1950) concerns African culture heroes. Robert D. Pelton's *The Trickster in West Africa* (Berkeley, Calif., 1980) takes a phenomenological approach and primarily discusses the Ashanti, Yoruba Fon, and Dogon tricksters. Jürgen Zwernemann's *Die Erde in Vorstellungswelt und Kultpraktiken der sudanischen Völker* (Berlin, 1968) deals with the image of the earth mother and the earth spirits in Sudanic myth and cult, with a brief survey of other African cultures as well. Jacqueline Roumeguère-Eberhardt's *Pensée et société africaines* (Paris, 1963) links Sudanic and southern African myths and cultures in a fascinating study of serpent myths, initiation rites, and cosmology. A good discussion of the role of the serpent, and of other symbolic creatures, in African mythologies can be found in Bohumil Holas's *Les* *dieux d'Afrique noire* (Paris, 1968). Holas is also an authority on the esoteric myths of a number of the cultures of the Ivory Coast and Guinea, such as the Bété; these are discussed as well.

An elaborate analysis of African myths concerning the origin of death, focusing on specific themes or traits and their geographical dispersion, is Hans Abrahamsson's *The Origin of Death* (Uppsala, Sweden, 1951). Valuable discussions of hero myths and legends are contained in Isadore Okpewho's *The Epic in Africa* (New York, 1979) and *Myth in Africa* (London, 1983). The latter work, graced with an excellent bibliography, is really a methodological study; despite its name it does not study the myths of Africa but instead reviews modern theories of myth and African folklore, advancing its own approach using examples from African mythology. It is particularly helpful in discussing the roles and uses of myth in modern African literature and general culture.

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EVAN M. ZUESSE (1987)
Revised Bibliography

AFRICAN RELIGIONS: NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

Modern African religious movements are best understood if interpreted as creative and innovative responses to the historically unprecedented levels of upheaval and change in every area of life—cultural, economic, environmental, social, political, and religious—that followed the imposition of colonial rule, beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century. The primary aim of these movements has not been to return in fundamentalist fashion to the past and remain there but rather to review critically the traditional cultural and religious processes with a view to constructive engagement with the new.

Although the focus here is on modern African movements of Christian, Muslim, and neotraditional derivation, or combinations thereof, to illustrate something of the range and variety of Africa's modern religious tapestry, there is also discussion of modern religious movements that have entered Africa from abroad including those created by African diaspora communities, neo-Hindu movements, Buddhist-Shintō healing movements from Japan, and secular religions from the West.

TYPOLOGIES. Modern African movements vary greatly doctrinally, structurally, and liturgically, and Bryan R. Wilson's (1973) system of classification is possibly the most suitable for dealing with this variety, primarily because it is free of theological, organizational, historical, and cultural bias. Wilson's typology is based on movements' responses to the world and interpretations of the sources of evil and how it is to be overcome. From this perspective modern African religious movements can be fit with one or a combination of Wilson's seven types of modern or new religious movements: These are: (1) the conversionist response, which insists that individual and collective salvation can only come about through a profound, supernaturally wrought transformation of the self; (2) the revolutionist response, which believes that evil can only be overcome and salvation assured by divine action, thus no subjective change however profound will affect the state of the world for the better; (3) the introversionist response, which seeks salvation by withdrawing to a separate, purified community set apart from what is perceived to be an irredeemably evil world; (4) the manipulationist or gnostic response, which seeks salvation and the conquest of evil though the acquisition of the right means and techniques to deal with the problems of life; (5) the thaumaturgical response, which relies chiefly on miracles and oracles to attain salvation, which is identified as something specific such as the relief from a particular illness; (6) the reformist response, which aspires under divine guidance to overcome evil and save the world by transforming existing social structures and arrangements; and (7) the utopian response, which aims to reconstruct the world according to a set of divine principles that, if correctly applied, will result in the establishment of a world without evil. The main limitations of Wilson's typology are its inability to capture the dynamics of religious change and development movements undergo and their espousal of more than one orientation simultaneously.

Harold Turner's typology (1991), which is based on different kinds of criteria (doctrinal, organizational, and historical) uses the term *neo-primal* to refer to modern movements that seek to remain close to the traditional religion—albeit in a discriminating manner by rejecting certain elements such as magic and, at the same time, making monotheism the core of their belief systems. Turner's second category is the *hebraist* movement, so defined because members believe themselves to be descendants of the ancient Israelites and place great store by biblical prophecies. His label *synthetist* covers those modern religious movements that developed from a combination of traditional and Christian elements, examples include the African Independent Churches or African Initiated Churches (AICs). The last of Turner's categories is the *deviationist*, which he applies to churches and religious movements that give the appearance of being Christian or Islamic but deviate markedly from these religions in fundamentals. Turner's system of classification has little application to non-Christian movements, and this makes it increasingly less useful as the scope of religious innovation and interaction expands to include not only increasing numbers of modern Muslim and neotraditional movements in Africa but many new Asian religions as well.

Roy Wallis's (1984) typology of modern or new religions into world-denying or world-rejecting, world-indifferent, and world-affirming types, although widely used, requires considerable refinement. The world-indifferent category is largely redundant, and the world-affirming category would make a better fit with the response to the world of the modern religions of Africa and elsewhere if replaced by world-transforming.

AICs in Southern Africa and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. AICs were as much concerned with transforming both mission church Christianity and traditional religion and culture as the preservation of the latter. A brief account of a select number of southern AICs illustrates this. However, first a word about Bengt Sundkler's (1970, pp. 52ff.) terminology. He describes the AICs of southern Africa as either Ethiopian or Zionist. The former are AICs that seceded from white mission churches chiefly on racial grounds or those that, although sharing the same concern for African-led churches, are also keenly motivated by the desire for African leadership. The term Zionist is applied by Sundkler to those AICs of southern Africa that refer to themselves as *ama-Ziyoni* (Zionist; the meaning has nothing to do with the Jewish Zionist movement), pointing to their origins in Zion City, Illinois, where the millenarian Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion was founded in 1896 by John Alexander Dowie. This church teaches divine healing, baptism by triune immersion (preferably in a river), and the imminence of the second coming of Jesus and holds tenaciously to the flat Earth theory. As will be seen, Zionist and Ethiopian churches shared many common features. Both demanded greater autonomy and placed great stress on the veneration of ancestors and rituals of purification.

One of the earliest, largest, and most influential of southern Africa's AICs is the amaNazaretha (Nazareth or Nazirite Baptist Church) founded in Zululand, South Africa, in 1913. The aims and ideology of this AIC are paradigmatic of AICs in general. Its founder Mdlimawafa Mloyisa Isaiah Shembe (1867–1935), once a member of the African Native Baptist Church, which had seceded from the white-led Baptist Church, believed in the idea of continuous divine revelation and guidance through dreams and visions. He interpreted sacramental rites as essentially rites of purification (ashes were retained as purgative symbols), modeled his mission on that of the prophet John the Baptist, and forbade the use of Western medicine, believing instead in healing through faith and blessed water.

The amaNazaretha and other AICs also introduced liturgical changes. For example, the sacred wooden drum, seen by mission churches as a separatist symbol, became the main instrument in worship. Also radically changed was the import of the hymn, which was transformed from a verse about certain religious ideas into a sacred rhythm expressed through the medium of sacred dance. AICs were not simply bridge builders between the new religious culture and the old but sought to transform both. Just as the meaning of hymns was changed so was the meaning of traditional dance festivals, which were turned into major liturgical innovations both to deepen (as in the case of the Zulu) awareness of oppression and colonization and to promote greater awareness of their status as God's chosen people. The realized eschatology of the amaNazaretha emphasizes this last point by declaring that the holy mountains of Inhlangakazi, eighty miles from Durban, and Ekuphakameni (the elated place), nearer Durban, are God's most desirable earthly temples and the location of paradise on Earth.

Despite the harassment and persecution from governments, several AICs developed into highly complex organizations with considerable assets. Among the largest and most structurally complex is the Kimbanguist Church (Église de Jesus Christ sur la Terre par Le Prophète Simon Kimbangu; EJCSK), founded in 1921 in what was at the time known as Belgian Congo, later Zaire, and finally the Democratic Republic of the Congo, by Simon Kimbangu (c. 1887–1951). Kimbangu, like Shembe, was selective in his approach to tradition and preaching (e.g., against the use of traditional rituals to combat evil forces). However, unlike Shembe, he stressed the importance of monogamy and spoke of the duty to obey the government. Like AICs generally, the EJCSK lays great store in purification rituals and the use of blessed water for healing and protection. Like many churches of the western African Aladura movement (independent churches characterized by prayer, divine healing, and baptism in the Holy Spirit), the EJCSK has become a huge enterprise with schools, hospitals, factories, and commercial companies.

Although generally not overtly political, AICs often made colonial governments nervous by their wide appeal. Kimbangu's popularity and growing following were such that the colonial government decided to have him court marshaled without any defense in 1921 on charges that included sedition and hostility to whites. Found guilty, Kimbangu was sentenced to 120 lashes and death—a penalty that was commuted to life in solitary confinement in Lumumbashi, two thousand kilometers from his home in the village of Nkamba in the western region of what is now known as the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Kimbangu's remains were reinterred at Nkamba (then called Nkamba-Jerusalem), an important place of pilgrimage, in 1960. The EJCSK operated underground until 1959, six months before independence, when it received official recognition.

AICs are to be found in great numbers elsewhere in southern, central and eastern Africa. In Kenya alone there are over two hundred AICs with several million members between them; the largest of these is the African Independent Pentecostal Church, founded in 1925 and composed mostly of Gikuyu. Also predominantly Gikuyu is the African Orthodox Church, which is under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Alexandria.

AICs in West Africa. As in southern Africa, the pursuit of independence in church matters began in West Africa as early as the late 1880s, the point in time when many of the historic or mission churches began to abandon their goal of establishing self-governing, self-supporting African churches. In the 1890s the decision to remove the Nigerian-born Anglican bishop of the Niger Delta, Samuel Ajayi Crowther, from his post fueled the drive for ecclesiastical autonomy. The investigation and subsequent dismissal by the London-based Church Missionary Society of Crowther had the psychological effect of putting on trial the capacity of a whole race to govern itself.

By this time many African Christians were already questioning the predominantly European leadership of the Christian churches—opposed at the outset by the Church Missionary Society, the missionary wing of the Anglican Church—and began to form their own denominations. In 1888 in Lagos, Nigeria, the African Baptist Church split off from American Baptist Missionary Society over the question of leadership. African spiritual and cultural identity were also pressing issues. Opposition grew over the imposition of European names at baptism, the wearing of European dress, the exclusive use of European musical instruments and the English language in worship, and to solely white icons of Christ. The West Indian Edward Wilmot Blyden, an educator and Christian pastor in Nigeria at the time, implored mission church Christianity to take a lesson from Muslims on how to adapt Christianity to Africa by, for example, respecting (at least for the foreseeable future) such important social and economic institutions as polygamy.

Also questioned was the missionary claim to be the sole guardians and defenders of immutable moral laws, including those that imposed monogamous marriages, which were perceived to amount to foreign social arrangements. A Nigerian founding member of the African Baptist Church, Mojola Agbebi (baptized David Vincent), expressed the anxieties over cultural and personal identity and the undermining of African self-esteem in his attack on the foreign character of mission church Christianity: "Hymn books, harmonium, dedications, pew constructions, surpliced (sic) choir, the white man's names, the white man's dress, are so many non-essentials, so many props and crutches affecting the religious manhood of the Christian Africans" (cited in Clarke, 1986, p. 160).

The most successful AIC in the early twentieth century in West Africa was led by the Liberian Grebo prophet William Wade Harris (c. 1850–1920). Harris's this-worldly interpretation of Christian baptism as the most effective remedy for both moral and social evil, his preaching of a gospel of prosperity, and his allowing full participation to the polygamous, thereby alleviating the social and economic distress of conversion, account for his success and made for a clear contrast with the more socially and economically disruptive approach of mission church Christianity, widely known as the "Church of children."

Mission church Christianity attempted to counter the success of Harris and other local prophets by labeling them as charlatans and sorcerers. Although he could be strongly critical of traditional customs and religious practices, Joseph William Egyanka Appiah, the founder of the Musamo Christo Disco Church (also known as Army of the Cross of Christ Church), a Ghanaian spiritist church, was dismissed as a sorcerer by the Methodist Church in Ghana. Appiah preached an apocalyptic message mostly derived from the Old Testament. Following the biblical account of *Exodus,* one of his first acts on constructing the Holy City of Mozano, where he took the name Prophet Jemisimiham, was to smear the entrances to the homes of his followers with the blood of a sacrificed animal.

Nothing was predictable and permanent about the history and development of AICs. Often they began not as sects but as movements within the mission churches only eventually to become independent. In some cases, movements that became sectarian, such as the Native Baptist Church in Nigeria, would later be reintegrated into the main body. The Aladura movement in Nigeria began within the Anglican Church at the end of World War I. Warned in a dream that the world would be ravaged by the influenza epidemic, the Nigerian Anglican pastor Joseph Shadare from St. Saviour's Church in the city of Ijebu Ode, joined with a young teacher, Sophia Adefobe Odunlami, to combat the epidemic through the means of blessed water and prayer. In 1920 they formed the Precious Stone-Faith Tabernacle prayer association, which marked the beginnings of the Aladura or prayer movement in Yorubaland.

The Aladura stress on the power of prayer to heal resonated with traditional ideas. Just as early Yoruba Christians, known as Onigbagbo, believed that faith in Jesus bestowed on them "word power" that would affect what they prayed for, traditionalists believed that the chanting of the invocations recommended by the *babalawo* (diviner) would resolve problems of health, relationships, material distress, and so on.

The Aladura movement—in most respects indistinguishable from the southern African AICs—changed the situation of believers from that of passive to engaged participants and soon became widely associated with empowerment. The principal vehicles in the spreading of the movement were local prophets, including Christianah Abiodun Emanuel (1907–198?), also known as Captain Abiodun Emmanuel, who were hailed by followers as direct evidence of the Gospel's authority. Like Kimbangu, these prophets were perceived by the colonizers as potential threats to the stability of the colonial order. Some of these prophets, such as the founder of the Church of the Lord (Aladura), Josiah Oshitelu (1902–?) were directly political and spoke out against unlawful taxation by foreign rulers and against price increases and issued warnings of the dire consequences to come if whites continued to oppress blacks.

The Aladura response to mission church Christianity and traditional religion was selective. The Aladura Cherubim and Seraphim movement, for example, retained the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, Sunday worship, and several of the sacraments. Differences were obvious in worship, however.

Aladura churches encouraged the practice of hand clapping, stamping on the ground—a way of obtaining spiritual power, prosperity and peace—drumming, and demonstrations of the efficacy of sacred words through such exclamations as hallelujah, hosanna, and *iye* (life). Few, however, went as far as the World Christian Soldiers Church, a Kenyan (mainly Luo) movement, founded in 1942, which required all members to use musical instruments in worship. With regard to traditional religion, bans were imposed on the eating of pork, the meat of an animal that had not been slaughtered, the ritual drinking of the blood of animals (a practice acceptable to traditionalists), and the use of alcohol and tobacco.

While colonialism, aided by mission church Christianity, was hastening the process of the decoupling of traditional beliefs from the traditional political, economic, and moral structures to which they had for so long lent plausibility, the rise and rapid growth of the Aladura movement and AICs generally reveal—despite each one being composed mostly of one ethnic group—a preoccupation on an Africa-wide basis with the cultural moral, social, and spiritual limitations of imposed forms of religion in a colonial context.

POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE AND MODERN MOVEMENTS. New religions and churches continued to emerge in Africa as independence approached as well as since independence was achieved (between 1957 and 1973 for most countries). Started mostly by charismatic leaders or prophets, one of the more striking characteristics of many of the modern movements has been their stridently apocalyptic and millenarian preaching, which has brought them into conflict with the newly independent governments. This was the history of the Lumpa church in Zambia founded by the Bemba prophetess Alice Lenshina (c. 1919–1978) in 1954. Claiming to have been entrusted by God with the secret of success, which the whites had hidden from Africans, and to have been raised up to prepare the world for the second coming of Jesus, Lenshina built the New Zion in the village of Kasomo. A nervous government was suspicious of this burgeoning state within the state, which opposed taxation and political authority, and confrontation led to the death of around one thousand of her followers and the banning of the movement in 1964. Alice Lenshina died in 1978, claiming that the political dimensions of her message had obscured their real content, which was spiritual wholeness and integrity.

Modern Catholic-derived churches and movements also include the Legio Maria, a breakaway movement from the lay Catholic Legion of Mary association. Founded in 1963 in Kenya, the year of independence, Legio Maria's teachings and rituals display the same concerns and preoccupations present in the AICs, which are also evident in relation to traditional belief and practice. The creation of the self-proclaimed prophets Simon Ondeto and Gaudencia Aoko, the Legio Maria, while encouraging their followers to remain Catholics, offered a ministry of deliverance from the evils of witchcraft and spirit possession. Growth was rapid, especially among the Luo, rising to an estimated 100,000 members within two years, a development that the newly independent government did not welcome. Legio Maria's success is in part attributable to the wealth of ritual resources, both Catholic and traditional, which were developed to discern and overcome the forces of evil, such as witchcraft and sorcery.

A very different modern Catholic separatist movement from the Congo (Brazzaville) is the Mouvement Croix-Koma (Nailed to the Cross), which was started in 1964 by the Catholic layman of the Lari tribe, Ta (Father) Malenda. This movement opposed outright such traditional practices as witchcraft, sorcery, and magic and by 1970 had attracted an estimated 20 percent of the population of the Congo, a majority of these coming from the Congo, Lari, and Sundi ethnic groups. At first a movement within Catholicism, this church severed all ties with the Roman Catholic Church in 1976.

Violence has been a feature of a minority of modern African religions as it has been with modern religions elsewhere. The most notorious example in the African context is the Movement for the Restoration of the Ten Commandments of God (MRTCG), which grew out of a Marian apparition movement in Rwanda in the 1970s. Although visions of the Virgin Mary (many of them concerning the devastation being wrought by AIDS) were not uncommon in the Uganda and nearby Rwanda of the 1980s, two principal visionaries are closely associated with the origins and development of the MRTCG. One was the dedicated and active Catholic who was heavily involved in local politics, Joseph Kibwetere (b. 1932), and the other was Credonia Mwerinde (b. 1952), who claimed that she had been in contact with the Virgin Mary since 1984. About this time, Kibwetere, a father of sixteen, began to be considered by followers as the leader of the nascent MRTCG and allowed his farm to be used as its headquarters until in 1992 when it was moved to Kanungu where Mwerinde's family lived and where relations with villagers, but not the civil authorities, were at times tense. Even before this move, the MRTCG had begun to attract a number of clergy including Father Dominic Kitaribaabo, who had been a postgraduate student in religious studies in the United States and had begun to reject some of the liturgical reforms of the Second Vatican Council while still recognizing the authority of the pope. As MRTCG distanced itself from mainstream Catholicism and the local community, it increasingly came to resemble an introversionist movement. Moreover, this growing isolation, reinforced by the apocalyptic messages emanating from the numerous Marian apparitions that had recently occurred, reinforced the belief in the end of the world.

The MRTCG came to depict itself as the ark of salvation, the vessel that would save those who repented from the coming apocalypse and carry them to a place that would be like heaven on Earth. Its teachings, based principally on revelations received by its leaders, were set out in the document, *A Timely Message from Heaven: The End of the Present Times,* which demanded, among other things, the renunciation of material possessions, abstinence from sexual relations, and stressed the importance of silence. Sign language was to be the main means of everyday communication between the members.

According to some scholars (Mayer, 2001), the end was predicted to come in 2000; others (Levinson, 2001) gave 1999. However, on March 17, 2000, tragedy struck. The newly built church at the movement's headquarters at Kanugu served as the venue for the previous night's all-night vigil. The following morning, fire engulfed the nearby dining hall, formerly the old church, where the worshipers had gathered, and then spread throughout the headquarters, killing and destroying everything in its wake and leaving no one with any chance of escape. Different estimates have been given of the number of those who died in this tragic event and in other instances. Subsequent investigations by the Ugandan police in March and April 2000 uncovered graves in various locations around the country that contained the corpses of MRTCG members who had been murdered. According to Jean-François Mayer (2001) the Ugandan police estimated that there were 780 victims in all, whereas David Levinson gives the total number of victims as 925 adding "perhaps all were murdered" (Levinson, 2001, p. 198).

Also of Ugandan origin is the Lord's Resistance Army, which operates largely among the Acholi in northern Uganda, under the direction of the self-proclaimed mystic Joseph Kony, one-time mentor and cousin of Alice Lekwena but who, after a quarrel with the latter, symbolized the discontinuity between her movement and his by being possessed by new and different spirits. Lekwena brought together several disparate antigovernment groups in 1987 under the banner of the Holy Spirit Movement. Defeated by Kony in a power struggle, Lekwena fled to Kenya in 1987, and the former took over the leadership of these religious rebels. Kony continued on with the complex initiation and cleansing rituals introduced by Lekwena and, like her, was determined to stamp out witchcraft and to eradicate pagan spirit mediums. Prior to engaging in battle, Kony's soldiers are "armed" with *malaika* (angel; Swahili) to protect them against the enemy. For further spiritual protection, various spirits were placed in various positions of command whereas others, including spirits from other than African nations such as Korea and China, are assigned other tasks, including the direction of government forces' bullets.

Methods of recruitment of soldiers adopted by Kony have included abducting and indoctrinating children who, when trained for combat are encouraged to loot, pillage, and rape with abandon in contrast with the strict moral discipline imposed by Lakwena. The Lord's Resistance Army battle with the Uganda government—now an international conflict involving neighboring countries such as the Sudan—has led to the death of an estimated twenty-three thousand people and to the creation of over one and a half million refugees.

Although long present in many African traditional religions including Yoruba traditional religion, what appears to be an increasingly widespread trend in Africa as in the West is the appeal of the notion of reincarnation. This is evident in, among other movements, the Brotherhood of the Cross and Star, a millenarian movement founded in 1956 in Calabar, Nigeria, by Olumba Olumba Obu. This new religion, whose goal is the establishment of God's kingdom on Earth by uniting "brothers" and "sisters" in bonds of love, attaches great importance to reincarnation and the belief in the presence at meetings of the "living dead" (a term used for the ancestors whose continued influence over this-worldly affairs is acknowledged), in the sacredness of the earth, and in the all-pervasive influence of sorcery.

CONTEMPORARY FORMS OF CHARISMATIC CHRISTIANITY. In the 1970s a new wave of charismatic Christianity started from within the existing churches began to sweep across Africa. Essentially composed of young, educated high school and university students, this movement emphasizes baptism in the Holy Spirit, the ready availability for Christians of the gifts and fruits of the Spirit, and speaking in tongues (*glossolalia*). Among the attractions of this ecstatic, optimistic religion is the contrast it makes with the despair generated by politics that, despite the pledges, seems to be incapable of tackling radically such serious concerns as corruption in public life, managing efficiently and effectively public resources, and guaranteeing safety and basic medical facilities.

Charismatic renewal got under way at different times in different parts of the continent. In Kenya and Tanzania in East Africa, it took shape in and was spread through associations such as the Fellowship of Christian Unions (FOCUS), in the mid-1970s. Due to tighter control over students in Ethiopia and Uganda, it was the 1980s before charismatic renewal came to occupy center stage of Christian life among the young. This was also the case in Zambia in central Africa, most of French-speaking Africa, and Zimbabwe and South Africa.

Although distinctive, the charismatic renewal movement shares in common with the AICs the insistence on the need for Christianity to be enculturated. Charismatic renewal, however, is more engaged with issues of growing importance such as gender equality, the use of modern technology, and modern medicine. Although it eschews direct political action, it is not a world-indifferent movement, nor is it an apolitical movement as demonstrated by the response of charismatics and evangelicals in the election of the "born again" President Chiluba in Zambia in 1991.

Neo-Pentecostalism from abroad. Running parallel to, and sometimes overlapping with, the charismatic renewal movement in Africa is a new wave of missionary activity involving evangelicals from other parts of the world, including Korea, Brazil, and the United States. The objective is to engage in what is presented as the real, authentic conversion of Africa to Christianity, as opposed to that incomplete and harmful form accomplished by the historic churches. Moreover, in contrast to the more ecumenical and conciliatory spirit of the historic churches to other non-Christian religions, the evangelical and charismatic religions are, paradoxically, on the one hand denouncing all forms of belief and practice that diverge from their own and, on the other hand, reinforcing the traditional worldview by insisting on the power and hold of the devil and evil spirits over those involved in false religion and superstition.

The Brazilian Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus (Universal Church of the Kingdom of God) is but one of the new Pentecostal churches to enter Africa since the 1970s and is growing rapidly not only in Lusophone or Portuguese-speaking Africa but also in Anglophone and Francophone Africa, for example, in Nigeria and the Ivory Coast. Quick to adapt and employ local ministers and ready to use the local language, this church insists on the reality of the spiritual world and on its direct influence on success and failure. As is the case with many other new churches of its kind, the Universal Church gives priority in its practice to the rite of exorcism of evil spirits, which are said to block progress to the kingdom of God. This psychologically uncomfortable theology is balanced by the prosperity doctrine, not unfamiliar to African traditional religion, which promises that turning to Jesus can lead from poverty and sickness to wealth and well-being.

MODERN ISLAM-DERIVED MOVEMENTS. Modern Muslim movements vary greatly, and even within the same movement there are often what appear to be strongly opposed tendencies. The Murid *tariqa* (brotherhood), founded in Senegal in the late nineteenth century by the Wolof Muslim cleric Ahmadu Bamba (1850/1–1927) who developed his own Muslim version of prosperity theology, combined Sufism or mysticism with an unrelenting commitment to hard and continuous agricultural work. The work ethic instilled by Bamba, similar in substance to Max Weber's (1864–1920) notion of the Protestant work ethic, has produced a thriving entrepreneurial movement with considerable assets and political influence in Senegal, the Gambia, and elsewhere in Francophone West Africa, and a trading diaspora that extends to Europe and the United States.

Millenarianism, more commonly known among Muslims as mahdism, is also a feature of several modern African Muslim movements, including the eclectic Layenne movement, also of Senegal; the exclusive, scripturalist Bamidele movement founded in Ibadan in the 1930s by a former Christian, Abdul Salami Bamidele; and the Mahdiyya movement, founded in the early 1940s in Ijebu-Ode, in southwestern Nigeria, by Al-hajj Jumat Imam who, perhaps uniquely, endeavored to develop a theology that would integrate Muslims, Christians, and traditionalists.

The *zaar* cult is a largely female, international, and modern Muslim movement that flourishes in Ethiopia (from where it gets its name), Somalia, Djibouti, and the Sudan, and to a lesser extent in Egypt and the gulf states. In Ethiopia, this worship cult involves both Muslims and Christians in Ethiopia; elsewhere, only Muslims. Spirits (*zaar*) are believed to have the power to invade human bodies and to possess them. Those possessed are the marginal and the powerless and, to be placated, the possessing spirits must be given food of good quality, perfumes, and other luxuries: the spirits often articulate the concerns and grievances of those they possess.

The victims of the spirits—numerous categories exist and are constantly being expanded and updated showing the link between religion and social change—are also obliged to dance in their honor at cult group rituals that take the form of séances, which in Somalia are called "beating the *zaar*." Ioan M. Lewis (1996) suggests that this cult serves primarily to alleviate the conditions of the oppressed and, in particular, women for whom it functions as a mystical weapon in the war between the sexes. This perspective has been constructively and interestingly critiqued by a number of scholars including Janice Boddy (1989), who does not see participation in spirit possession such as *zaar* in the Sudan as primarily an oblique strategy by means of which women bid for attention but as expressing both the conflict between village women's experiences and their self-image as defined by the gender ideals of their society and their historical consciousness of relations with outsiders. Noting that mediums are often selected from the powerful and strong lineages, not from among the weak and powerless, Jean-Paul Colleyn's (1999) study of the Nya cult in Mali also rejects Lewis's narrow interpretation of the function of spirit possession as an oblique means by which the downtrodden seek to escape from humiliation.

Whereas pacifism is a distinguishing feature of most modern Muslim movements in Africa, outbreaks of violence have also occurred, one involving the Maitatsine movement. Originating in northern Cameroon, this movement spread to northern Nigeria, where it ended in catastrophe in the 1980s when an estimated six thousand people lost their lives in riots in Kano City. This was a movement of the "lonely" poor, the displaced and marginalized (the street vendors, water carriers, and so on) who had received no benefit whatsoever from the oil boom of the 1960s and 1970s and who were without any protection against dire poverty.

Not unrelated to the rise of charismatic renewal, neo-evangelical, and neo-Pentecostal movements has been the rise of Muslim reform and missionary-minded movements composed mainly of fervent young educated high school and university students, guided by Muslim scholars of considerable intellectual repute and sanctity. These movements are dedicated to the advancement of a more orthodox, more assertive Islam and have been aided in this with spiritual and financial support from elsewhere in the Muslim world.

Strong influences include the writings of the Indian Muslim reformer Abū'l A'la Mawdūdī (1903–1979), founder of the Muslim revitalization movement the Jamāʿat-i-Islāmī. Mawdūdī encouraged Muslims to consider the vexed question of the relation between Islam and Western culture and urged them to work for an Islamic state.

Prominent activists such as Sayyid Quṭb (1906–1966), a leading member of the militant Al-Ikhwan al-Moslemoon (Muslim Brotherhood), were inspired by Mawdūdī's writings, as they were by those of the Egyptian teacher and scholar Al-Imam Hassan al-Banna (1906–1949), who founded the Ikhwān al Muslimūn in 1928, which like so many modern or new Islamic movements, rather than rejecting older institutions, go beyond them. Al-Banna understood his mission to be the countering of the corruption of Islamic society and, in particular, the corruption caused by Western influence in the face of which the Muslim leaders, he believed, remained passive. Al-Banna, who rejected the use of force as a means of reform, stressed the comprehensive and inclusive nature of Islam. The doctrine of the oneness of God (*tawḥīd*), he believed, made Islam the reference point for all aspects of life and was the prime religious reason for engaging in the transformation of society. He also rejected—and on this point his influence is evident almost everywhere there are radical Muslim reformers—what he saw as blind traditionalism, which meant essentially following the opinion of medieval Muslim scholars. Instead he insisted on the need for informed independent judgment (*ijtihād*) as the basic principle of action.

Although Al-Banna was assassinated in 1949 and his movement suppressed by Egyptian President Gamel Abdul Nasser in 1954, it continued clandestinely under Quṭb whose treatise *Maʿalim fi al-Tariq* (Milestones; 1965), written in prison, called for Muslim opposition to Western decadence—a Leninist approach to an Islamic revolution that would bring down non-Islamic regimes. Although executed by Nasser, Quṭb's writings have become essential reading for the growing number of radical Muslims in North Africa, Africa south of the Sahara, and beyond.

Thus, various Muslim associations—some of them the mirror image of evangelical, neo-Pentecostal and charismatic renewal movements—strongly influenced by Muslim revivalism in the wider world, began to embark on a *dawʾa* (mission), ignoring the traditional boundaries between Christian and Muslims, an attitude that was implicitly encouraged by the new context of nation-states in which, in principle, all regions were open to all faiths. In this new context, it was possible for Muslims to demand their constitutional rights, including *sharīʿah* law administered by *sharīʿah* courts.

There are a number of Muslim missionary movements from outside Africa that are well established on the continent. The Aḥmadiyah movement, founded in what is modern Pakistan by Ghulām Aḥmad (1835–1908) and regarded as heretical by mainstream Islam for its refusal to accept the prophet Muḥammad as the last of the prophets, is particularly strong in West Africa. It is a pacific, modernizing movement that promotes a balanced school curriculum of Islamic and Western subjects and accepts Western dress and conducts marriage ceremonies in the Western Christian style.

ASIAN, AFRICAN DIASPORA, AND MODERN SECULAR RELIGIONS. Although present for over 150 years, Hinduism, Jainism, and Sikhism have exercised little direct influence on African culture and spirituality. Until the late twentieth century, there were few African Hindus and even fewer Jains and Sikhs. This situation began to change with the arrival of the neo-Hindu and other modern Asian movements that demonstrate a desire for greater inclusiveness, a characteristic also in greater evidence in twenty-first century Muslim movements, such as the Daudi Boharas and the various branches of the Ismāʿīlīs, which are also present in East Africa. The lay Bahāʾī faith—founded in Iran in 1853 by Mirza Husayn-Ali (1817–1892; known as Bahʾuʾllah) whose teachings are summarized as the unity of God, the unity of religion, and the unity of humankind—has innumerable spiritual assemblies across Africa made up of African members.

Many neo-Hindu movements are marked by their engaged, applied spirituality, inclusiveness, and insistence on the need to give technology a spiritual underpinning. Among those active in South Africa is the Divine Life Society founded by the South Indian medical doctor turned ascetic Śivāndanda Sāraswāti Māharāj (1887–1963). Although its philosophy is based on the Hindu *bhakti* (devotional) and yogic traditions, this movement, like so many other neo-Hindu movements and modern movements whatever their cultural and spiritual origin, generally seeks to promote a practical, nonsectarian form of spirituality. To this end, its teachings embrace material from the prophets of many different faiths, including Zoroaster, Moses, the Buddha, Mahāvīra (Jainism), Jesus, Muḥammad, and Nānak (1469–1539; Sikhism). The Sri Sathya Sai Baba movement, widely known for the extraordinary thaumaturgical gifts of its leader and present in Ghana among other places, is also eclectic and committed to educational and social development.

Although there is evidence of Buddhism, mainly in the form of Indian Buddhists but also some Chinese in South Africa in the early part of the twentieth century, a Buddhist *saṃgha* (community) did not emerge until the 1970s. In 1979 a Buddhist Retreat Centre and a Buddhist Institute were opened in Natal, and from that point on various Buddhist traditions—Zen, Theravāda, Mahāyāna, and Pure Land—started to open centers in all the main towns of South Africa.

Since the 1970s modern forms of mainly lay Buddhism of Japanese origin have been making an even greater impact than these older traditions on African culture and spirituality. These new movements include Sōka Gakkai (Value Creation Society), present in Nigeria and South Africa, among other places. Philosophically Buddhist but ritually Shintō, movements from Japan such as Sekai Kyusei Kyō (Church of World Messianity; SKK) entered Africa in the early 1990s via Brazil. SKK started to disseminate its message of divine healing *(johrei)* in Lusophone Africa (Angola and Mozambique) before moving into South Africa and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Clear parallels exist at the level of belief and ritual between the African traditional religions, modern African movements, and Japanese new religions.

The Japanese movement SKK not only emphasizes the importance of dreams and visions as guides to action and the fundamental importance of pacifying the ancestors but also offers both a spiritual explanation of the causes of sickness and faith healing as a remedy. Moreover, Japanese movements act, paradoxically, as pathways to African identity. Through the SKK several African Brazilian missionaries have discovered their African roots in Angola, which Catholic Christianity in Brazil was perceived to have destroyed.

Although many of the new Japanese modern movements are unconcerned about how they are interpreted by others—if seen as a philosophy rather than a religion, more Catholic than Buddhist, it makes little difference to leaders—there are some including the lay Nichirenist movement Sōka Gakkai and the Shintō-derived movement Tenrikyō (Religion of Heavenly Wisdom) who resist adaptation at all costs. Interestingly, although Sōka Gakkai's growth appears not to be affected by its exclusive position, Tenrikyō, whose main activities are the provision of health care and spiritual healing, has made little headway. Active in the Congo since 1966, it has only attracted an estimated two hundred adherents.

Several new Korean Pentecostal churches and new religious movements are also engaged in the new plan to evangelize Africa, including the Unification Church (formally the Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity, more popularly known as the Moonies). Founded in 1954 in Seoul, South Korea, by the Reverend Sun Myung Moon (1920–), this millenarian movement, although dedicated to mission, has attracted relatively few adherents in Africa.

Also unsuccessful in this respect have been the modern movements developed by African diaspora communities that have found their way back to Africa. These include the Rastafarian movement from the Caribbean, which has established a model of paradise at Shashamane in Ethiopia, and Candomblé, originally from the Yoruba regions of western Nigeria and the Republic of Benin, but now being carried back home by African Brazilian devotees on pilgrimage to the traditional Yoruba homelands in southwestern Nigeria and the Republic of Benin.

Modern secular religions such as Scientology also remain numerically small, despite the fact that Scientology, which became engaged in a variety of educational and social projects in Zimbabwe and other places, shares much in common with the scientific and empirical outlook of many traditional African religions and spiritualities.

NEOTRADITIONALIST MOVEMENTS. With hindsight African traditional religions have shown a remarkable capacity for survival under the impact of modernization and the spread of the Christianity and Islam. Traditional philosophies, rituals, and symbols—reconstructed or otherwise—have proved an effective and efficient means of legitimizing the social order and of garnering resistance to political cultural and economic domination, as seen in the case of the Maji-Maji and Mau-Mau uprisings and in the independence struggle in Zimbabwe. They continue to perform important cognitive, explanatory, psychological, and healing functions. Also, as Dominique Zahan (1979) has shown, they contain a deep, mystical, spiritual dimension that has great appeal but is often overlooked in explaining their persistence.

It was widely thought, nevertheless, that they would be quickly undermined by the advance of Christianity, Islam, and secularism. But the predictions of this kind have been proved entirely wrong, including the prognosis of that landmark 1910 missionary conference in Edinburgh that declared: "Most of the people will have lost their ancient faith within a generation, and will accept that culture-religion with which they first come into contact" (Groves, 1958, p. 292). The reality is that these traditional religions have remained strong and vibrant in many parts of Africa, as elsewhere, and have greatly influenced the form and, to a lesser extent, the content and ethos of Christianity and Islam. Although initially nonproselytizing and confined by their content and ritual to a specific ethnic group, in the twenty-first century they are becoming ever more diverse in their ethnic composition and international in their outreach.

Concern about the cultural, moral, and social consequences of losing contact with the past explains the central importance attached to the veneration of the ancestors in many neotraditional movements, including the Dini Ya Msambwa (Religion of Ancestral Spirits) of Kenya founded in 1944 by Elijah Masinde (1910–1987). The Karinga initiation guilds started in Kenya in the 1920s with the aim of preserving traditional rites of passage, including female circumcision, and although they have taken on the structure and appearance of a church (there are now bishops and rural deans), these remain their distinguishing characteristics. Neotraditional movements are often concerned with clarity, that is, with separating authentic tradition from its entanglement with Christian missionary culture.

This is the principal objective of the Mungiki (masses) movement, also Kenyan, which began in the 1980s as the Tent of the Living God movement for the purpose of extracting authentic Gikuyu culture from the ambiguity to which it had been reduced by Christianity. A youth movement with a minimum of 300,000 members, most of whom are between fifteen and twenty-five years old and disadvantaged, the Mungiki are greatly influenced by Mau-Mau ideology and, like the latter, proclaim that they are fighting for land, freedom, and religion.

In the 1930s a movement of Nigerian (Yoruba) Christians formed the neotraditional church of the Ijo Orunmila to ensure that core elements of their religious culture were not destroyed. Again in Nigeria in the 1960s the Arousa cult (Edo National Church; a development from Bini traditional religion) merged with the neotraditional National Church of Nigeria, to form Godianism, which focused on belief in a single God of Africa as understood in ancient Egyptian sources.

CONCLUSIONS. Modern African religions provide students of religion with abundant material for exploring theoretical and methodological issues relating to the dynamics not only of African religious culture but of religious culture in general. As sources of spiritual insight and knowledge derived from particular historical and cultural experiences, they address core issues relating to personal and cultural identity, autonomy, and independence and offer striking examples of what globalization theorists such as Roland Robertson (1992) refer to as the process of *glocalization*, that is, the domestication of globalizing religious and cultural forces and the globalization of the local. The future is likely to see more movements emerge displaying the results in form and content of interactions between African religious culture and heritage and Asian religions.

SEE ALSO New Religious Movements, articles on New Religious Movements and Millennialism, New Religious Movements and Violence, New Religious Movements in Japan; Sōka Gakkai; Tenrikyō; Unification Church.

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AFRICAN RELIGIONS: HISTORY OF STUDY

In his *The Invention of Africa* (1988) the Congolese philosopher Valentin Mudimbe noted that there is a remarkable continuity in the Western representation of Africa as a place without history and without religion. These images, he argued, played a central role in the legitimization of the Atlantic slave trade and colonization. From Herodotos (c. 484–between 430 and 420 BCE) to contemporary commentators on world civilizations, these descriptions reemerge in ways that consistently marginalize Africa from the scientific study of world religions. Religious studies scholars continue to think of their departments as focused on Western religions and Eastern religions. A residual category that includes African, Native American, Australasian, and so on—until recently labeled as primitive but since replaced by more palatable terms such as primal, oral, tribal, traditional, or indigenous—remains outside this catholic division and is usually left to anthropologists and rarely included in religious studies departments.

ANCIENT CONSIDERATIONS. Ancient commentators had some familiarity with Egypt and the North African coastal areas, and these cultures provided influential deities, rituals, and cultic paraphernalia that were selectively incorporated into the religious systems of their Mediterranean and Middle Eastern neighbors. For areas further south, however, fragmentary travelers' accounts, local gossip, and writers' imaginations provided the evidence for often wild descriptions of subhuman communities. Although these images were not universally accepted, they remained extremely influential. Africans were described as exotic and as people without religion in Hesiod's (eighth century BCE) accounts of the Semicanes, Capitones, and Pygmies as well as in Alcman's (seventh century BCE) account of the Steganopodes, Aeschylus's (525–456 BCE) account of the Conicipedes, and in many others. Even reports by commentators seeking to provide informed accounts had little use. Herodotus and other Greek writers referred to the gods of the Libyans and attributed Greek names to them, but as Stéphanie Gsell remarked in *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du nord* (1913–1928), it is uncertain whether these gods were actual Berber deities, gods introduced by Phoenicians, or deities whose descriptions were too strongly shaded by Greek perspectives.

Although the Romans ruled the whole of North Africa for centuries, their interest in the local religions seems to have been as slight as that of the Greeks. According to the North African Latin poet Flavius Cresconius Corippus, writing in the sixth century, the Laguata, a tribe of Tripolitania, adored a god called Curzil, who was the son of Ammon and a cow and who incarnated himself as a bull. Early twentieth-century commentators were tempted to interpret these isolated examples as traces of zoolatry or of totemism.

Arabic-speaking commentators provided descriptions of sub-Saharan Africa beginning in the ninth century, but they tended to concentrate on urban trading areas where Islamic influences were strongest. In the eleventh century, al-Bakri mentioned a mountain community in southern Morocco that he claimed worshiped a ram. He also described urban settlements in Tekrur and Ghana where there were pagan and Muslim quarters, each governed by its own laws. Finally, he visited the kingdom of Mali where he witnessed unsuccessful cattle sacrifices in a rain ritual, followed by a Muslim prayer and an abundant rainfall that led to the conversion of the king. A century later al-Hamawi mentions a Sanhaja Berber group that worships the sun. However, most of these accounts offer far richer descriptions of political organization, trade, and social customs than they do about religion.

To the extent that they were aware of local traditions, they classified them as forms of unbelief, akin to the *jahilīyah* of pre-Islamic Arabia. What Islamic observers persistently demonstrate, however, is the prolonged influence of African religions within increasingly Muslim urban communities within the Sudanic region of West Africa (see Levtzion and Hopkins, 1981).

ACCOUNTS OF EARLY MISSIONARIES AND EXPLORERS. As the first Europeans to explore the coast of sub-Saharan Africa, Portuguese travelers offered descriptions of African religions beginning in the late fifteenth century. However, many of these accounts reflected European Christian perspectives narrowed by the long struggle against Islam that did not end within Iberia until Portuguese exploration was well under way. The earliest writings that contain some mention of African religions are by Duarte Pacheco Pereira and Valentim Fernandes, which date to the first years of the sixteenth century and focus on the coastal communities of Senegambia and Upper Guinea. Yves Person wrote:

> The people paid honour to idols carved out of wood: the chief divinity was called Kru: They also practised worship of the dead, who were embalmed before burial. "It is usual to make a memento for all those who die: if he was a notable person, an idol is made resembling him: if he was merely a commoner or a slave, the figure is made of wood and is put in a thatched house. Every year, sacrifices of chickens or goats are made to them." (Person, 1984, p. 307)

Within a decade of the arrival of Portuguese explorers at the mouth of the Congo River, Portuguese missionaries joined them and established themselves at the court of the local monarch. Although these missionaries devoted themselves to converting Africans to Christianity and were less concerned with understanding the converts' religious backgrounds, they could not help but observe the similarities and differences between them and the obstacles and the aids in conversion. As a result, they provided richer descriptions of African religious life than their more secular fellow travelers. Some of their writings became widely read and helped to shape European images of Africa and of African religions. One of the most widely read texts was Filippo Pigafetta's *Relazione del Reame di Congo* (1591), which was based on the notes of Duarte Lopes, a Portuguese merchant who had lived in Congo for many years before being appointed as a papal envoy to the Congo's newly converted king, Alvaro I. This account describes the people of Loango who "adore whatever they like, holding the greatest god to be Sun as male, and the Moon as female; for the rest, every person elects his own Idol, which he adores according to his fancy" (Pigafetta, 1978). The description of the Congo appears to be far more sensational: "Everyone worshipped whatever he most fancied without rule or measure or reason at all" (Pigafetta, 1978). When Afonso I ordered all religious objects *(nkisi)* to be collected and destroyed, it was reported that "there was found a huge quantity of Devils of strange and frightful shape. . . . Dragons with wings, Serpents of horrible appearance, Tigers and other most monstrous animals . . . Both painted and carved in wood and stone and other material" (Pigafetta, 1978). This is an unlikely collection, judging from what is known of Congo sculpture or African fauna.

By the late sixteenth century, however, one begins to find more empathetic descriptions of African religions. In 1586, for example, the Portuguese author Santos wrote of a Bantu-speaking ethnic group, the Yao of Mozambique, in more favorable terms: "They acknowledge a God who, both in this world and in the next, measures the retribution for the good or evil done in this" (cited in Lang, 1898). This focus on a supreme being who judged the living and determined their afterlife was challenged by later commentators who focused more on ancestral cults. Similarly, Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi's *Istorica descrizione de' tre' regni Congo, Matamba Angola* (1687) reflects more knowledge of central African religious systems, including an accurate form of the name for the supreme being in the region as Nzambi-a-mpungu. Even his reports, however, retain the derogatory images that suffuse these accounts:

> Before the light of the Holy Gospel dispelled superstition and idolatry from the minds of the Congolese, these unhappy people were subject to the Devil's tyranny. . . . [Apart from Nzambi] there are other gods, inferior to him, but nevertheless worthy of homage; to these too, therefore, cult and adoration are due. . . . The pagans expose a certain quantity of idols, mostly of wood, roughly sculpted, each one of which has its own name. (Cavazzi, 1687, p. XX; translated by author)

An early account of Khoi religion was given by Guy Tachard, a Jesuit priest, in *Il viaggio di Siam de'padri gesuiti mandati dal re di Francia all'Indie, e alla China.* Tachard reports:

> These people know nothing of the creation of the world, the redemption of mankind, and the mystery of the Holy Trinity. Nevertheless they adore a god, but the cognition they have of him is very confused. They kill in his honor cows and sheep, of which they offer him meat and milk in sign of gratitude toward this deity that grants them, as they believe, now rain and now fair weather, according to their needs. (Tachard, 1693; translated by author)

EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURIES. Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, information on African religions remained at these fragmentary and often misleading levels. Reports focused on the peoples of the coastal areas of West, South, and East Africa, which were the areas most visited by European travelers. Amateur observers—navigators, explorers, traders, artisans, and naturalists—wrote most of the accounts. They lacked training in ethnographic analysis, the linguistic tools to engage in religious discourse, and the interest in religious issues as the primary focus of their concerns. Christian missionaries, who stayed longer and had an obvious interests in religious matters, came to Africa to revolutionize these societies and often displayed a mixture of contempt or pity for the benighted "heathen." It cannot be emphasized enough that the first attempts at comparison and synthesis in the framework of anthropology or the history of religions were based almost exclusively on information of this kind.

As it became more common for missionaries to spend extended periods working in a particular ethnic community, their reports began to reflect greater understanding of local religious beliefs and more tolerance of local traditions. An example of this can be found in the works of the Italian abbot Giovanni Beltrame (*Il Sennaar e lo Sciangallah*, 1879, and *Il fiume bianco e i Denka*, 1881), whose work focused on his evangelization of the peoples of the upper Nile, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century. Beltrame included, both in the original language and in his translation, the creation song with which the Dinka celebrate the creation of the world by Dengdid or Dengdit (Great Rain). He also reported that the Dinka distinguish between two verbs, *cior* or *lam*, which expresses the act of praying to God, and *verg*, which indicates prayer directed toward a person. His knowledge of the language in which religious ideas were expressed allowed him to discover that verbs related to the supreme being are always used in the present tense. Hence the Christian expression "God has always been and always will be" is rendered "God is and always is"—a grammatical detail with significant theological implications. However, when he turns to the neighboring Nuer, Beltrame's knowledge is more limited: "They believe in the existence of God, but pay no cult to him" (Beltrame, 1881, pp. 191, 275).

John H. Weeks's writings on Bakongo religion also reflect this deepening understanding. Building on thirty years of mission work in the lower Congo, he describes a religion with a supreme being, Nzambi, and equates this deity with the God of Christianity. He concludes his book with a remarkable declaration of method for someone writing in 1914: "In this statement of native beliefs I have tried to reflect the native mind. It would have been possible to have left out ideas here and there, and to have arranged the rest in such a manner that they would have dove-tailed beautifully, but in so doing I should have given my view of the religious beliefs of the natives, not a faithful account of theirs" (Weeks, 1914, p. 288).

Protestant missionary Henri A. Junod provides another example of this growing body of materials in mission anthropology. Junod lived among the Thonga of coastal Mozambique beginning in 1907, and his writing reflects a growing influence of academic anthropology. By the time he collected his writings for publication in 1927, he had become broadly familiar with theoretical debates within the fields of anthropology and history of religions and had become particularly influenced by evolutionary theory and the comparative method. Having found among the Thonga the coexistence of beliefs in a sky god and in ancestral spirits, he attempted to assess the respective antiquity of these two apparently conflicting concepts. To do so, he compared Thonga religious thought with other groups of southern Bantu-speaking communities. He followed the assertion of W. Challis and Henry Callaway that the Ngoni ancestors of the Swazi and Zulu prayed to a god of the sky before they began to worship ancestor spirits. Although Junod referred to this in evolutionary terms, he was aware that this pattern was contrary to the schemas of orthodox evolutionism. In an appendix to the 1936 edition of *The Life of a South African Tribe*, he stated that the two sets of ideas could be parallel among the Bantu-speaking groups. At the same time, however, he conjectured, on the basis of psychological considerations, a chronological sequence—naturism, animism, causalism, euhemerism—that partly accepts Nathan Söderblom's hypotheses as stated in his *Das Werden des Gottesglaubens* (1916). Junod's ambiguous conclusions reflect the case of an experienced researcher trying to combine personally observed realities with the theoretical explanations that dominated the study of African religions at that time.

The decades during which missionaries, merchants, and travelers collected much of the initial information on African religions coincided with the writing of a series of ambitious comparative works that attempted to establish the logical, if not chronological, succession of religious ideas in the world. Some continued to ignore Africa altogether. Thus in *The Philosophy of History*, Georg Friedrich Hegel dismisses Africa as a land without history, without religion, where superstition reigns: "But even Herodotus called the Negroes sorcerers; now in sorcery we have not the idea of God, of a moral faith" (Hegel, 1956, p. 93). An early prototype of the attempt to include Africa in the evolution of religions was Charles de Brosse's *Du culte des dieux fétiches* (1760), which compared sub-Saharan African beliefs and rituals with those of ancient Egypt. He adapted a Portuguese term for a highly valued object and created the term *fetish* which has been applied to African ritual objects ever since. To de Brosse, Africans worshiped fetishes, objects endowed with or containing some kind of spiritual power. This became the model for a type of religion that became known as fetishism. This and other concepts were utilized in Auguste Comte's *Cours de philosophie positive* (1830–1842) in which he outlined the evolution of various human institutions, including religion. He understood both fetishism and African religions as the most primitive form of religions.

Evolutionary theory. The rise of evolutionist theories in the human sciences in the latter half of the nineteenth century coincided with a dramatic intensification of European exploration and colonization of Africa. This provided a significant increase in the availability of data from peoples encountered for the first time in addition to new reports concerning those groups known through previous literature. These examples were often used in an uncritical fashion to represent instances of the stages of religion, often referred to as primitive religion: fetishism, ancestor worship or euhemerism, animism, totemism, idolatry, polytheism, and so on. African materials were carefully selected by various armchair theorists to support their particular evolutionary schema, with African religions always assigned a lowly status. It was through these theorists' work that African religious materials became known within the field of the history of religions and among the public at large. African materials play a prominent role in John Lubbock's *Origin of Civilisation* (1870), Grant Allen's *The Evolution of the Idea of God* (1897), Robert R. Marett's *The Threshold of Religion* (1909), and in James G. Frazer's monumental work, *The Golden Bough* (1894).

Occasionally, Africa served as an example of a higher form of primitive religion. For example, Theodor Waitz's *Anthropologie der Naturvölker* (1859–1872) distinguishes between African religions and other indigenous religions. In the second of his six volumes, Waitz concludes:

> We reach the amazing conclusion that several Negro tribes . . . in the development of their religious conceptions are much further advanced than almost all other savages [Naturvölker], so far that, though we do not call them monotheists, we may still think of them as standing on the threshold of monotheism. (Waitz, 1860, p. 167)

This stands in sharp contrast to Edward B. Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, which relied on as broad a base of available sources as Waitz but which was used to support his theory of animism as the origin of religion. To provide evidence for his thesis, Tylor overlooks or underrates documents that did not support his argument. "High above the doctrine of souls, of divine manes, of local nature-spirits, of the great deities of class and element," he wrote, " there are to be discerned in savage theology shadowings, quaint or majestic, of the conception of a Supreme Deity" (Tylor, 1874, vol. 2, p. 332). Tylor quoted extensively from literature on African religions, but he was inclined to lump all "savage" peoples together, indiscriminately speaking of the "lower races" and, at one point of "the rude natives of Siberia and Guinea" (Tylor, 1874, vol. 2, p. 160).

Other evolutionists such as Lubbock and Herbert Spencer included African ethnic groups in lists of backward societies as surviving examples of a primitive atheism or as having no religious ideas whatsoever. This categorization was refuted in Gustave Roskoff's *Das Religionswesen des rohesten Naturvölker* (1880) and in Albert Réville's *Les religions des peuples non-civilisés* (1883). These authors argued that the realities of African religions are far more complex than the label *animism* would imply. Réville wrote:

> Naturism, the cult of personified natural features, sky, sun, moon, mountains, rivers, etc., is general of African soil. . . . Animism, the worship of spirits detached from nature and without a necessary link with natural phenomena, has taken a preponderant and so to speak absorbing role. Hence the Negro's fetishism, a fetishism that little by little rises to idolatry. . . . Nevertheless one should not omit, I shall not say a trait, but a certain tendency to monotheism, easily emerging from this confused mass of African religions. Undoubtedly, the African native is not insensitive to the idea of a single all-powerful God. (Réville, 1883, vol. 1, pp. 188–90)

Admissions that Africans had ideas of a supreme being who began the process of creation clearly contradicted the widespread evolutionary theories of the time, but were largely ignored in academic circles in the English-speaking world. In *The Making of Religion* Lang systematically assembled these reports and abandoned his previous support of Tylor's animist theory. His review of African, Australian, Polynesian, and American sources led him to conclude that the idea of a supreme being could not have been derived from beliefs in spirits or totems. Although Lang referred to Africans as belonging to the "low races" and as the "lowest savages," this did not prevent him from expressing the view that their traditional religion probably began "in a kind of Theism, which is then superseded, in some degree, or even corrupted, by Animism in all its varieties" (Lang, 1909, p. 304).

Lang's belief in the antiquity of African ideas of a high god ran parallel to a similar conviction within a different milieu, in the emerging notion of *Kulturkreiselehre* (doctrine of culture circles). Wilhelm Schmidt, one of the founders of this school of thought, published an early introduction to his monumental *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* at the same time as the publication of the third edition of Lang's *The Making of Religion.* However, almost a half a century passed before the twelve-volume work appeared (1912–1955), containing three volumes focused on Africa. Schmidt's controversial thesis of a worldwide primeval monotheism that was corrupted by later trends in successive cultural cycles cannot be fully discussed here. It should be noted, however, that according to Schmidt, the remnants of the world's earliest religious ideas are to be found among people labeled as African Pygmies, whom he considered to be monotheistic and surviving representatives of the world's most archaic, or primeval, culture.

Regardless of one's evaluation of the strength of his theory, Schmidt's presentation of data contrasts sharply with that of his predecessors. Rather than an arbitrary assemblage of data from all sources according to a specific topic chosen by the author, Schmidt systematically collected and grouped data in reference to specific ethnic groups. Whenever possible, a summary of information on the culture and physical environment associated with the community were followed by separate sections devoted to beliefs, myths, sacrifices, prayers, conceptions of the soul, eschatology, ancestor worship, and other topics. Schmidt's materials remain to this day an invaluable quarry of carefully sifted and well-ordered information. The arduous field investigation of nomadic forest hunter-gatherers, including people best known as Pygmies, should also be credited to his influence. He provided strong encouragement and advice to fellow missionaries such as O. Henri Trilles, Peter Schumacher, and Paul Schebesta and kept abreast of their ongoing investigations. The final results of this research were synthesized by Schmidt in 1933 (see Schmidt, 1912–1955, vol. 3) and eventually published in Schebesta's *Die Bambuti Pygmäen vom Ituri* (1938–1950), the third volume of which is dedicated entirely to religion.

During this period in which the quest for the origins of religion dominated research, studies of African mythology began to be published. Alice Werner's *Myths and Legends of the Bantu* appeared in 1933 and was followed in 1936 by Hermann Baumann's *Schöpfung und Urzeit des Menschen im Mythus der afrikanischen Volker*. Raffaele Pettazzoni, a staunch adversary of Schmidt's theory of primeval monotheism, also made an important contribution in his four-volume *Miti e leggendem* (1948–1963). The first volume remains the fullest and most heavily annotated collection of myths drawn from the entire continent. In his last work, *L'onniscienza di Dio* (1955), Pettazzoni examines the worldwide distribution of ideas of a supreme being. Working from a nonconfessional perspective, Pettazzoni questioned the possibility that one could ever ascertain the origin of the idea of a supreme whether it was seen as a lord of the animals, a deified ancestor, or a strictly celestial being. He does conclude, however, that many African religions, even in ancient times, had a sky god, whose existence precedes any alien influences of Judaism, Christianity, or Islam.

Ethnological view. With the European colonization of Africa a new type of literature made its appearance and garnered a central place within the field: the ethnography. Based on the image of the closed society, this type of work often ignored both cross-cultural comparison and diachronic developments. It described many aspects of a single ethnic group, starting with geographical distribution, racial characteristics, and linguistic classification, and analyzed many facets of its social structure and culture, including religion. The early twentieth century produced a far more profound sense of distinctive African cultures and the role of religion within them, although they were often superficial in this area. Many of the authors served as colonial administrators or missionaries, although some were linguists or anthropologists. Not surprisingly, they often stressed the relation between religion and social structure, an approach that became known as social functionalism. The role of religion as a source of political and economic legitimation was often the primary focus. These early ethnographies relied on field research, interviews, and participation observation, although it was rare that the researcher actually spoke the language of his or her host communities. Some of the more important works include Alfred C. Hollis's *The Masai* (1905) and *The Nandi* (1909), Diedrich Westermann's *The Shilluk People* (1912), Günter Tessmann's *Die Pangwe* (1913), Alberto Pollera's *I Baria e I Cunama* (1913), Gerhard Lindblom's *The Akamba in British East Africa* (1920), Edwin W. Smith and Andrew Dale's *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia* (1920), Heinrich Vedder's two-volume *Die Berdama* (1923), John Roscoe's *The Baganda* (1911) and *The Bakitara or Banyoro* (1923), and Louis Tauxier's *Le noir du Soudan* (1912) and *Religion, moeurs et coutumes des Agnis de la Côte d'Ivoire* (1932). During this period, Belgian scholars under the direction of Cyrille van Overbergh successfully completed a large number of ethnographies, which were intended to cover the whole range of ethnic groups of the Belgian Congo.

The academic merit of these books varied dramatically. In principle, they respect a growing emphasis on treating religion as an integral part of culture. Smith suggested in *African Ideas of God: A Symposium*: "Sociologically speaking, African religion is one aspect of African culture. No one element can be exhaustively studied and understood in isolation from the rest" (Smith, 1950, p. 14). These studies also provided clear evidence that the religions of preliterate peoples were far too complex to be adequately condensed in a mere chapter of a general monograph. This problem was recognized by experienced writers such as Robert S. Rattray who, having published his classic monograph *Ashanti* in 1923, found it necessary to supplement it with *Religion and Art in Ashanti* in 1927, and E. E. Evans-Pritchard, author of *The Nuer* (1940), later devoted a separate volume, *Nuer Religion* (1956), to the study of religion.

Before World War II, researchers had been almost exclusively European. The most significant American contributions were Melville and Frances Herskovits's *An Outline of Dahomean Religious Belief* (1933) and Melville Herskovits's *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1941). The latter work used anthropological research methods to raise important issues of African influences in the religious life of African diasporas throughout the Americas. He successfully challenged the view that slavery had erased all influences from African American culture, and he brought scholarly attention to the idea that African religions had profound influences beyond Africa itself.

Before the Second World War, few African scholars had written about their own traditional religions. In *Facing Mount Kenya* (1938), Jomo Kenyatta devoted two chapters to the religion of the Kikuyu or Gikuyu, along with an attempt to explain such controversial aspects of his culture as female circumcision. Here again, however, it was within the context of an all-embracing monograph. The most significant exception was Joseph B. Danquah's *The Akan Doctrine of God* (1944), which focused entirely on the author's national group, the Ashanti. A more appropriate title for the book would be *The Ashanti Doctrine* because Danquah was only concerned with the creeds, epistemology, and ethics of his own community and paid little attention to the related, but not identical, systems of other branches of the Akan linguistic group (e.g. Anyi, Baule, Brong, Nzema). Dense with original quotations and filled with subtle and often unusual arguments and comparisons, the book struck a decidedly new note in the concert of previous literature on the subject. It left the reader unsure, however, whether the work sought to present an overview of an Ashanti system of religious thought or was more of a personal philosophical and theological reflection by the author.

POST-WORLD WAR II EVALUATIONS. In the postwar years a few scholars devised anthologies that collected condensed accounts of several African religions. Well-known examples include *African Ideas of God: A Symposium* (1950), edited by Edwin W. Smith in collaboration with a group of Protestant missionaries, and *Textes sacrés d'Afrique noire* (1965), edited by Germaine Dieterlen with a series of essays by lay ethnologists. Amadou Hampaté Ba, a leading francophone African intellectual, wrote a preface to the work. Daryl Forde, director of the International African Institute, assembled a series of essays by leading anthropologists such as Mary Douglas, Jacques Maquet, and the Ghanaian scholar and future prime minister, K. A. Busia. Meyer Fortes and Germaine Dieterlen sought to include a broad range of European scholarship in their edited volume, *African Systems of Thought* (1966).

Two of the contributors to these anthologies were French ethnologists Marcel Griaule and Germaine Dieterlen, who worked on Dogon religion and the religious systems of other Mande-speaking communities in the West African Sudanic region. The team of Africanists led by Griaule, which included Solange de Ganay and Dieterlen, had been conducting intermittent field research among the Dogon for over fifteen years. Dieterlen had produced, among other works, *Les âmes de Dogon* (1941), whereas Griaule had already published his monumental *Masques dogon* (1938) in which he examined the religious symbolism of the masks. One day in 1946 Griaule was unexpectedly summoned by a venerable blind sage called Ogotemmêli and, in the course of a month's conversations, obtained from him the revelation of a whole mythological and cosmological system. The complexity of this system far exceeded knowledge of Dogon thought that had been previously been learned by the team. The ensuing book, *Dieu d'eau* (1948), translated by Robert Redfield as *Conversations with Ogotemmêli* (1965), was received in academic circles with a mixture of bewilderment, admiration, and perplexity. Some critics argued that it was inspired by the personal speculations of a single indigenous thinker or, at best, that it was a summary of esoteric teachings that were restricted to a small minority of the initiated. Griaule had foreseen such doubts and had declared in the preface to his book that Ogotemmêli's ontological and cosmological views were understood and shared by most adult Dogon and that the rites connected with them were celebrated by the entire local population. He went further, however, under the influence of the Negritude movement, to argue that many of these concepts would prove to be pan-African and would undoubtedly be shared among the Bambara, Bozo, Kurumba, and other neighbors of the Dogon.

Although Dieterlen's *Essai sur la religion bambara* (1951) revealed a comparable wealth of symbols, proclivity to abstractions, and original systematization of the universe among the Bambara, there were significant differences between them and Dogon conceptualizations. These differences among communities of the same ethnolinguistic family have maintained independent religious systems. Dieterlen's work, like that of Griaule, demonstrates the advantages of sustained field research over a period of many years. Dieterlen's research produced strikingly different descriptions than Louis Tauxier's *La religion bambara* (1927) which was published a generation earlier. Aware that these discrepancies might cause people to question the objectivity of the various scholars or the reliability of indigenous informants to be questioned, Dieterlen defended the efforts of her predecessors. She argued, however, that the Bambara distinguish two levels of knowledge—one very public and relatively simple and one more esoteric and more complex. This was implicit in Griaule's work as well. One could use these distinctions to explain the contrasts between different field researchers' descriptions in many other cases. Studies of the Congo, Akan-Ashanti, and Yoruba are examples of what could be a long list.

The work that most stimulated a reconsideration of African creeds in the postwar years was *La philosophie bantoue* (1945), written by Belgian Franciscan friar Placide Tempels. This book did not merely offer a synthesis of religious ideas and rituals, it analyzed criteriology, ontology, wisdom, metaphysics, psychology, jurisprudence, and ethics. It stressed the idea of a vital force operating throughout the universe, originating in a supreme being and radiating to spirits, humans, animals, plants, and some natural locales. These forces could be benign or hostile and be strengthened or weakened as they constantly influence one another. The idea of the cosmos as a hierarchy of forces, although not unique to Tempels' work, originated in his mission work and in conversations with Luba elders of southeastern Zaire rather than from anthropological sources. He quotes no academic literature other than Diedrich Westermann's *Der Afrikaner heute und morgen* (1934), in which he found supportive evidence of his theory. Furthermore, Tempels was sure that these concepts were shared by all Bantu-speaking peoples. In the introduction to the French edition, he quoted several unnamed experienced colonialists who had assured him "that he had written nothing new, but rather established order in the imprecise bulk of their own ascertainments based on their practical knowledge of the black man" (Tempels, 1949, p. 25). He also reported a message from Herskovits: "I am interested that so many of the ideas Father Tempels exposes from the Belgian Congo are so close to those that I have found among the Sudanese people of the Guinea coast area" (Tempels, 1949, p. 25). Herskovits's opinion reopened a general and still unsolved question: To what extent are worldviews and fundamental religious ideas common to all African religious systems?

As the colonial occupation of Africa loosened its hold (a slow process that began in the late 1940s and reached its conclusion in 1994), African studies shed some of its colonialist origins and also showed dramatic growth in the United States. Although the study of African religions continued to be dominated by anthropologists, the social functionalist paradigms, so useful to colonial administrators, lost some of their support. The study broadened and began to include increasing number of historians of religion, African historians, and other scholars. As Evans-Pritchard noted in *Theories of Primitive Religion* (1965): "These recent researches in particular societies bring us nearer to the formulation of the problem of what is the part played by religion, and in general by what might be called non-scientific thought, in social life" (Evans-Pritchard, 1965, p. 113). In cases such as John Middleton's *Lugbara Religion* (1960) and Godfrey Lienhardt's work on the Dinka, *Divinity and Experience* (1961), religion was the central topic. In *Una società guineana: Gli Nzema* (1977–1978), Vinigi Grottanelli examined the Nzema of Ghana, the southernmost Akan group, whose religious system grew out of a sustained interaction between a newer Christianity and an older indigenous religious system. Grottanelli used what he described as microbiographical accounts to explore the impact of religion on everyday life.

As the general trend of academic interests shifted from an abstract theological to more socially grounded and psychological context, attempts to make worldwide comparisons of religions and to ascertain the relative age of religious conceptions were gradually abandoned. Increasingly, they have been replaced by detailed studies of specific symbols, rituals, or concepts. Divination, in particular, has retained the attention of anthropologists. Victor Turner's *Ndembu Divination: Its Symbolism and Techniques* (1961) as well as a number of later works and William R. Bascom's *Ifá Divination* (1969), which examines the Yoruba divination system, are valuable contributions. Philip Peek's edited anthology *African Divination Systems* (1991) brings together a number of recent studies that reflects the influence of semiotics, the anthropology of knowledge, cognitive studies, and cross-cultural psychology. New work has also focused on the idea of sacrifice, which has been the subject of five consecutive issues of the series "Systèmes de pensée en Afrique noire" (1976–1983).

AREAS OF GROWTH. One of the more popular areas of late twentieth-century growth in the study of African religions, however, comes from the domain of art history. A new emphasis on field research in that discipline encouraged the production of new studies of African art focused on the symbolic meaning and ceremonial use of masks, figurines, and other ritual accessories, which have shed an indirect light on vital aspects of African mythology and religious rites, particularly those of West and central Africa. Dominique Zahan's *Antilope du soleil* (1980), on antelope figures in the sculpture of the Mande-speaking peoples of western Sudan, is an important example. Works by the art historian Robert F. Thompson and his students have established clear linkages between African religious art and religious artifacts in the diaspora throughout the Americas. In *Art and Religion in Africa* (1996) Rosalind Hackett has presented a broad overview of the religious significance of African art within the continent.

Another area of dramatic growth has been in the works by African theologians seeking to outline the foundations of an African spirituality that engages in a sustained interaction with the relatively newer traditions of Christianity and Islam. Works by John Mbiti, such as *African Religions and Philosophy* (1969) and *African Concepts of God* (1970), have had an enormous influence among scholars, missionaries, and the general reading public. E. Bolaji Idowu's specific work *Olodumare: God in Yoruba Belief* (1962) and his overview *African Traditional Religion* (1973) have enjoyed similar influence. Both authors have emphasized ideas of a diffuse monotheism and the profound similarities between African traditional religion and the Abrahamic religions. Mbiti has suggested that African religions lack only a sense of future time and a messianic expectation, which can be met through Christian teachings.

The Ugandan poet and scholar Okot P'Bitek has been sharply critical of these approaches, however, suggesting that what these African theologians are really doing is trying to smuggle Greek metaphysical debates about monotheism and polytheism into an African religious context. P'Bitek argues in *African Religions in Western Scholarship* (1970) that debates about monotheism and polytheism are wholly irrelevant to the day-to-day religious experience of most African adherents. Rwandan scholar Alexis Kagame has applied Tempels' Bantu philosophy to neighboring communities. Kagame's *La philosophie bantu comparée* (1976) provides far more detailed references of a Bantu-speaking ontology. 'Wande Abimbola's series of books on Ifá divination among the Yoruba provide one of the very few scholarly presentations by a priest of this method of divination that is practiced in West Africa and widely within the diasporas of the Americas. His most notable work is *Ifa: An Exposition of Ifa Literary Corpus* (1970). Jacob Olupona's *Kingship, Religion and Rituals in a Nigerian Community* (1991) presents a phemenological study of ritual life in the Ondo Yoruba city-state.

One of the most dramatic developments in the study of African religions was its discovery by the burgeoning field of African history. Although African history initially focused on the history of Europeans in Africa, a form of imperial history, beginning in the 1950s an increasing number of historians turned to the history of Africans. Quickly recognizing the inadequacy of colonial archival and European traveler and missionary accounts, they used oral traditions and field research to attempt to reconstruct the history of African societies that incorporated internal perspectives. Leading this wave of a new African history was the Belgian historian and anthropologist Jan Vansina. Still, it was not until the late 1960s that African historians began to write on the subject of African religious history apart from the history of Christianity or Islam in Africa. Terence Ranger and I. Kimambo's collection of essays on African religious history, *The Historical Study of African Religion* (1972), pioneered this new field and inspired a host of other studies. Utilizing oral traditions and participant observation, historians and anthropologists began to write histories of entire religious systems, of cults of the supreme being, of healing cults, and of territorial cults. For example, Dutch anthropologist Matthew Schofeleers wrote a series of works on the history of the Mbona cult in Malawi. Douglas Johnson's *Nuer Prophets* is a history of prophetism. Johnson and David Anderson have collected a series of historical accounts of East African prophets in their edited anthology *Revealing Prophets* (1995). In *Shrines of the Slave Trade* (1999), Robert Baum relied on oral traditions and travelers' accounts to examine the history of Diola religion in southern Senegal during the era of the Atlantic slave trade. He examined the history of specific spirit shrines that were created to assist in the regulation and containment of Diola involvement in the seizure and sale of captives in the eighteenth century. He also sketches out how such involvement affected concepts of the supreme being, lesser spirits, and the nature of local priesthoods and councils of elders. Iris Berger's *Religion and Resistance* (1981) examines the history of female spirit mediums in the interlacustrine region of East Africa.

Reflecting the growing interdisciplinary nature of the study of African religions, the most important theorist to emerge in the postcolonial era was the British sociologist Robin Horton, who taught for many years at the University of Calabar in Nigeria. He wrote three seminal essays: "African Traditional Thought and Western Science," "African Conversion," and "On the Rationality of Conversion," all of which were published in the journal *Africa.* In his essay on African traditional thought, he argued that it resembled Western science in its reliance on paradigms that sought to explain the world. He argued that African systems of thought relied on a personal idiom of explaining, predicting, and controlling events in their world. By the personal, he meant spiritual beings and forces that controlled, or at least influenced, world events. He demonstrated that, like science, African traditionalists continually tested their explanatory models, finding explanations for failures and reinforcement of their tenets for their successes.

In his two essays on conversion, he argued that there was a basic African cosmology consisting of a supreme being and of lesser spirits. Furthermore, he suggested that the supreme being was primarily concerned with the macrocosm, the wider world beyond the villages of rural Africa and the natural forces that shaped the lives of everyone. The lesser spirits, on the other hand, actively intervened in the microcosm of village and family issues. He concluded that because Africa was overwhelmingly rural and local in its orientation African religions primarily focused on the microcosm. Thus, local spirits assumed dominance in ritual life and were the primary guardians of morality. Finally, he argued that European colonialism broke down this localism, creating a need for a macrocosmic focus and greater attention to the supreme being. What proved most controversial, however, was Horton's suggestion that African religions could evolve their own focus on a supreme being, although many found this focus by converting to Islam or Christianity. Other critics thought that he overstated the rural and local nature of precolonial Africa and that there was an implicit evolutionary theory in his work that suggested that polytheism was not suited to a modern, macrocosmic world. Still, his work, more than that of any other theorist, demonstrated that African religious thought was rational, systematic, and empirical and that African traditions were capable of significant internal change. Horton's theories profoundly influenced the current generation of scholarship on African religions.

In the area of African ritual studies, Victor Turner's use of structuralism, semiotics, and performance studies enriched his analysis of the ritual process among the Ndembu of Zambia. He approached African rituals as dramatic performances, structured around a series of binary oppositions that were ultimately overcome in the course of the ritual. Influenced by the field of semiotics, he discussed the multivocality or polyvalent quality of symbols, which allowed often disparate ideas to be linked and their contradictions overcome in the course of the ritual event. Building on Van Gennep's tripartite structure of initiation rituals, Turner focused on the second, or liminal phase, and the experience of what he called *communitas*, a sense of oneness among a group of initiates in which external distinctions were abandoned. This produced what he termed an *anti-structure,* which was a vital way of immersing new initiates and renewing for elders the fundamental experiences of religious life.

A new area of scholarly investigation has been the relation between African healing systems and African religions. Beginning with such pioneering works as Margaret Field's *Search for Security* (1960), researchers have sought to understand the therapeutic qualities of African healing rituals. Field compared the work of Akan priests of the *obosom* spirits in Ghana with the work of the psychotherapists of the West. In his *Man Cures, God Heals* (1981), Kofi Appiah-Kubi offers a comparative study of Akan traditional and Akan Christian healing practices. John Janzen and other anthropologists studied a shrine of affliction, known as Ngoma, which has spread throughout southern and eastern Africa. Paul Stoller has conducted similar research in the Islamic and Songhai religious milieu of Niger.

With the growing emphasis on field research in the study of African religions, it is not surprising that later twentieth-century research has shown a strong influence of reflective anthropology. This approach abandons the idea of an invisible ethnographer and recognizes that researcher and informant, researcher and host community create distinct forms of social relations that influence the types of data collected. Most field research accounts now include a description of field research methods and the way that researchers helped to create distinct fields of interaction with host individuals and communities. Works such as Paul Stoller's *In Sorcery's Shadow* (1987) and Wim van Binsbergen's "Becoming a Sangoma" (1991) crossed the traditional borders of academic scholarship and entered into the experience of practitioners of the religious rituals that they studied. By doing so, they allowed their readers unparalleled access to the lived world of African ritual by people who shared the culture and training of scholars of religion in Europe and America.

SEE ALSO Ancestors, article on Ancestor Worship; Animism and Animatism; Anthropology, Ethnology, and Religion;

Cosmology, article on African Cosmologies; Dogon Religion; Evolution, article on Evolutionism; Study of Religion, article on The Academic Study of Religion in Sub-Saharan Africa.

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VINIGI GROTTANELLI (1987)
ROBERT M. BAUM (2005)

AFRO-BRAZILIAN RELIGIONS. The religious landscape of Brazil is rich and varied. It includes the Roman Catholicism that arrived with the Portuguese colonizers, Spiritism influenced by nineteenth-century French philosopher Allan Kardec, twentieth-century evangelical Protestant movements, and the Buddhism, Islam, and Judaism that immigrants from Asia, the Middle East, and Europe introduced to the nation. While all of these traditions have engaged and been transformed by Brazilian social realities, it is perhaps the religions of African influence that have been most strongly associated with the country's popular culture and most deeply resonant of the particularities and complexities of Brazilian national identity.

Candomblé, Umbanda, Xangô, Tambor de Mina, Tambor de Nagô, Terecô, Pajelança, Catimbó, Batuque, and Macumba are among the names by which Afro-Brazilian religions are known in various regions of the nation. Most of these traditions have roots in nineteenth-century Brazilian slave societies and are the creation of enslaved Africans and their descendants. The religions developed as part of blacks' efforts to make sense of an experience of extraordinary disjunction and to create instruments that would sustain the deepest sources of their own humanity in the midst of great personal and collective trauma.

In some places, Afro-Brazilian religious communities emerged in connection with *quilombos,* outlying fugitive slave settlements. In others, they grew in the context of danced, processional celebrations of saint's days and holy days when plantation workers were given a sorely needed respite from the intensity of their labors. Often, in cities, communities formed in the small homes and rented rooms of African religious leaders; providing a refuge for worship, communal gathering, healing, and even organizing ways to resist slavery.

ORIGINS, COMMONALTIES, AND DISTINCTIONS. There are a number of important distinctions among the traditions, but there are also significant commonalities. Afro-Brazilian religions share an emphasis on ritual and medicinal healing, cultivation of intense and intimate relationships to spiritual entities, and mutual aid. The religions are also marked by a concept of obligation and reciprocity between human beings and the ancestral/spiritual energies who are gods, saints, orixás, nkisis, voduns, caboclos, guides, and other sacred personages accommodated and celebrated within the ritual communities. Furthermore, Afro-Brazilian religions are all essentially mediumistic, where the central rite in many ceremonies is a crossing from one kind of consciousness to an ontologically different one, facilitated by sacred percussive music and dance. The occasion of possession or trance enables devotees to experience a profound closeness to the orixás who have claimed them and who accompany the initiates in their journey through life.

These religions also share, to greater or lesser extents, a combination of influences from West and Central African traditions, native Amerindian cultural and religious practices, popular Catholicism, and Spiritism (*Espiritismo*). Their uniquenesses derive from the specific combination of elements composing their rituals, orientations, and meanings—including the historical, geographic, and cultural environment in which each was formed. Candomblé, for example, formed in the late eighteenth and early to mid-nineteenth centuries in and around the northeastern port city of Salvador, Bahia. Because West Africans from the Yoruba and Dahomey kingdoms (present-day southwestern Nigeria and Benin) and their descendants were most prominent among the population of slaves, former slaves, and free people of color in the area at that time, Candomblé developed with strong elements of Yoruba and Ewe-Fon ritual organization, language, and mythology. Umbanda, a more recent phenomenon dating from the 1920s, drew heavily on Candomblé, Spiritism, Catholicism, and persistent black and Indian folk representations in popular culture. Initially based in the industrializing cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, the new religion addressed the needs of both a workforce migrating from the rural areas and a developing, self-conscious middle class.

Xangô, a religion very similar in history and appearance to Candomblé, emerged in Recife in the state of Pernambuco. Tambor de Mina shows especially strong Dahomean influence and was organized in the nineteenth century by blacks who worked in the coastal economy in the state of Maranhão. Tambor de Nagô, situated in the same area, draws from a Yoruba resource base. Terecô (also called Tambor de Mata), another Afro-Brazilian religion found in Maranhão, was created by slaves on cotton plantations of the inland area around the city of Codó and is distinguished from the Maranhense coastal traditions by the addition of Angolan and Cabindan ritual elements. A variety of Afro-Brazilian religious practices in the extreme southern state of Rio Grande do Sul and in the Amazonian region are known by the general name Batuque. Macumba is another generic term for Afro-Brazilian religions, used especially in Rio de Janeiro; though it is sometimes pejorative.

In the arid inland northeast and the Amazonian north, interactions between blacks and Indians produced a remarkable sharing of ritual and pharmacopoeic knowledge. There, more so than elsewhere in the country, Afro-Brazilian religions are inheritors of indigenous Amerindian cultural and spiritual orientations. The exchanges created a number of religions that, while incorporating elements of African traditions, are heavily dedicated to the cultivation of indigenous Amerindian spirits and particularly strongly focused on ritual healing, often using tobacco and *jurema,* a root beverage which facilitates altered states of consciousness. Among these Afro-Indigenous traditions are a black or African Pajelança (as distinguished from a more "purely" Indian Pajelança) and Catimbó. Many of the Afro-Brazilian religions use West and Central African languages as liturgical idioms. Most common are Yoruba, Kikongo, Kimbundu, and Fon, although ritual traditions with the strongest Amerindian and Catholic influence conduct rites in Portuguese.

Another important class of Afro-Brazilian religions are the black lay Catholic confraternities that historically served as mutual aid societies and provided ritual opportunity and space for blacks to venerate saints to which they felt especially drawn. One of the best-known examples is the *Irmandade da Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte* (the Sisterhood of Our Lady of the Good Death). Like others founded at various points from the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries in different regions of Brazil, this organization was dedicated to helping its members defray funereal expenses; assist each other during illness; and, when possible, purchase manumission from slavery. In the late twentieth century, a chapter in the

Bahian town of Cachoeira became renowned for its annual three-day processional feast celebrating the Virgin Mary's bodily assumption to heaven. Membership in the *irmandade* consists exclusively of Afro-Brazilian women, many of whom are priestesses of Candomblé as well as Catholic acolytes.

On the island of Itaparica, across the bay from Salvador, are ritual communities that cultivate the spirits of male ancestral dead, the Eguns. This society is distinct from Candomblé, although many members are also prominent in Candomblé rites. Like traditional Egungun cult practices in Nigeria and Benin, the ritual communities on Itaparica island periodically summon the presence of ancestors who have passed over to the *orun* (the spiritual world), honoring and remembering them, keeping their connections to current generations vital. The Egun rites, although restricted to males in both Africa and Brazil, are believed to have been created by a female orixá—Oyá, whose special responsibility is the care of spirits of the deceased.

DEMOGRAPHIC ISSUES. Most devotees of Afro-Brazilian religions are members of the Brazilian working classes. Although blacks have historically been in the majority as participants and leaders in the religions, since the 1950s people who claim no African ancestry have increasingly joined the ranks of adepts. In some parts of southeastern Brazil there are ritual communities where more than half of the members are white. There are also Asians, Europeans, other Latin Americans, and blacks from the United States and the Caribbean who are attracted to Afro-Brazilian religions and who have been integrated into its communities. The religions continue to provide devotees an alternative space for the cultivation of connections to ancestral sources of strength, healing, and mystic/ritual approaches to the resolution of the everyday problems of modern life. They also offer access to deeper, more multifaceted, and more respected personal identities, an important resource for individuals who are severely marginalized by the political, racial, and economic structures of a profoundly unequal society. This characteristic of Afro-Brazilian religions perhaps explains the notable participation of gay men and lesbians, as both initiates and leaders, in various ritual communities.

The Brazilian national census of 2000 indicates that devotees of Afro-Brazilian religions constitute 3 percent of the country's total population. Scholars of the religions, however, have calculated the figure at closer to 8 percent. They caution that the true number of devotees is to some extent hidden behind the categories Catholic and Spiritist because many individuals who practice Afro-Brazilian religions refer to themselves publicly as participants in what are often seen as more acceptable faiths. In fact, some devotees, like the members of the Boa Morte *irmandade*, are part of more than one religious tradition. This double-consciousness, so to speak, is understandable given that historically, Afro-Brazilian religions had to constitute themselves in public relationship to Catholicism in order to survive. Several early Candomblé communities were established by members of black lay Catholic confraternities. Devotees of Tambor de Mina, Candomblé, Batuque, and Xangô all created parallels between the African divinities and Catholic saints, and often organized their own liturgical calendars around the Church's feast days.

EARLY RESEARCH. The study of Afro-Brazilian religions by academics began in the last years of the nineteenth century with the work of Raimundo Nina Rodrigues, a forensic physician based in Bahia, whose specific interest was the phenomenon of possession in Candomblé as a psychological pathology. In spite of his conceptual prejudices, Rodrigues did important work to document the formation of early Candomblé communities. His pioneering investigations were followed by those of his student Arthur Ramos, who broadened the geographic focus of Afro-Brazilian religious and cultural studies beyond Bahia, and helped situate the developing discipline in the context of Brazilian anthropological and sociological debates. Another early observer of Afro-Brazilian religion was Manuel Querino, a black art professor and essayist who, in the first three decades of the twentieth century, wrote extensively about Bahian popular cultural traditions. French sociologist Roger Bastide did the first comprehensive sociohistorical examination of major Afro-Brazilian religions, bringing an acute insight into the evocative and subtle metaphysics represented in the traditions. Others who made significant early contributions include Brazilian scholars Nunes Pereira, Gonçalves Fernandes, João do Rio (Paulo Barreto), Edison Carneiro, Octavio da Costa Eduardo, and Rene Ribeiro; French photographer and anthropologist Pierre Verger; and Americans Melville Herskovitz, Ruth Landes, and Donald Pierson.

CANDOMBLÉ. Candomblé and Umbanda are the most widespread and well-known Afro-Brazilian religions. As the best documented of the older Afro-Brazilian rites (and a direct forerunner of Umbanda, the largest of the traditions), Candomblé occupies a position of some prestige. Its oldest communities in Bahia have become the standard by which many other groups are measured. From its origins in northeastern Brazil in the last century of slavery, Candomblé expanded to many areas of the nation, carried by migrating workers to the industrializing cities of south and southeast Brazil. The central features of the religion have changed little in its expansion and continue to revolve around the cultivation of orixás, nkisis, and voduns, which are recognized as divinities, elements of the natural world, and aspects of human personality.

Candomblé is a hierarchical, initiatory religion with little moral dichotomy of good versus evil but with a strong ethical sense based in African values of reciprocity and ancestral/spiritual obligation. There are six major divisions within the tradition, organized as ethnic/liturgical "nations": Ketu, Ijexá, Jêje, Angola, Congo, and Caboclo. In their initial manifestations in the nineteenth century, the African nations of Candomblé represented the Yoruba (Ketu and Ijexá), Ewe (Jêje), and Bantu (Angola and Congo) ethnic identities of many of the individuals associated with ritual communities. Over the course of the development of the religion, and as larger numbers of Brazilian-born participants entered the ceremonies, the identity of Candomblé nations became a liturgical/ritual designation and not a genetic or clan-based one.

The Caboclo Candomblé is an additional division that specifically and extensively cultivates Amerindian ancestral spirits in addition to those of African origin. It is a more recent development, dating from the early twentieth century and prominently incorporating Brazilian national symbols such as the country's flag, its green and yellow colors, and the use of Portuguese as the language of ceremony. Because of the strength and prestige of Yoruba-based candomblés, the Yoruba term *orixá* (orisha) has become the most common descriptor of African spirits cultivated in the religion. Nonetheless, in the contexts of their own rituals, the Ewe and Bantu nations of Candomblé call the spirits by other names– voduns (among the Jêje) and nkisis (among the Congo and Angola communities).

In Brazil, the most commonly cultivated orixás of the Yoruba pantheon are Exú, orixá of the crossroads who controls communication between human beings and the world of the spirits; Ogun, warrior god of metals and the forest who is the path-breaker; and Oxôssi–ancient head of the Kêtu kingdom, a hunter orixá characterized by mental acuity. Omolû or Obaluaiye is orixá of the earth and of both illness and healing. Ossâin is guardian of herbs and herbal wisdom and Oxumarê is the serpent deity associated with life cycles of renewal. Another warrior energy, Logun-Ede, is son of Oxôssi and Oxum and shares their qualities. Xangô, the much beloved ancient king of Oyo, is orixá of fire, justice, storm, and friendship. Oxum is the orixá of sweet waters, creativity, beauty, and abundance. The energetic female warrior orixá Oyá, or Iansã, is associated with storm, transformation, and the spirits of the dead. Iemanjá, patroness of salt water, is an orixá of maternal strength and protection. Obá is another river deity, also a fierce female warrior energy; and Euá, a river nymph orixá, is associated with youthful grace and a fighting spirit. An ancient female energy, Nana Burukû, is orixá of still, muddy waters. Oxalá, father of the other orixás, is the principle of peace and protection.

Candomblé ritual communities, or *terreiros,* exist in a variety of forms. Older or more prosperous communities often feature a series of buildings that include "houses" for the deities; living and cooking space for members of the community; a large hall, or *barracão,* for conducting ceremonies, and both garden and uncultivated spaces for essential plant resources. Newer and more urban *terreiros* and those with fewer material resources are often incorporated into the homes of religious leaders, where the living room may be used as the *barracão.*

Most ritual communities involve a small number of participants; generally no more than fifty, except in the case of the oldest "mother houses" of Bahia from which many Candomblé *terreiros* around the country descend. Ceremonies open to the public may attract several times the number of actual members, and nonmembers may frequent the *terreiro* for spiritual advice and ritual assistance on a wide range of matters—including physical health, psychological stability, personal relationships, financial difficulties, and employment issues. Extensive traditions of ritual and medicinal pharmacopoeia support *trabalhos* (spiritual healing works) and many new adepts, as well as clients, are attracted to the religion by the reputation of priestesses and priests for successful intervention in problematic cases.

When a *pai* or *mãe de santo* (priest or priestess) is approached, the first step is often a *consulta,* a private divinatory session, in which the religious leader will consult the orixás by means of the *jogo de búzios,* an oracle of cowrie shells. Reading and interpreting the shells, the *mãe* or *pai de santo* diagnoses the problem and, after determining if it is within the purview of the religion's resources to address it, prescribes a remedy. This may be as simple as an herb bath and an offering of flowers or food at the seashore or as complex as the eventual need for a full initiation into the priesthood.

Individuals who are to be consecrated to the service of the orixás—those who will receive the orixás into their bodies and others who will attend and assist them—are, in a sense, called to that service. Cases of persistent (and sometimes undiagnosable) illness are often seen as signs from the orixá that an individual must undergo initiation. This is understood as both a duty and a blessing; an inherited ancestral/spiritual obligation which, if respected, brings well-being to the individual, her family, and the larger *terreiro* community; and if ignored can result in increased suffering.

Most *terreiros* follow a fairly strict organization of ritual responsibilities according to gender and length of initiation. At the pinnacle of the *terreiro* leadership is the *mãe* or *pai de santo*—the head priestess or priest—whose authority is unchallenged in the context of the ritual community. Other titles for these individuals depend on the specific ritual language and tradition of each house: *iyalorixá* and *babalorixá* (mother and father of the orixás) are terms used in the Yoruba-based candomblés; *nenguankisi* and *tatankisi* (mother and father of the nkisi) are used in the Congo and Angola candomblés; and *doné* and *doté* (chief priestess and chief priest of the voduns) in Jêje candomblés. Initiated members of the communities are *filhos* and *filhas de santo* (children of the saint).

The majority of Candomblé devotees are women, and some *terreiros* have a long-standing tradition of exclusively consecrating women as supreme leaders of the community. Indeed, the place of women as utmost ritual authorities in many *terreiros* is a distinguishing characteristic of the religion. Candomblé communities have often been recognized as "privileged" women's spaces in Brazilian society.

Beyond the chief sacerdotal positions there are explicit ritual roles designated for males and others for females. In the Yoruba-based Candomblé communities, among the most common posts held by women, after that of the high priestess, are the *iyakêkere* or *mãe pequena* (small mother), the second-highest leadership role, assistant to the high priestess or priest; *ekedis,* initiated women who do not receive the orixás but who assist those who do in a variety of ritual circumstances; and *ebomis,* a general term for initiates who have celebrated seven years or more of consecration to the orixá. *Iawôs,* "wives" of the orixá, are devotees specifically consecrated to receive the deities in their bodies and become their vessels in the human community, undergoing a lengthy, obligatory process of training. *Iawôs* can be male or female, although they are overwhelmingly women in Bahia. *Abiãs,* the most junior-level members of the community, are individuals who are being prepared for initiation and who have undergone one or more fairly simple rituals of spiritual fortification, the *obi* or *bori.* Like *iawôs, abiãs* can be male or female, but again, are predominately women and girls.

Specifically male roles include *babalorixá,* or chief priest (in *terreiros* where a male is the head rather than a female); *ogãs,* initiated men who do not receive the orixá but who assist the *terreiro* community in a variety of ways, from infrastructure and physical maintenance to financial and political influence; *axogún,* ritual slaughterer of votive animals; and *alabês,* drummers. Finally, all members of the *terreiro* are considered children of the *mãe* or *pai de santo* and they are expected to relate to each other as family, including, sometimes, adherence to prohibitions against sexual relations and marriage within the ritual community.

The central rites of Candomblé are a series of initiations, periodic reinforcements of the spiritual energies of both devotees and orixás, and a cycle of annual ceremonies in honor of the orixás. Among the first rituals a new initiate experiences are the *banho de folhas* (ritual cleansing bath with herbs), *lavagem de contas* (consecration of beaded necklaces in herb mixtures sacred to the orixás), and *obí com agua,* an offering of kola nut and water to the orixá who most closely accompanies each devotee. Other rituals related more directly to the process of initiation, or *fazer santo* (literally "to make the saint"), are designed to reinforce the spiritual link between devotee and orixá as well as to prepare the new initiate to properly receive and care for the orixá that enters her body in a ceremony. The rites associated with initiation, *obrigações,* are renewed in one-, three-, and seven-year cycles.

Each *terreiro* conducts a sequence of annual celebrations for the patron orixás of the house. These *festas* are the major public ceremonies of the religion. Initiated members who receive the orixá (*iawôs* and *ebomis*) circle the *barracão* in festive ritual dress: beautiful lace and embroidered blouses, panes of cloth with stripes or lace designs wrapped around their chests, wide skirts of lush and beautiful fabrics—their fullness accentuated by starched underskirts—and the *contas,* beaded necklaces in the colors and patterns associated with the various divinities. The women dance barefoot, in a counterclockwise ring, varying their steps and gestures in accordance with the rhythms played on sacred drums, *atabaques:* a different rhythm for each orixá. The drums are accompanied by a metal bell, *agogô,* and songs calling the orixás to join their devotees in the circle of dancers.

After a while, the spirits begin to descend, temporarily occupying the bodies of their adepts. In the moments of transition, some devotees are in perceptible discomfort, clearly demonstrating that the process of sharing their physical being and consciousness with another entity is an immensely taxing effort. Others seem to make the shift almost imperceptibly; under all but the closest observation, the moment of change passes unnoticed. As the orixás arrive, they are ushered out of the *barracão* and into back rooms where they are dressed in their own ritual clothes, in colors, textures, and designs that clearly identify each: red and white for Xangô; light blue for Iemanjá; raffia palm and burlap for Omolû; white for Oxalá. They reemerge wearing beaded crowns that cover their eyes. They carry the implements associated with their dramatic and interwoven mythologies: Oxum's mirror and fan; Oyá's horsehair whisk; Ogun's sword and shield. They dance into the small hours of the morning, pausing to receive ritual greetings and to offer hugs and parental caresses (and sometimes a concise word of advice) to members of the community and guests.

The public *festas*, as well as the private internal rituals of the *terreiros*, are ceremonies whose intent is to renew the *axé,* the essential spiritual force and life force, that is believed to reside in all forms of being in the universe. In communion with the orixás and the ancestors, in the practice of reciprocal exchange—food, music, flowers, water, dance, singing, and even the ritually open bodies of devotees—the energy of life is nourished and renewed for all who depend on that energy for their own continued existence and well-being.

In Candomblé, as in most of the Afro-Brazilian religions, ritual knowledge is primarily transmitted in oral and corporeal forms. Among devotees, very little is written down and most learning happens simply by rote experience and being present. A popular saying in the religion is *"Quem pergunta no Candomblé não aprende"* (She who asks questions in Candomblé doesn't learn). Knowledge passes as much from hand to hand in the conduct of daily tasks as from mouth to ear. The appropriate comportment in ceremonial as well as everyday contexts is one of manifest, corporeal respect for elders and for the orixás. This means that devotees with fewer years of initiation should defer to those who have more. Candomblé ceremony involves an elaborate etiquette of greeting and respect for elders that, even outside of the explicitly ritual context, requires initiates to acknowledge and ask the blessing of their elders and give special prostrated reverence to the chief priestess or priest.

Outside of the hierarchy of individual *terreiros,* there is no external organizing structure that dictates standards of ritual activity for Candomblé communities. Each house is independent and the leadership answers only to the orixás and to tradition. In some states there are licensing bodies to insure "authenticity" and affirm the training of *pais* and *mães do santo,* but these do not set policy. This is true of the other Afro-Brazilian religions as well. The absence of a larger governing organization means that each ritual community is essentially autonomous. Correspondingly, there is little institutional support for the religions beyond informal (but important) networks of friendship, mutual respect, and the rumors, reports, and inter-*terreiro* conversations that serve significantly as a kind of standardizing influence, especially among communities of the same Candomblé nation.

UMBANDA. Since the 1950s, Umbanda has had the largest and most diverse participant base among the Afro-Brazilian religions. Emerging in Rio de Janeiro in the 1920s and 1930s, it quickly spread throughout the nation, attracting devotees across a range of ethnic, racial, gender, and class identities. The ability to gain such a variety of adepts was related in part to its extraordinary capacity to incorporate elements from a vast resource base of spiritual traditions. Emerging from a foundation in Congo-Angola and Caboclo candomblés, Umbanda maintained a basic structure of orixá worship with increased emphasis on Catholic and Spiritist symbolic and conceptual elements. The new religion conspicuously assimilated prayers, invocations, and veneration of Jesus, Mary, and various saints from the Catholic tradition. It also embraced philosophical aspects of Spiritism such as dualist ethics, reincarnation, karma, and the cultivation of a great many spiritual guides who assist devotees in a variety of concerns. Perhaps most significantly, among the new religion's spiritual entities were many associated with the contradictions and complexities of Brazilian modernity.

These included the *pretos velhos,* spirits of old black slaves whose long-suffering lives of labor conferred upon them a wisdom about the world that they share easily with devotees who approach them for advice and counsel. The caboclo spirits, already developing in Candomblé by the 1920s, emerge with an even vaster influence on Brazilian popular culture through their incorporation in Umbanda, where they represent the power of the untamed forest, remarkable healing capacities, courage, and a kind of romanticized essential Brazilianness of identity. Other *guias* (spiritual guides) of Umbanda further represent marginality and subalterity in relation to the occidental white standard—the Exús and Pomba Giras (female versions of Exú) associated with the unpredictability of street life and the crossroads; the Ciganos (Gypsies), Boiadeiros (Cowboys), and Marinheiros (Sailors); and an ever-increasing variety of other folk figures whose appeal arises in part from their distance from official authority and their proven ability to negotiate, resist, and survive in the face of great adversity.

In the years immediately preceding Umbanda's founding, most Afro-Brazilian religions still suffered significant persecution. Police raids with arrests and confiscation of sacred objects were not uncommon and economical and political elites waged ideological battles against the ritual practices which were seen as at best exotic nuisances, and at worst threats to the stability and enlightenment of the country. Much of the prejudice against black religions in Brazil occurred as part of a larger system of discrimination against black people and Afro-Brazilian culture as well. This was a period when an ideal of *embranquecimento* (whitening) was promulgated as a way to move the nation toward greater development and "civilization." New devotees to Umbanda were, perhaps unconsciously, looking for ways to minimize the direct association of their religion with the scourge of blackness.

Umbanda's publicly accessible altars feature symbols of Catholic saints, Indian caboclos, and *pretos velhos,* whereas the altars to the orixás are often in less obvious parts of the *terreiro* or house. Umbanda does not generally employ votive sacrifices in its rituals and the ceremonial clothing is simpler than that of Candomblé. In some *terreiros,* hand clapping and a capella singing replaces the use of drums. By the close of the twentieth century, Umbanda in large cities had developed a kind of New Age character of anonymous therapeutic support that served both middle-class and poor devotees. One view of the religion is that it operates on the border between Afro-Indigenous ritual and Christian rationalism; between modern psychological therapy and shamanism. Interestingly, since the 1980s Umbanda has been losing adepts to Candomblé and other Afro-Brazilian religions seen by some as more "authentic" and more ritually powerful because of their stronger cultivation of African spiritual energies.

INFLUENCE ON POPULAR CULTURE. The influence of Afro-Brazilian religions extends deeply into popular culture in Brazil, belying the limitations of the relatively small number of formal adepts. As elsewhere in the African diaspora, like the United States and Cuba, black religious expression in Brazil has become the foundation for many elements of national culture. Brazilian music and dance forms, culinary traditions, literary tropes, and folk icons draw heavily from Afro-Brazilian roots, where sacred and secular artistic traditions blend almost seamlessly. The characteristic palm oil–based and expertly spiced Bahian cuisine reflects central ingredients in the sacred foods of the orixás. The resonant, multitextured percussive music and movements of samba have early-twentieth-century roots in the circle dance vernacular entertainments of rural northeastern Brazil and the *favelas* (ghettos, shantytowns) of Rio de Janeiro. Those dancers and musicians were often also participants in Afro-Brazilian religious life, extending their aesthetic sensibilities across both cultural manifestations.

Afro-Brazilian religions are a distinctly New World phenomenon reflecting the history, geography, and cultural and political encounters of the nation's varied peoples. They were created from, and are continually modified by the materials participants find available to best negotiate the challenges and possibilities of life where they live it. At the opening of the twenty-first century, one of the major challenges the Afro-Brazilian religions face is a vehement aggression by some neo-Pentecostal Protestant sects. As the *terreiros,* centers, and ritual houses of Afro-Brazilian religions seek the resources to address this newest challenge to their existence and meaning, they will draw on the wellsprings of ancestral *força* and *axé* which have seen them through other days at least as difficult as this.

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RACHEL E. HARDING (2005)

AFRO-CARIBBEAN RELIGIONS SEE CARIBBEAN RELIGIONS, *ARTICLE ON* AFRO-CARIBBEAN RELIGIONS

AFRO-SURINAMESE RELIGIONS. The Republic of Surinam, formerly Dutch Guiana, lies on the northeast shoulder of South America, at 2°– 6° north latitude, 54°–58° west longitude (163,266 sq km), bordered by Guyana, Brazil, French Guiana, and the Atlantic Ocean. The ethnically diverse population—numbering about 380,000 in Surinam (Du., Suriname) and another 180,000 now living in the

Netherlands—consists of approximately 38 percent "Hindustanis" (descendants of contract laborers imported from India during the late nineteenth century), 31 percent "Creoles" (descendants of African slaves), 15 percent "Javanese" (descendants of Indonesians imported as contract laborers in the early twentieth century), 10 percent "Maroons" (descendants of African slaves who escaped from plantations and formed their own communities in Surinam's forested interior), and smaller numbers of Portuguese Jews, Chinese, and Lebanese—plus the eight thousand remaining Amerindians whose ancestors were once the country's sole inhabitants. Except for the Maroons and some Amerindians, almost the whole population lives along the coastal strip, with nearly half residing in the capital, Paramaribo.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND. The first large-scale permanent settlement of Surinam came in 1651, when one hundred Englishmen from Barbados established a plantation colony. The Dutch took over in 1667, and during the next century and a half imported more than 300,000 Africans as slaves, drawing on a remarkable diversity of African societies and language groups. All indications point to an unusually early and rapid process of "creolization," with the slaves creating new institutions (e.g., languages and religions) by combining and elaborating their various African heritages with very little reference to the world of their European masters.

SLAVE RELIGION. The new Afro-Surinamese religion created by plantation slaves during the earliest decades of settlement already contained the central features of its two main present-day variants—the religion of the coastal Creoles (often called Winti) and the religions of the various Maroon groups. Among Surinam slaves one found, for example, many forms of divination to uncover the specific causes of illness or misfortune; rituals, including complex drumming and dancing, in which individuals were possessed by the spirits of, among others, ancestors and snake gods, and by forest and river spirits; beliefs about multiple souls; ideas about the ways that social conflict can cause illness; extensive rites for twins; secret male-warrior cults; and a focus on elaborate and lengthy funerals as the most important of all ritual occasions. Even the whites, who witnessed only a tiny proportion of slave rites, depended on the Afro-Surinamese slave religion for their own well-being. One eighteenth-century report describes how, in spite of the presence of eight white physicians in the colony, the slaves "play the greatest role with their herbs and their pretended cures, both among Christians and among Jews" (Nassy, 1974, p. 156). And the most famous slave curer-diviner, the eighteenth-century Kwasi, near the end of his life became accustomed to receiving letters from abroad addressed to "The Most Honorable and Most Learned Gentleman, Master Phillipus van Quassie, Professor of Herbology in Suriname" (Price, 1983).

Afro-Surinamese slave religion, through its interlocking beliefs and rites, provided the focus of slave culture, binding individuals ritually to their ancestors, descendants, and collaterals; expressing a firm sense of community in spite of a crushingly oppressive plantation regime; and—on many occasions—serving as the inspiration and mechanism for revolt. One European described this latter aspect of a 1770s "winty-play" on a plantation:

> Sage Matrons Dancing and Whirling Round in the Middle of an Audience, till Absolutely they froath at the mouth And drop down in the middle of them; Whatever She says to be done during this fit of Madness is Sacredly Performed by the Surrounding Multitude, which makes these meetings Exceedingly dangerous Amongst the Slaves, who are often told to murder their Masters or Desert to the Woods. (Stedman, 1985, chap. 26)

COASTAL CREOLE WINTI. The folk religion of Surinam Creoles (that majority of the Afro-Surinamese population who are not Maroons) is most often referred to by outsiders as Winti (said to derive from the English *wind)* or Afkodré (from the Dutch *afgoderij,* "idolatry"). But like many folk religions (such as Haitian Voodoo), it has no special name that is used by its adherents. For them, it is simply the core of their way of life. Since emancipation in 1863, the great majority of Creoles have also been nominal Christians; the most recent figures show somewhat more than half to be Protestants (with Moravians the most numerous) and the remainder Roman Catholics. Afro-Surinamese differ from most other Afro-Americans in the extent to which their Christianity and folk religion are compartmentalized. All observers of Winti have been struck by the remarkable lack of syncretism, in a comparative context, between Christian and Afro-American beliefs and rites in Surinam. In spite of the participation of Creoles in modern, Western-style Caribbean life, Winti continues to operate in contexts that are largely untouched by Christianity. Winti also plays a major role in the lives of many of the Surinamese who now reside in the Netherlands.

Winti provides an all-encompassing but flexible design for living. The everyday visible world is complemented by a normally unseen world that is peopled by gods and spirits of tremendous variety, who interact with humans constantly. Scholars have often tried to classify the great variety of Winti gods into four "pantheons"—all ranged below an otiose, distant, West-African-type sky god—those of the air, the earth, the water, and the forest, but such classifications may well impose an inappropriate rigidity on a shifting set of beliefs and rituals that are called into play to deal with diverse and very practical everyday human needs. The major gods and spirits include a variety of *kromanti* (fierce healing spirits), *apuku* (often-malevolent forest spirits), *aisa* (localized earth spirits), *vodu* (boa constrictor spirits), *aboma* (anaconda spirits), and a great host of others. Like the spirits of the dead, who intervene constantly in the lives of the living and are the focus of much ritual activity, these nonhuman gods or spirits can speak through possessed mediums. Frequent rites, involving specialized dances, drumming, and songs, are used to honor and placate each type of spirit, and the spirits themselves appear on these occasions, through possession, to make their wishes known. Such rites are led by *bonuman* or *luku-*

man (who may be men or women), many of whom specialize in particular kinds of spirits. But Winti is a strongly participatory religion, in which every individual plays an active role, and specialization or special knowledge is widely distributed among the population.

Winti deals with everyday concerns. Typically, an illness, minor misfortune, bad dream, or portent suggests divination by a *lukuman.* Using any of a variety of techniques, he suggests the cause—for example, a particular ancestor feels neglected, a jealous neighbor has attempted sorcery, a relative's snake spirit disapproves of a proposed marriage, the person's "soul" requires a special ritual—and then prescribes an appropriate rite. During the course of a single case of illness or misfortune, large numbers of relatives and friends may need to be mobilized and considerable financial resources expended. *Bonuman* and *lukuman* are always compensated.

MAROON RELIGIONS. There are six Maroon (or "Bush Negro") groups living along rivers in the interior of the country: the Djuka and Saramaka (each numbering about twenty thousand people), the Matawai, Aluku, and Paramaka (each about two thousand people), and the Kwinti (fewer than five hundred people). Their religions, like their languages and other aspects of culture, are related to one another, with the sharpest division being between the eastern groups (Djuka, Paramaka, Aluku) and the central groups (Saramaka, Matawai, Kwinti). Descended from slaves who escaped from coastal plantations during Surinam's first century of colonization, they have lived in relative isolation from the world of the coast.

Maroons have always enjoyed an extremely rich ritual life, which is totally integrated into their matrilineally based tribal social organization. Christian missions have had differential impact on the Maroon groups: for example, the Matawai and several thousand of the Saramaka are nominally Moravians, but the great majority of Maroons continue to participate fully in religions that were forged by their ancestors, from many different African traditions, into a vibrant new synthesis. Resembling Winti in terms of many of the particular gods and spirits invoked, the Maroon religions stand apart in their more absolute integration of belief and ritual into all aspects of life. New World creations drawing on Old World ideas, these Maroon religions remain today the most "African" of all religions in the Americas.

Rituals of many kinds form a central part of everyday Maroon life. Such decisions as where to clear a garden or build a house, whether to make a trip, or how to deal with theft or adultery are made in consultation with village deities, ancestors, forest spirits, snake gods, and other such powers. Human misfortune is directly linked to other people's antisocial acts, through complex chains of causation involving gods and spirits. Any illness or other misfortune requires immediate divination and ritual action in collaboration with these spirits and others, such as warrior gods. The means of communicating with these entities vary from spirit possession and the consultation of oracle bundles carried on men's heads to the interpretation of dreams. Gods, spirits, and ancestors, who are a constant presence in daily life, are also honored and placated through frequent prayers, libations, and great feasts.

The rituals surrounding birth and other life crises are extensive, as are those relating to more mundane activities, from hunting a tapir to planting a rice field. Among Maroons, funerals constitute the single most complex ritual event, spanning a period of many months, directly involving many hundreds of people, and uniting the world of the dead with that of the living through specialized ritual action such as coffin divination, and extensive singing, dancing, and drumming. Specialized cults—such as those devoted to twins, or to finding someone lost in the forest, or to making rain—are the possessions of particular matrilineal clans, and individual Maroons may also specialize in the treatment of particular types of spiritual problems, or in particular ritual activities, such as drumming for snake-god rites. But most Maroon ritual knowledge is broadly spread; these are highly participatory religions.

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RICHARD PRICE (1987)

AFTERLIFE

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
GEOGRAPHIES OF DEATH
AFRICAN CONCEPTS
AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS CONCEPTS

OCEANIC CONCEPTS
MESOAMERICAN CONCEPTS
JEWISH CONCEPTS
CHRISTIAN CONCEPTS
ISLAMIC CONCEPTS
GREEK AND ROMAN CONCEPTS
GERMANIC CONCEPTS
CHINESE CONCEPTS

AFTERLIFE: AN OVERVIEW

Views of the afterlife, of expectations concerning some form of human survival after death, cannot be isolated from the totality of the understanding of the nature of the divine, the nature of humankind, time and history, and the structure of reality. Not all religious persons have addressed the same kinds of questions, nor have ideas always been formulated in a uniform way by those nurtured within any one of the many religious traditions of the world. Nonetheless, there is a certain commonality in the kinds of basic questions that have been addressed. This article is organized topically in terms of the ways in which peoples from a range of theological perspectives in different ages and religions have seen fit to respond to these questions.

The Nature of the Divine. The basic issue concerning the nature of the divine is whether God is to be considered a personal being with and to whom one can relate or is held to be reality itself, the source and ground of being in impersonal or nonpersonal form. Between these absolutes lie a myriad of possibilities, compounded and enriched by a variety of experiences that can be termed mystical. Monotheists have struggled through the ages with questions concerning the corporeality of God, including shape and dimension, and, correspondingly, whether humankind can actually come to gaze in the hereafter on the visage of God. Others have concluded not only that the divine being is not to be conceived in any anthropomorphic form but also that the divine being, in the most absolute sense, is removed from the realm of interaction and rests as the essence of nonmanifestation. Determinations about the nature of the divine have direct ramifications, as will be seen, for human understanding of life after death.

The tension between the two concepts (the God of form and God without form) has arisen in a multitude of ways for faithful persons of various traditions. Those who depersonalize the divine to the extent that they see it as pure reality in which the essence of all things participates must ultimately sacrifice the relationship of deity and devotee, whether this be understood on the model of master and servant, parent and child, or lover and beloved. This was the problem for the philosopher Rāmānuja in twelfth-century India, whose qualified nondualism was the logically problematic attempt to reconcile a philosophical monism with the overwhelming need to respond to God in loving devotion. The Andalusian Muslim mystic Muḥy al-Dīn ībn al-ʿArabī, writing about the same time, posited a series of descending levels of the godhead through which the absolute, nonmanifest divine gradually actualizes itself to the form of a Lord with whom humans can interact.

The vision of God. Those religious traditions that have articulated an understanding of the divine in polytheistic form have tended to envision the particular gods in a concrete manner, often with the implication that the dead, or at least some of the dead, will be able to see the gods visually in the afterlife. Pictorial representations from the Middle and New Kingdoms in Egypt portray the dead person being lifted out of the sarcophagus by the jackal Anubis, taken to the Hall of Double Justice and judged, and then brought into the presence of Osiris, to be led by him to the Elysian Fields.

From the earliest times, Indian thinkers have tended to conceptualize their gods in quite specifically graphic ways. In the Vedic literature, Yama, who is at once the first mortal and the god of the dead, is portrayed as sitting under a leafy bower with his two four-eyed dogs in the presence of gods and ancestors to welcome the dead into a life that is a blissful version of earthly existence. In theistic Hinduism, the devotee expects to gaze on the face of the Beloved as Rādhā beheld Kṛṣṇa in their moments of most intense passion. The faithful Buddhist to whom access to Sukhāvatī, the Pure Land, is granted will enjoy the bliss of contemplating Amitābha Buddha himself.

Vision of the divine in the afterlife is not limited to polytheistic traditions. The sight of God in the gardens of Paradise is cherished by Muslims as the culmination of a life of piety; similar expectations have been part of the hopes of many Christians. Nor is it the case that in all polytheistic traditions there is the assumption that the dead will see those gods whom they concretely portray or conceptualize. Among the ancient Mesopotamians, the gods of the lower world were viewed as cruel and vindictive and those of the upper regions as arbitrary, with humans doomed to exist as shades in the nether regions. Thus no amount of individual effort in this life could assure one of a blissful existence in the hereafter, let alone a vision of the gods.

Divine justice and judgment. Never in the Mesopotamian consideration did there seem to be any understanding that the individual who lived the good life on earth might come to an end better than that found in the cheerless underground pit of Arallu. Justice as a function of divinity never came to bear, and the hero-king Gilgamesh, in a work attributed to the second millennium BCE, could rail against the arbitrary way in which the gods meted out death to humankind while keeping life and immortality for themselves.

It is, of course, not true that justice need be a less significant factor in the consideration of the afterlife by a society that is professedly polytheistic. What often has been the case is that the concept of ethical responsibility on the part of the individual (with concomitant judgment by the deity in some form) blends with an emphasis on magic and ritual as assurance of a felicitous state in the hereafter. The ancient Egyptian view is particularly interesting in this connection. *Maat,* the conceptual form of justice, order, and stability, became personified in the Hall of Double Justice and was understood as the means by which Osiris, the lord of the kingdom of the living dead, was finally apprised of the moral character of the one brought before him in judgment. Justice was seen as an extension of a concept of order that characterized the Egyptian worldview and that, as an essential of the eschatological reality, was in direct relationship to the establishment of stability over chaos at the time of creation. And yet it is clear from the texts that as significant as were concepts of order and justice to their view of life and death, the Egyptians never completely abandoned the feeling that the gods might not really (be able to) exercise absolute justice. Thus it was necessary to rely on ritual and magical formulas, in this way assuring that the dead would always have at their fingertips the necessary knowledge and information to answer any questions that might be posed in the final court of arbitration.

Justice, as an abstract principle of order for many ancient societies, came in monotheistic communities to be translated into a quality of the godhead itself, with the immediate ramification of justice as an ethical imperative for human beings in recognition of the nature and being of God. Thus in Islam there is a clear understanding that because God is just, he requires that a person live justly, and the quality of the individual life is actually the determining factor in the final judgment.

One of the earliest perceptions of the god who embodies this kind of justice in his very being is found in the thought of Zarathushtra (Zoroaster), the Persian prophet of the first millennium BCE. He saw in Ahura Mazdā the principles of truth, righteousness, and order upheld in much the same way as the Egyptians saw them upheld and embodied by Maat. Ahura Mazdā, however, was not for Zarathushtra the personification of truth but the great advocate of it, the divine lord into whose presence the righteous are allowed to enter at the end of time. There was never in the development of Zoroastrian orthodoxy any indication that the just could expect to see the person of Ahura Mazdā in human form, but rather there was the understanding that the soul who has lived a life of justice will be given the privilege of beholding a form of pure light.

In the development of Old Testament thought, divine justice became a particularly significant issue. In the earlier conceptions, the dark and dusty Sheʾol as an abode for the dead seems to have been understood much as was the Mesopotamian Arallu. There Yahveh had no jurisdiction, and gloom was assured for the righteous and wicked alike. The beginnings of hope for a more felicitous end for humankind came through reflections concerning the question of God's power and justice. If God is truly almighty, his dominion must extend to all parts of the earth and to all portions of time. And if he is truly just, then it is inconsistent that the righteous as well as the wicked should be doomed to the bitter existence of Sheʾol. It was with regard to God's power and justice that the seeds of an idea of resurrection to an eternal reward began to grow in the Jewish consciousness, laying the ground for the later Christian understanding of the death and resurrection of Jesus.

In Hindu and Buddhist thought, the notion of *karman* presupposes a conception of justice and judgment different from that prevailing in monotheistic traditions. Rather than the subjectivity of a judging being, there is the objective and automatic working out of cause and effect. Justice in this understanding is not so much a divine quality as an inexorable law of the universe. In its simplest form the doctrine of *karman* states that what one is now is a direct result of what one has done and been in past existences, and what one does in this lifetime will, with the accumulation of past karmic debt, be the direct determinant of the state of one's future existence. Lifetime follows lifetime in whatever form of life each successive existence takes, and liberation from the round of existences is achieved not by the intervening grace of a god but through knowledge of the truth of the realization of self. In the Vedantic understanding of the Upaniṣads, the content of this knowledge is that the self (*ātman*) is indeed identical with the Self (*brahman*), the underlying reality of all that is.

The complex of religious responses that makes up the fabric of Hinduism and Buddhism, however, includes as a major component the understanding on the part of many that the godhead must be conceptualized in a personal way. In terms of sheer numbers, far more Hindus have placed their faith in the saving grace of Lord Kṛṣṇa than have ever held to a doctrine of absolute monism. And despite the automatic character of *karman* in determining rebirth, divine or quasi-divine figures do continue to play a judicative role in the religious imagination. In Mahāyāna Buddhism there are ten judges of the dead, one of whom is a holdover from the Vedic Yama, despite the fact that in strict philosophical or ontological terms it is a Buddhist tenet that there is no such thing as a god who can judge or even a soul that can be the object of judgment.

Intercession. Issues of justice give rise to questions about the possibility of intercession for the deceased on the part of human or superhuman agency. The forms of intercession are many, from the role played by the living in providing a proper burial and maintaining the mechanical artifices of the tomb to the specific intervention in the judgment process by a figure who can plead for the well-being of the soul whose fate is in the balance. Muslims traditionally have taken great comfort in the thought that the Prophet himself will be on hand to intercede for each individual believer when he comes before the awesome throne of judgment, and through the centuries Christians have relied on the assurance that Jesus Christ sits at the right hand of God to intercede. The Buddhist concept of the *bodhisattva* is, in one sense, an extension of the idea of intercession: through the dedication or transference of merit, the saving being, who needs no more merit himself, can directly pass it on to individuals who have not reached the state of enlightenment.

The role of living persons in helping to determine the fate of the dead has ranged from giving the deceased a fitting and proper interment and celebrating a communal feast in memory of the departed (often to ensure that he or she actually stays "departed" and does not return to haunt the living) to maintaining for all time, as was the Egyptian intention, the physical apparatuses of the tomb. Sometimes it is held that these responsibilities are carried out primarily for the support of the living or out of respect for the dead. Often, however, there is a conviction that the living may actually be able to influence or help determine the future condition and existence of the souls in question. Some have challenged the supposition that the fate of the soul of the deceased must rest, even in part, on the continued ministrations of those fallible individuals with whom it had a relationship while on earth. Responsibility for the dead on the part of the living has often been seen as incompatible with a belief in the justice and mercy of God. Nonetheless, some form of prayer for the deceased on the part of the living continues to be an important responsibility of pious persons in all religious traditions.

THE NATURE OF HUMANKIND. If it is essential to a vision of the afterlife to have some understanding of the nature of that divine being or reality to whom humankind returns at death, it is no less important to have some conception of what element in the human makeup is considered to do the returning. In every religious tradition, the way in which an individual is conceived to be constituted in this life directly determines the way in which he or she is thought to survive in an existence after death.

The human constitution. Conceptions of the constitution of the human being differ not only among different religious traditions but among different schools of thought within the traditions. Nevertheless, for the purpose of a comparative typology, it is possible to generalize and speak of some of the most significant of these conceptions.

The most immediately obvious distinction, and one that has been drawn in most conceptions of the afterlife, is between the physical and the nonphysical aspects of the human person. This can be understood as the body-spirit dichotomy, with a difference sometimes drawn in the latter between spirit and soul. In the Hebrew view, a person was not understood so much as having a body, something essentially different and apart from the nonphysical side of one's being, as being a body, which implies the totality of the individual and the inseparability of the life principle from the fleshly form. Spirit was said to be blown into the flesh, making it a soul, a whole person. In itself spirit was understood as a manifestation of the divine. This way of distinguishing between soul and spirit was adopted by some Islamic and Christian theologians and philosophers, although in common usage the two terms are essentially interchangeable in both traditions. When an individual is felt to be renewed in a new body in Christ, the experience is often described as spiritual; the body of the resurrection is sometimes thought of as a spiritual body different from the earthly body of flesh and soul.

The notion that an individual is, rather than has, a body is quite foreign to most Eastern thought. In Hindu Sāṃkhya, for example, the body is part of the world of nature or matter *(prakṛti)* but is absolutely distinct from the life principle or self (*puruṣa*) from which it is separated by the process of yoga. It is the very realization of the separation of these two that amounts to liberation for the individual. Advaita Vedānta, while different from the dualistic Sāṃkhya in saying that the body is only part of the world of illusion, would agree that the key to liberation from the round of rebirths is exactly the realization that the soul or self has no lasting bond with anything physical and that the soul is associated with a particular body, human or nonhuman, only temporarily, for the fleeting moments of earthly existence.

The relationship of the human to the divine. The question of what it is that lives on after death must be seen in relation to the basic issue of whether that which is real or lasting in the human person is identical with the divine reality or is essentially different from it. A position of monism is one end of a spectrum of possible responses. In Advaita Vedānta liberation from successive existences comes only with the realization of the identity of *ātman* (the individual soul) and *brahman* (the Absolute). In some of its Ṣūfī manifestations, esoteric Islam comes very close to identifying the eternal in humans with the eternal essence (*ḥaqq*), with the further understanding that death and resurrection come in the moment-by-moment realization of that identity.

A very different kind of conceptualization is that characteristic of some traditional societies in which not only is humanity seen to be totally separate from the gods but one exists after death only as a shade or a shadow of one's former self. That which divides the human and the divine in this context is the fact that the gods are immortal and humans are not. In between such alternatives is a range of possibilities suggesting that humans manifest some element of the divine enlivening principle. In most traditions, however, a felicitous hereafter means not the realization of identity of self and absolute, but rather some circumstance in which that which survives death comes to dwell in proximity to the divine.

A number of traditions have held that certain elements that make up an individual actually become manifested and real only at the time of death. The ancient Egyptian, for instance, was said to have come into his or her own only when after death the *ba,* or continuing personality, was fully realized through the joining with its counterpart, *ka,* which acted as a kind of guardian angel. The dead did not become *ka*s but were joined to and guided by them on the journey into the afterlife. Classical Zoroastrian texts describe the soul at death sitting on the headstone of the grave for three days, after which it is led through some good or bad circumstances (depending on one's character) and finally is met by a maiden who takes the form of the actions committed by that person while on earth. The good will thus meet a beautiful creature, while the unrighteous will confront an incredibly ugly hag.

Certain similarities can be seen here with Buddhist conceptions, such as the peaceful and wrathful deities met by the deceased in the after-death visions described in the Tibetan *Book of the Dead.* The great difference is that in the Tibetan understanding one does not meet the alternatives of good or bad but experiences a whole range of deities that represent both the most sublime of human feelings and the personification of one's powers of reason. The wrathful deities are actually only a different aspect of the peaceful ones. The point is that, in some sense, as in the Egyptian and Zoroastrian cases, one comes into contact in an apparently externalized form with aspects of one's own personality, thought, and consequent past action.

RESURRECTION OF THE BODY. The significance of the body as a continuing entity in the afterlife has been attested to in many traditions. The resuscitation of the corpse expected after the elaborate processes of mummification in ancient Egypt implied the hope of permanent physical survival as well as survival of the personality. In Zoroastrian eschatology, one of the clearest statements of physical resurrection comes in the description of the Frashōkereti, or ultimate rehabilitation of the world under the dominion of Ahura Mazdā. The savior Saoshyant will raise the bones of the first ancestors and then those of all humankind, and Ahura Mazdā will invest the bones with life and clothe them with flesh for all time.

In Jewish thought, the soul was first believed to be released from the body at death, but with the development of the idea of resurrection came the belief in the continued importance of the physical body. This belief is carried over to early Christianity: Augustine in the *City of God* says that the resurrected bodies, perfect amalgamations of flesh and spirit, are free to enjoy the satisfactions of food and drink should they so desire. He finds proof for this in the example of Christ consuming a meal after his own resurrection. Proceeding from the original assurance of Jesus that not a hair on the heads of those who are granted eternal life shall perish, Augustine concludes that at the time of the resurrection of the flesh, the body will appear in that size and physical condition in which it appeared at the time of youthful maturity, or would have appeared had it had time to mature. The arguments marshaled by the philosophers of Islam have done little to shake the common faith that the reward for a life of virtue will be the experience of the pleasures of the gardens of paradise in a physical as well as a spiritual way. The kinds of proofs offered by some in the Islamic community against the resurrection of the physical form have been countered rationally, and ignored emotionally, by those for whom a purely spiritual revival seems somehow to fall short of the promises of God and the world-affirming nature of Islam itself.

Continued existence as spirit. From the earliest times, characteristic of primitive societies but certainly not exclusive to them, humankind has had a seemingly natural fear of the dead. To some extent this can be explained in terms of one's own apprehension about the meaning of death for one personally, but to a much greater extent, it seems to derive from a stated or unstated feeling that the dead have some power over the living and can actually interfere with the processes of life on earth. In more extreme cases, this has led to a kind of worship of the dead, in which those who have passed into another existence have sometimes assumed the status of gods. This has been evidenced particularly in China and Japan in the long history of ancestor worship. More generally it takes the form of concern for the proper disposal and continued remembrance of the dead, in the hope that the deceased will in no way return to "haunt" or interfere with life here on earth.

Commonly held is the assumption that because a being has undergone the experience of death, it is privy to information not held by those still in the mortal condition. Echoed in much of the great religious literature of the world is the theme that if only the dead could or would return in some form, they would have much to tell the living. The vanity of this wish for information from the departed is denied by those who are convinced that the dead can and do return and have a great deal to tell about the road that everyone, sooner or later, comes to travel. In many traditions, especially the prophetic, orthodoxy has disdained talk about the reality of ghosts and spirits functioning on earth, and it has fallen to the mythology of folklore to speculate on the best ways to propitiate the spirits of the dead and to ward off those spirits who, for a variety of reasons, are felt to be evil or malicious.

The role of community. Consideration only of the destiny of the individual results in a very unbalanced picture of conceptions of the afterlife. Important to the theologies of many of the religions of the world is the relationship of each individual to other individuals, or the idea of community, whether seen from the perspective of this world (is it necessary to be a member of a community in order to reach a blessed hereafter?) or the next (is there a community of the saved, or perhaps of the damned, in a future existence?). Common to prophetic religions is the expectation that the eschaton will result in reuniting or making whole both the individual and some portion (often the totality) of the human community. It is part of Islamic eschatological tradition that on the Day of Resurrection the specific communities of all the prophets, including that of Muḥammad, will be assembled, each at its own pond, awaiting the judgment.

The notion of community, or the importance of membership in a particular group, takes on a different kind of significance when viewed from the perspective of this world. In the Hindu tradition, liberating knowledge is limited to the twice-born, although this belief is greatly modified by those to whom a devotional relationship to some aspect of the godhead implies salvation rather than liberation. The question of whether one must be a Christian to be saved has engendered among scholars and theologians of Christianity heated arguments that still have not been resolved. *Ummah,* community in the Muslim sense of a religio-political unity, is a tremendously significant element in the understanding of Islam; some contemporary Muslims still insist that one cannot be saved if one is not a Muslim, and that one cannot be Muslim outside of community.

There are some obvious instances in the history of religions in which the community of the saved is the community of the victorious in the sense of realized eschatology, that is, the establishment of a kingdom of righteousness for a specific people here on earth. This is implicit in the theme of Zionism in Jewish thought (although it is only one interpretation, or aspect, of the Zionist ideal as it has developed historically). Even Zarathushtra, if one can correctly interpret the *Gathas,* seems at first to have envisioned the victory of *asha* ("truth, righteousness") over *druj* ("falsehood, evil") as taking place in the pastoral setting of eastern Persia within the context of this-worldly time. Realized eschatology in Christian thought refers to the understanding that Christ's life and death have, in fact, established the kingdom of God on earth for those who, in faith, are part of the body of Christ; in the mysticism of the *Gospel of John,* the Parousia, or second coming of Jesus, has already taken place. Such considerations lead directly to questions of time and history as a further category for reflection on conceptions of the afterlife.

TIME AND HISTORY. The way in which time, its passage and its purpose, is understood in different worldviews has a direct bearing on conceptions of the afterlife. Eastern religions and philosophies generally have conceived time as revolving in cycles, within each of which are periods of creation and destruction, with each "final" cataclysm to be followed again by the entire process of generation. In the elaborate Hindu schema of the epics and Purāṇas, there are moments of creation and destruction, eschatons when the entire universe is obliterated and reabsorbed into the body of the deity, but with the implication that this very process is endless. At the other pole are those "historical" (usually prophetic) religions that postulate a creation when time is said to have begun and a final eschaton when time as humans know it will reach its conclusion. Here history is a given, a once-and-for-all process that begins with the divine initiation and is often understood as depending at each moment on the sustaining, re-creating act of the maker. Implicit is the belief that there is a plan to history, although humans may not be able to comprehend it, and that in some sense the end, when all creation will be glorified and time will give way to eternity, is already cast and determined.

Ideal time. Many religious traditions envision a certain period that can be described as ideal time. This may be an epoch that existed before the beginning of time and will be actualized again when time itself ceases, or it may be conceptualized as having occurred within the framework of history and, thus, having the potential to be realized again in time. In the ancient Egyptian view of the universe as static, ideal time was that continuing time established by the original creation, when order replaced chaos and *maat* was the stability of society as well as the individual ethic of justice and right. A similar understanding is expressed in the Australian Aboriginal concept of a sacred period during which the mythical ancestors lived, an epoch that is removed from any linear understanding of time. In that culture, in which language has no term for time in the abstract, the infinitely remote past is related to the present through the mythology of what has been called "the Dreaming."

For those traditions that emphasize a cyclical view of history, no time can be considered ideal. In one sense, time is not ultimately real, although, in another sense, its constant repetition means that it is perceived to be more plentiful than for people of historical traditions. Insofar as one has to deal with the illusions of reality in Indian thought, the best of times might be that represented by the beginning of each of the great cosmic cycles. From that point until the terrible *kaliyuga,* time (or rather the series of events and characteristics of the periods) degenerates and finally culminates in the awesome destruction of flood and fire that concludes the cycle and initiates a new beginning. For the theistic Hindu, the perfect moment is actually that eternity in which he or she is able to abide in the presence of the Lord.

In the prophetic traditions, ideal time can be understood in several ways. The ideal age in one sense is that ushered in by the eschaton, the end of time that is itself the realization of eternity. Yet for most of the prophetic religions there is a time within history, theoretical or actualized, that can be described as ideal. For some Christians, this has been understood as the time of the historical Jesus and his initiation of the continued kingdom of God on earth. There have been significant differences among Christians in interpretation of the meaning of a new heaven and a new earth. The restoration of Zion for the Jew has immediate implications; some have argued that ideal time is any time in which Jerusalem is actualized as the home of the Jews. For the Muslim, ideal time in its best historical sense was the period of the Prophet and the first four right-guided caliphs of the Islamic community, a time potentially realizable again at any moment.

Rebirth. Issues of time and history relate directly to the question of how an individual soul (or spirit or body) maintains continuity between this life and that that lies beyond death. Some traditions hold generally to the idea of one life on earth, death, some kind of resurrection or rebirth, and then continued existence on another plane. Others believe in reincarnation (metempsychosis or transmigration) with its possibilities of a series of lives on earth or elsewhere. Human imagination, or intuition, has resourcefully suggested many variations on these alternatives.

For the most part, traditions that see time as linear and progressive have rejected the idea of rebirth on this earth and relegated to the ranks of heresy those who have attempted to espouse such a theory or to combine it with the more traditional understanding of death and resurrection to propose an existence apart from the physical world. For those who hold to the idea of resurrection, final life is not automatic but is granted by the specific act of a being or beings who actually bring the dead back to life. The victory over death may be seen as occurring immediately after the demise of the individual or as coming at some final *eschaton,* as when the savior Saoshyant breathes life into the lifeless bodies of all humanity in Zoroastrian thought, or, in Islamic tradition, when the individual souls are called to the final day of judgment.

Eastern mystical thought has articulated the concept of reincarnation with some consistency, although in the Buddhist case the difficult problem arises of identifying what it is that is born in another body if there is nothing that can be called an individual soul. Buddhist thinkers have developed elaborate and complex theories for reconciling the concept of *anātman* ("no soul") with the six categories of being into which the non-soul can be reborn. Even those religions that contemplate aeons of potential rebirths, however, do project the hope of a final release from this recurring condition.

To say that one's soul is immortal is to imply that it has always existed and that it will never for a moment cease to exist. This is the basic understanding of those who postulate recurring births in a variety of incarnations, but it need not necessarily be linked to conceptions of transmigration. A great debate took place in Islam between the philosophers, whose rational directives led them to conclude that immortality was the only possibility for humans, and the theologians, whose adherence to the word of the Qurʾān dictated the necessity of belief in the specific acts of creation and resurrection from the dead. The concepts of resurrection and immortality, however, are certainly not always seen as unambiguously antithetical. Theologians have long struggled with the determination of which term is more applicable to the Christian understanding, or whether both might in some senses pertain.

Eschatology. For those who adhere to the idea of resurrection, with the implication of some form of life eternal to follow, one of the most pressing questions concerns when that resurrection is going to occur. Millenarian expectations have taken a variety of forms in both Judaism and Christianity, with the chiliastic hope in the latter for Christ's return. This kind of eschatological anticipation is generally seen in the context of the specifics of judgment. Here again, however, there is often no clearly formulated theological statement about precisely when judgment will take place or whether it is to be an individual or a universal adjudication. Some see it as happening soon after death, while others postulate a waiting period, perhaps of great length, before the eschatological events that herald a universal judgment.

In early Christianity, there was the expectation that the return of Jesus to usher in the new age would be so soon as to come within the lifetime of the community of those who had had fellowship with him. The passage of time moderated this expectation, and new theories had to be developed to account for the state of the soul in what came to be seen as a waiting period before the messianic age.

In the Persian case, Zarathushtra himself apparently had first felt that the kingdom of righteousness would be established on earth and them implied that eternal reward or punishment would instead come after death. Later, Sasanid orthodoxy, in developing its theories of three-thousand-year cycles, came to expect a kind of temporary reward or punishment lasting from death to the period of the Frashōkereti, at which momentous time a final purging through molten metal will purify all souls for their eternal habitation in the presence of Ahura Mazdā.

Other of the prophetic religions have hesitated to interpret with such exacting clarity or to understand the particulars of reward and punishment so graphically, yet in a general way have postulated a similar period between the death of the individual and the general resurrection and ushering in of the final age. The suggestions of scriptures such as the New Testament and the Qurʾān are sufficiently unsystematic that doctrines about specific aspects of life after death have often been founded on implication rather than specification.

Savior figures. Implicit in the eschatological expectation of Judaism and Christianity is the hope for a messiah or savior. For the Jews that person has not yet come. For the Christians he has come once and will return at the Parousia. The savior concept is somewhat different in Islam; it is embodied particularly in the figure of the *mahdī* and involves a rather detailed understanding of the theological distinctions between Sunnī and Shīʿī thought as well as the relationship of the *mahdī* in its eschatological framework to the restorer and final ruler of the regenerated community of Islam.

Some variation on the idea of a savior or restorer to appear at a future time is to be found in almost all of the living religious traditions, whatever their concept of the flow and structure of time. Saoshyant of the Zoroastrian or Parsi community; the Messiah of the Old and New Testaments; Kalki, the tenth incarnation of Viṣṇu, in theistic Hinduism; and Maitreya, the future Buddha—all reflect an understanding that despite the almost universal importance placed on the necessity of individual human responsibility, it is still possible to hope for the merciful assistance of some being, divine or semidivine, in the determination of one's future circumstances.

THE STRUCTURE OF REALITY. The interrelatedness of the kinds of themes one can develop in considering an issue such as life after death is obvious. The preceding discussion has touched on much of what falls also into the category of conceptions of the structure of reality. It therefore becomes a question not of considering new material as such, but of viewing some of the same concepts from a different perspective.

The world in time and space. The eternality of the world, and its subsequent relationship to the eternality of heaven or the rehabilitated universe, has been postulated in a variety of ways in the history of religious thought. The ancient Egyptian expected that the static nature of the world and of society would mean their perpetuation eternally. In the materialistic Zoroastrian construct, the final rehabilitation of the earth implies its purification and its joining, with a purified hell, to the extension of heaven. Judaism presents an example of the constant tension between a hope for this world, renewed, and the kingdom of heaven as an otherworldly and eternal realm. In the Hindu and Buddhist conceptions, the world is not only not eternal but is in a constant process of degeneration. Even here, however, insofar as the world is constantly re-created within the realm of conditioned *saṁṣara,* it is eternal in another sense.

For many peoples, conceptions of the afterlife are directly related to the way they understand the basic divisions of the universe. The mythology of many of the ancient traditions is rich in descriptions and visual representations of the heavens, earth, and nether regions. A classic theme of religious geography has been that the heavens are located somewhere above the earth and the nether regions below, and that these have been identified to a greater or lesser extent with the location of heaven(s) and hell(s) as after-death abodes in whatever form these have been conceived. A not uncommon spatial concept is that of the land of the dead located in the west, the place of the setting sun, which is repeated in such myths as those of the jackal Anubis, lord of the Egyptian desert, and of the western kingdom of Sukhavati, the heaven of bliss of the *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara.

Reward and punishment. It is often in direct relation to the existing understanding of the structure of the universe that the more specific conceptions of heaven and hell arise. These parallel places of reward and punishment were not generally present in ancient thought. The Mesopotamian *Arallu* and the Hebrew *Sheʾol* both designated a great pit of darkness and dust under the earth that was not a hell (in the sense of any implication of judgment), but simply an abode for the unfortunate dead. Vedic thought in India, particularly as elaborated in the descriptions of Yama and the fathers of heaven in the *Ṛgveda,* was concerned primarily with the positive fate of those who performed sacrifices and good works, the rest passing into the oblivion of nonexistence. With the introduction of the importance of knowledge over sacrifice, of *karmayoga* (liberation through works) in place of ritual performance, the kingdom of Yama was elaborated into a series of heavens, and Yama himself was gradually transformed into a judge of the dead and then a god of the underworld hells, which were correspondingly enumerated.

The greatly elaborated heavens and hells, as they came to be developed in Hindu and Buddhist thought, with their graphic descriptions of the tortures of punishment and the raptures of reward, are by nature temporary (or, at least, one's stay in them is temporary). For the Buddhist, even these abodes are part of the conditioned world of *saṁṣara* and thus by definition are ultimately unreal, as all of phenomenal existence is unreal. In any case, one is reborn from these states or conditions into another state or condition, with the understanding that not until one is reborn as a human being will final release be possible.

Quite different is the basic understanding of prophetic religions, which assumes that the eschaton and judgment result in the eternality of the final abode and resting place. The question of whether or not punishment, like reward, is eternal has long perplexed theologians. In the Judeo-Christian tradition, as well as in Islam, God's justice is always understood as tempered with mercy, and the idea of the eternality of hell has been moderated to whatever extent has seemed consistent with the prevailing theological climate.

The intermediate state. Throughout the prophetic religions it has been necessary to conceive of a kind of intermediate state or place for souls before the time of final disposition. (The very temporariness of one's stay in the Hindu and Buddhist heavens and hells suggests that they fulfill the same sort of intermediate function.) This intermediate state can be a condition of waiting, often in a specified place, for the time of final judgment. Thus, Islamic tradition developed elaborate descriptions of the *barzakh* (lit., "barrier") as a place or condition in which both good and wicked souls dwell until the day of resurrection. In later Jewish tradition, *Sheʾol* came to refer to a temporary place for men and women to await judgment.

In another understanding, this intermediate position is often described as being for those for whom consignment to punishment or reward is not automatic. The Qurʾanic *aʿrāf* ("heights"), for example, has been interpreted as the temporary abode of those whose good and evil deeds more or less balance. Christianity, in some of its forms, has elaborated the distinction between Purgatory, as a place of temporary punishment and purification, and Limbo, as a waiting state where persons such as the righteous heathen and unbaptized infants are kept.

Literal and symbolic interpretations. Common to many religious traditions is continuing debate as to the nature of the future abodes of punishment and reward. Are they to be understood as places of literal recompense or as representations of states of mind? If states, are they attainable now or only in the hereafter? Are the experiences that one has in these states or places real or imaginary? Or, in a rather different dimension, are the descriptions to be seen only as allegorical and not, in fact, indicative of what is actually going to happen either objectively or subjectively?

It is in this area, perhaps, that it is most difficult to generalize within traditions. The awe- and terror-inspiring vision may well be taken with absolute literalness by one believer, while another might see that such visions are only symbolic representations of internal rather than external recompense. The Tibetan *Book of the Dead,* a set of instructions for the dying and dead that is at the same time a description of the forty-nine-day period between death and rebirth, details the experience that the soul has with karmic apparitions in the form of peaceful and wrathful deities. The great insight that comes of the *bardo,* or intermediate state experience, is that not only are the apparitions the products of one's own mind but they also assume, for the purposes of instruction, a concrete and objective reality.

Despite the variations in conceptions of what the afterlife may entail, a belief that human beings will continue to exist in some form after the experience they term death is a universal phenomenon. Skeptics have never persuaded the body of believers, whatever the specifics of their faith, that with the demise of the physical body comes the extinction of the human essence. Most people through the ages have drawn a clear connection between the quality of life lived on this earth and the expectation of what will come after death. Contemporary researchers of near-death experiences claim that they now have the beginnings of a scientific proof of the afterlife in the apparent commonality of the experiences of those proclaimed clinically dead. For most persons of faith, however, such knowledge is part of a universal mystery that by definition is veiled from the eyes of the living. They have some assurances of faith, but the details of what awaits them in "the undiscover'd country from whose bourn no traveller returns" (Shakespeare, *Hamlet* 3.1) can only be anticipated, with the certainty that such knowledge will eventually, and inevitably, be theirs.

SEE ALSO Eschatology; Eternity; Ghosts; Golden Age; Heaven and Hell; Judgment of the Dead; Merit, article on Buddhist Concepts; Reincarnation; Resurrection; Soteriology; Soul; Transmigration.

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AFTERLIFE: GEOGRAPHIES OF DEATH

Belief in some kind of existence after death is one of the more common elements of religion, as history and anthropology show. While death is everywhere recognized as inevitable, it is seldom accepted as an absolute termination of human existence. Beliefs concerning the actual conditions of life after death, however, vary widely from culture to culture. This article will examine the variety of ways in which these afterlife conditions are represented, focusing in particular on their geography.

AFTERLIFE IN GENERAL. The different representations of life after death that we find in different religions are related to their respective conceptions of the structure of the cosmos and of life on earth, and to their different beliefs about the bodily and spiritual constitution of man. The Egyptians, for example, being agriculturalists, looked forward to a future life in the bountiful "Earu fields," whereas the Indians of the North American Plains, who were hunters, looked forward to the "eternal hunting grounds." In each case the actual economic conditions of life play an important role in determining how one will conceive of the afterlife. Similarly, the location and geography of the abode of the dead is in most cultures determined by the actual geographical conditions of their present world. Only occasionally is it determined primarily by cultural factors, as for instance by the traditions of migration among a number of Polynesian religions.

The conception of the soul is also an important factor. A soul that is conceived to be eternal and spiritual leads a different type of afterlife than one that is conceived as the double of the earthly body, or as something that gradually dwindles into nothingness after death, such as we find among certain northern Eurasian religions. A belief in multiple souls within a single individual makes possible a belief in the multiple destinations of these souls. Of the five souls of the Shipape (South America), for instance, only one goes to the hereafter.

There are also marked differences in the degree of interest that particular religions display in the afterlife. While central in one religion, it may be peripheral in another. Christianity, for example, along with a small number of other religions, has made the immortality of the individual central to its system of beliefs. But this centrality of the individual is by no means universally recognized. In many other religions the continuity of life after the death of the individual is of slight interest, because the stress falls firmly on life on earth. The continued existence of man after death may not be wholly denied, but neither is it considered to be of any importance. Thoughts about the conditions of the afterlife remain vague. Thus Godfrey Lienhardt quotes an Anuak man (Upper Nile) as saying simply that no one knows where the dead are, since no one has ever seen them. The inhabitants of Bellona Island (near the Solomons) seem equally unconcerned with what might happen to them after death. In accordance with this lack of interest we find cultures that not only allow the conditions of existence in the land of the dead to remain unclear, but even leave the question of its location unanswered. Rupert M. Downes has found this to be the case among the Tiv of Nigeria, for instance, where ideas about a future state remain nebulous. By contrast, some cultures develop extremely detailed descriptions of the realm of the dead. Here one thinks in particular of medieval Christianity.

Although today we tend to be conditioned to see life after death as an eternal state befitting an immortal soul, it is of some importance to make clear that there are also cultures in which the afterlife is considered to be a temporary prolongation of the present life, to be brought to an end by a second and final death. The Pangwe (southern Cameroon) believe that after death a man lives on for a long time in heaven, but in the end he dies and his corpse is thrown out with no hope of any further existence. The Egyptians too knew the fear of dying for a second time in the hereafter.

The manner of life after death is also closely related to the moral principles of selection for entrance into the country of the dead. In some cases such special principles of selection may be absent. In such a case, the implicit criteria are essentially social, all duly initiated adult members of a community sharing the same destiny. Children and slaves (where these exist) are often excluded. Exceptions exist of course. Among the Apapocúva-Guaraní (South America) dead children go to the "country without evil." About women the opinions vary. Islam, for example, originally excluded women from the heavenly paradise, arguing that women had no immortal soul. In fact, the idea of moral retribution after death is absent from a great number of religions.

Where the conception of reward or punishment according to ethical principles does occur, it is necessary to divide the abode of the dead into two or more sections that may be localized in different places: heaven(s) and hell(s), and in some instances a place in between where souls are purified before they are allowed to enter heaven: purgatory. This may be combined with the belief in reincarnation, as in Buddhism, such that neither heaven nor hell is eternal, the latter becoming a kind of purgatory and the former only a temporary state of conditioned bliss. In cultures where a belief in reincarnation is accepted, the question of the place of a soul's rebirth is understandably of no great importance and the ideas concerning it often remain vague or contradictory.

The distance between the world of the living and the abode of the dead may give rise to the conception of a journey from the one to the other. The Inuit (Eskimo) speak of the road the dead must follow, which seems to be identical with the Milky Way. The Tibetan *Book of the Dead* serves as a guide for the soul on the difficult and dangerous journey to the hereafter and offers detailed "geographical" instructions. The world of the departed may be separated from that of the living by a river (like the Styx in Greece), which must be traversed by boat, or may be crossed by means of a bridge, as the Parsis believe.

Generally the country of the dead is represented more or less as a copy of the world of the living, and life there follows in the main the same lines as life on earth. In these cases it is difficult to speak of a "geography" of death, which would be distinct from the geography of the living. An extreme example of this is the idea which the Admiralty Islanders on Manus (near New Guinea) have developed. In Manus, personality survives death in all respects, at least for a time. A man's property remains his own and even his profession, if he has one, remains unchanged. Reo F. Fortune reports in his book *Manus Religion* that if the deceased was a member of the native constabulary appointed by the Australian administration, he remains a policeman among the ghosts after death. There he receives the periodic visits of a ghostly white district officer of a ghostly white administration and collects the ghostly taxes paid by his fellow ghosts. It is clear that in this case the conception of the country of the dead is an exact double of the land of the living. The living and the dead coexist in space, having only different modes of being. Here it is hardly possible to speak of a distinct geography of death. Although this is perhaps an extreme example, many cases exist in which the dwelling places of the dead are considered to be in the immediate neighborhood of those of the living.

The Greek settlers in southern Italy considered some wild and eerie regions as parts of the underworld existing on the surface of the earth. "Lake without birds" was an appelation of the underworld, Avernus. The *facilis descensus Averno* of which the Roman poet Vergil speaks could be located next to one's own home. Even when the hereafter is conceived as a mirror image of the world of the living, the difference is not as great as it may seem. Things may be reversed, left and right, up and down, the cycle of the seasons may have changed places, but the general principles remain the same.

Where the dead are thought to remain present in the place where they are buried (the conception of the "living corpse"), a special country of the dead may be absent, or at least unimportant. The same is true when the dead are thought to change into animals living in their natural habitat. Nevertheless, the dead always remain separated from the living, at least by their different mode of being, whether or not they are further separated by the location of the realm of which they have become inhabitants. When we find the belief that human beings after death will be reunited again with the cosmos—often considered as divine—there is a transformation in the mode of being, but the question of a geography of the dead does not properly arise. This is the case, for instance, in the Indian concept of *ātman*, the self, which returns after death to *brahman*. Where the final destination of man is conceived negatively, as in the Buddhist nirvana, any attempt to "locate" this final state falls under the same negative strictures.

GEOGRAPHIES OF DEATH. In those cases where there is the elaboration of a distinct geography of death, there appear to be three main possibilities, each with minor variations. The world of the dead may be on earth, under the earth, or in heaven. Numerous examples can be given of each.

In the first case, the world of the dead is situated on earth, but at a lesser or greater distance away from the dwellings of the living. The Trobriand Islanders (New Guinea) situate the village of the dead in the direct neighborhood of their own villages. The Celtic Tirnanog is an island in the far west on the other side of the immense ocean. According to the Tasmanians (Australia) the dead travel to an island nearby where they continue their existence; in parts of the Northern Territory (Australia) the island of the dead is situated far off in the direction of the Morning Star. According to the Ewe (Togo) the country of the dead lies a long way off from that of the living on the far side of a river, and the journey to arrive there is difficult and dangerous. We also frequently find peoples having traditions of migration, and here in many cases the abode of the departed is identified with the people's original home, described in myth. Starting from Southeast Asia, we find all over the Pacific variations of the name *Java*, not only as the actual island of the living, but also as the mythic island of the dead. This "principle of return," as it has been called, often appears in the orientation of the corpse at burial that is based on the idea of the return to the country of origin.

In the second case, the realm of the dead is situated beneath the earth or under the water. The idea of an underworld as the dwelling place of the departed is probably the commonest of all concepts in this sphere. The idea of an entrance to this region through a deep hole in the ground or a cave is also widespread. The Hopi (North America) locate the village of the dead, Kotluwalawa, in the depth of a lake called "Whispering Water." When located beneath the earth, the world of the dead is usually conceived as either a realm of shadowy figures or shades, as in the case of the Israelite She'ol and the Greek Hades, or as a place of punishment. On Bellona Island, for instance, the dead are believed to live in darkness under the ground, whereas the living inhabit the world of light on the earth. The Babylonian realm of the dead, the "country of no return," is pictured in the myth of Ishtar's descent to hell in similar terms:

> The house of darkness,
> The house the inhabitants of which lack light,
> The place where dust is their food
> and excrements their nourishments,
> Where they see no light and live in darkness.

The specification of the underworld as a place of punishment is closely connected with the more general phenomenon of the differentiation of destinies after death. As noted briefly above, a number of cultures believe in such a differentiation. We may distinguish two main types: one based on the principle of social or ritual status, and one according to ethical principles. Where the main criterion at first appears to be a kind of knowledge, closer inspection reveals that this type is best understood as a subdivision of the first social or ritual one. In the first type, illustrated for instance by the Delaware and Algonquin (North America), there exists a concept of a different destiny after death for different social or ritual groups. The fate of those lacking such status remains open. They are simply excluded from the regular abode of the dead without further thought being given to the problem of where and how they continue their existence.

The most common type of differentiation, however, is based upon ethical principles, which are employed to separate those who are to be rewarded after death from those who are to be punished. Along with this notion of postmortem punishment comes the notion of hell and purgatory as the locations where such punishments take place. While it is true that not all subterranean abodes of the dead are hells, it does seem to be the case that all hells are understood to be subterranean. Realms of darkness beneath the earth beyond the reach of sun and moon, they are illuminated solely by the flames that punish the damned.

In the final case, the world of the dead may be situated in heavenly spheres. This concept is also a very common one. We find it, for instance, in Egypt as one of several ideas concerning the location of the hereafter. The belief that this country is to be sought somewhere high in the mountains is only a variation, since in many religions mountaintops symbolize heaven and the dwelling place of the gods, as, for example, Olympus did in Greece. The Dusun (North Kalimantan, Borneo) situate the abode of the dead on a high mountain. Another variation is the belief that the dead continue their existence on or among the stars.

The heavenly country of the dead is often represented as a more or less idealized replica of that of the living. The Ngaju Dayak (South Kalimantan, Borneo), for example, go to Lewu Liau after death, a village of spirits situated in a lovely and fertile country, near a river full of fish and with woods filled with game nearby. Everything that is found on earth is found there too, but it is a better world where such things as criminality are unknown. We also encounter profane versions of such heavenly paradises, such as the land of Cocagne, mentioned in fairy tales and usually located in heavenly spheres.

MULTIPLE GEOGRAPHIES: THE EXAMPLE OF ANCIENT EGYPT. Ancient Egypt offers us an example of a multiple geography of death, combining in a single religion many of the different types we have mentioned above. Although there is no reason to think that the culture of Egypt was an especially somber one, it is true that its preoccupation with death and afterlife was great. Although the Egyptians believed in a judgment of the dead by Osiris, the god of the underworld, there seems to have been no concept of hell. Those souls that could not pass the divine judgment were destined to be eaten by Ammit, "she who devours." Egypt also knew the idea of a second and definitive death in the hereafter. The *Book of Going Forth by Day* in fact relates a myth according to which the entire world will in the end return to its primal state prior to creation, to a state of chaos or nothingness.

Egyptian religion is of particular interest because of the multiple ways in which it conceived of the hereafter, called in Egyptian Duat, the zone of twilight, or heaven by night. Five distinct conceptions may be mentioned.

First, the Egyptians recognized a country of the dead, named Amentet, the West. More exactly, this term applies to the western frontier of the fertile land, the edge of the desert where the necropolises were located. The idea of the dead who live on in the grave and graveyard was also known. The realm of the dead is at times situated beneath the earth, which it more or less duplicates, and at other times it is pictured as a system of caves and passages. In both of these cases, the dead living there are believed to be visited by the sun at night. Then there are the "Earu fields," conceived as a heavenly copy of the land of Egypt, complete with a heavenly Nile, yet superior to earth in every way. Finally, the country of the dead may be located in heaven among the stars, especially in the north among the circumpolar stars, which the Egyptians called the "stars that never die."

SEE ALSO Heaven and Hell; Otherworld; Underworld.

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AFTERLIFE: AFRICAN CONCEPTS

Discussing African notions of afterlife necessitates several preliminary and pertinent observations.

First, Africa is characterized by a tremendous ethnic and cultural diversity. There are about three thousand African ethnic groups, each boasting a distinctive common history, culture, language, and recognizable belief system. Thus, it is possible to speak of the Yoruba notions of afterlife and compare these, say, to the Igbo or Zulu concepts, noting distinctions and similarities. This article will factor in this palpable ethnic diversity in order to avoid sweeping generalizations.

Across the many ethnic groupings and cultural expressions, however, one can discern commonalities in worldviews that make it possible to speak of an "African" worldview as compared, say, to a "Hindu" one. Summarizing distinctive markers of this African worldview, Sambuli Mosha isolates four key ideas, namely: (1) the centrality of belief in God, (2) an acknowledgment of the intrinsic unity between individuals and communities, (3) viewing the universe as an interconnected, interdependent whole, (4) embracing life as a process of spiritual formation and transformation (Mosha, 2000). All these markers shape the way Africans conceptualize both this life and the hereafter. These commonalities in worldview despite cultural ethnic differences will be assumed in this article.

Secondly, African beliefs are *dynamic* rather than static. They are shaped and influenced by other belief systems that they encounter in history. While this dynamism is manifest in all aspects of belief, here we focus on concepts of the hereafter. In this regard, we note for example that ancient Egyptians held very clear eschatological ideas featuring notions of heaven and hell and a final judgment. Thus, in the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, a text designed to be a guide for the soul as it journeyed on beyond physical death, Osiris determines the destiny of the dead. Having measured their moral worth against the feather of Maat (symbolizing truth and justice), he sends them "west," to the "abode of the righteous," or to "hell." Today, the pyramids where the pharaohs, ancient Egyptian kings believed to be immortal, were entombed remain an enduring testimony of the ancient Egyptians' preoccupation with life after death.

Two thousand years later, these Egyptian ideas of the hereafter were part of the repertoire of beliefs in circulation in the Mediterranean world as Christianity was taking shape. Later still, in the nineteenth century, through Christian missionaries these ideas found their way into sub-Saharan Africa. Here, they reinforced prior indigenous concepts of the afterlife where these already incorporated notions of a final judgment, as in the case of the Yoruba of Nigeria and LoDagaa of Ghana (Ray, 1976, pp. 143*ff*). Elsewhere, for example among the Agikuyu of Kenya, ideas of heaven and hell were introduced de novo, since this community's prior concepts of the hereafter had no such notions. Among the Gikuyu, as was typical in most indigenous African communities, though one's moral misconduct could provoke divine anger and punishment, such punishment was this-worldly rather than delayed and otherworldly. The impact of historical encounters between cultures, and the ensuing dynamism, transformation, and fluidity of ideas will be recognized and factored in this analysis.

Against this background then, and drawing examples from the vast pool of diverse African cultures, this article discusses the topic under several interrelated headings, namely:

- Afro-theism, Cosmogonies, and African Notions of Afterlife
- Concepts of the Human Person and Implications for Life After Death
- Notions of Afterlife: Clues from Mortuary and Funerary Rituals
- The Living-Dead: Corporate Identity and the Destiny of the Individual
- The Living and the Dead: The Status and Role of Ancestors
- Change, Continuity, and Contestation: The Impact of Christianity and Other Religions

AFRO-THEISM, COSMOGONIES, AND AFRICAN NOTIONS OF AFTERLIFE. The African worldview is decidedly theistic. God (named differently by various ethnic groups) is the creative force behind the origins of the universe and human beings within it, a belief that appears in many African cosmogonic myths. These myths also indicate that in God's original intentions, the world was orderly, and human beings led a happy life in a state of immortality as long as they were close to God, their creator. Somehow, this state was interrupted, and death entered the world. Ray (1976, p. 24) reports that according to a myth of original "paradise lost" held by the Tutsi of Rwanda, in the beginning, Imana, God, created two worlds, the one above and the one below. The world below was the opposite of the world above, since it lacked in beauty and prosperity. Initially, human beings lived close to the sky and were therefore near enough to the world above to enjoy its benefits without struggle and labor. Sickness was not known, and when people died, Imana brought them back to life after three days. Perhaps because of human disobedience or greed, this relationship was lost. The promise of happiness brought by proximity to God was severed and remains only a vague future possibility. According to the myth, humans continue to suffer hardships in this world, until one day when, their expiation over, they will return to the sky. It seems from this myth that the Tutsi understand happiness and immortality to be dependent on how well they maintain the link between themselves and God.

Quite different to the Tutsi myth with its promise of at least a rudimentary eschatological hope, the Nuer myth of paradise lost stipulates that in the beginning all was happiness, since the heavens, God's abode, and earth were linked by a rope, the pathway to access divine favors and bounty. According to this myth, upon death people ascended to the sky via the rope for a short period and came back rejuvenated to earth. When the rope was severed, death became a permanent feature of the human condition. The myth suggests that this group believes that immortality is gone forever and only life and death within this world remain (Ray, 1976).

CONCEPTS OF THE HUMAN PERSON AND IMPLICATIONS FOR LIFE AFTER DEATH. More clues regarding African notions of afterlife can be gleaned from an examination of African concepts of the person. Now, in some belief systems, say Hinduism, the person is defined as the soul that is contained or even imprisoned in the body. Indeed, within Hinduism, one goal of religious activity is to facilitate the ultimate separation or liberation (*moksha*) of the soul (*ātman*) breaking out of once and for all the unending and tragic cycle of reimbodiment (*saṃsāra*).

In general, within the African context, such a rigid dualism between body and soul is not found. Instead of conceiving the person as a soul that is *contained* in a body, Africans define the person as an integral whole constituting the "outer person" (the body) and the "inner self." The Yoruba call this inner person *ori-inu* (Idowu, 1994, p. 170). Symbolized by the physical head, *ori* is also connected with God, Olódùmarè, who is the source of all being and before whom one's *ori* kneels to receive one's destiny prior to being born into this world. One's *ori*, therefore, is the *essence* of one's personality as it controls and guides one's life according to the destiny received prior to birth. At the end of one's physical life, one will give an account of one's earthly conduct before Olódùmarè (God) who will determine one's postmortem existence either in the "*Orun rere*" (Paradise or good orun) or "*Orun apadi*" (hell or Orun of the Potsherds), where one suffers a wretched afterlife. According to Bolaji Idowu, life in the "good *Orun*" is but a larger and freer copy of this worldly life, minus earthly pains and tribulations. The best postmortem reward is a reunion with one's relatives who have died before, particularly ancestors, the *Ara Orun* (Idowu, 1994, p. 177). Although Idowu presented this idea of afterlife in the context of traditional Yoruba society, it is important to note that some scholars have questioned this apparently theological explication of the Yoruba notion of afterlife. The notion may be due to the strong influence of Islam and Christianity on Yoruba culture at the time Idowu collected his materials.

That a person is considered a composite and integral whole is also evident in that often, when people claim to encounter the dead through visions and dreams or when they communicate with them through ritual, they claim to have met or spoken with "so and so," a person identifiable by name, rather than the "ghost" of so and so. Given this integral relationship between the outer and inner person, then, it would seem that at death it is the person that dies rather than "the soul" leaving the body and flying away, as some Christian popular hymns indicate.

NOTIONS OF AFTERLIFE: CLUES FROM MORTUARY AND FUNERARY RITUALS. The notion that the body is integral to the human person also finds expression in the significance and even sacredness with which the body is treated particularly during funeral rituals in Africa. Such rituals and related "oratures" (myths, stories, and songs) constitute a commentary by humans on their experiences in this world and its beyond and offer significant clues regarding concepts of the afterlife.

In the oratures, the fact of dying is often described using the metaphor of a journey. Death is depicted as "saying goodbye" to the living or "saying yes" (*gwitika* in Gikuyu) to a summons by God. Many people describe death as "a going home" (in Gikuyu, *kuinuka*) or simply, a departure (Gikuyu, *guthie*). Death is also described as "sleeping" or "resting."

This use of the metaphor of a journey is related to the fact that in general, as indicated earlier, Africans view life itself as a journey. Life is an unfolding, a process of "formation and transformation" that starts before birth and does not end at physical death. During crucial moments of this life journey, special rituals (rites of passage) designed to mark, celebrate, and help the individual successfully negotiate the key turning points, including death, are performed. Thus, for example, among the Swazi, burial of the dead is only done after three days. It is said that going through the physical death process is exhausting to the sojourner and therefore the deceased needs a few days to recuperate before continuing in the next phase of the life journey. The Swazi also bury their dead with all their vital earthly belongings, thus equipping them for the next phase of their life journey, beyond physical death. (M'passou in Cox, 1998, p. 28). Furthermore, during the period between death and burial, the Swazi, as do other communities, observe a vigil both to console the bereaved and to keep the deceased person company as they transit between this world and the next (M'passou in Cox, 1998).

Rituals are also performed to prepare and equip the deceased for the journey ahead and also to "inform" those on the other side that the deceased is on the way and they should expect him or her. The Chagga of Tanzania believe that this journey to the world of ancestors takes nine days. To make the journey easier, the corpse is anointed with fat, fed with milk, and covered with a hide to protect it from the elements. A bull is also killed specifically for the deceased's grandfather to alert him so that he can await the deceased (Mbiti, 1969, p. 155).

Mortuary rituals also emphasize the integral connection between the "inner and outer person." Since the body is integral to the person, a deceased's body is treated with utmost respect. Appropriate burial and "disposal" of the body is therefore important; otherwise, the person cannot make the transition into the other world. For this reason, even when a wild beast devours a body, leaving only a few shreds or pieces, these are carefully collected and accorded a full and respectful burial. In situations where a corpse is not retrievable, say because of drowning, a burial must still be performed, and so in some societies, a surrogate is used. The Luo of Kenya, for example, use the yago fruit, which is several feet in length and is laid in the grave to represent the dead. It is also for this reason that cremation is not a preferred method of disposal of the dead in the African context.

Failure to perform burial rites properly makes the deceased unable to negotiate the postmortem phase of the life journey successfully. Such frustrated persons may have to "come back," looking for help or for some vital equipment necessary of the journey. The Luo call such restless, deceased persons *jochiende*, while the Shona call them *mashave*. Such restless and wondering spirits are said to haunt and afflict the living as they try to gain their attention.

THE LIVING DEAD: CORPORATE IDENTITY AND THE DESTINY OF THE INDIVIDUAL. Mortuary rituals also reveal that Africans consider death a paradox. On the one hand, death and burial signifies an end to one's physical life. Meticulous and proper burial signifies that Africans understand the finality of death as a marker of the end of physical life. Death is therefore frustrating because it takes way a loved one and robs people of the companionship and other gifts that such a relationship brings. This frustration is expressed though funeral dirges. For this reason, too, death is also vigorously, collectively, and publicly mourned.

Simultaneously, however, death is not an annihilation of the person. Though the deceased may be physically gone, they are still here as persons and the living can still communicate with them. Paradoxically, then, the dead are not dead, a paradox that led Mbiti to coin the phrase "the Living-Dead" (1969, p. 81).

The belief that the dead are not dead is expressed and dramatized through rituals designed to welcome and install the deceased back into the world of the living. The Luo of Kenya call this ritual *Duogo* (Ongonga in Cox, 1998, p. 236), while the Xhosa of South Africa call it *Ukubuyisa* (Pato, in Oosthuizen and Irving, 1992, p. 134). For the Shona of Zimbabwe, the ritual *is* called *Kurova Guva* and is performed by every member of the family, who must explicitly through ritual offerings and libations indicate willingness to welcome the deceased as a continuing member of the family despite physical death. The deceased is also ritually consulted to indicate his or her acceptance thus to be reintegrated into the family (Gundani in Cox, 1998, p. 201).

According to Mbiti (1969, p. 158), this continued remembrance of the Living-Dead and their sustained interaction with the living constitutes the individual's "personal immortality." One enjoys this status so long as there are people left behind to remember him or her. As a Living-Dead one continues to be involved in matters of the corporate group of family and clan and retains one's personal name and corporate identity in this context. Thus, this is a status clearly linked or even dependent on one's place in and relationship to the corporate group, particularly the family. When after a long time such individuals are no longer remembered by name, they enter a state of what Mbiti calls collective immortality as they blend into the general world of those who have gone before (Mbiti, 1969). The Swahili call this community of the dead *Mizimu*, while their abode is referred to as *Kuzimu.*

THE LIVING AND THE DEAD: THE STATUS AND ROLE OF ANCESTORS. The installation of the deceased back into family simultaneously marks the induction of the deceased into the world of ancestors. Henceforth, the deceased person can be honored in family rituals alongside other ancestors and enjoy a privileged position both among the living and the dead. This status, however, is not automatic. Rather, it depends on how well one conducted oneself in this life as a member of the corporate group. Those who have fulfilled their corporate duties and obligations as the community defines them are honored as "ancestors," a status analogous to but not identical to that of sainthood in Christianity. Being moral exemplars, the ancestors are also considered custodians and enforcers of justice and morality among the living, and because they are considered ontologically closer to God, they function as intermediaries between God and the people. Thus, petitionary prayer is often said through them.

Ancestorhood is therefore a status of honor reserved for the exemplary dead. The Gikuyu refer to such a persons as *mwendwo ni iri* (the people's beloved). Conversely, those who fail in their worldly obligations, or those whose actions are subversive to rather than nurturing of life, are quickly forgotten and "excommunicated" after death. The Gikuyu call such persons *muimwo ni iri* (rejected by the people). To be thus rejected, excommunicated and forgotten, is truly to die in the African understanding.

CHANGE, CONTINUITY, AND CONTESTATION: THE IMPACT OF CHRISTIANITY AND OTHER RELIGIONS. Historically, Africa is heir to a triple heritage of religion and culture: namely African traditional religions, Islam, and Christianity. As early as the first century CE, most of North Africa was part of the Roman Empire and therefore part of Christendom. Later on, the region came under Islamic influence, and today much of North Africa is Islamic and culturally Arabic. Meanwhile, communities like those of the Swahili of East Africa present a religio-cultural hybridity a result of years of blending indigenous African cultures with Islamic ones. Needless to say, Africans who have come into contact with Islam and Christianity have been influenced by the rather sharply defined eschatological notions featuring a final judgment, heaven and hell, and final resurrection as destinies of the soul. Muslims, for example, are encouraged to persevere through earthly tribulations in view of the "day of the Resurrection" when a judgment will be made in their favor, assuming they live a righteous this-worldly life (see Qurʾān, *sūrah* III:185).

African belief systems have been most palpably influenced and shaped by the encounter with nineteenth-century missionary Christianity. This Christianity was articulated in terms of Western culture, and its introduction coincided with the colonization of Africa. Moreover, for the most part assuming a radical difference between themselves and their worldviews and the Africans and their worldviews, and convinced of the need to convert Africans from their allegedly "primitive" and therefore "inadequate" or even "wrong" beliefs, missionaries deliberately tried to erase African beliefs and practices and to replace these with ostensibly Christian ones. This process had a tremendous impact on all aspects of African beliefs, including notions of the afterlife, our immediate concern here.

For one thing, there seems in Christian discourse and practice, a literal demotion or even demonization of ancestors. Whereas in indigenous African thought ancestors were moral exemplars, enjoying a status of honor to which the living could aspire, today, ancestors are in Christian discourse depicted as evil forces of the same character with the devil. Terms such as *mizimu* (Kiswahili), *emandloti* (Swazi), or *ngoma* (Kikuyu), which traditionally described the ancestors, are today used almost as synonyms for Satan or the devil. Furthermore, the deliberate invocation of *ngoma or mizimu* and fellowship with them through libations and prayer (Gikuyu, *kurongoreria*) is in official Christian teaching outlawed because it is considered a breach of the First Commandment. Ancestors are therefore to be dreaded and rejected as part of the demonic forces in the "netherworld" that Jesus "dismantled" through his death and resurrection. Instead of celebrating their exemplary dead, then, many Christianized Africans have seemingly adopted the Christian afterlife discourse and now celebrate angels and saints that are said to populate the heavenly sphere and with whom those who die in good standing with God will live happily after death. Thus, for example, one Gikuyu Christian funeral song bids the deceased farewell and expresses the hope that the person will be met at the gates of heaven by "multitudes of God's angels" (*Kikuyu Catholic Hymnal,* 1992, hymn 101). Whereas in the past the hope was to attain personal immortality as a Living-Dead and to enjoy a status of honor among the ancestors, Christianized Africans look forward instead to joining an otherworldly/heavenly community of God and angels as defined in the Christian discourse.

A redefinition of the human person also seems to be indicated in the Christian discourse. While traditionally one's body was considered integral to one's person and was therefore considered important even after death, today Christian funeral songs depict the body as incidental if not detrimental to one's positive destiny after death. One such song exhorts the listeners to remember that "our bodies are like flowers that wither and die" and that "We shall leave our bodies right here on earth and go to heaven in/with our souls/spirits" (*mioyo*) (*Kikuyu Catholic Hymnal,* 1992, hymn 108). People are therefore encouraged to treat the body with suspicion because fleshly desires might derail their souls from the journey to heaven. The denigration of the body implicit in these songs is quite alien to indigenous understandings of the human person and the person's destiny after death.

The songs also indicate that Christianized Africans have embraced Christian eschatological ideas of heaven and hell and even a postmortem judgment. Thus, while Africans continue to see death as a "saying yes" to God's summons, this summons is a prelude to God's judgment, which determines one's final postmortem destiny in heaven or hell. Thus, as another song reminds the listener, the issue that one should worry about is not death itself, since death is inevitable. The issue of concern is whether at death one will be in a state of readiness to meet God in the final judgment (*Kikuyu Catholic Hymnal,* 1992, hymn 100).

Simultaneously, however, while many seem to have embraced these Christianized notions of the afterlife, there is evidence, even among Christianized Africans, of a marked resistance to the seeming demonization of African beliefs, particularly beliefs in ancestors. Many Christians, albeit in camouflaged or covert ways, continue to honor and remember their dead through ritual in spite of the formal doctrinal ban. The traditional rituals of reinstating the dead into the world of the living, for example, seem to reappear camouflaged in the quite prevalent Christian rituals of "unveiling the tombstone" or "unveiling the cross." Such rituals, usually performed a year after death and burial, are reminiscent of *Kurova Guva*, *Ukubuyisa*, or *Duogo* rituals mentioned earlier. In Catholic circles, Christianized Africans also ritually connect with deceased family members through requesting a Mass for the dead, a doctrinally legitimate practice. This is reminiscent of rituals of communion with the deceased through shared meals and libations. Such Masses for the dead are routinely "bought," particularly around November 2, the Feast of All Souls in the Catholic liturgical calendar.

Recently, recognizing that rituals to honor the dead are carried out despite the ban, and conceding that ancestors hold a key position in African traditional religions the Catholic Synod of African Bishops recommended that attempts be made to harmonize African beliefs in ancestors with Christian beliefs regarding saints (Schotte, 1992, p. 55). This recommendation finds significant support in the thought of a growing number of African theologians such as Jean Marc Ela, a Cameroonian priest, who find the demotion and demonization of African beliefs problematic. Such theologians assert the compatibility of African beliefs with Christian ones if only the latter can shed their Western garb and be clothed afresh in terms of African culture, a process called "inculturation." In this discourse of "inculturation theology" ancestors still emerge as moral exemplars, and instead of Jesus dismantling the ancestors, he is portrayed in this theology as the "ancestor par excellence."

These theologians also argue that beyond the question of the status of ancestors in the hereafter, the ban on African beliefs in ancestors has far reaching implications in the here and now. As Ela, for example, argues in his book *My Faith as An African* (1990), ancestral veneration is simultaneously an affirmation about life after death but also an affirmation of African notions of family, which includes the living, the dead, as well as the not yet born. Doctrinally, to ban ancestral veneration, then, is to demand that Africans abandon this quite viable notion of family (Ela, 1990, p. 17). Furthermore, the ban is seemingly based on Christian notions of afterlife that define salvation as a matter of the individual's disembodied soul getting to an "otherworldly heaven." These individualistic, otherworldly, and disembodied notions of salvation seem contrary to the indigenous sensibilities that focus on "embodied" and "corporate" destiny of the person both in this life and beyond.

For this reason, and in view of the many negative social ramifications of radical individualism in Africa, Ela claims that a reclamation of African beliefs in ancestors is simultaneously a reclamation of the more viable African notion of human destiny, which focus on interconnectedness and interdependence between the individual and the community. For Ela, such a reclamation is not only doctrinally valid and acceptable but would serve as one possible antidote to "this worldly" problems that thrive on radical individualism (Ela, 1990, pp. 24ff).

It would seem, then, that contemporary debates about the afterlife in Africa are simultaneously discussions about this world and this life. It would seem also that the emphasis by Africans on a this-worldly and corporate approach to salvation resonates significantly with the prior key affirmations about God and the world in the African worldview. As we recall, Africans believe that the destiny of the individual and the community are interdependent, interconnected, and intertwined. Africans also believe in a universe that is in process of formation and transformation, and therefore life means being involved in a process of becoming, together. Moreover, in the African view, to be is to participate in an ongoing dance of life propelled by God's creative and sustaining power. This dance is only interrupted, not ended, by physical death. In the African worldview, then, notions about the "afterlife" and notions of "this life" complement and flow into one another.

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TERESIA MBARI HINGA (2005)

AFTERLIFE: AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS CONCEPTS

There are no easy generalizations to be made when dealing with issues associated with ritual particular beliefs in indigenous Australia pertaining to the question of what happens to the spirits of individuals after death. This article will focus on one region of Australia to illustrate concepts involving what may loosely be called afterlife. The particular group is the Yanyuwa people of the southwest Gulf of Carpentaria in Australia's Northern Territory.

For the Yanyuwa, the body possesses two spirits: the first, *ardirri*, comes from the land of one's paternal ancestors, and begins the process of pregnancy. Upon birth, this spirit inhabits the bones of an individual, as they are considered the least corruptible body parts. The second spirit is the *na-ngawulu*, which is often translated as the "shade" or "shadow" of an individual, also the Yanyuwa word for an actual shadow. This spirit is represented in the body by the pulse or the heartbeat. There is also the *wuwarr* spirit, which upon death manifests itself as a ghost of a person. Certain ritual actions take place in the community to remove the presence of the *wuwarr* spirit, potentially dangerous and malevolent, described as jealous of its living kin. The *na-ngawulu* is said to travel east to the spirit world, where it will live in contentment in a rich environment, but speaking a new language and "having new ears so it can no longer hear its living relatives" (Dinah Norman Marrngawi, personal communication, 2004). In more recent times—since contact with Christianity—this is the spirit that is said to travel to heaven or hell.

In the past, the piercing of the nasal septum was a common practice in Yanyuwa society. This was said to open the nose so that upon death, the spirit of the deceased would be able to smell the spirit world. The body was placed on a platform until the flesh decayed, and then the bones were gathered for further ritual to take place one to two years later. Today, internment takes place in a cemetery, but the post-funeral rituals occur as in the past. These rituals are said to join the *wuwarr* spirit to the *ardirri* (creating a spirit called the *kuyara*), and to send the spirit back to its own spiritual source on the land, where it can await rebirth as another human being. In the past, this return to country was actual, with the bones of the deceased interred in a hollow log coffin decorated with powerful designs relating to the deceased individual and country of origin. Contemporary Yanyuwa people see no conflict with new systems relating to death and dealing with various spirits, and indigenous Australians are able to construct relevant understandings of what happens after death.

However, the spirits of deceased individuals are also said to remain in the country they once inhabited, constituting a community that parallels the living Yanyuwa community. These spirits of the deceased continue to hunt and travel all over the country and sea, watching the actions of their living relatives. The spirits are said to be jealous of their living kin, and to have the ability, if they choose, to cause harm and hardship. Conversely, they can help the living, appearing in dreams and assisting their relatives with the retention of information such as place names and song cycle verses.

There are times when the inhabitants of this spirit world and the land itself are seen to be one and the same. In speaking about the land and these deceased kin, people interchange the terms for land (awara) and spirits (li-ngabangaku) often colloquially as the old people (li-wankala), so that one can talk about how the country has become poor and then say that the spirits of the deceased are jealous or cheeky. Both of these comments mean the same thing. One way of dealing with a land that has spirits residing within it is by actively speaking to the land, or "talking to country." This may involve long speeches in high oratory, or may consist of a simple statement that says no more than "here I am." Senior men and women may do no more than shout to announce their presence. This is especially so if people are still often in touch with the locality they are visiting; the land and the spirits of the deceased residing there will be familiar with them. There are times when nothing needs to be said, because people are still moving through the location. When people have not visited a locality for a long period of time, or the actions of the deceased kin are said to be working against the living, speaking to country becomes one way in which a consensus is reached between the living and the dead. By the use of oratory, order is created whereby the speaker draws on the past, reaching out to the deceased kin through genealogy and relationship, and identifying a person or group of people with a locality. It also states by what authority the person is coming to the country, and in what way the person is related. This authority is conveyed by the calling of place names and the names of people who were once associated with the country. The use of names provides a key by which an understanding is given to the event as it unfolds, but the names are also echoes from the past and links with the present generation, and are important for the negotiation of entry to place. A common phrase used in these orations translates as "do not be ignorant towards me." They are also rhetorical statements of an individual's position in relation to significant others. The presentation of self and negotiation with such orations are not beyond dispute and are also the topic of conversations where they will be evaluated against the status of the individual. People can also still often have accidental interaction with these spirits; some of these interactions are seen to be alarming and potentially dangerous while others are seen to be humorous and to be expected. Either way, they become an important source of storytelling.

While there are formal means by which the spirits of deceased are to be dealt with, there is no clear-cut understanding about the ultimate nature of the spirit in Yanyuwa society and what happens at death. What is clear, however, is that a portion of a deceased person will still reside on the land and it is this spirit that involves constant negotiation. While generalizations can be misleading in relation to indigenous understanding of death and afterlife, this belief in spirits of the deceased on the land is widespread across much of Australia.

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JOHN J. BRADLEY (2005)

AFTERLIFE: OCEANIC CONCEPTS

The idea of the temporal continuance of some aspect of the deceased is widespread, if not universal, in Oceanic cultures. In some cases, as with the Dreaming of Australia, or the redoubled "Sky World" of the Enga people of the New Guinea highlands, the condition of the dead is coeval with the life they had lived, though on a different plane of existence. More commonly, the "place" of the dead is identified with some remote or inaccessible location, beneath the ground, under the sea, or, as with the people of the Trobriand Islands, a haunted and little-visited island (Tuma).

Because death betokens an inevitable separation, never mind the "communication" that may follow, the answer to "what happens to the human essence after the body dies?" may run away with the question. It is often coincident with a more comprehensive cosmological vision. If the best one could do to describe *this present life,* here on earth, would be a matter of metaphors and analogies, then what difference if the condition of the dead were described in that way also? For many Oceanic peoples the condition of dying itself is considered to be a long, protracted process, intermingled with grieving and mortuary practices, and the bodies of the deceased, as well as their possessions, become highly charged social objects. For many Austronesian-speaking Melanesian societies, death has great power, and a highly articulated mortuary feasting complex serves as the focus for all social life.

It would be fair to say that for many Oceanic peoples the terminal condition of the deceased is coincident with social dismissal, postponed long after the body ceases to function, and that the "afterlife" is really a sort of "half-life," analogous to the radioactive decay of an element. Living persons encounter the deceased in quasi-human form, or vice-versa, and there may be as much uncertainty and doubt among the indigenous folk as to what is actually going on as among those who study them. Death "takes prisoners," as it were, and may take a long time letting them go. There are a great many peoples in Oceania who would rather not believe in ghosts.

Those who meet their deaths through violent means, in warfare or accident, belong, in many Oceanic cultures, to a special category of after-death experience. They are conceived as restless, mobile, angry spirits, eager to avenge their unfortunate plight back upon the living, and so very dangerous and threatening. The concept is similar to that of the *preta* in the Sanskritic tradition, and to other, analogous precepts found in India and Southeast Asia. It has a widespread distribution in the Pacific, in one form or another, from the divination for "happy" as against "unhappy" ghosts on the islands of Yap, in Micronesia, to the fabled (and often surprisingly real) "Night Marchers" of Hawai'i. One New Irelander, from the Bismarck archipelago, put it this way: "Just how many American and Japanese servicemen died out there in the Pacific? Some days you can see them fishing, in gigantic waterspouts, and you can see them up in the coconut trees during a thunderstorm, with fire flashing from their eyes and armpits. When the wind scoops up moisture from the sea, *bring your children into the house!*"

Found occasionally among non-Austronesian speakers as well, the idea is analogous to another, described among coastal Papuan and Torres Strait peoples and encountered by Captain Bligh in the Tahiti area. This is that those who are shipwrecked at sea become automatically strangers to the land, demons, no longer human, who *must be killed*, for reasons of safety, by anyone encountering them.

In *Beyond the Kubea* (1940) explorer Jack Hides recounted the feeling of an unidentified interior Papuan people that the spirits of the deceased become visible as "cloud-shadows on the mountains," meaning perhaps that their afterlives, or at least our inability to make sense of them, are as evanescent as the darkness playing upon the distant expanses of montane rain forest. The idea at least captures something of the feeling of the Japanese notion of "the Floating World." But it is also emblematic of the problem faced by any inquiry into the particulars of an afterlife concept, for it excludes an explicit denial.

Denial, when met with in this context, has a power of its own. A classic instance of this, easily misunderstood, is the tenet of the Daribi people of interior Papua New Guinea: "When people die, they just go into the ground; their faces disappear, and there is no such thing as a spirit or soul that survives the death." When asked what they might call such a soul or spirit, the Daribi reply, "It is called the *izibidi*." A key to what this may mean is given by a literal translation of the term: it means "die person" and not "dead person" (which would be *bidi-iziare*). More properly, then, the action of dying itself, though terminal, has a tenacious after-effect in the potentially dangerous *izibidi*, an anomalous and paradoxical condition that most people would rather deny than think about. Daribi are afraid of *izibidi* for the very fact that they ought not to exist.

Though the Daribi expression of this point (others might call it "agnostic") is somewhat unusual for the region, its practical implications are not. The expression gives a necessary deniability (as well as considerable power) to the words and actions of the spirit mediums and shamans (*sogoyezibidi*), the main spiritual agencies in Daribi life. A more general evocation of the paradox was given to the French missionary Maurice Leenhardt (1979) in New Caledonia: "We have always had the *spirit*; what you Westerners brought to us was the *body*." All the problems and paradoxes regarding afterlife in the Pacific may be said to begin from that point.

For many Melanesian peoples, at least, "afterlife" may be an aberrant approximation, based on the continuing resonance, in memory and in *habitus*, among the survivors, of a striking or powerful *personality* removed from their midst. Thomas Maschio (1994) translates this as "memory" among the Rauto of south New Britain, and the work of Steven Feld (1982) among the Kaluli, of Mount Bosavi in Papua, reveals their *Gisaro* rite as an awesome synchronicity, uniting the worlds of the living and dead through the reverberation of sound. The Gizra folk, of the Papuan south coast, trace the mythic beginnings of our world to "the Woman Kumaz, Originator of Death and Musical Instruments."

Music may or may not be the voice of the soul, but it is surely our most eloquent evocation of resonance. At all events, it would seem to be the *closeness* or near proximity of death that predominates in many of the Papuan conceptions of afterlife, whereas other Oceanic peoples emphasize the separation. It begins as a journey for many Polynesian peoples. For the New Zealand Maori, one of the most significant shades of the deceased embarks on a long journey after dying and finally comes to reside in a world beneath the sea, very much like our own. On Tahiti the ultimate destination of the deceased depends on choices made, or trials encountered, en route. A kind of paradise, identified as "Fragrant Rohutu," represents the best of these, whereas the others, according to Christian analogies developed by the missionaries who first described them, correspond to a kind of limbo and a purgatory.

Death implies a journey, as well, for the Afek religion of the Mountain Ok peoples in the Star Mountains, the geographic center of New Guinea. One of the edifices of their Telefolip ritual complex covers the entrance to the bad road into death, called "the Road of Dogs Tearing Flesh." Another, presided over by the woman Bitsanip, a near reincarnation of the creatress, guards the entrance to the good road into death, and Bitsanip advises those who die to take it.

There is, however, the danger of a false dichotomy in some of these examples, for the journey of the deceased resonates the life values left behind in death, whereas the verses of the Kaluli *Gisaro*, a most piquant instance of death-related resonance, trace the progression of an imaginary traveler across a real landscape. Kaluli call this "singing the garden-names."

What is missed most in accounts of Oceanic afterlife concepts is neither the fault of those who tell them nor of those who write them down, but most often a glitch in the art of explanation itself, which has a certain afterlife quality of its own. We tend to favor linear, cause-and-effect strategies and vivid depictions of a scenario that is hardly more than guesswork. The best we might hope for would be the kind of pragmatic understanding that combines the afterlife concepts of the peoples in question with those of our own explanatory overtures.

What happens to the *sense* of things after the *senses* have ceased to function? Is the concept of an afterlife something reserved for the living alone, or does it correspond to something that is asymbolic, existing independently of the analogies used for its recognizance? Even our commonplace words and phrases have their resonances, and a sentence is, of course, a journey. But for a number of Melanesian peoples, and perhaps others in Oceania, the question of analogy's correspondence to reality is a moot one. For those gifted with what some scholars have called a "holographic worldview,"* the differences between symbolic analogy and reality, and, perforce between life and death, are summed together automatically and canceled, in the very thinking of them. This means that what might be considered as "afterlife" is fully coterminous with life as it is lived, that what might be called "the symbolic debt" of the living is revoked, that every person becomes a completed being when the holography is engaged on their behalf.

In formal terms, holography amounts to the complete mutual occlusion of part and whole (*any* part and *any* whole) in any contingency. When properly applied, holography obviates the stepwise patterning of logical explanation, or reasoning by analogy, by the simple virtue of being its own analogy for itself. In more familiar terms, a hologram depicts a three-dimensional imagery in a two-dimensional format and obviates the sense that would guess at its depth or spatial placement. In the terms of the mortuary feasting complex of the Barok people of New Ireland, death's hologram is life, and life's hologram is death. "The child in the womb and the corpse in the ground are one and the same thing and the same conception, the ultimate containment called *Kolume.* In everything we know and do and touch, *Kolume* is intersected by *Gala*, the ultimate severance, or the cutting-that-nurtures." What would appear to be a mortuary feasting complex is simply a highly formalized and participatory confirmation, performed on behalf of every person who dies, of the elemental oneness of *Gala* and *Kolume.* Death takes no prisoners, here, and afterlife would be anticlimactic.

We have ample evidence that something of this sort, the holographic death, was the real object of ancient Egyptian mortuary practice, belief, and ritual, though we have not escaped its purely secular afterlife. But we have better evidence, historical contingencies aside, that the Barok version of it is by no means unique in the Oceanic world. Barok themselves point out that something very similar takes place on the offshore islands of Tangga, as perhaps elsewhere in the island arcs of Austronesian-speaking Melanesia. Fine examples have been found on the islands of Sabarl and Vanatinai, in the Massim area, and on the large island of New Guinea. Effective holographic imageries, or in other words asymbolic mental models, have been discovered, usually inadvertantly, by ethnographers in a number of places in Oceania.

Closely allied to these is the conception of afterlife that might be called "reflectional," often based on a radical and *highly* articulated form of duality. Among the Enga and a number of other interior New Guinea peoples, each person has a "double," a mirror duplicate that pursues a parallel existence in the sky or in a land beneath the rivers and lakes. A South Angan speaker put it this way: "The one you see in a mirror, or in a pool of water, is not you, and it is not human." For many of these peoples the idea of an afterlife is merely contingent to what amounts to a much stronger principle, that of the self-separate identity as a manifest aspect of a bifurcate cosmos. Thus, the Kaluli, mentioned above, experience afterlife in the form of an animal double living in the forest, the water, or the air. When that creature, in its turn, dies, its spiritual essence reenters the human world.

Duality and holography are neatly combined in the afterlife concepts of many Australian Aboriginal peoples, particularly those of the central desert regions. On the one hand, the everyday world of landscape or "country" is organized according to intricate permutations and combinations of the powers of two—the marriage sections and ritual moieties. On the ether hand, the dreaming ("dreamtime"), an eternally creative epoch, is purely holographic and permeates the world of the living on a separate spiritual plane. One enters the dreaming in sleep, in ritual, and necessarily in death. But, because a *part* of one's existence is always fixed in dreaming, "afterlife" describes only one aspect of something with a vast potential scope, and that would have to include such things as "forelife" as well.

Concepts such as that of "reincarnation"—reported more frequently among Australian Aboriginal cultures than elsewhere in the Oceanic region—participate in this potential as well. If the psychology of the dreaming operates in the way that the Aboriginal peoples have described it, then the daily journey of the human soul—waking and sleeping, as well as the ritual cycles of the collective multitude—amount to a complete social encompassment of the reincarnation principle that has no peer anywhere else in the world of human cultures. Asking whether such a thing as reincarnation exists, or why or how it may operate, would be completely beside the point of what these peoples know of it.

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ROY WAGNER (2005)

AFTERLIFE: MESOAMERICAN CONCEPTS

The term *Mesoamerica* defines a broad cultural area of great sociopolitical complexity mediated by many shared religious concepts, cosmological ideas, and ritual practices related to death and the afterlife. Researchers of the Mesoamerican region have divided its history into four periods: Preclassic (2500 BCE–200 CE), Classic (200–650 CE), Epiclassic (650–900 CE) and Postclassic (900–1521 CE). The archaeological evidence and historical record combine to yield a remarkably rich array of pre-Columbian notions of death and their vital role in the daily lives of people.

DEATH, SEED OF LIFE. In the midst of great cultural and regional diversity throughout Mesoamerican history, one clear notion was shared by many if not all peoples: death was more than an occasion for fear, mourning and ritual response; rather, death was perceived as a vital, generative, and creative moment in a cosmic process. In this vision of the world, the cosmos and the human body were perceived in a very particular manner: everything in the universe, in one way or another, had supernatural implications. The gods, who traveled in a helicoidal motion, could manifest themselves anywhere and in any shape. The sacred powers of the cosmos reached everywhere and the belief in a complementary dualism pervaded all beings, objects, and places as well as the symbolic systems that expressed their roles and meanings.

Death occupies a vital place in this dichotomous universe, an element that, far from fatal, possesses a renewing quality. The sacred books show that death and all beings connected to it are associated with the creation of individuals, of peoples, and of humanity as a whole. Its name was given to one of the days of the Maya calendar, *Cimi,* and had its Mexica counterpart in *Miquiztli.* Furthermore, death was closely associated with maize, which was the sustenance of the Mesoamerican peoples. Death received ritual blood offerings because it was believed that—like the sun in the sky—death, wherever it resided or manifested itself, ensured the continuity of life. Death also played a fundamental role that related it to the earth: like the soil, it received seeds and made the harvests possible. It also housed funerary bundles and, at the end of the day, it devoured the sun, causing the night to fall.

Also associated with this life-generating notion of death was the concept that life could emerge from the world of the dead, as exemplified in the myth that relates how Quetzalcoatl, god of the wind, stole from the nether region the bones with which he created the human race. Similarly, the *Popol Vuh* narrates how the "Twin Heroes" were conceived in that region, where it was possible to die and be resurrected. Despite the peculiarities of each culture, there is enough evidence from the Mesoamerican region to suggest that death was a state closely associated to life, and not a lethal element. A chronological review shows several coincidences in the development of notions of death and life in the netherworld.

DEATH IN MOTION: EARLY AGRICULTURAL SOCIETIES. The regenerative powers of death are shown through different kinds of motion or dynamics. First, death is part of an oscillation between death and life, in that death is a permanent partner of life. This can be traced through the archaeological record. During the middle Preclassic period (1200–400 BCE), the duality of life and death is emphasized, as exemplified in what is considered an extraordinary clay mask found in the archaeological discoveries at the village of Tlatilco, in the Central Highlands. It represents a human face, half of it corresponding to a living being, the other in skeletal form. In this geographical area the motions of the dead in the afterlife are symbolized by the burial of companions for dead humans—companions in the forms of not only funeral offerings and various goods like vessels, jewels, or tools, but the skeletal remains of dogs. We know from late ethnohistorical sources that these dogs were believed to accompany individuals, gods, and the sun in their journeys to the underworld. With time, the presence of dogs in Mesoamerican tombs becomes a trait. As for the offerings, they might correspond to materials deemed to be needed by the soul in its journey to the netherworld.

In the western regions of Mesoamerica, a broad variety of funeral rites associated with shaft tombs suggest a kind of social continuity and movement in the afterlife. Archaeologists have learned that these tombs reveal not only distinctive ways of treating the dead body, but also a strong commitment to family ties and ethnic relations. Typically, several individuals were laid to rest in each of these shaft tombs, and in some instances blood ties have been established between the individuals in one grave. The offerings of tools, which would be used by the deceased to perform his or her job in the afterlife, were common in the later periods—in the netherworld the deceased continued with the work performed while they were alive.

An important finding of the late Preclassic period (400 BCE–200 CE) is a stele found in Izapa, Chiapas, a work considered to be of unparalleled craftsmanship that depicts a seated skeleton wearing a mask on its face. It is one of the earliest representations of death as an element in motion.

DEATH IN THE EARLY CITIES. There are many archaeological examples of the funerals of dignitaries and the importance of lineage during the exequies, and of the relationship of lineage with monumental architecture. For the rest of the population, however, funeral rites seem to be associated with domestic spaces.

In Teotihuacan, the most cosmopolitan of the region's urban centers, numerous sculptural and painted images show that rain, fertility and the commitment to sustaining agricultural resources have been found. A fundamental notion of pre-Columbian thought developed in this imposing city—the ritual significance of caves and their association with life and death. These openings, whether natural or man-made, were associated with the netherworld because of their symbolic relation to a uterus, a tomb, and the jaws of the mythic "earth monster." As confirmed by some late narratives, the life of the ancestors is thought to originate in the cave and, in serving as tombs, caves are also the final destination for some individuals. In Teotihuacan, which is a sacred recreation of the cosmos, caves were a crucial element—from them came the raw material to build the city, and rituals took place inside them that were closely associated with death.

Teotihuacan's sophisticated agricultural cosmovision and technology is evident in the astonishing colorful murals found in palaces and apartment compounds. In the eastern quadrant of the great capital, archaeologists uncovered what is known as the Tepantitla complex, and they were able to restore a series of colorful murals depicting something like a terrestrial paradise. This paradise or sacred afterlife shows richly bejeweled characters in different postures and actions, a great blooming tree with a dynamic, twisted trunk and a richly costumed deity presiding over the scene. This image has been interpreted as Tláloc's paradise, or the Tlalocan.

During this period (c. 200 CE) death by sacrifice became a common practice as evidenced by numerous stunning discoveries in the great ceremonial compound known today as the Ciudadela. At the heart of the Ciudadela stands a majestic pyramid-temple decorated with alternating images of Quetzalcoatl and, possibly, Tláloc. Recent archaeological work found 134 human skeletons with their hands tied in the back. Exceptional offerings were placed near the individuals, such as luxurious necklaces made of shell (representing human mandibles). Often, with these immolations, the people returned the sacrifices the gods had made in the original times. Thus, death became fundamental to the operation of the cosmos.

The evidence from other sites is often considered surprising. Iconographic representations engraved in walls and pottery of the Maya region depict skeletons in motion, participating in rituals or presiding over scenes. Examples from the more lavish and complex funerals, such as the tomb of Pacal, the ruler of Palenque, date to this time. The elaboration of a monolithic sarcophagus, the carving of a tombstone, and the construction of the pyramid to function as a sepulcher, are all examples of extensive planning. Together with the sacrifice of companions and the lavish offering, this evidence demonstrates the importance of the notion of an afterlife and, probably, of the journey the ruler had to undergo to reach his destination. In this imposing tomb there is also an exultation of life and death: An image of the deceased was carved on the cover of the sarcophagus, a maize plant emerging from his chest. Such magnificent royal sepulchers are common throughout the Maya region.

Oaxaca is another region where the dual notion of life and death is apparent. The evidence from mural paintings, the clay masks that show skeletal facial features, and the location of Zapotec tombs (placed under rooms, patios, and temples) all point to the importance of death in everyday life. The area of the Gulf of Mexico is not an exception. The clay figurines from Zapotal, Veracruz, are one example, as they represent skeletons that are associated with the god of the underworld.

URBAN REORGANIZATION: SYMBOLS OF SACRIFICIAL DEATH. Different notions of death and sacrifice were consolidated during the Epiclassic period. Among these, the importance of the notion of glorious death in times of war becomes common in the archaeological record. In the city of Tajín, references to sacrifice and decapitation associated with ball games are grandly carved in stone. In the Mayan region, Chichén Itzá is another clear example of the increasing importance of such rituals. Towards the end of the period, the record shows an increase in the artistic representation of death, as is the case in Tula, where a snake carved on the side wall of a temple devours a row of skeletal people. The existence of a *Tzompantli*, or wall of skulls, near the ball court is further evidence of such expanded representation, which also appears at Chichén Itzá.

THE BODY AND LIFE AFTER DEATH. During the Postclassic period, the Mexicas and other contemporary peoples of the Central Highlands believed the body held three souls. Each soul was believed to reside in a specific region that served a function in the body and, upon death, had a specific fate. The *teyolía* resided in the heart, and was indispensable for the preservation of life. The *tonalli* was located in the head; it could exit the body and, were it not to return after a certain time, its proprietor would die. The *ihíyotl* resided in the liver. It was associated with the human passions, and it, too, could exit the body. Upon the death of the individual, these souls would dissipate, and the *teyolía* would travel to the world of the dead (López Austin, 1980, 360–370). Apparently, the Maya also believed in a kind of soul that traveled to the netherworld. This can be interpreted from the colonial records that tell of the placing of a stone in the mouth of the deceased that would receive the soul at the last breath.

The destinations of the dead are true funeral geographies, as evidenced in the three more powerful groups: Mexica, Tarascan, and Maya. It was believed that these locations could be in the heavens, the water, or under the earth, and that their entrances were caves, lagoons, or nebulous places located somewhere in the earth. Dangerous locations associated with the landscape had to be traversed in order to gain access to them. In other instances, these territories combined environmental elements with supernatural traits. The three above-mentioned groups coincided in perceiving the underworld as the main realm of the deceased. Among the Mexica, this region was known as Mictlan. Friar Bernardino de Sahagún (1997) writes that it was the destination of those who died of old age or common illness, regardless of their origin.

Nine areas had to be crossed in order to reach this region, which was located under the earth. The deceased was left all necessary items for his or her journey. The route is described in the *Codice Vaticano Latino 3738* (Vatican Latin Codex 3738). The first stop was the Chiconahuapan River, where a brownish dog awaited his master to help him across. After the crossing, the deceased ascend through a region where mountains crashed into each other. Later, he or she would face the Obsidian Mountain, and then a place where the wind was so cold that it cut like a knife. The blankets given to the dead during the funeral would help in this stage. The deceased next had to cross a place where flags wave in order to reach the place where people are pierced by arrows. More dangers awaited upon his or her arrival in the place where wild animals eat human hearts. After four years, the journey was completed with the arrival at Mictlan, a dark, windowless place ruled by Mictlantecuhtli and his wife Mictecacíhuatl. The god of the underworld was a semi-skeletal being, with curly hair and a nose made of a flint knife.

Those who died of a reason related to water faced a different fate, since they traveled to Tlalocan, a place of abundance and fertility ruled by Tláloc, god of the rain. The descent into the paradise of Tláloc could be caused by an illness associated with the powers of deity. For instance, it was believed that death by drowning or a lightning strike was more than an accidental occurrence; it was the god taking possession of the person through that force. It was believed that the god chose those who died that way.

Once they reached Tlalocan, they would help the deity, who granted water for harvests and storms. These victims were buried directly into the ground, as if they were seeds. Another special place, probably located in Tlalocan, is Chichihuauhcuahco, a nursing tree that was the destination of the souls of suckling children.

It was believed that those who died in war would travel to the "House of the Sun." These deceased were considered illustrious, and their job in the netherworld would be to fight for the preservation of the universe, insuring the transit of the sun from dawn to noon. At that point, it was handed over to women who had died in childbirth, who would accompany it until dusk, before handing it over to the lords of Mictlan.

The Maya also believed in souls having different fates. Among inhabitants of the Yucatan peninsula, the underworld was known as Mitnal. The Quiché Maya called it Xibalbá, "the region of those who vanish," the lowest stratum of the underworld, which was reached by descending a road full of dangers. Such notions were recorded in the *Popol Vuh,* a sacred book written during the early colonial period.

The content of this book was broadly diffused throughout the Maya region. It was believed that the entrance to Xibalbá was in Guatemala, and that in order to reach it one had to descend a steep staircase before crossing a river with a strong current that flowed between thorny calabash trees. Along the way, the deceased encountered another river, the river of pus, and then moved toward a river of blood and another one of water. The latter was located between two steep cliffs. Soon afterward the traveler would be at the junction of four roads, and only the black one would lead to Xibalbá, where the council chamber of the lords of the underworld was located. It was also the site of a garden with birds and flowers, and of a ball court. There was also a spring that was the source of a river and six houses that were torture chambers. Hun Camé and Vucub Camé were the supreme gods of this region, although there were other lords who caused illness and death.

Recent scholarship on the *Popol Vuh* has reiterated one of the main points made here—namely, that Mesoamerican peoples understand death to be one crucial stage in a creative, regenerative process. Several mythic episodes in the *Popul Vuh* reveal that this underworld of Xibalbá was also a region closely associated with life. It was there that the mythic heroes were conceived during one of the cosmic creations. And it was in the threatening regions of Xibalbá that each mythic hero was brought back to life in order to become the Sun and the Moon. Another deity associated with death is called *God A* in the classification of Paul Schellhas (1904). This god is also known as the skeleton (*ah Puch*) or the flatulent one (*kisín*). He was represented as being a skeleton, with body blotches caused by putrefaction, emaciated arms, and a protruding abdomen. He was associated with violent sacrifices and decapitations and is depicted on a throne of bones with his eyes closed and mouth agape—or sometimes as a feminine form.

Another world of the dead mentioned by the Maya was the *Paradise of the Ceiba*, or Coral Tree, a land of plenty that was the destination of the souls of those who hanged themselves. Like Tlalocan, in this place there was a large tree under whose shade one could rest.

In Michoacán, the Tarascan believed that the underworld was under the earth and called it Cumiechúcuaro (place where one is with the moles). It was a region inhabited by deities that looked like people and animals, and it was divided in four directions, with its entrance facing the East, where the sun rises. Cumiechúcuaro was ruled by a mole named Uhcumo.

Another world of the dead was Pátzcuaro, the entrance to which was in the lake of the same name. Associated with blackness, this place was the destination of those who died by drowning and was ruled by Chupi Tiripeme, a deity of water.

As was the case in the Central Highlands, Uarichao was the "place of women" and was to the west. It was for those who had died giving birth to their first child. Thiuime (Black Squirrel) was the deity who inhabited this region. Unlike the emaciated characters of the Maya and Mexica, these gods had the shape of animals commonly associated with the fields.

Other areas show a certain unity of beliefs about life after death, although they have not been as well documented as the above cases. In Oaxaca, the Mixtec worshiped Pitao Pecelao as the god of the underworld, and they made offerings to him during times of illness or death and to counteract the effects of omens. He was associated with wealth and luck, as well as the cultivation of the nopal, or prickly pear, again showing the unavoidable relationship between life and death.

THE ENCOUNTER OF TWO VISIONS OF DEATH. The quick and violent social transformations that took place after 1521 had an immediate impact on perceptions of life and death. The imposition of Christian mores and the death toll caused by war resulted in a transformation of funerary customs. The Western concept of life in the netherworld was based on the idea of resurrection, and the allocation of the dead in the afterlife was dependent on their behavior in life, thus becoming a reward or a punishment. This view contrasts with that of Mesoamerican religions, where the immaterial element of the body played a cosmic role in the netherworld that contributed to the functioning of the universe. Death in pre-Columbian times was related to life, and the journey to the netherworld was associated with the type of death, not with behavior.

Change in the new Spanish society was gradual. The adoption of saints, the ability of some friars to indoctrinate, and the passage of time all led to Christianity's dominance. Nevertheless, it is easy today to observe beliefs and practices that reflect syncretism and cultural wealth. In some contemporary communities it is still possible to record the continuance of pre-Columbian elements mixed with the Christian religion. The offering of dogs in contemporary Lacandon Maya tombs or the Totonac belief in the underworld—with a region for those who have drowned, one for women who died giving birth, and another one for suckling children—are very clear examples.

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AFTERLIFE: JEWISH CONCEPTS

The concept of an afterlife in Judaism took shape gradually and was rarely cast into dogmatic or systematic form. The Jewish idea of the afterlife has focused upon belief in either corporeal resurrection or the immortality of the soul. While one or the other of these conceptions, and occasionally both together, has been present in every period in the history of Judaism, it can safely be said that these ideas underwent their most significant development during the rabbinic and medieval periods.

The Biblical Period. The notion of the afterlife in the Bible is decidedly vague. After death, the individual is described as going to Sheʾol, a kind of netherworld, from which he "will not ascend" (*Jb.* 7:9). God, however, is attributed with the power to revive the dead (*Dt.* 32:39, *1 Sm.* 2:6), and the language of resurrection is several times used in a figurative sense, as in Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones (*Ez.* 37:1–4) and in the apocalypse of Isaiah (*Is.* 26:17–19) to describe the national restoration of the people of Israel. The earliest description of an eschatological resurrection of the dead is in *Daniel* 12:1–2, an apocalyptic text composed in the midst of the Antiochian persecutions (167–164 BCE):

> There shall be a time of trouble . . . ; and at that time your people shall be delivered, every one whose name shall be found written in the book. And many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.

These verses probably do not imply a universal resurrection for all men but only for the righteous and the wicked of Israel. As some modern scholars have proposed, it is likely that the prominence the idea of resurrection began to assume in this period was a result of political and religious crises in which significant numbers of Jews suffered martyrdom. In order to maintain belief in God's justice and in his promises to the righteous that they would enjoy the restoration of Israel, it became necessary to extend the doctrine of reward and punishment beyond this life to the hereafter. (For an explicit statement of this rationale, see *2 Maccabees* 12:42–45.)

The Hellenistic Age. The term *ʿolam ha-baʾ* ("the world to come"), in contrast to *ʿolam ha-zeh* ("this world"), first appears in the Hebrew *Apocalypse of Enoch* (71:15), a work composed between 164 and 105 BCE, and throughout the Hellenistic period notions of an eschatological judgment and resurrection in the apocalyptic tradition begun with the *Book of Daniel* continued to develop in Palestinian Jewish literature. To be distinguished from this eschatological tradition is the conception of the immortality of the soul that was introduced into Diaspora Judaism under the influence of Greco-Roman culture. George Foot Moore succinctly characterized the difference between the two ideas of the afterlife:

> on the one side [i.e., immortality] the dualism of body and soul, on the other [i.e., resurrection] the unity of man, soul and body. To the one the final liberation of the soul from the body, its prison-house or sepulchre, was the very meaning and worth of immortality; to the other the reunion of soul and body to live again in the completeness of man's nature. (Moore, 1927, p. 295)

The idea of immortality initially appears in Hellenistic Jewish literature in the *Wisdom of Solomon* (3:1–10, 5:15–16) and is more extensively developed in the writings of Philo Judaeus (d. 45–50 CE), who describes how the souls of the righteous return after death to their native home in heaven—or, in the case of rare individuals like the patriarchs, to the intelligible world of the ideas (*Allegorical Interpretation* 1.105–108; *On Sacrifice* 2.5). Although Philo's views were immensely influential in early Christian philosophy, they had no impact upon rabbinic Jewish thought as it developed in the subsequent centuries.

Rabbinic Judaism. Belief in the resurrection of the dead is the cornerstone of rabbinic eschatology. Josephus Flavius (*Jewish Antiquities* 18.13–18; *The Jewish War* 2.154–165) and the *Acts of the Apostles* (23:6–9) both attribute such belief to the Pharisees, the rabbis' predecessors before 70 CE, and in one of the few dogmatic statements about the afterlife that exist in all rabbinic literature, the Mishnah explicitly states: "All Israel has a portion in the world-to-come" except "one who says, 'There is no resurrection of the dead'" (*San.* 10.1).

Rabbinic doctrine concerning reward and punishment in the hereafter is based upon belief in the reunion of the body and the soul before judgment. Although rabbinic thought was eventually influenced by Greco-Roman ideas about the existence of the soul as an independent entity, and although there exist some relatively late rabbinic opinions that attach greater culpability to the soul than to the body for a person's sins, there are no rabbinic sources that testify to belief in the immortality of the soul independent of the notion of corporeal resurrection. The unqualified importance that the latter article of faith held for the rabbis is reflected in the great exegetical efforts they made to find sources for it in the Torah (cf. *Sifrei Dt.,* ed. L. Finkelstein, Berlin, 1939, no. 306, p. 341) and in the many references to resurrection that are found in the Targums. As testimony to God's faithfulness, the rabbis also made his power to revive the dead the subject of the second benediction in the ʿAmidah, the centerpiece of the Jewish liturgy, and they included several references to the resurrection in other prayers in the liturgy.

Aside from the dogma of resurrection, however, the rabbis held differing opinions about nearly every matter connected to the afterlife. In regard to retribution in the hereafter, the first-century houses of Hillel and Shammai agreed about the reward the righteous will receive and the punishment the wicked will suffer, but they disagreed about the fate of most men who are neither wholly righteous nor utterly wicked. According to the house of Shammai, the souls of these men will be immersed in purgatorial fires until they are purified; according to the house of Hillel, God in his mercy will spare them all punishment (Tosefta, *San.* 13.3). In a lengthy Talmudic discussion, some authorities propose that upon death the souls of the righteous are gathered in "a treasury beneath the throne of glory" or, alternatively, are given habitation in paradise, while the souls of the wicked are imprisoned and cast back and forth from the slings of destructive angels until they are cleansed of their sins. Still another opinion states that the soul lingers with the body even after death, "lamenting all seven days of mourning," and for the following year it ascends and descends, unable to relinquish completely its ties with the body (B.T., *Shab.* 152a–b). Other sources attribute varying degrees of consciousness to the dead (B.T., *Ber.* 18b–19a).

On such questions as whether Gentiles or the children of wicked Gentiles can enjoy a place in the world to come, second- and third-century rabbis disagreed (Tosefta, *San.* 13.1); the law was decided in the affirmative (see Maimonides' *Mishneh Torach,* Repentance 3.5).

Some rabbinic views about the afterlife reflect beliefs commonly held in the ancient world. While the rabbis stated unequivocally that every Israelite has a place in the world to come, they also believed that persons who suffered violent or otherwise untimely deaths might not be permitted to enjoy the afterlife. The rabbis did not, however, accept the pagan belief that the unburied are refused entrance to the hereafter. While there exist a number of cases in rabbinic literature in which life after death is promised in return for a pious deed, these are relatively exceptional. A statement like the one attributed to the tanna Meʾir (second century), in which he is reported to have vouchsafed a place in the world to come to any person who lives in the Land of Israel, speaks Hebrew, and recites the Shemaʿ prayer daily (*Sifrei Dt.,* no. 333, p. 383), should be understood partly as a rhetorical expression meant to emphasize the importance of the deeds Meʾir encourages.

In general, the subject of the future world does not appear to have obsessed the rabbis or especially to have exercised their imaginations. While there must have existed among Jews many folk beliefs concerning life after death (some of which can be extrapolated from burial customs), few have been explicitly recorded. A striking exception is the view that the body will be resurrected from the *luz,* an almond-shaped bone at the top of the spine that otherwise will turn into a snake (*Gn. Rab.* 28.3). About the ecstatic pleasures or harrowing tortures awaiting the dead, rabbinic speculations were decidedly restrained. Gan ʿEden (the Garden of Eden), the rabbinic equivalent of paradise, is sometimes described as an earthly garden; at other times, as a heavenly one. Geihinnom (Gehenna), the equivalent of hell, derives its name from the valley of Ben Hinnom south of Jerusalem in which, during the time of the biblical monarchy, a pagan cult of child sacrifice was conducted, thus endowing the valley with everlasting infamy. The exact location of the eschatological Geihinnom, however, was the subject of differing opinions: some rabbis locate it in the depths of the earth (B.T., *ʿEruv.* 19a), others in the heavens or beyond the "mountains of darkness" (B.T., *Tam.* 32b); and there is even an isolated opinion that altogether denies the existence of Geihinnom as a place, defining it instead as a self-consuming fire that emerges from the bodies of the wicked and destroys them.

The reticence of rabbinic tradition about these subjects is summed up in a statement of the third-century Palestinian sage Yoḥanan bar Nappaḥaʾ: "All the prophets prophesied only about the days of the Messiah; but of the world to come, 'eye hath not seen it, O God' [*Is.* 64:4]" (B.T., *San.* 99a, *Ber.* 34b). Yoḥanan's Babylonian contemporary Rav (Abbaʾ bar Ayyvu) gives a more detailed description of what, at the least, will not be in the hereafter: "In the world to come, there is no eating, no drinking, no begetting of children, no bargaining or hatred or jealousy or strife; rather, the righteous will sit with crowns on their heads and enjoy the effulgence of the *shekhinah,* God's presence" (B.T., *Ber.* 17a). The rabbis usually imagined the world to come as the complete realization of all the ideals they valued most in this world. Thus, the Sabbath is once characterized as one-sixtieth of the world to come (B.T., *Ber.* 57b), and the late rabbinic *midrash Seder Eliyyahu Rabbah* records the opinion that in the hereafter there will be no sin or transgression, and all will occupy themselves with the study of Torah. The *Midrash Eleh Ezkerah* (Legend of the ten martyrs) concludes with a vivid description of the future world in which the purified souls of all the righteous are said to sit in the heavenly academy on golden thrones and to listen to ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef preach on the matters of the day.

THE MIDDLE AGES. Between the eighth century and the fifteenth, Jewish views about the afterlife embraced virtually every position on the spectrum of conceivable beliefs, including extreme philosophical interpretations that altogether deny the existence of corporeal resurrection. The Spanish-Jewish philosopher Moses Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon, 1135/8–1204), in his *Commentary on the Mishnah,* criticizes several popular views of the world to come, all of which conceive of the eschatological bliss purely in material and sensual terms. German-Jewish pietistic literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries records numerous accounts of encounters with dead souls, visits to the otherworld, *danses macabres,* and other folk beliefs that were, to some degree, Judaized or otherwise rationalized. It is, however, in the literature of Jewish philosophy and Qabbalah (mysticism) that the most significant developments in Jewish eschatological thinking in the Middle Ages are to be found.

Philosophical approaches. Most medieval Jewish philosophers conceived of the afterlife in terms of the immortality of the soul, which they then defined according to their individual philosophical views. For many of these philosophers, the notion of physical resurrection in the future world is clearly problematic, and although few dared to deny its status as a fundamental dogma of Jewish faith, they sometimes had to go to extreme lengths to reconcile it with their other ideas about existence in the hereafter.

Probably the most successful in doing this was the early medieval Babylonian philosopher and sage Saʿadyah Gaon (882–942), who, in *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions,* emphasizes the unity of body and soul. Saʿadyah foresees two resurrections, the first for the righteous alone at the beginning of the messianic age (when the wicked would be sufficiently punished by being left unresurrected) and the second for everyone else at the advent of the world to come. At this latter time, the wicked will be resurrected in order to be condemned to eternal suffering, while the righteous will pass into the future world, where they will enjoy a purely spiritual existence, sustained in bliss by a fine, luminous substance that will simultaneously serve as the instrument by which the wicked will be burned forever in punishment (Saʿadyah, *Beliefs and Opinions* 6.1, 6.7, 7.13).

After Saʿadyah, the eschatological doctrines of most Jewish philosophers can be categorized by their orientation as either Neoplatonic or Aristotelian. For Jewish Neoplatonists—including Yitsḥaq Yisraʾeli (d. 955/6), Shelomoh ibn Gabirol (d. 1058), Baḥye ibn Paquda (eleventh century), and Yehudah ha-Levi (d. 1141)—beatitude in the world to come was understood as the climax of the soul's ascent toward the godhead and its union with Wisdom. Some writers speak of this state of bliss as a divine gift; according to certain views, it can be attained even in this world if the philosopher can free himself from the influence of the flesh in order to devote his soul entirely to the pursuit of the knowledge of God.

In contrast, Jewish Aristotelian philosophers treated the soul as the acquired intellect and therefore defined the ultimate felicity as a state of "conjunction" between the acquired intellect of the individual philosopher and the universal Active Intellect. Immortality was understood by them mainly as the intellectual contemplation of God. Like their Muslim counterparts, the Jewish Aristotelians disagreed over such issues as whether this state of conjunction can be attained in this world or solely in the next and whether the soul in its immortal state will preserve its individual identity or lose it in the collective unity of the impersonal Active Intellect.

Maimonides, the most celebrated Jewish Aristotelian, appears to adapt conflicting opinions on these questions (*Guide of the Perplexed* 1.74 and 3.54). Although he lists the dogma of resurrection as the thirteenth fundamental of Jewish faith, he also writes that "in the world to come the body and the flesh do not exist but only the souls of the righteous alone" (*Code of Law: Repentance* 3.6). In Maimonides' own lifetime, this extreme formulation elicited much criticism and was sometimes interpreted as denying corporeal resurrection. To defend himself, Maimonides eventually wrote his *Treatise on Resurrection,* in which he distinguishes between existence in the messianic age and in the world to come. In the former, "those persons whose souls will return to their bodies will eat, drink, marry, and procreate, and then die after enjoying long lives like those characteristic of the messianic age"; in the world to come, the souls alone of the previously resurrected persons will be restored, and they will now enjoy eternal and purely spiritual existence. Maimonides' distinction between the two periods is unique, however; in fact, the notion of corporeal resurrection so poorly fits his general philosophy, with its overall emphasis upon the purely spiritual nature of true bliss, that some modern scholars have questioned whether Maimonides' repeated affirmations of dogmatic belief in resurrection were solely concessions to tradition and popular sentiment, motivated perhaps by fear of being persecuted for heresy.

A very different criticism of the Maimonidean position was put forward in the fourteenth century by the philosopher Ḥasdai Crescas in *The Light of the Lord.* Crescas criticizes Maimonides' intellectualism and proposes that salvation comes to the soul through love of God (2.6, 3.3). A century later, Yosef Albo (d. 1444) accepted the Maimonidean chronology for the afterlife but also argued with his predecessor's intellectualism, claiming that practice, not just knowledge, of God's service makes the soul immortal (*Book of Principles* 4.29–30). Still more revealing as to the changes in Jewish eschatology that occurred over the centuries is Albo's characterization of resurrection as a "dogma accepted by our nation," but not "a fundamental or a derivative principle of divine law in general or of the law of Moses in particular" (1.23).

Qabbalistic views. Unlike medieval Jewish philosophers, Jewish mystics in the Middle Ages had no difficulty with the concept of resurrection or other such aspects of eschatological doctrine. Quite the opposite, these topics were among their favorites. In voluminous writings, the mystics described the fate of the resurrected souls, imagined the precise details of their existence in the afterlife, and charted its chronology in relation to the *sefirot,* or divine emanations.

The Spanish exegete Moses Nahmanides (Mosheh ben Naḥman, c. 1194–1270) devotes considerable effort in the *Gate of the Reward* to reconciling a mystical view of the afterlife with Maimonidean eschatology. Nahmanides posits the existence of three distinct worlds that follow this one: (1) a world of souls, roughly equivalent to the rabbinic Gan ʿEden and Geihinnom, which the soul enters immediately after death to be rewarded or punished; (2) a future world that is synonymous with the messianic age and will culminate in a final judgment and resurrection; and (3) the world to come, in which "the body will become like the soul and the soul will be cleaving to knowledge of the Most High."

A second stage in the history of qabbalistic eschatology began with the appearance of the *Zohar* (completed in approximately 1300), which describes the afterlife in terms of the separate fates of the three parts of the soul, the *nefesh,* the *ruaḥ,* and the *neshamah.* Since only the first two were considered to be susceptible to sin, they alone were subject to punishment. The *neshamah* in its unsullied state was believed to be stored up after death in a special place, often called the *tseror ha-ḥayyim,* "the bundle of life" (a term borrowed from *1 Samuel* 25:29), which was sometimes identified with one of the *sefirot.* Because the doctrine of the preexistence of the soul was also widely accepted in these qabbalistic circles, the soul's final sojourn among the *sefirot* could be seen as simply a return to its birthplace.

Probably the most unusual aspect of qabbalistic eschatology is the belief in *gilgul,* or metempsychosis, the transmigration of souls after death. This belief gained increasing prominence in qabbalistic thought from the thirteenth century onward. Originally considered a unique punishment for extraordinary sins (particularly of a sexual kind), *gilgul* came to be viewed, paradoxically, as an exemplary instance of God's mercy, since the chance to be reborn gave its victims an opportunity to correct their sins and thus restore themselves as spiritual beings. As a form of punishment, however, the concept of *gilgul* conflicted with the idea of Geihinnom—a conflict that was never successfully resolved—and in later Qabbalah, the notion of *gilgul* gradually became a principle wherein everything in the world, from inorganic matter to the angels, was believed to be in a state of constant flux and metamorphosis. Thus, in order to repair the damage they had done in their earlier existence, certain souls were supposed to have been reincarnated at later moments in history that were similar to those in which they had first lived; accordingly, David, Bathsheba, and Uriah were considered to be the *gilgulim* of Adam, Eve, and the serpent; Moses and Jethro, those of Cain and Abel. In the later Middle Ages, the notion of transmigration was eventually absorbed into folk belief. By the sixteenth century, the *dibbuq (dybbuk),* which originally was simply the name for a demon, had come to represent a soul whose sins were so enormous that they could not be repaired even through *gilgul.* The poor soul consequently wandered through the world in desperate search of refuge in helpless living persons, whom it subsequently possessed and tormented.

THE MODERN PERIOD. With the change in religious temper that occurred during the Enlightenment and has deepened since then, the problem of the afterlife has lost much of its compelling urgency for Jewish theology. Orthodox Judaism, to be sure, maintains the rabbinic dogmatic belief in resurrection as part of its conception of the messianic age, and it similarly preserves the liturgical references in their original form. In contrast, the Pittsburgh Platform (1885) of the Reform movement in America expressly rejected "as ideas not rooted in Judaism the beliefs both in bodily resurrection, and in Gehenna and Eden as abodes for eternal punishment and reward." In general, when the afterlife is considered today, it is usually spoken about in terms of personal immortality, a heritage of the medieval philosophical temper, and as good an indication as any of the *gilgulim* through which the concept has passed in the course of Jewish history.

SEE ALSO Ashkenazic Hasidism; Messianism, article on Jewish Messianism.

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AFTERLIFE: CHRISTIAN CONCEPTS

BIBLICAL AND ANCIENT CONCEPTS. Early Christians, including the authors of the New Testament books, were steeped in beliefs concerning the impending approach of the end of the world, which would occasion the resurrection of the dead and the beginning of a new aeon. For Jewish people suffering under the oppression of the Roman Empire, "the resurrection of the dead" became a rallying symbol, particularly for those who were led by Pharisaic teachers. This belief set them apart from other segments of contemporary Jewish society, most notably the Sadducees, but also the Gentiles. Belief in the resurrection of the dead also played a crucial role for the emerging circle of Christians, for to Jews *resurrection* meant belief in a hoped-for future occurrence, whereas to Christians it meant a conviction concerning that which had already occurred in the person of Jesus, guaranteeing the future resurrection of all the faithful.

Jesus himself seldom addressed the issue of resurrection, and when he did—usually in response to challenges from his listeners—he always answered with an emphasis on the present need for conversion to a God-oriented life and neighborly love. It was Paul who made resurrection the focal point of his message. Through his encounter with the "risen" Jesus, Paul became convinced that through the resurrection, Jesus, the Christ, conquered sin and death for all humanity. Paul perceived death as running counter to God's creation, which called life into being. Death could not be a part of God's creation; it had entered into human destiny as a result of sin. Sin was the real cause of death; human beings who sinned in and with Adam, the first human, were responsible for their own mortality. Jesus' rising from the dead accomplished the conquest of sin along with its wage, death. Jesus' rising, however, was not a return to the old mortal body (resuscitation); rather, it was a resurrection to a new "spiritual" body.

Coming from a Hebraic background, Paul was unswerving about the body's essentialness to human existence because he saw the body as an integral part of God's creation. Paul insisted on the resurrection of Jesus into a new "body" to conquer death. Using a metaphor familiar to the Pharisaic circle from which he came, Paul explained bodily resurrection as analogous to a grain of wheat that, planted brown into the soil, rises afresh in green the next spring (*1 Cor.* 15:42–43). Paul's dualism was not between body and soul, the two elements comprising the human being, but between one form of life governed by the flesh and another guided by the spirit. No one who remains in the former could expect salvation and eternal life. One has to be reborn, re-created into a spiritual being—dead to the old self and raised into a new self. This, Paul was convinced, was made possible by the resurrection of Christ.

In the New Testament the *Revelation* to John is the only book that provides a clear scenario of the end times. In *Revelation* the second coming of Jesus, fervently awaited by the early Christians, is presented as the signal for one thousand years of messianic rule, during which martyred Christians will all be resurrected and Satan will be kept bound. After a thousand years of peace and messianic rule, Satan will be unleashed to be permanently defeated in a final battle with the divine forces. With Satan consigned to eternal damnation, a second resurrection will take place in order for the whole of humankind to stand in final judgment. There is no question as to the important role this book played in the life of the early church. It not only provided an inexhaustible source of comfort and encouragement for those who had lost their loved ones to, or themselves suffered the ordeal of, persecution, but it also became a constant source of inspiration to Christians throughout history by giving them images of eternal bliss for the righteous and damnation in a fiery hell for the ungodly.

Apocalyptically conceived Christianity was a movement announcing the quick end of history, and hence, necessarily, its own end. Therefore, when the Christian movement survived beyond the first century it was forced to reevaluate its own stance. It was John's gospel that formed a bridge beyond the initial apocalyptic stage for the enduring presence of Christianity in the ensuing centuries. As the final judgment began to be seen as a distant reality, Christians began thinking about salvation as attainable in the present life. The present moment in life, rather than the end of time, became the crucial point for human existence. Jesus Christ as the Logos of the universe embodies the true meaning of the world, including human life. Turning from the ungodly to a regenerated life by believing in the divine intent embodied in the Logos is the message of the *Gospel of John*, which was written around the turn of the second century CE. The eternal life that is offered by God through Christ can be attained here and now when one's life is turned to God. Eternal life in this context is not endlessness of life but the fullness of life as God had intended in creation. Life lived with God, in itself, would constitute salvation without waiting for the final judgment. In the same way, life lived without God constitutes damnation quite apart from damnation in hell. "Those who believe in him are not condemned; but those who do not believe are condemned already, because they have not believed in the name of the only Son of God" (*Jn.* 3:18).

Though Paul wrestled with the conquest of death, Christians from the outset accepted the mortality of the human being. One must fight spiritual deadness; physical death is unavoidable. Any attempt to see human beings as immortal is rebuffed by God, who alone is eternal. Created beings possess no "natural" immortality of their own. Natural immortality would be an endless life without God's blessing, as seen in a demon that does not have to die the way humans do. During the second century CE Tatian unequivocally rejected such immortality, which he believed could be nothing but a curse. Living endlessly in itself contains no delight; it is living in communion with God that makes life desirable. For this reason, according to Jaroslav Pelikan's interpretation, Christians prefer to use the expression *eternal life* in the sense of being alive in God, both now and always (Pelikan, 1961, p. 23), to avoid the vitiated implication of immortality as a meaningless prolongation of life without God. Thus, Christian faith does not preach the circumvention of death, but rather the acceptance and overcoming of death as exemplified by the cross of Jesus.

A shift in emphasis from the remote eschatological future to the present life became more pronounced on the theological level. The futuristic kingdom of God of the New Testament came increasingly to imply a sphere of influence already present and spreading, a sphere that manifested itself in the visible institution of the earthly church, though it was not identical with it. This is the manner in which Augustine of Hippo (354–430) conceived his "City of God." The City of God was the domain of influence where love of God (*amor dei*) prevailed, whereas the earthly city (*civitas terrena*) was the domain of self-love (*amore sui*). The Roman Empire was the embodiment of the latter, but of course it was not identical with it. Augustine saw the history of humankind as the process through which a drama was unfolding in the struggle between these two forces for ultimate victory. Augustine interpreted early Christian teaching according to the dictates of the changing historical situations in which Christianity had survived. He had little to say about "heaven." It was the City of God transcendent—which manifested itself in the historical unfolding of the power of God—in which Augustine invested his entire theological energy, leaving heaven and hell mostly to the popular imagination.

MEDIEVAL AND ROMAN CATHOLIC CONCEPTS. The New Testament addresses the issue of salvation through the death and resurrection of Christ, rather than heaven and hell. Through the centuries, Christian theology has developed along similar lines. It was popular piety, however, which is no less important to Christian life, that fostered and kept alive beliefs about heaven, hell, and purgatory (with increasingly vivid imagery) through the Middle Ages. With the final judgment pushed considerably into the future, people's concern became sharply focused on the fate of the individual immediately after death. The dualism of the soul and the body was firmly established by the Middle Ages, and death was seen as the separation of the soul from the body.

The postmortem journey to heaven or hell became the most widely accepted pattern of understanding the destiny of departed souls. Relying heavily upon pictorial imagery, the soul was often depicted as traveling to or residing in a heaven or hell that was conceptually integrated, and often even physically located, within a three-tiered medieval universe, with heaven always up above and hell down below. For Christians the distinctive accomplishment of Christ was the conquest of death, by which he liberated all the faithful from the yoke of death for entry into heaven, where they might know and enjoy the state for which God had created them in his own image—that is, God-centered and totally free of moral imperfections. Inestimable spiritual rewards would await those who suffered unjustly in this world or toiled for justice's sake; the final truth would be revealed to those who had sought it. In heaven, souls were to be reunited with all the loved ones who had preceded them, even though, apparently, earthly relationships, such as that between husband and wife, were not supposed to be carried over into heaven. In short, ultimate blissfulness characterized this community of all souls who were in fellowship among themselves and with God. This heavenly fellowship was the model for fellowship among Christians (*communio sanctorum*) in this world.

No longer corporeal, citizens of heaven were allowed to "see" God face to face or to "know" him immediately. In this beatific vision, the knowing of God transcended the earthly epistemological gulf between the knower and the known. The blessed would know God in contemplative interpenetration with God's knowing of himself. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), the monumental theologian of scholasticism, was the most eloquent proponent of the theology that made this beatific vision the ultimate goal of human beings. Faced with the infinite fullness of God, the created intellect of human beings would never cease to wonder and enjoy the inexhaustible source of knowledge, God himself.

In contrast, hell, evolving from the archaic concept of the underworld called She'ol in the Hebrew scriptures, was initially the place of all the dead, regardless of their earthly deeds. Only later in Jewish history, and then in Christianity, did it become bifurcated into the realm of punishment (hell, *Gehenna*) as distinguished from heaven. Hell came to denote the underworld to which unrepentant sinners were to be consigned. Sinners were to be cast into "outer darkness," with weeping and gnashing of teeth (see *Mt.* 25:30), or they were to be thrown into "eternal" (*Mt.* 25:41) or "unquenchable fire" (*Mk.* 9:43), or even into "a lake that burns with fire and sulfur" (*Rev.* 21:8). It was not so much the New Testament as the teaching of the later church that solidified the concept of hell as a place of punitive torture in which sinners suffer unending pain. Dante's fourteenth-century masterpiece, *Divine Comedy,* is the definitive literary representation of these widespread beliefs about hell, which were established enough to find their way into the teachings of the church.

As heaven and hell were firmly established in the medieval Christian mind into two postmortem realms with such graphic details of celestial blissfulness and ghastly underworld pain, some unresolved practical problems arose in popular piety. The idea of purgatory addressed these problems.

The great majority of Christians believe that they die in a state of moral and religious imperfection, and thus not ready for heaven. For this reason, a belief has come to prevail in popular piety that there should be an intermediate realm between this world and heaven. This realm, called *purgatory,* has no direct references in the Bible, and it only gradually found its way into Christian piety. It was not until the councils of Lyons (1274) and Florence (1439) that the Roman Catholic Church gave it an official definition. In purgatory a process of cleansing and purifying was to take place through the pain of fire. Though the capital (mortal) sins led one directly to hell, venial (minor) sins were to be expurgated in purgatory so that one might be purified enough for admission to heaven.

The idea of *indulgence,* the remission of punishment for venial sins, developed concurrently with purgatory. It was punishment for venial sins that took place in purgatory, from which sinners were expected to emerge cleansed for final beatitude. The indulgence, then, was the remission of this limited punishment in purgatory, or a shortening of the stay therein. As developed by the church, the practice of indulgence involved praying, doing penance, and merit-making in preparation for death and the consequent journey through purgatory. For hundreds of years during the Middle Ages, this practice remained important for Christians in Europe. Further extending the practice, praying and merit-making by the living, not only for themselves but also on behalf of their deceased relatives, developed into a major religious practice, enough for the church to consider it an adequate basis for the institution of the "sale" of indulgences.

Purgatory and the attendant practice of indulgence presupposed several other beliefs: first, the belief in sin that called for retribution even after Christ has accomplished reconciliation (redemption and forgiveness); second, the practice of indulgence, especially the sale of it, being based on the belief in a "treasury of merit" accumulated over time from the surplus merit bequeathed to the church by all the saints throughout history, as well as by Christ himself; and finally, the belief that the church possessed the authority to administer the said treasury and dispense merits as deemed fit, with the pope holding, as it were, the key.

PROTESTANT CONCEPTS. It is well known that financial abuse of the belief in purgatory and indulgences and the manner in which the church raised funds using them ignited the Protestant Reformation. The sale of indulgences provoked Martin Luther (1483–1546) into uttering diatribes such as, "No doubt the majority [of the papacy] would starve to death if purgatory did not exist." "How can you," he continued, "bear on your conscience the blasphemous fraud of purgatory, by which treacherous deception they have made fools of all the world and have falsely frightened it and stolen practically all their possessions and splendor?" (Plass, 1959, vol. 1, p. 388). Luther's ninety-five theses of 1517 were a direct assault upon the sale of indulgences. Luther considered the need for sin to be further punished after redemption as undermining the meaning of the death of Jesus. Following Luther's lead, Protestant Christians rejected all teachings concerning purgatory and indulgence.

Important in all of this is the medieval Catholic frame of reference in which things were viewed in terms of "substance," with "quantity" as the predicate. This was largely due to the influence of Aristotelian philosophy during the scholastic period. In the context of indulgences, sin and grace were considered in quantitative terms. The distinction between mortal and venial sins was as much a quantitative distinction as it was a qualitative one. Thus, even within venial sins, degrees of offense were differentiated and expurgated accordingly.

For Protestants, sin amounted to consciously ignoring or distrusting God. There were no degrees of offense once one turned one's back on God. Likewise, grace, for Protestants, was God's loving acceptance of sinners, through his sacrifice and forgiveness. There were no gradations of grace. When Luther declared that salvation could be attained by grace alone (*sola gratia*), he meant that grace is the universal act of God reconciling humankind to himself, whether sinners acknowledge it or not. The Roman Catholic conception of grace, on the other hand, was thoroughly substantial, permitting the linguistic habit of referring to it as an entity capable of being, as it were, injected into sinners. Thomas Aquinas made frequent reference to this "infusion of grace." Thus, substantialized grace could be further quantified into something measurable, just as sin was measured and expiated accordingly.

Even though at the close of the sixteenth century the Council of Trent rectified, by officially condemning, the abuse of the sale of indulgences, the Roman Catholic Church did not alter its basic posture toward the belief in purgatory and indulgence. With renewed vigor the council reaffirmed the fundamental structure of Roman Catholic soteriology, along with the worldview that sustains it. The quantitative and substantial ways of viewing sin and grace were maintained as valid, and indulgence and purgatory continued to be accepted beliefs within Roman Catholic piety and theology.

Luther, who was largely responsible for the pattern of subsequent Protestant attitudes toward salvation and eternal life, considered the Pauline interpretation of salvation as "justification by faith" to be the single most important teaching of the Bible. No one devoted more energy to bringing this Pauline teaching to the center of Christian religion than

Luther, who believed that salvation lies not so much in the context of the final judgment, the bodily resurrection, and the messianic rule, as in Christian life, lived in faith, consequent to "justification." Like Augustine, Luther rebuked millenarians by arguing that "this false notion is lodged not only in the apostles (*Acts* 1:6), but also in the chiliasts, Valentinians, the Tertullians, who played the fool with the idea that before Judgment Day the Christians alone will possess the earth and that there will be no ungodly" (Plass, 1959, vol. 1, p. 284). Luther brushed aside ideas about the imminent approach of the end, particularly the way the advent—that is, the physical establishment of messianic rule on earth—was anticipated by some millenarians. Though Luther did not dismiss the last judgment, he did not lend the full weight of his theological articulation to the eschatological concept of the general resurrection. For Luther, it was the justified life that counts. Justification carries the entire weight of soteriological and eschatological significance when Luther says that "the article of justification, which is our only protection, not only against all the powers and plottings of men but also against the gates of hell, is this: by faith alone (*sola fide*) in Christ, without works, are we declared just (*pronuntiari justos*) and saved" (Plass, 1959, vol. 2, p. 701).

It is thus clear that "eternal life" was to be experienced in the reality of the justified life here and now. For Luther the ideas of immortality and heavenly blissfulness, which played such an important part in popular Christian piety, were absorbed into the significance of eternity invested in the justified life of a Christian. This remains the predominant pattern of the Protestant understanding of eternal life, at least in its normative theological sense.

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AFTERLIFE: ISLAMIC CONCEPTS

The doctrine of an afterlife is not only a frequent theme within the Qurʾanic revelation, it is also central to the way in which Muslims have understood and explained the reasons for humankind's existence in this world. In Muslim thought, the notion of an afterlife is not only seen as giving meaning to what is a short-lived stay on this earth—with all that it entails of seemingly inexplicable human suffering, loss, and death—but it also places humankind within a divine plan, which endows them with a sense of purpose and an ultimate destiny. The knowledge of a future life beyond death, the quality of which will be determined by the moral quality of one's life on earth, has served to instill in Muslims a constant awareness of both the precarious nature of this existence and the urgent need to prepare for that future one. This urgency had manifested itself from the outset, both in the revealed text of the Qurʾān, the foundation stone of all Muslim dogma and ritual, and in the formative intellectual history of the community.

AFTERLIFE IN THE QURʾĀN. According to Muslim tradition, the revelations of the Qurʾān—that is, the verses (*āyāt*) that make up the chapters (*sūrahs*)—are ascribed to one of two periods of Muḥammad's prophetic career, the earlier Meccan period and the later Medinan one. The apocalyptic passages and images in the Qurʾān that herald the coming of the next life belong primarily to the former. Indeed, they constitute one of the most salient features of the earlier phase of Muḥammad's preaching, testifying to the importance of the notion of an afterlife within the overall framework of the Qurʾanic message.

The apocalypse. The apocalypse, as the climax of history, is referred to variously as "the Day of Judgement" *(yawm al-dīn)*, "the Day of Resurrection" *(yawm al-qiyāma)*, "the Last Day" *(al-yawm al-ākhir)*, "the Day of Decision" *(yawm al-faṣl)*, or "the Promised Day" *(al-yawm al-mawʿūd)*. The eschatological scheme and its accompanying symbols that usher in the next world is one familiar enough from the Judeo-Christian, and to some extent the Zoroastrian, tradition. The basic elements are, in brief: The next world will arrive in the wake of the destruction of this one—at an unknown point in time, referred to as the "Hour" (*al-sāʿa*), unknown to all but God, the blowing of a cosmic trumpet(*ṣūr*) will annihilate all creatures and destroy the familiar universe; a second sounding of the trumpet will resurrect all humankind to face the final reckoning. Every soul *(nafs)* is called to contemplate its "book" (*kitāb*) of deeds, and its deeds will be weighed in “scales” (*mīzān*). A light balance will dispense a soul to hell, whereas a weighty one will merit paradise. The “wretched” *(shaqī)*, their faces blackened in terror and despair, are driven like animals to their final abode, and with their hands bound in fetters to their necks they are thrust violently into the fire of hell, where they are drenched in liquid pitch, their skins are consumed by the fire, and their faces are grilled by its flames. They suffer beatings with maces of iron, gulp fetid boiling water, taste festering blood and consume a bush of bitter thorn in the midst of scorching winds and thick black smoke.

The “fortunate” *(saʿīd)*, are congratulated and led away in the company of angels towards the already-opened gates of paradise, the light of divine pleasure radiating from within them and all around them. They take up their paradisiacal abodes in the “Gardens of Eden” (*jannāt ʿAdan*), each one of them in an exclusive garden, wherein they recline on jewel-encrusted beds, dressed in the finest silk, arrayed in heavy brocade, and adorned with silver bracelets; surrounded by bashful and amorous virgins (*ḥūr*) resembling hidden pearls, they are waited on by stunningly beautiful youths who serve them the purest intoxicants, bring them endless varieties of fruits, and are constantly at their service.

Eternal life and the hereafter. The Qurʾanic idea of continued existence and eternal life in the hereafter functions not only as a consolation for believers, in view of the tribulations inherent in life on earth, it is also intended as an incentive for humankind to believe, to perform good deeds, and to reap the reward. For, the “other life” (*ākhira*, lit. “final one”), as the Qurʾān tells us, is “better” and “more enduring” (Qurʾān 87:17) than this life; “the life of this world is but amusement and play; it is the life to come that is the true life” (Qurʾān 29:64). The delights of this world, according to the Qurʾān, are transient, ultimately unsatisfying, and generally adulterated in some way. The delights in the next world, however, will be eternal, endlessly enjoyed, and absolutely pure. It is the way in which the earthly quality of these familiar delights will be redefined—transformed—that is crucial. Thus, in paradise, the houris, the wide-eyed beautiful virgins, will not have been touched by either human or *jinn* (Qurʾān 55:56); the rivers will run with “water unstaling,” with “milk forever fresh,” with “the clearest honey,” and with “wine that is a delight to the drinkers” (Qurʾān 47:15); their drink therein “will not cause their heads to throb, nor will it make them lose their reason” (Qurʾān 56:19); the cup they will pass from one to another will inspire “no idle talk, no sinful urge” (Qurʾān 52:23). Muslim tradition would later add numerous narratives to the descriptions of paradise that emphasized the pure nature of one’s existence in the next world, an existence free of the vile bodily functions of this world. One early *ḥadīth* reported by ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 827) in his compilation of traditions *(Muṣannaf)* describes the first band of those entering paradise thus: “their faces shall resemble the full moon; they will excrete no mucus, neither will they salivate or ever need to defecate.”

An indication of the centrality of the afterlife within the overall Qurʾanic narrative is that almost every act forbidden or condemned by the Qurʾān, as well as every deed commended and encouraged by it, is done so with a view to the consequences of that action or behavior for a person’s fate in the next life. Thus, those who violate God’s covenants are described as having “purchased the life of this world at the price of the life to come” (Qurʾān 2:86 and 3:77). In contrast, it is written that “God has purchased from the believers their selves and their worldly possessions and in return has promised them Paradise” (Qurʾān 9:111). Indeed, the Qurʾān describes the “true losers” as “those who have forfeited their souls and their relatives on the Day of Resurrection” (Qurʾān 42:45), because, having offered nothing for their future life, they now find themselves in eternal hellfire.

But whereas the Qurʾān contains frequent references to scenes that will take place on the day of judgement, as well as graphic descriptions of the pleasures enjoyed by the “inhabitants of the Garden” (*aṣḥāb al-janna*) and the torments suffered by the “inhabitants of the Fire” (*aṣḥāb*, or *ahl*, *al-nār*), crucial elements of eschatology, which had significant consequences for the scheme of the afterlife, were only worked out in the wake of intra-Muslim sectarian polemics; yet even these elements had not taken long, in historical terms, to crystallize. Already within little more than a hundred years of the Prophet’s death and the codification of the Qurʾān, there emerged all of the eschatological variations and modifications to the afterlife scheme, as they are known from the compositions of the classical period, and as they are familiar to Muslims today. It was at this formative stage that the second instance of “urgency,” referred to at the beginning of this article, manifested itself.

THE FORMATIVE PERIOD (C. 657–800). Two civil wars that split the community definitively within a generation of the Prophet’s death and resulted in major schisms that exist in modern times were fought over the question of the rightful leadership of the community. This was not only because the rightful leader (*imām*) was necessary for the overall guidance and well-being of the community, but, more importantly, because an illegitimate leader put the salvation of the entire community at risk by endangering the afterlife scheme (as understood by all early Muslims) in which the elect community of believers were a single guided community destined for Paradise.

What seemed like purely political disagreements went to the heart of religion, for, in early Islam political opponents were necessarily religious ones too: if the leadership of the elect community of believers was to be assumed by the wrong individual, who then led them astray from the path to salvation, the entire community ran the risk of being misled. Political offences, violating as they did the stipulations of the Qurʾān, prompted similar questions about the salvation status of grave sinners within the Muslim community and, paradoxically, forced Muslims to consider a formal definition of what constituted “belief” (*īmān*). In other words, given that there is a single community of believers destined for paradise, how did one remain within it, and what offenses excluded one from it?

Discussion of the consequences of serious offenses had been confined, at a primary stage, to the political arena, but more and more discussions came to focus on grave violations of the Qurʾanic stipulations for proper moral conduct. In time, an increasingly influential group of Muslim theologians, known as traditionalists (*ahl al-ḥadīth*), came up with a compromise to the simple afterlife scheme that had been assumed by the community at its birth. The compromise was both the result of protracted debates over the salvation status of political "sinners" (religious offenders) within the Muslim community, and the political reality that frequently saw Muslim pitted in battle against fellow Muslim. These traditionalist theologians modified certain aspects of the postmortem judgement to ensure that all those who professed Islam, even if they should die without having repented of their sins, would eventually end up in paradise: if they did go to hell, they would suffer only a purgatorial stay, one consonant with the severity of their neglect of religious duties.

It should be noted that the traditionalists believed that authoritative opinions (legal and theological) could only be found in the mass of traditions (reports containing words and deeds) ascribed to the Prophet and his Companions. This body of literature, authenticated (in the sense that it was believed to go back to the Prophet), but collected and transmitted from the late seventh and early to mid-eighth centuries CE, had grown to huge proportions. It was within this body of traditions that those eschatological variations, which were used to modify the scheme of the afterlife, began to appear. The traditionalists made such variations authoritative by weaving them into the exegetical narratives to certain key verses in the Qurʾān. These verses included one that was ambiguous about the eternality of hellfire punishment (Qurʾān 11:107); another that suggested that certain individuals whose evil deeds may counterbalance their good ones, and would thus merit neither paradise nor hell (Qurʾān 7:46); and finally, two verses that were interpreted as proof of the widely held belief that the Prophet will intercede for his community on the day of judgement (Qurʾān 17:79, 93:5).

By associating such extra-scriptural elements with these Qurʾanic verses, the traditionalists were able to introduce a modified scheme of the otherworldly fate of the Muslim community. The canonical manuals of *ḥadīth*, without exception, state that no Muslim will remain in hell forever. Some will be removed from hell directly through God's intervention, whereas others will exit from it because, as the manuals inform us, the Prophet will intercede for the grave sinners of his community (minor offenses were automatically forgiven by God, so long as grave ones were avoided [Qurʾān 4:31]). Neither of these two doctrines had been explicitly taught in the Qurʾān. Nevertheless, they came to represent dogma for most Muslims. In so doing, the traditionalists had succeeded in retaining, at least superficially, the early ideal of the unified community destined for paradise.

Khārijite, Murjiʾite, and Muʿtazilite thought. Of course, not all parties were convinced by the theological innovations of the traditionalists. Two religio-political parties that had emerged in the wake of the civil wars, namely, the Khārijites (the first sectarians in Islam) and the Murjiʾa (an antisectarian movement that sought to politically reunite the divided community), resisted the influx of such teachings as having no explicit foundation in the Qurʾān. In addition, Muʿtazilah (a late-eighth-century theological school that propounded the use of rational methods and made God's justice—together with the idea of human free will—the founding principles of their thought) also saw no sound basis for either the idea of a temporary hell or the Prophet's intercession (*shafaʿa*) on behalf of grave sinners. For these rationalists, both ideas violated their principle that God's justice ensured that every individual was free to chose his or her acts in this life and would be recompensed accordingly in the next.

Needless to say, it was the traditionalist doctrine that found popular appeal among the majority of Muslims, who took comfort in the knowledge that the Prophet would be at hand to ensure their salvation at the scene of the judgement. It is noteworthy that the Muʿtazila also denied the punishment of the tomb (*ʿadhāb al-qabr*) and the "vision of God" (*ruʾyat Allāh*) in the next life, both of which, judging by the *ḥadīth* material, had come to form part of the popular beliefs of Muslims from the middle of the eighth century.

THE CLASSICAL PERIOD (POST-800 CE). Most of the developments in afterlife theology that took place during the formative period made their way into the major traditions of Islam. The doctrine of temporary hell and the Prophet's intercession were accepted by almost all Sunnīs and Shīʿah. The only difference was that in the case of the latter, the privilege of intercession was also extended to the *imāms* (with the understanding that no Shīʿī will remain in hell forever). With Sufism, however, it is difficult to make similar generalizations.

Early in its development, Sufism, properly mysticism, came to assume a certain "orthodoxy" from the point of view of traditionalist Islam. The principal figures associated with its development, the likes of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 728), al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (d. 857), and al-Junayd b. Muḥammad (d. 910) were all considered pious Muslims by the mainstream tradition. Classical Sufism to a large extent culminated in the works and writings of al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) himself, a bastion of traditionalist Islam. And yet Sufism would later incorporate Neoplatonic and Gnostic elements, as evidenced in the works of the great Andalusian mystic Ibn al-ʿArabī (1165–1240), elements that could not be accepted by the mainstream tradition. Sufism shared with other mainstream Muslim practice an insistence on the proper observation of the law (*sharīʿah*). Indeed, it emphasized that the practice of Islam's rituals should be carried out with discipline and devotion: constant remembrance of God (*dhikr*), a quintessential Ṣūfī practice, and the awareness of impending death and resurrection was the only way to prepare oneself for the next world.

One significant development in the classical period, in part due to the influence of Neoplatonic thought as expounded principally by Avicenna (d. 1037), but already suggested at an earlier stage by some of the rationalist theologians, the Muʿtazilah—as well as by their more orthodox counterparts, the Ashʿarīs, was the question of whether the Qurʾanic descriptions of the joys of paradise and the pains of hell should be understood literally or symbolically. The rationalists, while acknowledging the explicit scriptural references to carnal pleasures and pains, preferred to understand these as metaphors for spiritual delights and torments. The spiritual aspect became key, not just for rationalist theologians but also for philosophers and certain mystics. If, indeed, the afterlife was to be a spiritual existence of the immortal soul, then humans, through their souls, could "taste" of these joys in this world.

It is in this sense that, for many mystics, elements of the eschaton and the afterlife were internalized as constituting potential experiences of the soul in the here and now. In a similar departure from the traditionalist conception of the afterlife, the philosophers saw death—and not the resurrection—as the beginning of the next life: at the point of death the soul will be freed from its bodily incarceration and able to enjoy the superior delights of the intellect. A preference for metaphorical interpretations would reemerge in twentieth-century reformist writings, such as those of Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1849–1905) and Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1935).

TWENTIETH-CENTURY APPROACHES. The little that is written about the afterlife in the modern day tends to be a regurgitation of ideas and narratives taken from the classical period. In this respect, many contemporary scholars adopt the traditionalist understanding of a physical resurrection together with a literalist conception of the joys and pains of the afterlife. There are exceptions, however, and these can generally be found in the interpretations of so-called liberal or progressive Muslim thinkers.

In developing a methodology that seeks to connect the revealed text and the realities of the modern world, progressive Muslim thinkers recognize the difficulty of embracing a literal conception of the Qurʾanic descriptions of the afterlife, let alone a physical resurrection of the body. One example is the Syrian thinker Mohamad Shahrour (b. 1938). In his *al-Kitāb waʾl-Qurʾān* (The book and the Qurʾān), he argues that a different physical world will come into being in the wake of the destruction of this one. This transition will also constitute a transformation of the laws governing matter. Thus, there will be a physical reconstitution of bodies in the next world. But these other laws will mean that matter will not be subject to the opposing forces inherent in the nature of matter, forces responsible for the decay and breakdown of all things: thus, in the next world, nothing will die nor will anything be born.

Another example can be seen in *Qurʾān and Woman*, the African American intellectual Amina Wadud's (b. 1952) book that stresses, "Although the detailed and graphic depictions of the Hereafter [. . .] are sometimes quite explicit, it is obvious that these descriptions are not to be taken entirely literally, [they] are the Qurʾān's way of making the ineffable effable, of making the Unseen phenomena conceivable"(p. 58).

And yet, the idea that there will be some sort of reconstitution of a material form—that is, a corporeal afterlife—has always maintained its hold on the imagination of believers.

POPULAR PIETY. Whereas remembrance of the transience of this world and reflection on the imminent arrival of the other constitute a central element in Muslim devotions across the confessional divide, nowhere is the concern with the reality of the afterlife more obvious than in the rites performed for the dying and the dead. An early Islamic Egyptian epitaph, dated to 796 CE, bears the following inscription, intended as a supplication for relief for the dead person in his tomb: "[O God] make spacious its [the tomb's] entrances and spare him [the dead person] the punishment of the tomb" (*RCEA*, no. 58). Another epitaph, from near modern-day Cairo, dated to 831 CE, asks God to make the dead person's tomb "like a garden from the gardens of Paradise" (*RCEA*, no. 204).

Awareness of the imminence of the other world, that is to say, the need to prepare for it within the brief prelude that is this life, is reflected in the symbiotic relationship that manifests itself between the living and the dead. The dying person has the Shahādah, the profession of the faith, whispered into his or her ear. At the point of burial, the dead are "instructed" (*talqīn*) by the living to give the correct answers (in the form of God's Oneness and Muḥammad's prophethood) to the questioning that they will face in their graves (*masʾalat al-qabr*) at the hands of the two angels Munkar and Nakīr (also a relic of popular belief from the classical period). Prayer manuals, Sunnī, Shīʿī, and Ṣūfī, are replete with invocations—usually performed before the dead—that articulate the awareness on the part of the living that they will soon share the fate of the former. Muslims have always said prayers for their dead in the hope that when their time comes others will say prayers for them. Inscriptions on tombs usually enjoin the passersby to recite the *fātiḥa*, the opening verse of the Qurʾān. Not only does this provide comfort for the dead, it also secures a double reward for the one reciting it: the reward for the action itself and the knowledge, supported by numerous *ḥadīth*s, that the Qurʾān intercedes at the resurrection for whoever recites from it.

However one interpreted the depictions of the afterlife in the Qurʾān, whether literally, spiritually, or metaphorically, all Muslims, be they Sunnīs, Shīʿīs, Ṣūfīs or philosophers, agreed that the value of these scriptural narratives lay in emphasizing the importance of leading a "moral" life: the reward of the hereafter was too great to forfeit.

SEE ALSO Attributes of God, article on Islamic Concepts; Eschatology, article on Islamic Eschatology; Free Will and Predestination, article on Islamic Concepts; God, article on God in Islam; Imān and Islām; Islam, overview article.

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For more detailed information on the individual elements of the eschaton and themes of the afterlife, the reader is referred to the *Encyclopedia of Islam* (2d. ed. Leiden, 1954–2002), although these will require a familiarity with Arabic transliteration: see in particular, "ʿadhāb al-ḳabr" (vol. I, p. 186), "aʿrāf" (vol. I, p. 603), "barzakh" (vol. I, p. 1071), "djanna" (vol. II, p. 447), "ḳiyāma" (vol. V, p. 235), "maʿād" (vol. V, p. 892), "munkar wa-nakīr" (vol. VII, p. 576), "sāʿa" (vol. VIII, p. 654), "shafāʿa" (vol. IX, p. 177). A more accessible recent work, with the entries given in English, is the *Encyclopedia of the Qurʾān*, edited by J. D. McAuliffe et al. (Leiden, 2000–). The work is still in progress, but the following entries may now be consulted: "Eschatology," "Hell and Hellfire," "Intercession." Other projected entries are "Last Judgement," "Paradise," "Resurrection."

Unfortunately, there are to date no complete studies of the Muslim afterlife. A few translations of primary texts on this theme have appeared, most importantly al-Ghazālī's *The Remembrance of Death and the Afterlife: Kitāb dhikr al-mawt wa-mā baʿdahu,* Book XL of the *Revival of the Religious Sciences, Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, translated with an introduction and notes by T. J. Winter (Cambridge, U.K., 1989). For a study of the specific contribution of sectarian polemic to the formation of Sunnī classical doctrine on the concepts of temporary hell and intercession, with specific reference to Qurʾanic exegesis, see Feras Hamza, "To Hell and Back: A Study of the Concepts of Hell and Intercession in Early Islam" (Ph.D. diss., Oxford University, 2002).

An important work is Soubhi el-Saleh's "La vie future selon le Coran," which can be found in the journal *Études Musulmanes* no. 13 (1971), or as a separate publication (Paris, 1971). Saleh traces the various ways in which the delights of Paradise and the torments of hell were understood according to four types of Qurʾanic commentaries, roughly representing four phases of Muslim exegesis: traditionalist, rationalist, mystic, and modern; the author examines the important question of whether these aspects of the afterlife were understood as being physical or spiritual in each of the four classes of commentaries. For an exposition of the persistently "carnal" attitude towards the delights of Paradise, with a literary focus, see A. al-Azmeh, "On the Morphology of Paradisiac Narratives," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 26 (1995), pp. 215–231.

***Shiʿi* material**

Martin J. McDermott's *The Theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022)* (Beirut, Lebanon, 1978) provides a Twelver Shīʿī perspective on the principal elements of the eschaton; Mahmoud Ayoub has looked at the devotional aspects of Twelver practices in his *Redemptive Suffering in Islam: A Study of the Devotional Aspects of ʿĀshūrāʾ in Twelver Shīʿism* (The Hague, 1978). A useful introduction to Twelver beliefs may now be found in *Doctrines of Shiʿi Islam: A Compendium of Imami Beliefs and Practices by Ayatollah Jaʿfar Sobhani*, translated and edited by Reza Shah-Kazemi (London, 2001), esp. pp. 120–136.

A validation of the female voice in the Qurʾān, together with the consequences for understanding the scriptural depictions of the hereafter, is given by Amina Wadud, *Qurʾān and Woman* (Kuala Lumpur, 1992), esp. pp. 44–61. Fatima Mernissi's *Women in Moslem Paradise* (New Delhi, 1986) is also interesting for its female perspective.

The tomb inscriptions referred to above are taken from the *Répertoire chronologique d'epigraphie arabe* (*RCEA*), edited by Etienne Combe et al. (Cairo, 1931-1991), see vol. 1, nos. 58 and 204.

In addition, the bibliography provided under the entry "Eschatology (Islamic Eschatology)" complements the one given here.

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AFTERLIFE: GREEK AND ROMAN CONCEPTS

As is the case with other cultures, the Greeks and Romans entertained a variety of ideas about the afterlife, some of which were mutually exclusive; they called on different ideas as the situation required. Thus, they spoke of the dead as present and angry when ill luck and a guilty conscience suggested that the deceased might be wreaking vengeance; they spoke of them as potential benefactors when paying them cult; and on yet other occasions they spoke of them as if they were completely absent from the world of the living. Both because the attitudes varied and because our information for this, as well as most other aspects of Greek and Roman antiquity, is lacunose, any survey, including the one that follows, tends to impose an artificial order on what were actually complex matters.

GREECE. Although the Greeks and Romans shared many beliefs and practices concerning death, there were also significant differences between the two cultures and they must be treated separately. Greece will be considered first.

Funerary rituals. Children and other surviving kin were expected to ensure that the dead received proper funerary rites; if they did not, the deceased could not be considered truly dead and its soul might wander restlessly between the upper world and the underworld. What constituted "proper rites" varied from place to place and time to time, but honorable disposal of the corpse by burial or cremation was the very least that was required, lest the corpse otherwise become prey for scavengers. Even symbolic burial, such as Antigone performed for her brother by sprinkling dust over his body, would suffice (Sophocles, *Antigone* 254–255). If a body were irretrievable, rites might be performed for the deceased anyway, in hopes that the soul would find rest (e.g., *Odyssey* 1.290–292). People who turned up alive after having had such rites performed were called "double-fated" *(deuteropotmoi)* and had to undergo a symbolic rebirth (Plutarch, *Roman Questions* 264f–265b; cf. Euripides, *Alcestis* 1144–1146).

Ideally, the deceased's female relatives would wash the body on the same day as death had occurred and wrap it in a shroud for burial. The next day would be given over to mourning—the informal mourning of family members being supplemented with that of hired mourners when the family could afford it and the sumptuary laws of the city allowed it. Gifts would be given to the deceased, including small objects such as he or she would have used in life. On the third day, counting inclusively, the body was buried or cremated. Libations were poured into the grave where the body or ashes had been buried and were repeated periodically, usually for at least a year. Survivors might also cut their hair and lay it upon the grave; an absent survivor could dedicate hair at a later date. A marker was set up and could be decorated with ribbons and myrtle branches. Other rituals might also be performed, depending on the desires of the deceased and his or her family. People who had no family could join funerary associations that ensured all of these rites would be carried out. (On burial rites, see Kurtz and Boardman, 1971).

Ghosts. Although any soul could become a ghost—that is, return to wander among the living—the souls that lacked proper funerary rites and the souls of those who had died too early or violently were particularly likely to return in order to cause problems for people whom they blamed for their misfortunes or people whom they envied. Whole groups of people might suffer because a soul was unhappy: cities beset by famine and pestilence sometimes sought relief by paying special cult to the ghosts of local individuals whom they assumed were causing the problems. There were means of averting ghosts as well; wreaths of a thorny plant called *rhamnos* were hung on doors and windows in the belief that this would prevent ghosts from entering a house (Photius, *Lexicon* under "*rhamnos*"). In some parts of Greece, annual festivals such as the Anthesteria invited ghosts back into the world of the living and treated them well for a few days; the underlying logic seems to have been that if the ghosts were satisfied by this extra attention they would remain peaceful for the rest of the year. Even then, however, special precautions were taken to ensure that the returning ghosts did not take too many liberties while among the living, or outstay their welcome. Other festivals, such as the Genesia (a word formed on the *gen-* root, meaning "birth" in the sense of those related to one by birth), honored dead relatives, but it is unclear whether the dead were expected to actually return at these times or simply enjoyed the festival from within the underworld.

Sometimes ghosts were useful. Specialists knew how to create small lead "curse" tablets engraved with words that compelled ghosts to return to the land of the living and do their bidding. Typically, the specialist commanded the ghost to attack someone on behalf of a paying client. The ghost might be charged with imposing insomnia on a woman whom the client loved, for example, in hopes that she would acquiesce to his demands. It was not only the ghosts' victims who feared such activities; the ghosts themselves resented being called up from their rest in the underworld. For this reason, practitioners frequently focused on the ghosts of those who had died too early or unhappily, or whose bodies were unburied, because, as mentioned above, the souls of such unfortunates could not really enter the underworld, and thus they were more readily accessible (they were also, in their anger, probably more ready to injure the living). The specialists might also promise the ghost that, if it cooperated once, the specialist would protect it from ever being bothered again. The ghosts of dead heroes were considered stronger than ordinary ghosts and were expected to help the living with all sorts of problems: they helped women conceive, aided their native cities during war, and gave prophetic advice, for example. Heroic ghosts, however, could also be much more dangerous than other ghosts when angry. (On ghosts, see Johnston, 1999.)

The land of the dead. Souls might return to earth as ghosts, but most souls, most of the time, stayed in the underground kingdom called Hades, which was ruled over by a god who was also named Hades and by his queen, Persephone. In earliest times, the Greeks seem to have believed that everyone there was treated in the same way. The souls existed in a state that was neither pleasant nor unpleasant; literary portrayals, such as that in Book 11 of the *Odyssey*, suggest that the underworld was dank and dark, and that there was little to do to pass eternal time. In the *Odyssey* and elsewhere, souls usually are portrayed as looking like their former bodies (thus women who were famous beauties while alive remained attractive, and mighty warriors still wore their armor). Souls also retained the desires and grudges they held while alive: the soul of Ajax, who felt he had been cheated by Odysseus while alive, refused to return Odysseus's greeting when they met in the underworld. And yet, in spite of the other ways in which life after death replicated what went on before, the souls lacked one of the most important abilities they had while alive: they could not communicate with the living except under special circumstances. In the *Odyssey*, it is only after Odysseus pours out the blood of a ritually slaughtered ram for them to drink that the souls can chat with him (this probably is a reflection, although exaggerated, of normal funerary ritual, which includes pouring libations into the grave). Physical contact is impossible, too, because souls have no substance: Odysseus cannot embrace his mother's ghost.

A few people do suffer punishment in a special part of the underworld according to the *Odyssey* and other Greek literary texts, although it is not clear whether the Greeks considered them to be truly dead or to have been transported to the underworld while still alive. Among the most famous are Tantalos, who endures eternal thirst and hunger, and Sisyphos, who is doomed to push a boulder uphill repeatedly. But these are unusual cases of people who had done unusually wicked things; there is no indication that the average person expected to be punished after death. There are also examples, in myth, of people who get extraordinary rewards at the end of their lives, due to their special relationships with the gods. Menelaus, Helen's husband and therefore Zeus's son-in-law, knew he would be carried off to the paradisiacal Elysian Fields at the end of his life, for example, instead of dying (*Odyssey* 4.561–569).

Myth also tells of judges in the underworld. Most commonly mentioned in this role are Minos, the former king of Crete, who was renowned for his fair judgments; his brother Rhadamanthys, who had been a lawgiver in Crete; and Aeacus, who had ruled Aegina. These judges are presented as settling disputes among the dead, rather than deciding the fate of a newly arrived soul; in other words, they also continue with "life" in much the same way as they had before death (e.g., *Odyssey* 11.568–571). It is only in certain mystery cults or philosophical contexts that we hear of judgments or tests that determine the fate of the soul upon its arrival (see below). Aeacus sometimes serves as the gatekeeper for Hades instead of one of its judges. Kerberos, the many-headed dog of Hades, whom the dead souls had to distract with a piece of food in order to enter the land of the dead (and who prevented the souls from ever leaving again), and Charon, who ferried souls across the river Styx, which divided the world of the dead from the world of the living, played a similar role insofar as they also helped to mark the boundary between life and death. In doing this, they made death seem more permanent and irreversible, but they also made the transition seem more familiar, more like the transitions one encountered in life. Most of these figures are mythic only; however, it is unlikely that the Greeks really "believed" in them. Charon is the possible exception: by the Hellenistic period, people began to bury coins with their dead, with which the souls could pay for their passage across the river. The god Hermes, in his role as Psychopompos (guide of souls), was also a figure of real cult. He was expected to help the soul reach the underworld safely and also to guide it back and forth to the upper world again when necessary (for example, during the Anthesteria, when the soul's family needed its help or when a specialist called on it to harm an enemy).

In contrast to the earliest Greek beliefs, the late archaic period saw the development of a system in which the common person might expect to receive either rewards or punishments after death; this concept was fairly widespread by the classical period. In most cases, one's lot was said to depend on one's behavior while alive—things were supposed to be evened up after death. (On the underworld and punishments after death, see Johnston, 1999, and Sourvinou-Inwood, 1995.)

Preparing for the afterlife. Given this idea, preparation for death should have required nothing more than good behavior. But few people led lives of perfect virtue, and most were therefore left anxious about what awaited them. Perhaps because of this, we also find, beginning in the late archaic period, the idea that one can escape from the postmortem effects of bad behavior and even guarantee bliss after death by being initiated into one or more so-called mysteries cults while still alive (the most famous being that at Eleusis, near Athens). Initiates could expect to spend the afterlife in a meadow or other pleasant place, eating, drinking, and dancing. Non-initiates, however exemplary their conduct had been during life, would wallow in mire forever.

The flaw in this system, as its ancient critics already saw, was that once initiated, people could behave however they liked for the rest of their lives. "It would be absurd," said Diogenes the Cynic, "if Agesilaus and Epaminondas [two Spartan generals known for nobility of character] end up in the mire after death, while worthless people, simply because they have been initiated into the mysteries, dwell on the Islands of the Blest" (Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* 6.39). Although a few mystery cults may have required initiates to follow certain rules of ritualized purity for the rest of their lives (e.g., not wearing wool), there does not seem to have been any expectation that they would follow a moral or ethical code.

A variation on this theme suggested that all humanity was doomed to punishment in the underworld because of its connection to the death of Persephone's son, the god Dionysos. Dionysos had been dismembered and eaten by violent gods called Titans; Zeus incinerated the Titans with a thunderbolt, and humanity arose from their smoldering remains. Persephone thereafter held each human responsible for the loss of her son. All that could save one from postmortem misery was to be initiated into mysteries sponsored by Dionysos (who had been reborn following his consumption by the Titans). The Dionysiac mysteries are particularly interesting because they gave the initiates special knowledge of underworld geography: they taught initiates which path to follow and which to avoid once they went below, and also which infernal bodies of water were safe to drink from and which would inflict forgetfulness. Forgetfulness was dangerous because the initiates had to remember to declare in front of certain underworld divinities or guardians who would judge them that they were pure and that Dionysos had released them from any need to atone for his death at the Titans' hands. Reminders of what the initiates learned while alive were engraved on tiny gold tablets that were buried with them.

Reincarnation shows up in a few texts connected with Dionysiac mysteries and in some philosophical systems influenced by Pythagoras and Plato. Although the soul still won rewards or suffered punishments in the afterlife in these systems, it eventually was sent into a new bodily life. Souls that managed to conduct themselves properly for several cycles could win release from incarnation altogether.

The eschatological aspects of mystery cults represent a novel way of thinking about the afterlife that subsequently influenced many other religious and philosophical systems in later antiquity, including Christianity. But it must be stressed that, for whatever reason, most ancient Greeks were not initiated into them. The standard expectation for the afterlife was probably, at best, a rather boring existence and, at worst, retribution for earthly deeds.

ROME. Scholars face two problems in dealing with Rome: there is little evidence for Roman beliefs and practices in early periods, and, as time went on, the Romans adopted from the Greek literary texts that they admired Greek modes of expressing ideas about death—and probably Greek beliefs and practices as well. Thus, for example, Book 6 of Vergil's *Aeneid*, where Aeneas visits the underworld, models itself closely on Book 11 of the *Odyssey*. It does add some interesting variations: Vergil adds a Limbo-like realm for the souls of infants and of those who died after falsely being accused of crimes, as well as a special area for suicides; he also seems to draw on Pythagorean ideas of reincarnation in some parts of Book 6. Whether these additions reflect actual differences between Greek and Roman beliefs or, rather, Vergil's interest in them for thematic and narrative reasons is impossible to say. We also know that the Romans were influenced by the Etruscans in their religious beliefs, and that they were highly interested in death and the afterlife—but because we can say little about the Etruscans themselves with certainty, this does not help much. Moreover, some "Greek" ideas that the Romans may have borrowed are also found in Etruscan sources, making it hard to say whether the Romans got them from the Greeks or the Etruscans—or perhaps even whether the Greeks themselves borrowed them from the Etruscans early on. Charon, who seems to be related to a figure called Charu in Etruscan sources, is a case in point. The survey that follows points out a few salient ways in which the Romans differed from the Greeks, but most of what was said above about the Greeks is generally true for the Romans as well (e.g., they particularly feared the ghosts of the unburied and thereby put a high value on funerary rites).

The funeral and care of the dead. When a person was about to die, his nearest relative bent over to kiss him, so as to catch his last breath (Seneca, *To Marcia* 3.2). The same person closed the eyes of the deceased (Vergil, *Aeneid* 9.486–487), and then all the relatives began a practice called *conclamatio*, or "calling out to" the dead, which was periodically repeated until the body was cremated (Servius on Vergil, *Aeneid* 6.218). Timing of the burial differed from the Greeks as well; Romans kept the body of the deceased within the house for up to seven days and expected family members to continue lamenting and eating only meager amounts of food during the entire period. Before cremation, a little bit of dirt was thrown on the corpse to symbolize burial, or else a small part of the body, such as a finger, was cut off to be buried. The rest of the body was burned. After the funeral pyre had consumed the corpse, survivors poured milk and wine over the ashes and bones, to feed the deceased. (Later, the bones were interred in a tomb.) For nine days following cremation, family members continued to set themselves apart from the rest of the community. During this period, a sow and a gelded ram were sacrificed and the grave was formally consecrated. (On burial rites, see Toynbee, 1971.)

As soon as a son, when sifting through the ashes of his father's funeral pyre, found a bone, he proclaimed that the father had joined the *Di Manes*, or "divine spirits"—in other words, the ancestors (Varro, in Plut., *Moralia* 267b). As in Greece, care was taken to keep these spirits happy and beneficent through funeral banquets and other graveside offerings—especially red flowers, which were offered at a festival called the "day of roses," or at another called the "day of violets." A nine-day festival called the Dies Parentes (days of the parents) was held in February and concluded with a day called the Feralia (the "carrying" of food and other gifts to tombs); this honored the dead as kindly beings who watched over their descendants. During another festival, the Lemuria, which was held for three days in May, the head of each household had to perform rituals at night to rid the family of malevolent ghosts (*lemures* or *larvae*). In particular, he had to toss black beans onto the floor with his eyes averted, while he asserted that the beans were meant to redeem himself and his family. The ghosts were expected to gather up the beans and leave contented.

The Romans asserted from an early time that certain founding fathers had become gods after their deaths—Romulus and Aeneas, for example. Starting with Julius Caesar, the Roman Senate went further, regularly deifying exceptional individuals after death, particularly emperors and members of the imperial family. The Greeks had occasionally done this as well for important rulers, starting in the Hellenistic period, but had never fully embraced the idea. (See Price, 1984.)

SEE ALSO Orphic Gold Tablets.

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AFTERLIFE: GERMANIC CONCEPTS

The Old Norse accounts that supply most of the detailed information about pre-Christian Germanic religion picture several different kinds of afterlife. These can be simplified into two contrasting general concepts of life after death. In one view, the dead traveled to one of several halls depending upon how they died. In the other view, the dead remained very much on earth, either staying in their grave mound or else traveling out and disturbing their former neighborhood. In both understandings of the afterlife, how one died and the rituals surrounding death could determine how the dead person fared in the afterlife.

The Halls of the Dead. The largest and most complete mythological narratives discussing the afterlife are contained in the *Prose Edda* and the *Poetic Edda*. The *Prose Edda* was written by Snorri Sturluson (1179–1241), a politically involved Icelandic nobleman who lived roughly two centuries after the conversion of Iceland to Christianity. Snorri presents a logical and clear description of many Norse beliefs, but this well-ordered narrative most likely reflects the influence of Christian systematic theology. His sources, mainly the group of poems called the *Poetic Edda*, present a much more fractured and inconsistent view of the afterlife. Germanic paganism apparently allowed multiple and contradictory understandings of death.

As portrayed in the *Prose Edda*, the dead dwelt in various halls. The virtuous deceased went to Gimlé, called simply the best house; to Brimir, which featured a copious supply of ale; or to Sindri, which was made of red gold. The wicked went to an unnamed hall on Nástrandir (Corpse Beach), which was reserved for oath breakers and murderers and whose walls were made of snakes that spat their poison into the center of the house; or to Hvergelmir, the worst house of all, in which the serpent Níðhǫggr tormented the bodies of the dead.

The basic depictions of these halls derive from the *Poetic Edda* (*Vǫlupsá,* sts. 37–39). In *Vǫluspá*, however, only the hall on Nástrandir is linked explicitly with the dead, and the halls of Sindri and Brimir (who are supernatural people, a dwarf and a giant respectively, and not just names) seem to be gathering stations for the races inimical to the Æsir gods rather than destinations for the dead. Similarly, Hvergelmir is elsewhere pictured as a spring under the roots of the world tree and not as a hall. *Vǫlupsá* does mention a hall on Gimlé, made of gold, that will house righteous rulers once the earth has been renewed after Ragnarǫk (the end of this world), and *Vǫlupsá* also notes that a monstrous wolf feeds on the flesh of the dead in Ironwood. While other accounts do not contain these named halls, a snake-filled hall does appear in the story by Saxo Grammaticus (c.1150–1204/1220) about a trip northward to a realm of the dead, and it therefore seems likely that a snake-filled hall was an image traditionally associated with death.

Another realm for the dead found in the *Eddas* is Hel. Unlike its modern cognate *hell*, Hel, while placed underground, was not viewed as a place of damnation, but rather as simply the realm of the dead, similar to the Hebrew *sheʾol*. Hel's connection with the halls mentioned above is unclear, and it may represent a separate and older view of the afterlife. Knowledge of Hel was certainly more widespread than any of the above halls, since it appears in stock phrases meaning "to die," such as *fara til heljar*, literally "travel to Hel." Hel was frequently personified in skaldic poetry, however, and Snorri pictured Hel as a goddess dwelling in Niflheimr (Misty Dwelling), a region consisting of nine underworlds. According to information unique to Snorri's account, it was those who died of sickness, old age, and famine who went to Hel.

A final abode for the dead prominent in the *Eddas* is Valhǫll, popularly known today as Valhalla. Valhǫll, in the *Eddas* as elsewhere, is portrayed as the hall of Óðinn (Odin), where certain selected warriors slain on the battlefield are taken. The hall is decorated with armor and features 540 doors, through each of which eight hundred warriors can pass at the same time. According to the poem *Grímnismál*, these chosen warriors, called *einherjar*, enjoy a merry life of feasting while they await the day when they shall go out to fight alongside Óðinn against the all-devouring wolf. According to Snorri and other sources, the warriors daily fight each other in order to practice for the upcoming final battle. The people who choose which of the slain will partake of this life of martial feasting differ depending on the source, and Óðinn, Freyja, and the valkyries are all mentioned in this connection.

Earthly Domicile. While Eddic mythology focuses on Valhǫll and the halls for the dead, other literary sources suggest that some dead remained on earth and did not travel to a separate realm. Norse sagas give several colorful accounts of *draugar* (sing. *draugr*), which are revenants, or reanimated corpses. *Grettis Saga*, for example, tells of Glámr, an irreligious farmhand who was killed on Christmas Eve by an unidentified monster. Despite a makeshift burial, Glámr returned as a revenant and haunted the old farmstead by destroying property, animals, and men until the hero Grettir defeated the *draugr* in combat, decapitated the corpse, and burned the body. Only then did the haunting end, according to the narrative.

While *draugar* actively haunted this world, other corpses remained in their grave mounds and attacked only those who dared to enter them. The corpse of Kárr the Old only came to life within his *howe,* or burial mound, when Grettir attempted to remove the treasure buried there. A fight ensued, and Grettir, as usual, finally got the upper hand. The dead in the grave mounds are not always malevolent, however. When their graves are not violated, the dead are sometimes pictured as content in their *howes;* Gunnar is described as happily gazing at the full moon from his open *howe* in *Njáls Saga*. Several *howe* dwellers were in fact believed to be gods, and their cults involved sacrifices offered at the grave mound. Certain grave mounds themselves seem to have become holy as a result; there is mention of an Árhaugr (Plenty Howe) to which sacrifices were offered around Yule.

While some dead dwelt in grave mounds, some families believed that they would reside in a mountain after death. *Eyrbyggja saga* preserves an account of Þorsteinn Þorskabítr, who was welcomed into Helgafell (Holy Mountain) with much rejoicing and merrymaking when he died by drowning. Other accounts also stress the celebration that ensued when the recently deceased joined their kin in the mountains. One common thread between many of these accounts is the worship of Þórr (Thor), but it is unclear if such worship itself enabled the dead person to enter the mountain.

A final way in which the dead remained on earth is through rebirth. Accounts of rebirth are not very common, though some famous personages, such as King Olaf the Holy, were alleged to have been the reincarnations of other people. Some critics have argued that the widespread practice of naming children after recently deceased kinsmen indicates that belief in reincarnation was once common, but the surviving evidence is not conclusive.

BURIAL RITES. The Germanic peoples practiced both cremation and inhumation throughout their pre-Christian history. Cremation itself was generally completed by placing the ashes in an urn and burying the urn. Inhumed corpses are often found accompanied by grave goods such as armor, food, or even other corpses. The presence of grave goods is generally thought to indicate belief in an afterlife, since the goods seem designed to aid the individual's journey to or life in the next world. Other interpretations are, of course, possible. The modern Catholic custom of burying bodies with a rosary does not reflect contemporary belief that the corpse will use it for prayer, and sentimental or symbolic readings may be more accurate than literal interpretations of the archaeological evidence.

In thirteenth-century Christian accounts, however, the earlier pagans are described as believing that grave goods would help to secure a good life after death. According to *Ynglingasaga*, the Swedish cult of Óðinn held that the dead would bring to Valhǫll whatever treasures had been buried with them in the grave. The depiction of a ravenously hungry corpse in *Egils saga einhenda ok Ásmundar* further suggests that food offerings were indeed intended as provisions for the deceased. An extremely interesting and valuable account by Ahmed Ibn Fadlan (fl. 922 CE), an Arabic ambassador who spent time among the still-pagan Rus, who are thought to have been East Scandinavian traders, records that a chieftain's death rites included the sacrifice of a servant girl who would accompany him into the afterlife. A number of graves in Anglo-Saxon England in which a female corpse without grave goods has been placed over a male corpse with grave goods provides some evidence that Ibn Fadlan's account is rooted in reality and that such sacrifices were practiced across the Germanic world. In other literary narratives, it is the wife who performed this suttee-like sacrifice.

While grave goods thus helped the dead in the next life, cremation rituals could indicate how the deceased was actually received. In Ibn Fadlan's account, Viking informants explain that a quick-burning fire, driven by a stiff wind, indicated the favor of the gods and that the dead chieftain would enter paradise without delay. The strong wind presumably also carried the smoke further, and according to Snorri, the Swedes believed that the height of the smoke from a funeral pyre indicated how much honor the dead person would receive in the realm of the dead. The closing lines of *Beowulf* likewise note that "Heaven swallowed the smoke" rising from the hero's pyre.

The most famous cremations are certainly those in which the corpse was sent out to sea in a burning boat. No archaeological remains exist that can confirm this literary tradition, but several ship burials have been found in which the corpse was placed in a ship along with grave goods, with the entire ship then being buried. The very idea of a ship implies a journey, and these ship burials may be the literal reinterpretation of what was earlier merely a metaphor. This image seems to have been well rooted among the Germanic peoples, since Iron Age graves in Gotland were sometimes enclosed by upright stones in the form of a ship, although ship burials themselves were not frequent until the sixth century.

Another ceremony that may have been intended to help the fate of the departed was the funeral feast that was held either immediately after interment or a few months later. These feasts could be important for the living as well as for the dead, since an heir took possession of his father's estates by drinking a draft called *bragafull* and then ascending to his father's chair. The living also recited poems at the feast, and *Sonatorrek,* by Egill Skallagrimsson, gives an idea of what these poems may have been like. In *Sonatorrek*, Egill laments the death of his son, but he also describes his son's reception by the gods. One purpose of such poems originally may have been to ensure the departed's safe arrival in the afterlife, since *Hákonar Saga Góða* depicts men giving speeches at the king's funeral in order to direct him to Valhǫll.

TRANSITION TO CHRISTIANITY. The transition to Christianity is marked in the archaeological record by the decline of cremation burials, a decrease in the number of grave goods, and an increase in Christian jewelry, such as crosses, with a concomitant decrease in pagan amulets, such as Þórr's hammers. Many non-Christian beliefs lingered on, however; one example is revenants, though such creatures were now fitted into a Christian cosmography and were often viewed as returning temporarily from purgatory to this world. A major change must have been the distinction made between body and **saiwalō*, the proto-Germanic word from which Modern English *soul* derives. Whereas pre-Christian sources do not picture any clear division between the body and the animating principle at death, Christian teaching held that the body and soul were separated, though they would rejoin at the Last Judgment. Despite this difference, the missionaries' acceptance of **saiwalō* and their decision not to use the Latin *anima* as a loanword suggests that the Germanic peoples had a concept of soul sufficiently close to the Christian, though this soul does not seem to have played a distinct part in pagan conceptions of the afterlife. Interestingly, **saiwalō* did not survive into Old Norse, and the missionaries chose to use *sála,* borrowed from West Germanic, in lieu of any native Norse term. This absence highlights the differences between the Norse and other Germanic cultures and indicates how careful one must be in stretching the Norse literary evidence about the afterlife to cover all the Germanic peoples.

SEE ALSO Eddas; Germanic Religion, overview article; Óðinn; Snorri Sturluson; Valhǫll; Valkyries.

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LAWRENCE P. MORRIS (2005)

AFTERLIFE: CHINESE CONCEPTS

It is commonly accepted that conceptions of soul and afterlife must have developed among many human societies—China included—long before the appearance of written evidence. Unsparing efforts to discover traces in archaeological remains have yielded varying degrees of success. In the case of ancient China, the position of bodies buried at the Banpo Neolithic (c. 5000–4000 BCE) cemetery near present-day Xian was often interpreted as indicating the existence of an idea of an afterlife. The evidence—a unified westward head position—was explained as the expression of a belief in the west as the world of the dead. There is, however, very little further evidence, and nothing else is known of such a belief in a world after death during this period. A parallel situation in ancient Egypt indicates that burial positions varied from cemetery to cemetery, which should be considered a warning against interpreting burial position as evidence of a concept of the netherworld.

The earliest textual evidence from China concerning an idea of an afterlife is in oracle bone inscriptions from the Shang dynasty (c. 1500–1050 BCE). Primarily divination records, the inscriptions mentioned that deceased kings dwelled in heaven together with the God on High. This was clearly a very special afterlife, available only for royalty. There is no textual evidence indicating an afterlife for commoners, though burial custom continued to develop along the model of vertical pits with wooden coffins in varying degrees of elaboration. This implies that the belief system of the society at the time was by and large homogenous. Later, during the transition from the Warring States period (c. 403–221 BCE) to the Qin (221–206 BCE) and Han (206 BCE–220 CE) dynasties, when tomb style began to change, a detectable transformation in the perception of the afterlife occurred.

Inscriptions on bronze vessels found in tombs of the Shang and Zhou (c. 1150–256 BCE) dynasties are in general commemorative in nature, and the deeds of the owners were magnified and praised. Occasionally, the "underground" is mentioned as the place where a deceased noble will serve his lord after death. This "underground" is not described in detail, but it must indicate a common conception for the destination of the dead. Evidence of human sacrifices as well as accompanying tombs of servants and concubines are found among Shang royal tombs and certain later tombs. These are corroborated by textual evidence from the *Book of Odes*, attributed to the Zhou period, which indicates that for a long time people believed that deceased kings and rulers needed their servants after death.

THE CHANGING CONCEPT OF THE NETHERWORLD: EASTERN ZHOU TO HAN. During the Eastern Zhou (770–256 BCE) and the Warring States periods, for which written documents are relatively abundant, two terms—Yellow Spring and Dark City—were used to represent the idea of a netherworld. The term *Yellow Spring* (*huangquan*) was probably a reference to underground water, which was a metaphor for the netherworld. The *Zuozhuan,* a work that relates historical events of the Eastern Zhou period, preserved a story that concerns this idea of the Yellow Spring. The duke of Zheng was angry with his unfaithful mother and vowed never to see her again in life with the expression "we shall not meet each other unless we all reach the Yellow Spring" (i.e., the netherworld). Later, when he regretted his anger, he dug an underground tunnel to meet with her, since the tunnel was supposed to have reached the Yellow Spring. The underground tunnel is clearly a substitute for a tomb or the netherworld. Exactly what there was in the Yellow Spring, however, is not specified.

The term *Dark City* (*youdu*) first appears in the *Chuci* (Songs of the south), written by the famous Chu poet Qu Yuan (c. 343–277 BCE). In a chapter titled "Summoning the Soul," which describes the soul-recalling ritual, the poet wrote: “O soul, Go not down to the City of Darkness, where the Lord Earth lies, nine-coiled, with dreadful horns on his forehead, and a great humped back and bloody thumbs, pursuing men, swift-footed: Three eyes he has in his tiger’s head, and his body is like a bull’s” (Hawkes, 1959, p. 105). Here the Dark City was ruled by Lord Earth (Tu Bo), a sinister-looking horned python. Such a description betrays a certain aversion toward the afterlife, as the Dark City was clearly not a desirable place for the soul of the dead to be. Again, little is known about this Dark City. Indeed, darkness is a quality often attributed to the world of the dead. The ancient Mesopotamians believed that the world of the dead was a dark and cold place, ruled by the deities Ereshkigal and Nergal. The Jewish Sheʾol, also a dark place, was intimately related to the ancient Mesopotamian concept of the netherworld. The ancient Greeks conceived of the netherworld as a gloomy place, where the souls of the dead exist in a pale and shadow-like form. The idea of the darkness of the Chinese netherworld, the Dark City, is retained well into the Eastern Han period (25–220 CE). An Eastern Han funerary text states that the deceased “joined the long night, without seeing the sun and the stars. His soul dwelled alone, returned down to the darkness.”

Exactly how prevalent this concept of a Dark City was in the late Warring States period, when the *Chuci* was written, is uncertain. A slightly later text found in a Qin dynasty tomb in the present-day Gansu province mentioned that the deceased “lived” in his tomb and that he did not like to wear many clothes, nor did he like offerings of food soaked with sauce. In this case, the relationship between the tomb and the Dark City is not clear.

In the Western Han during the second century BCE, texts found in tombs referred to the world of the dead as simply “underground” (*dixia*) and ruled by a host of bureaucrats, including the Lord of Underworld, the Assistant Magistrate of the Underworld, the Assistant of the Dead, the Retinue of the Graves, the Minister and Magistrate of Grave Mounds, the Commander of Ordinance for the Mounds, the Neighborhood Head of the Gate of the Souls, the Police of the Grave Mounds, the Marquis of the Eastern Mound, the Count of the Western Mound, the Official of Underneath, and the Head of Five of Gaoli (i.e., the netherworld). Governing this bureaucratic establishment was an overlord, variously known as the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi), Yellow God (Huangshen), or Heavenly Emperor (Tiandi). It is unclear how the Heavenly Emperor could be involved in the affairs of the netherworld if heaven and the underground were separate regions. All the same, the picture of the underground shaped by these figures reflects what happened above ground. In other words, a conception of a bureaucratic netherworld only became possible when the world of the living was already bureaucratized. This evidence from the Han period, in its description of the bureaucratization of the netherworld, also reflects the signs of a unified empire.

On the other hand, at every locality there was always the issue of the incorporation of local traditions into the larger structure. A group of wooden slips dated to 79 CE provided a wealth of information on local religious beliefs related to the conception of the afterlife. The texts were written in the form of contracts that recorded that, when a person was about to die, the family would employ a *wu* shaman to pray and make ale and meat offerings for the dying person. When the person died, the family members would pray to a variety of deities, including the Lord Hearth, the Controller of Fate, and a number of local deities. Sacrifice to the deities was also ministered by local *wu* shamans. When the prayer was finished, the content of the prayer and the offering was written on the wooden slips, which were meant to be taken by the deceased as a kind of contract to the Heavenly Sire (*tiangong*) to testify that indeed prayers and offerings had been performed on behalf of the deceased. It is unclear who this Heavenly Sire was, though he must have been one of the important deities in charge of the deceased. This, of course, is another form of the bureaucratization of the afterworld, as official documents on earth were imitated in the world of the dead. It is particularly interesting that here the deceased was referred to as ascending to heaven and descending to the Yellow Spring at the same time when death occurred.

Similar situations can be found in the use of contracts for the purchase of land. Archaeological excavations of tombs have produced a substantial number of contracts for the purpose of buying a piece of land for the deceased as the place of the burial. It is possible that such land contracts were originally copies of real contracts that the family members of the deceased placed in the tomb in order to provide a legitimate claim to the land. Gradually, the contract became symbolic; as the piece of land became an imaginary space, the sellers became deities or immortals and the price of the land became astronomical.

Finally, the bureaucratization of the afterlife was evidenced by the fact that it was thought that the deceased had to pay taxes even in the netherworld. A text found in an Eastern Han tomb includes the following:

> Today is an auspicious day. It is for no other reason but the deceased Zhang Shujing, who unfortunately died prematurely, is scheduled to descend into the grave. The Yellow God, who produced the Five Mountains, is in charge of the roster of the deceased, recalling the *hun* and *po*, and in charge of the list of the dead. The living may build a high tower; the dead returns and is buried deeply underneath. Eyebrows and beards having fallen, they drop and became dirt and dust. Now therefore I (the Messenger of Heavenly Emperor) present the medicine for removing poll-tax and corvée conscription, so that the descendants will not die. Nine pieces of *renshen* from Shangdang substitute for the living. The lead man is intended to substitute for the dead. The soybeans and mellon-seeds are for the dead to pay for the taxation underneath. Hereby I issue a decree to remove the earthly evil, so that no disaster will occur. When this decree arrives, restrict the officer of the Underworld, and do not disturb the Zhang family again.

> Doubly urgent as prescribed by the laws and ordinances. (Poo, 1998, pp. 171–172)

Not only did the deceased have to pay tax in the netherworld, they also faced the prospect of forced labor. A small lead figurine of a man, crudely made and placed in a clay jar to be buried in the tomb, was said to be able to do all sorts of errands for the deceased, including serving as a substitute laborer. It is interesting to note a similarity between this lead man and the *ushabti* of ancient Egypt; both served as substitutes for the deceased in the performance of conscripted labor in the afterlife. Spells written on the *ushabti* engaged the double to answer (the literal meaning of *ushabti*) for all the required works.

The text quoted above was actually a protective spell aimed at securing a comfortable place for the dead in the netherworld and at the same time protecting the family members. The author of this spell is unknown but presumably belonged to the class of *fangshi* magician, an early type of Daoist priest. Thus, two categories of religious personnel were involved in mediating this world and the afterlife. The *wu* shaman was responsible for the preparation and performance of sacrificial rituals, while the *fangshi* magician was mainly involved in the manipulation of secret and sacred powers by producing spells and recipes, together with certain actions, that could control various evil spirits and ghosts.

During the Eastern Han period, Mount Tai emerged as the final destination of the dead. This place was ruled by the Lord of Mount Tai, who was in charge of the dead. This does not mean that belief in an underground netherworld, or the Yellow Spring, was completely replaced by belief in Mount Tai as the abode of the dead or that people in every corner of the empire gave up their local traditions concerning the afterlife. The process through which Mount Tai gained its importance is obscure, but it might have to do with the position of Mount Tai in the state cult. The *Shujing* (Book of history) mentions that the sage-king Shun once made sacrifice at Mount Tai. Another ancient tradition has it that the Yellow Emperor performed a sacrifice to heaven at Mount Tai and became immortal. A number of classical texts testify that mountain deities were worshipped by the rulers in order to appropriate the mandate of heaven and therefore the legitimacy to rule. The first emperor of the Qin dynasty (Qin Shihuang, r. 221–210 BCE) and Emperor Wu (r. 140–87 BCE) of the Han dynasty also performed the Grand Ceremony (*fengshan*) at Mount Tai. The sacred nature of Mount Tai was therefore well established during the early Han. One can only assume that the sacredness of Mount Tai was the basis for it to become the abode of the dead. Nonetheless, it is only in the Eastern Han period that one finds funerary texts clearly indicating that Mount Tai had become the abode of ghosts. One such text reads, "The living belong to the jurisdiction of Chang'an to the west; the dead belong to the jurisdiction of Mount Tai to the east." This indicates that the capital of the living was Chang'an, the capital of Western Han, and the capital of the dead was Mount Tai. Thus, it seems that it was during the Western Han that Mount Tai gained the attribute of being the abode of the dead, although the text was found in an Eastern Han tomb. Two small mounds below Mount Tai, Liangfu and Gaoli, also became associated with this world of the dead and were often mentioned in texts of the Eastern Han and later eras.

BURIAL STYLES AND THE CONCEPTION OF AFTERLIFE. The evolution of tomb styles reveals the transformation of the conception of the afterlife from another angle. The traditional burial style in China from the Neolithic period until the Warring States period was the vertical-pit wooden-casket tomb. The degree of personal status was shown in the size of the pit and the layers of caskets provided for the deceased as well as in the elaborateness of the funerary objects. The burial place, though certainly considered the abode of the dead, was constructed to reflect the personal sociopolitical status of the deceased. The number of accompanying bronze vessels and the layers of caskets, for example, were provided in a hierarchical order.

A change gradually took place during the Warring States period with the appearance of brick tombs, indicating a shift in emphasis in the perception of the function of the tomb. In its earlier form, the brick tomb was constructed with large bricks, which replaced the wooden outer casket of the vertical-pit tomb. During the early Western Han period, this burial style gradually gained acceptance among the people, and the tomb structure began to develop into more complicated forms. The brick burial chamber grew larger and often included an antechamber, some of which included further side chambers for storing funerary objects or even symbolic kitchens and stables with surrogate kitchen utensils and carriages. The tomb was more like an underground house for the deceased. It seems that with the emergence of brick tombs and funerary objects of daily use, the afterlife was conceived in a more realist fashion.

Similar trends can also be observed in the traditional form of vertical-pit wooden-casket tombs, particularly in former Chu areas. Beginning from the late Warring States period, the caskets developed from a single-level to a double-level structure with doors, windows, and stairs that connected the upper and lower levels. Some caskets even had pigpens in the lower levels, which undoubtedly were replicas of the houses of the living. Funerary objects, such as clay models of rice paddies, boats, carriages, cattle, even chicken and fish, created a sense of a well-provided household. Some elements that earlier had indicated the political status of the tomb owner, such as bronze vessels, were missing from the scenes.

The change observed in burial styles from the Warring States to the Han reveals a change of conception toward the afterlife. Corresponding to the textual evidence, which suggests a bureaucratized netherworld emerging with the establishment of the Han empire, the change in burial style indicates a more realistic imagining of the world after death—an imagining, however, based on an imitation of the world of the living. The textual and archaeological evidence clearly suggests that by the Eastern Han period the idea that the netherworld was similar to the mundane world had become common. By making the abode after death practically identical to the normal abode, the dead (or the dying) perhaps were thought to be relieved of the dread of uncertainty.

ATTITUDES TOWARD LIFE IN THE NETHERWORLD. Attitudes toward the afterlife were ambiguous and cannot be separated from attitudes toward death and the existence of the soul after death. The early Daoist philosopher Zhuangzi (c. fourth century BCE) held a materialist and naturalist view of the essence of life, and he perceived that the physical being was merely a gathering of the *qi* ether in the universe. When a person, or indeed any life-form, died, the body decomposed and returned to the state of *qi.* There was therefore no life after death. The Confucians, on the other hand, took a conservative stand in accepting what had long existed in Chinese culture—ghosts and spirits. Yet Confucius himself did not wish to discuss the unknown world of the spirits, and he devoted little attention to the afterlife. As a consequence, the Confucian view did not reflect what was actually believed by common people regarding death and life in the netherworld. The archaeological and textual evidence described in the previous sections demonstrates that the nature of the afterlife was a constant concern of the people. The Eastern Han philosopher Wang Chong (first century CE) gave a vivid description of the popular mentality of his time:

> Thus ordinary people, on the one side, have these very doubtful arguments (about whether ghosts exist or not), and on the other they hear of Duke Du and the like, and note that the dead in their tombs arise and have intercourse with sick people whose end is near. They then believe in this, and imagine that the dead are like the living. They commiserate with them, [thinking] that in their graves they are lonely, that their souls are solitary and without companions, that their tombs and mounds are closed and devoid of grain and other things. Therefore they make dummies to serve the corpses in their coffins, and fill the latter with eatables, to gratify the spirits. This custom has become so inveterate, and has gone to such lengths, that very often people will ruin their families and use up all their property for the coffins of the dead. (Forke, 1962, vol. 2, p. 369)

An ambiguous attitude toward death and the afterlife can be seen in these diverging views. On the one hand, life hereafter could be portrayed as a state of happiness. Tomb paintings and reliefs from the Han period often portray a happy afterlife: scenes of banquets, festivals, hunting, and traveling often occupy the central position. Inscriptions on bronze mirrors found in tombs often carry eulogies about a carefree life comparable to that of the immortals. One inscription reads: "There is happiness daily, and fortune monthly. There is joy without (bad) events, fit for having wine and food. Live leisurely, free from anxiety. Accompanied by flute and zither, with contentment of heart. Years of happiness are secure and lasting" (Karlgren, 1934, no. 79). However, other texts describing taxes and corvée labor in the afterlife as well as contracts concerning prayers and offerings to the deities betray a sense of anxiety and fear. Even the elaborate funerary paraphernalia could be seen as emerging from a sense of insecurity about an uncertain future.

SEE ALSO Alchemy, article on Chinese Alchemy; Chinese Religion, overview article, article on Mythic Themes; Daoism, overview article, article on The Daoist Religious Community; Fangshi; Huangdi; Soul, article on Chinese Concepts; Tian; Xian; Xi Wang Mu; Zhenren.

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MU-CHOU POO (2005)

AGA KHAN (Pers., Āghā Khān). First conferred in 1817 on the Ismāʿīlī imam (spiritual leader) Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh (d. 1881) by the Qajar shah of Iran, this hereditary title is now applied to the imam of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Muslims. As imams of a Shīʿī community, the Aga Khans have always based their claims to leadership on their descent from ʿAlī and Fāṭimah, the son-in-law and daughter of the prophet Muḥammad. Their followers, who reside mainly in various developing countries, have traditionally looked to them for guidance on religious as well as secular matters.

Intrigues at the Iranian court during the 1830s forced Aga Khan I to migrate to India, where, under British protection, he eventually established headquarters in Bombay in 1848. An important British ally during the conquest of Sind, Aga Khan I faced strong challenges to his leadership from within his community. Most of these challenges were resolved in 1866 when Sir Joseph Arnold of the Bombay High Court issued a judgment in favor of the Aga Khan. His son ʿAlī Shāh (d. 1885) became Aga Khan II; he was, after a short period, succeeded in turn by his son, Sir Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh.

Aga Khan III (d. 1957) initiated a process of modernizing the community through the establishment of schools, dispensaries, hospitals, housing societies, welfare organizations; the creation of communal administrative structures; and the emancipation and education of Ismāʿīlī women. He also participated in a wide range of political, social, and philanthropic activities for the benefit of Muslims, particularly those of the Indian subcontinent. His important role in public life led to his election to the presidency of the League of Nations in 1937. Under his grandson, Shāh Karīm al-Ḥusaynī, Aga Khan IV (b. 1936), an international university, the Aga Khan University, was established, with its first faculty in Karachi, Pakistan. The Aga Khan Foundation, and agency founded in 1967, is actively involved in diverse humanitarian and cultural activities.

SEE ALSO Shiism, article on Ismāʿīlīyah.

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ALI S. ASANI (1987)

AGAPE SEE CHARITY; EUCHARIST

AGES OF THE WORLD.

The notion that the world or the cosmos, as a living thing, undergoes stages of development similar to those of a human individual is more than a poetic conceit; it is a ubiquitous belief, one that is frequently displayed in linguistic phenomena. For example, lying behind the English word *world* is an old Germanic compound, **wer-aldh*, meaning "the life, or age, of man"; in Indo-European languages, the terms for "life" or "world" and terms designating temporal periods often shade off into each other, as in the Greek *aion* or the Latin *saeculum.*

SYSTEMS OF BINARY PERIODIZATION. The simplest form of world-periodization is a binary one: *before and after*, *then and now*, *now and then.* The distinction *before and after* is most frequently expressed in historicized form but often carries with it religious evaluation. Thus, while there are commemorative base years in some chronological systems, such as 4 Ahau 8 Cumkú (3133 BCE) among the Maya, 1 Flint (1168 BCE) among the Aztec, or the Saka era (78 CE) in India, most such systems are built around events in the lives of founders. The most familiar of these systems is the division of all human history into BC (before Christ) and AD (*anno Domini*, "in the year of our Lord," i.e., after Christ), a distinction created by the Christian monk Dionysius Exiguus in the first half of the sixth century. Dionysius established the beginning of the Christian era (or the Era of the Incarnation) as 1 January 754 AUC (*anno urbis conditae*, "from the foundation of the city [of Rome]"). The system of dating by AD did not come into wide usage until the eleventh century; the negative chronology of BC gained currency only after the publication in 1681 of Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet's *Universal History.* However, Dionysius's system ultimately became so widely accepted that it formed the basis of a new system, created in the last decades of the twentieth century, that distinguished between "the common era" (CE) and "before the common era" (BCE). (The CE–BCE system was soon increasingly favored by English-language scholars and is, in fact, the system employed by this encyclopedia.)

Periodizations similar to the Christian system are found in other religious traditions: the Muslim system of dating events AH (*anno Hegirae*, "in the year of the Hijrah"), attributed to the second caliph, ʿUmar I (634–644); the Buddhist era, in use in Ceylon and Southeast Asia, which begins with the Buddha's attaining *Nirvāṇa* in 544 BCE; the Jain era, commencing with the death of Jina in 528 BCE; and the Kollam era, restricted to the Malabar Coast, associated with Parasurama, an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.

The other modes of binary periodization—*then and now*, *now and then*—while sometimes found in historicized form (such as the distinction between *antediluvian* and *postdiluvian* in Sumero-Akkadian literature) are, more usually, connected to explicit mythical themes, especially those concerned with anthropogony and eschatology. They presuppose that a sharp cleavage may be described as existing between the present state of things and an anterior or posterior state. The contrast between *then* and *now* finds its most common expression as that between an ancestral time in the mythical past and the present time of human beings. This contrast may play a dominant role in an entire religious system (as does the notion of the "Dreaming" among the Australian Aborigines), or it may serve as a motif in myths of paradise, of a Golden Age, of the origin of death, of the relocation of a high god, of a deluge, or of a fall. The distinction between *now* and *then* occurs widely in apocalyptic and millenarian traditions as in the distinction between this age and the age to come, or in mythologies concerning the end of the world.

As the above suggests, the category "ages of the world" is a somewhat fluid one. At times its primary focus is on the entire universe, at times it is limited to the earth; at times it includes the gods, humans, and all living beings, at times it is centered on man, or on stages of human history. In some traditions all of these aspects are interwoven into a cosmic drama; in other traditions only one or another of these aspects will be found.

SYSTEMS OF SERIAL PERIODIZATION. In the usual understanding of ages of the world, more than a simple binary periodization is present; there is a system of serial periodization. Three forms predominate: a tradition of world-periods, a tradition of myths of recurrence, and a system of cosmic periods.

World-periods. The simplest form of serial periodization marks out a succession of periods from creation to final destruction, from a beginning to an end.

Iranian traditions. It is exceedingly difficult to order the Iranian traditions concerning successive world-periods with any certainty due to the fact that the most elaborate mythic schema are found only in late Pahlavi books redacted no earlier than the ninth century CE. This not simply an internal problem; it affects matters of comparison as well, inasmuch as the Iranian traditions have been held by many scholars to have been influential on Greco-Roman, Israelitic, and Christian traditions of the ages of the world that predate the Pahlavi texts. Nevertheless, elements of the fully elaborated, later traditions can be found in early texts. The myth of the Golden Age of the primordial king, Yima, is a pre-Zoroastrian, Indo-Iranian tradition; the associated notion of a worldwide, catastrophic winter that will destroy terrestrial life is an archaic Indo-European motif. The important title for savior, *saoshyant*, applied in the first instance to Zarathushtra (Zoroaster), and the notion that the present age will be transformed by the prophet immediately into one that is "excellent" with yet a future age of re-creation and transformation, occur in the earliest Zoroastrian literary strata. What is more important, from Greek reports of Iranian tradition as early as the fourth century BCE, one learns of a three-thousand-year period when one god will rule over another; a three-thousand-year period when the two gods will struggle; and a third period, of unspecified length, which will be a golden age. Hades (i.e., Ahriman) will lose power, there will be universal happiness and no need for food, and the god (Ōhrmazd) who achieved these things will be at "rest" (Theopompus, quoted in Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris* 47). Armenian Christian sources, such as Eznik of Kolb (fifth century), provide the basic elements of the Zurvanist dualistic myth, according to which prior to creation the two rival deities, Ōhrmazd and Ahriman, are each assigned nine thousand years of kingship by their father, Zurwan. Finally, there is the elaborate apocalyptic portrait of the signs of the end fully developed in the Iranian *Oracle of Hystaspes* (first century BCE), well known from its citation in Greek and Latin Christian sources from the second and third centuries.

The Sasanid period (226–652 CE) was one of intense theological controversy between rival cosmologies, out of which emerged the system of dividing the ages of the world into four trimillennia as elaborated in the Pahlavi books. The system received its classic formulation in the *Bundahishn* (Book of Primordial Creation), itself a composite work containing both elements of orthodox Mazdean speculation and Zurvanist myth. In the first trimillennium, Ōhrmazd and Ahriman coexist in Infinite Time, the former in an upper realm of light, the latter in a lower realm of darkness. After becoming aware of each other and their predestined struggle, they each fashion weapons. At the close of the first trimillennium, Ahriman crosses the Void and attacks Ōhrmazd. Ōhrmazd offers peace and is rejected. Then, knowing that he is destined to win the struggle, Ohrmazd proposes a limit to their contest—a period of nine thousand years. After Ahriman accepts, Ōhrmazd begins a new stage of the battle by reciting the central Zoroastrian prayer, the Ahuna Vairya. Thereupon Ahriman falls back into darkness, where he remains for three thousand years.

During this period of Ahriman's relative impotence, Ōhrmazd brings creation into being. Creation occurs at two complimentary levels as a series of spiritual and material creations, the latter including Gav-aēvō-dāta (the primordial ox) and Gayō-maretan (primordial man). Ahriman, in his realm, generates his own creations and, at the end of the second trimillennium, invades Ōhrmazd's world. He corrupts it and kills Gayō-maretan and Gav-aēvō-dāta, out of whose bodies humans, other living things, and metals are generated.

The third trimillennium is Ahriman's triumph, but this turns out to be a trap. Ahriman is caught in the material world. The final trimillennium is devoted to the salvation of the world, beginning with the birth of Zarathushtra. Each of the three millenniums will be marked by a savior (a descendent of Zarathushtra) until the final millennium of Saoshyant, when there will be a final judgment, the granting of immortality, and a new world. This basic myth was adapted to a variety of systems of Iranian religious thought; a further permutation occurs in the myth of the Three Epochs in Manichaeism.

Jewish traditions. There appears to be no indigenous Israelitic tradition of the ages of the world. The historicized sequence in the *Book of Daniel* (second or third century BCE), so influential on later Jewish and Christian periodizations, of four world-empires followed by a divine kingdom and symbolized by metals or beasts (*Dn.* 2:37–45, 7:2–27) is an adaptation of Iranian anti-Hellenistic propaganda. Based, perhaps, on the sabbath-week, there is a noticeable predilection for multiples of seven. Already in *Daniel* 9, history from the Babylonian exile to the End is divided into seventy weeks of years (i.e., seventy heptads). Similar periodizations recur in a variety of early Jewish works (second century BCE–second century CE). There are schemas that divide the world into seven ages of a thousand years each (*Testament of Abraham* 19) or six ages of a thousand years plus a millennium of rest (*2 Enoch* 33:1–2). The "Apocalypse of Weeks" divides history into ten weeks of unequal length: seven weeks are past history, three are the age to come (*1 Enoch* 93:1–10, 91:12–

17). The complex calculation of jubilees (seven times seven) is employed to periodize history from creation to new creation in the *Book of Jubilees* and the *Assumption of Moses*. The duration of "this world" in contradistinction to the "world to come" is frequently given as seven thousand years, less frequently six thousand, with a division into three ages: the Age of Confusion, the Age of the Torah, and the Age of the Messiah (B. T., *San.* 97b, *ʿA. Z.* 9b). The other numerological system, apparently borrowed from the Iranian, focused on twelve periods (*2 Bar.* 56; *T. Ab.* 7b; *Apocalypse of Abraham* 20, 28), with the most tantalizing schema presented in the brief report in *2 Esdras* 14.11 (*4 Esdras* in the Vulgate) that the age of the world is divided into twelve parts, nine parts; and half of the tenth have already passed, two parts and the second half of the tenth remain. However, the basic distinction in the Jewish rabbinic traditions remains persistently dualistic: there are two ages of the world, "this age" (*ha-ʿolam hazeh*) and the "age to come" (*ha-ʿolam ha-baʾ*).

Christian traditions. The emerging Christian traditions of the ages of the world must be seen first in relation to the Jewish. The primitive Christian writings of the first century focused on the central duality of "this age" and the "age to come" (*Mt.* 12:32, *Eph.* 1:21), being convinced that "the end of the ages has come" (*1 Cor.* 10.11). In the second and third centuries, building on contemporary exegesis of *Psalms* 90:4 (i.e., that a day for the deity equals a thousand years) and Asian Christian traditions of a thousand-year earthly reign of Christ (the millennium), which will be a Golden Age (*Rv.* 20:2–7; Papias, in Eusebius, *Church History* 3.39.1–2; Justin, *Dialogue* 81.3–4; Lactantius, *Divine Institutions* 7.24), and joined to Jewish speculations on the sabbath-week, the hexameral system was developed. This system postulated that the first six days of creation, understood as a period of six thousand years, represented the history of the world; the seventh day represented the thousand-year reign of Christ or the end of the world; occasionally an eighth day would be added, signifying "the beginning of another world" (*Barnabas* 15.3–8; Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 5.28.3; Methodius, *Banquet* 9; Victorinus of Pettau, *On the Creation of the World* 6; Hippolytus, *Commentary on Daniel* 4.23). In such a periodization, the period of the Incarnation would either be placed in the middle of the sixth millennium (that is, 5,500 years since creation, as in Theophilus, *To Autolycus* 3.28) or at its close (the year 6000, as in Pseudo-Cyprian, *Sinai and Zion* 6). The sabbath-week system at times interacted with a fourfold system of periodization loosely based on Paul in *Galatians* 3.15–26: a period before the law; the period of the law; the period of the prophets; and, equivalent to the sabbath, the period of grace or freedom.

The most influential Christian ages of the world system was that briefly sketched out in the penultimate paragraph of Augustine's *City of God* (22.30) in the first quarter of the fifth century. The first age was from Adam to the Flood, the second from the Flood to Abraham, the third from Abraham to David, the fourth from David to the Babylonian exile, the fifth from the exile to Christ, the sixth age was the present Christian era, the seventh would mark the millennium, followed by an eighth "eternal day" of repose. Although Augustine noted temporal symmetry within the first five ages, he freed the schema from its rigid chronological limitation to a total of five or six thousand years. This flexibility allowed Augustine's system to be the base of most medieval Christian theories and to be influential through the Renaissance (see Coluccio Salutati's letter to Zonari of 5 May 1379).

Over time, modifications of the Augustinian schema were introduced. The eighth age was largely ignored. Some authors, such as Philipp van Haveng in the twelfth century, introduced the notion of an alternation of good and evil ages. The most significant modification was the work of the Calabrian mystic Joachim of Fiore (1132–1202). Joachim's work was a dazzling set of interrelated schemata built around twos, threes, sixes, sevens, and twelves. Alongside the traditional notion of "age" (*aetas*), Joachim introduced the terminology of "stage" (*status*) so that each period was seen as progressive toward a historical fulfillment and as "incubating" its successor. The first five ages, as in Augustine, extended from Adam to Christ, the sixth age was the era of the church; the seventh, the time of consummation. Further schemata were superimposed on this traditional outline. Within the first four ages, the period from Abraham to the prophets was the first stage, that of the Father, with a period of germination from Adam to Jacob and of fruition from Jacob to the prophets. The second stage, that of the Son, extended from the prophets to the present (c. 1260), with a period of germination from the prophets to Christ and of fruition from Christ to Benedict of Nursia. This second portion (which corresponds to the sixth age) was divided into six smaller periods (*etatulae*) with Joachim's times at the end of the fifth period. Yet ahead was the third stage of the Holy Spirit where, following the defeat of the Antichrist at the end of the second stage, a "new people of God" would be brought into being. It will be a Golden Age without labor, heaven will descend to earth, and life will be lived in beatific ecstasy.

Such mythic schemata persist in more secular, Western historical periodizations, but they have interacted as well with non-Christian mythologies in a variety of recent nativist movements, such as the Kugu Sorta ("big candle") movement among the Mari (Cheremis) in Russia. According to this tradition, human history began with a Golden Age and will return to one at the end of time. In between are seventeen historical ages, the present being the ninth. Beginning with the tenth age, the earth will become uninhabitable except by members of the sect.

Myths of recurrence. In a second form of serial periodization, the same series is repeated through multiple cycles of creation or activity.

Babylonian traditions. It would appear that, based on their careful astronomical observations of periodicity, late Babylonian cosmologists (e.g., Berossos, third century BCE) developed the notion of a repetitive cosmic "great year" divided into two seasons: summer, when all the planets were in conjunction with Cancer, would result in world-conflagration; winter, when the planets were in conjunction with Capricorn, would produce a universal flood (Seneca, *Naturales quaestiones* 2.29.1; the schema is attributed to Aristotle in Censorinus, *De die natali* 18.11). As brought over into Greco-Roman thought, the duration of the "great year" was fixed at 12,954 ordinary years (Cicero in the *Hortensius* according to Tacitus, *Dialogus de Oratoribus* 16.7). This period was later identified by Christian authors as the life span of the phoenix (Solinus, *Collectanea rerum Memorabilium* 33.13). Berossos himself appears to have used a far larger time scale. He fixes the reign of the ten antediluvian kings as lasting 432,000 years (a number that is the same as the Indic *kaliyuga*, which was probably influenced by Babylonian speculation).

Greco-Roman traditions. Most likely influenced by the Babylonian "great year," there was a lively Greek and Roman philosophical debate over recurrence, conjoined at times to the topic of the eternity of the world or the plurality of worlds, at other times to the transformation of the Hesiod myth of the five races of men into the later myth of the five or four ages of humanity. Although foreshadowings of this debate can be found in earlier Greek writers, it was most fully developed by the Stoics, many of whom came from the hellenized Near East. This world is but the present member of a series of identical worlds. At a particular planetary conjunction, the world will be destroyed by fire (*ekpyrōsis*), and, following another conjunction, will be restored out of fire "precisely as before." The elements of the cosmos will be in their same place, each individual life will recur with exactly the same experiences. There will be no novelty; "everything is repeated down to the minutest detail," not just once, but over and over again without end (Nemesius, *On the Nature of Man* 38).

Scandinavian traditions. In the *Vǫluspá* and in Snorri's *Gylfaginning*, a myth of both the creation and eventual destruction of the world is presented what appears to be an instance of a common Indo-European pattern. A series of worlds came into being around the great world-tree, Yggdrasill. Following a series of creative acts, the gods and then humans came into existence. After a long period, there will come Ragnarǫk, the destruction of the gods and man, preceded by Fimbulvetr, the great worldwide winter (compare the Iranian myth of Yima). The Great Snake will emerge from the ocean and flood the world; demons attack Ásgarðr, the home of the gods, and the gods and demons meet in cosmic battle in which each side slays the other. Finally, the only survivor, the giant Surtr, sets off the cosmic fire that will destroy the world. There are disparate hints that this is not the final end. The world will be restored, the sons of the dead gods will return, Baldr will reemerge, the two surviving human beings (Líf and LífÞrasir, "life" and "life-holding"), having been sheltered by the world tree, will repopulate the earth, and the cycle continue. (*Voluspá* 31–58; Snorri, *Gylfaginning* 51–53; *Vafruðnismál* 44–45).

Cosmic periods of creation. The most complex form of serial periodization features a mythology containing a series of cosmic ages, related to each other, although separated from one another by catastrophes, so that each successive creation is both a new act and, in some sense, a recapitulation of its predecessors.

Indic traditions. One of the most complex systems detailing the endless repetition of cosmic ages of the world was developed in India. Although elements occur in earlier texts, the systematic elaboration appears to be a development largely of the epic and Puranic literature between the fifth and third centuries BCE. While largely indigenous in its full expression, aspects of the system reflect the considerable interaction between Near Eastern, Hellenistic, Iranian, and Indian traditions of that time as well as more archaic Indo-European motifs.

The fundamental schema is built around a complete cycle of cosmic existence (*mahāyuga*), divided into four ages (*yuga*s) of unequal length and valence, each preceded and followed by a period of transition, a "dawn" or "dusk" of proportionate duration. In its most abstract form, the four ages are correlated to throws of dice: the *kṛtayuga* (4), the *tretāyuga* (3), the *dvāparayuga* (2), and the *kaliyuga* (1). This system yields various proportional measurements for the duration of each age in different traditions: 4000/3000/2000/1000 or 4800/3600/2400/1200 or 1,728,000/1,296,000/764,000/432,000 years, yielding equivalent measurements for the length of a *mahāyuga*: 10,000 or 12,000 or 4,320,000 years. In the fully elaborated system, even more extended numbers are employed. A thousand *mahāyuga*s equal one *kalpa*, which corresponds to either a day or a night in the life of Brahmā (his total life is 311,040 billion human years). Within each *kalpa* are fourteen secondary cycles (*manvantara*s), each preceded by the destruction and re-creation of the world and a new manifestation of Manu, the progenitor of the human race. (For major versions of the *yuga* myth, see *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.11.6–37; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* 1.7.19–63 and 1.29.4–40; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 1.3.1–25.)

The fully developed myth of the four *yuga*s is essentially a cosmogony described in temporal language, yet it contains within it several strands of tradition well-integrated in some versions but capable of appearing independently in other texts. One such strand is a numerical tradition that elaborates the basic schema of four proportional periods into vast cosmic numbers. This numerical schema is correlated with a tradition of the decline of *dharma*. Thus the *kṛtayuga* is also known as the *satyayuga* ("age of truth") and is characterized by elements drawn from the well-developed and independent Indic mythology of a Golden Age. The *tretāyuga* is characterized by a diminution of virtue and by the introduction of death and labor into the human sphere, that is to say, by an end to the Golden Age. The *dvāparayuga* marks the transition to the degenerative half of the cycle: evil increases, and the human life span decreases. The *kaliyuga*, which is the present age, dated by some as having begun in 3102 BCE (the traditional date of the war recounted in the *Mahābhārata*), is a period of discord and disintegration wherein evil triumphs. Through this correlation, the cosmogonic structure of the *yuga*s has been transformed into an anthropology. The *yuga* myth is further intertwined with the mythology of Brahmā and Viṣṇu, especially their roles in the rhythmic expansion and contraction of the cosmos. This element is especially prominent in accounts of the *mahāpralaya*, the "great dissolution" (*Matsya Purāṇa* 167.13–25). Finally, there is the royal mythology of the Manus and the *avatāra*s of Visnu, expressed in the *manvantara* cycle.

With important modifications and different soteriological implications, the Indic cosmic ages were adapted by both Buddhism and Jainism. The Indic system was influential as well on Neo-Confucian speculations on the ages of the world.

Mesoamerican traditions. Among the northern Maya, there is considerable evidence for both the conception of time (*kin*) without beginning or end that allows vast chronological computations extending back four hundred million years, a duration that encompasses all past and future world cycles, and the mythic notion of a number of previous worlds, each terminated by a universal flood.

In the Aztec traditions, as exemplified by the more than twenty versions of the myth of the suns, the *Leyenda de los Soles*, and as carved on the so-called Calendar Stone, a more complex picture is presented. Superimposed on an archaic myth that, like the Maya, depicted a continuous series of cosmic creations and destructions, is a myth of five suns, each marking an age of the world as part of a cosmogonic drama involving the struggles for supremacy among the Tezcatlipocas, the sons of the androgynous supreme deity, Ometeotl. Each one would create a world only to have it destroyed by another. Four such primeval worlds are identified, each named after the mode of their destruction: the world of the first sun, 4 Jaguar, which lasted 676 years until its inhabitants were devoured by jaguars; the second sun, 4 Wind, which lasted 364 years, until winds blew away its inhabitants; the third sun, 4 Rain of Fire, which lasted 312 years, until its people were destroyed by a heavenly fire; and the fourth sun, 4 Water, which lasted 676 years and ended in a universal deluge. The fifth sun, 4 Movement, is the world that the Aztec inhabit and represents a revolution in the cycle of creation and destruction. Rather than the peripheral symbols of the four cardinal directions, with which the previous worlds are identified, the fifth sun is the world of the center, guaranteed by an agreement between the rival deities and by divine acts of self-sacrifice.

SEE ALSO Golden Age; Utopia.

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AGGADAH See MIDRASH AND AGGADAH

AGNI is the god of fire in ancient and traditional India. Derived from an Indo-European root, the Sanskrit word *agni* ("fire") is related to such other forms as Latin *ignis* and Lithuanian *ugnis.* A cognate appears in a Hittite text found at Bogazköy in the name *Ak/gniš,* identifying a god of devastation and annihilation. Although his mythological and ritual roots are reflected in Old Irish, Roman, and Iranian sources, the peculiar development of the god of fire as Agni owes as much to the ritualizing tendencies, the priestly vision, and the strong asceticism of the Indian context as it does to the god's Indo-European heritage.

The Ritual Context. Fire and heat play a central role in Vedic people's understanding of themselves within the cosmos. Fire is at once the most intimate and the most universal of elements; it can simultaneously inflict pain and bring purity, and it will, in an instant, make a person blind or give him vision. Fire is most fascinating to the Aryans, however, because of its capacity for domestication: with the taming of fire (and therefore of nature at large) come both the foundations of civilization and the means for release from it.

The Vedic mastery of fire took place within the ritual context. As the solemn (*śrauta*) ritual developed, a system of correspondences was devised whereby priests could manipulate the fires and fire hearths to create and control a tripartite cosmos: Agni as the heavenly fire, or sun, resided in the western *āhavanīya* hearth with the gods; Agni as the atmospheric fire, or moon, resided in the southern *dakṣiṇāgni* hearth with the ancestors (*pitara*s); and Agni as the earthly fire or domestic flame resided in the western *gārhapatya* hearth with humans. This system of homologies also made reference to the newly emerging class system: the heavenly or offering fire represented the priest (*brāhmaṇa*), the atmospheric or protecting fire the warrior (*kṣatriya*), and the earthly or producing fire the merchant (*vaiśya*).

As the central civilizing agent, the ritual fire played a special role in the development of the domestic (*gṛhya*) liturgy, particularly in the marriage rite (Vivāha) and funeral ceremony (Antyeṣṭi). As the symbol and agent of the transformative process, fire with its heat stood midway between the coolness of celibate studenthood and restrained householdership, and between this life and the next. Marriage itself was effected by circumambulating the fire clockwise seven times, and true wifehood implied the continual presence of the cooking fire. Likewise, passage beyond death required the special translatory properties of the cremation fire, which, because it destroyed, purified, and "reconstituted" the old self into a new one, was treated cautiously by priests, who feared the potentially demonic qualities of Agni the *kravyād* ("flesh-eating one"). Furthermore, in a practice known in India at least as early as the epics and officially banned by the British in 1828, the wife as *satī* joined her husband on his funeral pyre, thereby ensuring the spiritual mutation by fire of the entire sacrificial unit (e.g., husband and wife) into the next world.

Fire was also used to test a person's truth. Because Agni was the god who presided over speech, the truth of an individual's words was demonstrated by Agni as the "defendant" walked through (or endured an assault by) fire. The best-known example of this is in the *Ramāyāṇa* where Sītā, after being released from Rāvaṇa's citadel in Lanka, is made to prove her fidelity to Rāma by publicly entering the flames.

The Mythology of Agni. The "personality" of Agni, as developed early in Vedic thought, delineates both the specific functions of the ritual and the divine models for the behavior of man. Next to Indra, Agni is the most prominent of the Ṛgvedic gods, and his anthropomorphic qualities are taken directly from the physical fire: for example, smoke-bannered, flame-haired, tawny-bearded, sharp-jawed, bright-toothed, and seven-tongued. As the mouth of the gods, Agni becomes butter backed and butter faced on receipt of his food, the sacrificial ghee (clarified butter). He has horns and bellows like a bull; he has a tail and is groomed like a horse; and he is winged like the eagle of the sky. Ever renewed in the ritual hearth, Agni is both the youngest and the oldest of the gods, and although born of Dyaus, the sky god, his real parents are the two *araṇī*s ("fire sticks"): the upper his father and the lower his mother (or, alternately, both his mothers). He is called *sūnuḥ sahasaḥ* ("son of strength"), literally, the product of powerful friction produced by the hands of the priest or, figuratively, a manifestation of a victoriously procreative cosmic power.

By far the single most significant element in Agni's personality is his priesthood. As fire he must officiate at every sacrifice; thus he is not only the divine counterpart of the human priest but also the prototype for and most eminent exemplar of all priestly activities, especially that of the *hotṛ* priest, the reciter of the liturgy. Moreover, the mediatorial nature of Agni's office charges him with the safe transport of offerings to the gods and, in return, blessings to humanity. Since successful travel as messenger (*dūta*) between earthly petitioners and heavenly benefactors is insured by priestly eloquence, a quality derived from a combination of skill in language and insight into the cosmic mysteries, Agni is not only the preeminent priest but the preeminent seer (*kavi*) as well.

Agni's personality stresses certain key functions that come to be referred to by a system of epithets. Vaiśvānara, the fire with power over all humans, for example, represents both the fire become sun during the liturgical magic of dawn and, supported by the Matarisvan myth, the ritual fire as symbol of Aryan superiority, protecting and empowering the nation against all enemies. As a civilizing agent, Vaiśvānara represents humanity's control over light, warmth, and the demarcation of time (Agni as sun) as well as his concern for national boundaries and the establishment of an unrivaled peace (Agni against the barbarians). Jātavedas, the fire in possession of the creatures, stresses Agni's function as keeper of the Vedic family and preeminent advocate of humans, for his unbroken ritual presence, his service in strengthening and uplifting the domestic community, and his role (via the cremation fire) in guaranteeing the proper transformation of the deceased into an ancestor make him the supreme guardian of the generations as well as the perpetuator of Aryan culture. Again, Apam Napat, the fire as child of the waters, stresses both the vital and procreative powers of natural water and the intoxicating and transformative powers of ritual water.

In the Brāhmaṇas, Agni's central relation is to Prajāpati, and the joint figure Agni-Prajāpati becomes the cosmic person who is projected into being through dismemberment. The various "searches" for Agni (see, for example, his flight in *Ṛgveda* 10.51) culminate in the ritual collection and reassembly of Agni (as sacrificer and cosmos) in the Agnicayana and serve to reaffirm the presence of fire in every element. Moreover, in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.4.1.10ff., Agni appears as Vaiśvānara and is carried in the mouth of Māthava, king of Videgha, toward the east. Jumping from the king's mouth at the mention of butter, Vaiśvānara burns his way to the Sadānīrā River, indicating by this the contemporary extent of the Brahmanic *yajña* ("worship"). In the Upaniṣads, Agni is identified with various aspects of the all-pervading *brahman,* and in the Purāṇas, notably the *Agni Purāṇa,* Agni is identified with the high god. In spite of this, however, and despite examples of known iconographical representations of Agni (particularly in stone), the extent of his worship in the later theistic context is marginal.

HEAT AND THE ASCETIC TRADITION. With the shift in emphasis from sacrifice to sacrificer in the Brāhmaṇa period, the abstract qualities of the fire's "heat" (*tapas*) become interiorized: the heat of the flame, of Soma, of the priest's sweat, and of the cooked food become part of an internal sacrifice within the body (*antaryajña*) of the "patron become priest." What was in the period of the Brāhmaṇas the elaborate fire ritual (*agnihotra*) becomes in the ascetic tradition the "interiorized fire ritual" (*antaragnihotra*). As humanity itself is identified with the sacrificial process and with the cosmos, an elaborate system of correspondences is set up homologizing the microcosmic fires of the human body with the macrocosmic fires of the universe, the whole system manipulable through the asceticism of yoga. The long-haired ascetic (*munī*), first seen holding fire and riding the wind in *Ṛgveda* 10.136, now becomes the ascetic thoroughly possessed by Agni: in his head is the fire of mind and speech, in his arms the fire of sovereign power, and in his belly and loins the fire of productivity.

SEE ALSO Fire; Vedism and Brahmanism.

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ELLISON BANKS FINDLY (1987 AND 2005)

AGNON, SHEMUʾEL YOSEF (1888–1970), was a Hebrew prose writer and, along with the German Jewish poet Nelly Sachs, the 1966 Nobel laureate for literature. Born Shemuʾel Yosef Czaczkes in the town of Buczacz in the eastern European region of Galicia, then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Agnon was raised in a traditionally observant Jewish family with an openness to participating in contemporary Western culture. Under the influence of Zionism, he immigrated to Palestine in 1908. There he lived primarily in Jaffa, which at the time was the center of secular-oriented Zionist culture. He also lived for several months in Jerusalem, a stronghold of non- and anti-Zionist ultra-Orthodox Jewry. During this period he changed his original family name, Czaczkes, to Agnon, adapted from the title of the first story he published in Palestine, *"ʿAgunot."* (*ʿAgunot* is a Jewish legal term for women unable to remarry because their husbands are missing or refuse to grant them a proper divorce, a circumstance Agnon used metaphorically to refer to psychological and spiritual alienation.)

Apparently motivated by the desire to expand his cultural horizons, Agnon left Palestine for Germany in 1912. As the product of traditional eastern European Judaism, he became an important resource for assimilated German Jews, who found in the German translations of his Hebrew writings ways to connect with the Jewish tradition from which they were distanced. While in Germany, Agnon associated with the Jewish philosophers Martin Buber (1878–1965), with whom he began to edit a collection of Hasidic tales that was not completed, and Franz Rosenzweig (1886–1929), and with the scholar of Jewish mysticism Gershom Scholem (1897–1982). In 1924 Agnon immigrated once again to Palestine with his wife Esther (née Marx), whom he had married in Germany in 1920, and their two children, settling this time in Jerusalem.

As a youth Agnon wrote in both Yiddish and Hebrew, but beginning with his first immigration to Palestine he devoted himself to prose writing in Hebrew. Agnon departed from the traditional religious practice of his upbringing during the periods of his first immigration to Palestine and his residence in Germany, in keeping with the prevailing secular cultural ethos of Zionist settlers and Jewish intellectuals at the time. Yet by the time he settled in Jerusalem in the 1920s he had returned to a traditional pattern of observance, which he maintained for the rest of his life.

The complexity of Agnon's relationship to the Jewish religious tradition is most evident in the genres in which he wrote:

1. Anthologies of traditional Jewish texts;
2. Works of fiction and adaptations of legends that portray the world of premodern Jewry;
3. Realistic social fiction;
4. Modernistic stories of a world beset by a crisis of religious faith.

The worlds Agnon presents in his prose run the gamut of Jewish experience from premodern religious traditionalism to a modernism beset by severe identity crises. The Hebrew of these works is characterized by frequent allusions to the style and content of rabbinic, medieval, and early modern religious literature. In adopting such a religiously allusive style, Agnon maintained close ties to the world of Jewish tradition, even as he explored the challenges of modernity.

Anthologies of Traditional Texts. The approach to the Jewish tradition in these anthologies is one of respect for the spiritual treasures found in biblical, rabbinic, medieval, and early modern sources. In preparing each of these anthologies, Agnon followed in the footsteps of a number of European Hebrew writers (most notably Hayyim Nahman Bialik [1873–1934], Yehoshua Hana Ravnitzky [1859–1944], and M. Y. Berdichevsky [1865–1921]) who were concerned that the textual forms in which the Jewish tradition had been transmitted had become largely inaccessible to the modern reader. In order to preserve traditional religious knowledge among Jews, they compiled anthologies written in a uniformly accessible Hebrew style and based on modern principles of thematic organization. Two anthologies edited by Agnon were published in their entirety during his lifetime: one on the Jewish High Holidays, *Yamim noraʾim* (*Days of Awe*, 1937), and one on the revelation at Mount Sinai, *Attem reʾitem* (*Present at Sinai*, 1959). In addition, Agnon sporadically published versions of texts in two other thematic areas: the Hasidic tradition founded by Baʿal Shem Ṭov and the relationship of Jews to their sacred texts. While he published short anthologies of texts in these two areas, it was only after his death that full anthologies of these texts were published.

Works of Fiction and Adaptations of Legends. The sources for these narratives that portray the world of premodern Jewry in eastern Europe and Palestine were folktales with which Agnon was familiar as well as his youthful experience of traditional Jewish life in Buczacz and his observation of Orthodox Jewish life in Jerusalem. Some of these narratives take the form of legends transmitted by a traditional chronicler. Others are more of a blend of pious storytelling and modern fiction. In this body of literature one may discern Agnon's highly ambivalent attitude toward the world of tradition in which he had been raised, ranging from an ironic and critical distance to a nostalgic celebration of the world of tradition as a valuable spiritual resource from which even the modern Jew has much to learn. (See, for example, the novel *Hakhnasat kallah* [*The Bridal Canopy*, 1931; 1953].)

Realistic Social Fiction. In addition to works steeped in the world of Jewish tradition, Agnon wrote a variety of works of fiction that portray the various social settings in which he lived: the Buczacz of his childhood (see the novella *Sippur pashut* [*A Simple Story*, 1935]); the Zionist settlers and Orthodox Jews of Palestine during the waning years of Ottoman rule (see the novel *Temol shilshom* [*Only Yesterday*, 1945]); German Jewry during World War I (see examples of such stories in *Twenty-One Stories* and *A Book That Was Lost and Other Stories*); Buczacz in the period between the world wars, which he observed firsthand during a visit there in 1930 (see the novel *Oreaḥ natah lalun* [*A Guest for the Night*, 1939]; and Palestine of the 1930s (see the novel *Shirah*, [*Shira*, 1971]). While less overtly preoccupied with the world of religious piety than works of the first two genres, these works, to varying degrees, explore the effects of the crisis of faith and diminishing loyalty to traditional Jewish practices that Jews have experienced in a world plagued by war and torn apart by conflicting ideologies.

Modernistic Stories. Beginning in the 1930s, Agnon published a series of surrealistic short stories under the title *Sefer hamaʿasim* (The book of deeds). In many of these stories, religious observance is disturbed by nightmarish impediments, and the protagonists are tormented by their distance from traditional faith. The fact that the narrators of these stories rarely accomplish anything (in ironic contrast to the title of the series) signifies the unresolved tension within Agnon's soul between loyalty to tradition and the attractions of modernity. Some of these stories appear in the collections *Twenty-One Stories* and *A Book That Was Lost and Other Stories.*

See Also Midrash and Aggadah; Zionism.

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AGNOSTICISM See DOUBT AND BELIEF

AGNŌSTOS THEOS.

The phrase *agnōstōn theōn* (nominative singular, *agnōstos theos*) was found inscribed on Greek altars dedicated "to the unknown gods." The inscription had no mystical or theosophical meaning, but arose out of a concern for cultic safety: no one wanted to incur the wrath of gods whose names were unknown but who just might exist and be vexed by the lack of honors.

The meaning of the designation *agnōstos* is indeed ambiguous: it could mean "unknowable" or "unknown," depending upon the context. God could in fact be "unknown" without necessarily being "unknowable." Even from a philosophical standpoint, "unknowable" does not require an absolute or irreconcilable meaning. God can be unknowable by the ordinary means of cognition or by discursive reason yet still be knowable by means of divine grace in contemporary or mystical intuition. This semantic uncertainty beclouds our understanding of the ancient usage.

The distinguished philologist Eduard Norden (1913) attempted to show that the notion of *agnōstos theos* was foreign and even contrary to the Classical Greek spirit. The term did not appear until late in the Classical period, and then only in texts clearly under Oriental influence: Jewish, Gnostic, Neoplatonic, and Christian writings. Further, the expression would imply "a renunciation of inquiry" (p. 84) that would ill accord with Hellenic speculation.

Hellenic and Hellenistic Paganism. Most often, Greek gods are identified according to geographical location and function by epithets that thus remove these gods from the category of "unknown" gods. To be sure, the gods belong to a world distinct from that of men, and possess a nature—immortal and blessed—that eludes the grasp of human understanding, regardless of the anthropomorphic images that make them physically resemble their worshipers. In their cult, however, the Greeks were concerned only with the names and the spheres of action of these superior beings, for the purpose of invoking them with some degree of effectiveness. The phrase *agnōstōn theōn* was found on two altars observed by Pausanias, one at Phaleron, the other at Olympia. The apostle Paul employed the singular when citing the inscription on an Athenian altar as he argued on behalf of monotheism (Norden, 1913, pp. 55–56). Still, there is no evidence of any cult rendered to an unknown god, nor to an unknowable one. The reconstruction that Hugo Hepding propounded for an inscription found at Pergamum that supposedly dealt with "unknown gods" was rebutted by Otto Weinreich (1915, p. 29). The *Alexander Romance* 1.33 attributes to the conqueror of Asia the erection of an altar "to the unknown god," but this detail lacks historical value (ibid., p. 28).

Philosophers have raised the question of the knowability or unknowability of God. Yet the famous statement from Plato (*Timaeus* 28c), often quoted and commented upon, addresses the ineffability of the creator god, which does not rule out that one might be able to conceive of him and to know him intuitively (Plato, *Epinomis* 7.342c–d) or analogously (*Republic* 6.506e–509a). Nevertheless in *Parmenides* (142a), Plato writes of the One who is "neither named . . . nor known." The distinction between divine power that manifests itself to men and divine being that eludes them, just like the sun that one cannot look at without being blinded, is implied by Xenophon (*Memorabilia* 4.3.13–14). Further, the distinction between existence and essence, common among Stoics, originates with Aristotle and perhaps with the doctrine of the Sophists (Festugière, 1950–1954, vol. 4, p. 16), yet the expression *agnōstos theos* still does not appear in these contexts. Damascius applies it to an Orphic text that appears to be among the most ancient: it had been quoted by Eudemus of Rhodes, a disciple of Aristotle. But Damascius rewrites Orphism in his own fashion. Even though born of the Night, this ineffable and unknowable god derives from Neoplatonism.

The Platonic tradition of the imperial Roman epoch limits the experience of the first god, ineffable and accessible, to the human intellect alone. Numenius (frag. 26) attributes to Plato the idea that only the demiurge is known to men, "while the first Intellect, the one that contains the name 'Being' within itself, remains totally unknown to men." Norden (1913) and H. J. Krämer (1963) discern Gnostic influences here. However, Numenius remains faithful to the Platonic concept of the Nous as the suprarational faculty of mystical contemplation, as well as to the idea of the Good, the greatest object of knowledge.

According to Proclus (*Elements of Theology* 123), "everything divine . . . is ineffable and *agnōston*"; that is, by surpassing the range of language, the divine lies beyond the scope of discursive reasoning. Yet Proclus's entire body of work proves that he was seeking to know God. The Unknown Father of the Neoplatonist Martianus Capella corresponds to the First Intellect of Numenius and to the God of Plato. Like Albinus and Numenius, the Latin Neoplatonist seems to think that, thanks to the Mens (identical with the Greeks' Nous), the supreme god can be conceived through mystical intuition. Damascius starts by affirming the unknowability of God, yet specifies that it is necessary to empty one's intellect so that the subject can blend with the object by removing any barrier, through *aphairesis*.

In Hermetism several contradictory currents intersect. In principle, the All that is God "is perceivable and knowable only to himself" (*Asclepius* 34). Although he cannot be comprehended or defined, he wants to be known and thus makes himself known as God. It is entirely characteristic of the Good to be known and recognized, and to ignore him is impious. He becomes visible "to the intellect and the heart" through an interior illumination (Festugière, 1950–1954, vol. 4, pp. 241ff.). Indeed, one must become God in order to attain the happiness of this "gnosis," one must become "divinized" or regenerated.

HELLENISTIC JUDAISM. One of the earliest literal appearances of *agnōstos theos* is that in Josephus Flavius (*Against Apion* 2.167): Moses, he states, showed us that God is "knowable by his power, but unknowable in his essence." In saying this, Josephus was not relying directly on Jewish tradition. (The Septuagint makes no distinction between the existence of God, manifested by the created world, and his essence.) He refers instead to the "wisest of the Greeks . . . Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Plato, the philosopher of the Portico." The distinction was common among the Stoics, who derived it from Aristotle. It was employed whenever anyone would comment on the ancient philosophers (whence the reference to Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, and Plato).

Nonetheless, the Stoics tended to put more emphasis on the god manifested through creation. Taking a different stance, Philo Judaeus stresses in several places that it is impossible for man to grasp the invisible and incorporeal essence of God. Moses, after all, halted after being blinded by the divine beams. God made himself visible to Abraham, but man has no faculty of his own for experiencing the absolute being. The inaccessibility of the *agnōstos theos* appears to be more radical in the Jewish tradition than in most developed Hellenistic speculations. It cannot be said, however, that the notion of *agnōstos theos* itself is of Oriental origin.

GNOSTICISM. The unknown god is a fundamental theme of gnosticism. During the second century CE, the teaching of philosophers upheld the divine transcendence by making a distinction between the Demiurge, perceptible in his cosmic creation, and the supreme Intellect, inaccessible to the human intellect. This distinction was furthered by the Gnostics, who perceived an opposition between the knowable and the unknowable. The transcendent god appeared to be a stranger to the universe, concealed from the creator god as well as from his creatures (Hippolytus, *Philosophuma* 6:33; *Gospel of Truth* 18.7–14). This is the Unknown Father or the *Propator* of the angels and archangels (Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 1.19; 1.23.2). It is also the "good god" of Marcion—"naturaliter . . . ignotus" (Tertullian, *Against Marcion* 5.16.3). The Son reveals the Father whom "no one knows." According to the Valentinians, the Unknown Father makes himself known to the aeons by ways of Monogenes (his "only begotten"). In the beginning, the angels and archangels do not know who has created them, and their ignorance of the Father causes fear and terror among them (*Gospel of Truth* 17.9–16). Yet in arousing this inner crisis (which the Gnostics express in terms of a mythico-allegorical drama), this essentially forbidding transcendence of the Father forces them into a search for salvation through gnosis, through knowledge of the Unknowable (Jonas, 1963, pp. 257f., 404ff.). This gnosis of the *agnōstos* does not proceed directly by way of reason. Certain sects employed a ritual of initiation, or mystagogy (Tröger, 1971, p. 69): the Marcionites baptized neophytes "in the name of the Unknown Father." Yet in general it is God who reveals himself. Thus a Coptic hymn addresses God: "No one can know you against your will." Gnosis proceeds not from the knowing subject but from divine grace.

CHRISTIANITY. In his sermon to the Athenians (*Acts* 17:23), Paul claims that he is proclaiming to them the God whom they honor without knowing him. Paul emphasized the basic meaning of a dedication that was written in the plural (to the *agnōstōn theōn*) in a way that was consistent with his doctrine of the mystery made known to men by the Christ. In the *Clementine Homilies* (18.18), Peter interprets *Isaiah* 1:31 ("Israel has not known me") in a way that rebuts the argument of the Marcionites: the Jews ignored the justice of the known God! Clement of Alexandria (*Miscellanies* 5.12.78.1–3) comments on the unknown god of *Acts* by referring to Plato (*Timaeus* 28c). Yet the statement by Christ in *Matthew* 11:27 ("No one knows the Son except the Father, just as no one knows the Father except the Son") legitimized the Valentinian conception of the Unknown Father and might be seen as encouraging ignorance about God. Paul reproached the pagans for this ignorance, which he condemned as an unpardonable fault (*1 Cor.* 15:34, *Rom.* 1:20, *Eph.* 4:18, *Acts* 17:30). Christ had left men with no excuse for ignorance, since he was the visible image of the invisible God and the revealer of the divine mystery (*Col.* 1:15).

Nevertheless, the Fathers of the church were fond of quoting Plato in order to show that the philosopher urged pagans to seek out the unknown god. The Fathers would also set the religious knowledge of the lowliest Christian in contrast to the idle uncertainties of the learned. They also at the same time readily stressed the unknowability of God: he is known to us only through himself in all his grandeur; he is "beyond the understandable," incomprehensible, indeed beyond being in itself. Yet divine grace and the Word allow men to conceive the unknown. The patristic tradition is practically unanimous in recognizing Christ as a type of hierophant of divine mysteries.

There is, however, a line of thought of Neoplatonic inspiration that legitimizes negative theology. The hymn to God by Gregory of Nazianzus, improperly attributed to Proclus, proclaims him to be the "only unknowable" while still being the creator of all that are knowable. Synesius of Cyrene exalts the Unknown Father, unknowable to reason and ineffable. For Dionysius the Areopagite (*Mystical Theology* 2), it is a matter of knowing an "unknowing" (*agnōsia*); in his view, Paul knew God as "transcending every mode of knowledge" (*Patrologia Graeca* 3.1073a). Thus Maximus the Confessor could write, "Even when known, he remains the Unknown." He is the *Deus absconditus* who, were it otherwise, would not be God.

SEE ALSO Deification; Via Negativa.

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AGŌGĒ, a Greek singular noun derived from the verb *agō* ("to lead"), can be used to denote the leading by the hand of horses. In human terms, *agōgē* was used by the Spartans and the inhabitants of the island of Chios to denote the process by which their youths were "domesticated." In other words, the youths were considered to be similar to wild foals and fillies and had to be "broken" before they could enter adult society. Since this view of youths was widely shared in Greece, the term *agōgē* can be usefully employed as a rubric for examination of initiatory rituals and customs in ancient Greece.

At one time, during the Archaic period (eighth–sixth centuries BCE), initiatory rituals existed all over Greece. However, by the beginning of the Classical period (fifth–fourth centuries BCE), these rites had vanished from most urbanized Greek societies or had been reduced to a few ceremonies. Only at the margin of the Greek world, on the conservative island of Crete, did men's associations still convene in men's houses and supervise proper rites of initiation—at least until the fourth century BCE. Here, young boys had to serve at the meals in the men's houses, their low status being stressed by shabby clothes and seats on the floor. After this period of informal education, sons of aristocrats recruited boys of lower social standing to form bands, which were supervised by their fathers. These bands were trained in hunting, dancing, singing, fighting, and, a modernization, letters. Having finally passed through a short homosexual affair with a more recently initiated lover, each aristocratic youth received a military suit, a special dress, and a drinking cup, the tokens of adulthood. It still took a while, however, before the youth reached unqualified adulthood (perhaps at the age of thirty), but about this period we are not informed. When the boys left the initiatory bands, they were forced to marry *en masse.*

In Sparta, similar initiatory rites took place, but here the state supervised the youths' training, which was geared completely to the purpose of controlling the Helots, Sparta's subject population. Moreover, the Spartan system, the *agōgē*, had been extended by the introduction of a long series of age-classes. (Rites of initiation can always be contracted or prolonged, depending on a given society's needs.) In Athens, the original initiatory structure had disintegrated in the course of the sixth century BCE with the decline of aristocratic power. Nevertheless, from the exploits of Theseus (which reflect the life of an Athenian initiand), from various rituals, and from the later "national service" (*ephēbeia*), we can still deduce the existence of an initiatory system comprising transvestism, trials of strength, running, pederasty, and a stay at the margin of Athenian society.

This evidence, coupled with scattered notices from other cities, suggests a picture of initiatory rituals that were once universal in Archaic Greece. These rituals were connected with a variety of divine figures such as local heroes, Hermes, Herakles, Zeus, and Poseidon. Apollo was especially important, since he supervised the final integration into adult society. The ubiquity of initiation is confirmed by Greek mythology in which initiatory themes—some no longer mentioned in the historical period—occur with astonishing frequency.

The prototype of the Greek mythological initiand was Achilles. He was educated by the centaur Chiron far from the civilized world; centaurs also figure as initiators of other Greek heroes, such as Jason. Chiron instructed Achilles in hunting, music, and medicine, and he gave him his name, his first name being Ligyron. Subsequently, Achilles spent time on the remote island of Skyros, dressed as a girl. In the Trojan War, he was the foremost Greek hero; late versions of the myth even claim that he was invulnerable. Finally, he was killed, through the intervention of Apollo. The structure of this myth clearly reflects male initiation rites: the education in the bush, the change of name, and the transvestism; further, the heroic feats combined with the theme of invulnerability suggest a kind of martial ecstasy that was also expected from youth on the brink of adulthood among other Indo-European peoples. The death through the initiatory god Apollo suggests the "death" of the initiand before his rebirth as an adult.

Other heroes' lives also display the characteristics of an initiatory scenario. Perseus travels to a marginal area to acquire a special weapon in order to kill a monster. Oedipus is educated far from home, passes the tests of the Sphinx, and then gains the hand of the queen-widow. Jason is educated by Chiron, who also gave him his name. Having collected a band of followers (cf. the Cretan rites), he performs valiant deeds with the Argonauts before returning home to become a king.

Besides these pan-Hellenic myths, there were many local heroes who served as initiatory models for youths. One example out of many: in Cretan Phaistos, it was said that Leukippos (Leucippus), although born as a girl, had changed into a man when he reached adolescence. This myth was the *aition* for the Ekdusia ("the shedding of clothes"), the festival of Leto, mother of Apollo and Artemis. Evidently, it was a festival that celebrated the end of initiation when boys shed their female clothes (dramatized in the myth as a sex change) in order to assume proper male ones. Many such local initiatory myths were recorded in Hellenistic and Roman times long after the corresponding rites had disappeared.

Whereas boys were educated to become warriors, girls were trained for marriage. In Sparta, one of the few places about which we possess a fair amount of information, scantily clad girls started their initiation at the margin of Spartan territory in the sanctuaries of Artemis, the main Greek goddess of girls' education. Here, besides physical exercises, they were instructed through music and dancing in choruses. Evidence from other cities such as Athens confirms that this was the custom all over Greece. Girls were considered to be like wild animals that had to be tamed (they were called "bears" in Athens). This is reflected in mythology where the names of girls such as the Leukippides and Hipponoe suggest that girls were compared to wild mares who had to be domesticated.

During their final training for motherhood, aristocratic girls in Sparta had to pass through a lesbian affair, as they did on the island of Lesbos, where Sappho instructed groups of aristocratic girls. In this period, special stress was laid on enhancing their physical beauty, so that their marriages would be successfully consummated. Consequently, this period was closely connected with the cult of the beautiful Helen, who was worshiped as a goddess in Sparta. In fact, in a number of Greek cities a beauty contest constituted the end of girls' initiation. The protection of Artemis lasted until the birth of the first child, for motherhood, not loss of virginity, was the definitive entry into the world of adult women.

Many details of Greek girls' training can be found in the myths concerning Artemis, even though they tend, as myths so often do, to concentrate on the most dramatic part of the story: the final entry into marriage. The "taming" of a girl is expressed in a number of myths that all circle around her resistance to "domestication." The pursuit of the Proetides, the capture of Thetis by Peleus or of Persephone by Hades, the races to win Atalante, and even the capture of Helen by Paris—all these myths are concerned with the perceived resistance of girls to enter wedlock. Greek mythology is very much a man's world.

SEE ALSO Apollo; Artemis; Poseidon.

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JAN N. BREMMER (1987 AND 2005)

AGRICULTURE, the cultivation of plants for food and other ends, as opposed to the use of plants as they grow naturally in man's environment, is a rather recent phenomenon if considered relative to the time scale of the development of *Homo sapiens.* Scholars now agree in dating the most ancient archaeological traces of plant cultivation to the eighth or seventh millennium BCE and in indicating not the valleys of the Tigris-Euphrates and Nile, where the most ancient urban civilizations are attested, but the higher lands lying both west and east of Mesopotamia as the original cradles of agriculture. The Natufian culture of Palestine and other similar communities and cultural complexes in Kurdistan (Zawi Chemi Shanidar) and northern Iraq (Karim Shahir) used noncultivated (wild) wheat and barley.

The first traces of agriculture proper are found in sites such as Jericho (c. 7500 BCE), Jarmo (Iraqi Kurdistan), Tepe Sarab (Iranian Kurdistan), and Çatal Hüyük (Anatolia) and can be dated to the seventh millennium at the latest; the Palestinian early agrarian culture of the Yarmuk basin and the cultures of Al-Fayyum (Egypt) and of Tepe Siyalk (Iran) probably belong to the sixth millennium. Some scholars consider the oldest agricultural communities of eastern Europe to be almost as ancient as these Asian civilizations; recently traces of very early plant cultivation (peas, beans, etc.) have been found in Thailand.

The introduction of agriculture is not an isolated phenomenon. It develops with the beginnings of animal domestication and with a growth both in the population in general and in the size of settlements (some of the early agricultural settlements of the cultures cited above, such as Jericho in Palestine, cover a wide area, are fortified, and contain towers and buildings constructed for collective, ceremonial use). The origin of agriculture is also linked to the invention of pottery and to more sophisticated techniques for making stone tools and weapons, although these last innovations are not always synchronic with the introduction of cultivation. Although the term *Neolithic revolution*, made popular by V. Gordon Childe, expresses well the enormous importance of this series of radical innovations, the process was a slow one, extending across several millennia. According to recent studies, the history of early forms of cultivation can be divided into three long phases: (1) the final phase of the gathering economy; (2) the beginnings of plant cultivation and of animal domestication; and (3) the era of efficient village agriculture.

Although the beginnings of cultivation must be identified with the process just described, which took place in a small area of Asia and Europe and involved the domestication of wild cereals, in premodern times the cultivation of plants had already spread to all continents, and the Neolithic revolution had taken place in most of the inhabited world. At the beginning of the modern era, cultivation was present in the indigenous cultures of all lands, with the exceptions of Australia, the Arctic (for obvious climatic reasons), a wide part of North America (the central Great Plains, inhabited only recently by the buffalo-hunting Plains Indians), and smaller, isolated parts of other continents (usually those areas covered with tropical or equatorial forests and inhabited by bands of hunter-gatherers). Scholars still debate whether the presence of plant cultivation throughout the globe should be considered the result of a process of diffusion from the most ancient cradle of agriculture in the Old World or the result of a series of independent inventions. However this question is approached, one should keep in mind that cultivation is far from uniform and is far from corresponding everywhere to the model of cerealiculture in Europe and western Asia. Indeed, if we leave aside the relatively recent modifications brought about by European colonization of other continents, six geographical, ecological, and cultural zones can be distinguished according to the types or groups of plants cultivated. The zones are as follows

1. wheat zone: from Europe to China; secondary cereals: barley, spelt, oats; instrument: the plow
2. rice zone: from India to Indonesia to southern China; instruments: plow and hoe
3. millet and sorghum zone: sub-Saharan Africa; instrument: hoe
4. yam and taro zone: New Guinea, Melanesia, Polynesia; secondary plants: coconut palm, sago palm; instruments: digging stick and hoe
5. maize zone: America, from eastern North America through Central America and the Andes to northern Chile and Argentina; secondary plants: in the north—beans and pumpkins; in the south—potato and quinoa; instruments; digging stick and spade
6. manioc (cassava) zone: Amazonian area and tropical America; secondary plants: peanuts, sweet potato; instruments: digging stick and spade

As for the problem of the origin of cultivation in areas outside the original western Asian-eastern European zone where cerealiculture began, there is increasing agreement on the common origin of the cultivation of cereals in the Old World (although older, more complex theories still have their followers). Specialists still disagree, however, on both the relationship between the origins of cultivation in the New and the Old World (a more recent, autonomous invention of cultivation in America seems more probable) and the relative ages of cereal and noncereal cultivation. According to some, the cultivation of noncereal plants (mainly tubers) is an impoverished imitation of cerealiculture, whereas other scholars consider the cultivation of noncereal plants to be older than cerealiculture. This last hypothesis seems more probably correct, at least in the case of some areas of the Americas. Excavations in Venezuela and in Colombia show that cassava was cultivated there long before maize; moreover, as mentioned earlier, very ancient traces of noncereal cultivation have been discovered in Thailand.

The importance of the slow technological and economic (Neolithic) revolution that led many societies from a hunting and gathering economy to plant cultivation and animal husbandry is indeed enormous; the only phenomenon we can compare it to is the great technological revolution of early modern times, which led many societies, in a much shorter timespan, into the modern industrial era. In transforming *Homo sapiens* from a mere consumer of natural goods into a producer, the development of agriculture drastically changed the role of humanity within its environment, and thus the very nature of humankind. Moreover, it permitted a vast transformation of human life and activity, involving both a demographic increase and the rise of more complex human settlements and communities. Agriculture required an increasingly greater specialization, differentiation, and stratification within societies, and made possible and indeed necessary the "urban revolution" that was to follow within three or four millennia in Mesopotamia and Egypt. The consequences of this development in the domain of religious life were far greater than can be illustrated in this article, which deals exclusively with religious phenomena directly connected to cultivation. The historical roots of complex phenomena such as polytheism, the so-called gift-sacrifice, and priesthood, to name but three examples, lie in the humus prepared by the Neolithic revolution.

Our knowledge of the religiosity of Neolithic cultures is limited not only by an obvious factor, the lack of any written evidence, but also by a less obvious one, the abundance of totally conjectural modern "reconstructions," based upon archaeological data. Even more limiting are a misconceived comparison between modern "primitive" cultivators and the peasant cultures of more complex historical societies and the generalizations of nineteenth-century scholarship. The data furnished by sites such as Jericho (Palestine) and Çatal Hüyük and Hacilar (Anatolia) point to the cult of anthropomorphic, mainly female, beings of various types and to rituals of the dead (in particular to the preservation and treatment of human skulls), as well as to the importance of animals such as birds of prey, bulls, and leopards, often depicted in wall paintings. The cult was often domestic, but shrines of various sizes and shapes have been found, richly decorated with paintings and sculptures. The first monumental sanctuaries, however, seem to belong to the later, Mesopotamian culture of Al-Ubayyid, dated from the end of the fifth to the beginning of the fourth millennium.

THE RITUAL CALENDAR AND THE GREAT FEAST. Although hunter-gatherer communities also organize their lives on a seasonal basis, the yearly rhythm of labors is vital to cultivators and implies both a cyclical perception of time and the necessity of organizing the yearly sequence with a new precision. The introduction of cultivation is thus historically connected to the introduction of a calendar that responds to the technological and ritual needs of that specific form of production. The ritual aspects of cultivation and the rhythmic periodicity of that economic form, in which periods of great abundance are followed by periods of scarcity, require strong differentiations in time and the concentration of ritual actions and festive behavior in specific, recurring periods or days of the year. The yearly calendar of cultivators is thus a festive and ritual calendar.

The festive calendars of ancient societies, even though they are often connected with more complex liturgical, mythological, and even theological conceptions, as well as with "political" celebrations, easily reveal their agricultural basis. Thus, the three main Israelite feasts recorded in the Bible are a feast of the beginning of the barley harvest, a summer feast of the end of the wheat harvest (Shavuʿot), and an autumn feast of ingathering, celebrating the collecting and storing of (noncereal) cultivated fruits (Sukkot or Asif).

Likewise, the Attic calendar of Classical times included a feast preliminary to the plowing (Proerosia) immediately followed by the feast of the Boiling of Beans (Puanopsia), then by the ritual begging for gifts by children who carried a decorated branch of olive or laurel (*eiresiōnē*), and by processions of people carrying bunches of grapes hanging from their branches (Oscophoria) or other, less easily identified objects (Thesmophoria). The other main agricultural feasts of the Attic calendar were the spring festival of flowers and new wine (Anthesteria), the wine festival of Dionysos (Dionusia), the feasts of purification and offerings in preparation for harvesting (Thargelia), and the sacrifice of a plow ox at the time of harvest (Bouphonia).

The Roman archaic calendar includes a series of spring feasts dedicated to the worship of agrarian deities (in March and April: Liberalia, Consualia, Vinalia Priora, Robigalia); a series of spring purification rites, connected to the return of the dead and to the gathering of broad beans (in May: purification fields, Lemuria, Kalendae Fabariae); summer festivals connected with the harvesting and with the new wine (in August: Vinalia Rustica, feast of Opeconsiva); a series of winter feasts of the plowing season (from December 15 to 21: Consualia, Saturnalia, Opalia, Divalia, Larentalia); a winter feast for the protection of sown cereals (in January: Feriae Sementivae); and a winter month of purification of people and fields (in February).

The agricultural origin of most yearly festivals in modern, as well as in ancient, cultivating societies can just as easily be demonstrated. Here it suffices to cite the great Indian festivals of Dussehra and Dīvālī; the former marks the end of the rainy season and the beginning of agricultural labors and is concluded by a ritual quest for alms by people carrying small fresh shoots of barley plants, while the latter is a New Year-like festival celebrating the sowing of the winter crops.

The agricultural and festive calendars of cultivators outside of the wheat zone are no less rich and complex. The structure of the calendar and the types of festivals vary according to the ecological and climatic conditions, the types of plants cultivated, and the cultural and social structure of the various societies, as is shown by the following three examples.

The Arapesh of northeastern New Guinea, who now cultivate a wide range of plants of various origins, are ruled by an archaic ritual calendar that is based on the cultivation of yams and reflects a time system simpler than the one now in use for cultivation. The main feast, the Abullu, is based upon the exhibition of each cultivator's yam produce, followed by the performance of special Abullu dances and songs, which center on the most recent death of an important member of the community, and by the distribution of yams to the guests by each producer. The producer may not consume the yams himself and must be ritually purified before the feast, for he is considered to be in a state similar to that of parents immediately after childbirth.

The rice-growing Ao-Naga of northeastern India have a complex festive calendar with three main feasts. The Moatsu feast, celebrated at the end of the sowing period, is preceded by a night of sexual abstinence and consists of a ritual suspension of order (the rigid rules relative to clothing and ornaments are not enforced; no Ao-Naga can be fined for transgression) and of the renewal of the belts that hold the men's *dao* ("daggers"). The Aobi feast precedes the beginning of the agricultural labors, and marks the end of the period during which the Ao-Naga travel and trade. Its central feature is the explusion of impurities from the village, both through the disposal of the garbage collected from the various households by a priest and by the symbolic concentration of impurities on the first stranger who enters the village area. Finally, the end of the agricultural labors is marked by a feast, called Tsungremmung, mainly dedicated to the worship of beings called *tsungrem.* The greatest of the *tsungrem,* Lichaba, a creator figure, is the main recipient of the festive offerings; pieces of pork are left out for him to consume in all the dwellings that are located at the edges of the village.

The Venda of Transvaal, in South Africa, cultivate maize and other plants (sweet potatoes, beans, pumpkins, melons) of various types and origins. Their main festivals celebrate the sowing and the harvesting. Before the sowing, each cultivator sends a small amount of mixed seeds to the lineage chief, who prepares a sacred food by cooking all the seeds together; the food is then offered to the ancestors, and a rich harvest is asked of them. A similar rite takes place in the chief's field, with the participation of the whole community; on their way to the field the young girls collect firewood to cook the offering, and beat whomever they meet with rods (the rods may be a fertility symbol). The chief announces the beginning of the harvesting. There was a time when anyone who began harvesting before the announcement would be killed. The chief celebrates a private rite; a "public" rite then takes place in the chief's field, and each lineage celebrates its own rite in the lineage chief's field. The preliminary rites consist of an offering of sugar cane to the sacred animals and of preparation of beer by women. The young people then perform a sacred dance; the sacred bull and its cow are led into the chief's kraal and asperged with beer, while the *makhadzi* (the sister of the former chief) recites a prayer to the ancestors, saying: "I give you the first grains of the yearly harvest; eat and be well; but what is now still in the fields, you should leave to us." Listing all the names of ancestors she can remember, the *makhadzi* adds that the prayer is also directed to those ancestors whose names have been forgotten. The tombs and the places where the spirits of the dead dwell are then ceremoniously visited, and offerings are left in special places for the wild animals (leopards, serpents, etc.) into which the dead are believed to be transformed.

The Venda's harvest rituals are typical of the most important and widespread agricultural feast: the feast of harvesting and of first fruits. This is first of all a feast of abundance after the long months of working and of waiting, of success after the yearly risks and dangers represented by the uncertainties of rainfall and weather. Thus, it is celebrated by more or less unrestricted license and by excessive consumption. At the same time, it is a moment of great crisis, both because it causes excessive consumption and suspends productive work and because of the risk that accompanies any liminal period as, specifically, the consumption of the first products of the year's labor. The great feast of abundance and license is thus also celebrated with "protective" rituals, such as ritual consecration of first fruits, purification and renewal of the community, and offerings and sacrifices (sometimes human sacrifice, as for example among the Aztec of Mexico or the Dravidian Khond of eastern India) to various entities.

The consumption of the first part of the new harvest involves the end of a seasonal cycle of cultivation and the beginning of a new one, and thus a renewal of time: the harvest festival is a New Year feast, and the festive sacrifice is seen as a cosmogonic act. In the great feast, the whole world starts afresh, so that order is often ritually suspended, only to be reinstated, as happened at the beginning of time.

This suspension (and reinstatement) of the social and cosmic order is the profound religious meaning of an important aspect of many seasonal festivals of cultivators and, in particular, of harvest festivals: the ritual orgy. Indeed, if envisaged in this context of periodic "rebirth," the orgy is a temporary suspension of the normal order of a given society in favor of an "excessive" collective behavior (music, dance, banqueting, sexual intercourse) that is meant to sanction the festive period and to renew and reinforce the vital energies of the social group. Orgiastic behavior on special or festive occasions is attested among all societies, but orgies have a specific importance and a particular meaning for cultivators. Alimentary orgies are extremely frequent and important; they are most often a celebration of the harvest, a ritual response to the sudden and disconcerting abundance of food after the long months of efforts and risks. Sexual orgies are also frequent (they are attested among many societies of cultivators, from the Melanesian cultivators of tuberous plants to the cerealiculturalists of the Old World), and are connected with the harvest festivals (e.g., among the Fijians during the Nanga and Mbaki feast), with (spring) festivals of the growth of vegetation (e.g., in ancient China, in India during the Holī festival or during Dīvālī), and with planting or sowing (e.g., among the Pipil of Central America). Although it maintains its fundamental quality as a ritual disruption of order and as a temporal heightening of social and individual life rhythms, the sexual orgy of cultivators also reflects the solidarity between human sexuality and fecundity and the fertility of cultivated plants that constitutes one of the central beliefs of those societies; the orgy possesses the specific function of revitalizing the forces of vegetation. In this sense, it is a collective counterpart of the "hierogamy" (ritual intercourse or marriage between humans or symbolic figures to enhance vegetal reproduction and growth during critical moments of the agrarian year).

Just as all agricultural and horticultural labors have a ritual aspect or value, the festivals of cultivators, and the harvest festivals in particular, are an integral part of agricultural activities, and are organized as an aspect of the general economic activity of the social body. This is emblematically clear, to cite but one example, among the matrilinear maize cultivators of what is today New York State, the Iroquois of the Six Nations, whose agricultural economy has recently been reconstructed. Among the Iroquois, at harvesttime labor was distributed among three different groups of women. One group collected the maize ears in baskets, a second group transported the cereal produce to the storage places, where it was buried in underground pits, and a third group prepared the harvest festival. A part of the labor force employed in the harvesting was thus devoted to the preparation of the feast, in which the men also took part before leaving the village for long hunting expeditions in the forests.

The unity of productive and ritual activity, and of the seasonal-technical and the festive-ritual calendars, was thus complete in all archaic communities of cultivators. In medieval and modern times, especially in the wheat zone, this situation was increasingly modified by the development of the liturgical calendars of the great "universal" religions (notably Christianity and Islam), which were partly independent of the seasonal pattern of agriculture, and later of the "lay" festive calendars. In this area, however, a specifically agricultural perception of time continued to exist side by side with the official calendars, and interacted with them dialectically. The new religions either accepted and transformed or rejected and tried to abolish the traditional rituals and feasts. A good example of this complex situation is the traditional festive calendar of European peasants. This calendar is the result of a complex interaction of an archaic agricultural festive system and Christian liturgy.

FIGURES AND DEITIES. The offerings cited above in connection with some agrarian festivals are examples of an extremely widespread typology of sacrificial offerings, ritual acts, and propitiatory prayers directed toward extrahuman entities of various kinds that are believed to embody, or to control, the outcome of the labors of cultivation and the abundance of the harvest. Such beings or entities can be classified into four main categories: (1) nonpersonified forces or (less correctly) "spirits" that are believed to be active in the very growth and nourishing properties of cultivated plants; (2) personified beings of different kinds, believed to embody, or to cause and control, the growth of specific cultivated plants or, more generally, the produce of cultivation; (3) polytheistic gods and goddesses who, within the context of the various pantheons, are believed to control certain aspects of the agricultural economy; (4) figures who, within "universal" and "founded" (often monotheistic) religions, are believed to influence aspects of the agricultural economy or the outcome of cultivation in a context in which the total control over reality (and thus also over agriculture) is often attributed to a single principle or deity.

The last two categories are most often historically derived from the second. The polytheistic deities, however, are more completely integrated within a unified religiosity, and constitute parts of a system of specialized extrahuman personalities. They may be officially in charge of cerealiculture (e.g., the ancient Greek goddess Demeter) or of such a specific aspect as the diseases of wheat and barley plants (e.g., the Roman deity Robigo), but in all cases they are tied to all the other deities of their specific pantheon by genealogical, mythological, and ritual bonds. The entities who preside over aspects of cultivation within "founded" religions may be secondary figures of the belief system of those religions (such as angels, saints, or in some Christian contexts, the Virgin Mary), or else figures who clearly belong to a noncanonical, folkloric religiosity and resemble strikingly the entities and figures of the first and second types in our typology. Both types, however, are marginal to the central body of belief, and their diffusion is limited, both geographically (to specific rural zones within the wide diffusion areas of the "great" religions) and socially (to the peasantry).

The existence of belief in the power of cultivated vegetation (our first category) is usually deduced from a series of ritual behaviors that has been interpreted as tending to act positively upon such a power. Such is the ritual treatment of the first or last sheaf of grain among European and other cerealiculturists. In some cases, the ritually important (first or last) sheaf of the harvest is avoided by the cultivators, in others, it is eagerly sought after. In some cases, it is taken to the farm or settlement with great ritual pomp; in other cases, it is thrown away. This ambivalence, according to Mircea Eliade, is a consequence of the ambivalent meaning of the chosen sheaf, which is both dangerous and precious because it symbolically contains or embodies the power of the harvested cereal. According to peasants of northern Europe (Finland, Estonia, Germany), the ritually chosen sheaf brings good luck and blessings to the household, protects from diseases and lightning, and keeps mice away from the harvested grain. The sheaf can be used for divination of the marriages of young women (Estonia) or of the price of grain in the following year (Germany); it has magical properties in relationship to childbirth (Finland), marriage (Scotland), and next season's harvest, so that some grain from the last sheaf of the harvest is mixed with the seeds used for the next sowing (Scandinavia and Germany). The "power" of the cultivated plants is similarly enhanced by other (e.g., hierogamic) rituals.

Only very rarely, however, are beliefs and ritual behaviors of this type not connected with some specific personification of the beings believed to embody or to control the seasonal outcome of cultivation. Indeed, though the existence of the first category of our typology is generally accepted by scholars, it would be possible to reformulate that category in favor of a widened scope of and differentiation within our second category.

In any case, the second category of our typology is extremely vast and varied and includes at least three main subcategories: (a) beings connected to, and representative of, specific cultivated plants, or the growth of cultivated vegetation in general; (b) earth-mother figures; (c) spirits of the dead or ancestors.

The first subtype is the most widespread and easily recognized. It is the nearest to the first category of our typology, and the extrahuman beings classified as belonging to this subtype are often represented by harvested plants (sometimes, the first or last or most beautiful plants of the harvest), often collected and tied together in the shape of a human (most often, a female) figure, kept until the next harvesting season, and ritually treated in various ways. Figures of this type are found on all continents. One may mention the Aztec maize goddess; the Maize Mother of pre-Columbian Peruvians, represented by a female image made with the biggest maize cobs of the harvest; the analogous Quinoa Mother, Coca Mother, and Potato Mother, all similarly represented by the same Peruvians; the various maize mothers, one for each type of maize, of the Pueblo Indians of the southwestern United States. The Karen of Burma invoke a personified "spirit of the rice"; the Minangkabau of Sumatra use special rice plants to represent the rice mother Indoea Padi; and rice mothers are known to the Tomori of Sulawesi and to the rice growers of the Malay Peninsula, who ritually treat the wife of the cultivator as a pregnant woman during the first three days after the storing of the rice. The agriculturalists of the Punjab fashioned a female figure from the most beautiful cotton plant of the harvest to represent the Cotton Mother. We have seen the ritual treatment and the magico-symbolic value of the last sheaf among the agriculturists of the wheat zone: the last sheaf, or a specially fashioned anthropomorphic image made of cereal stalks or straw, is identified in the same contexts as figures variously named Old Man (Denmark, Poland, Arabia Petraea), Queen of the Grain (Bulgaria), Old Woman (Germany, Scotland). The Berbers of Morocco used straw from the harvested fields to shape a female image they dressed in a woman's clothes that represented the Bride of the Barley.

Such figures, seemingly so similar, differ widely in their specific meanings and functions, as shown by the various roles they play in the ritual contexts. They may be believed to be entities responsible for growth of cultivated plants, and thus may be the recipients of offerings and prayers (Zara Mama, the maize mother of the Peruvians, for example, fashioned in the shape of a doll from cobs and dressed elegantly, was offered sacrifices and prayers). Or they may be believed to embody and to concentrate in themselves, rather than to control, that growth; in such cases they are ritually treated in various ways, the two most frequent and meaningful of which are the "death" pattern and the "wedding" pattern. The better known is the death pattern, which can be illustrated by the treatment of the last sheaf, identified as the Queen of Grain by the Bulgarians; the sheaf is dressed in a woman's clothes, carried around in a procession, and then burned and scattered in the fields or thrown into a body of water. Such rituals are usually interpreted as dramatizing the seasonal cycle of cultivated plants, and their periodic "death" followed by their return or "rebirth" before the next harvesting—a theory shaped in the nineteenth century by James G. Frazer and Wilhelm Mannhardt. The wedding pattern is exemplified by the "marriage" of two fistfuls of rice, collected before the harvesttime, practiced on the islands of Java, Bali, and Lombok; the two fistfuls were treated like a pair of spouses, a wedding ceremony between them was celebrated, and then they were brought to the storehouse and stored there so that the rice could grow. Another example is that of the Barley Bride of the Berbers of Morocco. Groups of women completed for the honor of carrying the straw figure processionally through the ripe crops; on other occasions, the male members of the community appeared on horseback to fight for her, thus imitating scenes that were normal for Berber weddings, including a simulated abduction of the bride. In other areas, the two patterns appear together: in Denmark the female harvester dances with an image formed with the last sheaves; she cries while she dances, and is considered a "widow" because she is married to a being who is going to die.

If considered together, the various ritual treatments of the mythical figures embodying or controlling the outcome of cultivation clearly form a complex, well-structured strategic system aimed at controlling the uncertainties of the specific modes of production. The death and the wedding patterns, in particular, deal with the critical economic moment represented by the harvesting. The death pattern ritually enacts, and thus controls, the very crisis represented by the final moment of the cycle, symbolically overcome through the destruction, and ritual reintegration (by throwing it in the water or by spreading it on the fields) of the first (or last or "best") part of the produce of cultivation, which represents the cultivated plant or its "mother," "queen," "spouse," and so on. The wedding pattern ritually enacts, and thus controls, the positive outcome of the efforts and risks of cultivation, and thus performs a symbolic fecundation of the cultivated plant—and not just any fecundation, but a cultural one, sanctioned by a marriage ritual, just as the fertilization of cultivated plants is felt to be a highly cultural phenomenon. The dramatic importance of the crisis ritually enacted and controlled by the death pattern is further clarified by the fact that the death and burial of the representative of cultivated plants is often a symbolic but sometimes a real animal, or even human, ritual killing.

While the belief in "mother" figures who represent or control the reproductive power of the cultivated plants is typical of cultivator societies, belief in an earth mother is not limited to those societies. Indeed, the personification of the earth as a fecund mother, based on the simple symbolic connection between female animal (human) fecundity and the fertility of the earth from which the plants grow, is not unknown to hunter-gatherer societies. On the other hand, most of the data interpreted as pointing toward that belief are derived from beliefs and cultic practices pertaining to polytheistic religions; the goddesses interpreted as earth figures are usually complex deities, whose connection with the fertile earth is only one aspect of their personalities. Nevertheless, the earth complex, often coupled with a cult of the sky or of a sky figure as a fertilizing father (dispenser of rain) and with the equation between fecund women and the cultivated earth, is present in many cultivators' religions and survives in specific rituals (e.g., in formulaic prayers such as the Anglo-Saxon invocation to Herce or the pseudo-Homeric hymn to Gaia, a polytheistic goddess whose name means "earth," and who was invoked as a dispenser of crops). Earth-mother beliefs are especially important in the "wheat zone," where they are more central in cosmogonic and anthropogenic myths than in direct connection with agriculture. The fact that in many cultivating societies, and possibly in the distant origins of cultivation, women were in charge of the domesticated plants enhanced the association between the female sphere and the cultivated earth. A variety of female figures, whose sexuality and fecundity are strongly stressed, are usually referred to the earth mother complex; they appear in the Old World from Neolithic times to later antiquity in the form of statuettes or in paintings and reliefs on pottery and elsewhere. The most ancient and important documents pertaining to such figures may be the recently discovered paintings on the walls of a ceremonial building in the early agricultural settlement of Çatal Hüyük; but the female figures depicted in those paintings and in roughly contemporary statuettes from Çatal Hüyük and Hacilar are never clearly associated with symbols pointing to agriculture, but rather with animals such as vultures, leopards, and bulls.

In examining some examples of seasonal calendars pertaining to cultivators, we have mentioned the connection between the dead and the products of cultivation. The most meaningful and widespread example of such a connection is the belief in the return of the dead during the harvest festival or great feast among Melanesian and Polynesian yam and taro growers. The hungry dead are believed to invade the territory of the living in that festive time and are offered part of the produce. Similar connections between fertility feasts of agriculturalists and the return of the dead are not unknown to other societies of cultivators (e.g., the Christmas festivities of the northern European peasants involve both the dead and a celebration of fertility and life).

The offering of first fruits, or of parts of the produce of cultivation, to the returning dead has been interpreted by Vittorio Lanternari as a response to the periodic crisis represented by the sudden abundance of food, and by the suspension of the labors of cultivation after the harvesting. The earth, sacrilegiously tilled or dug by the cultivators, is seen as the home of the dead, who belong to a sphere that, like the virgin earth that must be "treated" by the cultivators, is foreign and uncontrolled. By offering a part of the produce to the returning dead the cultivators react to and control the seasonal crisis and risk. The dead, moreover, return collectively, because the work of the cultivators is collective; they return annually, at the end of the agrarian cycle. They enter the village because during the year the village has invaded the earth, their domain, to modify it; they are menacingly hungry because, to satiate their own hunger, the living have attacked the earth and shall attack it again the following year.

Although this is probably a correct interpretation of the widespread belief in a collective and periodical return of the dead in crucial moments of the seasonal calendar of cultivators, other data point to different views of the relationship of the dead with the cultivated plants. In particular, the strong connection between funerary, agrarian, and sexual rituals shows that the dead are often seen as active forces in the positive outcome of the labors of cultivation. The Bambara of Mali, West Africa, for example, pour water over the head of the dead person and implore him or her to send them a good harvest; the Finnish cerealiculturalists mix bones or objects belonging to the dead with the seed during the sowing and return the objects to the graveyard after the harvest, whereas German peasants similarly use soil they have dug out from a tomb. The equation between the seed or tuber, buried in the ground, and the dead, whose memory continues in the life of their progeny, is probably the basic concept underlying these and similar cases. The structure of the ancient Chinese peasant house described by Marcel Granet, with the inner section containing the stored grain, and near it the marriage bed of the couple and the burial place of the family ancestors, is the best synthetic representation of such a conception.

ORIGIN MYTHS. The beliefs discussed so far, which shape the ritual aspect of the activities of cultivators, are expressed just as clearly in the myths traditionally related to account for the origins of cultivated plants or of the various technical and economic activities of cultivators, as well as to validate their cultural systems.

Some myths stress the symbolic correspondence between the cultivated plants and human beings and between sexual fecundity and vegetal fertility, the similarity between the techniques of cultivation and those of childraising, and the "motherly" quality of the cultivated earth. Others give more attention to the (miraculous) origin of the cultivated plants or techniques of cultivation. Among these last myths, Adolf E. Jensen distinguished two main, widespread types, attributing to cultivators of tuberous plants the type of myth that connects cultivation and death, mostly by recounting the birth of the cultivated plants from the body of a slain primordial being (the Hainuwele type) and attributing to cerealiculturalists myths of the theft of the basic cultivated cereals by primeval humankind. Jensen called the latter the Prometheus type, using the name of the Greek mythic figure Prometheus, who stole elements of human culture from the gods. But this rigid distinction should be abandoned, not only because the origin of cereals is often connected to a mythic killing (echoes of this are to be found, e.g., in the Osirian mythology of the Egyptians) but also, or rather especially, because the central theme of both these types, that of the primeval guilt connected by origin myths to the beginnings of cultivation, can be shown to be more richly differentiated. This theme includes at least (1) the killing of the primeval figure (Hainuwele type); (2) the stealing of the original cultivated plant (Prometheus type); and (3) the spying upon, and thus the offending of, a primeval generous female figure to whom the first introduction of cultivated plants or food is attributed.

Two myths of the Kiwai of New Guinea are good examples of the first type we have mentioned; they stress the earth-mother and plant-child symbolism. One of these myths tells of a woman named Opae, who gave birth but, having no husband and no idea of what a baby was, abandoned the child. A bird took care of it and protected its body and arms with taro leaves; later the bird came back with some taro bark and a taro root, covered the baby's body with the bark, and tied the root to its head. The root penetrated the ground and started to grow, and the baby's body was transformed into the first cultivated taro plant. The other Kiwai myth recounts the origin of yam cultivation. A man who had no wife dug a hole in the ground and had intercourse with the earth. But under the earth a woman was hidden, Tshikaro by name. She became pregnant, and, as is done with women at childbirth, she was surrounded by an enclosure made of mats (the mythic prototype of the enclosures protecting the yam gardens of the Kiwai) and gave birth to many yam tubers.

The most famous myth that connects cultivation and death by recounting the origin of the cultivated plants from the body of a slain primordial being is the Hainuwele myth of the islanders of Ceram (Indonesia), studied by Adolf E. Jensen and used by him as a prototype of this category. Hainuwele, a young maid, was killed, her body was cut in pieces, and the pieces were buried; from the various parts of her body, the various cultivated plants were born. The killing of Hainuwele gave rise not just to the plants, but in different ways to sexuality, to death, and to many cultural institutions. Myths of this type are present in all continents. An American example is the Maya account of the origin of maize from the heart of the Maize Mother. An African one is the Nzima (Ghana) myth of the origin of that same plant. In the Nzima myth, two female figures appear: a mother, the ancestress responsible for the introduction of maize cultivation, and her daughter, sacrificed by the mother. An ancient Greek myth of cerealiculture also features a mother and her daughter. The goddess Demeter, angry because her young daughter Persephone has been abducted by the netherworld god, causes the vegetation (specifically, cereals) to wither and abandons the gods to travel among men. She is taken for an old woman and employed by a king and his wife as a nurse for their baby. Although she is spied upon and interrupted while trying to make the baby immortal by burning it, and then leaves the king's palace forever, condemning the baby to mortality, she teaches the king the Eleusinian mysteries. Finally, Persephone returns to the upper world, where she will periodically reside, and the vegetation is revived. In other versions, Demeter teaches the techniques of agriculture to a king who had helped her. This myth, in whatever version, sanctions mortality, agriculture, and the most famous of Greek mystery rites as fundamental and related aspects of known since primeval times human existence and presents a motherly figure as responsible for the origin of cultivation.

The correspondence between the female protagonists of myths of this kind and the second type of extrahuman entities described in the previous section is often explicit. However, as in the myth of the Cochiti Pueblo of New Mexico, the correspondence may be indirect. The Mother of the Indians, we are told, abandoned her children; when they sent messengers to her underground dwelling to ask for her help in a moment of crisis, she gave them the first maize "fetish" or doll, made of a maize plant adorned with feathers and buckskin strings, a prototype of the object used by the Cochiti in agrarian rituals. Clearly, the maize figure is a substitute for the Mother, and, as in the case of Demeter in the first version of her myth, it is ritual material connected with cultivation rather than cultivation itself that is given to humans by the disappearing female.

As for the theme (subtype 3) of the offended superhuman female, it is present in many myths of the "excretion" type. In a series of myths told by the Creek, Cherokee, and Natchez maize growers of the southeastern United States, the mythic woman, who sometimes appears in the shape of a maize plant or cob, gives maize (and sometimes beans) to humans. She takes care of orphans and other needy people, and for them she produces maize grains by rubbing her own body. The woman is murdered in some versions, and in others she offers herself in sacrifice; but in all versions of the myth, before dying, she instructs the people about the actions they must perform in order to let maize and beans spring forth from her body. Myths of this type are widespread. Two more examples will serve to indicate that the themes these myths have in common are not restricted to the "excretion" motif but include the motif typical of the third "subtype" of the classification given above.

In a myth of the Toraja of Sulawesi (Indonesia), a fisherman often left his wife to go on fishing expeditions; when he came back, he always found a large pot full of rice, but his wife would not tell him from whence it had come. One day, he spied on her through a fissure in the wall of their dwelling and saw that she rubbed her hands together over the pot and thus filled it with rice. Disgusted by this discovery, he reproached her for this unclean procedure; as a result of his reproaches the woman transformed herself into a rice plant, and he became a sago palm. The yam and taro growers of Melanesia and New Guinea have similar myths (in New Guinea, the myths are about Yam Woman, who miraculously produces yams from her own body), but a complex myth, very similar to the American and Indonesian myths, is to be found among the Maori of New Zealand and accounts for the origin of the *kumara* (sweet potato). The goddess Pani took care of two young orphaned nephews and nourished them with baked *kumara;* the two brothers, who loved this previously unknown food, kept asking where it came from, but Pani would not tell them. One day, one of the brothers spied on her and discovered that she drew the sweet potatoes from her own body while lying in the water. In another version, she obtained the *kumara* by rubbing her hands on her belly. The boy told his brother: "We are eating Pani's excretions." Ashamed, Pani retired to the netherworld, where one of the nephews magically reached her and found her cultivating *kumara.*

In America, Indonesia, and New Zealand a female figure is thus believed to have obtained the main cultivated plant from her own body and to have given it generously to the needy; it is further recounted that she was spied on while doing this, and that, ashamed or offended, she disappeared, having given rise to the cultivated plants and to the techiques of agriculture. The similarity between these myths and the ancient Greek myth about Demeter is striking, and points to connections between the origin myths of cerealiculturalists and those of other cultivators. The complexity of historical derivations and typological connections between the various origin myths can be illustrated by one last, paradoxical example. In mythical times, according to traditional Maya beliefs, the rain god hit with his lightning the rock in which the maize god was hidden, and the maize god was born, the answer to the prayers of primeval, needy mankind. The later, christianized culture of Guatemala and Yucatán, however, reinterpreted the ancient Maya maize god as a Christ-like, bread-of-life figure, thus introducing elements of the Hainuwele type into a traditional myth more similar to the Prometheus type.

As shown by many of these examples, the myths about the origin of cultivation point to crisis as well as to fertility. Many such myths present the cultivation of plants as an ambiguous, dangerous innovation, caused by a primeval mistake or sin. The attitude they reflect is similar to that expressed by the ritual "return of the dead" during crucial moments of the seasonal cycle. The costs and risks of cultivation are expressed mythically and ritually by societies whose well-being, contingent upon the outcome of cultivation, is perennially at stake, and must be continually reaffirmed both by technical and by ritual and ideological means. By relegating the nonagrarian life to a distant past, and by showing the positive consequences of the "sacrilegious" invading of uncontrolled nature by human endeavor, the founding myths of cultivators reinforce the cultural and economic systems that express them and protect the social body against a recurrent series of cyclical crises.

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL VALUES OF CULTIVATORS. In many origin myths the female responsible for the beginning of cultivation acted in favor of helpless or derelict children who did not belong to a system of family solidarity (e.g., orphans), or she is presented as a generous nourisher. This mythic trait corresponds well to the importance of hospitality among cultivators and to the periodic redistribution of the produce of cultivation on festive occasions that reach their peak in the alimentary orgy and in the offerings of first fruits to the returning dead on ritual occasions. The foundation of all these conceptions, beliefs, and behaviors is the economic life that cultivation makes possible, a stable way of life in which the relative abundance of food makes further economic and cultural changes possible, makes the redistribution of the yearly produce among the members of the community a vital task, and provides a surplus for ritual and even orgiastic consumption on given seasonal occasions.

A relatively egalitarian ideology of collective labor, festive consumption, generalized redistribution, and hospitable generosity is typical of the less complex societies of cultivators. It is replaced by an ideology of vertical concentration and redistribution in societies in which production, distribution, and consumption of agrarian produce become more complex, tasks and roles become more differentiated, and a privileged status is assumed by a group or a person, chief, or king. The cooperation and solidarity necessary to obtain and share a good harvest are identified with the ability of the rulers to organize, to judge, and to distribute the yearly produce. Harvest festivals, as happen in Africa in the Swazi kingdom, may become the occasion for ritual dramas of rebellion and reproach, enhancing and upholding the "rights" of the subjects and stressing the "duties" of the rulers. On the other hand, in societies such as these the sanctity of the (private) property of the land, and of its symbol, the boundary stone, is upheld by religious beliefs and sactions; the other face of kingly generosity, the periodic tribute of a part of the agrarian produce to the rulers, is also upheld by sacred sanctions.

Just as the importance of social solidarity for the very survival of agrarian communities is stressed by beliefs and rites based upon redistribution and consumption, other aspects of the ethos of cultivators are expressed by other religious complexes. Despite the importance of sexual license and festive license of various types in the religiosity of cultivators, the belief that the respect of social and religious rules and prohibitions, of ritual purity, and of sexual purity in particular is essential for the good functioning of cultivation is a worldwide feature. The ritual purity of the peasants of modern northern Europe is obtained by a bath and the donning of new or clean clothes before the main agricultural labors, such as plowing or sowing or reaping. The importance of virgins, old men and women, and even eunuchs in rituals and cults either directly agrarian (such as the ancient Egyptian rites performed by castrated men to ensure the yearly Nile inundation and the fertility of the fields) or linked to mother goddesses is an extreme aspect of this symbolic complex. In many hierarchical societies, the chief or king must live in a perpetual state of ritual purity. This purity is believed to have a direct influence upon the agrarian produce and is upheld by a complex series of norms and taboos.

The correct distribution of the yearly produce of cultivation and the correct functioning of ritual and social norms are thus no less important in the religious life of cultivators than sexual symbolism or the belief that extrahuman entities control or embody the growth of cultivated plants. Of equal importance is the religious aura surrounding the specific technical aspects of agrarian production; the sanctity of animals such as the plow ox in ancient Greece or of objects such as the plow among early modern Italian peasants and the agriculturists of Madagascar today are good examples. What is most meaningful, however, is the widespread sacrality of the general complex of technical knowledge and ritual lore necessary to cultivation.

Technical knowledge and ritual lore are often believed to have been learned from extrahuman beings in mythic times. Moreover, the acquiring of that knowledge is often connected with a primeval mistake or sin and is tied to the origins of the main cultural traits of the society that are expressed in myth, as well as to the beginnings of human mortality. The fact that the Eleusinian mysteries are mythically founded by a narrative tradition that also recounts the divine origin of agriculture may point to an intrinsic connection between the technical-ritual knowledge necessary for cultivation and the ritual and symbolic knowledge about the religious value of human life that was the object of what we call "mystery" cults. This point aside, the agrarian connections of the ancient mystery cults are beyond doubt, as are the connections between the eschatological and soteriological expectations the mystery cults express and the agriculturist's awareness of the perennial repetition of the agrarian cycle of the "death" and "rebirth" of plants.

SEE ALSO Calendars; Culture Heroes; Neolithic Religion; Seasonal Ceremonies; Vegetation.

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AGUDAT YISRAʾEL is the world movement of Orthodox Jewry, founded in 1912. The name Agudat Yisraʾel, or Agudath Israel (Union of Israel), commonly abbreviated as "Agudah," is derived from a passage in Jewish High Holy Day liturgy that speaks of all creatures forming "one union" to do God's will. Established in order to preserve the traditional Jewish way of life and to counter the influence of competing secular or religious ideologies, Agudat Yisraʾel nevertheless adopted a series of ideological and organizational innovations. The very act of organizing an Orthodox political party was in itself a concession to the sociopolitical exigencies of the time, which more extreme Orthodox elements opposed on principle.

HISTORY. The initiative for the formation of Agudat Yisraʾel came from the separatist Orthodox communities of Germany united in the Freie Vereinigung für die Interessen des Orthodoxen Judentums. They envisioned a worldwide union of Orthodox Jewry that would enlist the great rabbinical figures of eastern Europe and the Orthodox masses there in the fight against Zionism and Reform Judaism. At about the same time (early twentieth century), some eastern European rabbis made abortive attempts at providing an Orthodox alternative to the Zionist and Jewish socialist parties. Orthodox rabbi and historian Yitsḥaq Eiziḳ ha-Levi brought together representatives of the Freie Vereinigung and the eastern European rabbinate at Bad Homburg (1909), a meeting that laid the groundwork for what became Agudat Yisraʾel. The decision of the Tenth Zionist Congress (1911) to embark on a full-fledged educational and cultural program in the Diaspora gave further impetus for an Orthodox countereffort. Elements of the religious Zionist Mizraḥi movement that broke with the Zionist Organization over this decision joined the groups founding Agudat Yisraʾel.

The founding conference of the world Agudat Yisraʾel was held in Kattowitz, Upper Silesia (now Katowice, Poland) in May 1912, with some three hundred delegates in attendance. This conference began the delicate task of uniting under one organizational roof representatives of Orthodox communities from Germany, from Russia, Poland, and Lithuania, and from Hungary. Though these communities shared opposition to Zionism and other secular ideologies, they divided over many religious issues of both style and substance. Beginning at Kattowitz, the compromise view that prevailed granted autonomy within the framework of Agudah to each brand of Orthodoxy to follow its path on the local and regional level with no coercion on the part of other brands to accept their views. Thus the Frankfurt Orthodox allowed wide secular education, adopted German speech and dress, but demanded a separatist Orthodox community; their Polish counterparts clung to Yiddish, preferred traditional Jewish dress and education, and refused to secede from *qehillah* (Jewish community) boards, where they often constituted the largest group.

The Kattowitz Conference set up a temporary council, whose task would be to stimulate Orthodox organization in Germany and other countries, and nominated the first Moʿetset Gedolei ha-Torah (Council of Torah Sages), the rabbinical body designed to review and supervise all major decisions of the movement. Preparations began for convening in August 1914 the supreme body of the world Agudah, to be known as the Kenesiyyah Gedolah (Great Assembly, a name derived from a phrase in *Avot* 4.11, "an assembly for the sake of heaven"), an Orthodox equivalent of and answer to the Zionist congresses. The first meeting of the Great Assembly, postponed because of the outbreak of war, did not take place until 1923.

The German occupation of Poland opened up new opportunities for the organization of Orthodox Jewry in the east. Attached as advisers to the occupation authorities, representatives of the Freie Vereinigung won the trust of the Polish rabbis and Hasidic leaders and launched the substantive organization of Agudah in Poland, which would become the largest and most politically active branch of the movement. Drawing its strength mainly from the followers of the Hasidic *rebe* of Gur (Góra Kalwaria), the Polish Agudah elected deputies to the Polish parliament and numerous city councils, and it won control of many Jewish *qehillot* (community councils), including those of the two largest communities, Warsaw and Lódź.

The interwar period, punctuated by the three Great Assemblies of 1923, 1929, and 1937, witnessed the consolidation and expansion of Agudah's work on the national and international levels. The world movement established both a Qeren ha-Torah (Torah Fund) to support Orthodox educational institutions and a Qeren ha-Yishuv (Settlement Fund) to support Orthodox efforts in Palestine, which received no aid from the Zionist organizations. Through the work of Qeren ha-Torah, local communities rebuilt schools destroyed during the war and set up new schools. Agudah politicians intervened with government officials in various countries to remove bureaucratic obstacles to the maintenance of traditional education. In Poland they gained government recognition of Agudah schools, although this involved the addition of some secular subjects to the curriculum of the *ḥeder* (lit., "room"), the traditional Jewish religious school. Even more innovative was Agudah's adoption and promotion of the Beit Yaʿakov schools for girls. In the eyes of Agudah leaders, the threats facing Orthodoxy justified such a step. An entire network of (generally supplementary) primary and secondary girls' schools developed, with teachers supplied by a central teachers' seminary in Cracow. The Beit Yaʿakov system soon spread to other countries.

On the international level, Agudat Yisraʾel endeavored to provide an independent Orthodox viewpoint on all major Jewish issues. It most vehemently reacted to matters of special concern to Orthodox Jewry, such as proposed calendar reform or attacks on Jewish ritual slaughter. It consistently denied the right of secular Jewish organizations to speak in the name of all Jewry.

Though debate flared up on occasion within Agudah ranks over the centrality of Palestine in the Agudah agenda and worldview, Agudah developed an active presence in the Land of Israel. In the 1920s and early 1930s, it strove for recognition of the separate status of the old ultra-Orthodox community and resisted inclusion in the general representative bodies of the organized Jewish community. By the midthirties, however, waves of Orthodox immigrants from Germany and Poland altered the balance of power in the Agudah in Palestine in favor of more participation in and cooperation with the general community. Those who supported the old separatist line in Palestine eventually broke with Agudat Yisraʾel.

The destruction of most of European Jewry in the Holocaust wiped out the major centers of Agudat Yisraʾel as well, and Israel and the United States became the primary locations of party activity from then on. During the war years, Agudah activists inside and outside Nazi-occupied Europe endeavored to rescue rabbis and others. On occasion, Agudah dissented from general Jewish policies by its attempts at direct financial aid to Jews in the European ghettos, despite criticism that such help aided the enemy by breaking the economic boycott of Nazi-held Europe.

In the postwar period, Agudah took immediate steps to resume the full range of activities among the survivors in the European displaced-persons camps. The depleted ranks attending the world executive council meeting in 1947 showed the great losses Agudah had suffered, but it also demonstrated the party's determination to remain a force in the Jewish world.

Israel became the major arena for Agudah activities. In the 1940s, as a Jewish state came closer to reality, Agudah made peace with the idea of a Zionist-dominated state, and it, too, issued a call for Jewish independence. Agudah thinkers even drafted a constitution for a state based on Torah. For the first time, Agudah joined the religious Zionist Mizraḥi party in a United Religious Front to press the claim for maintenance of minimal religious standards in public life, including observance of the Sabbath and dietary laws in public institutions, rabbinical control of marriage and divorce, and government support for religious education. As a member of the governing coalition, Agudah received special support for its school system, as well as exemption from military service for religious girls and *yeshivah* students. In the early 1950s, Agudah left the coalition over the issue of compulsory alternative national service for women. As an opposition force, it railed against what it considered breaches of Jewish tradition, such as overly liberal autopsy and abortion laws or the raising of pigs on Jewish farms. Electorally, Agudat Yisraʾel has consistently won the votes of approximately 3 percent of the Israeli electorate (four seats in the 120-seat Knesset). In the 1984 elections, however, defections of Sefardic and some non-Hasidic Ashkenazic elements to the new Shas party halved Agudah's Knesset representation. The 1988 elections witnessed a further split in the Agudah's ranks, as tensions of long standing between Hasidic and non-Hasidic elements in the party led the latter to form the separate Degel Hatorah ("banner of Torah") party. Despite the party split, the truncated Agudah actually increased its representation to five seats, largely due to the one-time support and active campaigning by the Habad Lubavich Hasidic group. In subsequent elections, the two factions reunited in the United Torah Judaism party. Each faction, however, maintained its own rabbinic advisory council. In the sixteenth Knesset (elected 2003), United Torah Judaism held five seats.

Both in Israel and the United States, Agudat Yisraʾel has made a generally successful adjustment to its new status of representing a small minority within Jewry. In Israel, it has become a regular, accepted part of the political scene. In 1977, after a quarter century in the opposition, it joined the center-right Likud coalition, but without representation in the cabinet. In 1984, the reduced Agudah delegation participated in the national unity coalition that forms the government, this time demanding and receiving a subcabinet appointment. In the United States, Agudah began functioning effectively only during World War II. It built its strength on the transplanted remnants of Frankfurt Orthodoxy and Holocaust survivors from eastern Europe, but eventually it built a local constituency from the graduates of Agudah-affiliated educational institutions and members of Agudah-affiliated synagogues. Agudah has become the principal voice of independent Orthodoxy, being free of the "taint" of cooperation with the non-Orthodox movements in rabbinical or congregational umbrella organizations. Agudah activists have adapted to American political conditions as an effective lobbying group, with influence on the state and federal levels and a growing presence in some local Jewish federations.

ORGANIZATION AND BRANCHES. In theory, the supreme body of Agudah is the Council of Torah Sages, the institutional fulfillment of Agudah's slogan, "To solve all the problems of the day according to Torah and tradition." In reality, the council has met only infrequently as a formal body, and any ongoing rabbinical supervision of party affairs has come by way of informal consultations with key rabbis. In recent decades, however, the functioning of the rabbinical council both in Israel and the United States has become more regularized and more closely approximates its original intended function. The Israeli council has, however, been paralyzed for considerable periods by differences of opinion within its ranks, which resulted in the council not being convened.

In addition to the Council of Torah Sages, the supreme deliberative body of Agudat Yisraʾel is the Great Assembly, which is convened every five years. In between Great Assemblies, a central council of one hundred elected delegates from the assembly meets annually to assess party affairs. Management of day-to-day matters rests with a small executive committee. Organization of Agudah on the national and regional level in the United States, Israel, and Europe follows the same general pattern.

Within the Agudat Yisraʾel movement there also developed a number of subsidiary and auxiliary organizations. These included organizations for youth (Tseʿirei Agudah, founded 1919), for girls (Benot Agudah, founded 1925/6), for women (Neshei Agudah, founded 1929), and for Orthodox workers (Poʿalei Agudah, founded 1923). Of these organizations Poʿalei Agudah showed the most independence in attempting to represent the interests of its declared constituency. It proved to be an almost constant source of friction within the Agudah camp, and in Israel Poʿalei Agudah eventually split with the parent body and ran independent lists of candidates. Agudah also had its own press and school systems.

IDEOLOGY. With a few notable exceptions, such as Isaac Breuer (of Germany, later Palestine), the rabbis and publicists associated with Agudat Yisraʾel offered no systematic presentations of party doctrine. Nevertheless, an examination of newspaper articles, propaganda pamphlets, party proclamations, and rabbinic writings reveals some common themes that run through Agudah thought from its beginnings to the present.

A major ideological innovation of Agudat Yisraʾel was the doctrine of *daʿat Torah* ("Torah view"). According to this doctrine, the authority of the scholars who stood at the head of the movement extended to matters of economics and politics and was not limited to strictly religious matters. In a paradoxical twist, those men totally immersed in the study of Torah and furthest removed from everyday events are proclaimed to be best able to decide matters of political and social policy. Thus Agudat Yisraʾel as a party benefited from the unerring judgment and the aura of holiness of the Torah scholars who, theoretically at least, supervised all party activities. *Daʿat Torah* is an essentially defensive doctrine, the response of an embattled traditional leadership elite to the rise of alternative leaders and doctrines.

From the beginning, Agudah rejected the ideology of secular Zionism. At the same time, though, it consistently stressed its support for increased Jewish settlement in Palestine. The point of contention was the character of the Jewish center being built there. Agudah wished to strengthen the old centers of learning and to ensure that the new settlement be based on traditional Jewish values and laws. Agudah saw solely territorial rebirth of the Jewish people as insufficient. Even in the Land of Israel, Jews could not survive without the Torah. Since the Torah stood at the center of Agudah's concerns, it could never accept the official position of the Zionist movement that religion was a private matter.

In the long run, a detailed party program and ideology have not been crucial for Agudat Yisraʾel. It has turned to its constituency not on the basis of any specific program but on the basis of the collective charisma of the Torah sages and a general desire to defend traditional Judaism at all costs.

SEE ALSO Orthodox Judaism; Schenirer, Sarah.

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Gershon C. Bacon (1987 and 2005)

AHIṂSĀ. The Sanskrit term *ahiṃsā* (literally "noninjury"), often translated as "nonviolence," has been taken into Western languages as a result of the influence of Mohandas Gandhi. Gandhi explicitly associated *ahiṃsā* with chastity and the absence of possessions as well as with the conviction that one should identify with all beings; he considered *ahiṃsā* to be based on self-control, necessitating preliminary (self-)purification. He also stressed that *ahiṃsā* is a condition of truth, which in turn can be equated with God. Hence Gandhi's invitation, in the last sentence of his autobiography: "In bidding farewell to the reader . . . I ask him to join me in praying to the God of Truth that He may grant me the boon of *ahiṃsā* in mind, word and deed" (Gandhi, 1929).

Considering the traditional Hindu equation of reality with truth (*satya*), it is not surprising that Gandhi used *ahiṃsā* not only as a moral weapon but as a political one as well; in so doing he refused to separate politics and religion. He thus resorted to, and, to a certain extent, reinterpreted an ancient Indian concept.

Similar ideas were current nearly two thousand years ago in some of the oldest Upaniṣads, developing among Brahmanic *saṃnyāsin*s (ascetics, mendicants) as well as among the heterodox Buddhist and Jain communities. Such views, it has been convincingly argued, were the outcome of a kind of ideological revolution that took place in India around 500 BCE. At that time, the more contemplative values of the "metaritualist" philosophers superseded earlier magico-ritualistic concepts of religion.

It can be deduced from the more ancient texts that the Vedic Indians believed in an inverted "world beyond," where one must suffer the very fate previously inflicted by him on other beings. Whereas, in order to escape the consequences of one's (cruel) deeds the Vedic brahmans succeeded in inventing elaborate rituals, they still deemed it important, in order to avoid retaliation, to abstain from injuring other beings—thus, to practice *ahiṃsā.*

With the development of the doctrine of transmigration and retribution of actions (*karman*), liberation from rebirth became the ultimate goal of the religious life, and the renouncer's way of life became the ideal behavior. Magico-ritualistic attitudes subsided in favor of ethical and mystical values: Thus the Upaniṣadic sages point to the identity of *ātman* and *brahman* and praise the one who "sees the Self in (his) self, sees the Self in everything. . . ." In this way, the traditional, magical fear of retaliation was replaced by a sense of fellow feeling towards all that lives; *ahiṃsā,* endowed with an indubitably positive value, was expanded into such concepts as "compassion" (*dayā*), a virtue that is required particularly of those who strive after liberation, regardless of the community to which they belong.

The first major vow taken by Brahmanic ascetics and by Buddhist and Jain religious mendicants alike is that life should not be destroyed, whether in mind, in words, or in deeds. The Jains especially emphasize the unique importance of this pledge (which their lay believers also take), and emphasize that all forms of violence, including the passions, destroy the soul's ability to attain ultimate perfection; in addition, that violence turns against the very person who does not refrain from it.

The observance of *ahiṃsā* naturally implies many restrictions as far as the mendicant's diet is concerned. The only acceptable food is that which can be prepared without taking another life; meat-eating is thus shunned. In a more extreme view, plants that are cultivated and then cut and destroyed to become food are also forbidden. The ideal diet, then, consists of fruits, which fall naturally from the trees. Because various penances and ascetic practices have always been based on fasting or on living only on fruits or seeds, *ahiṃsā* came to be closely associated with vegetarianism, of which the Jains soon became and remain uncompromising advocates.

The concept of noninjury, coupled with self-control or self-restraint, was rich in many potential developments. It soon became the central ethical idea in most of the philosophies and religions of India. Indeed, in some communities *ahiṃsā* was given paramount importance, and in this respect Gandhi does not deny the great influence that the revered Jain layperson Raychandbhai Mehta exerted on him. The emphasis that Gandhi laid on *ahiṃsā*, however, would have remained of no avail had it not been firmly rooted in an immemorial Indian tradition.

See Also Gandhi, Mohandas; Nonviolence; Saṃnyāsa.

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AHL AL-BAYT. The conception of the *ahl al-bayt*, "people of the house," "family," or "household" of the prophet Muḥammad plays a vital role in Islamic thought and piety. In the *tashahhud* portion of the ritual prayers, Muslims of all persuasions supplicate daily, "O God! Bless Muḥammad and his family *(āl)*, as you blessed Abraham and his family."

Qurʾanic prophetology is pregnant with the notion of a hallowed lineage. God's chosen messengers among the Israelites are believed to have been descended from one another, as the Qurʾān states: "Truly, God chose Adam, Noah, the family of Abraham, and the family of ʿImrān above all the worlds, offspring, one after the other" (III:33–34). The Qurʾān portrays the chosen among the families and descendants (*āl, ahl, qurbā,* and *dhurrīya*) of the prophets as supportive of the messengers during their missions and included in God's merciful protection. They are often the prophets' material and spiritual legatees, heirs with respect to kingship (*mulk*), rule (*ḥukm*), wisdom (*ḥikma*), the book (*kitāb*) and the imamate (IV:54, VI:84–91, XXIX:27, XXXVII:76–77, LVII:26).

As with the families of the previous prophets, Muḥammad's family is accorded a special status in the Qurʾān, the prophetic tradition (*ḥadīth*), and the schools of religious law. At the outset of Muḥammad's mission, God commands him: "Warn your nearest kin (*al-aqrabīn*), and lower your wing to the faithful who follow you" (XXVI:214–215). The Qurʾān also makes certain monetary considerations for the Prophet's relations (*dhīʾl-qurbā*) (VIII:41, LIX:7), and on account of the sanctified status of the prophetic family, Muslim legal practice dictates that Muḥammad and his clan not touch the alms of the community, lest such defilements (*awsākh*) pollute them. The purity of the family is most famously attested to in the verse known as *taṭhīr* (purification): "God desires only to remove impurity from you, O People of the House (*ahl al-bayt*), and to purify you completely" (XXXIII:33).

Muslim tradition, in accordance with the widely reported *ḥadīth al-kisāʾ* or *al-ʿabāʾ*, generally identifies Muḥammad himself; his daughter, Fāṭima; her husband and the cousin of the Prophet, ʿAlī; and the Prophet's two grandsons by this marriage, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, as the nucleus of the "house." Shiism also allows for the *imām*s and, in a looser sense, other righteous progeny descended from ʿAlī and Fāṭima to be accounted as part of the family, while some Sunnī reports expand the term to include the Prophet's wives or the collateral branches of his relations, such as, the ʿAbbāsids or even the Umayyads. Al-Nabhānī provides a survey of reports on who is included among the *ahl al-bayt* (*al-Sharaf al-muʿabbad li-āl Muḥammad*, Cairo, 1381/1961, pp. 10–34). It is, however, in light of the *ḥadīth al-kisāʾ* or *al-ʿabāʾ*, the "tradition of the mantle," that both Shīʿī and Sunnī commentators overwhelmingly interpret the verse of *taṭhīr.* According to this account, the Prophet wrapped himself and the other four members of his family in his mantle, solemnly declaring, "O God, these are the People of my House (*ahl baytī*)!" He then recited the Qurʾanic verse of purification. Frequently this incident is connected with the episode of *mubāhala* (mutual imprecation), which relates to the visit of a delegation of Christians from Najrān in the year 631–632. The accounts relate that there was a dispute regarding Christology and it was decided to resort to the ritual of "mutual imprecation" to decide which party was in the right, that of Muḥammad or that of the Christian delegation. Thus Muḥammad is commanded in the Qurʾān III:61: "If anyone dispute with you in this matter [concerning Jesus] after the knowledge that has come to you, say: Come, let us call our sons and your sons, our women and your women, ourselves and yourselves, then let us swear an oath and place the curse of God on those who lie." Accordingly, the five members of the *ahl al-bayt* gathered for the ritual. However, the *mubāhala* is said to have been averted when the Christian side reached a conciliation with the Prophet.

In traditions recorded in both Shīʿī and Sunnī sources, the Prophet likens his family to Noah's ark, saying: "Among you, my *ahl al-bayt* is like the Ark of Noah. Whoso embarks therein is saved and whoso lags behind is drowned." In the well-known report known as the *ḥadīth al-thaqalayn* (the tradition of the two weighty things), likewise found in both Shīʿī and Sunnī sources, he is reported to have said: "Verily, I am leaving with you two weighty things, the Book of God and my progeny, my *ahl al-bayt.* So long as you cling to these two, you will never go astray. Truly, they will not be parted from each other until they join me at the fountain [in paradise]."

In the Qurʾān XLII:23, Muḥammad is commanded to address his disciples as follows, "Say: I do not ask you for any recompense for this [the apostleship] save love for the kinsfolk (*al-qurbā*)." Here, "kinsfolk" is largely understood to be the Prophet's kinsfolk, though divergent interpretations exist as well. The general attitude is well represented in a statement of al-Shāfiʿī (d. 820), the eponymous founder of one of the four predominant Sunnī schools of jurisprudence, who is quoted as saying: "O members of the House of the Prophet, love for you is a duty to God that He has revealed in the Qurʾān. With respect to your great magnificence, it suffices to say that anyone who does not invoke blessings for you has not performed the daily prayer" (al-Nabhānī, p. 184). Along the same lines, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 765), a descendant of the Prophet and one of the Shīʿī *imām*s, declares: "Everything has a foundation, and the foundation of Islam is loving us, the Prophet's family" (Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-maḥāsin*, Najaf, 1964, p. 113). Certainly primarily Shīʿī, traditions also assign a numinous role to the family. The five family members are envisioned as beings of light, existing in pre-creation, whose names are derived from God's most beautiful names (see, for example, Furāt b. Ibrāhīm b. Furāt al-Kūfī, *Tafsīr Furāt al-Kūfī*, Najaf: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Ḥaidariyya, n.d., p. 11). Such reports provided fecund material for mystical speculation. In his Gujarati composition *Muman Chitveṇī*, for example, the fourteenth-century Ismaili sage Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn interprets this idea by describing how the Almighty placed the pole star (*quṭb*), luminous by the light of the five holy ones, in the firmament at the time of creation. Its brilliance was so overwhelming, however, that the heavens began to tremble uncontrollably. Only when the name ʿAlī was written on the corners of the universe was stability restored (*To munīvar moṭī*, Mumbai: Dhī Khojā Sindhī Chhāpākhānuṁ, 1905, p. 3).

A number of designations, roughly synonymous with the term *ahl al-bayt*, became popular in the Muslim world. In the more restrictive sense, terms such as *ahl* (or *āl*) *al-kisāʾ* (or *al-ʿabāʾ*), "the people of the mantle," or in Persian-speaking and Persian-influenced areas, *panj tan-i pāk*, "the five pure ones," are prevalent, while in the more general sense of the descendants of the Prophet, epithets such as *āl al-nabī*, *āl al-rasūl* or *āl yāsīn* are widespread.

Throughout Islamic history, the descendants of the Prophet, often styled as *sayyids* or *sharīfs*, have been the focus of particular respect. Shīʿī *imām*s, along with many Ṣūfī *shaykhs*, Sunnī political leaders and Muslim religious scholars of various persuasions, have often drawn tremendous legitimacy and authority from their illustrious descent from the Prophet. In modern times one may cite the *imām* of the Ismailis, Prince Karim Aga Khan, and the ruling families of Morocco and Jordan as cases in point. The descendants of the *ahl al-bayt* have frequently formed a distinct social class in Muslim societies, sometimes even recognizable by distinguishing forms of dress, the green turban being particularly noteworthy. At the same time, a conception exists of a spiritual *ahl al-bayt,* sometimes referred to as the *bayt al-waḥy,* "the house of prophecy," into which the devotees of the prophetic family may be initiated, while unrighteous blood relations may be excluded. Thus one has the Prophet's celebrated dictum about his Persian disciple: "Salmān is one of us, the *ahl al-bayt.*"

The theme of devotion to the members of the family has touched many aspects of Islamic piety, literature, architecture, iconography, and mystical thought through the ages. For example, the great poet ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 1492), an initiate of the Naqshbandī Ṣūfī order, declares that praise of the *ahl al-bayt* ennobles the encomiast (*Mathnawīhā-yi Haft Awrang*, Tehran, 1351 S/1972, p. 145), while Sanāʾī (d. 1121), in a section of his *Ḥadīqa*, pleads for divine pardon in the name of his love for the Prophet's kinsfolk (*Ḥadīqat al-ḥaqīqa wa sharīʿat al-ṭarīqa*, ed. Mudarris Raḍawī, Tehran, 1329 S/1950, pp. 642–643). Remarkably, domestic architecture in parts of Tajikistan and Xinjiang is centered on five columns, interpreted by the inhabitants as representative of the five purified ones of the Prophet's family. In the early twenty-first century the members of the Prophet's household continue to be celebrated in songs and invoked in prayers and are even the subjects of numerous web pages on the internet.

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Shafique N. Virani (2005)

AḤMADIYAH. The Aḥmadiyah (or Ahmadiyya) movement is a modern Muslim messianic movement, founded in 1889 in the Indian province of the Panjāb by Ghulām Aḥmad (1835–1908). Having been accused of rejecting the Muslim dogma asserting the finality of Muḥammad's prophethood, the movement aroused the fierce opposition of the Sunnī Muslim mainstream. During the period of British rule in India, the controversy was merely a doctrinal dispute between private individuals or voluntary organizations. However, when most Aḥmadīs moved in 1947 to the professedly Islamic state of Pakistan, the issue was transformed into a major constitutional problem. The Sunnī Muslim mainstream demanded the formal exclusion of the Aḥmadīs from the Muslim fold. This objective was attained in 1974, when, against the fierce opposition of the Aḥmadīs, the Pakistani parliament adopted a constitutional amendment declaring them non-Muslims. In 1984, within the framework of the general trend of Islamization in Pakistan, a presidential "Ordinance no. XX of 1984" transformed much of the religious observance of the Aḥmadiyah into a criminal offense, punishable by three years of imprisonment. The ordinance has since become an instrument of choice for the harassment and judicial persecution of the Aḥmadī community. Following its promulgation, the headquarters of the Aḥmadī movement moved from Rabwah (in Pakistan) to London.

The most distinctive—and controversial—aspect of Aḥmadī religious thought was Ghulām Aḥmad's persistent claim to be a divinely inspired religious thinker and reformer. As has often been the case with Muslim revivalist and messianic movements, the starting point of Ghulām Aḥmad's thought was the assertion that Muslim religion and society has deteriorated to a point where divinely inspired reforms were essential in order to arrest the process of decline and restore the pristine purity of Islam. The most acceptable definition of his spiritual claim from the Sunnī point of view was his declaration that Allāh made him the renewer (*mujaddid*) of Islam in the fourteenth century AH (November 12, 1882–November 20, 1979). More controversial was his claim to be the *mahdī* and the promised messiah (*masīḥ-i mawʿūd*), expected by the Muslim tradition at the end of days. Ghulām Aḥmad's identification as the *mahdī* was designed to counter the Christian and Muslim belief concerning the second coming of Jesus. According to Ghulām Aḥmad, this belief is groundless: whenever the Muslim tradition suggests this idea, it should be understood as indicating not the descent of Jesus himself, but rather that of a person similar to him (*mathīl-i ʿĪsā*). This person is Ghulām Aḥmad.

Ghulām Aḥmad's repeated assertion that Allāh called him a prophet was the most controversial formulation of his spiritual claim. Since this assertion is contrary to the Muslim belief that all prophecy came to an end with the completion of Muḥammad's mission, it brought upon Ghulām Aḥmad and his followers the most vociferous denunciations of the Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ* and was always the trump card in the hand of those who wanted to exclude the Aḥmadīs from the fold of Islam. Ghulām Aḥmad explained, however, that Muslim dogma concerning the finality of Muḥammad's prophethood relates only to prophethood of the legislative variety, the one that brings a new book and a new law. After the revelation of the Qurʾān, Allāh will never again reveal a new heavenly book, nor promulgate a new divine law. He maintained that the Qurʾān is the last book to be revealed and Muslim law will remain valid forever. However, a prophet who does not bring a new book and does not promulgate a new law may appear in the Muslim community at any time. Therefore, the appearance of Ghulām Aḥmad, who represents this kind of nonlegislative prophecy and calls for the full implementation of the Muslim *sharīʿah* and of Muḥammad's instructions, does not infringe upon the dogma of the finality of Muḥammad's prophethood (*khatm-i nubuwwat*). The Aḥmadī distinction between the two types of prophethood is probably inspired by the celebrated Muslim mystic Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1240).

Prophetology is the mainstay of Aḥmadī religious thought and is the principal reason for the controversy aroused by the Aḥmadī movement. In addition to it, the Aḥmadīs also have a distinctive interpretation of the idea of *jihād*. In their view, *jihād* should be waged in a way appropriate to the threat facing Islam. In the early Muslim period, nascent Islam was in danger of physical extinction and therefore military *jihād* was called for. In Ghulām Aḥmad's lifetime, Muslims faced the onslaught of Christian missionaries who engaged, according to Ghulām Aḥmad, in a campaign of slander and defamation against Islam and the prophet Muḥammad. In such a situation, the Muslims should respond in kind and defend Islam by preaching and refuting the slander of the Christian missionaries rather than by military *jihād*. Though this interpretation is specific to Ghulām Aḥmad's lifetime and to the situation of Indian Muslims under British rule, it came to be considered as an unchanging principle in the Aḥmadī worldview.

The Aḥmadī movement split in 1914 into two branches: the Qādiyānī and the Lāhōrī. The Qādiyānī branch stressed Ghulām Aḥmad's claim to prophethood, while the Lāhōrī one maintained that the movement's founder should be considered merely as a renewer *(mujaddid)* of Islam at the beginning of the fourteenth century AH.

The Aḥmadī movement has been unrivaled in its dedication to the propagation of its version of Islam. Aḥmadī mosques and missionary centers have been established not only on the Indian subcontinent, but also in numerous cities of the Western world, Africa, and Asia. The Aḥmadīs established an organizational framework and were able to sustain the activities of the movement against considerable odds for more than a century. The elected successors of the founder (in the Qādiyānī branch) bear the title "Successor of the Messiah" (*khalīfat al-masīḥ*). Masrūr Aḥmad, the fifth successor, assumed office on April 22, 2003, and directs the movement from London.

In its relationship with the non-Muslim world, the Aḥmadiyah has been engaged in depicting Islam as a liberal, humane, and progressive religion, systematically calumniated by non-Muslims. This aspect of Aḥmadī teaching is well in line with that of modernist Muslim thinkers, though in other matters, such as the seclusion of women and polygamy, the Aḥmadīs follow the traditional point of view. One of the most distinctive features of the movement is that the Aḥmadīs consider the peaceful propagation of their version of Islam among Muslims and non-Muslims alike as essential. In this they are persistent and unrelenting.

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AHMAD KHAN, SAYYID (1817–1898), also known on the Indian subcontinent as Sir Sayyid; educational reformer and religious thinker. He was born in Delhi on October 17, 1817, and died at Aligarh on March 27, 1898. Raised in the house of his maternal grandfather, the Mughal noble Khwājah Farīd al-Dīn Khan (1747–1828), he received the traditional education of a Delhi gentleman, reading the Qurʾān in Arabic and Saʿdī's *Gulistān* and *Bustān* and the *dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ of Shiraz in Persian, together with a smattering of works on mathematics, astronomy, and Greco-Arab medicine.

At the age of nineteen Ahmad Khan entered the judicial service of the East India Company, where he was to rise, in the course of his thirty-eight years of service, to the highest ranks then open to native Indians. From the 1840s onward he published a number of short scientific and religious works, but it was his historical scholarship, and especially his Urdu-language topographical work on Delhi, *Āthār al-ṣanādīd* (1846; rev. ed., 1852), that made him known internationally.

He always considered the British the legitimate rulers of India, but a major turning point in his life came with the failure of the Indian Revolution, known as the Mutiny of 1857. Only then did he become fully convinced that the best of Western civilization could and should be assimilated by the Muslims, because Islam, properly understood, the "pure" Islam taught by the Qurʾān and lived by the Prophet, was not simply unopposed to Western civilization but was in fact its ultimate source and inspiration. In the early 1860s, Ahmad Khan founded the Scientific Society, an association for the translation into Urdu and propagation of works of Western science and scholarship; after his visit to England in 1869–1870, these efforts led to the establishment of the Muhammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, the beginning of the first secular university for Indian Muslims.

Against considerable opposition from the *ʿulamaʾ,* as well as from members of his own class, Sir Sayyid emerged in the mid-1880s as the leader of an important sector of Indian Muslims, the majority of whom in 1887 followed his advice not to join the predominantly Hindu, middle-class Indian National Congress. Parliamentary democracy demanded active participation in the process of governmental decision making, and for lack of effective political organization among Muslims he feared that such a congress would bring about the permanent subordination of Muslims to Hindus.

Besides countless editorials and aricles for the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* and for *Tahdhīb al-akhlāq* (The Muslim Reformer), two periodicals he founded, Ahmad Khan wrote a number of important religious monographs, including *Tabyīn al-kalām* (a fragmentary commentary on the Bible in three volumes, 1862–1865), *Essays on the Life of Mohammed* (1870), and a seven-volume Urdu translation and commentary on the Qurʾān up to surah 20 (1880–1904). Most of his articles and tracts, including important parts of his Qurʾān commentary, have been reedited in sixteen volumes by M. Ismāʿīl Panīpātī in *Maqālāt-i Sar Sayyid* (Lahore, 1962–1965).

In his earliest religious writings Sayyid Ahmad Khan strives to put the person and actions of the Prophet back into the center of Muslim life, and he forcefully denounces innovation. Highly conscious of the hiatus between original Muslim practice and the contemporary reality of Indian Muslim society, he stresses the ideals that should inform a corporate Muslim life and insists on the need for an interiorized ethics of the heart. These emphases point to three major influences upon his early outlook: the Naqshbandī Mujaddidī Ṣūfī order, to which Sayyid Ahmad Khan was linked intimately by his family; the theologian, mystic, and social thinker Shāh Walī Allāh (1703–1762) and his house; and the Mujahidin movement led by Sayyid Aḥmad of Rai Bareilly (1796–1836) and Sāh Ismāʿīl (1773–1831), without the political overtones of the latter's teachings and activities, however.

The political consequences of the British crushing of the 1857 "Mutiny" led Ahmad Khan to exclude from the purview of the injunctions of the holy law the whole area of culture and society on the grounds that they were "this-worldly" and not strictly religious *(dīnī)* in character. His teaching remained opaque, however, as to which basic principles of the law—as distinguished from its elaborate prescriptions—could and should inform Muslim sociocultural life with its distinctive Islamic quality.

Sayyid Ahmad Khan not only gave single theological answers to single challenges; by going back to the sources and principles of the various Islamic religious sciences, he attempted a consistent, comprehensively valid theological response. He tried to evolve a new Muslim theology on the pattern, as he saw it, of the Muslim response to Greek philosophy and science during the Abbasid renaissance. The Christian missionary attack under the British imperial aegis, in his view, could be met by accepting and interpreting the present-day scriptures of Jews and Christians as the revealed word of God. Freed from the distortions of an erroneous dogmatic interpretation, and in the light of the uniquely clear Qurʾanic message of God's unity, the gospel of Jesus continues to be relevant.

Critical studies of Muḥammad's biography and of earliest Islam by William Muir (1819–1905) and other scholars provided Ahmad Khan with the battleground for evolving, in defensive response, ever more severe canons of external and internal *ḥadīth* criticism. Taking into account the long period of oral transmission preceding the codification of the *ḥadīth*, along with the laws of the rise and growth of legends, Sir Sayyid accepts the results of post-Newtonian natural science as established truth and uses them to justify the need for metaphorical interpretation *(taʾwīl)* of biblical and Qurʾanic texts. Contemporary and later theological critics have not failed to censure Ahmad Khan for what they consider to be philological ignorance and willfulness in scriptural interpretation.

Besides the "new sciences," the plurality of religions (each claiming the exclusive possession of final, saving truth) led Sir Sayyid to postulate reason *(ʿaql)* as the ultimate criterion of the truth. And reason, for Sir Sayyid, is nothing but the "law of nature," actually, or at least potentially, accessible in full to the human rational faculty. Any happening against the "law of nature" would mean a breach of God's promise and is thus inconceivable. Such a conviction about an all-inclusive, fully determined, and closed nexus of natural law(s) implies the negation of miracles and supernatural events as well as the rejection of traditional views regarding the efficacy of prayers of petition.

In the theologically crucial area of theological epistemology Sayyid Ahmad Khan renews the teaching of classical Muslim philosophers (*falāsifah*). The gift of prophethood, as a natural trait (*malakah*) given to a person at conception, becomes part of the predetermined system of creation and is independent of divine choice. The credibility of the Qurʾān (as of any revealed scripture) is based not on miracles but on the intrinsic value of its content, in the same way that the unsurpassed and unsurpassable greatness of Muḥammad is due to the essential nature of his teaching and to his unparalleled moral effort to spread it.

However incomplete and superficial Sayyid Ahmad Khan's acquaintance with the new sciences and with Western philosophy and historical criticism may have been, and however rash he was in accepting what he thought to be their presuppositions and lasting results, it goes to his credit that before any other Muslim he saw the necessity of a radical reappraisal of Islamic religious thought with openness to modern science, scholarship, and philosophy.

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tice and thought. He detects there rational elements and mystical components important enough to merit serious attention in any critical assessment of Sayyid Ahmad Khan's later contributions.

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AHRIMAN SEE AHURA MAZDĀ AND ANGRA MAINYU

AHURA MAZDĀ AND ANGRA MAINYU.

Ahura Mazdā (called Lord Wisdom in the Avestan [Av.] and Ōrmazd in the Pahlavi [Pahl.] texts) and Angra Mainyu (Av. Evil Spirit, Pahl. Ahreman) are the names of the two opposed primordial powers that represent good and evil in the dualism of Iran's pre-Islamic religion, Zoroastrianism. In the structural system of the oldest literature, the *Gāthās,* Angra Mainyu is the destructive force opposed not to Ahura Mazdā directly but to Spenta Mainyu, the "beneficent spirit" representing Ahura Mazdā's creative force. These creative and destructive powers form a primordial pair of mutually exclusive opposites like light and darkness. The creative force (Spenta Mainyu) is negated by the destructive one (Angra Mainyu) in the same way that Ahura Mazdā's other spiritual creations, or Bounteous Immortals (*amesha spentas*) are negated by an evil opposite: truth (*asha*) by deceit (*druj*), good mind (*vohu manah*) by evil mind (*aka manah*), and right-mindedness (*ārmaiti*) by arrogance (*tarəmaiti*). This dichotomy is also reflected in the Avestan language insofar as there are special vocabularies for the good, ahuric beings on the one hand, and for the evil, daevic ones, on the other.

Through his creative force, Spenta Mainyu, Ahura Mazdā brought forth life, while the destructive force produced non-life (Y 30.4; Y 44.7). In the Old Avestan "Worship in Seven Chapters" (*Yasna Haptanghaiti*), Ahura Mazdā is praised for creating "all that is good" (Y 37.1), and in the Gathic hymn *Yasna* 44 he is presented as the author of two manifestations of perfect life. One is spiritual and includes truth and good mind, while the other is physical, entailing such phenomena as the sun, stars, moon, earth, water, wind, clouds, plants, and the daily rhythm of light and darkness, sleep and activity, dawn, midday and night. Both spiritual and physical creations were originally made perfect, without any fault or defect, and especially free from decay and death. This positive view of a good and perfect material world is unique and of fundamental importance for Zoroastrian eschatology, for at the end of time, the physical creation will be reinstated in perfection. Both spiritual and physical life were created by Ahura Mazdā for the purpose of overcoming evil, Angra Mainyu. Apart from the distinction between spiritual and physical creation, the most salient feature of Zoroastrian doctrine is its dualistic solution to the problem of evil: the latter does not come from God but has a separate origin and is antagonistic to him and his work. All evil in the world, including deceit and death, comes from that external source.

Angra Mainyu is also opposed to Spenta Mainyu in the Younger Avesta. As observed by Herman Lommel (1930, p. 29), the two mutually antagonistic forces are presented as the originators of two opposed creations, one truthful and good, the other deceitful and evil. The two powers and their respective creations are in a constant struggle with one another. But at the end of time Spenta Mainyu will emerge victorious (Yt 13.13; Y 10.16) and Angra Mainyu will retreat "powerless" (Yt 19.96). In addition, when Zarathushtra repeats the formula "O Ahura Mazdā, most bounteous spirit, creator of the physical world, truthful one" (e.g., Yt 10.73; Yt 14.1, 14.34, 14.42; Vd 2.1 and *passim*), Spenta Mainyu functions as an epithet of Ahura Mazdā. Such a usage indicates a merger between Ahura Mazdā and his creative force.

In the cosmological myth of the Pahlavi texts, Ahreman (the Middle Persian form of Angra Mainyu) is directly opposed to Ōhrmazd (the Middle Persian form of Ahura Mazdā). The most coherent accounts of this are found in the *Bundahishn* and *Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram* and have been conveniently, though not entirely reliably, transcribed and translated by R. C. Zaehner (1955, pp. 276–321 and 339–343). According to these accounts, in the beginning Ōhrmazd existed on high in endless light, while Ahreman was abased in endless darkness, the two being separated from one another by the Void. They were thus both limitless within themselves and limited at their boundaries. Ōhrmazd, being omniscient, was aware of the existence of Ahreman, while the latter, characterized by ignorance and hindsight, did not know of his opponent.

Ōhrmazd started the course of events by bringing forth out of himself the creation in the spirit (*mēnōg*) state. When Ahreman rushed to the boundary of his darkness, he became aware of Ōhrmazd and his spiritual creation. He then crawled back into the darkness and, in order to destroy Ōhrmazd's creatures, fashioned the evil spiritual countercreation. In a preemptive move, Ōhrmazd invited Ahreman to enter an agreement according to which battle would be limited to a period of nine thousand years. Ahreman, confident that he could defeat Ōhrmazd, accepted, and from then on was bound by that contract, which he was incapable of breaking. However, as was pointed out by Shaul Shaked (1994, p. 24), the neat distinction between good and evil is blurred here, because this myth is based on the assumption that Ahreman is true to his word, an idea incompatible with the deceitful nature of evil. Thereupon, the story continues, Ōhrmazd recited the Ahunavar prayer, thus revealing to Ahreman his final defeat. Ahreman fell in stupefaction, and while he lay unconscious, Ōhrmazd created the physical (*gētīg*) world. After three thousand years, Ahreman awoke from his stupor, beheld Ōhrmazd's beautiful and perfect physical creation, and attacked it, bringing pollution, pain, illness and death into the world. Since that attack, the world has been afflicted by evil. However, this time of "mixture" (*gumezišn*) was limited to three thousand years. The birth of Zarathushtra marked the beginning of the fourth trimillennium, in the course of which three saviors are expected to arrive at intervals of one thousand years. Zarathushtra brought the Mazdā-worshiping religion to humankind, thus equipping them with the means of fighting evil successfully. This struggle is expected to be won by the third and victorious savior (*Sōšyans*), who will drive evil out of the material world. At that point, Ahreman will withdraw powerless and the world will be reinstated in perfection (*frašegird*).

While in the Avesta there is a triangular structure of Ahura Mazdā and Spenta Mainyu, on the one hand, and Angra Mainyu, on the other, in the Pahlavi texts there is a balance of two forces on each side. From a structural point of view, Ōhrmazd is opposed by Ahreman, and *spenāg mēnōg* (the Middle Persian form of Av. *spenta mainyu*) by *gannāg mēnōg,* the foul spirit, newly formed to match *spenāg mēnōg* as a negative opposite, presumably after the upgrading of Ahreman to be directly opposed to Ōhrmazd. They are contrasted with one another, for instance in *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* 1.9, "the goodness of the Holy Spirit (*spenāg mēnōg*) and the non-goodness of the Foul Spirit (*gannāg mēnōg*)." In addition, *gannāg mēnōg* is like Ahreman in denoting the opponent of Ōhrmazd, for example, "I, who am Ōhrmazd, will be the supreme ruler and the Foul Spirit (*gannāg mēnōg*) will be the ruler of nothing" (*Dādestān ī Dēnīg* 6.3). As in the Avesta, the beneficent spirit is identified with Ōhrmazd, for instance in the formula *spenāg mēnōg dādār ōhrmazd,* "the beneficent spirit, the Creator Ōhrmazd" (e.g., *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* 35.7).

While there is direct opposition between good and evil on the spiritual level, there is no such dichotomy in the material world, which was wholly good before the assault of evil. In the structural conception of Zoroastrianism, the physical creation does not have a symmetrical negative counterpart in the way that Ahura Mazdā's perfect spiritual creation does. Angra Mainyu produced a negative countercreation only on the spiritual level, not on the physical one. The reason evil is incapable of producing a material creation is given in a *Dēnkard* passage discussed by Shaul Shaked (1967, pp. 229ff.): the good, luminous *mēnōg* carries "the hot and moist power of living nature" in itself and is therefore able to become manifest in physical, *gētīg* form. In contrast, the evil, dark *mēnōg,* being the negation of life, has a "cold and dry" nature, and is therefore incapable of "reaching compounded materiality." Evil creatures such as wolves, reptiles, and "demons who rush about" are explained as "embodied creatures of luminous seed" that have been hijacked by evil *mēnōg* forms. Thus, the presence of evil in the material world is secondary and derivative, as it presupposes the ontological reality of Ahura Mazdā's material creation. The latter was devised by its creator as a battleground that evil was bound to enter as a result of its destructive nature. Evil clings to God's good physical creation in a parasitic manner and, in the words of Mary Boyce (1975, p. 201) "preys, vampire-like" on it and tries to corrupt and eventually destroy it. However, it is able to adhere only to the physical creations, not to the spiritual ones. As shown by Shaul Shaked (1971, pp. 71ff.), evil requires the physical creations to cling to in order to be present in the material world. It is for that reason that, in the Pahlavi texts, Ōhrmazd is said to exist while Ahreman does not. The connection that underlies this statement is that Ahreman exists only on the spiritual level because the physical one does not have its own evil material creation.

SEE ALSO Zurvanism.

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AHURAS. The Iranian term *ahura* ("lord") corresponds to the Vedic *asura.* Whereas in the Vedas *asura* is usually applied to Dyaus-Pitṛ ("father sky"), the Indian equivalent of the Roman Jupiter, in Iran and in the Zoroastrian tradition *ahura* is applied to three divinities: Ahura Mazdā, Mithra, and Apąm Napāt ("son of the waters"). Some scholars see Apąm Napāt as the Iranian counterpart of Varuṇa, the first of the *asura*s, and have called him *Vouruna Apąm Napāt in an attempt to reconstruct a unitary structure of three original Indo-Iranian *asura*s, with Ahura Mazdā corresponding to Asura *Medhā, Mithra to Mitra, and *Vouruna Apąm Napāt to Varuṇa Apām Napāt (Boyce, 1975). These arguments, however, are not very convincing. Other scholars suppose that at the summit of an ancient Indo-Iranian pantheon was a god called Asura, without further characterization, who survived in Iran to some extent in the Ahura Mazdā of Zarathushtra (Zoroaster), but who in India abandoned the field to Varuṇa (Hillebrandt, 1927; Gershevitch, 1964). This thesis, however, is also not certain.

In both Iran and India, the term *ahura/asura* designates a class of gods or, to be more exact, a class of ruling gods (Dumézil, 1977), but their fate on either side of the Indus was different. Whereas in India the *asura*s came to represent the most archaic divinities, against which the *deva*s, the "young" gods, asserted themselves, in Iran it was one of the *ahura*s, Ahura Mazdā, who displaced all the *daiva*s. Thus, when Zoroastrianism reached a compromise with the ancient polytheism that had originally been condemned by Zarathushtra, the other *ahura*s, such as Mithra and Apąm Napāt, were readmitted to the cult, while the *daiva*s, whose nature was bellicose and violent and who were above all warrior gods (Indra, for example), were totally demonized. It is quite likely that the *ahura*s were able to maintain their privileged position in the Zoroastrian tradition thanks to their ethical nature and to their special function as guardians of *asha* (Vedic, *ṛta*), truth and order, a fundamental concept of Indo-Iranian religions in general as well as of Zoroastrianism in particular.

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AINU RELIGION.

The Ainu are a people whose traditional homeland lay in Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin, and the Kurile islands, although their territory once included southern Kamchatka and the northern part of the main Japanese island (Honshu). Scholarly controversies over their cultural, racial, and linguistic identities remain unresolved. Their hunting-gathering way of life was discontinued with the encroachment of the Russians and the Japanese during the latter half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. Generalizations about Ainu culture or religion are dangerous to make, since not only are there a great many intracultural variations among the Ainu of each region, but differences occur within each group as well. Because the following description is aimed, as much as possible, at the common denominators, it may not fit in toto the religion of a particular Ainu group.

An important concept in the Ainu belief system is the soul. Most beings in the Ainu universe have a soul, and its presence is most conspicuous when it leaves the body of the owner. When one dreams, one's soul frees itself from the sleeping body and travels to places where one has never been. Similarly, a deceased person appears in one's dreams, since the soul of the deceased can travel from the world of the dead to visit one. During shamanistic performances the shaman's soul travels to the world of the dead in order to snatch back the soul of a dead person, thereby reviving him or her.

This belief underlies the Ainu emphasis on the proper treatment of the dead body of human beings and all other soul-owners of the universe. The belief results in elaborate funeral customs, which range from the bear ceremony to the careful treatment of fish bones (because they represent the dead body of a fish). Without proper treatment of the dead body, its soul cannot rest in peace in the world of the dead. For this reason, illnesses serve to remind the Ainu of their misconduct. Shamans are consulted in order to obtain diagnosis and treatment for these illnesses.

When a soul has been mistreated, it exercises the power to punish. The deities, in contrast, possess the power to punish or reward the Ainu at will. Interpretations among scholars as to the identity of the deities range from those proposing that nature be equated with the deities, to those finding that only certain members of the universe are deified. The differences in opinion originate in part from the Ainu's extensive use of the term *kamuy,* their word for "deity" or "deities." An important point in regard to the Ainu concept of deities is Chiri Mashio's interpretation that the Ainu consider all the animal deities to be exactly like humans in appearance and to live just like humans in their own country. The animal deities disguise themselves when visiting the Ainu world in order to bring meat and fur as presents to the Ainu, just as Ainu guests always bring gifts. In this view, then, the bear, which is generally considered the supreme deity, is but the mountain deity in disguise.

Besides the bears, the important deities or *kamuy* include foxes, owls (which are considered to be the deity of the settlement), seals, and a number of other sea and land animals and birds. The importance of each varies from region to region. In addition, the Ainu pantheon includes the fire goddess (Iresu-Huchi), the goddess of the sun and moon (in some regions they are separate deities), the dragon deity in the sky, the deity of the house, the deity of the *nusa* (the altar with *inaw* ritual sticks), the deity of the woods, and the deity of water.

Evil spirits and demons, called variously *oyasi* or *wenkamuy* ("evil deity"), constitute another group of beings in the universe who are more powerful than humans. They may exercise their destructive power by causing misfortunes such as epidemics. (The smallpox deity is an example.) While some of them have always been demons, others are beings that have turned into demons. When a soul is mistreated after the death of its owner, for example, it becomes a demon. The Ainu pay a great deal of attention to evil spirits and demons by observing religious rules and performing exorcism rites. A major theme in the Ainu epic poems treats human combat with demons. Characteristically, the deities never directly deal with the demons; rather, they extend their aid to the Ainu, if the latter behave properly.

Of all the rituals of the Ainu, the bear ceremony is by far the most elaborate. It is the only ceremony of the Ainu that occurs in all regions and that formally involves not only all the members of the settlement but those from numerous other settlements as well, thereby facilitating the flow of people and their communication among different settlements. The bear ceremony provides a significant opportunity for male elders to display their wealth, symbolizing their political power, to those from other settlements. Most importantly, from the perspective of the Ainu, the bear ceremony is a funeral ritual for the bear. Its purpose is to send the soul of the bear through a proper ritual so that the soul will be reborn as a bear and will revisit the Ainu with gifts of meat and fur.

The entire process of the bear ceremony takes at least two years and consists of three stages. The hunters capture and raise a bear cub. In the major ceremony, the bear is ritually killed and its soul is sent back to the mountains. Among the Sakhalin Ainu a secondary ceremony follows the major ceremony after several months. A bear cub, captured alive either while still in a den or while ambling with its mother upon emerging from the den, is usually raised by the Ainu for about a year and a half. At times women nurse these newborn cubs. Although the time of the ceremony differs according to the region, it is most often held in the beginning of the cold season; for the Sakhalin Ainu, it takes place just before they move from their coastal settlement to their inland settlement for the cold season.

The ceremony combines deeply religious elements with the merriment of eating, drinking, and dancing. All the participants don their finest clothing and adornments. Prayers are offered to the fire goddess and the deity of the house, but the major focus of the ceremony is on the deity of the mountains, who is believed to have sent the bear as a gift to the humans. After the bear is taken out of the "bear house," situated southwest of the host's house, the bear is killed by the Sakhalin Ainu with two pointed arrows. The Hokkaido Ainu use blunt arrows before they fatally shoot the bear with pointed arrows; then they strangle the already dead or dying bear between two logs. Male elders skin and dress the bear, which is then placed in front of the sacred altar where treasures are hung. Ainu treasures consist primarily of trade goods from the Japanese, such as swords and lacquerware. These are considered offerings to the deities and function as status symbols for the owner. After preliminary feasting outside at the altar, the Ainu bring the dissected bear into the host's house through the sacred window and continue their feast. Among the Hokkaido Ainu, the ceremony ends when the head of the bear is placed at the altar on a pole decorated with *inaw.* The elder bids a farewell prayer while shooting an arrow toward the eastern sky—an act signifying the safe departure of the deity. The Sakhalin Ainu bring the bear skull stuffed with ritual shavings, bones, eyes, and the penis, if the bear was male, to a sacred bone pile in the mountains. They also sacrifice two carefully chosen dogs, which they consider to be servant-messengers of the bear deities. Although often mistaken as a cruel act by outsiders, the bear ceremony is a ritual whereby the Ainu express their utmost respect for their deity.

Although the bear ceremony is distinctly a male ceremony, in that the officiants are male elders and the women must leave the scene when the bear is shot and skinned, shamanism is not an exclusively male vocation. Sakhalin Ainu shamanism differs considerably from that of the Hokkaido Ainu. Among the former, cultural valuation of shamanism is high; well-regarded members of the society, both men and women, may become shamans. Although shamans sometimes perform rites for divinations of various sorts and for miracle performances, by far the great majority of rites are performed for diagnosis and cure of illnesses. When shamans are possessed by spirits, they enter a trance state, and the spirit speaks through their mouths, providing the client with necessary information, such as the diagnosis and cure of the illness or the location of a missing object. Among the Hokkaido Ainu, whose shamanistic practice is not well recorded, shamans are usually women, who collectively have lower social status than men, although some male shamans are reported to have existed. The Hokkaido Ainu shaman also enters a possession trance, but she does so only if a male elder induces it in her by offering prayers to the deities. Although she too diagnoses illnesses, her function is confined to diagnosis, after which male elders take over and engage in the healing process. Male elders must, however, consult a shaman before they make important decisions for the community.

While Ainu religion is expressed in rituals as well as in such daily routines as the disposal of fish bones, nowhere is it more articulated than in their highly developed oral tradition, which is both a primary source of knowledge about the deities and a guideline for the Ainu conducts. There are at least twenty-seven native genres of oral tradition, each having a label in Ainu. They may be classified into two types: verses, either epic or lyric, sung or chanted; and prose that is narrated. While the prose in some genres is recited in the third person, the more common genre is first person narrative, in which a protagonist tells his own story through the mouth of the narrator-singer. The mythic and heroic epics are very complex and lengthy; some heroic epics have as many as fifteen thousand verses. While the mythic epics relate the activities of deities, the heroic epics concern the culture hero, sometimes called Aynu Rakkuru, who, with the aid of the deities, fought against demons to save the Ainu, thereby becoming the founder of Ainu people. Among the Hokkaido Ainu, the culture hero descended from the world of the deities in the sky and taught the Ainu their way of life, including fishing and hunting, and the rituals and rules governing human society. His marriage, told in various versions, is another prominent theme in the epics. Some scholars interpret the battles fought by the culture hero as being the battles that the Ainu fought against invading peoples.

SEE ALSO Bears.

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AION.

The trajectory of Aion extends for more than a thousand years over the whole of antiquity, from Homer to Nonnus of Panopolis. Its story has been recounted several times, and many controversial issues have been almost conclusively solved. In effect, taking part in the debate on the question of Aion has turned out to be something of an ordeal for scholars of ancient religions, for it requires them to conduct a painstaking investigation of Greek and Latin literature, ancient art, and religious topics of Greece, Rome, Egypt, Iran, Syria, and Mesopotamia. Moreover, tackling the topic of Aion entails coping with the basic tenets of the leading exponents of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* (Reitzenstein, Bousset, and Norden) and testing the methodology of four of the most prominent modern historians of religions: Franz Cumont (1868–1947), Martin Persson Nilsson (1874–1967), Raffaele Pettazzoni (1883–1959), and Arthur Darby Nock (1902–1963). Before settling this matter, it is important to survey the various meanings of the Greek word *aion*, first in common usage, then in a theological context, before the emergence in the first century CE of the throngs of *aiones* (in the latinized spelling, *aeones*) that came to inhabit the hierarchical Gnostic universe.

SEMANTIC DEVELOPMENTS OF THE TEMPORAL NOTION OF *AION* FROM HOMER UNTIL THE EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE. Semantic analysis and linguistic comparison (cf. the Vedic Agni, a life-giving god, and Latin *iuvenis*) have proven that at its birth in the Indo-European crucible and in its early usage by Homer, *aion* meant "life," in the sense of "vitality" or "life-fluid" (also "spinal marrow" in medical texts). After Homer the physical, nontemporal value fades out and persists only in epic diction up to Nonnus of Panopolis, the poet who in the fifth century CE competes with the Homeric archetype to build up a living theology out of dead deities.

In the Greek literature of the classical age, *aion* predominantly assumes the meaning of "life" in all its nuances, from the "lifetime" to the "lifestyle" of an individual human being. A collective reference ("generation" or "age") is also found, altogether with the more impersonal significance of "time," in competition with *chronos*, but in the narrower sense of "period of time." However, at the same time and especially in Heraclitus and Pindar, it assumes mystical nuances (in connection with the Orphic tradition) converging in the spheres of *daimon* and *moira* (fate). Only Plato, either influenced by the Persian opposition between Zurvan *akarana* (time boundless) and Zurvan *daregho-chvadhata* (time of the long dominion) or simply prompted by his linguistic and mythopoeic genius, in *Timaeus* (37d–38c) confers a fundamental shift on Aion's semantic history. The demiurge creates sensible time (*chronos*) as a moving image of eternity (*aion*) immovable in the eternal present. Consequently, Aion becomes the idea of time, which is Platonically the heavenly model of earthly time, whereas for Aristotle, *aion* is transformed into the "immortal and divine" life of Heaven, lasting in eternal duration more than in an eternal present and almost identified with heaven. Philo of Alexandria weaves Plato's intuition and Aristotle's vision into a distinctly theological pattern. Aion is the *bios* of God and of the *kosmos noetos* living in an eternal present. Another devoted follower of Plato transfers his master's intuition onto an even more metaphysical level: for Plutarch, God, who does not exist in time (*chronos*), has his only real existence in eternity (*aion*), an unmoving and nontemporal state.

In Jewish and early Christian texts (especially the New Testament and the pseudo-Clementine *Homiliae*), the usage of *aion* with the sense of eternity alternates with the seemingly antithetical usage of *aion* meaning "segment of time," that is, "age." This segment of time may coincide with "the past," with "the present age" (*ho aion outos*), or with "the age to come" (*ho aion mellon*). The doctrine of the two *aeones,* the present one being dominated by the devil-kosmokrator and nearing its end, and the one to come, which is imminent and will fulfill the messianic promises of perfection, is rooted in Jewish apocalypticism. After being hinted at in the Synoptics and in Paul, this doctrine is fully developed in the pseudo-Clementine *Homiliae* with such overtly dualistic features that they seem to echo the Persian dualistic conception of the two successive kingdoms, the first in the hands of the evil Ahriman and the second under the power of the good Ōhrmazd.

AION AS COSMIC GOD. Finally, in the Hellenistic age Aion becomes a cosmic god popular in various mysterio-sophical circles and sometimes an object of a sort of henotheistic cult. As regards the character of this cult prior to the explosion of the single Aion into the *aiones* of Gnosticism, we have very little information. With respect to visual documents, the Mithraic leontocephaline, which had already been identified with Aion by G. Zoega and was later associated with Zurvan by Franz Cumont and, finally, with Ahriman by F. Legge, only vaguely reflects the personality of Aion as a cosmic god of eternity. As regards the other monuments commonly referred to the cosmic god Aion because of the presence of the wheel of the zodiac and/or of the entwined serpent, only the elderly bearded figures appearing in mosaics and reliefs dating from the end of the first century BCE up to the sixth century CE are identified by epigraphs as representations of the god Aion. Other well-known images of a youthful, cosmic god in the zodiac refer to other deities. Only a few of the coins circulated by the Roman emperors to advertise the happiness of their empire as a sign of the renewal of time and the universe can be reliably referred to the cult of Aion (see the pieces where Aion appears surrounded by the *ouroboros* or holding the Phoenix). A telling, even if nonanthropomorphic image, of aionic time eternally revolving is that of the *ouroboros*, the serpent biting its own tail. From literary evidence and inscriptions on the magical papyri and the so-called Gnostic gems, we learn that this icon, undoubtedly Egyptian in origin, was widely conceived as a fitting and living symbol of Aion. Very little can be deduced about the cult of the god Aion in Alexandria during the Hellenistic age from the celebrated passage of Epiphanius (*Panarion* 51. 22. 9–11) concerning the Aion generated by the Virgin on the night of January 5–6. It is likely that the cult of the Alexandrine Aion witnessed by the heresiologist is only a late syncretistic fruit of an indigenous cult of Osiris in special relation to the Egyptian notion of eternity (*Nhh*) as the everlasting renewal of life out of death. In Eleusis during the reign of Augustus three Roman brothers dedicated a statue of Aion "for the might of Rome and the persistence of the mysteries." This dedication shows that in the first century BCE Aion was conceived of as a personal divine entity with its own iconography, which conferred a concrete and tangible nuance to a symbol that had, until then, only been expressed through philosophical images.

In the second century CE the Nubian town of Talmis was the center for a henotheistic cult of the local deity Mandulis, which does not necessarily mean that it was a primary place of worship to the god Aion. The worshiper who had a beatific vision of his god and expressed thanksgiving in an inscription praised Mandulis as "The Sun, the all-seeing King of the universe and omnipotent Eternity (*Aion pantokrator*)." The Nubian god is identified with the Greek Helios and is endowed with the attributes of omniscience, omnipotence, and eternity. Aion appears not as another well-defined Greek deity but simply as a feature of the Sun God.

Aion plays a prominent role in the liturgies of the magical papyri, documents containing extremely heterogeneous material from the first centuries CE. Appearing roughly twenty times in the magical papyri, Aion is compared to Helios four times and, more rarely, to other deities belonging to the solar sphere: Apollo, Agathos Daimon, or the Egyptian god Ra. It is predominantly a personal god, in particular the supreme cosmic deity, the lord of the world (*kosmokrator* or *pantokrator*), but also the First Father, invisible and self-generated, above whom there is no one. As such, in order to distinguish the god from other *aiones* or lesser deities, a superlative circumlocution of clear Semitic origin is used to define him as "God of the gods," "God of the aiones," "unique and blessed among the aiones," "Aion of the aiones," and "king and lord of the aiones."

The same conception is clearly expressed in the *Oracula Chaldaica.* Aion is defined as the "light issuing from the Father," who draws on the Father's force to dispense intelligence (*nous*) to the lower beings, endowing them with a sort of perpetual motion. The Father or the Supreme Principle is thus conceived of as an agglomeration of light (a Sun) from which a luminous particle detaches as a *deuteros theos* to illuminate and oversee the activities of the lower world. Likewise, in an oracle of the *Theosophy of Tübingen* the various gods of the cult are merely particles of the all-embracing god and his angels. In this text the supreme Aion and the various *aiones* seem to hint at the Gnostic doctrine of the *aiones* in terms that can be traced back to an Orphico-Platonic matrix.

In the *Corpus Hermeticum* the theology of Aion appears as one of the mainstays of the whole system. Right from the beginning Aion appears as the front-line physical and metaphysical principle immediately after the Supreme God: "God makes Aion, Aion makes the heaven-world, the heaven-world makes time (*chronos*), time makes the *genesis*" (*C.H.* XI. 2). Finally, as Aion is spatially and temporally infinite, it becomes the archetype, the objective of mystic-ascetic practices. Clearly, in this context Aion is not simply an abstract concept (eternity or infinite space) but an active principle, the strength (*dynamis*) or wisdom (*sophia*) of God, the Soul of the World. In other words, in the Hermetic system Aion plays the role of the "Second God" (*deuteros theos*), the intermediary between the highest, unfathomable god and the world. That is to say, it plays the same role that in other Stoic and Middle Platonic contexts is played by Logos, Sophia, by a god called *deuteros* or *demiourgos*, by a personalised *pneuma.* These entities act in a hierarchical system with three (or five) levels in which the second god modeled on or by the first god is, in turn, the model for the third god identified in the cosmos.

***AION* AND *AIONES* IN GNOSTICISM.** In the Gnostic mental universe, the *aiones* are the bricks of which the higher reality is built, the only reality that per se exists eternally and of which the lower world is merely a dim shadow. From the beginning this higher reality has been a compact whole, a solitary thought reflecting onto itself. At a certain point, it is broken down into a graded series of cosmic entities, the *aiones*, which bear the sign of the primary principle from which they sprung while remaining fatally inferior to it.

The term *aiones* first appears many times in the Gnostic treatises of Nag Hammadi, indicating an undefined number of spatial segments making up the noetic and pneumatic invisible and eternal world. In his heresiological transcription, Irenaeus uses the singular *incorruptibilis Aeon* to designate the higher world formed of all the *aiones* together as it is conceived of by the Gnostics mentioned in the *Adversus Haereses.* The term *aiones* is also frequently used in several Gnostic treatises to indicate a certain number of spatial entities conceived of as segments of the intellectual cosmos, which are diversified and stratified and also endowed with a specific personality (symbols of the mental functions). In the Sethian writings Aion appears in the singular almost exclusively to indicate the entity closest to the unfathomable Father, Barbelo, the self-generated and thrice male *aion.* More rarely, *aiones* may be used to indicate lower realities existing outside the pleroma. It would appear then that *aiones* can also be applied to the archons, basically "demons," from the court of the evil god Ialdabaoth, just as it normally identifies the category of spiritual beings created from the Supreme God, basically "angels."

The current contraposition between *aiones* as the hypostasis of the higher reality and angels as creatures of the inferior god in some texts becomes so tenuous as to disappear altogether. In view of this semantic fluidity, it is no wonder that when Epiphanius had to give names to the seven sons of Ialdabaoth who combine to mold the first man Adam, he defined them as "aiones or gods or angels." The Gnostic *aiones*, being the intermediaries between the transcendent world and the earthly world, perform a function that essentially coincides with that of the angels, the mediators between god and the cosmos in the Jewish conception that underlies Christian and Islamic angelology.

The semantic shift of *aion/aiones* from the context of time to that of space, which was already latent in both pagan and Christian Hellenistic literature, becomes a fait accompli in Gnostic scriptures, even if the temporal nuance of *aion* is not completely lost. Likewise, for the Gnostics eternity is the essential characteristic of the great Aion and his descendants, the lesser *aiones,* are merely entitled to the crumbs of this inheritance of eternity, in a spatial dimension, as they are nothing more than shadows or images of the greater *aion.*

In conclusion, the tendency of Gnostic mythopoeia to give form to abstract entities by attributing them with a concrete personality perhaps underlies the extensive speculation on the *aiones*, which are at one and the same time fragments of duration and the characters of a mythical drama halfway between the real and the symbolic. The shift from the One to the multiple, from time to space, therefore seems to stem from a process within Gnostic thought itself instead of being the result of a sort of artificial insemination in Persian or Egyptian test tubes.

SEE ALSO Eternity; Gnosticism; Hellenistic Religions; Lions; Sacred Time; Snakes; Zurvanism.

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AIRYANA VAĒJAH. According to Zoroastrian belief, Airyana Vaējah (Av.), or Ērān-vēz (MPers.), is the name of the homeland of followers of the Good Religion. In Iranian cosmology Airyana Vaējah is found at the center of the world, in the central region known as Khvaniratha, the first of the seven parts *(karshvar)* into which the earth is divided. Airyana Vaējah is the setting for the principal events of Zoroastrian sacred history: the history of Gayō-maretan, the first human; of Gav-aēvō-dāta, the uniquely created bull; of Yima, the first king; and later of Zarathushtra (Zoroaster) himself.

Although Airyana Vaējah (lit., "the Aryan expanse") is of a mythical and legendary nature, attempts have been made to assign it a definite location. During the Sasanid period, for instance, it was thought to be in Azerbaijan, the area from which Zarathushtra was believed to have originated. More recently, some scholars have maintained that the original Airyana Vaējah must be placed in Khorezm, but this thesis is supported only by tenuous arguments. It is probable that at the time of Zarathushtra, Airyana Vaējah corresponded, in the minds of Iranian tribesmen, to the region that they actually occupied: the Hindu Kush or the area immediately south of it, which is part of the *Airyō-shayana,* the "seat of the Airya," mentioned in the Avestan hymn to Mithra (*Yashts* 10.13–14).

Airyana Vaējah was first and foremost the home of Zarathushtra and his religion. It was accordingly the best of all lands. The first chapter of the *Vendidad* places it first in the list of the sixteen lands that were created by Ahura Mazdā and that were threatened by the countercreation of Angra Mainyu. In this text its mythical nature is evident. The fact that a cold winter in Airyana Vaējah is said to last ten months is to be explained by the mountainous nature of the land of legend and not, as some have maintained (Marquart, 1901), by the climate of Khorezm.

SEE ALSO Iranian Religions.

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Translated from Italian by Roger DeGaris

ʿĀʾISHAH BINT ABĪ BAKR (d. AH 59/678 CE), child bride of the prophet Muḥammad and daughter of the first Islamic caliph, Abū Bakr. ʿAʾishah was born in Mecca several years before the community's emigration from Mecca to Medina in AH 1/622 CE. She was the second in the series of women whom Muḥammad married after the death of his first wife, Khadījah. Although the marriage was doubtless constructed to strengthen the alliance between the Prophet and his early supporter, Abū Bakr, ʿAʾishah soon became a favorite of her husband. Tales of his delight in her abound. In childhood, she spread her toys before him, and it was in her quarters that he chose to die and requested that his body be buried.

Before and after Muḥammad's death in 632, ʿAʾishah was involved, either deliberately or inadvertently, in actions of political consequence. The first was a result of youthful thoughtlessness that precipitated a crisis of honor in the Prophet's house. ʿAʾishah had accompanied her husband on his campaign against the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq in 628, when she was about fifteen years of age. During one of the stops on the return journey to Medina she went in search of a misplaced necklace and so lost herself in this quest that she failed to notice the caravan's departure. Eventually she was found by the caravan's young rear-guard scout, Ṣafwān ibn al-Muʿaṭṭal. The scandal occasioned by her return journey alone with this male escort was eagerly fed by Muḥammad's rivals and enemies. Even among the Prophet's supporters, there were those, such as his son-in-law, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, who urged him to divorce her. (Traditional historians date the cause of ʿAʾishah's resistance against ʿAlī's eventual caliphate to this intervention.) A Qurʾanic revelation (24:11–20) finally exonerated ʿAʾishah and set the legal bounds for any charge of adultery: henceforth, those unable to produce four witnesses to such a charge would themselves be punished. (Both Sunnī and Shīʿī commentators trace the occasion of this revelation to the episode involving ʿAʾishah.)

In the years following the Prophet's death her political activism was, at times, pronounced. Left a childless widow before she was twenty, ʿAʾishah was prevented from making another marital alliance by a Qurʾanic injunction against the remarriage of Muḥammad's wives (33:53). However, both as a widow of the Prophet and as a daughter of his first successor, the caliph Abū Bakr, ʿAʾishah was a woman of considerable prominence in the early Muslim community. She used this prominence to further the growing opposition to the third caliph, ʿUthmān. ʿAʾishah's role in the events that culminated in his assassination is debated. In an effort to exculpate her of any direct role, many historians stress her absence from Medina at the time of the caliph's death. When ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, for whom her enmity was long-standing, assumed the caliphate, ʿAʾishah joined two of the Prophet's early supporters, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, in armed opposition to him. Ostensibly to avenge the murder of ʿUthmān, they gathered forces in Basra (southern Iraq) and met ʿAlī in battle in December 656. ʿAlī defeated his opponents, but ʿAʾishah's camel-drawn litter, around which intense fighting raged, was immortalized in the name by which historians came to refer to this event, the Battle of the Camel.

In the two decades that passed from the time of this engagement until her death, ʿAʾishah lived in relative obscurity in Medina, only occasionally emerging into the light of history. Her memory remains alive in the Muslim community in the many anecdotes about her and in the hundreds of *ḥadīths* for which she was a transmitter.

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ĀJĪVIKAS, or Ājīvakas, an Indian heterodox sect, founded in the sixth century BCE by Makkhali Gosāla, an approximate contemporary of the Buddha, on the basis of earlier groups of unorthodox ascetics. After a period of popularity, the sect lost ground in northern India, but survived in the south until the fourteenth century or later.

THE FOUNDER. Makkhali Gosāla figures in the Pali scriptures of Theravāda Buddhism as one of six heterodox teachers frequently mentioned together as successful founders of ascetic orders. Also among these is Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, described under the Pali name Nigantha Nātaputta. In Buddhist Sanskrit sources, Gosāla is mentioned under the name Maskarin Gośālīputra, in the context of the six ascetics. The Śvetāmbara Jaina scriptures record his name as Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta. The Jain *Bhagavatī Sūtra* is our main source for the story of his association with Mahāvīra. Parts of this account are much elaborated by the later commentator Jinadāsa Gaṇī in his commentary (Skt., *cūrṇī*) to the *Āvaśyaka Sūtra.* From this it appears that Gosāla, a young ascetic of doubtful antecedents, encountered Mahāvīra when the latter had been an ascetic for two years. The pair spent some seven years together, wandering over the Ganges valley, after which they parted company. Then, after six months of severe penance, Gosāla is said to have acquired supernatural powers, and to have proclaimed himself a "conqueror" (*jina*, a title also given to Mahāvīra).

It appears that Gosāla quickly gained a following among many nondescript ascetics who were already known as Ājīvikas, probably implying that they took lifelong (*ājīvat*) vows. His base was the then-important city of Sāvatthi (Skt., Śrāvastī), near Ayodhyā in central Uttar Pradesh, where he made his headquarters in the workshop of a lay disciple, the potter woman Hālāhalā. Some sixteen years later, he died in the same place. According to the *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, his death took place following a confrontation with Mahāvīra, after which he contracted a high fever and became delirious, but it appears that his own followers declared that he had ended his life by voluntary starvation resulting from a penance of six months' duration. Shortly before his death he is said to have had a conference with his six leading disciples, at which the Ājīvika scriptures were codified. The date of his death cannot be determined exactly, but it appears to have occurred a year or two before the death of the Buddha, approximately 484 BCE.

THE ĀJĪVIKA ASCETIC ORDER. The naked monks who followed Gosāla appear to have subjected themselves to rigorous and painful penances. The initiation into the Ājīvika order involved pulling out the hair by the roots and grasping a heated lump, presumably of metal. Its members established regular meeting places (*sabhā*) in various towns of the Ganges plain. They seem to have been in demand among the laity as prognosticators, and they were credited with magical powers. The Ājīvika order also enlisted women ascetics, but they are only mentioned in passing and we know nothing about them. As with the Buddhists and Jains, it appears that their most important supporters were wealthy merchants and their families. The Ājīvika monks were frequently accused by their rivals of sexual laxity, and of eating large and sumptuous meals in private to compensate for their public penance and fasting. We have no means of discovering whether these accusations had any truth in them, or whether they were mere products of *odium theologicum.* The fact, however, that both the Buddhists and the Jains looked on the Ājīvikas as their most dangerous rivals is a measure of the popularity of the latter, particularly in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, when the traditions of the heterodox sects of India were taking shape.

The Ājīvika ascetics often ended their lives voluntarily with a penance lasting six months, during which their intake of food and drink was gradually reduced until they died of hunger and thirst. This practice has something in common with the *sallekhanā* of the Jain monks, and was evidently not carried out in every case.

In the period of the Mauryan empire (fourth to second centuries BCE), or at least during the reign of Aśoka, the Ājīvikas appear to have been particularly influential in the Ganges Plain. In his Seventh Pillar Edict, Aśoka ranks them third, after the Buddhists and Brahmans, in a list of religious groups that he patronized, and before the Jains and "various other sects." This list probably represents the order of merit in the eyes of the king. The importance and popularity of the Ājīvikas at this time may also be gauged from the fact that they were the recipients of a number of artificial caves, about fifteen miles north of Gaya in modern Bihar, not far from the scene of the Buddha's enlightenment. In the Barabar Hills, two caves contain inscriptions stating that they were given to the Ājīvikas in the twelfth year after Aśoka's consecration, and a similar inscription states that a third cave was dedicated in his nineteenth year. A fourth cave, adorned with an impressive facade, contains no inscription, but appears to belong to the same period. In the nearby Nagarjuni Hill, there are three similar caves, with inscriptions to the effect that they were dedicated to the Ājīvikas as shelters during the rainy season by King Daśaratha, one of Aśoka's successors, immediately after his consecration as king—a sure indication of his favor. Taken together, these caves and inscriptions form an impressive record of the importance of the Ājīvikas at the time. The caves are probably the oldest excavations of their kind for the use of ascetics in the whole of India. Although they are not very large, their internal walls are so brilliantly polished that enough light is reflected through the low entrances to make it possible to read a newspaper with ease. These, however, are the only significant archaeological remains of the Ājīvikas to have survived.

After the Mauryan period, the Ājīvikas lost ground and, with the exception of the Tamil sources mentioned below, only a few passing references to them occur in later literature. South Indian evidence, however, shows that they survived there until the fourteenth century. Among the numerous inscriptions recording the transference of village taxes for the upkeep of local temples, at least seventeen mention the Ājīvikas, in most cases in connection with a special Ājīvika tax, presumably paid by lay Ājīvikas. This indicates that they were not looked on with favor by the local government authorities, and were at a disadvantage in comparison with the more orthodox sects, though the tax does not appear to have been heavy. Of these inscriptions, the greatest concentration is found in Karnataka state to the east and northeast of Bangalore, and in the Kolar district of Tamil Nadu. The presence of Ājīvikas is attested as far north as the district of Guntur, just south of the Krishna River in Andhra Pradesh, and as far south as Kilur, about forty miles inland from Pondicherry.

Three important Tamil religiophilosophical texts, *Maṇimēkalai*, *Nīlakēśi*, and *Śivajñānasiddhiyar*, composed by Buddhists, Jains, and Śaivites respectively, contain outlines of Ājīvika doctrines. The most useful and informative of these is *Nīlakēśi*, probably written in the ninth century

CE. In this text the heroine Nilakesi visits a number of teachers one after the other in search of the truth. Among these are the Buddha himself and Pūraṇaṉ, the leader of the Ājīvikas, a figure of great dignity dwelling in a hermitage adorned with fragrant flowers. Probably the latest surviving evidence of the Ājīvikas is to be found in the astrological text *Jātaka-pārijāta*, written toward the latter part of the fifteenth century by Vaidyanatha Dīkṣita.

DOCTRINES OF THE ĀJĪVIKAS. The teachings of Makkhali Gosāla are summarized in this passage from the Buddhist *Dīgha Nikāya:*

> There is neither cause nor basis for the sins of living beings; they become sinful without cause or basis. Neither is there cause or basis for the purity of living beings; they become pure without cause or basis. There is no deed performed by oneself or others, no human action, no strength, no courage, no human endurance or human prowess [that can affect one's future, in this life or in later ones]. All beings, all that have breath, all that are born, all that have life, are without power, strength and virtue, but are developed by destiny, chance and nature, and experience joy and sorrow in the six classes [of existence]. . . . There are . . . 8,400,000 great *kalpa*s through which fool and wise alike will take their course and [ultimately] make an end of sorrow. There is no question of bringing unripe *karma* to fruition, nor of exhausting *karma* already ripened, by virtuous conduct, by vows, by penance, or by chastity. That cannot be done. *Saṃsāra* is measured as with a bushel, with its joy and sorrow and its appointed end. It can neither be lessened nor increased, nor is there any excess or deficiency of it. Just as a ball of thread will, when thrown, unwind to its full length, so fool and wise alike will take their course, and make an end of sorrow. (*Dīgha Nikāya*, vol. 1, pp. 53–54)

This eloquent passage makes clear the fundamental principle of Ājīvika philosophy, namely *niyati*, usually translated as "fate" or "destiny." The Ājīvikas were, in fact, fatalists and determinists. Buddhism, Jainism, and orthodox Hinduism, on the other hand, all emphasize the power of human effort (*puruṣakāra*) to affect human destiny. This proposition Gosāla and his followers categorically denied. Every being is impelled by *niyati* to pass through immense cycles of birth, death and rebirth, according to a rigidly fixed order until, in his last birth, he becomes an Ājīvika monk, dies after a long final penance, and enters a state which the Ājīvikas appear to have called *nirvāṉa*. Probably the Ājīvikas, like the Jains but unlike the Buddhists, believed that the final state of bliss was to be found in the complete isolation of the soul from matter and from other souls.

In any case, they believed that free will was an illusion. The criminal might imagine that he consciously chose to rob and murder, and the pious believer might think that he gave up the world and became an ascetic of his own free will; in fact, the power of *niyati* left only one course open to them. This doctrine of *niyati* seems to have been developed by the South Indian Ājīvikas into a theory suggesting that of Parmenides, that the universe was, on final analysis, completely static. "Though we may speak of moments," says the Ājīvika teacher Pūraṇaṉ in *Nīlakēśi*, "there is really no time at all." This doctrine was known as *avicalita-nityatvam*, or "unmoving permanence."

The cosmology of the Ājīvikas was evidently very complex, but it is impossible to interpret accurately the ambiguous and obscure phrases referring to this in the texts. The Ājīvikas certainly postulated an immensely large universe, which passed through an immense number of time cycles. Each soul (*jīva*) was bound to transmigrate through eighty-four *lākh*s (1 *lākh* = 100,000) of such cycles before reaching its inevitable goal of release from transmigration. For the southern Ājīvikas, however, even this desirable goal might not be final, for it appears that only a few souls were fated to remain in bliss for all eternity; the rest achieved only "cyclic release" (*maṇḍala-mokṣa*), and were ultimately compelled to return to the world and begin another cycle of transmigration.

The southern Ājīvikas appear to have absorbed the doctrine of seven atomic substances attributed by the Buddhists to another contemporary of the Buddha, Pakudha Kaccāyana. These seven substances are earth, water, fire, air, joy, sorrow, and life. According to the Pali version of Pakudha's doctrine, these seven are uncreated and unchanging, "as firm as mountains, as stable as pillars." The Tamil *Maṇimēkalai*, however, states in its treatment of Ājīvika doctrine that the atoms combine to form molecules in fixed proportions. The soul was also atomic, in the sense that it could not be divided, but in its natural disembodied state it is said to be of immense size, 500 leagues (*yojana*) in extent.

There are indications that some of the South Indian Ājīvikas made a kind of divinity out of their founder Makkhali Gosāla, called in Tamil Maṟkali; he has become a god (*tēvaṉ*) who, according to the text *Nīlakēśi*, occasionally descends to earth to stimulate the faith of his followers. For this school of Ājīvikas, the earthly teacher of the sect is Pūraṇaṉ, evidently the same as Pūraṇa Kassapa, another of the six heterodox teachers of the Pali scriptures.

Thus it appears that, at the end of their existence, one school of Ājīvikas was assimilating its teaching to that of the devotional Vaiṣṇavas, while another, closer to the original teaching of Gosāla, was slowly absorbed by the Digambara Jains. No definite survivals of Ajivikism can be traced in any branch of modern Indian religious life, but it is possible that echoes of Ājīvika determinism may be heard in some of the gnomic wisdom of South India, for instance: "Though a man exert himself over and over again, he still only gets what comes on the appointed day."

SEE ALSO Gosāla.

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A. L. BASHAM (1987)

AKAN RELIGION.

The Akan are a cluster of peoples numbering some five to six million, most of whom speak a language known as Twi. They occupy the mainly forested region of southern Ghana and the eastern Ivory Coast and include the coastal Fanti to the south. They are divided into over a dozen independent kingdoms, the best known of which is the Ashanti (Asante) kingdom whose capital city is Kumasi in central Ghana.

Most Akan are forest dwellers, with yams and other root crops as staples; plantains, oil palms, and other trees are important. Cocoa, palm oil, gold, and timber have long been the main exports, producing a high standard of living. The pattern of settlement is based upon towns, each town being the seat of a king or chief. Village farms are set between the towns.

The Akan are divided into eight matrilineal clans (*abusua*), branches of which are dispersed across all the Akan kingdoms; in theory exogamous, the clans are neither corporate nor political units. The local branches of clans are divided into matrilineal lineages or *houses*, the basic property-owning residential and domestic groups. Across this matrilineal organization runs that of patrilines, noncorporate groups known as *ntoro* among the Ashanti; in most areas these groupings are today of far less importance than in the past.

The Akan believe that each human being is composed of three main elements: blood (*mogya*), deriving from the matrilineal clan and giving formal social status; character, or personality, from the patriline; and soul (*kra*), which comes from God and is one's formal destiny (*nkrabea*). A spiritual bond is thought to exist between a father and his child; the *sunsum* (spirit) of the father is said to provide strength and protection from spiritual attack or danger for his child. There is a certain amount of confusion and contradiction about the meaning of the terms *sunsum* and *kra* but it is certain that they are not synonymous. The *kra* is the permanent component of the living person. It is set free to return to the land of the ancestors only after death, though it may temporarily leave during sleep or severe illness. Usually the *kra* is protective; if a person recovers from illness or an accident he may give offerings to his *kra* in order to express gratitude for his purification and ensure further prosperity. In such a rite, he will generally be accompanied by a child who shares the same *kra* day, that is, who was born on the same day of the week (those born on the same day of the week are said to have the same *kra*). A person cannot change his own destiny, though it is believed that witches and other jealous persons may try to attack a person's soul.

The Akan peoples have long been in contact with Muslims from the Sahara, but the religious impact of Islam has been rather slight. They were affected by European colonial powers moving inland from the coast from the fifteenth century onward, and by Christian missionaries from the early nineteenth century. The colonial impact was powerful, fueled especially by the desire for gold and slaves. But despite the colonial penetration, and prolonged exposure to different economic, political, educational, and religious influences, the traditional religions of the Akan peoples have persisted strongly up through the contemporary era. Although there are wide variations among the Akan kingdoms, there are many similarities in cosmology and religious practice. Mobility of whole segments of population and of ritual shrines and individual worshipers has brought about many common religious features throughout the region.

Akan religion has few important myths other than the one that explains the split between God and humankind. In this myth the supreme being, Nyame, became annoyed by the noise made by an Ashanti woman who was pounding *fufu* (mashed and pounded yams or plantains) in a wooden mortar, and he withdrew far away from humankind as a result. Another version attributes his withdrawal to the fact that the Ashanti have *fufu*-pounding sticks that are extremely long; when the women made *fufu*, the ends of their sticks hit Nyame up there in the sky, and so he went farther and farther away. There are also clan myths explaining their separate origins and thousands of proverbs and aphorisms suffused with religious referents.

HIGH GOD.

The supreme being, known as Nyame, Onyankopon, Odomankama, and other names, is said to be omniscient and omnipotent, the creator of all the world, and the giver of rain and sunshine. Born on Saturday, both he and Asase Yaa, the Thursday-born Goddess of the Earth, are formally appealed to in all prayers, although in general, it is the ancestors and deities who mediate between God and humans. Nearly all Ashanti houses formerly had a small shrine dedicated to Nyame in the form of a pot placed in the fork of a certain tree (*Nyame dua,* God's tree). Similarly shaped shrines are also found in other Akan kingdoms, though presently only in the more remote villages; there, however, the bowl in the forked God's tree usually contains a protective *suman* of one kind or another (see below).

ANCESTORS. The ancestors (*asaman* or *asamanfo*) live together in a place variously said to be beyond a high mountain or across a river. They are believed to know what the living do on earth and may help those in need, or punish strife or wrong-doing by causing illness or even death. The ancestors of the departed heads of an ordinary lineage watch over and support members of that lineage; those of the chiefly lineage do so for both the royal lineage and for the members of the entire town.

Black stools, which are blackened with blood and other matter, function as shrines that act as temporary resting places for the ancestral spirits of a particular matrilineage when they are summoned during rituals. (Ancestors can be contacted anywhere at any time.) Royal and nonroyal black stools are similar in appearance and function; the former, however, are considered more sacred and powerful. Black stools are kept in a special stool-house within the family compound or palace. There are very elaborate funeral ceremonies for chiefs including secondary funerary observances and, formerly, mass human sacrifices.

Libations may be poured at any time by anyone to inform the ancestors of important events, but the black stool is the responsibility of the head of the lineage. Usually the royal black stools are cared for by officials who are not members of the royal lineage but are related to the king through the patriline. There are no mediums (*okomfo*) for the ancestors, though individuals do occasionally become possessed by them.

The year is divided into nine ritual units (each of forty-two days), the first day of each being called *adae.* At *adae* some deities are celebrated and ancestors are venerated through the black stool which is cleansed and then anointed. All Akan kingdoms have an annual celebration, called *Apo* or *Odwira*, among other names. A complex festival, Apo consists of a number of ritual actions including purification of the accumulated sins and defilement of the previous year, anointment of the shrines of the deities and the ancestral black stools, celebration of the first-fruits (whence the name Yam Festival), and the renewal of the power of the king and thus the kingdom.

THE DEITIES. The Akan distinguish between two main kinds of deity: *abosom* (sg., *obosom*) and *asuman* (sg., *suman*). While essentially the same kind of power, the former are said to be large and personalized, the latter small and not personalized. Nevertheless, an *obosom* perceived to be weak may come to be classified as a *suman* and vice versa. There are also thought to be small forest beings with backward feet (*mmoatia*) and terrifying giants (*sasabonsam*).

There are hundreds of *abosom*; they may be invoked individually or as a group. They are said to be the children of God or God's messengers, and are identified with lakes, rivers, rocks, and other natural objects. Generally they are thought able to cure illness and social problems, reveal witches, and witness the truth of an event; at the same time they are dangerous to deal with because of their destructive powers and capricious ways. They are free-ranging but can be temporarily located in shrines in the form of clay pots of water, cloth-wrapped bundles, or mounds of sacred ingredients inside a brass pan. Ritual specialists who own a deity are called *osofo* or *obosomfo.* There are also mediums (*okomfo*) who become possessed by a deity and, whether priest or priestess, are considered to be its wife.

Asuman are human-made objects in which mystical power resides. They range from small non-personalized amulets that contain magical powers in themselves, to more personalized ones that resemble *abosom.* In general, *asuman* are lower in the hierarchy of deities than are *abosom* and act as their messengers. They are appealed to for day-to-day problems, and their powers are said to be more specific than those of *abosom.*

The popularity of a particular deity will rise and fall. If it does not produce results or if a shrine official dies and is not replaced, there will be a loss of patrons and the shrine will be called dry. Powerful deities, on the other hand, may attract adherents across great distances. *Aduru* refers to both Western medicine and to herbal remedies. No offerings are made to *aduru*, and they are not personalized. While there is clarity of classification in the terminology used for these entities (*abosom*, *asuman*, and *aduru*), in practice there is much overlapping and ambiguity.

In all Akan societies disease, infertility, and untimely death are of central importance. Herbalists are consulted for specific ailments and broken bones, but since illness generally involves the total moral person and is not simply seen as a physical condition, mediums are consulted to discover if the illness or repeated deaths in one family are caused by an ancestor, deity, or by other means. People of high status are especially worried about being poisoned by bad medicine. Witches are said to be mostly women who work in covens in the spiritual world; it is believed that they attack only members of their own families.

CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM. Over the past century many anti-witchcraft movements have appeared and spread. Most notable was the Abirewa movement in the early twentieth century, followed more recently by the Tigare and other movements from the north. New Christian movements also rise and fall, attracting large numbers of followers who concurrently attend mainstream Protestant or Catholic churches (as opposed to Pentecostal or Spiritualist churches) or are adherents of traditional religious deities.

The growing influence of Christianity in the south (linked often with the expansion of Western education, cocoa production, and trade), and of Islam in the north have weakened active participation in *abosom* and *asuman* movements, and the latter have in some cases faded with the deaths of older practitioners. The law courts are now replacing the *abosom* shrines for the resolution of conflicts. Beliefs in ancestors, linked as they are to the matrilineage and to kingship, are more tenacious. It must be stressed that in no case has Christianity replaced traditional religion; rather the two coexist side by side in a complex and uneasy relationship. Because Christianity is linked in most kingdoms to education and, therefore, to wealth, it has become the prestige religion. Traditional religion continues because for most people it is perceived to be the most efficacious system of belief, one that continues to endow the world with meaning. Traditional deities are still perceived by many to be powerful and thus to affect people's moral behavior, while traditional rituals of many kinds are still deemed to be necessary. Kings, chiefs, and most palace and clan officials adhere to traditional religious practices as part of their formal political-religious roles. This is likely to continue so long as the kingship is retained even though some of the rites are condemned by the Christian churches.

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Michelle Gilbert (1987)
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AKBAR (1542–1605), emperor of India in the Timurid, or Mughal, dynasty. He was born on October 15, 1542, in Umarkot, Sind, where his father, Humayun, had fled after being driven from Delhi, his capital, by his Afghan rivals. Akbar was proclaimed emperor in 1556 under the tutelage of his father's military commander, Bairam Khan, but by 1560 had succeeded in asserting his own power. His reign is one of the most memorable periods of Indian history not only because of his creation of a powerful empire but also because of his apotheosis as the ideal Indian ruler. This image of Akbar owes much to the literary genius of Abū al-Faẓl ʿAllami, his trusted friend, administrator, and biographer, as well as to the admiration of the nineteenth-century British rulers, who viewed him as their own precursor as the unifier of India. Later, Indian nationalists saw him as the great exemplar of social and religious toleration, which they believed necessary for a democratic, independent India.

Akbar was a ruler of intelligence, ambition, and restless curiosity, who exhibited great skill in selecting and controlling his officials. Very early he seems to have determined to build a strong, centralized administration, while pursuing an aggressive policy of territorial expansion. His famous definition of a king, as "a light emanating from God, a ray from the world-illuminating sun," indicates his conception of his role.

Throughout his reign, Akbar was engaged in warfare with neighboring kingdoms. As soon as the central territories around Delhi and Agra were secured, he moved south and east. In 1568, he captured Chitor, a famous stronghold of the Rajput chiefs, champions of Hinduism in North India. In subsequent battles other Rajput princes submitted to him. After defeating the Rajputs, Akbar took them into his service as generals and administrators and took many of their daughters into his royal harem. His marriage alliances with these Hindu princesses have often been interpreted as signs of his religious toleration, but they were more likely acknowledgments of the submission of the Rajputs.

After the Rajput conquest, Akbar defeated the wealthy Muslim kingdom of Gujarat in 1573, and in 1575 the Muslim ruler of Bengal submitted. In all areas, frequent uprisings by military leaders against Akbar were a reminder that Mughal power was dependent on continued assertion of central authority.

It was this need for centralized control that led Akbar to reorganize the bureaucratic structure of his empire and to reform the revenue system. He built upon the work of his predecessors, particularly Sher Shah (r. 1538–1545), in carrying out new land assessments and in bringing as much territory as possible under the direct control of imperial authority.

Akbar's religious policies have been the subject of much controversy, leading to his being regarded as an apostate to Islam, a near convert to Christianity, the inventor of a new religion, and a liberal exponent of toleration. The truth seems to be that in his genuine curiosity about religion he encouraged all varieties of religious practitioners, including Hindu *yogin*s and Muslim *fakīrs* as well as European Jesuits who visited his court. On the other hand, it was probably a concern for the unity of his empire that led him to abolish *jizyah,* the discriminatory tax on non-Muslims. Badāʿūnī, a contemporary historian, while he denounced Akbar as an apostate, says that he spent whole nights in praise of God and would be found "many a morning alone in prayer and meditation in a lonely spot."

Discussions of Akbar's attitude toward orthodox Islam have centered mainly on two incidents. One was his acceptance, in 1579, of a declaration by some major Islamic theologians stating that he, as a just ruler, could, in the case of disputes between *mujtāhid*s (interpreters of Islamic law), decide which was the correct interpretation. Although orthodox Islamic theologians denounced his action, it was not a denial of Islamic practice, but rather an assertion of his sovereignty and his near equality with the caliph of the Ottoman empire.

The other incident was Akbar's promulgation in 1582 of the *Dīn-i-ilāhī* (The divine faith), a syncretic statement that owed much to the Ṣūfī tradition of Islam as well as to Hinduism and Zoroastrianism. Emphasizing the union of the soul with the divine, it insisted on such ethical precepts as almsgiving, chastity, vegetarianism, and kindness to all. Elsewhere, Akbar indicated that he believed in the transmigration of souls.

For orthodox Muslims, the *Dīn-i-ilāhī* made clear that Akbar intended to replace Islam with his own heresy, but in fact there is no evidence that it had any followers outside his immediate entourage. It is possible, however, that he dreamed of the "divine faith" becoming the possession of all men, thus ending "the diversity of sects and creeds" that, he once complained, was the source of strife in his kingdom.

Akbar died at Agra on October 3, 1605. His court, one of the most magnificent in the world, was a center of culture and the arts. The great Mughal achievements in painting and architecture had their beginning in his time, and music, poetry, and calligraphy were encouraged. The measure of his importance in Indian history is that the cultural achievements of his age along with his administrative structures continued to characterize the Mughal dynasty for over two centuries, even in its long period of decline in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and remained a model for later rulers.

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AKHENATON (or Akhenaten) was the tenth pharaoh of Egypt's eighteenth dynasty (c. 1352–1336 BCE) and the founder of the earliest historically documented monotheistic religion. Son of Amenhotep III and the chief queen, Tiya, Akhenaton succeeded to the throne as Amenhotep IV and took a throne name meaning "the sun's ultimate perfection, unique one of the sun," reflecting the traditional Egyptian belief that the pharaoh derived his physical being, as well as his authority, from the sun god, ruler of the world. Marriage to his chief queen, Nefertiti, produced six daughters, the first and third of whom, Meritaton and Ankhesenpaaton, were to play important roles at the end of his reign and during its aftermath. In addition, a minor queen, Kiya, gave him another daughter, whose name is not known, and Akhenaton may also have fathered, by one or both queens, the two men who eventually succeeded him as the pharaohs Smenkhkare and Tutankhamen.

At the time of Akhenaton's accession, Egypt's most important deity was Amun, "king of the gods," whose chief cult center lay in the state temples of Karnak and Luxor at Thebes (modern Luxor). Amun was worshiped as the transcendental creator, existing independently of the world he had created; this characteristic is encapsulated in his name, which means "hidden." Throughout the eighteenth dynasty, Egyptian theologians wrestled with the problem of reconciling Amun's primordial and transcendent nature with the traditional Egyptian concept of the gods as the elements and forces of the world's daily existence. Their primary solution to the difficulty was the combined god Amun-Re, representing Amun as manifest and active in the created world through its major force, the sun (the Egyptian word *Re*, also used as a name of the sun god, means "sun"). This process of combining two or more gods into a single deity, known as *syncretism*, was embedded in Egyptian thought. It reflected the realization that different gods could be understood both as independent entities and as complementary manifestations of a single, larger force—in essence, much the same as the Christian concept of the Trinity.

EARLY RULE. Akhenaton's original name, Amenhotep, means "Amun is content," and the king began his reign by honoring Amun-Re on royal monuments, as his predecessors had done. Akhenaton's earliest known project, however, was a monument erected in Karnak not for Amun-Re but for a separate form of the sun god under a new name: "Harakhti, who becomes active from the Akhet in his identity as the light that is in the Aton." Harakhti, meaning "Horus of the Akhet," was one of the traditional Egyptian gods, the sun viewed as king of nature, rising into the world from the Akhet, the liminal zone between the netherworld, where

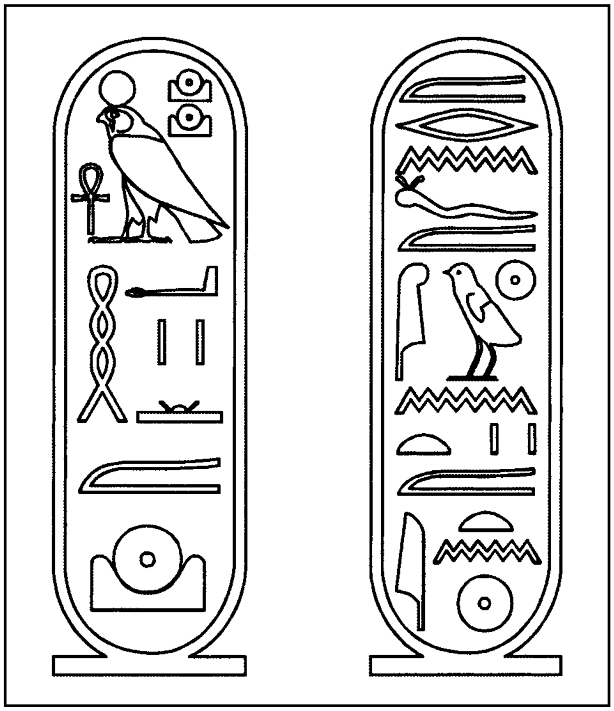

FIGURE 1. The early form of the "didactic" name (left: "The living one, *Harakhti*, who becomes active from the *Akhet*"; right: "in his identity as the light that is in the Aton"). *Drawing by J. Allen.*

the sun was thought to go at night, and the visible horizon. The remainder of the new name identified the sun's power of kingship (Horus) as the light emanating from the solar disk itself: the word *Aton,* meaning "sundisk," referred to the physical form of the sun, visible in the sky—and depicted in Egyptian art—as a disk.

The new god's name is unlike those of other Egyptian deities; it represents not so much an appellation as the manifesto of a new creed (Egyptologists commonly refer to it as the "didactic" name). Through it, Akhenaton, who identified himself as chief priest of the new god, promulgated an innovation in Egyptian theology: recognition of the physical phenomenon of light—which in ancient Egypt meant essentially sunlight—as the primary force in the universe. This concept was further emphasized by another early innovation, enclosing the god's name in a pair of oval rings, known as *cartouches,* like those surrounding two of the king's own names (see figure 1). The new god was now overtly identified as king of the universe, ruling in consort with Akhenaton as king of the living.

Early depictions of the god were modeled on traditional representations of Harakhti, symbolic images of a human body with the head of a falcon (emblem of the god Horus) bearing a sundisk. These were soon superseded, however, by a new image: that of the Aton, a solar disk with its rays extending toward earth, giving the symbol of life to the king and his family (see figure 2). Because Akhenaton's inscriptions also frequently refer to the god as "the Aton" rather than by his full didactic name, his theology has often been misunderstood as a form of sun worship. As the full didactic name makes clear, however, Akhenaton saw the Aton merely as the vehicle through which the god manifested himself in the world. Like the traditional representations of Harakhti and other Egyptian gods, the image of the Aton in Akhenaton's art was not meant to be understood literally as a depiction of the god: instead, the solar disk with its rays is nothing more than a large-scale version of the Egyptian hieroglyph for "light."

The first promulgations of Akhenaton's new theology appeared on monuments erected in Karnak. This was the chief religious center in Egypt, but it was also home to Amun-Re, "king of the gods." Akhenaton's early activities were thus a direct assault on the primacy of Amun-Re. Political considerations undoubtedly played a part in Akhenaton's policies: through the benefactions of Akhenaton's predecessors, Karnak had become an establishment whose wealth and influence rivaled that of the royal family. But Akhenaton's actions were not guided alone, or even primarily, by politics. Egyptian religion was not merely a set of beliefs but the way in which all Egyptians understood the world around them and by which they governed and interpreted their own actions. Akhenaton's new theology was first and foremost a religious revolution.

THE MOVE TO AMARNA. The second stage in this revolution occurred in Akhenaton's fifth year on the throne. Abandoning the religious center of Karnak and the seat of government at Memphis (south of modern Cairo), the king founded a new capital city on virgin land in Middle Egypt to serve as both his residence and the center of worship for his new god. The site today is known as Amarna, a name that is also used to refer to the period of Akhenaton's rule and its artistic and intellectual manifestations. Akhenaton called the new city Akhetaton, meaning "place where the Aton becomes effective." Coincident with its founding, the king changed his own name from Amenhotep to Akhenaton, which means either "he who is effective for the Aton" or "the effective form of the Aton."

As far as is known, the king spent the remainder of his seventeen-year rule within Amarna. The new city gave Akhenaton the opportunity to develop his theology and intellectual vision free of associations with Karnak or any other religious establishment. Amarna witnessed the flowering of Akhenaton's innovations not only in religion but also in architecture and art. One of these made it possible to build the new city in the space of only a few years: in place of the monumental stone blocks of traditional Egyptian architecture, which required teams of workers to maneuver and dress, Akhenaton's builders employed smaller blocks that could be handled by a single man. Known today as *talatat,* these blocks were eventually decorated with reliefs in a new style of art, to modern eyes more naturalistic than the traditional Egyptian hieroglyphic style.

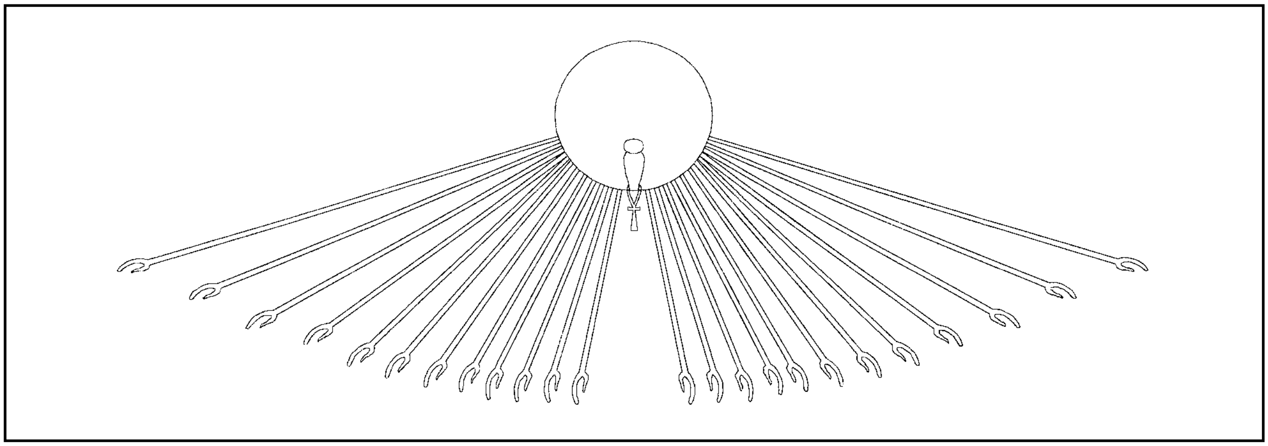

FIGURE 2. The Aton. *Drawing by J. Allen.*

Like all his innovations, Akhenaton's art and architecture were developed in the service of his new theology. They emphasized the natural world, enlivened by the power of light. Previous Egyptian temples consisted of forests of columns and dark, mysterious sanctuaries; Akhenaton's were open and airy, unroofed so as to be bathed in light. In place of the divine figures that pervaded traditional Egyptian reliefs, Amarna's monuments were decorated with scenes of nature and everyday life; private stelae and even tomb walls showed the king and his family not in heroic poses but in intimate and tender interaction with one another—all under the central hieroglyphic icon of the Aton, image of light.

The new style, however, was not entirely free of the conventions of traditional art, and one of these, employed in representations of Akhenaton and his family, has led to misplaced speculation about the king's health. The royal family was depicted in somewhat exaggerated form, with elongated heads, thin necks and waists, and large thighs. In the conventions of Egyptian art, such images were normally used for those outside the sphere of elite society: in Amarna art they reflect not physical reality but the status of the royal family as "other," unlike common human beings.

THE END OF AKHENATON'S REIGN. Amarna also witnessed the onset of the third and final stage of Akhenaton's religious revolution. Throughout his reign, the king had tolerated—and early in it, even honored—traditional Egyptian gods, though their names and images were soon banished from official reliefs. Sometime after his eleventh year of rule, however, Akhenaton's policies became more rigid. Teams were sent throughout the country to remove Amun's name and the plural word "gods" from all monuments. At the same time, the name of Akhenaton's own god was altered by replacing the name of Harakhti with "the sun," changing the word for "light" to a more neutral synonym without other divine associations, and emending the phrase "that is in the Aton" to "that comes through the Aton" (see figure 3). Besides "purifying" the name from all reference to older gods, these changes made it even clearer that the Aton was merely the god's vehicle and not the god himself.

Akhenaton seems to have died in his seventeenth year of rule. Toward the end of his reign he appointed a coregent—probably his eldest daughter, Meritaton—to rule as joint pharaoh. She may have succeeded him directly but was soon replaced by her husband, Smenkhkare. After a year or less, Smenkhkare was succeeded by his younger brother, Tutankhaton, who was married to Akhenaton's third daughter, Ankhesenpaaton. The new couple soon changed their names to Tutankhamun (or Tutankhamen) and Ankhesenamun (honoring Amun), left Amarna, and restored the traditional religion.

Tutankhamen reopened the temples and appointed all new priesthoods—the latter action an indication that his policies were not dictated by the older hierarchy. Rather than repudiate Akhenaton's theology, Tutankhamen evidently tried to integrate it into the traditionally open structure of Egyptian religion, judging by one of the thrones from his tomb, which shows him and his wife, with their new names, under the symbol of the Aton. Later kings were less lenient. Beginning with Haremhab, Tutankhamen's second successor and last king of the eighteenth dynasty, they tore down Akhenaton's monuments, defaced the royal family's names and images, and removed all the kings between Amenhotep III and Haremhab from the official register of pharaohs. Whenever it was necessary to refer to Akhenaton, he was simply called "the heretic of Akhetaton."

THE NATURE OF AKHENATON'S RELIGION. Because Akhenaton's monuments were systematically destroyed, much is still unknown about his revolution, and the significance of the evidence that has survived is often hotly debated. One of the chief points of contention is the monotheistic nature of Akhenaton's theology. With its practice of syncretism, Egyptian theology had theoretically been open to the notion of a single god behind the multiple gods of its traditional polytheism. Evidence in fact exists that some theologians had

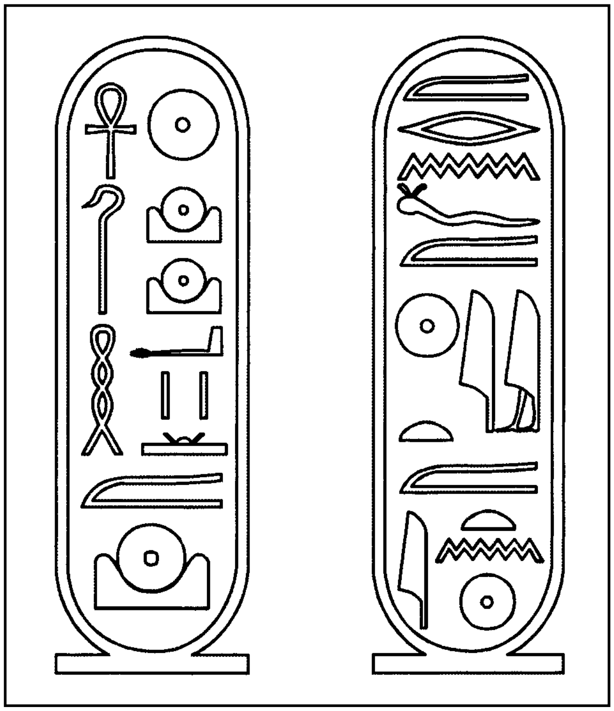

FIGURE 3. The later form of the "didactic" name (left: "The living one, the sun, who becomes active from the Akhet"; right: "in his identity as the light that comes through the Aton"). *Drawing by J. Allen.*

discovered such a notion long before Akhenaton: essays on ethics from the Middle Kingdom (c. 1980–1780 BCE), for example, routinely use the generic term *god* instead of the name of a specific deity; since the language of these essays has no articles, this term can mean "a god," "the god," or simply "God."

Such a notion was consonant with traditional Egyptian theology, which accepted different views of divinity as equally valid (reflected, for example, in the multitude of names for the sun god). In this intellectual atmosphere, Akhenaton's new god could easily have been accommodated within the structure of Egyptian theology. Akhenaton insisted on the sole reality of his god—"unique, with no other except him," as his texts declare. Other gods had previously been given similar descriptions, but without exclusivity. Given the intellectual background from which it arose, Akhenaton's innovation was not so much the notion of a single god but his ultimate insistence on the exclusive validity of his vision. This feature qualifies Akhenaton's religion as a true monotheism. Diametrically opposed to traditional Egyptian thinking, it was probably also one of the prime factors leading to the religion's rejection by later generations.

Apart from its monotheistic nature, however, Akhenaton's theology had little in common with that of later monotheistic religions from the same part of the world. Its god was a force of nature—light—and was dependent on an element of nature—the sun—for its presence and activity in the world, far different from the transcendent sole god of Judaism and Islam. For this reason it is probably specious to speculate—as Sigmund Freud did, for example—on the possible influence of Akhenaton's thought on early Hebrew religion. With its focus on the ultimate reality of a single physical phenomenon, Akhenaton's theology has more in common with early Greek philosophy than with biblical monotheism. Like the physical elements of Greek philosophy, Akhenaton's deity is also less a personal god than a force of nature: where the traditional Egyptian gods were often shown as replying to human worship and prayer, Amarna texts and reliefs depict the Aton being adored and beseeched but never as responding in return.

The history of Jewish and Islamic monotheism, and that of Christianity as well, is marked not only by their adherents' insistence on the exclusive validity of their theology, but also by their attempt to destroy the manifestations, if not the practice, of other religions. In this too, Akhenaton's religion qualifies as truly monotheistic. His attempt to destroy the images of Amun and the notion of more than one god is the first historically documented instance of religious fanaticism.

REVELATION. Besides being the earliest recorded monotheism, Akhenaton's theology is also the first example of a revealed religion. The hymn to his god says: "there is no other who knows you except for your son, The Sun's Ultimate Perfection, Unique One of the Sun [Akhenaton's throne name], whom you have made aware of your designs and your strength." Other texts emphasize that the new religion is Akhenaton's own teaching. His courtiers say: "My lord has taught me, that I might carry out his teaching" and "How fortunate is the one who hears your teaching of life." From these and similar texts, it is clear that the new religion was revealed to Akhenaton alone. Akhenaton was the sole prophet of his new religion, just as Muḥammad and Joseph Smith were to be millennia later. Like the religions of these later prophets, Akhenaton's was also a secondary religion, one that arose in repudiation of existing beliefs.

The dominant role of the pharaoh in Egyptian society might suggest that Akhenaton's religion was imposed on his subjects and that they were forced to go along with it, even unwillingly, because he was king and his word was law. There is probably a certain amount of truth to this view. Akhenaton's religion was centered on the worship of light, but it also emphasized the divinity of the king himself—in contrast to the normal Egyptian belief that the king was the human vehicle of a divine power. One of his reliefs shows that Akhenaton himself had a priest, like traditional Egyptian gods but unlike any other pharaoh. While Akhenaton worshiped his god, other Egyptians were meant to worship not only the god but also Akhenaton himself, as the god's avatar on earth. In contrast to traditional Egyptian art, Amarna reliefs consistently show his subjects bowing low in Akhenaton's presence. The same reliefs often show the royal family surrounded by a military escort, as if in tacit recognition of possible resistance to the pharaoh's policies.

Nevertheless, it would be erroneous to conclude that the Egyptians tolerated Akhenaton's reforms only because of his position. Ancient Egypt was always ruled by one or two powerful families, and the king was their representative. He governed with their support, and if they did not share his views they could depose him: there is evidence that this happened several times in Egyptian history. It seems much more likely that Akhenaton's revelation initially swept up many of his countrymen in its enthusiasm, as history has shown with other new systems of belief—for example, in the birth of Islam, or more recently in the rise of Communism and Nazism. At first, many Egyptians were probably excited by the new vision of Akhenaton's theology and embraced it wholeheartedly.

History has also shown, however, how movements that start as enlightenment can turn to fanaticism and repression, and the same pattern is documented at Amarna—again, for the first time in history. This, in turn, usually gives rise to social unrest and disorder, and the Egyptian record indicates that this is what occurred at the end of Akhenaton's reign. In Egyptian eyes, the pharaoh's chief responsibility was the maintenance of peace and order, a concept known as *Maat*. Conversely, the absence of Maat was viewed as a sign that the king's authority was no longer legitimate. This was particularly significant in the reign of Akhenaton, who advertised himself as "living in Maat." With the new religion already on shaky ground in its opposition to traditional Egyptian thought, the disruption of Egyptian life at the end of Akhenaton's reign inevitably marked his ideas as antithetical to Maat, ultimately condemning them to the status of heresy.

SEE ALSO Monotheism.

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JAMES P. ALLEN (2005)

AKITU. Akitu was an important Babylonian temple, located just outside the city, where the annual procession celebrating the New Year took place. The festival of the same name was celebrated in the first few days of the month of Nisan, which marked the beginning of the New Year.

The Babylonian chronicles of the first millennium include statements such as the following regarding the great Nebuchadrezzar II, who conquered Jerusalem: "In the month of April he took Bel and the son of Bel by the hand and celebrated the feast of Akitu." The following statement with the opposite meaning refers to Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, overthrown by Cyrus the Great: "The king did not come to Babylon in the month of April, Nabu did not come to Babylon. Bel did not leave in procession. The feast of Akitu was not celebrated" (Falkenstein, 1947, p. 147). These passages reveal the importance the Babylonians attached to the celebration of the New Year, which began in April.

THE FESTIVAL. There is no doubt that for Babylonian society the feast of Akitu, named after the temple whose doors opened once at the beginning of every year, represented not only a moment of joyous celebration but also a particular moment for reflection upon their institutions, without which the New Year would begin inauspiciously. The text concerning the ritual, which is unfortunately fragmentary, indicates that the celebrations lasted eleven days, culminating with the procession of the statues of Marduk, the Babylonian supreme god, and Nabu, his son and the god of wisdom. These statues left the city temple Esagila and proceeded along the so-called Street of the Procession, its walls covered with multicolored enamel tiles, passing through the marvelous Gate of Ishtar. They sailed along the river to the temple of Akitu outside Babylon. The ritual texts describe all the ceremonies that took place during the eleven days of the celebrations, which occupied the priests day and night. Most concern the purification of the temple and its furnishings with incantations, prayers, and ablutions.

The high point was the arrival of the statue of Nabu by boat from its home city of Borsippa to take part in the procession and then the introduction of the Babylonian sovereign into the Esagila temple in order "to take the hand of Bel and his son Nabu" (Farber, 1987, p. 225). The two quotations at the beginning of this article lead to the conclusion that there was a direct link between royal legitimacy and the feast of Akitu. It seems that the festival could only be celebrated if the sovereign was present. This is certainly a limited interpretation of the action of "taking the hand of the god," however. The fact that the Assyrian kings, who aspired to the Babylonian crown, emphasized in their inscriptions that they had taken part in the festival and taken the hand of the god tends to support that this act legitimized power in Babylon.

Besides this institutional aspect, there is another equally relevant point. The sovereign, upon being introduced to the temple, was stripped of all his royal insignia, slapped, and made to kneel in front of the statue, where he recited the following confession:

> I have not failed, Lord of these lands, I have not been negligent regarding thy majesty; I have done no harm to Babylon; I have not ordained its destruction; I have not made the Esagila quake, nor have I neglected its rites; I have not smote the people who are under thy protection; I have done nothing that would make it subject to mockery; I have taken care of Babylon, I have not destroyed its walls! (Farber, 1987, p. 215)

This penitential recitation sets out the duties of the Babylonian sovereign: he must be respectful of the gods and be the careful shepherd of his people. Only after he recited these words did the sovereign once again put on his robes and receive the symbols of royal power. At this moment he was allowed to take the hands of the god Bel and the god Nabu and start the procession. When they reached the temple of Akitu, the god Marduk addressed the sovereign and his sacred city with this eagerly awaited blessing: "If you will take due care of my majesty and you will protect my people, the year now beginning will be a year of plenty for Babylon!" (Farber, 1987, p. 226). The New Year began with the procession and the final blessing, but only if the king was present at Babylon and the statue of Marduk was taken in procession were the omens for the New Year truly favorable.

INTERPRETATIONS. One further point, which certainly does not please all scholars of comparative religion and religious historians generally, who have been prone to compare the ritual of the feast of Akitu and another mythological text concerning Marduk, in which he descends to the underworld and is mistreated by the powers there before he rises to life again. Luigi Cagni collected accounts of all the theories advanced by scholars regarding the interpretation of this extremely interesting document, which has been called "Supposed 'Death' and 'Resurrection' of Marduk." Is this the description of a rite that could be compared to the death and resurrection of Christ, however distantly? The interest in such a topic by biblical scholars as well as by Orientalists and Assyriologists is understandable. In his account, Cagni quotes the views of scholars from 1918 to 1955, from Heinrich Zimmern (1862–1931) to Mario Theodoro De Liagre Böhl. The former put forward a comparison between Marduk and Jesus Christ, whereas the latter established the historical setting in which the text was written, namely the Assyria of Sennacherib, and the parodistic nature of the text itself. Cagni then proceeded to the theory of Wolfram von Soden, who categorically denied the possibility that the document implies Marduk's resurrection and instead considered it a work of parody or propaganda composed in the reign of Sennacherib, just as De Liagre Böhl proposed.

Cagni rejected von Soden's theory and put forward a mythico-cultural interpretation of the document without drawing any parallel with the death and resurrection of Christ. The text talks of the imprisonment of Marduk, which Belet-Babili and Nabu constantly seek to end. Silvia M. Chiodi (1995) showed that the death is the equivalent of a state of imprisonment, starting from a passage in the *Epic of Gilgamesh.*

As far as the end of the text is concerned, Cagni drew the following conclusion: "After detailing the apparent entry of the gods into battle against Marduk, who is shut behind the *birru* gate, the text stops at this point and is deliberately silent regarding the outcome of the struggle. If the aim of the text were political, as suggested by von Soden, it seems strange that Sennacherib's theologians, had they reached this point in the story, would have failed to mention the 'annihilation' of the power of Marduk. Nor would it have been particularly difficult for them to devise a suitable means to convey this, in a kind of anti–*Enuma Elish*" (Cagni, 1982, p. 612).

Initial studies of Babylonian civilization from about the middle of the twentieth century regarded this myth as an integral part of the ritual celebrating the New Year, but subsequent research has shown that no relation exists between the two texts. The ritual is a stand-alone text, and the myth of the suffering Marduk has no connection with the New Year celebrations. The only common aspect of the two ceremonies is the slapping: in the New Year festival the king was slapped, while in the myth the god was slapped. However, the slap the king received was meant as an act of both penitence and encouragement. The conclusion of the ritual text is interesting. The slap received by the king had to be hard enough to cause him physical pain and make him weep. Only if the king wept would the god Marduk look favorably upon his people. On such occasions, rich offerings were made to the god Marduk, as king Nabonidus confirmed: "In the month of Nisan, on the tenth day, the day on which the king of the gods, Marduk, and the gods of heaven and earth come to the E-siskur, the 'house of prayer,' in the Akitu temple of the Lord of Justice, I brought there 6,021 minas of silver, 307 minas of gold, in addition to the annual gifts, taken from votive offerings, from the wealth of the land, from the produce of the mountains, from the taxes on the villages, from the wealth of the king, from the riches which the god Marduk has bestowed upon me" (Falkenstein, 1959, p. 150).

Although the most famous festival of Akitu was held at Babylon, it should not be forgotten that Akitu was also celebrated in other cities, such as Uruk and, in Assyria, Ashur and Nineveh. The fact that the tradition is much older is shown by evidence in Sumerian documents that there were already festivals of Akitu in the pre-Sargonid period at Lagash and during the third dynasty at Ur, when it was linked to the same royal dynasty and was celebrated twice a year at Gaesh, a village near Ur. From a ritual rediscovered in Uruk it is clear that the celebration of Akitu took place twice a year, in the month of Nisan and also in the month of Tishrit. Almost nothing is known of the festival in Assyria because of a lack of relevant rituals.

The *Enuma elish* poem links the institution of kingship with the divine world. The dream of Babylon, of being the cultural and spiritual center of Mesopotamia, the overwhelming logic of which pervades the poem, became reality. A new star, the most resplendent, appeared in the mythological Mesopotamian sky. Henceforth he was recognized as the supreme god of the Babylonians and Assyrians, and in the divine Babylonian world he was known to the Greeks by his name Bel, which means "Lord." Marduk was indeed the preeminent Lord, the ruler of the gods, and Babylon was his only home. The Babylonians had no intention of forgetting their cultural heritage and celebrated the triumph of Marduk every year in the festival of the New Year. This festival, undoubtedly the most important of Babylonian festivals, could only take place in the presence of the legitimate sovereign, who led the procession after he had "taken the hand" of Bel and Nabu. The deep significance of this act, which many Assyrian kings would have willingly undertaken but were prevented from doing by the sacred defenders of authentic Babylonian tradition, is beyond question. Only a legitimate king of Babylon could take the hand of the god, so the festival was not celebrated if the king was absent.

Among the various rites of the festival, two are particularly significant. First was the annual consecration of the sovereign, subject to the penitential act followed by the slap. Second, the high priest twice raised the tablets on which the poem *Enuma elish* was written, which emphasized the direct link between the festival of the New Year and the celebration of Marduk as the supreme god of the Mesopotamian pantheon. The feast of the New Year marked the commemoration of the apotheosis of Marduk because of his victory over Tiamat and the creation of the cosmos—heaven and earth—culminating in the construction of Babylon.

These small indications clarify the central role occupied by Babylon, with its god Marduk, regarding the nation's royal line. The Babylonian sovereign ruled insofar as he was chosen by Marduk, who was made lord of the gods by the assembly of the gods. So the Babylonian king was the vicarious substitute of Marduk, not an absolute despot like the Assyrian king. Thus it is significant that in his inscriptions Nebuchadrezzar often called himself not "the king of Babylon" but "the governor of Babylon."

SEE ALSO Dying and Rising Gods; Enuma Elish; Marduk.

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GIOVANNI PETTINATO (2005)
Translated from Italian by Paul Ellis

AKIVA BEN JOSEPH SEE ʿAQIVAʾ BEN YOSEF

AKKADIAN RELIGION SEE MESOPOTAMIAN RELIGIONS

AKSAKOV, IVAN (1823–1886), Russian publicist, Slavophile, and pan-Slavist. Aksakov had a mixed career as civil servant, banker, and journalist. He accepted with all other Slavophiles that religion was the decisive factor in the shaping of a nation and that the essence of Russian national life (*narodnostʾ*) was inseparably bound up with Orthodoxy. But he was painfully aware that Orthodoxy labored under manifold constraints in his milieu; as a convinced church member he campaigned in a cogent and constructive manner for their diminution. He regretted the bureaucratization of the Russian church administration and the subjugation (often subservience) of the clergy to the state that was its result, if not its cause. Aksakov's journalism was inhibited by an official ban on his work as editor (1853). Nevertheless, he contributed regularly to such publications as *Moskovskii sbornik* (1846–1847, 1852), *Russkaia beseda* (1858–1860), and *Denʾ* (1860–1865).

Aksakov was less religiously oriented than the early Slavophiles. He also differed from them in his cautious appraisal of the Russian peasant (in his opinion, hardly the paragon of humility and faith as usually depicted). At the same time, he went beyond them in eventually projecting a historiographical (pan-Slavic) scheme in which the Russian people—not least because of their Orthodox heritage—would play a central role in the development (initially, the liberation) of other Slavic nations. The West, he believed, was seriously inhibited and undermined by its adherence to other creeds, whether Catholic or Protestant. Least favored of all, and viewed as renegades, were Slavic nations with a loyalty to Rome (notably Poland).

Aksakov raised funds for a Russian expeditionary force to aid the Serbs against the Turks (1876) and effectively promoted Russia's entry into war "for the faith of Christ" and in support of the Bulgarians (1877). In the aftermath of the Bulgarian episode, the climax of his career, Aksakov was even mentioned as a possible king for the newly established state.

Aksakov's appeal to the nationalism (and anti-Semitism) of his people was to persist during the last decade of his life. His funeral in 1886 was attended by several hundred thousand admirers.

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AKSUMITE RELIGION. Civilization first appeared in the Ethiopian highlands in the fifth century before the common era. It was apparently brought by Semitic-speaking immigrants from South Arabia, who transplanted to Ethiopia many of the cultural and artistic traditions of ancient Sheba. They first established themselves in and around Yeha (formerly called Ava), near modern Adwa. In the early centuries of the common era, power shifted northward to Aksum, which remains to this day the most important religious center in Ethiopia. At the height of their power, the rulers of Aksum claimed dominion as far west as the Nile Valley and as far east as the highlands of Yemen. The kingdom of Aksum was converted to Christianity in the fourth century, long before any other region in the interior of Africa.

Comparatively little is known of the religion of pre-Christian Ethiopia. Only fragmentary information is afforded by classical authors, by the victory stelae erected by a few Aksumite rulers, and by the evidence of archaeology. Some additional details can be inferred on the basis of parallels with the better-known religions of South Arabia.

During the Yeha period, the Ethiopian religion seems to have been little different from that of Sheba. The major deities were the familiar Semitic triad of the Sun, the Moon, and Venus. In the Aksumite period a somewhat different triad emerged, consisting of Ashtar (Venus), the sea god Behr, and the earth god Medr. The sun was a female deity, called by the Sabaean name Zat-Badar. As the military power of Aksum expanded, the war god Mahram assumed increasing importance and became the special tutelary of the Aksumite rulers.

At Yeha, Aksum, and various provincial towns there were temples and altars dedicated to several of the principal deities. Temple architecture followed closely the traditions of South Arabia. The buildings stood upon an elevated, stepped platform and were approached by a monumental stairway. Very few interior details of the temples have survived, but the exterior walls were embellished with various patterns of projecting and recessed paneling. Outside the temples were votive stelae and offering tables, many of them commemorating the military victories of particular rulers. Animal and also human sacrifices were apparently a regular feature of the victory celebrations.

The most extraordinary monuments of Aksumite religious architecture are the great stone stelae erected over the tombs of many rulers. They are elaborately carved in the form of miniature skyscrapers, with a false door at the bottom and row upon row of false windows above. They are, however, devoid of inscription. Underground, the royal dead were interred in large rock-cut burial chambers, but these have been so thoroughly plundered that no offerings have ever been found in them. For this reason, and in the absence of inscriptions, it is difficult to form an impression of the part that mortuary ritual played in the religious life of the ancient Ethiopians.

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ʿALAWĪYŪN (sg., ʿAlawī; modern English rendering, Alawis, Alawites; French, Alaouites; sometimes called Nuṣayrīyah). The Arabic word *ʿAlawī* designates, broadly speaking, a follower of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. Next to the prophet Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Muḥammad's paternal cousin and son-in-law, is perhaps the most important personality in the religious and political history of Islam. He remains a force to contend with in the daily life of Muslims today, especially among the Shīʿah (from *shīʿat ʿAlī*, the "party" or followers of ʿAlī): "Ya ʿAlī, madad" ("O ʿAlī, help!") is a moving intercessionary expression often heard in Shīʿī circles. The word *Shīʿī* (anglicized as *Shiite*) has often been used to designate all followers of ʿAlī; but in a more restricted sense, its application is limited to the so-called Twelvers (Ithnā ʿAsharīyah) of Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, and elsewhere, while *ʿAlawī* is taken to refer exclusively to the ʿAlawī Nuṣayrīyah of northwestern Syria. The indigenous sources, past and present, do not make such clearcut distinctions, however. The other two leading Shīʿī sects, the Zaydīyah and the Ismāʿīlīyah, have had significant historical and doctrinal differences with the mainstream Twelvers. Finally, there exists a group of extremist Shīʿī sects known collectively as the Ghulāt ("exaggerators"), to which the ʿAlawī Nuṣayrīyah of Syria belong. While the Shīʿah in general hold ʿAlī and his immediate family in high esteem, the Ghulāt have gone beyond veneration, often considering ʿAlī a manifestation of the deity.

ORIGINS. The majority of Muslims, called Sunnīs, accepted the early settlement on the succession (caliphate) to the Prophet's leadership, and their religious scholars *(ʿulamāʾ)* subsequently arrived at a doctrinal position which states that "God's religion is the middle ground between exaggerated zeal [*ghulūw*] and negligence [*jafāʾ*]." It was left to the scholars to interpret God's word in the Qurʾān. The Shīʿah, on the other hand, would accept only the leadership of ʿAlī as imam par excellence, and, to satisfy the need for someone who would be specially endowed to understand the esoteric *(bāṭinī)* meaning of God's injunctions, they elevated ʿAlī to the position of *walī* of God: the "friend" of the Almighty and "custodian" of the faith. With time, the Shīʿī scholars developed an elaborate theological system which featured such concepts as *imāmah* (leadership of the Muslim community), *ʿiṣmah* (infallibility of the imam), *naṣṣ* (attested succession), *taqīyah* (religious dissimulation), and *ghaybah* (occultation). Thus the Sunnīs and the Shīʿah became two dimensions of the Islamic dispensation.

With the Ghulāt, the excessive veneration of ʿAlī took a different turn long before the ʿAlawī Nuṣayrīyah came on the scene. *Ghulūw* manifested itself in a long series of extremist movements, the earliest of which was perhaps that of al-Mukhtār (AH 66, 685/6 CE), who claimed to be an incarnation of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah, a son of ʿAlī by a woman from the Ḥanīfah tribe. Toward the end of the ninth century, the Qarāmiṭah offered another example of religious and social extremism; the Ismāʿīlī Shīʿī state of the Fatimids was founded on the ruins of this movement. A major phase of religious extremism appeared following the decline of Fatimid power in the eleventh century. This development coincided with the resurgence of Byzantine power south of the Taurus Mountains along the traditional limes *(thughūr, ʿawāṣim)* in the northern Syrian borderlands, the weakening position of the Shīʿī Hamdanids in Aleppo and the Buyids in Baghdad, and most of all, the influx of Crusader armies along the Syrian coastlands and their final occupation of Jerusalem in 1099.

This unsettled situation engendered three curious religious factions: the ʿAlawīyūn proper in the northwest region of Syria, the Druze sect of southern geographic Syria, and the movement of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ (the so-called Assassins) who ultimately established themselves in such mountain strongholds as Alamūt and elsewhere. While the Druze and the Assassins were direct splinters from the Ismāʿīlī Fatimids of Egypt, the ʿAlawīyūn were grounded in Twelver thought with syncretic Christian accretions.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT. Almost every founder of a Shīʿī movement, including the Ghulāt sects, claimed some attachment to, or direct genealogical descent from, ʿAlī or his immediate descendants, the twelve imams. The ʿAlawī Nuṣayrīyah, though claiming no direct descent from any of the imams, believed that each of the twelve imams had a "gate" *(bāb)*, beginning with Salmān al-Fārisī, who was the "gate" of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, and ending with Abū Shuʿayb Muḥammad ibn Nuṣayr, the "gate" to the eleventh imam, al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī (d. 874). The twelfth imam had no "gate"; however, Muḥammad ibn Nuṣayr continued to assume that position during the period of occultation. The ʿAlawīyūn consider the office of the *bāb* one of their basic religious institutions, and since they claim Ibn Nuṣayr as their founder, they are sometimes known as the Nuṣayrīyah. Ibn Nuṣayr was succeeded by Muḥammad ibn Jundub, then by Muḥammad al-Jinān al-Junbulānī. It was at about this time that a certain Ḥusayn ibn Ḥamdān al-Khaṣībī, originally from Egypt, was attracted to northern Syria and became the ideological leader of the movement. He was active at the courts of the Hamdanids of Aleppo and the Buyids of Baghdad. The center for ʿAlawī activity, however, moved to Latakia when these Twelver Shīʿī states succumbed to the Sunnī Seljuk Turks.

During the early Mongol period the ʿAlawī community witnessed a short revival under Emir Ḥasan al-Makzūn al-Sinjārī, "one of the greatest and most pious shaykhs of the sect, who rescued ʿAlawī authority, organized the affairs of the community, and provided his followers with a comfortable way of life" (Ṭawīl, pp. 309–310). Soon, however, the region fell under Mamluk domination. The Ḥanbalī scholar Aḥmad ibn Taymīyah (d. 1328) wrote a scathing refutation of the ʿAlawī Nuṣayrīyah *(Risālah fī al-radd ʿalā al-Nuṣayrīyah)* in which they are said to believe in the drinking of wine, the reincarnation of the soul, the antiquity of the world, and the fact that their god who created the heavens and the earth is ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, who to them is the imam in heaven and the imam on earth; and to claim that Muḥammad the prophet is only the "name" while ʿAlī is the "meaning" and essence. Condemning the ʿAlawīyūn along with other sects such as the Malahidah Assassins, the Qarāmiṭah, the Ismāʿīlīyah, and all types of *bāṭinī* esoterics, Ibn Taymīyah accuses them of *kufr* ("unbelief") worse than that of the Jews and Christians, calls them *mushrikūn* ("polytheists"), and prohibits marriage with them, partaking of their food, or allowing them to guard the frontiers of Islam. The North African traveler Ibn Baṭṭūṭah (d. 1377), who passed through Nuṣayri territory, observed that they believed in ʿAlī as their god and that they did not pray, nor did they perform ablutions or observe the fast incumbent upon all Muslims. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, who was a Mālikī jurist, they used the mosques, which the Mamluk rulers had forced them to build, as stables for their animals. At one time, he reports, the sultan had ordered their extermination but was reminded by his chief minister that the Nuṣayrīyah were still needed to till the land.

In the sixteenth century, the Ottomans under Sultan Selim fought Shiism on all fronts: against a large-scale Shīʿī rebellion in Anatolia, against the Safavids of Iran, and against the ʿAlawīyūn of Syria. Once victory was attained, however, the issue was allowed to fade, and during the next four centuries the ʿAlawī communities suffered the benign neglect of Ottoman rule. They were not treated as a *millet* (autonomous religious community), and their affairs were left in the hands of their tribal chieftains. Midhat Pasha, the nineteenth-century reform-minded governor of Syria, attempted to institute a separate administration *(liwāʾ)* for the ʿAlawīyūn. Under the French Mandate after the First World War, they were treated as an "independent" state within Syria and were referred to as the "Alaouites" for the first time. The French drafted many of their young men for what came to be called the Troupes Spéciales du Levant. This special status survived into the late twentieth century with an ʿAlawī circle dominating the Syrian military government, led by President Hafiz al-Asad, himself an ʿAlawī.

RELATION TO SHIISM. Inasmuch as the ʿAlawī Nuṣayrīyah profess allegiance to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, they share many of their beliefs and practices with the rest of the Shīʿah. Within Shiism, however, two traditions have survived: a high Islam, "orthodox," scribal tradition which has been preserved in the writings of the three main Shīʿī groups, the Twelvers, the Ismāʿīlī Seveners, and the Zaydīyah, and a folk Islam, "popular," nonscribal, secretive tradition which is the hallmark of the Ghulāt. The ʿAlawī Nuṣayrīyah of northwestern Syria belong to the latter tradition. The idea of the *bāb* as the "gate" to the imam appears to have been an attempt to preserve Twelver continuity, which the mainstream Shīʿī scholars resolved through the concept of occultation. In any case, the Shīʿī ʿAlawīyūn had no chance to further develop high Islam ideas since their patrons in Aleppo and Baghdad (the Twelver Hamdanids and Buyids respectively) had just lost their power to the ardent Sunnī Seljuks, and the ʿAlawīyūn were left essentially on their own.

At exactly the same time, moreover, the ʿAlawī lands were invaded by the Christian knights of the Crusader armies. Hence, in addition to their original extremist views about ʿAlī and the imams, the ʿAlawīyūn inherited Christian elements which they incorporated into their folk Islam beliefs (although the Islamic core remained predominant). Ideas of a trinity (a concept abhorred in official Islam) became current, with ʿAlī as the *maʿnā* (esoteric meaning and essence), Muḥammad as the *ism* (outward exoteric name), and Salmān al-Fārisī as the *bāb* (gate to ʿAlī's esoteric essence). Joined together, the three appear in a profession (Shahādah) of the faith: I testify that there is no god but ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib *al-maʿbūd* ("the worshiped one"), no veil *(ḥijāb)* but Muḥammad *al-maḥmūd* ("the praised one"), and no gate but Salmān al-Fārisī *al-maqṣūd* ("the intended one"). In addition to the traditional Sunnī and Shīʿī holidays, Christian feast days such as Christmas, Epiphany, and Pentecost are celebrated. There are also several mass-type ceremonies, such as the incense mass and the *adhān* mass (for the Muslim call to prayer), during which the congregation chants hymns said to have been composed by one of the early fathers, al-Khaṣībī, although the Arabic language of the original indicates a more popular folk-literary hand. Belief in reincarnation is widespread: Muslims returning as donkeys, Christians as pigs, Jews as monkeys. This syncretic mixture of ideas has led one French authority on the ʿAlawīyūn to describe their beliefs as "a deformation of Christianity or a survival of ancient paganism" (Weulersse, 1946; p. 271). Another work, based substantially on polemical material, seems to be in partial agreement: "From an Islamic standpoint, the religious beliefs and practices of the Nuṣairīs set them off as a distinct religion, neither Islamic nor Christian nor Jewish, and it has always been the consensus of the Muslim *ʿulamāʾ*, both Sunnī and Shīʿī, that the Nusairis are *kuffār* (disbelievers, rejectors of the faith) and idolaters *(mushrikūn)*" (ʿAbd-Allāh, p. 48).

CONTEMPORARY IMPORTANCE. The importance of the ʿAlawī Nuṣayri community now derives largely from the widespread contemporary revival of Islam. Their numbers have always been small: 300,000 according to Ghālib al-Ṭawīl in the 1920s; 225,000 according to Weulersse in 1943–1944; 325,311 according to Hourani in 1946; 600,000 or 700,000 according to Petran in 1972; and at most a "million or so" according to Batatu in 1981 (the last figure probably includes ʿAlawīs throughout the world). In the "independent" Alaouite state under French administration, the Representative Council of 1930, for example, included ten ʿAlawī members, two Orthodox Christians, one Maronite Christian, three Sunnīs, and one Ismāʿīlī. In more recent times, ʿAlawī leaders, both religious and secular, have been making outward attempts to gain acceptance among the rest of the (largely Sunnī) population of Syria. In 1973, for example, an official statement was issued by as many as eighty ʿAlawī religious leaders proclaiming the adherence of the community to the teachings and legal practices of Twelver Shiʿism and adding that "whatever else is attributed to them has no basis in truth and is a mere invention by their enemies and the enemies of Islam" (Batatu, p. 335). Mūsā al-Ṣadr, a politico-religious leader of Lebanon's Twelver Shīʿī community and founder of the Amal movement in the 1970s, included a number of representatives of the Lebanese ʿAlawī community in his Shīʿī Council, while a recent booklet, *Al-ʿAlawīyūn shīʿat ahl al-bayt* (a title that identifies the ʿAlawīyūn with the "party of the house of the Prophet," namely, ʿAlī and the imams), indicates a rapprochement of the community with the mainstream Twelvers. (A preface to this publication, written by a Twelver scholar, Ḥasan Mahdī Shīrāzī, avers that "the words *ʿAlawī* and *Shīʿah* are interchangeable.") Developments such as these may suggest a shift in ʿAlawī orientation from the Ghulāt to "orthodox" Twelver Shiism.

SEE ALSO Assassins; Druze; Taqiyah.

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More recent French works on the subject include Jacques Weulersse's *Les pays des Alaouites*, 2 vols. (Tours, 1940), his *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient* (Paris, 1946), and Munir M. Mousa's "Étude sociologique des ʿAlaouites ou Nuṣairis" (Ph.D. diss., 2 vols., Sorbonne, 1958). For important information on the ʿAlawīyūn during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see Ibn Taymīyah's "Risālah fī al-radd ʿalā al-Nuṣayrīyah," in *Majmūʿ al-rasāʾil* (Cairo, 1905), pp. 94–102, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭah's *Travels*, translated by H. A. R. Gibb (London, 1962).

Special mention should be made of the first book in Arabic by a member of the ʿAlawī community, Muḥammad Amīn Ghālib al-Ṭawīl's *Taʾrīkh al-ʿAlawīyin*, originally written in Turkish and recast in Arabic (Latakia, Syria, 1921); the second edition (Beirut, 1966) contains a sixty-page critical introduction by the Twelver Shīʿī writer ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Khayr. Ṭawīl's work is somewhat polemical but is nevertheless full of valuable source material. Some largely unreliable statistics on the ʿAlawīyūn are found in such works as Albert Hourani's *Minorities in the Arab World* (1947; reprint, New York, 1982) and Tabitha Petran's *Syria* (New York, 1972).

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Finally, owing to contemporary attempts to rehabilitate the ʿAlawī Nuṣayrīyah within the Shīʿī fold, several works of a largely polemical nature have been produced; see, for example, ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusaynī's *Al-judhūr al-taʾrīkhīyah lil-Nuṣayrīyah al-ʿalawīyah* (Dubai, 1980), and ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Mahdī al-ʿAskari's *Al-ʿAlawīyūnaw al-Nuṣayriyūn* (n.p., 1980), both of which quote extensively from the early heresiographical literature. Umar F. Abd-Allah's *The Islamic Struggle in Syria* (Berkeley, 1983), with foreword and postscript by Hamid Algar, outlines the attempt by the present ʿAlawī military regime in Syria to control the activities of the Muslim Brotherhood there.

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ĀLAYA-VIJÑĀNA (Tib., *kun gzhi rnam par shes pa*; Chin., *a lai ye shi*) is the Sanskrit term denoting, roughly, "storehouse" consciousness, a conception of unconscious mental processes developed by the Yogācāra school of Indian Buddhism in the third to fifth centuries CE. *Ālaya-vijñāna* appears in such "Yogācāra" scriptures as the *Saṃdhinirmocana Sūtra* and the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, but is most systematically treated in the scholastic treatises of Asaṅga (c. 315–390) and Vasubandhu (c. mid-fourth to mid-fifth centuries). It originally addressed problems surrounding the continuity of karmic potential (*karma-upacaya*) and the latent afflictions (*anuśaya*) that had been generated by the *abhidharma* emphasis upon momentary, manifest processes of mind. How, after all, could these two essential aspects of one's samsaric existence—the potential for *karma* to ripen and for the afflictions to arise—be uninterruptedly present until their elimination far along the path to liberation if one's mind (or, more precisely, one's "mental stream," *santāna*) were comprised solely of whatever phenomena (*dharma*) were manifest at the present moment? Their manifest presence would preclude any salutary states of mind from arising, and thus prevent progress along the path, while their complete absence would be tantamount to liberation itself. The *ālaya-vijñāna* thus came to comprise the various potentialities that must continuously underlie each moment of the traditional six modes of cognitive awareness—now called manifest, arising, or functioning consciousnesses (*pravṛtti-vijñāna*) in contradistinction to the continuous yet subliminal *ālaya*, the home, base, or storehouse consciousness (*ālaya-vijñāna*).

Combining traditional analyses of consciousness (*vijñāna*) as an awareness (*not* a faculty) that arises either in dependence upon karmic formations (*saṃskārā*) or as a result of the concomitance of one's cognitive faculties and their correlative objects, *ālaya* consciousness is described in classical Yogācāra treatises as arising from moment to moment in dependence on the material sense faculties and the various cognitive and affective formations (*saṃskārā*) that constitute one's ongoing existence, as well as on its own subliminal cognitive object: an indistinct (*aparicchinna*) or imperceptible (*asaṃvidita*) apprehension of an external world (*bhājana-loka*). *Ālaya-vijñāna* is thus a complexly conditioned mode of cognitive awareness that simultaneously supports (*āśraya*) and informs all occurrences of manifest consciousness.

Also consonant with traditional characteristics of consciousness (S II 65, 101; III 54), *ālaya-vijñāna* is said in the *Saṃdhinirmocana Sūtra* to "grow, develop, and increase" due to the seeds (*bīja*) of karmic potential and the predispositions (*vāsanā*) of the afflictions that have accumulated "since beginningless time" from the karmic activities associated with the six modes of manifest cognitive awareness. The potential or "seeds" for the future arising of afflictions or of karmically resultant *dharma*s, such as sensations or consciousness itself, are thereafter "stored" in this evolving *ālaya* level of mind.

While this subliminal *ālaya* consciousness thus enjoys a simultaneous and causally reciprocal relationship with the manifest modes of cognitive awareness, it still retained, in most Indian Yogācāra treatises, its original character as the locus of accumulated karmic potential and latent afflictions, virtually defining one's samsaric existence and serving, in effect, as the "subject" of *saṃsāra* (also similar to earlier notions of *vijñāna*). Sentient beings therefore typically (mis)take *ālaya* consciousness as a substantive self (*ātmadṛṣṭi*), a form of ignorance so continuously present that it too soon came to be conceived as a distinct strata of subliminal—and karmically neutral—afflictions called "afflictive mentation" (Skt., *kliṣṭa-manas*; Tib., *nyon mongs pa can gyi yid*; Chin., *ran wu yi),* now considered a "seventh consciousness," making *ālaya-vijñāna* the eighth.

More broadly, Asaṅga's *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha* describes how the "common aspects" (*sādhāraṇa-lakṣaṇa*) of *ālaya* consciousness help to structure the arising of our common "world" (*bhājana-loka*). Our distinctively human world appears similarly to us because we have accumulated similar *karma*, which results in both our similar cognitive faculties as well as whatever cognitive and affective formations similarly condition the arising of each individual's *ālaya-vijñāna*, such as the impressions of language (*adhilāpa-vāsanā*). Together, these conditions delimit the range of stimuli that may instigate manifest consciousness, and thus also the very forms in which our common, species-specific world (*loka*) typically appear. In this way, the *ālaya-vijñāna*—"the mind with all the seeds" (*sarvabījaka-citta*) that represents our accumulated potentialities for karmic results—serves as the "common support (*samāśraya*) of all phenomenal experience (dharma)."

Although in its systematic treatments the *ālaya-vijñāna* is largely commensurate with traditional Indian Buddhist analyses of samsaric consciousness, as we have seen, the very metaphors used to describe the *ālaya-vijñāna*—an evolving "repository" form of mind (*citta*) that receives and "stores" karmic seeds and thereby serves as both support and cause (*hetu*) of all *dharmas*—invited its interpretation as a foundational mind serving as the sole basis or ground from which the entire phenomenal world arises. These tendencies were particularly pronounced in certain Chinese and Tibetan traditions, influenced no doubt by the explicit identification—in scriptures such as the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* and, more importantly, the apocryphal *Awakening of Faith*—of *ālaya-vijñāna* with *tathāgatha-garbha,* the womb or matrix of the Tathāgatha. Although this identification went largely unchallenged in later Chinese Buddhism, it is not found in the classic treatises of Indian Yogācāra. The sixth-century Indian translator Paramārtha's response to this discrepancy was to preserve the *ālaya-vijñāna* as a defiled eighth consciousness, which is eliminated upon awakening, while interpolating into his translations an additional, undefiled ninth consciousness, an **amala-vijñāna*, which persists after the *ālaya-vijñāna* ceases. One of seventh-century Xuanzang's aims in retranslating Yogācāra texts was to recover the earlier, and to his mind orthodox, interpretation of *ālaya-vijñāna* as a locus of defiled consciousness unrelated to the notion of *tathāgatha-garbha.* Similar tendencies occurred in the Tibetan schools that teach "extrinsic emptiness" (*gzhan stong*), which extrapolating upon Indian Yogācāra models, posited a primordial *ālaya* wisdom (Skt., **ālaya-jñāna*; Tib., *kun gzhi ye shes*) prior to and apart from all defiled and discursive modes of consciousness (Skt., *vijñāna*; Tib., *rnam shes*), such as *ālaya-vijñāna.*

These varying notions of post- (or non-) samsaric forms of consciousness, typically expressed as transformations of *vijñāna* into *jñāna*, echo similar ideas found in the earliest Buddhist texts in which the consciousness of a buddha or arhat is no longer bound by grasping or appropriation (*anupādāna*), but is said to be "non-abiding" or "unsupported" (*appatiṭṭhita-viññāṇa*; D III 105; S I 122; S II 66, 103; S III 54).

In sum, this core Yogācāra concept touches upon some of the central concerns of Buddhist soteriology and analyses of mind, but its interpretation varies considerably depending upon which century, which school, and even which text one is investigating.

SEE ALSO Asaṅga; Dharmapāla; Soteriology; Soul, article on Buddhist Concepts; Tathāgata-garbha; Vasubandhu; Vijñāna; Yogācāra.

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AL-AZHAR. Literally al-Azhar means "most luminous" (an allusion to the prophet Muḥammad's daughter Fāṭima, nicknamed al-Zahrāʾ, the eponymous ancestor of the Fāṭimids). Al-Azhar is the world's oldest mosque-university and Sunnī Islam's foremost seat of learning. Following his conquest of Egypt, Jawhar, the Sicilian commander of the army sent by the Fāṭimid caliph-*imām* al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh (r. 953–975 CE) from North Africa, founded this mosque on Saturday, 24 Jumādā I 359/April 4, 970 CE, after having laid the foundations of a new capital, Cairo (*al-Qāhira*, meaning "the victorious"). Al-Azhar, situated near the royal palace at the southeast corner, was intended to serve as the official congregation mosque of the new dynasty, which was competing with the ʿAbbāsid caliphs of Baghdad for control of the Muslim world. The first Friday prayer in the mosque was inaugurated during Ramaḍān 972 CE. In addition to being a house of worship and a sanctuary like most major mosques, it soon became a place of learning. Except for the eighty-year rule of the Ayyūbids (1171–1252), who supplanted the Fāṭimids, al-Azhar has remained throughout the centuries a focal point of Islamic religious and cultural life not only for Egypt but also for the entire Muslim world.

During the early period of Islamic history, memorization of the Qurʾān, the study of *ḥadīth* (traditions of the

Prophet), and the science of jurisprudence (*fiqh*) were conducted in the mosque. The mosque was therefore the first stage in the development of the college in Islam. Al-Shāfiʿī (d. 820 CE), for example, taught various subjects in the mosque of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. Most of those mosque-based institutions of learning became extinct over a period of time. Al-Azhar, however, continued to flourish, developed into a college, and became a university.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT. Information about the curriculum in the early years of the Fāṭimids and the Mamlūks is fragmentary. However, from the available sources one could infer that Shīʿī–Ismāʿīlī law was regularly taught there. Al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442), a noted historian who had access to earlier sources and contemporary documents that are no longer extant, stated that the chief judge and chief missionary ʿAlī, the son of al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, the founder of Ismāʿīlī jurisprudence, sat in al-Azhar and lectured his audience on Ismāʿīlī law. Lecturing soon became dictation when the students began to write down what was said. Subsequently ʿAlī dictated his father's *Kitāb al-Iqtiṣār*, an abridged version of Ismāʿīlī law, to a large gathering. Ibn Killis, the vizier of the Fāṭimid caliph-*imām* al-ʿAzīz (r. 975–996 CE), was the first to establish al-Azhar as a regular institution of learning where Ismāʿīlī law was taught. The vizier, who was known for his patronage of scholars, poets, and jurists, obtained a royal decree to build a large house near the mosque to provide living quarters for thirty-five jurists in addition to their salaries. On Fridays, between the midday and afternoon prayers, those jurists sat in the mosque surrounded by circles of listeners and instructed them in matters of religion and law. Describing the Fāṭimid palaces where "the sessions of wisdom" (*majālis al-ḥikma*) were held, al-Maqrīzī stated that separate sessions of wisdom for women were held in al-Azhar. In Ramaḍān 1010 the caliph-*imām* al-Ḥākim provided large endowments for the maintenance of this mosque. Al-Maqrīzī preserved the official decree with all the details. Besides endowments, rich individuals, princes, and princesses made gifts and bequests. Thus one can conclude that during the Fāṭimid rule al-Azhar had already become an important mosque and *madrasah*, a college of higher studies.

The Sunnī Ayyūbids who terminated Fāṭimid rule not only neglected al-Azhar but supplanted it by creating Sunnī *madrasah*s under their patronage to stamp out all traces of Shīʿī Fāṭimid influence. During the Mamlūk period al-Azhar regained its central place. Al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars (r. 1260–1277) repaired the mosque, and the Friday sermon was resumed 1266. *Amīr* Bīlbak al-Khāzindār provided funds to support a group of jurists to teach Shāfiʿī law, a *muḥaddith* to instruct the people about proper conduct based on the traditions of the Prophet and about the spiritual doctrines of Islam, seven Qurʾān reciters (according to the seven authorized methods of recitation) to recite and teach the Qurʾān, and a *mudarris* (professor of law) for overall supervision. Women were permitted to study in the mosque.

In 1359–1360 a Qurʾanic school for orphans and a course on Ḥanafī law were initiated. Al-Maqrīzī stated that in 1415–1416 the number of indigent students, both provincial and foreign, residing in quarters around the mosque and grouped according to their provinces and nationalities (*riwāq*s), was 750. Subjects taught included the art of reciting the Qurʾān, jurisprudence of the four Sunnī schools of law, the traditions of the Prophet, exegesis of the Qurʾān, Arabic language and grammar, and preaching. At times *dhikr* sessions (literally "remembering God," a religious service common to all the mystical fraternities) were also held. The famous historian Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) taught at al-Azhar when he arrived in Cairo in 1383. Generous endowments and gifts from notables provided the funds for these activities.

Although the center of gravity during the Ottoman period (1517–1805) shifted to Istanbul, al-Azhar remained the preeminent seat of Arabic and Islamic learning. Probably toward the end of the seventeenth century the position of *Shaykh al-Azhar* (rector or grand *imām*) was created to preside over the affairs of al-Azhar. The position was generally filled by a leading member of the *ʿulamāʾ*. Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Khurashī (d. 1690), a Mālikī jurist, was the first to hold this office. Al-Azhar had neither formal procedures for admissions nor grade levels, it had no required courses and no written examinations, and it did not grant official diplomas. However, a student could obtain a certificate (*ijāza*) of proficiency from his or her teacher upon completion of a prescribed course of study. Professors lectured at different corners of the mosque, and the students gathered around them. Memorization played an important part. The curriculum, in addition to Arabic language and grammar, consisted mainly of theology and law. Priorities were given to the above-mentioned religious sciences, the acquisition of which would guarantee one's success in the hereafter. Although the rational sciences were not rejected, they were neglected. Many Azharīs were also active Ṣūfīs. For them pursuing rational sciences was not conducive to cultivating a pious spiritual life. Learning and teaching therefore remained traditional.

As legal and religious authorities, Azharī scholars were greatly respected by the people, hence they exerted immense influence over the masses. At times they championed the rights of the Egyptian exploited classes and acted as mediators between the rulers and the ruled. During the French occupation of Egypt (1798–1801) al-Azhar not only acted as an intermediary between the Egyptian masses and the foreign occupiers but also became a rallying point for revolt against the French. As a result it was bombarded, occupied, and desecrated. Al-Jabartī (d. c. 1825) left a vivid description of those events.

AL-AZHAR BETWEEN REFORM AND RESISTANCE. The long campaign to subordinate al-Azhar to the state began with the rise of Muḥammad ʿAlī to power (1805–1848). He confiscated many of its endowments, fixed government stipends, and chose the rectors himself. His reforms, particularly the founding of numerous secular schools and technical institutions and the sending of missions to Europe for higher study, woke al-Azhar from its deep slumber. Government interference with the affairs of al-Azhar continued under the subsequent Khedive rulers. In 1872 Khedive Ismāʿīl installed the first non-Shāfiʿī rector in over a century and instituted a rigorous oral examination in various subjects for candidates who wished to teach at al-Azhar. In 1876 al-Azhar had 361 teachers and 10,780 students. Among the four Sunnī schools of law, Shāfiʿīs represented the largest number, followed by Mālikīs and Ḥanafīs, whereas the Ḥanbalīs were poorly represented. In 1885 a formal system of registration of students in each residential quarter was instituted. New students who had not completed certain requirements during two years of study were not eligible to receive their ration of food. Attendance was accurately recorded. During the 1890s a central library was founded with a rich collection of manuscripts, a salary scale for teachers was established, and a countrywide network of preparatory religious institutions under the care of al-Azhar was established.

During the 1930s al-Azhar became a modern university with the College of Theology, the College of Law, and the College of Arabic Language, each with a state-appointed dean. Soon all three colleges were moved to new buildings behind the mosque. The curriculum was clearly described. Postgraduate work of two to three years was established for specializations in Islamic law, preaching, and guidance. A student was required to pass written and oral examinations and present a thesis for the postgraduate degree. For the title of "professor" (*ustādh*), an equivalent of a Ph.D., more graduate work, a passing grade on a difficult examination, and a substantial thesis were required. The diploma granted at the end of four years of undergraduate study was called *shahādat al-dirāsa al-ʿāliya*, the certificate of specialization was called *al-shahāda al-ʿālimīya maʿ al-ijāza*, and the highest diploma, similar to that of a doctorate, was called *al-shahāda al-ʿālimīya maʿ darajat ustādh.*

In 1930 al-Azhar acquired its own press and started publishing a journal, the *Light of Islam*; a few years later the title was changed to *Journal of al-Azhar*. The university's Preaching and Guidance section dispatched preachers and lecturers throughout Egypt. More reforms were carried out under the reign of Jamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir. The Islamic Research Academy, the Department of Cultural and Islamic Missions, and the Supreme Council under the *shaykh al-Azhar* were established. The curriculum of all the colleges was revised; for example, non-*sharīʿa* law and Shīʿī-Imāmī law (called *fiqh Jaʿfarī*, after Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq) were added to the College of Law, and courses on social sciences and Western languages were added to the College of Theology. In addition to establishing the women's colleges, al-Azhar university's legislation of 1961 created new colleges of engineering, medicine, commerce, science, agriculture, and education. These new colleges were not duplicates of their counterparts in secular universities; rather they combined both the empirical as well as the religious sciences. A new campus was built in the suburb of Madīnat al-Naṣr, away from the mosque. Besides its main campus in Cairo, al-Azhar also operates several campuses throughout Egypt. Admission is open to all Muslim students who wish to study a particular academic discipline or to further and deepen their knowledge of Islam.

Outside of Egypt al-Azhar is known as a champion of Sunnī Islam and the Arabic language. Azharī professors and preachers are in demand throughout the Islamic world. The number of foreign students at al-Azhar in 1955 reached more than four thousand, while in 1990 that number peaked at six thousand, representing seventy-five countries.

Because al-Azhar shunned Islamist activists like Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Muḥammad ʿAbduh, and Rashīd Riḍā, some people consider it a conservative institution, whereas many Islamists disparage it as subservient to the state. On the other hand, Islamists approve of al-Azhar's condemnation of controversial books. In the 1920s it stripped ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziq of his Azharī degree for reinterpreting the Islamic caliphate as a secular institution. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn was forced to withdraw his provocative book on pre-Islamic poetry. A number of other books were banned or condemned. Shaykh Muḥammad Sayyid Ṭanṭāwī (b. 1928) assumed the leadership position on March 27, 1996. Prior to this appointment he served as *muftī* of Egypt from 1986 to 1996. He is known for his courage in airing his frank views on various issues confronting the Muslim world. His statement in support of the right of the French government to prohibit Muslim women from wearing the *ḥijāb* (head covering) in public schools provoked strong opposition.

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ALBERTUS MAGNUS (c. 1200–1280), also known as Albert the Great; German Dominican theologian and philosopher, doctor of the church, patron of natural scientists, and Christian saint. Today he is best known as the teacher of Thomas Aquinas.

Born in Lauingen on the Danube in Bavaria, Albert belonged to a distinguished military family in the service of the Hohenstaufens. While a student at Padua, he entered the mendicant Order of Preachers (Dominicans) in spring 1223, receiving the religious habit from Jordan of Saxony, successor to Dominic. Assigned to Cologne, he completed his early theological studies in 1228, then taught at Cologne, Hildesheim, Freiburg, Regensburg, and Strassburg. Around 1241 he was sent by the master general to the University of Paris for his degree in theology, which he obtained in the summer of 1245, having lectured on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard and begun writing his *Summa parisiensis* in six parts: the sacraments, the incarnation, the resurrection, the four coevals, man, and good. In 1248 Albert returned to Cologne with Thomas Aquinas and a group of Dominican students to open a center of studies for Germany.

Toward the end of 1249, Albert acceded to the pleas of his students to explain Aristotle's philosophy. His intention was, first, to present the whole of natural science, even parts that Aristotle did not write about or that had been lost, and, second, to make all the books of Aristotle "intelligible to the Latins" by rephrasing arguments, adding new ones from his own experience, and resolving new difficulties encountered by other schools of philosophy, notably the Platonist and Epicurean schools.

From 1252 until 1279 Albert was frequently called upon to arbitrate difficult litigations on behalf of the pope or emperor. In June 1254 he was elected prior provincial of the German province of the Dominican order for three years. The most important event during Albert's term of office was the struggle for survival between the mendicant orders and the secular clergy from the University of Paris. With Bonaventure and Humbert of Romans in 1256, he represented the mendicant orders at the papal curia at Anagni against William of Saint-Amour and his colleagues from Paris. The controversy was resolved in favor of the mendicants and the condemnation of William's book on October 5, 1256. Also during Albert's term as provincial he wrote his paraphrases of Aristotle's *On the Soul* (Albert considered this paraphrase one of his most important*), On Natural Phenomena,* and *On Plants.*

Resigning as provincial in June 1257, Albert returned to teaching in Cologne, but he was appointed bishop of Regensburg by Pope Alexander IV on January 5, 1260, much against his inclinations. He was at the episcopal castle on the Danube when he wrote his commentary on book 7 of *On Animals,* but in December he set out for the papal curia at Viterbo to submit his resignation. The new pope, Urban IV, accepted his resignation around November 1261, and a successor was confirmed in May 1262. From February 1263 to October 1264 he was the official papal preacher throughout German-speaking lands for a crusade to the Holy Land. With the death of Urban IV, Albert's commission ended, and he retired to Würzburg, where he worked on paraphrases of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* and other works until 1269, when Master General John of Vercelli asked him to reside at the studium in Cologne as lector emeritus. From then until his death, Albert lived at Cologne, writing, performing para-episcopal duties, arbitrating difficult cases, and serving as an example of religious piety to all. His last will, dated January 1279, testified that he was "of sound mind and body," but from August on he seems to have become progressively senile until his death on November 15, 1280, at the age of "eighty and some."

DOCTRINE AND INFLUENCE. In recent centuries Albert has been presented as a magician or an eclectic encyclopedist with Platonic and mystical tendencies. His writings are said to defy analysis, not only because of their gigantic bulk but also because of their nature in most cases as paraphrases of mainly Aristotle's writings. Although Albert was a bishop who wrote many theological works and biblical commentaries, he was known in his own day principally as a philosopher, and his authority ranked with that of Aristotle, Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), and Ibn Rushd (Averroës). Roger Bacon, a younger Franciscan contemporary, complained that such pretensions were unbecoming to anyone who was still living and in fact self-taught. But it was precisely to obviate such suspicions that Albert disavowed originality in his writings by referring readers back to original sources by name, to experience, and to human reason.

Albert was the only Scholastic to be called "the Great," a title that was used even before his death. His prestige continued to be recognized not only among Albertists in France and Germany in the fifteenth century, but also among philosophers of the Italian Renaissance in the sixteenth century. Among his immediate students, apart from Thomas and Ulrich, were Hugh of Strassburg, John of Freiburg, John of Lichtenburg, and Giles of Lessines. Other German Dominicans, more favorably disposed toward Platonism, developed the mystical elements in Albert's thought. These were transmitted through Theodoric of Freiberg and Berthold of Mossburg to Meister Eckhart, Johannes Tauler, Heinrich Süse, and Jan van Ruusbroec. In the early fifteenth century a distinctive school of Albertists (who opposed the Thomists) developed in Paris under Jean de Maisonneuve and was promoted by Heymerich van den Velde in Paris and Cologne. It quickly spread throughout German, Bohemian, and Polish universities; in Italian universities, however, it was the philosophical opinions of Albert himself that were kept alive.

Numerous miracles were attributed to Albert, and many spurious works—devotional, necromantic, and Scholastic—were ascribed to him. Late in the fifteenth century his cause for canonization was well advanced until charges of sorcery and magic were raised; to refute these, Peter of Prussia wrote the first really critical biography of Albert (about 1487). The

Protestant Reformation in the early sixteenth century temporarily diverted interest in Albert. He was quietly beatified by Gregory XV in 1622.

His extensive writings, occupying more than forty volumes in the critical edition (Cologne, 1951ff.), touch the whole of theology and scripture, as well as almost every branch of human knowledge in the Middle Ages, such as logic, natural science, mathematics, astronomy, ethics, and metaphysics. Ulrich of Strassburg, a Dominican disciple, described him as "a man so superior in every science that he can fittingly be called the wonder and miracle of our time." Siger of Brabant, a young contemporary of Thomas Aquinas at Paris, considered Albert and Thomas to be "the principal men in philosophy."

Albert is best known for his belief in (1) the importance of philosophy for theology and (2) the autonomy of each science in its own field by reason of proper principles and method. He paraphrased the whole of Aristotle's philosophy for beginners in theology (1249–1270); he taught and promoted philosophy in his own school of theology (1248–1260); and he chaired the Dominican commission of five masters established to draw up the first program of study in the order that made the study of philosophy mandatory (1259). He never tired of promoting secular learning for the clergy and denouncing lazy friars who did no more than criticize others. As for his view of the sciences, he defended the ability of human reason to know natural truths distinct from revelation and divine faith; he promoted and cultivated the study of the natural sciences distinct from metaphysics; and he considered mathematics an autonomous field that was simply a tool for natural science, not its organizing principle, as it was for the Platonists. In philosophy Albert was a moderate realist and fundamentally an Aristotelian, but he did not hesitate to reject certain statements when he thought Aristotle was in error, nor was he averse to incorporating into his Aristotelianism compatible truths expounded by others.

By the decree *In thesauris sapientiae* (December 15, 1931), Pius XI declared Albert a saint with the additional title of doctor. By the decree Ad Deum (December 16, 1941), Pius XII constituted him the heavenly patron of all who cultivate the natural sciences. His body is buried in Cologne, and his feast is observed on November 15.

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ALBIGENSIANS SEE CATHARI

ALBO, YOSEF (fl. fifteenth century), Spanish Jewish philosopher. Albo was a student of the last major medieval Jewish philosopher, Ḥasdai Crescas (1340–1410), and a defender of Judaism in the Disputation of Tortosa (1413–1414). He is known for his *Sefer ha-ʿiqqarim* (The book of principles), which owes its popularity to an easy style (with multiple homiletical digressions) and a moderately conservative theological stance.

As its name indicates, *Sefer ha-ʿiqqarim* deals with dogmatics, a common theme in fifteenth-century Jewish thought. Albo took issue with Moses Maimonides (1135/8–1204), who had proposed thirteen principles of faith, and with Crescas, who had listed six. Apparently borrowing from his contemporary Shimʿon ben Tsemaḥ Duran (1361–1444), Albo reduced the principles of any divine religion to three: the existence of God, divine revelation, and reward and punishment. These major principles entail eight further derivative principles. The existence of God implies belief in his unity, incorporeality, independence of time, and freedom from defects. Revelation includes the principles of God's knowledge, prophecy, and the authenticity of God's messenger. Reward and punishment entail belief in individual providence. Thus, in reality, there are eleven principles of divine religion. In addition, Judaism teaches six specific articles of faith: creation ex nihilo, the superiority of Moses to other prophets, the continued validity of the Torah of Moses, the attainment of human perfection by the observance of even one of the commandments, resurrection, and the coming of the Messiah. An examination of the nature of these principles and beliefs forms the bulk of *Sefer ha-ʿiqqarim.*

Albo's work is best understood against the background of the physical and spiritual crisis of fifteenth-century Spanish Jewry. There were many Jews at that time who felt that no religion was rationally superior to another, and that loyalty to Judaism was therefore a superfluous encumbrance. Addressing himself to this attitude, Albo sets out to show that Judaism is preferable to Christianity. While reason cannot prove the truth of Judaism, it can demonstrate the falseness of Christianity; by examining the criteria that reason demands of any religion claiming to be divine, Albo attempts to demonstrate that Christianity falls short of the mark (especially in regard to God's unity and incorporeality) and hence cannot be considered a divine religion. In addition, Christians are required to hold beliefs that are logically impossible and, therefore, false. At most, Albo claims, Christianity is a conventional religion, one that promotes societal well-being but not individual immortality. Judaism, on the other hand, fits the requirements of a divine religion exactly, in that it adheres to the three principles as he has defined them. In addition, it includes no beliefs that are contrary to logic. Loyalty to Judaism is thus the reasonable course of action for the wavering Jew. Over and over, Albo subtly polemicizes against the majority religion and then, for good measure, devotes a lengthy chapter to a specific rebuttal of Christianity (which, despite its form, is not an account of an actual disputation).

In addition to its polemical value, Albo's work provides a *summa* of medieval Jewish philosophy, discussing all the major philosophical and theological issues that had been raised in the previous five hundred years. Albo was not a doctrinaire member of any particular philosophical school; he took liberally from his predecessors without fully adopting the system of any of them. On most questions Albo tends toward eclecticism and compromise. For instance, he first agrees with Maimonides that only active and negative attributes can be assigned to God, but then he switches to Crescas's view that there are some essential attributes also. Prophecy is totally dependent upon God's will (the traditional view), but the prophet must have the requisite rational faculties in order to prophesy (the philosophical view). Human perfection consists of the realization of intellectual potential (the philosophical view), but immortality depends on doing God's will as outlined in the Torah (the traditional view).

Albo's *Sefer ha-ʿiqqarim* has been published often and has maintained its popularity in traditional Jewish circles to this day.

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DANIEL J. LASKER (1987)
Revised Bibliography

ALCHEMY

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
CHINESE ALCHEMY
INDIAN ALCHEMY
HELLENISTIC AND MEDIEVAL ALCHEMY
ISLAMIC ALCHEMY
RENAISSANCE ALCHEMY

ALCHEMY: AN OVERVIEW

The vocable *alchemia* (or some alternate form such as *ars chemica*) appears in the West from the twelfth century onward in reference to the medieval quest for a means of transmuting base metals into gold, for a universal cure, and for the "elixir of immortality." The origin of the root *chem* is not yet satisfactorily explained. In Chinese, Indian, and Greek texts alchemy is referred to as "the Art," or by terms indicating radical and beneficial change, for example, *transmutation.* Until quite recently, historians of science have studied alchemy as a protochemistry, that is, an embryonic science. Indeed, like the early chemist, the practitioner of "the Art" made use of a laboratory and of certain specific instruments; more important, alchemists were the authors of a number of discoveries that later played roles in the development of the science of chemistry. To quote only a few examples: the isolation of mercury around 300 BCE; the discovery of *aqua vitae* (alcohol) and of the mineral acids, both before the thirteenth century; the preparation of vitriol and the alums.

But the methods, the ideology, and the goals of the early chemists did not prolong the alchemical heritage. The alchemists were not interested—or only subsidiarily—in the scientific study of nature. Where the early Greek mind applies itself to science it evinces an extraordinary sense of observation and argument. Yet the Greek alchemists show an inexplicable lack of interest in the physico-chemical phenomena of their work. To cite a single example, no one who has ever used sulfur could fail to observe "the curious phenomena which attend its fusion and the subsequent heating of the liquid. Now, while sulphur is mentioned hundreds of times [in Greek alchemical texts], there is no allusion to any of its characteristic properties except its action on metals" (Sherwood Taylor, quoted in Eliade, 1978, p. 147). As we shall see presently, the alchemist's quest was not scientific but spiritual.

ESOTERIC TRADITIONS AND THE IMPORTANCE OF SECRECY. In every culture where alchemy has flourished, it has always been intimately related to an esoteric or "mystical" tradition: in China to Taoism, in India to Yoga and Tantrism, in Hellenistic Egypt to *gnōsis*, in Islamic countries to Hermetic and esoteric mystical schools, in the Western Middle Ages and Renaissance to Hermetism, Christian and sectarian mysticism, and Qabbalah. In brief, all alchemists have proclaimed their art to be an esoteric technique pursuing a goal similar or comparable to that of the major esoteric and "mystical" traditions.

For this reason, great emphasis is placed by the alchemist on secrecy, that is, the esoteric transmission of alchemical doctrines and techniques. The oldest Hellenistic text, *Physikē kai mystikē* (probably written around 200 BCE), relates how this book was discovered hidden in a column of an Egyptian temple. In the prologue to one of the classical Indian alchemical treatises, *Rasārnava*, the Goddess asks Śiva for the secret of becoming a *jīvanmuleta*, that is, one "liberated in life." Śiva tells her that this secret is seldom known, even among the gods. Again, the importance of secrecy is emphasized by the most famous Chinese alchemist, Ko Hung (260–340 CE), who stated that "secrecy is thrown over the efficacious recipes. . . . The substances referred to are commonplaces which nevertheless cannot be identified without knowledge of the code concerned" (*Pao-p'ru-tzu*, chap. 16). The deliberate incomprehensibility of alchemical texts for the noninitiate becomes almost a cliché in Western post-Renaissance alchemical literature. An author quoted by the fifteenth-century *Rosarium philosophorum* declares that "only he who knows how to make the Philosophers' Stone understands the words which relate to it." And the *Rosarium* warns the reader that these questions must be transmitted "mystically," just as poetry uses fables and parables. In short, we are confronted with a secret language. According to some authorities, there was even an oath not to divulge the secret in books (texts quoted in Eliade, 1978, p. 164).

The stages of the alchemical opus constitute an initiation, a series of specific experiences aimed at the radical transformation of the human condition. But the successful initiate cannot adequately express his new mode of being in a profane language. He is compelled to use a "secret language." Of course, secrecy was a general rule with almost all techniques and sciences in their early stages—from pottery, mining, and metallurgy to medicine and mathematics. The secret transmission of methods, tools, and recipes is abundantly documented in China and in India, as well as in the ancient Near East and Greece. Even so late an author as Galen warns one of his disciples that the medical knowledge that he communicates must be received as an aspirant receives the *teletē* (initiation) in the Eleusinian mysteries. As a matter of fact, being introduced into the secrets of a craft, of a technique, or of a science was tantamount to undergoing an initiation.

It is significant that the injunction to secrecy and occultation is *not* abolished by the successful accomplishment of the alchemical work. According to Ko Hung, the adepts who obtain the elixir and become "immortals" (*hsien*) continue to wander on earth, but they conceal their condition, that is, their immortality, and are recognized as such only by a few fellow alchemists. Likewise, in India there is a vast literature, both in Sanskrit and in the vernaculars, in relation to certain famous *siddhis*, yogin-alchemists who live for centuries but who seldom disclose their identity. One encounters the same belief in central and western Europe: certain Hermetists and alchemists (such as Nicolas Flamel and his wife, Pernelle) were reputed to have lived indefinitely without being recognized by their contemporaries. In the seventeenth century a similar legend circulated about the Rosicrucians and, in the following century, on a more popular level, in relation to the mysterious Comte de Saint-Germain.

ORIGINS OF ALCHEMY. The objects of the alchemical quest—namely, health and longevity, transmutation of base metals into gold, production of the elixir of immortality—have a long prehistory in the East as well as in the West. Significantly, this prehistory reveals a specific mythico-religious structure. Innumerable myths, for instance, tell of a spring, a tree, a plant, or some other substance capable of bestowing longevity, rejuvenation, or even immortality. Now, in all alchemical traditions, but particularly in Chinese alchemy, specific plants and fruits play an important role in the art of prolonging life and recovering perennial youth.

But the central aim of the alchemist was the transformation of ordinary metals into gold. This "noble" metal was imbued with sacrality. According to the Egyptians, the flesh of gods and of pharaohs was made of gold. In ancient India, a text from the eighth century BCE (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 3.8.2.27) proclaims that "gold is immortality." Interpreting alchemy as a mere technique for "turning base metals into precious ones," that is, for *imitating* gold, H. H. Dubs has suggested that the technique originated during the fourth century BCE in China, where the test for gold (which had been practiced in Mesopotamia since the fourteenth century BCE) was unknown. This hypothesis has been rejected, however, by most scholars. According to Nathan Sivin, the belief in physical immortality is documented in China by the eighth century BCE, but not until the fourth century was immortality considered attainable through the use of drugs and other techniques, and "the transformation of cinnabar into gold is not spoken of as possible, according to extant sources, before 133 BC " (Sivin, 1968, p. 25).

MINING, METALLURGY, AND ALCHEMY. Even if the historical beginnings of alchemy are as yet obscure, parallels between certain alchemical beliefs and rituals and those of early miners and metallurgists are clear. Indeed, all these techniques reflect the idea that man can influence the temporal flux. Mineral substances, hidden in the womb of Mother Earth, shared in the sacredness attached to the goddess. Very early we are confronted with the idea that ores "grow" in the belly of the earth after the manner of embryos. Metallurgy thus takes on the character of obstetrics. The miner and metalworker intervene in the unfolding of subterranean embryology: they accelerate the rhythm of the growth of ores; they collaborate in the work of nature and assist it in giving birth more rapidly. In a word, man, with his various techniques, gradually takes the place of time: his labors replace the work of time.

With the help of fire, metalworkers transform the ores (the "embryos") into metals (the "adults"). The underlying belief is that, given enough time, the ores would have become "pure" metals in the womb of Mother Earth. Further, the "pure" metals would have become gold if they had been allowed to "grow" undisturbed for a few more thousand years. Such beliefs are well known in many traditional societies. As early as the second century BCE, Chinese alchemists declared that the "baser" minerals develop after many years into "nobler" minerals, and finally become silver or gold. Similar beliefs are shared by a number of Southeast Asian populations. For instance, the Annamites were convinced that the gold found in mines is formed slowly *in situ* over the course of centuries, and that if one had probed the earth long ago, one would have discovered bronze in the place where gold is found today.

These beliefs survived in western Europe until the industrial revolution. In the seventeenth century one Western alchemist wrote:

> If there were no exterior obstacles to the execution of her designs, Nature would always complete what she wishes to produce. . . . That is why we have to look upon the birth of imperfect metals as we would on abortions and freaks which come about only because Nature has been, as it were, misdirected or because she has encountered some fettering resistance or certain obstacles which prevent her from behaving in her accustomed way. . . . Hence although she wishes to produce only one metal, she finds herself constrained to create several. Gold and only gold is the child of her desires. Gold is her legitimate son because only gold is a genuine production of her efforts. (quoted in Eliade, 1978, p. 50)

THE ALCHEMIST COMPLETES THE WORK OF NATURE. The transmutation of base metals into gold is tantamount to a miraculously rapid maturation. As Simone da Colonia put it: "This Art teaches us to make a remedy called the Elixir, which, being poured on imperfect metals, perfects them completely, and it is for this reason that it was invented" (quoted in Eliade, 1978, p. 166). The same idea is clearly expounded by Ben Jonson in his play *The Alchemist* (1610). One character says that "lead and other metals . . . would be gold if they had time," and another adds, "And that our Art doth further."

Moreover, the elixir is said to be capable of accelerating the temporal rhythm of all organisms and thus of quickening their growth. In a text erroneously attributed to Ramón Lull, one can read that "in Spring, by its great and marvelous heat, the Stone brings life to the plants: if thou dissolve the equivalent of a grain of salt in water, taking from this water enough to fill a nutshell, and then if thou water with it a vinestock, thy vinestock will bring forth ripe grapes in May" (quoted in Ganzenmüller, 1940, p. 159). Furthermore, Chinese as well as Islamic and Western alchemists exalted the elixir for its universal therapeutic virtues: it was said to cure all maladies, to restore youth to the old, and to prolong life by several centuries.

ALCHEMY AND MASTERY OF TIME. Thus it seems that the central secret of "the Art" is related to the alchemist's mastery of cosmic and human time. The early miners and metallurgists thought that, with the help of fire, they could speed up the growth of ores. The alchemists were more ambitious: they thought they could "heal" base metals and accelerate their "maturation," thereby transmuting them into nobler metals and finally into gold. But the alchemists went even further: their elixir was reputed to heal and to rejuvenate men as well, indefinitely prolonging their lives. In the alchemist's eyes, man is *creative:* he redeems nature, masters time; in sum, he perfects God's creation. The myth of alchemy is an optimistic myth; it constitutes, as it were, a "natural eschatology."

It is certainly this conception of man, as an imaginative and inexhaustibly creative being, that explains the survival of the alchemist's ideals in nineteenth-century ideology. Of course, these ideals were radically secularized in that period. Moreover, the fact that they had survived was not immediately evident at the moment when alchemy itself disappeared. Yet the triumph of experimental science did not abolish the dreams and ideals of the alchemist; on the contrary, the new ideology of the nineteenth century crystallized around the myth of infinite progress. Boosted by the development of the experimental sciences and the progress of industrialization, this ideology took up and carried forward—radical secularization notwithstanding—the millenarian dream of the alchemist. The myth of the perfection and redemption of nature has survived in camouflaged form in the Promethean program of industrialized societies, whose aim is the transformation of nature, and especially the transmutation of matter into energy. It was also in the nineteenth century that man succeeded in supplanting time. His desire to accelerate the natural tempo of organic and inorganic beings now began to be realized, as organic chemists demonstrated the possibility of accelerating and even eliminating time by preparing in laboratories and factories substances that would have taken nature thousands of years to produce. With what he recognizes as most essential in himself—his applied intelligence and his capacity for work—modern man takes upon himself the function of temporal duration; in other words, he takes on the role of time.

SEE ALSO Elixir; Gold and Silver; Metals and Metallurgy; Nature, article on Religious and Philosophical Speculations.

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ALCHEMY: CHINESE ALCHEMY

Definitions of alchemy have generally been based on the experience of a single civilization—usually but not always Europe—and tend to imply that traditions that do not follow the chosen pattern are not the real thing. The sole exception is the definition of H. J. Sheppard: "Alchemy is the art of liberating parts of the Cosmos from temporal existence and achieving perfection which for metals is gold, and, for man, longevity, then immortality, and finally, redemption." This definition might be slightly qualified. Longevity and material immortality may or may not accompany salvation in a given time and place. The evolution of other substances from base materials may be more important than that of gold. In China, for instance, cinnabar was the prototype of elixir substances. Adding the specification that the alchemical art uses chemical change to symbolize the processes by which perfection is attained, one can recognize a pattern common to Hellenistic Alexandria, China, Islam, India, and early modern Europe.

The alchemy of each of the great civilizations was distinct in the knowledge on which it drew, in the symbols it created, and in the purposes for which it was used. These peculiarities depended on public structures of meaning as well as on the private discourse of the groups that took up alchemy.

Alchemy began in close alignment with popular religion, especially among educated groups in the Yangze region. It was considered one of several disciplines that could lead to individual spiritual perfection and immortality. Some Daoist movements took up its practice after about 500 CE; it influenced both Buddhist and Daoist symbolism and liturgy. The aims and means of alchemy, some important issues in its history, and its far from clear-cut relations with Daoism and with science are discussed below.

AIMS AND MEANS. Chinese ideals of individual perfection combined three ideas that would have been incompatible in Egypt or Persia. The desire for immortality, which long preceded formal philosophy or religion, was the first of these ideas. In popular culture, ideals of long life evolved into the notion that life need not end. This was not immortality of the soul in isolation, but immortality of the personality—of all that selfhood implied—within an imperishable physical body. In the most elaborate doctrines of immortality, this new physical self was nurtured within by a variety of disciplines including alchemy until, at the moment the "naked child" was fully formed, it would burst forth like a butterfly leaving behind an empty chrysalis, an almost weightless corpse.

The potent personal force that may linger on after someone dies was undifferentiated in the thought of the uneducated, but in the conceptions of specialists it was separated into ten "souls" (three *yanghun* and seven *yinpo*). Their normal postmortem dissipation could be prevented only if the body, their common site, could be made to survive with them. That, as Lu Gwei-djen and Joseph Needham have suggested, is why Chinese immortality was bound to be material.

A second implication of immortality was perfection of the spirit. Because there was no dichotomy between the spiritual and the somatic, the refining of the body was not distinct from the activity of spiritual self-cultivation. Immortality was salvation from decrepitude and death. Piety, ritual, morality, and hygiene were equally essential to the prolongation of life. Regardless of whether one considers popular views or those of Daoist, Buddhist, or Confucian initiates, all these kinds of striving were also requisite for the proper orientation of the individual toward the transcendent Way, the Dao, as each tradition defined it.

A third implication of immortality, alongside spiritual and physical perfection, was assumption into a divine hierarchy. This hierarchy was bureaucratic, a mirror of the temporal order. In fact, the bureaucratic ideal—of a symmetrical organization in which power and responsibility belonged to the post, and only temporarily to the individual who filled it—evolved more or less simultaneously in politics and religion.

There were many paths to simultaneous longevity, salvation, and celestial appointment. Meditational, devotional, and ascetic exercises carried out communally by organized religious movements or privately by individual initiates could be supplemented by physiological disciplines, sexual techniques for augmenting the vital forces, dietary regimens, or alchemy.

Why should alchemy have a part to play in this spiritual quest? To rephrase the question, what could the symbology of chemical interaction contribute? Despite the worldly implications of appointment in the divine order, this aim was reached by a mystic path, a process in which the individual attained union with the Way. This process, itself called the Way, perfectly integrated the cosmos, society, and the person.

To embody the Way one had to experience it, whether through direct illumination or through insight. This experience might begin with knowing, but deepened far beyond the limits of rational cognition. As an early alchemical poem from the *Arcane Memorandum of the Red Pine Master* (*Chisongzu xuan ji,* probably seventh century or earlier) put it,

> The Perfect Dao is a perfect emptying of heart and mind.
> Within the darkness, unknowable wonders.
> When the wise man has attained the August Source
> In time he will truly reach the clouds. (*Yun ji qi qian* 66.14a)

Adepts saw the nurturant aspect of the Way—activity that brings about perfection in the macrocosm or microcosm—in the life cycles of living things in nature. One could speak of life cycles not only in plants and animals but in minerals, which, as in Aristotle, matured from earth. Mineral evolution could transcend decay and death, for its end point was the immutable perfection of cinnabar or gold. The evolution of these two substances from base starting points was an obvious metaphor for the process that made mortals immortal. The elixir (*dan*), originally cinnabar perfected by the Way of nature, came to embody in alchemical thought the potential of humans for perfection. Thus the elixir and the art of making it came to be named for cinnabar (*dan*), even in instances when the latter was not an ingredient.

The work of the alchemist reproduced the perfecting activity of nature. As a text of circa 900 puts it, "natural cyclically transformed elixir is formed when flowing mercury, embracing [lead], becomes pregnant. . . . In 4,320 years the elixir is finished. . . . It embraces the *qi* of sun and moon, *yin* and *yang,* for 4,320 years; thus, upon repletion of its own *qi,* it becomes a cyclically transformed elixir for immortals of the highest grade and for celestial beings. When, in the world below, lead and mercury are subjected to the alchemical process for purposes of immortality, [the artificial elixir] is finished in one year. . . . What the alchemist prepares succeeds because of its correspondence on a scale of thousandths" (*Dan lun jue zhi xin jian,* p. 12b). In other words, the alchemist accomplishes in one year of 4,320 hours (12 Chinese hours per day for a round year of 360 days) what takes nature 4,320 years.

The alchemical process thus is a kind of pilot model of cosmic evolution. The seeker not only shrank time but reproduced the dimensions of the universe within the confines of his laboratory. He reduced the operation of the Way to spatial and temporal dimensions that he could encompass in contemplation, in the hope of becoming one with it.

The alchemist used a great variety of means—mainly quantitative and qualitative correspondences—to manipulate space and time in this way. His laboratory might be oriented to the cardinal directions, his furnace at the very center, both replete with uranic diagrams. The dimensions of the furnace, the emplacement of steps in its platform, the number and placement of doors for firing, all aligned it with respect to sky and earth.

Because the heat of the fire stood for the nurturant cosmic forces, recreating these forces required that he bind fire by time. He thus gradually increased and decreased the intensity of the fire in carefully timed cycles, using weighed amounts of fuel. He reproduced the seasonal cycle of warmth and cold, in the absence of thermometers, using the one precision measuring instrument readily available, the balance. Several carefully designed schedules for increasing and decreasing the weight of charcoal, and charging it into the furnace through a succession of doors, survive. They are not simple cycles, in which the end point is the same as the beginning. Successive end points slowly increase, embodying the notion of a change in the alchemical ingredients at once cyclic and progressive.

This cyclic approach to modeling was also apparent in the ingredients. The most influential early processes used two ingredients or two main ingredients that were *yin* and *yang* with respect to each other. They were conjugated and separated through one cycle after another, yielding (in the eyes of the alchemist) a series of progressively more perfect products. The mercury and lead mentioned earlier are examples; another frequently encountered pair is mercury and sulfur, which combine to form vermilion (artificial cinnabar), from which, by heating at a higher temperature, mercury can be recovered. As an alchemist about a thousand years ago phrased it, "That cinnabar should emerge from mercury and again be killed by mercury; this is the mystery within the mystery" (*Bi yu zhu sha han lin yu shu gui* of Chen Dashi, in *Zhengtong dao zang,* vol. 587). Sometimes the progressive cycle-by-cycle changes were achieved by adding additional ingredients, but in the alchemist's eyes the process remained in principle dyadic.

This does not exhaust the metaphors available to the alchemist for his use in reproducing the cyclical energetics of the Way. The figure of the cosmic egg, nurturing from the yolk the gradual differentiation of the fully formed chick, is familiar in all the great alchemical traditions. The alchemical vessel is often referred to as an egg. Persistently in China the alchemical ingredients were actually sealed inside an eggshell; the earliest detailed instructions come from the ninth century CE or somewhat later, the latest from the mid-seventeenth century. A Ming imperial prince of the early fifteenth century carried this approach to its logical conclusion by incubating his cinnabar-filled eggshell under a hen.

Cosmic process could be reenacted not only in a single room but entirely within the adept's body. Meditative techniques of self-cultivation that involve visualizing the circulation of vital energies or cosmic effluvia within the body are ambiguously documented in the fourth century BCE. By the first century CE, adepts were establishing relations with a hierarchy of gods within their bodies.

There is nothing intrinsically alchemical (or Daoist) about these exercises, but they provided a basis for internalizing the alchemical process. Metaphors were borrowed from the work of the furnace to express the union of opposites in full realization of the Way. As Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein puts it, "it is from his own body that the adept of internal alchemy (*neidan*) constructs his laboratory. In fact he finds within himself all the ingredients and apparatus of traditional alchemy: furnace, reaction vessel, mercury, cinnabar, lead, and other minerals. By a mental and physiological process he furnishes the laboratory, lights the fire of the furnace, keeps watch over the heat, brings about the marriage of the ingredients in the reaction vessel and, once the desired result has been obtained, begins the process anew on a different level" (Hussein, 1984, p. 14).

In an important scripture revealed around 300 CE, the adept controls the movement of the solar pneuma connected with cardiac functions and the lunar pneuma connected with renal functions. The first of these pneumas is called "divine elixir" and the second "liquefied gold." This interiorization of alchemy grew naturally out of the prevalent belief that the body is a microcosm, its vital processes corresponding to those of the physical world, its spirituality embodied in inner gods organized as a mirror image of the celestial and terrestrial bureaucracies.

In the pursuit of these disciplines it is not the product that matters but the process. Even some texts of external alchemy either say nothing about ingesting the elixir, or assert that immortality results from witnessing the "great work." Some descriptions of the forms and colors of the elixir when the reaction vessel is opened suggest that alchemists contemplated the product in a heightened state of consciousness.

If a protracted personal experience is the means to immunity from death, the benefits of alchemy cannot be transferable. But alchemy had other dimensions that made the transfer of elixirs highly desirable. This art could be a source of patronage, whether to underwrite its substantial expenses or to yield profit. A pre-alchemical tradition in medicine made natural drugs of the highest grade effective means to immortality (the two lower grades of drugs replenish depleted vitalities and cure illness). By a natural extension of this line of thought, many physicians studied alchemy as a source of new medicines, and alchemists adapted established drugs to their work.

Many surviving alchemical writings aim at the straightforward preparation of economically or therapeutically desirable substances. Such sources tend naturally to discuss the preparation of alchemical gold as well as elixirs related to cinnabar. Gold is a matter of relatively minor concern in the central tradition of laboratory alchemy that emphasizes individual self-cultivation.

HISTORY. This section will explore three issues pertinent to the relations of religion and alchemy: the beginnings of alchemy in China, the character of change in alchemy, and the historical relations of external and internal alchemy.

Whether alchemy originated earlier in Hellenistic Egypt or China remains uncertain. The earliest testimony from either society has not yet been rigorously dated to within a century. Differing views about Chinese origins vary largely with willingness to accept legends as historical statements.

Cinnabar and similar blood-colored compounds have been connected with ideas of death and immortality since the Neolithic period; that is how most scholars interpret the archaic custom of sprinkling red powders on corpses to be buried. The splendidly preserved corpse of the Lady of Dai (died shortly after 168 BCE, excavated 1972) contained high concentrations of mercury and lead. These elements were distributed in a way consistent with ingestion before death. Traces in the intestines include native cinnabar, frequently prescribed by physicians as an immortality drug, rather than an artificial elixir. Some historians claim that an edict dated 144 BCE against falsifying gold proves the prevalence of alchemy, but it presents no evidence that anything more was involved than artisans' use of alloys. In 133 BCE the Martial Emperor was told by an occultist that eating from plates of artificial gold would lengthen his life so that he could seek out certain immortals and, with their help, become an immortal himself by performing certain rituals. This request for patronage links gold indirectly with immortality and suggests that the direct alchemical linkage had not yet been made. As patronage increasingly became available in the decades that followed, the lore of immortals with whom patrons could be put in touch proliferated. "Medicines of immortality" were frequently mentioned, but without calling them artificial. Critical scholars find clear proof of the emergence of alchemy only in the earliest treatises on the subject: the first chapter of the *Huangdi jiuding shendan jing* (Canon of the nine-vessel divine elixir of the Yellow Lord), before the second century CE, and *Zhouyi cantong qi* (Token of the concordance of the three; the title originated by c. 140 CE, and the text after 700).

The chronological priority of East or West is not in fact a pressing issue unless the undertaking in question is substantially the same in both parts of the world. That is not the case. Needham pinpoints one significant difference when he defines Chinese alchemy as a combination of macrobiotics (the quest for material immortality through drugs) and aurifaction (the attempt to make true gold by artificial means, as distinguished from "aurification," in which gold is consciously faked). These definitions ignore the centrality of cinnabar. Needham notes that macrobiotics was conspicuously missing from the early occidental art, which he therefore does not consider "true" alchemy.

Other scholars evaluate not only the techniques of the alchemists but also their beliefs. The types of spiritual experience outlined above and the relation of alchemical success to appointment in a divine hierarchy are unique to China. They suggest that the alchemical quest in East Asia, as in Alexandria, cannot be adequately defined by technical goals. Both civilizations used chemical methods and metaphors for redemptive ends. The goals differed because Chinese and Hellenistic Egyptian structures of meaning and values differed. It is fitting to speak of the corresponding arts of both as "true" alchemy and to conclude that—on present knowledge—they emerged at roughly the same time.

The alchemists, unlike modern historians, did not believe that their art evolved or changed. As in any other Chinese religious or technical tradition, its practitioners assumed that its every possibility had been laid out in the archaic, divine revelations that founded it. In alchemy there were several of these seminal works, including the two already mentioned. These scriptures were to be passed down intact to those worthy to receive them, supplemented by oral explanations. Much explanation was needed, for the *Zhouyi cantong qi* was packed with metaphor and symbol, its density multilayered. In a degraded age, alchemists could grasp the inexhaustible meanings of the Sages only approximately. The issue was not progress in knowledge but regaining ancient wisdom.

Nevertheless, when a modern scientist reads them, alchemical writings over the centuries exhibit an increasingly comprehensive knowledge of chemical processes. They were also increasingly able to accommodate new impulses from popular religion. Some adepts were aware of this new content in alchemy. They attributed it to additional (but in principle timeless) revelations. It is often immortals in disguise, "remarkable men" met in strange circumstances or seen in dreams or visions, who grant them. The static ideal did not rule out change.

Current understanding suggests that, although the earliest alchemy was that of chemical processes, external and internal alchemy fused by the time of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*. This book brings an elaborate symbolism to bear on processes that can be understood equally well as external or internal to the body. The book refers not only to the internal alchemy of imaginative visualization but also to sexual disciplines that give the marriage of opposites its ultimately literal expression. Later alchemists disagree about whether sexual practices further or hinder immortality, but a number of important adepts follow the *Zhouyi cantong qi* in seeing external, internal, and sexual alchemy as aspects of a single process. In fact, the language of certain texts makes it impossible to be certain whether they are concerned with operations on mineral ingredients.

External alchemy did not retain the vitality of its internal analogue. Writings that reflect new knowledge of chemical processes became rare after about 1000. Later writers often said that only outsiders believe that alchemy is to be done—or was ever done—in the laboratory. It thus appears that innovation in the procedures of external alchemy—although not in their meanings—had largely ceased. This has been explained by a revival of Confucian ideals that discouraged educated people from doing artisanal work. Another reason may be the ascendancy of meditation and visualization over practical operations in the Daoist movements that attracted elite enthusiasts in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Occult and manual practices, as noted above, were not mutually exclusive earlier. Another likely cause is widespread awareness that a number of emperors and high officials had died as a result of taking alchemical elixirs. To the adept the appearance of death was a sign that the perfected self had hatched out of the old body and taken office among the immortals. To secular humanists intolerant of popular beliefs, this seemed a foolish rationale for suicide.

ALCHEMY, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION. Alchemy has been studied mainly by historians of chemistry, who have shown that the Chinese art exploited the properties of many chemical substances and even incorporated considerable knowledge of quantitative relations. Scholars of medical history have demonstrated close connections between alchemy and medicine, in the substances and processes on which both drew and in the use of artificial, mainly inorganic "elixirs" by physicians to treat disease and lengthen life. Historians have tended to see alchemy as a fledgling science, a precursor of modern inorganic chemistry and iatrochemistry. Lu and Needham speak of internal alchemy as "protobiochemistry."

This view overlooks the fact that the goals of alchemy were not cognitive. They were consistently focused on spiritual cultivation and immortality, and largely concerned with reenacting cosmic process for purposes of contemplation. It is impossible to be certain that alchemists discovered any new chemical interaction or process. Because alchemists were literate and craftsmen were not, it is only to be expected that innovations by the latter would be first recorded by the former (who were almost the only members of the elite greatly interested in the chemical arts). Claims that alchemists played major roles in developing gunpowder and distillation apparatus are not supported by independent evidence about the state of contemporary industrial processes, which are still poorly explored for the first millennium CE. Similarly, too little of the medical literature has been studied to confirm that alchemists gave more to medicine than they took from it.

The idea that alchemy is Daoist by nature, or was invented by Daoists, has not survived advances since about 1970 in historical studies of Daoism. In the Celestial Master sect and other early Daoist movements drugs (including artificial preparations) were forbidden; only religious rituals and confession of sins could procure health and salvation. Upper-class initiates gradually began to use immortality drugs already fashionable in the north. As refugees after the fall of Loyang in 311 they encountered elixirs in the Yangtze region, where alchemy had long been established among popular immortality practices. The aristocratic southerners they displaced in positions of temporal power invented new religious structures to assert, by way of compensation, their spiritual superiority. Michel Strickmann has demonstrated that in doing so they adapted northern Daoist usages to local popular practices, in which immortality and alchemy were central, and in which the religious use of inorganic drugs was usual. Tao Hongjing, a man of noble southern antecedents, drew on revelations inherited from fourth-century predecessors when he founded the Supreme Purity (or Maoshan) Daoist movement under imperial patronage in about 500. Tao adapted not only old southern techniques but elaborate structures of alchemical and astral imagery. He thus formed a movement that captured upper-class allegiance, supported state power, and was supported in return for more than five centuries. He incorporated alchemical practices and symbols with Daoism—the particular Daoism that he created—for the first time. Alchemy did not originate in the Daoist milieu, and was never confined to it. Similarly, the role of alchemy in movements other than Dao's varied too greatly to constitute a fixed relationship.

See Also Dao and De; Soul, article on Chinese Concepts.

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ALCHEMY: INDIAN ALCHEMY

In South Asia, alchemy is inseparable from its religious contexts. Apart from Islamic alchemy, largely imported from Persia, nearly all of the documented alchemical traditions of the Indian subcontinent have been Hindu. The sole extant indigenous non-Hindu works containing significant alchemical data are the Buddhist *Kālacakra Tantra* with its eleventh-century CE *Vimalaprabhā* commentary, and an eleventh- or twelfth-century CE Jain text, the *Rasaratnasamucchaya* of Māṇikyadeva Sūri. Therefore, the focus of the present article will be Hindu alchemy.

A number of scientific subfields and disciplines, linked with a body of religious practices and techniques, comprise Hindu alchemy. These include metallurgy, traditional Indian medicine in its northern (*āyurveda*) and southern (*siddhacikitsā*) forms, iatrochemisty (*rasa śāstra*, the "science of essential substances"), rejuvenation therapy (*rasāyana*, the "path of essential substances"), sexual rehabilitation therapy (*vājīkaraṇa*), transmutational alchemy (*dhātuvāda*, the "doctrine of the elements"), elixir alchemy (*dehavāda*, the "doctrine of the body"), *haṭhayoga*, and Tantra. Although *rasa śāstra*, which persists as a subfield of Āyurveda, has incorporated many of the old alchemical formulas, apparatuses, techniques, and nomenclatures into its production of plant- and mineral-based pharmaceuticals for therapeutic use, there are no practitioners of elixir or transmutational alchemy on the Indian subcontinent today. Moreover, there are virtually no archaeological or inscriptional data related to the practice of alchemy. Therefore, any historical reconstruction of the Hindu alchemical tradition, which flourished between around 900 and 1300 CE, will of necessity be based on textual data; that is, on what may be termed the Hindu alchemical canon.

BASIC PRINCIPLES. The polyvalent term *rasa* is central to an understanding of Hindu alchemy. From the time of the Vedas, *rasa* has signified "fluid, juice, sap" (it is a cognate of the English "resin"). With the emergence of the alchemical tradition, the term took on a number of specialized uses, including "essential element" and "mercury." The former is a general term, applied to a group of alchemical reagents usually described as consisting of eight primary (*mahārasas*) and eight secondary (*uparasas*) elements, while the latter constitutes the supreme fluid that is quicksilver, identified by Śiva, the supreme alchemical deity, as his own essential element, i.e., his semen. (In the eleventh-century CE alchemical classic the *Rasārṇava*, Śiva reveals that "because it is the *rasa* [essential element, vital fluid] of my body, one is to call it *rasa* [mercury]" [1:36].) Mercury, purified and potentiated through its interactions with sulfur and mica—the *mahārasas* that are the mineral homologues of the female discharge (*rajas*) of Śiva's consort, the Goddess—effects the transformation of both metals and the human body into their higher essences in the Indian great chain of being. Because the universe in all its parts is constantly being regenerated out of the sexual union of the divine in its male and female hypostases, all vital animal, mineral, and vegetable substances are emanates or devolutes of divine sexual emissions; and because all participate in the same flow of the godhead, all are interchangeable, recombinatory, and perfectible. Therefore, elixir therapy, transmutation, *haṭhayoga*, and the erotico-mystical elements of Tantra are all interpenetrating and mutually reinforcing bodies of practice that fall under the general rubric of Hindu alchemy.

The theory and practice of Hindu alchemy is predicated on the concept of the perfectibility of matter, as found in both the emanationist metaphysics of Vedānta philosophy and in certain elements of dualist Sāṃkhya philosophy. According to Samkhyan metaphysics, *prakṛti*, materiality, the "stuff" of the universe, has disintegrated into twenty-five categories (*tattvas*) that can be reintegrated back into their higher evolutes. Therefore earth, the lowest of the five gross elements (*mahābhūtas*), has the potential to be reintegrated into ether, the highest element in the series, via the intermediate elements water, fire, and air. The same capacity of the higher *tattvas* of the Samkhyan hierarchies—to reintegrate their lower devolutes into themselves without themselves being modified—applies to the hierarchized elements (*dhātus*) of Hindu alchemy. In the words of the tenth-century CE *Rasahṛdaya Tantra* of Govinda, arguably the earliest systematic work on Hindu alchemy, "Woody plants are absorbed into lead; lead into tin, and tin likewise into copper. Copper [is absorbed] into silver, silver into gold, and gold is absorbed into mercury" (1:12). A parallel dynamic is observable in the *cakra* system of Hindu *haṭhayoga*, a tradition that emerged in approximately the same period.

At the heart of tantric alchemy are eighteen operations (*saṃskāras*) leading to the "perfectioning" of chemical reagents, and most especially of naturally occurring mercury, which must be purified and potentiated before it can be applied to other bodies, both metallic and human. The first sixteen of these *saṃskāras* prime mercury for the final two operations, *vedha* (transmutation: literally "penetration, piercing") and *śarīrayoga* (transubstantiation, bodily transformation: literally "body work"), in which mercury truly confounds itself with the metallic or flesh-and-blood "bodies" in question, ultimately replacing them with a mercurial or alchemical body.

The Hindu alchemical and hathayogic scriptures repeatedly invoke the goal of becoming "a second Śiva," which echoes the goal of mainstream medieval Śaiva practice as described in the Āgamas: one does not seek to become Śiva, but rather to become intimately close to Śiva, or to become *like* Śiva. Similarly, the alchemist's goal is not to become mercury, but rather, to become *like* mercury—capable of transmuting base metals into gold and human bodies into superhuman bodies—to become mercurial. It is in this way that transmutation is described in Hindu alchemical texts. Purified and potentiated mercury simultaneously penetrates and absorbs base metals into itself, causing them to become their higher evolutes, until alchemical gold is realized. At the end of the process, the transmuting mercury has itself disappeared: there is only gold, the noble, "immortal" metal, which can never be further transmuted into mercury itself. The relationship between transmutation and bodily transformation, in which the alchemist's body is itself transformed into an immortal, unaging, perfected, golden or adamantine body, is explained in the *Rasārṇava*: "As in metal, so in the body. Mercury ought always to be employed thusly. When it penetrates a metal and the body, [mercury] behaves in an identical way: first test [mercury] on a metal, then use it in the body" (17:164–165). The relationship of these processes to Śaiva metaphysics is clearly stated in the thirteenth- or fourteenth-century CE *Kulārṇava Tantra*: "Just as penetration by mercury brings about aurifaction [in metals], so the self, penetrated through initiation, attains Śiva-hood" (14:89). Ultimately, the transmutation of base metals into gold was, for the alchemist (although perhaps not for his royal clients), but a means to the higher end of bodily immortality and perfectibility, to becoming a second Śiva.

HISTORICAL PARAMETERS. Although nearly every aspect of Indian alchemy is Hindu in its worldview and metaphysical assumptions, it remains a fact that mercury, the *materia prima* of alchemy, does not occur naturally anywhere on the subcontinent, except in trace quantities, in the form of cinnabar (mercuric sulfide) in zones of geothermal activity. Some Sanskrit terms for mercury indicate the foreign origin of the metal, which likely came to India overland or by sea from China, Tibet, or the Mediterranean world. These terms include *cīnapiṣṭa* ("Chinese powder"), *pārada* (a reference to either the Parthian or Pārada lands of Transoxiania or Baluchistan), and *mleccha* ("barbarian"). South Indian Sittar alchemy likely received its mercury through such port cities as Surat and Madras, which remain centers for the fabrication of synthetic cinnabar and calomel (mercurous chloride) from imported mercury and indigenous Indian minerals. Sittar tradition maintains that its founding alchemists Nandi and Bogar both traveled to China.

The most remarkable evidence of cultural exchanges in matters alchemical is a body of instructions for the extraction of quicksilver from the "wells" in which it naturally occurs. Virtually identical instructions are found in a fourth-century CE Syriac recension of the alchemical corpus attributed to the Greek Pseudo-Zosimus, in the twelfth- or thirteenth-century CE *Rasendracūḍāmaṇi* of Somadeva, and in the seventeenth-century CE Chinese encyclopedia, the *Ho han san cai tu hui*. In all three sources, mercury is induced to rise up out of its well when a naked maiden rides or walks past it: when the flowing metal pursues her, it is captured by alchemists and "killed" by them. Furthermore, the Chinese source identifies the land in which this mercurial well is found as *fou lin,* i.e. Syria, "far to the west." Clearly, the details of this fantastic extraction technique traveled along the same trade routes—via the Silk Road and China ships—as mercury itself. Similarities between Indian, Greek, and Chinese alchemical apparatuses and laboratory procedures are striking, but are best explained by the chemical behavior of the reagents themselves, and by the similar results of trial-and-error experiments with techniques of distillation, amalgamation, fixation, and so in the allied technologies of metallurgy, coinage, and perfumery.

The history of Indian alchemy may be broken down into three chronological phases—of magical, tantric, and Siddha alchemy. In the first of these phases, dating from about 300 to 900 CE, alchemy is the stuff of fairy tales. Transmutation and bodily immortality are its stated goals, but the means to these ends are a matter of serendipity: nowhere are laboratory techniques for the processing of mercury or the production of alchemical gold broached. Its watchword is *rasa-rasāyana*—a miraculous elixir and one of the eight supernatural powers (*siddhis*) of Gupta-age and early medieval Indian mysticism. Most often, this is an elixir or power that one wins or spirits away from gods, demigods (called Siddhas), or demons, often by traveling to their atmospheric or subterranean worlds. Alchemy of this sort becomes a staple of secular adventure and fantasy literature in this period, with kings and princes often cast in the roles of alchemical seekers.

Tantric alchemy bursts upon the scene in the tenth century, and the four hundred years that follow constitute India's alchemical "golden age." There are a number of reasons for referring to this period and its collection of alchemical classics as "tantric. " Not only are the goals of tantric alchemy consistent with those of the broader Hindu tantric tradition, but so too are the means it employs to attaining those goals. The alchemical Tantras abound in references to tantric formulae (*mantras*) and diagrams (*maṇḍalas*), as well as in descriptions of divine pantheons, yogic and meditative techniques, sexual and ritual practices, and the Śākta-Śaiva devotionalism that are the hallmarks of Hindu Tantra. Many of the major alchemical works of the period call themselves Tantras, and are cast as the revealed teachings of Śiva (often in his tantric Bhairava form) to one or another tantric form of the Goddess (Pārvatī, Kākacaṇḍeśvarī, etc.).

What truly sets tantric alchemy apart from magical alchemy is the rigor of its method and the remarkable breadth of the botanical, mineralogical, chemical, geographical, religious, and technical knowledge it mobilizes in the pursuit of its ambitious ends. While Chinese and Persian alchemical traditions no doubt interacted with tantric alchemy, the content of the Indian alchemical classics is so specifically Indian (and Hindu) as to preclude any possibility of wholesale borrowing. The roots of the revolution that was tantric alchemy may be traced back to the powerful impact of Tantra on medieval Indian technologies of power on the one hand, and to developments within the medical schools on the other. In this latter context, a gradual phasing out of the practice of surgery (*śalyatantra*)—a development some attribute to the pervasive influence of the Buddhist ideal of noninjury (*ahiṁsā*)—seems to have been compensated for by discoveries and innovations in the field of mercury- and mineral-based pharmacy.

An explanation for the near absence of South Asian Buddhist alchemical literature is in order here. Two reasons may be adduced, the first of which is historical. By the time tantric alchemy emerged in India, Buddhism was very much on the wane on the subcontinent. Two relatively early Buddhist works, the *Subāhuparipṛccha* (pre-726 CE) and Śāntideva's *Śīkṣāsamucchaya* (eighth century CE), contain short passages on magical alchemy; but apart from the second chapter of the *Kālacakra Tantra* (likely composed in twentieth-century Pakistan), the only post-tenth-century Buddhist discussions of external alchemy come from Tibet, Burma (Myanmar), or east Asia. The second reason is philosophical. Generally speaking, the focus of Buddhism is more psychological than that of Hinduism, and so it is that much of what constitutes Indo-Tibetan Buddhist alchemy is of an internal, symbolic order. Through yogic practice, mercury, identified with male Skill in Means (*upāya*), and sulfur, identified with female Wisdom (*prajñā*), are united internally, effecting a bodily transformation conceptualized as the fixing of the Thought of Enlightenment (*bodhicitta*). This is not to say that mercury-based alchemy (called "gold-making") had no place in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism: rather, because the practitioner was dependent on external elements rather than his own contemplative practice, it was deemed inferior.

In India, external, laboratory-based Hindu alchemy would also become internalized from the thirteenth century onward. No original works on the subject appear after 1300 CE, and much of elixir alchemy becomes applied to more modest therapeutic ends in the emergent field of iatrochemistry. There was, however, a final phase in the history of Indian alchemy that may be referred to as Siddha alchemy. This is most readily identified by its emphasis on combining the use of mercurial preparations with the practice of external sexual and internal yogic techniques, with the aim of attaining both an immortal, unaging body and the status or mode of being of a semi-divine Siddha. Practitioners of Siddha alchemy often referred to themselves as *Siddhas*—that is, the "Perfected Beings" they aspired to become through their practice. This two-pronged approach is already alluded to in the *Rasārṇava*: "Mercury and breath [control] are known as the Work in two parts" (1:18). Over time, the external, laboratory techniques, as well as the use of mercury-based compounds as elixirs and agents of transmutation would come to be fully internalized in the various techniques of *haṭhayoga*; however, a close examination of the terminology and dynamics of the latter tradition shows that it developed, at least in part, out of the former.

One may deduce from internal textual references, manuscript colophons, and Siddha lists that most of the authors of the major tantric alchemical works were either court physicians or members of one of the medieval Śākta-Śaiva or tantric religious orders. Many of these authors had names ending in the *-nātha* suffix, and their names figure in a number of lists of Siddhas found in both Indo-Tibetan Buddhist and Hindu sources. These include lists of the Buddhist Mahāsiddhas and of a number of Hindu groups: the Tamil Sittars of the eastern Deccan, the Māheśvara Siddhas of the western Deccan, the alchemical Rasa Siddhas, and the hathayogic Nāth Siddhas. Internal geographical references point to the Vindhya region and western Deccan as the heartland of Indian alchemical practice, in spite of the fact that the literature identifies the Himalayan region and Inner Asia as the source of many of its botanical and mineral reagents. Śriśailam, a sacred Śaiva mountain located in the eastern Deccan, is the most frequently mentioned "paradise" of Indian alchemy, and it is here, on the outer walls of the Mallikārjuna Temple, that one finds the sole extant sculpted images of Siddha alchemists and their apparatuses. These bas-reliefs date from about 1300 to 1400 CE.

Apart from the foundational *Rasahṛdaya Tantra* and *Rasārṇava* already mentioned, the "canonical" works of Indian alchemy include the following, all from the common era: the twelfth-century *Kākacaṇḍeśvarīmata* and *Rasopaniṣat*; Gorakhnāth's *Bhūtiprakaraṇa* and Somadeva's *Rasendracūḍāmaṇi*, both from the twelfth or thirteenth century; Yaśodhara Bhaṭṭa's *Rasaprakāśasudhākara*, Nityanātha's *Rasaratnākara*, and the *Mātṛkabheda Tantra*, all from the thirteenth century; Nāgārjuna's *Rasendramaṅgala* and Vāgbhaṭṭa the Second's *Rasaratnasamucchaya*, both from the thirteenth or fourteenth century; the fourteenth-century *Ānandakanda*, and Ādinātha's *Khecarī Vidyā*, also from the fourteenth century.

SEE ALSO Āyurveda; Gorakhnāth; Nāgārjuna.

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DAVID GORDON WHITE (1987 AND 2005)

ALCHEMY: HELLENISTIC AND MEDIEVAL ALCHEMY

By the beginning of the Christian era, a change in secular and religious attitudes can be discerned. The rationalism that had guided the thinking of the elite in previous times waned, and the rise of skepticism and loss of direction led to a philosophical vacuum that stimulated a recourse to mystic intuition and divine mysteries. The area of the Roman Empire in which this process became primarily manifest was Egypt, where, after the conquest by Alexander the Great (in 332 BCE), the culture of Hellenism with its fusion of Greek and Eastern features was centered. The fashionable mystery beliefs subsumed under the names of Gnosticism and Hermetism exerted a strong attraction for practitioners of the occult sciences (astrology, magic, and medicine) as well as alchemy, the art of making gold: previously, men of science had by thought process and investigations obtained what they now expected to receive through divine revelation or supernatural inspiration. In short, science—as revealed knowledge and, for the alchemist, as a means of creating gold—turned into religion.

Such a link between alchemy and Gnosticism and Hermetism is most tangibly documented in the occult literature of Hellenistic Egypt from about the second to the fourth century. This emphasizes, first, the fact that alchemy, beyond being a craft devoted to changing matter, has a place also within the history of religions and, second, that in the alchemist's religious beliefs the general Gnostic tenets blended with his specific alchemical approach to the world. The impact of the craft can be discerned in four aspects of the cult: its doctrine, its ritual, its language, and its roots.

DOCTRINE. The soul is enchained in matter and is to be freed. Science as traditionally expounded in the schools was unable to liberate it. Only gnosis, the knowledge of God, could accomplish the task, and to convey gnosis, alchemy transformed itself into an esoteric religion. The beliefs were fantastic: visions, the chemical apparatus as a temple, the alchemical operation as a sacrificial act, mental baptism in the Hermetic vessel called the *kratēr*, and the ascension to God by means of a mystic ladder that transports the soul from the discord and suffering below to the divine order above. The doctrines of alchemy as a religion echoed the principles of alchemy as a science. These were essentially three: primal matter, sympathy, and transmutation.

Primal matter. The *opus alchimicum*, ("the alchemist's labor") centered on matter. Nobody knew, of course, what matter was, and it remained a secret of alchemy, although many chemical, mythological, and philosophical definitions were ventured in the course of time (Jung, 1953, p. 317). Thus, the *Tabula Smaragdina* (the revelation of secret alchemical teaching, of the ninth century but based on Hermetic sources) identified matter with God, because all created objects come from a single primal matter; and Comarius, an alchemist-philosopher (first century CE?) identified it with Hades, to whom the imperfect souls were chained (Jung, pp. 299, 319). Such perceptions of matter echo the alchemist's craft: his operation was, in mythical terms, a replica of divine creativity, aiming at the liberation of imprisoned matter. The inherent anthropomorphic view of matter, the "vitalist hypothesis," was going to play a fundamental role in the "sacred art," alchemy: metals, that is, matter, were considered living organisms, which are born, grow, and multiply. With the alchemist's preoccupation with matter and his belief that the divine soul is enchained in matter, he "takes upon himself the duty of carrying out the redeeming *opus*" (Jung, p. 306). Thus seen, the alchemist evolves into a priest.

Sympathy. The anthropomorphic perception of matter that assigned to the metal a human soul correlated with an occult system according to which the supposed affinity between substances expressed itself in a mutual attraction or rejection, that is, either "sympathy" or "antipathy." Such a bond linked, in particular, our world "below" to the world "above," the microcosm of man to the macrocosm of planetary divinities. The system of correspondences elaborated, for example, by the second-century astrologer Antiochus of Athens (Sheppard, *Ambix* 7, p. 46) embraced, in addition to "above" and "below," also elements, metals, and colors.

Already Maria Prophetissa (fl. early third century), also known as the "founding mother of alchemy," heralded the principle of parallelism: "Just as man results [from the association] of liquids, of solids, and of spirit, so does copper." Zosimos of Panopolis in Egypt (fl. c. 300), recognizing the identity between the behavior of matter and the events in his own (unconscious) psyche, condensed this complex insight into the formula "What is within is also without."

Transmutation. The third facet of alchemical religiosity was also linked to the alchemist's practice. A basic alchemical tenet stated that all substances could be derived through transmutation from primal matter. The technique of change consisted essentially in "coloring": the Egyptian alchemists did not intend to "make" gold but to color (*baptein*) metals and textiles through tinctures and elixirs so that they would "appear" like gold (or silver or some other metal). A "changed" metal, then, was a "new" metal. The technique of coloring evolved, in the end, into a powerful symbol of alchemical doctrine; for just as the alchemist transformed lead into silver, and silver into gold, so too he posited for matter, in his anthropomorphic view of it, a similar change, from body to spirit to soul. And in the frame of his doctrine, he identified this escalation with the renewal of man, to which he assigned the same chain of transmutations to reach the goal of redemption.

The ritual. Although the alchemist, who represented the religious bent of his profession, has been viewed as a priest, the identity of his congregation remains unknown. The sources, reading somewhat like tracts of edification, transmit no detail. Some have sensed in the texts evidence of the existence of a loosely structured brotherhood. Others, above all Festugière (1950, pp. 427–428), took the alchemical devotion (like the Hermetic) to be a cult adhered to by individuals or groups who practiced the "sacred art" and came under the spell of the mystic beliefs inherent in their work. Those nonpractitioners of alchemy who felt attracted were possibly members of the intelligentsia drawn to that particular version of modish Gnosticism.

The code that the devotee observed had various specific features. They concern the transmission of the creed, first to him and then from him, and the way of life expected of a spiritual father.

The mystagogues. The myth of transmission added the religious component to alchemical mysticism. The spokesmen invoked the authority of the supreme being, or its prophets, or the sages of old: "Behold [says Isis to her son as alchemist], the mystery has been revealed to you!" (Festugière, 1950, p. 260). Maria Prophetissa claimed that alchemical secrets were revealed to her by God. The Byzantine monk Marianus quoted alchemists saying to Maria: "The divine, hidden, and always splendid, secret is revealed to you."

With Egypt providing the setting of the cult, Egyptian mythical figures and divinities were the prime well-spring of inspiration: chiefly Thoth (Hellenized as Hermes Trismegistos), the legendary author of the Hermetica, and Isis, turned into the creators and teachers of alchemy to whom alchemical sayings and doctrines were attributed. Various Greek writings on alchemy that contained traces of Jewish monotheism were ascribed to Moses, probably in a homonymic transfer from the alchemist Moses of Alexandria. Later on, Jewish alchemical tradition evoked Enoch, the Jewish counterpart to Hermes. The Greek alchemist Pseudo-Democritus, looking in Memphis for enlightenment, conjured the ghost of the Persian Ostanes, the "Hellenized magus" of alchemy, who advised him: "The books are in the temple." Zosimos, our major source, owed his knowledge to the wisdom of Hermes.

Traditio mystica. The "sacred craft" was a secret craft. The goddess Isis instructs her son Horus: "Keep it a great secret [*megalomusterion*]." The initiated were forbidden to divulge their knowledge; they could pass it on only to their "legitimate sons" and to those who were "worthy." Alchemy, known through revelation, remained a privilege of the few, and the taboo of disclosure, well guarded through the ages, in an impressive example of *traditio mystica*, a very Hermetic feature.

Portrait of the alchemist. Just as revelation strikes the priest, so the divine mystery overwhelms the alchemist and shapes his way of life. His *opus* is not so much determined by technical knowledge and manual skill but, rather, by its true goal, redemption. His soul is to be saved. He has to strive for detachment from matter, for liberation from his passions, and for suppression of his body. He is spiritual man, alone, in search of himself, on a silent quest for God.

THE LANGUAGE OF ALCHEMY. Alchemy, like every other movement in the history of civilization, found its own forms of expression. Their pseudoscientific orientation imparted to the alchemical writings the stamp of mystery, and by displaying the "jargon of mysteries" (Festugière, 1950, p. 82) these texts produced the effect of liturgy and secured a screen against the profane. Three stylistic markers stand out:

Symbols. The alchemist, in the formulation of Wayne Shuhmaker, "did not analyze but analogized," and his own universe, metallurgy, provided the mythical imagery and stimulated new meanings. The alchemical *opus* centered on the change of matter, and transmutation of matter turned into the recurrent theme of the alchemist's cult. To him, the soul imprisoned in matter symbolized the spirit striving to purify itself from the roughage of the flesh. Matter was represented above all by metal and symbolized life and man, its growth comparable to the growth of the fetus. "The achievement of metallic transmutation became symbolic of the religious regeneration of the human soul" (Sheppard, *Ambix* 17, p. 77). With technical alchemy providing the similes that expressed Gnostic religiousity, the two-tiered semantic construct evolved that was characteristic of Hellenistic and medieval mystic language: the worldly, exoteric lexicon furnished the "surface," the *sensus litteralis*, but when applied to esoteric experience it yielded the hidden meaning, the *sensus allegoricus*.

Many lexical items were drawn into the process: thus, in the Valentinian system of Gnosticism (deriving from the second-century Egyptian Valentinus), metallurgical terms such as the following symbolized spiritual concepts. *Pneuma* signified, first, the product of natural sublimation, then, "divine spirit"; *ebullient* ("boiling up"), referring to the alchemical process of "separating the pure from the impure," was applied to wisdom; *sperma* (the "embryonic germ") yielded the "seed" of gnosis; in a similar way, such terms as *refine*, *filter*, and *purify* acquired spiritualized meanings. The transfer, through alchemy, from the literal to the symbolic realm contributed richly to the language of religion and, generally, abstraction. It indicates a conscious effort of the alchemist to frame his views in the terms of his craft.

Antonyms. Hellenistic alchemy tended to emphasize the varied contraries inherent in the craft: hot/cold, moist/dry, earth/air, fire/water. Antonymic structure was symbolically superimposed on matter: Maria Prophetissa distinguished metals as male and female as if they were human, and Zosimos distinguished between the metals' souls and bodies. The same antonymy, but with the focus on man himself, characterizes Gnostic dualism with its model of spiritual versus carnal man.

Aphorisms. Technical prescriptions, and in particular those that aimed at the transformation of matter, tended to be sharpened and honed so as to sound, in their lapidary style, like keys to mysteries. Such aphorisms, often bordering on the abstruse, were a favored feature of alchemical doctrine. For example, the first commandment requires secrecy and elitism: "One man to one man." Pseudo-Democritus, on the subject of liberating the imprisoned soul, declared "Transform the nature and make the spirit that is hidden inside the body come out." Maria Prophetissa said likewise, "Invert nature and you will find that which you seek."

Transmutation was tied to the law of sympathy and antipathy: "One nature rejoices in another nature; one nature triumphs over another nature; one nature masters another nature." One of Maria's axioms that subsumed a complex alchemical procedure was read by Jung (1953, p. 23) in psychological terms, according to which the even numbers signified the female principle and the odd numbers the male, the latter overwhelming the former: "One becomes two, two becomes three, and by means of the third the fourth achieves unity; thus two are but one." Maria focuses also on an analogy made between metals and humankind: "Join the male and the female, and you will find what you seek." A well-known aphorism expresses the analogy between macrocosm and microcosm: "That which is above is like to that which is below, and that which is below is like to that which is above." Several maxims rest on the principle of antonymy. The symbol of the serpent biting its tail is used to circumscribe diversity in unity: "The All is one and the All is through itself and the All goes to itself, and if it had not the All there would be no

All." The philosophers' stone is simply defined as "a stone that is not a stone."

ROOTS. The essence of the strange and complex phenomenon of alchemy is elusive, and its various interpreters were inclined to stress the feature that each considered, in genetic terms, to be its foundation. In particular, four possible sources have been isolated: classical philosophy, mystery creeds, the lore of the craft, and the workings of the unconscious.

Classical philosophy. The great cognitions of the classical tradition, from the pre-Socratics to Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics, resurfaced in eclectic Hellenistic philosophy. Numerous doctrines prefigured crucial phases of the alchemical worldview: the concept of a primal matter; the unity of matter (seen in, say, water or fire); cosmic correspondences; the affinity of the similar; the microcosm reflecting the macrocosm; the notion of sympathy; transformation through *pneuma*, the all pervading spirit; genesis, that is, the origin of one element from another, proceding by way of opposites.

Mystery creeds. Hermetism and the alchemical cult overlap in various features. The tie between them is substantiated in the writings of Zosimos, the "divine," the "highly learned," and the outstanding representative of both creeds. The common ground consisted of "mystic reveries" (Festugière): observation and inquiry were rejected, and intuition replaced science; the "sacred craft" was revealed through divine grace; the chosen were few, bound to secrecy; and the goal was the liberation of the soul from the body.

The lore of the craft. Alchemy, hopelessly aiming at the transformation of metals into gold, has often been viewed as something like a misguided application of chemistry. Yet its significance lies, indeed lay even for its practitioners, not so much in the experimental method and the outcome of metallic transmutation as in other spheres, notably anthropology, religion, and folklore. The story has been reconstructed by Mircea Eliade: it goes back to archaic times and surfaced in Hellenistic Egypt. Its protagonist was the smith, the adept who dominated matter by transforming it. The insights deriving from his work gave rise to new meanings and symbols: matter was suffering; transmutation perfected matter; redemption was freedom from matter. In short, the primary function of alchemy, physical transmutation, escalated into metaphysical transmutation: the *opus alchimicum* became a symbol of the *opus divinum.* The title of one of the prominent alchemical works of the early post-Christian era by Pseudo-Democritus (and ascribed to Bolos from Mendes, in Egypt) stressed the dichotomy: *Phusika kai mustika* (Natural and Mystical Matters).

Depth psychology. The attribution of life to matter was the foundation of alchemical belief. Enticed by the resemblances between the dreams of his patients and alchemical symbols, C. G. Jung read this belief from his psychoanalytic standpoint as the projection of inner experience onto matter, and thus as the identification of matter with the Self. "Matter" evolved as a name for the "self." It represented an unconscious archetype, primordial images, and the alchemical *opus*, aiming at freeing, saving, and perfecting matter, and was a symbolic replica of the universal quest for the Self. Jung called it the "individuation" process.

Convergence. These four components of spiritual alchemy can be traced in Hellenistic Egypt. The craft of the goldsmith was flourishing, and metallurgy yielded the imagery while boosting, by its very nature, the identification, ever present in the human mind, of self and matter; Greek philosophy, in a stage of revival then and there, provided the basic concepts of the doctrine; and Hermetism supplied the vital climate of mystery.

Alchemy is described here as a facet of the ancient mystery religions, and this description centers on its style and manifestations in the Hellenistic period. But other cultures, tending in a similar direction, produced other varieties of spiritual alchemy. In China, it aimed at physical immortality and thus came into the orbit of medicine, with some link to the religious movement of Taoism. In India, as Eliade has shown, alchemy evolved as an analogue to the mystic discipline of yoga: that purification sought by the yogin for the body, the alchemist seeks through the purification of metals. The relationship (involving the question of polygenesis or monogenesis) between the Chinese, Indian, and Hellenic forms of spiritual alchemy is not very clear. Islamic culture, on the other hand, played a vital role in the transmission of alchemical knowledge; many of the Greek texts were translated into Arabic and through this link, reached the West during the late Middle Ages. Thus, the transmutation of matter continued, with its occult framework, into the Renaissance and beyond. But then modern science rejected ideology, and with the loss of its "exoteric" component to chemistry, alchemy was reduced to its "esoteric" questions about man's relation to the cosmos. In our day the mystic movement of the Rosicrucians, which appeared during the seventeenth century, is a typical relic—and faint echo—of the vanished Hellenistic cult.

SEE ALSO See also Gnosticism; Hermetism; Rosicrucians.

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ALCHEMY: ISLAMIC ALCHEMY

The Arabic term for alchemy is *al-kīmiyāʾ*. The word *kīmiyāʾ* is alternately derived from the Greek *chumeia* (or *chēmeia*), denoting the "art of transmutation," or from *kim-iya,* a South Chinese term meaning "gold-making juice." Greek and later Hellenistic writings are generally regarded as the initial impetus behind Muslim learning, thus the wide acceptance of the Greek origin of the word.

In the Islamic context, *al-kīmiyāʾ* refers to the "art" of transmuting substances, both material and spiritual, to their highest form of perfection. The word *kīmiyāʾ* also refers to the agent or catalyst that effects the transmutation and hence is used as a synonym for *al-iksīr* ("elixir") and *ḥajar al-falāsifah* ("philosopher's stone"). The search for the ideal elixir has been an ancient quest in many cultures of the world; it was supposed to transform metals to their most perfect form (gold) and minerals to their best potency and, if the correct elixir were to be found, to achieve immortality. All matter of a particular type, metals for example, were supposed to consist of the same elements. The correct *kīmiyāʾ* or *iksīr* would enable the transposition of the elements into ideal proportions and cause the metal concerned to be changed from a base form to a perfected form, for instance, copper to gold.

On another level, the philosophical theory of alchemy was used to conceptualize the purification of the soul. The terminology and procedures of alchemy were allegorized and applied to the transformation of the soul from its base, earthly, impure state to pure perfection. Elementary psychological postulations were allegorized as chemical properties. For the mystics, the *iksīr* served as a symbol of the divine truth that changed an unbeliever into a believer. In Ṣūfī literature, the spiritual master purifies the soul of the adept via various processes of spiritual alchemy. This usage of alchemical principles in the spiritual realm reflects the worldview of the ancients, including those of medieval Islam, whereby the human soul was regarded as a microcosm of the forces and principles contained in the macrocosm of the universe.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND. In Muslim tradition, alchemy enjoys ancient roots. The cultivation of alchemy is traced back to Adam, followed by most of the major prophets and sages. This chain of transmission is then connected to the "masters" from the ancient world, including Aristotle, Galen, Socrates, Plato, and others. Muslims are considered to have received the art from these masters. In Islamic times, the prophet Muḥammad (d. 632 CE), is said to have endorsed the art, lending it grace and power; his cousin and son-in-law, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. 661), is regarded as its patron. ʿAlī's descendant Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 765) is portrayed as the next major transmitter. The Umayyad prince Khālid ibn Yazīd (660–704) is depicted as both a practitioner and a patron of alchemy who encouraged the translation of relevant Greek and Syriac texts into Arabic. Legendary tales indicate that he learned the art from a Syrian monk named Marianos, whom he sought out on long journeys to strange lands. Jābir ibn Ḥayyān (d. c. 815), who is held to be the disciple of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, is credited with more than three hundred treatises on alchemy; consequently, the name of this quasi-historical figure came to imply the authority and teacher par excellence.

The Jabirian corpus. By contrast with these legendary accounts, modern scholarship places the development of Islamic alchemy in the ninth century. Jābir ibn Ḥayyān is indeed recorded as the first major alchemist, but the writings attributed to him are mainly pseudepigraphical, and many appeared as late as the tenth century. The *Book of Mercy,* the *Book of the Balances,* the *Book of One Hundred and Twelve,* the *Seventy Books,* and the *Five Hundred Books* are some of the important works in the collection. Movements such as the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ (Brethren of Purity) probably influenced or even contributed to some of the treatises in the Jabirian corpus, which forms an important source of information on alchemic techniques, equipment, materials, and attitudes.

According to the sulfur-mercury theory of metals introduced in the corpus, all metals were considered to possess these two elements, or the two principles they represent, in varying proportions, the combination of which lends each metal its peculiarities. Sulfur was responsible for the hot/dry features and mercury, the cold/moist ones. (Aristotle considered these four features to be represented by fire, earth, air, and water respectively.) Sulfur and mercury embody the positive and negative aspects of matter, also referred to as male and female properties.

The *Book of the Balances* theorizes that the metals are generated from contrary elements. Each body expresses an equilibrium of the natures composing it, and this harmony can be expressed numerically by the musical harmony that governs the heavens. The qualitative differences and degrees of intensity of the natures are analogous to the differences of tone in the musical scale. Further, each body represents a balance between internal and two external qualities, with each metal characterized by two internal and two external qualities. The transmutation of one metal into another is thus an adjustment of the ratio of the latent and manifest constituents of the first to the second, an adjustment to be brought about by an elixir. Each metal is regarded as an inversion of one of the others, and transmutation is a simple changing of qualities, which could be accomplished the same way that a physician cures by counterbalancing an excessive humor with one of contrary quality. The elixirs, in other words, were the alchemists' medicines.

According to the Jabirian corpus, there are various elixirs suitable for specific transmutations, but transmutations of every kind could be brought about by a grand or master elixir, the prime focus of the alchemists' endeavors. An important and original link between theory and practice is provided by the Jabirian author of the *Seventy Books,* who explains that material phenomena can be separated not only into their elements but into the contrary qualities by distillation. The inflammable and nonflammable vapors that are usually evolved when organic matter is subject to heat for distillation are considered to represent "fire" and "air." The condensable liquid that follows from the process is called "water," and the residue "earth." The author then attempts the division of these elements into the pair of qualities of which each was made. He claims not only that this process is applicable to organic matter but that even the hardest stones are distillable. The use of elixirs from the distillation of organic materials, which has been called a Jabirian innovation, indicates the medical orientation of alchemy. It is in their extensive pursuit of the elixir that the Jabirian treatises resemble those of al-Rāzī.

Al-Rāzī. The physician and philosopher Muḥammad ibn Zakariyāʾ al-Rāzī (d. 925) is the next Muslim alchemist who made a major impact on the art. To the sulfur-mercury theory of the constitution of metals he added the attribute of salinity. The popular conception of alchemy with three elements—sulfur, mercury, and salt—reappeared in Europe and played an important role in Western alchemy. According to al-Rāzī, bodies were composed of invisible elements (atoms) and of empty space that lay between them. These atoms were eternal and possessed a certain size. This conception seems close to the explanation of the structure of matter in modern physics. Al-Rāzī's books, *Sirr al-asrār* (The secret of secrets) and *Madkhal al-taʿlīmī* (Instructive [or Practical] introduction), are important sources for understanding the principles and techniques of alchemy as practiced in the tenth-century Muslim world, specifically Iran. In them, he provides a systematic classification of carefully observed and verified facts regarding chemical substances, reactions, and apparatus, described in language that is free of mysticism and ambiguity. Of the voluminous Jabirian writings only the *Book of Mercy* is mentioned by al-Rāzī, perhaps because the other works were composed after his lifetime.

Other masters. Muḥammad ibn ʿUmayil (tenth century) was famous for his *Kitāb al-maʾ al-waraqī* (The book of the silvery water and the starry earth) and *Kitāb alʿilm al-muktasab,* two of his main works on alchemy. The writings attributed to ʿAli ibn Waḥshīyāʾ (a legendary figure of the tenth century) provided encyclopedic information on the tradition of alchemy in Islam. He is an important source of information on the alchemists and their art. He also provides the views of prominent nonalchemists on the subject. Another important work compiled at this time is the *Muṣḥaf al-jamāʿah,* known as the *Turba philosophorum* in its famous Latin translation; here the author, who has yet to be definitely identified, describes an ancient congress of alchemists chaired by Pythagoras, with Archelaus recording the doctrines expounded by nine pre-Socratic philosophers. Maslamah al-Majrīṭī (d. 1007?) was the author of the famous alchemical guide *Rutbat al-ḥakīm* (The step of the sages); his book on practical magic, *Ghaʿyat al-ḥakīm* (The limit of the sages), was also very popular and was translated in the West. A notable figure in the following century is Ḥusayn ʿAli al-Tughrāʾi (d. 1121?), author of the important defense of alchemy *Kitāb ḥaqāʾiq al-isthishhād fī-al-kīmiyāʾ* (Truths of the evidence submitted with regard to alchemy). Written in 1112, the work is a strong refutation of the negative polemics of Ibn Sīnā. Later documentation of the practice of alchemy is provided by the Egyptian Aydamir ibn ʿAlī al-Jildakī (d. 1360), whose encyclopedic works provide summaries of and commentaries upon everything that had been written on alchemy and magic before him.

OPPOSITION TO THE ART. Although widespread, alchemy did not have the approval of all Muslim scholars. Thus Ibn

Sīnā (d. 1035) censured it as a futile activity and contested the assertion that humans are able to imitate nature. He asserted that the alchemists were only able to make something that externally resembles the precious metals, because the actual substance of base metals remained unchanged. The great North African historian Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) also made a critical assessment of Arab-Islamic alchemical activities. He characterized alchemy as the study of the properties, virtues, and temperatures of the elements used for the preparation of and search for an elixir that could transform lesser metals into gold. Elements used for the elixir included animal refuse, urine, manure, bones, feathers, blood, hair, eggs, and nails, as well as minerals. Distillation, sublimation, calcination, and other techniques were used to separate elements in the extracts used in the preparation of the elixir. Alchemists believed that if the correct elixir could be obtained by these methods, it could then be added to concocted lead, copper, or tin over fire to yield pure gold. For his part, Ibn Khaldūn rejected the alchemists' claims that their transmutations were intended to perfect the work of nature by mechanical and technical procedures. He also criticized the authenticity of works ascribed to Khālid ibn Yazīd and argued that the elaborate sciences and arts of Islam had not been developed in that early time.

INFLUENCE ON THE WEST. Islamic alchemy was brought to the West in the twelfth century, mostly through translations. The earliest extant Latin translation of an Arabic treatise on alchemy is generally considered to be Robert of Chester's work *De compositione alchemiae,* dating from 1144. Some scholars consider it as a possible later Latin forgery, but this issue is very complicated and requires further study. About the same time, Gerard of Cremona (1114–1187) translated the Jabirian *Seventy Books* into Latin; *De aluminibus et salibus* and *Liber luminis luminum* are considered his translations. Other works that seem to be translations from Arabic prior to the appearance of the first indigenous European alchemical writing (the *Ars alchemia,* c. 1225, attributed to Michael Scot, d. 1232) were the *De anima* of Ibn Sīnā, the *Turba philosophorum,* the *Emerald Tablet,* the *Secret of Creation,* and al-Rāzī's *Sirr al-asrār.* Thus it seems that the majority of celebrated Islamic alchemical works were known in Europe by the middle of the thirteenth century.

SEE ALSO Elixir.

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ALCHEMY: RENAISSANCE ALCHEMY

The Renaissance and post-Renaissance period marked both the high point and the turning point of alchemy in the West. During the same years in which Kepler, Galileo, Descartes, Boyle, and Newton wrote their revolutionary scientific works, more alchemical texts were published than ever before. But under the impact first of the Reformation and later of the seventeenth-century scientific revolution, alchemy was profoundly changed and ultimately discredited. The organic, qualitative theories of the alchemists were replaced by an atomistic, mechanical model of change, which eventually undermined the alchemical theory of transmutation. The balance between the spiritual and the physical, which had characterized alchemical thought throughout its long history, was shattered, and alchemy was split into two halves, theosophy and the practical laboratory science of chemistry.

THE PRACTICE OF ALCHEMY. For the most part Renaissance alchemists accepted the theories and practices of their ancient and medieval predecessors. By the time the study of alchemy came to Europe, it was already an established discipline with a respected past. The theories upon which it was based were an integral part of ancient philosophy. Western scientists accepted these theories precisely because they provided plausible explanations for the way events were observed to occur in nature and the laboratory. Transmutation was seen to be an aspect of all forms of change. Caterpillars turn into butterflies; ice melts; food becomes flesh. Long before there were practicing alchemists, the mechanism behind these transformations was investigated. The ancients had supplied explanations that satisfied most alchemists up to the seventeenth century. By combining Aristotelian physics, Stoicism, and Hermetism, Western alchemists evolved a vitalistic philosophy that viewed all phenomena as alive and striving for perfection. Whatever is imperfect (the base metal lead, for example) will eventually become perfect (gold) in the course of time or with the help of the mysterious substance known to alchemists as the philosopher's stone.

Although transmutation appeared straightforward on a theoretical level, it proved more difficult to accomplish in practice. Thomas Norton, a famous fifteenth-century English alchemist whose *Ordinall of Alkimy* was one of the most popular alchemical works of the period, describes how frustrating the work of an alchemist could be. Just finding the appropriate raw materials was difficult enough. Norton gives a poignant portrait of an alchemist who has fallen into despair because after years of fruitless experimenting he cannot decide what to try next. Even if an alchemist was lucky enough to choose the right ingredients, there arose the additional problem of determining what to do with them.

The steps of transmutation were laid out clearly in respect to color. The work had to proceed from the black stage, during which time the alchemists believed they killed the substances in their vessels, through the white stage, during which the ingredients were purified, to the final red stage, which marked the successful fabrication of the philosopher's stone. As Norton explains, "Red is the last work in Alkimy."

Although the color sequence was well established, Renaissance alchemists could not agree on the chemical processes necessary to produce the change from black to white to red. The most optimistic practitioners said the stone was made from one substance in one vessel in one operation, but judging from pictures depicting the cluttered array of apparatus littering laboratory floors, most alchemists took a less sanguine and simplistic view of their task. Daniel Stolcius illustrates eleven chemical processes in his book on alchemical emblems (*Viridarium chymicum . . . ,* 1624). Salomon Trismosin reduced the number to seven in his *Splendor Solis.* George Ripley, another respected English adept, describes twelve steps in his *Twelve Gates of Alchemy.* Dom Pernety, a French alchemist living in the eighteenth century, associates each process with one sign of the zodiac:

(1) calcination (Aries)
(2) congelation (Taurus)
(3) fixation (Gemini)
(4) dissolution (Cancer)
(5) digestion (Leo)
(6) distillation (Virgo)
(7) sublimation (Libra)
(8) separation (Scorpio)
(9) ceration (Sagittarius)
(10) fermentation (Capricorn)
(11) multiplication (Aquarius)
(12) projection (Pisces)

Alchemy had always been profoundly influenced by astrology. Since the alchemical signs of the seven metals were those of the seven planets, it seemed reasonable to assume that in their reactions they would respond to the movements of their namesakes in the heavens above.

It is not easy to describe and distinguish all the different alchemical processes. Calcination is simple enough: it involved heating a substance in an open or closed vessel and usually included oxidation and the blackening of the substance. (This process may have given alchemy one of its many names, "the black art.") Calcination was described by alchemists as "mortification," "death," or "putrefaction," and the alchemical vessel in which it occurred was the "tomb," the "coffin," even "Hades" or "Hell." Congelation and fixation consisted of making the substances solid and nonvolatile. This essential step brought the alchemist closer to gold, the most stable and "fixed" of all the metals. Dissolution and digestion were connected with the white stage and purification. Distillation and sublimation were confused by alchemists until the eighteenth century, but both processes awed them. When they saw vapors rise, condense, and revaporize, they thought they were witnessing a miraculous transformation in which the "soul" of matter separated from its "body" and reunited with it in a purer state.

Separation was an elastic term describing the filtration, decantation, or distillation of a liquid from its residue. With fermentation, multiplication, and projection, one arrives at the heart of the alchemical work of making the philosopher's stone. Through fermentation, the stone became akin to yeast and acquired the power to transmute substances. Multiplication augmented the power of the stone to such a degree that it could transmute many times its weight of base metal without losing its strength. In the final process, projection, the stone was made into a powder and thrown on whatever was to be transmuted.

Estimates about the length of time it took to make the philosopher's stone varied from one day to twelve years. The common analogy between the stone and a child (the stone was often referred to as the "royal child" or "son") explains why nine months was frequently cited. The conflicting estimates lead one to agree with Norton that for the alchemist patience was a preeminent virtue.

Another difficulty facing the alchemist was regulating the fire. Since a practical thermometer was not invented until the eighteenth century, this was an almost impossible task. Many alchemists inadvertently blew up their experiments by applying too much heat or ruined months of work by allowing the fire to die out. The problem of heat was so crucial that Norton devoted a chapter of his *Ordinall* to the subject and describes the alchemist who properly controls the fire as "a parfet Master."

The obscurity of alchemical texts provided a final and often insurmountable obstacle facing Renaissance alchemists. Alchemists were masters of metaphor. They dressed up their instructions in parables and allegories, veiled them in symbols, delighted in enigmas, and preferred to call a substance by any name other than its common one. Even the great genius Newton found himself baffled by the obscurity of alchemical literature and symbolism.

The opacity of alchemical writings was partly a response to opposition from the church, which was suspicious of the religious implications of alchemical symbolism. Alchemists were also justifiably afraid of running afoul of national laws against counterfeiting; they were afraid of being kidnapped as well. Alchemical literature is filled with stories of adepts captured by impoverished adventurers intent on wresting the secret of transmutation from them. It was therefore only prudent for alchemists to disguise their secret wisdom as well as their own identities.

Aside from the real dangers of imprisonment, excommunication, or capture, there were other reasons for the obscurity of alchemical writings. Over the centuries, the meaning of many alchemical terms changed, and the continual translation of alchemical texts (from Greek to Arabic to Latin and then into the vernaculars) compounded the confusion. The most important reason for their obscurity, however, is rooted in the nature of alchemy itself. Alchemy shared the same mystical associations that surrounded mining and metallurgy among ancient and primitive peoples. Alchemy was as much a spiritual process as a physical one, and the obscurity of alchemical language reflects its religious orientation.

ALCHEMY AS A SPIRITUAL DISCIPLINE. Mystery and religion, which were a part of alchemy from its beginnings, gained in importance from the Renaissance onward. In many cases alchemy moved out of the laboratory altogether and into the monk's cell or philosopher's study. "Our gold is not common gold," wrote the sixteenth-century author of the *Rosary of Philosophers.* The popularity of alchemy as a spiritual discipline coincided with the breakdown of religious orthodoxy and social organization during the Renaissance and the Reformation. Petrus Bonus was one of the many alchemists to emphasize the spiritual nature of alchemy. It was, he says in his work *The New Pearl of Great Price,* revealed by God, not for humanity's material comfort, but for its spiritual well-being. For these spiritual alchemists, alchemy had nothing to do with the making of gold. (They dismissed those alchemists benighted enough to think it did as "sooty empiricks" or "puffers.") All the ingredients mentioned in alchemical recipes—the minerals, metals, acids, compounds, and mixtures—were in truth only one, the alchemist, who was the base matter in need of purification by the fire; and the acid needed to accomplish this transformation came from the alchemist's own spiritual malaise and longing for wholeness and peace. The various alchemical processes had nothing to do with chemical change; they were steps in the mysterious process of spiritual regeneration. Spiritual alchemists constantly stress the moral requirements of their art. The author of *Aurora Consurgens,* for example, insists that alchemists must be humble, holy, chaste, virtuous, faithful, charitable, temperate, and obedient. These are not qualities expected of a practical chemist. That they were emphasized by spiritual alchemists demonstrates how dominant the religious aspects of alchemy had become.

The interpretation of alchemy as a spiritual discipline offended many churchmen, who viewed the combination of alchemical concepts and Christian dogma in the writings of spiritual alchemists as dangerous heresy. One of the most daring appropriations of Christian symbolism was made by Nicholas Melchior of Hermanstadt, who expounded the alchemical work in the form of a mass. Melchior had been anticipated to some extent by Norton, who had called his book an "Ordinall." Heinrich Khunrath (1560–1601) provides another example of alchemy's spiritual extremists. In his *The Amphitheatre of Eternal Wisdom,* Khunrath interprets transmutation as a mystical process occurring within the adept's soul. He calls the alchemist's laboratory a *Lab Oratorium.* Spiritual alchemists like Khunrath often identified the philosopher's stone with Christ on the grounds that both redeemed base matter. Hermann Kopp, the nineteenth-century historian of alchemy, was scandalized by the parallel drawn between Christ and the philosopher's stone, which subject took up more than fifty pages in the alchemical tract *Der Wasserstein der Weysen* (*Die Alchemie in älterer und neuer Zeit,* 1886, vol. l, p. 254). Not only did spiritual alchemists identify the philosopher's stone with Christ, but they identified themselves with both. The heresy involved is obvious. Luther was one of the few highly placed churchmen to praise alchemy both for its practical uses and for its verification of Christian doctrine.

Alchemists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries drew many of their ideas from Renaissance Neoplatonism and Hermetism. In all three systems, the world was seen as a single organism penetrated by spiritual forces that worked at all levels, the vegetable, animal, human, and spiritual. Frances Yates has brillantly described the "magus" mentality that evolved from these ideas and encouraged people to believe they could understand and control their environment. This state of mind is illustrated in the writings of Paracelsus (1493–1541). For Paracelsus, God was the divine alchemist, who created the world by calcinating, congealing, distilling, and sublimating the elements of chaos. Chemistry was the key to the universe, which would disclose the secrets of theology, physics, and medicine. The alchemists had only to read the reactions in their laboratories on a grand scale to fathom the mysteries of creation.

RENAISSANCE ALCHEMY AND MODERN SCIENCE. By instilling some of the grandiose ideas of spiritual alchemy into the practical study of chemical reactions, Paracelsus and his followers transformed alchemy into a universal science of matter concerned with every aspect of material change. "Chemistry is nothing else but the Art and Knowledge of Nature itself," wrote Nicolas le Fèvre in his popular book, *A Compleat Body of Chemistry* (1670). This greatly expanded vision of alchemy's role struck a responsive cord in the millenarian movements prevalent in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Rosicrucian manifestos were typical of the utopian visions in the air. Using the language and imagery of spiritual alchemy, they called for the regeneration of society and outlined in broad strokes the social, economic, political, and religious reforms necessary.

No one knows who wrote the Rosicrucian manifestos. They have been attributed to Johann Valentin Andrea (1586–1654), whose acknowledged writings contain a similar blend of utopianism and spiritual alchemy. In his most famous work, *Christianopolis,* Andrea describes an ideal society organized to promote the health, education, and welfare of its citizens. One of the institutions in this society is a "laboratory" dedicated to the investigation of nature and to the application of useful discoveries for the public good.

Francis Bacon (1561–1626) was one of the many philosophers influenced by the Rosicrucian manifestos. Bacon looked forward to what he called a "Great Instauration" of learning that would herald the return of the Golden Age. He described this in his own utopia, *The New Atlantis.*

Neither Andrea nor Bacon said much that was new or significant in terms of science. What was novel in their visions was the idea of a scientific institution whose members worked by a common method toward a common goal. The secrecy and mystery that had been such a basic part of alchemy played no role in the scientific societies each describes, although their visions had been sparked by the utopian schemes of spiritual alchemists. This was one of the most important innovations to emerge in all the utopian literature of the seventeenth century and the one that had the greatest impact on the decline of alchemy. Once alchemists openly communicated their discoveries, the stage was set for the tremendous advances that have come to be expected from the natural sciences.

In 1655 a small book was published entitled *Chymical, Medicinal, and Churgical Addresses: Made to Samuel Hartlib, Esquire.* Between the covers of this slim volume, the old and the new alchemy lie side by side. The arcane and bombastic variety of spiritual alchemy is represented by Eirenaeus Philalethes's *Ripley's Epistle to King Edward Unfolded*; but the new alchemy, dedicated to the cooperative investigation of nature for the public good, is advocated in a treatise by Boyle significantly entitled *An Invitation to a free and generous Communication of Secrets and Receits of Physick.* Boyle urged alchemists to share their secrets for the sake of common charity and scientific advancement.

The Reformation was both a cause and a consequence of a growing attitude of philosophical skepticism, which brought all the wisdom of past ages into doubt. Although skepticism was bitterly opposed by philosophers and theologians on the grounds that it undermined the very possibility of rational knowledge, it paradoxically contributed in the long run to the development of a constructive scientific method that benefited all the sciences. Observation and experiment became the shibboleths of the new science and, eventually, the cause of alchemy's undoing. As more and more negative evidence was gradually accumulated through careful laboratory experiments, the alchemical dream of transmutation faded into the recesses of history.

SEE ALSO Metals and Metallurgy.

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ALLISON COUDERT (1987)
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ALCUIN (730/40–804), also known as Albinus; educator, poet, theologian, and liturgist successively at York, the Carolingian court, and Saint-Martin's, Tours. The son of a Northumbrian small landowner, Alcuin joined the York cathedral community in boyhood; he maintained a lifelong devotion to it and to its magister Ælbert, whose influence on him was rivaled only by the writings of Bede. When Ælbert was archbishop (767–778/80), the deacon Alcuin was entrusted with the teaching of adolescents (age fourteen and upward), including some attracted from other lands. His devotion to York's "saints" (e.g., its bishops) but also his concern about the failures of recent Northumbrian kings were expressed in a long poem written in the 780s. In 781, while in Italy, Alcuin met Charlemagne, who invited him to his court. By the late 780s he stood out from other clerics and scholars there because of his influence on royal administrative and other texts, and because of his qualities as a teacher. He was again in York from 790 to 793, trying to guide a weak king; and while there he was asked by Charlemagne to comment on the problem of images. Returning to Francia, he was responsible for the Synod of Frankfort's major statements against the Spanish adoptionist heresy (794).

The teaching Alcuin provided in the spelling (and pronunciation) of Latin, in grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic, was partly written down in the mid-790s. In the same period he was composing or adapting earlier prayers for private use and for new masses; the contention that he was responsible for the Supplement to the Roman Gregorian sacramentary cannot be supported. He argued strongly that conversion from paganism could only be by conviction and not imposed. Moving to Saint-Martin's as its abbot in 796/7, Alcuin engaged in an extensive correspondence with the king, fellow scholars, and former pupils; he also attracted younger scholars to Tours, in whose circle ancient logic was applied to theological problems. He produced increasingly elaborate critiques of adoptionism, drawing on a wide range of patristic and other texts; he wrote useful if hardly independent works of exegesis and a substantial work on the Trinity. He played a formative part in the preparation for the Imperial Coronation of 800, although the uniquely important part sometimes claimed for him is questionable. He supervised the production of an excellent working text of the Vulgate, widely disseminated in the ninth century by Tours scribes. One of his last works was a substantial handbook for private devotion. Much of his teaching was quickly out-of-date because his own pupils improved on it, but his personal reputation began to diminish only in the later ninth century. His pedagogic works were used by some eleventh- and twelfth-century cathedral schools, and ordinary parish priests read his work on the Trinity throughout the Middle Ages. Clergy and laity have prayed in Alcuin's words down to the present.

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DONALD A. BULLOUGH (1987)

ÁLFAR (elves) are a supernatural race in Scandinavian mythology. Old Norse *álfr* corresponds to Old English *ælf* and Old High German *alp*, designating a spirit with a nature both beautiful and monstrous. Snorri Sturluson (1179–1241) divides the elves into two groups. The light elves are allied with the gods and share their dwellings in the sky (for example, the home of the god Freyr is called Álfheimr, "elf home"). A poetic circumlocution for "sun" was *álfrǫðull* (ray of the elves). Although the function of sky-dwelling elves is not specified, eddic poetry accentuates their alliance with the gods through the recurrent phrase "Æsir and elves" (e.g., *Vǫluspá*, st. 48, and *Þrymskviða*, st. 7). (The Æsir are the dominant group of gods.) An Old English charm also couples them with the Æsir, suggesting that in early times they had stood nearly on a par with the gods. The dark elves are skilled in smithcraft like the dwarves and are sometimes indistinguishable from them. Late medieval prose narratives depict the *álfar* as earth-dwelling spirits of great potency and sometimes describe female *álfar* as skilled in weaving magic cloth or as endowed with seductive beauty.

Elves were the recipients of cultic worship. The *álfablót* (sacrifice to the elves) was performed in Sweden in late autumn on individual farmsteads, according to the Icelander

Sighvatr Þórðarson, who in 1018 was traveling there on a mission for King Olaf Haraldsson of Norway. Coming to one farm, he found the housewife standing in the doorway. She told him to make off; she feared the wrath of Óðinn if he stayed, as she was holding a sacrifice to the elves. The account gives the impression that the housewife herself was conducting the sacrifice and that it was a private ceremony to which no strangers were admitted. From the tone of the poem that Sighvatr composed about the Swedes' lack of hospitality on the occasion, it appears that the *álfablót* was not performed in Christian Norway or Iceland. An earlier Norwegian king, Olaf, ruler of the district of Geirstaðir during the pagan era, was believed to bring prosperity and good harvests if sacrifices were made at his burial mound; this led to his posthumous nickname *Geirstaðaálfr* (elf of Geirstaðir). This suggests that elves, dwelling in mounds, had come to be identified with the dead.

Scholars consider the *álfar* to be forces either of sterility or death. But the *álfar* show such divergent qualities that it is not possible to obtain a clear image of their nature, although they were obviously potent forces of enduring significance. The West Germanic concept of elves began to differ from the Scandinavian one even in the early Middle Ages, and in the Anglo-Saxon area an independent tradition in folklore developed as a result of Celtic influence. But as in the Scandinavian sources, the elves are grouped with the monsters *eotenas* and *orcneas* in the Old English poem *Beowulf,* whereas other Old English texts preserve the term *ælfsciene* (beautiful as an elf).

SEE ALSO Dvergar; Germanic Religion.

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ELIZABETH ASHMAN ROWE (2005)

ALFASI, YITSḤAQ BEN YAʿAQOV (1013–1103), also known by the acronym RIF (Rabbi Yitsḥaq al-Faasi); North African–Spanish Talmudist. Alfasi spent the majority of his life in North Africa, where he headed the school in Fez (Fas in Arabic, hence his name). At the age of seventy-five he was forced by political intrigues to leave for Spain, where he presided over the school at Lucena. Despite the hostility of some native scholars, the aged Alfasi gained wide recognition in his new home, attracted many disciples (among them the brilliant Yosef ibn Migash, his successor at Lucena), and was described by the twelfth-century historian Avraham ibn Daud as the leading scholar of his time. Alfasi's exposure to Spanish Jewry came at the end of his long life; he was not attracted to the philosophy and belles lettres characteristic of Spain but remained a towering Talmudist.

Alfasi's major achievement was his digest of Talmudic law, *Sefer ha-halakhot* (Book of Laws; Jerusalem, 1969), which encompassed all topics relevant to Jewish practice of his time, thus eliminating materials connected with the Temple and its system of priestly dues, sacrifices, and related purities. Coming toward the end of the geonic period, Alfasi perfected the digest form pioneered by the eighth-century *Halakhot gedolot* and others. Like them, he retains the structure of the Talmud itself, which he condenses, rather than presenting a topical discussion (for which some precedent already existed) or a code. Nonetheless, Alfasi's work overshadowed that of his predecessors completely. In essence, he managed to strike a balance between the prolix, often indecisive Talmudic discussion and the brief, intellectually unsatisfying digest of earlier authorities. Alfasi's digest provided the halakhic decision through its careful elimination and shaping of materials, yet it also retained the basic Talmudic discussion. Thus, his work satisfied the needs of authorities and students alike. Indeed, Alfasi's work was often studied in place of the Talmud, inasmuch as it presented the most significant aspects of the Talmudic discussion and guided the student toward a conclusive position on the given issue. Ibn Daud appropriately termed the digest a "miniature Talmud," and the name stuck.

The degree and nature of Alfasi's independence was already a topic of discussion in late medieval times. It would appear that Alfasi occasionally adopted a critical stance toward certain Talmudic materials, and this evaluative posture is a component of his decision-making process. This aspect of his work came to the fore when he decided on the status of various Talmudic comments, a technique apparently utilized later by Maimonides. Alfasi was a central figure in assuring the Babylonian Talmud's ascendency over the Palestinian Talmud: his statement (at the close of his digest of *ʿEruvin*) that the Babylonian Talmud, being the later work, knew and incorporated all that was valuable in the Palestinian had great circulation and influence. Nonetheless, modern scholars are divided as to the extent of Alfasi's own rejection of the Palestinian Talmud. Alfasi's attitude toward the nonlegal (aggadic) portions of the Talmud is also noteworthy: unlike his predecessors, he included moral and theological materials that bore on actual practice.

Alfasi's digest became a major force in the subsequent shaping of Jewish law. Maimonides considered himself to be in the line of Alfasian tradition, claiming that he was in basic disagreement with Alfasi on only ten issues. Yosef Karo named Alfasi as one of the three authoritative medieval sources for his *Shulḥan ʿarukh,* the basic code of Jewish law that Karo compiled in the sixteenth century.

SEE ALSO Halakhah, article on History of Halakhah.

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GERALD J. BLIDSTEIN (1987)

ʿALĪ IBN ABĪ ṬĀLIB (c. 599–661 CE) was the cousin and son-in-law of the prophet Muḥammad through his marriage to Fāṭimah. As father of the prophet's two grandsons, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, he was forefather of the descendants of the Prophet (known as the *shurafāʾ*, sing. *sharīf;* or *sādāt*, sing. *sayyid)*; fourth of the four "rightly guided" caliphs; and first of the *imāms* for Shīʿī Muslims—the very term *Shīʿa* being originally *shīʿat ʿAlī*, the "partisans of ʿAlī."

ʿAlī is seen within the Islamic tradition as both a heroic warrior and an eloquent saint. Accorded deep veneration by Muslims generally, ʿAlī has also elicited sharply contrasting passions: on the one hand, cursed by official decree in Umayyad mosques for decades after his death; on the other hand, divinized by his extremist followers—the *ghulāt*—to the present day. The life of this seminal figure of nascent Islam was controversial, and his influence has been, and remains, pervasive.

LIFE. ʿAlī's life can be viewed in terms of three distinct phases: the first, from his birth (c. 599) to the death of the Prophet (632); the second, from the death of the Prophet to ʿAlī's assumption of the caliphate (656); the third consists of his own brief caliphate (656–661), a period characterized by the first civil wars of Islam.

Life with the Prophet, c. 599–632. Tradition relates that ʿAlī had the unique distinction of being born in the Kaʿbah in Mecca. His mother was Fāṭimah bint Asad; and his father, Abū Ṭālib, son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, was a leading member of the clan of the Hashimites. Abū Ṭālib took care of the young orphan, Muḥammad, son of his brother ʿAbd Allāh, and he was later to be Muḥammad's chief protector when the message of Islam was openly being preached in Mecca.

When he was about five years old, ʿAlī was taken into Muḥammad's household in order to relieve Abū Ṭālib during a famine. From this time until the death of the Prophet, ʿAlī was constantly at the Prophet's side, first as a member of the household, later as a leading companion, confidant, son-in-law, and scribe. ʿAlī wrote down not only the verses of the Qurʾanic revelation at the Prophet's dictation, but also several letters and treaties. As a warrior, ʿAlī was at the forefront of nearly all the major battles fought under the Prophet's banner, and he always emerged victorious in the single combat duels with which the battles began. His courage and skill as a warrior became legendary. Frequently fighting as standard-bearer, ʿAlī's most famous military success was in the Battle of Khaybar in 629, where victory against the hitherto impregnable fortresses was achieved through his heroic leadership. The Prophet declared, when the Muslims were unable to penetrate the defenses, that he would give his standard to one who "loves God and His Messenger and is loved by God and His Messenger," and through him victory would be granted. He sent for ʿAlī, who led the Muslims to victory. It was at Khaybar that ʿAlī's strength attained legendary status: he is said to have used as a shield a gate that, after the battle, could only be lifted by eight men.

Early merits. ʿAlī is regarded as the first male to enter the religion of Islam, though he was but a youth of nine or ten years old. When the Prophet was instructed by the revelation to warn his near kin (Qurʾān 26:214), he invited the leading members of his clan to a feast, and asked who among them would be "my brother, my executor, and my successor." ʿAlī, then still only about thirteen years old, was the only one who replied, and the Prophet affirmed him in all three respects, adding "Hearken to him and obey him" (Ibn Iṣḥāq, 1968, pp. 117–118).

When in 622 the Prophet migrated from Mecca to Medina, ʿAlī offered to take the place of the Prophet, sleeping in his bed on the night the Prophet departed, thus risking his life in order to thwart an assassination attempt by the Prophet's enemies. ʿAlī then joined the Prophet and the Muslims in Medina, after having distributed to their owners in Mecca all the property held in trust by Muḥammad. In Medina, the Prophet instituted a pact of brotherhood between the emigrants from Mecca and the "helpers," the Muslims of Medina; he himself adopted ʿAlī as his brother (Ibn Iṣḥāq, 1968, p. 234),

The Prophet gave ʿAlī the honor of marrying his daughter, Fāṭimah—considered, with her mother, Muḥammad's first wife, Khadījah, as the paradigm of saintly womanhood in Islam. The Prophet's *ahl al-bayt* (people of the House), the members of which the Qurʾān refers to in 33:33 as being purified of all defilement, was indicated by the Prophet as consisting of himself, ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, and their two sons, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. (Shīʿī sources add to this group the *imām*s, and attribute to all members of this category the status of inerrancy [*ʿiṣmah*], while certain Sunnī sources deem the Prophet's wives to be the referents of Qurʾān 33:33.) It was in his capacity as leading member of the Prophet's *ahl al-bayt* that ʿAlī was instructed to recite the *Sūrah al-Barāʾa* (The immunity, IX) to the pilgrims at Mecca in 631, even though Abū Bakr was leading the pilgrimage. It was ʿAlī who the Prophet instructed to destroy the idols in the Kaʿbah when Mecca was conquered in 629. When the Prophet died in 632, ʿAlī washed his body and led the funeral rites.

ʿAlī according to the Prophet. Numerous sayings attributed to the Prophet affirm ʿAlī's high spiritual rank. Shīʿī and Sunnī sources alike affirm the following sayings: "I am the city of knowledge, and ʿAlī is its gate" (al-Ḥākim, 2002, p. 929); "Looking at ʿAlī is an act of worship" (al-Suyūṭī, 1970, p. 97); "Verily, ʿAlī is from me, and I am from him, and he is the spiritual guardian *(walī)* of every believer after me." (al-Nasāʾī, 1998, p. 129); and "ʿAlī is with the Qurʾān and the Qurʾān is with ʿAlī" (al-Ḥākim, 2002, p. 927). The Prophet is also recorded as having said to ʿAlī the following: "You have, in relation to me, the rank of Aaron in relation to Moses—except that there is no prophet after me" (al-Nasāʾī, 1998, p. 76). Several verses of the Qurʾān were commented upon by the Prophet with reference to ʿAlī. For example, in connection with 13:7 ("Verily thou art a warner, and for every people there is a guide") the Prophet was reported as saying, "I am the warner. . .you are the guide, O ʿAlī. After me, the rightly guided shall be guided by you" (al-Suyūṭī, 1896, vol. 4, p. 45).

The most important and oft-debated prophetic saying relating to ʿAlī, however, was expressed during the sermon of Ghadīr Khumm. This was delivered after the Prophet's final pilgrimage to Mecca in 632 CE, at a pool midway between Mecca and Medina, known as Ghadīr Khumm. He assembled all the pilgrims, had a pulpit erected, and delivered an address to the thousands assembled. The address culminated in the statement: "For whomever I am the *mawlā* [guardian, master, close friend], ʿAlī is his *mawlā*." For Shīʿah, this is regarded as a clear designation (*naṣṣ*) of ʿAlī as successor to the Prophet; for Sunnīs it indicates the special proximity of ʿAlī to the Prophet, but not his nomination as successor in political terms. That the reference to ʿAlī as *mawlā* (in some versions, as *walī*) is of the highest spiritual significance, however, is not seriously disputed. The debate that continues to this day hinges on the implications of ʿAlī's spiritual authority, his *walāyah*.

The Caliphate of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān, 632–656. ʿAlī was not consulted during the political crisis that was precipitated by the death of the Prophet and that resulted in the election of the first caliph, Abū Bakr; his absence at this crucial event set the tone for ʿAlī's role in public affairs until his own assumption of the caliphate twenty-two years later. He refrained from recognition of Abū Bakr for six months, that is, until after the death of Fāṭimah, between whom and Abū Bakr there was a major disagreement. Her claim on the orchard of Fadak as part of her inheritance from the Prophet was rejected by Abū Bakr on the basis of a saying attributed to the Prophet to the effect that the Prophets do not leave any inheritance.

This disagreement was but one overt expression of a fundamental difference of conception in regard to the spiritual and political prerogatives of the *ahl al-bayt*, a difference later to be elaborated in terms of the Sunnī-Shīʿī divergence. The earliest historical sources indicate that ʿAlī never ceased to believe that, on the basis of his kinship with the Prophet and his unique merits, he was the most appropriate person to succeed the Prophet. The relationship between ʿAlī and his predecessors in the caliphate is one of the most sensitive issues in Islamic history, and it has been subject to tendentious reporting in the sources. Sunnī works tend to overlook or downplay the disagreements between ʿAlī and the first three caliphs in the effort to present as harmonious a picture as possible of what later was to be labeled the period of the four orthodox or "rightly guided" caliphs (*al-khulafāʾ al-rāshidūn*). By contrast, Shīʿī works on the whole accuse the first three caliphs of usurping the authority granted by the Prophet to ʿAlī, and exaggerate the differences of opinion between ʿAlī and his predecessors. However, it is clear that, on the one hand, ʿAlī adopted a policy of passive acceptance of the rule of the first two caliphs, coupled with a withdrawal from public affairs—in marked contrast to his prominent role in all the major events in the Prophet's lifetime; and on the other hand, he voiced his disagreement with his predecessors over certain policies and decisions.

Such disagreement became more intense during the rule of the third caliph, ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān, who was elected by the council or *shūrā*, which ʿUmar established shortly before his death in 644. This council was charged with the task of selecting ʿUmar's successor from six of the leading companions. At this council, evidence is given of ʿAlī's disagreement with at least certain aspects of the policies of the first two caliphs. Upon being asked by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf, the head of the council—who had the deciding vote in case the six were equally divided—whether he was willing to assume the caliphate on the basis of the Qurʾān, the *sunnah* (conduct) of the Prophet, and the precedent of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, ʿAlī replied by saying he would rule solely on the basis of the Qurʾān and the *sunnah* of the Prophet. When ʿUthmān was asked the same question he replied unconditionally in the affirmative and was duly appointed caliph.

The caliphate of ʿUthmān (r. 644–656) became increasingly compromised, principally by the corruption that characterized the rule of his governors—most of whom were fellow members of the Umayyad clan. ʿAlī, along with several leading companions, such as Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī, Talḥa ibn ʿUbayd Allāh, al-Zubayr ibn al-ʿAwwām, and ʿĀʾisha, had severely criticized the policies of ʿUthmān and the actions of his governors. ʿAlī played a leading role as mediator between the rebels and the caliph, indicating to the latter the just nature of many of the grievances being presented. His efforts failed, however, and opposition to ʿUthmān turned into outright revolt; the caliph was besieged in his home, and, despite the efforts of ʿAlī and his sons to protect him, ʿUthmān was killed by the rebels. ʿAlī was then prevailed upon by the rebels and other factions in Medina to assume power, which he did, albeit reluctantly according both to early reports and to his own sermons, as recorded in the *Nahj al-balāghah*.

The Caliphate of ʿAlī, 656–661. ʿAlī's short caliphate of just over five years was marked in political terms by the eruption of civil wars within the early Muslim polity; it was characterized in ethical terms by ʿAlī's unflinching adherence to strict Islamic principles, frequently at the expense of worldly success. This aspect of his rule became apparent from the very beginning. When advised by his cousin and close confidant, Ibn al-ʿAbbās, to temporarily confirm in power all of ʿUthmān's governors, and then replace them later with his own appointees when his own power was consolidated, ʿAlī adamantly refused to compromise on principles. This attitude ensured that ʿAlī's rule would be challenged by the governors whom he dismissed.

The Battle of al-Jamal. The first challenge to ʿAlī's rule arose from two senior companions of the Prophet, Ṭalḥa ibn ʿUbayd Allāh and al-Zubayr ibn al-ʿAwwām, together with ʿĀʾisha, one of the widows of the Prophet, and some of the governors ousted by ʿAlī. They accused ʿAlī of failing to punish the murderers of ʿUthmān; certain reports indicate that a charge of complicity in the murder was also made by some in this group. They mounted a revolt against him in the name of vengeance for the murdered caliph. ʿAlī reminded Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr that they had pledged allegiance to him, and were now breaking their oaths, and he insisted that he would bring the murderers to justice as soon as he could find them. The ensuing battle, which took place near Basra on 15 Jumādā I 36 (December 8, 656), was the first civil war of Islam. It was named al-Jamal (the camel) after the camel litter of ʿĀʾisha, which became the focus of the fighting. It resulted in the victory of ʿAlī's army, the death of Ṭalḥa (killed treacherously by his own ally, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, who held Ṭalḥa personally responsible for the murder of the caliph), the death of al-Zubayr (killed also by one of his allies, after fleeing from the battlefield), and the surrender of ʿĀʾisha.

Muʿāwiya and the Battle of Ṣiffīn. Having defeated the Baṣran rebels, ʿAlī now turned to face the far more serious threat posed by Muʿāwiya, governor of Syria. Like Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, Muʿāwiya used the cry of vengeance for the murdered caliph as the pretext for his opposition to ʿAlī. In their exchange of letters, ʿAlī reminded Muʿāwiya that he was obliged to accept the election of ʿAlī, based as it was on the collective decision of the Anṣār (Medinan companions) and the Muhājirūn (Meccan companions). Muʿāwiya's response was to insist that he, as ʿUthmān's kin, had the right of retaliation prescribed in the Qurʾān (17:33). Meanwhile, in a clear indication of the real motive of his opposition, he enlisted the help of the former governor of Egypt, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, who had been deposed by ʿUthmān and then became the chief inciter of the rebels against the besieged caliph. Following minor skirmishes, all-out battle at Ṣiffīn began on 8 Ṣafar 37 (July 26, 657). After some days, and much bloodshed on both sides, ʿAlī's army was on the point of victory. Muʿāwiya, on the advice of ʿAmr, resorted to the strategy of hoisting copies of the Qurʾān on spears and calling for arbitration according to God's word. Though clearly a ruse, many in ʿAlī's army who were lukewarm in their support for his cause laid down their arms; led by Ashʿath ibn Qays, the most powerful tribal chief of Kūfah, they insisted on accepting this call for arbitration. ʿAlī was also compelled by the same elements within his ranks to appoint Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī—whose loyalty to ʿAlī was in question—as his representative in the arbitration. Muʿāwiya appointed ʿAmr as his representative.

Arbitration and the "seceders." The text of the arbitration agreement was drawn up on 15 Ṣafar 37 (August 2, 657). It called merely for the arbitrators to arrive at a decision binding on all, doing so on the basis of the Qurʾān, and to resort to the prophetic *sunnah* (conduct) if they were unable to find the necessary ruling in the Qurʾān. They were to seek peace, but apart from that, no other matter for arbitration was specifically mentioned. The arbitrators met at Dūmat al-Jandal for about three weeks in the spring of 658. This meeting was held against the background of increasing discontent in the ranks of ʿAlī's army. Many of those who had initially supported the arbitration now felt that it was not only an error to have resorted to arbitration, but a sin; it was tantamount to leaving to men a right that pertained only to God, whence their cry: "No judgment but that of God" (*Lā ḥukm illā li-Llāh*). Although ʿAlī succeeded in bringing most of the malcontents back into the fold at this stage, the seeds of a wider rebellion were sowed.

The arbitration process was almost immediately undermined by the proposal of ʿAmr that the issue of ʿUthmān's innocence of deviant innovations be decided before anything else. This effectively changed the focus of the arbitration, for once it was decided that ʿUthmān had been wrongfully killed, the legitimacy of Muʿāwiya's claim for revenge was upheld; it was thus implicit that ʿAlī was wrong in preventing this right of *lex talionis* from being exercised, and thus forfeited his right to rule. ʿAlī's representative, Abū Mūsā, failed to see through this strategy and, though the decision on ʿUthmān's innocence was supposed to be kept secret, it became widely known, resulting in the dismissal of the whole arbitration process by ʿAlī. When ʿAlī then proceeded to call his men to arms, he was confronted by the growing ranks of the "seceders" (*al-Khawārij*). Despite ʿAlī's insistence that the arbitration was now effectively abandoned, the seceders demanded that he repent of the "sin" of having accepted it in the first place. Through dialogue a large number of the seceders were reconciled, but the hard core resisted and resolved to fight to the finish.

Given the murderous tactics used by this group against ʿAlī's supporters, and their declaration that all those who opposed them were *kāfirs* (unbelievers), whose blood was licit, ʿAlī had no choice but to fight them, despite his great reluctance to engage so many of the apparently pious "Qurʾān-readers" (*al-qurrāʾ*) in their ranks. After further dialogue, which reduced their ranks considerably, the Khawārij numbered no more than 1,500 men, led by ʿAbd Allāh ibn Wahb. The resulting battle at Nahrawān (probably in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 37/May 658, but reports are contradictory; see Madelung, 1997, pp. 254–255) is said to have resulted in their all but total annihilation.

The final stage of the arbitration was held at Adhruḥ in Shaʿbān 38 (January 659). Largely irrelevant, as ʿAlī had already denounced the process and was preparing to resume hostilities, it ended in fiasco. Abū Mūsā and ʿAmr agreed to depose both their candidates and to allow a new consultative body to elect the caliph. The former held to the agreement, deposing ʿAlī, while ʿAmr simply confirmed his candidate, Muʿāwiya, as the new caliph. Although ʿAlī attempted to mount a fresh campaign against Muʿāwiya's forces, there was little enthusiasm in his ranks. Before the morning prayer of 19 Ramaḍān 40 (January 28, 661) at the congregational mosque in Kūfah, ʿAlī was struck by the poisoned sword of Ibn Muljam, one of the surviving Khawārij, who was intent on avenging his slain companions at Nahrawān. ʿAlī died two days later.

ʿALĪ AND SHIISM. ʿAlī is considered to be the first *imām* or spiritual leader of all the various branches of Shīʿī Islam—the majority Ithnāʿasharīs, the Ismāʿīlīs, the Zaydīs, and other smaller sects. Although the theologically elaborated definition of the function of the imamate came much later, this function is seen in Shiism as embodied in the person of ʿAlī. The three principal functions of the Shīʿī *imām*—spiritual guidance of the believers, interpretation of revelation and law, and political rule—were implicit or explicit in the pronouncements, attitudes, and actions of ʿAlī. Thus the later Shīʿī doctrine of the imamate can be seen as a systematic articulation, in idealized form, of the actual conduct of ʿAlī. His historic refusal to abide by the precedent of the first two caliphs, noted above, was "a cornerstone in the development of Shīʿī legal thought. . .the idea expressed by ʿAlī in the *Shūrā* took at least 50 years to become manifest in a distinguishable independent form, and was not fully developed until the imamate of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq" (Jafri, 1978, pp. 75–76).

There is evidence of the use of the term *shīʿat ʿAlī* in the lifetime of the Prophet. For example, in his commentary on the Qurʾān, al-Ṭabarī records that the Prophet interpreted the phrase "best of created beings" (*khayr al-bariyyah*) in 98:7 as referring to ʿAlī and his "*shīʿa*" (al-Ṭabarī, 2001, vol. 30, p. 320). Four individuals, in particular, were renowned for their attachment to ʿAlī in the lifetime of the Prophet, and might be referred to as the prototypes of later Shiism: Salmān al-Fārsī, Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī, ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir, and Miqdād ibn ʿAmr. These were the foremost members of the group that believed ʿAlī to be the legitimate successor to the Prophet. It was, however, with ʿAlī's assumption of the caliphate that more explicit reference is made to ʿAlī's status as the heir (*waṣī*) of the Prophet, and as the inheritor (*wārith*) of not only his knowledge, but also that of all the Prophets. The second oath of allegiance made to ʿAlī by his supporters in Kūfah in 658 was worded according to the *ḥadīth* of Ghadīr (Madelung, 1997, p. 253). And it was during the caliphate of ʿAlī that the term *shīʿat ʿAlī* arose, largely in contrast to the s*hīʿat ʿUthmān* comprising all those who refused to recognize ʿAlī's rule, claiming instead to be following in the footsteps of the murdered caliph, revenge for whose murder was incumbent upon them. With the victory of Muʿāwiya and the establishment of the Umayyad dynasty, the political orthodoxy of the ruling "ʿUthmānī" position declared that only the caliphate of the first three caliphs was legitimate, not that of ʿAlī. This position prevailed for almost a century, and it was largely through the influence of Ibn Ḥanbal that ʿAlī's caliphate was deemed to be fully legitimate, and the definitive tenet of the four "rightly guided" caliphs gradually became incorporated thereafter within the developing religio-political orthodoxy of Sunnism (Jaʿfariyān, 2001, pp. 209–220).

Extremist Shīʿī sects. ʿAlī was the focus of various cults that attributed to him superhuman, angelic, or divine attributes. Referred to as the *ghulāt* (sing. *ghālī)* by both mainstream Shīʿīs and Sunnīs alike, these extremist sects included such groups as the Ghorābiyya, Manṣūriyya, and Rāwandiyya in the early period. In the present, such sects as the Nuṣayrīs/ʿAlawīs in Syria and Turkey and the ʿAlī Allāhīs, or Ahl-i Ḥaqq, in Iran continue to regard ʿAlī as God incarnate. Despite being regarded as heretical by majoritarian Shīʿī groups, some of the characteristic tenets espoused by these sects are also present in more mainstream Shīʿī and Ṣūfī theosophical trends, where they are given more nuanced metaphysical exposition.

SPIRITUAL AND INTELLECTUAL LEGACY. After the Qurʾān and the sayings of the Prophet, no text is more revered by the Shīʿah than the *Nahj al-balāghah*, attributed to ʿAlī. The text, comprising sermons, letters, and aphorisms, was compiled by al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 1016), a renowned Shīʿī scholar of Abbasid Baghdad. In addition to providing specific ideas that served as seeds for theological elaboration in such crucial issues as the transcendence and oneness of God, the emphasis in the *Nahj* upon the importance of the intellect and knowledge greatly enhanced the receptivity of Shīʿī Islam to philosophical speculation and theosophical meditation. In terms of Arabic literature, few texts have exerted a greater influence than the *Nahj*. Important technical terms were introduced by this work into literary and philosophical Arabic, independently of the translation into Arabic of Greek texts (Corbin, 1993, p. 35). Despite doubts raised about the authenticity of the text, recent scholarship indicates that most of the sermons and sayings can in fact be traced to ʿAlī (Djebli, 1992, p. 56).

The main didactic themes of the *Nahj* include: the unfathomable nature of the divine oneness, expressed through striking paradoxes and flashes of rhetorical genius; the function and meaning of prophecy; the supreme value of the intellect; the necessity of renunciation, this being expressed in powerful imagery conveying the vanity of the life of this world; complementing this theme, the marvels of creation, all of which are so many "signs" pointing to the Creator; the dangers of falling into hypocrisy and superficiality in the performance of religious duties; and the indispensability of justice at all levels. One of the most influential letters of the *Nahj* was that written to Mālik al-Ashtar, one of ʿAlī's closest companions, appointing him governor of Egypt. It has been the subject of dozens of commentaries through the ages and is still regarded as one of the most important expressions of an ideal Islamic political constitution. A large number of profound aphorisms are also attributed to ʿAlī. Many of these sayings are contained in the eleventh-century compilation, *Ghurar al-ḥikam* (Exalted aphorisms). Several moving supplications are also attributed to ʿAlī; these have come to play a major role in the devotional life of Shīʿah, the most famous supplication being the *Duʿāʾ Kumayl*, which is recited by devout Shīʿah every Thursday evening. A *dīwān* of poems is also attributed to ʿAlī.

ʿAlī played a fundamental role in the genesis of Islamic intellectual and spiritual culture. He is deemed to have provided impetus and content for a wide range of disciplines, including Qurʾān exegesis (*tafsīr*), theology (*kalām*), jurisprudence (*fiqh*), rhetoric (*balāghah*) and grammar (*naḥw*), and calligraphy (*khaṭṭ*), not to mention various arcane sciences, such as numerology (*jafr*) and alchemy (*al-kīmiyāʾ*). Tales of his feats and miracles have been told and adorned by popular storytellers and poets throughout the Muslim world; his persona was thus imbued with magical and mystical elements, as well as with heroic and saintly qualities. ʿAlī was also the role-model for the chivalric orders (*futūwwa*) that emerged towards the end of the Abbasid period (twelfth to thirteenth century), being seen as the chivalric knight (*fatā*) par excellence. This association between ʿAlī and chivalry was summed up in the formula, attributed to a heavenly voice heard during the Battle of Uḥud: “No chivalric knight but ʿAlī, no sword but *dhuʾl-faqār*” (*Lā fatā illā ʿAlī, lā sayf illā dhuʾl-faqār*—the latter being the name of ʿAlī’s sword). It is often as a knightly warrior, paragon of all virtues, that ʿAlī, one of whose honorifics was Ḥaydar (“the lion”), is portrayed in Ṣūfī poetry.

Within the Ṣūfī tradition generally, ʿAlī is almost universally affirmed as the first “Pole” (*quṭb*) of Sufism after the Prophet, an embodiment of the “perfect man” (*al-insān al-kāmil*), the “friend/saint of God” (*walī Allāh*), and as the spiritual forebear of the Ṣūfīs, standing at the head of all the “chains” (*salāsil*, sing. *silsilah*) by which the Ṣūfī orders trace their initiatic genealogy back to the Prophet. ʿAlī is regarded both as the repository of esoteric science (*maʿrifa/ʿirfān/ʿilm al-bāṭin*), and also a master of the spiritual path leading to the realization of that science, this path centering on the practice of the “remembrance of God” (*dhikr*), into which the Prophet initiated ʿAlī. According to Abuʾl-Qāsim al-Junayd of Baghdad (d. 910), one of the greatest authorities of early Sufism, “ʿAlī is our Shaykh as regards the principles and as regards the endurance of affliction.” This statement is recorded by ʿAlī Hujwīrī in his highly regarded Ṣūfī manual *Kashf al-maḥjūb* (Disclosure of the veiled); he sums up the attitude of the Ṣūfīs to ʿAlī in asserting that he was “the leader of the saints and the pure ones. In this Path he holds a place of tremendous honour and elevated degree.” (Hujwīrī, 1997, p. 84)

ʿAlī’s shrine is in Najaf, near Baghdad; it continues to attract millions of pilgrims worldwide, being regarded, after Mecca and Medina, as one of the most important pilgrimage sites for Muslims—Shīʿah and Sunnī alike—in the Islamic world.

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ALINESITOUE Diatta (1920–1944) was a young West African woman prophet who gained a substantial following among the Diola ethnic group of Senegambia and Guinea-Bissau during the early years of the Second World War. She also attracted followers among other ethnic groups of southern Senegal and Guinea-Bissau. The people of rural Diola work primarily as rice farmers and are often described by agronomists as the best wet rice farmers in West Africa, even though droughts are common and often result in crop failures. Prior to the time of Alinesitoue, the Diola had a longstanding tradition of direct revelation from the supreme being Emitai, yet most of these prophets had been men. (*Emitai dabognol* translates as "prophet"—an epithet meaning "whom God has sent.") Alinesitoue introduced to the Diola a series of new spirit shrines that were focused on the procurement of rain, which she claimed were given to her by Emitai. She also introduced a series of religious reforms and provided a series of teachings that were highly critical of French colonial agricultural policies. Since the time of Alinesitoue, most Diola prophets have been women who self-consciously proclaimed their prophetic calling in the tradition of Alinesitoue Diatta.

THE BEGINNINGS OF A PROPHET. Alinesitoue's visions began during the period of Vichy occupation of French West Africa, a particularly repressive time when Senegalese who had enjoyed the status of citizens were reduced to "native" status and when government requisitions of rice and livestock from Diola communities dramatically increased. Abandoning long-standing French traditions of secularism, the local Vichy regime supported efforts at Christian proselytization among the predominantly traditionalist (*awasena*) Diola. This, coupled with severe drought, created a spiritual crisis of conquest, in which Diola questioned a wide range of recent community borrowings from the colonial society, from conversion to Christianity or Islam, to the cultivation of peanuts as a cash crop.

Alinesitoue Diatta had her first visionary experience in 1941, while working as a maid in the French West African capital of Dakar. Walking through the crowded Sandaga market, she heard a voice calling to her, commanding her to go to a nearby beach and to dig in the sand. As water filled the hole, she realized that she had been commanded by Emitai to introduce a new series of spirit shrines (*ukine*) focused on obtaining rain to end the drought and to nurture the rice crops. Initially reluctant to teach, she returned home to the southern Senegalese township of Kabrousse. When she began to share her message, she was able to link the increasing hardships imposed by the French colonial regime, the challenges of Christian and Muslim proselytization, and the drought to the erosion of Diola communitarian values and the abandonment of traditional crops and religious practices. By introducing a new spirit shrine, *Kasila*, she renewed an emphasis on community-based ritual while underscoring the role of the supreme being and challenging the hegemony of community elders and wealthy individuals.

Alinesitoue emphatically rejected the claims of priestly groups to control ritual practice and the specialized knowledge of the shrines. She opened her shrines to full participation by women and men, young and old, rich and poor. Priests were chosen by divination; as one song of Alinesitoue described it, even an idiot could be chosen. Everyone in the community was expected to participate in the community sacrifices, feasting, and dancing for six days and nights, eating and sleeping in the public squares for the duration of the ritual. Kasila's emphasis on shared experience without the usual hierarchies based on age and gender revitalized Diola religion by creating a new structure for the renewing qualities of what Victor Turner has termed "communitas." It so happened that the rice harvest of 1942 to 1943, nurtured by abundant rainfall, was the best in years.

Alinesitoue's teachings provided more than a new ritual for the supplication of the supreme being to provide life-giving rain. She explained that the causes of the drought were rooted in Diola people's neglect of a day of rest every sixth day (*Huyaye*). Those who chose to work in the rice paddies on *Huyaye* denied the land its day of rest. Furthermore, the planting of new varieties of what were seen as European rice (actually Asian forms of *oryza sativa*) disrupted what she described as a spiritual link between rice, the land, and Emitai. While permitting the continued planting of foreign rices, Alinesitoue insisted that only Diola rice (African, *oryza glaberrima*) could be used in rituals, thus requiring continued cultivation of what was seen as a gift from Emitai.

Alinesitoue banned, however, the new cash crop of peanuts, which French agricultural agents had been pressuring Diola farmers to plant. Communities that accepted peanut cultivation found that it undermined family farmers' sexual division of labor, leading men to abandon their tasks of building dikes and irrigation systems and of doing the arduous work of plowing by hand. Whereas men concentrated on the new cash crop, women were left to do the plowing, sowing, transplanting, and harvesting. Dikes and irrigation were neglected, harvests declined, and farmers used their earnings to buy the rice that they had not planted. Alinesitoue argued that Emitai had made Diola—both men and women—plant rice, claiming that this was their central task. Furthermore, she argued that the forest land used for peanut cultivation should be left for the harvesting of palm wine and other forest products. These teachings brought her into direct conflict with the French administration.

HER LEGACY. As people flocked to Alinesitoue's community of Kabrousse, French officials worried about the possibility that she would lead a revolt. Catholic church officials saw churches emptying of catechumens and converts alike as Alinesitoue's movement gained strength. In January of 1943, a French expedition proceeded to Kabrousse and arrested her and a number of her assistants. They were taken to the state capital of Ziguinchor, tried under the Native Law Code (*Indigènat*), and sentenced to various terms of exile. Alinesitoue was exiled to the city of Timbuctou, in French Sudan, where she died of starvation in 1944. No one, not even her husband, was told of her death. It was only in 1987 that it was revealed that she had died over forty years before.

Within a few months of her arrest, two other women rose to prominence, claiming to be prophets sent by Emitai. Since then, more than thirty other prophets—mostly women—have taught about reviving rain rituals, observing the Diola day of rest, and rejecting economic dependence on external groups, be they European or Senegalese. Sixteen such prophets are active today, one of whom played the role of Alinesitoue in a play performed by a Diola theater group in Dakar (twenty years before she began to have visions herself). Another woman had a vision of a night journey to Kabrousse where she received the blessings of Alinesitoue's widower.

CONCLUSION. Although there had been prophets before the time of Alinesitoue, she gave new prominence to this tradition, insisting that Emitai was directly involved in the lives of Diola communities. She emphasized the role of Emitai in empowering the spirit shrines and a kind of covenant in which Diola farmed rice and performed the required rituals in exchange for life-giving rain from Emitai. It may well be that this prophetic tradition is a primary reason why the Diola contain the largest number of adherents of traditional religion in Senegambia. Others have sought to appropriate Alinesitoue's memory for their own causes. Senegalese officials and northern Senegalese literati have hailed her as a heroine of resistance to European colonialism. A separatist movement in the Casamance region of southern Senegal claims her as the Joan of Arc of Casamance and leader of a Diola specific resistance movement, not only against the French, but against all groups that have tried to establish political, economic, or religious control over the Diola.

SEE ALSO African Religions, overview article, and articles on Mythic Themes and New Religious Movements; Diola Religion; Gender and Religion, article on Gender and African Religious Traditions; Prophecy, article on African Prophetism.

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ʿALĪ SHĪR NAVĀʾĪ (AH 844–906/1441–1501 CE), more fully Mīr Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAlī Shīr Navāʾī; Central Asian poet, biographer, and patron of arts, letters, and Islamic institutions. Navāʾī was a man of versatile accomplishments who, born into the upper aristocracy of the city of Herāt (now in Afghanistan), devoted his life to public service and the arts. Honored in the eastern Islamic world, he is regarded as the greatest classical poet of the Soviet Uzbek people and a significant contributor to Persian cultural history.

The period during which Navāʾī lived saw much political conflict owing to the disintegration of rule by the descendants of Timur (Tamerlane). Small princedoms, chiefly of Turkic origin, intrigued for domination and caused much instability among the upper classes. In Navāʾī's family, changing fortunes gave the young boy opportunities to meet a variety of scholars and mystics who shaped his intellectual and religious development. For most of his adult life he was a political and personal intimate of Sultan Ḥusayn Bāyqarā (d. 1506), who provided him with further opportunity for interaction with men of letters and led to the writing of his biographical collection, *Majālis al-nafāʿis* (Gathering of spirits), composed in Chaghatai, the eastern Turkic literary language.

During this period, Herāt was not only the leading center for the arts but also a place where mysticism, and especially the Naqshbandī Ṣūfī order, flourished. Navāʾī, who has been described as a man spiritual rather than public by inclination, appears to have been an initiate into the Naqshbandī *khāngāh* (Ṣūfī hospice) headed by his friend, the great mystic poet ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 1492). Although he did not follow the ascetic path, Navāʾī never married and professed to be a dervish. Since he was a Sunnī Muslim, his lack of prejudice toward Shīʿī Muslims has led to speculation that he may have favored that sect. His friendliness toward the Shīʿah, however, probably reflects the relatively tranquil religious atmosphere of his day, particularly in contrast to the early sixteenth century, when bitter Sunnī-Shīʿī political struggles rent the natural cultural and socioeconomic relationships that had existed across the Iranian plateau.

Navāʾī's devotion to public and religious affairs is demonstrated by the fact that during his lifetime he restored and endowed about 370 mosques, *madrasah*s (Islamic colleges), caravansaries, and other pious institutions; the Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Mosque in Herāt was named for him. He wrote a total of twenty-nine literary works, mainly poetical, and some in imitation of mystical texts. Most of these are in Chaghatai, but a few are in Persian, under the pen name Fānī. Because of his position as an early champion of Chaghatai, Navāʾī has held a special place in modern Central Asian culture. His life story, embellished with apocryphal tales, has penetrated into the folk literature, theater, and opera of the Perso-Turkic culture of the region.

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ALKALAI, YEHUDAH BEN SHELOMOH

(1798–1878), rabbi and writer, one of the forerunners of modern Zionism. Born in Sarajevo and raised in Jerusalem, Alkalai became the rabbi of Semlin (modern-day Zemun), the capital of Serbia, in 1825. His interest in nationalism was probably sparked by the nationalist ferment in the Balkans in the wake of the Greek struggle for independence. He was also influenced by Yehudah ben Shemu'el Bibas, the rabbi of Corfu, who was one of the earliest nineteenth-century proponents of Jewish national settlement in the Land of Israel.

Alkalai's first nationalist writing was his 1834 pamphlet *Shemaʿ Yisraʾel* (Hear O Israel), in which he called for Jews to establish colonies in the Land of Israel as the first step in the messianic redemption. Alkalai thus argued for human initiative in a process that most religious Jews considered the province of God.

He further developed this idea in his 1839 Ladino-Hebrew textbook, *Darkhei noʿam* (Paths of peacefulness). By interpreting the word *teshuvah* ("repentance") according to its literal sense to mean "return," he turned the traditional doctrine that repentance was a necessary precondition for the messianic redemption into a requirement that the Jews first "return" to the Land of Israel.

Alkalai's nationalist thinking took on much greater urgency as a result of the Damascus Affair of 1840, when the Jews of Damascus were accused of using the blood of non-Jews for ritual purposes. Alkalai held the event to be proof that the Jews needed to regain their homeland. His first response to the Damascus Affair was the Ladino work *Shelom Yerushalayim* (The peace of Jerusalem); it was followed in 1843 by his first Hebrew work, *Minḥat Yehudah* (The offering of Judah), in which he developed his nationalist thinking in a more systematic way.

Traveling throughout Europe, Alkalai devoted the rest of his life to attempts to set up societies that would foster settlement in Palestine. These efforts bore little fruit. He also advocated the establishment of an international Jewish organization, which eventually came into being with the founding of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in 1860. Alkalai, however, played almost no role in the developments of the 1860s and 1870s that laid the groundwork for later Zionism. He died a forgotten figure in Jerusalem in 1878. Only after the establishment of the Zionist movement at the end of the nineteenth century was Alkalai remembered as a religious precursor to modern Jewish nationalism.

SEE ALSO Zionism.

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David Biale (1987)
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ALLĀH See ATTRIBUTES OF GOD, *ARTICLE ON* ISLAMIC CONCEPTS; GOD, *ARTICLE ON* GOD IN ISLAM

ALLEN, RICHARD (February 14, 1760–March 26, 1831), minister and businessperson, is regarded as the founder of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church—the first African American denomination. Although he is generally regarded as the first bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal denomination, in actuality he was the second bishop. Daniel Coker was elected before Allen but was more concerned about African missions, and therefore Allen was elected as Coker's replacement.

Allen was born a slave but gained his freedom around 1781 by working during his free hours as a woodcutter, bricklayer, and wagon driver. He converted to Methodism during his late teens, and following his emancipation he began preaching during his travels around Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania while working odd jobs to support himself. In 1785 Allen was frequently assigned by Francis Ashbury to fill preach, and he also accompanied Richard Whatcoat on the Baltimore circuit.

Allen moved to Philadelphia in 1786 and began to associate with Absalom Jones (1746–1818) and other free blacks at Saint George's Methodist Church. Allen and Jones started a prayer group among the free black population and organized the Free African Society in 1787 for the purpose of mutual aid, support, and ministry to widows, orphans, and the sick. This was the first African American society organized in the United States. Philadelphia had the largest free African American population in the country, and the Free African Society was one of the major public gathering places for black people.

The success of Jones and Allen's ministry and preaching precipitated a crisis at Saint George's—what to do with the increased number of black worshippers. The white church leaders attempted to resolved the issue by segregating black worshippers in the balcony. However, on a Sunday in November 1787, after Jones seated himself in one of the front pews of the balcony, he was instructed by one of the ushers to move further to the rear of the balcony. Jones refused, and a scuffle ensued as the ushers tried to forcibly remove Jones from his seat. Jones, Allen, and the other black worshippers left the sanctuary.

Jones and Allen subsequently led regular worship services in what was called the African Church, and by 1792 their group's members were raising funds to construct a church building. The worshippers differed, however, over the choice of denominational affiliation. Most of the members voted for affiliation with the Episcopal Church. Jones went with the majority and eventually became an Episcopal priest, but Allen went with the minority that favored Methodism.

Allen reclaimed an old blacksmith's shop and renovated it into a chapel for those who preferred the Methodist style of worship. Work on the church was delayed for several months, because much of the energies of members of the Free African Society were required to help minister among the sick and tend to the dead during the yellow fever epidemic that struck Philadelphia in 1793. Bishop Ashbury dedicated Allen's chapel as Bethel Church on July 29, 1794, twelve days after Jones's Saint Thomas African Episcopal Church was dedicated.

Because Bethel was a part of the Methodist system of government, and because Allen lacked ordination, the church was still subject to white control and influence. Even though Allen was Bethel's leader, the church had to cooperate with visiting white preachers assigned to its pulpit. Allen was ordained as a deacon in 1799, but this still restricted his authority to celebrate the Lord's Supper and perform the sacrament of baptism or weddings beyond his assignment or when the ruling white elder was absent.

A number of events arising out of the contestation for power led eventually to Allen's members securing congregational autonomy through the courts. On April 7, 1816, Allen presided over the first convention that created the African Methodist Episcopal Church. He was consecrated bishop on April 11, 1816, with Absalom Jones participating in the ceremony.

Although Allen and Jones had parted ways denominationally, they continued to work closely together in many other endeavors, such as the founding of Philadelphia's African Masonic Lodge in 1798, petitioning Congress and the state legislature to end slavery in 1800, and founding of the Society for the Suppression of Vice and Immorality in 1808. In 1812 they, along with James Forten, were asked by the Vigilance Committee to organize the black Philadelphia population to help with the city defenses, and they complied by recruiting 2,500 blacks into that effort. Allen and Jones also combined their forces to organize a convention held in Philadelphia in January 1817 to oppose the goals of the American Colonization Society that had been formed to promote the emigration of blacks to Liberia.

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ALL-FATHER. Nineteenth-century reports on southeastern Australia showed a widespread belief in a male spirit who transcended others in this part of the continent. Known by diverse names, including Baiame, Bunjil, Daramulun, Kohin, and Munganngaua, he was said to live in the sky (although earlier he had been on earth). The Aborigines credited him with great achievements—laying down laws, instituting man-making ceremonies, shaping the earth, and teaching the arts of life. The amateur anthropologist A. W. Howitt (1830–1908), who collected much of the data on the topic, saw through differences in name and detail to underlying resemblances in the various tribal conceptions and suggested that this spirit be identified by the term *All-Father.* Howitt denied the being's divinity, while others voiced the suspicion that such a spirit must reflect Christian influence on the Aborigines. The extent of the area over which beliefs in the All-Father were known made this implausible even then (although it is likely that some of the descriptions were colored by Christianity). Since the 1940s a high degree of circumstantial probability has been lent to the All-Father's authenticity by reports of an All-Mother from northern Australia. Evidently Aborigines have had no difficulty in conceiving of a spirit who stands above the social order in the sense of having the same relation to all persons—for obscure reasons this being is male and paternal in some regions, female and maternal in others.

Howitt's denial of the All-Father's divinity appears to have rested on the absence of worship and, perhaps more subtly, on the absence of the elevated properties ideally ascribed to the Christian God. Yet in his *Native Tribes of South-East Asia* (1904), he readily admitted the All-Father to be supernatural, and he propounded a theory of his genesis as an otherworldly embodiment of a tribal headman—"full of knowledge and tribal wisdom, and all-powerful in magic, of which he is the source, with virtues, failings and passions, such as the aborigines regard them" (pp. 500–501).

More rewarding to consider than questions of definition is the All-Father's role in Aboriginal life (in the past, that is, for the belief is almost certainly now moribund). Here scholars are especially indebted to Howitt and his younger contemporary Robert Hamilton Mathews (1841–1918), also an amateur anthropologist. All southeastern Aborigines knew something of the All-Father, but deeper knowledge was revealed to those who went through the man-making ceremonies. An old Theddora woman told Howitt that the spirit came down with a noise like thunder when boys were initiated. The ceremonies themselves were, for most men, the main avenue of knowledge about the All-Father. Not only were they said to have been instituted by him, but they included many symbolic references to him, and sometimes the fiction of an actual encounter with him was maintained. The Wiradthuri people's Burbung, for example, was an initiation cermony that was supposed to have been set up by the All-Father after he slew a lesser spirit who used to kill and eat some of the boys whom the All-Father took for tooth avulsion (the man-making operation). Having put the monster's voice in the trees, the All-Father found that he could reproduce it in a bull-roarer. He told the leading men that from then on they should initiate boys and use bull-roarers. Women and children were to continue to believe that the monster destroyed the boys and then restored them to life.

The All-Father's appearance was shown by images made of him in this and other ceremonies. In a Burbung attended by Mathews in 1893 a figure of a man was molded from earth to represent the All-Father. Lying face down with arms outflung, the figure had tripped and fallen while chasing an emu he had speared. The figure was 6.6 meters long, 1.7 meters across, and 0.5 meters at the highest point. The anthropomorphic conception is also confirmed by rock engravings and by outlines cut into trees.

An even more esoteric communication between human and supernatural (one which even the most knowledgeable men seemed to regard as literal and not merely symbolic or fictional) took place in the making of magicians. It was believed in at least parts of southeastern Australia that the All-Father played an essential part in this process, which itself was a foundation of the moral and political order. Postulants appeared before the All-Father (no doubt in dream or trance state), were shown how to use quartz crystal for magical purposes, and had this and other objects "sung" into their bodies by him. A Wiradthuri man who underwent the experience described the All-Father to Howitt as "a very great old man with a long beard . . . from his shoulders extended two great quartz crystals to the sky above him" (Howitt, 1904, p. 408).

SEE ALSO Australian Indigenous Religions, overview article.

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KENNETH MADDOCK (1987)

ALL FOOLS' DAY.

The first day of April, known as All Fools' Day or April Fools' Day, is traditionally marked by the custom of playing jokes (usually on friends) and engaging in frivolous activities. It stands as one of the few spring festivals in Christian Europe unaffected by the date of the celebration of Easter. All Fools' Day should not be confused with the Feast of Fools, the medieval mock-religious festival involving status reversals and parodies of the official church by low-level cathedral functionaries and others (held on or about the Feast of the Circumcision, January 1). April Fools' Day activities, however, are related in spirit to this once-licensed kind of revelry. The actual origins of April Fools' practices and their connection to the first of April are unknown. The day and its traditions appear to reflect some of the festive characteristics of such non-Christian religious celebrations as the Hilaria of ancient Rome (March 25) and the Holi festival of India (ending March 31). Traditional celebrations related to the vernal equinox and to the arrival of spring in the Northern Hemisphere, as well as that season's playful and often fickle weather, may also have contributed to the timing and persistence of April Fools' customs.

The development of All Fools' Day has been the subject of much popular speculation. The day has been seen as commemorating the wanderings from place to place of the raven and dove Noah sent from the ark to search for day land after the biblical flood. It has also been thought to memorialize in an irreverent way the transfer of Jesus from the jurisdiction of one governmental or religious figure to another in the last hours before his crucifixion. In either case, the events in question were believed to have occurred on or near the first of April. An intriguing explanation for April Fools' Day customs in France, on the other hand, concerns confusion over the change in the date for the observance of the New Year. Those who recognized March 25 as the beginning of their year (a number of different dates were used to mark this occasion in medieval Europe) culminated their eight-day celebration of this event on April 1. When in 1564 Charles IX changed the official date to January 1, some people either resisted the change or failed to remember when the year was to begin. This confusion led to the practice of exchanging false greetings for the first of the year on the old day of its observance (April 1) and of sending false gifts, as a joke, to those who expected the customary holiday presents on that day. Thus some scholars believe that jests of all sorts soon came to be associated with this date. The term *poisson d'avril*, literally translated as "an April fish," is still used to describe the foolish victim of an All Fools' Day prank.

The custom of "April fooling," known and practiced in many European countries, was brought by English settlers to the United States of America. There, any person of any age or rank is susceptible to being made a fool on April first; tradition demands, however, that these jokes take place only within the twelve-hour period from midnight to noon (with the rest of the day reserved, no doubt, for apologies). Today, the practice is usually observed by children, although some adults continue to perpetrate both simple and complex jests and hoaxes on unsuspecting individuals on this day.

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ALMSGIVING

may be defined as unilateral gifts to the poor or the religious. In its purest form, the gift of alms is given gratuitously without expectation of return, and is in this sense "free." Almsgiving thus stands apart from reciprocal gifts, which forge human relationships of solidarity by principles of give-and-take. Moreover, alms are praiseworthy when given voluntarily, out of the free will and generosity of the donor; yet almsgiving is often configured as a binding religious duty. Deliberation on almsgiving raises intriguing questions about whether purely gratuitous charity is possible, or whether it is always at bottom motivated by considerations of reciprocity, spiritual reward, or simply the fulfillment of obligations. Reflections on almsgiving have also stimulated considerations of the plight of the poor and how to best serve their needs.

A FREE GIFT? For some, gifts should be given freely and disinterestedly by the donor, yet should simultaneously inspire reciprocation by the recipient. The Roman philosopher Seneca (4 BCE–65 CE) praised the graciousness of the unconditional gift, even while enjoining the recipient to respond with gratitude and, in turn, future service. This view of gift giving as a form of gracious exchange finds modern expression in studies of gift behavior inspired by Marcel Mauss's classic *The Gift* (1923). Noting that in many tribal societies, social cohesion is made possible through the back-and-forth flow of gifts, Mauss saw the gift as a circuit or loop entailing three obligations: to give, to receive, and to reciprocate. Mauss and his followers were skeptical of the free gift because it appears to be free of social obligations; in not eliciting a return it interrupts the mutuality on which social solidarity rests, leaving asymmetry and imbalance.

Others have doubted whether a gift can truly be free of any expectation whatsoever. While it may not result in direct material recompense by the recipient, every gift returns some benefit to the giver, whether that benefit arrives in the form of enhanced social prestige, a position of dominance over the recipient, or merely a sense of self-congratulation.

Amid these interpretations of the gift, we find religious ideologies proposing that not only are free gifts possible, they are highly commendable. Alms are aimed in two directions: to the poor and dispossessed and to religious professionals living in voluntary poverty, such as priests, monastics, renouncers, or the institutions that support them. Such beneficiaries are little expected to make a direct return on the gifts offered. The resulting asymmetry is part of what make such gifts laudable: they appear to be made without calculation or anticipation of return.

Yet, the absence of direct reciprocity from the recipient may not always entail that the giver be entirely free of interest. Almsgiving may bear the imprint of an older sacrificial order that in many traditions it supplanted: explicit bartering with the gods is replaced by more implicit arrangements. Almsgiving gratifies the cosmic order, which in turn grants further bounty. A donor might legitimately engage in almsgiving as a form of merit-making, with an eye fixed on future meritorious rewards bestowed, for example, through the causality of *karma* in the religions originating in South Asia, or in the form of God's blessings in the Western monotheisms. Almsgiving may thus be regarded as a spiritual investment wherein sacrifices and good deeds in this life are amply rewarded in the hereafter. Almsgiving may also be motivated by a desire for atonement; here the gift may balance the karmic "bank account" by offsetting bad deeds, or offer reparations and expiation for sins committed.

At the same time, within religious traditions there occurs frequent discussion on whether such calculations are appropriate. For some, almsgiving is a purely magnanimous act, a complete and genuine expression of compassion for the poor, esteem for the religious, contempt for worldly goods, or devotion and gratitude to God. Many South Asian theorists posit almsgiving (*dāna*) as a gesture toward the recipient in which either esteem or compassion—rather than interest in merit—prevails. Simultaneously, *dāna* is an act of renunciation, of loosening one's attachments to material possessions. Hindu discourses on *dāna*, for example, rate gifts made to worthy *brahmans* out of a sense either of rightness (*dharmadāna*) or relinquishment (*tyāgadāna*), as estimable above all gifts. Certain Theravāda Buddhist texts assert that the ideal generous intention is entirely suffused with esteem toward the monastic community or compassion toward the needy. Mahāyāna Buddhism, which Jacques Gernet has described as by its nature "antieconomic" and "avid for the incommensurable" (1995, p. 241), regards lavish unilateral and disinterested generosity as a supreme moral and religious achievement.

In the Western religions—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—almsgiving is a declaration of devotion and gratitude to God. It thus expresses intentions of the highest order, aimed not so much toward the earthly recipient as the divine one. The Christian Gospels make such sentiment explicit when Jesus declares that "what is done for the least of my brethren, that is done unto me" (*Mt.* 25:40). Judaism and Islam too find God present in the recipient; a Talmudic passage states that one who gives to the poor receives "the face of the Presence of God" (Avery-Peck, 1999, p. 54), and the Islamic scholar al-Ghazālī's eleventh-century *On the Mysteries of Almsgiving* asserts that the poor recipient "has made his hand a substitute for that of God" (Faris, 1966, p. 36). Moreover, for all these traditions, since God has given all that one possesses, almsgiving is merely furthering God's work of distributing the bountiful creation. It purifies the donor of stinginess and gives lie to the pretension of human autonomy. Almsgiving is not a matter of self-aggrandizement, but rather of humility and purification.

One of the most poignant ruptures in theologies of calculated giving occurred within Christianity through the Protestant Reformation. In *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (2000), Natalie Zemon Davis suggests that in a "profound sense, the religious reformations of the sixteenth century were a quarrel about gifts" (p. 100). Reformers were offended by the Mass as a sacrifice and source of grace, priests trafficking in indulgences, and gifts edging, in their view, toward heretical reciprocity with God. For reformer John Calvin (1509–1564), since God gives utterly gratuitously, grace cannot be won by pious acts. All gifts can only be free and unidirectional, flowing "downward from the Lord and outward from us" (Davis, 2000, p. 118).

A VOLUNTARY OBLIGATION? Covenantal theologies depict almsgiving as a binding human obligation to God. In the

Torah, God commands the Israelites to "open wide your hand to your brother, to the needy and to the poor, in the land" (*Dt.* 15:11). The practice of *zakāt,* prescribed as one of the five pillars of Islam, makes almsgiving obligatory for every Muslim; in some Muslim countries it is enforced as a legal obligation. In addition to legal sanctions, severe public opprobrium may attach itself to those who resist almsgiving, enforcing charity by the mandate of social pressure.

Ritual obligations also call forth gifts. Entry into ritual spaces often entails passing through the gates of charity. The ritual calendars in many of the world's religious traditions build ritual almsgiving into festival occasions; the hungry know a meal may always be had during Lent and Easter, the Jewish holiday of Purim, the Buddhist celebration of Vesak, and the Muslim Īd al-Aḍḥā. They might also gather at sacred sites where pilgrims are compelled to be free with alms: supplicants await at the banks of the Ganges in Vārāṇasī to offer themselves as auspicious occasions for pilgrims' devotion. Institutionalized ritual practices, such as the passing of the collection plate during the weekly service, ingrain routine patterns of giving.

Where conceived as an obligation compelled by external demands, the element of voluntarism may be obscured. Only in granting the deed an element of free will can it exhibit the appropriate spirit of generosity. Paradoxically, it may be that gifts can be simultaneously obliged and voluntary. Religious discourses on almsgiving often detect nuances in intention that are explored in rankings of gifts. The twelfth-century Jewish theologian Maimonides' eight degrees of charity capture many of the subtleties of almsgiving that allow for gracious intentions within the context of carrying out duties. At the highest level, the donor strengthens the poor Jew, putting him beyond a condition of dependence; next best is the anonymous gift where neither the donor nor the recipient knows the other; after this comes the gift where the donor knows the recipient, but the recipient does not know who the donor is; then, the gift where the recipient knows the donor, but the donor does not know the recipient; then the gift of one who gives before being asked; then the gift of one who has been asked; then the gift of less than is fitting, but given gladly; and lastly, the gift given morosely.

An intriguing counterpart to Maimonides' eight degrees and another list that detects nuances in the donor's intentionality may be found the eight duties of almsgiving outlined by al-Ghazālī, which explore the mysteries of both *zakāt* and voluntary giving (*ṣadaqah*). These duties include understanding why *zakāt* is obligatory, respecting the time and etiquette of paying *zakāt,* giving in secrecy, giving in public (in order to provide an example for others), refraining from taunting or reproaching the beneficiary, belittling the gift (in order to guard against self-congratulation and vanity), giving what is best and dear to the donor, and seeking out particularly worthy recipients (within the prescribed categories of recipients of *zakāt*). Here too we find sensitivities that ennoble the fulfillment of duty.

It is noteworthy that both Maimonides and al-Ghazālī recognize anonymous giving, especially when we notice covert giving in other traditions, such as the secret gift (*gupta-dāna*) admired in South Asian traditions, and Matthew's instruction that in giving "do not let your left hand know what your right hand is doing, so that your alms may be in secret" (*Mt.* 6:3). The secret gift spares the recipient disgrace and arrests the donor's vanity. Yet even while hidden, this most meritorious gift does not go unseen or unrewarded by God, nor by the workings of *karma.*

Crucial considerations in grasping the voluntary nature of almsgiving concern socioeconomic realities and the possibility that unilateral giving, especially in class-stratified societies, may be an imperative placed on the rich by the social pressure of the poor. Acts of charity maintain the status quo by legitimizing the wealth of the haves while softening (but seldom fundamentally altering) the lot of the have-nots (see Bowie, 1998). Jean Starobinski (1994) has suggested that both largesse and charity may always contain an element of darkness in that they expose inequalities without eradicating them. Religious ideologies celebrating charity may be merely giving a religious and moral gloss to what is in fact driven by forces of class appeasement.

WHERE DO ALMS GO? Alms are received in different ways by strangers, neighbors, monks, nuns, holy men and women, the displaced, and the poor. Alms may engender affection and gratitude or they might give rise to humiliation and resentment. Some recent fieldwork studies in India have revealed considerable ambivalence for those on the receiving end of certain types of gifts that bring "poison" and dependency with them (Raheja, 1988; Parry, 1994). In some contexts, recipients may resent the paternalism of those who seek the recipients' moral betterment through charity. Conversely, the poor may distrust the gift that traps them in dependency and degradation, given by those who accept the condition of poverty as part of the created order or as a necessary backdrop for the expression of their good deeds.

Also important is to consider the trajectory of alms that enrich institutions and transform societies. For example, almsgiving practices associated with the arrival of Buddhism in China stimulated the development of an advanced economy through the accumulation of great wealth by monastic institutions. Monastic riches were not hoarded, but were in turn transformed into productive capital that was then redistributed to the poor or deployed for the purposes of conversion and propagation, magnifying Buddhism's reach. Through investing in what came to be called the "Inexhaustible Treasuries"—inexhaustible in that they increase wealth and in turn dispense it in every direction—the pious donor could become a *bodhisattva* perfecting infinite generosity (see Gernet, 1995). No political, social, or economic institution in Tang dynasty China remained unaffected by these developments.

Gifts in the modern world too have the potential to transform or constrain the lives of individuals as well as effect great historical change. In modern contexts of tremendous global economic disparities, almsgiving may play a crucial role in rectifying the gross injustices and exploitations of the world. Yet the free, unilateral gift does not arrive without complications. Even when given with the noblest of intentions, alms take different courses as they reach the recipient, sometimes leading to help and self-determination, other times to a labyrinth of dependence. A central question from a modern perspective concerns how best to channel human charitable impulses not merely to offer relief, but to effectively dismantle social and economic structures that create oppression and poverty in the first place.

SEE ALSO Charity; Hospitality; Merit, overview article; Zakāt.

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ALPHABETS.

This article concerns lore, mystical beliefs, and magical practices involving the alphabet and its letters in the civilizations and religious traditions that use them. The term *alphabet* generally refers to those scripts derived from the original Phoenician *aleph-bet* that have roughly one sign and only one sign for every phoneme, or at least, as in Phoenician, Hebrew, and Arabic, every consonant phoneme. Logographic writing such as Chinese, and syllabaries such as the Maya "glyphs" (largely deciphered in recent decades), Japanese katakana and hiragana, Indian devanāgarī, and the Ethiopian "geʾez" are therefore excluded from the following discussions, even though the last two derive ultimately from the Phoenician script. However, Near Eastern precursors of the alphabet, such as cuneiform and Egyptian hieroglyphics and their offshoots, will be discussed.

ORIGIN OF WRITING. The beginnings of writing can be traced back to the fourth millennium BCE and earlier in Mesopotamia and in Kurdistan, the Zagros Mountains, and the Iranian plateau to the east and north. Subsequently, the idea of writing (however different the forms it took in each area) spread eastward to the Indus Valley and China, and westward to Egypt, Anatolia, and Minoan Crete. Though the earliest uses of writing appear to have been economic—the recording of mundane trade transactions—it quickly became so central to civilized life that every aspect of human endeavor was written down, from the deeds of kings and priestly rituals to the most sacred myths of the people.

MYTHS OF ORIGIN. Myths soon evolved in literate cultures, attributing to gods or heroes the origin of writing and its transmission to human beings. In Mesopotamia, the cradle of writing, Nabu (Nebo)—son of Marduk, king of the Babylonian pantheon—was credited with the invention of writing, which he used to record the fates of men. This notion of the function of writing, represented in the *Book of Daniel* 5:5–28 (cf. the English expressions *hand of fate* and *handwriting on the wall*), is still alive today in the Middle East and the Balkans.

According to Egyptian mythology, the god ḏhwtj (Thoth) discovered writing. This attribution is known to the West through Plato (*Phaidros* 274c) and was accepted even by the church, as proved by the floor mosaic in Siena Cathedral, which depicts Hermes Trismegistos (Thoth) giving writing to the Egyptians. Titles of this divinity include *sš* (scribe) and *nb sš.w* (lord of writing); he was naturally patron of scribes. Perhaps because the pictographic appearance of the hieroglyphic script (actually a consonantal system with some logograms) facilitated the belief that word and thing were essentially identical, writing was closely linked to magic in ancient Egypt, and Thoth was the god of sorcery as well. He was reputedly the author of the Hermetic corpus (first to third century CE), which influenced Christians, Jews, and Muslims alike in the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

The Bible (*Ex.* 31:18; 32:15–16) has God himself inscribe the two stone Tablets of the Law that he gives to Moses with the "writing of God." If this is a memory of the Sinaitic script, possible ancestor of the Phoenician alphabet, Yahweh may figure here as the inventor of writing. Later, the

Paleo-Hebrew script acquired sanctity; some scrolls from Qumran, though written in Square Aramaic letters, write the tetragammaton (*YHWH*) in Paleo-Hebrew. Postbiblical Jewish tradition often refers to Adam or Enoch as discoverer of the alphabet, magic, alchemy, and astrology.

In the Qurʾān also, writing is provided a divine association. God begins his revelation when Gabriel orders Muḥammad to recite from writings the angel has brought down with him from heaven (*sūrah* 96): "Recite thou! For thy Lord is the most Beneficent, / who hath taught the use of the pen— / Hath taught Man that which he knoweth not." Shanawānī (c. 1610 CE) specifically states that God created the alphabet and revealed it to Adam.

The Greeks generally did not attribute their alphabet to deities; most were aware of its foreign, and often of its specifically Phoenician, origin. Herodotos, perhaps following Hekataios, states that "the Phoenicians who came with Kadmos . . . introduced the Greeks to many skills and, what is more, to the alphabet, which I believe had not previously existed among the Hellenes" (5.58). As for writing in general, some sought the source in Egypt: Antikleides names the early pharoah Menes (first dynasty) as *heuretēs* (discoverer), and Plato assigns to Thoth the same role. (Plato, who rebels against the materialism of the pre-Socratics, becomes, significantly, the first Greek to make a *daimōn* invent writing, though he tells his Egyptian tale to denigrate the invention and probably does not believe it himself.) Under Near Eastern or Egyptian influence, some Greeks attributed writing to the three Fates (cf. Nabu) or to Hermes (cf. Thoth), but these authors are Hellenistic or later.

In Norse tradition, Óðinn (Odin), King of the Gods—known as Woden to Angles and Saxons and Wotan to the Germans—is the discoverer, though not the inventor, of the runic alphabet. The runes are endowed with supernatural power and Óðinn/Woden, like Mercury, Hermes, Thoth, and Nabu, is a god of magic. This is the reason Mercury's day (cf., French, *mercredi*, Spanish, *miercoles*) in English is *Wednesday,* from *Woden's day.*

Christian traditions attribute a number of national alphabets to saints and missionaries. Wulfila (Ulfilas) devised a script for Gothic and used it for his translation of the Bible into that tongue. Saints Cyril and Methodios are usually credited with the creation of Cyrillic, named for the former, which they used for their rendering of the Scriptures into Slavonic, but some scholars believe that the saints actually designed Glagolithic, a rival early Slavonic script. Saint Mesrob Mašt'oç (Mesrop Mashdotz) invented not one, but three scripts: one for his native Armenian, still in use today; one for Georgian; and one for the extinct Alwan (Albanian), a Caucasian language once spoken in modern Azerbaijan.

ROOTS OF MYSTICAL SPECULATION. Mystical speculation on the alphabet and its letters stems principally from two sources. The first is the Near East and Egypt—for magic, mainly the latter. The second is the Pythagorean tradition of Magna Graecia, where the western Greeks tended to reject Ionian rationalism.

Pythagoras founded his religious-philosophical school at Krotona in southern Italy around 531 BCE. The complex system he taught gave a central place to numbers (expressed either by dots or by letters of the alphabet); these he believed to underlie the phenomenal universe. Confirming him in this conviction was his discovery that the principal intervals of the musical scale could be expressed by arithmetic ratios. From him or his school probably derives the seven-note scale that is still used today and is still noted after the Greek fashion with letters (*A, B, C, D, E, F, G*). Later thinkers connected the seven tones with the seven known "planets" (hence the expression *music of the spheres*), the seven days of the week (named for the deified "planets"), and the seven vowels of the Greek alphabet (A, E, H, I, O, Y, Ω); all these came to play an important role in magic and mysticism.

Pythagoras strongly influenced Plato, who spent much time in Syracuse with the Pythagorean Archytas of Tarentum (Taranto). Plato popularized Pythagorean ideas such as mind-body dualism and reincarnation and prepared the intellectual ground for letter and number mysticism. A generation later, the conquests of Alexander brought the Pythagorean-Platonic strain in Greek thought face to face with the philosophies and religions of the East, rife with speculation concerning writing. The subsequent Hellenistic and Roman periods are the formative eras for letter mysticism of all kinds.

LETTER MYSTICISM. Letter mysticism includes several kinds of speculations associated with the alphabet. These conjectures are associated with the shapes of the letters; the significance of the various vowels, consonants, and syllables as well as the enigmas connected to the alphabetic system as a whole. These include the number of letters in the alphabet; the nexus between the letters and the constellations; alphabetic numerology; and symbolic characteristics of the letters.

Shapes of letters. Speculation about the shapes of the letters has existed since very early times. In the Greek system Pythagoras himself is said to have used the upsilon (Y) to symbolize the initially similar, but ultimately radically divergent, paths of virtuous and wicked lives. Proklos in his *scholia* on Plato's *Timaios* (3.225) therefore calls upsilon the *gramma philosophōn* (philosopher's letter); in the Middle Ages, "ad Pythagorae literae bivium pervenire" ("to come to the crossroads of Pythagoras's letter") became proverbial for "coming to a moral crux." Similarly, the psi (Ψ) on an Attic relief may represent the golden mean followed by the philosopher, who avoids extremes on either side.

Epsilon (E), if turned on its back (III), resembles a scale, and thus represents justice. This, too, may be ultimately Pythagorean, especially since E=5 in the Milesian system; it is midway between alpha (A=1) and theta (Θ=9) and therefore signifies balance. With this may be connected the famous Delphic E about which Plutarch wrote an essay.

The early Christians, too, saw religious significance in the shapes of the Greek letters. Alpha (Α) and delta (Δ), each with three lines, represent the Trinity. Tau (Τ) is recognizable as the cross, as that inveterate skeptic Lucian (c. 117–c. 180 CE) had already pointed out (*Letters at Law* 61). Theta (Θ) is the world (round with an equator). Thus Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636) was combining Christian with Pythagorean symbolism when he declared that five letters are mystical: ΑΘΤΥΩ (for Ω, see below).

Such speculation is also found in Jewish tradition: in the Zohar (part of the Qabbalah), the letter *he’* (ה) is called *heikhal* (“palace, temple”) because its shape suggests one.

Vowels and consonants. By the time of Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE), the Ionian alphabet, with its seven vowels, had spread throughout the Greek world. Athens had adopted it in 403–402 BCE. These vowels were soon the center of much mystical speculation, in good part because they numbered seven, which also designated the seven known “planets.” Vowels were thought to possess enormous power and were used on Coptic and Greek papyri from Egypt to invoke the gods. Certain combinations of vowels were deemed so potent that they could create gods. The first, middle, and last characters in the vowel series—Α, Ι, Ω—were also the first three letters of ΑΙΩΝ. Moving iota into first position, we have ΙΑΩ, identified with *Yahu*, a short form of the all-powerful name *Yahweh*. The magical *Eighth Book of Moses* says that the name ΙΑΩ is so mighty that God came into existence from its echo. Fuller forms are ΙΑΕΩ, ΙΗΩΥΟ, and ΙΕΟΥΩΗΙ (this last has all seven vowels). One repeated formula is ΤΟΝ ΙΑΩ ΣΑΒΑΩΘ ΤΟΝ ΑΔΟΝΑΙ, where ΙΑΩ (*Sabaoth,* “hosts”), and ΑΔΟΝΑΙ (*Adonai,* “my lord”), are well-known epithets of Yahweh. ΣΑΒΑΩΘ was etymologized by vowel mystics as *šäba’ ʿōt* (bad Hebrew for “seven letters,” i.e., the seven in the Greek alphabet). Probably Α and Ω (*Rev.* 1:8f.) were meant as the first and last of all letters, though Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–215) believed that the vowel series were meant. Given the importance of the number seven in the *Book of Revelation*, that most mystical of New Testament books, he may have been right.

The seven vowels often were equated with the seven planetary spheres; Clement added that the vowels are the sounds of the planets, hence the Α and Ω of *Revelation.* When Hyginus (*Fabulae* 277) attributed the invention of the vowels to the Fates, he was thinking of the planets’ role in astrological determinations of individual fates.

The consonants play a much smaller role in magic and mysticism than do vowels. If the seven vowels in the Greek alphabet corresponded to seven planets, then perhaps the seventeen consonants represented the twelve signs of the zodiac plus the five elements. The names of the five elements, ΑΗΡ (air), ΥΔΩΡ (water), ΠΥΡ (fire), ΑΙΘΗΡ (ether), and ΓΗ (earth), were spelled with exactly five consonants (ΓΔΘΠΡ) and five vowels (ΑΗΙΥΩ). The twenty-four letters of the Greek alphabet were assigned in pairs to the twelve signs of the zodiac (Aries: ΑΝ; Taurus: ΒΞ; Gemini: ΓΟ; etc.); these were then read as numerals and formed the basis for complex arithmetic and geometrical calculations of horoscopes.

Syllables. On the walls of an archaic Etruscan tomb, an inscription (IG XIV 2420) lists letters of the Greek alphabet and under them, syllables consisting of a consonant plus a vowel: *MA, MI, ME, MY, NA*, etc. (Etruscan lacks *O*). Some have seen this as an echo of Aegean syllabaries from the Bronze Age (e.g., Linear A, B), which were similarly of consonant-plus-vowel type; others consider the inscription to be a magical incantation. Certainly magic papyri from Hellenistic and Roman Egypt (e.g., Leiden Papyrus Y) such syllables as incantations: Α, ΒΑ, ΓΑ, and so forth; Ε, ΒΕ, ΓΕ, and so on. Marcellus Empiricus (10.70), a medical writer of the fourth and fifth centuries, recommends such a set of syllables (ΨΑ, ΨΕ, etc.) to stop bleeding. The Etruscans may have originated the magical use of syllables or inherited it from the Aegean syllabaries; Etruscan refugees from Roman conquest could have introduced them to Egypt. (Compare the Etruscan book of rituals—and perhaps magic formulas—found on the wrappings of the famous Zagreb Mummy.)

The whole alphabet. The number of letters in the alphabet was widely held to be significant. Early Christian writers, following Jewish originals, saw the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet as representing the twenty-two creations of God, the twenty-two books of the Old Testament, the twenty-two virtues of Christ, and the twenty-two thousand cattle of Solomon (*1 Kgs.* 8:63; *2 Chr.* 18.5). The twenty-four letters of the Greek alphabet corresponded to the twenty-four hours of the day and night, which in turn are double the number of months in the year. Alexandrian scholars divided the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* into twenty-four books each, with each represented by a Greek letter. It might seem far-fetched to link this with solar symbolism, but some have compared the 350 cattle of Helios, the sun god (*Odyssey* 12.127–130) to the 365 days of the solar year. Alexander of Aphrodisias, commenting on Aristotle, suggests that the twenty-four letters express the total of the twelve signs of the zodiac, the eight spheres (seven planets plus Earth), and the four elements (excluding ether).

The close link between the alphabet and the cosmos is well illustrated by the semantic field of the Greek word *stoicheion*; it means “element, sound, letter of the alphabet; astrological sign; proposition in geometry; number.” The Latin equivalent, *elementum,* may derive from the letter names *L, M, N* plus the suffix *-tum.* Everything had a name and a number, so the universe was built of letters as well as physical elements. The alphabet contained all the letters necessary to spell and utter all the names, known or unknown, of all the deities in the universe, and thus to possess power over them.

Since the alphabet was endowed with such enormous power, its first and last letters could be thought of as containing and encapsulating that power. The Hebrew word אוח (*ot*) means both "sign, token, divine portent" and "letter of the alphabet"; significantly, it begins with alef, the first letter of the alphabet, and ends with taw, the last. The alphabet came to represent the whole universe, and *ot* came to signify "name of God" or "God." One magical papyrus (Leiden Papyrus 5) refers to ΑΩΘ, "before which every god falls down and every *daimōn* cringes"; ΑΩΘ transcribes אוֹת, while also comprising the first letter of both Hebrew and Greek alphabets (Α/א) plus the last of each (Ω and Θ=ת). The statement "I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end" of *Revelation* 1:8, 21:6, and 22:13 should probably be understood in this light.

Gematria, or numerology. The word *gematria,* used to allude to the numerical significance of letters, comes from the Hebrew *gemaṭriyyah,* or *gimaṭriyyah,* derived from the Greek *geōmetria* (geometry), mirroring the origins of this occult discipline. Though there are cuneiform parallels, the use of alphabetic signs as numerals is a Greek invention. The archaic epichoric alphabet of Miletos had twenty-seven letters: the familiar twenty-four plus *digamma*, or *wau* (ς, representing */w/*); *qoppa* (Ϙ, representing */q/*); and *sampi* (ϡ, or Ͳ, representing */ts/*). It lent itself to serving as a numerical syatem, with Α–Θ standing for numerals 1–9, Ι–Ϙ for 10–90, and Ρ–ϡ for 100–900. Other numbers were expressed by the additive principle ΙΑ=11, ΙΒ=12, ΡΝΖ=100+50+7=157; 1000=,Α, 2000=,Β, and so on (the strokes are later additions). This Milesian system became dominant in the Hellenistic period and was applied to the Hebrew, Coptic, and Arabic alphabets, even though it fit them less well because they did not have exactly twenty-seven letters.

With this additive principle, names and words could be read as numbers. The Pythagoreans argued that every man, animal, plant, and city had its mystical number (*psēphos;* pl. *psēphoi*), which determined the course of its existence. It was a small step to identify this *psēphos* with the sum of the letter-numerals in that name or word. This system of arithmomancy spread rapidly in the Hellenistic period and plays a vital part in Egyptian and Jewish religious practice and later in Christianity and Islam.

The *psēphoi* played an important role in both religious and secular life. The *Sibylline Oracles* (8.148) predicted that Rome would last 948 years; this is the *psēphos* of ΡΩΜΗ. The great Gnostic *aiōn* Abraxas may owe the exact form of his name to its *psēphos*: 365. In the second and third centuries CE, Romans identified Mithra, the Persian god of light, with their Sol Invictus (Invincible Sun), patron deity of the army. Contributing to this syncretism is the *psēphos* of ΜΕΙΘΡΑΣ=365.

Even fragments of words were added up and considered to be significant. Apion of Alexandria (first century CE) thought that the first two letters of the *Iliad*, ΜΗ (ΝΙΝ)=48, represented the forty-eight total books of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* together. The Gnostic Valentinus saw in the first two letters of Jesus' name, ΙΗ(ΣΟΥΣ)=18, a reflection of the eighteen *aiōnes,* the emanations of Divinity central to Gnosticism. The *Epistle to Barnabas* (9.8) explains the 318 servants of Abraham (*Gn.* 14:14) as the ΙΗ=18 of the ΙΗΣΟΥΣ plus Τ (the Cross)=300.

The formulation of *isopsēphoi* (two or more words with the same numerological value) became a central numerological practice. It was believed that, should the *psēphoi* of two words be equal, the words themselves must have a similar significance. A favorite Byzantine *isopsēphos* was ΘΕΟΣ (God)=ΑΓΑΘΟΣ (good)=ΑΓΙΟΣ (holy)=284. Suetonius (69–after 122 CE), author of *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars,* records a Roman political *isopsēphos,* ΝΕΡΩΝ=1005=ΙΔΙΑΝ ΜΗΤΕΡΑ ΑΠΕΚΤΕΙΝΕ (killed his own mother), directed against the matricide emperor Nero. A sexual *isopsēphos* was offered by the poet Straton (second century CE): ΠΡΩΚΤΟΣ (rectum)=1570=ΧΡΥΣΟΣ (gold).

To make more *isopsēphoi,* Jewish arithmomancers introduced elaborate variations. One gives each letter the sum of the Milesian values of the letters in its name (e.g., אלפ=80+30+1=111). Another reckons א–ט=1–9, י–צ=1–9, and ק–ת=1–4; therefore יהוה (Yahweh)=טוב (*ṭob*, "good")=17.

No numerological mystery has held more fascination than the "number of the beast" of the Christian apocalypse. *Revelation* 13:18 exhorts the wise to "calculate [*psēphisatō*] the number of the beast, for it is the number of a man [*arithmos . . . anthrōpou*]." This can only mean that the number 666 (616 and 646 are manuscript variants) is the *psēphos* of a man's name. *Revelation* 17:9 shows that the beast is Rome (7 heads = 7 hills), so the man must be an emperor. ΓΑΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ (Gaius Caesar "Caligula," r. 37–41 CE) fits 616 perfectly; and for 666 there are several candidates. Nero's name in Greek (ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ=Nero Caesar, r. 54–68) [mis]spelled in Hebrew נרון קסר, totals 666 ("Caesar" should be קיסר). Titus (ΤΕΙΤΟΣ) took Jerusalem in 70 CE, destroying the Temple; identify him as a Titan, and we have ΤΕΙΤΑΝ=666. Marcus Cocceius Nerva (r. 96–98), first of the Five Good Emperors, seems an unlikely candidate for "the beast"—unless he was considered *Nero redivivus*—but Μ. ΝΕΡΟΥΑ and Κ(ΑΙΣΑΡ) Κ(ΟΚΚΕΙΟΣ) ΝΕΡΟΥΑ both =666. The equation ουλπιος (for Emperor Marcus Ulpius Traianus, r. 98–117)=666 must be rejected; it depends on final small sigma (ς)=6, but neither –ς nor ς=6 are attested before the high Middle Ages. The true solution to this riddle has not been established, though Μ. ΝΕΡΟΥΑ as Nero revived fits best with the traditional date for the composition of *Revelations.*

It is noteworthy that the *psēphos* of ΙΗΣΟΥΣ is 888=4 x 222; 666=3 x 222. While 222=2 x 111 (cf. alef=111 above), 3+4=7; three, four, and especially seven pervade *Revelation.* Thus the sum of the *psēphoi* of Christ and antichrist, divided by 222, equals seven.

LATER NUMEROLOGICAL SPECULATION. Numerological speculation has continued to this day. The Gnostic Marcus's complex system of numerology and other occult uses of the alphabet had wide influence in the Middle Ages, especially

The Numerical Values of Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic Letters According to the Milesian System

Greek			
	Letter	Name	Transliteration
1	α	alpha	a
2	β	beta	b
3	γ	gamma	g
4	δ	delta	d
5	ε	epsilon	e
6	ς	digamma	w
7	ζ	zeta	z
8	η	eta	ē
9	θ	theta	th
10	ι	iota	i
20	κ	kappa	k
30	λ	lamda	l
40	μ	mu	m
50	ν	nu	n
60	ξ	xi	x
70	ο	omicron	o
80	π	pi	p
90	ϙ	qoppa	q
100	ρ	rho	r
200	σ	sigma	s
300	τ	tau	t
400	υ	upsilon	u
500	φ	phi	ph
600	χ	chi	ch
700	ψ	psi	ps
800	ω	omega	ō
900	ϡ	sampi	ts

Hebrew			
	Letter	Name	Transliteration
1	א	alef	-or’
2	בּ ב	beit veit	b v
3	ג	gimel	g
4	ד	dalet	d
5	ה	he’	h
6	ו	wāw	w
7	ז	zavin	z
8	ח	ḥeit	ḥ
9	ט	ṭeit	ṭ
10	י	yud	y
20	כּ כ	kaf khaf	k kh
30	ל	lamed	l
40	מ	mem	m
50	נ	nun	n
60	ס	samekh	s
70	ע	’ayin	‘
80	פּ פ	pe’ fe’	p f
90	צ	tsadi	ts
100	ק	quf	q
200	ר	reish	r
300	שׁ שׂ	shin sin	sh ṡ
400	ת	tav	t

Arabic			
	Letter	Name	Transliteration
1	ا	alif	’
2	ب	bā’	b
400	ت	tā’	t
500	ث	thā’	th
3	ج	jīm	j
8	ح	ḥā’	h
600	خ	khā’	kh
4	د	dal	d
700	ذ	dhāl	dh
200	ر	rā’	r
7	ز	zā’	z
60	س	sīn	s
300	ش	shīn	sh
90	ص	ṣād	ṣ
800	ض	ḍād	ḍ
9	ط	ṭā’	ṭ
900	ظ	ẓā’	ẓ
70	ع	‘ayn	‘
1000	غ	ghayn	gh
80	ف	fā’	f
100	ق	qāf	q
20	ك	kāf	k
30	ل	lām	l
40	٢	mīm	m
50	ن	nūn	n
5	ه	hā’	h
6	و	waw	w
10	ي	yā’	y

among Jews and Muslims. In medieval Judaism numerology flourished, and the Ḥasidim cultivate it in present times as well. Numerology also played a prominent role in medieval Islam, as for example in the *Haft Paykar* of the Persian poet Niẓāmī. When used as numbers, the Arabic letters were arranged in the traditional order (Arabic *ʾabjad*) familiar from Hebrew and Greek, and their values followed the Milesian system. The usual order of the Arabic alphabet is based on sound and letter shape. In the West, a different system was used (*A*=1, *B*=2 . . . *Y*=25, *Z*=26), but psephological speculation thrived there, too. One whose destiny was influenced by it was Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821); long before he attained power, he discovered that *BONAPART(E)*= 82=*BOURBON* and therefore believed that he would one day rule France.

***TEMURAH,* ACRONYMS, AND ACROSTICS.** The significance given to letters led to the devising of alphabetic ciphers; examples are *temurah* (simple substitution ciphers), acronyms, and acrostics.

A largely Jewish practice, *temurah* (exchange) is found in the Bible but was most highly developed by the Qabbalists. Letters of the alphabet are represented by other letters according to a definite scheme. The *ʾatbaš* (אתבּשׁ) exchanges the first letter א for the last ת, the second בּ for the penultimate שׁ, and so on. The results are significant: ששׁך =*ŠŠK*, “oppressed," for בּבל=*BBL* (Babel) (*Jer.* 25:26), and לבּ קמי=*LB QMY*, "heart of my enemy," for כשׂדים=*KSDYM*, "Chaldaeans" (*Jer.* 51:1) are early and well-known examples. The variant *ʾalbam* switches the first letter (א) with the twelfth (ל), the second (בּ*)* with the thirteenth (מ), and so on. *Ziruf,* or *gilgul,* involves anagrams of single words; there were, for example, twelve possible permutations *(haviyyot)* of יהוה, the tetragrammaton *YHWH.*

An acronym is a word each of whose letters is the first letter of another word; the words represented by the acronym usually form a title or phrase. Hellenistic Alexandrines thought the designations of the five districts of their city Α, Β, Γ, Δ, Ε (i.e., *A, B, C, D, E,* or 1, 2, 3, 4, 5) represented ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΓΕΝΟΣ ΔΙΟΣ ΕΚΤΙΣΕΝ ("Alexander, king, [of the] race of Zeus, founded [it]"). Jews saw in the sobriquet of the great liberator Yehudah ha-Makkabi (Maccabee, from Aramaic *makkabā*, "hammer,")—spelled *MKBY*—an acronym of the phrase in *Exodus* 15: 11 "Mi Kamokah Ba-elim, Yahweh?" ("Who among the gods is like thee, Yahweh?"). The most famous acronym is the Greek word ΙΧΘΥΣ (fish), standing for ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΥΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ (Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior). This meaning is probably secondary; the original idea is a reference to *Matthew* 4:19: "I shall make you fishers of men."

Acrostics begin each line or verse of a poem with the successive letters of the alphabet. The oldest examples are in *Jeremiah* 1–4, but acrostic poems occur elsewhere in the Bible and are frequent in Jewish and Christian writings throughout late antiquity and the Middle Ages.

ISLAMIC SPECULATION INVOLVING LETTERS. Qurʾanic verses are often preceded by unexplained letters (e.g., *ʾalif, lām, mīm*, before *sūrah* 2), a phenomenon about which there has naturally been much speculation and to which mystical meaning has often been attached. The seven letters absent from *sūrah* 1 have special sanctity and are connected with the seven major names of God, seven angels, seven kings of the *jinn,* seven days of the week, and the seven planets. Shanawānī noted that both the Bible and the Qurʾān begin with the letter *B.* A mystical thirteenth-century Ṣūfī text holds that all God's secrets are hidden in the Qurʾān, the entire meaning of which is contained in that letter, ب *(bā=B)*, and specifically in the dot underneath it.

Offshoots of Islam carried such speculations further, particularly in Persia and Turkey. Faḍl Allāh of Astarābād (late fourteenth century), founder of the Ḥurūfī sect (from *ḥurūf,* pl. of *ḥarf,* "letter of the alphabet"), taught that God reveals himself to the world through the thirty-two letters of the Persian alphabet; the totality of these letters—and their numerical sum—is God himself manifest. The Bektāshiyyah, a dervish order prominent in Ottoman Turkey, adopted Ḥurūfī letter mysticism as a basic tenet. In the nineteenth century, the founders of the Bahāʾī faith gave an important place to alphabet mysticism and numerology.

The importance of the alphabet to mysticism and occult science may have weakened in modern times, but alphabets remain closely associated with religion. Roman Catholic bishops still trace the alphabet on church floors during consecration rites, and Jews and Muslims adorn their temples with writings from their scriptures. Until recently, non-Arab Muslim peoples all used the Arabic alphabet for their languages, no matter how badly it suited them phonetically. Similarly, Yiddish, originating in a Middle High German dialect, and Ladino Spanish are written in Hebrew letters because their speakers are Jewish. Slavic peoples use Latin letters where Roman Catholic Christianity took root, but Cyrillic, a development of Byzantine Greek script, in areas where Orthodoxy triumphed. In nations of the former Yugoslavia, the language formerly known as Serbo-Croatian is written in the Latin alphabet by Catholic Croats and called Croatian; in Cyrillic by Orthodox Serbs and called Serbian; and formerly in Arabic script, but today in Latin, by Bosnian Muslims and called Bosnian. Since the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991, although most Central Asian republics are replacing the Cyrillic script with the Latin, Tajikistan, the most strongly Muslim republic, announced plans to go back to the Arabo-Persian alphabet. Even in a secular age, the religious associations of writing are still apparent.

SEE ALSO Astrology; Hermes Trismegistos; Names and Naming; Numbers, overview article.

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ALTAR. The English word *altar*, meaning "a raised structure on which sacrifices are offered to a deity," derives from the Latin *altare* ("altar") and may be related to *altus* ("high"). This ancient meaning has been further verified by the corresponding Classical Greek term *bōmos* (raised platform, stand, base, altar with a base, i.e., the foundation of the sacrifice). The Latin *altaria* is, in all likelihood, related to the verb *adolere* ("to worship"; originally, "to burn, to cause to go up in smoke or odor"), so that the word has come to signify a "place of fire" or "sacrificial hearth."

THE CLASSICAL WORLD AND ANCIENT NEAR EAST. The above etymology implies both burnt offerings and incense. Nowhere—neither in ancient Greece or Rome nor anywhere else—is the altar necessarily associated with a temple. It is important to distinguish between house altars and public altars, as well as between stationary and portable altars. Both classical antiquity and the ancient Near East offer a rich variety of altars having diverse uses. Attempts at systematization have resulted in a clear understanding of the basic functions of the altar.

Greeks and Romans made careful distinctions between different altar forms: the raised altar site where sacrifices to the heavenly gods were performed; the pit (Gr., *bothros;* Lat., *mundus*) that was dug to receive the offerings to the deities of the underworld; and the level ground where gifts to the earth gods were deposited. The altar was a symbol of the unseen presence of the gods and was therefore considered a sacred spot. Used as a table, it invited the god to partake of the offering; used as a throne it bade the god take his place. The shape of the hearth reflected the transformation of the sacrifice, through fire, into matter appropriate for the spiritual world. It also reflected the role of the hearth as the hallowed and central place both within the family and in society. The altar could also take the form of a burial mound in which the hole or duct that drained the sacrificial blood to the interred bodies within corresponded to the pit formerly used in sacrifices to the dead. Homer uses the word to mean "fireplace," indicating that burnt offerings and an ash altar had been part of the cult of the dead.

The above differentiations and functions apply to altars in general, regardless of how they were constructed or shaped within different cultures and religions: whether boulders, mounds, or piles of rocks; the stepped altars of the Akkadians and Cretans; the sacrificial tables of the Minoans; the sacred hearth of the *megaron*, the male gathering room of ancient Greece and the prototype of the temple; the retables of the Mycenaean pit or cupola graves; or the table and grave altars of the Christian cult of the dead (Fauth, 1964). In a Pawnee house, a wealth of cosmic symbols surround the buffalo skull displayed on an earthen platform—a raised place that Western scholars commonly refer to as an altar (Weltfish, 1965, pp. 63, 66f., 266; cf. Reichard, 1950, pp. xxxv, 334).

Egyptian ritual worship included both portable and stationary altars. The former had no sacred function but were simply cult accessories such as tables or stands used for holding a tray of food, an incense bowl, or a libation cup (according to the type of sacrifice involved). Such portable altars were kept in great numbers in the temple stores. Most of the extant stationary altars were used in the sun temples. These altars were surrounded by a low wall indicating the special sacred nature of their place during sun rites that were devoid of imagery. A large obelisk further underscored the importance of the place in the ancient temples dedicated to Re. Monuments of that size could only be contained in the courtyard of an ordinary temple ("the place of sacrifice"), whereas the holiest of holies, which was inside the temple and harbored the cult image, had to make do with a portable sacrificial table (Bonnet, 1952, pp. 14f.).

HINDUISM. The Sanskrit word *vedi* refers to "an elevated piece of ground serving as a sacrificial altar" or "a clay sacrificial altar." It is synonymous with *pīṭha* ("seat, throne"), an altar stand or pedestal with places for several idols, each backed with a *prabhāvalī*, or "halo" (Liebert, 1976, p. 334). *Vedi* may also designate a shallow trench constructed especially for offerings.

The nomadic Indo-Aryans who invaded India around 1500 BCE carried with them a portable fire altar drawn on a chariot (*ratha*) and protected by a canopy that marked the holiness of the shrine. This eternally burning fire on a rolling base was eventually replaced by fires kindled for the occasion by rubbing sticks together. In the case of domestic sacrifices, the head of the family made the fire in the home hearth (*āyatana*). For communal offerings, a fire was made on a specially consecrated spot (*sthaṇḍila*).

There were no temples during the Vedic period, but a sacrificial hall (*yāgaśālā*) could be erected on holy ground that had first been thoroughly leveled. It consisted of a framework of poles covered with thatching. The sacred area, which like the domestic hearth was called *āyatana*, included subsidiary enclosures and a sacrificial stake (*yūpa*) to which the victim was tied. This stake, which represented the cosmic tree, constituted an intermediate station between the divine world and life on earth. The *vedi* was constructed either inside or outside the sacrificial hall, as a mound of bricks or as a shallow pit where the sacred fires were lit. Burnt sacrifices and libations were offered to the gods who were supposed to attend the ceremonies, sitting on sacred grass (*kuśa*) spread over part of the altar or on its sides. The *vedi* was constructed so as to be narrower in the middle and was likened to a female torso with a womb (Walker, 1968, vol. 1, p. 30).

The *śrauta* sacrifice, performed by priests, was founded on Vedic *śruti* ("heard") revelation; it is the subject of much discussion, especially in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.* The practice calls for three different fire altars arranged around the *vedi*, which serves to hold oblations and sacrificial utensils not in use. The circular *gārhapatya* altar located to the west symbolizes the earth and its fire; it holds the "fire belonging to the lord of the house" that is used for preparing the sacrificial food. The quadrilateral *āhavanīya* altar to the east represents the sky with its four directions. It usually holds "the fire of offering." The semicircular *dakṣiṇā*, or southern altar, symbolizes the atmosphere between the heavens and the earth. It wards off hostile spirits and transmits the offering to the ancestors. The fire god Agni is thus present on all three altars in three different manifestations—as terrestrial, celestial, and aerial fire—uniting the three worlds on one sacred plane. The omnipresent Agni, as all gods in one, provides the link between heaven and earth by conveying the food cooked on earthly fire to the heavenly fire, the sun.

All sacrificial rites are said to be included in and summed up by the stratification of the *agnicaya* (fireplace) or the *uttaravedi* (high altar) to the north with its rich symbolism. It represents the rejuvenation of the exhausted creator god Prajāpati, "the lord of offspring," and hence of all the cosmos, his body. The Agnicayana sacrifice re-creates the cyclic rhythm of the universe: from birth or coming into being to death or annihilation, at which point life begins anew. The sacrificial ceremonies thus serve a triple purpose: at the same time they restore Prajāpati himself, the universe, and the master of the offering (*yajamāna*).

The fire altar in this case is constructed of five layers of bricks, 10,800 in number (one for every hour of the Hindu year). The creator god represents the year with its five seasons. The five layers also symbolize the five regions of the universe. The basic notion behind these cosmic representations is of Prajāpati himself: his hair, skin, flesh, bone, and marrow, as well as another pentad: the god's spiritual self together with the senses. The fire, taken from the *āhavanīya* altar to the *uttaravedi*, lifts the master of the offering to heaven, making him immortal. His spiritual flight is sometimes symbolized by an altar built in the shape of a flying bird. He thus manifests himself simultaneously in time, space, and creation/creator (Gonda, 1960, pp. 141, 190ff.; Hopkins, pp. 18f.).

The Agnicayana ritual may still be studied in India as a living tradition. Its principles, as manifested in the Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala, a diagram of the incarnation of Puruṣa (Primordial Man), are found in the building symbolism of the Hindu temple (Gonda, 1960, p. 328; cf. Eliade, 1958, secs. 142, 154, 171; 1978, secs. 76ff.).

ISRAELITE RELIGION AND EARLY JUDAISM. The Hebrew term for altar is *mizbeaḥ* ("a place of sacrificial slaughter"), which is derived from *zabah* ("to slaughter as a sacrifice"). In time, the animal slaughter came to be performed beside, not on, the altar. Other kinds of oblations offered on the altar were grain, wine, and incense. The altar sometimes served a nonsacrificial function as witness (*Jos.* 22:26ff.) or refuge (*1 Kgs.* 1:50f.) for most crimes except murder.

The altars, if not made from natural or rough-hewn rocks, were constructed from unhewn stone, earth, or metal. The tabernacle, or portable desert sanctuary of the Israelites, had a bronze-plated altar for burnt offerings in the court and a gold-plated incense altar used within the tent. Both of these altars were constructed of wood, and each was fitted with four rings and two poles for carrying. The altar for burnt offerings was hollow, like its Assyrian counterpart, to make it lighter. Both had horns on all four corners, offering refuge to anyone who grasped them.

The description of the altars in King Solomon's temple (the First Temple) is incomplete (cf. *1 Kgs.* 6ff.; *2 Chr.* 4:1). Two hundred years later Ahaz replaced the sacrificial altar of Solomon with a copy of a Damascene altar (*2 Kgs.* 16:10ff.) that resembled an Akkadian temple tower not only in its storied structure but also in references to the top as "the mountain of God."

Ezekiel's vision of the altar of the new temple may be directly modeled on that of Ahaz, unless it refers to the postexilic altar dating from 515 BCE or is a free construction. Ezekiel calls the incense altar "the table that is before the Lord" (*Ez.* 41:22). The Temple Scroll of the Qumran texts from the beginning of our own era contains a detailed description of the true Temple and its rites, presented as the original revelation of God to Moses that was never realized. Unfortunately, the text dealing with the altar is badly damaged (Maier, 1978, pp. 67, 76).

The function of the Israelite altar was essentially the same as in other sanctuaries of the ancient Near East but with some important differences. While sacrifices were still referred to as "the bread of your God" (*Lv.* 22:25) and "a pleasing odor to the Lord" (*Lv.* 1:17), the notion of actually feeding Yahveh was not implied. This ancient pagan idea has acquired with the passage of time a strictly metaphorical meaning, as in later references to "the Lord's table" (e.g. *Mal.* 1:7). Furthermore, the altars of Yahveh could be erected only in the Promised Land.

The altar itself was sanctified in extensive consecration rites culminating in a theophany described in *Leviticus* 9:23–24: "The glory of the Lord appeared to all the people. Fire came out from before the Lord and consumed the whole-offering and the fatty parts on the altar. And all the people saw, and they shouted and fell on their faces." When, at a later stage in history, only the name of God was believed to dwell in the sanctuary, no theophany could occur. The altar nevertheless represented the place where heaven and earth met, the place from which prayers ascended to God—even in foreign battles, provided that the worshipers turned toward the sacred land, the sacred city, and the Temple (*1 Kgs.* 8:44, 8:48).

The general prohibition against blood was also related to the sacrificial altar. Blood represented the life of the animal that must return to its creator. Thus the slaughter of an ox, a goat, or a sheep had to be undertaken at the altar as an offering to God, lest it be regarded merely as the taking of life (*Lv.* 17:3ff.; cf. *Dt.* 12:13ff.). The altar was the "divinely-appointed instrument of effecting expiation for taking animal life" (Milgrom and Lerner, 1971, col. 765). The sanctity of the altar forbade stepping on it and required that the priests wear breeches to cover their nakedness (*Ex.* 20:26, 28:42f.). Talmudic sources maintain the distinction between the sacrificial bronze altar in the Temple court and the golden incense altar in the sanctuary by referring to them as "outer" and "inner" altars.

Iron could not be used in the construction of an altar, according to rabbinical literature, since the iron sword represented disaster while the altar was a symbol of atonement and peace between Israel and God. The word *mizbeaḥ* resembles four other words meaning "removes evil decrees," "sustains," "endears," "atones." The four consonants of *mizbeaḥ* are sometimes also interpreted as the initial letters of four words meaning "forgiveness," "justification," "blessing," "life." Both the terminology and the legends associated with the altar have given rise to countless metaphors.

Abraham's binding of Isaac on the altar in the land of Moriah is considered the supreme example of self-sacrifice in obedience to God's will, and the symbol of Jewish martyrdom throughout the ages. Abraham himself was, from this point of view, the first person to prepare for martyrdom, and his offering was the last of the ten trials to which he was exposed. According to Jewish tradition, the Temple was later built on that very spot (Jacobs, 1971, cols. 480f.); hence the expression "Whoever is buried in the land of Israel is as if he were buried beneath the altar." Already in *Exodus* 25:9 and 25:40 we read of a heavenly pattern for the tabernacle and its furniture. Earlier still, the Sumerian king Gudea (fl. c. 2144–c. 2124 BCE) had built a temple in Lagash in accordance with a divinely inspired plan. Rabbinical sources have further developed this correspondence: the archangel Mikha'el, serving as high priest, is described as celebrating a heavenly rite on the altar before God, offering the souls of the saints who after death have found rest under the heavenly altar (Kohler, 1901, p. 467; cf. *Rv.* 6:9).

The Jewish table has been looked upon as a kind of altar ever since the destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans. The saying "Now that there is no altar, a man's table atones for him" helps explain many of the table customs in *halakhah* (Milgrom and Lerner, 1971, cols. 767ff.).

CHRISTIANITY. Paul contrasted the Christian service with the pagan sacrificial meal by stating that we cannot partake of the Lord's table and the devil's table at the same time (*1 Cor.* 10:21). He thus distinguished between pagan sacrificial altars and the table at which Christ celebrated the last supper with his disciples. The New Testament constitutes the dividing point between Judaism and Christianity: Christ has, once and for all, made the full and sufficient sacrifice of himself (*Heb.* 8–10). The terminology of the sacrifice is used figuratively in reference to the dedication of Christian life (*Rom.* 12:1) and to the mission of Paul himself (*Phil.* 2:17).

The early church was thus able to refer to the Eucharist as *thusia*, (Gr., "sacrifice"). The table at which it was celebrated was the *thusiastērion* ("place of sacrifice"), the term for altar first used in the Septuagint. The commonly used term among the Christians was *trapeza* ("table"). We find the term *bōmos* used throughout the Bible to designate the altars of the pagan gods (Behm, 1964–1976 p. 182).

Construction of separate rooms for the divine service was a rather late development owing to the persecutions of the first few centuries. The early Christians used portable tables that possessed no special sacred or ritual connotations for the eucharistic meals. This did not change until around 200 CE, when the altar became stationary and was sanctified by a special anointment with oil (*muron*). Under Constantine, Christianity became first a tolerated and later a favored religion, resulting in a rapid rise in church construction.

The Western church eventually settled on the Latin term *altare* ("a raised place") since it corresponded not only to the sacrificial altars of the Temple-centered Israelite religion but also to the various non-Christian cults of the Roman world. The Christians differentiated their altars from pagan ones by using the terms *altare* and *mensa* instead of *ara*, and by referring to their altar in the singular, reserving the plural *altaria* for pagan places of sacrifice. As late as the fourth century, Christian apologists listed the specific characteristics of Christianity: there were no temples, no altars, and no sacrificial rites, that is, in the pagan sense (see Stuiber, 1978, p. 309).

Following the adoption of the altar by the early Christian churches, its sacred nature became increasingly emphasized. It was the foundation of the elements of the Eucharist, and the special presence of Christ was expressed in the epiclesis of the eucharistic liturgy. A rich symbolism could therefore develop. The altar could be seen as a symbol of the heavenly throne or of Christ himself: the altar is made of stone, just as Christ is the cornerstone (*Mt.* 21:42). It also could be his cross or his grave. The martyr cult of the period lent yet another symbolic dimension to the altar: it was shaped like a sarcophagus, on top of which the communion table was placed. The statement in *Revelation* that the prophet sees under the altar the souls of those who were martyred for the Word legitimized the practice of incorporating relics in the altar. This latter development may be illustrated by Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome. Excavations have shown that a small funeral monument was erected on the simple earthen tomb of the apostle Peter around 150 CE. The altar in Constantine's fourth-century basilica and later the main altar of the sixteenth-century cathedral were centered on top of the original tomb. During the construction of the former, the bones of Peter were wrapped in a gold-embroidered purple cloth and deposited in a marble niche. On the wall an unknown hand has carved the following words in fourth-century Greek: "Peter inside." An altar of this kind was also referred to as *confessio* ("witness") after the witness to the faith or the martyr buried there.

During the Middle Ages a document giving the year of dedication was often placed along with the main relic in a hollow place in the top of the altar. This was covered with a stone and referred to as a *sepulcrum* ("grave"). In conjunction with the dedication ceremony it was customary to chisel a cross in each corner and one in the middle of the stone top.

The Middle Ages added little that was new to the symbolism of the altar but rather served to reiterate and sum up the thinking of the church fathers on the subject. The greatest popular preacher of the German Middle Ages, Berthold von Regensburg (c. 1220–1272), provides a good summary of the Christological interpretation:

> The altar manifests Christ. It is built of stone, anointed in a holy way; it stands in an exalted place and serves as a container for the relics of the saints. So is Christ too a rock (*1 Cor.* 10:4); anointed with the Holy Ghost (*Ps.* 44:3); the head of the whole church (*Col.* 1:18), in him the life and glory of the saints lie hidden (*Col.* 3:3). To the extent that it is sacrificed on the altar, it signifies the cross on which Christ offered himself, not only for our sins but for the sins of the whole world. (quoted in Maurer, 1969, p. 36)

After the Reformation, with its opposition to relic worship and to the conception of the Mass as a sacrifice, it was primarily the Eucharist of the early church that came to be associated with the altar table. The reformers emphasized the importance of the true and pure preaching of the word of God, with the result that the pulpit gained a more prominent position, sometimes at the expense of the altar.

The altar also came to be relegated to a secondary role within the Roman Catholic Church during the Middle Ages, when the increasingly opulent ornamentation of screens, paintings, and sculptures was introduced. This development was furthered during the Renaissance and the Baroque era, when the focus increasingly shifted to the sacramental presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

SEE ALSO Agni; Fire; Hestia; Sacrifice; Shrines; Stones.

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Translated from Swedish by Kjersti Board

ĀḺVĀRS. The Āḻvārs are a group of Hindu religious poets of South India. Their name in Tamil means "sages" or "saints." As devotees of Māl, a deity who combines attributes of the Kṛṣṇa of the *Bhagavadgītā* and earlier Purāṉas with those of Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṉa, they differ from a second, contemporary group of poets, the Śaiva Nāyaṉārs. Yet in other respects both groups are closely related and together must be regarded as responsible for the formation of a devotional, vernacular Hinduism.

The only reliable source on the Āḻvārs is the corpus of their own poetry, which the semilegendary Nāthamuni compiled in the early tenth century CE (and which was somewhat modified in the twelfth century). This corpus is known as the *Nālāyira-divya-prabandham* (Sacred poetic collection of four thousand); "four thousand" refers to the total number of stanzas. The *Prabandham* consists of twenty-three separate works, arranged in four books (in imitation of the four Vedas), among which the *Tiruvāymoḻi* by "Caṭakōpaṉ" (as the poet calls himself) is the longest and most important. This compilation and the preservation of the poems were among the achievements of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism. This Viṣṇu-devoted religious movement, which was led by brahmans and oriented itself toward Brahmanical values, had its beginnings in South India during the tenth century and assumed its classic expression in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In fact, the movement looked back upon the vernacular Āḻvārs as its spiritual ancestors. Consequently, Śrī Vaiṣṇavism produced an Āḻvār hagiography, institutionalizing these saints and the *Prabandham* itself, and commented and reflected on it through an enormous exegetical literature in heavily sanskritized Tamil. The poets are envisaged here as incarnations of Viṣṇu's heavenly weapons and companions many thousands of years ago, and their life stories are punctuated by miraculous events inevitably interpreted as expressions of Śrī Vaiṣṇava religious ideals and thought.

While a critical appreciation of the *Prabandham* independently from the Śrī Vaiṣṇava tradition has only just begun, the picture thus revealed is very different, though no less colorful. Traditionally, twelve Āḻvārs are listed, but in the *Prabandham* only eleven works bear a poet's name (yielding a total of seven different authors), while the remaining twelve works are anonymous. These seven poets provide information in their verses from which we can infer that two were brahman temple priests, Viṭṭucittaṉ (or Periyāḻvār in familiar Śrī Vaiṣṇava parlance) and Toṇṭaraṭippoṭi (Bhaktāṅghrireṇu); one a brahman woman, Kōtai (Āṇṭāḷ, "the lady"); two chieftains; Kulacekaran (almost certainly not the author of the *Mukundamālā*) and Kalikaṉṟi (Tirumaṅkai-āḻvār, a "robber knight" in hagiography); one a regional landlord, Caṭakōpaṉ (Nammāḻvār); and one a bard, Maturakavi. According to legend, the remaining five poets were all male low-caste bards and yogins. Geographical references in the poems cover most of what is today Kerala and Tamil Nadu, along with the southern part of Andhra Pradesh. The period from the sixth to the tenth century CE is the most likely one for the composition of the poems in the *Prabandham.*

Against the background of the *bhakti yoga* as found in the *Bhagavadgītā*, that of Vedānta, Pāñcarātra, and Vaikhānasa ritualism, of earlier folk Kṛṣṇaism and sophisticated secular Tamil culture, the Āḻvārs evolved a form of religion with intense emotive flavor. Māl (also known as Tirumāl, Māyōṉ, Perumāl, etc.), who is the object of this devotion, manifests himself on earth in three different modes. There are his mythical exploits, many of them known from stories of the classical *avatāra*s, especially the amorous Kṛṣṇa. Then there are his incarnations in the statues of numerous South Indian temples (approximately ninety-five such shrines are mentioned by the poets), and finally there is his dwelling within the hearts of his devotees. These three modes provide the emotional and intellectual stimuli that gave rise to Tamil songs and poems (which in turn were intended as further stimuli). The characteristics of eroticism and ecstatic drive, which were subdued in the terse earlier anonymous poems, reached their culmination when Nammalvar drew on Tamil secular love poetry and transformed it into a novel type of mystical literature. Later Āḻvārs such as Āṇṭāḷ, Kalikaṉṟi, and Viṭṭucittaṉ developed this genre further and gave it new shape in the form of folk songs and children's songs. The *Prabandham* contains no systematic theology or philosophy, but its general orientation of thought is in the direction of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism. This latter school, however, had little scope for an ecstatic form of devotion. It was the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (a South Indian text of about the tenth century CE, by an unknown author) that adopted the Āḻvārs devotion and gave it a Sanskrit mold, in fact by translating or paraphrasing poems of the Āḻvārs.

Śrī Vaiṣṇavism was affected in many ways by its Āḻvār heritage; through the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, these poets also exercised an enormous influence on Hinduism generally. But the sophistication and often extreme complexity of the nonbrahman poets, and the cultivation of simpler folk genres by brahman Āḻvārs speak against any notion of them as leaders of a rebellion by the oppressed, exploited masses, or as leaders of a movement in favor of simple theistic faith and against the teachings of the Upaniṣads. The antagonism they express is directed against Buddhists and Jains, Śaivas, folk religious practices, and occasionally against a Brahmanical establishment.

SEE ALSO Śaivism, article on Nāyaṉārs; Śrī Vaiṣṇavas.

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AMATERASU ŌMIKAMI is the supreme deity in Japanese mythology and the ancestor goddess of the imperial family. Amaterasu was born when the creator god Izanagi washed his left eye. According to the *Nihongi,* Izanagi then said, "Do thou, Amaterasu Ōmikami, rule the High Celestial Plain." The *Nihongi* further states that her grandson, Amatsuhiko Hiko-hononinigi no Mikoto, descended to the earth and that one of his descendants, Jimmu (Kamu-yamato-iwarehiko), acceded to the throne as the first emperor of Japan in 660 BCE. This explanation, however, has been challenged by modern historians because, among other things, no central government capable of controlling local leaders existed at that time.

The word *amaterasu* literally means "shining in heaven," and *ōmikami* means "great goddess." Therefore, Chamberlain's "heaven-shining-great-august-deity" is a more accurate translation of *amaterasu ōmikami* than the more common "sun goddess." The *Nihongi* states that her earlier name was Amaterasu Ōhirume no Muchi. *Muchi* is a suffix used for a respected person or a deity. According to Origuchi, *ōhirume* means "wife of the sun," not the sun itself. In Japanese, *hi* means "spirit" as well as "sun," and *me* means "woman" as well as "wife." Some confusion has resulted from this problem of multiple meanings. It seems that originally the name of this deity meant "great spirit woman," but later the *hi* was misinterpreted as "the sun," and eventually this deity came to be called the sun goddess. While hundreds of rituals have been retained at the Ise shrine where Amaterasu has been deified, none of them is related to the sun. This fact supports the above statement that *amaterasu* did not mean "sun goddess."

No doubt the most dramatic event in Japanese mythology was Amaterasu's retreat into the Rock Cave of Heaven, precipitated by the behavior of Susano-o, her younger brother. First, he broke down the division of the rice fields laid out by Amaterasu, filled up the ditches, and strewed excrement in the palace. While she was sitting in her weaving hall overseeing the weaving of the deities' garments, he broke a hole in the roof, and through it let fall a piebald horse that he had flayed. The woman weaving the heavenly garments was so alarmed by this sight that she struck her genitals against the shuttle and died. Terrified, Amaterasu hid herself in the Rock Cave of Heaven, and the heavenly world became dark. Eight hundred myriad deities gathered to lure Amaterasu out of the cave. Among them, Ame no Uzume, a female deity, played the most important role: "She became divinely possessed, exposed her breasts, and pushed her skirtband down to her genitals. Then the heavenly world shook as the eight hundred myriad deities laughed at once." Her curiosity aroused, Amaterasu opened the door of the Rock Cave of Heaven and came out.

While the *Kojiki* states that the woman who was weaving the garments was struck in the genitals, the *Nihongi* says that Amaterasu herself was injured, without specifying how. The *Nihongi* also does not mention the details of the activities of Ame no Uzume. Probably because of Confucian influences, the editors of the *Nihongi* moderated the sexual material in the original texts. Nevertheless, the basic motif of this myth is the termination of reproduction through destruction of the female genital organs and the reappearance of the female, which suggests the resumption of reproduction. This myth would have almost certainly been accompanied by a ritual celebrating the advent of spring, the season of rebirth in nature. After the rebirth in spring, Amaterasu carefully watches the development of the agricultural activities as the guardian of the crop until the autumn.

Amaterasu is closely linked in Japanese mythology with mirrors. She is said to have given a precious bronze mirror to Ame no Oshiho-mimi, saying: "My child, let it be as if thou wert looking on me." This mirror, according to the *Nihongi,* was then passed from emperor to emperor as one of the Three Imperial Regalia, symbols of imperial legitimacy.

Hundreds of bronze mirrors have been found at early tombs in western Japan, and the *Sanguo zhi* (History of Three Kingdoms), a Chinese dynastic history, states that in 239 the Japanese queen was given one hundred mirrors because they were her favorite objects. These accounts suggest that mirrors were extremely important religious objects for the early Japanese. Early peoples, including the Japanese of ancient times, regarded mirrors with awe and often believed that the reflection in the mirror was the spirit of the person. In this way, the tradition of mirrors as objects of worship was established. It then became linked with the earlier "spirit woman" worship, and finally the mirror came to be regarded as Amaterasu herself.

SEE ALSO Izanagi and Izanami; Japanese Religions, article on Mythic Themes; Susano-o no Mikoto.

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KAKUBAYASHI FUMIO (1987 AND 2005)

AMAZONIAN QUECHUA RELIGIONS.

Persistent confusion permeates the comparative study of the religious beliefs and practices of the peoples of Upper Amazonian rain forests that abut the foothills of the Andes Mountains. This is because Quechua-speaking peoples of that region and Quechua-speaking people of the Andes share a religious complex, which, in turn, is also shared with Jivaroan-speaking and Zaparoan-speaking peoples of the Upper Amazonian region. This article deals with some commonalities of Quechua and Jivaroan religious concepts. The Quechua language has long been associated with the Andes Mountains and with the Inca conquest of the Central Andean peoples radiating out of Cuzco in the late fifteenth century. Jivaroan peoples have long been associated with the Upper Amazonian rain forests and with resistance to Inca conquest, and, thereby, to the permeation of the conquest religion borne by the Inca northward to what is now Colombia and southward into what, today, is Bolivia.

In Ecuador and Peru, Jivaroan and Quechua-speaking peoples of the Upper Amazonian rain forest share not only many core beliefs but also variants of the same terms for these beliefs, even though their languages are completely unrelated. The specific people referred to here are the Canelos Quichua and the Achuar Jivaroans of Ecuador. (*Quichua,* pronounced *Kichua,* is one proper spelling of the name for speakers of northern Quechua dialects.) The Canelos Quichua inhabit the region drained by the Bobonaza and Curaray Rivers and the regions that radiate out of urban Puyo, Ecuador. The Achuar discussed here are those who inhabit the regions of the Copataza, Capahuari, and Conanbo Rivers and also those who live in the vicinity of urban Puyo, including those living on the Llushín River. Many Achuar and Canelos Quichua people intermarry. Many of the Achuar are fluent in Canelos Quichua and in Spanish, and many of the Canelos Quichua are fluent in Achuar and in Spanish. Cultural congeners who speak Jivaroan include the Aguaruna, Huambisa, and Achuar (including Maina-Achuar) of Peru; the Shuar of Ecuador; and the Murato Candoshi and Shapra Candoshi of Peru. The two latter Candoan-speaking people may or may not speak Jivaroan, but their cultural and religious systems are virtually the same as the Jivaroans and Canelos Quichua. Zaparoans of Peru and Ecuador (including Andoa-Shimigae, Záparo, Iquitos, and Arabela) also share this religious complex, though there is no known linguistic relationship between Zaparoan, Jivaroan, and Quechua languages. The Quijos Quichua and Napo Quichua of Ecuador, the Inga of Colombia, and the Napo Quichua of Peru also share segments of this complex.

The history of the Canelos Quichua intertwines with the history of Catholic mission expansion in a manner distinct from the history of the Achuar. Nonetheless, the primary streams of traditional culture and the primary emphases of contemporary ethnic affiliation that constitute modern Canelos Quichua culture stem from Achuar, Zaparoan, early Canelos Quichua, and Quijos Quichua peoples. The Canelos Quichua, in myriad ways, provide ample evidence by which to refute the spurious but pervasive dichotomy made by many scholars between cultural orientations and religious-cosmological structures of the "Andean," or highland, regions and the "Amazonian," or lowland, regions of western South America.

Control of power and recognition of the devastating consequences of its release are fundamental to Canelos Quichua and Achuar Jivaroan cultures. Concepts of such control are embedded in a paradigm centered on knowledgeable ones: shamans for men, potters for women. Strong shamans and master potters continuously increase their knowledge of spirit forces that exert control in human affairs. Spirit forces configure—especially for the Canelos Quichua—into three dominant images: Amasanga, forest spirit master; Nunkwi, spirit master of garden dynamics and of pottery clay; and Tsunki, spirit master of water, or the hydrosphere. Whereas Tsunki and Nunkwi are dominant images in all or most of the aforementioned cultures, Amasanga is specific to the cosmogony of the people addressed in this article.

The concepts of these dominant spirit beings (*supai*), each with a soul (*aya*) and life force (*causai*), evoke mythic and legendary imagery to illuminate the known and unknown cosmos and to relate cosmic networks of souls, spirits, beings, forces, and events to contemporary and past quotidian life. Each dominant image evokes and indexes a myriad of spirit beings specific to various natural and supernatural domains. For example, imagery of Amasanga not only evokes the spirits of thunder and lightning above and within the rain-forest canopy but also the spirit of the mighty trees that dominate sectors of the forest.

The imagery of Amasanga (called Amasank in Achuar) also includes principles of transformation, called *tucuna* in Canelos Quichua. For example, for a given group of Canelos Quichua speakers, Amasanga represents the master spirit force of their own territory. One powerful transformation of Amasanga is that of the feared spirit Jurijuri (called Jirijri in Achuar). Jurijuri is the master of monkeys. All monkeys are associated with other peoples. But Jurijuri is not a "separate" spirit, he/she is a transformation of Amasanga, a transformation from "ours," who protects, to "theirs," who harms. Jurijuri spirits dwell in hillside caves and move under the forest's surface. As the shaman of the forest, Amasanga sits on an iguanid or tortoise seat of power; his/her corporeal manifestation is the black jaguar, and he appears in humanlike form in deep purple garb wearing a red and yellow toucan headdress.

Tsunki evokes spirits of the water world—the entire hydrosphere of airborne and undersoil moisture—which must be kept under spirit or human control if catastrophe is to be avoided. Tsunki is chthonic in association with dwelling sites under rivers or lakes; aquatic in association with waterfalls, rapids, and whirlpools of rivers and with quiet lakes; celestial and radiating in association with the rainbow and, tenuously, with the sun. As first shaman, Tsunki sits on the Amazon turtle (*charapa*) as his seat of power; his/her corporeal manifestation is the mighty anaconda (*amarun* in Quichua, *panki* in Jivaroan). He sometimes appears as one dressed in rainbow colors, or as a naked white man. (Anaconda symbolism permeates the cosmography of power in the rain-forest territories of Upper Amazonia, Central Amazonia, the Northwest Amazon, the Guianas, and beyond.)

Nunkwi is associated with feminine dynamics of undersoil and leaf-mat-root-fungi systems by day, and with growth and renewed fecundity of manioc (cassava) by night. Her corporeal manifestation is the black coral snake with mouth too small to bite. She may appear to women as one garbed in deep purple who dances with hopping steps while tossing her hair to and fro.

Knowledge (*yachana*), which is fundamental to the control of power, derives from ancient cultural mythology and historical legend. It is shaped by strong shamans and by master potters to resonate with immediate historical events and current activities. Knowledge of the cosmos (bound to the concept *yachana*, "to know, to learn") provides the basis by which knowledge from the experiential world (bound to the concepts *ricsina*, "to experience, to perceive, to comprehend," and *yuyana* or *yuyarina*, "to think, to reflect") is shaped by all individuals. Such shaping is bound to another concept, *muscuna* ("to dream, to perceive"). *Muscuna* and *yachana* are, in turn, closely associated with the spirit-master images Amasanga and Nunkwi, both of which are thought to be from datura (*Datura suaveolens*), a narcotic plant of the nightshade family.

When a man or woman ingests datura (called *huanduj* in Quichua, *maikua* in Jivaroan), he or she "perceives" and "knows" human self, human soul, human substance, others, spirits, and all entities and beings in existence. Domains and boundaries that are part of everyday life dissolve in a datura trip as the questing individual enters mythic time-space, called *unai* in Canelos Quichua. Reincorporation into the world of humans, souls, spirits, and beings takes place through reordering by the individual of the relationships previously characterized in his or her life. For example, after taking datura the individual may "know" that someone he thought was his trading partner and true kin is, in this newly found reality, an enemy who seeks to harm him. Accordingly, the domains of kinship and trade are reordered by the individual, who now "sees" the entire kinship network and relations of trade in a new light. Such reordering of domains spreads to other domains, as well. For example, if an individual now perceives another as his enemy rather than his friend, then the powerful shaman who is father or uncle to the new-found enemy becomes a major threat to the health of the questing individual's kinship system, rather than, as previously thought, one of its buttressing ancestors. As the individual continues to reorder the relationships within such domains as kinship, economics, and shamanic protection and harm, his thought patterns and convictions continue to branch out to others both near and far, extending the effects of domain reordering further and further.

A successful datura trip gives the questing individual a sense of power. This sense is derived from knowledge of control of spirit, soul, life force, body, and visionary or imagined features of cosmic beings and events in mythic time-space, and in various past times. For example, a Jivaroan seeks the vision of an ancient being (*arutam*) in such quests and may acquire, thereby, a second soul that "locks in" his own immortal soul. If a person correctly perceives the image-vision, the lock-in mechanism prevents his death, so long as he tells no one of the vision of the acquired soul. Such a lock-in of one's soul gives to others in association with the individual a sense of pending power that must be controlled.

As a questing individual and his or her immediate associates seek to control the power rising from the datura experience, they maintain a sense of religious community in the face of, or in the midst of, possible chaos. To the extent that a person speaks of, or otherwise releases, such newly acquired power, he or she loses control of the knowledge manifest in a successful quest; the results of such release and consequent loss can be devastating. For example, increased shamanic activity aimed at harming those perceived to be enemies, and/or physical violence against such enemies, may erupt from such a release. This eruption causes social and political upheaval that can alter quotidian life and cosmic networks sufficiently to produce a historical marker.

Knowledge derived from cultural mythology and historical legend is fundamental to Quichua and Jivaroan senses of "ours" and "others.'" Figure 1 illustrates how, from Canelos Quichua perspectives, knowledge of "our" culture is juxtaposed to knowledge from "other" cultures. Here the *yachaj*, or more properly *sinchi yachaj* (*uwishin* in Achuar) has attained a level of control such that he is sufficiently strong to balance his knowledge with his visions, to relate his visions to cultural knowledge, and to relate his thoughts and reflections to his knowledge and his visions. He acquires the ability to cure by sucking out magical substances (*tsintsak*) and to harm others by blowing projectiles into them. Shamanic performances take place at night, while the shaman is in self-induced trance aided by *ayahuasca* (soul vine). Among the Canelos Quichua the soul vine is *Banisteriopsis caapi*. Juice from the vine is brewed with the leaves of another *Banisteriopsis* vine, or with *Psychotria viridis* leaves, to produce the chemical bonding necessary for visionary experience. The shaman, seated on a turtle seat of power, is visited by spirits as he—the shaman—visits spirits seated on their seats of power.

To know more about that which is within, the shaman must increasingly know more about that which is without. The shaman becomes a *paradigm manipulator*. His knowledge of the cosmos and his perceptions derived therefrom are stronger than the knowledge and perceptions embodied in other minds and psyches. He moves into a shaman's class (*yachaj sami*) of humans, which parallels a similar class of spirits. He continuously reproduces cultural knowledge, continuously transforms that very knowledge, and imbues it with novel insights. He also maintains the contrast between "our culture" and "other cultures" (from Quichua and Jivaroan perspectives) while transcending the very boundaries that he enforces.

The work of the shaman must, in part, be based on his experience with other peoples who speak other languages; this kind of contact gives the shaman "other-speech knowledge." The shaman maintains Canelos Quichua and/or Achuar paradigms while expanding the paradigms by drawing from his knowledge of other cultures. The shaman controls the process of syncretism. In this control lies the interface between cultural continuity (or reproduction) and cultural change (or transformation).

Among the Canelos Quichua, master potters, all of whom are women, do the same thing. Working with designs that signal the anaconda, the Amazonian turtle, the tortoise, and the iguanid—all representing imagery of shamanic power—master potters produce an array of decorated ceramic containers for storing and drinking manioc porridge. The designs on the containers link cosmic networks to quotidian events, the general to the specific, the ancient to the present, the mysterious to the mundane. A female paradigm-manipulator may, in Canelos Quichua, be called *sinchi muscuj huarmi* ("strong image-shaping woman"), or even *yachaj huarmi* ("woman who knows").

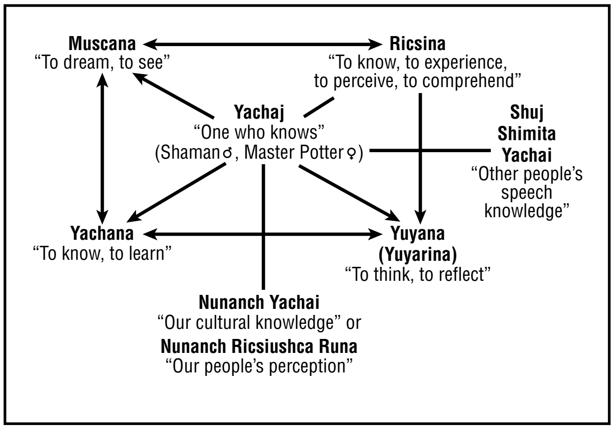
Muscana
"To dream, to see"
Ricsina
"To know, to experience, to perceive, to comprehend"
Yachaj
"One who knows"
(Shaman ♂, Master Potter ♀)
Shuj
Shimita
Yachai
"Other people's speech knowledge"
Yachana
"To know, to learn"
Yuyana
(Yuyarina)
"To think, to reflect"
Nunanch Yachai
"Our cultural knowledge" or
Nunanch Ricsiushca Runa
"Our people's perception"

FIGURE 1. Canelos Quichua perspectives on "our" culture and "other" cultures.

Among the Canelos Quichua, every master potter is related closely to a strong shaman. In some cases the shaman is a father, in some cases a father-in-law. In many cases there is a complex of shamanic males and master-potter females. Cultural transmission is parallel: female paradigm-manipulators pass their skills to women, male paradigm-manipulators transmit to men. But men and women are conversant with the alter-gender paradigm and, upon the death of a strong shaman, a wife may assume the shamanic activities of her deceased husband.

Male shamanic performance and female ceramic manufacture draw in a parallel way on certain concepts that are fundamental to religious convictions and insights. One of these is that everything is sentient and that, accordingly, everything has a soul (*aya*). Another is that differential power imbues various objects in manners relatively analogous to the ways by which differential power of humans vis-à-vis one another is organized. Inasmuch as power is shaped and organized into various hierarchies by different humans, human groups, spirits, and beings, there is no single power-pyramid; rather, there are many overlapping and interfacing power-pyramids through which humans, spirits, beings, and the souls of each may move.

Another fundamental concept of Canelos Quichua and Achuar Jivaroan religion is that all life exists on different planes of existence at the same time. For example, in the thought of the Canelos Quichua, *unai* refers to mythic time-space. In *unai* everything was (or is) human, and people (like those in present time-space) crawled on their hands and knees like babes and spoke only in a two-tone hum: $^{mm}{}_{mm}{}^{mm}{}_{mm}$. One enters different planes of existence through dreams associated with sleep, through insight, through conscious imagery constructed deliberately or accidentally, through imagery induced by the ingestion of *Banisteriopsis* or datura hallucinogens, through shamanic instruction, through fatigue, through accident or by shamanic (human or spirit) design, and recently by drinking alcohol. In the transformation from *unai* to ancient times, spirits, animals, trees, celestial bodies, colors—everything—underwent reformulation to something other than human. Today, in the worldview of the Canelos Quichua, it is not altogether certain that people speaking other languages emerged fully "human" from *unai.*

The sentient power of breath (*samai,* in Canelos Quichua) is another key Jivaroan and Quichua religious concept; the powers embodied in breath must be carefully controlled. In the transformation from *unai* to ancient times, once-human beings blew on one another and on other beings and spirits, causing them to "stay that way," to be as human beings know and perceive them today. Male shamans breathe gently onto polished stones to "see" whether the stone "lives." Female potters breathe on their pottery-burnishing stones for the same purpose. A strong shaman must have the inner ability to sing his shaman's song well enough to control the spirit defenses needed to thwart incoming shamanic projectiles from rival shamans, which all shamanic songs invoke. Similarly, a master potter must control the breath of fire that releases the souls imparted to, and the spirits associated with, her ceramics, or retribution from the imparted and subsequently liberated souls may result. A man must also control the sounds of spirits that come from *unai* to pass outward on his breath when he plays a flute or musical bow, while women control analogous sounds that come to them from *unai* when they sing songs. The specific knowledge of songs comes to them from other forebear women in other times and places.

Male/female parallelism in cultural transmission is enacted annually by the Canelos Quichua in a ceremony that expands the universe to include all spirits, souls, beings, and people. Enactment takes place only in hamlets with a Catholic church or chapel, where the chaotic and destructive merger of "outside" foreigner's force and "inside" native power may merge. All facets of Canelos Quichua cosmology are enacted as, for three days and nights, celebrants pass back and forth from the male festival house (ritual enclosure of the Moon) to the female festival house (ritual enclosure of Moon's sister-lover, the whippoorwill-like potoo). The ceremony ends with a powerful and palpable ritual reversal. In this enactment, which the Canelos Quichua call Dominario (from the Spanish word *dominar,* "to control"), the mighty anaconda is brought from the water to move on the land.

In Canelos Quichua thought, the anaconda (*amarun,* or *amaru,* as in the Andes) only comes on land to devour humans. In the Dominario, the anaconda, corporeal representative of master-spirit Tsunki, is borne on the back of four men who represent jaguars, corporeal representatives of Amasanga. Instead of controlling Tsunki's domain (the hydrosphere), Amasanga releases it. Instead of the externally imposed social control (*dominario*) represented by the church, indigenous power becomes an embodied apotheosis of stylized resistance. As the Dominario begins, an outsider, downriver (deeper Amazonian), powerful shaman gently plays a combination of flute and drum associated with Andean masked ceremonies. The melody itself is a skillful blend of his private Amazonian shaman's song (*taquina*) and a public Andean ceremonial melodic motif. As the four men come forth bearing a bamboo pole with four copal fires burning within it (the stylized anaconda brought from the water), festival participants begin dancing through arches constructed for the Catholic mission. Then the transformation, called *tucuna,* begins. The pole, as *amarun* (anaconda), Tsunki's corporeal form, is carried in a lurching, going-out-of-control manner. It becomes destructive; the bearers and the pole crash right into and through the church, slamming, falling, rising again, running, frightening everyone, going completely out of control while still in a cultural domain characterized by Catholic mission control, or domination.

Acting against such domination within a domain of domination, the festival reaches a crescendo that is, quite literally, terrifying to the participants. Women dance with their hair flying to and fro, their sideways motion being the analog of the male-performed two-tone hum of shamanic chanting that evokes the imagery of mythic time-space (*unai*). Men beat snare drums, circling and circling while producing a resonating pulse-tremolo signifying Amasanga's rumble of approaching thunder. All souls and spirits and beings are indiscriminately summoned. As escalating chaos reigns, the church is said to be destroyed in one great transformation of the world of forest and garden and earth and mire into an encompassing, rushing, surging, eastward-flowing sea. When performing this event, the Canelos Quichua say that they fear *tucurina,* which derives from *tucuna* ("transformation"), and means "ending everything." The concept of *tucurina* is one of the most powerful ones in Canelos Quichua thought, particularly when applied reflexively to one's own group. It means, in this sense, that to truly destroy the dominating authority of the church by the invocation of the ultimate power of Tsunki, as devouring anaconda, the Canelos Quicha may also destroy themselves, embedded as they are—in a revelatory manner through the vehicle of this ritual—in that very domination.

The festival sketched here embodies and syncretizes many elements of Andean and Amazonian symbolism, as well as wide-flung Catholic and indigenous symbolism. The controlled analysis of its structure and enactment in terms of Andean/Amazonian religions and Christian/animistic religions should take the comparative study of religion far toward dissolving such rigid polarities by establishing new, more productive bases for deep and meaningful comparative understanding.

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AMAZONS SEE GENDER AND RELIGION, *ARTICLE ON* GENDER AND ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN RELIGIONS

AMBEDKAR, B. R. (1891–1956), statesman, writer, reformer, and creator of a new Buddhist movement in India; member of an untouchable caste. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, affectionately known as Babasaheb, was born in Mhow (now Mahu), India, where his father was headmaster of an army normal school. A member of the untouchable caste of *mahārs* of Maharashtra, who traditionally worked as village menials, Ambedkar lived at a time when his outstanding personal capabilities, in conjunction with a strong sentiment for reform then emerging among caste Hindus and the beginnings of a movement for rights within his own caste, could effect extraordinary progress and change in the status of untouchables. In his early years he suffered prejudice in school, but was also aided in his education by caste Hindu reformers. K. A. Keluskar encouraged him in his studies when the family moved to Bombay, and gave him a copy of his book in Marathi on the life of the Buddha. Two non-brahman princes, the Gaikwad of Baroda and Shahu Chhatrapati of Kolhapur, helped finance his education, which eventually included a Ph.D. from Columbia University in New York, a D.Sc. from the University of London, and the title of barrister from Grey's Inn in London.

In 1917 Ambedkar returned to Bombay for a three-year period in the midst of his education abroad. During this time he participated in two conferences for the Depressed Classes, testified to the Government Franchise Commission on the rights of untouchables, and began a newspaper entitled *Mūknayāk* (The voice of the mute). All three activities—conferences to organize and inspire, attempts to use the parliamentary process for political and social rights, and educational work—were to become hallmarks of his lifelong efforts at reform. Upon his return permanently to India in 1923, Ambedkar earned a living from teaching and law but spent a major part of his energies on building a movement among untouchables and creating political and social opportunities for them, chiefly through pressure on government. He made efforts to secure religious rights such as participation in public festivals, temple entry, Vedic wedding rituals, and the wearing of the sacred thread, but these ended in 1935 when he declared that although he was born a Hindu he would not die a Hindu, and that untouchables could be free only outside the Hindu religion. Earlier, at a conference called at Mahad, a small town south of Bombay, he had burned those portions of the classic Hindu law book, the *Manusmṛti,* that discriminated against low castes.

His unshakable faith in parliamentary democracy led Ambedkar to testify at every opportunity before the commissions that investigated the furthering of democratization in British India. The prominence he gained in these lengthy and sophisticated statements resulted in his being named a representative to the Round Table conferences in London in 1930 and 1931. Faced there with the demands of Muslims, Sikhs, and other minorities for separate electorates, he began to advocate separate electorates for untouchables also. This led him into direct opposition with Mohandas K. Gandhi, who fasted in prison in Poona against such separation of untouchables from the main Hindu body of voters. Although the Poona Pact of 1932 brought about a compromise with Gandhi consisting of an exchange of separate electorates for more reserved seats for the Depressed Classes, Ambedkar continued to regard Gandhi's belief in a "change of heart," rather than legal measures, as a deterrent to real change, as a cure for untouchability. His 1945 book, *What Congress and Gandhi Have Done to the Untouchables*, indicted the Gandhian form of paternalism.

During the British governmental reforms of the mid-1930s, Ambedkar founded the Independent Labour Party in opposition to the Indian National Congress. The year 1937 brought eleven Scheduled Castes (so called because the government placed untouchable castes on a schedule to receive representation in parliamentary bodies and government employment) into the Bombay Legislative Assembly. Although Ambedkar was to found two other political parties, the Scheduled Castes Federation in 1942 and the Republican Party in 1956, he never again achieved such a large number of seats.

Ambedkar himself was able to effect legislation guaranteeing rights for untouchables as well as measures affecting all India in the appointed positions of Labour member in the viceroy's executive council (1942–1946) and as minister for law in India's first independent ministry (1947–1951). He was also chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution (1947–1948), hailed as the "modern Manu." Among the tenets of the Indian constitution is one outlawing the practice of untouchability, a tribute to the work of both Ambedkar and Gandhi.

Underlying Ambedkar's social and political work was a constant effort to educate his people. The newspapers *Bahishkrit Bhārat* (Excluded India), *Janata* (People), and *Prabuddha Bhārat* (Awakened India) succeeded *Mūknayāk* and were widely circulated in spite of an extremely low literacy rate among the Untouchables. A modest beginning of building hostels so that untouchable children could attend government schools in towns culminated in the People's Education Society, which opened Siddharth College in Bombay in 1946 and Milind College in Aurangabad in 1951. The society runs two dozen institutions in the early twenty-first century and in 1982 laid the foundation stone for Dr. Ambedkar College in Poona. The stress on literacy and learning also encouraged creative writing, and since Ambedkar's death the movement called Dalit Sahitya ("the literature of the oppressed") has become an important new facet of Marathi literature and has influenced similar schools of literature in oher languages. Dalit writers pay tribute to Ambedkar as their chief inspiration and ascribe to the Buddhist conversion movement that he set in motion shortly before his death their sense of freedom from the psychological bonds of untouchability.

Although Ambedkar's interest in Buddhism was evident all his life, he did not convert until October 14, 1956, less than two months before his death on December 6. The ceremony, held at Nagpur, was witnessed by more than half a million people, and in the conversion movement that followed, more than six million people, most of them from former untouchable castes, declared themselves Buddhists. In his talks and in his book *The Buddha and His Dhamma,* Ambedkar stressed a rational, humanitarian, egalitarian Buddhism drawn chiefly from Pali texts. Hindu beliefs and practices and any supernatural Buddhist ideas were eliminated from the Buddhism propounded by Ambedkar. He himself, however, was regarded as the savior of the untouchables and came to be held by many as a *bodhisattva.* In the years since his death, dozens of Buddhist *vihārās* (temple compounds) have been built across the face of the state of Maharashtra, and hundreds of books have been written on Buddhist faith and practice, chiefly in Marathi.

Ambedkar's fame as an emancipator has grown constantly since his death. His statue can be found in almost every city and many villages in India and generally he is shown carrying a copy of the constitution of India. His birth day, conversion day, and death day are observed by millions and the Buddhist conversion movement continues to grow.

SEE ALSO Gandhi, Mohandas.

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ELEANOR ZELLIOT (1987 AND 2005)

AMBROSE (c. 339–397), church father, bishop, theologian, and Christian saint. Ambrose is distinguished by being the first Latin church father to have been born and reared in the Christian faith. His life mirrors the social, political, and religious tensions of the Constantinian era. His fame rests largely on his work as churchman and practical administrator. A son of the praetorian prefect of Gaul, Ambrose was educated in Roman law, which he practiced as governor of Emilia-Liguria in Milan before being called to a Christian bishopric by popular demand in 374. He brought the confidence of his social class and training in Roman rhetoric to his ecclesiastical duties. Although he underwent instruction and baptism only after being named bishop, Ambrose contributed significantly to the settlement of Nicene orthodoxy, especially concerning the doctrines of Christ and the Holy Spirit, while imparting moral-ascetical instruction and vigorously defending the church's moral-spiritual authority in relations with the state. Ambrose's life, recorded by his contemporary biographer Paulinus, was one of simplicity and austerity. A popular and powerful figure in Milan, which in his time was the center of Western Roman rule, Ambrose was "court theologian" to a series of notable figures, including the emperors Valentinian I (364–375), Gratian (375–383), and Valentinian II (383–392) as well as Theodosius (379–395, sole ruler of the empire 392–395). In his political dealings Ambrose effectively appealed to Roman legal structures and symbols while invoking the symbolic and sacramental power of the new faith.

Having begun his formal theological training at age thirty-four, Ambrose produced a series of notable works that reflect his active life amid the stresses of the age. He was more a consolidator and a creative transmitter than an original intellect. His chief models were Philo Judaeus and Origen on exegetical, dogmatic, and ascetical teachings and Cicero on morals. Although an important transmission of Neoplatonic thought occurs in his sermons (which deeply impressed Augustine), his Platonizing insight is more evident in spiritual and allegorical interpretations of scripture than in strict philosophical arguments.

Major exegetical works include *Hexaemeron,* six books on the creation epic of the Old Testament; *On Paradise; On Cain and Abel; On Isaac and the Soul;* a meditation on Psalm 118; and a lengthy commentary on Luke, which arose largely from sermons. A series of works in defense of the ideal of chastity characterizes Ambrose's rigoristic moral thought in an age of rampant self-indulgence. These include *On Virginity, To Sister Marcellina on Virginity, On Widows,* and *Exhortation to Virginity.* Ambrose never worked out a formal Mariology, but he resolutely championed devotion to the Virgin Mary. His best-known moral work, *On the Duties of the Clergy* (386), is a lightly but significantly reworked moral handbook for clergy that is modeled on Cicero's *On Duties.* Much debated as a key instrument for transmission of classical Greco-Roman culture, this work is the first comprehensive ethical treatise by a Christian writer. Ambrose's main dogmatic works are *On Faith* and *On the Holy Spirit,* both of which mediate and defend Nicene orthodoxy to the Western world and mark its full victory over the Arian heresy. Two other theological writings, *On the Sacraments* and *On Penance,* arose directly from catechetical needs.

Ambrose had a large impact on his contemporaries through his person and his exercise of church office. He championed what was virtually a monastic clergy under his spiritual direction. In defending the new order of Christian life against lingering influences of a dying paganism, Ambrose was without compromise. His removal of the pagan altar of victory from the Senate house symbolizes this tendency. Ambrose's dedication to Christian primacy is also demonstrated by his sanctioning of the burning of a synagogue in Callinicum by Christians, a deed that he zealously defended when Theodosius initially required the Christians to rebuild it.

In his admiration for Cicero's *On Duties,* Ambrose assumes a place in company with Luther, Melanchthon, Hume, Kant, and Frederick the Great, all of whom recognized in Cicero's work a common, practical Stoic wisdom that lies at the heart of Western humanistic thought. This Stoicism took seriously the ability to pattern a life after one's own nature. The notion of "the fitting" (*decorum*) loomed large as an aspect of the classical virtue of moderation. Ambrose christianized classical ideals, defending the four cardinal virtues (wisdom, fortitude, and justice, in addition to moderation) and the classical "just war" theory, and he perpetuated a Ciceronic way of resolving the clash between duty and expediency by appealing to moral (in his case, biblical) examples.

Like Augustine, Jerome, and Gregory I, Ambrose is considered one of the four major doctors of the Latin-speaking church and a towering figure of the age. From 374 until his death in 397 he held undisputed sway over affairs of the Latin church through the force of his personality and his courage, as seen during the repeated crises between church and state. His most celebrated appeal to ecclesiastical interests in dealing with the state, his humbling of Theodosius when the emperor, in a fit of rage, ordered a massacre of seven thousand citizens as a reprisal for unrest in Thessalonica, echoes the Old Testament prophet Nathan's rebuke of King David. Ambrose's actions provided a momentous precedent for later church-state relations.

Church tradition remembers Ambrose as a founder of Latin hymnody. A number of well-known hymns (e.g., *Aeterne rerum conditor, Deus Creator omnium*) reflect his poetic skill and indicate something of his contribution to the life of liturgy and worship. His effectiveness in acting on practical moral concerns, as seen in the writing on duties and his sermons on behalf of the oppressed (e.g., *On Naboth*), set an enduring pattern for church engagement in public life. Whether it was Ambrose's moral concerns, his platonizing, his elevated scriptural interpretations, or his vital strength of character that led to the conversion in 387 of Augustine of Hippo cannot be easily determined. Ambrose's influence lived on in Augustine, his greatest convert and a figure who never forgot the work and example of the bishop of Milan, even while towering over his mentor intellectually.

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RICHARD CROUTER (1987)

AMEER ALI, SYED (1849–1928), Indian Muslim historian, jurist, and politician. Ameer Ali was born in Chinsura, Bengal, a suburb of Calcutta. His family spoke Urdu, having migrated from Avadh shortly before his birth to join a small community of fellow Shīʿī Muslims of Iranian descent. Ameer Ali never had any significant contact with Bengali or substantial training in Arabic; his education was in English, supplemented with Persian and Urdu. He was also greatly influenced by Sayyid Karāmat ʿAli (1796–1876), a family friend who had written an Urdu treatise in the rationalistic Muʿtazili tradition of Shīʿī scholasticism. After receiving degrees in law and history from Calcutta University in 1868, he went to London on a government scholarship and qualified as a barrister in 1873. From 1890 to 1904 he was a judge of the Calcutta High Court, after which he retired to England, where he served from 1909 until his death as a member of the Judicial Committee of the Royal Privy Council.

During Ameer Ali's student years in England he wrote *The Critical Examination of the Life and Teachings of Mohammad* (1872), the first version of what in three subsequent revisions was to become famous as *The Spirit of Islam.* More than an apologetic response to Christian polemics and the challenge of nineteenth-century empiricism, as in the writings of Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *The Spirit of Islam* (1922) portrays Islam as a dynamic force, the ultimate generator of "religious progress among mankind" (p. xix). Ameer Ali sees "the achievement of Mohammad in the moral world" in terms of the traditional concept of his role as last of the prophets, the culmination and synthesis of all previous religious discoveries. But he also argues that the initial revelation of Islam is a continually creative "spirit," the source of the ongoing progress of universal human understanding and moral sensibility. Ameer Ali attributes "the present stagnation of the Mussulman communities" to an unwillingness to allow the inspiration of Islam to guide private judgment, to adapt the universal teachings of the Prophet to "the necessities of this world of progress with its ever-changing social and moral phenomena" (pp. 182–183). At the same time, he insists that inspiration be constrained by rationalism and warns against "vulgar mysticism," which "unsettles the mind and weakens the foundations of society and paralyses human energy" (pp. 477–478).

As a major figure in the development of "Anglo-Muhammadan Law," that is, the adaptation of Islamic ethical and legal principles to British judicial institutions and procedures, Ameer Ali made similar arguments for a continually adaptive reading of scriptural sources in the light of "changed circumstances." On this basis he argued against polygamy and female seclusion. In making these interpretations, he claimed for himself, as well as for the non-Muslim judges of the British courts, the right to override traditional Muslim authorities.

Throughout his adult life Ameer Ali was an active political publicist and organizer on behalf of what he deemed to be a homogeneous Indian Muslim community. In 1878 he founded the National Muhammadan Association, the first All-Indian Muslim political organization, with over fifty farflung branches. He was instrumental in formulating constitutional arrangements for separate Muslim electorates and weighted political representation, on the grounds that Muslims had once ruled India. In 1924 he joined the Aga Khan in appealing to the Turkish Republic to maintain the caliphate, an intervention that Kemal Atatürk took as sufficient grounds for its final abolition. Ameer Ali defended the Sunni institution of the Ottoman caliphate as a "pontifical" headship of a world Muslim polity, but he remained ultimately committed to the "apostolic" Shīʿī imamate—a contrast between democratic consensus "however obtained" and those truly qualified on the basis of intrinsic superiority (see his *Mahommedan Law,* 1912 ed., vol. 1, p. 6). His strong advocacy of British rule in India and opposition to Indian nationalism, especially insofar as it consigned Muslims to minority status, were founded on similar antidemocratic principles.

Except for some minor writings in Urdu, Ameer Ali wrote in English for a British public and, only secondarily, for English-educated Muslims. Although treated with contempt by Islamic scholars, his ideas and style have played a significant part in shoring up the self-confidence of Muslims not only in South Asia but throughout the Islamic world.

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DAVID LELYVELD (1987)

AME NO KOYANE is one of the four deities (*kami*) enshrined at Kasuga Shrine in Nara. The deities worshiped at Kasuga Shrine, who were venerated by the Fujiwara (formerly, Nakatomi) clan, include Takemikazuchi no Mikoto, Iwainushi no Mikoto (Futsunushi no Mikoto), and Ame no Koyane no Mikoto and his wife, ancestral *kami* of the Fujiwara clan.

According to a myth recorded in the *Nihonshoki*, Takemikazuchi and Iwainushi were commanded by Amaterasu Ōmikami (the sun goddess and the ancestral *kami* of Japan's imperial house) to descend from the Heavenly Plain to earth and subjugate the Japanese domain. At the descent of Ninigi no Mikoto, a grandson of the sun goddess, Ame no Koyane was directed by Amaterasu to thenceforth attend and protect her descendants (*tennō*), who were to live in the palace hall with the sacred mirror (*yata no kagami*), one of her divine regalia, and to worship it. By enshrining the four *kami* mentioned in the above myth at their clan-shrine at Kasuga, the Fujiwara attained religious authority to receive supreme political power at the imperial court.

By the end of the Heian period the entities enshrined at Ise (Amaterasu), Hachiman (Hachiman), and Kasuga (the four deities mentioned above) Shrines came to be referred to as the "*kami* of the three shrines" (*sanja no kami*) as a sign of special respect. During the Muromachi period the "three shrine oracle" (*sanja ta-kusen*) was popularly venerated. Ame no Koyane's prestige as a mythic figure was enhanced during the thirteenth century with the publication of the *Gukanshō*, an interpretive history of Japan by the Tendai abbot Jien, himself a member of the Fujiwara line. The *Gukanshō*, marrying certain eschatological notions found in Buddhist scripture with the myths of the founding the Japanese state, declared that during the so-called era of the True law (*shōbō*), Amaterasu had formulated a system of government in which there was direct administration by the *tennō*, but that in the subsequent eras of human history other forms of political organization had been sanctioned by her. During the era of the

Counterfeit Law (*zōbō*), Amaterasu had collaborated with Ame no Koyane to create the regent-chancellor system, in which the *tennō* was assisted by a regent from the Fujiwara clan (the descendants of Ame no Koyane herself). For the era of the Latter Days of the Law (*mappō*), the *Gukanshō* continues, when human institutions have degenerated from their original integrity, Amaterasu consulted with Ame no Koyane and Hachiman to establish the regent-shogun system (combining the institutions of regent and shogun), in which the *tennō* is assisted by the regent-shogun of the Fujiwara clan, the descendants of Ame no Koyane.

Thus, until the end of World War II Ame no Koyane served as a legitimizer of the imperial system. Kasuga Shrine, which honors her, was accordingly revered by the imperial house and protected by the majesty and power of the state.

SEE ALSO Amaterasu Ōmikami; Japanese Religions, articles on Religious Documents, The Study of Myths; Jien; Mappō.

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Translated from Japanese by Jenine Heaton

AMESHA SPENTAS. In the Zoroastrian tradition, the Amesha Spentas (Av.; MPers., Amahraspandān), or "beneficent immortals,"are an important group of entities surrounding Ahura Mazdā and figuring significantly in the *Gāthās.* From one point of view, they are aspects of divinity; from another they are personifications of abstract concepts. They do not exist independently but find their *raison d'être* in a system of interrelations and correlations among themselves. Since the divine is mirrored in the corporeal world, they gradually assumed, in theological speculations, correspondences with material elements as well. This explains the later, Manichaean use of *amahraspandān* to refer to the five luminous elements: ether, wind, light, water, and fire. The collective name of the Amesha Spentas and their definiton as a set of six or seven immortals (if the two spirits Spenta Mainyu and Ahura Mazdā are included) is found in the non-Gathic Avesta, in which the adjectives *amesha* ("immortal") and *spenta* ("beneficent") are sometimes used to describe various entities. The words do not, however, occur in the *Gāthās* (Narten, 1982).

The entities positively identified as Amesha Spentas are a well-defined group: Vohu Manah ("good thought"), Asha Vahishta ("best truth"), Khshathra Vairya ("desirable power"), Spenta Ārmaiti ("beneficent devotion"), Haurvatāt ("wholeness" or "health"), and Ameretāt ("immortality" or "life"). Many of these notions are present in Vedic religion. Thus Zarathushtra (Zoroaster), in developing his doctrine, was following a tendency, already present in the older Indo-European tradition, toward the spiritualization of abstract concepts that, according to the Indo-European tripartite ideology, corresponded to functional divinities (Dumézil, 1945; Duchesne-Guillemin, 1962; Widengren, 1965; et al.). Zarathushtra, however, took this tendency in a new and original direction. The *Bundahishn* (Book of primordial creation; ninth century CE) gives us a picture of correspondences between the Amahraspandān and the elements: cattle correspond to Vohu Manah, fire to Asha, metal to Khshathra, earth to Ārmaiti, and water and plants to Haurvatāt and Ameretāt.

Vohu Manah is simultaneously divine and human; through "good thought" humans recognize divinity and divinity indicates to them the way, the goal, and their origins. It is, then, an intermediary between the divine and the human. Asha is the Iranian equivalent of the Indian Ṛta ("truth") and personifies the cosmic, social, ritual, and moral order. Ārmaiti is humankind's devotion to divinity, their receptive and obedient behavior. Khshathra is the power that comes to a person from his or her state of union *(maga)* with divinity—a special power used to conquer the malefic forces and establish the rule of Ahura Mazdā. Haurvatāt and Ameretāt are the drink and food of divinity (offerings are made to them of various kinds of drink and plants) and of humans, for whom they represent a reward for a correctly lived life of good thoughts, good words, and good actions.

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GHERARDO GNOLI (1987)
Translated from Italian by Roger DeGaris

AMITĀBHA ("immeasurable light"), or Amitāyus ("immeasurable lifespan"), are the Sanskrit names of a Buddha who in Mahāyāna Buddhism is represented as the supernatural ruler of "the Land of Bliss" (Sukhāvatī), a paradise-like world in the western part of the universe. According to the doctrine associated with his name and commonly called Amidism (from the Japanese form, Amida), he is a superhuman savior who, by the force of his "original vow," has created an ideal world into which all those who surrender to his saving power are reborn, to stay there until they reach *nirvāṇa.* In India and Central Asia, the complex of beliefs centered on Amitābha never appears to have given rise to a distinct sect within Mahāyāna Buddhism. In East Asia, however, the cult of Amitābha (Chin., Emituo; Kor., Amit'a; Jpn., Amida) eventually led to a characteristic form of popular Buddhism, especially as manifested in the various sects and movements known collectively as Pure Land (Chin., *jingtu;* Kor., *chongt'o;* Jpn., *jōdo*).

ORIGIN AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT. The figure of Amitābha belongs wholly to the Mahāyāna tradition, for he is nowhere mentioned in the Theravāda canon. The religious lore connected with Amitābha and Sukhāvatī contains a number of elements common to Mahāyāna Buddhism as a whole: the idea that in the universe there are many regions in which "extraterrestrial" buddhas are active; the belief that some of these Buddha worlds are regions of great beauty and spiritual bliss, as a result of the karmic merit accumulated by the Buddha in the course of past lives; and the conviction that pious believers can be reborn there to listen to his teachings. In this general context, Amitābha and his Buddha world in the west are mentioned a number of times in early Mahāyāna scriptures, where, however, he is not singled out for special worship. At the same time, the figure of Amitābha and the cult specifically rendered to him show a number of features that are so far removed from Indian Mahāyāna that several scholars have sought their origin outside India, in the northwestern borderlands where Buddhism was exposed to strong Iranian influence. There its rise was probably also stimulated by the popularity of eschatological ideas around the beginning of the common era. There was a belief that the world had degenerated to a point where humanity could no longer be delivered by its own effort and must rely on faith and on devotion to a powerful savior in order to be released from sin and suffering. A similar idea, that of the "last phase of the Doctrine," was to play an important role in the development of Amidism in China and Japan.

Amitābha devotionalism is based on a few rather short scriptures of two types: one concerning Amitābha's spiritual career, the glories of the western Buddha world, and the promise of rebirth in that region, the other devoted to the technique of "visualization" of Amitābha by a process of mental concentration performed before an icon that represents the Buddha in his paradise. The first Chinese translation of an Amitābha scripture dates from the first part of the third century CE. This scripture already contains the story of the Buddha Amitābha's original resolution to save all beings. A famous episode that has remained the basic theme of Amidist soteriology, this tale recounts how, many aeons ago, the monk Dharmākara, the being destined to become the Buddha Amitābha, had pronounced a series of forty-eight vows and declared that he would not realize Buddhahood unless he could fulfill all these vows by the force of his own karmic merit, to be accumulated in future lives. He vowed to create a Buddha world of unparallelled splendor and to open it to all beings who sincerely believe in his saving power and express their faith by the invocation of his holy name. With the exception of the gravest sinners, all beings may enter that realm of ethereal beauty and spiritual bliss, where even the birds sing hymns in praise of the Doctrine. Sincere faith is especially important at the moment of death: To the one who at his death surrenders to Amitābha's grace, the Buddha himself will appear, and his soul (a basically non-Buddhist notion) will be transported to Sukhāvatī, there to be born from the bud of a supernatural lotus flower. In some of these scriptures, Amitābha is already represented as forming a triad with the two powerful *bodhisattvas* who in later iconography are his constant acolytes—Avalokiteśvara (Chin., Guanyin, since the tenth century mostly represented as a female *bodhisattva*) and Mahāsthāmaprāpta; these two represent the two main aspects of his being, mercy and wisdom. From the late fourth century onward, the cult of Amitābha, with its characteristic features (devotionalism; "visualization"; beatific visions at the moment of death; invocation of the Buddha's name), is attested in Chinese sources, but it is generally combined with other Buddhist beliefs and practices. It was only in the sixth century that Pure Land Buddhism became established as a distinct religious movement.

EARLY PURE LAND BUDDHISM IN CHINA. Pure Land Buddhism as founded by Tanluan (c. 488–c. 554) and elaborated by Daochuo (562–645) and Shandao (613–681) must be viewed against the background of eschatological beliefs concerning "the final phase of the Doctrine" (Chin., *mofa;* Jpn., *mappō).* These were widespread in sixth-century China, particularly after the severe persecution of Buddhism in the years 574–578. *Mofa* thought implied an extremely pessimistic view of society as made up of a world of sinners, a degenerate clergy, and a tyrannical government—in other words, a situation in which it was impossible to practice the doctrine to its full extent and complexity. Instead of individual effort to reach the ideal of saintliness and enlightenment and the arduous task of studying the complicated teachings of the

Buddhist scriptures, humankind needed a simple way to salvation, and if humans were unable to tread it alone, the power of the Buddha's compassion would be there to help them.

The rise of Pure Land Buddhism was no doubt also stimulated by indigenous Daoist thought. Since early times, Sukhāvatī appears to have been associated with one of the Daoist terrestrial paradises, also located in the far west. This was the fabulous Kunlun mountain where Xi Wang Mu, the divine Queen Mother of the West, ruled over a population of immortals. Furthermore, both the repeated invocation of the esoteric name of a deity and the visualization of supernatural beings were well-known Daoist practices. It was no coincidence that the founder of the Pure Land movement, Tanluan, had been deeply interested in Daoism before he became a Buddhist.

By the middle of the Tang dynasty (eighth century), Amidism had become a powerful movement, as is attested by the popularity of Amidist literature and the innumerable icons and votive inscriptions devoted to the Buddha of the western paradise. In spite of the simplicity of its message, it attracted followers from all classes, including the cultured elite of courtiers and scholar-officials.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS IN CHINA: RITUALIZATION AND SYNCRETISM. The basic expression of faith and devotion in Pure Land Buddhism consisted of mental concentration on Amitābha's saving power and on the mercy of the *bodhisattva* Guanyin, who in due course became as prominent as the Buddha himself. This was accompanied by the unceasing repetition of the formula "Homage to the Buddha Amitābha" (Skt., "Namo Amitābha-buddhāya"; Chin., "Namu Emituofo"; Jpn., "Namu Amida Butsu"), sometimes up to a hundred thousand times a day. However, in spite of its doctrinal simplicity, Amidism in China developed an elaborate and characteristic liturgy, with hymn singing, the chanting of spells, collective prayer, and penitential ceremonies that in many variations have continued until the present.

In iconography, Amidism gave rise to a special type of religious art that takes as its basic theme an extremely elaborate representation of Amitābha and his acolytes in the splendor of the western paradise. As may be expected, Pure Land devotionalism appealed to the lay public, and the collective activities of lay believers, both male and female, often in the form of pious societies or congregations organized for common prayer and the performance of good works, always have played an important role. Over time a tendency developed to supplement the simple message of Pure Land Buddhism with a philosophical superstructure borrowed from other, more sophisticated systems of Buddhist thought such as the "One Vehicle" doctrine of the *Lotus Sūtra,* the esoteric symbolism of Tantric Buddhism, and Chan (Jpn., Zen) intuitionism. In late imperial times, Chan-Pure Land syncretism could be found in most Chinese monasteries. The Chan ideal of inner enlightenment, attained through the realization of one's own "Buddha nature," was combined with the cult of Amitābha, resulting in the beliefs that the true Pure Land is to be found within oneself and that the formula of the Holy Name can be used as a theme (Chin., *gongan;* Jpn., *kōan*) in Chan meditation.

AMIDISM IN KOREA AND JAPAN. Following the official adoption of Buddhism as the state religion by the Korean kingdom of Silla (528 CE), the various schools of Chinese Buddhism, including the Pure Land sect, were introduced into Korea, where they reached their highest development in the seventh and eighth centuries. From Korea, Amidism soon reached Japan; it is known to have been expounded at the Japanese court before the middle of the seventh century. However, as in China, Japanese Amidism only slowly became a distinct sect. As a sectarian movement, it clearly showed the characteristics of a popular, almost protestant, reaction to the more sophisticated and aristocratic doctrines and institutions of the established sects, and, once more, this reaction was largely inspired by eschatological beliefs concerning the "final stage of the Doctrine."

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the popularity of Amidism rose with the activities of popular preachers such as Genshin (942–1017) and Kūya (Kōya), the "saint of the marketplace," both of whom preached the principles of "relying on the strength of the Other One" (*tariki*) and the invocation of the Sacred Name (*nembutsu*). In the late twelfth century the Jōdo sect was formally established by Genshin's disciple Hōnen (1133–1212), who attracted a huge following from all classes in spite of growing resistance on the part of the Buddhist establishment. In Hōnen's Pure Land devotionalism, centered on the idea that salvation can be reached by *nembutsu* while everything else may be left to Amitābha's saving grace, there is found already the tendency toward extreme reductionism that would culminate in the True Jōdo sect (Jōdo Shinshū) founded by the great reformer Shinran (1173–1263). According to Shinran, Amitābha's "original vow" implied that salvation was open to all sincere believers. Thus not *nembutsu* but faith must be the basis of religious life. Humanity can only be redeemed by a single and total act of surrender to Amitābha's grace; the invocation of his name is not a means by which to achieve salvation, but rather a constant expression of gratitude for the gift of faith from Amitābha. Amitābha's all-embracing grace erases all distinctions, including even the distinction between "own effort" (*jiriki*) and "relying upon the Other One" (*tariki*). Shinran also stressed the fact that Amitābha is the only Buddha who should be worshiped. All other Buddhist teachings and practices are secondary, or even irrelevant. Because there must be no separation between religion and ordinary life, even the principle of celibacy is rejected. Like their founder who described his own status as being "neither priest nor layman," Shinshū priests may marry. It is in this extremely reduced and "congregational" form that Amidism has become the most widespread variety of Buddhism in Japan. At present, the Jōdo and Jōdo Shinshū sects (the latter in two main branches) together have a following of about twenty million.

See Also Celestial Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; Daochuo; Genshin; Hōnen; Iconography, article on Buddhist Iconography; Ippen; Jingtu; Jōdo Shinshū; Jōdoshu; Nianfo; Pure and Impure Lands; Shandao; Shinran; Tanluan; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Buddhist Devotional Life in East Asia; Xiwangmu.

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AMOGHAVAJRA (705–774), known to the Chinese as Bukong or, more fully, as Bukongjinʿgang; propagator of Zhenyan Buddhism. Apparently born of a North Indian *brahman* family, Amoghavajra became the disciple of the Vajrayāna master Vajrabodhi at fifteen and traveled with him to Śrīvijaya and then on to China in 720. Like other Zhenyan masters, Amoghavajra is credited with wide learning in the Buddhist tradition and is thought to have especially excelled at the study of Vinaya (monastic discipline). According to one account, Amoghavajra wished to learn the “Three Mysteries” and the method of the “five divisions” of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha,* but Vajrabodhi was reluctant to instruct him. Thus, Amoghavajra made plans to return to India to seek the teachings from another master, but before he could announce his plans Vajrabodhi dreamed of Amoghavajra’s departure and relented. After Vajrabodhi’s death in 732 Amoghavajra made a pilgrimage to India and Sri Lanka, where he made further studies in the Vajrayāna. He returned ladened with texts and spent much of his life in the Da Xingshan Temple, translating and performing rites for members of the imperial family.

After the death of Vajrabodhi and his own return from India Amoghavajra set about furthering the influence of the Zhenyan school. Under the patronage of the emperor Xuanzong (r. 713–756) he met with a modicum of success. But under Suzong (r. 756–763) and Daizong (r. 763–779), Amoghavajra led the Zhenyan school to wide popularity and great power. Amoghavajra was both friend and teacher to Daizong; under his patronage he established a Vajrayana headquarters on Mount Wutai and instituted a variety of public rites for the welfare of the emperor and the state. Amoghavajra retranslated the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (T.D. no. 865), which had been partially translated by his own teacher, Vajrabodhi. He outlined the larger *Vajrosṉisa,* of which the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* is the first part, in his *Shibahuizhigui* (Outlines of the essentials of the eighteen assemblies; T.D. no. 869). Amoghavajra produced volumes of translations of Esoteric scriptures and rites as well as new Esoteric versions of old scriptures, such as the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra for Humane Kings Who Wish to Protect Their States* (T.D. no. 246). His output as a translator was second only to that of the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang (596–664). Amoghavajra’s public preeminence is chronicled in a collection of his memorials to the throne and other documents, the *Biaozhiji* (T.D. no. 2120), assembled by his disciple Yuanzhao.

Amoghavajra was repeatedly honored by the emperor and courtiers, who built him temples and sponsored Esoteric rites. He was appointed Guoshi, “Teacher of the Realm,” and had free access to the emperor’s private chapel. He was even enfeoffed as a duke shortly before his death in 774. No monk in Chinese history, either before or since, has wielded such immense power.

Amoghavajra promoted the *Tattvasaṃgraha* as the fast way to enlightenment, but he also taught the techniques of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra.* Indeed, it was either Amoghavajra or his immediate disciples who paired the teachings and the maṇḍalas of the two texts, a pairing that marks Zhenyan and its Japanese offspring, Shingon, as a distinctive branch of the Vajrayāna.

Through his astute use of Esoteric rites and “powers” *(siddhi),* Amoghavajra led the Zhenyan school to a unique position in Chinese religious history. In doing so, Amoghavajra enhanced the dimension of Vajrayāna practice both as a path to enlightenment and as the best way to promote the goals of the state. Like Śubhākarasiṃha and Vajrabodhi—and, indeed, like Padmasambhava, who later missionized Tibet—Amoghavajra sought to demonstrate that the practice of enlightenment entailed the exercise of *siddhi,* or wondrous salvific powers.

See Also Mahāsiddhas; Zhenyan.

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AMORAIM.

The Aramaic word *amora'im* (sg., *amora'*), meaning "speakers," generally refers to those masters who in explaining and applying the earlier teachings of the Palestinian tannaim (c. 70–200 CE) contained in the Mishnah (and in its related collections, such as the Tosefta), made rabbinic Judaism into a wider social movement. Occasionally the term may denote the individual who repeated a rabbi's statement. The significance of the amoraim lies in what they accomplished in their own day and in the impact on later generations of Jews of the collection of their teachings in the *gemara'* (which combined with the Mishnah is the Talmud) and in the Midrash.

The amoraim are conventionally divided into generations demarcated by the life span of several prominent teachers: three to five generations of Babylonian and Palestinian masters (c. 220–375) and two or three longer additional Babylonian generations (375–460/500). Recently scholars have suggested that Ashi (375–424/7) should be considered the last of the amoraim proper, after whom (to 500) flourished those authorities who generally taught anonymously. Following the enumeration of Moshe Beer (*Amora'ei Bavel,* Ramat Gan, 1974), the amoraim cited in the two Talmuds number 773 masters: 371 in Palestine and 402 in Babylonia, or 74 masters per generation in Palestine and 57 in Babylonia with a generation spanning approximately thirty-one to thirty-five years. Hardly a mass movement in their own right, they formed an elite group that was able to influence Jewry at large.

According to Jacob Neusner (1966–1970) and David M. Goodblatt (1975), the amoraim, aided by a band of students, eventually transformed Jewish society by presenting the ideal that all should become rabbis, masters of God's Torah, which contains the key to health and happiness. Their devotion to Torah study brought them great respect, and since they were believed to be able to help the common folk and intercede with God, they were seen as holy men. Their influence was reinforced by their roles as judges and community administrators, especially in Babylonia, as collectors of charity, and as teachers who were responsive, for example, to the social and economic crisis that affected the third-century eastern Mediterranean Roman world.

The amoraim continued as a group longer in Babylonia than in Palestine, expanding and redacting the Babylonian *gemara'* into the fifth century, at a time when their rabbinical colleagues in Palestine, where the Jerusalem Talmud was already closed, were apparently primarily engaged in transmitting and redacting Midrashic teachings and possibly developing practical halakhic guides. Thus the amoraim creatively applied the scriptural and tannaitic tradition to differing Babylonian and Palestinian post-Mishnaic contexts—one a pagan Persian world and the other a pagan and then Christian Roman world, the one in the Diaspora and the other in the Holy Land. Although still valuing cultic notions, amoraim in both lands were able to dissociate ideas and institutions from the Temple; for example, separating features of the Passover evening celebration from its origins as a sacrificial ritual meal, they emphasized the symbolic significance of the protocol especially in terms of freedom and liberation. A comparable variation is discernible in the attempts to bolster the practice of saying blessings before eating food with the argument that the omission of a blessing constitutes a sin. While the tannaim, by drawing on the idea of trespass against the Temple cult, suggested that the individual would be performing the sin of sacrilege against the Lord, the amoraim first defined the terms so that they might be meaningful to those who had not experienced the Temple cult and then revised the metaphors, speaking of robbing the Holy One and the congregation of Israel (B.T., *Ber.* 35a–b). Responsive to the nation's political situation, the amoraim amplified traditional redemptive motifs, though they held that these hopes for divine intervention were contingent on human deeds. They thus asserted that the divine redemption celebrated during Passover took place because the people had merited it and thereby taught contemporary Jews awaiting an eventual redemption that they too must become worthy.

The emphasis on the study of Torah and on the importance of personal action and fulfillment of the commandments caused the amoraim to stress love of one's neighbor and the importance of law, order, and justice. Likewise, in responding to contemporary intellectual challenges, they drew on, yet transformed, many Hellenistic ideas, such as those concerning astrology and notions of an afterlife, and customs, such as in popular modes of taking oaths and vows. To be sure, rabbis differed on small and sometimes larger matters, but since rabbinic teachings were constantly revised in the process of transmission to make them address more directly whatever contemporary issue seemed most pressing, their original nuances often became obfuscated. Because the teachings were given a literary framework when woven together and fashioned into the larger whole of the *gemara',* they appeared to form part of a collective effort.

The advances in the efforts of Talmudic criticism to unravel what happened to the teachings during the processes of transmission and redaction (e.g., of David Weiss Halivni) should enable a more accurate recognition of the fundamental form of a teaching and the meanings it gained in subsequent generations. This should further enable scholars to analyze the distinct amoraic approaches and thus surpass the important though highly selective earlier work of scholars from Wilhelm Bacher to E. E. Urbach.

The amoraic heritage came to be transmitted through the text of the Talmud: because the Talmud became the central book of study in later Judaism, its literary and methodological traits rival its substantive content in importance. The Talmud's process of inquiry inculcates a critical intellectual approach that uses the mind to evaluate the significance and appropriateness of ideas. This outlook characterizes Torah study as an encounter with the divine—an act of ongoing revelation—so that reason, reflection, and rational discourse are the means both to approach life and to imitate God, hence to become holy. Amoraic biblical exposition, or *midrash,* which makes use of the imaginative faculty, also inculcates these traits, for even interpretations and homilies are grounded in scripture and must often withstand a process of questioning and challenge. Both the Talmudic and the Midrashic literature inculcated later generations with the value of study and critical thinking, supplementing the substantive rabbinic teachings on human action, social order, compassion, and justice.

SEE ALSO Abbahu; Abbaye; Ashi; El'azar ben Pedat; Huna'; Midrash and Aggadah; Rabbah bar Nahmani; Rabbinic Judaism in Late Antiquity; Rav; Rava'; Shemu'el the Amora; Shim'on ben Laqish; Talmud; Yehoshu'a ben Levi; Yehudah bar Yeḥezqe'l; Yoḥanan bar Nappaha'.

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AMOS (fl. eighth century BCE) is considered the first classical prophet, the first whose words are preserved in writing, the biblical *Book of Amos.* Whereas other books of the Hebrew Bible such as *Samuel* and *Kings* contain numerous indirect prose reports of earlier prophets' activities, the books of the classical prophets, beginning with Amos, focus on the prophets' words, usually recorded in poetic form.

As a rule, the early prophets addressed a specific person, often the king himself, while the classical prophets addressed a wide audience. Hence they were not merely God's messengers but also speakers, or orators. The call for justice, which earlier had been directed primarily toward the king (by Nathan to David, by Elijah to Ahab) was now directed toward the rulers and the social elite and was in the form of a public address. It has been suggested that the development of this prophetic oratorical style is connected with the Assyrians' use of propaganda (see Rabshakeh's speech in *2 Kings* 18:28–35 [citations herein follow the English version]).

HISTORICAL CONTEXT. As the superscription to the *Book of Amos* (1:1) reveals, Amos prophesied during the reign of Jeroboam II (787/6–747/6 BCE). The superscription also states that he was active "two years before the earthquake" (see also *Zec.* 14:5), which, by means of the archaeological evidence at Hazor, has been dated to 760 BCE. Jeroboam's forty-year reign was a period of political stability, military success, and economic prosperity. The biblical historiographer (*2 Kgs.* 14:23–29; cf. *2 Kgs.* 13:24–25) reports on Jeroboam's territorial expansions and the strength of his kingdom.

Nevertheless, this period of prosperity had apparently created severe social tensions. Although the social elite, who prospered, were content, the people of the land, the small farmers, suffered greatly from the upper classes' pursuit of luxury (for the social structure, see *2 Kings* 24:14). It may be that the sudden increase in the standard of living resulted in greater taxation, which led to further oppression of the poor, who then became even poorer (see *Am.* 1:6–7a, 3:9, 4:1–2, 5:11, 6:4–6, 8:4–6).

AMOS'S BACKGROUND AND MESSAGE. The social inequities and oppression of the time precipitated Amos's protest and call for justice. The prophet's concern, however, was not merely social injustice but religious practice as well. Amos saw the religious practices of the elite as mirroring their perpetuation of social injustice, as indicated in his accusation in 2:7–8, and he labels the religious behavior of the leaders meaningless (4:4ff., 5:4–6, 5:21–27, 8:10).

The question arises: what does Amos's sharp criticism of the cult and its ritual mean? Does he intend to deny the efficacy of cultic worship? Is he opposed to the cult of specific shrines, such as Bethel and Gilgal? Is he calling for another type of worship (cf. 5:16)? In responding to these questions, scholars have intensively investigated Amos's social background. Who was he? The superscription refers to him as one of the *noqdim,* "shepherds" (sg. *noqed*), and this remark is echoed (though in another term, *boqer*) in 7:14. But in the Bible *noqed* does not refer to a simple shepherd; Mesha, king of Moab, bore the same title (*2 Kgs.* 3:4). Attention has been called to a Ugaritic text in which *nqd* is parallel to *khn* ("priest"), which may suggest that Amos himself was from a priestly family.

Amos definitely does not repudiate the cult, but calls for his audience to approach God. In his vision in 9:1, Amos reports that "I saw my Lord standing by the altar" (JPS). That is, God revealed himself to the prophet in the cultic center that is God's house. Amos's repeated reproach, "yet you did not return to Me" (*Am.* 4:6, 4:8, 4:10, 4:11) and his demand to "seek Me" (5:4, 5:14), which has a cultic connotation (cf. *1 Sm.* 9:9), may be understood as a call for purification of the worship. It can also be argued that Amos felt that the cultic centers of Bethel and Gilgal should cease to function as God's temples because their worshipers had demonstrated their insincerity through their pursuit of luxury and pleasure. Thus, Amos does not call for totally abstract worship and does not oppose the cult in principle. He harshly criticizes, however, the shrines that legitimate social oppression and thus the existence of religious hypocrisy.

Furthermore, the leaders toward whom Amos directs his criticism seem to be devoted worshipers (8:5). One may assume that the political and economic success of the state was taken by the ruling class as a sign of God's protection of Israel. In essence, the cult that assured its worshipers of the stability of their way of life served as religious protection for the social elite. Amos attacks this self-serving belief, pointing out that daily deeds and social justice are inseparable from the cult and, in fact, dominate God's demands of his worshipers.

Amos attacks as well the common belief that God's function is merely to save and protect his people. There was an expectation that there would be a sign, by means of revelation, of God's victories over Israel's enemies. Amos rejects this and argues that "the day of the Lord is darkness, and not light" (*Am.* 5:18–20); the day will be one of punishment, not salvation. Introducing the idea of God's punishment, he connects it with social crimes and the corruption of ritual. Amos is rooted in the sacred traditions of Israel (e.g., *Am.* 2:9–10, 3:1, 4:10, 4:11, 5:25, 9:7), and mentions them as proof of God's past and continuing involvement with Israel; but he emphasizes that this involvement is only in response to Israel's social and moral behavior.

In his autobiographical account, Amos mentions his occupation as a dresser of sycamore trees (7:14). This is a trade that required travel, especially since Tekoa, Amos's hometown (located about 8 miles [12.9 km] south of Jerusalem), is in an area where the sycamore does not grow (cf. *1 Kgs.* 10:27). Amos's travels may shed light on his broad education and deep knowledge of world affairs (see 1:2–2:16), as well as his contacts with the northern kingdom of Israel. It has also been suggested that Amos's Tekoa was somewhere in the north, which might explain his prophetic activity there; however, no evidence of a northern Tekoa has been found.

Sociologically, one must realize that many prophets (e.g., Amos, Micah, Jeremiah) came from the periphery to preach against urban centers. Villages and small towns preserved a traditional, clear view of the world. Cities, such as Samaria, were centers (especially during Amos's time) of prosperity, new developments, and social change. Social research reveals that it is not unusual for a visitor from a traditional area to be incensed by the breaking of traditional conventions in the city. Thus the changes that defied his traditional views kindled in Amos the fire of criticism and the desire to punish the evildoers.

LITERARY STYLE AND STRUCTURE. There have been many discussions of Amos's language. Although he was the first literary prophet, his style is well developed. Does this mean that Amos followed a specific literary tradition, and if so, which? This question should not be of great concern to the modern reader, since in antiquity there was not a significant difference between an oral address and a written speech. Both genres were designed stylistically to be heard, not read silently by an individual reader. Thus Amos did not start a new written tradition but continued a well-developed tradition of oratory.

An analysis of Amos's style reveals impressive literary variations. He employs the conventional prophetic patterns of speech, such as "Thus says the Lord" (e.g., 1:3, 1:6, 1:9, 1:11, etc.); the prophetic formula for a conclusion, "Says the Lord" (2:3, 2:16); and the prophetic verdict, "Therefore" (3:2). He uses specific conventions of the wisdom literature, for example, the formula 3 x 4 (repeated in chaps. 1–2), comparisons, and rhetorical questions (3:3–8), the latter two reflecting secular language. He also employs ritualistic language, such as the hymn (4:13, 5:8–9, 9:5–6) and the lament (e.g., 5:2; see also 5:16–18, 6:1). Amos reveals himself to be a great poet, a master of language with creative skills who knows how to use various modes of speech effectively. His objective is to appeal to his audience. Thus, for instance, in 3:3–6 and 3:8 he utilizes a series of rhetorical questions, a most effective device since its function is to emphasize, and it is stronger than a direct statement. Amos's use of figurative language enables him to describe the disaster he encounters in concrete terms; see, for example, his use of simile in 2:13 and 3:12.

The *Book of Amos* is divided into four main parts: (1) the superscription plus the chain of oracles against the nations, including Judah and Israel (1:1–2:16); (2) a series of speeches (chaps. 3–6); (3) the vision accounts (7:1–3, 7:4–6, 7:7–9; 8:1ff., 9:1ff.); and (4) a prophecy of salvation (9:11–15). It has been suggested that the first three visions are Amos's call and should be placed at the beginning of the book. In the vision (8:1ff.) of the basket of summer fruit (*keluv qayits*), the word *summer* (*qayits*) is a pun on the word for "destruction" (*qets*), which symbolizes the end of Israel. This wordplay may shed light on the psychology of prophetic revelation, in which the viewing of an object of daily life is interpreted in a vision or dream as a symbol. The series of vision accounts is interrupted by a biographical account (7:10–17), which reports on the conflict between Amaziah, priest of Bethel, and Amos, in which the priest demands that Amos go to Judah. In response to the question of why this account was inserted among the visions, scholars have suggested that the conclusion of Amos's attack on Amaziah, "Israel shall surely go into exile away from its land" (7:17), corresponds to the vision "The end has come upon my people Israel" (8:2) and that an editor, who some forty years later witnessed the exile of the priest of Bethel and his people by the Assyrians, inserted his account of this event as a sign of prophetic fulfillment.

Nineteenth-century scholarship assigned most of the material in the *Book of Amos* to Amos himself (except, perhaps, the prophecy of comfort at the end of the book). Current scholarship, however, is more skeptical and suggests a lengthy and complex redactional history. It has long been argued that the book's conclusion (9:11–15), a prophecy of comfort focusing on the house of David (and not on the northern kingdom or its rulers), reflects a later period. The prophecy against Judah in 2:4–5, which is foreign in its context, is also considered to be late. Recent scholarship has been attempting to organize the editorial layers in order according to the occurrence of political developments. Wolff has suggested that six stages of redaction took place, with the first three stages in the eighth century: the collection of the oracles in chapters 3–6 (the words of Amos himself); the incorporation of the oracles directed against the nations at the beginning of the book and the visions at the end of the book; and the insertion of the prose account of the Bethel episode. In the fourth stage, in the time of Josiah, the doxologies (hymns) were added, as well as an elaboration of Amos's critique of Bethel and the local cult corresponding to Josiah's reform (cf. *2 Kgs.* 23:15). Later there was a fifth, Deuteronomistic, redaction, which occurred in the exilic period and added the oracles against Tyre (1:9–10), Edom (1:11–12), and Judah (2:4–5). Finally, there was a postexilic redaction that added themes of salvation and eschatology so that the book would conclude on a positive note. Another suggestion, by Coote, is that the *Book of Amos* is the product of three stages of redaction: (1) the words of judgment by Amos delivered against the ruling class; (2) the period of Judah's reform, which added oracles of reinterpretation concerning the possibility of repentance; and (3) another series of reinterpretations for Judahites who were in exile or who had returned to the homeland.

These theories of redactional history are nonetheless speculative, since they consider certain thematic developments or changes in the genre of prophetic speech to be indications of later accretions. They assume that changed historical conditions led to new theological interpretations. This notion of systematic change and reinterpretation may be challenged, however, in light of Amos's intention to appeal to his audience, which required stylistic and emphatic variety as well as sensitivity to the audience's mood. He may sometimes have called for repentance or perhaps delivered an oracle of salvation based upon his overall religious worldview. Still, this does not mean that Amos was the sole author of the entire book. There may have been specific insertions (e.g., 5:13), which, however, do not imply a systematic editorial process.

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AMULETS AND TALISMANS. An amulet is an object, supposedly charged with magical power, that is carried on the person or displayed in a house, barn, or place of business in order to ward off misadventure, disease, or the assaults of malign beings, demonic or human. A talisman is an object similarly used to enhance a person's potentialities and fortunes. Amulets and talismans are two sides of the same coin. The former are designed to repel what is baneful; the latter, to impel what is beneficial. The employment of both (which is universal) rests on the belief that the inherent quality of a thing can be transmitted to human beings by contact.

The choice of objects used as amulets and talismans is determined by several different criteria. They may be (1) of unusual form, such as perforated stones; (2) rare, such as four-leaved clovers; (3) medicinal herbs or flowers, such as mugwort (thought to ease childbirth) or various kinds of febrifuges; (4) parts of animals exemplifying certain characteristics (for example, of a hare for swiftness or a bull for strength), or deemed potent in protecting from attacks by those animals; (5) relics of holy or heroic persons, or even dust from their graves, regarded as imbued with those persons' "numinous" charisma; (6) figurines of gods and goddesses; (7) models of common objects to which a symbolic significance is attributed, such as miniature ladders exemplifying the means of the soul's ascent to heaven; (8) exotic objects of foreign provenience, which are held to contain powers not normally available in a given society. The color of an object may also be decisive, on the basis of "like affects like"; a red stone, for instance, may be thought to relieve bloody flux or menstrual disorders and a yellow stone, to ward off jaundice. Ubiquitous also are models of the male and female genitalia, to increase procreation and sexual pleasure, and threads, to bind evil spirits.

Nor is it only in material things that magical power is thought to reside. Since, in primitive thought, the name of a person is not a mere verbal appellation but an essential component of his being (like his shadow or voice), that of a god or demon written on a slip or engraved on a gem or a medallion can serve as an effective amulet or talisman. Similarly, a text relating some feat or special benefit, especially the discomfiture of a demon, dragon, or monster, associated in traditional myth and folklore with a god or hero, may be regarded as charged with the power that accomplished that deed, so that to carry such a text on one's person transmits that power and perpetuates it. Scrolls or scripts containing excerpts from scriptures accepted as divinely inspired and therefore instinct with the divine essence, or (in medieval Christian usage) copies of letters said to have fallen from heaven are likewise favored.

Sometimes, however—especially when an amulet is directed against human rather than demonic enemies—the procedure adopted is not to enlist the influence and charisma of gods or "numinous" objects but to scare potential attackers by exhibiting in houses statuettes or figurines of monstrous, terrifying creatures. The Babylonians, for instance, fashioned models of the head and body of the grim demon Pazuzu, and one form of Greek amulet was the head of a gorgon whose eye could petrify would-be assailants.

Of salient importance is the material out of which an amulet or talisman is made, since the magic power is inherent in, not merely associated with, the object itself. Gems have to be of substances and colors believed to convey qualities efficacious for particular needs and written texts have to be inscribed on specified skins and in special inks or pigments.

Amulets and talismans borne on the person take the form of ornaments—brooches, lockets, pendants, seals, and sachets. Indeed, it is maintained by several authorities that what came eventually to be mere decorations were originally designed for protection.

A cardinal feature of amulets in many cultures is that they are esoteric and although, to be sure, they are often exhibited in full view on the walls of rooms and buildings, when they are carried on the person it is often a requirement that they must not be revealed to anyone except to the one who uses them on a specific occasion, to the magicians who make and dispense them, and to the hostile beings against whom they are directed. For this reason they are commonly concealed in the clothing or tucked away in bags or small cases. Moreover, in the case of written texts, they frequently employ cryptic alphabets or are couched in gibberish (known as *ephesia grammata*—perhaps a distortion of *aphasia grammata*, i.e., "unutterable letters"), supposed to be the scripts and languages of gods and demons. (These can sometimes be identified as genuine ancient scripts and tongues garbled in the course of the ages.) Signs of the zodiac and conventional symbols of constellations and metals also appear, because such signs are, like names, part and parcel of what they represent and because the inherent properties of constellations and metals are believed to control human fate and fortune. Common too are permutations of letters spelling out in esoteric fashion the words of the text. Thus (to use English equivalents) *z* will substitute for *a*, *y* for *b*, and so forth. In much the same way, the initial or final letters of words in a scriptural verse will be used instead of writing it out in full, and in alphabetical systems (like Hebrew) where each letter also possesses a numerical value (i.e., $a = 1$, $b = 2$, etc.), a combination of letters that add up to the same total as those of the word intended—a device known as gematria (probably a distortion of the Greek *grammateia*)—is employed. (The Library of Congress possesses the manuscript of a complete Hebrew Bible so written as a manual for the preparation of amulets!) A further device is the use of magical squares, each vertical column and each horizonal line of which adds up to the same sum, and all of them together spelling by gematria the name of God or of a protective angel.

The esoteric character of amuletic texts, it may be added, is matched in oral spells by having them recited in a whisper or crooned in a low voice. Indeed, this is the primary meaning of the term *incantation.*

Written amulets frequently express their numinous character by beginning with the words "In the name of [this or that god]" (e.g., the Arabic Bismillah, "In the name of

God, the Merciful, the Compassionate") and by being interspersed with religious signs (e.g., the cross, swastika, or shield of David), and their efficacy is increased by marks or letters (*ss* or *kh*) indicating that their recitation is to be accompanied by hissing and spitting to ward off demons. They also feature strings of vowel letters standing cryptically for the powers of angels or planets. Sometimes too the power of a written amulet is conveyed not simply by wearing it but by immersing it in water that is then drunk.

Amulets and talismans seem to have been in use even in prehistoric times, for cowrie shells, celts, arrowheads, and stones buried with the dead (a practice surviving throughout the ages) were evidently intended to protect them in the afterworld. Amuletic too were the pictures of eyes painted on prehistoric walls and monuments; these represented the providential vigilance of benevolent gods or spirits, countering the evil eye of the malevolent demons.

It is obviously impossible in the space of this article to describe in detail the whole host of amulets and talismans current all over the world. We shall therefore confine ourselves to representative examples of the principal types drawn from various cultures ancient and modern.

Historically, the oldest amulets came from Egypt. Dating as far back as the fourth millennium BCE, these take the form of images and figurines made of faience, feldspar, carnelian, obsidian, jasper, and the like wrapped in the bandages that swathed mummies. Each limb of the corpse had its appropriate amulet, usually placed over it. In addition to figurines of gods and goddesses there are miniature hearts, eyes of Horus, frogs, ladders, and steps. The eyes of Horus (usually a pair), made of gold, silver, lapis lazuli, hematite, or porcelain, represented the all-powerful might and watchfulness of that god and were worn also by the living to bring health and protection. The frog, emblematic of teeming abundance, symbolized life in the broadest sense, including resurrection of the body. The miniature ladder stood for the means of ascent to heaven. Miniature ladders are still set up beside graves by the Mangors of Nepal, and a ladder made of dough was traditionally placed next to coffins in some parts of Russia. One recalls also Jacob's ladder in the Bible (*Gn.* 28:12) and the reference to the same notion in Dante's *Paradiso* (21.25ff.)

Ubiquitous also was the familiar *ankh*. What it actually portrays is uncertain; some say it represents a combination of the male and female genitalia and hence (eternal) life. It was carried also in the right hand of deities, where, of course, it was not amuletic but a symbol of immortality. Scarabs (a species of beetle) were also interred with the dead. This particular type of beetle, one that continually rolls pellets of dung until they become larger and larger, symbolizes the process of continuous creation.

Mention should be made also of the so-called Horus *cippi*, stelae or plaques inscribed with legends of that god and portraying him standing on, or beside, serpents he had vanquished. A Canaanite version of this myth has recently been recognized in a Canaanite magical text from Ras Shamra (Ugarit) in northern Syria. The *cippi* were displayed to ward off malign spirits.

Other ancient Near Eastern amulets, common among the Babylonians, Assyrians, Canaanites, and Hittites, take the form of cylinder seals, usually made of diorite or hematite, engraved with mythological scenes depicting the discomfiture of demonic monsters by gods or the vanquishing of the formidable Huwawa, guardian of the sacred forest of cedars, by the heroes Gilgamesh and Enkidu. Sometimes, too, pictures of men supplicating gods, the beneficent sun rising between mountains, or a goddess bountifully pouring water from two jugs are featured. In interpreting these "mythological" amulets it is important to bear in mind that the scenes depicted may be simply mythologizations of general principles. Thus the goddess who pours water may be simply an illustration of bountiful profusion. Often, indeed, the basic meaning may be elicited by matching the glyptic portrayal with a corresponding verbal metaphor.

Another popular Mesopotamian and Canaanite amulet was a plaque portraying the ravages and eventual dispatch of a demonic hag or wolf who stole newborn babes. This has analogues in many parts of the world, for example, in Armenia, Ethiopia, and the Balkans, and especially in a Jewish charm, the so-called *Kimpezettl* (a Yiddish distortion of the German *Kindbettzettel*, "childbirth note"), in which the beldam is identified with Lilith.

Despite the monotheistic orientation of the writers of the Old Testament, amulets seem to have been used by the masses in ancient Israel. The prophet Isaiah castigates women who wore charms (3:20), and a silver amulet inscribed with the words of the Priestly Blessing (*Nm.* 6:24–27) and purportedly dating to the sixth century BCE has been found in Palestine. On the other hand, a figurative reference to amulets in *Deuteronomy* 6:8 was later taken literally and led to the modern Jewish practise of affixing to doorposts a small cylinder (*mezuzah*) containing excerpts from the Pentateuch and of wearing phylacteries (*tefillin*) on the brow and arm at morning prayer.

More modern Jewish amulets are the hexagram, fancifully termed the shield, not star, of David. This, however, is simply a Judaized version of a magical symbol of disputed meaning that is widely used elsewhere. Its counterpart is the equally universal pentagram, known to Jews as the seal of Solomon. Common too are metal amulets in the shape of the divine hand (likewise fairly universal), often engraved with the letter *h*, an abbreviation of Je*H*ovah. A favorite written amulet is a strip of paper on which is inscribed the legend "Abracadabra" (variously interpreted) in a series of lines, each of which has one more letter cut off at the end, so that the whole forms an inverted triangle ending with the single letter *a*. In recent times a further popular amulet is a golden pendant or brooch shaped in the form of the letters of the Hebrew word *ḥai* ("life, living").

Of special interest is a class of gems or semiprecious stones (sard, beryl, chalcedony, onyx, etc.) found mainly in Egypt of the Greco-Roman period (but later also in other lands), featuring fantastic images—often part human and part animal—of Egyptian and other gods accompanied by magical inscriptions such as the mysterious "Ablalhanalba," which is said to be a distorted palindrome of the Hebrew phrase "Av lanu [Aram., *lan*] attah," "Thou art a father to us." Prominent among the deities depicted is a certain Abraxas (or Abrasax), who is an important figure in the teachings of the Gnostics. These have therefore been termed Gnostic amulets, but the attribution is increasingly questioned by modern scholars. When these amulets came to be current in Christian circles the mysterious name *Ablalhanalba* was explained as equivalent by gematria to *Jesus.*

In many countries, written amulets are more common than any other. Among Muslims, for instance, the most popular type is a small case containing excerpts from the Qurʾān or a list of the ninety-nine epithets of God. The Copts use pictures illustrating the defeat of a monster by Saint George of Lydda, and the Ethiopians, scrolls relating the praises of the Virgin Mary, or grotesque representations of the divine eye or face. This, however, by no means precludes the use of ornamental amulets. Christians most often carry miniature crosses or crucifixes, but equally common is the written legend "Sator Arepo," which is really "Paternoster" spelled cryptically.

The Japanese use, besides relics, two forms of amulet that deserve mention. One of these is an image, painted on pillows, of an animal who swallows bad dreams. The other amulet is a pair of dead sardines affixed to a stick of holly at the entrance to a house to keep away noxious spirits at the annual festival of Setsubun. (This finds a parallel in the use of garlic elsewhere.)

The use of colors in amulets is influenced also in medieval magic by the belief that they carry the charisma of the sun, moon, and the seven planets. Thus, yellow stones (amber, topaz) bear the "influence" of the sun; whitish stones (diamond, mother-of-pearl), of the moon; red stones (ruby), of Mars; green stones (emerald), of Venus; black stones (jet, onyx, obsidian), of Saturn; and so forth. Moreover, each stone "controlled" a specific condition. Agate, in Italy, is deemed efficacious against the evil eye, and in Syria against intestinal disorders. Crystal cures dropsy and toothache; diamond neutralizes poisons and also averts thunderstorms. Furthermore, gems promote human passions and affections. Beryl gives hope; carbuncle, energy and assurance; ruby, love; and of coral it is said that it fades when a friend dies. There is also a stone for every month, and these are often featured in brooches inscribed with zodiacal signs portraying a person's horoscope.

Lastly, with regard to the use of exotic objects as amulets and talismans, a curious fact is worth mentioning. Many years ago the present writer had occasion to examine a number of ceremonial costumes worn by African shamans and found that several of them included a pouch worn on the breast. Opening these, he discovered that their contents consisted mainly of European hairpins, scissors, cigarette butts, London omnibus tickets, and similar foreign paraphernalia deemed magical.

Like myths and popular tales, the actual forms of amulets migrate from one culture to another as the result of trade relations, conquests, importation of captives, intermarriage, voyages, and the like, but new meanings are then read into them in order to accommodate them to the beliefs and traditional lore of those who adopt them. Thus (as we have said) the hexagram became to Jews the shield of David, the cross to Christians a symbol of Christ, and the dung-rolling beetle (heper) to the Egyptians the emblem of the creator god Hepera and the pellet as the orb of the sun that he rolled across the sky. It is necessary, therefore, in interpreting these vehicles of magic, to get behind such particular local explanations of them and to attempt to recover their underlying, subliminal significance. This approach, however, is inevitably fraught with the perils of subjectivism and has led, indeed, to any number of psychological fantasies and absurdities. But *abusus non tollit usum;* a spurious coin does not invalidate currency, and the basic nature of amulets will never be understood unless the attempt is made to do so.

SEE ALSO Images; Relics; Stones.

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AMUN was originally one of the eight primordial gods of Hermopolis in Middle Egypt. Together with his consort Amaunet, Amun represented the precreation chthonic aspect of "hiddenness." This pair, with the three other pairs comprising the Hermopolitan ogdoad, produced the egg from which the creator god came forth.

In the Middle Kingdom (2050–1756 BCE), when a Theban family took the throne of Egypt their local god, Montu, a war god, became assimilated with Amun and also with Min, the ithyphallic fertility god of Coptos, Thebes' neighbor and ally. This new, all-powerful, anthropomorphic god also incorporated the attributes of his predecessor, Re, the chief god of the Egyptian pantheon in the later Old Kingdom (2686–2181 BCE). Amun-Re, "king of the gods," who was sometimes represented as a ram-headed sun god, had as his consort Mut ("mother"); their son, Khonsu, was the local moon god.

The cult center and chief temple of Amun-Re, at Karnak in the Theban nome of Upper Egypt, was begun in the Middle Kingdom and was added to and greatly enlarged through the next two thousand years. This cult temple became the religious center of Egypt; it benefited greatly from the victorious campaigns of New Kingdom pharaohs (1567–1160 BCE) and eventually was controlled by a family of priests who also became kings of Egypt in the twenty-first dynasty.

Henotheistic hymns to Amun-Re were very near to the tone of Akhenaton's hymn to Aton. The so-called Amarna Revolution that Akhenaton fostered seems to have been as much a political move against the growing power of the priesthood of Amun as a religious move to supplant Amun-Re, though the reaction to Akhenaton's changes appeared as a condemnation of heresy.

The chief festivals of Amun-Re included the Opet Feast and the Beautiful Feast of the Valley. In the former the image of the god in his shrine was carried in procession on a bark between Karnak and the Luxor temple, which was known as the Southern Harem. For the Feast of the Valley, the statue of the god was ferried to the west bank of the Nile for visits at several of the royal mortuary temples and shrines in this vast Theban necropolis.

To the south of Egypt, in Nubia, devotion to Amun was at least as fervent as it was in Egypt during the Late Period. When Piye (Piankhy) conquered Egypt (c. 750 BCE) he intended to set things right for Amun in his native land. He even left his own daughter to serve as Divine Adoratress of Amun at Karnak. Some of the largest additions to the Karnak temple were made during the last native dynasties, and important additions were made by the Greek rulers after Alexander's conquest.

See Also Akhenaton.

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AN is the head of the Sumerian pantheon. In the initial stages of the writing system his name was represented graphically by a star, which the writers interpreted as either the actual name of the god, as the sky, or as an element indicating the divine essence (the general name to indicate god). If it was intended to emphasize the divine nature of a character, the name was prefixed with the sign of *an.* This determinative does not predate the god An, however, so that it is sometimes difficult to decide whether writers are referring to the god or the sky. The relationship between the god An and the sky has been interpreted in different ways. For some scholars An is identical with the sky; for others they are two distinct entities. The absence of the determinative before his name means, furthermore, that it is impossible to know for certain whether or not An is mentioned in the earliest list of gods, the *List of Fara* (c. 2600 BCE). This begins by mentioning *AN,* which could be understood as an element indicating divinity or as the god An whom the others follow. Scholars hold different opinions on this matter.

The Akkadian equivalent of the god An is Anu. In the earliest sources this name indicates the head of the Assyro-Babylonian pantheon, a position subsequently occupied by Marduk among the Babylonians and by Ashur among the Assyrians. In later texts he is represented by the divine number ^{d}60, the largest number of the sexagesimal Mesopotamian system. The abstract, encompassing all the essential characteristics of Anu's role, is denoted in Akkadian texts by the term *anūtu* and only bestowed upon other gods in order to stress their particular relative importance.

The laudatory epithets of An/Anu place particular emphasis upon his position as the god and ruler of the skies, the father of the gods and supreme creator of the world, the first and most important of the cosmic triad consisting of Anu, Enlil, and Enki/Ea. An/Anu determines fate along with them. It is An/Anu who retains the original divine ordinances—the *me*, and he holds the archetypal royal insignia, which he grants to the chosen sovereign. It is not mere chance that literary texts often assert that the power of kingship descends (or descended) from the sky. According to the Code of Hammurabi, as a member of the triad, An/Anu supports the king in the exercise of power and represents part of the divine protection of curses turned upon those who break or revoke laws passed by the sovereign.

Both Sumerian and Akkadian sources constantly stress the superiority of the supreme triad, even when Marduk is elevated to head of the Akkadian pantheon. The latter did not depose the three great gods, but rather, according to the *Enuma elish*, it was they who elevated the young Marduk and chose him as their leader. The other gods revolved around this triad and their tasks were closely defined and constantly directed by the assembly of the gods, presided over by An. This divine trio devised and carried out the plans that govern heaven and earth, the microcosmos and macrocosmos—"When the gods Anu, Enlil, and Ea planned heaven and earth" (astrological series *Enuma, Anu, Enlil*, thirteenth century BCE)—and they were also in charge of omens.

Epigraphic sources frequently mention the statue of An/Anu, although as with many other gods, his exact representation is unclear. There has been some discussion as to whether he appears among relief figures of the neo-Assyrian period (probably from the reign of Sennacherib, c. 704–681 BCE) from Maltai (around 40 kilometers north of Mosul). These include a god represented standing and on the *mushhushshu* dragon, holding a rope and a hoop in his left hand. Some scholars regard this as An, others Enlil, but the fact that An is mentioned much more often than Enlil in the list of cult statues drawn up in the reign of Sennacherib certainly supports the idea that it is indeed An. The Kudurru of the Kassite period (thirteenth–eleventh centuries BCE) portray the symbol of Anu as a headdress with horns. This originally indicated generic divine status.

Understanding his role in Sumerian theo-cosmogony is complex. It is clear from diverse sources that he is a first principle, together with the earth (as well the Kur, the cosmic mountain from which every form of life originated, and the abyssal regions).

According to Jan van Dijk, who retraces the existence of two Sumerian theo-cosmongonies on the basis of the god lists from the theological schools of Nippur and Eridu, the god An did not exist *ab aeterno*. According to the theology of Nippur, before heaven and earth came into being, there existed a undeveloped world, called *uru-ul-la*, an "ancient city" that contained "life" in hidden form. The Numina who produced An (the sky), Ki (the earth), and Nammu (the flowing waters) lived here. In contrast, the school of Eridu proposed a dualist first principle, Abzu (the sweet waters) and Tiamat (the salt waters), which produced the sky, the earth, and the flowing waters.

The Sumerian literary texts relate that the earth and sky were directly connected in primordial times. Only after their separation—apparently brought about by An, regarded as the sky yet at the same time distinct from it—and their subsequent union did the actual cosmic process itself begin, bringing about the birth of life on earth, along with the birth of some of the gods who were regarded as their children, such as Enlil, Enki/Ea, Inanna, and Nergal. There is no complete list of the children of An/Anu, but the lists differ, just as he has different wives. In the Sumerian religion, Ki, Ninhursag, Urash, and Nammu are mentioned, while in Assyro-Babylonian versions, the wife of An/Anu is Antu, a name analogous to his own, but also Ishtar. The lists reflect the diverse pantheons of the cities, or their different national histories, or, ultimately, the historical development of the various kingdoms that came one after another in the Fertile Crescent.

According to a Sumerian theo-cosmogonic tradition expressed in the *Song of the Hoe*, Enlil separated the sky and the earth, and An took the sky for himself, while Enlil took the earth. It has been proposed that the tool used to effect this separation was the hoe, but this is not universally accepted (Wilcke, 1972/1975, p. 36). If it were so, it would be possible to make comparisons with the Hittite version of the *Song of Ullikummi* (c. 1200 BCE, belonging to the so-called Kumarbi cycle) and with the Greek *Theogony* of Hesiod. In the current state of scholarship, such theories do not seem tenable, since the hoe appears to have been created by Enlil not to separate the earth and sky, but to allow the creation of the human race and as a working tool for humankind, to whom it had been given. In contrast to the Sumerian texts, in the Akkadian work *Atrahasis* (1800 BCE onwards) the origin of the allocation of the sky to the god An came about via the "casting of lots" by An, Enlil, and Enki.

Still, in the realm of theo-cosmogony, the Akkadian documents, especially the god lists, provide various lists of Anu's ancestors. The two most famous are the *TCL XV* from the Old Babylonian period (nineteenth to sixteenth centuries BCE) and *An=Anum* from Babylon, which was edited during various periods from the Old Babylonian onwards. The latter opens with a list of twenty-one divine couples, "fathers and mothers of Anu," with the following section devoted to the ancestors of Enlil (forty-two in all). *TCL XV*, after a list of fourteen pairs of divine ancestors, mentions Anu, several of his epithets, and his court. Four ancestors of An also occur in the Babylonian poem *Enuma elish:* Lahmu and Lahamu, and Anshar and Kishar. Of these, only Anshar (but with the name Alla) is also mentioned in the short version, edited in Akkadian, concerning the birth of the worm.

The reference in *An=Anum* to the god A-la-la—one of the ancestors of Anu, as well as the theomachy described in *Enuma elish*, indicates that the latter work may have been linked with Hesiod's *Theogony* and the Hittite theogony known as the *Kingship in Heaven.* The Hittite text tells of a struggle for divine succession as follows: Alalu r Anu r Kumarbir the storm god. Anu is not regarded as the son of Alalu, however, while in the *An=Anum* list he is listed among Alalu's twenty-four ancestors. Furthermore, according to the Hittite text, Alalu is the father of Kumarbi, the god who castrated and overthrew Anu. Diverging from the Hittite poem, the *Enuma elish* does not describe a single removal or overthrow, in that Anu is here portrayed as the first ancestor of a divine generation that will emerge victorious in the struggle against the primordial gods, headed first by Apsu and then by Tiamat.

Only in the theological commentaries of the Achaemenid (seventh to fourth centuries BCE) and Greek periods (fourth century BCE) do the principal gods of the pantheon, including Anu, meet a violent end at the hands of Bēl-Marduk. In contrast, in the Seleucid period (fourth to first centuries BCE), Anu, Enlil, and Ea return to the head of the pantheon.

Only in two Sumerian works is the appearance of humankind upon the earth attributed to An, namely in the prologue of the *Hymn to Eengurra* and in the *Sumerian King List*. In the latter, An re-creates humankind after the flood and in conjunction with Enlil.

An/Anu was the poliad god of the city of Uruk, the seat of his main sanctuary, Eanna (house of heaven). He was also honored in other cities, such as Lagash, Ur, Dilbat, Kish, Ashur, and Nippur. It has been debated whether his cult was already in evidence during the age of Fara; it has been documented from the third millennium BCE. Even if changing events led to a diminution of its importance, though never to its complete oblivion, An's cult nonetheless remained strong until the Seleucid era. Documents of this period describe in detail his cult and the ritual of the New Year's festival of Akītu.

As far as personal theophoric names are concerned, it is difficult to retrace An's name with certainty, since it is difficult to determine whether the sign *AN* represents the sky or the god. Nonetheless, it has been found in Sumerian, Akkadian, and Aramaic theophoric sources, as well as in Hittite, Hurrite, and Ugaritic ones. As far as Sumeria is concerned, it is worth recalling that many sovereigns of the first dynasty of Lagash had the sign *AN* contained within their names. Besides, an analysis of these theophoric names shows that the god has an active role in the sphere of kingship (Bauer, 1998, pp. 514–515). This aspect brings us to the problem of the so-called inactivity of An/Anu. In the current state of scholarship, An/Anu does not seem to fall into such a category, since he has a cult, is mentioned in personal names, and is also in evidence outside of Mesopotamia. Although there is a lack of documented hymns and prayers addressed to him, he plays a full, active, and central part in the myths, even if contemporary scholars do not associate them with him. His presence is constantly seen at all the worldly events in which the gods intervene, so that he cannot be defined as an abstract and elusive god. It should also be mentioned that in a prayer for the king (RS 79.025) found at Ugarit and Emar and written in Sumerian, in the section "Blessing of Gods with their Special Gift," Anu and his gift are invoked: "May Anu satiate you (the king) with opulence of life!"

Because of his supposed inactivity, An has been likened to the Hittite god of the same name, to the Greek Uranus, and to the Ugaritic El. An shares various aspects with the Semitic El: their names contain the idea of god and the abstract shows the essential aspects of their function. Both are regarded, albeit in different ways, as the father and king of the gods, they are both the final divine court of appeal, and they both preside over the assembly of the gods. This last point is standard in Mesopotamia among the Hittites, at Ugarit, in the Bible, and in Greece (Burkert, 1999, pp. 26–27). An, as the sky, may be linked with similar cosmic entities in the Near East, in Anatolia, and in Greece, but their roles are not absolutely comparable with An's, even if in some cases they are considered divine, receive offerings, govern treaties, and are associated with swearing oaths.

SEE ALSO Mesopotamian Religions, overview article; Sky, article on Myths and Symbolism.

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ANABAPTISM. *Anabaptist* comes from the Greek word meaning "rebaptizer." It was never used by the Anabaptists, for whom baptism signified the external witness of an inner faith covenant of the believer with God through Jesus Christ. Baptism was always administered in the name of the Trinity, usually by pouring water, but sometimes by sprinkling or immersion.

The Anabaptist movement had multiple origins. An earlier view saw it primarily as an effort on the part of Conrad Grebel (c. 1498–1526), Felix Mantz (c. 1498–1527), and other co-workers of Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531), the Zurich reformer, to complete the reformation of the church. Researchers are now aware, however, of additional influences in bringing the movement to birth. These include peasant unrest brought on by social and economic injustice; the rhetoric of the fiery German peasant leader Thomas Müntzer (1488?–1525); the writings of Martin Luther (1483–1546) and, especially, Andreas Karlstadt (1480–1541); the influence of late medieval mysticism and asceticism; and the dynamics of reform in specific monasteries. Anabaptism arose as a radical reform movement out of the economic, social, political, and religious situation in early sixteenth-century Europe.

Anabaptism began formally in Zollikon, near Zurich, on January 21, 1525, when Grebel, Mantz, Georg Blaurock (c. 1492–1529), and others baptized each other on confession of faith, thus forming a separatist congregation. This event, however, was preceded by debates with Zwingli and the Zurich city council, beginning in 1523, over the nature of desired reforms. On issues like abolition of the Mass, dietary regulations, the authority of scripture over tradition, and the veneration of relics, these first Anabaptists were in complete agreement with Zwingli. Nor was infant baptism, which they believed to be contrary to scripture, a critical issue, although it had great implications for the nature of the church. The ultimate break with Zwingli concerned the authority of the city council (the state) over the church, which Zwingli affirmed and his disciples denied. The immediate and final event that precipitated the first baptismal ceremony was a decree issued by the city council demanding the baptism of all infants within eight days, on pain of banishment of the persons involved.

The (Swiss) Brethren, as the new group preferred to be called, found strong support among the people, not so much on the issue of baptism but in the Brethren's anticlericalism, their desire for local congregational autonomy, their rejection of excessive taxation, and their involvement in small Bible-study groups and other practices that met apparent spiritual needs of the people. As a result, the movement grew rapidly, and with its growth there was increasingly severe persecution. Mantz became one of the first martyrs when he was drowned in the Limmat River at Zurich in January 1527.

In 1530, Melchior Hofmann (c. 1495–1543), a widely traveled Lutheran preacher with chiliastic tendencies, came to Strasbourg, where his contacts must have included not only Swiss Brethren but also spiritualists and other "free spirits," as well as the major Strasbourg reformers Martin Bucer (1491–1551) and Wolfgang Capito (1478–1541). Hofmann left the city the same year, under the duress of the reformers and the city council, because of an inclination to Anabaptism, although it is not clear whether he himself received believers' baptism. On arrival in the northern city of Emden he soon attracted a large following, in part at least because of his apocalyptic message of the imminent return of Christ; and in a short time more than three hundred persons had been baptized. Selected leaders were ordained, and they in turn ordained others to help bring in the Kingdom.

Hofmann was pacifistic, content to await God's own time, but others armed themselves to bring in the Kingdom by force. In May 1530 there was an abortive attempt to take the city of Amsterdam. Other incidents followed. In 1534 the city of Münster in Westphalia was declared to be the New Jerusalem and fell under the control of the Melchiorites, though Hofmann himself had returned to Strasbourg and lay in prison there. In 1535 Münster fell before the onslaught of the regional bishop's troops, and most of its inhabitants were killed. The Münster episode was in large part responsible for the centuries-long designation of Anabaptism as violent and revolutionary. It was also in response to these events that Menno Simons left his nearby Roman Catholic parish and, after going underground for a time of reflection and writing, emerged as the primary leader of peaceful Anabaptism.

Meanwhile, the Swiss and South German Brethren grew in numbers even as persecution increased. As a result, many migrated to other areas, particularly Austria and Moravia. As refugees arrived, a sharing of goods with them seemed both practical and biblical. This practice began in 1529, and by 1533 it had become normative for many in the area under the leadership of Jacob Hutter (d. 1536), who made it a central article of faith. Those who followed this group became known as Hutterian Brethren, or Hutterites. Numerous congregations also emerged in south-central Germany under the leadership of Hans Hut (d. 1527), Hans Denk (c. 1500–1527), Pilgram Marpeck (d. 1556), the more radical Melchior Rink (c. 1494–1545), and others.

The variety of centers from which Anabaptists emerged and the various influences upon them make it difficult to talk about one all-encompassing faith to which all confessed. There was a great deal of pluralism. Nevertheless, there was in all the sixteenth-century Anabaptists a common core of beliefs by which they recognized one another and that in time became normative. The elements of this core came from their statements of faith, the testimony of martyrs, court records, hymns, letters, records of disputations held with authorities and others, and the writings of major leaders. The extent to which the ideals of these affirmations of faith were practiced in daily life, or were simply held as embodying an ideal vision, also varied from person to person.

In September 1524, Grebel and his friends wrote to Luther, Karlstadt, and Müntzer to seek counsel. Only the two letters to Müntzer are extant. In them several emphases are already clear: the primary authority of the scriptures; the Lord's Supper conceived as a memorial and a sign of love among believers; the importance of redemptive church discipline according to *Matthew* 18:15–18; the belief that baptism must follow a personal profession of faith and that it is a sign of such faith rather than a saving sacrament; the belief that children are saved by the redemptive work of the second Adam, Christ; a conviction that weapons of violence have no place among Christians; and the belief that the church is called to be a suffering church.

In 1527 the Anabaptists convened a conference at Schleitheim, on the Swiss-German border. The death of many early leaders led to some discontinuity with their thought and spirit. A more separatist-sectarian view emerged. Seven articles constituted the "Brotherly Union," as it was called, a statement summarizing the central issues of faith in which the framers of the statement differed from the "false brethren." Who these brethren were is not clear. The prime mover at the meeting and the author of the articles was Michael Sattler (c. 1490–1527), a former Benedictine monk from Saint Peter's monastery near Freiburg, Germany. In addition to most of the above emphases, three others were added: a radical church-world dualism that asserted complete separation of believers from all others; the importance of church order and the necessity of pastoral leadership as discerned by the congregation; and rejection of the oath as an affirmation of truth.

The other documents mentioned above amplify but do not add significant new doctrinal affirmations to the two early statements from Grebel's letter and the Brotherly Union. The primacy of the New Testament over the Old Testament is affirmed, as well as the doctrine of separation that naturally excludes participation in civil or political office. Simons stressed that the church, as the bride of Christ, must be pure; he also stressed the importance of witness and mission, which most Anabaptists took for granted as a part of discipleship. Dirk Philips (1504–1568) affirmed the ordinance of foot washing. In their verbal and written statements, most Anabaptists confirmed their intention of restoring the church to its early New Testament pattern and practice.

SEE ALSO Mennonites; Müntzer, Thomas; Simons, Menno.

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ANĀHITĀ. Along with Mithra and Ahura Mazdā, Anāhitā is one of the major divinities of ancient Iran. Her cult grew from the Achaemenid to the Parthian period and extended beyond Iran during the rule of the Sasanids. In Armenia and in Asia Minor it flourished near Persian communities and was spread through the syncretic and eclectic activities of the Magi. As the Iranian great goddess, Anāhitā has multivalent characteristics: she is the divinity of royalty, of war, and of fertility, with which she is especially associated (Dumézil, 1947).

As Herodotos testifies, Anāhitā was of foreign origin, Assyrian and Arab. This is confirmed by the fact that her cult was not aniconic: according to Berossus, Artaxerxes II (404–359 BCE) proclaimed the cult of the goddess throughout the empire, erecting statues of her. The Mesopotamian Ishtar, the divinity of the planet Venus, and the Elamite Nanā certainly exerted a strong influence on her development.

Anāhitā is an amalgam of an Iranian or Indo-Iranian divinity, the spirit of the waters that run down from the mythical Mount Harā, and the great goddess of Near Eastern tradition. Perhaps originally named *Harahvatī ("rich in waters"), she is analogous to the Indian goddess Sarasvatī (Lommel, 1954). The Avesta mentions the *yazata* Aredvī Sūrā Anāhitā—a name comprising three designations that reflect her multivalent character: "moist, strong, immaculate"—to whom the important hymn "of the waters" (*Yashts* 5) is dedicated. Achaemenid inscriptions, beginning with Artaxerxes II, invoke Anāhitā along with Mithra and Ahura Mazdā. Classical sources, especially Strabo, document the importance of the goddess's cult in the Parthian period. She had many Greek interpretations: from Aphrodite Ourania to Hestia, from Artemis to Athena.

Anāhitā gained in importance with the accession of the Sasanids, linked by tradition to the goddess's sanctuary at Stakhr, in Fārs. According to various sources at our disposal (Syriac, Armenian, and Arabic), the warlike character and regal nature of the great goddess are prominent under Sasanid rule. She appeared at the sovereigns' investiture (Göbl, 1960) and played a major role, not inferior to that of Ōhrmazd himself, as royal divinity, the source and protector of sovereignty.

SEE ALSO Sarasvatī.

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ANALYTIC PHILOSOPHY.

In a broad sense, the practice of seeking better understanding through the analysis (i.e., the breaking down and restatement) of complex, obscure, or problematic linguistic expressions has been present within philosophy from its pre-Socratic origins to the present. More narrowly considered, analytic philosophy ("linguistic analysis") is a style of philosophizing originating within twentieth-century English-language philosophy and drawing much of its inspiration from the later thought of Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889–1951).

The remote ancestry of analytic philosophy is well illustrated in the dialogues of Plato, where Socrates is shown to be concerned with delineating the meaning of key concepts like "piety," "justice," or "soul." In the *Phaedo*, Socrates, in one of his last moments with his disciples, is shown teasing Crito about the corrupting power of familiar but misleading language. Crito has asked how Socrates should be buried. Socrates points out that one should not confuse the person designated "Socrates" with his body and thus should not speak of burying a "you," a person. Unanalyzed speech, as in this case, Socrates warns, can lead to unreflective materialism in thought and life. A major strand or concern in the rest of the history of Western philosophy can be read in a similar light, as overt or covert analysis of language.

The more immediate origins of analytic philosophy, however, lie in the reaction of British philosophers at the beginning of the twentieth century against the then-dominant Hegelianism of such thinkers as F. H. Bradley (1846–1924), who placed all emphasis on finding meaning in the "whole" rather than any partial expressions and thus placed in jeopardy, it was feared, all finite human understanding. Leaders in the attempt to counter the exaggerated stress on "synthesis" with clarifying analyses of philosophical obscurities were G. E. Moore (1873–1958) and Bertrand Russell (1872–1970). Moore, appealing to "common sense" arguments, provided detailed ordinary language analyses of such important terms as "good" and what it means to have "certain knowledge" of something. Russell, on the other hand, offered more technical translations, using the symbolic logic he had created with Alfred North Whitehead to express, for instance, his "theory of definite descriptions" as a means of analyzing problematic sentences about nonexistent but still meaningful entities (like "Hamlet" or "the present king of France") and thereby of removing puzzlements and paradoxes.

To this philosophical context Ludwig Wittgenstein, a former student of Russell's, returned in 1929, to Cambridge from Vienna, fresh from conversations with members of the Vienna Circle, with whom he had helped to develop the logical rule ("the verification principle of meaning") that the meaning of all nontautological statements is to be identified with the method of their sensory verification. Wittgenstein's *Tractatus logico-philosophicus* (completed in 1918 and first published in 1921) had carried to its limit the quest for a powerful and simple formalization of ideal language, rooting all factual meaning in basic propositions naming atomic facts. These ultimate simples had later been identified with sensory observations by the radical empiricists of the Vienna Circle in the creation of logical positivism. Now Wittgenstein began to have misgivings, not only about the empirical interpretation given to his more general theory of language but also about the theory itself. In its simplicity lay its great power, but its application in logical positivism showed also its oversimplicity when compared to the many actual uses of human language—for instance, in asking, thanking, cursing, greeting, praying. The assertion of sensorily verifiable fact, Wittgenstein saw, is only one among a vast range of functions of language. Such a function is doubtless of great importance in natural science and in ordinary life, but even such an important function hardly begins to exhaust the richness of speech.

Wittgenstein's subsequent meditations on the limitations of his own *Tractatus* and on the rich complexity of language, published posthumously in 1953 as *Philosophical Investigations* (henceforth abbreviated as *PI)*, were enormously influential, particularly after World War II. Philosophically puzzling expressions, Wittgenstein contends, did not need verification so much as analysis of their use. In the use would be found the meaning. "Look at the sentence as an instrument," he advises, "and at its sense as its employment" (*PI*, 421). In this way philosophical confusions can be eliminated by the method of returning a puzzling expression to its origins in ordinary use. "The confusions which occupy us arise when language is like an engine idling, not when it is doing work" (*PI*, 132). This method will not involve the application of a single procrustean technique, like the verification principle, but a generally open attitude toward the various uses that language may be given. Thus philosophical method will be fitted to each occasion. "There is not *a* philosophical method, though there are indeed methods, like different therapies" (*PI*, 133). Wittgenstein liked and repeated his therapeutic analogy: "The philosopher's treatment of a question is like the treatment of an illness" (*PI*, 255).

The application of this style of philosophical analysis to theological and religious speech differs in tenor depending on whether the assumption is made that theological discourse is, ipso facto, an "idling" form of language or whether it is capable of "doing work." If the former, then the "therapy" called for might be termed "eliminative analysis." If the latter, however, then the point of analysis will be to show what sort or sorts of "work" constitute the meaning of theological utterances. These, which might be termed "illuminative analyses," further divide according to the range of functions found.

For the most part the philosophical climate created by linguistic analysis is not hospitable to eliminative analysis. Such an enterprise would bear too much resemblance to the pugnacious days of logical positivism. Indeed, most attempts to show that a "systematic misuse of language" necessarily infects theological talk, and that people should not talk that way, rest on verificationist assumptions. On the other hand, "illuminative" analysis can be perceived by believers as no less threatening than eliminative analysis if the linguistic functions identified are too meager to accord with the user's own sense of the dignity or importance—or intent—of the speech-act involved. The logical positivists themselves had granted at least that the utterances of religious people perform the function of expressing or evoking emotion. The shift to linguistic analysis from logical positivism called for penetration. As Wittgenstein himself said: "What am I believing in when I believe that men have souls? What am I believing in, when I believe that this substance contains two carbon rings? In both cases there is a picture in the foreground, but the sense lies far in the background; that is, the application of the picture is not easy to survey" (*PI*, 422).

One answer attempting to penetrate beyond the logical positivist's analysis of religious utterance as merely emotive was offered in 1955 by R. B. Braithwaite (b. 1900) after his conversion to Christianity. Though remaining a philosophical empiricist, and on such grounds finding it impossible to affirm the doctrines of his religion in a traditional sense of belief, Braithwaite suggested that Christian speech can in fact function otherwise, by making and supporting ethical commitments to the "agapeistic" way of life. Images of Christian love (agapē) are vividly presented in the sacred writings, all of which, he claimed, refer to or reduce to the love commandment. Uttering words from these writings is not like asserting a matter of fact—though the form of the words may suggest this—but is committing oneself to a way of life authoritatively pictured in these stories. Such is the legitimate "work" of religious speech, which thus supplies the needed "application of the picture."

Braithwaite's analysis, though not widely accepted as adequate to the full functioning of Christian language, showed how a more flexible approach to "how we do things with words" could be applied to the theological context. The highly regarded Oxford philosopher J. L. Austin (1911–1960) further spurred such attempts with his stress on the "performative" significance of language. His influence brought much attention to the fact that sometimes we are not so much describing the world as performing in it when we speak: making promises, uttering commands, taking oaths, naming, bidding at auctions, pronouncing marriage vows, accepting invitations, and the like. In Canada, Donald Evans (b. 1927) offered a detailed account of religious speech, demonstrating the logic of "self-involvement" as performative.

To such analyses were added others aiming to show how the belief-statements of theology might also play an important role, though not, of course, in making simple empirical claims. R. M. Hare (1919–2002), in Oxford, provided an analysis of religious belief-statements as "bliks," or unshakable preconditions for seeing the world in a certain way. Some "bliks" might be insane, as in delusional paranoia, but others might be both sane and essential, as in the conviction that the world is causally bound together in a regular way. Neither kind is falsifiable, like an empirical hypothesis, but either may function to shape a world-picture within which particular empirical observations make sense in one way or another. Likewise John Wisdom (1904–1993), at Cambridge, stressed the way in which certain utterances, though not themselves factual, may direct attention to patterns in the facts that otherwise might be missed. A metaphor of the Taj Mahal, applied to a woman's hat, could change not the facts but the way the facts were seen; the metaphor of the world as a garden could have a similar effect in directing attention to patterns among the facts of everyday life as well as in influencing attitudes toward them.

Such analyses of the heuristic power of theological images, especially if they are taken (as with Wisdom) as illuminating or (with Hare) as potentially sane or insane, go far toward reestablishing theological discourse, with regard to at least one aspect of its "work," as making claims that could be supported or attacked in normative ways. That such claims are often in fact intended by religious believers had long been evident to any analyst who might care to ask (or to participate in) the community of religious-language users; but, perhaps because of the legacy of logical positivism's animosity to metaphysics, some analytical philosophers were slow to shake the curious supposition that analyses of linguistic use might proceed as though the intentions of the primary users could be ignored or corrected. Genuine analysis aims at revealing, not changing, what the user is doing with words.

A linguistic philosophy that is not tied to an a priori supposition that certain functions of speech, such as metaphysical ones, are "impossible" will be hospitable to all the various sorts of "work" that are done by religious utterances. These will include, among others, factual claims (e.g., "The Shroud of Turin dates from early in the first millennium AD"), historical claims (e.g., "Ramses III was the pharaoh of the Exodus"), poetic utterances (e.g., "My yoke is easy, and my burden is light"), ethical prescriptions (e.g., "Turn the other cheek"), parables, folk tales, and complex theoretical doctrines. Several functions may be performed by a single type of utterance. Telling the parable of the prodigal son under certain circumstances, for example, may involve at the same time the act of self-commitment to a way of life, the receiving of emotional support, the expression of remorse and hope for personal forgiveness, and the affirmation of a doctrine of God's nature. Standing in church and reciting an ancient creed, on the other hand, may sometimes function more as a ritual of group-membership and reverence for continuity with the past than as an assertion. Part of the work of linguistic philosophy as applied to religion is to clarify the subtle differences between these functions and to help the users themselves see more clearly the range of lively possibilities afforded by their speech.

At least in some important cases, as we have seen, religious discourse makes claims and bears resemblances to other putatively referential speech. This was acknowledged by Wittgenstein in the passage (*PI*, 422), cited above, in which he compared belief in the soul with belief in carbon rings. In both cases a model, or a "picture," must be connected by indirect means to a sense that lies "far in the background." Another part of the work of linguistic philosophy, therefore, is to trace the similarities and differences between such puzzling cases. Perhaps the vivid poetical "pictures" of religious first-order discourse provide conceptual parallels to the scientific models "in the foreground" that interpret theoretical concepts functioning to unify and illuminate experience. If so, the range of relevant data to be organized is typically much broader for religious concepts, since scientific concepts—though often less open to observational verification or falsification than the logical positivists had claimed—are always kept deliberately close to some specifiable observational domain. This is typically not the case with the "omnirelevant" concepts of theology. Another key difference is that the sacred stories, myths, and "pictures" of religious thinking play a more important, historically and valuationally primary, role in the discourse of religious communities than do models in scientific discourse. Both considerations help one understand why religious concepts are not used to make readily falsifiable claims. At the same time, however, such considerations show that theological theory based on the imagery of primary religious speech may function to aid in efforts of conceptual synthesis, the attempt to hold together a unifying world-picture that is both theoretically intelligible and framed in terms of sacred values.

Linguistic analysis is not merely "about language," then, as one unfortunate misconception would have it. The aim of analytic philosophy pursued in the spirit of the later Wittgenstein is to illuminate the varied functions of speech and the many meanings of "meaning." Its efforts are spent in allowing whatever is said to be said more effectively and with greater awareness for both speaker and listener. Like all philosophy, it is engaged in the serious exercise of consciousness-raising. This does not entail, of course, that analytic philosophy must somehow "oppose" movements toward conceptual synthesis. All of metaphysics and much of science are engaged in conceptual synthesis. Just as analysis is identifiable from the beginning as a major strand or concern in Western philosophy, so also is the quest for synthesis found in all periods. Mature analytic philosophy recognizes that analysis and synthesis need one another as poles in never-ceasing interaction. Overweening claims on behalf of synthesis helped to stimulate analytic philosophy early in the twentieth century, but similar overweening attitudes, though sometimes unfortunately encountered today, have no proper place among the analysts who themselves have become dominant in English-speaking philosophy.

For theologians, as for simple religious believers, then, there is nothing to fear and much to be gained from analytical philosophy. Properly construed, linguistic analysis claims only at lifting to clarity and self-awareness the complex and powerful human acts of speech. Sometimes, no doubt, self-awareness may lead some persons in good conscience to a questioning of hitherto unreflective uses of speech, perhaps to a restatement, perhaps even to abandonment. At other times self-awareness may allow for ever more meaningful reaffirmations. Analytic philosophy is not a doctrine either in favor of or opposed to religious belief or metaphysical thinking. Its prime objective is, in the Socratic mood, the prevention of intellectual confusion due to language and the consequent "corruption of the soul."

SEE ALSO Logical Positivism; Socrates; Wittgenstein, Ludwig.

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ANAMNESIS. The close tie of philosophical inquiry with theological and religious thinking points to a wide realm of meaning to which the term *anamnesis* ("recollection") could be applied. In many ways anthropogonic and cosmogonic theories everywhere can be interpreted as recollections of a communal group about its origins, the origins of the universe, the existing world, and the role of humankind in it. We find mythical tales of this kind in social groups everywhere, along with related ritual action. Both forms of recollection, the recital and the dramatic performance and re-creation of events in the beginning of time, can be seen as forms of the mythology of remembering. In order to be able to use the term *anamnesis* for such commemorative and re-creative acts, a careful analysis of the connotations of recollection in Plato's philosophical system is indispensable.

PLATO'S EPISTEMOLOGY OF REMEMBERING AND ITS THEOLOGICAL BASIS. Plato's doctrine about the nature of the soul and its connection to the notion of the realm of ideal forms are both intertwined with the key concept of recollection. The Greek term *anamnēsis* achieves its specific meaning of "recollection" in the dialogues of Plato as that particular faculty of the soul that enables it to remember those things that it has seen when residing in the realm of eternal forms or Ideas; it is, as Plato formulates this vision, "recollection of the things formerly seen by our soul when it traveled in the divine company" (*Phaedrus* 249b). However, through repeated incarnations in new bodies (metempsychosis, "soul migration," or, rather, metensomatosis, "reembodiment") the soul forgets most of the things it has seen or contemplated in the divine sphere, as mortal bodies with their imperfections, base desires, and passions dull the sensibilities of the soul that is chained to, and thus takes on a portion of, the nature or characteristics of the material bodies. As Plato puts it through the voice of Socrates in the *Phaedo*, forgetting begins because the soul is "nailed to the body through pleasure and pain" (*Phaedo* 83d).

Thus the true knowledge of the things seen by the soul between different incarnations or materializations in consecutive bodies is never quite lost; it is hidden but still latently there, and it can be regained, recovered, brought to consciousness. It is at this point that the true vocation of the philosopher comes to the fore, because it is through his methodical questioning that the philosopher can recover such eternal truths that are beyond the varied sense experiences and thus lead the intelligent soul away from the world of varied opinions (*doxa*) to that form of true knowledge (*noēsis* or *epistēmē*) that is beyond the empirical world and that concerns the very essence of things, which is eternal, indivisible, and pure, being removed from birth and decay, from becoming, and from the temporal and spatial contingencies of all matter. The philosopher, who in Plato's thought has special abilities and is gifted through his search for eternal truths (a giftedness that, as shall be seen, has specific implications for the forms that the reincarnation of philosophers takes, thus setting him apart from the rest of humankind), can make people aware of their divine ancestry through his method of questioning, the art of midwifery (maieutic art) referred to by Socrates in the *Theaetetus.* Plato starts his reasoning with the analogy of the normal working of our memory when the mind is "pregnant" or "in labor with" a thought that presses to awareness or "birth." The philosopher as midwife merely brings the thoughts to full consciousness; he does not put into the mind anything that was not there already. We therefore do not learn new things about this world from the investigations of existing matter through reflection about sense experiences, arriving at generalizations (as Aristotle would later teach); we only recollect what we always knew.

Plato thus puts humankind in a middle position between the category of all-knowing gods (after all, Zeus had swallowed Metis, intelligence personified, as the theogony of Hesiod relates and as diverse Orphic theogonies were to mythologize about the nature of the gods later) and the category of animals who have souls but do not participate in intelligence. Plato thus also answers the logical dilemma posed first by the Sophists who had maintained that either we know what we are looking for, and thus we do not need to search, or we do not know what we are trying to find and we are therefore doomed to eternal ignorance. Plato rejects the "either-or" of ignorance versus complete knowledge to which humankind would be condemned; he deals in degrees of knowledge. For Plato the device of anamnesis therefore becomes the cornerstone for the two major assertions that he puts forward in the *Phaedo* dialogue: one is the assertion that humankind has the ability to know the essence and form of things in their true reality of divine origin and that there are essences behind the contingent things of the world of the senses; the other is that there is an indivisible soul substance that participates in the divine sphere, a soul that descends from that sphere into embodiment and returns to that divine realm after death.

Before entering into a discussion of the reasoning that Plato employs to prove the existence of the metaphysical, eternal kingdom of forms or ideas, it is useful to remind ourselves of the main aim of his philosophical enterprise. It has often been assumed that the main purpose of Plato was to establish a tightly reasoned scheme for the foundation of knowledge, a knowledge understood as the theoretical justification for science. However, as Romano Guardini (1943) and others have pointed out, Plato does not look for an idealist (or rather realist) epistemology for its own sake. Rather, Plato's whole endeavor is aimed at a reality that goes beyond the knowledge that can be gained through the analysis of material forces. Furthermore, the knowledge he is aiming for is that knowledge that is a virtue, namely wisdom, and this implies the search for the original constitution of things beyond their shifting and variable appearances. The knowledge that is wisdom, being aware of its divine origin or model of which the material representations are but mirror images, would lead ultimately to the virtue that becomes the foundation stone for an ethics of action in this world, namely the knowledge of truth.

What appears at first sight as a specious argument about the reality of generalizations such as those about values or virtues (justice, goodness, truth) that are not tangible in this world of the senses becomes finally a guide for action for those who have achieved the vision of the eternal forms, in particular of the ultimate virtue, wisdom, through divine inspiration. As Plato expresses it in the *Meno*, virtues are not that kind of knowledge that can be taught (as the Sophists had argued) but a knowledge that is inherent in the soul and can be recovered through recollection (these are the implications of the conclusions in *Meno* 98d–e). Knowledge does start with experience, but it does not derive from it, particularly not that knowledge that concerns the virtues. It is rather a knowledge, as Plato puts it, "which we own from our background" (*oikeia epistēmē; Phaedo* 75). We see again that the foundations of such ultimate knowing are put into the sphere of the divine through the still unproved hypothesis about the nature of the soul, its origin and fate before and after death of the earthly body.

Taken from this vantage point, the suggestion put forward by Guardini (that Plato's notion about the immortality of the soul and the concomitant notion that the soul is only passing through the stages of corporeal incarnation in order to arrive at its true home denigrate historicity and the uniqueness of the individual's existence) seems not quite as pronounced when the ethical orientation of Plato is taken into consideration. If a person through recollection can find the insight and vision of the ultimate foundations of virtues, he would, so Plato repeatedly argues, strive to fulfill the requirements of a virtuous life. Besides, as we will see, Plato also holds out different fates for each soul, according to its conduct in this life, in regard to the form and duration of reincarnations.

We thus see that in the dialogues of the middle period (from the *Meno* and *Symposium* to the *Phaedo*, *Phaedrus*, and *Republic*) the search for the foundations of the knowing subject (the soul with intelligence and possessed with a drive to find its home) as well as of the known things (the objects in the tangible world as well as the generalizations of the mind, namely the virtues), of the subject and object of the epistemological equation, are but the tools for establishing the truth about the reality of the divine sphere and the grounding of subject and object in it. When this has happened and when the total structure of reality is known, action would be informed by this insight. For Plato the proof of the ability and effectiveness of *anamnēsis* as a faculty of the soul and mind of humankind therefore becomes the key for the proof of the kingdom of ideal forms and of ultimate truth.

The focal point, where the argument about the immortality of the soul and its reincarnations is joined to the proof through the notion of *anamnēsis*, occurs in the dialogue that is set around the occasion of the imminent death of Socrates, the *Phaedo*. Socrates has just proved by analogy that the soul is immortal, everlasting, and reincarnated in successive bodies: in much the same way, as the unity of the personality is still there through the various stages of sleep and waking, the soul must be a unifying principle surpassing birth and death. It just participates for a while in the life of mortal matter but discards the body like a worn garment and returns from where it came.

Socrates uses the further analogy that if there were only a movement from birth to death, all life would come to an end. There must be a countermovement from death to life, and this is the reincarnation of the soul after death into new bodies (*Phaedo* 70c–72a). Plato reformulates here insights that were common stock since the teachings of Empedocles and Heraclitus about the impermanence of things, of the constant change of conditions and aggregates, and about the cyclical repetition of natural processes, an impermanence of the world of experience that, however, has an underlying unchanging structure. While Ionian nature philosophy looked for the underlying permanency in the laws of matter, Plato makes the radical change by asserting that what is permanent is the perceiving subject and at the same time the ideal form behind the empirical reality. Since matter is perpetually dying and being reborn in different form, Plato declares that a permanent reality can only be an immaterial one that is only accessible to pure thought.

It is now up to Plato, through the words of Socrates, to prove these assertions. Kebes, one of the dialogue partners, gives him the entry by referring to Socrates' often-used adage that "learning is nothing but remembering" (*Phaedo* 72e). This refers to the previous experiment, where Socrates had an untutored slave arrive at the proof of a Pythagorean mathematical paradigm (*Meno* 82ff.). The objects of mathematics are similar to the moral forms, the virtues, and it is indeed these that Plato recognizes as having the necessary attributes. As Cornford pointed out, this implies that memory, which contains such knowledge, cannot be a personal or individual memory but must by necessity be an impersonal memory: all individuals can potentially arrive at the same truth, the only difference being to which extent the latent knowledge has been recovered (Cornford, 1952, p. 56). This might imply that Plato's notion of the soul as perceiving agent is akin to the Hindu proposition (of the Upaniṣads) that the *ātman* (personal soul) and *brahman* (universal soul) are identical. As shall be shown, there are some reservations with this view, as Plato also has recourse to the myth of retribution after death and to the karmic notion of the influence of the conduct in the present lifetime upon the form of reincarnation, as extolled in the *Phaedrus.*

Before embarking upon that discussion, I shall return to the *Phaedo*, where Socrates now resumes his proof about the latent memory of the soul: he states that our ability to discern equal things (and contrasts as well) presupposes the idea of equality itself (or of sameness and difference). In the same way as there is no empirical equivalent to a geometrical form (as proved in the *Meno*), there are no two things in our empirical world that are exactly the same. But the sight of approximately equal things revives the thought of perfect equality, the knowledge of which must be inborn, be previous to sense experience (*Phaedo* 75c–76d). This part of the discussion of anamnesis ends in the assertion that the essence of the soul is of the same kind as the essence of the object of thought processes, the idea. True knowledge surpasses the empirical in two ways: from its object, it is the idea; from its subject, it is the pure thought of the soul, both being nonempirical, immortal, indivisible, and indestructible (*Phaedo* 79a–c).

GNOSTICISM, MANICHAEISM, SUFISM, AND QABBALAH. Plato's thought system underwent various modifications in the following centuries that cannot be followed here in a systematic manner. Under the impact of Oriental religions and influenced by Christian soteriology, Hellenistic thinking brought forth a number of doctrines that occupied themselves much with the question of the nature of the soul and its relation to the body as well as with its fate after death. These various doctrines, which in the first few centuries after the beginning of the Common era were considered by the Church Fathers as a dangerous challenge to Christian orthodoxy, are generally labeled the Gnostic movement. The aim of this many-sided movement of speculative thought was cogently summed up in the following statement: gnosis is "the knowledge of who we were, what we have become, where we were, into what place we have been thrown . . . what is birth, what is rebirth" (Clement, *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 78.2).

Although the term *gnōsis* connotes "knowledge," the Gnostics meant by it not the intellectual process but rather wisdom gained through mystical insight or enlightenment by an immediate vision of truth. For the Gnostics, this knowledge was designed to help to liberate as well as to redeem mankind from its confinement in a material world. For those men who possessed the knowledge of the true nature of the world and of the soul, the knowledge itself is the redeeming factor, or as one of the tractates found at Nag Hammadi expressed it, if anyone has gnosis, he knows from where he comes and where he goes, and, so the *Gospel of Truth* continues, "he knows like someone who was drunk and has become sober from his drunkenness, and, restored again to himself, has again set his own in order." The same text refers to ignorance as forgetfulness and annihilation. The Gnostics believed that there were three diverse classes of people: the elect (the pneumatics or "spirituals") had divine inspiration; a second class were the psychics, who possessed soul but as yet no insight; the third class, the carnal ones, were beyond redemption.

Without delving deeper into the often contradictory tales of cosmogony and anthropogony that the diverse Gnostic schools developed, the basic doctrine is one of the fall of parts of the light through error, variously attributed, into the world of matter and coming to rest in primordial man. The whole soteriology of the Gnostic movements is then concerned with the reascent of the light to its original source. However, the soul, which is the light particle lost in the world of matter, cannot achieve this ascent unaided, because she is drunken or asleep, as the abundant metaphorical images put it. To this purpose the godhead sends out the redeemer, identified with Christ in Christian circles.

It is the prerogative of the adherent of the Gnostic movement to be awakened, to have insight into the process of the fall of the light and the redemption attempt of Christ. However, he has to prove his mettle in the fight in this world, in his fight with matter, in particular against the snares and traps of bodily passions. The purpose of all the ascetic practices with which Gnosticism abounds is the training of the spiritual or pneumatic aspects of oneself for the final ascent to the divine light (Gr. *plērōma*). One of the major doctrines of most Gnostic schools was the strong reliance on self-redemption through the insight that the soul of the elect had gained through instant revelation. It seems clear from the sources that the concept of self-redemption of the man of superior knowledge and the redemption through a helper, the redeemer sent by the deity, remained one of the points of contention between different Gnostic schools (and remains also a problem for modern research into Gnosticism).

The mythology of remembering, waking up from sleep or drunkenness, is put into different terms in the doctrines of the Manichaeans, who start from the primordial dualism of two forces, light and darkness, spirit and matter (due to Iranian-Zoroastrian influence, no doubt; see Widengren, 1961). Matter in this system desires to engulf the light, and after succeeding in the battle, light has to send out various messengers and emissaries or mercenaries who, however, get trapped by the forces of darkness. One of these emissaries is primordial man, Adam, who, when put into sleep or unconsciousness by engulfing matter, is wakened by a call from above. Here the strategies of light are finally victorious, as matter that has partaken of light and thus has the powers of light, its own enemy "ingested," as it were, is defeated from inside. But before this plan of light can succeed, matter has established its rule by creating the figure of libido or concupiscence, which through constant copulation binds the light particles to bodies (the cannibalistic and sexual stigmata that remain with humankind as reminders of their beastly descent from demonic powers). But light now sends out further emissaries to free the divine spark that is indestructibly present in Adam and humankind from the world of demons by reminding Adam and humankind of their own true essence (see Widengren, 1961; Puech, 1937).

Although the Manichaean system appears generally more clear in its exposition than other Gnostic movements, all of them are often intellectually and ritually contradictory; they remained hybrid systems due to their tendency of syncretistic merging of various religious and cultural traditions, ranging from Greek philosophy, Jewish biblical traditions, Christian eschatology, and Persian dualism (a variability reflected in the many languages in which the documents of these traditions have come down to us, from Greek to Uighur, Coptic, and Chinese). All Gnostic traditions are artificial mythologies and are a far cry from the intellectual enterprise of Plato. This was clearly perceived by the late follower of Plato, Plotinus (third century CE), for whom the world was, if not perfect, at least beautiful, and man a complete vessel, though needing perfection. The whole atmosphere of the doctrine of forgetting of the Gnostics seems often contrived and complicated as well as convoluted beyond logical needs and far indeed from the splendid vision of the power of the mind as taught by Plato, for whom the world with its beauty of bodies was after all the instigator of the drive of Eros to strive for perfection.

A far more consistent religious principle arose with the emergence of Islamic mysticism, or Sufism (*taṣaw-wuf*), in the eighth century. The original core of Sufism is the asceticism of a life in poverty through which man is better able to meditate on the Qurʾān and so to draw near to God through prayer or repetitive chanting of religious formulas. (This process is called *dhikr*, lit., "remembrance.") The formulas were accompanied by a variety of rules about body posture and breathing techniques. All these techniques aim to empty the mind so that it can be filled with the presence of God.

For most of Islamic history, the Ṣūfīs were anathema to orthodox theology, as they stressed inner qualities more than outer action, the practical example more than strict adherence to the letter of the law propounded by theologians, and the spirit of the principles of Islam more than the strict observance of ritual.

This tendency led to statements that outraged traditionalists, such as that of al-Ḥallāj, crucified in 922, who proclaimed: "I am the truth." In the same spirit, Ibn al-ʿArabī, whose work influenced the later development of Qabbalah considerably, once stated: "My heart has become capable of every form . . . a temple for idols, and the pilgrim's kaaba, and the tables of the Torah and the book of the Qurʾān. I follow the religion of love" (trans. Reynold A. Nicholson). While al-ʿArabī's statement may be interpreted as simple universalism or pantheism, in connection with the disdaining of bookish knowledge, sayings of this kind are more akin to the jolting of the mind as practiced by Daoists and Zen Buddhists, who also seek through the disorientation of habitual thinking to open the mind to ultimate truth. It is in this vein that we have to take the following statement by Abū Saʿīd of Nishapur: "Books, ye are excellent guides, but it is absurd to trouble about a guide after the goal has been reached"; or again, "I practiced recollection [*dhikr*] uninterruptedly . . . only after all these trials do we realize self-conceit" (Nicholson, 1921, pp. 15, 21). Such utterances of paradox align the Ṣūfīs squarely with the Greek Cynics; their varied expressions of the yearning for unification with the divine through love show their Platonic affinity.

The techniques of *dhikr* were intended to induce a form of ecstasy or trance in which the soul would then be able to conduct a dialogue with God (the final aim of "the search for the real [*al-Ḥaqq*]," as al-Ghazālī called it). As an alternative there exists the technique of *fikr*, meaning contemplation and reflection. The whole idea of recollection appears most clearly in poetic formulations such as the following by Ibn al-Fāriḍ (1181–1235): "In memory of the Beloved we quaffed a vintage that made us drunk before the creation of the vine." The commentator Nābulusī says that this means nothing but that the soul was intoxicated with the wine of divine love during its existence before the creation of the body (Nicholson, 1921, pp. 184ff.). Ṣūfī brotherhoods can be differentiated as to their final aim: some aim for *ilhāmīyah*, or inspiration by God, others for *ittiḥādīyah*, the mystical union with God.

Many Ṣūfīs were definite adherents of a theory of transmigration of souls (*tanāsukh*), though there were exceptions. The doctrine of metempsychosis was also adhered to by other Muslim groups, such as the Nuṣayrīyah, the Kurds, and the Druze, as was reported by the historian of religion al-Shahrastānī, from Khorasan (1076–1153). The Ṣūfīs adhered to the theory of the transmigration of souls because they believed that before the creation of bodies the souls were illuminated by divine light; therefore affinal souls can smell each another out, as was formulated by Abū Saʿīd (Nicholson, 1921, p. 56). This notion appears clearly also in the poetry of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, who like many other Ṣūfī mystics accords great importance and proof for the preexistence of the soul to dream states: "In dreams the soul knows itself as it was in the state of preexistence" (v. 669), or again, "In the world of reminiscence the soul has her ancient knowledge" (v. 759; Nicholson, 1921, pp. 265).

In any case, the aim of the Ṣūfī is the unification with God and a cessation of transmigration and, by total absorption into the deity, the extinction of existence (*fanāʿ*). Some of the most evocative lines of poetry combining the idea of *fanāʿ* with that of *tanāsukh* have come down to us from Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, who founded the Mevlevī order in Konya in the late thirteenth century: "I died as mineral and became a plant, I died as plant and rose to animal." This poem ends in the rapt cry "Oh, let me not exist!" (*The Ascending Soul*, trans. Nicholson, 1964, p. 103).

The mystical tendencies of Islamic Sufism—such as its emotional and inner devotion to the divine agency, contemplative and prayerful, together with a strong ethical orientation that could almost be labeled pietist—passed relatively early into the developing Jewish Qabbalah. One of the most influential works in this connection was the *Ḥovot ha-levavot* (Duties of the heart) by Baḥye ibn Paquda in 1080, translated into Hebrew in 1161. The underlying theme of this work finds its strongest expression in the later Lurianic movement as well as in the Hasidic tradition in Spain and in central and eastern Europe. For Paquda there are two kinds of duty: one that relates to the body and that concerns man's overt actions, and the other that relates to the heart and concerns man's inner life. To the first belong the ethical commands of the Torah, the observance of the Sabbath, prayer, and charity. To the latter belong the belief in the existence and singleness of God, the fear and love of him as well as the trust in him.

Paquda warned against overemphasis on the duties of the body, thus advocating a countermovement against halakhic orthodoxy. The aim of life is spiritual perfection and ultimate union and communion with God. The way to this is through the ten gates, such as sincerity of purpose, humility, repentance, self-examination, asceticism, and love of God. In accordance with Platonic principles, the soul is of celestial origin, placed into material bodies where it begins to forget its nature and mission. The soul receives great help from the intellect, since in it all the duties of the heart are grounded. There has to be a perfect correspondence of behavior and conscience. Paquda is far from advocating asceticism but opts for the middle way: live in temperance but fulfill your duties in social life (see Scholem, 1954, 1965).

There are considerable differences between Sufism and Qabbalah, in particular in regard to the strong reliance on exegesis among Jewish thinkers and in regard to the downplaying of ascetic practices. However, Qabbalah took some notions of metempsychosis, which play a great role in the later movement in Safad, from Sufism. Early Qabbalah of the twelfth century is more restrictive in the use of the term: it uses the notion of *gilgul* or *haʾataqah* ("transference") as a translation of the Arabic *tanāsukh* (which in turn is also a translation of the Stoic concept of *aposakatastasis*) for certain, mostly sexual, offenses. The decisive turn occurs in the sixteenth century, when a system of moral causes and physical effects, similar to the Hindu *karman*, takes root. The other very specific Jewish notion concerns the metaphorical equivalence of the exile of the soul from its divine spiritual abode and the exile of the chosen people from its homeland.

Behind the Jewish idea of transmigration stands the doctrine of the creation of the world as a series of emanations from the godhead (Ein Sof), which is symbolized by the ten *sefirot* that contain as vessels the divine light. In particular the tenth *sefirah*, the female Shekhinah, is responsible for receiving and distributing the divine light-essence to earth. It is through man's sinful nature and his fall from grace that the energy flow was interrupted, leading to disharmony as well as evil in the world. The deed is traced to primordial man, Adam Qadmon, whose fall brought about the breaking of the vessels, so that the divine essence became dispersed in innumerable fragments as light particles, which are contaminated with matter (the closeness to some Gnostic notions is noticeable). This basic system was further elaborated by the Palestinian qabbalist Isaac Luria (1534–1572) but also flourished in Italy.

It is with the thirteenth-century founder of Ashkenazic Hasidism, Elʿazar of Worms, that we find one of the strongest reminiscences of the doctrine of transmigration and Platonic *anamnēsis*. In an interpretation of the *Midrash on the Creation of the Child*, he expostulates that after the guardian angel has given the newborn child a tap on the upper lip, it forgets all the infinite knowledge it had acquired before its birth in the celestial house of learning. And why does the child forget? asks Elʿazar. Because, he answers, if the child did not forget, the course of the world would drive it mad in the light of what it knows from its former existence in divine grace. (The relation to Job is evident.)

The whole purpose of man's existence on earth is the restoration of the ideal order and the collection of the pure divine light in the vessels. Salvation thus means nothing but restitution or reintegration of the original whole (*tiqqun*). In Lurianic Qabbalah, transmigration, as for some Ṣūfī brotherhoods, is not just a result of evil or of the sinful nature of man, but it is actually one chance, a boon, to achieve the goal of self-emancipation, defined here as being freed from transmigration. The souls of the emancipated ones then wait, each in its blessed house, to be reunited with the soul of Adam, the first man.

However, and here we also get a unique variation of the theme of transmigration and redemption, while the purpose of reincarnation is always purification or atonement for the sins of mankind, the role of the suffering of the righteous is of the greatest importance, because they help with the restoration of the universe. Here the universal effect of good deeds and thoughts, of a devout life in the pietist sense, is combined with the ancient notion of the efficacy of ritual to restore the proper functioning of universal forces and energies. The notion of metempsychosis, also called "impregnation" (*ʿibbur* in early Qabbalah), is taken to its furthest extent when it is stated that a soul, in particular that of an ethically advanced person, can enter, even temporarily, another man's body and thus help his soul come closer to perfection. The universe can only be restored to its original purity when all people have reached perfection. In spite of this seemingly unified system, we find in Qabbalah the same major splits of interpretation as in the Ṣūfī tradition. Two basic aims are given as the highest goal for the life of man: Maimonides advocates the knowledge of God, while his son opts for union with God. We thus find in all traditions so far discussed the same split between knowledge and devotion as the main aims of life.

AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL BELIEFS IN RITUAL ACTION AND REBIRTH PROCESSES. In most systems discussed so far we find a tendency to identify the realm of the spirit with the notion of essence or form, abstracted from all material discrete reality: the bodies of humans and other animate beings are perceived as prisons for the divine element, life force, or soul. Matter is thus seen as inimical to the soul's attainment of its true state, in which it is a part of, or is united with, the godhead.

The religious systems of the Australian Aborigines developed a different, almost diametrically opposed, notion. Here the divine element is embodied in a diversity of material objects, ranging from features of the geographical landscape to such items as bull-roarers. Man himself is a divine being and agent, either as an individual or as a member of a social group; and particular social groups as much as particular individuals are identified or correlated with features in the landscape. The social groups such as clans are themselves sacred corporations in perpetuity. The sacred nature of material items such as bull-roarers is made clear through their use: they are efficacious for the continued fertility of all nature, including humankind, because they are thought of as endowed with the power of the culture heroes of the Dreaming.

In a similar fashion, the whole earth and all its features, such as rocks, indentations, but especially waterholes, are considered sacred substances or emanations of the creative thoughts of the ancestral heroes and divinities. The creator ancestors walked the earth in primordial times and created every animate and inanimate object through externalizing, objectifying, and materializing their thoughts in the act of dreaming. Man is the paramount agent who either through ceremonies or dreaming guarantees the continuation of these creative acts.

Aboriginal religious thought thus perceives a very intimate relation between man and environment in what has become known as a totemic thought system, where each individual and each group becomes closely linked to a feature of the external world (landscape, plants, animals). While these features of the external world are the self-manifestations of the creator deities of the Dreaming, man has to identify through ritual and through dreaming with these features and internalize them. The continuation of the visible reality depends on the meticulous performance of rites at the ceremonial centers of the diverse totemic ancestor beings; individuals and groups are thus (as reincarnations of the supernatural beings) guardians and connective links to the eternal order that, though once established in its final form, needs the constant renewal in the present. This belief explains also the frequent handling of sacred objects (for which the Aranda term *tjurunga* has become synonymous) by young initiates, who through this action try to keep in touch with the essence of that being of which they are the spiritual double themselves (see Elkin, 1954, p. 186).

There exists in Aboriginal thinking no clear delineation between eternity and temporality, between now and the past: the eternal order is not only the basis for the re-creation through ritual in the present, as laid down by the law of the ancestor deities, but is inseparably linked with the present through the sacred agency of humankind, which carries within its individuals and groups the spark of life derived from the original creative beings through constant reincarnations. In short, in ritual action, eternity is here and now and merging with the present. The cosmic dimension of the maintenance of the world through ritual finds its correlate in the notion of the constant reincarnation of a personal soul-entity. In most Aboriginal systems of thought the spiritual essence enters man through dreaming at a totemic center. These totemic centers are the places into which the ancestor spirits disappeared when they had finished creation and to which the souls of the dead depart and become deposited, there to await rebirth. When a man sleeps at such a place, the spiritual essence or soul that has been deposited in these centers enters him through dreaming, and the male transfers the new soul to his female partner during procreation.

The self-identification of the living persons and groups of Aboriginal society with the ancestors and their spiritual essence is thus achieved through dreaming at the very places where the divine entities externalized and materialized their own thoughts in dreaming in very concrete and substantial form. This identity of substance of the living world and of man is often expressed by Aborigines when they refer to the sacred totemic places as "my dreaming there." Thus dreaming, life essence or soul, and the supreme creator deities are sometimes called by the same term. This self-identification of the individual and of groups with the externalizations of the ancestral heroes, be they features of the landscape or living creatures in nature, is expressed through the concept of the birth and rebirth at particular centers and, more pointedly, through initiation rituals. The aim of initiation rituals is not only to remind the young initiand of the significance of the sacred landscape but even more to teach him his own lost knowledge, to actually make him aware of his own sacredness (females are in some parts of Australia considered sacred by nature).

As each individual represents the reborn ancestor, he is thus learning what he always actually knew but forgot when he rested in the spirit places after death in his last incarnation. As T. G. H. Strehlow put it about the understanding of this process among the Aranda: "At the time of birth the totemic ancestor who has undergone re-incarnation is totally unaware of his former glorious existence. For him the preceding months have been a 'sleep and forgetting.' If he is born as a boy, the old men will later on initiate him and reintroduce him into the ancient ceremonies which he himself had instituted in his previous extence" (Strehlow, 1947, p. 93).

We would scarcely find anywhere else a stronger resemblance to the Platonic notion of *anamnēsis*, yet in Australian Aboriginal thought the living human is even more pronouncedly part of the divine, being, if not the divinity, at least the ancestor hero. When a grown adult performs the increase ceremonies as laid down by the ancestor deities, he is reperforming his own law, for he, in his former incarnation as ancestor, had a part in devising the law.

It is from this vantage point that the merging of the present and the past—of concrete reality and actions within it with the original and therefore not only past but ever-present essential foundations of reality—can be understood. As Strehlow has it: "The whole countryside is his living, age-old family tree. The story of his own totemic ancestor is to the native the account of his own doings at the beginning of time, at the dim dawn of life, when the world as he knows it now was being shaped and moulded by all-powerful hands. He himself has played a part in that first glorious adventure, a part smaller or greater according to the original rank of the ancestor of whom he is the present re-incarnated form" (ibid., pp. 30–31).

At death the immortal part of the human reincarnation returns to the abode of the primordial state, either beyond the sea, in the sky, or under the ground. While the belief in reincarnation is general and widespread among Australian Aborigines, the rebirth is perceived not as that of a previous particular human personality but as one of primordial existence as creative agent. There exists no retribution for activities in this life, though the ancestor heroes were not without fault or blame. But even their deeds that are wrong by the standards they laid down themselves are not judged in an afterlife, nor do they influence reincarnation.

However, present Aborigines realize and express the idea that their ancestor deities may sometimes have gone wrong and may sometimes have been killed for their wrongdoing by the original incarnations of present-day people. Although killed, these ancestor heroes did not die in spirit; as the Berndts note, they remain part of the "Eternal Dreaming stream" (Berndt and Berndt, 1977, p. 418). The religious systems of all Aboriginal groups seem to be what W. E. H. Stanner once called an "affirmation of life" (see Stanner, 1959–1963). There is certainly no trace of asceticism or denial of the body to be found in Aboriginal beliefs. There is no need for such abasement, for the divine eternity is concretely realized in material form in this world and can always be made present through ritual action.

The comparison with the Platonic system of recollection cannot be fully developed (see also Eliade, 1973, pp. 58–59). Yet one point is worth emphasizing: for Aborigines, the manifestations of the ancestor heroes of the Dreaming, such as features of the landscape, become the outward sign to recall the deeds of these ancestors. This comes close to Plato's notion about the efficacy of objects of beauty to arouse in humans the desire of Eros to attain absolute beauty, the desire to attain something that one lacks, in particular to attain immortality.

It might not be too farfetched to extend this philosophical interpretation to the mytho-ritualistic identification that the Aborigine intends when handling sacred objects, performing the ancient sacred increase rituals or learning about his oneness with the Dreaming and its objects or emanations. This, and more, is revealed to the Aborigine in the long drawn-out process of initiation and achievement of adulthood and is regularly made clear in ritual action, when each participant becomes an ancestor. Each, too, will thereby recreate the universe, but none will attempt to change it. The ritual recollection of the Australian Aborigines and of other tribal societies is replaced in Plato's system by the philosopher through the *daimōn* of Eros. Both forms of recollection seem to share the same aim: through ritual the paradigmatic model is repeated over and over again and made present and efficacious forever; through the drive of Eros the philosopher aims at gaining what he has not yet obtained, namely, immortality and divine status. Both Eros and ritual action are creative.

A member of the Murinbata once said to Stanner: "White man got no dreaming, him go 'nother way. White man, him go different. Him go road belong himself." Our comparison about the notion of recollection from Platonic *anamnēsis* to Aboriginal beliefs in reincarnation and remembering of their own divine status has shown that a reminder of our own roots might instill in us a sense of humility. Were we to recollect our Platonic heritage, we might perceive the Australian Aborigine as a related soul. We might realize that Europe since ancient times has been working toward the same goal as the Aborigines: only our methods differ.

SEE ALSO Dhikr; Dreaming, The; Exile; Knowledge and Ignorance; Soul.

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KLAUS-PETER KÖPPING (1987)
Revised Bibliography

ʿANAN BEN DAVID (fl. Baghdad, second half of the eighth century CE), titular founder of the Karaites, a Jewish sect. According to a rabbinic-Jewish (Rabbinite) tradition cited first by the twelfth-century Karaite author Eliyyahu ben Avraham, ʿAnan was rejected for the position of exilarch (secular head of the Jewish community in Iraq and its representative before the Muslim caliph's court) on the ground of heretical tendencies. When the office went to his younger brother Ḥananyah, ʿAnan's followers (styled Ananites, or ʿĀnānīyah in Arabic) declared him their own exilarch. Since this action amounted to open defiance of the caliph's customary right to confirm a newly elected exilarch, ʿAnan was cast into prison and faced execution. A Muslim fellow-prisoner (according to Jewish sources, Abū Ḥanīfah, the founder of the Ḥanafī school of Muslim jurisprudence) advised him to bribe his way before the caliph and then to plead that the Ananites were a religious denomination distinct from the Rabbinites and were therefore entitled to have their own exilarch. ʿAnan followed this advice, was acquitted, and was set free.

The historicity of this account is open to challenge, however. Opposition to postbiblical, or Talmudic, tradition (so-called oral law, distinct from written law in the Old Testament) and the cry "Back to the Bible!" antedated ʿAnan by several centuries, and for the period immediately before him, the names of some leaders of such antitraditionalist movements have been preserved. These movements were found mostly in the outlying provinces of the Muslim Empire, among Jewish communities apparently composed to a considerable degree of emigrants from metropolitan Iraq; they belonged to the poorer classes of artisans and farm laborers and felt themselves sorely oppressed by the rabbinic religious and secular bureaucracy, which overburdened them with special taxes imposed for its own maintenance.

What seems to be certain is that ʿAnan was a man of aristocratic Rabbinite descent and of considerable learning and that he was the first to lend these two prestigious qualifications to the contemporary sectarian leadership. He was also apparently the first to compose a comprehensive scholarly code of sectarian (nonrabbinic) law based formally only on the Bible. This was written in Aramaic, the language of much of the Talmud, but is known under the Hebrew title *Sefer ha-mitsvot* (Book of precepts). Only fragments of this work have been discovered so far. Containing concise formulations of law, but no polemics against rabbinic dogma or law, they reveal ʿAnan as a rigorous and ascetic teacher rather than an ambitious seeker after secular power.

That ʿAnan was influenced to some extent by earlier antitraditionalist teachings seems fairly certain, although this influence should not be exaggerated. He was a self-assured and independent thinker. Later Karaite scholars disagreed with him on many points of law and chided him for what they considered his excessive borrowing from rabbinic law. His predilection for the analogical method in deducing new rules from the biblical text may indicate some influence from Muslim jurisprudence.

Later accounts credit ʿAnan with a work on the transmigration of souls and state that he regarded Jesus and Muḥammad as inspired prophets sent to their respective nations, but these are not supported by any reliable evidence.

The Ananites, never numerous, were eventually absorbed by the Karaites. ʿAnan's direct male descendants bore the honorific title of prince (*nasi*ʾ) and were treated accordingly by the Karaites, but they apparently wielded little actual power and, with one or two exceptions, did not distinguish themselves as scholars.

SEE ALSO Karaites.

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LEON NEMOY (1987)
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ĀNANDAMAYĪ MĀ (the bliss-permeated Mother, 1896–1982) was a leading Hindu spiritual master in twentieth-century India. She was regarded a divine manifestation by her disciples, who came from all strata of the Indian society and from around the world. A number of them were well-known scholars, artists, as well as social and political leaders, including Indira Gandhi (1917–1984), the former prime minister of India. At the core of Ānandamayī Mā's teaching was the identity of the individual Self (*ātman*) with the Absolute (*brahman*) and the unity of all existence. She recommended a fundamental reorientation of life in order to realize one's identity with the Absolute. While these precepts have long been a part of Hindu philosophical thought, what drew people to her was her powerful yet gracious presence that seemed to bear a living testimony to them. The course of her life seemed to flow from a deep spiritual awareness that often led her to deviate from the norms of contemporary Hindu society. Her life, like lives of many Hindu women saints, was marked by enigma and paradoxes.

Ānandamayī Mā was born to a devout but poor *brahman* couple, Bipin Bihari Bhattacharya and Mokshada Devi, in the village of Kheora in East Bengal (now Bangladesh) and was given the name Nirmala Sundari (the one of taintless beauty). She was indeed very beautiful. Even as a child, she surprised elders by going into trancelike states during sessions of devotional singing and showing deep affinity with animals and trees. As was customary at the time, after receiving little formal education, Nirmala was married to Ramani Mohan Chakravarti at the age of twelve. When she joined her husband five years later, she excelled in performing household duties, but declined to have a physical relationship. Instead, she asked permission to engage in spiritual exercises (*sādhanā*) every night after finishing her domestic work.

Nirmala had had no formal training in spiritual matters, yet various yogic postures and the states of mind (*bhāva*s) associated with them seemed to come effortlessly to her as she followed her spiritual impulse, which she called *kheyāla.* One night, she initiated herself onto the meditative path in a unique manner: She played the roles of both the *gurū* and the disciple, establishing nondifferentiation between the two. A few months later she initiated her husband and became his *gurū*, inverting the norm for Hindu women of the time. During this period of her intense *sādhanā* (1918–1924), she was often found in ecstatic states, viewed by some as signs of mental disturbance. With her husband's support, however, she continued her practice.

By 1924, when her husband accepted a job on the Shahbag estates in Dhaka, she had attracted a considerable following. Her husband welcomed in their home crowds of people, including scholars and professionals who were amazed at Nirmala's succinct answers to their complex philosophical queries. Here, Nirmala also led worship ceremonies (*pūjā*) for the goddess Kālī, departing from the tradition by excluding animal sacrifice. From 1926 Nirmala came to be called Ānandamayī Mā by her disciples, for they saw her in a state of constant bliss. They built a small *āśrama* (retreat center) near Dhaka that became the first of the thirty established before the end of her life. Around the same time she began to refer to herself as "this body," indicating detachment from it, and declared that her true self was unchanging.

From the early 1930s until her passing away in 1982, like a Hindu renunciant, she ceaselessly traveled across India imparting spiritual guidance to a wide range of people. She was, however, not a traditional renunciate. Her husband, now called Bholānāth, accompanied her until his death in 1938. During his last illness, Ānandamayī Mā served him as a devoted wife, but continued her work after his death. Through example and conversations in everyday language she taught her followers to make Self-realization the main goal of life. She did not prescribe a specific method for all for the attainment of this goal and recognized that each individual had to follow the path suitable for him- or herself. The only spiritual program that she guided yearly was a weeklong retreat in one of her *āśramas* that emphasized self-restraint and meditation. Her femininity imparted a grace and gentleness to her spiritual mentoring that touched everyone who came to her.

Ānandamayī Mā did not recognize sectarian, religious caste, or gender differences at the level of the Self. She blessed and guided all who approached her. Her followers included Hindus across caste boundaries, non-Hindus, and a large number of women who found her especially inspirational. She, however, did not intervene in the working of her *āśramas*, where the administrators followed purity/pollution rules that mark the Hindu caste system. For this, she was criticized by some as the *gurū* of the elite and the high caste. Some remark that her teaching did not emphasize charitable work, even though schools, hospitals, and veterinary clinics were and still are run by her *āśramas.* Others explain that in Ānandamayī Mā's inherently spiritual view, the solution to human suffering had to be sought through spiritual advancement. This would lead people to see others as a part of the self. Charity would not be needed then. Ānandamayī Mā is recognized as a mystic of rare spiritual insight in India. Holding together the roles of wife, renunciate, and spiritual guide in a seamless manner, her life pointed out the possibilities for spiritual life that are open for women in the Hindu milieu despite the restrictive norms set for them by the orthodoxy.

SEE ALSO Guru.

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ANAT. The maiden Anat (*btlt ʿnt*) is a West Semitic or Canaanite warrior-goddess known for her violent temperament and volatile emotions. Although her name and cult are attested from the late third millennium BCE to the fourth century BCE, Anat plays a prominent role only in the Late Bronze Age mythological texts from the Syrian city of Ugarit (modern-day Ras Shamra). These poetic narratives, written in an alphabetic cuneiform script, depict Anat as a fierce and impetuous goddess who delights in bloodshed. As a hunter and protector of wild animals, Anat also functions as a "Mistress of Animals" in Canaanite tradition. Anat's primary epithet in Ugaritic sources is *btlt* (maiden), which identifies her as an adolescent female, a girl of marriageable age. Iconographic representations from Egypt and Syria-Palestine depict the goddess as young and nubile, with small breasts and a thin body. Called "the loveliest of the sisters of Baal," Anat is also a player of the lyre and singer of love songs in Ugaritic narrative. Although female, the adolescent goddess engages in the traditionally masculine pursuits of warfare, hunting, and political intrigue.

Earlier studies often assume that Anat is Baal's consort. More recent studies by Peggy Day and Neal Walls, however, argue that the extant Ugaritic texts never depict her as sexually active. While some scholars have erroneously identified Anat with the cow that mates with and bears an heir for Baal, the Ugaritic narratives clearly distinguish between Anat and Baal's cow. As his devoted sister, Anat actively supports Baal's quest for kingship among the gods. She serves as a diplomatic intermediary in securing the support of El, her elderly father, for the establishment of his royal palace. The warrior Anat boasts of having vanquished many of Baal's foes, including Yamm (the Canaanite primordial sea), the Twisting Serpent, and the Seven-Headed Dragon. Whether or not Anat is the consort of Baal, the maiden goddess maintains her autonomy and independence from male control. She lives in her own palace on her sacred mountain *Inbb* rather than in the household of her father, brother, or consort. Ugaritic poetry venerates Anat as the "Mistress of Kingship, Mistress of Dominion, and Mistress of the High Heavens." The meaning of her epithet *ybmt limm* remains uncertain, but it most likely refers to her position within the pantheon's kinship structure.

Anat displays her malevolent aggression in two encounters with El, in which she threatens to drag him from his throne "to the ground like a lamb" for slaughter. She promises to smash his skull and to make his "gray hair run with blood and his gray beard with gore" unless he agrees to her demands. El's response to his belligerent daughter seems more indulgent than fearful, "I know, my daughter, that you are incorrigible, and that among the goddesses there is no rancor like yours." While El apparently denies her request in one text, in the other he yields to her rash demands, "Depart, my daughter; haughty is your heart. Take what is in your mind, carry out [what] is in your breast. Whoever hinders you will be destroyed." El's words are perhaps reflected in an eighth-century Akkadian text that praises Anat, "whose heroism among the goddesses has no equal."

Another famous scene from Ugaritic myth depicts Anat's bloodthirsty nature as she gleefully slaughters armies of human warriors. Delighting in the carnage of battle, Anat "wades in their blood up to her thighs." She adorns herself by placing her enemies' severed heads on a garland around her neck and their severed hands on a belt around her waist before she exultantly wades into the gore of battle a second time. Possibly a description of ritual cannibalism, this grisly scene clearly portrays the murderous quality of Anat's martial enthusiasm.

In contrast with her warlike attributes, Anat is also portrayed in Ugaritic myth as a compassionate goddess who pathetically grieves the death of her brother: "Like the heart of a cow for its calf, like the heart of a ewe for its lamb, such is the heart of Anat for Baal." On hearing of his death, Anat scours the earth in search of her slain brother's corpse, which she then buries with elaborate funerary sacrifices and mourning rites. Anat "gashes her cheeks and her chin" in a heartfelt display of ritual bloodletting. She then humbly entreats Mot, the Ugaritic god of death, to return her brother to her. After her diplomatic efforts have failed, however, Anat reverts to her more characteristic mode and viciously attacks Mot: "She seizes divine Mot; with a blade she splits him, with a sieve she winnows him, with fire she burns him, and with millstones she grinds him." Anat scatters his pulverized remains in a field for the birds to consume. This scene of utter annihilation demonstrates Anat's impulsive ferocity, but it also leads to Baal's restoration as ruler of the earth. Although the text is broken at this point, it is clear that Baal returns to power, bringing his fertilizing rains to the thirsty fields in a renewal of natural fecundity. The maiden Anat's hostile actions are thus crucial to the balance of cosmic power and the continuation of life on the earth in Ugaritic myth.

Anat's passionate disposition takes on a more sinister quality in the Ugaritic epic of Aqhat. In a scene that is perhaps related to Hellenistic accounts of Artemis and the Babylonian account of Ishtar's failed seduction of Gilgamesh, Anat attempts to wrest a divinely crafted bow from the young hero Aqhat. He disdains her offer of gold, silver, and immortality in exchange for the composite bow and insolently informs her that females are not meant to be warriors. Seeking revenge for the insult, Anat eventually has her henchman murder Aqhat. The bow, however, is lost, and Anat tearfully regrets her impulsive actions in killing the young man, an injustice that causes drought and famine in the land. The conclusion to this epic has yet to be recovered.

Anat was introduced into Egypt during the Hyksos period (c. 1650–1550 BCE) and became a patron goddess of the Ramesside era (c. 1295–1069 BCE) as the "Mistress of the Heavens," a martial goddess who gives victory in battle. Aramaic texts from the fifth-century BCE Jewish community in Elephantine, Egypt, refer to Anat-Bethel *(ʿntbytʾl)* and Anat-Yahu (*ʿntyhw*), which some scholars interpret as references to the goddess Anat as the consort of the gods Bethel ("House of God") and Yahweh, respectively. Other scholars translate the word *ʿnt* as "providence" or "sign" and understand it as the cultic hypostasis of the male deity rather than the appearance of Anat in the syncretistic Jewish literature. Anat-Bethel also appears in the list of divine witnesses to the seventh-century Assyrian treaty between King Baal of Tyre and Esarhaddon. Hellenistic sources sometimes equate Anat with the virgin warrior Athena, as in a fourth-century BCE bilingual inscription in Phoenician and Greek from Lapethos on Cyprus. Later traditions often identify Anat with other Canaanite goddesses, such as Astarte and Atargatis-Derketo.

SEE ALSO Baal.

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ANCESTORS

This entry consists of the following articles:

ANCESTOR WORSHIP
MYTHIC ANCESTORS
BALTIC CULT OF ANCESTORS

ANCESTORS: ANCESTOR WORSHIP

The term *ancestor worship* designates rites and beliefs concerning deceased kinsmen. Rites of ancestor worship include personal devotions, domestic rites, the ancestral rites of a kinship group such as a lineage, periodic rites on the death day of the deceased, and annual rites for collectivity of ancestors. Generally excluded from the category are rites for the dead having no specific reference to kinsmen, and beliefs about the dead in general that lack any special reference to kinship.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS AND RESEARCH PROBLEMS. Ancestor worship has attracted the enduring interest of scholars in many areas of the study of religion. In the late nineteenth century, it was identified as the most basic form of all religion, and subsequent studies of the subject in specific areas have provided a stimulating point of access to related problems of religion, society, and culture.

The worship of ancestors is closely linked to cosmology and worldview, to ideas of the soul and the afterlife, and to a society's regulation of inheritance and succession. In East Asia ancestor worship is found combined with the practice of Buddhism, and ancestral rites compose a major part of the practice of Confucianism. It is generally acknowledged that ancestor worship functions to uphold the authority of elders, to support social control, and to foster conservative and traditionalist attitudes. In addition, ancestor worship is clearly linked to an ethic of filial piety and obedience to elders.

The institution of ancestor worship is properly regarded as a religious practice, not as a religion in itself. It is generally carried out by kinship groups and seldom has a priesthood separable from them. It is limited to the practice of the ethnic group; there is no attempt to proselytize outsiders. Its ethical dimension primarily refers to the proper conduct of family or kinship relations. It does not have formal doctrine as such; where texts exist, these are mainly liturgical manuals. In most cases ancestor worship is not the only religious practice of a society; rather, it exists as part of a more comprehensive religious system.

The meaning of *worship* in *ancestor worship* is problematic. Ancestor worship takes a variety of forms in different areas, and its attitudinal characteristics vary accordingly. The ancestors may be regarded as possessing power equivalent to that of a deity and hence may be accorded cult status and considered able to influence society to the same extent as its deities. Typically, the conception of ancestors is strongly influenced by ideas of other supernaturals in the society's religious system. Ancestors may be prayed to as having the power to grant boons or allay misfortune, but their effectiveness is regarded as naturally limited by the bonds of kinship. Thus, a member of a certain lineage prays only to the ancestors of that lineage; it would be regarded as nonsensical to pray to ancestors of any other lineage. Accordingly, members of other lineages are excluded from the ancestral rites of kinship groups of which they are not members. The religious attitudes involved in the worship of ancestors include filial piety, respect, sympathy, and sometimes, fear.

The rites of death, including funerary and mortuary rituals, are regarded as falling within the purview of ancestor worship only when memorial rites beyond the period of death and disposition of the corpse are carried out as a regular function of a kinship group. Thus, the funerary rites and occasional memorials common in Europe and the United States are not regarded as evidence of ancestor worship. However, when ancestors are collectively and regularly accorded cult status by their descendants, acting as members of a kinship group, such practices are regarded as ancestor worship.

Dead or stillborn children, miscarriages, and abortions are generally conceptually distinguished from ancestors. For the most part these exceptional deaths are accorded very abbreviated funeral rites, if any, and they generally receive little memorial ritual. Like those who die in youth before marriage, their fate is regarded as especially pitiable and as a source of possible harm to the living.

The study of ancestor worship involves several different questions. How are the ancestors viewed in relation to their descendants? Is ancestor worship in some sense a reflection of actual relations between fathers and sons? In what circumstances are the ancestors viewed as capable of harming their descendants, and is the ancestors' benevolence or malevolence linked to descendants' sense of guilt toward them? What can be learned about relations of jural authority from studies of ancestor worship? What is the character of domestic rites? These often seem to reflect a feeling that the dead are still "living" in some sense, that they can be contacted and their advice sought. Studies in this area illumine attitudes toward death and reveal a very general perception that the dead gradually lose their individual characteristics and merge into an impersonal collectivity. A recent topic of research concerns the differing attitudes of women and men toward ancestors.

ANCESTOR WORSHIP IN THE HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF RELIGION. In *Principles of Sociology* (1877) Herbert Spencer wrote that "ancestor worship is the root of every religion." According to his view, the cult of heroes originated in the deification of an ancestor, and in fact all deities originate by an analogous process. Spencer's euhemerist theory rested on the idea, familiar in the scholarship of his day, that religion as a whole has a common origin from which its many forms derive. Knowledge of this original form would provide the key to understanding all subsequent developments.

Somewhat earlier Fustel de Coulanges wrote in *La cité antique* (1864) that the ancient societies of Greece and Rome were founded upon ancestor worship. Furthermore, when the beliefs and practices of ancestor worship were weakened, society as a whole was entirely transformed. In the view of de Coulanges, Greece and Rome were founded upon a common belief in the soul's continued existence after the body's death. The family that continued to worship its ancestors became society's basic unit, expanding gradually to the clan divisions of gens, phratry, and tribe. Eventually cities were founded, governed as quasi-religious associations by patrician families.

In *Totem and Taboo* (1913), Sigmund Freud postulated that the belief that the living can be harmed by the dead serves to reduce guilt experienced toward the dead. That is, in kinship relations characterized by conscious affection there is inevitably a measure of hostility; however, this hostility conflicts with the conscious ideal of affectionate relations and hence must be repressed. Repressed hostility is then projected onto the dead and takes the form of the belief that the dead are malevolent and can harm the living.

Meyer Fortes considerably refined Freud's hypothesis on the basis of African material. In *Oedipus and Job in West African Religion* (1959), Fortes found that among the Tallensi belief in the continued authority of ancestors, rather than fear of them, is the principle means of alleviating guilt arising from repressed hostility.

Among the Tallensi relations between fathers and sons are affectionate, but, because a son cannot attain full jural authority until his father's death, sons bear a latent resentment of their fathers. However, this resentment does not manifest itself as belief in the malevolence of the dead. Instead, the Tallensi believe that the authority of the father is granted to him by his ancestors, who demand from the son continued subordination. Thus the function of ancestor worship is to reinforce the general, positive valuation of the authority of elders, quite apart from the individual personality of any specific ancestor. A related function is to place a positive value upon subordination of the desires of the individual to the collective authority of tribal elders. This value is useful in ensuring the continued solidarity of the group.

In *Death, Property, and the Ancestors* (1966), Jack Goody studied ancestor worship among the LoDagaa of West Africa. Property to be inherited by descendants is not distributed until the death of the father. Prevented from commanding the full possession of this property, a son experiences a subconscious wish for the father's death. Repression of this guilt takes the form of the belief that the dead have eternal rights to the property they formerly held. In order to enjoy those rights, the dead must receive sacrifices from the living. If sacrifices are not forthcoming, the ancestors will afflict their descendants with sickness and misfortune. Thus beliefs concerning ancestral affliction are inextricably linked to social issues of inheritance and succession.

In "Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors," Arthur Wolf (1974) shows how Chinese concepts of a variety of supernatural beings closely correspond to social reality. In particular, the conception of ancestors replicates perceptions of parents, elders, and other kin. This is not to say that the living and dead are not distinguished, but that the same relations of authority and obedience are found among the living and in their rites for their ancestors.

ANCESTOR WORSHIP IN PRACTICE. This section describes the practice of ancestor worship in various cultural areas and in relation to several religious traditions.

Africa. Ancestor worship normally forms only one aspect of an African people's religion. A person without descendants cannot become an ancestor, and in order to achieve ancestorhood, proper burial, with rites appropriate to the person's status, is necessary. After an interval following death, a deceased person who becomes an ancestor is no longer perceived as an individual. Personal characteristics disappear from the awareness of the living, and only the value of the ancestor as a moral exemplar remains. Ancestors are believed to be capable of intervening in human affairs, but only in the defined area of their authority, that is, among their descendants.

In an important study of African ancestor worship, Max Gluckman (1937) established the distinction between ancestor worship and the cult of the dead. Ancestors represent positive moral forces who can cause or prevent misfortune and who require that their descendants observe a moral code. The cult of the dead, on the other hand, is not exclusively directed to deceased kinsmen, but to the spirits of the dead in general. Here spirits are prayed to for the achievement of amoral or antisocial ends, whereas ancestors can be petitioned only for ends that are in accord with basic social principles.

Among the Edo the deceased is believed to progress through the spirit world on a course that parallels the progress of his son and other successors. Events in this world are punctuated by rites and are believed to have a counterpart in the spirit world. Thus it may be twenty years before a spirit is finally merged into the collective dead and descendants can receive their full complement of authority. In this sense the ancestors continue to exert authority over their descendants long after death. Until that authority ceases, the son must perform rites as prescribed and behave in approved ways.

Among the Ewe of Ghana, ancestor worship is an important focal point of the whole society. It is the basis of the entire religious system and a point of reference for the conceptualization of all social relations. The Ewe believe that the human being has two souls. Before birth the being resides in the spirit world; it comes into this world when it finds a mother, and it returns to the spirit world at death. This cycle of movement through the realms is perpetual. The ancestors are invoked with libations on all ceremonial occasions. Rites range from simple, personal libations to complicated rituals involving an entire lineage. During a ritual, the soul of the ancestor returns to be fed through the ceremonial stool that serves as its shrine. In addition to individual stools, there is a lineage stool for lineage ancestors that is kept wrapped in silks or velvet.

The studies of Igor Kopytoff (1971) on the Suku of Zaire raise the question of the appropriateness of the term *ancestor worship.* The Suku have no term that can be translated as "ancestor"; they make no terminological distinction between the dead and the living. A single set of principles regulates relations between seniors and juniors. The dividing line between living and dead does not affect those principles. Thus it may be said among the Suku ancestor worship is an extension of lineage relations between elders and their juniors. Furthermore, lineages must be considered as communities of both living and dead. The powers attributed to ancestors can only be seen as a projection of the powers of living elders. In this sense the term *ancestor worship* can be misleading.

Melanesia. Ancestors are one of many types of spirits recognized by Melanesian tribal peoples. Regarding the role of ancestor worship in tribal life, Roy A. Rappaport's study *Pigs for the Ancestors* (1977) presents an innovative approach not seen in the study of ancestor worship in other areas. Among the highland Tsembaga, ancestral ritual is part of a complex ecological system in which a balanced cycle of abundance and scarcity is regulated. Yam gardens are threatened by the unhindered growth of the pig population, and human beings must supplement their starch-based diet with protein. Propelling this cycle is a belief that pigs must be sacrificed to the ancestors in great numbers. These sacrifices provide the Tsembaga with protein in great quantity. Pigs sacrificed when someone dies or in connection with intertribal warfare supplement the ordinary diet of yams, which is adequate for ordinary activity but not for periods of stress. Thus ancestor worship plays a vital role in the ecological balance of the tribe in its environment.

India. Ancestor worship in India takes a variety of forms, depending upon the area and the ethnic group concerned; however, providing food for the dead is a basic and widespread practice. Orthodox Hindu practice centers on an annual rite between August and September that includes offering sacred rice balls (*piṇḍa*) to the ancestors. The *Laws of Manu* includes specific instructions for ancestral offerings. Descendants provide a feast for the *brahmans,* and the merit of this act is transferred to the ancestors. The feast itself is called the Śrāddha. The form of this rite varies depending on whether it is observed during a funeral or in subsequent, annual observances. Texts prescribe ritual purifications and preparations in detail.

Buddhism. Based on a canonical story, the All Souls Festival, or Avalambana, is observed throughout Southeast and East Asia. The story concerns one of the Buddha's disciples, Maudgalyāyana, known for skill in meditation and supranormal powers. The mother of Maudgalyāyana appeared to her son in a dream and revealed to him that she was suffering innumerable tortures in the blackest hell because of her *karman.* Through magic Maudgalyāyana visited his mother in hell, but his power was of no avail in securing her release. Eventually the Buddha instructed him to convene an assembly of the priesthood, which then would recite sūtras and transfer the merit of those rites to ancestors. In other words, descendants must utilize the mediation of the priesthood in order to benefit ancestors. The result is an annual festival, traditionally observed on the day of the full moon of the eighth lunar month. At this festival special sūtra recitations and offering rites for the ancestors are held in Buddhist temples, and domestic rites differing in each country are performed. In addition to rites for ancestors, observances for the "hungry ghosts" and for spirits who have died leaving no descendants are performed.

Although one of the key concepts in early Indian Buddhism was the idea of no-soul (*anātman*), in fact the idea of a soul is widely accepted in East Asia. The idea of rebirth in human, heavenly, and subhuman forms is found combined with the idea that an eternal soul rests in an ancestral tablet or inhabits a world of the dead. The contradictions involved in this complex of ideas are not generally addressed as problematic by those who hold them.

In East Asia today the performance of ancestral and funeral ritual provides the Buddhist clergy with one of its greatest sources of revenue, a tendency particularly marked in Japan. The Buddhist clergy is typically employed to recite sūtras for the dead and to enshrine ancestral tablets in temples.

Shamanism. Throughout East Asia ancestor worship is found in close association with shamanistic practices. Shamanism in East Asia today consists in large part of mediumistic communications in which the shaman enters a trance and divines the present condition of a client's ancestors. These practices are based on the folk notion that if a person suffers from an unusual or seemingly unwarranted affliction, the ancestors may be the cause. If the ancestors are suffering, if they are displeased with their descendants' conduct, or if they are offered inappropriate or insufficient ritual, they may cause some harm to come to their descendants. However, it is only rarely that this belief is straightforwardly expressed as the proposition that ancestors willfully, malevolently afflict their descendants.

Chinese ancestor worship. An important component at work in the metaphysics of Chinese ancestor cults is indigenous theories of the soul. First of all, since Zhou times (c. 1123–221 BCE) the idea of the soul as the pale, ghostly shadow of a man has been a perduring notion found in popular stories. These apparitions are called *gui,* meaning demons, devils, and ghosts, as opposed to *shen,* the benevolent spirits of ancestors (a word used also to refer to all deities).

Together with this idea of the ghostly soul there developed a conception of the soul in terms of yin and yang. According to this theory, the yin portion of the soul, called *po,* may turn into a *gui* and cause misfortune if descendants do not perform proper ancestral rites. If the *po* is satisfactorily placated, however, it will rest peacefully. Meanwhile, the yang portion of the soul, called *hun,* associated with *shen,* will bless and protect descendants and their families. Thus Chinese ancestral rites have been motivated simultaneously by the fear of the vengeful dead and by the hope for ancestral blessings.

Chinese ancestor worship can be seen as two separate cults: one that expresses the unity of a lineage of lineage-segment, the so-called hall cult, and another directed to the recently deceased members of a household, the domestic cult. Lineage observances center upon an ancestral hall in which tablets representing lineage ancestors are enshrined and worshiped by descendants in a Confucian mode. Domestic rites center upon daily offerings at a home altar. Lineage ritual tends to formality and the expression of sentiments of obedience to the authority of ancestors and elders as a group, whereas domestic ritual focuses upon the expression of individual sentiments and continued relations between descendants and particular deceased individuals.

Chinese ancestor worship is closely linked to property inheritance; every deceased individual must receive offerings from at least one descendant who will provide him with sustenance in the next life. However, a specific person is only required to worship those ancestors from whom he has received property.

Confucianism. Confucianism lays heavy emphasis upon the correct practice of ancestral ritual. Special attention is given to minute details concerning the content and arrangement of offerings, proper dress, gesture and posture, and the order of precedence in appearing before ancestral altars. According to the *Book of Family Ritual* of the neo-Confucian scholar Zhu Xi, the *Zhuzi jiali,* commemoration of ancestors became primarily a responsibility of eldest sons, and women were excluded from officiating roles in the celebration of rites.

The highest virtue in Confucian doctrine is filial piety, quintessentially expressed in the worship of ancestors. When Buddhism was first introduced to China, one of Confucianism's strongest arguments against it was the assertion that Buddhism was in essence opposed to filial piety and was likely to disrupt the practice of ancestor worship. If sons took the tonsure and failed to perform ancestral rites, then not only would spirits in the other world suffer from lack of ritual attention but social relations in society would also be undermined.

In traditional Chinese society gravesites are located through a geomancer. Based upon the idea that an ideal confluence of "winds and waters" (*feng-shui*) benefits the dead and their descendants, a geomancer seeks a site in which the burial urn can be nestled in the curve of rolling hills and near running water. This combination of cosmic forces is believed to benefit the dead and to facilitate their progress in the other world. Lineages compete fiercely with one another for these scarce resources and may even forcibly remove unprotected urns so that new ones may occupy auspicious sites.

Korea. In Korea women and men hold quite different images of ancestors. A woman marries away from her natal village and enters her husband's household under the authority of his mother and father. The wife's relations with her husband's kin are expected to be characterized by strife and competition. Her membership in the husband's lineage is tenuous and is never fully acknowledged in ritual until her death. Because women's relation to the lineage is strained in these ways, they hold more negative views of the ancestors than do men. Women's negative conceptions are expressed in the idea that ancestors maliciously harm their descendants by afflicting them with disease and misfortune. Men worship ancestors in Confucian rites from which women are excluded, while women perform rites for ancestors in a shamanic mode, utilizing widespread networks of shamans, most of whom are women. This gender-based bifurcation in ancestor worship is a special characteristic of Korean tradition.

Japan. Since the Tokugawa period (1600–1868) Japanese ancestor worship has mainly been carried out in a Buddhist mode, though Shintō rites also exist. As in China, ancestral ritual reflects relations of authority and inheritance, but instead of lineage rites, rites are performed by main and branch households of the traditional family system, the *ie.* Branch families (*bunke*) accept the ritual centrality of the main household (*honke*) by participating in its rites in a subordinate status. The *honke* does not reciprocate. In addition to *honke-bunke* rites, domestic rites performed before a Buddhist altar are a prominent feature of Japanese ancestral worship.

In *Ancestor Worship in Contemporary Japan* (1973) Robert Smith demonstrates that sympathy often provokes the Japanese to enshrine the tablets of entirely unrelated persons in their own domestic altars. They may also keep duplicate tablets out of personal attachment to a deceased person and with no feeling that sanctions will be forthcoming if they fail to do so. Thus, in addition to its reflection of kinship relations, ancestor worship becomes a means of expressing affection.

The "new religions" of Japan are a group of several hundred associations that have appeared in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Whether their doctrine is derived from Shintō or Buddhism, most reserve a special place for ancestor worship in some form. Reiyukai Kyodan (Association of Friends of the Spirits) represents a rare example of a religious group in which worship of ancestors is the main focus of individual and collective rites. Reverence for ancestors in the new religions and in Japanese society in general is closely linked to social and political conservatism and to a traditionalist preference for the social mores of the past.

SEE ALSO Afterlife, article on Chinese Concepts; Domestic Observances, article on Chinese Practices; Family; Genealogy; Soul, article on Chinese Concepts.

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HELEN HARDACRE (1987)
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ANCESTORS: MYTHIC ANCESTORS

Cosmogonic myths are narratives that depict the creation of the world by divine beings. In many cosmogonic myths a supreme being or high god creates the world, after which other divine beings come into being, who in the form of culture heroes or other types of gods reveal the realm of the sacred, death, sexuality, sacred geography, and the methods of food production. The narrative of the cosmogonic myth moves from the initial creation of the world to the revelation of the archetypal actions and gestures of divine beings and culture heroes, thus describing a sacred history of primordial times. These divine beings and culture heroes form the ancestral lineages of the human race. The situation of the human race is based upon the activities, adventures, discoveries, and disappearance of these first creative ancestors, who appeared in sacred history.

PRIMORDIAL RUPTURES. In the Mesopotamian myth *Enuma elish,* a tension develops between the first creators and their offspring. This tension leads to a rupture in the initial creation and a struggle between its gods and their offspring. In the ensuing battle, the foundation is established for human existence. In the *Enuma elish,* the god Marduk is the leader of the offspring who fight Tiamat, the mother. In the battle Tiamat is slain, and her body becomes the earth on which human beings live. Certain archetypes for human existence are established as a result of this battle: the cooperation between the offspring gods becomes a model for cooperative enterprise among human beings, which the death of Tiamat affirms. In the biblical myth of the *Book of Genesis,* Adam and Eve live in Paradise with the creator god. When they sin they become the archetypal ancestors of the human community, for they now must experience sexuality, birth, labor, and death, the universal lot of all human beings.

A Dogon myth from West Africa describes a similar situation. The god Amma began creation by first forming a cosmic egg, in which the embryos of twin deities matured; they were to become perfect beings. One of the twins became impatient and decided to leave the egg before maturation. In so doing it tore out part of the placenta and fell to what is now the earth, creating a place of habitation from the torn placenta of the egg. This was an incomplete creation, however, and Amma, to rectify the situation, sacrificed the other twin. Even with this sacrifice, the creation could not be made perfect. Instead of creating perfect beings who were both androgynous and amphibious, Amma was forced to compromise. Thus, humans are not androgynous but rather composed of two sexes; they are not amphibious but essentially terrestrial; they do not live continuously in a perfect state of illumination (composed of equal parts of dark and light), as was the original intention of Amma, but in two alternating modes of full light and darkness. In addition to this, the opposing natures of the obedient and the malevolent twin, who are the ancestors of all human beings on earth, define modes of life throughout the universe.

In myths of this kind we are able to recognize what Mircea Eliade (1969) identified as two forms of primordiality. There is, first of all, the primordiality defined by the great creator deities who brought the world into being. Their creativity is inaccessible to ordinary human beings and they appear remote and unconcerned with the human condition. There is another primordiality that can be recognized in the tension and rupture between the creator deities and other deities who enter upon adventures and exploits that define the archetypal modes for human existence. Through these activities, the creator deities bring the sacred into the existential modes of human existence and are seen as the ancestors of human beings.

In some cultures, the cosmogonic myths make no reference to great creator deities. The narrative begins with the second primordiality and the action is that of the culture hero, whose actions create the human condition. Among the Kwakiutl Indians of North America, the culture hero is Transformer and comes upon the scene as a human being living in a human family. Whenever he discovers human deceit or error, he transforms the human being into a bird or other animal, thus filling the landscape with the food supply necessary for human existence. In this manner Transformer sets the rules for the production and consumption of food and for reincarnation (to ensure a continuous supply of food). Prior to the actions of Transformer there is no order in the cosmos. After his participation in the production of the food supply, all other forms of order—within the family, society, and so on—come into being. The chiefs of the segmented social units *(numaym)* are each related to an animal ancestor. In fact, following upon the transformation of humans into animals, the Kwakiutl believe that animals and spirits lead lives that are exactly equivalent to those of human beings. Animals are considered to be human beings who are wearing masks and costumes created by their animal forms.

The second primordiality also dominates the myth of what Adolf E. Jensen (1963) has called "cultivator cultures." In a myth cited from the Indonesian island of Ceram, he describes a type of deity referred to by the indigenous peoples as a *dema* deity. The activity of these deities goes back to the end of the first primordial period. They sometimes possess human form and at other times animal form. The decisive event in their lives is the killing of one *dema* deity by another, which establishes the human condition. Before the death of the *dema,* the human condition is not characterized by sexual differentiation or death; it is only after the death of the *dema* that these aspects come into existence. The *dema* come at the end of primordial time and are thus the first of all human ancestors. Through the death of the *dema,* human beings are accepted again within their community. In myths of this kind the ancestors are gods, heroes, or divine beings, who through their actions make possible and render meaningful the human condition as it is, with all of its possibilities and limitations, and it is through them that the human condition possesses a divine presence.

Ancestors not only set forth the general and universal human condition; they are also the founders of clans, families, moieties, and other segments of the human community. N. D. Fustel de Coulanges's classic work *The Ancient City* (1901) describes how ancient Greek and Roman families were founded by ancestors who were heroes or divine beings. The family cult was at once the basis for the order and maintenance of the family and a cult of the ancestor. Similar notions are present among Australian Aborigines, where each totemic group has its own totemic ancestor who controls the food supply and is the basis for authority and marriages among the groups. In almost the same manner, the Tucano Indians of Colombia understand their origins as arising from mythical ancestors, the Desána, who revealed all the forms of nature and modes of being to the human community.

An exemplary expression of the cult of ancestors is found in Chinese religions. It is the duty of Chinese sons to provide for and revere their parents in this life and the life after death; this is a relationship of reciprocity. The household is composed of the living and the dead; the ancestors provide and sustain the foundations of spiritual order upon which the family is based, while the living keep the family in motion. The living are always under the tacit judgment of their ancestors, on account of which they attempt to conduct their lives in an honorable manner.

THE FOUNDING OF CITIES. Not only do divine ancestors and culture heroes form the lineages of families and totemic groups, they are equally present at the beginnings of almost every city foundation in ancient and traditional cultures. Cain in the biblical story is the culture hero who founds the city of Enoch; Romulus is the founder of Rome; Quetzalcoatl, of Tollan. In Southeast Asia, the founding of states and kingship follow the archetypes of the Hindu god Indra.

The founding of a city may be a response to the experience of a hierophany. Hierophanies of space, or ceremonial centers, are revelations of the sacred meaning of space itself. The divine beings or culture heroes who found cities derive their power from such sacred ceremonial centers. In some cases, a sacrifice is necessary to appease the gods of the location; thus, many of the myths involving the founding of cities relate a story of twins, one of whom is killed or sacrificed, as in the case of Cain's slaying of Abel, or Romulus's murder of Remus. In one of the mythological cycles of Quetzalcoatl, for example, a magical combat takes place in which Quetzalcoatl kills his uncle.

The ancestors as founders of a city establish the archetypes for all domesticated space. The normalization of activities in the space of the city, whether in terms of family structures or the public meanings of space, are guaranteed by the founding ancestor. All other establishments or reestablishments of cities will follow the model of the archetypal gestures of the founding ancestor of the city. The ruler of the city represents and symbolizes the presence of the divine ancestor, and elaborate rituals of rulership take place at certain temporal intervals to commemorate and reestablish the founding gestures.

DEATH. In some myths death enters the world because of an action, inaction, or quarrel among the creator deities. They may have simply forgotten to tell human beings whether they were immortal or not, or the creator deity allows death to enter the world. In a myth from Madagascar two gods create human beings: the earth god forms them from wood and clay, the god of heaven gives them life. Human beings die so that they may return to the origins of their being.

In most mythic scenarios, however, death is the result of a sacred history that introduces the second meaning of primordiality. Through ignorance, interdiction, or violence, a break is made by the divine offspring from the creator deity, and in this rupture is the origin of death. The origin of the abode of the dead is equally located in this event, for, in the mythic scenarios, the rupture creates divisions in space among which a place of the dead comes into being. For example, in the Dogon myth mentioned above, the placenta of the god Amma is the earth, and at death one returns to the earth which was the original stuff of creation.

Funerary rituals are very important, for they assure that the dead will arrive in the correct manner at the abode of the ancestors. The souls of the dead must be instructed and led on the right path lest they become lost. At death the deceased is vulnerable and subject to the attack of malevolent spirits. Funerary rituals prescribe the correct behavior and route to be taken by the dead to the land of the ancestors.

SEE ALSO Animals; Archetypes; Center of the World; Cities; Cosmogony; Culture Heroes; Death; Deus Otiosus; Fall, The; Funeral Rites; Totemism.

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ANCESTORS: BALTIC CULT OF ANCESTORS

Despite the cultural and historical similarities between the Baltic peoples of Latvia and Lithuania, several different approaches to research on Baltic religion have developed. Lithuanian scholars, who consider relics of the cult of ancestors as part of their pre-Christian world, have primarily studied written sources, drawing as well on archaeological, linguistic, folklore, and ethnographic data. By contrast, in reconstructing the Latvian religious tradition, Latvian scholars have looked to not only the previously mentioned sources, but they have leaned heavily on information found in a specific folklore genre, that of poetic quatrains called *dainas,* the majority of which are intended to be sung. *Dainas* have a specific formulaic structure and are characterized by a high level of abstraction, as well as a functional realism. These characteristics allowed strata of archaic, cultural, and historical information to survive up to the time when *dainas* were first written down during the second half of the nineteenth century. In these quatrains are found such religious beings from the pre-Christian era as the mother of the shades, the mother of graves, the mother of sand, and the mother of the earth, complete with elaborate character portraits and descriptions of their respective spheres of influence.

Few in-depth studies have been done either in Latvia or Lithuania on the question of ancestor worship. With the exception of a number of monographs, the most significant work in this field consists of isolated references within descriptive and analytical works on Baltic religion and cultural traditions regarding family feasts and calendar festivities. The most important work on pre-Christian Baltic religion continues to be Marija Gimbutas's *The Balts* (1963) and Wilhelm Mannhardt's *Letto-Preussische Götterlehre* (Latvian-Prussian mythology, 1936), in which Mannhardt analyzes works by various authors.

LATVIA. The pre–World War II era is considered the most productive period in research on pre-Christian Baltic religion and the cult of ancestors. The most important studies to come out of this period were by Pēteris Šmits, Mārtiņš Bruņenieks, Kārlis Straubergs, and Ludvigs Adamovičs. Šmits, in his 1918 study *Latviešu mitoloģija* (Latvian mythology), considers ancestor worship as a particularly important building block in the worldview of humanity. With that in mind, he describes Latvian mourning practices, the concept of an afterlife, and the religious images that link humans to the world of the dead, and he compares these to traditions of other cultures. Mārtiņš Bruņenieks, in his comparative study *Senlatviešu reliģiskais pasaules uzskats* (Ancient Latvian religious views of the world, 1937), applies the animism theory to analyze the Baltic cult of ancestors and compares it to the religious beliefs of other peoples, such as the Babylonians, the Egyptians, and the Greeks. In *Senlatviešu reliģija agrīnā dzelzs laikmetā* (The religion of ancient Latvians in the early Iron Age, 1930), Adamovičs devotes special sections to ancestor worship, examining archeological materials, written historical records from the thirteenth century on, documented accounts, ethnographic descriptions and folklore texts, and folk beliefs and songs recorded in the nineteenth century.

Eduards Šturms analyzes burial practices of the Baltic peoples in *Chroniku un senrakstu ziņas par baltu tautu bēŗu parašām* (Information on Baltic burial practices sourced from chronicles and ancient texts, 1938), using historical sources from the thirteenth, fourteenth, and first half of the fifteenth century. Using archaeological data, Šturms separates out distinct Baltic peoples consisting of Prussians, Curonians, Zhemaits, and Aukshtaitians, and he describes their burial practices. In *Lettisk folktro om de döda* (Latvian folk beliefs about the dead, 1949), Kārlis Straubergs looks at burial practices and the Baltic concept of the afterlife within the context of ancestor worship by other European nations. Similar aspects of the Latvian ancestor cult are discussed in other works by the same author. For example, Straubergs deals exclusively with this topic in his essay "Hanovijs par dvēseļu kultu pie latviešiem" *(*Hanovijs on the cult of the dead among Latvians, 1925). Straubergs also includes material on the cult of ancestors within the larger context of Latvian sacral issues in books like *Pār deviņi novadiņi* (Across the country, 1995) and in his collection of essays, *Latvju kultūra* (Latvian culture, 1948).

Osvalds Līdaks's *Latviešu svētki: Latviešu svinamās dienas* (Latvian feasts: Latvian calendar festivities, 1940s/1991) describes, based on Latvian folklore material, annual Latvian celebrations, including those linked to the cult of ancestors. Haralds Biezais's *Germanische und Baltische Religion*

(German and Baltic religion, 1975) offers an in-depth analysis of the Baltic and Latvian view of the world, including a discussion of the cult of ancestors and related deities.

Among later works that include some references to ancestor worship, Edīte Olupe's *Latviešu gadskārtu ieražas* (Latvian calendar festivity traditions, 1992) contains a segment describing season-based ancestor worship. In a doctoral thesis titled "Priekšstati par mirušo pasauli latviešu bēru tautasdziesmās" (Concepts of the world of the dead in Latvian burial folksongs, 1992) Guntis Pakalns charts the location of the world of the dead in the binary world model as described in Latvian mythological concepts. The unique features of Latvian burial practices and afterlife concepts as reflected in Latvian folklore have also been examined by Janīna Kursīte in *Latviešu folklora mītu spogulī* (Latvian folklore in the mirror of mythology, 1996) and *Mītiskais folklorā, literatūrā, mākslā* (The mythical in folklore, literature, and art, 1999). Kursīte has also delved into the semantics of two Latvian religious beings associated with the worship of ancestors: Zemes māte (the mother of the earth) and Veļu māte (the mother of the shades). Additionally, an analysis of the comparative Latvian and Lithuanian traditions of the feeding of dead souls and the development of those traditions over time can be found in Rūta Muktupāvela's essay "Ubagu mielošana: Žēlsirdība vai kontraktuālā darbība"(The feeding of beggars: Charity or contractual act, 1997).

LITHUANIA. In Lithuania, Jonas Basanavičius was one of the first scholars to do a comparative analysis of the Baltic perspective and beliefs on life after death. In *Iš gyvenimo vėlių ir velnių* (From the lives of dead souls and devils, 1903) Basanavičius begins his study of an extensive folklore collection by examining Baltic (Prussian, Latvian, and Lithuanian) ancestral culture. The book contains information on burial and remembrance practices from the ninth to the nineteenth centuries, drawn from historical sources as well as from archaeological digs of the late nineteenth century. Jonas Balys's *Dvasios ir žmonės: Liaudies sakmės* (Dead souls and people: Folk tales, 1951) and *Mirtis ir laidotuvės* (Death and burial, 1981) cite and comment on Lithuanian folktales and beliefs recorded before World War II about the dead and life after death, including descriptions of the tradition of feeding the dead.

For an analysis of ancestor worship as it pertains to concepts of a chthonic world in traditional culture, an excellent source is Norbertas Vėlius's *Chtoniškasis lietuvių mitologijos pasaulis* (The chthonic world in Lithuanian mythology, 1987). This study is particularly useful for its extensive research data on the Baltic cult of ancestors. The same is true of Vėlius's fundamental work *Baltų Religijos ir mitologijos šaltiniai* (Baltic religious and mythological sources, 1996/2001), which has become more and more valued in modern research. Gintaras Beresnevičius's *Dausos* (The world of the shades, 1990), analyzes individual elements in Baltic afterlife concepts through symbolic images found in folklore related to death and the dead. Also worthy of mention is Beresnevičius's article "Protėvių kultas: Vėlių maitinimas" (Ancestor worship: Feeding of the dead, 1996), in which he interprets the semantics of the Lithuanian cult of ancestors and the factors behind its development based on historical, archaeological, ethnographic, and folklore material. Arūnas Vaicekauskas's "Nekrokultas kalendorinėse apeigose" (Calendar festivity customs of the cult of ancestors, 1999) emphasizes that at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century the cult of ancestors was an integral part of agricultural rituals; its followers viewed it as inseparable from nature and the concept of life and death as a unified whole. Daiva Vaitkevičienė and Vykintas Vaitkevičius's "Mirtis, laidotuvės ir atminai" (Death, burial, and prayers for the souls of the dead, 1998) provides an analysis, based on archeological and historical sources, of ancestor cult characteristics, and also interprets mythological and religious concepts reflected in Lithuanian ethnography.

THE CULT OF ANCESTORS AT THE TURN OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY. Socially significant forms of ancestor worship, both in Latvia and Lithuania, fit into Christian-oriented beliefs and religious practices and are influenced by the traditions of all denominations. In Lithuania, ancestor worship coincides with the Catholic calendar, according to which November 2 is Vėlinės, a day devoted to the remembrance of the dead and designated as a national holiday. On this day Lithuanians light candles, place flowers on graves, and attend special church services dedicated to the departed. Within the family the dead are also remembered on Christmas Eve in a festival called Kūčios, named for a ritual meal of sprouted grains and honey. Even today the mistress of the household will leave a portion of the Christmas feast on the table all night to feed the souls of the dead.

The Latvian Dead Souls Remembrance Day falls on the last Sunday in November, but it has not been designated a national holiday. However, Latvians, unlike Lithuanians, continue to celebrate Kapu svētki (literally, "graveyard celebration," with the meaning of "celebration of ancestral burial places"), which includes features of ancestor worship. This celebration typically takes place in the second half of summer or at the beginning of autumn. During the celebration, hymns are sung at the graveyard and ministers hold a service and bless the graves. Loved ones and relatives of the dead usually attend the service in great numbers, and following the official ceremony they meet in a relative's home or even behind the graveyard wall to partake of a special meal. Remembering the departed and their good deeds, the celebrants drink beer or spirits. In many cases this celebration is the only time during the year when all the extended members of a family congregate in one place.

Elements of the cult of ancestors can be found in some contemporary religious systems, such as Dievturība (literally, "religion of those who keep their God") in Latvia and Romuva in Lithuania, both of which developed in the twentieth century. The ideology of these religious movements is based on an attempt to reconstruct the pre-Christian view of the world that included worship of ancient Baltic deities. Followers of these movements call on the authority of ancestors in life's critical moments, and with the help of ritual practices and offerings ask for their benevolence.

The Baltic Cult of Ancestors in a Cultural and Historical Context. Ancestor worship in the Baltics has survived in the tradition of Indo-European farming cultures, as evidenced specifically in the view that the dead continue to be present among the living, at least for a short period, or that after death they periodically leave the netherworld to "return home to take a look," according to the folklorist Vaitkevičienė (1998). The visiting dead seemingly have the power to affect the well-being of the community of the living, and to punish violations or disrespectful behavior towards the order of things as defined by the ancestors.

There are various cultural and historical reasons—low population density, single-family farms, and the presence of xenophobic elements in the traditional culture—why, after the official introduction of Christianity into the Baltics, it functioned rather formally. As recently as the twentieth century, ethnologists in Latvia and Lithuania recorded original eyewitness accounts of practices that do not fit into the official Christian system of practices regarding honoring the dead and that are considered remnants of the Baltic cult of ancestors.

The Baltics were converted to Christianity relatively late: Latvia in the thirteenth century and Lithuania at the turn of the fifteenth century. The representatives of this new religion—missionaries, monks, and travelers from Christian Europe—observed, recorded, and interpreted local religious practices within the context of their own experience in the Baltic milieu. In its directives and edicts, the Christian Church recorded practices that it unequivocally considered pagan and therefore candidates for eradication. For example, it is written in the Riga District Council Statutes (*Statuta Provincialia Concilii Rigensis*) of 1428:

> Up to the present time, certain peasants in this country stubbornly maintain their archaic pagan customs, often holding feasts in the graveyard for their departed ancestors and friends, leaving them food and drink, in the belief that this will bring them peace. Sincerely hoping to destroy other such signs of paganism as well as this one, we order the lords and vassals of this land, particularly the leaders of the church, to make a special effort to threaten and punish these people for such destructive Godless evil. (Vėlius, 1996, p. 614)

Proof that the Christian church did not have an easy time destroying these "archaic pagan customs" can be found in seventeenth-century records of church visitations, which admit that Latvian peasants continued to feed the souls of the dead and that they could not "be dissuaded" from this practice (Šmits, 1941, 325220).

Honoring the Dead according to the Traditional Calendar. There are special words in the Baltic languages to refer to the dead: in Latvian, *velis*; in Lithuanian, *vėlė*. Both words, according to linguists, originated in the common Indo-European root-form **wel-*, which has several meanings, including "to wound" or "to kill." Many special names that can be traced back to the seasonal remembrance period honoring the cult of ancestors have survived in the Latvian language; examples include: Dieviņi, Pauri, Iļģi, and Veļi (different local names for the souls of the dead); and Tēvu dienas, Iļģu laiks, and Vecļaužu dienas (names for the festival commemorating the dead). For Lithuanians, even the name of their festival honoring the dead has survived to the present time: Vėlinės, originating in the word *vėlė*. Another name for the festival, Ilgės, is mentioned in written historical sources, and Lithuanian dialects include various names for the celebration, such as Diedai, Stalai, Uždūšinės, Ažinkai, and Šermenia.

The cult of ancestors in the lives of the Balts cannot be separated from the seasonal cycle because the ancestor cult is linked to the beliefs of a farming culture and the influence of the dead on fertility and productivity. Thus, in one way or another, the themes of ancestor worship, or at minimum their remembrance, show up in all endeavors associated with agrarian rites. Moreover, the dominant seasons in the cycle of ancestor worship were primarily autumn and winter. Thus, in Latvia the period of the dead was generally considered to be from September 29 (Saint Michael's Day) to October 29 (Simjuda's Day, a folk composite of the words Simon and Judas), or even up to November 10 (Saint Martin's Day). In some places only one night, from November 1 to 2, was dedicated to honoring the dead. Likewise, in Lithuania most rituals relating to ancestor worship took place in autumn, particularly in October and the beginning of November. Such rituals were also practiced at Christmas. For both Latvians and Lithuanians these were considered to be among the most important celebrations. Already in the fifteenth century, the historian Jan Długosz wrote in his *Historia Polonica* (History of Poland) that the annual October celebrations with their offerings to the souls of the departed were very important and could not be ignored. Latvians of the seventeenth century thought them no less significant, believing that "if one does not honor the dead, one will not have a good year but rather will experience a poor harvest and hunger" (Šmits, 1941, 32520).

Feeding of the Dead. Evidently in ancient times in the Baltic milieu, the cult of ancestors had not become standardized into one coherent system; hence, a great variety of ritual forms existed. Ethnographic material indicates that within a single era ancestor worship could take place either in a graveyard, in a birch grove considered to be sacred, or at the foot of big rocks or trees. Frequently the worship also took place in living quarters or farm buildings, such as a barn, granary, or bathhouse. Ritual practices were harmonized with local traditions, and, despite variations in such rituals, historical and ethnographic material allows them to be categorized into specific activities that were considered dominant in the Baltic cult of ancestors.

One of the important expressions of ancestor worship was the feeding of dead souls, a fully developed and logical outcome of traditional culture that aimed to harmonize and reconcile the world of the living with the netherworld, to maintain morality standards, and to guarantee the survival of existing lifestyle patterns. The dead souls feast was accompanied by prayer, calling out of the names of departed ancestors, and an invitation for them to cleanse themselves in the bathhouse. Frequently the event also included fire rituals. At times the meal was simply taken to the graveyard, bathhouse, barn, or granary and left there for the night. In the morning the mistress of the house would see if the food had been touched in order to learn whether the dead had a benevolent or malevolent relationship with the living. The feeding of dead souls constituted a contractual activity whereby the living remembered, honored, and looked after the departed, who in turn were responsible for a good harvest, productivity, and the well-being of the living, protecting them from cataclysms of nature and other undesirable events. According to traditional views, the departed had the ability to accomplish these feats because they existed in a sacral dimension that was superior to the profane. People believed that if the dead did not adequately fulfill their responsibilities, they could be punished: "The master of the house opened the door and taking up a whip struck all those places where he thought a dead soul sat. . .and thinking that he had sufficiently skinned them all, went to the doorway and said 'Now you can leave, but don't even think of repeating your performance of previous years.'" (Šmits, 1941, 32541).

According to the folklorist Jonas Balys, documented ethnographic accounts indicate that the peasants prepared special dishes to take to the graveyard and leave at the graves of their relatives. The worship of the dead was particularly impressive in Lithuania, even as recently as the nineteenth century. Relatives would gather, and led by the oldest member of the family they would go together to the graveyard, bringing food and drink and singing special hymns in honor of the dead. At the cemetery the family elder would point in all directions of the compass and call out all the names of the dead that he could remember. Then the family members would pour, again in all directions, beer, home-made spirits, mead, and milk, and they would place bread, meat, and other foods on the graves.

Information on graveyard feasts honoring the dead in Latvia can be found in written sources dating back to the fifteenth century. Seventeenth-century church visitation records include a reference to food, eggs, and beer being left on graves in the region of Vidzeme, with a written request asking: "Old folks, please help our barley and rye to grow well, and our horses and farm animals grow strong!" (Šmits, 1941, 32523). If the ancestor worship took place in the farmhouse or in a farm outbuilding, then one of the first things the worshipers did was to invite the dead souls in. When the mistress of the house had set the table, the master lit candles or kindling and called the dead ancestors by name, asking them to come dine and drink. The farmers of Vidzeme, hoping to receive especially benevolent treatment from the dead, saddled their horses and rode to the graveyard or to the nearest tavern in order to bring back the dead souls so that they could partake of the prepared feast.

The purpose of lighting candles or kindling at the beginning of the feast was "to provide the dead souls with better lighting for dining" (Šmits, 1941, 32545), so that "the dead souls can see their food" (Balys, 1993, p. 286). If the food was left in the barn or granary, lit candles or kindling was also left behind. According to nineteenth-century accounts, this custom sometimes caused fires, but the practice continued, regardless. The candles and kindling were also lit at the end of the feast to send the dead souls back to their graves. If the ancestors dined in the graveyard, certain rituals associated with fire were practiced as well. In the southern region of Lithuania that meant actually building a bonfire.

According to Vaitkevičienė, prior to the feast of the dead the worshipers thought it important to cleanse themselves and to heat up the bathhouse for the anticipated visitors from the netherworld, laying out clean linens and shirts for them. In the Kurzeme region of Latvia the custom was to leave a pail of milk, clean water, and a clean towel each night so that "the dead souls who were walking about that night could wash themselves" (Šmits, 1941, 32535, 32540, 32558).

One can also find in both Latvian and Lithuanian ethnographic accounts the practice of "pouring off" (Latvian, *noliešana*). This custom referred to the pouring of a first drink or the throwing of the first or best morsel from the feast under the table, behind the stove, into a corner of the room, or into the hearth. The practice is also mentioned in historical sources, such as Długosz's *Historia Polonica,* as well as the sixteenth-century *De diis Samagitarum caeterorumque Sarmatarum et falsorum Christianorum* (About gods of Samogitians, other Sarmats, and false Christians) by Jan Łasicki. From the 1593 *Annuae Litterae Societatis Jesu* (Annual Jesuit report) we learn that the Zhemaits, the inhabitants of the western part of Lithuania, were in the habit of throwing the first morsel of food under the table, thereby "sending it off to the dead" (Vėlius, 2001, p. 618).

In the Zemgale region of Latvia, records show that the first morsel of food was intended for the deity of horses, the deity of the barn, and other spirits who lived behind the stove, in the piles of stones of collapsed buildings, or in big old trees with rotted hollows. The master of the house himself hid the first morsel of every dish in various places "so that no one would see or notice it" (Šmits, 1941, 32546). Similar practices also existed in the Vidzeme region of Latvia.

The relevance and persistence of this practice of leaving food morsels is evident in the following account recorded in 1996 in western Lithuania: "During the entire sacred feast period meat is served but the diners remain standing and do not sit. The whole family stands and then the food is served and the first spoonful is poured under the table. One spoonful. A second. A third. And only then the people eat for the food poured under the table is for the dead" (Vaitkevičienė, 1998, p. 255).

In the nineteenth century another important custom developed as part of the ritual associated with ancestor worship. Even though food intended for the dead continued to be taken to graveyards well into the twentieth century, people also started giving it to beggars. In Dzūkija, the southwestern region of Lithuania, prior to every holy day and every day of remembrance for the dead the mistress of the house baked beggar's bread called *dziedu duona.* In the morning, after breakfast, prayers, and various other remembrance rituals, she put four loaves of this bread in a basket, along with porridge, meat, and other food items; then, instead of taking them to the graveyard, she took them to church and distributed them to beggars. In return, the beggars would promise to pray for the dead and also for a good harvest and a lot of honey in the coming year. Similar accounts in other regions of Lithuania encourage scholars to conclude that the functions of the ancient ancestor cult were slowly transferred to beggars. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, beggars were considered in the traditional culture as the dregs of society, but also, like departed ancestors, as intermediaries between this world and the netherworld.

FOOD AND LIBATIONS SERVED AT THE DEAD SOULS FEAST. The remembrance of the dead celebrations typically took place in autumn, after the harvesting was completed. The feast for the dead souls was prepared using certain grains and meat from animals raised and slaughtered on the farm. An enormous variety of food and drink was included in the feast, ranging from common milk products, such as cheese and butter, to more unusual items made from hemp and poppy seeds. Baked goods were common feast items, and included *plāceņi* or *pīrāgi,* types of buns and filled pastries made from newly harvested grains. Often the dead would be offered legumes, such as peas and beans. In Latvia the dead dined on *grūsli* or *pītes*, little round dumplings made of cooked peas, beans, and potatoes mixed with finely chopped hemp seeds.

Lithuanians, during the autumn and winter calendar festivities, made, and still make, tiny rye and wheat dumplings called *kleckučiai*, which were eaten accompanied by hemp or poppy milk. This milk was prepared from seeds that were roasted, crushed, and mixed with sugared water. It was considered important during the feast to partake of the meat dishes, along with offering them to dead souls and beggars. The meat could be homegrown fowl, pork, or beef. A much valued meat, especially on Saint Martin's Day, was rooster, as well as pork with sauerkraut and blood sausage. Soup made from fatty meat, grits, flour, and potatoes was also highly regarded in Lithuania. In addition, milk and honey are often mentioned as part of the dead souls feast in both Latvia and Lithuania. As for alcoholic drinks, beer, mead, and homemade spirits were all specially prepared and taken to the graveyard as part of the celebration.

RELIGIOUS ICONS ASSOCIATED WITH THE CULT OF ANCESTORS. The religious aspect of the cult of ancestors is reflected in concrete icons or images whose responsibilities coincided with those accredited to ancestors, namely, benevolence, fertility, and productivity. In describing the fifteenth-century dead soul festivities of the Zhemaits, Długosz writes that on October 1 throughout the western region of Lithuania, people celebrated "a great festival" during which they made offerings to their pagan gods, including first and foremost the god they called Perkuno (*Deo lingua eorum appellato Perkuno*). Their hope was that through these offerings they would strengthen their ties with their ancestors (Vėlius, 1996, p. 560).

Various Baltic deities and spirits mentioned by the following folklorists deserve further scholarly research since their function or role has not yet been fully determined. Alexander Guagnini describes sixteenth-century autumn festivities during which the first morsels of food were offered to the god Ziemiennik with the words "*Haec tibi o Ziemiennik deus*" (This is for you, oh God Ziemiennik), (Vėlius, 2001, p. 471). Jan Łasicki confirms that offerings were made to the god Ziemiennik during the festivities of Ilģi (Vėlius, 1996, p. 596). Łasicki refers to the god of dead souls as Vielona, to whom offerings were made during the feast of dead souls (Vėlius, 2001, p. 595). Matthäus Prätorius considers the deity representing dead souls to be a goddess by the name of Źeminėlė (Mannhardt, 1936, p. 62). The Jesuit Petrus Culesius, in his account of a dead souls remembrance day in the Rezekne area in the seventeenth century, mentions Lelo Deves and Zemes Deves (Straubergs, 1939, p. 777). And Latvian researchers of folklore, such as Šmits and Kursīte, associate non-Christian deities with the world of the dead, including Zemes māte and Veļu māte, as well as Rūšu māte (the mother of rusty earth), Kapu māte (the mother of graves), and Smilšu māte (the mother of sand).

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Rūta Muktupāvela (2005)
Translated by Margita Gailītis and Vija Kostoff

ANCHOR.

While the anchor has had some currency in various cultures as a symbol relating to the sea and to virtues like constancy and hope, its religious significance became paramount only with the growth of Christianity. In fact, the anchor as we know it and as the object early Christians turned into a symbol did not appear until well into Roman times; the Greeks used an anchor that was essentially an arrangement of sandbags.

Both the appearance and the function of the anchor played a role in its development as a religious symbol. Early Christians saw in it an allegorical and disguised form of the cross. Its function became metaphorical in the New Testament in *Hebrews* 6:19: "We have this as a sure and steadfast anchor of the soul, a hope that enters into the inner shrine behind the curtain where Jesus has gone as a forerunner on our behalf."

Signifying steadfastness and hope, the anchor became one of the commonest symbols in the catacombs and on early Christian jewelry and seal stones. It was also associated with other symbols, as, for example, in the anchor cross, which combined the two shapes to make one that showed the Christian's hope firmly joined to Christ.

The anchor also appeared with the letters alpha and omega to represent eternal hope, and with the fish to signify, again, hope in Christ. In combination with the dolphin, the anchor came to mean the Christian soul or the church guided by Christ. The speedy dolphin was represented with the anchor to illustrate Augustine's motto *Festina lente* ("Make haste slowly").

Another early, if odd, use of the symbol was to identify Clement of Rome, a church father and one of the earliest bishops of Rome. Legend relates that Clement's persecutors tied an anchor around his neck and tossed him into the sea. The prayers of his followers made the waters withdraw, revealing a small temple where his body was found. Clement was frequently portrayed with an anchor around his neck or beside him.

The anchor was popular as a symbol until the medieval period, at which time it largely disappeared. When it reappeared it was, for example, as a symbol of Nicholas of Myra, because of his patronage of sailors, and as the attribute of hope, one of the seven virtues in Renaissance art.

Other, more exotic, ideas grew up around the symbol in some forms of magic and mysticism. Evelyn Jobes (1961) describes the bottom of the anchor as a crescent moon (ark, boat, nave, vulva, yoni, or female principle), in which is placed the mast (lingam, phallus, or male principle), around which the serpent (fertility, life) entwines itself. With the crossbeam, the parts add up to the mystic number four, and the anchor thus also symbolizes the four quarters of the universe, as well as both the sun and the world's center. The entire symbol expresses the idea of androgyny and of the union that results in new life. Finally, Ad de Vries (1978) ascribes to Freud the concept of the anchor as a combination of the cross (the body of Christ rising) and the crescent (Mary), the whole representing life.

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The anchor is included in almost any book of Christian symbols. An example is *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* by George W. Ferguson (Oxford, 1954). More far-ranging interpretations can be found in the following: *Dictionary of Mythology, Folklore and Symbols* by Evelyn Jobes (Metuchen, N.J., 1961); *Dictionary of Symbols and Imagery*, rev. ed., by Ad de Vries (New York, 1978); and *Dictionnaire des symboles* by Jean Chevalier and Alain Gheerbrant (Paris, 1982).

Elaine Magalis (1987)

ANDRAE, TOR (1885–1946), historian of religions and bishop of the Swedish church. Tor J. E. Andrae was born on July 9, 1885 into a Protestant minister's family in Hevna. After finishing school in Linköping, he began to study humanities at Uppsala in 1903 and eventually became proficient in Hebrew as well as Arabic. His degree in humanities completed, he turned to theology, obtained his candidacy in 1909, and was, like each of his three older brothers, consecrated a minister of the church. During his theological studies, Andrae was deeply influenced by Nathan Söderblom, who suggested that he study the Prophet of Islam and who was instrumental in shaping his scholarly career. Andrae, interested in religious psychology, turned to the problem of Muḥammad's response to the divine call that made him a prophet; in his first steps into Arabic literature, he was guided by Ignácz Goldziher. The young theologian, who served the church first in Delsbo and then in Gamla Uppsala, was enabled to spend some time in 1915 in Berlin reading Arabic manuscripts. The result of his intense studies was his book *Die person Muhammeds in lehre und glauben seiner gemeinde* (Stockholm, 1918). For the first time, the development of the veneration of Muḥammad in Muslim piety and mystical theory was shown with convincing clarity. Andrae's mastery of the sources is evident, and the book remains to this day the best, and virtually unique, contribution to the important problem of how and why Muḥammad grew from "a servant to whom revelation came" into the Perfect Man and axis of the universe.

Andrae was awarded the Th.D. in 1921, and his writings and sermons of the early twenties show his deep concern for the Swedish church, which seemed to him to embody the Christian ideal of a religious community. He always emphasized that Christianity is the most perfect religion, a conclusion that, he admitted, cannot be proved by scientific methods but is to be experienced as a result of one's personal search for truth.

In the fall of 1923, Andrae was invited to lecture on the history of religions at the University of Stockholm. His lectures about the psychology of mystical experience, which presented a broad survey of unusual experiences on all levels of religion, were published as *Mystikens psykologi* in 1926. In the same year appeared *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum,* a study that takes up one of Andrae's favorite themes, the strong influence of Syrian Christianity on the formation of early Islam. This influence, he pointed out, is also palpable in early Islamic pietistic trends ("Zuhd und Mönchtum," *Le monde oriental,* 1931). In his inaugural lecture as professor in Stockholm in 1927, Andrae dealt with the history of religions and the crisis of religions, discussing the extent to which the difference between the believer and the nonbeliever exists throughout history, an issue that led him later to write on the "problem of religious propensity" (*Die Frage der religiösen Anlage,* Uppsala, 1932). In his lectures Andrae rejected the purely evolutionist trend in the history of religions and stressed the fact that primitive religions as we know them now are not to be confused with the original religions.

In 1929 Andrae became professor of religious studies in Uppsala, and during the following years some of his best-known books were published. Chief among these was *Muhammed: Hans liv och hans tro* (Muḥammad: The man and his faith; Stockholm, 1930). This book, which has been translated into several languages, was highly admired for its sensitive psychological approach to the Prophet of Islam, and it is still a standard work. In 1931 the death of Archbishop Söderblom, Andrae's master and friend, caused him to write a fine, deeply felt biography of Söderblom (Uppsala, 1931).

The following year Andrae was elected into the Swedish Academy and, as inspector of the Olaus-Petri-Stiftelse, had the opportunity of inviting leading historians of religion to Uppsala in the following years. His monograph on the Swedish theologian and polyhistor Georg Wallin (d. 1760) shows him as a historian of high rank. For a brief period in 1936 Andrae served as minister of ecclesiastic affairs in the Swedish government and was elected bishop in his home province, Linköping, where he spent the last nine years of his life. He died in January 1946 after expressing his firm faith in God and in eternal life in his last broadcast sermon on New Year's Eve 1946.

For all his deep-rooted love for the Swedish church and his Christian faith, Andrae was able to appreciate foreign religions as well. He was particularly interested in showing that Islam, so often maligned as a purely legalist religion of military uniformity, knows the secret of divine grace very well, because God has revealed himself in Islam as in all other religions (a Söderblomian idea). Andrae's booklet *I myrtenträdgården* (In the garden of myrtles) was published posthumously in 1947; it sketches the early development of the Ṣūfī movement with insight and love. Fascinating are Andrae's studies *Det osynligas värld* (Uppsala, 1934), in which he deals with the problem of immortality and eternal life and holds that, if eternal life is real life, it cannot be static but must imply a continuing development of the spirit—ideas known from Lotze and Eucken and expressed in 1928 by Muhammad Iqbal, the Indo-Muslim philosopher. Andrae's conviction of an unending life after death was a result of the dynamism of his own religion, a dynamism that led him also to dislike all forms of gnostic religions, which, he felt, were too intellectualistic.

Andrae's books are fruits of a deep study of the sources, combined with a fine understanding of the psychological roots of religious experience, coupled with respect for the religious personality. Besides, they are stylistically perfect. His contributions to the study of Islam, particularly to a better understanding of the spiritual role of the Prophet in the Muslim community, and his intense work for the Swedish church are the two most outstanding facets of his life and work.

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ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL (1987)

ANDROCENTRISM refers to cultural perspectives where the male is generically taken to be the norm of humanness. Androcentrism originates from a male monopoly on cultural leadership and the shaping and transmission of culture. In religion this means that males monopolize priestly and teaching roles of religion and exclude women both from the exercise of these roles and from the education that such roles require. Thus women are prevented from bringing their own experience and point of view to the shaping of the official public culture of religion, however much they may participate in the religion as consumers of the public cult or in auxiliary cults restricted to women. The official public definition of the religion in terms of law, cult, and symbol is defined both without female participation and in such a way as to justify their exclusion.

Women's exclusion from the learning and shaping of the cult and symbol system also means that they do not participate in the processes by which a religion remembers and transmits its traditions. As a result, religions or religious practices that do not exclude women are forgotten or are remembered in a way that makes this participation appear deviant. Androcentric religious culture makes woman the "other"; woman's silence and absence are normative. Consequently, her presence is remarked upon only to reinforce her otherness, either by definitions of "woman's place" or by remonstrances against women who are deemed to have "gotten out of their place."

Androcentric culture also translates the dialectics of human existence—superiority/inferiority, right/left, light/darkness, active/passive, life/death, reason/feeling, and so forth—into androcentric gender symbolism. In this gender symbolism the female is always the "other": inferior in relation to superior, weaker in relation to stronger, negative in relation to positive. Even when the qualities assigned to women are positive, such as love or altruism, these are defined in such a way as to be supplemental or auxiliary to a male-centered definition of the self. The female becomes the unconscious that completes the conscious, the affectivity that completes rationality. Thus, despite the appearance of balance in such gender complementarity, the female is always relative and complementary to the male, rather than herself the one who is complemented or completed in her own right.

Androcentrism must be seen as a pervasive influence on all religious cultures, having shaped either those religious cultures themselves or the way they have developed or the way they have been reported upon and studied, or in many cases all three. The fact that this influence has remained largely unnoticed is itself an expression of its pervasiveness. It has been so pervasive and normative that it itself has not even been noticeable, since one cannot notice a given point of view unless another point of view is also possible.

Androcentrism pervades all aspects of the religious culture—its view of human nature, its definitions of good and evil, its creation stories, its images of the divine, its laws, rituals, polity, and practices of worship. One could illustrate this from many religions, but in this essay the illustrations will be drawn from the Judeo-Christian tradition. In this tradition, although the two creation stories in the *Book of Genesis,* chapters 1 and 2, offer alternative possibilities, religious anthropology has in fact been drawn from the second. Here the male is the norm, the one created first; woman is created second and taken by God from man's rib. This is a very peculiar story, since it reverses the actual experience of human birth, in which both males and females are born from the female. By making a male God the midwife of the birth of the female from the side of the male, it defines woman's place as auxiliary and secondary to the male. So normative is this assumption that few Christians even notice the oddness of the story, its reversal of actual human birth.

This place of woman as secondary and auxiliary to the male has been evident in all classical Christian anthropology. Christian anthropology operates within a dualistic framework that sets the good human self, created in the "image of God," in tension with an evil self that has lost or diminished its originally good human nature and positive relation to God. Although the *Genesis* 1 story defines both male and female equally as possessing the image of God, all classical Christian anthropology has regarded the male as the normative image of God in such a way as to make woman the image of either the lower or the fallen part of the self. While it is never denied that women possess some relationship to the image of God, they are seen as related to that image only under and through their relationship to the male, rather than in their own right. In themselves, women are said to image the body that is to be ruled over by the mind, or else the sin-prone part of the self that causes sin and the Fall.

This androcentric definition of humanity is evident in Augustine's treatise on the Trinity (*De Trinitate* 7.7.10):

> How then did the apostle tell us that man is the image of God and therefore he is forbidden to cover his head, but that the woman is not so and therefore she is commanded to cover hers? Unless forsooth according to that which I have said already when I was treating of

> the nature of the human mind, that the woman, together with her own husband, is the image of God, so that the whole substance may be one image, but when she is referred to separately in her quality as a helpmeet, which regards the woman alone, then she is not the image of God, but as regards the male alone, he is the image of God as fully and completely as when the woman too is joined to him in one.

Deeply embedded in this Christian definition of female subordinate and auxiliary existence is the story of female primacy in sin. Although the story of Eve's role in the expulsion from Paradise is by no means a normative story for the Old Testament or even for the Christian Gospels, through the Pauline tradition it assumed normative status for defining the human predicament in such a way that not only all Christian theology but the Bible itself is read with this presupposition. Female primacy in sin is the underside of woman's subordination in the divinely ordained nature of things: things got out of hand for humanity and its relationship to God in the beginning because woman got out of hand. Woman acting on her own initiative caused sin to come into the world and Adam to be expelled from Paradise. He is punished by the alienation of his work, but she is punished by the alienation of her humanity. She must now bring forth children in sorrow and be under the subjugation of her husband.

This story operates to justify female subordination in society and religion. This status of subordination had now been redoubled and reinforced as divine punishment for an original sin of acting on her own. Any efforts of women to act on their own, rather than as auxiliaries in a male-defined social order, can then be seen as new evidence of sinful female propensities—propensities that are to be repressed by reference to this original sin that caused everything to go awry. Woman acting on her own initiative can only do evil and cause chaos. She can never do good by herself, but only when she restricts herself to obedient response to male commands.

The androcentric presuppositions of the Christian view of creation and sin are maintained also in the definitions of salvation. The redeemer, the Messiah, the manifestation of God in the flesh, appears in male form. This maleness of the Christian redeemer could be regarded as a historical or cultural accident, similar to the fact that he is Jewish and appears in a particular time and place. These particularities in no way limit his ability to represent universal humanity. Yet Christian theology has in fact typically treated Jesus' maleness differently from his Jewishness, so as to make that maleness ontologically necessary to his ability to represent God. For Thomas Aquinas, the maleness of Jesus flows directly from the fact that the male is the normative or "perfect" expression of the human species, while woman is nonnormative and defective. Thus to represent the fullness of human nature, it is necessary that Jesus be male. Here we see clearly the androcentric presupposition whereby the male possesses a generic humanity that is both complete in itself and capable of encompassing the representation of woman as well, while the woman cannot even represent herself, much less the male, as a human being.

This androcentric definition of Christology or the necessary maleness of the incarnation points in two directions. On the one side, it reveals the presumed maleness of God. On the other side, it excludes women from the priesthood and from representation of Christ's and God's divine authority in church leadership. Although Christian theology does not claim that God is in a literal sense male, there is an overwhelming bias in Christian theology, itself derived from its parent religion Judaism, to image God in male form. Male roles are seen as representing authority and rule, initiation and power. Since God is by definition the absolute expression of these roles of initiation, power, and sovereignty, only male metaphors are apppropriate for him. Female metaphors can be used only for what is ruled over, created by, or acted upon by God; they cannot signify what acts, rules, or has autonomous power.

This gender dualism of God and creation as male and female is evident in biblical as well as Christian symbolism. Although female theological metaphors are not absent from the Bible and Christian cult and theology, these primarily either symbolize creaturely subordination to God or else point to evil or negative traits that separate the human from God. Christian symbolism of the female thus splits into two forms, the good feminine and the bad female. The good feminine represents creaturely existence totally submissive to divine initiative, self-abnegating of any pride or activity of its own. Typically, this is also expressed as "purity" or suppression of sexuality. The Virgin Mary represents the apogee of this ideal. The feminine is also used in both Judaism and Christianity to image the elect people in relationship to God. The covenant relationship to God is imaged along the lines of a patriarchal marriage, with Israel or the church as bride in relation to the bridegroom.

Influenced by ascetic spirituality, Christianity emphasizes the virginal character of the church not only in her espousal to her Lord, but also in her birthing of the people of God. Christian baptism is imaged as a new birth that transforms and negates the sinfulness of birth through the female. Actual birth destroys virginity and brings forth sinful offspring, while through baptism the church remains virginal and brings forth virginal offspring. This baptism symbolism illustrates another typical trait of androcentric patriarchal religion: the extent to which its symbols and rituals duplicate female biological and social roles—conception, birth, suckling, feeding—but in such a way as to negate these roles in their female form, while elevating them to a higher spiritual plane through the male cultic monopoly on these activities.

Female symbolism in Christianity also symbolizes the soul and its passive reception of divine initiative, as well as creation itself or the earth as the object of God's creative work. In *Proverbs* and the wisdom tradition feminine roles are in the same way ascribed to God. This continues in Judaism in concepts such as the divine Shekhinah, or divine presence. Some minority traditions in Christianity have also imaged the Holy Spirit as female or revived the wisdom tradition to speak of God as having a feminine side. But in all versions of this notion of divine androgyny, the feminine roles or aspects of God are thought of as secondary and auxiliary to a male-centered divine fatherhood. Wisdom is seen as a secondary and dependent principle that comes forth from the divine father to mediate his laws and actions to creation. Thus she is often pictured as resembling the family mother who mediates the commands of the father to the children. Thus even these minor instances of feminine imagery for God do not fundamentally break out of the androcentric patriarchal symbolism that allows the "good feminine" to image only that which is secondary and auxiliary to a male-centered ultimacy.

Female participation in Christian redemption has also been biased by androcentric anthropology. In the ascetic traditions of Christian spirituality, the holy woman is defined as transcending not only her bodily temptations but also her female nature: she is said to have become "virile" and "manly." This peculiar formulation is found in gnosticism (see logion 114 of the *Gospel of Thomas*), but also in orthodox Christian asceticism (see Leander of Seville's preface to his *Institutes on Virginity*). It derives from an assumed analogy between maleness and spirituality (or rationality), and between femaleness and corporeality or the passions. Asceticism restores the male in his spiritual manliness, but is possible for woman only by transcending her "female weakness." This notion suggested to many early Christian women that asceticism might be the route to female emancipation. But the church tradition, as defined by male leadership, hastened to add that the true spirituality of woman is expressed only through the most total submission to male authority, especially ecclesiastical authority.

In the Protestant tradition, where spirituality is reincorporated into a familial context, woman's piety is seen as expressible only through submission to her husband, as well as to church and civil authority (as long as these public authorities are of the correct Christian sect). Thus, Christian redemption does not set woman free, but rather forgives her for her original sin of insubordination by displaying her as voluntarily submissive to male authority.

Nevertheless, Christian androcentrism remains deeply suspicious that all women, even holy women, conceal tendencies to insubordination. When these tendencies come out in the open and are asserted unrepentantly, woman becomes witch or handmaid of the devil. When she is crushed or suppressed, as she should be, woman—even if holy—remains Eve, the punished woman put back in her place. Thus Mary, image of the ideal woman as totally submissive and purged of any sexual or willful traits, in effect remains an unattainable ideal for real women, an ideal by which all women are judged and found lacking.

All the androcentric presuppositions discussed come together in the exclusion of woman from ecclesiastical leadership as priest, teacher, or minister. The identification of male authority and divine authority excludes women from being able to represent God or speak as the voice of God. As a person who cannot act autonomously or as an authority in her own right, she cannot exercise such authority in human society generally, much less in the church, the restored human society. As one deficient in moral self-control and rationality, she is incapable of teaching and of spiritual government.

Despite these pervasive androcentric assumptions of Christian theology, Christianity, as practiced, has been much more ambivalent. Androcentrism has partially shaped the practice of biblical and Christian religion, in the sense of actual exclusion of women from leadership and the indoctrination of an androcentric piety accepted as normative by women as well as men. But there have also been many instances of female religious power that are by no means contained by these definitions: prophetesses in both Old and New Testaments; female teachers, apostles, and local leaders in the New Testament; and holy women, healers, charismatics, and mystics who were by no means as submissive to male authority as these theories demand. Learned Christian women have studied scripture, founded religious orders and movements that they led in their own name, and written religious treatises of all kinds to express their religious experience and teachings. Yet, the evidence for this alternative history has only begun to be discovered in recent times, as the presuppositions of androcentrism itself are challenged by female religious scholars.

The final expression of androcentrism lies in its command of the transmission of tradition. Tradition is continually rewritten to conform to androcentric presuppositions. Alternative realities are erased from memory, or they are preserved in such a way as to deny them public authority. Religiously powerful women are defined in the tradition in such a way as to make them conform to male definitions of submission or else to be remembered in pejorative ways that allow this memory to function only as a caveat against female religious leadership. Thus, in the *Revelation to John,* a female prophet who is the leader of a community rivaling those of the prophet John is termed "Jezebel," the name by which Old Testament androcentrism rejected a queen who worshiped other gods. As long as it is impossible to imagine that Jezebel's gods might have been expressions of the divine as authentic as those of Elijah (or that the Jezebel of the *Revelation to John* was as authentic a prophet as John), androcentric readings of the Judeo-Christian tradition remain intact.

SEE ALSO God, article on God in Postbiblical Christianity; Women's Studies.

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ROSEMARY RADFORD RUETHER (1987)

ANDROGYNES. The androgyne (from the Greek *andros*, "man," and *gune*, "woman") is a creature that is half male and half female. In mythology, such a creature is usually a god and is sometimes called a hermaphrodite, after Hermaphroditus, son of Hermes and Aphrodite, who is said to have grown together with the nymph Salmacis (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4.347–388). In religious parlance, androgyny is a much more comprehensive and abstract concept than is implied by the literal image of a creature simultaneously male and female in physical form. To say that God is androgynous is very different from saying that God is an androgyne. But if we limit ourselves to the relatively narrow interpretation of the bisexual god, usually a creator, we are still dealing with a very broad and important religious concept.

It is often said that androgynes are universal, or even archetypal. This is not true. It has been demonstrated that the androgyne is confined in its distribution either to areas formerly of the early "high civilizations" or to areas affected by influences from these centers. Nevertheless, this distribution does extend over a very wide area indeed, testifying to the great appeal of the image. The myth of the splitting apart of a bisexual creator is implicit in the Hebrew myth told in *Genesis* and is explicit in related texts from ancient Mesopotamia; it appears throughout the ancient Indo-European world and in the myths of Australian Aborigines, African tribes, North American and South American Indians, and Pacific islanders; and it is an important theme in medieval and Romantic European literature. Yet many religions, particularly "primitive religions," have managed to survive without it, and it has very different meanings for many of the cultures in which it does appear. (See Baumann, 1955, p. 9; Kluckhohn, 1960, p. 52; Campbell, 1983, map on p. 142.)

One might attempt to construct a taxonomy of androgynes in various ways. Beginning with the visual image, androgynes may be horizontal (with breasts above and a phallus below) or, more often, vertical (with one side, usually the left, bearing a breast and half of a vagina and the other side bearing half of a phallus). One may also distinguish "good" and "bad" androgynes in two different senses: morally acceptable and symbolically successful. In the first sense, it must be noted that although androgynes are popularly supposed to stand for a kind of equality and balance between the sexes, since they are technically half male and half female, they more often represent a desirable or undesirable distortion of the male-female relationship or a tension based on an unequal distribution of power. Thus in some societies, divine or ritual androgynes play positive social roles, affirming culturally acceptable values, while others are despised as symbols of an undesirable blurring of categories.

In the second sense, androgynes may be regarded as "good," in the sense of symbolically successful, when the image presents a convincing fusion of the two polarities and as "bad" when the graft fails to "take" visually or philosophically—that is, when it is a mere juxtaposition of opposites rather than a true fusion. "Bad" androgynes often turn out, on closer inspection, to be not true androgynes but pseudoandrogynes, creatures with some sort of equivocal or ambiguous sexuality that disqualifies them from inclusion in the ranks of the straightforwardly male or female. These liminal figures include the eunuch, the transvestite (or sexual masquerader), the figure who undergoes a sex change or exchanges his sex with that of a person of the opposite sex, the pregnant male, the alternating androgyne (queen for a day, king for a day), and male-female twins.

Perhaps the most important way in which androgynes may be split into two groups, as it were, is in terms of their way of coming into existence. Some are the result of the fusing of separates, male and female; others are born in a fused form and subsequently split into a male and a female. In orthodox mythologies of creation, chaos is negative, something that must be transcended before life can begin; distinctions must therefore be made—male distinguished from female, one social class from another. This corresponds to the Freudian belief that the desire to return to undifferentiated chaos, to return to the womb or the oceanic feeling, is a wish for death, for Thanatos (though it has been demonstrated that this is a facile and incorrect interpretation of the wish to return to chaos; see Eliade, 1965, p. 119). In the mythology of mysticism, however, chaos is positive; the desire to merge back into chaos is the goal of human existence, the supreme integration toward which one strives. In many rituals, too, androgyny is "a symbolic restoration of 'Chaos,' of the undifferentiated unity that preceded the Creation, and this return to the homogeneous takes the form of a supreme regeneration, a prodigious increase of power" (ibid., pp. 114, 199, 122). The mystic striving toward positive chaos is a clear parallel to the Jungian integration of the individual, for it celebrates the merging of two apparently separate entities (the self and God) that are in fact one. Thus, fusing androgynes may be viewed as instances of positive, Jungian chaos, and splitting androgynes may be viewed as instances of negative, Freudian chaos. Let us consider these two types separately.

The Splitting Androgyne. The more dominant of the two types is the splitting androgyne, which appears in a variety of cultures, both Indo-European and "primitive." A few examples taken from very many will have to suffice to establish the general pattern.

Greek. Plato depicts Aristophanes as the author of a complex myth of the primeval androgyne:

> In the ancient times there were three kinds of beings, each with four legs and four arms: male, female, and androgynous. They grew too powerful and conspired against the gods, and so Zeus sliced them in two. The parts derived from the whole males are the ancestors of those men who tend to homosexuality and pederasty; the parts derived from the whole females are the ancestors of women who incline to be lesbians. The androgynes, who are nowadays regarded with scorn, gave rise to men who are woman-lovers and adulterers, and to women who are man-lovers and adulteresses. (*Symposium* 189e–191e)

The androgyne is explicitly denigrated in this myth, not only in the statement of reproach for its present-day physical manifestations but in the implication that creatures derived from it are excessively lustful; the splitting of the androgyne is responsible for the fact that we expend (and, by implication, waste) so much time and trouble trying to get back together again.

Judaic. No account of the myths of androgyny can fail to mention *Genesis*, though we shall discuss the myth of Adam and Eve at greater length in the context of European myths. The *midrash* on *Genesis* 1:27 explicitly states that when God created the first man he created him androgynous; thus Adam gave birth to Eve. If man be made in the image of God, the creator himself would be an androgyne, although there is nothing explicit about this in the text of *Genesis* itself. It is, however, interesting to note that *Genesis* (2:24) does attribute to the origin of Eve from Adam the fact that, just as Plato noted in the same context, men and women have ever since sought to unite physically.

Indian. The earliest of all Indo-European androgynes, Sky-Earth (Dyāvā-Pṛthivī in the *Ṛgveda*) is a splitting androgyne: the first cosmogonic act is to separate the two halves. In the Upaniṣads, Prajāpati, the Lord of Creatures, becomes a more explicit androgyne:

> In the beginning this world was Soul [*ātman*] alone, in the form of Purusa [the Man]. He had no joy, and desired a second. Now he was as large as a woman and a man in a close embrace, and so he caused his self to fall into two pieces, which became a husband and wife. Therefore it is said, "Oneself is like a half-fragment." He copulated with her and produced human beings. But then she thought, "How can he copulate with me when he has just produced me from himself? I will hide." She became a cow; he became a bull, copulated with her, and produced cattle. She became a mare; he a stallion. . . . Thus were born all pairs there are, even down to the ants. (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 1.4.3–4)

The splitting of the androgyne is here tied directly to the more general, and nonsexual, splitting of the primeval man, Puruṣa; androgyny is seen as a variant of sacrificial dismemberment. In other Indo-European myths, too, the primordial dismemberment is not of a man but of an androgyne. The incestuous implications of androgynous splitting and procreation are here made explicit; they continue to pose a moral problem for later Indian variants of this myth, in which the role of the primeval androgyne is played by Brahmā, and then by Śiva (cf. *Liṅga Purāṇa* 1.70).

North American. The Navajo say that First Man and First Woman had five sets of twins; the last four sets were each composed of a boy and a girl, but the first pair were barren hermaphrodites (Long, 1963, p. 53). The last four sets procreated, but the first set were the first people to die, and "she" (i.e., the female hermaphrodite of the pair) went to the underworld to become associated with the dead and the devils in the lower world (Spencer, 1947, p. 98). The male hermaphrodite simply dies; the female androgyne becomes the devil. Both are barren. Among the tribes of the Northwest Coast, too, mythic hermaphrodite dwarfs are killers, banished not to the underworld but to the moon (Boas, 1895, vol. 23, pt. 3, p. 53). Among the Zuni, however, one does find a central and positive androgynous creator, named Awonawilona ("he-she"; Stevenson, 1887, pp. 23, 37), an early precursor of nonsexist language and a powerful mythological figure.

African. Sudanese and Dogon art depicts horizontal androgynes, with breasts as well as penises. These figures may represent the primeval state of androgyny: man the way God made him, before the intervention of society made possible the perpetuation of the human race through the reduction of dangerously complete creatures to more manageable and useful halves. At birth every Dogon child has both a female soul and a male soul; at puberty every child undergoes ritual circumcision or clitoridectomy in order to remove the androgyny with which he or she is born.

> In so far as the child retains the prepuce or the clitoris—characteristics of the sex opposite to its own apparent sex—its masculinity and femininity are equally potent. It is not right, therefore, to compare an uncircumcised boy to a woman: he is, like an unexcised girl, both male and female. If this uncertainty as to his sex were to continue, he would never have any inclination for procreation. (Griaule, 1965, pp. 156–158)

The Dogon divine androgyne is a true androgyne, a creative figure containing both male and female physical and psychical elements; but it must be transformed into a human androgyne manqué, a figure whose complete nature has been defaced both physically and psychically. God may be an androgyne; but man must not.

THE FUSING ANDROGYNE. The fusing type of androgyne is originally created as a male and female in isolation and must fuse in order to create. The separate components are barren; only the androgyne is creative (in contrast with the splitting androgyne, which is creative only when the male and female parts have separated). The most common variant of the theme of the fusing androgyne is the Two-in-One or hierogamy (i.e., sacred marriage). In broader theological terms, this symbolizes the merging of complementary opposites—the *conjunctio oppositorum* (Eliade, 1965, pp. 103–125). But the more straightforward form of the fusing androgyne, in which the male and female partners each give up one half of their bodies to fuse into a single being, half male and half female, is relatively rare.

Indian. All early myths of the androgynous Śiva are myths of splitting androgynes; medieval Sanskrit texts and folk traditions, however, describe a fusing androgyne that arose when, out of passion, gratitude, or some other emotion, Śiva embraced Pārvatī so closely that their bodies fused into one. According to one account, Śiva was a beggar, but one day he smoked so much hashish that he could not go out on his usual rounds; Pārvatī begged in his place, and when she returned she fed him with the food she had collected, which so pleased Śiva that he embraced her violently and became one with her.

On another occasion, Pārvatī became jealous of Śiva's infatuation with another woman and left him. Śiva came to her and said, "You are the oblation and I am the fire; I am the sun and you are the moon. Therefore you should not cause a separation between us, as if we were distinct people." And as he said this, Śiva caused her to enter the side of his own body, as if she were hiding there in embarrassment, and their paired bodies became one, because of their love (*Skanda Purāṇa* 1.3.2.18–21).

Elsewhere, it is cynically remarked that Pārvatī took over half of Śiva's body in order to curb his philandering with other women. But the quintessentially fused Saiva androgyne is the so-called *Śiva-liṅga*, or phallus, which is, in fact, almost always accompanied by the yoni, the symbol of the Goddess's sexual organ, and as such is an iconic, though not anthropomorphic, androgyne: the male is surrounded by the female, in a representation of sexual union.

North American. A more complex candidate for androgyny is the notorious North American trickster. Even though primarily male, he not only masquerades as a female but actually gives birth to children. He normally keeps his detached phallus in a box and is thus self-castrating (like many Greek androgynes); in order to have sexual intercourse, he removes the phallus from the box and sends it to the woman. What his character represents, however, is a coincidence of opposites far more general than androgyny: it is primeval chaos, in which the basic social, moral, sexual, and even gross physical distinctions are yet unmade (Radin, 1956). The trickster is thus androgynously creative and psychologically "full," but the bitter humor with which he is depicted and the tragedy that follows upon his creative enterprises produce a sardonic vision of theological "wholeness" and a satire on human sexual integration. This aspect of his nature has led many scholars to identify him as a devil rather than a god, but this is not a useful distinction in dealing with a character who is morally so protean as the androgyne.

THE PROBLEM OF THE ANDROGYNE: GETTING TOGETHER. From the preceding survey, selective and sketchy though it is, it becomes apparent that most cultures have felt more comfortable with the concept of the splitting androgyne than with that of the fusing androgyne. Androgyny is thus not always a symbol of perfect union and balance. Many myths point out that the permanently fused androgyne is, technically, the one creature in the world who is certain to be unable to copulate. As Alan Watts has remarked, the androgyne symbolizes a state "in which the erotic no longer has to be sought or pursued, because it is always present in its totality" (Watts, 1963, pp. 204–205). Yet the androgyne may also imply that the greatest longing may be felt in complete union, when satiation is so near and yet so far; water, water everywhere, nor any drop to drink. Thus the androgyne may symbolize satiation without desire or desire without satiation.

Western androgynes, which are usually fused rather than splitting, are often unsuccessful. Many visual images of medieval androgynes that express complicated alchemical and occult concepts are ludicrous to the eye. Maurice Henry has produced a brilliant and hilarious series of cartoon androgynes who can neither fuse nor split and who are at last driven to saw themselves apart so that they can come together. A far more horrible sort of cartoon is Goya's *Disorderly Folly, Also Known as Disparate Matrimonial*, depicting a married couple grotesquely joined together back to back, like Siamese twins.

In our day, androgyny has once again become trendy, particularly in feminist and homosexual circles; but we are still not truly comfortable with the *physical* androgyne. Michel Foucault has pointed out, in his introduction to the memoirs of Herculine Barbin, a nineteenth-century French hermaphrodite, the ironic contrast between the Romantic *idea* of androgyny and the barbarism with which an actual androgyne was treated. This dichotomy can best be understood in the context of the history of modern European and Christian responses to the androgyne, a subject to which we now turn.

EUROPEAN MYSTICISM AND ESOTERICISM. The Judeo-Christian myth and theology of the androgyny of the primal man were successfully reinterpreted and revalorized by Jakob Boehme (1575–1624). For this great mystic and theosophist, Adam's sleep represents the first fall: Adam separated himself from the divine world and "imagined himself" immersed in nature, by which act he lowered himself and became earthly. The appearance of the sexes is a direct consequence of this first fall. According to certain of Boehme's followers, on seeing the animals copulate Adam was disturbed by desire and

God gave him sex to avoid worse (texts in Benz, 1955, pp. 60–66). Another fundamental idea of Boehme, Gichtel, and other theosophists was that Sophia, the divine virgin, was originally part of the primal man. When he attempted to dominate her, the virgin separated herself from him. According to Gottfried Arnold (1666–1714), it was carnal desire that caused the primal being to lose this "occult bride." But even in his present fallen state, when a man loves a woman he always secretly desires this celestial virgin. Boehme compared the break-up of Adam's androgynous nature to Christ's crucifixion (texts in Benz, 1955, pp. 125ff).

Jakob Boehme probably borrowed the idea of the androgyne not from Qabbalah but from alchemy; indeed, he makes use of alchemical terms. Actually, one of the names of the "philosophers' stone" was Rebis (lit., "two things"), the "double being," or the Hermetic androgyne. Rebis was born as a result of the union of Sol and Luna or, in alchemical terms, of sulfur and mercury (Eliade, 1965, pp. 102ff).

The androgyne as the primal and final perfection became extremely popular with the theosophists of the eighteenth century, from Friedrich C. Oetinger (1702–1782) and Karl von Eckartshausen (1752–1803) to Michael Hahn (1758–1819), Pierre-Simon Ballanche (1776–1847), and their disciples (cf. Faivre, 1973, pp. 67ff.). Boehme was the principal source of inspiration, either directly or through Franz von Baader (1765–1841). According to Baader, the androgyne had existed at the beginning (Adam) and will be again at the end of time. Baader borrowed from Boehme the conception of Adam's first fall, the sleep in which his celestial companion was separated from him. But, thanks to Christ, man will again become an androgyne, like the angels.

Baader wrote that "the aim of marriage as a sacrament is the restoration of the celestial or angelic image of man as he should be." Sexual love should not be confused with the instinct for reproduction; its true function is "to help man and woman to integrate internally the complete human image, that is to say the divine and original image." Baader considered that a theology presenting "sin as a disintegration of man, and the redemption and resurrection as his reintegration" would conquer all other theologies (see the texts reproduced by Benz, 1955, pp. 219ff).

To the German Romantics the androgyne was the perfect, "total" human being of the future. J. W. Ritter (1776–1810), a well-known doctor and friend of Novalis, sketched in his *Nachlass eines jungen Physikers* a whole philosophy of the androgyne. For Ritter the man of the future would be, like Christ, an androgyne. "Eve," he wrote, "was engendered by man without the aid of woman; Christ was engendered by woman without the aid of man; the androgyne will be born of the two. But the husband and wife will be fused together in a single flesh." The body that is to be born will then be immortal. Describing the new humanity of the future, Ritter uses alchemical language, a sign that alchemy was one of the German Romantics' sources for their revival of the myth of the androgyne.

Wilhelm von Humboldt took up the same subject in his youthful *Über die männliche und weibliche Form*, in which he dwells particularly on the divine androgyne. Friedrich Schlegel, too, envisaged the ideal of the androgyne in his essay "Über die Diotima," in which he attacks the value attached to an exclusively masculine or feminine character, a value produced, he charges, only by education and modern custom. The goal toward which the human race should strive, he believed, is a progressive reintegration of the sexes, ending in androgyny (Eliade, 1965, pp. 98ff).

FROM BALZAC TO ALEISTER CROWLEY. Balzac's *Séraphita* is undoubtedly the most attractive of his fantastic novels. Not because of the Swedenborgian theories with which it is imbued but because Balzac here succeeded in presenting with unparalleled force a fundamental theme of archaic anthropology: the androgyne considered as the exemplary image of the perfect man. Let us recall the novel's subject and setting. In a castle on the edge of the village of Jarvis, near the Stromfjord, lived a strange being of moving and melancholy beauty. Like certain other Balzac characters, he seemed to hide a terrible secret, an impenetrable mystery. But here it is not a secret to be compared with that of Vautrin, the master criminal who figures in several other Balzac novels. The character in *Séraphita* is not a man eaten up by his own destiny and in conflict with society. He is a being different in quality from the rest of mankind, and his mystery depends not on certain dark episodes in his past but on the nature of his own being. This mysterious personage loves and is loved by Minna, who sees him as a man, Séraphitus, and is also loved by Wilfred, in whose eyes he seems to be a woman, Séraphita.

This perfect androgyne was born of parents who had been disciples of Swedenborg. Although he has never left his own fjord, never opened a book, never spoken to any learned person or practiced any art, Séraphitus-Séraphita displays considerable erudition; his mental faculties surpass those of mortal men. Balzac describes with moving simplicity the nature of this androgyne, his solitary life and ecstasies in contemplation. All this is patently based on Swedenborg's doctrine, for the novel was primarily written to illustrate and comment on the Swedenborgian theories of the perfect man. But Balzac's androgyne hardly belongs to the earth. His spiritual life is entirely directed toward heaven. Séraphitus-Séraphita lives only to purify himself—and to love. Although Balzac does not expressly say so, one realizes that Séraphitus-Séraphita cannot leave the earth before he has known love. This is perhaps the last and most precious virtue: for two people of opposite sex to love really and jointly. Seraphic love no doubt, but not an abstract or generalized love all the same. Balzac's androgyne loves two well-individualized beings; he remains therefore in the concrete world of life. He is not an angel come down to earth; he is a perfect man, a complete being.

Séraphita (1834–1835) is the last great work of nineteenth-century European literature that has the myth of the androgyne as its central theme. Toward the end of the century, other writers—notably the so-called *décadents*—returned to the subject, but their works are mediocre if not frankly bad. One may mention as a curiosity Péladan's *L'androgyne* (1891), the eighth volume in a series of twenty novels entitled *La décadence latine.* In 1910 Péladan treated the subject again in his brochure *De l'androgyne* (in the series "Les idées et les formes"), which is not entirely without interest, despite its confusion of facts and its aberrations. The entire work of Péladan—whom no one has the courage to read today—seems to be dominated by the androgyne motif. Anatole France wrote that Péladan was "haunted by the idea of the hermaphrodite, which inspires all his books." But Péladan's whole production—like that of his contemporaries and models, Swinburne, Baudelaire, Huysmans—belongs to quite a different category from *Séraphita.* Péladan's heroes are perfect only in sensuality; the metaphysical significance of the perfect man had been degraded and finally lost in the second half of the nineteenth century.

French and English *décadents* have occasionally returned to the theme of the androgyne (cf. Mario Praz, 1951), but always in the form of a morbid or even satanic hermaphroditism (as did Aleister Crowley, for example). As in all the great spiritual crises of Europe, here once again we meet the degradation of the symbol. When the mind is no longer capable of perceiving the metaphysical significance of a symbol, it is understood at levels that become increasingly coarse. The androgyne has been understood by *décadent* writers simply as a hermaphrodite in whom both sexes exist anatomically and physiologically. They have been concerned not with a wholeness resulting from the fusion of the sexes but with a superabundance of erotic possibilities. Their subject has not been the appearance of a new type of humanity, in which the fusion of the sexes produces a new, unpolarized consciousness, but a self-styled sensual perfection, resulting from the active presence of both sexes in one.

This idea of the hermaphrodite has probably been encouraged by the study of certain ancient sculptures. But *décadent* writers have been unaware that the hermaphrodite represented in antiquity an ideal condition that men endeavored to achieve spiritually by means of rites; they have not known that if a child showed at birth any signs of hermaphroditism, it was killed by its own parents. In other words, the ancients considered an actual, anatomical hermaphrodite an aberration of nature or a sign of the gods' anger, and they consequently destroyed it out of hand. Only the ritual androgyne provided a model, because it implied not an augmentation of anatomical organs but, symbolically, the union of the magico-religious powers belonging to both sexes.

SOME MODERN CHRISTIAN THEOLOGIES. In a youthful writing, *The Meaning of the Creative Act* (1916), Nikolai Berdiaev took up again the old *theologoumenon;* he proclaimed with vigor that the perfect man of the future will be androgynous, as Christ was (Eliade, 1965, p. 103, n. 5). An important ideological contribution was *Die Gnosis des Christentums,* by Georg Koepgen, published in Salzburg in 1939, with the episcopal imprimatur (but afterward placed on the index). The work gained a certain popularity after C. G. Jung discussed it in his *Mysterium Coniunctionis.* According to Koepgen, "In the person of Jesus the male is united with the female. . . . If men and women can come together as equals in Christian worship, this has more than an accidental significance: it is the fulfillment of the androgyny that was made manifest in Christ" (*Die Gnosis,* p. 316). With regard to *Revelation* 14:4 ("Those are they that were not defiled with women; for they are virgins"), Koepgen asserts:

> Here the new androgynous form of existence becomes visible. Christianity is neither male nor female, it is male-female in the sense that the male paired with the female in Jesus' soul. In Jesus the tension and polaristic strife of sex are resolved in an androgynous unity. And the Church, as his heir, has taken this over from him: she too is androgynous. (ibid., p. 31)

As regards her constitution, the church is "hierarchically masculine, yet her soul is thoroughly feminine." "The virgin priest . . . fulfills in his soul the androgynous unity of male and female; he renders visible again the psychic dimension which Christ showed us for the first time when he revealed the 'manly virginity' of his soul" (ibid., p. 319; noted by Jung, 1963, pp. 373ff.). As Jung remarks, for Koepgen not only Christ is androgynous but the church as well. In the last analysis, any Christian is predestined to become an androgyne.

SEE ALSO Feminine Sacrality; Gender Roles; Indian Religions, article on Mythic Themes; Masculine Sacrality; Tricksters.

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WENDY DONIGER (1987)
MIRCEA ELIADE (1987)
Revised Bibliography

ANESAKI MASAHARU (1873–1949) is known as the founder of religious studies in modern Japan. Through his "Introduction to Religious Studies" lectures at Tokyo Imperial University and the publication of his book *General Introduction to Religious Studies* (1900), Anesaki established a new form of the academic study of religion in Japan. Thereafter he became a professor and occupied the chair of religious studies (established in 1905) at the Imperial University. He later became chairman of the Japanese Religious Studies Association. Anesaki's life itself reflects the development of religious studies in Japan before the outbreak of World War II.

Anesaki's early ideas concerning religious studies were expressed in his *General Introduction to Religious Studies.* He thought that the subject of religious studies should be constituted into three areas: religious psychology, religious ethics, and religious sociology. His main goal was to comprehend religion as an expression of the human desire for the infinite. From this point of view, all religious phenomena can be understood equally as one, while the same humanistic psychological processes lay behind the differences in religions. Anesaki's psychological ideas were influenced by C. P. Tiele and William Starbuck, and by Wilhelm Bender and Benjamin Kidd in terms of irrational human desires.

In early modern Japan, there was no unified conception of a "religion" behind religions, or even of "Buddhism" behind Buddhist sects. It was only in the modern era, with the arrival of Christianity and the formation of a nation-state, that the category of "religion" emerged in academic and legal discourse in discussions concerning how to regulate the relationship between Christianity, Buddhism, and Shintō, and between the different sects in each religion, in order to create and then support a Westernized nation-state. Anesaki provided a discursive framework for "religion" that could bring all religious phenomena into one and the same category: namely, the sui generis "religion." Furthermore, by interpreting religious categories as a psychological dimension of the human mind, Anesaki relocated the things concerned with the other world (e.g., God, heaven, and hell) into worldly civil society. Therefore, it may be said that Anesaki's idea of religious studies provided the Japanese people with a national identity that transcended individual beliefs by interpreting the category of "religion" as referring to the psychological interiority that members of a society need to support a nation-state. In this, Anesaki was influenced by his nationalist teacher Inoue Tesujirō, a famous scholar who emphasized the importance of national values, and by Raphael von Koeber, who argued that much of the individual's interior life could not be reduced to rational terms.

In response, religious studies as envisioned by Anesaki granted the sphere of individual consciousness priority of uniqueness. This promised a way to guarantee the protection of individual religious freedom from the power of the state. At the same time, it included the possibility of connecting this interiority with enthusiastic nationalism, which had grown after the separation of the church and state in Japan. In fact, when the government appointed Anesaki a member of an investigative committee for religious institutions, he criticized the intervention of the state into matters of religious beliefs. At the same time, however, at a meeting held in 1912 consisting of Christians, Buddhists, and Shintōists, he took the lead in advocating that religious groups support the Japanese government. Anesaki was known as a follower of Nichiren, whom Anesaki believed was the ideal prophet who had connected religious devotion to belief in the nation-state.

In this sense, his admiration during the latter half of his life for Prince Shōtoku is worthy of note. Throughout his life, Anesaki thought of the emperor as a religious figure who existed as the center of the Japanese people's interiority. Prince Shōtoku was an imperial prince in antiquity and a noted exponent of the *Lotus Sūtra.* This form of Buddhism sought to save all people who could be saved. Here, one can see a close relationship drawn between religion and national identity. As such, Anesaki's vision derived more from the early modern Japanese social and political climate than from modern Western thought, where the separation of church and state was the ideal. In fact, Anesaki was born into a family working for a Buddhist temple. His ancestors had worked as servants of the imperial family in Kyoto from the early modern period. Thus, though Anesaki's vision of religious studies as a field was developed under the strong influence of Western thought, it included native elements that cannot be reduced to modern Western concepts.

In addition, his study of Japanese religious history is worthy of note. He cast a great deal of light on some aspects of Japanese religious history, including the religious personalities of Nichiren and Prince Shōtoku, Buddhist art, and the "hidden Christians" (*kakure kirishitan*). Interestingly, these works were first written in English and later translated into Japanese. It was while he was a visiting professor at Harvard University from 1913 to 1915 that he started to study Japanese religious history in earnest. This was during World War I, and he was exposed to the Yellow Peril campaign in the United States. As a result, he felt that the Japanese needed to explain their cultural character to Westerners in order to be understood. For him, religion was an essential common matter among people that informed the Japanese core character. Thus, he began to study Japanese religious history in English. This provided him with a framework to describe "Japanese" religious history as a unified concept. As a result, people could describe Japanese religious history as occurring within a circumstantial space where various religions had interacted with each other. However, the question of whether it is possible to write about Japanese religious history as a whole is today still a difficult problem for scholars. Anesaki's Japanese religious history has also lost some of its significance because many scholars today question the utility of the very concept of "Japanese religious history."

Nevertheless, Anesaki's attempt to describe Japanese religious history deserves respect and should be reevaluated as the first attempt to portray Japanese identity through a comparison with the West. Anesaki's role in establishing the field of religious studies contributed to the establishment of the idea of representing "Japanese religious history" itself. His works, incorporating both this notion of "religion" and "Japanese religious history," represented an important response to the cultural and political conflicts raised within Japanese society by the overwhelming influence of the West. From this perspective, Anesaki's publications on religious studies provide us with highly interesting material that can be used to analyze the reactions of members of the Japanese elite undergoing Westernization during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

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ANGELS. An introductory overview of the term "angel" in a historical and religious context necessitates a preliminary discussion of the limits and context of this word, which has become deeply entrenched in Western culture. If it is correct that the word "angel" applies to ranks of spiritual or heavenly beings which serve as intermediaries between the earthly and divine worlds, it would be appropriate to restrict the scope of an investigation to cultural situations that are most generally associated with monotheistic theological ideas—Judaism, Christianity, Islam—or else to religions with strongly monotheistic leanings, albeit with a mythological framework and large number of gods in a secondary role, such as Zoroastrianism. Religious movements such as Gnosticism, Manichaeism, and Mandaeism, which have common cultural links with both the monotheistic Judeo-Christian spirituality, and the diverse world of Greek, Hellenistic, and late antiquity culture, should also be examined. Soteriological and eschatological ideas expressed in Neoplatonic and hermetic circles should also be considered in any discussion, as should influences produced from links with alchemy, astrology, divination, and magic. Of the latter group, in which angelology centered on a belief in the need for salvation in this world or the next, a whole range of exorcistic, prophylactic, and therapeutic attitudes arose which in some cases led to misunderstanding of the original function of angels and its being reduced to superstitious observance.

From here proceeds a geographical summary which ranges from the classical world to the eastern Mediterranean, its environs, the Middle East, and India. Even Central Asia, when some Manichaeistic angelological ideas are taken into account, is also relevant to the summary. The attempt by Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy to interpret Vedic and Hindu gods in terms of opposition between "Angels" and "Titans" seems misleading, and is the product of outstanding scholarship which has applied the Western category of "angel" to the Hindu mythological heritage, identifying angels with gods (*daeva*) as opposed to *ahura* (demons, titans), with interesting if somewhat speculative and intellectually overelaborate results. The etymological parallels between the Greek word *aggelos* and the Sanskrit *an.giras*, are rather different, however, since the word denotes a group of priest-singers who occupy an intermediary position in the Vedic cult, as their name shows, but are not to be identified with angels in the metaphysical or theological sense with which we are concerned.

CLASSICAL WORLD. The Greek *aggelos* and the Latin *angelus* form a lexical and conceptual basis which has passed into the vocabulary of the majority of European languages. The "god-angels" of funerary inscriptions should be seen as divine epithets, personifications of the divine which humankind can gain access to and perceive: for example, angels of the underworld, representing the qualities of gods such as Hermes, Hekate, Pluto, and Persephone; or the angels of Neoplatonic thinking, which are invoked by magicians as divine emanations and representations. These appear to humans as "visible gods" with specific characteristics (creative angels, generative angels, savior angels), which humankind can propitiate with sympathetic magic, even if their presence is not always benign when they are invoked. Both Porphyry and Iamblichus discuss the problem of how someone unskilled can conjure up malignant, demoniac spirits. The link with Hermes shows their position as intermediaries between the world of the living and the dead. Etymologically speaking, they are "messengers" or heralds involved with communications between different worlds and in particular with a psychopompic role in beliefs concerning the afterlife. One example is the *angelus bonus* in the mysteries of Sabazios, who wears the crown of immortality and introduces the dead person into the assembly of the Blest. Their intermediary role involves accompanying the soul at the moment it comes into existence, when the soul descends and crosses the planetary spheres, taking in a varying degree of heavenly influences which will determine the character of the person as yet unborn. Thus they are the soul's guardian angels throughout its earthly life and its custodians (*phulakes*) until it returns to heaven, when the angels are responsible for its purification, breaking the links of the soul with the world of matter at the moment of its death.

The close connection between angels and souls in beliefs concerning immortality demonstrates a commonality between these two ideas, since the best souls become angels: hence the explanation, in terms of conduct, that a person who has been trained in spiritual perfection becomes in essence similar to the angels. This explains the addition of the word "angel" to the name of the deceased in funeral inscriptions, setting down the good fortune of immortality which may be the fate of the deceased. In hermetic Gnostic belief, the final outcome involved the ascent to heaven of the soul of the mystic after death, and transformation into one of the most important angels of the Ogdoad and of the fixed stars, which stand before God and contemplate him, rejoicing in the arrival of the soul and singing hymns of praise to the Father.

ZOROASTRIANISM. Angels are a fundamental part of Iranian thinking and its perception of the divine in terms of ideas and concepts—morality, thought and life—as personified not in mythological stories but in intermediate figures assisting the supreme god Ahura Mazdā with the order and maintenance of the cosmos. The religious history of Zoroastrian Iran has shown interesting ideas concerning angels since the earliest part of the Avesta, containing songs (*Gāthā*) attributed to Zoroaster himself, in which Ahura Mazdā is accompanied by an entourage of spiritual beings called the *Amesha Spentas* (the Beneficent Immortals) who are similar to angels. They are subordinate to a supreme god and lack a distinct mythology, in contrast to the gods celebrated in the Avestic hymns (*Yasht*). The actual names of these angelic beings—Good Thinking (Vohu Manah), Right Mindedness (Ārmaiti), Harmony (Asha), Power (Xshathra), Wholeness (Haurvatat) and Immortality (Ameretat)—illustrate that they represent abstract metaphysical concepts, vaguely personified only by their names. They may intercede in the sacrificial exchange between heaven and earth, to grant the person performing it the favor of the divine world, spiritual energy, and powers such as strength, youth, wealth, vigor, physical well-being and immortality. Within the psychology of Zoroastrian ritual the *Amesha Spentas* thus symbolize the many different states of the person making the sacrifice. They fulfill important role in angelic mediation, and facilitate a person's communion with the divine via a particular kind of consciousness and visionary experience.

This important intermediary function would remain a constant within Zoroastrianism, and can be found in the Pahlavi texts of the Sassanid period, which refer to a mysticism based upon angelic internalization being achieved in the inmost consciousness. For example, it is advised to join with Good Thinking, in its purely spiritual form, to make it welcome, and hence enjoy spiritual benefits. The angelic strain existing within Zoroastrian from its philosophical beginnings may be clearly seen from the angelizing process to which its mythology was subject, something which continued in the Sassanid period with the recommendation of various philosophers to "make a home for the gods within the body." In this instance the gods (*yazdān*) rather than mythological deities appear as spiritual personifications, similar to angelic spiritual beings and subject to the supreme god, which are realized in the heart of the faithful by means of ethical and moral virtue and sacrifice. Further interesting angelic qualities may be seen in elements such as fire, a medium *par excellence,* since indeed it is actually called "messenger" (*dūta*). Fire plays an essential part in worship and is treated with special reverence—to the extent that it is styled the "son" of Ahura Mazdā—and is a living symbol. The heat and light energy which rises upwards conveys offerings on high, in the same way as the Vedic god of fire, Agni, also does. It is not a matter of chance that some scholars link Agni with *an.giras*, which is etymologically related to the Greek *aggelos*.

A further kind of angel may be traced in the Fravashi, guardian spirits of society and the individual, from particularly mythological treatises which depict them as angels of the heavenly host and dressed in helmets with armor and iron weapons. They group in battalions, advancing with standards unfurled, coming to the aid of those who call upon them against demons, and descend from heaven like birds with fine wings.

MESOPOTAMIA. In Mesopotamia there were a number of angelological ideas which would be transmitted to monotheistic religions, especially their role as intermediaries and personal guardians of human beings. The "messenger" idea, indicated by the term *sukkal*, refers to a whole group of figures—such as Nuska and Kakka—which are connected with the most important gods and acted as messengers and intermediaries of the heavenly court. Marduk had Nabu as his *sukkal*, while Anu and Inanna had Papsukkal and Mummu. This role should be seen as a reflection of the Mesopotamian court culture, which would have an enormous influence upon the religious and political ideas of the Near East and the world of Hellenistic and late antiquity. The role of protective spirits is fulfilled by the *shedu* and *lamassu*, guardian spirits depicted on house doorposts, who accompany human beings when they leave the dwelling. The *karibu* (an Akkadian term meaning "one who prays") are spirits of intercession and blessing, represented with hands outstretched in prayer, in both human and animal form (body of a bull or lion, wings of an eagle). The representation in animal form of these spirits and *karibu* (from which the name "cherubim" is derived), depicted with two or three pairs of wings, influenced the angelic iconography of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

JUDAISM. In Judaism, the similarity between the Mesopotamian *karibu* and the Hebrew *kerub* is for the most part only linguistic, since the biblical *kerub* is not a deity, has no mythology of its own, and is merely a minister of the one, omnipotent God. In the Old Testament *malʾāk*, from the root *lʾk* "to send," may refer to someone who carries news or messages and who looks after the interests of the sender, acting as a spy, an observer, or a negotiator. This role as messenger is clearly shown in the Vulgate with a distinction between *nuntius* (human messenger) and *angelus* (divine messenger).

In connection with Jhwh, the *malʾak Jhwh* is the angel of Yahweh with particular duties and the divine representative who conveys God's words or deeds on earth. He intervenes directly in the life of humankind, and is a personal heavenly being at the center of particular events who proclaims salvation (*Jgs.* 13), rescues from danger and distress (*Gn.* 19, Exod. 14:19) watches over man on his travels (*Ps.* 91:11), conveys an instruction to a prophet (*Zec.* 1:9), and even causes devastation and destruction, as for example when the people are punished for the sins of David (*1 Chr.* 21:15).

The history of post-exile Judaism contains interesting cultural adaptations from Persian angelology. Similarly there arose a demonology which seems to have been influenced by Iranian and Semitic currents of thought, such as the name of the demon Asmodeus in *The Book of Tobit,* derived from the name of the Zoroastrian god of anger, Aeshmadaeva. In apocalyptic writing (*The Book of Enoch*), an elaborate belief system is set out regarding fallen angels who have become inferior to humans as a punishment for relations with women and for having revealed to humankind the secrets of the world. This hidden knowledge is revealed to Enoch by an angel that accompanies him and interprets his visions (*angelus interpres*); the same thing also happens to Levi (*Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*). Angels are positively described in the writings of Qumran, according to a level of participation and communion with them by individual sect members: warrior angels stand alongside the Essene community in the eschatological war, fulfilling an important role as intermediaries revealing heavenly secrets, on the basis of the level of purity required for carrying out priestly worship. Common knowledge about angels in late antiquity aroused the fear of rabbis that it might overshadow the unity and supremacy of the Lord God, since in a number of passages in the Talmud it is advised to call upon God in case of misfortune and not the angels Mikaʾel or Gavriʾel.

In the Jewish mysticism of the Qabbalah, angelology is developed starting from the episode of the struggle between Jacob and the angel (*Gn.* 32: 27); in addition to other speculation on the first chapter of Genesis, there is commentary on the first chapter of Ezekiel (*maʾaseh merkavah*, or work of the chariot), the basis for the ideas regarding the vision of God's chariot, the throne of His Glory (*Kabod*), in which God is conveyed by Cherubim (*Chayyoth*), winged creatures in the form of humans, bulls, lions, and eagles. In *Hekhaloth* literature, which is based on Old Testament Apocrypha and the *Book of Enoch,* angels are guardians of the gates of the heavenly palace, beings who sing the praises of God and admit anyone who is worthy, accompanying him into the presence of God; they could also, however, punish humans by inflicting madness and death upon anyone who did not invoke them properly and who had not reached a sufficient degree of purity to attain the vision of the *merkavah.* Only minimal study of the Torah allowed one to reach the level of rectitude and purity necessary to distinguish true angels from unclean spirits.

In Medieval mysticism and amongst the Hasidim we find the angel Metatron. This figure was connected with the angels known as the "Princes of the Face," who may gaze upon the face of God. Metatron had an important role in esoteric Jewish doctrine—which subsequently passed into popular religious belief—as an angel who defends Israel in the heavenly judgment of Yom Kippur, and carries the prayers of the faithful before the throne of God. According to popular Jewish legend, angels presided over certain natural phenomena:

> Yurkemi is the prince of hail,
> Ridyah, of rain;
> Rahav, of the sea;
> and Laylah, of birth and death.

CHRISTIANITY. Christianity accepted and redeveloped aspects of Old Testament angelology according to its new requirements. Angels intervene in the central events involving the coming of the Messiah: Gabriel is the angel of the Annunciation, while an angelic star, a celestial symbol of power, acts as a heavenly sign guiding the Wise Men who have come to Palestine from the East in search of the Redeemer. Paul's letter to the Colossians (1:16, 2:10) lists the angelic hierarchy: Thrones, Dominations, Principalities, and Powers. It also sets down a central tenet of Christianity, which would determine later theological disputes (*Col.* 2:18): namely, that care should be taken to avoid idolatry and the worship of angels.

The Council of Laodicea in 336 (Canon 35) proscribed the invocation and adoration of angels. Patristic efforts concentrated on limiting the mythological and poetic developments of Judaic and Gnostic angelology and emphasized the role of angels as intermediaries in the action of salvation and their role as servants. The very iconography which avoided depicting them with wings in early centuries—these would appear at the end of the fourth century—was driven by the need to avoid confusing them with winged pagan gods, such as statues of Nike (Victory).

In the sixth-century work of Dionysius the Areopagite, Neoplatonic and Christian ideas are put together to create an angelic hierarchy of three sets of three, grouped according to their closeness to God: Seraphim, Cherubim, and Thrones; Dominations, Powers, and Virtues; and Principalities, Archangels, and Angels. These became well-known designations during the Middle Ages.

ISLAM. According to Islam, anyone who denies the existence of angels denies the word of God and the Prophet and is regarded as an unbeliever. Allah created angels with two, three, or four pairs of wings, the number varying according to the speed with which they carried out divine commands. Angels support God's throne, they are beside him, they praise and adore him, and they will sound the trumpet at the end of the world; they are infinite in number. Some are noted for carrying out particular tasks, such as Munkar and Nakir, who are responsible for judgment after death; Malik is the guardian of hell; Ridwan the guardian of paradise. Among the more important angels, Gabriel occupies the leading place in terms of angelic power, Michael is a messenger and intermediary, Israfil is the angel of the end of the world, and Azrail is the angel of death, not mentioned by name in the Qurʾān. The angels Harut and Marut, on the other hand, reflect Zoroastrian angelological ideas and are regarded as fallen angels who reveal to humankind the secrets of magic; they are punished for falling in love with mortal women.

The angel Gabriel occupies an important position in Islam for the audible revelation of the divine words. These spoken words are the only ones to have divine sanction, and are thus superior to anything visual. Angels can be distinguished from the simple spirits (*jinn*) of popular religion; "faithful spirit" (*rūḥ*) does mean angel in various passages of the Qurʾān. According to tradition, Muḥammad was visited by the angel Gabriel, who revealed to him his role as Messenger, enjoining him to preach while he was resting in the cave where he had gone for a spiritual retreat. While Muḥammad was sleeping, the angel Gabriel approached him with a silk cloth covered in writing, which he repeatedly commanded him to read; within this he bound Muḥammad so tightly that he was almost suffocated. Muḥammad woke up, left the cave and saw Gabriel as a man with wings. Gabriel also features in a version of the story of Muḥammad's ecstatic ascent to heaven (*Miʿrāj*) as the angel who guides him up the stairway which brings him into the presence of Allah.

In the realm of eschatology still, two angels called Munkar and Nakir question the dead person immediately after his death and if he does not answer correctly, they will torture his body in the grave. There is another tradition concerning the childhood of Muḥammad, in which angels also play a part in inaugurating the spiritual career of the future Prophet in circumstances rather similar to certain bloody shamanistic practices. As a four-year-old child, Muḥammad was seized and thrown to the ground by two angels, who opened his chest, drew a drop of blood from his heart, and washed his insides with melted snow that they carried in a golden cup.

There are elaborate angelologies to be found in Islamic philosophical and religious writings. In Avicenna, from a first intelligence emerge a large variety of intermediate spiritual beings called the ten cherubic intelligences (*Angeli intellectuales*) or celestial Souls (*Angeli caelestes*). In the philosophy of Sohrawardi there is a complex and well-developed angelology which contains elements of Neoplatonic and Zoroastrian influence: from a Light of Glory emerges an emanation of beings of light, led by the archangel Bahman, equivalent to the Avestic Vohu Manah. All sensible and material reality is created and controlled by a particular type of archangel. These archangels occupy a *mundus imaginalis* between the physical and spiritual worlds and can be perceived by the sage by means of imagination.

In the more extreme forms of Shīʿī Islam, such as Ismāʿīlīs, there are enduring Gnostic Hellenistic and Zoroastrian ideas; the divine can be made manifest in the world via angels who can take on a concrete physical form in members of the Ismāʿīlīte hierarchy. According to the beliefs of the Yezidi, incorrectly called "devil-worshippers," God created the world but the task of looking after it was entrusted to seven divine angels; among these the peacock angel (*Malak Taʾus*) is the symbol of immortality and the sun, the supreme angel, and active essence of God, who has declined in power but who weeps and cries tears of sorrow, which put out the fires of hell.

GNOSTICISM AND MANICHAEISM. In classical gnosis we find a variety of angelological ideas, including angels who create the world and rule it badly by fighting each other (Simon Magus), with a role not unlike the Demiurge. In this case the angels are usurpers of power (in the philosophy of Carpocrates, Menander, Saturninus and Basilides), against whom the act of salvation is directed, and therefore ignorant powers that have forgotten their subordinate place in the hierarchy of spiritual beings and are thus in the grip of envy and greed; these beings include the Jewish god who was responsible for creation. The Gnostic elect must therefore despise and free themselves from these powers that control the world, and train their souls to avoid the snares of these ruling powers that block their progress to the celestial planes. In its most positive interpretation, the soul of the elect could directly correspond with the angel that was his transcendental real self, the eternal prototype of which the soul was an earthly reflection, image (*eikon*), and part (*meros*). The angel could also be a heavenly messenger who reveals mysteries and awakens knowledge in humankind. Objects for personal use such as "Gnostic jewels" reveal aspects of a Hellenistic, Hermetic syncretism, which blend Christian and pagan elements: along with a Iaô (Yahweh) and Abrasax they call upon generic Faustian "powers" (*dynameis*). In other cases the jewels have the image of a manifold deity Hermes-Phosphoros-Michael, with inscriptions on the body referring to Yahweh, the archangels, and magic spells; these objects were used as seals so that the soul would pass over the cosmic planes and eventually reach the spiritual realm. Other images depict Olympian gods with the name of an angel inscribed alongside: Hermes (with his caduceus wand) and Michael; Iuppiter (armed with lightning and with the eagle) and Satoviel; and Diana (with bow, arrows and a crown) and Gabriel.

In a Gnostic religion such as Mandaeism, the priest is the earthly representative of messengers and angels (*uthrê*, literally "riches") who live in the world of light. These spiritual beings surround the supreme god and grant benefits on humankind, such as baptism, a gift of the divine beings of light to Adam and an important ritual which allows the soul to ascend to heaven. One important type of Mandaean exorcistic text inscribed on cups sets out magic spells used to neutralize demons and *liliths;* not just gods but also angels are invoked who can bless, set free, ward off, and destroy.

In Manichaeism too, there are also important angelological ideas: the angel of Mani is his spiritual twin (*syzygos*) who talks to him and provides him with instruction on the Gnostic mysteries. The *syzygos* thus reveals to him things that have been hidden, raises him up, and takes him to unknown and indescribable places. Protected from childhood in the baptismal community by guardian angels and divine powers, Mani grows up and eventually meets his "Twin" (Narjamig in Iranian texts, in Arabic al-Tawm in the *Fihrist* of an-Nadim) who enlightens him and encourages him in his missionary vocation. The Twin protects him spiritually against the snares of Greed (Az) and Evil (Ahrmen).

Angelic apparitions can be found in the myth of Manichaean cosmogony: during the first emanation, after the Mother of Life has produced Primordial Man, an angel emitting light called Nahashbat appears before him with a crown in his hand. There are also angelic presences that provide rewards, fine garments, the diadem, and the crown of light to the soul after death, when the soul of the Elect is escorted by gods and angels, who protect it against demons, until it meets its light image. In the universal eschatology of judgment day, Jesus will chair the court, surrounded by the Elect who have become angels. Concerning this angelic court, we have the evidence of Augustine of Hippo (354–430) who speaks of ranks of angels (*cohortes angelorum*), which make up the divine entourage in the paradise that is the Kingdom of Light. In his work, the *Book of Giants*, Mani retells the story of the fall of the angels (from the first book of Enoch), combining it with other narrative material. The Egregoroi, for example, who are attracted to women and marry them, become demons imprisoned in the world from which the race of giants originated, and are defeated by the archangels Raphael, Michael, Gabriel, and Istrael, as well as by Uriel and Fanuel.

MEDIEVAL, MODERN, AND CONTEMPORARY IDEAS. In late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, there continued to be reservations about the role of angels. In the seventh century, Pope Gregory I specified that the name angel should refer to their role and not their nature (*nomen est officii non naturae*). Based upon a passage of *Ezekiel* (28:13) concerning jewels, Gregory theorized a set of links between precious stones and angels according to their essence and spiritual clarity (Sardonyx, Topaz, and Jasper; Crisolite, Onyx, and Beryl; and Sapphire, Ruby, and Emerald).

During the Middle Ages, the work of Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) and Bonaventure marked the high point of the success of Dionysius the Areopagite in scholastic philosophy. After the Lateran Council of 746, the cult was restricted to the three archangels, thus establishing the preeminence of Michael (soldier angel and protector), Raphael (guardian angel and healer), and Gabriel (the angel of the Annunciation); as a result of the addition of the epithet "Saint," these angels became humanized and Michael in particular was the subject of a popular cult and devotion with the establishment of shrines that spread his veneration throughout Europe. Michael's protective warlike qualities were appreciated by "barbarian" nations—among them the Celts, Germans, Slavs, and Baltic peoples—who gradually converted to the Christian faith. The cult of Saint Michael resulted in a pilgrimage route known as the "way of angels," which linked Normandy's Mont Saint-Michel with San Michele della Chiusa in Piedmont, Italy and San Michele del Gargano in Puglia, Italy.

The heretical and dualist ideological ideas of religious movements such as the Bogomils and Cathars reworked the story of the fallen angel, Satan. According to the Cathars, the devil created the human body by imprisoning an angel of light; this soul has an angelic nature which longs to return to heaven, but is condemned to be continually reborn in bodily form until it discovers the truth. Every angel/soul therefore has an individual spirit (*Spiritus sanctus*); the Virgin Mary herself was regarded as an angel in order to justify, from a docetic perspective, the immaterial nature of the body of the Savior. In the Encratite anthropology of the Bogomils, imitating the angel-eunuchs who live in heaven was a way of attaining, via asceticism, the detachment and sublimation of sexuality required to strive against materialism and reproductive instincts.

In medieval Grail epics, angels appear in a variety of situations as beings who impart stories of the Grail to hermits in visions. The Grail itself was originally a precious stone, an emerald, which fell to earth from the crown of Lucifer during the battle between the good and bad angels. In this battle, caused by Lucifer's rebellion, a number of so-called neutral angels did not take part and they became the guardian angels of the Grail. Four angels support the throne on which Joseph of Arimathea is seated, and this quartet carries two candles, the crimson silk, and lance to be placed above the Grail which is used to catch the drops of the blood of Christ.

The Renaissance, with its rediscovery of Neoplatonic theurgy and magic, witnessed a reformulation of various angelological and demonological ideas. These had been inherited from such ancient philosophers as Iamblichus, Proclus, and Psellus, and spread until the time of the philosopher Giordano Bruno (1548–1600). After him there was a gradual censorship by the Counter-Reformation of the *phantasia* of Renaissance pagan imagination. In the works of Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) the idea of philosophy is seen as a mystery initiation, consisting of meditations and visions intended to raise the mind to the plane of angels, demons and planets. Pico della Mirandola asserted that elements of Christian angelology are also present, tinged with Platonism and qabbalism. In the natural philosophy of Paracelsus, magic allows control of the world of heavenly, astral, and earthly intelligence as well as the elemental demons connected with the four elements. For Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, the basic angelological hierarchy was divided into four categories of angel:

of Fire (Seraphim, Virtues, Powers);
of Air (Dominations, Principalities);
of Water (Thrones, Archangels);
and of Earth (Cherubim).

A system of angel and demon intelligence was linked to the seven planets and to graphic signs and pentacles used in performing magical ceremonies. Angels were also connected to signs of the zodiac, the four winds, and the four cardinal points of the compass. There were angels that describe the functions and powers of God (Vision, Strength, Virtue, Glory), while three good demons protect humankind by acting as guardian angels.

In the modern age there have been individuals and secret societies with universalist, utopian systems, such as the Rosicrucians, who were interested in the ideas of theosophy and alchemy. Illustrations in alchemical writings from the fifteenth century (*Opera Chemica*) attributed to Raimondo Lullo represent the biblical episode of Tobit and Raphael, the healing angel, and hint that the alchemical Great Work of the philosopher should always take place under the guidance of heavenly powers so as not to stray into darkness. In the work of Jakob Boehme (1575–1624), angels intervene in the alchemical work of the Magus and their revelation determines the success of the work. An account by Johann Georg Gichtel depicts the battle of Saint Michael with the Dragon, symbolizing the struggle between the forces of Love and Anger and between Light and Darkness. In Elizabethan England there was a kind of angelic spiritualism, particularly illustrated by the magus John Dee. Dee may have inspired both the character of Prospero, the master of the sprite Ariel in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, as well as the title character in Gustav Meyrink's 1927 novel *The Angel of the West Window.* Dee claimed to have been visited by the angel Uriel, who brought him a gift of a magic crystal to enable the magus to communicate with him via a supposed language of angels.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries spiritualism and evocation of angels was widespread: in the writings of the Lutheran theologian Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772) the universe has a spiritual structure and the human microcosm is the image of the divine macrocosm; angels allowed communion with the divine which could be known via visionary experiences. This theosophy influenced not only philosophers but also artists and writers like William Blake (1757–1827), who put forward ideas concerning angels in both his engravings and his poetic works. Swedenborg was identified with an angel in Blake's *Marriage of Hell and Heaven,* while the "Four Zoas" in Blake's poetry are angelic and devil images of the four elements. Angelic influence in romantic and spiritualist imagination was marked in Pre-Raphaelite and Impressionist art. Twentieth-century occult movements, like the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, practiced a version of angelic spiritualism and provided visionary and poetic inspiration. One of its most famous members was William Butler Yeats (1865–1939); another famous member of an esoteric brotherhood, the magician Aleister Crowley (1875–1947), carried out ritual "magick" ceremonies by calling upon an angelic being named Aiwass. In other cases the subject of angels was the source of philosophical ruminations from the great artistic and cultural figures of the twentieth century, including Gershom Scholem, Walter Benjamin, Paul Klee, and Rainer Maria Rilke. Angels have also become subject matter for mass-media interpretations, perhaps most notably by German filmmaker Wim Wender's 1987 classic *Wings of Desire.* Also bearing mention are the spiritualist and irrational New Age movements and kinds of recollective possession and contacts with spirit guides via mediumistic channeling experiments.

SEE ALSO Demons; Fravashis; Satan.

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ANDREA PIRAS (2005)
Translated from Italian by Paul Ellis

ANGLICANISM. Anglicanism, also called the Anglican Communion, is a federation of autonomous national and regional churches that are in full intercommunion through the archbishop of Canterbury of the Church of England. Anglican churches share a tradition of doctrine, polity, and liturgy stemming from the English Reformation of the sixteenth century. Often classified as Protestant, they also claim a Catholic heritage of faith and order from the ancient, undivided church.

EARLY HISTORY. The endeavor to hold together in a comprehensive middle way (*via media*) the tensions of its Protestant and Catholic elements is characteristic of Anglicanism. This tradition is a legacy of the English Reformation, which was essentially an act of state, not a popular movement. Without the coercive power of the state Anglicanism might have died aborning. The long reign of Queen Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603) ensured its survival.

Like her father, Henry VIII (r. 1509–1547), Elizabeth was determined to rule both church and state. The Act of Supremacy of 1559 changed Henry's title of "supreme head in earth of the Church of England" (1534) to that of "supreme governor." Elizabeth had no intention of submitting England to papal authority, which her sister, Mary I (r. 1553–1558), had restored. She was equally adamant against agitation for a presbyterian form of church government that would dispense with the royal supremacy, the episcopacy, and the liturgy.

The two editions of *The Book of Common Prayer* authorized in 1549 and 1552 under Edward VI (r. 1547–1553) were chiefly the work of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer of Canterbury (1533–1556), whom Queen Mary had burned as a heretic. Both books were Protestant in doctrine, but many ceremonies and ornaments from the Latin rites that were retained in 1549 were eliminated in 1552. Elizabeth preferred the 1549 prayer book. Parliament would accept only that of 1552, but the queen succeeded in making a few substantial changes in it. Pejorative references to the bishop of Rome were omitted. The 1,549 words of administration at Communion were added. Those additions clearly identified the consecrated bread and wine with the body and blood of Christ. Elizabeth eliminated a rubric stating that kneeling to receive Communion did not imply adoration of "any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood," but she was unable to enforce a new rubric restoring the ornaments of the church as they had been specified in the second year of Edward VI's reign.

Many episcopal sees, including Canterbury, were vacant at Elizabeth's accession. Most of Mary's bishops were deprived of their offices for refusing to accept the new settlement. Careful to maintain the episcopal succession, Elizabeth chose Matthew Parker, a moderate reformer and a friend and admirer of Cranmer, to be archbishop of Canterbury. He was consecrated on December 17, 1559, by two bishops from Henry's time and two from Edward's. Vacant sees were filled with the queen's supporters.

In 1571 Parliament approved the Thirty-nine Articles, the only official confessional statement of Anglicanism, which are still included in most editions of the prayer book. They are not a complete system of doctrine but point out differences from Roman Catholicism and Anabaptism and indicate nuanced agreement with Lutheran and Reformed positions. The queen added in Article 20 the statement "The Church hath power to decree Rites and Ceremonies."

Elizabeth's settlement remains the foundation of Anglicanism. It affirms the status of the canonical scriptures as the final arbiter in all matters of doctrine and as containing all matters necessary to salvation. Traditions of the ancient church and teachings of the early Church Fathers, unless contrary to scripture, are treasured. The dogmatic decisions of the first four ecumenical councils on the Trinity and the Incarnation are accepted. Anglican liturgies regularly use the

Apostles' and Nicene creeds and in some places the Athanasian Creed (*Quicunque vult*).

THEOLOGY AND CHURCH GOVERNMENT. Today most Anglicans accept modern methods of literary and historical criticism of the scriptures and other religious documents. Anglicanism has never had a dominant theologian such as Thomas Aquinas, Martin Luther, or John Calvin. The apologetic work of Richard Hooker (1554–1600), *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity,* is still influential with its appeal to scripture, church tradition, reason, and experience. Anglican theology tends to be biblical, pastoral, and apologetic rather than dogmatic or confessional.

The Anglican polity is episcopal and preserves the ordained orders of bishops, presbyter-priests, and deacons that go back to apostolic times. There is no official doctrine of episcopacy. Some Anglicans consider it essential; others feel it is needed for the proper ordering or fullness of a truly catholic church. In negotiations for unity or intercommunion with other churches Anglicans insist that an unbroken succession of bishops, together with the other two orders, be maintained.

All Anglican churches are constitutionally governed, with each church having its own canons for executive and legislative authorities. Bishops, the clergy, and the laity participate in all synodical decision making, but a consensus of these orders, voting separately, is necessary for decisions about major doctrinal, liturgical, or canonical matters. Outside England bishops generally are elected by a synod of the diocese in which they will serve, subject to confirmation by other bishops and representative clergy and laity from each diocese.

The Church of England is the only contemporary Anglican church that is state-established. The archbishop of Canterbury has a primacy of honor among all Anglican bishops but has no jurisdiction outside his own diocese and province. The British Crown, after appropriate consultations, nominates the English bishops, who then are elected by their respective cathedral chapters. Parliament retains final control over doctrine and liturgy, but the Synodical Government Measure of 1969 gave the English church the freedom to order its internal life through a general synod of bishops, clergy, and laity.

In addition to the episcopate, Anglicanism is bonded by a common liturgy that is contained in various recensions of *The Book of Common Prayer* and is based on either the Elizabethan version of 1559 or that of 1549. Use of the prayer book is prescribed in all Anglican churches. With the Bible and a hymnal, it provides everything needed for the churches' rites and ceremonies. The prayer book has been in continuous use since the sixteenth century except for the years of the English Commonwealth (1645–1660), when it was proscribed for public and private use. It is the only vernacular liturgy of the Reformation period still in use.

The prayer-book formularies, many of them derived from the ancient church, are a principal source of doctrine and a primary basis of the spirituality of both the clergy and the laity. The daily and Sunday liturgies are set within the framework of the traditional seasons of the Christian year and the fixed feasts of Christ and the saints. The sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper (also called Holy Communion or Eucharist) generally are considered necessary to salvation.

Valid baptism is by water "in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." When they reach a competent age, persons who were baptized in infancy are expected to reaffirm the baptismal promises made by their parents or sponsors, at which time they receive confirmation by a bishop. The Eucharist, with invariable elements of bread and wine, consecrated by a thanksgiving prayer that includes Christ's "words of institution" at the last supper, is a memorial of Christ's once-for-all redemptive acts in which Christ is objectively present and effectually received in faith.

CHURCHES OUTSIDE ENGLAND. For almost three centuries the expansion of Anglicanism was hindered by the Church of England's lack of an overall missionary strategy and its concept of a church that must be established by the state and sufficiently endowed. Within the British Isles the Church in Wales, whose roots go back to the ancient church in Roman Britain, was part of the province of Canterbury from the Norman Conquest of 1066 until its disestablishment and disendowment (the political actions that made the church independent of the government, and self-supporting) in 1920. It now uses Welsh as well as English in its liturgy.

The English Reformation was rejected by 90 percent of the people in Ireland, yet not until 1870 was the (Anglican) Church of Ireland disestablished and largely disendowed. Four Anglican dioceses now straddle the border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. Old enmities between the Irish church and its predominant Roman Catholic neighbor have diminished.

The Reformation in Scotland was predominantly presbyterian. A precarious Anglican episcopate was maintained by the Stuart sovereigns. For its loyalty to James II and his male descendants after their deposition by Parliament, the Scottish Episcopal Church was disestablished in 1689 and subjected to penal laws between 1715 and 1792. Yet it maintained its episcopal succession, revised its liturgy, and in 1784 consecrated its first American bishop, Samuel Seabury of Connecticut (1729–1797).

Beginning in Virginia in 1607, the English church came to be established in the American colonies from Maryland southward and in New York City. Except in Virginia Anglicans were outnumbered in the colonies by religious dissidents and refugees. The bishop of London exercised general supervision, yet no bishop visited America during the colonial period.

After a brief visit to Maryland the Reverend Thomas Bray (1658–1730) founded in 1701 the voluntary Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG).

The Archbishops of Canterbury

Name	Made a Bishop	Years as Archbishop
Augustine	597	601-604
Laurentius	604	604-619
Mellitus	604	619-624
Justus	604	624-627
Honorius		627-653
Deusdedit		655-664
Theodore of Tarsus		668-690
Beorhtweald		693-731
Tatwine		731-734
Nothelm		735-739
Cuthbeorht	736	740-760
Breguwine		761-764
Jænbeorht		765-792
Æthelheard		793-805
Wulfred		805-832
Feologild		805-832
Ceolnoth		833-870
Æthelred		870-889
Plegmund		890-914
Æthelhelm	909	914-923
Wulfhelm	914	923-942
Oda	923	942-958
Ælfsige	951	942-959
Beorhthelm	956	959-dep. 959
Dunstn	957	960-988
Æthelgar	980	988-990
Sigeric	985	990-994
Ælfric	990	995-1005
Ælfheah (Alphege)	984	1005-1012 [martyred]
Lyfing	999	1013-1020
Æthelnoth		1020-1038
Eadsige	1035	1038-1050
Robert of Jumièges	1044	1051-exp. 1052; d. 1070
Stigand	1043	1052-dep. 1070; d. 1072
Lanfranc		1070-1089
Anselm		1093-1109
Ralph d'Escures	1108	1114-1122
William de Corbeil		1123-1136
Theobald		1139-1161
Thomas Becket		1162-1170
Richard (of Dover)		1174-1184
Baldwin	1180	1185-1190
Hubert Walter	1189	1193-1205
Stephen Langton		1207-1228
Richard le Grant		1229-1231
Edmund Rich		1234-1240
Boniface of Savoy		1245-1270
Robert Kilwardby		1273-1278
John Pecham (Peckham)		1279-1292
Robert Winchelsey		1294-1313
Walter Reynolds	1308	1313-1327
Simon Mepeham		1328-1333
John Stratford	1323	1333-1348
Thomas Bradwardine		1349
Simon Islip		1349-1366
Simon Langham	1362	1366-res. 1368
William Whittlesey	1362	1368-1374
Simon Sudbury	1362	1375-1381
William Courtenay	1370	1381-1396
Thomas arundel	1374	1396-trans. 1397
Roger Walden		1398-depr. 1399; d. 1406
Thomas Arundel		rest. 1399-1414
Henry Chichele	1408	1414-1443
John Stafford	1425	1443-1452
John Kemp	1419	1452-1454
Thomas Bourchier	1435	1454-1486
John Morton	1479	1486-1500
Henry Dean	1496	1501-1503
William Warham	1502	1503-1532
Thomas Cranmer		1533-1556
Reginald Pole		1556-1558
Matthew Parker		1559-1575
Edmund Grindal	1559	1576-1583
John Whitgift	1577	1583-1604
Richard Bancroft	1597	1604-1610
George Abbot	1609	1611-1633
William Laud	1621	1633-1645
William Juxon	1633	1660-1663
Gilbert Sheldon	1660	1663-1677
William Sancroft		1678-depr. 1691; d. 1693
John Tillotson		1691-1694
Thomas Tenison	1692	1695-1715
William Wake	1705	1716-1737
John Potter	1715	1737-1747
Thomas Herring	1738	1747-1757
Matthew Hutton	1743	1757-1758
Thomas Secker	735	1758-1768
Frederick Cornwallis	1750	1768-1783
John Moore	1775	1783-1805
Charles Manners Sutton	1792	1805-1828
William Howley	1813	1828-1848
John Bird Sumner	1828	1848-1862
Charles Thomas Longley	1836	1862-1868
Archibald Campbell Tait	1856	1868-1882
Edward White Benson	1877	1883-1896
Frederick Temple	1869	1896-1902
Randall Thomas Davidson	1891	1903-ret. 1928; d. 1930
Cosmo Gordon Lang	1901	1928-ret. 1942; d. 1944
William Temple	1921	1942-1944
Geoffrey Francis Fisher	1932	1945-ret. 1961; d. 1972
Arthur Michael Ramsey	1952	1961-ret. 1974
Frederick Donald Coggan	1956	1974-ret. 1980
Robert Alexander Kennedy Runcie	1970	1980-1991
George Carey	1987	1991-2002
Rowan Williams	1992	2003-

TABLE 1. For those consecrated as bishop prior to becoming Archbishop of Canterbury, the year of consecration is noted. Abbreviations: d. = died; dep. = deposed; depr. = deprived; exp. = expelled; res. = resigned; rest. = restored; ret. = retired; trans. = translated to another see.

Until the American Revolution the SPG sent more than three hundred missionaries into the colonies. The revolution undid those accomplishments, with the Anglican clergy and laity becoming divided between American patriots and loyalists to the British Crown.

With independence, all SPG support was withdrawn. A large proportion of the clergy and laity had left for England or Canada. There were no more establishments, and in Virginia disendowment followed. The remaining clergy and laity, both patriots and loyalists, began to organize in state conventions. The consecration of Bishop Seabury for Connecticut by Scottish bishops, who were considered schismatic by the Church of England, spurred the English bishops to obtain an act of Parliament in June 1786 that enabled them to consecrate American bishops without the customary oaths of obedience to the royal supremacy and the archbishop of Canterbury. Three Americans were so consecrated: for Pennsylvania and New York in 1787 and for Virginia in 1790.

Under the leadership of Bishop William White of Pennsylvania (1748–1836) and Bishop Seabury, a national church that was formed at a general convention in 1789 adopted a constitution, canons, and a revised prayer book. By the General Convention in 1835 the Episcopal Church was strong enough to establish a concerted missionary strategy, and it organized the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, which to this day includes all its baptized members. A bishop was chosen to organize dioceses on the western frontier, and a bishop was resident in China in 1844 and in Japan in 1874. Liberia received its first bishop in 1851.

In England evangelical Anglicans, influenced by the revival movement of the Wesleys, in the late eighteenth century formed the Church Missionary Society, whose aims were comparable to those of the SPG. Later other voluntary missionary societies with special areas of interest arose. The Church of England was slow, however, in providing bishops for its burgeoning missions overseas, and voluntary societies could not provide them legally since bishops can be appointed only by the church, not by voluntary societies, even if they are affiliated with the church. Canada received its first bishop in 1787, followed by India in 1814, the West Indies in 1824, Australia in 1836, New Zealand in 1841, and South Africa in 1847.

CONFLICTS, CONGRESSES, AND INTERFAITH DIALOGUE. By the 1860s two internal conflicts were disturbing many Anglican churches: the emergence in some churches of modern biblical criticism and the rise of ritual and ceremonial practices influenced by the Tractarian (or Oxford) Movement of the 1830s and 1840s, which emphasized the Catholic heritage of Anglicanism. At the request of the Canadian bishops and with the counsel of his own convocation, Archbishop Longley of Canterbury invited all Anglican bishops to meet at his palace at Lambeth in London in 1867 for common consultation and encouragement. Seventy-six bishops attended. The success of that meeting led to similar Lambeth Conferences at approximately ten-year intervals except when the two world wars intervened.

The encyclical letters, resolutions, and reports of these conferences have no legislative, but only advisory, authority. They deal with internal Anglican affairs, ecumenical relations, and important social and ethical issues. The 1958 conference was the first to invite representative observers from other churches, both eastern and western, to attend. Anglican congresses in Minneapolis (1954) and Toronto (1964) of bishops and clergy and lay delegates from most of the Anglican dioceses, along with congresses in Lambeth (1958 and 1968), opened the way to new structures of Anglican intercommunication.

In 1960 the first Anglican executive officer, serving under the archbishop of Canterbury, was chosen. His duties were to visit and assess the problems of the various Anglican churches and promote communication and common strategy for missionary work among them. In 1971 the Anglican Consultative Council came into being, and the Anglican executive officer became its secretary general. The council meets every two or three years in different parts of the Anglican world. The archbishop of Canterbury is its president, but the council elects its own chairperson; to date three of the chairs have been laypersons. Members consist of representative bishops, clergy, and laity of the several Anglican churches. Its concerns are much the same as those of the Lambeth Conferences, and like them it has no legislative authority.

Anglicanism is strongly involved in endeavors for Christian unity. The 1888 Lambeth Conference proposed a fourfold basis for negotiations: the scriptures as "the rule and ultimate standard of faith"; the Apostles' and Nicene creeds as "sufficient statement of the Christian faith"; the sacraments of baptism and the Supper of the Lord as instituted by Christ; and "the Historic Episcopate, locally adapted . . . to the varying needs of nations and peoples." This "Lambeth Quadrilateral" has been constantly reaffirmed.

The Episcopal Church under the leadership of Bishop Charles Henry Brent (1862–1929) planned the first World Conference on Faith and Order at Lausanne in 1927, over which Brent presided. Delegates from more than a hundred Protestant and Eastern Orthodox churches attended. This movement became part of the World Council of Churches, constituted in 1948.

At Bonn in 1931 the Anglican Communion entered into an agreement with the Old Catholic churches of the Union of Utrecht (1889) for full intercommunion, which stated that this does "not require from either Communion the acceptance of all doctrinal opinion, sacramental devotion, or liturgical practice characteristic of the other, but implies that each believes the other to hold all the essentials of the Christian Faith." This concordat has been the basis of all intercommunion with non-Anglican Episcopal episcopal churches, which Anglicans call the Wider Episcopal Fellowship.

A member of this fellowship is the Philippine Independent Catholic Church, which split from the Roman Catholic Church in 1902 and in 1948 requested and received from the Episcopal Church the historical episcopal succession. In 1961 full intercommunion was established, and in 1965 the Philippine church became a member of the confederation of Old Catholic churches. A unique development began when Anglican dioceses joined with other Protestant churches in forming the Church of South India in 1947, with Anglicans providing the historical episcopate. The churches of North India, Pakistan, and (after national independence) Bangladesh subsequently were formed on the same basis. Intercommunion also has been established with the ancient Mar Thoma Syrian Church of Malabar in India.

Serious efforts to achieve the future reunion of Anglicanism with the Roman Catholic Church began with an official visit of Archbishop Ramsey of Canterbury with Pope Paul VI in March 1966. A joint preparatory commission in 1967 and 1968 sorted major theological issues for dialogue and made recommendations for areas of cooperation. Between 1970 and 1981 the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission published substantial agreements on eucharistic doctrine, ministry, and ordination and two agreements on authority in the church. Those agreements were gathered, with some elucidations, in the commission's *Final Report* (1982). When Pope John Paul II visited Britain in 1982, he and Archbishop Runcie signed the "Common Declaration" at Canterbury Cathedral on June 29 for a new commission to study further theological issues, pastoral problems, and practical steps for "the next stage" toward unity.

Anglican-Lutheran international dialogues took place between 1970 and 1972. The ensuing report has been influential in an official Lutheran-Episcopal dialogue in the United States. In September 1982 three Lutheran bodies, in the process of uniting, agreed with the Episcopal Church to celebrate an interim shared Eucharist on specified occasions as a step toward closer unity in doctrine, liturgy, and ministry. Moves toward ecumenism between the the Church of England and other European denominations and between the American Episcopal Church and other denominations continued throughout the 1980s and 1990s.

Such dialogues recall expectations voiced in the encyclical letter of the 1948 Lambeth Conference that, no doubt, was influenced by the formation of the Church of South India the year before:

> Reunion of any part of our Communion with other denominations in its own area must make the resulting Church no longer simply Anglican, but something more comprehensive. . . . The Anglican Communion would be merged in a much larger Communion of National or Regional Churches, in full communion with one another, united in all the terms of what is known as the Lambeth Quadrilateral.

In addition to developments related to the ecumenical movement, a significant change in the Anglican Communion during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries has been its growth in African and Asian countries. Whereas there are currently about 26,000,000 Anglicans in England; 2,400,000 in the United States; about 4,000,000 in Australia, Aotearoa/New Zealand, and Polynesia; and about 700,000 in Canada, the real growth of Anglican churches has occurred elsewhere. There are over 41,500,000 Anglicans in Africa, with Nigeria alone accounting for 17,500,000. Indeed, the independence of African countries that was won after World War II led to an increased rate of conversion to Anglican churches even in areas that had never been colonies of Britain. The leadership and clergy of African Anglican churches are also indigenous in a way they were not before the collapse of nineteenth- and twentieth-century colonialism. At the 1998 Lambeth Conference bishops from Africa and Asia (224 and 95, respectively) outnumbered those from Europe, the United States, and Canada combined (316). A resolution affirming traditional disapproval of homosexually active clergy passed largely because of support from African bishops.

Current differences of opinion on ethical issues in the Anglican Communion, especially those related to the ordination of women and the morality of homosexuality, often reflect geographical differences. The General Convention of the Episcopal Church (U.S.A.) first allowed the ordination of women in 1976, an event that was prompted by two instances of retired bishops ordaining female deacons to the priesthood without official approval on July 29, 1974, in Philadelphia and on September 7, 1975, in Washington, D.C. The first female Episcopal bishop, Barbara Harris, was elected in 1989. The General Synod of the Church of England voted in favor of allowing the ordination of women on November 11, 1992; in 1975 it had narrowly voted that it had "no fundamental objections" to women's ordination.

However, these developments have not met with approval throughout the Anglican Communion, with the churches and bishops in Africa and Asia notably opposed to such changes. In 1998 the Eames Commission, the Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Communion and Women in the Episcopate, reported that no ordination of women to any clerical office was at that time allowed in the provinces of Central Africa, Jerusalem and the Middle East, Korea, Melanesia, Nigeria, Papua New Guinea, South East Asia, and Tanzania. Other provinces allow women's ordination to the deaconate but not to the priesthood. Only a few provinces allow women's ordination as both deacons and priests and allow the election of a woman as bishop.

Similarly, there has been disagreement about the morality of same-sex unions and the ordination of openly gay or lesbian Christians to the priesthood. When the Episcopal Church in the United States allowed the election of an openly gay man as bishop of Vermont in 2003, that event caused much controversy within and among Anglican communions, with the most vociferous disapproval being voiced by African bishops.

Since its beginning as a national, Protestant church in England in the sixteenth century, the Anglican communion has grown into a worldwide, diverse federation of churches bound together by a respect for a common tradition of doctrine, liturgy, and polity. The different churches draw on a past that includes both Protestant and Catholic elements. The loosely structured, federated nature of the communion may frustrate some attempts at greater unity and conformity, but it also may enable survival, and perhaps even flourishing, of the church in an increasingly international world.

SEE ALSO Cranmer, Thomas; Hooker, Richard.

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MASSEY H. SHEPHERD, JR. (1987)
DALE B. MARTIN (2005)

ANI LOCHEN (c. 1865–1951) came to achieve the most treasured status of Tibetan culture, that of a religious master, and her devotees regard her as an emanation (*sprul sku*) of the the famous eleventh-century *yoginī* Machig Labdron. An exceptional autobiography, written during her last years, provides insight into her spiritual achievements, as well as the more mundane aspects of the life of female religious specialists in Tibet during the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries.

In her youth Ani Lochen was an itinerant *yoginī*; in midlife she was ordained a nun (*a ne*); and in her mature years she became a famous lama (*bla ma*). Ani Lochen was addressed as *rinpoche* (precious), a title reserved for high lamas and only exceptionally used for female masters. In premodern Tibet, thousands of male yogins, *rinpoches*, and learned monks competed for attention and support, and it is highly remarkable that a woman of humble origins was able to rise from poverty, physical and psychological abuse, and ethnic, social, and gender discrimination to become a treasured teacher of Tibetan Buddhism.

At the turn of the twentieth century, Ani Lochen established one of the largest and most famous nunneries in Tibet, Shug gseb (Shugseb), at the mountain Gangri Thokar south of Lhasa. Organized as a mountain hermitage, Shug gseb became the refuge of three hundred *yoginīs* and nuns, who practiced meditation and yoga in caves and cells scattered on the hillside above the convent. Apart from periods of strict seclusion, Ani Lochen's door was always open—even during the night—for nuns in need of advice and instruction. At Shug gseb the routines of meditation were broken only when famous teachers visited, for common rituals on special days, and for the daily duties of monastic living.

Ani Lochen came to embody important cultural and religious impulses from all of Tibet, stretching from Amdo and Kham in the east, where her main teachers came from, to the holy mountain Kailash in the west, which she visited twice. She also spent years meditating in caves in the Himalayas in Nepal. Ani Lochen received her training from masters of the "old school" of Tibetan Buddhism (Rnying ma [Nyingma] pa), which traces its spiritual ancestry back to ancient sources of Buddhist wisdom, yoga, and meditation disseminated in Tibet during the ninth century, possibly earlier. Ani Lochen combined learning from several Tibetan Buddhist schools and continued an eclectic tradition *(ris med)* transferred to her by her main teacher Pema Gyatso (d. c. 1889), himself a personal disciple of the great yogin Shabkar (1781–1851) from Amdo in northeastern Tibet.

During Ani Lochen's lifetime, Shug gseb became a vibrant and active religious community attracting many well-known yogins and scholars. One of the greatest scholars and adepts in Tibetan history, Klong chen Rab 'byams pa (Longchen Rabjampa,1308–1363), wrote his main works on Buddhist philosophy in a cave near Ani Lochen's convent, thus making the mountain an important site of pilgrimage. Among religious masters and important persons visiting Shug gseb during Ani Lochen's days were Rva sgreng rin po che (Reting Rinpoche, (1912–1947), the regent of Tibet; Si tu chos kyi rgya mtsho (Situ Chokyi Gyatso, 1880–1925), the abbot of Kah thog (Kathok) Monastery in Kham; the king of Gling tshangs (Lingtsang, Kham); Rang byung Rig pa'i rdo rje (Rangchung Rigpe Dorje, 1924–1981), the sixteenth Karma pa; and the father of the fourteenth Dalai

Lama. Among Ani Lochen's teachers were also such "crazy" *siddhas* as the tenth 'Khrul zhig rin po che (Trulshig Rinpoche, d. 1920s) and Stag lung Ma sprul Rin po che (Taklung Matrul Rinpoche, 1916–1976), who employed unconventional means to reach the Buddhist goal of enlightenment.

When Ani Lochen and her religious companions arrived in Lhasa around 1880—after years of wandering in the Himalayas—people were amazed to see such a group of yogins and *yoginīs*, their hair long and matted, their cotton robes in rags. In Lhasa word spread quickly of this remarkable *yoginī*, and soon the aristocracy—particularly the women—took her to their hearts. She was invited to noble mansions like that of the Lha klu (Lalu) family to read sūtras; she was ordained a nun on the terrace of Rag shag (Ragshag) House, and she became the house-lama of Lady Bshag byang (Shagjang) in E-yul. Counted among her devout disciples and supporters were some of the most influential families in Lhasa: the Phreng ring (Taring), the Nga phod (Ngaphö), the Spang mda' tshang (Pangda Tsang), the Ka shod (Kapshö), the 'Brang stod (Drang Tö), the Ragshag, the Lcog bkras (Chogdre), the Kun bzang rtse (Kunsangtse), the Pha la (Phala), the Hor khang (Horkang), and the Sne do (Nedo). Lady Nedo (b. 1917) recalled the following:

> I had heard much about Jetsun [Venerable] Rinpoche in Lhasa, but didn't really have faith in her. But in 1948 I stayed at her nunnery for more than a month. At Shugseb there were people from all walks of life: nobles and businessmen, peasants and nomads. They came from Lhasa and from different villages in the vicinity: from Western Tibet (Ngari), Shigatse, Lhoka and Kham. I even saw Bhutanese there. The pilgrims gathered in [the] monastery kitchen and in the assembly-hall. Jetsun Lochen told the nuns to feed them all. Since her private quarter was so small, the devotees had to wait in line to receive her blessings and advice. She treated everyone alike, making no distinction between high and low. Jetsun Lochen would say, "*yar shog, yar shog*"—"come in, come in!" I was invited one day into her private room at the time of her morning toilette. I had heard that Jetsun Lochen liked French perfume, and I offered her a small blue bottle of expensive perfume which I bought in Lhasa [the perfume was labeled *Evening in Paris* and was popular among the noble ladies in Lhasa at the time]. Jetsun Lochen was so old—she could not move or walk. When the nuns lifted her naked body—like one does a baby—her legs remained in cross-legged position. When they tried to stretch them out, her legs immediately resumed the meditation position—there were even bumps on them marked by years of sitting like this. The nuns changed Jetsun Lochen's diapers made of soft wool, and even after days and nights in meditation, the urine did not smell bad at all. I had never seen anything like this—suddenly I had great faith in Jetsun Rinpoche. I thought, "She is the real Machig Labdron and the real Tārā [goddess of compassion]!" I still have faith in her—it has not changed since then. (Nedo, 1999)

In the traditional (pre-1950) Tibetan context, female religious specialists were few in number, and even fewer were famous. They did not have important clerical positions, they were generally not in demand by laypeople, and they were poor. Ani Lochen was an exceptional woman in Tibet—one who painstakingly pursued her spiritual quest, and who was able, through the practice of yoga and meditation, and with the help of generous support from her devotees, to become the spiritual master of thousands of disciples. Even at present, Ani Lochen's death is ritually commemorated on the thirteenth day of the month by nuns and *yoginīs*, but also by monks and yogins at rDeng rgyal Ri khrod (Dengyel Hermitage, built near the cave of another famous *yoginī,* the eighth-century Ye shes mtsho rgyal), at Zangs ri mKhar dmar (Sangri Kharmar, the residence of Machig Labdron during the latter part of her life), and of course, at Shug gseb.

See Also Nuns, article on Buddhist Nuns.

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Nedo, Tsering Yudron. Interview by Tseyang Changopa in Lady Nedo's home in Lhasa, May 20, 1999.

Hanna Havnevik (2005)

ANIMALS. According to one prominent definition of the term *animal,* religion is both created for and practiced by animals, since humans are, in modern biological terms at least, incontrovertibly members of the animal family. But what of other animals, ranging from the simplest of creatures to domesticated work partners to large-brained, extravagantly wild creatures who exhibit emotional and intelligent lives in community? What part have these beings had in human religious life and belief?

RENEWAL OF AN ANCIENT INQUIRY. At the very end of the twentieth century, scholars of religion renewed and deepened the ancient inquiry into other living beings' place in religious traditions as a whole. As a result, twenty-first-century scholarship on religion and animals continues to develop in a wide-ranging, inclusive, and interdisciplinary manner. It is now clearer than ever that the earth's nonhuman life-forms have, from ancient times, had a remarkable presence in religious beliefs, practices, images, and ethics. Engagement with these other lives ranges from the belief that some are divinities who bring blessings into the world to the conviction that the animals are merely unintelligent objects created by a divine power expressly for humans use.

Other biological beings' presence in the religious imagination has been neither static nor simple. Ivar Paulson observes that with the development of agriculture and animal domestication, "much of the earlier numinous power and holiness experienced by the hunter in his encounter with the game was lost" (1964, p. 213). This altered, nonspiritual status is carried through in the 1994 Catholic description of the place of nonhuman lives in the believer's world: "Animals, like plants and inanimate things, are by nature destined for the common good of past, present, and future humanity" (*Catechism of the Catholic Church,* par. 2,415, p. 516).

The story of religion and animals goes well beyond accounts of their divinity on the one hand or subservience on the other. Held at times to be individuals in every sense that humans are individuals, and even ancestors, family, clan members, or separate nations, the life-forms outside the human species have regularly engaged humans at multiple levels, and thus at many times and places energized religious sensibilities dramatically.

A range of issues. Contemporary scholarship on the intersection of religious sensibilities and nonhuman animals undertakes the daunting task of engaging the entire gamut of humanity's complex relationships with other biological lives. Beyond the familiar tradition of using animals for food and other material needs, nonhuman creatures have served as fellow travelers, communal society members and workers, and, often, intermediaries between the pyhysical world and the supernatural realm. For many peoples, kinship with nonhumans has been maintained through dreaming and waking visions, as well as ritual ceremonies in which interspecies bonds are honored.

Many religious traditions have attempted to analyze the essence not only of human lives, but of the relationship between human and nonhuman lives and even the nature of nonhuman animals' daily and existential realities. The historical Buddha is quoted on this subject often, as in this passage from the *Majjhima Nikāya*: "Men are indeed a tangle, whereas animals are a simple matter. " The tendency of religious traditions to pass judgement on the value of animals' lives has had a profound impact on human thinking about the earth and its other inhabitants. The historian of biology Ernst Mayr argues that Christianity has profoundly influenced biological matters because Christianity "abolished free thinking" by making "the word of God . . . the measure of all things" (1982, p. 307). Mayr believed that Christianity was responsible for establishing Western culture's controlling assumptions about the important notion of species, and that a crucial change in the Christian worldview occurred during the Reformation, by which species came to be seen as unalterably static rather than subject to development and change: "The fixity and complete constancy of species now became a firm dogma . . . [because a] literal interpretation of *Genesis* required the belief in the individual creation of every species of plants and animals on the days prior to Adam's creation" (p. 255).

Mayr's comments reflect the interest that many disciplines outside religious studies and theology have in the role religious traditions have played in developing many basic assumptions about nonhuman lives. Interest is also spurred by the recognition that although religions' relationships with animals are ancient, many religious traditions have, over time, narrowed their already minimal appreciation of nonhuman creatures. In the Western cultural tradition, for example, studies of animals by Christian theologians and interested believers have declined in the last few centuries. Nonhuman animals have been broadly dismissed in Western culture's secular circles through various developments since the seventeenth century in philosophy (for example, Descartes's thesis that other living beings are more like clocks than like humans) and scientific experimentation (particularly powerful in the late nineteenth and throughout the twentieth century).

In the latter half of the twentieth century, the place of food animals and laboratory animals in industrialized countries became increasingly that of a mere resource, even as dogs and cats were more and more frequently included as family members. Wild animals held an ambiguous position: sometimes thought of as pests or recreational hunting targets; sometimes as representatives of the natural world's power and majesty.

The forms of religion dominant in most societies where animal research and food production became key industries were amenable to such uses. In addition, religious institutions remained, on the whole, silent regarding environmental and habitat damage. As a result, in many ways religious institutions, like secular institutions, failed to notice or take seriously humans' profound and destructive impact on nonhuman lives.

Renewal, and even deepening, of the ancient inquiry into animals' place in religion occurred in response to this increasing crisis, and for independent reasons as well. Inquiries outside religious circles about nonhuman lives produced remarkable information that revealed some nonhuman animals to be decidedly more complex than Western culture and science held them to be. The findings of various biological sciences, for example, provided grounds for a more respectful evaluation of various animals' complex lives. When such details were noticed and taken seriously, the resulting openness had the potential to re-create ancient religious understandings about the human community with other lives. Additionally, the interfaith dialogue tradition of the second half of the twentieth century revealed deep concerns for the ethical dimensions of human interactions with other animals and highlighted religions such as Jainism and Buddhism that did not share the Western anthropocentric agenda.

The religions of the world have had, and will continue to have, a major impact on the way their adherents, as well as the secular world, look at the realities and moral responsibilities of the human interaction with other animals. Believers, religious leaders, scientists, and scholars of religion now have a much keener awareness of how engagement with other animals will reverberate in a multitude of issues.

Sources of complexity. Many of the issues surrounding religion's interaction with animals—ethical matters, symbolism, rituals—are, when considered individually, extraordinarily complex. Over the millennia, religious traditions have produced an astonishing variety of beliefs, factual claims, symbols, and actions on many everyday subjects. Even if the frame of reference is only a single tradition, views of nonhuman animals can, across time and place, be in significant tension.

Further complexities stem from living beings' significant differences from one another. Some are mentally, socially, and individually extremely simple; others are mentally and socially complex and so enigmatic that we may not be able to understand their lives at all. Ignorance of the features of other animals' lives has often led to crass oversimplifications both within and outside of religion. Such coarse caricatures are encouraged by the way humans talk about other living beings, for upon careful examination much human discourse about other animals is revealed to rely upon profoundly inaccurate descriptions of their lives.

Religious institutions, as enduring cultural and ethical traditions, have often been the primary source of answers to a fundamental question: "Which living beings really should matter to me and my community?" The field of religion and animals attempts to assess the many ways in which religious traditions formulate answers to this question, and, in their cultural milieux and beyond, to influence how living beings outside the human species have been understood and treated.

THE ROLE OF INHERITED PERSPECTIVES. The influence of traditional religious doctrines has caused many believers' perspectives on nonhuman animals to be dominated by something other than a careful engagement with the animals themselves. Sometimes inherited preconceptions have taken the form of dismissive generalizations found in documents held to be revealed. Sometimes a one-dimensional sketch of a few local animals has operated as a definitive assessment of all nonhuman animals' nature, abilities, and moral significance.

At other times, positive but inaccurate stories have operated similarly to obscure the actual realities of the local nonhuman animals. Custom and tradition that underlie inflexible claims about animals can present severe problems for historians, theologians, and believers who wish to engage evidence that contradicts, in letter or spirit, a heritage of views that is inadequate or misleading when assessing empirical realities.

ANIMALS AS SYMBOLS. Religious art, writing, dance, and oral traditions abound with images of the world's nonhuman living beings. Some are connected in one way or another to the animals portrayed, but many are not closely related to the animals whose images are used. Some studies of religion and animals have been confined solely to the study of such images, thus ignoring the actual biological beings themselves.

Stanley Walens observes that misinterpretations of animal symbols have plagued both anthropological and religious studies: "The tendency of Western scholars to ascribe to a particular animal symbol the meaning it has in Western culture is one of the fundamental errors of Western comparative theology." Scholars now recognize that the alleged simplicity of early and indigenous religions was more a by-product of the "coarse analytic methods of researchers and of the inability of the outsiders to capture the depth and complexity by which people in tribal societies are able to metaphorize themselves and their world" (Walens, 1987, p. 293).

Caution is thus in order when dealing with symbols that use nonhuman animal images, for as Walens notes, "The capable scholar must look very skeptically at the record of animal beliefs in pre-Christian societies" (p. 294). In particular, the scholar must also be careful of purporting to talk about "animals" when what is being discussed are animal images that work primarily, even exclusively, to convey some feature of human complexity rather than any information about the nonhuman beings whose images are being employed for human-centered purposes.

ETHICAL CONCERNS. Religion has traditionally been the cradle of humans' ability to exercise concerns for "others," a category that has historically included both humans and nonhumans. The study of religion and animals has been greatly complicated by the fact that some religious traditions insist that the universe of morally considerable beings includes all living beings, while others have had, ethically speaking, a pronounced human-centered bias, asserting that humans are the only living beings that really matter. While these competing claims differ radically in how far human concern should reach outside the human species, they share the conviction that humans are characterized by a profound ethical ability to care for others. Central questions in the study of religion and animals are thus these inherently ethical queries: "Who have the others been?" and "Who might the others be?"

Treatment of Other Animals. Because most religious traditions embrace the insight that actions speak more loudly about what one really believes than do words, any assessment of a religion's view of animals must be represented, at least in part, by some account of how it actually treats other living beings. If a religion features images of bulls in its temples but allows cattle to be treated with brutality in the world outside the temple, this gives us an important insight into their underlying beliefs. Another religion may prohibit the harsh treatment or killing of cattle but include no images of the animal in its worship, rituals, or material culture. The former may leave artifacts that suggest bulls were important, but daily life in the latter suggests a more respectful engagement with cattle. Each religion engages with cattle in its own way. A careful analysis can provide much information about underlying social values.

Linked Oppressions. Religious traditions often suggest that when a human harms another living being, the actor and even other humans are desensitized, so that they may subsequently do even more harm (Thomas Aquinas made this argument, as did Immanuel Kant). This insight has been one of the classic justifications for traditions prohibiting cruelty to animals. Contemporary sociologists and law enforcement officials advance a modern version of this idea based on evidence that certain instances of human-on-human oppression, such as domestic violence, are psychologically linked with violence to nonhuman animals. A related insight is advanced by the Oxford historian Keith Thomas, who suggests that in western Europe the domestication of animals "generated a more authoritarian attitude" and "became the archetypal pattern for other kinds of social subordination" (1983, p. 46). The study of religion and animals can, when it addresses the idea that oppression of one kind of living being leads to the oppression of other kinds of living beings, be closely tied to social justice concerns that now are common features of religious institutions.

Transmission of Views about Animals. As carriers of a culture's worldviews, religious traditions are ancient educators in cultural, ethical, social, ecological, intellectual, and political matters. In this role, religious traditions quite naturally have transmitted from generation to generation views of nonhuman animals, for the latter are inevitably around and with us in our local communities. As suggested by Ernst Mayr, these views affect the most basic human ideas about animals' nature, as well as their place in, or exclusion from, human communities.

This feature of religion is always a highly contextualized piece in any religious tradition's larger puzzle, and an essential task in the study of religion and animals is to discover how a particular human community's engagement with the local world plays in its larger worldviews and lifeways.

Previous Scholarship on Religion and Animals. Greek and Roman thinkers were heir to a remarkable tradition of vigorous debate regarding whether nonhuman animals possessed mental and social abilities, including language, senses of justice and morality, and even reason. Richard Sorabji concludes that Augustine was the pivotal figure in shutting down the vibrant debate in the Hellenistic world about the specific abilities of nonhuman animals. The result was a broad dismissal in the cultural tradition and, in particular, its religious institutions regarding other animals' significance. Since the time of Augustine, the vast majority of scholarship in the Western intellectual tradition has gone forward on the assumption that humans alone are intellectually complex, capable of emotional depth and commitment, characterized by social connections and personality development, and able to develop the kinds of autonomy that moral beings intuitively respect.

This dismissal of animals, long a centerpiece in academic curricula and pedagogy, is now in tension with the rich information developed in the life sciences about animals' mental, social, and emotional complexities. Even so, academic expression in the twenty-first century, including religious studies and theology, continues to reflect the anthropocentric bias of the Western tradition.

Believers' engagement with nonhuman lives is an ongoing challenge for religious pedagogy. Sociological studies reveal that ethical concern for nonhuman animals' welfare continue to have a place, subordinated though it may be at times, in the complex Jewish, Christian, and Islamic traditions as they carry their ancient ethical insights forward. Francis of Assisi and Albert Schweitzer are cited regularly as examples of believers with a profound concern for other animals. Influential figures like Rūmi, Maimonides, Ibn Taymīyah, and Isaac Bashevis Singer also included animal-friendly themes in their works, and Augustine's fellow Christians, including Ambrose of Milan, Basil of Caesarea, Martin Luther, John Calvin, John Wesley, Karl Barth, Paul Tillich, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, and Thomas Berry, have in creative ways reflected their tradition's capacities for seeing and caring about living beings beyond their own species.

It is thus misleading to suggest that all who have thought about religion and animal issues have, naturally and obviously, dismissed nonhuman animals in the manner of the mainstream Western intellectual tradition that remains dominant today. The recent emergence of a more systematic and open-minded treatment of nonhuman animals in the doctrines, rituals, experiences, ethics, myths, social realities, and ecological perspectives of religious traditions suggests that when a clearer picture is drawn, it will be a rich tapestry of alternatives for interacting with the earth's nonhuman beings.

Institutionalized Religious Views: A Survey of World Religions. Anthropocentric biases continue to dominate many modern religious institutions' discourse generally, and their official pronouncements and conceptual generalities reflect the prevailing assumption that humans alone are the appropriate subjects of human ethics. Mainstream religious institutions have generally failed to challenge the frequently cruel way animals are treated in modern industrialized societies. There have been some challenges, mostly from indigenous traditions and those of the Indian subcontinent.

A survey of the views of nonhuman animals that dominate major religious traditions reveals that traditional and mainstream religious institutions have, on the whole, accepted not only humans' domestication of some animals for food and work, but also deprecated nonhuman animals generally and scorned the value of careful engagement with other animals' day-to-day realities. Such a survey also shows, however, that various subtraditions and prominent figures within the larger tradition often have questioned whether core values of the overall tradition aren't violated by both subordination and facile dismissals of nonhuman animals. It is not uncommon, then, for some part of religious traditions to have engaged nonhuman beings in some fuller way such that even if their place is not front and center in institutional pronouncements, ritual, or traditional language, nonhuman animals remain present and relevant to some believers' spiritual and ethical lives.

Hinduism. The Hindu tradition offers an immense range of views about the living beings who share our ecological community. Two general beliefs dominate Hindu conceptions of the human relationship to other animals. First, human beings, recognized to be in a continuum with life, are considered the paradigm of what biological life should be—thus one often finds the hierarchical claim that human status is above that of any other animal. Second, belief in reincarnation, a hallmark of most Hindus' beliefs, includes the notion that any living being's current position in the cycle of life is a deserved position because it has been determined by the strict law of *karma.*

These two beliefs have resulted in an ambivalent view of animals. On the positive side, animals are understood to have souls and be worthy of ethical consideration; the notion of nonharming, or *ahiṃsā,* for example, applies to them. On the negative side, all of the earth's numerous nonhuman animals are understood to be inferior to any human. According to the *sanatana dharma,* the eternal law and moral structure of the universe, all living beings, human and nonhuman, are born into that station in life for which their past *karma* has fitted them. Humans who in past lives acted immorally are destined to be born as nonhuman—an inferior life because animals' lives are thought of as particularly unhappy, at least compared to human existence.

The ambivalence toward nonhuman life is negative in the recurring implicit and explicit scorn shown to animals (as well as to lower-caste humans). The positive side appears in the tradition's remarkable ethical sensitivity to other animals as beings who should not be killed. Many Hindu scriptures include the injunction that one should treat other animals exactly like one's own children. Central religious texts, such as the *Ṛgveda* and *Atharvaveda,* hold that the earth was not created for humans alone, but for other creatures as well. Daily life in India, especially at the village level, provides many examples of coexistence with other animals, the best known of which is the sacred cow. There are, however, many examples of mistreatment as well.

Humans, even if Hindus believe them to have a privileged place in the hierarchy, are also believed to have special obligations to all living beings. This ethical claim is often buttressed by the close association of many Hindu deities with specific animal forms. Rāma and Kṛṣṇa were thought to have reincarnated as a monkey and a cow. Ganesh, an elephant-headed god, and Hanuman, the monkey god, have long been worshiped widely in India.

Historically, around 500 BCE the animal sacrifice that dominated the ritual life of the brahminical tradition was challenged by Buddhists and Jains as cruel and unethical. This challenge had a great effect on the later Hindu views of the morality of intentionally sacrificing other animals, and *ahiṃsā,* the historically important emphasis on nonviolence, has now become a central feature of the tradition.

Buddhism. Buddhist ideas about nonhuman animals share many features with Hindu views, because both reflect cultural assumptions that dominated the religions of the Indian subcontinent. For example, all animals, human and otherwise, are viewed as fellow voyagers in *saṃsāra* (the cycle of death and rebirth). Compassion toward other animals has often produced expressions of concern for other living beings in Buddhist literature that lead many believers and scholars to claim that Buddhism takes a kind, sympathetic view toward nonhuman lives.

Alongside this very visible feature of the Buddhist tradition, however, sit complicating features, for in important ways Buddhism has a negative view of nonhuman animals' existence and abilities. Buddhist thinking groups all nonhuman animals into a single realm or category, which in the hierarchical social structure that dominated the Indian subcontinent meant that other forms of life were inferior to the human realm. Hence, the very fact that a being is born as any animal other than human is thought of negatively.

The animal world is viewed as an unhappy place—as the historical Buddha said in the *Majjhima Nikāya,* "so many are the anguishes of animal birth." Birth at a "subhuman" level in the Buddhist hierarchy is conceived to be the direct result of less-than-ideal conduct. A human who violates moral norms is constantly threatened with punishment in the next life as a lower animal. Nonhuman animals are regularly described by Buddhists as so simple, relative to humans, that their lives are easily understood by the superior human intellect. Buddhist scriptures characterize animals as pests who are in competition with their human superiors.

Even though these factors lead to descriptions of animals in the Buddhist scriptures that seem fundamentally negative, these views are moderated by central ethical commitments. The First Precept states that a Buddhist will refrain from killing any life forms. Some portions of the tradition, though not all, emphasize vegetarianism as a means to this end. The well-known *bodhisattva*'s vow to refrain from entering *nirvāṇa* until all beings are saved reflects one prominent feature of the Buddhist tradition's deep concern for beings outside the human species.

Buddhist engagement with other animals, then, is a mixture of the tradition's heavy investment in hierarchical thinking and a strong ethical commitment to the value of life in all its forms. Despite all its avowed respect for nonhuman lives, however, the tradition has never emphasized seeing other animals in terms of their own realities. This leads to a dismissive prejudgment of animal life, which is undermined by careful engagement with animals' actual lives.

The Abrahamic traditions. Just as the religions of the Indian subcontinent share many common assumptions, the views dominating the Abrahamic traditions also have important assumptions in common. Judaism, Christianity, and Islam are dominated in many essential respects by what amounts to ethical anthropocentrism, that is, a pronounced tendency to focus on the members of the human species as if they alone should be the object of ethical and moral protection. It is a fundamental article of faith in the Abrahamic traditions that the world was designed by a divine creator who elevated the human species above all other forms of life. This human-centeredness, which manifests itself in a tendency to justify practices that harm other animals, is, however (as in the Indian subcontinent traditions), moderated at critical points, as when sacrificial rules mandate that the victim's death be brought about as quickly as possible.

Judaism. Ideas about nonhuman animals are not simple in the Judaic tradition, in part because the Hebrew Bible contains diverse and even contradictory views of humans in relation to other living beings. A prominent model focuses on the importance of keeping humans safe from dangerous animals. A more utopian vision is that of peace with and among wild animals, which can also function as a metaphor for cosmic and social peace among humans. Of these two views, the first dominates, for human interests are characteristically seen in Judaism as far more important than animals' interests. Richard Bauckham has noted that the idea that humans need "peace from evil animals" is an "ancient tendency" stemming from the Jewish tradition's decision to see "wild animals primarily as threats to human life" (1994, p. 8).

Philo Judaeus, a first-century Jewish historian, employed an image of a continuous warfare by the animals against humankind. This negative image of animals who are not under human control is contrasted with the tranquillity of humans' relationship with, and domination of, domesticated animals. There is some irony in this view, for the notion that wild animals are evil, a common biblical theme, is rooted in the belief that disorder in nature stems from archetypal wrongs committed by human ancestors and the unfaithfulness of Israel.

Alongside the Hebrew Bible's dominant view that wild animals are evil is the countervailing notion that other animals were created by God, who is proud of them (as expressed in various passages in *Job*) and daily feeds them. Living under God's reign, other living beings at times appear as examples of right order, in great contrast to humans. Many provisions, such as the law codes (*Exodus* 22–23 and 34, *Leviticus* 22 and 25, and *Deuteronomy* 14–26) recognize the welfare of other animals, at least to some extent. Such provisions are limited, however, primarily to: (1) the welfare of domestic animals, that is, those that work for or produce benefits for humans, and (2) restrictions on how sacrificial animals could be killed.

Although scholars such as Stephen Webb argue that the practice of animal sacrifice benefited nonhuman animals in general, the practice raises complex issues, for animal sacrifice functioned as an institutionalized means of atoning for human violations of moral rules or purity taboos. The fact that nonhuman beings suffer because of human wrongs is, of course, related to the human evaluation of human and nonhuman lives. Why only those animals useful to humans were chosen for sacrifice is worth further inquiry into the role that anthropomorphism and anthropocentrism play in the general practice of animal sacrifice.

Judaism arose in geographical areas that afforded believers only limited exposure to the most complex nonhuman animals (such as elephants, chimpanzees, whales, and dolphins), a fact that may account for its sometimes one-dimensional view of nonhuman lives. Jewish materials, nonetheless, particularly by virtue of the body of traditional Jewish law that concerns itself with animal welfare known as *tsa'ar ba'alei chayim,* provides a basis for arguing that care for other animals of all kinds is mandated by the core values and insights of the tradition.

Nonhuman forms of life are mentioned in some of the covenants found in the Hebrew Bible, including the covenant with Noah in *Genesis* 9:9–16. Some theologians, such as Andrew Linzey, who argues that Christians have a theological duty to protect nonhuman animals, make a great deal of this in their works. Others have argued that the larger context, including the preceding set of verses (*Genesis* 9:1–7), which mentions that "the dread of you should be upon every beast" and "every moving thing that lives shall be food for you" radically qualifies the significance of nonhuman animals' inclusion in the covenant established in *Genesis* 9:9–16 and reflects that other animals are "in the subordinate relationship to humankind which has already been set forth in Genesis" (Murray, 1992, pp. 33–34).

Yet even if humans are conceived in the Jewish tradition as separate from the rest of life in critically important ways, an important sense of connection remains by virtue of the number of specific animals mentioned and observations about the variety of life these suggest. The early Hebrews noticed and appreciated the extraordinary diversity and interconnectedness of human and nonhuman beings.

Christianity. The Christian tradition inherited and developed the Hebrew vision of humans as distinct from all other animals. Some believe the Christian tradition narrowed this heritage by its handling of the biblical claim that all humans, and only humans, are made in the image of God and have been given dominion over the earth. Some early proponents of Christianity, including Origen and Augustine, asserted that part of Christianity's basic message is a fundamental, radical division between human animals and all other animals. In important ways, this has led to the exclusion of all other animals' interests when they are in conflict with even minor, unnecessary human interests.

Historically, the expression and development of Christian views of animals reflects ties to both Hebrew and Greek sources. Early Christians borrowed from them their fundamental cultural assumptions. The result over time was an amalgam in which connections to nonhuman animals were subordinated to human superiority. Ultimately, humans came to be seen as distinct in every relevant way from other animals, and therefore ontologically superior to the rest of creation.

This led prominent sects within Christianity to persistently refuse to examine other animals' realities. The extent of the denial can be seen in the comment made by Pope Pius IX (r. 1846–1878) to English antivivisectionist Anna Kingsford: "Madame, humankind has no duties to the animals." Pius IX backed this up by "vigorously" opposing the establishment of a society for the protection of animals in Rome.

Christianity faces a basic challenge from the developing body of knowledge about nonhuman animals. Based on data from the biological sciences and an appreciation of indigenous cultures' respectful engagement with life outside our species, many people now argue that at least some nonhuman life-forms are proper objects of human morality. It remains to be seen whether the Christian tradition (or any religious tradition) will finds ways to integrate new factual information into its views of nonhuman creatures.

Islam. Islamic views often reflect the Abrahamic emphasis on humans as the centerpiece of a created universe, but Islam also shows a countervailing recognition of the moral dimension of the very existence of other animals. Even though the Qurʾān frequently asserts that other animals have been placed on Earth solely for the benefit of humans, how humans treat other animals, who are deemed creatures of Allāh, also plays an important role in the tradition. The Qurʾān and other central writings of Islam reflect numerous ways in which believers have recognized that other animals have their own importance. For example, *sūrah* 6:38 states that other animals have their own communities: "There is not an animal in the earth, nor a flying creature on two wings, but they are communities like unto you." Muḥammad himself commented, "Whoever is kind to the creatures of Allāh, is kind to himself." He also compared the doing of good or bad deeds to other animals to similar acts done to humans.

The result is that there are both negative and positive views of other animals at the center of the complex Islamic tradition. As with Judaism, the ritualized slaughter of animals for food (*dhabh*) reflects the basic belief that humans are divinely appointed representatives of Allāh (*Khalīfa,* often translated as "vice regent" or "steward"). This is one version of the claim that other animals, even if not on earth solely for human use, are subordinate to humans and in special instances ordained for human use.

Although humans are, in the Islamic tradition, the centerpiece of creation, and thus the most important living beings, ethical sensibilities regarding other animals are still prominent, as in the rules governing the humane killing of sacrificial animals. Thus, the Islamic tradition provides moral space, as it were, for the view that other animals have an integrity and inherent value of their own.

THE ANIMAL PRESENCE OUTSIDE THE WORLD RELIGIONS. Views of the place of animals in human lives are far different outside the mainstream religions. Native or indigenous traditions worldwide often reflect a spiritual kinship with many kinds of nonhuman living beings. John Neihardt begins the now famous account *Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux* (1932) with observations about sharing and kinship with other animals: "It is the story of all life that is holy and is good to tell, and of us two-leggeds sharing in it with the four-leggeds and the wings of the air and all green things; for these are children of one mother and their father is one Spirit" (p. 1).

Communication with specific kinds of animals, often mammals or birds known to be highly social and intelligent, such as dolphins or ravens, are often found in nature-oriented spiritual traditions. Most show a deep concern for and connection with nonhuman animals as fellow beings or even as individuals not unlike humans. Many contemporary nature-oriented religions, which tend to be decentralized and to give primacy to individual experience, emphasize nonhuman animals. Relatedly, respected members of contemporary scientific communities, such as primatologist Jane Goodall and cognitive ethologist Marc Bekoff, have emphasized the relevance to human spiritual quests of studying and understanding animal behaviour. Noticing and taking nonhuman animals seriously is also evident in the Chinese folk, Daoist, and Confucian traditions, Japanese Shintō, the Jain tradition of India, Sikhism, and many other religious traditions that offer profound insights into the importance and ethical dimensions of the human connection with other natural beings.

CONCLUSION. Considering the seemingly simple question of how the two important topics of religion and animals intersect raises many possibilities. One of these is a deeper understanding of religious traditions' roles in shaping human concepts of, discourse about, and ethical engagements with the Earth and its nonhuman inhabitants. The religious component of a human interaction with other animals can offer significant personal value as well. An increasing number of theologians, ethicists, philosophers, poets, and scholars from many disciplines have echoed Thomas Berry's insight: "Indeed we cannot be truly ourselves in any adequate manner without all our companion beings throughout the earth. This larger community constitutes our greater self" (Berry, 2005).

SEE ALSO Anthropomorphism; Bears; Birds; Cats; Elephants; Evolution, article on Evolutionism; Fish; Horses; Lady of the Animals; Lord of the Animals; Monsters; Rabbits; Sacrifice; Snakes; Totemism; Tricksters, overview article.

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PAUL WALDAU (2005)

ANIMISM AND ANIMATISM.

The term *animism* properly refers to a theory set forth by the English scholar E. B. Tylor (1832–1917), one of the founders of modern anthropology, in order to account for the origin and development of religion. Tylor's theory was in general harmony with the dominant evolutionistic views of his age, as represented by the naturalist Charles Robert Darwin (1809–1882) and the social philosopher Herbert Spencer (1820–1903). Darwin and Spencer both viewed the development of the natural and social world as a movement from lower to higher forms, from the simple to the complex.

The distinctiveness of Tylor's theory was its assumption that the earliest form of religion was characterized by human ideas concerning a plurality of spirits and ghosts. In this he differed from Spencer, who had posited atheism at the beginning of human culture, although both followed the common pattern of their evolutionistic contemporaries in deriving a most archaic form of religion from humanity's rational reflections on the world of nature and on itself.

Inevitably, each theory of the most archaic form of religion led to speculations on still earlier stages or other hypothetical beginnings. One supposed earlier stage that was widely accepted among scholars was linked to the name of R. R. Marett (1866–1943), best known for his *The Threshold of Religion* (1909). Marett, who first launched his own theory in 1900, saw it as an extension of Tylor's and for that reason spoke of preanimism, or animatism. This hypothetical earliest stage of "prereligion" was also known as dynamism, a term introduced by the French anthropologist Arnold van Gennep in his *Les rites de passage* (1909). The term *dynamism* (from the Greek *dunamis,* "power, energy") suggests the presence of a power that is not, or is not necessarily, individualized. It is still somehow homogeneous, not yet differentiated as it is in the stage of animism. Marett himself made the comparison with electricity. His term *animatism,* like *dynamism,* points to a thing, situation, or state of affairs that is enlivened or animated, but not in any individual, soul-like manner.

The theories of animism and animatism are difficult to take seriously in the present time, given the psychological sophistication that has come to be taken for granted in intellectual circles since Freud. Assuredly, Tylor's theory of successive stages and the production of ever higher religious forms by the human mind is far too unwieldy to account for the phenomena history offers. As early as 1887, sixteen years after Tylor published his influential work *Primitive Culture,* the Dutch historian of religions P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye expressed his reservations in his famous *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte.* He grouped Tylor together with other evolutionists who, in his opinion, tried too hard to apply a mechanical worldview to historical, social, cultural, and religious facts. However, even though Chantepie de la Saussaye found support for his criticism in F. Max Müller, the famous Indologist and historian of religions, and in the philosophies of the German thinkers Eduard von Hartmann (1842–1906) and R. H. Lotze (1817–1881), he was far from rejecting the theory of animism altogether. The influence of Tylor and the other evolutionists pervaded the age.

At the present time one might feel inclined to dismiss the subjects of animism and animatism as irrelevant for scholarship, were it not for three considerations. In the first place, Tylor's theory in particular has had a firm hold on scholarship for some seventy or eighty years and still turns up in some circles today as if it were authoritative. Second, animism can be seen as a twentieth-century name given to a type of theory that has been influential throughout the history of intellectual dealings with religion. Third, animism, with its progeny, illustrates in a clear fashion the nineteenth-century obsession with origins, and this subject falls squarely within the interest of the history of religions, for in the final analysis the obsession with origins of ultimate human orientations is itself a religious phenomenon.

THE THEORY, ITS IMPACT, AND ITS INADEQUACIES. Turning to the first of the three reasons why animism is still worthy of attention, one should look more closely at the theory Tylor developed. The theory owed not a little of its appeal to Tylor's superb style of writing. He reflected on the diverse mass of ethnological data that reached his desk, tried to account for it by imagining what might have happened in the minds of early man, and presented his findings in vivid colors in perfect harmony with the prevailing ideas and sentiments of his time.

The "noble savage," unspoiled by education, had been popularized by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and the image of the child's growth was invoked by Lessing in his *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* (1780) to explain the historical development or "education" of the human race. In Tylor's *Primitive Culture* (1871), however, the poetic simile was presented as science. Tylor argued for a strict, scientific analogy between the primitive human and the child and its mentality. His formulation gave the analogy new force, as if it could be relied on as an established fact, and it would be taken up again several decades later by the French philosopher Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (1857–1939) and the Dutch phenomenologist Gerardus van der Leeuw (1890–1959).

Tylor's evolutionism did not lose touch with all religious sentiment, however. Tylor was a Quaker, and in the spirit of his age he associated the evolution of humans with the natural process of growth and with a general increase in human understanding and responsibility. The English anthropologist E. E. Evans-Pritchard has suggested that a good many of the anthropologists who theorized on "primitive religion," from the latter half of the nineteenth century to the present, were really preparing a means to attack Christianity, while they despised the primitive religions they studied as a mass of illusions. Such an assessment of Tylor would be unfair. Tylor's evolutionism was in fact more akin to that of Nathan Söderblom (1866–1931), the Swedish Lutheran archbishop and historian of religions, who saw Christianity as the most perfect image of the goal toward which all religous evolution headed. Together with this essentially religious, apologetic motive, however, Tylor's view of primitives also shared something of the vision of Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936), the English poet laureate who celebrated the British empire's responsibility to "carry the white man's burden" and lead the way for the savages, even when the latter failed to understand the nobility of that task or went so far as to rebel against their benefactors. This side of Tylor's theory of evolution shows it to be the product of British imperialism and colonialism. Both elements, the religious tenor and the nationalism, intermingle in Tylor's work.

Tylor proposed the term *animism* for the study of "the deep-lying doctrine of Spiritual Beings, which embodies the very essence of Spiritualistic as opposed to Materialistic philosophy." He called his concept a minimum definition of religion. He would have preferred the term "spiritualism" for his theory if that term had not come into use (especially in his day) to designate groups with extreme views on supernatural phenomena. It is not unfair to say that Tylor's interest in "ghosts" and "souls," in spite of its outstanding quality and distinctiveness, is still part of the intellectual fashions of his time, a time in which the most famous ghost story of all Western literary history, Charles Dickens's *A Christmas Carol* (first published in 1843), attained an unprecedented success.

Tylor was fascinated with the reflections that he believed to be fundamental to early man, whom he believed to be represented by the "savages" of the present. These reflections, he thought, arose from the experience of death and dying, and from dreams and dreaming. What happens when life leaves a body? Where does one's life, one's dying breath, go? The primitive observed what happened and refused to accept death as final. Moreover, in a dream one would see the deceased alive, moving, speaking. For the primitive, the dreamworld would not be less real than the waking state. In reflections such as these on the spirits of the dead and the ghosts perceived in dreams, Tylor saw the first forms of a religious signature.

Tylor did not at all plan his work as a work of speculation. On the contrary, he did his utmost to be fair to all evidence. Although the experiences of death and dreams seemed to explain many ideas among tribal peoples, he recognized the existence of traditions concerning a great many other "spirits," especially spirits of nature, of woods, lakes, and so on. The spirits of the dead, nevertheless, remained for Tylor the earliest phenomena that could have triggered humans' minds in the formation of religion.

Spirits could take on a truly independent existence, according to his theory, and the manifold traditions from all over the world confirmed it. Nothing seemed more natural than the slow development from low to high, from a plurality of spirits on to a polytheistic system, a hierarchy among nature spirits, and ultimately some form of monotheism. Some elements in his scheme of development had had their predecessors, as in the ideas of the philosopher David Hume (1711–1776) concerning the gradual development of religion leading from polytheism toward monotheism, but the mass of evidence drawn from history and from among contemporary tribal traditions gave Tylor's theory the impressive scientific persuasiveness that a more empirically inclined age desired.

The same tendencies that raised Zeus to his supreme place among the Olympians and elevated the Indian deity Brahma above the rank of mighty nature spirits are visible according to Tylor in the formation of the Great Spirit among North American Indians and have further analogies in the processes at work among the tribesmen on the Chota Nagpur plateau of India, as well as among the peoples of Ethiopia. In general, developments taking place on the "lower level of mythic religion" are confirmed in higher, more intellectual traditions, such as those of Greece and China, and are finally reinforced by the spread of Christianity. It then becomes the ongoing task of systematic theology to develop and define the figure of the supreme deity, whether he is called the God of Heaven, the Sun, or the Great Spirit.

This final building block in Tylor's theory is not a mere ornament but the finishing touch to an architectonic system. Tylor was quite consciously trying to give substance to the traditional, formal Christian-theological concept of natural religion. He called the theory of the soul "one principal part of a system of religious philosophy that unites, in an unbroken line of mental connexion, the savage fetish-worshipper and the civilized Christian."

The completeness of Tylor's theory should not be allowed to conceal a certain ambiguity in its details, however, an ambiguity that is more a characteristic of the scholarship of his time than a personal weakness. Although he wished to show that primitive religion was rational, that it arose from unmistakable observations, nevertheless he judged these observations to be inadequate in themselves. Although logical deductions were drawn from these observations, he believed these deductions were faulty. And although the "savages" managed to construct a natural philosophy, as a philosophy it remained crude. Tylor thus stressed the rational element in primitive religion and at the same time referred to that religion as "this farrago of nonsense." The classification necessary to science was basic to it, yet it went wrong when the magician mistakenly inferred that things that are like have a mystical link between them, thereby mistaking an ideal connection for a real one, a subjective one for an objective one (Evans-Pritchard).

Since the middle of the twentieth century the knowledge of prehistory has increased so much as to make one objection to Tylor's theory evident at once: his theory of "animism" as the original form of religion has not found any historical confirmation. Moreover, the key ingredients of his theory are limited to hypothetical considerations ascribed to the mind of very distant, primordial men, and the chances that those men used the same sort of logic or lived in circumstances calling for positivistic concerns of the sort that Tylor took for granted are remote. At present, prehistorians, historians, and anthropologists would agree that Tylor's theory has very little bearing on anything they would consider a religious phenomenon.

In the history of scholarship, among the first objections raised against Tylor's animism were those that appealed to a theory of preanimism or dynamism. However, as already noted, Marett, who was the first to speak of preanimism (in 1900), thought not of rejecting but rather of extending Tylor's reasoning, and of making a space for a stage in which ideas concerning a life-force had not yet been differentiated into the notion of independent spirits. Marett actually goes so far as to compare the supposed impersonal power with electricity. The comparison is characteristic of the times and had great appeal when some big cities, such as New York, had begun to look like forests of poles for electrical wiring. The idea of a mysterious force, alive and yet homogeneous, not yet individualized, was at once popular. The same objections that can be raised against animism can be raised against preanimism as well. Both theories attribute a modern, mechanical, and positivistic concern to early man. Nor has historical evidence for dynamism as the origin of religion been forthcoming. Marett's theory leaned in part on work done by R. H. Codrington in the Pacific (*The Melanesians,* 1895). The key conception was *mana,* a Melanesian idea that in Marett's opinion could be identified with notions of other "primitives" (such as *wakan* among the Lakota, *orenda* among the Iroquois, *manitou* among the Algonquin). It seemed as if *mana* could provide an improved, even an adequate minimum definition of religion, namely, "supernatural power." Other scholars extended Marett's line of reasoning and found traces of the same original conception in the *brah-*

man of the Hindus and in both the *numen* and the *imperium* of the Romans.

Anthropologists have since pointed out, however, that even in Codrington's descriptions, *mana* cannot often be properly interpreted as "impersonal power." The term occurs as a rule in a far more complex context, as do words such as "the sacred" or "magic" with ourselves. Moreover, even when the term *mana* conveys the notion "power," it is always the power of a spirit or some other agent; hence Marett's insistence on its impersonal character is not convincing. In addition, it is now known that notions of an "impersonal power" do not occur among peoples that are culturally least advanced and who would represent a truly "primitive" stage in an evolutionary process. Contrary to what the theory would require, they do not occur among the most archaic gatherers and hunters but rather in much more developed societies such as those on the cultural level of nomadic cattle breeders with intricate patriarchal kinship systems.

The main objection against the sort of preanimistic theory designed by Marett, as in the case of Tylor's animism, remains philosophical in nature. The theories of animism and preanimism suffer from the problem of reading one's mental assumptions into the data without sufficient critical analysis. Marett's formula of a "supernatural power" as a minimum definition of religion is eloquent. The adjective *supernatural,* which has dominated the anthropological vocabulary for a long time in endeavors to delineate religion, implies a natural world that is known, on top of which the unknown or rather the not-yet-known or perhaps altogether illusory dimension elevates itself. The real quality of this unknown or illusory upper story escapes not so much one's mind as that of "the primitives." Hence the latter create for themselves strange conceptions and thereby indulge in a strange ("childish") habit from which the investigator is free.

Animism and preanimism are both concepts to which the rule formulated by the philosopher Henri Bergson (in 1903) fully applies: concepts, especially if they are simple, have the disadvantage of being in reality symbols for the object they symbolize and demand no effort on one's part. The very concept of "the primitives" is itself an abstraction for an enormous, variegated group of human traditions. The theories make them into an object and single out the idea of "spirits" or "power" to suggest an even more concise concept. In the process the illusion that the people studied and the modern investigator represent two altogether different groups of mankind (an illusion that always lurks in the background in humanistic and social studies) threatens to become permanent. Such a dichotomy was generally considered valid throughout the period of colonization by Western nations during which Tylor and Marett did their work. The attitude that was then prevalent explains how for several generations, in the best of intellectual circles, the term *animist* became a synonym for what a former age would have called "pagan." The term had the advantage of a certain scientific ring. Thus, in missionary surveys and elsewhere one can occasionally still read, for instance, that Burma's population consists mainly of Buddhists, Muslims, and Animists. Tylor's theory has had such an impact as to suggest that animism is in fact a religion, whereas in fact it was never more than a theory about religion. One cannot reproach Tylor for this popular revamping of his ideas, and yet the philosophical assumptions of the theory carried this potential danger with them.

ANIMISM IN THE HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP. As a theory in religion, Tylor's animism does not stand in total isolation, in spite of its splendor, influence, and popularity. Ideas concerning a creative human imagination conjuring up superhuman figures are ancient. Of special relevance is the idea of the dead as the nucleus around which a world of spiritual beings could have been built up. The name of the Greek Euhemerus (third century BCE) is inseparable from the theory that bears his name, "euhemerism." According to this theory, the gods were originally no more than human rulers who were later elevated to the status of gods by subsequent generations because of the benefits they bestowed on mankind. The theory endured well into the eighteenth century, yet Augustine of Hippo and other early Christian thinkers, who were quite familiar with it in its classical form, gave it a new twist. In Christian thought a distinction unknown to Classical Greece was made between true and false religion. Thus whereas formerly the gods owed their divinity to the benefits they had bestowed on man, now the idea was introduced that their superhuman state was the result of their stupendous vices and evil deeds; not their radiant kingship, but their mere humanity came to be emphasized; not veneration, but fear was the proper human response to their acts, not adoration, but propitiation. They were demonic rather than divine. This new interpretation of euhemerism agreed very well with another pre-Christian idea, as expressed by the Roman author Statius (c. 40–96 CE): "Primus in orbe deos fecit timor" ("The first reason in the world for the existence of the gods was fear").

Neither in antiquity nor in the Middle Ages did anyone posit human reflection on death or any other single idea as the cause of religion. Such a theoretical attempt to find a single principle at the origin of religion did not really occur until the end of the eighteenth century, and full-fledged reductionistic theories were not developed until the nineteenth century. However, with regard to this topic, two eighteenth-century names stand out. David Hume's *The Natural History of Religion* (1757) can be read as a prelude to nineteenth-century evolutionistic schemes of religion. Hume posited a plurality of gods at the beginning of human religious history and a monotheistic system at its culmination. The other name is that of the French magistrate and Enlightenment scholar Charles de Brosses (1709–1777). De Brosses is of interest not only for his idea of an evolving religiousness but also for notions that resemble Tylor's animism and Marett's preanimism. In 1757 de Brosses wrote an essay, *Du culte des dieux fétiches* (The Cult of the Fetish Gods), that dealt with the similarity between the religion of ancient Egypt and that of contemporary sub-Saharan Africa. The Académie des Inscriptions, to which de Brosses had submitted his work, considered it too daring and published it only anonymously in 1760. Most remarkably, de Brosses used the term *fetishism* in a very wide sense, to describe the original common form of all religion, and precisely this comprehensiveness makes it resemble Tylor's animism.

Fetishism in de Brosses's vocabulary included the cult of animals and plants as well as inanimate objects. This first crude form of religion would have been uniform in humanity's earliest state of existence, again like Tylor's animism. Evolutionist *avant la date,* the Frenchman posited the idea of a subsequent development of the human mind by degrees "from the lower to the higher." Unlike his fellow *philosophes,* who in their zeal sought to show a purely natural religion at the root of all later development, de Brosses pointed to idols in ancient Egypt that were partially formed in the shape of animals. Ahead of his time in this respect, he was actually guided more than his contemporaries by empirical evidence. Evidence showed that the origin of religion could only be found in savage expressions, and that is precisely what his "fetishism" tried to explain. (The word *fetish* was borrowed from the Portuguese for "amulet" or "charm." That the intellectual climate of the nineteenth century was indeed affected by the work of de Brosses is clear from the fact that Auguste Comte, the principal philosopher of positivism, in developing his "law of the three states" through which mankind supposedly passed—the "theological," the "metaphysical," and the "positive"—drew on him to articulate the first (theological) state. Through Comte, de Brosses thus became a source for the socioreligious evolutionism of the century of Darwin and Tylor.

Even when all "influences" and all earlier ideas concerning worship of the dead are listed, however, the origin of the complete evolutionistic systems of the nineteenth century is still not fully explained. This point must be emphasized especially with respect to euhemerism, for contrary to widely held scholarly opinion, the explanatory intent of euhemeristic ideas before the eighteenth century was quite limited. Early euhemerism, although speaking of gods as originally human beings, was primarily a narrative device that allowed people like Snorri Sturluson (1178–1241), the Icelandic scholar, to weave together biblical accounts, the Homeric story about Troy, and traditions concerning the gods of the ancient pagan North.

By contrast, the theories of Tylor, and likewise those of Herbert Spencer, did not merely combine, arrange, or rearrange myths but posited a causal explanation for the phenomenon of religion in general. Thus theories concerning "the dead" as a factor in the formation of religion, although most clearly originating with euhemerism, may be clearly divided into three very different groups: (1) a first group illustrated by Euhemerus himself, who was a narrator, a "novelist," and who told a story concerning the gratitude of people to royal benefactors who came to be adored and thereby lifted onto a celestial plane (notably, in Euhemerus's story, Kronos, Ouranos, and Zeus); (2) Augustine and all other early Christian theologians, who did not regard the pagan gods as nonexistent but made use of euhemeristic ideas to explain them as mere human beings who had become demonic in character and were remembered and placated because of their evil deeds; and (3) the theories of Tylor and Spencer, positing one principal cause for the development of religion and finding that cause located primarily in rational human reflections concerning the departed souls.

ANIMISM AND THE OBSESSION WITH ORIGINS. The distance that separates us from "typical" nineteenth-century views allows us to perceive the peculiar fascination with origins that then dominated scholarship, not merely in the study of life forms (in the famous work of Darwin), but especially in the social, historical, and religious studies of the time. Theories about the primal form of religion abounded. Atheism and ancestor worship (Spencer), preanimism (Marett), totemism (employed by the sociologist Émile Durkheim, 1858–1917, the Old Testament scholar W. Robertson Smith, 1846–1894, and others), a first parricide (Sigmund Freud, 1856–1939), a primal monotheism (the ethnologist Wilhelm Schmidt, 1868–1954), magic (the English folklorist and classicist James G. Frazer, 1845–1941)—all vied with animism. All aimed to provide the best explanation for the origins of religion.

It is true that more recent times have added to the list of supposed "causes"; particularly influential has been the idea that religion originated in the use of intoxicants, which as a subject demanded attention in the wake of medical and pharmaceutical studies and an increase in the use of drugs in and since the 1950s. However, these more recent speculations have not seriously engaged historians and anthropologists. The striking feature of the earlier theories is precisely that reputable scholars did take them seriously and, as in the case of animism, came to rely on them as on a well-established law.

The generally shared worldview that encouraged such lines of inquiry requires special attention. It was a commonly and uncritically held assumption during the nineteenth century that knowledge concerning the origin of something was the only essential knowledge of it. This preoccupation with the knowledge of origins can be explained in various ways; it can itself be shown to have had several different historical origins. The tradition in the history of philosophy that led to Hegel, and through him to most of the nineteenth century, was certainly the most powerful. The wave of philosophical materialism, multifarious as it was, was also of great significance and explains the overwhelming interest in the mechanisms of causality operative in biology, society, and religion. From the point of view of the historian of religions, however, a specifically religious structure can be detected in the nineteenth-century fascination with origins, a structure that was no less evident in evolutionistic scholars who thought of themselves as "areligious" or "antireligious" than it was in consciously religious adherents.

The most easily traceable roots of the nineteenth-century obsession with origins, viewed as a peculiarly religious structure, can be found in the first period of modern history, which saw the beginnings of all modern scientific inquiry. The famous Renaissance thinkers Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) and Giordano Bruno (1548–1600) were not at all exceptional in their time in regarding the newly rediscovered Hermetic writings as some sort of primordial revelation (Frances A. Yates, Mircea Eliade). Ancient Egypt, to which their origin was (erroneously) attributed, was traditionally considered to be the cradle of everything truly archaic (a tradition already attested in the Greek historian Herodotus in the sixth century BCE). Renaissance men of the most diverse backgrounds were convinced of the extraordinary significance of these supposedly pre-Mosaic Hermetic writings. This odd enthusiasm, though explicable to some extent by the ignorance of the true history of the Hermetic corpus, can also be understood as an urge to find true origins beyond any limited and known tradition.

The function of the Hermetic writings among the learned in the Renaissance can be compared to the function of cosmogonic myths in all archaic religious traditions (Eliade). They provided a manner of positing an irrefutable, unshakable reality, a primordial revelation, first in time and significance. The mysterious quality of the meaning of the Hermetic writings was not a drawback but rather an enhancement. Giordano Bruno was certain that his understanding of their real meaning allowed him to grasp the significance of Corpernicus's discoveries better than Copernicus himself, because he saw that the primordial revelation, obscure to many, was here confirmed.

Doubts concerning the truth of Christianity, and certainly concerning its traditionally conceived truths, had their place in the intellectual climate of the Renaissance. Nor were similar doubts at all hard to find in the nineteenth century, even if one recognizes that in Tylor, more than in most of his fellow evolutionists, a religious motivation played its part. In a perfectly sober survey of the great figures of anthropology and the history of religions, including Tylor, Marett, Lang, Frazer, and Robertson Smith, it is easy to detect an attitude that came to view religion as a lost cause (David Bidney). However, the climate of erudition and science that developed in the nineteenth century also provided a new sense of an "ultimate reality" or, at the very least, a dependable epistemological framework within which all religious phenomena could be placed, each with its limited value and historical limitations. It is true that this "ultimate reality" turned out to be very limited in its turn, but it is also true that even at the time of Tylor and Marett, and all their fellow scholars, the "ultimate" concern for origins and evolution demanded constant exegesis, exactly as did the Hermetic corpus in the Renaissance, which thereby did not undermine its value, but confirmed it.

The principal epistemological problem of Tylor's evolutionism, as well as other cultural and religious evolutionisms (as in the circles of the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule, centered in Germany) was not that it did not recognize its own religious structure, for such recognition as a rule does not occur until the following generation. Rather, the principal problem was that the object of study, the religious traditions of humankind, was mutilated by reducing it to an object on a dissecting table. In the process every religious structure evaporated. The knowledge of religion as basically "animistic" or "preanimistic" is knowledge as power, but this power is destructive. A tradition that is understood reveals itself as a movement in which one generation can pass on its "power" over life and human orientation to the next, as something that gives life. The weakness of animism and related theoretical constructs is the weakness visible in all "emaciation in learning and science" (van der Leeuw) resulting from an unjustifiable objectification. The evolutionisms, of which Tylor's became the most popular and influential, in the end failed epistemologically, in a way analogous to the political failure of the empires in which they were born, and to which they were related.

SEE ALSO Cosmogony; Demons; Dynamism; Evolution, article on Evolutionism; Fetishism; Ghosts; Numen; Power; Preanimism; Supernatural, The.

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ANISHINAABE RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS.

The Anishinaabe (A-ni-shi-naa-bay; pl. Anishinaabe or Anishinaabeg) occupy an area roughly described by the Great Lakes. To the north, they can be found in the Canadian province of Ontario. In the United States, their home territory includes parts of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. Other branches can be found in outlying areas, such as Manitoba and North Dakota. There are many names by which the Anishinaabe are known, the most common being Ojibwe (Ojibwa, Ojibway) and Chippewa. In Canada, the term Saulteaux can also be found. Some Anishinaabe view their nation as consisting of the "three fires," the Ojibwe, Ottawa (Odawa), and Potawatomi. Anishinaabe is thought of as the most traditional name, and its usage is starting to become more widespread and common. Like many native societies, the Anishinaabe are traditionally organized by clans, or *dodaims,* from which the English term *totem* is derived.

The migration story of the Anishinaabe holds that the people originally lived around the Gulf of Saint Lawrence in Canada. Sometime in the late 1500s, however, the Anishinaabe began to move west. There are several accounts of how this migration began. Most commonly, it is thought that an epidemic originally spurred the migration. However, it is also said that a sacred megis shell appeared before the people to lead them west. They were to stop for a period of time at various points when the shell showed itself, and finish the migration when the shell appeared for the last time. The route of the migration included stopping points at current-day Montreal and Lake Nipissing in Canada, Sault Ste. Marie in Michigan, and Madeline Island in the Apostle Island group in Lake Superior in northern Wisconsin. Madeline Island was the last place at which the shell showed itself, establishing that location as one of the most sacred places for the Anishinaabe. The migration continued, however, and the Anishinaabe eventually established outposts in Minnesota and as far west as Turtle Mountain in North Dakota. Other Anishinaabe moved along the north shore of Lake Superior and into Manitoba.

Anishinaabe cosmology pictures a layered universe filled with "other-than-human" agents. The layers consist of the underwater realm, the land, and the sky. Living beings are thought to be controlled by what are sometimes referred to as the "masters of the species." That is, each species of living beings has a *manitou (manito, manidoo),* or spirit, which controls the presence and movements of representatives of that species on earth. The master can dispense or withhold blessings as it sees fit. However, individual representatives of the species also have a certain degree of autonomy.

Within the layered universe, one particularly important dynamic is that which exists between the Thunderers and Michibizhii. The Thunderers are generally imagined as large birds of prey. Michibizhii, or Messhepeshu, has various incarnations. He is sometimes pictured as a snake-like creature, but he can also appear as more cat-like, or even as a combination of the two. He is the leader of the fish, reptile, and amphibian *manitous.* While not entirely hostile toward humans, he is very powerful, and that power must be carefully respected. For example, it is not uncommon for Anishinaabe to sprinkle tobacco over the water when venturing out by boat in order to appease him. It is thought that the Thunderers prey on Michibizhii, hunting him with lightning bolts. Not ever being able to destroy the *manitou* completely, their eternal battle is reenacted with every summer thunderstorm.

Another significant being is the *windigo,* a giant, cannibal ice skeleton who roams the woods in the winter, preying on human beings. Under conditions of starvation, human beings could also become, or turn, *windigo.* When an individual turned into a cannibal in this manner, it was thought there was no hope of cure, and the only option was to kill the affected person. The last known case of so-called *windigo* psychosis occurred in Canada in the early twentieth century.

One of the most important aspects of Anishinaabe morality involves maintaining good relations with other humans and "other-than-human" agents. Maintaining respect for all living things is a core value by which the Anishinaabe live. Sometimes the relationships are individual in nature; other times the relationships are more corporate. Usually, maintaining good relationships will take the form of giving thanks or asking for blessings. Many of these relationships are with animals or natural forces, but it should under no circumstances be thought that the Anishinaabe worship nature. In the past, the custom was to thank an animal for sacrificing its life and to treat the animal as an honored guest so that its individual spirit would make a favorable report back to the master of the species, thus ensuring the continued pity and blessings of the master. Maintaining good relations can take other forms, however. After killing a deer, for example, it is taught that part of the liver should be left with the entrails as a gift for the wolves, whom the Anishinaabe hold very close to their hearts.

Human life is regulated by its own moral system, which is referred to as *bimaadiziwin,* or the "Good Life." The Good Life is oriented toward achieving a long and healthy existence. The teaching of *bimaadiziwn* operates at many levels. On a simple day-to-day basis, they suggest such actions as rising and retiring with the sun. *Bimaadiziwin* governs human relations as well, stressing the type of conduct appropriate between individuals and the manner in which social life is to be conducted. *Bimaadiziwin* also covers the relationship with the broader environment. So, for example, it teaches the necessity of respecting all life, from the smallest insects on up. *Bimaadiziwin,* however, does not exist as a definitive body of law. Instead, it is left up to the individual to develop an understanding of *bimaadiziwin* through careful attention to its teachings wherever they can be found. Because of this the term is quite complex and can apply variously to a religious blessing, a moral teaching, a value system, or a goal in life.

Humor is an important part of the worldview of the Anishinaabe, who believe that maintaining a sense of humor is a critical part of life. This perspective leads to certain thinking patterns and modes of conduct, and it informs everything from complex conceptual schemes to situation ethics, patterns of social integration, and attitudes of forgiveness or pragmatism, which include complex conceptual schemes, situational ethics, patterns of social integration, attitudes of forgiveness, and a pragmatic approach to life. The root of the comic vision of the Anishinaabe is found in their sacred stories, most especially those involving Nanabush.

Nanabush is the cultural hero of the Anishinaabe, and he is often thought of as a trickster figure. He is known by many names, including Nanabush, Nanapush, Nanabozho, Manabush, Manabozho, and Wenabozho. Tales about Nanabush are told only during the winter and it is considered a severe breech of Anishinaabe etiquette and spiritually dangerous to discuss him out of season. Traditionally, it was thought his father was the West Wind, and he is commonly paired with a twin brother, Flint. His mother died in childbirth while giving birth to Flint, so Nanabush was raised by his grandmother, or Nokomis in the Anishinaabe language. In the present day, some religious leaders teach that Nanabush is the son of God, and that while God sent Jesus to instruct Europeans, He sent Nanabush to teach Indian people.

While not all Anishinaabe myths involve Nanabush, he is a central figure in traditional lore, and so will form the nexus of the discussion of Anishinaabe sacred stories here. As with many trickster figures, Nanabush is not thought to have created the world, but rather to have shaped life into its current configuration. He is thus credited with having named the different aspects of creation and with having determined their present form. Nanabush was also responsible for the creation of human beings, to whom he brought the various accoutrements of civilization, such as fire and music. Earlier in human history, the Anishinaabe believe, giant cannibals and other monsters roamed the earth. Nanabush was responsible for destroying them.

However, in true trickster fashion, Nanabush was also responsible for introducing greed, gluttony, selfishness, laziness, and other base behaviors. However, the Anishinaabe do not fault Nanabush for being morally decrepit or evil as a result. Instead, they point to the shortcomings of Nanabush as a way of explaining human behavior. Nanabush served as the model for and creator of human conduct. Thus, whenever he did anything stupid, he said to himself, "There's another foolish thing my aunts and uncles [human beings] can do." So, being able to attribute less than noble acts to Nanabush allows the Anishinaabe to exercise forgiveness in regard to their own weaknesses.

Eventually, Nanabush left this world, and it is now commonly thought that he stands in the Northwest sky next to his father, the West Wind. The Northwest wind is thus a reminder of Nanabush to the Anishinaabe. Some believe he will one day return to help restore Anishinaabe culture.

In the peopled universe of the Anishinaabe, access to the sacred was achieved through vision quests. In traditional society, the quest had to occur before the supplicant reached puberty. It should be borne in mind that the word for "vision" in Anishinaabe also has the nuance of deep thought. So, children were primed for the vision quest in being directed by their parents to spend time the woods thinking about life and absorbing the environment. Vision quests could last anywhere from four to eight days, during which time the condition of the faster was carefully monitored. Children were admonished to not seek too much spiritual strength by fasting for overly long periods of time. They were also told they could reject visions. Thus, weaker "spiritual guides"—that is, beings who visited them during visions—were to be shunned in favor of stronger beings. Children not successful in the spiritual quest were thought to lack direction in life.

For those who were successful, it was customary not to reveal the identity of the spirit guide. Doing so could result in severe retribution from the guide. At the start of the twenty-first century, the practice of the vision quest continues among some Anishinaabe, and instances of individuals past the time of puberty going on the vision quest occur.

Spiritual power gained in the vision quest is further developed in the Midewiwin, or "Grand Medicine Society." The Midewiwin is often thought of as the traditional religion of the Anishinaabe. The rites and teachings surrounding the Midewiwin are secret, however, and modern-day Anishinaabe are reluctant to discuss the Society. For this reason, the remarks here will be kept to a minimum. The Midewiwin is a medicine society. Priests are known as *Midé,* and there are either four or eight degrees of initiation, depending on the local tradition. Along with the teaching of traditional lore, instruction in healing is provided, particularly concerning the use of herbs. In the past, it was not uncommon for the Midewiwin to handle funerals as well.

In traditional thinking, the land of the ancestors is thought to lie to the west. Upon death, the soul begins a four-day journey. Each day along the path the soul encounters a different temptation in the form of berries. The list of these temptations varies, but strawberries, blueberries, raspberries, and gooseberries are commonly mentioned. A soul being guided along the path of the dead is admonished to not stop and eat. Doing so will result in one being permanently stuck in that location. Once having passed those temptations, the soul reaches a river across which is a slippery log, difficult to cross. Traditionally, this was not conceived of as a test of moral character or judgment of one's actions in life. However, those not able to cross the log were thought to be swept away into oblivion. After safely crossing the river, one could join the ancestors.

The religious landscape of the Anishinaabe was altered with the arrival of Europeans on these shores, of course. However, it should in no way be thought that the Anishinaabe were passive victims or unthinking recipients of religious conversion. Many Anishinaabe kept to the old ways, and those who converted adapted Christianity to fit their own worldview. As Michael D. McNally has shown in detail, the introduction of Anishinaabe religiosity into Christian forms is most evident in the singing of hymns. For example, the texts of Anishinaabe hymns reflect the many ways in which life in this world is privileged over salvation in the next. Other aspects of Anishinaabe culture are reflected in hymn-singing as well, such as the importance of silence. Hymns are sung very slowly, which exaggerates and gives meaning to the pauses between sounds. Also, since the hymns are sung in the Anishinaabe language, hymn-singing is one means by which the language is being kept alive. So, in its Nativist form, Christianity among the Anishinaabe expresses the traditional worldview and culture in some ways.

There is a belief among the Anishinaabe that after the appearance of Europeans, an historical phase consisting of seven "fires," or eras began, each with its own characteristics. The "sixth fire" is a time of great loss and struggle. The "seventh fire" is a time of recovery of lost traditions. Many Anishinaabe believe that the "seventh fire" has been lit. And, indeed, there is a resurgence of Anishinaabe culture underway. Of course, it must be acknowledged that expressions of religion among the Anishinaabe today are quite varied. Some Anishinaabe are fully assimilated into mainstream culture, while others are deeply rooted in Anishinaabe language and tradition. Many Anishinaabe fall in between these two extremes. The cultural movement, though, is toward a return to traditions. Thus, while Anishinaabe religion, culture, and worldview are certain to continue to undergo changes, it appears the "seventh fire" will continue to burn.

SEE ALSO Cosmology, article on Indigenous North and Mesoamerican Cosmologies; Native American Christianities; North American Indian Religions, overview articles.

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In the current age, the Anishinaabe are starting to write about their religion and worldview. Basil Johnston is a well-known and authoritative author on the Anishinaabe. His books include: *The Manitous: The Spiritual World of the Ojibway* (New York, 1995), *Ojibway Ceremonies* (Lincoln, Neb., 1982), and *Ojibway Heritage* (Lincoln, Neb., 1976). Winona LaDuke is an internationally recognized Anishinaabe leader and activist. She has written on *bimaadiziwin* in "White Earth: A Lifeway in the Forest," included in a book edited by her: *All Our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life,* pp. 115–134 (Cambridge, Mass., 1999). Edward Benton-Banai is a spiritual leader from Madeline Island. His version of certain Anishinaabe sacred stories appears in his book for children, *The Mishomis Book: The Voice of the Ojibway* (St. Paul, Minn., 1988). Ann M. Dunn is a storyteller from the Leech Lake reservation in Minnesota. Her books include *When Beaver Was Very Great: Stories to Live By* (Mount Horeb, Wis., 1995).

Modern scholars are doing a better job than some of their predecessors at representing the Anishinaabe, especially as a living tradition. Two of the best are Michael D. McNally and Theresa S. Smith; see McNally's *Ojibwe Singers: Hymns, Grief, and a Native Culture in Motion* (Oxford, 2000) and Smith's *The Island of the Anishinaabeg: Thunderers and Water Monsters in the Traditional Ojibwe Life-World* (Moscow, Idaho, 1995).

This author's work focuses on cultural interpretation, and deals especially with the manner in which Anishinaabe religion is surviving the impact of colonialism; see Lawrence W. Gross's "Bimaadiziwin, or the 'Good Life,' as a Unifying Concept of Anishinaabe Religion," *American Indian Culture and Re-*

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M. Inez Hilger was a Catholic nun who worked with the Anishinaabe for a number of years. Her works provide insights into the everyday life of the Anishinaabe, including religious beliefs; see her *Chippewa Child Life and Its Cultural Background* (Washington, D.C., 1951; reprint, St. Paul, Minn., 1992) and *Chippewa Families: A Social Study of White Earth Reservation, 1938* (Washington, D.C., 1939; reprint, St. Paul, Minn., 1998).

The works of two earlier scholars of the Anishinaabe, A. Irving Hallowell and Ruth Landes, must be read with caution. Evidence of an anti-Anishinaabe bias can sometimes be found in their writing. So, while their ethnographic observations are useful, some of their conclusions are suspect. However, they have made major contributions to the field, so their works must be included here. Hallowell's *Culture and Experience* (Philadelphia, 1955; reprint, Prospect Heights, Ill., 1988) is a collection of essays, and his "Ojibwa Ontology, Behavior, and World View," in *Culture in History: Essays in Honor of Paul Radin,* edited by Stanley Diamond, pp. 19–52 (New York, 1960), is one of the most classic treatments of the Anishinaabe. Landes's works include *Ojibwa Religion and the Midéwiwin* (Madison, Wis., 1968), *The Ojibwa Woman* (New York, 1938; reprint, Lincoln, Neb., 1997), and *Ojibwa Sociology* (New York, 1937; reprint, 1969).

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The works of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft need to be addressed because of their enduring legacy. His so-called Algic research on the Anishinaabe and other woodland nations should only be used with extreme caution, and his works are not recommended, nor will they be listed here. Schoolcraft mixed Anishinaabe, Iroquois, other woodland Indian, and non-Indian myths, religions, and cultures; committed errors in his analyses and conclusions; falsified material; and invented evidence. Thus, unless one is well versed in the sacred stories and other traditions of woodland nations, it is better to avoid his work.

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ANNWN.

The Celtic otherworld is known in Welsh as *Annwn* or *Annwfn*, variously analyzed as connoting "non-world," "within-world," or "very deep." There is no formal description of this world in Welsh, and allusions in medieval Welsh texts and folklore suggest that it had many aspects. Its identification in medieval times with Hell and in modern folklore with fairyland is, of course, secondary. It is sometimes located below ground and is entered by subterranean tunnels, or it may be below the waters of a lake. Both concepts occur in medieval texts and in recent folktales. In the "Four Branches" of the *Mabinogi* (c. 1060–1120), the medieval Welsh collection of mythological tales, Annwn is conceived of as a world adjacent to the natural world, between which there are no boundaries but an awareness of a new dimension. Thus the hero Pwyll travels from his own land of Dyfed in southwestern Wales to Annwn along roads which should logically have been familiar to him. In other cases the act of sitting upon a mound or hill opens the way to traffic from one world to the other.

Two poems in the thirteenth-century *Book of Taliesin* portray Annwn, although not under that name, as an island. One of these, the so-called *Spoils of Annwfn*, refers to an attack on the otherworld by Arthur from which only seven of his retinue return and uses a variety of names for the otherworld, probably indicating different aspects—for example, Caer ("fortress"), Sidi (perhaps from the Irish *sídh*, "mound"), Caer Feddwid (perhaps "drunkenness"), and Caer Wydr ("glass"). This last name recalls an account in the ninth-century *Historia Brittonum* said to have been written by one Nennius, which tells of an attack by sea upon a glass tower. Since both texts refer to silent sentinels, it may be assumed that the otherworld is the land of the dead. It is never viewed as a land of torment, however. The other poem in the *Book of Taliesin* describes it as being free of sickness and old age and flowing with wine.

In the Second Branch of the *Mabinogi*, the timeless world of forgetful bliss underlies the feasts and sojourn of Brân's followers at Harlech and the island of Gwales, and this motif is common in modern folktales. The birds of Rhiannon, whose song heard over the water lulls the living to sleep, are doubtless from this otherworld. Annwn has its own kingdoms, and its rulers may call upon mortals to aid them, as Arawn, king of Annwn, summons Pwyll in the First Branch.

Most commonly Gwynn ap Nudd, not Arawn, is known as king of the otherworld. He has this role in the eleventh-century story *Culhwch and Olwen* and in the sixteenth-century *Life of Saint Collen.* In modern folklore he is king of the fairies, but he has a more sinister role as leader of the Wild Hunt, the hounds of which are known as Cwn Annwn ("dogs of Annwn").

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BRYNLEY F. ROBERTS (1987 AND 2005)

ANSELM (c. 1033–1109), Benedictine theologian, doctor of the church, archbishop of Canterbury, and Christian saint. Anselm is best known for an ontological argument for the existence of God that is still debated and for his opposition to the English kings William Rufus (William II) and Henry I on matters of ecclesiastical rights.

Born of a wealthy Lombard family in the Alpine village of Aosta in Piedmont, northern Italy, Anselm received his earliest education first from a relative and then from the local Benedictines. After the death of his mother in 1056, he gave up his patrimony and crossed the Alps with a companion in search of learning. In 1059 he made his way to the Benedictine abbey of Bec in Normandy (founded around 1039 by the abbot Herluin), where the learned and famous Lanfranc, a fellow Lombard from Pavia, taught. During the following year, at the age of twenty-seven, Anselm was persuaded to enter the abbey and begin a life of intense prayer and study. Three years later, when Lanfranc was chosen to be abbot of Saint Stephen's in Caen, Anselm succeeded him as prior and teacher. On the death of Herluin in August 1078, the community pleaded with Anselm to become their abbot, and he was consecrated in 1079. Within his first year as abbot he visited England on business for the monastery and took time to visit Lanfranc, who had been induced by William the Conqueror to accept the archbishopric of Canterbury in 1070. About the year 1070, when he was thirty-seven years old, Anselm began his writing career. Most of his works were begun, and almost all of them were published, at the request of his monks as an aid to understanding and defending the teachings of faith or expressing devotion.

When Lanfranc died in May 1089, the new king William Rufus refused to name a successor, claiming all revenues of Canterbury and other monasteries for his military campaigns. William eventually consented to appoint Anselm, who reluctantly was invested as abbot by the king on March 6, 1093, and consecrated bishop on December 5. Over the next four years tension mounted between king and archbishop over William's refusal to repair churches, to acknowledge Urban II as pope, and to give up his claim to lay investiture of the clergy. Refused permission to leave the realm, Anselm blatantly left England in November 1097 to see the pope, whereupon the king confiscated all church property belonging to Anselm and annulled all his transactions. During his first exile (1097–1100), Anselm was well received by the pope, completed his best-known work, *Cur Deus homo* (Why the God-Man), addressed the Council of Bari on the procession of the Holy Spirit (later published as *De processione Spiritus Sancti*), visited the abbey of Cluny, and wrote *De conceptu virginali et peccato originali* (On Virginal Conception and Original Sin).

On the death of William on August 2, 1100, Henry I was crowned king, succeeding his brother; the king and a number of barons invited Anselm to return to England. Henry, however, insisted that Anselm be reinvested and pay homage for his see. When Anselm refused, it was agreed that the case would be presented to the new pope, Paschal II. In Rome the king's envoy claimed that Henry would never submit to the loss of the right to invest the clergy, and the pope was equally adamant that he do so. On the journey back to England, Anselm was informed by the envoy that he would not be welcome in England unless he recognized all rights claimed by the king. Anselm's second exile (1103–1106) ended in a compromise reached in Normandy between the king and the archbishop: Henry relented on the issue of lay investiture of the clergy, and Anselm allowed payment by an English bishop for temporalities of his see. Relative peace was restored, and Anselm composed his most significant work, *De concordia praescientiae et praedestinationis et gratiae Dei cum libero arbitrio* (On the Harmony between God's Foreknowledge, Predestination, Grace, and Free Choice). During Lent of 1109, Anselm became seriously ill and died on Wednesday of Holy Week, April 21, 1109.

WRITINGS AND DOCTRINE. Just as Anselm was always able to give "reasons" for the rectitude of his actions, so as a theologian he was always ready to give "justifying reasons" (*rationes necessariae*) for the faith and hope that was in him (1 Pt. 3:15). In his writings, he touched on the whole Roman Catholic teaching found in scripture and the Fathers without adducing the authority of the scriptures to establish his conclusions. He tried instead to convince his readers "by rational arguments," by which he meant the reasonableness of his conclusions. When Lanfranc, who was not enthusiastic about Anselm's writing, suggested that scripture be quoted as an authority, Anselm replied that all his own statements could be supported by the Bible or Augustine and that he was only doing what Augustine had done in his *De Trinitate,* but more briefly (Epistle 1.68). Indeed, Anselm's writings are so thoroughly Augustinian in spirit and Boethian in logic that he can rightly be called "the father of Scholasticism."

Asked to explain his reflections of God's nature and attributes, Anselm compiled a book without a title, which he began to refer to as *Exemplum meditandi de ratione fidei* (An Example of Meditating on the Rationale of Faith). When the work was readied for publication around 1076, Anselm renamed it *Monologion de ratione fidei*, meaning a monologue or soliloquy on reasons for the faith. Anselm's work, like the Apostles' Creed, started with the existence of God, and then considered the Trinity, the life of Christ, and the "four last things." Although Anselm in the *Monologion* speaks as a believer, he argues that God must exist because (1) the grades of goodness in nature require an all-perfect good, (2) everything that exists requires a cause, and ultimately one supreme cause, and (3) the hierarchy of more or less perfect beings, since they cannot be infinite in number, requires an infinitely perfect being superior to all and inferior to none. From this all-perfect being, Anselm argued to all the truths of the Catholic faith.

Soon afterward he wondered whether he could show by a single, brief argument "what we believe and preach about God . . . that he is what we believe him to be," and he completed a second treatise on the same material by 1078. When Anselm came to give it a title, he called it *Fides quaerens intellectum* (Faith Seeking Insight), then simply *Proslogion* (Address), because it is addressed either to himself or to God in prayer. This single brief argument presented in chapters 2 through 4 is original, startling, and undoubtedly the most famous of all Anselm's contributions to religious thought.

The argument may be summarized thus: According to our faith, God is that being than which no greater can be thought. Even the fool, on hearing the phrase "that than which no greater can be thought," understands what he hears, and what he understands is in the understanding. But "that than which no greater can be thought" cannot exist in the understanding alone, for what exists in reality as well as in understanding would be greater than what exists in understanding alone. Therefore, "that than which no greater can be thought" must exist in reality, or it would at the same time be and not be "that than which no greater can be thought." Hence God exists in reality. Even the fool who says in his heart, "There is no God" (Ps. 14:1), would have to admit that God necessarily exists in reality as well as in his understanding.

Almost immediately this ontological argument, as Kant was to call it, was criticized politely but very insistently by Gaunilo, a monk of the abbey of Marmoutier in his *Liber pro insipiente* (For the Fool); Anselm replied to this in his *Liber apologeticus.* Thereafter Anselm requested that both these works be appended to his *Proslogion* in all future copies. In defense of the fool, Gaunilo raised two main objections: first, there is no distinct idea of God from which to infer his existence; second, one cannot rely on existence in thought to prove existence outside thought, for although one can conceive the idea of the most perfect of all blessed islands, it does not follow that that blessed island also exists in reality. To which Anselm replied: passing from existence in thought to existence in reality is possible and necessary only when it is a question of the greatest being one can conceive. Whatever exists except God alone can be thought of as not existing. Over the centuries there have always been thinkers to take up the argument and refashion it or reject it. Bonaventure, Duns Scotus, Descartes, Leibniz, and Hegel took it up, whereas Thomas Aquinas, Locke, and Kant followed Gaunilo in rejecting it, each for different reasons.

Between 1080 and 1085 Anselm wrote *De grammatico,* a useful introduction to logic, and *De veritate,* a thorough analysis of different kinds of truth, namely, truth in God as truth itself (cause of all truth), truth in things produced by God (ontological), and truth in the mind (logical) and in the will (moral), both measured by reality. During this same period he wrote *De libero arbitrio,* a work on the true nature of freedom, particularly regarding morality. True freedom for Anselm isnot the ability to choose evil (sin) but the ability to choose different kinds of good as means to a worthy end. This led to his *De concordia gratiae Dei cum libero arbitrio* (1107–1108), an influential work that harmonized God's foreknowledge and grace with human freedom. Anselm's most important theological work was *Cur Deus homo* (1097–1100), followed by *De conceptu virginali,* a treatise on "necessary reasons" why God became sinless man by a virgin and died on the cross to redeem fallen humanity from sin.

The case for Anselm's canonization was presented to Rome around 1163 by Thomas à Becket when he was archbishop of Canterbury, but there is no record of the proceedings. However, a calendar from Christ Church, Canterbury, before 1170 mentions the transfer of the relics of "Saint Anselm the Archbishop" on April 7 and his feast day on April 21. He was declared a doctor of the church by Pope Clement XI in 1720.

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JAMES A. WEISHEIPL (1987)

ANTHESTERIA (blossoming rites) was the new-wine festival of the god Dionysos as celebrated at Athens and in cities of Ionia (on the Aegean Islands and the coast of Anatolia). The first of the new wine was opened and drunk in the month that takes its name from the festival, Anthesterion (February). It was a moment of anxiety and relief, of superstitious fear and joyous thanksgiving. At Athens, where the festival program is best known, Anthesteria lasted three days, from the eleventh through the thirteenth of the month. Wine was first distributed to everyone, tasted and tried by everyone on command, and finally used for general festivity. Each day was fondly named for the kind of vessel that typified the day's activity: Pithoigia (jar-opening), Choes, (jugs), and Chytroi, (pots).

On the first day, Pithoigia, the wine was drawn from the large clay "jars" sunk in the ground, where it had fermented since the vintage, and was carried in skins or amphorae to households throughout the countryside and the city and to public buildings in the old city center, the original Agora, just east of the Akropolis. When Athens grew larger, wine and the jugs of the second day were sold at a special market.

At the same time Dionysos was welcomed with joyous ceremony. His effigy was conveyed through the streets in a wagon fitted out like a ship, as if he had just arrived from overseas. Celebrants costumed as satyrs joined him in the wagon, playing pipes. The procession went its merry way to the city center, to the official quarters of the Basileus "king," the chief magistrate whose title was handed down from an earlier day. Here the wife of the Basileus was presented to the god in a symbolic "meeting and marriage."

The life of Dionysos as expressed in myth and ritual runs parallel to the growth and maturation cycle of vine and wine. He is born at the pruning of the vines, a helpless frightened babe nursed by women in the hills. But now, at the moment for opening the wine, he is imagined as an exulting, impetuous young man. Stories tell how he once arrived in one city or another and was resisted, only to demonstrate his overwhelming power. Within each city a ritual marriage celebrates the consummation of his manhood, which is reflected in the famous myth of Ariadne, a royal woman yearning on the seashore, taken by Dionysos.

On the second day, Choes, drinking contests were staged at the city center and in the households as a means of implicating everyone, all at once, in the magic peril of the new wine. At a trumpet signal, each contestant sought to drain his own *chous*, a three-liter jug of neat wine (wine that was not mixed with water). The individual jugs and the neat wine were in contrast to the usual style of social drinking in which the company was served from a large mixing bowl with cups of wine uniformly watered in agreed-upon proportion. The festival custom was explained by the story that Athens, always a haven for the persecuted, had once harbored the fugitive Orestes, son of Agamemnon, after he killed his mother Klytaimnestra, and on this one day kept all the drinkers separate so that blood pollution would not spread.

When the contests were over, households settled down to eat and drink in comfort. Boys in their second year had a special role. They were crowned with flowers and given smaller jugs of wine so that they could join the celebration. Hundreds of these little jugs have survived, with painted scenes of children crawling on the floor, playing with wagon-wheels and other toys, and also mimicking adult ceremonies. It was another way to glorify the new wine. The wine, if we take it back to the pruning of the vines nearly two years before, was of the same age as the boys. Ritual in the vineyards was conducted on a matching two-year cycle. "Blossoming rites," the festival name, refers both to the completion of the cycle and to the crowning of the boys.

At day's end many people still had not finished their wine, so they wreathed the jugs and carried the remnants to the sanctuary of Dionysos in an area of springs beside the river Ilissos, called "the Marshes." The wine was collected and poured over the head of a young he-goat, which was then sacrificed to Dionysos. Sacrifice in its various forms had the effect of reinforcing some part of nature with the vigor of animals. In being soaked with wine, the he-goat was directed to the corresponding part of nature, the domain of Dionysos. The sanctuary was opened just once a year, on Anthesterion 12, for this all-important sacrifice.

The third day, Chytroi, was again devoted to the use of wine, but more sociably, and indeed publicly, with song and dance and masking. *Chytros* denotes the vessel in which the wine was now mixed with water—a large "pot." A mixing bowl in general is called *krater*, and some of the handsomest Athenian vases are of this kind. The festival shape however always remained much simpler—it is a *chytros*, though modern experts have adopted another conventional name, *stamnos*. Vases of this shape have also survived, and the painted scenes show women mixing the wine in just such vases and ladling it into cups and dancing with tambourines and castanets. At the center is an impromptu image of Dionysos, a wooden pillar surmounted by a bearded mask and draped with a long robe, so that the god is present among his worshipers. *Chytroi* or *stamnoi* were placed at the Marshes among the springs, and filled with wine and fresh cold water, and the hangovers from the day before were soon cured. Then the worshipers set out through the streets, singing or shouting in praise of Dionysos.

Their destination was the south side of the Akropolis—the lower slope and the ground in front—which eventually became the marble theater of Dionysos and its orchestra or dancing-place. Performers called *ithyphalloi* (with-erect-phallus) formed choruses and competed in song and dance. They too were robed and masked to look like reeling drunkards; and they too had paraded through the streets behind a carved and painted phallus pole from which they took their name. The exuberant masking is a precursor of Attic drama in its developed forms of satyr play, comedy, and tragedy, which came to be performed during other festivals of Dionysos at the same locale.

There was revelry in the Attic countryside as well. Amid the general disorder, girls went out freely (as they did not at other times) and amused themselves by riding on swings hung from trees. This sportive conduct was another kind of license appropriate to the occasion and was known by two standard names: *aletis* (roaming) and *aiora* (swinging). The country celebration gave rise to its own tale of origin, covering all three days. An old rustic named Ikarios was visited by the god Dionysos and became the first to learn how to make wine. Going round on his wagon, he distributed skins of wine to the country people, and they first drank it neat and were stupefied, then drank it with water and were sexually excited. Thinking it a harmful drug, they killed Ikarios. His daughter Erigone (Child-of-the-morning) went out at dawn to search for the body and, when she found it, hanged herself from a tree. Thus did she "roam" and "swing."

The story was told by the Hellenistic scholar and poet Eratosthenes, who in the fashion of his time pointed to constellations that attest it, Bootes ("ox-driver," i.e., Ikarios) and Virgo (Erigone). In another story that explains the same ritual (as often happens), the suicidal girl, still named Erigone, is the daughter of Klytaimnestra's paramour Aigisthos, also murdered by Orestes. She had followed Orestes to Athens in the vain hope that he would be tried and condemned for the murders. One of these stories, more likely the latter, was brought to the stage by Sophocles in a lost tragedy titled *Erigone.*

Such was Athens' version of the Anthesteria. Ionia celebrated in much the same way. At Ephesos and Smyrna the pageant of the ship-wagon, with its train of revelers, was especially renowned. At Kolophon the poet Theodoros wrote songs of remarkable lewdness for women to sing at the "roaming" (they have not survived). The festival continued under Roman rule. Mark Antony was hailed as the "New Dionysos," and when he arrived at Ephesos in early 41 BCE he was led through the city by a costumed train of satyrs and bacchants. It was likewise in Ephesos that Saint Timothy, the companion of Saint Paul, was allegedly martyred in 97 CE when he fell into the hands of the revelers. Like many pagan festivals, the Anthesteria died out in the third century CE.

OTHER FESTIVALS OF DIONYSOS. Whereas the new-wine festival marked the end of the growth and maturation cycle, another standard festival of Dionysos came at the beginning, at the pruning of the vines in winter. At Athens and in Ionia it was called Lenaia, and the corresponding month was Lenaion (January). The name is taken from the *lenai*, women who reveled on the hills where the vines were mostly grown. *Bakchai*, "bacchants," and *maenads* (meaning "mad ones," cognate with "mania") are other terms for these women. (Male celebrants, such as the maskers at the new-wine festival, are *bakchoi).*

The women's conduct in the hills was alternately tender and furious, a strange reversal that typifies the myths of Dionysos. They made a show of cherishing a baby, crooning and dandling and even suckling. This was a magic means of reviving the withered and ravaged vines. But they also ran and howled and flung about, and they beat the ground with a *thyrsos*, a rod festooned with ivy or pinecones, winter's tokens of new growth. This too was a magic means of stimulating nature, like a rain dance. Vase paintings often depict the women in their wildness. They slice and scatter small animals, a drastic form of sacrifice—nature was again reinforced with animal vigor. Myth equates the animal victims with human ones. There is in fact a magic or mystic unity that embraces the god, the worshipers, the victims, and life in nature. Bakchos (Bacchus) is another name for Dionysos himself, and *bakchos* another term for the fertilizing rod.

Myths of Dionysos dwell on all these features. They tell how nymphs were nursing the baby god, or how royal women were nursing offspring, until they were either routed or transformed by some intruder and the happy scene changed to savagery. The baby is threatened, or even torn and scattered, like the small animals. In the charter myth of Orphic societies the baby Dionysos is torn to pieces, only to be strangely reborn. Euripides' *Bacchae*, the most famous literary treatment, varies the pattern by substituting for the babies a youthful and untried king who is torn by his mother and other women.

Every Greek city had its own calendar of months named for local festivals, and the months named for the two festivals of Dionysos are among the commonest of all. In early days, every community produced wine as a dietary staple and worshipped the wine god zealously. The other two main branches of the Greek stock, Aeolian and Dorian, differed from the Ionian but agreed with each other in the naming of festivals and months. The new-wine festival was *Agerrania* (gathering rites); that is, the occasion for collecting wine and assembling people. The new-growth festival was *Theodaisia* (god-dividing rites), a name that identified the god with both the vines as they were pruned and the animal victims as they were scattered.

SEE ALSO Dionysos.

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Among festivals of Dionysos, the Anthesteria has been the subject of persistent misunderstanding, with consequences also for the nature of the god. It began with the commentators of late antiquity, who were called upon to explain the many references to the festival in classical literature, especially in the works of the comic poet Aristophanes. The word *chytros* occurring in the name of the third day was unfamiliar to them, and they equated this masculine form, meaning "a large pot," with the feminine form *chytra* (a small pot), which happened to be employed in a distinctive ritual of another kind—the offering of a mixture of boiled seeds to underworld powers. So the third day, which was in fact the liveliest of all, was said to be a somber placation of the dead, as if the mood had changed abruptly. Other evidence was made to fit this theory. There was a famous line from a play that had become a

proverb: "Out of the house, you Carians; the Anthesteria is over!" The Carians were slaves who were ordered back to work after the holiday. For Carians a different word was substituted, *keres*, meaning "evil spirits," which makes it appear that they had been conjured up during the festival.

On this outlook the Anthesteria became a curious amalgam of gaiety and gloom. The same contradiction was found in the nature of Dionysos, thought to be the lord of souls who at once brings new life and ecstasy and rules over the dead. It was indeed a fertile misunderstanding, propagated by two acute and influential writers on Greek religion, Erwin Rohde, the friend of Friedrich Nietzsche, in his book *Psyche* (1894), translated by W. B. Hillis (London and New York, 1925), and Jane Harrison, the leading voice of the Cambridge school of ritualists. Thereafter, Walter F. Otto, in *Dionysos: Myth and Cult* (1933), translated by Robert B. Palmer (Bloomington, Ind., 1965), described a god of polar opposites, of boundless vitality and all-consuming destruction. As an avowed variation, Karl Kerényi, in *Dionysos: Archetypal Image of Indestructible Life* (Princeton, 1976), spoke of "infinite life and limited life." The dark side is emphasized but also somewhat attenuated by Parisian structuralists as a strangeness or otherness or, by Marcel Detienne, *Dionysos at Large*, translated by Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), as a sudden disruptive force. These larger views, important as they are to the history of religion, have the effect of distorting Dionysos's function in Greek society as the god of wine.

Although the festivals were focused on this function, they too have been reinterpreted. Walter Burkert, "Greek Tragedy and Sacrificial Ritual," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 7 (1966): 87–121, regards the goat sacrifice of Dionysos's festivals as a way of acting out, and atoning for, the ancient and necessary human impulse to aggression. In the chapter "Anthesteria" of *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth* (Berkeley, 1983), pp. 213–247, Burkert argues that the use of wine was assimilated to sacrifice and killing as a guilty consumption of other life; the *keres* of the third day are masked figures representing demons whose onslaught embodies the guilty feeling. Jan Bremmer, *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* (Princeton, 1983), pp. 109–122, assigns the Anthesteria to the general category of festivals of license and disorder; the Carians are outsiders who burst into the community in order to be driven off. The picture of the festival given above is fully argued by Noel Robertson, "Athens' Festival of the New Wine," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 95 (1993): 197–250. For the other festivals of the vine and wine cycle, see Robertson, "Orphic Mysteries and Dionysiac Ritual," in *Greek Mysteries: The Archaeology and Ritual of Ancient Greek Secret Cults*, edited by Michael B. Cosmopoulos (London, 2003), pp. 218–240. In "The Magic Properties of Female Age-groups in Greek Ritual," *Ancient World* 26 (1995): 193–203, Robertson illustrates the similarity of women's roles in promoting both staple crops—wine and grain—at festivals of Dionysos and Demeter.

The two kinds of vase distinctive of the Anthesteria, the *chous* of the second day and the *chytros* or *stamnos* of the third, have often been studied separately. Richard Hamilton, *Choes and Anthesteria: Athenian Iconography and Ritual* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1992), tabulates the childhood toys and treats depicted on *chous* vases and arranges them in statistical groups, which are taken to reflect the adult activities of the festival. Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux, *Le dieu-masque: Une figure de Dionysos d'Athènes* (Paris, 1991), interprets the *stamnos* vases in a structuralist mode, not as festival scenes but as an expressive collage of ritual and mythical motifs. It is remarkable that these Athenian vases were mostly used and admired far from Athens. The *chous* vases were exported to all parts of the Greek world, where local customs were not necessarily the same. The *stamnos* vases were made exclusively for Etruria, a prosperous non-Greek area that had its own new-wine festival and gave women much freedom. Thus the vases evoke an ideal celebration for everyone, and they might be compared to Christmas cards with tableaux of Dickensian London.

Dionysos's festivals gave a customary or institutional form to unruly, even frenzied behavior. Albert Henrichs, "Greek Maenadism from Olympias to Messalina," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 82 (1978): 121–160, traces the appearances of declared maenads at different places. Henrichs also, in "Changing Dionysiac Identities," in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. 3: *Self-Definition in the Graeco-Roman World*, edited by Ben F. Meyer and E. P. Sanders (London, 1982), pp. 137–160, provides examples of private associations named for Dionysos and his ritual, among them mere drinking clubs, which sought to reproduce an intense communal feeling. Susan G. Cole, "Procession and Celebration at the Dionysia," in *Theater and Society in the Classical World*, edited by Ruth Scodel (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1993), pp. 25–38, documents the official status of obscene language and display.

Since Dionysos's festivals are reflected in a great many myths, and the myths are firmly located in different Greek cities, it is possible to distinguish both local patterns and historical changes. The most famous myths belong to Boeotia and the northeastern Peloponnesus, the heartland of Mycenaean (late Bronze Age) civilization. Viticulture and its religion started here but afterwards declined and flourished more in other regions. Giovanni Casadio treats several of the early centers and the history of their festivals in *Storia del culto di Dioniso in Argolide* (Rome, 1994) and *Il vino dell' animo: Storia del culto di Dioniso a Corinto, Sicione, Trezene* (Rome, 1999).

NOEL ROBERTSON (2005)

ANTHONY OF PADUA (1195?–1231), born Ferdinand de Bulhoes; Franciscan preacher, miracle worker, and saint. Born in Lisbon, Portugal, Ferdinand de Bulhoes entered the monastery of the Canons Regular of Saint Augustine while still an adolescent. He was ordained a priest at the monastery of his order in Coimbra in 1219. Inspired by the martyrdom of Franciscan missionaries in Morocco, he left the monastery to join the Friars Minor in 1220, taking the religious name of Anthony. After an abortive attempt at mission work in Morocco, Anthony went to Italy, where he participated in the general chapter of the Franciscans at Assisi (1221) and, presumably, met Francis of Assisi. In 1223 Anthony was appointed lector in theology at the Franciscan house of studies in Bologna. A letter from Francis, of disputed authenticity, ratified that position as long as such study did not "extinguish the spirit of prayer and devotion."

By 1226 Anthony had been appointed the Franciscan minister for the Emilia (a region in northern Italy) and served as a Franciscan delegate to the Vatican. In that same year he received permission from Pope Gregory IX to relinquish all offices in order to devote his life to preaching, for which he had demonstrated great flair. For the rest of his brief life, Anthony traveled through the region around Padua as an incessant preacher of reform and as an obdurate opponent of heresy. In 1231 he died at Padua; Gregory IX canonized him the following year at solemn ceremonies in the Cathedral of Spoleto. In 1946 Pius XII named him a doctor of the church.

The only surviving authentic writings of Anthony are two series of sermons, one for Sundays (*Sermones domenicales*) and one for various feast days of the liturgical year (*Sermones in solemnitatibus sanctorum*). From these writings scholars have attempted to reconstruct the saint's theological vision.

Anthony's theology was shaped both by his use of the sermon and by his stated desire to combat the twin heresies of the Cathari and the dissident evangelical sects like the Waldensians. He emphasized the incarnational themes of theology, the need for interior conversion, and a return to the sacraments, especially the sacrament of penance, as a sign of reconciliation with the church. The framework of his sermons was most typically constructed by harmonizing the scriptural texts of the liturgy celebrated on the day he preached. While the sermons were meant for general consumption they still reflect considerable learning, in both theological and mystical literature.

Anthony's mysticism was influenced heavily by Augustine of Hippo and the twelfth-century exegete Richard of Saint-Victor; he shows no direct dependence on the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite. His scriptural exegesis, based on the traditional fourfold sense of scripture, leans heavily toward the moral sense of the text, which he uses both to exhort to virtue and to warn against the reigning heresies of the time. His focus, typically Franciscan, on the humanity of Jesus led to an emphasis on the healing virtue of the wounds of Christ. Some have seen in the sermons of Anthony the beginnings of the devotion to the Heart of Jesus, a devotional *figura* that would blossom fully only in late medieval piety. His series of sermons on the Virgin Mary constitute a brief compendium of Mariology; his name was invoked by Pius XII as one of the doctors who held the doctrine of the bodily assumption of Mary into heaven, a doctrine defined by the pontiff in 1950.

While Anthony's contemporaries praised his deep knowledge of scripture and his power as an apologist and preacher, posterity best remembers the saint as a thaumaturge. Celebrated in art and narrated in legend, his miracles have the simple charm associated with early Franciscan charisma. The center of Anthony's cult is the Basilica of Il Santo in Padua, which incorporates the old Church of Santa Maria Materdomini where Anthony was originally buried. One of Donatello's famous bronze panels at the basilica depicts an unbeliever's donkey, which, to the evident discomfiture of its owner, is venerating the Eucharist held by Anthony. The popular fourteenth-century Italian anthology of Franciscan stories known as the *Fioretti* (Little Flowers) reflects Anthony's importance in the estimation of the early Franciscans by associating him with the stories of Francis and his earliest companions. The *Fioretti* tells of Anthony preaching to the fish near Rimini after the heretics of the city refused to hear him. The literary similarity of that story to the one of Francis preaching to the birds is patent.

In the centuries after his death the cult of Saint Anthony developed with an intensity second only to that of Francis himself. From that popular devotionalism springs both some common beliefs (a prayer to Saint Anthony will retrieve lost articles) and charitable practices, such as the collection of alms for the poor under the rubric of "Saint Anthony's bread."

The iconography of Saint Anthony has had considerable development over the centuries. The earliest representation of the saint is very much like that of the early pictures of Francis: a young man dressed in a poor habit with a young and unbearded face. He is often shown with an open book in his left hand, while holding in the other a tongue of fire. The latter symbol was most likely borrowed from the iconography of Anthony the Abbot.

By the fifteenth century Anthony is shown with a flowering lily branch in his hand (a symbol of purity) and a book (a symbol of his theological acumen), as the statue by Jacopo Sansovino (in the Church of San Petronio in Bologna) and another in Padua attributed to Donatello attest. By the end of the fifteenth century Anthony, under the influence of popular miracle stories, is often depicted carrying the Christ Child in his arms. This theme became extremely popular in the post-Reformation period, as evidenced in paintings by Esteban Murillo and José Ribera. One variation of this theme is Anthony Van Dyck's Brera altarpiece of the Virgin extending the child Jesus to the expectant arms of the saint. Anthony's role as a theologian and antiheretical apologist is not often depicted in art but he does appear, along with the other doctors of the church, in the Brizio Chapel of the Cathedral of Orvieto in a large work by Luca Signorelli.

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pious, study of the saint's life, doctrine, iconography, and place in folklore.

LAWRENCE S. CUNNINGHAM (1987)

ANTHROPOLOGY, ETHNOLOGY, AND RELIGION. In his classic discussion of "the sick soul" in *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902), William James observes that "philosophic theism has always shown a tendency to become pantheistic and monistic, and to consider the world as one unit of absolute fact." In contrast, popular or practical theism has "ever been more or less frankly pluralistic, not to say polytheistic, and shown itself perfectly well satisfied with a universe composed of many original principles." While James ultimately deems the divine principle supreme and the rest subordinate, his immediate sympathies lie with less absolute "practicalities," and he situates analyses of religious experience within the felt tension between theistic monism and the pluralism of actual populations. In many respects the anthropological study of religion has sustained and enlarged upon these sympathies.

Anthropology's traditional concentration on nonliterate societies has shaped its approach to religious practice and belief in general. But ethnological theory has seldom been confined to so-called primitive peoples, tribal groups, or even "marginalized" peoples discredited by a dominant religious establishment. Ethnographers have long addressed religious contexts evolved from what Karl Jaspers called "the Axial Age," marked by world-rejecting beliefs in either a transcendental realm or an abstractly negative realm distinct from the worldly or mundane. Anthropologists encounter the entire range of religious values in ideal and implementation at every scale of society and state and all manner of sect, renunciation, and commodification. Still, when addressing cultural circumstances of world religions, anthropologists often emphasize practitioners' more immediate experience—from spirit cults to ancestor worship to everyday cure and money-mediated expenditure. Such transmundane concerns can qualify those transcendental doctrines or ethical canons (paramount for historians of religion) professed by priests, monks, scribes, and kindred specialists.

METHODOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS. The contemporary anthropology of religion stems from diverse theoretical persuasions: Émile Durkheim's view of religious "social facts," which brackets issues of truth versus error; Max Weber's ideal types of sweeping processes behind religious, economic, and bureaucratic reformisms; Marxist and Freudian explorations of ideological and expressive behavior. The task of retranslating works by such seminal figures keeps them salient today. For example, Stephen Kalberg's 2002 translation of Weber's *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904–1905) foregrounds its comparative rhetorical power, and Durkheim's *Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1912) finds renewed life in Karen Field's spirited rendition (1995); her introduction illuminates how Australian evidence pushed Durkheim's writing toward reflexive interpretations. Steven Lukes's biography of Durkheim (1973) also evokes his dramatic nondogmatism when addressing the Union des Libres Penseurs et de Libres Croyants in 1914: Durkheim urged each party (believers and freethinkers) heuristically to exchange ideals—to act in "organic solidarity" as totemic moieties each to each. Durkheim's impromptu and charismatic speech on this occasion produced effervescent outbursts of applause among customarily staid listeners. Lukes calls this episode "the nearest Durkheim ever came to [Weber's] principle of *Verstehen*" (p. 515).

What Talal Asad (1993), following Michel Foucault, has called the "genealogies of religion" extend to anthropological approaches to religions as well. Many anthropologists attempt phenomenological and hermeneutic interpretations of religious life and sacred symbols or semiotic analysis of communication codes; they apply complex models of social interaction, ritual speech, mythic order and transgression, cosmological archetypes, and historical forces of scapegoating, sacrifice, oppression, and revolution. Religion appears in mechanisms of socialization and in dialectical processes of change; its manifest and latent patterns underlie both consensus and transformation, both integration and subversion.

Rival definitions of religion characterize anthropological efforts. Such scholars as Melford E. Spiro retain a notion of the superhuman and rebuke Durkheim for diluting religion to whatever is ritually "set apart." Others, such as Clifford Geertz, deflect issues of superhuman, supernatural, or holy content, defining religion generally as a set of powerful symbols conjoined to rhetorics of persuasion that are uniquely realistic to adherents and apparent in their moods, motivation, and conceptions. Some working definitions support Mircea Eliade's sense of a distinctive *homo religiosus;* others pose religion as a basically compensatory reaction to mundane deprivation, suffering, or violence. Regardless, anthropologists explore sacred values across domains of illness and cure, aesthetics, law, politics, economy, philosophy, sexuality, ethics, warfare, play, sport, and the many kinds of classifications and performances that both organize and challenge cultural systems of knowledge and affect.

Like its topics and boundaries, vexed issues in the anthropology of religion keep expanding. Is the discipline's task explanatory, requiring so-called objectivity, or is it interpretive, inviting multiple, nonaligned empathies? Is one's goal to bundle religious usages into tidy symptoms of basic human drives, or is it to unravel, even transvalue, such usages through informed readings of cultural and historical contexts, ritual activity and speech, priestly texts, and contested commentaries generated in the name of *religio?* Does evidence of religious activity reduce to neuroscientific bases, or does conveying religious experience enact a reflexivity that keeps trumping its own grasp? And are such alternatives necessarily mutually exclusive?

Even scholars committed to nonpartisan research may question whether comparison can ever be neutral; critical inquiry has intensified into dilemmas of "value-freedom" versus *Verstehen* in the Weberian sense. Any approach to religion may necessarily entail preconceptions that qualify, under certain definitions, as themselves religious (one kind of reflexivity). On the more practical side, research on active religions is often declared off-limits, either by adherents of those religions or by agents of the governments seeking to control them. For these and other reasons, the discipline's findings and the discipline itself remain controversial. Difficult obstacles and opportunities pervade comparative studies of religions, including "secularism" (Asad, 2003); refusals of so-called religion may demonstrate qualities that some scholars (e.g., Durkheim) might call "religious," rather in the manner of renunciation.

One introductory work informed by a coherent view of religion is James L. Peacock and A. Thomas Kirsch's textbook *The Human Direction* (1980), which employs Robert N. Bellah's Parsonian framework of evolving roles in religious and political differentiations. Another is John Bowen's *Religions in Practice* (2002), which uses Pierre Bourdieu's notions of extrastructural, nonformal norms; religions are crossings of cultural boundaries: local, national, and transnational. Scholarly consensus in the anthropology of religions remains inevitably agonistic, a quality captured in William A. Lessa and Evon Z. Vogt's *Reader in Comparative Religion* (1979). That venerable volume's repeatedly updated vintage and vanguard articles have yielded to such worthy successors as Michael Lambek's *Reader in the Anthropology of Religion* (2002), with more emphasis on state politics, assertive "fundamentalisms" (Christian, Islamic, etc.), and diverse religious diasporas.

METHODOLOGICAL CRITIQUES. As the anthropology of religion proceeds, it properly intensifies its retrospection. One can better appreciate current trends by reconsidering the emergence of specialized scholarship on so-called primitive religions.

Fallacies in nineteenth-century quests for the origins of religion, taken as a distinct category of human experience, have been often noted. E. E. Evans-Pritchard's succinct *Theories of Primitive Religion* (1965) enumerates now-rejected studies on the stages of the religious impulse in humans, proposed in different combinations and sequences by successive evolutionist scholars. Besides monotheism we find fetishism, manism, nature-mythism, animism, totemism, dynamism, magism, polytheism, and certain psychological states (p. 104). Although certain such complexes may be real enough—one thinks particularly of shamanism—none demonstrably existed as a distinct stage in a progression either toward religious sagacity or beyond it into "mature" scientific objectivity. Efforts to correlate religious types and socioeconomic levels—for example, the shamans of flexibly structured hunter-gatherer societies versus the priests and prophets of stratified civilizations—have yielded to less monolithic schemes more attentive to evidence of coexisting religious specializations enacted as divination, prophecy, calendrical ceremonies, and many blends of magic, sorcery, and thaumaturgy. For example, contemporary research on shamanic practices by Piers Vitebsky (1995) addresses both the Sora of tribal India and the Sakha (once Yakut) of Siberia. Sora today are abandoning ritual dialogues with the dead, becoming Baptist, and going psychologistic; in contrast, post-Soviet Sakha (sitting on rich mineral deposits) are dressing long-suppressed shamanic ways in New Age merchandizing and global environmentalism. Such transformations and rekindlings of "jungle and tundra shamanism" inflect community/cosmopolitan borderlands and agitate forces of both reformism and commercialism, of both reinvented tradition and the Internet.

In 1962 Claude Lévi-Strauss published a critique of the history of abstracting "totemism," construed broadly as analogies between social divisions and categories of the natural surroundings. His was a particularly spirited critique of the vain pursuit of origins. Evans-Pritchard, again, captures the flavor of prejudicial dichotomies that often, but not inevitably, favored Europeans: "We are rational, primitive peoples [are] prelogical, living in a world of dreams and make-believe, of mystery and awe; we are capitalists, they communists; we are monogamous, they promiscuous; we are monotheists, they fetishists, animists, pre-animists or what have you, and so on" (1965, p. 105). Similar stereotypes could adorn antievolutionist arguments as well, such as Alfred Russel Wallace's *Natural Selection and Tropical Nature* (1891), in which Wallace's spiritist sympathies inclined him to excuse the human species from evolutionary processes: "Natural selection could only have endowed savage man with a brain a few degrees superior to that of an ape, whereas he actually possesses one very little inferior to that of a philosopher" (p. 202). Wallace thus managed to offend everyone—"savage man," the ape, the philosopher, and the evolutionists alike. His awkward rationalization nicely illustrates the invidious comparisons across types, species, and specialized roles that characterized many nineteenth-century attitudes.

The twentieth century brought vigorous responses to social Darwinism, eugenics movements, and other theories of qualitative divisions in the human species. Franz Boas and his followers in the United States, Durkheimians in France, and some diffusionists and functionalists in Britain and elsewhere exposed false evolutionist schemes of myth, magic, and religion. Scholars today continue to debunk "awe theories" that can be illustrated with A. H. Keane's article "Ethnology" in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (vol. 5, 1912). Keane recapitulates notions of psycholatry, nature worship, the priority of magic, and primitive confusion between the unclean and the holy—common subjects of debate among rivalrous philologists, mythologists, and ethnologists, including F. Max Müller, Andrew Lang, W. Robertson Smith, E. B. Tylor, and James G. Frazer. Keane repeats theories of the concept of independent soul, according to which the soul extends from one's "own person" to one's fellows, then to animals, plants, and finally to the organized world, itemized rather breathlessly as follows: "Such conspicuous and lifelike objects as the raging torrent, the rolling seas, snowy peaks, frowning crests, steep rocky walls, gloomy gorges, dark woods, trees, crags, clouds, storms, lightning, tornadoes, heavenly bodies, until all nature becomes animated and everything personified and endowed with a living soul" (p. 526). Such dubious theories of religious origins and their metaphorical extensions at least reveal symbolic classifications implicit in Europeans' own views of nature and, unfortunately, of human cultures as well.

HISTORICAL REVALUATIONS. Anthropologists today are willing to assess neglected intricacies of dated works, despite their errors. Books by early professional anthropologists and the founding figures of Indology, comparative mythology, and folklore up to 1860 (surveyed in Feldman and Richardson, 1972), while riddled with false explanations, also managed to involve readers in the unfamiliar, the inexplicable, even the forbidden. Narrative strategies and discursive devices of bygone scholarship gain fresh resonance in such pathbreaking studies as Michael West's *Transcendental Wordplay* (2000).

In the anthropology of religion proper, even Evans-Pritchard's sometimes-dismissive historical synopses could reassess aspects of R. R. Marett and A. E. Crawley, as well as Lucien Lévy-Bruhl's controversial ideas of prelogical mentality. In the history of the anthropology of religion, the way has thus been cleared for serious rereading, rather than mere revisionism; a more anthropological attitude toward anthropology's past has emerged (Stocking, 1987). There is evident dissatisfaction with a "use and abuse" self-legitimating history; old stereotypes of disciplinary progress are now shaken, sometimes gently, sometimes violently. Less readily does the field's past divide in positivistic fashion into "before Malinowski" or "before Boas," versus "after." The sustained field research and systematic models of language and social organization established as modern anthropological standards remain definitive developments, but it is not certain that conceptual breakthroughs coordinated data-gathering. The field's history does not conform to a "maturation model," if only because anthropologists of religion—both the bookish and the fieldworking variety—do not exist in isolation from other disciplines and experiences. James G. Frazer's *The Golden Bough* (1890), for example, was a successor to the work of Gibbon and Ruskin as much as to that of Tylor; ideas of scapegoats and the durability of liturgy-like rites reflected Frazer's endeavors in folklore and religious and cultural history as much as in ethnology.

Less seemingly literary scholars as well—including the Bronislaw Malinowski of *Magic, Science and Religion, and Other Essays* (1952) and the Robert H. Lowie of the somewhat perfunctory *Primitive Religion* (1948)—were influenced by diverse disciplines and styles of writing. Lowie cast his last musings on Plains Indian and Pueblo religions more like Ruth Benedict's style of contrastive integration in *Patterns of Culture* (1934). Lowie's posthumously published essay, "Religion in Human Life" (in Murphy, 1972), expressed wariness of easy secularism in ironic tonalities perhaps redolent of Weber's "Beruf" (cited by Lowie in 1948): "One day it occurred to me that both the Indians and the hardy souls who were trying to convert them to Christianity had some inner strength that I lacked. Nor was I unique in this lack." Lowie next wonders "how many scientists would undergo for their science the years of poverty that the priests and ministers willingly accepted for their religion." His reflexive ruminations implicate the very "science" that he strives to practice: "I have known anthropologists who accorded a benevolent understanding to the Hopi but denied it to Catholics, Mormons, Buddhists or Mohammadans [sic]. This dichotomy of viewpoint strikes me as ridiculous and completely unscientific" (Murphy, 1972, pp. 160–161).

Such intricate sensibilities of complicated scholars are often neglected in standardized histories of "progress" in dominant methods. New-sounding themes may not have been so new after all; old paradigms could be discarded before they were exhausted, along with worthy figures. Durkheim's circle, for example, closed ranks to exclude scholars less committed to the "socio-logic." Durkheimians were in turn neglected after their hybrid expertise in ethnology, sociology, history, and comparative philology (particularly Sanskrit) was overshadowed by the fieldwork imperative, particularly in the United States and among British functionalists. Certain British scholars as well were consequently "marginalized."

An interesting case is R. R. Marett. His nonevolutionist entry, "Primitive Religion," in volume 23 of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1911), is nearly contemporaneous with Keane's article "Ethnology," although conventional histories often imply that scholarship advanced beyond evolutionism monolithically. The *Britannica* format in effect contrasted "primitive religion" (with cross-references to "Animism," "Fetishism," "Magic," "Mythology," "Prayer," "Ritual," "Sacrifice," and "Totemism") with "higher religion." Marett's discussion, however, does not broach origins; rather it catalogs categories of "the sacred," providing representative examples of what are called its "activity," "exploitation," and "results." Marett adopts a trusted anthropological convention (perhaps traceable to Latin Christendom's methodical incorporation of select practices and lexemes from pagans it aimed to convert) in which modes of the sacred are aligned with exotic counterparts. *Sacred* can imply "forbidden" (as in the Latin, *sacer,* whence the English word is derived; as well as in the Polynesian, *tabu*), "mysterious" (Siouan, *wakan*), "secret" (Aranda, *tjurunga*), "potent" (Melanesian, *mana*; Huron, *orenda*), "animate" (as in the phenomenon labeled *animism*), or "ancient" (Aranda, *alcheringa,* "the Dreaming"). This constellation of North American Indian, Oceanic, and Australian Aboriginal terms indexes, as it were, the variable universality of the sacred.

Under "results," Marett considers what were later called religion's functions, including education, government, maintenance of food supply, reinforcement of kinship and family bonds, enhanced sexuality, and integrated personalities. Marett's "exploitation" covers dimensions of ritual process and ceremonial celebration; he cites cases of acquisition, concentration, induction (including sacrifice), renovation, demission, prophylactic insulation, and "direction," suggestive of an ethos or those "moods" later signaled by Geertz. He even addresses transformative properties of religion that return secular government and aristocratic traditions to a more primitive, democratic spirit. "Everyone," notes Marett, "has his modicum of innate *mana*" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1911, vol. 23, p. 67). His "abuse of the sacred" merges religion with individualized resistance; by "activity" Marett intends general motivations and meanings of the sacred: fecundity, transmissibility (parallel to Frazer's notion of contagion), and finally ambiguity and relativity, both apparently construed positively.

Marett clearly anticipates such successors as Victor Turner, who expands Arnold van Gennep's "rites of passage" to include ritual performances that consolidate structure with antistructure and coordinate themes of liminality or periodic involvement with regenerative in-between states. That the views of Marett (whose shortcomings are here deemphasized) anticipate later theories is obscured by his casual jargon. Like Arthur M. Hocart, he retained interpretive terms borrowed from European or Indo-European religious traditions. Although Marett's "sacraments of simple folk" or Hocart's Hindu, Fiji, and Australian "sacraments" in fact approximate liminal rites for celebrating changes in office or social state, their rubrics ran counter to fashions for more technical-sounding coinages in theory and method.

These few examples illustrate a key development: illusions of a simple heritage of influence and unpoliticized progress—out of darkness into light—of an anthropology of religion are being dispelled. Interest in "primitive religion" stemmed from ideas of exoticism once pervading European conceptualizations of cultural differences that Europeans sought to subjugate. The anthropology of religion, even when centered on fieldwork results and organized by the conviction that ritual and belief have direct social consequences, has never proceeded in a simple developmental line insulated from the broad history of ideas of otherness, charged with philosophical and political implications. Errors and prejudices of past scholarship must be corrected, of course; but the cultural and historical values that sustained that work also deserve anthropological interpretation. A scholar content to denounce predecessors' denunciations of primitive superstition risks committing the very sin decried, effectively dismissing "anthropology-then" as primitive.

Thus, the anthropology of religion grows more mindful of its own involvement in the paradoxes it investigates. Consider, for example, philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein's notations (1979) on his copy of a condensed edition of Frazer's *The Golden Bough*: "Here, purging magic has itself the character of magic" ("Das Ausschalten der Magie hat hier den Charakter der Magie selbst"). Yet Frazer delivered his own ambivalent suggestions that primitive superstitions underlie civilization's basic tenets (of political authority, private property, and truth) as midnight lectures styled after the strange rites they disclosed. Frazer, not devoid of romantic irony (particularly in *Psyche's Task*, 1909), was conceivably sensitive to paradoxes that Wittgenstein would later inscribe in somewhat superior fashion in the margins of Frazer's book. Regardless, Wittgenstein's own *Philosophical Investigations* (1953) may imply that even purging the purging of magic (as when Wittgenstein corrects Frazer) has "the character of magic" as well. The history of scholarship may itself pulse to cyclic rhythms conjoining victims and redemption—rhythms redolent of widely distributed and recurring patterns of ritual practice.

Reassessments of Frazer's immense corpus confirm his self-awareness of such echoes and emulations. Robert Fraser's *The Making of the Golden Bough* (1990) argues persuasively: "For, if in Robertson Smith a ruthless evangelical honesty contrives to undermine the sanctity of the biblical text, in Frazer the idealistic premises of Humean empiricism turn in on themselves to make doubt itself an impossibility." And he concludes incisively: "To the end Frazer remained sceptical, even of his own sceptism" (p. 209). Such themes, still fertile today, reverberate back to Frazer's earliest work on Plato and on immortality as "the death of death." The late Jean Pouillon formulated a connected insight (possibly in accord with Durkheim's relational sense of sacred/profane distinctions): "C'est l'incroyant qui croit que le croyant croit" ("It is the unbeliever who believes that the believer believes") (Izard and Smith, 1982, p. 2). This kind of paradoxical (and sometimes dialectical) "doubling"—death of death, belief in unbelief—continues to infuse varieties of interpretation at the conjunctions of disciplines that concern us here.

TRENDS AND PROSPECTS. A review by Clifford Geertz (1968) of the anthropological study of religion remains a valuable point of departure for surveying subsequent developments. Geertz discusses psychodynamic frameworks based on Sigmund Freud, on theories of culture and personality following Clyde Kluckhohn, and on socio-psychological components of Malinowski's functionalism. One persistent issue concerns whether beliefs and rites exist to "reduce ambiguity" (a functionalist notion) or to harness it, thus generating sustained worlds of semantic, emotive, and intellectual values. The latter view is held by diverse scholars disenchanted with functionalist assumptions that religion bolsters "society"—equated with a machinelike or an organism-like system of reinforcements that vent pressure built up by anything dysfunctional or indigestible, like so much steam or gas.

Some studies pursue possibilities of universal patterns linking ritual and neurosis (anticipating today's interest in neuroscience). Others seek less to discover whether all peoples harbor, say, an Oedipal complex than whether certain rituals serve purposes analogous to Western psychotherapies.

Sudhir Kakar (1982), for example, has compared Muslim and Hindu curative, shamanic, and Tantric techniques to psychotherapeutic devices—demonological constructions resemble Freudian idioms—but India, he stipulates, does not share the West's tradition of introspection. Contextual investigations of parallels between Western and Asian psychodynamics include works by Gananath Obeyesekere and Bruce Kapferer on Sri Lanka, by Robert A. Paul on Nepal and Tibet, and by Sherry Ortner on Nepal. Ideas of Freud, Carl Jung, and such part-Boasians as Ruth Benedict and Paul Radin remain pertinent in analyzing therapeutic narrative and ritual styles coordinated with worldviews of disease and its cure.

A second area reviewed by Geertz—sociological approaches—merges with interpretations of symbolic forms that dominated postwar research. Durkheim's view of religion's social foundation remains central. Durkheim never " explained away" religion as some sort of mass delusion; rather he linked religious rites and ideas to the fact that any society is both divided and coherent, both subcategorized and at least periodically "in unison." Durkheim's *Elementary Forms of Religious Life* continued his earlier emphases on varieties of the division of labor; on categories implicit in ritual objects, cosmography, and mythic tales; and on the compartmentalized tasks and specialized knowledge that enrich every social order. For Durkheim's school, a "tribe" was "international," composed of segments occasionally congregated in ritual gatherings but for other purposes dispersed. Totemic rites and ceremonies of competitive gift exchange do not simply reinforce something already existent; rather they constitute an additional axis of interrelations. This view of religion and society is less "consensualist" than certain translators, followers, and critics have suggested.

Another major source of social theory is Max Weber's work on emergent charismatic figures. Weberians and compatible anthropologists study religious change; they investigate how routinization, secularization, modernization, and related disenchantments proceed; they question whether particular religions are inimical to certain kinds of economic or political rationalization. Assumptions that modernization is inevitably accompanied by secularization have been shaken by evidence of purifying revivals (Protestant, Buddhist, Islamic, etc.) in societies where market forces and commercialization are intensifying, and by the place of religion in racial and ethnic self-assertions. All boundaries between modernities, postmodernities, and premodernities are being relentlessly questioned. One may recall that for Weber, capitalism (and so-called secularization) developed through a displacement of rationalized techniques from otherworldly monasticism into this-worldly routines. Reform movements and "enlightenments" may reflect less a defeat of the religious sector than the elimination of a distinction between otherworldly and in-worldly roles and institutions.

Some anthropologists question certain implications of both Durkheim and Weber, declaring any conjunction of "religion" and "church" (or churchlike entities) too "corporate" a notion, too tied to politics of legitimation. Like the Hegelian "state" (or its Marxist inversions) these constructions require contesting epistemologically in the manner of Foucault on dispersed "power" or Georges Bataille on radical "expenditure" (*dépense*). Some alternative approaches regard religious activity as a subversive strain of individuation or as a decentering or randomizing of values that appear to cohere because of ideological or political forces overlooked by scholars in search of cultural integration. Nevertheless, prominent bodies of work of the postwar generation of such anthropologists as Victor Turner, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Louis Dumont, Clifford Geertz, and Mary Douglas remain indebted to Durkheim and Weber in particular. A subsequent generation has drawn on Antonio Gramsci, Frantz Fanon, and other theorists who stress colonialist and postcolonialist contexts of history's "hegemonies" (Asad, 1993; Taussig, 1987; John and Jean. Comaroff, 1991/1997).

One favored prognosis of the mid-1960s has not materialized: a full-blown anthropological theory of religion, combining historical, psychological, sociological, and semantic or cultural dimensions. The interrelations, contradictions, and dissonance of data, contexts, events, and interpretive methods have multiplied to an extent that may impede any imaginable synthesis (unless in the name of neuroscience). What has emerged instead will be examined below. Some who once anticipated the unified approach deem the present "confusion" a crisis. Others, Geertz foremost among them, mindful of William James's "many original principles," find a pluralist profusion of issues and aims to be warranted by the complexity of religious realities that anthropology desires to illuminate.

Many recent works analyze religious experience as somehow dialectical. Others examine religious life as negotiated through arts of rhetoric or social tropes stressed by such literary theorists as Kenneth Burke. Some investigate religion by focusing on its language-like codes, continual reformulation, even when not caught up in the dynamic trends (e.g., millenarian and messianic movements, cargo cults), or revitalizations that punctuate religious history or a particular group's sense of that history. Just as tradition is now recognized as being continually reinvented, so convictions of timelessness are themselves created as a temporal process. Anthropologists, moreover, are increasingly attentive to dissent and hidden alternatives neglected when scholars take for granted divisions of peoples into "cultures" conceived of as consensual creeds. Circumstances once deemed degraded and therefore marginal to anthropology's central concerns—such as missionary efforts, competing brands of religious authority, covert cults, hybrid creeds (syncretism), and tourism—are being carefully inspected. Religious rivalry, blends, borrowings, and commercialization have shaped the historical and contemporary experience of much of the world's population, including tribespeople and traditional-seeming peoples. Anthropology now addresses radically commoditized spiritisms, multimedia fundamentalisms, religious observances as "show business," and high-tech modes of religious solidarity and schism (Hess, 1991; Harding, 2000; Fardon, 1995; Boon, 1999; Blank, 2001).

What could be called "religion on the move" need not be reactionary or compensatory. In his opus on Bwiti religion and other Fang cults in the Gabon Republic, James W. Fernandez discloses the capacity of an emergent religious culture "to create its own realities" (1982). He also warns against exaggerating the coherence of Bwiti cosmology—its practitioners' intellectual achievement is more subtle (p. 570). Such flexibility of cosmological categories is also demonstrated in Obeyesekere's work (1984) on Sri Lanka's cult of the goddess Pattini. He traces a changing pantheon over space and time, where shifting deities coordinate the specialized roles of priests, monks, and healers, and articulate factions within both Buddhism and Hinduism, between the two, and between Buddhism and Hinduism and outsiders. Obeyesekere elsewhere stresses convoluted connections among H. P. Blavatsky and Henry Steel Olcott's Theosophical Society, Rational Buddhism, and exportable schools of meditative discipline. Mark Juergensmeyer calls such formations "global religions," yet includes Roland Robertson's important caveat: "Antiglobal movements have inexorably become part of the globalization process itself" (Juergensmeyer, 2003, p. 115).

Plays of oppositions in religious identities resemble mythic fields of contrast in Hindu texts illuminated by Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, whose early works in philology incorporated Lévi-Strauss's views on dialectical variations among neighboring myths and rituals. Studies that once delineated apparently stable cosmologies—such as the Dogon depicted by Marcel Griaule, or the Ngaju Dyaks depicted by Hans Schärer—are being reassessed to detect what led informants or their interrogators to attribute fixity to their categories. Although religion is not timeless, it can be made to seem so, whether by its devotees or by scholars keen on recapturing something original. Other research that contextualized and historicized religious cosmologies includes Alfonso Ortiz's studies of the Tewa Pueblo and Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff's works on the Amazonian Desána. In related developments, the adequacy of notions of belief, couched in pat generalizations such as "People *X* believe thus and so," have received serious critical scrutiny (Needham, 1972; Izard and Smith, 1982).

Advances in ethnographic knowledge of religion and ritual practice, coupled with consideration of the political and philosophical implications of both collecting and cataloging that knowledge, have continued in every region. Complexities in religious contexts and in power structures behind texts and ceremonies make anthropologists now wary of designating their studies "the religion of" any particular place. Such a title can seem too synthetic or overgeneralized, although works such as Geertz's influential *The Religion of Java* (1960) deal with political tensions, economic factions, and conflicting theodicies (in Weberian fashion) as much as they deal with religious integration.

METHODOLOGICAL ACCOMMODATIONS. Concern with religious transformations has renewed interest in many classic topics: rituals of sacrifice; nostalgia for lost pasts; memory and historical trauma (Holocaust, AIDS, terrorism); utopian visions; charismatic leaders, curers, and performers; life histories of individual practitioners; purity or pollution codes; trickster motifs; clowning and ritual inversions; witchcraft and sorcery; and left-hand and right-hand magic. Following the suggestions of Marcel Mauss, magic, freed from connotations of irrationality or error, becomes something like an enacted subjunctive mood, a "would that it were" outlined in special syllables and objects, a grammatical category "danced out" in speech and *materia.* Less corporate forms of worship and restriction, such as prayer, private taboos, chant and trance, hallucinogenic quests, religious techniques of the body, and meditation are being investigated either as evidence of deviation (allowable improvisations along culturally constrained lines) or as possibilities of free play that escape surveillance by local authority. Whatever else religion might involve across cultures, it entails speaking or silencing and sometimes writing; persuading, classifying, and acting out; arranging boundaries (periodically permeable), interrelating arts, and formulating logical and ethical codes; manipulating peers, rivals, inferiors, and superiors; possibly suffering, perhaps escaping, and negating as well as affirming. And all such practices may be less naïve or credulous than reflexive and rhetorical. Mauss's "magic," again, implies a "foreignness" at home to itself: "There are magical systems which are perfectly conscious of their diversity and refer to it with special words and metaphors" (1972, p. 60).

Anthropologists have thus adapted insights from sociolinguistics, philosophies of translation, literary theory, rhetoric, structuralism and post-structuralism, performance studies, folklore, political theory, gender analysis, and other areas to augment the generality and specificity, and sometimes the obscurity, of their descriptions and comparisons. Fruitful exchanges between anthropology and literary criticism may blur the boundaries of these pursuits. Marxism, psychoanalysis, semiotics, and deconstruction offer a larger sense of literature than did traditional canonical approaches. Such scholars as Raymond Williams, Julia Kristeva, Michel de Certeau, Tzvetan Todorov, Jonathan Culler, and followers of Walter Benjamin, Jacques Lacan, and Mikhail Bakhtin manage accommodations between theories of literary production and theories of culture. Models of "the text" advanced by Paul Ricoeur have helped change the way scholars look at ritual activity, manuals of religious practice, documents of historical conquest, and even the notion of culture itself. Just as texts are never read neutrally, cultures appear never to be crossed innocently, according to anthropologists who apply the metaphor of reading to what ethnographers do. Intricate properties of "literariness"—nonstop paradox, writing and its philosophical effacement, and continuous intertextuality—are disclosed in many cultural and religious usages, marked by trickster-like play between rules, their transgressions, and other subtle subversions, including profusive "abjection" (Bernstein, 1992). The documentation of cross-cultural encounters at the heart of anthropology may run parallel—stylistically as well as epistemologically—to the history of literary discourse, particularly the novel and genres of satire. Challenges to any positivistic sense of ethnography that downplays such parallels have multiplied in anthropological accounts of religion, aesthetic performance, and varieties of oral and written enactments.

Many methods and issues in the anthropology of religion have converged with scholarship in the history of popular religion, the sociology of marginal religions, and the analysis of systematic differences among orthodoxies, heterodoxies, and heresies. Historians of witchcraft, for example, now resemble anthropologists of the past; and anthropologists are less content with synchronic methods, even as heuristic devices. Ethnographers document not just Kwakiutl, Nuer, and Ndembu, but Quakers, Pentecostals (both Protestant and Catholic), Primitive Baptists, and televangelists. Structuralist techniques for analyzing oral mythologies are turned toward scripture; and approaches from biblical exegesis, typological analysis, and hermeneutics are now adapted by anthropologists to all kinds of cultures and "consumer rites" (Schmidt, 1995) wherever markets flourish. Accordingly, controversies grow "curiouser and curiouser."

Long-term directions of religious change have sometimes turned on the violent suppression of heterodoxies. Moreover, the modern anthropological record is distorted by colonialist and nationalist efforts to consolidate standardized, controllable creeds and confessions. Philological and ethnographic enterprises themselves can be in league with forces of centralization—a theme of many feminist and Marxist accounts; hence the growing concern with alternative forms of religious authority and leadership, often female-mediated ones. Researchers increasingly consider who profits and who suffers when thaumaturgical beliefs lapse. What are the consequences when new forms of knowledge compete with conventions that tie physical, psychic, and spiritual prosperity and well-being to concrete ritual practice in delicate balances of interlocking sympathies, risky equilibriums, sacred and dangerous affinities, and various periodic cycles? In Asia, Africa, the Americas, Oceania, and in Europe as well, many studies of peasantries, regional cultures, and commercial networks stress domestic rituals and local confessions resistant to one or another politico-religious hegemony. Examples include work on popular vestiges of European hermetism revealed by historian Frances A. Yates and on spiritism in both Europe and its colonies. Similarly, anthropologists studying South and Southeast Asia have accentuated spheres of sustained ritual, such as Tantrism, that serve as source-pools of symbols and practice used to set apart rival orthodoxies and competing sects over time (Boon, 1990).

After 1968, provocative works, such as Edward Said's influential *Orientalism* (1975), implicated comparative studies, including anthropology, with forces of colonialist oppression that continue in the contemporary organization of knowledge and power. Many cultures, religions, and ethnic groups—once scrutinized exclusively by ethnographers from the outside—now produce their own scholars or send select members abroad for anthropological training. Efforts to expand ethnological enfranchisement, to extend "voice" to the once silenced, and to reverse or overthrow interpreter/interpreted inequalities continue, controversially. Some commentators proclaim victory over an earlier anthropology's parasitism, a condition that benefited only the outside observer; others declare continuity with ethnography's traditional task of presenting marginalized peoples and inscribing, across cultures and languages, evidence of the unwritten (preliterate social life, ritual praxis, religious action, and heterodoxy). And subaltern and postcolonial theorists remain wary of lingering divisions into first-, second-, and third-world, where more agency seems to adhere to the first (and to "the West"), including the very style of theoretical critique here at stake.

The fact that areas once subjected to ethnography now often subject themselves to ethnography tends not to quell but to reinvigorate ideological disputes. Some national governments, averse to admitting foreign anthropologists (whose presence, they feel, implies "primitive" subjects) may nevertheless send scholars abroad for training and require them to return to perform research. Obstacles abound for "third-world" scholars who might wish to practice ethnography elsewhere than home, particularly if they desire gainful employment there. This power-saturated situation impedes realization of a fully comparative anthropology, especially in sensitive areas of religion often declared off limits. Homegrown ethnographers, of course, may be "outsiders" to the peasant, tribal, or minority populations they often study, even if they share language and ethnicity. Educated "natives" whose researches are sponsored by a dominant government will likely be regarded with as much suspicion (including class suspicion) as were the colonial agents or the foreign freelance fieldworkers of yore.

Finally, What Arjun Appadurai, James Fergusson, Emily Martin, and others call today's "flows"—virtual border-straddling in transnational sites and spaces—keep blurring distinctions among local, regional, and global connections and sharpening senses of diasporic identities, stateless persons, homeless circumstances, and "fluid" flexibilities of identity and property. Both before and since the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, ever-expanding surveillance technologies threaten intrusion; even noble technical measures to protect subjects and respect human rights may impede the informality of encounter (and situational "trust") that the anthropology of religion may require, both ethnographically and theoretically.

Anthropological description and interpretation can only be seen as inherently political. Classic distinctions between foreign observers and observed natives of an area have assumed subtler guises; polities today internalize the division between knower and known. (Actually, certain forms of colonialism prefigured subtle polarities as well—Hannoum, 2001; Boon, 1990.)

PROMISING APPROACHES AND POSSIBLE FUTURES. Recourses exist for anyone understandably daunted by the plethora of theories, methods, descriptions, and reevaluations of the discipline's findings and legitimacy. One might concentrate on a particular topic, such as death rites, restored to prominence by anthropologists, social historians, ethicists, and others. Research on mortuary practices may avoid drawbacks to defining religion in the abstract. What cultures do to and with their bodies before, during, and after funerals pertains to religious processes of continuity and schism, as relations among the living are rearticulated with reference to the dead (Bloch and Parry, 1982; Huntington and Metcalf, 1991; Panourgia, 1995; Lock, 2002).

Another recourse is to assess histories of representing and contesting religious identities in particular locales or regions or in global expanses. One might explore the burgeoning research on ritual values and contradictions in Papua New Guinea, where some areas were opened to sustained contact only after 1930 (Herdt, 1992; Knauft, 2002). Or one might examine a repeated restudied culture, such as Bali, Indonesia, with rival sectors of sacred authority in convoluted ties with the colonialist, nationalist, and transnationalist history of political and commercial forces in the region, including the military and tourism (Boon, 1990; Howe, 2001). One could track exploding coverage of anthropological approaches to Islam, noting interdisciplinary disputes about responsible treatment in ideologically charged circumstances (Geertz, 2003; Hammoudi, 1993; Bowen, 2002; Rosen, 2002).

Alternatively, one might consider complex projects by key interdisciplinary scholars. Examples include efforts by anthropologists to augment Georges Dumézil's views of the tripartite basis of Indo-European ideals of authority and continuity (Littleton, 1980), and ethnographic work extending R. Gordon Wasson's monumental endeavors on hallucinogenic rites involving fly agaric in both Asia and the New World (La Barre, 1970). Also compelling are efforts to consolidate approaches in religion, medical anthropology, science studies, and issues of alternative modernities and new technologies of subjectivity (by Arthur Kleinman, Byron Good, Veena Das, Nancy Scheper-Hughes, Thomas Csordas, and others), along with renewed attention to religion and the emotions (by Karl Heider, Umi Wikan, and others), including specific cultural and political circumstances of "religion against the self" (Nabokov, 1992). The lifeworks of certain figures—for example, Louis Dumont, Mary Douglas, Victor Turner, Clifford Geertz, and Stanley Tambiah—are themselves immense projects that keep anthropology and religious studies deeply intertwined. Dumont's contributions ranged over South Indian ethnography, the comparative study of hierarchy and reciprocity, and the sources of Western political economy. He set Hindu and European values into controversial juxtaposition and established terms of debates still raging (see Dirks, 2002) concerning notions of caste versus ideological individualism. Dumont's later work (1982) traces a Christian pedigree of so-called modernity (and of the West's own hierarchies) with a critical-comparative scope worthy of Weber—unusual in anthropology after functionalism (Boon, 1999).

Two trends deserve special emphasis. The first is neuroscientific studies, including resurgent interest in the neurophysiological parameters of religious "behavior" and the neuropsychological aspects of religious "cognition." Pascal Boyer's provocative titles—*The Naturalness of Religious Ideas* (1994), *Religion Explained* (2001)—have attracted attention to such pursuits. Certain "cognitive theory" (e.g., Konner, 2002) seeks biological constraints; it may seek to clarify phenomena of synesthesia (intersensory sensitivities prevalent in much religious, artistic, and poetic experience) by genetic mutations that create dense neural connections in supposedly specialized brains. Such work hopes to "explain" general and figurative experience (e.g., anyone's synesthesia) by the isolable and clinical (diagnostic "synesthetes"). Refined computerized methods are often advocated to resolve issues that may date back to the Culture and Personality school. This trend's more psychological side (represented by such scholars as Richard Schweder and Bradd Shore) emphasizes religious and cultural diversity along with evolutionary psychology; practitioners anticipate advancing inquiry into "the human mind" in ways foreshadowed by Gregory Bateson, who was intent on how biology and meaning might meet (if they can).

Biology-minded frameworks range from research on "the neurology of joy through brain-reward systems" (Diener and Suh, 2000) to the "affective neuroscience" of Jaak Panksepp. Culturally minded scholars (e.g., Roy D'Andrade, Tanya Luhrman) also recommend paying more than lip service to "bedrock commonalities" of cultures (meaning coevolved neurophysiology). Investigations in this mode speak of "religious acquisition," cognitive schemata, mental models, scripts, memory stores, and similar notions inspired by information theory wedded to ideas of "rationality" (Dan Sperber). Boyer's polemics reproach cultural relativists for shoving universals outside anthropology's proper subject matter; he likens them to chefs interested in differences in diet but not "in the way the gut works" (2001, p. 440). The science Boyer proposes would clarify "gut-workings" (to extend the metaphor) by devising "a different mode of data-gathering" including "constrained experimental studies" into religious symbolism as "rigorously cognitive" (1993, p 42). Again, earlier debates and long-term disciplinary divides are being revitalized, rather like a religious movement.

The second trend of note is the increased attention to reflexivity in interpretation and everyday practice alike. Excruciating self-consciousness about description and translation—fraught with epistemological and political doubts—stamps much contemporary work in anthropology and religion. Ample precedents exist in the scholarship of Bateson, Lévi-Strauss, Ruth Benedict, Clifford Geertz, and even Frazer, Durkheim, and William James (as suggested above). Feminist emphasis on gendered experience and representation has been crucial, along with the linguist turn and various rhetorical twists (Burke, Paul de Man, Richard Rorty) in theories and anti-theories (deconstructions) of interpretive life. Prominent critical writers—Judith Butler, Slavoj Zizek, Homi Bhabha, Henry Gates, and many more—champion awareness of all positionalities in any communicative act or deceptive dodge. Another important nexus of influence has been interdisciplinary historians of religion, such as Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, Davíd Carrasco, Carolyn Bynum, Catherine Bell, and Bruce Lincoln.

Bell joins those anthropologists who regard ritual practice as itself theoretical and reflexive: a "semantic framework" whose very repetition is "not static, but repetition with a difference" (1992, p. 220). And Lincoln, like many ethnographers, considers "discursive formations" to be agentive rather than merely reactive. Concentrated reflexivity is manifest in Amy Hollywood's work on "sensible ecstasy" stressing "performativity, citationality, and ritualization" in so-called mystical practices; she combines insights from Butler's "Excitable Speech" with issues of "meta-indexicality" as advanced by anthropological linguist Benjamin Lee. This truly is high theory: intense and difficult.

Reflexivity rules in more anecdotal dimensions of anthropology and religion as well. A review article by Judy Rosenthal and Adam Lutzker ("The Unheimlich Manoeuvre," 2001) nicely indicates this transdisciplinary state of affairs. The piece stages a collaborative dialogue concerning three books about commercialized fundamentalism in U.S. religion and movements of apocalyptic violence internationally (Harding, 2000; Hall et al., 2000; Crapanzano, 2000). Conflicted stances of the authors toward their subjects is matched by ambivalence and anxiety of the reviewers—one is a former member of Jehovah's Witnesses turned superb ethnographer of West African vodou; the other is a "secular leftist" worried about complicitous "dogmatism within the secular project." Attuned, then, equally to "Vodou literalism" and Jerry Falwell's literalism, the reviewers are wary of both secularisms and fundamentalisms. They expect unremitting reflexivity from all concerned, including themselves: "Because I criticize Crapanzano for not putting his subject position in question, it is only fair to put mine on the line" (p. 921).

This passionate review, critically focused on various literalisms, may well pertain to the neuroscientific projects mentioned above, which themselves suggest a resurgent "literalism" in emergent theoretical persuasion. Regardless, taken together, the two trends—neuroscience, intent on "hardwired" universals; and reflexivity, which construes so-called "science" otherwise—confirm that the anthropology of religion remains diverse, possibly boundless, and agonistic. As the discipline (or antidiscipline) strives to become ever more inclusive, it remains devoted to understanding religious differences. Earlier aspirations to contain any culture's "belief" in an ethnographic monograph have faded away. Nor can fieldwork results be insulated from vast issues in phenomenological, existential, hermeneutic, pragmatist, structuralist, deconstructive, politicized, "scientized," or "humanized" study of religious practice and commentary. Bold ideas in the comparative history of religions must heed actual contradictions—what Edmund Leach once termed the "dialectics of practical religion"—lived out in religious hinterlands, beyond the margins of rival orthodoxies, and in religious centers as well.

The anthropology of religion thus inhabits our difficult age—whether we consider it postmodern, new millennial, increasingly terrorist, globalist, or neo-imperial. For such interpretive pursuits in such times, there is nowhere left to hide. What Clifford Geertz has called "The World in Pieces" (2000, p. 218) pertains even to the pieces themselves: the pieces (including religions) are in pieces. As William James foresaw in his postscript to *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, a sort of polytheism has, in truth, returned upon us—and keeps returning, possibly endlessly, possibly not.

SEE ALSO Consciousness, States of; Culture; Evolution, article on Evolutionism; Psychology, article on Psychology of Religion; Shamanism; Sociology, article on Sociology of Religion; Structuralism; Study of Religion.

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JAMES A. BOON (1987 AND 2005)

ANTHROPOMORPHISM, from the Greek *anthrōpos* ("human being") and *morphē* ("form"), is a modern term, attested since the eighteenth century, denoting the practically universal tendency to form religious concepts and ideas and, on a more basic level, to experience the divine, or the "numinous" (the term is used here as a convenient shorthand, without necessarily implying commitment to Rudolf Otto's theories), in the categories and shapes most readily available to human thinking—namely, the human ones. The idea has a long history in Western thought. Ancient Greek, including patristic, literature referred (contemptuously) to "anthropomorphites," meaning people holding anthropomorphic ideas of the divine. This term was also used in Latin by Augustine to refer to those who because of their "carnal thought imagine God in the image of corruptible man" (*Patrologia Latina* 42.39), and, under his influence, it continued to be used by authors as late as Leibniz in the seventeenth century.

DEFINITIONS AND DISTINCTIONS. In a more general sense, anthropomorphism can be defined as the description of nonmaterial, "spiritual" entities in physical, and specifically human, form. The idea of human form is an essential part of the definition, since otherwise one would have to deal with representations and manifestations of the divine in all possible material forms. Of course, sharp distinctions are often arbitrary and even misleading, especially since in many religious cultures, the gods often assume, both in mythology and in iconography, animal form (which is, strictly speaking, theriomorphism); mixed, hybrid, semianimal-semihuman form (which is, strictly speaking, therianthropism); or "unrealistic," wildly imaginative, or even grotesque forms. Deities may be conceived as wholly or partly animal, as were Hathor and Anubis, the cow goddess and jackal god in ancient Egyptian religion, or they may have animal *avatāras,* as does Viṣṇu, who appears as fish, tortoise, man-lion, and boar. Gods and goddesses may have multiple heads or arms, as does Brahma; goddesses may be many-breasted, as was the great goddess of Ephesus (Artemis); or they may be represented with ferociously "demonic" forms of face or figure and with nonnatural combinations of body parts, as are androgynes and some tricksters. Indian and ancient Egyptian religions, among others, provide a plethora of examples. Resorting once more to Otto's terminology, one could argue that it is precisely the nonhuman quality of theriomorphic or therianthropic representations that enables them to function as symbols of the numinous as the "wholly other."

While the phenomenon of anthropomorphism proper has been a central problem in the history of religions, theology, and religious philosophy (in terms of criticism of religion as well as of religion's internal struggles for a better self-understanding of its own symbolism), the transition from theriomorphism to anthropomorphism (according to the evolutionary view current until some decades ago) has often been viewed as marking a definite progress. Thus Hegel, in *Lectures on the Philosophy of History,* praised Greek religion because its anthropomorphism signified that "man, as that which is truly spiritual, constitutes that which is genuinely true in the Greek gods." Elsewhere, in *Lectures on Aesthetics,* Hegel adds that Christianity is superior to Greek religion because it has taken anthropomorphism a decisive step farther: God is not merely the humanly shaped ideal of beauty and art but a "real, singular, individual, wholly God and wholly man, that has entered into the totality of the conditions of existence." This stands in marked contrast to the views of the German poet Schiller (1759–1805), who considered Christianity as inferior to Greek religion: "When the gods were more human, men were more divine" (The Gods of Greece). One hardly need add that in medieval polemics both Islam and Judaism condemned Christianity not only for its "polytheism" (meaning the doctrine of the Trinity) but also for its anthropomorphism.

A distinction is frequently made between physical anthropomorphism (anthropomorphism proper) and mental or psychological anthropomorphism, also called anthropopathism (i.e., not human form or shape but human feelings: love, hate, desire, anger, etc.). Thus, while there are only faint traces of anthropomorphism proper in the Hebrew scriptures (Old Testament), God is described as loving, taking pity, forgiving, being angry and wroth (at sinners and evildoers), and avenging himself upon his enemies. Even when theological thinking progressively divests the deity of the "cruder" forms of physical and mental anthropomorphism, some irreducible elements remain. For example, certain types of theology of history (*Heilsgeschichte*) imply that God "has a plan" for his creation or for humankind. In fact, religion is often expressed in terms of humanity's duty to serve the achievement of this divine plan and purpose. The ultimate residual anthropomorphism, however, is the theistic notion of God as personal, in contrast to an impersonal conception of the divine. Also, verbal imagery, no matter how metaphorical it is supposed to be, preserves this basic anthropomorphism: God is father, mother, lover, king, shepherd, judge. Verbal and iconic imagery can be very different things even when both are anthropomorphic. Thus Buddhism is an essentially metaphysical religion, yet Buddhist temples (Theravada no less than Mahayana) can be full to the bursting point with anthropomorphic images. Shinto mythology, on the other hand, is as anthropomorphic as can be, but a Shinto shrine (at least if uncontaminated by Buddhist influence) is as empty of statues and images as a mosque or a synagogue.

Another important distinction has to be made between what may be called primary and secondary anthropomorphism. The former reflects a simple, naive, uncritical (or precritical) level of immediate, concrete, "massive," and mythological imagination. The latter is more dogmatic and deliberate. It is fundamentalist in the sense that anthropomorphic assertions are made and defended not because they reflect the immediate level of religious consciousness but because they reflect a dogmatic position: holy scriptures or canonical traditions use anthropological language, hence this language has to be literally accepted and believed in. Many discussions in the history of Muslim theology have to be seen in the light of this distinction.

THEOLOGICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL IMPLICATIONS. A survey of all the instances of anthropomorphism in the world's religions would be tantamount to a survey of the mythologies and religious iconography of the world. This article will be limited to a brief review of the theological and philosophical implications of anthropomorphism, and even these will be surveyed mainly in the history of Western thought, not because analogous developments are lacking elsewhere, but because in the history of Western thought the problem has been dealt with more systematically and consistently. Western religious history also exhibits a very interesting special case, namely Christianity (cf. the dictum of Hegel cited above), since Christ is considered as more than just another divine *avatāra,* or manifestation, and hence the doctrine of the incarnation poses the problem of anthropology in its widest sense—that is, the doctrine of the nature of man and its relation to the divine—and in a very special way. But even aside from incarnation, the "personalist" element in theistic religion remains, as has been seen, an irreducible anthropomorphism. This situation was well defined by the German Old Testament scholar and theologian Bernhard Duhm when he said that the real problem for biblical religion was how to get rid not of anthropomorphism but "physiomorphism" in its representation of God.

Most religions start with straightforward and naive anthropomorphic ideas of the divine (gods, goddesses) and even in their more highly developed stages do not greatly mind that the simple folk maintain their "primitive" ideas, although the spiritual élite may consider anthropological imagery crude and substitute for it a more sophisticated language. Physical and anthropomorphic imagery is then explained (or explained away) as a symbolic reference to certain qualities of the divine that, in their turn, may later have to be further transcended by an even more spiritual understanding.

ANTHROPOMORPHISM AND THE CRITICISM OF RELIGION. The expression "criticism of religion" has to be understood on several levels. It need not necessarily be atheistic or irreligious. The expression merely signifies that religious representations and statements (whether primitive, popular, traditional, or otherwise normative) are criticized because of their allegedly crude and, at times, immoral character. This criticism can come from the outside—from philosophy, for example—or from inside—that is, when religious consciousness becomes more sophisticated, refined, and self-critical (often under the impact of philosophy from outside). Among the earliest and best-known examples of this tendency is the Greek author Xenophanes (fifth century BCE), of whose writings only fragments have been preserved. He ironically notes that Ethiopians represent the gods as black, Thracians depict them as blue-eyed and red-haired, and "if oxen and horses . . . had hands and could paint," their images of gods would depict oxen and horses. Xenophanes thus anticipates the modern atheistic inversion of the Old Testament account of creation, to the effect that men create gods in their own image. He also attacks anthropopathism: "Homer and Hesiod attribute to the gods what among men would be considered reprehensible: stealing, adultery, and deceit." Yet Xenophanes was far from irreligious. He speaks of one God "who neither in shape . . . nor in thought" resembles anything human. He has no eyes and no ears, but himself is "wholly eye, wholly spirit, wholly ear."

Plato, too, objects to the all too human conception of the gods. For this reason he would also ban traditional Homeric mythology from his ideal republic, "no matter whether [these stories have] a hidden sense or not" (*Republic* 377–378). But the fact that Plato mentions the possibility of a hidden sense indicates one of the roads that religious thinking and apologetic would take in response to the critical challenge. This critical challenge, it must be reiterated, is not antireligious; it is, rather, a religious trend toward self-purification by purging itself of elements considered to be primitive and crude. The same tendency is in evidence in many parts of the Old Testament, and not only in the second of the Ten Commandments. It gathers strength, under the influence of Hellenistic philosophy, in, for example, the Targums (the Aramaic translations of the Old Testament), which, in their wish to eliminate all anthropomorphism, substitute for Hebrew phrases meaning "and God appeared unto," "God spoke," "God saw," "the hand of God," and so on such alternative phrases as "the glory of God appeared," "the power of God," and the like.

This "first purgation," however, does not solve the problem of mental anthropomorphism. When the sixteenth-century French essayist Montaigne wrote that "we may use words like Power, Truth, Justice, but we cannot conceive the thing itself. . . . None of our qualities can be attributed to the Divine Being without tainting it with our imperfection" (*Essais* 2.12), he merely summed up what Muslim, Jewish, and Christian philosophers had already discussed in the Middle Ages. Their problem, like Montaigne's, was not the objectionable character of physical and of certain moral attributes, but the admissibility of attributes as such. The great twelfth-century Jewish philosopher Moses Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon), like the Muslim philosophers who had preceded him, taught with uncompromising radicalism that no positive attributes whatever can be predicated of God. It should come as no surprise that most of the efforts of Maimonides, who besides being a great philosopher was also a leading rabbinic authority, should be devoted to explaining away the many anthropomorphisms in the Bible. Once one embarks on this radical road, the next question becomes inevitable: is not "being" or "existence" also a human concept, and is not the definition of God as pure or absolute being also an anthropromorphism, although perhaps a very rarefied one?

Two main tendencies can be distinguished in response to this challenge. The one leads to a cessation of speech ("mystical silence"); the other to a more sophisticated theology based on an analysis of human consciousness.

MYSTICISM. The most radical method that religious consciousness can adopt to purge itself of anthropomorphism is the assertion that no adequate statements about the divine are possible in human language. In the West this tradition goes back to the Neoplatonic mystical theologian known as Dionysius the Areopagite (fifth century CE), who introduced into Christian terminology the "hidden godhead" and the "divine darkness." This tradition was transmitted to the Latin West by John Scottus Eriugena (ninth century CE), from whom it passed to Eckhart and the Rhineland mystics and to such English figures as Walter Hilton and the author of *The Cloud of Unknowing,* and influenced later mystics (Jakob Boehme, Angelus Silesius) and even nonmystical, "mainline" theologians. Thomas Aquinas gave a place in his system to this *theologia negativa,* and Martin Luther thought highly of the mystical tract known as the *Theologia Deutsch.*

The challenge of anthropomorphism, or to be more precise, the critical reflection as to how to meet this challenge, thus turns out to be an important factor in the development of mysticism. But this radical mystical "purging" of language ultimately links up with agnostic and even nonreligious criticism. The central text in this respect is David Hume's *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion* (1779), written in the form of a conversation between three interlocutors: a skeptic, a Christian close to the mystical tradition, and a theist. The Christian mystic asserts that the divine essence, attributes, and manner of existence are a mystery to humans. The skeptic agrees, but admits the legitimacy of anthropological attributes (wisdom, thought, intention), because human beings simply do not have at their disposal any other form of expression. He merely warns against the mistake of assuming any similarity between one's words and the divine qualities. In other words, the mystical and the skeptical, even agnostic, criticisms of anthropomorphism tend to converge. The theist speaker is not slow to seize on this point. His theism is of a more sophisticated kind; it has absorbed and integrated the anti-anthropomorphic critique. But if all ideas about the divine are by definition totally incorrect and misleading, then religion and theology necessarily and automatically cease to be of any interest whatever. A spiritual being of which nothing can be predicated (no will, no emotion, no love) is, in actual fact, no spirit at all. Hume's argument that mysticism (including pantheism) and atheism ultimately converge has had far-reaching influence. Nineteenth-century philosophical atheism took up Hume's argument and used the critique of anthropomorphism as well as the dead end to which it leads as leverage for the shift from theology to anthropology: the essence of God is, in fact, nothing but one's projection, on a celestial screen, of the essence of human. Thus concluded, for example, Ludwig Feuerbach (1804–1872).

OTHER ATTITUDES TOWARD ANTHROPOMORPHISM. Aside from mysticism, Christian thought has responded in two ways to criticisms of anthropomorphism. The traditional, standard form of theistic theology tries on the one hand to purge from religion the kind of anthropomorphism that invites facile criticism and strives on the other hand to avoid the kind of radical "purging" that leads either to mystical silence or to atheism. The alternative is to speak of God, unapologetically and with a certain robust courage, knowing full well that such speech is valid "by analogy" only. The subject is one of the most complex in the history of theology. For the purpose of this article, it must suffice to point to the existence of this middle way, without going into technical details or analyzing the different types of "theology of analogy": analogy of attribution, mainly known in the form of "analogy of being" (*analogia entis*), a central concept in official Roman Catholic theology; analogy of proportionality; analogy of faith (opposed by the Protestant theologian Karl Barth to the Roman Catholic concept of *analogia entis*); analogy of relation; and so on. The theology of analogy uses a distinction made by the Muslim Aristotelian philospher Ibn Rushd (Averroës) between univocal, equivocal, and analogous predication. The former two were rejected by the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) of the Roman Catholic church, which espoused "analogy."

Another, and typically modern, method of evading the problem of anthropomorphism is the view that holds all religious statements to be statements about one's religious consciousness. The father of this theory, in the history of Western thought, is the nineteenth-century German Protestant theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher. In the last resort, this view, too, represents a shift from theology to anthropology (as Feuerbach was quick to point out), with the difference that for Schleiermacher this shift serves religious understanding, whereas for Feuerbach it serves the radical critique of religion as such. Schleiermacher's insights are still operative in Rudolf Bultmann's program of "demythologizing" the gospel. According to Bultmann, all statements about God's concrete acts should be interpreted "existentially," except the notion of God acting (i.e., his saving intervention in human existence). The non-Bultmannian will, of course, ask why one should stop short at this particular anthropomorphism. This theology of religious consciousness has been condemned as heretical by both the Roman Catholic church (see the papal encyclical *Pascendi,* 1907) and Protestant orthodoxy (e.g., Karl Barth).

CONCLUSION. This article, although it focuses on the history of Western thought, is intended to give a coherent picture of the kind of problems generated by anthropomorphism. Similar phenomena, though less systematically elaborated, can be found in other religious traditions, for example, in the Vedantic impersonalist conception of the Absolute, which considers personalist theism and *bhakti* devotion as a lower form of religion. Mahāyāna Buddhism possesses a highly developed anthropomorphic and semianthropomorphic pantheon, but these figures are symbolic images to be transcended on the higher levels of meditation. Altogether, Eastern religions make greater allowance for differences in the levels of religious understanding between different kinds and conditions of humans. Some medieval Muslim theologians too advocated the (near-heretical) doctrine of "double truth," reminiscent of the Indian distinction between samvrti (conventional truth) and paramartha satya (absolute truth). Similarly, a more simple language and imagery, adapted to the capacities of the less mature and less advanced, is justified by Buddhists as *upāya* ("skillful means" for teaching the truth). Even Zen Buddhists in their daily practice worship statues of Buddhas and *bodhisattvas,* although theoretically they aspire to absolute nothingness and are taught to "kill the Buddha" if they encounter him as an obstacle on the way. A Hindu analogy would be the distinction between saguna and nirguna (i.e., the "qualified" versus the "unqualified" Absolute). The Upaniṣadic neti, neti, or Nāgārjuna's "eightfold negation" could be adduced as Indian instances of a "negative theology." The religious, as distinct from the philosophical, problem could be summarized in the simple question: Can one pray to a nonanthropomorphic deity?

SEE ALSO Animals; Therianthropism.

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R. J. ZWI WERBLOWSKY (1987)
Revised Bibliography

ANTHROPOSOPHY ("knowledge of the human being" or "human wisdom"), is the name that Rudolf Steiner (1861–1925), the Austrian philosopher-educator-esotericist, gave to his teachings and to the spiritual practice he recommended as an antidote to modern Western materialistic consciousness. Steiner also referred to his teaching as spiritual science, signaling what he considered to be the empirical character of his research concerning the spiritual world. As a spiritual movement, primarily Western but intended for all of humanity, anthroposophy is continuous with the Rosicrucian stream of the Christian esoteric tradition.

EARLY HISTORY AND TEACHINGS. In 1902 Steiner assumed the position of leader of the Berlin lodge of the Theosophical Society, but the centrality of Christ in his teachings, in contrast to the theosophical emphasis on Hindu and Buddhist spiritual teachers, made it inevitable that he eventually would feel the need to separate from that society, which he did in 1912. Steiner's followers, most of whom had been members of the Theosophical Society, followed Steiner when he broke with Annie Besant (then president of the society) and founded the Anthroposophical Society in 1912. Although both Rudolf Steiner and anthroposophy can be seen to have evolved from the Theosophical Society, especially if one compares the writings of H. P. Blavatsky with the early esoteric writings of Steiner (e.g., *An Outline of Esoteric Science* of 1909), it is more accurate to say that anthroposophy is continuous with the entire Western esoteric tradition, especially the esoteric teachings of Egypt, Greece, Johannine Christianity, and Rosicrucianism.

Steiner's most succinct characterization of anthroposophy appears in the opening paragraphs of *Anthroposophical Leading Thoughts*, which he wrote in 1924, during the last months of his life:

1. Anthroposophy is a path of knowing (thinking) to guide the spiritual in the human being to the spiritual in the universe. It arises as a need of the heart, of the life of feeling; and it can be justified only inasmuch as it can satisfy this inner need.
2. Anthroposophy is communicated knowledge that is gained in a spiritual way. For at the very frontier where the knowledge derived from sense-perception ceases, there is opened through the human soul itself the further outlook into the spiritual world. (Steiner, 1973, p. 13)

From his first systematic work, *The Philosophy of Freedom* (1984), until his last writings and lectures in 1924 Steiner sought to exemplify, and to enable others to attain, spiritual, or sense-free, knowledge. Anthroposophy may be understood as the discipline of seeing the inner, or spiritual, core of every reality, even realities that seem to be grossly material. Although it ordinarily is understood as a teaching, anthroposophy is essentially a discipline by which to see directly into the spiritual world. Steiner reportedly was able to track the souls of the deceased and read the "Akashic Record," which can be thought of as a transcript of human and cosmic history that is available to accomplished psychics and spiritual seers.

Steiner consistently urged spiritual seekers to eschew the cultivation of revelations received while unconscious and instead develop the capacity for conscious esoteric research. In this respect, anthroposophy has an emphasis different from that of contemporary teachings and practices that rely primarily on dreams, mediumship, channeling, and hypnosis. Steiner's emphasis on the cultivation of higher thinking capacities is different as well from reliance on revelations of ancient wisdom to Blavatsky and to several other first-generation leaders of the Theosophical Society by mahatmas, or discarnate Himalayan teachers.

One of the key claims of Steiner's spiritual science is that knowledge of the higher, or spiritual, world is made possible by the core of the self that he refers to as "Spirit," "Ego," or "I." According to Steiner, each of the four levels of knowledge corresponds to a level of the human being. Sensory perception is made possible by the physical body; imaginative knowledge, by the etheric body; inspirational knowledge, by the soul, or astral body; and intuitive (or spiritual) knowledge, by the I, Ego, or Spirit.

One of the reasons anthroposophy is difficult to summarize is that Steiner prescribes methods for growth on all levels of apprehension or, correspondingly, intended for the development of each of the four levels of the human being. Techniques for the increase of knowledge and the transformation of human beings include the study of natural science, projective geometry, sculpture, and painting as well as speech formation, music, eurythmy (an artistic method of movement to sound), interpersonal relations, the experience of scriptures, and religious rituals. Steiner worked in these and other endeavors as a way of to demonstrate the varied possibilities for the cultivation of imaginative, inspirational, and intuitive knowledge.

According to Steiner, the supersensible knowledge that lies behind his discoveries and disclosures is a distinctive capacity of the present age just as, earlier, the thinking capacity of the classical Greek philosophers and early Christian thinkers was significantly different from that of more ancient seers, whether the *rsis* of India, Moses, or Homer. In Steiner's elaborate account of the evolution of consciousness thinking has evolved in direct relation to the devolution of clairvoyance. Steiner attempted to show that the supersensible mode of perception he espoused combines conscious thinking with a spiritual or intuitive grasp akin to the clairvoyance characteristic of ancient times. At the center of this double evolution Steiner saw the descent of the Christ, which made possible a reversal of a downward, materialistic trend in favor of an ascent toward an increasingly free, spiritual mode of thinking.

Steiner conducted esoteric research into the afterlife of significant individuals and the secrets of life between death and rebirth. He spoke of Christ as the Lord of Karma. He also gave many lectures on the role of great spiritual beings such as Moses, Zoroaster, Krishna, Buddha, Plato, Socrates, the figures in the New Testament, Saint Francis, and Christian Rosenkreutz in the evolution of human consciousness. In more than a dozen lecture cycles from 1909 to 1913 Steiner disclosed his research on those figures, particularly concerning Krishna, Buddha, and Christ, working collaboratively in the spiritual world on behalf of the evolution of humanity. He also lectured on a topic of significance in light of the current trend toward ecological devastation: the reappearance, beginning in the twentieth century, of the resurrected Christ in the etheric envelope of the earth.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS. Although few if any of Steiner's thousands of followers have attained the kind of supersensible perception he exhibited, they have applied his spiritual discipline and insights creatively. Among the works arising from Steiner's teachings have been the biodynamic method of soil cultivation, anthroposophically extended medicine, and the Waldorf School movement, currently the largest nonsectarian independent school system in the world. Anthroposophists are also responsible for the Camphill movement, which consists of villages for children and adults who require special mental and emotional care. Drawing on Steiner's lectures on the arts and on his suggestions to artists with whom he collaborated, Anthroposophical artists have brought Steiner's artistic methods to bear on the visual and performing arts, especially painting, sculpture, architecture, speech, drama, and eurythmy.

Steiner intended spiritual science to supersede religion, but in response to a request from Protestant pastors and seminarians for help in fostering Christian renewal, he generated the sacramental forms and organizational structure of the Christian Community, a modern church that is not formally allied with the Anthroposophical Society but is part of the same Johannine esoteric Christian stream and clearly draws its inspiration and much of its teaching from Steiner's spiritual life and research.

At the Christmas Foundation Meeting in 1923, in addition to establishing the Anthroposophical Society as a resource for anyone wishing to gain a basic knowledge of the supersensible, Steiner established the School of Spiritual Science for members of the Anthroposophical Society who were willing to commit themselves to represent anthroposophy or spiritual science in and to the world. Members of the School of Spiritual Science, which Steiner intended to have nine classes but lived to found only the first class, strive to develop imagination, inspiration, and intuition in fields such as mathematics, medicine, pedagogy, agriculture, the social sciences, the visual arts, and the performing arts. Research in those fields is centered in the Goetheanum in Dornach, Switzerland, but also is conducted by members of the School of Spiritual Science working alone and in groups throughout the world. The publication of books and periodicals and the holding of conferences to explore research in these fields demonstrate the continuing vitality of Steiner's esoteric teaching and method of research.

In the 1930s and 1940s conflicts between European countries adversely affected the working of the Anthroposophical Society. In recent decades the influence of Rudolf Steiner's teachings and the practice of anthroposophy seem to have been limited by a conservative tendency among some anthroposophists.

Subsequent anthroposophical researchers and authors include Christopher Bamford, Owen Barfield, Bernard Lievegoed, Robert McDermott, Robert Powell, Mary Carolyn (M.C.) Richards, Robert Sardello, Douglas Sloan, Edward Reaugh Smith, Valentin Tomberg, Andrew Welburn, and Arthur Zajonc. Endeavors such as biodynamic agriculture, Waldorf education, and anthroposophical medicine stand out as creative examples of thinking, feeling, and willing that advance the effort to (re)join the material and spiritual dimensions of human consciousness.

SEE ALSO Besant, Annie; Blavatsky, H. P.; Rosicrucians; Steiner, Rudolf; Theosophical Society.

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ROBERT A. MCDERMOTT (1987 AND 2005)

ANTICHRIST. The final opponent of good, known as Antichrist, has haunted Christianity since its beginnings. With roots in Hellenistic Judaism, and an Islamic echo in the figure of al-Dajjāl, the Antichrist myth has had a potent influence on belief, theology, art, literature, and politics.

The name *Antichrist* occurs in the New Testament only in the Johannine letters (1 Jn. 2:18, 2:22, 4:3; 2 Jn. 7), but the figure of a final enemy appears in several New Testament books. *Second Thessalonians* contains a description of "the rebel, the lost one" who is now "restrained" but who will lead the "great revolt," enthrone himself in the sanctuary of the temple, and be slain by Christ at the Parousia (2:1–12). The apocalyptic discourse found in the synoptic Gospels (*Mk.* 13, *Mt.* 24–25, *Lk.* 21) speaks of the "abomination of desolation" to be set up in the holy place (*Mk.* 13:14, *Mt.* 24:15) and the appearance of false Christs and false prophets (*Mk.* 13:5–6, 13:21–23; *Mt.* 24:4–5, 24:23–24; *Lk.* 21:8). The *Book of Revelation* contains symbolic portrayals of Antichrist figures under the guise of two beasts—one arising from the sea (or abyss) with seven heads and ten horns (11:7, 13:1–10, 17:3–18, 19:19–21), whose number is 666 (13:18), the other coming from the land as the servant of the former monster (13:11–17, 16:13, 19:19–21).

It is evident that the early Christians made use of traditions regarding eschatological opponents that depended upon Jewish apocalyptic and earlier prophetic traditions (e.g., Gog and Magog in Ez 38–39). The *Book of Daniel* is the source for both the "abomination of desolation" (9:27, 11:31, 12:11) and for the beasts described in *Revelation* (7:1–9, 7:15–27). Other Jewish texts contain speculation about an evil angel named Beliar who functions as God's final adversary (e.g., *Testament of Levi* 3.3, 18.2; *Sibylline Oracles* 3.63–3.74). Modern research has uncovered similar concerns about eschatological foes in the Qumran community (e.g., *War Rule* 17.6 and the fragments known as 4 Q 186). Late Jewish apocalyptic seems to be the source of physical descriptions of Antichrist (e.g., *Apocalypse of Elijah* 3.14–3.18) that were also used by Christians. Belief in a final opponent of the Messiah survived in later Judaism in the legendary descriptions of the persecuting king Armilus (e.g., in *Sefer Zerubbabel).*

Various explanations have been given for the origin of Antichrist. Wilhelm Bousset advanced a mythological interpretation that saw Antichrist as a projection into the end time of the monster of chaos who had warred against the creator god in Near Eastern cosmogonies. R. H. Charles argued that Antichrist originated from the interaction of three traditions: individual and collective notions of an eschatological enemy based upon political events, the mythic figure of Beliar, and the growth of the Nero myth.

The evidence indicates that belief in Antichrist arose through the interaction of ancient myths and current political situations. The desecration of the Temple by the Seleucid king Antiochus IV (167 BCE) and his savage persecution of the Jews were shocking events that called out for universalistic interpretations based on archetypal myths (*Dn.* 8:9–14). Subsequent persecutors of Jews and Christian were also given mythological stature, and their stories in turn further shaped the legendary narratives. The most important of these persecutors was the Roman emperor Nero (54–68). Building on the confusion surrounding the death of Nero, legends about a returning (or later resurrected) Nero who would function as an ultimate enemy influenced contemporary Christian and Jewish texts (e.g., *Rv.* 13, 17; *Ascension of Isaiah* 4.1–4.4; *Sibylline Oracles* 3.63–3.74, 4.119–4.150, 5). Another historical figure whose legendary history became intertwined with Antichrist was Simon Magus (*Acts* 8:9–13).

Christian thinkers of the second and third centuries tried to weave the diverse traditions concerning Antichrist into a coherent picture. Was he to be one or many? A human person or a demon? Jewish or Roman in origin? A false teacher (a pseudomessiah) or an imperial persecutor? The Antichrist legend developed as the reverse side of the growing Christology of the early church, speculation on the person and prerogatives of Christ encouraging attention to his eschatological opposite. In the early third century, Hippolytus of Rome wrote a treatise, *On Christ and the Antichrist,* that gave a handy summary of belief and legend. Some of his successors (e.g., Commodianus, Lactantius, Sulpicius Severus) deal with the variety of traditions about Antichrist by distinguishing between two final enemies: a Roman persecutor, for which Nero was the prototype, and a false Jewish messiah born of the tribe of Dan who would rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem.

Antichrist myths continued to flourish after the conversion of the Roman empire to Christianity. Building upon the description of many Antichrists in the New Testament letters of John, the Donatist exegete Tyconius (d. 390?) stressed a moralizing view of the final enemy as the aggregate body of evildoers within the church. This tradition was handed on to the Middle Ages by Pope Gregory I (d. 604). Corporate views of the Antichrist, including those that focused on heretics, Muslims, or Jews, were common in the Middle Ages, but evil individuals within or without Christianity were still often identified with Antichrist or his immediate predecessor.

Christian beliefs about Antichrist, especially those originating in Syria, were the source for Islamic legends regarding a final eschatological foe, called al-Dajjāl ("the deceiver"). Although al-Dajjāl does not appear in the Qurʾān, traditions appeared early concerning this monstrous figure who was to be manifested shortly before the end, lead the faithful astray, and be slain either by Jesus or by the Mahdi.

The Christian monk Adso's *Letter on the Antichrist* (c. 950), written on the model of a saint's life, depicts the final enemy as a combination of both a pseudo-Christ and a persecuting tyrant, a depiction that was to remain standard in Latin Christianity for centuries. The twelfth-century renewal of apocalyptic thought was rich in speculation on Antichrist. In Germany, the first and greatest of the medieval Antichrist dramas, *Ludus de Antichristo,* appeared, while in Italy, Joachim of Fiore (d. 1202) wove both corporate and individual views of Antichrist together into his new apocalyptic schema.

In the later Middle Ages, the view of Adso, passed on by writers such as Hugh of Strassburg and John of Paris, remained popular and in the fifteenth century was illustrated in a remarkable series of block books. The Joachite tradition looked forward to a struggle between one or more spiritual popes (*pastores angelici*), who would try to reform the church, and their opponents, evil popes introduced by force or schism who were identified with Antichrist or his predecessors. In Peter Olivi's Franciscan Joachitism, there are dual final Antichrists: the papal *Antichristus mysticus* and the *Antichristus magnus,* a persecuting emperor (sometimes identified with a reborn Frederick II). Fueled by the Avignon papacy, the schism of 1378–1417, and the general failure of the papacy to reform the church, such beliefs were widespread in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. John Wyclif and the Hussites sharpened the identification of the papacy with Antichrist. It is no surprise that Martin Luther and other reformers seized upon Antichrist rhetoric in the battle against Rome.

Reformation identification of the papacy with Antichrist (e.g., Smalcaldic Articles 2.4) went beyond most late medieval views in its total rejection of the papal office and in its insistence upon a renewed corporate interpretation that identified the institution of the papacy, and not individual popes, with Antichrist. Some reformers also held double-Antichrist views coupling the Turks with the papacy. The strength of the corporate view may have been the source of the widening of Antichrist rhetoric that marked the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Reformation debates, especially in England, where *Antichrist* became a term of opprobrium that could be used against any institution or group.

It is tempting to think that this inflation of rhetoric, together with Enlightenment criticism of religion, stifled belief in Antichrist, but the last enemy's ability to serve as a symbol of evil has given the figure a singular longevity. Historical figures, like Napoleon I and Mussolini, have been seen as Antichrist, as have such movements as the French Revolution, socialism, and communism. Friedrich Nietzsche's adoption of the role of Antichrist and his use of the title for this most violent attack on Christianity and bourgeois morality are well known. No less significant are the uses of the myth by some of the Russian writers of the nineteenth century, such as Fedor Dostoevskii, Vladimir Solovʾev, and Dmitrii Merezhkovskii. Belief in an individual final Antichrist continues in popular culture, and Fundamentalist Christianity, but for other Christians the Antichrist has become a symbol of the evil in the human heart.

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BERNARD MCGINN (1987 AND 2005)

ANTICULT MOVEMENTS are the complementary reverse side of the coin to new religious movements (NRMs). Anticult movements may be focused on one group, as was the nineteenth-century anti-Catholic Know-Nothing Party or the various anti-Mormon efforts. Anticult movements may also be more inclusive in their focus, as with the nativist antiblack, anti-Catholic, and anti-Semitic Ku Klux Klan of the twentieth century. In modern terms, most anticult movements are multidimensional and espouse a dislike (and often a nonunderstanding) of nontraditional religions. This opposition includes the belief that NRMs are subversive of revered social institutions, the prediction of imminent danger from such groups, and claims that such groups do not "legitimately" attract willing converts but rather employ beguiling means to build a slavelike membership base. Anticult groups often make appeals to civic values and patriotism to justify their opposition to NRMs. Historians show that such countermovements, either secular or sacred in their oppositional thrusts, are a sociological consequence of resentment toward incipient or spreading religious pluralism in North America, Europe, and even Asia (in particular, Japan and the Peoples Republic of China).

THE MODERN NORTH AMERICAN ANTICULT MOVEMENT. While sectarian opposition and competition among religious groups seems to be ubiquitous, the most recent wave of secular anticult groups (*cult* being the pejorative label for a myriad of publicly unpopular NRMs, such as the Unification

Church, the International Society for Krishna Consciousness, and the Church of Scientology International) began in North America during the late 1960s and early 1970s. At this time there were a variety of cultural factors that combined to allow persons, particularly young adults, the opportunity to experiment and "dabble" in exotic alternative religions. These factors included the end to the American military draft for males, the disillusionment of some with the Vietnam War, various social reform movements, and the actions in 1965 to rescind older twentieth-century alien restriction laws that facilitated the immigration of *gurūs*, swamis, and other teachers from Asia into the United States.

North America became the springboard for the export of a secular template of anticultism to Europe, as well as to Israel and various South American countries. For many years North America has been home to a religious wing of the anticult movement that has opposed NRMs as promoting false doctrine and that produces a largely conservative Christian apologetic literature. It is the secular wing of the anticult movement, however, with its emphasis on the presumed social-psychological dynamics of conversion, retention, and removal of NRM members, that has garnered the most public attention and legal controversy.

The secular anticult movement has always been a loose network of organizations, some aimed at individual NRMs and others opposing a broader array of groups. There has also always been a laissez-faire understanding of just what constitutes a "cult" or "destructive cult," though there have been numerous failed attempts by anticult spokespersons to arrive at a precise definition. A large part of the latter problem is that so many NRMs (cults and sects) possess characteristics of more established churches and denominations, from charismatic leadership to wealth and elitist dogmas.

The first organization in the modern secular anticult movement was Free the Children of God, which was established in Denver in 1971 in response to high-pressure recruitment of teenagers and young adults by the Children of God (later renamed the Family). Free the Children of God also objected to the Children of God's migratory communal lifestyle. Other local anticult groups, largely made up of relatives of young persons who joined such unconventional religious groups in lieu of pursuing more conventional career and family trajectories, spontaneously arose across the United States. As these anticult groups gradually discovered each other, they began communicating and making common cause. Soon these organizations, many quite small, began arranging joint conferences, and they eventually made attempts to coalesce into national organizations. The first national (and largest) anticult group was the California-based Citizens Freedom Foundation, formed in 1974; this group was renamed the Cult Awareness Network and relocated to Chicago in 1985.

In 1979 a second national organization, the American Family Foundation, emerged out of the Citizens Freedom Foundation. Comparing the two, the Cult Awareness Network was more activist and public-relations-oriented, including (as is now known indisputably from the group's records) not only endorsing coercive "interventions" called *deprogrammings* to remove legal adults from NRMs, but also serving as a clearinghouse to connect desperate aggrieved families with deprogrammers. The American Family Foundation, on the other hand, functioned entirely as a repository for information on NRMs, sponsoring white paper reports and conferences, publishing a professional journal, lobbying for anti-NRM legislation, and seeking to attract degreed professionals, academic or otherwise, to support its cause.

Working sometimes in parallel, sometimes in concert with the Cult Awareness Network and the American Family Foundation, have been several other groups and individuals. First, there has been a small but highly visible coterie of coercive deprogrammers, who later, due to negative publicity from civil libertarians, relabeled themselves "exit counselors" or "thought reform specialists." Most have not been professionally trained in any behavioral science; instead, they act in maverick, entrepreneurial fashion to "retrieve" NRM members on a fee-for-service basis and attempt to convince them to renounce their unconventional allegiances. Second, there has existed a small but vocal network of mental health and behavioral science professionals who have enjoyed a good deal of publicity as spokespersons for the anticult movement, presenting themselves to the media as experts on the controversy and providing counseling and rehabilitation services to exiting NRM members. Third, there have been voluntary groups, usually short-lived, of former NRM members who offered transition support to other former NRM members as they readjusted to secular society.

What both the national organizations and the smaller groups have held in common is a fundamental assumption that NRMs use a subtle but nevertheless powerful "mind control" method to recruit and retain members. Anticult activists thus interpret NRM membership as the end result of manipulative practices that undermine individual capacity for voluntary thought and action, practices that are popularly known as *brainwashing*. This assumption became tempered by the late 1980s, as seen in anticult conference presentations and in its literature, as mainstream psychiatric, psychological, and sociological research across a host of NRMs demonstrated the mind control thesis as too simple a model for explaining human influence processes.

NRMs fought against anticult groups and deprogrammers with their own professional apologists, conferences, sympathetic literature, publicity campaigns, and lawsuits. Although anticult groups won the battle in the public imagination by discrediting many NRMs, the NRMs won the legal battles through libel lawsuits and other litigation against deprogrammers (who often failed in their deprogramming attempts). One result was that the Cult Awareness Network was driven into bankruptcy in 1995 after a series of punitive suits, the most important of which concerned deprogramming referrals.

The North American anticult movement's failure to mobilize governmental and regulatory agency sanctions, except occasionally at the local level, to support its cause of "exposing" and putting an end to what it considered outrageous NRM behavior, has been coupled with an inability to forge an alliance with religious-based opposition to NRMs. The religious countercult movement, which dislikes the term *anticult*, has always emphasized voluntary exit of NRM members and a return to "true doctrines," an approach incompatible with coercive deprogrammings. The secular anticult wing, on the other hand, has always claimed that it is not concerned with religion, but only opposes mind-control practices. Moreover, in various secular anticult documents, one can perceive a distinct antipathy to religion, in particular to conservative high-demand religious groups.

Still, at the very time that the Cult Awareness Network was being damaged by legal entanglements and the entire anticult movement was being marginalized as a credible force in the United States, its leaders were acting as missionaries to export their ideology to other countries. They promulgated it at conferences, through correspondence, and at personal meetings with government officials and grassroots anticult groups in Canada, Belgium, Denmark, Italy, Germany, France, and England. The Cult Awareness Network, now defunct, and the American Family Foundation, still active in 2004, were recipients of inquiries for information concerning possible affiliation with smaller anticult groups in various parts of the world, including Africa (e.g., South Africa, Nigeria), Asia (e.g., the Philippines), Eastern Europe (e.g., Russia), South America (e.g., Argentina), and the People's Republic of China. For a time, at least, the discredited ideology of the North American anticult movement has been accepted to justify the potential exercise of political and other institutional sanctions abroad. Anticult movements appear to be a staple in pluralistic, globalizing societies to the same extent as new religious movements.

SEE ALSO Brainwashing (Debate); Cults and Sects; Deprogramming; Law and Religion, article on Law and New Religious Movements.

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ANSON SHUPE (2005)

ANTI-SEMITISM. The term *anti-Semitism* is relatively recent, coined only at the end of the nineteenth century, when it became the identifying symbol of an innovative anti-Jewish political platform that projected the Jews as an alien element in European society. The term was intended to encompass the entire spectrum of contemporary and historic anti-Jewish thinking and behavior and to convey a sense of the monolithic quality of all anti-Jewish thinking and behavior. Use of the innovative term spread quickly among adherents of the new political program and among their opponents as well. Subsequently, the term has been widely utilized as a synonym for all or at least most anti-Jewish attitudes and actions.

The present survey will accept popular usage of the term anti-Semitism as synonymous with historic and early twenty-first-century anti-Jewish attitudes and actions. It will, however, dissent from any sense of the monolithic quality of anti-Jewish thinking. This survey will insist instead that evolving anti-Jewish themes must be seen in context, that is, against the backdrop of their particular time and place. At the same time, this survey will acknowledge common and recurrent motifs in anti-Jewish thinking over the ages. It will suggest that the recurrence of these motifs can be traced in part to the tendency of the Jews over the ages to emerge as discordant elements in a variety of societies; it will further suggest that, once anti-Jewish motifs have been generated, they have often become staples of popular wisdom and folklore, thus resurfacing in later and often radically altered contexts.

EARLY ANTIQUITY. Our evidence for Jewish life and also for anti-Jewish attitudes and actions in early antiquity comes largely from the biblical corpus, with its attendant problems, and—to a limited extent—from the ever-increasing body of ancient Near Eastern artifacts and texts uncovered by archaeologists. From this fragmentary data, it would seem that the frictions between Israelites and Judeans and their neighbors involved relatively normal tensions between rival polities. Wars were common in Canaan, with the Israelites and Judeans sometimes the aggressors and sometimes on the defensive. Anti-Israelite and anti-Judean sentiment seems to have been associated with the shifting political constellations of the ancient Near East.

The biblical corpus and the texts from the ancient Near East both note that the Israelites and Judeans—especially the latter—made their way beyond the confines of their kingdoms and settled in other lands, sometimes on their own initiative and sometimes forcibly. These sources suggest that the migrating Judeans brought into their new habitations innovative problems flowing from the incongruities between Judean religion and the larger polytheistic environment, as the Judeans insisted on one deity only and rejected alternative divinities. Two of the later books of the Hebrew Bible—the books of *Daniel* (*Dn.* 1-6) and *Esther*—portray both admiration and animosity on the part of Persians in the face of Judean unwillingness to worship the gods of their empire. While the tone of both books is folkloric, Judean monotheism might well have touched off hostility as a result of its innovative religious norms, perceived as threatening to the established religio-political order. These biblical stories have created a subsequent sense—among Jews and non-Jews alike—of animosity aroused by Jewish distinctiveness, in this case devotion to monotheistic ideals.

THE GRECO-ROMAN WORLD. During the fourth pre-Christian century, the Near East was invaded from the west by the Greek forces of Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE), which profoundly disrupted Near Eastern civilization. All segments of that ancient civilization, Jews included, had to come to grips with a new political order and a new culture. Anti-Jewish sentiment eventually emerged, resulting from the intersection of Jewish religious commitments and non-Jewish political concerns. The harsh decrees of the Seleucid king Antiochus III (242–187 BCE) have been interpreted as an effort on his part to suppress what he perceived as dangerous Jewish rebelliousness rooted in commitment to the Jerusalem Temple and the religious dictates of Jewish tradition. The Seleucid ruler seems to have been convinced that only by attacking the Jewish religious system itself could he successfully repress Jewish rebelliousness.

This same combination manifested itself under Roman rule in Palestine as well. For the Romans, Palestine—perched at the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea—was of utmost strategic significance and had to be maintained under Roman control. While portions of the Jewish population were quite amenable to Roman overlordship, other Jews were deeply opposed to Roman rule. Twice, the Jews erupted in revolt, and twice the revolts were crushed. Roman hostility seems to have been rooted in simple political considerations, although these eventuated in attacks on the Jewish faith. At the close of the first revolt in the year 70 CE, the Jerusalem Temple was destroyed; at the close of the second revolt in 135, key elements of Jewish tradition were banned by the Roman authorities. Once again, anti-Jewish actions seem to have been fueled by political considerations.

All through late antiquity, significant numbers of Jews lived outside Palestine, in an eastern diaspora centered in Mesopotamia and in a western diaspora spread throughout the Mediterranean Basin. The same Roman authorities that attacked Jewish religion in the aftermath of the rebellions in Palestine were quite generous in recognizing the special religious needs flowing from the demands of monotheism, and Jews were regularly exempted from problematic imperial obligations. In the Roman diaspora, a different kind of tension emerged, the tension between ethnic and religious minorities jockeying for position with their Roman rulers. Competition and contention seems to have developed, for example, between the large Jewish community of Roman Alexandria and the Greek population of that same great city. This contention escalated recurrently into violence.

Judaism seems to have both attracted and repelled the diverse populations that made up the Roman Empire. The attraction and the repulsion were stimulated by the special beliefs of the Jews and their zealous commitment to this belief system and its moral demands. Especially distressing to many Roman observers was the attraction of Judaism to some of their contemporaries and the implications of that attraction for loyalty to the traditional pillars of Roman civilization. Sharp expression of this distaste for Jews and Judaism can be found in Tacitus (c. 55–120), who bemoans the fact that Romans attracted to Judaism thereby sunder all the normal ties of Roman society—their loyalty to state, cult, and family.

EARLY CHRISTIANITY. Most students of anti-Semitism agree that, with the birth and development of Christianity, new, more intense, and more persistent anti-Jewish thinking and behavior emerged. While earlier anti-Jewish sentiment involved relatively normal political, ethnic, and religious strife and dissipated quickly, Christian anti-Jewish sentiment has proven far more intense and enduring. Scholars have struggled to explain the intensity and longevity of this Christian anti-Jewish sentiment, especially in the wake of World War II and the Holocaust.

Paul, whose writings form the earliest stratum of the New Testament, was intensely concerned with and highly ambivalent toward Judaism and the Jewish matrix out of which Jesus had emerged. For Paul (d. between 62 and 68), the Jews were God's first chosen people and would someday be fully reunited with their deity. However, the magnitude of Jewish sinfulness was overwhelming and necessitated divine rejection of the Jewish people and their replacement with new bearers of the divine-human covenant. The Pauline portrait of sinful Jews had enormous impact on the early crystallization of Christian thought.

While the complex development of early Christianity can no longer be reconstructed, the end product of this complex development—the post-Pauline four gospels—set the course for subsequent Christian thinking, including its views of the Jews. Although these alternative accounts of the birth, activities, crucifixion, and resurrection of Jesus differ in some details, they are unanimous in identifying the Jews as Jesus' sole and implacable adversaries and by imputing to the Jews full responsibility for his death. To be sure, the Romans ruled Palestine; crucifixion was a Roman punishment; and the crucifixion of Jesus is depicted by the gospels as administered by the Romans. Nonetheless, the gospels impute ultimate responsibility for the crucifixion of Jesus to the Jews, who purportedly demanded it and would accept no alternative proposed by the Roman governor.

In the frictions that preceded the birth of Christianity, anti-Jewish thinking was localized, rooted in political and practical circumstances, and generally evanescent. Christian views of the Jews, as crystallized in Christian Scripture and in the authoritative writings of the Church Fathers, lost any semblance of temporality; they were projected as timeless, meaningful for Christians—indeed all of humanity—over the ages. Portrayed as oppositional, blind to the truth, malevolent to the point of murderousness, and rejected by God, Jews took on a central role in the Christian myth and in the Christian sense of cosmic reality.

As Christianity ascended to power in the Roman Empire, its leaders had to assess their stance toward non-Christians, Jews included, from a new vantage point, that of power. Jews were recognized as a legitimate religious community, with rights to security and exercise of their religious tradition. Once again, the Jews were thrust into a position of uniqueness. Now, they were the sole legitimate non-Christian grouping in what was intended to become eventually a thoroughly Christianized society. The theological underpinnings of Jewish legitimacy were fully formulated by Augustine (354–430), whose doctrine of toleration of the Jews remained authoritative over the ages. Yet, upon close inspection, this Augustinian doctrine, intended to safeguard Judaism and the Jews, reflects many of the negative themes bequeathed from earlier Christian history.

While Augustine identified a number of grounds for toleration of the Jews, two predominate, with both pointing to the utility of the Jews in the Christian scheme of things. The first argument asserts that Jews bear witness to Christian truth by proclaiming the validity of the Hebrew Bible—in Christian terms the Old Testament—as divine revelation. Thus, in advancing their case, Christians can comfortably cite the testimony of their Jewish opponents. To be sure, the Jews do not comprehend the revelation to which they attest. Thus, while insisting on Jewish rights, Augustine powerfully reinforced the earlier imagery of the Jews as failing to grasp the truth vouchsafed to them by God.

The second Augustinian argument for toleration of the Jews is likewise simultaneously protective and demeaning. According to this second argument, Jews offer Christianity—and indeed the world—incontrovertible evidence for the working of human sin and divine punishment. In the Christian view, Jesus' Jewish contemporaries sinned by rejecting him and occasioning his death. This sin immediately set in motion God's rejection of the Jews, his destruction of their sanctuary and sacred city at the hands of the Romans, and his decree of exile and degradation for their heirs. Christians are precluded from harming Jews, for God himself has already imposed their punishment. The sequence of Jewish sin and divinely ordained punishment is illuminating, useful for Christians and indeed all of humanity to contemplate.

THE MIDDLE AGES. During the first half of the Middle Ages (seventh through eleventh and twelfth centuries), the Jewish population in Christendom was relatively sparse. The overwhelming majority of Jews lived in the realm of Islam. With the arousal of western Christendom in the eleventh century and its rapid growth and expansion, increasing numbers of Jews were absorbed into Christian territories, either through conquest of formerly Muslim lands or through immigration. With this growth in the number of Jews with whom medieval Christians had genuine contact, ecclesiastical policies concerning the Jews had to expand, and Christian imagery of Jews took a number of new and negative turns.

Ecclesiastical policies were aimed by and large at obviating any kind of harm that the Jews might cause to the Christian host majority. Concerns included the possibilities of Jews blaspheming Christianity, influencing Christian neighbors religiously, and—from the twelfth century on—inflicting damage through business and banking activity. The policy focus on potential Jewish harmfulness served to heighten perceptions of the Jews as hostile. These perceptions were much exacerbated by the emergence of crusading as a church-sponsored initiative in the eleventh century. Exhilarated animosity toward the external enemies of Christendom tended to draw negative attention to the Jews, perceived as the unique internal enemy.

The combination of traditional Gospel imagery, ecclesiastical policies, and crusading fervor served to occasion a series of negative turns in the imagery of the Jews. The first of these involved transformation of the alleged Jewish responsibility for the crucifixion of Jesus into perceptions of medieval Jews as murderously hostile to Jesus' followers. This notion of murderous Jewish malevolence first surfaced in the middle decades of the twelfth century. In 1144 the mutilated body of a young tanner named William was found outside the English town of Norwich. According to a slightly later account, the townspeople of Norwich were divided in their reactions. Some were immediately convinced that the Jews of Norwich had surely done the bloody deed; others rejected the allegation. Likewise, in 1147 in Würzburg, discovery of a dismembered body led to the conviction among some burghers that their town's Jews had committed the murder. In both instances, the killings were allegedly motivated by historic Jewish hatred of Christ and Christianity. In Würzburg, those convinced of Jewish guilt transformed the dead Christian into a martyr and venerated his remains until the local bishop intervened. In Norwich, many of the town's Christians viewed William as a martyr and transformed his grave into a shrine, at which miracles were quickly reported.

In the Norwich case, an important new motif of purported Jewish hatred for Christianity emerged. In the face of ongoing dispute among the Christians of Norwich as to the sanctity of the lad, a late-arriving cleric undertook to make the case for William's sainthood. This case involved three critical elements: a blessed and pure childhood; a martyr's death; and the production of miracles at the gravesite. Of these three elements, the second was decisive, and the chronicler Thomas of Monmouth made an elaborate case for the martyrdom of William, depicting in graphic detail alleged Jewish torture of the young tanner and eventual murder via crucifixion. Thomas portrayed the Jews of Norwich as imitating precisely their Jerusalem ancestors, thus eliminating any doubt as to William's status as martyr.

Over the remaining decades of the twelfth century and on into the thirteenth, further imaginative embellishments grounded in the basic image of the Jews as murderously hostile proliferated. These included the claims that Jews were committed to reconstituting their ancient sacrificial system through the murder of Christians, that Jews killed Christians in order to utilize their blood for Jewish ritual, and that Jews sought to gain possession of host wafers in order to subject them to torture and suffering. During the devastating mid-fourteenth-century bubonic plague, the imagery of murderous Jewish animosity eventuated in the popular conviction that Jews had poisoned the wells of Europe and thus brought about the plague. Thousands of Jews lost their lives in the resultant violence.

A second negative turn in Christian imagery of Jews resulted from the combination of the sense of Jewish hostility and malevolence and a new Jewish economic specialization that developed during the twelfth century. As the vitalization of western Christendom accelerated, European society keenly felt the need for enhanced flow of capital. Both Christian and Jewish understandings of *Deuteronomy* 23:20–21 forbade their adherents from taking interest from or giving interest to fellow Christians or fellow Jews. However, traditional readings of these verses allowed the taking and giving of interest across denominational lines. As the need for capital became more pressing, Jews found it increasingly advantageous to use their special circumstances to enter the banking business. To be sure, bankers have never been popular, and Jewish involvement in such business combined with traditional imagery of Jewish hostility toward Christ, Christianity, and Christians to create the perception that moneylending became another vehicle through which Jews sought to inflict harm on Christian society.

Yet a third negative turn in Christian imagery of the Jews involved the conviction that Jewish acts of malevolence were hardly individual and local. Rather, it was claimed that Jews, scattered throughout the world as part of their divinely imposed punishment, utilized their wide-ranging Jewish network for inflicting harm throughout Christendom. Thomas of Monmouth, for example, indicated that a convert from Judaism to Christianity had reliably informed him that the murder in Norwich in 1144 was by no means an isolated deed undertaken by a small band of local Jews. Rather, an international Jewish conspiracy lay behind the Norwich event, with that particular town selected for that particular year. Regularly, it was asserted, the international Jewish conspirators met and selected the site for the annual anti-Christian crime.

A final turn in anti-Jewish perception emerged in the wake of large-scale conversion of Jews during the violence that swept across the Iberian Peninsula in 1391. In much traditional ecclesiastical thinking, baptism thoroughly altered the nature of the convert, meaning that Jews lost their inherently negative characteristics through acceptance of Christianity. However, traditional thinking was complex, with some voices suggesting that in fact inherited Jewish characteristics could not be totally effaced by baptism. Prior to the fourteenth century, this uncertainty remained unresolved and an interesting theoretical issue only. With the conversion of tens of thousands of Iberian Jews, this theoretical issue quickly assumed practical significance. What emerged was a form of racist thinking, with many Old Christians convinced that their New Christian neighbors had lost none of their prior Jewish infirmities. Clarification of genealogical lines and proof of blood purity became preoccupations of Spanish society, with numerous groups, both ecclesiastical and lay, denying membership to applicants whose lineage was tainted by Jewish ancestry.

By the end of the Middle Ages, as western Christendom stood on the threshold of major change, anti-Jewish imagery had proliferated and hardened into widely shared beliefs regarding Jewish otherness, Jewish hostility toward Christianity and Christians, and Jewish harmfulness. The central organs of the Roman Catholic Church regularly repudiated many of the radical anti-Jewish canards, while at the same time continuing to purvey the more traditional themes of Jewish otherness and enmity. The entire spectrum of anti-Jewish motifs, including the most radical, became staples of European folk thinking.

THE REFORMATION. Much of the Reformation's energy was directed at dismantling the authoritarian centralization of the Roman Catholic Church. Thus, the tendency toward fragmentation is pronounced, and scholars regularly speak of a number of reformations. Once more, however, our interest lies with the broad stratum of folk conviction common to many of the diverse strands of Reformation thinking.

Since so much of Reformation thinking is oriented toward change, it is reasonable to anticipate that some of this change might have involved improved treatment and imagery of the Jews. During the Reformation, there were indeed signs of more positive imagery of the Jews, which flowed largely from two directions. Some of the reformers, Martin Luther (1483–1546) for example, used the issue of the Jews as a cudgel with which to beat the Roman Catholic Church, arguing that its harsh policies and the anti-Jewish imagery it projected turned the Jews into enemies. More sympathetic perception and treatment of Jews would surely win them over to Christianity. Additionally, the suffering of some of the reform groups transformed the meaning of persecution from divine punishment to divine testing. Persecuted Protestants viewed Jewish suffering and Jewish perseverance in a positive light.

However, the Reformation did not improve overall perceptions of the Jews. Martin Luther himself, disappointed in the Jewish failure to respond to his earlier ameliorative statements, expressed bitterness toward Jews in his later writings and supported extreme anti-Jewish measures. Urging the need to "prayerfully and reverentially practice a merciful severity," Luther proposed the following steps:

1. total destruction of synagogues;
2. parallel destruction of Jewish homes;
3. prohibition of Jewish literature;
4. prohibition of rabbinic teaching;
5. revocation of all travel rights;
6. prohibition of Jewish usury; and
7. forcible labor for the Jews.

Lurking beyond all these specific measures lay the possibility of expulsion of the Jews from all German lands. Luther couched his extreme recommendations in the most vituperative and demeaning terms. However, in neither the program nor the rhetoric does Luther break new ground. The imagery upon which he built his program and which he reinforced with his harsh language is identifiably a legacy of the later Middle Ages. What makes the Luther program and imagery especially striking was the potential that the Reformation had for change; instead, a number of its leading figures reinforced the most negative elements in medieval perceptions of Judaism and the Jews.

THE ENLIGHTENMENT. The Enlightenment as well was grounded in a profound desire for innovation, with the attendant promise of significant alterations in policy and thinking vis-à-vis the Jews. Once again, there were changes, in this case more far-reaching policy changes than had emerged from the Reformation. At the same time, the new order entailed its own dangers. Moreover, folkloric stereotypes survived into the new environment and continued to affect the European majority in both overt and subtle ways.

One of the major stimuli to Enlightenment change was accelerating despair over the toll taken by post-Reformation religious warfare. Thinkers like John Locke (1632–1704) began to ask whether there might not be a reasonable alternative to the ceaseless struggle for religio-political domination. Might it not be possible to fashion a society within which men and women would be free to practice a variety of religious confessions while belonging to a nondenominational civil society? A second major stimulus in the move toward the Enlightenment was the rapid advance of Western science, suggesting new paradigms for knowledge and raising serious doubts with respect to traditional religious scholarship and theology. This new knowledge further diminished the standing of the various Christian churches and further encouraged creation of a secular sphere of societal life, grounded in reason, in which all might participate.

Once again, the new thinking had complex implications for the Jews. On the one hand, criticism of prior ecclesiastical legacies—whether rooted in moral or intellectual considerations—often highlighted maltreatment of the Jews and called for changes. At the same time, Judaism was seen as the precursor to and the source of the ills and cruelties of Christianity. The turn away from Christian sources and the revival of Greco-Roman classics reintroduced non-Christian anti-Jewish themes appropriate to the new anticlerical mood of Enlightenment thinking. Most important, the popular stereotypes created during the Middle Ages continued to affect imagery of the Jews, who were perceived as separatist, malevolent, and harmful. Many of the leading Enlightenment thinkers, especially Voltaire (1694–1778)—perhaps the most influential of all—expressed intense anti-Jewish sentiments.

The social ideals of the Enlightenment reached their realization in the two revolutions of the later eighteenth century. In the earlier of the two, the American Revolution, Jewish presence in the fledgling United States was too small to occasion a serious debate about Jewish rights. These rights simply emerged as part of a broad commitment to human liberty. In the French Revolution, the situation was quite different, with pockets of Jewish population stirring considerable controversy as to the appropriateness of the Jews for citizenship in the new society. What quickly came to the fore were arguments for and against granting rights to Jews. For proponents of Jewish rights, Jewish infirmities—fully acknowledged—were simply the result of prior circumstances. Elimination of the restrictive circumstances would quickly eventuate in the emergence of healthy Jewish citizens of France. For opponents, the infirmities of Jewish life included political loyalty to the Jewish world and a concomitant lack of political loyalty to France, cultural depravity and an inability to comprehend French civilization, and economic predispositions damaging to French society. It is not difficult to see in these negative views remnants of the realities of pre-modern Jewish life in Europe and prior anti-Jewish imageries.

Ultimately, the proponents of Jewish citizenship in France won out, but the victory was predicated on an assumption of change in Jewish behavior and mentality. This made the Jews in France—and eventually elsewhere in Europe where the battle for Jewish rights was fought and won—subject to incessant scrutiny and judgment. Jews were criticized from a number of directions. On the one hand, adherents of their emancipation found fault with them for failure to integrate sufficiently into the new order; at the same time, opponents of the new order saw the Jews as the instigators, beneficiaries, and exploiters of radical and deleterious change.

NINETEENTH- AND TWENTIETH-CENTURY NATIONALISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM. As the new Europe and its recently enfranchised Jews made their way into the nineteenth and then twentieth century, the accelerating nationalisms of the period resulted in a renewed sense of the Jews as different and hostile. Once again, Jews were thrust into a situation of uniqueness, this time as a unique foreign element in coalescing national states. This perception of Jewish distinctiveness resulted in part from the real residue of premodern European life, and in other part it involved the reactivation of earlier anti-Jewish perceptions. In this new setting, many of the older images of Jewish hostility and harmfulness resurfaced.

In 1879 Wilhelm Marr entitled his most important anti-Jewish work *The Victory of Jewry over Christendom.* Marr was hardly a religious traditionalist; rather, he wrote of the victory of the Jewish people over the German folk. Marr's work reflects a strong sense of the Jews as a different people; a conviction that this different people was committed to struggle against the German-Christian world; and that one of the major tools in this struggle was economic. It is not difficult to see in these assumptions many of the major motifs in medieval anti-Jewish thinking.

In the subsequent and influential *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, these three convictions are reasserted in striking ways. To them is added the sense of an international Jewish conspiracy aimed at subverting the Christian world, in part through manipulation of finance, in part through the techniques of democracy, and in part through the mass media. Here again, earlier anti-Jewish motifs resurface in terms appropriate to radically altered circumstances.

Some late-nineteenth- and twentieth-century anti-Semites pushed the new term in a more focused direction, influenced by anthropological thinking of the period. For such anti-Semites, the key to understanding the Jews lay in clarifying the racial dimensions of the issue. Framing the issue of the Jews in racial terms was useful in the altered circumstances of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in which many Jews had successfully amalgamated into European society and were no longer readily distinguishable from their neighbors in social and religious terms. Racial categorization was intended to remove all doubt and to permit identification of Jews on allegedly scientific grounds. Moreover, racial thinking was also meant to highlight the innovativeness of the new movement and to efface any sense of age-old religiously inspired anti-Jewish thinking. To be sure, such racial conceptualization—as we have seen—had roots in the later centuries of the Middle Ages.

Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) was deeply affected by the anti-Semitic thinking of the nineteenth century and became its most effective twentieth-century proponent and propagandist. In *Mein Kampf* (2 vols., 1925–1927), he claims to have been initially opposed to the teachings of the nineteenth-century anti-Semites, portraying himself as only slowly awakening to the realities of Jewish distinctiveness and malevolence. Subsequent to this awakening—he claims—he saw the Jewish danger in its true proportions. Hitler made this insight a cornerstone of his political program, utilizing anti-Semitism as an effective tool in mobilizing German society toward achievement of his overall vision. He took anti-Semitic thinking to new extremes in the program of genocidal destruction of the entire Jewish people that he eventually espoused. The zeal with which destruction of European Jewry was pursued even during the closing days of World War II, when German defeat was inevitable, reflects the radical nature of the anti-Semitic element within Nazi thinking.

POST–WORLD WAR II AND THE NEW ANTI-SEMITISM. As the horror of the Holocaust became clear, Western societies and thinkers were appalled and undertook serious examination of the roots of anti-Semitic thinking. This effort involved Jews, on the one hand, and diverse Christian communities, on the other. Especially noteworthy was the effort on the part of numerous Christian denominations to examine the Christian roots of anti-Semitism and to eliminate—to the extent possible—the religious foundations of anti-Jewish thinking. Anti-Semitism was widely condemned and became a term of opprobrium. "Anti-Semite," a designation once embraced publicly by many, became a label to be avoided at all costs.

However, post–World War II realities created new conflicts into which Judaism and the Jews were absorbed. The creation of the State of Israel in a thoroughly Islamic sphere, the wide-ranging rejection of prior Western colonialism, and accelerating liberal espousal of postcolonial thinking have combined to create new anti-Jewish sentiment, diversely perceived in different quarters. For some, anti-Israel sentiment involves rational and moral recoiling from the injustices imposed on Palestinians. Other observers see in this recoiling the activation of traditional anti-Jewish motifs, earlier absent in the Islamic sphere.

The premodern world of Islam was quite different from premodern Christendom. The most obvious difference is the variety of populations encompassed within the world of premodern Islam, which was a rich mélange of racial, ethnic, and religious communities. Within this complex human tapestry, the Jews were by no means obvious as lone dissenters, as they had been earlier in the world of polytheism or subsequently in most of medieval Christendom. While occasionally invoking the ire of the prophet Muḥammad (c. 570–632) and his later followers, the Jews played no special role in the essential Muslim myth as the Jews did in the Christian myth. The *dhimmi* peoples, defined as those with a revealed religious faith, were accorded basic rights to security and religious identity in Islamic society and included Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians. Lack of uniqueness ameliorated considerably the circumstances of Jews in the medieval world of Islam.

In the post–World War II period, however, the Jewish-Zionist enterprise did take on elements of uniqueness: it was projected as the sole Western effort at recolonization within the Islamic sphere. This perception has triggered intense antipathy for Zionism and its Jewish supporters, often viewed as indistinguishable, and has resulted in the revival of harshly negative imagery spawned in the altogether different sphere of medieval Christendom. Popular Muslim writing and journalism now regularly introduce themes such as ritual murder, Jewish manipulation of finance, and worldwide Jewish conspiracy, themes taken over with little difficulty from an entirely different ambience. Once again, these themes have proven flexible, readily transferable from milieu to milieu.

REFLECTIONS. Despite the sense in early and medieval Christian circles and in modern racial circles that Jewish nature—and hence anti-Jewish sentiment as well—is fixed and immutable, in fact anti-Jewish perceptions over the ages were very much set in specific contexts of time and place. Changing contexts conditioned the emergence and intensity of anti-Jewish motifs and affected the content of these motifs as well. To be sure, review of the history of anti-Semitism suggests considerable repetition of themes, attributable to two factors. First, it was the fate of the Jews to become a unique minority in a number of settings—initially as monotheists in a polytheistic world, then as the only legitimate non-Christian group in Christianized society, and later as the unique foreign element in nationalistic societies and the Western element in an Islamic postcolonial milieu. The sense of Jewish uniqueness was not always negative; Jewish distinctiveness evoked complex reactions of admiration, anxiety, and distaste. The negative responses, however, played a considerable role in historic anti-Jewish sentiment. Moreover, as Christianity evolved, it created a powerful myth that placed the Jews in a central position of opposition, animosity, and harmfulness. During the Middle Ages, these core Christian notions were transformed into potent popular perceptions of Jewish malevolence and harmfulness. These popular motifs survived as a key element in the folklore of European societies, resurfacing recurrently during the modern period in a variety of new settings, including the Enlightenment, nineteenth- and twentieth-century European nationalisms, and the postcolonialist developing nations.

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ANUBIS.

The Egyptians represented the god Anubis as a black jackal (a wild dog?) crouching "on his belly," or as a man with a jackal's or dog's head. *Anubis* is the Greek form of his Egyptian name, *Anpu*; the meaning of the latter is uncertain. The cult of Anubis originated in Middle Egypt, in the seventeenth province (nome), where his worship was centered. The province's town of Hardai, which had a dog cemetery in its environs, was called Kunopolis (Cynopolis) by the Greeks. But the cult was spread all over the country.

Anubis is one of the oldest funerary deities. Originally a destroyer of corpses, he was reshaped by theologians as the embalmer of gods and men. To Anubis was entrusted the mummification of Osiris (the ruler of the dead) and his followers, and the guardianship of their burials. Later Egyptian texts referred to Anubis as the son of Osiris—the product of a relationship between Osiris and his sister Nephthys.

In funeral ceremonies, the role of Anubis as promoter of the revival of the dead was performed by a priest-embalmer. Thus their earlier enemy had become their powerful ally. During the New Kingdom and later periods, a figure of the recumbent god usually appeared atop the "mystery chests" containing the prepared viscera of the dead. In this way Anubis, "he who is over the mystery," fulfilled his duty as keeper of the internal organs that he had resuscitated.

Anubis tended not only the physical well-being of the dead but their moral nature as well. He played a prominent part in the judgment hall of the hereafter. As "magistrate of the court" he examined the deceased, whom he permitted to leave the hall if the outcome was satisfactory. He continued to be the "conductor of souls" (Gr., *psuchopompos*) in the cult and mysteries of Isis during Hellenistic and Roman times. Anubis was closely associated with the pharaoh, not only after his death but at his birth as well.

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ANUM See AN

APACHE RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS. The Lipan Apaches are one of the Apache tribes of the American Southwest outlined in the general Apache entry. Of all Apaches, the Lipans ranged the farthest east, even as far as the Mississippi River. The Lipans primarily hunted buffalo until it was no longer possible due to the near eradication of bison. During the nineteenth century the Lipans ranged over all of Texas, most of New Mexico, and adjacent areas of Mexico. Between 1680 and 1730, Apache buffalo hunters ranged Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, and Oklahoma. The extent of Lipan Apache territory meant that some bands were not in contact with others and that frequent interaction with outside groups led to variations in Lipan material culture and worldviews. Lipan Apache leadership was inestimably important in the emergence of traditions that have been heavily drawn upon in the religious use of peyote. Lipan relations with indigenous peoples south of their range were key in their adoption of the religious use of peyote and Lipan relations with buffalo hunters in the north were integral to the transmission of peyote religion to American Indian tribes in New Mexico and Oklahoma.

Lipan Apache Buffalo Hunters: Origins and Migrations. Lipan oral tradition from New Mexico states that the first Lipan tipi was put up far to the north (Begay, 2003) and oral tradition among the Texas Lipans states that the people came from northern origins (Romero Jr., 2000). In 1940 Morris Opler, while documenting Lipan oral tradition, recorded claims of a northern origin for Lipans and accounts of an exodus out of the forest and onto the plains. However, Lipan oral tradition in New Mexico holds strongly to a belief in an origin in the Sierra Madre Mountains of Chihuahua (Begay, 2003), from whence emerged 'Isánáklésh, a divine being whose face is stained white. This belief is one of the pillars of Apache creation stories on the Mescalero Apache Indian reservation and is still central to the women's coming-of-age ceremony, the Fire Ceremony. Despite differences as to whether Lipan origins lie in the north or south, there is agreement that from quite early on Lipans lived as buffalo hunters on the northern plains. This conforms to the view of linguists that the Athapaskan language had its origins in northern Canada and Alaska.

Linguistic, archaeological, and historical evidence shows that Lipan Apache origins are embedded in a buffalo-hunting tradition that spanned North America for over 11,000 years and that was characterized by tipi rings, buffalo kill sites, bow and arrow technology, and burned rock middens on the Great Plains. Between 1450 and 1725, Lipan ancestors occupied a massive territorial homeland that spanned the buffalo plains of Texas, eastern New Mexico, southern Colorado, Oklahoma, Kansas, and Nebraska. Before the European invasion, Apache buffalo hunters participated in trade networks that included the pueblos of the Southwest and the Caddoan Plains villages. Later, this system was disrupted by pressure from Spanish colonialists and by the enmeshment of Apache buffalo hunters in patterns of violence and slavery that culminated in the 1680 Pueblo Revolt in New Mexico. These changes resulted in Apache buffalo hunters becoming mounted hunters and rangers who forged anticolonial alliances with indigenous peoples of south Texas and northeastern Mexico, alliances that produced specific forms of cultural affiliation. However, the Lipans eventually left Texas and Mexico to join the Mescaleros and Chiracahuas in New Mexico. At Mescalero, Lipan religion was maintained as part of everyday life on the reservation.

Lipan Religion on the Mescalero Apache Reservation. According to Meredith Begay, a medicine woman from the Mescalero Apache Reservation with Lipan, Mescalero, and Chiracahua lineage, Apache religion is based on a spiritual sense by which Apaches live with respect. Begay referred to this as a sixth sense that directs Lipans to treat the sacred in a specifically Apache way. Importantly, Lipans should seek to understand the stories told about the way people act and the way that people should act, and conduct themselves accordingly. All Apaches carry this spiritual respect for the Creator, the Four Directions, Mother Earth, and "certain deities in the sky like the north star, the sun, the moon and some of the other stars that are there" (Begay, 2004). These deities take care of humans and so must be revered. The desire to build correct relations in accordance with the stories provides direction for Lipan life and a means by which Lipans cultivate knowledge and the power to heal. It is through this alignment of the stories with personal vision and action that medicine is acquired. Medicine is intended for the good of one's family and tribe, and when a person pursues and utilizes such power for personal gain at the expense of others, this is understood as witchcraft or the misuse of power.

The Lipan account of the creation of the earth involves the prophets Killer-of-Enemies and his brother Child of Water, as well as their mother 'Isánáklésh, also known as Changing Woman. 'Isánáklésh's part in the creation story is the model for the girls' puberty ceremony that is common to all Apaches. Special ceremonies such as this are times when families are called upon to bring their medicine in the form of songs and the spiritual work of ceremonial preparation and participation. However, sacred narratives are not just ceremonial guideposts, they are integral to teaching basic understandings of Lipan life.

For example, Child of Water represents the "right hand" and loving way, whereas the Killer-of-Enemies symbolizes the "left hand," which is not so loving. Child of Water provides refuge and salvation for people and animals, whereas Killer-of-Enemies changes animals from destroyers and killers of people to providers of meat and clothing by making sacred agreements between animals and people. Mrs. Begay explained that in a blessing for Daniel Romero Castro III, who was about to be sent to Iraq, she made sure, because she knew he might be going to the desert, to "talk to the snake, to the scorpion, to the spiders, to any other living creatures that wanna, . . . uh, be mean. . . . I ask them please look at him with the right hand."

Lipan oral traditions and the rituals and games associated with them not only instruct Lipans on how to behave, they also explain a system of correspondences between human and animal behaviors and attitudes that is rooted in the time when animals spoke and acted like people. The Moccasin Game reflects the way that the sun first broke free and lit up the earth after a Lipan gambling game. The game is played with a "buffalo shoe," which is the ball that is above the buffalo's heel. Four holes are dug into the ground, songs are sung for every animal and bird, and one person hides the ball. Players form two teams and all night long bet on who will find the ball. The center of the Yucca flower is used to keep count. Mrs. Begay explained its importance:

> Before the Shoe [Moccasin] Game the world was dark, it was completely dark. . . . So, what happened is that, the big animals, they could see in the dark, and that the small animals, they could not see in the dark. The only time they saw was when the lightning struck . . . and they were getting killed by the big animals. So, they got together, both sides, and said we'll have a Shoe Game and whoever wins will rule the earth. If the big animals win it can be dark and if the small people win they call it daylight. . . . That's when the Game started; they started to hide the ball (buffalo shoe), and the last one to find it was a small animal and that's when the sun came out. The big animals got mad and started fighting. The Giant was the last to die. And then the Giant who died, he fell . . . [there are] four mountains there where he fell. Everybody in that Shoe Game, whatever they do, is still with them today. However, they paid with themselves; everything they was changed since the minute that the sun got turned and it stayed with them. . . . [Before,] they could understand one another, they could talk to the plants, rocks and everything—that stopped right there. (2004)

During the Moccasin Game, all of the animals did crazy things that changed them forever. For example, when the fight broke out in the morning, the bear put his feet on backwards and the snake—which at that time had many legs, like a centipede—gambled away all his limbs. Coyote was already up to his tricks. While the other animals were trying to win for their respective teams, Coyote was sneaking around in the back, switching sides all night long, trying to get on the winning side. This vacillating attitude and behavior stayed with him and is a central element of Lipan Coyote Stories that admonish people, especially men, for selfish and irresponsible behavior. In addition to providing spiritual knowledge and warnings about the consequences of bad behavior, the stories also provide positive role models that exemplify proper leadership, participation, and etiquette in everyday life. Lipan leaders are constantly reminded of the necessity for proper conduct and the dangers of transgression. Similarly, other family and social roles are defined in the stories and Lipans are strongly encouraged to fulfill these roles by exhibiting proper behavior and respecting important taboos.

Important to the Lipan spiritual life are medicines that fulfill both spiritual and medical needs. Preparation for the religious work of blessing and healing includes the gathering of medicine. Medicine in this sense is part of a system of kinship relations that a Lipan has with celestial, elemental, animal, and plant beings that are corresponded with and called upon through the correct arrangement of words, actions, and objects. For example, Apaches are supposed to always carry cattail pollen in case they have a vision or other similar experience and must bless both themselves and the place in which the sacred event occurred. Thus, the simple act of carrying a pollen bag and knowing how to make a pollen blessing are ways in which Apaches manifest their respect for the sacred.

Pollen is a central part of Lipan religious life. According to Begay, "pollen is used because it is so light and so fine that it brought light to us. So pollen is used for blessing anything. An Apache never goes anywhere without pollen, they always carry it in a bag" (2004). Other important medicines include tobacco, sage, osha, the eagle feather, and ashes from a clean wood fire. Begay comments, "cigarette smoke, tobacco, is part of our religion . . . [and] the sage medicine from burning the sage, smudging and all that." She also refers to the importance of herbal medicines, such as *Hi'eechida,* known in Mexico as *Tuchupate,* and in English as osha, bear root, or hot root. Ashes can help people with *Son on di kou,* a state of anxiety or trauma often accompanied by nightmares and sleepwalking. According to Begay, *Son on di kou* occurs to people "cause they saw somethin' crazy, or they did something crazy during the day, or something scared them so bad that they get up that night and they walk around" (2004). But, as in all blessing and healing, 99 percent is in the mind and spirit and only 1 percent comes from outside.

It is important to understand the Lipan conception of the dead. Zelda Yazza, Mrs. Begay's daughter, comments in unpublished notes: "Dead people go to the other side of the river within four days after they die. When they go over there they join with those other people and become enemies. This is why it is traditionally important to bury people within four days." This belief has much to do with Lipan avoidance and even fear of the dead. However, this attitude has been altered over time by Christian beliefs and practices.

LIPAN APACHE RELIGIOUS USE OF PEYOTE. By the middle of the eighteenth century, Spanish documents attribute the religious use of peyote to Apache buffalo hunters, within the context of their reputation as a key pivot in anticolonial action and warfare. Indigenous people living in missions near the peyote gardens, from present-day Coahuila through Nuevo León and into Tamaulipas, form an important foundation of the use of peyote in *mitotes* (a term used by Spanish chroniclers to refer to Native American spiritual gatherings and festivities). Father Juan Larios, who in 1673 established a mission just south of the Lomería de los Peyotes (Peyote Hills) near Villa Unión, Coahuila, identified the local hills as gardens from which Indians would harvest peyote for their *mitote* and ceremonials (Steck, 1932). In 1674 San Bernardino de la Candela was founded for Catujano, Milijae, and Tilijai Indians, known for their *mitotes* (Wade, 1998). Alonso de León described the *mitote* as the most common and frequent pastime for the indigenous people of northeastern Mexico. León reported that indigenous people collected peyote and gathered around a fire to sing vocables (words with no linguistic meaning), shake small gourds filled with stones gathered from ant mounds, dance, and hold giveaways in the morning (León, Chapa, and Zamora, 1961, p. 24). All of these practices are traditions in the Native American Church.

The association of Mission Indians in northeastern Mexico with peyote and *mitote* provides key evidence that helps explain how Lipan Apaches adopted the religious use of peyote. Lipan oral tradition identifies the Carrizo Nation as the source of the rite that includes the religious use of peyote. Historical documents show that by 1755 Carrizo groups had ties to the Apache anticolonial alliance, lived within neighboring missions, and are reported to have engaged in the religious use of peyote with Apaches and Lipans. On April 14, 1770, Father Lorenzo de la Peña reported that Apaches and Julimeños held a *mitote* with peyote at Mission Peyote. In 1828 Jean Berlandier reported that the coastal peoples, Tonkawas, and Lipans still used peyote in their feasts. Almost fifty years later, Frederick Buckelew reported that the Lipan Apaches had shared a *mitote* with the Kickapoo in 1865.

After 1865 the religious use of peyote began to expand outside of Texas, leading eventually to the formation of the Native American Church. The widespread adoption of the religious use of peyote via the influence of Comanche Chief Quanah Parker, who had learned a form peyote ceremonial from the Lipan Apaches, is well known. The Quahadis Comanches, led by Quanah Parker, learned of *Wok-wave* (as Comanches call peyote) from the Lipan Apaches sometime before 1878. Kiowa-Apache and Arapaho oral tradition agree with this understanding. Nelson Big Bow, a Kiowa, stated, "Quanah Parker brought Lipan Apache from Mescalero to run *Peyote* meetings." These Lipans were identified as Chivato, Pinero, and Escaona and were brought to Cache, Oklahoma, by Quanah Parker. In addition to the Native American Church's religious use of peyote, there is evidence of the survival of the religious use of peyote among the Cuelgahen Nde Lipan Apaches at Three Rivers, Texas.

Santos Peralez Castro, interviewed in 1999, recalled a *mitote* held in 1956 that included the religious use of peyote:

> I remember my dad and mom calling it a *miyote [mitote],* it was a green cactus. I remember my mom and dad would invite their friends over, my mom used to cook lots of stuff. Before the invited got there, they would get a lot of corn, they used a lot of corn and we all would grind it and make tamales and tortillas from the corn and she would cook beans and rice. The friends used to make a circle and a big fire and they used to make a circle around the fire and all their friends were in the circle. All the friends used to make a circle, all the grown-ups would make the circle. They would all smoke this big pipe and pass it around the circle to smoke it and after they smoked it they would pass a small basket and eat the peyote and they eat all night and would continue all night, singing and dancing till the next day. I remember the kids were not allowed in the circle and we would sleep all night and then wake up the next morning to eat, I remember.

CONCLUSION. As with most indigenous American religions, Lipan spiritual life is not relegated to church or holidays, but is part of a respectful way of life that is prescribed in the oral tradition and that guides proper relations with and behavior toward both sacred objects and deities and one's family and tribe.

SEE ALSO North American Indians, article on Indians of the Southwest.

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ENRIQUE MAESTAS (2005)

APHRODITE. Aphrodite's name is closely related to ideas of sex, love, pleasure, and beauty. To evaluate the relevance of this minimal definition in the goddess's own cultural context, it is necessary to investigate both Greek literature carrying myths and Greek cult practice. Even if each of these fields has its own language, they act as mirrors of each other.

SOME LITERARY EVIDENCE. The most ancient Greek texts present two traditions of Aphrodite's birth. According to Hesiod *(Theogony* 188–206), she was born from the severed genitals of the Sky god, Uranus, which were thrown to the Sea god, Pontos. Aphrodite is the first anthropomorphic goddess to emerge in the cosmogonic process after the first physical entities, such as Earth, Sky, Mountains, and so on. Eros (Love), whose presence at the world's very beginning promotes union and reproduction, submits to the goddess as soon as she appears. Hesiod explains the name *Aphrodite* by the marine and seminal foam (*aphros*) from which she grows, and he defines her divine power as the field of seduction and deception.

According to Homer, Aphrodite is the daughter of Zeus and Dione, and she is concerned with the "works of marriage" (*Ilias* 5, 429). From a cosmogonic point of view, the difference between Hesiod and Homer is important. On the one hand, Aphrodite belongs to the earlier generation of deities, before Zeus himself. On the other hand, she is placed under the paternal authority of Zeus. However, her sphere of intervention remains the same: sexuality legitimated by society (with marriage), as well as its destructive aspect (the rape of Helen by Paris, presented as a reward offered by Aphrodite, is at the core of the Trojan War). The fifth *Homeric Hymn* offers another example of such ambivalence. The hymn first praises Aphrodite as the goddess who makes all the gods (even Zeus) mingle with mortal women. This uncontrolled power, which confuses divine and human levels, is dangerous for the cosmic order. To avoid this potential disturbance, Zeus makes the goddess lie with a mortal, Anchises, and she gives birth to a child, Aeneas. At this moment of the theogonic process, Aphrodite truly becomes a daughter of Zeus.

On the classical Athenian stage, tragedy illustrates how necessary it is to submit to sexual union—and to what extent the goddess's anger can be disastrous to the human who refuses this destiny. Hippolytos's fate in Euripides's homonymous play perfectly fits this important aspect of the human condition: because he despises sexual union and marriage, the young hero insults a mighty goddess and must die. A fragment of Aeschylus's *Danaids* (fr. 44 Radt), quoting a monologue of Aphrodite, presents with sexual imagery the sky irrigating the earth to bring forth for mortals the pasturage of sheep and cereals. This watery union is explicitly presented as Aphrodite's work. As goddess of sexuality, her field of manifestation includes fecundity and fertility in close connection, but it would be inadequate to interpret the Greek Aphrodite only as a mother goddess or a fertility goddess. Fertility is part of this field as an extension, of which the cultic manifestations are difficult to discern. From Sappho to Lucrece, poetry celebrates the power of love, the impact of beauty, and the force of desire, closely connecting them with Aphrodite's sphere. Ares, Hephaestus, Hermes, Dionysos, and Adonis are at various times given as her lovers.

CULTS. Aphrodite's cults extend widely over the Greek world, but her temples and festivals cannot compete with those of other great feminine divinities, such as Hera, Demeter, or Artemis. Aphrodite was worshiped above all as presiding over sexuality. Thus, in many cities, girls about to be married made sacrifices to Aphrodite so that their first sexual experience might be propitious (Diod. Sic. 5, 73, 2; Plutarchus *Mor.* 264b; Pausanias 2, 32, 7; 34, 12). This is the particular sphere of Aphrodite, compared with other goddesses involved in marriage: Hera protects its legal status, Demeter favors reproduction, and Artemis patronizes defloration and pregnancy and protects unborn children and infants.

But sexuality is much broader than marriage. Aphrodite protects all forms of sexual union—in or outside marriage; hetero- or homosexual; or with concubines, courtesans *(hetairai)*, or prostitutes *(pornai)*. These women are well attested in different festivals in honor of Aphrodite, separated or not from "respectable" matrons (Alexis, fr. 253 Kock = Athenaeus 13, 574b–c). The city of Corinth was particularly known for the beauty and luxurious living of its courtesans, who revered the local Aphrodite (Pindar, fr. 122 Snell-Maehler). It is unlikely, however, that her sanctuary on Acrocorinth was the location of an institutionalized form of what is generally called "sacred prostitution." The only source for this practice is the geographer Strabo (first century BCE; 8, 6, 21 [C378–379]), but he places it in a vague past time and is certainly influenced by practices of this type that have been documented in Asia Minor, his native country. Herodotus, who mentions a similar practice in several parts of the Mediterranean area, does not say anything in regard to Corinth. Even if the argument *ex silentio* is always difficult to use, it invites caution. Some indigenous cults that *interpretatio graeca* translates into Aphrodite cults in Asia Minor (Tralles), in Italy (Gravisca, Locri) or Sicily (Eryx), have been associated with this kind of sacred prostitution. Without systematically rejecting this view, it has to be evaluated with caution.

In Hesiodic *Theogony,* Harmony is the daughter of Aphrodite (Love) and Ares (War). In the same vein, Aphrodite is closely connected with the Charites, or the "Graces," personifications of *charis,* (grace and charm). Such symbolic associations encompass the goddess's associations with civic harmony, concord, and order. Since the fifth century BCE at least, magistrates honored her in their official capacity at the end of services. Two interpretations, which are not incompatible, can be proposed: on the one hand, these officials thank the goddess for the harmonious performance of their duties; on the other hand, these *aphrodisia* mark the return from duty to the pleasures of private life. Such dedications can associate the goddess Peitho (Persuasion) with Aphrodite.

This civic aspect of Aphrodite's sphere is also attested to by the *epiklesis* (cultic qualification) Pandemos. It means "she of all the people" and declares the goddess to be responsible for political concord and civic inclusiveness. In Athens, the goddess was worshiped with Peitho, and her epithet was explained by the myth of Theseus, who had unified all the Attic demes in one city (Pausanias 1, 22, 3). A third-century BCE Athenian inscription describes an official procession for Aphrodite Pandemos (where it is tempting to imagine the participation of "all the people") and the cathartic sacrifice of a dove, her sacred animal, in her temple (*Inscriptiones Graecae* II^2 659 = *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* no. 39). In Plato's *Symposium* (180 d–e), Aphrodite Pandemos appears in opposition to Aphrodite Urania as the goddess who protects, respectively, vulgar heterosexual love and spiritual love between males. This philosophical fantasy will become very popular, but it contradicts what is documented for both cults. Pandemos does not mean "vulgar love" in the cult (even if comic poets associate the cult's foundation with funds received from public brothels, [Athenaios 13, 569d–e]), and the Athenian cult of Urania is deeply rooted in heterosexual love and marriage (*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 41, 182; Pausanias 1, 27, 3).

On the island of Cos, Aphrodite was worshiped as Pandamos (the Doric form of Pandemos), just as in Athens, but also as Pontia (she of the sea). This joint cult is known from two inscriptions referring to the sale of the priesthood (Parker, 2002). Both aspects are reflected in the worshipers' quality and obligations. All women who marry on the island, citizen women, illegitimate women, and metics, have to offer a sacrifice to the goddess within a year: a good summary of sexual and inclusive divine functionality. On the other hand, sea-traders also have to honor the goddess, "she of the sea," with sacrifice or cash payment. Such an association with the sea is widely attested in the Mediterranean era by epithets like Euploia (she who gives good sailing) or Limenia (she of the shore). One way to explain this refers to the peculiar birth of the goddess from the sea foam. Another refers to her general power to calm and to dissolve disorder, be it human or natural.

Two last aspects of Aphrodite's cults are the "black" side and the "armed" side. In some places, Aphrodite bears the epithet *Melainis* (the black one) (Pausanias 2, 2, 4; 9, 27, 5; 8, 6, 5), which could possibly show her power on the "black earth" and humus, as well as on the shades of the night, the favorite time for sexual relations. According to Pausanias, there were statues showing an armed Aphrodite, particularly in Sparta (3, 15, 10; 3, 23, 1). The Spartan upbringing of girls was very martial, and it is not surprising to see the goddess of femaleness being given male attire there, but the actual examples of this scarcely permit the interpretation of Aphrodite as a war goddess, except in connection with a protective role, such as she had at Corinth.

From a structuralist perspective, her association with Ares has more to do with a wish to bring opposites together than with a similarity of function. But a historical perspective for studying Aphrodite's cults and persona leads to another interpretation. Aphrodite is not attested in the Mycenaean Linear B texts, and the Greeks themselves made the goddess arrive from the Levantine coast, or even Assyria, via Cyprus through the Phoenician agency (Herodotus 1, 105; Pausanias 1, 14, 7). The Sumerian Innana, Akkadian Ishtar, and Phoenician Astarte share many significant characteristics with Aphrodite. Indeed, all are "Queens of Heaven" (Urania), connected with sexuality, birds, war, and, in the case of Astarte, seafaring. As early as Homer, Aphrodite is called Kupris (the Cypriote), and her main sanctuaries belong to the island—in Paphos, where her tripartite shrine dates from the twelfth century BCE onward and where she is called Paphia or Wanassa (the Queen) in Myceneaen Greek; in Amathous, where she is called Kupria; and in Kition, with a clearly Phoenician cult.

Today, the theory of Aphrodite's oriental origin, dated early in the first millennium, is largely accepted, and Indo-European or indigenous points of view do not have enough support in the evidence at hand. But the ways of Aphrodite's arrival are very difficult to discern with certainty, in spite of the positive conclusions of Stephanie Lynn Budin (2003). The iconography of the frontally naked "goddess" that reaches Mediterranean sanctuaries in the Geometric and early Archaic periods could have been an important medium for the conceptualization of a goddess concerned with sexuality at a time when local Greek pantheons were in development. The iconography of a nude goddess then disappears for two centuries, returning with the Aphrodite of Praxiteles in the mid-fourth century BCE. Such a masterpiece opens the road to the Hellenistic and Roman representations of the nude Aphrodite-Venus that inhabit Western museums and imaginations.

SEE ALSO Goddess Worship, overview article; Hierodouleia; Venus.

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APOCALYPSE

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
JEWISH APOCALYPTICISM TO THE RABBINIC PERIOD
MEDIEVAL JEWISH APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

APOCALYPSE: AN OVERVIEW

Apocalypse, as the name of a literary genre, is derived from the *Apocalypse of John,* or *Book of Revelation,* in the New Testament. The word itself means "revelation," but it is reserved for revelations of a particular kind: mysterious revelations that are mediated or explained by a supernatural figure, usually an angel. They disclose a transcendent world of supernatural powers and an eschatological scenario, or view of the last things, that includes the judgment of the dead. Apocalyptic revelations are not exclusively concerned with the future. They may also be concerned with cosmology, including the geography of the heavens and nether regions, as well as history, primordial times, and the end times. The judgment of the dead, however, is a constant and pivotal feature, since all the revelations have human destiny as their ultimate focus. The great majority of these writings are pseudonymous: the recipient of the revelation is identified as a famous ancient person, such as Enoch or Daniel. (The *Book of Revelation* is an exception in this regard.) The ascription to a famous person added to the authority of the works, which were in any case presented as divine revelation.

The *Book of Revelation* (about 90 CE) is the earliest work that calls itself an *apocalypse* (*Rv.* 1:1), and even there the word may be meant in the general sense of "revelation." The usage as a genre label became common from the second century on, and numerous Christian compositions are so titled (e.g., the *Apocalypse of Peter,* the *Apocalypse of Paul).* The *Cologne Mani Codex* (fifth century) refers to the apocalypses of Adam, Sethel, Enosh, Shem, and Enoch. The title is found in some Jewish apocalypses from the late first century CE (e.g., *2 Baruch* and *3 Baruch*), but may have been added by later scribes. The ancient usage is not entirely reliable. The title was never added to some major apocalypses (e.g., those contained in *1 Enoch*) and it is occasionally found in works of a different genre (e.g., the *Apocalypse of Moses,* which is a variant of the *Life of Adam and Eve*).

THE JEWISH APOCALYPSES. The genre is older than the title and is well attested in Judaism from the third century BCE on. The Christian apocalypses, beginning with the *Book of Revelation,* are modeled more or less directly on Jewish prototypes. The Jewish apocalypses are of two main types. The better known of these might be described as historical apocalypses. They are found in the *Book of Daniel* (the only apocalypse in the Hebrew scriptures), *4 Ezra, 2 Baruch,* and some sections of *1 Enoch.* In these apocalypses, the revelation is given in allegorical visions, interpreted by an angel. The content is primarily historical and is given in the form of an extended prophecy. History is divided into a set number of periods and, most importantly, is coming to an end. The finale may include the national and political restoration of Israel, but the emphasis is on the replacement of the present world order by one that is radically new. In its most extreme form the eschatology of this type of apocalypse envisages the end of the world, as, for example, in *4 Ezra* 7, where the creation is returned to primeval silence for seven days. These apocalypses often had their origin in a historical crisis. The *Book* *of Daniel* and some sections of *1 Enoch* were written in response to the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes that led to the Maccabean revolt (c. 168 BCE). *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* were written in the aftermath of the Jewish war against Rome and the destruction of Jerusalem.

The second type of Jewish apocalypse is the otherworldly journey. In the earliest example of this type, the "Book of the Watchers" in *1 Enoch* (third century BCE), Enoch ascends to the presence of God. Angels then take him on a tour that ranges over the whole earth to the ends of the universe. More characteristic of this type is the ascent of the visionary through a numbered series of heavens. The standard number of heavens was seven, although three (in the *Testament of Levi*) and five (in *3 Baruch*) are also attested. More mystical in orientation, these apocalypses often include a vision of the throne of God. The eschatology of these works is focused more on personal afterlife than on cosmic transformation, but they may also predict a general judgment.

These two types of apocalypse are not wholly discrete. The *Apocalypse of Abraham,* an ascent-type apocalypse from the late first century CE, contains a brief overview of history in set periods. The *Similitudes of Enoch,* a Jewish work of the mid-first century CE, combines allegorical visions with an ascent and is largely concerned with political and social abuses. Both types are found in the collection of writings known as *1 Enoch,* which is known in full only in Geez (Ethiopic) translations, but is now attested in Aramaic fragments from the Dead Sea Scrolls, which date to the second century CE.

If apocalypse is conceived as a literary genre, in the manner described above, then the primary corpus consists of Jewish and Christian texts that date from the Hellenistic period to the early Middle Ages, although some instances can also be found in other traditions. The importance of apocalypse in the history of religion, however, is not confined to the instances of the literary genre. The kinds of ideas that find their classic expression in apocalypses like *Revelation* can also occur in other works, whether they are represented as revelations or not. This analogous phenomenon is called *apocalypticism,* or sometimes *apocalyptic.* So, for example, in ancient Judaism, the "Community Rule" in the Dead Sea Scrolls describes a world divided between the forces of light and darkness, where history is divided into periods and there will be a final judgment when God will put an end to wickedness. This view of the world is clearly influenced by the apocalypses of *Enoch* and *Daniel,* and is similar to the typical content of apocalyptic revelations, but it is not presented in the form of a vision or other revelation. It is simply presented as dogmatic teaching.

Again, early Christianity is often said to be "an apocalyptic movement," although the only apocalypse in the New Testament (*Revelation*) is one of the latest writings in the corpus. The Gospels and the Pauline epistles share basic features of the apocalypses, especially the expectation of judgment from heaven followed by the resurrection and judgment of the dead, so that we may speak of a common worldview. In modern colloquial usage, the word *apocalypse* is often associated with the end of the world, or with some great catastrophe. This analogous usage of the word *apocalyptic* is inevitably imprecise, as resemblance is a matter of degree. In the Western world, the case for this broader usage is strengthened by the pervasive influence of the literary apocalypses, especially the *Book of Revelation.* The expectation of an "end" of history, or of a new era of radical change, has been enormously important in Christian tradition, but also in Judaism and Islam, and while it is often the subject of a vision or a revelation it can also be communicated in many other ways. Moreover, these ideas have also been appropriated by secular culture.

Analogous ideas and movements can also be found in many other cultures. One thinks, for example, of the cargo cults of Melanesia or the Ghost Dance of the American Indians in the late nineteenth century (although in the latter case there was some influence of Christian ideas). The historical type of apocalypticism is difficult to distinguish from *millennialism,* a term that is itself derived from the expectation of a thousand-year reign in *Revelation* 20, but which has come to mean the expectation of radical change and a utopian future. Strictly speaking, apocalypticism should imply a claim of supernatural revelation, which may or may not be the case with millennial expectation. Also related to apocalypticism is *messianism,* or the expectation of a messiah or savior figure. This term also derives from Jewish and Christian tradition, and originally referred to the restoration of native kingship in Judea. Some apocalypses accord a central role to a messiah (e.g., Christ in *Revelation,* or the Jewish messiah in *4 Ezra*). The earliest Jewish apocalypses, however, in *1 Enoch* and *Daniel,* have no place for a human messiah. Conversely, a messiah may be expected to restore the political order on earth, rather than bring about the kind of cosmic upheaval described in the apocalypses. Messianism and apocalypticism, then, overlap, but the two categories are not identical.

ORIGINS OF THE GENRE. This genre appears relatively late in Judaism, and its origins remain obscure. Several key apocalyptic motifs can be found at much earlier times in the ancient Middle East and in the eastern Mediterranean world. Many ancient myths describe a climactic battle in which a good god defeats the forces of chaos. This battle is sometimes associated with the creation of the world, as in the Babylonian *Enuma elish,* where the god Marduk defeats and kills the primeval monster Tiamat. In Canaanite tradition, the fertility god Baal defeats the primordial sea, Yamm. These ancient myths are echoed in the climactic battles in apocalypses such as *Daniel* and *Revelation,* but the conflict is projected into the future.

Descriptions of journeys to the heavens or the netherworld were fairly common in antiquity. Examples can be found as early as book 11 of Homer's *Odyssey.* A whole tradition of such revelations can be found in Greek and Roman philosophical texts (e.g., the "Myth of Er" in Plato's *Republic,* book 10; Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* in the last book of his *Republic*), in what would seem to be a secondary use of the genre. The Greek material exercised some influence on the Jewish journey-type apocalypses and on the Christian development of the genre, but it was not a primary model. There are also traditions of ascent to heaven and descent to the netherworld in Babylonian tradition, although they are sparsely attested. Especially noteworthy here is a "Vision of the Netherworld" from the seventh century BCE, in which a man descends to the netherworld in a dream vision. The ascent of the soul after death was an important motif in Persian eschatology from early times. The only Persian example of a thoroughgoing ascent-type apocalypse is the ninth-century CE *Book of Arda Viraf,* or *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag,* but there seems to have been a native Persian tradition of heavenly ascent. These ascent traditions (Greek, Babylonian, and Persian) were independent of each other, but all may have influenced the Jewish and Christian apocalypses to some degree. The judgment of the dead, a central apocalyptic motif, is widely attested in ancient Egypt. We can scarcely speak of an apocalyptic tradition in Egypt, however, although there are several predictions of times of chaos, and there are some oracles from the Hellenistic period about the restoration of native Egyptian rule (most notably, the *Potter's Oracle*) that bear some similarity to the historical apocalypses.

Apart from the Jewish and Christian apocalypses, the most important apocalyptic tradition in antiquity is undoubtedly the Persian. This tradition is found primarily in the Pahlavi literature that was compiled in the late Sassanian and early Islamic periods (sixth to twelfth centuries CE). This literature is priestly in character, and it provides compendia of authoritative teaching. It does not preserve independent literary revelations or apocalypses such as are found in Jewish and Christian literature, with the arguable exception of the *Bahman Yasht,* which describes a vision of Zoroaster in which the branches of a tree represent the periods of history. One of the most important of these compilations is the *Bundahishn,* which deals with cosmogony and cosmology and has important sections treating eschatology. Another is the *Dēnkard,* which contains, among other things, a systematic description of the apocalyptic events from the fall of the Sassanian empire to the restoration of the world. Other important Persian writings for this subject include the *Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram* (Selections of Zādspram, a late ninth-century author) and the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* (compiled by a brother of Zādspram). The latter composition contains questions and answers on such topics as the resurrection and the renewal of the world. Also cast in the form of question and answer is the *Dādestān ī Mēnōg ī Xrad* (Judgments of the spirit of wisdom) in which a fictive figure called Dānāg (literally, "wise, knowing") addresses questions to the Spirit of Wisdom. Some of these questions concern eschatological matters.

These traditions may be described as apocalyptic because they share some of the characteristic features of the historical apocalypses, such as the division of history into a set number of periods, the final destruction of evil, and a restoration of the world that involves the resurrection of the dead. The most complete account is found in the *Bundahishn.* From the beginning, there were two cosmic spirits of light and darkness. The decisive battle between them is postponed for nine thousand years, and during that time they share the sovereignty. The nine thousand years is divided into three ages of three thousand years each. At the completion of the last period, evil is eliminated, the dead are resurrected, and the world is restored. The last three thousand years is divided into three millennia with similar characteristics. The first begins with the appearance of Zoroaster. Each of the others also starts with a savior figure, Ušēdar and Ušedarmāh. Each millennium ends with trials and tribulations. The final savior, who ushers in the restoration, is Sōšans. Two other messianic figures, Kay Wahrām and Pišyōtan appear at the end of the millennium of Zoroaster.

There is endless debate as to the antiquity of these traditions. The Pahlavi literature was compiled from the sixth to twelfth centuries CE, but it certainly preserves older traditions. The *Bahman Yasht* is a commentary on a lost book of the Avesta, which is itself of uncertain date. Some key apocalyptic motifs, such as the final battle between the forces of good and evil in the end-time, and the judgment of the soul after death, are found already in the *Gāthās,* the hymns of Zoroaster, which may date to as early as 1000 BCE. Belief in a savior figure and in the resurrection of the dead was developed already in the Avesta. Important glimpses of early Persian beliefs are provided by an account preserved by Plutarch (*On Isis and Osiris* 47, attributed to Theopompus, who lived in the fourth century BCE), and by the *Oracle of Hystaspes,* a pre-Christian Persian work that is cited in Latin by Lactantius. Both of these sources mention the division of history into periods and the resurrection of the dead. Plutarch recounts the original opposition of the two spirits of light and darkness. This dualistic view of the world seems to have influenced a Jewish sect of the first century BCE, whose views are reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Nonetheless, the dating of Persian traditions is fraught with difficulty and remains controversial. It is clear that there was a native Persian tradition of considerable antiquity, which had a view of history that is quite similar to what we find in Jewish and Christian apocalypses of the historical type. Notable points of affinity include predeterminism, periodization, the importance attached to millennia, the role of savior figures, and the hope for resurrection. Most of these features (with the exception of savior figures) were novel in Judaism in the Hellenistic period. Nonetheless, it remains unclear whether the development of the apocalyptic genre in Judaism was due in any significant way to Persian influence, because of the difficulty of dating the Persian materials.

THE GENRE IN CHRISTIANITY. Apocalypticism in the broader sense was a major factor in the rise and spread of Christianity. While the intentions and self-understanding of Jesus of Nazareth are a matter of endless debate, he is portrayed in the Gospels as an apocalyptic prophet, who predicted that the "Son of man" would come on the clouds of heaven to save the elect and judge the wicked. (See, for example, *Mark* 13; the title "Son of Man" alludes to a vision in *Daniel* 7.) After Jesus' death, his followers quickly came to believe that he had risen from the dead, and that this, in the words of Paul, was the first fruit of the general resurrection. Paul told his followers that Jesus would return on the clouds while some of them were still alive. This expectation lent urgency to his attempt to spread the Christian gospel to the end of the earth.

The apocalyptic genre declined in Judaism after the first century CE, although heavenly ascents continued to play an important part in the Jewish mystical tradition. By contrast, the genre flourished in Christianity. The *Book of Revelation* in the New Testament has its closest analogies with the *Book of Daniel* and the historical apocalypses, but it is exceptional in not being pseudonymous. The convention of pseudonymity was quickly adopted, however, and apocalypses of Peter, Paul, and others proliferated into the Middle Ages. These apocalypses were primarily, but not exclusively, of the ascent type, and were mystical rather than political in their orientation. The expectation of cosmic change depicted in the *Book of Revelation* was viewed with suspicion by church authorities, although the main outline was incorporated in Christian dogma. The church fathers tended to interpret apocalyptic symbols with reference to the present. Augustine of Hippo (354–430 CE) interpreted the thousand-year reign of *Revelation* 20 as referring to the time of the church, and held that the first resurrection is spiritual and takes place in this life. This line of interpretation was widely influential, and defused the role of apocalyptic expectation in the mainline church.

A distinctive variant of the use of apocalypses in the Christian tradition can be seen in the Gnostic codices found at Nag Hammadi in Egypt in 1945, which date from about 400 CE. The corpus includes apocalypses of Adam, Peter, Paul, and James. The Gnostic apocalypses differ from the Jewish and Christian ones in their emphasis on salvation in the present through *gnōsis,* or saving knowledge, and their lack of interest in cosmic transformation, although some Gnostic apocalypses envision the destruction of this world. The Gnostic apocalypses also are distinctive in their emphasis on the spoken word. Often the revelations take the form of dialogues or discourses, rather than visions. The origin and fall of humanity is a prominent theme. The most important transformation of the genre, however, lies in the focus on the present rather than the future as the time of salvation.

The mystically oriented ascent-type apocalypse continued to exist in Christianity quite apart from Gnosticism and left an imprint on world literature in Dante's *Commedia.* The historical type of apocalypticism was more widely influential in the Middle Ages. Apocalyptic expectations played a role in launching the Crusades. A crucial figure in medieval apocalypticism was Joachim of Fiore, a twelfth-century abbot who looked for a new age of the Holy Spirit, to be ushered in by the defeat of the antichrist. Historical apocalypticism merges easily into millenarianism, where the emphasis is less on supernatural revelation than on the coming utopian age. Apocalyptic expectations of the overthrow of the present world order fueled radical Christian movements in the late Middle Ages, notably Franciscan dissidents and early reformers such as John Wyclif (late fourteenth century) and his followers, the Lollards. These radicals often viewed the papacy as the antichrist. Apocalyptic hopes also provided the ideology that inspired a whole series of peasant revolts, and there was an outpouring of apocalyptic prophecies in connection with the Reformation. In Germany the radical preaching of Thomas Müntzer culminated in the Peasants' Revolt in 1525, and the Anabaptists established the New Jerusalem in Münster, under a messianic "king," John of Leyden (1534). In England, a century later, the Puritan revolutionaries saw themselves as "the saints of the Most High," who were mentioned in the *Book of Daniel,* while Gerrard Winstanley, and the Diggers and Levellers whom he inspired, drew on the *Book of Revelation* to advance a more radically egalitarian view of Christianity.

The Puritans brought their apocalyptic beliefs with them to North America, and inaugurated a tradition of studying biblical prophecy with a view to discerning the signs of the end-time. While interest in apocalyptic timetables was prominent in American Protestantism from the seventeenth century onward, it was given a boost in the early nineteenth century by a Church of Ireland minister, John Nelson Darby (1800–1882), who developed a system of "dispensational premillennialism." History was divided into a series of distinct stages or dispensations, in each of which God dealt with humankind in different ways. The millennium, or thousand-year reign, was not the time of the church but was still to come. Darby rejected any form of historicist interpretation and held that the last events of prophetic significance occurred in the time of Jesus. Darby's followers developed into the sect of the Plymouth Brethern, but he was widely influential among evangelical Protestants. One of his most distinctive beliefs was in the rapture, when believers would be caught up to meet the Lord in the air (see *1 Thess.* 4:16–18). Dispensational premillennialism was popularized in the early twentieth century by the Scofield Reference Bible, which provided prophetic interpretations for the entire King James Bible.

The most colorful episode in American apocalyptic tradition occurred in the 1840s. A farmer named William Miller, from upstate New York, calculated, on the basis of the book of *Daniel,* that the second coming of Christ would occur in 1843. When that year ended uneventfully, some of his followers recalculated the date as October 22, 1844. They assembled in expectation, and suffered a crushing disappointment. That scenario has been replayed many times by small groups on the fringes of American Protestantism. Nonetheless, this kind of literal interpretation of apocalyptic prophecy continues to flourish at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The Millerites eventually evolved into the Seventh-day Adventist Church, under the leader of a visionary and prolific writer, Ellen G. White (1827–1915).

The emergence of a modern Pentecostal movement in the early twentieth century gave another boost to fundamentalist apocalyptic interpretation. In the latter part of the twentieth century, dispensational premillennialist interpretation was popularized by such writers as Hal Lindsey, whose best-seller, *The Late Great Planet Earth* (1973), sold millions of copies. Unlike Darby, Lindsey readily identified prophetic allusions to contemporary events, and even suggested that the rapture might come in 1981. Since the 1980s, this kind of apocalyptic interpretation has become identified with the religious right wing in American politics, particularly through the activism of such people as Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell. It also continues to thrive on the fringes. The Branch Davidians who died in the conflagration in Waco, Texas, in 1993, were a heretical offshoot of the Seventh-day Adventists and spiritual descendants of the Millerites, with their own apocalyptic prophet, David Koresh. There has also been a revival of apocalyptic and messianic expectations in some circles within Judaism, inspired by the rebirth of the land of Israel after the disaster of the Holocaust.

APOCALYPTIC TRADITIONS IN ISLAM. Apocalyptic expectations played a significant role in Islam from the beginning. These expectations include the resurrection of the dead, the day of judgment and salvation, and damnation in the endtime. They also include preparatory events leading to the resurrection, including the coming of the *mahdī* (an Islamic messiah). Already in the Qurʾān, there are several references to "the Hour," which is the time of calamity that precedes the resurrection. There is considerable interest in the signs of the end. These ideas were influenced by Jewish, Christian, and Persian traditions. Jesus retains an important role in the eschatological scenario: he will return to Jerusalem and kill the antichrist. Much more apocalyptic material entered Islam after the death of the Prophet, and it grew in popularity in times of war. By the Middle Ages there was a developed science for the calculation of the predetermined future, which involved astrology. These predictions are not typically presented as visionary revelations, in the manner of the Jewish and Christian apocalypses, but rather as teachings, in the manner of the Persian tradition. There have been numerous movements in the history of Islam that have employed apocalyptic or messianic rhetoric to proclaim the dawn of a new era. There was an upsurge of such rhetoric in connection with Islamic fundamentalism in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

MODERN ADAPTATIONS OF APOCALYPTICISM. The terms *apocalypse* and *apocalyptic* are used widely and loosely in modern culture, often in ways that have little in common with the ancient apocalypses. Continuity is clearest in the case of fundamentalist Christians who look for literal fulfillment of the biblical prophecies, and try to identify the signs of the times in current political events. There are also secular groups (such as survivalist movements in the American west) that believe that a cosmic disaster and a change of world order is imminent. These people often cling to what Michael Barkun has called "spurned knowledge" (ideas that are rejected or despised by the society at large) and consequently see themselves as a persecuted minority. They are characterized by a kind of esotericism, or insider-belief, that bears some analogy to the revelations of the ancient apocalypses. There is some justification for calling such groups apocalyptic, admittedly in an attenuated sense. More questionable is the widespread use of the term *apocalyptic* in connection with modern literature. The English poet William Blake (1757–1827) made extensive use of the *Book of Revelation,* but he looked for a revelation initiated not by God but by humans, which would entail a change in our perception of the world. Some critics, however, use the term *apocalyptic* for any "revelation" or transformation of perception, even if there is no use of traditional apocalyptic imagery. In contemporary literature, the writing that has most in common with ancient apocalypses is science fiction, insofar as it is an imaginative exploration of worlds that are outside normal human experience. But here again the analogy is limited, as science fiction is not presented as revelation and lacks the religious and instructional dimensions of the ancient apocalypses.

SEE ALSO Ascension; Biblical Literature, articles on Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, New Testament; Eschatology, overview article; Judgment of the Dead; Millenarianism, overview article.

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APOCALYPSE: JEWISH APOCALYPTICISM TO THE RABBINIC PERIOD

The genre "apocalypse" first appears in Judaism in the Hellenistic period. The early apocalypses are of two types. One type, attested in *Daniel,* the Animal Apocalypse and the Apocalypse of Weeks, provides an overview of the course of history and may be dubbed the "historical" type. The other, typified by the Book of the Watchers in *1 Enoch* 1–36, describes an otherworldly journey and is primarily a description of places outside the normal range of human experience.

THE EARLIEST APOCALYPSES. The *Book of Daniel* (164 BCE) provides the only example of the genre in the Hebrew Bible. The earliest noncanonical apocalypses are found in *1 Enoch.* This is a collection of five books fully preserved only in Ethiopic, but four of the five books are attested in Aramaic in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The earliest copies date to the second century BCE. Some of the books of *Enoch* (The Book of the Watchers, *1 Enoch* 1–36, and the Astronomical Book, *1 Enoch* 72–82) are likely to date from the third century BCE, whereas others (the Animal Apocalypse, *1 Enoch* 83–90 and the Apocalypse of Weeks, *1 Enoch* 93:1–10 and 91:11–17) are roughly contemporary with the *Book of Daniel.*

THE HISTORICAL APOCALYPSES. In *Daniel* 7–8 the revelation takes the form of symbolic visions. In chapter 7, Daniel sees four beasts rising from the sea. Then he sees a judgment scene in which a white–headed "Ancient of Days" condemns the beasts and confers the kingdom on "one like a son of man" who comes on the clouds of heaven. This vision is explained to Daniel by an angel. The beasts represent four kings or kingdoms. The final kingdom is ruled not only by the "one like a son of man" but also by "the holy ones of the Most High" and "the people of the holy ones of the Most High." (The interpretation of the "one like a son of man" and of "the holy ones of the Most High" is disputed. Most probably, the former is the archangel Michael, who is explicitly identified as the "prince" of Israel in chapters 10 to 12, and the holy ones are the angelic host). In *Daniel* 8, the vision concerns a he-goat, which defeats a ram. Then one of its horns rises up against the heavenly host and disrupts the cult. The angel explains that the ram, which has two horns, represents the kings of Media and Persia, whereas the goat is the king of Greece. The rebellious horn represents an arrogant king who will succeed for a time but will suddenly be broken, "not by human hands." In *Daniel* 9, the revelation is triggered by a prophecy of Jeremiah that Jerusalem would be desolate for seventy years. An angel explains to Daniel that this really means seventy weeks of years, or 490 years. Finally, chapters 10 to 12 contain a lengthy prediction about kings and wars that is a thinly disguised overview of Hellenistic history and the wars between the Ptolemies of Egypt and the Seleucids of Syria. This account culminates in a persecution of "the holy covenant" by an arrogant king who exalts himself above every god. This king meets a sudden end, however. Then follows the resurrection of the dead, when the righteous martyrs are exalted in glory and their enemies are condemned to everlasting disgrace.

The recipient of these visions, Daniel, was supposedly one of the captives taken to Babylon by King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon in 597 BCE. In fact, he is a fictitious character, whose legendary exploits are recounted in *Daniel* 1–6. His revelations concern the course of history from the Babylonian era forward. The four kingdoms portrayed as beasts from the sea in chapter 7 are identified by other references in the book as Babylon, Media, Persia, and Greece. The climax of the revelations relates to the persecution of the Jews by King Antiochus Epiphanes of Syria from 168 to 164 BCE. The historical references in *Daniel* 10–12 can be verified down to the time of persecution, but the king did not die in the manner predicted in *Daniel* 11:40–45. Already in antiquity, critics inferred that the *Book of Daniel* was not written in the Babylonian period, but in the time of persecution, before the actual death of Antiochus Epiphanes became known in Jerusalem. The lengthy predictions are *ex eventu*, or prophecy after the fact. The accuracy of these predictions helps reassure the reader that the part still unfulfilled (the end of the persecution and the resurrection) is also reliable. The purpose of the revelations is to assure the persecuted Jews that their deliverance is at hand. The reassurance is supported by several claims of authority: the revelation is given by an angel to a famous ancient figure, and much of it could already be verified at the time the book was actually written. It is essential to an apocalypse that the revelation is "out of this world." It reveals a hidden reality no one could know without such revelation.

The historical apocalypses in *1 Enoch* are less colorful than in *Daniel* but exhibit a similar logic. In this case the recipient is more ancient than Daniel. Enoch supposedly lived before the Flood. According to *Genesis*, Enoch did not die but was taken up to heaven (*Gn.* 5:24). He was therefore exceptionally well qualified to convey revelation to humanity. Living before the Flood, Enoch is able to "predict" the entire course of history, from before the Flood to the crisis of the Hellenistic age. The Animal Apocalypse recounts a symbolic dream in which the human actors are symbolized as animals, as was also the case in *Daniel* 7–8. The Apocalypse of Weeks is an instruction of Enoch to his children, based on what he had seen in the heavenly books. In this case history is divided into periods that are called weeks (compare *Daniel* 9). The wicked are defeated at the end of the seventh week. In the tenth week there is a cosmic judgment when the first heaven will pass away and a new heaven will appear. In the Animal Apocalypse, God descends to earth for the judgment, and it is followed by the resurrection of the dead. Both of these apocalypses, like *Daniel,* culminate in the Hellenistic period. The Animal Apocalypse alludes clearly to the persecution in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes and to the Maccabean revolt. It is apparent that the conflict of this period was a major factor evoking this kind of apocalypse.

THE SOURCES OF HISTORICAL APOCALYPTICISM. There is evident continuity between this kind of apocalypse and biblical prophecy. From the eighth century BCE onward, Hebrew prophets had visions that related to historical events, and that foretold divine intervention for judgment. These visions were often symbolic. For example, Amos saw a basket of dried fruit, symbolizing the coming end of Israel (*Am.* 8:1–2). After the Babylonian exile there were some significant changes in the nature of prophecy. The visions of Zechariah (520 BCE) are interpreted by an angel, like the later visions of Daniel. Many oracles from this period proclaim a radical change, not only in the fortunes of Israel but in the conditions of human life. An addition to the *Book of Isaiah* (*Is.* 65:17) declares that the Lord will create a new heaven and a new earth. The Book of Joel speaks of the Day of the Lord as a day of cosmic judgment (*Jl.* 3–4). *Isaiah* 24–27 say that God will destroy death forever (*Is.* 25:8) and kill Leviathan, the sea–dragon (*Is.* 27:1). Because of the similarity of these themes to those found later in *Daniel* and the *Book of Revelation,* many scholars refer to these chapters as "the Apocalypse of Isaiah." In these and other postexilic oracles an increased use of mythic imagery describes the coming judgment. Ancient Near Eastern creation myths often described a battle between the creator god and a chaos monster (e.g., the Babylonian *Enuma Elish*). In postexilic prophecy, and also in the apocalyptic literature, this battle is projected into the future. The symbolism of the sea–dragon Leviathan also underlies the beasts that arise from the sea in *Daniel* 7 and the seven–headed beast in *Revelation* 18. The late prophetic texts also resemble the apocalypses insofar as both depict the current situation as desperate and both look for God to change radically the conditions of human existence.

Despite these similarities, however, there are also significant differences between the late prophetic texts and the apocalypses. The prophetic oracles either are attributed to the actual prophets who delivered them (Zechariah, Joel) or are anonymous additions to other prophetic books, such as *Isaiah.* The apocalypses, in contrast, are pseudonymous: they are attributed to famous ancient figures such as Enoch and Daniel. It is unlikely that the actual authors concealed their identity for fear of persecution; rather, the name of the ancient figure was probably thought to enhance the authority of the writing. The interpreting angel appears in *Zechariah,* but not otherwise in the prophetic writings. The apocalypses often divide history into periods (e.g., four kingdoms, ten weeks). The most important difference, however, is in the expectation about the last things, or eschatology. Whereas all these texts expect the restoration of Israel, the apocalypses also expect the resurrection and judgment of the individual dead. Even *Isaiah* 24–27, which say that God will swallow up death, expect neither the resurrection nor judgment of the individual dead. It is in the apocalypses of *Daniel* and *Enoch* that the resurrection and judgment of individuals first appeared in Jewish tradition. This new belief entailed a profound shift in value systems. Prior to this, "salvation" was to live a long life and see one's children's children. Now the goal of life was to live with the angels in heaven. Consequently, it made sense to let oneself be killed in time of persecution rather than break the law. The apocalyptic belief in resurrection would be crucially important for the origin of Christianity.The apocalypses are sometimes seen as an outgrowth of wisdom tradition rather than prophecy. Enoch and Daniel are presented as wise men rather than as prophets, and the apocalypses place great emphasis on understanding. Nonetheless, the content of the apocalypses bears little similarity to that of the wisdom books. Jewish wisdom was traditionally very this-worldly and practical.

The apocalypses deal with heavenly mysteries. It seems likely, however, that the authors of the apocalypses were learned people (in their fashion), although their kind of learning was traditional and not scientific. The apocalypses are not popular folk literature, but rather the works of literate scribes. It is possible but difficult to prove that the historical apocalypses were indebted to Persian models. Typical features of the apocalypses, such as the periodization of history and the belief in resurrection, are also prominent in the Persian apocalyptic tradition. The Persian material, however, is notoriously difficult to date, and so its relation to the Jewish tradition remains controversial.

THE OTHERWORLDLY JOURNEY. The second type of apocalypse is the otherworldly journey. The Book of the Watchers in *1 Enoch* 1–36 is an early example, although somewhat atypical. This book elaborates upon a brief and enigmatic story in *Genesis* 6 about the sons of God who married the daughters of men. In *Genesis,* God reacts by limiting the lifespan of human beings to 120 years. Shortly afterwards, the wickedness of humankind is so great that God sends the Flood, but this is not directly related to the descent of the sons of God in *Genesis.* The Book of the Watchers makes the connection explicit. The Watchers are fallen angels. Their descent is an act of rebellion. They are guilty not only of sexual sin but also of improper revelation and of spreading violence on earth. Eventually God decrees that they should be destroyed and imprisoned under the earth. This story provides a different paradigm for the origin of evil from the more familiar story of Adam and Eve. Here sin does not arise because of human disobedience but is imported into the world by supernatural agents.

Enoch is introduced into this story as a righteous scribe who is asked to intercede for the Watchers. The intercession is not successful, but it provides an occasion for an ascent to heaven. Enoch is taken up on the clouds and brought into the presence of the Most High. He sees the inner chambers of the heavenly temple. Then he is taken on a tour to the ends of the earth, guided by an angel. He is shown such places as the storehouses of the winds and the places where the dead are kept to await judgment. He is also shown the place prepared for the judgment in the middle of the earth.

Traditions about ascents to heaven and descents to the netherworld can be found in many traditions in the ancient world. The closest analogy to Enoch is provided by the legendary Mesopotamian king Enmeduranki, who was taken up to heaven and shown the tablets of heaven, and who became founder of a guild of diviners. It is likely that the earliest stages of the Enoch tradition developed in the Babylonian Diaspora. The Astronomical Book (*1 Enoch* 72–82) is indebted to Babylonian astronomy, but of a rather archaic sort. In the Book of the Watchers, a clear contrast exists between the Watchers, who were heavenly but descended to earth and consequently perished, and Enoch, the human being who ascended to heaven to live forever with the angels. The implication is that one should aspire to live a heavenly, spiritual, life.

Unlike *Daniel* or the historical apocalypses, the Book of the Watchers does not seem to have originated in a time of persecution. Some scholars read the story of the Watchers as an allegory for the spread of Greek culture in the Near East, which often conflicted with native traditions. Others think the Watchers represent the priests of the Hellenistic period who were thought to have fallen from their state of holiness. The story is not directly allegorical in the manner of the symbolic visions of Daniel. Most basically, however, it seems to represent a conflict of cultures. After the Watchers descended to earth, the world was changed. The sense seems to be that the new developments in the Near East in the Hellenistic period defiled the world, and the reaction of the pious, represented by Enoch, is to withdraw by ascending to heaven, if only in their imagination, to live with the angels. This goal would be fully realized after death. In the meantime, the example of Enoch encouraged a tendency to mysticism that would be developed in later Jewish tradition.

Later Jewish mystics had techniques by which they could "descend to the chariot" or initiate visionary experience. It is noteworthy that both Daniel and Enoch describe certain practices that induce their visions. Daniel fasts for three weeks and does not anoint himself (*Dn.* 10:2–3). Enoch sits by the water and reads a petition aloud until he falls asleep (*1 Enoch* 13:7). In the later apocalypse of *4 Ezra,* Ezra eats the flower of the field and has a wonderful vision (*4 Ezr.* 9:26). Similar practices are known to induce visions in other cultures. The difficulty in the case of the Jewish texts is that all these visionaries are pseudonymous, so there is no way of knowing if the experiences attributed to them were the experiences of the actual authors. Nonetheless, it appears that the authors were familiar with the practices of the visionaries, and the possibility that they themselves practiced such techniques remains intriguing.

THE SPREAD OF APOCALYPTICISM. The corpus of Jewish apocalypses from the pre-Christian period is quite small, but characteristic themes and ideas of this literature became widespread and also appear in other genres. For example, the Sibylline Oracles, written in Greek hexameters in the Jewish Diaspora, share many features of the historical apocalypses, especially the long overview of history in the guise of prophecy and the division into periods. The earliest Jewish Sibylline Oracles derive from Egypt in the second century BCE. These oracles look for a restoration of the Jewish people around Jerusalem. The fourth book of Sibylline Oracles, from the late first century CE, is thought to have been composed in Syria or Palestine, and has a more strongly apocalyptic character. This oracle concludes with a cosmic conflagration and the resurrection of the dead. The genre of testament, or deathbed instruction, also typically involves an overview of history in the guise of prophecy. The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs contain the main corpus of testaments, including much material of Jewish origin, but they were clearly edited by Christians in their final form, and their value for the study of Judaism is controversial. It should be noted that the Apocalypse of Weeks in *1 Enoch* can be construed as a testament, as it is presented as an instruction by Enoch to his children rather than a direct account of the revelation.

The main evidence for the influence of apocalyptic beliefs outside the apocalypses in pre–rabbinic Judaism is found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, which are thought to constitute the library of a sectarian movement, most probably the Essenes. The Scrolls include multiple copies of the apocalypses of *Daniel* and *Enoch*. These were not products of the sectarian movement itself, but part of the larger corpus of Jewish literature in its library. They also contain several fragmentary works, mostly in Aramaic, that are clearly related to the apocalypses, but whose genre is difficult to determine because of their fragmentary state. These include at least two works in the name of Daniel that are distinct from the biblical book, each of which contains a prediction of the course of history and an eschatological conclusion (4Q243–244; 4Q245). Other possible apocalypses include a vision that foresees the coming of a figure who is called "Son of God," (most probably the messiah, 4Q246) and a vision in which someone sees four trees, representing four kingdoms (4Q552–553). Because the main sectarian texts are all in Hebrew, some scholars think that this Aramaic literature is part of the wider Jewish literature of the time.

It is not clear that the sect represented by the Scrolls actually composed new writings in the form of apocalypses. The clearly sectarian writings use different genres: rule books, biblical commentaries, and hymns. But some of these writings are profoundly influenced by apocalyptic ideas. In the Community Rule (1QS) a treatise on creation and eschatology is inserted in columns 3 and 4 before the actual rules and regulations. According to this treatise, when God created humanity he also created two spirits, of light and darkness. The spirits are viewed both as dispositions that people share and as angelic/demonic powers that inspire the dispositions. All humanity is divided between these spirits and will remain so until the predetermined time when God will put an end to iniquity. This view of history is more sharply dualistic than anything else in Jewish tradition, and it is clearly indebted to Zoroastrianism. It resembles the apocalypses, however, in the attempt to give a comprehensive account of history, the division into periods, and the expectation of a final judgment. The final denouement of history is addressed directly in the Rule of the War, which prescribes preparations for a final war between the Children of Light and the Children of Darkness, in which the Children of Light will be led by the archangel Michael and the Children of Darkness by Belial (another name for Satan) The sectarian scrolls express a consistent belief that the righteous will enjoy a beatific afterlife, whereas the wicked are damned to everlasting fire. (They do not express a belief in resurrection: the spirits or souls of the dead go directly to their reward or punishment.) The most distinctive belief in these scrolls, however, is that the righteous do not have to wait until after death to enjoy their reward. Already in their community life, they enjoy the fellowship with the angels that is the destiny of the righteous after death in the apocalypses. This belief is expressed especially in the hymns of the community.

The fact that the sectarians did not express these beliefs in the form of apocalyptic visions is related to the structure of authority in their community. The primary mediator of revelation is the Teacher, the person who gave the movement its distinctive character. He in turn based his teachings on the interpretation of the Torah. The sectarians, then, did not need to base their revelations on the authority of *Enoch* or *Daniel*. The role filled by these figures in the apocalypses was now filled by the Teacher and his interpretations.

Apart from the Dead Sea Scrolls there is very little literature from Israel from around the turn of the era (200 BCE to 200 CE). The historian Josephus wrote of various prophets and would–be messiahs in the first century CE who hoped for divine intervention to restore a Judean kingdom. The career of Jesus of Nazareth belongs in this context. While the aims of the historical Jesus are very controversial, he is portrayed in the Gospels as an apocalyptic prophet who prophesied that the Son of man would come on the clouds of heaven, as foretold in *Daniel* 7. After Jesus' death, his followers believed he was risen again and would return as the Son of man. We have no way of knowing just how widespread such ideas were in the first century CE, but they were evidently current.

THE LATER HISTORICAL APOCALYPSES. Most of the surviving historical apocalypses are clustered around two great historical crises: the persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes from 168 to 164 BCE and the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 CE. The Similitudes of Enoch (*1 Enoch* 37–71), probably dating from the first half of the first century CE, provide one exception. This apocalypse adapts both types of apocalypse discussed, in that Enoch is taken up to heaven and sees his visions there, but he is not given a tour, and there is no description of a journey. The visions are clearly indebted to *Daniel,* especially *Daniel* 7, but there is no overview of history such as we find in the other historical apocalypses. Much of the interest of this apocalypse centers on a figure called "that Son of Man," who is clearly modeled on the "one like a son of man" in *Daniel* 7. The figure from the Similitudes of Enoch is depicted as a kind of super-angel who is the heavenly patron of the righteous on earth. At the end of the Similitudes, Enoch is taken up to heaven again and told, "you are the Son of Man who has righteousness." There is no indication in the earlier chapters that Enoch and the Son of Man are one and the same. It may be that the passage identifying Enoch with the Son of Man is a secondary addition. It is also possible that Enoch is being told that he is "a righteous man," like the Son of Man, rather than identified with him. Throughout the Similitudes there is emphasis on the correspondence between the righteous in heaven and the righteous on earth, with the implication that the human righteous are elevated to join their heavenly counterparts when they die. Some scholars have suspected that the Similitudes, which are not found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, are of later Christian origin, but it is inconceivable that a Christian author would have failed to identify Jesus as the Son of Man.

Two of the longest Jewish apocalyptic texts were composed in the years after the destruction of Jerusalem. These are *4 Ezra* (= *2 Esdras* 3–14) and *2 Baruch* (Syriac). These apocalypses differ from the older apocalypses in *Daniel* and *Enoch* insofar as they engage the question of theodicy. Both are ostensibly reflections on the first destruction of Jerusalem (by the Babylonians), but there is little doubt that the works were actually written after the second destruction. *4 Ezra* begins with a series of dialogues between Ezra and an angel. In each case, Ezra complains bitterly about the destruction, and the angel responds by telling him God knows best and everything will be resolved in due time. Ezra does not seem to be convinced. Then he has a vision in which he sees a woman transformed into a city, representing Jerusalem. The immediacy of the vision seems to persuade where the words of the angel did not. Ezra then sees two other visions that follow the typical conventions of the historical apocalypse. (Both are influenced by *Daniel.*) In the end, Ezra is inspired to restore the Law, which had been burnt, but also to write out seventy other books that contain the secret of wisdom. *2 Baruch* has a similar view of the future but lacks the skeptical questioning of divine justice that distinguishes *4 Ezra.* Both of these apocalypses give a prominent place to the messiah, a figure who was not represented at all in the early apocalypses of *Enoch* and *Daniel.*

THE LATER OTHERWORLDLY JOURNEYS. The subgenre "otherworldly journey" is attested primarily in the early centuries of the Common Era. Whereas Enoch was taken on a tour of the ends of the earth, the later visionaries are typically taken up through a series of heavens. The classic number is seven, but other numbers are also attested (three, seven, ten). Besides the ascent of Enoch to the divine throne, there is an ascent of Levi attested in a fragmentary Aramaic text from the Dead Sea Scrolls. *3 Baruch,* written in Greek, comes from the period after the destruction of the Temple. In this case there is no attempt to address the problem of theodicy. Baruch is told to stop worrying about the fate of Jerusalem and to contemplate instead the mysteries of God. This somewhat detached view of the fate of Jerusalem was probably more feasible for a Jew who lived in Egypt, as the author of *3 Baruch* apparently did, than for someone who lived in the land of Israel. Another major account of an ascent through the heavens is ascribed to Enoch in a text only preserved in Slavonic (*2 Enoch*), but it is thought to have been written in Greek at the beginning of the era, most probably in Egypt. These ascent texts show little concern for history, although one apocalypse, the Apocalypse of Abraham, combines a heavenly journey with a brief historical review.

THE RABBIS AND APOCALYPTICISM. Judaism in the ancient world changed radically at the end of the first century CE because of a series of Jewish revolts against Rome that were crushed mercilessly. Jerusalem was destroyed. The once flourishing Jewish community in Egypt was virtually wiped out. The rabbis who salvaged Jewish traditions in Palestine were understandably cautious and avoided anything that might seem to encourage revolution and rebellion by predicting that God would intervene to overthrow the enemies of Israel. The great compilations of Jewish law, the Mishnah and the Talmud, have scarcely a glimmer of apocalyptic hope. The tradition of historical apocalypticism died out in Judaism for several centuries.

The tradition of the otherworldly journey, however, was taken over and adapted by Jewish mystics. Continuity with the earlier apocalypses is most clearly evident in the text known as *Sefer heikhalot,* or *3 Enoch.* This complex text cites Rabbi Ishmael, from the early second century CE, but was probably compiled in the fifth or sixth century CE. The most intriguing feature of this text is the figure of Metatron, a kind of super-angel and even called "the lesser YHWH." Amazingly, this figure is identified as none other than Enoch, taken up to heaven and exalted. *3 Enoch,* appears to continue the tradition found at the end of the *Similitudes,* that Enoch was taken up to heaven and either identified or closely associated with a heavenly being. The Jewish mystical tradition, of which *3 Enoch* is part, continued to flourish down to the Middle Ages.

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APOCALYPSE: MEDIEVAL JEWISH APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

While the Talmudic and Midrashic literature of late antiquity appropriated various elements of the classical apocalyptic of the intertestamental period, it did so in an unsystematic and fragmentary fashion. Apocalyptic themes competed for attention amidst a wide range of contrasting views on eschatological matters in rabbinic literature. The early decades of the seventh century, however, witnessed the reemergence of a full-fledged apocalyptic literature in Hebrew. Produced primarily between the seventh and tenth centuries in the Land of Israel and the Near East, these generally brief but fascinating treatises exhibit a rather clearly recognizable set of messianic preoccupations and literary themes.

This literature may be illustrated by reference to one of the most important and influential of these works, *Sefer Zerubbavel* (Book of Zerubbabel). Composed in Hebrew in the early part of the seventh century, probably shortly before the rise of Islam, the *Sefer Zerubbavel* may have been written within the context of the military victories achieved by the Byzantine emperor Heraclius against the Persians in the year 629. These historical events no doubt incited speculation concerning the conditions under which the final messianic battles would be waged and their ultimate outcome.

As is characteristic of apocalyptic literature, the book is pseudepigraphically ascribed to a biblical figure, in this case to Zerubbabel, the last ruler of Judaea from the House of David, whose name is associated with the attempts to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem following the Babylonian exile. He is presented as the beneficiary of a series of auditions and visions. The angel Michael (or Metatron as he is also called here) reveals himself to Zerubbabel and leads him to Rome, where he encounters a "bruised and despised man" in the marketplace. The latter turns out to be the Messiah, son of David, named here Menaḥem ben ʿAmmiʾel. The Messiah informs Zerubbabel that he is waiting in Rome until the time is ripe for his appearance. Michael then proceeds to relate to Zerubbabel the events that will lead up to the End of Days.

Zerubbabel is informed that the forerunner of the Messiah, son of David, the Messiah, son of Joseph, identified as Neḥemyah ben Ḥushiʾel, will gather all of the Jews to Jerusalem, where they will dwell for four years and where they will practice the ancient sacrifices. In the fifth year the king of Persia will rise over Israel, but a woman who accompanies Neḥemyah, Hephzibah, mother of the Messiah, son of David, will successfully resist the enemy with the help of a "rod of salvation" that she possesses.

Following these events Zerubbabel is shown a marble statue in Rome of a beautiful woman; he is told that Satan will cohabit with this woman, who will thereupon give birth to Armilus, a cruel tyrant who will achieve dominion over the whole world. Armilus (whose name may be derived from Romulus, founder of Rome) will then come to Jerusalem with nine other kings, over whom he will rule. He will wage war against Israel, slaying Neḥemyah ben Ḥushiʾel and driving the survivors of Israel into the desert. Suddenly, however, on the eve of the festival of Passover, the Messiah son of David will appear in the desert to redeem the Jewish people. Angered by the scorn and disbelief with which he is greeted by the elders of the community, he will shed his tattered clothes for "garments of vengeance" (*Is.* 59:17) and go up to Jerusalem, where he will prove his identity by conquering Armilus and the forces of evil. As with much of this literature, this book does not describe the messianic age itself, but focuses on the developments leading up to it.

The *Sefer Zerubbavel* became extremely popular and widely influential. The characters and events depicted in this work provided the basis for a considerable variety of apocalyptic texts over the next several centuries, including the final section of *Midrash Vayoshaʿ,* the *Secrets of Rabbi Shimʿon bar Yoḥai,* the *Prayer of Shimʿon bar Yoḥʿai,* apocalyptic poems by Elʿazar Kallir, and the eighth chapter of Saʿadyah Gaon's important philosophical treatise, the *Book of Beliefs and Opinions.*

The messianic speculation found in these and other works is characterized by several distinctive features, which, when taken together, provide a shape to Jewish medieval apocalyptic literature. There is, for example, a preoccupation with the political vicissitudes of great empires; historical upheavals are regarded as bearing momentous messianic significance. There is, moreover, a concern for the broad march of history, of which contemporary events are but a part, leading up to the final tribulations and vindication of the people of Israel. In the apocalyptic literature, redemption is not a matter for theoretical speculation but a process that has already begun, whose culmination is relatively imminent and whose timing can be calculated. A related feature of this literature is the sense that historical and messianic events have a life of their own, independent of the behavior of human beings. There is an inevitability to the force of events with little regard for the choices that Israel might make, such as to repent and gain God's favor. Nor do the authors of these texts indulge in theorizing about why events unfold as they do, other than the obvious fact that righteousness is destined to win over evil.

From a literary point of view, the apocalyptic treatises are, like their themes, extravagant. They revel in fantastic descriptions of their heroes and antiheroes, richly narrating the events that they reveal, and often regard their protagonists as symbols for the cosmic forces of good and evil. Another feature of apocalyptic literature is its revelatory character; knowledge of heavenly secrets and mysteries not attainable through ordinary means are revealed, typically by angels who serve as messengers from on high.

In subsequent centuries various authors wrote under the influence of these early medieval apocalyptic texts. The sixteenth century, in particular, witnessed an explosion in Mediterranean regions of messianic writing that had strong overtones of apocalypticism. In the wake of the calamitous expulsion of Jewry from Spain and Portugal in the last decade of the fifteenth century, messianic calculation and eschatological ferment were widespread, especially among the Jewish communities of the Mediterranean. Apocalyptically oriented writings of this period include, among others, the extensive and highly influential works of Isaac Abravanel (1437–1508), whose interpretation of the *Book of Daniel* led him to calculate the year 1503 as the beginning of the messianic age; the anonymously authored *Kaf ha-Qetoret* (Spoonful of incense; c. 1500), which interprets the Psalms as battle hymns for the final apocalyptic wars; the treatises of a Jerusalem rabbi and qabbalist, Avraham ben Eliʿezer ha-Levi (c. 1460–after 1528); and the work of Shelomoh Molkho (c. 1501–1532).

Medieval apocalyptic literature had at least two important historical consequences. First, it played a highly significant role in shaping the vision that Jews had concerning the events leading up to the End of Days. Most rationalist thinkers, exemplified best by Moses Maimonides (1135/8–1204), opposed the apocalyptic conception that the eschaton would be accompanied by cataclysmic events and that the messianic era would differ radically from the established natural order. But despite such reservations on the part of philosophical rationalists, apocalyptic visions and themes occupied a prominent place in the medieval Jewish imagination. Second, apocalyptic literature developed in a religious climate that also gave rise to a variety of short-lived messianic movements. Their connection to apocalypticism may be seen in the militant activism, the penchant for identifying signs of the messianic age, and the consuming interest in international events that typically characterized these movements. Particularly between the seventh and twelfth centuries, especially under Muslim rule in the Near East and Spain, a number of small movements emerged. In the seventeenth century the most significant messianic movement in Judaism since the birth of Christianity came into existence—Shabbateanism. Centered around the figure of a Turkish Jew, Shabbetai Tsevi (1626–1676), the movement, which stirred intense messianic turmoil throughout the Near East and Europe, incorporated within it elements of apocalypticism. Various Shabbatean apocalypses were written (some of which included enlarged and revised versions of *Sefer Zerubbavel)* and employed for the purposes of confirming the messiahship of Shabbetai Tsevi and justifying his antinomian behavior.

SEE ALSO Messianism, article on Jewish Messianism; Shabbetai Tsevi.

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APOCATASTASIS. The oldest known usage of the Greek word *apokatastasis* (whence the English *apocatastasis*) dates from the fourth century BCE: it is found in Aristotle (*Magna Moralia* 2.7.1204b), where it refers to the restoration of a being to its natural state. During the Hellenistic age it developed a cosmological and astrological meaning, variations of which can be detected (but with a very different concept of time) in Gnostic systems and even in Christian theology, whether orthodox or heterodox, especially in the theology of Origen.

MEDICAL, MORAL, AND JURIDICAL MEANING. Plato employed the verb *kathistanai* in the sense of to "reestablish" to a normal state following a temporary physical alteration (*Philebus* 42d). The prefix *apo-* in *apokathistanai* seems to reinforce the idea of an integral reestablishment to the original situation. Such is the return of the sick person to health (Hippocrates, 1258f.; Aretaeus, 9.22). The verb has this meaning in the Gospels in the context of the hand made better by Christ (*Mt.* 12:13; *Mk.* 3:5, *Lk.* 6:10). There are Hellenistic references to the apocatastasis, or "resetting," of a joint. In a psychological sense, the same meaning is present (with nuances that are hard to specify) in magical papyri and in the so-called Mithraic Liturgy. Origen (*Against Celsus* 2.24) uses the verb in his commentary on *Job* 5:18 ("For he wounds, but he binds up; he smites, but his hands heal") in one of several expositions where he compares the divine instruction on salvation to a method of therapy. The shift to a spiritual acceptation is evident, for example, in Philo Judaeus (*Who Is the Heir* 293), where "the perfect apocatastasis of the soul" confirms the philosophical healing that follows the two stages of infancy, first unformed and then corrupt. The soul recovers the health of its primitive state after a series of disturbances.

In a sociopolitical context, apocatastasis may signify a reestablishment of civil peace (Polybius, 4.23. l), or of an individual into his family (Polybius, 3.99.6), or the restoration of his rights (readmission of a soldier into an army, restoration of an exiled citizen to his prerogatives, etc.). Thus the verb *apokathistanai* is applied to the return of the Jews to the Holy Land after the captivity of Babylon (*Jer.* 15:9) as well as to the expression of messianic and eschatological hopes. Yet the noun form is not found in the Septuagint.

ASTRAL APOCATASTASIS AND THE GREAT YEAR. The popularity and development of astrology influenced the cosmological systems of Hellenistic philosophy starting at the end of the fourth century BCE. Apocatastasis here refers to the periodic return of the stars to their initial position, and the duration of the cycle amounts to a "Great Year." Plato defines the matter without using the word in the *Timaeus* (39d), where he talks of the eight spheres. Eudemius attributed to the Pythagoreans a theory of eternal return, but the Great Year of Oenopides and Philolaus involves only the sun. That of Aristotle, who calls it the "complete year," takes into account the seven planets: it also includes a "great winter" (with a flood) and a "great summer" (with a conflagration). Yet one could trace back to Heraclitus the principle of universal palingenesis periodically renewing the cosmos by fire, as well as the setting of the length of the Great Year at 10,800 years (this latter point is still in dispute). The astronomic teaching on the apocatastasis was refined by the Stoics, who identified it with the sidereal Great Year concluded either by a *kataklusmos* (flood) or by an *ekpurosis* (conflagration). Cicero defined it (with Aristotle) as the restoration of the seven planets to their point of departure, and sometimes as the return of all the stars (including the fixed ones) to their initial position. The estimates of its length varied considerably, ranging from 2,484 years (Aristarchus); to 10,800 years (Heraclitus); 12,954 years (Cicero); 15,000 years (Macrobius); 300,000 years (Firmicus Maternus), and up to 3,600,000 years (Cassandra). Diogenes of Babylon multiplied Heraclitus's Great Year by 365.

The Neoplatonist Proclus attributes the doctrines of apocatastasis to the "Assyrians," in other words to the astrologers or "Chaldeans." However, Hellenistic astrology also drew from Egyptian traditions. The 36,525 books that Manetho (285–247 BCE) attributed to Hermes Trismegistos represent the amount of 25 zodiac periods of 1,461 years each, that is, probably one Great Year (Gundel and Gundel, 1966). The texts of Hermes Trismegistos make reference to the apocatastasis (*Hermetica* 8.17, 11.2; *Asklepios* 13). In the first century BCE, the neo-Pythagorean Nigidius Figulus perhaps conceived the palingenetic cycle as being a great cosmic week crowned by the reign of Apollo. Whence the celebrated verses of Vergil's Fourth Eclogue: "A great order is born out of the fullness of ages . . . now your Apollo reigns." The return of Apollo corresponds to that of the Golden Age. The noun *apocatastasis* (as well as the verb from which it derives) always evoked the restoration of the old order. It often implied a "nostalgia for origins." It is no accident that, in the scheme of the Mithraic mysteries, the last of the "doors" is made out of gold and corresponds to the sun, since the order of these planetary doors is that of a week in reverse; there is the presupposition of a backward progression to the beginning of time. In the teaching of the Stoics, this new beginning is seen as having to repeat itself indefinitely, following a constant periodicity that rules out of chance, disorder, and freedom. During the imperial age, the Roman mystique of *renovatio* rested upon the same basic concept (Turcan, 1981, pp. 22ff.).

GNOSTIC APOCATASTASES. In Gnosticism, apocatastasis also corresponds to a restoration of order, but in a spiritual and eschatological way from the perspective of a history of salvation that is fundamentally foreign to the Stoics' "eternal return." The Christ of the Valentinians "restores" the soul to the Pleroma. Heracleon interprets the wages of the reaper (*Jn.* 4:36) as being the salvation of souls and their "apocatastasis" into eternal life (Origen, *Commentary on the Gospel of John* 13.46.299). The Valentinian Wisdom (Sophia) is reintegrated through apocatastasis to the Pleroma, as Enthumesis will also be. The female *aiōn* Achamoth awaits the return of the Savior so that he might "restore" her syzygy. For Marcus, the universal restoration coincides with a return to unity. All these systems tell the story of a restoration of an order disturbed by thought.

The concept of the followers of Basilides is difficult indeed to elucidate, since they imagine at the beginning of all things not a Pleroma but nonbeing. Given this premise, there is no talk about a restoration to an initial state, even less to the truly primitive state of nothingness. However, for the Basilidians the salvation that leads men to God amounts to no less than a reestablishment of order (Hippolytus, *Philosophuma* 7.27.4). Like the Stoics, Basilides linked apocatastasis to astral revolutions: the coming of the Savior was to coincide "with the return of the hours to their point of departure." (ibid., 6.1). Yet this soteriological process is historical: it unfolds within linear rather than cyclical time. The Basilidian apocatastasis is not regressive but rather progressive and definitive. Some other Gnostics integrated astral apocatastasis into their systems: the Manichaeans seem to have conceived of a Great Year of 12,000 years with a final conflagration.

CHRISTIAN APOCATASTASIS. In the New Testament, the first evidence of the noun *apocatastasis* used in an eschatological sense is found in *Acts of the Apostles* 3:21: Peter states that heaven must keep Jesus "till the universal apocatastasis comes." According to André Méhat (1956, p. 209), this would mean the "definitive achievement" of what God has promised through his prophets and would indicate the notion of accomplishment and fulfillment. In the Gospels, *Matthew* 17:11 and *Mark* 9:2 speak of Elijah as the one who will "reestablish" everything, and *Malachi* 3:23 (of which the evangelists could not help but think) speaks of the day when Yahveh will "restore" hearts and lead them back to him. Apocatastasis thus represents the salvation of creation reconciled with God, that is, a true return to an original state. The verb has this meaning for Theophilus of Antioch (*To Autolycus* 2.17). For both Tatian (*Address to the Greeks* 6.2) and Irenaeus (*Against Heresies* 5.3.2) apocatastasis is equivalent to resurrection and points without any ambiguity to a restoration of man in God. In Clement of Alexandria, the precise meaning of the word is not always clear, but this much may be said: apocatastasis appears as a return to God that is the result of a recovered purity of heart consequent to absorption in certain "Gnostic" teachings; it is a conception not unlike that found in the *Book of Malachi* in the Hebrew scriptures (Old Testament).

It is in Origen that the doctrine of apocatastasis finds its most remarkable expression. In *Against Celsus* 7.3, where he mentions the "restoration of true piety toward God," Origen implicitly refers to *Malachi*. Elsewhere (*Commentary on the Gospel of John* 10.42.291), the word involves the reestablishment of the Jewish people after the captivity, yet as an anticipatory image of the return to the heavenly fatherland. Origen's originality consisted in his having conceived apocatastasis as being universal (including the redemption even of the devil or the annihilation of all evil) and as a return of souls to their pure spirituality. This final incorporality is rejected by Gregory of Nyssa, who nonetheless insists upon apocatastasis as a restoration to the original state. Didymus the Blind and Evagrios of Pontus were condemned at the same time as Origen by the Council of Constantinople (553) for having professed the doctrine of universal apocatastasis and the restoration of incorporeal souls. Yet there is still discussion concerning this principal aspect of Origen's eschatology. Astronomical theories and Greek cosmology seem also to have inspired the Greek bishop Synesius of Cyrene, a convert from Neoplatonism. Yet Tatian (*Address to the Greeks* 6. 2) had already emphasized what fundamentally set Christian apocatastasis apart: it depends upon God (and not upon sidereal revolutions) and is completed once and for all at the end of time, without being repeated indefinitely.

SEE ALSO Ages of the World; Golden Age.

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Revised Bibliography

APOCRYPHA SEE BIBLICAL LITERATURE, *ARTICLE ON* APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

APOLLINARIS OF LAODICEA

(c. 310–c. 390), Christian bishop and heretic. Apollinaris was born in Laodicea. He admired Greek philosophy and literature, to the dismay of Bishop Theodotus, who asked him to repent. After finishing his studies, he became a teacher of classical literature, combining exceptional erudition, admirable rhetorical ability, and excellent theological education.

Apollinaris gained the affection and the admiration of the church because he reacted vigorously against the emperor Julian the Apostate, who by decree forbade the Christians to teach and use Greek Classical literature. Apollinaris rewrote much of the Bible in an attractive Greek Classical form. In order to provide the Classical methodology for Christian youth, he composed Platonic dialogues from gospel material and paraphrased *Psalms* in hexameters. Using the prose style of ancient Greek writers (such as Euripides), he wrote lives of saints as well as beautiful Christian poetry, for private use as well as for liturgical purposes. Unfortunately, from all this splendid production, nothing survived.

Apollinaris was an uncompromising supporter of the doctrine of Nicaea. He fought and wrote against Origen, Arius, the Arian bishop Eunomius, Marcellus of Ancyra, and others. He enjoyed for a long period of time the respect and affection of the great Fathers of the fourth century, including Athanasius, Basil of Caesarea, and Gregory of Nazianzus (Gregory the Theologian) who called the Apollinarian controversy a "brotherly dispute." His prestige is testified by the fact that he was elected orthodox bishop of Laodicea in 360, having the trust of the Nicene community at large.

Most of Apollinaris's writings have been lost. Quasten in his *Patrology* (vol. 3, pp. 377ff.) divides Apollinaris's writings into exegetical works, apologetic works, polemical works, dogmatic works, poetry, and correspondence with Basil of Caesarea. Among the exegetical works were "innumerable volumes on the Holy Scriptures" (cf. Jerome, *On Famous Men* 104). Among the apologetic works were his thirty books against the Neoplatonist Porphyry and his work *The Truth,* against Julian.

One of the most brilliant theologians of his time, Apollinaris faced the most difficult question of the fourth century: how divinity and humanity could be united in the one person of Jesus Christ. Influenced by Platonic, Aristotelian, and Stoic philosophical understandings of human nature, he tried to apply their method, in an original and syncretistic way, in interpreting the New Testament and in defending the Nicene faith against the heresies of the times, especially Arianism. Thus, he rejected the Arian conception of the incarnation of Christ, which he thought diminished the importance of both God and humanity in Jesus Christ.

Apollinaris believed that a complete entity, one *phusis,* or nature, cannot be changed or destroyed. A human, in its total existence as body, soul, and spirit (*nous,* or intellect), can be called one *phusis.* In Christ, union of a complete human nature with the complete divine nature is impossible, for neither nature can be destroyed (the Stoic understanding of mixture). In other words, two complete natures could not produce the one nature of Jesus.

Apollinaris suggested, instead, the "trichotomist" view of humanity. He approached *1 Corinthians* 15:45 and *1 Thessalonians* 5:23 as meaning that the flesh of Jesus Christ was composed of body, the irrational animal soul, and instead of the intellect, the Logos itself: thus his famous expression "One incarnate nature of the God the Logos" (found in his letter to the bishops exiled at Diocaesarea). For Apollinaris, Christ, having God as his spirit, or intellect, together with soul and body, is rightly called "the human being from heaven" (Norris, 1980, p. 108). In explaining his thesis, Apollinaris writes: "Therefore, the human race is saved not by the assumption of an intellect and of a whole human being but by the assumption of flesh, whose nature it is to be ruled. What was needed was unchangeable Intellect which did not fall under the dominion of the flesh on account of its weakness of understanding but which adapted the flesh to itself without force" (ibid., p. 109).

Apollinaris's acceptance of the full union of the humanity and divinity of Christ in one person, the Logos, did not contradict the dogmatic position of the orthodox Fathers. His great fallacy was the reduction of the humanity of Christ to a body without a rational soul, thus concluding that in Christ there was not a full human nature and that excluded human nature from the fruits of salvation in Jesus Christ. In the end, Apollinaris's Christ was God, to be sure, "enfleshed," but not incarnated.

The orthodox concept of the *theanthropos,* that is, God and human, is missing from the christological structure of Apollinaris. By eliminating the biblical and patristic emphasis on the full humanity of Christ—with full and complete human body, soul, and mental and intellectual capacity—Apollinaris made impossible humanity's full union with the Logos and thus the scope and extent of humanity's salvation. Gregory refuted the thesis of Apollinaris with his devastating statement: "If anyone has put his trust in [Christ] as a man without a human mind, he is really bereft of mind, and quite unworthy of salvation. For that which he has not assumed he has not healed; but that which is united to his Godhead is also saved" (*To Cledonius against Apollinarius,* letter 101).

Apollinaris's heresy, Apollinarianism, is considered the first important christological heresy of the fourth century. Until 374, when Jerome became his pupil in Antioch, Apollinaris's deviation from the orthodox doctrine had not become well known. Basil finally realized the depth and repercussions of Apollinaris's heresy and asked for his condemnation. Gregory wrote his two famous letters to Cledonius against the heresy, and Gregory of Nyssa (c. 385) attacked Apollinaris in his *Antirrheticus.* Pope Damasus I condemned him in Rome (c. 374–380). Finally the teaching of Apollinaris was officially condemned in 381 by the Council of Constantinople.

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APOLLO, the son of Zeus and Leto and the twin brother of Artemis, is the Greek god whom the European tradition already associated with the aesthetic splendor and brilliance of Greece before Johann Jakob Winckelmann (1717–1768), the founder of Greek art history, regarded the Belvedere Apollo (a Roman copy of a fourth-century Greek original that shows Apollo as a youthful archer) as the most perfect embodiment of Greek aesthetics and Greek gods. Apollo's image as a beautiful and permanently young man significantly contributed to this modern evaluation, as did Apollo's identification with the sun. His darker sides, expressed through his deathly mastery of archery, were eclipsed in this modern reception. In Greek myth, Apollo is the favorite son of Zeus but has relatively few independent stories; he is connected either with young men and women, or with specific sanctuaries such as Delos or Delphi. In Greek religion, Apollo was the protector of young males and presided over divination, healing, and the complex of music and dance (Greek, *molpē*), whereas Etruscan and Roman religion embraced him almost exclusively as a healer.

THE ETYMOLOGY OF APOLLO. Almost uniquely among the twelve Olympian gods, Apollo's name does not appear in the Mycenaean Bronze Age texts; these texts only preserve a god called Paiawon, presumably an early form of Apollo's later epithet "Paian." In Homer and Hesiod, however (that is, in the late eighth or early seventh centuries BCE), Apollo's mythical and religious roles are firmly established, presumably developing and spreading during the intervening Dark Ages of the eleventh through the ninth centuries BCE.

Among the many competing modern etymologies of his name, the derivation from the Doric *apella,* "association of the free male citizen" (Burkert, 1975, pp. 1–12), has found the most adherence; the marginality of the Dorians in the Greek Bronze Age and their immigration into most of Southern Greece—from the Peloponnese to the islands of Crete and Rhodes—explains Apollo's absence in the Bronze Age, as well as his position in the early Iron Age and his function as the protector of the young warriors and their institutions based on common song and dance. That the month Apellaios is the first month in Delphi points to a connection between the New Year's festival, citizens' associations, and the introduction of the young warriors into society through their display of song and dance; it is, however, impossible to derive all functions of Apollo from this or any other homogeneous ritual complex.

APOLLO IN DELOUS AND DELPHI. In early Greek poetry, Apollo's mythical and cultic personality is fully established.

Born on the island of Delos (*Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, 25–178 [seventh century BCE]) against the will of Hera, Apollo's birth founds and legitimates the great renown of the Delian sanctuary—the central sanctuary for the cities of archaic Ionia—and a sacred island for all of Greece in later times (see Callimachus, *Hymn* 4). Apollo's main monument on the island was an altar made from the horns of sacrificial goats. The monument stood next to the palm tree that lent support to Leto when giving birth (*Odyssey* 6,162–163). (Such altars are attested to in other Apolline sanctuaries as well.) His birthday, on the seventh day of an unstated month (Hesiod, *Works and Days* 771), was the day most festivals of Apollo were held—the seventh day of a given month—yet they could also fall on the first day of a month (Apollo *Noumēnios*, "He of the New Moon").

Apollo's first youthful exploit is the killing of the snake Pytho and the foundation of his other main sanctuary, the oracular shrine of Delphi (*Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, vs. 214–544; *Iliad* 9.404–405), by far the most important oracular shrine in archaic and classical Greece. In order to punish the sacrilegious arrogance of the Greek leaders in Troy, Apollo sends a plague into their camp (*Iliad* 1.44–52); the plague is then healed through a sumptuous sacrifice, purificatory rites, and the singing and dancing of a paean by the "young men of the Achaeans" (*Iliad* 1.313–474). Apollo had caused the plague by shooting animals and men with his arrows, and thus his archery is an image for the deadly power of the illness. Much later, an image of the archer Apollo, erected in a city gate, was thought to avert disease and evil from the city. His arrows were believed to send swift and unexpected death to men in the same way that Artemis's arrows could kill women. Yet Apollo is also considered the patron god of real archers.

One of Apollo's other attributes is his playing of the lyre. The *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (sixth century BCE) narrates how Hermes made the first lyre out of the shell of a tortoise and gave it to his older brother Apollo. The same *Hymn* makes it clear that divination, to know the "mind of Zeus," is Apollo's prerogative alone (vs. 471–472).

Most Panhellenic sanctuaries of Apollo were major oracular shrines (Delos is the one exception). Alongside Delphi, the sanctuaries in Didyma near Miletus and Clarus near Colophon in Western Asia Minor were already important in archaic Greece; they remained famous to the end of pagan antiquity. The Greco-Egyptian Magical Papyri refer to Clarian and Pythian Apollo as conferring private oracular dreams (Papyri Graecae Magicse II .130, fourth century CE), and the *Tübingen Theosophy,* a sixth century Christian treatise, still cites Clarian oracles to support the thesis of a pagan preknowledge of Christian theology. The ritual forms of divination differed from sanctuary to sanctuary, although they all had a medium prophesy in an altered state of consciousness; in Clarus and Didyma, the water of a sacred spring provoked ecstasy in a priest (Clarus) or priestess (Didyma), whereas in later sources the Delphian Pythia was said to prophesy under the influence of mephitic gases. Apollo also attracted noninstitutionalized divination: both the sibyl and the Trojan seer Cassandra were said to be his lovers.

APOLLO'S CULTIC ROLES. The cults in individual cities stress other aspects of Apollo, especially his connection with young men (ephebes) and male citizens on the one hand, and with his power for healing on the other.

Apollo the Healer (*Iētros, Oulios*) is mainly attested to in the Greek East from the sixth to the fourth centuries BCE. Slowly, however, this function was taken over by Apollo's son Asclepius, with whom he shared many important healing sanctuaries—such as Epidaurus or Kos. Although official documents from these sanctuaries stress the coexistence of both deities, private worship focused solely on Asclepius. Asclepian healing focuses on incubation and dream oracles. It can be seen as specialized form of Apolline divination, and Apollo himself could be called *iatromantis,* the "healing seer," and had close ties to the mythical seer and healer Melampus. As a healer, Apollo had already been adopted by the Etruscans and Romans prior to the fifth century BCE. Apollo Medicus (Healer) was introduced in Rome to heal a plague in 431 BCE (Livy 4.25.3). The sanctuary survived the introduction of the Greek Asculapius in 293 BCE and was restored under Augustus.

More generally, Apollo was seen as a divinity that kept away evil (averter, *apotropaios*). Together with his sister Artemis, he guarded the city gates, and in a crisis, an image of the archer Apollo could defend a city against disease. Private houses were protected by simple stone pillars that were taken as Apolline symbols (*agyieus*). In the cities of the Greek East and in Athens, the Apolline festival Thargelia was a festival of purification. The Athenians celebrated it on Thargelion 6 and 7 (the penultimate month of the year), and, as in some Ionian cities, they performed among other rites a scapegoat ritual (*pharmakos*) in order to cleanse the city before the period of reversal that leads to the Athenian New Year.

But at least as important as these functions is Apollo's connection with the young men of the city, connections already visible in the derivation of his name from *apella* and so fundamental as to shape Apollo's iconography as an eternally young man (ephebe), complete with an ephebe's long hair and adolescent body. The Spartans performed several Apolline festivals in which the young men were central: the Gymnopaidia (Naked dances), which had their ritual center in the singing and dancing of young male choruses; the Karneia—the main festival of many Doric cities—were entirely organized by the young citizens; and the Hyacinthia—the main Spartan festival—featured as its etiological myth the story of how Apollo killed his adolescent lover Hyacinthus with the mistaken throw of a discus. Although the ritual combined grief for Hyacinthus with dance performances of boys and young men, the iconography of Apollo turned him into an archaic warrior who was depicted with shield and lance.

Yet the complex of dancing and singing of all-male groups—called *molpē* by the Greeks—is in archaic Greece noted well beyond the world of the Doric cities. Apollo enters this complex there as well. Perhaps the most prominent group in which Apollo figures is with the *molpoi* of archaic Miletus—an aristocratic cult group whose leader was, at the same time, the supreme official of the city. These Milesian *molpoi* were associated with the cult of Apollo Delphinios and, to some degree, with oracular Apollo in Didyma. When the Milesians founded their colony of Olbia in the Black Sea, they introduced the same institution, and it is in institutions like these—with a common meal as well as common dancing and singing—that musical Apollo finds his origin and social relevance.

Among the later developments of Apollo's image, two have to be singled out: his identification with the sun, and the opposition between Apollo and Dionysos. The identification with the sun and with Helios is first attested in the early fifth century BCE but becomes important only much later, especially in astrology where Apollo represented the "planet" sun and his sister Artemis the "planet" moon; astrological iconography transmits this into the European Middle Ages, whereas Apollo as sun is common in mythical allegories both in late antiquity and in the European Renaissance and Baroque epochs.

The opposition between Apollo and Dionysus has its cultic root in Delphi where Dionysus reigned during Apollo's absence in winter, and where Dionysos was even said to have his grave. The opposition gained sharper contours when Augustus (63 BCE–14 CE) presented himself and his personal god Apollo to his antagonist Marc Anthony (82–30 BCE), who stylized himself as the New Dionysus. Whereas Dionysus stood for all the decadent pleasures of the East, Apollo represented the purity and clarity of the order that Augustus restored and put under the patronage of an Apollo whose temple had become part of his house on the Palatine. Another point of view, from the early nineteenth century, describes how musical history made use of the same opposition in which Dionysus represented ecstatic music whereas Apollo represented serene, well-ordered tunes. From musical theory Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) would develop the opposition between the two gods as the basic feature of Greek tragedy.

SEE ALSO Artemis; Delphi; Dionysos; Divination, article on Greek and Roman Divination; Hera; Hesiod; Homer; Muses; Oracles; Pythagoras; Sun.

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APOLOGETICS.

[*This entry, which is restricted to consideration of monotheistic religions, places religious apologetics in comparative perspective and examines the difference between apologetics and polemics.*]

Apologetics is other-directed communication of religious belief that makes assertions about knowing and serving God. It represents the content of a particular faith in an essentially intellectualist fashion and, like a national boundary, acts as a membrane for the exchange of ideas. The content of apologetics is based in the revelation of God, but its format is based in culture. Apologetics often is other-directed insofar as it presupposes, at least apparently, an audience external to the faith it represents. Furthermore, it communicates by virtue of patterns of thought and language common to speaker and hearer, which leads the apologist to employ terminology, styles of thought, and ideas familiar to the hearer.

Despite the fact that the audience addressed in religious apologies is often presumed to be outside the faith, apologetic literature often has been most popular within the confines of the religious community for which it speaks rather than among the critics to whom it is nominally addressed. The adoption of an addressant serves as a powerful rhetorical device that helps promote the clarification of ideas. This inclination toward refinement of thought makes apologetics as much a strategy in the forging of an orthodox system of belief as a genre of testimony to nonbelievers. Any religion, monotheistic or otherwise, might adopt an apologetic posture under circumstances in which it perceives the need to defend itself against misunderstanding, criticism, discrimination, or oppression, but the pattern of religious apology that will be examined here emerged from the engagement of unitary conceptions of God with the culture of Greco-Roman polytheism during the first several centuries of the common era.

DEFENSE OF MONOTHEISM. In Greco-Roman culture, whose intellectual foundations were buttressed by polytheistic beliefs and practices, monotheism was judged to be both blasphemous and incredible. Jewish thinkers as early as the third century BCE, followed by Christian and Muslim thinkers in early periods of the development of doctrines of Christian and Islamic beliefs, made use of the intellectual apparatus provided by Hellenistic philosophy to explain and defend systematically the foundations of belief in one God. A well-known model for the reasoned defense of belief and practice was Socrates' address before the Athenian court in 399 BCE, which is preserved in Plato's *Apology.* The Greek word *apologia*, meaning "speech in defense," refers to an oral and literary genre known throughout the ancient Mediterranean world. When Socrates was accused of demonstrating impiety toward the ancestral gods of his state and of corrupting the morals of Athenian youth through adherence to unusual beliefs, he argued his case against ignorance and unenlightened authority by means of reason. Although he failed to convince a majority of jurors that his pursuit of wisdom, which had made him a critic of prevailing religious belief, was based in truth, his effort became a model for future apologists. Biblical monotheists subsequently employed established patterns of philosophical argumentation that owed much to Greek philosophy and the example of Socrates to account for the superiority of their positions on faith. They, too, sought to expose what to their way of thinking were the inconsistencies, errors, and even absurdities of polytheism. Furthermore, the Hebrew legacy of truth they represented bore a rational coherence attractive to the Hellenistic way of thinking.

The tradition of justice, divine providence, and the sharp rejection of idolatry emphasized by the Hebrew prophets resounds in Josephus Flavius's treatise known as *Against Apion.* Composed in Greek in the first century CE, Josephus's response to Apion's criticisms of the Jews asserts the antiquity of the Jewish faith according to patterns of Greek historiography, celebrates the biblical God as lawgiver, and denounces polytheistic religions as immoral and irrational. "I would therefore boldly maintain that we have introduced to the rest of the world a very large number of very beautiful ideas. What greater beauty than inviolable piety? What higher justice than obedience?" (2.293). Striving to assure the right of Jews living under Roman domination to refuse participation in local cults, Josephus indicts the polytheists for ignoring the true nature of God and for appealing licentiously to the public taste. On the other hand, he praises the virtue and purity of the law of Moses and recalls the sensible wisdom of Plato. As the Jewish philosopher Philo Judaeus (d. 50 CE) had done before him, Josephus affirmed a compatibility between biblical faith and the higher morality of Greek philosophy, claiming with bold historicity that the Greek philosophers were among the first imitators of Mosaic law.

The Talmud records disputations between learned rabbis and Roman authorities over the veracity of Jewish ideas and freedom of worship. Beginning in the second century CE, Christians also exercised a strenuous apologetic effort to explain the foundations of their emerging beliefs and to defend themselves against oppression and popular slander. Because Christians would not serve the gods legitimated by Roman authority, they were held to be atheistic and seditious elements of the population. Moreover, the emerging forms of Christian worship and the way of living Christianity promoted among disenfranchised elements of society were viewed suspiciously by the state, eliciting charges of cannibalism and incest. Christian response was defensive, but also, on the model of Josephus, not without an offensive thrust. The defenders of Christianity claimed that the Roman state religion was absurd idolatry, and they offered in its place a simple moral appeal bearing resemblance to Stoic ideals.

Beginning with Quadratus, who wrote in Athens during the reign of Hadrian (117–138), and Aristides, and followed by, among others, Justin Martyr, Tatian, Athenagoras, Melito of Sardis, Theophilus of Antioch, Tertullian, the anonymous author of *To Diognetus*, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Augustine of Hippo (the last of early Christianity's great apologists), written defenses of the young and growing religion proliferated, often in the form of open letters addressed to critics of Christianity or to the emperor in Rome. Much of what must have been a large body of literature has been lost. The arguments in defense of Christian faith and its forms of worship followed methods of reasoning borrowed selectively from Platonism and its influential variations, from Stoicism, and from Skepticism.

Generally, early Christian apologetics had more influence among other Christian thinkers than among non-Christians. The legacy of this prodigious literary output can be located, therefore, in the development of the philosophical foundations of subsequent doctrines of God and of teachings concerning the incarnation and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Although these apologies reveal compatibilities with current philosophical thought, their practical importance for Christianity lay in their role of helping to define an emerging orthodoxy that found itself in growing competition with gnosticism and Marcionism for the religious allegiance of gentiles. The New Testament itself includes appeals to non-Christians that are apologetic in tone, although no full-fledged apologetic writings are identified before those of the second-century apologists.

The engagement of biblical faith with sophisticated Greek philosophy is evidenced clearly in early Christian apologetic literature. But although the function of apologetics as intellectual discourse was primary, it should not be overlooked that the apologetic spirit displayed in these writings cooperated intimately with other than solely intellectual religious motives; before the official sanction of Christianity by the Roman emperor in the fourth century, Christian apologists also display a commitment to mission and conversion. The effectiveness of the Christian appeal to conversion was indebted to the formulation of an intellectual foundation of belief, but it also owed its success to the conviction won by martyrdom. Justin Martyr (d. 163/5), in the opening sections of his first apology, evokes the memory of Socrates and embarks upon an argument "required" by reason that proves the case for Christianity as the storehouse of divine providence. The success of his reasoning may be disputed, but the proof of religious conviction gained by martyrdom, which he discusses in the twelfth chapter of his second apology, invokes a form of assertion beyond the realm of dispute: "I myself, too," he says, "when I was delighting in the doctrines of Plato, and heard the Christians slandered, and saw them fearless of death, and of all other things which are counted fearful, perceived that it was impossible that they could be living in wickedness and pleasure." Like many others before and after him, Justin, through his death as through his writings, was to bear proof of the claims made by his newly adopted faith.

In the sixth century of the common era, the prophet Muḥammad's recitation of God's word radicalized monotheism in ways unfamiliar to Jewish and Christian monotheists. The Qurʾān, like the New Testament before it, reflects the emergent competitive relation into which the family members of biblical religion were to come: "The Jews say, 'The Christians stand not on anything'; the Christians say, 'The Jews stand not on anything'; yet they recite the Book. So too the ignorant [i.e., the Gentiles] say the like of them" (2:107).

As had postbiblical Christian faith five centuries earlier, post-Qurʾanic Islamic faith eventually also underwent a period of formulation and defense of beliefs under the powerful influence of Hellenistic philosophy, which, along with the rich legacy of Indian medicine and mathematics and of Persian literature, provided new dimensions of thought to an expanding Arab world. In the second century of Islam, theological doctrines began to emerge alongside the current traditions of the Prophet. Confronted from within with degradations of the faith and from without by non-Muslim critics armed with the tools of reasoning developed in Greek and Persian philosophy, some Muslim scholars embraced a speculative theology (*ʿilm al-kalām*) for assistance in proclaiming the Prophet's revelation. Adherents to this practice of speculative theology were originally called *mutakallimūn*, and although their school was condemned in 848 CE by the caliph al-Mutawakkil, the philosophical traditions introduced into the expression of Islamic faith by thinkers such as Abū al-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf (d. 849) and al-Naẓẓām (d. 846) left an ongoing mark that survived in the moderate Ashʿarī school of subsequent decades.

Originally endorsed by the court, the Muʿtazilah defended Islamic beliefs by demonstrating that there was nothing in Qurʾanic faith that contradicted reason. In addition to making claims for the unity of God, the prophethood of Muḥammad, and the validity of the Qurʾān, apologists for Islam began to formulate a cosmology that elaborated an Islamic picture of the universe. The earliest speculative Islamic theology of the Muʿtazilah, however, while it was basically Qurʾanic and sought to defend the Prophet's revelation, inclined in such a degree toward intellectualism and the presumption that truth could be demonstrated by reason that even its moderate mutations continued to give offense to the orthodox. What began as an effort to preserve the philosophical wisdom of the past, a prodigious effort that eventuated in an extensive program of translation into Arabic of the works of Aristotle and other Greek philosophers, placed Greek thought so determinatively at the center of Islamic thought that the Islamic philosophical tradition was rejected by Islamic theology.

The conflict between reason and revelation, witnessed early in the foundation of Islamic beliefs, has its counterparts throughout the histories of biblical religions. This conflict reflects a characteristic element of apologetics derived from its employment of reason as a tool of religious expression, namely the potential of apologists to give offense to the community of believers for whom they speak, or mean to. Because apologetics customarily turns outward and borrows its modes of expression from a prevailing culture, it opens itself to criticism from within. Philo Judaeus and Josephus (d. around 100 CE) were viewed with suspicion by other Jews of their day and later centuries, as were Moses Maimonides (d. 1204), Barukh Spinoza (d. 1677), and Moses Mendelssohn (d. 1786). The Latin church father Tertullian, even as he benefited from his knowledge of ancient philosophy, was to become famous for his view that the church has as much to do with the philosophical academy as a Christian with a heretic. Familiarity with philosophy has been viewed by many of the orthodox as a pollution of biblical faith and has weighed heavily against many thinkers in the church's struggle to define its parameters of acceptable belief. Modern advocates of Christianity's reasonableness such as Vladimir Solov'ev (d. 1900), Maurice Blondel (d. 1949), and Paul Tillich (d. 1965), who chose to employ patterns of philosophical discourse appropriate to their intelligence of God's word, suffered the mistrust of their coreligionists, as have modern Jewish thinkers such as Franz Rosenzweig (d. 1929) and Martin Buber (d. 1965).

Apologetics rankles, despite its dedication to God's revelation, because it occupies a place on the boundaries of belief. It employs forms of expression that depend in part upon intellectual and cultural transformations occurring outside the confines of particular traditions of belief, and it uses language that is not wholly natural to the sacred language it interprets. The culture, however, is not merely a challenge but also a promise to the apologetic motive of religious thinkers, because it presents the possibility of a new form of a normative content, a renewed account of God's being and will.

Fundamental Theology. The view of religious apologetics given above—namely, that it emerged historically as a defense of monotheism—bespeaks the empirical circumstances of one age and (more or less) one culture: the Hellenistic. In the longer religious histories of the Middle East, North Africa, Europe, and elsewhere the confrontation of monotheism with nonmonotheistic systems of belief was eclipsed by confrontations between various interpretations of monotheism, both in the struggle for orthodoxy within each of the dominant monotheisms and in the broader encounter of these monotheistic faiths with one another. Under these competitive circumstances, the effort to clarify the fundamentals of belief no longer referred to the basic propositions of monotheism alone but also to the elements of each particular tradition. This gave rise to a distinction in function between apologetics and polemics, which, although it exists in theory, does not always occur in practice.

The Protestant theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher (d. 1834) in his analysis of the discipline of theology, *Brief Outline on the Study of Theology*, distinguishes between the apologetic and the polemical sides of philosophical theology. Although they are closely related, he finds that apologetics aims to make truth recognizable; polemics, on the other hand, aims to expose deviations from truth (secs. 39 and 40). Determination of where the exposure of error ends, however, and where the proclamation of truth begins (and vice versa) depends upon the breadth of one's religious understanding. Is it apologetic or polemical for Christian scripture to proclaim Jesus of Nazareth the Messiah of Jewish expectation? Is it apologetic or polemical for Muḥammad, reflecting Christian controversies about the doctrine of the Trinity, to implicate polytheism in that Christian doctrine about God by declaring, "In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate / Say: 'He is God, One, / God, the Everlasting Refuge, / who has not begotten, and has not been begotten, / and equal to Him is not any one'" (*sūrah* 112)? Is it revelation or offense for Paul of Tarsus, as apostle of Christ, to proclaim to the people of Athens that his God is the God they worship at their altar dedicated "To the Unknown God" (*Acts* 17:23)? Truth informs each of these claims, and in each claim a defense of truth is made; but in the act of defending belief an offensive position is taken that is polemical as well as apologetic, because it exposes purported deviation from the truth at the same time as it recognizes truth. The outward-looking proclamation and the inward-looking critique are bound together.

Religious apologetics can be defined usefully in modern terms as the laying out of the fundamentals of religious belief. It is an orienting rather than refining branch of religious expression. The language it employs, though aptly described as "reasoning," will differ according to context. Patterns of reasoned discourse are themselves the subject of much philosophical debate, and, therefore, it is not possible to say with assurance what forms apologetics as a religious phenomenon will take.

In the intellectual history of the West, the dominance of Christian religion made the fundamentals of Christian belief as self-evident as those of polytheism and the state cult had been in the ancient Roman world. Roman Catholic apologetic writings against Muslims in the Middle Ages (e.g., Thomas Aquinas's *Summa contra gentiles*) and against non-Catholic Christians during and after the Protestant Reformation concentrated on particulars of Christian belief. After the European Enlightenment, however, a shift occurred with respect to the issues at stake in founding religious belief. No longer a matter of belief in many gods rather than one, or of one monotheism as distinct from another, the very reasonableness of belief itself was called into question in the intellectual discourse of Western culture, and countless defenses of Christianity were penned that argued for the very validity of religion and the reality of the supernatural.

By striving to make religion comprehensible in the intellectual and cultural environment it inhabits, apologetics, according to J.-B. Metz, recognizes that part of its essence is "to share the questioning and problems of the world in which it lives." But what constitutes "the world" for Jews, Christians, and Muslims, however unified advancing technologies of communication may make it seem, differs radically depending upon historical contingencies. For many Christians, for example, the virtues and validities of Judaism and Islam remain quite alien. The situation described by Syed Ameer Ali (d. 1928), the Indian modernist, in the preface to his *The Spirit of Islam* (1890) is not at all inappropriate a century later, nor is Ali's message at all unlike that of Josephus in addressing the Romans about Jewish religion: Islam's "great work in the uplifting of humanity," says Ali, "is either ignored or not appreciated; nor are its rationale, its ideals and its aspirations properly understood."

It would be unnecessarily limiting to presume that the preeminent form of apologetics, the treatise, remains the only medium for enhancing the comprehensibility of religious belief and for laying out its fundamentals. The censors of post-Reformation Europe were not unaware of the power of visual images in the competition between Catholicism and Protestantism. What the introduction of electronic media into parts of the world largely untouched by literacy will mean to efforts to give reasonable foundations to religious belief can only be surmised and not explored at all in this context. It can be said, however, that the sensitivities with which apologists for religion respond to their world will determine the vitality of their expressions of belief.

Philo sought the compatibility of biblical religion with ancient wisdom; al-Naẓẓām strove to preserve his faith from misconception through reliance on reason; Maimonides aimed to guide the perplexed with the help of Aristotle; Tillich diagnosed the human predicament in search of God's cure; for a significant number of theologians, the responsibility of the rich for the poor has become not merely a topic of contemporary theology but its point of departure, its foundation. As the concerns that provoke fundamental expressions of belief change, so too do religious responses to them. Leitmotifs of "too Greek," "too philosophical," "too intellectual," "too psychological," "too Marxist"—and their many variations, both theological and ideological—will remain part of the chorus of religious apologetics as long as apologetics remains a lively element of religious ideas.

SEE ALSO Agnostos Theos; Dialogue of Religions; Enlightenment, The; Falsafah; Heresy; Kalām; Martyrdom; Philosophy; Polemics; World's Parliament of Religions.

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APOPHATISM SEE LANGUAGE, *ARTICLE ON* BUDDHIST VIEWS OF LANGUAGE; THEOLOGY, *ARTICLE ON* CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY; VIA NEGATIVA

APOSTASY is derived from the Greek *apostasia,* a secondary form of *apostasis,* originally denoting insurrection or secession (*Acts* 5:37). In the sense of "rebellion against God" it had already been used in the Septuagint (*Jos.* 22:22). The Christians of the third century definitely fixed its usage to the meaning of abandonment of Christianity for another religion, especially paganism (Cyprian, *Epistula* 57.3.1). The Christian usage of the term provides its essential elements: apostasy occurs in public and not in private, and apostates abandon an exclusive and institutionalized religion for another. In this sense apostasy is subject to specific historical conditions. It occurs when different religions compete with each other in one public arena. This essay will distinguish three aspects: occurrences of apostasy; legal sanctions with regard to apostates; and expectations of an apocalyptic desertion of the true religion at the end time.

APOSTASY IN JEWISH RITUAL LAW. Clear instances of apostasy are first found in Hellenistic Judaea. The very notion of *hellenismos* was coined for the conflict that occurred in the Jewish community under Antiochus IV Epiphanes of Syria (r. 176–165 BCE). It began when the Jewish high priest Jason "abolished the constitution based on laws and introduced new customs contrary to these laws" (*2 Mc.* 4:11). He founded a gymnasium and an institution for training *ephēboi,* or young men. Everyone who passed could then be enrolled in the register of citizens of Antiochea, the new name for Jerusalem (*2 Mc.* 4:9). A "passion for Hellenism" and "an influx of foreign customs" swept over the country (*2 Mc.* 4:13). The Maccabean adversaries of the *hellenismos* fought in their turn for the *iudaismos (2 Mc.* 2:21). The struggle between these two adversaries intensified in 167 BCE, when the next Jewish high priest, Menelaus, succeeded in convincing the Seleucid ruler "to compel the Jews to abandon their fathers' religion" (Josephus Flavius, *Jewish Antiquities* 12.384), and the ruler ordered the abandonment of the Jewish law (*1 Mc.* 1:44–53, *2 Mc.* 6:1ff.). At first, abandonment of the Jewish law occurred without any oppression by the rulers, and spontaneous apostasy recurred sporadically in later times. Well known is the case of the nephew of the Jewish philosopher Philo, Tiberius Alexander, a politician serving in the Roman state, "who did not stand by the practices of his people" (Josephus, *Antiquities* 20.100). There are also some instances of Alexandrian Jews adopting Greek philosophy. For the sake of political alliances with pagans, Jews were willing to abandon circumcision, food rules, and Sabbath laws. Intermarriage with pagans and shifting intellectual interests were among the reasons for their deviation from ancestral practices (Feldman, 1993, pp. 79–83).

The *Book of Daniel,* written between 167 and 163 BCE, made Jewish apostasy part of the apocalyptic drama. At the end of time, it stated, there will be Jews abandoning the holy covenant (*Dn.* 11:30). The pre-Maccabean *Apocalypse of Weeks* clung to the same idea: "After that in the seventh week an apostate generation shall arise, its deeds shall be many and all of them criminal" (*1 En.* 93:9). Apostasy is assessed not only in religious terms but also in moral and political ones. Abandonment of belief is near to treason and crime. Similarly, treason is rejected for religious reasons. When the historian Josephus Flavius, as commander of Galilean insurgents, was suspected of treason in 66 CE, his chief adversary told the people: "If you cannot, for your own sakes, citizens, detest Josephus, fix your eyes on the ancestral laws *(patrioi nomoi),* which your commander-in-chief intended to betray, and for their sakes hate the crime and punish the audacious criminal" (Josephus, *The Life* 135). The Jewish notion of the martyr reflects the same set of beliefs from a different perspective: due to his loyalty to the ancestral laws, the martyr is assured of resurrection to life (*2 Mc.* 7:14). His death is at the same time "an example of high-mindedness and a memory of virtue" (*2 Mc.* 6:31). If religion and citizenship are fused, the apostate who abandons the religion of his ancestors is regarded as a traitor. He is virtually the domestic ally of the external enemy.

Apostasy needed to be legally regulated. Since the first century BCE Jewish communities outside Israel were established as recognized associations either under Roman law or under the law of independent cities. Their communities were recognized as "collegia"—the Latin notion for these associations—or as "politeuma" and practiced internal jurisdiction. Jews who were responsible for civic unrest could be tried and punished by the officials of these bodies. The conflicts between Jews and Christians therefore affected legal issues. Paul was portrayed by Jewish opponents as teaching apostasy from Moses (*Acts* 21:21). When Paul complained: "Five times I have received from the Jews the forty lashes minus one" (*2 Cor.* 11: 24), he refers to a punishment, inflicted by Jewish authorities according to their ancestral laws (*Dt.* 25:2). What Paul experienced as a persecution was from a different point of view, as E. P. Sanders rightly noticed, as a legal prosecution (Sanders, 1986, p. 86).

Apostasy was subject of religious reflection. "Whole Israel has a share in the world to come. . . . And these don't have a share in the world to come: whoever says, 'There is no resurrection of the dead in the Torah' and 'There is no Torah from heaven,' and the Epicurean" (*San.* 10:1). The apostate is denied salvation by the Pharisees. About 100 CE the twelfth prayer of the so-called eighteen benedictions was expanded with the *birkat haminim* ("the blessing over the heretics"). The oldest wording of that prayer is found in a version discovered in the Cario Geniza: "And for apostates let there be no hope; and may the insolent kingdom be quickly uprooted, in our days. And may Nazarenes [Christians] and the Minim [heretics] perish quickly; and may they be erased from the Book of life" (Schürer, 1979, pp.454–463). This amplification implies that apostates had earlier been cursed in Jewish divine service. Since the Babylonian recension of the prayer does not mention either the Nazarenes or the Minim, it is a matter of controversy whether the early form of the prayer actually refered to Christians at all. Later Christian literature corroborates that after the fall of the temple Jews cursed Christians in the synagogues. Justin, in his *Dialogue with Trypho,* relates that Jews were cursing in their synagogues those that believe in Christ (16, 4). But only after the third century CE did the rabbis possess the legal power to expel dissidents from Judaism; previously this power rested with the local Jewish communities.

The *Gospel of John,* which originated in Asia Minor, mentions several times the expulsion of Christians from synagogues (9:22, 12:42, 16:2–3). The Jewish communities of Asia Minor and other parts of the Roman Empire had been granted the privilege to form associations *(sunodos)* of their own in accordance with their ancestral laws and to decide on their own affairs and settle controversies. In the *Gospel of John,* the term *sunagogē* refers also to the community as a whole and not to a building. A Jewish community could withdraw the membership from Christian apostates in its *politeuma.*

APOSTASY IN GREEK AND ROMAN PUBLIC CULTS. Conversion was unknown in Greek and Roman religions because exclusivity was alien to them. There were, however, limits of tolerance. These limits were reached when public citizens abandoned their ancestral religion or refused to participate in the common civic cults. Even as early as the time of Livy (59 BCE–17 CE), he could report with indignation that in the crisis of the Second Punic War (218–210) "not only in secret and within the walls of private houses Roman rites were abandoned, but in public places also, and in the Forum and on the Capitoline, there was a crowd of women who were following the custom of the fathers neither in their sacrifices nor in prayers of the gods" (Livy, *History of Rome,* 25.1.7). With the Christian mission, abandonment of the *mos maiorum* (the ancestral custom) became much more frequent. In his First Letter to the Corinthians, Paul advised the Gentile Christians not to participate in pagan temple meals (*1 Cor.* 8:10–12, 10:19ff.). The Christian apologists sustained this rejection of pagan cults.

The pagan reproaches addressed to Christians diverged from East to West. In the Greek East, the Christians were accused of godlessness *(atheotes).* The accusation is attested for the first time by Justin Martyr in *1 Apology* 6.1 (written between 150–155 CE) and in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* 3 (shortly after 156 CE). In the Latin West, the Christians were accused of "abandoning the religion of their ancestors" *(christiani qui parentum suorum reliquerant sectam).* In his edict of tolerance (311 CE), Galerius gave this abandonment as reason for the persecution. Christians should be forced to acknowledge the ancestral religion, he argued (Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum* 34). The reproach of having left the *mos Romanorum* ("way of the Romans") had already been uttered earlier in the acts of Scillitan martyrs.

In general, the pagan cults did not expel members who adhered to rival cults or philosophical circles. But often the gods of pagan cults were officially recognized by the civic authorities and ranked, in Rome, for example, with the *di publici populi Romani* (the public gods of the Roman nation). Every citizen had the duty to respect these civic gods. The Christians refusing to do so were not only suspected of *superstitio,* but also of political disloyalty. The first important critic of ancient Christianity, the Middle Platonic philosopher Celsus, accused the Christians of insurrection *(stasis)* against the community (Origen, *Against Celsus* 3.5). One hundred years later, about 270 CE, Porphyry renewed this criticism. The Christians are atheists, he wrote, "because they abandoned the ancestral gods, on which the existence of every nation and every city is based" (transmitted by Eusebius in his *Praeparatio evangelica* 1.2.2). Other pagan critics called for action. In the writings of Dio Cassius, Maecenas says to Augustus: "Venerate the Divine everywhere and totally according to the ancestral customs and compel the others to do the same" (*Roman History,* 52.36). The general persecutions of Christians since Decius (r. 249–251 CE) met the demands of such a program. The same holds true for the edict of Diocletian against the Manichaeans (297 CE). It states: "It is the most serious crime to reject what once for all has been arranged and established by the ancestors" (*Mosaicarum et Romanorum legum collatio* 15.3.2f.). In sum, apostasy only became a problem for pagan society when its ancestral customs were rejected. The limits of tolerance were mainly political ones.

APOSTASY IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. Christianity found its adherents among Jews and pagans. But these new Christians did not always resolutely abandon their old religious loyalties. Until the time of the Bar Kokhba revolt (132–135 CE) there were Christians who followed Jewish ritual law painstakingly (e.g., *Gal.* 2:11–14). Other Christians continued to participate in pagan temple meals (e.g., *1 Cor.* 8:10). Paul, in his First Letter to the Corinthians, addressed their risk of falling away (*1 Cor.* 10:20–21), but did not regard this practice as apostasy per se (Oropeza, 2002, p. 223). Only when the church had separated itself from Jewish-Christians and Gnostics did this evaluation change. Apostasy then became a clear-cut issue. The Neoplatonic philosopher Ammonius Saccas is said to have been a Christian who apostatized (Eusebius, *Church History* 6.19.9f.). The most noted apostate to paganism was the emperor Julian the Apostate (361–363 CE). Committed to Neoplatonism, he thwarted the church's aims by every means in his power, short of actual persecution, and resumed the reproach directed against Christians for despising ancestral beliefs. Furthermore, he sustained pagan temples and attempted to reform them.

The notion of an apocalyptic desertion migrated from Jewish beliefs into the writings of the early Christian authors. In his Second Letter to the Thessalonians, Paul maintains that the coming of the Lord cannot take place "if not at first comes the apostasy and reveals himself the man of lawlessness the son of perdition" (*2 Thes.* 2:3). The synoptic apocalypse in the *Gospel of Mark* expects that at the end of time many will be lead astray and betray each other (*Mk.* 13:5–12). But the early Christian conception of an apocalyptic apostasy differed from the above-mentioned Jewish one. Early Christians were less anxious about apostasy to foreign religions than the Jews of the Maccabean era had been. They were far more anxious about teachers of a false doctrine. The First Letter to Timothy explicitly states that the apostasy at the end of time is due to Gnostic heretics. And the First Letter of John points out that the last hour has come because false prophets and teachers have arisen from the community, fulfilling the prophecy of the coming of the antichrist. Interesting parallels can be detected in some Jewish literature which appeared contemporaneously with these Christian texts. Passages originating from Qumran speak about the teacher of lies who has not obeyed the teacher of justice. At the ascension of Isaiah, one passage asserts, all men in this world will believe in Belial, the antichrist.

From the third century on, the term *apostasy* referred exclusively to apostasy to paganism. Cyprian used the term to describe Christians who had returned to paganism in the time of the persecution by Decius, a move Cyprian equated with heresy (*Epistula* 57.3). In the ancient church the corresponding notion to apostasy became perseverance. Genuine faith was endangered by three kinds of threat: sedition and vices; heresy; and persecution. Originally, however, apostasy had been conceived as an internal fission of the community due to false prophets and teachers. Here the Jewish and Christian views of apostasy diverge. The apostate abandoning Christian belief is not an ally of the external enemy, but the follower of an internal adversary. For this reason, the law of the early church in regard to apostasy was severe. Apostasy was an inexpiable offense. After baptism there could be no forgiveness of this sin.

Only long after the persecution of Decius was readmission of the *lapsi* ("the fallen") allowed (Cyprian, *Epistula* 57). After the conversion of Constantine (d. 337), apostasy became a civil offense punishable by law. Edicts in the Theodosian Code, composed in 438 CE, testify to this severity. "Those Christians who have become pagans shall be deprived of the power and right to make testaments and every testament of such decedent . . . shall be rescinded by the annulment of its foundation" (381 CE CTh 16, 7,1). It is important to note that an edict of 383 CE explicitly mentions Manichaeism in the same context as pagan temples and Jewish rites. Christians simply carried on the persecution of Manichaeans started by Diocletian in 297 CE. The Manichaean teachers were to be punished, the attendants of their assemblies to become infamous, and their houses and habitations in which the doctrine was taught to be expropriated by the fiscal agents of the government. Two edicts promulgated in 391 CE directed that all persons having betrayed the holy faith shall be segregated from the community of all men, shall not have testamentary capacity, shall not inherit, shall forfeit their position and status, and shall be branded with perpetual infamy (CTh 16,7,4). The Code of Justinian (534 CE) treated the apostate as a criminal (CJ 1, 7). Due to the fact that the code became a major source for later canonical law and the Western legal tradition, the law remained effective until citizenship and religious affiliation were separated by the constitutions of modern states.

Under modern political conditions the phenomenon of apostasy did not vanish, but changed profoundly. In the latter half of the twentieth century, religious communities arose in the United States that challenged the value of family relations and private property and replaced them by a utopian communal order. In some cases, external opposition to such groups was vehement. Concerned relatives mobilized media, politicians, and law-enforcement officials against the evil of these "cults." Apostates of the disputed communities joined with opponents to become principal witnesses for the allegation that only by mental coercion ("brainwashing") had they joined such groups. These apostates fulfilled a crucial role in the violence that exploded in the cases of Peoples Temple in Jonestown, Guyana, in 1978 and of the Branch Davidians, a sect of the Seventh-day Adventists, in the Texas town of Waco in 1993 (Bromley, 1998, pp. 9–10).

APOSTASY IN THE ISLAMIC COMMUNITY. The Arabic word *murtadd* denotes the apostate, and the terms *irtidad* or *riddah* denote apostasy. Qurʾanic texts referring to apostasy threaten the apostate with punishment in the other world. The "wrath of God" will fall upon him, "except he has been forced, while his heart has been found in the belief" (*sūrah* 16:106). A similar idea is put forward by *sūrah* 3:82–89: those who apostatize are the true evildoers. Their reward will be the curse of God, angels, and men. They will be condemned to hell "except those who afterward return and mend their ways. God is compassionate and ready to forgive" (*sūrah* 3:89). These early Islamic texts are less severe than the canonical and Imperial laws and the later Islamic ones.

There are also in Islam some scarce references to an apocalyptic apostasy. Occasionally the apocalyptic scenarios concerning the rise of the *mahdī,* or Islamic Messiah, provide for an antichrist called *al-dajjāl.* This word, not found in the Qurʾān, is borrowed from the Aramaic language. The Syriac version uses *daggala* to translate the *pseudochristoi* of *Matthew* 24:24. Al-dajjal, who will rule for a limited period, shall lead the crowds astray.

Later Islamic jurisprudence elaborated on the meaning of apostasy. As Yohanan Friedmann shows, it covered not just a retraction of the confession of faith, but also vilifying the Prophet, impugning the honor of his mother, denying the Qurʾān or parts of it, rejecting manifest commandments as the five pillars, and making licit well-known prohibitions (2003, pp. 121–159). If these transgressions are due to a person's ignorance, the person should be apprised. If the person persists, he or she becomes an unbeliever. Their legal status is different from those who had never joined Islam. The apostate lacks "religion" and is not entitled to participate in such religious actions as marriage or slaughtering for food. While in the Qurʾān apostasy was punished in the hereafter, later the sanction was transferred into this world. Mālik ibn Anas (d. 796), founder of the Mālikī school, transmitted the following as a sentence of the Prophet: "Whoever changes his religion, kill him." But there was dissent among the *ʿulamāʾ* over the particulars: was it applicable to women as well as men, and to Muslim by conversion as well as by birth? There was further debate regarding whether in each case an effort should be made to bring the apostate to repentance before execution. Mālik ibn Anas held the view that such efforts should be restricted only to those who bluntly abandoned Islam. Those who turned tacitly to *zindiq*s ("heretics") should be killed immediately. Efforts to bring them to repentance are useless, for the sincerity of their repentance cannot be recognized because they have been infidels in secret before, while they confessed in public to be followers of Islam. The reference to *zindiqs* is instructive. The Middle Persian term *zandik,* from which the Arabic *zindiq* is derived, derives in turn from *Zand* (the commentary of the Avesta text) and refers to Manichaean and Mazdean heresy. As early as the reign of Bahram II (276–293 CE), the chief of the Zoroastrian clergy, Kardēr, had ordered followers to persecute Christians and *zindiq*s. In the same way as Christians adhered to the laws taken by pagan emperors against the Manichaeans, so the Islamic conquerors carried on the pre-Islamic persecutions of the *zindiq*s. The prototype of the apostate was the heretic. The numerous persecutions of members of the Bahāʾī religion in Iran since 1852 testify to the severity of this Islamic law. The apostates must be killed, their property confiscated, and their marriages annulled.

Islamic apostasy did not vanish in contemporary times. Since apostasy was defined so broadly, it covered many forms of blasphemy. A Muslim could even become an apostate unintentionally, as was the case with author Salman Rushdie. In his 1988 English-language novel *The Satanic Verses,* he used vulgar terminology in passages about Muḥammad and his wives. The title of his novel was actually a reference to a tradition which held that some verses of the Qurʾān may have been inspired by Satan (*sūrah* 22:52; 53, 19–22). This reference seemed to cast doubt on the belief that the entire Qurʾān was the verbal utterance of God. Though Rushdie's novel was written for a post-Christian Western audience, it stirred tremendous wrath among Muslims worldwide. South Africa, India, and Pakistan banned the book's sale in their countries due to their substantial Muslim populations, but in Great Britain it was sold freely. Though British Muslims demanded: "Freedom of speech, yes! Freedom to insult no!," the British authorities declined to apply a blasphemy statute against the book. The most dire consequence came in early 1989, when Iran's leader, the Ayatollah Khomeini, issued a *fatwa* against Rushdie. Khomeini declared to the world's Muslim population that *The Satanic Verses* was against Islam, the Prophet, and the Qurʾān, and sentenced Rushdie to death. The *fatwa* also included any publishers of editions of the book who were aware of its content. Khomeini called upon zealous Muslims to execute them quickly (Ruthven, 1990, p. 112). Though Khomeini went with this ruling far beyond the competence of an Islamic cleric, it took years before the *fatwa* was retracted in 2001 by Iran's president. Another well-known case concerns the Egyptian scholar Nasr Hamid Abū Zayd. Since Abū Zayd reportedly refuted the Qurʾān as the word of God, he was declared an apostate and forcibly divorced from his wife (Dupret, 2003, pp. 137–138).

SEE ALSO Expulsion; Heresy, overview article.

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APOSTLES. The word *apostle* is known mainly from the Christian religion as a title of a religious leader, especially in early Christianity. The origin of the word, the concept for which it stands, and its specific expressions in various religious traditions are far more complex than is usually assumed. The term itself is derived from the Greek *apostolos* (Heb., *shaliaḥ;* Lat., *apostolus*) and means "messenger," "envoy," either in a secular or a religious sense (messenger of a deity).

The basic concept of the messenger is simple: "Everyone who is sent by someone is an apostle of the one who sent him" (Origen, *In Ioannem* 32.17). This can refer to the legal and administrative institution of envoys and ambassadors as well as to highly theological expressions of messengers sent by a deity into the world to bring a message of salvation. Concrete expressions of both these concepts are influenced by different cultural and religious presuppositions. Although these presuppositions exercise continuous influence even in different religious traditions, there is room for specialized developments.

"At present the question as to the origin and the idea of the apostolate is one of the most intricate and difficult problems of New Testament scholarship." This statement was first made by Erich Haupt in 1896 and was reiterated by twentieth-century scholars, in spite of numerous studies on the subject. The main causes for the problem are the limited sources, in particular from the earliest stages of the development in primitive Christianity, and the confusion caused by the several expressions of a basic concept found as early as the New Testament itself.

The New Testament sources show an advanced stage, not the beginning, of the development of the concept of apostleship. In fact, the New Testament contains several different and competing expressions of the concept that have begun to merge with one another. This state of affairs is also bound up with the definition of apostleship, which was in dispute as early as the time of Paul.

APOSTLES AS MISSIONARIES. A number of New Testament passages refer to apostles as traveling missionaries. Their title and function is described, for example, in *2 Corinthians* 8:23 (cf. *Phil.* 2:25) as "envoys of the churches." These envoys were elected or appointed by the people they were supposed to represent (cf. *2 Cor.* 8:6, 8:16–23). This process of appointment does not necessarily exclude divine intervention (cf. *Acts* 13:1–3). Apparently, the early Christian mission was carried out to a large extent by these missionary apostles, some of whom may have been women, although the evidence for women is uncertain. The task of these apostles included preaching the gospel and administering the newly founded churches, but no clear job description is found in the New Testament (cf. *1 Cor.* 9:5, 12:28; *2 Cor.* 11:13; *Rom.* 16:1–23; see also *Didache* 11.3–11.6).

JESUS' DISCIPLES AS APOSTLES. A more specialized concept of *apostle* is mentioned in *Galatians* 1:17, 1:19, and *1 Corinthians* 9:5 (cf. *1 Cor.* 15:7), where the former disciples of Jesus are called apostles. Apparently this title was given to those disciples who had experienced a vision of the risen Christ (*1 Cor.* 9:1, 15:3–8), but the situation is unclear because in the decisive passage, *1 Corinthians* 15:3–7, concepts that were originally different have been merged: *1 Corinthians* 15:5 names Cephas and the Twelve, *1 Corinthians* 15:7 names James "and all the apostles" as the recipients of the visions, while *1 Corinthians* 15:6 speaks of the "five hundred brothers" without calling them disciples of Jesus or apostles. Some New Testament writers, especially Luke, identify the disciples of Jesus (or apostles) with "the Twelve," originally a different leadership institution (*Mk.* 3:16–19, *Mt.* 10:2–4, *Lk.* 6:14–16, *Acts* 1:13, and, differently, *1 Cor.* 15:5). The names of the disciples who were counted among the Twelve differ to some extent in the tradition (cf. *Acts* 6:2; *Mk.* 14:10 and parallels, 14:43 and parallels; *Jn.* 6:71, 12:4, 20:24). When Luke, author of *Luke* and *Acts,* limits the Twelve to the disciples of the historical Jesus, he in effect denies the title of apostle to Paul (except *Acts* 14:4 and 14:14, where Paul and Barnabas, from an older source, are called apostles). Luke also refers to the twelve apostles as the leaders of the Jerusalem church (e.g., *Acts* 4:35–37, 5:2, 5:27–32), an assignment that conflicts with their role as missionaries. In *Acts* 1:21–22, Luke states what for him, and no doubt for others in early Christianity, are the criteria for apostleship: an apostle is "one of the men who have been our companions during all the time when the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning with the baptism of John until the day when he was taken up from us, a witness of his resurrection together with us." However, these criteria are a later construction, designed to limit the concept to those who were eyewitnesses (*Lk.* 1:2) and thus to curtail the increasing confusion about the nature and authority of apostles.

PAUL THE APOSTLE. The origin of Paul's apostleship is still as puzzling as it was in early Christianity. If the criteria of *Acts* 1:21–22 are applied, Paul does not qualify as an apostle. In fact, Paul's claim to apostleship was disputed in much of early Christianity (*1 Cor.* 9:2, 15:9–10). At the beginning of his Christian career, Paul worked as a missionary apostle with his mentor Barnabas (*Acts* 9:27, 13:1–3, 14:4, 14:14; cf. *Gal.* 1:15–2:14). However, the title used by Paul in his letters, "called apostle of Christ Jesus" (*1 Cor.* 1:1), expresses an understanding of his own apostleship different from the understanding of Luke. Despite the evidence provided by Paul, the origin and background of this title are to some extent still a mystery. Since Paul did not qualify under the normal definition, his own title presupposes a critical reinterpretation and redefinition of the entire concept of apostleship. In his earliest letter, *1 Thessalonians,* Paul does not use the title. It appears first in the prescript of *Galatians* (1:1): "Paul, apostle not from men nor through [a] man but through Jesus Christ and God the Father who raised him from the dead" (cf. *1 Cor.* 1:1, *2 Cor.* 1:1, *Rom.* 1:1–7). This new title became the standard in the Pauline churches (*Col.* 1:1; *Eph.* 1:1; *1 Tm.* 1:1, 2:7; *2 Tm.* 1:1, 1:11; *Ti.* 1:1).

By this redefinition Paul in effect claimed to be more than an ordinary missionary apostle; he claimed the same rank and authority as the former disciples of Jesus (cf. *Gal.* 1:17; *1 Cor.* 9:1–5, 15:1–10), indeed, a higher authority. His letters testify, however, that he encountered considerable difficulties obtaining recognition that his apostolic authority was legitimate. His claim seems to have initiated bitter controversy about the question of who were the true and who were the false apostles (cf. *2 Cor.* 11:13). Paul's apostleship was accepted fully only after his death as a martyr, when Peter and Paul came to be regarded as the great founder figures of early Christian history. Jewish Christianity, however, never recognized Paul as a legitimate apostle.

Paul's claim to be the "apostle of the Gentiles" (*Rom.* 11:13; cf. *Rom.* 1:5–7, 1:13–15) implied that he had a unique position in the church. Sent out by the risen Christ, who had appeared to him and appointed him (*Gal.* 1:15–16), he served as Christ's messenger, representative, and imitator on earth in an almost exclusive sense (for the concept of *mimetes,* or "imitator," see *1 Thessalonians* 1:6, 2:14 and *1 Corinthians* 4:16, 11:1). His assignment was not only to spread the gospel and found churches; his entire physical and spiritual existence was to become an epiphany of the crucified and resurrected Christ (cf. *Gal.* 6:17; *2 Cor.* 2:14–5:21, 13:3–4; *Phil.* 3:10). Paul's apostolic office had a firm position in the history of salvation as well as in the redemption of the cosmos. At the Last Judgment, he expected to serve as the representative of his churches before the judgment seat of Christ (*2 Cor.* 11:2; cf. *1 Cor.* 1:8; *1 Thes.* 2:10, 5:23; *Phil.* 2:15; also *Col.* 1:22, *Eph.* 5:27).

Paul's concept of apostleship emerged from intensive struggle in the early church. In this struggle his own theological ideas about apostleship underwent profound changes. This process was also informed by other notions. Geo Widengren has shown that Paul's concept of apostle has its closest parallels, and most probably antecedents, in Syriac Gnosticism. In the study *Der Apostel Paulus und die sokratische Tradition,* this article's author has shown that Paul was deeply influenced by the Socratic tradition, in which Socrates figured as a messenger sent by the deity. Thus Paul's concept of apostleship is a highly complex and composite creation that reflects the struggles of his own career as well as early Christianity's conflicts about the legitimacy and authority of its leadership.

LISTS OF EARLY CHRISTIAN APOSTLES. The struggle about the apostolic authority is reflected also in the lists of the apostles, which differ to a considerable degree. *Mark* 3:16–19, *Luke* 6:14–16, and *Acts* 1:13–26 give diverse accounts. The history of the lists of apostles continues in the second century, sometimes reflecting the differing interests of Christian groups. Confusion about who was and was not an apostle is found in other parts of the New Testament as well. Was James, "the brother of the Lord" (*Gal.* 1:19), an apostle? While Barnabas is called apostle, together with Paul, in *Acts* 14:4 and 14:14, Paul never calls him by this name (cf. *Gal.* 2:1–10, 2:13; *1 Cor.* 9:6). Does he want to avoid any reference to an earlier concept of apostleship (cf. *Acts* 15:36–40, *Gal.* 2:13)? On the other hand, Paul speaks of missionary apostles when the difference between them and him is clear.

CHRIST AS APOSTLE. Christ is called an apostle only once in the New Testament: "Jesus, the apostle and high priest of our confession" (*Heb.* 3:1). This Christological concept is late, but it may have older roots. There is a peculiar situation in the Fourth Gospel, where Christ is never called apostle but functions as a messenger from God (cf., however, *John* 13:16: "Truly, truly I say to you, a slave is not greater than his master, nor is an apostle greater than the one who sent him"). Christ's entire mission is described by the technical term *apostello* ("send"). He is the Logos and Son of God who was sent by God the Father into this world (*Jn.* 1:6, 3:17, 3:34, 5:36–38, 6:29, 6:57, 10:36, 17:3, 17:8, 17:18, 17:21, 17:23, 20:21; cf. *1 Jn.* 4:9, 4:10, 4:14). He in turn sends out his own disciples (*Jn.* 4:38, 17:18), the Twelve, who are, however, not called apostles (*Jn.* 6:67, 6:70, 6:71, 20:24). It appears that the title of apostle has been avoided by the Fourth Gospel. Because the similarity between the Johannine Christology and the Pauline concept of apostle is so strong, the answer to the question of why the Fourth Gospel is not interested in the title of apostle may have something to do with the still unexplained relationship between Pauline and Johannine Christianity. The Christological concept of apostle is found later, in the second century, in Justin Martyr (*1 Apology* 12.9, 63.5) and subsequently in patristic sources.

MANI AND MUḤAMMAD AS APOSTLES. Mani, founder of the third-century movement of Manichaeism, called by his followers "apostle of Jesus Christ," "apostle of light," and "father of all apostles," was believed to be the last of a series of apostles. Mani conceived his apostleship in strongly Pauline terms, but made fuller use of an older prototype. Widengren has shown the roots of this prototype in Syriac Gnosticism. In heterodox Jewish Christianity, the still mysterious figure of Elchasai seems to represent a similar type. It appears that the Manichaeans drew their concept of the apostleship of Mani not only from Paul but also from a broader spectrum of ideas, perhaps the same spectrum that informed Paul when he formulated his concept of apostleship.

Muḥammad called himself "apostle of God" (*rasūl Allāh*). As such, he occupied a unique position between God and the faithful and considered himself the "last messenger of God." According to the Qurʾān Muḥammad is the bringer of light, illuminating the scriptures for the enlightened (5:18, 9:32–33). On the other hand, Muḥammad can call others by the same title, "apostle of God." Later this function seems to have influenced the figure of the imam.

SEE ALSO Jesus; Mani; Manichaeism; Muḥammad; Paul the Apostle.

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HANS DIETER BETZ (1987)
Revised Bibliography

APOTHEOSIS is the conferring, through official, ritual, or iconographic means, of the status of a god upon a mortal person. The Greek verb *apotheoun* appears first in the writings of the historian Polybius, which date from the second century BCE. The noun *apotheōsis* is found for the first time in Cicero, though it may have existed already in the classical Greek world. It is during the Hellenistic epoch, however, that *apotheōsis* takes on new forms that display the stamp of the Roman cult of emperors and of the dead.

ORIGINS. Even though the immortal and blessed condition of the gods differentiates them radically from human nature, the Greeks regarded as "divine" (*theios*) the person whose outstanding qualities set him or her individually apart from the commonplace. The heroization of founders of cities or of benefactors and peacemakers assured them posthumously a kind of official cult. Recipients of such honor included Brasidas, Miltiades, Gelon and Hiero I of Syracuse, Theron, and Timoleon. However, if genius, virtue, and political or military success embody divine potential in exceptional men, it is especially so while they are living. Consequently, there is no need to wait for their death before heaping upon them such homage as is accorded the gods (*isotheoi timai*), yet without identifying them with deities. Such was the case with Lysander after the victory of Aegospotami in 405 BCE: dedicated to him were statues, altars, chants, and sacred games that raised him to the status of the Olympians.

Aristotle grants that superiority in valor or virtue secures for certain people the honor of being counted among the gods (*Nicomachean Ethics* 7.1.2). The Hellenistic ideology of the savior-sovereign, beneficent and *euergetēs* (benefactor), derives directly from this concept. The Stoics would apply it generally to people who excelled in services rendered. It was the *virtus* (braveness) of civilizing heroes that earned apotheosis for Herakles, for the Dioscuri, and for Dionysos. Philosophers, wise men, and miracle workers (among them Pythagoras and Empedocles, and later Plato, Epicurus, and a number of others) were regarded as god-men, benefactors of humanity. The case of the young Gnostic Epiphanes, adored as a god after his death for being the founder of the Carpocratian sect, exhibits the same process.

ALEXANDER, THE DIADOCHI, AND HELLENISTIC ROYALTY. In dedicating funeral solemnities, of which some elements (particularly eagles) prefigure certain aspects of imperial Roman apotheosis, to the memory of his friend Hephaestion, Alexander established a cult for him, ordering that sacrifice be made to him "as to a god of the highest order" (Diodorus Siculus, 17.114–115). His funeral pyre with five levels presaged the *rogus consecrationis* (funeral pyre) of the Caesars. It has been suggested that it was Alexander who proposed to the Diadochi (successors) the plan for his own posthumous consecration. Indeed, the tomb of the conquering Macedonian became the site of a cult at Alexandria that corresponded to that of the hero *ktistēs*, or "founder." However, the Ptolemies made of it a state cult that deified the dead king by allotting to him the service of a namesake priest. Like the Olympians, Alexander was to be honored fully as a god. (His name was not preceded by the title *theos*, which fundamentally differentiated him from the Lagides kings.) When the first of the Ptolemies died, his son dedicated a temple to him as a "savior-god." The first of the Seleucids was similarly deified in 280 BCE by Antiochus I. The divinization of dead queens and kings, which was connected with the cult of Alexander by following the categories of Greek mythology, was legitimized by proclaiming that Arsinoë had been borne away by the Dioscuri, Ptolemy II by Zeus, and Berenice by

Aphrodite. This representation of divine abductions would long survive in funerary imagery.

The posthumous deification of sovereigns that developed during the third century BCE coincides both chronologically and ideologically with the success of euhemerism. In a revolutionary book entitled *Sacred Scripture*, Euhemeros of Messene declared that religions derive from the homage rendered to beneficent kings or to civilizing conquerors. It is the epoch that witnessed the popularization of the myth of Dionysos roaming through Asia for the purpose of propagating the use of wine and also of spreading, like Alexander, Hellenic culture. Yet parallel (or correlative) to this concept of the hero-*euergetēs*, there is affirmed the idea of the living god, incarnate in the active person of the sovereign. Already in 324 BCE, Alexander had laid claim to this deification: it involved a political idea, that of the unity of a universal and cosmopolitan empire in need of a religious foundation in the person of the king himself, as was later the case in the persons of the Caesars. In Egypt the process took root in the local practice of identifying the pharaoh with Horus and of adoring him as the "son of Re." The Greeks compared the Ptolemies to Zeus, Dionysos, Apollo, Hermes, and Poseidon, and their wives to Hera, Aphrodite, Isis, and Demeter. In the same way, Antiochus I was compared to Zeus Nikator, and his son to Apollo Soter. The notion was also entertained of the reincarnation of this or that deity in the person of the sovereign: Ptolemy XIII and Mithradates VI Eupator were each regarded as a "new Dionysos." Alexander too had been a "new Dionysos," a "new Herakles."

Like the Lagides, the kings of Syria and Pergamum instituted a dynastic cult alongside local cults of sovereign founders of cities. Each satrapy had its own high priest for the royal cult, just as during the Roman era each province would have its own *archiereus* for the imperial cult. This divinization was sanctioned through appeal to genealogy: the Lagides descended from Herakles or from Dionysos. There was no hesitation in proclaiming Demetrios Poliorcetes as the "son of Poseidon and Aphrodite." The epodic hymn that the Athenians sang to him in 307 BCE serves as a revealing document of the new conception of deities: "You, we see you here present, not as an idol of wood or stone, but really here." The apotheosis of living beings, visible or "epiphanous," appeared as one consequence (among others) of the decline of the rule of the cities and of the cults entwined with them. The erosion of belief in the traditional gods benefited the ideology, indeed the theology, of the leader as savior and peacemaker, as effective and direct protector of the people who needed him. The same phenomenon repeated and expanded itself three centuries later to the advantage of the Roman emperors.

THE ROMAN WORLD. Motifs like those discussed above early permeated Roman culture, together with the diffusion of Hellenistic influences (a poem such as Callimachus's *Lock of Berenice* was imitated by Catullus in the first century BCE). In particular, the idea of the divinity of humans gained much support from Stoicism. It was also a tenet of Pythagoreans, since their doctrine of the immortality of the soul included the ascent of the soul to the stars after death.

In Roman religion, the dead, as the *manes*, were collectively and indiscriminately deified, the "sacrifices" offered to them having the purpose of helping them rest quietly under the ground. But from the second century BCE onward, this cult tended to coincide with a kind of heroization of impressive individuals, such as some members of the Scipionic family. The sarcophagus that contained the remains of Scipio Barbatus had the shape of a monumental altar, which attests to the deceased being a *deus parens* (Saladino, 1970, pp. 24 ff.). Even the poet Ennius, whose activity was patronized by the Scipios, asserts that "one man shall be raised to the heavens" (*Annals* 1.54, Skutsch); while some considered immortality something that a few may obtain after ascending to the heavens (Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones* 1.18; Cicero, *De republica*, frag. 6). Cicero, who is largely influenced by Pythagorean and Stoic trends, likewise says that Romulus became a god through his deeds and virtue (*De republica* 2.17), and Scipio is told to rise to the stars by pursuing justice and piety (Cicero, *De republica* 6.16; *Tusculanae disputationes* 1. 43). Scipio is also the main character in the last section of Cicero's dialogue on the state, which deals with the notion of astral immortality—promised to meritorious statesmen, in conformity with the Hellenistic ideology of the hero-*euergetēs.* The same writer first attests the Greek word *apotheōsis* with reference to the posthumous divinization with which he attempted to honor his daughter Tullia (*Epistles to Atticus* 1.16.13).

"Private" examples of apotheoses are the privileged object of altar-shaped tombs, which entered into widespread usage in the first century BCE. Their ornamentation is also significant, particularly the eagles of apotheosis, thought to bear the soul of the deceased to heaven, like the eagle of Zeus that abducted Ganymede. In freeing the spiritual person from his or her carnal shell, the funeral pyre served to aid ascension to the ethereal realm of the gods. A fortiori, being struck by lightning was a measure of apotheosis, as the myths of Semele, Herakles, and Asklepios show. Scenes of military life and hunting, as well as intellectual activity, also symbolized heroization through *virtus.* Finally, untimely deaths were thought to assure the apotheosis of those whom the Greeks called *ahōroi* (those who die untimely deaths).

CAESAR AND AUGUSTUS: A "TRANSITIONAL" PHASE. The deification of Romulus, the founder of Rome (who after his ascension to heaven was worshiped under the name Quirinus), traces back to Ennius, but it was greatly elaborated and became a topical image in the Augustan age (Livy 1.16.1–3; 1.40.3). Other mythical heroes of divine offspring, such as Aeneas and Hercules, were worshiped as gods. Their apotheosis served as a prototype for the divinization of Julius Caesar and, later, Augustus.

Two years after his murder in 44 BCE, the senate stated the official consecration of Caesar. It was a crucial development that provided a partial model for later imperial deifications. However, divine honors were offered to Caesar even during his lifetime, together with a solemn public funeral and the addition of a day to the calendar on which prayers should be addressed to him. The famous comet that appeared in July during the games held in memory of Caesar was believed to be his soul. This comet indicated that he had attained the heights of heaven and was a god with his own place among the stars.

Such themes are echoed in contemporary literature: in the *Eclogues* and especially the *Aeneid*, Vergil, by displaying numerous references to astral imagery, emphasizes the Golden Age and the divinity of Augustus, to whom divinity is bestowed by an encomiastic homage pronounced by Anchises in a prophetic passage at the end of the sixth book. An analogous motif of Hellenistic ascendance, the *catasterismos* (transformation into a star) concludes Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and shows Pythagorean patterns in dealing with Caesar's apotheosis. Ovid also offers a comparison between Romulus and Augustus and a striking account of the apotheosis of Romulus in his calendar. A contemporary poem, the *Consolation to Livia* (255–258) explicitly compares the imperial funeral pyre to that of Hercules. The idea of the emperor being counted among the stars even recurs in Germanicus, who includes in his astronomical poem a reference to the Capricorn, Augustus's birth sign, which is now his heavenly seat. These numerous literary references illustrate how many factors, including personal charisma, paved the way for the cultic veneration of emperors and a sacralization of their role. It must be noted that even though the Hellenistic kings and the Caesars had been themselves adored while alive (Cassius Dio 51.20.7 traces the official institution of the cult of the living *princeps* back to 29 BCE), it is possible to speak of true apotheosis only posthumously.

IMPERIAL APOTHEOSIS. The apotheosis ritual is perhaps the most significant innovation in religious practice during the transition from the Republic to the Empire. It is strictly related to the cult of the emperors, which raises many exegetical problems, since it varied in its forms or rituals according to the different regions of the Roman Empire or to the different epochs.

This ceremony was an important part of the symbolism that defined the imperial house and became rooted in Roman tradition. In addition, the building of a great temple to the new god aimed to make this status more evident in stone and marble. Such a *consecratio* (the official Latin term for an imperial apotheosis), whose artful ritual was developed from the funeral ritual of aristocratic families, was inaugurated after the death of Augustus in 14 CE. From Augustus to Constantine the Great (d. 337), thirty-six emperors and twenty-seven members of their families were bestowed with an apotheosis and received the title of *divus,* a term which differred from *deus* insofar as it was employed only for divinized humans. Political meanings were implied in the deification: on one hand, it was a fitting end for a good emperor; on the other hand, the granting of deification allowed the senate to obtain a sort of authority for the emperor (the refusal to deify Tiberius is noteworthy). The senate continued to play a formal role in apotheosis, although this role became increasingly reduced, especially in the second and third centuries. At the same time, by supervising the deification of his predecessor, the new emperor confirmed his rightful role and emphasized his own piety. In this sense, consecration can be considered a rite of passage because it involves the transmission of authority to a new ruler.

Many sources, both iconographic and literary, preserve accounts of apotheosis rituals. Along with inscriptions (which record the official formulas), coins and cameos, and even the vault of the Arch of Titus, display the distinctive signs of the apotheosis ritual such as the pyre and the eagle. Moreover, imposing monuments are still preserved in Rome, including Hadrian's mausoleum, the Castel Sant'Angelo, the Temple of Antoninus Pius and Faustina in the Forum (now the Church of Lorenzo in Miranda), and the sole surviving raised relief on the pedestal of the column of Antoninus Pius. This relief displays the *decrusio* (the army's ritual encirclement of the bier) and, more significantly, in a Roman setting (note the Campus Martius, identified by the Egyptian obelisk set up by Augustus, two personifications of Roma, a seated armed female, and the River Tiber in the foreground), the apotheosis of the emperor and of his wife, carried away by the spirit of eternity (*Aiōn*) on its wings. The third-century Greek historians Cassius Dio and Herodian, who record the funerals of Augustus, Pertinax (193), and Septimius Severus's (211), offer further detailed accounts of the ceremony.

Among the literary sources, Seneca's prosimetric satire, *Apocolocyntōsis divii Claudii*, contains a parody of Claudius's funeral and deification, decreed after his murder in 54 CE: the title, an evident *jeu de mots* with *apotheōsis*, has been understood as "metamorphosis into a gourd," an allusion to Claudius's stupidity. Rather than a polemic against the recent institution of apotheosis, the work must be considered a direct attack against Claudius, which at the same time possessed a political function: to make Claudius an example to Nero of how not to govern. Such ironic patterns or "reversal" elements induced scholars to suggest a link with the winter festival of the *Saturnalia*, which probably was also the occasion for delivering it.

According to the ritual, an immense four-tiered pyre would be built upon the Field of Mars. This *rogus consecrationis* was constructed of planks enclosing combustible materials and was elaborately decorated on the outside with costly embroidered fabrics adorned with gold, paintings, embossments, and garlands. A funeral pallet bore the cadaver of the new *divus*, covered with spices, fragrant fruits, and perfume essences. Around the pyre the priests and horseman would move in a circle. There was also a procession representing famous persons of the past, the nations of the Roman Empire, the guilds of different trades, and the senatorian order. A speech was made in honor of the dead emperor, whose body or wax image was on a bier. The new emperor would then take a torch to kindle the pyre, and everyone participating would do the same. Finally, from the top of the pyre an eagle would take flight as if bearing the soul of the deceased Caesar to the heavenly Olympus. After the ceremony, a witness would attest to having seen the consecrated prince soar into the air, and there was no lack of omens portending the apotheosis. Thereafter, the deceased would be entitled to a cult served by a priestly corps comprising members of the imperial family.

The ceremonial was maintained throughout the centuries and the increasing importance of the pyre became even more striking in the light of changing patterns of burial for the population. The extension of the Empire and of the powers of the emperor sacralized his function, and indeed his person and that of the empress, and they were compared in word and picture to the divinities of the traditional pantheon. However, an evolution in the worship of the emperor and in the external features of the apotheosis can be outlined. These features increased as a result of cultural contacts with Eastern countries (in particular, Persia), so that from the Antonine age onward such attributes as the radiant nimbus, which symbolized the divine glory conferred on the king, became common in iconography.

Among the relatives of the emperors honored with an apotheosis, an important example is provided by Antinous, the young boy beloved by the emperor Hadrian, whose death in Egypt raised controversial interpretations. It is not certain whether he fell accidentally into the Nile or whether his life was offered in sacrifice in a sort of *devotio* for Hadrian's safety. The emperor honored him by founding a city named Antinoopolis near the place where the boy was drowned. An apparition of a new star, as in the case of Caesar, was also reported. The deified Antinous was identified with or portrayed as various Greek gods (Hermes, Dionysos, and others) and explicitly merged with Osiris, not only because of the way he died but because his death took place on the anniversary of Osiris's drowning. The deification of Antinous also recalled the Egyptian custom of according divine honors to persons drowned in the Nile. The cult of Antinous soon spread, especially in his birthplace of Bithynia, and it is variously recorded on epigraphs and statues. However, the emperor came under ridicule, especially after his sister Paulina died and he did not immediately accord her any honors. The case of Antinous, together with that of Livia, Augustus's wife, in the fourth century, was condemned by the Christian poet Prudentius (*Against Symmachus* 1.245 ff.).

After the conversion of Constantine to Christianity in 312, apotheosis became incompatible with the new religion and was denounced by many fathers of the church because it implied the worship of dead people as gods. Constantine was probably the first emperor to be inhumed and the first for whom a pyre was not erected. Yet coins of consecration were nonetheless struck upon his death; these depicted the emperor in a chariot, extending his hand toward the hand of God emerging from the sky. In any case, the title *divus* did not imply apotheosis for the Christians, and Constantine's biographer Eusebius of Caesarea clearly states that Constantine enjoyed a Christian immortality. The artful funeral of Constantine constituted a model for a subsequent elaboration of the Byzantine ceremonies for dead emperors, as is depicted in the *Liber de caeremoniis* and in panegyric poetry.

SEE ALSO Deification; Emperor's Cult.

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APPARITIONS See GHOSTS; HIEROPHANY; VISIONS

ʿAQEDAH See ISAAC

ʿAQĪDAH See CREEDS, *ARTICLE ON* ISLAMIC CREEDS

ʿAQIVAʾ BEN YOSEF (c. 50–c. 135 CE), Palestinian tanna. ʿAqivaʾ lived during the time of the transformation of Palestinian Judaism from a religion centered on the Temple of Jerusalem to one focused on the study of Torah, the totality of God's revelation to Moses and the Jewish people. ʿAqivaʾ was born shortly before the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE and died during the Bar Kokhba Revolt (132–135), the Jews' last attempt to wrest freedom from the Romans. Described as a poor shepherd, ʿAqivaʾ, encouraged by his wife, supposedly began his rabbinic studies at the age of forty and learned the alphabet together with his young son (*Avot de-Rabbi Natan* 6; B.T., *Ket.* 62b–63a, *Ned.* 50a).

The influence of ʿAqivaʾ touched all areas of rabbinic thought and all levels of rabbinic lore. The Talmud relates that

> the anonymous statements in the Mishnah [the earliest collection of rabbinic teachings] should be attributed to Meʾir, the anonymous statements in the Tosefta [a document that parallels the Mishnah but that did not achieve its official status] should be attributed to Neḥemyah, the anonymous statements in *Sifra*ʿ [an early collection of exegetical statements on *Leviticus*] should be attributed to Yehudah, the anonymous statements in *Sifrei* [an early collection of exegetical comments on *Numbers* and *Deuteronomy*] should be attributed to Shim'on, and all of them are according to the opinion of ʿAqivaʾ. (B.T., *San.* 86a)

The major sages after ʿAqivaʾ traced their intellectual heritage back to him. Even the patriarch Gamliʾel of Yavneh acquiesced to the knowledge of ʿAqivaʾ (B.T., *Ber.* 27b–28a), and the greatest patriarch, Yehudah ha-Nasi', studied with the five major pupils of ʿAqivaʾ (B.T., *Meg.* 20a). Even Moses is said to have asked God why he revealed the Torah through him if he had such a one as ʿAqivaʾ (B.T., *Men.* 29b).

Scholars such as Jacob Brull, Jacob Zuri, and Zacharias Frankel attribute to ʿAqivaʾ a central role in the codification of the Mishnah; however, Jacob Neusner and his students have raised serious questions about the traditional view of how the Mishnah came into being and the role of ʿAqivaʾ in that process. Compilation of the early *midrashim* (collections of exegetical statements) by ʿAqivaʾ also has been the subject of scholarly debate since the time of David Hoffmann (late nineteenth century) and Chanoch Albeck.

The traditional picture of ʿAqivaʾ as a biblical exegete goes beyond the assigning of particular early collections of exegetical statements to him. It is commonly claimed that ʿAqivaʾ represents a major trend in early rabbinic biblical commentary (Heschel, 1962). He is said to have followed an imaginative and creative form of biblical exegesis and to have derived his comments from every aspect of the biblical text, including the shapes of the letters (B.T., *Men.* 29b) and the peculiarities of biblical Hebrew, such as the repetition of words and phrases and the appearance of certain prepositions, conjunctions, and adverbs (B.T., *Ḥag.* 12a, *Shav.* 26a; *Gn. Rab.* 1.14, 22.2, 53.20). The exegetical activity of ʿAqivaʾ is often contrasted to that of Yishmaʿeʾl ben Elishaʿ, who is said to have followed a more rational approach to the biblical text. For example, the repetition of "a man, a man" in *Leviticus* 22:4 led ʿAqivaʾ to conclude that the uncircumcised were included in the prohibition against eating the Passover sacrifice, while Yishmaʿeʾl proved this point by a citation of *Leviticus* 22:10 and *Exodus* 12:45 (*Sifraʾ,* Emor 4.18). However, recent work on the exegetical traditions of Yishmaʿeʾl and ʿAqivaʾ (Porton, 1976–1982) has demonstrated that the methods used by these two rabbis were more similar than most scholars have thought.

Just as the rabbinic tradition assigned ʿAqivaʾ a prominent place in the compilations of the legal and exegetical collections, so it assigned him a pivotal role in the formation of the mystical texts of Judaism. He is included, along with Ben ʿAzzʾai, Elishaʿ ben Avuyah, and Ben Zomaʾ, among those "who entered the garden," which is taken as a reference to mystical teachings, and he alone is said to have "left in peace" (B.T., *Ḥag.* 14b and parallels). His importance in the mystical tradition is seen in the attribution of sayings to him in the Heikhalot literature (collections of visions of those who traveled through God's palace) and by the attribution of *Heikhalot zuṭratti* to him.

ʿAqivaʾ did not limit himself to the sphere of the intellect. He was pictured as being actively involved in the Bar Kokhba Revolt. In fact, ʿAqivaʾ is normally said to have claimed that Bar Kokhba was the Messiah and to have been the major rabbinical supporter of the uprising (J.T., *Taʿan.* 68d). The rabbinic texts claim that he suffered a martyr's death at the hands of the Romans during the revolt (B.T., *Ber.* 61b). However, Peter Schafer has raised serious objections to the scholarly consensus concerning the revolt and the role of ʿAqivaʾ in it.

Although recent scholarship has challenged many of the details regarding the life of ʿAqivaʾ that are found in rabbinic texts, it does not detract from the impression he made on his contemporaries and on subsequent generations. The picture we find in the documents of ancient Judaism is one of an extraordinary talent. He is described as affecting every aspect of rabbinic thought—legal, exegetical, mystical, and even philosophical. "Man has free will," ʿAqivaʾ is reported to have said, "but all is foreseen by God" (*Avot* 3.16). His rise from poverty to greatness must have been an inspiration to many—so much so that he was placed at the center of the important historical and intellectual events of his time.

SEE ALSO Tannaim.

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AQUINAS, THOMAS SEE THOMAS AQUINAS

ARABIAN RELIGIONS.

The advent of Islam in the seventh century of the common era marked a clear division in the political and religious history of Arabia. In the eyes of Muslim authors, pre-Islamic time is viewed as the Jāhilīyah ("age of ignorance"), a term applied to pre-Islamic history within and without Arabia. From a religious standpoint, this term corresponds especially to the polytheistic beliefs and rituals that to a large extent characterized religious life in Arabia.

In addition to polytheism, Judaism and Christianity were practiced in Arabia in pre-Islamic times. The second Abyssinian invasion of South Arabia in 525 was prompted by—among other factors—the anti-Christian excesses of Dhū Nuwās, the Jewish Ḥimyarī ruler. A Jewish colony had long been established at Yathrib (Medina) when Muḥammad emigrated there from Mecca in 622. There is no archaeological evidence that Zoroastrianism had been practiced among pre-Islamic Arabs, but Sasanid rule over the area from circa 575 to 628 must have resulted in the practice of this religion within the Persian garrisons in South Arabia. Muslim sources also mention the *Majūs of Bahrein* (i.e., the Zoroastrians of Eastern Arabia), particularly in commenting on Qurʾān 9:29.

Historical Background. Known in antiquity as Arabia Felix, South Arabia was a fertile area with elaborate waterworks that supported the rise of a number of states in pre-Islamic times: Maʿīn (the Minaeans), Saba (the land of Sheba), Qatabān, and Hadhramaut. These later formed the Ḥimyarī kingdom (capital, Ẓafār), which fell to the Abyssinians in 525. The Sabaeans were mentioned in the annals of Assyrian kings as far back as the eighth century BCE, and the peoples of Arabia Felix were known to classical writers as early as the end of the fourth century BCE. Strabo preserved an excerpt from Eratosthenes that mentions Minaeans, Sabaeans, Qatabānians, and Hadhramautis, and he himself gave an account of the expedition of Aelius Gallus into the area in 24 BCE. References to these peoples are also found in the anonymous *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (between c. 95 and 130 CE) and in the works of Pliny (c. 77 CE) and Ptolemy (c. 150 CE).

This region, known as the land of incense, maintained an active trade with Egypt, Abyssinia, and India. The *Periplus* mentions the South Arabian ports of Okēlis, Kanē, and Muza as the main trading places for Egyptian cloth and wine, African ivory, and Indian spices. Saba and Hadhramaut are mentioned in the Bible; the former gained fame as the land of Sheba, whose queen paid a visit to King Solomon in Jerusalem and is described in the Bible as "having a great retinue and camels bearing spices and very much gold and precious stones" (*2 Chr.* 9:1–12). Excavations in 1955–1956 and 1960 of the sites of Yeha and Melazo (in Ethiopia) that yielded a number of Sabaean inscriptions revealed that by the fifth century BCE Sabaean immigrants had established themselves in northeastern Ethiopia.

The capitals of the South Arabian states were Qarnaw (Maʿīn), Timnaʿ (Qatabān), Shabwa (Hadhramaut), and Ṣirwāḥ and Maʾrib (the two capitals of Saba). Some scholars date the rise of the first South Arabian state as far back as 1200 BCE, but the chronology of the rise and fall of these states is not yet well established. Except in Maʿīn, the rulers of these states bore the theocratic title of *mukarrib* ("priest-king"). With the consolidation and expansion of the Sabaean state, this title changed to *malik* ("king").

Although Mecca was not a capital city, it was an important economic center, linking trade routes from South Arabia with the great cities of Syria and Iraq. It was also an important religious center for the tribes of the Hejaz (western Arabia). Later, this area became the cradle of Islam, a monotheistic religion that was to eradicate all traces of paganism. We are told by al-Azraqī that as many as 360 idols were destroyed in Mecca following its capture by the prophet Muḥammad and his supporters in 630.

In the northern Hejaz, a Minaean colony flourished in al-ʿUlā. Farther north, from Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ to Petra, are the temples and rock-cut funerary monuments of the Nabateans, Arabs whose kingdom existed from the first century BCE until its fall to the Romans in 106 CE. Another North Arabian kingdom was founded around the Syrian city of Tadmor (Palmyra) and is known for its role in fending off Sasanid expansion into the area. It reached its zenith from about the middle of the second century CE to 272, when it was annexed by the Romans following the defeat of its queen, Zenobia.

Religion. South Arabian religion was dominated by astral worship. Each people worshiped its own moon god: Wadd (the Minaeans), ʿAmm (the Qatabānians), Sīn (the Hadhramautis), and Ilumquh (or Almaqah, the Sabaeans). Other lunar deities are mentioned in a number of South Arabian inscriptions, but the consensus among specialists is that they represented a particular aspect or function of each of the aforementioned moon gods, and were not distinct deities. Thus Hawbas could be invoked along with Ilumquh, Anbay or Warakh with ʿAmm, Hawl with Sīn, and Naḥasṭāb with Wadd. The specific features of each of these gods is still a matter for discussion: Gonzague Ryckmans (1951) considers that Hawbas represented the "ebb and flow" aspect of the moon god, and Hawl that of "recurrence," and that the meaning of the name *Anbay* was "spokesman." The nature of Naḥasṭāb is not clear, but Albert Jamme (1947) thinks that he was probably a moon god.

The solar deity was worshiped as a goddess and is mentioned mostly with a number of attributes beginning with the word *dhāt* ("endowed with, possessing"). The different names under which she appears are generally viewed as reflecting aspects of the sun according to seasonal changes: Dhāt Ḥimyam ("the blazing one") and Dhāt Baʿdān ("the faraway one") in Sabaean inscriptions. Among the Hadhramautis, she is known as Shams ("sun"). Occasionally, she is associated with the name of a local temple: Dhāt Nashq and Dhāt Ẓahrān, in some Minaean and Qatabānian inscriptions.

The third major South Arabian divinity was ʿAthtar, the male equivalent of the stellar deity Venus. He is considered by most scholars to be the god of irrigation, and he appears in inscriptions under the common name of ʿAthtar but more often with an epithet or in a construct denoting a location: ʿAthtar Shārqan ("ʿAthtar of the east"), ʿAthtar Shāriq ("ʿAthtar rising from the east"), and ʿAthtar Dhū Qabḍim ("ʿAthtar, lord of Qabd"). The invocation of ʿAthtar before the other deities is common, especially in the concluding formulas of votive inscriptions.

The triad of moon god, sun god, and ʿAthtar worshiped by the Sabaeans of Arabia is also encountered in Sabaean inscriptions found in Ethiopia. An inscription from the site of Melazo (a few miles southeast of Aksum) mentions Ilumquh next to Hawbas; another is dedicated to ʿAthtar (ʿAstar) alone, and a third to ʿAstar, Hawbas, Ilumquh, Dhāt Ḥimyam, and Dhāt Baʿdān (see A. J. Drewes, "Les inscriptions de Melazo," *Annales d'Éthiopie* 3, 1959, pp. 83–99).

A lack of dated inscriptions impedes a better understanding of the religious evolution of South Arabia. In the extant inscriptions, a host of deities are mentioned individually or in combination with one or more members of the triad. Their nature and position in the pantheon remain very sketchy, however, because of the disparity and wide variety of these "secondary" deities. Some of the deities, with their probable meanings, are Balw ("death, misfortune"), Dhū Samāwī ("lord of the sky [heaven]"), Ḥalfān ("oath, contract"), Ḥalīm ("the wise one"), Nasr ("eagle"), Raḥman ("the compassionate one"), and Samīʿ ("the one who listens").

The temple formed the cult center among the sedentary settlements in this part of the peninsula. Each temple had a keeper, whose functions have not been clarified but who is thought to have assumed certain religious duties; the term *sacerdotal* is inappropriate here owing to our present lack of knowledge of the subject. Among South Arabian temples, two are well known: the temple of Ḥurayḍah (Hureidha) in Hadhramaut, dedicated to Sīn, the local moon god, and the temple of ʿAwwām (Ḥaram Bilqīs) in Maʾrib, dedicated to Ilumquh, the Sabaean moon god. The remains indicate that these were elaborate structures consisting of a large courtyard and several partitions for cultic purposes.

The Hejaz. The nomadic way of life and the tribal organization left their impact: the multitude of deities worshiped in the Hejaz were tribal deities. Each tribe had its own god or goddess, represented generally in the form of a baetyl, a sacred stone. The mobility of nomadic life led to the adoption of suitable cultic practices. Thus, the members of a tribe could worship their deity anywhere by investing any form of stone with the divine. This "substitute" was referred to as a *nuṣub* (pl., *anṣāb*, Qurʾān 5:90). Although the cult of baetyls was the most important religious feature, there are a few examples of the veneration of trees and spirits. The Muslim author al-Azraqī noted that the Quraysh tribe worshiped Dhāt Anwāṭ, a "huge green tree" located at Ḥunayn, on the road from Mecca to Taif. Al-ʿUzzā, the major goddess of the same tribe, was believed to have been incarnated in a cluster of three acacia trees in the Ḥurāḍ Valley, on the road from Mecca to Medina. The presence of these trees along seasonal migratory tracks led to their worship. As for jinn (spirits), a number of sources, including the Qurʾān (6:100–101), indicate that they were worshiped by Arabs in pre-Islamic times. According to Ibn al-Kalbī (trans. Faris, 1952, p. 29), the clan of Banū Mulayḥ of the Khuzāʿa tribe was notable for jinn worship.

Three tribal deities were preeminent in Central Arabia. These were Manāt, Allāt, and Al-ʿUzzā, the three goddesses mentioned in the Qurʾān (53:19–22). The most ancient of these was Manāt, who was worshiped by the Azd tribe and whose sanctuary was at Qudayd, on the Red Sea, near Mecca. The cult of Manāt was also popular in North Arabia, where the name of this deity appears in inscriptions in its archaic form, *Manawat.* In Palmyra, she was associated with the ancient god Bel Hamon; "the inscriptions presumably define her personality as that of a goddess who appropriates gifts to her worshippers and presides over chance and luck" (Teixidor, 1979, p. 17). A Nabatean inscription from the tomb of Kam Kam (Cantineau, vol. 2, 1932, p. 26) invokes Manāt and Allāt together with Dushara, the Nabatean sun god.

Allāt was the goddess of the Thaqif tribe but was also revered by the Quraysh. Her sanctuary was at Taif and was, in the words of Ibn al-Kalbī, "a square stone." As was the case for Manāt, her cult spread to North Arabia, where she was featured as the warrior goddess. A temple was dedicated to her at Palmyra and also at Ṣalḥad (Ṣarḥad), in the Hauran region of Syria. G. A. Cooke (1903, p. 253) believes that her cult was introduced into the Hauran by the Nabateans following their capture of Damascus in 85 BCE.

Al-ʿUzzā was the goddess of the Quraysh tribe, and her cult originated later than the cults of Manāt and Allāt. She was incarnated, as mentioned above, in three trees in the Ḥurāḍ Valley, where a sanctuary was dedicated to her. In North Arabia, her cult was not so extensive as those of Allāt and Manāt.

Two deities, Isāf (male) and Nāʾilah (female), seem to have been of South Arabian origin; they were worshiped as a couple. We are told by Ibn al-Kalbī and al-Azraqī that their images were placed in the proximity of the Kaʿbah and were worshiped by the Khuzāʿa and Quraysh tribes. The legend surrounding this couple states that they were originally two persons from the Jurhum tribe in Yemen who fornicated in the Kaʿbah and as a result were turned to stone.

Five other deities, all of South Arabian provenance, are mentioned in the Qurʾān (71:23–24): Wadd, Suwāʿ, Yaghūth, Yaʿāq, and Nasr. Of these, Wadd was the "national" god of the Minaeans. Suwāʿ and Nasr are mentioned by Ibn al-Kalbī (1952, pp. 8–11) and appear in a few inscriptions. According to al-Shahrastānī, Yaghūth and Yaʿāq were worshiped in Yemen.

Hubal, the most important deity of Mecca, was a god of great complexity. Unlike the deities cited above, Hubal does not seem to have been of local origin. He was a late addition to the deities worshiped in the Hejaz and is not mentioned at all in the Qurʾān despite the preeminence of his cult in Mecca. The majority of Muslim authors describe him as a carnelian red statue with a broken right arm, a limb that the Quraysh tribe repaired in gold. They state that this statue was brought from Syria (according to al-Azraqī, from Mesopotamia) by ʿAmr ibn Luḥayy; from a passage of al-Shahrastānī it may be deduced that this occurred no earlier than the middle of the third century CE. The statue was placed in the Kaʿbah and was worshiped as a god by the Arabs of the Hejaz, especially by the Quraysh tribe. It was this god who was invoked by Abū Sufyān, a leader of the Quraysh, during the battle of Uḥud against Muḥammad and his followers. The legend surrounding Hubal shows him as the god of rain and a warrior god. Toward the end of the pre-Islamic era he emerged especially as an intertribal warrior god worshiped by the Quraysh and the allied tribes of the Kināna and Tihāma.

The astral character of the cult was prominent among the South Arabians and also among the Palmyrenes and Nabateans. However, it is not certain that this was so among the tribes of the Hejaz. A number of Qurʾanic passages, especially "Adore not the sun and the moon, but adore God who created them" (41:37), and information gathered from literary sources indicate the existence of the "worship of stars" in pre-Islamic Arabia in general. These references, however, are vague and insufficient for the identification of astral deities worshiped by the tribes of the Hejaz. There, religion was marked by the preeminence of tribal deities, a feature reflecting the nomadic way of desert life. These deities and their sacred places were as mobile as nomadic life itself, as demonstrated by the worship of *anṣāb* (baetyls). The number of stone-built sanctuaries was small, and, if the Kaʿbah was a prototype, they reflected the simplicity of nomadic life.

Cultic practices. It is not known whether specific rituals, such as prayers, were prescribed, and our knowledge of cultic practices is limited to the yields of excavations, including inscriptions, and to the occasional accounts of medieval Muslim authors.

Offerings were the most common cultic practice. The worshipers offered a few valuables in recognition of the deity's care or support. Thus, a wealthy Minaean merchant made an offering of money to ʿAthtar Dhū Qabḍim, a Sabaean dedicated a gold camel to Dhū Samāwī, and another, a gold statue to ʿAthtar Dhū Ḍibān. Offerings could also consist of public works, such as a water cistern or a tower. This practice was common in the Hejaz as well, with variations from one deity to another. The offerings could include a portion of the harvest, money, jewelry, or gold. Several accounts mention that worshipers gave money or camels to the keeper (*sādin*) of the Kaʿbah when consulting Hubal for an oracle, while Ibn Hishām mentions that money, jewelry, gold, and onyx were found in the sanctuary of Allāt upon its destruction in Islamic times.

Animal sacrifice, especially of sheep and camels, was most common in Arabia, and is corroborated by a number of votive inscriptions from South Arabia. The 1937–1938 excavation by Gertrude Caton Thompson of the temple of Sīn in Ḥurayḍah revealed partitions that contained a number of shrines with sacrificial altars in their middle, as well as remains of animal bones. This cultic practice was widespread in the Hejaz, and it is often mentioned in early Muslim sources. Ibn al-Kalbī (1952, pp. 16–17) recounts that the prophet Muḥammad said he made, in pre-Islamic times, an offering to Al-ʿUzzā consisting of a dust-colored sheep. Another passage from Ibn al-Kalbī (p. 18) implies that the flesh of the sacrificial animal was divided among those who were present at this occasion.

The sacrifice of humans was nonexistent. The Qurʾān (81:8–9) notes the rare practice of *waʾd al-banāt* (the burial alive of infant daughters), but this should not be viewed as a form of human sacrifice (cf. 16:58–59).

Offerings of incense and fragrances were common in South Arabia, but not in the Hejaz. Incense burners were found among the remains of the temple and tombs of Ḥurayḍah, in the tombs of Timnaʿ (Qatabān), and in the Sabaean tombs excavated at Yeha (Ethiopia).

The belief in some form of an afterlife was widespread among the Arabs. Archaeological evidence from the abovementioned excavations (which took place in 1937–1938, 1951, and 1960, respectively) tends to support this view: the excavations brought to light artifacts consisting of pottery, jewelry (mostly beads), incense burners, and a few tools and utensils. These objects were placed in the tombs for future use by the dead. Until very recently, no trace of mummification was found in South Arabian necropolises, but the discovery, at the end of 1983, of two tombs near Sanʿa (the capital of Yemen) containing five mummies will certainly lead to a reassessment of South Arabian sepulchral practices.

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Next to the epigraphic sources, our knowledge of pre-Islamic religious life in Arabia is drawn from sparse Qurʾanic references and their commentaries, and from literary and historical works of early Muslim authors such as Ibn Isḥāq (d. 768), Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 819 or 821/2), al-Wāqidī (d. 823), Ibn Hishām (d. 833), Ibn Saʿd (d. 845), al-Azraqī (d. 858?), al-Ṭabarī (d. 923), and al-Shahrastānī (d. 1153). Except for the Qurʾān, these sources were not contemporaneous with the rise of Islam. One of the earliest known works was a biography of the prophet Muḥammad, *Sīrat rasūl Allāh*, by Ibn Isḥāq, as compiled by Ibn Hishām; an interval of about a century and a half separates it from the beginning of the new religion. Because of their retrospective view of events, these works naturally lack systematic information about pre-Islamic religions on the peninsula.

The only known work treating solely the topic of religion in pre-Islamic Arabia is the *Kitāb al-aṣnām* of Ibn al-Kalbī, a native of al-Kūfa, in Iraq. This work was known, prior to its publication in 1914, primarily through extensive quotations by

Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 1225) in his geographical dictionary, *Muʾjam al-buldān*. Ibn al-Kalbī's work has been translated into English by Nabih A. Faris as *The Book of Idols* (Princeton, 1952). The interesting feature of Ibn al-Kalbī's work is its listing of idols and some brief information regarding rituals and tribal idol worship. The *Akhbār Makkah* (History of Mecca) of al-Azraqī is another important source, to which should be added the works of al-Hamdānī (d. 945), a native of Sanʿa, in Yemen. These are *Ṣifat jazīrat al-ʿarab* (a description of the Arabian peninsula) and *Kitāb al-iklīl*, of which only parts 8 and 10 are known. Part 8 has been translated by Nabih A. Faris as *The Antiquities of South Arabia* (1938; reprint, Westport, Conn., 1981).

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ARAMEAN RELIGION.

When the Arameans first appeared in the ancient Near East is not known. The early attestations of *Aram* as a place-name—in an inscription of Naram-Sin of Akkad at the end of the third millennium BCE, in the Mari texts of the eighteenth century BCE, and at Ugarit in the fourteenth century BCE—cannot be taken as a proof of the early existence of an independent ethnic group, even though during the first millennium some of the Aramean kings styled themselves "king of Aram." The Arameans are characterized by their names and their dialects, the novelty of which strikes the historian as he compares them with the preexistent Akkadian names and language used in Mesopotamia.

In the second half of the eleventh century the Arameans are known to have gained control of large areas of the Syrian desert and thus of its caravan routes. They succeeded in forming in northern Syria and around Damascus major confederacies in which dialects of Aramaic were spoken and written. The Aramean states spread over the great bend of the Euphrates, on the upper and lower Habor, and in the northern Syrian hinterland at Samal, Arpad, Aleppo, and Hama. Some information about the Arameans comes from biblical sources, which state that David defeated Hadadezer of Aram-Zobah (near modern Hama), whose political influence had reached as far south as Ammon in Transjordan (*2 Sm.* 8:3, 10:6), or that the continuous disputes between Judah and Israel helped the rise of Damascus as an Aramean power in Syria (Malamat, 1973, pp. 141–144). The Assyrians could not allow a threat to their hegemony in the Near East, however, so Ashurnasirpal II (r. 883–859 BCE) and Shalmaneser III (r. 858–824 BCE) subdued the Aramean states in northern Syria, and Tiglathpileser III (r. 744–727 BCE) reduced Damascus to an Assyrian province.

Yet even defeated, the Arameans maintained the prestige of their language, and the gods they called on in treaties and religious inscriptions became the gods of the whole of Syria and remained so up to the first centuries CE. The massive arrival under the Persians (sixth century BCE) and the

Greeks (fourth century) of Arab tribes into southern Palestine, the Hauran, Damascus, the Syrian desert, and even northern Syria did not disrupt the traditional ways of living and praying because the newcomers adopted the culture and the language of the Arameans. Any analysis of the Aramean religion must therefore take into consideration all the inscriptions written in Aramaic, from the earliest ones of the ninth century BCE down to those of the first three centuries CE (the latter are written in Syriac, a cognate language of Aramaic, and still reflect the influence of the ancient pagan cults of northern Syria).

THE CULTS OF HADAD AND SIN. A bilingual inscription (in Akkadian and Aramaic) found in 1979 at Tell Fekhariye, near Tell Halaf, on the border between Syria and Turkey, records the gratitude of Hadadyisi, ruler of Sikanu and Guzanu, to Hadad of Sikanu. Both the script and the historical context date the life-size statue of the ruler on which the text is engraved to the first part of the ninth century BCE. This is the earliest, most important text in Aramaic ever found, and the mention of the god Hadad (in Akkadian, Adad) becomes of paramount interest to the history of his cult among the Arameans. Hadad is praised in both languages in a formula that is often used to praise Adad in Akkadian inscriptions from Mesopotamia. The god is styled "the inspector of the waters of heaven and earth"; the one "who pours richness and dispenses pastureland and moisty fields to all countries." Hadad is the one "who provides the gods, his brothers, with quietness and sustenance." He, the great lord of Sikanu, is "a merciful god," a deity whose almighty providence ranks him above other gods and makes him for humans a storm god and a weather god.

Although Adad's minor position in the Mesopotamian pantheon does not compare with his counterpart's preeminence in northern Syria and among the Arameans in general, his name appears as a theophorous element in some Semitic personal names of the pre-Sargonic period; after the reigns of Sargon of Akkad (late third millennium BCE) and his grandson Naram-Sin, the first Semitic rulers to establish an empire in the Mesopotamian lands, such theophorous names became very frequent. The element *Addu* (Adad/Hadad) occurs frequently in personal names from the Syro-Mesopotamian area. Letters from Mari, on the middle Euphrates, reveal the popularity of the god at the beginning of the second millennium BCE.

A colossal statue of Hadad was found in 1890 in a village to the northeast of Zinjirli (Turkey). According to the inscription carved on the monument, it had been erected by King Panamu of Yady (Samal, in the Zinjirli region) to acknowledge that his royal power derived from Hadad. Although Panamu was not a Semite, he gave his son a Semitic name, Barsur, and extolled Semitic gods in his inscription: besides Hadad the text lists El, the high god adored at Ugarit and in pre-Israelite Canaan; Reshef, the ancient Syrian god of pestilence and the underworld, but also of well-being (identified with Nergal in Mesopotamia and with Apollo by the Greeks); and Rakib-El, whose name can be interpreted as "charioteer of El," thus becoming a suitable epithet for the moon god, since the crescent of the moon can easily be imagined as a boat navigating across the skies. (The plausibility of this interpretation is heightened by the inscription's mention of Shamash, the sun god, right after Rakif-El, as if the intention was to show that the two celestial bodies formed Hadad's cortege.)

Panamu's dynasty is known from another Aramaic inscription, one written on the statue that King Barrakib erected to his father, Panamu II. The monarch recounted in it his father's political career and how Hadad saved him from the curse that had fallen on his dynastic family. Following the religious traditions of the family, Barrakib invoked Hadad together with Rakib-El, the dynastic god of the kings of Samal, and Shamash. A few years later he had another inscription carved alongside a relief that represented him in Assyrian dress. The monarch asserted that "because of my father's righteousness and my own righteousness, my lord Rakif-El and my lord Tiglathpileser seated me upon my father's throne." On a relief from Harran, in northwestern Mesopotamia, the same ruler proclaimed his faith in the moon god by declaring that his lord is the *baal* ("lord") of Harran.

At Harran the *baal* was the moon god known by the name Sin, which is a late development of the Mesopotamian name Suen. The Akkadians seem to have been responsible for introducing the name of the moon god into southern Sumer, where Suen was identified with the moon god Nanna, the city god of Ur (Roberts, 1972, p. 50), from whence the cult probably traveled to Harran with the Aramean nomads. The cult of the moon god attained high prominence at Harran and throughout the Syro-Mesopotamian region. But the Aramaic inscriptions portray the miscellaneous character of religious life in these lands: the funerary stelae of two priests of the moon god recovered in 1891 at Nerab (southeast of Aleppo), dated to the seventh century BCE, reveal that the priests bore Akkadian theophorous names of Sin but worshiped the moon god under his West Semitic name, Sahar.

The devotion of the Aramean population to the moon god (under whatever name) became a distinctive feature of the religiosity of northern Syria, especially when the area came under Babylonian rule after the destruction of the Assyrian Empire. At the end of the seventh century, Nabopolassar (r. 625–605 BCE) and Nebuchadrezzar (r. 604–562 BCE) settled Babylonians in the various countries they conquered. The cult knew a glorious period under Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon (r. 556–539 BCE), for he rebuilt Ehulhul, the sanctuary of Sin at Harran, which had been destroyed by the Medes in 610 BCE as they crushed the Assyrian remnant of the city (Lambert, 1972, p. 58). In the words of Nabonidus himself and of his mother, the priestess of the god at the sanctuary, Sin was "the king of the gods." Except for the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal (r. 668–627 BCE), who had himself crowned at Harran, and Nabonidus, no Assyro-Babylonian king is known to have given the lord of Harran this epithet, which was usually given to the gods Ashur and Marduk (Levy, 1945–1946, pp. 417–418).

It is likely that there were close religious links between the Arameans of the province of Harran and the Arab tribes of Dedan and Teima in northern Arabia, for one of the sources relating the conquest of the Aramean states by the Assyrian king Adadnirari II (r. 911–891 BCE) mentions the presence of three Temanite *shaykhs* in the area. The prolonged and probably religiously motivated stay of Nabonidus at Teima (Lambert, 1972, p. 60) could not but strengthen these links. The Aramaic inscription of the sixth century BCE found at Teima attest to this to some extent, for bull heads were frequently recovered with the inscriptions, and this seems to suggest the existence of a cult of the moon among the Aramaic-speaking population of the Arabian desert (Teixidor, 1977, pp. 71–75).

ASSOCIATIONS OF GODS. The very few inscriptions that provide information about the Aramean religion during the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries BCE record only the religious feelings of the ruling class. No indication of what the religious life of the commoners might have been is ever found. In the final analysis the study of the ancient Near Eastern religion comes down to a listing of divine names, with occasional glimpses as to what a given deity must have meant in concrete terms to an individual. Associations of gods of various origins are frequent in the epigraphic texts, but these were probably the result of political confederacies in which different tribes or groups would invoke their respective gods in order to warrant their mutual commitments. In this respect (1) the stele of Zakkur and (2) the treaties concluded by Matiel, an Aramean king of Arpad, deserve special attention.

1. Zakkur was king of Hamath and Luath in the region of modern-day Hama. Hostilities in this northern part of Syria reached a dramatic point at the beginning of the eighth century. The inscription informs us that Zakkur, a usurper, erected the stele for Ilwer, his god, and to express appreciation for Beelshamen's help in delivering him from his many Aramean enemies. The inscription states that Zakkur lifted his hands to the god Beelshamen, and "Beelshamen spoke to me through seers and messengers, and Beelshamen said to me: Fear not, because it was I who made you king" (Gibson, 1975, pp. 8–9). If this was so, it is not clear why the stele was erected to Ilwer and not to Beelshamen. The two gods are mentioned a second time together, along with Shamash and Sahar, on the right face of the stele. *Ilwer* is the Aramaic spelling of the ancient Mesopotamian name *Ilmer*, a storm god who came to be assimilated into Hadad. *Beelshamen* (in Phoenician, *Baalshamim*), on the other hand, is an epithet, meaning "lord of the heavens," that was used in the ancient Near Eastern inscriptions to name the supreme god of any local pantheon. Prior to Greco-Roman times, however, Hadad and Beelshamen/Baalshamim were worshiped by different ethnic groups: Hadad by the Arameans in the Syrian hinterland, and Baalshamim by the Phoenicians on the Mediterranean coast. In Zakkur's inscription, the association of the Phoenician god of heavens to Ilwer/Hadad could have been intended as a political move in order to gain to Zakkur's side the alliance of some western people.
2. Treaties concluded by Aramean rulers indirectly point to the active role that the gods played in daily life, since the gods are always invoked to witness the treaties, and their divine curses are called on should there be any violation of the clauses. Matiel, the Aramean king of Beit Gusi (of which Arpad, some nineteen miles north of Aleppo, was the capital), concluded a treaty with Ashurnirari V (r. 754–745 BCE). To ensure it against possible violations, the Assyrian king summoned the gods to curse Matiel "should he sin against the treaty." Sin and Hadad were called on in a particular manner:

> May the great Lord Sin who dwells in Harran, clothe Matiʿilu, his sons, his officials, and the people of his land in leprosy as in a cloak so that they have to roam the open country, and may he have no mercy on them. . . . May Hadad put an end to Matiʿilu, his land and the people of his land through hunger, want, and famine, so that they eat the flesh of their sons and daughters and it taste as good to them as the flesh of spring lambs. May they be deprived of Adad's thunder so that rain be denied to them. Let dust be their food, pitch their ointment, donkey's urine their drink, rushes their clothing, let their sleeping place be in the corners [of walls]. (Reiner, in Pritchard, 1969, p. 533)

LATE ARAMEAN RELIGION. Exposed to Assyro-Babylonian influences and in continuous contact with the Canaanite traditions, the Arameans amalgamated cults and beliefs that were not distinctly their own. The disparateness of the Aramean religion is best observed in the fifth-century-BCE texts from Egypt (Memphis, Elephantine, and Aswān), where, beside Jewish and Aramean mercenaries, an Aramaic-speaking populace of deportees, refugees, and merchants settled with their families during the Persian period. This motley community worshiped a host of deities among whom the inscriptions single out the god Nabu and the goddess Banit from Babylon, and the Aramean deities Bethel, Anat-Bethel, and Malkat-Shemen ("queen of heaven"). The god Bethel appears in the names of two other no less popular deities, Eshembethel ("name of Bethel") and Herembethel ("sanctuary of Bethel"; the element *herem* is related to the Arabic *ḥaram*, "sacred precinct," the temple thus being deified and made a new hypostasis of Bethel).

In the eclectic society of Egypt under the Persians, when Greeks, Cilicians, Phoenicians, Jews, and Syrians lived together, the religious syncretism cherished by the Asiatics is most manifest in those documents that record oaths sworn by Jews in the name of Egyptian and Aramean gods (in addition to the oaths taken by Yahveh) and in the Aramean personal names that reveal the worship of Bel, Shamash, Nergal, and Atar along with the Egyptian deities. yet nothing is known about the religion of the Arameans living in Egypt. The historian must wait until Greco-Roman times to benefit from the overall picture that Semitic and Greek inscriptions provide for the study of the Syrian religion. In general, religion in the Near East was not subject to the challenge of speculative and critical thought that influenced the daily life in Greece at this time, for the inscriptions do not reflect the impact of new fashions.

Under the Seleucid occupation, in the fourth century BCE, the Syro-Phoenician religion seems more coherent, and the cult of the supreme god, whatever its name (Baal, Bel, Hadad, Beelshamen), appears to have been unified, probably after the cult of Zeus was brought in by the new monarchs. From Kafr Yassif, near Ptolemaïs (modern-day Acre), comes a limestone tablet of the second century BCE bearing a Greek inscription that reads as follows: "To Hadad and Atargatis, the gods who listen to prayer. Diodotus the son of Neoptolemos, on behalf of himself and Philista, his wife, and the children, has dedicated the altar in fulfillment of a vow." At this time Hadad concealed his identity under different names: at Heliopolis (modern-day Baalbek) he became Jupiter Heliopolitanus; at Dura-Europos, Zeus Kurios. At eṭ-Ṭayyibe, near Palmyra, the title *Zeus megistos keraunios*, applied to Beelshamen in a Greco-Palmyrene inscription of 134 CE, reveals one of the best-known epithets of Hadad, "the thunderer," a traditional description of the god's mastery over rain and vegetation. This is expressed differently in the Hauran by the title *Zeus epikarpios*, "the bringer of fruits," to be found on a Greek altar from Bostra.

The acceptance of a god of the heavens led the Syro-Phoenician clergy to couch the belief in this god's supremacy in a new theological notion, that of *caelus aeternus* ("eternal heavens"). The cosmic deity was supposed to preside over the course of the stars and, accordingly, was represented in the iconography as escorted by two acolytes, the sun and the moon. Palmyra offers a good example of this theological development. In 32 CE, at the same time as a cult was inaugurated at the temple of Bel, who was the national god of that city and the surrounding country, Palmyrene inscriptions present Beelshamen as "lord of the world." The lack of archaeological and epigraphic evidence does not permit a full understanding of these two important cults at Palmyra. It is tempting to stress, however, the importance that liturgical processions like the one held at Babylon on the occasion of the New Year might have had for the unification of the two cults. The presence of the temples of Bel and Beelshamen ought to be taken as a sign that these two cults were the result of the coexistence of two originally independent ethnic groups in the city (Teixidor, 1977, pp. 113–114, 136–137).

The commercial activity of Palmyra, lying on one of the main routes of the caravan trade, offered a propitious atmosphere for syncretistic cultic forms. At the same time Palmyra's social structures, organized in a tribal manner, imposed patterns on the entire religious life of the city. The importance of the god Yarhibol is illustrative of the role played by his worshipers, who settled in the neighborhood of the spring of Efca about the beginning of the second millennium BCE. Yarhibol's authority, exercised by means of oracles, transcended the territory of Efca: the god bore witness for some individuals, attested oaths, and allotted lands to temples and individuals. His civic responsibilities were never diminished throughout the entire history of Palmyra (Teixidor, 1979, pp. 29–32). Another tribal group worshiped Aglibol as a moon god, and Malakbel ("angel of Bel") as the sun god. To the Palmyrenes living in Rome, Malakbel was Sol Sanctissimus ("most sacred sun"). At Rome the cult of the sun reached its climax under the Syrian emperor Elagabalus (Heliogabalus). The heliolatry propagated by him succeeded in merging the cult of the emperors with that of Sol Invictus ("invincible sun"), and in 274 CE, under Aurelian, the cult of the sun became a state religion. These religious fashions came into the western Mediterranean from Syria and were transformed by the Roman philosophers; thus the sun became the ever-present image of the intelligible God (Teixidor, 1977, pp. 48–51).

Female deities were prominent in the Aramean pantheons, but their role in the religious life is not always clear, for their personal features are often blurred in the iconography. Atargatis was the Aramean goddess *par excellence.* Nowhere did her cult excel more than at Hierapolis (modern-day Membidj). According to Lucian (*De dea Syria* 33.47–49), statues of Hadad and Atargatis were carried in procession to the sea twice a year. People then came to the holy city from the whole of Syria and Arabia, and even from beyond the Euphrates. In a relief from Dura-Europos, Atargatis and her consort are seated side by side, but Atargatis, flanked by her lions, is larger than Hadad. Hadad's attribute, the bull, is represented in a considerable smaller scale than are the lions. As was the case at Hierapolis, the supremacy of the weather god was overshadowed by the popularity of his female partner. A major representation of the goddess can be seen today at Palmyra on a colossal limestone beam in the temple of Bel. On it Bel is shown in his chariot charging a monster. The combat is witnessed by six deities, one of whom is Atargatis. She is identified by the fish at her feet, an artistic tradition linked to Ascalon, where Atargatis was portrayed as a mermaid (Teixidor, 1979, pp. 73, 74, 76).

During Greco-Roman times the Arab goddess Allat assumed some of the features of other female deities: in Palmyrene iconography she appears both as a Greek Athena and as the Syrian Atargatis. Her sanctuary at Palmyra, excavated in the 1970s, is located in the neighborhood of the temple of Beelshamen, and this fact lends a special character to the city's western quarter, in which Arab tribes settled during the second century BCE. A Greek inscription recently found in this area equates Allat with Artemis (Teixidor, 1979, pp. 53–62). This multiform presence of Allat underlines the formidable impact of the Arab tribes on the Aramaic-speaking peoples of the Near East. Aramean traditions persisted, however. The region of Edessa (modern-day Urfa), called Osrhoene by the Greeks, was ruled by a dynasty of Arab origin from about 132 BCE, but it remained open to cultural influences from Palmyra, Jerusalem, and Adiabene. Notwithstanding the presence of Macedonian colonists and several centuries of commercial activity with the West and the Far East, traditional cults survived. At the beginning of the modern era, Sumatar Harabesi, about twenty-five miles northeast of Harran, became a religious center primarily devoted to the cult of Sin (Drijvers, 1980, pp. 122–128).

PRESENCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL. The inspection of the entrails of sacrificial animals for divinatory purposes was much in favor in Mesopotamia, as is emphasized by its omen collections, and this technique of communication with the supernatural forces was certainly spread over Syria and Palestine (Oppenheim, 1977, pp. 213–217; cf. *2 Kgs.* 16:15). On the other hand, message dreams and oracles must have become an essential feature of Aramean religious life, for in the meager body of Aramaic inscriptions we read about Panamu erecting a statue to Hadad at the god's request and about Zakkur being comforted by Beelshamen through seers and messengers. During Greco-Roman times, occasional texts written in the Aramaic dialects of Palmyra, Hatra (near Mossul), and Sumatar Harabesi (at nearby Urfa, in Turkey) refer too to temples and statues erected by individuals upon the deities' request.

AFTERLIFE. Although the Aramaic texts of all periods mention the names of various deities and occasionally convey the prayers that individuals addressed to them, the epigraphic material rarely supplies any evidence of a belief in an afterlife. Funerary texts do stress the inviolability of the tomb, but this is a universal human concern: the fine epitaph of one of the priests of Nerab in the early seventh century BCE is a good example of this concern:

> Siʾ-gabbari, priest of Sahar in Nerab. This is his image. Because of my righteousness before him he gave me a good name and prolonged my days. In the day I died my mouth was not bereft of words, and with my eyes I gazed upon the children of the fourth generation: they wept for me and were deeply distraught. They did not lay with me any vessel of silver or bronze: with my shroud they laid me, lest my sarcophagus be plundered in the future. Whoever you are who do wrong and rob me, may Sahar and Nikkal and Nushk cause him to die a miserable death and may his posterity perish! (Teixidor, 1979, pp. 45–46)

The royal inscription of Panamu I of Yady that is carved on the statue of Hadad asks the son who should grasp the scepter and sit on Panamu's throne to do sacrifice to Hadad. It says: "May the soul of Panamu eat with thee, and may the soul of Panamu drink with thee." But this text is not characteristic. The Cilician region of which Panamu was king was never a land of Semites, and consequently the Aramaic inscription may express convictions that are not Semitic. Neither the Aramaic texts from Egypt nor the Palmyrene inscriptions disclose their authors' views on death and afterlife. This silence is especially striking at Palmyra, where hundreds of funerary inscriptions give the name of the deceased in a terse, almost stereotyped manner, and the historian is inclined to conclude that the Palmyrenes did not have any concern whatever for the afterlife.

SEE ALSO Adad; Nanna.

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See also the various monographic issues of *Aram*, a scientific journal, concerned with all aspects of Syro-Mesopotamian cultures.

JAVIER TEIXIDOR (1987)
Revised Bibliography

ĀRANYAKAS SEE BRĀHMANAS AND ĀRANYAKAS

ARARBANEL, ISAAC SEE ABRAVANEL, ISAAC

ARCHAEOLOGY AND RELIGION. Even in contemporary circumstances, with living informants and known histories, the analysis of religion presents formidable obstacles to the scholar. It follows that the exploration of prehistoric religious ideas and institutions is even more difficult. The archaeologist must cope with the partial evidence, mute artifacts, and immature methodologies that are available. Given these barriers, it is not surprising that over the past century archaeology and the study of religion have maintained a close but uneasy relationship. Yet both of these broad intellectual endeavors have evolved slowly into more systematic disciplines, and their relationship has matured into a mutually supportive one.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE. Archaeology, the study of past cultures from their material remains, is a mongrel discipline, and only a few of its many heritages are respectable. The beginnings of archaeology included looting for the collection of antiquities, searches for lost biblical tribes, and excavations to verify claims of national, racial, or ethnic superiority. The evolution of archaeology as a scholarly field took distinctly different paths in different world regions, and its relationship with the study of religion varied accordingly.

Protohistoric archaeology. In the Near East and the Mediterranean, the nineteenth-century decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphs, Mesopotamian cuneiform, and other ancient scripts began the legitimate tradition of Old World archaeology. Classical and biblical archaeology, Egyptology, and much of Mesopotamian archaeology generally have been very concerned with the discovery of new texts, the verification and refinement of the information presented in the existing historical corpus, and the extension of an understanding of the historical periods into the immediately preceding prehistoric epochs. This aspect of archaeology—as a supplement to textual scholarship—was, and remains, an important element in the study of religion. It is certainly the most important aspect of archaeology for exploring the origins of the major Old World religious traditions. Excavations have unearthed many of the tablets, scrolls, and inscriptions that form the corpus of textual materials on the origins and nature of the religions of the ancient Near East. This contribution of archaeology to the study of religion continues, as demonstrated by the impact on biblical studies of recent discoveries of early texts during such excavations as those at Ugarit and Ebla in Syria.

However, excavations at other sites—Jericho in Palestine, Ur and Uruk in Mesopotamia, and Nimrud and Nineveh in Assyria—have also yielded the material remains of these ancient cultures and the broader context of early cult and ritual. Such excavations have provided a direct view of the material culture of religious life—temples, shrines, images, and artifacts. The earlier levels at these sites have also revealed the evolution of religion leading into the historical periods. Structure foundations, early tombs, the strata of tells, and their associated artifacts allow researchers to trace the prehistoric development of rituals and cults, mortuary practices, and multifunctional temple complexes in ancient Palestine, Egypt, and Sumer.

Pre-Columbian archaeology. In the New World, archaeology and the study of religion also started from a historical base. The Spanish conquest and colonization of Mexico and Peru left a legacy of historical description by the conquistadors, inquisitors, and bureaucrats who administered the conquered empires, kingdoms, and tribes of the American Indians. The descriptions from contact and colonial periods throughout the Americas were rich in their coverage of pre-Columbian religion, because it was of particular concern to the missionaries and bureaucrats who were the primary historians and ethnographers of American cultures. In addition to these European texts, a number of native bark and deerskin folding books (codices) survived the colonial era and provided an indigenous perspective on the pre-Columbian culture. Scholars of this combined historical and ethnographic corpus, ethnohistorians such as Eduard Seler, began the tradition of studies of pre-Columbian religion.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the gradual and continuing decipherment of the hieroglyphs of the Maya civilization of Mexico and Central America led such scholars as Sylvanus G. Morley back into the archaeological exploration of the gods and rites of earlier periods. In the first half of the twentieth century archaeological excavations worked back from the rich ethnohistorical record to uncover the art, iconography, and glyphic texts of earlier pre-Columbian religions. Interpretations relied heavily on later ethnographical and historical records, a methodology referred to as the "direct-historical approach" to archaeology. The earlier form and context of Indian religion was elucidated by extensive excavations at the great prehistoric urban and ceremonial centers of the New World: ancient Maya centers such as Copán in Honduras and Chichén Itzá in the Yucatán, as well as imperial capitals such as that of the Aztec at Tenochtitlán (now Mexico City) and the Inca capital at Cuzco, Peru.

As pre-Columbian research progressed, it enriched the cross-cultural study of religion. The limits of previous concepts of religious behavior were stretched by consideration of the nature and scale of Aztec human sacrifice, Inca ancestor worship, and Maya fascination with astronomical lore and calendric ritual. Explorations of all these phenomena involved a combination of colonial history, epigraphic research, and direct-historical field archaeology.

Prehistoric archaeology. Because of the combination of historical and archaeological approaches, the high civilizations of the Near East, the Mediterranean, Mesoamerica, and Peru initially provided the most information of the greatest reliability for studies of cross-cultural variation in religious behavior and of the history of religious traditions. Yet it was the archaeology of less politically complex societies in North America and Europe that led to most of the methodological and theoretical insights of this century. These breakthroughs eventually allowed the discipline to transcend its dependence on textual evidence and the direct-historical approach. Perhaps it was the weakness of the historical record for these areas that led to more innovative approaches. Alternatively, it may have been that the less complex structure of many of these societies—egalitarian bands, tribes, and chiefdoms—made them more amenable to cross-cultural analogy and comparison, because most ethnographically studied societies were at these levels.

Whatever the impetus may have been, the use of ethnographic analogy and anthropological comparison was widespread in interpretations of the archaeological record in North America. By the 1940s and 1950s Walter Taylor, Julian H. Steward, and others were advocating an even closer association between anthropology and archaeology and their use in interpreting the artifactual remains of ancient societies. Steward emphasized that cultures were not just collections of traits but integrated systems adapted to their environments. He stressed that human culture, like any other system, was patterned and that these patterns were reflected in the nature and location of sites and in the distribution and types of ancient artifacts.

The ideas of Steward and "culture ecologists" like him led to new approaches to the archaeological reconstruction of ancient cultures. In the 1950s, in Peru, Gordon Willey first applied the method known as "settlement-pattern studies," that is, the analysis of site distribution and variation, to reconstruct the nature and evolution of prehistoric societies. In Europe, Graham Clarke used culture ecology to identify ancient subsistence and economic systems accurately. These new approaches to interpretation were further strengthened by technical breakthroughs such as the radiocarbon and tree-ring dating methods, and by improved field techniques, which could now recover such trace remains as preserved human feces (coprolites) and microscopic fossil pollen.

Religion, unfortunately, was initially ignored by these progressive developments in archaeology. The growing theoretical and methodological sophistication of archaeology had its roots firmly in culture ecology and other materialist approaches. Some influential thinkers, such as Leslie White, explicitly argued that religion was of no importance in cultural evolution, that it was "epiphenomenal." Others, such as Steward, felt that while religion was essential to the core of cultural behavior, it was, unfortunately, inscrutable to archaeological analysis. While many archaeologists believed that all aspects of culture left patterns in the archaeological record, they also felt that the patterning in religious behavior was too complex, idiosyncratic, or obscure to be accurately perceived. Thus, throughout the period of transformation in archaeology in the 1940s and 1950s, the archaeology of religion progressed systematically only in those regions and periods that could be related to historically known religions. Analysis of fully prehistoric ideology was left to those who were willing to apply unsystematic and subjective interpretations, often drawn from popular psychology, to ancient architecture, artifacts, or art.

The "New Archaeology." It took a second revolution in archaeological interpretation, beginning in the 1960s, to bring modern archaeology and the study of religion together as collaborative disciplines. Lewis R. Binford in the Americas and David Clarke in Britain were among the archaeologists who began to argue that the capabilities of archaeology could be broadened through the use of analogy to ethnographic societies and, above all, through computer-assisted statistical approaches. In a series of controversial papers and texts, these self-designated New Archaeologists decried the complacency of conventional archaeological methodology, especially its reluctance to explore the nature of ancient societies beyond questions of chronology and subsistence. Binford argued that hypotheses concerning the nature of ancient social or even religious systems could be drawn from ethnographic comparisons and could then be verified or discredited by vigorous statistical examination of the patterning in the archaeological remains. These new approaches and greater ambitions for archaeology were tested, generally verified, and refined by studies of the Indians of the southwestern United States and ethnoarchaeological studies of the Inuit (Eskimo) of the Arctic, the !Kung San of southern Africa, and the Aborigines of Australia.

While there was never an explicit, universal acceptance of the new approaches, they were gradually, perhaps unconsciously, absorbed into many branches of archaeology, including research on prehistoric religion. Numerous studies of fully prehistoric ideological systems began in this period. Gerald Hawkins and Alexander Thom began computer-assisted studies of the patterning and astronomical alignments of Stonehenge and other megalithic constructions of Bronze Age and Neolithic Europe (c. 4000–1800 BCE). These researches gave rise to the subdiscipline of archaeoastronomy, research on the ancients' concern with astronomy and astrology, and this concern's reflection in architecture and settlement patterns. Studies of the patterning and placement of markings, images, and art of the Stone Age were begun by scholars such as Alexander Marshack, André Leroi-Gourhan, and Peter J. Ucko. All of these studies drew upon statistical assessment and analogy to ethnographically known peoples in order to elucidate the structure of Stone Age religion.

Such researches demonstrated that early prehistoric religion was amenable to archaeological interpretation. Current research has continued and expanded the scrutiny of archaeological patterns for material reflections of ancient religious behavior. Studies by John Fritz, Joyce Marcus, and Evon Z. Vogt, to name a few, have examined the structure of ideological conceptions as reflected in architecture and site placement in the Anasazi culture of New Mexico (c. 600–1300 CE) and the ancient Maya civilization of Guatemala (c. 300–900 CE). Central-place theory and other forms of locational analysis have been used to study site placement in regional landscapes, in order to deduce how worldviews might have affected the selection and relative importance of ceremonial centers and shrines.

Religion and evolutionary theory. The ambitions of contemporary archaeological methodology to decipher ancient belief systems, though still struggling, have led to a renewed interest in the role of religion in the evolution of human culture. For the first half of the twentieth century, economic, Marxist, and ecological theory dominated studies of the prehistoric development of civilizations. In retrospect it is now clear that this materialist bias was inevitable, given the methodological limitations of archaeology. With the conviction that prehistoric religious systems were beyond scientific analysis, theoretical assessment of cultural change and development had naturally turned to other factors. However, the new methodological concerns resulted in a resurgence of interest in the role of ideology in prehistoric change. In the 1970s archaeologists from diverse theoretical backgrounds began to call for a new look at religion's impact on the rise and fall of civilizations. Archaeologists have responded in recent publications, discussing the general evolutionary role of ancient religion as well as the specific effects of ideology on the formation and reinforcement of early state polities.

This revived interest in the role of religion in the evolution of culture has led to new theoretical perspectives even in the archaeology of the great protohistoric civilizations. Most archaeologists of late prehistoric Mesopotamia, for example, no longer turn exclusively to the effects of irrigation or demographic pressure for the causes of state formation. For decades, historical and anthropological scholars, including Mircea Eliade and Paul Wheatley, have argued that the ceremonial center was the nucleus of the early city. Anthropological archaeologists have turned again to such perspectives in their examination of earlier prehistoric developments.

For example, a series of researches have examined patterns of pottery distribution of the northern Mesopotamian Halaf and Samarran cultures (c. 5500–4500 BCE). The identified patterns of intersite similarity and difference in design-element distributions have been seen to reflect the territories of early chiefdoms. The distinctive styles of the chiefdoms are also seen as indications of the integration and communication provided by early ceremonial centers and their religious rituals. In these interpretations the early ceremonial center is related archaeologically to a presumed function of reinforcement of collective identity, a role seen as critical in the evolution of later, more complex societies. Thus, the theoretical perspectives of thinkers such as Émile Durkheim, Max Weber, and Eliade, too long alien to archaeology, have been returned to field research and interpretation. In the process religious behavior has been incorporated into anthropological assessments of prehistoric cultural evolution.

In discussing the later period of the formation of humankind's first civilization, ancient Sumer, archaeologists continue to emphasize the importance of irrigation, demographics, trade, and warfare in the genesis of urban society. However, they also incorporate ideology into the evolutionary equation—and not merely as a Marxist, after-the-fact legitimation of political authority. For example, Robert M. Adams, in *Heartland of Cities* (1981), takes a holistic perspective on the origins of the state in Mesopotamia. He sees early city-states and their proto-urban antecedents as centers of security in all senses: subsistence security because of their role in irrigation, storage of surplus, and trade; defensive security provided by a large nucleated population; and spiritual security and identity in the form of the temple. The ceremonial centers of Ubaid times (4500–3500 BCE) evolved into the urban centers of Uruk times (3500–3100 BCE) because they became central places servicing the full range of economic, social, and spiritual needs. The temple-dominated economies of such centers were also preadapted to legitimate the state political authority that emerged in later periods.

Similarly, perspectives on cultural evolution in the New World have begun to reincorporate religion into interpretations of the rise and fall of civilizations. Kent V. Flannery and Robert Drennan have argued that religion and ritual were vital to the formation of early complex pre-Columbian societies such as the Olmec civilization of Mexico. Geoffrey W. Conrad and the author of this article have presented reinterpretations of the importance and nature of such religious phenomena as the Inca worship of royal mummies and the Aztec central cult of mass human sacrifice. These new perspectives argue that such cults helped to drive the explosive expansion of both the Inca Empire of Peru (1438–1532) and the Aztec hegemony in Mexico (1428–1519). Indeed, they contend that due to religious and political institutionalization the cults became irreversible forces that destabilized these pre-Columbian empires and predisposed them to swift disintegration.

So, in both the Old World and the Americas archaeologists have rediscovered the study of religion. Appropriate methodologies for the study of prehistoric religion have been suggested and continue to be explored. Meanwhile, theoretical models for prehistoric cultural evolution have reincorporated the study of religion into considerations of social change. In turn, these researches and interpretations in archaeology have broadened the temporal and geographic range of information available to scholars of comparative religion. The future holds even more promise as methodologies improve, theory becomes more sophisticated, and the symbiotic relationship of these two disciplines grows.

RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS. The historical development of the relationship between archaeology and religion involved a sequence of important projects, discoveries, and theoretical breakthroughs. However, there also have been many contributions by archaeology to the study of religion in particular regions and periods. Here it is only possible to cite a few of the noteworthy finds.

Paleolithic religion. The archaeology of religion in the Paleolithic period, the Old Stone Age, is one area in which new methodologies and concerns have led to surprising discoveries. It is now possible to say with certainty that *homo religiosus* predates *Homo sapiens* by a considerable period.

Humanity's ancestor of a million to a hundred thousand years ago, *Homo erectus,* had an average cranial capacity of about two-thirds that of modern humans. Yet *Homo erectus* left traces of possible religious or ritual behavior. This evidence includes finds of ocher earth pigments (perhaps for body painting) at Terra Amata in France and the discovery of *Homo erectus* skull remains at the Zhoukoudian cave in China that may indicate ritual cannibalism. These data can be contested, being based only on analogy to ethnographically known belief systems. There can be no question, however, about the rich spiritual life of Neanderthal humans, *Homo sapiens neanderthalensis.* Beginning about one hundred thousand years ago, this robust early form of *Homo sapiens* devoted considerable energy to the burial of the dead, as shown by excavation of Neanderthal cemeteries in France, Germany, and the Near East. Ritual treatments include the use of red ocher, sometimes grave goods, and, in at least one instance, offerings of flowers.

In the Upper Paleolithic period, beginning about thirty-five thousand years ago, anatomically modern *Homo sapiens* appeared, and made a quantum leap in art and religious imagery. New statistical approaches to patterning in the archaeological record have been applied to generate specific hypotheses on the spectacular cave paintings, portable art, and complex, enigmatic markings characteristic of the late epoch of the Stone Age. Ucko, Andrée Rosenfeld, and other anthropologists have turned to the ethnography of contemporary hunting and gathering societies for analogies. Their interpretations emphasize hunting magic, totemism, and shamanism. Leroi-Gourhan uses statistical assessment of patterning in the forms and distributions of specific images in the caves. He has produced a structural, almost linguistic, analysis of message and meaning in Paleolithic art. Marshack also turns to statistical assessment in his work on the markings and iconographs of the Paleolithic. However, he concludes that the complex symbolic system was concerned with lunar cycles and other calendric patterns, as well as with fertility and sympathetic magic. Taken together, recent archaeological studies constitute a considerable corpus on the fully prehistoric belief systems of early humankind.

The early Near East. In the Near East, the heartland of many of the world's major religions, the contribution of archaeology to the study of the origins of these traditions extends back to the seventh and eighth millennia BCE. Excavations by Kathleen M. Kenyon in preceramic Jericho and finds at related sites (e.g., Beidha, Ain Ghazal, Tell Ramad) have revealed burial practices and iconography emphasizing skull worship. James Mellaart's excavations in seventh-millennium levels at Çatal Hüyük, Anatolia, have uncovered elaborate religious imagery in shrines with plaster sculptures and artwork incorporating the skulls of bulls. Continuity of some iconographic elements, including bullhead designs, suggests that these earliest Neolithic religions may have influenced the later cults of the northern Mesopotamian Halaf and Samarran chiefdoms. In turn, excavations at ceremonial centers of these chiefdoms, such as Tell es-Sawwan, indicate that they greatly influenced the temple complexes of the Ubaid culture, the first phase of the Sumerian civilization in southern Mesopotamia. Thus, recent evidence suggests a continuous evolution of religious systems leading to the historical Near Eastern religions.

Archaeological research since the 1930s has unearthed a wealth of data on the religion of the later high civilization of Mesopotamia, and at early Sumerian centers such as Eridu, Uruk, Ur, and Tepe Gawra. This evidence has permitted detailed characterization and dating of the development of Sumerian temple architecture, art, and iconography, as well as the changing cultural context of religion and ritual. Concerning later, historical periods (after 3000 BCE), the excavations at Ur in the 1930s and 1940s by C. Leonard Woolley provided a clear glimpse of Sumerian elite life and state religion in that city-state's temple complexes and royal cemetery. Twentieth-century excavations sponsored by British, French, German, and American institutions at Ur, Uruk, Mari, Babylon, Nineveh, and other Mesopotamian sites have also recovered thousands of tablets. From the recovered texts and inscriptions, the epigraphers Samuel Noah Kramer and Thorkild Jacobsen have reconstructed the nature of theology, ritual, and myth in ancient Sumer, Akkad, and Babylon. Meanwhile, the excavations and tablets of Nuzi, Susa, Mari, and other sites have provided evidence on the identity and cults of the surrounding, previously shadowy, historical peoples—the Hurrians, the Elamites, and the kingdom of Mari.

Perhaps the most important and unexpected discovery of recent years came from excavations by an Italian team at Tell Mardikh, in Syria. In 1975 they found a royal archive of over fifteen thousand tablets, detailing the history and culture of the third-millennium kingdom of Ebla. The ongoing decipherment of the Ebla tablets is revolutionizing current understanding of early Near Eastern history and religion. These texts have provided a new perspective on the ancient Near East and promise to provide a closer view of the origins of the religious systems of later times.

Biblical archaeology. One beneficiary of these discoveries of early kingdoms in adjacent regions has been biblical archaeology. At Ras Shamra in Syria, Claude F.-A. Schaeffer directed excavations, uncovering the ancient city of Ugarit and thousands of Ugaritic tablets. These texts have had a profound impact on biblical studies, because they detail the nature of second-millennium Canaanite religion and society. Meanwhile, progress in biblical archaeology in Palestine itself has been substantial and steady. Literally hundreds of sites relating to the Old Testament period have been excavated in the past half-century, including such important sites as Jericho, Jerusalem, Megiddo, Tel Dan, Gezer, Shechem (modern-day Nablus), Lachish, and Samaria.

One should not overlook the contributions of archaeology to the historical study of religions of later times in the Near East. Archaeology has provided a richer context of material evidence to check, refine, and extend the historical record on religion in ancient Egypt, early Islam, and early Christianity. Furthermore, many of the actual historical and religious texts have been recovered by systematic archaeological excavations, including most of the Dead Sea Scrolls and numerous papyrus texts in Egypt. The recent excavations and discoveries at Nag Hammadi in Egypt illustrate the close interplay between religious textual studies and archaeology. Archaeologists returned there in the 1970s to excavate areas in a zone where Gnostic texts had been fortuitously discovered decades earlier. These ongoing excavations are establishing the material context of these important documents.

China and India. In the study of the religious systems of Asia, archaeology has been traditionally limited to a supplementary role. Excavations have recovered texts and inscriptions and have confirmed or refined the interpretations of historical scholarship. The bronzes, oracle bones, bamboo tablets, and other inscriptions so critical to the study of early Chinese religion have been recovered in large numbers by the systematic, albeit largely atheoretical, archaeology of modern China. Excavations at the Shang tombs at Anyang (c. 1400 BCE) and the mortuary complex of the first emperor (200 BCE) have revealed the spectacular nature of early Chinese religion and its critical role in polity and power. Indeed, new theoretical perspectives by historical scholars, such as David Keightley, have argued that the genesis of China's first states and the form of its early theology are inseparable.

Modern anthropological archaeology has only just begun in China. Yet already more methodologically rigorous approaches to prehistoric and protohistoric periods are beginning to challenge traditional interpretations. In a series of works K. C. Zhang has compared texts with archaeological evidence and datings to show that the early Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties may have been largely contemporaneous polities rather than a linear sequence of dynasties. Such broad reconsiderations of chronology and history will require parallel rethinking of the history of early state religion in China. Recent archaeological contributions to the study of early Chinese religion also include evidence on belief systems in the Neolithic Yangshao (4000–2500 BCE) and Longshan (2500–1800 BCE) periods. He Bingdi and other Chinese archaeologists have argued that iconography, settlement layouts, and even domestic architecture in these village societies reflect uniquely regional views on cosmology, ancestor worship, and fertility. While largely based on analogy to later religions, such interpretations show the potential of future archaeological research.

The archaeology of the Indus Valley civilization (2400–1800 BCE) of Pakistan and India is another field in which evidence and analogy can be used to project intriguing, but still uncertain, connections with historical religions. In this case, the architecture, art, and iconography of Mohenjo-Daro, Harappa, Lothal, and other cities of the Indus Valley civilization have been carefully compared to the Vedic texts on early Hindu ritual and belief. General conceptual parallels have been inferred from the archaeological evidence, such as concerns with bathing and the ritual use of water, or the probable existence of a rigid, castelike social organization. Archaeologists and Vedic scholars have also noted many quite specific shared traits between Indus Valley artifacts, glyphs, or iconography and historical descriptions of Aryan culture in the Vedas, for example, the form of incense burners, the lotus sitting position, and possible prototypes of specific deities. Such interpretations are complicated by growing evidence that the Indus Valley civilization was created by a racially and linguistically Dravidian, rather than Aryan, people. Nonetheless, the archaeology of the region does seem to point to Indus Valley culture for the origins of many aspects of the Hindu tradition.

The Mediterranean and Europe. Archaeological research in Greece and Egypt has always been dominated by textual and historical studies. As in biblical studies the archaeologist has provided texts and inscriptions as well as evidence on the broader material context of early religion. This contribution of assistance to epigraphic research often has been of great significance. For example, the excavations of the sacred capital at Amarna, in Egypt, have uncovered iconography, architecture, and texts that vastly expand existing views on the religion of Egypt and adjacent cultures in the fourteenth century BCE.

Archaeological research has also pushed back the chronological limits of the knowledge of religion in ancient Egypt and Greece. In Egypt current understanding of the antiquity and evolution of religion has been extended by the excavation of Neolithic cemeteries and of late predynastic mastaba tombs, the mudbrick antecedents of the pyramids. In the Aegean and Balkans, recent excavations have established a chronological and cultural context for the study of religion, including ample evidence concerning Mycenaean and Minoan religion and even earlier (third and fourth millennia BCE) shrines, funerary practices, and religious icons. Marija Gimbutas and other archaeologists have carried interpretations on religion back to the earliest Neolithic developments in eastern Europe in the seventh millennium BCE. Gimbutas has synthesized the evidence from excavations of shrines, burials, and figurine iconography to reconstruct the general form, specific deities, and development of the indigenous cults of Old Europe. While still highly speculative in nature, such contributions demonstrate the growing potential of archaeology for the study of fully prehistoric religious systems.

The prehistoric archaeology of western Europe has been transformed in recent years by new approaches, including the studies already mentioned on Paleolithic religion and on astronomical patterning in Neolithic and Bronze Age megalithic shrines. Of even greater significance has been a revolution in chronology and evolutionary interpretation led by Colin Renfrew and other British archaeologists. In the 1960s the correction of errors in the radiocarbon dating method produced new chronological alignments for all of European prehistory, redating the beginning of megaliths in northern Europe to before 3500 BCE. It is now clear that these and other spectacular manifestations of early European religion can no longer be defined historically or interpreted iconographically in terms of influences or parallels with the Aegean world. As a result, the study of religion and cultural development in prehistoric Europe has turned to the new approaches and ethnographic perspectives popular in American archaeology. European and American prehistoric studies have entered an exciting period of cross-fertilization in anthropological concepts and archaeological methods.

The Americas. In the New World methodological and theoretical assessments have enriched the traditional ethnohistorical and direct-historical approaches to the study of pre-Columbian religion. Prehistoric cultures from diverse regions, such as the Mississippian peoples of the southeastern United States (c. 1000–1500), the Pueblo cultures of the Southwest (300–1300), and the Moche civilization of Peru (200 BCE–600 CE), have been studied by systematic statistical analysis of patterning in their archaeological remains. In the search for patterns, settlement distribution, grave goods, architectural alignments, distribution of design elements on potsherds, and many other potential reflections of ancient social groups, political divisions, and belief systems have been examined. These studies, along with broader theoretical assessments, have led to a tremendous increase in understanding prehistoric religion in the New World and its interrelationship with the political and social evolution of pre-Columbian tribes, chiefdoms, and states.

These new approaches also hold the prospect of resolving long-standing issues in the study of pre-Columbian religion. Since the 1950s George Kubler and other scholars have warned against the general practice of simply imposing the historically known meaning of contact-period religious artifacts and art onto the evidence from earlier periods. Kubler has pointed out that, over the centuries, shifts or even complete disjunctions in the meaning of religious symbols may have occurred. Systematic approaches to patterning in the record may provide methods of testing ethnohistorically presumed meanings through study of the distribution and association of artifacts and images.

New archaeological discoveries and new approaches to interpretation are also challenging long-standing opinions on specific aspects of pre-Columbian religious studies. For example, many scholars studying the religions of the high civilizations of Mesoamerica and Peru have begun to doubt the utility of seeking specific identities or referents for individual deities. Instead, they are analyzing art and iconography for evidence of concepts and structures in pre-Columbian belief systems. The results have shown that pre-Columbian religions were as laden with sexual symbolism, manifold godheads, and structural complexities as the religions of East Asia. Archaeological research is also discovering unexpected aspects of pre-Columbian religions—for example, the importance of ancestor worship among the ancient Classic Maya civilization of Central America (300–900 CE) and the shamanistic nature of the religion of the early Olmec culture in Mexico (1300–600 BCE).

Prospects. Beyond the small sample cited here, archaeology has contributed to the study of religion in virtually every world region and period. The archaeology of Japan, Southwest Asia, Australia, sub-Saharan Africa, Central Asia, and other zones has involved extensive excavation and interpretation of the material evidence of religious behavior. As archaeological research broadens in geographical range and further develops its methodological tools, it will become an even more important aspect of the study of religion. It will continue to extend the breadth and depth of scholars' search for variations, connections, structural similarities, and cognitive parallels in human religious systems.

SEE ALSO Cities; Prehistoric Religions, article on Old Europe.

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ARTHUR ANDREW DEMAREST (1987)

ARCHETYPES.

The English word *archetype* derives from a Greek word that is prominent in the writings of religious thinkers during the Hellenistic period. In modern times, the term has been used to refer to fundamental structures in the human psyche as well as in religious life. In either sense, an archetype is a pattern that determines human experience (whether on a conscious or an unconscious level) and makes itself felt as something both vital and holy.

THE MEANING OF ARCHETYPE. The Greek compound derives from the combined meaning of two words, *tupos* and *archē,* both of which have double referents. *Tupos* refers both to a physical blow and to the concrete manifestation of its impact. Hence, the seal and its imprint are both *tupoi.* Further, the relation between any form and its derivative forms is indicated by this term. For example, the cast that molds the statue and the statue itself are both *tupoi,* as is the mold that is placed around a fruit by a grower in order to shape it as it grows. Internal and invisible molding is also a kind of *tupos* as in biological generation: the child is the *tupos* of its parent. Finally, as in the English cognate, *type, tupos* comes to signify any character or nature that is shared by numerous, related phenomena with the result that they appear to have been cast from the same mold: for example, the eucalyptus is a type of tree.

The nominal prefix *archē* refers to what is first or original, both in a temporal and in an ontological sense. As such, it may indicate equally the heavenly powers that govern the cosmos, the ruler of a realm, or the vital organs that empower life in the body.

Together, these two Greek words make up *to archētupon,* or "the archetype," a term that was not so commonly used as either of its components but that does appear with some frequency in the rather esoteric writings of certain Hellenistic religious philosophers. Already in *De opificio mundi* (1.69), the Jewish theologian Philo Judaeus refers to the archetype as the *imago dei* ("god-image") residing in and molding humanity in the likeness of God.

Later, Irenaeus uses the term when, in his lengthy treatise attacking the so-called Christian heretics (*Against Heresies* 2.7.5), he recounts a Valentinian version of the cosmogony. According to the Valentinians, a group of gnostic Christians, the world was not created by God out of nothing, but rather it was the fabrication of a demiurge, who copied directly or indirectly (depending on the version) an archetypal world (the Pleroma) that existed outside himself. In this view, the Demiurge creates in the manner of a mechanic who builds a robot that simulates, but does not replicate, a living model.

A third use of *to archētupon* during the Hellenistic period is found in the writings of the Platonic mystic Plotinus. He intuited a divine realm of which the creation was a mere reflection. Plotinus reminds his reader to observe the regularity and order exhibited by the natural world. This harmonious state of affairs, he claims, depends on a higher reality for its laws of being. The phenomenological realm does not truly exist, according to Plotinus, but appears at the boundaries between true being, that is, the One, and the void external to it. Plotinus's cosmogony thus presents a third use of the imagery associated with the term *archetype.* At work here is neither Philo's idea of an inner force (inspiration) nor the Valentinian concept of the craftsman basing his creation on a model (imitation), but rather the metaphor of reflection that depicts an emptiness upon which is cast—as if upon a mirror—the form of a divine but transcendent reality.

For all three philosophers, the word *archetupon* is used to depict a cosmogonic principle. Common to all three belief systems is the conviction that the creation of the cosmos, including the creation of man, depends on the preexistence of a transcendental reality.

During the twentieth century, the word *archetype* has been rehabilitated by the historian of religions Mircea Eliade and the depth psychologist C. G. Jung. Eliade, in his study of the religions of humankind, uses the term to name the sacred paradigms that are expressed in myth and articulated in ritual. For Jung, the concept of the archetype can also be applied to the dynamic structures of the unconscious that determine individual patterns of experience and behavior.

ELIADE'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE ARCHETYPES. In his preface to the 1959 edition of *Cosmos and History,* Eliade explains that, for him, the terms *exemplary model, paradigm,* and *archetype* are synonymous. For the member of tribal and traditional cultures, the archetypes provide the models of his institutions and the norms of his various categories of behavior. They constitute a sacred reality that was revealed to humankind at the beginning of time. Consequently, the archetypal patterns are regarded as having a supernatural or transcendent origin.

The sacred and the profane. These observations provide the basis for Eliade's description of the way in which a religious person distinguishes two separate modes of being in the world: the sacred and the profane. The member of a tribal or traditional society may be called *homo religiosus* ("religious human") precisely because he or she perceives both a transcendent model (or archetype) and a mundane reality that is capable of being molded to correspond to the transcendent model. Furthermore, he or she experiences the transcendent model as holy, that is, as manifesting absolute power and value. In fact, it is the sacred quality of the archetype that compels him to orient his life around it. Finally, the sacred is recognized as such because it appears to humans within the profane setting of everyday events. This is the hierophany ("appearance of the sacred"), that is, when the supernatural makes itself felt in all its numinosity in contrast to the natural order.

The hierophany. The appearance of the sacred may take on any form. It may be perceptible by way of the senses: God in the form of a white buffalo or in the magnificence of a roaring waterfall. The sacred may appear to humans by way of a dream, as in Jacob's dream of the angels of the Lord descending and ascending upon the ladder between heaven and earth (*Gn.* 28:12). Or the hierophany may be envisioned by way of the imagination, as, for example, the visions of Muḥammad, Black Elk, and Teresa of Ávila. The sacred reality makes itself known to the consciousness of humans by whatever means are available to it.

Orientation. The consequence of an encounter with the sacred, states Eliade, is the desire to remain in relation to it, to orient one's life around it in order to be filled continually with the sense of being and meaning that it evokes. In this sense, the hierophany creates a new order of things. No longer do space and time make up a homogeneous continuum; one moment, or one place, has become touched by the sacred, and from that time on, it will provide a means of connecting the two realms, a center that mediates sacred and profane experience.

This connection may be strengthened in many ways. Jacob set up an altar in the place where he had the dream. Religious people may build their homes, villages, or cities on a sacred site. They may practice a way of life revealed to them by means of a hierophany. Any action may become sacred if it is enacted in imitation of the way the gods have acted. Human life itself becomes assimilated to the sacred paradigm and becomes sanctified insofar as it shares in the numinous quality of the timeless archetype.

A modern example of an orientation governed by an archetype is the ritual Eucharist. In the Mass, the Christian repeats a series of actions that were performed *in illo tempore,* that is, for the Christian, in the beginning of a new age, at a time when God in the person of Christ still walked the earth. By reenacting the last supper, the Christian re-creates that sacred time and shares in its sanctity.

The spirituality that is inherent in this form of religion is not otherworldly. The people do not seek to escape this world for another (celestial or unknown) world. Instead, their actions are directed at making profane existence over into a replica of the archetypal world that has been revealed to them. They seek to realize paradise on earth. For *homo religiosus,* the limits inherent in temporal existence (decay, impermanence, and death) are transcended by imitating and incarnating the eternal patterns. In this way, they abolish time. Guided by the archetype, they experience the greatest freedom of their nature: they become like one of the gods.

Value of the history of religions. Modern humans may regard themselves as free precisely because they no longer seek to emulate a divine paradigm and see themselves, instead, as an unconditioned agent of history (unbound to external models). This is, of course, the inheritance of the Enlightenment, according to which progress is possible only after detachment from the so-called superstitions of the past in order to follow the dictates of a pure reason. In Eliade's view, one may be fully secularized, yet still be the product of a religious inheritance. Self-understanding requires an examination of that inheritance. Eliade suggests, further, that knowledge and the understanding of the religions of one's ancestors can be a source of meaning and value.

In addition, the archetypal themes that influenced our ancestors are still alive for modern people, both consciously and unconsciously. For instance, the difficulties of life can be regarded as obstacles to fulfillment or, interpreted against the archetypal theme of initiation, aspects of an ordeal that may lead to growth and, ultimately, transformation. Exile from one's homeland can be a source of bitterness and regret, or, viewed in light of mythical paradigm, the path of the hero such as Parzival, Odysseus, or even Moses, to name a few for whom the journey brought with it rewards unobtainable to those who remained at home.

Furthermore, in Eliade's view, the archetypal patterns linger on in the unconscious of modern individuals, serving as themes that motivate and guide them. On a collective level, the search for eternal life seems to underlie much of the science of modern medicine. On the individual level, the person may play out an unconsciously motivated role that has a recognizable mythical form: the hero, the sacred marriage, the wise old woman, the eternal child. The paradigms appear in numerous constellations with varied force at different times, even during the life of the individual. The insight that governs *homo religiosus,* an insight that Eliade elucidates, is this: There is a difference between the possession of happiness or wealth or power or success, on the one hand, and the realization in one's own life of an archetypal pattern. For the religious person, salvation can never be possessed but must always be embodied.

THE MEANING OF ARCHETYPE IN JUNG'S PSYCHOLOGY. Many people have pointed out the difficulty of presenting a systematic analysis of C. G. Jung's theory of archetypes. This is perhaps a direct result of his method: As a physician, Jung discovered the existence of the archetypal reality through an examination of the subjective experiences of his patients and himself. Therefore, his theory was constantly growing in response to his clinical work. His contribution to a general theory of archetypes lies along the same lines of Philo's thought; like Philo, Jung emphasizes the presence of divine images within humans, directing and influencing human development.

At the Eranos seminars in Ascona, Jung and Eliade were able to discuss and compare their ideas on archetypes. As a psychologist knowledgeable in the study of religion, Jung knew and accepted the concepts of Eliade—archetype as transcendent model, the nature of hierophany, and so forth—but, in addition, for Jung, the archetype was also active in determining the inner life of humans in both its spiritual and material dimensions.

Instinct. The archetype is most concretely viewed as instinct. Jung states that the archetype

> is not meant to denote an inherited idea, but rather an inherited mode of psychic functioning, corresponding to the inborn way in which the chick emerges from the egg, the bird builds its nest, a certain kind of wasp stings the motor ganglion of the caterpillar, and eels find their way to the Bermudas. In other words, it is a pattern of behavior. This aspect of the archetype is the biological one. (quoted in Jacobi, 1959, p. 43)

However, the instinctual life of the body is unconscious. It is felt indirectly through drives and compulsions as well as through images that arise spontaneously in dreams and fantasy. It is the imagination that serves to mediate the subjective experience of instinct to the ego. Instinct clothes itself in images taken from everyday experience. The archetypal nature of instinct appears in the numinous quality of many of these images, that is, they have the power to compel one absolutely.

This is not to suggest that, for Jung, the archetype is nothing but instinct. On the contrary, it is the transcendent model that is recognized as having a directive force in the lives of individual persons even on the biological level. In fact, Jung suggests that *instinct* and *spirit* are simply two different names for the same reality seen from opposing perspectives. What looks like instinct to the outsider is experienced as spirit on the subjective level of inner life. The appearance of the archetypal pattern at different levels of human experience in varying forms is described as projection.

Projection. Employing Eliade's term, Jung might say that the hierophany, or appearance, of the archetype may take place anywhere, even within the unconscious life of the body. The psychological term *projection* simply points to the mode of appearance and not to the ontological status of the archetype, that is, the archetype does not exist as a projection, but rather it appears in projection. This form of speech recalls the metaphor of Plotinus, that the One is reflected by the outer void. In a similar way, we can imagine the archetype reflected (through being projected) on various planes that support the total human experience: the outer world of sense experience, the inner world of imagination, and the unconscious world of the body. In other words, the gods may appear to humans on top of a holy mountain, within a dream during a rite of incubation, or even as a bodily compulsion. Still, the transcendent nature of the archetype is not affected. Here, as in all religious language, we encounter the paradox of transcendence and immanence, each capable of an independent existence requiring the existence of the other.

THE RELIGIOUS MEANING OF ARCHETYPE. The existence of archetypes cannot be proved, but archetypes can be subjectively experienced. Jung often explained that, as a psychologist, he could not prove the existence of God. Nevertheless, in *Face to Face,* his interview with John Freeman for the BBC, he admits that he has no need of belief in God because he has knowledge based on experience. In *Ordeal by Labyrinth,* a book of conversations with Claude-Henri Rocquet, Eliade insists on the religious content of the archetype.

> If God doesn't exist, then everything is dust and ashes. If there is no absolute to give meaning and value to our existence, then that means existence has no meaning. I know there are philosophers who do think precisely that; but for me, that would be not just pure despair but also a kind of betrayal. Because it isn't true and I know that it isn't true. (Eliade, 1982, p. 67)

Even when employed in the twentieth century by a historian of religions and a psychologist, the ancient term *archetype* retained the religious significance that it had for three religious philosophers during the first centuries of the common era. Referring both to the sacred model and to its appearance within the world of phenomena, the archetype is meaningless in any system of thought that denies the reality of a transcendent principle. In other words, the term suggests a view of creation according to which this world depends for its very nature on some reality outside itself.

SEE ALSO See also Hierophany; Iconography; Jung, C. G; Orientation; Transcendence and Immanence.

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ARCHITECTURE.

[*This article presents a thematic overview of religious architecture. Monuments associated with prehistoric religious practices are discussed in* Megalithic Religion; Paleolithic Religion; *and* Prehistoric Religions.]

Architecture may be defined as the art of building, and consequently *religious architecture* refers to those buildings planned to serve religious purposes. These structures can be either very simple or highly complex. They can take the form of a circle of upright stones (megaliths) defining a sacred space or they may spread over acres like the sanctuary at Angkor Wat. They can be of any and every material from the mounds of earth reared over royal tombs to the reinforced concrete and glass of twentieth-century houses of worship.

Yet the practice of religion does not of itself require an architectural setting. Sacrifice can be offered to the gods in the open air on a hilltop; the adherents of Islam can perform their daily prayers in a railroad car or even in the street; the Christian Eucharist can be celebrated in a hospital ward. Nevertheless all the major world religions have buildings especially planned for their use, and these constitute an important source of knowledge about these faiths. They can reveal what is believed about the nature of the gods; they can provide insight into the character of the communities for which they were designed and the cultus celebrated therein.

To comprehend and appreciate the significance of these buildings it is necessary to classify them, but their variety is so great that one single method would be incomplete. Hence several typologies have to be devised if the subject matter is to be covered adequately; indeed it is possible to identify at least four. In the first place, the vocabulary applied to religious buildings can be taken as the basis for the formulation of a typology. This, however, is by no means exhaustive, and so it is essential to move on to a second typology derived from the character or nature ascribed to each building, which may differ depending upon whether it is regarded as a divine dwelling, a center of reference, a monument, or a meeting house. A third typology may be presented by analyzing the functions for which each building provides, including the service of the gods, religious teaching, the manifestation of reverence and devotion, congregational worship, and symbolization. A fourth typology is architectural rather than religious but needs to be noted: this is based upon the categories of path and place. Other factors that should be borne in mind for a complete picture relate to the different materials used, the effect of climate, culture and its expression in different styles, and also the influence of patronage.

CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO TERMS USED. The terms used to refer to religious buildings provide a preliminary indication of both their variety and their significance.

Terms that designate a structure as a shelter. These may be further differentiated according to the class of being or thing associated with them.

For gods. The Hebrew *beit Elohim* is to be translated "house of God," while *heikhal*, a loanword from Sumerian through Babylonian (*ekallu*), is used for a very special house or palace. In Greek there is *naos*, from *naio*, "to dwell in," and *kuriakos* ("of the Lord") lies at the origin of both *kirk* and *church*. In Latin there is *aedes sacra*, a "sacred edifice," as well as *domus dei*, a "god's home." *Tabernacle* (Lat., *tabernaculum* from *taberna*, a "hut") has a similar domiciliary connotation. Hinduism has *prāsāda*, or platform of a god, and *devalaya*, a residence of a god, while the Japanese word for shrine is literally "honorable house."

For objects. In English the primary term is *shrine*, derived from *scrinium*, which means a case that contains sacred things. More specifically there is *chapel* from *capella* ("cloak"), referring to the garment of Saint Martin that was venerated in a small building; there is *cathedral*, which shows that the particular church is where the bishop's *cathedra*, or throne, is located. *Pagoda*, which is a deformation of the Sinhala *dagoba*, is a tower containing relics. *Agyari*, a place of fire, is the designation of a Parsi temple in which the sacred flame is kept alight. The Temple of the Sleeping Buddha in Peking characterizes the form of the statue within.

For humans. The Latin *domus ecclesiae* points to the Christian community as the occupant of a building. *Beit hakeneset* in Hebrew and *sunagōgē* in Greek (from *sunagō*, "to gather together"), with *synagogue*, as the English transliteration, denote a place of assembly. The term used by Quakers, *meeting house*, has the same implication.

Terms that indicate the character of a structure. In Greek there is *to hagion*, the place of dread, from *azomai*, "to stand in awe of," and *to hieron*, the "holy place." In Latin *adytum* is a transliteration of the Greek *aduton*, "not to be entered," because it is the holy abode of a divinity. *Templum* is a space cut off; it comes from *tempus*, meaning a "division" or "section," which in turn derives from the Greek *temenos*, referring to an area set apart for a particular purpose such as the service of a god. *Temple* in English has the same etymology, while *sanctuary* (*sanctus*) emphasizes the holiness of the building.

Terms that affirm an association with a person or events. To speak of Saint Paul's Cathedral in London is to declare a link with the apostle. The Süleymaniye Mosque complex in Istanbul commemorates its patron, Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. The Roman Pantheon, which is Latinized Greek (*pantheion*), was dedicated to "all the gods." The Anastasis in Jerusalem commemorates the resurrection (*anastasis*) of Jesus. *Basilica* denotes a public building with royal (*basileus*) links. The generic term is *marturion* (Lat., *martyrium*), from *martureo*, "to be a witness." Such an edifice is a monument or memorial; the two terms are synonymous—the one from *moneo*, "to remind," and the other from *memor*, "to remember." It therefore preserves or promotes the memory of a person or event; the English Cathedral of Saint Albans, for example, commemorates a martyred saint, and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem recalls the birth of Christ.

Terms descriptive of the activity for which a building is used. The Hebrew *devir*, which denotes the holy of holies in the Jerusalem Temple, may suggest an oracle, from a verb meaning to "speak" in which case it is similar to the Latin *fanum*, from *fari*, "to speak," especially of oracles. *Proseuke* (Gr.) and *oratorium* (Lat.), in English *oratory*, or place of prayer, all point to a particular form of religious devotion. *Baptistery* (Gr., *baptizō*, "to dip") specifies ceremonial action, and *mosque* (Arab., *masjid*, "place of prostration" [before God]), the place of an action.

Terms indicative of the shape of the edifice. These relate mainly to funerary architecture: *tholos*, a "dome" or "vault," signifies a round tomb; *tomb* itself comes from *tumulus*, a sepulchral mound; *pyramid* suggests a geometric form and is at the same time the designation of a pharaoh's resting place; *masṭabah* is the Arabic for a bench that describes the shape of a tomb; *stupa*, from the Sanskrit *stupa* (Pali, *thūpa*), signifies a reliquary "mound" or tower; *ziggurat*, from the Babylonian *ziqqurratu*, meaning "mountain peak" or "pinnacle," is descriptive of the superimposed terraces that make up this structure.

TYPOLOGY ACCORDING TO CHARACTER. Granting the unavoidable overlap, four main types may be specified.

Divine dwelling. Taking pride of place, because the majority of terms in use emphasize this particular category, is the structure that is regarded as a divine habitation. Since the chief occupant enjoys divine status, the model is believed to have been provided from above. Gudea, ruler of Lagash in the third millennium BCE, was shown the plans of his temple by the goddess herself. The shrine of Amaterasu, the Japanese sun goddess, was built according to the directions provided by an oracle. Various passages in the Hebrew scriptures (Old Testament) indicate that the Tabernacle and the Temple were considered to have transcendent exemplars. Yahveh's instructions to Moses were to this effect: "Let them make me a sanctuary, that I may dwell in their midst. According to all that I show you concerning the pattern of the tabernacle, and of all its furniture, so you shall make it. . . .

And see that you make them after the pattern for them, which is being shown you on the mountain" (*Ex.* 25:8f., 25:40). Similarly, when David gave the plans of the Temple of Solomon, it is reported: "All this he made clear by the writing from the hand of the Lord concerning it, all the work to be done according to the plan" (*1 Chr.* 28:19). In the *Wisdom of Solomon*, the king is represented as saying that what he has built is "a copy of the holy tabernacle which you did prepare aforehand from the beginning" (9:8). The author of the *Letter to the Hebrews* reproduces the same idea when he describes the Temple and its furniture as "a copy and shadow of the heavenly sanctuary" and as "copies of the heavenly things" (*Heb.* 8:5, 9:23).

The work of the divine architects is frequently held to include not only god-houses but entire cities. Sennacherib received the design of Nineveh drawn in a heavenly script. The New Jerusalem, in the prophet Ezekiel's vision, is described in the greatest detail, with precise dimensions included. The Indian holy city of Banaras is thought to have been not only planned but actually built by Śiva.

Similar ideas are present in Christian thought from the fourth century onward. When large churches came to be built, as distinct from the previous small house-churches, recourse was had to the Old Testament for precedent, since the New Testament provided no guidance. Thus the basilica came to be regarded as an imitation of the Jerusalem Temple: the atrium corresponded to the forecourt, the nave to the holy place *(heikhal)*, and the area round the altar to the holy of holies (*devir*). By the thirteenth century it was normal to consider a Gothic cathedral as an image of the heavenly Jerusalem, a reflection of heaven on earth.

Divine presence. The presence of the god may be represented in a number of ways, most frequently by statues as, for example, in Egyptian, Greek, and Hindu temples, and alternatively by a bas-relief, as at the Temple of Baal in Palmyra. The building is then appropriately called a shrine. The Hebrews, forbidden to have graven images of deity, which were dismissed as idols, took the ark as the center of their devotion and this eventually was regarded as a throne upon which Yahveh sat invisible. Again, mosaics or paintings can be employed, notably in the apses of early Christian basilicas or on the iconostases of Eastern Orthodox churches. But in certain religions, the entire structure is regarded as a revelation of the deity. Greek sanctuaries were so conceived, and to this day Hindu temples are not only places but objects of reverence, evoking the divine.

Precisely because this type of building is regarded as the mundane dwelling of a deity, constructed according to a transcendental blueprint, it is also understood as a meeting place of gods and humans. So the ziggurat of Larsa, in lower Babylonia, was called "the house of the bond between heaven and earth." This link may be physically represented by a sacred object. The Kaʿbah in Mecca, the holiest shrine of Islam, is the symbol of the intersection between the vertical axis of the spirit and the horizontal plane of human existence: a hollow cube of stone, it is the *axis mundi* of Islamic cosmology. In other religions wooden poles or stone pillars fulfill the same function; such were the *asherim* of the Canaanites reported in the Old Testament. The finial of a Buddhist stupa is conceived to be the top of a pillar passing through the whole structure and providing the point of contact between earth and heaven.

The divine is also associated with mountains that rear up into the sky; Olympus in ancient Greece was one such place, and in the myths of the Maasai, Mount Kilimanjaro on the border of Kenya and Tanzania is dubbed the "house of god." This symbolism can be applied to the religious building itself. Each Egyptian temple was believed to represent the primordial hillock, while the Babylonian ziggurats were artificial high places. Hindu temples, such as the one at Ellora, are sometimes called Kailasa, which is the name of Śiva's sacred mountain. Their superstructure is known as the "crest" (*śikhara*) of a hill, and the contours and tiered arrangement of the whole building derive from a desire to suggest the visual effect of a mountain.

Sacred and profane. As noted above, while a religious building can be called a house, it is not any kind of house: there is something special about it, and hence words denoting "great house" or "palace" are used. But its particular distinction derives from the nature of the being who inhabits it and who invests it with something of his or her own character. In most religions the divine is a being apart; his or her habitation must consequently be a building apart, and so it is regarded as a holy place in sharp opposition to profane space.

To speak of the sacred and the profane in this way is to refer to two antithetical entities. The one is potent, full of power, while the other is powerless. They cannot therefore approach one another without losing their proper nature: either the sacred will consume the profane or the profane will contaminate and enfeeble the sacred. The sacred is therefore dangerous. It both attracts and repels human beings—it attracts them because it is the source of power, and it repels them because to encounter it is to be in peril. The sacred is "the wholly other"; it is a reality of an entirely different order from "natural realities." Contacts can only be intermittent and must be strictly regulated by rites, which can have either a positive or a negative character. Among the former are rites of consecration whereby someone or something is introduced into the realm of the holy. The negative takes the form of prohibitions, raising barriers between the two. These rites allow a certain coming and going between the two spheres since they provide the conditions within which intercourse is possible. But any attempt, outside the prescribed limits, to unite sacred and profane brings confusion and disaster.

Underlying all this dualism is the concept of two worlds: a sacred world and a secular world. Two realms of being are envisaged, and this opposition finds its visible expression in holy places. The sacred space, defined by the religious building or precinct, is first of all a means of ensuring the isolation and so the preservation of both the sacred and the profane. The wall that keeps the one out also serves to keep the other in; it is the demarcation line (*temenos*, *tempus*, *templum*) between the two worlds. But within the sacred enclosure, the profane world is transcended and hence the existence of the holy place makes it possible for humans to pass from one world to another. The door or gate is then an object of great importance, for it is the means of moving from profane to sacred space. The name *Babylon* itself literally means "gate of the gods," and Jacob at Bethel declared: "This is the gate of heaven." In the same realm of ideas is to be found the royal doors that provide access through the iconostasis to the altar of the Eastern Orthodox church and the "Gates of Paradise," which is the name given by Michelangelo to Lorenzo Ghiberti's sculpted doors at the Florence Baptistery.

The precise location of these holy places is ultimately determined by their association with divine beings. The Nabataean high place at Petra is legitimized by being on a mountain top that, as seen above, has religious connotations. Equally holy were caves, linked in the religious consciousness with the womb, rebirth, the darkness of Hades, initiation rites, and so forth: many a Hindu holy place enshrines a cavern in a cliff. A theophany too constitutes a holy place. David knew where to build the Temple in Jerusalem because of a manifestation at the threshing floor of Araunah (Ornan) the Jebusite. Under the Roman Empire, augurs were consulted, sacrifices offered, and the divine will thereby discovered. The shrine at Monte Sant'Angelo in the Gargano (c. 1076) was built because it was believed that the archangel Michael had visited the place. Similarly the sixteenth-century Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe, near Mexico City, marks the spot where the Virgin Mary presented herself to a peasant. Rites of consecration can act as substitutes if there is a lack of any definite command from above; by their means a space is declared set apart, and the god is besought to take up residence with confidence that the prayer will be answered.

Center of reference. Both individuals and communities require some center of reference for their lives so that amid the vagaries of a changing world there is a pivot that may provide an anchor in the ultimate. Religious buildings can and do constitute such centers to such an extent that the idea of a middle point has been taken quite literally. Every Egyptian temple was considered to be located where creation began and was therefore the navel of the earth. In Jewish thought the selfsame term has been applied to Jerusalem, and the site of the Temple is held to be the place of the original act of creation. In Greek religion it was the shrine of Apollo at Delphi that was declared to be the earth's midpoint. According to Hinduism, Meru is the axial mountain at the center of the universe, and the name *Meru* is also used in Bali for the superstructure of a temple. The main shrine of the Tenrikyo sect of Shintō at Tenrishi marks the cradle of the human race and encloses a sacred column indicating the center of the world.

Within the same ambit of ideas is the view that a religious building may be related to cosmic forces and therefore assist in geomancy. Hence, for example, the monumental structures at Teotihuacán in Mexico are arranged within a vast precinct in such a way as to observe the relations of the earth to the sun. The orientation of Christian churches so that their sanctuary is at the east end is another way of affirming this cosmic link, while the concern of Hindu architects for the proportions and measurements of their designs rests upon the conviction that the universe as a whole has a mathematical basis that must be embodied in every temple.

In Hinduism too the temple plan functions as a *maṇḍala*—a sacred geometrical diagram of the essential structure of the cosmos. This interpretation of religious buildings is widespread in time and space. The "big house" of the Delaware Indians of North America stands for the world: its floor is the earth, the four walls are the four quarters, and the vault is the sky. An identical understanding of Christian churches is to be found as early as the seventh century and is typical of Eastern Orthodox thought; the roof of Saint Sophia in Edessa was compared to the heavens, its mosaic to the firmament, and its arches to the four corners of the earth. Medieval cathedrals in the West, such as the one at Chartres, were similarly regarded as models of the cosmos and as providing foretastes of the heavenly Jerusalem.

Monument or memorial. The essentials of a sacred place are location and spatial demarcation rather than buildings, but when there are edifices, they too serve to locate and spatially demarcate. Their importance is to be found not so much in the specific area as in the events that occurred there and that they bring to remembrance. In other words the locations are mainly associated with notable happenings in the life of a religious founder or with the exploits of gods and goddesses, and they stand as memorials (remembrancers) or monuments (reminders). One of the units in the complex erected by Emperor Constantine in fourth-century Jerusalem was known as the Martyrium, the testimony to or evidence and proof of the reality of Christ's death and resurrection, which were believed to have occurred at that very site. Also in Jerusalem is the Muslim Dome of the Rock, which enshrines the spot whence the prophet Muḥammad is believed to have ascended to heaven, a site already associated in Jewish tradition with Solomon's Temple, the tomb of Adam, and the sacrifice of Isaac. At Bodh Gayā in the state of Bihar, India, the Mahābodhi Temple is situated in front of the bodhi tree under which Gautama attained enlightenment. At Sarnath, near Banaras, a stupa commemorates the Buddha's first sermon delivered in the Deer Park to five ascetics.

Not only founders but also individual followers may be honored in this way. Numerous stupas are monuments to Buddhist sages, and many a martyrium in the days of the early church was set up on the very spot where a martyr (*martus*, "witness") had testified to his faith with his blood. The buildings also serve as shrines to protect their remains and can therefore be classified as tombs. Indeed every tomb that assumes a monumental character is a reminder of the dead, whether in the form of separate memorials to individuals, as found in the Père-Lachaise cemetery in Paris, or of a single edifice to a person representative of many, such as the tomb of the unknown warrior beneath the Arc de Triomphe in the same city.

Many religious buildings that function as memorials enclose space: the pyramids of Giza have within them the burial chambers of pharaohs; the Cenotaph in London, on the other hand, a monument to the dead of two world wars shelters nothing. It corresponds to the second of the four fundamental modes of monumental architecture. First, there is the precinct, which shows the limits of the memorial area and finally develops through a typological series to the stadium. Second is the cairn, which makes the site visible from afar and indicates its importance, the ultimate development of this type is the pyramid. Third is the path that signals a direction and can take the sophisticated form of a colonnaded street, thus dignifying the approach to the main shrine. Fourth, there is the hut that acts as a sacred shelter, with the cathedral as one of its most developed types.

Meetinghouse. A religious building that is regarded as a divine dwelling, or *domus dei*, is a meeting place of heaven and earth, but when it is understood as a meetinghouse, it is more correctly styled a *domus ecclesiae* because it is a building where the people of god assemble. Solomon had been led to question the validity of the temple type when he asked "Will God indeed dwell upon earth?" (*1 Kgs.* 8:27). However, it was not until the birth of Christianity that a full-scale attack was directly launched upon the whole idea of an earthly divine domicile; in the words of Stephen, "The Most High does not dwell in houses made with hands" (*Acts* 7:48). In the light of the later development of Christian thought it is difficult to appreciate how revolutionary this new attitude was.

The early believers committed themselves to an enfleshed god, to one who was no longer apart or afar off but had drawn near; at his sacrificial death the Temple veil had split in two so that the Holy of Holies was no longer fenced off. The living community now became the temple of the divine presence. A new concept of the holy was minted: there can no longer be anything common or profane for Christians (*pro*, "in front of," or outside the *fanum*) since they constitute the *naos* of the Holy Spirit (*1 Cor.* 3:16). The dining room of a private house is a suitable venue for the assembly; the proud boast is that "we have no temples and no altars" (Minucius Felix, c. 200). All this was to change drastically in the fourth century when Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire and took over the public functions of the pagan cults. It was not until the Protestant Reformation that the New Testament understanding was given a fresh lease of life when divines such as John Calvin objected to the idea of special holy places. Such a view is not peculiar to Christianity; Judaism has its synagogues for meeting together, and Islam has its mosques, which are equally congregational. If a building as a divine dwelling is at one end of a spectrum, then the meetinghouse is at the other extreme.

TYPOLOGY ACCORDING TO FUNCTION. The different types of building just delineated provide for the fulfillment of certain purposes in that they accommodate religious activities; it is consequently both possible and necessary to specify a second typology according to function, which stems from but also complements the previous typology according to character.

Service of the deities. At home, resident within their temples, the gods require their devotees to perform certain services for them. Perhaps the most striking illustration of need is provided by the toilet ceremonies of ancient Egypt. Each morning the cult image was asperged, censed, anointed, vested, and crowned. At the present day very similar ceremonies are conducted in Hindu temples, where the images are cooled with water in hot weather, anointed, clad in beautiful clothes, and garlanded. During the day it used to be the custom to divert them with the performances of the *devadāsī*s, or temple dancers. At night they are accompanied by a procession to their beds. Food may be provided, from the simple gift of grain in an African village to the hecatombs of Classical Greece. Another normal form of worship is sacrifice, ranging from human victims to a dove or pigeon, from the first fruits of the harvest to shewbread.

Positive and negative functions. The motives for such services can be diverse; sometimes they are prompted by the concern to provide sustenance, while at other times they are to establish communion, to propitiate, to seek favors. Functions now become reciprocal: the service of the gods is expected to obtain a response from the gods, in that they now serve human needs. Two examples, for many, will suffice to illustrate this.

Since the temple is a divine dwelling, to enter its precincts is to come into the presence of the god and so be under his or her protection. As a sacred place, the building is inviolable, and no one can be removed from it by force; to do so would be sacrilege, since a person who is inside the area of holiness has been invested with some of the sacredness inherent in it and thus cannot be touched as long as he or she does not emerge. This is the rationale of sanctuary as it was practiced in the classical world. The most famous case was that of Demosthenes who in 322 BCE sought sanctuary in the Temple of Poseidon on the island of Calauria. When, in the post-Constantine era, church buildings were included in the same class as pagan temples, as specially holy places, it was natural that the idea of sanctuary should also be connected to them. The right of fugitives to remain under the protection of their god became legally recognized and in western Europe continued to be so for centuries; indeed, in England it was not until 1723 that all rights of sanctuary were finally declared null.

The second example of the gods themselves fulfilling a function on behalf of their followers is the practice of incubation. This is a method of obtaining divine favors by passing a length of time in one of their houses, usually sleeping there. Its primary aspect is medical, to obtain a cure, either immediately or after obeying the divine will disclosed in a vision. In the Temple of Ptah at Memphis therapeutic oracles were delivered and various remedies were revealed through dreams to those who slept there. The two principal healing gods in the Greek and Roman pantheons were Asklepios and Sarapis, and there is record of a shrine of the former at Aegae where those who passed the night were restored to health. The apparent success of these two gods ensured their continued popularity, and their cults only fell into disuse when churches replaced their temples as centers of healing believed to be accomplished by Christ through his saints. Among the most successful of the Christian holy men to cure illness were Cosmas and Damian, to whom a church was dedicated in Constantinople. Running this center a close second was the Church of Saint Menas near Alexandria; there some patients stayed for over a year and the church itself was so completely filled with mattresses and couches that they had to overflow into the sacristy. Incubation has had a continuous history down to the present day; in eastern Europe, for example, it can still be witnessed.

These several functions may all be regarded as positive in character, but a corollary of viewing a religious building as a holy place is the requirement for negative rituals to safeguard it by purifying those who wish to enter. Such rituals determine some of the furnishing, and so, for example, the forecourts of mosques have tanks and/or fountains for ablutions. Holy water stoups are to be found just inside the entrance of Roman Catholic churches; baptismal fonts were originally placed either in rooms separate from the main worship area or in entirely distinct buildings. The removal of shoes before entering a Hindu temple, of hats before going into a Christian church—all of these testify to the seriousness of entering a holy place. Many religious buildings have guardians to protect their entrances. The giant figures in the royal complex at Bangkok, the bull Nandin in the temples of Śiva, the scenes of the Last Judgment in the tympana over the west doors into medieval cathedrals—these are but a few examples.

Determination of form. The interior disposition of those religious buildings conceived to be divine dwellings is very much determined by the forms of the services offered. Where, for example, processions are a habitual feature of the ceremonial, then corridors for circumambulation have to be designed, as in the complex of Horus at Idfu; this also explains the labyrinthine character of many Hindu temples. When a statue is only to be seen by a special priesthood and has to be shielded from profane gaze, an inner chamber is created, often entirely dark, to protect humankind from the brilliant light of the divine presence, and this sanctuary may be protected itself by a series of surrounding rooms or courtyards. Where there are sacrifices, altars are needed, but these are frequently outside the shrine so that the individual worshiper can actually witness what the priest is doing with his or her gift. Classical Greek temples sheltered statues of the tutelary deities, but the all-important altars were outside; on the Athenian Akropolis, for example, it was in front of the Parthenon. Sometimes altars can themselves be architectural in character: the Altar of Zeus of Pergamum (c. 180 BCE), now in Berlin, has a crepidoma measuring 36.44 by 34.20 meters, and the Altar of Hieron II (276–222 BCE) at Syracuse is some 200 meters long and 27 wide.

Conveyance of revelation and teaching. As a center of reference, a religious building may accommodate activities that convey meaning, guidance, and instruction in the faith. Many Babylonian temples, for example, were sources of divination and even had a full complement of soothsayers, exorcists, and astrologers. Daoist temples equally are resorted to for divinatory purposes. The oracle was consulted at Delphi, to instance the greatest focus of this activity in the ancient world. The Jewish Temple in Jerusalem had cultic prophets on its staff.

Where a sacred book is central to a religion, provision for its reading and exposition has to be made. In synagogues there has to be a shrine for the Torah and a desk from which to comment on the text. In Christian churches there are lecterns for the Bible and pulpits for the sermon. Islam has its stands for the Qurʾān, and its *minbar* is the equivalent of the Christian pulpit, although the shape differs in that it is a miniature flight of stairs rising away from the congregation whom the preacher faces down the steps. Sikh worship concentrates on the reading of the Granth, which is accompanied by prayers and exposition. In these ways religious buildings function as centers of meaning.

Manifestation of reverence and celebration of festivals. The religious building as memorial, it will be recalled, often contains relics of religious founders or particularly saintly people. Reverence for these can be shown by visitation, sometimes to offer thanks for benefits received and sometimes to petition for help. Those who seek healing go in great numbers to the shrine of Our Lady of Lourdes to bathe in the sacred spring. In this and similar instances the designs of the buildings are affected by the need to accommodate the sick for short or long stays. In the Muslim world the virtue of a saint is believed to be available to those who follow him (or her) or touch some object associated with him. If he be dead, then his tomb, which is his memorial, becomes a center of his supernatural power (*barakah*) and attracts many visitors. Pilgrimages are one of the forms that these visits may take. So too Hindus travel to Hardwar (North India), which displays a footprint of Viṣṇu in stone. Jains go to Mount Abu, also in India, where the last *tīrthaṅkara* (guide), named Mahavira, spent the thirty-seventh year of his life. Buddhists go to Adam's Peak in Sri Lanka, where there is a footprint of Gautama; adherents of Islam make the *ḥājj* to Mecca, and indeed it is one of the five duties of Islam. Christians have their holy places in Israel and Jordan or visit the catacombs in Rome.

Festivals are the celebrations of the births or deaths of saints, and they commemorate key events in the sacred history of a religion. For Jews, to celebrate Passover in Jerusalem is a traditional goal. For Christians, too, there is a certain fittingness in observing Christmas, the Feast of the Nativity, in Bethlehem itself. Religious buildings then function as centers for such celebrations.

Congregational worship. It is important, if this particular category is to be appreciated, to distinguish it clearly, despite some overlap, from the service of the deities described above, with which it can easily be confused. The essential difference can be made plain by applying the term *cult* to the first function and reserving *worship* for this fourth one. The basic understanding of *cult* is evident from its etymology. It derives from *colere*, which means "to till the ground" and hence to take care of, or attend to, with the aim that the object of attention should bear fruit or produce some benefit. Next it signifies "to honor" and finally "to worship." The cultus is therefore a cultivating of the gods, a cherishing of them, seeing to their needs; it is the bestowal of labor upon them and the manifestation of regard toward them. There is more than a hint of doing something to obtain a favor, as in the phrase "to cultivate someone's acquaintance." Cultus stems from the human side, whereas worship, as it is used here to describe this fourth function, is from the side of the gods. Not only are they the ones who provide the form and matter of worship, but through it they come to encounter their community.

Worship of this kind is characterized as congregational to differentiate it further from cultus, which is primarily individualistic. Worship then is meeting: the religious building is the meeting house. What takes place is not an activity aimed at or on behalf of the gods; the gods take the initiative. Hence worship is a memorial celebration of the saving deeds of the gods, and by it the people are created and renewed again and again. So, in Christian terms, the Body of Christ (the Christian community) progressively becomes what it is by feeding upon the sacramental body of Christ. Worship fosters community identity, and hence in the chapels of Christian monasteries the seating frequently faces inward, thus promoting a family atmosphere.

The precise interior disposition of a building will also depend upon the particular understanding or form of the communal rite. Religions that center on a book of revelation, such as Judaism, Islam, and Sikhism, require auditoria. Protestantism, concentrating upon the word of God, similarly tends to arrange its congregations in rows suitable for an audience (*audientes*, a group of "hearers"). Roman Catholicism, with its greater emphasis on the Mass, stresses the visual dominance of the altar, which is now no longer outside the building, as with Roman and Greek exemplars, but inside.

If the act of worship is understood to be conducted by a professional hierarchy on behalf of the community as a whole, then some separation is likely, ranging from the Eastern Orthodox iconostasis at one extreme to communion rails at others. Where there is no sharp differentiation of role, as in Islam (since the imam is simply a prayer leader and is in no sense an ordained minister), the space is not partitioned; instead there is lateral disposition, with the worshipers shoulder to shoulder facing toward Mecca.

SYMBOLIZATION. On whatever basis a typology of religious buildings may be constructed and whatever purposes they may serve, there is one overall function that must be considered: symbolization. Each building proclaims certain beliefs about the deities to whom it is dedicated. One has only to contrast a Gothic cathedral with a Quaker meeting house to appreciate this. The former in all its grandeur speaks of a god who is high and lifted up, remote, awesome in majesty, fearful in judgment, demanding obeisance; the latter in all its simplicity witnesses to a being who is to be known in the midst of life, who is not separate, whose dwelling is with humankind, offering fellowship. The one speaks of power and might, the other of self-emptying and servanthood.

Sometimes the symbolism is intellectually apprehended before it is given visible form, and then it needs interpretation. Baptism, for example, is a sacrament of dying and rising with Christ. A detached baptistery may be hexagonal or octagonal: in the former case it refers to the sixth day of the week, Friday, on which Jesus died and in the latter, to the eighth day, or the first day of a new week when he rose from the dead. The dome, surmounting many a baptistery, is also a habitual feature of Byzantine churches and Muslim mosques, and as the baldachin or canopy it can enshrine any holy object or complete a memorial structure. Its popularity derives from its ideological context: it is a representation of the transcendental realm, an image of heaven. It is a not-inappropriate roofing for tombs, and many baptisteries took the shape of contemporary burial edifices precisely because of the meaning of the purificatory rite. Different parts of a building can have their own messages: towers declare heavenly aspirations; monumental doorways can impress with regal authority. Sculpture, painting, mosaic can and do fulfill a symbolic function. Gargoyles ward off evil spirits; paintings recall events or persons in sacred history; Christ as *creator mundi* holds his worshipers within his downward gaze. The handling of light is frequently symbolic. In a mosque it testifies to God as the light of heaven and earth; in Gothic architecture it is a basic constituent and is regarded as a manifestation of the glory of God.

ARCHITECTURAL TYPES. There is yet another typology to be reviewed that applies to all buildings whatever their function, and religious buildings are no exception. This is a dual typology that divides structures into the categories of path and place. For a path to be identifiable, it must have (1) strong edges, (2) continuity, (3) directionality, (4) recognizable landmarks, (5) a sharp terminal, and (6) end-from-end distinction. For a place to be identifiable, it must be (1) concentrated in form with pronounced borders, (2) a readily comprehensible shape, (3) limited in size, (4) a focus for gathering, (5) capable of being experienced as an inside in contrast to a surrounding exterior, and (6) largely nondirectional.

The application of these types to religious buildings can be briefly illustrated by contrasting a basilica and a centralized mosque. A basilica is a path leading toward the altar; every detail of the design confirms this. The nave, framed by aisles, has firm edges; there is continuity provided by floor patterns and advancing rows of columns, which themselves indicate a direction—everything points toward the holy table framed in a triumphal arch and backed by the embracing shape of the apse. For a pilgrim people, for those who have here no abiding city, such a royal road is obviously very appropriate. A centralized mosque, on the other hand such as those designed by Sinan in Istanbul, suggests no movement, it is a place, a point of reference and gathering, it is concentrated. Once within, there is no incentive to leave and every enticement to stay. Embodying perfect equipoise, it promotes contemplation; it is indeed embracing architecture. Its spaciousness expresses not the specificity of the Christian doctrine of the incarnation but the omnipresence of the divine; it manifests *tawhid*, which is the metaphysical doctrine of the divine unity as the source and culmination of all diversity.

The difference then between basilica and mosque is not stylistic; they are distinct architectural types, which in these two instances correspond to each religion's self-understanding. This circumstance does not, however, provide support for the nineteenth-century theory that every religion develops its own supreme architectural form to best express its ethos and spirit. The character of any building at any epoch is affected by many factors: technical aptitude, climate, availability of materials, function, and so on. Patronage has also played an important role. The Temple in Jerusalem, for example, was in origin Solomon's royal chapel, and indeed, not a few English medieval churches were on the estates of local lords, who regarded them as their own possessions. One effect of this influence was the monumentalization of many religious buildings: they were designed to display the power and authority not only of a heavenly being but of an earthly ruler. In this way many a Mughal mosque in India proclaimed the might of the ruling house. Royal, princely, and ducal boxes and galleries were inserted, and in western Europe the well-to-do could provide for their continued well-being by constructing private chantry chapels within existing parish churches. Communal patronage was not necessarily less concerned with outward show. Civic pride and congregational piety can result in costly programs.

Yet the study of the architecture of the world religions is not just a part of social history; it is an important element in understanding the religious traditions themselves. Since cult or worship is at the heart of any faith, and such an activity can only be studied and appreciated fully within its own special setting, it would be an abstraction to concentrate upon texts alone. Moreover, the symbolic function of architectural forms is in itself an additional source of knowledge to be taken into account.

Throughout the ages human beings have found meaning and succor in sacred places enshrined in their religious buildings. In a secularized society there still survives a need for centers of reference, meeting places, and memorials, but they then become associated with national figures and national identity. The Kremlin wall where leaders of the Russian Revolution are buried, together with Lenin's tomb, constitute one such place for Russian citizens. The Lincoln Memorial in Washington has a spacious chamber containing a seated statue and having the words of the Gettysburg and the Second Inaugural addresses incised on its walls; both president and texts have important contributions to make to United States identity. The White House in Washington and Buckingham Palace in London are seen as the dwellings of those who have about them a semidivine aura. The birthplaces or museums containing souvenirs (relics) of film and pop stars become centers of pilgrimage. A monument to Egypt's first president, Gamal Abdel Nasser, overlooks the Aswan Dam on the Nile. The former concentration camp at Dachau has become a memorial of the Nazi Holocaust. At the same time temples, cathedrals, mosques, and the like continue to be built: sacred sites, whether overtly religious or not, are a continuing feature of the human scene.

SEE ALSO Axis Mundi; Banaras; Basilica, Cathedral, and Church; Biblical Temple; Circle; Circumambulation; Cities; Cosmology; Jerusalem; Kaʿbah; Labyrinth; Monastery; Mosque, article on Architectural Aspects; Orientation; Pilgrimage; Portals; Procession; Pyramids; Relics; Sacred Space; Shrines; Synagogue; Temple; Tombs; Towers; Worship and Devotional Life.

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J. G. DAVIES (1987)
Revised Bibliography

ARCTIC RELIGIONS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
HISTORY OF STUDY

ARCTIC RELIGIONS: AN OVERVIEW

Arctic religions may be treated together, as constituting a more or less unified entity, for two reasons. First, these religions are practiced by peoples situated in the polar North, who mostly live on the tundra (permanently frozen ground) and partly in the taiga (the northern coniferous forest belt that stretches around the world); like their cultures in general, the religions of these peoples reflect to no little extent the impact of the severe natural environment. Second, the whole Arctic zone constitutes a marginal area and an archaic residue of the old hunting culture and hunting religion; whereas in the south the waves of Neolithic agriculture and animal husbandry inundated the originally Paleolithic hunting culture, the latter was preserved in the high north, where no cultivation of the ground was possible.

There was also a diffusion of ideas from west to east, and vice versa, within the Arctic area. This diffusion mostly took place in the boreal zone in the Old World, whereas in the New World there was little contact between Arctic groups and their Asian brethren.

Although interior change and later intrusion of world religions (such as Christianity and Buddhism) partly altered the ancient religious structures, their basic foundations and major features persisted until modern times in Siberia and North America. Only the systematic atheistic drive from 1930 onward managed to overthrow the old religions in the Soviet areas.

ETHNIC AND CULTURAL SURVEY. The tribes and peoples of the Arctic culture area belong to several linguistic families. All of them, with the exceptions of some Paleosiberian peoples and the Inuit, are also represented in cultures south of the high Arctic zone. In the following survey, names of peoples will be given as they are authorized today by their respective governments and by the peoples themselves. Their earlier names, used up to the 1930s or later and still popularly used, will be mentioned in parentheses. The main sources of subsistence will also be noted.

1. The Uralic language family. In Scandinavia, in Finland, and on the Kola Peninsula, the Arctic tundra and coast and the northern interior woodland are inhabited by the Sami (Lapps). Most of them are fishing people, but in the mountain regions and in parts of the woodland areas reindeer breeding is a common way of life. East of Lake Onega live the Komi (Zyrians), who are reindeer breeders as well, and the Samoyeds. The latter are divided into two main groups, who move extensively over the tundra with their reindeer herds: the Nentsy (Yuraks), from the Northern Dvina River to the Ural Mountains, and the Nganasani (Tavgi), from the Ob River to Cape Chelyuskin. Along the lower parts of the Ob and Irtysh rivers live two Ugric peoples (related to the Hungarians), the Khanty (Ostiaks) and the Mansi (Voguls), who practice some reindeer breeding but who are mostly fishermen and hunters.

2. The Tunguz language family. The wide areas from west of the Yenisei River to the Anadyr River in the east and from the tundra in the north to the Sayan Mountains in the south are the country of the dispersed Tunguz tribes: the Evenki, west of the Lena River, and the Eveny, east of it. Their typical habitat is the taiga, where they subsist as reindeer breeders on a limited scale.

3. The Turkic language family. The numerous Yakuts on the Lena River and farther east combine reindeer breeding with horse breeding. Their language is also spoken by the Dolgans in the Taimyr Peninsula area, a group of earlier Tunguz tribes.

4. The Yukagir. Now almost extinct, the Yukagir, a group that may be related to the Finno-Ugric peoples, once covered a large area east of the Lena. They were hunters and fishermen until the seventeenth century, when they turned into reindeer-breeding nomads.

5. The Paleosiberian language family. The Chukchi, on the Chukchi Peninsula, and the Koriak and the Itelmen (Kamchadal), on the Kamchatka Peninsula, make up the Paleosiberian language family. The inland Chukchi are reindeer breeders; the coastal Chukchi, the Koriak, and the Itelmen are ocean fishermen.

The economy of the people of the Arctic culture was founded on reindeer breeding, hunting, and fishing in the Old World, and only on hunting and fishing in the New World. Wintertime hunting was carried out on skis in the western parts of the area and on snowshoes in eastern Siberia and among the woodland Indians of Canada. Sledges (as well as toboggans in the New World) were used for transportation in the winter, and animal-skin boats and occasionally bark canoes in the summer. Animal-skin clothes and fur moccasins constituted the dress. The dwellings were mostly conical skin tents, although more southern groups substituted bark tents in the summer. Round or rectangular semisubterranean houses, sometimes covered with sod, occurred among the river- and coast-dwelling peoples. The social organization was simple in the north, with small, usually bilateral groups. In the south there were clan systems with tendencies toward totemism and more complicated political structures.

COMMON RELIGIOUS ELEMENTS. Against this harmonious background, it is not surprising that a wide range of religious phenomena are spread out over most of the region, usually as a combined result of ecological and historical factors. The available data bear out Robert H. Lowie's observation that the whole Arctic area constitutes one gigantic entirety from the angle of religious belief. One may make a certain reservation for the New World Arctic area, however, because both archaeologically and ethnologically the Inuit lack several common circumpolar features, and the same holds for their religion.

The main characteristics of Arctic religions are the special relationships of people to animals and the elaboration of shamanism. While the latter feature probably owes its special appearance to developments among peoples farther south such as the Tunguz and the Yakuts, there is a remarkable emphasis on shamanism, from the Sami in the west to the Inuit in the east, that seems aboriginal. Indeed, it is possible that the strain of the Arctic climate has stimulated strong religious forms of reaction, just as it has provoked the psychic reactions known as Arctic hysteria. No such explanation can be given for the hypertrophic extension of animal ceremonialism. It has its roots, of course, in ancient Eurasian hunting rituals, but its prolific occurrence in the Arctic probably has to do with the necessary dependence on an animal diet in these barren regions.

The spiritual universe. According to the religious beliefs of the Arctic peoples, the whole world is filled with spirits: Mountains, trees, and other landmarks have their spirits, and animals have their spirit masters. It is among all these spirits that shamans find their supernatural helpers and guardians. However, such human-spirit relationships could also occur among common people, as the evidence shows among the Sami and North American Indians, and there are obvious tendencies in the same direction among the Chukchi, as their "general shamanizing" (that is, when everybody tries to handle the shamanic drum and fall into ecstasy) testifies. The multifarious world of spirits may have something to do with the fact that the figure of a supreme being is so often diffuse. There is, it seems, a pattern of spiritualism here that defies all more personal expression of higher theistic concepts.

Supreme power. The inclination to conceive the highest supernatural being or beings more as nonpersonal power than personal figure or figures is generally part of Arctic religions and particularly characteristic of the Samoyeds, the Paleosiberian tribes, and the Inuit. The Sami constitute a great exception, but their high-god beliefs have been heavily influenced by Scandinavian and Finnish as well as Christian religious concepts.

A characteristic, somewhat impersonal power concept of the Samoyeds is Num. The word stands for both a deity and the sky. Num is an inclusive concept since it can denote both the highest spirit—the chief spirit or high god—and spirits through which the high god expresses its being, for instance, the spirits of thunder or of the rainbow. Similarly, the Khanty's semipersonal, highest power, Num-Turem, makes himself known to humans by speaking in the thunder or the storm. The Inuit believe in a rather nebulous supreme being called Sila (or Silap Inua, Hila, etc.), mostly rendered in English as "the lord of the air" (or the weather, or the world). This being is only partly thought of in truly personal terms and, at least among the Central Inuit, it is vested with an uncertain sexual affiliation.

It would seem that the personal character of the supreme being is more apparent among the northern Tunguz and Yakuts. Thus, the highest god of the Evenki, while sometimes represented by the sun, is clearly anthropomorphic.

The vague character of the supreme being of most Arctic groups may to some extent reflect their elementary social organization or the apparent infinity of their tundra world. There is no doubt, however, that this being stands at the apex of the religious pantheon in northern Siberia. The Samoyeds, for instance, think that he lives in heaven, and they sacrifice white reindeer to him on high mountains, particularly in the spring when there is thunder in the air. In northern Siberia there is a close connection between the world pillar and the high god.

In the Arctic area of the Old World, the worldview is dominated by the belief in several heavens over each other and several underworlds under each other, usually seven among the Ugric peoples and nine among the Altaic peoples, such as the Yakuts. Sometimes the sky is portrayed as a tent with holes through which the heavenly light shines down (the holes are the stars). Sometimes the Milky Way is thought of as the backbone of the sky (a concept shared by North American Indians) or as a river in the landscape of the sky. As among the Tunguz, the world pillar or world tree is believed to penetrate all levels, from the underground to the sky. On the whole, the three-leveled division of the world into a sky world, the earth, and the underworld is a typical Arctic feature.

Other spirits and divinities. Next to the supreme being, the most important spirits of the upper world are the Sun, the Moon, and the thunder spirits. The Sun is often related to the high god (as among the Tunguz), and the Moon can represent the mistress of the dead or, among some Inuit, the mistress of the sea animals (who is herself, secondarily, a mistress of the dead). Among the western Inuit, the moon god rules over the weather (he makes snowstorms) and the animals. The thunder spirits are portrayed as birds, particularly among the eastern Siberian peoples, the Inuit, and the North American Indians. Among the Samoyeds the thunder is supposed to be caused by ducks or by manlike beings, unless it represents the voice of the supreme being.

The surface of the earth is the habitat of a large crowd of spirits—some rule the animal species, some are spirits of the woods, lakes, and mountains (among Eurasian Arctic groups), and some are dangerous ogres, giants, and dwarfs. The Inuit in particular offer a variety of this last class of beings. Of immense importance are the masters of the animals. First, there are the guardians of the species, which are usually represented in the forms of the animals they protect; and second, there is the general lord of the animals, who is mostly conceived in the disguise of the dominant animal, be it the walrus (as among the Chukchi), the pike (as among the Khanty), or the reindeer (as among the Nentsy). In the Inuit area, the mother of the seals and of other water beings, called Sedna or Nuliayuk, is the dominant deity. The walrus mother of the Chukchi is probably related to her. The master or mistress of the animals is a most important divinity to these hunting and fishing peoples, who pray to this being to release the animals or to receive its permission to hunt them. When taboos have been broken, the master of the animals prohibits people from killing them. A primary task of Yukagir and Inuit shamans is to intervene in such cases by visiting the offended spirit and trying to propitiate it.

Such spirits have been thought to reflect a feudal social order. However, similar masters of the animals are found in places where such a social system has not existed, for instance, in North America. They seem to belong to a very ancient heritage.

The mistress of the game may be a variation of the mother-goddess complex. The old Paleolithic mother goddess, a divinity of birth and fertility, has been preserved among these northern peoples, partly as a mistress responsible for the game, partly as a birth goddess. Thus, among the Samoyeds and Ugric peoples she appears as Mother Earth and the birth goddess, among the Yakuts as a birth goddess, and among the Tunguz as the mother of the reindeer and the guardian of home and family. The Tunguz, and possibly also the Chukchi, know her also as a spirit of fire who protects the tent and its inhabitants, that is, the family. She then receives meat offerings in the fire. In some cases, as among the Sami, the tasks of the mother goddess are divided between several female divinities. Throughout the Eurasian Arctic, the mother goddesses have connections with the door of dwellings and are supposed to live under the ground. The Inuit have no particular birth goddess, but Sedna, the mistress of the sea animals, is in her unclean states a prototype of the woman who is ritually unclean, particularly when pregnant or giving birth. The birth goddess is primarily the protectress of women, and in some tribes female spirits are inherited from mother to daughter.

CULTIC PRACTICES. Characteristic of the cultic complexes among Arctic peoples is the simple development of ritual forms and the use of cultic objects—such as crude sculptures in wood and peculiarly formed stones—as symbolic receivers of offerings. The relationships between the sacrificers and these objects varies from veneration to coercive magic.

Sacrifices. Throughout the Arctic the supernatural powers have received offerings of some sort. Sacrifices are particularly important in Eurasia, whereas the Inuit have been less indulgent in this practice. In some dangerous places the Inuit offer pieces of blubber or flesh to the residing powers. Presents decorating sacred stones are supposed to give good hunting. However, the Inuit resort a good deal to magic—to spells, talismans, and amulets—to attain the same results. In the Arctic Old World, on the other hand, there is more religious supplication in ritual attitudes.

The most common offerings in northern Eurasia are simple pieces of tobacco and meat and, on more important occasions, the sacrifices of whole reindeer. The Sami, for instance, made offerings of tobacco to ensure good fishing when passing sacred rocks in a boat and of reindeer to the gods and local spiritual rulers when particular reasons demanded so. Such reasons could be the occurrence of a disease, the spread of a reindeer pestilence, the wish for the increase of the reindeer herds, and so on. The Samoyeds and other Arctic peoples of Siberia also evince these various attitudes to sacrifices, except that they also slaughter dogs. Both the Sami and the Samoyeds also consecrate animals to spiritual powers without killing them. Both tie a picture of the master of the fishes to the sacrifice given to this spirit. The northern Tunguz regularly perform sacrifices for the different masters of the animals.

The shaman often acts as the ceremonial leader, or sacrificial priest, at the larger offerings, particularly when his peculiar knowledge of the spirits is needed for the correct conduction of the ceremonies. Some ritual occasions are great annual ceremonies in which the shaman has a central function. To this category belongs the Samoyed ceremony held at the return of the sun after the polar winter night. It includes dancing (by shaman and common people alike), healing, and divination. Another such ceremony occurs among the Tunguz and is concerned with the revivification of nature in the spring, the growth and increase of the animals, and luck with future hunting. This ceremony is also connected with general shamanizing and the installment of new shamans.

Cultic images. The stone cult is prominent everywhere. Among the Saami, strangely formed stones, called *seite,* are connected with spirits that control the animals in the vicinity or the fish in water where the stone stands. The Samoyeds make offerings to similar stone gods, as do the Khanty, the Mansi, the Tunguz, and the Inuit. In some reports the stones seem, at least momentarily, identical with the spirits, but otherwise the general idea is that the stone represents the spirit or serves as its abode. The stone cult is a very important feature of Sami religion. The Sami, like the Samoyeds, the Khanty, and the Mansi, smeared the mouths of the stone idols with blood from the reindeer sacrificed to them.

The same form of offering occurs among the Tunguz and the Yakuts in their cult of the master of the forests. This spirit is represented by a carved human figure on the trunk of a living tree. Other northern peoples, such as the Sami, have made similar carvings on trees to symbolize spirits.

The most common custom, however, was to make crude wooden sculptures of the spirits. Such spirit figures occur all the way from Lapland to Alaska. Throughout northern Eurasia they are surprisingly similar—pointed at the top, usually without limbs, and occasionally decorated with cross marks on the body. The Khanty and the Samoyeds dress up these spirit images. Some wooden idols are set outside, often in groups at the same place; others are occasionally stationed outside but are mostly kept in the sacred corner of the house or tent.

Wooden figures also occur in Siberian shamanism among the Tunguz and the Dolgans. For these peoples, the figures symbolize the shaman's helping spirits and the world pole or world tree. A line of seven or nine pillars represents the lower sky worlds, where the shaman's soul or guardian spirit rests on the way to heaven. These images are often used for just one shamanic séance and are then discarded.

Animal ceremonialism. Much of the cultic life centers on animal ceremonialism, that is, the rituals accorded the slain game. Several animal species are shown a ceremonial courtesy after hunting; for example, their bones are buried in anatomical order. All over the area, a special complex of rites surrounds the treatment of the dead bear.

Particular attention is given to the way in which the bear's body is brought home. It is carried in procession, often with patches on its eyes so it cannot see its slayers and take revenge on them. It is brought into the tent through a sacred entrance at the back. Such sacred doors or openings occur in dwellings throughout northern Eurasia. A festive meal is arranged, and the men who have killed the bear assure it of their innocence and blame others. The bear is admonished to observe the respect and kindness with which it is treated and to tell the bears in the world of the spirits about this treatment so that more bears will allow themselves to be slain. Afterward, the bones of the bear are carefully buried and its skull is placed in a tree or on a pole. The aims of the ceremony are obviously to persuade more animals of the same species to be killed. The size and ferocity of the bear probably induced its traditionally special treatment.

Paleosiberian peoples and Alaska Inuit paid similar attention to the whale. The Inuit celebrated the dead whale ritually for five days, a period corresponding to the mourning period for a dead person. The Alaska Inuit also had a bladder festival in December, at which the bladders of the seals that had been slain during the year were restored to the sea. The Inuit, like the Finno-Ugric peoples, make a clear distinction between what belongs to land and what belongs to water: the bones of land animals are deposited in or on the earth; the bones and bladders of fish and sea animals are put in the water.

Ceremonies are held not only for food-giving animals but also for animals that are feared. The Koriak feast the slain wolf and dance in its honor, at the same time asking the supreme being not to make the wolf angry. A reindeer sacrifice to the same god is a humble appeal to him not to send wolves into the reindeer herds.

The persistent concern with animals and hunting is reflected in the host of hunting taboos, and in rock drawings that have "life lines" drawn between the mouths and the hearts of the depicted animals, possibly suggesting the animals' souls.

Shamanism and soul beliefs. Since the shamanism of the Arctic peoples is discussed elsewhere, only a few critical remarks will be made here. It seems that the extreme development of shamanistic ritual farther to the south in Siberia is somewhat attenuated in the northern Arctic. On the other hand, in the Arctic the intensity of the shaman's ecstatic trance is certainly not weaker, but is in fact stronger, than it is in Siberia. North and south are also remarkably different in regard to the conception of the soul basic to shamanism. As always where true shamanism operates, there is a dualism between the free soul that acts during dream and trance and that represents humans in an extracorporeal form and the one or several body souls that keep individuals alive and conscious during their waking hours. It is typically the shaman's free soul that, in a trance, tries to rescue a sick person's soul (of either type), which has left its body and gone to the land of the dead and possibly reached this place. This is indeed the conception of the soul and disease among the Arctic peoples. However, among the more southerly Tunguz and Yakuts, the soul types are more intricate, and the soul sent out by the shaman is commonly a body soul. Therein lies the obvious and basic difference between Arctic and other Siberian peoples.

There are other differences as well. The idea of the shaman being possessed during a trance is well developed in southern Siberia and the American Northwest Coast culture, but it is not so frequent among the Arctic peoples. On the other hand, Shaking Tent ceremonies, in which the shaman is tied up and covered by blankets, calls upon spirits for information, and then breaks free from the bonds, can be found among the Samoyeds, the Yakuts, and the Inuit (and northern Algonquians in North America). Iconographic representations of what seem to be double-headed assistant spirits occur all over the Arctic. Divination by lifting weights is common among the Sami, the Tunguz, and the Inuit, and divination by scapulimancy has been recorded in northern Siberia, in China, and among the Algonquian-speaking Indians of northeastern North America. It is less certain that the chief guardian spirit of the Yakuts and Dolgans, the animal mother, is derived from northern influences. Other items of possibly Arctic and ultimately Paleolithic origins such as the shaman's drum (and the drawings on it) are hardly conducive to more secure conclusions.

Afterlife. Unlike most other hunting peoples, the peoples in the North generally believe that the realm of the dead is situated in the underworld. The Khanty think that the world of shades extends close to the mouth of the Ob River; it is characterized by cold, eternal darkness, hunger, and silence. The Tunguz view of the underworld is more optimistic. The people there live in birchbark tents, hunt, fish, and tend to their reindeer in the woods. The Central and Eastern Inuit realm of the dead is identical with Sedna's place at the bottom of the sea. It is not bright, but endurable. The rule in most places is that only those who have suffered a violent death go to heaven; among the Chukchi and Inuit these fortunate beings make their appearance in the aurora borealis. Often, the underworld is conceived to be contrary to our world in every respect; for instance, while it is night in the underworld it is day on earth.

There are traces of evidence among the Paleosiberian peoples that they once believed in two lands of the dead, one underground and the other in heaven or at the horizon. Such pieces of information may be interpreted as testimony of a conception of afterlife that was originally more sky-oriented, overlayered by later influences from the south.

Myths. Several myths and legends have a remarkable distribution along the Arctic coast, such as those of the "bear wife" and "the resuscitation of the animal with the missing member." Many myths of more southerly origin have been integrated with local mythological patterns, such as the myths of the "earth diver" and the Flood. Quite a few tales are star myths, legends of the first shamans, or narratives of supernatural animals. A widely distributed myth tells about the cosmic stag, or elk, represented in the night sky as the Great Bear. He steals the sun but is deprived of it by a hare who restores the heavenly light to humankind. Among the Tunguz, this tale is connected with the spring ceremonies described above.

The Paleosiberian peoples share with North American Indians the idea of a culture hero and trickster. His name is Raven, or Big Raven among the Northwest Indians, and he appears as human or as a bird. Among the Koriak, Big Raven formed the earth, brought light to it, and created all the animals. He is humanity's ancestor and the first shaman. He is the most prominent divinity (although there is a vague, otiose sky god, identical with dawn, who also represents the universe). At the same time Big Raven is a most obscene trickster, and he dominates mythology.

HISTORY OF ARCTIC RELIGIONS. Because of the absence of reliable written sources, not much is known of the religious developments in the Arctic. However, certain clues can be obtained through the study of the ethnic history of the area.

As stated before, the cultures of the Arctic area are remnants of a Paleolithic hunting culture at the northern fringe of three continents. They preserve hunting customs and religious ideas that have disappeared or become transformed in the southern pastoral and agricultural societies. The Finno-Ugric peoples and the Paleosiberian peoples have best preserved their archaic heritage. The Inuit represent a later cultural phase with roots in the circum-Pacific fishing cultures. Their original connections to the Old World are reflected in the way animals are depicted in their art, ultimately inspired by Eurasian steppe art some two to three thousand years ago. The Inuit belong ecologically, but only in part historically, to the Arctic hunting culture. They therefore deviate considerably from the other Arctic peoples in their religious structure. On the other hand, the Pacific fishing culture has had an important impact on Paleosiberian culture and religion.

At the other end of the Arctic, the Sami were heavily influenced by their Scandinavian neighbors, first through old Nordic religion, later by Christianity. Reindeer-breeding nomadism developed in Christian times and has not palpably changed Saami religion.

In the Siberian Arctic, changes were brought about by influences from the south. First, both material culture and religion were affected by cultural waves from the Near East and China; the subterranean location of the realm of the dead may partly be a result of this impact. Second, with the move of the Tunguz and Yakuts toward the north, a major cultural shift took place in the Arctic. The Tunguz, coming from the Baikal area, slowly supplanted or incorporated Paleosiberian tribes, such as the Yukagir. They were probably the main instigators of the diffusion of reindeer breeding (reindeer-breeding nomadism with large herds apparently did not develop until the eighteenth century). The introduction of reindeer breeding in the Arctic did not change traditional religions palpably, but some new spirits, such as the master of the tame reindeer, were incorporated. The continued dependence on hunting and fishing may have impeded the development of a purely nomadic religion. On the other hand, the Tunguz peoples were probably instrumental in spreading the intense form of shamanism in the north, a form that had been influenced by Buddhist ideas and Tibetan ecstatic practices.

This southern influence was strengthened with the arrival of the horse-tending Yakuts from Mongolia during the medieval centuries. The Yakuts who followed the Lena Valley to the north replaced some of the dispersed Tunguz groups and partly absorbed the original population. The Tunguz and Yakut influx created in the north what has been called "the Siberian gap," a void between the more ancient Finno-Ugric cultures in the west and the Paleosiberian cultures in the east. This void is easily observable in the religious context where Tunguz and Yakut thought and practice represent more complex and developed forms.

SEE ALSO Bears; Ecology and Religion; Inuit Religious Traditions; Sami Religion; Samoyed Religion; Shamanism.

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ARCTIC RELIGIONS: HISTORY OF STUDY

Arctic religions have been explored by scholars from many countries, though primarily from the countries where these religions are practiced: Denmark (the Inuit of Greenland); Norway, Sweden, and Finland (the Sami); Russia and the former Soviet republics (the northern Eurasian peoples); and the United States and Canada (the Inuit and northernmost American Indians). This has meant that several research traditions and research premises have been involved. For a long time the study of Arctic religions was a subordinated part of the ethnographic research on peoples and cultures, and in many places, particularly in the former Soviet republics, it still is. Until the end of the nineteenth century, descriptions of Arctic religions were encapsulated in travel reports and tribal monographs, but since that time particular issues of Arctic religions, such as shamanism, have been debated. However, conscious attention to connections between various Arctic religions was missing from scholarship until the beginning of the twentieth century.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CIRCUMPOLAR STUDIES. The exploration of Siberian and Canadian Arctic cultures at the turn of the century made scholars aware of their great similarities. Since this was the time when geographic environmentalism swayed high—and the Arctic is known for its extreme climate—Arctic cultures were readily given an environmentalist interpretation. The pioneer of this approach, Artur Byhan, author of the classic *Die Polarvölker* (1909), brought together pertinent religious materials from all over the Arctic and referred many religious manifestations to the pressures and inspiration of the Arctic environment. He certainly did not make a real analysis of the mechanisms implied, but he presented cultural and religious data in their environmental context.

Other scholars followed suit. In the writings of Waldemar Bogoraz, M. A. Czaplicka, Kai Birket-Smith, Daryll Forde, and Åke Ohlmarks, different shades of an environmentalist interpretation of Arctic religions are represented. In a modified, ecological form, I have substantiated the environmental impact on these religions.

Most ethnologists and anthropologists, however, have favored a cultural-historical analysis in which all the Arctic cultures belong together, either as a common field of diffusion or as an archaic residue. This approach originated with the American anthropologist Franz Boas, who compared Paleosiberian and Northwest American Indian mythologies. His speculations resulted in the assumption of a direct communication between North America and North Asia. This perspective was expanded by Austrian and Danish diffusionists.

Wilhelm Schmidt, the dominating figure of the so-called Vienna culture-circle school, accepted the idea of an Arctic "primeval culture" (*Urkultur*) that, although somewhat faded, has been preserved to some extent among Samoyeds, Koriak, and Caribou Inuit. Schmidt also found shared religious elements among some North American "primeval peoples" (*Urvölker*) and the Arctic peoples, such as the "earth-diver" myth, the association of the high god with the rainbow, the dualism between thunder spirits and water spirits, and the sacred fire. He therefore postulated the existence of a continuous Arctic-North American primeval culture in which religious ideas and customs were formed in the same mold.

While Schmidt's general scheme of historical developments has been discredited, his reconstruction of an Arctic cultural and religious area rests on solid ground. The research of Danish ethnologists, in particular Gudmund Hatt and Kai Birket-Smith, revealed an interconnection between all Arctic cultures in a circumpolar round. Hatt has shown distributions of myths and folk tales over, primarily, the Siberian and North American Arctic regions. Robert H. Lowie, Francis Lee Utley, and I have suggested historical connections in the religious and mythological field, some of them joining the Saami with the inhabitants of northernmost North America. Archaeologists have also contributed to the investigations of the spreading of religious ideas in the Arctic zone: Gutorm Gjessing, for instance, has illuminated the Arctic rock-drawing panels by comparing eastern and western Arctic traits (such as the so-called life line).

All these historical investigations have followed the diffusionist approach. Very little has been done along the other line of historical approach, the study of common heritage. A. Irving Hallowell has, certainly, suggested the possibility that bear ceremonialism originated within the larger Eurasian Paleolithic hunting culture. Its circumpolar distribution would thus, at least partly, be a leftover from a once more extended context. Indeed, not only the Arctic but also all North and South American hunting cultures show evidence of their status as remnants of this old basic culture, as Boas and, in particular, Erland Nordenskiöld demonstrated. As observed by Mircea Eliade, the outlines of one and the same shamanistic complex are found from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego. Everyone who compares Mapuche shamanism in Chile with Siberian shamanism will notice obvious parallels. Seen in this perspective American hunting religions are an extension of Arctic religions.

Some scholars have tried to discern major changes in the development of Arctic religions. If earlier evolutionist theories are excluded, this discussion has been connected with the interpretation of animal ceremonialism and shamanism. The ceremonies associated with the bones of the slain animals have mostly been identified as burial and rejuvenation rites. Some authors, however, have expressed other opinions. For example, Alexander Gahs and Wilhelm Schmidt have interpreted these bone rites as offerings (*Primitialopfer*) to the supreme being or to its manifestations in other supernatural beings, such as the master of the animals. Although this opinion is not shared by other scholars, there is no doubt that some animal rituals, namely those associated with the reindeer, have a clear sacrificial character among the Samoyeds, the Tunguz, and the Koriak; the Tunguz, for instance, make reindeer sacrifices to the spirits of the woods. Karl Meuli, therefore, considered that a change had taken place from the animal ceremonialism of the hunting culture to the sacrificial ideology of reindeer-breeding nomadism; the animal, surrounded by revivification rites, was transformed into a sacrifice to the powers. At the same time, bear ceremonialism lingered on and had a firm grip in all nomadic cultures of the North, as shown by Hans-Joachim Paproth's investigations.

PARTICULAR AREAL STUDIES. Most authors have concentrated their efforts on the study of subfields or tribes within the Arctic area. They have, from their particular points of departure, often reached conclusions that refer to the whole circumpolar zone or large parts thereof; but their real intentions have mostly been to reveal the religious systems or specific traits of these systems. It is possible to distinguish three main Arctic regions of exploration, usually (but not always) treated as separate from each other. They will be called here the Sami field, the northern Eurasian field, and the Inuit field.

The Sami field. The scientific analyses of Sami religion on the basis of older sources (there were few vestiges left in the nineteenth century besides folkloric materials) began late in the nineteenth century. This was the time when such scholars as J. A. Friis, Gustaf von Düben, Johan Fritzner, and others began to systematize Sami religious ideas. The interest in the possible contributions that Sami religion could make to our understanding of Scandinavian religion, a perspective introduced by Fritzner, was later continued by such men as Axel Olrik, Kaarle Krohn, and Wolf von Unwerth. The underlying idea was that Sami religion was inspired to a large extent by Scandinavian thought and retained Old Scandinavian religious features. In the 1920s the pendulum swung, and Sami religion began to be considered in the light of Finno-Ugric and Arctic religious ideas and cults. Uno Holmberg (later Harva) and Björn Collinder guided this new perspective. Since then a host of writers, including Ernst Manker, Ernst Emsheimer, Gustav Ränk, T. I. Itkonen, Olof Pettersson, Hans Mebius, Nils Storå, and Louise Bäckman, have tried to coordinate Sami religion with other Arctic and northern Eurasian religions.

The northern Eurasian field. The first accounts of the "primitive" peoples of the Russian empire and their religious customs date from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. More systematic studies were undertaken in the nineteenth century when the Finnish-speaking peoples were investigated by Mathias Alexander Castrén; the Mansi by Bernhardt Munkácsi; the Samoyeds by Castrén, Otto Finsch, and V. V. Radlov; the Yakuts by W. L. Sieroszewski and Radlov; and the Eveny (an eastern Tunguz tribe) by Leopold von Schrenk. These accounts are all classic and still authoritative. The only treatises that compared aspects of various cultures dealt with the bear ceremonial complex (N. M. Yadrintzeff) and shamanism.

The beginning of the twentieth century saw the continued publication of tribal monographs. Waldemar Bogoraz and Waldemar Jochelson, respectively, published excellent studies of the Chukchi and Koriak that contain important chapters on religious life. Jochelson also wrote a book on what was preserved of Yukagir religion. In the same way, Leo Sternberg advanced our knowledge of the religious customs of the Amur and Sakhalin tribes. Finnish scholars continued the interest in Arctic peoples that had started with Castrén: Toivo Lehtisalo and Kai Donner visited the Samoyeds and K. F. Karjalainen visited the Khanty (Ostiaks).

During the postrevolutionary era, Soviet scholars made several tribal ethnographic investigations of considerable importance, although one-sidedly Marxist and evolutionist in outlook. Religious issues, shamanism in particular, have been discussed from this programmatic point of view. Unfortunately, few works have been translated into Western languages. Among the more prominent contributors to the study of religious themes are N. A. Alekseev (on the Yakuts), A. F. Anisimov (on the Tunguz), A. A. Popov (on the Samoyeds and Yakuts), E. D. Prokofeva (on the Samoyeds), and G. M. Vasilevich (on the Tunguz).

If shamanism is excluded, Soviet authors may be generally said to have neglected comparative studies of religion. There are some papers on such topics as mother-goddess worship and totemism, and Dimitri K. Zelenin's book-length work on *ongons,* that is, idols that portray animals or human beings, is a major comparative treatise. These investigations, however, are exceptions. I. S. Gurvich comments on the paucity of Soviet-era papers in this genre in an article (1979) on ethnographic parallels in the Arctic.

The basic surveys of Finno-Ugric and northern Siberian religions have been composed by non-Russian scholars, such as M. A. Czaplicka, Uno Holmberg Harva, Wilhelm Schmidt, Ivar Paulson, and Gustav Ränk. Other comparative studies have been written by Adolf Friedrich (on beliefs about bones and skeletons), Alexander Gahs (on bones as offerings), Eveline Lot-Falck (on hunting rituals), Josef Haekel (on the cult of idols and totemism), Gustav Ränk (on the house and family cults), Ivar Paulson (on concepts of the soul, masters of the animals, bone rites, and house idols), Horst Nachtigall (on burial customs), and Ivan A. Lopatin (on cult of the dead). The Soviet papers previously referred to should also be mentioned: Zelenin's study of idols, A. M. Zolotarev's writings on totemism, and Anisimov's discussion of cosmology.

The particular religious connections between northern Siberian and North American Arctic and Northwest Coast cultures were illuminated at the turn of the century by the Jesup Expedition, sponsored by the American Museum of Natural History in New York, with Boas as the director and Bogoraz and Jochelson as Russian members. This intercontinental ethnological problem, which included the question of religio-historical relations, received less attention among Russian scholars after the Russian Revolution of 1917.

The Inuit field. The Danes had already secured important information on the Greenland Inuit in the eighteenth century. Danish scholarship in the field started in the nineteenth century when Gustav Holm and H. Rink described, in particular, the East Greenland Inuit religion. At the other end of the Inuit area, in southern Alaska (at that time part of the Russian empire), the Finn H. J. Holmberg noted down Inuit and Indian religious ideas about the same time. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, American anthropological research entered the scene with Franz Boas, who wrote a monograph on the Central Inuit, and A. L. Kroeber, who described the Inuit of Smith Sound.

The twentieth century saw a rich scholarship on Inuit religion, most of it directed from Copenhagen. Knud Rasmussen covered the whole Inuit area with his insightful analyses of Inuit religious thinking, but first of all the Greenland, Central, and Polar Inuit. William Thalbitzer wrote on beliefs, myths, and cults of the Greenlanders, Erik Holtved on the Polar Inuit, and Kai Birket-Smith on the Caribou Inuit and the Chugach of Alaska. Among American scholars, Diamond Jenness, who described the Copper Inuit, and Margaret Lantis, who analyzed the ceremonialism of the Alaska Inuit, were prominent. As pointed out before, the Danish scholars were occupied with investigating circumpolar trait diffusions, using the Inuit traits as their point of departure.

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There is no similar survey of scholarly contributions in tsarist and Soviet Russia, except the studies of shamanism. Some points of view on Soviet studies are presented in I. S. Gurvich's "An Ethnographic Study of Cultural Parallels among the Aboriginal Populations of Northern Asia and Northern North America," *Arctic Anthropology* 16 (1979): 32–38. The comprehensive areal works by Uno Holmberg Harva and Ivar Paulson contain some introductory remarks, but no more. The student has to go to the separate books and articles, most of them published in Russian, but some in western European languages: this applies, of course, first of all to the works of scholars residing in western Europe and America. No collocation of all this scholarship has ever been done.

The same applies to the split publications on Inuit religion. The total research contribution has not yet been evaluated. See, however, the short introduction to the subject by Ivar Paulson, Karl Jettmar, and me in *Les religions arctiques et finnoises* (Paris, 1965), pp. 346f.

ÅKE HULTKRANTZ (1987)

ARHAT.

The Sanskrit term *arhat* (Pali, *arahant*) derives from the root *arh (arhati)* and literally means "worthy" or "deserving." The term is especially important in Theravāda Buddhism, where it denotes the highest state of spiritual development, but it also has pre-Buddhist and non-Buddhist applications.

HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE TERM.

In Vedic and non-Vedic contexts, the noun *arhat* and the verb *arhati* applied generally to persons or gods whose particular status earned for them the characterization of "worthy" or "deserving of merit." The terms also denoted "being able to do," or "being capable of doing." For example, in *Ṛgveda* 1.94.1 Agni is addressed in a song of praise as "the worthy one" (*arhat*). The term *arhat* does not appear in the Upaniṣads, but the verb *arhati* occurs there five times with the sense of "being able." The ten occurrences of the verb in the *Bhagavadgītā* convey a similar general meaning.

In the Jain *sūtra*s the term is often used in a sense closer to that found in Buddhist writings. Here the arhat is described as one who is free from desire, hatred, and delusion, who knows everything, and who is endowed with miraculous powers. While these characterizations are consistent with the Buddhist use of the term, it should be noted that the Jains applied the word exclusively to the *tīrthaṃkara*s or revealers of religion, whereas in Buddhism arhatship is an ideal to be attained by all serious religious strivers, especially monks and nuns.

In the Pali scriptures of Theravāda Buddhism *arahant/arahati* shares with Vedic, Hindu, and Jain sources the same general meanings "worthy, able, fit." In a more specific usage, but one that is not yet part of the most prevalent formulas found in the Sutta and Vinaya Piṭakas, the term is applied to those who have supernatural powers or who practice austerities.

PLACE IN BUDDHIST SOTERIOLOGY.

In its most typical usage in Theravāda Buddhism, however, the term *arahant* signifies persons who have reached the goal of enlightenment or *nibbāna* (Skt., *nirvāṇa*). In the Pali canon the *arahant* emerges not simply as the revealer of the religion or the person worthy of receiving gifts but as one who has attained freedom of mind and heart, has overcome desire and passion, has come to true knowledge and insight, has crossed over the flood (of *saṃsāra*) and gone beyond (*pāragata*), has destroyed the *āsavas* (deadly attachments to the world), is versed in the threefold knowledge (*tevijja*) of past, present, and future, has achieved the thirty-seven factors of enlightenment, and who has attained *nibbāna.*

In the Vinaya, the concept of the *arahant* appears to be connected with the concept of *uttarimanussa* ("further being, superhuman being"). Here, the *arahant* is said to possess one or more of the four trance states (*jhāna*), one or more of the four stages of sanctification, mastery of the threefold knowledge and the sixfold knowledge (*chaḷabhiññā*), which includes knowledge of previous rebirths, and to have achieved the destruction of the *āsavas,* or "cankers." Indeed, it may be that the notion of *uttarimanussa* constitutes the earliest beginning of a more elaborated and refined concept designated by the term *arahant.*

It is in the Nikāyas, however, that the concept of the *arahant* achieves its mature form. In the first volume of the *Dīgha Nikāya* ten of the thirteen *sutta*s deal almost entirely with this theme; the other three are indirectly related to it. In these texts arhatship is extolled as the highest of social ranks, the only form of sacrifice worth making, the best asceticism, and the true form of *brahmacariya* (Skt., *brahmacarya*). Clearly, the term *arahant* signifies the Buddhist transvaluation of terms applied to the most worthwhile aspects of life. In the *Majjhima Nikāya* the *arahant* is said to recognize things as they really are, to have eliminated the *āsava*s, to be far removed from evil, and to be beyond birth, decay, and death.

There are several *arahant* formulas in the Pali Tipitaka. Perhaps the best known is the following:

> Rebirth has been destroyed. The higher life has been fulfilled. What had to be done has been accomplished. After this present life there will be no beyond. (*Dīgha Nikāya* 1.84 and elsewhere)

Other formulas emphasize the attainment of the emancipation of mind, the transcendence of rebirth, the realization of *jhanic* states, knowledge of the Four Truths, the overcoming of the *āsava*s, and the gaining of salvation and perfect knowledge. The term also appears in the formulaic phrase characterizing the Buddha: "A Tathagata arises in the world, an *arahant,* a fully enlightened one perfect in knowledge and conduct, a wellfarer, a world-knower, unsurpassed driver of men to be driven, a teacher of *deva*s [gods] and mankind, A Buddha, an Exalted One."

Arhatship figures prominently into the Theravāda notion that the salvific journey is a gradual path (*magga*) in which one moves from the condition of ordinary worldly attachments governed by ignorant sense desires to a state of liberation characterized by utter equanimity and the knowledge of things as they are. As Buddhagosa put it in his *Visuddhimagga* (Path of purification), the classic synopsis of Theravāda doctrine, the *arahant* has completed all of the purities derived through the observance of the moral precepts (*sīla*), meditational practice (*jhāna*), and the purity of knowledge (*paññā-visuddhi*). The sine qua non of this path is meditation, which leads to extraordinary cognitive states and stages of consciousness (*jhāna*) and, allegedly, to the acquisition of various supernormal "powers" (*iddhi*). These attainments became fundamental to the cult of saints, an important aspect of popular Theravāda Buddhist practice. This popular aspect of arhatship has not always been easy to reconcile with the classical notion, which emphasizes the acquisition of what Buddhaghosa refers to as the "analytical knowledges," for example, the analysis of reality in terms of its conditioned and co-arising nature (*paṭicca-samuppāda;* Skt., *pratītya-samutpāda*).

Both the Therāvada *Kathavātthu* (Points of controversy) and Vasumitra's *Samayabhedoparacanacakra* (History of the schisms, a Sarvāstivāda work) give ample evidence that during the first few centuries following the death of the Buddha there were frequent disputes within the order concerning the nature and attributes of the arhat. The greatest challenge to the arhat ideal, however, came from the Mahāyāna tradition, which proclaimed the career of the *bodhisattva* to be superior to that of the arhat. Texts such as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* and *Vimalakīrti Sūtras* criticize the arhat for pursuing, in their view, an unacceptably self-centered soteriological path.

THE ARHAT AS CULT FIGURE. In popular Buddhism the arhat has become a figure endowed with magical and apotropaic powers. In Myanmar, the *arahant* Shin Thiwali (Pali, Sivali), declared by the Buddha to be the foremost recipient of gifts among his disciples, is believed to bring prosperity and good fortune to those who petition him. The *arahant* Upagupta, who tamed Māra and converted him to Buddhism, is thought to have the power to prevent storms and floods as well as other kinds of physical violence and unwanted chaos. Customarily, Buddhist festivals in Myanmar and northern Thailand are initiated by an offering to Upagupta in order to guarantee the success of the event. In Myanmar, offerings are made to the Buddha and the eight *arahant*s (Sāriputta, Moggallāna, Ānanda, Revata, Upāli, Koṇḍañña, Rāhula, and Gavampati) as part of a long-life engendering ceremony in which each *arahant* is associated with one of the eight days of the Myanmar week and with a special planet. Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, one of the sixteen great arhats (Chin., *luohan*), was particularly venerated as the guardian saint of monasteries' refectories in China and Japan (where he is known as Binzuru), and was also worshiped as a popular healing saint.

The arhat, as one who has realized the *summum bonum* of the spiritual path, is worshiped on the popular level as a field of merit (*puṉy akṣetra*) and source of magical, protective power. Some, such as Upagupta and Piṇḍola, became in effect protective deities believed to have the power to prevent violence and illness. Offerings to their images or symbolic representations of their presence constitute cultic practice in both domestic and public rituals. However, arhats other than those associated with the Buddha during his lifetime or the sixteen arhats enumerated in Nandimitra's *Record of the Abiding of the Dharma* (T.D. no. 2030) have served as sources of power. Claims of arhatship are continuously being made on behalf of holy monks in countries such as Sri Lanka, Myanmar, and Thailand. Devoted laypersons seek them out for boons and wear protective amulets bearing their image or charred remains of their hair or robe. They may be venerated as wizards (Burm., *weikza*) with magical skills in alchemy, trance, and the like. Elaborate hagiographies tell of extraordinary natural signs announcing their birth and detail careers characterized by the performance of miraculous deeds. Their monasteries, in turn, may become holy pilgrimage centers both during and after their lifetime.

In short, the arhat embodies one of the fundamental tensions in the Buddhist tradition between the ideal of enlightenment and equanimity and the extraordinary magical power concomitant with this attainment. This tension, while present in the texts, is further heightened in the light of popular Buddhist attitudes and practices regarding the figure of the arhat.

SEE ALSO Bodhisattva Path; Mahāsiddhas; Nirvāṇa; Perfectibility; Soteriology; Tīrthaṃkaras.

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DONALD K. SWEARER (1987)
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ARIANISM is the heretical doctrine promulgated by the Christian Alexandrian priest Arius (c. 250–336) that asserted the radical primacy of the Father over the Son. Three distinct streams of influence merged in the sea of doctrinal upheaval of Christianity in the fourth century: (1) the theological system developed by Arius himself, which was his private and pastoral accomplishment; (2) the moderate and conservative Origenism of the majority of Eastern bishops who found themselves in consonance with Arius's own Origenian background; and (3) the political initiatives of these bishops against Alexander of Alexandria. The complex state of church affairs arising from the confluence of these three streams has become known as the Arian controversy.

Without Arius the controversy would never have existed. Paradoxically, however, the Alexandrian priest contributed more to the name of the crisis than to the shaping of its doctrinal issues. In Arius's thought, certain trends of Alexandrian theology, formulated by Origen a few generations earlier, reached their ultimate consequences. Arius's concept of the Christian godhead was monarchic, that is, it held that the first and unique absolute principle of divinity is the Father. Consequently, any other divine reality was considered by him as secondary to the Father. He applied this view first of all to the Logos, the Word of God, the Son who becomes the instrument of the divine plan of creation and salvation. The Son, being bound to the decision of the Father in the very process of his own generation as the Son, is not eternal in the same sense as the Father is eternal; more important, he is not eternal because only the Father is ungenerated. On the other hand, being the instrument of the fulfillment of the Father's will, the Son is by nature linked with the divine creation. He is, so to speak, the first transcendent creature, the principle of all things. Arius developed several Origenian insights in a way that led him finally to contradict Origen's notion of the godhead. In the course of his systematic inquiry, he not only urges traditional forms of trinitarian subordinationism, he pleads also for a radical dissimilarity among the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

It is not easy to garner an authentic picture of Arius's teachings on the incarnation of the Word and his interpretation of the gospel narratives. His main opponents, Alexander of Alexandria and Athanasius, have transmitted no direct evidence from Arius on these points; one must deduce Arius's conceptions from what his opponents denounce and refute in their anti-Arian writings. Arius's teachings on incarnation were probably traditional and reflective of Origen's christological legacy. Arius, like Origen, advocated that Christians should imitate the Son's asceticism and contemplate the mystery of his kenosis, which involved the Son even in the experience of death. The final glorification means that the risen Christ earned the right to be recognized in his divine rank as the Son of God. It has been suggested that Arius conceived of Jesus as being without a human soul, the Logos himself taking its place, but there is no support for this thesis in Arius's own writings.

Underlying the whole of Arius's thought is a philosophical perspective that guarantees the uniqueness of his system among the Origenian-type theologies current in the Greek-speaking churches of the first half of the fourth century. Arius's writings show a passionate concern for the radical transcendency of the first principle in the godhead, and he interprets the Christian notion of the Son in light of a rigorous, metaphysical deduction about the nature of the Son as proceeding from the first principle, his Father. Sharing the metaphysical concerns of Plotinus in *Ennead* 5 but using the Christian categories of Father and Son, Arius develops his view of God and the world only in regard to the origination of the second principle of the godhead, without regard to the teaching of the New Testament on the full divinity of Christ.

This underlying point of view seems to have shaped Arius's thought more than anything else. It was for this reason that he remained relatively isolated in the theological scene of his time, before as well as after his condemnation in Nicaea in 325. The misunderstandings to which his system led are best exemplified by the public statements against him by Alexander of Alexandria and Athanasius. Even the Eastern bishops, who for a time became his main supporters, ignored the merits of his rigorous logic and rejected his conclusions concerning the nature of the Son.

The Eastern bishops contributed in their own way to the controversy by their conservative politics. What Athanasius and other supporters of the Nicene Creed denounced as Arianism in the thought and the writings of certain Eastern bishops basically amounted to the Eastern bishops' opposition to the term *homoousios* ("same substance"), which had been canonized at Nicaea, and their preference for more biblical, more traditional, and often more or less subordinationist formulations, in the tradition of Origen.

The main party of bishops was called Homoeans, from *homoios,* meaning "similar" rather than "same," because they stressed the similitude of the Son to the Father in biblical terms, without dogmatic precision. The most prominent figures among the so-called Semi-Arians actually reverted to Nicene orthodoxy after the death of Emperor Constantius II (337–361). A true Arianism, which radicalized the rationalistic theology of Arius, recurred only once, in Alexandria, from about 355 to 366, with Aetios and Eunomios as its leaders.

Not only bishops, clerics, and church communities but emperors also may be called Arians during the struggles of the fourth century. Constantine, however, was never called Arian, even though he allowed the pro-Arian bishops to protect Arius during his lifetime. His son and successor, Constantius II, following in his father's footsteps, became an Arian in the eyes of the pro-Nicene bishops who were persecuted under his reign; it is difficult, however, to discern a precise theological motivation in the religious concerns of Constantius's complex personality. The emperor Valens (364–378) supported the pro-Arian majority of bishops in the East without true personal conviction. Arianism, transmitted to the Teutonic tribes, survived in the West until the sixth century.

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ARISTOTELIANISM is a school and style of philosophy that flourished throughout the Middle Ages in four languages and over three continents and that persists even now. Aristotle's school, the Lyceum, continued after his death under the leadership of his students, most notably Theophrastus (c. 371–c. 286 BCE). The vigor and brilliance of the Aristotelian legacy diminished after Theophrastus and were revived only after several centuries, but the editing of Aristotle's writings under the supervision of Andronicus of Rhodes was accomplished around 30 BCE in Rome. The work of Andronicus laid the literary foundations of the philosophical tradition of Aristotelianism. The philosophical, as distinct from the philological, study and development of Aristotelian philosophy owes much to Alexander of Aphrodisias (fl. 200 CE). His commentaries on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* and *On the Soul* became classics and were studied carefully by later Muslim and Jewish philosophers. Another important ancient commentator was Themistius (fl. fourth century CE) in Constantinople, whose paraphrase of book 12 of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* became a classic treatise in natural theology and was translated into Arabic, Hebrew, and Latin. Beginning in the fifth century, extremely valuable and influential commentaries on Aristotle's works were written by a group of scholar-philosophers who were more influenced by Plato and Plotinus than by Aristotle himself. Although most of these commentators were non-Christian, for instance, Simplicius (fl. sixth century), some were Christian, notably John Philoponus (fl. sixth century).

The transmission of the Aristotelian legacy to the Semitic world was begun by Syriac-speaking Christian thinkers who, living in or near the Byzantine empire, knew Greek and translated Aristotle's works either into Syriac first and then into Arabic or into Arabic directly. To some extent Aristotelian ideas had already filtered into the work of the Greek Church Fathers before becoming "semiticized" later on. In several Greek Christian theological texts we find some use of such Aristotelian terms as *ousia* (substance)—which in turn entered into Latin theological literature as *substantia.* Yet the Aristotelian philosophical influence on patristic literature was not so great as the Platonic and was generally confined to some of his logical writings, which were incorporated into the early medieval Greek and Latin educational program. Most of Aristotle's writings, especially the scientific, were either unknown or ignored in the West until they were translated from Arabic several centuries later.

By the ninth century a distinctive intellectual tradition had emerged in the Muslim world. Its practitioners, the *falāsifah* ("philosophers"), were set off from and opposed to the *mutakallimūn* ("theologians"). These Muslim philosophers, the first of whom was probably al-Kindī (803–873), attempted to assimilate the Greek philosophical tradition as they knew it and to formulate a conception of Islam as a religion in philosophical terms. The most notable of these philosophers were al-Fārābī (870–950), Ibn Sīnā (980–1037; known in the Latin-speaking world as Avicenna), and Ibn Rushd (1126–1198; Averroës). Each represented a further development and refinement of Aristotle's philosophy, with increasing liberation from the Plotinian supplements and interpretations that had accumulated along the way. This incorporation of Aristotle into the "house of Islam" did not pass unchallenged, and at times the Islamic opposition to Aristotelian philosophy was quite strong.

Once Arabicized, Aristotle's writings began to spread into other languages. Since the majority of medieval Jewry was living in the Muslim world and speaking and writing Arabic, the Arabic translations of Aristotle eventually became part of the Jewish philosophical tradition, which, although small, comprised a continuous series of notable thinkers throughout the Middle Ages. By the middle of the twelfth century, Aristotle had so thoroughly captivated the Jewish philosophical world that the earlier Neoplatonic writers were not only eclipsed but almost obliterated. From Maimonides (1135/8–1204) on, Jewish philosophical and theological literature was dominated by Aristotle. As in Islam, Jewish thinkers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such as Yitsḥaq Albalag and Mosheh Narboni, absorbed Aristotle's ideas. Critical response was sometimes moderate and sometimes severe and thoroughgoing. Nevertheless, Aristotle's influence was still prominent in Jewish thought throughout the Renaissance, diminishing only in the seventeenth century.

The Latinizing of Aristotle occurred both early and late. In the sixth century the Roman writer and civil servant Boethius translated some of Aristotle's logical treatises into Latin; but these first fruits were to be the only works of Aristotle available in the Latin world until the late twelfth century. Because of this lack the Latin philosophical world of the Middle Ages was for several centuries relatively "dark," while the Arabic-Hebrew world was "enlightened." This cultural gap was, however, to vanish. Initially Aristotle's works were rendered into Latin from Arabic or Hebrew along with the commentaries of Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd; later Latin translations were made directly from the Greek, although these were less common until the fifteenth century. By the middle of the thirteenth century, Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) had virtually the entire Aristotelian corpus at his disposal and was thus able to do for the Christian world what Maimonides and Ibn Rushd had tried to do for their coreligionists: establish a philosophical interpretation of the religious beliefs of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam within the general conceptual framework of Aristotle's philosophy.

Subsequent Christian theologians and philosophers continued Thomas's work by writing commentaries upon Aristotle's treatises and composing philosophical books in which Aristotle's ideas were either expanded or criticized. By the thirteenth century Aristotle was referred to in Arabic, Hebrew, and Latin as "the Philosopher." His writings constituted almost the entire philosophical library and curriculum of the medieval world until the fifteenth century, when signs of a Platonic revival begin to surface in Renaissance Italy. But even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such thinkers as Giordano Bruno (1548–1600) and Galileo (1564–1642) suffered because of the power of the Aristotelian professors and theologians at Italian universities.

INFLUENCE OF ARISTOTELIANISM. Perhaps the most attractive feature of Aristotle's philosophy is its comprehensiveness. It is not just that Aristotle wrote on every topic from astronomy to zoology but more that what he did write added up to an integrated system of thought that made good sense out of ordinary human experience. Aristotle's philosophy begins with logic, and the first translations of Aristotle were the Latin versions of several of his logical treatises. Logic was to be a steady interest of medieval philosophers, who, in Latin, Arabic, and Hebrew, continued to develop, refine, and supplement Aristotelian logic as a topic-neutral discipline.

In most medieval curricula the subject studied after logic was natural science, an area of pervasive interest to Aristotle, who wrote treatises in both the physical and the biological sciences. In addition to his separate studies in the special sciences, Aristotle developed his scientific views into a general theory of nature, a "philosophy of nature." The medievals took Aristotle's general cosmological scheme for granted and usually adopted its main principles. The Aristotelian cosmos is a well-ordered physical system in which natural processes follow regular patterns and determinate goals. Aristotle's doctrine of natural teleology was a medieval commonplace. The same is true with respect to his doctrine of finitism. The medievals shared his general prejudice against the infinite and believed with him that the world is a "closed" system: finite in size and in the number of individuals contained within it.

Aristotle's philosophy of nature was also attractive to the medieval mind because it allowed for theology. His theory of celestial motion provides the premises for a proof for the existence of a deity; indeed, Aristotle himself gives such a proof, one that was developed by medieval philosophers and theologians through the thirteenth century. Eventually, Aristotle's own natural theology, sketched out in *Metaphysics* 12, became the philosophical paradigm according to which many medieval thinkers developed their own theories of divine attributes. Further, Aristotle's theory of celestial motion allowed for a plurality of "unmoved movers" of the heavenly spheres, although one of them—God—was regarded as primary. Medieval philosophers took this doctrine even further and, under the influence of Plotinian themes, developed a cosmology within which various levels and kinds of cosmic intellects, or powers, devoid of matter, function within the universe. Aristotle's cosmos became to the medieval mind a richly diversified scale of being, some of whose rungs were occupied by intellectual forces that were inferior to the supreme mind, God, but superior to all embodied souls or animate beings, such as humans, dogs, and roses. At this point a marriage between Aristotle and Plotinus had been arranged, one that the biblical doctrine of angels either motivated or could easily be fitted into. The biblical angels were indeed identified by al-Fārābī and Maimonides as Aristotle's separate, unmoved movers. In this context we have really a marriage among three partners: Aristotle, Plotinus, and scripture.

One Aristotelian idea that proved to be troublesome, however, was the thesis of the eternity of the world. After all, what could be more clear or explicit than *Genesis* 1:1: "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth"? Throughout the Middle Ages, Muslim, Jewish, and Christian thinkers wrestled with what appeared to be an irreconcilable conflict between Aristotle and scripture on this fundamental cosmological doctrine. Various solutions were proposed, some veering toward Aristotle, others toward scripture. Of the former variety was the view of the Muslim philosophers who developed a doctrine of eternal creation, whereby the universe eternally emanates from God, its first and ultimate cause. Others, like Levi ben Gershom, or Gersonides (1288–1344), a French-Jewish philosopher and astronomer, criticized and rejected the Aristotelian eternity thesis altogether and defended the biblical doctrine of creation. But at this point the creationist camp split: some advocated the idea, an "absurdity" to the Greeks, that God created the world *ex nihilo;* others, a small minority including Gersonides, adopted the Platonic suggestion of a divine sculptor crafting the world out of formless, uncreated matter (see Gersonides' *The Wars of the Lord* 6.1.17). Some thinkers, however, believed that this question was not philosophically decidable and that one had to appeal to revelation for the correct answer. This cosmological agnosticism was advocated by Thomas Aquinas and was accepted by many Christian theologians thereafter (*Summa theologiae* 1.46.2).

The question of creation proved to have more than just cosmological implications. Inseparably bound up with it was the issue of miracles and divine omnipotence. Maimonides welded the link between these questions quite tightly: the affirmation of the world's eternity implied strict determinism, which rules out, he claimed, the possibility of miracles (see his *The Guide of the Perplexed* 2.25). In turn, the denial of miracles implies a serious restriction on God's omnipotence. By the end of the thirteenth century some of the more "irreconcilable" philosophical and scientific theses of Aristotle and the Muslim philosophers were condemned as heretical and false by Stephen Tempier, bishop of Paris. Aristotle's doctrine of the eternity of the universe was equated with a curtailment of God's infinite power.

A number of modern scholars have maintained that although the 1277 condemnation by Stephen Tempier superficially looks like theological interference with philosophical inquiry, it really was not. Instead, these scholars claim, thinkers were thus liberated from their Aristotelian fetters and were free to pursue lines of thought, particularly scientific hypotheses, that previously had not been open to them and that were ultimately to replace Aristotelian physics. Whether or not the condemnation itself led to a more critical approach to Aristotelian natural philosophy is difficult to determine. What is undoubtedly true is that from the fourteenth century on there was a growing dissatisfaction with some of the more important ideas in Aristotle's cosmology and physics. That this critique took place in the Jewish philosophical orbit too suggests that it was not so much Stephen Tempier who stimulated the critical spirit as the continuous close study of Aristotle's ideas by independent-minded philosophers and theologians. Gersonides, living far from Paris, criticized Aristotle's major principle of mechanics, the theorem that every moving body is moved by an external mover. With the rejection of this physical principle, the argument for the existence of God as the first unmoved mover fails.

Perhaps the most thoroughgoing and profound premodern critique of Aristotelian natural philosophy was developed by the Spanish-Jewish theologian Ḥasdai Crescas (1340–1420). Wanting to undermine the whole medieval Aristotelian tradition in Jewish theology, Crescas correctly focused his efforts upon the basic physical theorems of Aristotle. One by one these cornerstones crumble under Crescas's acute criticisms. Why can't there be an actual infinite? Why can't there be a vacuum? Do the heavenly bodies need to be continuously moved by external, incorporeal unmoved movers? Why can't there be a successive series or even a simultaneous plurality of worlds? These and other questions eventually led Crescas to reject the whole Aristotelian physical system. In its place he suggested an actually infinite universe in which the heavenly bodies move according to their own inherent motion, without unmoved movers. Such a universe, Crescas insisted, manifests God's infinite power.

Another persisting perplexity that the medievals inherited from Aristotle had to do with his psychology. Aristotle's obscure, indeed mysterious remarks about "the intellect that makes all things" and "the intellect that becomes all things" (*On the Soul* 3.5) turned out to be one of the most commented-upon passages in his entire corpus. His somewhat parenthetical comment that the former intellect might be immortal and eternal aggravated the matter and opened up a can of philosophical and theological worms. What did Aristotle mean by an active mind and a passive mind? Where are these intellects? Are they immanent within the human mind or transcendent? How do these different intellectual functions work? Wherein lies the immortality of the intellect? These were only a few of the questions that were to vex Aristotle's commentators and medieval disciples.

Alexander of Aphrodisias made several important terminological and conceptual clarifications of this passage. Dubbing the active intellectual part the "agent intellect" (*nous poiētikos*) and the passive part the "material intellect" (*nous hulikos*), he went on to claim that the former is a unique, transcendent incorporeal power identical with God, whereas the latter is a corporeal disposition of the human body. The agent intellect is the active cause in human cognition; the material intellect is the receptive, or passive, capacity to acquire knowledge. Finally, the mature human intellect perfected by its accumulated cognitions is the "acquired intellect" (*nous epiktētos*). It is this last member of this cognitive trio that Alexander suggests might be immortal. Jewish, Christian, and Muslim thinkers agreed that the agent intellect was not only the primary active cause in human intellection but also a major factor in prophecy. The prophet is a person whose intellect is so perfect that he is eligible to receive a special "overflow" from the agent intellect that makes him the recipient of divine information, which he conveys to other people. The ordinary religious believer refers to the agent intellect as an angel, since scripture, written in the language of ordinary people, depicts the agent intellect figuratively so as to give the reader some idea of how prophecy is given.

A number of Parisian philosophers, following Ibn Rushd's conclusion that agent intellect and material intellect are virtually and actually one, could not quite reconcile that view with their religious belief in individual immortality. Thus emerged the notorious doctrine of the double truth, according to which what is taught by divine revelation may not be compatible with what is taught by sound philosophy. Throughout the late thirteenth century the Latin philosophical-theological scene was obsessed with this issue, until the "Latin Averroists" were finally suppressed. In this battle to "protect the faith" Thomas Aquinas wrote a polemical essay against the Averroists. According to him, the agent intellect is not a unique transcendent power but is immanent in each human mind, which is as a whole a substance capable of independent existence. Individual immortality is thereby ensured (*Summa theologiae* 1.75, 76, 79, and *On the Unicity of the Intellect: Against the Averroists*).

Despite the various criticisms made of these different aspects of Aristotle's doctrines, his influence remained strong throughout the Middle Ages and even in the Renaissance. Galileo's frequent sarcastic and mordant criticisms of the "simple-minded" Aristotelian professors, who prefer to look at the heavens in their books rather than through the telescope, testify to the still-living tradition of Aristotelian thought in the seventeenth century.

Aristotelianism was influential in the twentieth century in Roman Catholic theological circles and in university faculties. Recently, however, the Aristotelian imprint upon Christian theology has begun to seem either foreign or obsolete to theologians who look to modern philosophers for inspiration. Nevertheless, Aristotle's metaphysical ideas and vocabulary persist and are defended or at least employed by some contemporary Anglo-American philosophers, such as P. F. Strawson, who consider him to be one of the more suggestive thinkers in the classical tradition of Western philosophy.

SEE ALSO Attributes of God; Falsafah; Humanism; Logic; Neoplatonism; Nominalism; Proofs for the Existence of God; Scholasticism; Science and Religion; Soul; Theology.

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ARISTOTLE (384–322 BCE), along with Plato, was the greatest philosopher of antiquity. His influence on Western philosophical and scientific culture has been enormous, and even in the twenty-first century in many fields of knowledge (metaphysics, logic, ethics, biology, and psychology) the name of Aristotle represents an important point of reference.

LIFE AND WORKS. Aristotle was born in the city of Stagira in northern Greece and at the age of seventeen moved to Athens, where for about twenty years he attended the Academy, the school founded by Plato. There he obtained an extensive and liberal education, ranging from logic to natural philosophy, from metaphysics to astronomy. From 360 BCE onward he held regular courses and seminars within the Academy. After the death of Plato in 348 BCE, Aristotle left Athens and the Academy, traveling to Atarneus, Assus, and Mytilene and then to Pella, where he was the tutor of Alexander the Great, the future ruler of Greece, for about three years. During this period Aristotle concentrated his efforts on the study of biology and zoology and produced his scientific works. From 335 BCE he was once again back in Athens, where he founded the Lyceum, a school that rivaled the institution established by Plato and headed at that time by Xenocrates. The composition or definitive arrangement of Aristotle's major scholarly works may be dated to this period of teaching at the Lyceum.

The writings of Aristotle are traditionally divided into two groups: those intended for publication, the so-called exoteric works (*exoterikoi logoi*), and those written for internal use in the school and thus termed acroamatic (from *akroasis,* what is heard, thus heard in a lesson) or esoteric. The first group includes dialogues, such as the *Protrepticus* (an exhortation to philosophy), *On Philosophy*, and *Eudemus*, as well as doctrinal and polemical works, such as *On the Good* and *On Ideas*; the second includes the major treatises written for his school, such as *Metaphysics*, *Physics*, *On the Heaven*, *Nicomachean Ethics*, *Eudemian Ethics*, *On the Soul*, *Rhetorics*, *Poetics*, the works on biology and zoology (*On the Parts of Animals*, *The History of Animals*), and the works of logic (*Categories*, *Topics*, *Analytics*). By a quirk of fate only those works not intended for publication, that is, the acroamatic or esoteric texts, still exist, whereas none of the works published by Aristotle has survived. Knowledge of these relies upon quotations from later writers.

THE THEOLOGY OF THE YOUNG ARISTOTLE. In the twentieth century there were a number of studies concerning the so-called theology of the young Aristotle. In the dialogue *On Philosophy*, Aristotle probably alluded to two divinities, one cosmic, represented by the heavens (alive and composed of ether), the other metacosmic, in all probability represented by the unmoved prime mover, "Thought of Thought." In any case it seems certain that he laid down a clear order of importance between the two divinities, making the metacosmic divinity, that is the prime mover, superior to the heavens, whose very movement depended upon the unmoved mover. In the *Eudemus* he developed a theory of the soul, even if it is unclear whether in this dialogue Aristotle supported a radical dualism between body and soul like that of Plato or presented the idea of the soul as a form and function of the body just as in the work *On the Soul.* The *Protrepticus* finally contained proof of the superiority of the contemplative or speculative life, that is to say the truly philosophical way of life. The latter was considered divine, because it reveals man as like God, who is Thought, that is pure contemplative activity. The *Protrepticus* also contained an important argument in support of the unavoidable nature of philosophy, because even the rejection of the same requires its use in argument and thus "playing philosophy."

NATURE AND ITS PRINCIPLES. The starting point of Aristotle's philosophical thinking can be identified in the rejection of the theory of the forms put forward by Plato. Even during the years he spent at the Academy, Aristotle distanced himself from the theories of his teacher. Moving from a systematic analysis of language, especially predicative language, Aristotle singled out the primary meaning of being, upon which everything else somehow depends. This first meaning is represented by the category of substance (*ousia*), which in its purest form is identified with the particular individual. In order to be able to describe a particular reality as old (quality), as 170 centimeters tall (quantity), as in the Lyceum (place), as married to Xanthippe (relation) one must recognize the existence of an individual, in this case Socrates, all these attributes pertain to or are inherent in him. In its fullest meaning therefore being is not that of ideas, that is, of universals, but rather of substances, namely particular individuals or things (Socrates, a dog, the computer used to type these words).

The concept of substance expressed in the *Categories* is presumed in the analysis of the principles and causes of nature (*physis*) developed in the first two books of the *Physics.* Here too Aristotle starts by rejecting the Platonic theory of forms, especially the claim that the causes of the existence of sense objects may be seen in forms. According to Aristotle the common condition of all natural reality consists of motion, namely in the fact that all natural beings are subject to processes of reproduction and decay, of alteration, modification, and movement, and that they contain within themselves the cause of this change. Platonic forms, which are unmoved and separate, cannot in fact be the causes of natural reality because they are not able to explain the essential characteristic of the latter, namely that they are subject to movement (kinesis) and change *(metabolē).*

In his study of the principles of motion, Aristotle begins by recognizing, in common with many of his predecessors, that they are represented by opposites (love and strife, thick and thin, night and day). Because they do not, however, intersect with each other, it is necessary to recognize a third principle. Furthermore in order to talk about becoming, something must become, and in particular there is a certain reality that remains constant during the process of becoming. Aristotle thus divides any natural event into three constituent parts: the start is characterized by the absence or lack (*steresis*) of the form the object is to attain; the end in which the reality concerned takes on the form (*eidos*) with which the process ends or is fulfilled; and a third element that remains unchanged during the process and provides its unitary aspect, that is, the subject or underlying substrate (*hypokeimenon*). If the event to be described is the process of Socrates growing old, the *steresis* is Socrates when he is not old, the form is Socrates when he is old, and the underlying substrate or subject is Socrates himself.

It is important to understand that according to the Aristotelian concept the principles of becoming are not things but rather aspects of the things, points of view through which it is possible to analyze the mechanisms of change (*Physics*, I). A similar function is elaborated upon from the concepts of potentiality (*dynamis*) and actuality (*energeia, entelecheia*). These make natural processes intelligible and can be considered the realization of an already existing potentiality. Aristotle thus introduces the dimension of finalism and teleology into the analysis of the nature of becoming. Being and becoming of things may be analyzed from a causal perspective, because knowledge is the knowledge of cause (*aitia*). According to Aristotle there are four kinds of cause: material cause, that is, the matter (*hyle*) from which something is made; formal cause, that is, its form (*eidos*) and its organizing principle; efficient cause, that is, the moving principle (*to kinoun*); and final cause, that is, the purpose (telos) why something is what it is or an event takes place (*Physics*, II).

The kind of motion characteristic of natural realities also depends upon the elements of which they are composed. Those that belong to the sublunar world are made of four traditional elements (earth, air, fire, and water). That is to say they are subject to decay and naturally inclined to move in straight lines. Heavenly bodies, meaning the stars, are made of a fifth element, the well-known ether, which is the reason for their incorruptibility and the circular motion they have.

"FIRST PHILOSOPHY." Aristotle called physics "second philosophy" to distinguish it from "first philosophy," that is, from the branch of study that has been given the name "metaphysics" by Western tradition. "First philosophy" (*prote philosophia*) can be distinguished from physics on two grounds: (a) the universality of its object, which is not a single aspect of being but rather the study of "being as such," and (b) on account of the value and elevated nature of this object, which is ontologically superior to the realities of the physical world. In modern philosophy these two have been given the names *metaphysica generalis* (or ontology) and *metaphysica specialis* (or theology). Thus a philosopher such as Martin Heidegger held Aristotle responsible for founding ontotheology, namely Western metaphysics. Studies have shown nonetheless Aristotle's first philosophy was neither one thing nor the other. Rather, it was essentially a theory of substance because substance is the most important of the meanings of being. Being can be spoken of with many meanings (*to on pollachōs legetai*), but all relate to one principal meaning, that of substance (*Metaphysics*, IV). This idea has been called *focal meaning*, because it regards the meanings of being on the basis of the relationship with one unique principal meaning (*pros hen* Relation). The task of first philosophy is also to investigate what belongs to being as such, that is, its common attributes, such as unity and multiplicity, identity and diversity (medieval transcendentals). Furthermore it should also study the principle common to all demonstrations and therefore to all being: the principle of noncontradiction. This cannot be proved directly (because it is the basis of every proof), but it can be dialectically demonstrated that it is impossible to refute (*Metaphysics*, IV).

First philosophy is transformed into a theory of substance (*Metaphysics*, VII–IX), because substance is the first meaning of being. For Aristotle substance is the specific individual composed of form and matter. Yet still more substance is the form (*eidos*) that determines the being-as-it-is of a particular matter. In this sense substance as form or essence is the cause of being of the individual (*Metaphysics*, VII). In contrast to the Platonic forms, the Aristotelian substances-forms are not universal but rather individual, that is, they belong individually to the things of which they are forms. Form is therefore the organizing principle of matter. In terms of definition the forms of individuals of the same species are identical, but in numerical terms each individual has its own form. In the case of living beings the form is the soul, which represents the organizing vital principle of the body (*On the Soul*, I–II). Contrary to Plato, Aristotle considers the soul inseparable from the body, even if he does concede the possibility that part of it, the famous active intellect (*nous poietikos*), is independent of the body—arising in it from outside—and perhaps immortal (*On the Soul*, III). In any case the active intellect is not the unmoved prime mover, as Alexander of Aphrodisia thought.

The most famous idea of Aristotle is in Book XII of the *Metaphysics* and concerns the "immovable prime mover." This probably dates back to his youth and is not easy to reconcile with subsequent teachings. The observation of the eternity of motion and time caused Aristotle to postulate the existence of eternal principles, which are the cause of the eternal nature of physical motion. The latter finds its most elevated expression in the motion of the heavens. Aristotle observes that the cause of eternal motion must be an active and unmoved reality, otherwise it would itself require a principle and so on ad infinitum. Since the highest and most noble activity consists of thought (*noēsis*), this principle must be identified with thought and in precise terms with the thought of the most elevated object, that is, itself. The principle of motion must be "thought of thought" (*noēsis noēseōs*). Aristotle calls this being God (*theos*) as well as living an eternal and perfect life like the gods. The traditional interpretation attributes final causality to the unmoved mover. He moves the first heaven, that is the heaven of fixed stars, in which he is loved. This is possible because the heavens (or the celestial spheres) are given a soul, which longs for and loves the immovable mover, and via their circular motion the heavens try to imitate the absolute immobility of the latter as far as possible. In the twentieth century there was a new interpretation, according to which the unmoved mover does not move as a final cause but rather as a cause of motion, that is, efficient. He moves in the same way as the soul, except that the unmoved mover is transcendent with regard to the heavens, whereas the soul is immanent to what moves.

In Book VI of the *Metaphysics*, Aristotle attempts to bring together the two perspectives of "first philosophy," namely its universality and the value of its object. He asserts that "first philosophy" is first because its object consists of unmoved substances and is thus also universal, and its task will be to investigate being as such and its characteristics.

ETHICS AND POLITICS: HAPPINESS. Physics, "first philosophy," and mathematics are theoretical sciences; their aim is in essence a dispassionate knowledge of reality. For Aristotle beside theoretical exist practical disciplines, that is, directed toward action (praxis). These comprise the fields of ethics (relating to individual moral action) and politics (concerning the action of the community). The ultimate aim of action is, according to Aristotle, the attainment of happiness (*eudaimonia*) (*Nicomachean Ethics*, I). For human beings the condition of happiness corresponds to the fulfillment of the highest form of life, that is, the one related to the highest function of the soul. The rational soul has two parts, the calculating part (*logistikon*) and the scientific part (*epistemonikon*). A particular virtue corresponds to each of these: respectively practical wisdom (*phronesis*) and theoretical wisdom (*sophia*). Both are dianoetic virtues, that is, they concern thought (*dianoia*) (*Nicomachean Ethics*, VI). Because a part of the soul had to do with the emotions and passions, it is necessary to recognize corresponding virtues here. This means the famous ethical virtues of courage, temperance, and liberality. Each of these represents the golden mean between two extremes, excess and deficiency (*Nicomachean Ethics*, II). Of the two dianoetic virtues, *sophia* concerns those aspects of reality that cannot be other than they are, that is, what is essential: it represents a kind of theoretical reason. When they achieve the highest form of life, contemplation, human beings are similar to God, who is, however, greater, because he lives eternally in that single state that people may only attain for a limited time (*Nicomachean Ethics*, X).

Phronesis, on the other hand, deals with those things that can be other than they are, that is, contingent reality: in this sense it represents practical reasoning. According to Aristotle the supreme practical virtue, *phronesis*, consists in the ability to establish suitable means to achieve determined ends. However, the latter seem to be set outside the deliberative dimension of practical philosophy. The identification of ends depends upon an act of the will (*boulesis*), which is independent of *phronesis*. For Aristotle indeed the determination of the ends of praxis by the will belongs to the realm of inclinations and desire, which are not subject to practical reasoning. This position has led some contemporary interpreters to charge Aristotelian ethics with making conservative assumptions, as it does not seem to possess rational criteria to legitimize the selection of the ends of action and risks basing the scope of ends on accepted prevalent values in a particular society. This discussion belongs to the so-called re-establishment of practical philosophy.

"Man is by nature a political animal" (*Politics*, III) is a statement that inicates that the social aspect is essential for the attainment of well-being. The two basic units of social life are the family and the state, that is the polis. The family consists of not only husband, wife, and children but also the slaves and the household generally (*oikos*) and its property. To Aristotle women were naturally subordinate to men, children to their father, and slaves to their master. The purpose of the family was the preservation of the human species and property. The states have different kinds of constitutions, depending upon whether they are governed by an individual, a restricted group, or the entire citizen body. The first of these is a monarchy, the second an aristocracy, and the third a *politeia*, that is, the positive form of democracy. Each of these three kinds of constitutions also has a debased form, which occurs when those who govern do so in their own interest rather than that of the citizens as a whole. These are tyranny, oligarchy, and debased democracy, that is, rule by demagogues.

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ARJUNA. Of the Pāṇḍavas, the five sons of Pāṇḍu in the *Mahābhārata*, Arjuna is the third oldest, or "middle" Pāṇḍava. He is the youngest son of Kuntī, mother of the three oldest brothers. All five are only putatively Pāṇḍu's sons, for each had been sired by a god whom the mother invoked in consultation with Pāṇḍu, who had been cursed not to have sexual relations on pain of death. Unbeknownst to the Pāṇḍavas, there is also a sixth brother, Karṇa, whom Kuntī had abandoned in her youth. Arjuna is the son of Indra, king of the gods, and Karṇa is the son of the sun god Sūrya.

For Arjuna's conception, Pāṇḍu performs special *tapas* (ascetic acts) to gain Indra's cooperation in siring his best son. At the infant's birth, a heavenly voice announces his glory and forecasts his success, predicting that he will perform three sacrifices. Arjuna rather than his eldest known brother, Yudhiṣṭhira, will be the chief sacrificer (*yajamāna*) in the sacrificial acts that connect the story. Thus, one of Arjuna's names is Kirīṭin ("the crowned one"). Furthermore, it will be through Arjuna's son Abhimanyu that the royal lineage will continue. But the Pāṇḍavas will also act in concert, presenting a refracted image of the ideal king and sacrificer.

Arjuna, his brothers, and their cousins the Kauravas study weaponry with the brahman Droṇa. Arjuna becomes his best pupil and receives instruction in using the doomsday weapon of Śiva—the Brahmaśiras, or "Head of Brahmā." But when it comes time to display his prowess in a tournament, Arjuna is matched by his unknown brother Karṇa, who from this point on becomes the champion of the Kauravas.

Deepening dimensions of Arjuna's role are now conveyed in three episodes: the marriage of Draupadī, Arjuna's sojourn in the forest, and the burning of Khāṇḍdava Forest. In the first episode, he succeeds where all others have failed in an archery feat that wins him the hand of the fire-born Draupadī, incarnation of the goddess Śri (Prosperity), who in her dark aspect as Kṛṣṇa ("black lady") is also the epic's personification of the goddess of destruction. Although Draupadī soon weds all five Pāṇḍavas, Arjuna remains her favorite. Next, because of his violation of an agreement among the brothers never to intrude when any one of them is alone with Draupadī, Arjuna is banished for twelve years. He is supposed to be a celibate (*brahmacārin*), but he nonetheless contracts three additional marriages during this period, the last to his cross-cousin Kṛṣṇa's sister Subhadrā. She will bear him Abhimanyu. Arjuna then consolidates his relation with Kṛṣṇa and they destroy Khāṇḍava Forest, each on a separate chariot, to sate the god Agni (Fire). Here one learns that in former lives Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa were the *ṛṣis* Nara ("man," perhaps also "soul," or *puruṣa*) and Nārāyaṇa (a cosmic form of Visnu). Furthermore, this passage introduces them as "the two Kṛṣṇas," a foreshadowing of the war in which they will be known as "the two Kṛṣṇas on one chariot," especially in reference to their chariot duel with Arjuna's brother Karṇa.

Thus Kṛṣṇa shares his name not only with the goddess Draupadī-Kṛṣṇa, but with Arjuna. *Arjuna* itself means "silver" or "white," and the name *Kṛṣṇa* evokes opposite dimensions. The name they share links all three in the destructive tasks they must undertake to inaugurate the "sacrifice of battle."

In the two episodes in which Arjuna next figures prominently, he prepares himself for battle in ways that show deepening connections with the destructive Śiva. During the Pāṇḍavas' exile after the disastrous dice match with the Kauravas, Arjuna performs *tapas* to Śiva until the god appears to grant Arjuna's use of the doomsday weapon. Śiva's touch permits Arjuna to ascend to heaven, where he is further instructed by Indra. Later, when the Pāṇḍavas disguise themselves in their thirteenth year of exile, Arjuna becomes a eunuch dancing instructor, recalling myths of Śiva's castration and his lordship of the dance. In battle, Arjuna will "dance" on his chariot and will see Śiva before him bearing a lance and carrying out the actual destruction of his foes.

Arjuna's most crucial scene, however, is that described in the *Bhagavadgītā.* Poised on his chariot to begin the war, with Kṛṣṇa now his charioteer, he is overcome with compassion for his foes and refuses to fight. Kṛṣṇa unveils Arjuna's true warrior calling and reveals his own "omniform" as Visnu in the destructive form of Time. Arjuna's role is to be the instrument of a destruction that will occur anyway. In submitting to Kṛṣṇa's teaching, Arjuna becomes the ideal *bhakta*, or devotee. This pivotal epic figure thus represents the ideal king and sacrificer, the principal husband of the incarnation of the Goddess, the son of Indra and protégé of Śiva, and the companion and ideal devotee of the *avatāra.*

SEE ALSO Bhagavadgītā; Mahābhārata.

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ARMENIAN CHURCH. According to legend, the apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew were the original evangelizers of Armenia. Reliable historical data indicate that there were bishops in western Armenia during the third century, principally in Ashtishat in the province of Taron. Eusebius of Caesarea mentions "brethren in Armenia of whom Merozanes was the bishop"; Dionysius of Alexandria wrote a letter on repentance to Merozanes in 251. There are scattered stories of Armenian martyrs during the third century, but records are meager and mostly questionable.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH IN ARMENIA. The cultural contacts of the Armenians with the Greeks in the west and the Syrians in the south and the missionary outreach of important Christian centers in Caesarea and Edessa facilitated the introduction of the Christian religion into Armenia, which was a kingdom under Roman protectorate. Following the Edict of Toleration issued in 313 by Emperor Constantine at Milan, the king of Armenia, Tiridates III (298–330), and his courtiers were converted and baptized by Gregory the Illuminator, the apostle of Armenia. Armenia became in 314 the first nation with Christianity as its established state religion.

Following the king’s baptism, Gregory traveled to Caesarea (Cappadocia) in the fall of 314 and was consecrated by Metropolitan Leontius as the first catholicos, or chief bishop, of the Armenian church. Gregory’s consecration marked the farthest extension of the Christian church in northeast Asia Minor from its base in Caesarea, where Gregory himself had been raised and educated. The formal conversion of Armenia reinforced its political and cultural ties with the Roman world.

On his return, Gregory was installed as catholicos by Bishop Peter of Sebaste; he then proceeded to the royal city of Vagarshapat, which became the catholicate of the Armenian church. The city was renamed Echmiadzin (“descent of the Only-begotten”) in celebration of the vision in which Gregory saw Christ strike the ground three times with a golden hammer and show the form of the cathedral to be built.

Gregory’s son succeeded him in 325 as catholicos and was one of the bishops who participated in the Council of Nicaea convened in the same year. A number of Gregory’s descendants followed him as catholicos, in accordance with a hereditary system reflecting the feudal society of the time. Only in the fifth century did the office become elective.

The first Armenian church council was called in Ashtishat in about 354 by Catholicos Nersēs I. Following the example of his contemporaries, Basil of Caesarea and Eustathius of Sebaste, Nersēs had the council enact rules for moral discipline and for the establishment of monastic and charitable institutions in the country.

The Armenian church was originally formed as an eastern province connected with the see of Caesarea. Later, as the authority of Caesarea waned and Greater Armenia was divided between Rome and Persia in 387, the Armenian church pursued an independent course. Catholicos Sahak I acceded to the catholicate in 389 without reference to the see of Caesarea. At the Council of Shahapivan in 444, Sahak’s successor, Hovsep I, was confirmed as catholicos, thereby affirming the autonomy of the Armenian church.

After the partition of Armenia, the church posed an enduring political problem for the Persians. For about three hundred years the latter never ceased to exert pressure on the Armenians to break their religious and cultural ties with the Greeks. The new religion from the west, now flourishing in Armenia, so alarmed Yazkert II of Persia (r.438–457) that he issued an edict bidding the Armenians to renounce their faith and embrace Mazdaism. After an unsuccessful revolt, in which the Armenian hero Vartan Mamikonian was killed in battle, the resistance continued and a second revolt in 481 forced King Firuz to declare full recognition of freedom of religion for Armenians.

The fifth century is considered the golden age in the history of the Armenian people and its church. The leadership of Catholicos Sahak I and the missionary and literary labors of Mesrop Mashtotsʿ gave rise to the Christian culture of the Armenian people. Complete translation was made of the Scriptures as well as of the more important liturgical and theological writings of the eminent church fathers.

The catholicate moved many times with the shifts of the center of political power in the nation. In 484, it moved to Duin, where it remained until 901. An even more significant move was made with the establishment in 1116 of the catholicate in Cilicia, where the Armenian princes had settled and founded principalities and later a kingdom (1080–1375). The see was returned to its original site at Echmiadzin in 1441.

There have been a number of jurisdictional schisms in the history of the church. The longest of these began in 1113 when a schismatic catholicos, David, was installed on the island of Al’thamar in the province of Van. He opposed the lawful incumbent, Gregory, whose seat was then located outside Armenian territory. David tried and failed to exercise jurisdiction over Greater Armenia in the northeast. The last incumbent of Al’thamar died in 1895 without a successor.

A more serious and still unresolved division came about in 1441 when the see, then in Cilicia, was returned to Echmiadzin by the decision of a church assembly. Despite the fact that the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia had fallen to the Mamluks of Egypt in 1375, and there was no reason to maintain the center of the church away from its original location, the incumbent of the see (in the city of Sis) refused to comply. The Cilician catholicate has retained its independent existence. Following World War I, its seat was moved from Sis to Antelias, Lebanon.

As early as the twelfth century, Armenians came into contact with the Latin church through close cultural and political ties with the Crusaders. Aided by the missionary activities of Franciscans and Dominicans, a Latinizing movement gained ground among liberal elements in the church. Although this movement—of varying strength—lasted for about four hundred years, it did not result in any significant secession to Rome. Only in 1831, under a new Ottoman policy toward Christian minorities, was an Armenian Rite Catholic Church within the Roman communion legally recognized. The catholicate of Armenian Catholics is located in Beirut, Lebanon.

In 1830, American Protestants began their missionary activity in Asia Minor. In 1846, the Ottoman government legally recognized the separate status of an Armenian Protestant community. Continued affiliation of Armenian evangelicals with American missionary organizations has been another source of Western influence. Schools and colleges have been established and the Bible translated into the modern vernacular.

It should be noted that the early divisions within the church did not arise on dogmatic grounds. They were caused primarily by the resistance of secular rulers to the presence within their territories of a church community dependent on an authority beyond their frontiers and influence. Complete secessions on dogmatic grounds have occurred only in the nineteenth century with the formation of Armenian Roman Catholic and Protestant Evangelical church communities.

The nineteenth century brought important changes to the juridical status of the church after Russia took eastern Armenia from the Persians in 1828. The tsar issued a statute that was accepted by the ruling catholicos even though it reduced his power by creating a standing synod of bishops tightly controlled by the government.

In 1863 in western Armenia the church received a constitution for the management of its own affairs as part of the Ottoman civil code. The constitution provided for a national assembly with the Armenian patriarch of Constantinople as its president. The assembly had two administrative councils, religious and civil. This development was in keeping with the long-standing Ottoman policy of giving leaders of Christian minorities jurisdiction over their own internal affairs, inasmuch as Christians could not be made subject to the Qur'anic law. This system ended after World War I.

MODERN DEVELOPMENTS. The catholicos of all Armenians, residing at Echmiadzin in Armenia, remains the supreme head of the Armenian church. Outside Armenia, each established church community, whether under Echmiadzin or another jurisdiction, has its own form of regulations or bylaws, adapted to local political or cultural conditions. By and large, these regulations are formed on the principle of conciliarity; lay participation at all levels of administration is common.

The ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the catholicos in Echmiadzin extends over twenty dioceses: Armenia South, Armenia North, Tbilisi, Baku, Moscow, Bucharest, Sofia, Baghdad, Calcutta, Sydney, Cairo, Vienna, Paris, London, New York, Los Angeles, Toronto, Buenos Aires, Istanbul, and Jerusalem. The catholicos of the Armenians of Cilicia in Antelias, Lebanon, presides over four dioceses: Beirut, Aleppo, Damascus, and Nicosia. In the 1950s, for political reasons, the dioceses of Tehran, Athens, and the two newly created dioceses of New York and Los Angeles, paralleling those under Echmiadzin, came under the jurisdiction of the catholicos of Cilicia. The legitimacy of these changes of jurisdiction is a matter of continuing dispute.

There are Armenian patriarchates established in Jerusalem and Istanbul. Each of these comprises only one local diocese. The patriarch of Jerusalem is one of the three custodians of Christian holy places in and around Jerusalem. The patriarch of Istanbul, once the administrator of the entire Armenian "nation" in the Ottoman Empire, now controls only the diocese of Istanbul itself and a number of small struggling parishes in the interior of Turkey. At present the patriarchate does not have a written constitution and is governed by the patriarch on the basis of established customs and practices.

Liturgy. The prototype of the Divine Liturgy, or Eucharist, has been the liturgy of Basil of Caesarea, which was translated into Armenian in the fifth century. Later this liturgy gave way to the Byzantine liturgy of Chrysostom. During the period of the Crusades, however, Latin influence brought about some minor changes in the ceremonials and vestments. Since the tenth century, the form of the liturgy has remained constant with the exception of the addition of the Last Gospel (*Jn.* 1:1–15) at the end of the Eucharist.

The use of unleavened bread and unmixed red wine was already established during the seventh century. Communion is given in both elements, with the communicant standing. The sacrament is reserved but not ceremonially venerated. At the conclusion of the Eucharist, fragments of thin unleavened bread, simply blessed, are distributed to those not receiving Communion.

Seven offices, including Nocturn, Matins, Prime, Midday office, Vespers, Peace, and Compline, comprise the liturgy of the canonical hours. There are other occasional offices such as the Penitential, the Memorial, the Processional, and the Adoration of the Church. In the fourteenth century, the principal sacraments were counted as seven following Latin custom: baptism, chrismation, Eucharist, penance, ordination, marriage, and anointing. The church does not practice extreme unction as it is known in the Latin rite. Baptism, ordinarily of infants, is administered by immersion; chrismation (confirmation) and then Communion follow immediately after baptism. This sacrament of initiation conforms to the practice of the other Eastern churches.

Fasting calls for abstention from all animal foods. Apart from the forty days of Lent, there are ten weekly fasts of five days each. Wednesdays and Fridays are fast days, except during the fifty days following Easter.

About 360 saints (including groups of saints under collective names) are recognized in the directory of feasts. Of these, 100 are biblical, 100 are Armenian, and 160 are non-Armenian belonging to the first five centuries of the Christian era. Gregory of Datev (early fifteenth century) is the last of the saints formally recognized by the church. The Holy Virgin has a unique position as foremost among the saints and is venerated extensively in liturgical worship.

The directory of feasts is arranged on the septenary principle. Each liturgical observance falls on a day in the week, numbered in the series of weeks following the Sunday nearest to the anchor date of one of the four periods of the annual liturgical cycle. Easter moves on a range of thirty-five days; the first Sunday of Advent and the feasts of the Assumption and Exaltation move on a range of seven days. Seven feasts commemorating episodes in the life of the Virgin Mary are observed on fixed dates. Dominical feasts fall on Sundays.

Clergy. There are three major orders of the clergy, according to the tradition of all ancient churches: deacon, priest, and bishop. "Archbishop" is an honorary title conferred by the catholicos. Parish priests are ordinarily chosen from among married men; marriage after ordination is not allowed, although several exceptions have been made since the 1940s. Bishops are chosen from among the celibate clergy. Widowed priests may be promoted to the episcopate. Clergy are trained in seminaries at Echmiadzin, Jerusalem, and Antelias.

Doctrine. Of the seven ecumenical councils, the Armenian church, in company with the Coptic and the Syrian Orthodox churches, acknowledges the first three: Nicaea (325) against Arianism; Constantinople (381) against Apollinarianism; and Ephesus (431) against Nestorianism. It does not accept the fourth, Chalcedon, and has made no pronouncements about the remaining three. It should be noted, however, that the church condemns Eutychianism, does not agree with the doctrine of two wills in the one person of Christ, and holds to the veneration of icons. The Armenian church reveres and follows the teachings of all the leading church fathers of the first five centuries of the common era, with the exception of Pope Leo I.

The Council of Chalcedon (451) caused an intense and lasting controversy in Eastern Christendom about the relation of divinity and humanity in the person of Christ. Of the two parties for or against Chalcedon in the Armenian church, the latter prevailed at a council in 607. Nevertheless, ambivalence over the problem of the natures of Christ continued in the church down to the fourteenth century. Since then the church has held the doctrine that "one is the nature of the Word of God incarnate." The dispute on this matter of dogma has reflected the contest between those who sought political advantage from the West and those who stood for national independence. From Constantine to the last emperor of Byzantium, unity of faith was considered concomitant to the unity of the empire. Consequently, for non-Greek churches of the East that unity meant submission to Byzantium, where the emperor was the effective head of the church and the dogmatic decrees of the general councils promulgated by the emperors were enforceable by law on pain of exile.

During the second half of the twelfth century, the great catholicos Nersēs of Cla, "the Graceful," maintained that there was no contradiction between the Chalcedonian teaching of "two natures" and the teaching of the "one nature." Shortly thereafter, a synod convened by Catholicos Gregory IV and attended by thirty-three bishops stated in a declaration to the emperor and patriarch of Constantinople: "We confess, in agreement with you, the theory of the dual nature of the ineffable oneness of Christ." Significantly, the synod did not refer to the Council of Chalcedon itself. Later synods in the fourteenth century affirmed formal reunion with Rome but were ineffectual because there was no representation from the area of Greater Armenia in the northeast and especially because the faithful were not in sympathy with such a move.

Creeds. The Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed is recited in the liturgy every Sunday. There is also a somewhat longer creed, introduced during the fourteenth century and used after confession of sins by a penitent. It refers to the Cyrilian formula mentioned above: "One is the nature of the incarnate Word of God." A short creed is recited at the beginning of the sacrament of baptism.

Canon law. The canons of the church, contained in the *Book of Canons*, are grouped in three sections. The first is the codex formed by John of Odzun in 725. It brings together various legislations—"apostolic," postapostolic, and conciliar—as well as decretals of Greek and Armenian church fathers. The second section, from the eighth to the twelfth centuries, consists of later conciliar canons and decretals of church fathers. A less extensive third section, added in the twelfth century, deals with matters of civil law.

SEE ALSO Armenian Religion; Gregory of Datev; Gregory the Illuminator; Mashtotsʿ, Mesrop; Nersēs of Cla; Nersēs the Great; Sahak Parthev.

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ARMENIAN RELIGION. The Armenians' remotest ancestors immigrated to Anatolia in the mid-second millennium BCE. Related to speakers of the Thraco-Phrygian languages of the Indo-European family, they probably brought with them a religion akin to that of the proto-Greeks, adopting also elements of the cultures of Asianic peoples such as the Hittites, from whose name the Armenian word *hay* ("Armenian") may be derived. Thus, the Armenian divinity Torkʿ is the Hittite Tarḫundas, and the Armenian word now used for "God," *Astuac*, may have been the name of an Asianic deity, although its etymology remains hypothetical. The Armenian word *di-kʿ* ("god[s]") is an Indo-European cognate to the Latin *deus*.

The Armenians were at first concentrated in the area of Van (Urartean Biaina), a city on the southeastern shore of Lake Van, in eastern Anatolia, and in the Sasun region, a mountainous district to the west of the lake. The Armenian god Vahagn (Av., Verethraghna; cf. Sogdian *Vashaghn*), whose cult centered in the area of present-day Muş, appears to have assimilated the dragon-slaying exploits of the Urartean Teisheba, a weather god. An Urartean "gate of God" in the rock of Van was consecrated to Mher (Av., Mithra) and is still known in the living epic of Sasun as *Mheri duṛn* ("gate of Mher"), preserving the Urartean usage.

Although Herodotos in the fifth century BCE still recalled the Armenians as Phrygian colonists of Phrygian-like speech, they had been conquered twice—first by the Medes about 583 BCE, then by the Persians under Cyrus II the Great—and had assimilated elements of the conquering cultures. After the conquest of Cyrus, the faith of the Iranian prophet Zarathushtra (Zoroaster) was to exercise the primary influence upon the Armenian religion; indeed, Zoroaster was believed by Clement of Alexandria and other classical writers to have been identical with Err, the son of Armenios of the *Republic* of Plato. Strabo (*Geography* 11.13.9, 11.14.6) declared that the Armenians and the Medes performed the same religious rites, those "of the Persians," the Medes having been also the source of the way of life (*ethē*) of the Persians themselves. Like the Armenian language, which retains its ancient and distinct character while preserving a preponderance of Northwestern Iranian loanwords of the pre-Sasanid period, the ancient religion of the Armenians apparently retained distinct local features, although the great majority of its religious terms and practices belong to the Zoroastrianism of Arsacid Iran and earlier periods.

Ahura Mazdā (OPers., Ahuramazda), creator god of Zoroastrianism, was worshiped by the Armenians as Aramazd, the Parthian form of his name. The principal cult center of Aramazd, the "father of all" (Agathangelos, para. 785), was a temple in Ani, Daranaghi, where the necropolis of the Armenian Arsacids was also located. (Later, the center of the cult shifted to the royal capital at Bagawan, to the east.) The shrine of Barshamin (Sem., Baʿal Shamin, "the lord of heaven") was established at Tʿordan, a village near Ani, probably to indicate that the Semitic god was seen to resemble the Iranian creator god. A similar reformist trend toward monotheism based on an Iranian model is seen in the inscriptions of Arebsun in nearby Cappadocia, probably of the late Achaemenid period, in which is described in Aramaic the marriage to Bel (Baal) of the "religion of Mazdā-worship" (OPers., *dainâ mazdayasnïsh*).

According to Movsēs Khorenatsʿi, Mazhan, the brother of King Artashēs I (Gr., Artaxias; early second century BCE), served as the priest of Aramazd, while the noble families (*nakharar*s) served the lesser divinities of whom Aramazd was regarded as the maker; the Vah(n)unis, for instance, may even derive their name from Vahagn, whom they served. According to foreign writers, the most popular of these lesser divinities was Anahit (Gr., Anaitis; OIran., Anāhitā), and it is she who seems to be shown in the mass-produced terracotta votive figurines found at Artaxata and other ancient Armenian sites, with one or several male children clinging to her matronly robes, like the scenes of Cybele and the infant Attis. The Armenian Nanē (Pth., *Nanai; Gr., Nanaia) seems to have been a goddess of almost identical character, except that Anahit, as in Iran, was also a goddess of the waters, which Nanē probably was not. Another Armenian goddess, Astghik ("little star"), consort of Vahagn, seems to be identical with Astarte.

Armenian and pre-Sasanid Iranian temples often contained cult statues—such shrines were called in Armenian *bagin*s ("places of the god")—but it seems that, with or without images, all Armenian temples had fire altars, called *atrushan*s (like *bagīn*, a Middle Iranian loanword), so that the major Zoroastrian rites might be consecrated there. A place for fire, and its light, was a focal point of worship and cultic life.

The chief shrine of Vahagn stood at Ashtishat ("rich in *yasht*s" ["acts of worship"]), the place later consecrated to Saint John the Baptist by Gregory the Illuminator as the earliest see of the Armenian church. Vahagn is described in a fragment of a hymn preserved by Khorenatsʿi (1.31) as "sun-eyed" and "fiery-haired," attributes found in the Avesta and later applied in Christian Armenia to Mary and to seraphs. From various sources it appears that Vahagn was regarded as a sun god, perhaps acquiring this feature from Mihr (Mithra), who is closely associated with the sun in Zoroastrianism. There is oblique evidence of a conflict between devotees of the two gods in Armenia. Nonetheless, the Armenian word for a pagan temple, *mehean*, containing the name of Mithra, indicates the god's great importance, and it is noteworthy that this term for a Zoroastrian place of rites is very similar to, but much earlier than, the Persian *dar-i Mihr* (with which the Armenian *Mheri duṛn*, mentioned above, is indeed identical).

Among the other gods, the Armenians worshiped Tir (MIran., Tīr), chief of the scribal art and keeper of celestial records, including, some believed, those of human destiny. He survives in modern Armenian folklore as the Grogh ("writer"); a clairvoyant is called *Groghi gzir* ("deputy of the Grogh"). Spandaramet (MIran., Spandārmad; Av., Spenta Ārmaiti), goddess of the earth, was also venerated. (Her name is rendered as "Dionysos" in the fifth-century Armenian translation of the biblical books of the Maccabees.) Another form of the same name, *sandaramet*, sometimes pluralized with *–kʿ* or shortened to *sandarkʿ* (cf. Cappadocian *Sondara*), is Southwestern Iranian and may reflect pre-Zoroastrian beliefs, for it is a common noun used in Armenian texts to refer simply to the underworld. Torkʿ of Anggh (Ingila), treated by Khorenatsʿi as a legendary and fearsome hero, is an Asianic divinity equated with Nergal in the Armenian translation of the Bible. There was an Armenian royal necropolis at Anggh, so it seems that Torkʿ was regarded as a divinity of the underworld. Two of the Zoroastrian Amesha Spentas, Haurvatāt ("health") and Ameretat ("long life"), often paired, gave their name to a flower (see Agathangelos, para. 643), which Armenian maidens pluck in silence on Ascension Eve (talking at meals is believed by Zoroastrians to offend the two divinities).

Ancient Armenians celebrated the Iranian New Year, Nawasard (OPers., *Navasarda), which was consecrated to Aramazd. A midwinter feast of fire, Ahekan (OPers., *Athrākana), still survives with its rituals intact in Christianity as Tearnendaṛaj, the Feast of the Presentation of the Lord to the Temple. The old month-name of Mehekan preserves the memory of Mihragān, the feast of Mithra, and Anahit seems to have received special reverence on Vardavaṛ, a feast of roses and of the waters. At year's end, Hrotitsʿ (from Avestan *Fravashayō*) commemorated the holy spirits of the departed, leading Agathangelos (para. 16) to accuse the Armenians of being *uruapashtkʿ* ("worshipers of souls").

Although monotheistic in its regard for Ahura Mazdā as the creator of all that is good in heaven and earth, Zoroastrianism postulates a cosmic dualism in which the Lord Wisdom (Av., Ahura Mazdā; Pahl., Ōhrmazd) strives against an inferior but independent adversary, the Hostile Spirit (Av., Angra Mainyu; Pahl., Ahriman). The name of the latter is found in two forms in Armenian, *Arhmn* and *Haramani*, and Armenian words for evil people and noxious creatures (e.g., *druzhan*, "betrayer"; *kakhard*, "witch"; *gazan*, "beast") are often of Iranian origin and reflect a dualistic attitude. The Zoroastrian ethical habits of cleanliness, reverence for fire and light, and steadfast cheer in the battle against evil seem to have been fully integrated into Armenian Christianity, which reveres God as *hrashapʿar* in some hymns, an epithet combining the two characteristically Mazdean features of *frasha-* ("visibly miraculous") and *khvarenah* ("divine glory") in loanwords from Middle Iranian.

Gregory the Illuminator, son of an Armenian Arsacid *nakharar* named Sūrēn Pahlav, converted King Tiridates to Christianity in the second decade of the fourth century. Armies were sent to destroy the old temples, and churches were built over the ruins. The *kʿrmapet*s, or high priests, resisted with main force this military imposition of a new creed, and many Armenian *nakharar*s joined the fifth-century Sasanid king Yazdegerd II in his campaign to reconvert the Armenians to Zoroastrianism. But the iconoclastic state church of southwestern Iran differed too greatly from the old faith to appeal to many Armenians, and the translation of scripture into Armenian with the newly invented alphabet of Mesrop Mashtots' made the patriarchs and the saints "Armenian-speaking" (*hayerēnakhaws*), as Koriwn wrote. Christianity triumphed over all but a small sect, the Arewordikʿ ("children of the sun"), who were said by medieval writers to follow the teachings of "the magus Zoroaster," worshiping the sun and exposing rather than burying the dead. A very few adherents of the sect may have been alive at the time of the 1915 holocaust, when traditional Armenian society was obliterated.

SEE ALSO Armenian Church.

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J. R. RUSSELL (1987)
Revised Bibliography

ARMINIUS, JACOBUS (1559/60–1609), latinized name of Jacob Harmenszoon, Dutch Reformed theologian remembered chiefly for his criticisms of Calvinist views of predestination. Arminius taught that human salvation is due entirely to the grace of God in Christ, whereby fallen humankind is enabled to respond in freedom to the divine call. He proposed a universal "sufficient" grace in place of Calvin's limited "effective" grace. Further, he denied a predestination of particular persons to salvation on the basis of God's secret will, but he affirmed a particular predestination on the basis of God's foreknowledge of human free choices. For much that has come to be known as Arminianism, the central issue is "free will" versus "election."

Arminius was born to well-to-do parents in Oudewater, Holland. He lost his parents while young and was educated under the influence of Dutch biblical humanism. University studies at Marburg (1575) and Leiden (1576–1581) did not seem to have moved him to a strict Calvinism.

With support from Amsterdam merchants, he began theological studies in Geneva, where one of his teachers was Theodore Beza (1519–1605). Arminius and Beza clashed. Arminius studied for a time at Basel, but he returned to Geneva to finish his studies, after which he went to Amsterdam to become that city's first native Dutch clergyman (he was inducted into the Dutch Reformed ministry in 1588). At the time the question of predestination was raging, and Arminius came under fire for refusing to defend any of the Calvinist options and for interpreting *Romans* 7 and *Romans* 9 in a manner different from Calvin. He was sustained in his office and position by the Amsterdam merchant-oligarchy, to which he was allied by blood and marriage.

The same humanistic laity supported him in his call to be a professor of theology in Leiden (1603), where he soon incurred the enmity of his colleague Franciscus Gomarus (1563–1641) and other ardent Calvinists. Theological issues were intertwined with political issues, the Arminians siding with the civil official Johan van Oldenbarneveldt (1547–1619), who favored a truce with Spain, and the Calvinists with the military leader Maurice of Nassau (1567–1625), who wanted to press for war. Arminius died in the midst of the conflict, in 1609.

Arminius's cause was taken up by the Remonstrants, so called from their *Remonstrance* of 1610 that presented the Arminian doctrines of salvation, but power shifted to the Calvinists and Maurice. The Synod of Dort (1618–1619) deposed the Arminians, and Oldenbarneveldt was executed. By the 1630s, however, the Remonstrants had regrouped to form a new denomination, the Remonstrant Brotherhood, which maintained a scholarly, liberal, and progressive emphasis into the twentieth century. Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), Simon Episcopius (1583–1643), Philippus van Limborch (1633–1712), and C. P. Tiele (1830–1902) were among its noted adherents and scholars.

In England, under James I and Charles I, Anglican opponents of Calvinist Puritanism came to be known as Arminians, and Arminianism became allied with the religious and political doctrines of Archbishop William Laud (1573–1645) and was the main line of theology in the Church of England. Non-Anglican Arminianism appeared in the teachings of the General Baptists, often tending toward Unitarianism.

In the eighteenth century, however, John Wesley (1703–1791) and his brother Charles (1707–1788), by their preaching and hymnody, spread a new evangelical Arminianism throughout Britain. John Wesley, even when visiting Holland, made no common cause with the Remonstrants, who by this time were heavily influenced by the Enlightenment.

Dissent from Calvinism in New England was called "Arminianism," but it did not get its impetus from Arminius. American Methodism did, however, and John Wesley's *The Arminian Magazine* (1778) was printed on both sides of the Atlantic, as were English editions of Arminius. Wesleyan evangelical Arminianism spread with Methodism across North America in the nineteenth century to the extent that American culture has been designated as "Arminian." There are links from this pervasive Arminian spirit to movements as diverse as frontier revivalism, communitarian perfectionism, the Holiness movement, political and theological individualism, and theological liberalism.

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CARL BANGS (1987)

ART AND RELIGION is a discrete field of multidisciplinary study that attends to the creative interplay between image and meaning making as religious activities. More general usage of the term signifies investigations into the role, place, or experience of art in religion(s).

As a mode of creative expression, communication, and self-definition, art is a primordial facet of human existence and constitutive factor in the evolution of religion. Through visible expression and form, art imparts meaning and value to anthropic aspirations, encounters, and narratives, and simultaneously orients the human within the horizon of a community, world, and cosmos. Thereby, art renders the human situation—origin, existence, death, and afterlife—comprehensible through visual representations. As a stimulus for creativity and culture, religion is the spiritual impulse that conjoins humanity with divinity through spiritual experience, ceremony, and mythology. Art and religion converge through ritual practice and presentation of sacred narrative, thereby affecting "an experience of the numinous" (Otto, 1923). Enigmatically, art can recognize and project the essence and significance of a spiritual experience through form, thereby engendering a tangible record that informs the initiation or repetition of the original spiritual moment. Commensurately, art employs visual archetypes and idealizations on the journey to truth and beauty, thereby proffering visions of the sacred and models to follow on the path to salvation. As visible religion, art communicates religious beliefs, customs, and values through iconography and depictions of the human body. The foundational principle for the interconnections between art and religion is the reciprocity between image making and meaning making as creative correspondence of humanity with divinity.

The intimacy between art and religion has prevailed beyond historical convolutions, transformations, and permutations in global cultural and religious values. Unimaginably arduous to label with a universal standard, the intercommunion between art and religion has endured proliferation, diversification, and diminution through world cultures and religions. Nonetheless, this impossible regularization or definition of art and religion in any form, communal or universal, may be interpreted as appropriate to as amorphous an entity as art and religion is, and reflects its fundamental heuristic and multivalent nature. From their inexplicable differences within individual cultures to their inherent and unconscious manifestations in the human psyche, the numerous conjunctures between art and religion persist even unto their camouflaged survival in the secular societies of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

OVERVIEW. Art has power in the anthropological sense of *mana*. This troublesome and distinctive characteristic of art, and commensurately of images and imagery, is evidenced through the power to evoke or affect the human capacity to *feel*. The distinguishing human ability to feel, to have feelings, extends beyond simple emotion to the capacity and sensitivity that are elemental to the human capability to interpret and to reason. This connection between art and feeling is privileged by the naming of the philosophy of beauty as "aesthetics." The English word *aesthetic* is derived from the Greek root *aisthetikos*, meaning "to be sensitive" in the etymological context of "coming to know through the senses." Conversely, an anaesthetic prohibits the human ability to have feeling. The universality of this association of art as an affector of emotions and sensitivities, and a connective to religion, is evidenced in Bharata Muni's treatises on art. His comprehension of *rasa* as levels of human consciousness educed by art in which the aesthetic merges into the spiritual for artist and viewer is crucial to the Hindu tenet of the indivisibility of art and religion. This aptitude to effectuate feeling, either as emotions or sensitivities, is an elementary motive in the intellectual "fear of art" that led to the denial of the visual both as a prime response to the epistemological question and as primary evidence in the study of history.

The authoritative preference, at least in the West, is for the primacy of the text, that is, of the word over the image. Historians of religion reputedly advocate the unconscious act of selection between the image and the word by every religious tradition with appropriate cultural consequences. Religions, like Hinduism and Eastern Christianity, which favor the primacy of the image are differentiated as sacramental, creative, and intuitive in linguistic and cultural attitudes from those religions, such as Protestant Christianity and Judaism, preferring the primacy of the word and labeled as legalistic, pragmatic, and rational in language and cultural reception. Further, the study of religion, particularly in the West, has been predicated upon the authority of the written text, or a series of texts, not upon the image. The disciplined reading of these canons encompasses exegesis as the fundament for study, debate, and interpretation. A hegemony of texts, canons, and scriptures—that is, the written word—results in the incorporation of art simply as illustration for explication and dissemination of textual themes.

Late twentieth- and early twenty-first century publications in religious studies reveal interest in the inclusion of new themes, foci, and methodologies, given the insights toward religion accessible through a variety of new disciplinary fields interested in the religious dimensions of art, most specifically material culture, popular culture, and visual culture. These new styles of analysis incorporate "activities," including worship, personal piety, public rituals, and all styles and levels of art, in unison with intellectual interpretation of the canon to provide broader comprehension of religion. Although recognized as a contributor to religious meaning and orientation, the partnership of art and religion remains a complex enigma. Art as an object to be both analyzed and experienced is recognized as empowering artist and viewer in transcending the quotidian existential and the rational in a temporary communion with the sacred, the experience of which is so singular as to incite the desire for repetition emphasizing the ritual character of art.

Art is simultaneously an objective and a subjective event—the object being seen and the effect of the process of seeing. This exchange between art and religion, in coordination with the fundamental reality of its heuristic and mutually beneficial mien, challenges the logocentricity of traditional, especially Western, scholarship and cultural values, which normatively dissociates religion from art. This Enlightenment principle of the separation of the experience of art from the intellectual analysis of religion parallels the transfer of religious meaning from institutional to non-institutional environments. The intellectual divorce of the academic study of religion from the practice of religion, and from the experience of art, is analogous to the separation of the academic study of art history from the creating and encountering of art.

THE PRACTICE AND THE STUDY OF ART AND RELIGION. The position of art—whether in the broadest frame of religious studies, or a specific category such as church history or history of Buddhism—locates a useful parallel in traditional distinctions between the study of religion and the practice of religion. Applicable to art as well as to religion, this dichotomy exceeds the categories of objectivity and subjectivity, for "the doing of" religion (or art) is physically and intellectually distinct from "the thinking about" religion (or art). The telling distinctions here include recognition of class, gender, and ethnicity as well as education and the revelation of the privileging of the study of religion, and of art and religion, as a Western scholarly phenomenon. The practice of religion is primarily sited in worship and religious education, or catechesis, in which art either iconographically or figuratively envisions established narratives to transmit religious ideas and practices, to convey religious truths and practices, and to promote worship individually and communally.

Historically, Western scholars, especially those intrigued by religious art, or what they may have identified as the interconnections between art and religion, emphasized the primary role that art played in religious practice, for example, an altarpiece or a bronze sculpture of Śiva Nataraja, and were unaware the fact that this mode of study could be read as restrictive, exclusivist, and parochial. Further interpretive difficulties arose as these scholars—including theologians like Roger Hazelton (1967) and Paul Tillich (1987) and art historians such as Jane Daggett Dillenberger (1986/1998) and Timothy Verdon (1984)—were committed members of the religious communities whose art was being examined. This style of scholarly investigations is better identified as theology and art, not art and religion. The significance of both the choice of category names and the order of their arrangement—that is, art and religion as distinct from religion and art—announces more than the focus of intellectual attention.

Traditionally the academic study of religion has been distinguished by the suspension of personal faith commitments so that the scholarly deciphering and evaluation of art and religion encourages the innocent eye to be open to the multivalent meanings and influences of art upon religion, and of religion on art, without prejudgment or prejudice. This is not to suggest that the work of art is neutral or benign, for art is neither conceived nor executed in a vacuum. The significance of art, regardless of medium or critical appraisal, is its cultural embeddedness by which it enables reflection on past cultural histories, connection with contemporary cultural attitudes, and projection of emerging cultural values. The fundamental ambiguity in the reading or perception of art attests to its heuristic and multivalent nature.

Art, especially religious art, is the external expression of the artist's personal vision, and under normal circumstances, a work of religious art, whether identified as Christian, Jain, or Aboriginal, is initiated from an identifiable faith commitment and communicates in the vernacular of that faith community. For example, the sixteenth-century German artist Mathias Grünewald depicts in his magisterial *Isenheim Altarpiece* (1515: Musée d'Unterlinden, Colmar) a series of significant biblical episodes in the life of Jesus of Nazareth for the hospice at the Antonite Monastery in Colmar. Grünewald included specific visual cues so that members of that religious community could "read" his meaning, and other Christians familiar with either the biblical narratives or the liturgical celebrations of Christmas and Easter could access this work of art. *The Isenheim Altarpiece* operates as visual theology within a clearly defined religious tradition reflecting its religious practices and beliefs. Concurrently, the "outsider," visitor, or curious can see this artwork as an invitation to or initiation into a particular religious vocabulary and landscape of religious vision.

Traditionally, for scholars of religious studies, especially in the West, the "voice of authority" has been a canon—a series of written texts including a sacred scripture, commentaries on that scripture, and doctrinal or conciliar decrees. However the "reality" of religion is more complicated given the transmutations and permutations of history, geographic expansion, and the constant presence of the human element, especially the collective of believers, many of whom were illiterate, thereby unschooled in the finer points of textual exegesis and theological ruminations. A religion to be apprehended and comprehended fully by both the faith community and researchers requires the display of its multiple dimensions from iconography to canon, from theological tome to devotional prayers. Such a coordination of the elite and the mundane reconstructs the meaning of religion as texts are accessible to the literate, whereas art ranging generically from icons to devotional hymns to liturgical dance to folk art, poetry, and morality tales proffers an inclusive and comprehensive reading of fourteenth-century Western Christianity in coordination with the "authoritative texts."

CRITICAL QUESTIONS. Regardless of methodological approach or religion investigated, art and religion inquiries have been initiated from two critical, oftentimes implicit, questions—"what makes art religious?" and "how is religion artistic?" Since the 1970s, scholarship in art and religion has incorporated several other critical questions into the modes of approach in both research and publications. These critical questions affected the direction of study and interpretation process. Primary among these critical questions is the issue of the "starting point" for an art and religion investigation. The choices range from an individual work of art or a group of works, to one artist or a group (school) of artists, to a specific historical or religious event, to a new religious doctrine or a singular iconographic motif. The second critical question is what art is to be studied. Each investigator develops a set of criteria to discern art as high or low, art as popular culture, art as material culture, and art as an element of visual culture. The crucial decision is whether the focus of study is a traditionally defined work of art or from one of the domains of art such as folk art, photography, or popular culture. The third critical question is that of procedure, for example, examination from a specific historical question such as that of the process of secularization, the meaning of Christian art as the "Bible of the poor," or the implications of political power and authority for religious art. The fourth critical question has been formed by the academic recognition of "the marginalized"—those previously little investigated groups including women, racial and ethnic minorities, classes, and gender—whose art has reformulated traditional art historical categories not simply by introducing new iconographies or styles but by the very nature of their understandings of art and religion in their respective societies and cultures.

With the advent of the new century, scholarship in art and religion has formulated new critical questions arising from both contemporary events and a growing global recognition of the broader ethical and societal responsibilities for cultural heritage. The recent loss of works of religious art through natural disasters, war, and violent acts of iconoclasm has focused attention on the role of religion in fomenting or silencing acts of destruction, whether initiated by environmental neglect or military activity. Further analysis as to religious meaning and cultural value of the works selected for destruction is a topic for new studies from the perspective of art and religion. The related critical question for art and religion study is that of the complex ethical and moral issue of the "theft" or transfer of art from one country to another on the grounds of protection or military conquest, and the potential for repatriation. Another new critical question, which may be related to the primary question of "what makes art religious?" and which simultaneously impinges upon the ethical quagmire of ownership, is the collecting and display of religious art in institutional environments such as public museums and special exhibitions, thereby in sites and for uses distinct from those sacred criteria for which it was created, and perhaps consecrated.

THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP(S). The oftentimes controversial and amorphous interconnections between art and religion proffer five distinctive relationships that can be categorized as distinguished by power (Apostolos-Cappadona, 1996) and that extend beyond *mana* to include economic, gendered, political, societal, and religious concepts of power. The first is authoritarian, in which art is subject to religion. The authoritarian relationship permits no place for artistic creativity, individuality, or originality; rather, art and artists are controlled by the higher authority as art becomes visual propaganda. The second relationship is that of opposition, in which both art and religion are equal powers, and while neither is dominated or subservient to the other, there is a constant struggle to subjugate the other. The third relationship is one of mutuality when these two "equals" inhabit the same cultural environment in a symbiotic union of inspired nurture. The fourth relationship is separatist, as each operates independent of and without regard for the other, as in an iconoclastic religious environment or a secular culture. The fifth relationship is unified, so that their individual identities become so completely blended into a single entity it is impossible to discern what is art from what is religion.

As a corollary to, if not a result of, the fact that there is no universally agreed upon definition of either art or religion, none of the major world religions have a historically consistent attitude toward art. These cultural and geographic variations even within one religion such as Islam and Buddhism confirm that any or all of these five relationships between art and religion exist either simultaneously or in a chronological progression in one religious tradition. In his now classic *Sacred and Profane Beauty: The Holy in Art* (2005 [1963]), Gerardus van der Leeuw (1890–1950) considered the nature of the arts in relation to religion and specifically identified Christianity as a religious locus in which all five relationships between art and religion can be identified.

RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES TOWARD ART. Every religious tradition has an attitude toward art, and thereby toward image. Some are formalized in written canons, hierarchy, dogma, creeds, and liturgy, while others are predicated upon oral tradition, ritual, and mythology. The fundamental modes of religious attitudes toward art are iconic (advocacy), aniconic (acceptance), and iconoclastic (denial or rejection). The iconic attitude locates the image in representational or anthropomorphic figures of identifiable and known reality, as evidenced in the Byzantine icons of Mary as *Theotokos* or Jesus Christ as the Pantocrator. Taken to its extreme, however, the iconic religious attitude treads lightly upon idolatry. The aniconic attitude defines the image as a symbolic or allusive presentation of sacred reality, exemplified in nonrepresentational images to facilitate contemplation, devotion, and worship, as evidenced in the elegant calligraphy of illuminated Islamic manuscripts or the Śiva *liṅga.* Taken to its extreme, the aniconic religious attitude verges on total abstraction and thereby the complete absence of forms. The iconoclastic attitude rejects totally images and imagery in any media, style, or form, as exemplified in the otherwise imageless environment of Jewish synagogues and many Protestant churches. Taken to its extreme, the iconoclastic attitude is violent destruction of all images and imagery, sacred and secular.

Although these three religious attitudes toward art can be delineated, it is rare in the history of any religious tradition to operate without some variation in its attitude(s). As with all theories and constructs in art and religion, there is a coexistence of multiple religious attitudes toward images either in a historic process of evolution or simultaneously so that patterns develop: iconic to iconoclastic to iconic; iconic to iconoclastic; iconic to aniconic; aniconic to iconoclastic; or aniconic to iconic. Buddhism is one of several world religions that has had these three religious attitudes toward art in its history. Initially aniconic, Hinduism slowly assimilated image into worship and devotional practice, eventually establishing a complex religious iconography composed of representational and symbolic elements. The operative principle is that as each world religion evolves, its fundamental attitude toward art is similarly transformed. Certain religions such as Christianity and Buddhism have espoused a variety of attitudes toward image. Earliest Buddhist teaching was aniconic, while Zen Buddhism is iconoclastic. However, contacts with other cultures, including Hellenism, and expansion into other geographic regions caused Buddhism's initial aniconicism to evolve into a bifurcation of the iconic and iconoclastic religious attitudes. This Buddhist dichotomy is illustrated in the use of iconic and aniconic forms in those *maṇḍalas* that are ceremonially created and then ritually destroyed. Further, a fundamental ambiguity exists within several world religions as the hierarchy affirms the proscriptions or prescriptions pronounced in written texts, dogmas, or creeds, while the praxis of the collective of believers venerates an unconsecrated but nonetheless miraculous image.

THE VENERATION OF ART. Images are either inherently venerable or become sacralized through an act or ceremony of consecration. The primary classification of natively venerable images is those singular sacred images known as *acheiropoietai* (from the Greek for "not made by hands"). Believers recognize these particular images as divinely inspired and divinely created as they are discovered either fully formed in nature, including the *acheiropoietai* images of Buddha, Śiva, or the Black Madonna of Montserrat, or those *acheiropoietai* reported to have "fallen" from the heavens to the earth like the iron *thokchaks* in Tibet and the Black Stone in Mecca. A second mode of *acheiropoietai* are those formed by direct divine imprint on cloth, such as the legendary Mandylion of Edessa and the Christian scriptural Veil of Veronica. A third mode of *acheiropoietai* are contemporary portraits of sacred persons created in their lifetimes by an artist who may also have been a holy person; for example, the icons of the *Theotokos and Child* painted by Luke the Evangelist and the sandalwood images of the Buddha reputed to have been carved in his actual presence.

A second category of sacred image meriting adoration and respect is the miraculous image that receives gifts and votives regularly from devotees. Miraculous images such as the Black Madonnas of Spain, Italy, France, and Switzerland, or Ganeśa, the Hindu "remover of obstacles," exhibit their sacrality by performing miracles, especially miraculous healings of otherwise inexplicable illnesses, bodily ailments, and physical disabilities; the dissipation of obstacles; and the conception and birth of healthy children to previously barren women. To evidence reassurance or perhaps to foretell impending disaster, some miraculous images produce a sign such as a glowing light, aromatic scents, streams of oil or blood, or tears as those of the renowned twelfth-century icon of the *Theotokos of Vladimir*. Other miraculous images such as the icon of the *Theotokos Hodegetria* of Constantinople were known for responding to prayers of protection from invading armies or natural disasters, so the preservation of the city or the conditions for a good harvest witnessed the inherent sacrality of the image.

Rituals of consecration performed by holy periods, or ecclesiastical hierarchs, affirmed venerability through the ceremonial imbuing of diving energy so that the image is worthy of adoration and respect. Consecration ceremonies range from the ancient Egyptian "Opening of the Mouth" ritual to the Hindu "Installation of Breath" rite in which the image was brought to life through the initiation of breath to the Zen Buddhist rite in which the eyes of the image are completed. Representative of that living dichotomy between the collective of believers and the religious hierarchy are images accepted as miraculous and venerable by the former prior to any formal ecclesiastical approval or consecration ceremony, as with a manifestation of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara or an icon of *Theotokos Treheroussa.*

Following the ceremonies of consecration, sacred images garner specific forms of behavior and reception from believers. Often the simple viewing of the sacred image is an efficacious ritual, as witnessed through the ceremonial acts of elaborate ornamentation and dressing of sacred images in Hinduism and Roman Catholicism. The practice of offering delicate edibles, lit lamps, aromatic incense, beeswax candles, fresh flowers, and objects precious to the believer to the sacred image occurs either on significant feast days or upon the fulfillment of an intercessory plea. Sacred images are oftentimes anointed with consecrated liquids ranging from precious oils to holy water to melted butter—as a rite of cleansing and honor. The secularization of this ritual is practiced in the consecration of monarchs with precious oils and holy water. Devotees may follow prescribed patterns of posture and gestures to embody their acts of veneration, such as offering prayers from positions of prostration or the kissing of the sacred image with the intoning of prayers. Furthermore, the religious practice of ritual processions, which concurrently display and honor the sacred image, extend the ritualized boundaries of sacred energy and blessing throughout the processing areas.

RELIGIOUS CATEGORIES FOR ART. Art has performed a variety of roles in the environments, rituals, and teachings of world religions, from devotional objects to divinely inspired works to communicators of sacred knowledge. Through pedagogy, devotions, and contemplation, art has nurtured the development and establishment of religious identity for both individual believers and the larger collective community. One of the normative and primary rationales for art in the context of religion is "to teach the faith" by means of symbolic and representational depictions of the major sacred narratives and tenets. This pedagogical, or didactic, aspect of art in religion is identified as "visual theology." Representational art can provide visible models for appropriate behavior, dress, postures, gestures, and modes of liturgical actions, and symbolic and representational liturgical objects of beautiful design and proportions can enhance the religious ceremonies. This liturgical, sacramental, or ritualistic dimension of art in religion is labeled "visual liturgy." Whether symbolic or representational, works of art that induce prayer or evoke personal devotions are identified as "visual contemplation." Art that offers spiritual orientation as the symbols and images facilitate the devotee into an experience of transcendence or momentary encounter with the sacred are categorized as "visual mysticism." The symbolic vocabulary of motifs, images, or signs that transfer religious meaning and theological tenets in a mode accessible only to the initiated is the art of "visual codes." Art that enhances through design and patterning the religious environment or the experience of spiritual encounter for the believer is identified as "visual decoration." The art of any of the world's religions can also be a combination of any or all of these categories so that one work can be symbolic and mystical or didactic and liturgical. Nonetheless, there are always works of art that are difficult, if not impossible to categorize, such as the Muqarnas, or stalactite decoration of Islamic architecture, which some scholars and believers identify as beautiful form and others interpret as the multiplicity of God's unity.

Art as Religious Communication. As a multivalent communicator of meaning and value, art can be defined as religious art on account of its theme, subject matter, or iconography, ranging from a scriptural narrative to a sacred portrait to a holy image created within the prescriptions of a particular faith. Religious art incorporates signs and symbols accessible to the initiated who have learned to read the iconography while recognizable as beautiful form to the uninitiated, such as the carved reliefs covering the interior and exterior walls of the Khandarīya Mahādeva Temple in Khajurano or multiple panels on Mathias Grünewald's *Isenheim Altarpiece.*

Art may be characterized as religious art by its function. The fundamental function of most religious art is as religious pedagogy to illustrate bodily postures and gestures or a story or dogma of a religious tradition, as do visual symbols and representational imagery. Beautiful ceremonial objects that priests or religious officials employ in a sacramental manner or as part of a religious ceremony, such as illustrated holy books, candelabra, or chalices, have a clearly identifiable religious function. Visual art, for example, the wall frescoes depicting yoga postures at Ajantā in western India or the Byzantine mosaics portraying the sacrament of baptism on the ceilings of the Orthodox Baptistry in Ravenna, have simultaneous liturgical and pedagogical functions. Other works of art such as Yoruban masks and Navajo sand paintings have a function as ritual art.

The positioning or site of a work of art—on an altar or inside a temple—signifies it as religious art. Religious edifices differ in architectural style and function from religion to religion and country to country; however, ecclesiastical, monastic, ritual, and sacred locations include temples, synagogues, cathedrals, monasteries, and mosques as well as tombs and shrines. Oftentimes, patrons, whether individuals, royalty, religious hierarchs, or monastic communities, commission works of art, including but not limited to altarpieces or stained-glass windows, for a specific location. An artist's comprehension of the scale and siting of the work of art from the time of the commission permits design according to the spatial environment, as with Hubert and Jan van Eyck's *Ghent Altarpiece* (1432). Other works of art, for example, the sculpture of Athena in the Parthenon or the monumental Buddha at Kamakura, are identified as religious art as their function determines their placement.

Commissions for works of art either for placement or use within a religious environment—whether temple, mosque, monastery, synagogue, or church—or for a religious activity—ecclesiastical, liturgical, sacramental, devotional, contemplative, or catechetical—qualify art as religious art. Patronage of religious art may be the result of a special devotion, a healing, a response to an intercessory plea, or to assuage divine anger. Throughout the religions of the world, patrons of religious art have included laypeople as well as monastics and religious, the court and aristocracy as well as the lower classes.

The artist as the creator of art has a significant role to play in the characterizing of art as religious art. The definition of the artist and of the artist's spirituality varies from religion to religion. The characteristics and categories by which the artist is defined include descriptions of the relationship between artist and art, between art and personal spirituality, and ultimately, between the aesthetic and spiritual experiences, and are delineated in distinctive fashions within each world religion and culture. For example, art discloses the character and thereby the spirituality of the artist, according to Daoist and Confucian aesthetics, while an intimacy between artist, art, and spirituality is presumed by Hindu aesthetics, as art is spiritual and the spiritual is expressed through the arts. However, the distinction between artist and art, whereby a nonbeliever could create works for a religious community or environment, is the modern Western position. Traditionally, even in the West, the normative pattern was that the artist was a believer and practicing member of a religious community for whom the creation of art was a spiritual path. The making of religious art was, then, a form of religious ritual that began with an act, or period, of spiritual cleansing, including intense prayer, abstinence from sexual relations, and fasting. Further a complex but carefully defined rubric of forms, symbols, colors, and motifs was followed; each religious image was a codebook and "earned" the appellation "religious art." In the making of *maṇḍalas* the Buddhist monk followed such ritual procedures and codified rules as did the Eastern Orthodox Christian monk who "wrote" icons and the Navajo shaman who created the healing image through sand paintings.

Religious Responses to Art. The response to religious art is predicated upon individual faith, pronounced dogma, religious attitudes toward the image, and aesthetic quality projected by the work of art. The operative principle should be that as the embodiment of the sacred, a religious image provides for immediate and permanent access to the deity. Such a response, however, would require the believer's receptivity to the power of images and the primacy of sacred nature. The practical reality is that even one work of religious art can garner a diversity of responses, each of which is dependent upon the believer's preconceptions regarding religious encounter and the image. As an example of this multiplicity of response to one image, consider that of Śiva Nataraja, the divine dancer who creates and destroys the universe with each footstep. Śiva is invited to enter an image of himself at the beginning of ritual prayer or ceremonies; his presence may be perpetual or fleeting, although the physical image endures through the work of art. Throughout the ritual both Śiva and his sacred energy reside within the image but depart when the ritual comes to a close. The image remains as a visual aid for personal devotion and prayer and as a visual remembrance of the god's activity so that Śiva's sacred presence is known even in his absence. The artistic rendering of Śiva Nataraja functions as a visual reminder of the divinity's existence rather than an embodiment or temporary receptacle of the sacred; it thereby becomes a centering point for meditation, prayer, ritual, or religious experience. For many devotees, such an image is simply the point of initiation toward their individual "goal" to transcend materiality and to ascend to a mystical state of imageless union with the divine. Other believers find such an image to be simply a pedagogical object but not relevant for personal prayer, devotions, or mystical experiences. For an iconoclast, such an image of Śiva Nataraja should be denied, if not destroyed, as much out of a fear of idolatry as a simple distrust of images.

What is most significant in the human response to religious art is that even a minimal response provides an entry into the experience of or participation in divine power and energy. Works of religious art, for believers, are not simply material objects but mediators of spiritual energies. Simultaneously as efficacious location and a distancing from devotees, sacred space is created by the presence of a religious image. Recognized as a religious image in many religions, the human body is identified as a reflection of the divine bodies of the gods and goddesses in Classical Greece and as an object of glorification in certain Hindu sects and African traditions. Thereby, the response of the human body to religious art provides an aesthetic channel for devotions, contemplation, prayer, and worship.

A Preliminary History of the Field. As a discrete field of study, art and religion has no singular historic event or scholar to recognize as its formal beginning or founder. From the beginnings of scholarly discourse, critical and academic discussions of art or religion impinged each upon the territory of the other, as reflected in the initial pages of this entry. As an identifiable formal topic, however, the study of art and religion was initiated with the virtual plethora of mid-nineteenth-century publications on Christian art that emerged from the pens of a diverse group of predominantly self-trained writers beginning with Alexis-François Rio (1797–1874), *De la poésie Chrétienne* (1837); Adolphe Napoléon Didron (1806–1867), *Iconographie Chrétienne* (1843); Lord Lindsay Alexander (1812–1880), *Sketches of the History of Christian Art* (1847); and Anna Brownell [Murphy] Jameson (1794–1860), *Sacred and Legendary Art* (1848). These publications, especially Jameson's books and serialized texts, which built upon her renown as an author of museum guidebooks, inaugurated a genre dedicated to the appreciation of Christian art as an exemplar of moral values and good taste. Nonetheless, these texts situated the paintings and sculptures discussed within their historical contexts, carefully described any stylistic or technical innovations, and explained the "lost language" of Christian signs and symbols. Apparently, there was a charisma for Christian art at this time throughout Western Europe and America, as witnessed by the establishment of a variety of art movements—the Academy of St. Luke in Rome, the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood in London, and the Nazarenes in Vienna—dedicated to the reunification of art and religion as epitomized in the medieval synthesis.

Cultural and language shifts beginning with the Renaissance were formative on this nineteenth-century movement, as the concept of art was transformed from craft and that of the artist to individual creator. These terms were further clarified with the Enlightenment and the Romantic movement, as the Renaissance cult of the artist as an individual, and perhaps a genius, matured into common vocabulary. The German Romantic philosophers, including J.G. Fichte (1762-1814), Friedrich W.J. Schelling (1775-1854), and August Wilhelm Schlegel (1767-1845), built upon the foundations of subjectivity introduced by Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) and the spiritual in art of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832). Other philosophical and theological influences from Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834) to Charles Baudelaire (1821–1867) to Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882) to John Ruskin (1819–1900) corroborated this transformation toward a spiritualizing of art and toward the establishment of an academic discourse identifiable as art and religion. This genre of Christian art initiated by Rio, Lindsay, and Jameson was quickly expanded by a variety of ministers, artists, and educators predominantly from England, France, Germany, and then the United States. Their publications included travel diaries, behavior manuals, gift books and annuals, and treatises on the history and symbolism of Christian art; and this genre flourished into the early twentieth century, as witnessed by the popular books of Estelle Hurll, *The Madonna in Art* (1897) and Clara Erskine Clement Waters, *Saints in Art* (1899).

Concurrently, the academic study of religion, especially as the history of religions, began to surface in the German university system, while an assortment of cultural events, including the artistic modes of Orientalism and Japonisme in the nineteenth century and the fascination with *le primtif* in the early twentieth century, the Christian missions into China and Japan, the Chicago World's Fair, the Parliament of World Religions, and the phenomenon of theosophy created a cultural climate of intellectual and popular interest in other religions, particularly Hinduism and Buddhism. Nonetheless, the lens was Western—so a Western perception of Hinduism or Buddhism as both a religion and a culture. Western scholars and commensurately Western scholarship has privileged this field of study. Students of religion and artists learned about the aesthetics and art of "the other." As the academic study of art history was being organized in several European universities, the recognition of the need to learn about religion was mandatory for the research and discussion of Christian art, and later of the arts of India, China, and Japan. From its earliest moment, then, art and religion was a multicultural and multireligious form of discourse.

Further developments in the study of art and religion resulted from the breadth of vision among a select group of religion scholars: Rudolf Otto (1869–1937), Gerardus van der Leeuw (1890–1950), Mircea Eliade (1907–1986), and Suzuki Daisetz (1870–1966); art historian Ananda K. Coomaraswamy (1877–1947); and theologian Paul Tillich

(1886–1965). Of this magisterial group, the phenomenologist of religion, Rudolph Otto, and the historian of religions, Mircea Eliade, contributed most significantly to the development of the discrete field of study known as art and religion. In his now classic *The Idea of the Holy*, Otto identified the connectives between art and religion. Beyond normative language and rational description, religious experience is initiated by the nonrational modes of communication and sensory perceptions provided by art. Despite his silence on any comparison between aesthetic and religious experience, or the commonalities between religion and artistic creativity, Otto points to the critical importance of the experience of art as a moment of the silence, awe, wonder, and fear encountered before the numinous.

Eliade describes the visualizing of the otherwise invisible sacred through art in a variety of forms and styles in *Symbolism, the Sacred, and the Arts* (1994 [1985]). Art is a conduit to the sacred and a human activity permitting the possibility for involvement with divinity/ies. Art is essential to the proper performance of religious ceremonies and rituals. Eliade interpreted art as embedded in the human universal consciousness and in all world cultures and emerging in the artistic visioning and reinterpretation of symbols and images even in the secular art of the twentieth century. Coomaraswamy sought for the commonalities between the spiritual art of East and West, but perhaps his most significant contributions came during his tenure as curator of Asian Art at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, where he introduced the concept of "spiritual art" into the vocabulary of curators, museum displays, and special exhibitions. He furthered the definition of spiritual art when he supervised the acceptance of several of Alfred Stieglitz's (1864-1946) photographs as works of art—the first photographs ever to enter a museum or gallery collection under the rubric of art—into the museum's collection. Van der Leeuw proposed a phenomenology of art and religion in his *Sacred and Profane Beauty: The Holy in Art,* in which he described how all the arts—dance, drama, poetry, painting and sculpture, architecture, and music—signaled and manifested the presence of the sacred. His is the only text to expand the discussion comparatively among the arts.

Tillich is to be credited with relating contemporary Christian theology with twentieth-century art. His efforts to see and to discuss the connectives between contemporary works of art with both religious and secular themes to the classic masterpieces of Christian art, and as venue for discussing theological issues, opened the door to the serious consideration of the spirituality of modern art. Suzuki's significance to the study of art and religion was his masterful text *Zen and Japanese Culture* (1970 [1938]), in which he introduced his interpretation of the Zen aesthetic to the West. However, his famed lectures on Zen and Zen aesthetics at Columbia University in the 1950s opened the eyes and the minds of many of New York's most promising and creative artists, including musician John Cage (1912–1992), choreographers Martha Graham (1914-1999) and Merce Cunningham (b. 1919), and the painters and sculptors who became known as the Abstract Expressionists, including Jackson Pollock (1912-1956) and Mark Rothko (1903-1970), to an alternate way of envisioning and experiencing the sacred, and to the spirituality of art.

Similarly, a quick survey of the academic field of art history and of the influence of several prominent art historians such as Charles Rufus Morey, Émile Mâle, Erwin Panofsky, and Meyer Schapiro would provide critical moments in the evolution of the field of art and religion. Panofsky's work in deciphering iconography from iconology may be one of the most crucial art historical contributions to the study of art and religion prior to Freedberg's "response theory." Iconography was a carefully detailed method of analysis of the symbolic vocabulary delineated within an image, while iconology was an explanation of an image or art form within the context of the culture—social, political, religious, and engendered—that produced it.

METHODS AND METHODOLOGIES. The amorphous nature of the relationship between art and religion as both a topic of investigation and a field of study is paralleled by the oftentimes perceived "flexible" methodologies employed by specialists. The breadth of methodological approaches, technical languages, and questions investigated continue to expand in tandem with the study of religion. The lacuna of a single or even commonly accepted "core" methodology is irksome at best. The diverse technical vocabularies and methodologies include but are not limited to art history, iconography and iconology, cultural history, church history, ethics, history of religion, ritual studies, comparative religions, and theology. The primary characteristic of art and religion that defies its definition as a normative field of study is that it is fundamentally a multidisciplinary field that is broad in its subject matter, geographic sweep, world religions foci, and technical language.

From its possible "official" beginnings in the mid-nineteenth century into the twenty-first century, art and religion has traversed a variety of methodological formulae and vocabularies, beginning with art history, iconography and symbolism, history of religion, cultural history, theology, philosophy, phenomenology, and iconology, while the foci of a new generation of scholars in the 1970s incorporated the principles and lenses to expand the borders of art and religion into the questions raised by the emerging categories of "the marginalized" and feminism into the 1980s issues of the body and class. The reception of art historian David Freedberg's groundbreaking study, *The Power of Images* (1989), defined and traced the history of "response theory," which provided art and religion with an affirmation of its interest in the human, or worshiper's, experience of art. Beginning with the late 1980s, specialized studies with methodologies and languages for material culture, popular culture, performance and display, visual culture, and museum studies were incorporated, sometimes tangentially, into art and religion.

These additional disciplinary approaches and topical interests may be interpreted as diffusing the field of art and religion that much more broadly. However, the reality is twofold: oftentimes these new approaches or fields give a "name" such as Freedberg's "response theory" to an attitude, theme, or subject of art and religion research and investigation; and secondly, the fundamental nature of art and religion is to be inclusive, and to that end, it is a metaphor for religious studies. Nonetheless, it is reasonable to consider whether art and religion as a field without a methodology is an academic nomad or a valid but discrete field of study.

The methodological lacuna for art and religion may be problematic, especially in any attempt to defend its existence as a field of study. However, the range of disciplinary methods and topics ranging from art history to cultural studies to theology to gender studies and beyond has created a multilayered syntax for the research, writing, and discussions of art and religion. Among the fundamental topics for investigation have been the historical relationships between art and religion(s); religious attitudes toward image (or icon or idol); religious attitudes toward the veneration of images; the symbolism of gender in religious art; changing cultural attitudes toward religion and the effect(s) upon art; changing cultural values toward art and the implications for religion; and the visual evidence for cultural shifts in understanding of gender and the body. Further, the normative pattern has been that specialists in art and religion operate with the methodological formulae and vocabulary in which they were first trained, and expand, transform, and re-form these in the process of research and writing about art and religion.

From the nineteenth-century "establishment" of art and religion as a focus of study, there are three identifiable investigative categories related directly to the initial or primary lens in which a scholar of art and religion is initially trained: art history, theology, and history of religion. Further, these categorizations to the point of origin within the research—that is, the category of "art-centered investigations"—proceed from art as a primary document; "religion-centered investigations" advance from the religious impulse; and the "art-and-religions-centered investigations" emerge from the comparative study of traditions.

Art-centered investigations begin with a fascination with or spotlight on art, particularly a specific work of art. Critical in this mode of analysis are the topics of the origin of the work of art, the "reading" of the signs and symbols, and recognition of the cultural and historic context as formative in the shaping of the artist and the artistic vision. Scholars who operate from this category of "art-centered investigations" are predominantly art historians, art critics, and aestheticians who typically analyze the art and religion of one faith tradition, as evidenced by Hisamatsu Shin'ichi's (1889–1980) study of Zen Buddhist art (1982), André Grabar's (1896–1990) texts on Christian art and iconography (1968), and Stella Kramrisch's (1898–1993) work on Hindu art and architecture (1946 and 1965). Students involved in research on Byzantine, medieval, and Renaissance art will quickly learn that the art of those historical epochs is undisputedly difficult to decipher without some study of the history and theology. The texts on Christian art by Émile Mâle (1984), Erwin Panofsky (1953 and 1972), and Otto von Simson (1956) evidenced a careful interweaving of theology, scripture, and church history as connectors in the visual codes in the individual artworks analyzed. During the late 1960s the formal academic concern for the creative process corresponded with more than a comparative analysis of the aesthetic and the spiritual experience. Rather, fascination grew with the code of visual vocabulary and the mode by which images communicate ideas, as seen in the 1969 and 1974 texts of Rudolf Arnheim (b. 1904) and the 1971 text by Martin Heidegger (1889–1976).

Religion-centered investigations emerge from a fascination with or a devotion to the theological impulse or religious character of art. Central to this mode of examination are the topics of the affect of theology or religion on the making and symbolic content of a work of art, and of the cultural interplay between artists and the theological postures of prevalent themes. Scholars who participate within the frame of "religion-centered investigations" include art historians, church historians, and theologians who typically engage in the study of art and religion from the perspective of one faith tradition, as witnessed by Jane Daggett Dillenberger's books on the style and content of Christian art (1965), John Dillenberger's texts on Christian art in the context of church history and theology (1988 and 1999), and John W. Dixon's studies of the theological impulse in Christian art (1978 and 1996). The creative process for the artist as an act of religious communication of ideas is evidenced in the "religion-centered investigations" of Jacques Maritain's (1882–1973) 1978 work and Nicholas Wolterstorff's 1980 study.

Religions-and-art-centered investigations proceed with comparative analyses of at least two religious traditions, with art as the focal point. The process of comparative readings of the same work of art determines the universality of art and of the religious impulse. Comparative studies of symbols and images extend beyond syntax and vocabulary to witness the creative impulse of imagination as it shapes new worlds and formulates new understandings of the human and of the world, which cannot be achieved through language or reason. Scholars operating within the "religions-and-art-centered" investigations include art historians, historians of religion, and aestheticians who share a passion for comparative study and the desire to learn the vocabulary of signs and symbols, such as Titus Burckhardt's (1908–1984) comparative analyses of Hindu, Christian, and Islamic art (1967 and 1987), Coomaraswamy's studies of Christian and Hindu art and religion (1943), and S. G. F. Brandon's (1907–1971) books on comparative rituals and iconography (1975). Also within this category is a place for the art of world religions to be evaluated with reference to the energy and power of art to fascinate and communicate through emotive codes and images, as discussed by André Malraux (1953 and 1960) and F. S. C. Northrop (1946).

The interpretative critiques raised by those scholars representing "the marginalized" transferred attention from the traditional art being studied to the nature and intent of the questions being asked. Initially, feminism wielded vast influence in transforming scholarly foci and the methodological formulae. The incorporation of feminist concerns, motifs, methods, and vocabulary in art and religion is evidenced by the work of Margaret R. Miles (1985) and Celia Rabinovitch (2002). Scholarly interest in the process of seeing, the relationship between art and religious vision on all levels of society, and the role of seeing in the process of making art is emphasized in the new disciplinary visual culture studies by Colleen McDannell (1995) and David Morgan (1998 and 2005). An important reference is the special exhibitions and their catalogues and books, which have begun to focus on issues related to the art and religion of the so-called Third World in the work of Rosemary Crumlin (1988 and 1991), Thomas B. F. Cummings, and Kenneth Mills (1997). The writing and discussions of two art historians—David Freedberg (1989) on response theory and James Elkins (2001) on the interconnections of optics/vision, human emotions, and religious meaning in art—have greatly advanced the studies of art and religion.

NEW CONSIDERATIONS. As scholars engaged in the study of art and religion continue their perennial quest to answer the critical questions "what makes art religious?" and "how is religious artistic?", the analytic methods, subjects, and vocabulary have responded by crossing over into the borders of new disciplines, such as visual culture, and the new critical gauntlets of technology, globalization, and secularization. Technology transformed the definition, experience, and study of art with the nineteenth-century invention of the camera, as photography challenged painting into new directions. The contemporary challenges of technology include the advent of computer art, virtual reality, and an environment in which one merely needs to press the right button to encounter masterpieces of art on the websites of major museums. The computer becomes then a mediator between art and the viewer, between art and artist, and between human consciousness and the projection of reality.

The challenge of globalization coincides with religious pluralism as the dominance of Western cultural and religious values appears to be ending as the symbolism and visual codes of Western art are being synthesized with those from other cultural and religious heritages. A new visual vocabulary is emerging from the confluence of religious traditions. Interwoven into this new fabric of the global and pluralistic world are the questions raised about the moral and ethical policies of collecting and exhibiting the sacred art of other cultures, and the issue of repatriation. Multiple considerations related to the presentation and display of sacred art in a secular or institutionalized setting are significant topics for the study of art and religion, including the issues of function, consecration, and response. Furthermore, and perhaps more significant, globalism and pluralism should assist in erasing the privileged status of Western scholars and Western art within the boundaries of art and religion. Comparative studies of specific artistic images or motifs might prove to be a positive venue to examine the commonalities and the differences and even the possibility of reformulating the basic vocabulary and issues of this discrete field of study.

Another way to consider this serious concern of the presentation of sacred art is the growing awareness that the "objects" being studied are being analyzed, researched, and encountered outside of their original placement and purpose. Thus, to be inclusive, our analysis must extend to the consideration, if not reconstruction, of the physical space in which the work was originally sited, its function (devotional, liturgical, ceremonial, ritual), and the experience of encountering the work for the first time in its "home" place.

Art is an imaged reflection, prophecy, and witness to human experience and religious values as well as an expression of culture. The topic of art and religion continues to entice consideration and to adapt itself to the transformations and permutations of scholarly concerns. The call continues among a new generation of young scholars to define the field and to adopt a methodology. The field of study identified as art and religion continues to survive despite its lack of a recognized methodology or academic vocabulary. Art, like religion, defies categorization and universal definition. Art and religion are inexorably interconnected throughout human history and human creativity.

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DIANE APOSTOLOS-CAPPADONA (2005)

ARTEMIS

ARTEMIS in Greek mythology is the daughter of Zeus and Leto and the twin sister of Apollo. In Greek religion she is concerned with the transitions of birth and growing up of both genders, as well as with the death of women and with the spaces outside the cities and the human activities in them—especially hunting and warfare. In the Greek East she is also a city goddess. Her equivalents in Anatolia and the Near East were the Phrygian Cybele and the Persian Anahita. The Romans identified Artemis with Diana, whereas the Etruscans accepted her under her Greek name as "Artume(s)." She is known as "Artimus" in Lydia, and as "Ertemi" in Lycia; she had many local sanctuaries all over Anatolia. The Greek goddess entered both the Lycian and Lydian pantheon under her Greek name, and numerous local goddesses all over Anatolia were hellenized as Artemis.

EARLY ARTEMIS. Her name defies etymology. She is most likely referred to in the inscriptions from the Bronze Age Pylus (Linear B), although her functions are unclear. She is also referenced in Hyampolis (Boeotia), a sanctuary that in the first millennium BCE belonged to Artemis and Apollo goes back to the later Bronze Age; however it is unclear whether this attests to her cult at this early age.

The mythology and religious roles of Artemis are fully established in early Greek poetry. Homer and Hesiod (late sixth to early seventh centuries BCE) know her as the daughter of Zeus and Leto, where together with her mother and her brother Apollo, she takes the side of the Trojans against the Greeks (*Iliad* 20.479–513) (although she is a rather inept fighter). Homeric poetry narrates some of her myths: how she took revenge on the Calydonian king Oineus for neglecting her sacrifice (*Iliad* 9.533–540) and on the Theban queen Niobe for slighting her mother (*Iliad* 24.603–609), as well as how—in an idiosyncratic form—she killed Orion, the lover of Eos (*Odyssey* 5.121), and Ariadne on the behest of Dionysos (*Odyssey* 11.324).

The *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (seventh and sixth centuries BCE) provides a catalogue of Artemis's functions, which include archery and hunting in the mountains, playing the lyre, girls' dancing and ritual shouting in her sacred groves; and "the city of just men"—that is, her political and civic functions (vv. 17–20). Epic poetry reflects these aspects. The hunt, the main human activity in the wilderness beyond the city space, is important. Artemis is the "Lady of Animals" (*potnia thērōn*, *Iliad* 21.470) and protects the good hunter and punishes the bad one, such as Orion or Actaeon. In the company of her nymphs, Artemis hunts boars and stags, but she also relaxes with dance and play (*Odyssey* 6.102–109). The nymphs, the mythical projection of the nubile girls with whom Artemis is often connected, share her space during their transitional rites. Like these nymphs, Artemis, too, is a virgin; but unlike her, these maidens (*korai*) will lose their virginity (the chorus of "resounding Artemis" and her *korai* provokes erotic conquests).

Hunting means killing, and the huntress Artemis also kills humans—and not only in revenge. Her unfailing arrows were believed to cause the death from disease of women of every age and station. The invisible arrow of Artemis also explained unexpected female death (*Odyssey* 11.172). Hera, the protectress of married women, once called Artemis "a women's lioness" (*Iliad* 21.483).

The *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (seventh century BCE) alludes to her birth in Ortygia (vs. 16). The passage separates Ortygia from Delus, where some later texts locate her birth, usually on the sixth day of the month Thargelion—Artemis has to be older than her twin brother, with whose birth she assisted on the seventh day of Thargelion. In most calendars, the festivals of Artemis are celebrated on the sixth day of any month, while Apollo's is celebrated on the seventh. The temple of Artemis on Delus dates to about 700 BCE and is almost two centuries older than the first temple of Apollo, who was Delus's main divinity; its cult focused on the "Altar of Horns."

The Greeks knew of another place called Ortygia, in a lonely river valley outside the city of Ephesus, Artemis's main city in the ancient world. The local myth told how Leto fled to this sacred grove to give birth to her daughter. In order to protect mother and baby from being pursued by Hera, armed demons—the Kouretes—performed a noisy armed dance around the newly born goddess (Strabo, *Geography* 14.1.20). This explained the religious and political role of a body of leading male citizens connected with the political center of Ephesus, the "sacred Kouretes."

ARTEMIS, HUNTING, AND WARFARE. In the documentation on later Greek religion, the roles of Artemis become further varied. Public cult rarely documents Artemis the huntress, although individual hunters dedicate the heads, antlers, or hides of their prey to Artemis, as they also do to Pan, another god of wild nature with whom she sometimes interacts. A late oracle from Didyma even prescribes sacrifices to Artemis in order to gain her help against Pan's wrath (Eusebius, *Prae-*

paratio Evangelica 7.5). Since fishing is another form of hunting, fishermen, as well, dedicate portions of their catch to Artemis. Images often represent Artemis as a huntress with a short dress, high boots, a bow, and a quiver or a couple of hunting spears; at times she'll appear with a female deer at her side; this is as common on Attic vase paintings as in Classical and post-Classical sculpture.

To the Greeks, warfare and hunting were closely connected. Hunting was training for war, and in several Greek states, Artemis was also connected with warfare. Before a battle, the Spartans offered a sacrifice to Artemis Agrotera (The Wild One) (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 4.2.20). The Athenians celebrated the victory of Marathon with an annual sacrifice to Artemis and Enyalios, a god of war often identified with Ares (Aristotle, *State of Athens* 58.1). Artemis Tauropolos, a goddess connected with groups of young warriors—and perhaps also with bull's masks—is the protectress of the Macedonian army and of the armies of the successors of Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE). In these roles, then, Artemis appears as the female goddess at the center of a group of male warriors and citizens, as does the Anatolian Cybele.

ARTEMIS AND YOUNG MEN. Artemis's protection and patronage of young men is part of this same function of hunting and warfare. However, her patronage here is often expressed in cruel rites.

In the sanctuary of Artemis Tauropolos in Attic Halai Araphenides, where young men performed armed dances, a young man's throat would be ritually cut until he bled. Myth explained this as a substitution for Orestes' sacrifice to the cruel Artemis of the Taurians. The rites in the Spartan sanctuary of Artemis Orthia were even more spectacular, rousing the interest of Greek and Roman visitors and scholars. The Spartans flogged a young man at the altar of Artemis until he bled. While this took place, her priestess assisted with the act, carrying a small image of the goddess. If the beating was not hard enough, the image the priestess carried grew heavier. This ritual was thought to replace a human sacrifice, although it developed from a contest among young males in which one group tried to steal cheese from Artemis's altar while a second group tried to prevent the theft.

Several statues of a priestess with a small, archaic-looking image belong to another sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, in the city of Messene. The Spartan image was said to be identical with the image in Artemis's sanctuary among the Taurians, located at the northern shore of the Black Sea. (Iphigenia and Orestes brought this image to Greece.) At some point in the ritual, the image was bound into the boughs of a *lygos* bush (a willow), hence the name Artemis *Lygodesme* (Bound in Willow) (Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 3.16.11).

In another local ritual from Tyndaris in Sicily, the same Taurian image was wrapped in a bundle of wood (*phakelos,* hence Artemis Phakelitis) and carried in a procession. According to a Spartan myth, the Taurian image drove the Spartans who found it mad. In the city of Pellene another small image of Artemis was carried around the walls of the besieged city in order to instill madness in the attackers, whereas in the Peloponnesian city Lousoi yet another Artemis (Hemerasia, the Tameress) could heal madness. Cruelty, madness, divine protection, and the world of young warriors seem to blend into one complex that expressed itself in a small image of Artemis that looked, in a native reading, old and foreign.

Several Greek cities performed yet another ritual that indigenous interpreters connected with warfare, with hunting, or with human sacrifice. In his *Description*, Pausanias gives an elaborate account of the contemporary festival (mid-second century CE) of Artemis Laphria in city of Patras: on a large pyre surrounded by a wooden palisade, the priests burned alive a large number of wild animals, including bears and stags (7.18.8–11). The ritual and the image of the goddess were said to have been transferred to Patras from the town of Calydon, where Artemis possessed an important sanctuary in the archaic period. A comparable ritual is confirmed in the cult of Artemis Laphria in Hyampolis in which the etiological myth derived from a war, while a fire ritual of Artemis Tauropolos in Phocaea was said to culminate in a human sacrifice.

ARTEMIS AND YOUNG WOMEN. Artemis was at least as important for young girls and women as she was for young men. A chorus of girls dancing for Artemis was common, especially in the Peloponnese; the girls often performed in sanctuaries situated far outside the cities, often in the mountains or in swampy regions. There, Artemis was Limnatis or Limnaia ("Lady of the Lake"; Pausanias, 4.4.2; 2.7.6) from the grove's position near a lake, or Kedreatis ("Lady of the Cedar Tree"; Pausanias, 8.13.2) and Karyatis ("She of the Hazelnut Tree"; Pausanias, 3.10.7) from the prominent trees of a sacred grove. None of this material, however, points to Frazerian tree cult in the service of Artemis.

Young Athenian girls spent some time in the secluded sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia on the East coast of Attica, far away from any city. The archaeological finds from the sanctuary attest to dancing of choruses, running contests of naked girls, and the use of bear masks. Local mythology explains that the cult was instituted to appease Artemis; she was angry because the Athenians had killed her sacred bear. Myth and cult also recall the story of Callisto, a nymph whom Artemis turned into a bear to punish her for her loss of virginity. Callisto would give birth to Arcas, the founder of Arcadia, who, as a hunter, unwittingly shot his bear mother. This story combines the topic of girls in the service of Artemis with the male topics of bear hunt and the foundation of a state. Callisto's name, the "Most Beautiful Girl," also refers to beauty contests that were sometimes connected with choruses of girls.

As a patroness of nubile girls, Artemis does not only protect their virginity as long as necessary; she also presides over the birth of their children once these girls become married women. Before their weddings, brides dedicated their toys to her, sometimes providing sacrifice to her during the wedding ritual. More often, Artemis was called Lochia (Lady of Birth) or was identified with the birth-goddess Eileithyia. Iphigenia, who shared the sanctuary of Brauron with the goddess, received the clothing of women who had died while giving birth.

OTHER ROLES. It was only in the Greek East that Artemis was also the protectress of cities, primarily in Ephesus. The Ephesian sanctuary became her main sanctuary during the Archaic Age. Shortly after 600 BCE, king Croesus of neighboring Lydia contributed to the construction of a splendid temple. The New Testament account of Paul's visit in Ephesus (*Acts* 19.23–48) demonstrates the importance of her cult and the religious fervor of the Ephesians. During the Hellenistic and imperial epochs, many Greek and Anatolian cities took over the cult of Ephesian Artemis, sometimes with mysteries. The official cult image of Ephesus represented the goddess with two burning torches. Yet the Ephesians also had another image, the one of a many-breasted (*multimamma*) Artemis that is preserved in several ancient copies and whose explanation is still uncertain—its iconography seems to follow archaic Anatolian iconography that has nothing do to with female breasts.

Artemis played a similar role in the Anatolian cities of Perge, where her image followed a comparable iconography. Her role was much the same in Magnesia, on the Maeander; here Artemis Leukophryene became prominent because of an epiphany in the third century BCE.

The poet Aeschylus identified Artemis with the moon, as he identified Apollo with the sun. Later, these identifications became commonplace, especially in Roman literature. During the imperial epoch, Artemis (often as a moon goddess) was identified with a large number of other goddesses, especially with Hekate and Isis, thus giving her some importance in magic, as well.

SEE ALSO Apollo; Dionysos; Divination, article on Greek and Roman Divination; Greek Religion; Hera; Homer; Soul, article on Greek and Hellenistic Concepts.

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FRITZ GRAF (2005)

ARTHUR, traditionally known as a sixth-century king of the Britons. Discussion of the origins of Arthur is of long standing. He is the hero or, later, the central figure of a large body of literature, much of it cyclic, in most western European languages but most especially in the medieval forms of French, German, English, and Welsh. He is consistently portrayed as a British ruler, and there is no doubt that his origins are to be sought in early Welsh sources and, to a lesser extent, in Breton and Cornish literature.

The evidence for Arthur's historical existence is meager and difficult to evaluate. Chapter 56 of the ninth-century *Historia Brittonum*, usually attributed to "Nennius," places him in the context of the first period of the attacks on Britain by the Germanic invaders, in the second half of the fifth century, and lists twelve of his famous victories. The chronicle now known as *Annales Cambriae* notes under the year 518 the Battle of Badon, as an Arthurian victory, probably the same as that which closes the Nennian list, and under 539 the Battle of Camlan, in which Arthur and Medrawd fell (Medrawd, Geoffrey of Monmouth's Modred, is the rebellious nephew of Arthur whose abduction of Guenevere led to the catastrophic final Battle of Camlan). The Nennian notes and the chronicle entries probably derive from the same northern British source of the eighth century and are the earliest testimony to a historical Arthur. The places referred to in the list of battles cannot be securely located, and not all are to be associated with Arthur; but the list probably represents the remnant of a pre-ninth-century Welsh poem that contained a catalog of some of Arthur's traditional victories. Together with a eulogistic reference to Arthur in another Welsh poem, *Gododdin*, from northern Britain, these early allusions suggest the development of a fifth-century British leader into a popular heroic figure celebrated in song. (The

Gododdin reference cannot be dated more securely than to the sixth to eleventh century.) The British author Gildas, however, writing about 540, does not name Arthur, although he celebrates the Battle of Badon; nor do other major historical sources, such as *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* or Bede, refer to him, so that some doubt as to his historical existence must remain.

Stories of Arthur, like many other northern British heroic legends, were relocated in early medieval Wales and achieved great popularity even before the arrival of the Normans in the eleventh century opened the way for this material to become a major component in the chivalric literatures of western Europe. Welsh poems from before 1100, *mirabilia* recounted in the *Historia Brittonum*, and material in some saints' lives of the eleventh and twelfth centuries all testify to a variety of tales being told about Arthur and to the fact that the hero was beginning to attract to himself legends and heroes from other cycles. Nineteenth-century scholars attempted to interpret this material in terms of solar mythology and the mythological type of the culture hero; though this approach is discredited in view of the nature of the historical evidence, it may yet be necessary to see Arthur, if not as a mythological figure, at least as one of fictional, folkloric origins. In Nennius's *mirabilia* Arthur and his dog Cabal hunt the boar Porcum Troit, a story more fully developed in the eleventh-century Welsh tale *Culhwch and Olwen*, and stories of Arthur in this latter source have already become associated with topographical features. Poems in the *Black Book of Carmarthen* and the *Book of Taliesin*, manuscripts from the thirteenth century, portray Arthur as the leader of a band of renowned warriors, Cei and Bedwyr foremost among them, who fight with monsters, hags, and giants and who carry out a disastrous expedition against the otherworld to free a prisoner. The twelfth-century *Life of Saint Gildas* contains the story of the abduction of Arthur's wife by Melwas and her imprisonment in the Glass Island, euhemerized as Glastonbury. These are the elements, together with some personal names, which seem to represent the earliest stratum of the Arthurian legend and which reappear in contemporary terms throughout its later forms.

There is more than one tradition of Arthur's end besides that of his death at Camlan. One that is attested early is his removal to the Isle of Avalon to be healed of his wounds and to await the call to return. At the end of the twelfth century the monks of Glastonbury claimed to have discovered the graves of Arthur and his wife at their abbey, but this seems never to have found popular acceptance. Arthur's role as the awaited hero remained a political force throughout the Middle Ages among the Celtic peoples of Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany. The later stages of his legend as the chivalrous king who was head of the Round Table and instigator of the search for the Holy Grail belong to the realm of literary history.

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BRYNLEY F. ROBERTS (1987 AND 2005)

ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE (AI) is the field within computer science that seeks to explain and to emulate, through mechanical or computational processes, some or all aspects of human intelligence. Included among these aspects of intelligence are the ability to interact with the environment through sensory means and the ability to make decisions in unforeseen circumstances without human intervention. Typical areas of research in AI include the playing of games such as checkers or chess, natural language understanding and synthesis, computer vision, problem solving, machine learning, and robotics.

The above is a general description of the field; there is no agreed-upon definition of artificial intelligence, primarily because there is little agreement as to what constitutes intelligence. Interpretations of what it means to say an agent is intelligent vary, yet most can be categorized in one of three ways. Intelligence can be thought of as a quality, an individually held property that is separable from all other properties of the human person. Intelligence is also seen in the functions one performs, in one's actions or the ability to carry out certain tasks. Finally, some researchers see intelligence as something primarily acquired and demonstrated through relationship with other intelligent beings. Each of these understandings of intelligence has been used as the basis of an approach to developing computer programs with intelligent characteristics.

FIRST ATTEMPTS: SYMBOLIC AI. The field of AI is considered to have its origin in the publication of Alan Turing's paper "Computing Machinery and Intelligence" (1950). John McCarthy coined the term *artificial intelligence* six years later at a summer conference at Dartmouth College in New Hampshire. The earliest approach to AI is called *symbolic* or *classical AI*, which is predicated on the hypothesis that every process in which either a human being or a machine engages can be expressed by a string of symbols that is modifiable according to a limited set of rules that can be logically defined. Just as geometers begin with a finite set of axioms and primitive objects such as points, so symbolicists, following such rationalist philosophers as Ludwig Wittgenstein and Alfred North Whitehead, predicated that human thought is represented in the mind by concepts that can be broken down into basic rules and primitive objects. Simple concepts or objects are directly expressed by a single symbol, while more complex ideas are the product of many symbols, combined by certain rules. For a symbolicist, any patternable kind of matter can thus represent intelligent thought.

Symbolic AI met with immediate success in areas in which problems could be easily described using a small set of objects that operate in a limited domain in a highly rule-based manner, such as games. The game of chess takes place in a world where the only objects are thirty-two pieces moving on a sixty-four-square board according to a limited number of rules. The limited options this world provides give the computer the potential to look far ahead, examining all possible moves and countermoves, looking for a sequence that will leave its pieces in the most advantageous position. Other successes for symbolic AI occurred rapidly in similarly restricted domains, such as medical diagnosis, mineral prospecting, chemical analysis, and mathematical theorem proving. These early successes led to a number of remarkably optimistic predictions of the prospects for symbolic AI.

Symbolic AI faltered, however, not on difficult problems like passing a calculus exam, but on the easy things a two-year-old child can do, such as recognizing a face in various settings or understanding a simple story. McCarthy labels symbolic programs as brittle because they crack or break down at the edges; they cannot function outside or near the edges of their domain of expertise since they lack knowledge outside of that domain, knowledge that most human "experts" possess in the form of what is often called common sense. Humans make use of general knowledge, millions of things we know and apply to a situation, both consciously and subconsciously. Should such a set exist, it is now clear to AI researchers that the set of primitive facts necessary for representing human knowledge is exceedingly large.

Another critique of symbolic AI, advanced by Terry Winograd and Fernando Flores (*Understanding Computers and Cognition*, 1986), is that human intelligence may not be a process of symbol manipulation; humans do not carry mental models around in their heads. When a human being learns to ride a bicycle, he or she does not do so by calculating equations of trajectory or force. Hubert Dreyfus makes a similar argument in *Mind over Machine* (1986); he suggests that experts do not arrive at their solutions to problems through the application of rules or the manipulation of symbols, but rather use intuition, acquired through multiple experiences in the real world. He describes symbolic AI as a "degenerating research project," by which he means that, while promising at first, it has produced fewer results as time has progressed and is likely to be abandoned should other alternatives become available. His prediction has proven to be fairly accurate. By 2000 the once dominant symbolic approach had been all but abandoned in AI, with only one major ongoing project, Douglas Lenat's Cyc project. Lenat hopes to overcome the general knowledge problem by providing an extremely large base of primitive facts. Lenat plans to combine this large database with the ability to communicate in a natural language, hoping that once enough information is entered into Cyc, the computer will be able to continue the learning process on its own, through conversation, reading, and applying logical rules to detect patterns or inconsistencies in the data Cyc is given. Initially conceived in 1984 as a ten-year initiative, Cyc has yet to show convincing evidence of extended independent learning.

Symbolic AI is not completely dead, however. The primacy of primitive objects representable by some system of encoding is a basic assumption underlying the worldview that everything can be thought of in terms of information, a view that has been advanced by several physicists, including Freeman Dyson, Frank Tipler, and Stephen Wolfram.

FUNCTIONAL OR WEAK AI. In 1980, John Searle, in the paper "Minds, Brains, and Programs," introduced a division of the field of AI into "strong" and "weak" AI. Strong AI denoted the attempt to develop a full humanlike intelligence, while weak AI denoted the use of AI techniques to either better understand human reasoning or to solve more limited problems. Although there was little progress in developing a strong AI through symbolic programming methods, the attempt to program computers to carry out limited human functions has been quite successful. Much of what is currently labeled AI research follows a functional model, applying particular programming techniques, such as knowledge engineering, fuzzy logic, genetic algorithms, neural networking, heuristic searching, and machine learning via statistical methods, to practical problems. This view sees AI as advanced computing. It produces working programs that can take over certain human tasks, especially in situations where there is limited human control, or where the knowledge needed to solve a problem cannot be fully anticipated by human programmers. Such programs are used in manufacturing operations, transportation, education, financial markets, "smart" buildings, and even household appliances.

For a functional AI, there need be no quality labeled "intelligence" that is shared by humans and computers. All computers need do is perform a task that requires intelligence for a human to perform. It is also unnecessary, in functional AI, to model a program after the thought processes that humans use. If results are what matter, then it is possible to exploit the speed and storage capabilities of the digital computer while ignoring parts of human thought that are not understood or easily modeled, such as intuition. This is, in fact, what was done in designing the chess-playing program Deep Blue, which beat the reigning world champion, Garry Kasparov, in 1997. Deep Blue does not attempt to mimic the thought of a human chess player. Instead, it capitalizes on the strengths of the computer by examining an extremely large number of moves, more than any human could possibly examine.

There are two problems with functional AI. The first is the difficulty of determining what falls into the category of AI and what is simply a normal computer application. A definition of AI that includes any program that accomplishes some function normally done by a human being would encompass virtually all computer programs. Even among computer scientists there is little agreement as to what sorts of programs fall under the rubric of AI. Once an application is mastered, there is a tendency to no longer define that application as AI. For example, while game playing is one of the classical fields of AI, Deep Blue's design team emphatically stated that Deep Blue was not artificial intelligence, since it used standard programming and parallel processing techniques that were in no way designed to mimic human thought. The implication here is that merely programming a computer to complete a human task is not AI if the computer does not complete the task in the same way a human would.

For a functional approach to result in a full humanlike intelligence it would be necessary not only to specify which functions make up intelligence, but also to make sure those functions are suitably congruent with one another. Functional AI programs are rarely designed to be compatible with other programs—each uses different techniques and methods, the sum of which is unlikely to capture the whole of human intelligence. Many in the AI community are also dissatisfied with a collection of task-oriented programs. The building of a general, humanlike intelligence, as difficult a goal as it may seem, remains the vision.

A RELATIONAL APPROACH. A third approach to AI builds on the assumption that intelligence is acquired, held, and demonstrated only through relationships with other intelligent agents. In "Computing Machinery and Intelligence," Turing addresses the question of which functions are essential for intelligence with a proposal for what has come to be the generally accepted test for machine intelligence. A human interrogator is connected by terminal to two subjects, one a human and the other a machine. If the interrogator fails as often as he or she succeeds in determining which is the human and which the machine, the machine could be considered intelligent. The Turing Test is based, not on the completion of any particular task or the solution of any particular problems by the machine, but on the machine's ability to relate to a human being in conversation. Discourse is unique among human activities in that it subsumes all other activities within itself. Turing predicted that by the year 2000 there would be computers that could fool an interrogator at least 30 percent of the time. This, like most predictions in AI, was overly optimistic. No computer has yet come close to passing the Turing Test.

The Turing Test uses relational discourse to demonstrate intelligence. However, Turing also notes the importance of being in relationship for the acquisition of knowledge or intelligence. He estimates that the programming of background knowledge needed for a restricted form of the game would take, at a minimum, three hundred person-years to complete. This is assuming that one could identify the appropriate knowledge set at the outset. Turing suggests, rather than trying to imitate an adult mind, that one construct a mind that simulates that of a child. Such a mind, when given an appropriate education, would learn and develop into an adult mind. One AI researcher taking this approach is Rodney Brooks of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), whose robotics lab has constructed several machines, the most famous of which are named Cog and Kismet, that represent a new direction in AI in that embodiedness is crucial to their design. Their programming is distributed among the various physical parts; each joint has a small processor that controls movement of that joint. These processors are linked with faster processors that allow for interaction between joints and for movement of the robot as a whole. Cog and Kismet are no longer minds in a box, but embodied systems that depend on interaction within a complex environment. They are designed to learn those tasks associated with newborns, such as eye-hand coordination, object grasping, face recognition, and basic emotional responses, through social interaction with a team of researchers. Although they have developed such abilities as tracking moving objects with the eyes or withdrawing an arm when touched, Brooks's project has so far been no more successful than Lenat's Cyc in producing a machine that could interact with humans on the level of the Turing Test. However Brooks's work represents a movement toward Turing's opinion that intelligence is socially acquired and demonstrated.

The Turing Test makes no assumptions as to how the computer would arrive at its answers; there need be no similarity in internal functioning between the computer and the human brain. However, an area of AI that shows some promise is that of neural networks, systems of circuitry that reproduce the patterns of neurons found in the brain. Current neural nets are limited, however. The human brain has billions of neurons and researchers have yet to understand both how these neurons are connected and how the various neurotransmitting chemicals in the brain function. Despite these limitations, neural nets have reproduced interesting behaviors in areas such as speech or image recognition, natural-language processing, and learning. Some researchers (e.g., Hans Moravec, Raymond Kurzweil) look to neural net research as a way to reverse engineer the brain. They hope that once scientists have the capability of designing nets with a complexity equal to that of the brain, they will find that the nets have the same power as the brain and will develop consciousness as an emergent property. Kurzweil posits that such mechanical brains, when programmed with a given person's memories and talents, could form a new path to immortality, while Moravec holds out hopes that such machines might some day become our evolutionary children, capable of greater abilities than humans currently demonstrate.

AI IN SCIENCE FICTION. While some advances have been made, a truly intelligent computer currently remains in the realm of speculation. Though researchers have continually projected that intelligent computers are imminent, progress in AI has been limited. Computers with intentionality and self-consciousness, with fully human reasoning skills or the ability to be in relationship, exist only in the realm of dreams and desires, a realm explored in fiction and fantasy.

The artificially intelligent computer in science fiction story and film is not a prop, but a character, one that has become a staple since the mid-1950s. These characters are embodied in a variety of physical forms, ranging from the wholly mechanical (computers and robots), to the partially mechanical (cyborgs), to the completely biological (androids). A general trend from the 1950s to the 1990s has been to depict intelligent computers in an increasingly anthropomorphic way. The robots and computers of early films, such as Maria in *Metropolis* (1926), Robby in *Forbidden Planet* (1956), Hal in *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968), or R2D2 and C3PO in *Star Wars* (1977), were clearly constructs of metal. On the other hand, early science fiction stories, such as Isaac Asimov's *I, Robot* (1950), explored the question of how one might distinguish between robots that looked human and actual human beings. Films and stories since the 1980s, such as *Blade Runner* (1982), *The Terminator* series (1984–2002), and *A.I.: Artificial Intelligence* (2001), depict machines with both mechanical and biological parts that are, at least superficially, practically indistinguishable from human beings.

Fiction that features AI can be classified in two general categories. The first comprises cautionary tales that explore the consequences of creating technology for the purposes of taking over human functions. In these stories the initial impulses for creating an artificial intelligence are noble: to preserve the wisdom of a race (*Forbidden Planet*), to avoid nuclear war (*Colossus: The Forbin Project,* 1970), or to advance human knowledge (*2001: A Space Odyssey*). The human characters suppose that they are completely in control, only to find that they have, in the end, abdicated too much responsibility to something that is ultimately "other" to the human species. The second category comprises tales of wish fulfillment (*Star Wars; I, Robot*) in which the robots are not noted for their superior intelligence or capabilities but for the cheerful assistance and companionship they give their human masters. The computers in these stories are rooted in a relational rather than a functional view of human intelligence.

RELIGIOUS AND ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS. Many researchers in AI are committed physicalists and believe that the design of a truly intelligent machine will vindicate their belief that human beings are nothing but biological machines. Few would consider religious questions to be of import to their work. (One exception to this stance has been the robotics laboratory at MIT, which included a religious adviser, Anne Foerst, as part of the research team developing the robot Cog.) However, the assumptions that human beings are merely information-processing machines and that artifacts that are nonbiological can be genuinely intelligent have both anthropological and eschatological implications.

The most important questions raised by AI research are anthropological ones. What does it mean to be human? At what point would replacing some or all of our biological parts with mechanical components violate our integrity as human beings? Is our relationship to God contingent on our biological nature? What is the relationship of the soul to consciousness or intelligence? These questions are raised by the search for an artificial intelligence, irrespective of whether or not that search is ever successful.

Should that search be successful, ethical problems arise. What rights would an intelligent robot have? Would these be the same rights as a human being? Should an artificial intelligence be held to the same standards of moral responsibility as human beings? Should a robot be baptized or take part in other sacramental or covenantal acts? How one answers such questions depends largely on what one sees as central to our nature as human beings—mind, body, function, or relationship. Once again, whether AI becomes a reality or not, the debate over questions such as these is helpful in clarifying the principles on which our view of humanity rests.

AI also raises a set of ethical issues relevant to the search itself. In a controversial article in *Wired* (2000) Bill Joy, chief scientist at Sun Microsystems, warns that self-replicating robots and advances in nanotechnology could result, as soon as 2030, in a computer technology that may replace our species. Moravec of the AI lab at Carnegie Mellon University pushes the time back to 2040 but agrees that robots will displace humans from essential roles and could threaten our existence as a species. Joy calls for research in the possibly convergent fields of artificial intelligence, nanotechnology, and biotechnology to be suspended until researchers have greater certainty that such research would in no way threaten future human lives. On a lesser scale, the amount of responsibility the human community wishes to invest in autonomous or semi-autonomous machines remains a question.

The view of human identity as the information in one's brain has led several researchers to posit a new cybernetic form for human immortality. In *The Age of Spiritual Machines* (1999), Kurzweil predicts that by the end of the twenty-first century artificial intelligence will have resulted in effective immortality for humans. He expects that the merger of human and machine-based intelligences will have progressed to the point where most conscious entities will no longer have a permanent physical presence, but will move between mechanically enhanced bodies and machines in such a way that one's life expectancy will be indefinitely extended. Kurzweil is not the sole holder of this expectation, though he may be among the more optimistic in his timeline. Physicists Dyson and Tipler suggest a future in which human identity is located in the information that makes up the thoughts, memories, and experiences of each person. In *The Physics of Immortality: Modern Cosmology, God, and the Resurrection of the Dead* (1994), Tipler conjectures that the universe will cease to expand and at some point end in a contraction that he calls the "omega point." Tipler sees the omega point as the coalescence of all information, including the information that has made up every person who ever lived. This point can thus be seen as corresponding to the omniscient and omnipotent God referred to in many different religious traditions. At such a point, the information making up any given individual could be reinstantiated, resulting in a form of resurrection for that person, a cybernetic immortality. Cybernetic immortality provides one avenue for belief in a manner of human continuance that does not violate the assumption of a material basis for all existence. It is thus compatible with the most rigorous scientific theories of the natural world. However, cybernetic immortality is based on the assumptions that thoughts and memories define the human person and that consciousness is an emergent property of the complexity of the human brain. In other words, human beings are basically biological machines whose unique identity is found in the patterns that arise and are stored in the neuronal structures of the brain. If these patterns could be replicated, as in sophisticated computer technology, the defining characteristics of the person would be preserved. Such a view is not necessarily compatible with the anthropologies of most religions.

SEE ALSO Cybernetics.

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Turning from the history of the field to prognostications of its future, *Mind Children: The Future of Robot and Human Intelligence* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988) by Hans Moravec suggests that computers will be the next stage in human evolution, while Raymond Kurzweil, in *The Age of Spiritual Machines* (New York, 1999), posits a future in which human beings and computers merge. A good overview of films dealing with AI can be found in J. P. Telotte's *Replications: A Robotic History of the Science Fiction Film* (Urbana, Ill., 1995); fictional portrayals of AI are discussed in Patricia Warrick's *The Cybernetic Imagination in Science Fiction* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980). For theological implications, see Noreen L. Herzfeld, *In Our Image: Artificial Intelligence and the Human Spirit* (Minneapolis, 2002).

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ARVAL BROTHERS. The college of Arval Brothers (Collegium Fratrum Arvalium), a Roman religious fraternity of great antiquity, was restored in about 28 BCE by the future emperor Augustus. It is known from a few references in literary works and, chiefly, from a famous collection of about 240 fragments of official records on marble that represent fifty-five different years and cover the period from 21 BCE to 241 or even 304 CE.

Usually numbering twelve and presided over by an annually elected leader (*magister*) with a *flamen* (priest, i. e., one of the brothers) to assist him, the Arval Brothers met in Rome or in the sacred grove of the goddess Dia. In Rome, depending more or less on the sovereign, the college took part in regular public worship (*vota,* votive sacrifices on the occasion of political or dynastic events). The brothers also celebrated rites connected with their own liturgy, a liturgy that culminated in the festival of the goddess Dia. This festival was a movable one, and during the first part of January the brotherhood determined the days of the festival for that year. It was usually celebrated on May 17, 19, and 20 if the year was an odd-numbered one and on May 27, 29, and 30 if the year was even-numbered.

The festival of the goddess Dia lasted three days. The first day was celebrated in Rome, in the house of the president of the brotherhood, and consisted of a banquet eaten in the presence of the goddess during which the priests passed from hand to hand dried and green ears of grain as well as loaves of bread crowned with laurel.

On the second day the brotherhood went to the sacred grove of the goddess Dia at the fifth milestone on the Via

Campana, on the boundary of the *ager Romanus antiquus* ("ancient Roman soil"), where her shrine stood next to a temple to Fors Fortuna. Here, in the morning, the president offered Dia two sacrifices: young sows in expiation of possible faults and a cow to do her honor. The brothers then ate a sacrificial meal. Afterward they donned the wreaths made from ears of grain that were their mark and at midday entered the shrine of Dia. In front of and inside the shrine they performed a second, complex series of rites that is still obscure to us in many respects. First they sacrificed a ewe lamb to Dia; then they once again passed the dried and green ears of grain from hand to hand and offered a meal to the "mother of the *lares*" by throwing down in front of the temple *ollae* (vessels of sundried clay) that contained a grain porridge. Then, behind closed doors, the priests performed a solemn dance (*tripudium*) and sang the famous *Carmen Arvale,* a hymn of great antiquity that is known to us from an inscription of 218 CE. A sacrificial banquet, chariot races, and another banquet in Rome concluded the second day. On the third day the Arval Brothers held a further banquet in the home of their president and handed around the ears of grain one last time.

The rites of the festival were addressed to Dia, goddess of "the sunlit sky"; she was asked to favor the proper ripening of the grain, symbolized in the rite by the continuity between green grain and grain that had become fully ripe. The *Carmen Arvale,* on the other hand, was addressed to Mars as defender of landed property and of the *ager Romanus.* A possibly late interpretation connects the Arval Brothers with Acca Larentia, the supposed nurse of Romulus and Remus, and thus associates them with the story of Romulus; this is consistent with the hypothesis that the Arval rites go back to the end of the period of the kings (sixth century BCE).

SEE ALSO Dea Dia; Flamen.

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ĀRYADEVA, often called simply Deva (Tib., ʾPhagspa-lha); an important Buddhist dialectician, linked with several other names such as Kāṇadeva, Nīlanetra, Piṅgalanetra, Piṅgalacakṣuḥ, and Karṇaripa, although the identification with some of these is doubtful. In China, he is known both by the transcription of his name, Tibo or Tiboluo (Jpn., Daiba or Daibara), and by the translation of his name, Cheng-t'ien, (Jpn., Shōten).

Scholars have identified at least two Āryadevas. The first, who will be referred to as "Āryadeva I," was a Madhyamaka (Mādhyamika) dialectician, the most eminent disciple of Nāgārjuna, who lived between the third and fourth centuries CE. The second, "Āryadeva II," was a Tantric master whose date has been variously proposed as in the seventh to tenth centuries (most probably at the beginning of the eighth century), because he cites the *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā* of Bhāvaviveka (500–570) and the *Tarkajvālā,* its autocommentary, in his *Madhyamakabhṛamaghāta,* and because verse 31 of his *Jñānasārasamuccaya* is cited in the *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā* of Kamalaśīla (740–795).

Biographies are available in Chinese sources (T.D. no. 2048; see also T.D. no. 2058, chap. 6), in Tibetan materials (Bu ston, Tāranātha, etc.), and partially but most genuinely in Sanskrit documents (Candrakīrti's *Catuḥśatakaṭīkā,* the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa,* etc.). If the Chinese sources are concerned solely with Āryadeva I, the Tibetan ones in general combine and do not adequately distinguish between the two Āryadevas. Both traditions confuse history and legend, and now it is almost impossible to separate them. However, if one singles out only the most plausible elements, the two individuals can be described as follows. Āryadeva I was born in Sri Lanka (Sinhaladvīpa) as the son of a king but abandoned his glorious career and went to South India. After traveling throughout India, he met Nāgārjuna at Pāṭaliputra and became his disciple. He showed his talent in debate and converted many Brahmanic adherents to Buddhism. He is called Kāṇadeva ("One-eyed Deva") because he offered his eye to a non-Buddhist woman (according to Tāranātha), to a tree goddess (according to Bu ston), to a woman (according to the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pavṛtti,* or *Biography of the Eighty-four Siddhas*), or to a golden statue of Maheśvara (according to the Chinese sources).

Āryadeva II studied alchemy at Nālandā under the Tantric Nāgārjuna, who was a disciple of Saraha and founder of the ʾPhags-lugs lineage of the *Guhyasamāja Tantra.* The story of offering one eye is related about him also, but this might be an interpolation from the biography of Āryadeva I.

All of the texts ascribed to Āryadeva in the Chinese canon and most of the texts so ascribed in the Madhyamaka section of the Tibetan canon can be considered as the works of Āryadeva I. The most famous is his *Catuḥśataka* (Derge edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka 3846, hereafter cited as D.; Bejing edition of the Tripiṭaka 5246, hereafter cited as B.; T. D. no. 1570 [the second half only], see also T.D. no. 1517), which consists of sixteen chapters, the first eight being concerned with the preparation of those who practice the path and the last eight explaining the insubstantiality of all *dharma*s. The *Śatakaśāstra,* a so-called abridged version of the *Catuḥśataka* available only in Kumārajīva's translation (T. D. no. 1569), and the *Akṣaraśataka* (T.D. no. 1572), said to be composed by Nāgārjuna in Tibetan versions (D. 3834, B. 5234), are especially noteworthy as the works of Āryadeva I.

On the other hand, all the works ascribed to Āryadeva in the Tantric section of the Tibetan canon are unquestionably attributed to Āryadeva II. The most important and well-known texts among them are the *Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa* (D. 1804, B. 2669), a Sanskrit version of which was edited by P. B. Patel (Calcutta, 1949); the *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* (D. 1803, B. 2668); and the *Pradīpoddyotana-nāma-ṭīkā* (D. 1794, B. 2659). There are also some texts in the Madhyamaka section of the Tibetan canon that can, on the basis of their contents, be attributed to Āryadeva II: the *Madhyamakabhṛamaghāta* (D. 3850, B. 5250), most of which simply consists of extracts from the *Madhyamakahṛdaya* and the *Tarkajvālā* of Bhāvaviveka; the *Jñānasārasamuccaya* (D. 385l, B. 5251), a *siddhānta* text exposing the philosophical tenets of non-Buddhist and Buddhist schools; and the *Skhalitapramathanayuktihetusiddhi* (D. 3847, B. 5247), consisting of non-Buddhist objections and Buddhist answers.

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See Also Mādhyamika.

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ĀRYA SAMĀJ. The Ārya Samāj ("society of honorable ones") is a modern Hindu reform movement founded in Bombay, India, in 1875 by Dayananda Sarasvati (1824–1883), advocating Hindu renewal by a return to Vedic religion. The basic principles of the Ārya Samāj were developed by its founder, Dayananda, a Gujarati brahman who became a *saṃnyāsin* ("renunciant") in 1847 and spent the rest of his life in religious quest. From 1847 to 1860 Dayananda lived as a wandering yogin searching for personal salvation, and later, after three years of Sanskrit study in Mathura with his guru, he worked as a reformer seeking to revive Hinduism.

Dayananda's sense of what Hinduism needed was gradually shaped by his guru, by debates with sectarian pandits in the western areas of Uttar Pradesh, and by discussions of religious issues with members of the Brāhmo Samāj and a variety of Hindu scholars and intellectuals in Calcutta. By the time he founded the Ārya Samāj on April 10, 1875, he had written a statement of doctrinal principles that was published two months later as *Satyārth prakāś*. A handbook on the daily Five Great Sacrifices, the *Pañcamahāyajñavidhi*, was published later in 1875, and a manual on the family life cycle rituals, *Saṃskārvidhi*, was published in 1877. Although these publications contained Vedic quotations in Sanskrit, the works themselves were composed in Hindi to make them accessible to the widest possible audience. Dayananda revised each of these basic guides over the next few years; as the mature product of his thinking, the revised editions were Dayananda's lasting legacy to the Ārya Samāj.

The central element in Dayananda's position was his belief in the truth of the Vedas. His guru had convinced him that the only true writings were those of the *ṛṣi*s ("seers") who flourished before the composition of the *Mahābhārata* and that all subsequent scriptures contained false sectarian views, but Dayananda had to arrive at his own understanding of the line between truth and falsehood. He had lost his faith in image worship as a youth and was an active opponent of Vaiṣṇava sectarianism after 1863, but it took longer to reject the worship of Śiva and even longer to abandon the *advaita* ("nondualistic") philosophy of the Upaniṣads. By the second edition of *Satyārth prakāś*, however, he had decided that neither the Upaniṣads nor the Vedic ritual texts, the Brāhmaṇas, had the authority of revelation; this was an honor due only to the collections of Vedic hymns, (i.e., the four *mantra saṃhitā*s of the *Ṛgveda*, *Sāmaveda*, *Yajurveda*, and *Atharvaveda*), because they alone were directly revealed by God to the *ṛṣi*s. True religion, that is Aryan religion, must thus be based only on the hymns, which convey eternal knowledge of the one true God.

The religion that Dayananda established on this base was derived from Vedic sources, but its particular features were his own creation. Although a brahman by birth, Dayananda, rejected Brahmanic control of Vedic religion. He insisted that Vedic knowledge should be available to everyone, including women and members of the traditionally impure *śūdra* castes. Membership in the Ārya Samāj was open to any person of good character who accepted its beliefs, and the Vedic rituals Dayananda prescribed could be performed by any Ārya, or member of the movement. Caste was irrelevant, since the same *dharma* (duties) applied to all: to perform Vedic rituals, to study and propagate Vedic knowledge, and to promote social well-being.

The theology that Dayananda bequeathed to the Ārya Samāj was as innovative as his social reform program and his attitude toward Vedic knowledge. He was convinced that the Vedic hymns proved the existence of a single supreme God. God is not, however, the only reality; rather, God is eternally coexistent with the *jīva*s (conscious and responsible human selves) and with *prakṛiti* (the unconscious material world). In their ignorance, the *jīva*s bind themselves to rebirth in the world by their *karman* (actions). God cannot release the *jīva*s from responsiblity for their deeds, but in his mercy he has revealed the Vedas to guide the *jīva*s to *mokṣa* (freedom from rebirth and union with God). However, since the cause of *mokṣa* is finite human action, *mokṣa* itself must be finite, and the *jīva*s must eventually be reborn into the world. Each *jīva*, according to Dayananda, is thus eternally active, moving from worldly involvement to freedom in God's bliss and then back again into the world.

Dayananda's views were rejected by every branch of Hindu orthodoxy, most vehemently by orthodox brahmans. In Bombay, though, Dayananda found a group of progressive Hindus led by members of several merchant castes who were eager to adopt his teachings and to organize, in 1875, the first chapter of the Ārya Samāj. The second important chapter, and the leading chapter from that point on, was founded in Lahore in 1877, led by a rising elite also predominantly from the merchant castes. The simple set of membership rules developed by the Lahore chapter was adopted by new chapters that sprang up rapidly elsewhere in the Punjab and in western Uttar Pradesh. Dayananda's emphasis on individual responsiblity and full religious participation appealed to the merchants and professionals who joined, and they in turn proved to be excellent organizers. Dayananda gave each chapter full responsibility for its affairs within the general rules, so that when he died in 1883 the Ārya Samāj was not only a self-sustaining movement, but it was able to begin active expansion in new directions.

The Dayanand Anglo-Vedic school was established in Lahore in 1886 and became a college in 1889, providing a model for an extensive system of schools and colleges. The practice of *śuddhi*, or reconversion by purification initiated by Dayananda on an individual basis, was expanded into a movement to reconvert Hindus who had become Christians or Muslims. Āryas were active in social reform programs and in the Indian nationalist movement, the more militant helping to form the Hindu Mahāsabhā party. The partition of India in 1947 placed Lahore and other centers in the Punjab within Pakistan, but the organization recovered from the loss to remain a significant force for Hindu education and social causes. With chapters in almost every city and town in northern India and with an estimated membership of over one million, it has proved to be the most successful of the nineteenth-century reform movements.

SEE ALSO Brāhmo Samāj; Dayananda Sarasvati.

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There is much less literature in English on the Ārya Samāj than on other nineteenth-century movements such as the Brāhmo Samāj and Ramakrishna Mission, partly because most of the movement's own publications are in Hindi and partly because Westerners (and westernized Indians) have been less attracted by it. The best general treatment of the movement by a member, though now dated, is the nationalist leader Lala Lajpat Rai's *The Ārya Samāj* (London, 1915). An early Western critique that reflects Christian resentment of the movement's militant Hinduism is found in J. N. Farquhar's *Modern Religious Movements in India* (New York, 1915), pp. 101–129. For the founder's autobiography up to 1875, supplemented by a statement of his basic doctrines, a chronology of his life, and an annotated list of his publications, see *Autobiography of Swami Dayanand Saraswati*, edited by K. C. Yadav (New Delhi, 1976). The most scholarly and authoritative study of the founder and the early movement is J. T. F. Jordens' *Dayānanda Sa-rasvatī, His Life and Ideas* (Delhi, 1978). A more detailed study of the Ārya Samāj's development in the region of its greatest early strength is Kenneth W. Jones's *Ārya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in Nineteenth-Century Punjab* (Berkeley, 1976). A survey of the movement's main developments up to 1947 is provided by Kenneth W. Jones's, "The Ārya Samāj in British India," in *Religion in Modern India*, edited by Robert D. Baird, (New Delhi, 1981), pp. 27–54.

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ASAHNTI RELIGION SEE AKAN RELIGION

ASAṄGA (c. 315–390 CE) was the founder of the Yogācāra school of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India. Asaṅga was born as a son of a *brahman* in Puruṣapura (Peshawar in Pakistan). His younger brother was the famous Yogācāra thinker Vasubandhu. Originally Asaṅga belonged to the Mahīśāsaka school of Hīnayāna Buddhism, but later converted to the Mahāyāna. According to Paramārtha's biography of Vasubandhu, Asaṅga's conversion took place after an ascent to Tuṣita Heaven, where he received religious instruction from Maitreya, a *bodhisattva* who is worshiped as the future Buddha. Later, Asaṅga composed a treatise dealing with the seventeen stages (*bhūmi*) of *yoga* practice based on the teachings he had received from Maitreya. The same account is recorded by Xuanzang in his *Da Tang xiyu ji.* As there exist some Yogācāra treatises that are traditionally ascribed to Maitreya(nātha), some scholars have assumed that the *bodhisattva* Maitreya, to whom Asaṅga is said to have owed his knowledge of the Yogācāra system, was really a historical person. The opinion of modern scholarship remains divided on this issue. In his old age, Asaṅga is reported to have converted his brother Vasubandhu, previously an exponent of the Hīnayāna teachings, to Mahāyāna. Asaṅga continued a life of religious scholarship in the vicinity of Ayodhya until his death at the age of seventy-five.

The most important of Asaṅga's many treatises are (1) *Abhidharmasamuccaya,* a brief explanation from the Yogācāra viewpoint of the elements constituting phenomenal existence; (2) *Xianyang shengjiao lun* (**Āryadeśanāvikhyāpana*), an abridgment of the *Yogācārabhūmi;* and (3) *Mahāyānasaṃgraha,* a comprehensive work on the Yogācāra doctrines and practices. Asaṅga's works are characterized by a detailed analysis of psychological phenomena inherited from the Abhidharma literature of the Hīnayāna schools. The *Mahāyānasaṃgraha,* in which Asaṅga gives a systematic exposition of the fundamental tenets of the Yogācāra school, comprises ten chapters dealing respectively with the following subjects: (1) *ālaya-vijñāna,* (2) three natures of beings (*trisvabhāva*), (3) the realization of the truth of representation-only (*vijñaptimātra*), (4) six kinds of perfection (*pāramitā*), (5) ten *bodhisattva* stages (*bhūmi*), (6) moral conducts (*śīla*), (7) meditative concentration (*samādhi*), (8) non-discriminative knowledge (*nirvikalpa-jñāna*), (9) the transformation of the base of existence (*āśraya-parāvṛtti*) and the state of "*nirvāṇa* without abode" (*apratiṣṭhita-nirvāṇa*), and (10) the three bodies of the Buddha. The first two chapters are concerned with the object to be learned (*jñeya*), chapters 3 to 8, the learning and the practice leading to the attainment of Buddhahood, and chapters 9 to 10, the result of learning and practice. Asaṅga's basic thoughts are presented in the first two chapters.

The first chapter treats the doctrine of *ālaya-vijñāna* in full detail. The term *ālaya-vijñāna* occurs in earlier works such as the *Saṃdhinirmocana Sūtra* and the *Yogācārabhūmi,* but there is no mention of it in the treatises attributed to Maitreya. The *ālaya-vijñāna* is a subliminal consciousness in which the impressions (*vāsanā*s) of past experiences are preserved as the seeds (*bīja*s) of future experiences. The "consciousness-in-activity" (*pravṛtti-vijñāna*), that is, the six kinds of sensory and mental consciousness, is produced from the seeds preserved in the *ālaya-vijñāna.* When the *pravṛtti-vijñāna* functions, it leaves its impression in the *ālaya-vijñāna.* This impression becomes the seed of a future consciousness-in-activity. According to the Yogācāras, a human being is nothing other than the stream of consciousness thus formed by the mutual dependence of the *ālaya-vijñāna* and the consciousness-in-activity. Asaṅga admits that besides the six kinds of consciousness there is the "I-consciousness" called *manas* (or *kliṣṭa-manas*), whereby the *ālaya-vijñāna* is wrongly conceived of as a real self (*ātman*). However, the classical theory of eightfold consciousness is not explicitly advocated by him.

The second chapter of the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* is devoted to the elucidation of the so-called three-nature doctrine, which maintains that all beings possess an "imagined nature" (*parikalpita-svabhāva*), a "dependent nature" (*paratantra-svabhāva*) and a "consummated nature" *(parinişpanna-svabhāva).* The image of an object that appears in a stream of consciousness is of dependent nature precisely because the image is dependent for its origination upon the impressions of past experiences preserved in the *ālaya-vijñāna.* The object fictively superimposed upon it is of imagined nature, while the *absence* of the superimposed object, that is, the object as devoid (*śūnya*) of reality, is of consummated nature. This doctrine is also found expounded in earlier Yogācāra works, but Asaṅga sets forth an original view that the imagined and the consummated natures are two divisions or two aspects of the dependent nature.

The *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* was translated into Chinese by Paramārtha (499–567), and became the basic text of the newly formed Shelun sect (abbreviated from the Chinese name for the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*, the *She dasheng lun*). This sect suffered a decline following the establishment of the Faxiang sect by Kuiji, a disciple of Xuanzang (596–664), who recognized the transmission of the Yogācāra teachings of Dharmapāla (530–561) as authoritative.

SEE ALSO Ālaya-vijñāna; Maitreya; Vasubandhu; Vijñānabhikṣu; Yogācāra.

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Hattori Masaaki (1987)
Revised Bibliography

ASBURY, FRANCIS (1745–1816), chief architect of American Methodism. Raised on the fringes of Birmingham in England's "Black Country," where the industrial revolution was beginning, Asbury became a lay preacher at eighteen, eager "to live to God, and to bring others to do so." In 1766 he was admitted as one of John Wesley's itinerant preachers, and in 1771 he was chosen as one of the second pair of volunteers to serve in America. Asbury proved a tough and dedicated pioneer, a stable and influential leader in the manner of Wesley, whose writings saturated his mind. During the Revolutionary War he endeared himself to native-born Methodists by his refusal to return to England, and he restrained those who wanted to break away from Wesley. In 1784 Wesley named the absent Asbury a member of the "legal hundred" to administer British Methodism after Wesley's death, and he also appointed him to receive ordination as "superintendent," or bishop without pomp, at the hands of Thomas Coke. Asbury refused such ordination without the summoning of a conference of his colleagues, who thereupon elected him to that office.

At first Asbury and Coke jointly administered the new Methodist Episcopal Church, but Coke's frequent absences from America increasingly left authority in the hands of Asbury, who was in any case much more fully identified with the American preachers and laity. Asbury was noteworthy for his own tireless travels, both in settled areas and along the expanding frontiers, and his constant recruiting and nurturing of native preachers. He maintained that Methodism would succeed in its mission only through the retention of a disciplined itinerant system and an authoritative but sacrificial episcopacy such as his own. His preachers accepted his discipline because they recognized in him the true marks of the apostle of American Methodism.

See Also Methodist Churches.

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Frank Baker (1987)

ASCENSION. In many purely literary works the theme of a heavenly journey is employed only for adventure's sake, but according to the majority of religious traditions, an ascent to heaven represents a journey into divine realms where the soul, living or dead, reaps many rewards. The result of such a journey is not only a transcendent vision or spiritual knowledge, but the possibility of divinization or assimilation with the gods. Rituals of ascent involve the living person becoming initiated into a new, sacred status.

Many cultures record ways that such a journey can be made (via, for example, a mountain path, a ladder, a tree, a rope, or even a cobweb). Some cultures also offer the further possibility of magical flight. The theme of the celestial ladder has been developed in monotheistic religions from *Genesis* 28:12, which describes Jacob's dream of a ladder reaching up to heaven upon which angels ascend and descend. Similarly, Muḥammad saw a ladder with angels in the temple in Jerusalem, and some Christian mystics, in particular John Klimakos (seventh century), used the ladder as a symbol to represent the phases of spiritual ascent. Likewise, from East Asia to the Americas, from ancient Greece to Israel, the ascent of a mountain is considered a privileged means by which one can enter into the presence of God.

Because the theme of ascension has been variously developed in different cultures, it is difficult to ascertain the relationship among the religious ambits where ascension is attested and where it often involves the quest for origins and possible reciprocal influences. Scholars have tried to trace the ascension theme back to a precise milieu, be it Iranian, Greek, Jewish, or shamanistic; psychological approaches have also been attempted. However, rather than looking for origins, it is important to compare the different testimonies so as to establish interferences or cross-cultural contacts, as well as universal typologies.

Apocalypse and Ecstasy. Some general patterns can be ascertained, comprehensive of different and more complex features, such as otherworldly journeys or the descent (followed by a glorious ascent) of a supermundane entity, with the subsequent redemption or *ascensus* of the soul of those who receive revelation. Accounts of heavenly journeys share many features with apocalyptic literature, whose definition owes much to J. J. Collins's research. Apocalypse is, in fact, considered a literary genre in which the narrative framework features a revelation mediated to a human recipient because of his or her merits toward the divine realms. A topical pattern in apocalyptic literature is thus the extramundane journey, performed—bodily or spiritually—with a celestial or angelic guide who discloses a transcendent reality involving both eschatological salvation and revelation of a supernatural world.

Ascension is often linked to ecstasy, or separation of the soul from the body. This is explained as a transcendent state of awareness (trance), or as a psychogenic reaction according to the dictates of the visionary's mind. Such a state is seen as an expression of the conscious and unconscious desires of the ecstatic person, or even as a condition of psychic dissociation. In fact, the literal Greek term *ekstasis* means to escape from one's own rational and definite position. In this sense, ecstasy has the same aims as mysticism: to transcend the assumed limits of personality. In yoga, ecstatic techniques are somewhat different; the cosmic layers are experienced as a number of internal "principles," and the journey to the other world is considered a journey within oneself *(enstasy)*. Analogous schemes of a passage from objectification to interiorization have also been applied to late antiquity, and particularly to inner experiences in Neoplatonic and Christian mysticism.

SHAMANISM. Rituals in shamanistic culture are universally considered examples of objective ecstatic performance, especially after Mircea Eliade's investigations. The recurrent and central idea of "flight" or "riding" in reference to shamans is simply the figurative expression for ecstasy, which is controlled throughout shamanistic rituals in conformity with traditional prescriptions. The shaman is, by means of ecstasy, allowed to experience primordial time and to reach planes accessible to ordinary people only through death. Although a competent shaman can control ecstasy voluntarily, others receive the god's commands in dreams or visions, or by the use of hallucinogenic mushrooms (such as the fly agaric) and narcotics. The mental states that result from sensory overload and emotional arousal require great physical and mental exertion, which is achieved through dancing, drumming, and singing. Furthermore, every aspect of the behavior and paraphernalia of the shaman is oriented toward one principal goal—the journey to heaven or the netherworld. This journey is performed before the eyes of those who engage the shaman for practical purposes, and it is accompanied by such purificatory acts as frenetic drumming or the frenzied imitation of a bird call.

The ecstatic experiences that determine the shaman's vocation involve the traditional scheme of an initiation ceremony: suffering, death, and resurrection. The direct link that the shaman has with the supernatural world is not forged without difficulty or pain; the initiation into the otherworld is experienced as an upheaval that involves the destruction of the whole person by spirits, followed by a kind of resurrection as a new being who exists in both the mundane and the spiritual world. Visions are tied to an internal transformation and a spiritual mission. Ascent to the sky and dialogue with the gods, as well as descent to the underworld and conversation with spirits and the souls of dead shamans, are fixed patterns of this ritual. For example, the birch tree (in central and northern Asian shamanism), or, in different traditions, other trees around which the ceremony often develops, symbolizes the "world tree," and the steps of the ritual represent the various heavens through which the shaman must pass on his or her ecstatic journey to the highest heaven. It is probable that the cosmological schema implied in this ritual has an oriental origin, since the religious ideas of the ancient Near East penetrated far into Central and North Asia and contributed considerably to the features of Central Asian and Siberian shamanism.

IRAN. When the theory of the so-called *Himmelsreise der Seele* (ascent of the soul to heaven) was developed at the beginning of the twentieth century by the representatives of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* (by Wilhelm Bousset in particular, followed by other scholars, such as Richard Reitzenstein, Franz Cumont, Joseph Kroll, Rudolf Bultmann, and Geo Widengren), they sought the origins of this doctrine in Iranian religion. They inferred from eschatological Middle-Persian or Pahlavi texts that belief in the ascent of the soul, as well as Gnostic dualism, originated in ancient Iran and was propagated in late antiquity by means of the mysteries of Mithra.

Although some have questioned whether Zoroaster acted as a "shaman," arguing that his ecstatic journeys may not be the product of a merely artificial practice, ecstatic experiences induced by hallucinogens are attested in pre-Zoroastrian Iran. A narcotic drink called *haoma* (Sanskrit, *soma*) was used to obtain visionary experiences, along with a sort of release or separation of the soul, as well as physical sleep. Zoroastrian reform, which was directed against wild ecstasy, fits into a wider Indo-Iranian mysticism that insists on inner vision and the mind's light, and came to be a theological contemplation of the fire. The so called younger Avestan priests reintroduced the cultic veneration of *haoma* and the use of exhilarants. Two such exhilarants have been identified as extractions from henbane and hemp, both called *bang* in Middle Persian (Avestan, *bangha*; Sanskrit, *bhang*).

It seems likely that ancient ecstatic or initiatory experiences developed into ritualistic practices, so that a voyage in an extraordinary dimension or a vision of spiritual realms became a symbolic representation or a devotional liturgy. It is in the context of such a historical development, rather than in a supposed evolution of Gathic spirituality, that scholars can recognize the relative antiquity (at least in its tenets) of the *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag* (Book of the righteous Virāz), which cannot be simply regarded as a late product from post-Sasanian times.

The *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag,* a well-known Pahlavi text probably written in the ninth century, is one of the preeminent sources for knowledge about the eschatological doctrines of ancient Iranian religion. The text describes Virāz's journey to the otherworld, and aims at demonstrating the efficacy of Zoroastrianism through its emphasis on ethical and moral teachings and its vivid description of rewards and punishments. In this sense it may be considered a catechetical work, but far from being a literary device, it represents a religious propagandistic document in the post-Sasanian age, when Mazdaism was under attack. Scholars have demonstrated how the term *ardā* (Avestan, *ashavan*; Sanskrit, *rtvān*) is related to eschatology in signifying a spiritual knowledge reached by the initiated or a condition of beatitude postmortem. After an introductory section, the *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag* describes how the soul of the pious protagonist Virāz flows out of his body, reaches the Mount of the Law at the center of the earth, and then crosses the Chinvat bridge that leads to the otherworld. Here Virāz first sees the souls of righteous people performing good deeds and observing religious precepts; then hell is revealed, with its terrible chastisements that conformably correspond to the faults of the souls found there. The text ends with the glorious and radiant vision of Ohrmadz (chap. 101 ff.). A similar narrative of a vision followed by conversion is attributed to Vishtasp, the prince who protected Zarathushtra, and is contained in a late collection of texts (*Dēnkard* 7, 4, 85).

Many motifs in these accounts are already attested in Zoroastrian literature: for example, the bridge, which could be large or narrow depending on the protagonist's behavior during life; the encounter with the *daēna* (Pahlavi, *dēn*), a sort of "double" soul depicted as a wonderful girl; and the three heavens—consisting of *humata* ("fair thoughts," the stars), *hūkhta* ("fair words," the moon); and *hvarshta* ("fair deeds," the sun)—to which the *anagra raoca,* the layer of the "lights without beginning," must be adjoined. The three heavens reflect the old Avestan order, mythical rather than astronomical, linked to a sort of religious gradation of fiery purity and brightness as one ascends from earth to heaven. The origin of later schemes comprising six or seven spheres is connected with the six *Amesha Spentas,* or with the planetary order of Greek origin (the five known planets plus the sun and the moon). It is worth noting that in Greece the planetary order was liable to vary; therefore we speak of a Chaldaean or an Egyptian order.

More ancient (third century) and more conservative in their description are the four inscriptions drawn up by the famous fanatical high priest Kirdīr (or Kērdēr or Kartīr, according to different transliterations), the grey eminence of King Shāpūr and his successors. Although they are preserved in slightly different versions, they all refer to Kirdīr's experience and should be seen as more than a literary device or an "initiatory myth." Kirdīr's experience is deeply rooted in the culture of the Magi and in Mazdaism. Eschatological motifs also recur in these inscriptions: the *daēna*, the bridge, the balance where the soul is judged, the throne, and a probable vision of hell. Moreover, the complex anthropology described in these texts resembles shamanistic culture in its description of the state of apparent death, otherworldly journeys, such expressions as "bony body" and "bony soul," and such themes as the duplication of the soul or demons who are at the head of limbs. As a result, scholars have inferred that shamanistic practices existed in ancient Iran. It should be noted that Ossetic mythology shares similar patterns, which may be explained by cultural contacts with Persia.

Even though scholars possess only late documents concerning Iranian eschatology, and even though the resolute—and sometimes disputed—position held by the representatives of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* must in some cases be qualified (e.g., in considering Mesopotamian borrowings), it is nevertheless true that in the second half of the first millennium BCE the Greeks were acquainted with the initiatory and mystical-ecstatic aspects of Iranian religious doctrines. Zoroaster's *katabasis* was so well known that Plato identified him with Er, son of Armenios, in the tenth book of his *Republic*, as well as with Aristeas. The ancient Greeks appear to have been interested in such themes as ecstasy or *enthousiasmos* (divine possession), and they were especially interested in the immortality of the soul and doctrines concerning its status after death, already professed by the Magi, as recorded by Eudemos of Rhodes (fourth century BCE), who also offers accounts on Zalmoxis or Abaris.

ANCIENT GREECE. In Greece, belief and practice concerning catalepsy and the flight of the soul were widespread, and existed apart from the belief in Dionysos, the ecstatic divinity par excellence. Karl Meuli, Eric R. Dodds, and others have argued that Mediterranean religions exhibit a pattern of prophecy and heavenly ascension that has much in common with shamanism. Such features are shared by the so-called *iatromanteis* (from *iatros* [healer], and *mantis* [seer]), Greek medicine men and oracles connected with a divinity (interpreted as Apollo) who dwelled in Hyperborea, the mysterious land of the north. To the category of *iatromanteis* belonged such notable personalities as Empedocles and Pythagoras and, perhaps less influential but no less typical for this religious complex, Abaris, Aristeas of Proconnesus, Bakis, Epimenides of Crete, and Hermotimos of Clazomenae. Some of these were reported either to fly or to free their souls and leave their bodies in a state of catalepsy. It would be brash to say that their catalepsy was induced by hallucinogenic substances, even if a plant called *alimos* (literally, "hungerless"), which probably contained an alkaloid, is mentioned in their biographies. The soul of Aristeas, taking the form of a raven, was said to travel as far as Hyperborea; the soul of Epimenides, to converse with the gods; and the soul of Hermotimos, to visit faraway places and record local events. A similar account reports the loss of Hermotimos's soul from the body after his death, which permitted him to condemn his wicked wife and his enemies.

Although the pre-Socratic philosophers and the poet Pindar were acquainted with beliefs concerning the immortality of the soul and its consequent elevation to heaven, the cataleptic separation between body and soul, during which the soul was supposed to have supernatural experiences, was resumed by Plato in the apocalypse of Er in the tenth book of *The Republic.* Er, son of Armenios of Pamphylia (Asia Minor), was wounded in a battle and appeared to be dead. His catalepsy lasted twelve days, until the very moment his body was going to be burned. Er then came back to life and reported all the secrets of the afterlife that had been revealed to his soul.

Plato's pupil Heracleides Ponticus (fourth century BCE) took direct inspiration from the *iatromanteis.* In his lost dialogues he was concerned with catalepsy and its treatment, and in one of these (*Abaris*, or "On things in hell"), Heracleides introduced a fictitious character, Empedotimos (derived from *Empedocles* and *Hermotimos*). Some scholars have attributed to Heracleides an important innovation in Greek eschatology, namely the complete suppression of any subterrestrial place for punishment of the dead. Other scholars have claimed that the spread of celestial eschatology was due to the influence of Pythagoreanism and Stoicism, and indeed, Stoicism might have played an important role in the transformation of Hellenistic eschatology. It is worth noting that the Latin writer Cicero (first century BCE) ends his Platonic work, titled *Republic*, with an account of Scipio's dream, wherein the hero was granted an ascent throughout the heavens and a vision of the Blesseds. This well-known account became the object of allegorical interpretation during late antiquity, and the Neoplatonist Macrobius wrote an extensive commentary on it at the end of the fourth century.

HELLENISTIC WORLD. By the end of the first century CE, the idea of an underground Hades was no longer fashionable, so in rearranging the great eschatological Platonic myths, Plutarch's ambition was to give a "modern" version of them in order to meet the intellectual exigencies of the time. Plutarch offers interesting details about catalepsy and incubation in his dialogue *On Socrates' Daemon,* based on traditions concerning the famous oracular cave of Trophonius at Lebadea, near Chaeronea. If Lamprias, Plutarch's brother, was a priest of that sanctuary, Plutarch may have had access to the wooden tablets on which those consulting the oracle were supposed to write down their experiences. The hero of this apocalypse is Timarch, whose soul leaves his body and visits the heavenly Hades, remaining below the sphere of the moon, which is only the first among the seven planetary spheres. Here, as well as in the dialogue *On the Face in the Moon,* the moon is the receptacle of souls that are freed of their bodies, with the exception of those that fall again into the circle of transmigration *(metensōmatōsis).* The earth represents the lowest and meanest point of the universe. Another important myth is contained in the dialogue *On the Delayed Revenge of the God,* which resumes many elements of the apocalypse of Er. The dishonest Aridaeus of Soloi, after having experienced a cataleptic state and after his soul has watched the judgment of the dead and witnessed the painful lot of the sinners, changes his attitude, becomes a pious man, and begins calling himself Thespesius ("godly").

Late Hellenism was dominated by an obsession with human liberation from the world and out of the world, in, or beyond, the heavenly spheres. This is reflected, for example, in the Gnostic systems of the second and third centuries CE and in their polemic against astrology. The seven "planets" themselves, the signs, the decans, and the degrees of the zodiac are often represented as evil archons, or heavenly rulers. These are extremely important for the embodiment and disembodiment of the individual soul. The heavenly ascent of the soul through the spheres is therefore considered a central tenet of Gnosticism. The techniques that are intended to assure the Gnostic's soul a safe passage through the spheres of the hostile archons up to the *plērōma* (fullness) of the godhead actually form the most important part of *gnosis.*

One of the first testimonies for the Gnostic theory of the embodiment and disembodiment of the soul is the doctrine of Basilides, who was active in Alexandria around 120 CE, and of his son Isidorus, according to whom the transcendental spirit of human beings is temporarily attached to a soul. During its descent, the planetary vices attack the soul and stick to it in the form of concretions of "appendages" *(prosartēmata).*

The technical expression *antimimon pneuma,* or "counterfeit spirit" (sometimes *antikeimenon,* or "evil spirit"), occurs for the first time in the *Apocryphon of John,* one of the oldest surviving Gnostic treatises, extant in Coptic translations. Some scholars claim that the *Apocryphon of John* predates even Basilides, whose theory of the *prosartēmata* is based on the *antimimon pneuma* doctrine. In fact, the *antimimon pneuma* is an appended spirit, an intermediary between the soul and the material body. The soul itself is a creation of the evil heavenly archons (i.e., the seven "planets") or, to be more precise, of the seven attributes forming conjunctions (syzygies) together with the archons.

The formation of the *antimimon pneuma* is more explicitly stated in the *Pistis Sophia,* also preserved in Coptic. The "counterfeit spirit" derives directly from the archons of the *heimarmenē,* or astral destiny, which are the seven "planets." The *antimimon pneuma* follows the soul in all its reincarnations *(metabolai)* and is itself a cause of reincarnation. The goal of Gnostic mysteries is to free the soul from bondage to the *antimimon pneuma.* On the basis of the planetary order in chapter 136 of *Pistis Sophia* and in other texts of late antiquity, it seems likely that this doctrine derives from the Hermetic astrological treatise *Panaretos,* which includes a discussion of the degrees *(klēroi)* or positions *(loci)* of the planets; that is, the coordinates within the horoscope of nativity, where each planet is supposed to confer its principal qualities upon the subject. However, Gnostics mention only the negative qualities or vices derived from the planetary influence.

The doctrine of *antimimon pneuma* became influential in Hermetism, where it merged with the idea of the soul's descent into the world and its return to heaven. During its descent through the planetary spheres, the soul acquired from each planet the dominant vice ascribed to it in astrology, while during its ascent, those concretions were put off (*Poimandres* 25–26). The ascent of the soul in Gnosticism could be much more complicated, and the ritual performances or "mysteries" intended to assure the soul an easy passage through the archons differed widely, although they presented some fixed patterns, such as learning by heart magical names or invocations. Some Sethian treatises from Nag-Hammadi *(Zostrianos, Allogenes, The Three Steles of Seth),* where the path of ascent shows Platonic nuances, prelude the life-intellect-being triad later developed by Plotinus.

It should also be noted that the same motif of secret names or watchwords and seals indispensable for passing through the heavenly customs is also described in magic literature and in the Jewish mysticism of the *merkavah.* An important example is the famous *Mithrasliturgie* (*Papyri Grae-*

cae Magicae VI, 475–824), which describes how to gain immortality by an elevation process.

The second-century Platonic writer Celsus (attested by Origen, *Contra Celsum* 6, 22 ff.) ascribed to the Persian god Mithra, whose veneration increased during late antiquity and who was reshaped to suit the changed religious attitude of Hellenism, a ritual object consisting of a ladder with seven steps or "gates" *(klimax heptapylos),* representing the planets. Similar objects are also depicted in Mithraic temples. According to Celsus, this object symbolized the passage of the adept's soul through the planetary spheres, which could be accomplished in concomitance of the *magnus annus* of Plato's doctrine (*Timaeus* 39d). This interpretation raises some difficulties, however, since the steps are arranged according to the order of the days of the planetary week, which is explained by Celsus in accordance with the musical theory of the *tetrachordon.* Celsus linked this doctrine to a related diagram ascribed to the Gnostic sect of the Ophites. Some interpreters have argued that these steps and their associated rituals represent a meditative technique to obtain inner knowledge of the self, and the steps are thus structured as an interior journey.

In Hellenistic culture a relationship was established between the seven "planets" and the levels that the soul had to transverse in its heavenly ascent. It can thus be maintained that, as far as the mysteries of late antiquity are concerned, their divinities, in some cases traditionally connected with the earth and the underworld Hades, are transported entirely to heaven, where they are supposed to receive the souls of their adepts after death. Moreover, Gnostic polemics against astrology gave rise to the formation of the influential theory of the passage of the soul through the spheres, fashionable among Neoplatonists from the third to the sixteenth century CE. It is impossible to state whether Neoplatonists (e.g., Porphyry, Proclus, and Macrobius) took this theory from Numenius of Apamea or from the Gnostic-Hermetic tradition. It should also be noted that the Christian writer Arnobius, at the beginning of the fourth century, directed his polemic against a group of Neoplatonic mystics who maintained the doctrines of the Chaldaean Oracles, attributing to them formulas and other means for transporting their clients to heaven.

The embodiment *(ensōmatōsis)* of the soul entails a descent from the top of the cosmos to the bottom, through the planetary spheres that confer certain characteristic features upon the soul. Disembodiment is the reverse of this process. In late Neoplatonism, which borrowed this doctrine from Chaldaean theurgy, the ethereal body that enveloped the soul and that was formed by planetary qualities was its "vehicle" *(ochēma).* Sometimes this "vehicle" was distinguished from others that were meant to serve as intermediaries between the soul and the material body, according to a theory of Aristotle that was influential in Greco-Roman and Arabic medicine. The theory of the passage of the soul through the spheres was taken over from Macrobius by medieval medicine and psychology. Through the works of Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), it became one of the most widespread doctrines from the time of the Renaissance down to the end of the sixteenth century and even into the seventeenth.

Another interesting Latin document preserving a description of an initiatory ascension is *De Nuptiis,* written in the fifth century by Martianus Capella. Despite the far-fetched and heterogeneous material collected in *De Nuptiis* (the author aimed at offering an encyclopedia of the seven liberal arts), its allegorical stamp emerges from the first two books and is testified by commentaries written during the Middle Ages. The hierogamy between Philology, allegory of human knowledge, and Mercury is prepared by a complicated ritual and by Philology's ascent throughout the seven spheres in order to purify herself from earthly filth. Chaldaean and Neoplatonic borrowings are palpable.

JUDAISM AND EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE. The heavenly journey is a constant pattern in Jewish and, later, Christian apocalypses. Apart from the Scriptural references (*Gen.* 5:24; 2 *Kgs.* 2:11; *Sir.* 44:16; 48:9; *Ez.* 1; and *Dn.* 7:13, important for later interpretations), among the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha there are numerous texts describing both an elective ascension of patriarchs (Abraham, Enoch, Isaac, Jacob, Levi, Moses, and Shem) or prophets (Baruch, Esdra, Isaiah, Elijah, and Ezekiel), and the granting of a vision.

Extensive and detailed accounts of ascensions begin with *1 Enoch,* the oldest parts of which were completed at the end of the third century BCE. Enoch's adventures are recounted in this text in much more detail than in the Bible. Written originally in Aramaic (fragments were discovered among the Dead Sea Scrolls), *1 Enoch* is fully preserved only in an Ethiopian translation that is based on a Greek version. No less than five works, written over a period of centuries, are included in this collection. The book of *2 Enoch,* which seems originally to have been written in Greek, survives only in a translation into Old Church Slavonic. Much of the material in it probably dates back to the early centuries CE, although its final form appears to be the result of a long process of transmission. According to this work, Enoch ascended to heaven and was given a tour of the celestial realm, where he was transformed into an angelic being when he came before the throne of God. This is the background of the story narrated in *3 Enoch,* which begins with the ascent of R. Ishmael to the seventh heaven and his encounter with God and the angels. One of them, Metatron, reveals that he was once the man Enoch, but he was taken to heaven in a fiery chariot as a witness to the generation of the flood. After having been challenged by the angels, he was finally enthroned by God.

The voyage through seven or three heavens became a commonplace of Jewish apocalyptic literature with the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (second century BCE). Seven is the prevailing number in the mystical tradition related to the *merkavah,* the chariot carrying God's throne in the famous vision of Ezekiel. Under the name *ma'aseh merkavah* ("work of the chariot"), this form of speculation goes back to the Pharisees of the Second Temple. From the second or third to the sixth century CE, *merkavah* mysticism is mainly expressed through hekhalotic literature (from *hekhal,* "heavenly palace"), represented by various groups of testimonies of different dates. Jewish magic, as recorded in, for example, the *Sefer ha-razim* (sixth or seventh century CE), was also concerned with the vision of seven heavens, which was fundamental to *merkavah* mysticism and hekhalotic literature. The related writings contain the revelation of seven "heavenly palaces," which the adept was supposed to attain after strenuous preparation. In Jewish mysticism, the seven heavens are never associated with the seven planets. Some scholars have argued that both the Second Temple apocalypses and hekhalot literature are fictitious or clearly literary events, while others have underlined patterns kindred to shamanism.

The same basic ecstatic experience is reflected in Christian accounts of celestial elevation, including Paul's and the enigmatic and indirect autobiographical account in *2 Corinthians* (12:2 ff.). This reference to visions and revelations of the Lord may suggest either that Paul's opponents, against whom the epistle is directed, boasted of such experiences, or that they decried his apostolic title because it was based on a "vision." It is interesting to note that the Hellenic writer Lucian (second century CE) caricatured Christianity by describing "the Galilean. . .who went by air into the third heaven" (*Philopatris* 12).

A long section of the early Christian apocryphal text *Ascensio Isaiae* (dating back to the second century CE, probably to Syrian ambit, and preserved in different fragmentary versions of varying length and chronology) contains an apocalyptic account. In this text, the prophet Isaiah, helped by an angel, rises to the seventh heaven, where he can contemplate the preexistent Christ together with the Holy Spirit, and the coming of Christ in the world. *Ascensio Isaiae* puts into evidence not only eschatological themes, but also attempts at enucleating a complex Christology, sometimes pervaded with Gnostic or dualistic features. The link between ascension and the manifestation of God's glory *(kavod)* was inherited by many other apocryphal Christian texts, including, for example, the Gnosticizing *Gospel of Thomas.*

Any inquiry concerning heavenly journeys in ancient Christianity cannot omit consideration of the ascension of Christ, considered dogma from the earliest times and the earliest credo formulas. Its account is recorded by Luke both in the *Gospel* and in the proemial section of the *Acts;* only the Markan appendix contains something parallel (16:19). This double reference—which can be considered a climax to the latter part of the *Gospel of Luke,* from chapter 9 (the transfiguration)—makes it clear that one has to reckon with this ascension account as the crucial marker that distinguishes the period of the church from that of Jesus. The term *ascension* has a different meaning in this case, since it does not simply refer to a motion upward through the "heavens" but also involves the notion that the ascended Christ joins his heavenly Father in "glory," and the disciples behold Jesus in this state. Nevertheless, all scholars have emphasized how Christ's ascension sums up the tradition of biblical heavenly ascensions, explaining his role as both redeemer and mediator between God and humans.

The early tradition that Luke makes use of is otherwise expressed in terms of Jesus' "exaltation" (e.g., in the pre-Pauline formulation echoed in *Philippians* 2:9). However this belief is partly an attempt to define more clearly the relation between the living Jesus who died on the cross and the risen Lord who appeared to the apostles by explaining, for example, where the "life" of Jesus had been during the three days following his death. While Paul shows no awareness of the problem, the question was bound to arise eventually, and the answer depended on the view taken about the relation between soul and body. According to the Pauline view, the resurrection was the passage from earth to heaven, or it was identical to the ascension, but the views of Luke and John, which the early church adopted, held that the resurrection was a temporary restoration of Jesus' intercourse with the disciples on earth, which ended with the ascension.

ISLAM. The most famous example of an ascension in Islamic culture is the *Miʿrāj,* or ascent of the prophet Muḥammad, developed and expanded from an enigmatic hint in the Qurʾān (17:1). This account is preserved in various Arabic texts from the eighth and ninth centuries CE, as well as in medieval Latin versions. Accompanied by the archangel Gabriel, the Prophet is transported to Jerusalem and then to heaven either on Burāq (a sort of winged horse with a peacock's tail) or in a tree growing with vertiginous speed up to the sky.

Other accounts of heavenly journeys are recorded in Arabic literature (in turn influenced by Persia), some of them equally characterized by the common denominator of Gnostic trends and by a mythic and symbolic geography (what Henry Corbin called the *mundus imaginalis*). A precursor of the grail legend is recognizable in the account of the visionary Kay Khosraw in Firdawsī's *Book of the Kings* from the late tenth century. In addition, the *Si Murg* describes the journey of thirty birds toward their king, the Phoenix (*Simurgh*), through seven dreadful valleys. At the end they realize that the Phoenix is nothing more than themselves, with a wordplay on the title, expressing at the same time one of the principal Gnostic tenets—that divinity dwells in the inner self. Furthermore, the allegorical works by the Gnostic philosopher Suhrawardī Maqtūl (d. 1191), written in a style similar to Avicenna's tales, feature the leitmotiv of the soul's redemption from its corporeal bonds and the laud to its true homeland, *na-kaja-abad* (place without space).

Also important is the *Seir al-ʾIbad ilà ʿl-Maʾad* (Journey of the servants of God toward the reign of the goals), a poem written in the twelfth century by Sanāʾī. The purpose of the journey that is described in this poem is to reach the "Supreme Goal" through a progressive divinization, which is described in the introductory section, with the exhortation to forsake the "bony body." The spiritual guide is represented by the Intellect *(ʿAql)*, disguised as an old man. The traveler ascends through the four elements first, a place ruled by the passions and death, then it reaches a hell in which the sovereign is represented as a whale. Finally, after passing through eternal Time's crystal gate, the traveler rises to the planets, symbolizing the vices (an inheritance from the Mazdean tradition), as far as the ninth sphere. The ninth sphere represents the World Soul, in conformity with the strong emanationism pervading the poem. Although the narrator is inclined to stop his ascent at this point, the Intellect persuades him to continue. The final section is the most gnosticly marked, since there is an overlap or identification between the storyteller and his Intellect, in order to accomplish divinization.

MEDIEVAL CHRISTIANITY AND DANTE. Late Hellenistic Christian apocalypses continued to play an important role during the Middle Ages. The Latin *Vision of Esdra,* transmitted in a tenth-century manuscript, was extremely influential. From the twelfth century, which was particularly productive of revelations, three works are most important: the *Vision of Alberic* (1127), written by a monk of Montecassino, possibly influenced by the Miʿrāj legends, transmitted by Constantine the African (1020–1087), a translator from Arabic who spent the last years of his life in that monastery; the *Vision of Tundal* (1149); and the *Purgatory of Saint Patrick* (1189), which is similar to ancient Irish models and to the Latin legend of Saint Brendan's life (ninth century).

The most important account of a heavenly ascension in Western culture is considered to be Dante Alighieri's epic poem *The Divine Comedy,* written in the early 1300s. *The Divine Comedy* is not only a literary masterpiece, it is also a summation of medieval philosophical and religious ideas, in which different sources seem to flow together. For example, the Christian apocalyptic tradition involving Paul's experience (*2 Cor.* 12:2–4) is explicitly asserted in the *Inferno* (2:28 ff.) and *Paradiso* (1:74 ff.). Classical reminiscences also appear, including Aeneas's catabasis, which derives from the sixth book of Vergil's *Aeneid.* The poet uses these two models to insert himself into a line of exemplary people who are worthy of seeing the celestial realms, even if he always remarks that providential action operated by divine grace in offering to a human the possibility of ascending to supernatural spheres. Moreover, after Miguel Asín Palacios's seminal suggestions (partly questioned), scholars have begun looking for traces of Islamic descriptions from the Miʿrāj in the *Commedia.* This hypothesis is highly probable, since translated versions of the so-called *Liber scalae* circulated in Europe during the thirteenth century, and one of them had been arranged by a Tuscan dignitary, Bonaventura da Siena, as Enrico Cerulli has demonstrated. If Dante employed such heterogeneous sources, this may be considered the clearest—and the most important—example of an osmotic interaction (sometimes not free from polemic) between Arabic and European culture in the Middle Ages, an interaction that lasted until the sixteenth century. Dante may also have been inspired by the Arabic philosophical apocalypses described above, even though these were radically different in their purpose: Whereas the latter were deeply influenced by Gnostic ideas and praised the role of intellect, Dante's guide in his pilgrimage is Beatrice, who symbolizes Christian love after the defeat of human reason (represented by Vergil). It should be noted that Gnostic interpretations of Beatrice have been put forward, but these are not convincing.

Such a majestic text has been the object of manifold interpretations due to its difficulty and its elaborate literary frame. In the final part (*cantica*) of *The Divine Comedy,* the narrator, after having passed through hell and purgatory with Beatrice, rises to the heavenly spheres, where he is granted a vision of the Virgin Mary and God. In his description of the universe Dante follows Ptolemaic astronomical conceptions in which the earth is stationary and central, with the seven planets revolving around it at various speeds. Beyond these are the spheres of the fixed stars and the material heavens, the last of which is called the Crystalline, or the Primum Mobile, because the other heavens derive their slower motions from its infinite speed. In Dante's universe, the grace of God increases as one moves into the higher and higher heavens. Nine angelic orders rule and control the heavenly spheres, which influence human life and character. The various souls are described according to the corresponding predominant character of their earthly lives. When the Blesseds crowd, they vary their voices and sounds into a sweet and exultant harmony.

Dante and Beatrice reach the heaven of the Moon first, they then travel to the heaven of Mercury, and then the third heaven (ruled by Venus), where lovers dwell. A whirling light glows in the heaven of the Sun, whose inhabitants are philosophers and theologians, such as Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure, as well as Siger de Brabant. The heaven of Mars is trimmed with a white gleaming cross, while in the heaven of Jupiter the spirits (rulers and sovereigns) form a gigantic eagle, symbolizing imperial power. In the next heaven, that of Saturn, Dante is faced with a great golden ladder upon whose steps manifold splendid lights (the contemplative spirits) ascend and descend. From here Dante can look back toward the earth, which appears to him in all its paltriness. As soon as he arrives in the heaven of the fixed stars, Dante is presented with a procession of the triumph of Christ, while at the same time he is examined by the saints in order to rise toward the ninth heaven and finally to the Empyrean, which exists outside of time and space, pervaded by eternal intellectual light and holy love, and where angels and saints live, their blessedness consisting of an eternal vision of God. The thrones of the saints and the biblical figures (Eve, Rachel, Sarah, Rebecca, Judith, Adam, Moses, Saint Peter, Saint John, Saint Francis, Saint Augustine, Saint Lucy, as well as Beatrice) sit there in ranked order, with the Virgin sitting at their radiant peak. In the end, Saint Bernard begins a prayer to the Virgin so that the poet can preserve the blessedness he saw. She deigns to look down at him and the light of God shines down on Dante, granting him the beatific vision and the ultimate salvation.

SEE ALSO Afterlife, overview article; Apotheosis; Flight; Gnosticism; Miʿrāj; Shamanism, overview article.

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ASCETICISM. The word *asceticism* is derived from the Greek noun *askēsis,* meaning "exercise, practice, training." The Greek athlete, for example, subjected himself to systematic exercise or training in order to attain a goal of physical fitness. In time, however, the word began to assume philosophical, spiritual, and ethical implications: one could "exercise" and "train" not only the body in the pursuit of a physical goal but also—systematically and rigorously—the will, the mind, and the soul so as to attain a more virtuous life or a higher spiritual state.

Although the modern word *asceticism* has eluded any universally accepted definition, the term, when used in a religious context, may be defined as a voluntary, sustained, and at least partially systematic program of self-discipline and self-denial in which immediate, sensual, or profane gratifications are renounced in order to attain a higher spiritual state or a more thorough absorption in the sacred. Because religious man (*homo religiosus*) seeks a transcendent state, asceticism—in either rudimentary or developed form—is virtually universal in world religion.

ORIGINS OF ASCETICISM. The origins of asceticism are found in primitive or archaic society, that is, in prehistory. Many of the major ascetic forms such as fasting, sexual continence, and seclusion appear universally among present-day primitives or nonliterate peoples. The purpose of such prohibitions or taboos is very frequently to escape or avoid the influence of demonic powers. There is, for example, a prevalent belief in primitive societies that evil forces may enter the body while one is eating. To avoid this, one fasts for certain periods or abstains from certain foods altogether. The objective of primitive prohibitions may also be purification. In preparation for ritual activities of a particularly sacred nature, such as initiation, marriage, or sacrifice, participants rid themselves of impurity by engaging in often austere acts of self-denial. Such purity is particularly necessary if one is to approach the gods. To a lesser degree, one may also use austerities as a form of penance to atone for transgressions, thus averting the wrath of a deity. Certain practices, particularly fasting and seclusion, are also employed to induce visions or vivid dreams. Among American Indians, for example, such techniques are used during puberty initiations to evoke a revelation in dream or a vision of the youth's guardian spirit.

Although the origins of asceticism may be found in primitive society, it is often argued that asceticism per se exists there only in rudimentary form or not at all. One's position on this issue depends almost entirely upon how one defines asceticism, thus making the issue less soluble but also less critical. It should be observed, however, that such ascetic forms as fasting, seclusion, infliction of pain, and even bodily mutilation have a far more compulsory, less voluntary character in preliterate than in literate societies. The ordeals associated with puberty rites, for example, are more or less imposed. Further, the austerities to which the primitive submits rarely demonstrate a systematic and sustained program of ascetic behavior, when compared with comprehensive systems such as yoga or monastic life. Also, a preponderant number of primitive austerities, acts of self-denial, and taboos have as their sole intent the avoidance of evil, so it is questionable whether they should even be labeled asceticism. But since in almost all societies asceticism is elitist, being meant for the few, a developed asceticism in primitive society should be sought among such sacral specialists as the shaman. Although the shaman is often "compelled" by higher powers to assume his role, the rigors of shamanic life are hardly imposed from without in the usual sense. Seclusion, fasting, sexual continence, and endless vigils are part of a sustained self-discipline calculated to generate visions, bring communion with spirits, and penetrate sacred realms.

FORMS AND OBJECTIVES OF ASCETICISM. Viewed cross-culturally, the variety of ascetic forms is limited. Virtually universal are (1) fasting, (2) sexual continence, (3) poverty, under which may be included begging, (4) seclusion or isolation, and (5) self-inflicted pain, either physical (through such means as whipping, burning, or lacerating) or mental (e.g., contemplation of a judgment day, of existence in hell, or of the horrors associated with transmigration). More difficult to define, but perhaps also more significant, is what may be termed an "inner asceticism," consisting essentially of spiritual rather than physical discipline. Such asceticism involves not detachment from or renunciation of any specific worldly pleasure but rather detachment from or renunciation of the world per se. It is reflected in the biblical attitude of being "in the world, but not of it," or in the *Bhagavadgītā*'s "renunciation in action, rather than renunciation of action." It appears in almost every major religion yet has no equivalent in primitive thought. In addition to the universal forms indicated, specific note must also be made of that set of practices or techniques (e.g., specific postures, chanting, breathing techniques) that make up the yogic and meditative complex indigenous to the Indian subcontinent. Yoga, although an asceticism of the body, is an inner asceticism as well.

Asceticism in classical and modern religion is generally rooted in a developed and well-articulated philosophical or theological system. Such a system provides the rationale or justification for ascetic activity. It is helpful to consider the objectives of asceticism from the perspective of these systems, whether theistic or nontheistic.

Virtually all theistic traditions develop a mystical movement wherein the individual, through an ascetic program, seeks a personal union with the deity. This desire for personal experience of the deity may be seen as a reaction against doctrinal abstraction or ethical formalism. Even theistic traditions such as Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, in which the gap between creator and creature is perceived to be unbridgeable, have produced ascetics in pursuit of such mystic union: the eleventh-century Jewish mystic Baḥye ibn Paquda; Johannes Eckhart (d. 1327 CE) and Johannes Tauler (d. 1361 CE) in medieval Christianity; and the entire Ṣūfī movement in Islam. Because the mystic seeks to bridge the gap between man and God, the effort has often been perceived as audacious from the perspective of theistic orthodoxy. Virtually all mystics in a theistic tradition, therefore, make it clear that the state of apparent union with the deity is only momentary and, at best, a foretaste of that salvation yet to come. The Ṣūfī, like many mystics in theism, does not claim to be equal to God, but rather to be extinguished or lost in him.

In nontheistic traditions this thirst for the ultimate through mystical experience takes on varied forms. It is frequently a quest for the true or essential self, which is perceived to be identical with the ground or foundation of all creation. The Hindu yogin employs the sophisticated techniques of Yoga to realize that his *ātman*, or permanent self, is one with *brahman*, the unchanging foundation of all. The *Yoga Sūtra* of Patañjali (first century CE) describes breathing and meditative techniques, which, when coupled with sexual continence, fasting, bodily postures, and other disciplines, permit the individual to move "inward and downward" until his true essence is "perceived." Similarly, the meditative techniques of Zen Buddhism permit the practitioner to realize the Buddha nature within himself.

Experiential knowledge of the true self in nontheistic traditions is frequently related to the liberation of the self from the sorrows and illusions of this phenomenal world. According to the Hindu philosopher Śaṇkara (788–820 CE), the body and personality with which we habitually identify ourselves are revealed to be no more than *māyā*, or illusion. Our suffering and bondage are rooted in ignorance, which ascetic-meditative effort gradually dispels through the mystical knowledge that it produces. The Jain monk, through the most rigorous of ascetic techniques involving total passivity and detachment from the world, seeks to purify and eventually liberate his true self (*jīva*) from the material defilements that most actions produce. Although Theravāda Buddhism denies the existence of any permanent self, its objective is, like that of the Indian traditions, liberation from the round of worldly suffering. An ascetic life of monastic simplicity and celibacy, an ascetic program of detachment, and a meditative effort to cultivate a selfless state lead the Theravāda monk to realization of *nirvāṇa*—"extinction" or "liberation."

Unlike the theistic systems, in which a mystical experience generated through ascetic activity can never grant salvation, nontheistic systems frequently equate such an experience or realization with salvation itself. Awareness of one's *ātman* in Hinduism or of one's *puruṣa* in Sāṃkhya (i.e., a philosophical system associated with traditional Yoga) or of one's Buddha nature in Zen *is* enlightenment or salvation. Unlike the theistic religions, nontheistic systems frequently affirm that salvation is attainable here on earth. One becomes "liberated in life" as in Tantrism, or one realizes, as in Zen, that one was never bound.

In both theistic and nontheistic systems asceticism may be seen as a meritorious form of behavior, a good work, or a laudable course of action felt to ensure or facilitate a preferred condition after death. Self-denial is considered to be a way of earning posthumous reward. In theistic traditions such as Catholicism, Śaivism, and Vaiṣṇavism, such activity has often been thought to ensure or facilitate salvation in a way that mysticism cannot. A monastic life of self-denial, for example, in which one is secluded from the temptations of the flesh, could be esteemed as a more perfect life than one lived in the world. Despite its prevalence, however, this effort to earn one's own salvation has frequently appeared problematic and even pretentious in theistic traditions, given their emphasis upon salvation as a gift of the deity. In nontheistic traditions ascetic works are logically more appropriate. Through self-denial, for example, one can burn out bad *karman* (the effect of past deeds) and improve one's future state in the ongoing round of transmigration. In nontheistic systems, however, ascetic works divorced from knowledge or realization can never generate salvation itself, but only some lesser objective.

In both theistic and nontheistic systems, acts of self-denial—particularly self-inflicted pain—may serve as a form of penance for previous misdeeds. Hindu law books such as the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* (composed between 200 BCE and 100 CE) detail numerous activities of this kind to atone for transgressions, so that the penitent can avoid torment in either the next life or an intermediate hell. In the theistic traditions of Islam and medieval Christianity, activities such as self-flagellation were often employed. In nontheistic systems these practices function mechanistically to overcome the negative consequences of evil deeds, whereas in theistic traditions they are performed in order to warrant the forgiveness of a personal god. Because its objective is merely forgiveness, in theistic systems asceticism as a form of penance has enjoyed a less problematic rationale than has asceticism as a way of achieving salvation itself. This is particularly true when ascetic acts are seen as an *expression* of repentance rather than as a means of earning it.

Most evident in Catholicism, but confined neither to it nor to theistic traditions in general, is the use of asceticism, particularly self-inflicted pain, as a means of experiencing or reexperiencing the sufferings of either a deity or a human paradigm (i.e., a model individual). Nontheistic Jainism produced ascetics whose acts of self-denial took as their model the activities of Jain saints (*tīrthaṅkaras*) such as Pārśva or Mahāvīra. The Hindu hero Bhīṣma was so pierced by arrows during the great battle described in the *Bhagavdgītā* that, supported by their shafts, he lay parallel to the ground. This event forms the model for the well-known bed of nails employed by some Indian holy men. In Catholic Christianity the imitation of Christ's suffering is raised to a level of mystical significance. Suffering not only as Christ suffered but *with* him has become a means of mystical union with the deity. In this regard, suffering became virtually an end in itself, taking on soteriological significance.

Viewed cross-culturally, a given ascetic form may have different, even opposite objectives. In primitive society, for example, self-flagellation or scourging is intended primarily to drive away demonic powers that have attached themselves to the individual. In Christianity, however, the same activity—once prevalent in Italy, the Rhineland, and Mexico—was intended to produce pain, thereby bringing the ascetic into mystical union with the suffering Christ. Likewise, fasting in Christianity often has sought to produce pain, either as penance or, again, as a way of identifying with the suffering deity.

In Yoga, however, the purpose of fasting is quite different. The objective is not to cause but to alleviate discomfort. By fasting, the yogin conditions his body so he can go for prolonged periods not only without food but, more important, without the thought of food. Fasting is therefore a technique through which the yogin becomes oblivious of his body and is thus able to direct all his mental energies toward meditation. Similarly, the many other forms of self-discipline found in Yoga—the postures and sexual continence, for instance—are to be seen less as privation than as techniques to redirect energies toward a meditative end.

Yoga itself, however, as an ascetic form, has different objectives. In most of Upanisadic Hinduism its purpose is to realize the unity of one's permanent self, or *ātman*, with the unchanging foundation of the universe, or *brahman*. In Theravāda Buddhism its goal is to realize that there is no permanent self, while in the Sāṃkhya system it seeks to realize that the true self is ideally in a state of total isolation from the phenomenal world of flux.

In virtually every religious tradition, meditation or contemplation takes place in some degree of seclusion. Anthony (d. 356 CE) and other Christian saints lived for prolonged periods alone in the African desert. The early Buddhists likened themselves to rhinos who wandered alone, far from the haunts of men, and Daoist recluses sought to commune with nature beyond the reach of civilization and its distractions. But again, the goals of such secluded exercises are varied. The Daoist seeks harmony with nature and therewith serenity and joy. The Theravāda Buddhist seeks to realize that nature is transient and thus a source of sorrow. Saint Anthony, somewhat like a Tibetan Buddhist, went forth to confront demonic powers in their own ominous haunts.

CROSS-CULTURAL ISSUES. Although universal, asceticism is far more prevalent in certain traditions than in others. Classical Jainism, early and Tibetan Buddhism, early Christianity, and various branches of Hinduism are heavily ascetic, whereas Confucianism, Shinto, Zoroatrianism, and Israelite religion are not.

World-rejection. Although it is narrow to suggest that only traditions that postulate an evident dualism between soul and body or God and world or matter and spirit produce ascetic activity, it is nonetheless fair to suggest that dualistic philosophies are inclined both to justify and generate a dramatic and developed asceticism. Jain asceticism, for example, is rooted in the dualism between spirit and matter and the need for purging the former of the latter. Much Hellenistic Christian asceticism, particularly self-inflicted pain, was rooted in a dualism between spirit and flesh in which the body was perceived as evil. The ascetic efforts of the

Theravāda Buddhist are rooted in the dualism between *saṃsāra*, bondage in the round of transmigration, and *nirvāṇa*, or liberation.

Although dualistic traditions, with the exception of Zoroastrianism, lend themselves well to ascetic activity, it would be wrong to conclude that asceticism necessarily involves a denigration of this world, the material realm, or the body. Although some ascetic traditions are otherworldly, many others are not. The Tantric tradition of Hinduism and its Buddhist equivalent, the Vajrayāna, are clearly ascetic, employing various yogic and meditative techniques. Yet the worldly realm, including the body and its passions, is not denigrated by them. The body, in fact, is seen as a means toward salvation, a servant of the spirit requiring nurture, even praise. Similarly, those in a Zen or Daoist monastery exhibit many ascetic traits, yet are far more inclined to rejoice in and affirm this world than to reject it.

The most complete repudiation of world-rejection may be found in what the German sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920) termed "inner-worldly asceticism," which abandons specific ascetic activities as well as monastic life to attain salvation in the midst of worldly activity. Although it exists to a limited degree in various religions, the most thoroughgoing expression of inner-worldly asceticism appears in the reformed traditions of Protestantism. A disciplined, methodical, controlled—in short, ascetic—pursuit of one's vocation in the world came to be seen as both service to God and confirmation of one's salvation.

Asceticism and normal behavior. Although the ascetic need not renounce the world per se, he desires the sacred and therefore rarely accepts life as it is given. Seeking to transcend the normal or the natural, he rejects the given in favor of the possible. For this reason the ascetic frequently does the opposite of what human nature or social custom may dictate. In Yoga this practice is explicitly referred to as "going against the current." The yogin does not sit as natural man sits, breathe as natural man breathes, eat as natural man eats. Ascetic behavior not only deviates from the norm, it very frequently seeks an extreme. Viewed cross-culturally, however, these extremes may be diametrically opposed. The ascetic, for example, may shave his head completely, as do most Buddhist monks; or he may never cut his hair at all, as is the case with many Hindu holy men. The ascetic may wear very distinctive clothing, as does the Roman Catholic priest, or he may wear no clothing at all, as do the "sky-clad" (Digambara) monks of Jainism.

Some ascetics constantly wander, as did Mahavira, the founder-reformer of Jainism, who to avoid permanent ties remained no more than one night in any village. Other ascetics, however, restrict their movement dramatically, living, as did many Christians, in cells so small that they could hardly move. The ascetic may also differentiate himself either by remaining perpetually silent or by chanting and reciting continually. The ascetic may nurture, cleanse, or purify his body inordinately, or not only neglect his body but abuse it in countless ways. The ascetic may overcome the human norm either by abstaining from sex or by making sex a significant part of his ascetic routine. In "left-handed" Tantrism, for example, sexual intercourse affords a ritual procedure—indeed, a technique, which, when coupled with meditation, is used to alter consciousness. The activity is dramatically ascetic, as no ejaculation is permitted; the semen is withheld or "returned" at the last moment. By so returning his semen, the Tantric too "goes against the current," transcending normal or profane activity.

According to almost every religious tradition, ascetics, because of their activity, develop magical powers or miraculous abilities. Although often recognized as an obstacle to higher spiritual goals, such reported powers play an important role at the popular level. Muslim fakirs who walk unharmed on burning coals, Indian yogins who levitate, Christian saints who miraculously heal, Tibetan lamas who read minds, Buddhist monks who remember past lives, Chinese Daoists who live forever, and primitive shamans who fly—these are but a few examples.

The psychology of asceticism. Despite the fact that all religions condemn extreme forms of asceticism, pathological excesses have appeared in every tradition. Examples are multiple, from the recluses who avoid all human contact to the individuals who receive ecstatic pleasure from the most aberrant forms of self-inflicted pain. But despite these aberrations, it would be misguided to seek the heart of asceticism or its primary psychological impetus in neuroses or psychoses. Yogic meditation, Christian monasticism, and Zen technique exemplify the major advances made by asceticism, both Eastern and Western, in self-understanding and the effort to lift repression and make the unconscious conscious. The psychological heart of asceticism seems to lie in a reaction against the purely theoretical, the doctrinal, or the abstract. Above all, the ascetic wishes to know through experience.

SEE ALSO Fasting; Meditation; Monasticism, article on Christian Monasticism; Mortification; Mystical Union in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam; Ordeal; Samnyasa; Spiritual Discipline; Tapas.

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ASHʿARĪ, AL- (AH 260–324/874–935 CE), more fully Abū al- Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Abī Bishr Isḥāq; Muslim theologian and founder of the tradition of Muslim theology known as Ashʿarīyah. He is commonly referred to by his followers as the Master, Abū al-Ḥasan, and he is sometimes referred to by his opponents as Ibn Abī Bishr.

LIFE AND WORKS. Very little is known concerning al-Ashʿarī's life. He was for some time an adherent of the Muʿtazilī school and a disciple of al-Jubbāʾī (d. 915), but at some point, probably prior to 909, he rejected the teachings of the Muʿtazilah in favor of the more conservative dogma of the traditionalists (*ahl al-ḥadīth*). He renounced the Muʿtazilah publicly during the Friday prayer service in the congregational mosque of Basra and thereafter wrote extensively against the doctrines of his erstwhile fellows and in defense of his new position, for which he had become quite well known by 912/3. Sometime later he moved to Baghdad, where he remained until the end of his life.

Some hundred works are attributed to al-Ashʿarī in the medieval sources (see McCarthy, 1953, pp. 211–230), of which no more than the following six seem to have survived:

(1) *Maqālāt al-Islāmīyīn* (Theological Opinions of the Muslims) is a lengthy work setting forth the diverse opinions of Muslim religious thinkers; its two separate (and largely repetitious) parts likely represent two originally distinct works, the first of which may have been substantially complete prior to al-Ashʿarī's conversion.

(2) His *Risālah ilā ahl al-thaghr bi-Bāb al-Abwāb* (Epistle to the People of the Frontier at Bāb al-Abwāb [Darband]) is a brief compendium of his teachings, composed shortly after his conversion.

(3) *Al-lumaʿ* (The Concise Remarks) is a short, general compendium or summa that was evidently the most popular, if not the most important, of al-Ashʿarī's theological writings; commentaries were written on the *Lumaʿ* by al-Bāqillānī (d. 1013) and Ibn Fūrak (d. 1015) and a refutation of it, *Naqd al-Lumaʿ* (Critique of the Concise Remarks), by the Muʿtazili *qāḍi* ("judge") Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadānī (d. 1024). The evidence of direct citations of the *Lumaʿ* made by al-Ashʿarī's followers seems to indicate that there were originally two recensions of the work, of which the one available at present is the shorter.

(4) *Al-īmān* (Belief) is a short work on the nature of belief.

(5) *Al-ibānah ʿan uṣūl al-diyānah* (The Clear Statement on the Fundamental Elements of the Faith) is a polemical and apologetic exposition of basic dogma, ostensibly written against the Muʿtazilah and the followers of Jahm ibn Ṣafwān (d. 745), but its formally traditionalist style suggests that this work was composed as a kind of apolo-

gy to justify al-Ashʿarī's own orthodoxy after the Hanābilah refused to recognize him as an adherent of traditionalist doctrine.

(6) *Al-ḥathth ʿalā al-baḥth* (The Exhortation to Investigation) is a polemical apology for the use of speculative reasoning and formal terminology in theological discussion directed against the radical traditionalists. Most likely composed later than the *Ibānah,* this work has been published several times under the title *Istiḥsān al-khawḍ fī ʿilm al-kalām* (The Vindication of the Science of *Kalām*), but the correct title, given in Ibn ʿAsakir's and Ibn Farḥūn's lists of al-Ashʿarī's writings, appears in a recently discovered copy of the work.

A number of other works are quoted with some frequency by later followers of the school of al-Ashʿarī, among them his commentary on the Qurʾān, perhaps originally composed before his conversion; *Al-mūjiz* (The Epitome); *Al-ʿamad fī al-ruʾyah* (The Pillars concering [God's] Visibility), a work on the visibility of God; *Iḍāḥ al-burhān* (The Clarification of Demonstration); and *Al-ajwibah al-miṣrīyah* (The Egyptian Responsa), as well as various *majālis* or *amālī,* notes or minutes taken from his lectures.

Though it is clear that al-Ashʿarī converted from Muʿtazilī theology to a more conservative, "orthodox" doctrine that he himself identified with that of the traditionalists, the precise nature of this conversion and the character of his teaching have always been the subject of much debate. It is obvious that he changed his adherence from one basic set of dogmatic theses to another, shifting, for example, from the Muʿtazilī thesis that since God is altogether incorporeal he cannot be seen, to one that God is somehow visible and will be visibly manifest to the blessed in the next life. Yet al-Ashʿarī's claim that he taught the doctrine of the traditionalists was vehemently rejected by the more conservative of them, particularly the Ḥanābilah, whose approbation and support he had expected to receive but who looked upon him as an unreconstructed rationalist. Hostility between the Ḥanābilah and the followers of al-Ashʿarī continued unabated for many centuries, sometimes erupting into civil disturbances, and the polemic and counterpolemic of later supporters and opponents of Ashʿarī doctrine tended to obscure the basic issues somewhat, as current attitudes were often projected backward onto the founder himself. Against Ḥanbalī accusations that al-Ashʿarī had changed some of his views but not his basic attitude, some later apologists, most notably Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 1176) and al-Subkī (d. 1370), depict al-Ashʿarī as a wholehearted traditionalist. Most of those who taught or supported al-Ashʿarī's doctrine, such as the Shafiʿī *qāḍi* and jurisconsult Abū al-Maʿālī ʿAzīzī ibn ʿAbd al-Malik (d. 1100) in his apology against the Ḥanbalī extremists, held that al-Ashʿarī taught a doctrine intermediate between the rationalizing theology of the Muʿtazilah and the anthropomorphizing fundamentalism of the radical traditionalists. It is this "middle way" that is witnessed in al-Ashʿarī's own writings and in those of most of the theologians who held allegiance to his school. This is also the view of most modern scholars, although a few have tended to adopt one or the other of the more extreme views.

From the works available, two points are clear. First of all, not only did al-Ashʿarī give up the characteristic dogmas of Muʿtazilī doctrine, but also, in taking the revelation (Qurʾān and *sunnah*) and the consensus of the Muslims as the primary foundations and criteria of basic dogma, he rejected the basic attitude of al-Jubbāʾī's school, namely that autonomous reason is the primary and, in most instances, the original and definitive source and judge of what is true in theology. Second, after his conversion, he continued to express, explain, and argue theological theses in the formal language of *kalām* theology in such a way as to give them logical coherence and a degree of conceptual clarity. The first stance set him at irreconcilable odds with his erstwhile fellows among the Muʿtazilah, while the second made him unacceptable to the radical traditionalists. It is thus that when he wrote the *Ibānah* to demonstrate his orthodoxy to the Ḥanābilah, al-Barbahārī (d. 941), one of the most widely respected Ḥanbalī teachers of the day, rejected the work out of hand because in it al-Ashʿarī had not repudiated *kalām* reasoning, nor had he said anything incompatible with his own *kalām* analyses.

BASIC TEACHINGS. In its basic elements, the doctrine of al-Ashʿarī is not wholly new. A beginning had been made several generations earlier toward the formation of a conservative, non-Muʿtazilī *kalām,* but its progress had been arrested in the aftermath of the mihnah as a result of the ascendancy of traditionalist anti-intellectualism during and immediately after the reign of the caliph al-Mutawakkil (847–861). Al-Ashʿarī appropriated or adapted a number of elements from various earlier theologians. To a large extent his teaching follows and develops that of Ibn Kullāb (d. 855), who is regarded by later Ashʿarī theologians as one of their own fellows (*aṣḥab*). Al-Ashʿarī's theory of human action, however, is based on a distinction previously formulated by Ḍirār ibn ʿAmr (d. 815) and al-Najjār (d. toward the middle of the ninth century), while some of his discussion of the divine names probably depends upon al-Jubbāʾī. His doctrine on the Qurʾān regarding the distinction between the recitation and the copy on the one hand and the text as the articulate meaning that is read and understood on the other, though based on Ibn Kullāb, is regarded as original by later authorities. While al-Ashʿarī's teaching can be viewed on one level as a synthesis and adaptation of elements already present in one form or another but not hitherto assembled into a single system, it is nonetheless true that out of these elements he constructed a new, conceptually integrated whole of his own.

According to al-Ashʿarī, the Qurʾān and the teaching of the Prophet present a reasoned exposition of the contingency of the world and its dependence upon the deliberate action of a transcendent creator, which, though not expressed in formal language, is complete and rationally probative. Thus, in contrast to the Muʿtazilah, he holds that theological inquiry is not originated autonomously by the mind but is provoked by the claims of a prophet, and that it is because of the rational validity of the prophet Muḥammad's basic teaching that one must accept the entire revelation, including those dogmas that cannot be inferred on purely rational grounds (for example, that God will be visible in the next life), and submit unconditionally to the divine law. Undertaking such theological inquiry is morally obligatory not for any psychological or intellectual reason, but because God has commanded it, and the command is known only in the revelation. With regard to the revelation itself, al-Ashʿarī stands in significant contrast to his followers insofar as he does not employ in any of the works that are available to us the common *kalām* proof for the existence of God, the basic form of which is found in Chrysostom and other patristic writers, but, rather, prefers an argument based entirely and directly on the text of the Qurʾān.

In his discussion of the nature of God and of creatures, al-Ashʿarī employs a formal method based on the Arab grammarians' analysis of predicative sentences. He holds that predications are divided into three categories: (1) those that assert the existence of only the subject itself *(al-nafs, nafs al-mawṣūf)*; (2) those that assert the existence of an "attribute" *(ṣifah, maʿnā)* distinct from the "self" of the subject as such; and (3) those that assert the existence of an action *(fīʿl)* done by the subject. Since "knows" is not synonymous with "exists," the former must, when said of God, imply the existence of a cognition that is somewhat distinct from his essential being *(al-nafs)*. Following a common tradition, al-Ashʿarī holds that God has seven basic "essential attributes": the ability to act (*al-quadrah*), cognition, volition, life, speech, sight, and hearing. Since "perdures" (*bāq*) is not synonymous with "exists," he adds to this list a distinct attribute of "perdurance" (*al-baqāʾ*). On the basis of the revelation al-Ashʿarī also includes as eternal attributes God's hand(s) and face, which are neither understood anthropomorphically as bodily members nor reduced metaphorically to his self or to one of the seven basic eternal attributes. None of these attributes can be fully comprehended and explained by human understanding; each is distinct from the others and from God's "self," though it is true neither that they are identical with God's self nor that they are other than it.

Al-Ashʿarī's view of creation is basically occasionalistic. Whatever exists and is not eternal, God creates, and its existence is his action. Among those events that take place in individuals, however, they distinguish those events that are simply undergone from those that they do intentionally. The former are God's acts alone; the latter occur through an ability to act (*bi-qudrah*) created in a person at the moment the act occurs and are formally referred to as *kasb* or *iktisāb* ("performance" or "doing"; these terms are commonly, but misleadingly, rendered by "acquisition"). What God wills, and only what he wills, comes to exist. Because he is subject to no rule his acts are just and ethically good as such. The objects of God's will are not coextensive with those of his command. The ethical values (*aḥkām*) of human actions are grounded unconditionally in God's command, license, and prohibition, and as God has already informed humanity, he will punish and/or reward individuals in the next life according to their obedience and disobedience in this life. There is no intrinsic relationship between humans' actions and their status in the life to come; God does and will do what he wills, and what he wills is just by definition.

Method. Although al-Ashʿarī did work out a comprehensive and coherent theology, he seems to have deliberately restricted the scope of his theological reasoning, which does not go much beyond the presentation of his fundamental theses in such a way that the propositions formally asserted are logically unambivalent on the basis of a rigid set of definitions and principles, and even these are not always explained and even less often argued in the texts. Rational arguments for individual theses are set forth in their most elementary form, sometimes in the form of a Qurʾān citation and, again, on the basis of presuppositions that, even if stated, are not argued. Where argument is based on the authority of scripture, or where a citation of the Qurʾān alludes to and encapsulates a rational argument, the formal principles of the underlying exegesis are presumed known and accepted. Since countertheses and the arguments that support them are logically incompatible with the definitions and principles employed by al-Ashʿarī, they are usually disposed of in a purely formal way. Al-Ashʿarī's surviving dogmatic works are few and quite brief. For some questions, they can be supplemented by citations found in the works of his successors, but even though the later Ashʿarī theologians had access to a large number of his writings, they are unable to state his position on a number of important issues. In some instances they do know Ibn Kullāb's teaching (for example, on whether or not God's essential attributes are denumerable), but sometimes the sources themselves explicitly recognize that what they offer as the teaching of al-Ashʿarī is merely an inference or conjecture. It appears, then, that on a number of questions al-Ashʿarī either refused to commit himself or had not carried his inquiry beyond an elementary level. His fundamental aim seems to have been simply to present the basic sense and truth of the primary Islamic dogmas so that they could be thematically possessed and appropriated in an unambiguous form and to distinguish them from heresy and unbelief in such a way that the error of the latter would be clearly understood and displayed.

Later Influence. How rapidly and how widely al-Ashʿarī's theology was adopted by orthodox Muslims has been a matter of debate, as has the question of its ultimate significance in the religious and intellectual history of Sunnī Islam. Its early importance is witnessed by the treatment al-Ashʿarī receives in Ibn al-Nadīm's bio-bibliographical encyclopedia, *Al-fihrist* (The Catalog), composed in 987–988, and in *Al-fiṣal fī al-milal* (Judgments on the Sects), a heresiographical work by the Ẓāhirī jurist and philosopher Ibn Ḥazm of Cordova (d. 1064). Certainly by the latter half of the eleventh century Ashʿarī theology was upheld by the leading Shāfiʿī jurisconsults, and for the historian Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) it represents the mainstream of orthodox *kalām.* A number of Ṣūfīs, beginning already with several of the disciples of al-Ḥallāj (d. 922), were Ashʿarī in systematic theology, employing *kalām* as a kind of conceptual, dogmatic foundation to their mystical thought, and others, such as al-Kalābādhī (d. 990), though not strictly Ashʿarī in dogma, were influenced by Ashʿarī teaching. Again, although the school of al-Māturīdī (d. 944) always maintained its theological distinctiveness, Ashʿarī influence appears in some of their works. Similarly, the influence of Ashʿarī language and concepts can be detected even in some later Ḥanbalī *ʿaqīdahs* (outlines of basic doctrine), and in at least one case, the *Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn* (The Foundation concerning the Basic Doctrines) of the Ḥanbalī *qāḍi* Abū Yaʿlā al-Farrāʾ (d. 1066), several formulations are taken over directly from the theological writings of al-Bāqillānī, a leading Ashʿarī theologian of the preceding generation.

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R. M. Frank (1987)

ASHʿARĪYAH. The theological doctrine of the Ashʿarīyah, the followers of al-Ashʿarī, is commonly regarded as the most important single school of systematic theology in orthodox Islam. The school and its members are commonly referred to in Arabic as *al-Ashʿarīyah* and its members often as *al-ashāʿirah* (the "Ashʿarīs"). Ashʿarī masters during the tenth and eleventh centuries CE most commonly refer to themselves and the school as *ahl al-ḥaqq* ("those who teach the true doctrine") or *ahl al-sunnah wa-al-jamāʿah* ("the adherents of the *sunnah* and the consensus [of the Muslim community]") and sometimes as *ahl al-taḥqīq* ("those whose doctrine is conceptually clear and verified"). It should be noted, however, that other groups, including some opponents of the Ashʿarīyah, use the same expressions, and the first two in particular, to describe themselves. Ashʿarīyah is not, as such, identified with any single juridical tradition (*madhhab*); most Ashʿarī theologians were Shāfiʿī, and some were famous as teachers of Shafiʿi law, but a large number of them were Mālikī, the most famous being the Mālikī *qāḍi* ("judge") al-Bāqillānī.

The history of the school can be divided into two clearly distinguishable periods, the division falling about the beginning of the twelfth century CE. The first period, often referred to as that of classical Ashʿarī theology, is characterized by the formal language, analysis, and argumentation of the Basran *kalām* employed by al-Ashʿarī himself, while the second is characterized by the language, concepts, and formal logic of philosophy *(falsafah),* that is, of the Islamic continuation of Greek philosophy. The school received strong official support under the Seljuk vizier Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 1092), with many of its masters appointed to chairs of the Shāfiʿī law in the colleges (*madrasahs*) that he founded. Many scholars identify the acme of the school with the great Ashʿarī masters of this period. Many, most notably Georges C. Anawati and Louis Gardet, have seen the introduction and adaptation of Aristotelian logic and concepts as analogous to the *via nova* of Western Scholastic theology and accordingly hold that the Ashʿarī thinking of the later period is more sophisticated and more truly theological than that of the earlier period.

Principal Figures. There is very little concrete data concerning the teaching of al-Ashʿarī's immediate disciples. Abū Bakr al-Qaffāl al-Shāshī, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bāhilī, and Abū Ṣahl al-Saʿlūkī are regularly cited in the theological writings of later Ashʿarī thinkers, but the only theological work by one of his direct disciples that is known to have survived is the *Taʾwīl al-āyāt al-mushkilah* (The Interpretation of Difficult Verses) of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabarī. In formulation and conception this work appears to follow the teaching of al-Ashʿarī rigidly: the proof for the contingency of the world and the existence of God, for example, is not the one universally employed by the Ashʿarīyah of succeeding generations, but depends directly on al-Ashʿarī's *Al-lumaʿ* (The Concise Remarks). The most important of al-Ashʿarī's immediate disciples, however, was certainly al-Bāhilī; although al-Qaffāl's student al-Ḥalīmī (d. 1012) is cited with some frequency by later authorities, it is three students of al-Bāhilī who dominate Ashʿarī thinking in the next two generations. These are the *qāḍi* Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī (d. 1013), Abū Bakr ibn Fūrak (d. 1015), and Abū Isḥāq al-Isfaraʾini (d. 1027).

Several of al-Bāqillānī's theological writings have survived and are published: two compendia of moderate length, *Al-tamhīd* (The Introduction) and *Al-inṣāf* (The Equitable View), and a major work on the miraculous character of the Qurʾān, *Iʿjāz al-Qurʾān* (The Inimitability of the Qurʾān). Of his longest and most important work, *Hidāyat al-mustarshidīn* (The Guidance of Those Who Seek to Be Guided Aright), however, only a part, yet unpublished, of the section on prophecy is presently known. A number of important works that are commonly cited appear not to have survived at all, among them a tract on the ontology of attributes and predicates entitled *Mā yuʿallal wa-mā lā yuʿallal* (What Is Founded in an *ʿIllah* and What Is Not) and *Al-naqḍ al-kabīr* (The Major Critique), which is perhaps a longer recension of his *Naqḍ Al-naqḍ* (The Critique of *The Critique*), a work written in response to the *Naqḍ Al-lumaʿ* (The Critique of [al-Ashʿarī's] *Al-lumaʿ*) composed by the great Muʿtazilī master ʿAbd al-Jabbār (d. 1024). Ibn Fūrak's *Bayān taʾwīl mushkil al-ḥadīth* (The Clear Interpretation of Difficult Traditions) was very popular in later times and survives in many copies, but among his dogmatic writings only a few short works, none of them published, are known to have survived. (The lengthy *Uṣūl al-din* [Basic Doctrines] contained in the Ayasofya collection of Istanbul and attributed to him in several European handbooks is by his grandson.) Of al-Isfarāʾīnī's writings, only one short compendium (*ʿaqīdah*), yet unpublished, is known to have survived, although a large number of theological works are cited by later Ashʿarī writers, among them *Al-jāmiʿ* (The *Summa*), *Al-mukhtaṣar* (The Abridged Compendium), *Al-waṣf wa-al-ṣifah* (Predications and Attributes), and *Al-asmāʾ wa-al-ṣifāt* (The Names and Attributes [of God]).

Among the Ashʿarīyah of succeeding generations, the principal figures—some of whose theological works are available and in part published—are ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī (d. 1037), who studied with al-Isfarāʾīnī; Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī (d. 1056), best known as a traditionist and jurisconsult; Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (d. 1072), a student of both Ibn Fūrak and al- Isfarāʾīnī, renowned as a teacher and writer on Sufism; his student Abū Saʿd al-Mutawallī (d. 1086), best known as a jurisconsult, and Abū Bakr al-Fūraki (d. 1094), a grandson of Ibn Fūrak and son-in-law of al-Qushayrī. None of the theological writings of Abū al-Qāsim Isfarāʾīnī (d. 1060) have survived, though his commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar* of Abū Isḥāq al-Isfarāʾīnī is often cited along with others of his works. His disciple Abū al-Maʿālī al-Juwaynī (d. 1085), known as Imām al-Ḥaramayn (Imam of the Holy Cities, that is, Mecca and Medina, to which he was forced to flee for a time), was not only one of the foremost Muslim theologians of any period but also the leading Shāfiʿī legist of his age.

A number of al-Juwaynī's dogmatic works have survived and are published; most important his *Irshād* (Guidance), the *Risālah al-niẓāmīyah* (The Short Tract for Niẓām [al-Mulk], twice published under the title *Al-ʿaqidah al-niẓāmīyah*), and *Al-shāmil fī uṣūl al-din* (The Complete Compendium of the Basic Doctrines), which is a very extensive exposition (*taḥrīr*) of al-Bāqillānī's commentary on al-Ashʿarī's *Al-lumaʿ*. A significant portion of *Al-shāmil* is preserved, and the substance of the remainder survives in an abridgement of some two hundred folios by an unknown author, entitled *Al-kāmil fī ikhtiṣār Al-shāmil* (The Perfect Abridgement of *Al-shāmil)*. Although the second major period of Ashʿarī theology, already foreshadowed in some of al-Juwaynī's work, is inaugurated by his most famous student, al-Ghazālī, several of his disciples continued to pursue *kalām* in the traditional form, and their surviving works are of great importance as sources for current understanding of the development of the school in the classical period. These are the *Uṣūl al-dīn* (Basic Doctrines) by al-Kiyāʾ al-Harāsī (d. 1110), a highly respected jurisconsult, and *Al-ghunyah fī al-kalām* (Sufficiency in *Kalām*) by Abū al-Qāsim al-Anṣārī (d. 1118), of whose commentary on the *Irshād* of al-Juwaynī a significant fragment is also preserved.

DOCTRINES AND METHODS OF THE CLASSICAL PERIOD. The school of al-Ashʿarī universally holds that the sources of theological knowledge are, in order of priority, the Qurʾān, the *sunnah,* the consensus of the Muslim community, and human reason, and their basic teaching varies little from one master to another during the classical period. God's being is eternal (*qadīm*) and unconditioned; in his "self" (*nafs, dhāt*) and in his "essential attributes" (*ṣifāt al-nafs*), his nonexistence is impossible. Every being other than God and his essential attributes exists as an action of his that is finite, corporeal, and temporal, and therefore altogether unlike him. Temporal beings are referred to as God's "attributes of action" *(ṣifāt afʿālihi),* since it is they that are asserted to exist when any predicate of action such as "creates" or "sustains" is said of him.

Though questioning the denumerability of the "essential attributes" of God, the Ashʿarīyah all recognize seven principal ones: life, cognition, volition, the ability to act, sight, hearing, and speaking. They hold these to be real (*thābitah*) and distinguishable, as what is asserted by "wills" is distinct from what is asserted by "knows," and so forth; they are neither simply identical with God's "self" nor are they other than it, since "other" implies separability and therefore contingency. The objects of his ability to create are infinite and are known to him as such. What he knows will be, he wills to be, and nothing comes to be that he does not will; whatever comes to be, comes to be through his ability to act when and as his will determines.

As God is one, so each of his essential attributes is one: he knows an infinity of objects in a single, eternal cognition and wills the existence of an indefinite number of beings in a single, eternal volition. Since he has neither needs nor desires, he cannot be said to act for a motive or reason. Neither his acts nor his commands can be rationalized; since he is the absolute Lord of creation, they are right and just *(ʿadl)* simply because they are his, independently of any apparent good or harm they may constitute or cause with respect to any creature.

God makes himself known to the believer in a special way in the Qurʾān, and one of the issues most vehemently contested between the Ashʿarīyah and their opponents, both the Muʿtazilah and the Hanābilah, is the validity and sense of the thesis "the Qurʾān is the uncreated speech of God." According to the Ashʿarī analysis, "speech" or "speaking" (*kalām*) refers to an interior intention that is materially signified and expressed by spoken, written, and remembered expressions *(ḥurūf)*. God's eternal attribute of speaking is one and undivided: it becomes differentiated into statements, commands, and so on in its material articulation in a particular language by means of which it is revealed and manifested. Thus the believer's recitation (*qirāʾah*) of the Qurʾān, like the written copy, is created, but what is recited (*maqrūʾ*), that is, the intention made present and understood, is the uncreated speaking of God.

The Qurʾān is miraculous not merely because it foretold and foretells future events, but in a unique way because of the sublimity of its rhetorical expression. According to the Ashʿarīyah God is properly described only by those expressions "by which he has described himself," that is, those given in the Qurʾān and in the tradition. Although God's being is beyond the grasp of human intelligence, these predicates, known as "his most beautiful names" (*asmāʾuhu al-ḥusnā*), are known to be true and adequate. The Ashʿarīyah analyze them systematically, first, in order to reduce them referentially to God's "self," to one of his essential attributes, or to one of his "attributes of action," and second, to examine their specific connotations. That God is in some real sense visible they hold to be rationally demonstrable; that he will be seen by the believers in the next life is known only by revelation.

Ontological bases of Ashʿarī thought. According to the Ashʿarī theologians of the classical period, the world consists of two kinds of primary entities: atoms, which are conjoined to form bodies, and the entitative "attributes" or "accidents" that reside in these atoms, each of which contains a single discrete instance of each class *(jins)* of accident or its contrary. The atoms perdure through many instants, but the "accidents," since they exist for only an instant, are continually created anew by God. Events are the coming to be of entities, and since God causes the existence of every entity, the causation of one event by another *(tawallud)* is denied. The system is thus fundamentally occasionalistic, and the interrelationships between distinct entities as they exist separately in temporal succession are little discussed as such in the available texts.

Events that are properly described as human actions (*aksāb*) are defined as those that are the immediate objects of a "created ability to act" *(qudrah muḥdathah)* and are limited to those events that take place in the agent as and insofar as they are intended by the agent. As entities they are ascribed to God, as his action; under other descriptions they qualify the part, and only the part, of the agent in which they occur and are so ascribed to him as his action. The human agent is properly said to be able to perform the act he or she performs only at the moment it is actually performed; only at this instant does God create in the human the ability to perform it. On this basis the Ashʿarī theologians are accused of holding that individuals are in some instances commanded by God to do what they are not able to do (*taklif mā lā yuṭāq*). Though this is formally true, appropriate distinctions are made between an agent's not being able to do something (*ghayr qādir*) and being unable (*ʿājiz*) to do it, and accordingly between voluntary omission (*tark*) and involuntary omission. This analysis of human actions was radically opposed by the Muʿtazilah, who considered it to be deterministic. Viewed from the standpoint of the Ashʿarī school, however, the issue is not one of freedom and determinism, but of whether or not any event can occur independently of God's will and action.

In fact, the question of determinism is treated ambivalently in most of the texts that survived. Those events that occur regularly as the apparent consequences of human actions are not considered as true effects of the basic act, but are created by God occasionalistically according to the consistency of the "convention" (*ʿādah*) that he freely follows in ordering material events. Miracles are events that God has created with a radical departure from the sequence in which he usually makes things happen, in order to verify the divine origin of a prophet's message. Belief (*īmān*) is essentially the assent (*taṣdīq*) of the believer to the truth of God's message transmitted by the prophet, and one in whom this assent occurs is by definition a believer (*muʾmin*). The assent requires, but is distinct from, cognition and entails, but is distinct from, the performance of what God commands. God commands the belief of the unbeliever but does not will it (otherwise the unbeliever would believe). The obedience of the believers is neither the cause nor the necessary condition of their reward in the life to come; it is simply a criterion arbitrarily decreed by God.

Ashʿarī methods. The Ashʿarī school disapproves of *taqlīd,* the unreflecting assent to religious dogmas by simple acquiescence to recognized authority. They hold that, at least on a basic level, the believers ought to know the sense and coherence of what they hold to be true and should rationally understand the validity of its foundation in the Qurʾān and the teaching of the Prophet. According to the traditionalist method, creedal and theological statements are established and verified through the collection of a consistent body of citations from the Qurʾān, the Prophet, and recognized authorities among the first generations of Muslims, so that any deviant thesis can be excluded on grounds of contextual incompatibility with these canonical sources. By contrast, the Ashʿarī method proceeds to a formal, logical, and conceptual analysis of the terms of each thesis on the basis of a rigid set of definitions and distinctions, axioms and principles, which both explain the elementary sense and foundation of the thesis and exclude any counterthesis as unfounded or inconsistent in some respect.

Among the most conspicuous aspects of the Ashʿarī texts are the formalism that dominates both their expression and their intention and the narrow delimitation of topics as defined by the particular thesis. Since the Ashʿarīyah, unlike the Muʿtazilah, did not consider it necessary to found their theology autonomously on philosophical reasoning, the theoretical principles and implications of their doctrine are not extensively set forth in the texts. One begins from and always returns to the basic definitions and distinctions, which are presented and argued in what often appears to be a rather peremptory manner. Even where positions are argued at great length in terms of a variety of questions and against a number of counterpositions, as in al-Juwaynī's *Al-shāmil,* the discussion of the basic issue seldom advances much beyond its original statement. Consequently, and especially given the limited sources currently available, for a number of important questions it is extremely difficult to interpret what is explicitly presented within the broader implications of the question. For this reason, the Ashʿarī *kalām* of the classical period has been considered chiefly a dialectic exercise and one that is mostly, if not entirely, apologetic in character. The formal disputation (*munāẓarah*) was from the outset a central element in the study and cultivation of the religious sciences in Islam, and as in the case of Western Scholasticism, it largely determined the literary expression of Muslim theology.

A number of leading Ashʿarī theologians wrote works on dialectics *(jadal).* Although the form of their presentation is often dialectical, few if any classical Ashʿarī works are dialectically apologetic in the strict sense of the term, for both the question and the argument are always presented and elaborated within the narrow context of the formal and theoretical presuppositions of the school's own doctrine, not those presupposed by the counterthesis or any other that might presumably be acceptable to both disputants. Even so, their Muslim opponents, at first chiefly the Muʿtazilah and later the Karrāmīyah, had a significant catalytic effect on the development of Ashʿarī theology in the classical period: They were not simply a source of countertheses that had to be dealt with, but were also significant figures within the religious and intellectual milieu, and as such were, along with the Ḥanābilah, competitors for the allegiance of the Muslim community and in some cases for patronage too.

Philosophical problems. It was apparently under pressure from the Muʿtazilī school of Basra, then approaching its zenith, that Ashʿarī theology made rapid advances in sophistication toward the beginning of the eleventh century. Concepts that had remained somewhat vague or inadequately elaborated in the work of al-Ashʿarī and his immediate disciples underwent revision and redefinition, while principles and constructs that had not been sufficiently thought through were redefined and the system as a whole brought into more rigorous coherence. In the process, a certain diversity of teaching became apparent in the works of the leading masters. The distinction between the necessarily existent (the eternal) and the contingent (*al-muḥdath,* the temporal) was fundamental.

Beyond this, most of the Ashʿarī theologians of the classical period understood being univocally, to the extent that terms meaning "entity" *(shayʾ, dhāt, mawjūd)* were applied to the atoms and their accidental properties alike. The Ashʿarīyah of this period were basically nominalists. God determines the various kinds of beings, creating each with its distinctive characteristics; the names of the classes or kinds of things by which their individual instances are called are given originally in God's instruction *(tawqīf)*, not by human convention. The basic adjectival or descriptive terms that ascribe distinct or accidental properties to things are derived from the names of those properties, as *ʿālim* (knows) is derived from *ʿilm* (cognition) to describe a subject in which a cognition exists.

The question of what qualifications or predicates of a being are or are not grounded (*muʿallalah*) in distinct properties was the subject of considerable discussion. Because the foundation of the system lay in its analytic formalism, problems inevitably arose concerning the universality of many terms. These were especially acute since they held that terms that name both human and divine attributes (*life, cognition, volition,* for example) are basically univocal, while asserting at the same time that God and his eternal attributes are wholly unlike created beings and so belong to no class (*jins*) of entities: It is known that these terms name God's attributes truly and adequately because they are used by God in the Qurʾān. Formulations to the effect that God's will, for example, "is a volition unlike volitions" stated but did not adequately resolve the problem.

Following a formula found already in al-Ashʿarī, Ibn Fūrak and others held that things simply "deserve" (*istaḥaqqa*) to be called by the terms that describe them properly and truly. Any subject in which there exists a cognition, for example, "deserves" to be described by the expression *knows,* and the cognition is, in each case, the reason or cause of the predication *(ʿillat al-waṣf);* what they have in common (*jāmiʿ*) is this cause or reason. What any two cognitions, on the other hand, have in common is simply that they deserve to be named by the expression *cognition.* Some authorities will speak of their having the same "particular characteristics" (*khawāṣṣ, khaṣaʾiṣ*). Al-Bāqillānī, however, adapting a concept from his Muʿtazilī contemporaries, posits the reality of non-entitative attributes or "states" (*aḥwāl)* of things, which are the referential or ontological basis of the universality of descriptive terms. In this way, every cognition, whether created or uncreated (eternal), is qualified by a state of "being a cognition" (*ʿilmīyah*), and every subject in which there exists a cognition is qualified by a state of "being cognizant" (*ʿālimīyah*). Similarly a human action *(kasb)* is qualified by a state of being a human action (*kasbīyah*). Among the Ashʿarī masters of the classical period, only al-Juwaynī accepted and defended al-Bāqillānī's concept of "states."

There were a number of other difficulties and differences among the Ashʿarī theologians of the period, though these are less clearly presented in the available sources. The school agreed, for example, that God is able to create an infinite number of individuals belonging to any given class of beings, but did not agree as to whether or not he is able to create an infinity of classes other than those he has actually created. The question of whether, and in what way, God's will is general or particular with regard to its objects was debated, but exactly how the problem was treated by the various authors remains unclear. Likewise, al-Juwaynī, and he alone, it would seem, held that God's knowledge of creatures is general and not particular, but again the available sources do not provide an adequate view of his thought on the question. Though the same basic distinctions are made with regard to the createdness of human actions, and the same set of basic propositions are formally maintained by all authorities, there are differences concerning the way the concrete relationships between the elements involved in human actions are understood. Some, among them al-Juwaynī, hold that the relationship between the created ability to act and its object is simply intentional. The antecedent or concomitant actuality of motivation and volition is seldom discussed in the available texts, since it is not formally pertinent, given the way the basic question of the createdness of human actions is posed and treated. The most conspicuous deviation from the normal form of the school's teaching in this period is found in al-Juwaynī's *Risālah* (or *ʿAqīdah*) dedicated to Niẓām al-Mulk. Although he maintains the basic theological dogmas of the school, the way in which they are presented and explained is new and, in the case of some major elements, irreconcilable not only with the teaching of his predecessors but also with that of his own major theological writings. In many respects the work anticipates the fundamental trend of the following period.

LATER ASHʿARĪYAH. With the rapidly increasing assimilation of ancient and Hellenistic learning, both scientific and philosophical, and its integration into the intellectual life of Islam, the change in both language and conceptualization that characterizes the second major period of Ashʿarī theology was inevitable: the urgent need of Sunnī orthodoxy to counter the growing influence of Ismaʿīlī gnosticism and of the philosophers (*falāsifah*), particularly the Neoplatonism of Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), made it imperative. The three most creative theologians of this period were al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), al-Shahrastānī (d. 1153), a student of Abū al-Qāsim al-Anṣāri, and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1209). The major Ashʿarī texts surviving from this period are more numerous and also more diverse than those of the earlier school, since many of them, especially those of al-Ghazālī and al-Rāzī, enjoyed great popularity over the centuries, while the earlier works, rapidly outdated, became progressively more remote in concept and expression. The apologetic and polemic of the Ashʿarī theologians of this period engage their rationalistic opponents directly, not merely in their own language, but on purely rational grounds, as in al-Ghazālī's famous refutation of Ibn Sīnā's philosophy, *Tahāfut al-falāsifah* (The Incoherence of the Philosophers), and in al-Shahrastānī's *Muṣāraʿat al-falāsifah* (Wrestling the Philosophers Down). Where the formal and theoretical principles of their doctrine were not much discussed in the texts of the classical period, they are now set forth in extensive detail.

The general attitudes of the three great masters of the period and the character of their thought manifest significant differences, however. Al-Ghazālī's view of the nature and value of formal, systematic theology, in particular, was not shared by other Ashʿarī thinkers either before or after him. In the wake of intellectual and religious crises, he became convinced that the only valid and certain knowledge of God is given in direct mystical experience. As a result, where the common Ashʿarī tradition held that systematic theology furnishes a sound and valuable, if not essential, conceptual foundation for one's belief, al-Ghazālī insists that it is wholly inadequate. Since it cannot be grounded in autonomous human reason, moreover, it is at best founded in *taqlīd* and, he concludes, has no valid function other than as a dialectical apologetic. He did, however, produce two *kalām* compendia in the traditional form, the *Iqtiṣād fī al-iʿtiqād* (The Just Mean in Belief) and the *Qawāʿid al-ʿaqāʾid* (Foundations of the Creeds, which is book 2 of the first part of his *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* [The Vitalization of the Religious Sciences]). While these works by no means embody his entire theology, they are demonstrative of his dogmatic thought as it relates to the Ashʿarī tradition.

In these works, as in al-Shahrastānī's *Nihāyat al-iqdām fī ʿilm al-kalām* (The Furthermost Steps in the Science of *Kalām*), one sees not so much a sudden and radical break with the past as an effort to rethink and recast the basic dogmas within an expanded theoretical framework, one that required and produced a definite, and ultimately definitive, movement away from the rigid kind of analysis and close restriction of topics that had characterized the school since its foundation. The traditional formulation of the basic dogmatic theses is thus consistently maintained, but the exposition and argumentation of most of them is in many respects new and often impressive.

Against what they regard as an impoverished conception of God's being held by the *falāsifah,* al-Ghazālī and al-Shahrastānī set forth an understanding of the traditional seven essential attributes that, in taking them more as aspects of God's "essence" than as distinct properties, is somewhat analogous to the position of the Muʿtazilī school of Basra. The relation between God's eternal power, knowledge, and will and their temporal objects is more thoroughly and explicitly explored than in earlier Ashʿarī texts and in different, more Aristotelian terms. God's speaking is conceived in terms akin to cognition, with all modalities of interior speech tending to be reduced to propositions. The attribute of "perdurance" (*al-baqāʾ*), previously rejected by a number of Ashʿarī masters, is considered simply as a negative concept ("perdures" = "does not cease to exist") by al-Ghazālī, who explicitly rejects the earlier conception of the ontological grounding of attributes.

Where the classical doctrine of the school had held that all beings other than God are corporeal, the Ashʿarī theologians now recognize the existence of a host of "spirits" (*arwāh*) belonging to the "upper world" (*al-ʿālam al-aʿlā*). The atomistic conception of material bodies continues to be stated in much the same terms as before, but on another level, living beings tend to be talked of not as mere composites of atoms and their discrete "accidents," but as beings having a real, essential unity. The conception of God as the sole cause of the existence of every contingent being is maintained, though now discussed and argued with somewhat different terminology, as is the thesis of the createdness of human actions, which continues to be set forth on the basis of the same set of distinctions as in the texts of the classical period. The occasionalistic language that characterizes classical Ashʿarī writing is formally retained, but its radical tone is to some extent mitigated and the function of secondary causes plainly recognized.

The adoption of Aristotelian psychology is of signal importance. The changing perspective of the Ashʿarī *kalām* is perhaps most conspicuously exemplified in al-Ghazālī's discussion of what is morally good and bad, right and wrong. The traditional Ashʿarī conception of ethical valuations in terms of obligation based in God's unconditioned command, license, and prohibition he rationalizes through a sort of utilitarianism of virtue: one ought always to act for his own ultimate good (that is, that to be achieved in the next life), and this is uniquely made known in God's revelation. He accounts for good (*ḥasan*) and bad (*qabīḥ*) not directly in what is commanded and forbidden but, harmonizing Ṣūfī teaching with an Aristotelian notion of virtue, in terms of ends (*aghrāḍ*), where moral perfection is measured by one's nearness to God.

If in their *kalām* works al-Ghazālī and al-Shahrastānī seem to have harmonized or juxtaposed disparate conceptual frameworks in a synthetic unity, this is not the case with al-Rāzī, who maintained a profound commitment to the Muslim philosophical tradition. He wrote extensively on philosophy (as well as on medicine and other sciences), and in his principal *kalām* works, *Maʿālim uṣūl al-dīn* (The Landmarks of Fundamental Doctrine) and the much longer *Kitāb al-arbaʿīn fī uṣūl al-dīn* (The Forty [Questions] concerning Fundamental Doctrine), as also in his monumental commentary on the Qurʾān, one finds Ashʿarī theology almost fully adapted to the conceptual universe of the philosophical tradition. Indeed, it seems possible that in some places al-Rāzī may follow his philosophical sources (chiefly Ibn Sīnā) so far as to compromise one or more of the fundamental theological tenets of the school. The number and diversity of his works are so great, however, that with the present state of knowledge it is not possible to come to a firm assessment of his thought.

After al-Rāzī, Ashʿarī theology is continued chiefly in a series of manuals eclectically dependent upon the great writers of the past. The most famous of these, *Al-mawāqif fī uṣūl al-dīn* (The Stages in Fundamental Doctrine) of ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī (d. 1355), has continued to serve as a textbook on theology to the present day. Among the various commentaries written on it, the most important and widely used is that of al-Jurjānī (d. 1413), and together with this text the *Mawāqif* has gone through a large number of printed editions since the early nineteenth century.

Because of the differences in language and conceptualization between the Ashʿarī theology of the classical period and that of later times, especially after al-Rāzī, it is impossible to define or characterize the tradition in terms of a single way of conceiving, formulating, and dealing with theological and metaphysical problems. The original success of Ashʿarī theology stemmed from the kind of coherent balance it achieved between rational understanding and a religious sense that was rooted in a basically conservative reading of the Qurʾān and the *sunnah.* Its development followed the religious and intellectual evolution of Sunnī Islam. The unity of the school lies largely in its common adherence to a basic set of theses, which sets it apart from other Muslim schools of speculative theology, such as the Māturīdīyah, on the one hand, and in its conceptual rationalization of these theses, which sets it apart from the more rigid traditionalists, on the other. Above all, it is the tradition's sense of its own continuity, beginning with the immediate disciples of al-Ashʿarī, that allows it to be identified by itself and others as Ashʿarī.

SEE ALSO Ashʿarī, al-; Attributes of God, article on Islamic Concepts; Falsafah; Free Will and Predestination, article on Islamic Concepts; Ghazālī, Abu Hamid al-; Iʿjāz; Ījī, ʿAdud al-Din al-; Kalām; Occasionalism.

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ASHERAH SEE ATHIRAT

ASHER BEN YEḤIʾEL (c. 1250–1327), known as Rabbenu ("our teacher") Asher or as RʾoSH, the acronym of that epithet; Talmudist and rabbinic legal authority. Born and educated in Germany, Asher was the leading disciple of the outstanding German rabbinic scholar of his age, Meʾir ben Barukh of Rothenburg. The turbulence disrupting German Jewish life impelled him to emigrate in 1303. He eventually settled in Toledo; that a man of such alien background was accepted as head of the Toledo rabbinical court reflects the power of his learning and his personality.

In Spain, Asher was immediately embroiled in a Kulturkampf over the study of philosophy. The product of an exclusively Talmud-centered curriculum, he did not fully understand all the issues involved (he declined to answer a legal query concerning the astrolabe because, he said, "It is an instrument with which I am not familiar"). Asher hesitated to support the ban promulgated by Shelomoh ben Avraham Adret proscribing the study of Greek philosophy until age twenty-five, because this implied that such study was permissible later, and he believed it should be prohibited throughout life. He ultimately endorsed the ban to ensure that failure to do so would not be misunderstood as support for philosophy. His was the most conservative position taken by any major protagonist in the conflict.

Asher's legal works, which emerged from intensive study of the Talmud, are of three kinds: (1) commentaries on two orders of the Mishnah and several Talmudic tractates; (2) *to-*

safot, brief excursuses on specific problems in the Talmudic text, which brought together recent German and Spanish insights; and (3) a codification called *Pisqei ha-Rʾosh.* Following the order of the Talmud and covering most of its tractates, *Pisqei ha-Rʾosh* integrated the Talmudic argument with decisions of post-Talmudic authorities to arrive at the operative law. Asher condemned the practice of rendering legal decisions based on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* by those not expert in the Talmudic sources.

Asher's *responsa,* or replies to legal questions, are among the more important and influential of this genre. He was frequently called upon to interpret communal ordinances and their relationship to classical Jewish law, and to decide which local Spanish customs should be honored (e.g., the use of capital or corporal punishment in cases of blasphemy or informing) and which should be opposed. *Responsum* 55 moves from the specific issue, concerning a wife's right to dispose of her assets as she desired through a will, to a significant debate over general principles of jurisprudence. Asher rejected the use of philology, philosophical logic, and commonsense argumentation in order to defend the integrity of the halakhic decision-making process, insisting that philosophy and Torah are "two opposites, irreconcilable, that will never dwell together."

A bridge between the great rabbinic centers of Germany and of Spain, Asher and his sons had a lasting impact on the development of Jewish law. One son, Yehdah, succeeded him as rabbi in Toledo; another, Yaʿaqov, used his father's legal oeuvre as the basis for his own magnum opus, the *Arbaʿah ṭurim,* a code of operative Jewish law with a new structure independent of the Talmud and earlier codes, which became the basis for Yosef Karo's *Shulḥan ʿarukh.*

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ASHES are the irreducible dry residue of fire. They may be burnt offerings, such as the cremation of a human body, the sacrificial burning of an animal, or the ritual burning of a plant. Ashes have religious significance as the substance remaining after the divine living energy of sacred fire has departed from a living being or has acted to purge, purify, destroy, volatilize, punish, consume, sublimate, or extract the essence of some created thing. Ashes variously manifest and represent the residue or effect of sacred fire in its manifold creative and negating functions. As hierophanies of power and as sacred symbols, ashes are connected with rites of penitence, mourning, sacrifice, fertility, purification, healing, and divination.

In certain myths dealing with origins, ashes are the material from which things are made. For example, the San depict the Milky Way as being made of ashes, as do the Macoví, for whom the Milky Way is made of the ashes of the Celestial Tree. In Aztec myth humankind itself is made of ashes. Likewise, participants in the Ash Wednesday rite of the Roman Catholic Church are reminded penitentially that they are but the stuff of ashes: "Memento, homo, quia cinis es; in cinerem reverteris."

Ashes, together with any other residue left once the sacrificial fire has extracted the living essence of an offering, are manifestations of sacred renunciation. In certain spiritual disciplines, the rubbing of ashes on the body represents the renunciation or burning up of energic or libidinal attachments to life for the sake of spiritual development or enlightenment. For example, in Hindu mythology the god Śiva, the divine paradigm of yogins, burns up all the other gods with a glance from his third eye, which possesses the vision that penetrates to the essential nullity of all forms. Śiva then rubs the gods' ashes on his body. The yogins rub the ashes of the sacred fire on their bodies as a symbol of having sublimated the fiery power of procreation or lust (*kāma*). The whiteness of the ashes is referred to as the glow of the ashes of the yogins' semen.

Ashes, by connection with the cleansing power of the divine fiery energy, have the power to purify. For example, in the Red Heifer ritual of the Hebrews the ashes of the sacrificed animal's body are mixed with water and sprinkled on a person who is ritually unclean from contact with a corpse. Ritual cleanliness is also achieved by the *brahmans* in India by rubbing the body with ashes or bathing it in ashes before performing religious rites.

Covering one's clothes and body in ashes is a part of various rituals of mourning, humiliation, and atonement. Wearing ashes exteriorizes or manifests spiritual states of loss, sorrow, emptiness, or worthlessness before the divine power. For example, in the Arunta tribe the widow of the deceased covers herself during mourning rites in the ashes of her husband. In the Bible Job humbles himself before Yahveh, saying, "I knew you then only by hearsay; but now, having seen you with my own eyes, I retract all I have said, and in dust and ashes I repent" (*Jb.* 42:5f.).

The pattern, or tendency, of fiery divine life-forces is interpreted by means of the pattern of ashes made during divinatory rites. The Maya Indians in Yucatán, for example, use this type of oracle to determine the particular divinity responsible for a child's life. Possibly the idea behind this practice is similar to the idea of various North American Indian peoples who regard the life patterns in the palm and fingertips of a person's hand as traces of the divine energy ordinarily manifested as wind or breath.

Finally, ashes as the residue of life manifest the fiery divine life-force itself and are used in fertility rites to stimulate the life energy of crops and flocks. Thus in many European rites, such as those celebrated at Easter and on Saint John's Day, a human figure of straw representing the vegetation spirit is burned, and the ashes are scattered on the fields to stimulate the growth of crops. Likewise, in ancient Rome, the ashes from sacred fires of animal sacrifices were fed to flocks in order to stimulate their fertility and their production of milk.

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ASHI (c. 352–424/7), the leading sixth-generation Babylonian amora. A student of Kahana, Ashi was reputedly based in the city of Mata Meḥasya for sixty years. He served as judge of a local Jewish court and as community administrator, positions that enabled him to implement rabbinic law in many areas; he expounded scripture and taught oral law to disciples, whom he trained in his court, and to other Jews at large, whom he tried to persuade to follow rabbinic norms. His reported ability to enforce Sabbath and other laws previously not widely enforced by rabbis suggests that he had greater impact on Jewry than his predecessors. Disciples and colleagues in particular revered him and believed that he was respected by the exilarch (the lay Jewish leadership sponsored by the Persian government) and even in the court of the Persian king.

A Talmudic account mentions that Ashi ordered a crumbling synagogue to be pulled down but had his bed put into it to ensure that it be completely rebuilt (B.T., *B.B.* 3b). This story suggests not only a belief in his power but also the means to which he had to resort to activate the community. The dictum that he "combined Torah and greatness" conveys the rabbinic view that he took over prerogatives of, and even instructed, the exilarch. But this is inconsistent with sources that depict rabbis as solicitous of the exilarch's staff. In actuality, the exilarch may have brought his circles closer to the rabbis but, in the process, used them to bolster his own power.

It is as a teacher that Ashi is especially remembered. He extended rabbinic law to cover more refined issues in diverse areas from the liturgy to civil law and addressed personal ethics such as the importance of humility. As the dictum "Ashi and Rabinaʾ are the end of *horaʾah* [instruction]" notes, Ashi marked a turning point in intellectual development. The statement is usually held to mean that Ashi redacted the Talmud, although later editors may have restructured the discussions. In recent scholarship, Ashi is seen as not a redactor but the last named master who employed categorical statements, which later anonymous masters (between 427 and 500) expanded and wove into elaborate arguments and which final savoraic editors revamped and restructured. This new assessment credits Ashi with considerable impact, since it implies that rabbis after Ashi believed they could not teach independently but only rework earlier thinking.

SEE ALSO Amoraim; Talmud.

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Revised Bibliography

ASHKENAZIC HASIDISM. In the late twelfth century, the Jewish communities of Mainz, Worms, and Speyer saw the emergence of a Jewish pietistic circle characterized by its own leadership and distinctive religious outlook. For almost a hundred years, the Jewish Pietists of medieval Germany (*ḥasidei Ashkenaz*) constituted a small elite of religious thinkers who, along with their followers, developed and sought to carry out novel responses to a variety of social and religious problems.

Pietistic texts were written by three members of the same circle who were also part of the Qalonimos family. Tracing their origins to northern Italy, the Qalonimides claimed to be descendants of the founding family of Mainz Jewry in Carolingian times and bearers of distinctive ancient mystical traditions. The three major figures in this group were Shemuʾel, son of Qalonimos the Elder of Speyer, known as "the pietist, the holy, and the prophet" (fl. mid-twelfth century); his younger son, Yehudah, known as "the pietist" (d. 1217); and Yehudah's disciple and cousin, Elʿazar, son of Yehudah of Worms, who called himself "the insignificant" (d. 1230?).

In their pietistic writings, Shemuʾel, Yehudah, and Elʿazar developed in detail the contours of a distinctive perception of the ideal Jewish way of life, which they thought must be followed for the individual Jew to attain salvation in the afterlife. This shared personal eschatology, or vision of the ideal way for the individual to behave, was attached to the ancient biblical and classical rabbinic term *ḥasid,* which had denoted, at various times, those who are loyal or faithful to God (e.g., *Ps.* 31:24, 37:28–29) or someone who is punctilious in observing the religious commandments of Judaism and who even forgoes that to which he is entitled (e.g., *Avot* 5.10).

The German-Jewish Pietists built their own understanding of *ḥasid,* or "Pietist," upon the cumulative foundation of earlier meanings but moved in new directions as well. Their worldview was grounded in the idea that God's will is only partially revealed in the words of the Pentateuch, or the Torah, given to the prophet Moses at Mount Sinai. God's will requires of the truly faithful and punctilious Jew, that is, of the *ḥasid,* a search for a hidden and infinitely demanding additional *torah,* which God encoded in the words of scripture. He did this, moreover, to enable the Pietist to earn additional reward in the afterlife by searching for it and fulfilling it as best he can.

The difficult task of discovering the hidden will of God is part of a central concept in Pietism. The Pietists maintained that life consists of a divinely ordained trial by which the pietist's loyalty to God is continually tested in all he does, thinks, and feels. The source of the trial is a person's passions, such as sexual attraction to persons other than a spouse or the drive for personal honor and adulation in this world. The pietistic authors refer to these urges as the "evil impulse" (*yetser ha-raʿ*), a term from classical rabbinic theology. Sometimes associated with the tempter or the accuser (Satan) in the *Book of Job* (e.g., 1:6–12), the Pietist's trial by passions is part of God's plan to reward the successful Pietist who resists them. As Shemuʾel says, "Is not the evil impulse good for man? If it did not dominate him, what reward would he earn for acting virtuously?" (*Sefer ha-yirʾah,* or *Book of the Fear of God,* para. 2). God's reward for the Pietists derives not only from their struggle to search scripture for God's hidden commandments but also from their continuous resistance of the evil impulse. That effort, in turn, involves a constant self-examination of one's motives and feelings. As such, German Hasidism constitutes one of several contemporary developments in the spiritualization of ancient Judaism which led to new modes of piety. Along with Maimonidean religious philosophy, theosophical mysticism, or Qabbalah, and the scholastic legal achievement of the glossators of the Talmud, German-Jewish Pietism permanently reshaped classical Judaism into traditional Judaism, which lasted down to the modern period.

One result of the fact that the Pietist's life requires resistance to all kinds of temptations of the flesh and ego was the tendency toward asceticism. Grounded in the authors' focus on maximizing otherworldly reward by resisting temptations in this world, the Pietists are told to avoid all illicit physical or psychological pleasure during their life. For this reason, Pietists should not play with their children or benefit from any social honors. Yehudah the Pietist even goes so far as to prohibit authors from writing their own name in the introduction to books they have written. Their children might take pride in their parents' work, and this "enjoyment" in this world will deprive them of some of their reward in the next one.

The centrality in the pietistic ideal of viewing life as a continuous divine trial probably was a reaction, at least in part, to the traumatic memory of acts of suicidal Jewish martyrdom which took place in the same Rhineland towns in the spring of 1096. In the wake of the First Crusade hundreds of Jews, including many of the intellectual elite of Mainz and Worms, were either killed for not converting to Christianity on the spot or else martyred themselves in acts of ritualized socioreligious polemic. Rather than be defiled by the "impurity" of Christians, whom the Jews at that time regarded as idolators, many men and women created a boundary between themselves and their enemy by taking their own lives. In so doing, they acted as though they were Temple sacrifices or holy things which only the holy, or other Jews, could touch. By killing their own families and then themselves, they sought to keep ritual pollution in check. The Hebrew chronicles that describe these events indicate that the crusader mob never reached Jerusalem. By picturing the Jewish martyrs as Temple sacrifices, the chroniclers indicate that the Jews of Mainz in effect erected their own symbolic version of the Temple of Jerusalem and by so doing affirmed their absolute loyalty and faithfulness to God and Judaism through the ultimate sacrifice of having to give their lives.

In the pietistic writings of the Qalonimides are found echoes of the trauma of 1096. Not only is the life of the Pietist a trial, as were the events of that year, but the need to resist the evil impulse is compared to the willingness to be martyred if necessary. In fact, the authors assume that their readers would willingly sacrifice their lives if Christians were to threaten them with the penalty of death for not converting: "If you were living at a time of religious persecution, you would endure tortures or death for the sake of the Holy One, blessed be He. . . . You certainly should endure this [trial] which is not as severe but is only [resisting] your evil impulse which strongly urges you to sin" (*Sefer ha-yirʾah,* para. 2).

The conception that the Pietist's life was a trial that should be resisted might have led to the conclusion that temptations were to be sought out and fought off. This possibility was discussed but was considered very risky. The struggle between the Pietist who tries to live on the boundary, nearly sinning while resisting temptation, is illustrated in Yehudah the Pietist's major work about Pietism, *Sefer hasidim* (Book of the Pietists). There Yehudah illustrates the pietistic ideal in hundreds of exempla, or moralistic tales, about Pietists and the Jewish communities in which they lived among Christians and other Jews who were not Pietists. In one of his most celebrated tales, he describes a Pietist who comes close to sinning by risking his own life in order to affirm his loyalty to God.

Yehudah tells of a Pietist who used to torture himself in the summer by lying down on the ground among fleas and in the winter by placing his feet in a container filled with water until they froze. A friend challenged his extremes of self-punishment by quoting a classic proof-text against suicide (*Gn.* 9:5). The Pietist answered that he was only atoning for his sins.

After the Pietist died, one of his students sought to find out if his teacher was being rewarded or punished for undergoing such extreme penances. In a dream, the Pietist takes the student to Paradise and tells him that his place is high up and that the student will only attain such a high place if he continues to perform acts of virtue. This vision convinced the student that his master was not being punished for flirting with the prohibition of committing suicide (*Sefer ḥasidim,* ed. Wistinetzki, para. 1556).

The Socioreligious Program. While all three Qalonimides shared a common vision regarding a personal eschatology, there were major ways in which Yehudah differed with Shemuʾel and other ways in which Elʿazar disagreed with Yehudah. Since only one tract by Shemuʾel has survived, *Sefer ha-yirʾah,* it is impossible to know many of his religious ideas, but from a comparison of that work with Yehudah's *Sefer ḥasidim,* Yehudah emerges as an important innovator in several respects. Above all, he developed a social, as well as a personal, program for the Pietist. In the process of defining his socioreligious understanding of the demands of Pietism, Yehudah focuses on Jews who were not Pietists and criticized communal leaders or rabbis who permitted or condoned social abuses. He accuses them of ignoring justice and of taking advantage of the poor.

In addition to presenting Pietism as having a social as well as a personal dimension, Yehudah defines a new social context for the Pietists themselves. While Shemuʾel's work is addressed to the individual Pietist, Yehudah takes for granted that Pietists are organized as a fellowship distinct from other Jews who are not Pietists. Moreover, he views this sectarian fellowship as a subcommunity of Jews who are led not by non-Pietist communal elders but by their own religious leaders, charismatic figures called sages (*ḥakhamim*). Thus the social world presupposed in Yehudah's *Sefer ḥasidim* consists of three groups: pietistic Jews, nonpietistic Jews, and Christians. For Yehudah, unlike Shemuʾel, a Jew may be rich or poor, scholarly or ignorant, powerful or common, but the only distinction that matters is between being a Pietist and not.

The exclusivistic character of Yehudah's Pietists was not absolute: a non-Pietist could become a Pietist by undergoing an initiation ceremony of atonement. For this purpose, Yehudah's *Sefer ḥasidim* includes a penitential manual that he designed for the sage who now functions as a confessor and dispenser of penances. This elaborate penitential ritual serves the sectarian functions of disciplining Pietists who temporarily lapse and enabling non-Pietists to "enter," or be initiated into pietism by means of a penitential rite of passage. A Pietist or would-be Pietist approaches a sage, confesses his sins to him, and receives from the sage an appropriate penance to perform.

Although the door to Pietism was open for others, the Pietists generally appeared to other Jews as a self-righteous elite. It is not surprising, then, that they experienced a great deal of antagonism from other Jews. By insisting that only Pietists should serve as cantors in the synagogue, or be scribes, or be considered proper spouses for themselves or their children, or be eligible to receive charity, they made themselves extremely unpopular. And so to be a Pietist was to be the butt of jokes, the target of ridicule, and the victim of intemperate hostility.

In view of their high regard for themselves, one might have expected the Pietists to try to take over the Jewish communities in which they lived. In fact, in Yehudah's writings there are signs of three political strategies by which they sought to implement their programmatic vision of the perfect Jewish society. Two of these strategies failed: They could not take over the leadership of the communities for long, and they failed to maintain at least one attempt to create a utopian commune of Pietists living in splendid isolation apart from other Jews. A third approach, however, is characteristic of the Pietists who are described in *Sefer ḥasidim.* Groups tried to live in, but not with, the rest of the Jewish community while struggling to retain their fellowship and resist being absorbed or even influenced by the nonpietistic majority. Not surprisingly, even this compromise form of sectarianism was short-lived, so much so that it left barely any trace outside of Yehudah's own writings.

Although Jews resisted Yehudah's radical program of forming a sectarian fellowship, they were able to remain Pietists as individuals thanks to Elʿazar of Worm's translation of Pietism back into a personalist idiom. In marked contrast to the sectarian and political orientation of *Sefer ḥasidim,* Elʿazar's writings, like Shemuʾel's, are addressed to the individual Pietist or Jew, not to organized subgroups of Pietists and their sages. There is not even a hint in Elʿazar's writings that he thought of sages except as a failure. Thus unlike the penitential in *Sefer ḥasidim,* which was designed for the use of the sage as confessor, Elʿazar's private penitentials enable sinners to learn by themselves which penances to undergo simply by reading the manual. He even tells his readers that his manuals were necessary because Jews were too embarrassed to approach another Jew and confess their sins to him.

By articulating a nonsectarian, personalist formulation of Pietism in the wake of Yehudah's failed attempt to effect a social as well as personal religious revival, Elʿazar was a conservative spokesman for a pre–*Sefer ḥasidim* form of German-Jewish Pietism. But Elʿazar was himself resourceful in adapting and salvaging the shared vision and values of the pietistic ideal. He institutionalized it by incorporating it into his book of German-Jewish customary law, *Sefer ha-roqeaḥ*. In so doing, Elʿazar "normalized" an innovative expression of Judaism by bringing it into the mainstream of rabbinic legal precedents. Ironically, the penances which Yehudah, a critic of the nonpietistic rabbinic and communal elite, devised for new members of the pietistic fellowship, were later implemented by rabbinic leaders themselves, thanks to Elʿazar's including them in his book of religious law. Elʿazar thus transformed and preserved the values and many of the customs first advanced by the Pietists and blended them into his compendium of earlier German-Jewish tradition. This enabled pietism to become a critical part of "ordinary" European Jewish piety throughout the succeeding centuries.

THEOLOGICAL AND MYSTICAL WORKS. Thanks to Yehudah's stricture that authors should not mention their own names in the books they write, there is no explicit internal evidence about Yehudah's own writings. Nevertheless, it is reasonably clear from early attributions and quotations that he wrote not only the major collection of pietistic thought, *Sefer ḥasidim,* but also several books of esoteric lore. Thus Joseph Dan has posited, with good reason, that Yehudah probably is the author of several still unpublished esoteric works found, for example, in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hebrew Manuscript Oppenheim 540 (Neubauer no. 1567). In these writings, many of which Elʿazar edited under the title *Sodei razayyaʾ* (Esoteric secrets), Yehudah deals with the problem of anthropomorphism in an original way. Although unaware of most of the medieval Jewish philosophical tradition, which was being translated then from Arabic into Hebrew, Yehudah did have a "paraphrased" version of the tenth-century Jewish philosophical work by Saʿadyah Gaon, *Emunot ve-deʿot* (The book of beliefs and opinions). There Saʿadyah posits that God is one and that all concrete imagery in the Bible and rabbinic lore which seems to refer to God himself actually refers to a created aspect of God, the divine glory, or *kavod.*

Yehudah the Pietist maintained the distinction between God's oneness and a *kavod,* but he argued that the *Kavod* was itself a twofold emanation of God and not a created being. In separate tracts, Yehudah discussed the implications for the practical religious life of this theological distinction. Particularly at stake was the question as to which aspect of God the Pietist should concentrate on when he prays. Yehudah insisted that the Pietist must think only of the upper, hidden "face" of the glory, not of the lower "face," which is revealed in images to the prophets. To think of the latter would be idolatry. Moreover, Yehudah wrote that the Pietists should pray slowly, in a drawn out or deliberate style (*be-meshekh*), in order to permit time to think about elaborately worked out word and number associations attached to the words of the liturgy. Several versions of these mystical prayer commentaries exist, although none has been published. Other parts of Elʿazar's *Sodei razayyaʾ* deal with manipulations of the Hebrew alphabet and of the divine names to achieve mystical results, including the fabrication of a homunculus or *gōlem.*

One genre which expressed the Qalonimides' theology about anthropomorphism did find its way not only into print but even into the standard prayerbook. The Songs of Divine Oneness *(shirei yiḥud)* extol God himself as being beyond any attributes. Complementing these prayers is the equally mystical Song of Divine Glory *(shir ha-kavod)*, an intensely evocative expression of the Pietist's yearning to see God's glory, based on *Exodus* 33:18ff., *Song of Songs* 5:11ff., and the Babylonian Talmud, *Berakhot* 7a.

Apart from the library of esoteric, theological, and mystical texts which can be ascribed with varying degrees of probability to Shemuʾel, Yehudah, and Elʿazar, other works contain some divergent ideas and themes and have been ascribed to mainly anonymous subgroups. Of these writings, mention should be made of *Sefer ha-ḥayyim* (The book of life) and *Sefer ha-navon* (The book of the discerning). Of the few known authors outside the Qalonimide circle and their descendants, the most fascinating is Elḥanan, son of Yaqar, who atypically knew Latin and made use of Christian works in his esoteric commentaries and text in the late thirteenth century.

Although some of the esoteric writings associated with German-Jewish thinkers consist of exegetical speculations about God, many others deal with mystical experience and practice and are derived from ancient Jewish mystical traditions. It is significant that the Qalonimides preserved, studied, and elaborated much of the late ancient and early medieval Palestinian and Babylonian mystical texts about the divine chariot (*merkavah*), based on *Ezekiel,* chapters 1 and 10, and on the ascent through the heavenly palaces (*heikhalot*). Their writings about manipulating the divine name in the form of permutations of the Hebrew alphabet to achieve mystical and magical goals, decidedly influenced later Jewish mysticism in Spain. Thus, their mystical and esoteric writings and their expression of ascetic Pietism contributed to the Jewish mystical tradition and, more generally, to the distinctive fabric of traditional Jewish piety.

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ASHOKA SEE AŚOKA

ASHRAM.

The term *ashram* or *ās'rama* is derived from the Sanskrit root *śram,* meaning "intense exertion." It refers to both the mode of life associated with religious striving and the abode of those so engaged.

As a mode or way of life specified for twice-born Hindus (usually male), the ashramic ideal set forth four stages of development: being a student *(brahmacārin)* devoted to one's teacher; a householder *(gṛhastha)* with obligations to family, priests, and deities; a hermit *(vanaprastha)* who, with or without his wife, retreats from material concerns; and finally a renouncer *(sannyasin)* who forsakes all possessions in order to contemplate the eternal and, like the hermit, pursue *mokṣa* (spiritual liberation).

A clear delineation of this four-fold system can be traced to the Upaniṣads (cf. *Jābāla Upaniṣad* 4), which are believed to have been composed by *ṛṣis* (seers) in forest hermitages that were likewise called ashrams. The latter became places where young students and older seekers would come to "sit down near" *(upa-ni-ṣad)* a respected teacher *(gurū)* who would serve as their spiritual guide. Because the ancient Hindu teacher insisted on oral transmission, the *gurū-śiṣya* (teacher-disciple) relationship became central. Ashram life was simple and no distinctions were made between rich and poor or between castes. It seems, however, that only boys were sent to study outside the home, and thus the ashramic system of education contributed to a gap in learning between the sexes. Besides study, students would perform chores for their *gurū,* including begging for alms from wealthy residents. It was common for rulers and other wealthy individuals to support the establishment of these educational centers.

"Graduation" was marked by social expectations as well as a ceremonial bath. In the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* (1:11:1) we read that, upon completing their initial *brahmacarya* stage of learning, students were exhorted by their teachers to "speak the truth," "practice virtue *(dharma),*" and not neglect their studies or obligations to teachers, gods, and ancestors.

Over the centuries, ashrams became centers of pilgrimage, as people were drawn to one *gurū* or another, and to their legacies. As the spiritual magnetism of these *gurūs* came to attract Jains and Buddhists as well as Hindus, the forest retreats gradually lost their sectarian character.

REVIVAL OF HINDU ASHRAMS IN MODERN INDIA. Revival of the ashram mode of life in the early twentieth century can be attributed to neo-Hindu movements and, more specifically, to Hindu Reformers like Narendranath Datta, known as Vivekananda (1863–1902), Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941), Mahatma Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869–1948), Sri Aurobindo Ghose (1872–1950) and his disciple Mira Richard, known as "the Mother" (d. 1973), and Śivānanda (1887–1963).

Each of these early reformers was open to the West but, as Indian nationalists, they were also critical of British colonialism and Christianity's apparent link to it. They selected aspects of Western Christian ideas and culture that could be incorporated into the religious and philosophical traditions being retrieved from ancient Hinduism. This blending gave rise to creative institutions that identified themselves with one or more of the three traditional spiritual paths or *mārgas,* namely the path of selfless action and social service *(karma-mārga);* the path of ritual and devotional practices *(bhakti-mārga)*; and the path stressing contemplative union with God *(jñāna-mārga).*

This modern ashram movement attracted support and followers from the West as well as the East and, in this way, it provided an ecumenical model of spiritual renewal, in addition to advancing the cause of nationalism by stressing Indian identity, advocating independence in political and economic life, and countering claims of Western superiority.

One of the earliest and most enduring manifestations of the renewal of ashram life can be seen in the Ramakrishna Mission and Ramakrishna Order founded in Calcutta by Vivekananda in 1897 and 1899 respectively. Named after Vivekananda's *gurū,* Ramakrishna, who died in 1886, this mission was the first to be successful in the West. Today it has more than eighty centers in India and some twenty others abroad dedicated to education, social welfare, and the spread of Upaniṣadic thought. The order combines the Hindu tradition of renunciation *(saṃnyāsa)* and selfless service *(karma yoga)* with Christian models of organized monastic life. In 1954 a separate, independent women's branch named after Ramakrishna's wife, Śrī Śāradā Devī, was opened.

While the early period of the Ramakrishna movement follows the classic pattern of disciples gathering around a charismatic figure, later developments exemplify the way in which movements become institutionalized and routinized, such that loyalty once focused on a *gurū* is redirected to the organization itself.

Śāntiniketan (Abode of Peace) Ashram, originally founded in 1863 by Devendranath Tagore in a rural part of Bengal, was refounded in 1901 by his son, Rabindranath Tagore. This ashram provided a setting for the blending together of Indian and Western traditions and values, a cross-pollination that led to the restoration of the tradition of disciples living with their teachers, a rejection of caste distinctions, and the development of a communal life-style lived in harmony with nature. Today, what remains of Tagore's project is attached to Viśva Bhārata University.

In 1915 Mahatma Gandhi initiated the Satyāgraha (Truth-force) Ashram near Ahmedabad, Gujarat. It was moved three years later to Sabarmati. For Gandhi, it was essential that political and economic progress be rooted in religion, which he understood as a liberating force of truth and love. These ashrams were envisioned as training centers for persons of all classes, castes, and creeds who were committed to personal and national liberation. To make them accessible, he had situated them in the midst of towns and villages rather than in forests. He sought to combine the three *mārgas* and drew on both popular and Vedantic expressions of the Hindu tradition. A second ashram, Sevāgrām, was established near Wardha in Maharashtra under the guidance of Vinoba Bhave (1895–1982), who was especially concerned with advancing women's liberation.

Later, in 1959, Vinoba established the Brahmā Vidyā Mandir Ashram, also near Wardha, for women disciples, who were responsible for its day to day running. Its *raison d'être* was to empower women in the service of national unity. Both here and at the nearby Sevāgrām Ashram, followers lived according to the eleven principles formulated by Gandhi. These included five observances drawn from the moral prerequisites set down in Patañjali's *Yoga Sūtra*: *ahiṃsā* (nonviolence and love), *satya* (truth-seeking), *asteya* (simple living), *aparigraha* (minimizing possessions), and *brahmacarya* (celibacy). The six additional observances called for *sharir ashram* (manual labor), *asvāda* (restricted consumption), *sarva bhaya barjana* (fearlessness born of taking refuge in the Lord), *swadeshi* (solidarity with one's country, especially its poorest inhabitants), *sarvadharma samatva* (a respect for all religious traditions), and *sparsha bhāva* (rejection of untouchability).

The largest, most organized, and most commercialized of the modern ashrams is the Aurobindo Ashram located in Pondicherry, Tamil Nadu. Established in 1926, this spiritual retreat has some 2,000 members, many from the West, and is dedicated to the integration of the *jñāna* and *karma mārgas.* Its goal has been to develop an "Integral Yoga" that will allow Hindu spirituality to engage the contemporary world and its ideas. Prior to his death in 1950, Aurobindo transferred his authority to a disciple known as "the Mother." Under her leadership the ashram expanded and, to this day, she is the one who is regarded as its dominant symbolic *gurū.*

Swami Śivānanda, founder of the Śivānanda Ashram (1932), served his nation in several ways. Besides supporting social service programs, his creation of the Divine Life Society enabled him to gain a following for Vedantic teachings at home and abroad. His ashram, with its commitment to contemplation and its openness to seekers of all faiths, had a significant influence on the Catholic ashram movement, which was likewise driven by nationalist and anticolonial sentiments.

THE CHRISTIAN ASHRAM MOVEMENT. If the neo-Hindu reform movement involved in reviving ashram life can be seen as a creative response to the challenges posed by both British colonialism and Western Christian imperialism, the Christian ashram movement should be seen as a creative response, by some Indian Christians and foreign missionaries living in India, to challenges posed by existing forms of institutional Christianity that tended to alienate their followers from the rich cultural heritage of India. In other words, Christian ashram movements were the products of a new religious consciousness that recognized the colonial structures embedded in Christian institutions and responded by creating communal spaces where more authentic indigenous expressions of the faith could be developed.

Protestant Christians took the lead in this move to indigenize and inculturate Christianity. At a meeting of the National Missionary Society in 1912, Charles F. Andrews, a Christian minister who collaborated with Gandhi, put forth a proposal to establish ashrams to accomplish evangelical and social goals. In 1921 Savarirayan Jesudason and E. Forrester Paton established the first major Christian ashram, named Christukula, in Tirupppatur, Tamil Nadu. The founders of this and other Protestant retreats drew their inspiration from Hindu reformers like Gandhi, who is known to have stayed at Christukula. Protestant centers borrowed from the *bhakti* tradition, taking from it its melodies, instruments, vernacular phrasing, and democratic outreach to all castes. Gandhi-like, they emphasized social work, education, and health programs and took clear stands against colonialism. In the late 1940s, after independence, an Inter-Ashram Fellowship was formed.

Although it is not usually recognized as such, the Bethany Ashram, founded by Orthodox Syrians, was in fact the first Christian ashram to be established. It was founded in 1918 in what is now Kerala with the goal of drawing on the traditions of *bhakti* yoga and *jñāna* yoga in order to revitalize Orthodox Syrian spirituality in a way that would reflect its ties to Indian culture and the goals of nationalism. Today the Orthodox Syrian Church has a number of autonomous celibate communities with monks wearing the ochre-colored (*kavi*-colored) robes of Hindu renunciates and following a vegetarian diet, but because little else remains of Hindu forms, the term *ashram* seems to be nominal.

Among Catholics, a proposal to combine Christian monastic practice with elements of Hindu ashram life was made as early as 1891 by a *brahman* Bengali convert, but it was met with incomprehension. It was not until the time of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) that the seeds of inculturation were sown and institutional support for a Catholic ashram movement was made available by the Catholic Bishops Conference of India. That said, the need for Catholic ashrams had already been anticipated by two individuals: a French diocesan priest named Jules Monchanin and Henri le Saux, a French Benedictine who took the name Abhishiktānanda. Together they formed the first Catholic retreat center, Saccidānanda Ashram, also known as Shāntivānam (Forest of Peace), in 1950. Although Europeans, these pioneers were steeped in Hindu spirituality and they were committed to an Indianization of Christianity in order to Christianize Indians.

In Shāntivānam, inculturation led nuns and monks to adopt the *kavi*-colored robes of Hindu renunciates and to use Sanskritic names. New residents are welcomed with *dīkṣā,* a ritual of initiation, practice yoga, and follow a vegetarian diet. The chapel is built like a typical South Indian temple, an *OM* is inscribed over the entrance to the sanctuary and its altar has the shape of an inverted lotus. During the liturgy verses, from the Upaniṣads and the bible are read. Atop a *gopuram* ("tower") are statues of Paul, Mary, and Benedict, carved in poses reminiscent of Hindu temple *mūrtis* (images) and Jesus is regarded the *Sat* (true) *gurū.*

It should be noted that such attempts at inculturation were met with suspicion and criticism by many in the Hindu community who regarded the linking of evangelization and Indianization as a stealth form of Christian imperialism. Sīta Ram Goel's work *Catholic Ashrams: Sannyasins or Swindlers?,* published in 1995, exemplifies this response.

In the decades following Vatican II, a noticeable shift occurred. Ashram pioneers like Ignatius Hirudayam, SJ, in Madras, Sisters Vandana Mataji and Sara Grant in Pune, and Bede Griffiths, OSB, who took over leadership of Shāntivānam, stressed the ecumenical dimension of their communities. Their goal was to create a prayerful climate where "otherness" was valued and where participants in interfaith encounters and collaborations would be mutually challenged and enriched.

MARKS OF TRUE ASHRAMS: A CONSENSUS. As the ashram movement of Hindus and Christians enters into the twenty-first century, a consensus seems to have emerged regarding the requirements of genuine ashrams, that they be open to people of all creeds, castes, cultures, and countries; include women, whether in separated or mixed communities; address social inequalities; be responsive to the needs of those who do not belong to the ashram's denomination or sect; challenge such divisive elements as communalism, fanaticism, and fundamentalism; protect the environment; treasure the pluriform spiritual heritage of India; and contribute to national integration.

SEE ALSO Aurobindo Ghose; Gandhi, Mohandas; Gurū; Hinduism; Ramakrishna; Sādhus and Sādhvīs; Saṃnyāsa; Śāradā Devī; Tagore, Rabindranath; Vivekananda.

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JUDITH G. MARTIN (2005)

ASHTART SEE ASTARTE

ASHUR was the national god of Assyria; his name is that of the city-state of Ashur (or Assur). The characteristics of this god are very different from those of the other divinities of the Sumerian-Akkadian pantheon. There is some speculation that Ashur was formerly recorded in a list of divine names of the middle of the third millennium BCE (Mander, 1986, p. 69). However, in the earliest confirmed documents (twentieth to nineteenth centuries BCE), it is the god who appears as the real lord of his city, whereas the Assyrian sovereign was nothing more than Ashur's chief priest and manager of the city on his behalf. The god Ashur personifies the homonymous city (similar conditions are documented in High Mesopotamia, Syria, Anatolia, and the Diyala region, but are neither so frequent nor so relevant) as a possible expression of the holiness of the place near present-day Shirqat, where an imposing spur was the spot of the ancient city (it is to be remarked that the praises that were addressed to the towns or temples of the gods in southern Mesopotamia were intended as allusions to the "glory" of the god who there manifested himself: a completely different phenomenon). This peculiar origin is probably the reason for his marked difference with the other gods of the Mesopotamian pantheon. Ashur lacks family relations, no epithet is attributed to him, nor does he show clear connections with the world of the cosmic natural powers. He is praised in no hymns, nor is he ever engaged in incantations, and no mythological poem about him is known. His images are not anthropomorphic but only symbolic icons.

TRANSFORMATION OF ASHUR. From the beginning of the second millennium BCE, however, Ashur began to transform from a *numen loci* (divine presence of the place) into a *deus persona* (god person). The first step in this gradual passage was the combining of the god Ashur with the weather-god Adad (fifteenth century BCE), an evident resonance of the Syrian tradition in which El and Baal were the divinities at the head of the pantheon. Even the position of the king in respect to the god slowly changed. Shamshi-Adad I (1812–1780 BCE), a usurper who led the first moment of the Assyrian expansion assumed the title of "king." However, it was not until the time of Adad-nirari I (1305–1274 BCE) that the god ordered his king to undertake wars of conquest, an errand that the above-mentioned sovereign strove at his utmost to accomplish, thus beginning the second moment of the Assyrian expansionism. The process of strengthening the monarchy led—under his successor Salmanassar I (1273–1244 BCE)—to the nomination of the king and of his dynasty by the god. Times were mature for a turning point, and under Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243–1207 BCE) Ashur was identified with the Sumerian-Babylonian king of the gods, Enlil, and even his wife, Ninlil, was considered to be the wife of Ashur (Ninlil was called *Mullissu* in Assyria) and the city of Ashur became the holy center of Assyria, just as the city of Nippur—the see of Enlil—was for Babylonia. Ashur was therefore the indisputable king of the gods and the only god tied to a people by means of such a significant linkage. Due to this exclusive linkage, the Assyrian people believed they were invested with the mission to conquer the world, and they thus considered themselves almost an elected people.

ASHUR AND THE SARGONIDS. A further phase of the god Ashur's history took place under the Sargonids who wanted him to overcome Marduk, the city-god of Babylon, when the latter replaced Enlil as king of the gods. The usurper Sargon II (founder of the Sargonids; r. 721–705 BCE) developed the theology of Ashur in order to attribute to him an *omnipotentia divina,* thus designating him as the divine power from which both men and gods depended (both having been created from that power). To that aim Sargon II introduced the identification of Ashur with An-shar. An-shar was a primordial god mentioned in *Enuma elish,* the poem of Marduk's exaltation to the lordship over the gods and the universe, probably composed around the eleventh century BCE. In it, An-shar plays the role of progenitor of the gods having just issued from the fresh and salted waters (Apsu and Tiamat, respectively) when the cosmic gate of the universe was generated (cf. W. G. Lambert, "The Pair Lahmu-Lahamu in Cosmology," *Orientalia* 54 (1985), pp. 189–201). This identification made the god's generational preeminence possible: Ashur/An-shar was the first-born among all the gods (and therefore was their principle); he was Marduk's ancestor, being indeed three generations older. Marduk was Ea's son and An's grandson, the latter having been generated by An-shar. An-shar was mentioned in texts before the *Enuma elish* was composed (it is one of the earliest elements that were absorbed and refashioned in the poem)—his name is found in the earliest Mesopotamian tradition in lists of primeval gods, and one of these lists is that of Enlil's ancestors. The identification with An-shar was therefore an extraordinary success and meant the acquisition of a position of absolute priority for a god like Ashur, who was not even included in the main Mesopotamian religious tradition, which did not include him in its pantheon.

Sargon II's son, Sennacherib (r. 704–681 BCE), further developed this theology by combining it with basic elements of the Sumerian-Babylonian religious thought, which he conveniently adopted. His struggle against Babylon eventually led him to destroy that city in 689 BCE, a policy mirroring his theological reform intended to nullify Marduk by replacing him with Ashur. The king went even further with the elimination from worship in Assyria of the cults of the South (even that of the very important son of Marduk, Nabû). In this context, by increasing An-shar's characteristics, the god Ashur becomes *deus summus omnipotens* and *creator absolutus*. From these attributes it consequently resulted that he alone could determine the destinies of the universe and—this is particularly crucial to the understanding of his position—that he was "the creator of himself," as an Assyrian text states.

In this context the *akitu* ceremony was moved to the city of Ashur. When performing the ceremony, the god Ashur was seen to fight against Tiamat, a deed that Marduk accomplished in *Enuma elish*. This overlapping is not to be considered as a merely outrageous behavior but rather as a traditional theological explanation of defeat. Babylon had been destroyed because Marduk had abandoned it as a direct consequence of its presumed impious acts. The son and successor of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon (r. 680–669 BCE), explicitly mentioned this concept when, in inverting the course of his father's policy, he rebuilt Babylon and reestablished the cults in the restored temples. In any case, he by no means repudiated his predecessors theology of Ashur.

Simo Parpola has presented a theory of the monotheism of Ashur: it was a reality limited to an elite and not to the whole population. Ashur, as "metaphysical universe of light, goodness, wisdom and eternal life" (2000, pp. 165–209) was considered to be the "intermediate entity between existence and non-existence" (with reference to the creative nonexistence). The gods were hypostasis of his almightiness, of the "powers and attributes of God" (i.e., Ashur). Parpola compares them to the Jewish and Christian archangels; he recalls furthermore the Elohim in the Bible (a possible Assyrian influence) as the designation of a transcendent god. To support his thesis, Parpola quoted not only textual and iconographic data, but also onomastic data—for example, the personal names Gabbbu-ilani-Ashur, which means "Ashur is all the gods"; Ilani-aha-iddina (= "God [literally: the gods] gave [singular] a brother"); and that of King Esarhaddon (the Assyrian form of which is Ashur-aha-iddina, "Ashur gave a brother"). Analogous forms are well known, which were defined, if not as "monotheism," at least as "sophisticated polytheism." In some texts the gods were denoted as particular aspects of Marduk (Lambert, 1975). The image of Ashur, especially as he is outlined in the Sargonid period, is very close to this theology of Marduk. In the ancient Near East a form of monotheism had formerly appeared: it was the reform of the god Aton, which the pharaoh Ekhnaton had wanted in the fourteenth century BCE (Assmann, 1997). Raffaele Pettazzoni, in his *L'Essere Supremo nelle religioni primitive* (1957, pp. 156–162) warned researchers to start from known elements in order to disclose unknown ones—and the known elements are the historical monotheisms. Now all of them are seen to share common features: a prophet or reformer preaching a new religion that is precisely monotheistic and that considers *omnes dii gentium daemonia* (all the Gentile gods are demons). Such a revolution is not recorded in Assyria, so—assuming Pettazzoni's nomenclature—one cannot speak of a monotheism in Assyria (the case of Aton is, however, to be included in this class) but rather of a theology of the Supreme Being.

SEE ALSO Akitu; Enuma Elish; Marduk.

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ʿĀSHŪRĀʾ is the tenth day of Muḥarram, the first month of the Muslim calendar. Its general significance as a fast day for Muslims derives from the rites of the Jewish Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement). The Arabic term *ʿāshūrāʾ* is based on the Hebrew word *ʿasor* with the Aramaic determinative ending.

Scholars are not agreed as to the exact day on which ʿĀshūrāʾ was observed in early Islam. Early *ḥadīth* tradition seems to indicate that the day possessed special sanctity in Arab society even before Islam. Thus the Jewish rite, which the Prophet observed in Medina in 622 CE, only helped an already established Arab tradition to acquire religious content and hence greater prestige. The Jewish character was soon obscured, however, through its incorporation into the Muslim calendar and its observance as a Muslim fast day. With the institution of the fast of Ramadan in the second year of the Hijrah, ʿĀshūrāʾ became a voluntary fast.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ḤUSAYN. For over thirteen centuries the Shīʿī community has observed the day of ʿĀshūrāʾ as a day of mourning. On the tenth of Muḥarram 61 AH (October 10, 680) Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, the grandson of the Prophet and third imam of the Shīʿī Muslims, fell in battle on the plain of Karbala, a small town on the banks of the Euphrates in Iraq. Muʿāwiyah, the first Ummayad caliph, had died in the spring of the same year and was succeeded by his son Yazīd. This hereditary appointment met with strong opposition in many quarters of the Muslim community, which was already torn by conflict and dissension. Among the dissenting groups was the party (*shīʿah*) of ʿAlī.

The events leading to Ḥusayn's death, which were subsequently elaborated and greatly embellished, helped to heighten the drama of suffering and martyrdom. With his family and a small following, Ḥusayn encamped in Karbala on the second day of Muḥarram. During the week of his fruitless negotiations with ʿUmar ibn Saʿd, the Iraqi governor's representative, Ḥusayn and his family were denied access to the Euphrates. The thirst of the women and children and their pathetic entreaties for water provided one of the major themes of suffering and heroism for the drama of Karbala. In the fateful battle between Ḥusayn's small band of less than one hundred and the four-thousand strong army of ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, governor of Iraq, Ḥusayn and nearly all his followers fell. The women and children were carried captive first to ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād in Kufa, and from there to Damascus, where Yazīd received them kindly and at their own request sent them back to Medina.

ʿĀSHŪRĀʾ IN SHĪʿĪ PIETY. The death of Ḥusayn produced an immediate reaction in the Muslim community, especially in Iraq. It is reported in al-Majlisī's *Biḥār al-anwār* (vol. 45, pp. 108–115) that when the people of Kufa saw the head of the martyred imam and the pitiful state of the captives they began to beat their breasts in remorse for their betrayal of the grandson of the Prophet and son and heir of ʿAlī. This reaction produced an important movement known as al-Tawwābīn (the Repenters), which nurtured a spirit of revenge for the blood of Ḥusayn and provided fertile soil for the new ʿĀshūrāʾ cult. ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, the only surviving son of Ḥusayn, was proclaimed fourth imam by a large segment of the Shīʿī community. His house in Medina and those of subsequent imams became important centers for the growth of the ʿĀshūrāʾ celebration, where commemorative services (*majālis al-ʿazāʾ*) were held. At first, these consisted of recounting the tragedy of Karbala and reflecting on its meaning and reciting elegies (*marāthī*) in memory of the martyred imam. Soon, the shrines of the imams became important places of pilgrimage (*ziyārah*), where the pious continue to this day to hold their memorial services.

During Ummayad rule (680–750) the ʿĀshūrāʾ cult grew in secret. But under the Abbasids (750–1258), who came to power on the wave of pro-Alid revolts, it was encouraged, and by the beginning of the fourth century AH (tenth century CE) public commemorations were marked by a professional mourner (*nāʾiḥ*), who chanted elegies and led the faithful in the dirge for the martyred imam and his followers.

In 962, under the patronage of the Buyids (an Iranian dynasty with deep Shīʿī sympathies that held power in Iraq and Iran from 932 to 1055), ʿĀshūrāʾ was declared a day of public mourning in Baghdad. Processions filled the streets, markets were closed, and shops were draped in black. Special edifices called *ḥusaynīyāt* were built to house the ʿĀshūrāʾ celebrations. By the end of the third century AH such buildings were common in Cairo, Aleppo, and many Iranian cities.

The greatest impetus for the development of the ʿĀshūrāʾ celebration as a popular religious and artistic phenomenon came with the rise of the Safavid dynasty in Iran in 1501. The Safavids adopted Shiism as Iran's state religion and worked tirelessly to consolidate and propagate it. It was during their rule that the literary genre known as *taʿziyah* (passion play) was highly developed and popularized. From Iran the ʿĀshūrāʾ celebration spread first to the Indian subcontinent and from there to other areas influenced by Iranian language and culture.

Some scholars have postulated a direct relation between the ʿĀshūrāʾ celebration and the ancient rites of Tammuz and Adonis, but the extent of such influence can never be determined. The fact that Ḥusayn died on the very spot where they were observed may simply be a historical coincidence, and it is perhaps more plausible that parallels between these two phenomena are due to human psychology and the need to express strong emotions through a common form of myth and ritual.

SEE ALSO Taʿziyah.

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My *Redemptive Suffering in Islam: A Study of the Devotional Aspects of ʿĀshūrāʾ in Twelver Shīʿism* (The Hague, 1978) is the most comprehensive work to date in English dealing with the rise and meaning of the ʿĀshūrāʾ cult and its earliest written sources. Gustave E. von Grunebaum's *Muhammadan Festivals* (New York, 1951) discusses ʿĀshūrāʾ in the context of other Muslim festivals. Charles Virolleaud's *Le théâtre persan, ou Le drame de Kerbéla* (Paris, 1950) provides a comprehensive study of the ʿĀshūrāʾ celebrations and the passion plays associated with them.

MAHMOUD M. AYOUB (1987)

ASKLEPIOS, also known as Asklapios (Gr.) and Aesculapius (Lat.), was the ancient Greek god of healing. The etymology of the name *Asklepios* is uncertain, but it may derive from *ēpiotēs,* meaning "gentleness."

ORIGIN OF THE CULT. Asklepios's cult seems to have originated at Tricca (modern Trikkala in Thessaly), where he must have been consulted as a *hērōs iatros* ("hero physician"). Though excavated, his site there has yielded no further information about his cult. From Tricca, Asklepios traveled in the form of a baby in swaddling clothes to Titane on the Peloponnese. His fame as a healer grew, and he came to settle at nearby Epidaurus. There he ranked already as a god and was recognized by the state cult (as was also the case later in Kos, Athens, Rome, and Pergamum). Epidaurus maintained the cult and the rites associated with it; furthermore, the city founded numerous sanctuaries elsewhere that were dedicated to the god. Two hundred are known to have existed throughout the Greco-Roman world. Migrations of the cult were always effected by transporting one of Asklepios's sacred snakes from the sanctuary in Epidaurus. The snake was the god in his theriomorphic manifestation, for Asklepios was an essentially chthonic deity (one having origins in the earth), as his epithets "snake" and "dog" amply testify. The snake embodies the capacity for renewal of life and rebirth in health, whereas the dog, with its reliable instinct for following a scent, represents a healthy invulnerability to both illusion and sham. Asklepios probably inherited his dog aspect from his father Apollo Kunegetes ("patron of dogs").

MYTHOLOGY. Asklepios was apparently more successful than other mortal healers such as Amphiaraos or Trophonios. Nevertheless, knowledge about these two figures is invaluable in our reconstruction of the cult of Asklepios. After proving himself a healer of extraordinary success, serving for instance as *genius loci* ("guardian spirit") at the oracle of Tricca and curing the most hopeless illnesses, Asklepios went so far as to resurrect the dead, a display of pride or hubris that greatly angered Zeus. Zeus then cast a thunderbolt at the physician, but instead of killing him, the shock rendered him immortal by way of apotheosis.

The history of the divine Asklepios is found in both Pindar's *Pythian Ode* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 11, in which the mortal woman Coronis becomes pregnant with Asklepios, fathered by Apollo. She wants to marry one Ischys in order to legitimatize the birth of the child, but Apollo gets jealous and causes her to be burned to death. While the mother dies on a funeral pyre, Apollo rescues his child by means of a Caesarean section, and entrusts the infant to the centaur Chiron. Chiron teaches the child the art of healing, and Asklepios grows into his role as a god-man (*theios anēr*). Additional knowledge about the healer is derived, for the most part, from tales about the cures he effected, especially through the process called incubation.

INCUBATION. The cult of Asklepios is hardly documented, whereas literary evidence of his cures is abundant. Extant are more than seventy case histories from the sanctuaries at Epidaurus, Kos, and the Tiber Island at Rome. Edited with care by priests, the texts have been carved on stone slabs, or stelae. Each gives the identity of the patient, the diagnosis of the illness, and the dream experienced during incubation in the holy precincts. The dream was believed to have been the therapeutic experience resulting in the cure.

Upon arriving in the *hieron*, the sacred precinct, the patient was lodged in a guest house and came under the care of the priests. A series of lustrations for purification, followed by sacrifices, were performed by the patient as preparation for the ritual cure. Baths, in particular cold baths, were always required of the patients. Abundant springs existed in the sanctuaries of Asklepios, but because they were cold rather than warm or mineral baths, the Asklepieia never degenerated into mere spas for pleasure.

The preferred sacrificial animal was the cock, as witnessed by Plato (*Phaedo* 118a), who tells how Socrates, having taken his lethal drink, asks his friends to offer a cock to Asklepios for having cured him of the sickness of life. The patient reported his dreams to the priest and, as soon as he had a propitious dream, was taken the following night to the *abaton* (or *aduton*), that is, to the "place forbidden to the 'unbidden' ones." There the patient had to lie on a cot, or *klinē* (from which our word *clinic* derives), in order to await the healing experience, which came either during sleep or while he was yet awake from excitement, in other words, by means of a dream or a vision. During this night the patient nearly always had a decisive dream; called the *enupnion enarges* ("effective dream"), it was considered to constitute the cure. Indeed, a patient not healed at this time was deemed incurable. A small offering of thanksgiving was required at this point; should the patient forget, the god would surely send a relapse.

We learn a great deal more about the god Asklepios through the records (*iamata*) of the healing dreams themselves. If the god manifested himself, he appeared as a tall, bearded man with a white cloak (much like the modern physician) and a serpent staff (the emblem of the healer even today), possibly accompanied by a dog. He was often accompanied as well by his wife or daughters: Hygieia ("health," whence our word *hygiene*), Panakeia ("panacea"), Iaso ("healing"), and Epione ("the gentle-handed"). The serpent, the dog, or Asklepios himself by means of his *digitus medicinalis* ("healing finger") would touch the diseased part of the incubant's body and disappear.

Such is the pattern of the typical miraculous cure, but many variations were witnessed. Some of the dreams were prophetic (revealing the location of lost property, or the mending of a broken object, for instance), and showed Asklepios to be the true son of Apollo, the god of prophecy. Additional cases are known, however, where the god refused to effect an immediate cure and instead prescribed a specific therapy: the taking of cold baths, attending the theater, making music (analogous to Socrates' daemon), or writing poetry (as in the case of Aelius Aristides). In yet other cases, he prescribed a certain medicine or applied shock therapy. Rumor had it that Hippocrates learned his art of medicine from the dreams of the patients of the Asklepieion at Kos, the activity of which he tried nevertheless to suppress in favor of his so-called scientific method. After Hippocrates' death, however, the Asklepieion was further enlarged, and theurgic medicine flourished there all the more, with the result that the Hippocratic physicians, claiming a scientific tradition, were unable to eliminate the cult altogether. Thus, a period followed during which physicians and priests coexisted in the treatment of disease to the benefit of the patients.

HISTORY. On account of his spectacular successes in healing, Asklepios soon became the most popular deity of the Hellenistic world. His shrines multiplied until no large settlement existed without one. Well over two hundred shrines are known today, and still more are being discovered from time to time. The radius of this explosion was considerable: even today it is possible to find his snakes (*elaphē longissima*) at the German spa Schlangenbad ("snake bath"). With the rise of Christianity, Asklepios, because of his gentleness and willingness to aid suffering people, came into rather serious competition with Christ, so that the Christian bishops, Theophilus in particular, found themselves compelled to eradicate his temples.

At this point, it may be useful to examine the history of the Asklepieion on the Tiber Island in Rome. In 291 BCE a devastating plague ravaged Latium, and neither medicine nor sacrifice had any effect. The Roman authorities sent a delegation to Epidaurus to ask Asklepios for help. The god accepted their invitation and boarded the Roman boat in the guise of a huge snake. When the boat arrived at Ostia and was being drawn up the river Tiber, the snake jumped onto an island (Isola Tiberina) and insisted on dwelling there. A temple was built and dedicated to Asklepios, and the plague subsided.

This Asklepieion flourished for centuries, and the island was enclosed with slabs of travertine (a light-colored limestone) in the shape of a ship, the stern of which was adorned with a portrait of Asklepios and his serpent staff. Later, an Egyptian obelisk was erected in the middle of the island to represent the ship's mast. The temple has since been turned into a Christian church, San Bartolomeo, which is still adorned by fourteen splendid columns from the Hellenistic temple. In front of the altar is a deep well that contains the water of life so indispensable to Asklepios. Still more striking is the fact that, to this day, the Tiber Island remains a center of healing: the hospital of the Fatebenefratelli, the best of all the clinics in modern Rome, is located right across from the church.

COMPARATIVE RELIGION. Emma J. and Ludwig Edelstein (1945) have tried to reconstruct the cult of Asklepios from carefully collected testimonies; their attempt remains unconvincing, however, because they failed to develop a comparative point of view. It is important to take note of comparable heroes or deities connected with the ritual practice of incubation: Amphiaraos, Trophonios, Sarapis, and Imhotep, to name a few. In every instance the cure is regarded as a mystery, and the rites leading to the cure become models for the ritual components of the mystery cults. The oracles and healing cults were always found in sacred groves, were entered by means of a descent into the earth, and included a sacred well for purificatory baths. An analogy may be noted to the worship of Mithra, which took place *inter nemora et fontes* ("among groves and springs") and whose incubants regarded themselves as prisoners of the deity in a state of sacred detention *(katochē)*. Aristides called the literary works that he owed to Asklepios *hieroi logoi* ("sacred words"), the technical expression reserved for mystery texts. Here also we discover the symbolism of the ritual bridal chamber (*thalamos*) and the sacred marriage (*hieros gamos*) that later became central in both Gnosticism and Christian mysticism (especially in the writings of Origen). The paraphernalia surrounding the cult of incubation guaranteed the people of the ancient world a restoration of health and wealth by restoring the harmony of body and soul (*soma kai psuche*), the disturbance of which was understood to be the source of any illness, a notion present already in Plato's *Symposium* (186d).

The Tiber Island is only one example of the assimilation into Christianity of an important religious phenomenon belonging to one of its closest neighbors. In modern Greece, moreover, and in the Balkans, there are still numerous churches where people go to sleep in order to receive beneficial dreams. Most of these belong to the Panagia Pege ("all-hallowed fountain") taken over from Asklepios's consort, Hygieia. Each one has its own well or is situated close by a river.

ARCHAEOLOGY. Because the Christian bishops were so thorough in destroying the temples of Asklepios, architectural remains are very scanty. However, three things associated with the shrines are worth noting: the theater, the rotunda, and numerous statues. Drama and music were essential elements in the treatments of Asklepios. The theater at Epidaurus is the largest and finest of the ancient world. The rotunda there was the most beautiful and most expensive building of antiquity and was under construction for twenty-one years. Its foundation is a classical labyrinth, and the cupola is covered with Pausias's paintings of Sober Drunkenness (*methē nēphalias*) and Eros, the latter having thrown away his bow and arrows to hold instead the lyre. We can only guess at the function of this building. Several of the statues of Asklepios have been preserved, and the best one (from the Tiber Island) is now in the Museo Nazionale in Naples. Reliefs illustrating memorable dream events from the *abaton* are also on view there. The statues of Asklepios are often accompanied by the dwarfish figure of Telesphoros ("bringer of the goal"), a hooded boy who is associated with mystery cults like the one at Eleusis. From Pausanias we know that Asklepios was eventually assimilated into the Eleusinia.

SEE ALSO Dreams; Healing and Medicine; Sleep.

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ASMĀʾ AL-ḤUSNĀ, AL- See ATTRIBUTES OF GOD, *ARTICLE ON* ISLAMIC CONCEPTS

AŚOKA (Skt.; Pali and Prakrit, Asoka), the third and most powerful of the Mauryan emperors who once dominated the Indian subcontinent (fourth to third centuries BCE), figures centrally in historical as well as legendary accounts of the early Buddhist community’s transformation into a world religion. Aśoka’s landmark reign (c. 270–230 BCE) laid important structural foundations for subsequent south Asian imperial formation and corresponding transregional Buddhist networks, while his memory has continued to inspire and shape Buddhist practices and politics into modern times.

Scholars possess invaluable evidence for reconstruction of Aśokan history in the form of proclamations issued in Aśoka’s own voice and inscribed on rocks, stone slabs, and ornate carved pillars that have survived in scattered places throughout what was once Aśoka’s empire, spreading from central India to the Northwest Frontier province of Pakistan. These inscriptions, which are the oldest surviving south Asian written documents of any kind, were composed in the vernacular language (*prakrit*) of Magadha (northeast Indian), where Aśoka lived and ruled, modified as appropriate in the various regions where they were inscribed or erected (one of them also appeared in Aramaic and Greek). Aśoka intended them to be read aloud, announcing his policies, laws, decisions, and especially his religio-political philosophy to all his subjects in a language they could understand.

The central conception underlying the philosophy of these inscriptions is *dharma* (Skt.; Pali, *dhamma*; Prakrit, *dhaṃma*) or “righteousness,” through which Aśoka claimed to rule. The question of whether this *dharma* should be taken as a secular philosophy of Aśoka’s own invention or equated with the specifically Buddhist usage of that term (to mean “doctrine,” “truth,” “the Buddha’s words”) is much debated and unresolved, as is the question, given his generous support of non-Buddhist (Brahmanical, Jain, and Ājīvika) as well as Buddhist practitioners, whether he was genuinely or exclusively Buddhist in personal practice. But it is certain that at least after the eighth year of his reign Aśoka strongly supported, and gained support from, the teachings and practices of the Buddha’s followers, and later legendary accounts celebrate him primarily as a paradigmatic supporter of Buddhist monks and institutions.

Aśoka states that his commitment to *dharma* was wrought in the regret he felt at the suffering he caused by conquering Kaliṅga, in eastern India (modern Orissa and eastern Andhra Pradesh), during his eighth year. Henceforth, he pursued “conquest by righteousness” (Prakrit, *dhaṃmavijaya*) and, after his thirteenth year, administered the empire through “righteous ministers” (Prakrit, *dhaṃmamahāmāta*), effecting laws and policies that, as mentioned, reflected Aśoka’s piety and sincerity (or, as some scholars have argued, his shrewd self-presentation). In personal practice, he tells us, he became a Buddhist lay devotee (*upāsaka*) in his eighth regnal year but only began to strenuously exert himself eighteen months later. His inscriptions (and other archaeological evidence) testify to that effort: he constructed stupas and gave other financial support for monks and monasteries, intervened in monastic disputes (and recommended which texts monks, nuns, and fellow laypeople ought to study), and made pilgrimages to sites of significance in the Buddha's life.

The Buddhist spirit behind Aśoka's *dharma* is also manifest. His inscriptions recommend kindness to all creatures including plants (he tried to eliminate all killing of animals, birds, and fish in his dominions, and protected and planted forests and medicinal herbs even outside his own domains); respectfulness and obedience (toward parents, elders, teachers, Brahmins, and mendicants, and royal authority); liberality, truthfulness, impartiality, frugality and lack of acquisitiveness, and reverence and faith; avoidance of violence, cruelty, anger, arrogance, hastiness, laziness, and jealousy; and similar "righteous virtues" (Prakrit, *dhaṃmaguna*), which left an indelible mark on south Asian religions even outside the Buddhist context. Though the Mauryan dynasty did not long outlast Aśoka himself, his hope that his "sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons will increase [his] practice of *dharma* until the end of a universal aeon" did come true in this and several additional ways, and Aśoka's life and deeds remained foundational for subsequent South Asian and Buddhist political and religious history.

First, Aśoka's own imperial strategies were appropriated and developed by his post-Mauryan successors, effectively constituting Aśoka's empire as the one that all subsequent kings struggled to remake for themselves. Aśoka inherited an already sizeable kingdom in northeastern India from his father, Bimbisāra (c. 298–270 BCE), and his grandfather, dynastic founder Candragupta Maurya (c. 322–298 BCE), whose court was visited by ambassadors of Alexander the Great (providing a synchronism with Western chronology upon which much of ancient Indian history is still dated). But, ruling from his capital at modern Patna in northern Bihar, Aśoka was the first known Indian king of any dynasty to expand the empire to embrace the whole subcontinent (except, in Aśoka's case, the modern Tamil Nadu, Kerala, southern Karnataka, Assam, and Bangladesh), and he pushed its borders northwest into what is now eastern Afghanistan. He maintained diplomatic relations even farther afield, sending embassies to rulers in the far south and Sri Lanka, and also throughout the eastern Hellenistic world, which established Aśoka among the most powerful monarchs of his day. More important than military conquest in this expansion—especially after his eighth year—were Aśoka's innovative strategies for displaying and maintaining his imperial overlordship, always in the context of his proclamation of the *dharma*.

One of the most important imperial strategies, whose significance is often overlooked by scholars, was the practice itself of erecting stone inscriptions, which must have involved considerable mobilization of resources—Aśoka's pillar capitals rank with India's earliest and most treasured art; the technology of preparing and inscribing the various surfaces is sophisticated; and the attempt to broadcast the same messages in a local idiom which thereby functioned as a *lingua franca* across such a wide expanse of territory demonstrates enormous internal organization and vision—and was unprecedented in Indian history (it has been argued that Aśoka imitated Persian and Hellenistic predecessors). But the practice allowed Aśoka to physically and permanently mark his authority over the different regions whose submission he won, to address the subjects of these regions directly (and lovingly), and to make them feel sheltered by his single royal umbrella. This practice of inscribing decisions, donations, and eulogies in stone, and simultaneously landmarking key sites in important monarchs' territories, became a *sine qua non* of subsequent south Asian political formation, especially at the imperial level. The vast corpus of south Asian epigraphs that today constitute the most important primary evidence for south Asian history literally continued Aśoka's discourse in stone for more than two millennia; for more than five centuries after Aśoka this lithic discourse even continued to use essentially his same alphabet and language.

Similarly, a number of key Buddhist sites Aśoka constructed or visited—such as Sāñcī, Sārnāth, Amarāvatī, Bhārhut, Lumbinī, Bodh Gayā, and Kusināra—continued to be developed and improved by influential Buddhist monks, nuns, and wealthy laypeople, including a string of Aśoka's imperial successors, for more than five hundred years after his death. These sites were subsequently transformed into Hindu sites or reclaimed by Buddhists beginning in the late nineteenth century; these remain important places of worship even today. In like fashion, even after Hindu disciplinary orders had come to dominate the ideology of Indian imperial formation beginning in the third century CE, numerous additional Aśokan imperial strategies—with widely divergent content—persisted into modern times, including engaging in imperial processions to the various regions and holding festivals and conspicuous displays in them, summoning kings and other representatives of those regions to the imperial court, constructing public works such as roadside rests and wells, centralizing the administration of outlying regions, making laws, employing royal symbols and epithets, practicing public and much-publicized charity to the poor and religious mendicants, freeing prisoners, adjudicating sectarian disputes, and facilitating transregional diplomacy, trade, and intellectual and artistic exchange, especially through the employment of a universal language.

In addition to the imperial strategies that Aśoka himself employed, talking about Aśoka—and claiming to be his legitimate successor—became an important post-Aśokan imperial strategy in its own right. Aśoka's founder status in the imperial struggles that concerned later kings made claims about his life and legacy politically and religiously significant, quite apart from their correspondence or lack of correspondence to the historical Aśoka. These claims developed in communities of monks and nuns favored by strong kings, and were textualized as the famous legends of Aśoka, a second important means by which he continued to impact political and religious thinking long after his inscriptions had become illegible antiques. Two basic recensions are especially well known. One was preserved in the northern Buddhist traditions of Kashmir, Central Asia, and later East Asia and is epitomized by the *Aśokāvadāna* of the *Divyāvadāna* collection, composed in Buddhist Sanskrit in about the first century CE, then translated into Chinese and Tibetan. The other was preserved in the Sri Lankan and Southeast Asian *vaṃsa* or chronicle traditions, which originated in central India, were codified in Pali in Sri Lanka, and were also transmitted through vernacular literatures in the region. But contradictions and disagreements about the details abound, even within these two main lines of transmission and especially between them, while scattered evidence in the accounts of Chinese pilgrims to India, as well as additional texts preserved in the Chinese *tripṭaka* and the Tibetan historical annals, indicate that this pan-Buddhist discourse about Aśoka was much wider and more varied still. The accounts of Chinese pilgrims make clear that claimed associations with Aśoka still mapped most of Buddhist Asia even in their day (fourth to seventh centuries CE); they relate their multiple versions of the Aśoka legend in the context of places he was remembered to have visited or stupas he was remembered to have constructed, many of them far beyond Aśoka's own reach. In Sri Lanka, Nepal, and Southeast Asia such associations have persisted into modern times.

Despite the wide variation among them, all the extant versions of the Aśoka legend share a basic narrative structure, which in places bears partial affinity to the historical Aśoka known through the inscriptions. These legends all maintain that Aśoka was originally a cruel king who experienced a transformation into Dharmāśoka ("Righteous Aśoka") after being pleased (Skt., *prasāda*; Pali, *pasāda)* by the Buddha's *dharma.* Aśoka created a great Buddhist empire, ceremonially abdicated power to the *saṃgha*, and landmarked it by the construction of stupas and the performance of Buddhist liturgies (the northern Buddhist versions focus upon festivals held every fifth year; the southern Buddhist versions highlight constant bodhi tree worship). He also sponsored a recitation of the *dharma*, which was headed up by a favored patriarch, who then effected the dissemination of that *dharma* and with it Aśoka's imperial legacy to all of Asia in general and especially to some favored region that had been predicted by the Buddha himself to be of extraordinary significance during later history; a close kinsman of Aśoka's played some special role in this paradigmatic sequence of events. But within this detailed basic agreement the texts disagree furiously about when Aśoka lived, which teachings of the Buddha effected Aśoka's transformation (and served as the basis of his imperial power), which regions were directly embraced by Aśoka, which specific stupas he built, which liturgies he performed, which recitation of the *dharma* he sponsored, the identity of his favored monk, the location of the privileged region predicted to be of significance in later history, the name of the kinsman and his relationship to Aśoka, and the nature of the role this kinsman played in the king's transformation.

The scholars who first deciphered the Aśokan inscriptions in the 1830s already knew these legends, and relied upon them for vocabulary and syntax, as well as for numerous "facts" left out of the inscriptions, beginning with details about Aśoka's ancestry and youth; at least four queens, two sons, and a daughter who are unknown in the inscriptions (wherein are mentioned a queen and her son unknown in the legends); various specifics of his conversion and religious practice; and his old age and death. But given the disagreements among the different versions, this required scholars to privilege one over the others, generating a number of influential theories about which version was in fact the earliest or most authentic, and attacks on the others as derivative or fabricated. Beginning with the work of Vincent Smith at the turn of the twentieth century, however, scholars grew more cautious about using the legends as historical sources; their sometimes great distance from the time of Aśoka himself, the various miraculous, supernatural or otherwise difficult-to-believe aspects they contain, and especially their disagreement over details with each other and with the inscriptions, led many scholars following Smith to dismiss all of them as having any relevance to the historical study of Aśoka. Other scholars continued to treat them, at best, as colorful footnotes to the hard evidence of the inscriptions.

While divorcing the legends from the inscriptions was no doubt crucial for the reconstruction of Aśokan history proper, in the later twentieth century scholars returned to them with more fruitful questions than what facts about Aśoka they can provide. John Strong has shown that in the time of the Chinese pilgrims (fourth to seventh centuries CE) Aśokan pillars were still remembered as Aśokan, but could no longer be read; the information the pilgrims gathered was all based on the legends, even when it was presented to them as a reading of some inscription. By the fourteenth century even the association with Aśoka had been lost; now-dominant Hindus and Muslims were providing alternative legendary accounts of the pillars (and had reduced Aśoka to a mere name in their lists of Mauryan kings). Thus for most of history the Aśoka known and admired by Buddhists has been the Aśoka of the legends, not the inscriptions.

In one sense these legends about Aśoka can be read as post-Aśokan political ideology, privileging the authority of an empire-building Buddhist king and the monks most closely associated with him to command Aśoka's imperial space. The questions engendered by this discourse were simultaneously questions about the then-present, an actual interregnal Buddhist world that all Buddhists agreed to frame according to the Aśokan legacy. Arguments about when Aśoka lived, who that patriarch was, where he established the center of the Buddhist world and what lineage he represented, were simultaneously arguments that this (not that) is the true center of the Buddhist world, the true lineage from the Buddha, correct practice, correct doctrine. The debate raged over details because Buddhists (especially Buddhist kings and courtiers) in different regions, and even within the same region, had different ambitions as regards the "this," the particular hierarchical constellation of Buddhist polities and schools to which any particular version of the Aśoka legend committed them.

But in another sense these legends were more than political posturing; they could be championed in a politically significant way only to the extent that they were believed to paint the truest picture of an Aśoka who was admired and revered as paradigmatic across the Buddhist world. There is plentiful evidence that in India, central Asia, Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia, and even China various powerful Buddhist kings directly modeled themselves after the legendary Aśoka, either explicitly (as in their inscriptions or official chronicles) or implicitly, through their imitation of his paradigmatic activities in the legends, such as stupa construction; bodhi worship; gift-giving; the convening of festivals, conferences, and recitations of the *dharma*; and integrity and personal piety. Taking Aśoka as exemplary of proper Buddhist kingship was so common in premodern Theravāda Buddhist kingdoms in modern Myanmar, Thailand, and Sri Lanka, in fact, that scholars have theorized a specifically Aśokan model of kingship, social order, and imperial formation that has even been invoked by contemporary politicians in these regions to a variety of political and personal ends.

Outside politics altogether, aspects of these legends of Aśoka, especially those popularized in vernacular literature (and art), have inspired generations of Buddhists in a variety of ways. Individual monks associated in these legends with Aśoka and the Aśokan dissemination of the *dharma* have been worshiped throughout the Buddhist world. Pilgrimage in honor of Aśoka's son Mahinda (who according to the southern recension of the Aśoka legend brought the religion to Sri Lanka at the conclusion of the Third Council convened by Aśoka's favorite patriarch, Moggaliputtatissa) remains one of the most important annual Sinhala Buddhist festivals. There is premodern Burmese evidence of veneration of Sona and Uttara, who according to the southern recension brought the religion to that land, and likewise of Madhyantika in Kashmir. A wide variety of religious practices surrounding Upagupta, Aśoka's favorite patriarch according to the northern recension of the Aśoka legend, were once widespread in the northern Buddhist world and survive in contemporary Burma and northern Thailand. Stories about Aśoka's conduct as king, and that of his queens, have been invoked as both positive and negative paradigms for then-present royal conduct; as an exemplar of religious giving (*dāna*) more generally, Aśoka is virtually unexcelled in Buddhist hagiography. Stories about Aśoka's past-life deeds and their consequences in the present have also enjoyed this more general religious significance in Buddhist countries.

The post-1830s Orientalist project of reconstructing "the historical Aśoka" has opened yet another avenue through which that ancient Indian emperor's influence continues to be felt today, for he emerged there as a model of virtues worth imitating universally, even outside the cultural and religious context to which both the historical and the legendary Aśokas belonged. These virtues include globalism, religious tolerance and interfaith dialogue, diplomacy over violence, support for the poor, commitment to truth and liberty, personal integrity, and environmentalism. This "Great Man" Aśoka—who has been compared with Constantine, Marcus Aurelius, Charlemagne, Alexander the Great, Napoleon Bonaparte, Saint Paul, and V. I. Lenin, among many others—has been lauded by twentieth-century luminaries including H. G. Wells, who said "the name of Aśoka shines, and shines almost alone, a star" among all the great monarchs of history, and Jawaharlal Nehru, for whom Aśoka exemplified the sort of secular federalism that India adopted at independence (an Aśokan pillar capital with four lions constitutes India's official seal). Aśoka is ubiquitous in academic and popular accounts of Indian and Buddhist history ranging from scholarly monographs to comic books.

SEE ALSO Cakravartin; Missions, article on Buddhist Missions; Saṃgha, article on Saṃgha and Society in South and Southeast Asia.

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Primary and secondary sources for the study of Aśoka abound even in English and other European languages, and especially in Asian languages. A good basic reference for readers of English is Ananda W. P. Guruge, *Asoka: A Definitive Biography* (Colombo, Sri Lanka, 1993), a massive tome that surveys virtually all the primary sources for the study of Aśoka, including Prakrit (and Greek and Aramaic) texts and English translations of all the known inscriptions and discussions and lengthy translated quotations from Pali, Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan legendary materials; this volume also reviews and gives an extensive bibliography of English and other European-language secondary scholarship about Aśoka, and provides Guruge's own judgments on various points debated by scholars of "the historical Aśoka" in the form of a chronological biography that weaves together inscriptional and legendary material into a believable if not uncontestable narrative. A more precise and critical general historical study of the extant sources for Aśoka, his Indian successors, and the legends of Aśoka is Étienne Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism, from the Origins to the Śaka Era*, translated by Sara Webb-Boin (Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium, 1988), especially chap. 3. The now classic study of "the historical Aśoka" is Vincent A. Smith, *Aśoka: The Buddhist Emperor of India* (Oxford, 1901), while the most acclaimed work in the genre remains Romila Thapar, *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas* (Oxford, 1963; 2d ed., 1973), which together with Guruge and Lamotte provide good points of entry into the larger discourse on the topic.

For texts and translations of the Aśokan inscriptions complete with plates and a text-critical apparatus, readers can consult E. Hultzsch, ed., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. 1: *Inscriptions of Asoka, New Edition* (Oxford, 1925). Wilhelm Geiger, trans., *The Mahāvaṃsa, or the Great Chronicle of Ceylon* (London, 1901), chaps. 5 and 25, contains the most polished version of the southern recension of the Aśoka legend available in English, dating to about 460 CE; Hermann Ol-

denberg, ed. and trans., *The Dīpavaṃsa: An Ancient Buddhist Historical Record* (London, 1879), dating to the early fourth century CE, contains less refined textual fragments (1:24–28; 5:55–59; 5:82; 5:100–102; all of chaps. 6–8; 11:12–16:41; 17:80–109) that are probably closer translations of the now-lost and considerably more ancient sources used also by the author of *Mahāvaṃsa.* The *Aśokāvadāna* of the northern recension has been masterfully translated by John S. Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka* (Princeton, 1983); Strong also provides an important discussion of textual interpretation, the history of the *Avadāna* collection, and the political and religious dimensions of the Aśokan paradigm contained in that text. Jean Pryzluski, *The Legend of Emperor Aśoka in Indian and Chinese Texts,* translated by Dilip Kumar Biswas (Calcutta, 1967), also includes an English rendering (inferior to Strong's) of Pryzluski's excellent French translation of *Aśokāvadāna* (*La legende de l'Empereur Aśoka [Aśoka-Avadāna] dans les textes Indien et Chinois* [Paris, 1923]), but more importantly makes accessible to English readers Pryzluski's pioneering work on the Kausambian and Mathuran roots of the Kashmiri version of the text as it exists today, and his arguments for its comparative antiquity vis-à-vis the southern recension. The authenticity of the southern recension is championed in the introduction to Geiger's translation of *Mahāvaṃsa.* Jonathan Walters has examined textual and archaeological evidence for its composition within the first century after Aśoka's death: "Mapping Sāñchi in a Whole Buddhist World," in C. Witanachchi, ed., *Lily De Silva Felicitation Volume* (Peradeniya, Sri Lanka, 2002), chap. 1. Ronald Inden, Jonathan Walters, and Daud Ali, *Querying the Medieval: Texts and the History of Practices in South Asia* (Oxford, 2000), chap. 3, contains a critical study of the primary sources in the southern recension, and an appendix that details early Orientalist readings of them vis-à-vis the Aśokan inscriptions. English translations of primary Tibetan texts that contain versions of the Aśoka legend are Lama Chimpa Alaka Chattopadhyaya, trans., *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India* (Delhi, 1990), especially chaps. 6–8; and George N. Roerich, trans., *The Blue Annals* (Delhi, 1976), especially pp. 23–35. Original texts of the travels of Chinese pilgrims Faxian and Xuanzang, replete with differing versions of the Aśoka legend and important evidence for reconstructing Aśoka's significance to Buddhists across Asia in that period can be found in the much-reprinted but still readable (and usefully indexed) Samuel Beal, trans., *Si Yu Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World* (London, 1884; Delhi, 1981). The surveys by Guruge and Lamotte will lead readers to additional, as yet untranslated Pali, Sanskrit, Tibetan, Khotanese, and Chinese primary texts of relevance.

Three collections of essays edited by Bardwell L. Smith have proven seminal in more recent scholarship that treats the legends of Aśoka as sources for understanding his paradigmatic significance to later Buddhists rather than as sources for historical reconstruction of his own period: *The Two Wheels of Dhamma: Essays on the Theravada Tradition in India and Ceylon* (Chambersburg, Pa., 1972), and *Religion and Legitimation of Power in Sri Lanka* and *Religion and Legitimation of Power in Thailand, Laos, and Burma* (both Chambersburg, Pa., 1978). Stanley J. Tambiah, *World Conqueror and World Renouncer: A Study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand against a Historical Background* (Cambridge, UK, 1976) is a monograph-length treatment of how the Aśokan paradigm was played out in actual political and religious practices and ideology in premodern Thailand. John C. Holt, *The Religious World of Kīrti Śrī: Buddhism, Art, and Politics in Late Medieval Sri Lanka* (New York and Oxford, 1996), examines the same question within the thicket of colonial (eighteenth-century) Sri Lanka. John S. Strong, *The Legend and Cult of Upagupta: Sanskrit Buddhism in North India and Southeast Asia* (Princeton, 1992) is an important study of the transmission of stories from the northern recension about the figure who represents its "favored patriarch of Aśoka," and their coexistence with the corresponding (and contradictory) claims of the southern recension, as well as a whole range of religious practices surrounding Upagupta in Burma and northern Thailand. Jonathan Walters's *Finding Buddhists in Global History* (Washington, D.C., 1998), especially chap. 3, theorizes in general terms the pan-Buddhist significance of debates about Aśoka in post-Aśokan Buddhist history. A valuable collection of essays that represent historicist as well as history of religions approaches to the study of Aśoka is Anuradha Seneviratne, ed., *King Aśoka and Buddhism: Historical and Literary Studies* (Kandy, Sri Lanka, 1994). For a new study of Aśoka's queens see John S. Strong, "Toward a Theory of Buddhist Queenship: The Legend of Asandhimittā," in John C. Holt, Jacob N. Kinnard, and Jonathan S. Walters, eds., *Constituting Communities: Theravāda Buddhism and the Religious Cultures of South and Southeast Asia* (Albany, N.Y., 2003), pp. 41–55.

JONATHAN S. WALTERS (2005)

ASSASSINS. The disparaging term *assassins,* originating in the Arabic *ḥashīshīyah* (users of hashish, *Cannabis sativa*), has been used to designate the followers of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī branch of Islam. In its original form, from about the twelfth century onward, the name was used by those hostile to the movement to stigmatize the Ismāʿīlīyah of Syria for their alleged use of the drug. The designation, as well as a growing legend about the group, was subsequently transmitted to Europe by Western chroniclers of the Crusades and travelers such as Marco Polo. The legend portrayed the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīyah as a religious "order of assassins" ruled by the diabolical "Old Man of the Mountain," who incited them to murder through the use of drugs and the creation of an illusory sense of paradise. Reinforced by early Western scholarship, the term and the distorted view of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīyah became general, until disproved by modern research.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT. The Nizārī branch of the Ismāʿīlīyah had its origin in a succession dispute following the death of the Fatimid Ismāʿīlī imam al-Mustanṣir in 1094. Those who gave their allegiance to Nizār, al-Mustanṣir's eldest son, as the designated successor and imam organized themselves locally in various parts of Iran and Syria by building on and extending the groundwork already laid there during the Fatimid period.

Particularly in Iran, the Nizārīyah faced markedly changed circumstances, owing to the presence of the powerful, militantly Sunnī Turkish dynasty of the Seljuks. In addition to the hostility prevailing in political and military spheres, the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīyah, like their predecessors under the Fatimids, became the object of theological and intellectual attacks, the most significant one being that of the Sunnī theologian al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). This climate of threat accentuated a sense of isolation and prompted direct political and military action by the Nizārīyah against leaders of the Seljuk state, which in turn caused popular Sunnī feeling to harden further against them.

The focal point of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī movement was the fortress of Alamut in the Elburz Mountains of northern Iran. This fortress, captured by the famous Ismāʿīlī leader Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ in 1090, now became the center for a number of growing strongholds that were established through military and diplomatic means. In time, these centers became part of a network in Iran as well as in Syria. According to Nizārī tradition, Ḥasan acted as the representative of the imam and organized the various settlements. This process of consolidation provided a basis for what was to become a Nizārī Ismāʿīlī state incorporating both Iranian and Syrian strongholds and ruled from Alamut by Ismāʿīlī imams descended from Nizār, who assumed actual control after the initial period of establishment. Though under constant threat, the state thrived for more than 150 years, when confrontation with the expanding Mongol power led to its downfall, the demolition of its principal strongholds, and a general and widespread massacre of the Ismāʿīlīyah.

The history of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīyah following the destruction of their state and the dispersal of their leaders in Iran and elsewhere is little known. In Syria, as in Iran, they continued to survive persecution. The Nizārī sources speak of an uninterrupted succession of imams in different parts of Iran and, in the fifteenth century, the emergence of new activity that led to a further growth of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīyah in parts of India and Central Asia. In modern times, the community has witnessed a remarkable resurgence under its imams, Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, Aga Khan III (1877–1957) and the present imam, Shāh Karīm Aga Khan (1957–), both of whom have also played a major role in promoting development activities in Muslim and Third World countries. The Ismāʿīlīyah are currently found in various countries in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and the West.

TEACHINGS. While still articulating the Shiʿi Ismāʿīlī vision of Islam developed under the Fatimids, the Nizārīyah laid particular emphasis on the principle of *taʿlīm,* authoritative teaching, and on the cosmic and metaphysical significance of the imam, whose role it was to impart that teaching. These fundamental notions acquired a more immediate relevance in conditions calling for greater discipline and obedience. Unfortunately, few Ismāʿīlī sources of the period have survived, and it is often difficult on the basis of available materials to gauge the precise significance of doctrinal development.

One religious event highlighted in the sources that came to have particular doctrinal consequence was the *qiyāmah.* Although it appeared to outsiders as a declaration of reform, it was essentially an affirmation of a religious impetus present in Ismāʿīlī doctrine from the beginning. Providing the culmination of Ismāʿīlī sacred history, the event marked the primacy of the spiritual and inner meaning of religious acts. The outward performance of ritual elaborated in the *sharīʿah,* or religious law, was not abrogated as is generally thought; as Henry Corbin, the noted French scholar of esoteric forms of Islam, has pointed out, the Ismāʿīlīyah affirm positive religion in order to inspire believers to exceed it. The symbolic meaning of the *qiyāmah* was this affirmation of the esoteric basis of Ismāʿīlī thought, the public proclamation of which came to represent a contrast with the *sharīʿah*-mindedness of those scholars of other schools who had developed a different synthesis of Islam.

The doctrine also projected a spiritual basis for the nature of the imam and for the inner transformation effected in the being of individual followers as they sought to acquire this understanding. Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 1274), the noted Shīʿī scholar, was one of those attracted by the intellectual milieu of the Ismāʿīlī state and during his stay there became an exponent of Ismāʿīlī doctrine. Within the esoteric perspective, according to his works, the physical bond between imam and follower was to be transcended by the development of a spiritual bond, so that in addition to acceptance of the historical and formal aspect of the imam's role, the believer would also be led to a recognition of the *ha-aiqah,* the aspect of Islam that, in the Ismāʿīlī view, complemented the *shariʿah* and constituted the highest level of reality in Islam.

The goal of religious life offered to the individual Ismāʿīlī by this vision was a continuing quest for inner transformation and a graduation to successively higher levels of spiritual growth and understanding. In the period following the fall of Alamūt, the inward, personal search for religious meaning would lead to increasing interaction between Ismāʿīlī doctrine and some of the principles of Sufism.

SEE ALSO Aga Khan; Imamate; Shiism, article on Ismāʿīlīyah.

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contained in his *Cyclical Time and Ismāʿīlī Gnosis* (London, 1983). Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's *Taṣawwurāt* has been edited and translated by W. Ivanow as *Rawdatu't-Taslim, Commonly Called Taṣawwurāt* (Leiden, 1950). For the Ismāʿīlīyah in general, see the various essays in *Ismāʿīlī Contributions to Islamic Culture,* edited by Seyyed Hossein Nasr (Tehran, 1977).

AZIM NANJI (1987)

ASSOCIATION FOR RESEARCH AND ENLIGHTENMENT

ASSOCIATION FOR RESEARCH AND ENLIGHTENMENT (ARE) is a nonprofit corporation whose mission is to spread the transformative insights that derive from the psychic readings of Edgar Cayce (1877–1945). ARE's headquarters are in Virginia Beach, Virginia, but its outreach is global. The association sponsors conferences and educational activities around the world on such topics as dreams, reincarnation, lost civilizations, psychic development, personal spirituality, *qigong, feng-shui*, and holistic health. ARE also supports the Cayce/Reilly School of Massotherapy, Atlantic University, an online bookstore, a retreat/camp for children and adults, and a library that houses an impressive collection of books and films on all aspects of personal spirituality and psychic research. It would not be an overstatement to say that ARE, during its seventy-five years of existence, has been one of America's most influential purveyors of the combination of beliefs and practices commonly known to scholars as New Age spirituality. ARE's successful adaptation to changing currents in spiritual and therapeutic practice between the mid-1960s and 2000 is a remarkable story of a new religious movement that struggled for survival during its founding generation only to flourish during a later period of cultural upheaval.

ARE's origins lie in the life and work of Cayce, a native of rural Kentucky whose experiments in self-hypnosis led him to a career as a psychic healer. The experiments came about during a period of ill health that rendered Cayce almost incapable of speech. A doctor from New York, one of many specialists consulted by Cayce's family, suggested that Cayce diagnose his own condition while in a hypnotic trance. The diagnosis and treatment that Cayce prescribed in this trance state resulted in the complete cure of his condition. After a national paper published an article about the cure, Cayce began receiving requests for psychic "readings" from people with health problems. Cayce would hypnotize himself and view the ill person clairvoyantly. He would then dictate a diagnosis and a treatment regimen that often included folk remedies such as castor oil, massage, and herbal compresses. The successful outcome of many of these cases made Cayce a nationally known spiritual healer.

In 1923, a Theosophist named Arthur Lammers met with Cayce and suggested that he also give readings into the past lives and "karmic" conditions of his patients. Soon Cayce was giving both health readings and "life" readings that mentioned subjects such as reincarnation, the lost continent of Atlantis, crystal healing, spiritual development, meditation, psychic development, prophecy, imminent earth changes, the past lives of Jesus, and the Essene community. These subjects and practices would become staples of the New Age movement during the second half of the twentieth century.

Cayce's notoriety also attracted the attention of two businessmen, Morton and Edwin Blumenthal, who persuaded the psychic to use his "gift" to find oil and mineral deposits and to devote his efforts exclusively to clairvoyant activities. In 1927, Cayce and his supporters created the Association of National Investigators (ANI) to conduct research into the alternative healing information delivered through his health readings. The following year, ANI built a thirty-bedroom hospital in Virginia Beach, where patients could come to be treated with the holistic Cayce remedies. Atlantic University, a private liberal arts college staffed by faculty sympathetic to Cayce's work, opened in 1930 in Virginia Beach. Only a year later, when ANI's financial backers sustained heavy losses during the Great Depression, the hospital and university were closed.

Cayce's inner core of supporters met during 1931 to discuss strategies for salvaging ANI's work. They decided to incorporate the ARE as a philanthropic organization dedicated to supporting Cayce's clairvoyant readings and research into psychic development. Part of this support included the hiring of a trained stenographer to record verbatim transcripts of the readings. ARE grew slowly between 1931 and 1945, and its primary service was a newsletter that it published to contributing members. Interest in Cayce's work was rekindled during the early 1940s following publication of Thomas Sugrue's sympathetic biography of Cayce, *There Is a River*, and of a *Coronet* magazine article detailing Cayce's work. A flood of new members joined ARE and Cayce was besieged with requests for readings. Cayce's health began to decline in 1944 and he died in 1945. Many of ARE's members left the association when they realized Cayce would no longer be available for readings, and the organization hovered on the brink of collapse. It was the efforts of Cayce's eldest son, Hugh Lynn Cayce (1907–1982), that prevented the dissolution of the association. A trained psychologist, Hugh Lynn Cayce had created small ARE study groups around the country during the 1930s and organized annual meetings for ARE before going off to serve in World War II. He now set about to preserve his father's legacy for future generations and to make the readings available to an international audience.

The younger Cayce lectured annually throughout the United States, visiting college campuses, churches, radio programs, retreats, and conferences. He also took legal measures to secure the Cayce family's guardianship of the reading archives. The legal entity he established in 1946, the Edgar Cayce Foundation, microfilmed and cross-indexed the readings by subject matter so that they might be of use to researchers. Another initiative undertaken by Hugh Lynn Cayce was to create relationships with universities and hospitals engaged in cutting-edge research in areas such as psycho-archaeology, parapsychology, and alternative healing therapies. As part of this research initiative, Cayce created a clinic where trained psychologists and physicians could test his father's medical readings. To address the opposition ARE faced from fundamentalist churches, Cayce stressed the scientific and nonsectarian nature of ARE's work and invited mainstream ministers to address the association's national and regional conferences. Cayce also established the ARE Press, which began a successful effort to publish books and other educational materials that focused on the various topics covered by the readings. Finally, the younger Cayce reached out to New Age forerunner groups such as Unity, Divine Science, the Rosicrucians, the Theosophical Society, and the Arcane School by lecturing at their centers on topics ranging from psychic development and positive thinking to dreams and ancient cultures.

These initiatives paid off during the 1960s, when the association's membership grew from 2,500 members and 90 study groups in the early part of the decade to 12,000 members and 1,023 study groups by 1970. By 1974, the ARE Press had printed nine million books and pamphlets. ARE's staff increased from fifteen employees in 1960 to eighty-three by 1970. Demographically, the association's membership began to reflect the spiritual seekers of the youth counterculture and also included growing numbers of humanistic psychologists, alternative health practitioners, and prisoners.

New kinds of ARE workshops, seminars, and programs reflected these changes in demography. These included Asilomar Workshop and Camp weeks in Monterrey, California, where entire families attended sessions on psychic development, holistic medicine, reincarnation, and meditation, as well as an ARE youth camp in rural Virginia. Cayce drew young people to Virginia Beach by offering research grants to high school and college students who wished to use the ARE library to research term papers on clairvoyance, dream interpretation, extrasensory perception (ESP), and reincarnation. ARE-sponsored lecturers also hit the college circuit during this decade, making the Cayce material accessible to a new generation of young people. Prominent psychological researchers Jean Houston and Stanley Krippner joined such noted figures as Marcus Bach of Unity, nutritionist Adelle Davis, psychic investigators Joan Grant and Ruth Montgomery and popular writer Jess Stearn for lectures on such topics as "Psychedelic and Meditative Explorations of the Potential of the Human Mind" and "Expanding Your Awareness." Stearn's 1967 biography, *Edgar Cayce: The Sleeping Prophet*, drew a large new audience to ARE's work.

The nexus of ARE's membership during this period was the Cayce study groups, which were overseen by a national board of trustees and local councils (composed of several study groups in one city). Two small books, *A Search for God, Part I* and *Part II*, guided discussions on topics such as prayer, meditation, and healing. The purpose of the discussion groups was to test and apply the precepts found in the Cayce material. Participants believed that a field of mental and spiritual energy was created through their fellowship, which accelerated each member's spiritual growth.

The beliefs of ARE members can be articulated as five major principles. First, spiritual growth and the development of psychic ability can be achieved without crash breakthroughs using drugs or risky psychotherapeutic group work. Second, all persons enter physical incarnation to learn certain soul lessons. Third, authentic spiritual development needs the support of a group of fellow seekers. Fourth, conventional rituals and dogmas can be an impediment to spiritual progress. Finally, the best leadership for study groups comes from the "master within" rather than human leaders or *gurus*. For the most part, the egalitarian, inner-directed, and dogma-free ethos of ARE study groups helped them to avoid the pitfalls of charismatic leadership that plagued other alternative spirituality groups of this era.

During the 1970s and 1980s, ARE continued to expand, reaching a membership of 32,000 by 1981. Study groups were established in Canada, England, Ireland, Australia, Mexico, and New Zealand and numbered 1,784. The association's 146 employees oversaw as many as twenty-four international lectures, workshops, and conferences a month. A one million dollar Edgar Cayce Memorial Library was completed in 1975 next to the national headquarters in Virginia Beach. This facility houses the association's fully cross-indexed files of the transcripts of readings and a collection of over 30,000 books on psychic phenomena and spiritual growth. By the early 1980s, over 45,000 visitors were using the library's facilities annually.

During this time ARE became a determined and influential purveyor of New Age goods, services, and ideas. For example, the phenomenon of "channeling" material from disembodied spiritual entities meshed well with the association's focus on personal development of psychic abilities and with the mode through which Cayce's readings had been received. Prominent New Age channelers such as Judy Skutch, Paul Solomon, and Kevin Ryerson had either been ARE members or had studied the Cayce materials before beginning their independent careers. In addition, ARE was an early promoter of research into lost civilizations such as Lemuria and Atlantis and into such ancient mysteries as the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Great Pyramid complex at Giza, Egypt.

The New Age movement's interest in holistic healing and bodywork has been reflected in ARE's annual symposia on alternative medicine and its research into osteopathy, chiropractic treatment, and physiotherapy. In 1981, an ARE-sponsored clinic of physiotherapy began employing a staff of osteopaths, nurses, and massage therapists, and in 1987, the Cayce/Reilly School of Massotherapy was created. To date, this school has trained more than 750 individuals from forty-five states and thirteen countries in concepts of holistic bodywork found in the Cayce readings. These concepts include Cayce/Reilly Massage, a style of Swedish massage developed by Dr. Harold J. Reilly from information in the readings. The school prepares its students for careers in massage therapy by offering classes in anatomy and physiology, advanced massage techniques, and business ethics.

In line with the New Age movement's ideals of spiritual community building, ARE in the late 1970s established a clearinghouse for information on the creation of intentional spiritual communities. The association also held conferences on community building that featured speakers such as Findhorn's Peter Caddy, and created a kindergarten using concepts from alternative educational systems like Waldorf and Montessori.

The once defunct Atlantic University reactivated its charter in 1972. Initially, the school sponsored intensive summer study sessions on various topics related to the Cayce legacy. The school also attempted to arrange for their courses on dream interpretation, meditation, and alternative healing to count for credit toward degrees at fully accredited universities. In fall 1985, Atlantic University reopened as a graduate school offering a degree in the developing field of transpersonal studies. The university received a provisional license from the State Council on Higher Education in Virginia in 1989 and was subsequently licensed to confer the degree of master of arts in transpersonal studies. In 2001, the school's continuing education program gained accreditation from the International Association for Continuing Education and Training.

ARE's leadership now rests with Charles Thomas Cayce (b. 1942), Hugh Lynn Cayce's son. Because of his training as a child psychologist, Charles Thomas Cayce has championed research into children's education and humanistic psychology during his tenure. From its humble beginnings, ARE has grown into a global network that sponsors numerous conferences and educational activities related to the Cayce legacy. Edgar Cayce Centers exist in over twenty-five nations, and outreach occurs in more than eighty countries. The association remains true to its original mission to disseminate the Cayce material through all available technologies and modalities. This entails ARE's publication of over three hundred books and pamphlets and the release of the Cayce readings on CD-ROM.

SEE ALSO Cayce, Edgar; New Age Movement.

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PHILLIP CHARLES LUCAS (2005)

ASSYRIAN RELIGION SEE MESOPOTAMIAN RELIGIONS

ASTARTE was a Syro–Palestinian goddess widely attested throughout the Mediterranean Levant. References to her first appear in texts from Syria in the third millennium BCE (at Ebla and perhaps Early Dynastic Mari), and increase in the second millennium BCE (at Emar and Ugarit). Her cult was imported to Egypt in the latter half of the second millennium. From the first millennium BCE on, worship of Astarte spread via the Phoenicians from their coastal cities (e.g., Sidon, Tyre, and Byblos) to Cyprus, Carthage and North Africa, Italy, Malta, Spain, and Greece. She appears in the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament mostly in the role of a generic Canaanite goddess.

Astartē is the Greek form of the deity's name, but the earliest form in the third millennium, *Ashtart* (from *Aštarta*), ultimately reflects the feminine of Semitic Ashtar/Athtar, a Venus deity. The name of the goddess Ishtar also derives from Ashtar, but hers kept the masculine form without a *-t* ending, and she became the popular goddess of love, war, and the planet Venus in Mesopotamia, whereas Astarte became a leading deity in western Syria. One may thus infer that Astarte was, as Ashtar and Ishtar, astralized. However, her nature and features varied in the different regions and periods in which her cult prospered, and they seem to have also included associations with love and fertility, war, maritime activities, royal patronage, and more.

IN SYRIA AND PHOENICIA. In the texts from Ugarit, the name of the goddess is spelled *ʿṯtrt*, probably vocalized as *ʿAthtart*(*u*). She is prominent among the gods in Ugaritic offering and ritual texts, but appears less often in mythic or literary texts, where the goddesses Asherah and Anat outshine her. She is occasionally mentioned together with Anat. For example, both have famed beauty in the Keret epic (*KTU* 1.14.iii.41–42); they prepare food for a feast and go hunting together in the *marziḥu*–banquet text (*KTU* 1.114.9–14, 22–23); they are paired together in the lists of deities invoked in serpent charms (*KTU* 1.100.20, 1.107.14); and in the Baal epic they both try to dissuade Baal from killing the sea-god Yamm's messengers (*KTU* 1.2.i.40–42). Scholars have often assumed that Astarte and Anat were consorts of Baal, but neither is ever explicitly identified as such at Ugarit. Astarte is called *šm bʿl*, "name-of-*Baʿlu*," at least once (as well as in a later Phoenician text); but this may merely suggest that she could be seen as a hypostasis of Baal, and not necessarily a consort. Another epithet for Astarte at Ugarit is "Astarte of the field" *(ʿ ṯtrt šd)*, perhaps hinting at an association with animal fertility. At Mari, Astarte was perhaps the spouse of the river-god, and at Emar she had an extensive cult alongside the god Baal. Her names or epithets at Emar include "Astarte of battle," "Astarte of the city," and "Astarte of the mountain."

Astarte was a leading goddess across the Phoenician world, and her name in Phoenician (*ʿštrt*, pronounced ʿAshtart), occurs as a theophoric element in hundreds of first millennium BCE personal names. She was the chief goddess of Sidon and was worshiped alongside Baal and Eshmun; inscriptions on the fifth-century sarcophagi of the Sidonian king Tabnit (*KAI* 13) and his son Eshmunazar (*KAI* 14) refer to two royal priests of Astarte (Tabnit's father and Tabnit), as well as a royal priestess (Tabnit's wife, queen Immi–ashtart, "My mother is Astarte"), and *KAI* 14 mentions several shrines devoted to her. At Tyre she was worshiped alongside Melqart and Baal-shamem, and she appears with those deities and others as a witness in the Assyrian king Esarhaddon's treaty with Tyre in the seventh century. In the Kition tariff inscription from Cyprus (*KAI* 37A), which lists expenditures for her temple there, Astarte is called "the holy Queen." Another standard title for her in other Phoenician or Punic texts is *rbt* (Lady).

In Philo of Byblos's *Phoenician History* (c. 100 CE, partially preserved in Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica*), which Philo claims to be a Greek translation of a work written by a native Phoenician called Sanchuniathon, Astarte is the daughter of Ouranos along with two sisters who are sent to kill Kronos, who instead takes them as his wives. Kronos has seven daughters by Astarte, called the Titanids or Artemids, and two male children, called Desire and Love (*PE* 1.10.22–24). In addition, *Praeparatio evangelica* 1.10.31–32 states that "greatest Astarte" and Zeus Demarous (Baal Hadad) ruled "over the land with the consent of Kronos," and that Astarte wore a bull's head on her head as an emblem of kingship. As a testament to her astral features, Philo adds that Astarte found a fallen star (*astera*) and consecrated it in Tyre. He concludes, "the Phoenicians say that Astarte is Aphrodite."

IN EGYPT. Astarte was one of many imported Asian deities from the New Kingdom to the Late Period (Egyptian *ʿsṯrt, ʿ sṯrṯ, isṯrt*). She is called *nbt pt,* "Lady of Heaven," in many New Kingdom texts, and she appears often in iconography depicted as a goddess of war with a shield and spear or a bow and arrow, sometimes on horseback. She is the military patron of eighteenth- and nineteenth-dynasty pharaohs Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV, Rameses II, and Rameses III. In the "Contendings of Horus and Seth," Astarte and Anat are presented as the daughters of Re and the wives of Seth–Baal. "Astarte and the Sea" is a paraphrase of the Canaanite myth in which Baal (Seth in the Egyptian version) with Astarte's help defeats the Sea (Yamm), who wished to exact tribute from the gods and to take Astarte as his wife.

IN THE BIBLE. The goddess's name occurs nine times in the Masoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. The singular form of the name, *ʿAštōret,* occurs three times. In *1 Kings* 11:5, Solomon is said to worship Astarte of the Sidonians and Milcom of the Ammonites, and in verse 33, Chemosh of Moab. *2 Kings* 23:13 states that Josiah defiled the high places built by Solomon for the same three deities. The singular form *ʿAštōret* was probably given its vowels in order to echo those of the word *bōšet* (shame), a word often used in the Bible in place of the name of Baal (see *Hosiah* 9:10 and *Jeremiah* 11:13, for example, or *2 Samuel* 2:8 where Ishboshet [*ʾîšbōšet,* "man of shame"] occurs, instead of Ishbaal, *[ʾîšbaʿal]).* The plural form *ʿAštārôt* appears six times in deuteronomistic passages condemning the worship of foreign gods. *Judges* 10:6, *1 Samuel* 7:4, and *1 Samuel* 12:10 all condemn worship of "the Baals (*bĕʿālîm*) and the Astartes" (a set expression similar to the Akkadian *ilāni u ištarāti,* meaning "gods and goddesses" generically); whereas it is "the foreign gods . . . and the Astartes" in *1 Samuel* 7:3, and "the Baal (sing.) and the Astartes (pl.)" in *Judges* 2:13. The final instance of plural *ʿAštārôt* is in *1 Samuel* 31:10, where perhaps the singular was originally meant. There, the armor of the fallen king Saul is taken by the Philistines to the temple of "Astartes," and his body is fastened to the wall in Beth–Shean.

Astarte's name is used as a plural abstract in an expression found in *Deuteronomy* 7:13; 28:4, 18, 51: *ʿaštĕrôt ṣōʾnekā* (the increase of your flock), which occurs alongside *šĕgar ʾălāpêkā* (the offspring of your cattle). Both phrases reflect vestiges of beliefs about fertility and the gods; *Šgr* is a deity at Ugarit and is paired with Ashtar in the Balaam text from Deir ʿAlla, I.16. The so-called Queen of Heaven, whose worship is detested in *Jeremiah* 7:18; 44:17–19, 25, may be Astarte, although cases have also been made for other Canaanite goddesses or the Mesopotamian Ishtar. Astarte's cult in the fourth-century BCE Kition tariff text likely involved offerings of cakes as did that of the Queen of Heaven in Jeremiah (but that was true for Ishtar's cult as well). Astarte also appears as a place-name in the Bible–Ashtaroth or Ashtaroth–Qarnaim (Astarte of the [two] horns; see, for example, *Gn.* 14:5), as at Ugarit and elsewhere.

The so-called Astarte clay plaques from the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages portraying naked females with emphasized sexual organs are not to be explicitly identified with the goddess Astarte. They are usually uninscribed and the associated traits might fit with any of several goddesses, or may even depict human women.

The continued pairing of Astarte with Anat throughout the Levant eventually ended in their coalescence in the form of the goddess Atargatis, worshiped in Syria in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The Greek name Atargatis (*ʿtrʿth* or *ʾtrʿtʾ* in Aramaic) is a compound of *ʿAṯtar* (cf. other forms of Astarte's name) and *ʿAttaʾ* (an aramaizing form of Anat). The *De dea syria* attributed to Lucian of Samosata in the second century CE describes the cult of the Syrian goddess at

Hierapolis. However, Astarte probably remained a separate goddess alongside Atargatis for a while.

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TAWNY L. HOLM (2005)

ASTRAL MYTHOLOGY SEE SKY, *ARTICLE ON* THE HEAVENS AS HIEROPHANY

ASTROLOGY.

When astrology, a product of Hellenistic civilization, appeared at the end of the third century BCE, its origins were ascribed to the revelations of the Egyptian god Hermes (Thoth). However, its practitioners were usually called "Chaldeans," a formula devoid of any actual historical reference to Mesopotamia. Hellenistic astrology was actually a combination of Chaldean and Egyptian astral religion and Greek astronomy and methods of computation. Even though Hellenistic astrology and the astrology of late antiquity took on the features of different local traditions when exported to India, China, or Islamic countries, their basic ingredients are, in all places, Greek science and Chaldean and Egyptian astral lore.

The actual contribution of the latter to Greek astrology is debatable, for the Chaldean and Egyptian traditions were widely divergent on some points. However, the idea of two malefic planets—Mars and Saturn—is genuinely Chaldean; genuinely Egyptian, but no older than the third century BCE (although based on a more ancient doctrine of the *chronokratores*, the "rulers of time") is the invention of the thirty-six decans of the zodiac. The latter was called *zōidiakos* (from *zōidion*, "carved figure") by the fifth-century Greeks, after the shapes of figures that they imagined were in the heavenly constellations. One of the oldest astrological treatises, a Hellenistic compilation dating from the second century BCE, is also said to be Egyptian in origin. It is attributed to the mythical Egyptian pharoah Nechepsos as well as to the priest Petosiris, who may be the same as the Petosiris whose mummy was found in a fourth-century BCE tomb discovered at Eshumen in Upper Egypt.

Eudoxus of Cnidus (408–355 BCE), the father of Greek astronomy, was also versed in the principles of universal and meteorological astrology. The great astronomer Hipparchus (fl. 146–127 BCE) studied the correspondences of planetary signs with the people and the geographic features of the earth; he was also acquainted with astral melothesy (the study of the correspondences between the human body and planets, signs, and decans) and Hermetic astrology.

Hermetic lay astrology was concerned with the study of universal astrology (*genika*), world periods and cycles (*apokatastaseis*), planetary lots (*klēroi*), and the horoscope of the world traced according to the position of the planets in the signs at the time the earth was formed (*thema mundi*). It was also concerned with the interpretation of signs as manifested in the omens given by thunder (*brontologia*) and the prognoses given at the New Year (*apotelesmata*). In addition, Hermetic astrology involved the study of correspondences between astral phenomena and the human body or material objects, as in the study of individual or medical (iatrological) astrology; astrological medicine (*iatromathēmatika*), based on a complicated astral melothesy; and the study of the correspondences between stars, precious stones, plants, and metals. Most of the texts of Hermetic astrology are no longer extant, but they were frequently quoted by writers of late antiquity and the Renaissance.

The development of astrology was decisively influenced by the great astronomer Ptolemy (Claudius Ptolemaeus, c. 100–178 CE), the author of the *Apotelesmatika* (also known as *Tetrabiblos* or *Quadripartitum*), who made popular the pseudepigraphon *Karpos*, or *Centiloquium*. Other important astrologers of late antiquity were Vettius Valens, author of the *Anthologeuon biblia* (written between 152 and 188 CE), and Firmicus Maternus, who wrote the *Matheseos libri VIII* around 335, before he became a Christian.

After the closing of the philosophical school of Athens in 529 CE, several Greek scholars emigrated to Persia, where they were granted asylum by the emperor Khosrow I (531–579). There they translated several Greek texts, some of which were astrological treatises, into Pahlavi (Middle Persian). These treatises were later translated from Pahlavi into Arabic by Abū Maʿshar (787–886), known also as Albumasar, a scholar in the court of the caliph al-Maʾmūn of Baghdad. Many texts entered the corpus of Arabic works on astrology through Persia: the Arab Masala (c. 770–820), in his compilation of a catalog of books on astrology, listed forty-six titles of Persian provenance. By around 750 CE the Arabs had developed a considerable interest in astrology. Arabic translations of astrological texts greatly influenced the thought of the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

Greek astrology reached India between the first and third centuries CE, introduced possibly by a Buddhist monk. The most important Indian astrologer was the sixth-century philosopher Varāhamihira, the author of astrological treatises and of the *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, a work that contained what was then known of Indian, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman astronomy. However, Indian astrology, despite its subsequent development and later influence, was unoriginal. Chinese astrology may have derived from Indian astrology, but it is based primarily on an impressive indigenous system of correspondences between the microcosm and macrocosm.

The role of astrology in the cultural and political life of Europe from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries is only partially known. Astrology had a prominent place in Renaissance science, but it gradually lost this position when the church disassociated itself from astrology at the end of the sixteenth century during the Reformation. Only the names of a few of the greatest astrologers of the Renaissance are still known today: Johann Müller (known as Regiomontanus), Guido Bonato of Forli, and Luca Gaurico, bishop of Civitate (Naples), who worked for Catherine de Médicis.

Some astrologers who are almost unknown today were once famous for having prophesied public events. Their predictions were associated with the theory suggesting the universal influence of Great Conjunctions of planets and signs upon religious and political matters. This theory dates to antiquity and was much discussed by the Arab thinkers al-Kindi and Abū Maʿshar. One of the best-known prophesies stated that Luther and the Reformation were the consequences of the conjunction of the superior planets Jupiter and Saturn in Scorpio during November of 1484. Interpreting this conjunction, Johann Lichtenberger predicted that a German reformer would be born who would become a monk and would have another monk as a counselor. The prediction was later rediscovered and associated with Luther (b. 1483) and Philipp Melanchthon.

During the sixteenth century, the theory of conjunctions played an important role in the works of Cyprianus von Leowitz and of the Englishman Richard Harvey. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the theory was used by Johannes Kepler in his astrological calculations concerning a star that had appeared in 1604. On the basis of the appearance of this nova, Kepler claimed to be able to calculate the precise date of the nativity of Jesus Christ, who, because he was a great prophet, was to have been born at the time of a Great Conjunction. His birth was also to have been announced by a nova, the star of the Magi. These calculations fostered the hope that a general reformation of faith would change the deplorable conditions of contemporary humanity. This hope was also expressed by the followers of Johann Valentin Andreae (1586–1654), the author of the Rosicrucian manifestos. The dates of the last two Great Conjunctions figure importantly in the apocryphal history of the founder of the Rosicrucian order.

Astrological predictions were feared by the authorities for their possible deleterious political consequences. Astrology was often condemned or suppressed during antiquity and the Renaissance. For example, to counteract the effect of the prophecy concerning the church reformer born under the 1484 conjunction, Innocent VIII issued the bull *Summis desiderantes affectibus*, which had some effect on the great witch craze of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Eventually astrology was officially condemned by the church at the end of the sixteenth century, as a consequence of other disastrous predictions. However, the liberal trends at the beginning of the seventeenth century were in great measure dependent upon astrological predictions. Astrology seems to continue to exert a certain influence on the political and cultural life of modern Europe, although it is much less influential than it was during the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries.

Confutations of astrology have a common pattern, which usually consists of denying the possibility that the stars could influence human affairs. Some of these confutations are famous, such as those of Girolamo Savonarola, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, and John Calvin. Although Pico's *Disputationes astrologiam adversus divinatricem* was left unprinted because of his sudden death in 1494, it is very possible that this semiofficial treatise was meant to put forth the antiastrological policies of Innocent VIII and his successor, and to obtain for Pico a full pardon for his past errors and prepare the way for a high ecclesiastical career.

THE METHODS OF ASTROLOGY. Greek astrology was based on Greek astronomy, which was abstruse and difficult to practice. This is one of the principal reasons why many of the authors of astrological treatises in antiquity and late antiquity made inadvertent mistakes in astrological formulations that were by their very nature almost impossible to apply. Another reason for the varied and even contradictory astrological systems of late antiquity was the weight of tradition. Traditionally complex numerical systems of astrology were inevitably altered in their transmission and were rarely interpreted in the same way by any two different authors. For example, the numerical systems of specific astrological tables could be interpreted in various ways: the *horia* (*fines*, *termini*), or portions of a sign distributed among the five planets; the tables of *hupsōmata*, or "exaltations" of the planets in different signs; the tables of *tapeinōmata* (*deiectiones*), or "depressions" of the planets; the tables of the so-called *partes vacuae* or *vacantes*, the "empty spaces" of the zodiac; and so on. Ptolemy tried to eliminate discrepancies among different traditions by replacing corrupt or unintelligible traditions with numerical series linked by logical, arithmetical operations.

Astrology superimposes two different complex systems: that of the heavens and that of the collective and individual destinies of the human beings on earth. Through the observation of the heavens (and the interpretation of those observations according to a framework of theoretical, nonobservational assumptions), these systems attempt to account for the changes within the human system, which are otherwise unpredictable, unobservable, and unsystematic. It is true that from a scientific viewpoint there is no real connection between the two systems, and thus Greek astrology has been perceived as an attempt to give mathematical justification to absurd theoretical assumptions. However, instead of emphasizing the arbitrary nature and incorrect theoretical basis of astrology, one might consider its contributions from a psychological point of view. The choice of an analogous system for human fate reflects a deep insight into the transience and singularity of human lives and human events.

Astrological systems are multiple-choice systems based on several informational operators that are capable of accounting for an almost unrestricted number of operations. This astrological "computer program" was used to store information in the memory by several mnemotechnical systems.

The first operator in the zodiac, or wheel, composed of the twelve constellations (more or less arbitrary groups of stars) through which the planets circulate. In addition to these constellations, there are several others that are not in the path of the planets; as extrazodiacal signs (*paranatellonta*) that rise together with the signs of the zodiac, they can also figure in astrological computations and analyses. Beginning from the sign rising at the spring equinox, the twelve constellations are the Ram (*Krios*, Aries), the Bull (*Tauros*, Taurus), the Twins (*Didumoi*, Gemini), the Crab (*Karkinos*, Cancer), the Lion (*Leōn*, Leo), the Virgin (*Parthenos*, Virgo), the Scales (*Zugos*, Libra), the Scorpion (*Skorpios*, Scorpio), the Archer (*Toxotēs*, Sagittarius), the Goat (*Aigokerōs*, Capricorn), the Waterbearer (*Hudrochoos*, Aquarius), and the Fish (*Ichthues*, Pisces). The twelve signs of the zodiac are further grouped into triangles according to their form, sex, quality (cold, warm, wet, or dry), and the element to which they belong. Thus Aries, Leo, and Sagittarius constitute the fire triangle; Taurus, Virgo, and Capricorn, the earth triangle; Gemini, Libra, and Aquarius, the air triangle; and Cancer, Scorpio, and Pisces, the water triangle.

Each of the twelve signs occupies 30 degrees of a 360-degree circle. Each sign is further divided into three decans *(dekanoi)* of 10 degrees each; they are sometimes divided into single degrees *(monomoiriai)*. To each sign are assigned constant features according to its element, quality, sex, shape, and position. The zodiac revolves on an ideal plane divided into *topoi* ("places" or "houses"). There are two systems of *topoi:* (1) a system of eight houses (*oktōtopos*), which is described only by Marcus Manilius and Firmicus Maternus, and (2) a more general system of twelve houses (*dōdekatopos*). The twelve houses are life (*vita*), wealth (*lucrum*), brothers and sisters *(fratres)*, parents *(parentes)*, sons *(filii)*, health (*valetudo*), marriage (*nuptiae*), death (*mors*), travels (*peregrinationes*), honors (*honores*), friends (*amici*), and enemies (*inimici).* According to a medieval mnemonic couplet, these are

> Vita, lucrum, fratres, genitor, nati, valetudo Uxor,
> mors, pietas, regnum benefactaque, carcer.

The revolution of the zodiac within the houses makes possible many significant combinations; however, the great variability of the system is due to the movements of the planets. According to the geocentric system, there are seven "planets," arranged according to their distance from the earth and by the length of their respective revolutions: the moon, Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. These were further classified according to sex and quality. Mars and Saturn were specifically designated as "malefics," a feature inherited from Babylonian astrology.

Ptolemy stated that the planets have two kinds of "aspects": (1) the aspect determined both by their positions in the zodiac and by their positions relative to one another and (2) the aspect determined only by their positions relative to one another. The most important position of the first aspect is the so-called *idioprosōpos*, the position of a planet when it is located at the same circular distance from the sun and moon that its domicile is from the domiciles of the sun and moon. The domiciles *(oikoi)* are the signs ruled by each planet. The sun and moon each rule only one sign, Leo and Cancer, respectively; the other planets each rule two signs. Mercury rules Gemini and Virgo; Venus, Taurus and Libra; Mars, Aries and Scorpio; Jupiter, Sagittarius and Pisces; and Saturn, Capricorn and Aquarius. In addition to the domiciles, each planet has an "exaltation" at a special place in one sign, and a "depression" (or "exile") in another.

Of the second kind of aspect, Ptolemy cites only two positions: the *sunaphē*, "contact," or *kollēēsis*, "sticking" (Lat., *contactus*, *coniunctio*, *applicatio*, or *glutinatio*), positions that occur when two planets meet on the same meridian. The conjunction is followed by a separation or *aporroia* (Lat., *defluxio*). Several other positions were successively added to these two, but they were not based on the relative positions of planets but on their *aktinobolia* (*emissio radiorum*), or power to emit rays. When these rays meet under certain conditions they form "figures" (*schēmata*), called *adspectus* in Latin because of the way the planets are "looking" (*adspicio*) at one another. The term *aktinobolia* itself was usually employed to indicate a negative aspect in which a planet could be "blocked" or "sieged" (Gr., *perischesis* or *emperischesis*; Lat., *detentio* or *obsidio*, etc.). While conjunction with the malefic planets is usually maleficent, there are two aspects that are always benefic (120° and 60°) and two others (opposition, or 180°, and square, or 90°) that are always negative.

Signs, decans, and planets are said to rule both the zones of the earth and the human body. The correspondences between them are classified according to astrological chorography, or the distribution of the sidereal influences of the *oikoumenē*, and melothesy, or the doctrine of the correspondences between stars and the human body. There are three kinds of melothesy, which consider the influence of the signs, decans, or planets respectively. The seven planets are ascribed correspondences with metals, stones, plants, and animals. These are used in astrological medicine, or *iatromathēmatikē*, a complicated science of ascribing drugs or other remedies according to the momentary position and influence of the planets, especially the moon.

Astrological predictions are of two kinds: (1) general or catholic (*katholikos*, "universal") predictions, which are based on portentous events such as eclipses, comets, meteors, Great Conjunctions, the aurora borealis, and so on; and (2) particular, or genethliac, predictions, which are concerned with the position and influence of the stars at one's birth. The astrologer draws a "birth theme" (Lat., *thema*, or *diathema tēs geneseōs*; Lat., *constellatio*) by determining first the *hōroskopos* (Lat., *ascendens*), or "indicator," of the sign or planet rising at the eastern horizon at the precise moment of the client's birth. After the ascendant, three other points are determined on the zodiac: the zenith (Gr., *mesouranēma*; Lat., *medium coelum*), the nadir (Gr., *antimesouranēma* or *hupogeion*; Lat., *imum caelum*), and the western horizon (Gr., *dusis*; Lat., *occasus*).

The meridian line is not perpendicular to the horizon line, and thus the problem of the "ascensions" *(anaphorai)* of each sign is not a simple one; their oblique ascension, according to the real inclination of the zodiac, has to be translated on the equatorial plane, and their angular speed depends on the latitude of the geographic location where the calculations are made. During antiquity, tables were drawn for "seven climates" or latitudes. The astrologer is supposed to calculate with accuracy the ascensions of the signs and planets, and to exhaust, on a birth theme, all possible combinations of the constituents of the system.

SEE ALSO Divination; Occultism; Sky, article on The Heavens as Hierophany.

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ASTRONOMY SEE ETHNOASTRONOMY

AŚVINS SEE TWINS

ATAHUALLPA (c. 1502–1533) was the thirteenth ruler of the Inca Empire and the last to preside over it before its conquest by the Spanish. Present-day Andean people envision Atahuallpa as a messiah. In poetry, drama, and legend, he is associated with both autochthonous and Roman Catholic beliefs. His symbolic identity transcends his historical identity.

Historically, Atahuallpa was neither the noblest nor the last of the Inca rulers. He was the son of Huayna Capac (r. 1493–1527), the eleventh Inca (the title given to heads of the empire). The heir to the throne was not Atahuallpa but his brother Huascar (r. 1527–1532), who, at Huayna

Capac's request, let Atahuallpa rule over the empire's northern half, from Quito to Jauja. Three years later, in 1530, Atahuallpa defeated Huascar in a civil war that left the Inca empire so debilitated that it was easily occupied by Spanish forces under Francisco Pizarro in 1532. Pizarro captured Atahuallpa, who tried in vain to form an alliance with Pizarro to buttress his title. To avoid being burned at the stake, Atahuallpa agreed to be baptized as a Christian, although he previously had refused to accept conversion. Nevertheless, he was put to death by strangulation on August 28, 1533.

To stifle Quechua (Inca) rebellions in 1535, Pizarro made Atahuallpa's son, Manco II, the Inca ruler. Manco resisted Spanish rule until his death in 1545. Subsequent Inca rulers—Sayri Tupac (r. 1545–1557), Tito Cusi Yupanqui (r. 1557–1569), and Tupac Amarú (r. 1569–1572)—prolonged this resistance for forty years. The conquest officially ended in 1572 with the execution of Tupac Amarú, although Indian revolts continued. Because of his capitulation, Atahuallpa was ignominious, but as personal memories of him began to fade he became a tragic and redemptive figure who stands at the crossroads of Inca and Spanish culture.

The seventeenth-century Peruvian poet Garcilaso de la Vega reflects the soul of a conquered people in his *Royal Commentaries of the Inca* (1609; Eng. tr., 1961). Garcilaso, himself the son of a Spanish conquistador and an Inca princess who was the niece of Huayna Capac, describes Atahuallpa as a traitor. Garcilaso quotes a citizen of the Inca capital, Cuzco, as saying, "Atahuallpa destroyed our empire and committed every crime against the Incas. Give that man to me and even if he be dead I will eat him raw, without seasoning!"

Garcilaso also depicts Atahuallpa as a symbol of the lack of communication between Indians and Spaniards. At the first meeting between Atahuallpa's retinue and Pizarro's troops in 1532, the Inca was confronted by a priest, Vicente de Valverde, to whom he said, "You claim that Christ is God, but how can he be dead? We worship the Sun and Moon, which are immortal! By what authority do you say that God created the universe?"

"The Bible!" Valverde replied, handing his copy to Atahuallpa. The Inca placed the book to his ear, shook it, and replied, "It is silent?" He threw it to the ground, and at this Valverde ordered the Spanish troops to kill the Indians. Garcilaso's irony is that Valverde represented peace but brought destruction, whereas Atahuallpa represented civil war but sought reconciliation.

During the colonial (1532–1826) and republican (1826–present) periods, Atahuallpa came to symbolize the conquered people, and his death came to signify the disruption of nature caused by the conquest. This is poignantly illustrated in a poem, *A Eulogy to Atahuallpa,* written in the sixteenth century by an unknown author:

> A black rainbow covers Cuzco, tight like a bow. . . .
>
> Hail hits our heads; rivers flow with blood;
> The days are black and the nights are white.
> Our hearts are overwhelmed because Atahuallpa is dead,
> The shadow who protects us from the sun. . . .
>
> Spaniards became rich with your gold.
> Yet their hearts rotted with greed, power, and violence.
> Atahuallpa, you embraced and gave them all,
> But they beheaded you. . . .
>
> Today, may your heart support our sinful ways.
> (trans. by Bastien, from Arguedas, 1957)

According to the present-day belief system of the Quechua peoples, the conquest destroyed harmony between the Inca and his subjects, between Indian and Spaniard, and between heaven and earth. Harmony, it is believed, will be restored by the resurrection of Atahuallpa, which is represented in a popular dance drama, *The Death of Atahuallpa,* performed annually in the Bolivian cities of Kanata and Oruro. In Oruro the drama is performed on the Sunday and Monday of Carnival. The actors playing Atahuallpa and the Inca princesses stand across the central plaza from those playing Pizarro and his soldiers. Atahuallpa debates with his diviner about ominous prophecies and the divinity of the conquistadors. Pizarro captures, tricks, and executes Atahuallpa. As a finale, a choir of Inca princesses chants, "Eternal Lord, make arise the all-powerful and youthful Inca Atahuallpa!" Clowns then bring Atahuallpa back to life. In Kanata a similar drama is performed during a fiesta dedicated to Jesus. Like Christ, Atahuallpa suffers trial and execution and is resurrected. Actors dressed as Inca princesses dedicate the drama to the Blessed Mother and march in procession carrying a statue of Jesus. Finally, they enact the capture, trial, death, and resurrection of Atahuallpa.

These actors transform Atahuallpa and Jesus into a composite symbolic figure who is acceptable to both the conquerors and the conquered and who promises the regeneration of a harmonious culture in a future age. The archetypal imagery of death and rebirth forms a common denominator between the Atahuallpa of the Inca and the Jesus of the Spanish. However, the drama separates Atahuallpa and Jesus from negative historical associations: Atahuallpa is not remembered as a traitor and tyrant, and Jesus is dissociated from the Catholic colonial heritage.

The rebirth of Atahuallpa is also expressed in the legends surrounding the figure of Inkarri (whose name is a Quechua corruption of the Spanish *Inca rey* [Inca king]) that are found throughout the Andes. According to these legends, the father of Inkarri is the Sun. Inkarri has abundant gold. His head is buried somewhere in Cuzco. His body is slowly being regenerated, growing from the head down. When Inkarri's body is complete, he will return to judge the world. Although the Inkarri legends portend the return of the Inca in general, they are also associated with Atahuallpa. Traditional Andeans believe that Atahuallpa's head is also buried in Cuzco, where his body, too, is being regenerated by the forces of Pachamama (Mother Earth), a major deity in the Andes. When he is regenerated, Atahuallpa will emerge from

Lake Titicaca. During the messianic age that follows, he will judge all who have upset nature, culture, and society.

Ethnohistorically, Atahuallpa has thus become a symbol combining Inca ideas of earthly and cosmic rebirth with Christian beliefs about the death, resurrection, and second coming of Christ. Christian beliefs, however, are secondary to the association of Atahuallpa with the earth as the center of a regenerative cycle from birth to death to renewed life. This more basic process provides cosmic meaning for the tyranny initiated by the conquest.

As the twenty-first century begins, the rivalry and fratricide between the two brothers Atahuallpa and Huascar still functions as a foundation myth for the existence of Ecuador, which descends from Atahuallpa, and Peru, which descends from Huascar. Their rivalry was the start of the rivalry between the two nations. This is the most important thing about Atahuallpa from the perspective of the modern nations. Hence the story of Atahuallpa is partisan depending on which nation one belongs to. In short, Atahuallpa is a symbolic figure with multiple meanings evoked for varying religious beliefs, political parties, and national identities that have changed since the conquest.

SEE ALSO Manco Capac and Mama Occllo.

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The poem "A Eulogy to Atahuallpa" was translated by José María Arguedas in *Apu Inqa Atahuallpaman* (Lima, 1957). Jesús Lara presents a complete translation of an early version of the folk drama of Oruro in *Tragedía del fin de Atawallpa* (Cochabamba, Bolivia, 1957). Several scholars have analyzed the drama: Miguel León-Portilla compares Atahuallpa with Mexico's Moctezuma II—they were both products of millenarian cultures and believed that Pizarro and Cortés were returning deities—in *El reverso de la conquista* (Tabasco, Mexico, 1964). Along similar lines, Nathan Wachtel, in *The Vision of the Vanquished: The Spanish Conquest of Peru through Indian Eyes, 1530–1570* (New York, 1977), interprets the drama from a structuralist perspective: the conquest brought disharmony, Atahuallpa brings harmony, and the drama reveals these contradictions. Clemente Hernando-Balmori has written a profound study of this drama in *La Conquista de los españoles: Drama indígena bilingue quechua-castellano* (Tucumán, Argentina, 1955). He interprets it in the context of Inca drama and Andean cognitive patterns.

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ATESHGAH. A Zoroastrian term still used in New Persian, *ateshgah, or ātashgāh* (also pronounced *āteshgāh*), originally meant "place of the fire" or, technically, "fire precinct." It derives from Middle Persian or Pahlavi *ātakhshgāh*, reflecting an Old Persian and Avestan nominative singular *ātarsh* (fire), plus Old Persian *gāthu* and Avestan *gātu*, *gātav* (place, space). The Avestan and Old Persian term *ātar-* produced the Middle Persian and New Persian word *ātur* or *ādur* (fire) as well. Consequently *āturgāh* and *ādurgāh* also have been used to denote places or precincts in which fires burn. A fire that burns in an *ateshgah* is regarded as *spēnāg* (holy) and is utilized for Mazdean or Zoroastrian rituals. It did not and does not have to be a constantly burning fire, or one of the highest ritual rank, nor be tended solely by the Zoroastrian magi or clergy. In practice, an *ateshgah* did not even have to be within an enclosed building but could be an outdoor precinct.

Another designation used in conjunction with *ateshgah* is New Persian *ātashkada* (also pronounced *āteshkade*, "room of the fire, house of the fire"), commonly translated as "fire temple," deriving from Middle Persian *ātakhshkadag* and *kadag ī ātakhsh*, originating from Old Persian and Avestan *ātarsh* plus Old Persian **katha* and Avestan *kata* (room, small house). Usage indicates this term has consistently been utilized to denote a building which housed one or more ateshgah. By the fifteenth century CE, as attested in the *Persian Revāyats* (Treatises 2.18), Zoroastrians in Iran were using the phrases *dar-i mehr* and *dar be-mehr,* both meaning "court of Mithra," as equivalents of other terms for temples that enclosed *ateshgah.* Mithra (later Mihr, Mehr), as the minor Zoroastrian divinity of contracts and covenants, was believed to traverse the sky with "the radiant fire of liturgical glory before him" (*Yasht*, "Devotional Poem" 10.127). So that spirit's association with fire resulted in devotees' naming fire temples after him. The phrases *dar-i mehr* and *dar be-mehr* remain popular into the twenty-first century among Zoroastrians in Iran, India, and even the United States and Canada for referring to their current, functional fire temples. Yet another word for a fire temple building, namely *agīārī*, commonly rendered as *agiary*, arose among the Parsis (Persians) or Zoroastrians of India through the translation of *ātashākada* into the Gujarati language in premodern times.

Within a fire precinct of a fire temple, a fire is placed in a receptacle. That vessel has consistently been designated in New Persian as an *ātashdān*, usually translated as "fire altar," from Middle Persian *ātakhshdān* and Parthian **ātarōshan,* preserved in Armenian as *atrushan.* It was rendered into Greek as *bōmos* (altar). The Iranian term reflects an Old Persian and Avestan nominative singular *ātarsh* plus *stāna* (place). The Parsis call the fire holder an *āfrīnagānyu* or *afargānyu* (place for blessings), based on a loanword from New Persian into Gujarati.

HISTORY. Fire precincts seem to have been utilized by pre-Zoroastrian or early Zoroastrian devotees in Central Asian Bronze Age communities (c. 2100–1750 BCE) such as at Togolok 21. Archaeological excavation at the Median citadel of Tepe Nush-e Jan (c. mid-eighth century–sixth century BCE) has revealed two fire precincts with square, raised, mud brick altars. Excavations at the contemporaneous Median city of Hagmatāna (Ecbatana, later Hamadan) produced a small open-sided pavilionlike chamber with four columns supporting a domed ceiling that seems to be a precursor of fire precinct architecture later popular in Sassanian times. Among the earliest precincts for holy flames during the Achaemenian Empire (550–331 BCE) is the open air one at Pasargadae. It contains two hollow white limestone plinths aligned north to south, with the southern one having stairs attached. Reliefs carved above tombs of subsequent Achaemenian rulers indicate the king or a magus climbed to the top of the southern plinth, faced the northern plinth, which bore a fire altar with flame, and performed devotions.

The *Vidēvdād* (Code to ward off evil spirits, 8.81–96), a Young Avestan text codified under the Parthian regime (238 BCE–224 CE), provides the first scriptural reference to the creation of a holy fire of the highest ritual grade—*ādar warahrān* in Parthian, *ātakhsh wahrām* in Middle Persian, and *ātash bahrām*, "fire of Verethraghna (Vərəthraghna) or Wahrām" (the divinity of victory), in New Persian and Parsi Gujarati. Each such fire was said to blaze within a *dāityāgātu* (fixed place or appropriate precinct), called *dādgāh* in Middle Persian, which apparently was another term for an *ateshgah.* It is created by a purification and fusion of flames that had been used for sixteen different functions. The same text noted that holy fires should be kept free from impurities and tended with care, and that magi should perform all such rites while wearing a *paitidāna* (Middle Persian *padām*, New Persian *panām*, Parsi Gujarati *padān*), or "mouth and nose mask," so as not to pollute the flames with breath (*Vidēvdād* 8.73–74, 18.1).

Establishment of the three most famous *ādar warahrān* of antiquity seems to date to mid-Achaemenian times at the earliest and mid-Parthian times at the latest. Possibly relocated more than once, their fire temples continued to be funded, staffed, and well maintained in Sassanian times (224–651 CE). Ādur Farrōbay, considered the *ādar warahrān* of clergy and nobility, may have always been enthroned in Fārs at the site of Kariyan. Ādur Gushnasp, linked to rulers as the *ādar warahrān* of warriors, seems to have been originally established within a fire temple in Media (Kurdistan). Under the early Sassanians during the third century CE, it was moved to the site of Takht-e Sulayman southeast of Lake Urmiya (later in Iranian Azerbaijan). Ādur Burzēnmihr, regarded as the holy fire of farmers and pastoralists, seems to have been burned within a fire temple on a mountain called Revand northwest of Nishapur in Parthia (later Khurāsān), as noted by the ninth-century CE magus Zādspram (*Wizīdagīhā*, "Selections" 3.85).

Three ritual grades of fire were standardized by the Sassanian magi, and those ranks are still retained by Zoroastrians: *ātakhsh wahrām*, *ātakhsh ādarān* (fire of fires), or simply *ādarān*, and *ādurōg ī dādgāh* (small fire in a fixed place), or simply *dādgāh.* Only *ātakhsh wahrām* had to burn constantly. Flames of the *ādarān* and *dādgāh* grades would periodically be allowed to burn out. Forming a hall or portico whose four sides were open, the *chahār tāq* (four arches)—or four columns supporting a *gumbad* ("domed roof," a term that eventually came to serve as an alternate for *chahār tāq*)—became the quintessential architectural form for fire precincts. The *chahār tāq* usually was situated inside a fire temple and within it a holy fire burned upon a fire altar. That style is seen in ruins at locales such as Tepe-Mill near Tehran; Qala-ye Dokhtar near Qom; Kazerun and Mil-e Naqara Hana in Fārs province; Isfahan and Neyzar in central Iran, near Kermān city; and between Mashhad and Torbat-e Haydariya in Khurāsān.

As Iranians adopted other faiths, the *ateshgah* became a symbol of the old order that had to be changed. So in Armenia, Zoroastrian fire precincts were transformed into Christian churches at locales like Ejmiacin and Dvin after 300. The process gained momentum with the spread of Islam between the eight and thirteenth centuries. Most fire precincts were either transformed into mosques, destroyed, or abandoned. The *chahār tāq* style with its domed roof passed into Muslim religious architecture as domed mosques. Notable examples of *ateshgah* providing the infrastructure for a medieval Muslim *masjid-e jāmiʿ* (congregational mosque) are at the cities of Urmiya, Qazvin, Yazd, Naʾin, Isfahan, Natanz, Kermān, Nishapur, and Bukhara.

MODERN USES. Now, as in premodern times, holy fires—especially those of the *ātash bahrām* and *ātash ādarān* ranks—usually burn in altars on stone platforms upon tiled floors, within a *pāwī* (pure space), surrounded by *kash* or *kish* (separatory furrows) inscribed on the floor of a fire precinct that is often modeled after the medieval *chahār tāq*. A few of several such fire temples functioning in Iran can be mentioned. The *ātash bahrām* named Ādur Farrōbay burns in a modern temple at Yazd. The *ātash bahrām* called Ādur Anāhīd, originally the fire of Persian royal families, is housed at a temple in the town of Ardakan of the Sharifabad area in Yazd. The capital city, Tehran, has an *ādarān* flame in the Bhika Bahram fire temple. The city of Kermān has the Banu Rostam Farrokh fire precinct, opened in 1924 to house an *ādarān* flame, plus a more modern fire temple within the same compound. Due to state pressure, access to fire temples in Iran is available to members of all faiths, who are requested but not required to cover their heads and remove footwear as signs of respect for the fires.

The largest number of Zoroastrian fire precincts is found in India. In about 941, some five years after their arrival in Gujarat on the west coast of India, the Parsis established an *ātash bahrām* named Irān Shāh, which now blazes in an ornate fire temple at Udvada and is the focus of pilgrimage by devout Zoroastrians. There are seven other highest-level fires, each with its own temple, including the Bhagarsath Anjuman *ātash bahrām* at Navsari, established in 1765. At the start of the twenty-first century, there are eighty-two fire temples in India housing *ādarān* flames (pronounced *ādariān* in Parsi Gujarati). Additionally, sixty fire temples with only *dādgāh* flames are supported by Zoroastrian communities there. Those Parsis do not permit nonbelievers or converts to enter fire temples. Devotees, who must possess Zoroastrian paternity, are required to don prayer caps or scarves and perform the *pādyāb,* or purification, and *kustī,* or holy cord rites, before worship.

As Zoroastrians dispersed globally, their praxes relating to fire went with them. The community in Pakistan worships at two fire temples with *ādarān* fires in Karachi, one with a *dādgāh* in Lahore, and another with a *dādgāh* in Quetta—all dating from the nineteenth century. Devotees living in Sri Lanka (earlier called Ceylon) have worshiped at an endowed fire temple with a *dādgāh* at the city of Colombo since 1927. Only individuals born from Zoroastrian fathers are permitted to worship—after donning caps or scarves, purifying themselves, and retying the cord—at fire temples in Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Zoroastrians in Hong Kong have the Pherozeshaw Kawasji Pavri Memorial Prayer Hall with a *dādgāh* flame on the sixth floor of a modern multipurpose steel and glass building. The community in England can attend religious services at two centers in London—Zoroastrian House, opened in 1969, and the Zartoshty Brothers Hall, dedicated in 2001, both housing *dādgāh* fires. Zoroastrians in Australia at Sydney (1994), Canada at Toronto (1980) and Vancouver (1986), and the United States in the suburbs of New York City (1977, relocated in 2001), Washington, D.C. (1990), Chicago (1983), Houston (1998), San Jose (1992), and Los Angeles (1985) utilize temples containing fires of the *dādgāh* level. Access to fire temples in Europe and North America is granted to persons of all faiths, with the fire often—but not always—burning within a fire precinct separated from the congregation by glass panels.

Each fire is intended to serve as an icon through which worship is directed toward Ahura Mazdā (later Ōhrmazd) the creator deity or god of Zoroastrians. Women abstain from visiting fire temples when menstruating and immediately after childbirth for reasons of ritual purity. At fire temples, laity offer fragrant firewood and incense as fuel for the fire. Facing the *ateshgah* while standing, or occasionally seated or kneeling, they quietly recite prayers such as those for the *gāh* (period or time) of day or night, the *Ahuna Vairya* (*Ahunawar*; "As is the lord"), and the *Ashem Vohū* (Order is good). The central ritual surrounding fires in *ateshgah* is termed *Bōy* ([Offering of] Incense), conducted five times at the beginning of each period of the day by a magus. The presence of *dādgāh* fires is required for a range of other rituals, including the *Yasna* (worship), *Vidēvdād* or *Vendidād* (Code to ward off evil spirits), *Āfrīnagān* (Blessings), *Farokhshī* (All souls), and *Jashan* (Thanksgiving service).

SEE ALSO Parsis; Zoroastrianism.

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ATHANASIUS (c. 298–373), bishop of Alexandria, theologian, church father, and saint. Athanasius was born around the year 300, perhaps in 298, according to a chronicle composed soon after his death and preserved in Syriac. Later Coptic legends locate Athanasius's birthplace in Upper Egypt, but these claims seem to contradict his genuinely Greek education. In his youth he may have visited Christian monks in the desert areas near Alexandria. The Alexandrian bishop Alexander (311–328) ordained him as a deacon at the time of the fateful dispute with Arius, and in the spring of 325 Athanasius accompanied the bishop to the imperial Council of Nicaea, where Arianism was solemnly condemned as a heresy. Elected by a small minority of the Egyptian clergy and by the Alexandrian laity as the successor of Alexander in the summer of 328, the young Athanasius, not yet in his thirties, faced a critical situation.

More than half of the many bishops subordinated to the jurisdiction of the Alexandrian pope had recognized the authority of the schismatic bishop Meletios of Lycopolis in Upper Egypt. Soon after the episcopal election of Athanasius, the Meletians built up a common front against him in supporting Arius and his friends. They were encouraged to do so by a coalition of bishops from the eastern provinces of the empire under the leadership of Bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia, who was hostile to the Alexandrian see for political reasons. Athanasius was exposed to attacks from all sides in imposing without compromise the decrees of Nicaea, which condemned the Arian heresy and regulated strictly the readmission of Meletians into the Catholic church. He hoped for a time to consolidate his precarious position by rallying the monastic groups in the deserts of Egypt and the Coptic communities along the Nile Valley. Between 328 and 334 his pastoral visits reached the border of modern Sudan and the western parts of Libya. But in 335 the Synod of Tyre, organized by the anti-Alexandrian and pro-Arian party, succeeded in driving Athanasius out of office. As it was invested with imperial power like the Council of Nicaea ten years earlier, this synod made questionable the very legitimacy of Athanasius as a bishop.

Athanasius was exiled by Emperor Constantine on November 7, 335. Only after Constantine's death on May 22, 337, could Athanasius return to Alexandria. But his legitimacy was still rejected by the Eastern bishops, who had gained the favor of Constantius II, Constantine's son and successor in the East. In 338 Athanasius again found himself driven from Alexandria. In dramatic circumstances he fled to Rome, where he was welcomed by Bishop Julius I and rehabilitated by his local synod. In 342 a broader synod, convoked in Serdica (modern-day Sofia) by the emperor of the West, Constantius's brother, Constans I, ratified this recognition of Athanasius as legitimate bishop of Alexandria.

Only in October 346 could the exiled bishop regain his see, but not without Constans's heavy political pressure on his younger brother Constantius in the East. Athanasius's fulfillment of his pastoral duties in Alexandria, from 346 to

356, became increasingly difficult after Constans was murdered by a usurper in 350. As sole ruler of the whole empire, Constantius tried to work out a unified religious policy. However, this policy was unacceptable to Athanasius, because it interfered in the realm of the church's dogma as canonized in Nicaea in 325. In fact, Constantius, influenced by a conservative majority of bishops in the East, rejected the creed of Nicaea. He organized a vast subversive campaign in the West and the East against Athanasius, as the main supporter of Nicaea. Outlawed and sought by the emperor's secret police, Athanasius vanished, remaining in the desert from February 356 until November 361, hidden by the monks but very active in the clandestine administration of his diocese. Exile under Constantius's successor, Julian (361–363), proved less disruptive. Finally, under Emperor Valens (364–378), Athanasius was exiled for only a few months. On February 1, 366, he was fully recognized and was reinstalled in his office, where he remained until his death in early May 373.

Fifteen years and ten months of exile had not damaged Athanasius's popular links with the Alexandrian church, or with Coptic monastic circles. The mature energies of this dominant figure revealed themselves in an even more efficient way during his repeated exiles. At the time of his first exile, Athanasius completed a compilation of older notes and gave them the form of an apologetic treatise. In doing so, he added to a first work, *Against the Heathen,* a second apology, *On the Incarnation of the Word,* with a deeply renewed view of Alexandrian Christology. In the early stage of his second exile, in Rome, Athanasius finished his principal dogmatic work, entitled *Discourse against the Arians,* originally in one or two books. During his third exile, among the monks, he dictated important historical, dogmatic, and apologetic works, especially his *Letters to Serapion concerning the Divinity of the Holy Spirit,* the apology *On the Synods of Rimini and Seleucia,* and *Life of Anthony.*

Through these works Athanasius entered into dialogue with various pro-Nicene theological parties, among them the group of Basil of Ancyra. Their reconciliation was celebrated at the Synod of Alexandria in the summer of 362.

Athanasius's theology remains strikingly coherent throughout his writings. It focuses on the incarnation of God in Christ as the central principle of Christian theology. The Trinity is truly known only in light of the gospel message. The incarnate Son of God operates in divinizing humankind, which is saved by the Son from death and corruption in conjunction with its own godlikeness. The mystery of Christ, revealed by the New Testament, is actualized in the life of the church, in its official creed, in baptism, in the Eucharist, and in the religious improvement of its members.

The literary and doctrinal legacy of Athanasius was decisive through the Cappadocian fathers in the East and Ambrose of Milan in the West. His doctrine on the salvific incarnation of Christ has shaped subsequent Christian traditions. During his lifetime, Athanasius was acclaimed by Basil of Caesarea, among others—and after his death, universally—as champion of the church's dogmatic freedom against the state's political administration.

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CHARLES KANNENGIESSER (1987)

ATHAPASKAN RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
ATHAPASKAN CONCEPTS OF WIND AND POWER

ATHAPASKAN RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS: AN OVERVIEW

The Athapaskan-speaking (alternative spellings include Athabascan, Athabaskan, and Athapascan) nations of Alaska, Canada, the Pacific Northwest, and the American Southwest can be sorted into three broad cultural areas: the Northern Athapaskans, the Southern Athapaskans of the American Southwest, and the Athapaskans of the Pacific Northwest. Religious traditions in each of these areas vary markedly from each other. In general, the Northern Athapaskan religious traditions follow culturally scripted theories of ever-watchful spirit forces whose primary relationship with human beings centers on hunting and other subsistence issues. By contrast, the Southern Athapaskan religious traditions of the American Southwest focus on patterns reinforcing social harmony. The Athapaskan religious traditions of the Pacific Northwest fall into two general categories: subsistence-based traditions poised in complex social structures, and millenarian traditions that followed the arrival of European immigrants. Sacred stories, concepts of the numinous, and cultural practices, ritual activities, and concepts of leadership align themselves within these cultural areas.

NORTHERN ATHAPASKAN RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS. Northern Athapaskan nations are divided by the Canadian–United States border. Eleven of the twenty-nine Northern Athapaskan nations extend across the interior rivers of Alaska, while the rest occupy much of Canada's subarctic interior and western regions. Numerous sacred stories fall into cultural patterns in roughly three large geographic zones: (1) those nearest the northwest-coast cultural region, who include the Dena'ina, Ahtna, Tahltan, and Tagish; (2) those of the interior Alaskan Tanana and Yukon riverways (Gwich'in, Han, Koyukon, Holikachuk, Deg Hit'an, Tanana, Tanacross, and Upper Tanana); and (3) northern Canadian Athapaskan nations, including the Dogrib, Hare, Sekani, and Kaska.

The Athapaskans nearest the northwest-coast cultural region tell stories closely reflecting their historical links with the coastal Tlingit and Haida, nations with whom they have long established family and trading connections. Raven is a key element in these stories, always serving in its capacity as trickster and harbinger of change. Many of the key animal species depicted in stories of this region, such as Wolf, Whale, Seagull, and Eagle, reflect kinship group names or euphemisms for trading partners from the northwest coast. The development of shamanic power serves as a key component of oral narratives, underlying all Northern Athapaskan religious traditions.

Among the interior Athapaskans, the most important of these stories includes a pantheon of narratives about a mythical traveler, sometimes accompanied by his younger brother. Through feats of unexplained powers or humorous accidents the traveler populates the world with animals and plants. Significant species, such as ducks, mink, foxes, and wolves, are featured in their own narratives, while less important species take supportive roles. Here, too, Raven serves as the catalytic trickster figure whose actions often reverse or galvanize new lifeways among the creatures introduced by the traveler. Another important narrative from the Alaskan interior is commonly called "The Blind Man and the Loon," a sacred story with links to Inupiat stories in the north and Algonkian stories in the south. These myths, always an expression of the tellers' subsistence needs and the precarious impact of weather and environmental catastrophes, enclose humanity in a framework of spirits ever weighing human judgment, moral behavior, and mental attitudes.

Canadian Athapaskan sacred stories also feature a mythological heroic man, but rather than moving from area to area in a methodical way to populate the natural environment, the Canadian Dené hero interacts with his wife in constant tension with enemies from other areas. Translated into English as "The Man without Fire," stories about the northern Canadian Athapaskan hero narrate exploits about saving his wife from kidnapping and avenging his brother's murder.

Northern Athapaskans situate their concepts of the supernatural, humanity, and related worldviews in sacred stories. Where human populations are small and widely separated, the spiritual world dominates all activity, and ethical decisions emerge from good rapport with the natural world rather than human relations. Scarcity of food predicates the importance of sharing everything. Throughout the Alaskan Athapaskan community, clan-based feasts (usually called potlatches) serve as the primary institution for marking life-cycle events and redistribution of goods. The needs of the group submerge individual aspirations in an ethos of survival. Likewise, Northern Athapaskan individuals who manage to display appropriate self-sacrifice, personal strength, and devotion to the group emerge as great leaders. While a few women have filled such roles, Northern Athapaskan cultures generally allow primacy to men in leadership and authority.

Since the arrival of Euro-Americans, Christianity has replaced most Athapaskan religious traditions with the exception of the potlatch. Some features of the potlatch have been enhanced by American and Canadian trade goods, such as woolen blankets, rifles, and bolts of cotton cloth, each of which play an important role in the festivities, particularly as gifts. While the Anglican and Catholic faiths now predominate in Canada, Alaska's Christian sects follow the pattern established in 1885 by Sheldon Jackson, who asked twelve denominations to preside over loosely defined geographic areas in Alaska as missionaries, and also to provide education, medical aid, and orphanages.

SOUTHERN ATHAPASKANS OF THE AMERICAN SOUTHWEST. Two Athapaskan peoples, the Diné and the Apache, prevail in the American Southwest in terms of population and land holdings. They are unique among Athapaskans because of their agricultural subsistence base (primarily corn) and herding. The Diné, or Navajo, with the largest Native American population in the United States (298,197 in the 2001 census) and one of the largest North American territories (over 27,000 square miles in the states of Utah, Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico) also predominate in terms of the amount of scholarly research into their religious traditions.

Navajo traditions. *Diné bahane,'* popularly known as the Navajo creation story, forms the paradigmatic core of all Diné religious, philosophical, medical, and artistic traditions. *Diné bahane'* narrates four emergences of human beings into new worlds, each replete with its own benefits and sources of trouble. The fourth and present world, like the three previous worlds, revolves around dualistic relations between male and female, harmony and chaos, and sky and earth. Changing Woman, the most important of the Diné pantheon of deities, represents the renewal of life as the core of the earth and its seasons. Other Diné deities include First Man, First Woman, and Monster Slayer, all of whom are described and explained in *Diné bahane'*.

Gender relations dominate the narrative themes in *Diné bahane',* along with discussion of linguistic styles, artistic styles, and daily work activities, all emphasizing the importance of social roles in Diné society, in contrast to the dominance of subsistence values in the Northern Athapaskan regions. Diné environmental conditions, while harsh, nonetheless have provided reliable food and shelter over the centuries, allowing the Diné to focus on their relations to each other as well as to the land. *Diné bahane'* provides a metaphoric explanation for the importance of the four mountains held sacred by the Diné: Blanca Peak in Colorado, Mount Taylor in New Mexico, San Francisco Peaks in Arizona, and Hesperus Peak in Colorado. According to sacred narrative, the Diné are never to leave the precincts of these four sacred mountains.

The hogan, or dwelling, reveals the cosmological significance of the four sacred mountains by its configuration and spatial orientation. Each part of the hogan represents structures of the universe, with the floor corresponding to the earth as well as to female power, and the round roof reflecting the sky and male power. Many religious ceremonies take place in the hogan.

The Diné make use of many ritual ceremonies, of which the blessingway is the most important and performed most frequently. A two-day ceremony, the blessingway brings peace, beauty, and protection so one may achieve a long and harmonious life. During a blessingway, *Diné bahane'* is recited in its entirety.

Although balanced gender relations form a core religious and social value in Diné life, from the smallest elements of daily hegemony to the largest, men dominate in the household, as ritual leaders, and in their communities, as well as in national affairs.

Apache traditions. Apachean religious traditions are in some ways similar to those of the Diné, particularly in terms of the central deity, White Clay Woman, also known as Changing Woman, or 'Isánáklésh in the Mescalero language. Like the Diné's Changing Woman, 'Isánáklésh is considered to be the earth and all of its seasons and changes, as well as representing female power. Her counterpart, Usen, also called Life Giver, represents male power and appropriate leadership. The Apachean peoples of the American Southwest include the Jicarilla, Chiricahua, White Mountain, San Carlos, Mescalero, and Kiowa-Apache, many still living on reservations across the Southwest.

The women's puberty rite continues to be the most important Apache religious ceremony. Since precolonial times Apache people have celebrated a woman's first menses through what is now a four-day event in which the young woman is sponsored by a prominent religious leader (usually female) and an equally prestigious male singer, who are expected to instruct her in the sacred arts of becoming an adult Apache woman. The ceremonial activities include long hours of dancing, running at dawn toward 'Isánáklésh, and finally a blessing by all of her family and kin with the use of sacred cattail pollen.

Colonial history has left the Apaches with little reservation land, but fierce reputations as warriors. Geronimo and Lozen stand out in Apache history as paradigms of the sacred power of Usen. Lozen, a late-nineteenth-century Apache woman who fought with her brother and his warriors against the U.S. government, earned a reputation for having the power to locate the enemy and possessed the male powers of Usen rather than the female powers of 'Isánáklésh. Unlike most Apache women, Lozen took a prominent position in Apache leadership because of her legendary visionary and prophetic abilities. After Geronimo's defeat and the Apaches' internment on reservations, Apache religious and leadership styles changed to suit American demands for conversion to Christianity (although some follow Apache religious traditions even today) and secular elections.

ATHAPASKANS OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST. The Athapaskans of the Pacific Northwest area, unlike other Athapaskan peoples, live near rugged coastal areas in Oregon and northern California. These Athapaskan nations include the Tolowa, Hupa, Mattole, Nongatl, Sinkyone, Lassik, Wailaki, and Kato. These Athapaskan nations competed for territory with Algonkian and Hokan peoples in precolonial times. Of these, the Hupa are the largest group, numbering around two thousand in the twentieth century. Their traditional subsistence resources have been salmon, acorns, and trade. Like most of the nations of this area, Athapaskan and otherwise, the aboriginal societies were hierarchical and wealthy enough to have community leaders whose primary occupations entailed conducting ritual procedures and redistributing goods.

Sacred stories and songs, although spoken in their own languages, blended thematically with those of neighboring nations. In addition to ceremonies related directly to subsistence efforts, such as the Acorn Feast and the ceremonies to honor the first salmon of the spring salmon run, some of the Pacific Northwest Athapaskan ceremonials, such as the Jump Dance, initiate young men into what Alfred Kroeber (1907) referred to as secret societies, groups which inaugurated them into the socioeconomic and political system. (Some of the nations are now bringing back female initiation ceremonies as well.) Other ceremonials centered on protection from earthquakes and mud slides, common environmental disasters in this area.

Postcolonial religious traditions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries include the Shaker religion, originated in 1882 by Joe Slocum and his wife, Mary, of Puget Sound after Mr. Slocum recovered from a near-death experience. The Shaker religion came to northern California in 1926. Termed a revitalization movement or millenarian religion, the Slocums' revelations encouraged Native peoples throughout the northwest Pacific coast to rediscover the individual rapport with spirit forces found in earlier traditions, in a mode much like the Prophet Dance of Washington and the Plateau area.

The Shaker religion incorporates a mixture of precolonial Native American shamanic traditions with Christian practices. By contrast, another revitalization tradition in the Pacific Northwest area, labeled the World Renewal System by Kroeber (1949), emphasizes a return to the environmental rites of northern California's precolonial era. The Hupa version includes six traditional rites: the Acorn Feast, First Salmon Ceremony, Fish Dam Ceremony, First Eel Ceremony, the Jump Dance, and the Deerskin Dance.

Early studies on Athapaskan religious traditions began in the American Southwest in the late nineteenth century, and have continued to the present era with increasing involvement by Athapaskan scholars. Most significant among these are Gladys Reichard's work on Navajo religion, Inés Talamantez's research on Apache female initiations and religious traditions, Émile Petitot's transcriptions and translations of Canadian Dené oral narratives, Cornelius Osgood's contributions on Ingalik (now referred to as Deg Hit'an) cosmology, Jules Jetté's transcriptions of Koyukon religious traditions, Kroeber's enthographies of the California Indians, and Richard Keeling's ethnomusicological work with the Hupa.

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PHYLLIS ANN FAST (2005)

ATHAPASKAN RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS: ATHAPASKAN CONCEPTS OF WIND AND POWER

The views of the Athapaskan-speaking Native American peoples of North America about the source of the powers of life, movement, thought, and the supernatural abilities of human beings, animals, and other elements of the natural world have been a matter of debate among cultural anthropologists. This article will provide a brief review of the diverse interpretations, and it will seek to show that the different views can be partially reconciled based upon relatively new understandings of Athapaskan conceptions of the nature and sources of power.

In *Holy Wind in Navajo Philosophy,* James Kale McNeley presents evidence that in the Navajo view the atmosphere or air itself is endowed with the powers of life, movement, thought, and communication, and provides such powers to all living things. The atmosphere so conceived, with powers that are not acknowledged in Western culture, is hereafter referred to as Wind, a gloss of the Navajo term *nílch'i.*

The Navajo, along with the Apachean peoples of New Mexico and Arizona, make up the Southern Athapaskan segment of the speakers of Athapaskan languages, while the Northern Athapaskans consist of two groups, the Athapaskans of western Canada and interior Alaska, and Athapaskans of the Pacific Northwest. Richard Perry found clusters of culture traits that are widely shared among Northern and Southern Athapaskan groups, including the view that all objects in nature are alive and sapient and the belief that personal power can be acquired through dreams. It therefore seems likely that conceptions of the ontological source of such life and power are also shared among these groups.

McNeley observes that the Navajo term *nílch'i diyinii* (holy wind) refers to the natural air or wind, albeit endowed with life-giving powers. This all-pervasive Wind is conceived by the Navajo to enter into and give life and other powers to all aspects of the natural world, including such elements as the earth, sky, sun, moon, and things on the earth's surface. Such natural phenomena, having been endowed with Winds by which they live and think, are equipped to provide guidance and instruction to the Navajo by means of Little Winds that are sent by these holy ones to influence human thought and conduct. From another perspective, each living being may be said to participate in the powers of an all-encompassing and unitary Wind.

Conceptions of the role of Wind that are similar to Navajo beliefs are found in accounts of Apachean culture. Morris Opler cites the belief that, just as a human being is created from natural elements, the supernatural powers send Wind into the bodies of human beings to render them animate. Natural phenomena are also regarded as being animate, and they communicate with humans by means of Wind that carries messages to them. The whirlwind as a messenger for the supernaturals is a recurring theme in the religious traditions of the Jicarilla Apache.

In earlier descriptions of Northern Athapaskan cultures, the view is commonly expressed that each animal or natural object is individually animated by a spirit or soul that dwells within it. Cornelius Osgood described this belief among the Ingalik. John Honigman sometimes alternatively referred to such an animating force as "soul" or "wind," reporting that the power to perform a shamanistic vision quest represented a portion of the animal's "wind (or soul)" passing into the dreamer to enhance the latter's natural ability (Honigman, 1954, p. 105), while the Kaska view is that a shaman effected cures "with the aid of the power that resided in his soul or wind" (p. 111). Honigman's account left unresolved the critical ontological question of whether the Athapaskan concept should be interpreted as reference to a strictly spiritual phenomenon or as a reference to a natural element that has some special qualities.

However, as David M. Smith notes, there is some evidence that the use of the word *soul* may be traced to the influence of missionaries, and diverse ethnographers (including Honigman himself) have elsewhere favored the term *wind* in interpreting the indigenous concept in stating that a sorcerer might try to steal his victim's "wind." According to J. Alden Mason, "the Yellowknife shamans drum and sing for wind when such is needed for their journeys" (Mason, 1946, p. 39). There are also references to wind as a force pervading the natural world comparable to the Navajo concept: Mason cites an old Slave Indian who referred to "the wind which is the spirit of all and pervades everything" (p. 38). This is similar to other ethnographic accounts that present Athapaskan conceptions of an all-pervading life force.

Some accounts of Athapaskan culture cite a belief in magical or mysterious power without identifying that power. June Helm writes that Franz Boas characterized the fundamental concept in the religions of North America as the belief in magic powers, "the wonderful qualities which are believed to exist in objects, animals, men, spirits, or deities, and which are superior to the natural qualities of man" (Helm, 2000, p. 272). A Northern Athapaskan term for such power, *inkonze,* also connotes a powerful form of knowledge that encompasses both practical knowledge and what Smith calls "supraempirical" knowledge acquired through dreams and visions of animals. The superior power and knowledge attributed to animals has given rise to efforts to acquire that power, including beliefs in the possibility of transformation between human and animals forms.

Smith suggests that dualistic assumptions underlying Western thought confounded earlier attempts to understand Athapaskan religious concepts, and he advocates instead the monistic view that one's relationship with a helping animal is with the entire animal, body and spirit. Similarly, McNeley asserts that the Navajo conceive of supernatural power as being a characteristic of natural elements, including Wind. What is common to both conceptions is that elements of the natural world have powers that we in the Western world do not acknowledge but which Athapaskans do, and which they seek to access for their own benefit.

Smith compares *inkonze* with the Omaha concept *wakonda.* Based on James R. Walker's data, McNeley has suggested that, for the Dakota, *wakonda* refers to an unseen power in which the Dakota participate by means of Skan (Great Spirit), just as the Navajo term *diyinii* (holy ones), refers to unseen powers in which the Navajo participate through the agency of Wind. The combined evidence suggests that, for Athapaskans, Wind is conceived of as a natural element that is empowered to give life, thought, and movement and to establish and sustain human contact with other natural elements that have powers of their own.

SEE ALSO Navajo Religious Traditions; North American Indians, article on Indians of the Southwest.

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JAMES KALE MCNELEY (2005)

ATHEISM. The term *atheism* is employed in a variety of ways. For the purpose of the present survey atheism is the doctrine that God does not exist, that belief in the existence of God is a false belief. The word *God* here refers to a divine being regarded as the independent creator of the world, a being superlatively powerful, wise, and good. The focus of the present study is on atheism occurring within a context of thought normally called "religious."

RUDIMENTS IN ANCIENT AND PRIMITIVE RELIGION. Already in the writings of Cicero (c. 106–43 BCE), the question was raised whether there might be some "wild and primitive peoples" who possess no idea of gods of any kind. The view of David Hume in his *Natural History of Religion* (1757) was that polytheism, in his view the earliest religion of humankind, was devoid of a belief in God. According to most nineteenth-century anthropological theories, the belief in God was a late development in the evolution of religious ideas. Contemporary ethnographic research supports the view that a belief in a supreme creator is, at least, a pervasive feature of the religion of many primitive peoples.

The complete absence of the idea of God would not qualify as atheism as it has here been defined, but the role of the supreme being among primitive peoples is instructive for an understanding of religious forms of atheism as they occur under other cultural conditions. Where primitive religion includes the belief in a supreme being, the creator of all that exists, this being is not always the center of religious life and worship. In the traditional religion of many African peoples the most common acts of worship are directed toward spiritual beings known as the living-dead. These are individuals of the community who have died, but whose influence is still profoundly felt by the living. In some cases God is approached directly only when the living-dead have failed, or in cases of severe distress. Where a belief in the supreme being occurs among primitive peoples, the possibility of atheism is remote, for like other conceptions among such societies the supreme being is not so much a belief, in the sense of a credal affirmation that might be rejected, as an integral component of a total conception of reality through which experience is ordered.

The first step toward religious atheism occurs in the context of religious thought in which a variety of beings, each believed to be supreme, or in which a variety of conceptions of the supreme being, appear concurrently and compete. The earliest documents of the Hindu religious tradition, the Vedas (c. 900 BCE), refer to a variety of gods who preside over various powers of nature and are often practically identified with them. In the *Ṛgveda* any one of these diverse gods can stand out as supreme when he is the object of praise. In this context no god of the Vedas is more often praised than Indra, the king of the gods. It is interesting, then, that among the hymns that praise him are also found passages that ridicule his reputed power and that cast doubt upon his existence.

Such doubt is hardly representative of the praises sung to Indra. Yet it is significant that this kind of skepticism is included in the most authoritative of Hindu scriptures. It seems to arise concurrently with new ways of conceiving the divine expressed among some of the late hymns of the *Ṛgveda.* Here, beside the hymns to the nature gods, one finds reference to an unknown god who has encompassed all created things. Here are found hymns to Viśvakarma, the father who made all. And here is found that One wherein abide all existing things, that One which, before all existing things appeared, "breathed windless" by its own inherent power. In these late hymns is also found reference to an impersonal order to the universe, a law (*ṛta*) to which even the highest gods are subject or which by their power they uphold.

The possibility of conceiving of the ultimate source of the universe not as a god, but as something quite impersonal, is also reflected in the early Upaniṣads (c. 700–600 BCE), the concluding portions of the Vedas. The Upaniṣads are the repository of diverse currents of thought, but the quest that pervades them is for that supreme object of knowledge in which all that has being has its ultimate ground. The Upaniṣads refer to this reality, called *brahman,* in two significantly differing ways. On the one hand, the Upaniṣads speak of *brahman* as having qualities (*saguṇa*). In this context it is the ultimate cause, the true creator of all that is, the personal God, the Lord (Īśvara) of the Universe, and the supreme object of worship. On the other hand, they speak of *brahman* as beyond qualities (*nirguṇa*). No concepts are adequate to describe it. The most that one can say about it is by way of negation. With such opposing conceptions, the possibility emerges of a rejection of the existence of God that is nevertheless religious.

The possibility of conceiving of the ultimate as something other than a god, even the highest of gods, can be seen in the writings of other civilizations as well. In the Chinese classics and in inscriptions of the Shang dynasty in China (c. 1750–1100 BCE), are found frequent reference to a supreme ruler in heaven known as Shangdi. This god is not known as creator, but he was undoubtedly a personal being, a divine supervisor over human society, whose decrees determine the course of events on earth. At about the time the Shang dynasty was supplanted by the Zhou (c. 1100 BCE) the name *T'ien* appeared alongside of *Shang-ti* as a designation for the supreme ruler in heaven. But the word *tian,* meaning both "heaven" and "sky," gradually lost the connotation of a personal being and came to suggest the more universal conception of a cosmic rule that impartially determines the affairs of men on earth by their conformity to a moral order. Closely related to *tian,* the ultimate ordering principle of things, was the completely impersonal Dao, literally "way" or "road." By extension it means the way to go, the truth, the normative ethical standard by which to govern human life. In the famous *Dao de jing,* ascribed to Lanzhou (sixth century BCE), it is the metaphysical principle that governs the world. It cannot be described in words, but can be dimly perceived within the intricate balance of nature. It is the law or order of nature identified with nature itself. It is not understood as God or as a god.

CLASSICAL FORMS IN EASTERN RELIGIOUS THOUGHT. Skepticism about the existence of a god, even the king of gods, and the emergence of impersonal conceptions of the ultimate ground of the universe is not yet atheism, as defined above. Such conceptions have yet to advance arguments that belief in God is a false belief. Such arguments begin to appear where emerging theistic conceptions of God and impersonal conceptions of the absolute source and rule of the world confront one another as philosophical options over an extended period of time.

Ancient China. In ancient China the personal concept of a supreme ruler in heaven seems gradually to have been replaced by the impersonal idea of *tian* often associated with the concept of Dao. For Confucius (551–479 BCE), the most influential of ancient Chinese minds, obedience to the will of heaven is simply the practice of the moral law. By following the rules of duty and protocol handed down from the sage kings of the distant past, one lives in harmony with the moral order that governs the heavens and the life of the earth below. Confucius acknowledged the value of religious ceremonies and endorsed the veneration of ancestors, but he saw the will of Heaven operating by a kind of inherent providence. A person who has sinned against Heaven (*tian*) has no god to pray to at all.

Opposing the views of some of the early followers of Confucius, Mozi (c. 468–390 BCE) attributed to Heaven more anthropomorphic properties. He held that Heaven loves the world and desires that all human beings should relate to one another in undifferentiated love and mutual aid. Because he ascribed to Heaven such qualities as love and desire, some have suggested that Mozi's understanding of Heaven approximates the Western conception of God. Yet, as with Confucius, the providential care that Mozi sees in the working of Heaven is administered to man through the natural order of things.

By attributing love to the rule of Heaven, Mozi wished to offer an alternative to the fatalistic views of some of the disciples of Confucius. In this effort he also acknowledged the real activity of the dead and of spirits in the daily lives of human beings and therefore justified on more than ceremonial grounds the religious practices that pertained to them. In contrast to this, Xunzi (298–238 BCE) argued that Heaven is no more than a designation for the natural process through which good is rewarded and evil punished and upon which religious acts can have no effect. Because Xunzi denied the existence of supernatural agents, including the popular gods and the spirits of the dead, he might be called an atheist. But the issue that separates the thought of Xunzi from that of Mozi is an issue very different from the question of the existence of God. What divides them is whether one can ascribe personlike qualities to the ordering law of the universe that both of them presume to exist.

Strictly speaking, there was no precise equivalent in Chinese thought to the concept of God before the idea was introduced to China by the Jesuits in the sixteenth century. In the absence of this conception, the atheism of ancient China can hardly be more than implied. It was in India, where both theistic notions of the source and governance of the universe and impersonal conceptions of the ultimate ground were able to challenge one another, that explicit forms of religious atheism emerged.

God in classical Indian philosophy. The early Upaniṣads form the intellectual background for both the heterodox and the orthodox schools of Indian philosophy that began to develop around the sixth century BCE. These groups of schools are distinguished not on the basis of any specific doctrine but according to whether they affirm (*āstika*) or do not affirm (*nāstika*) the authority of the Vedas. Of the heterodox schools, those that do not affirm the authority of the Vedas, the Cārvāka and the Jains are explicitly atheistic. In Buddhism, the third of the heterodox schools, atheism is implied. Of the six orthodox schools (*darśana*s), Sāṃkhya, probably the oldest, is atheistic. It is associated closely with the Yoga (meditation) school, which affirms the existence of God. Between the sixth and tenth centuries CE, the Nyāya (logic) school became associated with the Vaiśeṣika (atomist) school, and together they developed forceful arguments to prove the existence of God, while the Pūrva Mīṃāmsā attacked and rejected such arguments. Its sister school, the Uttara Mīṃāmsā, better known as Vedānta, acknowledged that arguments for the existence of God have persuasive power at the level of everyday truth but held that at the higher level of religious knowledge the supreme being is really an illusion.

It was argued by the Nyāya school that objects made of parts are invariably the effect of a cause. Because the world as a whole is made of parts, the world must be the effect of a causal agent, and this causal agent is God (Īśvara). To this line of argument it could be objected that the world is so different from other effects that one cannot infer a cause to the world as a whole. The Nyāya, however, replied that a valid inference can be drawn from the concomitance of two things without limiting the inference to the peculiarities of the concomitance observed. Otherwise, if one had observed only small amounts of smoke (say from cigarettes), one could infer only the existence of small amounts of fire. On this "principle of concomitance," the conclusion should be that if a smaller effect has a cause, then the largest of effects must also have a cause. This, it is held, is the invisible and bodiless but infinitely wise and benevolent creator.

A related argument states that since objects characterized by order and design, such as garments, buildings, and devices, are invariably the products of intelligent beings, it follows on the principle of concomitance that the world, which displays the same characteristics, must also be the work of an intelligent being. Further, orthodox Hindu philosophies shared the affirmation of a moral order by which the voluntary actions of persons are rewarded with good or evil in this or a future life. For some exponents of the Nyāya and the Yoga schools, this view implies the existence of God, who as the ultimate arbiter apportions the appropriate reward. In Indian thought there is found no specific effort to infer the existence of God from the fact that the idea of God exists in the mind. There are, however, arguments that try to show, on the assumption that he exists, that he is superlatively powerful and wise. It was noted by some early exponents of the Yoga school that qualities like intelligence and power are found among finite beings in variations of degree. Since the degrees of perfection of any quality represent a continuum of degrees, the qualities of wisdom and power must find their highest degree in an omniscient and omnipotent being.

Heterodox Indian thought. Of the heterodox Indian schools, the Cārvāka represents the most radical departure from the tenor of religious thought in the Upaniṣads. It holds that the Vedas are the work of knaves and fools, and it rejects all sources of knowledge other than the senses. With this, it rejects the principles of inference upon which the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school depends to demonstrate the existence of God. The Cārvāka holds that the visible world alone exists, that the only heaven is that to be found in the wearing of beautiful clothing, in the company of young women, and in the enjoyment of delicious food. The only sovereign is the king. The only hell to be avoided is the difficulties of the present life. The only liberation is death; and that is to be avoided as long as humanly possible.

One could hardly call the Cārvāka a system of religious life and thought unless one saw a religious motivation behind its prodigious effort to liberate its adherents from the sophistry and abuse of the religious setting in which it arose. The exponents of the Cārvāka reject the doctrine of the soul and with it the ideas of *karman* and rebirth. They reject all forms of religious asceticism and hold that religious rites are incapable of any effect. By contrast, the Jains endorse an intensely ascetic path to the release of the soul (*jīva*) from an otherwise endless cycle of rebirth. According to the Jains, the soul, by nature, is eternal, perfectly blissful, and omniscient. Yet in consequence of accumulated *karman,* conceived as a subtle material substance, all but liberated souls are ensnared in a limiting material body.

The Jains depict the cosmos as uncreated and eternal. They therefore require no doctrine of God in order to explain its existence. Their points against theistic ideas are expressed in differing versions of arguments developed over centuries of dispute. Space permits mention of only a few. (1) If the world is held to be an effect from the mere fact that it is made of parts, then space must also be considered an effect. Yet the Naiyāyikas (the adherents of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika theism) insist that space is eternal. (2) It cannot be held that the world is an *ex nihilo* effect because the Naiyāyikas also hold that the world is composed of eternal atoms. (3) If the view that the world is an effect means that the world is subject to change, then God too is an effect since he must undergo change by having created the world. (4) But even if it is granted that the world has the nature of an effect, it does not follow that the cause must be an intelligent one. (5) And even if it is granted that the creator is an intelligent being, it is impossible to see how this agent could create except by means of a body. (6) And if the possibility of a bodiless creator is admitted there remains the problem of his motive. If one says that God created from self-interest or need, one has admitted that God was lacking in some perfection. He could not have created out of compassion, for prior to the creation there were no beings to have compassion upon. If he created out of inherent goodness then the world should be perfectly good. If he created out of whim, then the world would have no purpose, and this the Naiyāyikas deny. If he created simply out of his nature, it would be as reasonable to say that the world is the effect of nature itself.

To the argument from design, the Jains reply (7) that if a beehive, or an anthill, is the work of a multitude of beings, there is no apparent reason why the world should not have been the work of a committee of gods. To arguments from moral order, the Jains raise the question whether God is arbitrary in the rewards he gives. (8) If God makes a gift of happiness to those he simply chooses, he is guilty of favoritism. (9) If he rewards precisely in accord with the merit of each individual, then he himself is subject to a moral law beyond him.

In its earliest period, Buddhist thought is less polemical than that of the Jains in its attitude toward belief in God. Yet here as well theistic ideas are found wanting. By nature Buddhism is a path of intense self-reliance, explicitly rejecting the religious system of the Vedas that seeks the favor of the gods. In the Pali canon, the earliest of Buddhist scriptures, the Buddha ridicules the claim of the brahmans to possession of a way to union with a perfect being who has never been seen and who is beyond human knowledge. This, he says, is like the man who claims to love the most beautiful woman in this or another country and desires to make her his own but knows not her name, her caste, where she lives, or what she looks like.

Unlike the Jains, who accept the reality of the material world, the Buddhists hold that all that can be said to have being is but part of a succession of impermanent phenomena, call *dharma*s. To this way of thinking, the idea of a changeless God is clearly out of place. Later Buddhist writers like Vasubandhu and Yaśomitra (fourth to fifth century CE) argue that if God is the sole cause of all that exists, then, given the cause, all existing things should have been created at once. On the hypothesis that the world is a flux of phenomena, it could never have been the effect of a single, ultimate cause. Buddhism, moreover, holds that the succession of *dharma*s is governed by an immutable law expressed in the doctrine of dependent origination (*pratītya-samutpāda*). The arising of one phenomenon is dependent upon the occurrence of others. Since this law is held to apply without exception, it admits of no room for an uncaused cause.

Among the Buddhist criticisms of theistic belief, there are also found questions about the motive of God's creative act. If he created out of his own good pleasure, then he must take delight in the suffering of his creatures. But it also holds that if God is the ultimate cause of all that occurs, then every performance of every person is ultimately a performance of God. If this is true, it removes from the individual person all responsibility for his actions and finally removes all meaning from the ideas of right and wrong.

Orthodox Hindu philosophy. Acceptance of the authority of the Vedas does not imply theistic belief. While the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school regards the Vedas as having been created by God, the Sāṃkhya and the Mīmāṃṣā schools hold that the Vedas are such that they require no creator. For the Sāṃkhya school the universe consists of two distinct realities: soul (*puruṣa*) and matter (*prakṛti*). Neither of them can be identified with God, and neither requires God as cause, governor, or designer. The soul is pure consciousness, devoid of qualities of any kind. But in its ambiguous association with the body it is unconscious of its freedom and independence and falsely identifies itself with one or another aspect of material reality. *Prakṛti* is the primordial ground from which the universe has evolved. It is composed of three fundamental qualities or kinds of substance (*guṇa*s), like a rope composed of three differing strands. Before the emergence of the universe the chaotic distribution of the three qualities had produced a state of static equilibrium. Subsequently, upon a cosmic disturbance, an unequal aggregation of these qualities proceeded gradually to bring forth all the material realities in the universe.

According to the Yoga school, this disturbance in the primordial equilibrium of *prakṛti* was an effect of the will of God. The Sāṃkhya hold it was not. Rather, *prakṛti,* in the Sāṃkhya view, evolves by its own inherent teleology, providing the *puruṣa* the conditions necessary for its liberation (*mukti*). To the view of the Yoga school that this sort of teleology points to the existence of a God, the Sāṃkhya school replies that *prakṛti* is capable in itself of this kind of purpose just as milk, though it is devoid of intelligence, is capable of providing nourishment for the calf. A minority within the Sāṃkhya school hold that the existence of God is simply incapable of proof. The majority hold that belief in God is a mistaken belief. If he is perfect he cannot have created out of selfishness, and he could not have created out of kindness, for his creatures are most unhappy.

The Mīmāṃṣā school holds the Vedas to be authoritative, but not as created or revealed by God. The Vedas, rather, are the expression in words—sacred words—of the eternal, ritual, and moral order of the world. The Mīmāṃṣā supports the performance of sacrifice to a variety of gods. Yet it holds that it is not the gods as such but the potential (*apūrva*) energy generated in the performance of the ritual that delivers the heavenly reward, and it explains the creation stories in the Vedas as merely underlining the importance of the ritual action to which these stories pertain.

The Mīmāṃṣā shares with the Jains the view that the world is eternal, rendering superfluous the idea of God as the ultimate cause. In the work of the founder of the Mīmāṃṣā school, Jaimini (second century CE), there is found no specific reference to the doctrine of God. Later exponents, such as Kumārila and Prabhākara (eighth century CE), advance definite arguments to refute theistic views. It is held by Kumārila that in order to establish that God created the world it would be necessary to provide authoritative testimony. But in the nature of the case no witnesses are available. The view that God revealed the truth of his creative act is without avail, because it would still be necessary to establish the veracity of his claim. Kumārila also objects to the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika view that God created the world out of atoms but has established the varieties of happiness and unhappiness of finite beings in the world in accordance with their merit. If the distribution of happiness and unhappiness can be explained on the basis of the merit of individual souls, then it is unnecessary to attribute this to God. Other arguments of the Mīmāṃṣā school are that if God is a material substance he is incapable of being affected by the qualities of merit or demerit of immaterial souls. If he is a spiritual being it is impossible that he could have acted as cause upon the material atoms that compose the world. If God is the explanation for the existence of the world it is impossible to see how he could also be, as he is in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika view, the destroyer. To these objections the Mīmāṃṣā add others familiar among other atheistic schools. It is impossible to think of God as having a body, since this body would require a creator as well, yet it is impossible to see him as creating anything without one. And to these are added again the question of the motivation of God.

Like the Mīmāṃṣā, Śaṅkara (788–820 CE), the founder of the Advaita (or nondualist) school of Vedānta, regards the Vedas as eternal and uncreated. Yet Śaṅkara's interest is not in the ritual injunctions that the Vedas prescribe but in the meaning of those sections of the Upaniṣads that refer to that pure Self that pervades all existing things, the knowledge of which is the ultimate truth. Śaṅkara, like the Sāṃkhya school and the Jains, affirms the existence of the soul. But unlike them he holds that souls are not a plurality of beings but One. What seems to be a variety of souls is but the illusory manifestation of this One, like a candle flame seen through a broken lens. He also holds that the variety perceived among objects of experience is also like an illusion. In the final analysis there is no material world and no God. There is but one ultimate reality called *brahman.*

The study of those sections of the Vedas (the *Jñānakāṇḍa*) that pertain to this truth should be restricted, according to Śaṅkara, to persons who are beyond the desire for earthly or even for heavenly rewards. Those sections of the Vedas (the *Karmakāṇḍa*) that pertain to ritual action he recommends to persons less advanced. In the light of this distinction Śaṅkara admits of two differing levels of truth. To say that the world of empirical experience is illusory is not to say that it is completely false. Rather, it begins and moves within the error that identifies the self with the body, the senses, or the objects of sense. It proceeds under the assumption that the knower is an object within the material world. From the standpoint of the absolute truth this kind of knowledge is seen as illusion, on the analogy of illusions encountered in the mundane world. In the world of empirical experience, reality is understood in terms of time, space, and cause. As such it presents a cohesive picture manifesting a measure of order and design. In the light of this, Śaṅkara argues that on the level of mundane experience the world is appropriately seen as an effect, and that from this effect it is reasonable to infer a cause. He also holds that the evident design and adaptation of the world, as seen from this perspective, is sufficient to infer an intelligent being who has fashioned it like a potter makes a pot from clay. And, in accordance with the view of God as lord of the moral order, Śaṅkara argues that the law of *karman* in itself is insufficient for the just administration of rewards of good and evil.

While Śaṅkara offers these arguments as serious considerations, he acknowledges that the existence of God is not amenable to proof and turns finally to the authority of the Vedas. Any proof for the existence of God is bound to be formulated within the context of a false duality in which the ultimate is seen as acting as cause upon the objects of name and form. The difficulties in proving the existence of God, then, are presumably resolved in the higher knowledge in which appearances like God and world finally give way to the perfect truth.

ATHEISM AND RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN WESTERN PHILOSOPHY. Religious forms of atheism in India appeared in a context in which differing conceptions of deity and of the ultimate source and order of the universe were each capable of supporting an integrated system of religious thought and action. Early periods of Western thought manifested similarly differing conceptions of deity and of the ultimate ground of all that exists. But just as Chinese intellectual history came to be dominated by the impersonal conception of the natural order of the world, so the personal conception of deity gradually achieved ascendency in the West. While alternative conceptions of deity continued as minor currents of Western thought, the possibility of an atheistic form of religious thought received new attention with the criticism of the philosophical doctrine of God by secular thought.

Ancient Greece. The religion of ancient Greece depicted in the poetry of Homer (eighth century BCE) revolved around a pantheon of gods presided over by the sky god Zeus, who was seen not as a creator but as the upholder of moral order. The gods, here associated with various aspects of the universe, are represented as superhuman immortal beings endowed with human passions, frequently behaving in undignified and amoral ways. Nevertheless, the worship of these gods in temples and other holy places, especially by means of sacrifice, constituted the state religion of Greece throughout the classical period. While there was no precise conception of God in ancient Greece, philosophical criticisms of the gods of popular belief are of interest because of their similarity to arguments later brought against theism and because of the alternative conceptions of the divine they often put in their place. The denial of these gods was a gradual development, finally expressed in uncompromising terms only around 300 BCE.

Xenophanes (c. 570–475 BCE) attacked the anthropomorphic and amoral representations of the gods in the poetry of Homer. He suggested that if animals could draw and paint, they too would represent gods in their image. As the counterpart of his rejection of the gods of the poets, he held a philosophical idea of a higher divine being who must be one, eternal, and unchangeable. There is evidence both for and against the view that he identified this being with the universe as a whole.

The development of Ionic naturalism (c. fifth century BCE) presented a challenge to traditional belief, because it offered natural explanations for phenomena that had been accounted for on the basis of belief in the gods. Naturalistic theories, however, often accommodated belief in the gods or in some conception of the divine. According to Democritus (c. 460–370 BCE), the world and all that occurs within it is but the modification in shape and arrangement of the eternal atoms of which all things are composed. Within this view such events as thunder and lightning popularly ascribed to Zeus are explained in natural terms. At the same time Democritus held that fire is the divine soul-substance that accounts for the life of the body and constitutes the soul of the world. Anaxagoras (c. 499–427 BCE), on the other hand, was accused of impiety and was required to leave Athens, not for an explicit denial of the popular gods, but for his teaching that the heavenly bodies are purely natural objects, that the sun is a red-hot stone and the moon made of earth.

Among the Sophists (c. third to fourth century BCE) criticism of the gods was based on the distinction drawn between law, or human convention (*nomos*), and nature (*phusis*). Ideas associated with public worship were assigned to the former category. They were seen as relative to human society and in some cases as the product of the purely human imagination. With the advent of Sophistic thought, criticism of the gods became more visible, because it occurred not simply in the context of a naturalistic theory that left public worship undisturbed but also in the context of higher education. On the other hand, because their fortunes depended largely upon public acceptance, the Sophists did not always extend their criticism of human convention to an outright denial of the gods. Protagoras (c. 485–420 BCE), the best known of the Sophists, was tried and outlawed in Athens for asserting that he could say of the gods "neither that they exist nor that they do not exist." He, however, is, as far as is known, the first to raise the question of the existence of the gods as a question for which an uncompromising negative answer might be given.

Proceeding further along Sophistic lines, Prodicus of Ceos, a younger contemporary of Protagoras, sought to explain the existence of the popular belief in gods. Observing that Homer occasionally used the name of Hephaistos instead of "fire," he inferred that the gods had originally been associated with things that man requires for his existence. In explaining the origin of popular belief, he did not, however, explicitly repudiate the existence of the gods or the divinity of the sun or moon. The earliest expression of thoroughly atheistic belief in ancient Greece appears in a fragment of satirical drama by Critias, a contemporary and acquaintance of Socrates. In this work the character Sisyphus articulates the view that at its origin humanity was devoid of social organization. Subsequently, men made laws to prevent mere power from prevailing over right. The enforcement of law thus prevented observable evil. Then a wise man conceived of making the people believe that there are gods to police their secret deeds and thoughts. It is not known, however, whether the speech of the dramatic character Sisyphus expresses the view of Critias himself. Thinking along a similar line, Euhemerus (c. 300 BCE) argued that the gods had once been kings and rulers who had become the objects of worship because of the improvements in civilization they had bestowed upon their subjects. Yet he too seems to have held that the heavenly bodies are real and eternal gods.

While many philosophers of this period rejected certain of the gods of popular belief, they also often affirmed the divinity of the celestial bodies and developed alternative ideas of the divine, sometimes in pantheistic or vaguely monotheistic terms. Theodorus of Cyrene (c. 300 BCE), on the other hand, seems to have rejected all such ideas. Diogenes Laertius and Cicero both observe that he did not accept the existence of any god.

Early Christianity. Contemporary research on Christian origins suggests that early Christianity did not unanimously appropriate the view of God set forth in the Hebrew scriptures. A pervading theme of the gnostic literature that circulated widely in early Christian communities is that the world is an untoward environment. It is not the work of an omnipotent and benevolent being but the result of a divine fault. Its creator is unworthy of the religious devotion of man and an obstacle to the religious goal of liberation from the present evil world. The ultimate reality, on the other hand, is not to be thought of as a God at all. It is referred to as the unknown One, the unfathomable, the incomprehensible. Occasionally, this reality is spoken of paradoxically as the One that exists in nonbeing existence. Although by the fourth century, gnosticism was condemned as unorthodox by a majority of Christian churches, it is undeniable that it represented for its adherents a religious way of life.

The emergence of the Western conception of God. Despite the pervasiveness of gnostic ideas in the first centuries of the Christian era, the biblical image of God as father and creator received the stamp of orthodox Christian teaching. The idea that God as creator of the world can be known by means of reason is expressed in the New Testament (*Rom.* 1:18–23, *Acts* 17:23) and becomes a persistent theme in Christian theology from the time of the apologists of the second and third centuries. The speculative theologians of Alexandria (Athanasius, Didymus, Cyril) all hold that although God in himself is beyond comprehension, he can be known through the creation and through the human soul, which was created in his image. In the works of Augustine of Hippo (384–430 CE) one finds support for the belief in the existence of God from a variety of facts of experience. With the emergence of Scholasticism, such ideas were developed into rational proofs for the existence of God that were intended to stand to reason without appeal to revelation. According to Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109), God is that than which nothing more perfect can be thought. From the fact that an existent being is more perfect than a purely imaginary object, it follows that God must exist.

Thomas Aquinas (1228–1274) rejected Anselm's proof but under the influence of Aristotle's metaphysics elaborated the famous five ways by which the existence of God can be known. According to Thomas, (1) the facts that there is motion in the universe and that everything in motion derives its motion from something else show that there must be an unmoved mover. Secondary movers move only when they are moved by something else. (2) From the fact that all events have an efficient cause, Thomas infers that there must be a substantial agent that is its own cause. If the chain of efficient causes goes on forever, there would be no first efficient cause and therefore no effect. (3) From the fact of contingent and corruptible things about us, Thomas proceeds to the fact that there must be a being that exists by its own very nature, a necessary being. (4) Because the highest degree of any quality observed in any finite thing is always the cause of that quality in anything in which that quality is found, the gradations in goodness, beauty, and truth in objects of experience imply that all being and goodness in the universe must have their source in one who is the perfect being. (5) Finally, from the orderly character of natural events there must be a general order to the universe, and this universal order points to the existence of an intelligent agent who has ordered all things. Following Thomas, other arguments were offered in support of belief in such a God. Among the most influential of these were the arguments of René Descartes (1591–1650), who attempted to demonstrate the existence of God from the presence of the idea of God in the mind.

The attack upon theism. Since the seventeenth century this conception of God and the arguments that claimed to demonstrate his existence have been subject to persistent attack. In the first place, because Thomas took the physics of Aristotle as the basis for his understanding of cause and motion, his arguments were less capable of supporting theistic belief once Aristotle's views on these matters were supplanted by those of Isaac Newton (1642–1727). For Aristotle, an explanation is required both for the initiation and for the continuance of change. The first mover of Thomas, since it is taken as both initiating and continuing change, supports the view of God both as creator and governor of the universe. Newton's first law of motion, on the other hand, holds that a body will remain at rest or in continuous motion in the same direction unless it is subject to a contravening force. When the idea was developed by Pierre-Simon de Laplace (1749–1827) that the world is a regular and perfectly determinate system, the idea of God as the source of its movement was rendered superfluous. Moreover, once the idea of the universe as a perfect system was established, eternal existence could be attributed to the material world, as in the work of Paul-Henri d'Holbach (1723–1789). Theistic arguments were further eroded by the view articulated by David Hume (1711–1776) that cause itself is but an immanent habit of thought and not a necessary relation between substances or events. With this the possibility of inferring the existence of God from any classical form of a causal argument was undermined.

Influenced by Hume and others, Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), in his famous *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781), gathered the substance of various arguments for the existence of God into three. (1) The ontological argument proceeds from the idea of God to the existence of God. It holds that this idea is such that the nonexistence of God would not be possible. (2) The cosmological argument proceeds from the fact of the existence of the world to the existence of God as the sufficient reason or the ultimate cause of its being. (3) The physico-theological argument proceeds from the evident order, adaptation, or purposefulness of the world to the existence of an intelligent being who made it.

None of these arguments, in the view of Kant, is adequate to prove the existence of God. The ontological argument treats existence as though it could be the property of an idea. The cosmological argument posits the first cause only to avoid an infinite chain of causal relations. And it presupposes the validity of the ontological argument in its use of the category of a necessary being as the first cause. The physico-theological argument presupposes the validity of the first two, but even if accepted could prove only the existence of a designer or architect of the universe and not a creator.

Such speculative reasoning fails, according to Kant, because it depends upon the illegitimate use of the concepts of the pure theoretical reason that individuals employ in their apprehension of spatial and temporal objects to extend their knowledge beyond the reach of sensuous experience. Kant denies, however, that this analysis should lead to the conclusion that God does not exist. In his *Critique of Practical Reason* (1778), he argues that it is in the domain of moral action that religious ideas have their real significance, and it is here that belief in God can be justified on rational grounds. The substance of his argument is that it is necessary to postulate freedom, immortality, and God in order to live reasonably according to the "moral law within."

It was precisely the transposition of religious ideas from the realm of metaphysics to the realm of practical reason, the idea of belief in God as the support for moral action, that attracted the most violent assault upon theistic ideas in the following generation. Its significance for the nineteenth century is indicated in the view of Ludwig Feuerbach (1804–1872), who argues (1) that religion is the "dream of man," in which he projects his own infinite nature as a being beyond himself and then perceives himself as the object of this projected being; (2) that such a being, as "a contradiction to reason and morality," is quite inadequate to support a genuine human community; and (3) that a new philosophy based upon the being of man must unmask the essential nature of religion, which is to alienate man from himself, and replace theology with the humanistic underpinning for an ethically legitimate order.

Karl Marx (1818–1883) concurred in the judgment that religion is a symptom of alienation. But he argued that a merely intellectual liberation from religion would be unable to bring about the kind of human community that Feuerbach had envisioned. Religion, he argued, is an instrument of economic control. By its construction of an illusory happiness religion presents an obstacle to the liberation of the alienated worker from economic exploitation in the real, that is the material, world. Later in the century Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) articulated a view of the moral significance of theistic faith very different from that of Marx. Yet it is no less hostile to theistic belief. The God of the Judeo-Christian tradition, he held, is the support of a slave morality. God was the instrument of the weak in inflicting a bad conscience upon the powerful and healthy and thus undermining their vitality and love of life. The success of this strategy has brought Western civilization to the brink of a nihilism that signals both the imminent death of God and the dawning of a new day in which Christian morality will be left behind.

In the twentieth century a new challenge to theism arose from the effort of philosophers to develop a criterion to distinguish between meaningful and meaningless language. In order to make sense, it was held, a statement has to be capable of empirical verification. Because statements about God cannot be shown to be true or false by methods of empirical testing, they seem to be without claim to cognitive standing. With this and further developments, the challenge to religious thought was no longer to the justification of theistic belief but to the status of the expression of theistic belief as meaningful language. The threat was not to its intellectual support but to its claim to belong to the domain of serious philosophical dispute.

The twentieth century. To the attack upon theism since the seventeenth century, theologians in the twentieth century responded in a variety of ways. These responses can be discussed as two opposing types: (1) those who continued to affirm the existence of God as the superlatively wise, powerful, and benevolent creator of the world and (2) those who did not affirm the existence of such a God or who even openly deny it. It is within this latter group that the most recent forms of religious atheism are found. The first type includes the revival of scholasticism in Roman Catholic and Anglican theological circles, which was accorded official ecclesiastical support during the First Vatican Council (1870). Among the most influential of these theists were Reginald Marie Garrigou-Lagrange (1877–1964), Jacques Maritain (1882–1973), and Étienne Gilson (1884–1978). Central to this response was a reaffirmation of metaphysics and of the importance of natural theology, at least in the sense of a rational structuring of the truths received through revelation and a clarification of these truths in terms of ordinary experience.

A second movement that belongs to this type, neoorthodoxy, dominated Protestant thought during the first half of the twentieth century, especially after World War I. Rejecting the prevalent themes of nineteenth-century Protestant thought, neoorthodoxy rediscovered the personal God of the Bible and the Protestant reformers. It repudiated efforts to find God through human effort, and instead affirmed that he is to be known through his revelation attested in sacred scripture and by means of the obedience of faith. The God of Karl Barth (1886–1968), the most influential exponent of this movement, is a God who exists, who lives, and who has made himself known through mighty acts in history of which the Bible is witness.

Around the turn of the twentieth century, the significance of change or process in the works of William James (1842–1910), Henri Bergson (1859–1941), Samuel Alexander (1859–1938), and others, together with a widespread criticism of the absolute determinism of Laplace, provided the context for new efforts toward a doctrine of God in the thought of such figures as Alfred North Whitehead (1861–1947), Henry Nelson Wieman (1884–1975), and Charles Hartshorne (1897–2000). Claiming independence from what it saw as the static theism of both the Thomistic and neoorthodox traditions, it conceived God as a limited being who is subject to "becoming" in time as natural "process" unfolds. God, in this view, fulfills his own being, as the force for progress, in and through the ordering of the world.

A reply to the attack upon theism very different from all of these was developed in the thought of Paul Tillich (1886–1965). It centers upon his view of faith as a state of "being concerned ultimately." This view of faith, according to Tillich, transcends the three fundamental kinds of theism that have been the object of secular attack. (1) "Empty theism" is the affirmation of God employed by politicians and dictators to produce the impression that they are moral and worthy of trust. Its use of the idea of God exploits the traditional and psychological connotations of the word without any specification of what is meant. (2) Theism as "divine-human encounter" found in the Bible and among the reformers is the immediate certainty of divine forgiveness that is independent of moral, intellectual, or religious preconditions. Its power is evident in the capacity of such a personal image of God, supported by scripture and personal experience, to defeat the anxiety of guilt and condemnation, fate and death. Yet given the doubt prevailing in the present age, the experience of divine forgiveness is subject to psychological explanation, and the idea of sin appears relative at best and meaningless at worst. (3) "Theological theism" tries by means of the various proofs for the existence of God to transform the divine-human encounter into a doctrine about two different beings that have existence independent of one another. This, however, can establish the existence of God only as a being beside others and bound to the subject-object structure of reality. Under the gaze of such a being of infinite knowledge and power the alienated human being is deprived of freedom and creativity. Against this kind of theism, says Tillich, the atheism of the nineteenth century was a justified response.

What Tillich calls "absolute faith," on the other hand, accepts and affirms despair and in so doing finds meaning within the disintegration of meaning itself. In "absolute faith" the depth and power of being is revealed in which the negation of being is embraced. Its object is the "God beyond God," the God who appears when the God of theism has disappeared in the anxiety of meaninglessness and doubt. This God is not a being but the ground of Being itself.

In an effort towards a radical recasting of the fundamental categories of theology, Bishop John A. T. Robinson (1919–1983) of Woolwich, England, employed a number of Tillich's insights together with some of the more famous ideas of Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906–1945) and Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976). Writing in 1963, he affirmed, with Bultmann, that the Bible assumes a cosmology in which God is a being "up there." The Christian who is heir to the Copernican revolution tends to translate such categories into terms compatible with the modern view of the world. When one speaks of God "up there," one really means the God "out there." This he thinks, is poor translation, for there are no vacant spaces in the universe in which God could really be said to reside. Robinson is willing to concede that the skies are empty, and that humanity, as Bonhoeffer had said, has come of age. The divine transcendence, he argues, is to be confronted not in the "beyond" or in the "height" but in the infinite and inexhaustible "depth" or "ground" of being revealed in the midst of life.

Neither Tillich nor Robinson referred to their thought as atheistic. Tillich suggested, however, that to understand God as the depth of being practically requires one to forget everything traditional that one has learned about God, and perhaps even the word itself. Robinson stated that he did not yet have a name for the kind of religious thinking he wanted to bring about. In the United States, on the other hand, reflection of a similar sort was given a name that gained it an instant vogue: the theology of the death of God.

The "death of God" theology was a heterogeneous movement encompassing a variety of issues upon which its members often disagreed. Besides the question of God, it was concerned with a variety of forms of alienation within the Christian community, with the significance of the secular world and its intellectual norms, and with the significance for theology of the person and work of Jesus. The movement received its name from the title of a work published in 1961 by Gabriel Vahanian that announced the death of God as a cultural fact, the fact acknowledged by Bonhoeffer and Robinson that modern man functions intellectually and socially without God as a working hypothesis. This cultural fact, for Vahanian, implies a loss of the sense of transcendence and the substitution of a radically immanentist perspective in dealing with questions of human existence. That the death of God has occurred as a cultural fact in no way implies for him, however, that God himself has ceased to exist. God is, and remains, infinite and wholly other, still calling humanity to existential and cultural conversion. Vahanian's concern is for a transfiguration of culture in which the living God is freed from the false images that have reified him.

Vahanian's view of the reality of God sets him clearly apart from other persons associated with the death of God. For Paul M. Van Buren, writing in 1965, the issue for theology is how the modern Christian, who is in fact a secular being, can understand faith in a secular way. Taking his method from the philosophical tradition known as language analysis, he argues that not only the God of theism but also any other conception of God has been rendered meaningless to the modern mind. He concludes that when the language of Christian faith is sorted out, the gospel can be interpreted as the expression of a historical perspective concerning Jesus that has wide-ranging empirical consequences for the ethical existence of the Christian.

For William Hamilton, writing at about the same time, the death of God means the loss of the God of theism and the loss of "real transcendence." His response is a new understanding of Protestantism that liberates it from religion—from, that is, any system of thought or action in which God is seen as fulfilling any sort of need or as solving any human problem, even the problem of the loss of God. Hamilton's Protestant is a person without God, without faith in God, but also a person in protest against release or escape from the world by means of the sacred. He is a person led into the affairs of the world and into solidarity with his neighbor, in whom he encounters Jesus and where alone he can become Jesus to the world.

In the thought of Vahanian, Van Buren, and Hamilton, the death of God is a metaphor. In the work of Thomas J. J. Altizer, on the other hand, the death of God is to be taken literally. In a work published in 1967 he seems to be saying both that God did once exist and that he really did cease to exist. He believes that the death of God is decisive for theology because in it God has reconciled himself with the world. God, the sovereign and transcendent Lord of the Christian tradition, has taken the form of a servant and entered the world through Christ. With this, the realm of the transcendent and supernatural has become empty and God has died. With the death of God, humans are liberated from fears and inhibitions imposed upon them by an awesome mystery beyond.

The view of these thinkers that belief in God is impossible, unnecessary, or wrong, has apparently not caused them to believe that they are disqualified as theologians. To this extent they stand alongside other forms of religious atheism encountered in the history of religious thought. It has certainly been objected by other theologians that the "death of God" theology does not authentically represent the Christian tradition. For the present it is sufficient that the death of God represents a controversy of significant dimensions in the record of Christian thought and that its influence continues to affect the development of theology in the early twenty-first century.

CONCLUSIONS. The forms of atheism that appear throughout the history of religions represent an important resource for the interpretation of twenty-first century religious thought. Much of the reasoning behind the rejection of popular religion in ancient Greece or theism in India can be compared with the reasoning behind the rejection of theism in the West. The naturalism of ancient Greek and classical Indian philosophy invites comparison with naturalism in the West, the atheism of the Sophists with that of nineteenth-century Europe. The widespread secularistic mood in contemporary society bears comparison with the secularism of late Greek and Roman antiquity. And the ethical preoccupation of some exponents of the death of God invites comparison with the ethical practicality of the philosophies of ancient China. The major forms of religious atheism are perhaps less distinguished by the traditions they belong to than by affinities in inner structure.

From the present survey it is possible to conclude that doubt about the existence of God does not in itself imply the end of piety, ethics, or spirituality. Elaborate systems of ethical religious thought and action have been based both on the view that God does and that God does not exist. The question that arises from the present survey is not whether it is possible to speak any longer about God but whether it is necessary to do so. The question whether it is possible for modern philosophy or theology to develop a compelling system of religious thought and action that rejects belief in God will be addressed more effectively as the dimensions of the question that emerge in differing historical situations are compared.

SEE ALSO Doubt and Belief; Naturalism.

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GEORGE ALFRED JAMES (1987 AND 2005)

ATHENA (or *Athenaia*, Ionian *Athenaie*, epic *Athene*; in the Roman world, she corresponds to *Menerva*/*Minerva*) was the Greek goddess of war, the arts, and feminine works. According to the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (5.8–15) she "has no pleasure in the works of golden Aphrodite, but delights in war and the works of Ares; she first taught human craftsmen how to build chariots and work the bronze, but she too teaches young girls in the house, putting in their mind knowledge of splendid art" (compare *Iliad* 5.733–737, where, in arming herself for war, the goddess takes off the splendid robe she had made with her own hands). These diverse aspects of her nature manifest themselves in her iconography: according to Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 3.12.3), the Palladion, the extremely ancient wooden statue of the goddess that had famously fallen from the sky and was venerated in Ilion, portrayed her with a spear in her right hand and a distaff and spindle in the left. These two aspects may be reconciled under the capacity for rational organization. Both in war and in craft the goddess refrains from excess and impulsivity, and she privileges rational, intelligent preparation. As such she is indeed a goddess of the arts of war and of creative intelligence, and a protectress of the city, closely tied to its social organization.

Athena is certainly a very ancient divinity: it is possible to recognize in her a pre-Hellenic protectress of the Mycenaean citadel atop the Acropolis. An *atana potinija* is attested in the dative, together with Enyalios, Paiaon, Poseidaon, and the Erinyes in a linear B text from Knossos. The interpretation commonly accepted, even though by no means certain, is "mistress of (place-name) Athana." Athena is indeed unique among Greek gods in being connected, via her name, with a specific city, Athens. This connection is underlined by the fact that in early Attic inscriptions her name appears in the adjectival form, *Athenaia* (the Athenian goddess), as in the Homeric formula, *Pallas Athenaie.* However, the linguistic relation between place and goddess is difficult to define; if the Athenians, both in myth (the gift of the olive tree, the birth of Erichthonios) and in cult (the Panathenaia festival), stressed their privileged relation with the goddess, in Panhellenic mythology she shows no special interest in Athens or in Athenian heroes. Thus, according to Pindar (*Olympian* 7.34–53), the Rhodians believed Athena to be particularly associated with their island. In many Greek cities she appears as *Polias* or *Poliouchos*, citadel and city-goddess (this is also true of Troy: legend had it that until her Palladion had been stolen from the city, it would not fall); very often her temples are on the central, fortified hill of the city.

Athena's emblems are the owl (*glaux*, compare her epithet *glaukōpis*, "bright-eyed"), and the snake, living among the rocks of the Athenian Acropolis (Herodotos VIII 41.2–3). These have been taken by some modern scholars as signs of the close connection between her, the Minoan snake goddess, and the Mycenaean palace goddess. Athena's main weapon in battle is the aegis (as the name implies, a goat-skin): when she raises it, panic overtakes her enemies. On it, she wears the petrifying head of the Gorgon.

Her centrality in the Greek pantheon is expressed by her closeness to Zeus. The story of her birth (an Oriental motif, which finds a parallel in the Hittite myth of Kumarbi) forcefully underlines the strong relationship between the two divinities. Zeus, after having received the power to rule among the gods, married the Okeanid Metis, the "most knowing of the gods and men" (Hesiod, frag. 343.15; *Theogony* 886–900); then, in order to avoid being overthrown by a more powerful son, he swallowed her. Some time later, Zeus gave birth from his head to a grown-up and fully armed goddess, Athena. Other versions have Zeus call on Hephaistos to help relieve him of labor pains. Hephaistos with his ax split Zeus's head open, and out of it, in full armor and with a war song on her lips, sprang Athena. This is the version usually depicted on Attic vases.

Zeus's courageous, self-confident, clear-eyed daughter became his favorite child, the only one to carry his aegis and thunderbolt. She in turn revered him and boasted of being the child of him alone, of being motherless (thus in *Homeric Hymn* 28; similarly, in another passage of Hesiod's *Theogony* 924–929, the birth of Athena from Zeus is paralleled by the story of Hera giving birth alone, out of anger against Zeus, to Hephaistos). Athena and Zeus share exclusively between them the cult epithet *Polias*/*Polieus*. At Sparta, the *rhētra* attributed to Lycurgus mentioned a Zeus *Syllanios* and an Athena *Syllania* (the meaning of this term is unknown). The unique relationship between Athena and Zeus finds its best literary expression in Aeschylus (*Eumenides* 736–738): Athena appears there as the great reconciler between men and gods, and, because of her peculiar birth, between male and female. At a deeper level, however, it can be claimed that by her refusal of marriage the goddess paradoxically destabilizes the patriarchal and civilized order that she apparently champions.

The most frequent among her other epithets are *Tritogeneia*, which may allude to the circumstances of her birth, even if the precise meaning of the term is disputed, and *Pallas*. One of the ancient explanations for the latter is that Pallas was a childhood friend whom Athena inadvertently killed during a fencing match. Athena erected a wooden image, a *palladium*, to commemorate her foster sister, an image that came to represent Athena herself in her role as protectress of the polis. Of this Palladium, originally situated in Troy, many cities boasted of possessing an exemplar (Athens, Argos, and Rome, among others). According to another version, Pallas was a giant and an adversary of Athena in the Gigantomachy, out of whose skin the goddess made herself the aegis (a local, Athenian variant of the Gigantomachy myth has Theseus fighting against a rival king Pallas and his fifty sons). Yet others interpreted Pallas as "the one who dances," or "who brandishes weapons" (Euripides, *Ion* 209–211; Plato, *Cratylos* 406d–407a), or *pallas* simply as "maiden" (Strabo, 17.1.46, with the approval of modern etymological dictionaries). Particularly important in fifth-century Athenian ideology is the goddess's connection with victory: as Athena *Nikē* she had a priestess and a temple at the gate of the Acropolis.

Athena's central concern is the wellbeing of the community. As Aelius Aristides (*Or.* 37.13) puts it, "Cities are the gifts of Athena." As a patron of civic institutions, she has a role in the socialization of youths of both sexes. Thus, in Athens, in her quality of *Phratria*, the goddess is, together with Zeus *Phratrios*, the patroness of the Apaturia festival, in which young men were introduced into the phratry; these were the gods that defined Athenian citizenship. The ephebes took their oath in the sanctuary of Aglauros, one of the three daughters of Kekrops, regarded as the first priestess of Athena; among the principal divinities invoked were Ares and Atena *Areia*. Every year, they escorted Pallas (so report the epigraphic texts, with a striking personification: the wooden Palladium must have been intended) to Phalerum and to the sea for a ritual cleansing (the occasion of this ritual is disputed: it may have been the Plynteria). Conversely, an Athena *Apaturia* is attested at Troizen, to whom young girls offered their girdle before their wedding.

More generally, the goddess nurtures the children on whom the city's future depends and encourages its citizens in the arts and crafts so integral to civilized existence. Her foundational role in Athens is clearly expressed by the story of her victory over Poseidon through the gift of the sacred olive tree, and in the connected local Athenian myth of the birth of Erichthonios. According to the legend, Hephaistos tried to rape the goddess; she flew, and in his pursuit, his semen fell on her thigh. The goddess in wiping it off threw it to the ground, and the earth gave birth to the boy Erechtheus/Erichthonios, whom Athena raised (already attested in *Iliad* 2.547–551). She then gave him over to the care of the daughters of snake-tailed Kekrops, the autochthonous king of Athens, warning them not to open the chest in which the boy lay. They however opened the chest, and, overcome with madness at what they saw, threw themselves down the cliff of the Acropolis. Erichthonios later became king of Athens, and instituted the Panathenaia; the story of the Kekropids was remembered in the rite of the Arrhēphoria. Two (or four) young girls of noble family, aged between seven and eleven, were chosen annually by the *archon basileus* to serve Athena *Polias* on the Acropolis. At the end of their year, at night, the *arrhēphoroi* were given covered baskets, which they had to carry down to the temple of Aphrodite "in the garden." There they were given something else that they had to bring back to the Acropolis. The meaning of this ceremony is disputed (transition or fertility ritual), but it has clearly to do with the story of the daughters of Kekrops, since the *arrhēphoroi* are said to accomplish their duties in regard to Athena *Polias* and Pandrosos, one of the Kekropids. The myth encapsulates Athena's care for Athens, and more generally for the raising and education of both boys and girls, as well as the Athenians' rootedness in their landscape.

Athenian maidens and women wove a peplos for Athena; the loom for the weaving was set up by the priestess of Athena *Polias* and the *arrhēphoroi* at the Chalkeia. The peplos (embroidered with scenes from the Gigantomachy, and thus once again exposing the other side of the deity) was offered to the goddess nine months later at the Panathenaia, her most important festival at Athens. At this same festival male citizens competed in contests reserved for Athenians which, just as the Panathenaic procession, stressed the force and the sense of common identity of the polity. There were also contests open to foreigners; the prizes for the quadrennial contests of the Great Panathenaia were the so-called Panathenaic amphoras, filled with olive oil from the sacred olive trees and bearing on one side the image of the fully armed, striding Athena *Promachos*.

Athena is particularly identified with the womanly arts of spinning and weaving, and is often called, in this connection, *Erganē* (the maker). As such, she also protects carpenters, metalworkers and more generally artisans: "Be on your way, all people who work with your hands, you who entreat Zeus' daughter, *Erganē* of the terrible eyes, with baskets placed before her, and by the anvil with the heavy hammer" (Sophocles, frag. 844 Radt).

Like many spinning goddesses, Athena is a virgin; at Athens, she is addressed as "the" *parthenos*. Yet her virginity implies no withdrawal from involvement with males, but rather an easy companionship undisturbed by sexual tension. Loyal and resourceful, she is a friendly mentor to many of the heroes of Greek mythology—Perseus, Bellerophon, Herakles, and above all Odysseus, whose skeptical prudence and practical cunning so resemble her own. Although in late classical times the goddess came to be regarded as a personification of wisdom in the abstract, her *mētis* ("wisdom") is rather common sense and the technical and artistic skillfulness she encouraged in her protégés. She is *glaukōpis*, bright-eyed, like her emblem the owl. At least until the end of the fifth century, Athena was not seen as a contemplative being, but rather as "spirited immediacy, redeeming spiritual presence, swift action." At least until the end of the fifth century, Athena was not seen as a contemplative being, but rather, as Walter F. Otto memorably put it, a "Göttin der nähe" ("goddess of nearness"), "spirited immediacy, redeeming spiritual presence, swift action."

SEE ALSO Goddess Worship, overview article.

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CHRISTINE DOWNING (1987)
PAOLA CECCARELLI (2005)

ATHENAGORAS, Christian apologist, flourished in Athens during the second half of the second century. Only one of his writings has been transmitted to posterity, *Legatio,* or *Presbeia,* which he composed between 176 and 180. He was a professional philosopher and, from the time of his conversion, a teacher of Christian doctrine. His apology in defense of the Christians could have been published as early as September 176 when the co-emperors Marcus Aurelius and his son Commodus visited Athens. More probably it was written after the anonymous letter from Gaul describing the persecution of Lyons in 177 became known in Greece, since the same expressions are used in both documents for the second and the third of the three main charges addressed against the Christians at that time: "Atheism, Thyestean banquets, and Oedipean unions" (3.1).

Legatio responds at length to the popular accusations against the Christians charging them with atheism and immorality. Athenagoras introduces the Christian doctrine of God with the help of an abundance of comparative quotations, from Homer to contemporary Middle Platonists. He stresses the absolute power of the creator and the creator's care for the world. He presents the Christian ethic as uncompromising. His doctrine of God culminates in trinitarian theology, but he avoids the doctrine of the incarnation. In his ethics he relies on the philosophical tradition of Stoicism. Thus, in assuming the correctness of many of the religious views of paganism, Athenagoras's philosophical theology rests on the sincere hope of a reconciliation between the church and the empire.

A treatise entitled *On the Resurrection,* traditionally attributed to Athenagoras, must be considered inauthentic. Its views on the general resurrection of the dead in the last days are best understood against the background of the debate over Origen's doctrine concerning resurrected bodies. This debate generated treatises of that sort only near the end of the third century. Differences in style are also discernible in comparison with *Legatio.*

Athenagoras remained virtually unknown by the later Christian generations in the ancient church. Only Methodius of Olympus, in the early fourth century, alludes to *Legatio* and identifies its author. In the tenth century, Arethas, archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, rediscovered the Athenian Christian philosopher of the second century and his apology.

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ATHIRAT, called Ashiratum or Ashratum in Old Babylonian texts, was a West Semitic goddess, worshiped in Syria in the second millennium BCE and still widely attested in southern Arabia in the mid-first millennium BCE and later. The Old Babylonian spellings of her name—with and without the internal vowel *i*—show that this vowel was short and could be elided. This is confirmed by the spellings *Abdi-Ashirtu* and *Abdi-Ashratu* of the name of the famous Amorite chieftain in the Amarna correspondence from the fourteenth century BCE. The divine name was thus formed on the active participle of *ʾṯr,* "to walk" or "to tread on." Hence it was rightly explained as "walker" or "trampler."

SUN GODDESS. Ashiratum was the consort of Amurrum, as Babylonians were calling the chief deity of the western nomads, the Amorites, and her realm was the steppe. The proper name Ashratum-ummi, "Athirat is my mother," shows how she was regarded by her worshipers. Later mythological texts from Ugarit indicate that she was the mother of the gods. The Gracious Gods Dawn and Sunset, as well as the heir of King Keret in the Ugaritic epic are supposed to suck the milk of Athirat. Since Amurrum was in fact a moon god, his consort was most likely a sun goddess or a particular aspect of the solar deity. This is corroborated to a certain extent by her role in southern Arabia where her name is borne by the spouse of the masculine lunar deity, which was called by different names and bynames. Athirat was the consort of ʿAmm, the main god of Qataban, who despite some doubts seems to have been a lunar deity. The situation is somewhat complicated because the sun goddess is also mentioned with the Quarter-of-the-Moon, a particular aspect of the moon god.

A territory of the kingdom of Qataban, called Dhu-Athirat, was dedicated to her and she was worshiped in a temple together with Wadd, certainly the moon god of the kingdoms of Maʿin and Awsan. A month in the calendar of Maʿin bore her name, Dhu-Athirat, obviously because a major festival was celebrated during that period in her honor. The sun goddess received in southern Arabia a number of epithets, and the name of Athirat is likely to have alluded initially to the solar disk "treading on" the vault of heaven from the east to the west. The image of the sun padding in the skies occurs also in the biblical *Psalms* 19:6, where the sun is said "to run along a road." As the female member of the great South Arabian triad of upper deities, she was regarded as the mother of the young stellar god Athtar. This explains her role in Ugaritic mythological texts, where she nominates Athtar as the successor of Baal immediately after Baal's death.

Her worship spread to northern Arabia, where she is mentioned in the fifth century BCE among the three "gods of Taima": Ṣalm zi Maḥram, Sin-egalla, and Ashira, written in Aramaic script with *shin* and without the final *t,* dropped in the current pronunciation. The first deity is the sacred standing stone of the sanctuary, the second is the "moon god of the palace," and Ashira is likely to be his consort, the sun goddess. Her name appears also as a theophorous element in a few North Arabian proper names.

Consort of El. In Syria, Athirat appears in the mythological texts from Ugarit and in a myth preserved in a Hittite adaptation. She is the consort of the resting chief god El and the mother of the gods. In the Hittite text, she appears as the wife of Elkunirsha, a transcription of the Semitic title "El, the owner of the earth." At Ugarit, she is not identified with the sun goddess Shapash, but her title of "Lady walking on the sea," *rbt aṯrt ym*, still seems to allude to the sun setting in the west, on the Mediterranean sea. Her servant, "the fisherman of Athirat," is called "Holy passer," *qdš(-w-)amrr*, and he is supposed to traverse the sea in order to reach Caphtor, which is Crete. He may have been the boatman of the sun goddess, who sails every night on the ocean of the netherworld. This episode of the myth is not preserved, but its existence is implied by the *Midrash Tehillim* 19:11 and the *Yalkut Shimoni* II, §676, where reference is made to the Sun's ship.

In a phonetically atypical text from Ugarit, apparently written in another dialect, Athirat is referred to in parallel with the moon god Yaraḥ. This seems to imply that she is the consort of the lunar deity, most likely the sun goddess. Another text from Ugarit, known conventionally as the *Poem of the Gracious Gods*, mentions Athirat and the sun goddess Shapash in parallel. In view of this poetic device Athirat might be identical there with Shapash, but the badly damaged passage does not allow a firm conclusion. It seems at any rate that at some point Athirat became a deity distinct from the sun goddess, although she kept some of the goddess's characteristics.

The goddess is not attested in Canaan, either in the Amorite proper names of the *Egyptian Execration Texts* or in letters from Tell Taanak, where her name has been read by mistake. As far as we know, the worship of Athirat did not reach Egypt. Neither are there any traces of her cult in the Syro-Phoenician realm after the collapse of the Bronze Age civilization in the early twelfth century BCE.

Holy Sites. In some quarters, the Akkadian noun *aširtu*, Phoenician *ʾšrt*, used also in the Philistine city of Ekron, Aramaic *ʾtrt*, and Hebrew *ʾăšērāh*, all meaning "holy place," were confused with the name of the goddess Athirat. This confusion provoked a considerable secondary literature, inspired by the Hebrew epigraphic mention of "Yahweh and his *asherah*," the latter being regarded as the consort of Yahweh. Engaging often in speculations of a recondite kind, this approach displays a remarkable neglect of ancient written sources and of rules of Hebrew grammar, while no evidence is offered that, for instance, female pillar figurines in clay are statuettes of a goddess Asherah.

The occasional Hebrew spelling *ʾšyrh*, followed in the *Targums Onqelos* and *Jonathan*, shows that the noun in question does not follow the same nominal pattern as the name of the goddess Athirat: it is a passive derivative of the root *ʾṯr*, designating a site "trodden on," thus a place. The context of the noun in the available sources always indicates that a holy site is meant. The masculine passive derivative *Ashur* of the same root had a similar meaning, as it indicated the sacred hill on which the capital city of Assyria was built, but it became the name of a particular deity. No similar evolution can be observed in the case of *asherah*, since the occasional use of the definite article, the often occurring plural—generally with the masculine ending *-īm*—and the use of *asherah* with the pronominal suffix show that the word remained a common noun in Hebrew.

At least in the northwest Semitic realm, a holy site called *asherah* was connected with the presence of trees. *Deuteronomy* 16:21 prohibits one to "plant an *asherah* of any kind of tree," while *Judges* 6:25 orders Gideon to "cut down the *asherah*," which consisted of several trees. The text speaks explicitly of "the trees of the *asherah*," which had to provide fuel for the sacrifice of a bullock, and Gideon needed ten servants to cut them down (*Jgs.* 6:26–27). The *asherah* could thus be a grove of quite a considerable size, and not a simple pole.

The injunction of *Exodus* 34:13 uses the plural *asherim* to designate the sacred groves that must be cut down. The expression "Yahweh and his *asherah*," occurring in Hebrew inscriptions from Khirbet el-Qom and Kuntillet Ajrud, indicates that those were sites where Yahweh was worshiped. The unique biblical text referring to a Baal's *asherah* is *1 Kings* 18:19, where "the four hundred prophets of the *asherah*" are ministrants of Baal's shrine. However, the expression may be a later intrusion, since it is asterized in Origen's *Hexapla*. The formula of *Exodus* 34:13 is repeated with variants in several texts. The *asherim* must be cut down, as indicated in *2 Kings* 18:4 and 23:14, hacked down, as stated in *Deuteronomy* 7:5 and *2 Chronicles* 14:12, 31:1, or simply burnt, as required in *Deuteronomy* 12:3 and *2 Kings* 23:15. They can also be uprooted, as indicated in *Micah* 5:13.

All these texts use a traditional terminology, coined in a period when the *asherah* was a grove of trees popularly regarded as a sacred site. The *Temple Scroll* 51:20, written about 160 BCE, repeats the biblical prohibition of "planting *asherot*" and "erecting standing-stones." It alludes obviously to sacred groves with symbols of the deity, while using the more recent plural *asherot* instead of *asherim*. It is not surprising that the Greek version of the Bible, made in Alexandria in the third and second centuries BCE, usually translates *asherah* by *alsos*, "sacred grove," or by *dendera*, "trees." Similarly, the Latin Vulgate version uses the terms *lucus* or *nemus*, both with the same meaning. Philon of Alexandria (c. 30 BCE–45 CE) notes in his work *On the Special Laws* I 74 that there was no *alsos* in the Temple of Jerusalem, at least in his time. And Flavius Josephus, in his work *Against Apion* I 199, quotes Hecataeus of Abdera, a Hellenistic writer from the early third century BCE, who expressly states that the Temple had no sacred plants, obviously referring to the *asherah* or *alsos*, well attested in heathen sanctuaries.

In the monarchic period, the *asherah* could be a chapel or shrine like in Assyro-Babylonian texts, in which *ashirtu* appears as a sacral building or a particular place in a sanctuary. It was "built" (*2 Kgs.* 14:23), "set up" (*2 Kgs.* 17:10), or "restored" (*2 Chr.* 33:19). As a holy place, it is associated with chapels, altars, and hill shrines, or is mentioned in antithetical parallel with "the house of Yahweh," as in *2 Chronicles* 24:18. These texts do not make any reference to a grove or tree.

According to *Jeremiah* 17:2, *1 Kings* 14:23, and *2 Kings* 17:10, *asherim* were erected on heights, by old spreading trees. One can note that such shrines find analogies even in modern Palestine, were they are known as the tombs of saints or *welis*, erected on hilltops, near a venerated tree. *Asherim* existed also in cities. Towards the end of the tenth century BCE, according to *1 Kings* 15:13 and *2 Chronicles* 15:16, queen mother Maaka had made a *mipleṣet* for the *asherah* of Jerusalem. This was probably a phallic stele, a symbol of human and agricultural fertility. It may have signified the presence of Yahweh, like the idol or emblem (*pesel*) that King Manasseh placed in the Temple according to *2 Kings* 21:7: "and he put in the temple the idol of the *asherah* that he had made." That *asherah* with its idol remained in the Temple complex until the reform of King Josiah. The narrative of *2 Kings* 23:6–7 specifies that Josiah took it away and pulled down the annexes of the Temple, "where women were weaving for the *asherah*," probably adorned with carpets and draperies. A famous *asherah*, which stood in Samaria under Jehoahaz, is alluded to in *2 Kings* 13:6—probably the one made by Ahab, as reported in *1 Kings* 16:33.

Sanctuaries are also meant in Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions. The Phoenician ostracon from Akko, dating to the fifth century BCE, mentions "the overseer of the *ashirat*," and an inscription from Umm el-Amed is a dedication "to Astarte in the *ashirat* of the gods of Hammon," the ancient name of the town, south of Tyre. The allusions to offerings brought "to the *ashirat*" of Ekron parallel the offering made "to the *maqom*," a general term designating a holy place. The earliest Aramaic attestation of *ashirat* appears on one of the inscriptions from Sefire, in northern Syria, dating to the mid-eighth century BCE. The latest one, supposed to date from the period between the fourth and the sixth or seventh centuries CE, occurs in a Judeo-Aramaic incantation inscribed on a magic bowl, found in Mesopotamia. It curses "the *ashirat* of the king of the demons," *ʾšrt mlkʾ d-šydy*. In all these texts, *ashirat* can be translated simply by "sanctuary," "shrine," or "sacred precinct." Nothing indicates that the presence of a sacred tree is implied.

However, a single tree may indeed characterize a holy site. The Aramaic inscription from Sardis, dating from the mid-fourth century BCE, mentions "the tree of the holy place," in Aramaic *atīrtā*, a variant spelling of *ashirta*. According to *Genesis* 21:3, Abraham planted a sacred tree at Beersheba and invoked "the everlasting God." The sacred oak or terebinth of Mamre was famous in the time of Flavius Josephus, who mentions it twice, in *The Jewish War* IV 533 and in *Jewish Antiquities* I 186. It was later a haunt of "angels," as the fifth-century church historian Sozomen writes, and Constantine the Great was obliged to put down the heathenish cult. Rabbi Simeon ben Eleazar, active in the second century CE, mentions three other *asherot* in Palestine: the evergreen carob of Kfar Qasem, the carob of Kfar Pigsha, and the evergreen sycamore, growing among the pine trees on Mount Carmel.

The first *asherah*, probably located on the southwestern rim of the Samarian Hills, was apparently famous for oracles, as the name *qasem*, "divination," suggests. Already *Genesis* 12:6 mentions the "terebinth of the teacher" at Shechem, evidently an ancient sacred tree from which oracles were obtained, and *Judges* 9:37 refers to the "terebinth of the diviners," most likely the same sacred tree. It may also be identical with the "tree of the standing-stone" in *Judges* 9:6. This symbol of the divinity was placed under the tree, thus manifesting the sacred character of the site, which was certainly an *asherah*, defined in the Mishnah as "any tree under which is an idol." At the same time, the mention of the standing-stone expressed the difference between the sacred tree or grove and the divine occupant. This distinction was not always clearly drawn and it is quite intelligible that prayers could be addressed to the occupant and to his abode, for instance "to Yahweh and to his *asherah*," or even to the sole abode of the divinity, becoming a deity in its own right, like the Aramean gods Bethel, "God's house," and Turmasgad, "Mountain of worship." The only remote possibility of understanding *asherah* in a similar way occurs in *Judges* 3:7, where the Israelites are accused by the Deuteronomistic historian of having served "the Baals and the *asherot*." However, the parallel passages of *Judges* 2:13 and 10:6, and *1 Samuel* 7:4 and 12:10 mention "the Baals and the *Ashtarot*." Two Hebrew manuscripts and the Latin Vulgate version, made directly on the Hebrew text, read *Ashtarot* as well in *Judges* 3:7, instead of *asherot*. The latter reading should therefore be regarded as a scribal error.

Summing up, the Hebrew word *asherah* designates a holy site, a sanctuary, especially one marked by the presence of a sacred grove or green tree. It has no relation whatsoever to the goddess Athirat. There is a quite consistent and uninterrupted tradition, from biblical to Mishnaic times and the Middle Ages, in the understanding of this Hebrew word. Maimonides writes in *Mishneh Torah* (I 75b: 2–3): "A tree that was planted, from the outset, for the purpose of being worshipped, is forbidden to be used. This is the *asherah*, mentioned in the Torah."

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ATĪŚA. Indian scholar-monk regarded as a reformer of Tantric practices and founder of the Buddhist "path literature" in Tibet. Atīśa (more properly Atiśa) was invited to Tibet by Byang chub'od under the advice of Ye shes 'od to revive Buddhism after Glan dar ma's (d. 842) persecution of the religion. He is also variously known as Śrī Atīśa, Dīpaṃkararakṣita, Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna, and Śrī Dīpaṃkarajñānapada in Sanskrit, and Jo bo rje Dpal ldan, Mar me mdzad Dpal ye shes, and Dpal ldan Atīśa in Tibetan.

The dates of Atīśa vary—some accounts give as his dates 980–1052, others as 982–1054; in any case, he lived for seventy-two years. Some sources claim that he was born at Vikramapura, Dacca (East Pakistan); others claim him to be a native of Bhagalpur (Bihar); still others claim that he was the son of a king of Zahor, a country noted for Tantrism. His father was Kalāyṇaśrī, the king of Bengal, and his mother was Padmaprabhā. Recent studies tend to confirm that Atīśa was born in Bengal, was a member of a family with some royal blood, and lived from 980 to 1052. Accounts of his life can be found in the Tibetan historical literature (*chos 'byun*) and the extensive biographical literature (*rnam thar*).

Atīśa's first religious encounter came at an early age, when he had a vision of the Vajrayāna goddess Tārā, who remained his tutelary deity throughout his life and to whom he was especially devoted. He sought a monk's career and studied at Nālandā. At the age of thirty-one, he went to Suvarṉadvīpa (Sumatra?), where he studied under Dharmapāla for twelve years. Upon his return to India he became steward of the Buddhist college Vikramaśīla, from which he left for Tibet in 1040 as the result of an invitation from Nag tsho (b. 1011), who had been sent to the college for this purpose. After a year in Nepal Atīśa arrived in Gu ge in 1042; from there he traveled to central Tibet, and finally to the Snar thang (Narthang) Monastery, where he died.

Atīśa's activities in Tibet centered in and around western Tibet at the beginning, but after a few years he began to travel extensively. Within a short time he gained great fame for his scholarly abilities and for the bold stand he took in favor of religious reform in Tibet. He was not, however, accepted by everyone; 'Brog mi (992–1074) and Mar pa (1012–1096) are said to have avoided meeting him, and even Rin chen bzang po, who impressed Atīśa on their first meeting, was not always in accord with him, although he finally submitted to Atīśa and acknowledged his superiority. It is related that on his visit to the Bsam yas Monastery, Atīśa discovered Tantras that did not exist in India.

Atīśa's mission in Tibet was to restore monastic order and discipline. In 1057 he founded the monastery of Rwa sgreng. His *Bodhipathapradīpa* (Tib., *Byang chub lam gyi sgron ma*), written for the Tibetans as a manifesto of Buddhist reform, became the basis for the Lam Rim ("stages of the path") teachings of Tsong kha pa (1357–1419).

Atīśa worked on many translations of the various Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras. He also must be credited for his important work on reckoning dates by a method in which the well-known cycle of twelve animals is complemented by the five elements, thus resulting in a sexagenary cycle. According to this work, the first year of the first cycle of sixty years is 1027 CE; all other dates, past and future, are derived from this year. Although Atīśa was instrumental in reviving Buddhism in Tibet, his influence did not seem to last too far beyond his lifetime.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, Schools of, article on Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism.

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ATONEMENT

This entry consists of the following articles:

JEWISH CONCEPTS
CHRISTIAN CONCEPTS

ATONEMENT: JEWISH CONCEPTS

Jewish conceptions of atonement consist of various strands reflecting the plurality of connotations of the Hebrew term *kipper* ("to make atonement"). Etymologically, the biblical term may mean (1) "covering up" (*Ex.* 25:17, *Lv.* 16:2), (2) "purging" or "wiping off" (Is. 27:9, Jer. 18:23), or (3) "ransoming" (*Ex.* 30:12, *Nm.* 35:31–32). Correspondingly, atonement may represent (1) the process of covering up sins to forestall retribution, (2) a form of catharsis that decontaminates individuals from impurities induced by sinful behavior, or (3) expiatory or propiatory acts designed to avert divine wrath and bring about reconciliation by redressing the imbalance caused by offenses against the deity.

Although the term *kipper* is also employed in the Torah (Pentateuch) with reference to the removal of ritual impurity, there is no suggestion whatsoever that the rites themselves are endowed with magical power. The desired results of expiation or purification are not viewed as the effect caused by the performance of rites. Atonement can only be granted by God; it is not the direct effect of any human action (see, for example, *Leviticus* 16:30).

Confession is specifically mandated by the Torah in conjunction with the expiatory rites performed by the high priest on the Day of Atonement as well as with the sacrifice called the *asham* (guilt offering). Rabbinic Judaism construes this latter requirement as paradigmatic for all types of sacrifices offered with the intent to secure forgiveness, expiation, or atonement for sins. Unless preceded by confession, any *ḥaṭʾat* (sin offering) or *asham* would be stigmatized as "a sacrifice of the wicked which is an abomination" (B.T., *Shav.* 12b).

Repentance. Although the Torah refers only to confession, the rabbis of the Mishnah, Talmud and Midrashic works cite various biblical verses from the rest of the Hebrew Bible to interpret this formal requirement in a much broader sense. The act of confession is construed as verbalization of an internal process of *teshuvah,* the act of "turning" that involves not only remorse but a sincere effort to make reparation and the resolve to mend ways. The very possibility of *teshuvah* as the re-creation of the human self presupposes freedom of the will. Judaism maintains that human beings have the capacity to extricate themselves from the causal nexus and determine freely their conduct.

For all the emphasis upon *teshuvah*—the psychological transformation of the self wrought by human effort—one essential component of the traditional view is the notion that divine mercy is necessary to heal or redeem man from the dire aftereffects of sin. Because any transgression of a divine commandment through sins of omission or commission constitutes an offense against God and damages a person's relationship with the Creator, divine grace is required to achieve full atonement. It is for this reason that prayers for atonement are an integral part of the *teshuvah* process. There are, however, sins of such severity that *teshuvah* by itself cannot completely remove the stains of guilt. According to the classical formulation of the second-century tanna Rabbi Yishmaʾel:

> He who transgressed a positive commandment and repented, is forgiven before he has moved from his place: as it is said, "Return, O backsliding children" [*Jer.* 3:14]. He who has transgressed a negative commandment and repented, repentance merely suspends [punishment] and only the Day of Atonement secures atonement. As it is said: "For on this day shall atonement be made for you . . . from all your sins" [*Lv.* 16:30]. He who has violated a law punishable by extirpation or capital punishment and has repented, repentance and the Day of Atonement suspend and only suffering completes the atonement, as it is said: "Then will I visit their transgression with the rod and their iniquity with strokes" [*Ps.* 89:33]. But he who has been guilty of the desecration of the divine name, repentance is incapable of suspending punishment, the Day of Atonement cannot secure atonement, and suffering cannot complete it, but all of them together suspend the punishment and only death completes atonement, as it is said: "And the Lord of hosts revealed himself in my ears. Surely, this iniquity shall not be expiated till you die" [*Is.* 12:14]. (B.T., *Yomaʾ* 86a)

Expiation and Grace. The rabbinic tenet that "the dead require atonement" (*Sifrei Shoftim* 210) is further evidence that atonement is not merely a function of repentance. Repentance is only feasible for the living, yet Judaism encourages practices such as offering of charity, prayer, or Torah study in behalf of the deceased. Significantly, vicarious expiatory significance is attributed to the death of the high priest (J.T., *Yomaʾ* 7.3) or that of the righteous (B.T., *Moʿed Q.* 28a). Similarly, according to a number of tannaitic opinions, the occurrence of the Day of Atonement in itself, and especially the performance of the rites of the scapegoat, may expiate some sins even of the nonrepentant (B.T., *Yomaʾ* 65b). It should, however, be noted that Menaḥem Meʾiri (1249–1306/1310), a prominent French-Jewish authority, categorically rejects the possibility of atonement in the absence of at least minimal repentance (*Ḥibbur hateshuvah* 2.13). But while Jewish theology attributes expiatory efficacy to fasting, charity, and other cultic or ritual practices and for that matter to death and suffering, overriding importance is attached to catharsis. Significantly, tractate *Yomaʾ* 8.9 of the Mishnah concludes with ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef's exclamation, "How happy are you Israelites! Before whom do you cleanse yourselves, and who cleanses you? Your father who is in Heaven."

Proper atonement calls for human initiative in returning to God, who will respond by completing the process of purification, ultimately leading to the reintegration of the fragmented human self and resulting in the restoration of a wholesome relationship between man and God. According to a Talmudic opinion, repentance is a necessary condition of the messianic redemption, In qabbalistic thought, repentance is not only deemed indispensable to national redemption but acquires metaphysical significance as a preeminent aspect of the process of *tiqqun ʿolam* ("mending the world")—the returning of the alienated creation to its Creator.

SEE ALSO Ashkenazic Hasidism; Biblical Temple; Hasidism, overview article; Ro'sh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur.

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ATONEMENT: CHRISTIAN CONCEPTS

According to its linguistic origins atonement (at-one-ment) means "the condition of or resulting from being at one." It is one of the few English words that have become theological terms. The word occurs many times in the Old Testament, and this usage has influenced the New Testament and subsequent tradition. Its appearance in the Authorized (King James) Version as the translation of *katallagē* in *Romans* 5:11 ("through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received the atonement") consolidated its theological use. The Revised Standard Version, however, and nearly all modern versions translate *katallagē* as "reconciliation," leaving the New Testament in English now without the word *atonement.* In contemporary theological usage *atonement* has come to mean the process by which reconciliation with God is accomplished through the death of Christ. Its earlier usage tended to have as well the wider meaning of the end sought through the atoning process, as in reconciliation, redemption (in older Roman Catholic writing), and salvation (in Protestant orthodoxy).

OLD TESTAMENT BACKGROUND. The Hebrew root for atonement is *kpr,* which probably means "to cover" or perhaps "to wipe away." The Greek equivalent is *hilaskethai* and its derivatives. The system of sacrifice that was practiced by the Israelites was regarded as an institution graciously provided by God and had atonement as its aim. Its rationale may be seen in *Leviticus* 17:11: "it is the blood that makes atonement, by reason of the life." On the solemn yearly Day of Atonement the high priest went into the holy of holies to the covering over the ark, the mercy seat (*kaporet, hilastērion*), where God was believed to appear and announce forgiveness of sins to his people.

Some scholars would translate *hilastērion* in *Romans* 3:25 ("whom God set forth to be a *hilastērion*") simply as "mercy seat." Their feeling is that Paul meant to assert that the cross of Christ is now the place where God shows his saving mercy. Most translators, however, render the word in this context as either "propitiation" or "expiation," depending on whether they want to suggest that God's wrath must first be satisfied before he will forgive human sinfulness or locate the block to restored relationships not primarily in God but in the alienation that is created by the sin itself and is acted upon directly by Christ's atoning action. Strongly divergent theories of atonement were constructed later on the basis of this debate.

The prophets constantly warned against any automatic assumption that sacrifice of itself would provide forgiveness; they preached that God desires mercy and repentance (*Is.* 1:10–17). The ritual system of sacrifice was spiritualized in the Old Testament in the prophetic view of a new covenant to replace the original, Mosaic covenant (*Jer.* 31:31) and was personalized in the actions of the suffering servant of Yahveh (*Is.* 53) sent by God to become an *asham* ("guilt-offering") and to bear the sins of many in a redemptive act of self-oblation.

NEW TESTAMENT FOUNDATION. The associations of atonement with animal sacrifice, the offering of incense, and payments of money disappeared in the New Testament except as vivid metaphors for elucidating the atoning life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ and, especially, the "once for all" (*Heb.* 10:10) event of Calvary. When Christians say that the cross is the crucial point of the early preaching of the gospel, they do not so much make a pun as testify that the Atonement, whatever else it has done, has changed the language. It was probably inevitable that sacrificial language would be emphasized in describing the Atonement simply because the contemporary institution of sacrifice was well known to the early Christians (as it is not today) and because the actual penal process of crucifixion with its attendant shedding of blood suggested at once the religious ritual of sacrifice.

THE GOSPELS AND JESUS' TEACHING. By parable and by direct discourse Jesus taught forgiveness of sins, relating God's forgiveness to forgivingness between people. Controversy swirled around Jesus' authoritative absolutions, a situation that perhaps more than any other raised for his Jewish hearers the question of his divine status or blasphemy. He regarded his death as likely not simply because many prophets had been martyred for the unpopularity of their message but because he saw it as controlled in some way by a divine must, as a decisive part of his mission to inaugurate the kingdom of God: "For the Son of man also came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom (*lutron*) for many" (*Mk.* 10:45). Later questions about the various agencies to whom the ransom would be paid were to determine variant forms of the Greek theories of atonement. The image of a ransom is commercial, indicating the price needed to buy a slave's freedom. Conjoined with the phrase "for many," which may invoke the sacrificial image of the servant in *Isaiah* who will deliver many from their sins, use of the word ransom points out the costliness of reconciliation.

A second saying attributed to Jesus in the Marcan tradition of the last supper also casts light on the pervasive problem of the divine must: "This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many" (*Mk.* 14:24). This language is reminiscent of the previous saying about ransom, here with an emphasis on a new covenant, such as was foreshadowed in *Jeremiah,* and recalling God's liberation of the Israelites from Egypt. Paul could say, "Christ our passover is sacrificed for us." To the Markan saying about the "blood of the covenant which is poured out for many" Matthew added, "for the forgiveness of sins" (*Mt.* 26:28), making explicit that the atoning action is because of sin.

John developed the image of "the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world" (*Jn.* 1:29, 1:36). There are other references to the lamb in the *Book of Revelation,* such as *Revelation* 13:8, "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world" (Authorized Version). This disputed translation became a justification for subsequent interpretations of the Atonement that regarded the event at Calvary not as an isolated incident but as the sacramental expression of the eternal reality of God's suffering love for humanity. The *Letter to the Hebrews* expands the image of sacrifice, making it the basis for the most sustained theory of the Atonement to be found in the New Testament. The theological question for all theories of sacrifice is whether Christ's death was itself the decisive sacrifice to God or whether the wealth of sacrificial images employed in New Testament literature is simply a way of demonstrating that what was sought through the Old Testament system of sacrifice has, in fact, been completely and finally accomplished in the life and death of Christ.

PAUL ON THE ATONEMENT. Paul is the earliest written source for the dimensions of atonement in apostolic preaching: "For I delivered to you as of first importance what I also received, that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures" (*1 Cor.* 15:3). He used the images of Christ the victor over sin, wrath, the demons, and death, and also used the illustration of the law court. For Paul the atoning death and resurrection went beyond the merely human dimensions of salvation to include the world of spirits and of nature itself in its groaning and travail (*Rom.* 8:19–23).

Paul grasped the moral dilemma in all thought about the Atonement: How can a God of holiness and righteousness accept sinners without either destroying his holiness or sentimentalizing his love by an immoral indifference to evil? As a former Pharisee, Paul naturally used legal language to describe faith in Christ. He used the language of the law court provisionally, only to introduce the paradox of grace: God does not ultimately, in Christ, deal with humanity along the lines of retributive justice, which a human judge is obliged by oath to dispense. The revelation of God's righteousness "has been manifested apart from law" (*Rom.* 3:21). Expositions of the vicarious and representative work of Christ have been constructed from the penal implications of such Pauline texts as "For our sake he made him to be sin who knew no sin, so that in him we might become the righteousness of God" (*2 Cor.* 5:21). The problem with such expositions, however, is that they tend to subject God's gracious love to the necessities of a law court. The gospel according to Paul is that God actually does what no human judge should do: God in a revolutionary way actually accepts sinners. Jesus had taught a love of this quality and actualized it by associating with outcasts, sinners, the despised, and the victims of power and injustice in his society until its religious and political forces crucified him.

There is no single New Testament doctrine of the Atonement—there is simply a collection of images and metaphors with some preliminary analysis and reflection from which subsequent tradition built its systematic doctrines and theories. The New Testament asserts that God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself in such a way that the act resembled a military victory, a king establishing his power, a judge and prisoner in a law court, a great ritual sacrifice before priest and altar, the payment of ransom for war prisoners or the payment of a redemption for a slave's freedom, the admission to responsible sonship within a family, and more. Tradition has tried to decide what parts of this picture should be taken literally and what parts metaphorically and has developed extended rationales, added new images according to the conditions of different eras and cultures, and established cross-relationships with other Christian doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the church, and the sacraments. Often it has tried to make one theory of the Atonement dominant over the others.

A TYPOLOGY OF ATONEMENT THEORIES. Gustaf Aulén in his classic *Christus Victor* (1930) suggested three basic types of atonement theory: the classical type, the Latin type, and the subjective type. Combining these with additional categories from R. S. Franks's definitive *History of the Doctrine of the Work of Christ* (1918) yields the following typology:

1. *Classical type:* Greek, patristic, Christus Victor, ransom, Eastern.
2. *Anselmian type:* Latin, objective, transactional, Western.
3. *Reformation type:* penal, objective, juridical, governmental, transactional.
4. *Moral-influence type:* Abelardian, subjective, exemplary, modern.
5. Other types are sacrificial, mystical, psychological, incarnational, and eucharistic in character.

This scheme is regarded as approximate and as bearing historic names that are sometimes not simply descriptive but are slanted by their supporters' claims or their detractors' criticisms. This article will select only a few of the most significant theories for analysis.

Classical theories of atonement. Aulén looked behind the dramatic mythology of the Greek fathers to find the theme of Christus Victor, a view that he claimed integrates ideas of the Incarnation, Atonement, and resurrection into a unified concept of salvation. Ragnar Leivestad in *Christ the Conqueror: Ideas of Conflict and Victory in the New Testament* (1954) supplemented Aulén by describing Christ's struggle with the demons and Satan in his work, teaching, and, especially, healing. Aulén rooted his description in Paul's writings, carried it through the Eastern and Western fathers before Anselm, and found it expressed again in Martin Luther's buoyant feeling of being on the winning side. One version of the theory had the devil unjustly in possession of humanity; another affirmed the justice of the devil's hold; still another claimed that although the devil had no rights, God graciously withheld from forcibly stripping him of his gains. Special strategies against the devil were the mousetrap (the humanity of Christ as bait to hide his divinity) and Augustine's fishhook play. In addition to the Christus Victor theme there are in patristic theology the views of Christ as the bearer of incorruption (expounded by Athanasius in the fourth century), the revealer of truth and model of humanity, the physician of humanity, and the sacrificial victim (expounded by Gregory of Nazianzus, also in the fourth century). The contrast between the church's official dogma of the Incarnation as developed through the Council of Chalcedon (451) and the unofficial status of atonement theories has often been pointed out, but the difference can be easily exaggerated since the criterion for Christological decision was usually how the proposed understanding of Christ's person would effect the salvation of humanity. There is growing agreement that the work of Christ and the person of Christ must be integrated: Christ does what he is and is what he does.

Anselmian theories of atonement. *Cur deus homo* (Why the God-man?), written by Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, in about 1097, is the single most influential book on the Atonement. Anselm criticized all ransom-to-the-devil theories by turning them upside down and asserting that the ransom, which Anselm called "satisfaction," must be paid to God. Debate has gathered around the influence that feudalism and the ancient Teutonic customs of blood money had on Anselm, but the vital center of the Anselmian theory is a rationalization about satisfaction, which, together with contrition and confession, constitutes the three parts of the Latin sacrament of penance. Even the sacrificial images are reinterpreted in terms of satisfaction as their rationale. Since sin derogated from the honor of God and must be infinite in offense because it is against God, either punishment or the payment of an infinite satisfaction is required. Such a satisfaction finite humans should but cannot pay. The answer to this dilemma becomes the God-man, whom Anselm described as bound by simple duty to lead a life of obedience but who, having lived a life of sinlessness, is not justly subject to the claim of death. Therefore Christ's death alone possessed the superfluous merit that made it an adequate satisfaction for the sins of humankind. There have been many criticisms of Anselm: that his confidence in reason is too great to explain mystery; that he quantified sin mathematically rather than personalizing it; that he concentrated so much on Christ's death that Jesus' life of sacrificial love is emptied, along with the resurrection, of significance. The overarching objection is that rigid procedures according to legal justice demote God's love to a secondary place. Later medieval modification of Anselm (e.g., Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century) stressed acceptance by God rather than strict necessity as the ground for atonement. A penitential system of indulgences managed by the church grew up around the doctrines of Christ's superfluous merits.

Reformation theories of atonement. The Reformation opted for Anselm's unused alternative of punishment. John Calvin in the sixteenth century emphasized Christ's vicarious and substitutionary endurance of God's punishment on behalf of humankind or of the elect. The dominance of Anselmian analysis in Reformation orthodoxy and the Counter-Reformation can be demonstrated by showing that for the Roman Catholic the Atonement continued to be the basis for the ecclesiastical apparatus that mediated salvation while for the Protestant, looking at the Atonement through the doctrine of justification by faith, it became the reason for rejecting that whole apparatus as unnecessary.

Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) substituted for the juridical image of a judge dispensing retributive justice the political image of a governor concerned for the public good and able to pardon humanity safely because of the deterrent effect of Christ's death. This governmental or rectoral theory Jonathan Edwards introduced into Calvinist thought in America in the eighteenth century.

Moral-influence theories. Theories of moral influence describe the Atonement as something accomplished in the hearts and minds of those who respond to Jesus' message and example of love—"love answers love's appeal" was the phrase used by Peter Abelard in the twelfth century to summarize this moral influence. The strength of this view lies in its primary emphasis upon the love of God rather than on God's wrath or justice. The intrinsic weakness of such theories lies in the widespread perception that such declarations by themselves have little power to free the sinner when they alone are seen as constituting the sum total of atonement rather than part of a total atoning activity initiated and carried through by Christ's action.

Horace Bushnell in *Vicarious Sacrifice* (1866), writing at the time of the American Civil War, took his illustrations of the Atonement from family relationships, friendship, and patriotism. Albrecht Ritschl in *Justification and Reconciliation* (originally published in 1870–1874 in German) expanded the responding agent from the individual only to a group. He stressed Jesus' reconciling love and faithfulness unto death as inspiring a community of ethical response in history. J. McLeod Campbell in *Nature of the Atonement* (1856) emphasized vicarious penitence. Robert C. Moberly in *Atonement and Personality* (1901) provided a broad view of the work of Christ as the perfect penitent by conceiving Christ's incarnating and atoning activity as continuing through the church and the sacraments in the power of the Holy Spirit.

Twentieth-century theories of atonement. The theology of Karl Barth redirected thought to the objectivity of the Atonement, and Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Dorothee Sölle developed the theme of Christ as representative. In a rehabilitation of the penal theory Leonard Hodgson in *The Doctrine of the Atonement* (New York, 1951) argued that in Jesus Christ the punisher and the punished are one. Anglicans and especially Roman Catholics under the influence of liturgical and biblical renewal, the return to patristic sources, and the impact of Vatican II have turned away from Jean Rivière's hitherto dominant claim (made early in the twentieth century) that Anselm's concept of satisfaction adequately expressed the meaning of sacrifice and toward the restoration of sacrificial language, both in liturgy and in theology.

Few doctrines of Christian faith have produced more theories than the doctrine of atonement, a fact that testifies to the witness of scripture, in which Christ's death is given decisive reconciling power and meaning, but no one theory or family of theories is presented as alone authoritative. The doctrine of atonement is the Christian answer to the human questions about ignorance, suffering, death, and sin, but always the alienation caused by sin is considered more basic than the three other evils. Christ "has broken down the dividing wall of hostility . . . so making peace and . . . [reconciling] us both to God in one body through the cross" (*Eph.* 2:14–16). Atonement as an expression of the mystery of God remains the reality at the core; interpretations of the how and the why of the process multiply as images and metaphors expand into theory and become in turn ancillary or dominant only to dissolve in changing cultural configurations and reappear later in new shapes and relationships. In the current period the classical type of Christus Victor has been increasingly able to attract as satellites the Anselmian and the moral-influence theories. Perhaps the next development lies with a reformulation of the sacrificial theory, which, fortified by the use of liturgy and having come abreast of new understandings of sacrifice in the comparative history of religions, may for a time become a new primary center in its own right.

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WILLIAM J. WOLF (1987)
Revised Bibliography

ATRAHASIS.

Atrahasis, "the surpassingly wise," is the name of the Mesopotamian hero of the Flood in the myth of the same name (corresponding to the biblical Noah), recorded in Assyro-Babylonian literature from the Old Babylonian period up until the New Babylonian period. In Sumerian his name is Ziusudra (which becomes Xisuthros in Berossus), whereas in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* he is called Utanapishtim—meaning, respectively, the one who "has a long life" and the one who "has found life."

The Sumerian pantheon, which was accepted and assimilated by the Semitic Babylonians, had a pyramid structure, with the god An, the sky, at its head, sharing power with his two sons Enlil and Enki, all having clearly defined areas of responsibility. An controlled the sky, Enlil the earth, and Enki the ocean depths. In practice, whether because Enlil was god of the earth or because his priests at Nippur were a particularly powerful social grouping, it was Enlil who gave Sumerian sovereigns their royal power. Enki had nothing to do with the Sumerian kingship, so his son Marduk was cut off from the decision-making process of which Enlil was in charge.

The Babylonian priests showed their bitterness here. The antagonism been Enlil and Enki was well known, so some scholars have thought the two gods may represent two different religions, a chthonic one and a heavenly one, fused in the Sumerian religious system. In their writings, the Babylonians emphasized the rivalry between the two gods, naturally favoring Enki, demonstrating not so much the worthless nature of Enlil but certainly his lack of wisdom and his ill-will toward the human race.

THE *ATRAHASIS* STORY. This is the theme of the poem *Atrahasis*, one of the masterpieces of Babylonian religious literature. Atrahasis is the hero of the Flood, a worshiper of Enki, who is told of the intended catastrophic fate for humankind proposed by Enlil. Three tablets describe the build-up, the catastrophe itself, and the aftermath of the Flood. The first tablet, describing the situation before the Flood in the world of gods and people, is particularly revealing; the story of the Flood itself is also known from a Sumerian poem and from Tablet 11 of the *Epic of Gilgamesh.*

The outlook displayed in the first part of the poem is entirely a product of Semitic Babylonian thought. The gods have been allocated various tasks and functions and then have assigned the lesser gods the task of working the land to produce the food that is needed. However, the effort required is too great, and the lesser gods are unable to bear the hard work this onerous task requires. So they rebel, embarking on the first strike in the history of the world. When the greater gods gather in assembly, summoned by Enlil, the god of the earth, the lesser gods make it clear that they do not intend to work anymore because this work requires too much effort.

The wise Enki next proposes to create humankind to carry out the work and provide sustenance for the gods. After describing the way the human race was created, the writer recounts the new situation. Humankind has multiplied, and the human clamor is rising heavenward more and more loudly because the work the lesser gods had refused to carry out is equally onerous for humans. An impromptu assembly of the gods is convened, and Enlil's proposal to punish the arrogance of humankind, first with plague, then with famine, and finally with flood, is accepted. However, the punishments prove worthless because Enki intervenes on behalf of humankind on all three occasions.

The moment for the final drastic decision draws near. Enlil proposes to finish off the human race with the Flood. The discussion has been heated, and Enki does not agree with what is proposed, considering it unjust and senseless. But the will of the majority prevails, and thus the plan for the Flood is approved. Enki, however, will save humankind by revealing the impending tragedy to Atrahasis and telling him to build an ark. From this point the narrative does not differ greatly from previously known accounts. The one new feature is a phrase the writer uses, momentarily becoming personally involved in the dramatic events to condemn the decision of Enlil as "an evil act, a wicked deed towards mankind" (Tav., II.viii.5).

This is not the place to start a discussion on the ethical values of the Babylonian world but simply to emphasize the hostile and critical attitude of the author toward Enlil, the head of the Sumerian pantheon, in contrast with the repeated demonstrations of devotion and gratitude to Enki, the father of Marduk. The latter is not mentioned in the Atrahasis myth. Indeed he plays no active part in the myths of earlier Sumerian literature or Babylonian literature of the first period.

The Atrahasis myth, an entirely Assyro-Babylonian creation, is the high point of Semitic thought on the divine world and human reality, from the origins of the world to the present time, through various stages of existence, such as the Flood and the new creation. The text has a long history. Created in the Old Babylonian period, it is also recorded in the Middle Babylonian period, then with significant changes in the neo-Assyrian period, and finally in the neo-Babylonian period. It should be stressed that, although the original outline of the work has undergone significant external changes, it has features that readily lead to the conclusion that there were different versions of the myth in the neo-Assyrian period. It should not be forgotten that the myth has a long editorial history, existing in documented form for over thirteen hundred years.

As regards the structure of the myth, the scheme of the Old Babylonian version shows that the three tablets copied by the scribe Ku Aja may be divided into three clear sections. The first tablet deals with the situation in the world of gods before the creation of humankind. The divine pantheon is still Sumerian and is subdivided into two groups, the Anunnaki and the Igigi—the greater and the lesser gods. The problem troubling the gods is how to deal with the lesser gods, who have rebelled after forty years and refuse to put up with the burden of hard work. When the greater gods understand the extent of the revolt and the just reason behind it, they decide to make arrangements to create a substitute for the gods, so the creation of the first human beings, a new species entrusted with the task of working and providing food for the gods, is undertaken by the god of wisdom Ea with the help of the mother goddess Mami.

In the second tablet, humankind begins to multiply, carrying out the assigned task, and puts up with the burden of working for over six hundred years. When also exhausted, humankind resorts to the same weapons employed by the lesser gods, namely causing a commotion and going on strike. The gods are unable to accept humanity's rebellion from the established order, and they decide to punish it. Three times they inflict various woes upon the human race, but on each occasion the human race is saved through the kindly intervention of Ea.

The final act of the tragedy is approaching. The gods, particularly Enlil, the ruler of the earth, cannot accept the insubordination of the creatures that they have made, so they decide to punish the whole of humankind. The gods meet in assembly and swear an oath to accept a unanimous decision and not to frustrate it by their actions. They all go along with the new decision except for Ea, who reveals what is going to happen to Atrahasis in a dream and at the same time encourages him to build a boat to save himself.

In the third tablet, the hero of the universal Flood, Atrahasis, builds a boat that will not be submerged by the waters but will save him, his family, and various types of animals. When the Flood is over, there is a furious argument among the most powerful gods, especially Enlil and Ea, following which the hero of the Flood is raised to the status of a god. Humankind will have to put up with serious hardships, such as illnesses, which will always be with them in this vale of tears.

OTHER DOCUMENTS. Preceding the Akkadian myth of Atrahasis is the document that contains the oldest version of the Sumerian Flood, already mentioned in *Sumerian King List*. It predates the Assyro-Babylonian version of the *Atrahasis* poem by more than a century, but it is completely fragmentary. The events preceding the Flood are described, starting from the observation that the human race in primordial times was not doing well, hence the need to create the Sumerians and allow them to raise livestock, then the gift of kingship and agriculture. In the antediluvian period, however, the kings chosen were not human but actually gods, and the five locations of the kingship are taken from the information provided by the *Sumerian King List*.

When the text resumes after a lacuna, some of the gods seem perplexed by the decision that has been taken. At this point the hero of the Flood, the king Ziusudra, according to a plan, receives advance warning of the forthcoming catastrophe. The passage concerning the construction of the ship has been lost. When the text resumes, there is a description of the storm, which lasts for seven days and seven nights. At the end of the Flood, Ziusudra disembarks from the ship and offers sacrifice to the gods. The final part of the story describes the decision of the gods to grant immortality to Ziusudra and his wife because they have been the means by which the human race has been saved.

Alexander Polyhistor, an ancient Greek historian, gives a description of the Flood as set down by the above writer (the *Babiloniaka* of Berosus, a Chaldean priest). After the death of Otiartes, his son Xisuthros ruled for eighteen *Sares* (one *saros* corresponds to 3,600 "human" years), and under his rule came the great Flood. Polyhistor set out the details:

> Chronos . . . had appeared to him in a dream (he is called by some "the father of Aramazad" and by others "time") and told him that on the eleventh day of the month of Daisios (that is Mareri) humanity would be destroyed by the Flood. He had ordered him to bury the earliest writings, the most recent and those written in between, in the city of the sun of Sippar to build a ship and to go aboard, with his parents and his closest

> friends, to stock up with food and drink, to bring on board the wild beasts and birds and animals too, and to be ready to set off with all this gear. Xisuthros had asked where he would have to sail in the ship. He had been given the answer: to the gods and to pray for the salvation of mankind (or: to pray to the gods). He took care to build the ship, which was 15 stadia in length and 2 stadia in width. Prepared, forewarned about everything, after he had received his instructions, he took his wife, his children and his closest friends aboard. When the flood rose and then rapidly subsided again, Xisuthros had sent out some birds, which had found no food and nowhere to settle. They had returned back to the ship. After a few days he had sent more birds and they had returned to the boat a second time, with muddied clay on their claws. He released the birds a third time and they did not return to the ship. Xisuthros knew that the earth had reappeared and the surface was now accessible. He opened a section of the roof and saw that the ship had come to land on a mountain. He then disembarked . . . and prayed on dry land. He raised an altar and sacrificed to the gods. Then he vanished from sight. . . . Those who had remained on board . . . then disembarked too. They wandered round shouting his name loudly, looking for him. Xisuthros was nowhere to be seen. There was a voice from the air, explaining that they should fear God, and that he had been carried up to heaven to the abode of the gods, because of his piety. . . . He gave orders to return to Babylon . . . to dig in the city of Sippar, to retrieve the books hidden there and give them to the human race. . . . When they heard all this, they sacrificed to the gods and they went on foot to Babylon. (Troiani, 1984, p. 45)

A wisdom text, titled by scholars "The Ballad of Ancient Heroes," has survived via copies from Mesopotamia and Syria. In this text the vanity of human life is stressed because it does not endure forever. The text refers to previous kings, in particular to those famous for the lengths of their reign and for the feats they have accomplished. The end of the document differs according to the sources, but the essential point is to stress once more the futility of earthly existence: it is the very rule of human existence to prefer joy to silence, light rather than death.

> The life of the human race has not been made to endure forever; . . . some men have been swept away: Where is Alulu, the king who ruled for 36,000 years? Where is Etana, the king who ascended to heaven? Where is Gilgamesh, who tried to find life, like Ziusudra? (Alster, 1990, p. 23)

The myth of Atrahasis in Assyrian literature has received due attention, as can be seen from the bibliography on the subject. An essential theme is the meaning of the first line, "When the gods were men," which the Neo-Assyrian editor has interpreted as "When the gods were like men," precisely as certain modern translators have attempted to explain, avoiding the historical religious problem caused by the Babylonian writer. Another theme concerns the name of the god who was killed and with whose blood humankind was created, made from clay and the blood of "We, the god who has intelligence," which allows humans to have *etemmu* (life spirit). The reason for the flood is explained by Giovanni Pettinato and Wolfram von Soden as a "rebellion" like that of the Igigi, whereas others (including William L. Moran and A. D. Kilmer) interpret it literally as "uproar." Veronika Afanasieva has collated the various interpretations. Another theme is the new creation after the Flood, which foresees the existence of illnesses, intended to prevent the overpopulation of the earth.

SEE ALSO Flood, The; Noah.

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Translated from Italian by Paul Ellis

ʿAṬṬĀR, FARĪD AL-DĪN (c. 1158–1229 CE) was the most important Ṣūfī poet of the twelfth century, the central figure in the famous trio of Persian Ṣūfī poets beginning with Sanāʾī (d. 1131) and culminating in Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273).

LIFE AND WORKS. Almost nothing of ʿAṭṭār's life is known except that he was a druggist (*ʿaṭṭār* means "perfumer") by profession and worked in a pharmacy in a local bazaar in Nīshāpūr, and that he died in 1221 or 1229 during a massacre when the Mongols attacked the city. He lived most of his life in Nīshāpūr, which was the administrative capital of Khurāsān in northern Iran and one of the most important intellectual centers in the Islamic world, to which students from all over the Middle East and India flocked to study. One of the few personal details we may gather from his own works is that ʿAṭṭār was far more involved in frequenting the company of local ascetics and Ṣūfīs than in keeping the society of his peers in the medical profession and the marketplace. "From early childhood, seemingly without cause, I was drawn to this particular group [the Ṣūfīs]," he confesses, "and my heart was tossed in waves of affection for them and their books were a constant source of delight for me" (ʿAṭṭār, 1993, p. 8).

More a passionate Ṣūfī poet than a dry theorist of mysticism, ʿAṭṭār composed one prose work and six important works of poetry. His major prose work (in Persian) was the monumental compendium of biographies of the famous Ṣūfīs, *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ* (Memoirs of the Saints). His most famous epic poem is the *Conference of the Birds (Manṭiq al-ṭayr),* modeled on the *Treatise on the Birds,* which was composed half a century earlier by another Ṣūfī master, Aḥmad Ghazālī (d. 1126), founder of the "school of love" in Sufism. The poem describes seven valleys representing stages on the Ṣūfī path—Search, Love, Gnosis, Trust in God, Unity, Bewilderment, and Annihilation—which the birds traverse, recognizing at last that they themselves are the Sīmurgh, the deity or divine phoenix they have been seeking. The epic has been adapted to musical and theatrical compositions in the West several times, and its stories are often illustrated in Persian miniature painting. ʿAṭṭār's *Book of Adversity (Muṣībat-nāma)* recounts the Ṣūfī path in other terms, following the voyage of a single pilgrim's tormented soul through the mineral, vegetable, animal, human, and angelic realms. Asking questions along the way, he appeals in turn to forty different cosmic or mythical beings for help, until at last he is directed to the Prophet Muḥammad, who gives him the answers he needs to set him on the right road. ʿAṭṭār's emotional expressions of longing for God in this book are very appealing. ʿAṭṭār's *Divine Book (Ilāhī-nāma)* relates story of a king who asks his six sons what they most desire. They all ask for worldly things, and the king exposes their vanity in a series of anecdotes. The *Book of Mysteries* (*Asrār-nāma*) is another important poem of ʿAṭṭār's; it concerns twelve of the mystical principles of Sufism, and deeply affected later authors of Ṣūfī epics such as Rūmī and Shabistarī (d. 1320).The *Book of Selections (Mukhtār-nāma)* is a collection of more than 2,000 quatrains *(rubāʿī)* arranged in fifty chapters according to various mystical themes, and his *Collected Poems (Dīwān)* contains some 10,000 couplets, which are notable for their depiction of visionary landscapes and heartrending evocations of the agonies and ecstasies of the *via mystica.* The *Book of Khusraw (Khusraw-nāma),* the story of a romance between a Byzantine princess and a Persian prince, with almost no mystical content, has been attributed to ʿAṭṭār, but Muhammad Riḍā Shafāʿī-Kadkanī has rejected the attribution on convincing stylistic, linguistic, and historical grounds (Shafāʿī-Kadkanī, 1996, pp. xxxiv–lix).

ʿAṭṭār's works had such an impact on both the Ṣūfī community and the literate public at large that his fame soared soon after his death. He was so widely imitated that today there are some twenty-three works once attributed to ʿAṭṭār that have been proven by modern scholars to be spurious or of doubtful authenticity (De Blois, 1994). If we take merely the works that are unquestionably his, however, comprising a good 45,000 lines, ʿAṭṭār's achievement is still monumental.

MYSTICAL THEOLOGY AND SUFISM. The most important aspect of ʿAṭṭār's thought lies in the fact that all of his works are devoted to Sufism *(taṣawwuf).* Concerning his spiritual master(s) in Sufism, we know for certain that ʿAṭṭār was acquainted with a certain Imām Aḥmad Khwārī, a disciple of Majd al-Dīn Baghdādī (d. 1219), who was one of the authorized deputies of Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 1221), founder of the Kubrawiyya Ṣūfī Order—ʿAṭṭār himself informs us of this relationship (Shafāʿī-Kadkanī, 1999, p. 71; Shafāʿī-Kadkanī, 1996, p. 26, n. 1). Almost two centuries after ʿAṭṭār's death, Ibn Bazzāz (d. 1391) in his *Ṣafwat al-safāʾ* (*The Purity of Spiritual Serenity*). cites a certain Ṣūfī poet named Shakar as his teacher, as well as someone else called Majd al-Din Kākulī (Ibn Bazzāz, 1997, p. 771) who had been his master in "experiential and speculative mysticism" (p. 51). Arguments have been advanced (by Shafāʿī-Kadkanī, 1999, pp. 72–79) on the basis of a single statement by the fifteenth-century biographer Faṣīḥ-i Khwāfī (in *Mujmal-i Faṣīhī,* completed in 1441–1442) that ʿAṭṭār's master in Sufism was in fact Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Nughundarī al-Tūsī, the lineage of whose initiatic chain *(silsila)* Khwāfī traced directly, by five links, to the great Ṣūfī mystic Abū Saʿīd ibn Abīʾl-Khayr (d. 1049), the founder of institutional Sufism and the first to codify and record the rules for Ṣūfī novices. However, both Ibn Bazzāz's and Khwāfī's claims are completely speculative, based on sources composed centuries after the poet's death that are uncorroborated by any earlier authors. Hence, all that can be stated with any certitude about his Ṣūfī master and order is that ʿAṭṭār was *probably* affiliated to the Kubrawiyya.

ʿAṭṭār is distinguished in the Persian-speaking Muslim world for his provocative and radical theology of love, and many of the verses of his epics and sonnets are cited independently of their poems as maxims in their own right. These pithy, paradoxical statements are known by heart throughout Iran, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, and wherever Persian is spoken or understood, such as in the lands of the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent. "Anyone who firmly sets his step down in love rises beyond the realm of faith and infidelity," he writes. In fact, the literary edifice of the symbolic poetics of mediæval Persian Sufism was to a large degree established on the foundations of ʿAṭṭār's bold "religion-of-love" poetry, which deliberately celebrates the so-called infidel wild-man's *(qalandar)* "religion of love" as the poet's personal ethic.

ʿAṭṭār's lyrical poetry, and much of his epic poetry, is pervaded by and subject to the influence of the strange, paradoxical utterances of Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī (d. 875) and the ecstatic sayings of Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (d. 922). At the same time, ʿAṭṭār's love of the Prophet Muḥammad, expressed in glowing terms, penetrates and animates his verse; in many long sections of the preambles and epilogues of his poems he praised the Prophet with symbols such as light, the rose, the beloved, and the soul to demonstrate Muḥammad's central position in Islam. Although his passionate commitment to Islam reflects his own intense piety, faith, and reverence in the classical Islamic ideals, ʿAṭṭār's lyrical Ṣūfī vision is the virtual antithesis of contemporary Islamic religious fundamentalist thought, his lyrics evoking "a powerful statement of the role of esotericism in making possible the crossing of the frontiers of religious universes" (Nasr, 1987, p. 107).

ʿAṭṭār often expressed perplexity about the ultimate questions of existence. He was liberal and preached tolerance of other religions. His complaints about social injustice, poverty, tyranny, and the pain of disease and death, usually voiced in his verse by the so-called *ʿuqalāyi majānīn,* the "wise crazy men," have a philosophical tone. His high-minded exaltation of the suffering of Love-Passion *(dard)* as not only the essence of man, but the essence of God-consciousness, is typified in innumerable classic poetic aphorisms, such as "To the religious his religion; to the heretic his heresy. For ʿAṭṭār's heart but an ounce of your pain suffices." Such poetic dicta sketch the contours of the symbolic erotics of a Ṣūfī piety beyond conventionally designated religious boundaries, whether these are theologically labelled as being in a "devout Muslim form" or a "heretical Christian form," both of which are veils, says ʿAṭṭār, before the *visio dei.*

SEE ALSO Poetry, article on Islamic Poetry; Rūmī, Jalāl al-Dīn.

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The basic, monumental work on ʿAṭṭār's mysticism is Helmut Ritter's *Das Meer der Seele: Mensch, Welt, und Gott in den Geschichten des Farīduddīn ʿAṭṭār* (Leiden, 1955), translated into English by John O'Kane as *The Ocean of the Soul: Men, the World, and God in the Stories of Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār* (Leiden, Netherlands, 2003), which has a 125-page analytic index compiled by Bernd Radtke and updated to include contemporary studies on the poet; the German original is also translated into Persian by ʾAbbās Zaryāb-khūʾī, Mihr-āfāq Bāybardī, as *Daryā-yi jān: sayrī dar ārāʾyi u aḥwāl-i Shaykh Farid al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār Nīshābūrī* (Tehran, 1998). Ritter analyzes his main poems, tracing every idea to its origin and showing its development in Islam. Ritter's article "Farīd al-Din Muhammad ibn Ibrāhīm" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden, 1960), contains detailed biographical data, listing the poet's works, their editions, and important studies. An excellent overview of his life, works, and thought is also given in B. Reinert's article "ʿAṭṭār, Sheikh Farīd al-Dīn" in *Encyclopædia Iranica* (London and New York, 1985).

Badīʿ al-Zamān Furūzānfar placed ʿAṭṭār research on a more solid basis, superseding earlier biographical expositions with his *Sharḥ-i aḥvāl va naqd va taḥlīl-i athar-i Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār* (Tehran, 1961), which includes an analysis of the three main poems. Muḥammad Riḍā Shafāʾī-Kadkanī's biographical study of the poet in his *Zabūr-i pārsī: nigāhī bi zindagī u ghazalhā-yi ʿAṭṭār* (Tehran, 1999) has somewhat revised and updated Furūzānfar's study by offering fresh insight into the local history of his biography, framing it within the twelfth-century Persian Ṣūfī tradition in Nīshāpūr, recalculating ʿAṭṭār's birth and death dates, and reappraising his authentic works, thus significantly changing our understanding of the poet's life, works, spiritual milieu, and literary background.

The following works in Persian also provide important biographical information on the poet: *Mukhtār-nāma: majmu ʿa-yi rubāʿiyyāt athar-i Farīd al-Dīn-i ʿAṭṭār-i Nayshābūrī,* edited with an introduction by M.R. Shaf āʾī-Kadkānī (Tehran, 1996), and Ibn Bazzāz, *Ṣafwat al-ṣafāʾ,* edited by Ghulām Riḍā Ṭabāṭabāʾī Majd, (Tehran, 1997).

F. De Blois's lengthy study of the poet in his *Persian Literature: A Bio-bibliographical Survey,* vol. 5, part 2: *Poetry ca. A.D. 1100–1225* (London, 1994) contains the most recent survey and study of the manuscripts of all his major works, along with original insights into their authenticity and valuable information on his life.The critical heritage of the ʿAṭṭār industry over the past century in Iran now has its own bibliography in ʿAlī Mīr Anṣārī's *Kitābshināsī-yi Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār Nayshābūri,* (Tehran, 1995), including most of the key scholarly articles and studies on his life and thought and editions of ʿAṭṭār's works.

Studies on specific aspects of ʿAṭṭār's life and thought include ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Zarrīnkūb, *Sudā-yi bāl-i sīmurgh: darbāra-yi zindagī va andīsha-yi ʿAṭṭār* (Tehran, 1999), which places ʿAṭṭār's life and works in the context of earlier Persian literature. Taqī Pūrnāmdāriyān's *Dīdār bā sīmurgh: haft maqāla* *dar ʿirfān u shi ʿr u andīshahā-yi ʿAṭṭār* (Tehran, 1995) is a ground-breaking study of ʿAṭṭār's aesthetics, Ṣūfī symbolism, and his relationship to Peripateric philosophy. Riḍā Ashrafzāda's *Tajallī-yi ramz u rawāyat dar shirʿr-i ʿAṭṭār Nayshābūrī* (Tehran, 1994) provides an original survey of ʿAṭṭār's narrative techniques, characters, and symbolism, and Pūrān Shajīʿī''s *Jahānbīnī-yi ʿAṭṭār* (Tehran, 1994) discusses most of the key themes (of theology, mysticism, ethics, erotic theory) of his world view. Of the good literary studies, mention should be made of *ʿAṭṭār: Concordance and Lexical Repertories of 1000 Lines,* complied by Daniela Meneghini Correale and Valentina Zanoll (Venice, 1993), and S. H. Nasr, "The Flight of Birds to Union: Meditations upon ʿAṭṭār's *Mantiq al-tayr,*" in S. H. Nasr, *Islamic Art and Spirituality* (Suffolk, U.K., 1987). Leonard Lewisohn and Christopher Shackle (eds.), *The Art of Spiritual Flight: Farid al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār and the Persian Sufi Tradition* (London, 2005) presents the most recent survey of ʿAṭṭār's thought and poetry in light of contemporary scholarship.

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ATTENTION.

The subject of attention has until recently been largely confined to the domain of experimental psychology. Researchers have sought to measure and explain such things as the selective capacity of attention, its range and span, the number of objects that it can appreciate simultaneously, and the muscle contractions associated with attentional efforts. Such work has been carried on amid considerable disagreement over basic definitions of the phenomenon of attention itself.

ATTENTION AS A RELIGIOUS PHENOMENON.

In more recent years, however, the subject of attention has begun to generate significant interest among students of religion. Increasing study of the various spiritual disciplines in human religious traditions has indicated that attention plays a central role therein. Specifically, attention appears to be a *sine qua non* and common denominator of many of the forms of mental prayer and meditation found in the traditions. To further suggest that this is so and to discuss the nature and significance of contemplative attention are the central tasks of this article.

The investigation of the religious phenomenon of attention has been led by a small number of Western psychologists uncomfortable with the assumptions about human nature reigning in their field. Many have been influenced by Asian wisdom traditions and their promise of extraordinary psychological development, culminating in "liberation," "enlightenment," or "self-realization." If these traditions contained even a grain of truth, these explorers seemed to reason, then Western psychology's estimation of human potential was absurdly low. That Asian wisdom offered well-defined procedures through which its claims might be explored and validated greatly increased the interest shown them by these empirically trained psychologists. Broadly speaking, this was the beginning of a new investigation into the psychotransformative factors of humman contemplative life, an investigation that, although initially rooted in Asian traditions, has begun to extend into Western religious traditions as well. The widely applicable yet tradition-neutral concept of attention has been central to this work.

ATTENTION IN THE TRADITIONS.

Practices that strengthen the capacity for concentration or attention play a role in most great religious traditions. The importance of developing attention is most readily seen in the great traditions that arose in India, namely Hinduism and Buddhism. From the Upanisadic seers down to the present day there is in India an unbroken tradition of humanity's attempt to yoke itself (body and mind) to ultimate reality. Yoga takes on many forms, but its essential psychological form is the practice of one-pointed attention or concentration (*citta-ekāgratā*). Whether by fixing the attention on a mantra or on the flow of the breath or on some other object, the attempt to quiet the automatized activities of the mind through concentrated attention is the first step and continuing theme of Hindu psychospiritual yoga.

It could hardly be otherwise for the traditions that stemmed from Gautama Buddha. The *samatha* and *vipassanā* forms of meditation in the Theravada tradition require as their root and anchor an ever increasing ability to attend, to hold one's attention fast without relinquishing it to the various psychological forces that tend to scatter it. *Samatha* is the cultivation of one-pointed attention and is the common starting point for all major types of Buddhist meditation. *Vipassanā* meditation consists in the deployment of the concentrated attention developed in *samatha* from point to point within the organism, with the intent of understanding certain Buddhist doctrines at subtle experiential levels. Though the attention sought in *vipassanā* meditation is not one-pointed in the sense of being fixed on a single object, it remains a highly concentrated and directed form of attention, the very antithesis of dispersed mental wandering. Likewise, the Tibetan practice of visualization, which is attempted only after preparatory training in *samatha,* is a way of developing the mind's ability to remain steadfastly attentive by requiring it to construct elaborate sacred images upon the screen of consciousness. The two practices central to the Zen tradition, *kōan* and *zazen,* have as their common denominator the practice of sustained, vigilant attention. Moreover, the major contemplative schools of Buddhism stress the virtue of mindfulness, the quality of being present, aware, and, in a word, attentive.

By the fourth century BCE the ancient Daoists had already developed methods of meditation and trance induction. They were called *zuowang* and *zuochan* and were fundamentally a training in concentration by the fixation of attention on the breath. How much the origin of these practices owed to Indian influence is not known.

When one turns to the three great Western monotheisms, the phenomenon of attention is not so starkly visible. Nevertheless it is there. Broadly speaking, spiritual disciplines in the monotheisms are not so fully developed as their cousins in the East. Still, these monotheisms contain profound mystical dimensions, and it is there one must look for the practice of attention.

The actual practices and methods of Jewish mystical prayer are difficult to determine. Qabbalist scholar Aryeh Kaplan states that "some three thousand Kabbalah texts exist in print, and . . . the vast majority deal with theoretical Kabbalah" (*Meditation and Kabbalah,* New York, 1982, p. 1). There are also monumental problems of translation and interpretation. References to method can, however, be found intermittently in the ancient Talmudic texts, quite frequently in the works of Avraham Abulafia and some of his contemporaries, in the Safad qabbalists of the sixteenth century, in the works of Isaac Luria, and in the Hasidic texts. The key terms are *hitbodedut* ("meditation"), *hitboded* ("to meditate"), and *kavvanah* ("concentration, attention, intention"). The first two come from a root meaning "to be secluded." They often point beyond mere physical seclusion, however, to the seclusion beyond the discursive activity of the mind attained through concentration. *Kavvanah* likewise refers to a concentrative or attentive form of prayer capable of inducing an altered, "higher" state of consciousness. For the Jewish mystical tradition as a whole, mantralike repetitions of sacred liturgical words seem to be the central vehicles for the training of attention, but references to concentration upon mental images, letter designs, and color and light visualizations can also be found in the texts. Concentrative exercises are also linked with bodily movements and the movement of the breath. Some of the exercises prescribed by the thirteenth-century Abulafia involve long, complex series of instructions and seem to require massive attentive capability to perform without distraction. In this they seem akin to the Tibetan Buddhist practice of elaborate visualization.

In the Christian world is found the Eastern Orthodox "Prayer of the Heart," or "Jesus Prayer," a Christian *mantra* that contemplatives repeat in order to recollect themselves and to unify attention, thereby opening their hearts to the divine presence. The bulk of contemplative texts in the Roman Catholic tradition, like those of the Judaic tradition, are concerned with theory and doctrine rather than specifics of method. In the early Middle Ages one can find references to contemplation as a seeking for God in stillness, repose, and tranquillity, but the specificity ends here. The late Middle Ages witnessed among contemplatives the growth of a prayer form called *lectio divina,* or meditative reading of the scriptures. Cistercian monk Thomas Keating describes *lectio divina* as the cultivation of a "capacity to listen at ever deepening levels of inward attention" (*America,* April 8, 1978). Ladders of progress in mystical prayer abound at this time, but one is hard pressed to find any advice on how to climb them. Practical mysticism comes more fully into bloom with the arrival of Teresa of Ávila and John of the Cross in the sixteenth century. In the opinion of Jacques Maritain, the latter remains the prototypical practitioner of the Roman Catholic mystical way, *the* mystical doctor and psychologist of the contemplative life *par excellence.* And John's way was the way of inner silence, of nondiscursive prayer, of states of mind brought about by what he called "peaceful loving attention unto God." Lately an attempt has been made to popularize this kind of contemplative attention in the "centering prayer," another *mantra*-like technique, for focusing attention and quieting the mind, similar to the Jesus Prayer of Eastern Orthodoxy.

In the world of Islam there are the contemplative practices of both silent and vocal *dhikr,* again a *mantra*-like repetition, usually of the names of God, aimed at harnessing the will and its power of attention. Javad Nurbakhsh, spiritual head of the Nimatullahi order of Sufis, writes that *dhikr* (Pers., *zikr*) "is the total and uncompromised attention to God" (*In the Paradise of the Sufis,* New York, 1979, p. 32). The purpose of *zikr,* the remembrance of the divine name, "is to create a 'unity of attention'. Until this is attained the disciple will be attentive to the various attachments of the self. Therefore, the disciple should try to incline his or her scattered attention to the all encompassing point of Unity" (ibid., p. 20). A more generic term for the kind of meditative attention achieved in *dhikr* is *murāqabah. Murāqabah* is described as a "concentration of one's attention upon God," as the "presence of heart with God," "the involvement of the (human) spirit (*rūḥ*) in God's breath" and the "concentrating of one's whole being upon God" (ibid., p. 72). *Murāqabah,* the Ṣūfīs say, is not only a human activity but a divine one as well: it is because God is constantly attentive to humans that they should be constantly attentive to him.

Two men who have drawn on the traditions listed above and whose eclectic writings have had a significant impact among those interested in self-transformation are G. I. Gurdjieff and Jiddu Krishnamurti. Crucial to the Gurdjieff work is the exercise of "self-remembering," fundamentally an attempt to develop sustained, undistracted, observational attention both outwardly toward experience and, at the same time, inwardly toward the experiencer. This particular aspect of the Gurdjieff work is very similar to the "bare attention" exercises of Buddhist *vipassanā* meditation. Krishnamurti teaches that the practice fundamental to psychological transformation is "choiceless awareness." It is, again, the cultivation of sustained, observational, nonreactive attention to inner and outer experience. In isolation from the rest of Krishnamurti's teaching, this form of attention does not differ significantly from either that of the Gurdjieff work or Buddhist "bare attention."

The preceding survey is not to be understood as implying that the training of attention is the same in every tradition or that it occupies the same relative importance within the various traditions. Quite to the contrary, attention is in these traditions developed in a variety of ways, to varying degrees of depth, within strikingly different contexts, and to apparently different ends. Given the diverse group of contemplative phenomena to which the word *attention* applies, the central task of this article, a general and synthetic account of the nature and significance of contemplative attention, is fraught with difficulty. Needless to say, the following analysis can only be expected to apply "more or less" to the various specific traditions, yet it does claim to indicate the general outlines of something common to them all. Moreover, such a synthetic account is not in vain, for despite the differentiating factors surrounding the training of attention in the various traditions, there seem to be some unitive factors as well. Summarily, the traditions mentioned above conform in the understanding that the human mind in its ordinary state is somehow fragmented, unfree, and given to dispersion. Within each tradition there has evolved at least some kind of practice leading to mental stability, unity, control, and integration. Furthermore, in each tradition is discovered the assumption that such psychological transformation can make reality and truth experientially more accessible.

The Nature of Contemplative Attention. Attention is, of course, a concept that occurs outside the domain of religious praxis. It is part of the vocabulary of everyday mental functioning, and even there it seems to be overworked, a single, blunt term for a wide variety of mental states. The temptation to think of it as one thing should be resisted. It is better to think of it as a spectrum that reaches from the virtual absence of attention, as in sheer daydreaming and mechanically determined mental flux, to acutely active alertness. Though contemplative practices themselves admit of a wide variation, the quality of attention that they require and at which they aim resides at the upper end of the spectrum. The varieties of contemplative attention, in other words, resemble each other more than any one of them resembles that uneven and intermittent phenomenon of ordinary mental functioning that is usually called attention. Some further notion of the relative difference between ordinary kinds of attention and the kinds of attention at which contemplative practices aim must be developed to avoid confusion.

Ordinary attention may be described as discursive, intermittent, and passive. It moves incessantly from object to object, its intensity "flickers," often succumbing to mental wandering, and it is reactive, or "passive," in relation to some sequence of external objects or to the autonomous stream of consciousness. Take, for example, the act in which the reader is currently engaged. The reader is following this exposition closely, attempting to understand it. Surely this is attention rather than inattention. The contemplative would agree. But he would suggest that this attention is discursive, and largely passive. In this particular case, these words are doing the discursing for the reader's attention, leading it from place to place. Moreover, it is highly likely that, while reading, the reader's attention will have wandered a surprising number of times, pulled down one associational path or another by autonomous psychic fluctuations. Even if the reader now turned away from this article and turned inward to work out a chain of reasoning, it is likely to be done in a state of predominantly passive attention, for such creative activity largely involves a sorting out of what the automatic activity of the psyche presents. Only in the most disciplined and highly concentrated feats of thought is passivity reduced to a minimum and the gap between ordinary and contemplative attention closed. However, the intellective modes just mentioned are hardly characteristic of the run of ordinary mentation. There, the discursive, intermittent, and passive qualities of attention are fully evident. In ordinary mentation, attention is not a quality of mind that one brings to experience, but something that occurs, rather haphazardly, as one's organism becomes momentarily more interested in some inner or outer sequence of phenomena. Ordinary attention comes and goes without one's consent; it is not something one *does,* but something that *happens* to an individual. For most people most of the time, "attention" is stimulated, conditioned, and led by mobilizations of energy along the habit-pathways within an individual so that when it confronts its object it is always faced, as it were, by a *fait accompli.*

The attention at which contemplative exercises aim, then, may be distinguished not only from sheer inattention but from ordinary discursive attention as well. Contemplative attention is relatively nondiscursive, sustained, and uncapitulatingly alert. In the majority of contemplative exercises, an effort is made to prevent attention from being diffused centrifugally; rather, the effort is to consolidate it centripetally and to maintain its sharpness. This article shall use the word *concentrative* to name attentional efforts having these characteristics. Contemplative exercises thus aim at concentrative attention, but also at something that has no counterpart in ordinary mentation and can be properly understood only in reference to the attempt to establish concentrative attention. It may be called nonreactive or receptive attention. Concentration and nonreactivity (or receptivity) are the prime distinguishing characteristics of contemplative attention, and both must be kept in mind in order to understand the psychospiritual significance of attentional training.

Some literature on the psychology of meditation has used the terms *concentrative* and *receptive* to name exclusive categories of attentional practice. This can be misleading, however, as contemplative practices seem universally to share a "concentrative" element. Rather, the true categorical distinction is between focalized and defocalized attention. For example, the classical Yoga system of Patañjali requires an extreme focalization of attention on a single point or object for the purposes of absorption of enstasis. In contrast, Soto Zen's *shikantaza* prescribes a *de*focalized attention to the entire screen of consciousness with the proviso that one attend to what arises without reaction or discursive elaboration. But "focalized" and "defocalized" do not translate into "concentrative" and "receptive" for the simple reason that defocalization does not imply a lack of those qualities I have named "concentrative." Contemplative attention may be defocalized, open to the flow of mental contents, but it does not think about them or get carried away by them. It is, in fact, a "nonthinking," that is, themeless and nondiscursive attention, even though defocalized, and the directive for attention to remain acutely alert and sustained applies fully. Without these concentrative qualities, the description of defocalized meditation would be a description of daydreaming. Furthermore, even the purest form of defocalized meditation, Soto Zen's *shikantaza,* is, according to some Zen teachers, too difficult for beginners. To practice it fruitfully requires that a student already have a well-developed attentive ability derived from preliminary training in one-pointed attention to the movement of breath, a *koan,* or some other object. In other words, even the purest form of so-called receptive meditation has roots in focalized, concentrative efforts.

Although focalization and defocalization refer to actual distinctions in the deployment of attention found in contemplative exercises, this distinction is of secondary importance. Of primary importance is the discovery that contemplative practices universally require the aspirant to develop an attentional capacity that, unlike his or her ordinary attention, is relatively nondiscursive, uncapitulatingly alert, and sustained. It is in this sense that contemplative efforts from qabbalistic repetitions of the divine name to Theravada Buddhists' bare attention have a common concentrative element.

Of equal importance is the common receptive or nonreactive element. It stems from unavoidable failure in the attempt to maintain concentrative attention. No one attains attentive equipoise for the mere wishing, and the problem arises regarding what is to be done when distractions occur. Concentrative work is constantly interrupted by autonomous mobilizations of psychic energies that dissolve the unity of attention and carry it away on a stream of associations. What then? There are only two choices: to react with frustration and judgment (in which case one has unwittingly slipped into the very egocentric perspective from which contemplative exercises are trying to extricate one) or simply to observe the distraction nonreactively, to note it, accept it, and then gently bring the mind back to its concentrated mode. Contemplative traditions clearly tend to encourage the latter choice. The theistic constant of "acceptance of God's will," the Christian doctrine of *apatheia* ("indifference"), Buddhist *upekkha* ("equanimity"), Hindu *karmayoga* (acting without seeking the fruits of action), and Daoist *weiwuwei* ("the inaction of action")—all of these, when brought to bear on contemplative exercises, encourage the attitude of nonreactivity. To be nonreactively attentive is, for theistic contemplatives, to bring no new sinful self-willfulness to the practice of contemplation; for nontheistic contemplatives it is to bring no new *karman* to a process meant to dissolve it.

Given the fact that the deep-seated habit patterns of the psyche will repeatedly overpower an inchoate concentrative ability and assuming that the practitioner will repeatedly attempt to establish active, concentrative attention, his constant companions in all of this are impartiality, equanimity, and nonreactive acceptance. When concentrated attention falters, one is to be a nonreactive witness to what has arisen. Whatever emerges in the mind is observed and allowed to pass without being elaborated upon or reacted to. Images, thoughts, and feelings arise because of the automatism of deeply embedded psychological structures, but their lure is not taken. They are not allowed to steal attention and send it floundering down a stream of associations. One establishes and reestablishes concentrated attention, but when it is interrupted one learns to disidentify with the contents of consciousness, to maintain a choiceless, nonreactive awareness, and to quiet the ego with its preferences.

Should this description appear distinctly Asian and raise doubts regarding its relevance to contemplative prayer practices in the monotheisms, consider, by way of balance, this passage from *Your Word Is Fire* (1977), a work on Hasidic prayer:

> Any teaching that places such great emphasis on total concentration in prayer must . . . deal with the question of distraction. What is a person to do when alien thoughts enter his mind and lead him away from prayer? . . . The Baal Shem Tov . . . spoke against the attempts of his contemporaries to . . . do battle with distracting thoughts. . . . He taught that each distraction may become a ladder by which one may ascend to a new level of devotion. . . . God [is] present in that moment of distraction! And only he who truly knows that God is present in *all* things, including those thoughts he seeks to flee, can be a leader of prayer. (pp. 15–16)

Concentration and nonreactivity are thus to be conceived as different but complementary modes of attention, which, it may be conjectured, occur in different and constantly changing ratios across the wide variety of contemplative, attentional practices. In tandem they allow the practitioner progressively to achieve disidentification from the conditioned mental flow and thus to observe that flow objectively and impartially. The dynamics and import of this process can now be discussed.

SIGNIFICANCE OF ATTENTIONAL EXERCISES. The datum against which the significance of attentional exercises is to be understood is the relatively ceaseless and autonomous profusion of mental contents in ordinary conscious experience. Ordinary states of human consciousness may be said to be relatively noisy and dispersed, and the religious traditions that contain attentional exercises do so based on a belief that even ordinary mental turbulence is antithetical to the quiet clarity, recollection, and self-possession needed to understand and appreciate reality in subtler than usual ways. Most spiritual traditions thus contain some notion or other of the false consciousness, or false self, which when overcome, rendered transparent, or otherwise transcended, allows the self-manifesting quality of truth to disclose itself. It may be said, therefore, that the central significance of attentional exercises is to release the human being from bondage to the machinations of the false self. And just as one might attempt to explain an eraser by referring first to what it erases, an explanation of the significance of contemplative attention is best begun with a notion of the false self that it combats.

Human beings experience a persistent need to preserve and expand their being, and thus every person, from birth, undertakes what may be called a self-project. Everyone longs to be special, to be a center of importance and value, to possess life's fullness even unto immortality, and everyone spends energy in pursuit of those things that, according to his or her level of understanding, will fulfill these longings. According to many contemplative traditions, such longing is grounded in a profound truth: ultimately, one shares in the undying life of the ultimately real. Unfortunately, however, the ego transcendence that contemplative traditions prescribe is usually rejected in favor of endless vain attempts to expand the ego in the external world through possession, projection, and gratification.

From the beginning, then, the self-project determines an indiviudual's appropriation of experience in two ways. One is through desire for and attachment to any loci of thought or experience that affirm the self and enhance its will to be. The other is by defense against or aversion for those loci of thought or experience that negate the self and impress upon it its contingency and dispensability. The lineaments of personality are built up in these ways. The psyche becomes a multidimensional webwork of likes and dislikes, desires and aversions, both gross and subtle, that manifest personality in the same way that black and white dots can create the illusion of a face. Time and repetition harden parts of the webwork into iron necessity. With increasing automatism, experiences both internal and external are evaluated according to whether they affirm or negate the self-project. The self-project gradually unfolds into an egocentric system in which beliefs, feelings, perceptions, experiences, and behaviors are automatically viewed and assessed around one's sense of value and worth as an individual. By the time a human being is old enough even to begin to take an objective view of the self-project, he or she is hopelessly enmeshed in it. Predispositions have become so implicit and unconscious that the ego has little chance of recognizing the extent to which its psychological life is already determined. One automatically limits, selects, organizes, and interprets experience according to the demands of one's self-project. The chronic quality of this self-centeredness and the distance it creates between the person and reality is the basis for the common psychological wisdom behind, for example, the Christian's insistence of the "originality" of sin, the Buddhist's notion of the beginninglessness of ignorance, or the Muslim's belief about the recalcitrant quality of *ghaflah,* the forgetfulness of God.

The false self can thus be understood as a metaphor for psychic automatism, that is, automatic, egocentric, habit-determined patterns of thought, emotive reaction and assessment, and imaginary activity that filter and distort reality and skew behavior, according to the needs of the self-project. Having hardened into relatively permanent psychological "structures," these predispositional patterns may be conceived as constantly feeding on available psychic energy, dissolving it into the endless associational flotsam in the stream of consciousness. Energy that would otherwise be manifested as the delight of open and present-centered awareness is inexorably drawn to these structures and there disintegrates into the image-films and commentaries—the "noise"—that suffuse ordinary consciousness. As psychologist Charles Tart sees it, "there is a fluctuating but generally large drain on awareness energy at all times by the multitude of automated, interacting structures whose operation constitutes personality" (*States of Consciousness,* New York, 1975, p. 23). The psychic machinery runs by itself, ever exacerbating one's slavery to conditioning, and, moment to moment, steals attention from the real present and blows it like fluffy spores of milkweed down the lanes of the past or up the streets of the future. The imaginative-emotive distraction is so constant that it becomes accepted as normal. It is seen not as the drain of energy and loss of being it actually is but as the natural state of affairs.

What allows the self-aggravating automatism of the false self to function unchecked is, in a word, *identification.* Every desire, every feeling, every thought, as Gurdjieff once put it, says "I." As long as one is unconsciously and automatically identifying with the changing contents of consciousness, one never suspects that one's true nature remains hidden. If spiritual freedom means anything, however, it means first and foremost a freedom from such automatic identification. Contemplative traditions affirm in one metaphor or another that one's true identity lies not in the changing contents of consciousness but in a deeper layer of the self, mind, or soul. To reach this deeper layer one must slowly disentangle oneself from automatic identification with the contents of consciousness. That is, in order for the self to realize the *telos* adumbrated for it in the doctrines and images of the contemplative tradition to which it belongs, it is necessary to cut beneath psychological noise, to disidentify with it so as to understand it objectively rather than be entangled in it, and, ultimately, to dismantle the very habit-formed structures that ceaselessly produce it.

Once automatism and identification are understood to be the sustainers of the false self, one is in a position to understand the psychotransformative power of concentrated, nonreactive attention. For whether a person is a Muslim repeating the names of God or a Theravada Buddhist practicing bare attention, he or she is, to one degree or another, cultivating the disidentification that leads to the deautomatization of the false self.

The mere act of trying to hold the mind to a single point, an act with which higher forms of meditation begin, teaches the beginner in a radically concrete and experiential way, that he or she has little or no control over the mental flow. All attentional training starts with this failure. This is the first great step in the work of objectifying the mental flow, that is, of seeing it not as something that "I" am doing but something that is simply happening. Without this realization no progress can be made, for one must first know one is in prison in order to work intelligently to escape. Thus, when the Christian is asked to concentrate his attention solely upon God, when the Muslim attempts to link his attention solely to the names of God, when the Tibetan Buddhist attempts with massive attention to construct elaborate images of Tara on the screen of consciousness, the first lesson these practitioners learn is that they *cannot* do it. Ordinary mentation is freshly understood to be foreign to the deepest reality of one's being. The more regularly this is seen the clearer it becomes that one is *not* one's thoughts, and the more profoundly one understands the distinction between consciousness as such and the contents of consciousness. Objectification of the contents of consciousness and disidentification with them are natural outcomes.

At the same time that a contemplative learns that mental flow is not the same as identity, what one deeply is, he or she understands that neither is it the ultimate reality he or she seeks to know. The theocentric contemplative is reminded that God cannot be captured within a construct of consciousness and that, as John of the Cross says, God does not fit into an occupied heart. The Zen Buddhist understands that the *kōan* whose solution may reveal the Buddha nature cannot be solved by an intellectual construct. Not surprisingly, the metaphor of self-emptying spans contemplative traditions. The lesson everywhere reveals that mental flow can neither be identical with nor contain the reality-source one seeks. The aspirant is thus doubly disposed to disvalue the incessant discursion of the mind, to disidentify and detach himself or herself from it. Increasing objectification of mental contents enhances human ability to assess motivation and impulses *before* they are translated into action, thus permitting increasing freedom from impulsive behavior. One can imagine the pace of life slackening and one's behavior becoming smoother and more deliberate. Attention becomes less a slave to external stimuli and more consolidated within.

As attentional training progresses and detachment from the automatized flow of mental contents is achieved, the coiled springs responsible for that very automatism begin to unwind. In other words, disidentification leads to deautomatization.

A single elaboration must suffice. The incessant discursion of the mind may be conceived as the result of the useless consumption of energy by the overlearned structures or patterns of the psyche. Associational thought-sequences that seem virtually unending are a common pattern of such consumption. An increasingly quiet and disidentified attention could catch associational sequences in their beginnings and thus forestall the automatic stimulation of still other sequences and some of the behavior that flows impulsively therefrom. The integrity of the automatized processes, however, depends upon reinforcement through repetition. Forestalling associational sequences and interrupting habitual behavior would weaken that integrity. Unwholesome impulses caught by attention would be deprived of a chance to bear fruit in action or associational elaboration. Attention—or presence, or mindfulness—may thus be conceived as depriving predispositional patterns of their diet.

Contemplative attentional exercises are, in other words, strategies of starvation. Every moment that available energy is consolidated in concentrative and nonreactive attention is a moment when automatized processes cannot replenish themselves. In the dynamic world of the psyche, there is no stasis: if automatisms do not grow more strongly solidified, they begin to weaken and dissolve. When deprived of the nutriment formerly afforded to them by distracted states of mind, the automatized processes of the mind begin to disintegrate. Contemplative attention practiced over a long period of time may dissolve and uproot even the most recalcitrant pockets of psychological automatism, allowing consciousness to recollect the ontic freedom and clarity that are its birthright.

Deautomatization, then, is a psychological, tradition-neutral term that describes an essential aspect of the process of spiritual liberation, the freeing of oneself from bondage to the false self. It names, furthermore, a gradual, long-term process of transformation, a process within which discrete mystical experiences reach fruition and without which they are destined to fade into ineffectual memories.

By upsetting normal functioning, attentional work is bound to evoke eruptions from the unconscious. Recognition of unconscious contents and insight into their meaning, without, however, fascinated fixation upon them, is a necessary step in the process. A part of attentional work, then, is like the therapeutic process in depth psychology: its purpose is to reclaim and reintegrate parts of the unconscious for the self. But attentional work is unlike depth-psychological work in another, crucial respect. For while the contemplative recognizes the contents of the unconscious as belonging to the self, he or she simultaneously sees that self (or is exhorted by tradition to see it) objectively, remaining cognizant of the fact that attachment to it or identification with it will continue to prevent truth from disclosing itself in its fullness.

Ideally, then, long coursing in attentional exercises increases the mind's ability to conserve and rechannel energy, to spend less of it on the useless imaginative-emotive elaboration of desire and anxiety characteristic of ordinary mentation. Ideas, emotions, and images continue to arise autonomously in the mind, but the attentive mind, the emptying mind, is less easily caught up in spasmodic reactions to them, less easily yanked into the past or flung into the future by them. Emotions and impressions begin to be experienced in their "purity"; they "leave no tracks," as the Zen saying goes. Energy formerly spent in emotive reactions, ego defense, fantasy, and fear now becomes the very delight of present-centeredness and a reservoir of compassion. As the psychic habit patterns of the former person are deautomatized, new patterns are formed in alignment with his or her strengthening intention-toward-awakening. Deautomatizing attention and reconstitutive *in*tention lead to a new reticulation of the predispositional structures of consciousness, to a new ecology of mind. By emptying the self of unconscious compulsions and reactive patterns built up over time by the self-project, the contemplative discovers a new life of receptivity, internal freedom, and clarity. Impartial observation of one's existential situation becomes increasingly acute. Intuition is awakened. Freed of the bonds of fear and desire, one begins to taste primordial, ontic freedom. Released into the present, one knows that intersection of time and eternity where reality is, where divinity dwells.

THE IMPORTANCE OF TRADITION. Having thus far focused on the nature and practice of contemplative attention, this article has deliberately ignored the myriad contexts within which it may be practiced. Here, then, is an attempt to adjust the balance by a few concluding remarks on the importance of spiritual tradition.

First, it should be clear that the function of contemplative work is largely destructive. The accoutrements of a spiritual tradition provide a protective and constructive framework within which destructive work can proceed. The more seriously the foundations of the false self are undermined by the practice of attention, the fiercer become the storms of protest from within. The "dying" that occurs during contemplative work can cause internal shocks and reactions so profound that only the deep contours of a tradition can absorb them and turn them to creative effect. The support of a tradition hundreds of years old—rich in symbolism, metaphysical and psychological maps, and the accumulated experience of thousands of past wayfarers—and the guidance of an experienced teacher are indispensable. A "new age" movement that wishes to champion contemplative technique but jettison the traditional context in which it was originally lodged seems likely to be either very superficial or very dangerous or both.

Second, tradition stresses and a spiritual community supports, in a way that a mere technique cannot, the importance of morality as a *sine qua non* foundation and necessary ongoing accompaniment to the inner work. Without the rectification of external conduct, inner work cannot proceed far. One would be hard pressed to find a single exception to this rule in the great traditions.

Finally, human transformation is effected not solely by isolated bouts of intense attentional training; such training must be linked to ordinary life by an intentionality that makes every aspect of life a part of the spiritual work. The contemplative opus, in other words, is hardly limited to formal periods of attentional practice. Ordinary activity and formal contemplative practice must reinforce each other and between them sustain the continuity of practice that alone can awaken the mind and help it realize the *telos* adumbrated for it in the images and concepts of the tradition to which it belongs. And it is precisely the traditions' *teloi* that, by evoking the aspirant's intentionality, provide this continuity.

A spiritual *telos* evokes in the aspirant an overarching aim that fuses the activities of ordinary life and the periods of attentional practice into a continuous line, a "praying without ceasing." So fused, life becomes the "willing of one thing," a Kierkegaardian phrase for "purity of heart" or mature faith. Hubert Benoit calls this state of being "total attention," though a better rendering might be "attention to the totality." When attention is "total" one becomes increasingly aware not only of what one is doing but why one is doing it. One becomes increasingly able to grasp the universal context of one's smallest action, able to see the farthest object toward which one's action in this moment tends. When the intention-toward-awakening becomes so pervasive, attention so "total," and willing so unified, the continuity of praxis leading to deep personal transformation is achieved. Attentional exercises, then, are hardly meant to be practiced in isolation. Their effectiveness requires not only long practice but also the support of a community, the guidance of tradition, the tranquillity effected by moral purification, and, finally, the continuity of practice that allows the power of will, indispensable to the transformative work, to be fully born.

SEE ALSO Meditation; Spiritual Discipline.

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PHILIP NOVAK (1987 AND 2005)

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED IN THIS WORK

abbr. abbreviated; abbreviation
abr. abridged; abridgment
AD *anno Domini,* in the year of the (our) Lord
Afrik. Afrikaans
AH *anno Hegirae,* in the year of the Hijrah
Akk. Akkadian
Ala. Alabama
Alb. Albanian
Am. *Amos*
AM *ante meridiem,* before noon
amend. amended; amendment
annot. annotated; annotation
Ap. *Apocalypse*
Apn. *Apocryphon*
app. appendix
Arab. Arabic
ʿArakh. *ʿArakhin*
Aram. Aramaic
Ariz. Arizona
Ark. Arkansas
Arm. Armenian
art. article (pl., arts.)
AS Anglo-Saxon
Asm. Mos. *Assumption of Moses*
Assyr. Assyrian
A.S.S.R. Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
Av. Avestan
ʿA.Z. *ʿAvodah zarah*
b. born
Bab. Babylonian
Ban. Bantu
1 Bar. *1 Baruch*
2 Bar. *2 Baruch*
3 Bar. *3 Baruch*
4 Bar. *4 Baruch*
B.B. *Bavaʾ batraʾ*
BBC British Broadcasting Corporation
BC before Christ
BCE before the common era
B.D. Bachelor of Divinity
Beits. *Beitsah*
Bekh. *Bekhorot*
Beng. Bengali
Ber. *Berakhot*
Berb. Berber
Bik. *Bikkurim*
bk. book (pl., bks.)
B.M. *Bavaʾ metsiʿaʾ*
BP before the present
B.Q. *Bavaʾ qammaʾ*
Brāh. *Brāhmaṇa*
Bret. Breton
B.T. Babylonian Talmud
Bulg. Bulgarian
Burm. Burmese
c. *circa,* about, approximately
Calif. California
Can. Canaanite
Catal. Catalan
CE of the common era
Celt. Celtic
cf. *confer,* compare
Chald. Chaldean
chap. chapter (pl., chaps.)
Chin. Chinese
C.H.M. Community of the Holy Myrrhbearers
1 Chr. *1 Chronicles*
2 Chr. *2 Chronicles*
Ch. Slav. Church Slavic
cm centimeters
col. column (pl., cols.)
Col. *Colossians*
Colo. Colorado
comp. compiler (pl., comps.)
Conn. Connecticut
cont. continued
Copt. Coptic
1 Cor. *1 Corinthians*
2 Cor. *2 Corinthians*
corr. corrected
C.S.P. Congregatio Sancti Pauli, Congregation of Saint Paul (Paulists)
d. died
D Deuteronomic (source of the Pentateuch)
Dan. Danish
D.B. Divinitatis Baccalaureus, Bachelor of Divinity
D.C. District of Columbia
D.D. Divinitatis Doctor, Doctor of Divinity
Del. Delaware
Dem. *Demaʾi*
dim. diminutive
diss. dissertation
Dn. *Daniel*
D.Phil. Doctor of Philosophy
Dt. *Deuteronomy*
Du. Dutch
E Elohist (source of the Pentateuch)
Eccl. *Ecclesiastes*
ed. editor (pl., eds.); edition; edited by

ʿEduy. *ʿEduyyot*
e.g. *exempli gratia,* for example
Egyp. Egyptian
1 En. *1 Enoch*
2 En. *2 Enoch*
3 En. *3 Enoch*
Eng. English
enl. enlarged
Eph. *Ephesians*
ʿEruv. *ʿEruvin*
1 Esd. *1 Esdras*
2 Esd. *2 Esdras*
3 Esd. *3 Esdras*
4 Esd. *4 Esdras*
esp. especially
Est. Estonian
Est. *Esther*
et al. *et alii,* and others
etc. *et cetera,* and so forth
Eth. Ethiopic
EV English version
Ex. *Exodus*
exp. expanded
Ez. *Ezekiel*
Ezr. *Ezra*
2 Ezr. *2 Ezra*
4 Ezr. *4 Ezra*
f. feminine; and following (pl., ff.)
fasc. fascicle (pl., fascs.)
fig. figure (pl., figs.)
Finn. Finnish
fl. *floruit,* flourished
Fla. Florida
Fr. French
frag. fragment
ft. feet
Ga. Georgia
Gal. *Galatians*
Gaul. Gaulish
Ger. German
Giṭ. *Giṭṭin*
Gn. *Genesis*
Gr. Greek
Ḥag. *Ḥagigah*
Ḥal. *Ḥallah*
Hau. Hausa
Hb. *Habakkuk*
Heb. Hebrew
Heb. *Hebrews*
Hg. *Haggai*
Hitt. Hittite
Hor. *Horayot*
Hos. *Hosea*
Ḥul. *Ḥullin*
Hung. Hungarian
ibid. *ibidem,* in the same place (as the one immediately preceding)
Icel. Icelandic
i.e. *id est,* that is
IE Indo-European
Ill. Illinois
Ind. Indiana
intro. introduction
Ir. Gael. Irish Gaelic
Iran. Iranian
Is. *Isaiah*
Ital. Italian
J Yahvist (source of the Pentateuch)
Jas. *James*
Jav. Javanese
Jb. *Job*
Jdt. *Judith*
Jer. *Jeremiah*
Jgs. *Judges*
Jl. *Joel*
Jn. *John*
1 Jn. *1 John*
2 Jn. *2 John*
3 Jn. *3 John*
Jon. *Jonah*
Jos. *Joshua*
Jpn. Japanese
JPS Jewish Publication Society translation (1985) of the Hebrew Bible
J.T. Jerusalem Talmud
Jub. *Jubilees*
Kans. Kansas
Kel. *Kelim*
Ker. *Keritot*
Ket. *Ketubbot*
1 Kgs. *1 Kings*
2 Kgs. *2 Kings*
Khois. Khoisan
Kil. *Kilʾayim*
km kilometers
Kor. Korean
Ky. Kentucky
l. line (pl., ll.)
La. Louisiana
Lam. *Lamentations*
Lat. Latin
Latv. Latvian
L. en Th. Licencié en Théologie, Licentiate in Theology
L. ès L. Licencié ès Lettres, Licentiate in Literature
Let. Jer. *Letter of Jeremiah*
lit. literally
Lith. Lithuanian
Lk. *Luke*
LL Late Latin
LL.D. Legum Doctor, Doctor of Laws
Lv. *Leviticus*
m meters
m. masculine
M.A. Master of Arts
Ma ʿas. *Maʿaserot*
Ma ʿas. Sh. *Maʿ aser sheni*
Mak. *Makkot*
Makh. *Makhshirin*
Mal. *Malachi*
Mar. Marathi
Mass. Massachusetts
1 Mc. *1 Maccabees*
2 Mc. *2 Maccabees*
3 Mc. *3 Maccabees*
4 Mc. *4 Maccabees*
Md. Maryland
M.D. Medicinae Doctor, Doctor of Medicine
ME Middle English
Meg. *Megillah*
Me ʿil. *Meʿilah*
Men. *Menaḥot*
MHG Middle High German
mi. miles
Mi. *Micah*
Mich. Michigan
Mid. *Middot*
Minn. Minnesota
Miq. *Miqvaʾot*
MIran. Middle Iranian
Miss. Mississippi
Mk. *Mark*
Mo. Missouri
Moʿed Q. *Moʿed qaṭan*
Mont. Montana
MPers. Middle Persian
MS. *manuscriptum,* manuscript (pl., MSS)
Mt. *Matthew*
MT Masoretic text
n. note
Na. *Nahum*
Nah. Nahuatl
Naz. *Nazir*
N.B. *nota bene,* take careful note
N.C. North Carolina
n.d. no date
N.Dak. North Dakota
NEB New English Bible
Nebr. Nebraska

Ned. *Nedarim*
Neg. *Negaʿim*
Neh. *Nehemiah*
Nev. Nevada
N.H. New Hampshire
Nid. *Niddah*
N.J. New Jersey
Nm. *Numbers*
N.Mex. New Mexico
no. number (pl., nos.)
Nor. Norwegian
n.p. no place
n.s. new series
N.Y. New York
Ob. *Obadiah*
O.Cist. Ordo Cisterciencium, Order of Cîteaux (Cistercians)
OCS Old Church Slavonic
OE Old English
O.F.M. Ordo Fratrum Minorum, Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)
OFr. Old French
Ohal. *Ohalot*
OHG Old High German
OIr. Old Irish
OIran. Old Iranian
Okla. Oklahoma
ON Old Norse
O.P. Ordo Praedicatorum, Order of Preachers (Dominicans)
OPers. Old Persian
op. cit. *opere citato,* in the work cited
OPrus. Old Prussian
Oreg. Oregon
ʿOrl. *ʿOrlah*
O.S.B. Ordo Sancti Benedicti, Order of Saint Benedict (Benedictines)
p. page (pl., pp.)
P Priestly (source of the Pentateuch)
Pa. Pennsylvania
Pahl. Pahlavi
Par. *Parah*
para. paragraph (pl., paras.)
Pers. Persian
Pes. *Pesahim*
Ph.D. Philosophiae Doctor, Doctor of Philosophy
Phil. *Philippians*
Phlm. *Philemon*
Phoen. Phoenician
pl. plural; plate (pl., pls.)
PM *post meridiem,* after noon
Pol. Polish
pop. population
Port. Portuguese
Prv. *Proverbs*
Ps. *Psalms*
Ps. 151 *Psalm 151*
Ps. Sol. *Psalms of Solomon*
pt. part (pl., pts.)
1Pt. *1 Peter*
2 Pt. *2 Peter*
Pth. Parthian
Q hypothetical source of the synoptic Gospels
Qid. *Qiddushin*
Qin. *Qinnim*
r. reigned; ruled
Rab. *Rabbah*
rev. revised
R. ha-Sh. *Roʾsh ha-shanah*
R.I. Rhode Island
Rom. Romanian
Rom. *Romans*
R.S.C.J. Societas Sacratissimi Cordis Jesu, Religious of the Sacred Heart
RSV Revised Standard Version of the Bible
Ru. *Ruth*
Rus. Russian
Rv. *Revelation*
Rv. Ezr. *Revelation of Ezra*
San. *Sanhedrin*
S.C. South Carolina
Scot. Gael. Scottish Gaelic
S.Dak. South Dakota
sec. section (pl., secs.)
Sem. Semitic
ser. series
sg. singular
Sg. *Song of Songs*
Sg. of 3 *Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men*
Shab. *Shabbat*
Shav. *Shavuʿot*
Sheq. *Sheqalim*
Sib. Or. *Sibylline Oracles*
Sind. Sindhi
Sinh. Sinhala
Sir. *Ben Sira*
S.J. Societas Jesu, Society of Jesus (Jesuits)
Skt. Sanskrit
1 Sm. *1 Samuel*
2 Sm. *2 Samuel*
Sogd. Sogdian
Soṭ. *Soṭah*
sp. species (pl., spp.)
Span. Spanish
sq. square
S.S.R. Soviet Socialist Republic
st. stanza (pl., ss.)
S.T.M. Sacrae Theologiae Magister, Master of Sacred Theology
Suk. *Sukkah*
Sum. Sumerian
supp. supplement; supplementary
Sus. *Susanna*
s.v. *sub verbo,* under the word (pl., s.v.v.)
Swed. Swedish
Syr. Syriac
Syr. Men. *Syriac Menander*
Taʿ an. *Taʿanit*
Tam. Tamil
Tam. *Tamid*
Tb. *Tobit*
T.D. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō,* edited by Takakusu Junjirō et al. (Tokyo,1922–1934)
Tem. *Temurah*
Tenn. Tennessee
Ter. Terumot
Ṭev. Y. *Ṭevul yom*
Tex. Texas
Th.D. Theologicae Doctor, Doctor of Theology
1 Thes. *1 Thessalonians*
2 Thes. *2 Thessalonians*
Thrac. Thracian
Ti. *Titus*
Tib. Tibetan
1 Tm. *1 Timothy*
2 Tm. *2 Timothy*
T. of 12 *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*
Ṭoh. *ṭohorot*
Tong. Tongan
trans. translator, translators; translated by; translation
Turk. Turkish
Ukr. Ukrainian
Upan. *Upaniṣad*
U.S. United States
U.S.S.R. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Uqts. *Uqtsin*
v. verse (pl., vv.)
Va. Virginia
var. variant; variation
Viet. Vietnamese

viz. *videlicet,* namely
vol. volume (pl., vols.)
Vt. Vermont
Wash. Washington
Wel. Welsh
Wis. Wisconsin
Wis. *Wisdom of Solomon*
W.Va. West Virginia
Wyo. Wyoming
Yad. *Yadayim*
Yev. *Yevamot*
Yi. Yiddish
Yor. Yoruba
Zav. *Zavim*
Zec. *Zechariah*
Zep. *Zephaniah*
Zev. *Zevaḥim*
* hypothetical
? uncertain; possibly; perhaps
° degrees
+ plus
– minus
= equals; is equivalent to
× by; multiplied by
→ yields

visual narrative

VISUAL NARRATIVE

Storytelling may be one of the most universal of human behaviors. Representing events in a series of episodes allows storytellers and their audiences to explain a state of affairs, to trace the historical development of a people, to limn the portrait of a hero, or to account for the status of a ruler, city, or natural order. Storytelling ascribes causation to events, provides access to the past, bestows meaning on the present, and offers counter-narratives to prevailing or rival accounts.

Images work closely with oral and written narratives, sometimes as external scaffolding or supportive prompts. This can involve little or even no imagery. Some Native American winter counts are no more than abstract patterns, unlike the late pictographic example reproduced here **(a)**, which consists of symbolic devices that demarcate tribal history and lore among the Brulé Lakota. This example, produced in the early twentieth century, replicates the notation that was traditionally painted on buffalo hides, and adds numeric dating beneath the pictographs. An *aide de memoire*, the winter count assists the narration of tribal memory but is not a linguistic system in the manner of Egyptian hieroglyphics. The winter count supplements oral culture by prompting patterns of verbal discourse, such as song and chant, in the setting of dance and ceremonial discourse.

Images also commonly provide less pictographic prompts to narrative, such as paintings and sculptures of the nine

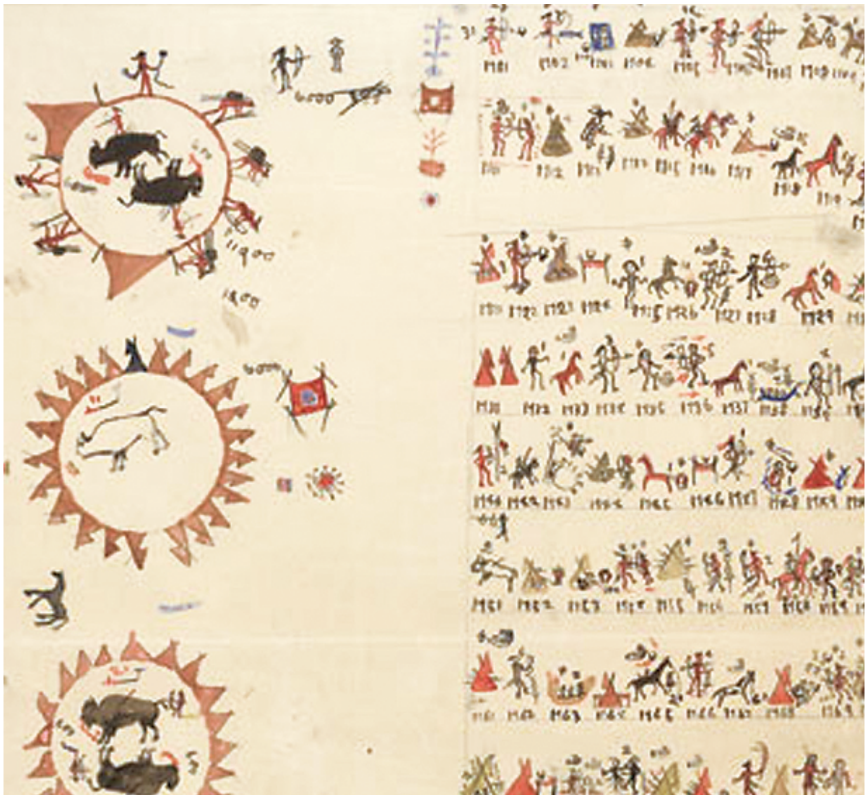

(a) Detail from a winter count by Battiste Good, watercolor on paper, c. 1907. *[Library of Congress]* great events of the Buddha's life **(b)**. In these works, artists do not seek to render a seamless succession of episodes, but surround the key event of the life of the historical Buddha—the moment of his triumph over Māra, the god of illusion, a decisive victory symbolized by the Buddha's touching the earth, calling it as witness to his many lives of karmic ascent. Nine key events are visualized in a pictorial shorthand, organized as a compendium of the principal episodes in the Buddha's life, and framing the central representation of his enlightenment. This gathering of representations assists Buddhist teachers and students in recounting not only the historical life of the Buddha, but the meaning of his teaching. Narrative in this sense is not a neutral recounting of events, but a highly interpretative reading of the founder's life.

Storytelling of any sort is invariably interpretative

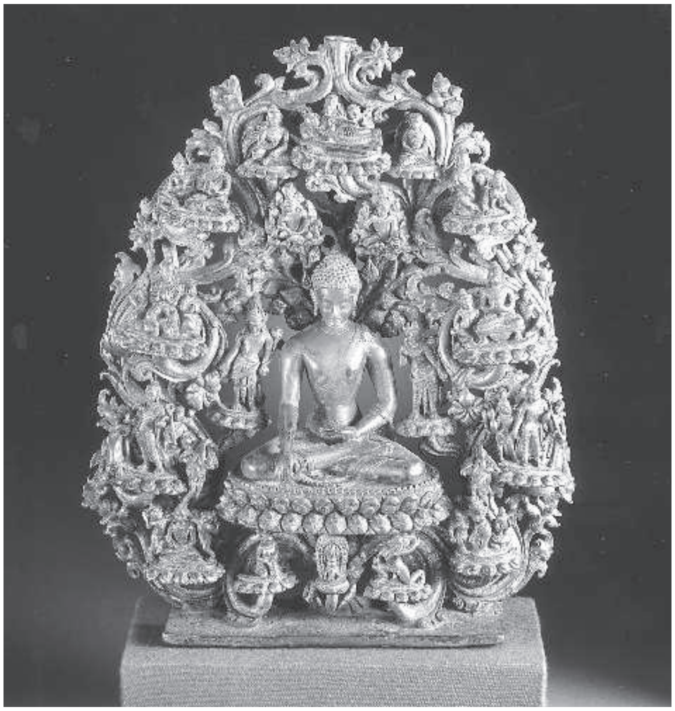

(b) LEFT. *Buddha Shakyamuni and Scenes from the Life of Buddha*, copper with traces of gilding, twelfth century, Nepal. *[Los Angeles County Museum of Art, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Michael Phillips]* **(c)** BOTTOM LEFT. Roman marble sculpture of Laocoon and his sons, believed to be a first-century CE copy of a first- to second-century BCE Greek original. *[©Araldo de Luca/Corbis]* **(d)** BOTTOM RIGHT. Roman copy of a fifth-century BCE Greek relief of Hermes, Orpheus, and Eurydice. *[©Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.]*

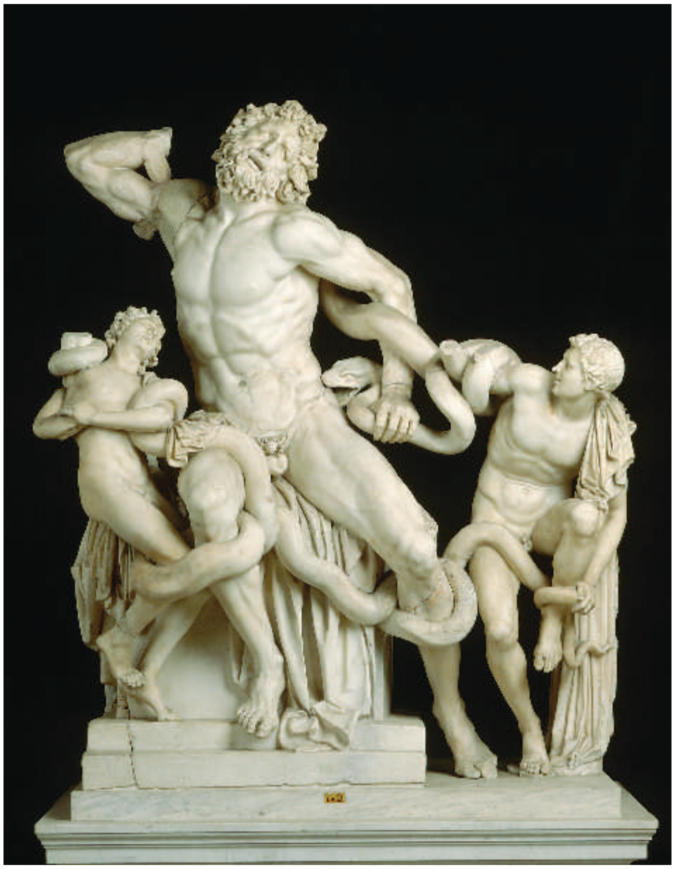

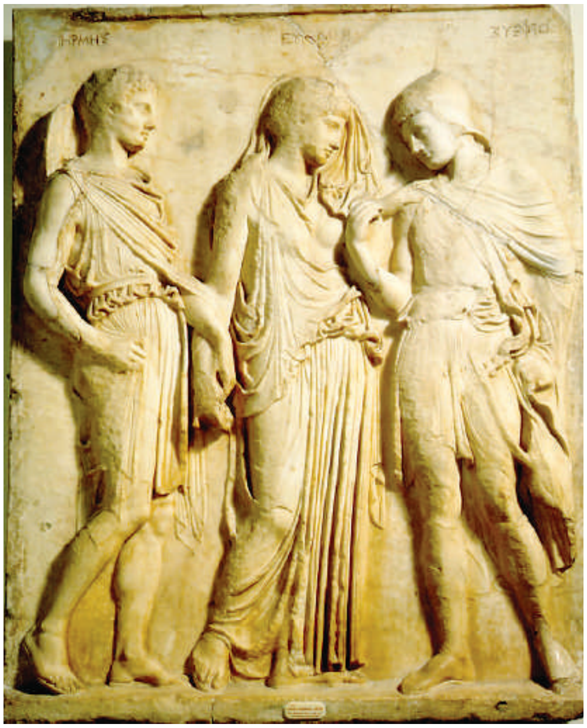

and not merely descriptive, because it consists necessarily of a selection and weighting of particular events, as well as their integration, into a series of episodes that culminates in a state of affairs that offers a perspective that the viewer/listener is presumed to accept as compelling in the sense of being cautionary, explanatory, aesthetically pleasing, or inspirational.

But images operate differently than words. Unless they are presented on the pages of a book or scroll, or organized as dense grids of individual events, or seen in succession across the broad surfaces of walls or ceilings, an image is largely unable to unfold temporally since a viewer stands in front of it and sees all of it at once in sweeping scans. Consequently, images often present single selections from a narrative that focus the viewer's attention on a particular episode that is considered by teachers or patrons or the devout as especially significant or as emblematic of the entire narrative **(a, d, e, f, g)**. For example, the sculpture of Laocoon and his sons **(c)** writhing in agony in the coils of a serpent sent by Athena to prevent the priest's discovery of the Greeks hidden within the wooden horse left at

(e) Kṛṣṇa steals the clothes of the *gopīes* in a Pahari school illustration from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Kangra, Himachal Pradesh, 1780. *[©Art Resource, N.Y.]*

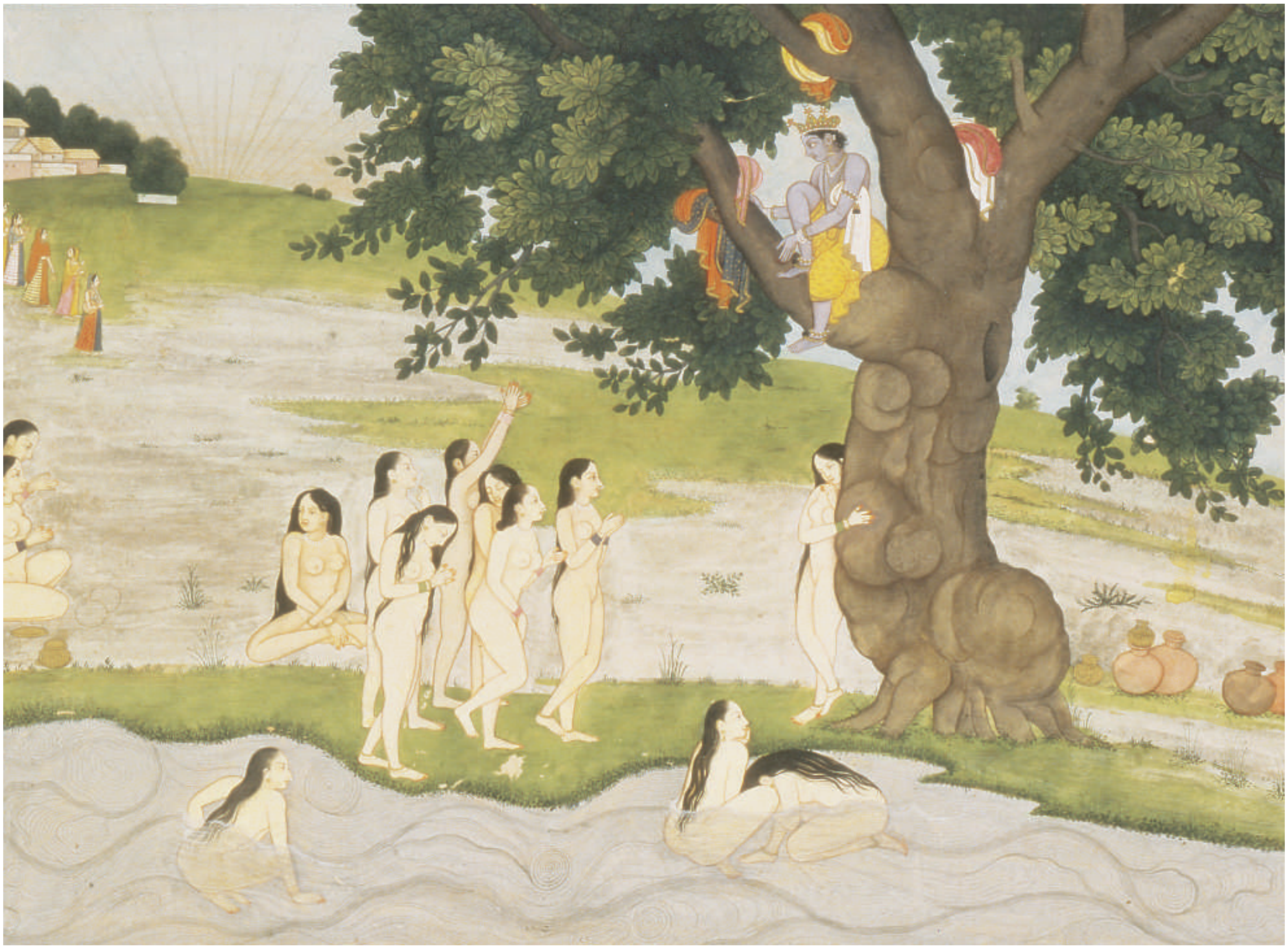

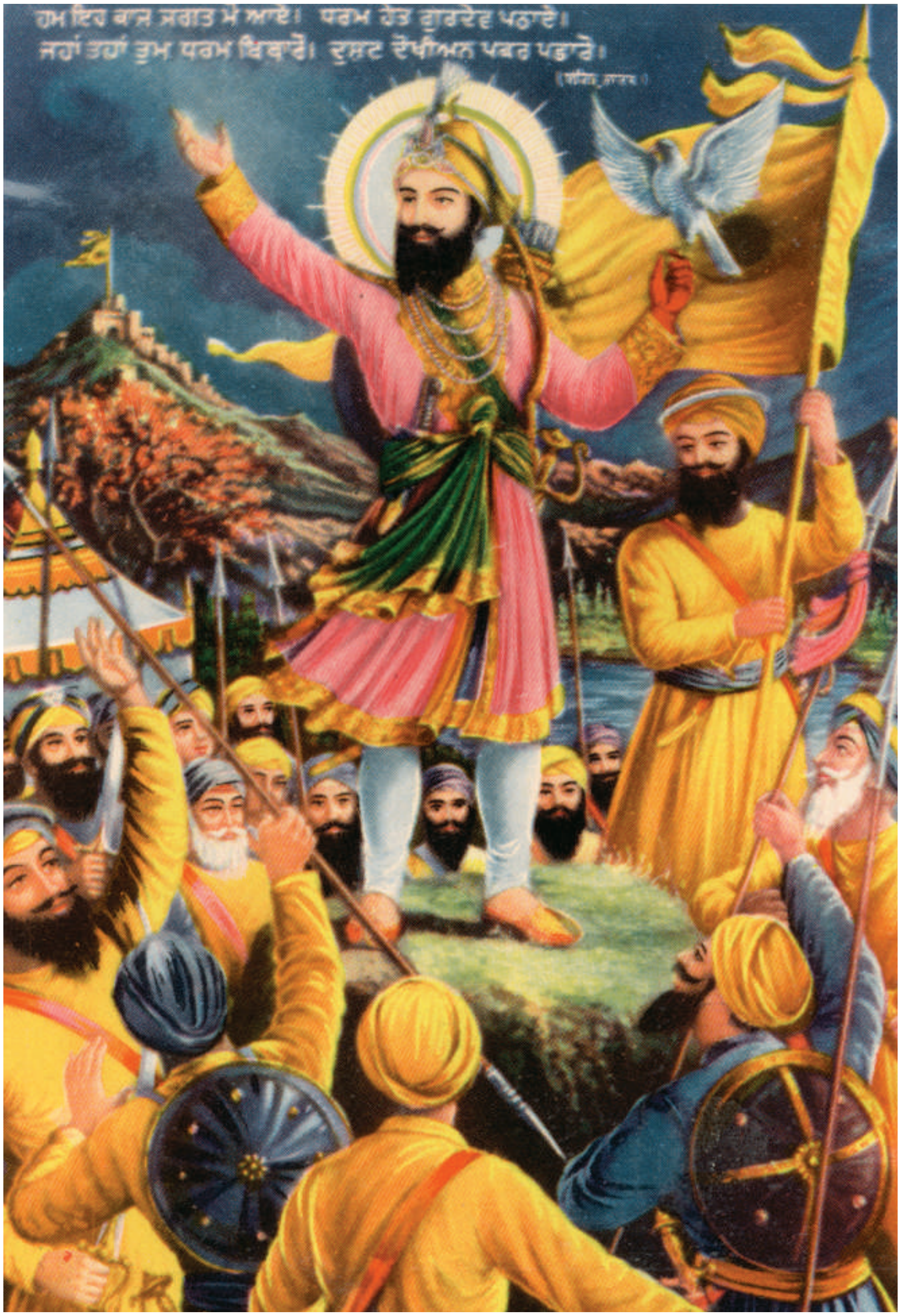
ਹਮ ਇਹ ਕਾਜ ਜਗਤ ਮੇਂ ਆਏ। ਧਰਮ ਹੇਤ ਗੁਰਦੇਵ ਪਠਾਏ।
ਜਹਾਂ ਤਹਾਂ ਤੁਮ ਧਰਮ ਬਿਥਾਰੋ। ਦੁਸ਼ਟ ਦੋਖੀਅਨ ਪਕਰ ਪਛਾਰੋ।

(f) Contemporary print depicting Gurū Gobind Gingh addressing his khālsā. *[Reproduced by permission of Oxford University Press India, New Delhi. W. H. Mcleod, Popular Sikh Art]*

Troy was probably taken from the second book of Vergil's *Aeneid*. The sculpture does not purport to represent the entire narrative, but singles out a dramatic instance within it, the heroic struggle of a man against a fate doled out by an unsympathetic deity. In that sense, however, the image captures a view conveyed by the fateful story of Vergil's epic. The nobility of humankind, registered unforgettably in the monumental masculinity of Laocoon's body, is caught up in the larger force of a destiny from which Laocoon, priest of Apollo and son of Priam, king of Troy, is unable to extricate himself. Not only does the narrative image signal the story and something of its lesson, but it offers aesthetic satisfaction as its end or purpose, combin-

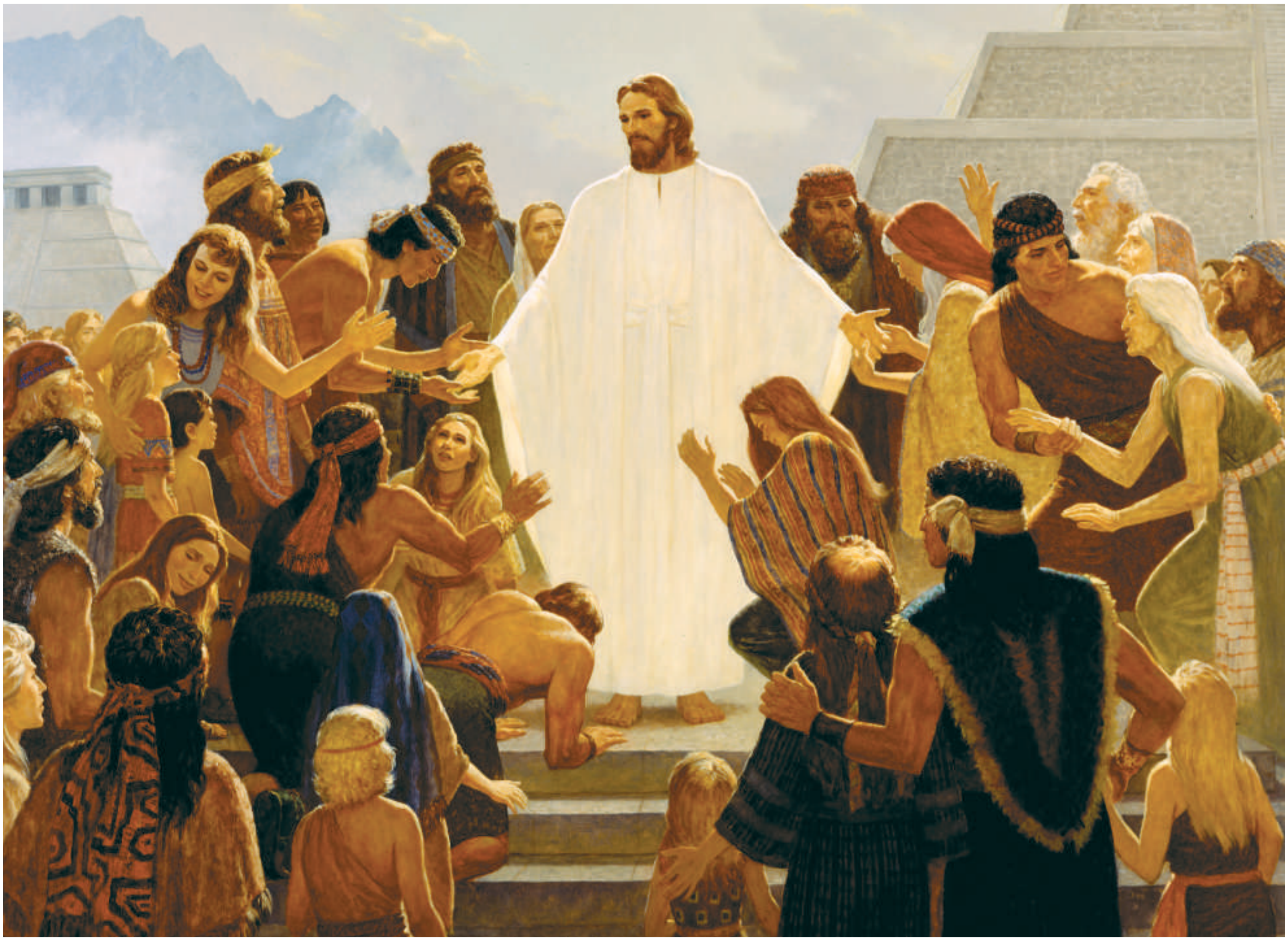

(g) Gary Kapp, *That Ye May Know,* oil on canvas, 1996. *[©1996 Gary Kapp]*

ing the two for greater effect as a conveyer of the famous narrative. As this sculpture tells the story of human fate, the human condition is gendered as a heroic but doomed male struggle.

This highly selective, emblematic treatment of narrative informs many different instances of narrative religious art. In a great deal of art around the world, the practice is often to signify a narrative by the minimal means of portraying no more than its principal characters. A Roman relief **(d)** portraying three figures of Greek mythology—Hermes, Orpheus, and Eurydice—is a good example of this. Viewers learn little about the original story by looking at these three figures. Indeed, if one did not know the narrative, the image might be unidentifiable. (In fact, the Greek names inscribed above each figure were misidentifications added much later.) Orpheus has turned to look back to see that his dead wife, Eurydice, follows him from Hades, but in doing so he seals her fate, which is to return to the realm of the dead, taken there by the god Hermes, whose task it is to conduct souls to the underworld. With this narrative in mind, the many gestures of the image can be unfolded from the narrative's highly encapsulated state—the loving touch of Orpheus, his wistfully inclined head facing the other two, echoed visually in their opposing stances, and Hermes's fateful grip of the woman's wrist.

By contrast, some visual narratives enumerate virtually each moment of a textual narrative, as in the case of the large and very elaborate sculptural programs mounted on the exterior of many Hindu temples **(h)**. Literally hundreds of figures combine to narrate the long and intricate stories of such important deities as Viṣṇu or Śiva. In other cases, images may accompany printed text **(f, i, j)**, fashioning a symbiotic dependence of word and image upon one another, even in some instances creating a synergy in

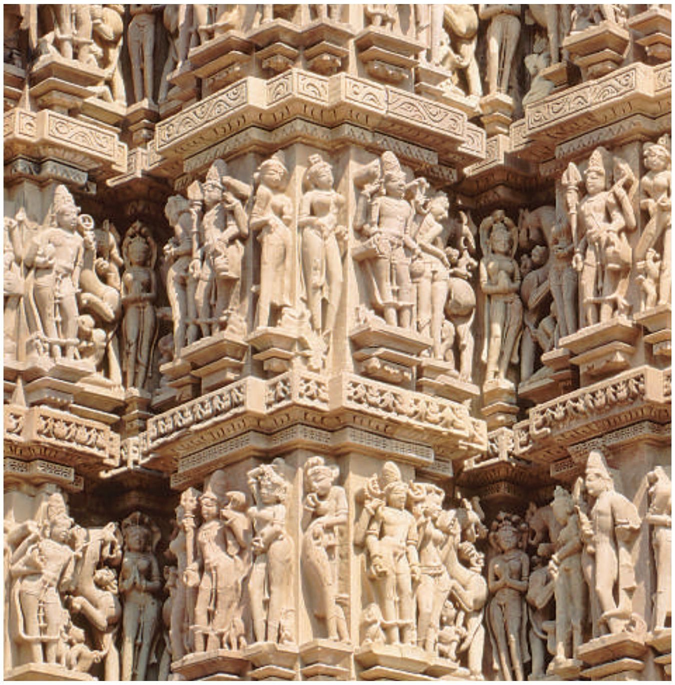

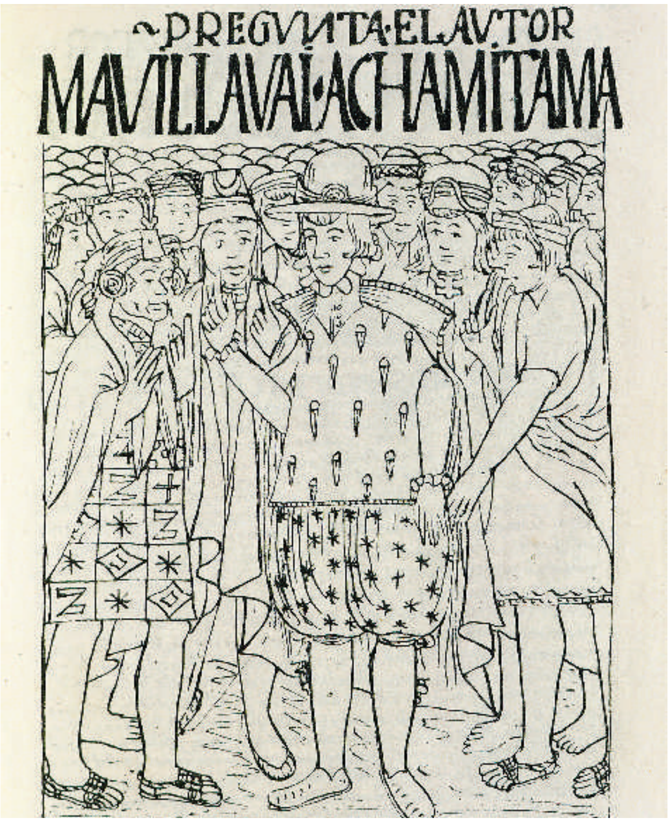

(h) Left. Detail of figures adorning the exterior of the Kandariya Mahādeva Temple, Khajuraho, Madhya Pradesh, India, c. 1025–1050. *[©Wolfgang Kaehler/Corbis]* **(i)** Bottom left. Illustration in ink depicting the first meeting between the Incas and the Spanish in Peru, from *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* by Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, 1613. *[The Art Archive/Archaeological Museum Lima/Dagli Orti]*

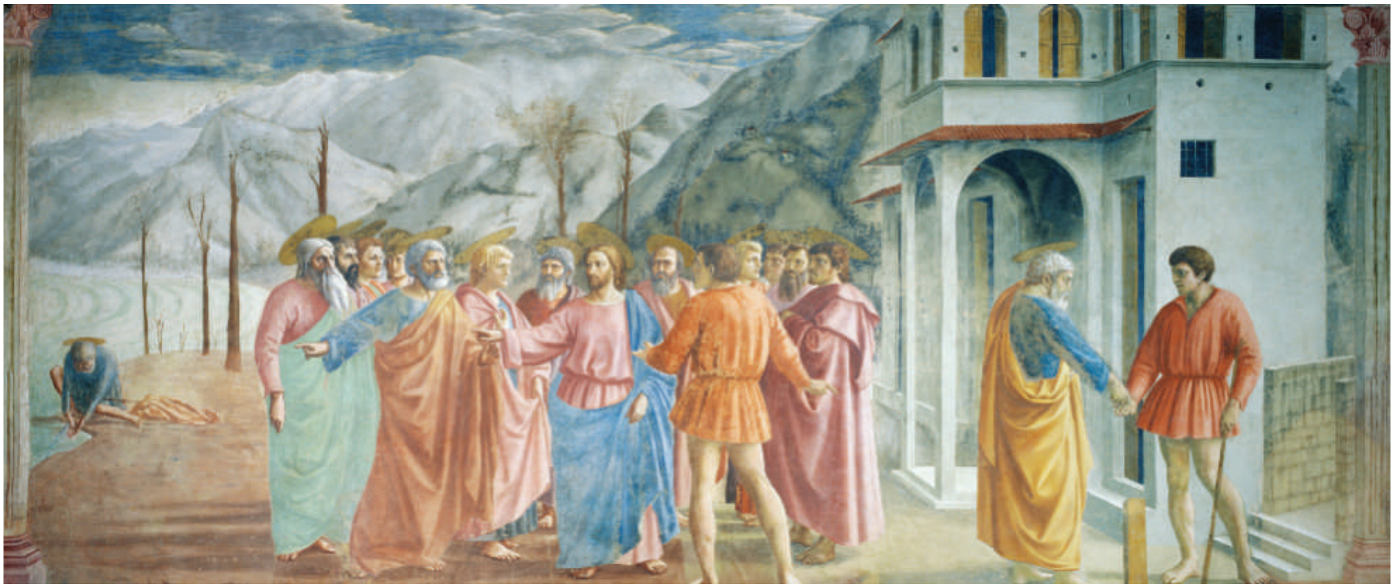

which the resultant meaning is greater than its textual or visual parts taken alone. An example is Felipe Guamán Poma's extensively illustrated chronicle of colonial Peru **(i)**. Guamán's voluminous text is densely illustrated by full-page drawings of instances like the one depicted here. The visual narrative allowed him to describe the initial encounter of the Spanish and Incan cultures in such detail as the contrasting costumes and headgear of each group. The nuanced use of gesture signals the complexity and simultaneity of their attempts at communication and the easy confusion and misunderstandings that ensued.

Yet the time, expense, and space required for such narrative density of imagery can be too demanding and limiting. More commonly, narrative imagery operates with greater economy by relying on different forms of evocation—on synecdoche, with a part standing for the whole; on emblem, a highly condensed configuration of symbols or narrative cues; or on conflation, the juxtaposition of different narrative scenes in a single pictorial field **(k)**. Allowing one episode from an entire narrative to stand for the whole is evident in several of the images reproduced here **(c, d, e, f)**. Evoking a narrative by the use of emblematic signals works well in images that are intended to convey a great deal of highly prized or even secret information, material that is shared only among the literate, privileged, or initiated **(a, b, j, l, m)**. Such

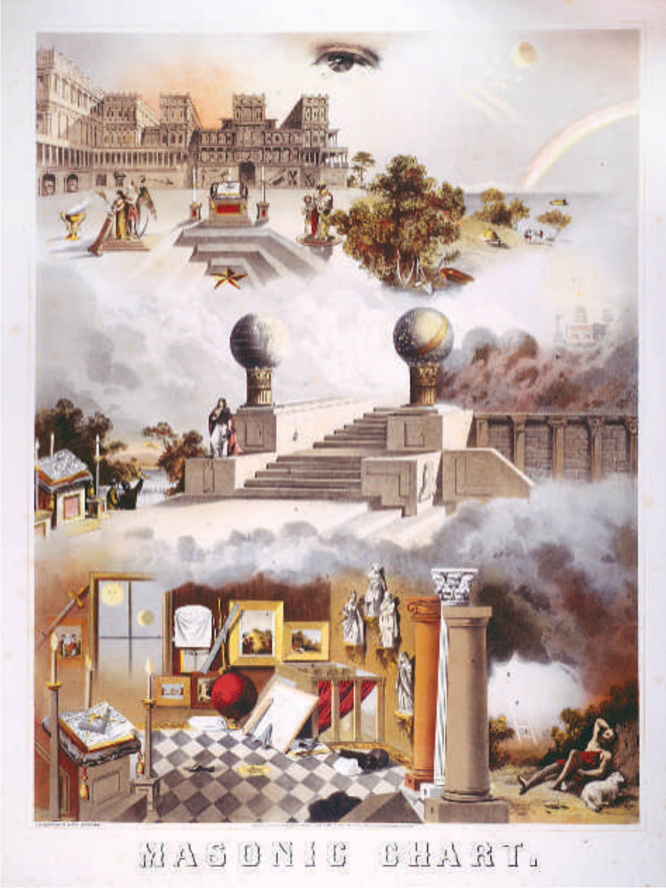
MASONIC CHART.

(k) Top. *The Tribute Money* (1427), fresco, by Masaccio in Brancacci Chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence, Italy. *[©Sandro Vannini/Corbis]* **(l)** Right. Masonic Chart, chromolithograph 1851–1864. *[Courtesy American Antiquarian Society]*

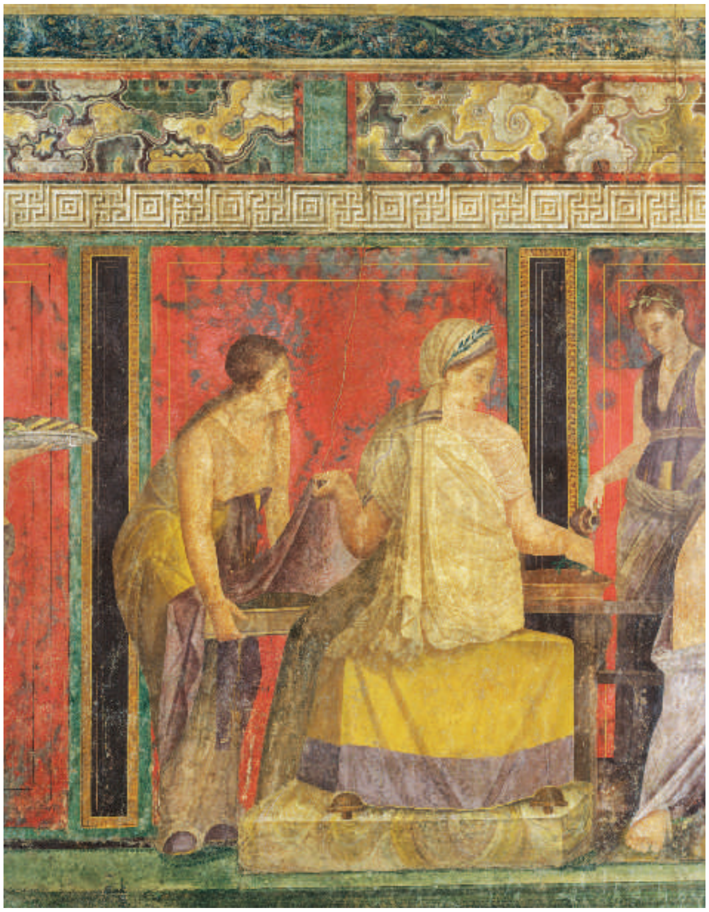

(m) Detail of libationers, from a fresco cycle in the Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii, Italy, c. 50 BCE. *[©Massimo Listri/Corbis]*

imagery presupposes a distinctive literacy among viewers, relying sometimes on elaborate codes for its proper "reading" or interpretation. The narrative in these instances need not be a story as much as a narrated set of meanings, teachings, ritual moments, and states of experience. Finally, conflation is a pictorial device for condensing into one visual field more than a single episode. Masaccio achieved this in his fresco titled *The Tribute Money* **(k)** when he portrayed three different moments: the central crowd gathered about Christ, a depiction of Peter finding a coin in a fish (to the left), and Peter paying the tribute to the tax collector (on the right).

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DAVID MORGAN (2005)

ATTRIBUTES OF GOD

This entry consists of the following articles:

JEWISH CONCEPTS
CHRISTIAN CONCEPTS
ISLAMIC CONCEPTS

ATTRIBUTES OF GOD: JEWISH CONCEPTS

Postbiblical Jewish teachers sensed no incongruity in attributing to God qualities having strong human associations; the rabbis of the Talmud and the Midrash rely on the biblical attributes by which, as they remark, God is called in place of his name. This reliance on biblical attributes should not be taken anachronistically to mean that God is only called just, compassionate, and the like, but that, in reality, his true nature cannot be known, since this kind of distinction between essence and attributes did not surface in Judaism until the more philosophically oriented Middle Ages. God is called by his attributes because he is so described in scripture, which, as God's revealed word, informs humans how God is to be thought about and addressed.

The Hebrew word *middah,* used by the rabbis, corresponds roughly to the word *attribute* and means quality or measure. The medieval distinction between God's attributes and his essence could have had no significance for the spontaneous nature of rabbinic thinking. The term *middot* (pl. of *middah*) denotes the proper limits by means of which each of his qualities finds its expression when required in particular circumstances. A good part of the rabbinic thinking on divine control of the universe consists of the subtle interplay between God's justice and his mercy. For God to overlook sinfulness and wickedness would be for him to betray his quality of justice. As a rabbinic saying has it: "Whoever declares that God is indulgent forfeits his very life" (B.T., *B.Q.* 50a). Yet God's justice is always tempered by mercy. He pardons sinners who return to him in sincere repentance and is ever ready to be entreated to exercise his compassion. God's mercy is extended to human beings who show mercy to one another. A typical rabbinic doctrine is that of mea-

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Clockwise from top left corner. Fourteenth-century BCE terra-cotta hedgehog of Aegean Rhyton, from Ugarit, Syria. Louvre, Paris. *[©Erich Lessing/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Facsimile of prehistoric paintings in Lascaux Cave in southwestern France. Musée des Antiquites Nationales, France. *[©Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Ancient Egyptian underworld god Anubis. Cairo Museum. *[©Roger Wood/Corbis]*; Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan, Mexico. *[©Charles & Josette Lenars/Corbis]*; Late-nineteenth-century brass Altar of the Hand shrine from Benin. British Museum, London. *[©HIP/Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.]*.

sure for measure (Soṭ. 1.7–10). To the extent that humans are prepared to go beyond the letter of the law to be excessively generous and forgiving, God can, with justice, be gracious; the more merciful human beings are in conduct with their fellows, the more will God extend to them his sympathy and his pardon (B.T., *R. ha-Sh.* 17a).

The rabbis explore the biblical record, elaborating on the attributes found there. For the rabbis, the teaching that emerges from biblical statements about God is that he is omnipresent, omniscient, and omnipotent, although these abstract terms are never used by the rabbis, who prefer the concrete language favored by the Bible. God is present at all times in the universe, which he fills. Yet reservations are implied about the language used when God's presence (*shekhinah*) in the universe is compared to the human soul filling the body it inhabits (B.T., *Ber.* 10a), with the clear implication that the pervasiveness is spiritual, not spatial. God knows all there is to be known, including all future events (B.T., *San.* 90b), although the idea of God's foreknowledge receives little prominence in rabbinic thought. As in the Bible, so for the rabbis, God possesses unlimited power, but here, too, the consideration of whether the doctrine of God's omnipotence embraces even contradiction had to wait until the rise of medieval theological speculation.

That God is one and eternal is as axiomatic for the rabbis as it is for the biblical authors upon whom they based their views. God is totally unaffected by the passage of time. Nevertheless, the Midrash (*Mekhilta'*, Be-shalaḥ 4) can say that God appeared to the children of Israel at the crossing of the sea in the guise of a youthful warrior, whereas he appeared at Sinai as a venerable sage teaching the Torah to his disciples. In another Midrashic passage (*Ex. Rab.* 5.9) it is said that God's voice at Sinai adapted itself to the temperament and disposition of the individual recipients. God spoke to the young in youthful terms, to the older folk in more mature ways. Men heard the voice speaking in a form suitable to males, women in a form suitable to females. Implied here is the idea, later to be developed more fully, that a distinction is to be made between God as he is in himself and God as he becomes manifest in creation. The differentiation is said to have been only in the way in which the divine revelation had its effect. In God there is no trace of age or sex. God is unchanging and unlimited.

The rabbis do not, however, refuse to allow all attributes of the divine nature to be used. The rabbis, following literally the biblical accounts, seemingly believe that God possesses the attributes of goodness, justice, wisdom, truth, and holiness and that these are not simply metaphors, although God possesses these attributes in a manner infinitely greater than human beings can imagine; human beings can only approximate these attributes in very faint measure in their conduct. The divide between God and humanity is never crossed, but it is the duty of humans to be godlike by trying to make the divine attributes their own insofar as this is possible (B.T., *Shab.* 133b). A person can and should be holy, but he or she can never be holy in the way that God is holy (*Lv. Rab.* 24.9). Humans can pursue the truth and live a life of integrity, but even of Moses it is said that he failed to attain to the fiftieth and highest gate of understanding, that is, of perception of the divine (B.T., *Ned.* 38a). Humans must be compassionate like their maker, but their compassion must not stray beyond its legitimate boundaries. If, for example, someone mourns beyond the period specified by the law when a relative has died, God is said to protest: "Cease from mourning. You are not more compassionate than I" (B.T., *Mo'ed Q.* 27b).

The change that came about in the Middle Ages, when a more systematic theological approach dominated the scene, resulted in a completely fresh examination of the whole question of divine attributes. In their quest for the most refined, abstract formulation, the medieval thinkers tended to speak of God as simple, pure, a complete unity, with neither division nor multiplicity. Their difficulty with the divine attributes found in the Bible and the rabbinic literature was not only because in these God is described in human terms. Even if the attributes could be explained as metaphors, there remained the implication that the realities the metaphors represented were coexistent with God for all eternity, seeming to suggest for many of the thinkers a belief in a plurality of divine beings. For the more thoroughgoing of the medieval thinkers, to ascribe attributes in any positive sense to God was to be guilty of idolatry.

Not all the medieval thinkers saw reason to qualify the older doctrine of attributes. Ḥasdai Crescas (1340–1410/11) refused to accept the notion that to say God is good or wise is to impose limits on his nature or to set up goodness and wisdom as rival deities. Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon, 1135/8–1204) and others, however, sensed the difficulties so keenly that they felt themselves obliged to develop the idea of negative attributes. For Maimonides, the attributes referring to God's essence (his unity, wisdom, and existence) are not to be understood as saying anything at all about God's true nature. All that they imply is the negation of their opposites. When God is said to exist, the meaning is that he is not a mere fiction. When he is said to be wise, the meaning is that there is neither ignorance nor folly in him. When it is said that he is one, the meaning is that there is neither plurality nor multiplicity in his being, although the actual nature of that being is beyond all human comprehension, and of it no human language can be used. For Maimonides, the knowledge of God is a constant process of negation. The finite mind can never hope to grasp the divine nature, but the more one knows of what God is not the closer one comes to such perception. Secondary attributes, on the other hand, such as goodness, justice, and mercy, may be used of God even in a positive sense, since these do not refer to his essence but to his activity. Maimonides gives the illustration of God's care for the embryo in the womb. If such care were possible for a human being, one would attribute it to that person's compassionate nature, and in this sense one is permitted to say that God is compassionate.

The qabbalists, in their doctrine of Ein Sof ("the limitless," God as he is in himself) and the *sefirot* (the powers by means of which the godhead becomes manifest), tread a middle road on the question of attributes. The qabbalists, more radical here than the philosophers, do not allow even negative attributes to be used. But for God as he is expressed in the realm of the *sefirot,* even the positive attributes of essence are in order. God can be described positively as existing, as one and as wise, provided it is realized that the reference is to his manifestation in the *sefirot.*

The question of the divine attributes receives little attention in modern Jewish thought, there being a marked tendency to see the whole subject as somewhat irrelevant to living faith.

SEE ALSO Folk Religion, article on Folk Judaism; God, articles on God in the Hebrew Scriptures, God in Postbiblical Judaism; Qabbalah; Shekhinah.

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LOUIS JACOBS (1987)
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ATTRIBUTES OF GOD: CHRISTIAN CONCEPTS

In the tradition of Christian theology, an attribute of God is a perfection predicted of God in a formal, intrinsic, and necessary way as one of many defining characteristics. These perfections, first discovered as they are reflected in the created universe, are such that their objective concept can be disengaged from all their finite modes of realization, enabling them to be attributed to God as pure perfections within God. Such perfections are numerous and logically interconnected. One among them is given ontological priority as grounding all the others and is understood as the formal constituent of the divine nature; the others, derivative from it, are what are strictly called attributes. Historically, there have been many candidates for the former: goodness (Christian Platonism), being as act (Thomas Aquinas), infinity (Duns Scotus), radical intellection (John of Saint Thomas), omniperfection (nominalism), spirit as *Geist* (Hegel), radical liberty, love, and so forth.

The multiple formalities taken to be attributes are understood as characteristic of God in a way proper to himself, that is, one that transcends all finite modes in which any perfection is found realized in the cosmos. The formalities, as divine, remain unknowable in themselves. Thus, the "knowledge act" on which such predication is based is always analogical or symbolic in kind. This is clearest in the understanding that the many divine attributes are all really identical with divinity and so with each other, but that a formal distinguishing of them is demanded by the inadequacy of human thought in its finite mode of knowing God. Thus, the justice of God really is his mercy in the order of his own being, but both the formalities of justice and mercy are ascribed to him in the human finite order of knowing. The distinctions between the divine attributes, in other words, are distinctions of reason. It became customary to categorize these attributes in various ways, the most significant of which distinguishes entitative attributes from operative ones. The former characterized God in his very being (goodness, eternity, infinity, etc.); the latter characterize his necessary relationship to any world he might summon into being and are grasped by reason as the divine knowing and loving. These latter are attributes only insofar as they are necessarily in God. Thus, love is a divine attribute in that the Christian cannot conceive of God as nonloving, but the termination of that divine activity at this or that creaturely good is not an attribute but something freely chosen by God.

The doctrine concerning the divine attributes originated with the early Church Fathers and continued to develop, with its main architectonic lines unchanged, until the Enlightenment; it was not, for example, matter for dispute between the parties to the Reformation. Obviously, it is a theological construct rather than a direct matter of faith; that is to say, it is the product of reflection upon what God has revealed rather than the immediate content of that revelation. The self-revelation of God articulated in both Old and New Testaments (i.e., the Jewish and the Christian scriptures) is not any metaphysical account of God's essence and its defining characteristics, but a narrative of God's saving history with first Israel, and then, through Jesus Christ, with the world at large. Thus, the Bible offers no doctrine of divine attributes but rather an account of the attitudes God has freely chosen to adopt toward his creatures, his free decisions in the events of revelation and saving grace. In this light, the traditional teaching on the divine attributes assumes something of the character of a natural theology, in the sense that such teaching is neither revealed in a direct of formal way nor immediately derived from what is so revealed, but rather results from rational reflection upon a presupposed concept of what constitutes God's inmost nature. But the illation from characteristic activity to underlying nature or essence is a valid one logically, that is, the manner in which God freely chooses to relate to his creatures is disclosive of what constitutes his nature and attributers. Thus, there is a natural theology operative in the doctrine on the attributes, but it is not one which serves as a criterion for interpreting the Bible. Rather, the very converse is true: the New Testament confession of God as revealed in Jesus the Christ controls any subsequent determination of the attributes of God postulated theologically.

Inherent in the theism wherein the above understanding of the attributes is developed is a strong emphasis on God's transcendence of the world, without any denial of his simultaneous immanence therein. From the time of Hegel and Schleiermacher (in the mid-nineteenth century), emphasis begins to shift to the immanence of God. Classical theism is now confronted with a pantheistic notion of God (in which the world is God's unfolding of himself), or a panentheistic one (in which God and world, without being identical, are correlates each necessary to the other). Insofar as this movement gains momentum, it undercuts the traditional doctrine on the attributes by focusing not only on what constitutes God absolutely, but equally on what constitutes him relatively, that is, insofar as he is determined contingently by creatures. This approach has been adopted notably by process theology, which finds its inspiration in the thought of Alfred Whitehead and Charles Hartshorne. Here, "becoming," rather than "being," is the ultimate category, and God is only partially described in terms of absolute attributes he cannot lack (divine nature as primordial); the full description includes also God's limited but actual determination of his own nature in his action upon and reaction to the world (divine nature as consequent). Differing from this but sharing in some of its basic intuitions are various theologies following the modern stress upon subjectivity and self-consciousness. These tend to historicize the reality of God, viewing it more as event than as being: as the power of the future (Wolfhart Pannenberg), or the promise of a new future (Jürgen Moltmann). Here, the anthropomorphisms of the Old Testament especially are translated, not into a metaphysical scheme taken over from Greek rationalism, but into the categories of universal history. In such thought, the attributes of God are not done away with but are relativized historically—for example, God is no longer characterized as eternal but as infinitely temporal.

SEE ALSO God, articles on God in Postbiblical Christianity, God in the New Testament.

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WILLIAM J. HILL (1987)
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ATTRIBUTES OF GOD: ISLAMIC CONCEPTS

The word *ṣifah* ("attribute"; pl., *ṣifāt*) is not found in the Qurʾān, but the verbal noun *waṣf* does appear there one time (6:139) and the imperfect of the first form of the verb thirteen times in the sense of "to ascribe or uphold a description, to attribute, with the idea of falsehood." This meaning is associated with *Allāh* (God) in 6:100, 23:91, 37:159, 37:180, and 43:82; these verses seem to indicate that every description of God is bound to fail.

In order to avoid certain confusions, one must remember that the Arabic grammatical categories do not correspond to those of Western languages. Arab grammarians divided words (*kalimah;* pl., *kalām*) into three categories: the verb *(fiʿl)*, the *ism*, and the particle *(ḥarf)*. But the term *ism* does not cover the term *noun* in Western grammar. In fact, the word *ism* includes, among other things, the *maṣdar* (verbal noun), the present and past participles, and the "attribute" *(al-ṣifah al-mushabbahah)*, which is the adjective or participle of adjectival value—a situation that could hardly fail to produce a certain variation in the use of the terms "attributes" and "divine names." To cite only one example, E. H. Palmer, in the introduction to his translation of the Qurʾān (*The Qurʾān Translated*, Oxford, 1900, p. lxvii), writes: "His attributes are expressed by ninety-nine epithets in the Qurʾān, which are single words, generally participial forms. . . . The attributes constitute the *asmāʾ al-ḥusnā*, the good names. . . ."

Theologians have worked hard to distinguish between the *ism* and the *ṣifah* by saying that the *ism* designates God insofar as he is qualified—for example, the Powerful or the Knowing—whereas the attribute is the entity in the essence of God that permits one to say that he is powerful or knowing—the Power, the Knowledge. In the course of the development of theology and following discussions among different schools, the *mutakallimūn* (scholastic theologians) refined the notion of the attribute by attempting to distinguish the various relations between the divine essence and the attributes. We shall encounter some of these distinctions below.

EARLY CREEDAL STATEMENTS. The first dogmatic creeds scarcely allude to the problem of the attributes. Historical conditions easily explain this absence: several years after the death of Muḥammad, the expansion of the new religion, with its political and social ramifications, led the heads of the community to express the essential traits of Islam and to condense them into a formula of faith easy to remember. Some of these formulas are found in the *ḥadīth* collections. Their common trait is the absence of any distinction between the ritual obligations and man's relationship to God. Little by little emerges the definition of the five pillars of Islam and then the formula of the Shahādah ("There is no god but God, and Muḥammad is the Messenger of God") by which the convert is integrated into the community. Already, in a way that was not philosophical but real, the unity of God was affirmed: God is one and he is unique. This was the point of departure for what would soon become the problem of the attributes in God.

Dissensions within the nascent Muslim community quickly gave rise to definite points of view, and those who did not accept them were anathematized. One of the first professions of faith, the eighth-century *Fiqh akbar I*, does not yet mention the unity of God, which is not questioned, nor for that matter does the *Waṣīyah* attributed to Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 767). However, with the *Fiqh akbar II*, the problem of the attributes begins; there one finds, in fact, affirmations such as these: God is one; he has no associates; nothing resembles him; God will be seen in heaven; God is "a thing" *(shayʾ)*, without body, without substance, without accidents; God is the Creator before creating (art. 16); it is permissible to use Persian to designate the attributes of God except for the hand (art. 24); the proximity and distance of God are not material (art. 26); all the names of God are equal (art. 27); the Qurʾān is the word of God (art. 3).

EXTREMIST VIEWS: THE *ḤASHWĪYAH* AND THE *ḤANĀBILAH*. The *ḥashwīyah*, the all-too-strict traditionalists, take literally the anthropomorphic passages of the Qurʾān, refusing any interpretation and taking refuge in the mystery of God, in whom the apparent contradictions are resolved.

In one passage of al-Juwaynī (d. 1037), reported by Ibn Asākir (*Tabyīn*, Damascus, 1928–1929, pp. 149ff.; cf. Gardet and Anawati, 1948, pp. 58–59), the author indicates the respective positions of the *ḥashwīyah*, the Muʿtazilah, and the Ashʿariyah with regard to the principal points of doctrine. The *ḥashwīyah* sin through excess: for them the attributes of God are like human attributes. In heaven, God will be seen in the same way sensory things are seen; God is "infused" *(hulul)* in the throne, which is his place; the hand and the face of God are real attributes like hearing and life: the hand is an actual body part; the face is a face in human form; the descent of God to the nearest heaven is a real descent. The eternal Qurʾān is the uncreated word of God, eternal, unchangeable; the individual letters, the ink with which it has been written, are created.

These extreme positions are also those of Ibn Ḥanbal and his disciples. His most important *ʿaqīdah*, or creed (translated by Henri Laoust in *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus, 1958, p. 88, and by Allard as cited below), numbers no fewer than twelve pages. The problem of the divine attributes, which is to say, the ensemble of questions concerning God himself, is dealt with toward the end of the dogmatic exposition before the refutation of heretics. Briefly recalling the traditional cosmology, Ibn Ḥanbal continues:

> The throne of the Merciful is above the water, and God is on his throne. His feet rest upon the stool. God knows all that exists in the seven heavens and the seven earths, as well as all that exists between them. . . . He knows what is under the earth and at the bottom of the seas. The growth of trees and that of hair is known to him, as is that of every seed and every plant; he knows the place where each leaf falls. He knows the number of words and the number of pebbles, the number of grains of sand and grains of dust. He knows the weight of the mountains; he knows the actions of human beings, their traces, their words, and their breaths; God knows everything. Nothing escapes him. God is on his throne high above the seventh heaven, behind the veils of lights, of shadows, of water, and of everything that he knows better than anyone. If an innovator or heretic relies upon the words of God such as: "We are nearer to him than the jugular vein" (50:16); "He is with you wherever you are" (57:4); "Three men conspire not secretly together, but he is the fourth of them, neither five men, but he is the sixth of them, neither fewer than that, neither more, but he is with them, wherever they may be" (58:7); or if he bases himself on similarly ambiguous verses, one must say to him: What that signifies is knowledge, for God is on the throne above the seventh heaven and his knowledge embraces everything. God is separate from his creation, but no place escapes his knowledge. The throne belongs to God, and the throne is supported by those who carry it. God is on the limitless throne. God is understanding without being able to doubt, seeing without being able to hesitate, knowing without being able not to know, generous without avarice, long-suffering without haste; he is mindful without forgetting; he is alert without negligence; he is near without anything escaping him; he is in movement, he speaks, he looks, he laughs, he rejoices, he loves and he detests, he displays ill-will and kindness; he becomes angry and he forgives; he impoverishes, gives or gives not. Every night he descends, in

> the manner he wishes, to the nearest heaven. "Like him there is naught; he is the All-Hearing, the All-Seeing" (42:11). The hearts of humankind are between two fingers of the Merciful: he turns them over as he desires and engraves on them whatever he wants. He created Adam with his hands and in his image. On the day of resurrection, the heavens and the earth will be in his palm; He will put his feet in the fire and he will disappear, and then he will make the people of the fire come out with his hand. The people of Paradise will look at his face and see it; God will honor them; he will manifest himself to them and give them gifts. On the day of resurrection, humankind will draw near to him and he will be in charge of the reckoning of their actions; he will not confide that to anyone else. The Qurʾān is the word of God, that which he uttered; it is not created. He who claims that the Qurʾān is created is a Jahmī and an infidel. He who says that the Qurʾān is the word of God, but goes no further and does not say that it is uncreated, is of an opinion worse than the preceding one. He who claims that our pronunciation of the Qurʾān and our recitation are created, whereas the Qurʾān is the Word of God, is a Jahmī. And he who does not treat all of those people as infidels is like them. (Qāḍī Abū al-Husayn, *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābilah,* Cairo, 1952, vol. 1, p. 29; trans. Allard, 1965, pp. 99–100)

THE MUʿTAZILAH. The first essential thesis of the Muʿtazilah concerns the unity of God and thus the problem of the attributes and their relationship with the essence of God. It is the most important thesis of their doctrine, for it is the source of the others and has served to characterize the Muʿtazilah themselves: *ahl al-ʿadl wa-al-tawḥīd* ("the partisans of justice and unity").

We have already seen that the Qurʾān contains verses describing God in an anthropomorphic manner (6:52, 7:52, 55:27). There are others that insist on the differences between God and all that is created: "Like him there is naught" (42:11, 6:103). The first generations, mostly fideists, had accepted both groups of verses, taking refuge, by way of reconciling them, in the mystery of God and refusing to give any explanations. Contrary to the "corporealists" "whose extreme views we have seen, they were content to say that God had a hand, ears, and face, but not like ours" (see al-Bājūrī, *Ḥāshi-yah... ʿalā Jawharat al-tawḥīd,* Cairo, 1934, p. 76, and the satirical verse of Zamakhsharī, the Muʿtazī).

The Muʿtazilah were radical: in their view, the *via remotionis,* or *tanzīh,* was to be applied in all of its rigor. The Qurʾān itself invites us to do so: in regard to God one must reject all that is created. The anthropomorphic verses? They will be "interpreted" symbolically; if necessary, they will be denied. Similarly, *ḥadīth* that go the wrong way will be rejected. It is necessary to maintain, at whatever cost, the absolute divine unity, strict monotheism. Against the anthropomorphisms of "the people of the *ḥadīth*" and the ʿAlids, they affirmed their agnosticism in regard to the nature of God (see their creed as reported by al-Ashʿarī in his *Maqālāt al-Islāmīyīn,* ed. Ritter, Istanbul, 1929, p. 155). Without going as far as the Jahmīyah, who completely denied the attributes of God, they affirmed that all these attributes were identical with the essence, that they had no real existence. Against the Dahrīyah (materialists), they affirmed a personal creator God.

Likewise, if God is absolutely spiritual, he cannot be seen by the senses; hence the negation of the "vision of God" in the future life, the *ruʾyah* of the traditionalists (see al-Jurjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif,* Cairo, 1907, bk. 8, pp. 115ff.). The absolute transcendence of God in relation to the world leads them to distinguish rigorously between the preeternal *(qadīm)* and that which has begun to be *(muḥdath)* and makes them reject energetically all notion of *ḥulūl* (the infusion of the divine in the created).

The affirmation of a God distinct from the world poses the problem of the relations of God with this world. The Muʿtazilah ask themselves if God's knowledge of things precedes them in existence or is born with them; on the whole they conclude in favor of a "contingent" or "created" divine knowledge of free future things and of the possible in general (see al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt,* p. 222 and passim, and al-Khayyāt, *Kitāb al-intiṣār,* ed. Nyberg, Cairo, 1925, p. 126). They study the object, the limits of divine power; they analyze man's power over actions and affirm that he creates them by "generation" (*tawallud;* on which, see Aḥmad Amīn, *Duha,* vol. 3, p. 59; and Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal,* vol. 5, Cairo, 1899/1900, p. 52).

Finally, always with the same concern to suppress every shadow of associationism, they affirmed the *created* character of the Qurʾān, the word of God. In the history of the Muʿtazilah, this thesis has drawn the greatest attention because of its political repercussions. The reasoning of the Muʿtazilah was very simple: God, identical with his attributes, admits of no change; it is thus impossible that the Qurʾān, the word of God in the sense of an attribute, is uncreated, for it is essentially multiple and temporal. The Muʿtazilah did not fail to find texts in the sacred book itself to support their thesis. They concluded that the Qurʾān is a "genre" of words, created by God; it is called "the word of God" because, contrary to our own words, the Qurʾān was created directly.

In his *Lawāmiʿ al-bayyināt fī al-asmāʾ wa-al-ṣifāt* (Cairo, 1914, pp. 24ff.), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1209) expounds the different groupings of the attributes in accordance with the schools. He sets forth those of the Muʿtazilah in the following manner: For Abū Ḥashim, the attributes are "modes" *(aḥwāl),* intermediate entities between the existent and the nonexistent. What ensures the reality of these modes is either (1) the divine essence, whether initially *(ibtidāʾan)* or by the intermediary of other modes, for in all this it is a matter of essential attributes; or else it is (2) the *maʿānī* found in the divine essence, in which case it is a matter of entitative attributes or of qualification *(maʿnawīyah),* such as *ʿālim* ("knowing") or *qādir* ("able"). As for operative attributes, they do not constitute a stable state *(ḥālah thābitah)* of the divine essence, nor of the *maʿānī*, but they are made up of the pure emanation of effects starting from God.

AL-ASHʿARĪ. It was left to Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī (d. 935), a deserter from the Muʿtazilah, to give to it the hardest and one might say the most decisive blows. The doctrine he elaborated would become that of orthodox Islam itself.

A native of Basra, he was for forty years the disciple and then the collaborator of al-Jubbāʿī, the chief of the Muʿtazilah in that city, until one day, suddenly made aware of the dangers that the Muʿtazilah were bringing to Islam, he was "converted" to the true doctrine. He broke publicly with them and consecrated the rest of his life to the refutation of their doctrine.

But at the same time that he attacked his former companions, he took care to put himself in the good graces of the fervent traditionalists, the Ḥanbalī zealots. Their inquisitorial attitude was allied—among the most exalted of them, the *ḥashwīyah*—with a materialization of doctrine that did not fail to disquiet the intelligent believers. And it was precisely to fend off their misdeeds that al-Ashʿarī, upon arriving in Baghdad, decided to write his *Ibānah*, or "elucidation" of the principles of religion. In an apostolic *captatio benevolentiae*, he expressed his admiration for Ibn Ḥanbal out of a desire to show the latter's disciples that one could be a good Muslim without falling into the exaggerations of literalism.

What was al-Ashʿarī's method, and on what bases did this doctor, only yesterday a fervent Muʿtazī, ardent promoter of reasoning, construct his "defense of dogma"? First of all, regarding exegesis of the Qurʾān, he thrust aside the much too drastic *tanzīh* of the Muʿtazilah, which led to *taʿṭīl*, the total stripping away of the notion of God (*Ibānah*, Cairo, 1929/30, p. 46; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, vol. 2, pp. 122–126). He had in mind to keep himself within a literal interpretation of the text and thus clearly seems to present himself as a faithful disciple of Ibn Ḥanbal. One should not be too surprised that the creed opening the short treatise of the *Ibānah* explicitly refers to the severe *imām,* covering him with eulogies. This is a literalism peculiar to al-Ashʿarī, for the later Ashʿarīyah were to move away noticeably from the rigid literalism of their founder and thereby draw upon themselves the fire of an Ibn Ḥazm and of the Ḥanābilah themselves (Henri Laoust, *Essai sur . . . Takī-d-Dīn Aḥmad B. Taimiya*, pp. 81–82). Likewise, on the question of "the vision of God," on that of anthropomorphic expressions and attributes (*Ibānah*, p. 45), he entertains opinions that Ibn Ḥanbal would have subscribed to without fear.

That is the al-Ashʿarī of our direct sources, but there is another one: the figure whom his disciples have in mind. For al-Juwaynī (eleventh century), who would become al-Ghazālī's teacher, al-Ashʿarī is not a theologian who rallied to the opinions of Ibn Ḥanbal but a reconciler of two extreme positions. We have a clear testimony in the long extract from al-Juwaynī that Ibn ʿAsākir gives us in his *Tabyīn* (pp. 149ff.). The famous judge shows how his master, in the principal questions, has followed a middle way between the exaggerations of the Muʿtazilah and those of the *ḥashwīyah* who, in truth, were recruited among the Ḥanbalī extremists (see Gardet and Anawati, 1948, pp. 58–59).

Al-Ashʿarī was not the only one to fight the good fight for the triumph of traditional doctrine. One of his contemporaries, al-Māturīdī, propagated in the eastern provinces of the empire the ideas that the author of the *Ibānah* fought for in Baghdad. After epic struggles against the old conservatives on the one hand and the Muʿtazilah on the other, Ashʿarism ended up in triumph. It won its case definitively when the famous Seljuk minister Niẓām al-Mulk created chairs for the new theological doctrine in the schools he founded at Nishapur and Baghdad.

This triumph was marked by the successive development of doctrine; three names indicate the principal stages: the *qāḍī* al-Bāqillānī (d. 1013), al-Juwaynī (Imām al-Ḥaramayn, d. 1085), and finally al-Ghazālī (d. 1111).

AL-BĀQILLĀNĪ. Among al-Bāqillānī's numerous works, it is in his *Kitāb al-tamhīd* that we find the most information on the problem of the attributes and the divine names. He deals with it especially in the chapter on *tawḥīd*, written explicitly against the Muʿtazilah, "for they all affirm that God has no life, no knowledge, no power, no hearing, no vision" (ed. R. C. McCarthy, Beirut, 1957, p. 252).

At the beginning of his treatise, al-Bāqillānī speaks only of the active participles such as *ʿālim* ("knowing"), *qādir* ("able"), and *ḥayy* ("living"), whereas in the chapter on the attributes he seems to affirm that only the substantives employed in language about God designate attributes properly speaking.

In the chapter on the name and the named *(al-ism wa-al-musamma)*, a distinction is made between the *names* of God, encompassing all the active participles, and the divine attributes, which are substantives characterizing the essence of God or his action. The attribute is of two sorts: that of essence or that of action. From the divine names one deduces logically the existence of the attributes. To what degree are they really existent in God? To respond in precise fashion to this question, he distinguishes two series of terms: *waṣf* ("description"), *ṣifah* ("attribute"), and *mawṣūf* ("described"), on the one hand, and *tasmiyah* ("nomination"), *ism* ("name"), and *musammā* ("named"), on the other. He defines the attribute *(ṣifah)* as "the thing found in the being described *[mawṣūf]* or belonging to it; that which makes this thing something acquired is the act of description *[waṣf]*, which is the quality *[naʿt]* deriving from the attribute *[ṣifah]*" (p. 213). Much later he will say: "The act of describing is the speech of the person who describes God or someone else as 'being,' 'knowing,' 'living,' 'able,' giving favor and kindness. This act of describing is speech that is heard and its expression; it is different from the attribute subsisting in God and the existence of which entails that God is knowing, able, willing" (p. 214).

In a parallel way al-Bāqillānī gives the following precise details: "The doctrine of the partisans of the truth is that the name *[ism]* is the named *[musammā]* itself, or an attribute tied to it, and that it is other than the fact of giving a name *[tasmiyah]*" (p. 227).

Thus, to explain the realism of the divine names and attributes, al-Bāqillānī distinguishes between the plane of language and that of reality. "Language affects the reality of the speaker, but the moment that speech [name or attribute] is uttered, it refers only to the one spoken of" (Allard). This distinction presupposes a theory of the divine origin of language that allows humans to enter into reality directly, as it is.

In the chapter dealing with name and denomination, al-Bāqillānī gives a classification of the names and attributes, which can be summarized as follows (p. 235, 5–15; Allard, 1965, p. 308):

1. Names that express the named—for example, "thing" *(shayʾ)*, "existent" *(mawjūd)*;
2. Names that express that the named is different from the rest—for example, "other" *(ghayr)*, "different" *(khilāf)*;
3. Names that express an attribute of the named, an attribute that is the form, the composite; an attribute that is an exterior aspect; an attribute that is found in the being itself; an attribute that is an action of this being; an attribute that is not an action.

On the question of the anthropomorphism of the Qurʾān, al-Bāqillānī remains very close to al-Ashʿarī: he affirms that God really has a face, and hands, that he is really on his throne. He refuses to interpret these expressions either in a realistic fashion (like the Ḥanābilah) or in an allegorical fashion (like the Muʿtazilah). Similarly, for the "vision of God" (pp. 266–279), al-Bāqillānī insists on God's transcendence: there is no possible explanation for the way that vision will take place any more than there is for the way that divine speech is to be understood.

AL-JUWAYNĪ. With al-Juwaynī a distinction among the divine attributes was made with reference to the notions of the necessary, the possible, and the impossible. In his treatise *Al-irshād*, which became a classic of *kalām*, after an introduction consecrated to the study of the character of reasoning and its nature, the author deals with *tawḥīd*: he proves the existence of God, in particular by the contingency of the world and *a novitate mundi;* then he establishes two large categories: (1) what exists necessarily in God—the attributes, and (2) what is possible—in which he deals with the visibility of God, the creation of human acts, justification and reprobation, prophetology, eschatology, and the imamate.

As regards the attributes, al-Ashʿarī spoke of *bi-lā kayf* (lit., "without how"): affirmation of the existence of the attributes while refusing to ask about their mode *(kayf)* so as to safeguard, at one and the same time, the divine transcendence and the explicit assertions of the Qurʾān. Al-Juwaynī goes further: he divides the attributes into *nafsī* ("essential") and *maʿnawī* (of quality, or "entitative" [Allard]). The "essential" attribute is every positive attribute of the subject that resides in the subject so long as it lasts and that does not come from a cause. The qualitative attribute comes from a cause that exists in the subject (*Irshād*, ed. and trans. Jean Dominique Luciani, Paris, 1938, pp. 17–18; trans. p. 39). Next al-Juwaynī sets down the different attributes of God: existence, eternity, subsistence, dissimilarity to all things—in particular the absence of extent, hence the obligation to interpret allegorically those passages of the Qurʾān that presuppose extent.

Then al-Juwaynī affirms that God is not a substance *(jawhar)*, which implies extent, and thus he refutes the Christian doctrines on the Trinity. After that he shows the unicity of God by the argument of "the natural obstacle": if there were two gods, their wills could be discordant. Finally, the seventh chapter is dedicated to the qualitative attributes: God is powerful; he is willing, living, and so forth.

Contrary to most of the *mutakallimūn*, he preserves the system of the "modes" *(aḥwāl)*, which in his opinion resolves the rather delicate problem of the relations of the essence of God with the attributes, the mode being an attribute attached to an existing thing but which is qualified neither by existence nor by nonexistence (pp. 47–48/81–83).

To know the divine attributes we cannot but start with that which is known to us: the invisible can only be known by starting with the visible. The bonds that unite the two are of four kinds: the law of cause (to be knowledgeable in the visible world is a result of knowledge), the law of condition (to be knowledgeable presupposes that one is alive), the law of essence (the essence of the knowing person is to have knowledge), and finally the law of proof (the action of creating proves the existence of the Creator, p. 49/83–84).

AL-GHAZĀLĪ. Of the works of the great theologian al-Ghazālī, I shall confine myself here to only two: the *Iqtiṣād fī al-Iʿtiqād* (The just mean in belief) and *Al-maqṣad al-aqṣā: Sharḥ asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā* (The further goal: Commentary on the most beautiful names of God).

In the first book, al-Ghazālī devotes the first four chapters to establishing the nature of *kalām*, its social function, its method, and the category of people it addresses. Then he divides the ensemble of the questions envisaged into four main parts, expressed precisely: since God is the object of *kalām*, one should first of all study him in his essence (first part), then in his attributes (second part); one then should consider God's action, that of his personal acts (third part) and those of his envoys (fourth part). The whole of the work may be summarized as follows:

Preliminaries. The nature of *kalām*; its importance; its methodology.

I. *The Divine Essence.* (1) God exists. (2) He is eternal. (3) He is permanent. (4) He is insubstantial. (5) He is incorporeal. (6) He in nonaccidental. (7) He is undefined. (8) He is not localized. (9) He is visible and knowable. (10) He is one.

II. *The Attributes of God.* (1) The attributes in themselves: life, knowledge, power, will, hearing, sight, speech. (2) The "status" of the attributes: (a) they are not the essence; (b) they are in the essence; (c) they are eternal; (d) the divine names.

III. *The Acts of God* (what God can or cannot do). (1) God can choose (is free) to impose no obligation on his creatures. (2) Or he can choose to impose on them what they cannot do. (3) God does nothing in vain. (4) He can make innocent animals suffer. (5) He can fail to reward one who obeys him. (6) The obligation of knowing God comes from revelation alone. (7) The sending of prophets is possible.

IV. *The Envoys of God.* (1) Muḥammad. (2) Eschatology (and faith). (3) The caliphate. (4) The sects.

The *Maqṣad al-aqṣā* is a small treatise numbering about a hundred pages in the Cairo edition (n. d.), on the attributes and the divine names. A long introduction contains an analysis of the nature of the name and its relations with the named, along with its meaning in reality and in the spirit. Al-Ghazālī distinguishes among the different categories of names—univocal, synonymous, equivocal—and shows how the pious man finds his happiness in this world in attempting to pattern his life on the "divine morality" expressed by the attributes and the names. In the second part, a more or less lengthy account is given to each of the ninety-nine names of God.

(For the development of the doctrine of the divine attributes and the place it occupies in the later theological treatises of al-Shahrastānī, al-Rāzī, al-Bayḍāwī, al-Ījī, al-Jurjānī, al-Sanūsī, and, for the contemporary period, al-Laqānī, al-Bājūrī, and Muḥammad ʿAbduh, see Gardet and Anawati, 1948, pp. 160–174.)

THE FALĀSIFAH. In the wake of Aristotelian and Neoplatonic philosophy, al-Fārābī (d. 950) and Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna; d. 1037) elaborated a metaphysical notion of God that attempted to return to the Qurʾanic data. For al-Fārābī as for Ibn Sīnā God is the necessary Being as such; in him essence and existence are identical; he is without cause and the cause of everything; he belongs to no genus nor to any species; he has no contrary in any respect; nothing resembles him. He is the Truth, the pure Good, the pure Intelligence; he is generous; he is life; he is blissful. He knows because he knows himself, and so forth.

But what becomes of the divine attributes in this conception, and what degree of reality do they have outside of the divine essence? In referring more or less explicitly to Aristotelian principles, al-Fārābī, and after him Ibn Sīnā, consider the attributes as properties of the essence, but expressed negatively. The principle is as follows: Certain terms, although applied to creatures, can also be applied to God, but only by taking into account the manner in which one would make the attribution. Insofar as they are applied to creatures, they are accidents of different kinds, but, applied to God, they should be considered properties expressing only action. Moreover, terms that, when applied to created things, are positive in both their form and signification, when applied to God have a negative sense while retaining their positive form. Al-Fārābī would say of the divine attributes, for example, that they fall into two groups: (1) those that designate what belongs to God by virtue of himself and (2) those that designate what has a relation to something else outside of him, that in fact designate an action. As examples of the latter, al-Fārābī mentions justice *(al-ʿadl)* and generosity *(al-jūd)*; as an example of the former, he would say that God is not wise through wisdom that he would have acquired by knowledge of something outside his essence, but rather it is in his own essence that he finds this knowledge. In other words, the nonrelational predicates, such as wisdom, are affirmed of God as if belonging to him in a negative sense: the qualities they express were not acquired from something external to his essence.

In the same manner, Ibn Sīnā explains that the attributes are properties that reveal not the essence of God, but only his existence. Even then they only reveal it in describing the actions of God or his dissimilarity to other things. So much so is this the case that even when the predicates are adjectives of positive form one must interpret them as signifying actions or negations.

One can understand that, under these conditions, al-Ghazālī had a good chance to show that the *falāsifah* (he had in mind al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā above all) were practically denying the reality of the distinction between the essence and the attributes; see his exposition of the doctrine of the *falāsifah* on this point and his criticism in *Tahāfut al-falāsifah (Incoherence of the Philosophers).*

With certain reservations, Ibn Rushd (Averroës) adopted Ibn Sīnā's position on the divine attributes and attempted to refute al-Ghazālī's attacks in his *Tahāfut al-tahāfut (The Incoherence of [al-Ghazālī's] Incoherence).*

In conclusion one may say that, from early times down to the present, the divine attributes and names have played an important role in Muslim piety among the educated and the common people alike. The faithful need to address themselves to God, to a living God, and they can only reach him through those descriptions that the Qurʾān has offered, precisely in order to make him accessible to those who invoke him. The Muslim prayer beads *(subḥah)* serve to remind those who hold them while reciting the "most beautiful names of God" that their creator is among them and that he is enveloping them in his protection and mercy. It is no exaggeration to say that the quintessence of Muslim piety finds its best sustenance in this fervent meditation on the attributes and the divine names.

SEE ALSO Ashʿariyah; Creeds, article on Islamic Creeds; Muʿtazilah.

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There are many studies on the divine attributes in Western languages. In my article "Un traité des Noms divins de Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, le *Lawāmiʾ al-bayyināt*," in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of H. A. R. Gibb*, edited by George Makdisi (Leiden, 1965), pp. 36–52, I discuss al-Rāzī's seminal work on the subject. For al-Ashʿarī's approach to the question of the attributes of God, Otto Pretzl's *Die frühislamische Attributenlehre* (Munich, 1940) is an important study based on al-Ashʿarī's *Maqālāt al-islāmīyīn*. Other works to be consulted include J. W. Redhouse's "The Most Comely Names," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 12 (1880): 1–69; Youakim Moubarac's "Les noms, titres et attributs de Dieu dans le Coran," *Le Muséon* 68 (1955): 93–135; Jacques Jomier's "Le nom divin ʾal-Raḥmānʾ dans le Coran," in *Mélanges Louis Massignon* (Damascus, 1957), vol. 2, pp. 361–381; Denise Masson's *Le Coran et la révélation judéo-chrétienne*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1958), especially chapter 21, "Les attributs de Dieu," pp. 15–82; and Michel Allard's *Le problème des attributs divins dans la doctrine d'al-Ašʿari et de ses premiers grands disciples* (Beirut, 1965).

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Translated from French by Mary Ann Danner

ATUA. Across Polynesia the word *atua* (or its cognate form) is commonly interpreted as "god," "deity," "supernatural," or "spirit" entity. According to Torben Monberg (1966, p. 36) the *atua* were anthropomorphic (shaped like humans), anthroposocial (able to perceive what humans were doing and to communicate with them), and anthropopsychic (relations were conducted with them as though they had human ways of thinking). E. S. Craighill Handy (1927, p. 88) defined *atua* as personified concepts that embodied desires, needs, hopes, and dreads, or as individualized elements and forces observed in nature.

In some Polynesian groups (e.g., Tokelau, Samoa) a loose distinction is made between *atua* (gods) and *aitu* (spirits). Monberg (1966, p. 58) uses the term *aitu* to refer to lesser gods, while Raymond Firth (1970, pp. 66–69) uses the term *atua* to refer to all supernatural beings. A summary of usages of the word disguises the variations found between island groups. However, a summary can also give the range of meanings associated with this term. Generally, the term *atua* can refer to two major groups of entities: *atua* who have never been human, and those who once were human.

First among the group who were never human are the great creator gods of Polynesian origin stories. Sometimes these major *atua* are seen as sea gods (e.g., Tangaroa) or land gods (e.g., Tane). Under them come what could be called departmental gods—those that have control over the elements, the landscape, and human interactions, such as war or fertility. Both major and lesser deities can manifest beneficent or maleficent characteristics, although actively unpleasant spirits are often associated with specific places on the land. While these *atua* were never human, the chiefly lines of some Polynesian island groups are believed to have descended from them. There are few female *atua* in the Pacific pantheon—Hina, often associated with the moon, Pele of Hawai'ian volcanoes, and the *atua* Fafine (female goddess) of Tikopia—but the majority are male. Gender roles and relations on earth are often reflected in the heavens.

The second group, spirits that were once human, can be important dead ancestors whose significance on earth has been recognized in the supernatural realm and who may even be seen as lesser gods. All humans were believed to have *ora,* or "soul." At death this *ora* goes on to become either *atua* or *aitu,* a continuation of the life force in the spirit realm. These ancestral spirits may play no particular role in the relationship between the living and the dead, or they may feature in the rituals of their descendants, returning to collect the spirits of the newly dead and overseeing the welfare of the family to which they once belonged.

Records of traditional religious beliefs in Polynesia were often collected by the missionaries whose duty it was to extirpate these beliefs. The extent of their understanding varied in quality. Alternatively, accounts were also collected after the conversion of the Pacific to Christianity (Firth writing on Tikopia is an exception) and the stories of traditional gods have sometimes been fitted into a Christian understanding of a supreme god or a trinity. The oral traditions of each island group and their early ethnographies need to be studied carefully to discover the parameters of the term *atua.*

SEE ALSO Mana; Polynesian Religions, overview article; Taboo.

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JUDITH MACDONALD (2005)

ATUM was the creator god of Heliopolis, the sole progenitor and head of the ancient Egyptian pantheon according to one of the earliest Egyptian cosmogonies. Atum, "the all" or "the complete one," by spitting, vomiting, or masturbating produced Shu and Tefnut, "air" and "moisture," who in turn generated Geb and Nut, "earth" and "sky." This last chthonic pair produced Osiris and Seth, rivals for the rulership of the land, together with their consorts, Isis and Nephthys. Together these nine deities comprised the great Heliopolitan ennead, but probably the greatest function of this pantheon was to provide a genealogy for the Egyptian king, who was equated with Horus, the son of Isis. Horus had to avenge the slaying of his father, Osiris, by his uncle, Seth.

As early as the Old Kingdom (2686–2181 BCE) the sky god, Atum, had been assimilated to the sun god, Re. This new solar deity, Re-Atum, gained or regained a commanding position at the head of the Egyptian pantheon and contributed to some weakening in the myth of divine kingship by clearly subordinating the king to the god by the fifth dynasty. However, the Horus-king was accommodated to the new solar cult by being titled also "Son of Re." At some point the creator god, Atum, was subordinated to Ptah, at least by Memphite priests who described Atum's creation by Ptah as recorded on the Shabaka Stone.

The great temple of Heliopolis, one of the three largest in Egypt, has not survived, and very few finds have been made in its vicinity. The vast amount of religious literature whose origin was Heliopolitan was primarily solar-oriented and had Re as principal god, but the sources are from the fifth dynasty and later. In the solar religion Atum was retained as the old, setting sun, and Khepri was the young, rising sun, but Re was the bright noonday sun. It is probably impossible to estimate the earlier importance of Atum or of the later revivals that may have reawakened interest in this primordial god. The late *Contendings of Horus and Seth* presents Atum as one of the chief judges before whom most of the other senior deities testify on behalf of Horus, while Seth appears to have had the support of the supreme god Re.

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LEONARD H. LESKO (1987)

AUGUSTINE OF CANTERBURY (d. 604/5), leader of the first evangelistic mission to the Saxon peoples in southeastern England and first archbishop of Canterbury. Pope Gregory the Great (590–604) had conceived a mission to evangelize the Anglo-Saxons and in 596 chose Augustine, prior of Saint Andrew's monastery in Rome, to lead the expedition. With forty monks and letters of recommendation from Gregory addressed to Catholic leaders across Gaul, Augustine embarked. Within the year he reached the town now called Canterbury, which was the headquarters of the Saxon king Ethelbert (Æthelberht). Augustine was received with surprising hospitality, probably because Ethelbert had married a Christian, Bertha, the daughter of the Frankish king. Ethelbert gave Augustine lodging, land on which the mission could support itself, and freedom to preach and teach. Although Augustine and his men spoke only Latin and had to use interpreters, their message and manner of life were evidently winsome. Within a year several thousand people had requested baptism. Soon after, Augustine crossed the channel to Arles and was consecrated a bishop. Shortly after his return to Canterbury, he baptized Ethelbert, and this act set the stage for a wider Christian influence among the Saxons. In 601, Gregory appointed Augustine archbishop and sent additional helpers with instructions for him to establish his cathedral in the old Roman trade center to the northwest, called Londinium (London), and to appoint twelve suffragan bishops for the area. Augustine chose Canterbury as more feasible, but he did establish a bishop in London and one in Duro Brevis (modern-day Rochester), twenty-four miles west of Canterbury.

Far to the west of Canterbury existed another group of Christians among the Celtic people. According to optimistic instructions from the pope, "all the bishops of Britain" were to be under Augustine's care, a message that revealed Rome to be largely ignorant of the old Celtic church, which the Saxons had driven out of central England. Their church calendar, pastoral organization, and monastic procedures were different from those of Rome. In 604, Augustine arranged a meeting with some of its bishops and sought to harmonize the two groups' differences. The distinctions between the two, however, and the Celts' fear of the Saxons, formed a chasm that seemed unbridgeable. Although unable to unify the church in his day, Augustine contributed to the unity that would come sixty years later.

Limited also was the extent of Augustine's evangelization, but he did bring to Canterbury the Italian monastic tradition, as it was beginning to be modified by the rule of Benedict of Nursia. This monastic practice of daily rounds of worship, meditation, farm work, preaching, works of mercy, and operation of a school for the sons of the leading families of the area was to become an influential instrument in the conversion of England. Augustine died May 26, 604 or 605 and was buried in Canterbury. He left no writings and established only the three dioceses in the southeast, but he laid foundations for the christianization of Anglo-Saxon England.

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AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO (354–430), Christian theologian and bishop. A creative genius of mystical piety and great philosophical acumen, Augustine wrought a theological-ecclesiological system in which biblical tradition and classical philosophy coalesced. Not only was his thought seminal for the development of Western Christianity, his moral values and personal piety remained norms for medieval and Reformation Europe.

Augustine's life spanned a crucial epoch in state and church. The late Roman Empire was disintegrating, and its collapse would devastate the public sense of political stability and continuity. The Christian church, having weathered persecution, moved into a period of doctrinal and ecclesiastical formation. Punic Africa had no small part in these political and religious affairs, and Augustine's self-proclaimed identity as "an African, writing for Africans. . . . living in Africa" (*Letters* 17.2) must not be overlooked. Indeed, the manner in which Augustine united, in his works and in his person, the various currents of his time has definitely marked Western culture.

EARLY LIFE. Augustine, known also as Aurelius Augustinus, was born in Tagaste (present-day Souk-Ahras, Algeria) to a pagan father, Patricius, and a Christian mother, Monica. Monica's influence on Augustine was tremendous. He was convinced that her prayers, piety, and relentless pursuit of his conversion were instrumental in bringing about his life-altering encounter with God. Monica forbade Augustine's receiving infant baptism, but he was given the rite of the cross on the forehead and cleansing salt on the lips.

After early study under local schoolmasters, Augustine was sent, at fifteen, to Madaurus to continue his education. There began a period of profligacy that was to continue when he went to Carthage for advanced study. In that city, he took a concubine and fathered a son, Adeodatus, meaning "gift of God," to whom Augustine referred as "child of my sin." In Carthage, Augustine's education centered primarily on his becoming a rhetorician and lawyer—a field in which he became highly proficient. In later years, according to Philip Schaff, he "enriched Latin literature with a store of beautiful, original, and pregnant proverbial sayings" (*History of the Christian Church,* vol. 3, Grand Rapids, 1950, p. 998).

At this time, Augustine became enamored of Manichaeism, a sect that emphasized an essential dualism of good and evil. Manichaean stress on the evil nature of flesh had far reaching influence on Augustine. The impact of the Manichaean view of sex in his later formulation of the concept of the basic sinfulness of humankind and the weakness of the flesh has not been fully recognized.

In 373, Augustine came upon Cicero's now lost *Hortensius.* This work "inflamed" Augustine with a love of philosophy that continued for a lifetime. Induced by Monica's incessant pleading, prayers, and vivid dreams, Augustine turned to the Christian scriptures, but was gravely disappointed. In comparison to "the stately prose of Cicero," the Bible seemed unworthy. He found sections of *Genesis* crude; he questioned the integrity of certain Old Testament figures. It was philosophy that captured his intellectual curiosity. He proceeded with study of Aristotle's book on the categories.

Augustine returned to Tagaste, where he began teaching rhetoric. Patricius had died, having embraced the Catholic Church at Monica's insistence. Monica refused her son entrance to her home because he had espoused Manichaeism. She continued to pray and was told by a bishop, "It cannot be that the son of these tears should be lost" (*Confessions* 3.12).

In 380, Augustine completed his first book, *De pulchro et apto* (Beauty and Proportion), a work on aesthetics no longer extant. At this time, he gathered about him a group of students who became his intimate friends. Among these were Alypius and Nebridius, who, like Augustine himself, would become priests and bishops in the African church.

Bitter sorrow at the death of a childhood friend prompted Augustine's return to Carthage. There he became interested in the Skeptics (the New Academy) and less enchanted with Manichaeism. A long anticipated dialogue with the celebrated Faustus, Manichaen bishop of Milevis, proved to be utterly disappointing to Augustine. Thus began his disillusionment with and gradual separation from the sect, which he increasingly detested and later acrimoniously attacked.

Unruly students in Carthage occasioned Augustine's decision to leave for Rome, but once there illness overtook him. Upon his recovery he began teaching rhetoric. The position of public orator opened in Milan—where the imperial court frequently resided, and with the aid of friends and associates he secured this important position.

In Milan, Augustine came to know the respected Ambrose (c. 339–397), the patrician bishop of Milan. The latter's skill as rhetorician was legendary, and it was professional interest that drew Augustine to him initially. Ambrose's allegorical interpretation of the Bible gave Augustine a new understanding and appreciation of scripture. Stoic ethics—in which Ambrose was an expert—likewise had lasting effect. Augustine was also fascinated by the use of music—chanting and hymns—in Ambrose's church.

Augustine was soon joined by Monica, several cousins, his brother, students, and his mistress and son. Thus surrounded by a congenial African phalanstery, Augustine and his associates were introduced to Plato via the teachings of Plotinus (205–270). Ambrose was well informed on Plotinus and quoted at length Plotinus's mystical interpretation of Platonic idealism. What clearly appealed most to Augustine was the possibility of combining Platonism with Christian cosmology. Augustine saw the Platonic conception of God—the One as the absolute, the all perfect, from whom emanates the nous (intelligence)—as a key to understanding the "God who was in Christ."

From this beginning Augustine delved deeper into Platonism, reading Plato in Latin translations. In Plato, Augustine found answers to questions on the origin and meaning of evil that had first drawn him to the sect of Mani. Later in his life, Augustine transformed Plato into a near-Christian, combining the Logos doctrine with Platonic idealism, the *Gospel of John* with the writings of Plotinus—in short, reconciling Greek wisdom with Hebrew-Christian faith. A Platonic metaphysics was the result: the absolute Good as center of all reality, transcending thought and concrete being.

Very likely in pursuit of greater wealth and higher position in the society of Milan, it was decided that Augustine's mistress be dismissed and a marriage with a Milanese heiress arranged. This separation was painful to Augustine, but, nonetheless, unable to restrain his sexual desires while waiting for his intended bride, he took another mistress. He was deeply tormented by these conflicts between his actions and ideals. He had been reading the Bible regularly, listening to Ambrose, and discussing with friends the lives of those converted by scriptures. The number who had subsequently realized the need for celibacy particularly struck him.

Events converged during August of 386. The stern ethical demands of Ambrose's preaching joined with Monica's unending pleading that Augustine become a Christian. These, along with an increasing sense of the Platonic idea of personal integrity, were linked with the message of the apostle Paul.

A crisis was at hand. "I was frantic, overcome by violent anger with myself for not accepting your will and entering into your covenant" (*Confessions* 8.8). Suddenly, as he stood in the garden, he heard the voice of a child chanting "Tolle lege" ("Take it and read"). Taking up the Bible, he read the first passage to strike his eye, *Romans* 13:13–14: "not in revelling and drunkenness, not in lust and wantoness, not in quarrels and rivalries. Rather, arm yourselves with the Lord, Jesus Christ; spend no more thought on nature and nature's appetites." Augustine underwent a dramatic conversion, a profound life-transforming experience wherein sexual, willful, and spiritual wrestling resulted in complete surrender to God.

AUGUSTINE THE CHRISTIAN. Marriage plans were dismissed, and Augustine now aimed to become a Christian philosopher. To that end he took his coterie of friends and students, together with Adeodatus and Monica, to Cassiciacum, a country estate north of Milan. Here he engaged in leisurely debate and writing. Works of this period, such as *De beata vita* (On the Happy Life) and *De ordine* (On Order), show Augustine's transition from philosophy toward theology.

In Milan at Easter of 387, along with Adeodatus and Alypius, Augustine was baptized by Ambrose. The decision was then made to go back to Africa, and the family journeyed to Ostia, planning to take a ship for Carthage. At Ostia, Augustine and Monica experienced in their discussions of eternal wisdom moments of towering mystical exaltation. Shortly thereafter, in Ostia, Monica died.

Returning to Rome, Augustine immersed himself in writing. His *De immortalitate animae* (On the Immortality of the Soul) and *De quantitate animae* (On the Greatness of the Soul) clearly reveal a philosopher who is incorporating a new biblically oriented theology into his understanding of the Christian faith.

Once more in his native Africa, Augustine established a lay retreat, a monastery, for philosophical contemplation, based at his small estate at Tagaste. He and his friends aimed to be servants of God. Here he composed *De vera religione* (On True Religion), which takes the Trinity as the foundation for true religion, a theme central to the majority of his works, and sees in Christianity the consummation of Plato's teaching.

At this time, Augustine had no thought of becoming a priest and carefully avoided those towns where priests were needed, but a chance visit to Hippo Regius (present-day Annaba, Algeria) in 391 resulted in his conscription. The aging bishop Valerius probably contrived the scene wherein Augustine was ordained under popular pressure. Such conscription and summary ordination were common in the African church at that time. Immediately after ordination, Augustine requested a leave of absence for intensive study of scripture. He increasingly became a man of the Bible.

Refreshed from his retreat, Augustine took up his duties as parish priest, using Paul as guide and ideal rationale for ministry. He found in Paul his theological mentor. Valerius granted permission for the establishment of a monastery, which became Augustine's seminary for the training of future priests and bishops. Valerius did more—in violation of tradition, which stipulated that when present the bishop always preached: he requested Augustine to deliver the sermon regularly. This practice became a lifelong responsibility, wherein Augustine established himself as master homiletician.

By 392, Augustine was writing to Jerome (c. 347–420) in Bethlehem, asking for Latin translations of Greek texts. After early difficulties with Greek, Augustine had made himself only somewhat proficient; he knew scant Hebrew. The same year he composed numerous biblical commentaries; on Psalms, on the Sermon on the Mount, and on the letters of Paul.

In an unprecedented move, Augustine convinced Valerius that the Catholic Church must bestir itself against

Manichaeans, pagans, and irreligionists of all sorts. In 393, the General Council of Africa assembled in Hippo. Augustine made his address, *De fide et symbolo* (On Faith and the Creed), a stirring call for catholic reform and evangelism. This was the beginning of regular councils in the African church, with Augustine as perennial lecturer.

Valerius, fearing that he might lose his priest to a vacant see, requested that Augustine be made his coadjutor, and Augustine was elevated to episcopacy in 395. Valerius died the following year, leaving Augustine to rule as sole bishop of Hippo.

Two years after becoming a bishop, Augustine, now forty-three, began his *Confessiones,* a treatise expressing gratitude to God in which he employed intimate autobiographical recollections. He wrote with complete candor, revealing to the world his agonizing struggle with himself, his sexual nature, his self-will, and his pride. In this his aim was to give God the glory for his redemption, to create a paean of praise and thanksgiving, rejoicing in the grace of a God who had stooped so low to save so fallen a sinner.

Simultaneously, the *Confessions* was a theological work in which Augustine presented his positions on the Incarnation and the Trinity. In the three concluding books he proffered a study on memory, time, and *Genesis,* weaving the work of the Holy Spirit into the act of creation. He developed in the *Confessions* the theological direction in which he continued to move, emphasizing divine predestination, personal religious experience through conscious conversion, and the direct relationship of the believer to God. Augustine's opus in praise of God, drawing on his spiritual journey, stands as a masterpiece in the world's devotional literature.

THEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSIES. Immediately after taking up his duties as priest in Hippo, Augustine lost no time in launching his attack on his mortal enemies, the Manichaeans. He denounced Manichaean cosmology, the view of humanity and humanity's sin, and especially the concept of God as having human attributes and anatomical features. The error that Augustine repudiated repeatedly was the attribution of evil to deity. The dualistic Manichaeans claimed that good and evil had their origin in two distinct deities. For Augustine, the one true God could not be blamed for the existence of evil.

In 392, Augustine engaged in public debate with the Manichaean bishop Fortunatus. Augustine, the consummate debater, so demolished Fortunatus that the Manichaean did not appear for the third day of the contest. Augustine followed up his victory with a scathing polemic, *Acta contra Fortunatum Manichaeum* (Against Fortunatus the Manichaean), which demonstrated his implacable attitude toward people and causes he thought heretical. He was soon the protagonist for the Catholic position.

Augustine's advocacy of consistent teachings in the church is exemplified by his contributions to ecclesiology. He defined the status and role of the bishop not only as administrator but as teacher, interpreter, and defender of pure doctrine. A bishop was responsible for determining orthodoxy, through use of the pronouncements of councils as well as scripture, and for eradicating heresy. At no point does this issue come into clearer focus than in Augustine's protracted and painful conflict with the Donatists.

Donatism provoked a major schism, almost exclusively affecting the African church, dividing it into warring camps. The Donatists accused the Catholics of having a blemished priesthood and thus no true sacraments. Against this view, Augustine lucidly argued that the efficacy of the sacraments does not depend upon the worthiness of the priest. "My origin is Christ, my root is Christ, my head is Christ," he claimed. "The seed of which I was born, is the word of God . . . I believe not in the minister by whom I was baptized, but in Christ, who alone justifies the sinner and can forgive guilt" (*Against Petilianus* 1.1.7).

Augustine repudiated Donatist insistence that if Catholics were to join the Donatist church they must be rebaptized. It was the universal church that Augustine proclaimed, and baptism does not profit the recipient unless the sinner returns to the true fold. The *esse* (being) of the church is not found in the personal character of the several Christians in it but in the union of the whole church with Christ. The church is not made up of saints as the Donatists held but of a mixed body of saints and more or less repentant sinners. Augustine insisted that weak members must be patiently borne by the church—as in the parable of the wheat and tares. How can there be a full separation of saints and sinners prior to the final judgment?

After two major colloquies in which Augustine led the attack, stringent imperial laws were enacted against the Donatists, banishing their clergy from the country. In 415, they were forbidden to hold religious assemblies on pain of death. Augustine advocated and applauded the use of imperial force to bring such heretics under control.

In his early work *De libero arbitrio* (On Free Will), written between 388 and 396, Augustine endeavored to explain the apparent contradiction of the existence of evil in the world with the goodness of an omnipotent deity. Evil, Augustine assayed, was the result of Adam's free will. God would not permit humans to be completely free without giving them the potentiality of doing wrong or right. From Adam's sin all later humanity inherited the inclination toward evil, thus, all humans since Adam have been sinners. Only God's grace could overcome that propensity. No number of good works chosen freely by latter-day men and women could atone for so grievous a fall. God proffered salvation to those he deigns to give grace, knowing that many would refuse it. For humankind, the possibility of eternal damnation was the price of moral freedom. Divine foreknowledge does not obliterate human freedom. God simply foresees the choice that free moral agents will make.

It was the brilliant Celtic monk Pelagius (d. 418) who confronted Augustine with the fundamental issue of the nature of humankind. Shocked by the gross immorality of culture, Pelagius called for a righteous responsibility on the part of Christian believers. He soon had an enthusiastic following. The Pelagian view was later advocated by Julian, bishop of Eclanum, who became the chief theological adversary of Augustine's later years. Against this school Augustine directed his anti-Pelagian writings, a corpus of some fifteen works. The controversy with Pelagianism occasioned extended debate on questions of human freedom, responsibility, and humanity's relation to God.

Pelagius claimed that what one does, "either laudable or blameworthy," depends upon the individual. Human nature has the inherent capacity for achievement. Augustine, in *De Spiritu et littera (On the Spirit and the Letter)* and later in *De natura et gratia* (On Nature and Grace), insisted that grace alone enables fallen humanity to achieve anything worthy. Freedom is linked with God's grace, not humanity's nature.

God is not, however, in any sense responsible for sin, nor does obedience to God's will nullify human freedom. In *De gratia et libero arbitrio* (On Grace and Free Will) Augustine asserts, "No man . . . when he sins, can in his heart blame God for it, but every man must impute the fault to himself. . . . Nor does it detract from man's own freedom of will when he performs any act in accordance with the will of God" (part 4).

In *De praedestinatione sanctorum* (On the Predestination of the Saints) and *De dono perseverantiae* (On the Gift of Perseverance), Augustine presents grace as independent of human desert. It is a sacred mystery why some are chosen for eternal life and others for eternal death. The mystery of faith and righteousness is hidden in God's eternal wisdom and purpose (a position John Calvin would elaborate in the sixteenth century).

"Know," said Augustine in *Contra Julianum,* "that good will, that good works, without the grace of God . . . can be granted to no one." How much of this position on grace reflects Augustine's personal experience of God's saving power? Augustine had attempted to save himself, through elevated wrestlings with philosophy, and found it could not be done. Humanity cannot save itself. Salvation is God's doing. In gratitude the believer lives. The mind as God's creation is endowed with a natural capacity for remembering, understanding, and willing. When these powers are rightly directed, the self will recognize the true order of being, its relation to God in whose image it is. In the human fallen condition, sin holds this natural capacity in abeyance but can never completely destroy it. Grace awakens the dormant power in humans to see God's image in themselves.

In his discussion of grace, Augustine frequently employed the symbol of the infant—a child in constant need of a parental deity. Pelagius scoffed at such notions; for him, son, warrior, and mature adult were suitable emblems of the person in his relationship to God. Pelagius insisted, "Since perfection is possible for man, it is obligatory"; human nature was created for perfection, and humanity is competent to achieve it. Augustine repeatedly assailed this theme which, for him, struck at the heart of the Christian gospel. Augustine's numerous anti-Pelagian writings testify to the unalterable position that man cannot redeem himself; man cannot depend upon himself for goodness. Whatever virtue exists in human nature is a gift from God.

It is interesting to note that Pelagius and Augustine never met face to face. In 410 Pelagius went to Hippo, hoping to meet Augustine. Indeed, Pelagius had written in advance, but received a cautious reply. When the visit took place, Augustine was conveniently absent. Augustine finally achieved the condemnation of Pelagius and Pelagianism in 431 at the Council of Ephesus.

The sacraments. Attendant to Augustine's view of grace is his concept of the church: the earthen vessel for sacramental grace. For him, the Catholic Church represents, exclusively, the genuine infusion of love by the Holy Spirit. Sacraments are the work of God, and only in the Catholic Church do the sacraments attain their appropriate function; there alone can that attesting love be found.

Sacraments are visible signs representing invisible spiritual reality, outward symbols by which divine matters are exhibited. Communication of the invisible divine reality, of invisible divine power, takes place in the sacraments. The outward symbol, however, has no power to convey to the individual the divine reality unless that person's inner being is sensitive to communion with God. To that end God's grace will assist.

Augustine's list of sacraments holds baptism and the Lord's Supper as preeminent; others are ordination, marriage, exorcism, and the giving of salt to the catechumen. Without the sacraments there is no salvation. "The churches of Christ maintain it to be an inherent principle, that without baptism and partaking of the Supper of the Lord it is impossible for any man to attain either to the kingdom of God or to salvation and everlasting life" (*De peccatorum meritis et remissione;* On the Wages and Remission of Sins 1.34).

Trinity and Christology. Recognized even during his lifetime as a doctor of the Latin church, Augustine clarified numerous points of doctrine. In fact, he established doctrine, not the least of which was his interpretation of the triune deity. "I am compelled to pick my way through a hard and obscure subject," he noted as he embarked on his *De Trinitate* (On the Trinity), an opus written over a period of twenty years (399–419). Primarily in answer to the Arians, Augustine sorted out points at issue that would later become key factors in discussion at the Council of Chalcedon in 451. While *On the Trinity* is unquestionably a definitive work in Christian theology, Augustine's basic suppositions are made lucid in earlier writings, including his letters and sermons. To Nebridius he wrote, "Whatever is done by the Trinity must be regarded as being done by the Father and by the Son and by the Holy Spirit together" (letter 10).

In his view of the Trinity, Augustine emphasized that there are not three Gods but one. These form a "divine unity of one and the same substance in an indivisible equality." In this Trinity "what is said of each is also said of all, on account of the indivisible working of the one and same substance" (*Trinity* 1.4.7, 1.12.25). He established a metaphysical ground for the Christian's threefold experience of God. In the Father, the believer knows God as source of being; in Christ, the redeemer; and in the Holy Spirit, the sanctifier.

Revelation was Augustine's starting point. The first part of *On the Trinity* considers the nature of faith. Citing scripture (especially passages falsely interpreted by the Arians—for example, *John* 14:28, *John* 10:30, *Mark* 13:32), he proves the deity of the Son and his relation to the Father. Augustine argues at length that the Son is in no way subordinate to the Father. Previously, Tertullian and Origen had insisted on subordination of the Son and Holy Spirit to the Father. For Augustine, there "is so great an equality in that Trinity that not only the Father is not greater than the Son, as regards divinity, but neither are the Father and the Son greater than the Holy Spirit" (*Trinity* 8). The Holy Spirit proceeds from Father and Son and enjoys the same essential nature. Relations between the persons of the Trinity are not of degree or order but of causality. The Father is "the beginning of the whole divinity. . . . He therefore who proceeds from the Father and the Son is referred back to Him from whom the Son was born." The Holy Spirit is the unifying principle in the godhead, "a certain unutterable communion of Father and Son." Every theophany is thus a work of the three, even though in such divine manifestations the appearance is frequently that of only one of the persons. This is because of the limitations of the "bodily creature" necessary for a theophany. One cannot repeat the words Father, Son, Holy Spirit simultaneously and without an interval. Accordingly "both each are in each, and all in each, and each in all, and all in all, and all are one."

When speaking of the Trinity, Augustine's Latin term for what the Greeks called *hupostasis* is *persona* ("person"), but he frankly admits the inadequacy of any appellation. Ultimately the key to knowing God—the Trinity—is love, for love itself implies a trinity "he that loves, and that which is loved, and love itself" (*Trinity* 8.10.14). In the final analysis, Augustine himself, after years of contemplation, admits that the human mind may behold the Trinity "only in an enigma." Only when liberated from the restrictions of physical being will humans be able to comprehend completely "why the Holy Spirit is not the Son, although He proceeds from the Father" (*Trinity* 15.24.45).

Augustine declared that the whole of doctrine might be summed up as service to God through faith, hope, and love. This principle underlies his work the *Enchiridion.* Taking the Lord's Prayer as starting point, he develops the theme of Christ as mediator and considers the Incarnation as manifestation of God's saving grace. He explicates the Apostles' Creed and with rare sensitivity assesses the resurrection.

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY. On August 24, 410, Alaric invaded Rome. Son of a great Visigoth family, Alaric regarded himself a defender of the empire and a faithful Christian. His sack of Rome lasted only three days, and the city was by no means destroyed, nor was it the end of the Western Empire. The psychological effect, however, was horrendous. "If Rome can perish, what can be safe?" lamented Jerome. Decisiveness and dependability in government were in serious question. It was in response to the charge that abandonment of the ancient Roman deities and widespread acceptance of Christianity had brought about the fall that Augustine, in 413–427, produced *De civitate Dei* (City of God). His immediate assertion was that rather than bringing down the city the Christians had saved it from total ruin. The work proceeds to render his brilliant critique of Greco-Roman culture, drawing illustrative material from the greatest historians and writers. Augustine had enormous respect for and loyalty to that culture yet he believed it to be morally rotten, and he goes to considerable lengths to point out degradation of Roman standards of conduct, life patterns, and sexual behavior. He pictures gross licentiousness and obscenities pertaining to Liber and other deities. By contrast, he depicts the health, vigor, and cleanliness of the Christian life. Thus, as the Pax Romana deteriorated, Augustine became spokesman for a new, fresh, Christian social order.

MORALITY AND ETHICS. *City of God* best illustrates a facet of Augustine seldom recognized: he was a moral rigorist who permitted nothing to stand in the way of either individual or group righteousness. Neither personal relationships nor individual aspirations should be permitted to thwart the doing of God's will. Sinful pleasures were intolerable. It was in part reaction to his profligate past that prompted the complete turnabout in which he became the seer of an ethical, morally upright deity.

Scrupulous observance of the ethical code was required of Augustine's people, especially his clergy. On one occasion, certain members of Augustine's monastery had not complied with the vow of poverty and at death willed large estates to their families. Augustine reacted swiftly and sternly, requiring that all draw up statements of their holdings prior to being admitted to the order. In his monastery, Augustine established a way of life that was to become the prototype for the cenobite. It is claimed that his own widowed sister, abbess of the convent he established in Hippo, was never permitted to converse with her brother save in the presence of a third party. Augustine's moralism must be seen in the context of his ideal of blessedness. It was said of him, "Everyone who lives with him, lives the life described in the *Acts of the Apostles*" (sermon 356).

FINAL YEARS. On September 26, 426, Augustine named his successor, Eraclius, and arranged for the latter to assume responsibility for the practical affairs of the diocese. At that time Bishop Possidius agreed to write a biography of Augustine. His biography captures the spirit of the man Augustine. He tells of daily life in the monastery, stressing the simplicity of the monks' lives, and of Augustine's concern for the poor. Augustine the eminent theologian is barely visible.

May of 429 saw the army of Genseric's Vandals cross from Spain and march through Mauritania, spreading havoc and desolation. Roman rule in Africa collapsed. Augustine spent these concluding years comforting and reassuring his people. *On the Predestination of the Saints* and *On the Gift of Perseverance,* written 428–429, reflect the message that God alone would provide faith and courage for his elect. This became a doctrine of survival.

In 426 Augustine began to correct and catalog his vast literary output in his *Retractiones.* His wish, and that of his fellow bishops, was that whatever befell Hippo, Augustine's library was to be preserved. Fortunately for posterity, it was.

As Vandals were besieging Hippo, Augustine was dying, insisting—perhaps for the first time—that he be alone; he read, in these final hours, the penitential psalms hung on the walls of his room. On August 28, 430, while prayers were being offered in the churches of Hippo, Augustine died. It was designated his day in the lexicon of Roman Catholic saints.

Augustine's place in Western history is not to be contested. He was a man of science (in spite of his deprecation of scientific knowledge) whose power to scrutinize nature was remarkable. He engaged in an unrelenting quest for knowledge that rendered him a keen observer of human nature, and he probed the deep recesses of the human soul. Augustine set the compass for much of the Western Christian culture that followed. His interpretation of Plato dominated most of Christian thought in the West until the rediscovery of Aristotle in the thirteenth century. Humanists of the Renaissance relied upon Augustine. His impress on Reformation leaders is great. Luther followed his conception of grace. A reading of Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* reveals that second to the Bible, Augustine is the most frequently quoted source. In the eighteenth century, John Wesley studied Augustine diligently, even when he came to differ strongly with him. Indeed, even those who most heartily reject Augustine's anthropology have found it necessary to come to terms with him. Pietistic, sentimental studies of Augustine during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are being replaced with frank appreciation not only for his intellectual and spiritual preeminence but also for his profound human qualities.

SEE ALSO Arianism; Autobiography; Donatism; Free Will and Predestination, article on Christian Concepts; Grace; Manichaeism; Merit, article on Christian Concepts; Neoplatonism; Pelagianism; Pelagius; Plotinus; Skeptics and Skepticism.

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Splendid translations into modern English, reflecting superior contemporary scholarship, can be found in "The Library of Christian Classics," edited by John Baillie and others, vols. 6–8 (Philadelphia, 1953–1958); "The Fathers of the Church," edited by Roy Joseph Deferrari, vols. 1–15, 17–18, and 35 (New York, 1947–1963); and "Ancient Christian Writers," edited by Johannes Quasten and Walter J. Burghardt, vols. 2, 9, 15, 22, and 35 (Westminster, Md., 1960–). The several texts are strengthened in their overall usefulness by an impressive amount of supportive background data, copious explanatory notes, full bibliographies, and indexes.

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WARREN THOMAS SMITH (1987)

AUGUSTUS (63 BCE–14 CE), Roman emperor. Born Gaius Octavius, he was the grandnephew of Julius Caesar. Adopted by Caesar, and made his chief heir at nineteen, Octavius built upon Caesar's name, charisma, military success, political connections, and fortune. Calculating, opportunistic, an unfailingly shrewd judge of men and circumstances, he emerged in 31 BCE from thirteen years of political chaos and civil war triumphant over Mark Antony and sole master of the Roman world.

Exhausted by the effects of civil war and seeking only peace and a return of order and prosperity, Roman citizens and provincial subjects alike hailed Octavius as a savior sent by divine Providence. He did not fall short of their expectations. To mark the beginning of a new order, he assumed the name *Augustus* in 27 BCE. In a series of gradual steps, he restructured the Roman political system. While preserving the forms of republican government, he in effect established a monarchy, concentrating in his own hands all real power, political, military, financial, and legal. This power was used with great and enduring success to reform the administration of the provinces, the finances of the Roman state, and every aspect of military and civil life. In so doing he laid the basis for two centuries of unparalleled peace and prosperity in western Europe and throughout the Mediterranean world. The golden age of Rome's empire, "the period in the history of the world during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous" (Gibbon), was the supreme legacy of Augustus.

Himself deeply pious, Augustus understood fully the important role that religion plays in securing that unity of shared belief that is essential to the integration and successful functioning of a pluralistic society. Through carefully orchestrated and highly effective propaganda techniques, he projected the image of himself as a divinely sent savior; and the very name he assumed, *Augustus*, evoked in Latin and in its Greek form, *Sebastos*, an aura of divine consecration and charismatic authority.

Augustus undertook a thorough reform of Roman state religion. He restored some eighty-two temples that had fallen into decay and built numerous new ones. He revitalized old cult forms and priesthoods, such as the *lares compitales* and the Fratres Arvales, and instituted new ones, such as Pax Augusta and the Seviri Augustales. He carefully steered public approval of his person and policies into religious channels. Particularly in the Greek provinces of the East, he permitted himself to be worshiped as a god. Roman state cult celebrated the divine element and creative force that resided in Augustus through the cult of the Genius Augusti. Religious reform and innovation were linked to programs of social and moral reform, aimed at restoring traditional Roman values of service and piety toward country, family, and the gods.

The Augustan program tapped the wellsprings of popular piety in an age of religious revival. It mobilized in its service literary and artistic talent of enduring genius: Vergil's *Aeneid*, Horace's *Roman Odes* and *Carmen saeculare*, Livy's history of Rome, and the iconography of the Altar of Augustan Peace (the Ara Pacis) at Rome all celebrated, each in its own medium, the message that the gods themselves had willed the peace-bringing and benevolent rule of Rome and Augustus over the entire human race.

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Revised Bibliography

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AUM SHINRIKYŌ, or "Aum Sect of Truth," is a new religious movement based on Buddhism and other Eastern traditions, including Hinduism and Daoism. The movement was founded by Asahara Shōkō, also known as Matsumoto Chizuo (b. 1955), who claims to have attained ultimate enlightenment. Although Aum Shinrikyō presents itself as a Buddhist sect, its main deity is Śiva. This is unusual even in the eclectic and syncretic Japanese religious tradition. Compared to other new religious movements in the main line, at its height Aum was a small group, with only one thousand *shukke* (full-time members who had renounced the world) and ten thousand *zaike* (lay members) in Japan, and more than twenty thousand members in Russia. As of early 2004, twelve Aum members (including Asahara) had received death sentences because of the group's criminal and terrorist activities perpetrated in the name of salvation. Aum Shinrikyō proved to the world how a new religious movement could be a real threat and danger to the contemporary society. In 2001, under the leadership of Jōyū Fumihiro (b. 1962), the group changed its name to Aleph. Reeling from the legal problems and poor public relations resulting from the 1995 sarin gas attack on the Tokyo subway, the sect was radically reformed.

Asahara Shōkō, who suffered from severe eye problems as a child, entered an elementary school and high school for the blind in Kyushu. He went to work in Tokyo after graduating from high school with special training to become a licensed masseur. Asahara then entered cram school in Tokyo to prepare for the university entrance examinations. After he failed, he got married and, with the help of his wife's parents, opened a pharmacy of Eastern medicine in Chiba prefecture.

Asahara's religious interests matured during this period. In the 1980s he was a member of Agonshū, a new religious movement based on the ideas of the Shingon sect of esoteric Buddhism, Kuṇḍalinī Yoga, and the *āgama*, the ancient collections of the Buddha's own words and teachings. Agonshū stressed liberation from individual karma and the attainment of supernatural powers by awakening the *chakras*, the spiritual centers inside the body. Later, Asahara's teaching also emphasized the goal of attaining those powers by yogic practice.

Asahara opened a yoga school in Tokyo in 1983. In either 1984 or 1986 he named his circle Aum Shinsen no Kai (Aum circle of immortals); it is certain that he established the Aum Corporation in 1984. He frequently appeared in New Age magazines during this period, and he published books with such titles as *The Secret Method to Develop Psychic Powers* (1986) and *Beyond Life and Death* (1986). In 1986, Asahara claimed that he had attained "ultimate enlightenment" after meditating in the Himalayas. In 1987, Asahara renamed his group Aum Shinrikyō and transformed his yoga school into a religious body. At the same time he published a book titled *Initiation* (1987), in which he invited people to become members.

In 1989 the Tokyo metropolitan government recognized Aum Shinrikyō as a religious corporation, which gave it tax-exempt status and legal protection. By this time Aum was facing attacks from those who saw it as a dangerous group that recruited minors as monks and stole money from believers. In November 1989, with criticism mounting, Asahara secretly ordered his disciples to kill not only the anti-Aum lawyer of families whose children were Aum members, but also the lawyer's wife and baby boy.

Asahara had a political ambition to become elected to the Japanese diet, and in February 1990 Asahara and twenty-four of his followers stood for election in the general election. Their resounding political defeat was a humiliation for both Asahara and Aum Shinrikyō. Aum Shinrikyō then built facilities in rural Yamanashi and Kumamoto prefectures, and in both sites the group provoked strong opposition, causing Asahara's antipathy toward Japanese society to intensify.

Asahara began publishing books with such titles as *Doomsday* (1989) and *The Truth of the Destruction of Humanity* (1991) that announced a coming armageddon caused by the use of weapons of mass destruction. His apocalyptic eschatological vision intensified during these years, and his disciples worked to facilitate his prophecies. They secretly pursued research into biological weapons and constructed a laboratory in Aum's Yamanashi compound. In 1990 Aum tried to produce poison gas in the Kumamoto compound, and in 1993 Asahara secretly ordered his disciples to produce one thousand machine guns and conduct research on developing chemical weapons. At the same time, he complained that Aum was being persecuted by the Japanese government and American troops, and he claimed that they themselves had suffered from nerve gas attacks.

SARIN GAS ATTACKS. In June 1994 Aum members released sarin gas in Matsumoto, killing 7 and injuring 144. On March 20, 1995, Aum agents released sarin gas on several Tokyo subway trains, killing 12 people and injuring 3,796. Two days later several thousand police officers began systematic raids on Aum facilities. On May 16 Asahara was found hiding in one of the Aum facilities and was arrested. More than one hundred Aum members were arrested that year. The details of the criminal activities of this religious organization were revealed in the subsequent trials.

Asahara is accused of masterminding seventeen crimes in which at least twenty-six people were killed and more than five thousand were injured. The crimes that Asahara and his followers committed fall into the following categories: murder of its own members (thirty-three Aum members are missing); murder of its enemies; and indiscriminate mass murder using nerve gas. Aum members also produced and used illegal drugs like LSD, and they manufactured machine guns. On February 27, 2004, Asahara was convicted and received a death sentence from the Tokyo District Court. His lawyers, who claimed Asahara's innocence and blamed his disciples, appealed to the upper court just before their resignation. It will take a number of years before the Japanese Supreme Court passes the final sentence on him. Aleph announced its deep regret to the victims and vowed to compensate them on the occasion of Asahara's death sentence.

In October 1995 the Tokyo District Court ordered Aum Shinrikyō to disband as a religious corporation because of the danger it posed to the public. Members of the government argued whether or not it was proper to apply existing antisubversive activities laws to Aum Shinrikyō. In January 1997 they decided that this was not necessary because most of the executive members involved in the sarin incidents in Matsumoto and Tokyo had been arrested, eliminating any clear and present danger.

In 1999 there were major changes in Aum Shinrikyō. The organization finally admitted its criminal responsibility, asked for forgiveness, and promised to compensate victims and bereaved families. Two new so-called Aum laws were passed by the national diet. They restrict groups that have committed indiscriminate mass murder and allow the confiscation of the group's property to compensate victims.

At the end of 1999 Jōyū Fumihiro was released from prison. In January 2001, Aum Shinrikyō changed its name to Aleph. As the leader of Aleph, Jōyū began trying to reform the organization's structure and doctrine. The Japanese government decided to keep Aleph under surveillance for three years, but in 2003 the surveillance was extended for three more years. Although many intellectuals pointed out that Aleph was not capable of mass murder, there was almost no public objection to the extension of the surveillance over the organization.

AUM PRACTICES AND WORLDVIEW. In Japan, new religious movements have developed during four distinct periods. The first such development occurred in the waning days of the Tokugawa regime in the late nineteenth century; the second occurred in the Taisho period of the early 1900s; and the third was the period following Japan's defeat in World War II. Aum Shinrikyō and Agonshū were products of the fourth boom of new religious movements, which occurred in the 1970s. The religious movements of the first and the third periods stressed this-worldly merits and popular ethics in daily life. However, the movements that arose during the second and the fourth periods emphasized manipulation of the spirits and personal asceticism for self-cultivation. After the student revolution in the late 1960s and early 1970s, young people experienced a spiritual void and disorientation. New religious movement like Aum Shinrikyō gave some of them a purpose and meaning in life. The average age of Aum's members was around thirty, which was young compared with other new religious movements.

The worldview of Aum Shinrikyō and Aleph is a mixture of Hinduism, Buddhism, and other traditions. According to Aum teachings, human history is devolutionary. People are degenerating from their true selves in *mahānirvāna*, and they are fallen and stuck in the mud of suffering. To be born in this world means that one has bad karma. Every living being transmigrates up and down through the six worlds of being.

Asahara espoused a kind of eschatology from the start. In 1987 he predicted that Japan would arm itself again in 1993 and that there would be a nuclear war between 1999 and 2003 unless Aum Shinrikyō built two branch offices in each country in the world. Then, in 1989, Asahara predicted that the United States president and the secretary general of the Soviet Union would start a war that would put an end to the world. He warned his disciples that more than one-fourth of humankind would die unless Aum Shinrikyō produced accomplished practitioners.

The ultimate purposes of Aum Shinrikyō were the worship of Śiva as the principal god and the saving of every living being from *saṃsāra* based on ancient yoga, original Buddhism, and Mahāyāna Buddhism under the guidance of people who understand and execute Śiva's will. There are three kinds of salvation: to free people from disease, to bring worldly happiness to people, and to lead people to *satori* and *gedatsu*, that is, "self-realization" and "enlightenment," as Aum translated these terms into English. The first two kinds of salvation are this-worldly benefits typical of new religious movement in Japan. The third is an otherworldly ideal that is consistent with traditional Buddhism.

Aum Shinrikyō promoted a plan to transform Japan into Shambhala, a society based on truth, in which people realize themselves according to the truth, understood as the great will of Asahara and Śiva. Later, Aum Shinrikyō tried to make the whole world into Shambhala. This means that Aum Shinrikyō aimed to put the world under its rule.

Aum's system of practice was also a mixture of Buddhism and Yoga philosophy. On the Buddhist side, there was the noble eightfold path, the six perfections of wisdom (*prajñāpāramitās*), and other ideas and practices. On the Yoga side, there was *raja*, *kuṇḍalinī*, *jñāna*, *Mahāyāna*, and astral and causal yoga. In addition to these practices based on self-power, there were also initiations that relied on other-power. Initiations like *shaktīpat* were methods to increase one's spiritual ability through the *gurū*'s charisma or some other source of spiritual power.

It was believed that Aum's superior members removed the bad karma of inferior members by violence or ill treatment. Such behavior was interpreted by Aum as an act of compassion, because it was a means of eliminating the bad karma of members. This idea was taken to extremes, however, with the *poa* (*phowa*) in Aum Shinrikyō's sense. The Tibetan word *phowa* refers to the transference of the dead soul to a higher realm. However, Asahara claimed that a deliberate act of murder by a superior being was also a case of *poa.* To be identical with Asahara (meaning "the cloning of the *gurū*") was also interpreted as liberation and salvation for Asahara's disciples because Asahara was considered the ultimate enlightened one and the embodiment of the true self.

CONCLUSION. Aum Shinrikyō is an ultimate example of a new religious movement that turns violent. Aum's violent acts have had an impact on religion and politics around the world, and they have led to legislation against dangerous groups in a number of countries, especially in Japan and France. For a number of secular people the Aum incident was a serious disappointment and caused disbelief toward religion in general. And it also raised people's awareness toward deviant religious movements in various countries, and Japanese people actually welcomed and supported the arrest of the founders of such groups as Life Space and Hō-no-hana Sanpōgyō in 2000. Because of its use of a chemical weapon (one of the weapons of mass destruction), Aum Shinrikyō also indicated that the activities of a new religious movement could be a matter of public safety. The sect created an apocalyptic connection between religion and violence (as well as terrorism) that foreshadowed the tragedy of September 11, 2001.

SEE ALSO New Religious Movements, overview article, article on New Religious Movements in Japan.

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MANABU WATANABE (2005)

AUROBINDO GHOSE (1872–1950), yogin, nationalist, poet, critic, thinker, spiritual leader of India. Born in Calcutta (August 15, 1872), Aurobindo Ghose was educated in England from the age of seven to age twenty-one at the insistence of his father, Dr. Krishnadhan Ghose, who had been one of the first Indians educated in England. Having grown up ignorant of Indian culture and religion, Aurobindo neither discovered nor appreciated Indian languages, literature, or history until he returned to India after college, in 1893. He served for a time as a teacher of French and English and as vice principal and acting principal of Baroda College. In 1906 Aurobindo joined the political movement of Indian resistance to British colonial rule and became a prominent voice of the Nationalist party, arguing for complete independence from Britain. Through his articles in periodicals such as *Bande Mataram*, Aurobindo nourished a revolutionary consciousness among Indians by addressing the issues of *swarāj* and *swadeśi* (both centered on self-rule) and boycott. He was open to the use of armed revolt as well as nonviolent means for achieving independence. In this he was flexible and pragmatic: the means of social change were selected on the basis of circumstances, not adherence to an absolute ethical principle.

In 1908 Aurobindo was arrested in connection with an unsuccessful bombing episode against a British district judge. Although he was ultimately acquitted, he spent a year in the Alipore jail during the investigation and trial. During this imprisonment his interest in yoga deepened. In 1910, following "a sudden command from above," Aurobindo moved to French India. He spent the next forty years of his life in Pondicherry, formulating his vision of spiritual evolution and integral Yoga, and refusing to pursue direct involvement in political events.

"Spiritual evolution," or the evolution of consciousness, is the central framework for understanding Aurobindo's thought. *Consciousness* is a rich and complex term for Aurobindo. Consciousness is inherent in all things, in seemingly inert matter as well as plant, animal, human, and suprahuman life. It participates in the various levels of being in various ways. *Sachchidānanda*, literally the highest level of "being, consciousness, and bliss," is also known as the Absolute. The Supermind mediates *sachchidānanda* to the multiplicity of the world. The Overmind serves as delegate of the Supermind. Intuitive Mind is a kind of consciousness of the heart that discerns the truth in momentary flashes rather than in a comprehensive grasp. Illumined Mind communicates consciousness by vision, Higher Mind through conceptual thought. Mind generally integrates reality through cognitive, intellectual, and mental perceptions rather than through direct vision, yet mind is also open to the higher levels of consciousness, for it is basically oriented to Supermind, in which it participates in a derivative way. The Psyche is the conscious form of the soul that makes possible the evolution from ignorance to light. Life is cosmic energy through which the divine is received and made manifest. Matter, the lowest level in Aurobindo's hierarchy of consciousness manifestation, is not reducible to mere material substance, but is an expression of *sachchidānanda* in diminished form.

The hierarchical view of consciousness or spirit must also be seen in a process perspective in which the supreme is seen as continuously being and becoming manifest in these many levels of being. Consciousness liberates itself through an inner law that directs evolution. Spiritual evolution is also seen as a series of ascents from material, physical existence up to supramental existence, in which we are able to reach or true being and fulfillment.

Yoga is a means by which this evolutionary thrust can be consciously assisted. Whereas evolution proceeds slowly and indirectly, yoga functions more quickly and directly. Evolution seeks the divine through nature, while yoga reaches out for the divine as transcendent to nature.

Aurobindo's Integral Yoga is so named because it seeks to incorporate the essence and processes of the old yogas, blending their methods and fruits into one system. It is integral also insofar as it seeks an integral and total change of consciousness and nature, not for the individual alone but for all of humanity and the entire cosmos. Unlike some yogas of the past, Integral Yoga does not seek release from the cycle of birth and death but seeks a transformation of life and existence, by, for, and through the divine. In most yogas, ascent to the divine is emphasized. In Integral Yoga, ascent to the divine is but the first step; the real goal is descent of the new consciousness that has been attained by the ascent.

Disciples, admirers, and advocates of Aurobindo's vision of spiritual evolution and system of Integral Yoga gather in communities throughout the world. Best known are those who have begun construction of Auroville, a city near Pondicherry designed to embody Aurobindo's ideal for a transformed humanity, and the ashram at Pondicherry where Aurobindo himelf lived for forty years.

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JUNE O'CONNOR (1987)
Revised Bibliography

AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS RELIGIONS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
MYTHIC THEMES [FIRST EDITION]
MYTHIC THEMES [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]
NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS
ABORIGINAL CHRISTIANITY
HISTORY OF STUDY [FIRST EDITION]
HISTORY OF STUDY [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS RELIGIONS: AN OVERVIEW

The opening ceremony of the Sydney Olympic Games began at dusk on September 15, 2000, with a fanfare of charging Aussie stockmen, dignitaries, flags, and anthems. Then the floor of the huge stadium was cleared.

The sound of gulls signaled sea's edge. A golden-haired girl in pink beach dress skipped into the stadium, placed a beach towel down on the sand, and laid back. The Australian television commentator explained: "The opening ceremony tonight is designed to encapsulate the evolution of Australia from its ancient Indigenous origins to a modern twenty-first century society. A wide brown land linked inextricably to the sea. It is now, and always has been, a land of dreams."

Giant marine creatures floated into the stadium. Suddenly and dramatically the "dream girl" rose, swimming her way to the surface many meters above the stadium floor. Stadium Australia was transformed into an ocean in which a deep-sea choreography was performed against the background of a rich symphonic score. The giant screen declared this segment of the opening ceremony to be:

"Réve des profoundeurs oceans. Deep Sea Dreaming."

As the last notes of the deep-sea score were conducted, a deep male voice addressed the audience from the dais. He addressed the world in a language incomprehensible to most. Clap sticks and didgeridoo accompanied his address. The man, his body clad in loin covering and white clay, was unambiguously Aboriginal. Around his neck hung a clear signifier of his power as an Indigenous man. With the spotlight focusing on him the stadium was grounded once more. The giant screen announced this segment of the four-hour opening ceremony: "Awakening."

The young Australian girl who swam in the heights of the stadium and dived to resurface on its sea floor was Nikki Webster, a thirteen-year-old actor and singer born and bred in Sydney. The tall Indigenous performer on the dais was Djakapurra Munyarryun, born in the "remote" settlement of Yirrkala and brought up in the "Top End" region of Arnhem Land in Australia's Northern Territory. Presented in the "Awakening" segment of the Sydney 2000 opening ceremony were many of the themes taken up in this overview article. They will be used to signpost the discussion.

Understanding Indigenous religions in Australia must take relations between people, territory, and history as its starting point. The first major section of this article will outline themes for a continent-wide understanding of Australian Indigenous religions. The discussion will be broad, teasing out underlying themes that resonate but are not necessarily the same in Australia's hundreds of Indigenous religious traditions. Then the article will travel west to the central region of Australia via the Olympic performance of a section of the Seven Sisters Dreaming by Central Desert women. The article will pause to explore a particular example of Central Desert culture: the Warlpiri people. Then the article will track north, as the opening ceremony did, to the Yolngu people, whose homelands are in the north of Australia, in Arnhem Land. From there the article will go south to examine the contested religious heritage of the Ngarrindjeri people, whose homelands are near the capital city of South Australia, Adelaide.

CONTINENTAL THEMES. In his introduction to the "Awakening" segment of the Sydney Opening Ceremony, Ernie Dingo continued: "Over forty thousand years of culture with six hundred Indigenous nations. Over two hundred Aboriginal groups representing over 250,000 Indigenous Australians. This is an awakening."

Indigenous peoples' roots on the continent reach back at least forty to sixty thousand years and possibly longer. The British active colonization of the continent dates back only to 1788. Though the categories and numbers stated by Dingo might be contested in their precise detail by a variety of experts, the sentiment he expressed is important. There is no single Indigenous religion in Australia. There are many. There is no single Australian Indigenous experience. There are many.

Australia is an island continent. It stretches across thirty degrees of latitude in the Southern Hemisphere. The "Top End" of Australia reaches toward Papua New Guinea and Indonesia and is subject to monsoon weather patterns. In the south of the continent the climate is temperate and includes alpine regions that are snow-covered each winter. The center of the continent is a vast area of arid desert subject to extreme heat in the summer months and freezing overnight temperatures in the winter.

Although they belong to many specific cultural groups, Indigenous people in Australia are often described collectively as "Aboriginal" (referring generally to Indigenous people from the mainland and the southern island of Tasmania) or "Torres Strait Islander" (referring to those Indigenous people coming from the hundreds of islands between the tip of the mainland and Papua New Guinea). It has become customary to refer to Indigenous Australians associated with the mainland as Aboriginal people with a capital *A* as a mark of respect for their "proper" status as a group of people. Before the 1970s the term *Aboriginal* was not accorded the status of a proper noun in Australian usage. Since the mid-1990s the referent "Indigenous Australians" has become popular.

The federal, or commonwealth, government has developed (since the late 1960s) an administrative definition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people by reference to their descent, identification, and community acceptance. Under this definition an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander is someone "of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander descent who; identifies as being of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander origin and who is; accepted as such by the community with which the person associates."

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders are a minority group in Australia. In the 1996 census people identifying themselves as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islanders comprised 2.1 percent of the total population. Only in the Northern Territory, which arguably was the last outpost of the colonial frontier, did Indigenous people make up a significant proportion of the population as a whole, 27 percent. It is in the Northern Territory and in the more remote or "outback" areas of the states of Western Australia, South Australia, and Queensland that "traditional" practices are understood to continue to underpin everyday life. In the longer-settled "fertile fringe" of the continent, around cities towns and cultivated lands, Indigenous traditional practices are popularly understood to have been disrupted if not destroyed. This sets up a broad "primitivist" dichotomy in popular Australian discourse between remote-traditional societies and settled-nontraditional Indigenous peoples and areas. In reality the circumstances of all Indigenous people in Australia have been transforming since before 1788 in a continuum of history and experience.

National statistics also give Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders a number of dubious distinctions that reflect their experiences of colonizing processes. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as a group have worryingly low life expectancies and high levels of illness and disease. They suffer high levels of violence and crime. They are disproportionately imprisoned. They have relatively low educational and employment levels. They have low income levels. And as the High Court of Australia noted in the landmark *Mabo* native title judgment, the homelands of most Aboriginal people in Australia have been alienated from them "parcel by parcel."

Prior to colonization there were probably, as Max Charlesworth suggests in his review of the literature on Aboriginal religion in *Religious Inventions* (1998), around five hundred distinct Aboriginal groups in Australia using more than two hundred distinguishable languages. Each of these groups had its own territory or "country." Each had a specific social system and laws. Each spoke a particular language or dialects of a larger language group. Before European colonization began in 1788, Indigenous people lived as members of hundreds of different cultural and landholding groups across the continent. At the start of the twenty-first century most of Australia's population is urban and most towns and cities can be found in the more fertile coastal fringe of the continent. Indigenous people continue to live across the continent, but many of their traditional homelands have been alienated, and many more Indigenous Australians live in towns and cities than live in the homelands of their ancestors.

It is generally accepted that prior to colonization most Indigenous people on the mainland of Australia were hunter-gatherers. Small groups of relatives, often between five and fifty people or more in the most fertile regions of the continent, moved as extended families, hunting, gathering, and camping in their territories. In rich ecosystems, population densities were higher, and it seems that there Indigenous people were able to be more sedentary, at times moving between winter and summer camps. The area now called Sydney includes such rich cultural and natural areas. In the Torres Strait Islands, Indigenous people were more like their northern Melanesian neighbors and interacted with them in their everyday lives. In arid areas, particularly the inland deserts, population densities were lower, and Indigenous people moved around their territories and, with permission, crossed into those of their neighbors. They hunted with tools made from resources in their local environments or traded in from other groups.

As hunter-gatherers there was little need for complex built structures. Their kin-based society did not give rise to hierarchical political structures. Australia's Indigenous people built simple shelters to sleep under. They camped behind natural windbreaks. Men hunted with simple but sophisticated tools like boomerangs and spears with specialized launchers. They traveled over the water in bark canoes. They netted, trapped, and speared fish. Women were by and large gatherers, harvesting grasses, berries and fruit, small reptiles, insects, mussels, and shellfish. Grinding stones, wooden dishes, and digging sticks were among their key tools across the continent. Sophisticated stone tools were keys to many tasks, including the making of other specialized tools.

Aboriginal people did not hoe and cultivate the land as European settlers came to do. Australia's hunter-gatherers moved lightly over their lands and waters. Though it is a matter of live debate, some scholars are of the view that in many parts of the continent Indigenous people nurtured the productivity of their homelands with incipient "farming" practices. They managed the country with selective burning referred to as "fire stick farming," cultivated practices to nurture the growth of plants for harvesting; engaged in "fish farming" with the construction of eel traps and fishponds; and used dams and weirs to increase natural productivity.

In the "Top End" of the Northern Territory, Yolngu people in Arnhem Land had long-term relations with Macassans from what is now part of Indonesia, probably from the sixteenth century forward. The situation in the Torres Strait Islands was also somewhat different, their practices revealing extensive links with Melanesian peoples. Torres Strait Islanders, by contrast with most mainland Aboriginal peoples, were not predominantly hunter-gatherers. They owned and cultivated gardens and harvested marine life in designated fishing grounds.

Indigenous life in local groups was a complex, intertwined whole. Religion could not be separated from facets of their lives like land ownership and subsistence, or their interactions with others in marriage, trade, and warfare, or their understandings of the cosmos. Each of these facets, now given English-language names, underpinned the rich fabric of people's lives in ways that did not divide them from others.

Central to their existence were people's connections to specific territory. In contemporary times the English term *country* is frequently used to refer to Indigenous territories. Countries included both land and waters (inland and sea). A pivotal idea shared by most if not all Indigenous traditions is that "country" is sacred and imbued with the powerful and immanent spirits of ancestors. "Country" was, before the disruptions of colonization and "settlement," vested in groups of varying sizes and territorial range: clans, tribes, and nations with their own specific understandings of the world, practices, and ways of being.

The Australian continent was crisscrossed by a complex web of religious, marriage, and trading relationships that highlighted and managed the differences between particular peoples, boundaries, beliefs, and practices. Some trade routes moved resources, including the religious resources of myth and ritual, between disparate groups. Other trading relationships operated in much more localized regions.

Ceremonies and rituals brought people together in larger groups when the season or time was ripe. The extended families that were the general basis of Indigenous hunting-gathering life came together usually in the seasons of plenty to undertake larger affairs. These periods might bring hundreds of people together for periods of several weeks. Thus various configurations of landholding groups were usually well represented at these gatherings and indeed needed to be so that the "business" being celebrated would have an "owner," "managers," and "visitors" present to ensure its accuracy and efficacy. Indigenous people undertook rituals to maintain the fertility of country and all the living beings it supported. They performed rites of passage that made people more human and gave them insights into the nature of their world and what it is to be human. In the context of large ceremonial gatherings, marriages were arranged, disputes settled, and valuables traded.

Many Indigenous people were multilingual, understanding as many as a score of languages. Yet no Indigenous person understood or even knew about the many more hundreds of languages beyond that of their homeland and regional neighbors. By the time of the 2000 Sydney Olympics about a hundred Indigenous languages remained in everyday use in Australia. Of these only around twenty had a sufficiently large and concentrated "community of speakers" to make it possible for children to learn them as their first languages. Yolngu Matha, the language in which Djakapurra Munyarryun addressed a global audience in the Sydney "Awakening" ceremony, is one he learned in his own "Top End" homeland. It is among the diminishing number of Indigenous languages that remain strong and vital.

The composition of the "Awakening" segment points to the diversity of Indigenous religious and cultural experience in Australia. Some performers were from the long-settled fertile northern rivers region of New South Wales (the host state commonly abbreviated as NSW); others were from Sydney, the host city. Others, such as women from the Central Desert regions that cross the states of South Australia, Western Australia, and the Northern Territory, the Yolngu people from Arnhem Land, and the Torres Strait Islanders continue to live everyday lives, albeit under conditions different from that of their forebears, through which they maintain a strong connection to their ancestors, their country, and their traditions.

But such locally founded identity is not the experience of most Indigenous people. Australian Bureau of Statistics census figures suggest that in 1996 only 29.1 percent of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people "identif[y] with [a] clan, tribal or language group," and only 31 percent live in their "homelands/traditional country." Most Australian Indigenous people live in cities, towns, and "settled regions." In remote areas the lives of many so-called traditional people are now centered on remote settlements—former mission stations, now small townships with residents from a number of different Indigenous groups and territories. Some of these settlements were established early in the colonial period; others were established after World War II. The focal position of such settlements persists despite a constellation of homeland settlements established when people moved away from service-providing townships to create smaller settlements (often called "outstations") on their homelands in a movement dating from the 1970s. Indigenous settlements and towns provide the basic infrastructure of government services: schools, transport nodes, power, water, sewerage management, water services, and in some communities, television stations and museums. Indigenous Australians in longer and more intensively settled parts of Australia predominantly live in the suburbs of towns and cities. A minority live in "fringe camps" on the peripheries of towns and cities.

GROUNDS OF BEING. From the spotlight on Djakapurra Munyarryun addressing the audience on the stadium's dais, attention shifted back to the stadium floor. Nikki Webster in her pink beach dress was again visible as a huddled group of white ochre-daubed dancers parted to make space for her to move. These performers were also recognizably Indigenous. They seemed to pursue the golden-haired girl toward the dais. They moved beside and behind her with their heads down and torsos bent low, clasping their hands behind their backs.

Nikki Webster glanced back at her pursuers with evident uncertainty and concern. Finally the young Australian girl climbed the stairs toward the tall Aboriginal man and was picked up by performers and placed beside him on the dais. She knelt. Looking. Learning. The scene was punctuated by a white cloud as the Aboriginal man clapped his ochre-filled hands above her. The voice of Indigenous commentator Ernie Dingo elaborated: "The deep-sea dream of young Australia is transformed by an undeniable call from an ancient heritage by the Dreamtime spirits of another age, but a culture very much alive."

Ernie Dingo's statement of ancient Indigenous roots and contemporary vitality was significant. So too were references to an ancient heritage of Dreamtime spirits. In this Dingo pointed the audience to what has become the key concept for understanding most Australian Indigenous religious traditions. These concepts link the religious lives of Indigenous people from the forty thousand and more years before the continent's settlement by non-Indigenous people and the two hundred and more years since.

The idea of Dreaming, the Dreamtime, and Dreamtime Spirits has wide usage, is key to understanding Australian Indigenous Religions, and the words are not restricted to Indigenous or non-Indigenous speakers. Though these terms have become general in their usage, they had their origins in the translation of a specific term by a specific group by researchers working in the late eighteenth century.

The concept of the Dreaming can be understood as that transcendent aspect of power through which all key elements of the cosmos—material and immaterial—have their origins and remain connected. The essence of the Dreaming is in the Indigenous principles of formation, order, and knowledge.

Most Indigenous traditions in Australia share basic ideas about the place of Aboriginal people in their cultural world, and it is the "business" of contemporary Indigenous people to continue these ideas in order to maintain that world. Across the continent Indigenous people take as the bedrock of their being (or believe that their ancestors did so in the past) deep ideas of transcendent form and relatedness and the enduring entailments of these connections.

The terms Dreaming, or Dreamtime, mentioned in the Olympic "Awakening" ceremony are used to refer to the "the ancient past" in which all Indigenous life was founded. For many it endures from its ancient formational time into the present and future. The anthropologist W. E. H. Stanner, in *White Man Got No Dreaming* (1979), called it "the everywhen."

As Howard Morphy has suggested in "Empiricism to Metaphysics: In Defense of the Concept of the Dreamtime" (1995), Dreaming is part of a group of related terms that can be found in most if not all Australian Indigenous languages. Such sets of terms refer to ancestral figures, their actions and powers, and sacred things and doings that connect living beings to them.

The ideas behind such sets of terms are thoroughly grounded in the premise that people properly belong to specific areas or "countries" that were created by their own ancestral spirits. Indeed "country" itself was formed long ago as these powerful transcendent beings moved across the landscape or stayed as forms within it. Ancestors left tracks and sometimes their own bodies in the areas through which they moved. These tracks gave the land and waters a form that endures in the early twenty-first century. Thus in some Indigenous traditions mountains are the shelters that ancestors left behind as they traveled. A bend in a river may be a Dreaming figure's elbow or knee or the sweep of a giant ancestral fish. Sand dunes are the kinetic tracks of women who danced in the "Dreamtime" or the windbreaks behind which they camped. Islands are the ossified remains of ancestors or the objects they carried. Ancestors created or were the natural species that fill the land and waters.

Dreamings in the broadest sense then are power-filled landforms, stories, spirits, stars and natural species as well as natural forces like rain, sun, whirlwinds, and waters. They initiated relationships. Contemporary human beings are the descendents of these powerful beings with all the responsibilities of relatedness and enduring connection. Countries are sacred and have particularly sacred places because of their ancestral connections. Specific natural species are kindred: totemic protectors and friends.

Deborah Bird Rose put it this way in *Nourishing Terrains* (1996):

> The Australian continent is criss-crossed with the tracks of the Dreamings: walking, slithering, crawling, flying, chasing, hunting, weeping, dying, giving birth. Performing rituals, distributing the plants, making landforms and water, establishing things in their own places, and making relationships between one place and another. Leaving parts or essences of themselves, looking back in sorrow; and still travelling, changing languages, changing songs, changing skin. They were changing shape from animal to human and back to animal and human again, becoming ancestral to particular animals and particular humans. Through their creative actions they demarcated a whole world of difference and a whole world of relationships which cross-cut difference. (Rose, 1996, p. 35)

Dreaming stories, countries, people, and all living things are differentiated. Although the idea of the Dreaming founds all life, particular people and particular groups of people have rights and responsibilities for specific segments of stories, tracks, movements, and the sacred: dances, designs, and sacred objects. A single person will generally have relationships and therefore responsibilities to a number of specific ancestral figures and tracks. People make those parts of the Dreaming for which they have responsibility manifest in the organization and performance of ritual and the realization of the powers of their "everywhen" in sand, on rock, on bodies, and on canvases. They sing them into power and dance their presence. In doing so they continue the Dreaming and carry out their responsibilities for its endurance.

Living human beings keep particular segments of the Dreaming alive: by keeping the rules of practice laid down by the founding beings, dancing the segments to which they have rights, repeating their actions and their tracks in the landscape, "singing" the country in a language that the spirits of the dead can hear, dancing and re-creating the ancestors and their actions, living in ways that nurture continued life, and guarding the propriety with which others do so.

Social orders were also established in the foundational "everywhen" of the Dreaming, including clans, "skins" (subsections), totems, and other groupings of identity, relationship, and regulation. Particular human groups are allied with natural species or forces and given responsibilities for their vitality and endurance. Religious action is predicated on the cooperation of different groups of people who have different roles in performance and in many regions a critical distinction is made between the "owners" of ritual and the "managers" who must survey proceedings and ensure that things are properly done.

In Indigenous social orders gender is a fundamental point of differentiation as well as cooperation. Males and females have mutually entailed knowledge, roles, and responsibilities in the world. These things were established in the foundational orders of the Dreaming.

Critical stages in human life too were established in formational times and events as well as the rites for human passage: they included in some societies birth rituals, initiation, and mortuary ceremonies. In some traditions human conception was animated as spirits entered a woman in particular places (often those associated with water), enlivening a fetus within her. Such places come to be regarded as the person's "conception place." These connections gave rise to special relationships, rights, and responsibilities. Rituals for maintaining the fertility of country and species more generally were also given to human beings from foundational actions. In this way too laws of living were established and punishments and rewards set down for tradition.

Complex processes of concealment and revelation are pivotal in the life of many Indigenous traditions and practices. Some practices are open and public. Others are restricted. Knowledge, practice, and power in such traditions are frequently layered and segmented. With the pioneering work of Phyllis Kaberry, Catherine Berndt, and Diane Bell has come a deeper understanding of the positions and roles of Indigenous women in their societies. Many Indigenous traditions are organized around age and gender-based divisions of religious cooperation, knowledge, and work. Some matters were restricted to women, some to older women, some to women with several children. These matters and responsibilities are now often referred to as "women's business." Others were restricted to men and are referred to as "men's business." Both sides of business required the complementary participation of the other and entailed negotiations of who knew what story and who could claim knowledge. The balance as to who takes the lead depends on the purpose of the ceremony and varies across the continent.

Rituals, objects, and designs commonly have many meanings in these traditions. Revelation and knowledge of spiritual matters were graduated. Some sacred matters were more narrowly restricted within gendered knowledge. It is not uncommon, for example, for novices in initiation to have less-restricted knowledge about stories or the nature of practices, designs, or the sacred revealed to them while the adepts who bring this knowledge withhold other "inside" meanings. As ritual experience and adeptness is gained, so too is inside knowledge.

But it is also crucial to recognize that knowledge has power in such societies. It is not given away freely. For this reason Eric Michaels, in "Constraints on Knowledge in an Economy of Oral Information" (1985), has written of such systems as forming an "economy of knowledge." Founding practices in which gender, age, ritual status, and divisions of esoteric knowledge were laid down also established the basis of different rights and obligations in these economies of knowledge: to come into and see special sacred places or to turn one's back and stay away, to tell and reenact specific ancestral actions in ritual, to sing but not to dance, to dance but not to sing, to paint bodies or to be painted, to see and hear restricted knowledge, to oversee specific performances by others, to participate in action and constructions but not to gain rights to repeat them in any way.

Another broad feature of Indigenous traditions is an insistence as ideology that things that have come from the Dreaming are unchangingly "everywhen": that the Dreaming and its consequences are not subject to innovation and that "things have been this way for forty thousand years." Yet many traditions also admit the possibility of "rediscovering" things temporarily lost or the gaining of new insight or elaboration in the inspired dreams of living humans. The ambiguity of layered systems of knowledge also makes space for new understandings and sometimes in turn new practices. It is also clear that new rituals, performances, and objects move between groups from time to time and probably that they have long done so. And clearly the Dreaming has also found new ways of life: in the expression of Dreaming designs in paintings on canvas using acrylic paints, for example, and in performances like those at the Olympics, where new groupings of Aboriginal people are linked into an overarching performance message before different and radically enlarged audiences and with performances adjusted for this unprecedented context.

The "Awakening" segment of the Sydney opening ceremony, with its three to four billion viewers worldwide, brought together seven different Indigenous groups and performers from all corners of the Australian continent in an innovative performance of different traditions lasting just over eleven minutes. These different performances were linked to create an innovative "story."

This was far from the first time Indigenous cultural productions went global, though clearly this was Indigenous Australians' largest and most widely based global audience. Australian Indigenous art, based in artists' own Dreamings, had moved out of ethnographic museums into art galleries by the 1980s. Public institutions commission Indigenous art to hang on walls in public view. When Australia's new Parliament House opened in 1988, it featured a commanding forecourt paved with a mosaic by the Western Desert artist Michael Nelson Tjakamarra. The same year the Asia Society in New York hosted the exhibition Dreamings: The Art of Aboriginal Australia. Australian Indigenous art now sells widely and commands high prices in global art markets. Exhibitions of Indigenous art tour the world.

Indigenous cultural performance has also gone global. The Bangara Dance Theatre, whose director, Stephen Page, was codirector of the "Awakening" segment of the Sydney 2000 opening ceremony, has been presenting contemporary Indigenous dance to international and Australian audiences since 1989. The Arnhem Land rock group Yonthu Yindi sings Yolngu messages that are broadcast to large audiences, and Yolngu elders invite influential outsiders to come and learn from them at Garma festivals held in their homelands.

Traditional religious acts and performances, ordinarily set in the country made by Dreamings, have also gone international. Often they are part of the opening of exhibitions of Indigenous art. In "Culture-Making: Performing Aboriginality at the Asia Society Gallery" (1994), Fred Myers has documented the complex negotiations and performances through which sandpaintings were constructed in New York as part of the opening of the 1988 Dreamings exhibition. Men from the small and remote Aboriginal community of Papunya, 160 miles from Alice Springs, traced sandpaintings ordinarily grounded in their remote homelands, albeit adapted to this particular and peculiar audience and context.

In January 2000 Warlpiri people from the Central Desert presented a "One Family corroboree" at the Baptist World Alliance Congress in Melbourne in which they painted strong Warlpiri iconographs on their bodies for their performance of a "Christian *purlapa*" (Christian public ceremony). As Ivan Jordan documents in *Their Way* (2003), the designs they painted on their bodies and the songs and dances they performed were "dreamed" into being in small Central Desert communities.

Indeed as many as 75 percent of the nation's Indigenous people call themselves Christian. Some might be said to have converted from the religious life of their ancestors to Christianity. For many others Christian ideas sit side by side in a now enlarged cosmology in which the forces that founded Indigenous countries and for which human beings have responsibilities include ancestral figures as well as God and Jesus Christ. And understandings about the nature of the human condition are told in stories about the formational actions and powers of Dreaming figures as well as with those drawn from the Bible.

The concept of the Dreaming or Dreamtime has had a central place in Indigenous and popular Australian parlance for many years. It has long been a central though sometimes contested concept in academic analyses of Indigenous religion. The use of these English-language terms originated from a translation of a particular term in a particular Indigenous language group (the Aranda or Arrente) in the late eighteenth century. Their contemporary use carries the danger of homogenization: of concealing cultural difference between the hundreds of Indigenous groups in Australia. This issue will be addressed in the following sections.

But the strength of the English terms' usage, as Morphy has shown, is that these concepts overlap semantic fields or sets of related terms in most if not all Aboriginal languages. Morphy has suggested that the term "signifies a semantic field in Aboriginal languages, the significance of which became relevant in the context of postcolonial Aboriginal discourse. The term fitted a lexical gap in Aboriginal languages, a lexical gap the colonial conditions made it more necessary to fill. It was an anthropological term that was adopted by Aboriginal people because of its salience to them" (Morphy, 1995, p. 178).

If the term *Dreaming* can be traced back to early attempts to understand the terms of Aranda-Arrente religious life, it should be kept in mind, as Morton has noted, that:

> Mythological and ceremonial knowledge . . . has undoubtedly in some sense diminished since the turn of the century: yet initiation continues, dreamings are transmitted and enhanced, and old stories and songs now sit side-by-side with new stories and songs about Jesus and Mary, God and Satan, and Adam and Eve. . . . Some Western Aranda men are now very prominent in the Lutheran Church, but they have not thereby forsaken their countries or their dreamings or their kinsmen. This would quite simply be unthinkable. (Morton 1991, p. 54)

The Australian Politics of Indigenous Religions. Nikki Webster, the young Australian star of the opening ceremony, was pursued by clay-daubed "awakening spirits" along the stadium toward the stairs of the dais from which Dkakapurra Munyarryun spoke. She joined him on the dais. Ernie Dingo said: "The young Australian girl is now part of the land's ancient culture, for her too to share. First of all to understand the origins of where it all came from."

Dingo's call was understood by many Australians in the audience to address political debates from the years running up to the Sydney 2000 Olympics. The peak national Indigenous body, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (disbanded by the Australian government in 2004), said of the Indigenous performance:

> The Sydney Olympics will help shine a spotlight on Aboriginal culture and its historical plight. The attention should prove uncomfortable to the Australian government. The nation has made great strides on the racial front in recent decades, but it is showing some distressing signs of weariness from the progress, and a resistance to march onward. In recent months, the Australian government has ceased cooperating with United Nations human rights monitors looking into the status of Aborigines and has opposed calls for an official apology for past wrongs.

The 1990s began with hope for acknowledgment and reconciliation. A wide-ranging national inquiry of the executive government (the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody) listened carefully to bereaved Indigenous people as well as a range of other witnesses. The inquiry found that fundamental disadvantage underlay the disproportionate incarceration rates (and consequent high death rates) of Indigenous people in Australia. It recommended systemic change in legal and social institutions and practices. This gave some Indigenous Australians hope for their children's future. It suggested that "reconciliation" between Indigenous and settler Australians might be possible.

Indigenous hopes were raised too in 1992, when the High Court of Australia recognized the prior ownership and native title of the Meriam people of the Torres Strait in the *Mabo* case. The following year an act of the commonwealth (federal) parliament gave Indigenous claimants across the country a right to have their native title claims tested and declared by the federal court (the Native Title Act of 1993). In overturning the doctrine of *terra nullius* (that the continent at settlement was a land without owners and therefore open to be legally taken and colonized), the High Court of Australia noted in its judgment that "Aborigines were dispossessed of their land parcel by parcel, to make way for expanding colonial settlement. Their dispossession underwrote the development of the nation."

The new legislation gave Indigenous people the opportunity to claim native title on crown land—land whose title had not been sold or transferred to others in legal contracts but was still held by "the crown." The primary questions before the courts in native title claims is whether Indigenous claimants were owners of crown land through their own system of custom and law (which would have to be demonstrated) and whether they have maintained their connection with the land they claim. The Native Title Act promised limited access to native title rights and recognition across the nation.

It was the Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act of 1976 that put Australian Indigenous religions squarely on the agenda of public debate in Australia. That act, which was limited in its operation to the Northern Territory, put Aboriginal peoples' religious lives at the heart of their claims to land. A key test in land claims turned on Aboriginal peoples' spiritual affiliation with the land. According to the legislation, it was "Traditional Aboriginal owners" who could make claims for land. But the claimants had to constitute "a local descent group of Aboriginals who have *common spiritual affiliations* to a site on the land, being affiliations that place the group under a *primary spiritual responsibility* for that site and for the land, and are entitled by Aboriginal tradition to forage as of right over that land" (emphasis added).

Ideas about Indigenous beliefs and traditions later underpinned the federal "safety net" heritage act, which offered Indigenous people a way to protect areas or objects of significance to their tradition from destruction or desecration when all other means had been exhausted. In the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act of 1984, "Aboriginal tradition" means the body of traditions, observances, customs, and beliefs of Aboriginals generally or of a particular community or group of Aboriginals and includes any such traditions, observances, customs, or beliefs relating to particular persons, areas, objects, or relationships. A critical question then becomes: Who defines tradition and according to what criteria?

Thus, Australian Indigenous religions have been made to count in a number of facets of Australian affairs. This has brought Australian Indigenous religions into a spotlight of controversy and contestation. Indigenous people became by the mid-1990s a target of political skepticism. Some have been accused of fabricating traditions and beliefs they sought to have acknowledged as significant under Australian law. In this context the commentary that "the young Australian girl is now part of the land's ancient culture, for her too to share" had a particular salience.

PARTICULARITIES: PERSON AND IDENTITY. As Nikki Webster joined Djakapurr Munyarryun on the dais, the Yolngu man continued to sing and address the audience in his own language. Ernie Dingo explained again to television viewers: "Djakapurra, the song man, calls the visitors to listen to the sounds of the earth, to meet an ancient past and awaken the spirits within."

Djakapurra Munyarryun, the key Indigenous performer in the opening ceremony of the Sydney Olympics, is an Aboriginal man. More particularly he is a Yolngu man. *Yolngu* is the term six thousand people in Arnhem Land use to identify themselves to others as Indigenous people.

Djakapurra Munyarryun is a member of a specific Yolngu clan reported to be the Wan'gurri clan. The homelands of the Wan'gurri are Dhalinbuy, inland and roughly southwest of the township of Yirrkala and the Nhulunbuy-Gove area (the site of a large bauxite mine and its associated township).

Yolngu clans like the Wan'gurri are made up of people related to each other through their fathers. They are a group because they share a common ancestor (usually about five generations distant) through their patriline (father's line), but also because they are linked by being created on land by a particular Dreaming ancestral figure and as part of a particular story of creation. Clan members, led by elders, are custodians of specific tracts of country for which they have particular responsibilities. Each clan claims and looks after particular tracts of country (land in coastal areas, the sea) and have a specific set of sacred objects, songs, dances, and designs that are underwritten by the activities of particular ancestral figures.

The Wan'gurri clan of which Djakapurra Munyarryun is a member belongs to the Yirritja moiety. Other Yolngu clans belong to the opposite and complementary Dhuwa moiety. Everything in the Yolngu world is part of one moiety or the other. Yolngu people become a member of their father's moiety at birth (and are such prior to birth in a dead-spirit-to-newborn continuum). In Yolngu tradition they must marry a member of their mother's moiety, for it would be incestuous to marry into the moiety they share with their father. Many Yolngu religious obligations can be discharged only in cooperation with people and clans of the opposite moiety. They require particular ceremonial events to be conducted in the presence of members of both moieties. For example, some dances and designs held by one clan are only to be used under the supervision of members of another clan belonging to the opposite moiety. This is often described as the *yothu-yindi* (child-mother) relationship between an individual's own clan and his or her mother's clan. Thus the duty to observe and supervise the activities of another clan is akin to the responsibility of a mother providing advice and guidance to her child.

When Yolngu people refer to themselves, they frequently use specific terms that identify them with a narrower group of people, such as a specific clan group, that possesses its own language dialect which is associated with one or more homelands and that shares ancestral totems, songs, and designs associated with and bestowed upon them by particular Dreaming ancestors responsible for the creation of their clan lands. More narrowly still Yolngu clan members identify themselves as belonging to a family or particular patriline (which since mission times have come to be identified by distinct surnames). Djakapurra's second name, Munyarryun, is such a name.

In 1991 Djakapurra Munyarryun moved as a young man to Sydney to become a performer and cultural consultant for the Bangarra Dance Theatre. He remained a full-time member of the company until 2002. As a member of Bangarra, Djakapurra Munyarryun embodied long-standing links between the dance company and Yolngu peoples in Arnhem Land, where members of the company traveled, viewed dance in its ceremonial context, and held contemporary dance workshops in local venues. As the Bangarra Dance Theatre web page notes: "Djakapurra contributes far more than dancing, singing and didjeridu playing. He is a creative consultant, linking traditional past and contemporary present as he moves between his remote community, Sydney and international tours that have taken him around the world" (www.bangarra.com.au).

PARTICULARITIES: THE SEVEN SISTERS. The "Awakening Spirits" dance that moved Nikki Webster to join Djakapurra Munyarryun on the podium finished with a puff of dry ochre (a dry white clay powder). As Nikki Webster knelt watching and learning beside the song man, the high pitch of many women's singing voices turned viewers' attention to the other end of the stadium. Television viewers saw from overhead three hundred women proceeding in a pendulous elongated group up the stadium. At ground level the women could be seen entering the stadium with their hands clasped behind their backs. Then, as they hastened down the stadium, they brought their arms to their sides, with elbows bent in a stylized movement. The women wore only black skirts and red headbands. Their breasts were painted with lined designs of white, yellow, and red.

"This, *inma kunga rapaba,*" Ernie Dingo announced, "a dance from central Australia. Dance of the seven emu sisters." At about two-thirds of the way down the length the women stopped their forward movement and bunched into circle, their arms raised in the air, hands cupped and waving above them.

These women, members of the Ngaanyatjarra, Pitjantjatjara, and Yunkunyatjara (or NPY) Women's Council, came to Sydney from homelands in three Australian states, South Australia, Western Australia, and the Northern Territory. They are members of a cultural region sometimes referred to in the ethnographic literature as the "Western Desert" block. Their languages, though distinct, are generally comprehensible to each other. They call themselves by the common term *anangu* (human beings).

The NPY Women's Council has been an important force in local, regional, state, and national politics since it was formed in 1980. The words of a senior member of the council were translated and appeared as subtitles in the film *Minymaku Way.* They read:

> There are many of us living across a huge area of country [in fact the area is 350,000 square kilometers of the interstate desert areas]. Our country belongs to us Anangu people and we have our own ways, our own language and we women want to keep these ways alive, especially while there is so much tragedy in our lives. That is why we formed the Women's Council.

Minymaku Way tells the story of the council's first twenty years. It tells of how the council was formed in 1980 during the fight for land rights, a fight from which women—despite their business and traditions—were silenced and excluded. It tells also of contemporary programs arising out of "worry for families," as the non-Anangu worker Maggie Kavanagh put it. Prominent among Women's Council programs are care for the aged, disability services, domestic violence, nutrition programs, and substance abuse (alcohol, marijuana, and petrol sniffing).

Minymaku Way also tells that a major item on the agenda of the twenty-year anniversary general meeting of the council held at Kanpi (about a seven-hour drive from Alice Springs) was to decide on one song, dance, and body painting for their performance at the opening ceremony of the Olympic Games, a context for them to showcase their strength and culture "for all the world to see." The meeting at Kanpi celebrated the roots of the Women's Council in the singing of the "Land Rights Song" that appeared as subtitles on-screen as the women sang in their own language:

> It is our grandfathers' and our grandmothers' country from a long time ago. Listen everybody! This is our sacred land. This is a really true story. Why don't you listen to us? Listen everybody! Listen everybody! This is our land, our beautiful land.

The decision about what they would perform at the Olympics was a difficult one. Many women from different communities would perform. The audience would primarily be those with no ordinary right to see or hear the performance. It would include men, women, and children. Other Aboriginal people, including some from their own communities, might tune in. One Anangu woman talked about the dilemmas on film: "We have to make a proper choice. Making our songs so public is unusual because normally we keep our songs so private, hidden and separate. We have to consider and discuss which non-fun song, which serious and important song we can present to the people of the world."

The group narrowed their decision down to two possibilities. In the end the decision was made to perform a section of the Seven Sisters story. The other song and dance considered was deemed to be too restricted and sacred to perform for the world.

Maggie Kavanagh sent a message on camera to Stephen Page, the co–artistic director of the "Awakenings" segment of the Olympics opening. She spoke about the negotiations and decisions about which *inma* (song-dance-design relating to a segment of a Dreaming) the women would perform in Sydney. She spoke to the camera in English:

> They have decided on the Seven Sisters and they practiced three parts of the Seven Sisters *inma.* Looks like the one [localized section] they'll agree on is the *kanpi.* . . . *Kanpi* means fat. It is emu fat. The Seven Sisters are traveling [she moved her hands up one after the other in a flowing movement as if to grasp something in the air, bending her elbows in a stylized way as she did so]. You'll see them trying to get the emu fat [with their hands], that's a really prized part of the emu. And it's actually not far from where we are [referring to the *inma's* specific section of country or locale at Kanpi]. The women liked the song, for that particular Seven Sisters song and also the movement. They like the movements. They think it's really good moving-movement for what you want in Sydney.

The Kanpi *inma* of the Seven Sisters Dreaming was taped by David Page and his colleagues from Sydney as the women performed it in song and dance in the landscape to which it referred. *Minymaku Way* showed the women singing the songs relating to the designs they painted on their bodies (though taking out the black so the designs would show better as they danced before a world audience). In the country of the song they danced in a clearing, keeping their forefeet in the sand, marking the country with the story once again and grasping for the emu fat unseen in front of them while others sat beating time with bottles, shoes, and clapping sticks. It was the sounds of their singing that day, clarified in a Sydney studio, that were broadcast for the Sydney performance.

There are many stories and many story lines about the Seven Sisters among Indigenous Australians. These stories concern the Pleiades constellation. Aboriginal people sometimes refer to the stars of the constellation as the "many women or sisters." The "Seven Sisters" is a common usage. This constellation rises and falls in the sky seasonally. Christine Watson is the most recent scholar to canvass the travels and adventures of the Seven Sisters. Spurred by work she did on women's art and ceremony from Balgo in northeastern Western Australia, she describes, in *Piercing the Ground* (2003), how those women's Dreamings are part of a "web of Seven Sisters narratives which traverse mainland Australia, the Torres Strait, and Tasmania, through South Australia to New South Wales and Victoria, parts of them belonging to men's and parts to women's ceremonial practice among the different groups holding the mythology" (Watson, 2003, p. 194).

In the temperate eastern states of Australia documentation from the nineteenth century suggests that the Seven Sisters story was associated with winter and frosts. R. H. Mathews recorded in 1904 that all the stars and star clusters in the sky are named and known in Aboriginal tradition. The stars, he said, are like human beings arranged into kinship systems. Of the Seven Sisters constellation in particular, he wrote, in nineteenth-century parlance:

> The aborigines of the Clarence River have a story that the Pleiades when they set with the sun go away to bring winter; and that when these stars reappear early in the evening in the eastern sky, they are ushering in the warm weather. They are supposed to be a family of young women, whose name was War-ring-garai, and who belonged to the section Wirrakan. . . . Among the Ngeumba blacks, in the cold weather of mid-winter, when the Pleiades rise about three or four o'clock in the morning, the old men take some glowing coals on bark shovels, and cast them towards this constellation as soon as it is visible. This is done to prevent the spirit women, whom these stars represent, from making the morning too cold. The women in the camp are not permitted to look at all at the Pleiades in winter nights, because such conduct would increase the severity of the frost. If a woman transgresses this law, her eyes will become bleary, and she will suffer from uterine troubles. (Mathews, 1904, pp. 279–280)

It is not clear whether all stories across the continent are parts of a wide-ranging whole. It is clear, however, that such Dreamings crossed boundaries and connected a number of different groups. It is more likely that some if not most of the Seven Sisters stories that track around the arid inland, in and out of Western Australia, South Australia, and the Northern Territory, are related and connecting Dreaming stories. Certainly contemporary women make the assertion that this Dreaming connects them to many others across the continent. Most of the reported segments or versions in the cross-border desert regions contain common themes. They tell of a group of women who travel widely, camping, dancing, eating, and spending much of their time trying to escape from the unwelcome and usually illicit advances of a lustful man (and sometimes more). Sometimes the main pursuer has a son.

As with other Dreamings, these women's presence can be seen in the early twenty-first century in the sandhills they used as windbreaks or those they formed as tracks when they danced with their feet in the sand. Particular vegetation marks food they ate or with which the lustful "lover boy" sought to tempt them. Caves point to places where they were raped. In some versions of the myth the women have dogs that protect them and fight off the lecherous man or men. The women move between earth and sky, rising and falling with the seasons as the Pleiades. The lustful man is still to be seen in the sky as Orion or in other traditions the moon. At various points this Dreaming crosses and interacts with other Dreaming tracks.

In her *Nukunu Dictionary* (1992) Luise Hercus recorded an account of the story from a South Australian Nukunu informant, Harry Bramfield. This account makes clear the relationship between events in the story, the stars, and terrestrial landmarks. In Bramfield's account the Seven Sisters

> ran from the east and they came across to Yartnamalka [in the Flinders Ranges], where the Yartnamalka lady is, where the big chunk of clay is in the hills. They ran away from the east and they went west. One of them got crook [ill] at the hill at Yartnamalka, and that is where she stayed, so there is only six of them up there (in the sky) now. The seventh is there at Yartnamalka, that is the landmark. And of course the three brothers—they only had three brothers, they took after them to find them, they traveled and traveled and they too went up into the sky so there is the three brothers chasing the six sisters. (Hercus, 1992)

The Seven Sisters Dreaming is a context for ritual and indeed political cooperation among different groups. Arguably this Dreaming is progressively more celebrated by Aboriginal people in the contemporary context where their special claims have been under a variety of political threats. Whether such issues were at the forefront of decisions made by the women themselves and the ceremony organizers, the dancing of the Seven Sisters at the opening ceremony of the Sydney 2000 Olympics was in many ways a particularly apt choice, for the Seven Sisters is a Dreaming story that links Indigenous groups across the continent and through all of Australia's mainland states.

PARTICULARITIES: THE WARLPIRI OF THE CENTRAL DESERT. What the Sydney Olympic organizers referred to as "Central Desert" Aboriginal people and attributed to the NPY Women's Council includes a large number of distinct Indigenous groups—the Alyawarra (Alywarr), Kaytej (Kaytetye), Pintupi, Ngaanyatjarra, Pintjantjatjara, Yankunytjatjara, Warlpiri, and Warumungu. Their homelands can be found in the remote regions of three different states of Australia: Western Australia, South Australia, and the Northern Territory. To complicate matters, scholars have sometimes distinguished between the Central Desert and Western Desert cultural regions. In this schema Pintupi, Ngaanyatjarra, Pintjantjatjara, and Yunkunytjatjara are groups from the "Western Desert cultural bloc," and Alyawarra (Alywarr), Kaytej (Kaytetye), Warlpiri, and Waramungu are from the so-called Central Desert bloc. In reality these "blocs" are crumbling somewhat. Nowadays people from these regions live in settlements and small townships like Ali Kurang (formerly Warrabri), Yendemu, Lajamanu (once known as Hooker Creek), and Balgo, now known as Wirrimanu.

When Diane Bell worked at the Aboriginal community of Warrabri (Ali Kurang), it comprised Kaytej, Alyawarra, Warlpiri, and Warumungu-Warlmanpa people but was located on Kaytej country, a place associated with dog Dreaming. The community of Yuendumu began its life in 1946, when the government established a "ration depot" near a soak of that name. The depot was situated near several Warlpiri ceremonial sites and came to be used by mainly Warlpiri people but also by Pintupi and Anmatyerre.

Both Bell, in *Daughters of the Dreaming* (1983), and Françoise Dussart, in *The Politics of Ritual in an Aboriginal Settlement* (2000), provide a sense of how Aboriginal life "maps" on to these communities. Their accounts differ in important ways and point up the fact that difference is important for understanding the religious life of Indigenous people in Central Australia. The central part of Warrabri, as Bell experienced it in 1976 to 1978, included a built-up area with an airstrip, powerhouse (for generating electricity), police station, store, sports field, council offices, hospital, and houses surround by a number of camps, each oriented to the "country" of its traditional owners. There were also initiation grounds, "Sorry" camps (for the bereaved), and a number of *jilimi,* or independent women's camps. During Dussart's stay in Yuendumu from 1983 to 1985, that community likewise included the built structures of a remote Australian town: airstrip, powerhouse, council buildings, school, sports facilities, and store as well as a hall, a video-television station building (under construction at the time), a church, a recreation center, a clinic, a morgue, an adult education center, and separate men's and women's museums. Surrounding these "permanently" built structures were the six Aboriginal "camps" with their men's and women's ritual areas. She too found *jilimi* as well as *yampirri,* the quarters of unmarried men, and *yapukarra,* the quarters of married couples.

But these are also communities that keep their Dreamings alive and frequently perform ritual, as the substantial ethnography from this area demonstrates. The languages of these complex settlements refer to the Dreaming similarly: as *Jukurrpa.* Each member of these communities has particular connections to specific *Jukurrpa* as stories, relationships, objects, designs, places, and actions. People sing their Dreamings. They dance them. They draw their designs in the sand. They paint the marks of the Dreaming on their bodies. They recognize their marks on ritual objects. They move about the landscape with its forces, powers, and essences always in mind and with them as guides of where to go and where they must lower their eyes and turn their backs. Aboriginal people are mindful of the rules and laws set down. And for some decades now they have painted their Dreamings onto canvases and sung them as they did so.

All the critical moments in an individual's life are "made manifest" in ritual. Conflicts resolved, lovers are attracted and repelled. Dussart tried to convey the force of ceremony: "In reenacting a Dreaming, ritual performers follow in the footsteps (spiritually and physically) of their Jukurrpa Ancestral Beings" (Dussart, 2000, p. 47).

The Aboriginal groups of the Central Desert regions have extraordinarily intricate systems for specifying membership of a number of groups of relations and orienting one's future marriage preferences. These webs of relatedness are founded in connections to specific tracts of land and through them to specific Dreaming ensembles. Groups of people also have special relationships with natural species, which are often referred to in English as their "totems" or "Dreaming."

Rights and responsibilities to Dreamings are shared by groups of relatives related in specific ways to it. *Kirda* are those related to a particular place, "country," or Dreaming on their "father's" side, from their father and grandfather. They must dance for the country and wear the designs for the Dreamings and places in the country. *Kudrungurlu* are those who are related to the same places, "countries," or Dreaming on the "mothers' father's" side. As Bell notes in *Daughters of the Dreaming* (1983), "they had to sing, paint the *kirda,* and ensure that the Law was correctly followed." Members of each group must be present for ritual performances to be proper. Both must be present and sign off on acrylic paintings of Dreaming segments. In their action one to the other and in respect of the Dreamings for which they hold complementary responsibility, *kirda* and *kurungurlu* help each other carry out their responsibilities.

But all people who are related as *kirda* and *kurungurlu* are not the same. There are two further distinctions that are essential to consider in respect of Central Desert religious life: gender and the restrictions that could be called those of adeptness.

The Warlpiri continue to conduct male initiation ceremonies. Though these are "men's business," women play important roles in this ritual process. Women too have ritual responsibilities.

In *Daughters of the Dreaming,* Diane Bell describes a *yawulyu* ceremony she witnessed in 1976. On average, she said, she saw one such ceremony a week during her stay. These rituals are "women's business" and continue to be a feature of Warlpiri life. Women gather for *yawalyu* in the afternoon and prepare ritual objects and designs. A fire is kept burning throughout the ceremony, and the ashes will be raked over and reused in subsequent rituals.

In Bell's account the first stage entailed the gathering of women and painting of women's bodies and of the sacred boards they hold. While this work goes on, women sing of the *Jukurrpa* ancestors who formed their country and its institutions. When their preparations were finished, "the assembled group had sung for the country where the ochres were quarried; they had sung for the ancestors who were to be celebrated in the dancing; they had provided ritual instruction for those women who were being groomed as future leaders, and they had offered brief guidance regarding the structure of their activities" (Bell, 1983, pp. 12–13).

As the sun was nearly setting, seven women moved some distance from the group of singers. With this the singers emphasized the rhythm of their songs with cupped hand clapping. The song grew stronger, and women from all groups and "countries" were called to attend. When the broader group had gathered, the singers recounted the travels of the ancestors depicted in the painted designs. Then, dancing in a straight line from the northwest came women wearing red and white designs on their bodies.

> They represented the activities of the diamond dove that travelled from Kurinji country through the desert lands. . . . As they neared the seated singers they held aloft the painted boards bearing ideational maps of the sites visited by the diamond dove in its trek south. The songs told of each site, of how the dove tired of travelling, of how the dove cried out for seed. On approaching the claypan known as Pawurrinji, the dove sighted the willy-wagtail, who was feasting on a small marsupial mouse. Women of the black and white designs of the wagtail danced forward to meet the travelling dove people; who then wove in and out of the wagtail ranks, flanking them before joining them in one circle. From where I sat I could see that the patterns traced in the red desert sand by the dancer's feet echoed those on the sacred boards. (Bell, 1983, p.13)

Bell describes how all the dancers then united in a tight circle in front of the seated singers. They presented the painted boards to them. With this the spirits of the birds entered the ground. This was the climax of the performance.

General gaiety followed. Singers were paid for their ritual work, and nonparticipants paid for having seen the ceremony. And singing again of the country, the women began the task of "rubbing down" the boards: "The designs had to be removed and the power with which they were infused during the dancing, absorbed and neutralized" (Bell, 1983, p. 14).

It is *kurdungurlu* who introduce the country with songs. It is they who collect the *kirda* for the ceremony. Both *kirda* and *kurdungurlu* dance. Both sing. But as Bell notes, "they do not sing for themselves."

In *Their Way* (2003) Ivan Jordan describes how, following attempts by missionaries to develop meaningful symbols for their church teaching, Warlpiri Christians came to present Christian symbols and develop Warlpiri Christian rituals. Jordan describes how boards were painted with Warlpiri Christian iconographs, new songs were developed, and finally the first "Christian *purlapa*" (public ceremony) was performed. He describes how in 1977 the Lajamanu and Yuendumu churches met:

> Then it happened. For many days, as daylight disappeared into darkness "big mobs" of people gathered to sing this new corroboree. Often someone came to the door to tell us they were ready to start. . . . As with all traditional corroboree singing, each song had just a few words, maybe five or six, and these words were repeated many times—at least thirty or forty. . . . When it finally happened, the dancing was truly exciting. Firstly, the appropriate symbolism for the body paintings had to be agreed on. . . . Preparation always took hours. . . . Having finished the painting, the right starting positions and dances and gestures were agreed upon after a good deal of group interaction. . . . I can still see those first dancers; dust flying, calloused black feet thudding the ground in perfect timing and harmony with the rising and falling chants of the singers and the echoing clicking of the boomerangs, Japanangka and Napurrula, husband and wife church leaders, were Mary and Joseph. At the appropriate time a suitable baby wrapped in a blanket and lying on a *coolamon* [wooden carrying dish] was produced from the

> crowd. . . . At the conclusion of the *purlapa,* it was usual for the men to begin rubbing the decoration from their bodies, the women quickly don bras, and blouses while Jerry Jangala [a church leader] stood and talked briefly about the story. Jangala would then conclude by praying. After this the people would disappear into the darkness happy and excited that they had not just heard God's story but they had actually danced and sung it. They had danced and sung God's "Business." (Jordan, 2003, pp. 119–121)

Jordan's account resonates in interesting and significant ways with Bell's description of Warlpiri ritual performance.

PARTICULARITIES: KOORI KIDS EMBRACING CULTURE AND COMING TO KNOW. About two-thirds of the way down the stadium the Seven Sisters dancers ceased their forward gait (which we can see, in retrospect, as signifying at some level their pursuit of emu fat). They formed a circle, dancing, swaying on the spot with their cupped hands in the air. The Awakening spirits moved in close to surround the older desert women. Ernie Dingo explained to viewers that the clay-daubed Awakening Spirits dancers came back from the podium to which they had followed the young girl and encircled the tightly bunched performers from the center of Australia. He announced their intent:

> To perform, to take to the heart of Australia the ancient art, the ancient stories of the past and to be embraced by the young Aboriginal culture of today and to share in its history and acceptance without questioning. They are preparing for an awakening, a welcome, and a rebirth in unity, so we can all be as one mob, the youth of today and the ancient culture of years gone by.

The cameras moved from the circled Central Desert women and koori kids to Djakapurra Munyarryun and Nikki Webster on the dais. Dingo continued: "The rebirth has started."

The "Awakening" spirit dancers who "embraced" the desert women were young, Sydney-based Koori performers covered in white clay. "Koori" is a term now widely understood as a collective referent for Aboriginal people in New South Wales and Victoria. Those children were learning about Australian Indigenous culture from this experience. Their dance was choreographed. Until their participation in the Sydney Olympics, many of the koori clan performers of the "Awakening" segment shared with Stephen Page a childhood in which they "had no exposure to our traditional culture."

The Sydney Organising Committee of the Olympic Games (SOCOG) media guide to the opening ceremony described the group brought together for the occasion as the "NSW Nationskoori clan." The SOCOG media guide described this group as one hundred men and women "from seventeen high schools and dance groups, [who] represent the Sydney language groups and the East coast of NSW language groups such as Biripi, Geawegal, Wiradjuri, Bundjalung, Gidbal, Awagakul Dunghutti and Gumbainggir" (SOCOG, p. 27). These Indigenous performers are Aboriginal people whose cultural lives and traditions are generally understood to have been sorely tested and disrupted by the colonial process in which their homelands were "settled" by non-Indigenous Australians.

The "NSW Nationskoori clans," or "Koori clans," as the creative team appears more commonly to have referred to them in film footage, performed dances especially choreographed for the opening ceremony. They performed themes that are emerging as general Indigenous religious ideas across the nation: the complex of ideas that the land and people hold within them the spirit of the land to which, despite disruption, their own spirit remains tied. These are connections they might respect and in performances like this rekindle and nurture. Matthew Doyle, described as the koori clan choreographer, said on camera: "What we were trying to do is represent young Aboriginal people from New South Wales from quite a few different areas." Describing his choreographic process, he continued: "I'm just looking at a couple of different styles of dance, you know, a mixture of some traditional-type movement and some modern and contemporary."

Djakapurra Munyarryun has pointed to the cultural "awakening" of these koori kids in *The Awakenings* film: "When I was watching the kids during the ceremonies . . . they were learning something. Learning something not new, but old" (Roger, 2001).

What was it they were learning? Michael Cohen, a participant-observer of the ceremony and preparations, reported that, "having taught performers the stooped torso and soft lifting of feet involved in the 'spirit dance,' Page constantly reminded the performers of the sacredness of their movements: 'Yes we're gonna do the low [dances]. The ones that hurt. [You've] gotta stay low. [The movements] are circular to keep the spirit internal.'"

The Awakenings shows Stephen Page directing the performers in rehearsal. He told them to move "Like spirits coming through." Page is also reported by Cohen to have told performers in practice, "[Awakening] Spirits, that was good—keeping your hands close to your sacred chests. But now just one problem: you have to try to move fast and still keep the spirit low. You have to try and combine these two energies" (Cohen, p. 166).

As far as one can tell from the available material, the Koori kids were presented with generalized Indigenous ideas about sacredness and spirits in their dancing. They mastered movements the choreographers presented to them with these generalized ideas.

In the film *The Awakenings,* Rhoda Roberts says:

> I think for the North coast group it's a very brave thing to dance in front of traditional people [for whom] ceremony is an everyday part of their lives. And I think we have in some way given a spirit and a soul and about what culture is what they didn't have before they started this little journey for the Olympics. And I think that makes me very proud to see that they are actually proud of their culture. (Roger, 2001)

Cohen reports that Rhoda Roberts told the Awakening spirits performers that the Central Desert women "dance *inma.* They dance bare-breasted. They paint each other. They're sistas [sisters]. I'm asking you to pay respect. I want you to understand. Those other segments [of the opening ceremony]—they've got props, they've got gizmos. But we don't need that cos we've got land. We've got spirit."

It is unlikely that the koori kids were told much detail of the *Kanpi* section of the Seven Sisters myth, whose dance and body paint the desert women displayed but did not fully reveal to the world. But it is clear that the kids learned about spirits and land and their own power as Indigenous people. In *The Awakenings,* Stephen Page calls on performers exhausted by rehearsal: "Wake up now. We're gunna go and meet the respected mother spirit from the Central Desert. Three hundred and thirty women represent one mother earth. We as young children got to respect that. Open our door. Got to welcome. We go and get them when they come. All their paint. We're very lucky" (Roger, 2001). The Koori performers were asked to respect the desert women who represented "mother earth," a concept of Indigenous relationships to land that has been gaining cross-continental currency among Indigenous people who have been distanced from their own local traditions.

But it was not their loss that seems to have been emphasized to these young performers. Rather, organizers emphasized what they had gained by participating and coming in contact with people from remote communities. By the end of their journey some of the koori performers saw the relationship as a two-way exchange. One boy from the Northern Rivers region of NSW put it this way in *The Awakenings:* "They're learning. They can back up what they learned down here and we what we learned here take back [to] where we came from. Show the people there what we learned, people we met" (Roger, 2001). If some Indigenous Dreamings remain embedded and enduring in local contexts, a new sense of general spiritual connection that respects the sacredness of the earth is also developing among Indigenous people in all corners of the nation.

PARTICULARITIES: YOLNGU. The encircling of desert women by koori kids dominated the stadium until the spotlights traced a large oblique cross on the red sands of the stadium floor. Attention turned to colorful dancers with flags emerging from the four corners. They danced into center stage to the sound of didgeridoo and song. Ernie Dingo elaborated for the television audience:

> The wonderful voice of Don Nundihirribala singing the Dhumbala which is the flag song. Flags represented [the relationship] with the Aboriginal community of the top end, of Arnhem Land, when the Macassan traders used to come over four thousand years ago to trade shellfish with cloth and tobacco. Representation of the Numbulwar, Yirrkala, Ramingining, and Maningrida people from Arnhem Land.

In the tropical "Top End" of Australia the country of the Yolngu juts out into the Arafura Sea, and its eastern coast forms one edge of the Gulf of Carpentaria. Yolngu country is rich in resources. Its coastline includes rich mangrove estuaries as well as sandy beaches. Inland the mighty Arnhem Land escarpment juts out of the resource-rich plains and littoral belt. There are three main settlements of Yolngu people in northeast Arnhem Land: Milingimbi, founded in 1922; Yirrkala, founded in 1935; and Elcho Island, founded in 1942. These settlements began their lives as mission stations. Before the establishment of these settlements Yolngu clans were dispersed throughout northeast Arnhem Land. As Morphy has noted in *Ancestral Connections* (1991): "Although the size and structure of communities varied seasonally, for much of the year people lived in bands of around thirty to forty individuals" (Morphy, 1991, p. 40). By the 1970s an "outstation movement" was under way and many people were returning to their ancestral homelands.

Yolngu call their ancestral figures or Dreamings *wangarr.* They tell of them and their formative actions in myths. As Morphy has eloquently shown, Yolngu people live

> in a world that includes both European and Aboriginal institutions, systems of knowledge, languages: they are influenced by both. Yolngu clans have taken on functions and arguably a constitution that they did not have before, and those new functions are going to affect the trajectory the clans have over time. The process is a two-way one, and European institutions in northern Australia must sometimes take account of Aboriginal practices and institutions. (Morphy, 1991, p. 4)

Yolngu openness to other cultures and cultural exchange is not new. The flag dance performed at the opening ceremony relates to the annual visits of Macassans from what is now Suluwasi in Indonesia. They came annually to Arnhem Land on the winds of the northwest monsoon, sailing in praus. They set up camp on Yolngu beaches, gathering and processing bêche-de-mer (sea cucumber) until stopped by government officials in 1907. Ian Keen has noted:

> Many Yolngu religious traditions reflected their relations with the Macassans. . . . Ceremonies represented the practices of Macassans, including their rituals. The subjects of these songs and ceremonies were not merely historical or typical figures but *wangarr* ancestors of the human Macassans. . . . Through the exchange of personal names Macassan names entered the Yolngu lexicon, along with other words. Some Macassan place names [continue to have currency] . . . for the Macassans applied their own names to the landscape of north-east Arnhem Land and declared certain rocks sacred, as sites for offerings to sea spirits. (Keen, 1994, pp. 23–24)

Ian McIntosh suggests that Macassans caused some turbulence in Yolngu life. Memories of interactions between Yolngu and Macassans also focus on the creational being Birrinydji. In "Sacred Memory and Living Tradition" (2000) McIntosh suggests, "Belief in Birrindyji empowers the listener-viewer to transform the nature of relations between the cultural groups and to regain what was deemed to have been lost at the 'beginning of time'" (McIntosh, 2000, p. 144). When a replica of a Macassan prau returned to Yolngu shores in 1988, hundreds of Yolngu performed the ceremonies of Birrinydji for their arrival. McIntosh also notes two kinds of depictions of Macassan themes: some "inside" some "outside" designs. He continues:

> Depictions of praus (sailing craft), trepang-processing sites, the goods obtained through trade with the visitors, the mistreatment or abduction of women by Macassans, or the slaughter of Aboriginal men by firing squad, are "outside." Images such as golden-skinned women working on weaving looms, the performance of corroborees in honour of Allah, and an Arnhem Land creational being who directs Aboriginal men in the making of iron kilns are "inside." "Outside" art deals with specific historical episodes; "inside" art refers implicitly or explicitly with Birrinydji. (McIntosh, 2000, p. 144)

The idea of "inside" and "outside"—open and restricted knowledge and practice—is a fundamental feature of Yolngu religious life. As Keen notes in *Knowledge and Secrecy in an Aboriginal Religion* (1994), "Age, gender, group identity, and kin relation to a group were important determinants of who could impart information about elements of ceremonies, especially secret meanings, and to whom" (Keen, 1994, p. 244). Yet as Annette Hamilton shows, one does not find in Arnhem Land a context in which gender separation is as marked as it is in the desert regions. Rather, she says, "we find a complex conundrum of arrivals and departures, presences and absences, in which women are fully involved. It is sometimes said that women are made present by their absences. This is a neat expression of a much more complex set of connections" (Hamilton, 2000, p. 71).

Keen relates:

> Yolngu conceived of *wangarr* ancestors as beings with human form, but having some of the properties of the beings or entities whose names they took, such as Rock or Honeybee, and as having extraordinary powers. They were active long, long ago in "far off" times. They camped, foraged, made love, quarreled and fought, and bore children, somewhat like humans, but they were involved in extraordinary events and were transformed by them, perhaps into species such as jabirus or entities such as the moon. Some *wangarr* engendered the ancestors of human groups. These were a group's *gulu'kulungu* ancestors. (Keen, 1994, p. 45)

Yolngu views of reproduction include a connection between *wangarr* ancestors, reproductive processes (such as the ancestral spirit menstruating into waters), and the conception of children's spirits. In this understanding of human conception, a child's "image" *(mali)* enters the woman from such waters. The father might then "find" the spirit of his child in a dream or strange experience (Keen, 1994, p. 106). Thus Keen says that in Yolngu belief "the person was, in a sense, born of the *wangarr* ancestor and the waters" (Keen, 1994, p. 107).

Keen notes too that, "from a Yolngu point of view . . . land was not mere dirt; land and waters consisted in part of the bodily substance of the *wangarr* ancestors." Keen has drawn out the connection between country (*Wa:nga*), ancestors (*wangarr*), sacred objects (*rangga,* which were "placed in the country by the ancestors and which were the *ngaraka,* 'bones,' of the ancestor"), and ceremonial grounds (where sacred objects are revealed to novices) (Keen, 1994, pp. 102–103).

> All these things and beings implied links between people, living and dead, country, ancestors, and the ceremonies which followed them. The individual, group, and country were all identified with the bodies and *mali'* ("image," "spirit") of the *wangarr* ancestors. In ceremony a *rangga* sacred object which represented the transformation of a *wangarr* ancestor or a part of an ancestor was its bone and flesh. The "bone country" (*ngaraka wa:nga*) contained the transformed substance as well as the powers of the ancestors. The individual gained both his or her being and powers from the *wangarr.* At a person's death the spirit was believed to return to the waters on his or her country, the domain of the *wangarr* ancestor, and/or to a land of the dead over the sea, and/or to heaven, the spirit home of [the Christian] "God *wangarr.*" But if people performed disinterment and reburial rites the body of the dead was reincorporated with the country and body of the ancestor in its manifestation as a hollow-log coffin. (Keen, 1994, p. 103)

Despite the apparent remoteness of their countries, Yolngu people were subject to alienation from their lands like Indigenous people across the nation. In the 1960s the federal government of Australia granted a mining lease and property rights to a French aluminum company over a large part of northeast Arnhem Land. In 1963 Yolngu people from Yirrkala sent a petition to the federal parliament in Canberra. The Yolngu petitioners demanded that their rights in land be recognized and protected. They sought to be consulted about such developments in their homelands. Significantly the protesting Yolngu did not present their petition to the federal parliament as a mass of signed pages, the traditional form by which Australian parliaments are petitioned. Instead, the Yolngu petition, as Morphy notes, "was attached to a bark painting bordered with designs belonging to the clans whose lands were most immediately threatened by the mining" (Morphy, p. 18). A federal inquiry and a court case followed. Their findings were sympathetic to the Arnhem Landers's plight. Morphy notes, "In the short term the Yolngu had completely failed, but in the process they had helped to create the political environment for granting Aboriginal land rights" (Morphy, p. 31). This case laid the foundation for the passage in 1974 of land rights legislation in the then commonwealth-administered Northern Territory.

PARTICULARITIES: THE NGARRINDJERI AND A CONTESTED SEVEN SISTERS STORY. Veronica Brodie, a woman of Ngarrindjeri and Kaurna descent, says in *My Side of the Bridge* (2002): "You know there's a beautiful Dreaming story that goes with Hindmarsh Island, and that's The Seven Sisters." It is in this area, Brodie says, that the Seven Sisters rise and descend seasonally to the sky world.

One side of Ngarrindjeri country lies where the land of the lower Murray and Coorong Rivers meets the Southern Ocean. This coastal and lakes region forms an area with huge horizons. The land and waters of Ngarrindjeri country fill only the bottom of everyday vistas. On a clear night the sky, punctuated by stars and the soft clouds of the Milky Way, comes down to meet the horizon. In this country it is not a great leap to imagine ancestral figures moving between sky, sea, and land.

South Australia was colonized in 1836. The lands of the Ngarrindjeri people, within a hundred or so miles of Adelaide, the new colony's capital, were settled soon after. Gradually the land was taken, parcel by parcel. Even so many Ngarrindjeri families remained in or near their homelands in the mission established in 1859 at Point McLeay or in fringe camps throughout the region. Some continue to live on their country. Others have moved to major centers and live in homes that blend easily with those of their suburban neighbors.

A century after the colonization period had begun, researchers of Indigenous life, such as Norman Tindale and more briefly Ronald Berndt, undertook work with Ngarrindjeri people. They documented the endurance of significant cultural knowledge a century or so after the process of settlement had begun in earnest. Both researchers recorded myths about the formation of the landscape and of Ngarrindjeri law. Both documented their informants' knowledge of Ngarrindjeri life prior to the arrival of white settlers.

The action of the Murray River dominates the life of the area. As Ronald M. Berndt and Catherine H. Berndt put it:

> The great River Murray that dominated the Narrinyeri [Ngarrindjeri] people was significant not only because of the Ngurunderi myth which was known all over its territory. . . . [T]he River was like a lifeline, an immense artery of a living "body" consisting of the Lakes and the bush hinterland that stretched across towards the Adelaide Hills and over the southern plains and undulating land. This "body" also included the country to the east. . . . Its "legs" spread south-eastwards along the Coorong and south-westwards along Encounter Bay and beyond. The "body," symbolic of Ngurunderi himself, embraced five different environments which merged into one another: salt-water country, riverine, Lakes, bush (scrub) and desert plains (on the east)—a combination that had particular relevance to the socio-economic life of the people. (Berndt and Berndt, 1993, p. 13)

Several versions of this myth have been recorded. This is thought to reflect the orientation of different clans to the story and to the section of it relating to their homelands. The myth tells of the great ancestor Ngurunderi, who traveled in search of two wives who had run away from him. At first a giant cod (*pondi*) traveled before him. The sweep of its tail widened the river in parts. Elsewhere it darted away from him when he threw his spear to create long straight stretches of the river. Other actions of the pair gave form to the swamps, shoals, and wetlands along the way and formed the great lakes at the river's end. When the cod reached Lake Alexandrina, Ngurunderi sought the aid of another ancestral figure, his wives' brother Nepeli. Ngurunderi caught the cod and cut it up with a stone knife. From pieces of *pondi's* body came other fish: boney bream, perch, callop, and mudfish. Ngurunderi made camp but while he was there smelled cooking fish and knew his wives were near. He left his camp to renew his pursuit, but his huts remained as two hills, and his bark canoe rose into the sky to form the Milky Way. More forms came into being in his tracks and wake. The story ends with the drowning deaths of the two wives whose bodies became islands known as the Pages. Eventually Ngurunderi himself entered the spirit world on Kangaroo Island. He dived into the sea and rose to become a star in the Milky Way.

In the late 1980s, by then 150 years after settlement, the South Australian Museum framed an exhibition of Ngarrindjeri culture around the Ngurunderi myth. On display too was a dramatization of the myth by contemporary Ngarrindjeri people. Though knowledge of the Ngurunderi myth was no longer widespread, it had persisted in the memories of a small handful of Ngarrindjeri people. The processes of negotiating the exhibition and its subsequent popularity revived and revitalized existing knowledge of the myth across the Ngarrindjeri nation.

The mighty Murray River winds its way through three states of Australia as it makes its way from the east to the south of the continent. At the end of its journey it spills slowly into one of Australia's great lakes, Lake Alexandrina. Despite barrages and irrigation, the waters of the Murray flow on, channeling out of the lake and around a low-lying island called Kumerangk, or Hindmarsh Island, in the Goolwa Channel. The Murray edges past the small river town of Goolwa. At a place known as the mouth the breakers of the Great South Ocean run onto a sandbar, where a channel ordinarily gives course for the ocean and the fresh water to finally meet.

In May 1995 a group of thirty-five or so Ngarrindjeri women met with an appointee of the national minister responsible for Indigenous affairs. The developer of a marina complex had sought to start building a bridge between Hindmarsh Island and the township of Goolwa. Ngarrindjeri people sought protection of their heritage, which they said would be damaged or destroyed if the bridge work went ahead. The state minister accepted that damage and destruction was entailed in building the bridge but, in the context of a complex web of preexisting obligations, authorized the work to proceed under an act the aim of which was the protection of Aboriginal heritage in South Australia. Ngarrindjeri people petitioned the federal minister to exercise his powers under the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act of 1984.

The minister had been informed that in Ngarrindjeri culture the "meeting of the waters" around Kumerangk (Hindmarsh) Island was vital to the fertility and life of *ngatji,* Ngarrindjeri totems. He had also been advised that the area had significance to women in Ngarrindjeri tradition but that the nature of that significance was part of "secret-sacred" traditions.

On a cold day in May 1995 women who were petitioning the federal minister for the protection of their heritage formed a circle on the beach of Kumerangk at the mouth of the river. There with them was the woman appointed to report to the minister. They said this place was important to their fertility and to the survival of their culture. Many wept. Women hugged and held each other. Some said that though they had not known the significance of this place in their tradition before these meetings, they could now feel the significance of the place and felt assured of the rightness of what they were doing. Doreen Kartinyeri, a key figure in their application to the minister, looked out at the mouth and said, "For all the mothers that was, for all the mothers that are, for all the mothers that will be," indicating why she was undertaking this task.

Kartinyeri was later elected the group's spokesperson, authorized to disclose restricted knowledge that underpinned her opposition to the building of the bridge to the minister's reporter. Her disclosures did not occur without immediate opposition. Some Ngarrindjeri women in the group took the position that Ngarrindjeri people should not disclose restricted knowledge to people not entitled by tradition to receive it. Despite the difficult debate about the propriety of divulging restricted traditions, the group of women ultimately authorized Kartinyeri to disclose the restricted knowledge to the minister's reporter. She in turn agreed that she would do her best to protect against its further disclosure. The minister acted to ban the building of a bridge for twenty-five years: the years that would cover perhaps another generation of Ngarrindjeri people.

But that was not the end of the matter. The developers whose bridge and marina project was stymied by this decision sought legal review. Nearly a year later, in May 1995, another group of Ngarrindjeri women went public with claims that the knowledge had been fabricated. Most said simply that they did not have this knowledge themselves and on that basis doubted its veracity. One said she believed she was witness to an insinuation by Ngarrindjeri men that the area of the lower Murray represented "a women's privates" and that this suggestion was the beginning of a process of fabrication. These claims split Ngarrindjeri people and Ngarrindjeri families. They split anthropological opinion. They split opinion across the nation.

The South Australian government called a royal commission into the claims of fabrication. Veronica Brodie reports in *My Side of the Bridge* that the claimant women declined on the first day of hearings to participate in the royal commission's enquiry. Instead, they wrote to Royal Commissioner Iris Stevens as follows:

> We are deeply offended that a Government in this day and age has the audacity to order an inquiry into our secret, sacred, spiritual beliefs. Never before have any group of people had their spiritual beliefs scrutinized in this way. It is our responsibility as custodians of this knowledge to protect it. Not only from men, but also from those not entitled to this knowledge. We have a duty to keep Aboriginal law in this country. Women's business does exist, has existed since time immemorial and will continue to exist where there are Aboriginal women who are able to practice their culture. (Brodie, 2002, p. 151)

The Stevens Hindmarsh Island Bridge Royal Commission found in December 1995 that "the whole of the 'women's business' was a fabrication" intended to prevent the construction of a bridge between the township of Goolwa and Hindmarsh Island.

In 1998 Brodie, with the support of other Ngarrindjeri women, gave Diane Bell permission to publish (in *Ngarrindjeri Wurruwarrin*) the following limited account of her knowledge of the Seven Sisters story and its relevance to the issue of building a bridge to Hindmarsh Island:

> It begins with Ngurunderi's cave which is situated . . . [at Goolwa]. From the cave he looked across to the island. Ngurunderi felt it was his responsibility to look after the sky, the bird life, the waters, because he made the environment and the island. He was the god of the Ngarrindjeri. His connection with the Seven Sisters was that he sent a young man, Orion, after the Seven Sisters to chase them and bring them back. They didn't want to be caught so they headed up to the sky, up and up and over the Milky Way and hid and there became the Seven Sisters. When they want to come back to see their Mum, who is still in the waters—near where the ferry crosses, just a little over towards the mouth, to the south—there has to be a clear way, so they can return and they'll be returning shortly, when it gets cold, that's when they disappear from the sky. Then they come back down and go under the water to be with their mother. Their mother belonged to the Warrior Women of the Island. (Bell, 1998, p. x)

In 1997 the commonwealth government legislated to exclude this area from the protections offered by the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act. Ngarrindjeri claimants made appeal to the High Court of Australia, arguing among other things that the Hindmarsh Island Bridge Act breached the Australian constitution and the Commonwealth Racial Discrimination Act of 1975. In April 1998 the High Court ruled to the contrary. The Hindmarsh Island bridge was built. It opened to traffic in March 2001. It has become a curiosity stopover on Australian tourist routes.

Legal questions relating to the matter have now been pursued through a number of state and commonwealth courts in a number of separate cases. In August 2001, after a long-running civil suit for damages, Federal Court judge John Von Doussa found that he was not convinced that the claims of the claimant women were fabricated.

Meanwhile the phrases "secret women's business" and "secret men's business" have entered popular Australian speech. They are used to refer to gender-specific contexts, especially those carrying sexual overtones. Racing boats have these names. Prewedding parties are referred to with these terms. These usages indicate how easily Indigenous religious claims that are brought to bear in Australian law or public life can be disrespected. In the early twenty-first century the controversy and the public skepticism of Aboriginal claims it fuels continue. So too do Ngarrindjeri people endure.

FINALE. This overview of Australian Indigenous religion has traced connections, responses, contestation, and endurance to explore themes that underlie many Indigenous traditions. It has surveyed a range of Australian Indigenous societies and their contexts.

The "Awakening" segment of the Sydney Olympic opening ceremony has provided touchstones for this discussion. This article has moved between specific Dreamings grounded in local places, where they are constantly enlivened in human action, to more diffuse expressions of emerging Pan-Australian Indigenous expressions and beliefs. But the finale of the Olympic journey is still to come.

The Yolngu flag dancers moved into lines running down the stadium. Overhead cameras showed the performers on the stadium floor forming into a colorful design: two separated lines leading like a pathway into a circle open to meet it.

A conch shell heralded the arrival of another group of performers. Drums and rattles beat out an aggressive rhythm. Headdressed and painted dancers in colorful grass skirts formed a phalanx and proceeded, full of rhythmic vitality, in a low hopping and skipping movement down the stadium toward the patterning presences on the floor. Ernie Dingo responded to the energy of the performance: "Ah, this'll get ya' blood boiling. To the Torres Strait. Welcoming the Torres Strait Islanders, brothers and sisters from the north of Queensland and the *admulla,* the rhythm dance to celebrate the energy of the Torres Strait Islands from far north Queensland." The Torres Strait Islanders moved to position themselves kneeling, though still performing, as additional lines in a "pathway" to the circle.

Then a new sound was heard. Jean-clad dancers entered the stadium covered in silver paint. They held boomerangs out from their bodies as they danced. "The red Kangaroo dance welcoming the koori people of New South Wales, the host nation. Welcoming them as the last to come on to the site and [to] dance with the rest of the nation and prepare the unity from the ancient culture to the modern youth of today."

On the dais smoke rose from wooden vessels held high by dancers from the Bangarra Dance Theatre. With Djakapurra Munyarryun they descended the stairs to the stadium floor. The ground pattern broke up. "The smoking ceremony is set up to cleanse the air of all ailment; to cleanse the air of all negativity; to cleanse this meeting place in preparation for rejoicement."

Smoke rose now from forty-four-gallon drums on the stadium floor. Djakkapurra Munyarrun sang again, beating time with his clap sticks.

"Once the cleansing has happened, the spirits are awakened, called by the song man."

On high stilts, spiky headdressed "mimi spirits" loped through and above the smoke billowing from the stadium floor. Ernie Dingo introduced the finale.

"The Bradshaw paintings depicted . . . are the helpers of the Wandjina, the great spirit from the Kimberlies in Western Australia. When the people are one, they'll call the spirits of creation to awaken the spirit, to lead them to a future they want to be."

Then a huge golden fabric was raised. Outlined on it in black was a great fringed head with big black eyes and nose, a Wandjina figure. The figure was raised to form an enormous backdrop. The Wandjina rippled gently in the breeze.

"The great Wandjina spirit who comes from the Kimberley. The eyes. The nose. And no mouth to pass judgment will awaken the spirits around and [give] the people the chance of rejoicement."

The Indigenous performers now mixed together on the floor waving their hands above their heads before the Wandjina. Stilted spirits stepped high among them. The background music rose to a crescendo. Then a barrage of fireworks pierced the night and shot sparks around the stadium. The great Wandjina figure was animated in the light and breeze.

The "Awakening" segment was ending and "Fire" beginning. Ernie Dingo explained: "The rebirthing has started. The land now needs to prepare for a new life. A new life comes in the form of a bush fire, controlled fire which allowed the Aboriginal people [to rid] the land of unwanted life."

The Awakenings film showed Stephen Page, codirector of the segment, on camera high in a control room enjoying the finale. "That's what you call a ceremony!" he said. "Can't have a ceremony without culture" (Roger, 2001).

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DEANE FERGIE (2005)

AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS RELIGIONS: MYTHIC THEMES [FIRST EDITION]

In the positive sense myth is a charter for and a guide to action, though not necessarily socially approved action. Although myth is not always linked directly to religious ritual, the most important myths usually have a two-way, mutually supportive relationship with ritual. A myth may stipulate, explain, or describe a rite or outline a sequence of events that, when translated into ritual action, emphasizes different facets of its mythic counterpart.

As nonliterate peoples, the Aborigines relied almost entirely on oral transmission. Other modes of communication were supplementary and, like spoken languages and dialects, regionally based: hand-sign vocabularies, material representations, body markings, ritual and ceremonial posturing and dance, and gestures and facial expressions. These, like myth, illustrate the crisscrossing of similarity and diversity in traditional Aboriginal culture throughout the continent, as well as the balance between local and outward-looking orientations.

Mythic characters were usually associated with specific sites in the territories of specific groups. They mediated and personalized the relationship between people and the land. But most mythic beings were travelers, not confined to single regions, and however much of their spiritual essence they left behind at sites which now commemorate them, their mythic tracks led outward as well as inward. Along with trade and gift exchanges, which connected persons and groups beyond the ordinary range of social interaction, the mythic beings encouraged a centrifugal perspective, actualized in meetings for religious rituals that focused on the appropriate mythic characters, their sites and tracks, and their sayings, songs, and deeds.

Aboriginal societies were based on religion. Religious rules, authority, and sanctions were dominant, permeating the whole of living and ranging from the highly concentrated secret-sacred dimension through the dimension of the open sacred, or public sacred, to more routine mundane affairs. In themes and in modes of transmission, and in their ritual associations, myths in all regions reflect that span and that coverage.

SACRED CONTEXT OF EVERYDAY LIFE. Many myths contain primary or secondary themes that have a practical bearing on issues of everyday life. These are sometimes regarded as too mundane or too localized to be put in the same category as more obviously sacred myths with potentially universal appeal. Nevertheless, they are set firmly within a religious frame.

Essentially practical and down-to-earth, Aboriginal religion put almost equal importance on human physical well-being and on spiritual matters or nonempirical aspirations. Many religious rites, large and small, were directed to human goals. For example, a multitude of species-renewal rites, performed by different persons or groups at different times and places, tried to ensure that people had enough of all the resources they regarded as necessary for living in their particular area. The rites were designed to achieve through religious means aims that were, in one sense, mundane. And myths were vital ingredients in this process. Mythic characters were responsible for contributing the different "necessities for living"; they also sanctified and sponsored locally available assets by simply using them themselves. Myths, then, were and are storehouses of practical information, rules, and precepts, as well as a source of divine truths.

Some mythic characters created supplies of food or water that had not been there before. For example, the Djanggawul sisters in eastern Arnhem Land urinated to provide fresh water for the local human populations. Several of these waters were so powerfully sacred that access to them was restricted. The Djanggawul also caused trees to grow from their posts, called djuda, but in western Arnhem Land a high proportion of mythic characters are credited with actually "planting" a wide range of vegetation. Sometimes they carried vegetables or fish in long baskets and "poured them out" in what seemed appropriate places. Others, such as one of the many mythic sister pairs who traveled throughout Arnhem Land, shaped goannas and lizards, put them among red ants that bit them into life, then struck them on the head with a spear-thrower to make them move and spread across the land. Still other characters turned into various vegetable foods or into fresh and edible land creatures. An old potential water-peanut man ended his journey (during which he planted many foods) in a billabong near the East Alligator River, where he gradually changed into a water peanut and with his last words urged the people of that region to gather and eat him in his food manifestation.

In a Dieri myth from the Lake Eyre region, one of the *muramura* used songs to make both bitter and pleasant-tasting plants grow. (Howitt, 1904, p. 781). T. G. H. Strehlow, in the narrative myth of Emianga in central Australia, sets out details of edible seed preparation (see below). Ngurunderi, the great mythic personage of the lower Murray River in South Australia, took a fish—a Murray cod—caught by his wives' brother Nepeli in a giant *pondi*, cut it into pieces, and threw the pieces into the river and into the lakes at the river's mouth. As he did so, he named each piece as a different variety of fish, making the waters rich in fish for the human beings who were to come.

On Cape York Peninsula, Hard Yam Woman and Arrowroot Man, descending into their respective sacred sites, took on the shape of roots and uttered instructions on how they should be treated to render them edible (McConnel, 1957, p. 54). Beforehand, they themselves had foraged and hunted for food, as they traveled, the woman digging for roots and the man spearing fish. According to the story, Hard Yam Woman carefully prepared the roots by cooking them with pieces of heated ant-bed (termite mound) and repeatedly washing and rinsing them. She carried a dillybag and bark container and Arrowroot Man had a spear-thrower and a tomahawk as well as spears.

Characters in Aboriginal myths do not often instruct human beings about food and water, nor do they usually transform themselves into food; they are more commonly seen using the resources that are already available. Usually no explanation of how the resources got there is given; it is enough, in these myths, that they are there and can be utilized by the characters whose story it is in the course of their adventures and encounters. That applies to the making or use of tools and other nonedible resources.

In a song series closely related to the Wawalag myth, the boomerang-legged honey spirit man Wudal, or Woial, carries bees in tightly plaited baskets hung from his shoulders; he chops out a honeycomb from a tree with his stone ax and gashes a paper-bark tree with his boomerang to obtain fresh water. (His boomerang legs are a type of bone deformity, said to be a result of early malnutrition.) The Wawalag themselves have baskets and digging sticks; they build a fire and try to cook their food on it and gather paper bark for sleeping mats and stringy bark for a hut. The stone spear blades they carry are referred to in one of the Wudal songs: Ridarngu-speaking men who have dug out and shaped the stone sit around in a circle, wrapping the blades carefully in paper bark, then packing them into baskets.

Metamorphosed stone objects at various sites are the grinding stones, food containers, domestic tools, and fish traps of mythic characters. Other myths throughout the continent tell of the making of spears and shields. In some cases, they say who was responsible; in others, mythic characters simply use the implements. For example, the Djanggawul came on the path of the rising sun in their bark canoe (or raft), but we are not told who made it. Boomerangs were not used or even traded in all regions. Where they were, they were not all the same: not all were returning; not all were used as weapons or clapping sticks for singing or as ritual defloration tools, or in women's secret rites. Similarly, the *didjeridu* (drone pipe) does not appear in inland or Western Desert myths. On the north coast of western Arnhem Land, however, it is mostly an ordinary item of a mythic songman's equipment. According to one *didjeridu* origin myth, after a troublesome mythic character had been killed and buried, people heard a strange new sound coming from underground. Far from being dead, the character had put the end of his abnormally long penis in his mouth and was blowing through it.

Some myths have characters using fire for cooking food and for warmth but make no reference to its origin. The Wawalag sisters, for instance, took it for granted. In other myths, there are characters who are credited with introducing it. Wuragag, in western Arnhem Land, brought it especially from his origin place, somewhere beyond Bathurst and Melville islands, so that people on the mainland would not need to eat their food raw. In other examples fire is a cause of quarrels, as in a simplified children's story from northeastern Arnhem Land in which Crocodile and Frilled (Blanket) Lizard, both men then, fight about fire. Crocodile threw a fire stick at Frilled Lizard, so that he grew small and reddish, taking on his lizard shape; Crocodile slid into the salt water and stayed there.

Theft of fire is a common theme and is often associated with birds. In an account from the Kurnai of Victoria, a "supernatural being called Bullum-baukan stole the fire of the early Kurnai. Narugul, the Crow, and Ngarang, the Swamp-hawk, having recovered it, Bullum-baukun ascended to the sky by climbing up a cord made of the sinews of the red wallaby." (Howitt, 1904, p. 486). In a Western Desert myth, Old Man Gandju's companions went hunting without him. He covered up their campfires and went away with his own fire stick. When they returned, they tried to make fire but could not. They died of cold and are visible today as a heap of granite stones at their old camping site. Gandju later had his fire stick stolen by two men, but he turned into a fire spirit and burned them to death. On the Daly River, in the Northern Territory, Dog tried to twirl a fire-drill stick to make fire to cook roots, but the stick always broke. He tried to steal a live fire stick from some women who were preparing an oven, but twice they drove him away. Big Hawk, his companion, was also unsuccessful, but Little Chicken Hawk was able to swoop down on a piece of glowing wood and fly off with it. In their camp, Dog had impatiently eaten all his yams raw. That is why dogs eat their food raw today and why they do not talk. (See Berndt and Berndt, 1982, pp. 396–397. Some fire myths in various parts of Australia are discussed by Maddock, 1970).

At one level, the myths of different regions provide two kinds of information. First, they contain details about terrain, vegetable and animal foods, and fresh and salt water, noting how these resources are utilized by mythic characters. Secondly, the artifacts that are mentioned can be located on maps, as in the case of boomerangs and *didjeridu*, indicating where and how they appear in myths—including ceremonial gift exchanges where mythic characters meet, engage in trade, or carry items from one area to another. Subthemes of both kinds, with varying content, are a rich source of data for comparison with the actualities of traditional Aboriginal life—corresponding, in a different dimension, to details of mythic origins and to the manufacture and use of sacred and secret-sacred materials. (Howitt, 1904, contains a wealth of detail on all of these points for southeastern Australia.)

A third kind of information is inseparable from the other two, as far as myths in this and in the secret-sacred dimensions are concerned. In the charter and guide that are set out explicitly or implicitly in the myths, the "what" of natural resources and artifacts does not stand on its own; the issue of "who" is crucial. For example, in the division of labor in everyday hunting and foraging, men use spears, women use digging sticks, and these tools symbolize their roles. Some food containers are specific to women (e.g., wooden carrying dishes throughout the Western Desert and elsewhere), whereas baskets or dillybags are used by women slung from their foreheads, by men slung from their shoulders, occasionally in everyday circumstances but often (as in northern Arnhem Land), when feathered and decorated, as sacred baskets holding sacred objects. This division of labor was ordained in myth, or myths served as a model justifying it for human beings. Other such themes in myth specify or imply who is permitted to eat or to prepare or to handle which foods, in what circumstances, and in what company: the range of food taboos that were a feature of all Aboriginal societies, varying in accordance with age, sex, ritual status, and region. The penalties for breaking such taboos might be imposed either by human agents on the basis of mythic injunctions or directly by supernatural figures who are believed to be able to cause illness or death. The same sorts of rules apply in the case of material objects; but in both cases, the sanctions and the penalties in regard to religious ritual matters are more conspicuous.

Mythic characters also stipulate—through actual statements or through their own example—how people should behave toward one another. They specify the rules for betrothal, marriage, and kinship, as well as the obligations and rights that should apply between particular persons and groups and in relationships involving varying degrees of constraints or taboos. These "social relations" themes, in some instances subthemes, are among the most recurrent in Aboriginal myths.

REGIONAL PATTERNS. Apart from similarities in general themes, modified by regional distinctiveness in cultural details, there are examples where almost the same myth, or closely related myths, can be found over very great distances. The Kunapipi and Munga-munga, not necessarily under those names, are known in linguistically different populations over wide expanses of country. The rites that go with these mythic complexes have helped keep them largely intact while adapting to various local conditions. That is true also for the Two Men myth and the myth of Malu, the Red Kangaroo Man, in their respective versions throughout the Western Desert and adjacent regions, as well as for the Dingari myth ritual complex.

In some cases myths seem to have spread slowly, through interactions between participants in large religious rituals, whether or not such myths are linked with those particular rituals. A few mythic themes have been reported from almost every part of the continent, with no accompanying references to any traveling rituals or cults—unlike, for instance, the Molonga song series of Queensland or the several Kurangara series of songs and myths ranging from the Kimberley to the north of the Western Desert. The most notable in this respect is the Rainbow Snake theme.

Australia's terrain and vegetation vary a great deal—from arid scrub, sand hills, and rocky hills to rain forests, fresh and tidal rivers, salt lakes, coastal beaches, and mangrove swamps. The populations of birds, mammals, reptiles, fishes, and insects vary accordingly. All of these factors find a place in myth. Even in adjoining regions, however, accounts of the origins of natural phenomena can diverge widely, as do the myths and stories about the sun, moon, and stars in southeast Australia (Howitt, 1904, pp. 427–434). There are also transcontinental differences in mythic statements about stars. Most regions have a number of such statements, at least to the extent of naming a few stars, and in some cases a wide range of individual stars and constellations. These are not conceptualized as material entities in their own right; virtually everywhere, with a few exceptions, the stars and constellations were originally in human or some other terrestrial form, and in their stories they are involved in human situations and show human emotions.

There are some widespread similarities. A falling star, or meteorite, usually presages or indicates a death. Just as common is the theme of a group of young women, often called in English the Seven Sisters, pursued by a man whose advances they reject. They escape into the sky, where they are now visible as the Pleiades; their pursuer, in some versions, is now a star in the constellation Orion. Among the Wotjobaluk of northwestern Victoria (Howitt, 1904, pp. 429–430), Native Cat Man was always chasing the women who are now the Pleiades. "Now he is up in the sky, still chasing them, and still behind." Howitt also (p. 787n.) refers to an Arabana story in which a number of girls become stars in the Pleiades and in the belt of Orion, while the man who tries to follow them is now "the principal star in Scorpio." In a New South Wales example (Parker, 1974, pp. 105–109, 125–127), their pursuer captured two of them before they escaped into the sky; a group of boys who had wanted to marry them, and who died of despair when they could not, are now Orion's Sword and Belt. In various parts of the Great Victoria Desert and in the Western Desert generally, similar myths are known to women as well as to men (White, 1975, pp. 128–130; also, for one part of the story, Berndt and Berndt, 1982, p. 250). In the eastern Kimberley, the Pleiades women were chased by Eaglehawk, now the Southern Cross constellation (Kaberry, 1939, p. 12). But in the north of the Western Desert, by the 1980s Nyirana-Yulana and the women he pursued were regarded by women as "something for men to talk about, not for us."

Although the theme of a sky world, other than stars and clouds, appears in myths throughout the continent, it is more common in the south and southeast (bearing in mind that myth material from the southwest, like information on ritual and religious matters generally, is scarce because so little was recorded before the region's traditional cultures and people succumbed to outside pressures). There are more references to the inhabitants of the sky world and to ropes, vines, and other bridges between the sky and earth. Also, the land of the dead is more often located in the sky. For instance, after his physical death, the great Ngurunderi of the lower Murray River cleansed himself in the sea before going to the sky world to continue his nonearthly life. His canoe had earlier been metamorphosed into the Milky Way.

Another common theme deals with the questions of why and when certain creatures—venomous snakes, sharks, and the like—are dangerous. In a related group of myths, characters appear in the shape of snakes or other such creatures and are respected or feared because of their destructive or punitive powers. They may swallow their victims before regurgitating them (more or less intact in form) or vomiting them (not intact) as parts of the landscape or as sacred relics.

Although regional diffusion of mythic themes, with or without ritual expressions, is significant, the intraregional patterning of myths and related features is perhaps even more important. Traditionally, no myth or ritual or song sequence existed in isolation. Every such item was associated with particular social groups and people, so that there was a mosaic of proprietary rights, responsibilities, tasks, and rewards: a division of verbal and dramatic and song materials, and a division of labor in regard to holding and safeguarding and transmitting them to, and through, appropriate persons. Distinctions along lines of sex and age had a bearing on such transmission, and on rights to know and rights to participate and to transmit. Thus what might seem to be the same myth could actually exist in a number of versions, with levels of complexity in form, content, and interpretation.

Contrasts have been drawn by, for example, Strehlow (1971) between wholly sung and wholly narrative versions of myth, especially in relation to esoteric as against public interpretations. He sets out and contrasts (pp. 147–165) the Northern Aranda Emianga myth in its narrative and song versions, combining "the myth and song of Ljaua women with those of the serpent ancestor (Ljaltakalbala)." (*Ljaua* is a small plant with edible seeds; the deep pool at Emianga was the women's origin site.)

The beginning of the narrative Emianga myth details the women's collection of seeds in wooden dishes and the processes of winnowing and grinding them, shaping them into "meal cakes," cooking, dividing, and eating them. A Willy Wagtail Woman who had come from the same pool later took seeds to her nephew, the huge serpent who had also emerged from the pool; she ground them, gave him an uncooked meal cake, and invited him to return with her for some cooked ones. The rest of the long story tells of his adventures: he swallowed all the people, and their belongings, at a camp of Echidna Men who, secretly goaded by his aunt, had been planning to kill him. He split himself open, let out their bones and their belongings, and sang his own wounds to heal. The same thing happened at a camp of Yam Men. Eventually he swallowed all the Ljaua women and vomited them out as *tjurunga* in the sacred cave at Emianga. Only the Willy Wagtail escaped into a narrow cave. He himself now remains forever inside the deep pool.

Briefly, Strehlow sees Aranda prose myths as giving "a coherent story of the history of a legendary totemic ancestor (or group of ancestors)," complete with place names, mythic tracks, and the rituals instituted by such characters. He distinguishes these from ordinary stories in the Aranda cultural area on the grounds that stories are not tied specifically to sites, ritual expressions, or group ownership and are therefore, he implies, more mobile as well as less sacred.

In any one regional pattern of myth, story, song, and ritual material, every item needs to be considered in relation to the others and to the total context within the social frame. Children who grew up learning their own language, culture, and social relationships without very much intrusion by alien influences were introduced to this pattern of myths through relatively simple examples and were taught to see those examples in connection with others, as part of a pattern. The context of myths and stories was as significant in the learning process as were other contextual features. Relatively simplified (but not contextualized) children's versions of myth are regarded by many traditionally oriented Aborigines as the only suitable versions for most outsiders. The more detailed and elaborate versions they themselves have learned would, they say, not be appreciated or understood.

Traditional stories for children purport to answer some, not all, of the same questions that adult myths raise. Who are we? Where did we come from? Where did it all begin? Why do people die? Where do people go when they die?

In parts of the Western Desert, children's stories may be accompanied by fast-moving scenes drawn in the sand, with sticks or leaves to represent the main characters. They are sometimes dismissed by adults as insignificant because they lack portentous meanings or ritual connections. They are just-so stories about how various creatures assumed their shapes, why they behave as they do, and so on. For example, Marsupial Mole Man, in the north of the Western Desert, changed into a mole after a quarrel with his two wives, who attacked him because he had deceived them and failed to provide them with meat. This story, then, presents children with several obvious themes, including the message of a husband's duty as a hunter, and the incidents are clearly located at specific sites. It is one of several such stories which become more complex as children are judged more competent to deal with them.

In western Arnhem Land, a children's story about the Long-necked Tortoise Woman, Ngalmangii, tells how she and Echidna Woman had quarreled after she had eaten Echidna Woman's baby, left in her care when they were camping together. Her excuse was "I was hungry!" Echidna flung at Tortoise the flat stone she always carried, and Tortoise threw the small bamboo spears she always had with her at Echidna. That is how they took their present shapes. In northeastern Arnhem Land, children are (or were) introduced to the great Djanggawul epic with a shorter account of the travels of the Sun Woman and her small daughter, a story that includes such items as the colorful feathered string symbolizing the rays of the sun.

In these examples there is a transition from simple to less simple versions within a similar range of topics or themes. Another, more significant point is the interconnection between adult myths within the same region. There have been suggestions that "a myth is best interpreted through another myth."

Fate and destiny. Mythic characters proceeding on their journeys are likely to encounter others whose stories lead them in divergent directions. Such meetings may involve conversations and perhaps camping together for a short time and then separating, never to see one another again.

An example of a very brief, single encounter comes in a western Arnhem Land Rainbow Snake myth told to me in 1950 by Gunwinggu-speaking women at Oenpelli. The Snake "arose far away, coming from the north, from the middle [of the] sea. She saw land, and came up out of the sea. No water there! Dry land! She went underneath again, travelling underground, and camp up here at Oenpelli, at this water where we drink. Then she went on to the waterfall, where those two Birds spoke to her." Following the stream, she eventually dug out a deep billabong, set rocks in place to form a cave, and gave birth to an egg, which she put in the sun to harden. The two Birds, whose spirits remain forever at the waterfall, are the only other Dreaming characters noted in her story until an old Dangbun-speaking man, Manyurulbu, "came to that tabu water because he was thirsty. He saw the egg, broke it, cooked it and ate it. Inside the cave she moved in her sleep, feeling something was wrong; she came out, and smelt him. She was weeping, looking for her egg. She took him under the water, then brought him up to the surface and vomited his bones." He "went hard," like rock. He became taboo and was transformed into an eternal spirit presence, *djang*, at that site. The Rainbow

Snake, in the cave above the billabong, watches over the other two eggs that she made and allowed to become hard. (One was stolen during the late 1940s but was returned after a local outcry: people were afraid the Snake might punish them for failing to prevent the theft.) No one is allowed to go to where the Snake is lying.

This is an almost typical Rainbow Snake story. The Snake's meeting with the two Birds has numerous parallels in western Arnhem Land myths in general. The conversation between them is not reported, but it is unlikely, given the Rainbow Snake's reputation, that the Birds told her to move to another site. Usually the Rainbow Snake does not meet animals or human characters as equals: the encounter with the old Dangbun man is more characteristic. Although in the final outcome he also becomes taboo and immortalized at that place, he is less taboo, and less dangerous, than the Snake.

Among the rocks and caves of the western Arnhem Land escarpment, every large hill and even small topographical features are locally compartmentalized, shared among a number of *djang*. One of the exceptions is Wuragag, Tor Rock, who rises as a landmark above the coastal plains. Wuragag "made himself hard" without the intervention of the Rainbow Snake, partly because "he was afraid. He thought some men [other mythic characters] were coming to kill him." He had been the husband of Waramurungundji, the anthropomorphic creative mother of this region, but she left him after he slapped her cheek for referring openly to coitus. After that, she tried unsuccessfully to introduce the rite of circumcision for boys.

A similar venture in the south of the region also failed. An old man, known as Stone Knife Carrier, or Penis *djang*, came traveling from beyond Dangbun territory, circumcising boys along his route. However, the first Gunwinggu boy he tried to circumcise died instantly. Men who had gathered for the ritual turned on him angrily, declaring that the practice was "not for us, we who speak Gunwinggu and Gunbalang" (a language spoken farther north, toward the coast). Traditionally, circumcision was not practiced in western Arnhem Land. The two myths provide a reason, and the Stone Knife Carrier episode ends with a statement about linguistic and cultural boundaries. Waramurungundji was more successful with girls' puberty rites. By teaching her young daughter at puberty, through actions and verbal advice, she showed what should be done at first and subsequent menstrual periods, including the routine behavior of squatting over a heap of hot coals and ashes, frequently changed, avoiding water courses (fresh or salt), and observing social and food taboos.

In western Arnhem Land alone, more than in a number of other regions, the theme of travelers meeting is built into the fabric of many myths, and knowing those myths also involves knowing at least something about all of the characters whose paths cross at or near particular sites. Some travel alone, in pairs, or in small family groups and join others in casual or long-term sweetheart or marital unions—or in hostilities—but in a large proportion of these myths the Rainbow Snake provides a common thread.

Another Rainbow Snake story from the same region leads us to several further points. The venomous snake Bek was once a man. In his travels he came to a mortuary platform, looked at the soles of the corpse's feet to see who it was, and identified it as his uncle. He was upset and angry: "They [someone] killed my uncle!" He went as a death messenger, taking the news. The people (unspecified, but relatives are implied) wept and gashed themselves in grief. He "stood as *gungulor* for them"; the bearer of a death message takes the risk of being attacked by the mourners. He decided to take revenge on them. "I'll damage a Dreaming *djang*, and then that Mai [an oblique reference to the Snake] will come and eat us all!" He used the term *man-djang*; the *man-* prefix usually classifies vegetable foods and plants, but when attached to other substantive forms it indicates an especially sacred or ritually important quality. He found a taboo palm tree and chopped it to pieces. A great rain came and drowned all of those people at that place. But he went into a rotten tree, buried himself inside it, and spat at them all: "You turn into rocks—but as for me, I become a creature!" The narrator added, "Ngalyod bit their heads, ate their noses. Their bones lie about like rocks, but Bek put himself as *djang*; and his spirit remains there, at Maganbang, in Magani."

Bek's vengeful action is one of several such cases in western Arnhem Land myths, but it is only in the realm of myth that there are any reported instances of suicide in traditional Aboriginal Australia. Revenge usually takes the form of direct violence or indirect sorcery, and both of these are found often in myth. Also, like Wuragag, Bek made his own decision about his *djang* transformation; unlike Wuragag, he survives in the form of a living, mobile natural species, still antagonistic to human beings, as well as in a site-linked spirit manifestation. The Rainbow Snake was not directly an agent in his transmutation. The myth includes no reference to any attempt on Bek's part to evade being swallowed by the Rainbow Snake or to plead not to be swallowed, as some mythic characters do; nor is there any mention of the Snake trying to engulf him or being thwarted or defeated, as in cases from coastal areas where a Snake manifestation is killed and cut open to release the victims. However, while in one sense they are victims, in another sense they are not.

Western Arnhem Land is unusual in the high proportion of statements about transformation and intent made by its mythic characters. Many mythic accounts, especially of potential *djang*, open with such statements; others come at the conclusion. The pervasive tone of the *djang* myths is one of destiny and of its inevitability, and the Rainbow Snake is, for most such characters, the main force through which destiny is achieved. A few characters manage to delay the inevitable end, but only temporarily: they might weep or try to escape, but they "couldn't do anything." If, in rare instances, they were helped by a "clever man," an Aboriginal doctor, they eventually "became hard," and their *djang* sites are identified as such.

Without spelling it out, the myths make contradiction here plain. On the one hand, there is the inescapable aspect of fate: the aim of a *djang* character's journey and the choice of the "right place" are predetermined, although the determining agent is not mentioned. On the other hand, the actions that cause the final disaster, as it is often described, are mostly set in a more negative frame even when the Rainbow Snake is not involved. Mythic characters "go wrong" or "do wrong"; they take a wrong turning spatially or in terms of behavior, or someone else "makes them go wrong." Although not defined as such, this contradiction is almost like a contrast between preordained destiny and individual will. It has a parallel in local views on sorcery, which combine the acknowledgment that physical death is the fate of all human beings with the belief that it can be brought about prematurely through human action.

A large range of myths deal with issues of human choice in regard to good and bad behavior in social relationships. They appear in the content of *djang* myths but only as secondary themes. Except in such examples as the Bek myth, they are not shown as causal or precipitating factors in attracting the Rainbow Snake. The Snake is drawn more or less automatically to the following kinds of scenes: when, for example, a goanna or an opossum sizzles and bursts while someone is trying to cook it in a low-lying sandy place during the wet season (or on a flat rock, which is likely to crack); when someone mistakenly kills a daughter or son of the Rainbow Snake; or when someone makes loud noises, allows children to cry, or breaks food or ritual taboos. In the myths, all of these are presented as potentially, but not inevitably, dangerous circumstances: the characters concerned have a measure of choice. Some of them, in their final moments, say, "We went wrong, we shouldn't have done that!"—whereas others, such as Bek, know exactly what they are doing and make a deliberate choice to draw upon a supernatural force to achieve a personal objective. One sociocultural theme implied in the Bek story is, "If someone has an unsatisfied grievance, watch him carefully because he may take a secret revenge." That theme emerges more conspicuously in sorcery accounts, in myth and in everyday life, especially in regard to neglected obligations or a girl's rejection of her betrothed or her husband. Resolution of such conflicts is seen as a human responsibility. As a rule it is only the physical consequences of human action that bring the Rainbow Snake to deal with ordinary people—noise, ground movements, breaches of taboo, damage to taboo sites, and the like.

Myth patterns in local perspective. People throughout western Arnhem Land were traditionally acquainted, at least in outline, with most of the *djang* myth themes and could identify *djang* sites. More significantly, they were aware that the country around them was spiritually alive with thousands of major and minor presences, and they knew that every *djang* site had its story and its specific character(s) and that all of this was documented in myth, supplemented by illustrations in rock art and in bark paintings. Adding to the "living" quality of the whole region were, and are, numerous spirit characters such as the Mimi, whose ancient, stick-thin likenesses, drawn in blood, appear in paintings in the rocky hills and escarpment country. Other spirit beings who can be either friendly or malevolent include the ghost aspects of dead human beings, whose souls have gone to the land of the dead, leaving a third aspect to return to child spirit centers to await reincarnation.

The Rainbow Snake, in swallowing and (among more inland groups) vomiting manifestations, is an important linking theme in regard to the shape of the landscape and, to some extent, of the seascape. The Snake connects land and people and the invisible, supernatural dimension in another way, in the sphere of religious ritual—in the Ubar, for instance, and in the Kunapipi, with their bearing on fertility and on initiation rites and their core of secret-sacred mystique. Other important characters are widely known in western Arnhem Land, not only through their cross-country traveling but also through their position in the same kind of ritual context. Among them are the Nagugur, associated with the Kunapipi rites. In some versions of their myth, they are a father-son pair traveling with their wives; in others, a group of that name, sometimes said to be self-renewing or self-perpetuating. Associated with the Ubar rites is Yirawadbad, a venomous snake man (in one ritual manifestation, a Rainbow Snake); Nadulmi or Narol'mi, a kangaroo man; and Ngaldjorlbu, the Ubar woman. Associated with the Maraiin rites are Lumaluma, the Whale Man, a good and bad character, and, among others, Laradjeidja of the Yiridja moiety and Gundamara of the Dua moiety. (Dua and Yiridja are patrilineal-classifying terms that have been spreading from northeastern Arnhem Land.)

The paths, or tracks, of these and other characters are usually implicit in their myths, but it is the sites that receive most attention. That is the general rule throughout the continent too, but within a certain territorial range people also know and identify the tracks without hesitation, partly because these are paths they themselves are, or were traditionally, likely to use in their own journeys. In the Western Desert, mythic tracks are especially important in respect to what used to be called "conception totemism." The place at which a woman first reported awareness of pregnancy need not be a named site. The crucial question is, On or near what track—*whose* track—did this happen? For instance, was it on or near a Dingari route, a Malu (Red Kangaroo) route, or a Wadi Gudjara (Two Men) route? The answer has implications for the child's religious ritual rights and participation in later life.

Traditionally, the myths of a region—and the sites, paths, and activities they enshrined—made up a living context map, pervaded and highlighted by religious rituals and full of practical information about natural, human, and supernatural resources. The verbal surface of the myths and songs, the visible and audible surface of the rituals, and the material representations that went with both of these never contained all the information available for understanding, interpreting, and acting in relation to them. Even knowing them all *in toto* would not be enough. In an ongoing situation, the social context of discussion—the "running commentary," as Malinowski called it—is an indispensable part of any myth or ritual constellation. Furthermore, to take a single myth or a single ritual sequence out of its larger context of myths or of rites is to ignore what can be vital clues to its meaning. This is not to say that one must have, or must include in one's scrutiny, details of every account in any given region. No Aboriginal person in a traditionally oriented society could do that. But adults in such a society would be aware of the extent and nature of the information and of its relevance, even though some would be more knowledgeable by virtue of age, ritual status, interest, and competence. That kind of awareness is a minimal requirement for students of myth.

Interconnecting themes. An inside perspective on myth should coincide, up to a point, with an outside perspective—recognizing that in neither case can there be a single perspective. Over and above that, however, an outside approach should take into account a wider span of similarities and differences in a larger comparative frame. Such comparisons should begin on a small, regional scale. This frame should go beyond what people take as their own immediate mythic and ritual and social context and include material that they may know or have heard a little about but do not explicitly or consistently bring together.

A useful example in this respect is northeastern Arnhem Land, a fairly compact region for which a great deal of information on myth and ritual has been available since the 1920s. The two most important mythic and ritual sequences there are the Djanggawul and the Wawalag. William Lloyd Warner, from the vantage point of his fieldwork at Milingimbi in the 1920s, attempted a brief comparison of these two great sequences. The significant point is that he made the attempt, even though it reflects some of the difficulties inherent in the exercise. As he noted, the Djanggawul constellation was better known in northeastern Arnhem Land, the Wawalag in the north-central area. That position continues to apply, up to the mid-1980s, with one exception which must have been relevant even in Warner's day. The Djanggawul, traveling from east to west, roughly parallel to the course of their mother, the Sun, did not move very far from the coast. Milingimbi, in the Crocodile Islands, was virtually their last port of call in eastern Arnhem Land. Extensive versions of their myth were still well known there, to both men and women, up to the 1950s, although they have been somewhat attenuated in more recent years. Even in the early 1960s, rumors were circulating on the eastern side that an incarnation of one of the Djanggawul sisters had been seen at Milingimbi—not the routine type of incarnation of child spirits, nor the routine use of personal names drawn from myth, songs, and place names, but a unique superhuman incarnation. The rumors were short-lived. However, the north-central recognition of the Djanggawul's importance is much less marked farther south, where emphasis is on the Wawalag constellation, with its inland overtones, and on the longer-standing inland association with Kunapipi ritual.

Both constellations, Djanggawul and Wawalag, share a common, pervasive theme of fertility of the land and of all its living inhabitants. Within the overall theme, the Djanggawul stress the human component. The two sisters, and on the eastern side they and their brother, produced the first human populations in the region, locating them at specific named sites and telling them what languages (dialects) they should speak, along with other customary rules these new people were to follow. They provided supplies for fresh water and indirectly indicated what foods they were to eat or abstain from. The Wawalag sisters are often referred to in connection with fertility, but this rests mainly on their connection with the Great Python, who swallowed them. They were not traditionally regarded in northeastern Arnhem Land as the very first people or as creators on a large scale, as were the Djanggawul. (Some bark paintings on this theme in the Djanggawul myth show multiple birth scenes on a superhuman numerical scale.) The Djanggawul story includes some "human" touches, such as putting newly born girls onto soft grass and boys onto rougher ground. But the sisters are almost impersonal as contrasted with the Wawalag; although they are not forcibly separated from the children by the Snake, as in the Wawalag case, they continue on their journey toward the setting sun, voluntarily leaving the children behind to fend for themselves.

The Wawalag sisters are sometimes referred to as "the first mothers," but no time sequence is suggested to distinguish them from the Djanggawul in this respect. Certainly in the Wawalag myth the sisters have a more obvious mothering relationship with their child(ren). (In Aboriginal Australia a mother's sister would also be called "mother.") Between them the Wawalag sisters have only two children, three at the most. They care for the children as individuals and try to protect them from the Snake; detailed versions include conversations about looking after the children, and a breast-feeding fireside scene for the new mother. The mother-child relationship is a focal theme in this part of the myth. Also, the Wawalag sisters perform almost no miraculous feats, even though they are bringing with them powerful songs and dances from their inland place of origin. They are more vulnerable than the Djanggawul and have to join with the Great Python before their ritual linkages and also the monsoon rains can be activated. Although there are some obvious similarities as well as contrasts between the two myths, a more detailed inquiry would reveal that they are even more obviously complementary.

Another important constellation in the same region, already noted, is also complementary to the Wawalag myth but less clearly so to the Djanggawul. Like them, it belongs to Dua moiety clans. The central character, himself Dua, is the boomerang-legged honey spirit man, Wudal. His journey from the distant inland toward the Roper River is told in song, not in story-type narrative. It is a riteless myth, made up of images, place names, and short action sequences. Wudal is often described as a single male person. His body is covered with white feathered string, and he wears a headband of kangaroo claws; long baskets full of bees and honey are slung from both shoulders. He moves with a kind of skipping step, partly because the sunbaked rocks are hot under his feet; he pauses at intervals to dance and to tap the sides of his baskets. However, the traveler can be female (*Laglag* is one of the names more often used in that case) or, as in other single or multiple myth examples from other regions, a group of Dreaming men and women. The song sequence details his journey, the creatures encountered on the way, and his own actions. The sequence of some of the songs can vary according to different versions, but it should always end with a song accounting for the redness of the sunset sky. Other explanations for the redness are offered in several song and myth series from both moieties; in one, for instance, the color symbolizes the blood of the Wawalag sisters.

In one song (noted earlier), Yiridja men are making stone spear blades, which are of the Dua moiety; the flakes they chip off in the process are Yiridja, and in kin relationship the blades are like mothers to them. Wudal men are there too. Tired of sitting down, the men stand up and practice throwing their spears and posture with them as if dancing. Later, Dua Wudal men of various subsections (an eightfold division into social categories, widespread through much of Aboriginal Australia) have been hunting and killing Yiridja-moiety kangaroos: the song notes their subsection affiliations, one by one. They return to their home base, a large, freshwater billabong. Leaning their spears against the stringy-bark trees there, they lean forward to look at their reflections in the water, then stoop down to drink, making lapping noises and spitting out some of the water. In the late afternoon they settle down to eat their kangaroo meat, which they like raw, with blood running. They spit as they eat, reddening the sky, causing the red cloud, or sunset.

Other songs have noted the creatures Wudal sees on his travels and at the sacred billabong: colored caterpillars, frilled (blanket) lizards, several kinds of birds, and his own bees. Several songs describe a sacred mound of earth that men have prepared near the billabong. Wudal people, gathered for dancing, speak the untranslatable ritual language, gin-nga, or gidjin, associated with this. On the mound they have erected two painted *djuwei* posts with bark hair, representing two adolescent girls. In the "honey wind" part of the series, Wudal is thirsty and eats honey from his baskets and from the sacred trees at the billabong and kangaroo meat from a separate basket. As he eats, he spits. The spray of saliva rises up, mixing with the spray from the Wudal men and with the crows and the bees. It joins the clouds rising from the smoke of fires sparked by the flaking of the stone spear blades and from fires lit by Wudal with the bark fire stick he always carries. It is "burning grass time." The clouds are dark with rain—Dua rain and wind, the "wind of the honey and the bees," blowing from the sacred billabong.

The songs, each seemingly inconsequential in itself, build up into a coherent pattern with a number of pertinent themes. One is the Wawalag connection. Some of the place names noted in the songs also appear in the Wawalag myth. One, Muruwul, was said to be the "billabong of Wudal, Crow, and the Wawalag." The two *djuwei* posts resemble stylized Wawalag figures and have the same shredded-bark hair. In the Rainbow Snake's song in the Wawalag myth, the sacred mound is equated with the Wawalag sisters' hut that the Snake is preparing to coil around before swallowing them. He also sang the names of places from which the honey wind comes, bringing its Dua-moiety rain. There are other meeting points between the two myths, some explicit, others more oblique. As myths, the two are generally asserted to be separate; and the ritual associations of the Wawalag, as well as the central role of the snake (who has no parallel in the Wudal sequence), help to keep them distinct.

Whatever the details of similarity and difference between them, however, their most salient feature is their complementary involvement in the seasonal cycle. The year is divided into a succession of named seasons, each with its characteristic combination of rainfall, temperature, vegetation growth or decay, availability of various foods, and the behavior of various land and sea creatures. It is not a simple division between wet and dry seasons. The Wawalag-Yulunggul contribution is responsible for the Dua-moiety monsoon from the west and northwest, the principal source of fertilizing rains. The major contribution of the Wudal song sequence *in toto* is the gentler, less ferocious but moderately strong wind and rains, also Dua, that bring relief from the heat at a time when the grasses and foliage of the inland are dry and inflammable. Lightning strikes, as well as deliberate burning-off for hunting and regeneration in selected areas, cause large, billowing smoke clouds. Perhaps just as significant in this seasonal context is the theme of bees and honey. The songs that focus on the bees bring in several singing names of the stringybark: it is *gongmiri* (it has "hands"); it is *mareiin* ("sacred"). Wild honey is a highly desirable food, and the flowering of the eucalyptus signals the development of other foods.

Even though no formally organized rites are attached to this song series, the actual singing and accompanying dancing, though performed in a less emotionally charged atmosphere, are equivalent to such rites. The series is in the category of so-called clan songs, in this case belonging to Dua moiety dialect units such as Djambarbingu and Riraidjingu. The singing in itself affirms and anticipates the coming of the required state of affairs in an almost timeless sequence. The honey wind, then, comes between the west monsoon and the southeast trade winds that bring light rain at the end of the cold weather.

Wudal himself is credited with bringing the subsection system to northeastern Arnhem Land. Of inland origin, the subsection system is now an integral feature of social organization all along the north coast. Boomerangs, however, are not, except in ritual settings such as the Kunapipi, they are still associated with "other" Aboriginal groups. The songs reveal Wudal as a stranger, coming north toward the coast for the first time; the coming of travelers from one area to another is one of the commonest themes in all Australian Aboriginal myths. And he is a benefactor, bringing bees and honey, taking part in stone spear blade preparation and distribution, and strategically sending rain between the deluge of the monsoon and the lighter falls from the southeast.

The complementary relationship between the two patrilineal moieties, Dua and Yiridja, is a subtheme in many myths and song series. They are portrayed as different but interdependent. Everything and everyone of significance is classified in those terms. Even the major mythic figures, the deities, do not stand outside the system: they are either Dua or Yiridja. However, while men's offspring are in the same patrilineal moiety as themselves, women's are not: Yiridja women have Dua offspring, and vice versa. Except for the great Djanggawul, themselves Dua, who made children of both moieties—in a situation where they were formulating, not necessarily conforming with, the rules—myths and songs note this almost zig-zag descent line linking mothers and their offspring. The two moieties are not identified by a single pair of symbols, as are the famous Eaglehawk and Crow of southeastern Australia. They have multiple associations, spread across the whole field of possibilities. Thus, there is a Yiridja shark species, but the large, aggressive Dua shark is more prominent in song and in clan-linked symbolism and oratory. In shark songs, a female Dua shark must have Yiridja offspring: in procreation,"Yiridja comes out of Dua," "Dua comes out of Yiridja." The song and myth references are a reminder that neither moiety can do without the other and that patrilineal rights and obligations are not the only consideration: a person has certain rights also in the myths, songs, and ritual affairs of his or her mother and mother's brothers, including rights to tell and to sing and participate.

The Wudal myth resembles the clan song style of presentation in being sung rather than told, in whole or in parts, as a narrative. The clan songs deal predominantly in imagery and in song words specifying attributes and activities of various creatures and other natural phenomena. Yiridja rain and wind from the southeast are treated in this way in one song sequence, where mythic characters as such play only a minor part. Another popular subtheme in myths and songs purports to answer a twofold question: How do clouds come about, and what (or who) makes rain? Rainmaking rites are virtually lacking in northeastern Arnhem Land, except for the larger seasonal fertility affairs that link the Djanggawul and Wawalag and other myth and ritual complexes. Aside from outstanding figures such as the Lightning Snake, and Larrpan the Cyclone Man (whose long penis is associated with rain and thunder), the image of spitting and spraying out moisture, as in the Wudal songs, recurs in a number of settings. In one song sequence, spray rising from whales in their rare appearances offshore automatically causes clouds, followed by rain. Lighting fires that send up columns of smoke, another Wudal activity, is another way of making clouds and rain, not necessarily in the same area as the fires. There are clan songs about Dua fire and others about Yiridja fire, just as there are distinct song series relating to clouds and rain. Clouds, in named varieties, are either Dua or Yiridja; they come from, pass over, and go toward named places and populations. Clouds of both moieties may meet and pass each other, just as freshwater streams and tidal rivers may contain layers of water belonging to different moieties.

Such images are basic ingredients in the clan songs, whether or not they are explicitly associated with mythic characters. They permeate the myths of this region, with their often poetic language. In varying degrees they also enter into the so-called play stories, the *wogal dou,* that include stories designed mainly for children, such as a version of the Djanggawul myth. These range from the trivial to the portentous or tragic. *Wogal* means "play" but carries an underlying tone of seriousness or purpose; *dou* means "information."

Clouds are more prominent than stars in northeastern Arnhem Land myths and songs. One exception is the evening star, symbolically identified with the large water lily, the lotus, and also associated in song with the death and return to life of the moon. The morning star comes from Bralgu, the mythical island in the Gulf of Carpentaria from which the Djanggawul set out on their epic journey to the Australian mainland. It is also the home of souls of Dua-moiety dead. That theme connects it with the Djanggawul, although the song series that goes with mortuary rites for a dead Dua person is separate from the principal Djanggawul myth. So is the myth that describes what happens to the soul on its voyage to Bralgu and when it reaches there, and that also gives advice on what to expect from the spirit guardians there and how to behave toward them. That myth is supplemented by the account of a Dua-moiety man, Yawalngura, said to have gone to Bralgu by canoe while he was still living and to have returned for just long enough to report his experiences (Warner, 1937, pp. 524–528).

The song imagery begins with a corpse on its mortuary platform, then dwells, in turn, on the creatures that move to and fro between it and Bralgu. One section of the sequence focuses on the morning stars that Bralgu spirits send out to specifically named sites on the mainland and islands of northeastern Arnhem Land. This overall combination of the more conventionalized Djanggawul creation myth, the corroborative report of a living human being, and the song sequence on the topic of a Dua person's final transition to the island from which the Djanggawul embarked on their journey, dwells explicitly on the two dimensions of human life—the spiritual and the physical. The decay of the body is frankly stated, in some detail, but that process is demonstrated to be inseparable from the continuing life of the soul after the death of the body.

Two associated myth complexes make it clear that not all of the soul goes on the voyage. One of these complexes, which is not set out in narrative form but usually as an adjunct to other accounts, emphasizes the theme of reincarnation or continuity. One part of the deceased person's spirit remains in its former country, to animate the fetus of a human being in the appropriate social categories, an event revealed in a dream to the prospective father or father's sister, or other eligible relatives. A third part, the trickster spirit, is the subject of many *wogal dou* and other stories, some of them highly dramatic. Together, the substance of all of these myths and songs makes up a detailed commentary on the transcendental issues of human life and death: how individual people came into being, something about their life on earth as human beings, and what they can expect to happen after that. They do not, however, take up the difficult question of relationships with close relatives and spouses of the opposite moiety. The question is traditionally left unanswered—or, rather, not asked. In the conventional view, people of the Yiridja moiety go to their own land of the dead, an island off the north coast. The Yiridja guardians of the dead also send items to living people on the mainland and offshore islands. The songs tell how these things come bobbing and dancing on the waves, borne by the north and northeast Yiridja winds.

A major theme in all the myths of northeastern Arnhem Land is the relationship between people and their land. When the mythic characters shaped the land, they shaped the sky, the clouds, and the seasons—the total environment that provided a background for themselves and for all the living beings there.

In the Wudal myth as in the Djanggawul and Wawalag, and in eastern Arnhem Land generally, the patterning of cross-references is much more noticeable than in many other parts of Aboriginal Australia. There is a concern with small details, which are not left suspended or clustered loosely but fit together in a variety of coherent shapes. The interlocking of items and themes has been tentatively described as representing a characteristic sociocultural style which finds expression in graphic art such as bark paintings and stylized body designs (C. H. Berndt, 1970, p. 1316). Strehlow notes the same point in stressing the need to examine material from all of the Aranda groups in studying myths in central Australia:

> When looking through a collection of myths that have been gathered in any one of these groups, one feels that one is being led into a wide-spread maze, into a vast labyrinth with countless corridors and passages and sidewalks, all of which are connected with one another in ramifications that at times appear altogether baffling in their complexity and interdependence. (Strehlow, 1947, p. 45)

PRECEDENTS AND CONTRASTS. The creative period of the Dreaming is traditionally regarded as the principal, indisputable source of rules and injunctions governing human behavior. This early period is portrayed in myth as an era of development and process: the sociocultural as well as the natural world was taking shape or, rather, being given shape not only by the major deities but also by the host of mythic characters who were, and continue to be, an integral part of the process.

When the lawmaking, lawgiving characters make pronouncements at the end of their earthly journey in the formative era, their myths have already recorded the events leading up to these; they do not merely note the pronouncements but tell how and why they came to be made. The mythic explanation, in many cases, describes the very behavior or situations the rules were supposed to guard against, prohibit, or at least discourage. Even when myths spell out the details of such behavior, they do not always add the warning that it is wrong. In the ongoing traditional Aboriginal scene, the messages believed to be contained in myth did not need to be stated explicitly on any one occasion of telling or singing or ritual enactment. There were other opportunities for that, formal or otherwise; and in any case, the levels of complexity in interpretation varied according to the social and ritual context. The dynamic, continuing aspect of myth has its counterpart in human life: the events set in train by the mythic beings are still in process. To keep things going in the appropriate way, this and that must be done, in religious ritual terms and in everyday social living. Myths were not designed as an intellectual exercise or for aesthetic pleasure or entertainment. They were for use—for information, explanation, and action. Narrative myths, outside the more formalized ritual context, were open to audience participation and questions and comment. Sometimes a narrator would amplify certain passages when he or she considered that some members of the audience needed further information on a topic.

In this living mythology, no myth is taken as a total package, the content of which is to be accepted or rejected *en bloc*. Even where claims are made to that effect, they are largely ideal statements or, rather, statements of principle that take for granted the matters of selection and interpretation that accompany even the most rigid attempts to maintain verbal (and ritual) adherence to an unchanging pattern.

Some precedents are fairly straightforward: in regard to food and material resources, for instance, that are fundamental in making a living. Another set of mythic themes that also seem to have been taken very much as a given recounts the shaping of human and other forms of life. In general, the potential for change was inherent in all of the mythic characters. The shape in which they appeared at the beginning of their respective stories was not necessarily the same as that of their final *appearance*. More often than not, it was quite different, but the emphasis is on the word appearance. They had built into them the program or plan which emphasized the shared quality of all life but accorded them different roles and different shapes in the "web of life" that encompassed them all. However, as far as human shapes were concerned, myths put forward more or less common views as to what a human being should look like (as well as how he or she should behave).

Howitt (1904, pp. 475–476, 484ff.) provides some interesting examples of this. Bat was lonely, because "there was no difference between the sexes," so "he altered himself and one other, so that he was the man and the other was the woman"; he also made fire. In another version the great being Bunjil "made men of clay and imparted life to them," and his brother Bat "brought women up out of the water to be their wives." Among the Yuin, it was the Emu-Wren who shaped incomplete creatures into men and women. On Cape York Peninsula a White Sand Snake Man, wanting a wife, castrated and cut an opening in his younger brother to make him into a woman (McConnel, 1957, pp. 128–130); the same action is also attributed to Moon (p. 28). In the eastern Kimberley an old mythic woman "tried to subincise girls and 'make them into men.' But they developed into young women," and she admitted defeat (Kaberry, 1939, p. 201). The Djanggawul, in contrast, with their dominant position in the mythic scene in northeastern Arnhem Land, adjusted their own shapes to what they considered proper for human beings. All that was needed in their case was clitoris shortening for the sisters and penis shortening for the brother. This episode has an initiatory connotation, just as in the eastern Kimberley version of the subincision attempt. And in fact the bodily operations which are part of so many initiation rituals conform with the same body-shaping, body-marking principles that are implied, if not actually enunciated, in the more comprehensive initial efforts. So are the minor body-marking conventions of cicatrization, nasal septum piercing, and the like. All of these, like hairstyles, rest on mythic edicts or suggestions.

A theme that is more emotionally charged is how, and why, death is the lot of all human beings. In many myths, Moon is somehow connected with this. In one western Arnhem Land myth, simplified as a children's account (because children traditionally learned, quite young, the facts of bodily death), Moon Man and Djabo, Spotted Cat Man, traveling together, succumbed to a sickness that was spreading across the land. Moon was a *margidjbu*, a healer or clever man. He recovered and wanted to revive Djabo, but Djabo didn't trust Moon, so he refused—and died. Because of that, all human beings must die, and their bodies cannot be renewed, but when Moon dies, he always comes back anew after three days. There are many variants on the same theme. This one carries an added message: if you are sick and a *margidjbu* offers to heal you, you must have faith in him and in his treatment to survive. In east Kimberley, Moon originated death and wrong marriage by trying to marry a woman he called mother-in-law. "She and the other women with her attacked him in fury and cut off his organs which changed to stone." Then he declared that after dying he would "come back in five days," but they would not come back (Kaberry, 1939, pp. 128, 199–200). Howitt (1904, pp. 428–429) reports the same kind of edict from southeastern Australia.

Strehlow (1947, pp. 44–45) outlines a different myth among the northern Aranda. Near Ilkakngara, Curlew People emerged from the hard rock: women first, one making an opening in the rock with her nose, then men. The first man lit a fire, but the others were angry and pointed a magic bone against him, so that he died. After he was buried, grieving women danced around his grave, and he began to work his way up through the ground, head first. He had almost freed his shoulders when Magpie, in a rage, thrust a heavy mulga spear into his neck and stamped him down hard into the ground, ordering him to remain there forever. If Magpie had not so forcibly intervened, everyone who died would have come to life again, emerging successfully from the ground. Strehlow notes that other "legends" express the same general idea.

Themes that are more open to debate or to questions of interpretation mostly hinge on matters of social relationships. One is about the nature of participation and control in religious affairs, especially ritual affairs, as between men and women. The key set of questions in mythic terms is, Who first found, owned, or controlled the most sacred religious materials? What happened? and Did that situation change? Outside the field of myth, in the sphere of ordinary human activities, the question is, Who has control now? with the corollary, Who makes decisions about participation? In the great majority of myths such questions do not focus specifically on male-female relations in this respect, but in a substantial minority of examples across the continent they do.

In the Djanggawul myth, the sisters lose their monopoly right to ownership and control of secret-sacred materials when these are stolen from them by men. On Cape York Peninsula, two girls find a bull-roarer and swing it, singing that it is forbidden; they place it in a bloodwood tree, saying "It belongs to us women, really, we have found it! But no matter! We leave it for the men!" (McConnel, 1957, p. 119). In east Kimberley, "some of the female totemic ancestors were given *tjurunga*" by the mythic being Djulargal, but "later these were stolen from them by Porcupine" (Kaberry, 1939, p. 201). In western Arnhem Land, "the *ubar* ritual belonged at first only to women"; Gandagi Kangaroo Man drove the women away, took their sacred emblems, and gathered a group of men to perform the same rites (Berndt and Berndt, 1982, p. 257; 1970, pp. 120–121). The Wawalag brought Kunapipi songs and rites on their journey to the northern Arnhem Land coast, but after being swallowed by the Great Python they taught these, and gave them, to men. An interesting point here is that the Wawalag were swallowed and regurgitated in much the same way as male novices are, symbolically, in initiation rites. But those male novices are recipients of sacred knowledge, whereas the Wawalag were both teachers and donors, and the novices in that episode in their myth were adult men. To compound this issue of "women had it first," many ritual sequences now dominated by men show a preoccupation with the idea, or the ideal, of women, and with female physiological characteristics such as pregnancy and childbirth.

Mythic precedent and substantiation also emphasize the important place of women in the creative era of the Dreaming, even in cases where it is not spelled out. For example, in the Northern Aranda Curlew and Magpie death myth, it was a Curlew woman who first broke through the hard rock to emerge on the earth, followed by other women. Strehlow specifies in other discussions the "majestic" and impressive bearing of mythic women in Aranda myth. Isobel M. White (1974, 1975) has tried, inconclusively, to explain central Australian myths that seem to suggest ritual subordination of women by relating them to similar attitudes and values in everyday living. Others, including Diane Bell (1984), have argued that such interpretations are based on inadequate empirical evidence and that closer scrutiny of both myth and its sociocultural context are needed before any definitive conclusions can be reached. In the past, Aboriginal women's perspectives have rarely been taken into account except at a very superficial level, and in some areas their own secret-sacred rites and myths continue to be unknown to outsiders. That aside, the larger issue of myth interpretation is still controversial and difficult.

Myths from all parts of the continent contain as much bad as good human behavior. The activities of a great many mythic characters do not conform with what was regarded as good behavior by, or for, the people who told and heard their stories. Even in regions where the main deities concentrate on creation in a relatively mild way, such as the Djanggawul (despite their original incest, and the men's theft of sacred paraphernalia), other material dwells on more emotionally rousing events. Among the wogal dou are accounts of aggressive encounters, cruelty, and despair. The trickster Pomapoma (Gwingula), for example, in the course of his adventures, rapes and kills his young mother-in-law in a story which at once deplores his reprehensible actions and presents them in quasi-humorous style. In western Arnhem Land, in a more clearly moralizing or threatening vein, Yirawadbad, in his venomous snake form, kills both his young betrothed wife and her mother because the girl consistently rejected him; he is now dangerous to everyone but especially to girls, and he makes his reason explicit as he surveys the two corpses. In his human form, he went on to be one of the main instigators of the important Ubar ritual; this includes ritual enactment of the scene where, as a snake in a hollow log, he bites the hand of each woman in turn.

Relating such materials to their sociocultural context involves more than simply considering how, and how far, one dimension reflects what takes place in the other. "Mythic beings were both good and bad, and badness was a necessary corollary of goodness." It is as if "an immoral act must occur in order to demonstrate what can be regarded as being moral," but myth and story reflect "the total life situation, in which . . . there is both good and bad . . . [as] part of the inevitable and irreversible framework of existence" (R. M. Berndt, 1970, pp. 220, 223, 244).

A crucial issue, particularly in respect to what Strehlow has called the "amoral" behavior of many central Australian mythic figures, is whether sanctions operate to discourage or prevent or deflect such behavior. How far do the myths themselves serve to deflect it, as a kind of catharsis? This is a complex issue because the myths never exist in a sociocultural vacuum.

To compile a dictionary or an index of themes or motifs in traditional Aboriginal mythology would be a formidable undertaking. But it would be only a beginning in the process of understanding and explanation. In virtually all cases, a spoken or written myth must be heard and seen in relation to the unspoken, unwritten information known to the people to whose mythology it belongs, the shared understandings that are essential in learning what it is about. Discussions and comments help to throw light on these assumptions, but they are not enough without a more complete knowledge of the sociocultural and personal contexts. And the nature of the relevant sanctions and rules is a necessary and salient aspect of that context.

Myths do not consitute a mirror image of Aboriginal societies. They reflect those societies, in their "ought" as well as their "is" dimensions, in a variety of ways, both negative and positive. What the myths in general do reflect is one of the major strengths of Aboriginal religion. It ranges from the mystical and esoteric, the secret aspects of the sacred, the spectacle and exhilaration and drama of ritual events, to the more mundane features of everyday living. There is a place in religion—a significant place—for all of these and for all of the varied roles and circumstances throughout a person's life. The sphere of myth illuminates that place through contrasts and challenges as well as through insistence on continuities.

SEE ALSO Djan'kawu; Gadjeri; Rainbow Snake; Yulunggul Snake.

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AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS RELIGIONS: MYTHIC THEMES [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

By the beginning of the twenty-first century, the role of myths in shaping the imagination of Australian Aborigines had become exceedingly difficult to determine. Various external forces have left their mark on this theme, and these forces have made Aborigines the subject of a project of mythologization that, in turn, has been appropriated by the Australian state. The multimillion-dollar Aboriginal arts industry, for instance, has turned mythic themes visualized on canvas into commodities and icons of national identity. Similarly, the spiritualization of the Aboriginal cosmo-ontology through marketable popularizations and simplifications—whereby Ancestral sites become conflated into "My Mother Earth," for example—has occluded the historical foundation of myths. This process presents a particular historical turn in itself, and raises questions about the likelihood and forms in which mythic themes may endure.

Since the late 1980s anthropologists have rarely centered their work on myths in the narrow sense of story. Following Aboriginal English usages in certain parts of the continent, some ethnographers have replaced the term myth, with its emphasis on narration, with the far more comprehensive expression, Dreaming.

CONTINUITIES, CHANGE, AND CHALLENGES. The constitution of Aboriginal cultures is dynamic and highly heterogeneous. A variety of pre-contact traditions combine with the uneven experience of colonization and the emergent relationships between Aborigines and the wider Australian and international community to form locally-specific forms of sociality and identity. Cultural diversity persists alongside the notion of traditional Aboriginality. Hence, the endurance of the Dreaming is not a question internal to Aboriginal societies alone; it concerns the articulation of relationships across cultural contexts.

At the end of the 1990s, possibly 20,000 out of a total of over 350,000 Aboriginal people were living in so-called remote communities in the Kimberley region, the Western Desert, Central Australia, Arnhem Land, and on Cape York Peninsula. The ceremonial life in these regions has thrived, but manifestations of the Dreaming are also present, if contested, in at least three other fields. One is the Australian legal system. The second is in the world of art. Aborigines use a variety of mediums that engage non-Aboriginal audiences and that are often market-oriented, such as artworks for sale, film, international dance performances, fiction, poetry, and biographical and autobiographical writings. The third is a burgeoning urban New Age movement focusing on Aboriginal spirituality, health and healing. Publications in this field seem to outnumber scholarly works on Aboriginal mythology. The increasing, if appropriative, recognition of Aboriginal traditions is reflected in the expanding cultural tourist industry as well as the growing popularity and rising prices of publications on any theme related to Aborigines.

The fact that in many parts of the Australian continent Aborigines uphold knowledge of mythic traditions that began to evolve long before colonization does not allow us to infer that the same paradigms and meaning structures continue to be relevant. As Ronald and Catherine Berndt have noted in what may be considered the most important compilation of myths in the second half of the twentieth century, *The Speaking Land* (1989), there exists an "incalculable number" of myth-stories in the passive form of "memory culture" (p.13). By itself, this tells us little about the status of mythic themes as an active force in the consciousness and the unconscious of people, or how stories relate to other symbolic systems. Moreover, as John von Sturmer (2002) pointed out, important myths are not recalled, told, or sung in fully elaborate form; they are "called on" in fragments.

It is self-evident that post-contact expressions of the Dreaming are transformations of a worldview that knew only itself. For this reason, anthropologists emphasize the inherently dynamic constitution of the Dreaming that Aborigines consider to be the source of all forms and purposes of being—past, present and future. Scholars point out that the structural potential for change is the very condition for the resilience of the Law and is built into the clan organization (Berndt, 1979); ways of forging totemic identities and rights over country in the domains of ritual and everyday life (Duelke, 1998); a concept of non-biological subjectivity (Petchkovsky et al., 2003); kinetic perceptions of features in the landscape such as rocks that quiver or places that move (Redmond, 2001); and the variety of artistic systems. For instance, in Central Australian Warlpiri communities, designs that totemic Ancestors give to individuals in nocturnal dreams can be painted on canvas for sale or, if accompanied by song, may be incorporated into ritual (Dussart, 2000; Poirier, 1996). People in the Daly River region in northwestern Northern Territory conceive new songs from ghosts in dreams that become efficacious in ceremony (Marett, 2000). Artists in Arnhem Land develop adaptive conceptual structures that encode Dreamings through modifications of painting styles (Morphy, 1991; Taylor, 1996).

Observations about the endurance of the Dreaming furthermore need to address the profound differences in the religious orientation across cultural regions as well as on the level of local communities, especially the heterogeneity of Aboriginal Christianity (Swain and Rose, 1988).

Recognition of Aboriginal identities has become a major issue in the Australian public self-understanding. One indication is the progressive, if contested, legal codification of Indigenous rights over land and cultural knowledge. The political ramifications of establishing mythic traditions that can challenge existing and future forms of land tenure and use have impact on the way Aboriginal custodians handle such knowledge as well as on how anthropologists conceptualize and employ that knowledge. From a wider perspective, the incorporation of Aboriginal identities, cultural property, and land ownership into the framework of state and federal laws creates conflict between Aborigines and others as well as between Aboriginal groups and families.

The 1995 Hindmarsh Island Bridge Affair painfully illustrated such an intragroup disagreement. Some Ngarrindjeri Aboriginal women publicly accused other Ngarrindjeri women of having deliberately fabricated a secret women's tradition pertaining to Hindmarsh Island and the surrounding lower Murray River region in South Australia. The claim made by the accused was aimed at preventing the progress of a marine development project and the building of a bridge on the island. The lengthy legal dispute that ensued relied on anthropological expertise and fuelled a battle over the nature of cultural traditions, secrecy, and the legitimacy of innovative processes. In the male-dominated courts and parliament, the provision that mythological knowledge was restricted to women was a major problem, since the gender-restricted nature of information was also thought to prove the authenticity of the claim. The case deeply divided Ngarrindjeri society and damaged the anthropological profession.

Such difficulties notwithstanding, Aboriginal people have felt encouraged that their role as cultural educators has been acknowledged. Aborigines have long expressed desire to speak for themselves and for their country. With the opening of communication, it has become worthwhile then to survey the many forms in which the Dreaming is conveyed outside the context of ritual and secrecy.

CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE AND SELF-REPRESENTATION. Aboriginal people from very different backgrounds consider it their responsibility to record and often publish certain sections and layers of mythic traditions that have been maintained as part of the local knowledge or reclaimed from external sources. These works are directed at both their own descendants and a wider audience. Often produced in collaboration with former missionaries or anthropologists, the works include documentations of the regional totemic landscape in narrative and photographic form, such as Dorothy Tunbridge's *Flinders Ranges Dreamings* (1988); compilations of myths and legends that may draw heavily on versions recorded by non-Aboriginal researchers; art exhibition catalogs; and biographical and autobiographical accounts that, like *Warlpiri Women's Voices* (1995) or Ruby Langford Ginibi's *My Bundjalung People* (1994), establish identifiable links with country in the context of a history of displacement.

Since the mid-1980s, Aborigines have increasingly held intellectual control over ritual objects, artifacts, paintings, and audio recordings of myths together with research documents that were collected and stored by others. Some communities have begun to establish their own cultural heritage collections, held in local museums and galleries. A'nangu (Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara speakers) in northwest South Australia have developed an interactive digital museum that stores and re-creates myths, family histories, pictorial material, and various historical documents. They have also produced several thousand hours of video recordings of *Inma*, the ritual and song performances of Dreamings.

The movement toward self-representation is in part inspired by the awareness that oral traditions expressing the many links between people and country are at risk of being irretrievably lost for future generations.

Painting. One way of recording and maintaining mythic knowledge is to paint for an international art market. Paintings are possibly the most prolific public expression of mythic themes and forces. For Aboriginal artists, canvas, bark, batik, print, and sculpture present suitable mediums of communicating aspects of the Dreaming outside local contexts. The condensed and multi-dimensional symbolisms that have been developed allow for the control of carefully-guarded knowledge without diminishing the total aesthetic effect necessary to evoke Ancestral presence or Dreaming Power.

The function of paintings as the visual embodiment of Dreamings has solidified Aborigines' links to country even where it is no longer possible to visit the ancestral sites. Until the late 1980s, men dominated the painting movement of the Western and Central Deserts with magnificent pictorial renditions of local totemic sites and the great traveling myths. Some of these early paintings are valued as national cultural heritage on the basis of a triple antiquity: the Dreaming, the modern painting movement, and the seniority of the painter. By the 1990s, women had become fully engaged in making their Ancestral connections visible, often painting bush food Dreamings.

Paintings are also an important form of documenting destructive interferences with the Dreaming brought about by colonization, resource development, and tourism. Two art shows about missionary and mining activities were held on Ngaanyatjarra lands that, together with the accompanying catalogues, *Mission Times at Warburton* (2002) and *Trust* (2003), are powerful examples of how local communities seek to make explicit and preserve their cultural heritage.

SCHOLARLY APPROACHES TO MYTH. For a variety of reasons, the number of scholarly publications specifically concerned with myth has diminished since the 1980s. One of these is that with the growing participation of Aboriginal people in the academic and public domain, it has become necessary to restrict access to secret-sacred knowledge. The primary example of this conflict of intellectual interests is the withdrawal from the market of Charles P. Mountford's massive documentation of Pitjantjatjara myths, *Nomads of the Australian Desert,* in 1976. The Pitjantjatjara Council had made a successful case for an interlocutory injunction on the basis of breach of confidence.

Between the late 1980s and mid-1990s, researchers devoted much attention to the issues of Aboriginality, urban Aboriginal identity, women's rights and rituals, land rights, mining, and racism. Howard Morphy's (1990) brief analysis of the constitutive links between myths and clans in Yolngu society is one of few publications on Aboriginal mythology. With the passing of the *Native Title Act 1993*, however, whereby the occupation of the continent prior to colonization became recognized as common law, the study of myth received a renewed impetus. Partly in response to the controversy in the legal arena about rights over land, and partly in the context of appreciating narratives of resistance, a debate developed on the relationship between myth and history. In an attempt to re-conceptualize Aboriginal ontologies in a way that incorporates the experience of colonization, Aboriginalists began to re-analyze stories they had recorded decades earlier. Following a conference organized by Jeremy Beckett, the journal *Oceania* devoted almost an entire issue (December 1994) to the discussion of how history, human agency, and the Dreaming intersect. This theme was revisited shortly thereafter at another Australian anthropological conference and extended into a comparative framework with Papua New Guinea (Rumsey and Weiner, 2001). Basil Sansom's essays (e.g., 2001) on the subversive aesthetics of the Dreaming are further important contributions in this field.

Anthropologists have generally adopted a holistic and dynamic approach to the meaning of mythic traditions. Deborah Bird Rose (1984, 1992, 1994, 2002) and David Turner (1987) have made especially comprehensive contributions in this field. But despite seeming conceptual affinities, their respective frameworks of interpretation differ profoundly. Both authors seek to establish a contrast between the values and worldview of Aborigines on the one hand, and the Western Christian tradition and modern capitalist society on the other. Yet Rose goes further and aligns Aboriginal cultural notions with extraneous environmental and feminist concerns. This is perhaps most evident in her conceptualization of a "Dreaming ecology" (1992) or "nourishing terrains" (1996, 2002), an emphasis on universal moral principles (1984), gendered places and power, world-creating women, and the bodied existence of all forms of life (1994). Turner's starting point is at the opposite end. Combining anthropological and comparative religious scholarship, he analyses in parallel fundamental aspects of Australian Aboriginal, Canadian Cree and Judeo-Christian ways of life, thinking and symbolizing. He arrives at a classification of cultural systems that emphasizes historically evolved differences of human social organisation. His analysis includes a structuralist interpretation of myths that underscores his characterization of Australian Aboriginal societies as clan-based pluralistic "confederations." In stark contrast to Rose's (1994) assertion that in Dreaming law "there is no category of being . . . which is not bodied" (p. 329), Turner recognizes as the organizing principle of the religious attachment to the land an "abstract eternal jurisdiction" (p. 54). Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, most ethnographic field researchers focused on the contextual, performative and political nature of the Dreaming, in particular its relationship to artistic forms. Exemplary studies include Howard Morphy (1990) and Luke Taylor (1996) on totemic painting traditions in Northeast Arnhem Land and West Arnhem Land respectively; Ian Keen (1994) on the politics of secret knowledge held by Yolngu men in Northeast Arnhem Land; Françoise Dussart (2000) on Warlpiri women's ritual; and Fred Myers (2002) on the intersections between international and local contexts of Pintupi art-making. Dianne Johnson's (1998) literature-based survey of sky-related myths is significant in being the first contribution towards an Australian Aboriginal ethno-astronomy. The claim by Ngarrindjeri women over a sacred site in the waters around Hindmarsh Island rests on a Seven Sisters Dreaming about the Pleiades (Bell, 1998, pp. 573–89) that occurs in many variations across Australia. A new generation of scholars has begun to analyze the aesthetic forms themselves and how these encode meaning and relate to the structures of the social and mythological imagination (e.g., Biddle 2003; Eickelkamp 2003; Tamisari 1998; Watson 2003).

Three important contributions to Aboriginal mythology explore the classic ethnographies from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. One is the highly contested work by the historian of religion Sam D. Gill (1998), who produced a textual analysis of the scholarly construction of the Central Australian Arrernte and their religious traditions by early ethnographers, including Mircea Eliade and Jonathan Smith. The second is a monograph by Johanna M. Blows (1995) that offers a structuralist and psychoanalytic exegesis of the Eagle-Crow conflict myth based on twenty-six previously recorded text versions mostly from the Darling-Murray River system in the southeast part of the continent. Third, John Morton has analyzed in a number of essays Central Australian and foremost Arrernte creation myths in a framework of Lacanian psychoanalysis, while also strongly drawing on the insights of the early psychoanalytic ethnographer Géza Róheim (e.g., Morton 1993).

REFLECTIONS. Ronald and Catherine Berndt observed that myths are an "immense mirror" (1989, p. 4) for Aboriginal people's self-understanding, but not, according to Catherine Berndt, a mirror of their society. They left untouched the question of how differences between these two symbolic orders, society and the collective self-understanding, are to be perceived.

In contrast, psychoanalytic anthropologists have made this a central point of investigation. For example, Morton (1993, pp. 333–334) identifies Ancestral creation as a process of mirroring or self-reflection—looking to one's own transformation from one species into another, being echoed in a name—that is extended to human identities and the social order. Petchkovsky, San Roque, and Beskow (2003), having worked therapeutically with Central Australian Aborigines near Alice Springs, suggest that a Jungian perspective on the imagination may help to understand better the conditions for self-reflection and for the creation of mythic traditions. They also show the central importance of the active imagination in myths and nocturnal dreams for the sustenance of creativity. Pointing out that the inner imagery process in Aboriginal mythopoesis and dreaming appears to have been changing since at least the 1950s, they cautiously observe that the vividness of dreams in conjunction with ritual may be deteriorating.

Mythic themes endure because people make them, but those themes also make the people. Through the accounting of myths, the Dreamings have become everlasting manifestations that tell of their self-transformations. It may be then that the capacity of their human descendants to sustain a viable image of themselves may likewise depend on the possibilities for creative renewal. As the Warlpiri/Pintupi man Andrew Japaljari put it, "One reason why we [Aboriginal people] can't handle the grog is because we have no Grog Dreaming" (Petchkovsky et al. 2003, p. 224).

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AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS RELIGIONS: NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

Indigenous new religious movements or cultic developments have a certain exotic appeal for theorists from state societies. But new religious developments in kin-based societies are not dissimilar in role to new political movements in state societies. For kin-based peoples, the ancestral realm is the source of life, knowledge, and power. During the original cosmogonic journeys, ancestral substances and energies were transformed into landforms and water sources. At the end of their journey the ancestors grew tired and merged into the landscape, taking the forms of hills, rocks, and trees. For their human descendants, following the ancestral way ensures protection from unknown and potentially malign outside forces. Breaking ancestral laws can lead to withdrawal of protection, revenge, and calamity. Indigenous people acted on the world and achieved their political and economic goals through religious ritual and activation of ancestral power.

The Western mind compartmentalizes human-world enterprises into separate domains, such as economics, politics, and religion. It reifies "religion" and gives it a sui generis status, setting it above "mundane" spheres of life. But for Aboriginal people and people of other non-Western cultures, human-ancestral interaction is not separate from politics or economics or any other sphere of life.

New religious movements in Aboriginal Australia did not come into being as a result of European colonization. New cults were continually being generated from old religious forms. They were used to legitimize migration and establishment of land claims in new areas and were widely used as alliance-forming mechanisms. For Indigenous people, the new is really just a discovery (or rediscovery) of something that was there from the beginning but had become lost or hidden. Sociocultural practices are "*always* in flux, in a perpetual historically sensitive state of resistance and accommodation to broader processes of influence that are as much inside as outside the local context" (Marcus and Fischer, 1986, p. 78). For I. M. Lewis, new religious movements are the idiom in which those who aspire to positions of leadership compete for power and authority (Lewis, 1971, p. 128). Such movements are often generated by younger people to challenge the established leaders of the central ritual system who are perceived as incompetent to deal with contemporary reality.

Indigenous leaders are expected to be "strong, powerful and dangerous . . . physically vigorous [with] forceful personalities" (Williams, 1987, p. 44). Leaders of new cultic developments, who are generally widely traveled, may attempt to engage with new and stronger forms of power in order to deal with new conditions of life. They, like traditional clever men, attempt to appropriate strange and mysterious powers from faraway places. In the early colonial period some cultic leaders clearly attempted to appropriate European colonial power-knowledge in order to achieve their goals.

OLD AND NEW TYPOLOGIES. Early colonial studies of Indigenous new religious movements reflect European colonial beliefs and values. In this period it was taken for granted by missionaries and social scientists alike that colonized peoples would become like them. Theorists and policy makers saw assimilation as an appropriate goal for Indigenous peoples within a colonial state. Confronted by strange religious phenomena that appeared to be neither Christian nor Indigenous, religious theorists appealed to their traditional frameworks of reference. They classified new religious movements along a pagan-Christian dimension and used descriptive terms from their own religious traditions—*messianism, millenarianism,* and *prophetism*—in order to render the strange cults familiar. Early attempts at categorization proliferated into a bewildering array of typologies, including Neopagan, Hebraist, Sabbatarian, Ethiopian Zionist, syncretist sects, aladuras, prophet healing, Apostolics, revelatory, enthusiastic movements, spiritual churches, and separatist sects (Turner, 1976, p. 13).

Anthropologists entered this discourse in the 1930s and 1940s and, using the terminology of the religious theorists, began to construct their theories of social change. In this colonial period anthropologists saw new religious movements as prime examples of acculturation to the European way of life. These strange hybrid cults, however anticolonialist in theme, were believed to be transitional stages along the road to full acculturation or assimilation. Ralph Linton (1940) set his analysis of new religious movements within this general framework. "Nativistic movements," that is, "organised attempts to revive or perpetuate certain aspects of their native cultures," were believed to be set in motion by the impact of European culture on traditional societies. Linton classified his nativistic movements as revivalistic-magical, revivalistic-rational, perpetuative-magical, and perpetuative-rational (Linton, 1979, pp. 497–501). This began a new spate of typology construction. Anthropologists began to speak of dynamic nativism, passive nativism, reformative nativism, adjustment movements, accommodative movements, transformative movements, crisis cults, denunciatory cults, protest movements, vitalistic movements, and revitalization movements (Burridge, 1969, p. 102). However, these descriptive terms do not refer to types that are mutually exclusive. In the 1970s there was a movement away from synchronic typology construction stimulated by historical research and phenomenological studies (Fernandez, 1978, p. 204). With a new generation of researchers, colonial studies of "millenarian" and "messianic" cults developed into postcolonial studies of anticolonial movements, cultural persistence, and "discourses of resistance."

The concept of the Dreaming is nonmillenarian, nonutopian, and nonhistorical. Localized Dreaming narratives are unable to account for cataclysmic changes (Wild, 1987, pp. 562–563). However, local and regional Dreaming tracks and story lines can be extended indefinitely as new tracks can be discovered, ancestral routes changed, and different routes connected together. Erich Kolig describes a universalizing project that occurred in the Fitzroy Valley region of the Kimberley in the 1970s. Walmajarri people brought the ancestors of local totemic cults together to travel over vast areas along newly interconnected tracks in order to eliminate religious particularism and unify themselves organizationally (Kolig, 1981, pp. 37–43).

Anticolonial movements in Australia occurred most commonly at colonial frontiers—places of extreme violence and dissymmetries of power (Carey and Roberts, 2002). These politico-religious cults were precipitated by failed military resistance, massacres, and catastrophic population decline brought about by introduced diseases, falling birthrates, and high infant mortality. Through participation in religious ritual, Aboriginal people attempted to mobilize powerful ancestral forces to engulf and destroy the colonial invaders.

THE BAIAME *WAGANNA*, 1833–1835. The Baiame *waganna* (dance ceremony) was one of the earliest anticolonial movements recorded in Australia. This traveling cult was precipitated by a catastrophic smallpox epidemic (1830–1831) followed by continuing population decimation. European men on the colonial frontier were usurping Aboriginal men's sexual rights to women. The Wiradjuri spirit beings, Baiame and Tharrawiirgal, were emasculated by European colonial penetration into Wellington Valley. Tharrawiirgal lost his tomahawk (and sent smallpox into the valley in revenge). One of Baiame's wives was stolen by a white man, and he was angered into retaliatory action (Carey and Roberts, 2002, pp. 822–843).

The Baiame *waganna* was performed to access the power of Baiame (who had defeated Tharrawiirgal in an earlier altercation), to protect Wiradjuri people against further smallpox depredations, to enforce nasal septum piercing, and to direct Baiame's anger toward European men and the Aboriginal women who consorted with them. Hilary M. Carey and David Roberts describe the Baiame *waganna* as a "nativist" or "revitalist" movement (Carey and Roberts, 2002, p. 823).

THE MULUNGA CULT, 1890S–1930S. Tony Swain (1993, p. 224–233) traces the Mulunga cult to the Kalkatungu wars in northwest Queensland and the wholesale slaughter of the Kalkadoon warriors in 1884. The traveling cult that spread into South Australia and Central Australia excited the research interests of Walter Roth, Baldwin Spencer, Otto Siebert, and Adolphus Elkin. Performers in this cult not only reenacted the bloody confrontation between colonists and Aborigines but danced out the desired end of this interaction. Dances showed Aborigines being shot down by whites until the "Grandmother," a powerful ancestral being, emerged from the sea to swallow the whites, gesturing in every direction to show that the destruction of whites would be complete. Leaders of the Mulunga cult exhorted adherents to follow the ancestral laws, especially marriage and sexual relations (Carey and Roberts, 2002, p. 835). Siebert saw in the Mulunga cult millenarian and nativistic themes (Kolig, 1989, p. 79).

BANDJALANG PENTECOSTALISM. Bandjalang people on the northern coast of New South Wales were first evangelized by the fundamentalist United Aborigines Mission (UAM). In 1952, as a result of UAM missionary shortages, Aboriginal UAM adherents transferred their allegiance to a Pentecostal fellowship. The Christian God merged with the ancestral being Ngathunggali, the Virgin Mary with Ngathunggali's wife, and Jesus Christ with their son Balugan (Calley, 1964, pp. 50–53). Beginning in the 1950s Bandjalang people developed some elaborate foundation stories from biblical and Dreaming sources. For example, Ngathunggali-God landed on the north coast of New South Wales in a bark canoe. His people, the Bandjalang, are the descendants of Jacob, who set out from the Holy Land in a sailing ship that was wrecked off the coast of New South Wales. The crew safely reached shore, built a bark canoe, and continued on their journey. Twelve tribes of Aboriginal people developed from these "founding fathers." The Bandjalang identified themselves as one of the "lost" tribes of Israel (Calley, 1955, pt. 2, pp. 6–7).

The Old Law was a special revelation of Ngathunggali-God to the Bandjalang. God spoke to Aboriginal people through the clever men. Balugan-Christ was killed by enemies (white people) at Kempsey and is buried on the Arakoon racecourse, from whence he will return to the Bandjalang. The white people, prosperous and powerful, crucified Christ and are rejected by God. The Bandjalang, humble and poor like Christ, are the beloved of God. Aborginal people will go to heaven and white people to hell (Calley, 1964, pp. 52–53).

THE DINGARRI-KURANGGARA SONG CYCLE. New politico-religious developments in northern Australia have been studied by the scholars Ronald M. Berndt, A. Lommel, Erich Kolig, K. P. Koepping, Helmut Petri, Gisela Petri-Odermann, Deborah Bird Rose, Tony Swain, and others. The celebrated Gunabibi traveling cult originated in the Victoria or Roper River regions of the Northern Territory and spread into Arnhem Land, Central Australia, and East Kimberley (Berndt, 1951, p. 233; Meggitt, 1955, p. 401; Petri, 1954, p. 265). In Central Australia and East Kimberley the cult developed into the Gunabibi-Gadjeri complex with masculinist forms and ideologies (Meggitt, 1966, pp. 84–86). This cult complex merged with the wandering Dingarri-Kuranggara song cycle of the Western Desert. Dingarri traditions celebrate the long migrations of Dingarri ancestors through the Western Desert. These migrations ended at Dingarri, a mythical location. The Kuranggara cult emanated highly dangerous life forces that originated in Anangu Pitjantjatjara country.

The Dingarri-Kuranggara song cycle brought the desert *jarnba*, spirits of the dead, into regional prominence. Visible only to initiates, *jarnba* were tall, skeleton-like spirits with menacing faces, horns, and long sexual organs. They could see what was hidden and were able to kill at a distance using sacred boards as rifles that they pointed at their enemies. As the pastoral industry penetrated into the desert regions, the *jarnba*—with ferocious appetites and raging thirst—were sucking the land dry (Koepping, 1988, pp. 401–402; Kolig, 1989, p. 84; Mol, 1982, p. 67). They also acted as fearsome guardians of the anticolonial desert cults, exhibiting fierce aggression toward European encroachments (Petri, 1968, p. 254).

Within the northern pastoral industry, in a context of structural inequality and exploitation, Aboriginal people continued to carry out ceremonial responsibilities for land and people. Aboriginal workers conducted complex negotiations with employers over generations in order to maintain a fragile security of land tenure. People adapted their cultural practices to the seasonal cycle of pastoral work, holding their large ceremonies during the wet season layoff period. However, employers failed to reciprocate in kind. They provided meager accommodation and in the early years paid workers only in clothing, kits, and rations. Even in later years they paid poor wages, avoided compensation payments, and neglected the health of their workers (McGrath, 1997, pp. 3–7).

In the 1930s the Dingarri-Kuranggara cult began to engage with new forms of power to counter the catastrophic effects of colonization. Cultists trafficked in the deadly power of the introduced diseases leprosy and syphilis. The *jarnba* leader had access to European forms of power-knowledge and lived in a white man's house; there he grew leprosy and syphilis from poisonous weeds in his backyard. This toxic power was ritually transferred into ceremonial boards that were distributed throughout Northwest Australia by motor vehicle, steamer, and airplane (Lommel, 1950, p. 23). The song cycle also predicted a reversal of Indigenous gender relationships. At this time women were becoming powerful and dangerous because they associated with white colonial forces and looked like half-castes; it was believed they would live on after death as powerful ghosts, that they would take control of cultic life, and that men would have to do the everyday work (Koepping, 1988, pp. 402–409).

The Dingarri-Kuranggara movement was strongly aggressive and antiwhite, yet it was also an attempt to incorporate European colonial power-knowledge into Indigenous cultic forms. Colonized people do more than just conform to or resist hegemonic forms and practices. They may creatively manipulate the forces of colonization by appropriating and transforming its signifiers according to their own political and cultural needs. Petri (1954, p. 268) regarded the cult as the reaction of younger Aborigines to the increasing incapacity of elders to rally against European encroachment. Cult organizers were named "clerks," "policemen," and "cooks." Petri and Lommel's descriptions of the movement contain nativistic, revivalistic, and antiwhite themes. Kolig finds millenarian, apocalyptic, and cargoistic themes in the Kuranngara cult (Kolig, 1989, pp. 84–85).

THE WOAGAIA-JINIMIN MOVEMENT. Modes of resistance to colonial incursions vary from ritual performance to overtly political (in the Western sense) forms of struggle. From the 1930s Aboriginal people on remote pastoral stations organized to have their working conditions improved. Most governments supported employers' refusal to grant Aborigines award wages, and it was not until the late 1940s that Aboriginal workers attracted significant union support. In 1946, assisted by Don McLeod, a white bore sinker, Aboriginal cattlemen walked off twenty-two stations in the Pilbara. During this strike a number of agitators were jailed. In the mid- to late 1940s McLeod organized Aboriginal mining cooperatives along socialist principles, and in 1949 "the Pindan mob" formed their own company in order to control financial enterprises on their land (McGrath, 2001, p. 144).

Central Australian and West Kimberley people at this time were the recipients of intensive missionization. The Lutheran Church established its missions with Arrernte people of the Macdonnell Ranges, Haasts Bluff, and Simpson Desert in 1877. The Australian Baptist Missionary Society began mission work with Warlpiri people of Central Australia in 1947. Walmajarri people of the northern Great Sandy Desert were influenced by both the United Aborigines Mission (at Fitzroy Crossing from 1952) and the Catholic Church (at La Grange from 1955).

In 1963 the Dingarri-Kuranggara traditions merged with the new Woagaia-Jinimin movement developing out of the Gadjeri-Woagaia cult complex of Central Australia. *Woagaia* is a generic term for several cults introduced into the Kimberley by Warlpiri, Gurindji, Ngadi, and other Central Australian groups (Kolig, 1989, p. 124). On a mission station in Central Australia, Jinimin, the precocious son of an old venerable ancestral being, revealed himself to Aboriginal people as Jesus Christ. This epiphany occurred during the performance of a Woagaia ceremony. Jinimin-Jesus proclaimed himself the protector and preserver of ancestral laws (Petri and Petri-Odermann, 1988, p. 393).

The black-and-white-skinned Jesus favored Aborigines over whites. He proclaimed that the land from the beginning had belonged to Aboriginal people and that he would help them regain their land. The Dingarri ancestors were returning from the mythic land Dingarri in the east. By participating in the Woagaia cult, Aboriginal people would gain the power and strength needed to rally against the colonizers. In order to succeed in their campaign, they must rigorously adhere to ancestral laws. If they did so, the European invaders would be defeated, and Holy Water would fall from heaven to drown all white people and turn Aboriginal skins white. Aborigines would thus regain sovereignty over their lands by becoming white-skinned (Koepping, 1988, p. 404; Kolig, 1989, p. 86; Petri and Petri-Odermann, 1988, p. 393).

In June 1966 stockmen walked off Newcastle Waters Station, followed by two hundred Gurindji workers at Vesteys Wave Hill station. Vesteys, an English cattle company, owned ten stations across the Northern Territory and East Kimberley, controlling a pastoral empire almost the size of Tasmania. One of the richest families in Britain, the Vesteys made more than a billion pounds in the global meat trade, and yet their Aboriginal workers were paid a pittance and lived in substandard conditions. The Gurindji strike that began as a demand for equal wages and working conditions emerged as the politics of an oppressed people who had never relinquished sovereignty over their land. The Gurindji mounted a land claim over their traditional lands and the right to run their community free from exploitation by the Vesteys and from "welfare" control (Jennett, 2001, p. 122).

By 1966 the Woagaia-Jinimin cult—proclaimed as "God's Law"—had spread to the west. Walmajarri people had been migrating in a northwesterly direction from desert areas three hundred kilometers southeast of Fitzroy Crossing since the beginning of the twentieth century. Under Walmajarri direction, Dingarri ancestors were "returning" from the desert to their "true" country in the northwest. The Dreamtime groups were marching along underground routes (which were used to traverse the country of strangers) with camels to carry their *darrugu* (secret-sacred objects). Their leader and protector on this journey was Jinimin-Jesus. The Woagaia-Jinimin traveling cult was used to legitimize the northwesterly migration of Walmajarri people and their establishment of land claims in new areas. It was also an attempt by people who had been marginalized by European colonization to find again "the centre of the world" (Petri and Petri-Odermann, 1970, pp. 251–272).

In the northwestern coastal areas Jinimin-Jesus was black-skinned. Missionaries were accused of falsifying God's message to keep Aboriginal people in bondage. Apocalyptic visions of an end-time deluge continued, and a new Noah appeared at Fitzroy Crossing. This Walmajarri man had discovered a gold-laden ark, sent from heaven by Jinimin, that had been hidden in the land since the Dreaming. At Myroodah-Looma, an Aboriginal "Bible" revealed the ark to be a refuge from the flood that would destroy all whites and the basis of a new Aboriginal world that would be superior to European colonial society (Kolig, 1981, p. 160, 1988, p. 167, 1989, p. 119; Petri and Petri-Odermann, 1988, pp. 393–394).

The 1969 Pastoral Award that granted Aboriginal workers equal wages was followed immediately by a pastoralist countermove to remove Aboriginal people from stations. The pastoralists' strategy was to evict Aboriginal people before they were forced to grant them land or fuller access rights. The 1970s thus saw a new dispossession of pastoral Aborigines, with many forced to live in camps on the fringes of towns. The expulsion coincided with a rise in Aboriginal political consciousness (McGrath, 2001, p. 144).

The Woagaia-Jinimin movement combined Don McLeod's sociorevolutionary ideas, an emerging Land Rights politic, and apocalyptic biblical themes. In ceremonial performance (under the protection of Jinimin-Jesus) the cultists appropriated dangerous colonial powers and harnessed them to their own cause. Apocalyptic forces were projected toward the colonizers, while Noah's ark provided safety and security for Aboriginal people. Erich Kolig (1988, p. 166) sees chiliastic features in the Noah's ark story. For Helmut Petri and Gisela Petri-Oderman (1988, pp. 391–394), the Woagaia-Jinimin cult was a new nativistic-millenarian movement with strong revivalist and revitalistic tendencies.

JULURRU TRAVELING CULT. The Julurru cult that developed out of the Dingarri-Kuranggara and Woagaia ceremonial complexes made its first appearance in the Pilbara region. Tony Swain traces the cult to Don McLeod's Aboriginal lieutenant, who had frustrated leadership ambitions (Swain, 1993, p. 259). Malay ghosts of the sunken ship *Koombana* visited him in dreams and revealed to him their colonial adventures. Julurru—a dangerous Malay or Japanese ghost—traveled through Australia by Afghan camel trains, horse teams, cars, ships, and airplanes. He united disparate Dreaming tracks, tracked wandering Dreamings, and brought them to Dingarri. This fearsome warmonger was also involved in World War II airplane battles, ship sinkings, and bombing raids in Aboriginal country. Through the performance of his traveling cult, Julurru passed his military-technological power-knowledge on to Aboriginal people and asserted the equality of Aborigines and whites in Australia (Kolig, 1989, pp. 120–121; Swain, 1993, p. 261).

In the 1960s and 1970s the cult traveled up the Fitzroy River and into southern Kimberley, where "prisoners" (cult initiates) were held in "gaol" (jail) and guarded by "policemen." Dance sequences included soldier battles, airplane battles, spectacular fire dances, the bombing and sinking of ships, and appearances of Adolf Hitler (Kolig, 1989, p. 122; Swain, 1993, p. 258).

The cult reached Central Australia in the late 1970s. There Julurru assumed a pastoral guise, dressing in stockman garb with a cowboy hat and pistols. He rode a white horse or a motorbike, consumed vast amounts of alcohol, and caused vehicles to crash when drivers failed to assist Aboriginal people (Swain, 1993, pp. 254–255). The cult was embraced by Warlpiri people at Lajamanu during a period of political empowerment—in 1976 the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976 was passed, and in

1978 Gurindji and Warlpiri people were granted ninety-five thousand square kilometers of land south of Wave Hill. However, the 1979 Julurru ceremony at Lajamanu was attended by a Noonkanbah contingent that resulted in increased understanding of Aboriginal powerlessness in the face of mining interests and increased cynicism about government goodwill toward Aborigines (Wild, 1981, p. 3). Aboriginal people from twenty-six communities assembled at Noonkanbah in April 1980 to prevent the land being mined, engaging in direct political action and in the performance of politico-religious ceremonies.

Stephen Wild sees the Julurru cult, at least in part, as an alliance-forming mechanism operating between Western Desert, Kimberley, and Central Desert Aborigines in the wake of land rights successes and failures. At Lajamanu the cult was managed by relatively young Aboriginal administrators who were politically aware, skilled in negotiations with Europeans, and in control of community transport and communications. The aim of cult leaders at Lajamanu was to replace the old ceremonies with the new (Wild, 1981, p. 14, 1987, p. 565).

Local and regional Dreaming stories were unable to account for the devastation of European colonization. Traveling cults that trafficked in strange and mysterious life forces were unable to generate powers sufficiently dangerous to expel the colonizers. Aboriginal people appropriated narratives available to them from the colonists' repertoires. The Bible—a colonial document—was an excellent source of stories about catastrophe and devastation. The Old Testament God punished wrongdoers with plagues, famines, floods, wars, exile, and slavery. Aboriginal cultists incorporated increasingly dangerous colonial powers into their ceremonial performances and, under the protection of powerful spirit beings, unleashed apocalyptic forces onto their enemies.

More recently Aboriginal people have appropriated "nonreligious" colonial narratives, such as Captain Cook and Ned Kelly stories, to construct discourses of resistance but have used these stories in religious-mythic ways. Aboriginal narratives featuring Captain Cook as the major agent of colonization have been studied in northern Australia by Kolig, Rose, Chips Mackinolty, and Paddy Wainburranga. Captain Cook, like the Dreaming beings, was a lawmaker, but he refused to recognize Aboriginal law. The prior occupancy and ownership of the country was obvious: "You [Captain Cook] been look around, see the land now. People been here, really got their own culture. All around Australia . . . we the one on the land. Sitting on the land, Aboriginal people. You got nothing, all you government . . . we got all the culture. That Dreaming place, important one" (Danaiyairi, in Rose, 1984, p. 34).

Captain Cook carried out his colonizing program by imposing his own immoral law over the top of Aboriginal law. Aboriginal country, its products, and human labor were appropriated by Europeans to enhance their own political and economic well-being—to "make themselves strong" at Aboriginal people's expense. This particular Captain Cook narrative locates responsibility for colonization not in the spirit realm but in European law and practice and finds this law immoral (Rose, 1984, p. 35, 1988, p. 371).

If Captain Cook has been a negative presence in most Aboriginal colonial narratives, Ned Kelly has been given a different focus. In Yarralin stories Ned Kelly and his band of angels came down from the sky. Friends of Aboriginal people, they traveled around the Northern Territory and the Kimberley, shooting the police. Kelly's life story has been conflated with biblical stories about God, Noah, and Jesus. For example, Kelly created dry land after the flood and fed many Aboriginal people with one billy of tea and a small damper. And in one version of the story, he was killed by Captain Cook, buried, and on the third day rose from the dead, ascending to the sky to the accompaniment of a great noise and the shaking of the earth (Rose, 1988, p. 369, 1992, pp. 182–184).

Colonial and postcolonial narratives continue to be generated by Aboriginal people in contemporary Australia. They construct histories of the world by incorporating Dreaming stories, "the old people's stories," and their own life histories into biblical and Australian colonial frameworks (see Beckett, 1993; McDonald, 2001). They (like all human beings) appropriate stories and characters from larger explanatory narratives, reworking them to fit present needs, and inserting into these frameworks their own narratives of the self. These narrative sources are subject to readings, misreadings, rereadings, and interpretations as Aboriginal people move away from colonial towns and reserves to develop their own independent communities. In northern Australia:

> [Aboriginal people's] main goal is a form of segregation that will enable them to achieve the necessary measure of detachment from White hegemony and thus once again give them control over their own existence . . . a separation willed and desired by a politically powerless group so that they may be able to live their own lives, at their own pace, and realizing their own ideals. (Kolig, 1989, p. 33)

SEE ALSO Christianity, article on Christianity in Australia and New Zealand.

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HEATHER MCDONALD (2005)

AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS RELIGIONS: ABORIGINAL CHRISTIANITY

Aboriginal Theology was a radical movement beginning in the late 1960s and becoming more prominent in the early 1970s. The movement pushed the barriers forward toward the creation of an Indigenous theology that leaned heavily towards Biblical social justice. It was an autonomous post-Western, post-denominational movement that emphasized prophetic obedience, action and liberation. It attempted to hold up Aboriginality (e.g. identity, culture and spirituality) as the guiding principle, and to maintain traditional Aboriginal religion by drawing up Ancestral Narratives [Dreamings], ceremonies, rituals and laws as the divine grounding for contemporary faith and identity. It held traditional practices such as ceremonies and stories as potent reminders of important cosmic and temporal truths. And it embraced Aboriginal Dreaming as a timeless guide for active engagement.

Out of the many Aboriginal Christian leaders involved in the development of Aboriginal Theology, the three most remembered by Aboriginal Christians today are Pastor Don Brady, the Rev. Charles Harris and Pastor David Kirk; these men are considered by Aboriginal Christians as the pioneers of Aboriginal Theology and Church (with reference to the Aborigines Inland Mission, United Aborigines Mission, and the Methodist Church in Queensland). These Aboriginal leaders condemned the dominant white society's subjugation and exploitation of Aboriginal people and also raised important issues of justice and equality. Further, they condemned white missionaries as destructive influences upon the Aboriginal peoples and cultures. In this way they mixed deep faith with political commitment. The impact that these three leaders had on Aboriginal Christian understanding was radical. Historically, missionaries (both Catholic and Protestant) had determined that Aboriginal access to God only could be obtained through them. Now presented to the Aboriginals was a different image of access—a direct connection to God. Aboriginal leaders made clear for all Aboriginal Christians that they themselves had direct access to God, and that their relationship to Jesus Christ was established a long time before the white invasion of their land, through their lived experience with God from time immemorial.

THE REV. DON BRADY. The Rev. Don Brady was a pivotal figure in Aboriginal religious, social and political movements. Indeed, Aboriginal people recognized that his life and ministry were pivotal to the development of Aboriginal Theology. He was the first Aboriginal church leader to lead political marches, calling for the abolition of the racist and oppressive *Queensland Aborigines Act,* which subjected Aboriginal people to inhumane social, economic and health conditions, controlling where they could live and work, whom they could marry, and how far they could advance in school. Brady's ministry was to influence many generations that followed.

Pastor Brady was from Palm Island, the former prison compound in far north Queensland, which was used to contain and control Aboriginal people. He came to the Lord there, and eventually was amongst the first of the male Aboriginal students to receive training through the Aborigines Inland Mission (AIM). He married fellow student Darlene Willis, of Cherbourg, another Aboriginal mission in southern Queensland. They ministered together within AIM for a number of years.

Pastor Brady was a gifted man, who was able to see through the lack of effectiveness of mission practice, program and policy. In the early 1960s, he began a further two years of theological training in the Methodist College at Kangaroo Point. In the late 1960s, Brady worked with the Methodist Church in Queensland in the heart of Brisbane, at Spring Hill. He was enormously popular, particularly among his own Aboriginal people, because his ministry was (w)holistic. Brady was concerned, not only about the spiritual side, but also the physical and emotional sides of people. He had a way of connecting with people—of seeing brokenness and being able to heal it. The appeal of his ministry extended far beyond the bounds of his own Aboriginal community, as many non-Aboriginal people were also drawn to his charisma.

Pastor Brady's prophetic stance grew out of his experiences overseas. He had won a Churchill Fellowship, and had traveled to several communities in the United States and begun to sense a new direction. In his own words, "In Chicago I heard a call, 'Don arise, you are going to do a new thing'" (Brady, 1971, p. 39).

Brady was the first of all the Aboriginal pastors and leaders to combine the application of the Gospel with Aboriginal cultural practice. There were two things for which he stood out: (1) he was right at the cutting edge of "Gospel and culture"; and (2) his emphasis on social justice issues. His ministry demonstrated the priority of Christ for the poor—Christ's identification with the poor. It was Brady's particular ministry in relation to these two factors that worked so well. He tried to bring Aboriginal culture into the church, which enormously affirmed Aboriginal people. Aboriginal church leader, the Rev. Graham Paulson, remembers Brady's influence, and states, "Brady was right at the cutting edge of Methodist ministry with urban Aboriginal people" (Paulson, 1995).

Pastor Brady saw the poverty of his people and heard their cries. He felt that God was on the side of the oppressed and was leading his people out of bondage. He questioned how he could minister to the spiritual needs of Aboriginal people, when they were enslaved by Australian legislation that oppressed them and literally denied them their human dignity and rights. Brady earned the title, "The Punching Parson," by simply going around and picking up those of his homeless people in the parks and other places who were vulnerable to arrest and further abuse by the system. He took them back to a refuge—sometimes having to "knock them out" first, but they always thanked him the next morning. That sort of work, so far as the church was concerned, had never been done before in the history of mission amongst the Aboriginal people.

Brady was a catalyst, in the sense that he created a Black church, challenged the institutions, and began a Black movement—one that was to be felt across all of Australia. He lit the fire in people; he lit the spark, the will to fight, and the need for them to struggle for justice. He instilled in people the hope, the will to live. Brady revealed to Aboriginal Christians that the God of justice, who freed the Israelites from the bondage of Egyptian rule, also was with the Aboriginal people as they struggled for freedom from Western oppression, racist laws and imperialism. Together with other secular Aboriginal movements (such as the Aboriginal Land Rights Movement) throughout the country, Brady brought the force of his Black Church with him, led by the conviction of equality and freedom for all. Black people began to share in the hope that God was on their side, and that God would send the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, to be their strength, hope and courage in the face of the racism inflicted upon them by the white Australian society. He raised the consciousness of his people—that Christ came and died for them, and they too were free, and inheritors of the Kingdom. The pressures on Brady were enormous, because he was the lone voice in the Methodist Church at that time, saying things that Aboriginal people had never heard before.

Brady questioned the political system (such as the Department of Native Affairs in Brisbane), and other policies in his concern for the people, and raised a number of social justice questions. In the process, the conservatives and whites in the Methodist Church began to distance themselves from him. He found himself more and more isolated by the system that had affirmed him from the very beginning—that is, until he began to raise questions of justice in terms of social issues. Increasingly, Brady found himself a lonely and deserted leader. Also, from his conservative beginnings in AIM, some of his former colleagues were sniping at him as well. They could not understand his political leanings and were trying to spiritualize away all the political, social and economic issues.

Brady's belief in doing and bringing the Gospel through Christ's action led to severe repercussions. He was spiritually and emotionally shattered. The church pulled back and 'defrocked' him, and his status and the basis for his drive in the community—that which gave him the basis for justice and morality and integrity—was pulled away from him.

Brady gave his life for what he believed, and in obedience to what God called him to do. And, even though the church turned against him and tried to silence and discredit him, the legacy of his ministry was to be continued and made visible in the lives and ministries of those who were to follow. Brady's efforts were not wasted; on the contrary, his influence lives on in those who have the courage and the conviction to carry the cross today. David Thompson, a lifelong friend of Pastor Brady, describes him as "a man ahead of his time," and "a man of strength, character and vision, who laid the foundations for the future" (Thompson, 1995).

PASTOR DAVID KIRK. Pastor David Kirk was another pivotal figure in the development of an Aboriginal organization-fellowship. He grew up in Cherbourg, the mission compound in southeast Queensland. He, like others during his time, grew up under the oppressive authority of the *Queensland Aborigines Act.*

Kirk came to the Lord in Cherbourg, under the ministry of an Aboriginal preacher, Herbie Fisher, and entered the Bible College at Singleton, in N.S.W., in the mid-1950s. He worked with Howard Miles—who later became president of AIM in the Northern Territory—and after he was married, he worked at Caroona, in central New South Wales, with his wife, Dawn Dates. Kirk served for many years with AIM, and the highlight of his ministry was the development of his work at Cherbourg, which he built from nothing under the previous white missionary, to the point where the church became the dominant social institution in the area. There were many operations and programs that had their central focus either in or from the church or from the Christians, and the church was continuously packed. At Cherbourg, he was interested in upgrading secular education, because Queensland's Department of Native Affairs policies still had not changed since his youth. He worked with the community in social programs, toward the improvement of the quality of life of people within Cherbourg.

In the early to mid-1960s, Kirk was asked to serve as Deputy Principal at the Bible College in Singleton. His commitment to social justice was visible through his work of trying to change the system from within. He did not see Aboriginal people being empowered by the system, as there were no Aboriginal leaders participating in the decision-making bodies of the church. They were not in positions of status, nor in positions of power; they were continuously oppressed and kept down by the mission. Kirk felt that because it was called the Aborigines Inland Mission, those whom AIM had trained—the indigenous people themselves—should be at the forefront of running the mission. He spearheaded the drive for as long as he could, before finally leaving the mission. The confrontation was so great that the Aboriginal people and the non-Aboriginal people decided to go their own ways.

Ultimately, at a meeting of the Aboriginal people at Cherbourg twelve to eighteen months later, the Aboriginal Convention decided to form the Australian Aboriginal Evangelical Fellowship. Unbeknownst to them, Kirk's colleagues had been aware of this movement and were leading their own counter-movement amongst the United Aborigines Mission (UAM), a sister Mission of AIM in Western Australia. Both of these had worked together in the initial stages at La Perouse, in Sydney. The Aboriginal Conference in Western Australia formed the Aboriginal Evangelical Fellowship. Within one week of each other, and without prior notice, these two Evangelical Fellowship organizations, independently of each other, had arrived at the same name, with almost the same mandate—one in the east and one in the west. In 1968, they began joint conferences and, finally, in 1970, decided to merge the groups, and formulated the national umbrella, the Aboriginal Evangelical Fellowship of Australia (AEF).

Kirk sought the development of the Aboriginal Church by Indigenous principles. Up until this time he could not see the church being self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating. However, he began to see evangelism spread within the Aboriginal community (self-propagation), and see the beginnings of self-support. Australian Aboriginals were and still are at the bottom of the ladder of socio-economic development, and what concerned him most, was that the Aboriginal people had no power of decision-making. How could they get out of this mess, if they could not decide for themselves? The teaching of Roland Allen's book, *The Indigenous Church,* was the driving and motivating force for Kirk. He sought to employ the principles of Roland Allen within Cherbourg, but when he went back into the mission the missionaries continued to hold onto control and would not give up their power base.

In 1978, Kirk, along with others, worked to prepare the property and program to become a Bible College. Kirk saw that the mission's policies and programs were not working in truly liberating the Aboriginal people. It was only bringing them so far, but still keeping them in bondage within the mission system. What Kirk wanted was true autonomy. The mission taught that the truly Indigenous church was to be self-governing, but it would not allow the Aboriginal people the opportunity to govern themselves within this system. This caused Kirk to lead his people against the oppressive system. Kirk saw the hypocrisy of the mission, on the one hand teaching self-government in its training program at local church level, and on the other not letting self-government go through all of the other levels of the church's bureaucracy. The whites held on to power within the decision-making and management processes, and marginalized the Aboriginal people. He saw their Westernizing within the context of their missionizing as racism—a form of racism that was very subtle and that they had systematically perpetuated against Aboriginal people for 80 to 90 years, literally dominating all aspects of their lives.

Further, Kirk saw the mission getting money in the name of Aboriginal people, and Aboriginals not being the direct beneficiaries of this income. It was mostly going into building up the mission bureaucracies in which Aboriginal people had no part. He led the charge against the mission, and led the breakaway with the AEF.

Where he sought empowerment for the indigenous people through the establishment of their own churches and institutions, Kirk, however, did not see the need for the development of an Indigenous Theology. He thought that through Aboriginal control, he had achieved indigenization; but, instead, what had in fact been done was the creation of a Black bureaucracy founded upon white theology, missiology, ideology and misogyny. The only thing indigenous about this move was the black people who controlled it. What they all failed to see was they had all internalized their own oppression, as they were Aboriginal people thinking, acting and speaking white. They had not seen the need to incorporate into this new structure, or into the churches, their own identity, culture and theology. Paulson's assessment of Kirk's ministry was that "he was still applying Western theology to Aboriginal situations, rather than conceptualizing a new framework for theology" (Paulson, 1995). Kirk affirmed his culture and identity, but saw these as secondary and separate to his focus. While Kirk had not constructed a theology of liberation, he nevertheless had radicalized the mission. Kirk believed that Aboriginal people should govern their own Christian lives, institutions and theological education, be the preachers and interpreters of the Gospel message in their own churches, and determine the mission and evangelism of and to their own people.

After the first ten years, he began to suffer isolation as some of his colleagues questioned "where he was going" and "where he was leading AEF." Coming with a more conservative theology, they sought to impose their viewpoints. Kirk saw this imposition as detrimental to the cause of pushing ahead for an Indigenous Church. Eventually, as a result of this radical push, Kirk suffered repercussions. Colleagues wrote letters to him, advising that they were cutting themselves off from him because they felt he was too radical. The white missionaries pulled back, accusing Kirk of racism and separatism; they then used their influence over his Aboriginal colleagues to do likewise. Both began to ridicule him together. It was when his own people turned against him, that Kirk found nothing left for which to live. In 1986, feeling so abandoned, Pastor David Kirk took his own life. Kirk's ministry was cut short due to the overwhelming heartache of leadership under these conditions.

THE REV. CHARLES HARRIS. The Rev. Charles Harris was a third pivotal figure—the Founder of the Uniting Aboriginal and Islander Christian Congress, and the visionary behind the 1988 March for Justice, Freedom and Hope.

The Rev. Harris was born in Ingham, in north Queensland, during the Depression. He grew up on the fringes of white towns during the time of the *Queensland Aborigines Act* and the "White Australia Policy" (this policy excluded non-Europeans from entry into Australia on the basis of race). Eventually, his father moved the family to the bush near Victoria Station, where they lived in a small "house" with palm tree floorboards, kerosene tin walls and roof, and hessian sugar bags for partitions. The eight children, four boys and four girls, kept warm during the cold winters by wearing the hessian bags. The family lived on what they were able to plant (yam, taro, sweet potato) or keep (fowl), and on the scraps of his mother's cane farmer boss. The children walked two and a half miles to school each day, where they could only afford to have damper with treacle (a syrup). Young Charles would watch the white children eat their nicely cut packed lunches, while he sat over in a corner where no one could see his meager damper and treacle. It was at school that Harris first realized the power of racism to create the hunger and poverty he and his family were experiencing.

During the 1970s and 1980s, Harris completed nearly four years of study in conservative, white, Western theological colleges (including Nungalinya, Wontulp-Bi-Buya and the College in Brisbane), where he remained unaware of the issues of justice and struggle.

In the 1970s, the Rev. Charles Harris followed Brady at the ministry in Brisbane, taking up the mantle of direct ministry with the Aboriginal people at Musgrave Park. His work continued the prophetic stands for justice, eventually culminating in his vision of the Uniting Aboriginal and Islander Christian Congress in 1985. His subsequent writings reveal a true passion and "thirst" for justice.

When he came to work with Pastor Don Brady in the inner city suburbs of Brisbane and the centre at Paddington, however, he encountered a reality that shocked and changed him. While Harris was sitting with the alcoholics in Musgrave Park, God gave him a vision of his own people "crushed beyond hopelessness, just drinking themselves to death, having no hope for the future" (Pattel-Gray, p. 122), and he felt the pain and suffering of the Aboriginal people. There, he met not the imported God, but the Aboriginal God—the One that called him to a radical new vision of a Gospel which liberates, and one that could "break through any barrier and bridge any gap that existed not only in the Aboriginal community, but also in the world" (Pattel-Gray, p. 122). Harris was made aware that the Bible could address current issues, those that affected his people. "Unless the Gospel does address and can address the [current] situation . . . the current issues, then it's not the Gospel to me. It's definitely not the Gospel, it's something that man has imposed upon his fellow man" (Pattel-Gray, p. 122).

In 1980, Harris was ordained to the Christian ministry in the Uniting Church in Australia. During this period, Harris had a vision of a Black, autonomous church, with its own leadership and ministry—a place for Aboriginal people to gather and to share their hopes, faith and ministry. In 1985, as the visionary behind this initiative and under his direction, Harris founded the Uniting Aboriginal and Islander Christian Congress (UAICC), under the umbrella of the Uniting Church in Australia (UCA). What Kirk had envisioned, Harris made a reality for Aboriginal Christians of the UCA. Harris' achievements included not only separate organizational structures, but also securing the economics to sustain national and various state entities throughout Australia. No longer would Aboriginal ministry be in the hands of the West; now, it would be secured firmly in the hands of Aboriginal people—fulfilling the goal of self-determination so sought by Harris. His accomplishments became the impetus behind the Aboriginal Christian movement within the church for a separate Aboriginal ecclesiastical structure, yet with an equal place in the life of the whole church.

During his time of leadership as President of the UAICC, Harris had yet another vision: a March for Justice, Freedom and Hope, which would be a protest against the white Australian bicentennial celebration. This march was to go down in history as the largest protest ever seen. On January 26, 1988—Invasion Day—despite government and general community insensitivity towards the Aboriginal call for a *Year of Mourning,* most of Australia marked a "year of celebrations." For whites, this date (Australia Day) commemorated the claiming of Australia for the "English Crown" by the first British governor of New South Wales. Nevertheless, Aboriginal people managed to draw national and international attention to the hypocrisy of the bicentenary with the March. On Invasion Day—*and for the first time*—thousands of Aboriginals from across the nation met in Sydney and marched to mourn past and present injustices against Aboriginal people and to celebrate the Survival of the Aboriginal Race. As a popular song by an Aboriginal rock band said: *"We Have Survived!"* On that day 20,000 Aboriginals marched for justice, and another 30,000 non-Aboriginals came to march in solidarity with them.

During and after the March, the Aboriginal and white leadership turned against Harris as a result of his radical leadership, which led to a conservative backlash among his peers (both Aboriginal and white), his colleagues feeling threatened by such radicalism. Moves were made to oust Harris from his position.

In the closing months of 1988, while attending a church conference in Taiwan, the Rev. Harris suffered a severe heart attack. Complications led to his being ill for several years afterwards, and in 1993 he passed away. In one of his last interviews, Harris stated, "the ultimate vision is that once again my people, Aboriginal people, the Aboriginal & Islander Nation, will walk tall and again find their dignity that they had before 1788. As they are able to do that they can make a contribution to any world community, any nation throughout the world, any society" (Reid, pp. 19–21).

Brady, Kirk and Harris were pivotal in facilitating the significant developments that were to follow. All three walked the narrow road, and all three paid a high price for their radical stance on justice and their challenges to oppressive racist institutions. Their vision, obedience and leadership pioneered a new way of understanding Christianity, which still is evolving (alongside and in conflict with other, more conservative ways).

OTHER LEADERS. Following the significant achievements of Brady, Kirk and Harris, Aboriginal people saw the rise of several Aboriginal Christian leaders who would also take up the gauntlet and continue to struggle against white oppression of Aboriginal communities, in the hope of securing the equal rights and liberation so desired by Aboriginal people. Yet, this struggle quite often came at a high price.

In 1975, Patrick Dodson became the first Aboriginal person to be ordained a Roman Catholic priest. Like Brady and Harris, his stands for justice were far too threatening for the hierarchical, institutionalized church, and he left both the priesthood and the church. After his departure, Dodson served as Director of the Central Land Council, Commissioner of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody, and Chairperson of the (Federal) Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation–all positions which reflect his continuing commitment to justice and equality for all peoples. His writings include: "This Land Our Mother," in the *CCJP Occasional Paper;* and, "The Land Our Mother, the Church Our Mother," in the *Compass Theology Review.*

Others have followed these great leaders with a strong theology and a passion for justice. Father Dave Passi, a Torres Strait Islander priest of the Malo group (which is the traditional religion of the Torres Strait Islander people) is also a fully qualified and ordained priest of the Anglican Church of Australia. He was one of the original plaintiffs in the landmark Native Title (*Mabo*) land rights case, which shattered the white "legal fiction" that the Australian continent was *terra nullius* (or, uninhabited land—ready to be "worked" and colonized). Passi was led by his strong theological commitment to justice.

The Rev. Dhalanganda Garrawurra, of the Uniting Church in Australia, was a former Assistant to the Principal at Nungalinya Theological College in Darwin—this despite the fact that he was denied food rations by Christian missionaries when he did not go to the church on the Aboriginal Reserve as a youth.

The Rev. Trevor Holmes—also of the Uniting Church in Australia—has been at the forefront of the defense of a small parcel of Aboriginal land on the Swan River, in Perth, Western Australia. His theological stand has cost him: psychologically (he has been smeared in the media), physically (he has received death threats and, on numerous occasions, he has been beaten or arrested by police), socially (he is "unpopular" in Perth), and professionally (he is shunned in some white church circles).

Though he probably did not consider himself to be an Aboriginal Christian theologian, Kevin Gilbert nevertheless provides one of the most comprehensive critiques of Christian theology and Christianity itself. His works demonstrate vast knowledge of both the Bible and of Christianity, though he stood at the fringe of Christian hermeneutics. His sharp insights offer a major contribution to Aboriginal theology.

While "Aboriginal Theology" has been passionate about justice and the need for liberation of their people, it nevertheless has failed to address the particular concerns of oppression suffered by the Aboriginal women, youth and the disabled. Indeed, all of the theologies mentioned thus far are weighed down by Western patriarchal structures and sexist attitudes and actions. This endeavor to develop an Aboriginal systemic theology will encompass everything from Aboriginal cosmogony—the timeless oral tradition of Aboriginal Ancestral narratives to the modern written tradition of critical exegetical and hermeneutical work. The goal is to preserve the ancient wisdom of Aboriginal culture and tradition, as well as reinterpret and reformulate more recent Western theological concepts.

SEE ALSO Christianity, article on Christianity in Australia and New Zealand.

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ANNE PATTEL-GRAY (2005)

AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS RELIGIONS: HISTORY OF STUDY [FIRST EDITION]

The study of Australian Aboriginal religions has been the study of religions without a written record provided by their adherents. We depend on what outsiders to Aboriginal religion have thought worthwhile to commit to writing. Moreover the history of contact in Australia has been a sorry one in the main—Aborigines were dispossessed of land, regarded with contempt, and made socially and politically inferior. The amateur anthropologist A. W. Howitt could observe in 1880 that the frontier was often marked by a line of blood. Indeed, between the late eighteenth century, when European settlement began, and the 1920s, Aboriginal numbers fell so sharply that prophecies of race extinction were neither alarmist by some nor wishful thinking by others. After World War II, in keeping with a new policy of assimilating Aborigines to an ill-defined general Australian standard, there was a great expansion of administrative interference with them. But a more sympathetic attitude toward tradition became prevalent during the 1970s; "self-management" and "self-determination" entered common usage as policy slogans; and a few Aborigines even began to call for sovereignty. In what is now a highly politicized atmosphere, with laws passed or proposed for the grant of land rights, the protection of sacred sites, and the recognition of customary law, it can be an advantage for Aborigines to be—or to appear to be—traditional in outlook and values. It is amid such aftermaths and in such contexts that scholars (mostly anthropologists) have studied Aboriginal religion.

In the course of this strained and unhappy history a remarkable change has occurred in the appreciation of Aboriginal religion. It can best be illustrated by juxtaposing two pairs of quotations. In 1828 Roger Oldfield (pseudonym of the Reverend Ralph Mansfield) wrote that "the religion of the Aborigines, or rather their superstition, is very absurd," and in 1841 another clergyman, Lancelot Edward Threlkeld, described Aborigines as "deluded men" who, "like most ignorant savage tribes, are remarkably superstitious." But by the mid-twentieth century, a number of writers had discussed the status of Aboriginal religion more sympathetically. In 1965, the anthropologist W. E. H. Stanner referred to "the facts that have convinced modern anthropologists that the Aborigines are a deeply religious people."

Such a rise in estimation reflects growing knowledge of and deepening sympathy with Aborigines, but another important cause is the loss of confidence in the validity or usefulness of earlier criteria for distinguishing true religion from false, or religion from superstition and magic. Assertions of Aboriginal religiosity (or spirituality, as it is often called) and studies of aspects of Aboriginal religion have proliferated since the 1950s—coinciding, ironically, with a growing inclusion of Aborigines in the Australian polity and an increasing erosion of the more tangible features of traditional culture. No longer as objectively "other" as they once were, the Aborigines have become subjectively "other" through being credited with a religious dimension largely absent from the secularized society which engulfs them. It would be wrong, however, to imagine that an unbridgeable gulf has opened between earlier and later bodies of opinion. A degree of continuity can be seen even in the writings of Stanner, who worked passionately and to great effect to dispel misperceptions of Aboriginal life and thought.

The Aborigines, he wrote in 1953, have no gods, their afterlife is only a shadowy replica of worldly existence, their ethical insights are dim and coarsely textured, their concept of goodness lacks true scruple, and their many stories about the Dreaming (the far-off creative period when nature and culture were formed) are plainly preposterous, lacking logic, system, and completeness. Does this differ much from Howitt, half a century earlier, who could not see that the Aborigines had any form of religion, and who thought that the supernatural beings in whom they believed showed no trace of a divine nature (being, at most, ideal headmen living in the sky instead of on earth)? Does it differ from Howitt's contemporaries, Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen, in whose monumental works such words as *god*, *religion*, and *divinity* are conspicuous by their absence, though they saw a religious aspect in the Intichiuma, or totemic increase ceremonies, of central Australia? Yet Stanner insisted not only that Aborigines had made the longest and most difficult move toward the formation of a truly religious outlook, but that they had gone far beyond that first step.

Some of the observed particulars and some of the conclusions drawn from them are much the same as those from the turn of the century. But a good deal of the old theoretical baggage—concern with the order of appearance of magic, religion, and science, for example—has gone overboard in the course of extensive remodeling of our frameworks of perception and interpretation. That Aborigines lack certain features of the religions best known to Europeans no longer seems important. Thus the heat has left the debate over whether Baiame, Daramulun, and other such All-Fathers were supernaturalized headmen, Christian borrowings, or genuine high gods (as maintained, for example, by Spencer's contemporary, the Lutheran missionary and amateur anthropologist Carl Strehlow, regarding the Aranda of central Australia)—indeed, it is doubtful that one can still speak of a debate on this arcane topic. What does seem important is to see the world and humankind in Aboriginal terms, though it be through a glass darkly.

This new imperative has required a considerable broadening in interpretative framework. There would be general agreement with Stanner that a study may be about religion but will not be of it if any of the four categories of experience, belief, action, and purpose is neglected. Aboriginal religion, he argued, draws on a human experience of life and a creative purpose in life, and the study of it cannot, as so often thought, be equated with study of the beliefs and actions (myths and rites) of its adherents. But a deeper insight is also needed. Stanner saw myths, rites, and the images of art as "languages of the mind," beyond which one must go to reach the "metaphysic of life" by which they are cryptically invested. Few would disagree with him that anthropology has so far failed in this last and most ambitious task. There is, indeed, much still to be done in mapping the languages of the mind and in working out their interplay with one another, with the social organization of the people, and with the landscape in which Aboriginal lives are set.

RELIGION'S LUXURIANT GROWTH. Stanner suggested in 1965 that one of the best avenues of study of Aboriginal religion was through the surviving regional cults. In fact, anthropological attention has long tended to focus on them, as can be seen by the studies that Howitt and Robert Hamilton Mathews (1841–1918) made of the Bora, or initiation, ceremonies in southeast Australia and that Spencer and Gillen made of the increase and initiation ceremonies of central Australia. This tradition, as it can justly be regarded, has continued until the most recent times. Some of the more notable examples are Ronald M. Berndt's monographs on the Kunapipi and Djanggawul of northern Australia, A. P. Elkin's papers on the Maraian and Yabuduruwa, also of the north, and M. J. Meggitt's monograph on the Gadjari of central Australia, though there has also been valuable work of a more general nature, such as Catherine H. Berndt's and

Diane Bell's studies of women's religious beliefs and observances.

The popularity of the cult for study stems from the fact that it is in many ways a natural whole—it seems to be self-bounding. Commonly it has a name (Kunapipi or Kuringal, for example), includes a sequence of ritual episodes—the performance of which may stretch over several weeks—and usually one or more cycles of songs, and has attached to it a body of myths and tangible symbols, such as a musical instrument—gong or bull-roarer, for example—which may stand for a mythical founder of the cult and be known by the same name as the cult. An outsider who attends a performance may well be reminded of European plays, operas, or ballets, though it would be wrong to think of a cult as necessarily an enactment of a straightforward story. Some episodes do have a narrative quality, but others can be quite cryptic, and the sequence as a whole is likely to have a variety of stories and significations woven through it. Rather similarly, the songs that make up the accompanying cycle or cycles may be easily translatable, translatable only in fragments, or altogether devoid of any meaning known to the performers. The performers themselves are not self-chosen or selected at random but occupy roles prescribed according to such criteria as sex, degree of initiatory advancement, moiety (where, as is usual, a dual organization exists), totemic identity, or localized group. All of these criteria, and perhaps others as well, can be relevant in the course of a single cult performance. Another typical aspect of a cult is its anchorage in the landscape: myths and songs refer to numerous places, rites are symbolically or actually performed at such places, and the groups and categories of the social order in terms of which the performers are chosen stand in a variety of jurisprudential relations to those places. A cult, then, is virtually a microcosm of Aboriginal culture.

Although a performance can be seen as a many-sided symbolic display, it also achieves certain institutionalized purposes. The Bora ceremonies of the southeast were especially concerned with the advancement of boys to manhood. They included spectacular episodes in which novices were first separated from, and later returned to, mundane life (often personified by their mothers); in the intervening period they suffered a visible mark of advancement in the loss of a tooth through evulsion. In other regions circumcision or subincision might be substituted for or added to tooth evulsion as the preeminent physical sign of manhood.

Throughout much of central and western Australia the maintenance or promotion of fertility in plant and animal nature was aimed at in cult performances. Disposal of the remains of the dead can be an important purpose, as can transformation of spirits of the dead into a state in which they can return to ancestral waters (or other places) and from which they can (in some regions) be reincarnated. Several such purposes can be achieved in a single cult performance. We should not, that is to say, think of there necessarily being a one-to-one correlation of cult and institutionalized purpose. Nor should we think of express purposes as the motives for cult performances. As musical, dramatic, and aesthetic occasions, as mappings-out of landscape and social organization, they can be deeply satisfying for their own sake. This has been brought out especially in the writings of Stanner on the Murinbata of northern Australia, and of T. G. H. Strehlow (1908–1978), the linguist-anthropologist son of Carl Strehlow, on the Aranda.

In spite of seeming to be the natural unit of study, no cult has yet been the subject of a truly comprehensive published work. Howitt and Mathews, for example, concentrated on the sequence of ritual episodes, with the latter also providing detailed descriptions of the shape and dimensions of ceremonial grounds, of the paths between them, and of the objects of art by which they were surrounded. Berndt's Kunapipi monograph runs to 223 pages and his Djanggawul monograph to 320, but both are stronger on myth and song than on ritual description. Elkin on the Maraian, like Meggitt on the Gadjari and Stanner on the cults performed by the Murinbata, neglects the songs (the Yabuduruwa lacks singing). None of these scholars shows, in a really detailed way, how the cults are anchored in landscape and social organization, though all of them are aware of it. In short, even at a purely descriptive level, each of our accounts suffers pronounced weaknesses as well as showing characteristic strengths. It is as though the student of a cult is defeated by the sheer abundance of what it offers to eye, ear, and mind. But even if we had a truly comprehensive account of, say, the Kunapipi or Yabuduruwa, we would still be far removed from an adequate grasp of the religious life of the area concerned, for usually several cults coexist.

In southern Arnhem Land, for example, where religious studies have been made by myself, following on earlier work by Elkin, five cults were extant in the 1960s and 1970s, with others still remembered by some older people. The five, in order of degree of secrecy or importance, were Bugabud, Lorgon, Kunapipi and Yabuduruwa (this pair being ranked about equally), and Maraian. All men and women could expect to take part in each of them—they were not the concern, then, of specialized and mutually exclusive groups of votaries. The dual organization, divided into patrilineal moieties named Dua and Yiridja, imposed its pattern on the set of cults: Bugabud, Lorgon, and Maraian existed in two versions, one for each moiety; Kunapipi was classified as Dua and Yabuduruwa as Yiridja. But in each case performers would necessarily be drawn from both moieties by virtue of a prescribed division of labor and responsibilities.

The acquisition of competence in these cults is part of the protracted process by which individuals rise to full adulthood. However, they also discharge purposes connected with the dead. Bugabud and Lorgon are mortuary cults, in the sense that they are concerned with the bones of a dead person—rites of secondary disposal, as defined early this century by the French comparativist Robert Hertz. Kunapipi, Yabuduruwa, and Maraian are postmortuary in the sense that, the mortal remains having been finally dealt with, they are concerned with transforming the spirit of the dead person into a state in which it may enter its clan waters and later be reborn. How many rites are held for a man—or whether any at all are held—depends on such variables as his standing while alive, and the energy, interest, and degree of influence of his survivors. In addition, mortuary observances can be blocked altogether when, as has become usual, people die in hospitals and are buried in municipal graveyards.

To write an adequate description of such a set of cults would be a mammoth undertaking. But to think of portraying the religious life of southern Arnhem Land by describing discrete cults would be to remain in the condition of theoretical backwardness remarked upon by Kenelm Burridge in 1973. What marks recent advances in the study of religion, he argued, is the transformation of functionalism into some kind of structuralism, by which he meant the abandonment of the concrete institution in favor of the search for the elements of a total semantic field. Institutions would be seen as particular constellations of these elements, and the value of an element would be determined by its position in a constellation. Something like this view is now fairly widely held, and two anthropologists have published substantial approximations of it. Stanner is one, with his perceptive and influential analyses of Murinbata religion. The other is William Lloyd Warner, whose classic study, *A Black Civilization* (New York, 1937), includes a valiant attempt to demonstrate pervasive and recurring themes and symbols in the myths and rites of the Murngin of northern Arnhem Land.

Two examples from southern Arnhem Land may show the importance of being willing to cut across the boundaries of discrete cults. One concerns the spirits of the dead, which are transformed by the performance of postmortuary cults. In their transformed state, they are colored as the rainbow. So were the waters which covered the earth when time began. The transformed spirits can be called by the same name as is used for real rainbows, and this is also the name for certain beings of prodigious power who existed in the Dreaming and may still exist, for example, the well-known Rainbow Snake, here conceived to be plural. Moreover the animal-like beings who acted creatively in the Dreaming and who, in many instances, are ritually celebrated in the cults may be described thusly in order to distinguish them from everyday animals who take the same form but lack marvelous powers. In studying such a pattern of thought and imagery we come to grips with Stanner's "metaphysic of life."

The second example concerns the systematic relation of complementary opposition in design plan between Kunapipi and Yabuduruwa, cults of equal rank but of opposite moiety. Thus one is performed largely by night and the other mostly by day. One is strongly curvilinear in its imagery; the other has a rectilinear emphasis. One is full of singing and is noisy and joyous; the other lacks songs altogether. There are other contrasts as well. The point is that although each cult can, in a sense, be treated as an organized whole, there is another sense in which they are halves of a divided universe, just as the moieties are halves of a divided society. Much in the literature suggests that such contrasts in design plan are common in Aboriginal religious complexes; there may well be equally fascinating patterns of opposition and permutation between cults at different levels of a hierarchy.

It is also clear from the literature that important work can be done in tracing chains of connection between the religious complexes of different areas. Some of the early writers were aware of this possibility—Howitt, for example, in distinguishing eastern and western types of initiation, was recognizing far-flung patterns of similarity and difference—and it has been explored by later writers, including Elkin, Berndt, and Meggitt. The most ambitious effort has come from Worms, who made continent-wide studies of religious vocabulary and also sought to enumerate the "essentials" of Aboriginal religion and to distinguish them from "accidental accretions."

MAIN PHASES OF STUDY. It may seem artificial to distinguish periods in the study of Aboriginal religion, as distinct from recognizing certain enduring problems posed by the material, yet all but a few of the scholars likely to be taken seriously today belong to one of three main groupings. To a great extent the ways in which they have worked their data have been conditioned, if not determined, by fashions and theories of overseas origin—Stanner, Worms, and the younger Strehlow would be notable exceptions.

A first phase, spanning the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, is dominated by the names of Howitt, Spencer and Gillen, Mathews, and the elder Strehlow. Except for Strehlow, who concentrated his researches on the Aranda and their Loritja neighbors, these scholars amassed information over very great areas indeed, although Howitt's work mainly concerned the southeast of the continent and Spencer and Gillen's the Northern Territory. Some of the descriptions of ritual dating from this period, which of course preceded the rise of professional anthropology, are as thorough and detailed as any that have been written since, if not a good deal more so. (It should be noted that the elder Strehlow felt constrained as a missionary not to attend cult performances, so his knowledge of ritual was hearsay, but in studying myths and songs he reaped the benefits of long acquaintance with his informants and of a thorough grasp of their language.) An indication of the quantity of data collected by the workers of this phase is given by Spencer and Gillen's first book, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1899). It has eight chapters, totaling 338 pages, on totems, ceremonies, and the like, with some material in other chapters also being relevant to what we would call religion.

A second phase, beginning in the mid-1920s and flowering especially during the 1930s, the first decade of the journal *Oceania*, owed much to the initial impetus given by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, Australia's first professor of anthropology. Those years saw the advent of professional anthropology, inspired by functionalist ideas and committed to intensive fieldwork in relatively small areas. Yet the harvest of religious data was meager in comparison with what had been collected in the preceding phase. Before World War II the most substantial portrayal of religious life to emerge from the new wave of scholars was Warner's study of the Murngin, but the chapters of *A Black Civilization* devoted to the subject run to barely two hundred pages (including a good deal of interpretation)—fewer than Berndt would later devote to the Kunapipi alone. The strong point of the writers of this period was their sense of the interconnectedness of the institutions that go to make up a culture, and besides Warner a number of them made useful, albeit somewhat limited, contributions to our religious knowledge. Donald F. Thomson, Ralph Piddington, Ursula H. McConnel, and Phyllis M. Kaberry may particularly be mentioned. Except for Warner they have since been greatly overshadowed by Elkin, Stanner, and the younger Strehlow—scholars who were active in research before World War II, but published their best work on religion long after it, thus overlapping the third phase, which indeed they did much to stimulate.

The third phase really got under way with the expansion of anthropology departments in the universities and the foundation of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies in the 1960s. Intellectually it owes a special debt to papers published by Stanner between 1959 and 1967. Stanner's writings, the product of intensive ratiocination and prolonged reflection, best fit his own prescription for study of, and not merely about, religion. But much that he has to say is difficult, if not positively cryptic, and is best tackled by readers who already enjoy a familiarity with Aboriginal thought and ritual. The store of personally gathered field data on which he relies is far less plentiful than that amassed by Ronald M. Berndt and Catherine H. Berndt or by the younger Strehlow, writers whose work has exerted less influence on their fellows.

The third phase is less clearly distinguishable from the second than the second from the first. The greater degree of continuity is partly due to the shared emphasis on intensive fieldwork by professional anthropologists, as well as to the survival into the 1970s of scholars who had already begun to make their mark forty years earlier and to the appearance of a few students of religion (notably the two Berndts and Meggitt, all trained by Elkin) during the intervening period. Apart from a vast increase in the number of persons doing research, the main differences between the two phases consist in an abandonment of old-style functionalism, a rise of approaches influenced in varying degree by forms of structural or symbolic anthropology, and an intense interest in the significance of the landscape in which Aboriginal lives are set. There is still little sign of philosophers or students of comparative religion challenging the ascendancy of anthropologists.

SEE ALSO Howitt, A. W.

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The best general exposition of Aboriginal religion is Mircea Eliade's *Australian Religions: An Introduction* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1973), which is based on specialized studies and theoretical arguments published before 1965. Another useful account taking an Australia-wide view is the contribution by Worms, with an updating by Petri, in Hans Nevermann, Ernest A. Worms, and Helmut Petri's *Die Religionen der Südsee und Australiens* (Stuttgart, 1968). A comprehensive selection of readings from anthropologists with field experience among Aborigines is *Religion in Aboriginal Australia*, edited by Max Charlesworth, Howard Morphy, Diane Bell, and me (Saint Lucia, Queensland, 1984). The wealth of detail to be found in particular cults is shown by Ronald M. Berndt in his *Kunapipi* (Melbourne, 1951) and *Djanggawul* (London, 1952) but is most superbly demonstrated in T. G. H. Strehlow, *Songs of Central Australia* (Sydney, 1971), which includes texts and translations of a great many songs. Classic older accounts of Aboriginal religion are in A. W. Howitt's *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (New York, 1904), and Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen's *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1904). Two recent studies on topical themes are Erich Kolig's *The Silent Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1981), a study of change and modernization in Aboriginal religion, and Diane Bell's *Daughters of the Dreaming* (Melbourne, 1983), which is concerned with the religious roles of women. *Australian Aboriginal Mythology*, edited by L. R. Hiatt (Canberra, 1975), is a good example of the approaches of some of the younger workers in the field; see also *The Rainbow Serpent*, edited by Ira R. Buchler and me (The Hague, 1978), which contains studies of one of the most widespread Aboriginal symbols. The classic theoretical analysis remains Émile Durkheim's *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1915; reprint, New York, 1965), but it relies on nineteenth- and early twentieth-century research and opinion. The most penetrating modern vision and analysis are from W. E. H. Stanner, whose *On Aboriginal Religion* (Sydney, 1964) and *White Man Got No Dreaming: Essays 1938–1973* (Canberra, 1979) are essential.

KENNETH MADDOCK (1987)

AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS RELIGIONS: HISTORY OF STUDY [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

These "further considerations" highlight the intellectual, political, legal, and administrative frames of reference that have shaped the study of Aboriginal religion throughout its history. Four phases—not necessarily distinct—are emphasized. Early accounts of indigenous religions were framed by philosophical and scientific debates about race in the context of colonialism and the assumption of sovereignty over subject peoples. For much of the nineteenth century the study of Aboriginal religion went hand in hand with "protection" and amelioration in the face of racial (and actual) death or a presumption of disappearance in the face of civilization. This approach merged with the rise of the missionary proto-ethnographer, whose aims of salvage, instruction, and benefit were framed by the active pursuit of religious change.

The development of academic anthropology in the twentieth century was marked by the testing and application of various models of explanation. Its results have had an abiding influence on how Aboriginal cultures are popularly perceived and legally treated. The academy was never isolated from the government policies and practices of its day, however. The study of Aboriginal religion should be viewed in the context of finding (social) scientific answers to a variety of "problems" posed by Aborigines in a modernizing Australia. Late-twentieth-century developments in the legal recognition of land rights and native title provided an unprecedented impetus to the study of Aboriginal religion. They are also contexts in which the history of that study has become crucial, with its record being recalled, reused, and forensically tested in a wider range of settings than ever before. Old ethnographies are being read again, and the archive is being searched as never before either to support or to confound Aboriginal claims to land and identity. It is this that has made the framing of the record—its circumstances, intentions, limitations, and possibilities—so important in the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century.

A New Sovereignty. The earliest pronouncements on an absence of religion among Aborigines cannot be divorced from the simultaneous proclamation of sovereignty over what to the European colonizers were new and unfamiliar lands. Watkin Tench, captain of the Royal Marines, provided one of the earliest accounts of Aboriginal-European relations in the colony of New South Wales. Despite numerous opportunities for "detached observations," Tench could not discern the meanings of Aboriginal ceremonies. He pondered the distance between cultures and what he saw as an Aboriginal perversity (a "fickle," "jealous," and "wavering" disposition) that inhibited the cross-cultural relations that might disclose such meanings. In his *A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson* (1793), Tench declared that the "indians [*sic*] of New South Wales" in fact did evidence belief in spirits and a superintending deity and possessed a sense of the immortality of some part of their being. In these conclusions Tench aligned Aboriginal belief with what was recognizable as religion to the colonists and therefore to what was ideologically integral to the colonizing process itself. Establishing the media of communication and finding an appropriate framework for interpreting Aboriginal religion remain abiding (and contested) concerns for its study.

A contemporaneous and opposite pronouncement was provided by David Collins, the colony's judge advocate and secretary. Despite providing a detailed record of the Eora people's ceremonies in *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales* (1798), Collins declared that the Aborigines of Port Jackson possessed no element of religion whatsoever. In this he epitomized the "blindness" noted by W. E. H. Stanner in "Religion, Totemism, and Symbolism (1962)," by virtue of which early observers genuinely could not—regardless of knowledge, learning, or humanism—see the "facts" that later convinced others that Aborigines were indeed a deeply religious people. The earliest, conflicting assessments of Aboriginal religion were framed by philosophical, theological, and scientific debates about where Aboriginal people fitted in an (evolutionary) Great Chain of Being. Such assessments derived from and contributed to the political positioning—racially, morally, and intellectually—of a subject people either expected to disappear or required to acquiesce to the advance of "civilization."

Historically constituted framings of what counts as religion have often been more powerful than direct observation or meticulous recording. More than two centuries of elaborated framings for the study of Aboriginal religion (whether derived from anthropology, history, theology, or missiology) have not necessarily transcended such limitations. As Stanner has pointed out, studying Aboriginal religion is necessarily distinct from its embodied practice as a fundamental orientation to place, kin, and country for Aboriginal people themselves. As an object of study it cannot escape the frames by which it is apprehended, recorded, represented, and re-presented in a range of settings and to diverse ends. Religion remains a primary vehicle for knowing Aboriginal cultures in Australia and therefore forms the basis for various disciplinary, legislative, and administrative actions brought to bear on Aboriginal people. The problematic "blindness" of the earliest witnesses is not so strange and certainly not easy to transcend. In it one recognizes an abiding separation of purposes despite the enormous progress the history of study has achieved in reducing the interpretive gaps.

Missionary Fields. The substantive body of material on "manners and customs" that derives from nineteenth-century missionary-ethnographers was framed by the conjoined impulses to protection and conversion. Collins reported the devastation wrought by smallpox in 1789, the sites of Aboriginal habitation around Sydney Harbour being filled with the victims' putrid bodies. As Tony Swain, in *A Place for Strangers* (1993), points out, everything known about Aboriginal life in Southeast Australia comes from records made after a massive population decline. By the time missionaries and explorers began recording Aboriginal beliefs in the 1830s, it is estimated that only one-third of the quarter million people in New South Wales and Victoria had survived. By 1850 the figure was down to 4 percent. It was another generation before proto-ethnographic accounts were compiled and then another half century before recognizably modern records of myth, ceremony, and sites became readily available in such works as Alfred William Howitt's *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (1904) and R. H. Mathew's approximately 203 scattered journal articles. The gaps and discrepancies represented by this necessarily piecemeal coverage have continuing implications in the early twenty-first century for Aboriginal people who increasingly must rely on such materials in a variety of legislative and bureaucratic settings.

Although lacking in what would later be seen as systematic and "theoretical" examination, the nineteenth century saw an explosion in the recording of Aboriginal religious concepts. Once the Blue Mountains west of Sydney were crossed in 1813, explorers and settlers began noting the "manners and customs" of the "natives" they encountered. It was missionaries, however, who began living with those Aboriginal people who had survived the massive disruption of their lands and kin groups and who assembled the more extensive reports on language, religion, and social relations. Lancelot Edward Threlkeld, for example, conducted extensive language recording among the Awabakal people "settled" on the shores of Lake Macquarie in New South Wales. He was eventually dismissed by the London Missionary Society for spending too much time on ethnographic and linguistic observations and too little on the salvation of Aboriginal souls. Threlkeld initiated a small but strong contingent of missionary observers, including Carl Strehlow, William Ridley, Clamor Schürmann, George Taplin, and J. H. Sexton, whose records remain of considerable significance. Pater Wilhelm Schmidt, though he did not work within Australia himself, was nevertheless instrumental in the collection and study of Australian materials.

The task of studying Aboriginal religious belief (a focus that necessarily predominated over that of religious practice, given the circumstances) was accomplished in tandem with the goal of translating and representing Christian belief for the edification and conversion of people still seen as religiously deficient. Carl Strehlow and Johann Georg Reuther's 1897 *Testamenta Marra: Jesuni Christuni Ngantjani Jaura Ninaia Rarithmalkana Wonti Dieri Jaurani* (The New Testament in the Dieri language) was the first complete translation into an Aboriginal language. It was both vehicle and justification for Reuther's towering linguistic and ethnographic recording, especially of the mythic journeys and geographic creations of ancestral Beings called Muramuras in the far northeast of South Australia. This effort was subsequently repeated by Carl Strehlow among the Arrernte (Arunta, Aranda) to the north and was continued by his son Theodor George Henry Strehlow.

The missionary recorders, more than the anthropologists, were presentient of Émile Durkheim's analytic proposition (in *Les formes élementaires de la vie réligieuse,* 1914; *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life,* 1915) that religion is society sanctified and that mythology was a primary vessel of Aboriginal spiritual sentiment. It is these images of Aboriginal society and religion being coterminous and of story and songline anchoring belief, people, and place that remain frames of reference for contemporary analyses of Aboriginal religion across Australia.

THE WORK OF THE ACADEMY. The great nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century recordings appeared before anthropology was a recognized academic discipline in Australian universities. The first chair was established at the University of Sydney in 1926. The work of its first incumbent, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, remains pivotal to debates on the articulation of Aboriginal social organization with traditional land ownership. Its was his successor, Adolphus Peter Elkin, however, who had an abiding influence on the study of myth, legend, and music both through his own works and those of successive Sydney researchers. Outside of Sydney, Adelaide was a center of substantial and enduring work on Aboriginal religion, focused in the South Australian Museum, the Royal Society of South Australia, and the University of Adelaide. Norman B. Tindale had a research base there for his continent-wide studies of tribal boundaries and mythology; Charles Mountford assembled his substantial records of art, myth, and symbolism; and T. G. H. Strehlow produced his incomparable *Songs of Central Australia* (1971).

Throughout the twentieth century other universities emerged or developed, offering intellectual and financial nurturance to the study of Aboriginal religion. Melbourne provided a base for the biologist Donald Thompson, whose work in Cape York, Arnhem Land, and Central Australia is still celebrated in books and exhibitions. The University of Western Australia was home to Ronald Berndt and Catherine Berndt, indefatigable researchers of myth, rite, and story throughout Aboriginal Australia, with a legacy of students and colleagues very much active in the early twenty-first century. Anthropology at the Australian National University, Canberra has also been pivotal in training, research, publication, and debate in all areas relating to Aboriginal religion, including the insertion and translation of such studies into a variety of legislative, policy, and administrative reforms.

The academic framing of Aboriginal religion has involved principally an active, progressive, and critical engagement with theories and ideas coming from a range of developing disciplines. Major threads have included Durkheim's organicism and its reinterpretation via the structural functionalism of Radcliffe-Brown; Claude Lévi-Strauss's structuralism, especially as interpreted through the works of W. E. H. Stanner and Kenneth Maddock; and Sigmund Freud's psychoanalysis, reinterpreted through the Aboriginal data by Géza Róheim and continued in the work of Les Hiatt and John Morton. In his chapter article "The Resurrection of the Hydra," Howard Morphy provides an excellent and nuanced overview of the main ideas that oriented the academic study of Aboriginal religion throughout the twentieth century. Stanner remains the pivotal mid-twentieth-century figure, with his *On Aboriginal Religion* (1966) reissued with commentaries and an "appreciation" in 1989. Stanner's movement away from structural functional interpretation toward symbolism and ontology—highlighting the distinctive moral, emotional, and spatiotemporal dimensions of the Dreaming—remains enormously influential, perhaps best reflected in the oeuvre of Deborah Bird Rose.

The progress of academic study has not been without contestation, of course, and the resulting debates have impacted enormously on understandings of Aboriginal religion. In particular, the rise of Marxist and feminist theories in the 1970s initiated controversies that resonate into the twenty-first century. Exemplifying this period is the work undertaken by Annette Hamilton while a research student at the University of Sydney, and that of Diane Bell while a student at the Australian National University. In challenging academic orthodoxies and overcoming the initial resistance of the anthropology discipline, both these scholars have fundamentally recalibrated the ways in which the lives of Aboriginal men and women must be thought about. Hamilton's 1960s research amongst the Gidjingali people of Arnhem Land challenged previous perspectives—derived from Hiatt and Maddock, amongst others—on support and rivalry amongst cross-sex siblings, the benefits that flow to men and women from marriage bestowal, and issues of male control and female autonomy more generally. In the late 1970s Hamilton again challenged models of male dominance in her PhD research on the economic and religious life of Western Desert Aborigines. In the far northwest of South Australia Hamilton documented men's dependence on women's labor, women's control of key productive technologies (such as grindstones), and a strong and secret female ceremonial domain. Working in the Central Desert region, also in the late 1970s, Bell provided equally challenging evidence of women's active participation in marriage bestowal, exercised in ritual contexts and facilitating control of their sexual choices. Like Hamilton, but with differences reflecting regional variation, Bell also documented a religious realm in which women worked separately to maintain the Dreaming, enact their responsibilities to the land, and manage the health and harmony of their kin groups. When first published in 1983, Bell's *Daughters of the Dreaming* prompted unprecedented reactions to its assertion that Aboriginal women hold such an encompassing ritual responsibility as well as having strong traditions of cultural and religious autonomy. This text remains both pivotal and controversial more than two decades later. In *Arguments about Aborigines* (1996) Hiatt charts the history of these challenges and their effects on reconfiguring academic paradigms. These debates have fuelled a "re-reading" of the traditionalist literature in Francesca Merlan's "Gender in Aboriginal Social Life: A Review," which highlights dominant constructions of gender in the anthropological canon and addresses abiding issues of theoretical bias and ethnographic adequacy. The capacity of these (unresolved) debates to generate innovative accounts of Aboriginal religion as a gendered domain is evidenced by such works as Françoise Dussart's *The Politics of Ritual in an Aboriginal Settlement* (2000) and Christine Watson's *Piercing the Ground* (2003).

But work in the academy was never completely removed from wider historical shifts in the social, economic, and administrative circumstances of Aboriginal life. Elkin's department at the University of Sydney itself functioned in the domain of applied social research both in the Pacific and at home. It had a major role in training officers for Australia's own colonial possession in New Guinea and was supported in part by funds from the commonwealth and state governments to do this. Sir John Hubert Murray, the Australian administrator in New Guinea and the first lieutenant governor of (the renamed) Papua from 1908, warned the new department against preoccupation with mere scientific investigation. This suggests something of the array of institutional and governmental forces at work on the development of academic anthropology across much of the twentieth century.

The anthropological study of Aboriginal life, including religious life, cannot be separated from more practical concerns with welfare and assimilation policy throughout this period. Elkin himself bridged academic and administrative worlds. As a professor from 1934 Elkin and his students forged the academic study of Aboriginal life into a proud and progressive tradition. As editor of the pioneering journal *Oceania* Elkin oversaw publication of much of the research that established (and still supports) the authoritative record of Aboriginal religion. He was chairman of the Australian National Research Council's Anthropology Committee between 1933 and 1948, overseeing the allocation of research funds to address Aboriginal welfare "problems." From 1941 to 1968 he was vice president of the New South Wales Aborigines Protection Board that had the power to intervene directly into people's most intimate daily lives. The academic study of Aboriginal religion developed alongside the application of anthropology to a range of practical and policy concerns. The later decades of the twentieth century saw these domains brought absolutely together.

OUTSIDE THE ACADEMY. The study of Aboriginal people—so problematic for the Australian state, so vulnerable to surveillance and recording—was never of course confined to the academy. A huge compendium of data on Aboriginal religion has been assembled outside of formal research settings by literary scholars, antiquarians, clergy, local historians, poets, humanists, and government officials, such as the police trooper Samuel Gason, stationed on Cooper Creek to facilitate the arrival of pastoralists and missionaries. Out of nine years of close engagement with Aboriginal people, learning local languages, and participating in ceremonies, Gason provided, in *Manners and Customs of the Dieyerie Tribe of Australian Aborigines* (1874), one of the first detailed accounts of traditional life in the eastern central deserts. It is a record that is still used by researchers and Aborigines alike seeking to verify claims to ancestral lands. This pioneering work was not disinterested; it is not separable from its frame of economic, material, psychological, and spiritual transformation being wrought on Aboriginal people by colonial expansion. Gason's aim in publishing his data was to assist the Lutheran missionaries at Lake Killalpaninna (where Reuther was later to make his own collections); Gason hoped that his writings "may be of some assistance to those pious missionaries and others, who are extending so greatly inland this vast continent, civilisation, through its gracious handmaiden, Christianity."

The enigmatic Daisy Bates also deserves mention. Variously a student of anthropology, secular missionary, and unofficial "protector," she lived for decades among Aboriginal people in Western Australia and South Australia including, famously, sixteen years at Ooldea on the east-west railway line. Her prodigious output (something like 274 published articles) contains much of significance to the study of religion, such as her series on astronomy, stellar myths, and associated rituals that appeared in newspapers such as *The Australasian* and *The Sydney Morning Herald* in the 1920s and 1930s. Her manuscripts, letters, and diaries are scattered in libraries but are increasingly sourced by researchers seeking foundational data for use in a variety of heritage and native title contexts.

Such materials have been continually repatriated to more authoritative and institutionalized processes of study and documentation. This is exemplified by the work of Isobel White in collating and editing a portion of Daisy Bates's manuscripts into *The Native Tribes of Western Australia* (1985), published by the National Library of Australia and prompting a reassessment of Bates as a serious fieldworker and scholar rather than a popular commentator. This movement of materials accelerated in the later decades of the twentieth century (and continues to expand in the twenty-first century) in response to significantly changed frameworks of governance, administration, legal recognition, and cultural policy. It is to key moments in this change that this discussion now turns.

LAND RIGHTS. Under the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act of 1976, Aborigines were able to claim title to land provided they could demonstrate specific relationships to it. The critical test was set out in the definition of "traditional owner," requiring a person to be a member of a "local descent group" and to have "primary spiritual responsibility" for a site on the land. The two were interrelated: to have rights in land recognized, a person had to be a member of a group on the basis of descent and to possess a spiritual connection to sacred sites arising from that membership. Not only did this represent a translation of accumulated anthropological knowledge into legal statute, but it placed Aboriginal religion at the center of political and administrative recognition of Aboriginal rights and aspirations. Evidence and displays of religious attachment to land were presented to administrative inquiries presided over by a specially appointed federal court judge in the form of an aboriginal land commissioner.

The "applied" legal domain of land rights provided an enormous incentive and opportunity for the detailed local "study" and documentation of Aboriginal religious practice in the late twentieth century. In the almost three decades during which claims to land have been made under the Act, a vast body of written and recorded materials has come into existence, including the detailed supporting claim books prepared by anthropologists, linguists, and historians, transcripts of public portions of the hearings themselves, and references in the land commissioner's findings to the demonstration and performance of sacred knowledge. The final reports themselves are emblematic of the insertion of Aboriginal religious knowledge into the Australian public record. In them the commissioner reiterates, as a matter of legal fact, the journeys of ancestral Beings (Dreamings) across the land in question. In the Warumungu Land Claim report, for example, one learns that Jurnkurakurr, site of the Tennant Creek Telegraph Station acquired by the Northern Territory government in 1987 as a monument to white settlement in the region, is the spiritual home of Jalawala (black-nose python), the Mungamunga women, and the snake Kiliriji—all primordial actors creating the broader landscape. The report also details the site-specific travels and cosmological productions of Pirrtangu (flying-fox), Milwayijarra (two snakes), Aakiy (black plum), and Warupunju (fire) together with a host of more minor Dreamings: Nyinkka (grass-tailed lizard), Yarrangarna (dingo), Emu, Crow, Ngappa (rain), Kurtinja (bush turkey), Karli (boomerang), Yukulyari (wallaby), and Mangirriji (plains goanna) among others.

In these reports the learned justice often reviews the anthropological evidence presented to the hearing from all sides (including that coming from parties opposing the claim), testing its usefulness to the legislative framework, assessing its contradictions, and gauging its resonances with the longer published record. In this way the history of anthropological study itself has frequently been reviewed and re-presented as a matter of public record. The Aboriginal past and the history of its study are brought into a continuing relationship that directly influences Aboriginal futures, whatever the outcome of the case. In the following Justice Michael Maurice compares what Sir Baldwin Spencer and Francis Gillen had recorded of Warumungu burial practices with what had been elicited from other anthropological sources and from Aboriginal witnesses during the claim hearing:

> The import of Sir Baldwin Spencer's letter to Sir James Frazer was that many of the practices he had recorded among the tribes he visited, though they involved different types of ritual and different kinds of social institutions, and took different outward forms, expressed a relatively invariant current of ideas . . . . It hardly need be said . . . that these ways of being and thinking, and the social relations in which they are practiced, remain a powerful force in the lives of the Warumungu people today. It is what makes them distinctly different from non-Aboriginal residents of [the town of] Tennant Creek. The same tradition as recorded by Spencer and Gillen, and by the late Professor Stanner, albeit much altered, was the source of the present claims, the conceptions which informed them, and the terms in which they were stated. (Aboriginal Land Commissioner, 1988, p. 129)

Here, in a localized microcosm, the entire history of studying Aboriginal religion is rehearsed and reassessed for the purpose of returning a parcel of land to Aboriginal people for what the commissioner acknowledges to be their continuing economic, social, and political survival.

The engagement of anthropologists as "expert" translators of Aboriginal culture in land claim processes has resulted in some of the most compelling and innovative accounts of religion as a key modality of Aborigines' social, cosmological, political, and practical engagement with the world. Outstanding examples include D. B. Rose's *Dingo Makes Us Human* (1992), Francesca Merlan's *Caging the Rainbow* (1998), and Elizabeth Povinelli's *Labor's Lot* (1993). Each re-envisages the subject of Aboriginal religion as meaning, symbol, and action, and each brings to that study a broader historical, legislative, and political context.

Land rights highlighted the power of anthropological models to frame legal understandings: the act encoded a model of descent through fathers (patriliny), giving rise to rights in land as real property that were often contradicted by Aboriginal evidence. Over time land claim hearings forced the development of more nuanced understandings, prominently through recognition of the roles of "owners" and "managers" expressing the complementary rights and ritual responsibilities inherited through both men and women. Another development was the facilitation of women to give evidence of their gender-restricted secret and sacred responsibilities toward land and the Dreaming. Witnessing ceremonies, visiting sites and seeing sacred objects during the course of a land claim hearing meant that procedures for managing men's restricted knowledge were in place very early, and have been largely unproblematic. Some early land claims acknowledged that women's ceremonies and secrets complemented those of men and played an equally vital role in Aboriginal religious life. For example, in his report on the Alyawarra (Alywarr) and Kaititja (Kaytetye) land claim heard in 1978 Mr. Justice Toohey commented on the forceful display of attachment to land he had witnessed in women's ceremonies and site visits. In other hearings such as the 1988 Jasper Gorge and Kidman Springs land claim, however, women kept their knowledge of sites, songs, dances, designs, and objects secret because their own Dreaming law dictated that no man should see these things. In the Palm Valley claim of 1994 Arrernte women agreed to give evidence on the basis that the land commissioner was the only man present; male lawyers were permitted to read the transcript but not to cross examine the women. This has subsequently raised a number of broader legal and procedural issues regarding the right of a party to choose his or her own legal representative and the capacity of courts to limit that choice on the basis of gender. In the Tempe Downs land claim, also heard in 1994, women achieved some procedural parity with men by giving extensive evidence in restricted sessions resulting in a restricted transcript that was not available to others. In "Preserving Culture in Federal Court Proceedings," Greg McIntyre and Geoffrey Bagshaw survey such ongoing difficulties in reconciling Aboriginal cultural principles of gender-based religious secrecy with the requirements of Australia law.

Land claims became a principal occasion for the display and performance of religious knowledge, not just its recording. Hearings moved out of the court and into the bush, where successive commissioners heard evidence on or near the land being claimed and were witnesses to performances of ritual, dance, and song that sought to convey direct, revelatory knowledge of Aboriginal authority (and in this way perhaps to entail judges, lawyers, and others in relationships of reciprocal obligation and respect). As D. B. Rose pointed out in "Histories and Rituals: Land Claims in the Territory" (1996), such processes themselves became a form of "ceremony for country" that has fed back into the religious life of communities. The interpenetration of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal worlds and the subsequent changes this has wrought on negotiating public versus restricted ritual performance, managing gendered responsibilities for social and cosmological action, and the seemingly more mundane negotiations of kin group identity and residence are major threads of Dussart's fine-grained ethnography of ritual as politics among Warlpiri people at Yuendumu.

The land claim process also highlighted the dynamic tension between revelation and concealment that is itself a feature of Aboriginal religion. In many circumstances religious knowledge can only be revealed by those who have particular rights to it, to those who have compatible rights to know it and with the consent (and often in the presence) of others in positions to authorize such a transfer. In recognition of this, some Australian legal processes have, in places and for limited purposes, adapted to accommodate Aboriginal cultural principles. Thus whereas land claims have resulted in unprecedented levels of detail about Aboriginal religion being made available, they have also underscored the strict limits and controls that are placed on such knowledge, with portions of the evidence and hearing transcripts in many cases being permanently suppressed. At the same time as there is greater access to Aboriginal religion in diverse contexts (from legal judgments to art exhibitions to Olympic Games ceremonies), the very restrictions placed on that accessibility have become more prominent and more problematic. This theme is explored in papers edited by Christopher Anderson as *Politics of the Secret* (1995), focusing on transactions in men's restricted knowledge, designs, and sacred objects in central and north west Australia, including the history and micro-politics of Aboriginal engagement with a range of non-Aboriginal recorders, collectors and institutions.

The tension between revelation and concealment provides the framework for Ian Keen's *Knowledge and Secrecy in an Aboriginal Religion* (1994), a sustained ethnographic exploration of a specific (Yolngu) religious tradition that highlights the essential ambiguity of cultural meaning and the ongoing necessity for its negotiation. Similar themes are explored in Morphy's *Ancestral Connections* (1991) and Luke Taylor's *Seeing the Inside* (1996), both major monographs on the expression of the Dreaming through art in northeast and western Arnhem Land respectively.

Conflicts over revelation have been played out publicly and acrimoniously in a series of court actions and media trials focused on Aboriginal assertions of sacredness and restriction, Uluru (Ayers Rock), Coronation Hill, and Junction Waterhole in the Northern Territory; Noonkanbah station in Western Australia; and Hindmarsh Island in South Australia being the most prominent examples. Especially in contexts where claims to restricted religious knowledge have come into conflict with development or the desires of the state, some sacred sites have taken on meanings (and have had effects) far beyond the local and often beyond their culturally specific significance to Aboriginal owners. It is in such heightened political arenas that the meaning and peculiar power of sacred sites have become what Ken Gelder and Jane M. Jacobs in *Uncanny Australia* (1998) call "promiscuous," escaping their Aboriginal specificity and their academic or legal framing to disrupt and bring into question the wider Australian population's sense of place and identity. These complex currents of what is known and by whom—and who should control the circumstances of its revelation, even when it is contained in a published record—have themselves redirected the study of Aboriginal religion. They provide the framework for Diane Bell's *Ngarrindjeri Wurruwarrin* (1998), where the voices of Ngarrindjeri women from "settled" South Australia are brought into dialogue with the record of previous ethnographers, asking questions of what was and what was not recorded about their religious traditions and debating what can and cannot be said, even in the twenty-first century.

NATIVE TITLE. The Land Rights Act returned significant tracts of land to Aboriginal people, but it applied only to unalienated crown land in the Northern Territory, and even there significant disparities existed between those who could and could not meet the legal test of traditional ownership. Elsewhere around the country (as in Northern Territory towns), aspirations to land and the recognition of rights were largely unmet. In 1992 a long-running case brought by the Murray Islanders of Torres Strait resulted in the landmark *Mabo* decision by the High Court. In a majority of six to one, the court ruled that, in common law, indigenous rights to land had survived the acquisition of sovereignty by Britain, thus overturning the earlier "fiction" of *terra nullius,* or of Australia as a land belonging to no one. The Commonwealth's Native Title Act of 1993 sought to enact the court's decision in law and opened the way for Aboriginal people across the continent to have their surviving rights recognized. It should be noted that in cases where an Aboriginal land commissioner found existing traditional ownership, the relevant minister could grant an exclusive Aboriginal Freehold Title for that land to be held by a land trust. Under the Native Title Act, a tribunal or court determines whether or not native title exists in relation to a particular area of land or waters, the nature of such rights and interests, and with which other parties they coexist. No land is granted as a result, and only limited rights are conferred on claimant groups. Achieving even that recognition has entailed the production of unprecedented quantities of documentation (in the form of "connection reports" detailing a group or a person's association with country) and a complex but decentralized bureaucracy of registration, assessment, mediation, and determination. Several contested native title cases have proceeded to full hearings in the federal court.

There is no legislative requirement to assess spiritual connection to land in native title. However, this has been a principal register of inquiry, highlighting the way religion has become embedded in the administrative imagining of Aboriginal people and their culture.

In proceedings spanning 1994 to 2002, the Miriuwung and Gajerrong people sought recognition of their native title rights in some three thousand square miles of east Kimberley land straddling the Western Australia and Northern Territory border, including the Ord River irrigation project and the Argyle Diamond Mine. Continuing religious practice was a key element allowing claimants to demonstrate their observance of traditional laws and customs, these being the crucial content for legislative recognition of native title. The judges in the case rejected physical occupation of the land as a necessary requirement for proof of continuing connection. In being found to have upheld traditional laws and customs, ceremonial practices, economic and ceremonial links with other Aboriginal communities as well as possessing knowledge of myths, Dreaming tracks, and sites, the claimants' relationship to the land was determined to have been maintained. The evidence elicited from Aboriginal witnesses was tested against the historical record and the research of anthropologists, archaeologists, and historians who had drawn together diverse written and unpublished ethnographic materials for the purpose of the proceedings. This work was extensively reviewed, compared, and assessed in the court's "Reasons for Judgment." Likewise the judges reviewed the work of Elkin and his student Phyllis Kaberry in the 1920s and 1930s, including the latter's seminal *Aboriginal Women: Sacred and Profane* (1939). Kaberry's field notes, diaries, and genealogies were also before the court. The claimants' case was supported by these materials, and native title was found to coexist with other interests, limited by the rights (to water and minerals, for example) conferred on others.

In another long-running native title case, this one involving land in New South Wales and Victoria, the federal court determined that the most credible source of information about the traditional laws and customs of the Yorta Yorta people is in the writings of a nineteenth-century pastoralist who established a degree of rapport with Aboriginal people and observed their society before its "disintegration." Yorta Yorta assertions concerning the "sacredness" of land, resources, sites, and contemporary cultural practices were dismissed in light of the historical record, but also against those displays of spiritual attachment that Aboriginal people have produced in other judicial inquiries. Evidence of the role of a Christian missionary in disrupting traditional religious practices and suppressing indigenous language did not mitigate assessment of the claimants' inadequate religious expression. Such are the vicissitudes of contemporary inquiries into Aboriginal belief, where the historical record may be as powerful and determinant as anything an Aboriginal person may say or demonstrate.

CONTINUING SIGNIFICANCES. Reuther's labyrinthine compendium of myth, story, and place names from the far northeast of South Australia has been preserved in archives and made available on microfiche (as *The Diari*) by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies. It has been deployed again by those various players who are required to take account of Aboriginal relations to this area. Thus Reuther's data have been used by the state in assessing the multiple (and sometimes competing) native title claims in this region. Copies of his maps and place name data are held by mining and exploration companies who must enter into negotiations with native title claimants about access to the land. The material is used by anthropologists to frame heritage and native title reports to courts and other tribunals of inquiry. Increasingly it is used by Aboriginal people themselves to become informed of their own history, their associations with place, and to support contemporary expressions of identity through painting and sculpture.

Similarly Taplin's recording of "manners and customs" became the baseline ethnographic record examined by a royal commission looking into the contemporary beliefs of Ngarrindjeri women, whose assertion of sacredness and restriction in respect of a development site embroiled the nation in public debate and speculation. The Berndts' Yaralde material of the 1940s was trawled through in the same inquiry and in a subsequent federal court case to test the beliefs and cultural knowledge of Aboriginal witnesses. Tindale's manuscripts returned from the United States to be co-opted to the same proceedings. To some extent his meticulous recordings conflict with those of the Berndts, each having derived from different informants. Differences of record, methodology, and interpretation fuel academic and public debate; materials once confined to the archives are aired in a new light, forging new interpretations and positionings for anthropologists, historians, and Ngarrindjeri people alike.

Such materials are at play in more ways than at any previous time, ramifying their meanings and multiplying the contexts of their interpretation. The study of Aboriginal religion—together with the history, meaning, and uses of that study—counts like never before in more forums and with more consequences than was ever imagined. Its contestation and its centrality to intellectual life, government policy, and public debate ensures that studying Aboriginal religion has become as necessary and as dynamic as at any time in its long history.

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RODNEY LUCAS (2005)

AUTHORITY is a constant and pervasive phenomenon in the history of religions. One often speaks of traditional authority, scriptural authority, ecclesiastical authority, or imperial authority based on religious claims. As legitimate power to require and receive submission and obedience, it is found in primitive and archaic religions as well as in founded religions wherever the question of order is involved. At different stages of history, a variety of religions have contributed to the creation and maintenance of order by providing the necessary sources of authority. These sources are diverse, but the following may be counted among the major ones: (1) persons, usually classified into various types of religious leadership such as kings, founders of religions, and other leaders of religious communities, (2) sacred writings, (3) traditions, oral and/or written, constituting doctrinal truths and ethical precepts, (4) religious communities with a priesthood and sacramental rites, and (5) personal experience. The question of the legitimacy of this or that authority has been a cause of tension and conflict in and between individual religions, for any authority recognized as legitimate must be respected and placed in proper order, while a rejected authority must be combated.

AUTHORITY IN PRIMITIVE RELIGIONS. Among many primitive peoples authority is embodied in orally transmitted traditions of the tribal community. Oral traditions reign supreme, imposing a binding authority on the tribal community in which they are preserved. Especially authoritative are myths, as distinguished from legends and fables. Myth carries authority in primitive society for at least three reasons. First, myth is a "true" story, never a fable, a fiction, or a childish fancy tale. Second, it is a sacred story narrating the acts of the gods and other divine beings that took place in the beginning of mythical time. What occurred—in the words of Mircea Eliade—in *illo tempore* ("at this time") represents for the primitive peoples a reality higher and greater than any kind of historical reality known to them. Myth is authoritative because it reveals the "absolute truth" of the events at the beginning of mythical time. And third, this transhistorical reality that occurred in *illo tempore* serves as the exemplary model for the activities of man in primitive society. According to Bronislaw Malinowski, myth functions as the "charter" of established social facts, including religious beliefs and practices, morality, and everyday rules of conduct.

This divinely sanctioned authoritative tradition is transmitted orally from elders to adolescents during rites of initiation. The candidate for these rites undergoes the process of symbolic death and rebirth, and it is precisely in this process of spiritual regeneration that he receives knowledge about the secrets of the tribal tradition: the myths serve as bearers of traditional authority; they tell of the gods and the origin of the world, the names of the gods, the role and origin of the initiation ceremonies, and, of course, codes of morality and rules of conduct. Thus the initiate comes to obtain gnosis, true authoritative knowledge, essential for his life as a human being, that is, knowledge about the higher and greater reality that sustains the order of the primitive society in which he lives.

AUTHORITY IN ARCHAIC RELIGIONS. The rise of the great civilizations in Mesopotamia, Egypt, India, and China during the third and second millennia BCE marked a significant turning point in history. All these civilizations originated and unfolded along rivers. Irrigation systems had to be worked out in order to control nature and produce a good harvest, and this necessity called for the formation of the efficient administrative organization, which was accompanied by the institution of kingship. A system of writing was a sine qua non for this new development.

Under these circumstances, the authority of the oral traditions, which had characterized primitive culture, tended to be replaced by that of written traditions embodied in literary texts. These texts were primarily the creation of royal courts and temples, and those who were engaged in the interpretation and transmission of the texts were scribes and priests. They were professional carriers of the written traditions. In China, for example, government officials were thought to possess magical charisma by virtue of their familiarity with the Confucian classics. These officials made the study, interpretation, and transmission of the words of the master Confucius the focal point of their efforts. Their vision was preeminently political in orientation, and eventually they achieved an extraordinarily stable social order. In India, *brahmans* occupied the authoritative status in society on account of their esoteric knowledge of the Vedas, the Brahmanas, and the many other sacred writings. Not only in China and India, but also in the ancient Near East, the scribes and priests who served as guardians of the written traditions were the chief religious figures vested with authority.

It was the king, however, who exercised supreme authority. In archaic civilizations, the state functioned as a religious community, as a cosmos, and the king was the person supremely responsible for the maintenance of this cosmic order. Imperial authority was sustained by both the kingship ideology, which was grounded in myths, and the celebration of rituals, especially the New Year festival. The ideology used for the legitimation of imperial authority was different from one region to another; that is, the nature of the king's person and his role in the given cosmic order was variously conceived in different societies, depending on their religious outlook on life and the universe.

In ancient Egypt, for example, the king was believed to be divine in essence. His coronation, usually celebrated at the beginning of a new year, signified not an apotheosis but an epiphany, or self-manifestation, of the god. As long as he ruled, the king was identified with the god Horus; in fact, he was Horus incarnate in his earthly existence, but upon his death he was mystically assimilated to Osiris, the god of rebirth and immortality. Egyptian kingship was also intimately associated with the theme of cosmogony. The dais, for example, on which the new king was seated symbolized the hill of sand, the "first" land, which, according to the Egyptian cosmogonic myth, emerged out of the primeval ocean at the time of beginning. Ascension to the royal throne represented a ritual reenactment of the emergence of a cosmos out of chaos, the primeval waters. Thus, the king repeated the act of creation at his enthronement.

In Mesopotamia, too, the king played a part of vital importance in the well-being of the cosmic order. The *Enuma elish*, the Babylonian epic of creation, was recited and reenacted during the New Year festival. The primary purpose of this recitation and ritual reenactment of the cosmogonic myth was the renewal and regeneration of the cosmos; the king, representing the god Marduk on earth, repeated what took place at the time of absolute beginning, as narrated in the myth. However, the king in ancient Mesopotamia was generally not conceived as a divine being. More properly, he was viewed as divine only while he participated in the ceremonies as representative of Marduk. He was essentially a mortal being, not divine; he represented the gods on earth as their "chosen servant."

The king in ancient China was called the "unique man" as well as the "Son of Heaven" (*tʿien-tzu*). The Son of Heaven was one who received the mandate of Heaven (*tʿien-ming*). This notion of the mandate of Heaven implied that imperial authority could not become a permanent possession of the ruler, that Heaven had the complete freedom to confer or withdraw his mandate, just as in ancient Israel God was absolutely free to confer or withdraw his charisma or "gift of grace" from the ruler on earth. The Chinese Son of Heaven obviously had nothing to do with the genealogical concept of kingship, such as in ancient Egypt or Japan, where the king was considered the descendant or incarnation of a certain god; he was simply the earthly representative of Heaven, or heavenly will.

The Chinese king was also conceived as the unique man, one supremely responsible for the maintenance of the cosmic order. He maintained the cosmic order by assisting Heaven in the regulation and harmonization of the yin and yang principles, as best exemplified by his performance in the ceremonial building, the *ming-tang*. This structure was an *imago mundi* ("image of the universe"); it had a square plan symbolizing the earth and was covered by a circular roof, symbolic of the sky. Other features, such as the building's twelve rooms, reflected the cycle of the year. Thus the whole structure was a vast space-and-time diagram, a microcosm. Here the king observed the rituals of worship and sacrifice to Heaven and Earth and myriad spirits in order to secure their favor for the entire universe. When he was to inaugurate the seasons and months, he placed himself in an appropriate room of the building: in the second month of the spring, for example, the king took his position facing east, clothed in green, the color of spring and the east, while in the fall he faced west, clothed in a white ceremonial dress appropriate for the fall and the west. Thus, the king assisted Heaven in guaranteeing the ascendancy of the yang principle in spring, while in the fall he helped the rise of the yin principle. In essence, the Chinese king was expected to be the harmonizer of the cosmic movement.

AUTHORITY IN FOUNDED RELIGIONS. The emergence of Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam is an innovation in the history of religions. While in primitive and archaic religions authority is embodied in the sacred kings as well as in oral or written traditions of the tribal community and state, in these founded religions authority is ultimately derived from the founder of a new community of faith, and/or his religious experience. Consequently, the founded religion, whatever it is, develops its own structure of authority and authoritative tradition, which is distinctively different from that in primitive and archaic religions.

Buddhism. The Buddha's authority was grounded in his conviction that he had discovered the *dharma,* the universal law of existence, through his personal experience of enlightenment. He himself lived in accordance with it, and on his deathbed he urged his disciples to depend on it as the sole guiding principle of life.

But this truth was not self-evident; it was the truth taught and interpreted by the Buddha that his followers accepted. After his death his closest disciples assumed a new responsibility for the successful realization of the Buddhist ideal. Inevitably, important traditions emerged that were transmitted orally until they were put into writing in the first century BCE. These authoritative oral traditions included the memories and interpretations of the Buddha's own teaching concerning the *dharma* and the rules of conduct, the Vinaya, which he had established for the regulation of the *saṃgha*, or Buddhist community.

However, there exists no single canon of scriptures that is universally recognized by all Buddhists. The development of such a canon was impossible because of the decentralized nature of the Buddhist community or the lack of a central ecclesiastical authority to determine orthodoxy. From the beginning of its history, Buddhism allowed its local monastic orders to function as autonomous, self-governing bodies in accordance with the teachings and disciplinary rules that they had inherited. As might be expected, the development of the autonomous monastic orders, or "schools," led to the rise of different versions of the canon without, however, invalidating the importance of the concept of canon or the theoretical unity of the Buddhist community as a whole.

Underneath all this evidence for a virtual absence of the canonical and ecclesiastical authority is the Buddha's insistence on the primacy of self-knowledge, the immediacy of experience, or the personal realization of truth. The canon of scriptures in Buddhism was generally authoritative in concept, but in practice it functioned meaningfully only on the level of particular monastic orders or schools. Moreover, the concept of canonicity itself was often in conflict with the Buddhist belief in the immediacy of the experience of enlightenment.

This general trend, away from the traditional scriptures and toward the exploration of new insights, wisdom, and interpretations, is more evident in Mahāyāna Buddhism, which arose in the first century CE, than in Theravāda, that is, Buddhism in more traditional forms, especially regarding the concepts of the Buddha and the *dharma.* The concept of the Buddha in Mahāyāna has changed so much that he is no longer simply the person who attained enlightenment in the sixth century BCE, but is regarded as a self-manifestation in history of the *dharmakāya*, a cosmic principle immanent in all beings, the ground of all expressions of the eternal Buddha nature. The Buddha preaching on the Vulture Peak, as he does in Mahāyāna scriptures, is not a human teacher talking to a band of his disciples but a transhistorical being addressing himself to representatives of the whole universe. Mahāyāna scriptures purport to be ever-recurring revelations of the eternal universal principle (*dharmakāya*) and tend to be dissociated from the tradition that is deeply rooted in the particular life of the historical Buddha. A scripture is considered useful insofar as it can lead one to the same religious experience that the Buddha himself had during his life. The implication is that scriptures can ultimately be dispensed with. This implication is most evident in Zen Buddhism, which claims to be based on a "special transmission outside the scriptures" and stresses only the immediate personal experience of *kenshō* ("seeing into one's true nature"), or enlightenment.

Christianity. During his public life of ministry, Jesus of Nazareth rejected the authority of the oral Torah in Judaism, which is often referred to in the New Testament as the "tradition of the fathers." For this he substituted his own authority as interpreter of the written Torah (the Mosaic Law), namely, the authority of the one who proclaimed, in word and deed, God's will as well as the imminent coming of the kingdom of God. Jesus thus presented himself as the ultimate source of the new traditions, which were to become authoritative for the emerging church or community of Christians.

After the resurrection of Jesus, his immediate disciples understood the meaning of his life, suffering, and death in the light of the Hebrew scriptures: Jesus was the Messiah (the Christ) and the fulfillment of God's promise. Naturally, the church assumed responsibility for the creation and transmission of the traditions concerning the words and deeds of Jesus Christ. For the primitive Christian community these traditions were the most appropriate and correct interpretations of the written Torah; they were, in effect, the oral Torah of Christianity. It was especially the apostles and Paul—eyewitnesses to the earthly life and to the resurrection of Jesus Christ—who played a vital role in the interpretation and transmission of the traditions, just as in Judaism scribes and rabbis made essential contributions to the transmission of the oral Torah. Here emerged the authoritative apostolic tradition, which was initially transmitted orally, then written down in the various literary forms, and finally codified by the church as the canon of the New Testament. This New Testament took its place beside the canon of the Old Testament. While Protestantism accords supreme authority to the combined Old and New Testament as the sum total of the apostolic tradition, distinguishing it from the postapostolic tradition, Catholicism asserts the ongoing tradition of the church as having equal authority with the apostolic tradition embodied in the scripture. For Catholics there is no fundamental opposition between scripture and tradition; they are manifestations of one and the same thing, the apostolic tradition.

The essence of the Roman Catholic church lies in its institutional character as the objective organ of salvation, which is embodied in tradition, sacraments (seven in number), and priesthood. The church stands for the eternal presence of Jesus Christ in history, and the papacy is based on the founder's explicit designation of Peter as the foundation rock of the church. Roman Catholics claim a direct succession of papal authority from Peter to the present pope, and this claim to legitimacy, which under the pope's sanction extends to the entire Roman Catholic priesthood, is a vital element in grounding the authority of the church. Sacraments are the objective and tangible channels through which God's grace is communicated to the faithful. The objectivism of Roman Catholicism is best exemplified in its interpretation of the Eucharist, namely, the theory of transubstantiation, officially proclaimed as doctrine in 1215. As to the teaching of the church, it is the magisterium (teaching authority) of the church, the pope, who determines the legitimate interpretation of scripture and tradition. From medieval times, membership in the Roman Catholic church has involved submission to papal authority. This is certainly a typical example of institutionalized charisma, and over the centuries it has proved its strength as a source of authority in the lives of its adherents.

Eastern Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism agree that the church possesses the divinely given infallible authority. Eastern Orthodoxy differs from Roman Catholicism, however, in that its church has no organ of infallibility; the quality of infallibility resides in the mystically conceived church itself, not in any fixed office like that of the Roman Catholic papacy.

The Protestant understanding of authority is inclined more or less toward subjectivism in contrast to the objectivism of medieval Christianity. The Protestant Reformation hinged upon two main principles of complementary importance: justification by faith and the authority of scripture.

The question that most preoccupied Martin Luther was soteriology, that is, the question of personal salvation and its certainty. According to Luther, man is justified before God by faith alone; the church with its priesthood, sacraments, and tradition can by no means guarantee man's salvation. Hence Luther reduced the sacraments to two, baptism and the Lord's Supper. While justification by faith is the "material" principle of the Reformation, scripture alone is its "formal" principle. For Luther, as well as for John Calvin, the Bible, not the church, is the final authority for Christian life. While Calvin in his practice of interpretation seems to accept particular words of the Bible as the revealed word of God, Luther distinguishes between the words of the Bible and the word that God speaks through them: the words of the Bible are the "cradle of Christ." Accordingly, Luther does not support the literal interpretation of the Bible, nor does he find the word of God equally in all its parts, but regards some as inferior in quality. The corollary of the two main principles of the Reformation is the theory concerning the priesthood of all believers: each and every individual is a priest to himself or herself and as such is to serve God by listening to the word of God within the words of the Bible. This emphasis on personal conscience constitutes a great innovation of the Reformation, but it has also opened the way for uncontrolled interpretations of the Bible as well as the proliferation of an ever-increasing number of Protestant denominations and small sects led by conscientious, "inspired" leaders.

Trends away from the Roman Catholic type of objectivism and toward subjectivism are even more evident in many sectarian Protestant communities. They insist on the importance of Bible study, prayer, and the personal experience of salvation and its certainty; and for members of these communities the ideas of sin, salvation, and faith in Jesus Christ assume an intense and vivid personal reality. One of the best examples of this Protestant emphasis is George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, also known as the Quakers. Fox organized a community of the faithful without priesthood or sacramental rites. He was convinced that true religion consisted not in the church or in the creeds, but in the personal experience of what he called illumination by the Holy Spirit; the source of final authority for him was the personal experience of the inner light.

Islam. For Muslims the Qurʾān is the immediate and complete revelation of God's message to mankind through Muḥammad. It is the heavenly book of revelation, the word of God par excellence. While controversies have raged among Muslims as to the sense in which this is true, that it is true has never been questioned. The Qurʾān for some Muslims is "created," but for the majority it is not a historical creation; just as the Torah in Judaism is of celestial origin, deriving from the time prior to the creation, the Qurʾān, although composed in Arabic, reflects its heavenly archetype. Thus the Qurʾān is "uncreated," not conditioned by time and history. The Qurʾān is unquestionably the supreme source of authority for the *ummah,* or Muslim community.

The Muslim community has also accepted the *ḥadīth* ("tradition," i.e., the record of the words and deeds) of the prophet Muḥammad as the normative authority for its beliefs and practices. While Muslims do not consider him the savior in the Christian sense of the word, they are firmly convinced that Muḥammad was divinely guided in the years after receiving the revelation; he is God's prophet and apostle and the perfect man, the exemplary model and spiritual guide for humanity. For Muslims, everything Muḥammad said and did during his life is worthy of study and imitation.

Still another tradition, which is accepted as authoritative by the orthodox Muslims (Sunnīs), is the *ḥadīth* of the first four caliphs. In his later years, when he was in Medina, Muḥammad attempted to build up a socioreligious community on the basis of Islamic principles, and after his death this ideal was carried on by his four immediate successors (caliphs), known as the ideal rulers. The Muslim community then was in need of detailed rules for ordering both its communal life and the life of its individual members. These rules of life, called *sharīʿah,* or Islamic law, are based on the interpretation of the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth*s of Muḥammad and the first four caliphs who followed him.

Significantly, the caliph as head of the community had no pontifical or even priestly functions. His task was not to expound or to interpret the faith, but to serve as the guardian of the public order. The task of interpreting the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*s and applying them to the actual life of the community was carried out by the *ʿulamāʾ*. They were not priests and claimed no priestly power or authority, but, on account of their learning in the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*s, played an important role quite analogous to that of the Jewish rabbinate.

While the Sunnīs consider the *ḥadīth* concerning the first three caliphs as one of the sources of authority for Islam, the Shīʿīs have rejected it as such, because they view the three caliphs as illegal usurpers and recognize instead ʿAlī, Muḥammad's cousin and son-in-law, as the first caliph, or, more properly, the first imam. What underlies the Shīʿī contention is the belief that Muḥammad's personal charisma, which he received from God, is transmitted genealogically only in his family tradition. This view is remarkably different from the Sunnī view that Muḥammad's charisma is channeled through the office of caliph regardless of its occupant: while Sunnī orthodoxy is committed to the principle of institutional charisma, the Shīʿīs reject it and uphold the principle of hereditary charisma. Accordingly, the Shīʿīs have replaced the *ḥadīth* of the first three caliphs with the *ḥadīth* of the twelve imams.

In sharp contrast to the caliph, who has no legal authority, the imam is authorized to interpret the *ḥaqīqah*, or inner mysteries, which are hidden in the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*s. He is endowed with such a spiritual gift because, through the chain of direct transmission, he has received from Muḥammad a body of gnosis, or esoteric knowledge. Consequently, the imam is charged with a power at once political and religious; he is one who rules the community with mercy and justice but who also interprets Islamic law and its inner meanings. Naturally, the Shīʿīs are persuaded that the final authority for Islam is in the hands of the imam himself. According to them, the last, or twelfth, imam, the so-called hidden imam, did not die but entered a prolonged "concealment." One day, so they believe, from that state of concealment he will emerge as the Mahdi ("expected one"), that is, the messiah. Until he comes, a group of leading lawyer-theologians, called *mujtāhid*s, will continue to exercise an extensive authority on matters of religion and law.

TENSION BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR AUTHORITIES. While tension between religious and secular authorities may be present in primitive and archaic cultures, it arises in its sharpest forms only after the emergence of the founded religion. Then it occurs between rival principles, each claiming universal supremacy, and only under particular cultural and historical circumstances.

Islam has rarely experienced tensions analogous to those between church and state in medieval Western Christendom because the Muslim community has been founded on the principle of theocracy, and a distinct ecclesiastical body powerful enough to challenge secular authorities has never existed.

Buddhism knows of no such tensions either, but for different reasons. While it succeeded in establishing a theocratic state in Tibet, in many other Asian countries it has been placed in a defensive position vis-à-vis the indigenous institution of sacral kingship and its ideology; the Buddhist community has either been headed by the king or indirectly put under control of the state. Consequently, it has been constantly exposed to the temptation of soliciting favor from secular authorities. It may be noted, in this connection, that Buddhism developed a theory for peaceful interdependence between its own community and the state: the ideal of the *cakravartin*, a righteous, universal king. Whereas the Buddha was depicted as a universal king in the spiritual domain, who set in motion of wheel of *dharma,* the *cakravartin*, essentially political in nature, was widely expected to appear as a universal king and to turn a wheel of *dharma* in the secular domain. The Buddhist community saw in Aśoka, the third emperor of the great Mauryan kingdom, the realization of the *cakravartin* ideal: he converted to Buddhism, supported its community, sent out missionaries, and governed people in accordance with the *dharma.* To the eyes of the Buddhists, the two wheels of *dharma,* one in the spiritual domain and the other in the secular, should go hand in hand. This theory, a kind of caesaropapism, has exerted enduring influences on Asian countries.

The Christian church in its early centuries had no ambition to stand against the Roman imperial authority. It desired only freedom from persecution. This whole situation was changed by the conversion of Constantine, in the fourth century, and by the subsequent spread of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire. What emerged in the arena of church-state relations was caesaropapism. The Byzantine emperors transformed the church of the Eastern Empire into a state church closely dependent on the imperial government; these emperors claimed the right to control the church and decide any disputes that arose in the ecclesiastical sphere, and the prelates of Constantinople accepted their claims.

In the Western Empire the situation was different. All effective imperial power gradually declined during the early Middle Ages, and this resulted in the emergence of the popes as temporal governors of Rome and its surroundings. Moreover, they abandoned their old allegiance to the Byzantine emperors and formed a new alliance with the Frankish kings. The climax of this Frankish-papal alliance occurred with Leo III's coronation of Charlemagne as emperor of the Romans in 800; thus Leo established the precedent, followed through the Middle Ages, that papal coronation is essential to the making of an emperor, and in so doing he implanted the germ of the idea that empire is a gift to be bestowed by the papacy.

The king's office, however, was conceived to be as sacred as the papacy, a view supported by Old Testament texts; kings were regarded as the Lord's anointed, as ministers of God, and were hailed as vicars of Christ. As such, they aspired to supreme power, both spiritual and temporal. It soon became customary throughout Europe for kings to choose bishops; they gave them great fiefs and invested them with the ring and pastoral staff that symbolized episcopal office. This practice proved beneficial for the kings, but it was a radical departure from the sacred tradition of the church. A measure of this imperial power can be illustrated by an incident that occurred in 1046. When Henry III of Germany arrived in Rome for his imperial coronation, he found there three rival candidates for the papal throne, each claiming to be the rightful pope. Henry settled the issue in high-handed manner: he dismissed all three and installed his own choice. It seemed to Henry that he had as much right to appoint a bishop for Rome as for any other diocese in his territory, and as vicar of God he was also very much aware of his duty to appoint the best man available to such an important office.

The clash between papal theocracy and imperial theocracy became inevitable in 1073 when Hildebrand became Pope Gregory VII and asserted the church's independence from, and indeed its domination over, the imperial power embodied in Henry IV of Germany. Henry could not give up the right of appointing bishops without abandoning all hope of welding Germany into a unified monarchy, and Gregory could not acquiesce in the imperial claims, which included a claim to appoint the popes themselves. The Roman pontiff maintained that as God's vicar he possessed a direct authority—not only spiritual but also political—over all men and all their affairs in the *Corpus Christianum.* He even asserted in the *Dictatus Papae*, issued in 1075, that the pope could depose emperors. Henry then appointed a bishop of Milan and strengthened his position by summoning a council of German bishops, which accused Gregory of gross abuse of papal authority. Gregory replied in 1076 with a decree in which he declared Henry excommunicated and deprived of his imperial authority. Rarely has the history of religions witnessed more direct clashes between religious and secular authorities.

SEE ALSO Buddhist Books and Texts, article on Canon and Canonization; Canon; Imamate; Intellectuals; Kingship; Myth; Papacy; Politics and Religion; Scripture; Sunnah; Tradition; Truth.

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AUTOBIOGRAPHY. Autobiography is a form of religious literature with an ancient lineage in the Christian, Islamic, and Tibetan Buddhist traditions. It became an increasingly common and significant form of discourse in almost every religious tradition during the twentieth century, and its many forms and recurring themes raise crucial religious issues. This article first discusses Christian and Islamic autobiography, then turns to examples of life writing in Asian and Native American cultures, and finally discusses the religious significance of this literary genre.

The question of how to define autobiography is highly contested. By its most precise and restricted definition, autobiography is, according to Philippe Lejeune's *On Autobiography* (1989), "a retrospective prose narrative that someone writes concerning his own existence, where the focus is the individual life, in particular the story of his personality." Many scholars follow Karl Weintraub in seeing "true" autobiography as tied to the development of the ideas of individuality and historicity, and therefore as an essentially Western form of discourse. Yet there is a great deal of writing that intentionally reveals the author's character in different ways than classical Western autobiography, and these representations of the author's self will be considered here as forms of religious autobiography. In the West, many examples of life writing do not fit all aspects of the traditional definition, such as memoirs of only a portion of a person's life, accounts in poetry, and diaries and journals that reflect day-by-day introspection rather than a retrospective view of an entire life. Many non-Western texts disclose the author's religious experiences, although they are usually less concerned with distinguishing the author's uniqueness or singularity than they are with exemplifying a collective sense of identity, a community's values, or the common human condition. One must be flexible in recognizing the diverse forms of writing about the self in the world's religious traditions and discern both similarities and differences in relation to the classical Western tradition of autobiography. What makes an autobiography religious is the author's attempt to describe and evaluate his or her life from the perspective of the author's present convictions about what is ultimate or sacred.

CLASSIC CHRISTIAN AUTOBIOGRAPHIES. Augustine's *Confessions,* written between 397 and 401, is the fountainhead of Christian autobiography. Augustine (354–430) showed later writers how to interpret the self in relation to the models and norms of Christian tradition, including biblical figures such as Adam, Moses, Jesus, and Paul. Augustine's self-disclosure is indebted to two biblical genres: the Hebrew psalms and Pauline letters. Confession for Augustine denotes both acknowledgment of sin and confession of praise to God. The entire book is directly addressed to God, as Augustine speaks in the second person to the source of all being and the One who knows him better than he knows himself. The most famous sentence in the *Confessions* is essentially a plot summary: "Our hearts are restless until they rest in You." Augustine attempts repeatedly to place his faith in something other than God: his career as a teacher, the Manichee religion, the love of a woman, or his dear friends. Finally, after these idols have failed to satisfy his yearning, and after protracted intellectual struggle, he commits himself to God and attains the serenity that he asserts can come only from a correct understanding and wholehearted trust in God. As a conversion narrative, the *Confessions* became a model for both long-drawn-out religious change and a sudden crisis such as Augustine dramatizes in Book 8. It can be argued that the very nature of autobiography is tied to the structure of the conversion narrative as the story of how the story's protagonist became the narrator of the story, the person whose present understanding provides the norms by which past actions are judged. Yet one must be wary about imposing this paradigm on all texts, especially ones from religious traditions other than Christianity.

Many of the central themes of Christian autobiography are rooted in Augustine's *Confessions.* A searching, self-critical conscience shapes the introspective, moralizing tenor of many later Christian works. Augustine's account of memory and time in Books 10–13 analyzes the deeply problematic nature of self-knowledge and his continuing dependence on God in the act of composition. Augustine showed the interdependence of the writer's life story with central philosophical and theological questions about the nature of truth, agency, textuality, faith, and ultimacy. The theme of providence is a crucial aspect of Augustine's legacy, for he demonstrated how a faithful Christian may discern God's guidance of his life through trials, sin, and suffering.

Among the most important autobiographical works in Christian tradition are the writings of medieval mystics including Teresa of Ávila, Julian of Norwich, Ignatius of Loyola, and Margery Kempe. These works are characterized by an intense focus on the life of prayer and vision to the relative neglect of details of ordinary social life. Abelard (1079–1142) wrote *The History of My Misfortunes* to try to understand his adversities, defend himself against false accusations, and model Christian virtues. In contrast to Augustine's self-accusation, Abelard's work is largely an apology, a defense of his character. Petrarch (1304–1374) composed three imaginary dialogues with Augustine entitled the *Secretum,* examining his own life's pursuits in the light of Christian norms in preparation for death. The essays of Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592) offer a thematic rather than chronological account of the writer and a constantly changing self-awareness rather than a stable and permanent sense of identity. Montaigne is skeptical of religious certainties and understands himself in the light of classical texts rather than the Bible. There is a crucial ethical dimension in Montaigne's criticisms of arrogance and presumptuousness in all areas of life, including matters of religious controversy. He shows how religious and political theories usually neglect the physical realities of human existence, pointing out that even "on the loftiest throne in the world we are still sitting on our own rump."

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Protestants wrote prolifically in many genres: diaries, captivity narratives, community histories, and conversion accounts. John Bunyan (1628–1688) was the most influential Protestant autobiographer. *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners* (1666) was written while Bunyan was imprisoned for preaching to the Baptist community of Bedford, England. Bunyan never goes through a decisive conversion culminating in final serenity, but instead undergoes a protracted pattern of doubting his salvation, searching the Bible for clues, and being reassured that he is indeed one of the elect. Then the cycle begins again. Bunyan's narrative shows the anxieties that shaped Puritan religious experience, an interest in the mundane details of an ordinary Christian's life, and a relentless Protestant focus on the Bible as the key to interpreting every experience. Later Protestants, including Thomas Shepard, Cotton Mather, Mary Rowlandson, Elizabeth Ashbridge, George Fox, Jonathan Edwards, and John Woolman also sought to discern God's will or providential design for their lives, and they took biblical figures as models or metaphors for their experience. A period of wandering in the wilderness, an episode of being a prodigal son, or entrance into a promised land became the lens for interpreting incidents in their lives. These works are highly introspective, scrupulously probing thoughts and behavior for hints of sin. Puritans and Quakers used their own stories didactically to instruct others about their central convictions and to model the expected pattern of a believer's life.

CHRISTIAN VALUES IN MODERN WESTERN AUTOBIOGRAPHIES. Christian values and beliefs continue to influence many autobiographers with secular concerns. Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) describes his "scheme of perfection" based on a theory of the virtues and his multifarious endeavors to improve Philadelphia, largely discarding theological convictions. Franklin was a Deist with little interest in doctrine or denominational loyalties. His autobiography shows how Christian moral values could be expressed in practical activity and a narrative of character building, as well as utilitarian and pragmatic modes of thinking that were hostile to an otherworldly orientation.

In *The Confessions* of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), Christian metaphors shape the thought of a man who has moved far from Augustine's self-accusation and dependence on God's mercy. Rousseau imagines a scene at the Last Judgment when he will present his autobiography to God and receive approval for his truthfulness. It is not God, however, but his readers and his own guilty conscience that Rousseau tries to persuade of his essential goodness. His moral standard is not virtuous behavior but sincerity, utter truthfulness about himself: "I have displayed myself as I was, as vile and despicable when my behavior was such, as good, generous, and noble when I was so." Rousseau defiantly challenges any reader to reveal his heart with equal candor and then say, "I was a better man than he." When he describes a number of rather distasteful deeds, Rousseau asserts that it was always an embarrassing social situation that forced him to act against his benevolent inclinations. Human nature is essentially good, he argues, and the errors people make are not attributable to selfishness or sin but to the inhospitable and false environment of modern society, which creates a struggle for status that corrupts the innocent child of nature. Although there are many prior examples of life writing with a focus on nonreligious matters, Rousseau marks the beginning of secular autobiography haunted by spiritual anxieties. The social struggles of the self displace the religious journey of a soul, and it is not movement toward God's salvation but the author's achievements and encounters in society that decisively shape the plot of his story. There is a crucial religious dimension in Rousseau's struggle to understand the meaning of his life in terms of a secular response to the problem of evil. He believes that his explanation of why he is persecuted illumines the fundamental nature of the human condition. If Rousseau abandons the substance of Christian faith, he retains its metaphors and imagery and the yearning for an ultimate judgment and justification of his character. This desire is continually frustrated, and *The Confessions* dramatically displays the increasing paranoia and self-deception that marked Rousseau's final years.

In the nineteenth century many "versions of deconversion," as John D. Barbour puts it in his 1994 work of that title, describe the loss of faith. This experience is often the result of profound religious doubt and moral reflection and is described in terms of Christian motifs such as a central event of crisis, analysis of the subjective experience of faith, and a transition to a new community with a new language for describing oneself and the world. Such writers as Thomas Carlyle, John Ruskin, Leo Tolstoy, and Edmund Gosse wrote powerful accounts of the reasons for which they abandoned a particular form of Christianity and sought meaning elsewhere, as in aesthetic experience. At the turn of the twenty-first century, the theme of deconversion continues to be important in autobiography as writers explore religious doubts, assess the practices of religious communities, and struggle to reconcile belief in historic Christian doctrines with other intellectual and moral convictions, for instance, about scientific theory or the rights of women.

Among the most compelling modern autobiographies by Roman Catholics are John Henry Newman's *Apologia pro Vita Sua* (1864); Dorothy Day's *The Long Loneliness* (1952); and the many letters, journals, and essays by Thomas Merton (1915–1968). Influential Protestant works include medical missionary Albert Schweitzer's *Out of My Life and Thought* (1933); C. S. Lewis's conversion narrative, *Surprised by Joy* (1955); and Dietrich Bonhoeffer's *Letters and Papers from Prison* (1951), a posthumously published collection by a German theologian imprisoned and executed by the Nazis. Conversion narratives continue to be a popular genre, and in recent decades they are often linked to the theme of recovery from various forms of addiction or abuse. Christian women and persons of color address the reasons that they remain committed to a tradition that has frequently been misogynistic and racist. They criticize oppressive aspects of Christian thought and practice and retrieve minority perspectives that may offer a helpful corrective in the ongoing struggle for justice within Christian tradition and in the larger society.

ISLAMIC AUTOBIOGRAPHY. Autobiographical writing in Islamic culture began in the ninth century and is influenced by even older traditions of biography such as the *sīra* (exemplary life story) and *tarjama* (biographical notice included in a larger work). Islamic works of hagiography are especially concerned with the chain of transmission of authority back to the Prophet. Some of the earliest autobiographies composed in Arabic are essentially self-authored examples of these biographical genres. Because Islamic historians valued eyewitness accounts so highly, autobiography was usually seen as a reliable and significant source of knowledge for posterity. In *Interpreting the Self* (2001), Dwight Reynolds identifies over one hundred Arabic autobiographical texts written between the ninth and nineteenth centuries CE and translates thirteen representative works into English.

Often a particular verse from the Qurʾān provided religious justification for self-representation: "And of the blessings of thy Lord, speak!" (93:11). Telling one's story was an act of thanksgiving, gratitude, and praise for the generosity of Allah. Writers often referred to the example of respected figures of the past or traced the spiritual lineage of the author's teaching. Most Islamic autobiographies are highly didactic, and the purpose of moral instruction legitimates depicting the self. Muslim writers often present themselves explicitly as models for the reader's emulation.

As in other traditions, an emphasis on a particular religious theme is often associated with a distinctive category or genre of autobiographical writing. Conversion narratives recount how a Christian or Jew became a Muslim or how a relatively indifferent Muslim was moved to greater piety, ascetic practice, or the Ṣūfī path. Narratives of pilgrimage recount the life-transforming effects of the journey to Mecca. Ṣūfī texts explore mystical states and the ascent through spiritual stations. The Mughal Empire in India yielded numerous autobiographical texts such as the sixteenth-century *Bāburnāmah,* or *Book of Bābur,* written by the founder of that empire.

The most famous classical Arabic autobiography is *al-Munquidh min al-dalāl,* by al-Ghazālī (1058–1111 CE [450-505 AH]). This work recounts a spiritual crisis that has intrigued Western readers and is often compared to Augustine's *Confessions.* Literally translated as "What delivers from error," this work is rendered in a 1992 English translation as *The Confessions of al-Ghazālī.* When al-Ghazālī experienced a total breakdown that left him unable to speak, he undertook a ten-year period of wandering and seclusion. He found serenity in the Ṣūfī emphasis on the heart and intuitive knowledge rather than intellectual argument. Al-Ghazālī correlates his account of his spiritual search with polemical arguments against other Islamic theologians and philosophers.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Muslim autobiographers were influenced by traditional forms and themes and were also shaped by Western literature, especially the novel. After the Egyptian scholar Tāhā Ḥusayn's *al-Ayyām* (1929; *An Egyptian Childhood* [1932]), it was possible to explore in an author's life the uneasy encounters between Islamic culture and the modern secular world. In the twentieth century, autobiographies such as Muhammad Asad's *The Road to Mecca* (1954) and *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1965) were composed in English and European languages by converts to Islam.

HINDUISM. There is virtually no autobiography in Hindu tradition until the twentieth century. Various explanations have been offered for the relative lack of interest in self-representation: the Indian love of philosophy and general absence of historical writing; the cyclical view of time; and the deemphasis on the individual in the search for universal truth. Whatever the explanation, there are few examples of first-person life narratives in classical Hindu tradition, although there are rich personal references and expressions in the writings of *sant*-poets such as Kabir (fifteenth century) and Tukaram (seventeenth century).

Western literary influences and an intended Western audience shape the first modern Hindu autobiographies. Swami Vivekananda (1863–1902), the heir of the mystic Sri Ramakrishna, attained renown at the first World Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893. His letters, while not a complete narrative of his life, reveal his distinctive personality to his disciples in the Ramakrishna Mission and to potential supporters both Indian and Western. *Autobiography of a Yogi* (1946), by Paramahansa Yogananda, has been published in many editions and languages. Yogananda (1893–1952) was a Bengali who came to the United States in 1920 and spent many years teaching yoga, lecturing, and promoting his Self-Realization Fellowship. His autobiography focuses on encounters with saints, *gurus,* and yogis who taught and inspired him.

The outstanding example of autobiography by a Hindu is Mohandas Gandhi's *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (1927). This work was originally written in Gujarati and published in 1925 in weekly installments in a nationalist journal. It was soon translated into English and many other languages and played an important role in the political movement for Indian independence. In the introduction, Gandhi discusses his ambivalent relationship to the Western idea of autobiography. He quotes a friend's doubts about doing this kind of writing:

> "Writing an autobiography is a practice peculiar to the West. I know of nobody in the East having written one, except amongst those who have come under Western influence. And what will you write? Supposing you reject tomorrow the things you hold as principles today, or supposing you revise in the future your plans of today, is it not likely that the men who shape their conduct on the authority of your word, spoken or written, may be misled?"

Gandhi responds that it is not his purpose to write "a real autobiography." Rather, "I simply want to tell the story of my experiments with truth, and as my life consists of nothing but these experiments, it is true that the story will take the shape of an autobiography." His narrative recounts the story of a soul's striving for *satya* (truth), which was Gandhi's "sovereign principle," equated with God. Gandhi orients his life story to the truth as he understands it, yet he also presents his life as an experiment open to revision and further clarification. The writing of a spiritual text that has "the shape of an autobiography" requires the practice of the virtues of truthfulness, humility, courage, and discerning moral judgment. Finally, however, it is a work about *satyagraha* (the force of truth), not personal virtue: "My purpose is to describe experiments in the science of Satyagraha, not to say how good I am."

Autobiographers from Hindu tradition have often used this form of discourse as part of their effort to proselytize in the West. In addition, *dalit* literature by members of "untouchable" castes and conversion stories to other religious traditions voice criticisms of traditional Hindu social structure and raise important questions about what beliefs and practices are central to Hinduism and what may be changed. Autobiography thus plays a powerful role in contemporary ethical critique and reflection on the nature of Hindu identity and society and their controversial relationship to the nation of India.

BUDDHISM. With one significant exception, Buddhist cultures did not produce autobiographical literature until the twentieth century. The reason for this absence has been explained in various ways: the concept of the self is viewed by Buddhists as an illusion; calling attention to oneself is seen as egotistical; and the ideal of sudden enlightenment precludes interest in what leads up to the moment of awakening. These simplistic explanations do not probe deeply enough into the cultural contexts that inhibited Buddhist life writing in India and China and fostered it in Tibet.

Janet Gyatso's *Apparitions of the Self* (1998) examines the Tibetan genre of "secret autobiography" (*rangnam*) as composed by such visionary lamas as Jigme Lingpa (1730–1798). This literary tradition focuses on the way a spiritual master attained liberation through visions, yogic practices, and memories of past lives. Such texts do not record all the factual details that the genre of "outer" autobiography would narrate. Like spiritual autobiography in Puritan and Catholic traditions, *rangnam* deals with what is interior and most important: the ways in which the subject understands ultimate reality as a result of personal experience. In Tibet, visionaries discovered so-called Treasures revealed in previous lives that they retrieve and transmit to disciples. The autobiographical dimension of these texts consists in the visionary's demonstration of his awesome powers, profound meditative experiences, and unique insights into the elusive nature of subjectivity. *Rangnam* legitimized a lama's authority, inspired confidence in disciples, and distinguished among competing interpretations of Buddhist thought.

According to Gyatso, Buddhism nurtured autobiography in Tibet because of particular historical factors that were not present in India or China. Tibet's tradition of self-written life stories dates to the eleventh century. Unlike India and China, where Buddhism never supplanted ancient traditions, Tibet became predominantly Buddhist. Salvation was always a matter of individual self-transformation and was not linked to membership in a clan or group. In this context religious power and prestige were based on individual accomplishments such as celibacy and asceticism, remembering prior lives, and esoteric yogic practices and visions. Biography and autobiography flourished in the competition between charismatic teachers vying for disciples and patronage. Tibetan Buddhist autobiography made possible self-assertion and cultivation of the individual characteristics of a religious leader, even as these texts show the unstable, elusive quality of the states of mind that human beings typically identify with selfhood. The paradox of representing a self that allegedly does not exist challenges modern Western Buddhists to devise new literary strategies to depict their path to awakening. Since everything is constantly changing and the origin of suffering is the desire to cling to what is unstable, Buddhist autobiography, like postmodernist thought in the West, must depend on the idea of the self even as it shows the self to be a projection, illusion, or fiction.

CHINA AND JAPAN. Ancient Chinese autobiographies were modeled after biography and focused on public historical facts rather than intimate self-knowledge. In the Confucian and Daoist traditions the emphasis on self-effacement and modesty discouraged revealing accounts of religious experience. Chan Buddhist narratives are circumspect in their portrayal of enlightenment. The doctrine of sudden enlightenment without long years of practice may have been a factor, as was the lack of a literary tradition providing a model for the personal search for wisdom.

According to Pei-Yi Wu in *The Confucian's Progress* (1990), there was a significant group of Confucian autobiographers during the late Ming period, the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Models for life writing were found in travel literature and in accounts by Buddhist disciples of their masters' sermons, which sometimes described incidents in their lives. Writers such as the Confucian apostate and Buddhist monk Deng Huoqu (1498–c. 1570) and the neo-Confucian Gao Panlong (1562–1626) described quests for self-transformation using metaphors of journey and ascent. In addition, a group of penitential texts written at about the same time confess misdeeds, express self-reproach and remorse, beg forgiveness from a deity, or promise a reformed life.

This flowering of introspective life writing ended with the imposition of Manchu rule in 1644, which brought disapproval and official censorship of the bold literary experimentation associated with the late Ming period. Thereafter, autobiographies took the form of annals charting the stages of an official career until, in the twentieth century, Western practices influenced new kinds of life writing. The author's girlhood struggle to understand the relevance of Chinese myths and "talk-stories" to life in the United States is powerfully conveyed in Maxine Hong Kingston's *The Woman Warrior* (1976).

Japanese life writing dates to the Heian period (794–1185), when diaries were written in Chinese, such as the monk Ennin's account of his travels to China. The native *kana* script, often deemed suitable for women, was used to render emotional life and spiritual musings. Japan has a rich tradition of personal, introspective writing that presents the author's perceptions of the transience of the natural world and human life. What modern scholars call "recluse literature" or "grass-hut literature" (*sōan bungaku*) records a rural writer's contemplations of the vicissitudes of life and the emptiness at the heart of all existence. The most famous is *Hōjōki* (An account of my hut) by Kamo no Chōmei (1156?–1216). Another genre is the official diaries kept by the holders of established positions, including leaders of monastic institutions. Since the Tokugawa period (1600–1868), neo-Confucian values have shaped autobiographies written by the heads of families for their descendents, which describe the duties expected of future generations.

Chinese models influence Japanese accounts of travel to sacred places and to sites made famous in literature. These works take the author's journey through space as a metaphor for human existence and construct the self in relation to literary precedent. The poet Bashō (1644–1694) wrote five travel narratives, the most famous of which has been translated as *The Narrow Road to the Deep North* (1966). Bashō combined haiku and prose narration in describing his physical and spiritual journey through Japan. Bashō studied with a Zen Buddhist priest and was also influenced by neo-Confucianism and the *kami* (Shintō) cults.

NATIVE AMERICAN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. As a written text, autobiography is not found in oral cultures such as those of Native American tribes. Yet oral traditions of life narration have influenced the written narratives that American Indians began to produce in great number in the nineteenth century. In *American Indian Autobiography* (1988), H. David Brumble identifies "preliterate traditions" including coup tales, self-examinations to account for misfortune, educational narratives, and stories about the acquisition of healing or visionary powers. The survival and vitality of oral traditions is an important theme in other tribal cultures such as those of Australian aboriginal people. The preservation of threatened cultural knowledge is a significant incentive for life writing in many indigenous cultures and also in displaced or refugee communities such as the Hmong of Laos and other diaspora peoples.

There are more than seven hundred Native American autobiographical narratives. More than half of these documents are "as-told-to" stories edited by white missionaries, anthropologists, and literary scholars. Many of these collaborative works raise controversial questions about the extent of the white editor's contribution. The most famous American Indian autobiography is *Black Elk Speaks* (1932). This narrative tells the story of the life of Black Elk (1863–1950), the Oglala Sioux holy man, from the age of nine until he witnesses the Wounded Knee massacre in 1890. It recounts Black Elk's spiritual visions, important Lakota rituals and healing practices, and the Ghost Dance movement. In a 1979 introduction to this work, Vine Deloria Jr. asserts that *Black Elk Speaks* "has become a North American bible of all tribes." Yet this text reflects the perspective of "editor" John G. Neihardt as much as Black Elk's. It ends with a portrayal of Black Elk as a despairing and defeated man lamenting his failure to make the Lakota spiritual vision relevant to his people at a time of crisis. The narrative does not reveal that Black Elk converted to Roman Catholicism in 1904 and acted for decades as a catechist and missionary on Indian reservations, or that Black Elk continued to believe in the value and relevance of the Lakota worldview. (See Raymond De Mallie's analysis in *The Sixth Grandfather* [1984] of the transcripts of the collaboration between Black Elk and Neihardt.) A very different form of as-told-to autobiography is created when the white editor is an anthropologist. For instance, Paul Radin's *The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian* (1920) recounts the life of S. B., a convert to the Peyote religion of the Native American Church, and Nancy Oestreich Lurie's *Mountain Wolf Woman* (1961) tells the story of S. B.'s sister, who also had religious experiences with peyote.

In addition to these white-edited "Indian autobiographies" there are "autobiographies by Indians" (Arnold Krupat's distinction) produced by literate Native Americans. The first ones were by Christians, such as *Son of the Forest* (1829) by William Apess (Pequot). Important works of life writing were produced by George Copway (Ojibway) in 1847, Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (Paiute) in 1883, Charles Eastman (Lakota) in 1902, and Luther Standing Bear (Lakota) in 1928. Subsequently, Native American novelists and poets have created highly complex personal narratives, such as *The Way to Rainy Mountain* (1969), by N. Scott Momaday (Kiowa and Cherokee); *Storyteller* (1981), by Leslie Marmon Silko (Kowa and Cherokee); and the poetry and memoirs of Linda Hogan (Chickasaw) and Joy Harjo (Creek). The dominant religious themes in these works are sacred geography and the importance of a sense of place in human identity; a cyclical view of time as necessary for human well-being; respect for the wisdom of elders and oral traditions; and the importance of reciprocity and harmony with the natural world, in human society, and with the sacred. Like the members of other threatened indigenous cultures (in this regard, too, Australian aboriginal peoples offer significant parallels), many American Indian writers use autobiography to explore the conflict of cultural values within their own lives and to protest against the racism, injustice, and spiritual poverty that they see in the dominant culture.

SPIRITUAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY. In addition to defining religious autobiography in relationship to specific historical traditions, one can consider certain more ambiguous texts, sometimes called spiritual autobiographies. Particularly in the West, spirituality usually means the personal, experiential aspects of religion in contrast with an organized community's doctrines, institutions, and rituals. Spiritual autobiographies are shaped by particular religious traditions, but the author is usually dissatisfied or looking beyond institutionalized forms of worship and belief. For instance, a genre of spiritual autobiography is American nature writing by such authors as Henry David Thoreau, John Muir, Annie Dillard, Edward Abbey, and Terry Tempest Williams. Another form of spiritual autobiography is writing by contemporary women who attempt to reconcile their apprehension of what is holy with patriarchal religious institutions, and to discriminate within their formative tradition that which is a source of oppression and that which is a liberating resource for women. Spiritual autobiographies are usually ambivalent about the author's original religious tradition, sorting out those elements that the author rejects and those that personal experience helps them to appreciate. Such writers seek an individual path, a personal approach to what is holy, although they also hope to find community.

Contemporary spiritual autobiographers often criticize traditional dualistic contrasts between the sacred and the profane and try to reclaim areas of life rejected by many religious believers as this-worldly. They usually do not seek salvation from ordinary human existence but rather beauty, meaning, and love within it. Spiritual autobiographers are primarily concerned to interpret personal experiences; far less than their predecessors do they advocate particular beliefs, doctrines, or institutional affiliations to their readers. In contrast to most classic religious texts, these writers do not propose to readers a single normative model of belief or affiliation. They demonstrate far greater openness to a variety of legitimate religious options than one would find in most worshiping communities or in the history of religious autobiography. Spiritual autobiographers tend to be open-minded in this pluralistic sense, and their works are open-ended, leaving the impression that the author's search is not completed, but a journey still in progress. Seeking has become more important than finding, and an author may discover meaning even in the process of deconversion, or loss of faith. Scholars disagree about what kinds of writing should be considered as spiritual autobiographies. Does it make sense to see a work as spiritual when the search for self replaces the desire to know God, and when the goal of defining a unique personal identity becomes more important than otherworldly salvation, adherence to orthodox beliefs, or commitment to a community? Is a book a spiritual autobiography if its author is more concerned with literary originality than with fidelity to a received religious tradition? Readers will differ as to whether and how to interpret as spiritual autobiography such diverse texts as Peter Matthiessen's *The Snow Leopard* (1978), Paul Auster's *The Invention of Solitude* (1982), Patricia Hampl's *Virgin Time* (1992), Kathleen Norris's *Dakota* (1993), and Nancy Mairs's *Ordinary Time* (1993).

AUTOBIOGRAPHY AS A RELIGIOUS ACT. Even in religious traditions without a strong legacy of autobiography, first-person life writing became increasingly common and significant during the twentieth century. An example is Judaism, which does not have an ancient tradition of autobiography yet in the twentieth century produced many examples of Holocaust memoirs, accounts of struggles in Israel, and narratives about assimilation into American society. Autobiography seems likely to become even more widely practiced if we expand our definition to include self-representations that use technologies such as tape-recorded oral narratives, personal websites, confessional radio and television programs, and video and digital formats. The reasons for this proliferation of life narratives are many, complex, and religiously significant.

One reason for the prevalence of autobiography is anxiety about personal identity as individuals encounter the possibility of a secular orientation, the loosening of communal loyalties, and the challenge of other faiths and worldviews in an increasingly mobile and interdependent global culture. Autobiographers try to reconcile the ways that personal identity is shaped by membership in communities, including those fostered by religious commitments, and the ways in which identity is singular, distinctive, or unique. Without resolving the complex issue of whether autobiography is tied to the Western concept of the self, one can recognize that all life writing reveals an interplay between communal norms for life stories and individual differentiation. In religious autobiographies the authors believe that both of these pressures—adherence to communal norms and individual searching—bring them closer to what is ultimate. The religious autobiographer finds meaning not only in allegiance to tradition, but in an act of personal interpretation and self-evaluation. Relationship to a religious community takes the form of reinterpretation of one's life story in dialogue, although not necessarily in strict accordance with, a community's norms. The autobiographer discerns in new ways how a religious tradition's symbolic resources and mythic narratives may illumine personal experience, as well as ways that the tradition fails to help in the task of self-understanding or needs to be criticized in terms of other values.

Thus, writing an autobiography is itself a significant religious event and experience in the writer's life. The writing of autobiography raises crucial ethical issues, including the author's struggle with conscience as part of moral self-assessment (see John D. Barbour, *The Conscience of the Autobiographer* [1992]) and the effect of telling one's story on other persons (see Paul John Eakin, ed., *The Ethics of Life Writing* [2004]). Religious autobiography is best conceived of as a testing of the adequacy of a religious community's norms for a life narrative, when not only the communal norms but the testing itself—that is, the writing of one's life story—is believed to be called for by God or that which the author believes to be worthy of ultimate loyalty and trust. Religious autobiography attempts to interpret the life of the writer and reorient the lives of readers in relation to what is ultimate.

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JOHN D. BARBOUR (2005)

AVALOKITEŚVARA, a *bodhisattva* especially associated with the principle of compassion, is the most popular figure in the pan-Asian Mahāyāna Buddhist pantheon. Worshiped and invoked in both male and female forms, Avalokiteśvara is considered a potent savior in times of life-threatening dangers, who watches over all beings and heeds their cries of suffering and distress. He responds directly to the pleas of those in great need, while also serving in symbolic manner as the embodiment of the principle of compassion, a fundamental aspect of the Buddhist way of life. In addition to his numerous pan-Asian roles, Avalokiteśvara has played a significant role in distinctive local traditions throughout Buddhist Asia.

The meaning of this *bodhisattva*'s name traditionally has been understood in several ways, emphasizing his sovereignty over the material world and his responsiveness to the calls of suffering humanity. A principal interpretation holds that the name Avalokiteśvara is a compound of Sanskrit *avalokita* and *īśvara,* translated variously as "the lord of what is seen, the lord who is seen" or "the lord who surveys, gazing lord." The celebrated seventh-century Chinese monk-scholar Xianzang upheld this view, translating the *bodhisattva*'s name as Guanzizai ("gazing lord").

An alternate spelling of this name—Avalokitasvara—also existed, as seen in some fifth-century Sanskrit manuscripts and as noted by learned Chinese exegetes such as Chengguan (eighth century). This led to the well-known Chinese translation Guanyin ("he who has perceived sound"). The frequently seen Chinese translation Guanshiyin ("he who perceives the sounds of the world") appears to have a dubious etymological basis, but expresses well the functional quality of the *bodhisattva:* a savior who hears all cries of suffering and responds with potent aid.

Avalokiteśvara has numerous epithets. The most common are Padmapāṇi ("lotus bearer") and Lokeśvara ("lord of the world"), by which he is best known in Southeast Asia. Many epithets related to his specific saving functions are connected to a dizzying panoply of iconographic forms.

ORIGINS. It generally is agreed that the cult to Avalokiteśvara arose in the northwestern borderlands of India. Much scholarly energy has been devoted to determining the "origins" of the *bodhisattva.* Many of these efforts presuppose a diffusionist model for the formation of the Mahāyāna pantheon; they assume that the pantheon was in some way devised or adapted from the various deities of neighboring religious movements. For example, Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann (1948) suggested Iranian antecedents based on Avalokiteśvara's name and functions. Others hold that the pantheon came into being as the deification of early Buddhist principles or of potent moments in the life of Śākyamuni Buddha; for example, Giuseppe Tucci (1948) suggested that Avalokiteśvara is the personification of the compassionate gaze of Śākyamuni. Such views are far distant from the notable intensity of belief in the compassionate lifesaving powers of this deity, as expressed among Buddhist Asians from all levels of society. Mahāyāna scriptural traditions simply hold that Avalokiteśvara is one among many beings having human history whose dedication and spiritual development has led to successful fruition as a bodhisattva.

Principal Scriptural Sources. Among the numerous scriptural sources on Avalokiteśvara, three works are especially important: the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* (Lotus scripture), various versions of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra* (Pure land scripture), and the so-called *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra* (Contemplation on Amitāyus scripture). The *Lotus* provides much information on the *bodhisattva*'s lifesaving powers, while the *Pure Land* and the meditation scripture reveal his spiritual kinship to Amitābha Buddha and outline his functions in this context. These aspects both have been essential features of the cult.

The *Lotus* devotes a full chapter to Avalokiteśvara, and this chapter (chapter 25 in Kumārajīva's eloquent fourth-century Chinese translation) not uncommonly has been memorized, recited, and treated as an independent scripture by East Asian devotees. The chapter includes discussion of the *bodhisattva*'s name, the dangers that he can dispel, and the myriad forms in which he may appear to aid devotees.

The *bodhisattva*'s name in this well-known version of the *Lotus* clearly is Avalokitasvara, translated by Kumārajīva as Guanshiyin, or "hearer of the sounds of the world." Śākyamuni Buddha explains in the scripture that this name arises from the *bodhisattva*'s pledge to heed the call of any suffering being who cries out his name and to appear before him in rescue.

The list of dangers and difficulties that the *bodhisattva* can counter is impressive: fire, drowning in a river, being lost at sea, murder, demonic attack, fierce beasts and noxious snakes or insects, legal punishment, attack by bandits, falling from steep precipices, extremes of weather, internecine civil or military unrest, and others. The *bodhisattva* also assists those ensnared by the traditional three poisons of Buddhism: lust, anger, and delusion. Avalokiteśvara also grants children—both male and female—in response to the pleas of barren women. According to the *Lotus,* Avalokiteśvara is a master of skillful means (*upāya*) who is adept at manifesting himself in any suitable form (thirty-three are listed) to convey the deliverance of any being.

The *Pure Land* scriptures, of which several versions are extant in Chinese translation, pair Avalokiteśvara with a *bodhisattva* named Mahāsthāmaprāpta. Both are principal assistants to the Buddha Amitābha, lord of the Western Paradise, a glorious realm free of suffering where diligent questers for enlightenment may be reborn after earthly existence. Among his various functions, Avalokiteśvara guides devotees from earthly deathbed to rebirth in the spirit land. He acts as emissary for the Buddha throughout the various realms of the universe, and he is described as the eventual heir to the throne of this realm. (The *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka Sūtra,* translated into Chinese in the early fifth century, extends this relationship by explaining that Avalokiteśvara was the first son of Amitābha in an earlier incarnation.)

The meditation scripture provides an extended description of Avalokiteśvara as the focus for one of the stages of a multifaceted visualization practice. Successful accomplishment of this practice leads not only to future rebirth in the Western Paradise, but also to continuous invocation of the principal lords of that land, with the accompanying protection and inspiration they afford. Avalokiteśvara is described as a golden-skinned princely being of enormous stature, wearing a great crown made of wondrous gems within each of which there stands a manifested Buddha. Many-hued rays of light stream forth from his body in a patterned manner; these rays reach into the various realms of existence and send forth manifested Buddhas and *bodhisattvas,* who accomplish his works of compassion. Innumerable rays of soft light extend from his hands, illumining all things, and he is seen to be assisting all beings with these hands.

Paradise. Avalokiteśvara is believed to dwell on a certain mountain from which he attentively hears the rising cries of suffering beings and extends his mystic aid. A version of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* (Flower garland scripture) identifies this site as Potalaka Mountain, a name that became well known throughout Buddhist Asia. This mountain has been identified with a number of actual geographical sites in Asia. The seventh-century monk-traveler Xuanzang noted that Potalaka could be found on the Malaya coast, although few who sought the *bodhisattva* had been successful in their quest. From at least the tenth century it was identified as an island off the coast of the southern China seaport of Ningbo, which was named Putuo Shan (Potalaka Mountain) and remains an important pilgrimage center to the present day. In Japan, several sites have been identified as Potalaka: at the Nachi Falls within the Kumano Shrine complex near the ocean on the Kii Peninsula, in the mountains at Nikko, and at the Kasuga Shrine in Nara. In Tibet, the seventeenth-century palace of the Dalai Lama, built upon a hill facing Lhasa and constituting one of the world's great architectural treasures, was named the Potala. Thus, the mountain palace was physically made manifest as the residence of the Tibetan ruler, believed to be the physical embodiment of the *bodhisattva.*

Principal Iconographic Forms and Cultic Activity. Numerous forms of Avalokiteśvara are seen in art and described throughout a wide range of ritual texts, meditation manuals, and scriptures. These range from the simplicity of the Water-Moon form, with the princely *bodhisattva* seated upon Mount Potalaka gazing at the evanescent reflection of the full moon upon a still sea, to the complexity of the eleven-headed, thousand-armed, thousand-eyed images, the multiplicity of features expressing the *bodhisattva*'s extraordinary abilities to seek out and respond to the distress of all beings.

Aryāvalokiteśvara ("noble Avalokiteśvara"), sometimes termed "great compassionate one," is a simple form of the *bodhisattva* bearing in his left hand a lotus flower. Often, especially from the ninth century onward, this form wears a crown or headpiece in which the image of his spiritual father

Amitābha Buddha is depicted. Closely related to this form is the White-Robed (Paṇḍaravāsinī) Avalokiteśvara, the most frequently seen East Asian type from the tenth or eleventh century to the present. With special emphasis on the motherly compassion of the *bodhisattva*, this form most often is depicted as a female seated in meditation or holding a lotus blossom. Caṇḍī, less commonly seen, is another female form, having three eyes and eighteen arms.

Paintings and sculptures depict some of the specialized abilities of the *bodhisattva*: as savior of those subject to life-threatening dangers such as fire, flood, and attack; as benevolent bestower of sons; as guide of souls, leading them in the journey from deathbed to Amitābha's Western Paradise; as a king of healing, in one form holding both a willow branch (as sign of the ability to ward off disease) and a vase of *amṛta* (the nectar of enlightenment), or in another healing form seated upon a roaring lion. Other important forms include Amoghapāśa ("unfailing rope"), holding out a lasso to assist all beings, or the fiercely protective Hayagrīva, horse-headed with dark flames emanating from his body. Avalokiteśvara is also shown paired with Mahāsthāmaprāpta in attendance on Amitābha, performing various functions in the Western Paradise, and he is seen as one among eight or more *bodhisattvas* in numerous types of assembly scenes throughout Mahāyāna art. This vast array of iconographic forms, only touched upon here, provides a sense of Avalokiteśvara's preeminent popularity throughout the Asian Buddhist populace.

An eleven-headed form of the *bodhisattva* is seen in the art of numerous Buddhist lands. These eleven heads may represent an elaboration of the concept of Avalokiteśvara as an all-seeing lord, encompassing views of the four cardinal and the four intermediate directions, as well as the nadir, center, and zenith. In East Asia, this form was first associated with special confession and repentance rites undertaken by lay and monastic practitioners. According to a text translated from Sanskrit into Chinese in the sixth century, the eleven heads are related to an elevenfold vow made by the *bodhisattva* to aid all sentient beings, including pledges to do such things as relieve beings of illness, misfortune, suffering, and worries, free them of unwholesome intentions, and turn their thoughts toward that which is wholesome. Iconographically, the eleven heads should be depicted in the following manner: three heads in the center with a compassionate expression—suited to devotees with predominantly good karma (Skt., *karman*); three heads on the left with an angry expression—directed toward saving beings with unwholesome qualities; three heads on the right with white tusks protruding from the tops of the mouths—to assist people with good karma to find enlightenment; a single face in back with an expression of violent laughter—to reform evil-doers; and a Buddha face on top, preaching the *dharma*—for those capable of following the Mahāyāna path.

The development of this *bodhisattva*'s cult is closely related to his function as extender of life and protector from the hardships and dangers of the world, who, as the *Lotus* puts it, "confers the gift of fearlessness" in the midst of terror and trouble. Based on the records of Chinese travelers to India, there was some worship of Avalokiteśvara in the fourth century at Mathurā, and by the seventh century the cult was widespread throughout India; by this time, according to Xuanzang, images of the *bodhisattva* flanked the "diamond seat" of Śākyamuni Buddha's enlightenment at Bodh Gayā, one of the most sacred sites in the Buddhist world.

In all the coastal areas of Mahāyāna Buddhist countries, Avalokiteśvara has been especially worshiped and invoked for his lifesaving protection of seafarers. This ability, mentioned in the *Lotus Scripture,* is attested to in numerous travel diaries and miracle tales from the fourth century to the present.

As noted above, in East Asia Avalokiteśvara has been the most popular of all Buddhist deities, most especially by virtue of the prominence accorded him in the *Lotus Scripture* traditions. The *Lotus* traditions of the thirty-three types of manifestations of the *bodhisattva* led in Japan to several very important pilgrimage circuits devoted to Kannon (Avalokiteśvara), each having thirty-three stations dedicated to the *bodhisattva.*

Avalokiteśvara (Spyan ras gzigs) is one of the key protective deities of Tibet, and the recitation of his six-syllable Sanskrit mantra, "Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ," has been a widespread practice among Tibetans. Tibetan myths hold that Avalokiteśvara was the progenitor of the Tibetan people, and they believe that the founder of the first Tibetan dynasty, Srong bstan sgam po (seventh century), was an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara. Similarly, especially since the seventeenth century, the Dalai Lamas, successive temporal rulers and spiritual leaders of Tibet, have been believed to be human incarnations of Avalokiteśvara.

SEE ALSO Bodhisattva Path; Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, article on Celestial Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

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AVATĀRA. The idea of an *avatāra*, a form taken by a deity, is central in Hindu mythology, religion, and philosophy. Literally the term means "a descent" and suggests the idea of a deity coming down from heaven to earth. The literal meaning also implies a certain diminution of the deity when he or she assumes the form of an *avatāra. Avatāra*s usually are understood to be only partial manifestations of the deity who assumes them.

The *avatāra* idea in Hinduism is associated primarily with the god Viṣṇu. One of the earliest references to the idea is found in the *Bhagavadgītā* (c. 200 BCE), where we find a concise statement concerning Viṣṇu's primary intention in assuming different forms:

> Whenever righteousness wanes and unrighteousness increases I send myself forth.
> In order to protect the good and punish the wicked,
> In order to make a firm foundation for righteousness,
> I come into being age after age. (4.7–8)

Theologically an *avatāra* is a specialized form assumed by Viṣṇu for the purpose of maintaining or restoring cosmic order. The form is suited to particular circumstances, which vary greatly, and therefore the different *avatāra*s that Viṣṇu assumes also vary greatly. All the *avatāra*s, however, perform positive functions vis-à-vis the cosmic order and illustrate Viṣṇu's nature as a deity who is attentive to worldly stability.

Historically the different *avatāra*s of Viṣṇu often appear to represent regional, sectarian, or tribal deities who have been subsumed by established Hinduism under the rubric of one of Viṣṇu's many forms. By viewing these regional deities as so many varying forms of one transcendent deity, Hinduism was able to accommodate itself to a great variety of local traditions while maintaining a certain philosophic and religious integrity. This process also obviated unnecessary tension and rivalry among differing religious traditions.

Although the number of Viṣṇu's *avatāra*s varies at different periods in the Hindu tradition and in different scriptures, the tradition usually affirms ten *avatāra*s. While the sequence in which these *avatāra*s is mentioned varies, the following order is common: fish, tortoise, boar, man-lion, dwarf, Rāma the Ax Wielder, Rāma of the *Rāmāyana*, Kṛṣṇa, the Buddha, and Kalki. Traditionally, each *avatāra* appears in order to perform a specific cosmic duty that is necessary to maintain or restore cosmic order. Having performed that task, the *avatāra* then disappears or merges back into Viṣṇu.

Viṣṇu assumed the form of a great fish in order to save Manu Vaivasvata, the progenitor of the human race in this present cosmic age. A great deluge occurred at the beginning of the world, but Manu Vaivasvata was rescued when a giant horned fish appeared in the midst of the waters and bade him tie himself to its great horn. Bearing the seeds of creation for all living species (which the fish had instructed him to collect), the parent of the human race was prevented from drowning.

Viṣṇu appeared in the form of an immense boar when the demon Hiraṇyākṣa took possession of the goddess Pṛthivī (Earth) and carried her away beneath the cosmic waters. Diving into the waters, Viṣṇu battled and defeated Hiraṇyākṣa. Then he placed Pṛthivī on his tusk and lifted her above the waters. In both the fish and boar forms Viṣṇu involves himself dramatically in the cosmic process. He does so in order to preserve an element of order and life in the midst of overwhelming chaos represented by a limitless expanse of water.

Viṣṇu assumed the form of a tortoise when the gods and demons combined their efforts to churn the ocean of milk in order to extract from it the nectar of immortality. Having acquired Mount Meru, the cosmic axis, as a churning stick and Vāsuki, the cosmic serpent, as a churning rope, the gods and demons despaired because they were unable to find a secure base upon which to set the mighty churning stick. At that point, Viṣṇu assumed the form of a gigantic tortoise on whose broad back the gods and demons were able to set the churning stick and thus proceed with their task. In this form Viṣṇu assumes the role of cosmic foundation, that upon which all things securely rest and without which the world would lack stability.

Viṣṇu appeared as a man-lion to uphold the devotion and righteousness of Prahlāda, who was being persecuted by his father, Hiraṇyakaśipu, a demon who was oppressing the world and who violently opposed his son's devotion to Viṣṇu. Because of a special boon that Hiranyakasipu had received, namely, that he would be invulnerable to man and beast, Viṣṇu assumed the form of the man-lion, which was neither man nor beast, and defeated him.

Viṣṇu assumed the form of a dwarf in order to restore the world to the gods. The world had been taken over by Bali, a powerful yet virtuous member of the ordinarily unrighteous race of the *asura*s. Appearing as a dwarf, Viṣṇu asked Bali for a favor, which Bali piously granted. Viṣṇu asked for the territory he could encompass in three strides, and Bali gladly agreed. Then Viṣṇu assumed his cosmic form and traversed the entire universe. He thereby restored the cosmos to the gods.

As Paraśu Rāma (Rāma the Ax Wielder) Viṣṇu chastened the *kṣatriya*s, the warrior class, for the haughty, presumptuous, and overbearing attitudes with which they had oppressed the brahmans. In several bloody campaigns, Paraśu Rāma humbled the *kṣatriya*s and asserted the priority of the brahmans in the social and theological systems.

As Rāma, the hero of the *Rāmāyana* (one of the two great Indian epics), Viṣṇu defeated the demon Rāvaṇa, who had brought the world under his sway. After a long exile and a heroic battle Rāma defeated Rāvaṇa and became ruler of India. He then instituted a reign of virtue, order, and prosperity that has come to assume in the Hindu tradition the place of a golden age. In this *avatāra* Viṣṇu descended to the world to set forth a model of ideal kingship that might serve as an inspiration for all rulers at all times.

As Kṛṣṇa, Viṣṇu descended to the world in order to defeat the demon Kaṃsa, who was oppressing the earth with his wickedness, and to ensure the victory of the Pandava brothers in their war against their cousins, the Kauravas. The story of this battle is related in the other great Hindu epic, the *Mahābhārata.*

As the Buddha, Viṣṇu acted to delude those who already deserved punishment for their bad deeds. Deceived by the Buddha's false teachings, these individuals renounced the Vedas and traditional Hinduism, thus earning punishment in hell or in inferior births. In a number of later texts, Viṣṇu's Buddha *avatāra* is interpreted positively. He is said to have assumed this form in order to teach nonviolence and gentleness to the world.

Kalki is the form that Viṣṇu will assume at the end of this cosmic age. As Kalki he will appear in human form riding a white horse; he will bring the world to an end, reward the virtuous, and punish the wicked.

So popular did the *avatāra*s Rāma and Kṛṣṇa become in medieval Hindu devotion that they assumed for their respective devotees the position of supreme deity. For Kṛṣṇa devotees, Kṛṣna is the highest expression of the divine and as such is understood not as an *avatāra* himself but rather as the source of all *avatāra*s. In this context, Viṣṇu is understood to be a lesser manifestation of Kṛṣṇa. Similarly, devotees of Rāma regard him as the highest expression of the divine.

The *avatāra* idea also came to be applied to other Hindu deities. Śiva and Durga, for example, are said in some later scriptures to assume appropriate forms in order to preserve the world or to bless their devotees. Especially in devotional contexts, *avatāra*s no longer function primarily to restore cosmic order. Rather, their *raison d'être* is to bless devotees with the presence of the divine, to rescue devotees from peril, or to reward them for heroic devotion or service.

SEE ALSO Kṛṣṇa; Rāma; Viṣṇu.

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AVEMPACE SEE IBN BĀJJAH

AVERROËS SEE IBN RUSHD

AVESTA. Only a small part of the Avesta (MPers., Abastāg; the name probably means "the Injunction [of Zarathushtra]"), the collection of sacred books of Zoroastrianism, has come down to us: about three-quarters of the original texts, whose codification dates to the Sasanid period (third to seventh centuries CE), have been lost. The oldest extant manuscript is from the thirteenth century.

The oral tradition that has permitted the transmission of the texts is therefore very long, especially since significant portions of the Avesta go as far back as the first years of the first millennium BCE. This fact, together with the problems connected with the writing system employed (derived from the Pahlavi alphabet, of Aramaic origin) and with the manuscript tradition, means that the study of the Avesta is philologically among the most difficult and complex.

The selection of texts that has survived—first published by their discoverer, Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil du Perron, in 1771—was apparently primarily determined by liturgical interests. For the most part, these are the texts that were used for religious services during the period in which the manuscript tradition arose, and they are accompanied by Pahlavi versions. It should be remembered that their language (which, being impossible to locate geographically within the Iranian world beyond a general characterization as eastern Iranian, is simply called Avestan) was no longer understood. Pahlavi versions were, consequently, necessary for an understanding of the text, which was thus strongly influenced by a relatively late exegetical tradition (in any case, not earlier than the Sasanid period). The compilation must have had to meet the requirements of the new Zoroastrian state church to provide—as did the contemporary and rival religions Christianity, Judaism, and Manichaeism—scriptures that would promote the establishment of a solid and rigid orthodoxy. Indeed, the process of selection of the scriptures is mentioned explicitly in the Pahlavi literature.

The surviving texts are highly varied, both in content and in language. Several parts of the *Yasna* are written in a dialect known as Gathic: the *Gāthās*, the five compositions in verse attributed to Zarathushtra (Zoroaster) himself, which constitute chapters 28–34, 43–46, 47–50, 51, and 53; the *Yasna Haptanhāiti*, or Yasna of the Seven Chapters (35–41); the three fundamental prayers of Zoroastrianism, Yenhē Hātam, Ashem Vohu, and Yatha Ahū Vairyō (chap. 27); and the prayer Airyema Ishyō (chap. 55). The other parts of the Avesta are written in a linguistically later Avestan, more or less archaic and also more or less correct. They include the rest of the *Yasna* and the *Nyāyishn*, the *Gāh*, the *Yashts, Sīrōza, Āfrīnagān, Vendidad, Nīrangistān, Hadhōkht Nask, Aogemadaēchā*.

The *Yasna* is the most important section, and not just because the *Gāthās* are inserted in it: these are the seventy-two chapters recited by the priest during the ceremony of the same name (*Yasna*, "sacrifice"). Among these is found the *Hōm Yasht*, the hymn to Haoma (chap. 9–11); the *Fravarānē* ("I profess"), a confession of faith (chap. 12); and the so-called *Bagān Yasht*, a commentary on the three fundamental prayers (chaps. 19–21). But without doubt the most important part of the *Yasna*, and the most beautiful part of the whole Avesta, is the *Gāthās* ("songs") of Zarathushtra. Difficulties of interpretation do not diminish their value: they are the primary source for a knowledge of the doctrines of the prophet. In their literary genre, they are close to the Vedic hymns and testify to the presence in Iran, as elsewhere, of a tradition of Indo-European sacred poetry.

Among the other sections, the *Yashts* (hymns to various divinities) deserve special mention. Several of these hymns or prayers are particularly significant in the history of religions, as they are the most direct evidence of the new faith's adaptation of the older religious tradition. Especially noteworthy are those dedicated to Anāhitā (5); to Tishtrya, the star Sirius (8); to Mithra (10); to the *fravashis* (13); to Verethraghna (14); to Vāyu (15); and to Khvarenah (19).

The *Vendidad* (*vī-daēvo-dāta*, "the law abjuring *daivas*"), the only section that may be an addition to the text, contains, along with mythological parts like the second chapter dedicated to Yima, the king of the golden age, a detailed body of rules for achieving purity. The *Hadhōkht Nask* and the *Aogemadaēchā* are texts dealing with events after death and funeral rites. The other parts are primarily invocations and prayers for the various forms, articulations, and requirements of worship services.

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AVICENNA SEE IBN SĪNĀ

AVIDYĀ. *Avidyā* is the conceptual starting point of classical Indian thinking about the nature of existence. The Sanskrit term connotes "ignorance," "false understanding," or "nescience." There are, broadly, two schools of thought on its nature: Sāṃkhya-Yoga and Vedānta. Sāṃkhya locates *avidyā's* genesis in the proximate association of *puruṣa* (spirit) with *prakṛti* (nature), which results in a sequential evolution of qualities and substances, from intelligence, embodiment, and senses to elemental traces of matter. The ensuing multiplicity of "I"-consciousnesses, forgetting the true identity of *puruṣa,* misidentify themselves with *vṛttis,* or the wavering flux of forms and properties of materiality, through a convoluted mix of three ontological aspects *(guṇas):* the lightness *(sattva),* motion *(rajas*), and denseness *(tamas)* of matter. Thus arise certain incongruent life-worlds (self, other, and spheres) with their related domains of being, causality, time-space, motion, mind, askesis, passions, and ends. *Avidyā,* then, is the epistemic foreclosure of access to true consciousness. Yoga attempts to erase this subreptitious affliction through rigorous ascetic, contemplative, and meditative praxis, freeing *puruṣa* from *avidyā's* ontological concealment; set free, the spirit shines in its own effulgence.

Vedānta, on the other hand, proffers a more stringent metaphysical account derived from its fundamental presupposition that *brahman,* the unitary principle underwriting the universe, is without any trace of distinction and differentiation. The challenge is then to account for the heterogeneous recognition of differences among selves and entities. At the cosmic level the explanation is given in terms of *māyā* (illusion-making); at the phenomenal level it turns on the facticity of conscious experiences. *Ātman* (the innermost essence of the individual) is one with *brahman,* and is in its essence pure, impersonal consciousness. But our everyday experiences in waking, sleep, dream, and deep-sleep states belie this fact. This can be explained by the assertion that pure consciousness remains veiled by various adjuncts *(upādhis)* and conditionings. For Śaṅkara (788–820 CE), a philosopher of the Hindu (advaita or non-dualist school) the process itself is more formal (efficient, *nimitta*) than it is material (as in Sāṃkhya-Yoga); it is the function of *adhyāsa* (superimposition or transference). The "subject," revealed as the content of the "I-notion" *(asmatpratyayagocara),* and the "object," revealed as the content of "you" *(yuṣmat-)* or "that," are as radically opposed to each other in nature as darkness is to light, so that neither they nor their attributes can ever be identified with or transformed into each other.

In regular veridical cognition *(jñāna),* perceptual error occurs when the mind, in confusion, projects a residual memory of, say, silver, onto an oblique object, such as a seashell, and thinks it to be mother-of-pearl. This epistemic deception and aligned ignorance *(ajñāna)* about the other are analogically extended to the metaphysical context to account for the more pervasive and fundamental illusion inherent in our existential condition. Hence, owing to the superimposition of spurious concepts upon pure consciousness, the "I-awareness" tends toward differentiation and identifies itself with "nonconscious entities"; thus: "I am a princess"; "I adorn jeweled *mangalsutras*"; "I wear a hat." Śaṅkara frames this contradiction in terms of the "real" and "unreal," respectively. The phenomenological result of this projective transference afflicts all empirical experiences and is described as *avidyā.* The Vedanta philosopher and theologian Rāmānuja (1017–1137) synthesizes Śaṅkara's clinical purism with Sāṃkhya monadology and Yoga's pragmatism. He makes a distinction between substantive consciousness *(dharm-*

ībhūtijñāna) and qualia-consciousness *(dharmabhūta-jñāna).* The false predication of the latter on the former is removed through love, devotion, and surrender (with a touch of alchemy); the individual attains higher stages of self-realization, and ultimately union in Viṣṇu as *māyā*-embodied *brahman.*

Later Vedānta scholastics pondered the ontological status of *avidyā:* on the one hand, if it were "real" then it would compete with the primeval Word *(Śabdabrahman),* which is prior even to manifest consciousness, thereby compromising *ātman/brahman's* singular uniqueness; on the other hand, if it were "unreal" it would lack any efficiency and would stand to be conceptually sublated. This dilemma was resolved by the argument that a higher, second-order witness-consciousness *(śakṣin-dharmībhūta-cit)* persists in and through all levels of experience, unblemished by *avidyā.* Hence, *avidyā* is described as *anirvacanīya,* the inexplicable remainder of that which is "neither real nor unreal." *Avidyā* then becomes a sui generis ontological category, like that of the "Sublime," as the unexceptional precondition for all phenomenal experience.

SEE ALSO Māyā; Prakṛti; Rāmānuja; Śaṅkara; Vedānta.

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AVRAHAM BEN DAVID OF POSQUIÈRES

(c. 1125–1198), known by the acronym Raʾ ABaD (Rabbi Avraham ben David). Avraham ben David is best known for his original and versatile contributions to the literature of *halakhah.* He composed commentaries on various types of Talmudic literature: on the Mishnah (e.g., *ʿEduyyot* and *Qinnim*); on the Talmud (e.g., *ʿAvodah Zarah* and *Bavaʾ Qammaʾ*); and on halakhic midrashim (e.g., *Sifraʾ*). Further works include *responsa* (Heb., *teshuvot,* decisions concerning the interpretation of application of the law), which reveal his character and method; homiletic discourses (e.g., *Derashah le-Roʾsh ha-Shanah*); codes of rabbinic law; and critical annotations or glosses (*hassagot*) on standard works of rabbinic literature.

The most important and influential of Avraham ben David's codes, which include *Hilkhot lulav* (Laws concerning the palm branch), *Ḥibbur harshaʾot* (A manual on the laws of agency), and *Perush yadayim,* is the *Baʿalei ha-nefesh,* a careful presentation of the laws of uncleanness and purity. The last chapter of his *Shaʿar ha-qedushah* (Gate of holiness) is an ethical-homiletical disquisition that formulates and analyzes the moral norms and religious attitudes that enable one to achieve self-control in sexual matters and attain purity of heart and action.

Avraham ben David is referred to as the *baʿal hassagot* ("author of the glosses") because of the critical scholia and animadversions that he composed toward the end of his life on the *Halakhot* of Yitsḥaq ben Yaʿaqov Alfasi, the *Sefer ha-maʾor* of Zeraḥyah ha-Levi, and especially the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides. These glosses combine criticism and commentary; they are not exclusively polemical, and their polemical emphasis varies in intensity and acuity. *Hassagot,* a wide-ranging form of writing based on a firm premise and finely honed polemical skill, are refined by Avraham ben David and his Provençal contemporaries into an expressive genre of pointed, precise, and persuasive critique. This genre played an important role in the preservation of the spirit of criticism and intellectual freedom so central to rabbinic literature.

Beyond his literary creations, Avraham ben David contributed significantly to the development of a critical-conceptual approach to Talmudic literature that sought to define with rigor and precision complex concepts discussed fragmentarily in numerous, unrelated sections of the Talmud. Many of his interpretations and innovations were endorsed and transmitted by subsequent generations of Talmudists and incorporated into standard works of Jewish law.

During the lifetime of Avraham ben David the centers of rabbinic learning in southern France provided a home for the transplanted philosophic-scientific-ethical literature of Spanish Jews. At this time, an undercurrent of mystical speculation began to emerge that was to find its expression in medieval qabbalistic literature. Avraham ben David was involved in both these developments. He encouraged and benefited from this newly translated philosophical literature, and his own writing reflects some traces of philosophy and philology in the use of terms, phrases, and concepts from this new literary phenomenon. He is described by later qabbalists (e.g., Yitsḥaq of Acre, Shem Ṭov ben Gaʾon, and Menaḥem Recanati, and others from the school of Moses Nahmanides and Shelomoh ben Avraham Adret) as one of the fathers of qabbalistic literature. This is supported by references in the writings of Raʿabad's son, Yitsḥaq the Blind, and Yitsḥaq's nephew, Asher. They depicted him as a mystic who was worthy of receiving special revelations and who actually did receive them. In the absence of explicitly qabbalistic statements in Avraham ben David's own works, our knowledge of his use of doctrines and symbolism of Qabbalah depends on passages quoted by others in his name. These deal with mystical meditations during prayer (*kavvanot*) and the doctrine of the ten *sefirot,* and they reveal an acquaintance with early

Heikhalot terminology and its fusion with contemporary philosophic vocabulary.

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AVVAKUM (1620/1–1682), Russian Orthodox archpriest; founding father of the Old Believers; martyr. Avvakum was ordained to the priesthood at the age of twenty-two, serving in the area of Nizhni Novgorod; eight years later he was promoted to be archpriest. By then he had amply demonstrated his zeal as a reformer. Following in the wake of the Muscovite "God-seekers," an influential group of scholarly zealots, he sought to revive liturgical life and public morality. The resentment which this provoked led to his displacement and his first visit to Moscow (1652). There he was welcomed by the leading God-seekers and introduced to the tsar.

The election of Nikon as patriarch of Moscow later that year promised to confirm and revitalize the God-seekers' reforms. However, Nikon proceeded arbitrarily to reform liturgical phraseology and practice, particularly concerning the sign of the cross. Avvakum vociferously objected to these reforms, which he saw as a challenge to the true faith. For if even minor rituals were to change, the whole edifice of related doctrine would be undermined. He was arrested and exiled to Siberia (1653). After many tribulations he was permitted to return to Moscow (1664), but his insistence on the validity and importance of the pre-Nikonian liturgical norms led to renewed exile.

Avvakum and his companions were brought back to Moscow and anathematized at a church council of 1666–1667; he in turn anathematized the council. Thus was confirmed the existence of the Russian church schism, which was to have a decisive influence on the ordering of Russian society over the centuries to come. Avvakum was sent to the arctic outpost of Pustozersk from which he and his companions issued tracts and letters. More important than these was Avvakum's apologetic autobiography composed in 1672 to 1673. It is a masterpiece of Russian literature and one of Europe's great confessional texts.

The accession of a new patriarch of Moscow (Joachim) was probably a decisive factor in taking the state's campaign against the Old Believers a stage further, and Avvakum, together with his three companions, was sent to the stake in April 1682. Avvakum had persuasively presented himself as confessor and prophet in defense of the sacred Orthodox heritage delivered to Moscow, the "third Rome," and he is remembered as a martyr of the old faith.

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AXIS MUNDI, the "hub" or "axis" of the universe, is a technical term used in the study of the history of religions. It comprises at least three levels of reference: the images themselves, their function and meaning, and the experiences associated with them.

Vivid images of the axis of the universe vary widely, since they depend on the particular worldview entertained by a specific culture. Foremost among the images designated by the term *axis mundi* is the cosmic mountain, a sacred place deemed to be the highest point of the universe and perhaps identified with the center of the world and the place where creation first began. Well-known examples of the cosmic mountain are Mount Meru of South Asian cosmology, Haraberazaiti of Iranian tradition, and Himinbjörg of Scandinavian mythology.

The cosmic tree, at whose top abides the celestial divinity, is another frequent image standing for the axis of the world. The roots of such a tree may sink into the underworlds, while its branches traverse the multiple world planes. At the center of the classical Maya vision of the world stood Yaxche, the "first tree," the "green tree," whose place marked the center of all meaningful directions and colors of the universe.

A cosmic pillar may also serve as an *axis mundi.* Such is the case with the Delaware (Lenape) Indians and other Eastern Woodland peoples of North America. The center post of their ceremonial cult house supports the sky and passes into the very hand of the celestial deity. The Milky Way is often viewed as another form of cosmic pillar that supports the heavens and connects them with earth.

Many other images fall under the designation *axis mundi* because they share in the symbolic meaning represented by a cosmic mountain, tree, or pillar that joins heaven, earth, and underworld. This category includes cities, especially imperial capitals deemed "heavenly" sites by virtue of proximity to the divine realm; palaces or temples that continue the imagery of the cosmic mountain (e.g., the Babylonian ziggurat); vines or ropes that pass from heaven to earth; and sacred ladders such as the seven-rung ladder, described by Origen, that brings the candidate in the cult of Mithra through the seven heavens.

None of these images has a static function. They are all places of active passage and transition. As places of dynamic union where beings of quite different natures come together or pass into one another, the images of *axis mundi* may be associated with the coincidence of opposites—that is, the resolution of contradictions by their progress onto a more spiritual plane.

Because the *axis mundi* serves as the locus where cosmic regions intersect and where the universe of being is accessible in all its dimensions, the hub of the universe is held to be a place sacred above all others. It defines reality, for it marks the place where being is most fully manifest. This connection of the *axis mundi* with the full manifestation of being is often expressed as an association with the supreme being to whom the axis provides access. This *axis mundi* is often traversed and its heights attained in a state of ecstasy brought about by spiritual techniques. Hence the term *axis mundi* implies an intersection of planes through which transcendence to other kinds of being may be achieved.

There is a tendency to replicate the image of the *axis mundi* in multiple forms. Such is the case with the cross—the cosmic tree of Christianity. Re-creating the image of the *axis mundi* in the form of village sites, house plans, ritual furnishings, personal ornaments, and even kitchen items tends to identify the universe as a whole with the fullness of being characteristic of action at that sacred place. It ensures that contact with the fullness of reality is everywhere possible. As a result, the meaning and function of the *axis mundi* rest not in abstract and geometrical concepts alone but in everyday gestures that can effect the same transcendence.

All these symbols imply a particular quality of experience. The symbols of *axis mundi* are ambivalent: on the one hand, they connect realms of being but on the other hand they emphasize the distance between such realms. In short, they point to the need for a rupture of planes of existence, for experience of an order quite different from that of the ordinary world.

SEE ALSO Architecture; Mountains; Trees.

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ĀYURVEDA. The traditional Hindu system of medicine widely practiced in India, Āyurveda is based on authoritative treatises written in Sanskrit over approximately the past two millennia. Three major classical medical systems have flourished on the Indian subcontinent: Āyurveda among Hindus, Yunānī among Muslims, and Siddha among Tamils in South India. Their reliance on elaborate textual traditions distinguish these three systems from the assorted medical practices offered by astrologers, exorcists, priests, snakebite specialists, and kindred healers in the context of diverse folk traditions. In general, folk practices are associated with a magico-religious understanding of illness, whereas Āyurveda is associated with an understanding of illness that refers to the balance of three physiological principles suggestive of, yet distinct from, the Galenic humors. Such boundaries delimiting classical and folk traditions are not absolute, however, and humoral concepts pervade many folk practices just as magico-religious considerations have at times played a significant role in the practice of Āyurveda.

TEXTS. Major traditions evolving in the context of Hinduism frequently trace their roots to one of the four Vedic Saṃhitās, the earliest canonical texts, and Āyurveda is associated with the *Atharvaveda.* While all four Vedas demonstrate at least a peripheral concern for medical issues, they do so in the context of a decidedly supernatural worldview. At this early stage one finds barely a hint of the later humoral physiology among the charms, prayers, and propitiatory rites suggested for the relief of specified ailments frequently attributed to demons.

The tradition of Āyurveda holds that the medical doctrine was revealed through a series of deities and sages to human physicians who in turn composed the basic texts. According to the *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, the doctrine passed from Indra, chief among the gods, to Dhanvantari, who has come to be regarded as the Hindu god of medicine, and then to Suśruta himself, who composed this treatise. The *Caraka Saṃhitās* states that the doctrine passed to the sage Ātreya Punarvasu, who trained a disciple named Agniveśa, author of the *Agniveśa Tantra* (an Ayurvedic, not a Tantric, text). When this text subsequently fell into disrepair, it was partially restored first by Caraka and later by Dṛḍhabala. Both the *Caraka Saṃhitā*, as revised by Caraka, and the *Suśruta Saṃhitā* are believed to have been written during the first three hundred years CE, and the redaction by Dṛḍhabala is thought to have been made in approximately 500 CE. It is widely accepted that these texts are based on a medical doctrine that was followed for at least several centuries before it was committed to writing, and some scholars claim that the tradition extends back several millennia, although this assertion is disputed by many Indologists. Other major texts include the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya Saṃhitā* of Vagbhata from approximately 600 CE, *Mādhavanidāna* of Mādhava from approximately 700 CE, and *Bhela Saṃhitā*, which may have been contemporaneous with the *Agniveśa Tantra* and hence is the oldest surviving text. The most often cited of these treatises are *Caraka, Suśruta*, and *Vāgbhaṭa*, collectively known as "the great three" (*bṛhat trayī*).

THEORY OF DISEASE AND TREATMENT. According to Āyurveda, most sickness results from an imbalance of one or more of three humors (*tridoṣa*): wind (*vāta*), bile (*pitta*), and phlegm (*kapha*). A patient's illness is determined by the character of the particular disease (*vyādhi*), which is dependent on both the deranged humor and the body substance (*dhātu*, e.g., blood, flesh, fat, bone, etc.) or anatomical part that is affected. Such factors as dietary imbalance, physical and emotional stresses, suppression of natural urges, or the effects of deeds in a previous life (*karmavipāka*) are said to cause the deranged humoral balance in a particular disease or subtype. Although this *tridoṣa* theory has been emphasized, a number of independent external factors are also recognized, including injuries, poisons, and supernatural agencies. Some early Ayurvedic passages employ references to these supernatural agencies as technical terms in order to develop meaningful diagnostic concepts while explicitly denying a supernatural conceptual frame of reference (see, for example, *Caraka Saṃhitā* 2.7.19–23). Other passages refer to demonic possession as it is more popularly understood. Specific classes of demons and deities, generically referred to as *bhūtas*, serve as paradigms for a range of character types and categories of mental disorder based on the well-known traits of *devas, gandharvas, rākṣasas, piśācas*, and others.

Therapy according to Ayurvedic principles is based on the premise that a humoral imbalance must be corrected by either pacifying or eliminating the excited humor. This is accomplished with preparations of herbs, animal products, and heavy metals; decoctions in clarified butter *(ghī)*; dietary adjustments; or by other means. One type of treatment described in the early texts that became especially popular in South India is *pañcakarma*; it involves emesis, purgation, sternutation, medicinal enema, and phlebotomy. Surgery is emphasized in the *Suśruta Saṃhitā.* The texts also specify ritual offerings, the recitation of sacred formulas *(mantras)*, and other ritual procedures.

MEDICAL AND SOTERIOLOGICAL PLURALISM. The humoral theory of *tridoṣa* appears to have remained dominant throughout the course of development of the Ayurvedic tradition. In contrast, perhaps due in part to the growing influence of Tantra—the ritualization of otherwise socially unacceptable practices—in the culture at large from the middle of the first millennium CE, later Ayurvedic texts pay increased attention to magico-religious concepts and interventions that resonated with strains not only of Tantric literature but of the mystical aspects of Vedic literature as well. The number of classes of supernatural beings (*bhūtas*) associated with insanity steadily grew from eight in *Caraka* and *Suśruta* to twenty in the thirteenth-century text *Śārṅgadhara Saṃhitā* (1.7.38–39).

To the extent that this conceptual shift from a secular humoral theory toward a supernatural orientation is manifest in the later Ayurvedic compositions, it signifies a reaffirmation of certain aspects of the distinctly different worldview of the *Atharvaveda*, with which the mechanistic physiological theory of *tridoṣa* had made a definite break at an early stage in the development of Āyurveda. In the twentieth century, competition with Western-styled cosmopolitan medicine may have led some advocates of Āyurveda to ignore magico-religious aspects persisting in the tradition in favor of the systematic principles of the *tridoṣa* doctrine, and at the same time to focus on the issue of clinical efficacy of Ayurvedic therapies rather than the validity of the underlying humoral theory of other theoretical premises.

Hybrid ideologies that have emerged in the medically pluralistic setting of India presently complicate any analysis of the relationship between Āyurveda and other therapeutic options, both Western-styled and indigenous, since each system exerts some influence on the evolving conceptualizations of the others. Historically, Āyurveda has also stood in a complex relationship with coexisting traditions in its cultural context. However, it may be stated generally that healing is emphasized in Āyurveda, whereas other Hindu traditions such as Tantra, Yoga, and Indian alchemy (*rasavidyā*), which are primarily concerned with spiritual attainments, have overlapping objectives. Anatomical and physiological principles provide a framework in Āyurveda for understanding sickness and health in the physical body, but in Tantra and Yoga provide a framework for understanding the mystical path leading to the attainment of spiritual objectives. Similarly, although Indian alchemy was concerned with the use of preparations of mercury, other heavy metals, and herbs to restore youth and promote health, such motives were secondary to the primary goal of liberation of the spirit.

A number of philosophical concepts are specified in the Ayurvedic texts, referring to ideas more fully developed in the orthodox systems of Hindu philosophy, mainly Sāṃkhya, but also Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and the rest. Social and ethical issues are also considered. Medical students are instructed to pledge diligence and purity, in accordance with the traditional values guiding students of the Veda, as they commence training under a guru after a prescribed initiation ceremony. Professional standards for physicians are advocated not only in medical treatises but in other Sanskrit treatises as well, especially in the Nītiśāstra and Dharmaśāstra texts on polity and Hindu law.

SEE ALSO Healing and Medicine, article on Healing and Medicine in Āyurveda and South Asia.

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AZTEC RELIGION developed in the capital city of Tenochtitlán in the Valley of Mexico between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries CE. The Aztec religious tradition combined and transformed a number of ritual, mythic, and cosmic elements from the heterogeneous cultural groups who inhabited the central plateau of Mesoamerica. Seldom has a capital city fit the category of "center of the world" more completely than Tenochtitlán: the high plateau of Mexico is roughly the center of Mesoamerica; the Valley of Mexico is the heart of that plateau; interconnected lakes formed the center of the valley; and Tenochtitlán was constructed near the center of the lakes.

Mexico's central highlands had been the dominant cultural region of central Mesoamerica since the beginning of the common era, when the great imperial capital of Teotihuacán ("abode of the gods") had been established thirty miles north of where Tenochtitlán would later rise. Like Tenochtitlán, Teotihuacán was organized into four great quarters around a massive ceremonial center. Scholars and archaeologists have theorized that the four-quartered city was a massive spatial symbol for the major cosmological conceptions of Aztec religion. In many respects, the cultural and religious patterns of Teotihuacán laid the groundwork for all later developments in and around the Valley of Mexico. The mythologies of successive cultures—the Toltec and the Aztec most prominent among them—looked back to Teotihuacán as their symbolic place of origin and as the source for the legitimacy of their political authority.

Between 1300 and 1521 all roads of central Mesoamerica led into the lake region of the valley from which the magnificent capital of the Aztec arose. When the Aztec's precursors, the Chichimec ("dog lineage"; lit., "dog rope") migrated into the region in the thirteenth century, the valley was held by warring city-states constantly competing for land and tribute. This fragmented world was partly the result of the twelfth-century collapse of the northern Toltec empire centered at the illustrious capital of Tollan ("place of reeds"). The Toltec collapse brought waves of Chichimec and Toltec remnants into the Valley of Mexico, where they interacted with different city-states and religious traditions.

The basic settlement of central Mexico from Teotihuacán times was the *tlatocayotl*, or city-state, which consisted of a capital city surrounded by dependent communities that worked the agricultural lands, paid tribute, and performed services for the elite classes in the capital according to various ritual calendars and cosmological patterns. Occasionally one city-state would grow to large proportions and establish widespread territorial control and integration into some form of tributary empire. Around 1325, a Chichimec group who called themselves *Méxica* settled Tenochtitlán and within a hundred years had organized a political unit with the power to dominate an expanding number of cities and towns in the central valley.

One of the major problems in the study of Aztec religion is the fragmentary nature of the pictorial, written, and archaeological sources associated with Tenochtitlán. The Spanish military conquest of Mexico was accompanied by a sustained campaign to eliminate Aztec symbols, images, screenfolds, and ceremonial buildings, as well as members of the military and priestly elites. Surprisingly, a counter attitude developed among certain Spanish officials and priests, who collected indigenous documents and organized their reproduction in order to enhance missionary work and inform Spanish officials about native religion and life. The result is a spectrum of sources including art and architecture; pre-Columbian screenfolds depicting the ritual, divinitory, historical, and genealogical traditions of different cities; post-Conquest codices sometimes accompanied by Spanish commentary; prose sources dependent on indigenous pictorial and oral traditions; histories written by descendants of Aztec royalty; Spanish eyewitness accounts; and large histories and ritual descriptions by Spanish priests such as Diego Durán, Toribio Motolinía, and Bernardino de Sahagún, who vigorously researched Aztec religion. It is only through a skillful combination of these sources that the complex character of Aztec religion can be discerned.

COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY. The general attitude toward the Aztec position in the cosmos is made clear in a poetic fragment about the capital that states:

> Proud of Itself Is the city of México-Tenochtitlán Here no one fears to die in war This is our glory This is your Command Oh Giver of Life Have this in mind, oh princes Who would conquer Tenochtitlán? Who could shake the foundation of heaven? (Miguel León-Portilla, *Pre-Columbian Literatures of Mexico*, 1968, p. 87)

The image of the capital city as the foundation of heaven, which the Aztec conceived of as a vertical column of thirteen layers extending above the earth, points to the cosmological conviction underpinning Aztec religion that there existed a profound correspondence between the sacred forces in the universe and the social world of the Aztec empire. This correspondence between the cosmic structure and the political state was anchored in the capital of Tenochtitlán.

In his important summary of religion in pre-Hispanic central Mexico, H. B. Nicholson (1971) outlines the "basic cosmological sequential pattern" of the Aztec cosmogony found in the myths and historical accounts associated with the Méxica. A summary view reveals that Aztec life unfolded in a cosmic setting that was dynamic, unstable, and finally destructive. Even though the cosmic order fluctuated between periods of stability and periods of chaos, the emphasis in many myths and historical accounts is on the destructive forces which repeatedly overcame the ages of the universe, divine society, and the cities of the past.

This dynamic universe appears in the sixteenth-century prose accounts *Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas* and the *Leyenda de los soles.* In the former, the universe is arranged in a rapid, orderly fashion after the dual creative divinity, Ometeotl, dwelling in Omeyocan ("place of duality") at the thirteenth level of heaven, generates four children, the Red Tezcatlipoca ("smoking mirror"), the Black Tezcatlipoca, Quetzalcoatl ("plumed serpent"), and Huitzilopochtli ("hummingbird on the left"). They all exist without movement for six hundred years, whereupon the four children assemble "to arrange what was to be done and to establish the law to be followed." Quetzalcoatl and Huitzilopochtli arrange the universe and create fire, half of the sun ("not fully lighted but a little"), the human race, and the calendar. Then, the four brothers create water and its divine beings.

Following this rapid and full arrangement, the sources focus on a series of mythic events that constitute a sacred history. Throughout this sacred history, the dynamic instability of the Aztec universe is revealed. The universe passes through four eras, called "Suns." Each age was presided over by one of the great gods, and each was named for the day (day number and day name) within the calendrical cycle on which the age began (which is also the name of the force that destroys that Sun). The first four Suns were called, respectively, 4 Jaguar, 4 Wind, 4 Rain (or 4 Rain of Fire), and 4 Water. The name of the fifth (and last) cosmic age, 4 Movement, augured the earthquakes that would inevitably destroy the world.

The creation of this final age, the one in which the Aztec lived, took place around a divine fire in the darkness on the mythical plain of Teotihuacán (to be distinguished from the actual city of that same name). According to the version of this story reported in Fray Bernardino de Sahagún's *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España* (compiled 1569–1582; also known as the Florentine Codex), an assembly of gods chose two of their group, Nanahuatzin and Tecuciztecatl, to cast themselves into the fire in order to create the new cosmic age. Following their self-sacrifice, dawn appears in all directions, but the Sun does not rise above the horizon. In confusion, different deities face in various directions in expectation of the sunrise. Quetzalcoatl faces east and from there the Sun blazes forth but sways from side to side without climbing in the sky. In this cosmic crisis, it is decided that all the gods must die at the sacrificial hand of Ecatl, who dispatches them by cutting their throats. Even this massive sacrifice does not move the Sun until the wind god literally blows it into motion. These combined cosmogonic episodes demonstrate the fundamental Aztec conviction that the world is unstable and that it draws its energy from massive sacrifices by the gods. Large-scale sacrifice became a basic pattern in Aztec religion, a ritual means of imposing or maintaining social and cosmological order.

With the creation of the Fifth Sun, the focus of the sacred history shifts from heaven to earth, where agriculture is discovered and human sacrifice is established as the proper ritual response to the requirements of the gods. In one account, Quetzalcoatl, as a black ant, travels to Sustenance Mountain with a red ant where they acquire maize for human beings. Other accounts reveal the divine origins of cotton, sweet potatoes, different types of corn, and the intoxicating drink called pulque. In still others, we learn that warfare was established so that human beings could be captured and sacrificed to nourish the Sun on its heavenly and nocturnal journey. Typically, a god like Mixcoatl creates four hundred human beings to fight among themselves in order for captives to be sacrificed in ceremonial centers to provide the divine food, blood, for the gods who ensure cosmic life.

Finally, a number of accounts of the cosmic history culminate with the establishment of the magnificent kingdom of Tollan where Quetzalcoatl the god and Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl the priest-king organize a ceremonial capital divided into five parts with four pyramids and four sacred mountains surrounding the central temple. This city, Tollan, serves as the heart of an empire. Aztec tradition states that "from Quetzalcoatl flowed all art and knowledge," representing the paradigmatic importance of the Toltec kingdom and its religious founder.

The spatial paradigm of the Aztec cosmos was embodied in the term *cemanahuac*, meaning the "land surrounded by water." At the center of this terrestrial space, called *tlalxico* ("navel of the earth"), stood Tenochtitlán, from which extended the four quadrants called *nauchampa*, meaning "the four directions of the wind." The waters surrounding the inhabited land were called *ilhuicatl*, the celestial water that extended upward to merge with the lowest levels of the thirteen heavens. Below the earth were nine levels of the underworld, conceived of as "hazard stations" for the souls of the dead, who, aided by magical charms buried with the bodies, were assisted in their quests for eternal peace at the lowest level, called Mictlan, the land of the dead.

The Mesoamerican pattern of quadrapartition around a center was a pervasive organizing principle of Aztec religion. It was used in the Aztec conceptions of temporal order as depicted in the famous Calendar Stone, where the four past ages of the universe are arranged in orderly fashion around the fifth or central age. Recent research has shown that this same spatial model was used to organize the celestial order of numerous deity clusters, the architectural design of palatial structures, the collection of economic tribute in the empire, and the ordering of major ceremonial precincts.

THE PANTHEON. One of the most striking characteristics of the surviving screenfolds, which present ritual and divinatory information, is the incredible array of deities who animated the ancient Mesoamerican world. Likewise, the remaining sculpture and the sixteenth-century prose accounts of Aztec Mexico present us with a pantheon so crowded that H. B. Nicholson's authoritative study of Aztec religion includes a list of more than sixty distinct and interrelated names. Scholarly analysis of these many deities suggests that virtually all aspects of existence were considered inherently sacred and that these deities were expressions of a numinous quality that permeated the "real" world. Aztec references to numinous forces, expressed in the Nahuatl word *teotl*, were always translated by the Spanish as "god," "saint," or "demon." But the Aztec *teotl* signified a sacred power manifested in natural forms (a rainstorm, a tree, a mountain), in persons of high distinction (a king, an ancestor, a warrior), or in mysterious and chaotic places. What the Spanish translated as "god" really referred to a broad spectrum of hierophanies that animated the world. While it does not appear that the Aztec pantheon or pattern of hierophanies was organized as a whole, it is possible to identify clusters of deities organized around the major cult themes of cosmogonic creativity, fertility and regeneration, and war and sacrificial nourishment of the Sun.

Aztec deities were represented pictorially as anthropomorphic beings. Even in cases where the deity took an animal form, as in the case of Xolotl, the divine dog, or the form of a ritual object, as in the case of Itztli, the knife god, he was disguised with human features like arms, torso, legs, face, and so on. Aztec deities dwelt in the different levels of the thirteen-layered celestial sphere or the nine-layered underworld. The general structuring principle for the pantheon, derived from the cosmic pattern of a center and four quarters, resulted in the quadruple or quintuple ordering of gods.

For instance in the Codex Borgia's representation of the Tlaloques (rain gods), the rain god, Tlaloc, inhabits the central region of heaven while four other Tlaloques inhabit the four regions of the sky, each dispensing a different kind of rain. While deities were invisible to the human eye, the Aztec saw them in dreams, visions, and in the "deity impersonators" (*teixiptla*) who appeared at the major ceremonies. These costumed impersonators, sometimes human, sometimes effigies of stone, wood, or dough, were elaborately decorated with identifying insignia such as conch shells, masks, weapons, jewelry, mantas, feathers, and a myriad of other items.

As we have seen, Aztec religion was formed by migrating Chichimec who entered the Valley of Mexico and established important political and cultural centers there. This process of migration and urbanization informed and was informed by their concept of deity. An outstanding feature of Aztec religion was the tutelary-patron relations that specific deities had with the particular social groups whom they guided during their peregrinations. These patron deities (or *abogados*, as the Spanish chroniclers called them) were represented in the *tlaquimilolli*, or sacred bundles, that the *teomamas* ("godbearers," or shaman-priests) carried on their backs during the long journeys. The *teomama* passed on to the community the divine commandments communicated to him in visions and dreams. These sacred specialists were considered *hombre-dioses* (Span., "man-gods"), whose extraordinary powers of spiritual transformation, derived from their closeness with these numinous forces, enabled them to guide, govern, and organize the tribe during migrations and the settlement of new communities. A familiar pattern in the sacred histories of Mesoamerican tribal groups is the erection of a shrine to the patron deity as the first act of settlement in a new region. This act of founding a settlement around the tribal shrine represented the intimate tie between the deity, the *hombre-dios*, and the integrity of the people. In reverse fashion, conquest of a community was achieved when the patron deity's shrine was burned and the *tlaquimilolli* was carried off as a captive.

This pattern of migration, foundation, and conquest associated with the power of a patron diety is clearly exemplified by the case of Huitzilopochtli, patron of the wandering Méxica. According to Aztec tradition, Huitzilopochtli inspired the Méxica *teomama* to guide the tribe into the Valley of Mexico, where he appeared to them as an eagle on a cactus in the lake. There they constructed a shrine to Huitzilopochtli and built their city around the shrine. This shrine became the Aztec Great Temple, the supreme political and symbolic center of the Aztec empire. It was destroyed in 1521 by the Spanish, who blew up the temple with cannons and carried the great image of Huitzilopochtli away. This colossal image of the Aztec god has never been found.

CREATOR GODS. The Aztec high god, Ometeotl ("lord of duality") was the celestial, androgynous, primordial creator of the universe, the omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent foundation of all things. In some sources he/she appears to merge with a number of his/her offspring, a sign of his/her pervasive power. Ometeotl's male aspects (Ometecuhtli and Tonacatecuhtli) and female aspects (Omecihuatl and Tonacacihuatl) in turn merged with a series of lesser deities associated with generative and destructive male and female qualities. The male aspect was associated with fire and the solar and maize gods. The female aspect merged with earth fertility goddesses and especially corn goddesses. Ometeotl inhabited the thirteenth and highest heaven in the cosmos, which was the place from which the souls of infants descended to be born on earth. Ometeotl was more "being" than "action." Most of the creative effort to organize the universe was accomplished by the divine couple's four offspring: Tezcatlipoca, Quetzalcoatl, Xiuhtecuhtli, and Tlaloc.

Tezcatlipoca ("smoking mirror") was the supreme active creative force of the pantheon. This powerful, virile numen had many appellations and was partially identified with the supreme numinosity of Ometeotl. Tezcatlipoca was also identified with Itztli, the knife and calendar god, and with Tepeyolotl, the jaguar-earth god known as the Heart of the Hill, and he was often pictured as the divine antagonist of Quetzalcoatl. On the social level, Tezcatlipoca was the archsorcerer whose smoking obsidian mirror revealed the powers of ultimate transformation associated with darkness, night, jaguars, and shamanic magic.

Another tremendous creative power was Xiuhtecuhtli, the ancient fire god, who influenced every level of society and cosmology. Xiuhtecuhtli was represented by the perpetual "fires of existence" that were kept lighted at certain temples in the ceremonial center at all times. He was manifested in the drilling of new fires that dedicated new ceremonial buildings and ritual stones. Most importantly, Xiuhtecuhtli was the generative force at the New Fire ceremony, also called the Binding of the Years, held every fifty-two years on the Hill of the Star outside of Tenochtitlán. At midnight on the day that a fifty-two-year calendar cycle was exhausted, at the moment when the star cluster we call the Pleiades passed through the zenith, a heart sacrifice of a war captive took place. A new fire was started in the cavity of the victim's chest, symbolizing the rebirth of Xiuhtecuhtli. The new fire was carried to every city, town, and home in the empire, signalling the regeneration of the universe. On the domestic level, Xiuhtecuhtli inhabited the hearth, structuring the daily rituals associated with food, nurturance, and thanksgiving.

FERTILITY AND REGENERATION. A pervasive theme in Aztec religion was fertility and the regeneration of agriculture. Aztec society depended on a massive agricultural system of *chinampas* ("floating gardens") that constituted large sections of the city's geographical space. Also, surrounding city-states were required to pay sizable amounts of agricultural goods in tribute to the capital. While many female deities inspired the ritual regeneration of agriculture, the most ancient and widespread fertility-rain god was Tlaloc, who dwelt on the prominent mountain peaks, where rain clouds were thought to emerge from caves to fertilize the land through rain, rivers, pools, and storms. The Aztec held Mount Tlaloc to be the original source of the waters and of vegetation. Tlaloc's supreme importance is reflected in the location of his shrine alongside that of Huitzilopochtli in the Templo Mayor. Surprisingly, the great majority of buried offerings excavated at the temple were dedicated to Tlaloc rather than Huitzilopochtli.

Two other major gods intimately associated with Tlaloc were Chalchiuhtlicue, the goddess of water, and Ehécatl, the wind god, an aspect of Quetzalcoatl. Ehécatl was known as *in tlachpancauh in tlaloques* ("road sweeper of the rain gods"), meaning that Ehécatl's forceful presence announced the coming of the fertilizing rains. Other prominent fertility deities included Centeotl, goddess of maize; Xilonen, goddess of the young maize; Ometochtli, goddess of maguy; and Mayahuel, whose four hundred breasts insured an abundant supply of pulque for ritual drinking.

The most powerful group of female fertility deities were the *teteoinnan*, a rich array of earth-mother goddesses, who were representatives of the usually distinct but sometimes combined qualities of terror and beauty, regeneration and destruction. These deities were worshiped in cults concerned with the abundant powers of the earth, women, and fertility. Among the most prominent were Tlazolteotl, Xochiquetzal, and Coatlicue. Tlazolteotl was concerned with sexual powers and passions and the pardoning of sexual transgressions. Xochiquetzal was the goddess of love and sexual desire and was pictured as a nubile maiden associated with flowers, feasting, and pleasure. A ferocious goddess, Coatlicue ("serpent skirt") represented the cosmic mountain that conceived all stellar beings and devoured all beings into her repulsive, lethal, and fascinating form. Her statue is studded with sacrificed hearts, skulls, hands, ferocious claws, and giant snake heads.

A prominent deity who linked agricultural renewal with warfare was Xipe Totec, whose gladiatorial sacrifice renewed vegetation in the spring and celebrated success on the battlefield. Part of his ceremony, called the Feast of the Flaying of Men, included the flaying of the sacrificial victim and the ceremonial wearing of the skin by the sacred specialist. Xipe Totec's insignia, including the pointed cap and rattle staff, was the war costume of the Méxica emperor.

Ceremony and Sacrifice. Another important facet of Aztec religious practice was human sacrifice, usually carried out for the purpose of nourishing or renewing the Sun or other deity (or to otherwise appease it), thus ensuring the stability of the universe. The mythic model for mass human sacrifice was the story of the creation of the fifth age, in which the gods themselves were sacrificed in order to empower the Sun. Tonatiuh, the personification of that Sun (whose visage appears in the center of the Calendar Stone), depended on continued nourishment from human hearts.

Some of the large-scale sacrificial ceremonies re-created other sacred stories. For example, women and masses of captive warriors were sacrificed in front of the shrine of Huitzilopochtli atop the Templo Mayor. Their bodies tumbled down the steps to rest at the bottom with the colossal stone figure of Coyolxauhqui, Huitzilopochtli's dismembered sister, symbolically reenacting the legendary slaughter of the four hundred siblings at Huitzilopochtli's birth.

Cosmology, pantheon, and ritual sacrifice were united and came alive in the exuberant and well-ordered ceremonies carried out in the more than eighty buildings situated in the sacred precinct of the capital and in the hundreds of ceremonial centers throughout the Aztec world. Guided by detailed ritual calendars, Aztec ceremonies varied from town to town but typically involved three stages: days of ritual preparation, death sacrifice, and nourishing the gods. The days of ritual preparation included fasting; offerings of food, flowers, and paper; use of incense and purification techniques; embowering; songs; and processions of deity-impersonators to various temples in ceremonial precincts.

Following these elaborate preparations, blood sacrifices were carried out by priestly orders specially trained to dispatch the victims swiftly. The victims were usually captive warriors or purchased slaves. Though a variety of methods of ritual killing were used, including decapitation, burning, hurling from great heights, strangulation, and arrow sacrifice, the typical ritual involved the dramatic heart sacrifice and the placing of the heart in a ceremonial vessel *(cuauhxicalli)* in order to nourish the gods. Amid the music of drums, conch shell trumpets, rattles, and other musical instruments, which created an atmosphere of dramatic intensity, blood was smeared on the face of the deity's image and the head of the victim was placed on the giant skull rack *(tzompantli)* that held thousands of such trophies.

All of these ceremonies were carried out in relation to two ritual calendars, the 365-day calendar or *tonalpohualli* ("count of day") consisting of eighteen twenty-day months plus a five-day intercalary period and the 260-day calendar consisting of thirteen twenty-day months. More than one-third of these ceremonies were dedicated to Tlaloc and earth fertility goddesses. Beside ceremonies relating to the two calendars, a third type of ceremony related to the many life cycle stages of the individual. In some cases, the entire community was involved in bloodletting.

Aztec religion, as we have seen, was formed during the rise to empire of a minority population who inherited urban traditions and sociopolitical conflicts of great prestige and intensity. This remarkable tradition came to an abrupt end during the military conquest of Tenochtitlán by the Spanish and the subsequent destruction of ceremonial life. But it is important to note that one of the last images we have of the Templo Mayor of Tenochtitlán before it was blown apart by Spanish cannon is the image of Aztec warriors sacrificing captive Spanish soldiers in front of the shrine to Huitzilopochtli.

See Also Coatlicue; Huitzilopochtli; Human Sacrifice; Quetzalcoatl; Tezcatlipoca; Tlaloc.

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BAAL. The name Baal *(bʿl)* is a common Semitic appellative meaning “lord” that is used as a proper name for the West Semitic storm god in ancient Near Eastern texts dating from the late third millennium BCE through the Roman period. Identified as the warrior Hadd (or Hadad) in the Late Bronze Age texts from Ugarit, Baal is a popular deity in Syro-Palestinian or “Canaanite” religious traditions as a god of storms and fertility. Associated with kingship and oaths, his name appears as a divine witness to international treaties and as a common element in theophoric names. Baal was venerated in West Semitic religious traditions as a powerful god and patron of humanity for over two thousand years.

The character of Baal is most fully described in the Late Bronze Age archives of the ancient Syrian city of Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra), where he is the patron of the royal house and protector of the city. Archaeologists have recovered hundreds of mythological, epic, and ritual texts written in an alphabetic cuneiform script from this coastal site since its rediscovery in 1929. The Baal revealed in these texts is an aggressive and powerful warrior who vies for kingship among the gods. Frequent epithets for Baal in the Ugaritic texts include “Almighty Baal” (*aliyn bʿl*), “the mightiest of warriors” (*aliy qrdm*), “the rider of the clouds” (*rkb ʿrpt*), and “the Prince, lord of the earth” (*zbl bʿl arṣ*). He is the son of the grain god Dagan and the brother of the violent Maiden Anat. Baal dwells on Mount Saphon (*spn*), identified with Jebel el-Aqra (Mons Casius in classical sources), the highest peak in Syria. From here he also controls the winds and storms at sea and acts as the protector of mariners.

As a god of the storm, Baal is depicted as both a divine warrior and the provider of natural fertility in the form of dew and rains. His presence in the heavens is manifested by dark clouds, roaring winds, peals of thunder, and bolts of lightning. Ugaritic myths depict Baal as victorious in battle against the primordial forces of Sea (Yamm) and Death (Mot). He is praised for his defeat of dragons or sea monsters called Litan the Fleeing Serpent, Tunnan, and the seven-headed Twisting Serpent. Baal’s distinctive iconography portrays him as a bearded god, wearing a conical hat with two horns, brandishing a mace or battle-ax in his right hand and grasping lightning and thunderbolts in the left. As king (*mlk*) of the gods, Baal rules the cosmos under the authority of El, the grey-bearded patri-

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Clockwise from top left corner. Eleventh-century black basalt relief depicting the birth of Kṛṣṇa. Indian Museum, Calcutta. *[©Giraudon/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Female temple figure. Bali, Indonesia. *[©Wolfgang Kaehler/Corbis]*; The Great Buddha in Kamakura, Japan. *[©Edifice/Corbis]*; Buddha sculpture and stupas at Borobudur in Java, Indonesia. *[©Owen Franken/Corbis]*; A mid-nineteenth-century *nahen* (a house partition screen) depicting a squatting bear, from Tlingit, Alaska. Denver Art Museum. *[©Werner Forman/Art Resource, N.Y.]* .

archal leader of the divine assembly. Baal "reigns over the gods," "issues orders to gods and humans," and "satisfies the multitudes of the earth" with his fertilizing rains in Ugaritic poetry. The absence of Baal from the world results in "no dew, no downpour, no swirling of the deeps, no welcome voice of Baal" to break the sweltering heat, according to the Aqhat epic. Baal is also associated with the fertility of the herd, as is mythologically represented in two Ugaritic texts that describe his sexual intercourse with a cow, who then bears a son as his heir.

The myth of Baal's rise to sovereignty over the gods is narrated in the six tablets of the Ugaritic Baal Cycle, which encompasses three main sections. The elderly god El presides over the divine assembly, while a younger god is enthroned as the active king of the cosmos. As the son of Dagan, Baal has a conflicted relationship with El, who resists Baal's rise to power in preference for his own sons' claims to divine kingship. In the cycle's first episode, Baal contends with Yamm (Sea) for dominion among the gods. After defeating Yamm with the help of magic war clubs crafted by Kothar-wa-Hasis, Baal seeks permission from El to build a palace as a symbol of his divine kingship. Kothar, Anat, and El's own consort, Athirat, eventually support Baal in the political intrigue, and his palace is constructed in the second section of the Baal Cycle.

The third section of the Baal Cycle describes Baal's conflict with divine Mot (Death), who challenges Baal's kingship. Mot demands that the storm god "enter the maw of Death" and descend into the underworld. Baal immediately submits to Mot's authority, but the fragmentary text obscures the sequence of events at this point. It remains unclear if Baal actually dies and enters the dreary land of the dead. Regardless, the heavenly gods believe that Baal has died. Anat discovers a corpse "in the pleasant field of Death's Realm" (*ysmt šd šḥlmmt*). There is a burial, copious ritual mourning, and funerary offerings by El and Anat in honor of the fallen Baal. After these events, El and the divine council unsuccessfully seek a replacement for Baal as the king of the gods. Meanwhile, Anat approaches Mot with a pitiful request to release her brother. When her pleas go unheeded for months, Anat violently attacks Mot, chops his body into pieces, and scatters his remains upon the fields for the birds to consume. After more broken text, El has an oracular dream of Baal's return to the earth in which "the heavens rain oil and the wadis run with honey" to relieve the parched furrows of the fields. Baal then returns to the divine assembly, defeats his enemies, and is again seated upon "the throne of his dominion." Later, "in the seventh year," Mot returns to challenge Baal's sovereignty, but the sun goddess Shapsh mediates between the rival gods and resolves their dispute in favor of Baal. The Baal Cycle concludes with the establishment of Baal's kingship over the heavenly gods, the earth, and humanity.

Scholars continue to debate whether Baal is appropriately described as a "dying and rising god" whose annual death and resurrection are cultically reenacted within a seasonal calendar. Certain West Semitic texts also hint at Baal's role in the revivification of the dead in a netherworld existence. Indeed, some scholars identify Baal as the leader of the Rephaim, the underworld shades of deceased kings, but no consensus exists among scholars on this issue. The Ugaritic myth of the voracious "Devourers" also narrates Baal's defeat and seven-year absence from the earth. The fragmentary character of the relevant episodes in the Baal Cycle precludes any definite conclusion, but perhaps Baal is most accurately described as a "disappearing god," similar to certain Hittite traditions. There is no compelling evidence for the ritual reenactment of Baal's annual death and resurrection in any ancient Syro-Palestinian source. Mot's absence for seven years in the Baal Cycle further argues against the alleged seasonal pattern of the conflict between Baal's fructifying rains and Mot's sterile rule during the heat of summer. Yet the seasonal aspects of the drama between the rain god and Mot cannot be denied. With their emphasis on fertility, death, and the politics of divine kingship, the myths of Baal represent the precarious balance of powerful forces at play in the natural, divine, and human realms. In many ways, Baal himself symbolizes the fragility of life, fertility, and political stability in a hostile cosmos.

In the Hebrew Bible, the Phoenician Baal appears as the most prominent divine rival to the Israelite god, Yahweh. Indeed, the two gods share many of the same qualities and epithets. Like Baal, Yahweh is depicted as a god of the storm who sounds his voice in thunder and sends lightning (*Ps.*18:10–16). Yahweh is the rider of the clouds (*Isa.*19:1; *Ps.* 68:5), who dominates the sea (*ym*) and vanquishes primordial dragons or sea monsters, including Tannin and Leviathan the Twisting Serpent (*Ps.* 74:13–14; *Isa.* 27:1; 51:9–10; *Job* 26:12–13). Yahweh is also responsible for human and natural fertility, including the "dew of the heavens and the fat of the earth, the abundance of new grain and wine" (*Gen.* 27:28).

SEE ALSO Dying and Rising Gods.

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Neal H. Walls (2005)

BAAL, JAN VAN. Jan van Baal (1909–1992), a Dutch anthropologist of religion, studied Indonesian culture, law, and languages at Leiden University and was influenced by J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong's structural ethnology. Van Baal's Ph.D. thesis (1934) about the Marind-anim of New Guinea was based on ethnographic material collected by the Swiss ethnologist Paul Wirtz. Van Baal later became a civil servant in the Dutch East Indies (1934–1949), a prisoner in Japanese concentration camps (1942–1945), an advisor on native affairs to the government of Dutch New Guinea (1946–1953), and the governor of Dutch New Guinea (1953–1958). Van Baal served as professor of cultural anthropology at the University of Utrecht from 1959 to 1973, and he acted until 1969 as director of the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam. He published *Dema,* a thousand-page volume on the Marind-anim of New Guinea in 1966, and a number of articles and books, of which *Symbols for Communication* (1971), *Reciprocity and the Position of Women* (1975), and *Man's Quest for Partnership* (1981) are the most important. Van Baal was admired by many anthropologists, Margaret Mead and Claude Lévi-Strauss among them.

Van Baal's theory is based on the view that religion is a system of symbols by which humans communicate with their universe. These symbols enable individuals to overcome their inner solitude, which is the inescapable result of their inability to solve the existential problem of being subjects opposed to and separated from their universe, as well as being part of that same universe and at the same time functioning in it. Religion enables humans to cope with the contradictions related to human existence itself. The several contradictions inherent in the phenomenon of religion must be connected with contradictions in human existence. These contradictions are the result of the idea of being opposed to the world one lives in. People express their detachment, as well as their feelings of being part of their world, in symbolic activities. The dialectics of "subject to" and "part of" contain the uncertainty of individuals. The ambition of self-realization can bring the individual into conflict with the universe, and it creates a dualism because one's fellow human beings and one's surroundings are used as instruments for self-realization. But, at the same time, the individual wants to be recognized and treated as a partner. Problems of doubt and loneliness, which are the result of this dualism, can only be solved, according to van Baal, when humans manage to remain subject to, as well as part of, the community.

Symbols play a crucial role here, since they can save people from existential solitude, and their analysis is therefore important in van Baal's work. In his Marind-anim ethnography he decodes the meanings of specific symbols and their interrelations within the context of the analysis of a specific culture, religion, or mythology. After this, more general descriptions of processes of symbolization are pointed out by different kinds of classifications. He characterizes the relation between the subject and the symbols he uses as being asymmetrical. The subject is unique and timeless, but the symbols are temporary and infinitely numerous. Moreover, van Baal holds that systems of symbols do not spring from the interaction between individuals and their surroundings, but first of all from the individual.

The basic model of gift exchange and reciprocity described by Marcel Mauss is given great emphasis in van Baal's line of thought. But among the distinctive features of offering and sacrifice he does not include their sacred nature. For him, both sacrifice and offering have one characteristic in common, that of being gifts. The dialectics of the human condition make communication an urgent necessity, and the gift is an attractive and persuasive form for establishing contacts and ameliorating relations. Giving is a symbolic act of communication; it is the symbol that counts, and the notion that offering and sacrifice are sacral acts hardly plays a role. Van Baal objects to a reification of the symbolic content by interpreting it as a magical act; he also objects to the use of the term *sacrifice* for rituals in which every element of the gift or of atonement is absent. For him, giving is participating, and it is essential for a meaningful existence. All communication begins with giving.

Van Baal's description of religion comes down to the acceptance of a non-empirical reality that influences the reality of people's daily life. Opposing the classical comparative method in cultural anthropology, he uses a monographic method that compares only a few religions after a systematic description of each separate religion. In doing so, van Baal wants to exclude ethnocentrism and a priori arguments. He does not make this "overall approach" absolute, and invariably asks himself what is the measure of integration between the elements of a religious system, how far does it link up with other social or cultural institutions, and whether or not its relation with them is strained. When it comes to the question what individual motives underlie the development of religious ideas, van Baal thinks that craving for "communion" is the fundamental motive. A successful ritual makes the participant feel at ease with his world. In his view, being part of a community implies the acceptance of authority, which reduces individual freedom.

In van Baal's work there is no connection between the development of religions and social stratification, religious specialists and charismatic leaders, and there is little analysis of the dynamics of religion and its social components, as can be found in the work of Max Weber. Van Baal's approach is ahistorical and structuralistic, and he is highly critical of phenomenologists like Gerardus van der Leeuw and Mircea Eliade. Van Baal is interested in the conscious ordering, in the role of the participants in the processes of symbolization. Unlike Lévi-Strauss, Baal is not concerned with the analysis of the results of human thought or the discovery of the grammar in them. Instead, he is primarily interested in and looking for the motives in human thought, and he is searching for its message and meaning.

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W. HOFSTEE (2005)

BAʿAL SHEM TOV (master of the good name), popular designation for Yisraʾel ben Eliʿezer (c. 1700–1760), the founder of the Hasidic movement in eastern Europe, who is also known by the acronym BeSHT (commonly written "Besht"). There are few historically authentic sources that describe the life of the Besht; most information must be gleaned from nineteenth-century hagiography, especially the collection of more than three hundred stories about him, known as *Shivhei ha-Besht* (*In Praise of the Besht;* first printed in 1815), and the works of later Hasidic writers.

Born in the small town of Okopy in the southern Ukraine, Yisraʾel ben Eliʿezer is said to have begun preaching around 1738, after a long period of seclusion in the Carpathian Mountains with his wife. According to other accounts, he served throughout his life as a popular healer, writer of amulets, and exorcist of demons from houses and bodies, which were the traditional roles of a *baʿal shem* (master of the name) or *baʿal shem tov* (master of the good name)—in other words, the master of the name that empowered him to perform what he wished.

In his wandering around many Jewish communities, the Besht came into contact with various circles of pietists. In some cases he was criticized by the rabbis, but his powers as a preacher and magician attracted disciples, including masters of Jewish law and Qabbalah such as Yaʿaqov Yosef of Polonnoye (d. 1782) and Dov Ber of Mezhirich (1704–1772). As Gershom Scholem has suggested, the Besht should be regarded as the founder of the great eastern European Hasidic movement, even though our knowledge of his organizational work is scanty, and even though the first Hasidic center was established only after his death by Dov Ber, who became the leader of the movement.

Although he was not a scholar in Jewish law, the Besht was well versed in Qabbalah and in popular Jewish ethical tradition, on which he relied when delivering his sermons and formulating his theories. He saw the supreme goal of religious life as *devequt* (cleaving), or spiritual communion with God; this state can be achieved not only during prayers but also in the course of everyday activities. In his view, there is no barrier between the holy and the profane, and worship of God can be the inner content of any deed, even the most mundane one. Indeed, the Besht did not insist on following the complicated qabbalistic system of *kavvanot* (intentions) in prayers and in the performance of the Jewish religious commandments, but substituted instead the mystical devotion of *devequt* as the primary means of uplifting the soul to the divine world. His teachings also included the theory that evil can be transformed into goodness by a mystical process of returning it to its original source in the divine world and redirecting it into good spiritual power; this idea was further developed by his followers.

The Besht believed that he was in constant contact with the divine powers and saw his mission as that of correcting and leading his generation. In a letter preserved by Yaʿaqov Yosef (whose voluminous works contain the most important material we have concerning the Besht's teachings), the Besht indicates that he practiced *ʿaliyyat neshamah,* or the uplifting of the soul. In this way, he explained, he communicated with celestial powers who revealed their secrets to him. According to the document, these included the Messiah, who told him that redemption would come when his teachings were spread all over the world (which the Besht interpreted as "in a long, long time").

The Besht was convinced that his prayer carried special weight in the celestial realm and that it could open heavenly gates for the prayers of the people as a whole. His insistence that there are righteous people in every generation who, like himself, carry special mystical responsibilities for their communities laid the foundations for the later Hasidic theory of the function of the *tsaddiq,* or leader, a theory that created a new type of charismatic leadership in the Jewish communities of eastern Europe.

SEE ALSO Hasidism, overview article.

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Dan Ben-Amos and Jerome R. Mintz have translated and edited *Shivhei ha-Besht* as *In Praise of the Baʿal Shem Tov: The Earliest Collection of Legends about the Founder of Hasidism* (Bloomington, Ind., 1970). Gershom Scholem has discussed the Besht in *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism,* 3d rev. ed. (New York, 1961), pp. 330–334, 348–349. Three papers concerning the Besht and Hasidism are included in Scholem's *The Messianic Idea in Judaism* (New York, 1972), pp. 176–250. Additional bibliographic references accompany his article "Israel ben Eliezer Baʿal Shem Tov" in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem, 1971).

Several monographs dealing with the Besht and the beginnings of Hasidism were published in the 1990s, some of them concentrated around the historical figure and others on his theology and religious message. Rachel Elior emphasizes the Besht's mystical theology of divine immanence and omnipresence in her *Herut ʿal Ha-luhot* (Tel Aviv, 1999), whereas Moshe Idel's *Hasidism between Ecstasy and Magic* (Albany, N.Y., 1995) tries to integrate the Besht and his teachings with medieval mystical-magical models; Immanuel Etkas, in his historical analysis *Baʿal Hashem: The Besht—Magic, Mysticism, Leadership* (Jerusalem, 2000, in Hebrew), emphasizes the Besht's social message and minimizes the magical one. Moshe Rosman's *Founder of Hasidism: A Quest for the Historical Baʿal Shem Tov* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996) presents a critical analysis of the historical sources and a detailed study of contemporary Polish documents.

JOSEPH DAN (1987 AND 2005)

BABA YAGA, known in Russian folklore as a witch and an ogress, is the ancient goddess of death and regeneration of Slavic mythology, with roots in the pre-Indo-European matrilinear pantheon. In Slavic folk tales (mainly Russian), Baba Yaga lives in nocturnal darkness, deep in the woods, far from the world of men. She is variously depicted as an evil old hag who eats humans, especially children, and as a wise, prophetic old woman. In appearance, she is tall, bony-legged, and pestle-headed, with a long nose and disheveled hair. At times she appears as a young woman, at other times as two sisters, one young and one old. Her primary theriomorphic image is that of a bird or a snake, but she can turn instantly into a frog, a toad, a turtle, a mouse, a crab, a vixen, a bee, a mare, a goat, or an inanimate object.

Baba Yaga never walks; she either flies in a fiery mortar or lies in her hut on top of the oven, on a bench, on the floor, or stretched from one end of the hut to the other. The fence around her hut is made of human bones and is topped with human skulls, with eyes intact. The gate is fastened with human legs and arms instead of bolts, and a mouth with sharp teeth serves as a lock. The hut, which is supported on bird's legs and which can turn around on its axis like a spindle, is, in fact, Baba Yaga herself.

Linguistic analysis of Baba Yaga's compound name reveals prehistoric characteristics. *Yaga,* from Proto-Slavic *_(y)ega_, means "disease," "fright," and "wrath" in Old Russian, Serbo-Croatian, and Slovene, respectively, and is related to the Lithuanian verb *engti* ("strangle, press, torture"). The early form may be related to Proto-Samoyed *_nga_, meaning "god," or "god or goddess of death." The Slavic etymon *baba* means "grandmother," "woman," "cloud woman" (a mythic being who produces rain), and "pelican." The last points to Baba Yaga's avian nature, comparable to that of the archetypal vulture and owl goddess of European prehistory, who represents death and regeneration. In Russian tales, Baba Yaga eats humans by pecking like a bird.

In East Slavic areas, Baba Yaga has a male counterpart, Koshchei Bessmertnyi, "Koshchei the Immortal." His name, from *kost'* ("bone"), bears the notion of a dying and rising god, that is, a deity who cyclically dies and is reborn. In tales in which Koshchei appears, Baba Yaga is either his mother or his aunt. Another male equivalent of Baba Yaga is Morozko ("frost"). Baba Yaga is also the "mother of winds," analogous to the German Frau Holle. Other relatives in current folklore are the Lithuanian goddess Ragana and the Basque vulture goddess, the "Lady of Amboto."

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MARIJA GIMBUTAS (1987)
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BĀBĪS. Bābīs are the followers of the teaching of Sayyid ʿAlī Muḥammad, known as the "Bāb." Immediately after the Bāb's demise, the name Bābīs was applied to these people for some years; since the 1860s those Bābīs who followed Bahāʾ Allāh, became known as the "people of Bahā" or as Bahāʾī. A minority group that follows Ṣubḥ-i Azal as a successor of the Bāb is known as Azalīs.

SAYYID ʿALĪ MUḤAMMAD, THE BĀB. Born in Shiraz on October 20, 1819, ʿAlī Muḥammad was orphaned as a young boy and subsequently raised by a maternal uncle who, as is indicated by the title Sayyid, is believed to have been a descendant of Muḥammad. ʿAlī Muḥammad earned his early living as a merchant, traveling in Iran and Iraq for his business. In 1840–1841 he visited the famous Shīʿah shrines at Karbala, Iraq, where he came in contact with Sayyid Kāẓim Rastī, the leader of the Shaykhī movement. This movement originated with Shaykh Aḥmad al-Ahsāʾī (d. 1826), whose mystical and philosophical interpretation of Islam was based on the theosophical philosophy of Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī and other Muslim Gnostics, but which was also a dissent from the orthodoxy of the ʿulamāʾ. After studying Shaykhī doctrines for about eight months, ʿAlī Muḥammad returned to Shiraz. In 1842 he married, and he had one son who died as an infant. ʿAlī Muḥammad's relationship with the Shaykhīs during the next two years is not entirely clear, but he was inclined to some of the Shaykhī teachings and also to chiliastic expectations in connection with the hidden (twelfth) *imām* of Shīʿī Islam.

After Sayyid Kāẓim Rastī's death in December 1843, some of the Shaykh's disciples were looking for the expected Mahdi, whose appearance had been predicted for the near future. One of these disciples, Mullā Ḥusayn of Bushrūyah, met with Sayyid ʿAlī Muḥammad in Shiraz on May 22, 1844. In this encounter Sayyid ʿAlī Muḥammad presented himself as the Bāb, the "gate" to the hidden *imām.* Mullā Ḥusayn accepted this claim and thus was the first to recognize the Bāb as his new spiritual leader. That same night the Bāb started composing his first major literary work, a long commentary in Arabic language on the *sūrah* of Yūsuf in the Qurʾān (*Sūrah* 12), the *Qayyūm al-asmaʿ*. Both Bābīs and Bahāʾīs consider this commentary the first revealed work of the Bāb, making it the starting point of a new era. Some of the Shaykhīs and Shīʿī Muslims soon made up an increasing number of disciples of the Bāb, and he designated the foremost eighteen of them as *Ṣurūf al Ṣayy* (letter of the living), among them Mullā Ḥusayn and Qurrat al-ʿAyn.

In September 1844 the Bāb began a pilgrimage to Mecca, and he returned to Shiraz in late spring of the following year. During his pilgrimage journey he maintained the conviction that other Muslims might join his "reforming" view of Shīʿī Islam, a conviction reflected both in some *khuṭbah* read during his pilgrimage journey and also in letters to Muḥammad Shāh. Judging from references in the *Bayān*, the Bāb's central book, the pilgrimage was not a positive experience because he learned that the majority of Muslims did not agree with his views. Back in Shiraz, he was imprisoned for four months. After his release he moved to Esfahan, but in early 1847 he again was put in jail, first at the fortress of Mākhū in Azerbaijan, from where he was transferred to the castle of Chirīq in April 1848. Shortly before this move to Chirīq, the Bāb sent a letter to Mullā Shaykh ʿAlī Turshīzī, presenting himself as the long-awaited twelfth Shīʿī *imām.* For Bāb's followers, foremost among them the *Ḥurūf al-Ḥayy*, this letter marked the clear decision to dissent from the *sharīʿah.*

The leading Bābīs met in July in Badasht, close to the Caspian Sea. The meeting was intended to discuss the consequences of the Bāb's declaration to be the returned *imām* and to make plans to free him from prison. Qurrat al-ʿAyn, well versed in Shīʿī and Shaykhī thinking and a leader of the meeting, fostered a radical position regarding a total and social break with Islam. In addition to unveiling her own position, she also motivated her fellow believers to separate from Muslims, if necessary by force. After the death of Muḥammad Shāh in September 1848, some radical Bābīs hoped for the opportunity to establish a "sacred Bābī state," leading to Bābī uprisings and a "Bābī *jihād"* for the next five years. The Bāb remained in prison, and in 1850 he was given a death sentence. He was executed on July 9, 1850.

FROM THE BĀBĪS TO THE BAHĀʾĪS. The first years after the Bāb's death can be seen as a period of persecution. The Bābīs were responsible for some revolts against the Qajār government that led to an attempt to assassinate Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1852. As a consequence severe persecution of the Bābīs was renewed, and all the *Ḥurūf al-Ḥayy* were put to death, including Qurrat al-ʿAyn in 1853. The main centers of these Bābī revolts and Muslim persecutions were Mazandaran, Nayriz, and Zanjan. Based on the Bāb's interpretation of *jihād*, Bābīs displayed great heroism, but they were forced to surrender to the Qajār troops.

The Bābī community was then led by Mīrzā Yaḥyā Nūrī, called Ṣubḥ-i Azal (Morning of Eternity), the half brother of Mīrzā Ḥusayn ʿAlī Nūrī, called Bahāʾ Allāh (Baháʾuʾlláh according to Bahāʾī orthography). Because Ṣubḥ-i Azal had stayed at Nur at the time of the attack on Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, he escaped imprisonment, whereas his half brother Bahāʾ Allāh was jailed in Tehran in the summer of 1852. After some months Bahāʾ Allāh was exiled to Baghdad, at that time part of the Ottoman Empire, rather than Qajār, arriving there on April 8, 1853. Some months earlier Ṣubḥ-i Azal had also settled there. During the early period in Baghdad, in the vicinity of Shīʿī and Shaykhī centers like Nadjaf and Karbala, the Bābīs looked to Ṣubḥ-i Azal as the leader of the community, but tensions between him and his half brother could not be hidden any longer. The main reason for these tensions might have been the quite different characters of the men. Ṣubḥ-i Azal seemed only partly aware of the needs of his community to survive, whereas Bahāʾ Allāh reorganized the community and strengthened it in the late 1860s. From a sociological point of view, therefore, Ṣubḥ-i Azal lost his influence on the Bābīs more and more, whereas Bahāʾ Allāh gained importance as a community leader. Since 1861 the Ottoman government had pressured the Bābī movement, which ended with the exiles of Bahāʾ Allāh and Ṣubḥ-i Azal via Istanbul to Edirne. Before leaving Baghdad, Bahāʾ Allāh, in the presence of some close followers, proclaimed himself a new prophet made manifest by God, thus theologically ending, according to the Bahāʾī interpretation, the Bābī movement as an independent religion. Even though Ṣubḥ-i Azal might have known about this, he was only informed about Bahāʾ Allāh's claim to be "the one whom God shall manifest" in the so-called *surāt al-amr* sent by Bahāʾ Allāh to his half brother on March 10, 1866. This date marks the definitive break between the Bābī and Bahāʾī groups.

While the majority sided with Bahāʾī Allāh, a minority followed Ṣubḥ-i Azal, joining him at his exile in Cyprus, where he had been since 1868. On April 20, 1912, Ṣubḥ-i Azal died on the island, and he was buried in Famagusta, according to Muslim practice. Thus it is safe to conclude that the Bābī community on Cyprus could not prosper any longer, whereas some followers of the Bāb still live in Iran as so-called Bābī-Azalīs. During the twentieth century they showed neither further theological development nor large-scale organization, but instead turned into a more static community, preserving the writings of the Bāb and Ṣubḥ-i Azal. Thus they mainly live as a hidden minority, passing on the religious heritage through family lines, often not distinguishable amid their Muslim surroundings. Most probably there are not more than one or two thousand Bābī-Azalīs residing in Iran.

BĀBĪ DOCTRINES. The main source for Bābī doctrine is the *Bayān* (Declaration), the holy book of this religion, written by the Bāb in Persian and Arabic during his imprisonment. Though based on monotheism like Islam, the eschatological thought is changed, as "the day to come" is no more a day in the far future. Rather, anyone who lives with God can enjoy the joy of paradise in a spiritual way even in the present. The universal eschatology will start with "the one whom God will manifest." According to Bābī teaching, no precise date is given for this eschatological event, whereas Bahāʾīs take it for granted that the Bāb indicated that this would happen in the near future after his demise. On the other hand, Bābī doctrines maintain their traditional bond to Shīʿī Islam, as is the case with *taqīya*, the possibility of hiding one's religious thoughts or convictions in times of crisis or danger. The idea of martyrdom and warlike *jihād* as a means to reach salvation also remain central in Bābī thought.

The *Bayān* also is the foundation of Bābī religious law, thus abrogating Islamic *sharīʿah*. Some of the famous religious laws concern the new direction of the *qiblah*, no longer the Kaʿbah in Mecca but the Bāb's house in Shiraz. Another change in religious ritual law is in connection with the cultic calendar, which divides the solar year into nineteen months with nineteen days each, and four additional days. According to the Iranian solar year, the Bābī year also begins at the spring solstice. Within the new calendar, the month of fasting became fixed at the last month of the Bābī year in March.

Generally speaking, these doctrines and practices have been fixed in the various writings of the Bāb and, to a minor degree, also in the writings of Ṣubḥ-i Azal, whose "Muʾtammim-i Bayān" features as the conclusion of the *Bayān*, thus focusing on Ṣubḥ-i Azal's claim (against Bahāʾ Allāh) that he is the real successor of the Bāb. Further writings by Ṣubḥ-i Azal can be seen as interpretations and elaborations of the Bāb's teachings, mainly written after the split between the Bābīs and the Bahāʾīs to uphold Bābī doctrine as a religious system of its own, thus focusing on eschatology and the question of the future divine prophet.

SEE ALSO Bahāʾīs.

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MANFRED HUTTER (2005)

BABYLONIAN RELIGION SEE MESOPOTAMIAN RELIGIONS

BACCHIC GOLD TABLETS SEE ORPHIC GOLD TABLETS

BACHOFEN, J. J.

BACHOFEN, J. J. (1815–1887) was a Swiss scholar of mythology and Roman law and history. Through his most famous books, *Gräbersymbolik* (1859) and *Mutterrecht* (Mother right, 1861), Bachofen had a great influence on twentieth-century culture, even in fields not closely related to the history of religions.

LIFE. Johann Jakob Bachofen was born to a patrician family in Basel, Switzerland, on December 22, 1815. His father, Johann Jacob Bachofen, owned a highly successful silk ribbon business that had belonged to the family since 1720. The wealth accumulated by the Bachofens was visible in their immense real-estate holdings, as well as in their rich art collection. Bachofen's mother, Valeria Merian, came from one of Basel's most distinguished families of important businessmen, politicians, and university professors.

Bachofen was brought up to be a pious churchgoing member of the French reformed Christian community. In 1831 he became a student at the *Pädagogium*, the preparatory college of Basel University, which he entered in 1834. Here his most important teacher was Franz Dorotheus Gerlach in Latin, and the two became lifelong friends. From 1835 to 1837 Bachofen studied at Berlin University, attending lectures of the outstanding representative of the historical school of law, Friedrich Karl von Savigny (who influenced him deeply); the romantic geographer Karl Ritter, whose lessons on ancient geography were to be of great importance for Bachofen's conception of matriarchy; the philologists August Böckh and Karl Wilhelm Lachmann; and the historian Leopold von Ranke. In order to deepen his knowledge of Roman law, Bachofen spent the winter semester of 1837–1838 at the University of Göttingen, where he took courses with Gustav Hugo (the founder of the historical school of law and a friend of Savigny) and the classicist Karl Otfried Müller. In 1838, after having achieved his doctoral degree in Basel with a study on Roman law, Bachofen spent a year in Paris taking courses at the *École de Droit* and the *Collège de France* under Pellegrino Rossi, as well as one year in London and Cambridge. By 1840 he had returned to Basel, where he became ordinary professor of Roman law in 1841, appellate judge at the criminal court in 1842 (a post he filled for twenty-five years), and a member of the Basel Senate in 1844. He resigned his university position in 1844 because of a political campaign directed against him by the local press, and in 1845 he gave up his seat in the Senate. He also served briefly on the university governing board (1855–1858), but resigned because of conflict with a colleague. Thereafter Bachofen withdrew completely from academic life.

The turning point in Bachofen's life came during his first journey to Italy in 1842 (a journey followed by others in 1848–1849, 1851–1852, 1863, and 1865). Here, especially while visiting Roman archaeological museums and ancient tombs, he found inspiration for his works on prehistoric, oriental, and pre- or early Roman Italy, and he came to understand the importance of funerary evidence (the *Gräberwesen*) for the study of antiquity. Other archaeological trips reinforced this direct approach to the ancient world: Greece (1851–1852); the British Museum in London (1847 and 1852); the Louvre in Paris (1852, 1860, 1864, and 1865); and Spain and southern France (1861).

After leaving behind his studies on Roman law, which had made him a respected scholar, Bachofen abandoned mainstream classical philology, first in his *Geschichte der Römer* (1851), in which he led a direct attack on the principles of the eminent scholars Barthold Niebuhr and Theodor Mommsen, then in the *Gräbersymbolik* and the *Mutterrecht*. The latter two books, which are inextricably linked, were the result of seventeen years of collecting and organizing a huge amount of literary and archaeological data, most of which remains unpublished.

By the late 1860s Bachofen had started studying the writings of the most important ethnologists and anthropologists of his time: John Ferguson McLennan, Werner Munzinger, John Lubbock, Edward Burnett Tylor, Adolf Bastian, and Lewis Henry Morgan, among others (he read altogether more than six hundred different authors). In these years he planned a revised edition of the *Mutterrecht*, which would have taken into account "the remains of the maternal system surviving in all the peoples of the world," as he stated in a letter to Heinrich Meyer-Ochsner (November 10, 1870). He never managed to fulfill this task, but published these extensive ethnological data in the *Antiquarische Briefe* (1880 and 1886). Bachofen died on November 25, 1887; he was survived by his wife, Louise Elisabeth Burckhardt, whom he had married in 1865, and their twenty-one-year-old son.

OEUVRE. Bachofen's dissertation on Roman law was written in Latin: *De romanorum iudiciis, de legis actionibus, de formulis et de condicione* (1840). His inaugural lecture, "Das Naturrecht und das geschichtliche Recht in ihren Gegensätzen," held on the occasion of his appointment to a professorship at Basel University on May 7, 1841, is important for understanding his Savigny-influenced view of Roman law. Other major works on this topic are *Die lex Voconia und die mit ihr zusammenhängenden Rechtsinstitute* (1843) and *Das römische Pfandrecht* (1847). Bachofen's main treatises on Roman history are the *Politische Betrachtungen über das Staatsleben des römischen Volkes* (published posthumously in 1848) and *Die Geschichte der Römer*, edited with Gerlach (1851).

Bachofen's eventual rejection of scholarly philology and his conversion to a symbolic approach to antiquity is most evident in a letter to Savigny dated September 24–27, 1854 (published as "Eine Selbstbiographie" in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft* 34, 1916, pp. 337–380). In this context the strong impression exercised on Bachofen by the ancient sites of Italy and Greece is of utmost importance (see

Griechische Reise, written in 1851 and edited 1927 by Georg Schmidt). Other major writings leading to his works on funerary symbolism and gynecocracy are the unpublished *Das alte Italien* (especially the incomplete manuscript 104, written in 1855) and the lecture "Über das Weiberrecht" given in Stuttgart on September 9, 1856 (*Verhandlungen der 16, Versammlung deutscher Philologen, Schulmänner und Orientalisten*, 1857, pp. 40–64). Bachofen's two chief books are *Versuch über die Gräbersymbolik der Alten* (1859) and *Das Mutterrecht: Eine Untersuchung über die Gynaikokratie der Alten Welt nach ihrer religiösen und rechtlichen Natur* (1861), the latter of which he dedicated to his mother, Valeria Merian.

Strongly inspired by Georg Friedrich Creuzer's *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker* (1819–1822), Bachofen's *Gräbersymbolik* conceives myth as "the exegesis of the symbol" (*Gesammelte Werke*, 1943–1967, vol. 4, p. 61). Myth narrates through a series of connected actions what the symbol embodies and unifies. Similar to a discursive philosophical treatise, myth unfolds the profound, impenetrable muteness of the symbol, though respecting and not violating its intrinsic mystery: "to expound the mystery doctrine in words would be a sacrilege against the supreme law; it can only be represented in the terms of myth" (*Gesammelte Werke*, 1943–1967, vol. 4, p. 61). The symbols of funerary art (Bachofen takes into account Greek, Roman, Egyptian, and Microasiatic evidence) are thus capable of revealing the true essence of antiquity, as well as of religion throughout. In the *Gräbersymbolik*, the most significant symbols analyzed are those of the three mysteric eggs and of the rope-weaver Ocnus. The myths arising from them explain the relationships between the cosmic powers of life and death, light and obscurity, spirit and matter, masculine and feminine, and right and left, as well as the duality of Roman power as exemplified by Romulus and Remus (and consul and magistrate).

The symbolic context of the *Gräbersymbolik* also occurs in Bachofen's best-known work, the *Mutterrecht.* Here he presents his theory of the evolution of human society from its beginning to modernity as it develops through three stages of civilization (*Kulturstufen*). According to this scheme, before the stage of patriarchal society, which extends from Homeric antiquity to the present, in prehistoric times there were two earlier and universal stages. The first was that of *haeterism* (or *aphroditism*), a stage of sexual promiscuity and social anarchy very close to the original state of nature. During this stage, humans lived in swamps without any legal and ethical obligation, and women suffered complete domination by every male component of the horde. Since descent could be reckoned only through the mother, women rebelled against this condition of disorderly life and instituted the *mother right*, at once a juridical system, a social order, and a religious view founded on the principle of matrilinearity (in Bachofen's view this matrilinear aspect is particularly evident within the ancient Lycians: see his *Das lykische Volk und seine Bedeutung für die Entwicklung des Alterthums*, 1862).

This second stage, *gynecocracy*, was thus characterized by the nonviolent power of the materfamilias, who endorsed piety, communal peacefulness, and the prosperity of the people and life. This new stage took place within an agricultural milieu, where the worship of chthonic and lunar deities prevailed over that of heavenly and solar ones. The most important divinity was the mother goddess Demeter, who was closely linked to the fertility of earth and women. Towards its end however, this stage degenerated into *amazonism*, that is, the military predominance of women over men. The reaction to the female principle was fulfilled by Dionysian religion, which determined the decline of gynecocracy and gave way to the third and last *Kulturstufe*, that of *patriarchy.*

In patriarchy, the Dionysian principle was soon replaced by the Apollonian, then by Roman law, and finally by Christianity. Humankind organized society in patrilinear families, grouped in cities, kingdoms, and empires. In Bachofen's view, the patriarchal order represented the victory of spirit over matter, of culture over nature, of reason over instinct, but also of arbitrary power over freedom, of social hierarchy over communal unity, of violence over peace. Beneath Apollo, the main divinity of this stage was Zeus, father and king of the Olympian gods, who embodied the spiritual, uranic, and male principle.

The assumption of a gynecocratic, oriental root for Roman history inspired the main work of Bachofen's maturity, *Die Sage von Tanaquil: Eine Untersuchung über den Orientalismus in Rom und Italien* (1870), a book juxtaposed with Theodor Mommen's popular *Römische Geschichte* (1854–1856). The *Antiquarische Briefe vornehmlich zur Kenntnis der ältesten Verwandtschaftsbegriffe* (1880/1886), which are dedicated to Morgan, shed light on the great influence the American scholar had on Bachofen starting from 1874 onwards, inspiring his vast studies on the institution of the avunculate in matrilinear societies (still partly unpublished). The posthumously edited *Römische Grablampen* (1890) shows how in the last weeks of his life Bachofen had returned to study funerary symbolism.

RECEPTION AND INFLUENCE. During Bachofen's lifetime only his writings on Roman law were appreciated. His works on Roman history and on mythology were criticized or even ignored by most of the scholars of his time. The only specialists who admired Bachofen's work were Meyer-Ochsner, a wealthy private scholar like himself, and Alexis Giraud-Teulon, a French honorary professor at the University of Geneva; Bachofen corresponded with both of them for years. Giraud-Teulon was profoundly influenced by the *Mutterrecht*, whose theories he reformulated in *La mère chez certains peuples de l'antiquité* (1867) and *Les origines du mariage et de la famille* (1884). These works presented Bachofen's ethnosociological conceptions from a scholarly though simplified point of view, making them accessible to anthropologists, ethnologists, and sociologists of the time. Lubbock (*The Origin of Civilization*, 1870) and McLennan (*Studies in Ancient History*, 1876) took great interest in Giraud-Teulon's interpretations of Bachofen's ideas; Morgan even considered the Swiss scholar to be the predecessor of his own theories (*Ancient Society*, 1877). From the end of the nineteenth century until the late 1920s, Bachofen was considered a forerunner of family-evolutionism; most discussed were his conceptions of haeterism and matrilinear gynecocracy. Although these topics were progressively abandoned by scholars, Bachofen's theory of the *Kulturstufen*, closely related to that of the *Kulturkreise*, survived within the ethnology and sociology of the first half of the twentieth century (e.g., that of Leo Frobenius, Oswald Spengler, Adolf Ellegard Jensen, and Wilhelm Schmidt).

Morgan's works and Giraud-Teulon's Bachofen-influenced idea of an original communism influenced Karl Marx (see *The Ethnological Notebooks*, edited by Lawrence Krader, 1972) and Friedrich Engels (*Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigenthums und des Staates*, 1884; in the fourth edition of this book in 1891 Bachofen's influence is even stronger). Later this topic was studied also by Paul Lafargue, Heinrich Cunow, Wilhelm Reich, Erich Fromm, Max Horkheimer, and Ernst Bloch.

The work of Bachofen reached its greatest popularity during the 1920s, when it was rediscovered by the *Münchner Kosmiker* Karl Wolfskehl, Alfred Schuler, and Ludwig Klages. Klages's *Vom Kosmogonischen Eros* (1922) introduced a true *Bachofen-Renaissance*, which expanded in a variety of fields, reaching from mythical symbolism (Carl Albrecht Bernoulli, *J. J. Bachofen und das Natursymbol* [1924] and *J. J. Bachofen als Religionsforscher* [1924]; Alfred Bäumler, "Bachofen, der Mythologe der Romantik," an introduction to the renowned anthology of Bachofen's work, *Der Mythus von Orient und Occident*, edited by Bäumler and Manfred Schröter [1926]; and Karl Kerényi, *Bachofen und die Zukunft des Humanismus* [1945]), to psychology (Carl Gustav Jung, who suggested translating Bachofen's work into English in 1967, and Erich Neumann), to literature (Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Gerhard Hauptmann, Walter Benjamin, and Thomas Mann), to ancient history (George Thomson), to city planning (Lewis Mumford), and to feminism (August Bebel, Robert Briffault, Ernest Bornemann, Evelyn Reed, Ida Magli, Marie Louise Janssen-Jurreit, Richard Fester, and Heide Göttner-Abendroth).

SEE ALSO Creuzer, G. F.; Evola, Julius; Family; Feminine Sacrality; Feminist Theology, overview article; Frobenius, Leo; Goddess Worship, overview article; Gynocentrism; Kulturkreiselehre; Patriarchy and Matriarchy.

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The most complete sketch of Bachofen's life and work until 1861 is Karl Meuli's "Nachwort," in *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 3, pp. 1011–1128 (1948). The years leading to the *Sage von Tanaquil* are covered by Emanuel Kienzle, "Nachwort," in *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 6, pp. 447–451 (1951), whereas the period after 1870 is examined by Johannes Dörmann's "Bachofens 'Antiquarische Briefe' und die zweite Bearbeitung des Mutterrechts," in *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 8, pp. 523–602 (1966). The peculiarity of Bachofen's personality within German scholarship has been outlined by Jonathan D. Fishbane, *Mother-right, Myth, and Renewal: The Thought of J. J. Bachofen and Its Relationship to the Perception of Cultural Decadence in the Nineteenth Century* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1982), and Lionel Gossman, *Basel in the Age of Burckhardt* (Chicago and London, 2000), pp. 111–200, the latter focusing on Bachofen's relationship to Mommsen ("Orpheus Philologus: Bachofen versus Mommsen on the Study of Antiquity," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 73 [1983]: 1–89). Bachofen's studies in the history of Roman law have been examined by Roy Garré, *Fra diritto romano e giustizia popolare: Il ruolo dell'attività giudiziaria nella vita e nell'opera di J. J. Bachofen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1999), and Annamaria Rufino, *Diritto e storia: J. J. Bachofen e la cultura giuridica romantica*, 2d ed. (Naples, 2002). His conception of history was examined by Georg Schmidt, *J. J. Bachofens Geschichtsphilosophie* (Munich, 1929); Johannes Dörmann, "War J. J. Bachofen Evolutionist?" *Anthropos* 60 (1695): 1–48; and Andreas Cesana, *J. J. Bachofens Geschichtsdeutung* (Basel, 1983); his relationship to politics by Max Burckhardt, *J. J. Bachofen und die Politik* (Basel, 1942).

In Germany, Bachofen's success in the second half of the twentieth century owes much to Marxism and feminism (see Uwe Wesel, *Der Mythos vom Matriarchat* [Frankfurt am Main, 1980] and Hartmut Zinser, *Der Mythos des Mutterrechts* [Frankfurt am Main, 1981]); to literature (Walter Muschg, *Bachofen als Schriftsteller* [Basel, 1949]); and to psychology (Adrien Turel, *Bachofen-Freud: Zur Emanzipation des Mannes vom Reich der Mütter* [Bern, 1939]). A comprehensive reconstruction of the *Bachofen-Renaissance* can be found in *Das Mutterrecht von J. J. Bachofen in der Diskussion*, edited by Hans-Jürgen Heinrichs, 2d ed. (Frankfurt am Main, 1987). Other collections include *J. J. Bachofen (1815–1887): Eine Begleitpublikation zur Ausstellung im Historischen Museum Basel,* edited by Barbara Huber-Greub (Basel, 1987) and *Matriarchatstheorien der Altertumswissenschaft*, edited by Beate Wagner-Hasel (Darmstadt, Germany, 1992).

In France, where the *Mutterrecht* had been translated already in 1903 by the Group of Feminist Studies in Paris (a new translation by Étienne Barilier appeared 1996 in Lausanne), the strong criticism of Émile Durkheim prevented Bachofen's work from having any influence within the École Sociologique. In Italy, on the contrary, where most of Bachofen's works have been translated (starting with the anthology *Le madri e la virilità olimpica*, edited by Julius Evola [Milan, 1949]), many scholars have produced important writings on various aspects of the Swiss mythologist (Arnaldo Momigliano, Giampiera Arrigoni, Giulio Schiavoni, Eva Cantarella, and Giampiero Moretti). International conferences on Bachofen took place in 1987 and 1988 (Pisa: "Seminario su J. J. Bachofen," *Annali della Scuola Normale di Pisa* 18 [1988]: 599–887; Rome: "J. J. Bachofen e la discussione sull'origine dello Stato," *Quaderni di Storia* 28 [1988]: 7–139).

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BACON, FRANCIS (1561–1626), Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Albans; English statesman, essayist, and philosopher of science. A major political figure in early Stuart England, Bacon drew a visionary picture of the role and practices of the science of the future. This science was to be experimental, and Bacon advocated setting up public institutions for its pursuit. Written in the conviction that science, properly conducted, would lead to the improvement of the material conditions of life, his major works are at the same time philosophical discourses and recommendations for public policy.

Bacon was born of distinguished parents. His father was lord keeper of the great seal to Elizabeth I, and his mother was the niece of Lord Burghley, Elizabeth's lord treasurer. In 1573 he entered Trinity College, Cambridge, and two years later was enrolled briefly as a law student at Gray's Inn. His father's death in 1579 left Francis, the youngest son, comparatively poor, and he embarked on a career in law and politics. In 1584 he became a member of the House of Commons, where he sat until his elevation to the House of Lords in 1618. Despite wide knowledge, great ability, and influential friends, Bacon never achieved high office under Elizabeth, but after the accession of James I in 1603 he became successively king's counsel, solicitor general, attorney general, lord keeper, and lord chancellor. Then, in 1620, he was found guilty of taking a bribe and was removed from public office. He spent the remainder of his life working on a vast project: to provide both a new foundation for knowledge and a program for its acquisition.

This project had occupied him since he first entered Parliament. An essay written in 1584 has not survived, but from 1594 we have *Discourse in Praise of Knowledge,* a contribution to an entertainment devised for Elizabeth. Its themes, the sterility of traditional Aristotelian philosophy on the one hand and the lack of progress in empirical endeavors like alchemy on the other, reappeared in *The Advancement of Learning* (1605); book 1 of this work contains a defense of learning, and book 2 a catalog of the branches of knowledge, with a commentary showing where each is deficient. An expanded version, in Latin, was published in 1623 as *De augmentis scientarum.* Bacon thought of this version as the first section of his "great instauration" of the sciences, of which the second part, *Novum organum* (The new organon), had already appeared (1620). Posthumously published, though written in 1610, was *New Atlantis*; here, in the guise of a traveler's tale, Bacon depicts his ideal scientific community. The science he proposed was to be both experimental and systematic: "The men of experiment are like the ant, they only collect and use; the reasoners resemble spiders, who make cobwebs out of their own substance. But the bee takes a middle course: it gathers its material from the flowers of the garden and of the field, but transforms and digests it by a power of its own" (*Novum organum* 95). Similarly, adherence to proper principles of induction would yield scientific knowledge from experimental findings.

Bacon's methodology of science has been criticized for its rejection of those speculative hypotheses that contribute essentially to progress; he is also faulted for his dismissal of the use of mathematics in science. But these criticisms are made with hindsight: when, in 1662, the Royal Society was founded along Baconian lines, its early members, including speculative natural philosophers like Robert Boyle, were lavish in their praise of him.

In his lifetime, however, the works most widely read were *De sapientia veterum* (Of the wisdom of the ancients, 1610), which puts forward rational reinterpretations of classical fables and mythology, and his *Essays.* The essays, appearing in several editions between 1597 and 1625, are aphoristic in style and worldly in content; like Machiavelli, whom he admired, Bacon sought to describe the political world as it is rather than as it should be. He described the essays as "recreations of my other studies," but they may also be regarded as supplying material for "civil knowledge," a branch of "human philosophy" in Bacon's scheme.

Bacon's views on religion are problematic. Although the first edition of the *Essays* included his *Meditationes sacrae* (Sacred meditations), in the essays themselves religion is viewed merely as a useful social cement, contributing to the stability of the state. And, along with Aristotelian philosophy, Bacon rejected the scholastic tradition within theology. Repeatedly he emphasized the necessity of a divorce between the study of science and of religion: the truths of science are revealed in God's works, the truths of morality and religion by God's word, that is, in sacred scripture. Fact and value become apparently dissociated. But those commentators who claim that Bacon's frequent protestations of faith were either politic or ironical must deal with the recurrence of theological elements within his thought. For example, his inductive system rests on a belief that the surface of nature can be made transparent to us, provided we rid ourselves of the misconceptions ("idols," Bacon calls them) that are the product of our fallen state; proper inductive procedures will, at least partially, restore the "commerce between the mind of man and the nature of things" to its original condition, that is, to its condition before the Fall. Again, Bacon's *New Atlantis* is suffused with a mystical Christianity, which, it has been persuasively argued, owes much to the Rosicrucian movement. Of course, such religious elements are open to reinterpretation, as Bacon's own reinterpretation of the myths of antiquity shows. And although certain eighteenth-century religious ideas, like the "argument from design" for God's existence, are prefigured in Bacon's writings, it was his insistence on the autonomy of science, as well as his systematic ordering of its various components, that earned him the admiration of Enlightenment thinkers like Voltaire and d'Alembert. They rightly saw him as among those who made the Enlightenment possible. For good or ill, he was also a herald, not only of the technological age that succeeded it, but also of the compartmentalization of experience characteristic of our culture.

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BACON, ROGER (c. 1214–c. 1292), philosopher and Franciscan friar. Born in the west of England of a wealthy family, for most of his life Bacon alternated between England and France. His first, if not his only, university education was at Oxford, and soon thereafter he pioneered in lecturing on Aristotle's metaphysics and on natural philosophy at Paris. Several Artistotelian commentaries survive from this period, but Bacon was soon to undergo a profound intellectual reorientation, inspired at least partly by another work that he believed to be by Aristotle, the *Secretum secretorum,* a long letter of advice on kingship supposedly written to Alexander the Great.

Bacon's intellectual universe was peopled with heroes and villains. Aristotle was a particularly great ancient hero, while among the few contemporaries admitted to the pantheon were Robert Grosseteste and Adam Marsh. Grosseteste (whom Bacon may not have known personally) had been a lecturer to the Franciscans at Oxford, and Marsh was a Franciscan himself. These men must have been very important in influencing Bacon's somewhat surprising decision to join the Franciscan order, for he was no model of simple humility. Indeed Bacon could be almost as rude about fellow Franciscan intellectuals as about rival Dominicans, such as Albertus Magnus. His relations with his superiors were probably never easy, and it seems certain that he was at least once put under some form of confinement, although the reasons remain obscure. It has been suggested, notably by Stewart C. Easton, that one of the principal reasons for strained relations was his sympathy for the spirituals, the more austere wing of the order, but this view has not been universally accepted.

Both before and after becoming a Franciscan Bacon developed his new approach to philosophy, and in the 1260s his big chance came. His schemes were brought to the attention of Cardinal Guy de Foulques, who in 1265 became Pope Clement IV. Bacon was ordered to produce his writings, but unfortunately there were as yet none fit for dispatch. Bacon, therefore, began to write in a flurry; the results were not only the famous *Opus majus* but also the *Opus minus* and *Opus tertium,* both of which supplemented and summarized the *Opus majus.* Some if not all of these works reached Rome, but there is no evidence of their having provoked any reaction there, and Clement died in 1268. For the rest of his intellectual life Bacon may not unfairly be described as rewriting the same major work, often with great vehemence at what he saw as the increasing ignorance and corruption of his times. Although he never completed a new grand synthesis, he was still at work in 1292. Tradition places his death in the same year.

A cornerstone of Bacon's mature thought is the postulate that all wisdom is included in the scriptures but is in need of explication by means of canon law and philosophy. Thus, while subordinating philosophy to theology Bacon also accorded it immense importance. Moreover, he did not conceive philosophy narrowly but included in its domain—besides its crowning glory, moral philosophy—the study of languages, mathematics, geography, astrology, optics, and alchemy. His emphasis was often empirical, and this, together with the fact that one part of the *Opus majus* is devoted to "experimental science," has led many to portray Bacon as a harbinger of modern experimental science. There is some truth in this, but it is a view that can all too easily lead to anachronism. For instance, it must be remembered that Bacon emphasized that experience was accessible through both external senses and interior illumination, and that revelation was necessary even for philosophical knowledge. Indeed, in his view the plenitude of philosophy had first been revealed to the ancient patriarchs and prophets. It was then transmitted to posterity, with an inevitable decline in quality accompanying the process, the decline only occasionally being arrested by special illuminations to such men as Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. Among other means of reversing the decline, according to Bacon, was the study of languages, which would allow ancient texts to be read in the orignal.

Bacon believed that there were six (although at times he appears to allow seven) principal religions, which were astrologically linked to six of the seven planets. The rise and decline of the religions were also correlated with the heavenly motions, so that, for instance, astrology could indicate that the time of the last religion, that of the antichrist, was near at hand. Christianity was one of the principal religions, but was unique in that philosophy could provide conviction of its truth.

Bacon saw preaching to the unconverted as a bounden, but in fact neglected, duty of Christians, and he strongly disapproved of the Crusades, which, he held, shed Christian blood unnecessarily while actually hindering the conversion of Muslims. But even with effective preaching there would still be those who obstinately resisted conversion and would need to be physically repulsed. Here again philosophy came into play, for Bacon was a firm advocate of what in modern terms would be called the application of technology in warfare. Among his proposals was the use of huge burning mirrors to destroy enemy encampments and the use of "fascination" (psychic influence), a phenomenon Bacon believed could be explained naturalistically. The antichrist would be well armed with such weapons, and so it was imperative that Christendom defend itself in similar fashion.

Bacon could often seem suspiciously close to advocating the use of magic. He was very conscious of this, and made strenuous efforts to distinguish philosophy sharply from magic and its appeals to demons. Nevertheless, although some of his "pure scientific" writings had considerable influence (notably those on optics), it is not surprising that he went down to posterity as part of the magical tradition. By the learned he was cited as a defender of what in the Renaissance was called natural magic, but to the public at large he was himself a full-blooded magician who had no compunction about trafficking with spirits. Later this image was transformed into that of a hero of experimental science born centuries before his time; more recent critical scholarship, in its urge to demythologize, has often unjustly muted the individuality and originality of this intellectually turbulent figure.

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A. GEORGE MOLLAND (1987)

BĀDARĀYAṆA, reputed author of the *Vedānta Sūtra* (*Brahma Sūtra*), the source text for all subsequent philosophical Vedānta. No biographical information is available; the name may be a convenient surrogate for the process of redaction that eventuated in the present text. Indeed, a recent tradition identifies Bādarāyaṇa with Vyāsa, the eponymous "compiler" of much late Vedic and epic material, including the *Mahābhārata.*

The name *Bādarāyaṇa* occurs in the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra* (1.5) of Jaimini, there referring to a *ṛṣi* to whose opinion on an important point Jaimini seems to defer. If the *Vedānta Sūtra* is indeed *Bādarāyaṇa*'s, then he also refers to himself in the context of other teachers whose disputations evidently formed the beginnings of early Vedānta speculation (*Vedānta Sūtra* 4.4.5–7).

Modern discussion of Bādarāyaṇa is focused chiefly on the date of the *sūtra* text, on *Bādarāyaṇa*'s "relations" to other post-Upaniṣadic teachers, notably Jaimini, and on the question of which of his many commentators has been most faithful to his thought. Paul Deussen in general prefers Śaṅkara's monistic version, the oldest extant commentary, but others (George Thibaut, Vinayaka S. Ghate, and Louis Renou) have suggested important reservations in this view and have often concluded that Rāmānuja's *bhedābheda* ("difference within unity") more accurately reflects Bādarāyaṇa's original thesis. The discussion is made extremely difficult by the fact, universally admitted, that Bādarāyaṇa's *sūtras,* of an extreme brevity and terseness, are often unintelligible without an explanatory commentary.

Bādarāyaṇa's relation to the *ṛṣi* of the other (Pūrva) Mīmāṃsā, Jaimini, is again not easy to decipher. The names appear in the collections attributed to the other teacher, which has led many to suspect that the two may have been close contemporaries. But the doctrines that they espouse in these stray passages do not seem clearly related to the perhaps later massive schism implied by the existence of the separate text collections to which their names were attached. What is clear is that they were preeminent among the many teachers whose names alone survive. The date of Bādarāyaṇa is also closely tied to that of Jaimini but, like all such early Indian dating, is highly speculative and often circularly argued. If, as Renou concludes, Bādarāyaṇa does directly confront the Buddhist Mahāyāna in several *sūtras* (see 2.2.28–32), then his date cannot be much earlier than the third century of our era. But Jaimini's date is sometimes put back as far as the third century BCE (see, e.g., Jacobi, 1911). Bādarāyaṇa's name had of course become associated with the *sūtra* text by the time of Śaṅkara (early eighth century).

The text itself is composed of 555 *sūtras,* grouped in four major chapters (*adhyāyas*), each with four subdivisions (*pādas*). Commentators have further identified various "topics" within each *pāda,* but the number and boundaries of these differ markedly from one commentator to another. In general, the first chapter is fundamental, treating *brahman* as the one source of the world. It argues that the various Upaniṣadic teachings concerning *brahman* present one doctrine. Much of the discussion in the fourth *pāda* appears directed against the Sāṃkhya. The second chapter refutes speculative objections to the Vedānta theses from the Sāṃkhya, Nyāya, and Bauddha schools and discusses certain problems of "realism," notably whether the world is "caused" or not. The third chapter treats the individual soul (*jīva*) and how it "knows" *brahman.* The final chapter, on "fruits," discusses meditation and the condition of the liberated soul before and after death.

SEE ALSO Mīmāṃsā; Vedānta.

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EDWN GEROW (1987)
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BAECK, LEO

BAECK, LEO (1873–1956), rabbi and theologian, representative spokesman of German Jewry during the Nazi era. Born in Lissa, Posen (at that time part of Prussian Germany), a son of the local rabbi, Baeck first pursued his higher education at the university in Breslau and the moderately liberal Jewish Theological Seminary. In order to study with the distinguished scholar of religion Wilhelm Dilthey, Baeck transferred to the university in Berlin, where he earned a doctorate in 1895. Two years later, he was ordained as a rabbi at the Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, a leading institution of Liberal Judaism. Baeck then held pulpits in Oppeln (Silesia) and Düsseldorf, and in 1912 he was called to Berlin where, with the exception of a stint as chaplain during World War I, he remained until his deportation to a concentration camp by the Nazis. During his years in Berlin, Baeck assumed a number of increasingly influential positions. In 1913 he joined the faculty of the Hochschule as a docent of Midrash and homiletics. In 1922 he became chairman of the national association of German rabbis, and in 1925 he assumed the presidency of the B'nai B'rith, a fraternal network, in Germany.

When Hitler ascended to the German chancellorship, it was Baeck who had the prescience to declare that "the thousand-year" history of German Jewry had come to an end. Baeck was instrumental in founding the Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden, an organization that made the most successful attempt in German-Jewish history to unify Jewish defense, welfare, and cultural activities on a nationwide scale. As president of this body, he devoted himself to defending the rights of Jews in Germany, facilitating their emigration, and raising the morale of those still left in Hitler's Reich. A noteworthy example of the last effort was a special prayer composed by Baeck for public recitation on the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur) in 1935, which included a defiant rejection of Nazi slanders: "In indignation and abhorrence, we express our contempt for the lies concerning us and the defamation of our religion and its testimonies" (*Out of the Whirlwind: A Reader of Holocaust Literature,* ed. Albert Friedlander, New York, 1968, p. 132). Arrested repeatedly by the Nazis for his outspokenness, Baeck persisted in his refusal to flee Germany until every Jew had been rescued. He continued to head the national body of German Jews after it was forcibly reorganized by the government into a council that was accountable to the Nazis. In January 1943 Baeck was deported along with other elderly German Jews to the concentration camp of Theresienstadt. In that "model camp" he served as honorary president of the ruling Jewish council and devoted his time to comforting and teaching his fellow inmates. When the camp was liberated, he still refused to leave his flock until he had been assured of their safety.

Baeck immigrated to London after the war. His last years were devoted to work on behalf of the World Union for Progressive Judaism, teaching at the Hebrew Union College (the Reform rabbinical school in Cincinnati), and organizing the surviving remnants of German Jewry. In England, he served as president of the Council of Jews from Germany. And shortly before his death, Baeck helped found an international research institute for the study of central European Jewry that bears his name (the Leo Baeck Institute).

Baeck's writings reflect his lifelong efforts to defend his people and faith. He achieved early fame by rebutting the anti-Jewish claims of Adolf von Harnack, a liberal Protestant theologian who denigrated Judaism in his book *Das Wesen des Christentums* (The Essence of Christianity). Baeck's first book, a polemical work entitled *Vorlesungen über das Wesen des Judentums* (Lectures on the Essence of Judaism; 1905), continued this defense and boldly proclaimed Judaism superior to Christianity, a claim that won Baeck considerable attention as a champion of German Jewry. Employing the approach to religion developed by his mentor, Dilthey, Baeck attempted to penetrate the underlying psychology of Judaism and understand the Jewish religion in its totality (*Gestalt*).

In subsequent essays and reworkings of his first book, Baeck sharpened the contrast between Judaism and Christianity: the latter, he claimed, was a "romantic religion" that exalted feeling, self-indulgence, dogma, and passivity; Judaism, by contrast, was a "classical religion" imbued with ethical concerns. In Judaism, Baeck saw a religion in which God's mystery and commandment exist as polarities. *Dieses Volk* (This People Israel), a book written in Nazi Berlin and the concentration camp of Theresienstadt, explores the meaning of Jewish existence. Written during the bleakest era of Jewish history, it is a work of optimism that expresses Leo Baeck's belief in the eternity of the Jewish people and their ongoing mission. In defiant rejection of Nazi barbarism, Baeck affirmed the messianic role of the people Israel to heed God's ethical command.

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JACK WERTHEIMER (1987)

BAHĀʾĪS follow the teaching of the Bāb and Mīrzā Ḥusayn ʿAlī Nūrī, later known as Bahāʾ Allāh (Baháʾuʾlláh, according to Bahāʾī orthography), the Bāb's successor and "the one whom God shall manifest" (*man yuẓhiruhu Allāh*). The religion spread from Iran and the Middle East all over the world starting at the end of the nineteenth century.

MĪRZĀ ḤUSAYN ʿALĪ NŪRĪ, BAHĀʾ ALLĀH. Born into a noble Tehran family, Mīrzā Ḥusayn ʿAlī Nūrī (1817–1892) and his younger half brother Mīrzā Yaḥyā Nūrī (1830–1912), known as Ṣubḥ-i Azal, came in touch with the Bāb soon after his revelation in 1844. But during the first years neither brother took a dominant position among the Bābīs. At the meeting at Badasht in the summer of 1848, Bahāʾ Allāh supported Qurrat al-ʿAyn's position regarding the abrogation of the *sharīʿah* but did not share her other radical views. During the following year Ṣubḥ-i Azal was designated as the leader of the Bābīs because the Bāb appreciated his knowledge and thought him an able leader to succeed him. During the persecution of the Bābīs following the attempt to assassinate Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1852, Bahāʾ Allāh was imprisoned in Tehran in a jail known as Siyāh Chāl, the "Black Hole." There for the first time Bahāʾ Allāh became aware of his future mission as a divine messenger. In 1853 Bahāʾ Allāh was exiled to Baghdad, where other Bābīs, including Ṣubḥ-i Azal, already resided.

Although Bahāʾ Allāh accepted the leading position of his half brother, in Baghdad the first tensions between the two became evident, partly fostered by differences in interpreting the *bayān*, which Bahāʾ Allāh saw in a more mystical or ethical light. As a result he left Baghdad on April 10, 1854, to live as a dervish in Kurdistan near Sulaymānīyah for two years. After his return to Baghdad, his influence on the Bābī exiles increased. Famous works authored by Bahāʾ Allāh in those years include mystical books, like the *Seven Valleys*, the *Four Valleys*, and the *Hidden Words* (1858). Theological arguments that the Bāb saw himself as a prophet announced in the Qurʾān are the main contents of the *Book of Certitude* (1862; *Kitāb-i Īqān*). These writings foreshadowed Bahāʾ Allāh as the divine messenger whom the Bāb had foretold.

Shortly before the Ottoman authorities removed him from Baghdad to Istanbul, Bahāʾ Allāh declared himself to be this promised figure on April 8, 1863, in a garden called Bāgh-i Riẓvān (Garden of Paradise) in the precincts of Baghdad. After some months in Istanbul, Bahāʾ Allāh and the other exiles were sent to Edirne, where they stayed for about five years. In the *Surāt al-Amr*, Bahāʾ Allāh informed his half brother officially about his claim to be "the one whom God shall manifest" (*man yuẓḥiruhu Allāh*). The writings of Bahāʾ Allāh that originated from the time spent in Edirne make it clear that he was the promised prophet. One of the important writings is the *Kitāb-i Badīʿ* (Wondrous book), but he also wrote letters (*alwāḥ,* tablets) to political leaders during these years. Conflicts arose among the Bābīs, who had to decide whether to side with him or with Ṣubḥ-i Azal. Therefore the Ottoman authorities banished the Bahāʾīs, as the followers of Bahāʾ Allāh were called, to Acre in Palestine, whereas the followers of Ṣubḥ-i Azal, the Azalīs, were banished to Cyprus.

In August 1868 Bahāʾ Allāh and his family arrived at Acre, where Bahāʾ Allāh was imprisoned for the next nine years before he was allowed to move to a country house at Mazraʿah. In 1880 he moved to Bahjī near Haifa. During more than two decades in Palestine, Bahāʾ Allāh was revered by his followers, who came from as far away as Persia to catch sight of him for a moment. He finished the most holy text of the Bahāʾīs, the *Kitāb-i Aqdas*, in 1873. This book primarily relates to sacred and civil laws for the Bahāʾīs, thus abrogating the Bāb's *bayān* for the legal aspects of the religion. The Arabic texts of the *Kitāb-i Aqdas* are meant to be stylistically close to the classical style of the Qurʾān. Further letters to individual Bahāʾīs and political leaders as well as other writings also originated in these years. Close to the end of his life, Bahāʾ Allāh wrote *Epistle to the Son of the Wolf* (*Lawḥ-i Ibn Dhiʾb*), which reflects the main topics of Bahāʾī teachings and aspects of its history once more. The *Kitāb-i ʿAhd*, Bahāʾ Allāh's will, set out that his son Abbas Effendi, better known as ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ (Servant of the Glory [of God]), would be his only legitimate successor and the infallible interpreter of his father's books. On May 29, 1892, Bahāʾ Allāh died at Bahjī.

FURTHER HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS. According to Bahāʾī tradition, ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ (ʿAbduʾl-Bahā according to Bahāʾī orthography) was born in the same night when Sayyed ʿAlī Muḥammad declared himself in Shiraz to be the Bāb to the hidden Imām on May 23, 1844. He was close to his father from the days of his childhood, and at least since the period of Bahāʾ Allāh's imprisonment in Acre, he was the person who maintained contact between Bahāʾ Allāh and the community. In the *Kitāb-i ʿAhd* he was bestowed the title *markaz-i ʿahd* (the center of the covenant), thus marking his elevated position within the Bahāʾī faith. But ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ never was considered a prophet, only the interpreter of Bahāʾ Allāh's revelation. During the first years of ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ's leadership, the Bahāʾīs faced another crisis as another son of Bahāʾ Allāh, Muḥammad ʿAlī, contested ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ's position. It took about one decade to settle this dispute.

During these years ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ's activities to further the religion were restricted to the area of Acre. But Bahāʾīs from the Middle Eastern countries went to Acre, thus strengthening the bonds between the "center of the covenant" and his followers. In 1898 the first American Bahāʾī pilgrims arrived in Acre; the Bahāʾī faith had been known in the United States since 1894. ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ was imprisoned for participating in the revolt of the Young Turks against the Ottoman government, but with his formal release from prison in 1908, the situation changed. In 1909 the Bāb's corpse was buried in his shrine on Mount Carmel, thus making this shrine, in addition to Bahāʾ Allāh's grave at Bahjī, a center for Bahāʾī pilgrimage. In 1910 ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ set out for his first missionary journey to Egypt. During the following year he visited Europe, and in 1912–1913 he traveled on missions to Europe and the United States. In 1912 the foundation stone for the "house of worship," the first building of its kind in the West, was laid at Wilmette, Illinois.

With these missionary journeys, the Bahāʾī faith became an international religion, and ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ's encounters with Westerners also brought new topics into his writings interpreting the revelations of his father. At least in his speeches delivered in the West, ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ increased references to Christianity and reduced references to Islam. ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ's presence in the United States stimulated the first wave of growth of the American Bahāʾī community, and he continued to send tablets to America after his departure. The Bahāʾī faith had started in the United States in 1894, when Ibrahim George Kheiralla (1849–1929), a native of Lebanon, converted the first Americans to the faith. Several American converts spread the religion during the first decade of the twentieth century, helping establish the communities in India, Burma, and Tehran and introducing the religion to Paris and London. Therefore ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ was impressed by the efforts of the still small American community during his visit. In his "Tablets of the Divine Plan" (1914–1916), he advised the American community regarding how to spread the new religion throughout America. ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ admonished the American Bahāʾīs to arrange interracial or multiethnic marriages as an expression of the Bahāʾī doctrine of the unity of humans.

The Bahāʾī religion broadened and developed on a social level, which led to the humanitarian involvement of ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ and other Bahāʾīs during World War I. In appreciation ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ was knighted by the British government in 1920. ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ died on November 28, 1921, in Haifa and is buried in the Bāb's shrine.

ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ was succeeded by his grandson Shoghi Effendi Rabbani, born in 1897. Under Shoghi Effendi's leadership Bahāʾī communities existed in about twenty-two countries, from the Middle East to Europe, the United States, India, and Burma. Shoghi Effendi was educated at Oxford University, and in 1936 he married Mary Maxwell, also known as Rūḥīyah Khānum (d. 2000). Shoghi Effendi is the infallible interpreter of Bahāʾ Allāh's and ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ's writings and the "guardian of the cause of God" (*walī-yi amr Allāh*). His main achievements included establishing the administrative and institutional structure of the Bahāʾī religion. Whereas most of the Bahāʾī organizations are only indicated in short and general terms in Bahāʾ Allāh's *Kitāb-i Aqdas*, Shoghi Effendi laid out the details. During his period as guardian, the number of National Spiritual Assemblies increased, thus creating a firm and uniform basis for the Bahāʾī communities in different countries. These assemblies, later renamed National Houses of Justice, are headed by the Universal House of Justice, the governing body of all the Bahāʾīs worldwide, which was planned by Shoghi Effendi. The Universal House of Justice is a body of nine men elected to five-year terms by representatives from the National Spiritual Assemblies. No elections took place during Shoghi Effendi's lifetime. In 1951 he named the first twelve Bahāʾīs to the Hand of the Cause, assigning them special tasks in teaching and missionary activities. Until his untimely death on November 4, 1957, Shoghi Effendi appointed further "Hands," raising the total number to twenty-seven.

As Shoghi Effendi did not leave any will at his death, the Hands of the Cause assumed management of the religion and arranged the first election of the Universal House of Justice during the Riẓvān festival in April 1963, one hundred years after Bahāʾ Allāh proclaimed himself the *man yuẓhiruhu Allāh* in the Riẓvān garden in Baghdad. The Universal House of Justice has subsequently led the religion with both legislative and executive powers and also with the task of commenting on the writings of the Bāb, Bahāʾ Allāh, ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ, and Shoghi Effendi. However, the Universal House of Justice does not interpret Bahāʾ Allāh's scripture because ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ and Shoghi Effendi were the definitive interpreters of those writings. Therefore, the Universal House of Justice's infallibility is restricted to the juridical level and does not include the theological level, where only the writings from the Bāb to Shoghi Effendi are definitive.

In the early twenty-first century the Bahāʾīs number close to six million in more than two hundred countries all over the world. The number of adherents rose significantly in the late twentieth century from a little more than one million at the end of the 1960s to six million by end of the century. But the growth of the religion is not equally distributed. In Europe and North America the number is relatively stagnant, whereas in India, South America, and sub-Saharan Africa the Bahāʾīs attract large numbers of new converts. In Iran the situation of the Bahāʾīs has been critical through the ages, as they have faced increasing persecutions. Bahāʾīs sometimes face persecution in other Muslim countries as well, as the Bāb's and Bahāʾ Allāh's claims to bring revelation even after the prophet Muḥammad are considered apostasy by Muslims.

The number of Bahāʾīs in the United States in the early twenty-first century is about 142,000 members with about 1,200 Local Spiritual Assemblies. About fifteen thousand Bahāʾīs live in Canada. A rough estimate is about one-third of these members were raised as Bahāʾīs, whereas approximately half of them may have been raised in a Christian confession or denomination. The Bahāʾī faith experienced a major influx between 1969 and 1972, when about fifteen thousand rural African Americans joined the religion, motivated by the Bahāʾī doctrine of racial equality. Also several hundred Native Americans in the Lakota and Navajo reservations embraced the faith in the late twentieth century.

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES. The central focus of Bahāʾī theology is the idea of a threefold unity—there is only one God, all the divine messengers are one, and humankind is one. The strict monotheism of the Bahāʾīs brings them in line with older Jewish and Christian monotheism but most closely to Islam. This monotheistic trait clearly reflects the idea that there is only one religion, which develops according to human evolution. Therefore it is necessary that divine messengers and prophets appear in the course of time, but every prophet or divine manifestation brings the eternal religion, clothed in new garb. This evolutionary idea within Bahāʾī faith is not totally new, as Manichaeism in Iran and Muslim groups have held similar views. But Bahāʾ Allāh's contribution lies in the concept that the Bahāʾī religion is part of this cyclical evolution. Thus for Bahāʾīs in the future, but according to the *Kitāb-i Aqdas* not before "a thousand years," a new divine manifestation will appear to bring new knowledge from the one God, revealed in a way that is more suitable for the spiritual state of development of humankind then.

As the one God is unchangeable but society changes, divine messengers appear, but they are also thought to be one at a spiritual level. They "seal" the period of every earlier religion, thus keeping up the Muslim idea of Muḥammad as "seal of the prophets" (*khātam al-nabīyīn*) but reducing it only to the period of Islam as religion in its worldly (or social or materialistic) form. An absolute "seal" exists for every kind of revelation that brings (the unchangeable) divine knowledge anew.

The third aspect of "oneness" relates to humankind. All people, men and women as well as different races, are considered one. Therefore Bahāʾīs not only proclaim their religion but also take actions to reduce differences among societies or disadvantages among people based on their race or sex. The Bahāʾī the theological idea of the unity of humankind encourages social engagement to improve living conditions, for example, in less-developed countries or to give equal chances for education both to women and men, and they participate in projects for global peace or global ethics. Such attempts to reach unity among humans by preserving cultural values and differences as a kind of "unity within pluralism" make the Bahāʾī religion attractive to a growing number of people.

For the individual believer, the prophet is the appointed representative of God in the created world. Whoever knows this has obtained all good in the world, as is stated at the beginning of the *Kitāb-i Aqdas.* Thus living as a Bahāʾī is a continuous journey toward God, and heaven and hell are symbols for coming close to God or being separated from him. As already indicated by the Bāb's teachings and taken up by Bahāʾ Allāh, eschatology is no longer something of the future, but with the appearance of God's new prophet on earth, eschatology, as predicted in earlier religions, has been realized. To behave according to this eschatological closeness to God, in ethical as well as cultic terms, is one of the main tasks for each Bahāʾī.

Though elaborate rituals are not known within the Bahāʾī community, some religious practices are noteworthy. Every believer is obliged to pray daily and to take part in the Nineteen-Day Feast that marks the beginning of every Bahāʾī month according to the cultic calendar, made up of nineteen months with nineteen days each and four intercalculary days, a practice adopted from the Bābīs. The main festivals, the nine holy days of the Bahāʾī faith, commemorate central events of the history of the religion: the Riẓvān festival (April 21 to May 2), the day of the Bāb's declaration (May 22), the birthdays of the Bāb (October 20) and Bahāʾ Allāh (November 12) and the days of their deaths (July 9 and May 29, respectively), the New Year festival (March 21) at the spring equinox according to the solar calendar, the Day of the Covenant (November 26), and the day of ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ's death (November 28). The Houses of Worship are buildings dedicated only for devotions and readings from the Bahāʾī Scripture. The month of fasting (ʿAla) in March and the *qiblah*, the direction during individual prayer to Bahāʾ

Allāh's shrine in Bahjī, retain phenomenologically some links to practices in Shīʿī Islam. But on the whole the Bahāʾī faith, though evolving with the Bābīs from a Muslim background, clearly defined its own doctrines and practices.

SEE ALSO Bābīs.

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MANFRED HUTTER (2005)

BAḤYE IBN PAQUDA (second half of the eleventh century), also known as Baḥya; Jewish moral philosopher. Virtually nothing is known of Baḥye's life, except that he probably lived in Saragossa and served as a *dayyan,* a judge of a Jewish court. His Hebrew poems, only a few examples of which are extant, were highly regarded by at least one medieval critic. All are on religious themes, and most were composed to serve in the liturgy. His two best-known poems, intended for private devotion, are both appended to his magnum opus, a treatise on the inner life of religion written in Arabic and titled *Al-hidāyah ila farāʾid al-qulūb* (Right guidance to the precepts of the hearts). Composed sometime between 1050 and 1090, this work, in the Hebrew translation by Yehudah ibn Tibbon titled *Ḥovot ha-levavot* (The duties of the hearts, 1161), became one of the most influential religious treatises in Judaism.

Baḥye was heir to a Judeo-Arabic religious tradition in which the rabbinic Judaism of the Talmud and the Geonim had been synthesized with Islamic rationalistic theology (*kalām*). This synthesis had received its definitive formulation in the writings of Saʿadyah Gaon (882–942), which had become authoritative for the educated elite class of Jews in Arabic-speaking countries such as Spain. To this synthesis, Baḥye contributed a new element: the traditions of Islamic asceticism and mysticism. His work is replete with sayings, exempla, and technical terminology derived from the writings of earlier Muslim mystics, ascetics, and moralizers; the very structure of his book has Islamic antecedents. Some of his materials have been traced to specific Islamic authors such as al-Muḥāsibī, and parallels to passages in his work are found in the writings of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). Although Baḥye cites many passages from the Bible, rabbinic literature, and the writings of the Geonim in support of the thesis that the true function of religious practice is to enable humanity to develop its inner life toward spiritual perfection and love of God, he was the first Jewish writer to develop these principles into a complete spiritual program.

Baḥye's treatise begins with an introduction in which he defines and explains the distinction between "duties of the limbs" and "duties of the heart," between outward (*ẓāhir*) and inward (*bāṭin*) piety, derived ultimately from the disciples of the early Muslim mystic Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 728). The body of the book consists of ten chapters, each on a different inward virtue. Reason, the Torah, and the rabbinic tradition all teach that the true worship of God is through the intention that accompanies the observances dictated by religious law. Yet most people feel secure that they fulfill God's will through formal obedience to religious law, while neglecting the spiritual development that is the purpose of the system.

Thus, most Jews believe that they fulfill the obligation to acknowledge God's existence and unity by passive assent and by ritual recitation of the Shemaʿ in their daily prayers. This sort of formal compliance with a religious duty *(taqlīd)* is, in Baḥye's opinion, adequate only for children, the uneducated, and the feebleminded. An adult of normal intellectual capacity is obliged, first, to grasp the meaning of God's unity in its logical and philosophical essence, as far as the human mind is able to grasp it. Accordingly, Baḥye devotes his first chapter to a restatement of the definitions and proofs of God's existence and unity that had been advanced by Saʿadyah and other *kalām* writers.

Second, one must grasp the meaning God's existence and unity has for one's relations both to God and to one's fellow humans. Since God is not accessible to direct observation, humanity can learn about God's relationship to the world only by studying nature, in which God's actions are evident, and by studying humans, the microcosm. The study of nature makes humans aware of God's work in the world and brings them closer to knowledge of God. It further has the effect of instilling in individuals a profound gratitude, the attitude that makes for the perfect fulfillment of the duties of the heart.

The constituent elements of humans are the body and the soul; as taught by the Neoplatonists, the soul is foreign to the body, being celestial in origin. It was placed in the body by God's will, both as a trial for it and to help the body. For all its yearning to return to its source, the soul is in constant danger of being diverted from its mission because of love of pleasure and love of power. With the help of reason and revelation, however, the soul can purify itself and, after the death of a body, complete its journey.

In order to achieve the soul's desired end, it is necessary to practice certain virtues, to each of which Baḥye devotes a chapter: worship, trust, sincerity, humility, repentance, self-examination, asceticism, and love of God. These virtues flow spontaneously from the gratitude to the creator felt by the thoughtful believer. While the organization of these virtues as a series of degrees of perfection is derived from the writings of such Muslim mystics as Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 996), Baḥye does not accept their concept of progressive mystic ascension toward illumination. In fact, Baḥye's demands and expectations are quite moderate. Thus, "trust" does not mean that people should neglect their work and expect God to provide them a living, but that they should pursue their livelihood modestly and conscientiously, knowing that it is not their work that provides their living but God's will. Likewise, "asceticism" does not mean extreme self-abnegation and mortification, and it has no intrinsic value. The closest to "the moderation of the law" are those who are not outwardly distinguishable from others.

Finally, there is no conception in Baḥye's thought of mystical union with God. The love of God results from the soul's natural yearning to rejoin its source, but while the soul can perfect and purify itself, it cannot fulfill its desire while attached to the body. The "lover" keeps a respectful distance from the "beloved." Baḥye's mysticism is thus fully compatible with rabbinic Judaism.

SEE ALSO Jewish Thought and Philosophy, article on Premodern Philosophy.

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RAYMOND P. SCHEINDLIN (1987 AND 2005)

BAKHTIN, M. M. Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin (1895–1975) was a literary critic, philosopher, and leading Russian humanist. He was banished in 1929 to Kazakhstan, but his work was rediscovered after World War II and introduced to Europeans by Julia Kristeva and others. To Bakhtin, perhaps more than anyone, is owed the current attention to intertextuality, the otherness of others' voices, insistence on the moral and epistemological significance of differences, and "dialogism."

A classically trained linguist, Bakhtin challenged Russian formalist followers of Ferdinand de Saussure, insisting that basic speech units are not phonemes or words but specific, often "double-voiced," utterances instantiating historical matrices. Apprised of developments in the arts, sciences, and philosophy by fellow members of "the Bakhtin circle," he anticipated Ludwig Wittgenstein on "private language," dismissed as "monological" all religious and secular ideological systems, and rejected formulaic dialectics.

Bakhtin made his name with a 1929 study of Fyodor Dostoevsky. According to Bakhtin, Dostoevsky, unlike Leo

Tolstoy, did not direct readers to a single moralizing conclusion but initiated open-ended conversations among his characters concerning bourgeois crises of faith, love, crime, and punishment. Dostoevsky's journalistic/Christian authorial voice allowed them their conflicting (often inner) voices, giving his novels a "polyphonic" form, avoiding psychologism and capturing the rich realism of everyday discourse.

Adapting Henri Bergson on organic temporal processes and Hermann Cohen's neo-Kantian ethico-aesthetic holistic judgments, Bakhtin found the same dialogical imagination exercised in age-old folkloric critiques of establishment pretensions in Miguel de Cervantes, William Shakespeare, Charles Dickens, and Dostoevsky. Unconstrained by classical literary canons, Bakhtin believed that the prose of modern novelists, not poetry, best communicates orientational pluralism.

According to Bakhtin, François Rabelais first textualized oral satirical traditions, embodying Renaissance resistance to the hegemony of medieval Christendom. Rabelais used accepted, grotesque medieval tropes and bawdy carnivalesque humor to ridicule inquisitors who pretended to eternal verities while pursuing mundane goals. His countercultural apocalypticism undermined homogenizing dogmatism. Rabelais worked prototypically, honoring the specifics of his historical locale (his "chronotope"), working through national and international conflicts to a global conception of liberating truth.

Bakhtin's study covertly critiqued Stalinism, expecting the dissonance of social injustices and insights prompted by multilingual encounters to foster public, not just private, reforms. Gods and tyrants are dethroned by laughter.

In his earliest, more phenomenological studies, Bakhtin examined the complexity of authorial artistry and asymmetries of self–other relations. People theorize about their background, but they never see it, nor others theirs. Recognizing "transgredience" (not transcendence) in one's experience breaks with both classical and modern single-consciousness models of knowing (God's or the individual ego's) and mind–body dualism. No theories are final, all boundaries in "threshold" situations are permeable. Inside–outside dichotomies miss the "outsideness" of every thought, and one's dialogical dependence on others for true wholes. Actual texts embody simultaneously many contexts. Both sciences and humanities interweave descriptions and evaluations. Neither authorial intention nor reader responses alone determine dialogically realized meanings.

Such conclusions, reworked in many notes on form, content, material, style, genre, and representational discourse, constitute an independent Russian contribution to postmodernism. Bakhtin's influence on religious studies remains mostly indirect. In the 1970s Robert Polzin pioneered in applying Bakhtinian ideas to the Deuteronomic histories, and later Gavin Flood followed Bakhtin "beyond phenomenology."

Most Christian commentators agree that Bakhtin's sense of overlapping meanings and contrasting, simultaneous perspectives was influenced by Orthodox iconography based on a kenotic two-natures Christology and paradoxical space–time conceptions of quantum physicists. Not logocentric, Bakhtin insisted that the world is in our words and words are of the world. Living languages are "unfinalizable" philosophies of life. Because human operative judgments realize some freedom in weighing alternatives, people are without alibi for their lives, answerable to themselves, others, and their environment, which address them on many levels. Bakhtinian answerability is a richer notion than Heideggerian authenticity, affirming both individual responsibility and corporate accountability.

Despite his circumstances, Bakhtin de-emphasized the dark side of human nature. He agreed with Thomas Mann that hell is lack of being heard. Wisely, he generally let Dostoevsky and Rabelais speak for him on Christianity, denying that individuals own ideas. In all discourse, Bakhtin came to regard God as the "Super-Addressee," the basis for the human drive for perfect understanding, a third or fourth voice on the dialogical edge of consciousness, impersonally called "the voice of conscience" but not just a regulative idea. Bakhtin dismissed talk of absolute values and "the collective unconscious" as abstractions. Actual consummating responses must be concretely personal. He remarked that Ludwig Feuerbach misread the double-voiced import of incarnation, while the church drained the blood out of history. Ethico-aesthetically, in the artistry of making a life, what I must be for the other, God (however named) is for me.

Bakhtinian dialogism is opposed to any dichotomizing between the sciences and the humanities in the study of religion and to treating religion in isolation from the texture of, or reducing it to, either its ideal or its material aspects.

SEE ALSO Literature, articles on Critical Theory and Religious Studies, Literature and Religion.

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PETER SLATER (2005)

BAKONGO SEE KONGO RELIGION

BALARĀMA is a Hindu god, the elder brother of the god Kṛṣṇa. He is sometimes considered as the third of the three Rāmas, and thus the eighth *avatāra* of Viṣṇu; at other times he appears as an incarnation of the serpent Śeṣa or Ananta. He is also known by the names Baladeva, Balabhadra, Bala, and Halāyudha. Legends of Balarāma are found in the Brahmanical and Jain literature. He is mentioned along with Kṛṣṇa in the *Mahābhārata,* especially in its sequel *Harivamśa,* in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* and other Vaiṣnava Purāṇas.

The birth of Balarāma was extraordinary. When a disembodied voice predicted that the demon Kamsa would be killed by the eighth child of his sister Devakī, Kamsa vowed to kill her male children. Balarāma was conceived as the seventh child of Devakī and was saved from Kamsa when he was transferred to Rohiṇī's womb by the *yogamāyā* (magical power) of Viṣṇu. Balarāma was thus born of Rohiṇī. Another story narrated in the *Mahābhārata* accounts for his white color. Viṣṇu, extracted one of his white hairs and sent it to Devakī's womb; the hair then was born as Balarāma.

Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa are always together and are in perfect contrast with each other: Balarāma is white, whereas Kṛṣṇa is black; Balarāma is the all-masculine figure with the powerful plowshare as his weapon, whereas Kṛṣṇa's beauty is described as graceful and feminine, dark in color, and attractive to women.

Once, while intoxicated, Balarāma called the river Yamunā (personified as a goddess) to come to him so that he could bathe. When she did not comply with his wish, he plunged his plowshare into the river, pulling the waters until Yamunā surrended.

Balarāma married the daughter of King Raivata. The king, who thought that his daughter was so beautiful that she could not be wed to a mortal, took her to the world of Brahmā to seek advice. Brahmā advised the king that Balarāma was the most suitable bridegroom for her. The visit with Brahmā took many aeons, and by the time they returned, mankind had grown smaller. Balarāma found Revati so tall that he shortened her with his plowshare before marrying her.

Balarāma was an expert of three weapons: the plow, the mace, and the club. He taught the use of the mace to Duryodhana. Balarāma disapproved of Kṛṣṇa's role in the *Mahābhārata* war and wanted the cousins, the Kauravas and the Paṇḍavas, to make peace. When the cousins were fighting, Balarāma refused to take sides and went on a pilgrimage. He was indignant when in the final mace battle Bhīma hit Duryodhana on his thighs, against all propriety. Balarāma vowed to kill Bhīma and could only be pacified by Kṛṣṇa.

Although addicted to liquor himself, Balarāma prohibited intoxicants in the holy city of Dvārakā. After the battle of Kurukṣetra the Yādavas of Dvārakā were involved in a drunken brawl and killed each other. Balarāma sat in deep meditation and the serpent Śeṣa, of whom Balarāma was an incarnation, came from his mouth and entered the ocean.

According to the Jain *Harivamśa Purāṇa,* Balarāma watched over Kṛṣṇa, and also helped his brother, who was raised by Yaśodạ, to visit his real mother, Devakī. When Devakī saw Kṛṣṇa, her breasts spontaneously flowed with milk. In order to protect her identity, Balarāma poured a jar of milk over her.

SEE ALSO Avatāra; Kṛṣṇa.

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VELCHERU NARAYANA RAO (1987)
Revised Bibliography

BALDR is an important god in Scandinavian mythology. Evidence for the worship of Baldr is limited to a few placenames; the name was not used as a personal name during the Middle Ages. Baldr's story has several parts: his death; an attempt to reverse his death; his funeral; vengeance for his death; and his return after Ragnarǫk (the final battle between the gods and the giants). Of these, only the funeral is recounted in skaldic poetry, although a detail of the vengeance occurs there. In Eddic poetry, Snorri Sturluson's *Edda,* and the *Gesta Danorum* of Saxo Grammaticus the full story emerges, often with quite varying forms.

From the *Húsdrápa* of Úlfr Uggason, a skaldic ekphrasis of carvings inside a building in western Iceland from circa

985, five stanzas survive dealing with Baldr's funeral. A stanza of Kormákr Ǫgmundarson (Icelandic, tenth century) says that Óðinn used magic on Rindr, a reference to his siring of the avenger Váli.

In Eddic poetry, *Baldrs draumar* (Baldr's dreams) is wholly about the Baldr story, and the story is important in the *Codex Regius* version of the poem *Vǫluspá,* although it is lacking in the Hauksbók version of the poem. Two stanzas of *Lokasenna* (Loki's quarrel) also refer to the story: Loki, a giant who often helped the gods, takes credit for Baldr's absence.

Baldrs draumar is set in motion by Baldr's bad dreams. Óðinn rides Sleipnir to the realm of Hel and poses four questions to a dead seeress: Who is to die? Answer: Baldr. Who will kill him? Answer: Hǫðr. Who will avenge him? Answer: Óðinn will sire an avenger. The name is missing in the manuscript, but the alliteration requires one in initial *V-*, presumably Váli. The fourth question is obscure. The seeress does not answer it but states that she now knows her interlocutor to be Óðinn. He in turn says that she is the mother of seven monsters.

The *Codex Regius* version of *Vǫluspá* tells of Baldr's "hidden fate," and of the deadly weapon, mistletoe (a motif that has never been satisfactorily explained). Hǫðr kills Baldr and an avenger is soon born. Further stanzas discuss vengeance taken on a figure much like Loki. Much later in the poem, in the description of the aftermath of Ragnarǫk, Baldr and Hǫðr return.

Snorri Sturluson knew *Vǫluspá*, and his version of the story, though much fuller, also agrees with the bare outline as set forth in *Baldrs draumar*. Baldr's bad dreams lead Frigg, his mother and Óðinn's consort, to extract oaths from all creatures and matter not to harm him. Thereafter, the gods honor Baldr by casting weapons at his invulnerable body. Loki cannot bearthis, and disguised as a woman he learns from Frigg that mistletoe has not sworn the oath. Loki makes a dart out of mistletoe and helps Hǫðr, here presented as Baldr's blind brother, to throw it at Baldr. Baldr falls dead, and the gods are struck silent. Frigg thereafter dispatches Hermóðr, another son of Óðinn, to Hel to try to get Baldr back. The funeral is held. Hermóðr returns from Hel without Baldr, but with gifts and with a deal: if everything will weep for Baldr, Hel will release him. Everything does weep, except an old giantess in a cave, thought to be Loki. Baldr stays dead until after Ragnarǫk. Loki flees to a mountaintop fastness, where he invents the fishing net. This he burns when he sees the gods approaching, for his plan is to change himself into a salmon. Kvasir recognizes the form of the net in the ashes, and the gods make one and capture Loki. They bind him in a cave, where he will remain bound until Ragnarǫk.

Saxo's version is set in Danish prehistory. Høtherus and Balderus, son of Odin and a demigod, vie to rule Denmark and to marry Nanna, the foster-sister of Høtherus. In the last of a series of battles, Høtherus finally kills Balderus with an ordinary weapon. Othinus learns through prophecy that he can sire an avenger with Rinda, a Rostaphian princess. After failing to win the girl in various guises, he returns dressed as a woman, and when she falls ill he is to treat her. He binds her to her bed and rapes her. The avenger, Bous, kills Høtherus and himself dies a day later. For his shameful acts the gods exile Othinus from Byzantium for almost ten years.

All the sources stress that Baldr is Óðinn's son, that he dies, and that he is avenged. Baldr's return is found only in *Vǫluspá* and Snorri's *Edda.* These facts subvert the older interpretations, such as those of James Frazer or Gustav Neckel, of Baldr as a dying god like Baal or Tammuz, one whose regular resurrection is associated with annual cycles of fertility. The emphasis on vengeance makes it clear that Baldr is far more than a Nordic adaptation of Christ (Bugge), and it also weakens Georges Dumézil's proposed parallel from the *Mahābhārata*, the circumstances surrounding the war between the Paṇḍava and Duryodhana. Jan de Vries argued that the story has to do with initiation into the cult of Óðinn, and he was certainly correct in locating the myth in the realm of Óðinn, although his reading does not take into account all the aspects of the myth. Nor does Margaret Clunies Ross do so in her emphasis on the issue of dynastic succession.

In *Vǫluspá* and Snorri's *Edda*, the death of Baldr leads directly to Ragnarǫk, and even in Saxo there is a sea battle in which Høtherus defeats all the gods, although it occurs before Baldr's death. Given the emphasis in *Vǫluspá*'s description of Ragnarǫk as a time when brother kills brother, murderers are about, and oaths are broken, Baldr's death can easily be read in that poem as the beginning of Ragnarǫk. Baldr's is the first death of a god, and since the cosmos was created with the body of a murdered giant, this killing upsets the usual order of the mythology. The hierarchical superiority of the gods over the giants ends, and the two groups destroy each other. The ensuing world order brings peace, and Baldr and Hǫðr are reunited.

In the Scandinavian context, the accounts that make Baldr and Hǫðr brothers indicate a flaw in the system of blood feud (Lindow, 1997), for when Óðinn sires an avenger, the vengeance he takes still leaves Óðinn with an unavenged son, now Hǫðr. A killing within a family poses an insurmountable problem in such a system, and since the gods created the cosmos by killing a maternal relative, this problem was present from the beginning. The gods' solution was to deny maternal kinship relations, but that denial ultimately fails. So too does Óðinn's attempt to counter Loki's giant patrimony by swearing blood brotherhood with him. Only myth can resolve this problem, and it does so by reuniting Baldr and Hǫðr in a new world order after Ragnarǫk.

SEE ALSO Eddas; Germanic Religion; Loki.

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JOHN LINDOW (2005)

BALINESE RELIGION. Eight degrees south of the equator, toward the middle of the belt of islands that form the southern arc of the Indonesian archipelago, lies the island of Bali, home of the last surviving Hindu-Buddhist civilization of Indonesia. A few kilometers to the west of Bali is the island of Java, where major Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms flourished from the time of Borobudur (eighth century) until the end of the sixteenth century, when the last Javanese Hindu kingdom fell to Islam. Just to the east of Bali is the Wallace Line, a deep ocean channel marking the biogeographical frontier between Asia and the Pacific. The Wallace Line is also a cultural frontier: journeying eastward from Bali, one leaves the zone of historical Asian civilizations and enters a region of tribal peoples. Bali is the last stepping-stone from Asia to the Pacific.

The preservation of Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms on Bali centuries after their disappearance elsewhere in the region is largely the result of geography. The island is not only remote but quite small—172 kilometers east-west by 102 kilometers north-south. The fertile valleys that form the heartland of Balinese civilization face southward, toward a largely untraveled sea. Behind them lies an arc of steep jungle-covered mountains, a natural barrier to Java and the busy seas to the north. Balinese kingdoms nestled along the south coast, each of them so tiny that a man could easily ride across an entire "kingdom" in half a day on horseback. The Balinese attitude toward the world beyond their shores is nicely illustrated by the complaints of the first European ambassadors to Bali, who frequently could not even obtain an audience with a Balinese prince—the Balinese were simply too preoccupied with their own affairs!

SOURCES OF BALINESE RELIGION. Evidence for the nature of prehistoric Balinese religion comes from three sources: archaeology, historical linguistics, and comparative ethnography. Linguistically, Balinese belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian language family, itself derived from Proto-Austronesian, which is thought to have been spoken by Southeast Asian peoples around six thousand years ago. Proto-Austronesian-speakers on Bali had words for many religious concepts: nature gods, such as a sky god; ancestral spirits (who were probably thought to inhabit mountaintops); a human soul, or perhaps multiple souls; and shamanistic trance. Such beliefs and practices remain widespread in Indonesia, reflecting the influence of Malayo-Polynesian culture. The vocabulary of Proto-Austronesian reflects a Neolithic culture; the advent of the Metal Age in Bali is marked by a magnificent bronze kettledrum, the "Moon of Pejeng." Stylistically related to similar "Dong-son" drums found over much of eastern Indonesia and Vietnam, the Balinese drum is distinguished by its large size (186 x 150 cm) and splendid ornamentation. The discovery of a casting mold used to make the drum in a nearby village proved that the drum was created by indigenous Balinese metalsmiths, some time between the second century BCE and the second century CE.

Fifty-three stone sarcophagi, tentatively dated to the same era as the "Moon of Pejeng," provide additional evidence for a sophisticated Metal Age culture in Bali with well-developed social ranking and elaborate funerary rituals. Hewn from stone with bronze tools and ornamented with protruding knobs decorated with stylized human heads, they contain human skeletons of both sexes along with bronze arm and foot rings, carnelian beads, and miniature socketed bronze shovels. Even more impressive are the stepped stone pyramids of this era, reminiscent of Polynesian *marae,* which apparently served as temples to the ancestors and nature gods, and perhaps also as monuments for important chiefs. Thus, by the first millennium CE Balinese society was organized into sedentary villages ruled by chiefs. The major economic occupation was wet-rice agriculture, supported by small-scale irrigation. The economy supported craft specialists, such as metalworkers and builders of megaliths.

Sometime in the early first millennium of the common era, Bali came into contact with Indian civilization and thus with the Hindu and Buddhist religions. The nature of this contact and the ensuing process of "indianization" has long been a subject of scholarly debate. At one extreme, J. C. van Leur maintained that "hinduization" was wholly initiated by Southeast Asian rulers who summoned Indian brahmans to their courts, creating merely a "thin and flaking glaze" of Indic culture among the elite (van Leur, 1955). At the other extreme, R. C. Majumdar postulated wholesale colonization of Southeast Asia by Indian exiles. Between these two poles, nearly every conceivable intermediate position has been staked out, and there is as yet no consensus as to which is most likely, although there is no persuasive evidence for large-scale colonization by Indian exiles (Majumdar, 1963).

In Bali, the first clear indication of "indianization" is entirely of a religious nature, consisting of several sorts of physical evidence: stone sculptures, clay seals and ritual apparatus, and a series of stone and copperplate inscriptions. The sculptures closely resemble Central Javanese sculptures of the same era (both Hindu and Buddhist), while the clay seals contain Mahāyāna formulas duplicated in the eighth-century Javanese temple Candi Kalasan. However, it is important to note that these objects show no evidence of Javanese influence (whether conceptual or stylistic); they are obviously Indian and seem to have appeared in both Java and Bali at about the same time.

The first inscriptions appear in the ninth century CE and are the earliest written texts discovered in Bali. They were written by court scribes in two languages, Sanskrit and Old Balinese, using an Indian alphabet. Inscriptions in Sanskrit proclaim the military triumphs of Balinese rulers, and were addressed to the (Indic) world at large. They are not unique to Bali, for similar inscriptions are found throughout the western archipelago—monuments intended to validate the authority of rulers in the idiom of Indian theories of kingship. Such validation was essential because of the cosmological significance of kings, according to the Hindu and Buddhist medieval traditions. Inscriptions in Old Balinese, by contrast, were addressed very specifically to particular villages or monasteries, and they document the interest of the rulers in supporting a variety of Hindu and Buddhist sects. To explain the process of indianization in Bali, it is tempting to postulate the conversion of a powerful Balinese chief to some Hindu or Buddhist sect, who then zealously promoted the new faith among his subjects—except that the inscriptions clearly reveal patronage for a multitude of sects. No single group was given precedence; all were encouraged, suggesting that a ruler's enthusiasm for Indian ideas went deeper than the doctrinal differences that divide sect from sect. The texts specifically mention Tantric and Mahāyāna Buddhism, the major schools of Śaiva Siddhānta and Vaiṣṇava Hinduism, and the cults of Sūrya and Gaṇeśa. Early sculptures include *dhyāni* Buddhas, Padmapāṇi (Avalokiteśvara) and Amoghapāśa, Viṣṇu on Garuḍa, Viṣṇu as Narasiṃha, and Śiva in many forms including Ardhanāri, quadruplicated as the *catuḥkāya*s, and accompanied by Durgā, Gaṇeśa, and Guru.

Most of the 250 known inscriptions, which date from the ninth through the fourteenth century, direct the inhabitants of particular villages to provide various kinds of assistance to the monks and monasteries, including taxes, hospitality, labor, and military defense against sea raiders. Through the inscriptions we can trace the development of an intricate web of ties linking indianized courts and Hindu and Buddhist monasteries to the villages. As early as 1073 CE, a royal inscription describes the population as divided into the four castes of the Indian *varṇa* system (*brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya,* and *śūdra*). The inscription is significant not as proof that the Balinese had managed to magically recreate the Hindu caste system, but as evidence of the ruler's desire to impose the Indian ideal of caste on his kingdom.

In time, the Balinese came to identify their own sacred mountain, Gunung Agung, with the mythical Mount Meru, center of the "Middle World" of Indic cosmology. The old Balinese nature gods were perhaps not so much nudged aside as reincorporated intothe new Indic pantheon. The great earth serpent Anantaboga was symbolically buried in the Balinese earth, his head beneath the crater lake of Batur near the island's center, his tail just touching the sea at Keramas. But the old gods were not entirely eclipsed. The most popular character of contemporary Balinese epics, and star of the shadow play (*wayang*), is the ancient buffoon Twalen, who usually plays the servant of the Hindu gods. Like the Balinese themselves, he is pleased to serve the splendid Hindu gods. But in reality, as everyone knows, Twalen is older and more powerful than all the Hindu gods. From time to time in the stories, when the gods have gone too far astray, he ceases to play the aging buffoon and reveals his true powers as "elder brother" to Siwa (Skt., Śiva), the supreme Hindu god.

LIVING TRADITIONS. At some time between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries, the monastic tradition of Bali came to an end, and the various competing sects of Hinduism and Buddhism fused into what is now perceived as a single religion, called Bali Hindu or, more accurately, Āgama Tīrtha, the Religion of Holy Water. The vast majority of the Balinese adhere to this religion. Bali Hindu is officially sanctioned by the Indonesian government, which insists that all of its citizens belong to some recognized religion. Consequently, in recent years there has been some attempt to include tribal religions from other islands such as Sulawesi (Celebes) under the Bali-Hindu umbrella.

The ultimate source of religious knowledge for the Balinese remains ancient Hindu and Buddhist texts, some still written in Sanskrit, the majority in Kawi (Old Javanese) and Balinese. As in India, high priests are invariably brahmans who have studied this literature extensively. Various types of lesser priests are also recognized, belonging to the other castes, most of whom have made at least some study of the written sources for their religion. Some priests and healers do not go through a course of study but are instead "chosen by the gods" directly in trance rituals. Even these priests revere the palm leaf *lontar* manuscripts. All books, and the written word itself, are consecrated to the goddess of wisdom, Sarasvatī. She alone among the gods has no special shrines. Instead, on her festival day all books and libraries are given offerings for her, because they are her temples.

No one knows, as yet, how many manuscripts exist in Balinese libraries, but the number is certainly in the thousands. The entire literature of Classical Javanese, which eventually boasted over two hundred distinct metrical patterns and which flourished for a millennium, would have been lost to the world but for the painstaking efforts of generations of Balinese literati, who had to recopy the entire corpus onto fragile palm-leaf manuscripts about once each century. Western scholars have only begun to examine this vast and rich literary tradition.

In considering the significance of these texts for Balinese religion, it is important to pay attention to the ways in which they are read and used. The Balinese approach to the activity of reading, and the "life of texts in the world," is quite different from that of the modern West. Balinese "reading groups" (*sekehe bebaosan*), for example, gather to read the ancient texts, either informally or to "embellish" a worthy gathering of people preparing for a ritual or temple festival. A reader intones a line from the text in its original language; if he strays from the correct metrical pattern, the line may have to be repeated. Then another reader will propose a spontaneous translation into modern colloquial Balinese. He pauses, in case anyone cares to suggest a better translation or a different interpretation. Once the meaning has been agreed upon, the first reader will recite the next line. The Balinese words for these "readings" are perhaps best rendered into English as "sounding" the texts, in both senses of turning letters into sounds, and searching for their meaning. "Sounding the texts" brings written order into the world, displaying the Logos that lies behind mundane reality. Words themselves may have intrinsic power, as is hinted in the poem that begins "Homage to the god . . . who is the essence of written letters . . . concealed in the dust of the poet's pencil."

RITUAL LIFE. It is possible to participate fully in Balinese religion all one's life without reading a single line from a *lontar* manuscript. Moreover, one is never called upon to make a public declaration of faith, either in a particular god or the efficacy of a particular ritual. Religion, for the Balinese, consists in the performance of five related ritual cycles, called *yajña*. Broadly speaking, the five *yajña* are sacrifices, and thus founded on ancient brahmanic theology. However, the details of the *yajña* are unique to Bali. The five *yajña* are

1. *déwa yajña* (sacrifices to the gods)
2. *būta yajña* (sacrifices to the chthonic powers or "elements")
3. *manuṣia yajña* (rites of passage)
4. *pitṛ yajña* (offerings to the dead)
5. *ṛṣi yajña* (consecration of priests)

Déwa yajña. Offerings to the gods (*déwa yajña*) are made in temples. The importance of these temples goes far beyond what we usually think of as religion, for temples provide the basic framework of Balinese economic and social organization. Classical Bali was a civilization without cities, in which important institutions such as irrigation networks, kinship groups, or periodic markets were organized by specialized temple networks. Most of these temple networks continue to function today. For example, consider the "irrigation" or "water temples." Each link in an irrigation system, from the small canal feeding one farmer's fields to the headwaters of a river, has a shrine or temple. The festivals held in these temples determine the schedule of "water openings" (flooding of the fields) for fields downstream. Later festivals mark the major events of the farmer's calendar: planting, transplanting, appearance of the milky grain (panicle), pest control, and so forth. The rituals of water temples synchronize farming activities for farmers using the same irrigation canals, and perhaps more important, allow higher-level temples to stagger cropping cycles to maximize production and minimize pest damage.

In similar ways, the Balinese version of a Hindu caste system was organized through temple networks—to belong to a caste translated into participating in the festivals of "caste temples," from the family shrine for the ancestors, through regional caste "branch temples," to the "origin temples" for whole castes or subcastes. Each Balinese temple has a specific purpose—it is part of an institutional system—and draws its membership exclusively from members of that institution. A Balinese worships only in the temples of the institutions he belongs to, which usually amount to half a dozen or more, including village temples, kinship or caste temples, water temples, and perhaps others as well.

Physically, Balinese temples consist of open rectangular walled courtyards with a row of shrines at one end. This architectural plan owes more to ancient Malayo-Polynesian megalithic shrines than to Indian temple design, and within the temple, space is ordered along a continuum, also Malayo-Polynesian in origin.

The gods are not believed to be continuously present in the temples but to arrive for only a few days each year as invited guests to temple festivities.

Members of the congregation prepare the temple and bring offerings for the gods, "not merely a fruit and a flower," as Margaret Mead observed, "but hundreds of finely wrought and elaborately conceived offerings made of palm leaf and flowers, twisted, folded, stitched, embroidered, brocaded into myriad traditional forms and fancies" (Belo, 1970, p. 335). Priests invite the gods to descend into their shrines with incense, bells, and prayers in Sanskrit. Worshipers kneel and pray for a few seconds, flicking flower petals toward the shrines of the gods, and are rewarded with a blessing of holy water from a temple priest. The remainder of the festival, which may last for days, is occupied with artistic performances for the amusement both of the gods and the human congregation. It was these performances that led Noël Coward to complain that "It seems that each Balinese native / From the womb to the tomb is creative." Temple festivals adhere to rigid schedules, based on the extremely complex Balinese permutational calendar. The gods must appear on a particular day, and at a given moment they must depart. Since the gods partake only of the essence of their offerings, the end of a temple festival is the beginning of a feast, for each family retrieves its offerings and shares the edible portions with friends and clients.

Būta yajña. *Būta,* usually translated into English as "demon," actually is the Balinese version of the Sanskrit word for "element of nature" (*bhūta*). It is therefore an oversimplification to describe the rituals of *būta yajña* as "demon offerings." Every important ritual, such as a temple festival, begins with *būta yajña* offerings as a purification or cleansing. Usually, these offerings require some form of blood sacrifice to satisfy the raw appetites of the elemental powers. All Balinese "demons" may take form either in the outer worlds (*buana agung*) or the inner world of the self (*buana alit*). A strong Tantric element in Balinese religion suggests that demons are essentially psychological projections but differs from Western psychology in insisting that "demonic" forces are part of the intrinsic constitution of both inner and outer reality.

Demons (*būta*) are the raw elements from which the higher realities of consciousness and the world are created. If their energy is not contained, they quickly become destructive. The purpose of *būta yajña* may be made clearer by considering the supreme *būta yajña* ceremony, called Eka Dasa Rudra, last held in 1979. The year 1979 marked the beginning of a new century acccording to the Balinese Icaka calendar. In order for the new century to begin auspiciously, it was felt necessary to complete all unfinished *būta* rituals, such as cremations, and then hold a gigantic ceremony at Bali's supreme temple, Besakih, to transform all of the accumulated demonic energies of the prior century into divine energies, to begin a new cycle of civilization in a phase of growth rather than decline. Nearly all Balinese participated in the yearlong preparations for Eka Dasa Rudra, which climaxed at the moment the old century ended, in a ceremony at Besakih temple involving over 100,000 people.

Manuṣia yajña. *Manuṣia yajña* are rites of passage, fitted to the Balinese belief in reincarnation. Twelve days after birth, an infant is given a name, and offerings are made to the four birth spirits (*kanda empat*) who have accompanied him. After three 35-day months, the child and his spirits are given new names, and the child's feet are allowed to touch the earth for the first time, since before this time he is considered still too close to the world of the gods. More offerings are made for the child's 210-day "birthday," at puberty, and finally in the climactic ceremony of tooth filing, which prepares the child for adulthood. The six upper canine teeth and incisors are filed slightly to make them more even, symbolically reducing the six human vices of lust (*kāma*), anger (*krodha*), greed (*lobha*), error (*moha*), intoxication (*mada*), and jealousy (*matsarya*). The *manuṣia yajña* cycle ends with the performance of the marriage ceremony.

Pitṛ yajña. These rituals are the inverse of *manuṣia yajña:* they are the rituals of death and return to the world of the gods, performed by children for their parents. The Balinese believe that people are usually reincarnated into their own families—in effect, as their own descendants—after five or more generations. The rituals of preparing the corpse, preliminary burial, cremation, and purification of the soul ensure that the spirits of one's parents are freed from earthly attachments, are able to enter heaven, and eventually are able to seek rebirth. Cremation is regarded as a major responsibility, costly and emotionally charged since the cremation bier proclaims both the wealth and the caste status of the family of the deceased. After these rituals are completed, the souls of the departed are believed to begin to visit their family shrines, where they must receive regular offerings, so the *pitṛ yajña* ritual cycle is never really finished.

Ṛṣi yajña. While the other four *yajña* involve everyone, the ceremonies of the consecration of priests (*ṛṣi yajña*) are the exclusive and esoteric provenance of the various priesthoods. In general, each "caste" has its own priests, although "high priests" (*pedanda*) are invariably brahmans. Buddhist traditions are kept alive by a special sect of high priests called *pedanda bodha.* The greatest of the *ṛṣi yajña* is the ceremony of consecration for a new *pedanda,* during which he must symbolically undergo his own funeral as a human being, to reemerge as a very special kind of being, a Balinese high priest.

SEE ALSO Megalithic Religion, article on Historical Cultures; Music, article on Music and Religion in Southeast Asia; Southeast Asian Religions, article on Insular Cultures.

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Revised Bibliography

BALLGAMES

This entry consists of the following articles:

MESOAMERICAN BALLGAMES
NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN BALLGAMES

BALLGAMES: MESOAMERICAN BALLGAMES

Scholars employ the phrase "Mesoamerican ballgame" to refer to a diverse number of sport or ritual activities involving the use of a ball. All Mesoamerican peoples practiced "the ballgame" in one form or another. The three best-known forms of the game are the hipball, handball, and stickball variants.

TEMPORAL AND REGIONAL DIVERSITY. Mesoamerica is an ethnically, linguistically, and geographically varied region that is identifiable by shared cultural traits and religious beliefs which date to the pre-Columbian era (i.e., prior to the sixteenth century, which brought European contact). This culturally distinctive area encompasses the contemporary political boundaries of Mexico (excluding the northern, desert region), Belize, Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador. Mesoamerican ballgames reflect the diversity of the cultural and geographic environment in which they originated. The Mesoamerican ballgame also had strong ties with the ballgames of peoples of the North American Southwest and Caribbean.

Mesoamerican ballgames varied both temporally and regionally. Temporal variations appear to be related to fluctuations in popularity, to regionally specific and other developments, and to the particular socio-political and religious context and significance attributed to the game. Regional distinctions may also, in some cases, have had some relationship with ethnicity and identity. Scholars generally concur (with differences in interpretation on the specific points) that from their inception, which occurred at least as early as the Early Formative period (1200–900 BCE), all forms of the Mesoamerican ballgame shared fundamental ideological associations with creation mythology and with beliefs about the cycles of life and death, rain and fertility, and the cosmos.

Of all known Mesoamerican ballgames, the historic, artistic, and archaeological record has provided the most detailed information about the hipball game, and it is thus this form of the game that is most popularly thought of as "the" Mesoamerican ballgame. However, the hipball game also had numerous forms, dependent upon period, cultural and architectural context, costuming, equipment, and modes of play, across time and space in Mesoamerica. The hipball game was fully developed by the Early Formative period in the Socomusco region (the southern coastal plain and piedmont of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and northern Guatemala, respectively), and the Veracruz-Tabasco Gulf Coast region associated with the Olmec civilization. In Nahuatl, the language of the Mexica (Aztec) people of the later Postclassic period (thirteenth to early sixteenth centuries CE), the hipball game was known as *ollama* or *ullama* (from *olli*, the word for rubber, which is related to the term *ollin*, meaning "movement"). The hipball game is still played today in Sinaloa state, in northwestern Mexico, although without the protective equipment of antiquity, and in an open field, rather than a court. Of the other relatively well-known forms of ballgame, the stick-ball game is particularly associated with the Teotihuacan culture of Central Mexico, and the handball game is best known at the site of Dainzu, Oaxaca state, Mexico.

EQUIPMENT. Different forms of the ballgame employed different types of paraphernalia. Common to all pre-Columbian hipball games was the use of padding around the waist and hips. This padding was used to propel the ball with greater force than was possible with an unpadded hip, while offering protection to the body during the course of this physically intensive game. Hip and waist protectors were probably made of padded cotton, leather, wicker, or wood. The only surviving pre-Columbian hip pads are the well-known, often elaborately carved, stone "yokes" (misnamed because of their physical appearance). These are particularly associated with the cultures of the Gulf Coast of Veracruz and Tabasco states, from the Formative through the Terminal Classic periods (c. 900 BCE to c. 900 CE), although examples are known elsewhere in Mesoamerica. Some stone yokes were functional, but a larger number were evidently ceremonial and symbolic.

Other stone hipball game paraphernalia survive from the Gulf Coast region. Carved stone *hachas*, so called because of the axe-like shape of many of these objects, were inserted into the yokes as chest protectors, or to project the ball. John Scott has suggested that those carved with twisted human faces were worn by victorious players of ritual games to represent the severed heads of players they had defeated. The stone *palmas* (referring to their palm-frond shape) were also carved with elaborate iconography related to religious or ritual components of the game, including references to the supernatural world and human sacrifice. *Palmas* were also inserted into the hip-pad for the same purposes as *hachas*. Mary Ellen Miller and Karl Taube also suggest that *palmas* were displayed in ballcourts as architectural decoration. Stone *manoplas* (handstones), often referred to in the literature as "knuckledusters," are more generally found throughout Mesoamerica. These were employed to project the ball in some forms of the hipball game, might have also been used in a ritual variant of the handball game and, according to Karl Taube and other researchers, were evidently employed as actual knuckledusters ("brass knuckles") in ritualized one-on-one boxing combats. Hipball players also wore loin coverings and knee pads on one knee, to protect their bodies when they slid onto their upper thighs or when they dropped to one knee to check the ball during the course of the game.

Ritualized versions of the hipball game are are distinctive in their use of ceremonial costuming, including elaborate headdresses, jewelry, and ornate forms of equipment. Ceremonial costuming often referenced the underlying beliefs associated with the ballgame; however, it is important to note that these are very specific and not recoverable though generalizations. For example, Classic Maya nobles, at sites such as Yaxchilan, Chiapas state, Mexico, are shown in some ritual games sporting the net kilt and other costume elements associated with the Maya Maize God, whose actions were emulated by Maya rulers to retain and underscore their sociopolitical and spiritual success.

Stickball games were also known in Mesoamerica. Players are depicted with bat-like or field hockey-like sticks, striking a soft-ball-sized ball in a defined, open field. Stickball players are represented in pre-Columbian art wearing loin cloths, head coverings, bands around the knees, and—in elaborated forms of the game—with fancy dress elements. Although the stickball game was particular to Central Mexico, especially the great city and culture of Teotihuacan, Theodore Stern has documented this ballgame variant elsewhere in Mesoamerican and the Caribbean. A modern form of the stickball game is played in Michoacán state, Mexico, using simple wooden bats. This game is played at night, with the ball set on fire at the beginning of the game as a symbolic reference to the sun.

Handball games are known throughout Mesoamerica from the Formative through the Classic periods. At the Late Formative site (c. 200 BCE to c. 200 CE) of Dainzu, in Oaxaca, carved stone slabs represent handball players wearing grilled helmets, gauntlet-like gloves, padded clothing over the torso and legs, thick knee pads on both knees, and sandals. Such full-body covering suggests a particularly energetic and perhaps dangerous form of ballgame. The contemporary Mixtec ballgame (*Juego de Pelota Mixteca*), known principally in Oaxaca, may descend from the Dainzu handball game.

BALLS. The hipball game used a rubber ball that was as much as a foot or more in diameter and which may have weighed seven or more pounds when solid. However, proportionately much larger balls are represented in Maya art of the Classic period (300 to 900 CE). The Terminal Classic (c. 800 to 1200 CE) carved stone panels lining the Great Ballcourt at Chichén Itza depict very large balls with skulls at the center. Some scholars propose that both sets of images might be taken literally: overly large, hollow-core balls might have been used in some Maya hipball games, whereas the skulls of sacrificed individuals may have been used to form ball cores in ritual games (although no known examples survive). The earliest known surviving rubber balls were excavated from the offerings of El Manati, Veracruz, at a spring site sacred to the Formative Olmec civilization of the Gulf Coast. The largest and most spherical of these are ten inches in diameter, and have been dated by the excavators to around 1600 BCE.

Stickball and handball games probably used small, solid rubber balls. However, some researchers have suggested that for ritualized handball games, the rubber balls may have been replaced with stone spheroids. The rubber used to make the various balls came from any of the several rubber-producing plants and trees found throughout Mesoamerica and the North American Southwest. In Mesoamerica, rubber was used not only for the ballgame, but in offerings, particularly to rain deities, and for medicinal purposes.

BALLCOURTS. Ballgame courts, fields, and the structures on which ritual ballgames were enacted, reflect some of the diversity of Mesoamerican ballgames, although these features tend to share general characteristics.

The best-known form of Mesoamerican ballcourt is the masonry court designed for hipball games. The earliest versions of these structures date to approximately 1400 BCE and are found in the Socomusco and Gulf Coast regions, although there may be examples dating as early as the fifth century BCE. Early Soconusco and Gulf Coast Olmec heartland courts were formed by two parallel earthen mounds flanking and delineating a central playing court.

In general, Late Formative and Classic period hipball courts have playing alleys and end zones laid out in a shape similar to the capital letter "I." The court's boundaries are defined by two parallel platform mound structures. The alley walls are sloped and typically have benches along the sides. Three markers are commonly located down the axial center of the alley. Specialized superstructures containing steambaths and other preparatory facilities were built atop the platform mounds. In most cases, spectators were probably seated along platforms and structures located around, and outside of, each end zone. Postclassic (c. 900 to 1521 CE) ballcourts generally have perpendicular side walls with stone ring markers.

Mary Ellen Miller and Stephen Houston, and others including David Friedel, Linda Schele, and Joy Parker, have identified symbolic courts used for ritualized ballgames. These ritual courts comprise temple stairways such as that of the war monument Temple 33, at the Maya site of Yaxchilan, and patios such as the Classic period East and West Courts of Copan, Honduras. They may also include the Formative period sunken court of Teopantecuanitlan, Guerrero state, Mexico.

Stickball and handball games employed defined, open playing fields. Eric Taladoire has suggested that one form of formal court may have been used for the handball game as played in Oaxaca during the Formative period.

THE RULES. The rules of Mesoamerican ballgames were specific to each particular game, and, although broadly understood by researchers, have not been recovered in detail. Most ballgames were played with two competing teams facing each other at either end of the playing field or court. In hipball, points were scored by hitting the ball toward the alley markers, the end zones, or the rings on the alley walls. The ball typically was hit with the thighs, buttocks, and upper arms. Bare hands or *manoplas* were employed only to set the ball into motion, since the use of the hands to strike the ball was not permitted, except in the case of handball games. Athletic vigor, physical intensity, and a high degree of competition seem to characterize all Mesoamerican ballgames. In addition, it is evident that both men and women played the ballgame.

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE. Mesoamerican ballgames were generally conducted within one of two broad contexts: sport and ritual. As pure sport, pre-Columbian ballgames were not unlike football, soccer, and baseball as they are known today. Outstanding athletes were highly regarded, and could even achieve star-like status. Communities competed with one another through their teams. Betting on the games is known to have been popular at the time of Spanish contact, with desirable items, such as fine cotton shirts, being wagered on favorite teams or players. pre-Columbian ballgames are distinctive from contemporary occidental ball sports, however, in the complexity of meaning attached to them, and their symbolic connection to the events of creation and universal cycles.

Surviving Mesoamerican creation stories tell of primordial beings playing life-and-death ballgames in mythical time. For example, the sixteenth-century Quiché Maya community book, *The Popol Vuh*, and Classic period Maya hieroglyphic texts, recount how the legendary Hero Twins were summoned to the Underworld to play a deadly ballgame with the Underworld deities. The Twins survived several trials, defeated the Underworld gods, and resurrected their father, the Maize God, in the ballcourt, which is named as the place of sacrifice (and the locus of rebirth or renewal). This tradition explains how corn was brought into the world and provides a metaphor for the life cycle of birth, death, and regeneration as it is dramatically experienced by agrarian societies in this geographic region, with its distinctive rainy and dry seasons. Certain ballgames were thus directly associated with rain deities, and with the coming of the rains and subsequent fertility of the earth.

Very early on, Mesoamerican ballgames were linked to political authority and the fundamental role of rulers as providers for their communities. If there were natural disasters such as drought and famine, or political and military defeats, the legitimacy of an individual's rule could seriously be called into question. At such times, some ballgames came to serve as public spectacles, full of courtly pomp and circumstance, for the ritual reenactment of warfare and success on the battlefield. Captives were made to play staged, fixed, "games" that were essentially mock combats with predetermined outcomes. The end result of these events was the sacrifice and, frequently, decapitation and dismemberment of defeated players. In some cases, severed heads, taken as trophies in these ritualized ballgames, were displayed on nearby skull racks, known by the Nahuatl term *tzompantlis*.

Since the earliest scholarship in Mesoamerica, researchers have noticed that, in certain ballgames, the movement of the ball was associated with the movement of cosmic bodies, particularly the sun. It is clear, however, that these associations were very particular and were framed in specific cultural ways, dependent upon the time and location of the game.

Popularized misconceptions of the Mesoamerican Ballgame suggest that the winners of ritualized games were the ones to be sacrificed. No substantiated or credible academic evidence supports this belief, nor does the idea conform in any way to the scholarly and indigenous understanding of pre-Columbian cultures in Mesoamerica.

The Mesoamerican ballgame was a central component of Mesoamerican society and culture. Indeed, ballcourts, which could be strategically located on community boundaries or on the periphery of major centers, often functioned as the loci for ritual and interaction between social and political entities, including alliance building, trade, and exchange.

SEE ALSO Sports and Religion.

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HEATHER S. ORR (2005)

BALLGAMES: NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN BALLGAMES

Throughout what is now the United States and Canada, First Nations historically have engaged in a variety of games that incorporate a ball. Such activities often appear in narrative traditions, and many communities continue such games in the early twenty-first century. These include shinny, racket or lacrosse-type games, double ball, and ball racing and feature both single-gender and mixed-gender participation.

Given that for many people the term *game* carries with it associations with frivolity and leisure—both "not work" and "not serious"—the nature of these activities must be stressed. Native American games can be quite serious endeavors, in certain cases requiring a great deal of preparation, and the outcomes can have economic, political, and social ramifications beyond the playing field. Games can provide opportunities for expressions of cultural values and ideals and may incorporate other traditional activities, and thus they can radiate potent symbolic meanings for participants and observers.

Because the activities of many cultures do not fit easily within the rubric of "religion" and because community members themselves may not isolate and identify particular activities as "religious," it is necessary to assert here that certain of the "games" discussed in this article should be understood as "religious," based upon commonly held definitions in the academic study of religion. Thus supernatural beings or "other-than-human persons," to use A. Irving Hallowell's term (1975) can be explicitly honored or referenced by the playing of certain games as well as beseeched for assistance in preparation for and during the contests (Hallowell, 1975, p. 145). Religious and medicinal specialists can be employed to prepare teams and influence the outcome, while certain games themselves are said to be ceremonial activities or rituals.

SHINNY, BALL THROWING, AND BALL RACING. Though there are a variety of ballgames, mention will be made here only of those that contain some religious referent. Shinny is a team game in which a ball is raked or propelled toward a goal with a stick not unlike that used in hockey. Although the hands may not be used, the ball may be kicked. According to Stewart Culin, author of the encyclopedic *Games of the North American Indians* (1975), the game was the most widespread of the ballgames and "frequently referred to in the myths" yet was "commonly played without any particular ceremony" (Culin, 1975, pp. 562, 617). Culin recorded the names of more than fifty groups that once played the game. Though most often played by women, it also has been played by men as well as by men and women together and against one another.

Shinny is known as *tabegasi* in the Ponca language, the root word *tabe,* or ball, being the same in the Osage and Omaha languages (Howard, 1971, pp. 10, 14). According to an account from the early 1970s, the Ponca version pitting teams of men against one another still retained some amount of ceremony having to do with the balls and the choosing of teams. The keeper of the game was an individual from the Nikapashna clan, members of which also supervised hunting and warfare activities at one time (Fletcher and La Flesche in Howard, 1971, p. 14). In some instances, for example, among California peoples such as the Yurok, Hupa, Karuk, and Tolowa, this game is said to have been played by the first beings on earth and taught to humans (Gendar, 1995, pp. 19–20).

The Lakota ballgame *tapa wankayeyapi* ("throwing the ball upward") was one of the *Wicoh'an Wakan Šakowin* (Seven Sacred Rites) given to the people by *Ptehincalaskawin* (White Buffalo Calf Woman). A young girl tossed a ball to participants standing at the four directions, with the ball symbolizing knowledge and the attempts of the participants symbolizing the struggle against ignorance (Powers, 1977, p. 103; St. Pierre and Long Soldier, 1995, p. 28). It is not currently performed.

Ball races were run by communities in the present-day southwestern United States and in adjacent areas of California and Mexico. Groups such as the Keres people of the Acoma community, the Zunis, and the Hopi people engaged in spring kick-ball or kick-stick races to secure rain (Culin, 1975, p. 668). These races pitted two individuals or teams against one another; the first to kick a ball or stick around a course and return to the starting point was the winner.

RACKET GAMES. In North America ballgames that employ a racket and ball are the most prevalent of those that reference supernatural beings, employ religious and medicinal specialists, are part of ceremonies, are linked to other ritual activities, or are self-contained rituals. Many communities along the eastern seaboard of North America, across the inland southeast, in the Great Lakes region, and to the immediate west in what is now the United States once played the game along with certain communities in present-day California, Mexico, and the Pacific Northwest region of North America. Generally speaking, racket games are considered the precursors of the sport of lacrosse; versions played by peoples in the present-day northeastern United States and in southeastern Canada are routinely cited as the specific forerunners of that sport.

Historically, lacrosse-type activities commonly termed "ballgames" have been integral cultural elements for many Native American peoples, though they have functioned differently from community to community. Rituals in and of themselves for some groups, a part of religious festivals for others, and at the center of ceremonial complexes in still other communities, the ballgames almost always have been major social events. In some cases they have been instruments of healing, and in other cases they have been primarily social events.

There are two major categories of lacrosse-type activity: single- and double-racket games. These categories correspond broadly to regional areas, with the single-racket game being played throughout what is now the northeastern United States and to an area west of the Great Lakes. Nations in the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Confederacy continue to play the single-racket version, as do surrounding nations such as the Huron and Passamaquody. The racket used is typically over a yard in length and is crooked at one end; webbing is fitted from here to the straight portion of the stick to form a large triangular pocket. It is the model for the stick used in the popularized sport of field lacrosse. Groups in the Great Lakes region, such as the Ojibwas, Santee Dakotas, Menominees, Potowatomis, and Winnebagos (among others), also used one racket; however these were shorter, straight pieces of wood curved at the end to form a small circle, which was webbed to create a pocket. Though information is somewhat limited on the Dakota version of the game, there are several accounts of Yankton and Santee games as well as paintings and drawings of players that support the conclusion that the game was a regular feature of life at least throughout the nineteenth century.

The double-racket game was and is prevalent in what is now the southeastern United States. It has long been standard among nations such as the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Seminole and among those of the Muskogee (Creek) Confederacy. The rackets used in this game are usually two to three feet long and are formed from single pieces of wood bent and dried to form oval shapes at one end, which are then webbed with rawhide or other materials to form pockets. Despite individual particularities, broad regional similarities historically have resulted in ballgames between First Nations, such as those between Cherokee and Muskogee (Creek) communities or between confederated nations, for example, the Mohawk and Seneca (Mooney, 1890, p. 107; Culin, 1975, p. 591).

In both the single- and the double-racket versions, the object of the game is to score goals, which can be achieved by players crossing a threshold while in possession of the ball. This can be a goal line between two posts, some other goal marking, or a single goal post that must be circled completely. The rules of a particular contest dictate what actions are allowable; in some cases goals can be scored by throwing the ball over the goal line.

In all versions the rackets must be used to propel the ball, and players cannot pick the ball up off the ground with their hands; in certain versions, players can use their hands to carry or throw the ball once they have retrieved it. Games can feature rough play, including wrestling and body blocking. In the games between teams of men, players usually wear little or no protective equipment, and often, especially in the Southeast, players wear only short pants—no shirts or shoes. A distinguishing aspect of many versions of this contest, both single- and double-racket, is that the object is to bring the ball back to one's own goal, not penetrate the goal of the opponent, as is the case in other goal-oriented physical activities.

While for the most part this is a male activity, in some communities women's teams compete against each other. Selected versions of the game, such as those on Cherokee Nation dance grounds in Oklahoma, are played around a central pole, the object being to hit a target at the top to score points. Single-pole contests routinely feature teams of men wielding rackets against women who are allowed to use their hands.

Wagering on the men's games once was widespread. In the nineteenth century and early twentieth century religious and governmental authorities discouraged certain Southeastern communities' ballgames (particularly those of the Cherokees and Choctaws). They objected to the wagering, the inherent violence of the contests, and the unruly crowd behavior that became more frequent with the influx of spectators from outside the participating communities. Wagering has been eliminated or much reduced in most contemporary contests.

Single-racket games. In 1636 the Jesuit father Jean de Brébeuf wrote about the Huron game in the area then known as New France. This account of a ballgame is the earliest written by a European yet located and appears in the *Relations* of the Jesuit fathers. Brébeuf noted that a Huron medico-religious specialist ("sorcerer") might prescribe a game of "crosse" for the benefit of the entire nation or for a sick individual, and that sometimes a person would dream that a game was necessary for their recovery (Brébeuf in Culin, 1975, p. 589).

The Six Nations of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Confederacy have maintained their specific ballgame traditions while participating in other forms of the game. Scholars generally agree that the sport of lacrosse derived from their games, and many of the early stick makers were members of confederacy nations. Haudenosaunee teams in the early twenty-first century participate both in field and box lacrosse as well as in the classic version.

The Onondaga term for the single-racket lacrosse-type ballgame is *dehuntshigwa'es*, meaning "they (men) hit a rounded object" (Vennum, 1994, p. 72). Onondaga games between clan groupings or teams of older and younger players last until a predetermined number of goals have been won and feature uneven teams; the number of players determines the length of the field (Vennum, 1994, pp. 6–7). They have been employed to heal sickness and comfort the sick and dying. This was the case in 1815, when Onondaga people held a ballgame for the dying Seneca prophet Handsome Lake, and accounts from the late twentieth century suggest the same use (Vennum, 1994, pp. 6–7, 222; Oxendine, 1988, p. 10). The game is played in the afterworld, and players make arrangements to bring sticks with them for those future contests (Vennum, 1994, p. 7).

A mid-twentieth-century account stated that the ballgame called *gatci·ʹ'kwae* ("beating the mush") was the central element of the Cayuga Nation's Thunder Rite, a one-day ceremony in the middle of the summer (Speck, 1949, p. 117). Games were played to honor the Seven Thunders, called "Grandfathers," for "continuation of the service which they render mankind as agents of the Great Spirit," and which team won or lost was not important (Speck, 1949, pp. 117, 118). At the conclusion of the game players sang the War Dance or Thunder Song and went into the longhouse, where they gave thanks to the Seven Thunders and other forces in the universe in a manner similar to the way in which the Thanksgiving Address was made during the Midwinter Ceremony (Speck, 1949, pp. 117, 118). According to one 1960s source, the players "personify the seven thunder gods"; on rare occasions when a sick person had dreamed of the game, Cayuga teams played it during the Midwinter Ceremony (Eyman, 1964, pp. 18–19).

Writing at the turn of the twentieth century, the anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan rendered the name of the single-racket game as *O-tä-dä-jishʹ-quä-äge* and recounted a tradition stating that the war that resulted in the Eries being expelled from New York around 1654 originated in "a breach of faith or treachery" during a ballgame against the Senecas (Morgan, 1901, pp. 280, 282). Other terms used by individual members of the Six Nations include *Ga-lahs* (Oneida) and *Tewaarathon* (Mohawk). Among the Oneidas it is considered a "rite sacred to the Thunders" and is said to have been played for Hayewat-ha, "to console him for the loss of his children" during the founding of the confederacy ("Lacrosse: An Iroquois Tradition"). The Mohawks consider it pleasing to the Creator, a means of thanksgiving, and a way "to call the Creator's attention to the efforts of the medicine people" (North American Indian Travelling College in Fisher, 2002, p. 23).

According to one source from the early twentieth century, the Menominee ballgame and warfare are related activities that came from the thunders; thus the "game was supposed to resemble a battle" (Densmore, 1932, p. 35). Traditional narratives detail the origin of the game and the implements, including the racket, which is shaped like a war club (Densmore, 1932, pp. 36–37). A 1925 account reported that a Menominee man who dreamed of the thunders held a lacrosse game to receive help promised by them, a process termed "playing out a dream"; such dreams promised health or success, and medicinal specialists could prescribe games (Densmore, 1932, p. 27). In these games, one of which Frances Densmore witnessed in 1925, the dreamer did not play and the outcome did not affect the dreamer's chances of achieving what he sought. One source noted that to "cure illness, the Menominee still play the game in the spring, before the first thunder" (Vennum, 1994, p. 33). There also are accounts of Ojibwe and Potawatami games played to achieve similar results (Vennum, 1994, p. 33; Oxendine, 1988, p. 8).

Double-racket games. The Cherokee double-racket ballgame *anetso* (*a:ne:tso*) is known also as "da·na·wah? u·sdiʹ" (as rendered by the anthropologist Raymond D. Fogelson), or "little war" (Fogelson, 1962, p. 2). There is a similar term for the game among towns of the Muskogee or Creek Confederacy, rendered by the anthropologist Mary R. Haas as *"hółłi icósi"* ("younger brother to war") (Haas, 1940, p. 483). In the Cherokee language, the phrase "to play a ball game" has a figurative meaning of engaging in battle (Mooney, [1900] 1982, p. 384)

Anetso once was the occasion for a great deal of wagering, and the community at large participated in pregame activities, such as night dances. Currently members of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians continue their ballgame tradition with a series of annual games during the Cherokee Fall Fair. The Cherokee games match townships against one another or are scrimmage exhibitions between squads from the same township. The ballgame is a rough contest, with frequent wrestling and body blocking. The games are to twelve points, and teams usually consist of ten to twelve players who have undergone several weeks of training and preparation for the week's series of games.

In addition to a rigorous practice schedule, the training regimen typically includes *amó:hi atsv?:sdi* ("going to water," ritual bathing or laving) and interaction with a medico-religious specialist. Though not always employed, the following actions can and have been performed: scarification, ingestion or application of medicinal substances, dancing, fasting, avoidance of certain foods, and for men, avoidance of contact with women and children for specified periods of time. Movements to and from the field are ritualized as well. Finally, medico-religious specialists can perform a variety of activities, including some of a divinatory nature, before and during the match.

Teams of women have begun competing during the Cherokee Fair, and there are differing opinions as to whether this is a new innovation or a revival of a custom as old, or possibly even older, than the men's contest. The women's games follow the same rules as the men's; only their wardrobe differs, as they wear shirts. Many other communities have reinvigorated the men's ballgame as well; for example, members of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians play their version of the game, *kapucha toli,* during annual fairs.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS. Some commentators have suggested that there once was a formal link between ballgames and warfare for both southeastern and northeastern nations, and as noted above, there are several accounts of intertribal matches in both oral traditions and historical texts. While some evidence suggests that ballgames have been used to settle disputes, there is no definitive evidence to support the conclusion that such games once were surrogates for war. There is evidence that these activities once were training for warfare, and there are historical accounts of games being used to lure an enemy into a trap. One well-known example is a 1763 game of *bagga'adowe* between Ojibwa and Ottawa villages outside the British Fort Michilimackinac in present-day Michigan. The soldiers guarding the fort were drawn outside to view the contest, when suddenly the Ojibwa players attacked and captured the fort. On the whole, research suggests that ballgames have expressed a range of social, political, religious, and economic meanings dependent on cultural and historical contexts.

There are many Native American cultural narratives featuring games of ball between nonhuman beings and humans or in some cases between nonhuman beings in a time before humans inhabited the earth. For example, in the Cherokee narrative tradition there are accounts of ballgames played by supernatural beings (the Sons of Thunder) and games between teams of birds and four-legged animals as well as famous games between Cherokee teams and teams from other nations. There also are Choctaw, Muskogee, Seminole, Mohawk, and Onondaga narratives of similar games between birds and animals. In all of them the pivotal character, the bat, was rejected by one or both of the teams before being allowed to play. The narratives differ regarding such details as which team finally accepted the bat and why, but the team that did so always won in the end.

Though not as widespread as they once were, ballgames continue to be viable cultural traditions in many First Nations communities and are undergoing some amount of revitalization in others.

SEE ALSO Sports and Religion.

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MICHAEL J. ZOGRY (2005)

BALTIC RELIGION

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS
HISTORY OF STUDY

BALTIC RELIGION: AN OVERVIEW

Latvians, Lithuanians, and Old Prussians constitute the Baltic language and cultural unit. The Old Prussians, who lived in the territory of the present-day Kaliningrad district and eastern Germany, were conquered during the period of eastward German expansionism from the ninth to the fourteenth century. They were assimilated progressively and disappeared completely in the seventeenth century. Latvians and Lithuanians have preserved their national identities to this day. At one time or another since the Crusades of the eleventh century, all these peoples have been subject to German, Polish, Russian, and Swedish colonization. This fact is of special significance since it has affected our understanding of the elements of the ancient religious systems that have been preserved. As colonies, the three national groups were subject to extensive political and economic exploitation. Although formally Christianized, they continued their traditional ways of religious life despite colonial restrictions.

The Baltic peoples have inhabited their present territory from the middle of the second millennium BCE. At that time, however, their territory extended farther east, to Moscow, and southwest, across the banks of the Vistula. Living on the fringe of eastern Europe, they were virtually unknown to the West, and thus were able to remain relatively untouched by the influence of Christianity up to the seventeenth century. As early as the first millennium BCE, these isolated peoples, untouched by foreign developments, had developed from a hunting and fishing culture to an agrarian one. The structure of agrarian society and its routine determined the development of the belief system and the structure of cultic life.

The Baltic peoples came to the attention of European linguists at the end of the eighteenth century. These linguists were especially interested in the Vedic language and literature of ancient India. In their attempt to build a bridge to the living European languages, they discovered that the closest European affinity to the Vedic language—both etymologically and, to some extent, lexically—existed with the Baltic language group, especially Lithuanian. (Comparative linguists of the twentieth century, such as Alois Walde, Julius Pokorny, Antoine Meillet, and Hans Krahe, have devoted particular attention to Baltic languages.) Interest in the languages generated interest in the ethnogenesis of the Baltic peoples. This subject fascinated scholars as late as the nineteenth century. It became apparent that the geographic isolation of these peoples had not only allowed, but had furthered, an unhindered and uninterrupted development free from external influence. But their rather late appearance in the European arena and their previous isolation have fostered a great deal of guesswork about their linguistic and ethnic origins and kinships. Until recent times there has been great confusion on this subject. The Baltic languages were often erroneously classified as Slavic, although linguists (e.g., Jānis Endzelīns, Wolfgang Schmid, and Vladimir Toporov) had long known that they are no more closely related to the Slavic language group than to the Germanic or any other Indo-European language group originating from their common Indo-European base, whereas the Estonian language belongs to the Finno-Ugrian language group and has a completely different history behind it.

Any investigation of the Baltic religion must touch upon the central problem of sources, of which there are three types: archaeological evidence, folklore, and historical documents. The archaeological evidence can easily be surveyed since these peoples have always lived in the same region. Excavations have unearthed artifacts from the second millennium BCE that present a clear picture of material culture, though not of religious life. (On the territory of Latvia, archaeologists Jānis Graudonis, Ēvalda Mugurēvičs, Juris Urtāns, Raisa Deņisova, Ilga Zagorska, Egīls Šņore, and Anna Zariņa discovered important artifacts during the 1990s). There is no evidence of gods and their cults. The burial rites and belief systems connected with these rites have been carefully researched by such scholars as Marija Gimbutas and Francis Balodis, but evidence from historical documents is meager. The earliest documents are from the tenth century, when Germans and Danes attacked the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea. There is mention of contact with the Balts but little further information. The situation remained almost unchanged up to the beginning of the seventeenth century, when more elaborate descriptions were written by leading clergymen, including, for example, Paul Einhorn and certain Jesuit priests.

Despite the dearth of archaeological evidence and historical documentation, the folklore materials of these peoples is one of the richest in all of Europe. Songs (*dainas*), stories, tales, proverbs, and beliefs have been recorded. The diversity of these sources has, however, proved to be a stumbling block, because each type of source has required a particular investigatory method. As a result, objective investigation of Baltic religion was slow to come. At first, there was a tendency to approach the topic ideologically, from both Christian and Marxist points of view. Then, during the period of national awakening in the latter half of the nineteenth century, came a tendency to create pseudo-gods and figments of imagination, as well as an attempt to raise the national consciousness of the former colonial nations by finding "precedents" in the primary ethnic tradition. Scholarship since the 1960s (e.g., that of Jonas Balys, Marija Gimbutas, Lena Neuland, and Haralds Biezais) has become more scientifically accurate.

SKY GODS. Of all the Baltic gods in heaven, the most prominent is Dievs. Linguists agree that etymologically the Latvian name *Dievs* (Lithuanian, Dievas; Old Prussian, Deivas) has common origin with the names of such gods as the ancient Indian Dyaus and the Greek Zeus, which are in turn derived from the Indo-European root **dyeu-* and its derivatives. The meaning of words derived from this root is "the heavens." Older scholarship sought to establish a semantic connection between this root and the daytime sky or light, but this contention lacks proof, and one must therefore assume that the meaning "the heavens" is more precise, as Grace Hopkins (1932) has argued. The original identity of Dievs then becomes clearer from his name. The nature of, and the psychological motives behind, the god's development from a phenomenon of nature to a personification and, later, to a personal god is, however, a source of contention. Despite these uncertainties, it is clear that Dievs is closely connected with the heavens.

The first written evidence of the Baltic gods comes from "Germania" by the Roman historian Tacitus (55–120 CE) where he mentions that "aists" (Balts) worship the Mother of gods (mater deorum). In "Rhymed Chronicles" (Livlaendische Reimchronik, 1290) the god of thunder Perkun is mentioned as being of highest authority.

Cardinal Valenti in his chronicles written in 1604 and based greatly on "Statuta provincialia consilii Rigensis" (1428) provided the evidence that the Balts worshiped a god of heaven: "Credono un Dio Supremo, che chiamano Tebo Deves" ("They believe in a high god, called Tebo Deves"). Tebo Deves is a corrupted form of *debess dievs* ("sky god"). That same year the Jesuit Janis Stribins, in his discussion of ancient Latvian religion, noted that the Balts claim "Habemus Deum q[ui] habetet [sic] curam coeli" ("We have a god, who in the sky takes care"). The pantheon of ancient Baltic gods is also described by Einhorn in his "History of Latvia" (*Historia Lettica,* 1649). Though these documents offer only fragmentary evidence, they do show that the Balts worshiped a god of heaven (Dievs). Folklore materials, which allow one to delve deeper into the essence, function, and attributes of this god, support the claim.

The anthropomorphic character of Dievs has been carefully described and compared to that of other divinities. He is clad in a silver overcoat, gray jacket, and hat; he is girded with a decorated belt and wears mittens; and in certain situations he also has a sword, though this is probably a later development. His dress resembles that of a prosperous farmer.

That Dievs has his abode in the heavens is self-evident from his name. The heavens resemble a mountain, and this mountain is his farm. Herein lies one of the peculiarities of Baltic religion. The gods are closely associated with horses, and horses have a special significance in the activities of Dievs: he appears as a horseman and often rides in a chariot down the mountain. It appears that in this association with horses the motifs of very ancient Indo-European myths have been preserved.

The homestead of Dievs consists of several buildings. In addition to the house there are stalls and barns for horses and cows, a threshing barn for drying grain, a storage room, and a sauna. The sources make no mention of castles, which are very common in other religions. From the configuration of the homestead one can conclude that Dievs oversees a large farmstead: the buildings are encircled by large fields, meadows, and forests. Dievs needs the help of the members of his own family, especially his sons, the number of whom varies, to work this farm, but others participate in the labors as well, plowing, harrowing, planting, and reaping the grain and hay. Special attention is devoted to the cultivation of hops and barley, from which beer is brewed. (Beer, the "drink of the gods," is the traditional drink of Baltic sacral feasts.) The inhabitants of the heavenly mountain not only work together, they celebrate feasts together, especially marriages, and they gather together in the sauna.

Indo-European creator gods are usually so mighty and distant that they retreat to a realm removed from humans and turn into a type of god referred to as *deus otiosus* (god at leisure). Other gods, whose function is to monitor the daily lives of humans, take their place. This is not, however, the case in the religion of the Balts. Instead, the Baltic gods follow an agricultural way of life that corresponds to that of the Baltic farmer. This is not only a formal analogy. Dievs, who dwells in heaven, is a neighbor of the farmer on earth. At times of the most important decisions, the farmer meets and consults with Dievs, just as farmers meet and consult among themselves. Dievs rides down on a horse or, more frequently, in his chariot. These visitations coincide with key events in the agricultural calendar and represent cyclic time perception.

Dievs usually appears in the spring, at the beginning of the agricultural year. His participation in planting is described in beautiful myths. He accompanies the farmer and advises him so that the field will be evenly sown. When the horses are led out to the first night watch, he accompanies the farmer, accepts his due in the sacral feast, and spends the entire night with the farmer, tending the fire and protecting the horses. In many of the planting myths, Dievs leaves the night watchers after sunrise but forgets his mittens. Dievs has an even more significant role in the fall, after the harvest and threshing. Once again a sacral meal is shared and Dievs participates in ecstatic song and dance. At these times the boundary between the transcendental god and the earthbound farmer becomes blurred.

From time to time, Indo-European gods display universal qualities, which are revealed in creation stories and in myths describing the establishment of the world order, including individual and societal norms of morality. The role of Dievs as creator is expressed in the words *laist* (to give birth to), *likt* (to determine fate), and *dot* (to provide for), all of which are words that describe his function. Everything is the creation of Dievs and corresponds to this threefold activity. The act of creation is final and unalterable, and the same is true of the world order. Human beings are subject to the laws of nature as they were ordained in the act of creation. Dievs, therefore, in his function as creator, is almighty. Humans are subject to fate, especially in the realm of morality, but this does not lead to resignation and quietism, although such moods exist as undeniable undercurrents in Baltic religion. Humans accept the moral laws of the universe as set down by Dievs as a framework for his life. Within this framework, however, human beings are free to determine and order their lives in concordance with their moral outlook and practical needs; therefore, they experience freedom of choice and assume responsibility for their actions. Human morality is practically determined: human beings must do all to further their well-being, and "the good" is whatever aids them in achieving this goal.

The cult of Dievs is not so formalized as are the cults of gods of heaven in other religions. As we have seen, Dievs actively participates at the most important junctures in the life of the farmer. He even shares in the sacrificial feasts, but there is no evidence that goods were sacrificed to him in order to ensure his benevolence. That can be concluded only indirectly. One can best describe the nature and function of Dievs metaphorically: he is the neighbor of the farmer, the grand farmer living on the mount of heaven.

A second important god of heaven is Saule, the personification of the sun. This name is also derived from an Indo-European root (*sauel-*, and variants). Unlike personifications of the sun in other traditions, Saule is a female deity. Saule is close to Sūrya of the Vedic tradition, where Sūrya is the feminine counterpart to the masculine sun god, although proof for this contention is not conclusive. There could be other explanations for the feminine gender of Saule, such as the fact that the sun is usually a female deity for people living in the north, where the climate is mild and nourishing, while further to the south, where the climate is more harsh, the sun god takes on a neutral gender (as in Russian), and becomes masculine even farther south. In Latvian tradition Saule dwells with the moon god Mēness, who is masculine and who requires a feminine counterpart. In certain situations Saule is also referred to as Saules māte (mother sun) and as Saules meita (daughter of the sun).

Descriptions of Saule's appearance are incomplete. A white shawl and one or more silver brooches, which secure the shawl, are mentioned in the sources. Occasionally she wears a wreath. Otherwise she appears in peasant dress. If the texts are vague about Saule's appearance, they do provide insight into her life both on the mount of heaven and in the midst of the farmers during their labors and festivals. She is the personification of gaiety, especially at the betrothal of her daughters, when all the gods of heaven join in her rejoicing. But there are also times of discord. Conflicts with the farmer arise as a result of harm done by the Dieva dēli (sons of god) to the Saules meitas (daughters of the sun) during play. The most frequent cause of this discord is the destruction of the latter's playthings. More serious conflicts arise between Saule and Dievs when the Dieva dēli remove the rings of the Saules meitas. This is part of an ancient betrothal tradition, during which the girl is abducted. Then for three days Saule and Dievs accuse one another of wrongdoing. Saule also has conflicts with other gods of heaven, especially Pērkons (thunder). She lives the life of an ordinary landlady and oversees her daughters' spinning and weaving, but after her linen has been put in the sun to dry, Pērkons comes and ruins the work with rain, and so Saule has good reason to be angry. Apart from these minor conflicts, harmony reigns on the mount of heaven. Saule provides sunlight and brightness for the others. The gods' harmony in the common labors, in love, and in gaiety can easily be compared to that of the Olympian gods.

Saule and Dievs are neighbors, and both oversee their farmsteads. Saule also has her own horses; in this she is similar to Apollo, who is depicted in frescoes with his chariot and four horses. Sometimes she rides across the sky in her chariot; she also crosses the sea in a boat. The steersman and oarsmen are her servants. Saule begins her ride at dawn and finishes at sundown, when the oars are thrown into the boat and the passengers disembark. At times, however, Saule begins her boat ride in the evening, and rides in the night unseen. This latter myth gives rise to the question of the Baltic conception of the form of the universe. As we have seen, the heavens have the form of a mountain. They are subject to the same laws of nature as the earth is, but only gods may dwell there. The belief that Saule travels by boat as well as by chariot indicates some kind of connection between the sea and the heavens.

The Balts do not appear to be overly concerned about the composition of the world, or at least no trustworthy record of such speculation has been found. The universe, however, is assigned two levels: the heavens and the earth. This becomes evident when one looks closely at several word forms. The word for "world" is *pasaule* (Latvian), a compound form consisting of *pa* and *saule*. *Saule*, the substantive, means "the sun"; with the prefix *pa* it means "below the sun." Thus *pasaule* means "everything that is under the sun." The adjectival form is *pasaulīgs*, meaning "profane" or "not sacred." A synonym for *pasaule* is *šīsaule*, a compound that is formed with the demonstrative pronoun *šī* and means "all that can be seen in sunlight." The antithesis of *šīsaule* is *viņasaule*, a compound that is formed with the demonstrative pronoun *viņa* and implies all that is still in the realm of the sun but cannot be seen.

This dualistic worldview is at the base of Baltic religion. The tradition concerning Saule's traveling developed further and is crucial to the Baltic understanding of death. Saule travels by chariot or by boat in the visible world during the day, but in the invisible one at night. Similarly, the dead continue to live a life in the invisible world, just as the sun does at night. The land of the dead is located just beyond the horizon, in the place where the sun sets.

In addition to the concepts of the mountain of heaven and the dualistic cosmos there is in the Baltic myths a *saules koks* (tree of the sun). It grows on the mount of heaven and is often referred to as an oak, a linden, or an apple tree. The difference between this tree and common trees on earth is symbolized by its gold or silver color. No mortal has ever seen this tree, although many youths have set out to search for it, only to return unsuccessfully in old age. A magical round object, often compared to a pea or an apple, rolls down its branches. The *saules koks* on the mount of heaven is one of the oldest elements of Baltic religion. It seems that this tree is the "center of the world," as Mircea Eliade has pointed out, but it is also the "tree of life." Whether the latter idea developed under the influence of Christianity is hard to determine. It certainly could stem from an older tradition in which Saule is the mother and source of life.

A cult surrounding Saule is not fully described in the sources. A few strands of tradition suggest her begetting and nurturing role. Similar to Dievs, she too comes down from the mountain to aid the farmer: she raises her skirt and inspects his fields. This tradition has caused some scholars to speculate about the existence of a belief that the baring of sexual organs improved fertility. The texts, however, provide inconclusive evidence. Saule could also have raised her skirt to avoid breaking or flattening the stalks. She does, at any rate, promote fertility. The result of her walk across the field is wholesome grain and a plentiful harvest.

The most significant element of the cult of Saule is the celebration of the summer solstice, in which everyone on the farmstead takes part. After the setting of the sun a fire is lit in a bucket and raised on top of a pole. A feast and dancing around the fire follow, and special songs of praise are sung. The major components of the feast are cheese and newly brewed beer. At this time shepherds become the center of attention. This has led August Bielenstein, a prominent linguist and ethnologist, to conclude that the summer solstice festival began as a celebration commemorating the breeding of livestock. The origin of this festival is obscure, but today it is a celebration of the sun. The feast continues through the entire night, lasting until dawn. Those who retire early are believed to be subject to evils and to encounter failure in the next year. This celebration of the sun is a fertility rite of sorts. The authors of Christian chronicles were especially critical of it, accusing celebrants of sexual excesses. Indeed, promiscuity is allowed during the festival and at times even encouraged. A sexual act performed in a field was believed to improve the field's fertility.

Mēness, the moon god, is also among the gods of heaven. The Latvian word for "moon," *mēness* (Lithuanian, *menulis*; Old Prussian, *menins*), derives from the Indo-European root **me-*, meaning "a measure of time." The measure of time was an apt designation for Mēness, who periodically disappears from the sky and then reappears in it once again. No substantial evidence in Baltic sources proves that Mēness was originally a feminine deity. As a full-standing member of the mount of heaven, he, too, has his own farmstead there, along with his family, sons, servants, and horses. His horses are represented by the morning and evening stars. Like Saule, Mēness travels through the sky by boat, and at times he even accompanies her. He has close ties to Saule: he is her untiring suitor.

In other religions the moon has a special connection with water and fertility, but this is not true in Baltic religion. Instead, Mēness is the god of war, and the stars are his troops, which, like a true general, he counts and leads. These metaphors reveal Mēness's true function: he is worshiped before battle, and his symbol appears in insignia of war. Although Mēness is frequently mentioned in the sources, his cult, like that of the other gods, is not fully described. Only sparse evidence of it remains, and none proves that offerings were made to him. The cult disappeared completely during the period of Christianization.

The two groups identified in Latvian as Dieva dēli (sons of god) and Saules meitas (daughters of the sun) are among the most interesting of the Baltic gods of heaven. As early as 1875, Wilhelm Mannhardt observed:

> Already Welcker and Preller have pointed to the close similarity between the Greek Dioscuri and the Indian Aśvins. The analogy is even closer with the Latvian *Dieva Dēli* found in the sun songs. The Aśvins are sons of Dyaus, heaven, *divo nāpata*. . .One can easily conclude from the Vedic texts that they are personifications of the morning and evening stars, which never appear at the same time. (Mannhardt, 1875; trans. Biezais)

Although this contention was based on scanty evidence in Mannhardt's time, additional evidence has since been gathered and analyzed. As a result, it can be shown that the Vedic Divo Napāta (i.e., the Aśvins), the Greek Dioskouroi (i.e., the Dioscuri), and the Baltic Dieva dēli are not only typologically parallel but are also historically connected. They differ only inasmuch as they developed in different cultural settings.

A closer comparison reveals some more unusual parallels. Although the discussion about the nature and function of the Vedic and Greek "sons of god" continues, the Baltic materials provide a clear answer: the Dieva dēli are the morning and evening stars. Whereas the Vedic and Greek gods represent hypostases of the differentiated functions or traits of the primary gods, this is not true of the Baltic gods. Rather, their social background is stressed, and their functions are expressed in terms of family relationships. Like the Aśvins, the Baltic "sons of god" or "sons of heaven," the Dieva dēli are the suitors of the Saules meitas, and they are their active marriage partners. There is no evidence, however, to prove that the Dieva dēli are twins, as are the Aśvins.

Just as the function of Dievs is transferred to his sons, so is the function of Saule transferred to her daughters. The Vedic Divo Duhitā (daughter of heaven), Sūryasya Duhitā (daughter of the sun), and the goddess Sūrya (the feminine aspect of the sun), like the Greek Helen (a daughter of Zeus), and Phoebe and Hilaeria (the Leucippides, daughters of Leucippus), correspond to the Baltic Saules meitas, although scholars disagree about their original connection. The designation *Saules meitas* is not original, since *meita* is a rather late loanword from German. The most ancient designation, meaning "daughter of heaven," has been preserved in Lithuanian, *dieva dukryte*. This designation might refer to dawn, as do the names of the Vedic goddess Ušas and the Greek goddess Ēōs.

Heavenly nuptials are central to Baltic myths about heaven. Dievs, Mēness, or Pērkons may be the bridegroom, and Saule is the bride. For linguistic reasons, in some contexts it is hard to determine who participates in the marriage, Saule or her daughter, for Saule is regarded as a maiden and is sometimes referred to as Saules meita. However, this circumstance does not alter the marriage procedure. A peculiarity of the event is that all the gods take part, each performing his or her specific role, which can be traced to ancient Baltic marriage traditions. The abduction and auctioning of the bride is an integral part of the ritual. The ceremony concludes with a feast of song and dance on the mount of heaven. Scholars have observed that these elements establish a connection with an old stratum of Indo-European marriage traditions.

The most unusual part of the marriage ceremony is the gathering of the gods in the sauna, which, as mentioned above, is a part of the heavenly farmstead. (Baltic ethnographic traditions reveal that the sauna was a place not only for washing but also for birthing and for sacral feasting. The Baltic sauna had the same status as a holy place or precinct, like a church in the Christian tradition.) Folklore materials reveal the procedure by which gods prepare the sauna: a fire is lit, special birch whisks are brought in, and water is drawn. The gods split up these chores, with lesser gods performing special tasks. The gathering of gods has special significance, since this is not just an occasion for bathing but also the preparation for a wedding. Special attention is paid to the Saules meitas, who await the Dieva dēli, their suitors. In the sauna the most fitting partner is chosen. All the gods are guests in the sauna, not owners of it. The matron of the sauna, Pirts māte (sauna mother), is the hostess. Latvian peasants have traditionally prepared offerings to her to guarantee her benevolence at the time of birthing. After the visit to the sauna, members of the farmstead left a whisk and a vessel with clean water so that Pirts māte could also bathe.

The gods of heaven described above correspond roughly to other Indo-European gods. They are especially similar to the Vedic and Greek gods, but they also have some unique qualities and functions that developed in the Baltic social structure. The primitive world of Baltic farmers is reflected in the conceptions and functions of their gods.

GODS OF PROSPERITY AND WELFARE. As one can see from an analysis of the essence and function of the Baltic gods, it is clear that they were an integral part of the daily life cycle. This is especially true of a particular group of gods whose special function was to protect and guarantee the welfare of humans. These gods can be subdivided into two groups: fertility gods and determiners of fate. The most prominent of the second group is Laima, whose name means "fortune." She occupies a central place among the Baltic gods, but unlike the gods of heaven, she is not removed from the realm of human activity; she lives on earth and is involved in the minutest details of everyday life. Kārta, another goddess of fate, fulfills similar functions and has evolved into an independent hypostasis. Her name, derived from the verb *kārt* (to hang), is proof of this. Laima's most basic function is to determine and fix the birth of a child, which involved hanging a cradle, as ethnographic traditions show. From this function developed an independent goddess, Kārta, and with her an entire cult. Under the influence of the Christian church her function was assumed by Saint Thecla (Latvian, Dēkla).

The major fertility goddess is Zeme (Lithuanian, Žemýna), a very different type of goddess. Her name means "earth," and she is commonly referred to as Zemes māte (earth mother, mother of the earth). She plays a variety of roles that, over time, have developed into independent hypostases; tradition has it that she has seventy sisters. Some of them have very special functions, indicated by their descriptive names: Dārzu māte (mother of the garden), Lauku māte (mother of the fields), Meža māte (mother of the forest), and Linu māte (mother of flax). These descriptive names point to a specific place or plant that is under each mother's protection. The same is true of Lazdu māte (mother of the hazel), Sēņu māte (mother of mushrooms), and Briežu māte (mother of elk). The role of each particular mother is expanded: they are transformed from purely fertility goddesses to protectors in general, as indicated by such names as Pirts māte (mother of the sauna), Uguns māte (mother of fire), and Pieguļas māte (mother of the night watch). Morphologically related are the goddesses designated as Nāves māte (mother of death), Kapu māte (mother of the grave), Smilšu māte (mother of sand), and Veļu māte (mother of the dead). In many names the word *māte* is used to mean not only "mother" but also "goddess," as in, for example, the names Saules māte and Laimas māte, designating the mother goddess of the sun and the mother goddess of fortune.

The question of the character and role of these mothers has not been adequately investigated. Two schools of thought are current. One maintains that the development of the mothers is a thoroughly Baltic phenomenon; the other (upheld by Jonas Balys) maintains that it occurred under the influence of the cult of the Virgin Mary. If the mothers are judged by their functions, it must be concluded that they are closely connected with the annual agricultural cycle and that, as guarantors of fertility in the fields and for livestock, they are an outgrowth of the Christian church. It must be noted, however, that many of the mothers—among them, those designated as Vēja māte (mother of the wind), Ziedu māte (mother of blossoms), and Dzīparu māte (mother of colored wool)—are the products of poetic fantasy. These lack any cult and are the products of mythopoetic processes.

The annual reports of the Society of Jesus contain many references to pagan traditions among the Balts against which the Jesuits waged war. One such report from the beginning of the seventeenth century mentions Ceroklis, a god whose name is derived from the verb *cerot*, meaning "to sprout several stalks [*ceri*] from one seed or root." This name, suggestive of grains such as rye and wheat, implies a bountiful harvest. One must assume that from this natural process the god Ceroklis, a fertility god, developed.

A special fertility god is Jumis. The etymological connection between his name and the Vedic stem is not clear. The name could be related to *yama* (pair, or twins) or to *yuti* (conjunction, or connection). But the differences overshadow the connections between these terms. In Baltic religion the meaning of the word *jumis* is clear: two ears of grain, stalks of flax, or vines or branches bearing fruit that have grown together. Therefore the god with this name is the one who brings a double dose of fertility. After reaping, the final sheaf is completed and designated as Jumis, the god of fertility of the field. If the final sheaf is not reaped, the uncut ears of grain are bound or weighed down by a rock. Whether the sheaf is cut or not, the basic rationale is the same: the sign of fertility is left intact in the field. With this sign, thanks are expressed and the next year's grain harvest is guaranteed. Jumis is believed to remain in the field and to hibernate below the sod or underneath a rock. Around him an entire cultic ritual has developed. The abandoning of Jumis in the field is accompanied by song and dance, a cultic feast, and offerings, which continue inside the house when the reapers return home. The final sheaf may also be brought home, and Jumis can be put to rest either in the granary or in the form of a wreath in a central place within the living quarters. The grain of this wreath is mixed with the grain to be planted in the spring. Jumis has many of the same functions as the fertility gods of other religions, and his rituals resemble theirs.

It can be concluded that Baltic religion has two major conceptions of gods. One concerns the gods of heaven and their various functions. They are personifications and deifications of certain processes of nature, but they are also determined by the social structure of the farmstead and the daily life of the farmer. The farmer acquires the foundation for all of his life from the sky god Dievs. The other concept is closely connected with the life cycle and welfare of the individual. The gods associated with this concept determine the fate of humans from birth to death. This aspect is very practically determined: humans regard the gods as their equals, as beings with whom they can discuss problems but whom they can also censure. Nevertheless a total equality is never developed, since humans remain dependent on the gods. The gods do what humans cannot. For this reason the gods become universalized, and moral qualities are attributed to them. At the center of this religious moral system is the idea of the good, described in terms of the social context on a cosmic level.

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HARALDS BIEZAIS (1987)
SIGMA ANKRAVA (2005)

BALTIC RELIGION: NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

In the context of Baltic religion, the designation "modern movements" refers to different movements in the Baltic lands, organized or unorganized, aiming at a revival or restoration of the autochthonous pre-Christian religions, as well as at a fusion of these religions with esoteric, metaphysical, theosophical, astrological, or environmentalist teachings and practices. The polysemantic term *Baltic* is used here as an ethnic denominator, with the modern Balts—Lithuanians and Latvians—as the primary focus, but with some attention paid also to Prussians and other Baltic-related groups.

LITERARY AND SYMBOLIC CONSTRUCTIONS OF BALTIC PAGANISM. Among Baltic peoples, ideas about "genuine, inherited, local, natural" religion as opposed to "borrowed, superimposed, alien, artificial" Christianity were formulated in the second half of the nineteenth century, during the period of gradual transition from patriarchal to modern society soon after the abolishment of serfdom. This concept of natural, local religion was reinforced in public discourse by different means, among them the Latvian epic *Lāčplēsis* (Bear-slayer) by Andrejs Pumpurs (1841–1902), with its national hero Lāčplēsis opposed to the Black Knight, symbolizing the crusaders and, henceforth, the forceful Christianization of Latvia. At that time, some remnants of pagan practices still existed in remote rural areas, and this served as a conceptual permit to treat the revived religions as a continuation of a tradition.

The quest for a national identity created a demand for proof that the Baltic peoples were as developed culturally as other Europeans, especially the older nations. That was one of the reasons why certain efforts were taken to construct mythological pantheons as impressive as those of the ancient Greeks. By the end of the nineteenth century, a significant amount of research on Baltic mythology was published, and many facts about the ancient worldview and religion became broadly known. Still, most of the essential topics were studied insufficiently, and some of the analyses of these topics were quite controversial; for that reason, the missing elements, not necessarily documented in historical or ethnographical sources, were re-created in literature. Those new creations at times permeated serious studies, as with Teodoras Narbutas's *Lithuanian Mythology,* the first volume of his fundamental historical work *Dzieje starożytne narodu litewskiego* (1835–1841).

Such a process took another direction in Latvia, where writers, poets, and publicists created new gods and goddesses in their literary works. In the opening part of his epic, Pumpurs created a pantheon in which well-known Latvian gods were featured along with deities from Prussian sources (and some invented deities as well). More or less invented pantheons are found in the publications of Juris Alunāns (1832–1864), but especially in the works of Miķelis Krogzemis-Auseklis (1850–1879) and Jēkabs Lautenbahs-Jūsmiņš (1847–1928). Thus, in the poetry of Auseklis one finds the names of almost sixty deities and spirits, of which only five—Dēkla, Laima, Lauma, Pērkons, and Ūsiņš—are taken from Latvian folklore texts. Two are from Lithuanian and seven are from Prussian sources, while the rest are invented by Auseklis or taken from uncertain sources and transformed to suit the stylistics of his romantic works.

Those mythologies, like the fundamental folklore collections published at the end of the nineteenth century, became one of the cornerstones of the new constructed national identity. As such, they did not promote ritual practice, but rather served as a symbolic marker of ethnicity. Those few practical activities that did occur still preserved their symbolic nature. Thus, for instance, the Lithuanian publicist Jonas Gediminas Beržanskis-Klausutis (1862–1936) tried to obtain written acknowledgment from the Russian imperial administration that he was *Krivių Krivaitis*—the successor of pagan Baltic priestly tradition. (Unconfirmed sources report that Beržanskis-Klausutis succeeded in getting such recognition shortly before the First World War.)

RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. The Prussian Lithuanian writer, mystic, and philosopher Wilhelm Storosta-Vydūnas (1868–1953) tried to synthesize theosophy with the Lithuanian pantheist tradition. Vydūnas was attracted by theosophy because he perceived it as a form of nonorthodox philosophical religiosity. For him, theosophy was a doctrine that declared none of the religions to be superior, claiming instead that all expressed the same esoteric truth through different languages. This was a crucial discovery for Vydūnas, opening up the possibility of honoring the old Lithuanian religion. He contributed to the justification of Lithuanian paganism through his dramatic works (the trilogy *Amžina ugnis* ["eternal fire"]), and through historical and philosophical writings. Particularly important in his writings has been the concept of *Romuva*—the pagan Baltic (originally, Prussian) sanctuary. Among the activities initiated by Vydūnas was the celebration of *Rasos*—the pagan Lithuanian midsummer solstice—by the Rambynas hill. The Tilsit Lithuanian singing society, led by Vydūnas from 1895, was at the core of those celebrations, and performed more or less regularly until 1935, when the society was closed by the Nazis.

Soon after the First World War and the subsequent formation of the Baltic nation-states, ideas began to circulate concerning the form that the revived or renewed religions should take, and about how to organize them, but these proposals did not meet with much success and were not realized. Juris Lecs wrote a book on ancient Latvian religion and ethics and tried to organize a non-Christian congregation. The theologian Jānis Sanders (1858–1951) attempted to reform Christianity: he sought to abandon the Old Testament, to check and correct the Gospels by comparing them to the Greek originals, to view the teaching of Jesus in the light of Vedanta, and to shape Christian ritual in a way he supposed to be specifically Latvian. In 1930 he founded the Latvian Christian Society, which became the Latvian Christian Congregation in 1937, but was not much noticed by the public. The writer Eduards Meklērs (1884–1973) planned to establish a new, syncretic religion, comprised of elements of all world religions but with a sanctuary in Latvia and with Latvian forms of worship. Considerable were the efforts of the Lithuanian writer and publisher Domas Šidlauskas-Visuomis (1878–1944), who tried to revive the Romuva or Visuoma faith and religion, inspired by the ideas and writings of Vydūnas. During the second decade of the twentieth century he formulated the doctrinal basis for this religion, later partly published in the United States. But his repeated efforts to register Visuoma as a religion in 1926 were stymied. In spite of good publicity, his sermons were not permitted after 1927, and his lectures at the public university were banned in 1930. During the first half of the 1930s he organized Rasos celebrations in the vicinity of Sartai Lake in northeastern Lithuania. Not incidentally, he referred to the place of celebration as Romuva—a name meaning "natural sanctuary" for him—thus hoping to make it the central location of the revived religion.

DIEVTURI. Latvian Dievturība could be considered the most successful effort to put the revived religion into organized and legally recognized forms. Dievturība was founded by Ernests Brastiņš (1892–1942), an artist, publicist, and researcher, together with Karlis Bregžis-Marovskis (1895–1958?). They initiated the development of the doctrine, coined the terms *Dievturība* (Latvian religion) and *Dievturi* (adepts of Dievturība—literally, "those who keep their God"), and published the first manifesto in the brochure *The Restoration of Latvian Religion* in 1925. The new religious organization was registered under the name Latvju Dievtuŗu Draudze (Community of Latvian Dievturi) in 1926. Following disagreements between the two leaders, Brastiņš in 1929 founded and registered a new organization, Latvijas Dievtuŗu Sadraudze (Congregation of Latvian Dievturi), which kept its status as a religious organization until 1935, after that time continuing as a public organization. Latvju Dievtuŗu Draudze, which had become Bregžis-Marovskis's organization, ceased to exist at the beginning of the 1930s.

In the following years Brastiņš did the basic work to establish doctrines based on the ancient mythology, and to shape rituals and social practices. He published selections of Latvian folk-song texts, which were intended to serve as canonical texts revealing different aspects of the religion. The church's doctrine was published in the form of a catechism in *Dievtuŗu cerokslis* (1932), in which questions related to theology, religious life, ethics, and ritual were discussed. According to this publication, Latvians have worshiped only one God, Dievs; their religion has been monotheistic, or, more exactly, henotheistic. Dievs is progenitor of everything, and He is omnipotent. Dievs is one, but dual—He is spirit and matter, Father and Mother, the good and the bad simultaneously. Māra is a goddess representing the material aspect of Dievs, while Laima is the aspect of Dievs connected with causality, fate, and fortune. Brastiņš described humans as being threefold—they consist of *augums* (body), *velis* (astral body), and *dvēsele* (soul). The body is composed of rough matter and is subject to destruction; the astral body is formed of thin, subtle matter and enters *Veļu valsts* (the world of shades) after death, staying there until it gradually disappears; the soul is imperishable, eternal, and reaches Dievs's abode after death. The moral norms of Dievturība were expressed as imperatives, the most important of which is "Be good!" Humans were presumed to be naturally good, because that was Dievs's intention, and any deviation from that was considered to be a mistake.

Dievturi propagated the use of vernacular names for calendar months (these are still are in use in Lithuania). Additionally, they used their own method of reckoning time: for the adepts of Dievturība the starting point was "the period of the formation of Aryans (meaning Indo-Europeans)," which was assumed to be some 10,000 years ago. To mark this, a *1* was added to the year of the Christian era, so that, for example, 11926 corresponds to 1926 CE.

According to the statute of the Congregation of Latvian Dievturi, membership in the church was open to Latvian nationals of both sexes. There was an elected *Dižvadonis* (Grand Leader) at the head of the organization, while the regional sections were permitted their own leaders. Also, no ordained priests were intended; instead, there could be only the performers of ritual actions. The movement gained ground during the 1930s, its members and supporters being mostly intellectuals—students, artists, academics, and teachers. The congregational activities included meetings, holy services, calendar celebrations, and life-cycle celebrations such as weddings and funerals. The Congregation of Latvian Dievturi published their magazine *Labietis* (The good, noble man), from 1933 until 1940. Before that, Bregžis-Marovskis also published a magazine, *Dievtuŗu Vēstnesis,* from 1928 until 1929, as well as his version of Dievturība's doctrine, *The Teaching of Latvian Religion* (1931).

RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS DURING THE SOVIET AND NAZI OCCUPATIONS. The devotees of Baltic paganism can be characterized as the modelers of a new, national faith that was intended to support national statehood and lay a new, firm spiritual foundation for it. After the occupation of the Baltic countries by the U.S.S.R., pagan movements were claimed to be of a chauvinistic character, and thus inherently inimical to the ideas of communism and internationalism. They were destroyed and their members persecuted. Brastiņš was deported and shot dead in a Russian prison in 1942.

These movements partly survived in exile and in secret during the whole occupation period, but the story of this requires a special study, as only a few facts are known concerning their status during the Soviet period. Stasys Jameikis, the follower of Šidlauskas-Visuomis, tried to organize some religious activities even under the extreme conditions of life in a Soviet forced labor camp. Certain elements of Dievturi's rituals, or at least some outward signs, were present at weddings and funerals when nonconformist pagans were participants.

The first initiatives to revive the Dievturi movement in exile were started in Germany by 1944, and in Sweden by the beginning of the 1950s. The most vigorous development of the movement occurred in the United States starting at the end of 1940s, under the leadership of Ernests Brastiņš's brother Arvīds. Arvīds Brastiņš became the Grand Leader in 1947, and he kept this position until his death in 1984. The religion has been registered as the Latvian Church Dievturi in Illinois. To meet congregational needs, a church complex named Dievsēta was built in Wisconsin. The magazine *Labietis* was relaunched in 1955, and has been published continuously since then. Smaller groups of Dievturi emerged at different periods in Canada, Australia, and Great Britain. The exile Dievturi church was by led by Jānis Palieps from 1985 until 1990; by Marģers Grīns, the son-in-law of Arvīds Brastiņš, until 1995; by Juris Kļaviņš until 2000; and, since 2000, by Palieps again.

NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. A resurgence of ethnically based religiosity in the Baltics emerged at the end of the 1960s, a development that should be viewed in the context of global cultural changes. The new religious movements were less uniform, less dogmatic; they displayed much more interest in the preservation of nature and of cultural heritage. At the same time, these movements were much more open to other traditions and influences; they were essentially pantheistic. Most of the neopagans displayed marked interest in folk tradition and folklore in general; therefore they can often be viewed as the extremist wing of folklore movements.

One of the characteristics of most Lithuanian and Latvian religious movements in the modern period is the presence of pan-Baltism. This encompasses the study of the traditions of kindred peoples—Lithuanians, Latvians, Curonians, Prussians, Yatvings—with the goal of finding a quintessential primitive spirit, which would embody the ancient heritage when followed consciously. Feelings of ethnic kinship have led to closer cooperation between modern Balts, as well as between Balts and neighboring peoples—Poles, Belarussians, German Prussians—who are presumed to have inherited certain aspects of ancient Baltic religion.

ROMUVA. Lithuanian Ramuva (Romuva) was revived in 1967 as the Association for the Study of Local Culture. Its first and most important activity was the organization of Rasos celebrations, which involved an ever-increasing number of participants. A strong impulse for the movement's development was provided by Professor Marija Gimbutas (1921–1994), who visited Lithuania in 1968 and delivered one or (most likely) two lectures on Baltic history and mythology at Vilnius University. The association was dissolved and the Rasos celebrations stopped in 1971 after the group was accused of becoming increasingly nationalistic and of being involved in religious activity, but the organization was reborn in 1988 as the Association for Lithuanian Ethnic Culture. To distinguish between cultural and religious activities, a new organization—the Community of Baltic Faith Romuva—was officially registered in 1992. Additionally, a terminological distinction was agreed upon: *Romuva* would refer to the religion, and *Ramuva* to the much broader movement of preservation, study, practice, and dissemination of ethnic culture. As of 2001, twelve regional Romuva organizations had emerged in Lithuania, with a collective membership of about two thousand members and numerous supporters. There are Romuva organizations in Canada, Russia, and the United States. Vilija Witte, a member of the Canadian Romuva, published six issues of the magazine *Sacred Serpent* in Canada in 1994–1995, with a focus on traditional Baltic culture, old beliefs, and indigenous Lithuanian religion.

The Romuva faith emphasizes the sacredness of nature and of humans first and foremost. The contact of adepts with the divine is based on tradition and personal experience. Traditional Lithuanian gods—Dievas, Laima, Perkūnas, Žemyna—are preferred, but not mandatory. One of the core concepts of the faith is *Darna* (harmony); believers aspire to inner harmony, endeavor to create harmony at home and in the community, pursue harmony with ancestors, and seek harmony with the universe—with life and with the divinities. The essential moral concept is *Dora.* This encompasses respect for Nature, for all expressions of life. It asks for a confident and loving attitude towards the world, refusing violence and vengeance. On account of its doctrine of *Dora* and the traditional toleration of other faiths in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Romuva claims it does not negate other religions. This claim is perhaps best understood in light of its very flexible doctrinal formulations, with their emphasis on the experience of the divine. Humans (male *žmogus,* female *žmona*) are children of the Earth *(Žemė),* and therefore are responsible for other life forms. There is no essential difference between the status of men and women, and the dominant view is that both can participate in all rituals and on all hierarchical levels.

The three biggest Romuva communities joined to make the Union of the Religion of Ancient Balts in 2001. Restoring the priestly class, a circle of ritual elders *(Vaidilų Ratas)* was established, and the highest priest *(Krivis)* was chosen and ordained in 2002. The new *Krivis,* Jonas Trinkūnas (b. 1939), was given the name Jaunius after an elaborate ritual on the Gediminas hill, which is believed to be the burial place of Grand Duke Gediminas of the fourteenth century, one of the last pagan rulers of the Grand Duchy.

Following these developments, a public discussion has been sparked concerning the validity of the *Krivis* institution. Arguments in favor of it cite the continuation of pagan practices up until the twentieth century, and claim that "native or ethnic religiosity" is a significant constituent part of modern Lithuanianness. Additionally, a discussion was initiated in Parliament in 2001 on the question of whether or not the Religion of Ancient Balts should be recognized as a traditional religion, alongside Catholicism, Russian Orthodoxy, Judaism, and others. As of 2003 there has been no resolution to this issue.

Romuva has initiated the organization of the World Congress of Ethnic Religions (WCER)—an institution consisting of "ethnical and/or traditional and/or native religious groups." It is primarily concerned with the protection and development of ethnic cultures, religions, and identities, and the "ethnic religions" are defined as "surviving ancient religions, such as Hinduism, or animism of various other cultures, as well as religions in the process of restoration, such as the Icelandic *Asatru,* Latvian *Dievturi,* Lithuanian *Romuva* and others." The objectives of the WCER, as stated in its regulations, are to:

1. Spread educational knowledge about ethnic cultures and their religions, while propagating mutual trust and tolerance for the peoples of Europe and the entire world.
2. Through education, propagation and the organization of support for the appropriate projects . . . preserve ethnic cultures and religions, safeguard them from extinction and propagate such ideas.
3. Unify people and organizations engaged in ethnocultural and ethno-religious activities within Lithuania and outside its borders.
4. Fight against religious discrimination.
5. Undertake other kinds of activities concerning ethnic culture and ethnic religions.

The first Congress was held in Vilnius, Lithuania, in 1998, and several countries were represented there: Belarus, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, India, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Russia, Sweden, Ukraine, and the United States. Six congresses were arranged by the fall of 2003, all in Lithuania. A newsletter, the *Oaks,* has been published since 1999.

DIEVTURI: CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENTS. The Dievturi organization was restored officially in 1990, shortly before the regaining of Latvian national independence. A few years later, in 1995, the Latvian parliament recognized it as one of the traditional religions of Latvia.

The Congregation of Latvian Dievturi has sections and regional organizations: according to the 2001 census, their number is twelve, with the total number of members exceeding six hundred. There have been significant changes in the approach to leadership questions within the community. The first Grand Leader after the restoration was Eduards Detlavs (1919–1992); it was his initiative to drop this title. From 1992 to 1995, Dievturi in Latvia accepted the leadership of Marģers Grīns, who was the head of the Dievturi church in exile. He was followed by Jānis Brikmanis and, since 1998, by Romāns Pussars (b. 1932). Simultaneously, Grīns has been regarded as the Dievturi's highest authority globally.

The main forms of Dievturi's religious activities are congregational meetings, celebration of calendar holidays, and life-cycle celebrations—weddings, funerals, and so on. The Dievturi church has the right to register marriage, and in

2001 four couples availed themselves of this possibility. Members of the Dievturi church organize summer camps and lecture courses, and have effectively tried to introduce Latvian folklore, mythology, and ethics teaching into the curriculum of general education schools. The magazine *Dievtuŗu Vēstnesis* was published from 1989 until 1996.

Two opinions of what Dievturība is have emerged recently in public discourse. According to the first, it is a religion, practiced by members of the Dievturi church. The other position tends, in reaction to the decreasing significance of the Dievturi church, to treat a much broader spectrum of modern folkloric expression as part of Dievturība practice.

MOVEMENTS AND GROUPS WITH MARGINAL RELIGIOUS INVOLVEMENT. The Latvian folklore movement was started in the second half of the 1970s as a grassroots effort seeking the preservation, study, practice, and dissemination of ethnic culture. While concentrating on songs, dances, and calendar and life-cycle celebrations, folklorists occasionally performed rituals, incantations, and offerings to deities, claiming to do these things "as they used to be done in the olden days."

This approach to religion, as well as the doctrine of Dievturi giving higher status to nation than to God, has been criticized by Modris Slava (b. 1946), the leader of the Latvijas Viedas Sadraudzība (Latvian Fellowship for Spiritual Knowledge)—a theosophical circle with the aim of interpreting Latvian (and more generally, Baltic) religion from a theosophical viewpoint. According to Slava, the spiritual life of a society has three hierarchical levels: spiritual knowledge *(Vieda)* on the top, spiritual practice or religion *(Līga)* thereafter, and paganism or remnants of previously existing religious systems on the bottom. Through the adaptation of supranational spiritual knowledge to specific national conditions, a national religion emerges. Slava concludes, however, that Dievturība does not possess the requisite spiritual knowledge and is therefore on the level of paganism. Because of this statement and later frictions, the two organizations—Dievturi and Latvijas Viedas Sadraudzība—have, despite initial intentions to cooperate in the field of recreating Latvian/Baltic religion, distanced themselves from each other more and more.

The fellowship of Lithuanian pagan faiths Senasis Žynys (The Old Sorcerer) has emerged in the 1990s as a circle centered around Andželika Tamaš—a controversial person claiming to be a successor of Baltic Selonian sorcerers. Some issues of the newsletter *Senasis Žynys* have been published in Lithuania, presenting the fellowship's vision of a Baltic worldview, religion, symbolism, and healing *(Gaiva).* The group has tried to register as a religious community at the Ministry of Justice, but so far with little success. Tamaš has a group of followers in Latvia, too, led by Uldis Zandbergs and closely related to another spiritual community.

This related community is the center of spiritual culture known as Baltais Aplis (The White Circle). Since its foundation in 1991, the center has been led by the painter Lilita Postaža (b. 1941). Aiming at the promotion of personal freedom and spiritual development, they practice Hindu, Agni Yoga rituals, combining them with Baltic religious and magic ceremonies—solstice celebrations and offerings to deities.

Certain aspects of Baltic religion are present in several groups having no official status or institutionalized form—practitioners of different energy and healing arts, paleoastronomers, and environmentalists and the green movement. Particularly interesting is the Pokaiņi phenomenon in Latvia. Pokaiņi Forest, located close to the town of Dobele in southern Latvia, received public attention in the second half of 1990s due to the efforts of publicist and paleoastronomer Ivars Vīks (1933–2002), and of Rasma Rozīte, follower of the teaching of Babaji and an active member of Baltais Aplis. Pokaiņi was claimed to be an ancient healing and ritual place, a doorway to Shambhala, providing intense radiation of cosmic energy. This hilly, forested spot with numerous stone piles, scattered in an area of about four hundred hectares, has become a place of healing, worship, and pilgrimage not only for Latvians but for visitors from other countries as well, more than a thousand of whom visit weekly in season.

SEE ALSO Saule.

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BALTIC RELIGION: HISTORY OF STUDY

Although the concepts of pre-Christian Baltic religion have not been systematized, they can be reconstructed using several sources that contain pre-Christian elements. These sources include: artifacts found in archaeological digs; folklore texts, in particular Latvian and Lithuanian formulaic folk songs, riddles, and magic incantations; written texts, such as medieval chronicles; records of witch trials from the sixteenth century to the first half of the eighteenth century; church visitation records; written accounts of travelers; geographical descriptions of the Baltic territories; and archaic elements retained in language, in particular in toponyms and hydronyms.

The earliest written records that provide information about the Baltic pre-Christian religion are found in *Germania* 45, written during the first century CE by the Roman historian Publius Cornelius Tacitus, who mentions that the Aestii, a term coined by him to refer to the “people of the East,” worshiped the mother of God (Lat., *matrem deum venerantur*). The Anglo-Saxon traveler Wulfstan visited the Prussian seashore between the years 887 and 901, and his description of that journey offers various items of information about the Prussian concepts of death and burial. There are several chronicles that also provide significant, although not systematically recorded, material about the early religious concepts. For instance, Adam of Bremen (d. 1081) in his chronicles has supplied testimony of the existence of fortune-tellers and prophets among the Baltic peoples. Relatively substantive information about Baltic religious concepts may also be found in *Henrici chronicon Livonia* (Chronicle of Henricus de Lettis), written during the first quarter of the thirteenth century, which describe various historic events in the Baltics occurring from 1180 to 1227.

At the end of the twelfth century, German merchants together with Christian missionaries settled in Latvia. In 1201, Bishop Albert built a fortified castle in the city of Riga, and a year later he founded the Order of the Livonian Knights to combat the pagan religion practiced by the Balt and Finno-Ugrian peoples. At about the same time, Christianization by sword of another Baltic population, the Prussians, began and lasted for several centuries. A significant information source for Prussian religious concepts is Petrus de Dusburg’s *Chronicon terrae Prussiae* (Chronicle of the land of Prussia, 1326), as well as *Preussische Chronik* (Prussian chronicles, published only in the nineteenth century) by Simon Grunau (d. 1530). Chronicles and other historical sources name the major Prussian deities: Swāikstiks (the sun god), Perkūns (the god of thunder), Puskaītis (the god of the forests), and Pekols (the god of the netherworld and animals). Petrus de Dusburg’s *Chronicon* mentions *romow*, the principal Prussian sanctuary, which was also worshiped and recognized as the most important in Lithuania and Latvia, part of Livonia. From these chronicles we learn that the oak-encircled sanctuary was ruled over by the Prussian high priest, called *Krive krivaitis*, and that the Prussians burned one-third of their spoils of war there as a sacrifice to their gods. Located in the center was an evergreen oak, in whose branches were located images of the three main deities.

The traveler Ghillebert de Lannoy (1385–1414) was in Livonia from 1413 to 1414 and wrote in his travel accounts, among other things, about the burial traditions of the Latvian Curonian tribe, specifically that the dead were burned in a bonfire built of oak. If smoke climbed directly to heaven, the dead soul was said to travel directly to the gods, but if the smoke blew sideways, then the dead soul was lost.

Information about the ways the Balts and the Finno-Ugrian tribe prophesized the future and discerned future events before critical moments in life is to be found in the *Henrici chronicon Livonia.* Using these same methods the Latgallians (a Latvian tribe) made their decision to become Christians according to the Russian or Latin precepts, and in a similar fashion the Zemgallians, also known as the Semigallians, and Curonians of Latvia, sought answers from their pagan gods about the outcome of their battles. Another ancient form of fortune-telling is described in the *Reimchronik* (Rhymed chronicles; c.1250–1300), where a Lithuanian military leader, finding himself captive, discovers the fate of his soldiers in the field by gazing at an animal’s shoulder blade as if at some sort of film screen.

In his history of Poland, the Polish chronicler Ioannes Długoszius (or Johannes Długosz, 1415–1480) provides material about Lithuanian pagan rituals and deities. Following the style that was popular at that time in Europe, Długosz does not call the Lithuanian deities by their Lithuanian names, but, depending on their function, assigns to them their respective Greek and Roman names—Vulcanus, Jupiter, Diana, Silvanus, and Aesculapius.

In 1589, Salomon Henning (1528–1589), the duke of Courland and Gotthard Ketler’s advisor in spiritual matters, wrote that the Latvians of Courland (Kurzeme) and Semigallia (Zemgale) worshiped as deities the sun, the stars, and such animals as the toad. Henning also wrote that the people themselves had the ability to turn into werewolves. He describes an incident that he himself witnessed in which the country folk fed milk to toads and snakes until they grew fat and swollen; when they were chopped in two, milk flowed from their bodies. Old women then came running, wailing and screaming that their “mother of milk” had been killed.

The sixteenth-century German historian and cosmographer Sebastian Münster (1489–1552) in his book *Cosmographia* (1544; supplemented in 1550) claims that even though the Latvian and Estonian peasants of Livonia had Christian names, they were ignorant and did not understand Christ's teachings. According to Münster these same people worshiped not only heavenly bodies as deities but also special trees and stones. Münster also describes marriage and burial practices of the time, claiming that food and drink, as well as money, were buried with the dead in a grave.

In 1581 a Polish chronicler of Italian origin, Alexander Guagnini (1534–1614), described celebration customs and Lithuanian and Latvian folk songs, both in terms of their content and how they were sung. Similar accounts of Lithuanian and Latvian folk beliefs, celebrations, and rituals can be found in the chronicles of Maciej Stryjkowsky (1547–c. 1590), published in 1582. An important source of information about religious beliefs, specifically regarding the deities and sanctuaries of the Zhemaitian tribe of Lithuania and Latvia during the first half of the seventeenth century, is a book written in 1615 by the historian Jan Lasicki (or Joannes Lasicius, 1534–1599). In this book Lithuanians are depicted as not wanting to hew down trees that their fathers and forefathers considered to be holy. Lasicki also describes in this work Lithuanian and Latvian marriage and burial practices.

The Catholic priest Fabricius Dionysius, who died during the first half of the seventeenth century, wrote of the snake being perceived as divine and of the worship and feeding of milk to dead souls (called *gari* in Latvian) in his series of books *Livonicae historiae compendiosa*, published posthumously in 1795. He also suggests that abstract concepts associated with Christianity and morality could not be expressed in the Latvian language, thus such words as *virtue* (Lat. *virtutem*), *integrity* (Lat. *probitatem*), and *piety* (Lat. *devotionem*) could not be communicated. The Latvian language is, in fact, characterized by forceful and well-developed concrete concepts, while the abstract philosophical and generalized religious terminology developed only during the nineteenth century in conjunction with the Latvian national awakening and cultural renaissance period. A significant source of information on Latvian folk beliefs of the first half of the seventeenth century is to be found in the works of Courland's governor Paul Einhorn's (d. 1655) *Wiederlegung der Abgotterey und nichtigen Aberglaubens* (Refutation of idolatry and erroneous superstition, 1627) and *Historia Lettica* (Latvian history, 1649), in which he describes Latvians as "*semi-christiani oder ethnico-christiani*" (semi-Christian or ethno-Christian) and as stubbornly resisting the observance of Christian church rituals while practicing semipagan family rituals and traditions at weddings, burials, and christenings. He also reports that at Christmas they performed a rite involving the pulling of an oak log and celebrated a special *bluķa* (log) night prior to Christmas. Also popular among Latvians is the summer solstice, known as Jāņi or the midsummer's eve celebration, the paying of homage to dead souls in autumn, and the worship of chthonic deities, among them the female deities Māra, Laima, and Dēkla.

The Catholic Jesuit priest Johannes Stribing, during his 1606 visit to inspect the operations of the Catholic Church among Latvians (Latgallians), wrote that Latvians continued to believe not only in one God the Lord, but also in their own heavenly and earthly deities. They made offerings and sacrifices to their gods at holy trees. The most valuable offerings were to Ūsiņš (the god of horses) and Māršа (the goddess of cows). Stribing also wrote that Latvians (Latgallians particularly) made a distinction between a masculine holy tree (oak) and a feminine holy tree (linden). Accordingly, men made their offerings under the oak tree, while women did so under the linden. Even such pagan rites as the feeding of dead souls took place at a special dead souls celebration in November. Stribing reports that Latvians believed in gods of fate, and he describes how they tried through various maneuvers to determine their own fate. As an example, he describes how a young Latvian woman who, trying to forecast what lies in her future and how long she will live, poured melted beeswax into cold water.

The information about the deities and religion of the Baltic peoples that is found in chronicles and travel records written by foreigners contains errors and imprecise facts as a result of a lack of understanding of local languages, as well as distortion due to a Christian perspective from which everything associated with pre-Christian beliefs is seen as abnormal or strange. Taking into account the imprecision and, in some cases, fabrications, these chronicles, as well as later records, remain valuable sources of information about the deities and religious concepts of the Balts. In most cases, these sources can be verified by comparison with information drawn from Lithuanian or Latvian folklore texts describing mythical folk songs, folk beliefs, magic incantations, and so on.

Since Christian religious precepts were introduced in Latvia through force and disseminated in foreign languages (Latin, German, or Polish), for a long time they did not make a meaningful impression but remained at the level of a formal religion. Perhaps because of this, even as late as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries one can find in written sources, especially visitation records and Jesuit reports about the state of religious belief among the peasants, condemnation of certain pagan practices and rituals, such as paying homage to trees or feeding milk to toads or snakes.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a relatively large number of people wrote about Baltic pre-Christian religious concepts, but for the most part these works reflect collected eyewitness accounts or information compiled in the preceding centuries. The most noteworthy author of that time was Matthäus Prätorius (1636–1704), who wrote about Prussian religion and culture, and the linguist and writer Gotthard Friedrich Stender (1714–1796), who, in a special supplement to a Latvian grammar text published in 1783, tried to determine which deities were worshiped by the ancient Latvians.

Until the nineteenth century, Baltic religious concepts were studied primarily by Baltic writers, cultural scholars, historians, and theologians of German or Polish origin, but in the nineteenth century scholars of Latvian and Lithuanian origin, fluent in the local languages, became involved in this research. They had the advantage of being able to dialogue freely with Latvian and Lithuanian peasants who, to a large extent, were the people who transmitted the living oral tradition, as well as various taboos linked to this or that sacred item or activity.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, two areas of Baltic religion were explored simultaneously. One was associated with Baltic mythology and consisted of the extensive collection, interpretation, and publishing of Baltic folk songs, fairy tales, and legends. The second dealt with the collection of oral folk texts, as well as artifacts gathered in archaeological digs. The most significant nineteenth-century research into Baltic mythology was done by the Latvian scholar Jēkabs Lautenbahs (1847–1928), who published a study on the Laimas, the three Baltic goddesses of fate, basing his research on the rich source material of Latvian and Lithuanian folk songs and fairy tales. In 1896 Lautenbahs also published the first comprehensive comparative study on Lithuanian and Latvian mythological concepts, which he arrived at through an analysis of folk songs. In 1901 his extensive research on Latvian religion and pagan deities appeared in German in the journal *Magazin.* Drawing on Latvian and Lithuanian mythological folk songs and the available, though limited, material on Prussian deities, Lautenbahs tried to pull together a comprehensive compilation of the pantheon of deities of the three Baltic peoples.

Also published in *Magazin* were a series of essays by the Latvian minister and mythology scholar Roberts Kārlis Auniņš (Robert Karl Auning, 1834–1914). These essays dealt with the hitherto little researched Using (German) or Ūsiņš (Latvian), the god of light whose responsibilities included guardianship of men and their horses and who was associated with the spring equinox. Another subject appearing for the first time in published research was the *pūķis,* literally "dragon," which in Latvian mythology is linked to wealth and well-being and not to evil, as in many foreign mythologies. These essays aroused much interest and a great wave of discussion about the Latvian deities of light.

Of note in the field of Latvian and Prussian mythology is the work of the German scholar Johann Wilhelm Emanuel Mannhardt (1831–1880) on the sun myths of the Baltic peoples (published in 1875) and the Latvian and Prussian deities (published only in 1936). Mannhardt's research, following mythological or solar-research school practices, was the most extensive in Europe at the time. It included Latvian and Prussian mythology interpreted within the context of Indo-European religious and mythological concepts. Mannhardt's studies greatly influenced some of the early broader-based researchers, specifically Lautenbahs. It should be noted that Lautenbahs was not only on the teaching staff of the University of Tartu (then called Dorpat) but he was also a poet who wrote a series of epic poems with mythological themes based on Lithuanian and Latvian folk songs, legends, and fairy tales, with the intent of reconstructing epics lost in distant antiquity. During the second half of the nineteenth century, Latvian writers and folklore researchers searched for and tried to piece together and restore seemingly lost fragments of grand epics. They also sought the deities and ancient religious concepts that were forgotten under conditions of captivity and violence during the Latvian peoples' seven hundred years of subjugation beginning in the thirteenth century.

Intensive restoration or reconstruction work on the ancient pagan deities was begun in the mid-nineteenth century, coincident with the start of a strong Latvian nationalistic movement and the Romantic movement in literature and art. Latvian folklore texts of the time contained references to a relatively long and seemingly adequate list of pre-Christian deities. This list included Dievs (the god of heaven); Velns (the chthonic god of the underworld); Saule (the sun goddess); the daughters of Saule; the sons of Dievs, including Ūsiņš; Mēness (the lunar deity); Pērkons (the god of thunder); Māra (the goddess of the earth), who incorporated features of the great archetypal mother linked to death and rebirth; Laima, Dēkla, and Kārta, the three deities of fate; Jumis, a twin deity linked to fertility; and many spirits, including more than one hundred archaic female maternal spirits, each with its own significant sphere of influence in nature, such as Vēja māte (mother of the winds), Meža māte (mother of the forests), and Lauka māte (mother of the fields). The scholars of the second half of the nineteenth century thought this long list of deities found in folklore sources was inadequate and proceeded to reinstate deities they considered forgotten over the passage of time. Thus, writers of the Romantic period, along with folklore enthusiasts, introduced many new deity names into the field. Later, in the first half of the twentieth century, this nineteenth-century folklore and mythology research came under criticism and was called the "creation of the Olympus of pseudo gods."

How were these new deities created? The first and most common approach was to take deities from the neighboring peoples, especially the ones appearing in Lithuanian and Prussian folklore, and to conclude that Latvians must have had the same deities, but that they had been lost with the passage of time. Thus, in the nineteenth century the following appeared on the list of Latvian deities: Anšlavs (the god of light, phonetically adapted from the Prussian Aušauts), Antrimps (the god of health, from the Prussian Autrīmps, god of the sea), Potrimps (from the Prussian Patrīmps, god of the rebirth of spring and fertility), and a series of other deities borrowed from Prussian mythological sources. The second source for the creation of new deity names and functions was ancient Greek and Roman mythology. Totally new deities with new functions were invented in response to areas of importance to nineteenth-century Latvian peasants. Most were modeled after ancient Greek or Roman deities. In the Olympus of newly invented Latvian deities appeared Krūģis (the god of fire and blacksmiths, drawn from the Roman god Vulcanus and the Greek god Hephaistos). Just as quickly as this process of inventing new deities started in the middle of the nineteenth century, it ended at the end of the century when realism replaced romanticism in literature.

The next wave in broader-based research into Latvian and Baltic religion began just before the proclamation of Latvia's independence as a nation in 1918. This wave is associated with the linguist, cultural historian, and folklorist Pēteris Šmits (1869–1938). In 1918 he became the first to publish a comprehensive and systematic study into Latvian mythology, with a second edition in 1926. In this study Šmits examines Latvian deities as they were revealed in various folklore and historical sources. Whereas nineteenth-century researchers had looked for ways to expand the list of Latvian deities, inventing them if they did not exist, Šmits's approach to Latvian folklore material was characterized by great scrupulousness and perhaps too excessive a skepticism. Šmits was knowledgeable about Latvian fairy tales and legends, having served as editor of the fifteen-volume *Latviešu pasakas un teikas* (Latvian fairy tales and legends), published between 1925 and 1937, complete with commentaries and compiled according to the Finnish folklorist Antti Aarnes's system. Šmits was also an expert in folk songs and folk beliefs. Under his editorship, four volumes of Latvian folk songs and four volumes of Latvian folk beliefs were published in the 1930s.

In his writing, Šmits attempts to find a credible explanation and basis for Latvian mythological deities. However, the research method he used, while applicable for the natural sciences, often restricted the parameters of Šmits's field of study. Influenced by the Finnish school, which focused on geographic elements in the comparative study of folklore, Šmits tried to determine the initial place of origin for both deities and folksong motifs. He thus arrived at some curious conclusions, proposing that the chthonic deity Māra was not a genuine Latvian deity, but rather derived from Germans or Russians, who themselves had lost traces of the goddess in antiquity. The result was a paradox. On the one hand, Russians of that period seemingly knew nothing about the paranormal being *zmeja* Marina (snake Marina), uncovered by Šmits in some obscure Russian sources. On the other hand, following Šmits's hypothesis, *zmeja* Marina became popular among Latvians for some reason. There is no documented proof that Latvians had previously ever mentioned or known a deity by this name. It is likely that the adopted *zmeja* Marina subsequently fused with the Virgin Mary worshiped in the Catholic Church, to become the deity Māra of later times.

Šmits, like the majority of the religion researchers of the 1920s and 1930s, was guilty of an overzealous search for foreign models for Māra, as well as for other Latvian deities and myths. This pertains as well to his approach to religious terminology. Upon finding a related root form in the Russian or German language, Šmits almost automatically assumed that Latvians had borrowed the word—for example, *baznīca* (church) or *krusts* (cross). However, despite his several exaggerations about deity names and assumed foreign sources for religious terms, as well as his view on the Christian influence on Latvian mythology, Šmits did provide in his research a generally coherent overview of the Latvian mythological system, which included a comprehensive description of the cult of the dead and related customs of the period, such as offerings and sacrifices.

At the turn of the twentieth century, researcher Mārtiņš Bruņenieks (1866–1950) published several essays about Latvian deities based on the animism theory. In his opinion, all or almost all gods and spirits in Latvian folklore were animated from dead souls and from the worship of departed ancestors. Another extensive treatise, *Senlatviešu reliģija* (The religion of ancient Latvians, 1937) was published by the Lutheran theologian and folklore researcher Ludvigs Adamovičs (1884–1941), who was exiled in Russia. Citing folklore as well as historical sources, Adamovičs's study explores in depth various topics, including Latvian cults and rituals in ancient times, in particular the fertility cult practiced during the summer solstice and the autumnal cult of dead souls; the Latvian concept of soul (*dvēsele*, from the verb *dvest*, literally translated as "to breathe"); the world of the dead and its inhabitants and patrons; sanctuaries and ritual celebrations; and communal festivities of ancient times. In his work, Adamovičs focuses on the ancient belief in spirits, attempting to list by function the many "mothers" to be found in Latvian folklore—the ambivalent female guardian spirits who determined success or failure in various spheres of human activity and nature. These spirits included the mother of berries, the mother of mushrooms, the mother of bees, the mother of the sea, and the mother of night. Adamovičs categorizes deities into deities of heaven and light (Dievs, Pērkons, Mēness, Saule, Auseklis), deities of fate (Laima, Dēkla, Kārta), and agricultural deities (Ūsiņš, Māršala, Jumis). Even though, like Šmits, Adamovičs traces without substantiation Māra and some other deities and religious concepts back to Christianity, his study continues to be the most comprehensive research to date on the ancient Latvian religious system.

Several other significant studies of the 1920s and 1930s deserve mention, specifically a study of Baltic sanctuaries by Kārlis Straubergs (1890–1962), research into possible totemism traces in Latvian folklore by Arveds Švābe (1888–1959), and a study of Latvian masks used in connection with beliefs in magic by Jānis Alberts Jansons (1892–1971).

After 1940, during the Soviet occupation of Latvia, in-depth research into mythology, and religious concepts in particular, was not feasible. However, such research continued with Latvians in exile. Of note is research done in Sweden by Andrejs Johansons (1922–1983) into Latvian water spirits and the ancient snake cult, and a study of the cult of the dead by Kārlis Straubergs. Research into Latvian religious concepts was taken to a new level by the theologian and historian Haralds Biezais (1909–1995). Living in exile in Sweden beginning in 1944, Biezais published a series of studies in German, including systematic comparative studies of Latvian female goddesses (1955), gods of light (1976), and the gods of heaven viewed as prototypes of the ancient family (1972). Biezais's scientific reconstruction of mythological beings and deities is immaculately done and includes comparative foreign material. To date, his research is considered to be the most comprehensive overview of the Latvian religious system in terms of factual content and documented testimony. However, his research is perhaps not as comprehensive as it might have been had he also explored the much broader oral folklore tradition, instead of taking the somewhat pedantic approach by which only that which is recorded in writing has research value.

Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga, an eminent folklorist and scholar, lived and worked in exile in Canada until the end of 1990, when she returned to live in Latvia. Her work on Latvian concepts of magic as expressed in oral incantations and her study of ancient Latvian religion, including extensive comparative analysis of Latvian deities vis-à-vis the hypotheses of Robert Graves, Georges Dumézil, and Algirdas Greimas, have been published in Latvian, English, and French. Vīķe-Freiberga has published the most comprehensive research into the Latvian (Balt) sun cult and the various aspects—cosmological, chronological, and meteorological—of the sun in Latvian folklore.

Lithuanian folklorist and ethnologist Jonas Balys, working in exile in Germany and later in the United States, continued research into mythology, publishing systematic studies of Lithuanian and Latvian folklore in encyclopedias in German and English, as well as specific research about the Baltic god of thunder and his adversary, the chthonic devil god (Latvian, Velns; Lithuanian, Velnias). A fellow Lithuanian, Marija Gimbutas, also working in exile in the United States, published an overview of Balt religious beliefs based on artifacts from archaeological digs.

When, due to ideological prohibition during the Soviet period, research into mythology ceased in Latvia and also partially in Lithuania, Vladimir Toporov and Vjačeslav Ivanov, two adherents of the Moscow school of structuralism (a method of analysis practiced in twentieth-century social sciences and humanities), published a series of studies about Baltic mythology in various periodicals in Russia. They also wrote a series of articles, *Balto-slavjanskie issledovanija* (Balt-Slav research), first published in 1970, in which they look at Balt and Slav mythology, folklore, and language on a comparative basis.

Research into Baltic religion resumed during the 1980s, first in Lithuania and then in Latvia. In Lithuania the most significant work was by Norbertas Vėlius (1938–1996). A disciple of the structuralism movement, he used its system of analysis to explore links with the religious concepts of other Indo-European peoples. While the majority of his many studies were published in Lithuanian, the quintessence of Vėlius's research can be found in his book *The World Outlook of the Ancient Balts* (1989). Vėlius's goal in *Baltų religijos ir mitologijos šaltiniai* (Baltic religious and mythological sources, 1996/2001) was to consolidate source data on Baltic religion and mythology both in the original language and in translation into Lithuanian. Several scholars have continued the comparative research in Balt mythology and religion begun by Vėlius. Nijolė Laurinkienė has published monographs about the Lithuanian god of thunder, and Gintaras Beresnevičius has published a series of monographs about Lithuanian and Prussian religious concepts, as well as broader-based research on Baltic religious concepts. The methodology, both structural and comparative, used by these scholars is similar to the one used in the monographs *Latviešu folklora mītu spogulī* (Latvian folklore in the mirror of mythology, 1996) and *Mītiskais folklorā, literatūrā un mākslā* (The mythical in folklore, literature, and art, 1999) by the Latvian mythology researcher and scholar Janīna Kursīte, wherein the author reexamines Latvian deities within a broader context and deals with subjects previously ignored or minimally researched, such as amulets and talismans, the symbolism of dreams, and the concept of a sacral landscape.

In both Lithuania and Latvia at the turn of the twenty-first century, research in Baltic mythology started to show a marked tendency to focus on comparative aspects, to critically reevaluate the role of chronicles from the Middle Ages, and to incorporate oral materials into the reconstruction of Prussian, Lithuanian, and Latvian mythology within the global context. Thus, new themes have appeared in research on Baltic religion, themes that were previously ignored or only considered from one point of view, such as the view that the Christian beliefs of the Latvian people are a (new) symbiotic religious structure formed from a fusion of Christian and pagan religious concepts.

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JANĪNA KURSĪTE (2005)
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BALTIC SANCTUARIES. There are two types of Baltic sanctuaries. The first and most important type is the pagan sanctuary, which no longer exists but which has survived in countless legends, documented accounts, and evidence of sacrifice rituals from archaeological digs. In addition, records of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Catholic Church visitations and some toponyms that have survived to this day suggest that sacrifice to pagan gods and spirits was still being practiced in certain places at that time. The second type is the Catholic sanctuary. This type pertains to present-day Lithuania, which is entirely Catholic, and to Latgale, the eastern region of Latvia, which is also Catholic, in contrast to the rest of Protestant Latvia. Christian sanctuaries were frequently superimposed in the Baltic Catholic region in places where pre-Christian sanctuaries had already existed; in some cases these pre-Christian sanctuaries were simply reactivated as Christian ones during Christian times. Although German missionaries, merchants, and crusaders brought Christianity into Latvian territory as early as the thirteenth century, Latvians remained fundamentally pagan well into the seventeenth century.

Latvia's inhabited territory in the thirteenth century included Livonia. At that time the Prussian peoples had not succeeded in joining together to create a strong and independent nation and had thus come under the power of the Teutonic Order—a religious military order, also known as Teutonic Knights, established in the southeastern Baltic lands from the thirteenth century until the mid-sixteenth century. As a consequence, the Prussian peoples had been Christianized. The fate of another Baltic group, the Lithuanians, was different in that Mindaugas, a Lithuanian prince, established an independent Lithuanian nation in 1240. Unable to maintain the upper hand in ongoing battles with Lithuania's neighbors, however, Mindaugas was forced to seek the help of the Teutonic Order. In gratitude for the order's support, in 1251 Mindaugas and his followers became Christians, and in 1253 he was crowned king with a crown sent from Rome by the pope. Subsequently, the Baltic peoples ruled by King Mindaugas, particularly the Zhemaits, rebelled against the crusaders and their forced conversion to Christianity. Mindaugas renewed his struggle against his former ally, the Teutonic Order, and eventually was slain in 1263. At this point people throughout Lithuania began turning back to their old pagan beliefs, and the wars with the German crusaders did not abate during the thirteenth century and even into the fourteenth century. During this period the Teutonic Order blocked trade activity between Lithuania and western Europe, forcing Lithuania's kings to seek compromise solutions regarding both trade and religion issues. Despite the strong resolve of the common people and the aristocracy throughout most of the fourteenth century to resist the government's desire to convert the nation to Christianity (and thus put an end to the onslaught by the crusaders). Lithuania was officially Christianized in 1387, in line with the tenets of the Catholic faith. On a practical level, however, Lithuanians maintained strong pagan beliefs, particularly the pagan worship of sacred places, as evidenced by the survival to the present day of a good number of place-names that pertain to ancient Balt sanctuaries.

During the thirteenth century, Prussians also engaged in ongoing and merciless struggles with the Teutonic Order. Because their territory extended the farthest west, the Prussians suffered the most on the battlefield against the order. However, on the religious front, which included the worship of pagan sanctuaries, they were able to maintain their beliefs and practices well into the beginning of the eighteenth century, when a massive epidemic of the plague struck their entire territory and wiped out many of the Prussians who had remained faithful to their pagan and linguistic identity.

The vocabulary of Prussians, Lithuanians, and Latvians has common root forms that pertain to pre-Christian sanctuaries. One of them is the root **elk-*/**alk-*, which means sanctuary. Traditionally, such a sanctuary was a designated deciduous tree forest, but it could also be a hill, river, lake, cliff, or cave. Until World War II one could find in East Prussia, and even today in Latvia and Lithuania, toponyms and hydronyms relating to sanctuaries, which indicate that sanctuaries once existed in those locations. Examples include Alkayne, Alkeynen, and Alkebirge in East Prussia (the Kaliningrad region of modern Russia and northeastern Poland); Elkupis and Elkus in Lithuania; and Elka, Elkasgals, Elkas Grava, Elkas Purvs, Elkezers, Elkleja, and Elkazeme in Latvia. With the advent of Christianity into the Baltic territory, the root form **elk-*/**alk-* was used in words designating pagan worship symbols in the form of wood or stone sculptures, pre-Christian faith in general, and pre-Christian divinities, such as the Latvian *elka dievi.* From an etymological point of view the root form **elk-*/**alk* is related to the concept of curve, bend, or turn. We see this root in the Prussian word *alkunis* (elbow) and in *elkonis*, the Latvian counterpart. For the ancient Baltic peoples the concept of curving and bending was linked to foretelling of the future; it was the ability, through the language of symbols and intuition, to see around corners. In other words, by looking straight ahead a person could see only objects linked to the profane material world, but by looking in an indirect manner (as through fortune-telling) one could see that which was hidden in both people and things. The pre-Christian meaning of _elks_, _alke_, or _alkas_ for the Baltic peoples was that of the sanctuary where they worshiped gods and brought gifts to the images of those gods. The Lithuanian term _alkas_ designated a hill overgrown with trees or, in a historic context, a hill where sacrifice with its accompanying rituals has taken place.

Another important sanctuary concept for the Baltic peoples is contained in the root form *_rom-_. For Lithuanians, it was _romuva/romove_; for Latvians, _ramava_; and for Prussians, _romow/romowe_. There are few documented records, other than legends, about this type of sacrifice ritual in Latvian and Lithuanian sanctuaries. However, the term _romow_ is mentioned in many and varied sources, starting with Petrus de Dusburg's _Chronicon terrae Prussiae_ (Chronicle of the land of Prussia, 1326), as the principal sanctuary for Prussians, and it is recognized as such also in Lithuania and Latvia. It was in this sanctuary that the Prussians burnt a third of the spoils of war as a sacrifice to their gods. During special celebrations the sacrifice consisted of various animals, with a white horse and a goat singled out as favorites. The _romow_ sanctuary was encircled by large oak trees with an evergreen oak bearing the image of three of the principal gods at its center. The three Prussian gods represented three cosmic zones—the heavens (Perkūns, the god of thunder), earth (Patrīmps, god of fertility), and the underworld (Patuls, god of the underworld). Typically, one _romow_ is mentioned in regard to the Prussians. However, toponymy shows that in the territories inhabited by Prussians, in addition to the main and most important _romow_, there were smaller less significant _romows_ in each neighborhood. According to an ancient legend, before the attack by the German Teutonic Order on western Prussia's Heiligenbeil (the town of Mamonovo in today's Kaliningrad region of Russia), there existed in the sanctuary an oak, which was supposedly always green, both in summer and winter. The leaves of the tree were considered medicinal, and people applied them to ailing parts of the bodies of humans and animals alike. The tree's canopy was so dense that no snow or rain could penetrate it. Even in Latvia and Lithuania you can still find toponyms with the root form *_rom-_, which shows that similar sanctuaries existed throughout the inhabited Baltic territory.

Dusburg's _Chronicon terrae Prussiae_ makes a connection between the word _romow_ and the city of Rome by comparing the power of the _romow's_ high priest (_Krive krivaitis_) to that of the pope. However, _romow_ does not derive from the city name _Rome_. The origin is rather in the Indo-European root form *_rem-_, meaning "to be at peace" or "to be peaceful." In Latvian this concept is expressed by the word _rāms_ (calm, peaceful), as in the folk song "Rāmi, rāmi Dieviņš brauca / No kalniņa lejiņā" ("Calmly, calmly Dievs [dim.] rode / From the hill down to the valley"), and in Lithuanian as _ramus_ or _romus_ (peaceful, silent). Peace and calm in _romow's_ sacred grove, described in a mythical Latvian folksong as "when no leaf stirred" (_ne lapiņa nečabēja_), was seen as a universal manifestation of a cosmic order. A special ritual of cosmic order was conducted by the _Krive krivaitis_. Typically, ordinary mortals were not allowed to enter the _romow_ sanctuary, and those who were allowed in were not permitted to touch anything. In this sense the _romow_ sanctuary was perceived in the way paradise is by Christians; that is, the sanctuary knew no chaos and was in total harmony with the cosmos. It is interesting to note that the Latvian language has a related root verb, _ramīt_, which means "to grieve" or "to mourn the dead" in the sense of allowing the spirit to leave this world: _aizlaist no šīs saules viņsaulē_ (literally, "to leave this sun to go to the nether sun") and "be at peace."

A variety of _romow_ source materials also indicate that the oak trees that typically populated the sanctuary were evergreen. However, the climate in Prussia, Lithuania, and Latvia is such that there is usually snow in winter. Therefore, deciduous trees, including oak trees, would lose their leaves in autumn. One school of thought suggests that on the sanctuary's sacred oak trees grew the evergreen mistletoe, which is considered by the Baltic people, as well as by Romans, Germans, Scandinavians, and others, to be linked to immortality and fertility. It is mistletoe that guarantees one's resurrection after death. Mistletoe is the "golden bough" mentioned in Scandinavian and German source material and also by Vergil, who describes the blossoming of the miraculous "golden bough" upon Aeneas's entry into the underworld.

Many toponyms include *_kriv_/*_kreiv-_, a prolific root form in all Baltic languages. Examples include the word _Krywyen_ in Prussian, mentioned in written sources dating back to 1419; _Krivonys_, _Krivičiai_, _Krivai_ and _Kreivupė_ in Lithuanian; and _Krīvi_, _Krīviņa_, _Krivaši_, _Krievaiņi_, _Krievaceļš_, and _Krievapurvs_ in Latvian. As with the root *_elk-_/*_alk-_, the meaning of these words is linked to the concept of indirect, not straight, crooked. The Latvian archaic _krievs_ and the Lithuanian _kreivas_ both mean "crooked," and _kryvuoti_ means "to stumble" or "to walk in a crooked fashion." Similarly, _kreivakis_ refers to someone who is cross-eyed. This root word can be found as well in _Krive krivaitis_, whose symbol of spiritual power was a crooked staff. He was also considered the priest of fire, who along with his disciples maintained the eternal flame.

A relatively large number of pre-Christian sanctuary names have as their root *_svent-_, which can be traced back to the Indo-European *_kuen-_. In Prussian the comparative form is _swints_, in Lithuanian _šventas,_ and in Latvian _svēts_. Many Baltic hydronyms are also formed from the same root. Examples in Prussian are the names _Swent_ (a river), _Swentyn_ (a lake mentioned in literary sources dating back to 1297), _Swyntheynen_ (another lake mentioned in a 1340 source), and

Swentegarben (mentioned in 1351). Lithuanian language examples pertain both to the names of bodies of water and hills, as in *Šventas, Šventėlis, Šventė, Švenčius, Švenčiukas, Šventā, Šventupė, Šventežeris, Šventākalnis,* and *Šventrāgis*. In Latvian, the root form can be found primarily in the names of rivers and lakes, but in some isolated cases it also appears in the names of inhabited regions. Examples include the rivers *Svēte, Svētupe, Sventa,* and *Sventāja/Šventoji* (a river on the Latvian and Lithuanian border); the lakes *Sventes* and *Svētavas*; and the inhabited regions of *Svente* and *Svenči*. One can conclude that for the Baltic peoples the epithet *svēts* (sacred, holy) was closely tied to the idea of certain rivers, lakes, and springs that had been specifically identified as sacred. The root form's association with the names of hills or mountains is less frequent, and it is even less common in names of forests or groves. One can therefore hypothesize that the Latvian *svēts* and the Lithuanian *šventas*, in their various forms in hydronyms, symbolized for the Balts a certain brilliance, shininess, or brightness, and ultimately a supernatural light.

Throughout Latvia certain hills were considered sanctuaries known as the *zilie kalni* (blue hills). Records have survived that show nine such blue hills were or still are in existence on Latvian soil. The most important of these is the blue hill located not far from the city of Valmiera. In ancient times, this hill was considered sacred and was widely known for its spring waters, to which were ascribed countless miraculous healing powers. It was forbidden to break off even the smallest branch of a tree in the hill's grove. A severe punishment awaited anyone who disobeyed this edict. People from near and far flocked to the sacred hill on June 23, midsummer's eve. Seventeenth-century literary sources describe several trials of witches who held secret meetings on the blue hill outside Valmiera. For instance, during a 1636 trial in Riga a woman confessed that she and her mother had attended a secret gathering on the blue hill. Both were found to be witches by the court and were burned to death. The following year, a trial took place in Riga regarding five individuals from the village of Liepupe who had met on the blue hill in order to cast a curse on their neighbors' flax and barley. Even in the twentieth century certain stories about Valmiera's blue hill lend this particular sanctuary special status among all the blue hill sanctuaries. In the 1970s, during the Soviet period, a widely known healer nicknamed Blue Hill Marta (Marta Rācene, 1908–1992) lived near the blue hill sanctuary. Many eyewitness accounts have been recorded about her supernatural healing powers. A common denominator among all the blue hill sanctuaries is the existence of a spring of healing waters and the profusion of rare and protected plants. Today, Valmiera's sanctuary is more of a tourist attraction than a sacred place. But when, towards the end of 1990, a proposal was put forth to build a gigantic garbage dump at the base of Valmiera's blue hill, protests were heard throughout the country objecting to the defiling of ancient sacred places. Obviously, the principle of protecting sacred sites has survived to the present day.

The symbiosis of pre-Christian and Christian sanctuaries in Catholic Lithuania is most evident, from the sixteenth century on, in the affixing of images of Christ or other sacred symbols on vertical posts with crosses called *kryžius* in Lithuanian. At first these crosses were made exclusively from wood, and in later times from both metal and wood, at an initial height of 1.5 to 2 meters, and eventually extending to several meters high. Frequently, a special fence encircled the crosses, and colorful flowers were either planted at the base of the cross or cut flowers were placed below the cross. In May, people still gather at these crosses to sing songs in honor of the Virgin Mary. Since the nineteenth century, people who have survived some serious illness or disability, or who hope to guard against one, flock to the Hill of the Crosses (Kryžių kalnas) near the Lithuanian town of Šiauliai, bringing with them homemade crosses of various shapes, sizes, and materials. Several attempts were made during the Soviet period to remove these crosses. For example, in 1961, following an edict from the Communist Party's Central Committee, more than two thousand such crosses were removed from the hill, but people secretly replaced them with new crosses. Since Lithuania regained its independence in the early 1990s, more than 100,000 new crosses have been placed on the hill. Today, the Hill of the Crosses is one of the most popular sanctuaries and it is visited by a large number of people from Lithuania and other countries, who come to pray and place their own homemade crosses. The location has also become a major tourist attraction.

Findings from archaeological digs indicate that in the pre-Christian period a place called Aglona, in the western part of Latvia, was a pagan sanctuary. Vague records and legends point to the existence of a nearby spring with healing powers. In the seventeenth century a Catholic Dominican cloister and cathedral were built on this site. In the eighteenth century the cathedral inherited a painting of the Virgin Mary by an anonymous artist. In time, Catholics started to attribute miraculous powers to this painting, including the power to answer prayers and grant good health and protection during crises. Even during the Soviet occupation of Latvia (1940–1941 and 1945–1991), when the practice of Christian faith and church attendance were considered major crimes against the state, Aglona Cathedral was the secret destination of many pilgrims. The biggest pilgrimage (approximately 100,000 people) takes place annually on August 15 (the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary to heaven) when Catholics from Latvia and neighboring Lithuania and Poland, as well as people of other faiths, descend on Aglona. To this day, visitors to Aglona make sure they also seek out the nearby spring.

SEE ALSO Sacred Space; Sanctuary; Shrines.

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BALUBA See LUBA RELIGION

BAMBARA RELIGION. The Bambara, the most important Mande group, number about 1.5 million people. They are agriculturists who live in the Republic of Mali on both sides of the Niger River, from the capital city of Bamako northeast to Mopti. Bambara agriculture and religion are closely intertwined. For example, the Bambara high god is conceived of as a grain from which three other divine "persons," and finally, the whole of creation, are born. Bambara theology and religion are complex. Deep religious speculations exist among the Bambara sages and are transmitted orally without codification.

THE SUPREME BEING AND THE CREATION. The Bambara believe in one god, Bemba, or Ngala, who is the creator of all things and has, in a way, created himself as a quaternity. This quaternity consists of Bemba himself, Mousso Koroni Koundyé (or Nyale), Faro, and Ndomadyiri; the last three correspond to the four elements—air, fire, water, and earth. Before the creation Bemba was named Koni and was, in a sense, "thought" (*miri*) dwelling in a void; he is also the "void" itself (*lankolo*). Accordingly, he cannot be perceived by humans using their usual senses. His existence is manifested as a force: a whirlwind, thought, or vibration that contains the signs of all uncreated things.

Bemba realized the creation of the world in three stages, each corresponding to one of the three other divine beings. In the first stage, called *dali folo* ("creation of the beginning"), the naked earth is created. God is known as Pemba in this stage, and he manifests himself in the form of a grain, from which grows an acacia (*Balanza*). This tree soon withers, falls to the ground, and decays. One oblong beam, however, called Pembélé, survives. An avatar of God, Pembélé kneads the rotten wood with his saliva and forms Mousso Koroni Koundyé ("little old woman with a white head"), who becomes the first woman and his wife. Although she is associated with air, wind, and fire, Mousso Koroni Koundyé engenders plants, animals, and human beings. But because her person is unbalanced, her creations are produced in haste, disorder, and confusion.

The second stage, called *dali flana* ("second creation"), brings order and equilibrium to the previous creation. It is conducted under the authority of the deity Faro, an androgynous being issued from the breath of Bemba and identified with water, light, speech, and life. Faro gives every creature and thing a place in the world, a physical space, as well as a position in relation to other beings and things. He stops short of differentiating between things, however.

Differentiation of creation belongs to Ndomadyiri, the heavenly blacksmith, who is the eponymous ancestor of all blacksmiths. His principal task is to separate and distinguish things from each other, to make, in a sense, a comprehensible "speech" from the thought of creation. He is associated with the earth (from which food originates) and with trees (which produce remedies for ill health).

Thus the supreme being of the Bambara exists first as a sort of repository of energy and then manifests itself as four "persons" who generate the creation by each performing a different phase of activity. In this way the creation proceeds from confusion to clarity, from the unintelligible to the intelligible.

ANCESTOR WORSHIP AND THE DASIRI CULT. Only those who led exemplary lives and died in a "natural" way (not due to any sorcery) can become ancestors. An ancestor must have reached an advanced age upon death and lived a life that is beyond reproach ethically, religiously, socially, and intellectually. One generation must separate the living and the dead before the rites of ancestor worship can be celebrated.

Nonfermented foodstuffs (e.g., fresh water, saliva, kola nuts, and mixtures of millet flour and water) are offered to appease the ancestor. These often precede more sophisticated offerings such as sorgo beer and blood. The beer is meant to "excite" the ancestor and to make him shake off his indolence toward living persons. The blood, usually obtained from sacrificed chickens or goats, represents the communion of the living and the dead. The place of worship differs according to the ancestor, but both sides of the entrance door to the hut are a preferred spot.

The founding ancestor is held in higher esteem than all other ancestors. His preeminence appears in the cult of the *dasiri*, a group of *genius loci*, or spiritual places, chosen by the founding ancestor when he created the village. One finds in each agglomeration two sorts of *dasiri*: a fixed one (e.g., tree, rock), which functions as the *axis mundi* of the village; and a mobile one, embodied in a wild or domestic animal (except birds). Offerings are made to the *dasiri* each time a community member encounters difficulties or a significant household event takes place. Sacrificial victims are always white, a color that symbolizes calmness and peace.

INITIATORY SOCIETIES AND SPIRITUAL LIFE. Bambara religious life is mostly fulfilled during the epiphanies, or ritualistic manifestations, of the six initiatory societies: the N'domo, Komo, Nama, Kono, Tyiwara, and Korè. Together they give their members a complete (according to the Bambara ideal of perfection) intellectual, moral, and religious education.

The N'domo, open exclusively to noncircumcised children, teaches the origin and destiny of human beings. The highlight of the annual N'domo ceremonies is a sacred play featuring an androgynous child dancer who maintains complete silence while he performs. Dressed so that not one part of his body is visible, the dancer wears a wooden mask with human features and horns. The N'domo comprises five classes, each representing one of the five other initiation societies. Passage from one stage to another prefigures the adept's access to the Komo, Nama, Kono, Tyiwara, and Korè. In its structure as well as in its ceremonies, the N'domo attempts to answer, in a symbolic way, the following questions: What is man? Where does he come from? What is his destiny? Its answers are: He is androgynous; he comes from God; his fate is to return to God.

After their initiation into the N'domo, Bambara boys are circumcised. The operation has a double goal: to suppress their femininity (represented by the foreskin) and thus guide them to seek the opposite sex in marriage and to introduce the spirit to knowledge. Once these goals have been met, the boys are entitled to seek entry to the Komo society, whose purpose is to reveal to them the mysteries of knowledge.

Komo initiation societies consist of dances performed by masked individuals and sacrifices offered at the society's various altars. The Komo dance mask represents a hyena. Its jaws emphasize the animal's crushing force, which symbolizes knowledge. It should be noted that knowledge, as presented in the Komo, constitutes an entity in itself, independent and distant from man and "descending" upon him when he acquires it. For this reason, the Komo mask is worn on top of the head, like a helmet, and not on the face.

The Nama teaches its adepts about the union of spirit and body, of male and female, and of good and evil. Initiation ceremonies are particularly concerned with the union of a man and woman in matrimony and with the duality of good and evil (evil is symbolized by sorcery). The third society, the Kono, deals with the problems of human duality in greater depth. It examines the union of thought and body, a union that gives birth to the conscience.

The Tyiwara, the fourth society, is meant to teach its adepts about agriculture and work in the fields. It confers special significance on the relationship between the sun and the nurturing earth. At its annual festival, the growth of edible plants, and of vegetation in general, is ritually mimed by two dancers in a performance invested with cosmic symbolism.

The Korè is the last of the initiation societies. It bestows knowledge of man's spiritualization and divinization; an initiate learns how to resemble God, that is, how to become "immortal." Its vast program of initiation is conducted over several weeks for two consecutive years. The society marks the final attainment of the knowledge that assures salvation. The term *salvation* should not be interpreted here in its Christian sense; salvation, for the Bambara, consists of the ability to return to earth by being reborn within one's own clan lineage. The reincarnations continue as long as one's descendants preserve one's memory and cult. The Korè's ceremonies are held every seven years.

The Bambara believe that by following the exigencies of their religion—by not only assisting at religious ceremonies but also participating in them—they can vanquish death and become equal to God. This kind of immortality, proposed to the faithful by the Korè, exemplifies the spiritual finality of Bambara religion, whose aim is to make the believer participate in the deity's essence. The faithful Bambara is not meant to enjoy the presence of God eternally, however: his destiny is to be continually reincarnated so that he can return to his clan. His postmortem contact with God is like a brief, gentle "touch"; he will not be attached permanently to the creator until all reincarnations within the clan cease.

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To the best of my knowledge, the most complete and current survey of Bambara religion remains my own work *The Bambara*, "Iconography of Religions," sec. 7, fasc. 2 (Leiden, 1974). It not only offers a rich and original analysis of Bambara iconography but also provides a fresh view of the rites and institutions of these people. My *Sociétés d'initiation bambara: Le N'domo, le Korè* (Paris, 1960) is an essential study of two of the Bambara initiatory societies and the mystical life, and my *Antilopes du soleil: Art et rites agraires d'Afrique noire* (Vienna, 1980), which treats the Tyiwara, is a penetrating study of the religious role of the Bambara bestiary. Germaine Dieterlen and Youssouf Cissé's *Les fondements de la société d'initiation du Komo* (Paris, 1972) is a remarkable introduction to the inquiries on the Komo. For brilliant studies of some of the Bambara creation myths, see the following works: Solange de

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BANARAS. The city of Banaras, also known in India as Vārāṇasī, is one of the most important and ancient of the sacred places of India. Such places are called *tīrtha*s, "crossings" or "fords." Many *tīrtha*s, like Banaras, are located geographically on the banks of India's rivers and were, indeed, fords where ferries plied the river. As places of pilgrimage, however, such *tīrtha*s are seen primarily as spiritual fords, where one might safely cross over to the "far shore."

Banaras is located on the bank of the Ganges River in North India, at a place where the river curves northward, as if pointing back toward its Himalayan source. The river itself is considered holy, having fallen from heaven upon the head of Lord Śiva, who tamed the goddess-river in his tangled ascetic's hair before setting her loose to flow upon the plains of North India. In Banaras great stone steps called *ghāṭ*s lead pilgrims from the lanes of the city down to the river's edge to bathe. To the north and south of the city, smaller rivers named the Varaṇā and the Asi, respectively, join the Ganges, thus providing a popular etymology for the city's ancient name Vārāṇasī.

Another of the ancient names of this place is Kāśī, which means "shining, luminous." Kāśī is also the name of one of the North Indian kingdoms that rivaled one another from about the eighth to sixth century BCE. The city of Vārāṇasī seems to have been the capital of the kingdom of Kāśī. Located on the high Rājghāṭ plateau overlooking the Ganges, this city, known as both Vārāṇasī and Kāśī, maintained a degree of importance for many hundreds of years, through the period of the Maurya and Gupta empires. Perhaps the height of its prestige was in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, when it was one of the administrative capitals of the Gāhaḍavāla kings of the Ganges Plain. Throughout its long history, however, the political significance of the city and its surrounding kingdom could not compare with its religious importance.

As a place of religious significance, Banaras was not only a "city" but a forest, which stretched beyond the small urban center and attracted sages and seekers to its forest hermitages. It was to these rural environs of Banaras, to a place called Sarnath, that the Buddha came following his enlightenment at Bodh Gayā. There he encountered his former companions in asceticism and preached his first sermon to them. Until the late twelfth century, much of the area south of the Rājghāṭ plateau, which today is the center of urban Banaras, was still an extensive forest, filled with pools and rivulets, and dotted with temples and shrines. In the Purāṇas, it is called the Ānandavana, the "forest of bliss." Even today, when Banaras *brahmans* speak of ancient Banaras, they refer to the time when this city was the Ānandavana.

In the time of the Buddha, the most popular form of worship in this part of North India was the worship of what might be called "life-force" deities, such as *yakṣa*s, *yakṣī*s, and *nāga*s. Such deities were propitiated with offerings called *bali,* which often included wine or meat. These deities were known for their strength, which they could use in either harmful or beneficent ways. With the rise of theism, whether Buddhist, Śaiva, or Vaiṣṇava, these life-force deities were gathered into the entourage of the great gods. In Banaras, it was Śiva who rose to preeminence and, according to mythological tradition, attracted the allegiance and even the devotion of many *yakṣa*s. They became his *gaṇa*s ("flocks, troops") and *gaṇeśa*s ("troop leaders") and were appointed to positions of great responsibility within the precincts of Śiva's city.

The mythology of Banaras, including the stories of Śiva's connection to this city, is found in the Purāṇas in a genre of praise literature called *māhātmya.* The most extensive of such *māhātmya*s is the *Kāśī Khaṇḍa,* an entire section of the voluminous *Skanda Purāṇa.* One myth tells of the divine hierophany of Śiva in this place. Here, it is said, Śiva's fiery pillar of light *(jyotirliṅga)* burst from the netherworlds, split the earth, and pierced the sky—a luminous and fathomless sign of Śiva. Kāśī is not only the place where that *liṅga* of light is said to have split the earth, but in a wider sense, Kāśī is also said to be the *liṅga* of light—an enormous geographical *liṅga,* with a radius of five *krośa*s (about ten miles). Even today pilgrims circumambulate Kāśī on the Pañcakrośī Road, a five-day pilgrimage circuit around the whole of the city.

There are countless shrines and temples of Śiva in Kāśī, each containing a *liṅga,* which, according to Saiva theology, is a symbol *(pratīka)* of that fathomless light of Śiva. It is said that in Kāśī there is a *liṅga* at every step; indeed, the very stones of Kāśī are Śiva *liṅga*s. Within this wider array, however, there are several temples that have special fame as sanctuaries of Śiva. The most significant of these *liṅga*s are

Oṃkāreśvara, Viśveśvara, and Kedāreśvara, which traditionally centered the three *khaṇḍa*s, or "sectors," of Banaras—north, central, and south. Oṃkāreśvara was of great importance in ancient Kāśī, but was damaged during the early Muslim destruction of the city and has never regained its former prominence. Viśveśvara (modern-day Viśvanātha) rose to preeminence and popularity around the twelfth century, and later continued to hold its position and reputation despite repeated Muslim devastation. Finally, Kedāreśvara anchors the southern sector of Kāśī. Its original home and prototype even today is the shrine of Kedār in the Himalayas, but it is one of the many *liṅga*s from elsewhere in India that have an important presence in this sacred center. The three *khaṇḍa*s centered by these temples also have traditional circumambulatory routes that take the pilgrim through the most important temples and *tīrtha*s of each sector.

In another mythic sequence from the *Kāśī Khaṇḍa,* Śiva populated the city of Vārāṇasī with the entire pantheon of gods. At that time, Śiva dwelt in his barren Himalayan home with his new bride, Pārvatī. He surveyed the entire earth for a suitable abode for the two of them. Seeing the beautiful Kāśī, he set about the task of evicting its ruling king, Divodāsa, so that he could have the city for himself. One by one, Śiva sent the various gods and demigods to Kāśī to find some way to force the king to leave. Not only did each god fail, but all the gods were so entranced with the city itself that they remained there without reporting to Śiva. Finally, with the help of Viṣṇu, Śiva succeeded in evicting King Divodāsa. The city into which he triumphantly entered was full of the gods.

As a sacred center, then, Kāśī is not only the city of Śiva, but also a *maṇḍala* containing the entire divine population of the Hindu pantheon. There are the twelve *āditya*s, "suns"; sixty-four *yoginī*s, "goddesses"; and eight *bhairava*s, the "terrible ones," led by Kāla Bhai-rava, the divine governor of the city. There are fifty-six *gaṇeśa*s, protectively situated around the city in seven concentric circles at the eight compass points. Lord Brahmā and Lord Viṣṇu are there, both of whom have prominent locations within the city.

In addition to assigning a place to each of the gods, the city of Banaras has a place within its precincts for each of the other great *tīrtha*s of India. India's twelve *jyotirliṅga*s, its seven sacred cities, and its sacred rivers and lakes all have symbolic locations in Kāśī. Banaras, then, is a microcosm of India's sacred geography.

The intensity of power that comes from the symbolic gathering of gods, *tīrtha*s, and sages in this one place has made Banaras India's most widely acclaimed place of pilgrimage. While it is visited for the benefits associated with pilgrimage in this life, Kāśī is most famous as an auspicious place to die; a popular phrase is "Kāśyām maranam muktiḥ" ("Death in Kāśī is liberation"). According to tradition, those who die within the precincts of the holy city are certain to be instructed by Śiva himself at the time of death: in Banaras, Śiva's teaching is said to carry one across the flood of *saṃsāra* to the "far shore" of immortality.

SEE ALSO Nāgas and Yakṣas; Pilgrimage, article on Hindu Pilgrimage; Śiva.

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BANTU RELIGIONS SEE CENTRAL BANTU RELIGIONS; EAST AFRICAN RELIGIONS, *ARTICLE ON* NORTHEASTERN BANTU RELIGIONS; INTERLACUSTRINE BANTU RELIGIONS; SOUTHERN AFRICAN RELIGIONS, *ARTICLE ON* SOUTHERN BANTU RELIGIONS

BAPTISM.

The word *baptism* comes from the Greek *baptein,* which means to plunge, to immerse, or to wash; it also signifies, from the Homeric period onward, any rite of immersion in water. The frequentative form, *baptizein,* appears much later (Plato, *Euthydemus* 227d; *Symposium* 176b). The baptismal rite is similar to many other ablution rituals found in a number of religions, but it is the symbolic value of baptism and the psychological intent underlying it that provide the true definition of the rite, a rite usually found associated with a religious initiation.

PRE-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS. The purifying properties of water have been ritually attested to ever since the rise of civilization in the ancient Near East. In Babylonia, according to the *Tablets of Maklu,* water was important in the cult of Enki, lord of Eridu. In Egypt, the *Book of Going Forth by Day* (17) contains a treatise on the baptism of newborn children, which is performed to purify them of blemishes acquired in the womb. Water, especially the Nile's cold water, which is believed to have regenerative powers, is used to baptize the dead in a ritual based on the Osiris myth. This ritual both assures the dead of an afterlife and rids them of blemishes that may not be taken into the other world. Baptism of the dead is also found among the Mandaeans (cf., the *Book of John*), and a similar rite is mentioned on Orphic tablets (*Orphicorum fragmenta,* 2d ed., Otto Kern, ed., Berlin, 1963, p. 232).

The property of immortality is also associated with baptism in the Greek world: according to Cretan funeral tablets, it was associated especially with the spring of Mnemosyne (memory). A bath in the sanctuary of Trophonios procured for the initiate a blessed immortality even while in this world (Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 9.39.5). Greek religious sanctions did impose a number of lustral ablution rites for the removal of sins, but these rites were only preliminary to the principal rites of the mysteries. Thus, the bath in the sea with which the initiation rites of the great Eleusinian mysteries began was simply a physical purification, accompanied by the sacrifice of a piglet. This was true as well of the immersion of the followers of the god Men Askaenos, near Antioch in Pisidia, and of the ablutions required of the Corybantes and of the followers of the Thracian goddess Cotyto, who were called *baptai* ("the baptized ones"). In all these cases, baptism was only a preamble, as the *Magic Papyrus* of Paris testifies (43): "Jump into the river with your clothes on. After you have immersed yourself, come out, change your clothes, and depart without looking back." Such a rite marked the beginning of an initiation; this practice was required to put the neophyte in the state of purity necessary for him to receive the god's oracle or an esoteric teaching.

In Hellenistic philosophy, as in Egyptian speculation, divine water possessed a real power of transformation. Hermetism offered to man the possibility of being transformed into a spiritual being after immersion in the baptismal crater of the *nous*; this baptism conferred knowledge on man and permitted him to participate in the gnosis and, hence, to know the origins of the soul. Having received baptism, the gnostic "knows why he has come into existence, while others do not know why or whence they are born" (*Corpus Hermeticum* 1.4.4). Egyptian cults also developed the idea of regeneration through water. The bath preceding initiation into the cult of Isis seems to have been more than a simple ritual purification; it was probably intended to represent symbolically the initiate's death to the life of this world by recalling Osiris' drowning in the Nile (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11.23.1).

In the cult of Cybele, a baptism of blood was practiced in the rite of the *taurobolium*: the initiate went down into a pit and was completely covered with the blood of a bull, whose throat was cut above him. At first, the goal of this rite seems to have been to provide the initiate with greater physical vitality, but later it acquired more of a spiritual importance. A well-known inscription attests that he who has received baptism of blood is *renatus in aeternum,* that he has received a new birth in eternity (*Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* 6.510). In other inscriptions associated with the *tauro-bolium,* the word *natalicium* seems to be the exact equivalent of the Christians' *natalis,* suggesting that the day of the baptism of blood is also the day of a new and spiritual birth. However, the fact that this baptism was repeated periodically shows that the idea of complete spiritual regeneration was not originally associated with it. Only under the influences of Christianity and the Mithraic cult does the idea of an atonement for past sins through shed blood appear; henceforth, it was possible to believe that the *taurobolium* procured the hope of eternity, and that the Mithraic bull sacrifice was a redeeming act that gave the initiate a new life.

The liturgical use of water was common in the Jewish world. Mosaic law imposes the performance of ablutions before ritual entry into sacred areas; likewise, it describes the chief impurities that water can erase (*Nm.* 19:1–22; *Lv.* 14, 15, 16:24–28). Under Persian influence, rites of immersion multiplied after the exile. Some prophets saw in the requirement of physical purity a sign of the necessity of inner and spiritual purification (*Ez.* 36:25–28). The Essenes linked the pouring forth of the divine life in man to purification by baptism in flowing water. They practiced a baptism of initiation that brought the neophyte into the community at Qumran after a year's probation. However, the rite did not produce any magical effects, for, as the *Manual of Discipline* asserts, a pure heart was necessary for the bath to be effective, and an impure man who receives it merely soils the sanctified water (*Manual of Discipline* 6.16–17, 6.21).

Toward the beginning of the Christian era, the Jews adopted the custom of baptizing proselytes seven days after their circumcision, the rabbis having added the impurity of converted gentiles to the chief impurities enumerated in the Torah. After their baptism, new converts were allowed access to the sacrifices in the Temple. A series of specific interrogations made it possible to judge the real intentions of the candidate who wished to adopt the Jewish religion. After submitting to these interrogations, he was circumcised and later baptized before witnesses. In the baptism, he was immersed naked in a pool of flowing water; when he rose from the pool, he was a true son of Israel. Clearly a rite of unification with the community of believers, this baptism developed under the influence of the school of Hillel and emphasized the importance of a new birth. "Every proselyte," says the Babylonian Talmud, "is like a newborn child" (*Yev.* 22a, 48b, 62a, etc.).

The ministry of John the Baptist in the Jordanian desert was connected with this baptist movement, which symbolically linked immersion in a river of flowing water to the passage from death to a new and supernatural life. To achieve the erasing of sin that is closely tied to inner conversion, John administered a baptism of water, but by doing so in the water of the Jordan itself, not in the ritual water of purified pools, John made a clear departure from official practice. This departure was all the more striking because his baptism appears to be a substitute for the *ḥaṭa't,* the sacrifice for sin, and is not a rite of unification with the Israelite community but rather a sign of divine pardon and of the advent of the messianic era. Not surprisingly, John drew down upon himself the fierce hatred of the scribes and Jewish authorities (Josephus Flavius, *Jewish Antiquities* 18.116–119).

The Mandaeans take their baptismal practice directly from the example of John, whom they consider the perfect gnostic; they administer baptism in the flowing water of a symbolic Jordan. “Be baptized with the flowing water I have brought you from the world of light,” says the *Right Ginza* (19.24). Mandaean baptism is followed by a sacred meal where a blessing is given to bread and water mixed with wine, considered the sustenance of divine beings; in addition, the Mandaeans practice baptism of the dead. Johannine and Christian rites of baptism do not, however, have their origin in these practices, as was thought at the beginning of the twentieth century. Rather, Jewish and Christian influences create the numerous ritual similarities found in Mandaean practice, including the white garments with which recipients of Mandaean baptism are clothed. “Clothe yourselves in white, to be like the mystery of this flowing water,” says the *Right Ginza.*

The same influences were felt by the Elkesaites, who at the beginning of the second century abolished the fire of the patriarchal sacrifice and substituted for it a baptism by water that both remits sin and brings the neophytes into a new religion. Their baptismal ritual takes place in the flowing water of a brook or river after invocations are addressed to earth, air, oil, and salt. This sort of baptism also becomes a method of physical healing and appears again in numerous Baptist sects of the modern period.

CHRISTIAN BAPTISM. John baptized Jesus, like others who came to him, in the waters of the Jordan, but the manifestations of the Father and the Holy Spirit during Jesus' baptism give it a completely new dimension (*Mk.* 1:9–11). Jesus' baptism also inaugurated his public ministry, and he later gave his disciples the mission of baptizing in the name of the trinitarian faith—a mission that they carried out even before their master's death (*Mt.* 28:19, *Jn.* 4:1–2). The apostles continued to practice the baptism of water of the type administered by John; but they emphasized the necessity of an inner conversion preceding the profession of the trinitarian faith, the focus of the new belief.

It was Paul who first defined the theological and symbolic significance of Christian baptism, joining the neophyte's ritual descent into water to Christ's death and rebirth to a new and spiritual life through his resurrection (*Rom.* 6:3–4). Sin is not carried away by the flowing water but by the Lord's death and resurrection; through baptismal immersion, the Christian is able to participate in this new existence (*Col.* 2:12). In *Titus* 3:5, Paul describes baptism as the gift of “a bath of regeneration and renewal”; the baptismal water is at once the water of death in which the old, sinful man is immersed and the water of life from which he emerges renewed. In fact, Paul rediscovers the meaning of a very ancient symbolism of death and resurrection found in archaic initiation rituals a symbolism that has been admirably analyzed by Mircea Eliade (*Images et symbols: Essais sur le symbolisme magico-religieux,* Paris, 1952, pp. 199–212; *Traité d'histoire des religions,* Paris, 1949, pp. 64–65).

Every detail of the Christian ritual is intended to symbolize birth to a new life in Jesus Christ: nudity (at least for men) during immersion; conferral of new names on the neophytes, who are also given new, white garments; imposition of the sign of the cross, understood as the seal (*sphragis*), mentioned in *Revelation;* and the dispensation of a drink of milk and honey to the newly baptized. Ever since the *First Letter of Peter,* new Christians have been compared to little children (*1 Pt.* 2:2), a comparison frequently represented in the early Christian art of the catacombs; in another early symbol, they are likened to “little fish, so named for our great Ichthus, Jesus Christ, who is born in water and remains alive by living there” (Tertullian, *On Baptism* 1.3). Old Testament prototypes of baptism—the Flood, the crossing of the Red Sea, the crossing of the Jordan, and entrance into the Promised Land—are evoked in catechesis even by the first generations of Christians, who recognized in them the passage through the water of life and death (cf. *1 Cor.* 10:1–2). As Chrysostom explained in the fourth century, “Baptism represents death and the sepulcher but also resurrection and life. Just as the old man is buried in the sepulcher, so we immerse our heads in water. At the moment when we come out of the water, the new man appears” (*Homilies* 25.2). Christian representations of baptism were also enriched by other symbols drawn from the Old Testament, notably the deer drinking at the spring, from Psalm 42, and the Good Shepherd surrounded by his sheep, from Psalm 23 (*Ps.* 23, 42:25). Both these psalms were sung during the Easter Vigil by candidates for baptism.

Christian baptismal practice is founded on the commandment of Jesus himself to his disciples (*Mt.* 28:19). Its administration during the first centuries of the church took place at Easter night and Pentecost and was limited to bishops, the heads of the Christian communities. Reception of baptism seems often to have been put off until the moment of death by neophytes who were reluctant to accept the full consequences of inner conversion; and infant baptism, though possible, was probably not practiced in the early period of the church (cf. *Mt.* 19:14, *Acts* 16:33, *1 Tm.* 2:4). As the gateway to the sacraments, baptism opened the way into the church community, and prayers and rites increasingly describe it as the entrance to a holy place, the opening of the different routes offered by the faith.

The church was especially concerned, however, to organize a period of probation during which the catechumens were prepared to receive the sacrament through prayer, fasting, and doctrinal instruction. The *Didache,* in chapter 7, clearly asserts the duty of candidates to live according to evangelical precepts and to renounce evil in all its forms. As a number of patristic texts attest, the baptismal ritual was quickly enriched through such additions as interrogations (like those preceding Jewish baptism), a triple renunciation of the devil (recalling Jesus' triple renunciation during his temptations), a triple immersion (representing the Trinity), the anointing of the neophyte with the holy chrism, and the laying on of hands by the bishop or priest (Tertullian, *Against Praxeas* 26; *On Baptism;* Hippolytus, *Apostolic Tradition*).

Because it was the sacrament that indicated entrance into the life of faith and the community of the church, baptism was also considered a means to inner enlightenment. In the Eastern church, those who were initiated into the Christian mysteries by baptism were called the "enlightened," for, as Gregory of Nazianzus explains, the baptismal rite opens the catechumen's eyes to the light that indicates God's symbolic birth in man (Discourse 40: *On Baptism*). In this view, the bishop theologian merely continues a long tradition begun by Paul. "Awake, sleeper," the apostle writes in *Ephesians,* "and Christ will shine upon you"—an admonition he repeats in the *Letter to the Hebrews* (*Eph.* 5:14, *Heb.* 6:4, 10:32). Writing of baptism in the second century, Justin Martyr speaks of the "bath that is called enlightenment" (*First Apology* 61); in the following century, Clement of Alexandria wrote: "Baptized, we are enlightened; enlightened, we are adopted; adopted, we are made perfect; perfect, we become immortal" (*Pedagogue* 1.6.26). Thus, in the early church, baptism was clearly understood as the initiation required for a man to recognize the divine light and to participate in eternal life while still in this world.

But because it was also the fundamental rite of entry into the church community, baptism was quickly claimed as a prerogative by several rival churches, each of which called itself orthodox and accused the others of heresy and schism. Modifications of baptismal rites by the various sects were inevitable. After the second half of the fourth century, the Anomoeans, exponents of a doctrine akin to Arianism, rejected triple immersion, the symbol of a Trinity equal in all its members, a doctrine they contested; for the same reason, they even modified the baptismal formula that had been fixed by scripture (*Mt.* 28:19). What is more important, from the third century on, the Arians insisted upon the invalidity of a rite of baptism conferred by a heretic or schismatic, a view given great importance by the Donatists. The Arians denied the validity of Catholic baptism, and in Italy (especially in Milan) and Vandal Africa they required rebaptism (cf. Michel Meslin, *Les Ariens d'Occident,* Paris, 1967, pp. 382–390). Arians and Donatists alike did not believe that a person could be brought within the church community by a minister who was personally alien to it and did not share its faith; they held that baptism was valid only if it was accompanied by a pure intention in the person who administered it, who had also to belong to the true church. They refused to accept the Catholic view that the rite of baptism is in itself the canal of an omnipotent divine grace that completely surpasses a channel for qualities of the individual who administers it.

From the sixth century on at the latest, the Catholic church permitted the baptism of children, the engagement to follow the faith being taken in their name by adult Christians. The custom of baptizing infants soon after birth became popular in the tenth or eleventh century and was generally accepted by the thirteenth (Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 3.68.3). In the fourteenth century, baptismal ritual was simplified, and a rite of spiritual infusion, in which water is poured on the head of a child held above the baptismal font, replaced baptism by immersion.

After 1517, the questions posed by the practice of the baptism of small children served as a major foundation for dissident Christian movements stemming from the Reformation. To adherents of these movements, an uncompromising interpretation of the doctrine of individual justification by faith alone implied that the rite of entry into the Christian community had to be restricted to adults who were conscious of their salvation through Christ and who asked to be baptized. The dissidents formally denied the validity of baptism given to nonresponsible children and required those who had received such baptism to be rebaptized as adults, thus earning the name Anabaptists (*Wiedertäufer*). Going even further, Thomas Müntzer (1485–1525), one of the "prophets of Zwickau," affirmed that individual inspiration by the Holy Spirit determined a person's conduct and demonstrated the unique rule of faith. Along with this demand for religious discipline, the Anabaptist movement, especially in Germany, developed a revolutionary ideology, preached radical egalitarianism, community of property, and even polygamy, and actively supported the German Peasants' Revolt. Denounced and condemned by Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli, Müntzer was executed at Mülhausen, and the Anabaptists were subjected to a pitiless repression. Nevertheless, their movement survived in northern Europe and expanded during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Holland, where the Mennonites still practice adult baptism by immersion and advocate a policy of nonviolence that denies them participation in public office or military service.

In 1633, a group of English Baptists immigrated to North America, beginning the development in the New World of a number of Baptist sects and churches, whose members founded their belief on the theological baptism of Paul (cf. *Rom.* 6:4, *Col.* 2:12) and insisted upon a return to strict apostolic practice. These sects and churches have in common the practice of baptism by immersion administered in the name of the Trinity only to adults who believe and confess their faith in Jesus Christ; in addition, from their distant Anabaptist origins, a majority retains the doctrine of the freedom of each confessional community to interpret the scriptures and the Christian faith.

SEE ALSO Ablutions; Purification; Water.

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BAPTIST CHURCHES.

As with most denominational names, the term *Baptist* began as a pejorative nickname. It first appeared as *Anabaptist,* or "rebaptizer," because in the sixteenth century, when this group arose in Western Christendom, virtually all persons had already been baptized as infants. Thus, these rebaptizers were scandalously denying the validity of that first baptism, setting themselves up as a truer church, if not indeed as the true church. Gradually, as infant baptism became less prevalent and as alternative modes of worship grew more widespread, this still young denomination adopted the shortened form of *Baptist,* both as a convenient distinction and as a point of honor. (New England churches in the seventeenth century and early eighteenth century gradually progressed from simply "the Church of Christ" to "the Church of Christ in Gospel Order" to "the Church of Christ Baptized upon Profession of Their Faith" to "the Baptized Church of Christ" to, finally, the Baptist Church.) To be sure, the new subject of the baptism (namely the adult, or "believer") and not originally the mode of baptism (whether by sprinkling, pouring, or immersing) stood out as the most glaring liturgical innovation of this politically powerless and socially suspect group. Although not preserved in the denominational designation, the other feature of the early Baptist movement that most alarmed contemporaries was the Baptists' novel notion that civil government had no responsibility, and indeed no right, to enforce a religious conformity. As one of their seventeenth-century opponents wrote, Anabaptists "deny Civil Government to be proved of Christ" (Featley, 1646).

ORIGINS. As used by their enemies, the word *Anabaptist* was calculated to have an unnerving effect upon all who believed in a well-ordered society, for the term suggested that English rebaptizers of the seventeenth century were of a piece with the most radical continental rebaptizers of the century before. Thus every fanaticism, every antinomianism, every vagary of the Reformation's bloodiest days could be laid at the doorstep of those English Separatists opposing infant baptism. History, to say nothing of the specific individuals involved, was by this indiscriminate name-calling badly served, for modern Baptists have only the most tenuous connection with the radical reformers of the sixteenth century. (Modern Mennonites may be more accurately seen as lineal descendants of the Reformation's left wing.) English and American Baptists, who in the twentieth century accounted for nearly 90 percent of all Baptists worldwide, emerged from the Puritan agitations of Elizabethan and Jacobean England.

Sharing many of the Puritan concerns about a Church of England still too papist, still too engrossed with civil enforcement and ecclesiastical preferment, these separating Puritans early distinguished themselves by insisting that the church be a voluntary society. That voluntarism had two critical components: (1) the insistence that members choose their church rather than be born into it; this voluntary act was testified to by the act of baptism, which was both obedient to Christ's command and declarative of one's personal, uncoerced confession of faith; and (2) the conviction that the covenant of believers to work and worship together was a private agreement with which the state had nothing to do, for conscience must be left free. As Thomas Helwys (c. 1550–c. 1616), one of that first generation of English Baptists, wrote, "the King is a mortal man and not God, therefore [he] hath no power over the immortal souls of his subjects, to make laws and ordinances for them, and to set spiritual lords over them."

The leadership of Helwys and two others, John Smyth (d. 1612) and John Murton, proved decisive in the first two decades of the seventeenth century as the English General Baptists (that is, non-Calvinist, affirming an unrestricted or general atonement for humankind) grew from a scarcely visible knot of believers in 1609 to around twenty thousand members by 1660. Despite this impressive showing, however, the major strength of the modern Baptist churches came from a somewhat later development of the 1630s: the rise of the Particular Baptists (of Calvinist orientation, affirming a limited or particular redemption for humankind). Under the leadership of John Spilsbury in the decade following 1633, a single church became mother to six more. By the time seven such churches existed in and around London, these Calvinist Baptists had also reintroduced the ancient Christian practice of baptism by immersion, this mode being preferred as a more suitable symbol of one's burial with Christ followed by one's new birth or resurrection from that death to walk in a wholly new life. One of the members of Spilsbury's group, Mark Lucar (d. 1676), immigrated to America, settling in Newport, Rhode Island. There he introduced the "new baptism" to New England's scattered Anabaptists, as they were still called. Lucar, arriving sometime before 1648, also helped strengthen ties between American and English Baptists as the two groups together labored to make clear the unfairness of the broad application of the "Anabaptist" label. (New England continued to legislate against Anabaptists.) In this endeavor they were much assisted by the moderate, well-reasoned, properly Calvinist London Confession of 1644.

Baptist growth in America lagged behind that of England in the seventeenth century and early eighteenth century. Roger Williams (1603?–1683) gave the infant denomination both a geographical base and a theological thrust when in 1636, as an exile from Puritan Massachusetts Bay Colony, he made his way on foot to a territory at the head of the Narragansett Bay. After a careful and conscientious purchase of land from the Indians, he named the first settlement Providence in gratitude to God for having delivered him safely from the Puritans, the Indians, and the rigors of his fourteen-week exposure to the New England winter. The colony of Rhode Island, founded on the principle of a "full liberty in religious concernments," as well as on a hot hatred of the "Bloudy Tenent of Persecution" (the title of Williams's 1644 London publication), received into its midst all manner of religious pariahs: Baptists, Quakers, Ranters, Fifth Monarchists, Gortonists, and many others. Yet only in a limited sense did Rhode Island become a Baptist stronghold. By the end of the seventeenth century, Quakers dominated the colony politically, while Baptists had separated into Calvinist, Arminian (Six Principle), and Seventh-day factions. Williams, moreover, had remained within the Baptist fold only briefly; the leadership of the Providence church quickly passed into other hands. In Newport, on the other hand, the more enduring leadership of John Clarke (1609–1676; assisted by Lucar, Obadiah Holmes [1607–1650], and Joseph Torrey) gave the infant denomination a firm if tiny base in the New World.

EXPANSION IN NORTH AMERICA. The great growth of Baptists in North America (and by extension in the world) followed the eighteenth century's Great Awakening, that Calvinist explosion of evangelical zeal and intense religious experience. Even though Baptists were not prime leaders in the movement, they were the prime beneficiaries of it. Churches separating from the Congregational establishments in New England often moved from a halfway house called "Separatist" to a new denominational home called "Baptist." For example, the eminent pastor, theologian, historian, and civil libertarian Isaac Backus (1724–1806) followed this path. Moreover, the Awakening, even if it did not make an itinerant ministry respectable, did make such traveling evangelism both popular and pervasive. John Leland (1754–1841), a New Englander transplanted to Virginia, is an instructive example of such a ministry: irregular, unauthorized, ill-supported, and enormously effective. The names of Backus and Leland also point to a rhetoric that during the Revolutionary period served to identify Baptists with the cause of liberty, both civil and ecclesiastical. In the South, where the Church of England had for so long enjoyed a legal monopoly, Baptists seized upon the discomfort of a church so swiftly disestablished and so widely under suspicion to make major conquests among farmers, artisans, and even gentry.

After the American Revolution, Baptists also made phenomenal advances among the nation's blacks. Using a persuasive preaching style, an accessible theology, an appealing baptismal ritual, and an ecclesiology that granted freedom from white rule, the Baptist message found ready hearers among both enslaved and free blacks. By the end of the nineteenth century, black Baptists had formed their own national organizations, publishing boards, and mission societies. By the mid-twentieth century, approximately two-thirds of America's black Christians were Baptists, and one-third or more of all of America's Baptists were black. Like their white counterparts, however, blacks found it difficult to maintain organizational or theological unity.

The pattern of increasing diversity had been set by the white Baptists. Even before the nineteenth century began, some Baptists, disturbed by the prevailing Calvinist orientation of their denomination, chose to emphasize people's free will: Free Will Baptists thus maintained a separate identity until early in the twentieth century. Others in the new nation, fearing that Baptists would aspire to national status with all the evils that bureaucracy and hierarchy implied, resisted the creation of national societies and boards, preferring to remain in smaller, more local, more nearly autonomous units. In the bitter conflict over slavery, more specifically over the appointment of a slaveholding missionary, white Baptists split along geographical lines in 1845, and the Southern Baptist Convention was organized in Augusta, Georgia. (A national organization of Baptists dated back only to 1814, so denominational unity in the United States enjoyed but a brief life.) The Southern Baptist Convention, with its base initially in the states of the southern Confederacy, moved aggressively to the West, to the North, and to "foreign fields," becoming the largest single Baptist entity in the world. By the mid-twentieth century it had also become the largest Protestant denomination in the United States. The northern group (originally the Northern Baptist Convention, now the American Baptist Churches, USA), with about three-fourths the number of churches as the southern group at the time of separation, found itself repeatedly depleted in the twentieth century by separations and schisms—most of them related to the conflict between modernists and fundamentalists. As a consequence, by the late twentieth century the Southern Baptist Convention outnumbered its northern counterpart by about ten to one. Although the other major Protestant groups that divided over slavery reunited—the Methodists in 1939 and the Presbyterians in 1983—the Baptists have shown little sign of returning to a single fold. In fact they continued to divide and subdivide into the twenty-first century. Southern Baptists divided over questions of theology and denominational control, with moderates forming such new groups as the Alliance of Baptists, the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship, and Baptists Committed.

In 2000 the northern and southern "halves" had an aggregate membership of around nineteen million, while the two oldest black denominations had a combined membership of eight to ten million. This leaves uncounted some four or five million Baptists in the United States who are scattered among a wide variety of other organizations. Most of these groups affirm a strict congregational polity (eschewing any national superstructure or headquarters), a rigid biblical theology (rejecting all critical study of the biblical text itself), and their own special hold on "the faith once delivered to the saints" (opposing all ecumenical ventures, even with other Baptist bodies). The Baptist family in the United States is large—Protestantism's largest by far in the nation, as it approaches thirty million—but as in many another large family, some members do not speak to other members.

WORLDWIDE. Outside the United States, the Baptist churches are unevenly, and often sparsely, scattered. One may speak most conveniently in terms of continents rather than individual nations in offering estimates of membership: in Africa and Europe, about 1 million in each; in Asia, about 1.5 million; and in Central and South America, something less than 1 million. In Canada, to which New England Baptists began to migrate in the late eighteenth century, there are between 100,000 and 200,000 Baptists. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, Baptists worldwide numbered over forty million, with over thirty million in the United States.

The former Soviet Union (counted in the European total) constitutes something of a special case as the Baptist presence there is both highly visible and highly vulnerable. Baptists entered Russia from several points of departure in the late nineteenth century, but they encountered severe opposition from the czars and the Russian Orthodox Church. In the USSR that opposition intensified as Baptists, true to an ancient heritage, found any interference or regulation by the state intolerable. With the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989, new Baptist groups were established in a variety of newly formed eastern European countries. These groups included the Baptist Unions of Lithuania, Georgia, Romania, and Latvia. New churches and seminaries were formed, and many of the unions affiliated with the European Baptist Federation and the Baptist World Alliance. The latter is the primary international fellowship of Baptists, funding programs and promoting church interaction throughout the world.

In England the General Baptists of the seventeenth century lost either zeal or identity or both, and many of that number merged with the Universalists. The Calvinist or Particular Baptists maintained both zeal and identity, but in the face of a powerful and sometimes repressive national church, the numbers of these dissenters never approached that of their coreligionists in the United States. In 2000, Baptists in the British Isles (England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales) numbered a little over 200,000.

Because of their belief in a threefold immersion (separately in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit), German Baptists received the nickname of "Dunkers" (or "Dunkards"). Known officially since 1908 as the Church of the Brethren, these Baptists originated in Germany early in the eighteenth century. Fleeing from persecution there, however, they immigrated virtually en masse to America, settling in Pennsylvania, the Virginia backcountry, and the Midwest. Although distinguished by liturgical emphases on the Love Feast and the ceremonial washing of each other's feet, these German Baptists attract most public attention by their consistent witness for peace and their choice of alternative service rather than military enlistment. Their membership in 2000 neared 200,000. One other sizable group of distinctive ethnic heritage, the (Swedish) Baptist General Conference, dropped its ethnic label in 1945; in 2000 its membership in the United States exceeded 130,000.

Across nearly four centuries and six continents, the Baptist churches have multiplied in variety nearly as much as in number. Yet it is possible to point to broad features generally characteristic of the entire group. The first broad feature is voluntarism, which places Baptists squarely in the free-church tradition. Membership is by choice; creeds are to emerge from below and not to be handed down from above; covenants are ideally arrived at by the local congregations and periodically revised; and worship follows no fixed form, without service books or a canon of prayers. That voluntarism also sees its integrity and spontaneity as fatally compromised whenever the state intrudes into the realm of religious conscience. Voluntarism has its weaker side in becoming the passive reflection of a surrounding culture, in surrendering slowly and unthinkingly to what one author has called the "cultural captivity of the churches" (Eighmy, 1972). The second broad feature is Pietism, which places its first priority on the personal and direct encounter with God. Such individualism protects against an autocratic or coldly impersonal structure, but it can also lead to a chaotic splintering where, as Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882) said, every man is his own church. Pietism ensures a zeal; it does not always carry with it a corresponding bounty of knowledge and public responsibility.

The Baptist movement's third broad feature is evangelism, which in some times and places has been seen as the totality of the Baptist effort. Special classes and techniques in "soul winning" have been developed, and the revival meeting became standard fare in most Baptist churches, whether large or small, urban or rural. This evangelistic emphasis has also been responsible for a heavy investment in missions, both at home and abroad. In the opening of the American West, such men as Isaac McCoy (1784–1846) and John Mason Peck (1789–1858) played major roles. Abroad, the path cut in the early nineteenth century by Adoniram Judson (1788–1850) and Luther Rice (1783–1836) was traveled by thousands, both male and female, in succeeding decades. Yet there is also a strong antimission strain in Baptist history, institutionalized in several Primitive Baptist bodies, both black and white.

The fourth broad feature is sectarianism, which has kept most Baptists on the fringes of the ecumenical movement. The transition from sect to denomination is uneven and to some degree unpredictable. A mid-nineteenth-century movement known as Landmarkism represents the sectarian extreme; it held that true Baptist churches have existed from the apostolic age and only the true local church has a valid ministry, valid sacraments, and biblical authenticity. The American Baptist Association, with about one million members in the 1980s, constitutes the contemporary manifestation of a sectarianism that rejects all ecumenical endeavors, is strongly suspicious of Roman Catholicism, and deeply resents those Baptist churches that behave in a more "denominational" way.

SEE ALSO Anabaptism; Williams, Roger.

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BAR AND BAT MITSVAH SEE RITES OF PASSAGE, *ARTICLE ON* JEWISH RITES

BARDAISAN (or Bardesanes) of Edessa (154–222 CE) was a philosopher, an ethnographer, and the first Syriac Christian theologian, later regarded as unorthodox.

Only a few events are known about the life of Bardaisan (Bar Dayṣān, or "son of [the local river] Dayṣān"). He attended the court of the king of Edessa, Abgar VIII (176–211), and probably fled from Edessa to Armenia after Abgar IX was taken prisoner by the Romans in 216. Bardaisan had a son who introduced metrical hymns in Syriac, which were imitated by later Syriac poets. Edessene Christianity of his time did not have a hierarchical structure, but was divided into various groups, such as the Jewish-Christians, the "orthodox" Christian minority, the Gnostics, and the Marcionites, who later came into conflict with Bardaisan and his school.

What can be ascribed to Bardaisan shows his familiarity with both Greek philosophy (Platonism, Stoicism) and Hellenistic astrological and ethnographic culture (works on India and Armenia are mentioned by some sources). In Edessa, Bardaisan founded a circle in which scientific and religious questions were freely debated. Only in the fifth century did Bishop Rabbula succeed in eradicating the Bardesanites from Edessa.

The sources for the doctrines of the Bardesanites include *The Book of the Laws of the Countries,* preserved in Syriac and probably written in that language, and quoted by later Greek authors in an ancient Greek version. This work has the literary form of a dialogue between Bardaisan and his disciples and deals with the relation between free will and fate. In the dialogue, Bardaisan declares that two factors affect human life: (1) nature *(kyānā),* namely, the natural constitution (to be born, grow up, procreate, grow old, and die); and (2) fate *(ḥelqā);* that is, the accidents that can either reinforce or oppose the natural constitution (e.g., wealth, poverty, illness). Humans, whose bodies undergo the influence of both nature and fate, in their quality of God's images are provided with free will *(ḥērūtā),* which is placed in the intellect—a conception in which Jewish and Christian elements are mingled with Aristotelian philosophy. To prove this assumption, Bardaisan delivers a speech, well known in late antiquity, where, by describing the customs and the laws of different peoples (including Jews and Christians), he shows their independence from fate. The last sentences indicate that fate and its elements are part of the order imposed by God after a crisis that took place among the original entities.

The Bardesanite sources also include the antiheretical works of Ephraem of Syria (306–373); that is, *Prose Refutations* and *Hymns against Heresies,* to be compared with four cosmogonic traditions, preserved by Syriac authors from the sixth to the tenth centuries, describing the Bardesanite doctrine of the origin of the world. According to these sources, from eternity there are four entities *(ītyē)*—light, wind, fire, and water—in a wandering state (*Gn.* 1:2). Some disciples of Bardaisan maintain the atomic nature of the entities. God resides over the entities as their lord; darkness underlies them. For a reason independent from God—either the breath of the wind or an accidental *(šegmā)* event *(gedšā)*—the entities begin to damage each other. Darkness arises, partially defiling the entities. The "word of thought" *(mēmrā d-tarʿ ītā),* corresponding to the middle Platonic and Stoic logos (or, according to Bardaisan's disciples, a set of three kinds of spiritual atoms), is sent by God to separate darkness from the entities. From what is still defiled, the logos establishes the world in such a way as to be progressively purified. Ephraem mentions the "diffusion of life," which apparently is a spiritual element, whose connections with the logos are not clear. He reports that, according to Bardaisan, the human body is created by the archons of fate and is destined to dissolution—the soul is a corporeal but light element, whereas the intellect is a fragment of the divinity. The resurrection is therefore spiritual. Before the coming of the savior, human souls were imprisoned in the astrological regions because of Adam's sin; afterward, only pure souls and intellects can reach God.

Ephraem's *Hymn against Heresies* 55 quotes Bardesanite verses mentioning the following Gnostic figures: the father and the mother of life (compared to, or identified with, the sun and the moon), who beget (through sexual union) the son of life as well as two female figures—the holy spirit and the youthful spirit. The youthful spirit, who is destined for a wedding feast, calls upon God in the words pronounced by Christ on the cross (*Mt.* 27:46). The father of life and the mother of life also beget the paradise and several astrological entities.

Later heresiological accounts, written in Syriac and Arabic by Christian and Muslim authors, testify to the reduction of Bardesanite doctrine to a strict dualism similar to Manichaean dualism. These sources also report Bardesanite mythology and a theory of seven atomic entities, which are also mentioned by Ephraem.

Although the astrological and mythological aspects of Bardesanite thought influenced the culture of such later dissident groups as the Audians (fourth century) and the Sabians of Ḥarran (sixth century onward), Manichaeism appears to be more sensitive to Bardaisan's theological speculations. Mani's (216–273) lost work *The Book of Mysteries* was directed against Bardaisan's ideas about the human soul. Other differences can also be detected between Bardaisan and Mani. For Bardaisan, for example, darkness is not an active principle, as it is for Mani, and Bardesanite anthropology is apparently more optimistic than Manichaean anthropology. However, a partial reception of Bardesanite ideas by Mani seems certain, and includes the three periods of cosmic history (the original situation, crisis and mixing, and final separation), the formation of the world as an instrument of purification, and the two couples, the father and mother of life and the sun and moon.

There are two main controversial issues about Bardesanite doctrines: (1) the ideological unity of Bardesanite texts; and (2) their relationship with the Gnostic family. Some scholars, for whom *The Book of the Laws of the Countries* reflects Bardaisan's own ideas, maintain the ideological unity of all Bardesanite texts (despite differences of language) and deny their Gnostic character. Others, disqualifying the authenticity of the dialogue as a document of Bardaisan and regarding it as a late and catholicizing product, interpret the other fragments as a clear witness to Bardaisan's close proximity to Gnosticism. A possible third interpretation sees Bardesanite texts as the product of different authors who support in varying ways an anti-Marcionite theology adverse to systems that divide God the creator too sharply from God the savior, based on the assumption that the original crisis took place not within God, but within a distinct principle (the entities) subordinated to him.

SEE ALSO Ephraem of Syria; Gnosticism; Mani; Marcion.

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ALBERTO CAMPLANI (2005)

BARDESANES SEE BARDAISAN

BAR-ILAN, MEʾIR (1880–1949), born Meʾir Berlin; one of the foremost leaders of the religious Zionist movement Mizraḥi. A native of Volozhin, Russia, he was the son of Naftali Berlin, the head of the famous Volozhin *yeshivah* (rabbinic academy). Bar-Ilan joined the religious Zionist movement and attended many Zionist congresses from 1905 onward. In 1911, he became the secretary of the Mizraḥi movement and moved to Berlin. In 1915, he immigrated to the United States, and in 1925 he settled in Jerusalem, where he remained until his death.

As the Mizraḥi representative, Bar-Ilan held many important positions in the Zionist movement before the creation of the State of Israel. He edited the religious Zionist Hebrew weekly *Ha-ʿIvri* from 1910 through 1921 and was editor in chief of the Tel Aviv daily *Ha-tsofeh* from 1938 to 1949.

In both his political activities and his writings, Bar-Ilan tried to create a central role for Orthodox Jews in Jewish nationalism. He rejected the notion of separation of synagogue and state, but he also rejected the more extreme religious arguments against any cooperation with the secular nationalists. He argued for inculcation of traditional religious values through the educational system. He believed that only by education, not by coercion, could the Orthodox win the struggle with the secularists over the final status of religion in the Jewish state. His position can be summed up in the Mizraḥi slogan that he coined: "The Land of Israel for the people of Israel according to the Torah [God's law] of Israel."

Bar-Ilan's position on the relationship between religion and state in Israel remains substantially that of the present religious Zionist party, the Mafdal (National Religious Party). The Bar-Ilan University near Tel Aviv, which was founded in 1955 to wed traditional Jewish learning with modern academic scholarship, was named after him.

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DAVID BIALE (1987)
Revised Bibliography

BARLAAM OF CALABRIA (c. 1290–c. 1350), humanist, philologist, and theologian; one of the forerunners of the Renaissance. Barlaam was born in Seminara commune, Calabria, a Greek by ethnic descent and language, and a member of the religious groups that still preserved the memory of their Orthodox Christian past in southern Italy. With the passage of time the inhabitants of the region were obliged to submit to Rome, but they felt themselves to be Orthodox as a result of their long tradition. The religious duality of the Greek communities of southern Italy explains the oscillation in Barlaam's advocacy of the two competing traditions. He was possessed of a sentimental love of Orthodoxy on account of his Greek ancestry, but as a theologian and philosopher, he was influenced by Western Scholasticism.

In 1326, traveling from Italy to the Greek peninsula, Barlaam doffed the clothes of a Western monk and put on Greek monastic dress. He stayed in Thessalonica several years and strengthened his reputation as a philosopher. Barlaam later settled in Constantinople, where he soon gained the confidence of ecclesiastical and political circles, especially of the emperor Andronicus III Palaeologus, who gave him a professorial chair at the university. No one had any doubts about the sincerity of his Orthodox convictions. He was made abbot of the Monastery of Our Savior, and two confidential missions on behalf of the emperor were entrusted to him. During the years 1333–1334, Barlaam undertook to negotiate the union of churches with the representatives of Pope John XXII. For this occasion he wrote twenty-one treatises against the Latins in which he opposed papal primacy and the *filioque* doctrine. In 1379, he was sent to the exiled Pope Benedict XII at Avignon to suggest a crusade against the Turks and to discuss the union of churches, but he was not successful.

A reaction against Barlaam was not late in coming on both the philosophical and theological fronts. In a public discussion with Nikephoros Grigoros, Barlaam was defeated. More serious was his defeat in the area of theology by the spiritual leader Gregory Palamas. Because of his Western theological presuppositions, Barlaam was not able to understand the mystical-ascetical tradition of the East, and therefore he criticized it, with the result that he was condemned in Constantinople at the synod of 1341, and both he and his followers were formally anathematized there at the synods of 1347 and 1351. After his condemnation, he returned to the West and adhered to Roman Catholicism; he was subsequently ordained a bishop by the pope, a fact that was interpreted in the East as a confirmation of the suspect role he had played in the ranks of the Greek church.

Barlaam's theological works include eighteen anti-Latin treatises, antihesychastic writings (*On Light*, *On Knowledge*, and *Against the Messalians*, all of which are lost), and treatises and letters supporting Western theology such as *Advisory Discourse* and the draft of the *Discourse to Pope Benedict XII*. In his antihesychastic works Barlaam held that knowledge of worldly wisdom was necessary for the perfection of the monks and denied the possibility of the vision of the divine life. In addition to theological works, Barlaam also composed philosophical, astronomical, and mathematical works. Among these are his *Ethics according to the Stoics*, a treatise on calculating the eclipses of the sun, six books on arithmetic, and a paraphrase of the second book of Euclid's *Elements*.

A product of both East and West, Barlaam influenced the culture of both. Petrarch and Boccaccio were his pupils, and there is no doubt that he contributed to the strengthening of the current that led to the Italian Renaissance. On the other hand, Barlaam's interest in the hesychast dispute resulted in the development of a lively theological movement in the fourteenth century in Constantinople and Thessalonica. One of its consequences was the formulation of the mystical-ascetical teaching of the Orthodox church by Gregory Palamas.

Barlaam overestimated the significance of philosophy (especially of Greek philosophy) for theology, asserting that only through philosophy could humanity arrive at perfection. He thus denied the renewing power of the Holy Spirit, which makes saints even out of uneducated people, as it made the fishermen apostles. Being a humanist, Barlaam placed emphasis on created means of salvation (e.g., philosophy and knowledge) and reduced the role of the grace of the Holy Spirit.

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THEODORE ZISSIS (1987)
Translated from Greek by Philip M. McGhee

BARTH, KARL (1886–1968), Swiss Reformed theologian, described by Pope Pius XII as the greatest theologian since Thomas Aquinas, and certainly the most influential of the twentieth century. Barth stands as a prophetic voice in the tradition of Athanasius, Augustine, and Calvin, calling the Christian church back to the Bible and to its foundation in Jesus Christ. This message sounded forth powerfully in his first book, *Romans* (especially in the largely rewritten second edition of 1921), which drew widespread attention. Barth later said that in writing this book he was like a man in a dark church tower who accidentally trips, catches hold of the bell rope to steady himself, and alarms the whole countryside. As a result, he was called to university chairs in Göttingen (1921), in Münster (1925), and in Bonn (1930). From this latter post he was dismissed in 1935 because of his refusal to take an oath of loyalty to Hitler and because of his leading role in the *Kirchenkampf*, the struggle against the Nazi attempt to control the German Evangelical church. He returned to his native Switzerland to a professorship in Basel, where he taught for the rest of his long life until his death in 1968, drawing students from all over the world to his classrooms and publishing his lectures in his massive *Church Dogmatics*.

Barth was born in Basel on May 10, 1886, the son of Fritz Barth, a professor of church history and New Testament in Bern. In Bern Barth received his earliest education, and there, on the eve of his confirmation, he "boldly resolved to become a theologian" out of an early eagerness to understand his faith and see its relevance for the twentieth century. He commenced his university studies in Bern, where, while receiving a solid grounding in Reformed theology, he began to study the theoretical and practical philosophy of Immanual Kant, whose "Copernican revolution" in the theory of knowledge and ethics awakened Barth to an acute awareness of the question of our knowledge and service of God. At the same time he developed his early and lifelong interest in the theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher, whose analysis of religious experience and desire to commend religion to its "cultured despisers" had dominated German theology since his death in 1834. Like Schleiermacher, Barth was later to interpret Christian dogmatics as the function of the Christian church, scrutinizing scientifically the content of the Christian faith, but unlike Schleiermacher he saw, not religious experience in general, but the revelation of God in Jesus Christ, attested in holy scripture, as the criterion of truth.

Barth expressed a desire to study at Marburg with Wilhelm Herrmann (1846–1922), the leading Kantian theologian in Europe, but under his father's influence he went first to Berlin to spend a semester under Adolf von Harnack, the most outstanding church historian and liberal theologian of the day, before returning to complete a third year in Bern. In 1907 he enrolled in Tübingen to study under the conservative New Testament theologian Adolf Schlatter, before spending a final year in Marburg. Herrmann defined faith in terms of "inner experience" which has its "ground" in the "inner life of Jesus" and is awakened in man's conscience by the influence of Jesus, the so-called Jesus of history of the nineteenth-century liberal quest. Although influenced by Herrmann, Barth came to feel that his conception conflicted with the New Testament and Reformed understanding of the Christ of faith and with the church's creeds, and that it was more the product of modern individualistic bourgeois liberal idealism and Kantian philosophy than of sound New Testament scholarship. He also felt that the very nature and possibility of a scientific approach to Christian theology was being called into question by the philosophical and historical presuppositions of the "culture-Protestantism" of the day, wherein theology and relativizing historicism, religion, and culture were fused, obscuring the gospel through "reverence before history" and reducing Christian theology to a branch of the general philosophy of religion.

These questions assumed acute importance for Barth once he was ordained to the pastoral ministry and sought to take seriously the exposition of the Bible and the preaching of the gospel, while also taking full account of critical biblical scholarship. It was during his time as a pastor in Safenwil, Switzerland (1911–1921), that his theological position underwent a drastic change. On the one hand, when World War I broke out, he was deeply disturbed by the "Manifesto of the Intellectuals," "the black day" he called it, when ninety-three scholars and artists, including his own teachers Harnack and Herrmann, supported the war policy of Kaiser Wilhelm II, which seemed to him to call into question his colleagues' understanding of the Bible, history, and dogmatics. Was this where the synthesis of (German) culture and religion was leading the Christian church? On the other hand, in his industrial parish, he became acutely aware of the issues of social justice, poor wages, factory legislation, and trade union affairs. In 1915 he became a member of the Social Democratic party, but unlike his Christian Socialist friends, he refused to identify socialism with the kingdom of God.

Throughout his life Barth endeavored to interpret the gospel and examine the church's message in the context of society, the state, war, revolution, totalitarianism, and democracy, over against the pretensions of man to solve the problems of his own destiny, without the judgment of the message of the cross and the resurrection of Jesus Christ. Toward the end of his life he could write, "I decided for theology, because I felt a need to find a better basis for my social action." The fundamental question was how to relate what the Word of God in the Bible says about the sovereignty and transcendence of God, grace, the coming of the Kingdom, the forgiveness of sins, and the resurrection of the dead with human problems. Barth voiced his concern over the bankruptcy of much contemporary religion and theology in his commentary on *Romans* (*Der Römerbrief,* 1919), where the influence of Kierkegaard, Dostoevskii, Franz Overbeck, Johann Christian Blumhardt, and Christoph Blumhardt in their attacks on institutionalized Christianity is evident. In this book, which was described by a Roman Catholic theologian as "a bombshell in the playground of the theologians," Barth seeks to summon the church back to the living God of the Bible, before whom are exposed the pretensions of human religion or piety, the proud sinful attempts to assert oneself without God. Salvation is God's gift, and the Kingdom must break in "vertically from above," summoning humankind to radical response and decision, that God's righteous purposes might be fulfilled in the world.

Barth used Paul's letter to the Romans for a critique of philosophical idealism, romanticism, and religious socialism. If his concern was that the church should listen to the divine word of judgment on our political and intellectual towers of Babel, his concern throughout his life was also to assert "that there is joy with God . . . and that the Kingdom on earth begins with joy." Together with his lifelong friend Eduard Thurneysen (1888–1974), he discovered in the Bible "a strange new world, the world of God," which is the kingdom of God, established by God and not man. Like Luther, he was gripped by the Pauline message of the righteousness of God, which calls into question all human righteousness.

Only by listening to the Word of God and recognizing God's prior righteousness can we regain a proper foundation for culture, morality, state, and church. Theologically this means we must ground Christian dogmatics in the Word of God and seek to interpret God out of God, as he reveals himself in Christ in the scriptures, and not subsume him under our prior generic concepts, categories, and ideologies. The task of theology is to allow revelation to shine in its own light. The inner meaning of the resurrection of Christ, who as creator and redeemer is lord over all, is not just a word of hope for the future, but the action of God in vindicating his righteous purposes in history and giving us a pledge of the triumph of God's righteousness in the world. Far from belittling the need for social action, the resurrection, as God's act in establishing the Kingdom, should be for us a summons to participate in this event and engage in social action with a passion for God's righteousness. There must be no divorce between justification and justice.

There were distinctive stages in Barth's theological development, in each of which he wrestled with the polarities of God and man. Nineteenth-century liberal thought too readily presupposed an inward continuity between the divine and the "highest" and "best" in human culture, positing that knowledge of God is given in the depths of the human spirit in human self-understanding and inward religious experience. Barth rejected this view early in his ministry, saying that we do not talk about God by "talking about man in a loud voice." At first, like Herrmann, he identified conscience with the voice of God, but increasingly he argued that the voice of God is heard only in scripture, in encounter with Christ, the living Word. During the period of the so-called dialectical theology or theology of crisis, stemming from the second edition of Barth's *Romans*, and under the influence of Kierkegaard's critique of Hegel, Barth stressed "the infinite qualitative difference between God and man." God meets us in the moment of crisis and decision, creating his own point of contact and summoning us to radical obedience. As he wrote in his preface, "If I have a system, it is limited to a recognition of what Kierkegaard called the 'infinite qualitative distinction' between time and eternity and to my regarding this as possessing negative as well as positive significance: 'God is in heaven, and thou art on earth'" (Barth, 1933, p. 10).

The chasm between God and man can be bridged by God alone, and not by man. The Word of the cross means that God says no to our human sin and pride and pretensions, while in grace God says yes to his own good creatures in a word of forgiveness. If in this early period Barth, like the early Luther, stressed God's "no" (i.e., God's righteousness as God), his later message, like that of the later Luther, became more powerfully a "yes": God's righteousness as a triumph of grace through the vicarious humanity of Jesus Christ. In the manner of the great medieval theologians, Barth saw that there are elements of negation and affirmation in all human knowledge of God, leading him to see an analogy of "relation," but not of "being," between God and man grounded in grace.

In 1927 Barth began writing *Christian Dogmatics*, intending to expound all the main Christian doctrines, by grounding all he had to say on God's self-revelation in Jesus Christ. The first volume was entitled *Christian Doctrine in Outline, Volume I: The Doctrine of the Word of God, Prolegomena to Christian Dogmatics.* In it he argues that possibility of Christian knowledge of God is grounded on the actuality of the revelation in Jesus, as he makes himself known to faith by the Holy Spirit. Such a revelation is trinitarian in character, having a triadic pattern. God makes himself known as Father in Jesus Christ the Son, and to us by the Holy Spirit. The doctrine of the Trinity thus unfolds from the fact that "God reveals himself as the Lord." As such, this doctrine is the starting point and grammar for all Christian knowledge of God, and not merely an appendix, as in Schleiermacher.

Within this self-revelation of the triune God we can distinguish three forms of the one Word of God: the eternal Word incarnate in Jesus Christ, the written Word in the witness of the Bible to that primary Word, and the Word of God as proclaimed in the church. The task of Christian dogmatics is to be faithful to this Word, and therefore to examine the content of the church's preaching by tracing it back to its source in God, by the standard of holy scripture, and under the guidance of its creeds and confessions.

The reviewers of this first volume criticized Barth for so casting the gospel into the language of an immediate timeless encounter with God that he was in danger of dehistoricizing the gospel and transposing theology into a new philosophical mold. Barth took this criticism seriously, having himself seen this development of dialectical theology in Rudolf Bultmann, and gave himself to examining the question of method in theology by a careful study of Anselm's *Proslogion.* In 1931 he published his results in *Fide quaerens intellectum* (Faith seeking understanding). From Anselm he had learned that the Word of God has its own rational content in God. The polarity of God and man must be interpreted, not so much in the language of an existential encounter between God and man in the crisis of faith, but primarily in terms of the given unity of God and man in Jesus Christ, the incarnate Lord, in whom God has come—not simply *in* a man, but *as* a man—in a once and for all reconciling act in which we are called to participate through the Holy Spirit.

Barth's approach in the future was to build all theology on the reality of the Word of God in Jesus Christ. This led him to turn from his *Christian Dogmatics* to a new work entitled *Church Dogmatics*, which he began in 1932 and which occupied him for the rest of his life (resulting in thirteen part-volumes). In *Church Dogmatics* he argues that all we know and say about God and about humankind is controlled by our knowledge of Jesus Christ as "true God and true man." From this dogmatic starting point, Barth expounds the four intersecting areas of Christian doctrine: the doctrine of the Word of God (vol. 1), of God (vol. 2), of creation (vol. 3), and of reconciliation (vol. 4). (A fifth volume, dealing with redemption [eschatology], remained unwritten at the time of his death.) Each of these doctrines is expounded in a trinitarian framework in terms of a double movement, a God-manward movement and a man-Godward movement in Jesus Christ, revealing a bipolarity in every doctrine. Fundamental to his whole theology is the axiom by which the ancient church expounded the doctrine of an "ontological Trinity," that what God is toward us in Jesus Christ, he is "eternally and antecedently in himself." By looking at Jesus Christ through the Holy Spirit, we know the heart of the eternal Father. In Jesus Christ we see the inner meaning of creation as well as of redemption, for Christ is the one by whom and for whom all things were created, and in redemption we see brought to fulfillment God's filial purposes for the whole human race. Consequently, our anthropology as well as our theology must be built on this christological foundation, not on any "natural theology," on any independent concept of "orders of creation," or on any purely empirical concept of man.

Barth was concerned to unpack the implications of this Christ-centered perspective in every area of life. It proved highly significant in his outspoken opposition to Hitler, to the persecution of the Jews, and to the so-called German Christians who sought to justify National Socialism and its racist policies by an appeal to the natural orders of creation. Barth felt that this was a betrayal of the Christian understanding of grace by its appeal to sources of revelation other than that given to us in Jesus Christ. God's election of Israel for a vicarious role among the nations finds its fulfillment in Jesus Christ, the Jew in whom God has broken down the barriers between the Jews and all other ethnic groups (the gentiles). Christ as Lord is head over church and state, and to him alone we owe supreme loyalty in both spheres. The state must be interpreted not just in terms of the orders of creation and preservation (as he had earlier thought), but in terms of the orders of redemption. This found explicit formulation in the *Barmen Declaration* of 1934, largely written by Barth. For this stand he was deprived of his university chair in Bonn, but his theological insights and interpretation of the political scene gained him enormous prestige. Barth saw himself standing in the tradition of the ancient fathers of the church like Irenaeus and Athanasius, and of the Protestant reformers like Luther and Calvin, engaging in lifelong dialogue with liberal Protestantism on the left and Roman Catholicism on the right, both of which he felt weakened the emphasis of the Bible that God accepts us by grace alone in Jesus Christ.

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JAMES B. TORRANCE (1987)

BASILICA, CATHEDRAL, AND CHURCH.

[*This entry focuses specifically on Christian houses of worship.*]

Over the centuries Christians have employed different terms to denominate their religious buildings, and *basilica*, *cathedral*, and *church* are but three of many. The word *church*, deriving ultimately from the Greek *kuriakos* ("of the Lord") designates a building belonging to God and, in a sense, God's dwelling. A church where the bishop's throne (cathedra) is located is called a cathedral, while *basilica* refers to a class of Roman public buildings predating Christianity, particularly those with royal association. In usage the three terms overlap. During the early centuries of the Christian era, a cathedra was placed in a basilica, and it was not until the eighth century that the word *cathedral* itself became current. From the Middle Ages on, the word *church* has been applied to parish churches, but it is also proper to speak of the Cathedral Church of Saint John the Divine (New York City) or of the Holy and Undivided Trinity Church (Bristol, England). The terms themselves provide no clue to the forms that the edifices may take; rather, they are the result of a host of factors, including the need to provide for certain functions as well as stylistic and aesthetic influences, the availability of materials, patronage, and climatic conditions.

ORIGINS: THE HOUSE-CHURCH. The first Christians were Jews who quite naturally continued to attend synagogue and, when possible, the Temple in Jerusalem; in addition, they had their own distinctive celebration which took the form of a meal. Jesus had enjoyed table fellowship with his followers during his ministry, at the last supper, and, so it was reported, after his resurrection. The Lord's Supper, soon to be called the Eucharist, or thanksgiving, was interpreted as a remembrance and renewal of the communion experienced at these gatherings. The only architectural provision required for such a service was a dining room, so Christians in the apostolic age met in private houses: at Ephesus in the home of Aquila and Prisca, at Laodicea in the home of Nymphas, and at Colossae in the home of Philemon. The property concerned would vary from single-family buildings up to four stories high, common in the East, to apartments arranged horizontally as in the tenements of Rome.

In the third century the church took the step of acquiring, either by purchase or by gift, houses of its own, and at Dura-Europos on the Euphrates there is an actual example of a house modified for use by a Christian congregation. Built shortly after the year 200, it underwent alteration in 231, when the room across the courtyard opposite the street was enlarged by knocking down a wall, and a dais was inserted, probably for the bishop's chair. West of the atrium there was a chamber, possibly for the use of catechumens, and by the entrance was another chamber for initiation. The alterations did not affect the character of the house as an example of local domestic architecture or the character of the Eucharist as a domestic event within the family of Christians. It is not surprising therefore, that several writers of the period, such as Minucius Felix and Arnobius, asserted, "We have no temples and no altars." The situation was to change dramatically in the early fourth century.

THE NATURE OF THE BASILICA. The conversion of the Roman emperor Constantine I in the year 313 conferred on Christianity a new role: as the state religion, it was now charged with ensuring the well-being of the empire; its worship, replacing the pagan sacrificial system, was to obtain the divine favor; the preeminence of the ruler was to be recognized and safeguarded; the identity of the populace as citizens of Rome was to be fostered. Christianity, as it were, went public, and the unpretentiousness of the private dining room was out of keeping. Consequently, when Constantine wrote to Bishop Macarius of Jerusalem in 326 or 327 concerning his project of adorning the site of the Holy Sepulcher, he instructed him to build a basilica. This term referred to a type of Roman structure that combined religious overtones with the criteria of an official building; it was a large meeting hall, often containing an effigy of the emperor. The Christian basilica belonged to the same genus: it was a monumental public edifice where devotion to God as emperor of heaven was substituted for the imperial cult.

Initially there was no uniform plan for basilicas, but by the end of the fourth century there were sufficient common features to constitute a recognizable form. Apart from Mesopotamia, where the basilican hall was transverse, one entered through a narrow side into a rectangle, the nave, flanked usually by one aisle on either side. At the opposite end there was a triumphal arch leading to a semicircular apse; at the center back of the apse was the bishop's throne, with seats for the presbyters to the right and left and the altar in front of them framed by a triumphal arch. This interior had all the characteristics of a path. Continuity and directionality were ensured by floor patterns, by the advancing row of columns, and by the succession of windows. The altar at the end of the central axis provided the terminal and goal of what Christians (themselves a pilgrim people) often called the royal highway. Architecturally, then, the Christian basilica was a structure whose walls molded and defined space as a continuum that found its climax in the altar as the center of the eucharistic action. The altar was seen as a symbol of Christ, the mediator between God and man, the meeting place of heaven and earth, so it testified to the historical specificity in time and space of the New Testament revelation.

As centers of the state religion, Christian basilicas replaced the pagan temples and thus acquired the character of holy places that had not been associated with the earlier house-churches. This character was reinforced when, since there was nothing in the New Testament about church buildings, recourse was had to the Old Testament and to the account of the Jerusalem Temple in particular for guidance. Saint Peter's in Rome, for example, would appear to have deliberately followed Solomon's model, not only with part corresponding to part but with the orientation (the apse or Holy of Holies at the west end) and even the proportions identical.

Differences of detail between one basilica and another did not affect the building's essential nature as a sacred area and a path. The apse might protrude, as in the western half of the Mediterranean, or be enclosed to create side chambers, as in the Middle East. The outer walls might be carried up to the level of those of the nave, thus making a clerestory impossible and necessitating windows that opened into the aisles and the apse, as in Asia Minor. A forecourt or atrium was frequent, but it was not indispensable. An external porch might be favored, as in Italy, or incorporated into the structure to create a narthex, where the catechumens had their place, as in Greece. The roof might be steep-pitched, made of wood or stone, even domed. A side chamber for initiation might be provided, as was often the case in North Africa and Palestine, or there could be a detached baptistery adjacent to it, as in France or Austria. No matter what the variations, the basilica met the needs of Christian congregations so well that it was not modified in any important particular for a thousand years and was still the recognizable prototype of the more elaborately planned churches of the later Middle Ages.

CHURCHES OF THE MIDDLE AGES IN THE WEST. Two factors above all had striking effects on architecture in the Middle Ages: a growing distinction between priests and laity and the definition of the essential role of the priests to be that of offering the sacrifice of the Mass. During the patristic period up to about 1000 CE, the place of the clergy had been demarcated by low balustrades or chancelli, but by the Middle Ages these had developed into chancel screens that virtually shut the priest off from the congregation. Indeed, by that time many churches consisted of two rooms, as the sanctuary became a chamber separate from the nave. The altar ceased to be freestanding, and the celebrant stood with his back to the body of the church. If there were more than one priest, additional altars and side chapels were introduced: there was no longer one altar, as had been the case in the basilica. For larger churches and cathedrals, there were additional factors at work.

Cathedrals. By the Middle Ages, parish churches ceased to have a bishop's throne, and even cathedrals no longer gave it prominence—as the high altar was no longer freestanding, the cathedra was pushed to one side. A large number of cathedrals were under the direction of monks, for whom a fenced-off choir was fitted into the building for the saying of the divine office. A self-contained unit constituting an independent place was thus inserted into a system of paths. Since many of the religious were ordained, the need for extra altars for each priest to celebrate the daily Mass was more pronounced than in the parish church, and an abundance of small chapels was created. This multiplication of altars was also encouraged by the practice of celebrating votive masses (masses offered with special intentions), culminating in the chantry chapels, which were separate structures endowed for masses on behalf of the dead. Some chapels opened off transepts, others radiated from the ambulatory encircling the east end. This later arrangement, known as the chevet, was also the outcome of two other influences: pilgrimages and the cults of the saints. Attention had to be given to the location and means of housing the sacred relics and to the circulation space necessary for the crowds who came to honor them. Some relics were enshrined within the altars, some in crypts; the ambulatory facilitated movement, as did galleries, and consequently many pilgrimage centers, such as Santiago de Compostela, present a much more complex plan than that of the basilica. In elevation, too, there were differences, largely the outcome of stylistic change.

Romanesque, Gothic, and Renaissance. Although adapted for Christian use, the early Christian basilica is best categorized as an example of Roman architecture, apart from the virtual neglect of the potentialities of the original Roman vault: the walls and ceiling had a space-shaping function producing a carefully proportioned interior that was an uninterrupted continuum of flowing space. After the year 1000, something essentially new in church design emerged when the vault came into its own. The vault had three effects: it determined the shape and form of the supports, which had to be much larger than the columns of the basilica because the burden was greater; it united ceiling and walls; and it created a series of bays, that is, individual spatial units. This last feature of the Romanesque style attenuated the west-to-east drive. The whole remained a path or system of paths, but it now constituted a place in itself; a focus for gathering with a character of its own. It declared that instead of advancing to meet God—the message of the basilica—the faithful live in God and are embraced by God.

The nature of the Gothic style, which succeeded Romanesque particularly in England, France, and Germany from the mid-twelfth to the early fifteenth century, was similarly determined by the vault, but now the round Roman arch was replaced by a pointed one, derived possibly from mosque architecture, familiar through the Crusades and the reconquest of Spain from the Muslims, and adopted for aesthetic reasons rather than, as nineteenth-century art historians believed, for its structural convenience. The pointed arch and the corresponding crisscrossing ribs turned the vault into a composition of triangles and diamonds; diagonality became prominent. The effect was to turn the supports into two juxtaposed V's, one jutting out into the nave and the other into the aisle, so replacing the flatness of Romanesque with projection. Verticality became the predominating factor, but this heavenward movement was balanced by a horizontal progression in that the bays were no longer independent but interlocked, and the nave became a way from expectancy to fulfillment. Every Gothic church or cathedral corresponded in a sense with one of the greatest literary creations of the age, namely the *Commedia* of Dante, who recounted how he was led ever onward and upward to the beatific vision.

A further stylistic change took place at the beginning of the fifteenth century with a rebirth of classical culture. This development derived from a careful study of the writings and ruins of ancient Rome, coupled with an imaginative recreation of that past era as a "golden age" in which consolation and refreshment could be sought. The entire Roman architectural vocabulary was pressed into service to articulate the walls and later the three-dimensional shapes of the buildings. There was an overriding concern for proportion and harmony. The intention was to make churches to human scale because human beings are in the image of God, to create an architecture in which they could move naturally. Hence the change from the dominating verticality of the Gothic style to horizontality. There was no longer the propulsion of the early Christian drive to the east or the slow progression of Romanesque bays. In a Renaissance church one is at ease because one is the measure of it all. There is peace and serenity since the whole is a single self-contained hall; there is minimal movement, and the church is best perceived as a place, concentrated in form, reality comprehensible in shape, limited in size, a focus for assembly and quite evidently to be experienced as an interior volume, in contrast to a surrounding exterior. These characteristics of place apply even more precisely to the churches of Eastern Orthodoxy.

THE CHURCHES OF EASTERN ORTHODOXY. For the first flowering of the Byzantine style, from which all later Orthodox buildings derive, it is necessary to return to the sixth century, when there was a decisive break with the basilican tradition. Just as later the combination of the Roman groin vault with the basilica was to produce the Romanesque church, under the emperor Justinian (527–565) it was the alternative form of Roman vault, the dome, that became favored in the East. Ideologically the dome was perceived as a symbol of heaven and so was regarded as suitable for tombs, baptisteries, and martyria. When the cult of the saints came to the parish churches, the dome came with it, and preference was given to a centralized plan constructed according to the baldachin principle. A baldachin, or ciborium, is a dome carried on four columns. No load-bearing walls are needed between these four columns, and so the spaces can be perforated, replaced by columnar screens, or simply eliminated, reducing the enveloping system to a mere skin stretched on a skeleton. Churches of this type are planned from the top downward, that is, the lower parts exist simply for the dome and would be meaningless without it. The general effect is that of a hanging architecture: the vault has no apparent weight of its own; the columns are conceived not as supports but as pendulous roots; the space radiates downward. Heaven, represented by the dome, condescends to earth, which corresponds to the flat pavement: incarnation is given architectural expression. But this is incarnation understood not in the sense of the divine veiled in human flesh but in the sense of the material transfigured, because in and through it the divine is made visible. The mosaics, which ideally should clothe every surface within a Byzantine church, as in Saint Mark's in Venice, affirm this transfiguration: while remaining themselves, the natural substances become spirit-bearing; the material reality is integrated with the divine life that pours down from above, and glory is made visible.

While the dome was the characteristic feature of such churches, there was some variety in substructure, but the most popular became a quincunx. This is divided into nine bays, with a central large square dominated by the principal dome. This domed square is abutted by four rectangular bays that are usually barrel-vaulted, and at each of the four corners there is a small square, usually domed. To provide for the liturgy, an apse appears at the east end, generally flanked by side chambers, while at the west end there is a porch or narthex; galleries too are common. External decoration was much increased, and domes of different sizes and height were juxtaposed, as seen at the Church of Saint Sophia in Novgorod. Beginning in Russia toward the end of the fourteenth century, a solid screen—the iconostasis—covered with pictures of the saints and scenes from the Bible, shuts off the sanctuary, thus entirely blunting any suggestion of a horizontal axis or of a path. These churches then became holy places with all the features they require: union with the divine in wrapt contemplation tends to replace the movement associated with pilgrimage. Gradually this uniform architectural vocabulary began to break down in certain areas such as Bulgaria and Russia. Plans then became more diversified when, for example, a centralized sanctuary was fused with a basilica-type nave.

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION AND BAROQUE. It was in 1054 that the eastern and western halves of Christendom split in the Great Schism, but even more fragmentation was to come in the sixteenth century with the Protestant Reformation, which had profound effects on churches and cathedrals. First to be noted is the Roman Catholic Church reaction to the Protestants—the Counter-Reformation—which found artistic expression in the Baroque style.

With the Counter-Reformation in full spate in the latter half of the sixteenth century, church buildings began to convey ecclesiastical self-assurance and authority. Power and exuberance were embodied in physical structures. Facades acquired a new propaganda function, both proclaiming the confidence of the church in an awe-inspiring manner and seeking to persuade and entice those who regarded them to come inside. The interior was equally designed to impress: the use of the oval plan, combining the centralized effect of a circle with an eastward thrust, produced dynamic tension that allowed no repose. There was a planned movement through space; in the drive to the high altars, the aisles, which might have distracted from the importance of the nave, were reduced to a series of side chapels, and the transepts, likewise, to mere bulges.

On the main altar there was now a tabernacle, or receptacle, for the reserved sacrament. To celebrate this localized presence of the divine, the church borrowed from both the court and the theater. This was the period of the emergence of nation-states, each with its own monarch enjoying magnificent apartments and ceremonial. Since God is the king of kings, his residences were to display even more splendor—all the visual arts being fused to achieve this—while the liturgy became the etiquette of the heavenly ruler. At the same time the Mass became the religious equivalent of the principal artistic creation of the age, namely the opera. The main devotional act was now the exposition of the reserved sacrament: the displaying, at the end of a magnificent scenographic approach, of the consecrated Host to the assembly.

Within this divine theater, every worshiper was assigned an active role. One was made aware that the earthly interior was in communication with heaven above since the vast illusionistic ceiling paintings denied enclosure and gave access to the throne of God. This was the style that spread throughout the Roman Catholic Church, becoming even more decorative than in Italy when it passed to Spain and its colonies in the New World, where miners and slave owners sought to honor God and thank him for the treasures they believed he had bestowed on them.

THE CHURCHES OF PROTESTANTISM. One of the organs of the Counter-Reformation had been the Council of Trent (1545–1563), which reaffirmed many medieval theological ideas, among them the view that the essence of Christian priesthood is to offer the sacrifice of the Mass. Protestants reacted strongly against this position, emphasizing the fellowship aspect of the Eucharist and the importance of preaching while lowering the barrier between clergy and laity. These three factors were to have important results in the building of churches, but in the early decades after the Reformation few new structures were erected; rather, the main architectural activity consisted in adapting those buildings taken over, for example, by the Calvinists and Anglicans. The former destroyed rood screens, brought the pulpit into the midst of the congregation, and similarly advanced the baptismal font. The latter used the nave for the ministry of the word, using the second of the two medieval rooms, the sanctuary, for the ministry of the sacrament.

As time passed and additional churches were planned, Protestants in general tended to favor some kind of centralization to express the idea of the gathered congregation. Lutherans brought table, pulpit, and font together to produce the *Prinzipalstück*, or triple liturgical focus, at the east end. Anglicans approved of the auditory church devised by Christopher Wren (1632–1723): elongated chancels and prominent side aisles were suppressed to produce a single volume of such a size that all present could both hear and see what was taking place. Other denominations adopted plans that were both modest and domestic in character; many an early Quaker meetinghouse, for example, is externally indistinguishable from a private dwelling: in a sense the wheel had come full turn. Stylistically the buildings followed the current fashion, although preference began to be given to the restrained classicism that had been popularized by Wren and which in England represented the influence of the Renaissance as mediated through the Italian architect Andrea Palladio (1508–1580). Baroque, with its implicit triumphalism, did not appeal to the heirs of the Reformation, but most if not all were eventually to succumb to architectural revivalism.

THE GOTHIC REVIVAL IN ENGLAND. Once the task of the architect was conceived to be the reproduction of the styles of a former age, then there appeared to be no reason why any one epoch should be given preference. In Germany, for example, the *Rundbogenstil* (Romanesque style) was favored. In England there is the Church of Saint Mary at Wilton, Wiltshire (1840–1846), complete with freestanding Italianate campanile. It is, however, the Gothic style that most commended itself in the end. The adherents of this late eighteenth-century style rested their case on a number of vigorously argued but largely untenable beliefs. First, they held that national churches should promote whatever is the main national style, and this they identified in Great Britain as Gothic—in ignorance of the fact that it had originated in France. Second, they maintained that every religion produces its own architectural style that best expresses its character; Greek temples, for example, were deemed to embody paganism and therefore to be unsuited for Christianity. Wedded to this consideration was a third conviction that architecture mirrors the spirit of the age in which it is produced and that consequently, the Gothic of the thirteenth century, which was held to be the "age of faith" is to be recognized above all others as the Christian style.

The Gothic revival appealed to many because of a contemporary emphasis on spirituality, on sacramentality, on ritual rather than preaching, and on the visual and decorative elements that went with that emphasis. From 1839 to 1845, the Cambridge Camden Society, with the *Ecclesiologist* as its organ, campaigned all over England for the restoration of existing churches that did not conform to its ecclesiastical canons, and for the designing of new churches with extended chancels, screens, and a clear division of sanctuary from nave. Three-decker pulpits were reduced to a single level; box pews were replaced by benches all facing the altar; the empty space in the architectural choir was filled with a robed singing choir.

Beginning with Anglicanism but soon influencing Roman Catholicism, this movement quickly spread to affect all denominations. Methodism and Congregationalism in particular followed suit, though probably more for social than theological reasons: they wanted their buildings to look like "churches." Inside, however, their arrangement remained more "protestant" in that it featured a central pulpit on a rostrum and galleries, thus laying stress on the word rather than the sacrament and giving the building something of the appearance of an auditorium.

Gothic revivalism was to spread throughout the world—from the United States to Australia, from New Zealand to Iran. Failing to distinguish the gospel from its embodiment in Western cultural forms, Christians rejected indigenous architecture as primitive and even essentially pagan. Hence there appeared in Kuala Lumpur in Malaysia a complete Gothic cathedral, and a similar alien immigrant enshrines the tomb of the apostle Thomas in Madras, India.

CHURCH BUILDINGS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. Revivalism continued into the twentieth century, although it was being hotly contested by many architects. Indeed, it was not until the 1920s that the ideals of the modern movement in architecture began to be related to those of the liturgical movement within Roman Catholicism. The technical achievements of the modern movement were first utilized in the reinforced concrete church of Le Raincy near Paris (1923). The principles of the liturgical movement found expression in the hall of the Catholic Youth Movement headquarters at Schloss Rothenfels-am-Main in Germany (1828). This was a large rectangular space devoid of decoration and furnished with a hundred black cubical stools. For a liturgical celebration a provisional altar was set up, the faithful on three sides of it, and the president completed the circle by facing them across the table. This arrangement embodied the principles that the Mass should be the central Christian act of devotion, that it should be intelligible, with a unity of word and sacrament, and that it should be corporate. The space for the altar and that for the congregation were united in a single volume. When this was translated into parish church terms—for example, in the Church of Corpus Christi in Aachen, Germany (1928–1930), which was to have a potent influence on design throughout the decade before World War II—it resulted in a narrow rectangle with the altar somewhat isolated. Because the fundamental concept was that the building should be planned from the altar outward, this article of furniture was required to be a large, static object that constituted the visual and monumental focus of the entire space. The persistence of this view into the 1960s is evidenced by the chapel of Saint John's Abbey in Collegeville, Minnesota (1963).

The main characteristic of the period prior to Vatican II, in all denominations, was the progressive abandonment of the rectangular plan in favor of a design based on the square, as seen in the Church of Saint James the Fisherman, Cape Cod, Massachusetts, or Saint Paul's Church, Bow Common, London (1960). At the same time, experimentation was at its height, leading to a great variety of shapes and often, under the influence of Le Corbusier's pilgrimage chapel at Ronchamp, northeastern France (1950–1955), to asymmetry. There was, in fact, a temptation for architects to seek to display their individual genius in buildings that were monumental in conception.

The tenets of the liturgical movement, already operative within and outside the Roman communion—they were visibly embodied in the North Christian Church, Columbia City, Indiana (1964)—were fully endorsed by Vatican II, which began its sessions in October 1962. A complete break with the monumental image was now promoted; church buildings were expected to be at the "service" of the congregation. The altar was no longer regarded as the unique pole. To integrate word and sacrament, emphasis was now also placed on the pulpit or lectern and the teaching chair. A growing ecumenical consensus and an acceptance of common principles so influenced church buildings that many could not now be identified in denominational terms. It is possible to visit churches in Switzerland or the United States and be unaware of which belong to the reformed tradition and which to the Roman Catholic. Nevertheless, differences may be detected; Unitarians, for example, generally lay less stress on sacraments than do Episcopalians. As a result, Unitarian churches are likely to limit or even to give no prominence at all to the altar, instead emphasizing the pulpit; this was the case with Frank Lloyd Wright's influential design for the Unity Temple (now Unitarian Universalist Church) in Oak Park, Illinois, as long ago as 1904–1906.

Since 1970 the architectural scene has not remained static. There has been a recognition that a variety of buildings are needed for use as pastoral centers or to accommodate small groups, medium-sized congregations, and large assemblies. Indeed, what some would regard as bizarre designs have been realized; such was the drive-in church planned by Richard Neutra in 1959 for the Garden Grove community of Orange City in southern California, which was superseded by Philip Johnson's crystal cathedral opened in September 1980. The importance of mobility and flexibility has been acknowledged, with a consequent effect on furnishings and seating. The responsibility of the Christian community, not only to its own members but to the larger community within which it is set, has also led to the development of the idea of the multipurpose church, that is, one that accommodates not only worship but also other services for those in the neighborhood who are in need.

Reuse and reordering have also become important issues. The decline in attendance at worship in some areas and the movement of population in others (especially from the inner city) have made many churches virtually redundant. Some churches of little architectural or townscape interest have been demolished, while others have been adapted as libraries, museums, cultural centers, even dwelling places. Where a viable liturgical life is being maintained, there is often the need to redesign the interior of a building that was originally planned to accommodate hieratic forms of worship now regarded as belonging to the past. Beliefs, worship practices, and architecture continue to march in inextricable partnership, sometimes, but by no means always, producing less-than-major monuments, sometimes creating works of considerable beauty, in all cases and in all periods representing varying and valid traditions within the Christian denominations.

SEE ALSO Architecture; Monastery; Pilgrimage, articles on Eastern Christian Pilgrimage, Roman Catholic Pilgrimage in Europe, and Roman Catholic Pilgrimage in the New World; Relics; Religion; Shrines; Tombs; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Christian Worship.

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BASIL OF CAESAREA (c. 329–379), called "the Great"; Christian theologian, bishop of Caesarea (modern Kayseri, Turkey), and one of three great Cappadocian fathers of the church (together with his friend, Gregory of Nazianzus, and his younger brother, Gregory of Nyssa).

Basil was born into a deeply Christian family of high social standing and extensive possessions. His grandmother Macrina, his parents Basil and Emmelia, his older sister Macrina, and his younger brothers Gregory of Nyssa and Peter of Sebaste are venerated as saints in both the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches. Basil received a Christian education from childhood; his father, who was a rhetor, also gave him the beginnings of his secular training. After the early death of his father, Basil continued his secondary education in Caesarea (c. 345–347) and then pursued further studies in rhetoric and philosophy in Constantinople (c. 348–350), where he was probably a student of the famous pagan rhetor Libanius. Finally, he studied, together with Gregory of Nazianzus, in Athens (c. 350–355). Returning home, Basil seems to have taught rhetoric for a short time, but soon gave up a promising worldly career for the Christian ascetic ideal.

In accordance with the fourth-century custom of late baptism—even in fully Christian families—Basil was baptized and ordained a reader of scripture in Caesarea by Bishop Dianius, undertook a tour of monastic settlements in Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Egypt (c. 356–357), and then joined his mother and his sister Macrina in a semi-eremitical type of asceticism on a family estate at Annesi in Pontus. Dianius's successor, Eusebius, ordained Basil a priest (c. 364), and he soon became the actual leader of the diocese. After the death of Eusebius (c. 370), Basil was elected bishop of Caesarea and as such became metropolitan of Cappadocia. He fulfilled his office in an exemplary manner and extended his pastoral care to all aspects of the life of the church. He led the faithful, especially through his sermons, to a deeper understanding of their Christian faith. He supported the needy with social institutions, financed in great part from the selling of his possessions. He gave direction to the thriving, but often "sectarian" monastic movement and integrated it within the Christian community as a whole. He worked unceasingly against doctrinal and political divisions within the Eastern church and between Eastern and Western Christianity. Consumed by hard discipline and labors, he died on January 1, 379.

Because of the respect he enjoyed during his lifetime, Basil's works have been relatively well preserved. They reveal both his own quest for Christian perfection and his concerns as leader of the church. The *Philokalia*, apparently published posthumously, is an anthology of excerpts from Origen's writings, compiled by Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus during their retirement in Annesi. It reflects their critical assimilation of the theology of Origen and preserves many of his texts in the original Greek. In this same period he composed the *Moralia*, an anthology of more than 1,500 verses of the New Testament, distributed under eighty headings (rules), as guidelines for a perfect Christian life; it is directed, for the most part, to all believers, not only to monks and clergy. It was originally published with a preface, *On the Judgment of God*, to which Basil later added a second preface, *On the Faith*. During Basil's years as a priest he composed his "little" *Asceticon* (preserved in the Latin translation of Rufinus); the full version (the "great" *Asceticon*), completed during his later years as a bishop, consists of fifty-five "longer rules," or systematic regulations of the cenobitic life (i.e., monastic life in a community) and 313 "shorter rules," or practical answers to the questions emerging in such communities.

Basil's numerous letters (366 of which have been preserved) cover his life from the time of his return from Athens and contain precious information on the history of the church in the fourth century. His sermons are more difficult to date; some were preached during his priesthood, but the majority during his episcopate. Particularly famous are the nine *Homilies on the Hexaemeron* (i.e., on the story of creation in six days according to *Genesis*).

The most important of his dogmatic works are *Against Eunomius* (c. 364), a refutation of extreme Arianism (books 4 and 5 are not by Basil), and his substantial treatise *On the Holy Spirit* (c. 375), which is directed against those who denied that equal glory is to be given to the third person of the Trinity. The small treatise *On the Spirit*, a radical rewriting in the sense of the Christian Trinity of *Ennead* 5.1 of Plotinus ("founder" of Neoplatonism, c. 205–270), is probably not by Basil, although it seems to have influenced him. Particularly revered from the time of the European Renaissance is Basil's short treatise, *To the Young, on How They Might Derive Benefit from Greek Literature*, written probably in the last years of his life.

Basil's theology is both "theoretical" (i.e., contemplative) and "practical" (i.e., giving guidance for life). The strife-torn situation of the contemporary church, according to him, results primarily from the failure of Christians to live according to their faith (see *On the Judgment of God).* Only the grace of Christ and the guidance of the Holy Spirit can accomplish salvation, but in order to receive this, one should live according to God's precepts as manifested in the gospel, especially the two greatest commands, the love of God and of neighbor. Insisting on fidelity in practice, Basil was equally concerned with the purity of faith. He defended the divinity of the Son against the denial of the Arians (especially Eunomius), and the equal glory of the Holy Spirit against the so-called Pneumatomachians ("fighters against the spirit"), even though, to the disappointment of his friends, he did not demand an explicit confession of the divinity of the Holy Spirit. Clearly asserting, however, both the unity of the divine essence (*ousia*) and the distinction of the three persons (*hupos-taseis:* that is, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit), Basil anticipated the definitive formulation of the trinitarian faith by the Council of Constantinople (381).

Basil had a profound and far-reaching influence on both Eastern and Western Christianity. His trinitarian faith, further clarified by the other two great Cappodocians, became normative for subsequent Christianity, and a basis for overcoming the divisions of the church that arose from the trinitarian controversies. Eastern monasticism, of crucial importance throughout the history of the church, still follows (with modifications) the rule of Basil, which was also one of the important resources of Western monasticism. The so-called "Liturgy of Saint Basil," still in use in the Eastern church, originated in his practice and writings. There can be no doubt that his life and teaching have been a source of inspiration for many Christians through the ages.

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Works about Basil of Caesarea

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10–16, 1979, on all major aspects of Basil's life, works, thought, and influence, by leading specialists, with extensive bibliography.

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BATAK RELIGION. The Batak societies, located around Lake Toba in North Sumatra, are among the more than three hundred ethnic minorities of Indonesia. Batak religion, like Batak culture as a whole, is ethnically diverse, syncretic, changing, and bound at once to both village social organizational patterns and the monotheistic national culture of Indonesia. Like many religious traditions of Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines, Batak myths and rituals focus on the yearly cycle of rice cultivation activities and the local kinship system. Batak religions tie these two realms to a larger cosmological order, which is then represented in various religious art forms (traditional house architecture, village spatial layout, and wood sculpture) and ritual activities (dances, oratory, and gift-giving ceremonies). Batak kinship revolves around marriage alliances that link together lineages of patrilineal clans, called *marga.* This marriage system, which involves ritually superior and "holy" wife-providing lineages and their ritually subordinate, "mundane" wife-receiving lineages, is much celebrated in the indigenous Batak religions. Many village rites of passage, for instance, are largely occasions for eulogizing this asymmetrical marriage alliance system through hours of ritual oratory. Beyond these very localized ethnic patterns, however, Batak religious life extends outward into the world religions: the large majority of homeland Batak and virtually all migrants to cities in Sumatra and Java are Muslim or Christian. In fact, the Batak are stereotyped in Indonesia as uncommonly pious monotheists; both the southern Batak Muslim pilgrim to Mecca and the Toba Batak Protestant minister are stock characters in the national *dramatis personae* when members of other ethnic groups think of these Sumatran peoples. In this monotheistic environment, Batak village religion has undeniably lost some of its social and symbolic scope. However, through an inventive reinterpretation of symbols, other sectors of village belief and ritual continue to thrive in new forms.

There are six major Batak societies in the homeland region around Lake Toba. These societies are similar in village social structure and subsistence base (paddy rice farming with some dry field agriculture) but speak different dialects of Batak and have distinct ritual systems. These societies are commonly called the Toba Batak, Karo Batak, Pakpak and Dairi Batak, Simelungun Batak, Angkola and Sipirok Batak, and the Mandailing Batak (although some "Batak" rarely call themselves Batak). Their pre-monotheistic religions are impossible to reconstruct in detail from current evidence because Islam and Christianity have reshaped village ritual and folk memories of the past so thoroughly. It is common, for instance, for committed Muslim and Christian Batak to speak disparagingly of their "pagan" ancestors, who believed in populous spirit worlds before they "discovered that there was only one God." In other words, "traditional Batak religion" is in large part a figment of the contemporary Batak imagination. It is safe to say, however, that the Batak religions practiced before the 1820s (when Islam entered the southern Angkola and Mandailing homelands) and the 1850s and 1860s (when Protestant Christianity was introduced to Angkola and the Toba region by Dutch missionaries and the German Rheinische Mission Gesellschaft) shared many symbolic complexes with the related indigenous religions of Kalimantan's Dayaks, Sulawesi's highland societies, and the people of eastern Indonesia.

In all these regions, certain assumptions about the nature of the universe permeated village religion. Binary oppositions between life and death, humans and animals, the village and the forest, metal and cloth, masculinity and femininity, and warfare and farming were recurrent themes in ritual and myth. Both human and agricultural creativity and fertility were thought to come from the temporary, intensely powerful union of such complementary opposites as life and death, masculinity and femininity, and so on. Also important was the notion that the two opposing categories were aboriginally one. Ritual often endeavored to unite for a moment the binary opposites and then control the resulting release of power from the center. (For instance, at Batak weddings the bride-giving faction bestows ritual textiles on their bride-receivers while the latter bestow counter-gifts of metal and livestock. Such exchanges foster fertility in the marriage.) The Batak societies took these familiar pan-Indonesian concepts and fit them to their particular social structure. Toba origin myths, for instance, tell of a first human, Si Raja Batak, who fathered two sons (Guru Tateabulan and Raja Isumbaon), who in turn fathered the ancestors of the major Toba patrilineal clans. Related myths tell of the origin of farming and weaving and link clan clusters to certain valleys and upland regions. Other Toba myths warn of the consequences of clan incest and marriages that violate the asymmetrical alliance rules (men should not marry women from lineages that serve as their traditional wife-receivers).

All Batak religions had extensive soul concepts and generally posited a personal soul that could fragment when startled and escape from a person's head to wander haplessly in the countryside until recalled to his body in special soul-capture ceremonies. *Datu* or *gurū* were diviner-sorcerers who performed such religious cures and also served the village chiefs as "village protection experts" in times of warfare, epidemic, or crop failure. Sacrificial rituals were central to the *datu*'s protective tasks; in a few areas there may have been occasional ritual cannibalism (a point that is hotly debated among Batak today). Common myth images include magic numbers, constellations of stars, the magic colors red, white, and black, the *baringin* tree (the banyan tree seen as the cosmic tree uniting the layers of the Batak cosmos), the *singa* (a powerful monster that is part human, part water buffalo, and part crocodile or lizard), the cosmic serpent Naga Padoha, the hornbill, and aboriginal boy-girl twins. In Toba and Karo such images animated an extensive range of art forms, including carved wooden sorcerers' staffs, textiles, funerary masks, and megalithic monuments. These art forms, and the larger religions surrounding them, also drew on Indian beliefs; like many Indonesian cultures the Batak came into contact with Hinduism and Buddhism via possible trading colonies near Barus, a temple community near Portibi, and through influence from the indianized ancient kingdoms of south Sumatra.

Contact with the monotheistic religions varies considerably from Batak society to society. Karo is an area of fairly recent conversions, with many animists. In this mixed Muslim and Protestant region, Christian proselytizing gained some converts in the 1930s, but the major switch to monotheism has come since 1965 as a result of the national government's identification of Indonesian patriotism with belief in a monotheistic religion. Toba is overwhelmingly Protestant; the original, German-sponsored missionary church, the HKBP (Huria Kristen Batak Protestan), has its headquarters in Tarutung. During the Padri Wars in the 1820s Minangkabau Muslims brought their religion to the southern Angkola and Mandailing homelands; today, Mandailing is entirely Muslim while Angkola is about 10 percent Protestant and 90 percent Muslim.

During the Suharto regime, the HKBP church has splintered into the parent church and a number of bickering class- and ethnicity-based new denominations. In religiously mixed areas, members of the churches tend to align themselves with Muslim families along class lines. In Angkola, for instance, where pre-national society was divided into an aristocracy, commoners, and slave descendants, Muslims from noble families often find political allies among highborn Christians. Early conversions in the 1850s and 1860s brought large numbers of slave descendants into the church, while later Dutch colonial policy led to favoritism for village chiefly lineages that became Christian. This policy has left southern Batak Christianity argumentative and faction-ridden.

In Angkola, members of the same social class often emphasize their common heritage "in the *adat*" (village custom) over their differences in monotheistic religion. Because *adat* encompasses much village ritual, this leads to much syncretism. In Muslim Mandailing and Christian Toba, by contrast, *adat* is often seen as conflicting with monotheistic religion. In all Batak societies, the area where *adat* meets monotheism promises to remain an important growing edge of culture in the coming decades.

SEE ALSO Southeast Asian Religions, article on Insular Cultures.

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Revised Bibliography

BATHS in a religious context are sacred places where people bathe not for hygienic purposes, but rather to spiritually re-create themselves in both mind and body. Spiritual bathing may take place in sacred spaces in nature, for example in hot springs or in the water of a sacred river such as the Ganges or Nile, or in buildings made out of stone (Roman baths) or wood (saunas).

Sauna is a Finnish and Sami word for a building where one bathes for the purpose of cleansing body and mind. It has somewhat varied meanings, including commercial and erotic ones, in communities without a history of sauna culture. Sauna has been part of the Finnish life cycle for thousands of years—and, at the dawn of the third millennium, it still is, both in Finland, with its 2.2 million saunas for 5.2 million people (in 2004), and among expatriate and emigrant Finns.

Saunas in the form of log building are characteristic of the peasant architecture of Finnish-related and Slavic peoples living in northern Eurasian forest territories. Throughout its traditional area it is still central to ethnic religion and cultural habits. The sauna as a building and as a heated construction has undergone various changes, but as it has been adapted into new milieus, including urban environments, many sauna-related habits and rituals have shown remarkable strength not only in surviving but also in being revived as a form of socially shared group behavior among youth, adults, and environmentalist societies.

There are bathing traditions reminiscent of the Finnish sauna on other continents, for example, the traditions surrounding the Roman, Turkish, and Celtic bath, the Japanese *furo,* and the Native American sweat lodge (such as the Lakota *inipi*). What is common to all of them is the feeling that bathing is not just a cleansing experience, but a spiritual one, as well as the bath's intimate connection to various life stages and rituals. In all these traditions, baths have also played a part in solving various personal crises. In *inipi, furo,* and sauna mind and body are purified—re-created, as it were, to enable the person to face the challenges life presents. On all three continents sacred baths are the subject of various religious narratives, including certain Japanese Buddhist texts, Native American initiation songs, and the poems of the *Kalevala,* the Finnish national epic.

At the core of the sauna is the *kiuas* (lit., "stones in a hot heap"), around which the early sauna, in a depression in the earth, and subsequently the smoke sauna were created. Over time, saunas developed from mere heaps of stones covered by skin or cloth to the electrically powered sauna stoves presently found in private homes and hotels. The public sauna was an important part of Finnish community life and shared urban culture before its almost complete disappearance after World War II. In Tokyo the *furo* is faring better; public facilities for this type of bath amount to well over a thousand. In the United States, the formerly forbidden sweat lodge has been undergoing a revival as an expression of Native American identity.

The Finnish sauna began its spread abroad at an early stage. In 1638 a colony called New Sweden was established in Delaware on the eastern seaboard of America, with several hundred Forest Finns among its approximately 1,000 inhabitants. Smoke cabins were among the typical constructions built by the early settlers. The so-called pioneer house found along the coast throughout New England was neither German nor Dutch in origin, but was instead based on the Finnish smoke sauna; a log timber house it served frequently as a model for other constructions. The propagation of Finnish sauna has continued to this day. For example, for Finnish United Nations peacekeeping forces around the world the construction of saunas at their bases is among the first tasks.

For Finns today, the sauna is more a national than a religious symbol, just as the *furo* symbolizes the modern Japanese way of life and the *inipi* the revived consciousness of Native American identity. Symbols have their importance, however, all the more so for small nations that feel compelled to change as a result of domination by major cultures. *Sauna* is the most popular Finnish loanword, and even quite recently has been borrowed by several new languages. Along with the sauna buildings drawn by Alvar Aalto and other well-known Finnish architects, the word itself has made its way all around the world, even though rituals and beliefs associated with Finnish sauna have not always been transmitted with it.

For Finns, the sauna has been a sacred place. Traditionally, it was visited once a week, on Saturday evening. To heat a smoke sauna for several sessions was a whole day's operation, an operation demanding its own expertise in the selection of kindling, the laying of the kindling, and the adding of firewood; above all, it required patience, as heating the sauna and binding the birch switches took a great deal of time. The taking of sauna itself entailed certain ritual behavior observed with religious zeal. An oral proverb has it that one should conduct oneself in a sauna as in church—reverently. Visits to saunas were governed by many rules of conduct: it was important not to be rowdy, to curse, gossip, speak evil, break wind, or make noise in a sauna.

The spirit of *löyly,* the vapor rising from the water splashed over the stones of the sauna stove, is the main element in folk beliefs related to Finnish sauna, along with a belief in the manifold healing effects of the birch switches used in saunas. It is still a Finnish custom to greet the *löyly* spirit as the guardian of the holy space either through gestures or words before entering the door, crossing the threshold, or mounting the benches. Adults and older children were expected to bless themselves as they entered saunas. This was both to express reverence for the sacred space and to guard against harm: while people were naked, with all their pores open and exuding sweat, they were defenseless against the evil eye and envy. When a sauna was inaugurated, reference was often made to the power of Väinämöinen the wise man, a sage and a shaman who is the central figure in the *Kalevala;* the *löyly* itself was even said to be "Väinämöinen's sweat."

Löyly establishes a connection between the sauna or sweat-shed and the other worlds, both above and below, as well as in the Hereafter. The steam rising from the stove, like the smoke issuing from the open fire, the door of the smoke sauna, the flue, or the chimney, creates a symbolic connection between the sacred space of the sauna and its people (microcosm) and the sphere of the Hereafter and its inhabitants (macrocosm). An individual healing event occurring within the sauna and concerning the health of an individual is thus linked to the entire universe. Myths based on a connection to the gods, the departed, and various spirits are recounted and intoned in the *löyly* of the sauna, or by the campfires.

The word *löyly* is older than *sauna.* A term with Finno-Ugric origins, it does not only refer to the steam rising from the sauna stove. *Löyly* and its variants (Estonian, *leil;* Hungarian *lélek*) can also refer to a person's soul and to the span of a human life, which in ancient beliefs was held to last from the first breath to the last. The "departure of *henki* 'breath'" (which in Finnish is synonymous with the word for spirit) was thus the end of physical life, the perceptible sign of death.

However, *löyly* is only one of the appellations for "soul" in the Finno-Ugric languages. Another is *itse,* "self" (in Hungarian, *iz*), which refers to social rather than physical life and death. The "self" of a person has a different life span than their *löyly.* A person acquires this "self" at a later stage than their *löyly,* and it lasts longer. A child acquires the status of "having a self" when they are given a name. Only then are they deemed to have a social existence; their name endows them with a right to inherit and, among the Sami, with their own reindeer mark of identification. The "self" does not expire when the spirit departs, but only two to three years later. Then the person is considered dead as an individual. The Finnish word *henki* (Estonian, *hing*) refers to a third soul, which is thought to be immortal. In the shamanic belief system, this third soul is the soul of the shaman traveling outside the human body to the realm of death, generally in the form of an animal, such as a fish, snake, bear, reindeer, or bird.

The sauna was generally the first building a Finnish settler built, designating thereby both the limits of his territory and his sacred space in nature. Building a sauna involves a thorough knowledge of timber construction, the right types of wood to use, and the appropriate time for felling trees. As with all buildings with a fireplace of some sort, there was, according to folk beliefs, a spirit watching to see that customs were observed and infringements punished. Thus the first person to light a fire had to be chosen with care, as it was he who would, according to the superstition, assume the position of *saunatonttu, saunanhaltija,* or spirit of the sauna.

Problem-free heating of the sauna and the correct way of making birch switches was taught by one generation to the next. Expertise in the effects of taking saunas is a special branch of traditional Finnish-Karelian folk medicine, reserved for those versed in cupping, bleeding, and healing joints. When a healer was called to a sauna or when an injury was being healed at home, very special attention had to be paid to the heating of the sauna and to other operations. Wood from alder trees was to be used for the logs. This ensured the greater efficacy of the cures effected in the sauna. According to a well-known Finnish proverb encapsulating the effectiveness of saunas, "What tar, alcohol, or sauna cannot help is fatal indeed."

In central Finland there was at one time a custom of laying a table for the spirits of the farmhouse kitchen before departing for the sauna: "While the people of the house bathed the spirits took to the table." There are many ways in which saunas have been connected to the cycles of the agricultural year. Many important farming tasks were performed in saunas: the softening of flax, the smoking of meat, and the brewing of beer and the like in the malt sauna. Annual chores lasting for days involved younger and older family members spending time together in saunas reciting poems and songs and telling tales and riddles as everyone worked at the job in hand.

For Finns, the sauna has been associated with all life cycle events, from birth to death. During the marking of various rites of passage, the sauna normally becomes the exclusive province of women. Only in such cases where the transition from one state to another is considered by the community to be infelicitous for one reason or another—for example, if the child or patient is very sick—would the intercession of a male witch, sage, or folk healer be called for. Such a crisis situation requires the most potent religious leader of the locality or family, be they woman or man.

Until World War II, Finnish women mostly gave birth in saunas. The midwife was referred to as the "sauna wife" and the mother-to-be as the "sauna woman." "Sauna time" among the womenfolk might last as much as a week before the child was triumphantly carried into the farmhouse. This process was associated with precautionary measures against disease and the evil eye, as in Protestant Finland both the child, who was "without self," having no name, and the woman, who was deemed "unclean" because she had not yet made the church visit that occurred six weeks after a birth, were considered to be in a precarious state. On reaching adulthood women went to the sauna. Girls of marriageable age were bathed and slapped with birch branches by older women who recited incantations on procuring love. Traditional Finnish wedding ceremonies known as *antilas* involved the bathing by family members of the girl to be given in marriage. After the ablutions, in a delicate ritual performed in the sauna by the married women of the family, the girl's hair, which had so far been worn loose, was plaited and a "wife's cap" was placed on her head together with the other symbols of a married woman. In the sauna, in the company of married women, the girl was also initiated into how different life would be at her husband's home and told what it would be like under the eagle eye of her mother-in-law. She was then completely "away from the paternal home," to which she would only be able to return to visit relatives the first August following the birth of a son—which could mean a two- to three-year period of separation from her childhood home.

For women, there were more transitions marked in the sauna than there were for men: transitions from girl to bride-to-be, from bride-to-be to a woman given in marriage, from a woman given in marriage to a wife, from a wife to a "breeding" mother, then to one who suckled an infant. Within the extended family, various family members became specialists in the different functions associated with these life-cycle rituals.

The sauna was also connected to funeral rites. In some rural areas, there was a custom that after death the corpse was carried into the sauna on a board, where women of the family specialized in the task washed it. In family-oriented communities it was important that all those with a role in the rituals—the wailing women, and those who washed the body, spoke the ritual words, and made the coffin—should be family members. If someone was asked to perform such a function it was tantamount to a last wish, and it would be improper to decline. Once the corpse had been washed with soap reserved for that purpose, it would be dressed and lifted onto a laying-out board in the threshing building. The last voyage toward the cemetery started from the threshold of the sauna.

Despite widespread assumptions to the contrary, research into ancient Finnish folk traditions indicates that mixed bathing in saunas was practiced in only a few communities. In most communities men and women took their own turns. Taking saunas together as a family group is a more recent phenomenon. In earlier years, the farmer would visit the sauna with his farmhands once the work in the fields was done, whereas the farmer's wife would go to the sauna with the maids after milking. Because the men's turn was first, the women's turn on the eve of the Sabbath might well continue until the beginning of the Sabbath. Sunset was the delimiting factor until it was superseded by the six o'clock church bells announcing the arrival of the Sabbath; by this point the women were supposed to have left the sauna.

In Finnish oral folklore saunas were pictured as sometimes being a hard and dangerous place, and thus people were afraid to go to them alone. There are many stories about encountering the spirit of the sauna and finding it in a wrathful mood. Such an apparition was believed to be a punishment for infringements against the Sabbath. Following the men's and women's sauna turns, there was a third turn, that of the spirit of the sauna. In most cases the person experiencing something strange is a lone woman or a group of women bathing together. Sometimes it is a question of an obviously erotic dream; the last woman to go to bathe falls asleep on the bench and feels or sees a hairy male creature who, after throwing water on the stones, comes to touch, hug, or caress her.

As in the home, the threshing building, the cow house, or other buildings with a fireplace, the spirit of the sauna is believed to be like the first one to kindle a fire. Thus even today people try to find a "nice, mild" person, such as a kindly old woman or man, to kindle the first fire, to ensure good luck in their home. These kinds of ancient traditions have survived until recently in accordance with the ancient belief that the most suitable personality for a sauna spirit is that of a playful, blithe child. Another custom is to honor family members and friends, both those still alive and the deceased, by mentioning their names in turn when pouring water, *löyly,* on the stones. This ceremony lasts as long as new names are remembered by the bathers.

SEE ALSO Finnish Religions; Finno-Ugric Religions; Karelian Religion; Shamanism; Tuonela.

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BAUBO figures in the myth of the ancient Greek goddess Demeter as the perpetrator of an obscene spectacle that causes the goddess to laugh and that marks the end of her long period of mourning. The myth of Demeter tells of her inconsolable grief at the loss of her daughter Persephone (or Kore) and of her wanderings in search of her. The aged Demeter finally comes out of mourning in the town of Eleusis, where she suddenly bursts into laughter. A double tradition relates how obscene words and gestures diverted and comforted this holy mother.

In the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* (192–211), it is the maiden Iambe who cheers up the goddess with dirty jokes. The hymn says nothing about the specific content of these obscenities, but the effectiveness of Iambe's words is certain. Indeed, Demeter laughs, comes out of mourning, and ends her fast by accepting and drinking *kukeon* (a beverage made of wheat, water, and pennyroyal), which is offered to her by her hostess, Metanir, the wife of King Keleos.

In the writings of the Church Fathers, Baubo plays a role comparable to Iambe's. But whereas Iambe succeeds in comforting the goddess by telling jokes, Baubo does so not by words but by an obscene gesture: she suddenly lifts her gown to reveal her genitals. This indecent unveiling provokes laughter in the grieving mother, who then accepts and drinks the kukeon that Baubo offers her. Christian polemicists, who attribute the story of the obscene gesture to the Orphics, preserve two versions of the incongruous scene. Clement of Alexandria (*Protrepticus* 2.20.1–1.21.2) and Eusebius of Caesarea (*Praeparatio evangelica* 2.3.31–35) relate that the young Iacchos was found beneath Baubo's raised garment, laughing and waving his hand. Arnobius (*Adversus nationes* 5.25–26) presents a different, more detailed version in which Baubo's unveiled genitals, because of a cosmetic operation, look like the face of a baby.

This "spectacle" (*theama*, *spectaculum*) has given rise to numerous interpretations. In general, historians have understood it as an etiological myth justifying fertility rites, and certain specialists have recognized in Baubo the mythic memory of the manipulation of sexual articles at Eleusis. Baubo has also been associated, often confusedly, with anything obscene in the ancient world, particularly with obscene words and objects that evoke female sexuality.

Some earthenware figurines found at the beginning of the twentieth century in the temple of Demeter and Kore (fourth century BCE at Priene, in Ionia, have been identified with Baubo. These "Baubos of Priene" merge the head, the belly, and the female sexual organ, with the genitals immediately below the mouth.

SEE ALSO Demeter and Persephone.

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MAURICE OLENDER (1987)
Translated from French by Kristine Anderson
Revised Bibliography

BAUER, BRUNO (1809–1882), left-wing Hegelian critic of the Bible, Christianity, and Prussian society. Bauer began his career as a conservative (right-wing) Hegelian theologian. His earliest writings on the Old Testament (1838) argued that the Hebraic idea of a deity distinct from creation gradually developed toward the Christian doctrine of the immanence of God and humanity. As a Hegelian, he interpreted this to mean that the finite had become conscious of itself as infinite. In an essay of 1840 he also argued that the union of the Reformed and Lutheran churches in 1818 further confirmed the Hegelian view that the Prussian state had become the embodiment of true spiritual life.

Appointed to the faculty of Bonn University in 1839, he turned his attention to the New Testament and wrote what is now considered his most important work: *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker.* In it he tried to show that biblical criticism could advance the self-consciousness of humanity by extracting the kernel of truth in the Christian narratives—that is, that human self-consciousness is divine—from the contradictions resulting from the historical form of those narratives. He treated the New Testament Gospels as purely human documents and as literary products of the creative imagination of the authors, therefore concluding that they record little about the real Jesus but much about the mentality of the early church.

Dismissed from the faculty at Bonn, he returned in bitterness to Berlin and wrote attacks on Christianity, the Prussian state, and even Hegel. He came to believe that unremitting, rational criticism, unallied with any political party and without presuppositions of any kind, could bring about a transformation of society. Scornful of revolutionary action in 1848, he became disillusioned with Prussia until the advent of Bismarck. Although he returned to the problem of the origins of Christianity in later works, his views were largely ignored. He spent his last years working in his family's tobacco shop.

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VAN A. HARVEY (1987 AND 2005)

BAŪLS See BENGALI RELIGIONS

BAUR, F. C. (1792–1860) was a German Protestant theologian, biblical scholar, and church historian. Ferdinand Christian Baur is best known as the leader of the "Tübingen school" and the practitioner of an allegedly Hegelian historial method. He was perhaps the most important German theologian between Friedrich Schleiermacher and Albrecht Ritschl. Over the years he has suffered from caricature and neglect, but reappraisal was made easier in the 1960s when selected works by him began to reappear in a new edition.

Baur was born in Schmiden, near Stuttgart, and educated mainly at Blaubeuren seminary and the University of Tübingen. In 1817 he returned to Blaubeuren as a teacher, and his thinking changed radically from the supernaturalism of the so-called Old Tübingen School to the conviction, learned from Schleiermacher, that Christianity cannot be studied in isolation from other religions, as though it alone had a divine origin. He moved in 1826 to a chair at his old university, Tübingen, where he remained until his death.

At Tübingen Baur led the secluded life of a dedicated academic. But he became embroiled in two famous literary debates. The first was occasioned by the attempt of Johann Adam Moehler, of the Catholic theological faculty, to specify in his symbolics (1832) the doctrinal differences between Roman Catholics and Protestants. The second erupted when David Friedrich Strauss, one of Baur's former students from Blaubeuren, published his notorious *Life of Jesus* (1835) and was dismissed from his lectureship at Tübingen. Baur protested against the dismissal, but he endorsed neither Strauss's method nor his conclusions.

Unlike Strauss, Baur did not believe that criticism had proved the books of the New Testament to be virtually worthless as sources for reconstructing Christian origins. The documents themselves, according to Baur, give plain evidence of the historical situation through which they should be interpreted, namely, the clash between Jewish Christianity and gentile Christianity, which was later to be harmonized in the old Catholic church. The historical worth of the sources can be appraised by determining each author's "tendency," or theological proclivity, against this background of conflict. Baur concluded that John's gospel must be set aside in any serious attempt to write the history of the primitive church, that Matthew's is the earliest of the Gospels that have come down to us, and that Paul most likely wrote only four of the letters attributed to him *(Galatians, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians,* and *Romans).* Further, while he rejected Schleiermacher's belief that in Christ the ideal became actual, he thought it possible, against Strauss, to trace the way in which the Christ of ecclesiastical dogma developed out of Jesus' own self-consciousness.

His critics read Baur's New Testament work as a doctrinaire application of the Hegelian dialectic of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. Similarly, in his series of learned works in the history of dogma they discovered more speculation than history. Baur replied that objective history can be written only by one who first determines history's object—that is, what it is all about. The historian who is interested in something more than a senseless jumble of facts must take his point of departure from the thinking of his own day, and that meant, for Baur, the Hegelian vision of history as the progress of Mind through time in the medium of ideas. Church history, in particular, must start from the idea of the church, which is the idea of the reconciliation of God and man.

Whatever the merits of his Hegelianism, Baur was a scholar of massive erudition and a highly sophisticated methodologist. He held that history without philosophy is "eternally dumb," and that the only way to understand Christian doctrines is to trace their development in a process that has already begun within the New Testament itself. History, philosophy, constructive theology, and New Testament studies, Baur believed, belong together in a single grand enterprise.

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B. A. GERRISH (1987)
Revised Bibliography

BAYḌĀWĪ, AL- (died sometime between AH 685 and 716, or 1286 and 1316 CE), fully, Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī Abū al-Khayr Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Bayḍāwī; Islamic religious scholar and judge. Born in Bayḍāʾ, near the city of Shiraz in Persia, al-Bayḍāwī was educated in the religious sciences in Baghdad and spent most of his life following in his father's footsteps in Shiraz as the chief justice of the province of Fārs. He belonged to the Shāfiʿī legal school (*madhhab*) and was a follower of the tradition of al-Ashʿarī in theology. He wrote some twenty works on various subjects, including jurisprudence, law, grammar, theology, and the Qurʾanic sciences. While all of these works were written in Arabic, he also produced a world history in his native Persian.

Al-Bayḍāwī's fame and reputation rest mainly upon his commentary (*tafsīr*) on the Qurʾān, titled *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-taʾwīl* (The lights of the revelation and the secrets of the interpretation). This work examines the Qurʾān phrase by phrase in an attempt to present, concisely yet comprehensibly, the conclusions of earlier commentators in such a way as to express al-Bayḍāwī's own understanding of the orthodox Sunnī interpretation of the Qurʾān in his time. His main sources of interpretational information are the famous philosopher and Qurʾanic commentator Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1209) and the Muʿtazilī theologian al-Zamakhsharī (d. 1144). The latter author was clearly more important for al-Bayḍāwī, whose commentary may be viewed to a great extent as a simplified summary of his predecessor's work, condensing what was found to be most essential in grammar, meaning, and textual variants. Omitted most of the time, although sometimes overlooked and allowed to remain, are statements that reflect al-Zamakhsharī's rationalist theological views. For example, in interpreting *sūrah* 3:8, "Our Lord, make not our hearts to swerve, after that thou hast guided us," al-Zamakhsharī takes "make not our hearts to swerve" to mean "do not withhold your grace from us after having already granted it to us," with the emphasis placed upon the notion of God's grace coming after man has acted to deserve it. Al-Bayḍāwī rejects this free-will, rationalist position, substituting the interpretation that since God does lead people astray, they must pray to God for the divine gift of guidance and grace.

Because of its concise nature, al-Bayḍāwī's commentary has proved valuable over the centuries for quick reference, although certainly not for full analysis. For this reason it has been widely read in the Muslim world and has attracted a large number of supercommentaries, and soon after Europeans made learned contacts with Islam it became the best-known Qurʾān commentary in the West. Representing what is best described as the consolidation of traditionalism in the field of Qurʾanic interpretation, al-Bayḍāwī's *tafsīr* has been the basic textbook for all students of the subject in East and West alike.

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BAY ÜLGEN SEE ÜLGEN

BEARS. Bears are a significant presence in the religious lives of various peoples in the Americas, Europe, and Asia. For thousands of years bears and humans have lived within the same habitat and competed for the same foods but not without encounters leading to one killing the other. Thus it has long been in the best interest of each species to give the other a wide berth of space.

By maintaining a safe distance from the brown bear, the Cahuilla people of California allowed these bears greater presence in their religious lives. Ironically by avoiding physical closeness, the Cahuilla brought the grizzly religiously nearer, such that an encounter with the bear incited a confrontation with ancestors, supernatural powers, and wisdom. The Cahuilla believed their safety relied on an ability to converse with the big bear, which they called "great-grandfather," and so they talked to the bear in a soothing tone, asking it to recognize their peaceful intentions. They also believed that after death some people would be reborn as great bears.

However, this example does not encapsulate the diversity of the bear's religious presence to many peoples throughout the world. In fact *bear* is a generalized term that does not account for differences between the eight species of bears in the world. Nor does it take into account habitat diversity that can influence behavior differences—based on variations in climate, availability of foods, and landscape—between bears of the same species. Indeed a bear's symbolic meaning to humans living alongside it is influenced both by species diversity and habitat diversity. Whereas this may initially seem more appropriate for ecology than religion, those who seek an adequate understanding of the religious significance of bears must first account for the type of bear and the aspects of this bear's habitat. They must also account for the religious aspects of the people sharing the bear's habitat. Thus not only the physical and biological characteristics of the bear itself but also the characteristics of the bear's habitat and the characteristics of a culture's experiences with the bear are primary for adequately determining the bear's symbolic meaning. Consequently these same aspects are also essential for identifying common religious themes that can be cross-culturally attributed to bears.

SPECIES DIVERSITY AND RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE. There are eight species of bears in the world. They are the American black bear, the Asiatic black bear, the brown bear, the giant panda, the polar bear, the sloth bear, the spectacled bear, and the sun bear.

The Asiatic black bear is also known as a moon bear. It inhabits China, Tibet, southern Russia, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Indochina, and southern Japan. It has been identified as a "helping spirit" for some shamans of Asia, such as the Ostyaks, who sought to acquire health and strength as well as the power to heal and give strength to others. But perhaps more than other bears, the Asiatic black bear plays an important role in traditional medicine. It is first mentioned in a pharmaceutical report written in China in the fifth century. Bear paw soup was reputed to confer health; the bear's gallbladder, dried and crushed into a fine powder, is supposed to treat heart disease, headaches, and abdominal pain. There is also evidence that bear meat gave people strength. But the Asiatic black bear's greatest significance is as a symbol of rebirth. As a hibernator, which disappears in midwinter and reappears every spring, it has often been a symbol of immortality, particularly in prehistoric cultures, because every spring the bear is reborn. It is also believed that the bear derives its immortal powers from the eternal cycles of the moon. Ironically though it is called "moon bear" because of the white, yellow, or orange crescent on its chest, there are similarities between the moon bear's name and the birth-rebirth symbolism of the lunar cycle.

The American black bear, populating much of North America, has symbolic and ceremonial importance to such cultures as the Ojibwa and the Cherokee. But in identifying the black bear in a religious context, one will note conflicting descriptions of this species among various peoples. This is because the American black bear varies widely in size and color, and it can therefore be confusing to those who are unaware of these variations. In fact black bears native to the Floridian wetlands are about half the size of the salmon-feeding black bears of British Columbia and therefore pose different degrees of reverential fear to the people living near them. And because the bears in Florida hibernate much less (if at all some years), there are disparities in how much this bear cross-culturally symbolizes rebirth.

In addition to size variations, the black bear is not always black. It also appears as cinnamon, chocolate, light blond, grayish-blue, and even white. In various native myths, particularly those originating in the northwestern United States and Canada, there are references to "black," "brown," "glacier," "blue," and "white" bears. Such reports of a "glacier" or "white" bear, as is witnessed in the study of the Kwakiutl, Tlingit, Kitasoo, and Gitgaát peoples, may seem odd because these cultures are not northern enough to regularly encounter the polar bear. Yet these references are really to black bears. Here the blue bear or "glacier bear" is a black bear that inhabits central Alaska and the Yukon and once roamed glaciers that have long since receded. The white bear, Kermode bear, ghost bear, or spirit bear is only found in three isolated areas off the coast of British Columbia and lives so remotely and reclusively that its numbers and origins are shrouded in mystery that goes as far back as the Kitasoo and Gitgaát peoples' cosmologies, which state that these bears are "white bear people" made by the creator. The story also says that when the great glaciers retreated northward, the creator made the spirit bear to remind the people that the lush rainforest was once white with ice and snow. The creator then proceeded to set aside an island paradise for these "white bear people," where they could live in peace forever, and on that special island the creator made every tenth bear white.

Thus considering these variations in color, it seems likely that there are variations in the bears' religious significance to native peoples as well. Nevertheless the association of this bear, like its Asiatic cousin, with strength, magic, good luck, healing powers, and immortality remains a widely common theme. In many cases American black bears are also considered to be ancestors reborn as bear people. This can be witnessed in the Tlingits' reference to the bear as "my father's brother-in-law" and the Lapps' euphemism for the bear as "sacred man," "old man of the mountains," and "old man with the fur garment." This ancestral link naturally gives way to many indigenous people associating wisdom, respect, and guidance to bear ancestors, and it is through this link and the bears' association (as a hibernator) with birth and rebirth that some people believe that, upon their death, they will be reborn as bear people.

The brown bear once extended in North America as far south as Mexico and also inhabits Russia, northern Japan, central Asia, and Europe. The Alaskan brown bear, the Kodiak bear, the grizzly bear, the bear of the Ainu people, the bears integral to Basque celebrations in Spain, the Russian bears inhabiting the Kamchatka Peninsula, and the extirpated bears of Mexico, California, and the southwestern United

States all belong to the same species of brown bear. But variations in diet throughout the vast range of this species (which are linked to differences in habitat) have naturally resulted in variations in the bear's religious significance.

The giant panda inhabits the forests and bamboo jungles of central China. It was first mentioned in Chinese literature two thousand years ago and it was often captured and entombed with emperors in royal mausoleums. The giant panda is also mentioned in the *Shih-King*, the Book of Odes, and is known as *beishung*, the harmless bear of all bears. The panda was considered supernatural—partly because of its black and white markings—to many aboriginals of China, including the Lolo. Because it feeds on bamboo, the panda did not directly compete with these peoples and was ritually hunted only for its powerfully significant pelt. For these people donning the panda skin meant becoming the panda and inheriting its powers. However, unlike other species, pandas were rarely hunted until Westerners offered money for them.

The polar bear or sea bear is located in the northern regions of Canada, Alaska, Siberian Russia, Greenland, and Scandinavian Europe. It has long been integral to shamanic initiations of native peoples in the northern regions. Among the Ammasilik peoples, the shaman initiate stood for long hours in a snow hut meditating until he or she apparently fell dead and remained lifeless for three days and three nights. During this period some initiates dreamed of a polar bear devouring their flesh until nothing remained but the skeleton. Because dismemberment and the reduction of the body to a skeleton were parts of the mystical experience that illustrated that the initiate had received the gift of shamanic powers, it can be argued that it was the polar bear, as a guardian spirit, that mediated the shamanic gift to the initiate. By withdrawing to solitude and rejecting one's body, the spirits could manifest themselves to the shaman initiate in the form of a polar bear who dismembered the person's body until there was nothing left but the skeleton, resulting in his or her "death." Upon his or her death, the way for that person's rebirth was revealed. Thus for many northern peoples, the polar bear symbolizes a real and direct connection with the beyond—as perhaps the helping spirit that guides the person through death to the underworld and then serves as the manifestation of rebirth as a shaman.

The sloth bear is known to inhabit Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, and Bangladesh, but it is most widespread in the dry and deciduous forests of India. Living in the tropics, this bear does not hibernate, and so there is little religious birth-rebirth significance tied to it. Also known as the lip bear, the sloth bear's significance is in its medicinal powers, especially the magical potency attributed to its penis bone. Despite its docile name, many local people in jungle areas have attributed a fear-based reverence and wisdom to the sloth bear, because, although usually timid and preoccupied with diligent termite digging, it is known to attack savagely when surprised or sometimes at night when someone gets too close.

The spectacled bear is the largest carnivore in South America and the second largest mammal. The Andean peoples attributed magical and curative powers to the spectacled bear. There is evidence that the Incan civilization attributed the powers of strength, healing, and longevity to the spectacled bear. In Venezuela the fat from a ritually hunted bear is used to heal rheumatic problems, and the bear's bones are ground up and mixed with milk and then given to infants to strengthen them. Often when the Incans killed the bear, its blood was immediately consumed to help the hunter become bearlike. Even the spectacled bear's scat (feces) was believed to carry magical powers. Thus many peasants fed and continue in the twenty-first century to feed bear droppings to their cattle with the belief that their animals will become stronger.

The sun bear or honey bear is about half the size of the average American black bear. It is the smallest of the eight bear species and the least known. It inhabits the lowland forests of Southeast Asia from Malaysia and Indonesia westward as far as India, and it is greatly threatened in southern China, Myanmar, Cambodia, Laos, Borneo, and Vietnam. The sun bear's religious significance is in its power to heal (its gallbladders are said to heal bruises and broken bones), and whereas not much is known about this least studied of the eight bear species, future research on shamanism in this region may reveal more about the sun bear's religious significance.

HABITAT DIVERSITY AND RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE. Not only do fluctuations in bear color result in variations in symbolic meaning, but variations in a bear's habitat may also affect its religious significance. For instance, the diet of the grizzly in the Rocky Mountains of western North America consists largely of vegetation. Similar diets can be attributed to brown bears in Europe and Asia. Yet the diets of brown bears inhabiting the Pacific coasts include a greater percentage of prey, resulting in their larger size and, not surprisingly, a fiercer reputation. Additionally because of the coastal region's milder climate, food sources are generally more abundant, causing a denser population of bears in these regions as opposed to the mountainous areas. This increases the chance of an encounter by coastal peoples with brown bears than by people living inland.

Along the Pacific Coast, big bears dominated the scene before Europeans arrived. According to the Yokuts, the grizzly bear's ferocious disposition was clearly evident even in death, when the muscle fibers bristled erect. The fears that resulted from the sheer presence of such a powerful animal and the gruesome stories that were passed on describing human encounters with these great bears resulted in a religious significance that often emphasized fear, strength, and bad superstitions. Among the Luiseño the grizzly was a great avenger of the god Chungichnish; the Luiseño warned that Chungichnish would ascend to the stars after his death and send bears down to punish those who were faithless. Likewise the Pomo believed that faithless people would have to stay behind after death in the bodies of miserable and tormented grizzlies, forever roaming the wilderness to be hated and loathed by all who saw them. The Wintun shared a similar belief and therefore would not eat big bears for fear of absorbing lost souls. In fact the Wintun also believed that thunder and lightning were destructive twins born of a grizzly bear woman and that the rippling of the moon's reflection on the water was caused by a grizzly who must run eternally around the lunar orb.

In contrast, the Thompson peoples of British Columbia considered the birth of twins to be one of the greatest blessings that could come to a tribe, and the children were treated from birth like royalty and called "grizzly bear children." They were considered to have within them courage, healing powers, and control over the weather—all considered to be unique magical powers of the great bear. Likewise the Blackfoot in Montana and Alberta also held the grizzly, the "unmentionable one," in reverent esteem. Blackfoot legends attribute to the bear the power to heal wounds and make warriors wise and brave. In addition various tribes honored the grizzly bear as their ancestor, as is evidenced by its name as "chief's son" by the Cree, "old man" by the Sauk, and "elder brother" by the Menominee. Whether or not these people had the nerve to hunt the bear or were afraid of it and stayed out of its way, the bear appeared to be more like them than any other animal.

For many people, like various Apache groups and the Navajo, the brown bear was to be avoided, because they believed it possessed sinister supernatural powers, and they thought that contact with the bear, its tracks or feces, or even a place where it had noticeably been could cause deadly "bear sickness." Yet for such people as the Kato, who did not avoid brown bears and sought them in ritualistic hunts, the hide became essential for the "bear shaman," who made war on the human enemies of their specific tribe. In many Californian tribes, bear shamans were thought to be invulnerable or at least to possess the power of returning to life, because their power was derived from the grizzly bear.

For those people who were brave enough to hunt the brown bear, there were even fewer tribes who ate them. For instance, the Yurok would not eat grizzlies simply because grizzlies ate people. Yet for those few tribes that did feed on grizzlies, like the Atsugewi, the hunted grizzly was eaten only if it was known that it had not killed a human. This is probably because of the bear's humanlike gestures and its similarities to humans when it is skinned. In fact, many (especially the Wintun) believed that eating a grizzly was an act of cannibalism.

Numerous examples like these support the widespread belief that many peoples considered grizzlies to be ancestors who were heroes, fierce warriors, bear shamans, or chiefs reborn as bear people. In fact the Wintun and the Nomlaki peoples were known to bury some of their dead in grizzly bear fur with the belief that they would be reborn as bears. The Chumash, living near the Valley of the Bears in California, believed that all who died there would become grizzlies.

COMMON THEMES OF RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE. Considering the eight species of bears in the world, the wide range of habitat, and the diversity of religious cultures, it is not easy to generalize the bear's religious significance. However, strength, wisdom, courage, the power to heal, and ancestral kinship seem to be religiously significant characteristics both among bears of the same species living in different areas and among all eight species of bears throughout the world. Yet the symbolism of birth-rebirth and immortality are generally only traceable to the four hibernating bears: the Asiatic and American black bears, the brown bear, and the polar bear. Even more specific are the symbolic variations related to a bear's diet, especially if bears had to compete with people for the same food from the same places, which often resulted in people regarding bears with intense fear-based reverence and considering them to be bad omens.

SEE ALSO Ainu Religion; Khanty and Mansi Religion; Lord of the Animals; Tunguz Religion.

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LEON CHARTRAND (2005)

BEAUTY is said to be a property of an object that produces an aesthetic pleasure; this pleasure is a subjective response to a beautiful object, often, but not always, in nature. For example, the beauty of a rose produces an aesthetic pleasure. Immanuel Kant thought other objects beautiful to the degree they conform to objects in nature (Kant, 1953, paras. 42–45). The question is whether this subjective response to a beautiful object can be spontaneous and universally communicable.

Certain philosophers have argued that pleasurable enjoyment of beautiful artistic creations is not originally spontaneous, but needs to be cultivated as a cognitive disposition. This cultivation involves attending to an object (or subject) to recognize its (or her) beauty. Beauty's recognition is similar to the cultivation of the moral virtues of justice and goodness. A virtue achieves truth to the degree that it acquires its distinctive form of perfection; perfection is the goal (*telos*) for the cultivation of virtues. If the disposition for beauty is a human cognitive capacity, then once beauty is acquired in its true form it would be universally communicable. Ideally, beauty would produce aesthetic pleasure spontaneously in all those human subjects whose cognitive dispositions are cultivated for their own perfection.

What is the measure of this perfection? Is there a perfect form of beauty for every natural and created object? Or is this merely a subjective matter? If the latter, how can we agree about what is beautiful? Is perfection of the human form measured against an aesthetic, moral, or divine standard? Religion has concerned itself with beauty precisely because of the inability of human beings to recognize or create perfection. Despite our apparent inability, we desire beauty in fair countenance (or justice), in human relationships (or love), and in orderly action (or goodness). In various dimensions of human experience, we long for perfect order and so crave beauty. If we turn this around, evidence of beauty as perfect order in nature serves to support imperfect human beings in proving the necessity of a divine creator.

BEAUTY IN WESTERN PHILOSOPHY. As a concept, beauty has a history of meanings and uses. Beauty's meaning changes in relation to the variability of human conceptions of nature, as well as the variability of human values. Beauty's use in political, moral, and religious philosophy links it with the cultivation of a range of dispositions that can become settled states of character. As with the virtues of political justice, moral goodness, and religious love, the real existence of beauty may be doubted, while dispositions are fragile and corruptible. Nevertheless, human beings still seek to achieve the experience of aesthetic pleasure, as well as other forms of perfection. Although justice, goodness, and love are often lacking in our global world, we seek them. We recognize and create beauty in the sense of the French *reconnaître*; that is, gratefully acquired knowledge of what is true, legitimate, or proper to one's own nature. This complex sense of recognition (of beauty) resonates with Western political, moral, and theological concerns.

For a sense of the history of the concept of beauty, consider ancient Greek philosophy. Plato recommends a deliberate ascent away from sensuous nature. The human soul aspires to be united with divine love in the apprehension of truth, to become the perfect form of love. Beauty is seen in this perfection. But a strictly Platonic account is inadequate for understanding significant conceptions of beauty, especially those built upon beauty's relation to sensuous nature.

A concrete, contemporary understanding of beauty's "exile" from human experiences of art, morality, and religion could rescue this concept (cf. Steiner, 2001). Good reasons exist for beauty's exile from (much) twentieth-century experience, including a failure of human self-understanding and spiritual development. A less obvious reason is beauty's close association with the idealized female subject who has dominated the Western imagination—whether in the Virgin Mary, the fragile innocence of the maternal figure of femininity, or the perfect (sexualized) form of the female body. As female consciousness gained a critical edge in twentieth-century societies, so did the recognition that the female body had been objectified, even idolized, as an erotic object. The objectification of this subject of beauty became exclusive in taking on the form of a specific gender-type, as well as idealizing the qualities of a specific race, class, and religion.

The extent of this objectification, by both men and women, is evident in the degree to which women's self-image is determined by a culture's fetish of beauty. This is when women do not actually see their own selves in representations of female beauty but are seen in terms of what others think they should look like. Beauty becomes the opposite of anything natural, free, or creative. Instead it is bound up with oppressive images of the female subject. Contemporary aesthetics has not generally treated beauty as a central concern. Yet it is possible to find serious endeavors to restore beauty to what is still thought to be its rightful place in the pleasurable enjoyment of nature, artistic creations, and human love.

To write about beauty is to tell a story about values for human beings. Values, including love (*caritas*), and such acquired dispositions as truth, goodness, and justice, have been portrayed in myths, in representations of relationships between men, women, and the divine. Philosophers and theologians have turned to the poets and the artists of their age to imagine in myth what is not seen but is experienced. Beauty is only truly seen when human vision (and therefore lived experiences) is not determined by oppressive ideals and images. Even ancient myths about beauty involve struggle and concealment until, ideally, the seeing that attends to an "other" achieves a revelation of truth and goodness.

One ancient myth that has been restored to prominence in contemporary discussions of love, pleasure, and beauty is the story of Psyche and Cupid. *Cupid* is the Latin name of the ancient figure of love, represented in this myth by a male god; *Psyche* is the Greek name for a human soul, represented by the female subject who appears trapped in a beautiful body, alienated from others by their envy of her beauty. Psyche's beauty does not bring happiness, but its opposite. The envy of others causes Psyche to suffer the tricks and trials of human and divine subjects. Then Cupid and Psyche become lovers, and Psyche learns to be trustworthy, face-to-face with love in the presence of beauty. In the end, Psyche becomes divine, loving freely and eternally (see Apuleius, 1998; Gilligan, 2002).

GENDERING BEAUTY AND THE SUBLIME. An adequate historical account of the Western concept of beauty should consider the gender associated with the beautiful and the sublime at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. New gendered readings aligned the beautiful with feminine virtues, and the sublime with masculine ones. At this point, the sublime—in place of beauty—becomes associated with the divine. Why would the divine be associated with one or the other? God, as perfect, would fulfill the human desire for fairness of countenance, whether as the beautiful or the sublime. Again, turning this around, philosophical awareness of perfection in nature, including human nature, gives grounds for the existence of a (maximally) great creator of this perfect design. But why would Enlightenment-era religion replace the beautiful with the sublime? The conception of the divine must represent absolute greatness and perfection; hence, the sublime, as greater than beauty in sensuous nature or in its imitation, is taken to represent inexpressible perfection and greatness.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau's eighteenth-century account of the different moral educations of men and women in *Émile* (1762) maintains the above gendered distinction. Kant's *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and the Sublime* (1764) follows Rousseau, while Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) responds critically to this gendering of beauty. The following is disputed: "The fair sex has just as much understanding as the male, but it is a *beautiful understanding* whereas ours should be a *deep understanding,* an expression that signifies identity with the sublime" (Kant, 1960, p. 78). A positive reading of Kant's claim acknowledges a certain level of equality—in understanding—between the male and female sexes. However, the gendered differences between beautiful and deep understandings have negative implications when read alongside Kant's assertion that "The virtue of a woman is a beautiful virtue. That of the male sex should be a noble virtue. Women will avoid the wicked not because it is un-right, but because it is ugly; and virtuous actions mean to them such as are morally beautiful. Nothing of duty, nothing of compulsion, nothing of obligation!" (Kant, 1960, p. 81). At first glance women seem freed from the constraints of duty—but this would imply excluding them from moral autonomy, i.e., from acting for the sake of duty alone. Additional gendered connotations differentiate men from women by the ability to distance themselves from sensuous nature and move closer to the divine. This crucial difference shapes later associations of women with nature. Women's beauty as a gift of nature becomes increasingly problematic as science and technology seek to dominate nature as unruly and threatening rather than orderly and nurturing.

Kant's gendering of beauty affects subsequent accounts of aesthetic education in profound ways, but it equally affects theological accounts of divine greatness as the sublime. The problematic tradition of the gendering of beauty and the sublime continues today. The nineteenth-century German idealist Friedrich Schiller passed on this tradition by reinforcing the gendered differences of Kant's moral virtues. The twentieth-century French postmodernist Jean-François Lyotard ensures that absolute beauty is unobtainable for women while men struggle for the divine—by transcending the chaotic and corrupting forces of nature—in the sublime.

LIMITS OF THE HUMAN AND THE DIVINE. The upshot of Kantian aesthetics in modern and postmodern literature culminates in a monstrous sublime. When human desire and delight go beyond their proper limits, human creations become monstrous. At the extreme, the yearning connoisseur of beauty fails tragically to be worthy of this perception. Without the mutual exchange between creator and creature, between lover and beloved, monstrous forms of creativity manifest human unworthiness. Instead of harmony, integrity, and splendor, the one-sided endeavor to create human "beauty" results in the monstrous sublime of death and destruction, "where by its size it defeats the end that forms its concept" (Kant, 1952, p. 100).

In contrast, the mutual exchange of love in beauty had been lifesaving, as a new creation and a fragile intimation of the divine. Positive qualities are undermined by the monstrous (sublime), which is imaginatively represented by the Enlightenment myth of a new Prometheus in Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818). Shelley's story about a man-made creature explores the tragedy and distortions of a scientific "man" who replaces divine with human creations, religion with science, and love with technology; the outcome is truly horrific. The Romantic idea of human creativity cannot be sustained without mutual love and justice. These virtues, sustained by something transcendent of both men and women, ensure that creativity does not result in self-destruction by a chaotic and violent nature.

How do men and women acquire those necessary virtues that are not theirs at birth? One answer is to return to the ancient allegory of love. Its lesson is that we have to be inspired to *see* the beautiful as something to love; perception of beauty in the beloved that renders her or him desirable is an experience inspired by perfect(ed) love. The allegory represents Cupid with the power to transform humans from mere mortals without erotic aspirations to midwives—or philosophers—who yearn for what they perceive as good. In this allegory, love is motivated neither by desire nor by beauty perceived independent of love. Instead, the very perception of the beloved as good is dependent on, first of all, the true vision of love. The lover, then, beholds the beautiful countenance of her beloved. This vision of beauty takes the two lovers outside of themselves as subjects.

Iris Murdoch describes this ability to *see beauty* as "unselfing." Her account recalls aspects of Plato's and Kant's accounts of beauty, yet it also reflects Murdoch's unique vision of attentiveness to the reality of love and beauty:

> It is important too that great art teaches us how real things can be looked at and loved without being seized and used, without being appropriated into the greedy organism of the self. This exercise of *detachment* is difficult and valuable whether the thing contemplated is a human being or the root of a tree or the vibration of a color or a sound. Unsentimental contemplation of nature exhibits the same quality of detachment: selfish concerns vanish, nothing exists except the things which are seen. Beauty is that which attracts this particular sort of unselfish attention (Murdoch, 1970, p. 65).

"What counteracts [blinding self-centered aims and images]. . .is *attention to* reality inspired by, consisting of, love" (Murdoch, 1970, p. 67, italics added). And "the most obvious thing in our surroundings which is an occasion for 'unselfing'. . .is beauty" (Murdoch, 1970, p. 84). This occasion for unselfing generates an attitude for seeing beauty in all its colors, shapes, and sizes. Although Murdoch's writing predates the postmodern challenges to the racial and ethnic biases of Anglo-American philosophy, her attitude for seeing beauty resonates with the more contemporary words of the African American cultural and feminist critic bell hooks: "'We must learn to see.' Seeing is meant metaphysically as heightened awareness and understanding, the intensification of one's capacity to experience reality through the realm of the senses" (hooks, 1990, pp. 111–112).

CULTIVATION OF BEAUTY AND A NEW AESTHETIC. Hooks proposes "an aesthetic of blackness," picturing beauty in the eyes of those women and men who take time to see and pay attention to the racial and material locations that shape and define their perceptions, feelings, and relationships. Specifically, "a radical aesthetic acknowledges that we are constantly changing positions, locations, that our needs and concerns vary, that these diverse directions must correspond with shifts in critical thinking" (hooks, 1990, p. 111).

To stand the test of time, beauty joins justice in seeking equality in fair relationships. The allegory of love presents an ultimate vision of the human soul (Psyche) becoming divine and immortal in a marital union of equality with the god of love (Cupid) in the presence of beauty that in turn begets pleasure. In this way, beauty constitutes an opportunity for self-revelation and exchanges of power between the self and another. Yet, in reality, beauty remains dangerously bound up with oppressive ideals, images, and symbols. At the same time, world religions have generated significant contexts in which divine love can raise the human soul above the death that haunts the natural world. This tension is problematic, since a spiritual ascent to love in the presence of beauty is not an ideal to which human beings can aspire unaided. The difficulty is to see a spiritual ascent in a sensorial descent, rising towards the transcendent even in descending.

A CONTEMPORARY THEOLOGICAL AESTHETICS. The danger in developing religious symbolism to conceive love of beauty as a form of salvation is evident in the aesthetic theology of the twentieth-century Swiss theologian Hans Urs von Balthasar. When the beauty of God radiates from every created form, the values of truth and goodness become inseparable from beauty's aesthetic value. But in placing beauty at the center of his symbolic story of salvation, von Balthasar makes the male gender central. Salvation in the form of beauty is limited by the gendered symbolism of his Christology, reinforcing the exclusion of the female body. Von Balthasar's objectification of the female body forces not beauty, but woman herself, into exile. What are the implications for his theology of beauty?

To be fair, von Balthasar has done more than other twentieth-century Christian theologians to restore beauty to a central place: he conceives Jesus Christ as the revelation of the form of God as absolute truth, goodness, and beauty. Von Balthasar gives a complex unity to this divine form; the beauty of divine revelation comes to perfection in Christ as the central form of God's glory. Beauty exists not merely for aesthetic pleasure, but as a moral and truthful challenge to conversion (von Balthasar, 1982–1991, vol. 1, p. 209). When beauty, truth, and goodness come together, the glory of God is revealed. The crucial question is whether the human need for spiritual perception of the form of beauty can be perfectly satisfied by von Balthasar's theological aesthetics.

Tina Beattie raises doubts about von Balthasar's Christology, exposing the danger in images of beauty that fail to represent the equality and mutuality of men and women in divine love. Beattie's critique of von Balthasar's symbolism begins by explaining how gender functions metaphorically and analogically. Next, Beattie shows how the female body in von Balthasar's complex sexual metaphysics is rendered redundant by the symbolism of Christ and the church. Only the male sex is necessary for the performance of the story of Christ, whose personae includes all variety of masculine and feminine qualities. This exclusion of the female body creates an asymmetry between men and women. On the one hand, motherhood and femininity are detached from the female body by, for instance, the symbolism of the church as mother, where both men and women can symbolize the mother church. On the other hand, their possession of a female body excludes women from performing any role associated with the essential masculinity of Christ. Due to their female bodies, women are reduced to the biological role of reproduction; *men* can represent *both* feminine and masculine qualities, while their male bodies allow men to perform roles associated exclusively with the masculinity of Christ (as in the priesthood, administration of sacraments, etc.). Thus, the symbolism of von Balthasar's Christology renders the male body essential for salvation, and the female body inessential.

Although von Balthasar's aesthetics respond to the control of the world by technological forces and masculine values of aggression, power, and war, any acknowledgment of the need for maternal feminine values, in order to avoid violence and exploitation, is undermined by the Catholic Church (of which von Balthasar plays a prominent part) being resolutely committed to the exclusion of women from positions of visibility and social-ethical influence. Can von Balthasar's Christology make sense of absolute beauty, goodness, and truth while his symbolism enshrines a vicious association between the female body, sex, death, and violence? If the female body represents Eve as the devil's gateway, whereby the threatening impurity of female flesh drags the male spirit into its chaotic depths of death and disintegration, then the devaluation of woman, nature, and ultimately, beauty is inevitable.

CONCLUSION. The artist Marlene Dumas captures the female body's association with death—displacing beauty—in a dramatic reformulation of the *pietà*, in which a male subject holds a female corpse (see Dumas's 1993 painting, *The Image as Burden*). Instead of the *pietà* with Mary holding the dead body of her male son Christ, a male mourner carries the dead body of the female subject. This reverses the traditional portrait of beauty. Can the female body and nature represent the source of life, not death, in a rebirth of beauty? One positive response refigures the allegory of love, offering hope for a new story of salvation for men and women.

The story of Psyche and Cupid can guide a symbolic reconfiguration of sexed and gendered subjects. Psyche is saved when, as the new Venus, (i.e., the soul of beauty), she (or he) replaces Cupid's mother and creates a new relationship as the beautiful one who is equal in love to her (or his) lover. In being transformed from human to divine, Psyche freely unites with divine love, Cupid, creating a relation of equality for love in beauty. At the same time, this love involves an unselfing in attending to the other self; hence, beauty is seen in the other's differences. The moral psychologist Carol Gilligan suggests that paying particular attention to our gendered relationships in the light of the birth of pleasure is (still) needed. Gilligan herself discovers the seeds for this new account in refiguring Psyche and Cupid.

Psyche as the soul of the (female) mortal becomes a divine subject in love. Psyche and Cupid together create a new fluidity of pleasure; this renders possible delight in the beautiful. These lovers pay attention to each other in a loving gaze. The fluidity of pleasure moves in between material differences of sex and gender, enabling beautiful interchanges. Giving birth to pleasure in the beauty of love transforms human relationships: this fairness, as another term for beauty, remains forever divine.

SEE ALSO Aesthetics; Architecture; Art and Religion; Human Body, article on Human Bodies, Religion, and Gender; Music.

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PAMELA SUE ANDERSON (2005)

BEDE (c. 673–735), usually called "the Venerable"; Northumbrian monk and scholar. Bede's whole life was associated with the twin monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, founded by Benedict Biscop in 673–681. It is difficult to improve on the summary of his life supplied by Bede himself in introducing the list of his works provided in the final chapter of his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People:*

> I was born on the lands belonging to this monastery and at the age of seven was given by my family to the most reverend Benedict [Biscop] and to Ceolfrid [his successor] to be educated. From that time onward I have lived my whole life in this same monastery, devoting all my time to the study of the scriptures. While observing the regular monastic discipline and singing the daily office in church, I have always taken delight in learning, teaching, and writing. In my nineteenth year I became a deacon, and in my thirtieth a priest. . . . And from the day of my priestly ordination to this, my fifty-ninth year [731], I have composed the following works on Holy Scripture, either for my own use or that of my brethren, drawing for this purpose on the works of the holy Fathers, and at times adding comments of my own to clarify their meaning and interpretation.

Bede then adds a list that, in addition to scriptural works, also contains lives of saints, histories, grammatical works, poetry, and treatises on computation.

Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*—basically a religious history written for Christian believers—is a remarkable work, able to win the admiration even of modern-day historians who may not share Bede's religious beliefs. It demonstrates Bede's scholarly gifts, his fine Latinity, his concern to find trustworthy sources, his dexterity in the use of these sources, and his sobriety of judgment even when handling miraculous elements. The *Ecclesiastical History* is also noteworthy for its introduction of *anno Domini* as a means of dating events in the common era, a practice that became customary throughout the Western world.

Although Bede is most famous in modern times for the *Ecclesiastical History*, it was his scriptural comentaries that were best known and most used in his own day and among medieval writers of later generations, not all of whom employed their typically allegorical method of interpretation with Bede's characteristic restraint. His works were so well respected and so often copied that most of them have survived. His numerous borrowings from the Fathers testify to the magnificent collection of books Benedict Biscop had accumulated in Rome and transported all the way to Northumbria.

Bede's writings display the working of a lively and inquiring mind, fascinated not only by problems of scripture but also by those of the natural world. Taken in their chronological order his works allow us to discern a constantly growing scholarly maturity, as well as an attractive and winning personality. Bede's work on the calendar deserves special mention. The controversy over the date of Easter was particularly acute in his time since it pitted Roman against Celtic usage. Bede tried to put order into the controversy through a work, *De temporum ratione*, whose modern editor remarks that it still remains "the best introduction to the ecclesiastical calendar."

We possess a moving eyewitness account of Bede's last days in a letter written by one of his disciples, Cuthbert, to another, Cuthwin. He continued working and teaching to the end. One of his last tasks—left incomplete—was a translation of John's gospel into Old English. He died on May 26, 735.

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PAUL MEYVAERT (1987)

BEGGING SEE ALMSGIVING; MENDICANCY

BEING See ONTOLOGY

BEIT HILLEL AND BEIT SHAMMAI were two early Jewish schools of thought, or "houses" (*beit,* from Hebrew *bayit,* means "house of"), named after Hillel and Shammai, leading sages of Jerusalem in the latter half of the first century BCE and in the early first century CE. The schools actually represented two distinct approaches to the study of the oral law that were prevalent from the time of Hillel and Shammai until the beginning of the second century. While very few adherents of either school are known by name, it appears that the Shammaites managed to achieve dominance sometime before the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE. According to some scholars, the "Eighteen Matters" that Beit Shammai is said to have decreed despite the objections of Beit Hillel (J.T., *Shab.* 1.4, 3c, and parallels) refer to measures instituted during the first revolt against Rome (66–70 CE) in order to assure the separation of Jews and Gentiles. In any event, Beit Hillel clearly emerges as the more influential school at Yavneh, where the sages of Israel convened after 70 CE. The Jerusalem (Palestinian) Talmud (*Ber.* 1.7, 3b) relates that a "heavenly echo" went forth at Yavneh and declared that the *halakhah* ("law") would henceforth be in accordance with Beit Hillel. Actually, the more than three hundred controversies between the two schools that have been preserved in Talmudic literature, many of which date to the Yavnean period, attest to what must have been a protracted struggle for ascendance before Beit Hillel prevailed in the early second century.

Though the Hillelites and Shammaites are said to have practiced love and friendship toward each other and even intermarried despite differences over marital law (B.T., *Yev.* 14b), it is clear that the rabbis regarded the schools as distinct factions. Thus the many controversies between Beit Hillel and Beit Shammai are attributed to the increase in the number of students of Hillel and Shammai "who did not wait upon [their masters]" sufficiently, which in turn led to the creation of two Torahs (Tosefta *Ḥag.* 2.9 [MS Vienna] and parallels), or, according to another version, two "parties," or *kittot* (J.T., *Ḥag.* 2.2, 77d). The tannaim generally considered Beit Shammai to be the school with the stricter viewpoint, calling attention to the few instances where this was not so (*ʿEduy.* 4, 5).

Modern scholars have tried to clarify further the differences between the schools. The usual explanation is that the schools assumed the characteristics of Hillel and Shammai themselves, with Hillel representing the ideals of kindness, forbearance, and conciliation and Shammai, their opposites. Unfortunately, too few direct controversies between the two sages have been recorded to discern whether these characteristics played any major role in their differences.

Another theory is that there were socioeconomic differences between the schools; that is, that Beit Shammai expressed the attitudes of the upper classes and Beit Hillel, those of the lower. For example, when Beit Shammai maintained that on the eve of the Sabbath or a festival one should first recite the benediction over the day and then that over the wine and Beit Hillel contended that the wine should be blessed first (*Ber.* 8.8), each school's position may reflect its socioeconomic background. The wealthy commonly used wine at their meals, and so its use in no way indicated the festive nature of the Sabbath or festival. For the poor, however, the presence of wine at the table suggested the specialness of the day, so Beit Hillel decided that the benediction over it had to be recited first.

Some writers have maintained that the two schools had distinct hermeneutical approaches. For example, Beit Shammai tended to be more literal in its exegesis, explaining the verse "when thou liest down and when thou risest up" (*Dt.* 6:7) to mean that the Shemaʿ should be recited in the evening while reclining and in the morning while standing. Beit Hillel understood the intention to be that the Shemaʿ is said at the time when people are accustomed to lie down and when they arise (*Ber.* 1.3).

Still others have suggested that Beit Hillel insisted that a valid act had to be accompanied by intention, whereas Beit Shammai emphasized the deed itself. A common example pertains to the law that foods consumed on a festival must be prepared the day before. The question arose as to whether an egg laid on the festival day could be eaten (*Beits.* 1.1). Beit Shammai permitted its consumption because it viewed the egg as having been readied, albeit by the hen, the day before. Beit Hillel however, regarded this preparation as inadequate since no one could have anticipated that the egg would actually be laid on the festival day.

Finally, it has been suggested that Beit Hillel analyzed texts and concepts and broke them down into smaller components in order to understand them, while Beit Shammai emphasized the context and the whole. This understanding is actually an elaboration of the hermeneutical and intention-versus-deed explanations.

No one theory accounts for all or even most of the disputes between the two schools, so it must be concluded that aside from the generally strict perspective of Beit Shammai and the leniency of Beit Hillel, no general underlying principle can be discerned.

See Also Hillel.

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Stuart S. Miller (1987)

BELIEF See DOUBT AND BELIEF; FAITH; KNOWLEDGE AND IGNORANCE

BELLARMINO, ROBERTO (1542–1621), Jesuit theologian, controversialist, and cardinal; canonized saint of the Roman Catholic church. Roberto Francisco Romulo Bellarmino was born at Montepulciano in Tuscany on October 4, 1542. His father was an impoverished nobleman. His mother was a sister of Marcello Cervini, papal legate at the Council of Trent and later Pope Marcellus II (1555). Bellarmino entered the Society of Jesus in 1560. He studied philosophy at the Roman College and theology at Padua. He was frail as a youth and suffered from uncertain health all his life. As a student he was much devoted to literature and even wrote some poetry, most of which he later destroyed.

In 1569 Bellarmino was sent by his Jesuit superiors to Louvain in Flanders. The following year he was ordained priest by the bishop of Ghent and assumed his duties as lecturer in theology at the Jesuit house associated with the university. He was an immediate success in this capacity, so much so that by the end of his sojourn at Louvain, in 1576, he was offered prestigious positions at Paris and Milan. He was recalled instead to Rome, where a special chair of theological controversy was established for him at the Roman College. The lectures he delivered there, confuting all the leading Protestant spokesmen, were published in 1586 under the title *Disputationes de controversiis Christianae fidei adversus hujus temporis haereticos* (Lectures concerning the controversies of the Christian faith against the heretics of this time), a manual that soon became the standard of Roman positive, as distinguished from scholastic, theology. It had to pass first, however, through the displeasure of the imperious Pope Sixtus V, who threatened to put *Disputationes* on the Index of Forbidden Books because it argued that the pope's temporal jurisdiction is only indirect. Bellarmino was spared this embarrassment by the death of Sixtus in August 1590.

In 1591 Bellarmino was appointed spiritual director of the Roman College and a year later its rector. In 1595 he became Jesuit provincial in Naples, where he lived for three years until he was chosen by Clement VIII to be the papal theologian and grand penitentiary, a post that carried with it a red hat. Bellarmino was created cardinal under the title of Santa Maria in Via on March 3, 1599.

In the midst of his various administrative duties, Bellarmino continued to publish works in defense of Catholic doctrine and piety, as well as works on the Fathers, scriptural studies, and liturgy. All these books taken together amount to a considerable corpus, most conveniently consulted in the twelve large volumes edited by J. Fèvre in 1874.

Inevitably, Bellarmino was drawn into the sharp quarrel between the Jesuits and the Dominicans over the problem of the relation between grace and free will. It has been said that Bellarmino's position on this issue displeased the pope, who, for whatever reason, sent him off to be archbishop of Capua in 1602. When Clement died in March 1605, Bellarmino resigned his see, and Pope Paul V named him librarian of the Vatican. He remained active in the Curia Romana for the rest of his life and took an intellectual's part in many of the great events of the time, including the Venetian interdict (1606), the literary controversies with James I of England (1607–1609), and the debate on Gallicanism (1610–1612), which was the occasion for his celebrated treatise on the powers of the pope, *De potestate summi pontificis in rebus temporalibus* (Concerning the powers of the supreme pontiff in temporal matters). In 1615 he was involved in the first curial interrogation of Galileo, a man for whom he had great regard and whom he treated with marked respect.

The process of Bellarmino's canonization began in 1627, six years after his death, but because of what was conceived to be his minimizing views about the papacy, it was not consummated until 1930. Roberto Bellarmino, personally austere, pious, and kindly, set the highest tone for the positive theology of the Counter-Reformation, not only because of his erudition and industry, but also because of the amiability and courtesy he brought to his controversial writings—characteristics rare indeed in his tumultuous era.

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Marvin R. O'Connell (1987)

BEMBA RELIGION. The Bemba, also known as Awemba, inhabit the northeastern part of Zambia between lakes Tanganyika, Mweru, Malawi, and Bangweulu. According to oral traditions, three sons of the Luba king, Mukulumpe, who had fallen out with their father, led a migration of people from what is now the Shaba Province of southern Zaire to what became the Bemba territory. The royal clan of the Bemba traces its descent to these brothers and to their sister, Bwalya Chabala. By the mid-seventeenth century, the Bemba were established in their present territory. A paramount chief, or *citimukulu* (a title associated with Mukulumpe's sons), ruled the Bemba with the assistance of local chiefs, also of the royal clan, whom he appointed to govern the various districts under Bemba control.

The matrilineal clan structure of the Bemba can be traced to Bwalya Chabala's central role in the migrations from Shaba. According to tradition, the sons of Mukulumpe, after wandering in exile from their father's kingdom, realized that they needed the assistance of a royal woman to found their clan, so they went back to their father's compound and secretly carried Bwalya Chabala away with them. She is often mentioned as the person who brought the seeds and plants used in Bemba agriculture. In their tradition of a woman founding the royal clan as well as introducing agricultural knowledge, the Bemba assert the intimate connection between the principle of matrilineal descent and the fertility of the land. Bwalya Chabala's honored place in Bemba traditions can be seen in a sacred burial place, not far from the present-day Bemba capital, associated with her. Offerings of cloth and flour are brought to her burial shrine. A basket, which is said to be hers, hangs in the relic house of the *citimukulu.* Flour from this basket is used in several Bemba religious ceremonies.

Like other central African ethnic groups, the Bemba acknowledge a high god known as Lesa. Among the neighboring Lamba people, Lesa is thought to have been a man who lived on earth and helped his people. For the Bemba, however, Lesa was never a person. He is a creator god who controls the rains and the power of fertility manifested in humans, animals, and agriculture. He is the source of the creative power in the roots and shrubs that the Bemba use in healing and religious rituals. There is no organized cult associated with Lesa, and the Bemba do not ordinarily solicit his assistance. When serious problems of community-wide concern arise, however, they organize collective rituals to ask Lesa for help. These are particularly common in times of severe drought.

Spirits of the ancestors play a more central role in the day-to-day existence of the Bemba. Rituals are performed to seek assistance from the ancestors and to ensure that their considerable influence over the lives of the living becomes a force for good. Some of these ancestral spirits (*mipashi*) are considered benign; others, called *fiwa,* are more dangerous. The *fiwa* are the spirits of those who died with a sense of grievance or injury and who trouble their descendants until the wrong is corrected.

When a pregnant woman feels the child moving in her womb, she knows that the *mupashi* of an ancestor has entered her body. After the child is born, the identity of this ancestor is ascertained by divination. The child's *mupashi* is believed to guard him wherever he goes and remains as a guardian for his descendants after he dies.

For every man or woman who dies there is a special succession ceremony (*kupyamika*) in which a close relative assumes the dead man's bow or the dead woman's girdle. By doing so, the relative assumes some of the personal characteristics of the deceased as well as his or her position in the kinship system. Thus a young boy who is appointed in this way to succeed a dead man will thereafter address his fellow villagers using the same forms the deceased would have used; the villagers, in turn, will regard the boy as the husband of the dead man's widow and will speak of him as such.

The Bemba's paramount chief is said to succeed to the *mipashi* of his matrilineal ancestors, which dates back to the founding siblings. During the chief's succession ceremony, he is given a number of material objects associated with the *mipashi;* it is through these sacred relics that the *citimukulu* acquires power over his domains. This power can be weakened, however, by any failure of the chief to fulfill ritual obligations or to adhere to a series of sexual avoidances associated with his office. The ritual objects (*babenya*) inherited by the chief are kept in special spirit huts in the capital where they are looked after by hereditary "councillors" (*bakabilo*), who also trace their ancestry to the foundation of the Bemba state. The shrines are also guarded by "wives of the dead," who are direct descendants of the wives of former chiefs. The approximately four hundred *bakabilo* are responsible for purifying the paramount chief before he approaches the spirit huts and for protecting him from harmful influences. They prevent the ritually impure from approaching the chief and guard his power by quickly removing from the capital anyone who is in imminent danger of dying.

Traditionally, when a paramount chief was at the point of death, the *bakabilo,* who traced their membership in the royal clan by paternal descent and were therefore ineligible to succeed him, gathered in the royal hut to ensure that the necessary rituals were carried out precisely as dictated by tradition. Their leader determined when the *bakabilo* should strangle the paramount chief. The *bakabilo* had to be careful to do this at the proper moment, for to strangle the king too soon would have been considered murder and to wait too long might have allowed the royal *mipashi* to escape, with devastating consequences for the entire kingdom. (The Bemba *citimukulu* may be seen as conforming to James G. Frazer's model of a "divine king.") After the death of the *citimukulu,* the *bakabilo* removed the ritual objects associated with the office and took them to a neighboring village for safekeeping until the succession ceremony took place.

The burial of the chief had to be done according to strict ritual procedures to ensure that the spiritual power of the office was not weakened. The corpse was washed by the three senior women—the chief's mother, his senior sister, and his head wife—then placed in the fetal position upon a platform made of branches. Hereditary royal buriers completed the rituals by pouring a special bean sauce over the body at dawn and at noon. The skin of a newly sacrificed bull was wrapped around the body, followed by a special cloth. At the end of a yearlong mourning period and after the millet had been harvested, the chief's remains were moved to the sacred burial place (*mwalule*). Before the *bakabilo* set out for the burial place, the senior widow was slain in sacrifice. On their way to the burial site, the *bakabilo* sacrificed all the chickens and goats that they encountered. Commoners were supposed to hide from the burial procession. The chief's wives and servants were buried with his remains. Ivory tusks and other valuable goods were placed on top of his grave, which was guarded by the "wives of the dead."

The hereditary burier of the *citimukulu,* who was in charge of the royal burial ground, was known as *shinwalule* ("lord of the burial ground"). In addition to playing a prominent role in the succession ceremonies of the new chief, the *shinwalule* performed a variety of rituals associated with rain and the fertility of the land.

One of the most important Bemba rituals is the female initiation ceremony, Chisungu, held shortly after the onset of menstruation. Between one and three girls take part in the ceremony. During her first menstruation, a girl undergoes an individual purification rite designed to "bring her to the hearth" or "show her the fire," because it is believed that her condition has made her "cold." (Fire is often used in Bemba rituals to purify a person who has passed through a dangerous or impure condition.) Medicines treated with fire play an important part in the girl's purification ritual.

The actual Chisungu ritual is held at a convenient time relatively soon after the menstrual purification ritual. Chisungu is a nubility rite in the sense that it is less concerned with the physical transformations of puberty than with the social changes necessary for a woman to be ready for marriage. Normally the girl is already betrothed; the ritual is designed to protect the couple from the dangers associated with their first act of sexual intercourse and to establish the rights of the future husband to engage in sexual relations. It is also a time when women elders teach younger women the religious and social responsibilities of women in their community. The rite entails no physical operation but involves singing and dancing both within the village and in the bush. There is no comparable ritual for boys.

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BENARAS SEE BANARAS

BENCHŌ

BENCHŌ (1162–1238), also known as Shōkōbō; posthumous name, Benʾa; founder of the Chinzei branch of the Japanese Jōdo (Pure Land) sect, the dominant branch of this sect. He is presently counted the second patriarch of the Jōdoshū.

Born in the province of Chikuzen in northern Kyushu, Benchō became a novice monk at the age of seven. At the age of twenty-two he left Kyushu and entered the head Tendai monastery of Enryakuji on the northeastern outskirts of Kyoto, then the capital of Japan. After six years of study there under the erudite scholar-monk Hōchibō Shōshin he returned to Chikuzen. Three years later, deeply shocked by the death of his stepbrother, he underwent a religious crisis in which he came to feel keenly the impermanence of things. On a trip to Kyoto in order to obtain a statue for a pagoda he had helped to reconstruct, Benchō met Hōnen and became his disciple. After delivering the statue to Chikuzen he returned to Kyoto in 1199 to study the Nembutsu (Chin., *nianfo*) teachings under Hōnen.

Five years later he returned again to Kyushu, and from this time on was active in propagating the Pure Land Nembutsu teachings throughout the northern portion of Kyushu. Among his many disciples was Ryōchū (1198–1287), who was designated the heir of Benchō's transmission when the latter gave official sanction to Ryōchū's work, *Ryōge matsudai nembutsu jushuin shō.* Ryōchū was later instrumental in establishing Benchō's lineage as the dominant branch among the many offshoots of Hōnen's teaching.

Benchō held that practices other than the Nembutsu (the recitation of the words "Namu Amida Butsu") do not fundamentally accord with Amida's Original Vows (*hongan*). However, he did state that it was possible to attain birth in the Pure Land through non-Nembutsu practices insofar as they are performed in good faith. Thus he held that both Nembutsu and non-Nembutsu are qualitatively identical in that they can be the cause of birth in the Pure Land. He also emphasized the idea of "unperturbed mind at the deathbed" (*rinjū shōnen*). For Benchō, it is of utmost importance to recite the Nembutsu with an undisturbed mind at the time of one's death. Under these circumstances, the practitioner is said to be able to see the Buddha arriving to lead him to the Pure Land. This deathbed vision of the Buddha is considered crucial to one's birth in the Pure Land and eventual enlightenment there. Finally, Benchō placed strong emphasis on the actual recitation of the Nembutsu. This ultimately places him among the ranks of those who advocate "many-calling" (*tanen*), the constant repetition of the Nembutsu, and "self-power" (*jiriki*), the position that the Nembutsu is recited through one's own conscious effort.

SEE ALSO Hōnen; Jōdoshū; Nianfo.

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BENDIS.

BENDIS. In Greek testimonies, this South Thracian goddess is known variously as Bendis, Béndis, or Mendis. Her name is uncontroversially explained as deriving from Indo-European **bhendh-*, "bind." She was probably a goddess of marriage whose function it was to watch over marital bindings.

As early as 429/8 BCE, Bendis was the object of a state cult in Athens. In the ceremonies called Bendideia, which took place on the nineteenth or twentieth of the month Thargetion, two processions took place, one composed of the rich and influential Thracians of Piraeus, the other of Athenians. The Bendideion, or temple of Bendis, was situated on the hill Munychia.

The Bendideia, as described in Plato's *Republic* (327a–c), was spectacular but did not contain any hint of the orgiastic character that is typical of rites performed in worship of a great goddess. Bendis was commonly identified with the Greek Artemis; it is therefore puzzling that Herodotus, who was very well acquainted with the Athenian Bendis, fails to mention her name in connection with the Thracian Artemis (*Histories* 4.33 and 5.7). Perhaps Herodotus had in mind another Thracian goddess, not Cotys, however, to whom the same objection would apply.

On reliefs and small statues, Bendis is represented as wearing Thracian garments and a pointed (Phrygian) cap. Her attributes are often a sacrificial cup in the right hand and a spear in the left hand. On Bythinian coins, however, she is represented as holding two spears in her right hand and a dagger in her left hand. On coins from Kabyle, she bears two torches, or one torch and a *patera.* Torches were also the attribute of the Greek goddess Hekate, with whom Bendis has also been often identified.

A temple consecrated to Bendis or Mendis existed in 188 BCE on the western shore of Hebros. Later testimonies mention another temple in Egypt, near Ptolemais. Her name is attested as an anthroponyme in both Thrace and Greece.

Notwithstanding her prominent role at Athens, Bendis is not to be considered an important divinity. The cult of Diana among the Roman soldiers in Dacia and south from the Danube does not necessarily have anything to do with Bendis.

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BENEDICT, RUTH (1887–1948) was an American cultural anthropologist. Ruth Fulton grew up in a Baptist household in New York State. After four years at Vassar (1905–1909), schoolteaching, and marriage to Stanley Rossiter Benedict in 1914, she enrolled in the anthropology department at Columbia University. In 1923 she earned a doctorate under the aegis of Franz Boas.

On field trips to the Pueblo Indians between 1924 and 1926, Benedict elaborated on ideas about religion that she had formulated in prose sketches, poetry, and early anthropological writings. The significance of Zuni theocracy and ceremonialism is conveyed in her *Patterns of Culture* (1934). Through the 1930s, Benedict taught at Columbia, edited the *Journal of American Folk Lore,* and began to compare myths employed in primitive societies with the dreams of utopia current in complex societies. During World War II, at the Office of War Information, Benedict was assigned to work on Japan, a society whose beliefs and behaviors contrasted sharply with those of her own society. *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* was published in 1946; Benedict died two years later.

According to Benedict, religion stems from human perception of a "wondrous power, a voltage with which the universe is believed to be charged" ("Religion," *General Anthropology,* p. 630). In an attempt to manipulate this power, people invent practices and accompanying beliefs; these constitute religion. People perceive "extraordinary power" either as a property of things (*mana*) or as analogous to human will and intention (animism). Each perception produces a distinct dogma and practice.

Benedict's interpretation centered on the individual, who needs reassurance and the security of knowing he or she can influence their own fate. Such psychological factors shape the universal elements of religion: vision, ceremonialism, ethical sanction, and dogma. All of these guide the individual through known and unknown forces. Because Benedict argued that religions exist to comfort human beings, she rejected the "cold," distant Christian God, the absolutist "good versus evil" of Western religions, and the abstract theologies of most stratified, literate societies. The Zuni religion was her model: gods resemble humans, humans dance as gods, religion is down-to-earth and sensual.

Religions also, in Benedict's view, express human imaginativeness. The capacity to envision a world beyond the ordinary provides the content of religion; in religion, humans symbolize their highest ideals. Whatever the precise form—quest, prayer, poem—dreaming represents an imaginative redoing of reality that can direct social change.

Benedict assumed that the human urge to control daily events precipitates fantasies, which are elaborate, imaginative transformations of culturally available means and ends. Her argument about religions echoes her theory of myth: Just as myths give the plain details of everyday life an extraordinary character, so religion accords the mundane daydream a supernatural quality. The impulse to alter present conditions expands into a "desire to remodel the universe," although Benedict did not outline the process. An attempt to manipulate the "forces of the universe" is, by her definition, religious.

For Benedict, the dream had to be tied to reality. Cut loose from substantive, secular concerns, dream becomes delusion and the seed of mass deception. Benedict offered no way of ensuring the link to reality except her own faith that individual demands and the daily pressures of existence keep religions accountable. Reflecting human vulnerability and creativeness, religion is also a "technique for success" and a mode of survival. A religion that failed to perform these functions, Benedict hoped, would be rejected. This point illustrates a movement typical of Benedict's anthropology, from the psychological to the cultural: individual need leads to social phenomenon.

Benedict's view of religion fitted her humanistic and relativistic anthropology. Humanism provided the universal aspect: human response to perception of a "wondrous power" is an attempt to control and to comprehend this power. The one impulse issues in acts (prayer, ritual, liturgy), and the other issues in articulation (symbols, myths, theologies). Relativism emerged in her claim that religious content must be tied to the stuff of everyday life. The diversity of religions proves how thoroughly perceptions of the extraordinary are linked to the ordinary; the "supernatural" (or spiritual) has no meaning apart from the "natural" (for Benedict, the "cultural").

Although her writings do not offer a fully developed theory of religion, Benedict does provide insight into human religiosity. The humility, imaginativeness, pragmatism, and hope in humans gave birth to religions. In freeing religion from a specific kind of behavior and content, Benedict offered a concept with cross-cultural application. Her statements on religion reiterated her general anthropological theory: shared dilemmas of human existence produce a variety of cultural solutions.

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The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America. Menasha, Wis., 1923. Benedict's dissertation was a comparative discussion of the guardian spirit complex in North American Indian tribes. She explored notions of "vision," the links of vision to everyday life, and the importance of imagination. She also showed how borrowed traits are altered to fit an existing culture.

Tales of the Cochiti Indians. Washington, D.C., 1931. A collection of myths and tales from a Pueblo tribe, the volume anticipated Benedict's theory, articulated in later works, that myths and tales are two sides of one coin. The volume also contains an early version of the "compensation" theory she later outlined in *Zuni Mythology.*

Patterns of Culture. Boston, 1934. Benedict's best-known book presents portraits of Zuni, Dobu, and Kwakiutl cultures in order to urge changes in contemporary American culture. Saying that "culture is personality writ large," she argued that cultures acquire personality traits, that individuals are "molded" to their cultures, and that conformity can be variously suppressive of individual expression in different societies.

Zuni Mythology. 2 vols. New York, 1935. The introduction to and summary of these two volumes explicated a theory of myth. For Benedict, myths are "compensatory," a way of making up for the constraints and the failures of everyday life. Myths are also "wishes" for a better social order and for a "redesigned universe." The former she called "tales" and the latter, because of their religious content, "myths." The volumes contain a large number of Zuni stories.

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The Chrysanthemum and the Sword. Boston, 1946. This book, the product of inquiries made during World War II, is an elegant portrait of Japanese society and individuals. Benedict's discussions of honor, debt, obligation, and childrearing are still classic, and her evocation of a unique Japanese "personality" has not been equaled even by anthropologists who have done the fieldwork Benedict could not do for her study.

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BENEDICTINES. The Order of Saint Benedict (O.S.B.) is not a centralized religious order like the Franciscans, Dominicans, or Jesuits but rather a confederation of congregations of monks and nuns who follow the rule of Benedict of Nursia (c. 480–547). Each monastery is an autonomous community bound to other monasteries of the same congregation by loose juridic ties and associated with the rest of the confederation through common commitment to the rule. Benedict himself is known to have founded monasteries at Subiaco, Monte Cassino, and elsewhere in central Italy. Because of its wisdom and moderation his rule was also adopted in many of the other monasteries of Latin Christendom. Its widespread implementation was also fostered by the missionary zeal of the early Benedictine monks and by papal patronage.

Gregory the Great helped spread the influence of the rule in 596 when he sent Benedictine monks to evangelize the Anglo-Saxons. Augustine, their monastic leader, became the first archbishop of Canterbury, and their success also resulted in the development of schools and a flourishing scholarship, as seen especially in the work of the Venerable Bede (c. 673–735). Anglo-Saxon monks subsequently took up missionary work in Frisia and also in central Germany, where Boniface (673–754) firmly established monastic life according to the rule of Benedict. In the eighth and early ninth centuries, however, many monasteries fell into the hands of lay abbots, and consequently serious abuse and decadence crept into monastic life. Reform was initiated by Benedict of Aniane (c. 750–821), who insisted on a more literal observance of the rule; his approach to monasticism spread to other abbeys in Aquitaine. When Louis I, "the Pious," succeeded Charlemagne as emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in 814, Benedict was installed as superior of all monasteries in the empire. At Aachen in 817, the Frankish abbots agreed on a uniform discipline and encouraged a liturgy that was more elaborate and solemn than that provided for in the rule. As a result manual labor declined in importance. Such uniformity was not consonant with the spirit of the rule. Because more attention was given to external monastic structures than to the spirit of the rule, the Frankish attempt at reform was ultimately a failure. A new regularity of discipline was imposed in the Frankish houses during the first half of the ninth century and was accompanied by the development of scholarship, as indicated by the writings of Smaragdus, Paschasius Radbertus, Ratramnus, and Rabanus Maurus. However, the collapse of the empire in 843 resulted in a further decline in monastic life and discipline.

The tenth century saw a successful revival of Benedictinism, above all at Cluny, a monastery founded in 910 by William of Aquitaine and placed directly under papal patronage. Three distinguished and long-lived abbots, Majolus (abbot from 954 to 994), Odilo (994–1048), and Hugh (1049–1109), directed that house very effectively, establishing a high level of observance. They also established numerous other foundations so that in the twelfth century Cluny included a network of almost fifteen hundred monasteries, although many of them were very small houses. In reaction against the highly structured, economically wealthy, politically powerful, and liturgically elaborate form of monasticism that prevailed at Cluny and its larger daughter houses, other monastic families also developed during the eleventh century. These included the Camaldolese, the Vallumbrosans, the Carthusians, and the Cistercians, all of whom stressed a return to the basic elements of Benedict's rule, especially manual labor, corporate poverty, silence, prayer, and penitence.

Monasticism was corrupted by the feudal system in the late Middle Ages; the observance of poverty and simplicity of life became particularly difficult to maintain. Popes Innocent III (d. 1216), Honorius III (d. 1227), and Gregory IX (d. 1241) sought reform, above all by having recourse to the Cistercian institution of the general chapter. In 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council mandated triennial provincial chapters that were to elect visitators to oversee the implementation of legislated reform measures, but this program was generally carried out only in England. In 1336 Benedict XII organized all Benedictine monasteries into thirty-two provinces and also prescribed a triennial chapter and visitation. Unfortunately, there was no way to implement this legislation effectively.

The institution that is known today as a Benedictine congregation was inaugurated in the fifteenth century by Luigi Barbo. In 1408 he became the abbot of Santa Giustina at Padua, where he established regular discipline. This attracted so many candidates that he went on to found new monasteries and reform existing ones, all of which were joined into a congregation in 1419. All of the Italian and Sicilian monasteries also eventually joined this congregation, which became known as the Cassinese Congregation when the abbey at Monte Cassino joined the congregation in 1504.

The Protestant Reformation destroyed about eight hundred of the approximately three thousand monasteries extant in Europe at the time. As a result of the Council of Trent (1545–1563), the congregational system was imposed on those monasteries that survived, and exemption from episcopal control was extended to all houses. By the eighteenth century Benedictine monasticism was generally in a healthy state, but it soon declined again as a result of the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, and widespread secularism. However, recovery and expansion followed during the nineteenth century. In 1833 Prosper Guéranger restored Benedictine life at Solesmes in France, prosperous houses developed in Germany at Metten in 1830 and at Beuron in 1863, and Boniface Wimmer, a monk of Metten, brought Benedictine monasticism to the United States in 1846. In 1888 Pope Leo XIII revived the Benedictine College of Sant'Anselmo in Rome, which had been founded by Innocent XI in 1687 as an international college for young Benedictine monks. The office of abbot primate was created in 1893. Elected by the Benedictine abbots of the world, the primate serves as head of the College of Sant'Anselmo and acts as an official representative of Benedictines to the Holy See; although he has no jurisdiction over individual abbeys throughout the world, he is a symbol of moral unity among Benedictines. On March 21, 1952, Pius XII approved the codification of the *Lex Proprio*, a particular code of law that governs the confederation of congregations. It is reviewed regularly at the congress of abbots held in Rome every four years.

The history of Benedictine women has not been well chronicled because of the scarcity of manuscript evidence. It seems that the Benedictine rule was first adopted in English convents in the seventh century, at the time the nuns Hilda and Etheldreda both ruled over double monasteries. When Boniface went as a missionary to Germany he was assisted by a distinguished group of nuns, including Lioba, Walburga, and Thekla. In the thirteenth century significant mystical writings were produced in Germany by Gertrude the Great; Mechthild of Hackeborn, and Mechthild of Magdeburg; it is not known, however, whether they were Benedictines or Cistercians. Post-Reformation nuns included Gertrude More (1606–1633); she achieved a high degree of holiness under the direction of Dom Augustine Baker while a member of the English community exiled at Cambrai in France. That community returned to Britain and finally settled at Stanbrook, near Worcester, in 1983. It is probably the most distinguished abbey of Benedictine nuns. Those nuns who came to the United States from Germany and Switzerland in the nineteenth century were forced to give up their solemn vows as nuns because of their apostolates outside the monastic enclosure; the majority of the women in the communities they founded are now Benedictine Sisters of pontifical jurisdiction.

In addition to the traditional life of work and prayer carried on within the enclosure of the monastery, Benedictine men and women engage in various ministries, including education, scholarship, health care, retreats, and parochial and missionary work. According to 2004 statistics, approximately eight thousand monks belong to twenty-one congregations. There are approximately 16,000 nuns and sisters, many of whom work in diverse apostolates and live outside the monastery.

SEE ALSO Bendict of Nursia; Cistercians.

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BENEDICT OF NURSIA (c. 480–547), Christian saint, monastic founder, and spiritual leader. Best known as the author of the monastic rule still followed by Benedictine and Cistercian monks and nuns. Benedict is looked upon as the father of Western monasticism because of the widespread influence of his rule. Book 2 of the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, written about 593–594, is the only source of information on the details of Benedict's life. Although the primary purpose of the *Dialogues* is moral edification rather than biography in the modern sense, Gregory's work provides facts that conform to the general history of sixth-century central Italy; hence most scholars agree that the core of Gregory's information is basically reliable. His account of Benedict, however, concentrates mainly on miracles and encounters with demons.

Benedict was born in the Umbrian province of Nursia, northeast of Rome, into what the *Dialogues* describe as "a family of high station." The world of his time was in many ways chaotic. The Roman Empire, already crumbling from within, was overrun by barbarians in the fifth century. In the sixth century Italy was devastated by war, famine, and plunder as Justinian I, the Byzantine emperor, attempted to reclaim control of the area. When Benedict was sent to Rome as a youth to study liberal arts, he was repelled by the immorality of the city; in about 500 he sought solitude, first at Enfide (modern-day Affide) and then at Subiaco, where he lived an eremitical life in a hillside cave. Sustained by the ministrations of a neighboring monk who brought him bread, he spent three years as a hermit but then reluctantly agreed to become the abbot of a nearby community of monks. Tensions between Benedict and the community, however, culminated in an attempt by members of the community to poison him. Benedict returned to Subiaco, where he was pursued by so many disciples that he established twelve small monasteries in the area. Because of the jealous opposition of a local priest, he migrated in about 525 to Casinum, approximately eighty miles south of Rome. Together with a small group of monks Benedict built his famous monastery, Monte Cassino, on the top of that imposing mountain in the central Apennines in place of a pagan shrine that he had destroyed.

The *Dialogues* portray Benedict in his relations with various personalities, including Totila, king of the Ostrogoths. Once a year he met with his sister Scholastica, who lived near Monte Cassino with a community of nuns. Benedict does not seem to have been ordained a priest. After founding the monastery he spent the rest of his life at Monte Cassino where he wrote the rule for monks, which has diffused his influence throughout the world for more than fourteen centuries. According to tradition, he died on March 21, 547. In about 590, Lombards ransacked the monastery at Monte Cassino and left it abandoned until it was reconstituted under Petronax of Brescia in about 720.

There are two traditions concerning Benedict's relics. One maintains that they were translated to the abbey of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire in France some time during the seventh century; the feast of the translation of the relics has been celebrated on July 11. According to the other tradition the relics were discovered at Monte Cassino in about 1069 by Abbot Desiderius, the future Pope Victor III. On October 24, 1964, Pope Paul VI declared Benedict the patron saint of Europe.

In Gregory's *Dialogues* Benedict's life is set out in four successive stages: confrontation with evil, or temptation; spiritual triumph, in which Benedict's virtue is demonstrated; a new situation in which his influence is shown more widely; and finally a fresh confrontation with the power of evil occasioned by this new position of influence. In this way Benedict's life unfolds as a search for God or a pilgrimage in which he finds God through temptations and trials. Benedict, as his name implies, is a man "blessed by God." His life illustrates the pattern set out in the rule itself, which invites the disciple to enter by the narrow gate in order to enjoy the freedom of living in the wide expanse of God. It also illustrates the paradox that fruitfulness emerges out of apparent sterility, that life comes forth from death.

It is the rule rather than the *Dialogues* that reveals Benedict's religious concerns. Impressive scholarship has been devoted to the question of the originality of the rule; the issue is in many ways of secondary importance. What is significant is that Benedict wisely took what he thought was good from existing rules and practices, evaluated that material in the light of his own experience, and blended the elements to form a balanced, positive, and flexible synthesis. The result is a clear code designed for a cenobitic rather than an eremitic form of monasticism: it combines sound spiritual teaching with pastoral details covering most aspects of community life. As Gregory noted, the rule is "outstanding for discretion." While setting out clear principles, it leaves much to the abbot's discernment.

The basic spiritual values affirmed by the rule are humility and unconditional obedience to God. Liturgical prayer, called the "work of God" in the rule, is to be carried out with a profound sense of God's presence, but that same awareness is also to permeate the whole of a monk's monastic life. A sense of the holiness of God generates a sense of compunction in the monk because of his sinfulness, but that awareness of weakness inspires confident trust in God's loving mercy rather than anxious fear.

Silence should prevail in the monastery so that the monk may be recollected and attentive to the word of God, especially during prayerful reading in which he is formed in accordance with the scriptures and the Christian monastic tradition. The monk's relationship of obedience with God is expressed especially through his relationship with his abbot, who is described in the rule as a sacrament of Christ. The abbot, however, is to reflect not only God's justice but his loving mercy as he "tempers all things so that the strong may have something to strive for and the weak may not recoil in dismay." The monk's relationship with God is also reflected in his relations with the other monks in the community as he shares all things in common, renounces self-will, forgives offences, and shows compassion for the weaknesses of others. Stability in the community provides the monk with his basic asceticism and supports and challenges him as he pursues his commitment to an ongoing conversion of life.

Work, whether manual or intellectual, is also an integral part of Benedict's vision of the monastic life. The rule proposes a set time for work not only because Benedict distrusted idleness but also because he wanted work to be kept in proportion with prayer and holy reading. Work is always situated in a communal context; it is not to degenerate into activism nor to promote self-sufficiency and arrogance. Pursued with an attitude of profound reverence for creation, work is meant to be a humanizing experience in which the monk serves both God and the community.

The rule of Benedict promotes a spirituality that is both broad and simple. Because of its flexibility and adaptability, it is capable of incorporating various local traditions. Whenever and wherever the rule is authentically incarnated in monastic men and women, both as individuals and communities, it results in a life that is biblical, contemplative, rooted in a community life of work and prayer, and productive of holiness and peace.

SEE ALSO Benedictines; Cistercians.

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BENGALI RELIGIONS.

This entry treats Bengal—which corresponds to the Indian state of West Bengal and the country of Bangladesh—as a region in which different religious traditions, from approximately the eighth century to the present, have coexisted, intertwined, and sometimes battled, creating a distinctive context for the study of religion in South Asia. While historically the two "great traditions" have been and continue to be Brahmanical Hindu and Islamic, Bengal has also been highly pluralistic, home to Buddhists, Jains, Parsis, Jews, Christians, Sikhs, and lightly Hinduized tribal peoples, as well as, more recently, Hindus and Muslims who identify as Marxists or secular humanists. This entry proceeds synthetically by proposing thirteen perspectives on Bengal's uniqueness, on what sets "Bengali religions" off from religious traditions elsewhere in the subcontinent.

BENGAL AS THE LAST INDIAN STRONGHOLD OF BUDDHISM. The first regional state in Bengal was established by the Mahāyāna Buddhist dynasty of the Pālas (750 to the mid-twelfth century). Under their rule, centered in Bihar, Bihar and Bengal were unified culturally and politically through religious and economic ties to the outside via trade routes and pilgrims; a great literary activity in Sanskrit (Buddhist intellectual strongholds in Bengal were located in Chittagong, Comilla, Maldah, and Rajshahi, and reflected a vibrant mix of Buddhist traditions (Mahāyāna, Sthavira, Sarvāstivāda, and Vajrayāna); and a common artistic tradition of sculptures and bronzes. Under the late Pālas and Senas (eleventh to early thirteenth centuries), the latter of whom dominated all of Bengal at the time of the Turkish conquest in 1202, the center of gravity began to change, both physically and in terms of religious patronage: political attention shifted from western Bihar to eastern Bihar and Bengal, and Brahmanical Hindu religion became more popular. One can chart this movement east through the artistic record: early Pāla art is Buddhist and found chiefly in Bihar, whereas late Pāla and Sena art is principally Hindu, favoring ornate statues of Sūrya and Viṣṇu, located in Bengal. It is also important to note that the Pāla period was responsible for cultural linkages between Bengal and Nepal and Tibet, through the transmission north of Tantric (Vajrayāna) Buddhist texts and practices.

Scholars are divided as to the reasons for the decline of Buddhism in India—viable proposals include the weak links between Buddhist institutions and Buddhist laity; the fact that life-cycle rites were left in the hands of *brahman* priests; the incorporation by Hindus of Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu; the appeal of Hinduism to the late Pālas and Senas; and the loss of distinctiveness between Brahmanical and Buddhist traditions in the eyes of the laity—but it is certain that in Bengal it lasted longer than anywhere else. (The last Buddhist edifice in South India was constructed in the sixth century and the last Ellorā Buddhist temple in Maharashtra in the eighth century; Gandhara monasteries in the northwest were devastated by the Hunas in the sixth century, and by the ninth century in Kashmir, Buddhist and Śaiva institutions had comingled). Today, indigenous tribal remnants of such Buddhist communities, the Chakmas, Marmas, and Baruas, live mostly in the rural areas of the Chittagong Hill Tracts in eastern Bangladesh, but they comprise less than one percent of the total population of that country, and they perceive their traditional lifestyles and religious freedom to be threatened when an Islamicizing climate is dominant in the government.

LATE, LIGHT ARYANIZATION. A second curious feature of the Bengali religious framework is the region's slow incorporation into the Brahmanical orbit. After an early, Vedic period of scorn—from the time of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* Bengal was said to be a place of exile, lying outside the boundary of Aryan civilization—the area began slowly to be included in it, first under the Guptas from the fourth century and then later in the post-Gupta period with the introduction into the region of *brahmans* from elsewhere in India. This process of Brahmanization is encapsulated in a legend about five *brahmans* who were brought to Bengal from Kanauj by the mythical King Ādisura in order to render the country respectable (dates for this importation of specialists vary from the eighth to the eleventh centuries). These dates may in fact represent approximate beginning and ending points of the diffusion of north-India-derived upper-caste customs into Bengal. That Bengal never achieved the level of cultural refinement considered desirable elsewhere is indicated by the common disparagement of the Bengali *brahman* for his uncouth habits, such as fish- and meat-eating.

Caste in West Bengal represents its own further anomalies. Of the approximately 75 percent Hindus in West Bengal and 10 percent in Bangladesh, less than 10 percent are *brahmans*; most of the rest are *śūdras*, divided into "clean" and "unclean" categories. The two highest groups of the former are the *vaidyas* (traditional physicians) and *kāyasthas* (traditional clerks); these, together with the *brahmans*, constitute the gentle classes, or *bhadralok* (literally, "refined people"), who distinguish themselves from the lower orders, the *chotolok* (literally, "small people"), in Hindu society.

Because of Bengal's peripheral geographic status and the late, relatively flexible structure of its caste system, outsiders—whether ethnic, religious, or cultural—have typically been able to settle and thrive there. This was true of the early Buddhists, and also accounts in large measure for the deep embedding of Islam in the region.

THE ROOTING OF ISLAM IN BENGAL. Ever since the first Indian census of 1872, when the British initially noticed the surprisingly large number of Muslims living in the Bengal Presidency, the problem of accounting for their size has been a scholarly puzzle. Muslims remain even today the largest religious community among Bengalis (86 percent of Bangladesh and 24 percent of West Bengal). Most are Sunnī of Ḥanafī orientation, the few Shīʿah deriving from Persian officials of the late Mughal period; although there must have been a long history of mixed exogenous and indigenous parentage, the majority of Bengal's Muslims are converts, and hence of Bengali ethnic background.

As Richard Eaton (1993) has argued, old-style theories purporting to explain such large numbers of Muslims do not convince: people did not convert "by the sword" or for the "benefits" of political patronage; if either of these had been true, the majority of Muslims in the subcontinent today would either live around the sultanate and Mughal capitol of Delhi, or in Bengal they would be concentrated in the regions surrounding the old Muslim strongholds at Murshidabad or Dhaka, which they do not and are not. Indeed, the Mughals were condescending toward Bengal and hence discouraged conversion. Nor can one have recourse to the theory of conversion for social uplift, since the Hindu system of caste oppression was lighter than elsewhere in north India and since egalitarianism was not the main message of Islam as preached in the medieval period. Instead, Eaton argues, one must look to the geography and frontier nature of the region in a period of expansionism under the Mughals after 1574. Needing workers to clear and domesticate the lands in the east, where the rainfall is up to three times heavier than in the west, the Mughal representatives (*nawābs*) and their land-owning dependents sent in local adventurers to plow and reclaim the land, and to settle and populate it. Such people were typically Muslim holy men (local judges, *pīrs* [popular mystics], and *shaikhs* [teachers]), who taught Islam by example and whose memories were hallowed by those with whom they worked. Such a historical perspective discounts four outmoded conceptions about Bengal and Islam: we now know that the Mughal period was not one of decline, Islam is not monolithic, Muslims are not primarily urban, and the emergence of a noticeable community of Muslims does not necessitate as a precondition a political regime encouraging conversion.

THE RISE OF THE BENGALI LANGUAGE. Much, though not all, of what is distinctively Bengali in terms of religion is articulated textually in the Bengali language, which developed, after the late-Pāla breakaway from Magadhan/Bihari influence, around the twelfth century. Indeed, the earliest specimen of religious literature preserved in Bengali derives from this period: the *Caryāpadas*, or mystic poetic literature usually classed by experts as expressing a nonsectarian Tantric viewpoint. Discovered in 1907 by Hariprasad Sastri, the *Caryāpadas* and other *Caryā*-related texts uncovered since that time are the only texts extant from this earliest period.

What is usually called "the medieval period" of literature, from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, contains three major literary genres, parallel for both Hindus and Muslims. The first are poems built around epic stories, such as Kṛttivāsa's Bengali version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (from the early fifteenth century) and the *Jangnāma* stories, focused on battles like that fought against the Muslim heroes Ḥasan and Ḥusayn at Karbala, from the end of the fifteenth century. The second genre are poems, songs, and sayings on the Vaiṣṇava and Ṣūfī theme of love in separation, most famously captured through the love story of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Third, on the Hindu side, are the long narrative poems, or *maṅgal-kāvyas*, praising the auspicious merits of various local deities, with a view to publicizing their worship. Examples include Bijaya Gupta's *Manasāmaṅgal*, from 1494, and Bipradāsa's *Manasābijay*, from 1495, both about the snake goddess Manasā; the late-sixteenth century *Caṇḍīmaṅgal* by Mukundarāma Cakrabartī; a spate of *Śītalāmaṅgals* and *Dharmamaṅgals* from the late seventeenth century; and even the sophisticated *Annadāmaṅgal* by the famed Bengali poet Bhāratcandra Rāy, from the mid-eighteenth century. The corresponding Islamic narratives consist of stories about heroes, with the same mix of the supernatural, miraculous, and fantastic that one finds in the *maṅgal-kāvya* literature.

Because of the ambivalence with which Bengal as a region was viewed, first by the Brahmanical mainstream and then by the ruling Muslim elite, Bengali as a language never developed a prestige market. In other words, there is almost no court poetry in Bengali comparable to that written in Persian and Sanskrit. In addition, there is a near complete lack of secular literature before the eighteenth century, and not until the nineteenth century did Bengali even garner sufficient interest to generate grammars and dictionaries. Nevertheless, perhaps because of the fluidity of the medieval vernacular medium, the seeds of distinctively Bengali forms of Vaiṣṇava, Śākta, and Islamic religiosity were sewn.

GAUḌĪYA VAIṢṆAVISM, THE BENGALI VARIETY OF DEVOTION TO RĀDHĀ AND KṚṢṆA. While one can trace Bengali interest in Viṣṇu to Pāla- and Sena-period art of the eleventh to twelfth centuries, it is the tradition associated with (1) Jayadeva, the twelfth century court poet of Lakṣmaṇa Sena and author of the Sanskrit *Gītagovinda*, where Rādhā makes her first major literary debut, (2) the masterpoets Caṇḍīdāsa and Vidyāpati of the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, and especially (3) Caitanya (1486–1533), considered the dual incarnation of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, that has endured as the most characteristic form of Vaiṣṇava devotionalism in Bengal (or Gaur/Gauḍ; hence Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism). Caitanya, who introduced an ecstatic singing tradition centered on the name of Kṛṣṇa, was the subject of many biographies, the most famous of which is the *Śrīcaitanyacaritāmṛta* by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, of the early seventeenth century. Caitanya's example led to a burgeoning of devotional poetry centered on Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and it inspired his chief intellectual disciples, the Gosvāmins of Vrindavan, to elaborate and categorize the aesthetic and devotional principles of that new religiosity—of particular merit in this regard is Rūpa Gosvāmin's early sixteenth century *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi*. In his own person Caitanya knit Nadia, his birthplace in Bengal, to Puri, Orissa, site of the Jagannātha Temple, where he spent the last twenty years of his life, and Vrindavan, in present-day Uttar Pradesh, where he sent the Gosvāmins to establish pilgrimage centers at the sites of Kṛṣṇa's various life stories.

Caitanya's influence also extended to art and architecture, the most striking example of which are the terra-cotta temples of Vishnupur in south-western Bengal. Constructed by Hindu chieftains who in the wake of the collapse of the sultanate in 1575 were looking for symbolic ways to establish their authority, the two-storied structures, heavily indebted to sultanate art forms, were sites for both Sanskritization of the new Vaiṣṇavism and protest against an authority structure dictated solely by *brahman* priests. Perhaps the most visible Western outgrowth of the Bengali Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava tradition are the followers of the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON), whose founder, A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada (1896–1977), was a devotee of Kṛṣṇa in the tradition of Caitanya.

BENGAL AND THE BRAHMANICAL PREOCCUPATION WITH GODDESSES. Structurally, Muslims and Vaiṣṇavas have tended historically to occupy the same social position in Bengali society: among the lower middle castes of cultivators, artisans, and service providers. By contrast, the preferred deities of *brahmans*, *vaidyas*, and *kāyasthas*, as well as of the lowest castes and tribes, are goddesses. These range from folk and rural deities like Biṣaharī and Manasā (serpent goddesses), Ṣaṣṭī (the protectress of children), Śītalā (the goddess of smallpox), and Caṇḍī (a popular form of Durgā), to the more universalized Kālī (the demon-slayer who stands astride Śiva), Durgā (the killer of the buffalo demon Mahiṣa), and Umā (the Bengali name for Pārvatī, Śiva's gentle wife). Starting as early as the eighth century and extending to the eighteenth century in the Sanskrit *Upapurāṇas* from Bengal, one can see an avid interest by *brahman* authors with local goddess cults—an indirect acknowledgment of their prior preeminence in the region. Such authors identified these folk deities with Śakti and Śiva, making Śiva Caṇḍī's and Śītalā's husband, Manasā's father, and Ṣaṣṭī's father-in-law. Similarly, in the eighteenth century, many of the landowning *rājās* or self-made gentry under the Mughal representatives patronized Śākta deities, festivals, temples, literature, and devotees. Famous examples of goddess-worshipping devotees supported by the noted Śākta enthusiast Rājā Kṛṣṇacandra Rāy of Nadia (1728–1782) were the brilliant court poet Bhāratcandra Rāy (1712–1760) and Rāmprasād Sen (1718–1775), the first in a long line of folk poets to write devotional poetry (called *Śyāmāsaṅgīt*) to Kālī, Durgā, and Umā. Scholars speculate that the reason for this interest among the upwardly mobile in martial goddesses has to do with their own ambitions: the ostentatious patronage of strong, bellicose deities, especially those whose worship had been undercut during the sultanate period, was seen in the Mughal and post-Mughal periods as an expression of political aspiration and muscle.

Kṛṣṇa- and Kālī-centered traditions have long been at loggerheads in Bengal, with competition and cooption the dominant strategies for mutual containment. The Caitanya cult has tended to downplay Śākta deities as impure or barbaric (due, in part, to their association with blood sacrifice), whereas the Śāktas have been more inclined to embrace Kṛṣṇa by claiming that he is none other than the Goddess in a different form. The saintly figure of Ramakrishna (1836–1886), a priest in Calcutta's famed Kālī temple at Dakṣiṇeśvar, was a living example of such theological accommodation, for he attempted to experience the divine in all forms, realizing ultimately that all were the same Mother Goddess.

That Durgā's yearly festival, or Durgā Pūjā, has now become synonymous with Bengali religious culture and identity, regardless of caste, region, or economic status, is proof of the success of the upper-caste Brahmanical project. Other goddesses with popular and universally celebrated annual festivals are Kālī and Sarasvatī; more regional goddesses, like Jagaddhātrī and Śītalā in the Hulgi and Howrah districts of West Bengal, respectively, also follow the festival model of their more famous sisters. As Kunal Cakrabarti notes, "a common orientation towards the regional goddesses makes Bengal a cult region" (2001, p. 309).

TANTRA AND BENGAL. Along with Kashmir, Tamil Nadu and Kerala in South India, Nepal, and Tibet, Bengal is noted for its Tantric tradition. While the origins of Tantra are still a hotly debated issue among scholars—does it derive from the non- or pre-Aryan substratum? To what degree can one find hints of Tantra in Vedic literature? Does Buddhist Tantra predate Hindu Tantra, or *vice versa*?—from the eighth century, in the Pāla period, Tantra flourished in Bengali religious contexts at both elite and popular levels. Although a Tantric perspective can be applied to the cult of any deity, even including Kṛṣṇa, from the medieval period in Bengal, Tantric texts tended to focus on goddesses and to prescribe specific meditation techniques, hymns, philosophical interpretations, and rituals for their worship. The overall concern in Tantra is to integrate the world into, not separate it from, the perspective of salvation, and the Tantric adept tames the deity in question through transmuting her into inner energy in meditation, receives associated spiritual powers, and learns a monistic method of homologizing his own body, the outside world, and the cosmos with the deity. Significant Śākta Tantras for Bengal include Lakṣmaṇadeśika's *Śāradātilaka Tantra* (eleventh century), the *Kulārṇava Tantra* (1000–1400), the *Kālī Tantra* (c. fifteenth century), Sarvānandanātha's *Sarvollāsa Tantra* (sixteenth century), the *Śāktānanda Taraṅgiṇī* and *Tārārahasya* of Brahmānanda Giri (mid-sixteenth century), Pūrṇānanda Giri's *Śyāmārahasya* and *Śrītattvacintāmaṇi* (sixteenth century), Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa's *Tantrasāra* (seventeenth century), and Raghunātha Tarkavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya's *Āgamatattvavilāsa* (1687). There are also sizeable Buddhist and Śaiva Tantric literatures in Bengal, as well as Vaiṣṇava and even Ṣūfī texts influenced by indigenous Tantric patterns.

HUMANISM AND DOMESTICATION OF DIVINITY. Tapan Raychaudhuri has characterized one of the dominant traits of Bengali Hindu religious sensibility as a "domesticated religiosity, a pervasive sense of belief in and adoration of multiple deities as well as other supernatural beings, not all very benign, inspired by an ardent hope that faithful worship and observance of ritual duties would ensure the well-being, *mangal*, of all one cared for" (1996, p. 97). There is ample evidence for this claim as far back as the Bengali *maṅgal-kāvya*s, whose deities are local, ambiguous, greedy for devotees, and sometimes—as Edward C. Dimock has argued in his essays on Śītalā—even outwardly repulsive, although to a devotee such masks hide their true benevolence or mercy (*dayā*). This tendency to endow gods and goddesses with human, almost fallible characteristics is also present in the devotional poetry focused on Kālī, who is chided for her unmotherliness, and even in that centered on Kṛṣṇa, who in Baḍu Caṇḍīdāsa's *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana* from the fifteenth or sixteenth century acts like a *maṅgal-kāvya* deity, not above moral reproach. In the same vein, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, lower-class women used songs about Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa as vehicles for airing their grievances against men. Kṛttivāsa's *Rāmāyaṇa* presents readers with a good-natured, not necessarily divine Rāma, and peppers Rāma's story with references to Bengali marriage rituals, Kulīn polygamy, food types, musical instruments, and even place names. Following in this trajectory, the female poet Candrāvatī, in her seventeenth century Bengali *Rāmāyaṇa*, centers the action on Sītā, whose emotions are just like those of a Bengali woman. Continuing into the colonial period, one finds the same tendency to domesticate, Bengali-ize, and humanize divinity in the person of the famed poet Michael Madhusudan Datta (1824–1872). His Bengali version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Meghnādkāvya*, casts Rāvaṇa and his son Meghnād as the heroes—and he heightens their pathos by the typically Bengali imagery of love in separation, portraying their eventual fall as an indication of universal human frailty. Likewise, the illustrious Bengali novelist, Bankimcandra Chatterjee (1838–1894), presents in his *Kṛṣṇacaritra* (Acts of Kṛṣṇa) an idealized, humanized Kṛṣṇa as a model for modern Indians.

PRIDE IN REGIONAL IDENTITY. Another theme common to Bengali religious traditions is the consistent attempt, in the person of local rulers, to use religious and other symbolism to assert their independence from north Indian centers. One can see this from the first sultanate government under Muḥammad Bakhtyār in 1203 at Lakhnauti, through the nearly two-century period from the Ilyās Shāhī dynasty at Pandua and Gaur in 1342 to the nominal take-over by the Mughals in 1526, to the state governments of East and West Bengal in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. For example, sultanate rulers asserted their autonomy by patronizing mosque styles different from those customary in Delhi, minting coins with local Bengali imagery, and giving encouragement to folk and popular Hindu traditions over classical, Sanskrit ones. Under the *nawāb*s in the early eighteenth century when the Mughal empire was unraveling, this same impulse led to the conscious aggrandizement of Hindu estates by men wishing to build their own power bases in Bengal; Murshid Quli Khan (*nawāb* 1704–1725) cultivated the *rājās* of Burdwan, Nadia, and Rajshahi to create a buffer between him and claimants to the Mughal throne in Delhi.

During the decades before independence, Bengali nationalists who were still mourning the loss of the centrality of Calcutta, which had been demoted from the capitol of British India in 1911, attempted to differentiate themselves from the politics associated with Delhi and Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948); C. R. Das (1870–1925), head of the short-lived Swaraj Party (1922–1925), challenged the politicians of his day in an attempt to bring Bengal back to center stage: "You cannot delete Bengal!" A string of other Bengali nationalists—the "extremist" Bipincandra Pal (1858–1932), the litterateur Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941), the radical humanist M. N. Roy (1887–1954), and the Indian National Army leader Netaji Subhascandra Bose (1897–1945)—also disagreed with Gandhi's policies, whether for his mixing of politics and religion or for his adherence to a Vaiṣṇavized doctrine of nonviolence. After independence in 1947, the passionate commitment by Bengalis in East Pakistan to their language and culture contributed to the split from West Pakistan and the creation of Bangladesh in 1971; in a parallel movement, West Bengal since the 1970s has been ruled by the Communist Party of India (Marxist), which in many cases has distanced itself from politics in Delhi at "the center." Hence, in spite of or perhaps because of their vantage point from the periphery of the subcontinent, Bengalis have always wished to maintain a significant, unique perspective.

BENGAL AS AN EARLY TESTING GROUND FOR INDIAN RELATIONSHIPS TO CHRISTIAN MISSIONS. As the seat of British power until 1911, Bengal was the "nerve center" of political, commercial, and intellectual developments in India from the early nineteenth century. One of these developments involved the relationship between Hinduism and Christianity, and many elite Bengalis, especially Hindus, were at the forefront of such an exploration. While some became famous converts to Christianity (Krishna Mohan Banerjea [1813–1885], Lal Bihari De [1826–1894], Protap Chandra Majumdar [1840–1905], and Brahmobandhab Upadhyaya [1861–1907]), and others derided and fought against Christian diatribes from a conservative Hindu viewpoint (see Richard Young's work [1981] on several *paṇḍits*' reactions to John Muir's anti-Hindu tracts after 1839), many Hindu intellectuals preferred to remain Hindu but to engage Christian ideas, finding in them common ground for a postulation of universal truth. For example, Rammohan Roy (1772–1833), often called "the Father of Modern India" for his role in the so-called Bengal Renaissance, was one of the first to enter into dispute in English over issues of Christian doctrine and interpretation. After the publication in 1820 of his *The Precepts of Jesus: The Guide to Peace and Happiness*, he was challenged over a three-year period by the Baptist missionary Joshua Marshman, who did not approve of Roy's attraction to Christian Unitarianism and its emphasis on the unity of a merciful, rational God, an ethical Jesus, and social reform, and who denounced Roy's assertion that while Jesus' moral teachings were fine, doctrines such as the atonement were not. This public disagreement soured Roy on the missionaries, and led him in 1828 to leave the Unitarians in order to found the Brāhmo Sabhā, which eventually became the Brāhmo Samāj (Society of Theists). The Brāhmo Samāj attracted an elite group of Hindus who professed monotheism, shunned image worship and blood sacrifice, and decried the evils of caste discrimination.

Two other noted examples of Hindus appropriating Christian imagery for their own ends are Keshab Chandra Sen (1838–1884), founder of the syncretistic New Dispensation in 1881, who, although he championed an "Asiatic Christ," never quoted the Bible and had no use for Christianity, and Swami Vivekananda (1863–1902), who, in an inclusivist, almost triumphalistic interpretive move, saw in the New Testament evidence for the three levels of Vedānta: Dvaita, or dualism (Jesus calls God his father); Viśiṣṭādvaita, or qualified nondualism, in which God dwells in us as if separate ("I am in the Father and the Father is in me"); and Advaita, or monism, the highest truth ("I and the Father are One"). Yet Vivekananda believed that Jesus' death was a mirage and, like Roy, that the miracles are a stumbling block to true faith.

Indigenous Christians comprise about half of one percent of the population of West Bengal and a third of one percent of that of Bangladesh, according to the 2001 census. They are a diverse group: Roman Catholics, through Portuguese influence in the sixteenth century; Baptists, descended from converts made by the Baptist Mission founded in Serampore in 1793; and Lutherans, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Seventh-day Adventists, and Jehovah's Witnesses, most of whom trace their origins to nineteenth-century Western missions. Anglo-Indians, those descended from a British or European father and Indian mother, are also a significant element of the multi-denominational Christian population in Bengal. Because of the colonial legacy and, in India because of the memory of Nobel Prize winner Mother Teresa (1910–1997), Christians are more influential—and more controversial—than their small numbers might imply. In the 1990s, for instance, with debates about Christian *dalit* inclusion in constitutional provisions for benefits, the 1999 murder of missionary Graham Staines in Manoharpur, Orissa, by an alleged Hindu nationalist sympathizer, and the accusations by Hindu nationalist politicians that political separatism in Christian-majority states like Mizoram (85 percent in 2001) and Nagaland (87 percent in 2001) is linked to religious preaching, Christians throughout India, and also in West Bengal, felt beleaguered. The same is often true in Bangladesh as well, in periods when the drive for a more complete Islamicization is pushed through to state policy.

It is worth noting that since the nineteenth century Calcutta (Kolkata) has been home to one of India's three communities of Jews, the Baghdadi Jews, who arrived in India as a result of opportunities opened up by the British. However, their numbers today have dwindled drastically (in the 1991 census they compromised one-twentieth of one percent of the population of West Bengal), and only one synagogue remains functional in Kolkata as of 2004. Other small religious groups, the Jains (0.05 percent in 2001) and the Sikhs (0.08 percent in 2001), who are Gujaratis, Rajasthanis, and Panjabis by background, live in the state primarily for business purposes.

DEBATES ABOUT IDOLATRY, OBSCENITY, AND POLITICIZED RELIGION. Probably because of the early nineteenth-century Brāhmo critique of image worship, influenced from its inception by the strict monotheism of Islam, many elite Bengalis, Hindus, and Muslims, over the last two hundred years have spoken out against idolatry in any form. One sees this, for instance, in the Unitarian leanings of Rammohan Roy, who coined the term for idolatry (*pauttalikatā*, derived from the Bengali word for "doll"); in the writings of Isvaracandra Vidyasagar (1820–1891), who was concerned with ethicizing and universalizing *dharma*, emphasizing purity of mind over outward ritual; in Swami Vivekananda's patronizing attitude to image worship as a lower step along the spiritual path; in the poetry by Kazi Nazrul Islam (1899–1976), who denounced idolatry; in Rabindranath Tagore's repudiation of ritual in his poetry collection *Gītāñjali*, blood sacrifice to the goddess Kālī in his play *Bisarjan*, and country-worship in his works on nationalism; and in the consistent disavowal of dead religious ritual and superstition in the novels and stories of Saratcandra Chatterjee (1876–1938). Sumanta Banerjee (1989) explains that this condemnation of the "folk religion" of the lower classes for its lack of sensitivity to Upaniṣadic monism was one way in which, after the 1820s, the *bhadralok* sought to define and elevate themselves in the context of their new role as cultural mediators between India and the West. Another was their championing of a prudish, almost Victorian sensibility, according to which the traditions of popular religion, such as the esoteric and often Tantric Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyās, Auls, Bauls, Kartābhajās, and Ṣūfīs, were viewed as participating in dubious moral practices and hence as embarrassing. Bankimcandra Chatterjee was outspoken in his disapproval of the frank eroticism in Bhāratcandra's *Annadāmaṅgal* and of the sensuality displayed in normative devotional poetry centered on Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā (he preferred the martial Kṛṣṇa of the *Bhagavadgītā*). Although one can certainly lay this concern to prove one's religion as "respectable" at the feet of the British, it is also undeniable that the sanitizing instinct was alive and well before colonial influence: consider Caitanya's disciples, the Gosvāmins, who tried to demonstrate in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries, via several theological somersaults, that Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa were not adulterers.

These puritanical diatribes against image worship did not last in Bengal, however; at least among Hindus they largely fell victim, in the nationalist period after 1905, to a politicized revival of traditional and religious fervor, expressed in a peculiarly Bengali idiom: Śāktism. Thus even though Bankimcandra was by nature morally conservative, his novels attempted to arouse Hindu pride and to remove humiliation. "Bande Mātaram!," or "Hail to the Mother!," the song identifying the motherland with the Mother Goddess that he embedded within his novel *Ānanda Maṭh* (1882), became a political slogan during the protests from 1905 to 1907 against the first partition of Bengal. Political extremists of the period went further, using temples as rallying places, taking oaths in front of Hindu deities to buy only India-made (*svadeśi*) items, and glorifying caste and caste rituals as natural and beneficial. Aurobindo Ghose (1872–1950), who before his retirement into spiritual seclusion in 1910 was a Bengali revolutionary, wrote a didactic play called *Bhawani Mandir*, in which he follows Bankimcandra in homologizing the Goddess to the nation. The British even noted with alarm that Kālī was being employed as an incitement to the violent sacrifice of "white goats." Much later, Bengali political leader Subhascandra Bose, a staunch critic of Gandhi for the latter's reliance on nonviolence, extolled a self-sacrificing love for Bengal closely entwined with his own devotion to blood-demanding Durgā.

Although, because of the Communist Party's strict policy of secularism, the politicized equation of the land with the Goddess is not much in evidence in West Bengal today, it is alive elsewhere in India in the form of *deśabhakti*, or devotion to the country, which can be traced back to Bankimcandra's Bengali articulations. *Deśabhakti* and *Rāmabhakti* form the twin backbones of Hindu nationalist ideology.

TO WHAT EXTENT CAN ONE BE BENGALI AND MUSLIM AT THE SAME TIME? Another characteristic of the Bengali religious context is related to the third theme mentioned above: Islam and the process of its embedding in the region. A striking feature of premodern Islam is the disjuncture between a folk Bengali variant of Islam, based on and in conversation with indigenous roots, and an urban elite variant, with ties outside Bengal either to north India or to Persia, Arabia, and the regions of central Asia beyond the Khyber Pass. The latter group, called the *ashrāf* (literally, "noble people"), cultivated a high Perso-Islamic culture and literature in Arabic, Persian, and Urdu, and ignored the Bengali traditions of their lower-class coreligionists, the *ātrap* (literally, "mean people"). In the medieval period from the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries, such folk traditions were highly syncretistic, pragmatic, and influenced by the surrounding Hindu culture. For example, Hindus and Muslims both worshipped the composite Hindu-Muslim figure of Satya Pīr, for Hindus a form of Viṣṇu who acts like a *maṅgal-kāvya* deity and for Muslims a moral exemplar or hero; in the deltaic areas near the Bay of Bengal, they joined, again, in the reverence for Dakṣiṇ Rāy and Baḍa Ghazi Khān, who in Kṛṣṇarāma Dāsa's 1686 *Rāymaṅgal-kāvya* are co-authorized by a figure that is half-Kṛṣṇa and half-Muḥammad to offer protection against tigers and crocodiles.

Other examples of a liberal, flexible premodern Islam can be seen in Ṣūfī texts, such as Saiyid Sultan's *Nabī-vaṃśa* (1654), where yogic and Tantric parallels are forged with Ṣūfī imagery; in the lineages of Baul singers, many of which are mixed Hindu and Muslim; and in intercommunity social customs, such as those relating to kinship, marriage, and even naming practices. Such commonalities make sense in the context of the fact that the vast majority of Bengali Muslims are converts, from the same stock as their tribal and Hindu neighbors.

Although there are sporadic examples of continuing syncretistic trends after the nineteenth century—for instance, Nazrul Islam's attempt in the 1920s to forge a nonsectarian message equally applicable to a Hindu and Muslim audience—from the anti-partition period in 1905 one finds evidence of maturing Islamic reform movements, particularly the Tariqah-i-Muḥammadīya, based on the prior teachings of Shah Waliullah (1703–1762), and the Farāʾidī movement, founded a century earlier by Hājjī Sharīʿat Allāh of Faridpur (1781–1840). Fueled by agrarian unrest against Hindu landlords and responding to the cry of "Islam in danger!," both groups wished to purge the Muslims of eastern Bengal of Hindu influences, dress, and names; of syncretistic attitudes promulgated by local Ṣūfīs and *pīrs*; of folk customs such as the veneration of tombs, the celebration of the Shīʿī festival of Muḥarram, and the exorcisms performed by local *mullahs*; and even of the Sanskrit-derived vocabulary in Bengali language. "Displacing" Hindu elements with Muslim ones was the agenda. By the 1920s, such calls were becoming increasingly successful, and many Bengali Muslims took to this "Ashrafization" process (the Muslim equivalent to what happens in Sanskritization) with increasing vigor. By 1938, when Jinnah, on behalf of the Muslim League, demanded that "Bande Mātaram" be dropped as the nationalist anthem, the more accommodative strategy of Nazrul Islam, who in the early 1920s had written poems like "Ānandamayī," in which he pleaded with Durgā to save her sons, and "Vidrohi," which exhorted rebellion through combined Muslim and Hindu images of martial strength, was politically outmoded.

It was not until after the formation of Pakistan that Bengalis in East Pakistan began to vocalize once again, in the face of increasing persecution and attempts at cultural obliteration by the dominant, Urdu-championing wing of their bifurcated country, that their Muslim identity was in no way inconsistent with their Bengali origins; indeed, the creation of Bangladesh in 1971 was a direct result of such a conviction. Since the formation of Bangladesh, however, a slow process of Islamization has inexorably proceeded: under General Ziaur Rahman (1976–1981), "secular" was dropped from the constitution and replaced by "absolute faith in Allah"; Hussain Mohammed Ershad (1982–1990) was responsible for the addition of the Eighth Amendment, "Islam is the State Religion"; and Jamāʿat-i-Islāmī spokespeople continue to press for *sharī ʿah* law to become the law of the land. When parties aligned with the Jamāʿat-i-Islāmī have come to power in Dhaka, minority communities—Hindus, Buddhists, Christians, and tribals—have feared oppression and reported state-promoted endeavors to use cultural differences and linguistic divergences as a means for justifying harassment. In the eyes of many secular or liberal-minded citizens, those for whom Bangladeshi identity is neither equated with being Muslim nor exclusive of non-Muslims, such Islamicizing trends are a departure from the vision of the country for which its founders fought in the late 1960s.

BENGALI RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES IN THE DIASPORA. It is difficult to know exactly how many Indian Bengalis and Bangladeshis—whether Hindu, Muslim, Christian, or otherwise—live abroad in the diaspora, as published estimates vary. According to the 2000 United States census, "Asian Indians" make up 0.6 percent of the United States population; of these, people described as "Bengalese" form one of five subcategories. Similarly, "Other Asians," at 0.5 percent of the population, include Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, Indonesian, and Burmese peoples. Of the approximately three million Muslims judged to be living in the United States, the largest subgroup is South Asian, with Bangladeshis slightly trailing Pakistanis. The number of Muslims from India who have emigrated to the United States—mostly from Hyderabad and Bihar, not West Bengal—is one-tenth of the non-Muslim Indian immigrant population, roughly equivalent to their proportional size in India.

Most Bengali immigrants, whether Hindu or Muslim, Indian or Bangladeshi, arrived in the United States after the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965, which liberalized American immigration policies. They came and come for a variety of reasons, including educational and economic opportunities, violence at home, and a desired freedom of political and religious expression. Once here, not surprisingly, immigrants retain strong ties with their homelands, facilitated by ease of travel and transnational communications networks. One can see this in the types of religious groups they have organized. For instance, the first thing Bengali Hindus tend to do is to form cultural associations to sponsor the annual celebration of Durgā Pūjā (and, if they are big and wealthy enough, Kālī and Sarasvatī Pūjās). North American cities in which there is a sizeable Hindu Bengali population, such as Toronto and Washington, D.C., have also raised money to build Kālī temples. In addition, Bengali associations offer activities geared toward training second-generation youth, like classes in Bengali language, dance, and the singing of Rabindra-saṅgīt. In all of this, the imitation of the model "back home" is extremely significant, and much ritual paraphernalia, including personnel, is brought directly from South Asia to sacralize the diaspora celebrations. Bangladeshi Hindus, although they may join West-Bengali-run associations, have tended to form their own groups, partly because of different socio-economic backgrounds and partly because, for the Bangladeshi Hindu, cultural celebration cannot be divorced from political reality. Sensitized to the plight of Hindus in Bangladesh who are perceived as being threatened when Islamicizing governments hold power in Dhaka, they use Durgā Pūjā festivities in the United States as a means of raising awareness and garnering support for the straightened circumstances of their coreligionists back home. This is not something that West Bengalis can readily identify with.

While West Bengali and Bangladeshi Muslims have often made common cause with one another, as also with Muslims from Pakistan, Egypt, Syria, Iran, and Lebanon, they too have founded groups that speak to concerns specific to their lands of origin. The Association of Indian Muslims in America, for example, raises money to help beleaguered and persecuted Muslims in India, and a whole host of Bangladeshi organizations endeavors to keep alive Bengali Muslim culture, festival traditions such as ʿĪd al-Fiṭr, and devotional musical events, to which Bengali poets are invited from the subcontinent.

There is some overlap of communities and religious traditions in these diasporic contexts—for instance, Bengali Muslim artists singing at Durgā Pūjā cultural events, or Hindus attending fast-breaking meals at the close of each day of Ramaḍān—but the degree to which such communal harmony prevails in North America depends to some extent on what is happening in the subcontinent: whether India and Bangladesh are on friendly terms, or whether Muslims or Hindus, respectively, are perceived as being maltreated at home. What oils the relationship between the two separate diaspora groups is, of course, their dual pride in the Bengali language, which, until a momentous point in history wrenched the two halves of Bengal apart, united its people.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in India; Caitanya; Christianity, article on Christianity in Asia; Dīvālī; Durgā Hinduism; Goddess Worship, article on The Hindu Goddess; Hindi Religious Traditions; Indian Religions, article on Rural Traditions; International Society for Krishna Consciousness; Jayadeva; Kṛṣṇaism; Marathi Religions; Ramakrishna; Tamil Religions; Tantrism, overview article; Varṇa and Jāti.

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RACHEL FELL McDERMOTT (2005)

BENNETT, JOHN G. John Godolphin Bennett (1897–1974) was a British industrial scientist, mathematician, thinker, and visionary mystic who embodied the model of the perennial spiritual searcher. He combined scientific research with studies of Asiatic languages and religions. His legacy lives on through his books and recorded lectures about "The Work" which he received from the enigmatic Greek Armenian spiritual teacher George Ivanovich Gurdjieff (1866?–1949) and which formed the foundation of his religious convictions. Bennett's contact with Gurdjieff convinced him that it is not enough to know intellectually more: what matters is to be more—that is, to have "presence." It was the search for the key to "being" that drove him to work on himself in order to be free from vanity and self-love, so that he could "live to the full inwardly as well as outwardly," as he wrote in his autobiography *Witness* (34). Outwardly, he experienced a life of political intrigue and scientific creativity. Inwardly, he awoke to ever-deeper visions of a dimension that he called "eternity." Bennett's four-volume book, *The Dramatic Universe* (1956–1966), testifies to his considerable intellectual powers and his lifelong commitment to the possibility of integrating all human knowledge. His inner story has historical roots, and its review includes major spiritual teachers of the twentieth century.

Born to an American mother from New England and an English father, Bennett did not consider his life to have truly begun until his near-death out-of-body experience in battle at the age of twenty-one during World War I. Shortly after the war, he awoke, for the first time, to a vision of a fifth dimension that he called "eternity," which took thirty years for him to create concepts to explain. After the war he married and fathered a daughter, but he separated from his family to pursue political intrigues in Turkey. In 1920–21 he worked as an Intelligence agent of the British government in the War Office in Constantinople, present-day İstanbul, where half a dozen races and four religious groups converged in the aftermath of the Great War and the Russian revolution. Working in the thick of Turkish politics at this center of great ferment and change, Bennett was entrusted with every kind of secret and consulted about the highest government appointments and activities, including the disarmament of the Turkish army. He spoke, read, and wrote Turkish constantly and worked to resolve political issues with the English, French, Italians, Turks, Circassians, Kurds, Greeks, Armenians, Russians, Arabs, and Jews.

In Constantinople, Bennett witnessed the death of an epoch as the sultanate was overthrown and the Ottoman Empire gave way to the modern and secular Turkish Republic. Here, Bennett had his first contact with Islam and Muslim mystics, or Sufis, who had an impact on him and with whom he reconnected later in his life. Also here in 1920, he met Peter D. Ouspensky (1878–1947) and Gurdjieff, who became his spiritual teachers, and Winifred Beaumont, who became his second wife and shared his life of spiritual search until her death nearly forty years later. Gurdjieff inspired Bennett to dedicate his life to awakening a "permanent unchanging I" beyond the stream of consciousness of ordinary existence. From him, Bennett learned about the possibility of the transformation of a human being. Three years later, in 1923 Bennett went to Gurdjieff's Institute for the Harmonious Development of Man at the Chateau le Prieuré in Fontainebleau-Avon near Paris, where he spent thirty-three life-transforming days. This brief experience convinced him that he must learn to understand with his heart and his body, not just his mind. He realized he could learn to be by training his body to work for a spiritual aim. Gurdjieff demonstrated that it is not enough to know that another world exists: one must be able to enter that world at will.

In 1941 Bennett acquired an estate near London called Coombe Springs where he attempted to reconstruct Gurdjieff's ideas about the "Work," conducting experiments with one hundred students at a time that continued for twenty years. It was during these years that he outlined the four volumes of *The Dramatic Universe.* While Bennett remained in touch with Ouspensky and his wife Sophia Grigorevna in

London, where they studied and taught the principles of Gurdjieff's Work, twenty-five years passed before he reconnected with Gurdjieff in Paris. In the remaining eighteen months of Gurdjieff's life Bennett traveled between London and Paris to be with him despite his professional commitment at the coal company Powell Duffryn and his responsibility for group work at Coombe Springs. In the summer of 1949 he spent a month with Gurdjieff in Paris, which experience was a turning point in his spiritual growth. In 1958 following the death of his second wife, he married Elizabeth Howard, who was a follower of Gurdjieff's Work and they raised a family of two sons and two daughters.

In 1956 Bennett pursued the teachings of "Pak" Subuh (1901–1987), who transmitted a method for the awakening of conscience called "the *latihan*." This was a spiritual practice resembling some states of meditation. It induced powerful psychic and spiritual experiences that varied in intensity and effect. Many practitioners of *latihan* were terrified by a pitiless awakening to feelings of conscience, while others were deeply moved by healing feelings of ecstasy and bliss. With its emphasis on submission to the will of God and its reliance on a single practice, the *latihan* seemed to be the antithesis of Gurdjieff's methods for spiritual awakening, causing many of Bennett's students to leave him. By 1962 Bennett became disillusioned with the passivity of this teaching and returned to exercises in self-discipline. In 1961–63 he was attracted to the teachings on Right Living developed by the 135-year-old Hindu saint Shivapuri Baba, whom he visited in Nepal. In 1971 Bennett acquired Sherborne House near London and established the International Academy for Continuous Education, an "experimental" Fourth Way school, where he conducted experiments with students to apply the techniques he had learned throughout his life for awakening from conditioned existence. Shortly before he died, he also made arrangements for starting another experimental school at Claymont Court in the Shenandoah Valley of West Virginia.

At this point it is difficult to assess Bennett's historical impact. He is almost completely ignored by the academic community. While his ideas continue to influence small groups who work with them, little formal documentation about these groups is available, and some feel that they are already dissolving as those who knew Bennett retire and die. Although Bennett tried to make his ideas accessible to all, the complexity and depth of his vision remain anomalous and inaccessible to most readers. His major work, *The Dramatic Universe,* was Bennett's valiant attempt to resurrect the profound simplicity of the original Pythagorean teaching. It is possible that the core of this wisdom will be collated and integrated within the Neoplatonic and Neo-Pythagorean traditions at some future point.

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BERBER RELIGION. It is difficult to refer with any sort of precision to "Berber religion" per se, even as it is difficult to speak about a "Berber people." The term *berber*—originally a derogatory name (cf. Gr. *barbaroi,* Eng. *barbarians*) applied by outsiders—designates the rather heterogeneous, indigenous population of North Africa extending from the Siwa Oasis in the western Egyptian desert to Morocco, Mauretania, and even as far as the great bend of the Niger River. These people, who have been in the region since prehistoric times, exhibit varying physical features, customs, and social organizations. They are united mainly by language. But even the language itself is highly variegated and is subdivided into a number of mutually unintelligible dialects and many localized vernaculars. In addition to language, another trait that has characterized the Berbers as a whole throughout history has been a strong spirit of local political, social, and cultural independence in the face of domination by civilizations that have imposed themselves upon the Maghreb (the Arabic name for western North Africa): Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, Byzantines, Arabs, and, for a relatively short time, modern Europeans.

Ancient Berber Religion. Echoes of prehistoric Berber religiosity may be found in rock paintings and carvings from the Neolithic period. Many of these depictions are difficult to interpret, but some seem to indicate clearly the veneration of certain animals and perhaps even fetishism. The numerous animal sculptures in hard rock must certainly be idols. These include rams, bulls, and antelopes. By Punic and Roman times, however, zoolatry seems to have been a thing of the past. Augustine of Hippo singles out the Egyptians as animal worshipers, but he does not mention his fellow North Africans in this regard (*Sermons* 198.1).

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, leading European scholars (e.g., Gsell, Basset, Bel, and Gautier) generally held that the Egyptian cult of Amun-Re was widespread across the Maghreb in antiquity. They based this supposition upon the iconography of a few rock drawings discovered in Algeria and upon the popularity in Carthage of the Punic deity Baal-Hammon, who was identified with Zeus-Amun of the Siwa Oasis. This interpretation, however, has been called into serious question by Gabriel Camps, who has argued that the depictions are of sacrificial animals with ornamental bonnets and not sun disks on their heads. The ram god of Siwa does not seem to have played any special role among the ancient Berbers beyond Libya.

If any deity enjoyed extensive popularity in classical times, it was Saturn. The omnipresence of depictions of this god and his associations with the Punic Baal-Hammon are evidence that he was the real master of the region. One of his iconographic representations, showing him seated on a lion (his animal attribute) and holding a serpent (the symbol of death and fertility), has continued in folk religion down to the present. Rabbi Ephraim Enqawa of Tlemcen, a Jewish saint, who is venerated throughout the Berber regions of southern Morocco, is invariably depicted in the same fashion.

From Punic times onward, it seems that foreign gods were borrowed and syncretized with local North African deities. However, it is difficult to isolate the native Berber divinities from the overlay of official Punic and Roman religion. Because of its essentially popular character, Berber religious practice receives only occasional mention in classical sources or early Christian writings.

Most of the *dii Mauri* (i.e., Mauretanian gods), for whom some fifty-two names survive, were local spirits. Many of these have recognizably Berber names, such as Varsissima (Berb., *war ism,* "the nameless one") and Macurgum (Berb., *imqqor, amqran,* "the great one"), both members of the pantheon of seven deities worshiped at Vaga (modern Béja in Tunisia).

Natural phenomena were the main focuses of Berber veneration, and nature worship has continued to be the core of Berber religiosity into the modern era despite the official overlay of Islam. Writing nearly two thousand years apart, both Herodotus (*Histories* 4.188) and Ibn Khaldun (*ʿIbar* 6.94) relate that the Berbers worshiped the sun and the moon, although in what way is not known. Inscriptions from the Roman period mention a god, Ieru, whose name corresponds to the Berber *ayyur* or *ior* ("moon"). Latin dedications to the sun have been found in Tunisia and Algeria, and Spanish writers report that the Guanches (the Berber natives of the Canaries) worshiped the sun, one of whose names was Amen, which in certain Tuareg dialects still means "lord" or "god."

Rocks, mountains, caves, and springs were frequently places of sanctity for the ancient Berbers, as they have continued to be for their modern descendants. Few of the spirits inhabiting these holy spots had names; they were impersonal forces, like so many of the *jnun* of later Berber folk belief.

On the basis of archaeological evidence, it seems that the Berbers of antiquity had a well-developed funerary cult. Decorated rock-cut tombs, funeral altars, and tumuli—all with votive offerings—have been found throughout the region. Among the Numidians, charismatic rulers were venerated as gods after their death, a practice that had its parallel in the widespread saint and marabout cults of later Christian and Islamic times.

Berber Religion in Christian Times. During the early centuries of the common era, when Christianity began to spread throughout the Roman empire, many Berbers in the urbanized parts of North Africa adopted the Christian faith. However, Berber particularism frequently imparted to their Christianity an individualistic stamp. The cult of local martyrs was very strong and widely diffused. Many of the practices and votive offerings reflected earlier funerary cults. Certain customs from this period, such as the partaking by women of ritual meals at the grave site, continued after islamization.

Adherence to heretical schisms was another manifestation of Berber individualism. In addition to Donatism, which was an indigenous North African movement, there were active communities of Montanists, Pelagians, Arians, and Manichaeans. As in the pre-Christian era, there was a great deal of syncretizing of native religious traditions with the adopted religion of the dominant culture.

Berber Religion in Islamic Times. According to Arab historians, the Berber tribes of North Africa submitted to Muslim rule and accepted Islam at the end of the seventh century, after more than fifty years of fierce resistance. This mass conversion was due more to political interest than to religious conviction. Since Arab settlement outside the few urban centers was very sparse indeed, the islamization of much of the interior and outlying regions must have been nominal at best. According to orthodox Muslim tradition, the Berbers seceded from Islam no fewer than twelve times. As late as the eleventh century, the Andalusian geographer al-Bakrī mentions Berber tribes who worshiped a stone idol named Kurzah (or Gurzah), which may be related to a Berber deity of Roman and Christian times known as Gurzil. Even in the major towns, Berber particularism made itself felt quite early by the widespread adherence to Khārijī sectarianism, whose egalitarian doctrines had great appeal in the wake of Arab domination and oppression.

New Berber religions appeared during the Middle Ages; influenced by Islam, they adopted aspects of its external form but remained native in language, rite, and usage. The earliest of these was the religion of the Barghawāṭah, who inhabited the Atlantic coastal region of eastern Morocco. During the eighth to twelfth centuries, they adhered to the faith of their prophet, Ṣāliḥ, as propagated and led by his descendants. The Barghawāṭah worshiped one god, Yākush, and had a Berber scripture consisting of eighty chapters. Their religion was highly ascetic and had a strict moral code. In contrast to Islam's five daily prayers, it had ten (five daily and five nightly). There were numerous food taboos: fish, animal heads, eggs, and cocks were all forbidden (some of these have modern parallels among particular families in Morocco for whom eating a taboo food is considered "inauspicious"—Berb., *tteath;* Arab., *ṭīrah*). The charisma of the prophet, Ṣāliḥ's family was a central element in Barghawāṭah communal life. As in the case of the late marabouts, their spittle was considered to have great spiritual and curative powers.

Another new Berber religion influenced by Islam was that of Ḥā-Mīm, who appeared among the Ghumārah tribe in the Rif province of northern Morocco during the tenth century. He too produced a Berber scripture, and had dietary taboos similar to those of the Barghawāṭah. However, Ḥā-Mīm's religion had only two daily prayers, at sunrise and sunset. An important place was accorded to Ḥā-Mīm's paternal aunt and sister, both of whom were sorceresses. According to al-Bakrī and Ibn Khaldūn, the Ghumārah sought their aid in times of war, drought, and calamity.

The Muslim reform movements of the Almoravids in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and of the Almohads in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, although properly speaking a part of Islamic religious history, nevertheless show certain important affinities with the independent religious movements of the Barghawāṭah and Ghumārah. Tribal or regional Berber identity is very strong in all of them. In each instance the role of the charismatic leader is paramount (in the case of the Almoravids and Almohads this is truest at the early stages of their respective movements).

Although Islam had no rivals as the official religion among the Berbers from the thirteenth century onward, many native Berber rites continued to be practiced within the Maghrebi Islamic context. These are particularly apparent in the highly developed cults of saints both living and dead, in the veneration of such natural phenomena as springs, caves, rocks, and trees, and in numerous rituals linked to agriculture and the seasons. Many Berber groups have retained a solar calendar alongside the Muslim one, which, because it is not only lunar but not intercalated, is of little use to farmers and pastoralists.

Certain dates of the solar year have traditionally been marked by widespread religious observances. For example, New Year's Day—called variously ʿ Īḍ Ennayr (Feast of January); Asuggwas Ujdid (New Year); Byannu, Bu-ini, Bubennāni, or Bumennāni (all apparently from the Latin *bonum annum*); and ʿĪḍ n-Ḥagūza (Feast of the Old Woman); is commonly celebrated with special meals, with household rites to ensure a good year, and, in some regions of Morocco and Algeria, with carnivals and bonfires.

Another important celebration in the solar cycle is the summer solstice, called variously *l-ʿanṣra, l-ʿanṣart,* and *tʿaynsāt* (Arab., *anṣārah*). It is celebrated all over Morocco and Algeria with bonfires, fumigation with braziers, and water rites that include ritual bathing, sprinkling, and water fights. The Jews of North Africa have incorporated playful water fights into the celebration of Shavu'ot, which takes place only a few weeks before the *ʿanṣrah.* (It should be noted that the very word *ʿanṣrah* has been linked by some scholars to the Hebrew *ʿatseret,* or "holy convocation," a term used to describe Shavuʿot.)

Although Islam has its own rogatory ceremony for rain in time of drought—the *istisqāʾ* ritual—the Berbers throughout North Africa have in addition their own practices for seeking divine intervention at such times of crisis. One ceremony involves the use of dolls called *tislātin* (sg., *taslit,* "bride"). These are frequently made from ladles or stirring sticks and are carried about by women and children who chant and pray. Even the North African Arabs who perform this ritual call the little effigies by their Berber name, which seems to underscore its autochthonous character.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that, because of the many conquests of North Africa over the last three millennia and its domination by outside civilizations, it is extremely difficult to identify in many instances what is indigenous Berber religious practice. Even in those parts of the Maghreb where there has been a reassertion of Berber ethnic identity (e.g., in the Algerian Kabylia region), the primary emphasis has been ethnolinguistic and not religious. Islam—whether practiced normatively or not—still commands the Berbers' fundamental religious allegiance.

SEE ALSO Christianity, article on Christianity in North Africa; Islam, article on Islam in North Africa.

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Revised Bibliography

BERDIAEV, NIKOLAI (1874–1948), Russian philosopher and spiritual thinker. Nikolai Alexandrovich Berdiaev is one of the distinguished Christian existential philosophers of the twentieth century. His major themes were freedom, creativity, and eschatology. Born in Kiev, he died seventy-four years later in Clamart, a suburb of Paris, without realizing his desire to return to his homeland. Yet Berdiaev was first and foremost a Russian and a mystic, despite his indebtedness to the West.

Berdiaev's life can be divided almost evenly into three quarter-centuries: the years in Kiev, the years in Vologda, Saint Petersburg, and Moscow, and the years abroad in exile (primarily France). Berdiaev was the scion of a privileged family. His father held high military honors; his mother, born Princess Kadashev, had French royal blood. The family's means and status were quite comfortable; yet Berdiaev was restless. From his early youth he was disposed to regard the world about him as illusory, and to consider himself a part of another, "real" world. The child's consciousness of his spiritual aptitude—an eschatological and mystical yearning—was later to find expression in his principal works. He spoke of his early outlook in his autobiography, *Dream and Reality: An Essay in Autobiography* (1949): "I cannot remember my first cry on encountering the world, but I know for certain that from the very beginning I was aware of having fallen into an alien realm. I felt this as much on the first day of my conscious life as I do at the present time. I have always been a pilgrim" (p. 1).

Berdiaev's pilgrim personality is revealed in the following significant works (all available in English translation): *The Meaning of the Creative Act* (1916), *Dostoevskii* (1923), *Freedom and Spirit* (1927), *The Destiny of Man* (1931), *Solitude and Society* (1934), *The Origin of Russian Communism* (1937), *Slavery and Freedom* (1939), and *The Realm of Spirit and the Realm of Caesar* (1951). Throughout these works, he philosophized as an existentialist on the concrete human condition from a Christian perspective that was at times mystical and nonlogical.

Berdiaev's insights, reinforced by personal example, made him both a lonely and a prophetic figure among his contemporaries. He identified himself as belonging to the Russian intelligentsia of the turn of the century, who were permanently in search of truth. He inherited the traditions of both the Slavophiles and the westernizers, of Chaadaev, Khomiakov, Herzen and Belinskii, and also of Bakunin and Chernyshevskii. He saw himself in the line of Dostoevskii and Tolstoi, as well as of Vladimir Solov'ev and Nikolai Fedorov. In summarizing the traditions that influenced him he declared, "I am a Russian, and I regard my universalism, my very hostility to nationalism, as Russian" (*Dream and Reality*, p. xiv).

Appointed professor of philosophy at Moscow University in 1920, Berdiaev was expelled from the Soviet Union two years later for his unwillingness to embrace orthodox Marxism. His subsequent break with Marxism was inevitable. He questioned Marxist subordination of individuality and freedom in its worship of the collective. Furthermore, he found the Marxist view of reality too limited, denying any world other than a temporal-materialistic existence. For Berdiaev, life in one world was flat; he believed that the human spirit seeks transcendence—a striving toward the unlimited and the infinite. To live only in the realm of Caesar is to deny the realm of the spirit. Such restriction was contrary to his ideas of freedom, creativity, and hope. Only a Christian outlook, as embodied in his Russian Orthodox tradition, could satisfactorily embrace both heaven and earth and point to his understanding of the kingdom of God.

As a pilgrim philosopher, Berdiaev viewed the human task as stewardship toward God's End (eschatology); it was a view that called for a complete reevaluation of one's present values and style of life. For him the Christian outlook was far more revolutionary than Marxism.

The Christian gospel for Berdiaev pointed to an ethic of redemption culminating in the coming of the kingdom of God, a kingdom based on love rather than rights and rules. However, he felt strongly that the truth of the spiritual life cannot conform completely to earthly life. For him, there never had been, nor could there be, a Christian state, Christian economics, Christian family, Christian learning, or Christian social life. In the kingdom of God and in the perfect divine life there is no state, no economics, no family, no teaching, nor any other aspect of social life governed by law.

Berdiaev's vision of the Kingdom often led to misunderstandings throughout his lifetime. As a consequence, he was viewed as a maverick philosopher, with no desire for disciples to institutionalize his thoughts. The basic idealism in his thinking led Berdiaev to a serious devaluation of this world, a view that was more spiritualistic (gnostic-Manichaean) than biblical. Nevertheless, his lasting influence as a Christian philosopher and prophetic spirit lies in his ability to stimulate dialogue among divergent cultures and patterns of thought.

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CARNEGIE SAMUEL CALIAN (1987)

BERENGAR OF TOURS (c. 1000–1088), rector of the schools of Saint-Martin in Tours and sometime archdeacon of Angers. Berengar was at the center of a eucharistic controversy in his own day and subsequently lent his name to a cluster of positions that more or less closely resembled his. He stands at one pole of a tension that has recurrently characterized Western thinking on the sacrament.

In 1059, under duress, Berengar took an oath formulated by Humbert, cardinal bishop of Silva Candida, to the effect that "the bread and wine which are laid on the altar are after consecration not only a sign [*sacramentum*], but the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and they are physically [*sensualiter*] touched and broken by the hands of the priests and crushed by the teeth of the faithful, not only in a sign [*sacramento*] but in truth." The oath of 1059 passed into canonical collections as orthodox doctrine, but its crudity embarrassed most later theologians.

Returning from Rome to Tours, Berengar repudiated and attacked the oath of Humbert and defended his own position that Christ's body and blood were received by the faithful figuratively rather than naturally. This time Lanfranc of Bec led the opposition with his *On the Lord's Body and Blood*, to which Berengar replied in *On the Holy Supper, against Lanfranc*. Berengar took a "spiritual" view of salvation, in which the mental memory of the Lord's life, passion, and resurrection apparently did not entail an earthly reception of Christ's physical body, which was in fact incorruptibly located in heaven. "Eternal salvation is given us if we receive with a pure heart the body of Christ, that is, the *reality* of the sign [*rem sacramenti*], while we are receiving the body of Christ in sign [*in sacramento*], that is, in the holy bread of the altar, which belongs to the temporal order" (Beekenkamp, 1941, vol. 2, p. 158).

At a Roman council in 1079, Gregory VII secured the reconciliation of Berengar by a considerably modified oath:

> The bread and wine which are placed on the altar . . . are converted substantially into the true, proper, lifegiving flesh and blood of Jesus Christ our Lord and after the consecration are, not merely in sacramental sign and power, but in the property of nature and truth of substance, the true body of Christ, which was born of the Virgin, and which as an offering for the salvation of the world hung upon the Cross, and sits at the right hand of the Father, and the true blood of Christ, which flowed from his side. (J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia Latina* 150.411)

Berengar's account of the Roman council shows him still trying to interpret the late insertion of *substantialiter* in his own sense.

Berengar never ceased to quote Augustine: "That which you see on the altar is bread and wine, but faith insists that the bread is the body of Christ, and the wine is his blood." Berengar's interpretation of that principle, though rejected by the Roman Catholic church, finds clear echoes in the "receptionism" of parts of the Reformed tradition.

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Berengar's chief work was respectively introduced and edited by W. H. Beekenkamp in two volumes: *De avondmaalsleer van Berengarius van Tours and De Sacra Coena adversus Lanfrancum* (The Hague, 1941). Necessary corrections have been made by R. B. C. Huygens in "À propos de Bérengar et son traité de l'eucharistie," *Revue bénédictine* 76, nos. 1–2 (1966): 133–139.

The background and sequel to the Berengarian controversy are described in Gary Macy's *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period* (Oxford, 1984); see especially pages 1–72. An account of the affair is also given in Margaret T. Gibson's *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978). Roman Catholic scholars tend to stress the inadequacy of Berengar in terms of the later teaching of the Fourth Lateran Council, Thomas Aquinas, and the Council of Trent, as does Jean de Montclos in *Lanfranc et Bérenger: La controverse eucharistique du onzième siècle* (Louvain, 1971). On the other hand, a sympathetic appreciation of Berengar is offered by the Protestant A. J. Macdonald in *Berengar and the Reform of Sacramental Doctrine* (London, 1930).

GEOFFREY WAINWRIGHT (1987)

BERGSON, HENRI (1859–1941), French philosopher. Born in Paris and educated at Lycée Condorcet and École Normale Supérieure, Bergson taught at three lycées and the École Normale Supérieure before he was invited to the Collège de France in 1900, where he lectured until 1914, formally retiring in 1921. His popular lectures influenced listeners from a wide variety of disciplines. He served as the first president of the Commission for Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations. In 1927, already awarded France's highest honors, Bergson received the Nobel Prize for literature.

Although born Jewish, Bergson was increasingly attracted to Roman Catholicism. While declaring his "moral adherence" to Catholicism and requesting that a priest pray at his funeral, Bergson refused to abandon his fellow Jews in the face of Nazi anti-Semitism.

Bergson began his career as a disciple of Herbert Spencer, whose evolutionism exalted science and the individual. In the 1880s, however, Bergson decided that science provided an incomplete worldview, for its concept of time could not account for the experience of duration. From this disagreement came his first book, *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience* (1889; translated as *Time and Free Will,* 1910). He next examined the relationship of mind to body in *Matière et mémoire* (1896; *Matter and Memory,* 1911). *L'évolution créatrice,* his most famous work, appeared in 1907 (*Creative Evolution,* 1911). In it he expounded a nonmechanistic portrait of biological evolution, propelled toward higher levels of organization by an inner vital impulse *(élan vital). Les deux sources de la morale et de la religion* appeared in 1932 (*The Two Sources of Morality and Religion,* 1935). These four books constitute his major works.

In *Two Sources* Bergson distinguished between static and dynamic morality. The first, a morality of obligation, sanctions behavior consistent with an ordered community. The second, a morality of attraction, issues from mystical experience. The vital impulse, communicated from God through the mystic to others, generates a dynamic morality guided by a vision of humanity as a whole. Whatever his earlier views, by 1932 Bergson was affirming a transcendent God of love who is creatively involved in human existence.

Because many found Bergson's thought liberating, his influence in the early twentieth century was important and widespread. Although he regarded science very seriously, there was still room in Bergson's universe for intuition as well as reason, for morality and religion as well as mechanics, for organic communities as well as isolated individuals. A gifted writer, he bridged the worlds of literature, philosophy, and science.

Bergson was a seminal thinker, prompting others to move beyond his own conclusions. There were few disciples and no one to transform his essays into a polished system. The American philosopher William James and the Jesuit philosopher of science and religion Pierre Teilhard de Chardin borrowed much and yet departed from him at significant points.

Bergson's influence continues among existentialists who borrow his distinction between conventional and "higher" morality and continues within various process theologies that abandon classical theism to find both divine and human creativity at work in an evolving world.

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The best introduction to Bergson's philosophy is the volume edited and introduced by Harold A. Larrabee, *Selections from Bergson* (New York, 1949). In addition to excerpts from Bergson's major works, it contains all but ten pages of his brief *Introduction to Metaphysics* (*Introduction à la métaphysique,* Paris, 1903). Translated by T. E. Hulme in 1913, this work, perhaps the best place to begin reading Bergson himself, has also been published separately with an introduction by Thomas Goudge (New York, 1955). Bergson's complete writings are available in one volume, *Œuvres* (Paris, 1959), introduced by Henri Gouhier and edited by André Robinet. P. A. Y. Gunter's *Henri Bergson: A Bibliography* (Bowling Green, Ohio, 1974) lists 4,377 entries: 470 refer to letters, articles, and books by Bergson himself, while 3,907 entries, some annotated, refer to essays on Bergson by various other authors. A brief introduction to Bergson's thought can be found on pages 49–83 of *French Philosophy in the Twentieth Century* by Gary Gutting (Cambridge, U. K., 2001).Three studies of his philosophy are Vladimir Jankélévitch's *Henri Bergson* (Paris, 1959; in French), Daniel Herman's *The Philosophy of Henri Bergson* (Washington, D.C., 1980), and A. R. Lacey, *Bergson* (London, 1989). Jankélévitch's book contains a chapter entitled "Bergson et le judaïsme." Herman's relatively brief interpretive essay surveys major topic in Bergson's thought while focusing on the role of finality in his philosophy. Lacey's purpose is to state and assess Bergson's main arguments. *The New Bergson* (Manchester, England, 1999), edited by John Mullarkey, gives evidence of a renewed engagement with Bergson's philosophic ideas.

DARRELL JODOCK (1987 AND 2005)

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX (1090–1153), monastic reformer, abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Clairvaux, France. Bernard is known principally through four biographical accounts written in his own century (which contain more legend than fact), through other writings of his contemporaries, and through his own works. Born to a noble family at the château of Fontaine, near Dijon, Bernard was educated by the canons of Saint-Vorles, Châtillon. At about the age of twenty he decided to commit himself to monastic life at the recently founded abbey of Cîteaux, which he entered in 1113. In 1115 he was sent to found the abbey of Clairvaux. So many recruits came that in 1118 he founded another abbey, and he continued to found one or more each year for a total of about seventy monasteries.

By 1125 Bernard had written three treatises: *The Steps of Humility*, *In Praise of the Virgin Mother*, and *Apologia to*

Abbot William. His reputation spread. Around 1127 he wrote *On the Behavior and Duties of Bishops* and *On Grace and Free Choice; On Loving God* was composed between 1126 and 1141, and *In Praise of the New Knighthood* between 1128 and 1136. In 1133 he traveled to Italy to settle the schism in the papacy between Innocent II and Anacletus II. In about 1135 Bernard began the long series of sermons *On the Song of Songs*, leaving the last sermon, the eighty-sixth, unfinished at his death. In 1139 he began to participate in the controversy then raging over the writings of Abelard, as is particularly illustrated by his Letter 190, "Against the Errors of Abelard." At this time he wrote the treatise *On Conversion* for the students in Paris. Before 1144 he dedicated to some Benedictine monks *On Precept and Dispensation*. He also took an active part in church politics, first in the combat against the heresies of the Cathari in the south of France, and then in Flanders, the Rhineland, and Bavaria, to rally men for the Second Crusade, initiated in 1146 by Eugenius III, the first Cistercian pope, for whom Bernard wrote *Five Books on Consideration*. After 1148 he penned *The Life and Death of Saint Malachy*, a biography of the bishop of Armagh who died at Clairvaux. About five hundred of Bernard's many letters are extant, as are numerous sermons on various subjects. Bernard died at Clairvaux on August 20, 1153 and was canonized by Alexander III in 1174.

Bernard was essentially a monk and a reformer, and his way of being both was determined by his character. His extremely artistic literary style tended to conceal his natural spontaneity. One senses deep conflict in this man: a tendency to be aggressive and domineering versus a will to be humble, to serve only "the interests of Jesus Christ." By constant examination of his motivations Bernard acquired a certain self-control. Occasionally charity gave way to passion; however, his humanity toward all won him more friends than enemies.

Bernard reformed monasticism by introducing greater poverty and austerity among the monks of the older orders, such as those at Cluny and Saint-Denis. He encouraged the new orders, the Regular Canons and the Carthusians. He strove for similar reform in the papacy, in the Curia Romana, and among bishops, clergy, and laity. He continued the institutional reform of Gregory VII by a spiritual reform in favor of interiority.

In the controversies over Abelard, historians have detected a conflict between personal rather than doctrinal points of view. Bernard and Abelard were in basic agreement on most points of doctrine and especially on the necessity of the appeal to reason, but Bernard, ill informed about the details of Abelard's teachings, won the support of the clergy of his day more by the form of his presentation of Christian dogma than by his criticism of Abelard.

In the political field, and especially in connection with the continual warfare of his day, Bernard defended nonviolence and made every effort to bring about reconciliation. About the pagan Wendes he said, "We must persuade to faith, not impose it." Elsewhere, he pointed out that the faithful of the Eastern and the Western churches were united by faith. Further, he defended the persecuted Jews of the Rhineland.

Bernard's theology had its roots in his own spiritual experience and in scripture, which served as the norm of interpretation for experience. He affirmed that the Holy Spirit, who inspired the sacred authors, gives understanding to their readers. His style is a tapestry of biblical quotations and allusions, often worded as they are found in the liturgy or in the writings of the fathers of the church. He borrowed very little from profane authors.

His doctrine is founded on the idea that the image of God in man has been dimmed by sin but not effaced. This image is restored when grace gives true self-knowledge or humility. In Jesus Christ, God became imitable. The Holy Spirit enables us to share in the salvation brought by Christ by keeping alive in us his "memory"—through meditation, in the celebration of the "mysteries" (the sacraments), in the liturgy, and by following his example. Within the church—Christ's bride—ascesis and prayer lead to union with God, to peace and joy.

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JEAN LECLERCQ (1987)

BERNDT, CATHERINE H. (1918–1994). Born Catherine Helen Webb on May 8, 1918, in Auckland, New Zealand, Catherine Berndt grew up in households rich in the sounds and stories of many places and in the company of strong, supportive women. From her maternal grandparents and their siblings, Catherine heard of their early life in Nova Scotia. She heard tales of Scotland from her "great-aunt" Catherine, who had informally adopted Catherine's mother and in whose house Catherine was born. It was to this house that her mother returned with her three children after Catherine's parents separated and her father went to Australia. Her parents reconciled when she was about ten, and, in her father's house in Wellington, Catherine had access to libraries that reflected his interests in travel and anthropology. In her great-aunt's house in Auckland she read Celtic history and heard, in her great-uncle James's lilting singing, the rhythms of the Scottish lowlands. Missionaries visiting the Webbs at both locations brought tales of faraway places. Her later research interests in women's religious lives, race relations, social change, oral and children's literature, myths, and her exploration of a number of languages, at university and in the field, resonate with these early experiences.

During her undergraduate years, 1936–1939, at Victoria University College (now Victoria University), Wellington, Catherine studied classics and majored in Latin. She learned from fellow Maori students of their struggles, and later, in 1986, was proud to discover her Maori forebears. In getting an education Catherine enjoyed the unfailing support of her female kin. Her great-aunt cared for her during the first years of her postprimary education. Then, after her great-aunt fell ill, Catherine's younger sister moved to keep her company. Catherine's mother, wanting her daughter to have the university education denied to her, considered anthropology a good field and, with a fourth child born after another reconciliation, moved the family to Dunedin so that Catherine could complete a one-year certificate of proficiency in anthropology at the University of Otago. There, H. D. Skinner (1886–1978), director of the Otago Museum, encouraged Catherine to pursue her anthropological interests in Australia. In 1940, shortly after her mother's death, Catherine headed to Sydney to work with Professor A. P. Elkin (1891–1979), and there she met fellow student Ronald M. Berndt (1916–1990), whom she married in 1941, beginning a remarkable partnership spanning five decades and research in a number of indigenous communities in Australia and New Guinea.

Catherine Berndt's contribution to the study of the religious lives of Aboriginal women across Australia, particularly in Balgo, Victoria River Downs, Oenpelli, and Ooldea, reinforced and expanded upon the earlier pioneering work of Phyllis Kaberry (1910–1977) in the Kimberleys. Berndt documented the separate and secret religious lives of Aboriginal women, the richness of their songs and myths, the wide range of their religious activities, and the complementarity of the genders. It is a great loss to the field that much of Catherine Berndt's remarkable research remains inaccessible. (The field notebooks of Ronald and Catherine Berndt are under a thirty-year embargo in the Anthropology Museum at the University of Western Australia. In her publications Berndt often notes that they are sketches only and that further research is needed.)

Berndt's first fieldwork in Ooldea in the west of South Australia—where, along with her husband, she studied the impact of transcontinental railway on the local population—set the stage for much that would follow. She wrote of women's knowledge of the land and rituals associated with marriage, pregnancy, spirit children, and childbirth; of women's "secret life, in which men have no share, [that] centres round the ancestral myths and songs told by the old women" (Berndt and Berndt, 1942–1945, p. 230); and emphasized that women had "no feeling of inferiority in regard to religion" (p. 260).

In subsequent fieldwork and publications, Berndt mapped the diversity of women's religious activities and teased out common themes. In "Women's Changing Ceremonies in Northern Australia"—her 1949 M.A. thesis (with first class honors from the University of Sydney), published in 1950 in *L'Homme* and praised by Claude Levi-Strauss (b. 1908) for its contribution to the sociology of religion and attention to the dynamism of Aboriginal society—Berndt argues that, on the whole, culture contact in the Victoria River Downs region of the Northern Territory and Western Australia was having a "discouraging and deleterious" effect on women's ceremonial life (p. 9). Relying solely on female informants, Berndt set out three categories of ceremonies: ones in which men and women participate as equals, those in which women's roles are supplementary, and those kept secret by women, at which men are not present. Her 1965 article on women's secret life explores their songs, designs, dancing, and myths against the background of the historical and theoretical literature, in particular Durkheim's sacred-profane dichotomy. In "Digging Sticks and Spears; or, The Two-Sex Model," written in 1970, Berndt characterizes gender relations in Aboriginal society as facilitating women's independence within a societal framing of interdependence.

The Berndts' research of the early 1940s among the Yaraldi (Ngarrindjeri) of the Lower Murray region of South Australia, a people whose contacts with outsiders reach back to the 1800s, is ambivalent regarding the extent of women's secret religious traditions and has been subject to critical scrutiny in the context of a major court case.

Following their 1951–1952 fieldwork in Papua New Guinea, the Berndts, from 1953 to 1955, studied under Raymond Firth (1901–2002) at the London School of Economics, where they also completed their dissertations. Catherine Berndt's dissertation on myth in action, written in 1955, remains unpublished.

Catherine Berndt had a complicated relationship with feminism and feminist scholars. She had little time for what she termed "militant feminists," and she celebrated her "separate but together" fieldwork style with her husband. Catherine was raised to believe in the equality of the sexes, but, in common with a number of other talented women scholars, she never held a tenured position. In 1956 the Berndts moved to the University of Western Australia, Perth, and together they established the anthropology department: Ronald as senior lecturer and then in 1963 as foundation professor, and Catherine as visiting tutor and later as visiting lecturer.

Catherine Berndt was the recipient of numerous grants and awards, including a Winifred Cullis grant from the International Federation of University Women (1954–1955), a travel grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation, and the New South Wales Premier's Special Children's Book Award for *Land of the Rainbow Snake,* shared with illustrator Djoki Yunupingu. She was a foundation member of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (now the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Studies) and, in 1982, was elected a fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia. In 1987 she received the Order of Australia and an honorary doctorate from the University of Western Australia, where a prize is awarded annually in her name to the female whose Ph.D. thesis made the most outstanding contribution to social anthropological knowledge of Aboriginal Australia.

SEE ALSO Berndt, Ronald.

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DIANE BELL (2005)

BERNDT, RONALD (1916–1990), an Australian anthropologist, was the first to transcribe, translate, and analyze Aboriginal stories and songs; he also wrote extensively on social organization, sexuality, poetry and song, art and material culture, as well as social change and acculturation within Aboriginal societies. Born in Adelaide, South Australia, to an Australian-born Huguenot mother and a German father he was attracted to anthropology at an early age. Fascinated with the Great Pyramids of Egypt, he even taught himself to read hieroglyphics as a child.

His interest in ethnology and in Aboriginal culture led him first to pursue local field research. In 1940 he entered the University of Sydney as a student of Professor A. P. Elkin, earning a diploma of anthropology (1943), bachelor of arts (1950), and master of arts in anthropology, first class (1951). While at the university he also met New Zealander Catherine Helen Webb (1918–1994), whom he married in 1941 (Stanton, 1994).

The Berndts' very close professional partnership spanned almost five decades; neither of their achievements can be considered apart from the other's. The extent and breadth of their fieldwork were exceptional, and their publication record reflects this. They first worked together in South Australia at Ooldea from 1940 to 1941, continuing the research Berndt began there in 1939; they then went to the Murray Bridge area to for two years, followed by a year in the Northern Territory at Birrundudu.

It was, however, during his thirty-three years of work in Arnhem Land (1946–1979) that Berndt's most detailed descriptions of Australian Aboriginal life were focused and for whose publications he is best known: *Kunapipi* (1951), *Djanggawul* (1952), *An Adjustment Movement in Arnhem Land* (1962), and *Love Songs of Arnhem Land* (1976). The Berndts also carried out pioneering fieldwork at Balgo Hills on the northern edge of Australia's Western Desert (1951–1981) as well as in highland New Guinea (1951–1953). The latter work formed the bases of their respective doctoral theses from the London School of Economics in 1955.

Berndt was trained within the British structural-functionalist tradition, taught first by Elkin and then supervised by Firth in London. The dominant anthropological and sociological school of the mid-1940s through the early 1970s, structural-functionalism taught that societies are an interrelated collection of groups that must maintain order and balance to function smoothly. In this view, shared norms and values form the basis of society, and social order rests on tacit agreements between groups and organizations. As a student of this method, Berndt pursued a holistic approach to gaining an understanding of Australian Aboriginal societies.

Berndt was preoccupied with all aspects of Aboriginal religious life; it was his point of convergence in articulating the nature of these societies (see, for example, his *Australian Aboriginal Religion,* 1974). By the start of the twenty-first century, however, his contribution to the wider understanding of Aboriginal religion had been little evaluated. The 2004 republication of *Djanggawul* and *An Adjustment Movement in Arnhem Land,* two of his major works, was expected to provoke such an assessment.

The scope of Berndt's fieldwork in Australia added a more global vision to his perspective on the nature and articulation of Aboriginal societies—their commonalities as well as their divergences. The couple's best-known work, *The World of the First Australians* (1964), sought to explore the transformations, as well as the consistencies, of Aboriginal social practices. It became the classic reference for students and others, continuously in print for over forty years and often found as the sole volume on Aboriginal Australia in many of the world's libraries.

For Berndt, Aboriginal religion found tangible expression in both sacred and secular art. It was through these media, he believed, that social relations were most clearly expressed, and the tenets of religious experience most substantively uttered, affirmed, and transmitted to oncoming generations.

Writing of Aboriginal art decades before its renaissance in the 1970s and its widespread acceptance within the international art world a decade later, Berndt avowed the primacy of the religious experience in the daily lives of Aboriginal people, past and present (1964). Indeed, he saw the widespread distribution of contemporary expressions of artistic creativity as a demonstration of the enduring power of Aboriginal knowledge to communicate, challenge and shape the future (1973, 1982).

Collecting such material expressions of cultural diversity and local perspectives throughout his lifetime (Stanton, 1990), the works he and his wife donated to the University of Western Australia form the unique collection at the core of the museum founded in 1976 to house those works. In 1980 the museum was renamed the Berndt Museum of Anthropology in recognition of their contributions to Australian and world anthropology.

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JOHN E. STANTON (2005)

BERSERKERS. The Old Norse term *berserkr* was used to identify certain fierce warriors with animal characteristics. According to Old Norse literature, particularly the later sagas, berserkers howled like animals in battle and bit their shields. They felt no blows and had unnatural or supernatural strength, which gave way to languor after battle. The earliest attestation of the term, however, which occurs in the poem *Haraldskvæði* (attributed to two different poets), presents *berserks* as the shock troops of King Harald Fairhair at the Battle of Hafrsfjörðr (end of ninth century):

> 8. They [the warships] were laden with men and with white shields with western spears and Welsh [French] swords: berserks wailed, battle had begun for them, *ulfheðnar* ["wolf skins"] howled, irons shook. 20. About the gear [service?] of berserks I want to ask, tasters of carrion-sea [blood], how it is for the ones who go into the army, battle-brave men. 21. They are called *ulfheðnar* who in battle bear bloodied shields; they redden spears when they come to battle: there they work in common; among champions alone I think would conceal himself The wise king, Among those who hack at shields.

In this tradition, at least, it is clear that there was little difference between berserkers and *ulfheðnar.* For this reason, many scholars understand the term *berserkr* as "bear-shirt," and they take both terms to refer to shape-changing in the manner of werewolves and man-bears, or perhaps to animal cloaks the warriors may have worn. Others, however, have ignored this passage and argued that the word *berserkr* means "bare-shirted" and refers to the berserkers' lack of armor. Explanations of the *berserksgangr* ("going berserk") include self-induced or group ecstasy, psychosis, or lycanthropy.

In Norse mythology berserkers are associated primarily with the god Óðinn. In his *Ynglingasaga*—a euhemerized account of the origin of the royal line of the Ynglingar that constitutes the first saga in his famous *Heimskringla* (c. 1230)—the Icelandic mythographer Snorri Sturluson gives an explicit description of the *berserksgangr* and attributes it specifically to Óðinn warriors (chap. 6). Óðinn also is master of the *einherjar*, dead warriors who inhabit Valhǫll, spending their days in battle, their evenings in feasting and drinking.

The religious complex suggested by these and other data is that of an ecstatic warrior cult of Óðinn, whose name, coming from the Proto-Germanic term **woþanaz*, appears to mean "leader of the possessed." This cult probably involved strict rules of initiation, similar perhaps to those attributed by Tacitus to the Chatti (*Germania* 30). Óðinn's association with the *einherjar* may also imply worship of the dead within this cult. Its central moment, however, was presumably some form of religious ecstasy.

Iconographic evidence for this cult includes cast-bronze dies from Torslunda, Sweden, which show dancing warriors with theriomorphic features.

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JOHN LINDOW (1987 AND 2005)

BERTHOLET, ALFRED (1868–1951), Swiss Protestant theologian, scholar in Old Testament and comparative religion. Bertholet was born in Basel, where he got his primary and secondary school education and enrolled at the university in order to study Protestant theology. He continued his studies at the universities of Strassburg and Berlin. His principal lecturers were Carl von Orelli, Bernhard Duhm, and Adolf von Harnack. After two years as minister to the German-Dutch parish in Leghorn he returned to Basel; there he obtained his doctorate in 1895 and became an assistant professor in 1896; from 1905 he occupied the chair of Old Testament, and extended his studies to the history of religions. After spending some years in Tübingen (1913) and Göttingen (1914–1928) he became professor at the University of Berlin, where he went into retirement in 1936, although he lectured until 1939. From 1945 until his death he was visiting professor of the history of religions at his home university in Basel. He died in the hospital of Münsterlingen, Switzerland.

Bertholet was appointed doctor *honoris causa* of the universities of Strassburg and Lausanne and of the Faculté Libre de Théologie Protestante de Paris. He was a fellow of the academy of Göttingen and an honorary member of the American Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis. He organized and was secretary general of the international congress for the history of religions held in Basel in 1904. In 1938 he was the first historian of religions to be elected a fellow of the Prussian Learned Society (Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften). With Gerardus van der Leeuw and C. Jouco Bleeker, he was one of the initiators of the Amsterdam congress for the history of religions in 1950.

The works of Bertholet, all written in German, include both Old Testament studies and investigations in the field of comparative religion. Among his contributions to the study of the Old Testament are commentaries and a history of the civilization of biblical Israel. His Old Testament thesis *Die Stellung der Israeliten und Juden zu den Fremden* (1896) was concerned with the relations of the Israelites and Jews to foreign peoples. His numerous writings on the subject of "foreign" religions, chiefly published in the series "Sammlung gemeinverstandlicher Vorträge und Schriften aus dem Gebiet der Theologie und Religionsgeschichte" (Tübingen), are concerned with themes of religious phenomenology and especially with the relationship of dynamism to personalism. These works prove Bertholet to be one of the founders of the phenomenology of religion. Bertholet was also active in stimulating the work of other scholars, and in editing many well-known works in the history of religions.

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Further details of Bertholet's life and work can be found in the *Festschrift Alfred Bertholet zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet* (Tübingen, 1950), edited by Walter Baumgartner and others. This volume, which includes a useful bibliography compiled by Verena Tamann-Bertholet, should be supplemented by Leonhard Rost's "Alfred Bertholet, in Memorium," *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 77 (1952): 114–118.

GÜNTER LANCZKOWSKI (1987)

BERURYAH (second century CE), one of the few famous women in rabbinic Judaism of late antiquity. Rabbinic tradition states that she was the daughter of Ḥananyah ben Teradyon, and the wife of Meʾir.

In rabbinic sources Beruryah appears several times among the scholars who reestablished the Sanhedrin in the Galilean town of Usha after the Bar Kokhba Revolt. She is mentioned twice in the Tosefta (in Tosefta, *Kelim*, Bavaʾ Metsiʿaʾ 1.6 by name and in Tosefta, *Kelim*, Bavaʾ Qammaʾ 4.17 as the daughter of Ḥananyah ben Teradyon) and seven times in the Babylonian Talmud.

Beruryah's contemporary importance lies in her prominence as one of the only female scholars accepted in the male-dominated rabbinic culture. David Goodblatt (1977) believes that Beruryah exemplifies the possibility, though quite uncommon, that a woman might receive formal education within rabbinic society. Goodblatt argues, however, that the traditions that ascribe rabbinic learning to Beruryah appear to be late accounts that do not reflect the situation in

Roman Palestine, where Beruryah is said to have lived, but rather the situation in Sasanid Baylonia, where the traditions were formulated during the process of Talmudic compilation.

Whether historical or not, rabbinic tradition portrays Beruryah as a sensitive yet assertive figure. The Talmud recounts anecdotes illustrating her piety, compassion, and wit. In one source she admonishes her husband Meʾir not to be angry with his enemies and not to pray for their deaths. Instead, she suggests, he should pray that their sins cease and that they repent (B.T., *Ber.* 10a). When two of her sons died one Sabbath she delayed telling her husband until Saturday night when he had finished observing the Sabbath in peace (*Midrash Mishlei* on *Prv.* 31:10). The Talmud also recounts Beruryah's sharp tongue. When Yose the Galilean asked her for directions on the road she derided him for speaking too much with a woman (B.T., *ʿEruv.* 53b).

The drama of her life climaxes in the so-called Beruryah Incident. A story preserved by the eleventh-century exegete Rashi (in his commentary to B.T., *ʿA.Z.* 18b) says that Beruryah mocked a misogynistic rabbinic tradition that labeled women as flighty. To test her own constancy, Meʾir sent one of his students to tempt her to commit adultery. According to the legend, she committed suicide after submitting to the student's advances.

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TZVEE ZAHAVY (1987)
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BESANT, ANNIE. Annie Besant (1847–1933) was a British activist with many facets to her life: Anglican; atheist and Freethinker; socialist; Theosophist; educator, reformer, and politician in India; and prophetic announcer of the coming World-Teacher and New Civilization. Besant's monism and her desire to serve humanity were the unifying themes in her diverse efforts. She accomplished pioneering and influential work in Britain and India, and exerted an international influence in her political and religious work. As the second president of the Theosophical Society (1907–1933), Besant popularized Theosophical concepts around the world through her lectures and writings, putting the concepts articulated by Helena P. Blavatsky into accessible language.

Besant possessed a progressive millennial outlook, believing that human effort guided by superhuman agents or forces (when she was an atheist she defined them as Nature and Evolution; when she became a Theosophist they were the Masters and the Solar Logos) could create the millennial condition of collective well-being on Earth. In 1908 Besant added messianism to her thought, and groomed a young Indian, J. Krishnamurti, to be the physical vehicle for the Lord Maitreya, a messiah who would usher in the millennial New Civilization. Besant believed that Krishnamurti as the World-Teacher would present a teaching that would become the next world religion, and thus raise humanity's awareness of spiritual unity and create the "New Civilization." Much of Besant's progressive millennialism, including its messianic themes, were perpetuated in the written works of Alice Bailey (1880–1949), another British Theosophist. Bailey was among the first to use the terms New Age and the Age of Aquarius, making Annie Besant an important source for the New Age movement.

EARLY LIFE. Annie Wood was born and raised in London by parents with a predominantly Irish background. She was raised in the Anglican faith and received an education in the home of a maiden lady. She married Frank Besant, an Anglican priest, in 1867. They had a son and a daughter, but the marriage failed, in part due to her intellectual questioning and rejection of Christian doctrines and the Bible. The couple separated but a divorce was never granted.

ATHEISM AND SOCIALISM. After a brief passage through theism, Besant found an intellectual home in Charles Bradlaugh's National Secular Society in 1874, where she became an atheist and Freethinker. Besant and Bradlaugh had a close relationship. She became a vice-president of the National Secular Society, and she and Bradlaugh formed the Freethought Publishing Company. Besant became a noted public speaker, questioning Christianity and the Bible and advocating social reform and women's rights. In 1877 Besant became the first woman to be prosecuted for disseminating information on birth control when she and Bradlaugh were prosecuted for publishing a pamphlet on contraception. Besant subsequently published her own booklet on contraception that was translated and sold internationally.

In the late 1870s Besant studied science at London University, but did not receive a degree. Besant's atheism was a monistic materialism—she believed that the one universal substance was matter—but she had a lively interest in the study of world religions and philosophies, as manifested in a magazine titled *Our Corner* she founded in 1883.

In 1885 Besant joined the Fabian Society of socialists, and maintained her commitment to nonrevolutionary socialism for the rest of her life. In 1888 Besant and Herbert Burrows organized the Bryant & May match girls strike, and subsequently the strikes of other workers, marking the formation of the trade union movement.

THEOSOPHY. Besant joined the Theosophical Society in 1889 after reviewing Helena P. Blavatsky's *The Secret Doctrine* (1888). The two thick volumes of *The Secret Doctrine* titled "Cosmogenesis" and "Anthropogenesis" purport to reveal the secrets of progressive evolution of consciousness in the universe and humanity. Blavatsky claimed that his complex philosophy was revealed to her by elusive Masters of Wisdom, described as men in physical bodies possessing highly evolved awareness who directed evolution on this planet. Besant went to meet Blavatsky, then residing in London. She took the ailing Blavatsky, who was much beleaguered by critics skeptical of the existence of the Masters and their appearances and communications, into her home, where she resided until the end of her life. Becoming a Theosophist marked Besant's shift from monistic materialism to a monism that affirmed the reality of a spiritual dimension to life. Theosophy's assertion that spiritual reality could be investigated and confirmed by the development of new faculties of perception appealed to her rationalism.

When Blavatsky died in 1891 a power struggle ensued within the Theosophical Society, with Besant and Henry Steel Olcott, the Society's president, on one side, and William Q. Judge on the other. Judge led the American Section in its succession from the Theosophical Society. His organization was inherited by Katherine Tingley upon Judge's death in 1896, and she created the Point Loma community of Theosophists. A new American Section of the Theosophical Society was built up, boosted by lecture tours by Annie Besant, which is now called the Theosophical Society in America. Besant was elected the second president of the international Theosophical Society, headquartered in Adyar, Chennai (Madras), in 1907 after Olcott's death.

WORK IN INDIA. Annie Besant first visited the international headquarters of the Theosophical Society in India in 1893, and she made the country her home in 1895. In India Besant worked to build Hindu pride and worked for educational and social reform and Indian Home Rule. Olcott had worked to revive Buddhism in Sri Lanka (then Ceylon) in an attempt to counteract the demoralizing effects of colonialism and Christian missionaries. Besant was determined to do the same for Hinduism in India. She believed that she had been a Hindu in previous incarnations and regarded India as her homeland.

Among the schools founded by Besant and other Theosophists in India were the Central Hindu College for boys, which was founded in 1897 and in 1916 became the Benares Hindu University, and the Central Hindu Girls' School, founded in 1904. In 1914 Besant began speaking out for social reform in India and working for Indian Home Rule within the British Commonwealth. Besant believed that a self-ruling India as part of the Commonwealth would contribute to the ultimate unity of humanity in the New Civilization. She founded daily and weekly newspapers to promote her political efforts. She also founded associations to promote patriotism among young Indians, and started the Indian Boy Scouts Association. In 1916 Besant founded her Home Rule League. She also worked for women's rights in India, and in 1917 helped found the Women's Indian Association and later the All-India Women's Conference.

As a result of her work for Home Rule, Besant and some of her colleagues were interned in 1917 by the colonial government. Besant's internment increased the Indian public's awareness of the agitation, and at age seventy Besant was elected president of the Indian National Congress. She promptly turned the office into a base for political activism. Historian Nancy Fix Anderson has written that Besant was the "primary instigator of the organised Indian nationalist movement," and that she worked "for a sense of inclusive Indian identity" (p. 36). Besant's career as Indian politician was quickly eclipsed by that of Mohandas Gandhi, who called for complete independence from the British empire, which Besant opposed.

THE WORLD-TEACHER. In 1908, just after becoming president of the Theosophical Society, Besant and her colleague in psychic investigations, Charles W. Leadbeater, began lecturing on the imminent appearance of the Lord Maitreya, the Master who was said to hold the office of the bodhisattva. Drawing on Buddhist and Christian expectations, Besant and Leadbeater added messianism to the progressive millennialism of Theosophy. Besant adopted a twelve-year-old Indian boy, J. Krishnamurti, and raised him to be the vehicle of the World-Teacher *(jagadguru).* She believed that Krishnamurti as the World-Teacher would present teachings that would become a new religion and raise humanity's awareness of spiritual unity, thereby creating the millennial New Civilization. Besant created an international organization known as the Order of the Star in the East, with about thirty-thousand members who anticipated the coming of the World-Teacher. She purchased a home for Krishnamurti in Ojai, California, along with additional land she named the Happy Valley. Besant believed that the "new race" of aware human beings would develop in southern California, Australia, and New Zealand. The many New Age and Theosophical groups that continue in the Ojai valley carry on Besant's expectations.

Beginning in 1922, Krishnamurti had experiences that led him to conclude that his consciousness had blended with that of the Lord Maitreya. He began speaking publicly as the Lord Maitreya in 1925. Eventually, however, Krishnamurti concluded that people were not hearing his Zen-like message advocating personal effort in achieving "choiceless awareness," and instead were relying on him for salvation. In 1929 Krishnamurti dissolved the Order of the Star and distanced himself from the Theosophical Society and his role as the World-Teacher. Krishnamurti never denied being the World-Teacher, and he went on to become an internationally known teacher. Annie Besant maintained her faith in Krishnamurti as the World-Teacher until her death in 1933.

CONCLUSION. The stages of Annie Besant's life were held together by her commitment to the service and betterment of humanity and by her monism. She was a strong believer in the Victorian doctrine of progress, believing that humans working according to a higher plan could create a collective salvation on Earth (the millennial kingdom). She found it frustrating that despite all her hard work society remained imperfect. So in 1908 she added messianism to her progressive millennialism; the World-Teacher would accomplish the New Civilization. After Krishnamurti distanced himself from her messianic plans in 1929, the Theosophical Society gave up messianism while maintaining its progressive millennial orientation, although many individual Theosophists remained intensely interested in Krishnamurti's teachings. Annie Besant's hope for a New Civilization accomplished by a critical mass of people developing a consciousness of spiritual unity under the guidance and influence of Masters, and including the possible return of the Christ, continues to influence the New Age movement, especially through the writings of Alice Bailey, a former member of the Theosophical Society.

SEE ALSO Blavatsky, H. P.; Judge, William Q.; Theosophical Society.

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CATHERINE WESSINGER (2005)

BESHT SEE BAʿAL SHEM TOV

BETH, KARL

BETH, KARL (1872–1959), German historian of religions and Christian thinker. Karl Beth studied at the University of Berlin in the 1890s (under Adolf von Harnack, Otto Pfleiderer, and Wilhelm Dilthey), where he obtained his Ph.D. in 1898 with a dissertation entitled "Die Grundanschuungen Schleiermachers in seinem ersten Entwurf der philosophischen Sittenlehre"; he became an instructor of systematic theology at Berlin in 1901. Five years later he moved to Vienna and served at the university there, first as a lecturer and from 1908 onward as a full professor. The political developments that in 1938 brought an end to his academic career in Europe led him to emigrate to the United States in the following year. He served on the faculty of Meadville-Lombard Theological School in Chicago from 1941 to 1944, teaching the history of religions, a field that was a primary concern for him at several points in his life.

As early as 1901 in his inaugural address at Berlin, he argued that the study of the general history of religions—not merely the study of the religious environment of early Christianity—was necessary for understanding and defining the essence of Christianity. Shortly after he gave this address, he received a travel stipend that enabled him to visit areas around the Mediterranean under Greek and Turkish control, and the acquaintances he made with Christians living in these regions led to his publication of an account of Eastern Orthodox Christianity that opened the way for a new understanding of it among European Protestants (*Die orientalische Christenheit der Mittelmeerländer,* 1902; see also his article "Orthodox-anatolische Kirche" and several related entries in the second edition of *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* 1929–1932).

In the decade following 1902 much of Beth's work focused on the issue of Christianity and modern thought (e.g., *Das Wesen des Christentums und die moderne historische Denkweise,* 1904, and *Die Moderne und die Prinzipien der Theologie,* 1907). During this period he also dealt with specific issues such as the significance of the notion of evolution for Christian theology (comparing it, in *Der Entwicklungsgedanke und des Christentum,* 1909, with the significance of the idea of *logos* fifteen hundred years earlier) and with historical-critical questions regarding Jesus (in *Hat Jesus gelebt?,* 1910).

In the following years some of his major studies were again in the history of religions, particularly his book on religion and magic, *Religion und Magie bei den Naturvölkern: Ein religionsgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur Frage nach den Anfängen der Religion* (1914), in which he stresses *Ehrfurcht* ("reverence" or "awe") as a constituent element of religion, draws a sharp contrast between religion and magic, and assumes the existence of a historical stage preceding both. (He rejected James G. Frazer's hypothesis that magic was the forerunner of religion.) Also significant were his *Einführung in die vergleichende Religionsgeschichte* (1920) and his study on faith and mysticism (particularly within Christianity), *Frömmigkeit der Mystik und des Glaubens* (1927).

A third major field of involvement for Beth was the psychology of religion. He helped to establish the Research Institute for Psychology of Religion in Vienna in 1922, was editor of the *Zeitschrift für Religionspsychologie* from 1927 to 1938 (during which period he published more than twenty articles in that journal), and was instrumental in the organization of the First International Psychology of Religion Congress, held in Vienna in 1931 on the theme of the psychology of unbelief.

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WILLEM A. BIJLEFELD (1987)

BEVERAGES. In addition to their nutritional role, all beverages are invested with a certain amount of symbolic and affectional content, and it seems likely that there is no beverage that has not taken on a profound religious significance somewhere or other in the world. Intoxicants and hallucinogens seem particularly well suited to this role, given the ways in which they open up startling new areas of experience to those who imbibe them, including ecstasy, enthusiasm, and vision. Yet it is not just those drinks that are most extraordinary in their effects that come to be celebrated in myth, ritual, and sacred speculation, for often those drinks that are most ordinary—that is, most commonly used as a part of the normal diet and most unremarkable in their physiological and neurological effect—come to be invested with religious significance. Thus, for instance, among the Maasai and other cattle-herding peoples of East Africa, cow's milk is a staple part of the diet, but it is nevertheless regarded with the greatest of respect, for unlike virtually all other food items, milk can be obtained without causing the death of any living thing, animal or vegetable. For this reason, milk is set in marked contrast to beef, a food which has the same source as milk—cattle—but the procurement of which entails the violent death of the animal from which it is taken. The equation is explicitly drawn: milk is to meat as life is to death, and the two are not to be mixed within the same meal. The same prohibition is encountered in rabbinic law (itself an extension of the biblical prohibition, stated in *Exodus*, against cooking a kid in its mother's milk), perhaps arrived at by a similar line of reasoning.

To be sure, milk is understood as a perfect or paradisiacal fluid in many passages of the Hebrew scriptures, as for instance in those that refer to Israel as "the land of milk and honey" (*Ex.* 3:8 et al.), honey being—like milk—a nourishing and delicious food that may be obtained without doing violence to any living thing. Greek and Roman ritual also employed this symbolism, albeit in different fashion, for a libation offering of a fluid composed of milk and honey, called *melikraton*, had the power to reanimate the dead (*Odyssey* 10.519), while a potion known as *hermesias* was drunk by women before conception and while nursing in order to obtain children who were "excellent in soul and beautiful of body," that beverage being a symbolically charged mixture of milk, honey, pine nuts, myrrh, saffron, and palm wine (Pliny, *Natural History* 24.166).

In the *hermesias* concoction, we have come a long way from the simplicity and familiarity of milk, although the associations of milk—maternal nurturance and the gift of life—provide the symbolic starting point for a grander elaboration. Another simple beverage that came to be invested with a profound religious significance is tea, the preparation, distribution, and consumption of which are regarded as constituting nothing less than a master art and a way of knowledge and liberation in Japan, as is expressed in the common term *chadō* ("the way of tea"); the second element, *dō*, is the Japanese equivalent of the Chinese word *dao*, a term reserved for a select set of religio-aesthetic pursuits: painting, poetry, calligraphy, archery, flower arranging, and above all, tea. Originally used as a medicine in China, tea later came to be a more common beverage, the highly ritualistic preparation of which—with twenty-four carefully specified implements—was already systematized by Lu Yü (d. 804) in his *Chʿa ching* (Classic of tea). Although there are indications that some tea may have come to Japan as early as the ninth century, its serious introduction came with Eisai (1141–1215), the founder of the Rinzai sect of Zen Buddhism in Japan, who also brought tea seeds and a knowledge of tea ceremonial with him after a period of study in China.

Although it is obvious from the title of Eisai's work on the art of tea—*Kissayōjōki* (The account of drinking tea and prolonging life)—that he was interested in the medicophysiological effects of the drink, this never became a major part of the Japanese celebration of tea. Rather, as developed and explicated by such renowned tea masters as Daiō (1235–1308), Nōami (1397–1471), Ikkyū (1394–1481), Shukū (1422–1502), and above all Rikyū (1521–1591), it is the utter simplicity, serenity, and austere beauty of the tea ceremony (*cha no yu*) that were the foremost concerns. For within the small tearooms, meticulously cleansed of all impurities and equipped with perfectly chosen utensils and decorations, tea masters sought to create nothing less than a perfect microcosm, a thoroughly harmonious environment in which one might take refuge from the tribulations of the external world and encounter the buddha-nature that lies beyond the conflicts and fluctuations of life in the material world. Along these lines, the tea master Takuan observed:

> The principle of *cha-no-yu* is the spirit of harmonious blending of Heaven and Earth and provides the means for establishing universal peace. . . . The way of *cha-no-yu*, therefore, is to appreciate the spirit of a naturally harmonious blending of Heaven and Earth, to see the pervading presence of the five elements by one's fireside, where the mountains, rivers, rocks, and trees are found as they are in nature, to draw the refreshing water from the well of Nature, to taste with one's own mouth

> the flavor supplied by nature. How grand this enjoyment of the harmonious blending of Heaven and Earth! (Suzuki, 1959, p. 278)

Yet for all that the tea ceremony possesses a cosmic dimension and can be nothing less than a vehicle for full enlightenment, these lofty significances notwithstanding, it remains always also a celebration of the simple pleasures of the drink of tea. A celebrated poem of Rikyū, the greatest of all the recorded tea masters, stresses this point:

> The essence of the tea ceremony is simply to boil water,
> To make tea, And to drink it—nothing more! Be sure
> you know this. (Ludwig, 1974, p. 41)

In contrast, intoxicants are rarely regarded with such utter serenity and simplicity, given the drama, power, and even violence of their transformative effects. "Ale," observes one Icelandic text, "is another man" (*Jómsvikingasaga* 27). One may consider, for instance, the hallucinogenic decoction of vines called *yagé,* used throughout the upper Amazon; its use has been described at length by Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff (1975 and 1978). *Yagé* is ritually consumed; it produces nausea, vomiting, and diarrhea but also—aided by such other stimuli as torchlight and musical rhythms—induces brilliant visions that take regular and predictable forms to which interpretations based on mythic references are attached.

According to Reichel-Dolmatoff, the visions produced by *yagé* unfold in different stages, an initial phase of phosphenic patterns (i.e., colors and geometric shapes only) being followed by one or more coherent images of a hallucinatory nature. Indigenous interpretation of the first phase attaches specific iconographic meanings to given shapes—a diamond with a point in it represents an embryo in the womb, for example—and also makes use of color symbolism. Yellow and white are thus considered cold colors, and—more importantly—the embodiment of seminal and solar fertilizing energy. Red is considered hot, being associated primarily with the womb, fire, and menstrual blood. Finally, blue is an asexual color, being also morally ambiguous. A "good" vision in this first phase depends upon a proper balance of red and yellow, which is to say, of male and female, hot and cold principles.

Interpretation of the visions within the hallucinatory phase is somewhat more complex, and Reichel-Dolmatoff (1975) emphasizes the social nature of these visions and their imputed meanings: "The individual hallucinations do not constitute a private world, an intimate or almost secret experience; they are freely discussed, and anyone will ask questions and solicit answers." There is, then, a process of feedback, or reinterpretation and elaboration. This feedback process continually refers visions to the creation myths in order to make sense of them, myths which tell of the primordial incest of the Sun and his daughter. Through one's visions, one is felt to return to the time and place of creation, becoming a witness to and a participant in these events. Moreover, the ritual consumption of *yagé* is itself understood as a sexual experience of an incestuous and creative nature, for the *yagé* vessel is homologized to the mother's body, its opening to her vagina, and its interior to her womb. To drink *yagé* is thus to enter into sexual relations with one's mother and also to reenter her womb, becoming an embryo once more. Ultimately, as one emerges from the trance induced by the drug, one is felt to be reborn, re-created, renewed.

The myth of the creation of *yagé* is also of interest, for it exhibits a different kind of feedback process whereby details of the drug's physiological effects are appropriated to construct a mythic narrative. The story tells of the entrance of a primordial Yagé Woman into the first *maloca,* where the first ancestors of all the peoples of the Amazon were gathered. Yagé Woman gave birth to a child outside the *maloca,* and carried the infant inside. There, this child—who is *yagé* personified —shone radiant, white and yellow and red, those colors which are first seen during the phosphenic phase of *yagé* visions. Upon seeing this child, those gathered all experienced the various sensations brought on by *yagé*: nausea, bewilderment, and a sense of "drowning." According to Reichel-Dolmatoff's informants, the entrance of Yagé Woman and her child into the *maloca* is the high point of the myth, but there follows a curious episode. When Yagé Woman asked who was the father of the babe, all the assembled men claimed this honor, and fought over the rights to the child. Finally, all turned upon him and dismembered him, each taking a different part of his body. These bodily members then became the different vines used by the different peoples of the Amazon to prepare their own particular forms of *yagé.*

This same motif—the creation of an intoxicant from the body of a primordial divine being—is found in numerous other religious traditions, not least of which is the foundation of the Christian Eucharist. For at the end of the last supper, according to the Synoptic Gospels, Jesus gave wine to his disciples, saying: "Drink of it, all of you; for this is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins. I tell you I shall not drink again of this fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom" (*Mt.* 26:27–29 and parallels). Throughout the history of the church, there has been disagreement as to how literally this passage ought to be interpreted, a disagreement which is at the heart of the theological debate over transubstantiation in the Mass.

Another account in which intoxicants derive from a quasi-sacrificial victim is the Iranian story of the origin of wine, which tells how the vine came into being from the blood of the primordial bovine when that animal was killed. Crushing grapes thus constitutes a reenactment of the bull's death, and the wine thereby produced is seen to be nothing less than the blood of the bull, which bestows the bull's strength, energy, and vital force upon one who drinks it (*Zādspram* 3.46), just as one who drinks sacramental wine takes Christ's essential nature and very blood within his or her own body, given a full-blown theory of transubstantiation.

Yet again one encounters a myth of intoxicants created from the blood of a murdered primordial being in the Norse account of the origin of mead, a story related by the god of poetry, Bragi, in response to the question "Whence came the art called poetry?" (*Skáldskaparmál* 2). The story begins at that moment when the two major groups of gods, the Æsir and Vanir, concluded their treaty of peace by spitting into a single vat and letting their saliva mingle. From the mixture, there grew a man by the name of Kvasir—who himself incarnates an intoxicant known in Russia as *kvas*, if his name is any indication—an individual gifted with exceptional wisdom, indeed, omniscience itself. Kvasir was subsequently murdered by two dwarfs, who mixed his blood with honey and made from it the first mead, a mead so powerful that it is said that "whoever drinks from it becomes a poet or a scholar."

Other stories pursue the fate of this "mead of poetry," telling how it fell first into the hands of the dwarves, then giants, from whom it was finally rescued by the wisest of gods, Odin himself, who assumed the form first of a serpent and then of an eagle in order to gain the precious mead. This myth of the mead's theft has important correspondences to myths elsewhere in the Indo-European world (see, for instance, the Indic text *Ṛgveda* 4.26) but it is that portion of the story that recounts the origin of the mead which provides a religious rationale and legitimation for its miraculous effect: that is, mead can bestow knowledge and inspiration because in origin and essence it is nothing less than the blood of the wisest of men and also the spittle of the gods.

The highly formalized, even solemn, consumption of mead, beer, ale, and/or wine has been a regular feature of banquets in Europe since antiquity, and may be seen to have a ritual origin and significance. As we have seen, such drinks as these are often felt to partake of divinity, and also demonstrably enable those who imbibe to transcend the limits of their ordinary human condition, bestowing upon them extraordinary powers of speech, intellect, physical strength, and well-being. Such potent fluids are also regularly offered as sacrificial libations, through which the same gifts are conferred upon gods, demigods, spirits of the dead, or the natural order itself.

Nowhere, however, have intoxicating drinks been elevated to a loftier position of religious significance than among the Indo-Iranian peoples, who knew both a profane intoxicant known as *surā* in India and *hurā* in Iran and a sacred drink (Indic *soma*, Iranian *haoma*), the latter of which was invested with both the status of a deity and a stunningly complex set of symbolic elaborations. At the most concrete level, this beverage—prepared by pressing the sap from a specific plant to obtain a juice that is mixed with water, milk, or honey in different ritual contexts—had powerful hallucinogenic effects, but beyond this, it was understood to be an all purpose intensifier, which enhanced all human capabilities, giving health to the sick, children to the barren, eloquence to the poet, vision and insight to the priest, strength to the warrior, and long life to any who may drink it. Going still further, it was claimed that *soma* or *haoma* could grant freedom from death (Skt., *amṛta*, literally "nondeath"; often incorrectly translated as "immortality") both to gods and to humans, as for instance, in the exultant *Ṛgveda* 8.48.3:

> We have drunk soma; we have become free from death.
> We have gone to the light; we have found the gods!
> What now can joylessness do to us? What, truly, can the
> evil of mortality do, o you who are free from death?

Going further still, *soma* and *haoma* were considered nothing less than the universal life essence, the fluid that vivifies and invigorates all living beings. Moreover, the sacrificial offering of this elixir came to be regarded as the means to effect circulation of life energy throughout the entire cosmos. For in the last analysis, *soma* and *haoma* were not merely drinks, nor were they the plants from which drinks were made; rather, they were only temporary forms or incarnations of the life essence, of which there were many others. To pursue but one line of analysis found in the Indic manuals of esoteric speculation upon sacrificial ritual, we see that the juice extracted from some plants, when poured into the sacrificial fire, ascends to heaven in the form of smoke. This smoke coalesces to form clouds, from which the rains pour down to earth. Smoke, clouds, and rain—like *soma* juice—are all forms of the universal energizing fluid, and when rain falls upon the earth it brings forth plants (among them *soma*, the "king of plants," but all the others as well). These plants, in turn, are eaten by grazing animals. Having passed through rain and plants, in the bodies of male animals the elixir becomes semen, and in females, milk, both of which are but further transformations of *soma.* By eating plants, drinking water or milk, humans also absorb *soma* into their bodies, gaining life and energy thereby. But in all its various forms, *soma* is ultimately and inevitably destined for the sacrificial fire, for not only are plants, water, and milk offered along with the *soma* liquid proper, but the cremation fire is also a fire of sacrifice that returns the life fluids left in the corpse to the cosmic cycle.

This is but one system of symbolic speculation centering on *soma;* numerous others have also enjoyed currency, such as that which homologized the waxing moon to a vessel filled with the sacred fluid and the waning moon to a libation for the benefit of all the waters and plants (see, e.g., *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 11.1.5.3). Ultimately, the symbolic importance of *soma* came to overshadow its use as an intoxicant, such that it mattered relatively little when either supplies of the original *soma* plant were cut off or the knowledge of its original identity was lost. For centuries the soma sacrifice has been performed with a substitute, the *Ephedra* plant, which has no hallucinogenic effect whatsoever, but which is treated with the same reverence as was its more potent predecessor. Although numerous attempts have been made to identify the original plant—the psychotropic mushroom *Amanita muscaria* being the most recent candiate—most Indologists consider it unlikely that it will ever be located.

In Iran, the *haoma* cultus developed somewhat differently, but Iranian data support the same general conclusion as do those from India: the symbolic possibilities of the drink were far more important than its physiological effects in the long run. The earliest mentions of *haoma* in any Iranian text are ringing condemnations of the intoxicating beverage. These are two verses within the most ancient and prestigious portions of the Avesta, attributed by the Zoroastrian tradition and most modern scholars to Zarathushtra himself (*Yasna* 32.4 and 48.10). In the latter of these, the speaker calls directly to Ahura Mazdā, the Wise Lord, pleading, "When will you strike down this piss of an intoxicant, with which the Karapan-priests and the wicked lords of the lands evilly cause pain?"

Expert opinion is divided on whether this implies a blanket condemnation of *haoma*, or only a rejection of certain abuses of the drink. What is clear is that by the Achaemenid period *haoma* once again stood at the center of Iranian cult, as is attested by hundreds of inscriptions at Persepolis. Later Zoroastrian texts also grant a privileged position to *haoma* as a sacred beverage, an elixir of life, and a deity who is celebrated with his own hymn, the famous *Hōm Yasht* (*Yasna* 9–11), a text that deserves much more careful and detailed study than it has received to date. This hymn appears to be a highly successful attempt to rehabilitate the *haoma* cultus, purifying it of the unseemly elements that led to Zarathushtra's denunciation while retaining many aspects of its symbolic significance, and reintegrating it into Zoroastrian worship. And to this day, the solemn preparation, consumption, and offering of *haoma*—now a drink devoid of intoxicating effect—is the central Zoroastrian ritual.

To these few examples, countless others might well be added, not least of which would be the clear magico-religious symbolism evident in advertisements for commercial soft drinks, as for instance "Come alive with Pepsi Cola," a slogan ineptly translated for the Taiwanese market as "Pepsi brings your ancestors back to life."

See Also Elixir; Haoma; Psychedelic Drugs; Soma.

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BEZA, THEODORE (1519–1605), Reformed theologian and successor to John Calvin as moderator of the Venerable Company of Pastors in Geneva, Switzerland. Born Théodore de Bèze and raised in Paris, he was trained as a lawyer (at Orléans) but preferred the company of humanists. His first publication, *Poemata*, evidenced considerable poetic talent. Upon his conversion from Catholicism to Protestantism in 1548, Beza fled France and, as a professor of Greek, joined Pierre Viret at the academy in Lausanne, Switzerland. Meanwhile, the French Parlement declared Beza an outlaw, confiscated his goods, and burned his effigy in Paris. It was at Lausanne that Beza wrote *A Tragedie of Abraham's Sacrifice* (1559; Eng. trans., 1575), the first biblical tragedy (a genre later utilized by Racine), as well as his theologically significant *Tabula praedestinationis* (1555), translated the following year as *A Briefe Declaraccion of the Chiefe Poyntes of the Christian Religion, Set Forth in a Table of Predestination.* The subject of predestination created such heated disputes that Viret and Beza left Lausanne in 1558. John Calvin then appointed Beza rector of the newly founded Academy of Geneva, a post that he held formally from 1559 to 1562, but Beza effectively directed the academy until he retired as professor of theology in 1599. Beza began three other significant works in Lausanne, which he continued in Geneva: the completion of the translation of the *Book of Psalms*, begun by the French poet Clément Marot; his New Testament commentaries; and his *Confession of the Christian Faith* (Fr., 1559; Lat., 1560). Beza's confession of faith was translated into every major European language and had a wide influence as a simple expression of Reformed belief.

In 1561, Beza was the primary spokesman for the French Reformed churches at the Colloquy of Poissy, summoned by Catherine de Médicis in the vain hope of preventing the bloody Wars of Religion, which broke out in 1563. In 1564, the dying Calvin designated Beza to succeed him as moderator of the Venerable Company of Pastors in Geneva, and Beza began his long career as the most influential pastor of the Genevan church and therefore of the Reformed French churches, for which Geneva trained pastors. From 1564 to 1599, Beza held the only regular chair in theology at the academy. His work included lectures, sermons, polemical and systematic publications, and numerous colloquies with Lutherans and Roman Catholics. Beyond his professorial and pastoral duties in Geneva, Beza advised the French Huguenot leaders, including Henry of Navarre (Henry IV), traveled to defend Reformed theology and church discipline, and, almost singlehandedly, kept the academy functioning during the sieges of Geneva by Savoy.

Out of his efforts to assist the Huguenots came his *On the Right of Magistrates* (1574), an important treatise for the history of political theory that supported the God-given right of the people through their magistrates to rebel against royal leaders if these latter were seriously misleading and mistreating the people. While with the Huguenot troops, Beza discovered what was at that time considered the oldest extant New Testament manuscript (the Codex Bezae), which Beza later sent to Cambridge University in an effort to gain Queen Elizabeth's support for the Huguenots and for plague-ridden and besieged Geneva.

As has been true of Calvin studies, Beza scholars dispute the degree to which the doctrine of predestination underlies all of Beza's theology. Scholars also disagree on the influence of Beza's work on the development of Reformed scholasticism in the seventeenth century. Beza's original contribution regarding the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, in which he taught the presence of Christ through the category of "relation" rather than of "substance," went unnoticed until the 1960s. Beyond dispute, however, is the contribution Beza made to the stability of the church and the Academy of Geneva for nearly forty years following Calvin's death.

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JILL RAITT (1987)

BHAGAVADGĪTĀ. The *Bhagavadgītā* is perhaps the most widely read and beloved scripture in all Indian religious literature. Its power to counsel and inspire its readers has remained undiminished in the almost two thousand years since its composition.

The *Bhagavadgītā* (Song of the Blessed Lord) is sacred literature, holy scripture—it is a text that has abundant power in its persistence and its presence. The pious Hindu, even if his piety is mild, will inevitably have access to the book or will be able to recite, or at least paraphrase, a few lines from it. The devout turn to it daily; they read it ritually, devotionally, with a sense of awe. The text is intoned during the initiation ceremony wherein one becomes a *saṃnyāsin* (renunciant); teachers and holy men expound upon it; professors translate it and write about it; the more humble listen to the words that, though heard countless times before, remain vibrant. The text is read by all Hindus, esteemed by Śaivas as well as by Vaiṣṇavas, venerated by the lower caste as well as by the high, savored by villagers as well as by the more urbane. Many times each day in India the consoling words of the *Gītā* are read or whispered into the ear of someone who, with eyes looking to the south in fear or hope or both, awaits death: "And whoever remembers Me alone when leaving the body at the time of death attains to My status of being" (8.5).

One may dispute whether the *Bhagavadgītā* teaches the dualistic Sāṃkhya philosophy or the nondualistic Vedānta, whether it is a call to action or renunciation; but what is beyond dispute is that it teaches devotion to god as a means to liberation, whether that liberation is understood as release from the world or freedom in the world: "Hear again My supreme word, the most secret of all: thou are greatly beloved by Me, hence I will speak for thy good. Center thy mind on Me, be devoted to Me, sacrifice to Me, revere Me, and thou shalt come to Me. I promise thee truly, for thou art dear to Me" (18.64–65).

THE TEXT IN CONTEXT. The *Bhagavadgītā* occupies a very small part of the *Mahābhārata*—it is but one of the Hundred Minor Books of that enormous epic, that elephantine tale of the great war between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas, two descendant branches of the Kurus, the Lunar Race. Yudhiṣṭhira, the righteous leader of the Pāṇḍavas, having lost his family's portion of the kingdom to the Kauravas in a crooked game of dice, was forced, together with his four brothers, into forest exile for thirteen years. Afterward Yudhiṣṭhira asked for the just return of the kingdom, or at least five villages, one for each of the brothers. When this was refused, the great war became inevitable.

Both armies sought allies. Kṛṣṇa, the princely leader of the Vṛṣṇis, another branch of the Lunar Race, in an attempt to remain neutral and loyal to both families, offered his troops to the Kauravas and his service as charioteer and counselor to his friend Arjuna, one of Yudhiṣṭhira's younger brothers.

The battle was ready to begin: "Conches and kettledrums, cymbals and drums and horns suddenly were struck and the sound was tumultuous" (1.13). Suddenly, seeing his own kinsmen—teachers, fathers, uncles, cousins, and in-laws—arrayed for battle, Arjuna decided that he was unable to fight. Realizing that to kill them would destroy the eternal laws of the family and uncaring as to whether or not he himself would be slain, "Arjuna cast away his bow and arrow and sank down on the seat of his chariot, his spirit overcome by grief" (1.47).

In this dramatic setting the teachings of the *Bhagavadgītā* begin. Kṛṣṇa must show Arjuna why he must fight in this terrible war and, in so doing, he reveals the nature of reality and of himself. Military counsel becomes spiritual instruction; the heroic charioteer discloses his divinity. Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva is God, the highest reality and eternal self, beyond the world and yet of it as a preserver, creator, and destroyer. In the midst of the theophany Arjuna cries out: "Thou art the imperishable, the highest to be known; Thou art the final resting place of this universe; Thou are the immortal guardian of eternal law; Thou are the primal spirit" (9.18).

By the time the *Bhagavadgītā* was incorporated into the story of the great war (probably during the third century BCE), a conception of this world as a dreadful, burning round of death, a tedious prison in which we are trapped by transmigration, had taken hold and with it renunciatory ideals and impulses for liberation challenged more ancient, hieratic ideals of ritual action and aspirations for heavenly domains. The *Gītā* provided a synthesis of conflicting ideals and past and present norms. It harmonized Brahmanic values with a warrior's code, reconciled a traditional pantheism with a seemingly new theistic religiosity, and coalesced a variety of differing and potentially dissentient philosophical trends. This synthetic or syncretic quality of the text invested it with a pan-Indian appeal that it has retained.

Ancient Indian religious literature was formally classified as either a "revelation" (*śruti*—that which has been sacramentally "heard," the eternally existent Veda) or a "tradition" (*smṛti*—that which has been "remembered" from ancient times—the epics, Purāṇas, and various sūtras and *śāstras*). As a book within the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bhagavadgītā*, like Kṛṣṇa's later discourse, the *Anugītā*, and like the other didactic and philosophical portions of the epic, has the technical status of *smṛti*. But the *Bhagavadgītā* has attained the functional status of a gospel. Śaṅkara (eighth century), the major proponent of the Advaita Vedānta school of philosophy, quite typically begins his exegesis of the text with the comment that the *Gītā* contains the very quintessence of the Veda and that a knowledge of it leads to *mokṣa*, liberation from the bonds of worldly existence. Rāmānuga (eleventh century), who qualified the nondualistic position of Vedānta in order to expound his theology of a supreme and loving god, understood the *Gītā* as the actual revelation of the word of that god under the mere pretext of a discourse with Arjuna. And the Bengali saint Ramakrishna (1836–1886), like so many other modern commentators, declared the book to be "the essence of all scriptures" (*The Gospel of Sri Rāmakrishna*, New York, 1949, p. 772). The *Bhagavadgītā*, particularly after the great flowering of the devotional strain within the Hindu tradition, became accepted as revelation within tradition. The text transcended its context.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE TEXT. The individual human being, according to the *Bhagavadgītā*, is at once natural (a product of nature caught up in lawlike relations and filled with desires and longings) and spiritual (an embodiment of the divine). The individual is not, however, a walking dualism, for the spiritual aspect is one's higher nature and one must come to realize that one's natural existence, taken in itself, is only provisional and has meaning only from the standpoint of the spiritual.

The individual human being, Kṛṣṇa tells Arjuna early on in the text, is immortal. Possessed of an eternal, unchanging spirit, a person can only appear to be an autonomous actor in the natural world. This appearance derives from an ignorance of the true self. Normally identifying himself as an ego self-sufficiently working within the conditions of his psychophysical nature, a person must reidentify himself at a deeper level of integrated selfhood and thereby understand his true role as a social being.

Following the already traditional understanding of the ideal organization of society into classes (*varṇas*), the codified stages of life (*āśramas*) and aims in life (*puruṣārthas*), the *Bhagavadgītā* places much emphasis on one's need to follow or fulfill one's *dharma* ("social duty" or "role") as it is defined relative to one's place in the larger social order. The universe is sustained by *dharma*. Ideally each person works out his social career according to the dictates of his own nature (*svadharma*) as this is itself a product of past experience. *Dharma*, *karman* ("action" or "work"), and *saṃsāra* ("rebirth") belong together: action carried over innumerable lives must be informed by a sensitivity to the obligations one has in virtue of one's interdependence with others. Arjuna is a member of the warrior class and must fulfill the duties of this social position—he must fight.

But what is the nature of reality that makes this both possible and imperative? The *Gītā's* answer to this is that reality, in its essence, is the presence of a personalized *brahman*, something higher than the impersonal *brahman*, the absolute reality described in the Upaniṣads. "There are two spirits in this world," Kṛṣṇa explains, "the perishable and the imperishable." The perishable is all beings and the imperishable is called *kūṭastha* ("the immovable"). But there is another, the Highest Spirit (*puruṣottama*), called the Supreme Self, who, as the imperishable Lord, enters into the three worlds and sustains them. "Since I transcend the perishable and am higher even than the imperishable, I am renowned in the world and in the Veda as the highest Spirit" (15.16–18).

This "Highest Spirit" then is not the nonpersonal, undifferentiated, unchanging *brahman* of Advaita Vedānta, but rather that being who while enjoying its status as a supreme reality, actively engages worlds of its creation. It has its higher and lower statuses as creative spirit and as the manifest natural world.

In its analysis of the lower status of the divine, the *Gītā* draws heavily upon the Sāṃkhya system of thought. Nature (*prakṛti*) is seen as an active organic field constituted by various strands (*guṇas*), which can best be understood as energy systems. Everything in nature, and particularly every individual human being, is constituted by a combination of these forces. *Sattva* represents a state of subtle harmony and equilibrium which is exhibited as clear intelligence, as light. At the other extreme is darkness, *tamas*, the state of lethargy, of heaviness. In between is *rajas*, agitation, restlessness, passion, the motivating force for actions. The *puruṣa* ("the individual spirit") caught up in *prakṛti*, is driven by the *guṇas* and is deluded into thinking that, as a given phenomenal fact, it is their master and not their victim.

The aim of human life in the *Bhagavadgītā* is to attain a self-realization that "I" am not a separate, autonomous actor but that "I" am at one with a divine reality, and that my ultimate freedom comes from bringing my actions into accord with that reality. "Everyone," the *Gītā* says, "is made to act helplessly by the *guṇas* born of *prakṛti*" (3.5). "I" can become a true actor only when my actions get grounded in a divine will. Freedom (*mokṣa*) is thus not a transcendence of all action but rather calls for my being a social persona fulfilling my *dharma* without ego-attachment, at one with the divine.

The realization of this aim of life is at the heart of the *Bhagavadgītā's* teaching, and has been the most controversial among both modern and traditional interpreters of the text. Following Śaṅkara, whose commentary is one of the oldest to have survived, many have argued that the central yoga put forward by the *Bhagavadgītā* is the way of knowledge, *jñānayoga*: it alone provides the insight into reality that allows for genuine self-realization. Taking the position of Rāmānuja, others have argued that *bhaktiyoga*, the discipline of devotion, remains the highest way for the *Gītā*; *bhakti*, in his understanding of the text, provides the basis for a salvific relationship between the individual person and a loving god with absolute power and supremacy over the world. Still others have seen the *Gītā* as a gospel of works, teaching most centrally *karmayoga*, the way of action—of acting without attachment to the fruits of one's acts. This multiplicity of interpretations results from the fact that the *Bhagavadgītā* does extol each of these ways at various times. Each discipline or respective integration is said to have value. The text combines and assimilates the central features of the various paths.

The yoga of the *Bhagavadgītā* demands that actions be performed without attachment to their results, for otherwise, with attachment, comes bondage, not freedom. Actions, the *Gītā* says, must be performed as sacrifice (*yajña*), which means that actions must be performed in a spirit of reverence, with loving attention to the divine. But to do this one must understand how nature, as the lower status of the divine, acts according to its own necessity and that the individual actor is merely an expression of the *guṇas*. This understanding is the work of a preliminary *jñāna*—intellectual, philosophical analysis—which must then develop into a deeper insight into the nature of the self, one which allows for that discrimination between the higher and lower nature of both the human and the divine. It is only with this *jñāna* that actions can be carried out according to one's *dharma*, for that insight brings a fundamental axiological change. One sees the value of everything relative to the supreme value of reality itself. But according to the *Bhagavadgītā*, this knowledge is not sufficient for the realization of complete freedom, as it fails to provide a motivation or justification for any particular action. *Jñāna* must then recombine with *bhakti* at its highest level, which has as its object the divine in its own deepest personal nature. "Those who renounce all actions in Me and are intent on Me," Kṛṣṇa reveals, "who worship Me with complete discipline and meditate on Me, whose thoughts are fixed on Me—these I quickly lift up from the ocean of death and rebirth" (12.6–7). With the realization that one is entirely at one with an active, creative spiritual vitality, one can then imitate the divine—one can act according to *its* nature and realize thereby one's destiny. One rises above the ocean of death.

With such awareness Arjuna announced that his confusion and despair had passed. He picked up his bow and arrows: "I stand firm with my doubts dispelled; I shall act by Thy word" (18.73). The battle on the field of righteousness began.

THE PERSISTENCE OF THE TEXT. By the eighth century the *Bhagavadgītā* had become a standard text for philosophical and religious exposition. The normative commentary of Śaṅkara generated subcommentaries and inspired responses, new interpretations, new commentaries and more subcommentaries. Rāmānuja's theistic exegesis set forth devotional paradigms for understanding the text which were to be elaborated by medieval Vaiṣṇava scholiasts. These latter commentators do not seem to have distinguished between the heroic Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva of the *Mahābhārata* and the originally distinct, erotic Kṛṣṇa-Gopāla of the Puranic and literary traditions. With the amalgamation of various Kṛṣṇas into one supreme God, the cool and detached *bhakti* of the *Bhagavadgītā* became subsumed into the emotional and passionate *bhakti* exemplified by the milkmaid lovers of Kṛṣṇa, the cowherd in the *Bhagavata Purāṇa*. The meaning of the text changed—Madhva's commentary (thirteenth century) explains that Kṛṣṇa, the supreme lord, can only be approached or apprehended by the way of *bhakti* which is love (*sneha*), a love that is attachment.

Unabashedly classifying the overtly Vaiṣṇava *Bhagavadgītā* with their own ritual texts, the Agamas, Śaiva exegetes produced their own corpus of commentarial literature. In the *Gītārthasaṅgraha* of the Kashmir Śaiva philosopher Abhinavagupta (eleventh century), which purports to reveal the "hidden meaning of the text," Kṛṣṇa is described as a protector of *dharma* and a guide to a *mokṣa* which is explicitly defined in the prefatory verses as "merger in Lord Śiva."

Beyond the exegetical tradition, the *Bhagavadgītā* became the prototype for a genre of devotional literature in which an Arjuna-like student is urged by a particular sectarian deity to absorb himself in the worship of that deity. So in the *Śivagītā* (eighth century), for example, Rāma is too disconsolate over his separation from Sita to go into battle with Rāvaṇa; Śiva counsels and instructs him just as Kṛṣṇa did Arjuna. In the *Īśvaragītā* (ninth century) Śiva explains the paths to self-realization, the methods of liberation, to ascetics in a hermitage, in more or less the same words as were uttered in the prototype. The form and style of the original *Bhagavadgītā* seem to have imbued these later *gītā*s with authority and legitimacy. Many of these texts are embedded within the Purāṇas (e.g., the *Śivagītā* in the *Padma Purāṇa*, the *Īśvaragītā* in the *Kūrma Purāṇa*, the *Devigītā* in the *Devībhāgavata Purāṇa*). The later Purāṇas commonly give quotes from, résumés of, or eulogistic references to, the *Bhagavadgītā*; the *Padma Purāṇa* (eighth century) contains a glorification of the book, the *Gītāmāhātmya*, a paean to the text as the perfect distillation of supreme truth. The text about devotion became itself an object of devotion. It is carried like a talisman by many a wandering holy man.

Throughout Indian history the *Bhagavadgītā* has provided social theorists with axioms whereby political issues and problems could be understood in religious and traditional terms. Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856–1920), one of the most important nationalist leaders of the modern Hindu renaissance, for example, while in prison in Mandalay for sedition, wrote the *Gītā rahasya*, an interpretation of the ancient text as a revolutionary manifesto, a call to the Indian people to take up arms against the British. Gandhi, on the other hand, who first became acquainted with the *Bhagavadgītā* through British Theosophists in London, asserted, without a trace of self-consciousness, that the *Bhagavadgītā* taught nonviolence. He urged his followers to read it assiduously and to live by it. He often referred to the book as *Mother Gita*, and would say, "When I am in difficulty or distress, I seek refuge in her bosom" (*Harijan*, August, 1934).

The *Bhagavadgītā* changes with each reader, fluctuates in meaning with each successive generation of interpreters, which is to say, it lives. This vitality constitutes its sacrality.

Caitanya (1486–1533), the ecstatic founder of Bengal Vaisnavism, once came upon a man reading the *Bhagavadgītā* aloud in a temple, and as he read everyone laughed at him, for he mispronounced all of the words. The man himself was weeping and trembling, and Caitanya asked him which words made him cry so. "I don't know the meaning of any of the words," the man confessed, "but as I sound them out I see Kṛṣṇa in Arjuna's chariot. He is holding the reins in his hands and he is speaking to Arjuna and he looks very beautiful. The vision makes me weep with joy." Caitanya smiled: "You are an authority on the *Bhagavadgītā*. You know the real meaning of the text" (*Caitanyacaritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, *Madya-līlā* 9.93–103).

It has not always been important for readers or hearers of the *Bhagavadgītā* to understand all the words; rather, what has been crucial for many Hindus has been to feel or experience the text, to participate in it, to allow the *Bhagavadgītā* to sanctify their lives and console them in death.

SEE ALSO Abhinavagupta; Arjuna; Bhakti; Caitanya; Devotion; Dharma, article on Hindu Dharma; Kṛṣṇaism; Madhva; Mahābhārata; Rāmānuja; Sāṃkhya; Śaṅkara; Vaiṣṇavism; Vedānta; Yoga.

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Gerald J. Largon has thoughtfully surveyed the stylistic and interpretive trends as exemplified by many of these translations in "The Song Celestial: Two Centuries of the *Bhagavad Gītā* in English," *Philosophy East and West* 31 (October 1981): 513–541. Of the readily available translations, Franklin Edgerton's (1925; reprint, Oxford, 1944) is the most literal, so literal in its attempt to preserve the Sanskrit syntax, in fact, that, for the sake of balance, it was originally published together with Sir Edwin Arnold's transformation of the text into Victorian poesy (Cambridge, Mass., 1944). Though Edgerton's always reliable translation is difficult to read, his lengthy commentary is masterful scholarship. The interpretive notes that accompany the translation by W. Douglas P. Hill (London, 1927) remain an important contribution to the literature. Étienne Lamotte's *Notes sur la Bhagavadgītā* (Paris, 1929) is a fine example of rigorous exegesis and reflection.

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BHAIṢAJYAGURU, the Buddha named Master of Healing, is an important member of the Mahāyāna Buddhist pantheon. He has been worshiped predominantly in East and Central Asian traditions of Buddhist practice.

Concepts of healing played a fundamental role in early Buddhism: Śākyamuni Buddha was sometimes given the epithet "supreme physician," and the Buddhist teachings were termed the "king of medicines" for their ability to lead beings out of suffering. In early Buddhist teachings, as in later times, the enlightenment process was equated with the healing process. Further, many monks were healers and physicians; such persons played a significant role in the spread of Buddhist teachings. Thus, when the Mahāyāna pantheon began to take form in the centuries directly before and after the beginning of the common era, several key figures were associated especially with healing abilities, both metaphorical and literal. Master of Healing ultimately was viewed as the most important figure of this group.

The principal scripture written about this Buddha, entitled *Scripture on the Merits and Original Vows of the Master of Healing, the Lapis Lazuli Radiance Tathāgata*, is a work that eventually became best known in the Chinese version translated by Xuanzang in 650 CE (T.D. no. 450). As in other works of this type, most likely composed in the early centuries of the common era in the northwest borderlands of India, the historical Buddha Śākyamuni serves as a pivot between the human realms and celestial spheres, in this instance revealing to his listeners the existence of the enlightened celestial being Bhaiṣajyaguru. Following a pattern often seen in such texts, the Buddha and his pure land are described, his vows to aid all beings are detailed, and various methods are explicated for invoking his beneficent force. Here, Master of Healing is described as lord of a spirit realm located to the east, a land named Pure Lapis Lazuli, with level ground made of that radiantly blue stone, marked by roads of gold and various structures built of precious substances. Like the celestial fields of other Buddhas such as Amitabha, this realm is a refuge from suffering; it is an ideal site to listen without distraction to the pure principles taught by its lord, the Master of Healing, in association with the two leaders of his *bodhisattva* assembly, Sunlight (Sūryaprabha) and Moonglow (Candraprabha).

Master of Healing's twelve vows, first made when he set out to gain enlightenment, cover a wide range of benefits to sentient beings. The most widely known is the sixth vow, a pledge to alleviate the sickness and suffering of all beings. The fulfillment of this pledge forms the subject of much of the scripture. Yet, while Master of Healing has pledged to aid all beings who are sick and suffering, he must be called upon in order to invoke this potent aid. According to the scripture, methods of effective invocation range from the simple expedient of calling out his name to special rites involving prayer and worship before his image. In the case of life-threatening disease, a complex rite is outlined in the scripture (and described in great detail in special ritual texts) in which forty-nine cartwheel-shaped lamps are burned before seven images of the Buddha for forty-nine days, with many other ritual acts performed in units of seven or forty-nine. The number seven (and its square, forty-nine) is especially important in the Buddhist healing cults, most likely relating to the number of days in the intermediate state (*antarābhava*) between death and rebirth.

A fundamental feature of the healings bestowed by Bhaiṣajyaguru is the transformation of *karman*, that is, a concern for eradicating the patterned causes as well as the visible symptoms of suffering. This sense of transformation pervades the scriptural and ritual traditions associated with the cult. In this context, Master of Healing is especially important for his work in assisting beings to reach a momentous spiritual turning point known as the "aspiration to attain enlightenment," at which the drifting life is cast aside in order to seek spiritual fulfillment.

Standard images of Master of Healing depict him as a seated Buddha in monk's garb, either having skin the rich blue color of lapis lazuli or having a golden complexion with a halo and mandorla of lapis lazuli-colored rays. The Buddha holds a bowl or covered medicine jar on his lap with his left hand, while his right hand, resting on his right knee with palm outward, offers the medicinal myrobalan fruit; sometimes he is standing, holding the medicine jar in his left hand, with right hand upraised in the gesture of the banishment of fear. He is flanked by his *bodhisattva* assistants, Sunlight and Moonglow, who stand in princely garb. Encircling them are twelve *yakṣa* generals, each of whom is said to command seven thousand troops, all in aid of the Buddha's healing work. In some East Asian traditions, these twelve generals are clearly depicted as lords of the twelve hours of the day and the twelve years of the Jupiter-based cycle. The cosmic wholeness of this scene is striking: with lapis lazuli at the center that radiates like the depths of space, together with the two luminaries who are encircled by lords of time, it points to the profound nature of internal and external healing provided by this Buddha.

A somewhat later tradition, introduced to China in the early eighth century and eventually popular among Tibetans and Mongolians, focuses on seven brothers identified as healing Buddhas, the senior physician among them being Bhaisajyaguru. This group is often depicted with Śākyamuni Buddha, thus turning back to the roots of the Healing Buddha cult in the early tradition of Śākyamuni as spiritual healer.

SEE ALSO Celestial Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; Healing and Medicine.

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BHAKTI. The Sanskrit term *bhakti* is most often translated in English as "devotion," and the *bhaktimārga*, the "path of devotion," is understood to be one major type of Hindu spiritual practice. The *bhaktimārga* is a path leading toward liberation (*mokṣa*) from material embodiment in our present imperfect world and the attainment of a state of abiding communion with a personally conceived ultimate reality. The word *devotion*, however, may not convey the sense of participation and even of mutual indwelling between the devotees and God so central in *bhakti*. The Sanskrit noun *bhakti* is derived from the verbal root *bhaj*, which means "to share in" or "to belong to," as well as "to worship." *Devotion*, moreover, may not suggest the range of intense emotional states so frequently connoted by *bhakti*, most of which are suggested by the inclusive English word *love*. God's love, however, whether answering or eliciting the devotee's love, is denoted with other words than *bhakti*. Thus *bhakti* is the divine-human relationship as experienced from the human side.

While *bhakti* is sometimes used in a broad sense to cover an attitude of reverence to any deity or to a human teacher, the *bhaktimārga* is understood to be a "path" of exclusive devotion to a divine or human figure representing or embodying ultimate reality, a path whose goal is not this-worldly benefits but supreme blessedness. Those who follow the path believe that ultimate reality is the personal Lord (Īśvara) who both transcends the universe and creates it. *Bhakti* is thus theistic and can be distinguished, not only (1) from those religious movements that deny the reality of Īśvara (including those of Buddhists and Jains), but also (2) from polytheistic beliefs in a number of deities within a divine cosmos, and

(3) from philosophies that see Īśvara as an ultimately illusory appearance of the reality that transcends personal qualities, *nirguṇa brahman.*

In practice the boundaries of the *bhaktimārga* are indistinct and its forms are many and diverse, and it is differently defined by various sectarian communities. Nonetheless, there are some important common features found in different expressions of *bhakti*, and there is a discernible "history" of *bhakti* during the last fifteen hundred to two thousand years.

Modern historical approaches to Indian religion generally recognize some traces of *bhakti* in a few of the classical Upaniṣads and see it strikingly present in large sections of the epics (including notably the *Bhagavadgītā*). The earliest devotional poetry is considered that in praise of the Tamil god Murukaṉ, beginning about 200 CE, followed between the fifth and ninth centuries by the works of many poets in two distinct bodies of Tamil poetry, one in praise of Śiva, the other in praise of Viṣṇu. According to the traditional accounts, however, the Tamil poet-saints are scattered through the first five thousand years of the fourth and most degenerate age, the *kaliyuga.* This traditional dating fits a frequent theme, that *bhakti* is an easier path to salvation appropriate to an age of diminished spiritual capacities, but another theme sometimes crosses this: the assertion that the triumph of bands of singing and dancing devotees marks the breaking of the power of the demon Kali, and thus the end of Kali's evil age and the restoration of the age of spiritual perfection.

From a modern historical standpoint the flowering of *bhakti* is the coming together of considerably earlier theistic tendencies in three major religious traditions of ancient India: (1) the sacrificial cult of the invading Aryans and the recitation by *brāhmaṇa* priests that became the foundation of the Vedas; (2) the practice of bodily mortification and spiritual withdrawal by individuals and groups known as *śramaṇa*s, probably continuing traditions of earlier inhabitants of India but soon adopted and adapted by some of the Aryans; and (3) the pre-Aryan cults of spirits and village goddesses inhabiting trees and rocks and protecting special places or special groups.

All three traditions were subject to one type of reinterpretation that emphasized the great results of effective practice and a second type of reinterpretation that concentrated on the intuitive knowledge of the deities or ultimate powers of that tradition. There was also a third type of reinterpretation, however, that ascribed omnipotence to a particular deity, more or less personally conceived, and advocated single-minded devotion to this supreme deity. In the case of the Vedic tradition it was increasingly Viṣṇu who was regarded as both the essential core and the lord of the sacrifice. Some of the *śramaṇa*s sometimes regarded Śiva as the great yogin, paradoxically lord of fertility and sexual plenitude as well as of sexual abstinence. The more popular and polytheistic traditions have also had their *bhakti* forms, in which local goddesses are conceived as manifestations of the Mother, the great Power (Śakti) whose devotees sing her praises as the giver of both destruction and well-being.

Those who worship Viṣṇu (in any of his incarnations but particularly as Kṛṣṇa and Rama) as the supreme deity are known as Vaiṣṇavas; likewise those who accord the supreme place to Śiva are called Śaivas, and those who are devotees of the Goddess, conceived not as the subordinate consort of Śiva but as the ultimate Power, are termed Śāktas. Each "sect" is in practice divided into a large number of groups marked by allegiance to particular forms of the supreme deity, to particular lineages of teachers and teachings in characteristic sectarian organizations, which usually include some form of initiation.

The major forms of *bhakti* are described by Hindus themselves, not only by their special relation to particular forms of deity, but also according to the various moods of the devotee. The classifications vary slightly; some are closely related to classical Indian aesthetic theory according to which a particular raw emotion (*bhāva*) is transformed in drama into a refined mood or essence (*rasa*). Each combination of *bhāva* and *rasa* uses a particular human relationship: servant to master or child to parent (respectful subordination), friend to friend (joking familiarity), parent to child (maternal affection and concern), and beloved to lover (combining elements of the other three relationships in passionate love). Individual devotees as well as larger sectarian movements differ in their personal preference and doctrinal ranking among these relationships, but all are generally accepted as appropriate devotional stances.

When passionate attachment to the Lord is stressed, *bhakti* is a striking contrast to yoga and other ascetic paths to salvation that stress detachment and the overcoming of all passions, positive as well as negative. Yet many forms of *bhakti* also stress the detachment from all worldly beings that must accompany attachment to the Lord, or, like the *Bhagavadgītā*, which speaks of *bhaktiyoga*, they use the language of ascetic philosophy to extol the path of *bhakti.*

The *bhakti* movements generally stand religiously in between the more extreme ascetic paths and popular Hindu religiosity. (Less extreme forms of asceticism are often incorporated within the *bhakti* movements.) *Bhakti* generally shares the ascetic concern for *mokṣa:* release from finite existence and the realization of transcendent beatitude. What is primary, however, is communion with the Lord, and if *bhakta*s think of *mokṣa* as anything else than such communion, they will reject it as a goal that would deprive them of the very communion for which they fervently yearn.

A few *bhakta*s make the total commitment of time and style of life characteristic of Hindu "renouncers," spending whole days in chanting and singing the praise of their Lord. Most, however, must find time for their devotion in the midst of their daily occupations, whether high or low, but may become "full time" devotees temporarily during a lengthy pilgrimage. Their being *bhakta*s is sometimes shown by the sectarian marks on their foreheads or by other signs that they have been initiated into a particular community.

Bhakti often shares with popular Hinduism the basic ritual of *pūjā:* worship of the deity in some image form with vegetables, fruits, and flowers, which are spiritually consumed—or worn—by the deity and then returned to the worshiper as *prasāda*, material substance filled with the Lord's grace. Such *pūjā* may take place in one's home shrine or local temple, or it may be done as the culmination of a lengthy and arduous journey to a center of pilgrimage. Most Hindus perform such *pūjā* in order to win the deity's favor for some request, or, in the case of a vow (*vrata*), to fulfill a promise made at the time of a request since favorably answered. True *bhakta*s, however, perform the very same ritual acts in a different spirit: in thanksgiving for divine gifts freely granted, in petition for the supreme gift of God's presence, sometimes expressed as the privilege of doing God some service, in obedient performance of duties to the deities God has ordained, which include sacrificial worship for the maintenance of the universe. *Bhakta*s recognize that the Lord they serve also grants worldly gifts to those who seek them, and moreover, even grants requests made to lower deities. This means that they often can practice common Hindu forms of worship and support temple establishments. On the other hand, some *bhakti* movements have at one time been or continue to be sharply critical of popular religion and/or the temple establishment. This was strikingly true of the Vīraśaiva poets in Karnataka from the twelfth to the fourteenth century CE. In North India Kabīr and Nānak (the first Sikh *gurū*) were sharply critical both of popular piety and of the religious establishments, Hindu as well as Muslim.

There are also distinctive *bhakti* rituals: the singing (sometimes communal) of hymns and chants, the performance of dramas, dances, and recitals of the heroic deeds or erotic sports of Viṣṇu's incarnations or of the mysterious appearances of Lord Śiva. Stories about the Lord may thus lead to stories about the great *bhakta*s. The recounting of their lives is almost as popular as the singing of their songs.

Here, too, there is a strong difference in emphasis between devotional and ascetic paths, for the distinctive rituals of *bhakta*s are generally not reserved for the few qualified initiates but open to all, whatever their motives or their qualifications in the socioreligious hierarchy. This egalitarian thrust of *bhakti*, although it has not always penetrated in practice to the untouchables, is usually praised in song and story. It is not the equality of modern Western individualism, but the openness to a divine seeking that transcends or even reverses the order of human society, sometimes precisely because humility is the necessary qualification for receiving the Lord's grace.

Bhakti means not only "sharing" with God but also some form of sharing or mutual participation among God's devotees. While there is a heroic loneliness in the lives of some of the great *bhakta*s corresponding to or even combined with the physical and spiritual isolation of more extreme asceticism, the dominant note in *bhakti* is community, between generations as well as among fellow devotees of the same generation. Within this devotional community there is usually both a hierarchical relationship between teacher and disciple and a more egalitarian relationship between fellow disciples.

The English word *movement* is particularly appropriate for most *bhakti* movements, for there is a spiritual movement between the divine and the human, an emotional movement affecting or even engulfing any particular community of devotees, and a movement through time celebrated in sacred story. The stories about the *bhakti* saints help to define particular devotional communities and sometimes to extend them. While the sacred history of many devotional movements is of interest only to their own members, there has also been, especially in North India since the fifteenth century, a combination of hagiographies known as the *Bhaktamāla* (The garland of devotees). The present evil age, the *kaliyuga*, is considered to be the one, in the vast recurring cycle of the four ages, in which the human capacity to live rightly is at its lowest. Yet this cycle of stories assumes that the present age is also the *bhaktikāla*, the time for devotion. The worst of times becomes the best of times for those who join together in fervent praise. Those who remember the Lord (as continuously as the flow of oil, in Rāmānuja's definition of *bhakti*) have already in this life a foretaste of the eternal communion that is their final goal and, in many Vaisnava communities, the expected goal at the end of their present earthly life. *Bhakta*s thus share in a movement from eternity through time back to eternity.

Philosophically, Vaisnava *bhakti* has expressed itself in a range of positions between the "pure nondualism" (*śuddhādvaita*) of Vallabha and the "dualism" (*dvaita*) of Madhva, and Śaiva *bhakti* ranges from the monistic philosophy of Kashmir Śaivism to the dualistic or pluralistic position of the Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta, yet almost all of these philosophical positions agree both on the infinitely superior quality of the divine reality and on some kind of subordinate reality for finite souls and material things.

The common goal of communion with the Lord can also be understood more or less monistically. One classification distinguishes between four degrees of communion: (1) *sālokya*, being in the same heaven with a continuous vision of the Lord; (2) *sāmīpya*, residing close to the Lord; (3) *sārūpya*, having the same form, understood to be the privilege of the Lord's intimate attendants, whose external appearance is similar to the Lord's; and (4) *sāyujya*, complete union through entering the body of the Lord.

In terms of religious practice and religious experience there is a somewhat comparable range of positions between the affirmation of the constant divine presence both within finite realities and surrounding them, on the one hand, and the lamenting of God's absence from the devotee's experience in this present life. The typical *bhakti* position is somehow to affirm both God's presence and God's absence, but there is considerable difference in emphasis, not only between different sects and different individuals, but also within the experience of the same *bhakta.* The moments of experienced union (*saṃśleṣa*) and anguished separation or desolation (*viśleṣa* or *viraha*) alternate, but the *bhakta*'s experience is still more complicated: the realization of the fleeting character of the experience of union may intrude into it, while, on the other hand, the grief at separation is sharpened by the memory of previous shared delight. That grief itself, if it passes the moment of despair, expresses itself as a passionate yearning for a new moment of divine presence or as a more serene confidence in the final goal of unending communion with God.

Those who express a devotion of passionate attachment to the Lord, especially when the Lord is conceived as Kṛṣṇa, are sometimes dissatisfied with merely spiritual union after this earthly life. They yearn for the Lord's physical embrace of their present embodied selves. *Bhakta*s differ as to whether such union of the human devotee's body with the Lord's body is possible. Within this life, however, ecstatic moments of perceived union are fleeting. Permanent union brings with it an end to the *bhakta*'s life in this world, as is dramatically portrayed in the stories of the merger of two of the Tamil Vaisnava saints (Āṇṭāl and Tiruppān Āḻvār) into the Lord's image incarnation, Ranganātha. Similar stories are told of the Rājpūt woman saint Mīrā Bāī, absorbed with Kṛṣṇa's image at Dvarka, and of Caitanya, who, according to the local Oriya tradition in Puri, was absorbed into the image of Jagannātha.

For the more monistic *bhakti* that regards permanent union as the end of the finite self's distinct personal existence, the state of separation may actually be preferred as ensuring the continued bittersweet experience of the Lord's absence. Certainly for *bhakta*s in many schools and sects, the moments of absence are conveyed in poetry of great intensity and beauty. There our common human experience of separation from the infinite source of being is transfigured by the special experience of that rare human being who has felt the divine presence or known the divine rapture and then experienced even more intensely the pain of separation from this incredibly beautiful and desirable Lord.

In the South Indian Vaisnava *bhakti* of Rāmānuja, however, separation and union are coordinated in a hierarchical vision in which the Lord enters the heart of all finite beings as their inner controller, without obliterating the distinct existence and moral responsibility of the finite person. Here longing for God and belonging to God are not alternatives but mutually reinforcing coordinates in intensifying the *bhakta*'s experience.

From an outside vantage point the meaning of *bhakti* may be conveyed by two questions. One is a theological question: how can the infinite Lord be independent of all finite reality and yet be dependent on his devotees? Most *bhakta*s affirm both propositions. The second is the corresponding anthropological question: how can the *bhakta* be both the humble servant and the intimate companion of the Lord—not only the Lord's instrument but the Lord's bride? Since we recognize that these are no more than an outsider's "translation" of the *bhakta*s' own questions, we must add a third, what we might call a hermeneutical question: how can the outside student of Hindu *bhakti* (whether non-Hindu or non-*bhakta*) understand any particular form of Hindu *bhakti?* How can divine-human "sharing" be understood without sharing in it? While most of the Hindu tradition would find it difficult to imagine such external understanding as the question implies, and those in the Western Platonic tradition would reject the separation of loving and knowing, most Western study of religion in general and of Hindu *bhakti* in particular assumes that reasonable understanding is possible—enough to write this article, for example—*without* personally participating as a scholar in the *bhakta*'s experience. The very nature of *bhakti* as experienced participation, however, is a continuing challenge to the strong tendency of Western notions of understanding, especially the Western effort to "capture" all human experience in carefully crafted objective concepts.

To understand an alien experience we need to remember partially similar experiences familiar to us. *Bhakti* has both appealed to and puzzled Western students because they see in its central features Western monotheism combined with other elements that seem different or even totally alien. Many features of Hindu *bhakti* are also found in the more popular aspects of Jainism and Buddhism, and Pure Land Buddhism has incorporated much of *bhakti* at its very core. The Indian expressions of both Islam and Christianity, moreover, have developed their own *bhakti* poets and saints. In the case of Islam, *bhakti* has provided a bridge for a mutual interpenetration with Hindu piety that has given the piety of Muslims in South Asia a distinctive character; yet Islamic and Hindu *bhakti* did not merge. In the case of Christianity in the modern era, *bhakti* provided the basic vocabulary for Christian prayer and hymnody in most modern Indian languages, yet Christian *bhakti* has usually been so distinctive as to be unaware of its debt to the Hindu tradition. Perhaps *bhakti*, although distinctively Hindu, may be appropriated and developed, if not by the proud at least by the humble, in a great variety of religious and cultural communities.

SEE ALSO Bhagavadgītā; Caitanya; Devotion; Īśvara; Kabīr; Mīrā Bāī; Mokṣa; Nānak; Poetry, article on Indian Religious Poetry; Pūjā, article on Hindu Pūjā; Rāmānuja; Śaivism, article on Vīraśaivas; Yoga.

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JOHN B. CARMAN (1987)
Revised Bibliography

BHĀVAVIVEKA (c. 490–570 CE), also known as Bhavya or (in Tibetan) Legs ldan ’byed pa; Indian Buddhist philosopher and historian, and founder of the Svātantrika-Mādhyamika school. Born to a royal family in Malyara, in South India (although some Chinese sources claim it was in Magadha, in North India), Bhāvaviveka studied both *sūtra* and *śāstra* literatures during his formative years. Having excelled in the art of debate, especially against Hindu apologists of the Sāṃkhya school, he is said to have been the abbot of some fifty monasteries in the region of Dhanyakata, in South India. His chief influences were the writings of Nāgārjuna (second century CE), the founder of the Mādhyamika, and treatises on logic from the traditions of Buddhism (especially Dignāga’s works) and Hinduism (especially the *Nyāyapraveśa*). His chief philosophical contribution was his attempt at formulating a synthesis of Mādhyamika dialectics and the logical conventions of his time.

As all of Bhāvaviveka’s works are lost in the original Sanskrit and preserved only in Tibetan translations, the scholarly world came to know of him only through Candrakīrti (c. 580–650 CE), who refuted Bhāvaviveka’s position in the first chapter of the *Prasannapadā.* It could therefore be argued that current understanding of the Mādhyamika in general has suffered from a one-sided perspective that relies solely on Candrakīrti’s rival school, the Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamika. However, contemporary scholarship no longer neglects Tibetan sources, and thus a more balanced approach has ensued, one that reads Nāgārjuna’s seminal writings through the commentaries of both the Prāsaṅgikas and the Svātantrikas.

Nagarjuna, especially as read through the commentaries of Buddhāpalita (c. 470–550 CE), was characterized by many Indian philosophers as a *vaitaṇḍika,* a nihilist who refused to assume any thesis (*pratijñā*) in the course of the ongoing dialogue between Hindu thinkers of various schools and the Buddhists. While Mādhyamika thought had not asserted any claim about ultimate truth/reality (*paramārthasatya*), Bhāvaviveka’s independent reasoning (*svatantra-anumāna*) was applied to conventional truth/reality (*saṃvṛtisatya*) as a means of rescuing logico-linguistic conventions (*vyavahāra*) from a systematic negation (*prasaṅga*) that opened the school to charges of nihilism. While Bhāvaviveka accepted the Mādhyamika view that ultimately (*paramārthataḥ*) no entities could be predicated with any form of existence, he was willing to employ such predication on a conventional level. In order to maintain the reality and utility of traditional Buddhist categories for talking about the path of spiritual growth while denying the ultimate reality of such categories, he employed a syllogistic thesis (*pratijñā*), a philosophic strategy that was nearly incomprehensible to scholars of the Mādhyamika, who knew this school only through Candrakīrti’s Prāsaṅgika systematization.

In order to affirm a thesis on the conventional level while denying it ultimately, Bhāvaviveka creatively reinterpreted the key Mādhyamika doctrine of the two truths (*satyadvaya*). In his *Madhyamārthasaṃgraha,* he propounds two levels of ultimacy: a highest ultimate that is beyond all predication and specification (*aparyāya-paramārtha*), in conformity with all Mādhyamika teachings, and an ultimate that can be inferred logically and specified meaningfully (*paryāya-paramārtha*); this latter level was a bold innovation in the history of Mādhyamika thought. Of course, such a distinction was operative only within the realm of conventional thought. Again one must employ Bhāvaviveka’s crucial adverbial codicil, *paramārthataḥ,* and follow him in claiming that such a distinction, like all distinctions, is ultimately unreal although conventionally useful.

Bhāvaviveka’s two main philosophic contributions—his affirmation of a thesis on a conventional level and his reinterpretation of the two-truths doctrine—are evaluated diversely by contemporary scholars. Those unsympathetic to him see his work as an unhappy concession to the logical conventions of his day, a concession that dilutes the rigor of the Mādhyamika dialectic. Those with more sympathy see his contributions as a creative surge that rescued Buddhist religious philosophies from those dialectical negations that threatened the integrity of the Buddhist path itself.

Within the evolved Tibetan Buddhist tradition, Bhāvaviveka is especially known for two other contributions. His refutations of the rival Yogācāra school are considered to be among the clearest ever written. The fifth chapter of his *Tarkajvālā,* the "Yogācārattvaviniścaya," refutes both the existence of the absolute and the nonexistence of the conventional, both seminal Yogācāra positions.

He is also the forerunner of the literary style known as *siddhānta* (Tib., *grub mtha'*), which became enormously popular within Tibetan scholarly circles. A *siddhānta* text devotes ordered chapters to analyzing the philosophic positions (*siddhānta*s) of rival schools, both Buddhist and Hindu. His *Tarkajvālā* contains systematic critiques of the positions held by the Hinayana and the Yogācāra, both Buddhist schools, and the Sāṃkhya, Vaisesika, Vedānta, and Mīmāṃsā schools of Hindu philosophy.

Bhāvaviveka was also a keen historian. His *Nikāyabhedavibhaṅgavyākhyāna* remains one of the most important and reliable sources for the early history of the Buddhist order, and for information on the schisms within its ranks.

SEE ALSO Buddhist Philosophy; Mādhyamika; Śūnyam and Śūnyata.

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NATHAN KATZ (1987)

BHAVE, VINOBA (1895–1982), Indian social and religious reformer. Vinayak Narhari Bhave was closely associated with Mohandas Gandhi, who bestowed upon him the affectionate epithet Vinoba (Mar., "brother Vino"). He is generally acclaimed in India as the one who "stepped into Gandhi's shoes." As a young man Bhave studied Sanskrit and the Hindu religious tradition in Varanasi. It was here that he read accounts of Gandhi's patriotic speeches. Attracted by Gandhi's ideas, Bhave joined Gandhi as his disciple in 1916 and soon became one of his close associates. In 1921 Gandhi had Bhave move to a new ashram (retreat center) in Wardha in the state of Maharashtra. Here he began experimenting with many Gandhian ideas designed to implement self-rule for India. His main goal was to engage in village service for the benefit of the Indian masses. As a result, he became a skillful farmer, spinner, weaver, and scavenger. Many of these activities were later incorporated into several of his plans for the moral and spiritual uplift of all humanity. Impressed with his political and religious dedication, his spiritual way of life, and his belief in nonviolent methods of social action, Gandhi chose him in 1940 as the first *satyāgrahī* (one who uses nonviolent means to bring the opponent to the point of seeing the truth) in a protest against British rule.

After India's independence Bhave emerged from the shadow of his teacher as he began his *pad yātrā* ("journey on foot") to meet the people of India. The famous Bhoodān ("land gift") movement was born when on one such journey he sought a donation of land in order to distribute it among the landless poor. Later he designed a program to collect fifty million acres of land for the landless. For the rest of his life, he tirelessly worked for *grām swarāj* ("village self-rule") to free the people from the rich and the powerful. He retreated to his ashram in Paunar, near Wardha, in 1970 and died there in 1982.

INFLUENCES. Bhave's influence was greatest in his promotion of Gandhian principles. He became the chief exponent of the Sarvodaya ("welfare of all") movement and executed Gandhi's nonviolent philosophy through a series of activities known as "constructive works." These included such programs as promotion of *khādī* ("self-spun cloth"), *naī talīm* ("new education"), *strī śakti* ("woman power"), cow protection, and *śānti senā* ("peace brigade"). He created the Sarva Seva Sangha ("society for the service of all") in order to carry out the work of Sarvodaya, and served as its spiritual adviser. Bhave also launched a series of movements connected with the Land Gift movement in order to tackle the problem of exploitation of the farmers by their landlords. Although through these movements he sought to accomplish socioeconomic reform, for him they were part of a spiritual struggle to establish *rām rāj* ("kingdom of God") through *grām swarāj*. To this end, he adopted and promoted the Gandhian model of Sarvodaya. Bhave took the concept of "giving" (*dān*) further and asked that people donate their money, labor, intellect, and life for the work of Sarvodaya.

Bhave organized village councils (*grām sabhā*s) to oversee the village development program. His aim was not only to bring self-sufficiency to the villages but also to establish a nonviolent society based on religious ideals. Through the constructive programs of Sarvodaya, Bhave sought to create a moral force in Indian society. The aim of his movement was not to promote the greatest good for the greatest number, but the greatest good for all people. The goal of Sarvodaya philosophy can be summarized as follows: in the social realm it advocates a casteless society, in politics it shares a democratic vision of the power of the people, in economics it promotes the belief that "small is beautiful," and in religion it asks for tolerance for all faiths. Its final goal is to promote peace for all humankind.

The failure of many of Bhave's plans to come to fruition ultimately led to dissension in the Sarvodaya. In the 1960s Jai Prakash Narayan, a Marxist-turned-Gandhian activist and an associate of Bhave, sought to steer the Sarvodaya movement in other directions. The controversy arose over the issue of whether Sarvodaya workers should participate in politics in order to initiate change in Indian society. Disenchanted with Bhave's nonpartisan religious approach and the slow moving program of *grām swarāj*, Narayan began taking an active part in contemporary politics. By the 1970s this led to a serious split within the organization of the Sarva Seva Sangha (the work agency of Sarvodaya) and the parting of ways of these two giants of the Gandhian movement. The conflict brought into focus various ideological differences that existed within the Sarvodaya movement. However, Bhave's supporters continued to maintain that his was a movement to "change the hearts of the people" through moral force and nonpartisan alliances. Since Bhave's death, many programs for social reform are still being carried out within the Sarvodaya movement by the *lok sevak*s ("servants of the people") whom he inspired.

SEE ALSO Gandhi, Mohandas.

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Vinoba Bhave wrote relatively few books. However, many of his talks and speeches have been compiled into books and pamphlets. Most of these works are published by the Sarva Seva Sangha. The majority of his writings deal with the Bhoodān and Gramdan movements, but he also wrote on a variety of topics related to Sarvodaya. His major English titles include *Bhoodān Yajna* (Ahmadabad, 1953), *Swaraj Sastra: The Principles of a Non-Violent Political Order*, translated by Bharatan Kumarappa (Wardha, 1955), *From Bhoodan to Gramdan* (Tanjore, 1957), *Thoughts on Education*, translated by Marjorie Sykes (Madras, 1959), *Talks on the Gita* (New York, 1960), *Democratic Values* (Kashi, 1962), and *Steadfast Wisdom*, translated by Lila Ray (Varanasi, 1966).

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BIANCHI, UGO. Ugo Bianchi (1922–1995) was an Italian historian of religions. Born at Cavriglia (Arezzo) of a Tuscan mother and Roman father who was a parastatal employee, he attended primary and secondary school in Rome. He then studied in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Rome, graduating in 1944 with a degree in the history of religions, under the mentorship of Raffaele Pettazzoni. Subsequently, he completed specialized studies of Roman religion (1947), ethnology (1949–1951) and ancient history (1951–1956) at the same university. After receiving the degree of *libero docente* (teaching qualification for university) in 1954 and a professorship in 1958, Bianchi attained the chair (professorship) of history of religions at the University of Messina (1960–1971). Subsequently, he taught at the University of Bologna (1970–1974) and the University of Rome (1974–1995). Given his deep Christian and Catholic convictions, he was logically chosen for teaching the same discipline at the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore in Milan (1974–1991) and religious ethnology at the Urbanian University of Propaganda Fide in Rome (1977–1995). Because of his independence, however, he never became an official figure of the Catholic establishment (although for a short time he was a consultant of the Vatican Secretariat for the Non-Christians).

Bianchi's entire life was dedicated to his family (he married Adriana Giorgi in 1956 and had four children), to the teaching of a host of disciples, to scholarly research, to the elaboration of historically founded typologies (with the cooperation of international specialists convened in conferences), and to the promotion of the study of religions in scholarly organizations both national (he was first secretary and then president of the Società italiana di storia delle religioni for thirty-five years) and international. Elected a member of the International Committee of the International Association for the History of Religions (IAHR) at the organization's 1965 congress at Claremont, California, he became a member of the IAHR executive board in 1975 at the Lancaster, England, Congress after the retirement of Angelo Brelich and Alessandro Bausani. In 1980 at Winnipeg, Canada, he was elected IAHR vice president, and in 1990 he became president of the IAHR at the Rome congress of which he had been the convener. In 1967 and again in 1992 he was involved in events concerning university competitions that caused serious problems in the Italian academy, hampering cooperation among scholars of religion for years to come. These circumstances, however, did not diminish his indefatigable activity. He was a tenacious man with adamantine convictions and a quasi-missionary vocation for organizing the field of religious studies.

OEUVRE. The years between the time he received his first degree in 1944 to the time when he won tenure in 1959 were marked by hectic activity. It was during these years, at the height of the Cold War, that Pettazzoni—a secular scholar who was nevertheless mindful of the autonomy of religious phenomena—left his onerous legacy as historian of religions to the Catholic Bianchi, the communist Ernesto de Martino, and the maverick leftist Angelo Brelich. Bianchi studied cult-related aspects of Roman religion (a minor but never entirely neglected interest in his subsequent activity). But most of all he dedicated himself to investigating fundamental features of theology and mythology in Greece, Iran, and the ancient Near East by pinpointing the three interconnected areas around which he would later focus his reflection: Fate, Humankind, and Godship, as indicated in the subtitle of his first monograph, *Dios aisa* (1953), as well as in the title of his monograph on Zoroastrianism, *Zaman i Ohrmazd* (Time-Fate as determined by the supreme divinity; 1958). At the same time, Bianchi, starting from—but going beyond—the analysis and the results of the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule and of historical ethnology (as practiced by the Vienna and Frankfurt Schools), endeavored to represent "religious dualism" as an almost universal historical typology in the work, *Il dualismo religioso* (1958), which was destined to become a classic in the field.

As a corollary of this wide-ranging research, he produced a type of guide to the history of religions with a title representative of his particular frame of mind, *Problemi di storia delle religioni* (Problems of the history of religion; 1958). The word *problems* is appropriate because each topic is approached in an argumentative manner, even though none is left without answers (answers that generally reflect original views that Pettazzoni regarded as "too personal" (so read the minutes of the competitive exam of 1958 for the professorship). A similar style characterizes the booklet *Teogonie e cosmogonie* (Theogonies and cosmogonies; 1960), which discusses in a cross-cultural key recurrent motifs of mythology (trickster, cosmogonic egg, and so on), in close debate with the views of his predecessors (i.e., Pettazzoni, Mircea Eliade, Leo Frobenius and his school), which he counteracts with proposals of his own. In the following years he had an ever-growing concern for determining a typology of religious phenomena and a methodology of the history of religions.

Besides research on specialized topics, he produces three general surveys that summarize his experience in his respective fields: *Storia dell'etnologia* (History of ethnology; 1964; 2d ed., 1971); *La religione greca* (Greek religion; 1962; 2d ed., 1971); and *The History of Religions* (1975). He dedicated the latter years of his life mainly to promoting conferences on the themes for which he cared most: Gnosticism (1966); Mithraism (1978); the soteriology of Oriental cults in the Roman Empire (1979); asceticism in early Christianity (1982); and the concept of religion (1990). Bianchi had a clear-cut scholarly agenda in mind: he sought papers that avoided both pointless erudition and theoretical verbiage that was not supported by hard evidence. As a result, all of these conferences marked a milestone in their respective fields of scholarly research.

LEGACY. Bianchi applied to the study of religious phenomena the historical-comparative method inherited from his mentor, Pettazzoni, a method that was only partially equivalent to that adopted by his fellow disciples Angelo Brelich (1913–1977), Vittorio Lanternari (1918–), and Dario Sabbatucci (1923–2003). He opposed this method to radical historicism (with its entailed form of reductionism) and phenomenology, both of which have, said Bianchi, "a univocal conception of religion located within a preconceived frame of reference" (1987, vol. 6, p. 400). Instead, according to Bianchi, the frame of reference inside which religious phenomena should be placed and studied is that of a "historical typology of religions," "a multidimensional map of the actual religious terrain" (1987, vol. 6, p. 402). Such a map, if well structured and used with due caution, will prevent the scholar from falling into the double trap set by the a priori constructions of phenomenology on the one hand and the no less a priori reductionism of historicism on the other. What is needed to avoid these opposing traps when approaching religious subjects is recourse to two opposing "holisms." For one thing, the historian of religions must advocate cultural holism; that is, he must, as Bianchi wrote, study all phenomena "within the specific contexts that give them their full meaning" (1987, vol. 6, p. 402). For another, Bianchi continued, he must also take note of religious holism, that is, of "those partial (analogical, not properly univocal) 'religious' continuities which cross, not always in the same direction, the limits of the different cultures" (1991, p. 260).

In practice, Bianchi's method, when applied to an idiographic analysis of historico-religious phenomena, pursued the typically nomothetic aim of providing a very accurate definition of the different kinds of religious experience to be tackled. The first definition at which he worked unceasingly is precisely the definition of religion itself. On the one hand, when his epistemological interest prevails, he defines religion in a merely operative way: religion in itself is an "analogon," not an univocal concept. In other words, Bianchi conceives religion as a "concrete (i.e., historical) universal, studied by history, rather than as a generic universal resulting from a theoretic option" (Bianchi, *History of Religions,* 1975, p. 200; cf. pp. 6 and 214–215). On the other hand, when his existentialist animus emerges, he recurs to an Eliadean formula, religion as "rupture de niveau," (break of level) which he explains as a relationship "with a supra and a prius" (above and before) (*Problemi di storia delle religioni*, 1958, pp. 116–117) or as a concern "with the widespread human tendency to identify a 'beyond'" (1994, p. 920). It is, therefore, tangibly clear that Bianchi's historicist empiricism adjusted itself to a certain amount of a priori hermeneutics, despite his explicit denials.

All the multifarious subjects investigated by Bianchi essentially converged on a single problem: the problem of destiny, evil, and salvation—in other words, the problem of humanity's relationship with God, or theodicy, to which Bianchi dedicated his last course of lectures at Rome University in 1991 and 1992. In his painstaking handling of all the themes connected with this triadic concern, he practically turned his attention to all the religious words of the ancient Mediterranean region, offering meticulous contributions to very specific subjects a synthesis of which is given in his *Prometeo, Orfeo e Adamo* (1976). Most influential was his definition of the category of dualism as a widespread phenomenon with ethnic roots all over the world. Dualism means the doctrine of the two principles that, coeternal or not, cause the existence of that which exists or seems to exist in the world. Despite all the criticisms it has drawn, his typology is still valid in historical research. Also notable, notwithstanding a certain rigidity, is the three-pronged typology that he applied to some conspicuous religious phenomena of antiquity. The triad comprises mysticism, mystery cults, and mysteriosophy, where the last two types are alternative specifications of the first one, which is more inclusive. Last, but not least, the investigation of the origin and definition of Gnosticism is perhaps the topic that, more than any other, made Bianchi famous in the academic world. At the same time, however, it garnered him his harshest criticism.

Bianchi's system for testing and ultimately perfecting his definitions and typologies was gathering around itself senior and junior scholars who might contribute fresh materials and discussions on subjects whose scope Bianchi firmly delimited. During his life he managed to organize as many as thirteen conferences, and he succeeded in having the proceedings of all of them published. In sum, apart from the importance of his personal contribution to the study of Mesopotamian, Iranian, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and Christian religions, Bianchi has represented in the history of twentieth-century religious studies the figure who advances science using both dialogue and steadfastness as his weapons.

SEE ALSO Brelich, Angelo; History of Religions.

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In the above-mentioned volume, topics of the history of ancient religions and methodological issues to which Bianchi dedicated his attention are analyzed critically by specialists, disciples and colleagues (e.g., Sanzi, Giuffré, Casadio, Chiodi, Antes, Mander, Panaino, Albanese, Aronen, Pachis, Gasparro, Ciattini, Cerutti, Brezzi, Terrin, Giusti, Spineto, Gothoni). The aim is to contribute to the methodological debate on the study of religion by pointing out the interrelation between the historical data and the motivations behind the interpretive discourse. There are other critical evaluations of aspects of his work and methodology, and more general profiles (especially in the form of obituaries). The following are worth mentioning. Franco Bolgiani, *Il dualismo in storia delle religioni* (Turin, 1974), points out the difficult balance between history and phenomenology in Bianchi's interpretation of dualism. Ursula King, "Historical and Phenomenological Approaches," in F. Whaling (ed.), *Contemporary Approaches to the Study of Religion*, vol. 1, *The Humanities* (Berlin, New York, and Amsterdam, 1984), pp. 83–85 and 97–98, is superficial in her criticism. Aldo Natale Terrin, "Ugo Bianchi," in P. Poupard (ed.), *Grande dizionario delle religioni* (Assisi and Turin, 1988), pp. 215–216, writes from the point of view of phenomenology. Julien Ries, "Un régard sur la méthode historico-comparative en histoire des religions," in G. Sfameni Gasparro (ed.), *Agathe Elpis. Studi storico-religiosi in onore di Ugo Bianchi* (Rome, 1994), pp. 121–148, describes accurately Bianchi's method and sympathizes with it. Likewise, Kurt Rudolph, "In memoriam Ugo Bianchi," *Numen* 42 (1995): 225–227, is unanimous in his approach. Giovanni Filoramo, "In memoria di Ugo Bianchi," *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 32 (1996): 487–489, is appreciative but with some nuance (see also in

Filoramo and Carlo Prandi, *Le scienze delle religioni*, Brescia, 1997, pp. 57–59 and 305–306). Giulia Sfameni Gasparro, "Ricordo di Ugo Bianchi: tappe di un percorso scientifico," in *Destino e salvezza. Itinerari storico-religiosi sulle orme di Ugo Bianchi,* edited by Gasparro (Cosenza, 1998), pp. 15–36 (see also "Ugo Bianchi and the History of Religions," in *Themes and Problems of the History of Religions in Contemporary Europe*, edited by Gasparro, Cosenza, 2003, pp. 19–30) gives an exhaustive presentation from the viewpoint of a faithful disciple.

GIOVANNI CASADIO (2005)

BIBLICAL EXEGESIS

This entry consists of the following articles:

JEWISH VIEWS
CHRISTIAN VIEWS

BIBLICAL EXEGESIS: JEWISH VIEWS

The shift from rabbinic hermeneutics to medieval exegesis is marked by discrimination between different types of interpretation. It has been suggested, though not established, that this occurred, in the Arabic-speaking world, under the impetus of Karaism which, by rejecting the authority of rabbinic tradition, forced proponents and opponents alike to consider the literal meaning of the biblical text. The development of Arabic grammar and rhetoric may also have encouraged systematic study of the literal meaning.

The first major figure of medieval biblical exegesis is the Babylonian rabbinic leader Saʿadyah Gaon (d. 942), who, like his successors, engaged in translation into Arabic and commentary written in the same language. Saʿadyah insisted on literal interpretation, but discussed four circumstances in which deviation from the obvious literal meaning of the biblical text is justified: (1) when the literal meaning contradicts reason (e.g., "God is a consuming fire" [*Dt.* 4:24] must be interpreted metaphorically); (2) when the literal meaning contradicts sense-experience (e.g., Eve was not the "mother of all living beings" [*Gn.* 3:21] but rather the mother of human life); (3) when the literal meaning contradicts another biblical passage (e.g., "Thou shalt not test the Lord" seemingly contradicts "Test me and see," thus necessitating reinterpretation); (4) when the literal meaning contradicts the oral tradition (e.g., "Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk" [*Ex.* 23:19, 34:26; *Dt.* 14:21] is to be interpreted in conformity with the rabbinic view that this verse refers to all cooking of milk with meat).

The polemical thrust in Saʿadyah's exegesis manifests itself in various ways. For example, his insistence that *Psalms* is a prophetic rather than a devotional book is meant to controvert Karaite dismissal of rabbinic liturgy as a superfluous innovation.

Saʿadyah and the writers who succeeded him over the next century, under the sway of Islam, were to a great degree eclipsed, whether because they wrote in Arabic rather than Hebrew or as a result of their prolixity, by the popularity of Avraham ibn ʿEzraʾ. In fact, what influence they exerted was largely due to their citation by Ibn ʿEzraʾ. Included among these are commentators like Shemuʾel ben Ḥofni (d. 1013), Yehudah ibn Balʿam, Mosheh ha-Kohen ibn Giqatilla; grammarians like Yehudah ibn Hayyuj and Yonah ibn Janah; and Karaite exegetes like Yefet ben ʿEli, who are generally treated neutrally by Ibn ʿEzraʾ, except with regard to crucial polemical texts such as *Leviticus* 23:15, which divided the Karaites from the Rabbinites.

The peripatetic Ibn ʿEzraʾ wrote on almost all of the Bible, often writing multiple commentaries on the same book, not all of which have been published. Occasionally engaging in philosophical asides (e.g., *Ecclesiastes* 5 and 7), he is nonetheless committed to the straightforward interpretation of the text, governed by the principles of grammar. He is often skeptical of Midrashic elaboration upon the narrative, typically remarking, "If it is a tradition, we shall accept it." Regarding legal matters, he asserts his agreement with the oral law whenever its views are no less plausible than possible alternatives; otherwise, he accepts the oral law only as a normative legal tradition that has been attached to the verse.

The quest for exegetical simplicity led Ibn ʿEzraʾ to criticize some earlier approaches to the text. Thus he rejects Ibn Jannaḥ's view that the same Hebrew word can express contradictory meanings, as well as his willingness to transpose words or to substitute words for those in the text. By the same token, he sees no need to employ the rabbinic listing of *tiqqunei soferim* (euphemistic emendations of phrases referring to God). He is troubled neither by variations of phrase, so long as the meaning is conserved (for example, he considers the differences between *Exodus* 20 and *Deuteronomy* 4 insignificant), nor by orthographical inconsistencies.

Ibn ʿEzraʾ has been regarded as a precursor of the Higher Criticism which began with Barukh Spinoza (1632–1677). Several cryptic passages in his commentary (e.g., on *Gn.* 12:7, *Dt.* 1:2) allude to anachronisms in the Torah that have since been interpreted either as signs of a post-Mosaic hand (as first suggested by Yosef Bonfils in the fourteenth century) or as consequences of prophetic familiarity with the future. Attention has also been given his obscure remarks about the postexilic historical setting of *Isaiah* 40–66.

FRANCO-GERMAN EXEGESIS. The commentary of Rashi (Shelomoh ben Yitsḥaq, 1040–1105) to the Torah is the most influential work of Jewish exegesis. Combining philological sensitivity with generous quotations from rabbinic literature, it became, at the popular level, almost inseparable from the biblical text itself: until the nineteenth century no text of the Pentateuch was published with any commentary that did not include Rashi's as well. Rashi's popularity, as well as his laconic presentation, inspired hundreds of supercommentaries. The most important of these (e.g., Eliyyahu Mizraḥi and Yehudah Löw in the sixteenth century, David ha-Levi in the seventeenth, and the eclectic Shabbetai Bass) constitute a significant contribution to biblical exegesis in their own right. The contemporary leader of Lubavitch Hasidism, Menaḥem Mendel Schneerson, has devoted the lion's share of his voluminous output to an investigation of Rashi's nuances.

Rashi several times distinguishes the literal meaning (*peshaṭ*) from the homiletical (*derash*), identifying his own method, despite its heavy use of *aggadah,* with the former (e.g., on *Gn.* 3:8). His interpreters have generally inferred from this that all comments not explicitly labeled as Midrashic (and perhaps even these) are evoked by some peculiarity in the text that Rashi seeks to resolve. Reworking of and deviation from standard rabbinic exegesis occur both in narrative and in legal passages (for the latter, see, for example, *Exodus* 23:2). In his philology, Rashi is limited by his dependence on those grammarians who wrote in Hebrew (Menaḥem ben Saruq and Dunash ibn Labrat), employing, for example, the doctrine of the two-letter root, later superseded by the idea of a three-letter root. Among Rashi's predecessors, mention must also be made of Menaḥem ben Ḥelbo.

Among Rashi's contemporaries and successors, Yosef Qaraʾ and Shemuʾel ben Meir (Rashbam) are the most influential. The latter, who was Rashi's grandson, reflected on the innovation in the study of *peshaṭ* (see digression at *Genesis* 37:2): earlier generations, in their piety, had been concerned with the legal and moral lessons of scripture, leaving room for the "ever new facets of *peshaṭ* that are every day discovered." Rashbam is more reluctant than Rashi to erect his exegesis on rabbinic tradition, and he is more prone to seek exegetical alternatives in the legal passages (e.g., his preface to *Exodus* 21). Thus he asserts that day precedes night in *Genesis* 1:5, in contradiction to the halakhic exegetical tradition.

Other Franco-German scholars of note are Yosef Bekhor Shor, Eliʿezer of Beaugency, and Rashbam's brother Yaʿaqov Tam (primarily for his grammatical remarks). Their works were overshadowed by Rashi's and did not enjoy wide circulation. More often republished are various collections of tosafistic exegetical works (e.g., *Daʿat zeqenim*) that are homiletical in nature and often refer to Rashi. Also noteworthy are the many biblical exegetical comments found in *tosafot* to the Talmud. A significant manifestation of biblical study is found in Jewish-Christian polemical literature, such as the anonymous *Sefer nitstsaḥon yashan.*

MEDIEVAL PHILOSOPHICAL EXEGESIS. Philosophical concerns play a role in the work of Saʿadyah (who participates in Kalam philosophy) and the Neoplatonist Ibn ʿEzraʾ. Baḥye ibn Paquda's ethical treatise *Duties of the Heart* and Yehudah ha-Levi's *Kuzari* also contain remarks pertinent to biblical study. It is, however, with the *Guide of the Perplexed* of Moses Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon; 1135/8–1204) that the philosophical approach to scripture becomes central. Maimonides' doctrine of religious language leads him to reinterpret anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms more rigorously than his predecessors. In addition to his interpretations of such sections as *Genesis* 1, *Ezekiel* 1, and *Job,* his concern for the symbolic functions of biblical imagery finds expression in an elaborate doctrine of prophecy and a tendency to allegorize many narratives. Lastly, his views on the "reasons for the commandments" occasionally emphasize the literal sense of the text at the expense of its normative application (e.g., the literalist rationale for the *lex talionis* in *Guide* 3.41), and more than occasionally justify the commandments in utilitarian terms relevant to the historical situation of Israel at the time of Moses (e.g., the purpose of the incense is fumigation of the Temple; many sacrificial and agricultural commandments are intended to counteract idolatrous practices).

The philosophical emphasis in Jewish biblical commentary flourished during the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. Maimonides' views spread in commentaries on the Prophets and *Psalms* written by both David Kimḥi (known as Radak; early thirteenth century) and Menaḥem Meʾiri (late thirteenth century) of Provence. His terminology and concerns deeply affect the work of the antiphilosopher Yitsḥaq Arama (early fifteenth century) and the more ambivalent exegete and commentator on the *Guide*, Isaac Abravanel. Maimonides is also discussed by Moses Nahmanides (Mosheh ben Naḥman, thirteenth-century Spain) and the exegetical tradition stemming from him. Yosef Albo's *Sefer ha-ʿiqqarim* (Book of principles), in which the greatest doctrinal affinity is to Albo's teacher Ḥasdai Crescas, a trenchant critic of Maimonides, should be cited for several homiletical sections.

The prolific Yosef ibn Kaspi (fourteenth-century Provence and Spain) displays a Maimonidean interest in the allegorization of prophetic stories (e.g., Jonah and the fish) along with strikingly original speculations (e.g., on the differences between *Samuel, Kings,* and *Chronicles*).

Levi ben Gershom (Gersonides; fourteenth-century Provence), a major Jewish philosopher, and more consistent an Aristotelian than Maimonides, is a major biblical commentator as well. Limiting divine providence, he offered rationalistic explanations of the stopping of the sun by Joshua and maintained that it was not Lot's wife but Sodom that became a pillar of salt. Like Maimonides before him, he interprets the *Song of Songs* as an allegory of God and the individual soul, not, as Rashi and Ibn ʿEzraʾ did, as an allegory of God's relationship with the Jewish people. Following Maimonides, he unraveled the speeches of Job and his friends as presentations of philosophical positions on providence. Gersonides affixed to his commentaries a list of *toʿaliyyot* ("lessons") to be derived from scripture.

ECLECTIC COMMENTARIES: THIRTEENTH–FIFTEENTH CENTURIES. David Kimḥi combines philological-grammatical perspicuity with liberal quotations from rabbinic literature, discussions of the Targum and its variants, fealty to Maimonides, and references to Rashi, Ibn ʿEzraʾ, Yosef Kimḥi, who was his father, and his brother Mosheh (author of pseudo-Ibn ʿEzraʾ on *Proverbs* and *Ezra-Nehemiah*). Given the paucity of Rashi on Prophets, it is not surprising that Kimḥi is perhaps the most popular of medieval exegetes on the

Prophets. A polemical contention with Christianity frequently comes to the fore, for example, contra the christological reading of the Immanuel prophecy (*Is.* 7). He evinces serious concern for variations in the received Masoretic text.

Nahmanides, like Rashi, is a major Talmudist who devoted himself to a commentary on the Torah; its impact over the centuries is second only to Rashi's. He attends to philology and law and comments on theological issues and psychological factors. Reaching the Land of Israel in his old age, he is occasionally able to draw upon an acquaintance with its geography and *realia.* A qabbalist, he is the first major commentator in whose work qabbalistic hints are common. Thus, by the fourteenth century, in the aftermath of Maimonides and Nahmanides, we encounter the fourfold division of biblical interpretation—PaRDeS—in which *remez* (hint) and *sod* (esoterica) join the familiar *peshaṭ* and *derash.* Nahmanides frequently quotes and discusses Rashi, particularly in legal sections, less frequently, Ibn ʿEzraʾ, toward whom he adopts an attitude of "open rebuke and hidden love." He cites Maimonides, sometimes lauding his views, but on several crucial matters he disagrees sharply, for example, on the meaning of the sacrificial cult (*Lv.* 1:9) and the role of angels in prophecy (*Gn.* 18:1).

Nahmanides also employs typological interpretation to explain apparent superfluities in *Genesis.* While this method has its roots in Midrash ("the acts of the fathers are a sign for the sons"), it does not enjoy the popularity among Jewish medieval commentators that it attained in Christian exegesis. Of the Spanish commentators of import who flourished in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, several were strongly influenced by Nahmanides. Baḥye ben Asher includes a larger quota of homiletical and qabbalistic material. Yaʿaqov ben Asher's *Perush ha-ṭtur ha-arokh* avoids such digressions. Nissim of Gerona, whose *12 Derashot* (Twelve homilies) and commentary to *Genesis* 1–23 are occasionally critical of Nahmanides, nonetheless belongs to his sphere of influence.

Isaac Abravanel (Spain and Italy, d. 1508) represents the last stage of classic medieval commentary. Loquacious in style, he makes liberal use of the work of his predecessors, ranging over the philological, philosophical, and homiletical approaches. His psychological-political sense is keen; his philosophy, while tending toward fideism, is rooted in an extended and passionate involvement with Maimonides' *Guide;* philological originality, however, is not his strong suit. His prefaces to the biblical books are more elaborate than his predecessors', often devoting detailed attention to the authorship and provenance of the text; here he is willing to challenge rabbinic ascriptions, for example, attributing the *Book of Joshua* to Samuel instead of Joshua.

Abravanel makes use of such Christian scholars as Jerome and Nicholas of Lyra. His piety finds clear expression in his eschatological emphasis. Against Ibn Giqatilla, who interpreted most prophecies of redemption as references to the Second Temple period, and Ibn ʿEzraʾ, who took a middle view, Abravanel is eager to read all such prophecies as messianic and is quick to respond to christological interpretations (e.g., *Is.* 7, 34).

THE SIXTEENTH–EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES. The centuries following the expulsion of the Jews from Spain have been erroneously characterized as a stagnant era for Jewish biblical study. M. H. Segal, in his survey of Jewish Bible study, includes only the *Metsuddat David* and *Metsuddat Tsion* (by the Altschuler family, late seventeenth-century Germany), a generally unoriginal selection from Rashi, Ibn ʿEzraʾ, and Kimḥi that became a standard accompaniment to the study of the Prophets and Hagiographa. Jewish exegesis of this period, unlike that of Rashi, Ibn ʿEzraʾ, Maimonides, and Kimḥi, does not exercise an impact on Christian scholarship. It innovates little of value as regards philology and grammar, beyond the achievements of the medievals (more specifically, the eleventh–thirteenth centuries). Moreover, the lack of willingness to develop alternatives to previous commentaries and rabbinic tradition brings innovation in reading the legal sections to a virtual standstill (despite the isolated examples culled by contemporary scholars). Typical of this change, which reflects the failure of the leading Talmudists of the period to make the Bible a major preoccupation, is Ibn Kaspi's preface to *Exodus* 21, in which he disclaims his own competence and defers to Rashi's exegesis of the legal matters.

Pace Segal, however, one cannot gainsay several contributions of the period. ʿOvadyah Sforno (sixteenth-century Italy), writing on the Torah and other biblical books, stresses both literal and philosophical interpretation. He follows Nahmanides in regarding the stories of *Genesis* as a typological "blueprint" of history. He is particularly concerned about the placement of legal sections among narrative units (e.g., the laws pertinent to the Land of Israel that follow the story of the spies, *Nm.* 15). Other major figures generally present their comments within a homiletical framework, with a not-infrequent mystical tendency. Efrayim of Luntshits's *Keli yaqar,* the work of a sixteenth-century Polish preacher, and the mystically oriented *Or ha-ḥayyim* of Ḥayyim ibn Attar (eighteenth-century Morocco) have become enshrined in many editions of *Miqraʾot gedolot,* the standard rabbinical Bible textbook, as have excerpts from the commentaries of the sixteenth-century Greek preacher Mosheh Alshekh. The aforementioned works find their continuation in nineteenth- and twentieth-century homiletical literature, of which the most outstanding examples are the classic works of the Hasidic movement, such as Yaʿaqov Yosef of Polonnoye's *Toledot Yaʿaqov Yosef* and Elimelekh of Lizhensk's *Noʿam Elimelekh* in the eighteenth century, and *Sefat emet* (by Alter of Gur) or *Shem mi-Shemuʾel* (by Shemuʾel of Sochatchov) in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century.

It should be noted that this period also marks the heyday of the major supercommentaries on Rashi, which apparently offered an outlet to rabbis interested in extending the medieval methods of study.

TRADITIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MODERN PERIOD. Beginning in the late eighteenth century there is a renewal of interest, evident from several Torah commentaries, in the interaction between traditional rabbinic exegesis and extra-traditional exegesis. This renewal may derive from increased availabililty of the full panoply of rabbinic exegesis (i.e., *Sifra*ʾ, *Mekhilta*ʾ, *Sifrei,* the Jerusalem Talmud, and eventually *Mekhilta*ʾ *de Rabbi Shim*ʿ*on* and *Sifrei Zuṭa*ʾ), which drew attention to hermeneutical results other than those preserved in the Babylonian Talmud. Whatever its sources, it is clearly motivated by a desire to defend the authenticity of the oral law against its skeptical ("enlightened" or Reform) detractors by showing the connection between the "text and tradition" (the title of Yaʿaqov Mecklenburg's nineteenth-century commentary *Ketav ve-ha-qabbalah*).

One may distinguish between two types of works produced by these authors. The eastern Europeans, such as Eliyyahu ben Shelomoh Zalman, known as the gaon of Vilna (now Vilnius; d. 1796), Naftali Tsevi Berlin (d. 1892), and Meʾir Simḥah of Dvinsk (now Daugavpils; d. 1926) often present their own novel interpretations. Those who were most exposed to the aforementioned external challenges, in Germany (Mecklenburg and Samson Raphael Hirsch) or Romania (Malbim), are reluctant to propose legal interpretations contrary to tradition. Eliyyahu ben Shelomoh Zalman's treatment of the Bible is displayed in his commentary to *Proverbs*, to sections of other books, and in notes to others. He seeks an integration of all dimensions of Torah study, from the literal to the mystical. This involves the unification of oral and written laws but also precipitates an awareness of the differences between them. As an example of the latter one may point to his comment on *Leviticus* 16, where he recognizes two strata: 1–28 (referring to Aaron and oblivious to the Day of Atonement) and 29–34 (referring to the high priest and specifying the Day of Atonement). Both are, of course, Mosaic: the former pertaining to Aaron's priesthood; the latter, to the period after his death. Like his eastern European successors, he interprets many verses as allusions to the value of Torah study.

Berlin, in his *Ha*ʿ*ameq davar* on Torah as well as his commentaries to halakhic *midrashim* and the *Shei*ʾ*ltot* of Aḥaʾi Gaon (eighth century), continues to cultivate both the unification and differentiation of *peshaṭ* and *derash.* His work on narrative sections is distinguished by psychological perspicuity that is enhanced rather than diminished by his reliance on the qabbalistic typology that identifies the patriarchs with particular *sefirot.* Meʾir Simḥah's *Meshekh ḥokhmah* is valued both for its insightful homiletical pieces and for his comments on, and alternatives to, classic rabbinic tradition.

Connected with these developments are such works as Barukh Epstein's *Torah temimah,* an anthology of rabbinic material with eclectic notes (1903) and Menaḥem Mendel Kasher's *Torah shelemah,* a heavily annotated encyclopedia work of the same nature. In addition one must note the aforementioned Hasidic exegesis and the homiletical literature produced by the Musar movement (e.g., Natan Finkel's *Or ha-tsafun*), generally interpreting the text in the light of Midrash to derive a lesson illustrative of rigorous moral standards. There is also a quasi-exegetical literature seizing the text as an opportunity for halakhic analysis (e.g., *Beit ha-Levi* by the nineteenth-century Yosef Dov Soloveichik; *Tsafenat pa*ʿ*aneaḥ* by the early-twentieth-century Yosef Rosin). Samson Raphael Hirsch, who as rabbi in Frankfurt contended with Reform, maintained in his German commentaries to Torah and *Psalms* that the written law was dependent on the oral, as a set of notes is dependent on the lecture. Rabbinic hermeneutic, then, is less a matter of correct philology than of access to a code. In seeking to interpret the text, both narrative and legal, and justify tradition regarding the latter, Hirsch resorted to an idiosyncratic etymological method (occasionally used by Mecklenburg as well), whereby phonetically similar consonants are interchanged in order to locate the "essential" meaning of the word. Hirsch strongly criticized Maimonides' approach to "reasons for the commandments." Instead he offered a system of symbolic interpretation in which, for example, the upper half of the altar represents the higher nature of man, while the lower half symbolizes the lower aspects of human nature. Hirsch's rationales, unlike those dominant in the medieval literature, sought to explain not only the general purpose of the laws but their particular features as well, including those that are derived through rabbinic interpretation.

In contrast with Hirsch, Malbim proclaimed rabbinic hermeneutics to be the correct grammar of biblical Hebrew. From his premise about the perfection of biblical Hebrew he concludes that the Bible contains no redundancies of style or language: every seeming redundancy must be explained. Thus, Malbim (following Eliyyahu ben Shelomoh Zalman and others) discovers many fine distinctions among the synonyms in biblical parallelism, rejecting the approach of Kimḥi and the *Metsuddot* that "the content is repeated in different words." Malbim's identification of rabbinic exegesis with philology is symbolized in his commentary to biblical law, where his independent commentary becomes, instead, a commentary to the corpus of halakhic *midrashim,* insofar as the latter provides the literal meaning of scripture.

Illustrative of the differences between Malbim and some of his major medieval predecessors is his treatment of *qeri* (vocalization) and *ketiv* (Masoretic text). Ibn ʿEzraʾ had viewed the *qeri* as instructive of how the *ketiv* is to be read. Kimḥi had proposed that *qeri*/*ketiv* in the Prophets generally reflects alternative textual traditions, both of which were retained by the editors ("the men of the Great Assembly") out of uncertainty. Abravanel had gone so far as to suggest that the plethora of *qeri*/*ketiv* in *Jeremiah* derives from that prophet's orthographic deficiencies. For Malbim, however, both *qeri* and *ketiv* are divinely ordained and so must be interpreted.

Both Hirsch and Malbim had enough awareness of biblical criticism to address such problems as the doublets in biblical narrative through literary analysis. They are both oblivious, however, to the data provided by comparative Semitics or knowledge of the ancient Near East. David Tsevi Hoffmann (d. 1922), the last great traditional biblical exegete of western Europe, is fully aware of contemporary biblical scholarship and its ancillary disciplines. In his German commentaries to *Leviticus, Deuteronomy,* and *Genesis* and in *Die wichtigsten Instanzen gegen die Graf-Wellhausensche Hypothese* he marshaled his arguments against non-Mosaic dating of the Torah. A leading Talmudic authority, he concentrated on biblical law, attempting to establish that the laws ascribed to the P and D sources could best be understood within the context of Israel's desert experience, in the order narrated by the Torah, and that these laws were available in their present form during the First Temple period.

ENLIGHTENMENT AND ITS AFTERMATH. The second half of the eighteenth century also marks the entry of Jewish exegesis into the world of general European culture. The founding father of the Jewish Enlightenment was Moses Mendelssohn (d. 1786), whose elegant German translation of the Torah was the first by Jewish hands; the translation was accompanied by a commentary (the *Bi'ur*) authored by Mendelssohn and his associates. This commentary follows in the footsteps of the classical medieval exegetes but is quite conservative in accepting rabbinic tradition regarding the legal sections; it is also concerned with aesthetic features of the text. That the *Bi'ur* was banned in many Orthodox circles had little to do with its content.

Nineteenth-century scholars like the Italian Shemu'el David Luzzatto (d. 1865) accepted the principles of contemporary biblical scholarship—up to a point—reluctant as they were to apply critical results to the text of the Torah. Luzzatto was willing to propose emendations outside the Torah. He stoutly resisted the thesis of postexilic authorship for *Isaiah* 40–66 on internal, not merely theological, grounds (though, by the turn of the century, Hoffmann's Orthodox colleague Jakob Barth recognized internal evidence for the later dating). Resistance to the Documentary Hypothesis continued, beyond Orthodox circles, into the twentieth century. The German Liberal rabbi Benno Jacob insisted on the literary integrity of the Torah and rejected textual emendation. The notes to British Chief Rabbi Joseph Hertz's popular English translation of the Pentateuch contain a lively attack on Higher Criticism. Umberto Cassuto and M. H. Segal, both professors at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, rejected the Documentary Hypothesis without accepting the Orthodox position: Cassuto spoke of the post-Mosaic writing down of oral traditions, while Segal posited a significant number of interpolations. Their stances have been furthered by their more conservative student Y. M. Grintz. Such views maintain an attraction and influence among Jewish students of the Bible.

CONTEMPORARY TRENDS. Philosophical and literary contributions have also affected contemporary study. Yeḥezkel Kaufmann's insistence on the radical success of biblical monotheism is a theological as well as historical thesis. The literary sensitivity exhibited by Martin Buber and Franz Rosenzweig's German translation, particularly the notion of *Leitworten,* and Buber's own biblical studies have exerted an important influence, as has Me'ir Weiss's method of "total-interpretation." It is too early to assess the impact of Abraham Joshua Heschel's *The Prophets,* André Neher's theological studies, or Joseph B. Soloveitchik's (mostly unpublished) existential homilies.

The last generation has also seen a revival of interest, on the part of Jewish biblical scholars, in traditional exegesis. The teaching and writing of Nehama Leibowitz have made the traditional corpus attractive beyond the Orthodox camp. This development has further encouraged literary and theological concerns. It is not surprising to find scholars like Moshe Greenberg and Uriel Simon who, like Segal before them, combine research in the Bible with research in the history of exegesis. Thus the turn toward literature and, to a lesser extent, theology and the significant place accorded to Jewish exegesis have created a scholarly style that transcends, to some degree, the gap in belief between Orthodox and non-Orthodox.

Within the modern Orthodox community, two developments must be marked. The *Da'at miqra'* series (which does not include the Torah) offers a semipopular commentary that incorporates the data of modern investigations into the framework of traditional scholarship. The somewhat idiosyncratic work of Mordecai Breuer proclaims that the Torah, from a human point of view, speaks in multiple voices whose relation to one another must be clarified, along the lines of Hoffmann. Breuer also seeks to investigate textual variants with an eye to grasping the meaning of the canonized text.

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BIBLICAL EXEGESIS: CHRISTIAN VIEWS

Biblical exegesis involves the interpretation, explanation, and exposition of the Bible's various books, in relation either to the time of their composition, or to their meanings for readers in subsequent centuries. The basis of biblical exegesis is translation and the detailed study and explanation of grammatical meaning. It has been linked in the modern period with the elucidation of the historical context of biblical texts, though there is nothing in the word that would confine it to such study. Indeed, the cognate verb (*exegesato*) is found in the New Testament at *John* 1:18, where Christ is described as one who explains or expounds the unseen God (cf. *Heb.* 1:1). *John* 1:18 suggests a definition broader than mere verbal paraphrase or grammatical explanation, as it asserts that the practical demonstration of meaning—through living out the meaning of biblical words—is equally, if not more, important.

Christian exegesis is not a homogeneous entity. There are clearly discernible methodological strands in the history of Christian biblical interpretation, but there are also many features that Christian exegesis shares with other religious traditions (especially Judaism). This has remained so throughout the history of the church. There is not much that can be called distinctively Christian, other than those very deliberate attempts to relate passages from the Hebrew Bible to the person and work of Jesus Christ (e.g., *Matt.* 1:23).

TYPES OF CHRISTIAN EXEGESIS. In the earliest phase of exegesis the main strands of doctrine and ethics were established and we find interpretation oscillating between the contrasting approaches of the literal and the allegorical. In the medieval period much of this polarity was continued, but one major development arose as a result of the interpretation of Apocalypse and the departure from the Augustinian consensus found in the work of Joachim of Fiore (twelfth century) and his successors in which the Bible as whole offered a philosophy of history which reflected the trinitarian nature of God. By the time of the Reformation a distinct preference had developed for the plain sense of Scripture over the manifold meanings that had been worked out in medieval exegesis, itself largely dependent on the work of the patristic period. Scripture, within Protestantism, moved from being one important component in discerning the divine will to become the central means of Christian life and thought. At the Enlightenment, the importance of human experience and intellectual reflection and the expansion of historiography at the time of the Enlightenment reflected a resistance to authoritative texts and institutions, and led to a shift from studying the literal meaning of texts to considering them within their supposed historical contexts.

Literal exegesis. Literal exegesis of scripture is in fact a limited enterprise in which the basic tasks, such as consultation of the best manuscripts and accurate construal and translation of passages in the original, enable a reader to know what the text actually says and means. The task of understanding meaning almost always moves beyond the literal through recourse to analogies, such as parallels drawn from other texts, whether inside or outside the Bible, or through historical reconstruction.

Figurative and allegorical exegesis. There has always been a dialectic between literal interpretation and those forms of interpretation in which another referent becomes a factor. This latter kind of interpretation presupposes that the letter of the text points to another level of reality and other dimensions of meaning. The literal sense of Scripture yields a "deeper," "transcendent" meaning in the contrast between two cities and two covenants (e.g., *Gal.* 4:24). Paul refers to this kind of method in *2 Corinthians* 3:6 as a contrast between the letter and the spirit. Allegorical exegesis, therefore, involves the ability of the interpreter to discern in a piece of biblical text subject matter different from the apparent subject, even though it may be suggested by the latter.

Textual and social context. Context in exegesis can be provided by something as basic as reference to the occurrence of synonyms, or thematic parallels, in a single document or in multiple parts of the Bible. In the modern period, however, context is also understood in a broader sense as, firstly, the situation of the original writer and recipients, and, secondly, the effects of social context on the interpreter. The impact of social situation upon exegesis is something already deeply rooted in Jewish exegesis, as the application of the Torah in new circumstances led to interpretative approaches that either amplified, or were determined by, social context. Consciousness of the extent to which social context influences interpretation has been a feature of all exegesis influenced by the theology of liberation.

From Christian tradition to ancient history. The modern period witnessed a significant shift at the end of the eighteenth century with the rise of the historical method. This meant that a method of interpretation based on the received wisdom of the Christian tradition was over time replaced with a form of interpretation that either had only loose ties to the earlier tradition, or rejected it completely. In the place of traditional exegesis, there emerged an interpretative approach in which the exegesis of specific biblical texts was based primarily on establishing relationships between those texts and others that were contemporaneous with them. The emergence of the historical method as a hegemonic mode of biblical interpretation in the academy and then the church meant that there was a significant caesura with earlier patterns of interpretation. That difference is more apparent than real, however, as some of the underlying interpretations at work are quite similar, in that historical study is driven by a desire to ascertain what really went on and not to rely on what the text actually says.

AUTHORITY. It is because the biblical writings have been deemed to be fundamental for the existence of the Christian religion that their interpretation has been a matter of central significance from the very start. In one important respect, however, largely determined by the form of the biblical material, neither Judaism nor Christianity has been able to resort to their authoritative texts as unambiguous sources of authority in matters of doctrine and ethics. Even legal texts are too imprecise to allow readers to know exactly what is required of adherents: How does one know how to keep the Sabbath holy when all one is give is a general command with little detail regarding what is involved? Much of Jewish tradition is an attempt to relate contemporary circumstance to a tradition of case law and scripture. With its connections to the Jewish Bible so loose, early Christianity could never become a religion of the book. Other factors were always required (tradition, a rule of faith, even charismatic or prophetic inspiration) to guide readers as they sought to use the Bible in connection with their religion.

EXEGESIS AND THE LIFE OF FAITH. In the modern period there has often been a tense relationship between church and academy in regards to the interpretation of the Bible. For most of Christian history the interpretation of the Bible was part of the life of faith. That is not to suggest that it was an uncritical activity. There was, however, a widespread recognition that the interpretation of Scripture was not an end in itself but part of an education in the life of faith. The study of the Bible was for the purpose of hearing God addressing the church and also the individual. A variety of interpretative techniques contributed to the fulfillment of this goal, in order that even the most apparently inhospitable parts of scripture could provide a means whereby the believer could be addressed by God. This is well illustrated by some famous lines that summarize Christian exegesis: "The literal sense teaches what happened, allegory what you are to believe, the moral sense what you are to do, anagogy [interpretation] where you are going" (Nicholas of Lyra, thirteenth century). The point of the interpretation of Scripture is also well illustrated in the following quotation from Augustine's *De doctrina christiana:*

> The student who fears God earnestly seeks his will in the Holy Scriptures. Holiness makes him gentle, so that he does not revel in controversy; knowledge of languages protects him from uncertainty over unfamiliar words and phrases, and a knowledge of certain essential things protects him from ignorance of the significance and detail of what is used by way of imagery. . . . Once close consideration has revealed that it is uncertain how a passage should be punctuated and articulated, we must consult the rule of faith, as it is perceived through the plainer passages of the scriptures and the authority of the church (iii.1).

CHRISTIAN IDENTITY AND THE JEWISH BIBLE. A major issue in nascent Christianity was difference from other Jews and the contrasting interpretations of shared scriptural texts. The messianism which lies at the heart of Christian belief and which stresses qualitative difference and discontinuity always has the effect of downplaying the importance of the past in its preference for the new and the revelatory. The title *New Testament* indicates something of this character. It suggests a relationship to another covenant that is now considered obsolete and underlines the newness of what is being offered (*1 Cor.* 11:25; *2 Cor.* 3; *Heb.* 8–9; cf. *Exod.* 24 and *Josh.* 24). It also reveals a primary concern with the relationship of its convictions to the traditions of the past (see, e.g., *Matt.* 1:1; *Acts* 28:25ff.; *Rom.* 9–11). In early Christian writings this is dealt with in various ways: with Christ comes the "end" (*telos*) of the Law (*Rom.* 10:4), promise and fulfillment (*1 Cor.* 10:11; *Matt.* 1:23), or obsolescence (*Hebrews*). Other passages contrast one dispensation in the divine purposes with the new, decisive one in Christ (*Luke* 16:16), posit essential continuity between Christians and the traditions with the clear assumption that Jews had misunderstood those tradition (*Acts* 7), claim that literal interpretation or application of the Bible is misguided (*Epistle of Barnabas*), or dismiss the Bible as the product of an inferior divinity (Marcion). Because of the belief that the Jewish scriptures found their fulfillment in Jesus, the meaning of the Hebrew text was thereby reduced to a reference to Christ. While there is often the sense that the scriptures have already been fulfilled in Christ and the church, there can also be a degree of open-endedness, such as is found in *1 Corinthians* 9:8–12, in which the biblical text can have an ongoing application to the life of the reader without the fulfillment in Christ closing down interpretative possibilities.

In the New Testament there is a tension between the belief that a messianic deliverer has already come, thereby fulfilling the scriptures, and the belief that the final coming to establish what he has already started is still awaited. This tension is at the heart of much of the theology and interpretation of Christianity and it is this tension, or dialectic, which in various forms can be seen to be characteristic of Christian exegesis down the centuries. It is exemplified in the *Gospel of John* in which tension between past revelation on the one hand and present or future revelation on the other hand is left unresolved in the departing words of Jesus (*John* 14:26; 16:13). The bulk of the Spirit-Paraclete's sayings are retrospective: the Paraclete's role is to point to Jesus, but there is some evidence of continuing inspiration (e.g., *John* 16:13). In Christian history there have always been many movements that have stressed the importance of present inspiration in preference to the patient interpretation of words from the past. One such was Montanism, which in the second century claimed to represent the ongoing activity of the Spirit-Paraclete in their own prophetic activity—and was thereby the pioneer of many similar claims throughout the history of the church (e.g. in the claims to new revelation and spiritual renewal found in the radical Franciscan movement of the thirteenth century and in the Radical Reformation). In Christian exegesis there is a constant dialectic between the announcing of something new and the fact that what is new is going to follow the contours of what has been said and done by Jesus. This retrospective element has always pushed Christian interpreters back to their scriptures and to the events to which they bear witness. The importance of that underlying historical referent has always been a matter for debate: Did it matter whether the events described actually took place, or is the story itself of value as a means of moral or spiritual improvement? Such matters were central to debates between emerging Christian orthodoxy, whose adherents wanted to hang onto the historical referent, and those who saw the words themselves as of more existential than historical import.

There is obviously a close relationship between the theological ideas and practices outlined in the New Testament and what one finds in the Hebrew Bible. The extent of the relationship has been a mater of debate, however. There are those who maintain that one cannot understand the New Testament without an intimate knowledge of the original context of elements taken from the Hebrew Bible, whereas others assume that the original context of material alluded to does not determine the meaning of a New Testament passage. The evidence suggests that New Testament writers were much more constrained by their convictions about the new life in Christ than by the actual details of the text of the Hebrew Bible. The scriptural texts are made to serve the emergence of a different kind of religion. Scriptural passages had become part of a different religious system, which subtly shifted the meaning of the original scriptural texts. Christians gave Scripture a new meaning, appropriate to their own time, reusing it in new and creative ways, to provide a way of understanding present experience that could be at variance with the Scriptures' original purpose. The New Testament writers (and even more so their readers) were not, therefore, engaged in an exegesis of the Scriptures detached from the practice of faith. Earlier scriptures had to be read in the light of convictions about Jesus Christ. God spoke directly through Spirit in revelations (*1 Cor.* 14:26), and Scripture and tradition provided a secondary support for insight obtained by other means.

THE FOUNDATIONS. The earliest Christian interpretations of the Bible take many forms. The true meaning of the text is demonstrated in relation to the key stories of the emerging Christian tradition (e.g., *Matt.* 1:23). This has its analogies in the Jewish interpretative tradition as is evident in treatment of the Dead Sea Scrolls, especially the Habakkuk Commentary (1 Qp. *Hab.*), in which the meaning of the prophetic oracles, opaque to the original writer, is now revealed to an inspired interpreter. An apologetic, Christological concern became a hallmark of attempts—from the writings of Justin (second century) onwards—to prove that the Christian message had its origins in the prophetic material of the past.

Typology and allegory were both used to serve these ends. Typology is the juxtaposition of types (including people, institutions, or events), and is employed in exegesis when a biblical scene or figure is taken up and viewed as an interpretative analogy for a contemporary belief or practice. The relationship between type and antitype is suggested by the accumulation of points of correspondence between two (or more) narratives. The type and the antitype are not identical and cannot be one and the same person, institution, or event, since, by definition, typology is describing one thing in terms of another. The correspondences can be based on difference as well as similarity. Thus Paul in *1 Corinthians* 10 can see an analogy between what had happened to the disobedient people of Israel in the wilderness and the Corinthian Christians with whom he has to deal. The type functions, therefore, as a warning to readers not to pursue a path similar to that followed in the original story. Typological exegesis became a favorite device as analogies between the Old and New Testaments were taken up as a way of asserting divine providence.

Allegory differs from typology in one key respect. Whereas typology depends for its success on the interplay between figures or incidents—Isaac and Christ, for example, or the serpent lifted up by Moses versus the Son of man being lifted up in *John* 3:14—allegory opens up another, "deeper" level of meaning latent within a text's literal sense. In the complex reference to allegorical exegesis made by Paul in *Galatians* 4:24, the Sarah-Hagar story of *Genesis* 16 and 21 becomes a gateway into another understanding: what the text really means is that the two women represent two covenants or two cities, Sinai and the new covenant, or two cities, the Jerusalem below and the Jerusalem above. The literal sense of the text in allegorical exegesis becomes a signifier of another dimension of meaning. This device, already thoroughly explored in the writings of the Jewish philosopher Philo Judaeus (first century CE), has been taken up by Christian writers down the centuries as they seek to find meaning in some of the most unlikely and problematic places in the scriptures.

In the New Testament there is a concerted attempt to offer a reading of the Hebrew Bible that challenges the accepted understanding of its meaning. What Paul offers in the *Letter to the Galatians*, for example, is a reading of the Abraham story that harnesses it to the convictions of a minority community as it struggles for its identity. The true children of Abraham are not the Jewish nation (which turns out to be the children of Hagar, who is ejected from Abraham's home). The Christians are the children of promise (*Gal.* 3:29). In this approach to the *Genesis* account we see a way of entering into the Scriptures that becomes central for subsequent interpretation. What is essential for interpreting the biblical text is not so much attention to the details, as it is the fundamental conviction that experience of the Christ is the foundation on which the text should be read (*2 Cor.* 3:6).

Such attitudes are paralleled elsewhere in the New Testament, not least in the deconstruction of the sacrificial system in the *Letter to the Hebrews* and particularly in the early-second-century text the Letter of Barnabas, in which an acceptance of Jewish laws and institutions as literal expectations of the divine will is rejected in favor of figurative interpretation. There were similar radical rereadings of the Bible in the Gnostic texts, in which there emerged a complete rejection of the theological value of the Jewish scriptures, which were seen as the product of some lesser divine being. The Christian church rejected such a radical solution, and yet the roots of such radicalism lie deep within the New Testament. Because the early Christian writers continued to use the Hebrew Bible, however freely, in the service of their ethics and community identity, rather than relying solely on present revelation and authoritative advice, the Jewish scriptures became a fundamental focus of the emerging theological tradition, albeit in a manner in which literal interpretation was always subordinated to the figurative.

As we have seen, from the very beginning of Christian exegesis the Jewish scriptures were mined to enable readers to understand that what had happened in Jesus had been predicted by ancient writers in the divinely inspired scriptures. Thus, we find that the famous description of the suffering prophetic figure in *Isaiah* 53 is seen in *Acts* 8:32–34 and *1 Peter* 2:21–23 as a prediction of the sufferings of the messiah. The appeal to the Bible was not unproblematic, however, as the way in which passages were interpreted by Christians, as referring either to their identity as the people of God or to the events of Christ's life, was rejected by most Jews. Whatever its exact relationship to history, the Dialogue of Justin with Trypho represents the Christian side of the debate: in it, a Christian writer seeks to prove why it is that contemporary Jewish interpretation of the shared scriptures is misguided. The second century proved to be a critical one for Christian attitudes toward what would later be termed the Old Testament. The relativizing of its significance in parts of the New Testament, such as the *Letter to the Galatians* and the *Letter to the Hebrews,* inevitably raised the question of whether the scriptures had much or indeed any importance for the new revelation. In the mid-second century this question was raised with peculiar clarity by Marcion of Sinope (d. c. 160), who not only contrasted the two revelations but also formed a collection of authoritative writings to support the superiority of the new revelation in his Gospel (the *Gospel of Luke*) and Apostle (a collection of Paul's letters which omitted the Pastoral Epistles). Later judgments of Marcion have been based on the polemic of his opponents (as none of his own writings are extant). Marcion picked up on important themes in the New Testament (not least in *Acts* 7) and in texts like the *Epistle of Barnabas* to argue the qualitative difference of the revelation in Christ. This view has always been an integral part of Christian exegesis. Marcion's opponents in the emerging orthodoxy refused, however, to let go of the Jewish scriptures as an essential framework for the Christian message and for the understanding of salvation history.

The tradition of figurative and allegorical exegesis was pioneered in particular by Origen (c. 185–254), one of the founders of the Alexandrian school of exegesis. Despite his reputation as an allegorical exegete, Origen was a careful philologist, who made use of the best critical methods of his day (as evidenced, for example, in his Hexapla, a critical comparison of different versions of the Old Testament). In many ways, he anticipates modern exegesis. For all his critical brilliance, however, Origen was not interested in philological or historical analysis for its own sake, but in how it could serve a more important goal: the training of the soul so as to lead it back to God. He emphasizes the *usefulness* of Scripture, that is, how it can benefit the human soul. Origen sees the Scriptures both as a record of God's revealing himself to the saints in the past and as the locus of divine pedagogy in the present, the way the divine Logos addresses individual souls and gradually leads them up to perfection. In *On First Principles* 4:1–3, he speaks of three different levels of meaning in scripture: literal, moral, and allegorical—corresponding to body, soul, and spirit (*1 Thess.* 5:23). The most important meaning is the spiritual. Not all Biblical texts exist on all three levels, but all have a spiritual meaning. The Holy Spirit deliberately places difficulties in the text in order to point the reader toward the spiritual meaning, and this meaning can be understood only with the help of divine assistance—the interpreter must have the "mind of Christ" (*1 Cor.* 2:16).

The excesses of allegorical interpretation led to a significant reaction. Followers of the so-called Antiochene school of exegesis (e.g., Theodore of Mopsuestia, c. 350–428) sought to drag Christian biblical interpretation back to the letter of the text. Antiochenes had a concern with literal sense that included reference to historical context as well as purely spiritual exposition. This concern with literal sense was affirmed in medieval exegesis by exegetes such as Hugh of Saint-Victor (d. 1142), who in his *Didascalion* stressed literal meaning, reference to Jewish history, and the Hebrew text of the Bible (he also worked out elaborate techniques for memorization and the imaginative meditation on Scripture). Origen's influence is evident in the exegetical work of Jerome who developed facility in Hebrew. An important example of early Christian interpretation is Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*, in which both literal and figurative exegesis are discussed, along with the need for criteria in determining between readings of biblical texts.

The issue of criteria soon became important in the developing tradition of Christian exegesis, particularly as emerging orthodoxy sought to distinguish its own approach to Scripture from rival interpretations. Appeal to visionary experience, such as we find in Paul's *Letter to the Galatians* (1:12–16), was declared inadequate by the orthodoxy, even as secret revelation as a source of authority became a favorite means in what have come to be known as *Gnostic* scriptures. In the face of conflicting interpretations of the Scriptures, there emerged the *rule of faith*, a concise summary of the basic articles of the faith, the origins of which can be found in New Testament passages.

As in Jewish exegesis (for example, the rules [*middoth*] attributed to Hillel), Christian interpreters formulated exegetical rules to assist with interpretation and to set the bounds of interpretative possibility. Often these were formulated in connection with the interpretation of Apocalypse, which throughout the history of interpretation had presented problems for interpreters because of the allusiveness of its figurative language. The earliest set of exegetical rules was developed by Tyconius, the great fifth-century Donatist exegete. The exegesis of Tyconius had a profound effect on Augustine: Tyconius claims that a biblical text has a dual perspective, as is appropriate for a Bible with two testaments. His interpretation of Apocalypse and his general biblical interpretation were closely intertwined. The seven interpretative rules outlined in his *Book of Rules* allow the possibility of multiple references in Scripture. For Tyconius, the biblical text is a tool that facilitates moral and spiritual discernment. His method allows him to apply even obviously eschatological passages to the present life of the church as present and future are always mingled. Seeing the world as divided into two opposed societies, he finds references this duality throughout Scripture. The struggle between the demonic and the divine is evident in both the individual and society.

The Reformation saw a reaction against dominant trends in exegesis that in some ways resembled the earlier reaction against the allegorical exegesis of Origen. John Calvin's (1509–1564) commentaries take up grammatical and historical matters, with careful attention paid to context. Martin Luther's (1483–1546) interpretative concerns are more overtly theological and interpretative, as he sought to find a basic principle for interpreting scripture. The emphasis on the letter of the text as opposed to deeper spiritual or moral readings forms the heart of the protestant reaction to the exegetical methods that had been developed over centuries. This reaction often took the form of a vigorous rejection of the variety of exegetical methods. Luther stressed the importance of the plain statement of the gospel, with what constituted the heart of the Christian message and by which all else in the Bible and Christian interpretation should be judged. For him the letters of Paul and the Gospel of John offered the essence of Scripture. On the radical wings of the Reformation Anabaptist, interpreters like Hans Denck (1495–1527) went further and anticipated the modern tendency to question the propriety of obedience to the letter of the text of the Bible as the cornerstone of the Christian religion in favor of engagement with the spirit of the text—which suited their conviction that scripture was only a witness to the Living Christ at work in the hearts and lives of all people.

With the coming of the Enlightenment, a significant shift occurred away from the long tradition of interpretation based on ecclesiastical teaching, towards a focus on historical contextualization that drew on ancient texts written contemporaneously with the Bible. There are a variety of reasons for this change. A move away from reliance on the Vulgate necessitated knowledge of Greek literature to enable the translation of biblical texts. The Christian tradition of Hebrew scholarship led to an appreciation of the value of certain parts of the corpus of rabbinic literature, whether for apologetic or illustrative purposes. The awareness of the different manuscript traditions of the Greek Bible emerged and with it a realization that the Holy Scriptures were a mélange of texts with a multitude of differences. This was accompanied by a growing interest in texts that were contemporaneous with the New Testament. Thus, for example, the Apocalypse of Enoch, brought back from Ethiopia, where it had been preserved by the Ethiopian Church, was first published at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The points of contact of parts of this book with the New Testament gospels has meant that it has been a pivotal text in New Testament exegesis ever since.

By far the most important aspect of Enlightenment thinking, in relation to the ways in which biblical text was interpreted, was the growing suspicion of authoritative institutions. The primacy of history and human reason as a basis for theology led to a very different enterprise which needed to be undertaken from first principles. It was no longer sufficient to accept the Bible's authority on the basis of tradition, as it too needed to be vindicated by human reason. This new attitude, when taken in the context of philological and historical developments, led to a growing recognition that the parts of the Bible were historically various and by no means homogenous.

The interpretation of the Pentateuch, for example, represents a typical feature of Enlightenment criticism. Recognition of differences and tensions within the text of *Genesis* did not only start with modernity. Philo Judaeus in the first century CE noted the differences between the creation narratives (*Gen.* 1 and 2 in his *Allegorical Interpretation of the Laws*). Such differences provided him with a reason to engage in a theological disquisition, rather than tempting him to offer an explanation that resorts to source criticism. The modern interpreter would explain the differences as stemming from the collation of texts coming from very different periods and with multiple sources and different agendas. Thus, *Genesis* 1 is an account of the creation which represents the interests of priestly groups at the time of the Exile in Babylon in the sixth century BCE, whereas the creation in *Genesis* 2 is a story which emerged in the court of the Judean kings three or four centuries earlier.

Enlightenment biblical criticism further considered questions that had been raised for centuries about different parts of Scripture (for example about the Pauline authorship of *Hebrews* and the Johannine authorship of the Apocalypse). Differences between texts that were attributed to Paul, particularly the difference in vocabulary and tone between the so-called Pastoral Epistles (*1* and *2 Tim.* and *Titus*) and the mainstream Pauline texts like *Romans* 1 and 2 *Corinthians* and *Galatians,* led to questions being raised about Pauline authorship of the former. Similarly apostolic authorship of the gospels was widely questioned, with the central problem being the difference in style, chronology, and content between the first three gospels (often called the Synoptic Gospels because their material can be examined "synoptically" in parallel columns) and the Gospel of John. This problem remains at the heart of modern criticism and the understanding of the relationship between the two streams of tradition seems scarcely any nearer resolution.

Typical of modern historical interpretation has been the fascination with the search for the real Jesus behind the gospel narratives. G. E. Lessing (1729–1781) published the fragments of a work on reason and the Bible by H. S. Reimarus (1694–1768), which helped initiate a new age in interpretation of the gospels. While the variety of attempts to recover the Jesus of history has been testimony to the ongoing interest in the subject, there has been a basic similarity in the kinds of portraits that have been constructed. Such portraits have often involved sophisticated source analysis, and a concerted attempt to reconstruct the earliest writings of Christianity that bear witness to Jesus.

The basic outlines of the various modern interpretations of the historical Jesus were already in place by the beginning of the twentieth century. There have been three major ways of construing the Jesus of history in the modern period. First (and most venerable, as it is the hypothesis of Reimarus) is the view that Jesus was a Jewish messianic pretender, whose attempts to bring about God's kingdom on earth led to his execution at the hands of the Romans. Second is the view that Jesus was a prophet of the end of the world. Third is the picture of Jesus as a teacher, or holy man, who was part of a nonconformist fringe in Second Temple Judaism.

Interest in history led to another important development in modern interpretation. The various texts seemed to open a window onto the life and disputes of the religious communities which produced them and to whom they were addressed. Thus, in the Hebrew Bible the period of the Exile, when the elite of Jerusalem ended up in forced exile in Babylon, was seen as a period of great soul-searching and intellectual creativity—during which the traditions of the past were examined and systematized and the disasters of previous decades understood in the light of the primary theological convictions. In the New Testament the hints of difficulties that emerge briefly in Paul's letters were regarded as a symptom of an underlying tension between different strands of Christianity in the earlier period. In the hands of Ferdinand Christian Baur and his Tübingen school of the mid-nineteenth century, these hints revealed tensions between a form of Christianity linked with Peter and James, which maintained the basic contours of Jewish practice, and a different form of religion pioneered by Paul, which has a looser relationship to Jewish law. Here conflict was the motor of religious development, a concept in part inspired by Hegelian views of history. The various books in the New Testament could be plotted according to where they stood in this ideological struggle, or, as in the case of texts like Luke and Acts, how they contributed to the reconciliation between these antithetical positions.

This kind of exegesis of biblical texts has provided the basis of much modern interpretation. Literary remains form the basis of imaginative reconstructions of the life of communities. Characters in narratives become ciphers for different groups. In this approach the fabric of the text and its form become a kind of window through which (with varying degrees of distortion) the situation behind the text, that other story which allegory seeks to expose, can be laid bare. The gospels contain indications that we cannot read them without attention to another level of meaning (*Matt.* 28:15 is a good example). It is that other story which an interpretation suspicious of the credibility of religious texts, for whatever reason, has been intent on laying bare.

In another respect the contrasting emphasis between the words and that to which they bear witness has been a thread that links the first century and the modern world. The two giants of modern biblical interpretation, Karl Barth and Rudolf Bultmann, differed over the emphasis they gave to the words of scripture. The former saw them as witnesses to the Divine Word who in some way stood behind the text (e.g. *Church Dogmatics* 1/1: 125–6), whereas Bultmann considered that the words themselves were the very medium of that meeting with the Divine Word. There has always been a need to move beyond the detail of the text to grasp the essential thrust of the texts' meaning. In modern criticism this has taken a very distinctive turn. *Sachkritik* is a form of interpretation in which a reading of a text is offered in the light of what its modern interpreter deems to be its essential subject matter: the interpreter, therefore, tells us what the text is really about. Thus, the interpreter grasps the nature of the book and by focusing on particular verses to interpret the whole, offers other readers insight into what the critic considers the fundamental subject matter.

Another distinctive aspect of the Enlightenment's historical study of the Bible, and one that, arguably, has thrown the most light on its interpretation, was the location of the Bible in the study of the history of religions. Much of this study has concentrated on the history of ideas, so that biblical creation myths are compared with those from Babylonia, or the gospel parable with the multitude of examples that are to be found in the corpus of Jewish rabbinic literature. What emerged in the last decades of the twentieth century, however, was a greater concern with the social implications of those ideas. With the emergence of a Marxist approach to the study of ideology, less emphasis has been placed on the influence of individual ideas and more on social movements and the complex interests and power relations which lead to the triumph of particular ideas and of particular social and economic forces that supported them. Thus, critic Karl Kautsky's (1854–1938) work on the origins of Christianity differs markedly from much mainstream biblical exegesis in the way in which he tries to interpret the early Christian texts within the context of the socioeconomic history of the Greco-Roman world.

In an environment in which the human origin of biblical texts was being asserted more and more, there was a need to reassert their divine authority, particularly in the case of Protestants, for whom the central authority of the Bible was crucial for the maintenance of religious community. In one sense, of course, the authority of the texts themselves was common to both sides of the argument. The extraordinary character of the engagement with the Bible was a recognition of its authority and of its dominance in culture and theology. However, a stronger argument for biblical authority was necessary to justify a subservience of human will to the letter of Scripture. Some conservative views of the inspiration and authority of the Scriptures maintain the infallibility of the words of human authors as the means by which Almighty God chose to communicate with humanity, thereby guaranteeing the necessity of human interpreters to attend to the exact meaning of these words as the vehicle of divine truth.

So far nothing has been written explicitly about hermeneutics and yet the preceding pages have all been about hermeneutics. Hermeneutics is the study of the principles of interpretation, and is best used as a way of describing a critically reflective activity concerned with the interpretation of texts. The interpretation of the Bible has played a significant if not central role in the history of hermeneutics, as the reflection on reading and interpretation of texts (or for that matter any artifact) was given impetus by discussions about the authority of the Bible, and by questions raised by its interpretation. From the very start of Christian exegesis, hermeneutics was a vital issue, as the early Christians sought to understand their own relationship with the scriptures that they shared with the Jews. Modern hermeneutics has become largely independent of biblical interpretation, however, even if it owes its origins to debates about the interpretation of the Bible. Key interpreters like Paul Ricoeur and Hans Georg Gadamer (1900–2002) have recognized the importance of the interpretation of the Bible in the history of critical reflection on the different ways of reading.

There has been a gradual recognition that the history of influence has a crucial part to play in the understanding of Christian exegesis of the Bible. The important work of Gadamer has stressed the way in which any reading contains within it some traces of the previous history of the interpretation of that text. The understanding of the original setting of the text has always, therefore, to be seen within the context of the contribution of culture and received wisdom as that which has conditioned the present form of interpretation. A glance at most modern interpretations of biblical texts reveals how little attention is given both to the pre-Enlightenment interpretation of these texts and to the wider cultural appropriation of the texts in non-religious writing and other media, which collectively exhibit an influence whose importance for exegesis should not be neglected. In reaction, there have arisen a variety of attempts to reacquaint exegesis with the history of interpretation and the history of the effects of the text, as both are seen as crucial components of the exegetical task. This has in part been an appeal to tradition (though the appeal to tradition is always double-edged as tradition itself, like the notion of what is a classical text, is a highly controverted concept). An openness to the varieties of effects of biblical texts also puts Christian exegesis in touch with wider intellectual currents in the humanities, so that literature, art, and music become part of its purview.

There have been moves away from the preoccupation with biblical text as witness to ancient history and toward an engagement solely with the text itself—with its structure and form and with the issues that the readers themselves bring to their interpretation. This reflects a suspicion of the difficulties attendant on much of the historical reconstruction that has been regarded as an indispensable basis for exegesis. It has led to interpretations in which the text itself is deemed to be the focus of meaning, without reference to external sources of comparison. This kind of textual analysis does not take into consideration any data external to the text, such as the intention of the author or the nature of the likely audience, any events to which the text refers, or the sources which might lie behind the text as we now have it. In this kind of interpretation the exposition of a text's meaning is worked out through contrasts and connections within the text, through the exploration of characters and the way they interact.

Another reaction to historical exegesis appeared in the last decades of the twentieth century with the emergence of a variety of contextual theologies in the developing nations, and with the formation of an influential feminist interpretation. It should be noted that to label this kind of theology *contextual* is to make a false distinction between supposedly neutral exegesis and committed exegesis, as all interpretation has a context and a tradition of interpretation which conditions its approach. What has emerged in liberationist exegesis and feminist and related interpretations is a conscious avowal of the importance of the ways in which readers' contexts determine exegesis.

Liberation theology emerged from Roman Catholic theology based on the Second Vatican Council, and the encyclicals associated with it. It developed in the context of the emergence of the Basic Ecclesial or Christian Communities (the CEBs). In the basic communities the Bible has become a catalyst for the exploration of pressing contemporary issues. Understanding the Bible takes place in the dialectic between the Bible as a witness to the memory of the struggles for justice of the people of God on the one hand and the issues of the contemporary world on the other. Thus, the emphasis is not placed on the text's meaning in itself, but rather on the meaning the text has for the people reading it. It is an interpretation that is passionate and committed and challenges a widespread view that exegesis is primarily about letting the text speak for itself, unencumbered by contemporary issues. Connections are made between contemporary demands and bible stories. This can take various forms. Bible study can go straight to the text with no concern for its original historical context. This method Clodovis Boff describes as an example of *correspondence of terms*, in which persons or events function in a kind of typological relationship with scriptural analogies. Alternatively, bible study may also include outlines of the historical and social contexts of biblical texts, so that the struggles facing the people of God at another time and place may be discerned. The experience of poverty and oppression is regarded as being as important a text as Scripture itself. In this approach to the Bible, which is rooted in the needs of the people, there emerges an authentic Christian praxis leading to the transformation of society. So, exegesis is not neutral, and participation in the struggle for a better life is key to the discovery of the meaning of texts. Practice itself stimulates understandings that would only with difficulty have emerged through the calm reflection of academy or church. The implication is that academic analysis might not, in some instances at least, offer the best or most appropriate understanding of a text, and that one who is engaged in the struggle for political justice for the poor and outcast might, in certain circumstances, better capture the spirit of the text. This way of reading the Bible has affinities with earlier methods in the opportunity offered for an imaginative interface between the biblical text and the existential situation of the interpreters.

The exponents of this kind of exegesis, which stresses the conscious recognition of the events of one's life and the circumstances in which one lives as ingredients in the exegetical process, attach great interpretative importance to the fact that what one undergoes and learns thereby informs the understanding of the text. In different ways this has been key to all kinds of feminist exegesis and Black Theology. Sometimes this has led to a much more critical attitude towards the liberative value of the text. Using historical tools of analysis, liberationists have sought to disentangle and describe the ways in which the liberative traditions in the Bible have been taken up and employed by the elite in the service of a more repressive and restrictive religion, whose effects on society have been deleterious and from which an enlightened, liberative reading can hope to emancipate people. Feminist exegesis, for example, has patiently explored the occasional inclination in the texts to reclaim the voice of women in historical situations in which women were denied or were losing power. Such liberative approaches have many antecedents long before the twentieth century where interpretation of the Bible has been at the heart of struggles for justice among radical groups throughout the history of the church.

Christian exegesis of the Bible at the beginning of the twenty-first century is increasingly polarized. The principal positions, however, share much in common with earlier approaches in the history of exegesis. On the one hand, there is an appeal to the letter of the Bible as the basis for doctrine and ethics. On the other hand, there is a willingness to allow for a modern interpretative framework in which the insights of the modern world are given their theological due. Appeals to Christian exclusivism appear ever more fragile in an increasingly multicultural world. Nevertheless, the claim to exclusiveness underlying the key element of Christian doctrine, the coming of the messiah in the person of Jesus, seems to leave little room for debate. In one respect, however, the New Testament does leave open the door for a more liberal and inclusive approach. Fundamental to the understanding of the Christian revelation is the belief that Christians live by faith, not by sight, and that in this age one "sees in a glass darkly" and not yet "face to face." That suggests the possibility of an approach to difference that may seem excluded by some of the more assertive claims of contemporary Christianity.

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CHRISTOPHER ROWLAND (2005)

BIBLICAL LITERATURE

This entry consists of the following articles:

HEBREW SCRIPTURES
APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHA
NEW TESTAMENT

BIBLICAL LITERATURE: HEBREW SCRIPTURES

The terms *Hebrew scriptures* and *Hebrew Bible* are synonyms here restricted to that received, definitive corpus of ancient literature, written in Hebrew except for some sections in Aramaic (*Genesis* 31:47, *Jeremiah* 10:11, and parts of *Daniel* and *Ezra*), that has been traditionally accepted by Jews and Christians alike as having been divinely inspired and, as such, authoritative in shaping their respective faiths and practices.

The word *Bible* is ultimately of Greek derivation and passed into many languages of the world through the medium of Latin. It meant simply "the Books" *par excellence*, the way in which the Jews of the Hellenistic world referred to their sacred scriptures, apparently in literal translation into Greek of the earliest known Hebrew designation current in Palestine. This latter is already reflected in *Daniel* 9:2.

Other names for the corpus that were current in ancient times are "Holy Books" and "Holy Writings." More specific to Jews is the Hebrew term *miqra'*, widely used in the Middle Ages, but most likely going back to *Nehemiah* 8:8. Literally meaning "reading," this name underscores the fact that the public reading of the scriptures constituted the core of the Jewish liturgy. Another term commonly used among Jews is *tanakh*, the acronym (TaNaKh) composed of the initial consonants of the names of the three parts into which the Hebrew Bible is customarily divided: the Torah (Pentateuch), the Nevi'im (Prophets), and the Ketuvim (Writings, Hagiographa).

Among Christians, the Hebrew Bible has traditionally been referred to as the Old Testament (i.e., Covenant), in contradistinction to the New Testament—theological appellations based upon a Christological interpretation of *Jeremiah* 31:30–34. In recognition of the partisan nature of this title, and under the impact of the ecumenical movement of recent times, many scholars have increasingly preferred instead to refer to the Hebrew Bible or Hebrew scriptures.

CANON. As generally used in scholarly parlance, the term *canon* relates particularly to the received and definitively closed nature of the sacred corpus. The noun derives from the Greek *kanōn*, itself borrowed from a Semitic word meaning "cane" or "measuring rod." The word was employed figuratively in Classical Greek, a usage adopted by the church fathers in the fourth century for a norm of faith or doctrine and applied by them to the collection of sacred scriptures.

The completed canon of the Hebrew Bible exerted a profound influence, first upon the Jewish people that produced it, and then upon a large section of the rest of humanity. It was the major factor in the preservation of the unity of the Jews at a time of desperate national crisis after the destruction of their state in the year 70 (or 68) CE and their subsequent wide dispersion. The wholly new and unique experience of Judaism as a book-centered religion became the direct inspiration for Christianity and its New Testament, while both religions served as the acknowledged analogue for the rise and development of Islam, based upon its own sacred book, the *kanōn.*

Contents. The tripartite division of the Hebrew Bible roughly describes its variegated contents, although, admittedly, some of the books of the third part would not be out of place in the second.

The Torah. More fully called the Torah of Moses, the Torah comprises the first five books of the biblical canon, usually known in English as the Pentateuch: *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, and *Deuteronomy.* These names, derived from the Greek, may translate Hebrew titles that were current among the Jews of Palestine. They more or less epitomize the subject matter of the books. Another system of designation, long in popular use among Jews, and probably earlier than the foregoing, is based upon the opening words of each book, a practice characteristic of ancient Mesopotamian literature: *Bere'shit*, *Shemot*, *Va-yiqra'*, *Be-midbar*, and *Devarim.*

The Hebrew term *torah*, usually, but inaccurately, rendered "law," means "instruction, teaching." In the present context, the Pentateuch comprises a continuous narrative from the creation of the world to the death of Moses in which is embedded a considerable amount of legal and ritual prescription. *Genesis* constitutes a distinct work within the Torah corpus in that its first eleven chapters deal with universal history up to the birth of Abraham, and the rest of the book is devoted to the fortunes of a family, the ancestors of the people of Israel. *Deuteronomy*, too, forms a discrete entity, in that it is largely the summarizing discourses of Moses and is marked by its own characteristic style and theological tendency. The intervening three books deal with two generations of the people of Israel from the period of the Egyptian oppression and the Exodus through the wanderings in the wilderness. This section makes up the bulk of the Torah literature and comprises the record of the Egyptian oppression, the liberation, and the arrival at Mount Sinai (*Ex.* 1–18), God's self-revelation to Israel at this site with the divine legislation mediated there through Moses (*Ex.* 19–*Nm.* 10:10), and the events of the people's wanderings in the wilderness until they arrive at the plains of Moab ready to cross the Jordan River into the Promised Land (*Nm.* 10:11–chap. 36).

It is not certain how this corpus was materially preserved in early times. Two separate systems have survived. For convenience of study, the material was written on five separate scrolls, but for ideological reasons, in order both to delimit the Torah as a closed corpus and to emphasize its being a distinct unified composition, the Torah was also written on a single scroll. It is solely in this form that it has played a role in the Jewish synagogal liturgy.

The Nevi'im. The prophetic corpus naturally divides into two parts. What has come to be known as the Former Prophets continues the historical narrative of the Torah, beginning with Joshua's succession to leadership of Israel after the death of Moses and the conquest of Canaan, and closing with the destruction of the First Temple in Jerusalem, the end of the monarchy, and the Babylonian exile of the Judeans up to the year 560 BCE. This material is contained in the books of *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Samuel*, and *Kings*. They are incorporated into the prophetic corpus because they contain much information about the activities of prophets, and particularly because they constitute, in reality, a theological interpretation of the fortunes of the people of Israel presented from the perspective of prophetic teaching and judgment.

The second part of the Nevi'im, the Latter Prophets, comprises the works of the literary prophets in Israel and Judah from the eighth to the fifth centuries BCE. These are *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and *Ezekiel*, and "the Book of the Twelve," known in English as the Minor Prophets: *Hosea*, *Joel*, *Amos*, *Obadiah*, *Jonah*, *Micah*, *Nahum*, *Habakkuk*, *Zephaniah*, *Haggai*, *Zechariah*, and *Malachi*. It should be noted that the adjective *minor* characterizes only the relative brevity of these works, and is by no means intended to be a judgment on their degree of importance.

The Ketuvim. The Writings, often also called Hagiographa in English, are actually a miscellany of sacred writings of several genres of literature, as the nonspecific nature of the name indicates. There is religious poetry (*Psalms* and *Lamentations*); love poetry (the *Song of Songs*); wisdom or reflective compositions (*Proverbs*, *Job*, and *Ecclesiastes*); historical works (*Ruth*, *Esther*, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, and *Chronicles*); and apocalypse (*Daniel*).

Tripartite canon. It is widely held that the tripartite nature of the canon represents three successive stages of canonization of the separate corpora. Repeated reference to this threefold division comes from the literature of the period of the Second Temple. *Ben Sira* 39:1, probably written around 180 BCE, mentions the "law of the Most High, the wisdom of all the ancients . . . , and . . . prophecies." About fifty years later, Ben Sira's grandson, who translated the work into Greek, writes in his prologue about "the law and the prophets and the others that came after them," which last are also called "the other books of our fathers" and "the rest of the books," while *2 Maccabees* (2:2–3, 2:13) has reference to "the law, the kings and prophets and the writings of David." In Alexandria, Egypt, the Jewish philosopher Philo Judaeus (d. 45–50 CE) mentions, besides "the law," also "the prophets and the psalms and other writings" (*De vita contemplativa* 3.25). The Jewish historian Josephus Flavius (37–c. 100 CE) tells of the Pentateuch of Moses, the "prophets" and "the remaining books" (*Against Apion* 1.39–41). Similarly, in the New Testament, the *Gospel of Luke* speaks of "the law of Moses and the prophets and the psalms" (24:4). This persistent allusion to the threefold division of the Hebrew scriptures, and the lack of any uniform title for the third collection of writings, in addition to the heterogeneous nature of that corpus, all argue in favor of two closed collections—the Torah and the Prophets—with a third being somewhat amorphous and having no uniform name, undoubtedly a sign of its late corporate canonicity.

Of course, the closing of a corpus tells nothing about the canonical history of the individual books within it. Some parts of the Ketuvim, such as the *Psalms*, for instance, would most likely have achieved canonical status before some of those included within the Nevi'im.

Samaritan canon. The religious community centered on Nablus (ancient Shechem) that calls itself Benei Yisra'el ("children of Israel") or Shomrim ("keepers," i.e., of the truth), and that is known by outsiders as Samaritans, claims to be directly descended from the Israelites of the Northern Kingdom who escaped deportation at the hands of the Assyrian kings who destroyed it in 722/1 BCE (*2 Kgs.* 17:5–6, 17:24–34, 17:41). Their canon consists solely of the Pentateuch, excluding the Prophets and the Writings. This fact has not been satisfactorily explained. The older view, that the final breach between the Samaritans and the Jews occurred in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (fifth century BCE), before the canonization of the rest of the Hebrew Bible, is no longer tenable because both documentary and archaeological evidence leads to the conclusion that the schism was the culmination of a gradual process of increasing estrangement. A major step was the construction of a Samaritan shrine on Mount Gerizim early in the Hellenistic period; the destruction of the temple on that site by John Hyrcanus in 128 BCE completed the rupture.

Canon at Qumran. The discovery of a hoard of more than five hundred manuscripts in the region of the sectarian settlement at Khirbat Qumran, northwest of the Dead Sea, has raised the question of the nature of the biblical canon recognized by that community, which came to an end about 70 CE. The question is legitimate both in light of the variant canon preserved by the Greek Septuagint, as discussed below, and because copies of extrabiblical books, apocryphal and pseudepigraphical works such as *Tobit*, *Ben Sira*, the *Letter of Jeremiah*, *1 Enoch*, and *Jubilees*, not to mention the sect's own productions, were included among the finds.

A variety of factors combine to render a decisive conclusion all but impossible in the absence of a list that would determine contents and sequence. This lack is aggravated by the practice at that time of writing each biblical book on a separate scroll, and by the very fragmentary form of the overwhelming majority of extant scrolls. Furthermore, since the manuscripts had generally been hidden in the caves in great disorder, we cannot be sure whether we are dealing with a living library or a *genizah*, a storeroom of discarded works.

The following items of evidence are pertinent to the discussion: (1) With the exception of *Esther*, fragments of all the books of the Hebrew Bible have turned up; hence the Qumran canon would have included at least almost every book of the Hebrew Bible. (2) The category of Qumran literature known as the *pesharim*, or contemporizing interpretations of prophetic texts, is, so far, exclusively restricted to the books of the standard Hebrew canon. (3) The Manual of Discipline (*Serekh ha-yaḥad*, 1QS IX:11) expresses the hope for the renewal of prophecy, the same as is found in *1 Maccabees* 4:46. This suggests that the Qumran community recognized a closed corpus of prophetic literature. (4) The great psalms scroll (11QPs^a), on the other hand, exhibits not only a deviant order of the standard psalms, but also contains other compositions, largely deriving from Hellenistic times. This scroll circulated in more than one copy, and several other Qumran manuscripts of psalms also vary in sequence and contents. At first glance it would seem that this phenomenon proves that the Qumran community could not have had a concept of a closed canon. However, it may be pointed out that the compiler of 11QPs^a certainly was dependent on a Hebrew book of psalms much the same as that of the Hebrew Bible, and he may simply have been putting together a liturgical collection, not creating or copying a canonical work. Moreover, the caves of Qumran have yielded numerous psalters that contain only known canonical psalms, apparently without any deviation from the standard sequence. (5) As to the presence of noncanonical works, we have no means of knowing whether these had authority for the community equal with that of the standard Hebrew canonical books. (6) In sum, the evidence so far at hand does not justify the assumption that Qumran sectarians had a concept of canon different from that of their Palestinian Jewish brethren, although the opposite too cannot be proven.

Alexandrian canon (Septuagint). To meet the needs of worship and study, the populous Hellenized Jewish community of Alexandria produced a Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible known as the Septuagint, begun in the third century BCE and completed before about 132 BCE. As it has come down to us, it differs from the traditional Hebrew Bible (the canonized books of the Masoretic text) both in content and form, and often textually (see "Greek Translations," below). It includes works that rabbinic Judaism rejected as noncanonical, and in it the books of the Prophets and Writings are not maintained as separate corpora but are distributed and arranged according to subject matter: historical books, poetry and wisdom, and prophetic literature. This situation has given rise to a widely held hypothesis of an Alexandrian or Hellenistic canon; that is to say, the Septuagint is said to represent a variant, independent concept of canon held by Diaspora Jewry. Alternatively, it is suggested that it derives from a rival canon that circulated in Jewish Palestine itself.

The evidence for either view is indecisive. First of all, it must be remembered that all extant complete manuscripts of the Septuagint—the Sinaiticus, the Alexandrinus, and the Vaticanus—are Christian in origin and are not earlier than the fourth century CE. There is a gap of at least four hundred years in our knowledge, which fact raises the possibility that the divergencies in content and arrangement from the traditional Hebrew Bible may have originated with the church. Moreover, there is no uniformity in the Greek manuscripts themselves in respect to the additional books included. Furthermore, the separate collections of the Torah and the Prophets were definitely known in Alexandria in the second century BCE, as is clear from the prologue to *Ben Sira* (which even speaks of their translation into Greek), as well as from *2 Maccabees* 2:13 and 15:9. At the same time, Ben Sira, his grandson who wrote the prologue, and Philo clearly distinguish between the books that make up the Hebrew Bible and other works of Jewish origin. In short, the problem of the origin of the contents and sequence in the Greek Bible cannot be solved in the present state of our knowledge.

Christian canon. The Christian canon of the Jewish scriptures differs in three ways from the Bible of the Jews. First, its text is not that of the received Hebrew, usually called the Masoretic text, but is based on the Greek and Latin versions. This fact is grounded in historical, not theological considerations. The early church functioned and missionized in a Greek-speaking environment, and thereafter took over the Jewish scriptures in their most readily available and convenient form, namely the (Greek) Septuagint version. Later, the Latin translation became authoritative. Second, although all the books officially recognized as canonical by the Jews were also accepted by the Christian church, many segments of the latter also included within its canon additional Jewish works that date from the days of the Second Temple. These, generally termed "deuterocanonical" by theologians of the Roman Catholic Church, are books of historical and didactic content, composed in Hebrew or Aramaic. They were not sectarian in origin, and they circulated widely in both Palestine and the Greek-speaking Jewish Diaspora in their original language and in Greek translation long after the close of the Hebrew canon. Such books were often included in early manuscripts of the Septuagint, not as a separate group but appropriately interspersed among the undoubtedly canonical works. The books in question are *2 Ezra* (called *3 Esdras* in the Vulgate), *Tobit*, *Judith*, additions to *Esther*, the *Wisdom of Solomon*, *Ben Sira*, *1 Baruch*, together with the *Letter of Jeremiah*, additions to *Daniel*, and *Maccabees*. It is to be noted that *Esther*, *Judith*, *Wisdom*, *1* and *2 Maccabees*, *1 Baruch*, chapters 1–5, and the Septuagint additions to *Daniel* and *Esther* have not yet turned up among the Dead Sea finds.

The presence of the extra compositions in the manuscripts of the Septuagint long engendered controversy, and their status remained ambivalent. The authors of the New Testament books were certainly familiar with them and used them, but it remains a fact that New Testament citations from them are minimal. Further, the early lists of the Fathers emphasize a twenty-two-book canon identical with that of the Jews. In general, the Western church held the deuterocanonical books in high esteem, while the Eastern church downgraded them. The synods of the North African church held at Hippo (393 CE) and Carthage (397, 419 CE) confirmed the practice of the Western church. The powerful influence of the church theologian Augustine (354–430) weighed heavily in according the entire Septuagint equal and identical divine inspiration with the Hebrew Bible. The additional books remained in the Latin Vulgate, which became the official version of the Roman Catholic Church at the Council of Trent (1545–1563).

On the other hand, the Latin father Jerome (347–420) did not recognize them as authoritative scripture, although he did concede them to be "ecclesiastical" or spiritually edifying, and he did translate them into Latin. The Syrian church utilized only the Jewish canon. It later succumbed to the influence of the Septuagint, a move resisted by the Nestorian (Chaldean or East Syrian) branch. In the Greek Orthodox church, the question remains unresolved to the present day, while it was not until the nineteenth century that the theologians of the Russian Orthodox Church unanimously excluded the extra books from the canon.

The period of the Reformation and the Protestant appeal to the authority of the Hebrew Bible generated a renewed attack on their canonicity. John Wyclif (c. 1330–1384), forerunner of the Reformation, who initiated the first English translation of the Bible, omitted them entirely. Martin Luther, in his debates with Johann Maier of Eck (1519), denied their canonical status. His translation of the Bible (1534) included them as a group between the two Testaments, with the following rubric: "Apocrypha: these are books which are not held equal to the sacred Scriptures and yet are useful and good for reading." Luther's view became standard Protestant doctrine. The Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion of the Church of England (1563) asserted their worth for private study and edification but denied them any doctrinal value; and the Westminster Confession (1647), which established the confession of faith of English-speaking Presbyterians, definitively decreed that they were not divinely inspired, are to be excluded from the canon of scripture, and are devoid of authority. The King James Bible of 1611 had grouped the apocryphal books together before the New Testament, but in 1827 the British and Foreign Bible Society decided not to circulate the Apocrypha in whole or part.

The third way in which the Christian canon diverges from the Jewish canon relates to the order of the books. The Hebrew tripartite division, clearly attested in *Luke* 28:44, was disregarded, and the contents were regrouped, as in the manuscripts of the Septuagint, according to literary categories—legal, historical, poetic-didactic, and prophetic. It is possible that the church selected one of the pre-Christian rival traditions already current in Palestine and the Diaspora. At any rate, the variant sequence was best suited to express the claim of the church that the New Testament is the fulfillment of the Hebrew scriptures of the Jews. The closing of the canon with Malachi's prophecy of the "day of the Lord" to be heralded by the return of Elijah provides a transition to the New Testament with John the Baptist as the new Elijah acclaiming his Messiah.

Number of books. Until the sixth century CE, it was customary among Jews for the scribes to copy each biblical work onto a separate scroll. The number of books in the biblical canon therefore relates to the number of scrolls onto which the completed Hebrew Bible was transcribed, and which were physically kept together as a unit. Josephus (*Against Apion* 1. 39–41, ed. Loeb, p. 179) is emphatic that there were no more than twenty-two such. What is not clear is whether this figure was arrived at by conjoining books, such as *Judges* and *Ruth*, and *Jeremiah* and *Lamentations*, or whether two books were not yet included in his canon, perhaps the *Song of Songs* and *Ecclesiastes*. The former suggestion seems more likely because this figure of twenty-two biblical books represents a widespread tradition in Palestine to which there are many Christian witnesses for several hundred years. It appears in a Hebrew-Aramaic list of titles that derives from the first half of the second century CE, and is repeated by several church fathers, such as Melito, bishop of Sardis in western Asia Minor (d. 190), Origen, theologian of Caesarea in southern Palestine (c. 185–c. 254), Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea (c. 260–339), who equates it with the number of letters of the Hebrew alphabet, Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (d. 386), and the celebrated scholar Jerome. All of the aforementioned either visited Palestine or lived there for many years, and there can be no doubt that they reflect contemporary local

Jewish practice. They all include the *Song of Songs* and *Ecclesiastes* in the canon.

A variant tradition counting twenty-four books eventually prevailed among Jews. This is first found in *2 Esdras* 14:45, written circa 100 BCE. The books are listed by name in a text that antedates 200 BCE cited in the Babylonian Talmud (*B.B.* 14b). Thereafter, this figure is explicitly given, and it becomes standard in rabbinic literature (cf. B.T., *Taʿan.* 5a). Whether the number has any significance is uncertain. In the case of Homer's *Odyssey* and *Iliad*, which are also each divided into twenty-four books, the division came about in the third century BCE because a scroll of more than a thousand verses was found to be too cumbersome to handle, and twenty-four is the number of letters in the Greek alphabet. It is of interest that the Old Babylonian bilingual lexical series known as Har-ra-Hubullu is inscribed on twenty-four tablets, the Mesopotamian *Epic of Gilgamesh* on twelve tablets, the Greek *Theogony* of Hesiod comes in twelve parts, and the old Roman law code was eventually codified as the Twelve Tablets (of wood). At any rate, in Jewish tradition, the biblical books become twenty-four by treating all the twelve Minor Prophets as one, since they were written on a single scroll, and by regarding *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* as a single work.

English Bibles (English version) have thirty-nine books because *Samuel*, *Kings*, and *Chronicles* are divided into two books each for reading convenience, and *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* are counted as separate works, as is each of the twelve Minor Prophets.

CANONIZING PROCESS. The available sources are silent about the nature and identity of the validating authorities, about the criteria of selectivity adopted in respect of the books included and excluded, and about the individual crucial stages in the history of the growth of the Hebrew biblical canon. This deficiency is aggravated by the fact that the literature that has survived represents at least six hundred years of literary creativity, in the course of which Israelite society underwent far-reaching, indeed metamorphic, change, much of it convulsive. Such a state of affairs militates against the likelihood of uniformity in the processes involved or of unbroken consistency in the considerations that swayed decisionmaking about individual works and collections of works. For these reasons, any reconstruction of the history of the phenomenon of the canonization of biblical literature must of necessity remain hypothetical.

Nonetheless, it should be noted that well before the year 1000 BCE, the libraries of the temples and palaces of Mesopotamia had organized the classical literature into a standardized corpus in some kind of uniform order and with a more or less official text. In similar manner, by order of Peisistratus, tyrant of Athens, the Homeric epics were codified in the sixth century and endowed with canonical authority. The idea of a canon was thus well based in the ancient world. There is every reason to assume that in Israel, too, temples served as the repositories of sacred texts from early times, and that the priests and scribes played an important role in the preservation and organization of literature. Hence, the formation of the biblical canon should not be viewed as a late development in Israel but as an ongoing process that is coextensive with the biblical period itself.

The definition of *canon* should, furthermore, be extended beyond the purely historical, external, formal aspects relating just to the end result of a process, to which it is usually restricted. In Israel, the conviction that the texts record the word of God or were divinely inspired, however these concepts were understood, would have been a decisive factor in their preservation. For the same reason, they would have been periodically read or recited, and the very force of repetition would inevitably and powerfully have informed the collective mind and self-consciousness of the community. This, in turn, would have subtly shaped and reshaped both the existing literature and new compositions in a continual process of interaction between the community and its traditions. A text that appears to be directed to a specific situation in time and space acquires a contemporizing validity and relevance that is independent of such restrictive dimensions and develops a life of its own.

The earliest testimony to the canonizing process of the Torah literature comes from *Exodus* 24:1–11, which describes how Moses mediated the divine commands to the entire people assembled, how the people orally bound themselves to obedience, how Moses then put the stipulations into writing, and how a cultic ceremony was held at which the written record of the covenant just made was given a public reading. This was followed by a collective pledge of loyalty to its stipulations.

Another important text is *Deuteronomy*, chapter 31 (verses 9–13, 24–26). Here, too, Moses writes down the Teaching (Torah), this time entrusting the document to the ecclesiastical authorities for safekeeping, with provision for its septennial national public reading in the future. What is then called "this book of the Torah" is placed beside the ark of the covenant. In this case, the sanctity of the book is taken for granted, as is its permanent validity and authority, independent of the person of Moses.

The only other record of a preexilic public reading of Torah literature comes from near the end of the period of the monarchy. *2 Kings* 22–23 (cf. *2 Chr.* 34) recounts the chance discovery of "the book of the Torah" in 622 in the course of the renovations being carried out at the Temple in Jerusalem at the initiative of Josiah, then king. The scope of this work cannot be determined from the narrative, but the royal measures taken as a consequence of the find prove beyond cavil that it at least contained *Deuteronomy*. What is of particular significance is that it had long been stored in the Temple, that its antiquity, authenticity, and authority were recognized at once, and that its binding nature was confirmed at a national assembly. The ceremony centered upon a document that had already achieved normative status, but the impact of the event—the thoroughgoing religious reformation that it generated and sustained ideologically—left an indelible imprint on the subsequent literature and religion of Israel and constituted a powerful stimulus to the elevation of the Torah literature as the organizing principle in the life of the people. In this sense, the developments of 622 are an important milestone in the history of canonization. Between this year and 444 the process gathered apace. It is reasonable to assume that it was consummated in the Babylonian exile after 587/6, for it is impossible to explain the extraordinary survival of the small, defeated, fragmented community of Israelites, bereft of the organs of statecraft, deprived of its national territory, living on alien soil amid a victorious, prestigious civilization, other than through the vehicle of the book of the Torah, which preserved the national identity.

In the period of the return to Zion (the Land of Israel) and beyond, after 538 BCE, the convention of attributing the entire Torah to Moses is frequently attested—in *Malachi*, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, *Daniel*, and *Chronicles*. It also appears in *Joshua* (8:32, 23:6) and in *1 Kings* (2:3) and *2 Kings* (14:6, 23:25), but many scholars maintain that these references result from a later revision of these works. At any rate, by the year 444 the "Torah of Moses" had received popular acceptance. *Nehemiah* 8–10 records that in that year a public, national assembly took place in Jerusalem at which the people requested that "the scroll of the Torah of Moses with which the Lord had charged Israel" be read to them. This was done by Ezra, who is himself described as "a scribe, expert in the Torah of Moses," "a scholar in matters concerning the commandments of the Lord and his laws to Israel . . . a scholar in the law of the God of heaven" (*Ezr.* 7:6, 7:11–12, 7:21). It is quite evident that the stress is on the teaching, dissemination, interpretation, and reaffirmation of the Torah, long popularly recognized and accepted, not on its promulgation anew. Ezra had been commissioned by the Persian king Artaxerxes I "to regulate Judah and Jerusalem according to the law of God," which was in his care (*Ezr.* 7:14). True, the texts do not define the scope of this literature, but it can be safely assumed that it was little different from the Pentateuch that has come down to us, for the author of *Chronicles* who composed his history about 400 repeatedly refers to the "Torah of Moses," and it can be shown that this phrase in context applies comprehensively to the entire Pentateuch.

In the Pentateuch itself, however, there is no statement unambiguously asserting Mosaic authorship of the entire work, nor can the use of the term *torah* be shown to refer comprehensively to the complete Pentateuch. Rather, its applicability changes considerably, being variously restricted to an individual law, to a specific and limited collection of traditions, or to a large literary unit. The background to the tradition ascribing the authorship of the Pentateuch to Moses lies in the fact that, in biblical literature, Moses is the divinely chosen individual through whose instrumentality a social-religious revolution is effectuated. He is the leader *par excellence*, preeminent beyond compare; his is the only name associated with the term *torah;* he is the sole mediator of the word of God to the people; all laws are presented as divine communications to Moses; there are no collections of binding laws outside of the Torah. He is also the first person to whom the act of writing is ascribed. There can be no doubt that in a very real sense the Pentateuch would have been unthinkable were it not for his activity.

COMPILATION AND REDACTION. The composite nature of the biblical, especially the Pentateuchal, literature has long been recognized (see *Nm.* 21:14, *Jos.* 10:13). By the application of analytical criteria of consistent variations in style, phraseology, and theological viewpoint, of doublets and inconsistencies, of breaks in continuity with the obvious presence of connectives that conjoin separate homogeneous sections, critical research has concentrated on the disentanglement and isolation of the constituent literary strands.

The early founders of modern biblical criticism were Barukh Spinoza (1632–1677) and Jean Astruc (1684–1766). In the course of the nineteenth century, several important contributions were made by Wilhelm M. L. De Wette, Wilhelm Vatke, and Heinrich Ewald. It was Julius Wellhausen, however, who popularized what is known as the Documentary Hypothesis. He systematized and developed the work of his predecessors in several influential treatises: *Die Composition des Hexateuchs* (Berlin, 1876), *Geschichte Israels* (Berlin, 1878), and *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (Berlin, 1883).

The Documentary Hypothesis isolated four primary collections of traditions (sources) that it labeled J (because it employs the divine name *Jehovah*, in Hebrew, *YHVH*), E (because it uses *Elohim* for God), D (Deuteronomy), and P (Priestly). The isolation of the D and P sources, each with its distinctive content, style, and perspective, was less complicated than determining the literary parameters of J and E, on which there has been much difference of opinion. It became clear that the provenance, historical setting, and chronological sequence of these sources would yield the materials for reconstructing the history of the religion of Israel in biblical times. Accordingly, J, which was believed to have originally constituted the skeleton of the continuous narrative of *Genesis* through *1 Kings*, chapter 2, was assigned to the period of the united Israelite kingdom of David and Solomon in the tenth century and was thought to have derived from Judea. E was considered to be northern Israelite or Ephraimite from the ninth to eighth centuries. It was fused with J to become JE. D was regarded as the product of the reformation of Josiah in 622, and P as having been compiled in the Babylonian exile, between 587 and 560. The entire Pentateuch was taken to have reached its final form before Ezra's journey to Jerusalem in 458.

This hypothesis, with its evolutionary presuppositions, has been considerably modified since its systematic presentation in the nineteenth century. The major sources have themselves been dissected, and serious challenge has been posed to the dating and sequence of the reconstructed documents. Furthermore, it has been recognized that a distinction must be made between the age of the traditions, which may be of great antiquity, and the time of their assemblage and final editing. It has been noted that literary strands become interwoven, and sources tend to interact one with another, thus making the identification of the original documents far less secure. In addition, the creative work of the redactor(s) has come to be increasingly appreciated as an important factor in the development of biblical literature by scholars engaging in "redaction criticism."

Scholars of the school of "tradition criticism" have also paid attention to the process by which traditions were preserved and transmitted. It has been pointed out that much of the written material may well have had an oral prehistory. Traditions would have been recited in a cultic context at local and regional shrines, such as Bethel, Shiloh, Shechem, and Jerusalem (cf. *Dt.* 27:1–10). A series of major themes, like the divine promises to the patriarchs, the Exodus, the covenant of Sinai, and the wanderings in the wilderness would have been given public expression on sacral occasions to form the core of the Israelite religion. These units of tradition would become the focus of expansive tendencies, would be written down, assembled, and serve as the building blocks of extensive and complex narratives presented in a continuous form. The nature and characteristic properties of oral tradition, poetic or prose, its antiquity, reliability, and tenacity, its vicissitudes in the course of transmission, and the kinds of transformation it undergoes when reduced to writing have all been the subjects of intensive study, for they have direct bearing on the understanding of the development of biblical literature.

Finally, it has been acknowledged that any analysis that ignores the primary nature and function of the material must be incomplete. The formation of the scriptures was not motivated by literary, aesthetic considerations, or by the desire to write objective history. Rather, the literature is essentially religious, its purposes being theological interpretation and didactic function. This fact imposes considerable restraint on the simple application to it of the accepted literary-critical method.

THE BIBLE AND THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST. The recovery of the languages and cultures of the lands of the ancient Near Eastern world demonstrate that the people of Israel arrived on the scene of history rather late, long after the great civilizations of Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the Hittite area had already passed their prime and produced a classical literature. Moreover, it is clear that this region, often referred to as the Fertile Crescent, constituted a cultural continuum, although, to be sure, each constituent, local entity possessed its own distinctive features. It is not surprising, therefore, that there exist numerous, close affinities in subject matter and form between the biblical writings and the literatures of the ancient Near East. This phenomenon is not necessarily to be explained in terms of dependency or borrowing, but more likely as a result of the sharing of a common cultural heritage. Furthermore, correspondences and parallels are not the same as identity. Contrast is as important a dimension as similarity, and it is the former that accords the Israelite productions their claim to singularity.

This point is illustrated by the fact that whereas all the diverse literary genres of the Bible are to be found in the neighboring cultures, the reverse is not the case, and the omissions are highly instructive. The huge literature belonging to the worlds of astrology and magic, omens, divination, and the like, and the considerable body of mythical texts, have no counterpart in the Hebrew scriptures (although the texts preserve evidence of these customs) because they are incompatible with Israel's fundamental monotheism. Moreover, it is apparent that what was drawn upon from the common Near Eastern stock was thoroughly refined and reshaped to bring it into conformity with the national religious ideology.

The primeval history in *Genesis*, chapters 1–11, well exemplifies this situation. The genealogies, for instance, belong to the same type of document as the Sumerian king-list, but they are used both as connectives to bridge the gap between narrative blocks and for theological purposes. Thus, ten generations are delineated to span the period between Adam and Noah, and another ten between Noah and Abraham, the symmetry being intended to convey the idea that history is the unfolding of God's predetermined plan for humankind. The Flood story has manifold and detailed points of contact with the corresponding episode in the Mesopotamian *Epic of Gilgamesh* and with its parent version, the Atrahasis epic. But the biblical version has a singularly didactic function and is uniquely placed within a spiritual and moral framework.

The law collection in the Pentateuch is another case in point. No less than six law codes have survived from the ancient Near East, the earliest probably deriving from about seven hundred years before Moses. All these, plus innumerable documents of law-court proceedings, leave no doubt of the existence of a common legal culture in the area that found expression in a similarity of content, legal phraseology, and literary form that Israel shared. Nevertheless, the scriptural exemplar features some fundamental and original departures from the general norm. The source and sanction of law are conceived in Israel to be entirely the revelation of divine will. The law is taken to be the expression of the covenant between God and Israel. There is no dichotomy, as elsewhere, between the secular and the religious. Social, moral, ethical, and cultic precepts are all equally and indiscriminately encompassed within the realm of the law. Also, there is an overwhelming preoccupation with the human person and with human life, and a lesser concern with matters of property, which is the reverse of the situation in the traditional codes. Finally, the biblical laws are encased within a narrative framework and are not isolated documents.

The genre that was truly an international phenomenon is that of biblical wisdom literature. It deals with observations on human behavior and the world order, drawn from experience. One such category has the individual as its focus of interest and is essentially pragmatic and utilitarian, containing precepts for success in living. Its artistic forms are mainly the maxim, the proverb, the pithy question, and the riddle. The other is reflective in nature and is more concerned with the human condition, and with the wider issues of divine-human relationships. Here the literary unit is much longer. Both Egypt and Mesopotamia produced an extensive body of literature of this type, and the analogues with *Proverbs*, *Job*, and *Ecclesiastes* are striking. Yet here, again, although these latter are mostly devoid of national or special Israelite content, they are distinctive in their uncompromising monotheism, in the absence of dream interpretation as an attribute of the sage, and in their insistence on the fear of the Lord as being the quintessence of wisdom.

The *Book of Psalms* and the rich psalmody of Egypt and Babylon are closely related in both style and motifs. Both can be categorized under the more or less same limited number of literary genres. Although no Canaanite psalm has yet been recovered, the abundance of affinities with the poetry from ancient Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra) by way of poetic form, fixed pairs of words, the use of stereotyped phrases and of parallelism, is impressive. It is clear that biblical psalmody did not arise in cultural isolation from the neighboring civilizations. However, unlike the Mesopotamian psalms, the Hebrew scriptural compositions do not contain any cult-functional information, nor do they feature spells and incantations. Moreover, their conspicuous citation of history is unique, as are the spiritual experience and the soul-life of the Israelites that they mirror.

HISTORICAL COMPLEXITY OF THE TEXT. The model for printed editions of the Hebrew Bible was the second "Great Rabbinic Bible" published at Venice by Daniel Bomberg, 1524–1525, and edited by Yaʾaqov ben Hayyim ibn Adoniyyah. All printed editions, as well as all extant medieval Hebrew manuscripts of the Bible—the earliest deriving from the ninth century CE—represent a single textual tradition, known as the Masoretic ("received") text (MT). This standard text comprises three distinct elements: the Hebrew consonants, vocalization signs, and accentuation marks. The last two components are relatively late additions. Their purpose is to preserve the proper traditional pronunciation and cantillation of the text for purposes of study and synagogue lectionary.

This normative uniformity notwithstanding, there is abundant evidence for a far more complex history of the Hebrew consonantal text than is suggested by the aforementioned manuscripts and the printed editions. Several different categories of testimony bear witness to an earlier era of textual transmission that was characterized by much diversity.

1. *Internal evidence* is represented by the duplication of several passages within the scriptures. These duplicates may display differences in content and arrangement, linguistic or grammatical variants, and orthographic diversity, testifying to the existence of divergent texts of one and the same composition as early as the period of the formation of biblical literature itself.
2. *Citations from the scriptures* are found in the Jewish literature of Second Temple times, such as the extracanonical books, the works of Philo Judaeus and the writings of Josephus, as well as in the New Testament. In all these sources, there can be no doubt that the citations, though in translation, often present genuine variant readings from an underlying Hebrew text that is independent of the Masoretic text and of the Septuagint.
3. *The Samaritan Pentateuch* exhibits many variants from the Masoretic text, the great majority of which relate to insignificant details, and even its manuscripts are not uniform. Although many of the disagreements are clearly the result of sectarian or dogmatic redactions and exegetical and editorial expansions, there remain several genuine variants, a goodly number of which coincide with Septuagint readings.
4. *Several ancient translations* were made directly from the original texts. None of these is identical in every respect with the Masoretic Hebrew. They are important because they were made prior to the emergence of one authoritative Hebrew text. (See "Aramaic Translations" and "Greek Translations" below.)
5. *Rabbinic sources* which supply rich and varied data make up the fifth type of testimony. Traditions, essentially anomalous ones, and hence of plausible credibility, have been preserved relating to the activities of the scribes in transmitting the sacred texts. These tell of "scribal corrections" and of divergent readings in different scrolls. In addition, there are reports of the existence of an official Temple model scroll from which other scrolls were corrected and of a class of "book-correctors" whose salaries were paid from Temple funds (e.g., B.T., *Ned.* 376, *Ket.* 106a; J.T., *Taʿan.* 4.2, 5.1; J.T., *Suk.* 3.2, *Sheq.* 4.3). A medieval source has retained a list of textual variants deriving from a Torah scroll deposited in the Severus Synagogue (or public building) in Rome and said to have been taken to Rome from Jerusalem after the destruction of the Second Temple, circa 70 CE (*Midrash Bereʾshit Rabbati*, ed. C. Albeck, Jerusalem, 1940, p. 209, 45.8). Rabbinic literature also contains hundreds of citations from the Hebrew Bible that feature variants from the Masoretic text. While many of these may be discounted as having been caused by lapse of memory on behalf of the tradent or by the errors of medieval scribes, many also represent genuine variants. In addition, there are several examples of rabbinic exegesis based on consonantal texts not identical with the Masoretic text (see B.T., *San.* 4b).
6. *The Dead Sea Scrolls* are the last and most important, because the most direct, type of evidence. They consist of the Hebrew scrolls and fragments found in the Judean desert in modern-day Israel, which are now the earli-

> est extant manuscripts of the period extending from the second half of the third century BCE to the fall of Jerusalem to the Romans in 70 (or 68) CE. The oldest of these antedate by about a thousand years the earliest Hebrew Bible manuscripts hitherto known. Some 180 separate manuscripts of biblical books have come to light in various states of preservation, together with thousands of fragments. Every book of the Hebrew Bible, except *Esther*, is represented, several in multiple copies. Some Pentateuchal books, as well as *Job* fragments, are written in the Paleo-Hebrew script, a derivative of the ancient Hebrew script in use prior to the Babylonian exile of 587/6 BCE.

The great importance of these scrolls and fragments lies in the fact that they supply unimpeachable evidence for a degree of textual diversity that exceeds the limited three major witnesses previously known: the Masoretic text, the Septuagint, and the Samaritan Pentateuch. In fact, each biblical book displays a variety of individual texts that agree now with one of the above versions, now with another. It is to be emphasized, however, that none of the Hebrew scrolls from Qumran so far published can be seen to be actually identical in all respects with either the Septuagint or the Samaritan tradition. Particularly interesting and instructive are the direct citations from the Pentateuch found in the Qumran "Temple Scroll." These often agree with the Septuagint and occasionally with the Samaritan against the Masoretic text, but they differ from both more frequently than they agree with them.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE MASORETIC TEXT. Examination of the evidence from the Judean desert yields the general conclusion that the profusion of variants increases in proportion to the antiquity of the manuscripts and decreases with the progression of time. Further, this diminution of variants works overwhelmingly in favor of the textual tradition close to that which eventually came to be known as Masoretic. This tradition is characterized, in the main, by a very conservative approach to the consonantal text that expresses itself in a minimum of expansiveness and harmonization. Difficult readings and archaic spellings and grammatical forms are carefully preserved. *Matres lectionis*, that is, the use of the weak letters (alef, he˒, vav, and yud) as vowel indicators, is sparsely employed. In the hoards of manuscripts from the Judean desert, the Masoretic-type exemplars are more numerous than the other text traditions. For instance, there are present no less than fourteen copies of *Isaiah* that are very close to our received Hebrew version.

These facts unmistakably point to the high prestige enjoyed by this particular tradition. Since there is no evidence for the biblical scrolls being a product of the Qumran community, this situation must reflect the text-type that eventuated in the Masoretic text, which was not only present very early at Qumran but was also already highly and widely esteemed in Palestine in Second Temple times. This implies its patronage by powerful and respected circles that could only have been located in the Temple at Jerusalem.

By the end of the first century CE this text tradition became authoritative and displaced all others. The process is clearly visible in the phenomenon of a revision at this time of the Septuagint to bring it into conformity with the proto-Masoretic text (see below, "Greek Translations"). The biblical manuscripts found at Masada are all but identical with our received texts from Wadi Murabbaat, deriving from the period of Bar Kokhba Revolt (132–135 CE).

The manuscript evidence for the development of a single authoritative text can be supplemented by secondary testimony. The recorded disputes between the Sadducees and the Pharisees never once center on or reflect differences in the text of scripture. Similarly, the Christians in the times of the New Testament do not claim a superior or different text from that used by the Jews. Also, early Christian-Jewish polemics frequently involved differences between Jewish and Christian citations of the Bible, but it was the Hebrew text of the Jews as against the Latin version of Jerome, not versus a different Hebrew existing text, that was the subject of dispute. This is in accord with another phenomenon of major importance. No differences of opinion regarding biblical readings appear in rabbinic literature, only varying interpretations of the same text. In fact, the above-cited rabbinic material that bears witness to the one time existence of divergent texts constitutes at the same time testimony to the tendency to reduce the plurality of readings; it communicates a desire to produce conformity to one text.

The above-mentioned existence of Temple-supported "book-correctors," of a model scroll kept in the Temple court, and of a hermeneutical derivation of a legal decision from the presence of a redundant conjunctive letter vav ("and") in the biblical text (*Soṭ.* 5.1) by a scholar who belonged to the generation of the destruction of the Temple—all presuppose a text fixed unalterably in spelling and content. The same conclusion is to be drawn even more emphatically from the reports of the literary activity of the *sofrim* (official scribes). This term is interpreted to mean "tellers" by the rabbis because the *sofrim* kept count of the number of letters in the Torah and marked its middle consonant, its middle words, and its middle verse to ensure the exact transmission of the Hebrew text. They did the same for the *Book of Psalms* (B.T., *Ḥag.* 15b, B.T., *Kid.* 30a).

Two other sources confirm that the concept of an official, fixed scriptural text was well rooted in Jewish learned circles. The Greek *Letter of Aristeas* (late second century BCE), which purports to tell of the origin of the Septuagint, knows of inaccurate copies of the Torah and reports an official Alexandrian request of the high priest in Jerusalem to supply an accurate Hebrew copy from which a Greek translation may be made. In the same vein, Josephus boasts that the Jews have always venerated their scriptures to the degree that none would dare to add, to remove, or to alter a syllable of the text (Josephus, *Against Apion*, 1.6, 1.8).

The process by which the Masoretic text type achieved supremacy over all others and eventually supplanted them entirely is unclear. There is absolutely no evidence for an official promulgation on the subject by rabbinical authorities. The most plausible explanation for the phenomenon is that the very concept of a sacred canon of scripture on the basis of which Jewish communities established their identity, and the reading and studying of which formed the core of the organized public liturgy, would naturally tend toward the promotion of a stabilized, normative text. The specific text favored by scholarly and hierarchical circles in Second Temple times would acquire high prestige and serve as a model for less elitist groups. The trend toward uniformity would be hastened by the destruction of the Temple and the ever-widening Jewish Diaspora because a common text would act as a vital cohesive force. Laymen would cease to order and scribes would desist from copying any but the "official" text. All others would be discarded, and, being written on organic material, would perish—except for chance preservation in unusually favorable environmental conditions such as obtain in the Judean desert.

ARAMAIC TRANSLATIONS. The extensive imperial campaigns of the Assyrian kings during the eighth and ninth centuries BCE began the process that culminated in the Aramaization of the Jewish people. Arameans and Chaldeans came to constitute a significant and powerful segment of the population under Assyrian domination. The diffusion of Aramaic was doubtless facilitated by the convenience and efficiency of the alphabet as opposed to the cumbersome cuneiform writing. The Aramaic language finally became the language of diplomacy and international trade throughout the neo-Assyrian empire (see *2 Kings* 18:26). The fall of the northern kingdom of Israel in 722 to the Assyrian armies, and the subsequent large-scale population exchanges carried out by the conquerors, brought into Samaria and the Galilee various ethnic groups that seem to have had Aramaic as a common language. The importance of Aramaic was further enhanced during the days of the neo-Babylonian empire (626–539 BCE). The destruction of the southern kingdom of Judah in 587, and the resultant Babylonian exile, soon caused a weakening of Hebrew and the adoption of Aramaic as the vernacular of the exiles. The return to Zion in the late sixth century BCE meant an influx into Judaea of Aramaic-speaking Jews who reinforced the existing bilingual situation. Throughout the Persian empire (539–333 BCE), Aramaic was the official language of the administration, and by the end of the period it was most likely the vernacular of a majority of Jews. While Hebrew still enjoyed pride of place as a literary language, this situation changed with the deteriorating fortunes of the organized Jewish rebellions against Roman rule in Palestine. The center of Jewish life shifted at the end of the first century from Judaea, where Hebrew had still managed to maintain its hold, to the Galilee, where Aramaic was the dominant language. The Jewish communities of Palestine and the widespread Diaspora of the East were now thoroughly Aramaized. The emergence of Aramaic translations of the Hebrew scriptures was an inevitable development.

These Aramaic translations are known as *targumim* ("translations"; sg., *targum*). Their origins are ascribed in rabbinic sources to the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (fifth century BCE). *Nehemiah* 8:8 is adduced in support of this thesis (J.T., *Meg.* 4.1, 74d et al.). This tradition undoubtedly preserves a historical kernel, for the process certainly arose in connection with the public liturgical lectionary, most likely with the glossing in Aramaic of difficult Hebrew words and phrases. In the course of time, there arose the institution of the *meturgeman*, the official translator into Aramaic who stood beside the one who read the scriptural portion in Hebrew. According to rabbinic sources, the Aramaic had to be rendered extemporaneously, without the aid of a written text and without even a glance at the Torah scroll. The purpose was to ensure the exclusive authority of the original Hebrew text, and to prevent it from being superseded by a translation.

The existence of established Targums for private use is attested for the period of the Second Temple. The *Genesis Apocryphon* from Qumran is a typical aggadic Targum, that to *Job* from the same locale is a literal exemplar. The Greek translation of *Job*, probably made during the first century BCE, concludes with an addendum that seems to point to the existence of an earlier "Syriac" (probably Aramaic) Targum to that book. Another early written Targum to *Job* is mentioned in rabbinic sources (Tosefta, *Shab.* 13.2–3 et al.). Jesus' citation of *Psalms* 22:1 in Aramaic, rather than in Hebrew, at his crucifixion (*Mt.* 27:46, *Mk.* 15:34) testifies to a well-rooted tradition of Aramaic translation of *Psalms*, but whether it existed in oral or written form cannot be determined.

The almost total aramaization of the Jews of Palestine and the eastern Diaspora, and the unremitting retreat of Hebrew as a spoken language, made the Aramaic Targums to the scriptures a vital and effective tool of mass education. All resistance to their commitment to writing broke down. Some achieved official recognition to the extent that the private reading of the Targum together with the Hebrew text was actually prescribed (B.T., *Ber.* 8a–b).

Pentateuchal Targums. Targums to all books of the Hebrew Bible except *Daniel* and *Ezra-Nehemiah* have survived. Three that translate the Pentateuch are particularly important.

Targum Onkelos. Targum Onkelos was the official and single universally accepted Targum to the Torah. The ascription of its authorship is based on a passage in the Babylonian Talmud that refers to "Onkelos the proselyte" (B.T., *Meg.* 3a). From the corresponding passage in the Palestinian Talmud (J.T., *Meg.* 1.11, 71c) it is clear that the original reference was to the Greek translation of Aquila, a name pronounced "Onkelos" in the dialect of Babylonia. Because nothing was known about this Greek version in the East, that translation was there confused with the one to the Torah in Aramaic.

Identifying the dialect of Targum Onkelos presents a problem. It shares features characteristic of both Eastern and Western Aramaic, and is close to Middle Aramaic (200 BCE to 200 CE), whose place of origin seems to have been Palestine, which would point to a Palestinian provenance for Targum Onkelos. This conclusion is reinforced by linguistic evidence. In addition, its *aggadah* and *halakhah*, or homiletical and legal traditions, show unmistakable influence of the school of the Palestinian rabbi ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef.

On the other hand, Targum Onkelos vanishes from Palestinian Jewish records for many hundreds of years after the end of the third century CE. It exhibits morphological features that are typical of Eastern Aramaic, and it was the official Targum of the academies of Babylon. It was transmitted with a Babylonian vocalization and a *masorah*, a text-critical apparatus that, written in the margins of the manuscript, reflects the Babylonian traditions regarding the form of the text, the spelling of words, directions for pronunciation, and other lexicographic details.

In light of the above data, it seems safe to assume that this Targum originated in Palestine and was brought to Babylon at the end of the second century CE. There it underwent a local, systematic redaction and was given official ecclesiastical recognition. It is a work composed of numerous and varied layers that represent a time span of hundreds of years.

Generally speaking, Targum Onkelos was executed with great care as a straightforward, literalistic rendering of the Hebrew source. It departs from this approach in the difficult poetic sections of the Pentateuch, as well as in those passages in which its pedagogic goals, namely, the Aramaic translation as an instrument for mass education, required change or expansion. Here it incorporated oral traditions, halakhic and aggadic, and it used circumlocutions and euphemisms to avoid misunderstanding on the part of the public as to the monotheistic concept of God, changing anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms, and texts that might be misconstrued as suggesting direct physical contact between man and God.

Targum Onkelos was first printed at Bologna in 1482. The Sabbioneta text of 1557 served as the basis of Abraham Berliner's edition (Leipzig, 1877). A new edition, based on old Yemenite manuscripts and printed texts, was edited by Alexander Sperber in 1959.

Targum Jonathan. A second popular Targum to the Pentateuch was the Targum Jonathan (Heb., Yonatan). The name is a misnomer arising from a mistaken interpretation of an abbreviation, "T. Y.," which actually denotes Targum Yerushalmi (Jerusalem Targum). An earlier, widespread name for this translation was Targum of the Land of Israel. This Targum is also characterized by an aversion to anthropomorphisms, but it is free and expansive, replete with aggadic and halakhic material. Biblical toponyms are modernized. Its history is problematic. Internal evidence for its dating ranges from mention of the high priest John Hyrcanus (135–104 BCE) in the Targum to *Deuteronomy* 33:1, to mention of the "six orders of the Mishnah" (Targ. Jon., *Ex.* 26:9) that were edited only around 200 CE, to the presence of Khadījah, wife of Muḥammad (some texts read "Ayesha," another of his wives) and Faṭimah, his daughter (Targ. Jon., *Gn.* 21:21), to references to Ishmael and Esau as masters of the world (Targ. Jon., *Gn.* 49:26, *Dt.* 33:2), which can only refer to Islam and Byzantium of the seventh century CE at the earliest. A reference to Constantinople in the Targum on *Numbers* 24:19 seems to allude to the war of the caliph Sulaymān against the Byzantine capital in 716–718 CE.

A curious feature of this Targum is the number of passages in which the exegesis contradicts normative rabbinic *halakhah* (e.g., Targ. Jon., *Lev.* 18:21, cf. *Meg.* 4.9), and in several cases agrees with that of Philo and the sect of Karaites (eighth century CE on). As a result it is extremely hazardous to date this version. Its language is essentially Galilean Aramaic, and its origins certainly go back to Second Temple times. Innumerable accretions and the influence of Targum Onkelos on it have vastly complicated the task of reconstructing the history of its transmission.

Targum (Pseudo-) Jonathan was first printed at Venice, 1591. A British Museum manuscript was edited by Moses Ginsburger (Berlin, 1903) and published in a corrected edition by David Rieder (Jerusalem, 1974).

Neofiti 1. An early sixteenth-century manuscript known as Neofiti 1 represents a third Galilean Aramaic Targum to the Pentateuch. Discovered in the Vatican Library in 1956 by Diez-Macho, it has since been published in five volumes (1968–1978). The codex is complete and well preserved. It features a large number of marginal and interlinear variants and notes written in rabbinic script by different hands, the source of which may well be parallel readings in various Targums, since they often coincide with fragments preserved in the Cairo Genizah.

The dating of this Targum presents complex problems. Linguistic and other aspects point to the early centuries CE. It undoubtedly contains valuable textual variants paralleled in other ancient versions. It differs, however, in orthography, grammar, and the extent of paraphrastic material from the other Galilean Targums, and there is good reason to believe that the original underwent later revision. Another Palestinian Aramaic translation exists that is sometimes referred to as Targum Yerushalmi or Fragmentary Targum. It was first printed in the Bomberg Rabbinic Bible of 1517–1518, and subsequently, with additions, by Moses Ginsburger (Berlin, 1899). These fragments cover only about 850 of the 5,845 verses of the Pentateuch, and it is not clear whether it was ever complete.

The Samaritan Targum (or Targums). The Samaritan community produced for its own use a Targum based upon its recension of the Pentateuch. The dialect is that of the area of Shechem and the central highlands, very close to Galilean Aramaic. Linguistic criteria suggest an original date of composition sometime between the second and third centuries CE. Generally, the Samaritan Targum is characterized by extreme literalism even to the extent of reproducing anthropomorphisms.

A serious problem is the fact that the Samaritans never produced a definitive edition of their Targum, with the result that every manuscript exhibits its own peculiarities, the variants frequently reflecting changes and developments in their Aramaic dialect. Moreover, the later scribes, who did not know Aramaic, introduced numerous errors into their copies.

The first edition printed in the West was that of the Paris Polyglot (1645), but it is now clear that it was made from a decidedly inferior manuscript dating to 1514. Walton's London Polyglot of 1657 (vol. 6) reprinted this, but with numerous corrections. A version based on various manuscripts found in the Samaritan synagogue in Shechem was begun by Heinrich Petermann in 1872 and completed by Caroli Vollers in 1893, but the copies used were unreliable.

Targum to the Prophets. Traditionally, the official Targum to the Prophets is ascribed to Jonathan son of Uzziel, based on a single Talmudic passage (B.T., *Meg.* 3a), which also makes him a contemporary of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi (sixth century BCE). However, another rabbinic text (B.T., *Suk.* 28a) has him a student of Hillel the Elder (end of first century BCE–beginning of first century CE). It has been noted that the name *Jonathan* (*Yonaton*) is a Hebrew rendering of the Greek name *Theodotion.* One of the second-century Greek versions of the Bible was executed by a certain Theodotion, and it is conjectured that in Babylonian Jewish circles he was confused with Jonathan ben Uzziel, who was then credited with translating the Prophets into Aramaic.

The Aramaic of the Targum to the Prophets is close to biblical Aramaic and to the Palestinian Jewish dialect. Its affinities with the *Pesher Habakkuk* (a commentary on *Habakkuk*) from Qumran and the exegetical traditions it shares in common with Josephus testify to the antiquity of some of its layers. At the same time, a definite dependence on Targum Onkelos to the Torah can be established. In assessing the date of Targum Jonathan's composition, account must also be taken of the fact that the Babylonian Talmud contains numerous citations of Aramaic renderings of passages from the Prophets, which are identical with those in Targum Jonathan, and which are given in the name of the Babylonian amora Yosef ben Ḥiyyaʾ (d. 333 CE). These indicate that they were composed at least a generation earlier (B.T., *San.* 94b et al.).

It is possible that Yosef ben Ḥiyyaʾ may have been connected with one of the revisions. At any rate, it is certain that the Targum is not the work of a single individual or of one period but has undergone much revision over a long period of time, until it reached its definitive form, by the seventh century CE.

The style of the Targum, especially to the Latter Prophets, is paraphrastic and expansive, probably because of the difficulties in translating the poetic oratory, which is replete with figurative language. It shares with Targum Onkelos to the Torah the general aversion to anthropomorphisms. Fragments of the Targum from Codex Reuchlinianus were edited by Paul de Lagarde as *Prophetae Chaldaice* (1872). A critical edition of the Targum Jonathan to the Prophets was published by A. Sperber (1959, 1962).

Citations from another Palestinian Targum to the Prophets appear in the biblical commentaries of Rashi (Shelomoh ben Yitsḥaq, 1040–1105) and David Kimḥi (c. 1160–c. 1235) and in the rabbinic dictionary of Natan ben Yeḥiʾel of Rome (1035–c. 1110), known as the *Arukh*, as well as in the above-mentioned Codex Reuchlinianus. They have been collected by Lagarde and Sperber. While the Aramaic is Palestinian, the influence of the Babylonian Talmud upon this Targum is clear.

Targums to the Ketuvim. Ever since the Venice edition of 1518, rabbinic Bibles have carried Targums to all the books of the Ketuvim (Hagiographa) except *Daniel*, *Ezra*, and *Nehemiah*. Lagarde edited the series in *Hagiographa Chaldaice* (1873), and a critical edition was published by Sperber in 1964. These Targums are composed in the Palestinian Aramaic dialect, and presumably originate in Palestine. Each is distinctive, and there is no uniformity of style. None of them ever became authoritative or underwent formal redaction. Those to *Psalms* and *Job* share in common several distinctive features.

Rabbinic sources make clear that a Targum to *Job* already existed in Second Temple times (Tosefta, *Shab.* 13.2 et al.). The remains of such a one have been recovered from Qumran Cave 11, but whether it has any relationship to the former cannot be determined. The language of this Targum is close to biblical Aramaic and seems to go back to the late second century BCE.

The Targum to *Job* that appears in the printed editions has no relation to the preceding and appears to be a compilation from different periods. The Targum to *Proverbs* is unique in that it bears strong resemblance to the Peshitta, or Syriac version, leading to the most likely conclusion that both renderings go back to a common, older, Aramaic translation or to the influence of a Jewish transliteration of the Peshitta into Hebrew characters.

There are Targums to the Five Scrolls, but these are so expansive and paraphrastic that they are more collections of *midrashim* than true Targums. They were edited with an introduction by Bernard Grossfeld in 1973.

GREEK TRANSLATIONS. The history of the Jewish community in Egypt can be traced back at least to the beginning of the sixth century BCE. There Jews spoke Aramaic and knew Hebrew, but the influx of Greek-speaking settlers had far-reaching effects on their cultural life. With the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great, the local Jewish population was swelled by a great wave of immigration attracted there by the opportunities afforded by the Ptolemies. The Jews concentrated mainly in Alexandria, where they formed an autonomous community with its own synagogues and sociocultural institutions, and where they came to form a significant segment of the population. They soon adopted Greek as their everyday language.

By the third century BCE, both liturgical and educational considerations dictated the need for a Greek translation of the scriptures, at least of the Pentateuch. The version known as the Septuagint was revolutionary in its conception, its execution, and its impact. No lengthy Eastern religious text had previously been translated into Greek, nor had a written translation of the Jewish scriptures been made hitherto. The Septuagint was one of the great literary enterprises of the ancient world, and it served to fashion and shape a distinctively Jewish-Hellenistic culture, which attempted to synthesize Hebraic and Greek thought and values. Eventually, it became a powerful literary medium for the spread of early Christianity throughout the far-flung Greek-speaking world, thereby transforming the culture and religion of a goodly segment of humanity.

The Septuagint ("seventy") received its Latin name from a legend current among the Jews of Alexandria that it was executed by seventy-two scholars in seventy-two days. Originally applicable only to the translation of the Pentateuch, this abbreviated title was gradually extended to the complete Greek rendering of the entire Jewish scriptures. In the course of time, the origins of the Septuagint came to be embroidered in legend and enveloped in an aura of the miraculous. The *Letter of Aristeas*, Philo's *Moses* (II, v–vii, 25–40) and rabbinic writings (e.g., B.T., *Meg.* 9a; *Avot de Rabbi Natan*, ms. b, 37) are the principal witnesses to this development, whereby the initiative for the translation was said to have come from Ptolemy II Philadelphus (r. 285–246 BCE).

The fullest and most popular version of the legend is that found in the first of the above-mentioned sources. That the *Letter* is a fiction is apparent from internal evidence, and it has been shown to have been composed by a hellenized Jew writing in the second half of the second century BCE, about a hundred years after the publication of the original Septuagint. It is certain that it was the needs of the Alexandrian Jewish community that called forth the translation in the course of the third century BCE. It is not impossible, however, that the project did receive royal approval, given the known interest and activities of the Ptolemies as patrons of culture. Furthermore, it is quite likely that the translators did come from Palestine and worked in Egypt.

The Greek of the Septuagint is essentially the Koine, that form of the language commonly spoken and written from the fourth century BCE until the middle of the sixth century CE by the Greek-speaking populations of the eastern Mediterranean. Hence, the Septuagint stands as a monument of Hellenistic Greek. However, it is distinctive in many ways. It abounds with lexical and syntactical Hebraisms and is often indifferent to Greek idiom. Neologisms are comparatively rare, but the translators frequently forced the meaning of common Greek words by using a standard rendering of a Hebrew term without regard to context. Further, Aramaic was still widely used, and the translators sometimes gave Aramaic rather than Hebrew meanings to certain words. On occasion, they rendered the original by Greek words that were similar in sound but quite dissimilar in meaning. Quite clearly they injected Palestinian exegetical traditions into their translations. All in all, the Septuagint was generally competently rendered. If its style is not consistent throughout, this is partly due to the multiplicity of translators and partly to the revolutionary nature of the undertaking in that the translators had neither experience nor real precedent to fall back on.

The rest of the Greek Bible displays a wide variety of styles and techniques ranging from the literal to the free and the paraphrastic. This is due to the piecemeal nature of the translations, to the long period of time it took to complete the entire scriptures—several hundred years—and to the fact that the books of the Prophets and Hagiographa were apparently privately executed. At least, no traditions about them have been preserved. The result was considerable fluctuations in the quality of the translations.

The Septuagint as it has come down to us often reflects readings at variance with the Masoretic Hebrew text. Two factors complicate the scholarly use of this version as a tool for biblical research. The first relates to its early external form, the second to its textual history.

With the spread of Christianity and the pursuit of missionary and polemical activity on the part of the church, the inconvenience of the traditional scroll format for the sacred books became more and more pronounced. The church, therefore, early adopted the codex or "leaf-book" format for its Bible, perhaps being additionally motivated by a conscious desire to differentiate its own from Jewish practice, which adhered to the scroll form for study purposes until at least the sixth century CE. Those who produced the early codices of the Greek Bible must have had great difficulty in assembling uniform copies of the individual scrolls that made up the scriptural canon. Accordingly, various scrolls of a heterogeneous nature were used by the copyists for their archetypes. A badly copied scroll might have been the only one available to the compiler.

The second factor concerns the tendency of later scholars to rework the original Greek translation. Scholars reworked translations because the manuscripts before them had been poorly made, or because the literary quality of the Greek rendering was deemed to be in need of improvement, or, what is most important, because the Greek reflected an underlying Hebrew text at variance with that current at the time, so that editors would attempt to bring the translation in line with the current Hebrew. As a result, multiple text traditions of the Septuagint arose, and the problem of recovering the pristine translation is a formidable one. Each book of the Septuagint must first be individually examined both in terms of its translation technique and style and of its own textual history and transmission. As a result, a rendering that appears to reflect a variant Hebrew text may turn out to be nothing of the sort and may be accounted for on quite different grounds. On the other hand, the Qumran scrolls often clearly display a Hebrew reading that the Septuagint translators must have had before them.

The problems relating to Septuagint studies are exacerbated by the large number of witnesses available, consisting of citations in the works of Philo Judaeus, Josephus, the writers of New Testament, and the Church Fathers; the manuscripts of the Septuagint itself; and the acknowledged revisions of it. Many of the variant quotations may, in fact, be independent personal renderings of the authors or not even be original to the works cited, having been tampered with by later copyists or editors. In the case of the New Testament, there is also the possibility of their having been rendered into Greek from an Aramaic version rather than the Hebrew. Nevertheless, there still remains a respectable residue of genuine Septuagint quotations that differ from the manuscripts. As to these last, the material is very extensive and stretches from the middle of the second century BCE (with the Dead Sea Scrolls material) to the age of printing.

The turning point in the production of Greek Bibles comes in the fourth century CE attendant upon the conversion to Christianity of Constantine (c. 280–337) and the conferring upon that religion of a privileged position in the Roman Empire. An order from Constantine in 332 for fifty vellum Bibles for use in the new churches he was erecting in Constantinople afforded an immense stimulus to the creation of the great and handsome Greek Bibles known technically as majuscules or uncials ("inch high") because of the practice of the scribes to employ capital-size letters without ligatures. The three most important codices of this type that have come down to us in a reasonably complete state are the Codex Sinaiticus (usually designated for scholarly purposes by *S* or by the Hebrew letter alef), the Codex Alexandrinus (given the siglum *A),* and the Codex Vaticanus (indicated by the initial *B).* The Sinaiticus, executed in the fourth century CE, is not complete and in places has been seriously damaged by the action of the metallic ink eating through the parchment. Despite the often careless orthography, the manuscript is witness to a very early text tradition. The Vaticanus, also produced in the fourth century, is nearly perfect and constitutes the oldest and most excellent extant copy of the Greek Bible, even though it is not of uniform quality throughout. It was used as the basis of the Roman edition of 1587, the commonly printed Septuagint. The Alexandrinus, containing practically the entire Bible, was probably copied in the early fifth century. Its text is frequently at variance with that of the Codex Vaticanus. It too has suffered damage from corrosive ink.

Up to the eighth century, only uncials were produced, but thereafter appear the minuscules, written in small-size cursive writing. From the eleventh century, this type completely replaces the other. The minuscules were mainly intended for private reading, and hundreds are extant. Their value for Septuagint studies is small.

The adoption of the Septuagint instead of the Hebrew as the Bible of the church was itself a source of discomfort to Greek-speaking Jews. That the Greek rendering frequently departed from the by then universally recognized Hebrew text constituted additional and decisive cause for its rejection by the synagogue. Doubtless, the conviction on the part of the Jews that Christological changes had been introduced into the original Septuagint also played a role. This reversal of attitude to the Septuagint on the part of the Jewish religious authorities is strikingly reflected in rabbinic literature. The Palestinian minor tractate *Soferim* (1.7) asserts, "The day that the Torah was rendered into Greek was as disastrous for Israel as the day in which the Golden Calf was made, for the Torah could not be adequately translated."

On the Christian side, the lack of uniformity and consistency within the Greek manuscripts themselves were to be an embarrassing disadvantage to Christian missionaries in their theological polemics with Jews. This situation would be exacerbated by the discrepancies between the translation used by Christian disputants and the Hebrew text, which was the only authoritative form of the scriptures recognized by Palestinian Jews. Exegetical debate could proceed only on the basis of a mutually acknowledged text, which in this case had to be the only Hebrew text tradition accepted by the Jews.

All the aforementioned factors led to conscious attempts by Jews and Christians to revise the Septuagint in order to bring it into closer harmony with the Hebrew. In the second century CE, three systematic revisions of the Greek translation took place, namely, those of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus. Aquila, a Jewish proselyte from Pontus, Asia Minor, apparently worked under rabbinical supervision (J.T., *Meg.* 1.11, 70c). He adopted a mechanical, artificial technique of consistently using fixed Greek equivalents for Hebrew terms, and he coined words or forms to this end. This extreme literalness, to the extent of reproducing even minutiae of the original, yielded a recension that was often alien to one who knew no Hebrew. Aquila's motivation was to underline the authority of the standardized consonantal Hebrew text and to produce a Greek version that would be absolutely faithful to it. His work replaced the Septuagint in the synagogues of Greek-speaking Jews, and was used there for the lectionaries well into the sixth century CE. It has survived only in part.

It is not certain whether Theodotion was an Ebionite Christian or a Jewish proselyte. At any rate, he, too, displays excessive literalness. At times, he even transliterates Hebrew words into Greek letters, possibly for the benefit of Jews. His translation was not preserved in Jewish circles, but was highly regarded by the church. His Greek was readable, and his *Daniel* was incorporated into the Septuagint, displacing the inferior original Greek version of that book.

The third revision in the course of the second century CE was done by Symmachus. His origins are obscure. While he used the existing translations, his work has an independent quality about it. The style of the Greek is superior to that of the other two. He also exhibits a tendency to soften anthropomorphisms, as well as a marked influence of rabbinic exegesis. Very little of his work has survived.

The climax of a process of revision for the benefit of Christian missionaries and polemicists against the Jews was the work of the great church theologian of Caesarea, Origen (c. 185–257). He attempted both to provide a textbook for the study of Hebrew and to reduce the variety of Septuagint versions to order, taking as his base the standardized Hebrew text current among the Palestinian Jewish communities of his day. This was a bold step, for it made the Hebrew text superior to, and more authoritative than, the Septuagint, which the church had officially adopted and canonized. To achieve his goal, he arranged texts in six parallel columns. This bulky work, the product of prodigious industry, has come to be known as the Hexapla ("sixfold").

The first column of the Hexapla, the consonantal text-in Hebrew characters, has wholly vanished, but the second, a Greek transliteration of the former, testifies to the fact that it was practically identical with the Masoretic Hebrew text. Origen's aim was apparently to indicate how to vocalize the consonants of the first column. Aquila's translation for the third column was the logical sequence since it was closest to the current Hebrew text, and that of Symmachus came next, apparently because it seems to have been based to a large extent upon Aquila, and it made that rendering more intelligible.

It is in the fifth column, a revised Septuagint, that Origen invested his main energies. In attempting to produce a "corrected" Greek translation, in the sense that it would faithfully represent the Hebrew of his first column, he devised a system for indicating to the reader the substantive differences between the latter and the Septuagint, and for remedying the "defects." The codex of Origen's Hexapla vanished completely sometime in the seventh century. However, his "restored" Septuagint text had been independently published and received wide circulation. In this way it considerably influenced subsequent copies of the Septuagint. Unfortunately, future scribes either neglected or carelessly reproduced the system of critical symbols, with the result that the text became chaotic and Origen's work was ruined.

One other edition of the Greek Bible is that of the Christian theologian Lucian of Antioch (c. 240–312). Lucian was heir to a still earlier Greek version that can now be shown, on the basis of Qumran readings, to have reflected an ancient Hebrew text. Where *Samuel* and *Kings* are concerned, at least, the "Proto-Lucian" was an early Jewish revision of the original Greek translation of which both Theodotion and Aquila seem to have known, if not the original itself, as some have claimed. At any rate, Lucian apparently revised this version on the basis of Origen's fifth column.

TRANSLATIONS BASED ON THE SEPTUAGINT. The great prestige that the Septuagint acquired as the official, authoritative Bible of the church generated a number of secondary translations as Christianity spread to non-Greek-speaking lands and the churches had to accommodate themselves to the native language. Whereas the early translations had been the work of scholars who knew Hebrew, this was now no longer a requirement. The Greek itself served as the base for subsequent translations. Such was the case in respect to the Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Georgian, Gothic, and Old Latin versions, all of which have little bearing on the history of the Hebrew text but are of lesser or greater importance for the study of the Septuagint itself.

The most important of all the secondary renderings of the Bible is the Latin. This language advanced with the expansion of Roman power, first throughout Italy, then into southern Gaul and throughout the Mediterranean coastal regions of Africa. In Rome itself, Greek remained the cultural language of the church until the third century, but in the African communities Latin was very popular, and it is most probable that the earliest translations thereinto emanated from these circles. The needs of the liturgy and the lectionary dictated renditions into the vernacular, which at first remained oral and by way of interlinear glosses. It is not impossible but cannot be proven that the earliest such efforts were made by Jews directly from the Hebrew. At any rate, by the middle of the second century CE, an Old Latin version, in the colloquial form of the language, based on the Septuagint, was current. Whether we are speaking here of a single text or a plurality of translations is a matter of dispute because of the great variety of readings to be found in extant manuscripts and citations. These divide roughly into African and European types, but it must be remembered that the two interacted with each other.

Despite the fact that the Old Latin is a translation of a translation, and for that reason must be used with extreme caution for text-critical studies, it is nevertheless important since it was made from a pre-Hexaplaric Greek text. For example, it has much in common with the Lucianic recension and with the Vatican and Sinaitic codices. In the case of *Job* and *Daniel*, it has renderings that presuppose a Greek reading that has not otherwise been preserved and that, in turn, indicates an original Hebrew text not identical with that received. The psalms, in particular, are significant for the numerous texts available as a consequence of their having been used in the liturgy, although they were frequently reworked.

Vulgate of Jerome. By the close of the fourth century, the confused state of the Old Latin texts had become acute, a source of embarrassment to the church in the lands of the West where Latin was the language of the intelligentsia and of literature. A stable and standardized Bible in that language was a desideratum. At the papal initiative of Damasus I (c. 382), Jerome undertook to revise the Old Latin version.

The Roman Psalter (384), a limited revision of the *Psalms* based on the Greek, seems to have been the first fruit of Jerome's labors in the Hebrew scriptures, although his authorship has been disputed by some scholars. This version was officially adopted into the church liturgy at Rome. It was soon generally superseded by the Gallican Psalter, so called because it was first accepted by the churches of Gaul. This was Jerome's revision of the Old Latin on the basis of the fifth column of the Hexapla, a rendering therefore very close to the Hebrew text of his day. This version, produced in Bethlehem, achieved preeminent status and is the one included in editions of the Vulgate to the present time, even though the fresh translation from the Hebrew more accurately reflects the original.

Jerome's involvement with Origen's Hexapla convinced him of the superiority of the Hebrew text over the Greek, and he set about creating a fresh Latin translation of the Hebrew scriptures, directly from the Hebrew text (the *Hebraica veritas,* the "Hebrew truth"). Doubtless, another motivation was the recognition that Christian theological polemic with Jews could not be conducted on the basis of a text, the Septuagint in this case, which had no authority for one of the parties.

Jerome completed his translation in 405, having enjoyed the assistance of both Jewish converts to Christianity and rabbinical scholars. Indeed, elements of rabbinic tradition and exegesis are embedded in his work, and it is evident that he was also influenced by Aquila's translation. Conscious of the implications of his audacious disregard of the Septuagint that the church had canonized, Jerome was careful to employ the terms and phrases of the Old Latin that had achieved wide currency, particularly those in the New Testament that had doctrinal coloration.

The new Latin translation, known since the sixteenth century as the Vulgate, or "common" edition, met with strenuous opposition, especially on the part of Augustine, but owing to its elegance and superior intelligibility it made headway, so that by the eighth century its preeminence was undisputed. However, because the Vulgate existed for several centuries side by side with the Old Latin, the two versions interacted with each other so that the manuscripts of the Vulgate became corrupted. Various attempts in the Middle Ages to produce a corrected and revised edition are recorded, but none gained lasting success.

The invention of printing finally made possible the long-sought goal of a standardized text, but this goal was not achieved at once. Jerome's Vulgate may have the distinction of being the first book printed from movable type to issue from Gutenberg's press at Mainz (1456), but it took almost another century of sporadic attempts at revision before a definitive, official edition was achieved. The achievement of a definitive edition was an outgrowth of the decision of the Council of Trent in 1546 to proclaim Jerome's Vulgate to be the authoritative Bible of the Catholic Church. The hastily prepared three-volume edition of Sixtus V (1590), the "Sixtine Bible," proved to be unsatisfactory, and it was soon replaced by the "Clementine Bible" of 1592, promulgated by Clement VIII. This latter remained the one official text of the church until the twentieth century.

In 1907, a new critical edition of the Vulgate was commissioned by Pius X, and the task of preparation was entrusted to the Benedictine order. About eight thousand manuscripts were consulted, and it began to appear in 1926. By 1981, fourteen volumes had been published covering most of the books of the Hebrew Bible. A two-volume edition based on the foregoing was issued at Stuttgart in 1975, with a second edition in 1980.

The importance of the Vulgate as a major factor in the cultural and religious life of Western civilization cannot be overestimated. For a thousand years, it was the Bible of the churches of western Europe and served as the base at first for all translations into the respective developing vernaculars.

Syriac versions. Syriac is an Eastern Aramaic dialect within the Semitic group of languages that was current in southeastern Turkey and the Euphrates Valley. It was an important literary and liturgical language within the Christian church from the third century until the Arab Muslim invasion of the area. The Hebrew Bible was several times translated into Syriac, the many renderings necessitated by dialectic and theological considerations.

It is quite likely that there existed an early Syriac rendering that was the basis of the many later versions, most of which are extant only as fragments. The one complete translation to survive is the standard and most important recension, known since the ninth century as the Peshitta. This term means the "simple [version]," a designation it acquired either because of its popular style or, more likely, to contrast it with the more complicated renderings that were equipped with a text-critical apparatus. Ever since the third century, the Peshitta has been the official Bible of the Syrian church, common in one form or another to all its different branches.

The Peshitta is theoretically of the utmost significance for the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible, since it was executed directly from the original long before the fixing of the Hebrew masoretic system, and because it is in a language closely related to Hebrew, in contrast to the Greek versions. This importance, however, is diminished by the facts that the version possesses a long complex history as yet imperfectly reconstructed, that the hundreds of manuscripts housed in the Western libraries display a large number of variants, and that all existing printed editions are unreliable.

No early trustworthy data about the provenance and date of the Peshitta or of the identity of the translators have been handed down. Weighty evidence has been adduced to prove both a Jewish and a Christian origin. If the former, the work would have originated in a Syriac-speaking community that maintained close relationships with Jerusalem. This immediately suggests the district of Adiabene in the upper region of the Tigris, situated between the rivers Great Zab and Little Zab, where a Jewish kingdom existed in the first century CE (Josephus, *Antiquities* 20.2.1–20.4.3, Loeb ed. XX.17–

96). On the other hand, a Christian provenance can also be argued, since Christianity early took firm hold in the region of Adiabene, which already had Christian bishops by 123 CE. The ecclesiastical authorities, in preparing a version of scripture for the needs of the local Christian community, could have made use of earlier Jewish Aramaic translations and could have entrusted the task to Jewish Christians, whose presence in the area is attested. There is also the possibility that the Christian elements may be the result of the later redaction of an earlier Jewish work. It is impossible to generalize about the nature of the translation, which is the work of many hands and different periods and which lacks consistency.

Early in the fifth century, the Syriac church experienced a schism, dividing into Nestorians in the East and Jacobites in the West, with each group developing its own form of the Peshitta. Because of the relative isolation of the former, politically and geographically, in the area of Nisibin in southern Anatolia, the Eastern or Nestorian texts are regarded as having been less vulnerable to revisions on the basis of Hebrew or Greek sources.

The most important Peshitta manuscripts are those copied before the tenth century when the standardized Syriac biblical *masorah* was finally fixed.

A Syriac version that is second in importance only to the Peshitta is the Syro-Hexapla. This is a rendering of the Septuagint version of the fifth column of Origen's Hexapla. It was commissioned to serve political and theological ends, and it was most likely executed in a Syrian monastery in Egypt by Paul, bishop of Tella, together with associates, and completed in 617. It never achieved its purpose of displacing the Peshitta, but it has its own inherent worth and is most valuable as a tool for reconstructing the lost column of the Hexapla on which it was based.

Another version of the Syriac Bible is the Syro-Palestinian. This version has only partially survived. Its script is distinctive, in that it used the Estrangela ("round script") type, as is also its dialect, which is a West Palestinian Aramaic spoken by a Christian community in certain areas of the Judean hills. This is a development of the dialect spoken by Jews who converted to Christianity around the year 400, and who intermingled with the Melchite church. The version bears close affinities with Jewish Aramaic Targums. Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein together with H. Shirun assembled all printed remnants of this version as well as some unpublished material. The Pentateuch and the Prophets in Hebrew characters appeared in 1973.

Still another Syriac version, the Philoxenian, was commissioned by the leader of the Jacobite Monophysite church, Philoxenus, bishop of Mabbug-Hierapolis, near Aleppo, Syria, in 507–508. This version was not a revision of the Peshitta, but a new translation based on the Lucianic version of the Greek. Only fragments of *Isaiah* and *Psalms* have survived.

Finally, there is the attempt of Jacob (c. 640–708), bishop of Edessa, to modernize and popularize the style of the Syro-Hexapla while retaining the text-form of the former. For the first time, chapter divisions were introduced, and the Syrian Masoretic apparatus was utilized.

Arabic translations. Jewish and Christian communities existed in the Arabian Peninsula many centuries before the dawn of Islam, engaging in missionary activities among the pagan Arabs, often in competition with one another. In Yemen, in southwestern Arabia, the last of the Himyarite rulers, Dhū Nuwās, even converted to Judaism (517 CE). The buffer state of Al-Hīrah was a center of Arab Christianity between the third and sixth centuries. The Jews used their Hebrew Bible, the Christians either the Syriac or Greek translations. Since both religious communities were well integrated into Arabian life and culture, while retaining their distinctiveness, it seems plausible that at least parts of the Bible had been rendered into Arabic, if only in oral form, in pre-Islamic days, much the same way as Aramaic oral renderings long antedated the first written translations in that language. It was the Muslim invasions of western Asia and the concomitant Arabization of the populace that prompted the systematic, written translation of the Bible into Arabic. The foremost Christian scholar and translator, Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāk (Johannitus, 808–873), is said to have produced such a version, basing himself on the Septuagint, but if there was such a version, it has not survived.

The first and most celebrated translation made directly from the Hebrew was that of Saʿadyah Gaon (882–942), leader of Babylonian Jewry. It has come down only in Hebrew script, and its appearance constituted a major turning point in the development of Judeo-Arabic culture. Saʿadyah tried to conform in his style to the genius of the Arabic language. He sought to eliminate anthropomorphisms and he rendered geographical names into contemporary usage.

The impact of Saʿadyah's translation was immense. It has continued to enjoy high prestige and to be read weekly by Yemenite Jews to the present day. It even influenced the Samaritan and Karaite communities, both of which produced their own Arabic versions of the Hebrew scriptures. The first Samaritan translator of the Pentateuch, Abū Saʿīd (thirteenth century), based himself on it; at the end of the tenth century, the foremost Karaite scholar, Yafet ben Eli, rendered the entire Bible anew into Arabic, which translation remained the standard text for all Karaite communities in the East. It, too, was indebted to Saʿadyah, even though its style and language were updated, more popular, and excessively literal.

Christian translations were generally not made from the Hebrew but were variously based on the Greek, Syriac, Latin, and Coptic versions, sometimes on more than one. In the sixteenth century, attempts were made to assemble a complete Bible in Arabic, but the different translators individually used different versions as their base. The resulting codex was a mixed text. The Paris Polyglot of 1629 first featured an almost complete Arabic text of the Bible, which was followed by the London Polyglot of 1657, but here again the result was a mixed text.

In the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as a result of renewed interest in the Arab world on the part of Western powers, Protestant and Catholic organizations set about producing translations into modern Arabic for missionary purposes. The most frequently used is that by the American Protestant mission in Beirut, completed in 1864, and made from the Hebrew. The most widely used Catholic translation is that in three volumes (1876–1880) made by the Jesuits in Beirut with the assistance of Ibrāhīm al-Yāzijt.

In sum, the Arabic translations, apart from that of Saʿadyah, are relatively late and are mostly secondary, so that they have no value for textual studies of the Hebrew original. They are, however, useful sources for the history of biblical exegesis, as well as witnesses to the earlier translations such as the Greek, the Aramaic, and the Syriac.

See Also Biblical Exegesis, article on Jewish Views; Canon; Chanting; Dead Sea Scrolls; Israelite Law; Israelite Religion; Oral Tradition; Prophecy, article on Biblical Prophecy; Psalms; Samaritans; Wisdom Literature, article on Biblical Books.

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A basic introduction to the Greek versions, their history, character, and the problems they present, is provided by the collection of thirty-five essays assembled by Sidney Jellicoe, *Studies into the Septuagint: Origins, Recensions, and Interpretations* (New York, 1974). Another important work for nonspecialists is Bruce M. Metzger's *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Greek Palaeography* (Oxford, 1981). Of a more technical and advanced nature is Imanuel Tov's *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (Jerusalem, 1981). Henry Barclay Swete's *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 2d ed. (Cambridge, 1902), still remains standard. Harry M. Orlinsky's essay "The Septuagint as Holy Writ and the Philosophy of the Translators," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 46 (1975): 89–114, contributes important insights into the nature of this version. *A Classified Bibliography of the Septuagint* by Sebastian P. Brock, Charles

T. Fritsch, and Sidney Jellicoe (Leiden, 1973) is an indispensable scholarly tool.

For Targumic studies, there is Bernard Grossfeld's *A Bibliography of Targum Literature*, 2 vols. (Cincinnati, 1972–1977).

The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright, edited by G. Ernest Wright (Garden City, N.Y., 1961), contains fifteen studies by as many different scholars summarizing the course taken by scholarly research in various areas of Near Eastern studies bearing on the Bible. J. B. Pritchard has edited a superb collection, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*, 3d ed. (Princeton, 1969), which gives translations of pertinent texts drawn from all genres of literature, together with brief introductory notes and also indexes of names and biblical references. This collection is supplemented by *The Ancient Near East in Pictures relating to the Old Testament*, 2d ed. (Princeton, 1969), by the same author, which is arranged by topics, and is equipped with a descriptive catalogue giving in concise notation the significant details of each picture, and an index. *Near Eastern Religious Texts relating to the Old Testament*, edited by Walter Beyerlin, translated from the German by John Bowden (London, 1978), is more restricted in scope, but includes several texts available only since 1969. The accompanying notes are fuller than in the preceding work. Another useful collection of this type, though far more limited in scope, and less up to date, is D. Winton Thomas's *Documents from Old Testament Times* (New York, 1961). Theodor H. Gaster's *Myth, Legend, and Custom in the Old Testament* (New York, 1969) is a comparative study based on James G. Frazer's *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, 3 vols. (London, 1919). The copious notes are especially valuable. A concise yet comprehensive introduction to the geographical and historical settings of the Hebrew Bible is provided by Martin Noth in his *The Old Testament World*, translated by Victor I. Gruhn (Philadelphia, 1966). Frederick G. Kenyon's *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*, revised by A. W. Adams, with an introduction by Godfrey R. Driver (New York, 1965), is particularly useful for a survey of the ancient versions.

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BIBLICAL LITERATURE: APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

Well known are the documents canonized as the Hebrew scriptures (Old Testament) and dated from approximately 950 to 165/4 BCE. Less well known are the bodies of writings cognate to the Hebrew scriptures, called the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha, and written by Jews during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Closely related to the thirty-nine Old Testament books canonized by Jews and Christians and sometimes related to the twenty-seven New Testament books canonized by Christians, these documents were very influential and were frequently considered inspired by many Jewish and Christian communities. When the canons of scripture were closed, first by Jewish and then by Christian authorities, these writings were not included, and they quickly began to lose their influence and importance. Consequently, these documents are usually preserved only in late manuscripts that are translations of lost originals. Since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the renewed appreciation of the diversities of thought at the time, scholars have agreed that the history of Early Judaism (250 BCE–200 CE) and Early Christianity (first–fourth centuries) cannot be written without consulting these bodies of so-called extracanonical writings, the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.

THE APOCRYPHA. The Apocrypha has been variously defined, for there is, of course, no set canon of either the Apocrypha or the Pseudepigrapha. The word *apokrypha* is a transliteration of a Greek neuter plural that means "hidden." By the fourth century CE the term *apocrypha* no longer denoted hidden esoteric secrets (cf. *Daniel* 12:9–10 and *4 Ezra* 14:44–48), but it was often used to name a category of discarded, heretical books. Jerome (c. 342–420), however, used the term to denote extracanonical, not heretical, documents. This position is the one adopted by Protestants today; Roman Catholics, since the Council of Trent (during session 4 on April 8, 1546), consider these works "deuterocanonical" and inspired, as do most Eastern Christians. These books are in the official Catholic canon because they are in the Vulgate (of the thirteen works in the Apocrypha, *2 Ezra*, which is *3 Esdras* in the Vulgate, is not included in the Catholic canon).

Since the first century CE, Jews and Christians have had widely divergent opinions regarding the Hellenistic literature collected into the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Hebrew scriptures. It is essential now, while appreciating the varying status of each work in different religious denominations, to establish a set list of books in each collection, without delving into normative value judgments. It is best to limit the documents included in the Apocrypha to those contained in the fourth-century Greek codices of the Hebrew scriptures (these codices of the Septuagint contain more documents than the Hebrew scriptures) and to include documents occasionally found in some expanded collections of the Apocrypha under the larger collection called the Pseudepigrapha. The Apocrypha, then, contains thirteen writings, and the Pseudepigrapha contains fifty-two documents. In the following discussion, these writings will be arranged according to loosely defined genres and then presented according to the most probable chronological order.

The thirteen works in the Apocrypha have been dated by experts over a wide period, from the fourth century BCE to the late first century CE; most scholars today correctly date all of them from circa 300 BCE to 70 CE, when the Temple was burned by the Romans. Almost all were written in a Semitic language, except the *Wisdom of Solomon* and *2 Maccabees*, which were probably written in Greek. There probably is a consensus that none was written in Babylon, that all but two were written in Palestine, and that these two, the *Wisdom of Solomon* and *2 Maccabees*, were written in Egypt. In contrast to the Pseudepigrapha, the Apocrypha contains no examples of three literary genres—namely, apocalypses, testaments, and prayers, psalms, and odes. (The expanded Apocrypha, however, does include an apocalypse, *4 Ezra*, a prayer, the *Prayer of Manasseh*, and a psalm, Psalm 151.)

Legends, romantic stories, and expansions of the Hebrew scriptures. Nine documents of the Apocrypha can be regarded as forming a group of legends, romantic stories, and expansions of the Hebrew scriptures: the *Letter of Jeremiah*, *Tobit*, *Judith*, *2 Ezra*, the additions to *Esther*, the *Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men*, *Susanna*, *Bel and the Dragon*, and *1 Baruch*.

Letter of Jeremiah. The *Letter of Jeremiah*, probably composed in Hebrew or Aramaic, is the oldest writing in the Apocrypha. A Greek fragment dating from around 100 BCE was found in Qumran Cave VII, and this discovery only disproves conjectures regarding a late date, such as Edgar J. Goodspeed's claim in *The Story of the Apocrypha* (Chicago, 1939, p. 105) that the *Letter of Jeremiah* was written late in the first century CE. Carey A. Moore (1977, pp. 327–329) concludes that the *Letter of Jeremiah* reflects the social setting of Palestine in the late fourth century BCE. A date between 323 and 100 BCE seems possible; perhaps around 300 is most likely (see Antonius H. J. Gunneweg, *Der Brief Jeremias*, Gütersloh, 1975, p. 186). A Palestinian provenience is relatively certain (not Alexandrian, as Goodspeed contends in *The Story of the Apocrypha*, p. 105).

The document is "a letter" (*epistole*) pseudonymously attributed to Jeremiah (verse 1); it contains seventy-two or seventy-three verses. The work is not a letter but a passionate sermon or plea to fellow Jews not to fear or worship idols; it is inspired by *Jeremiah* 10:1–16 (cf. *Isaiah* 44:9–21 and *Psalms* 115:3–8, 135:15–18), which is also a polemic against idolatry. The literary facade may have been stimulated by Jeremiah's letter to the exiles in Babylon (*Jer.* 29:1–23).

Tobit. Written in a Semitic language, probably Aramaic, around 180 BCE, and in Palestine—not in Egypt (*pace* D. C. Simpson, in Charles, 1913, p. 185)—*Tobit* is not a historical book, as some earlier critics claimed. It is a romantic story that attempts to edify the reader and to illustrate that God is efficacious and helps the righteous. The author fills the text with striking anachronisms: the tribe of Naphtali was exiled by Tiglath-pileser, not Shalmaneser (*Tb.* 1:2); Shalmaneser's successor was Sargon, not Sennacherib (*Tb.* 1:15); Nineveh was captured by Nabopolassar and Cyaxares, not Nebuchadrezzar and Ahasuerus (*Tb.* 14:15). These errors may have served to warn the attentive reader that the work is intended to be taken not as a history but as a folktale, or fictional short story. Likewise, the angel Raphael's declaration that he appears before men not corporally but in a vision (*Tb.* 12:19) may indicate the author's refusal to play on the credulity of the simple, or it may perhaps reflect a theology that is against belief in angels. The author is learned, borrowing from the Hebrew scriptures (the Pentateuch and the Prophets especially), from the Pseudepigrapha (notably from Ahiqar, who is mentioned explicitly in *Tobit* 1:21–22, 2:10, 11:18, and 14:10), and perhaps from the fable of the Grateful Dead (Simpson, in Charles, 1913, p. 188; Pfeiffer, 1949, pp. 269–271).

Combining two ancient folk legends, those of the Grateful Dead and the Dangerous Bride, the author, in fourteen chapters, weaves a deeply religious story. Tobit, a righteous man in exile in Nineveh, risks the king's wrath and certain death by collecting the corpses of fellow Israelites and giving them an honorable burial. Forced to sleep outside, because of his impurity one night, he is blinded by sparrows' dung. After an altercation with Anna, his wife, he prays to God to die. Also praying to die on that same day is Sarah, whose seven bridegrooms had perished on their wedding night, slain by Asmodeus, a demon (his name means "destroyer").

Remembering ten talents of silver (a wealthy sum) he had left in Media with a certain Gabael, Tobit sends his son Tobias to Gabael. In words reminiscent of a "testament," Tobit instructs his son regarding his duties to his parents and to the Law and avows practical wisdom regarding daily life. Tobias sets off on his journey accompanied by Raphael (whose name means "God heals"), God's angel disguised as an Israelite. He captures a fish and removes its gall, heart, and liver. With these magical potents and Raphael's advice and help, Tobias successfully defeats Asmodeus. He then marries Sarah, at whose home they rested. Raphael collects Tobit's money. Tobias and Sarah return to Nineveh, with Tobit's talents and half of Sarah's father's wealth. Tobias heals his father's eyesight with the gall of the fish. Offered half the riches, Raphael respectfully declines, affirming that prayer and alms are superior to riches, and reports that God had sent him, one of the seven angels, to heal Tobit and Sarah (*Tb.* 3:17). Raphael ascends; Tobit and Anna live a full life and are honorably buried by their son, who moves from (wicked) Nineveh to Ecbatana, Sarah's hometown.

Judith. The dramatic and didactic story of Judith was written in Hebrew around 150 BCE in Palestine, not in the Diaspora (not Antioch, *pace* Solomon Zeitlin in *The Book of Judith*, Leiden, 1972, p. 32). The sixteen chapters can be divided into a description of the attack upon the Jews by Holofernes, the general of the Assyrian king Nebuchadrezzar (chaps. 1–7), and then the deliverance of the nation by God through Judith, who decapitates Holofernes (chaps. 8–16). Judith is reminiscent of numerous biblical heroines, notably Jael (*Jgs.* 4:17–22, 5:2–31), Deborah (*Jgs.* 4:4–5:31), and Esther (esp. *Est.* 2:15–8:17).

This literary masterpiece—a classic example of an ancient short story—was written in order to encourage fellow Jews to resist the evil enemy, and to exhort them to obey the Law strictly (see especially Achior's prophecy and celebration of the people "in the hill country," *Jdt.* 5:5–21). God's efficaciousness depends upon observance of the Law. Since the story circulated shortly after the beginning of the Maccabean revolution, which began in 167 BCE, it would have served to encourage the Jews who not only faced superior military forces but were weakened internally by the bewitching attractiveness of Greek culture. God is proclaimed in Judith's song as "the Lord who shatters wars" (*Jdt.* 16:2). During the early decades of the Maccabean revolution this thought characterized those zealous and faithful to the Law; they would have been encouraged also by Judith's victorious shout: "With us still is God, our God, to effect power in Israel and strength against our enemies" (*Jdt.* 13:11).

2 Ezra (1 Esdras in the Septuagint, 3 Esdras in the Vulgate). Probably written in Hebrew or Aramaic, this work is a reproduction and rewriting of parts of the Hebrew scriptures, especially *2 Chronicles* 35:1–36:23, all of *Ezra*, and *Nehemiah* 7:38–8:12. Although very difficult to date, the work may derive from the late second century, or around 150–100 BCE. It certainly must predate 100 CE; Josephus Flavius used it, and not the Septuagint parallels, as his source for the period 621–398 BCE in his *Jewish Antiquities* (esp. 11.1.1–11.5.5).

Although this document is, of all the apocryphal writings, the one most closely connected to the Hebrew scriptures, it contains one section that is without parallel therein. This passage, chapters 3:1–5:6, is not dependent on any biblical book, and it may be a rewriting and adaptation of an earlier Babylonian tale. It describes a great feast after which three young guardsmen attempt to ascertain which of three potents is strongest: wine, the king, or women. To these answers a fourth is appended at the end of the chapter (4:33–41; plus 4:13b); it shifts the answer from "women" to "truth" and has all the earmarks of being a Jewish editorial addition in order to bring the climax of the account to an acceptable Jewish affirmation: "Great is truth, and strongest of all" (cf. Vulgate: "Magna est veritas et praevalet").

While the purpose of the nine chapters in the document is unclear, some characteristics are notable. The author elevates Ezra and refers to him as "high priest" ("Esdras ho archiereus," 9:40; cf. 9:49). He puts considerable emphasis on the Temple and its cult, which is reflected in the numerous references to the Temple and in the magnification of Zerubabel, the winner of the contest, who is the only guardsman identified (4:13; 4:13b is an editorial addition). Zerubabel is linked closely with King Darius, who commends him as "the wisest" (*sophoteros,* 4:42) and rewards him by providing for the rebuilding of the Temple (see Myers, 1974, pp. 8–15).

Additions to Esther. The additions to *Esther* are not a separate book; they are six extensive expansions to the Greek version of the *Book of Esther:*

A. Mordecai's dream and his exposure of a conspiracy against King Artaxerxes (1:1a–1r or 11:2–12:6),

B. a letter by Artaxerxes, who orders the extermination of the Jews (3:13a–13g or 13:1–7),

C. prayers by Mordecai and Esther (4:17a–17z and 5:2a–2b or 13:8–15:16),

D. Esther's radiant and successful audience before the king (5:1a–1f., 5:2a–2b or 15:1–16),

E. a second letter by Artaxerxes, who rescinds his former edict and praises the Jews (8:12a–12x or 16:1–24), and

F. the interpretation of Mordecai's dream (10:3a–3l or 10:4–11:1).

These additions amount to 107 verses not found in the Hebrew scriptures.

Four of these additions reflect a Hebrew original, but additions B and E, the two letters, were probably composed in Greek (see Moore, 1977, p. 155). Modern scholars tend to accept the authenticity of the ending of the additions, which dates them before 114 BCE and situates them in Jerusalem ("In the fourth year of Ptolemy and Cleopatra's reign . . . the preceding Letter of Purim . . . had been translated by Lysimachus, son of Ptolemy, [who is among those Egyptians living] in Jerusalem," 31 or 11:1). Moore (1977, pp. 161, 165–167) argues (unconvincingly) that the letters, additions B and E, postdate 114 and may have originated in Alexandria. The date of the Hebrew sections (A, C, D, and F) is now an open issue: do they appreciably predate 114 BCE? Hans Bardtke in *Historische und legendarische Erzählungen: Zusätze zu Esther* (Gütersloh, 1973, p. 27), argues that the date of the additions to *Esther* is between 167 and 161 BCE, because *2 Maccabees* 15:36, which refers to "Mordecai's day," probably postdates these additions, and the celebration on this day was for the defeat and death of Nicanor in 161.

The purposes of these imaginative additions seem clear. First and foremost, they supply the religious dimension so singularly lacking in *Esther.* Second, they provide color and detail to the story. Third, they contain a strong apologetic for Judaism (see especially E and F): "We find the Jews are not evildoers, but they are governed by the most just laws. . . . Permit the Jews to live by their own laws."

Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men. Three additions to *Daniel* are collected into the Apocrypha. Two of these, the story of Susanna and the story of Bel and the dragon, are separate, self-contained works in the *Daniel* cycle; the third, the *Prayer of Azariah,* like the additions to *Esther,* should be read as an insertion of sixty-eight verses into the *Book of Daniel*; in the Septuagint these verses are numbered from 3:24 to 3:90 (hence, the addition begins after 3:23).

All three additions were probably written originally in Hebrew, or possibly in Aramaic, and not in Greek as many early scholars concluded. The date of the additions is difficult to discern; in their present form all, of course, must postdate 164/5, the date of the *Book of Daniel.* A date between 164/5 and 100 BCE is a reasonable guess for all three additions, provided we acknowledge the possibility that one or more, especially *Bel and the Dragon,* could have been added in the early decades of the first century BCE. The three additions are probably from different times. It is possible that all three, or portions of them, originally reflected a setting different from their present place in the Septuagint. In the second century BCE there probably existed two rival versions of *Daniel* in Hebrew, one that is represented in the present Hebrew Bible (Masoretic text), and the other a later Hebrew recension, which was translated into Greek (of which today there are two recensions, the Septuagint and the Theodotion).

Two caveats are necessary. First, these additions may originally have been composed without *Daniel* in mind; Moore (1977, pp. 26–29) argues that parts of the *Prayer of Azariah* come from the liturgy of the Temple or the synagogue, and that *Susanna* and *Bel and the Dragon* originally had "nothing at all to do with the prophet Daniel" (esp. pp. 26, 109). Second, while this possibility deserves careful examination, these three additions are now clearly related to *Daniel* and should be studied in light of the Danielic cycle, represented by previously unknown documents found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, especially the *Prayer of Nabonidus* (4QPsDan ar $^{a\text{–}c}$; cf. 4QPsDan A^{a}, 4QPrNab ar). A Palestinian provenience seems most likely for the additions.

The *Prayer of Azariah*, clearly composed in Hebrew (see Otto Plöger, *Züsatze zu Daniel*, Gütersloh, 1973, p. 68), emphasizes that there is only one God and that he is always just. This addition to *Daniel* shifts the focus from the evil king and his golden idol to three potential martyrs and their faithfulness in prayer.

Susanna. The colorful tale of Susanna, told in only sixty-four verses (in the Theodotion), may originally have been independent of the Danielic cycle and is perhaps considerably earlier than the *Book of Daniel.* It describes how a beautiful woman, Susanna, is brought to court, because she refuses to submit to two aroused influential men (elders, *presbuteroi*, and judges, *kritai*), who approached her while she was bathing. Her scream and the men's lies land her in court. There her fate is sealed; the people and judges condemn her without hearing her. As she is being led to be stoned, the Lord hears her cry (verse 44) and arouses a youth, Daniel, who asks the judge to cross-examine the accusors. The story illustrates how God hears and helps the faithful and virtuous woman, and it demonstrates the wisdom of God in Daniel. This story, however, does not permit us to claim unequivocally either that witnesses were privately cross-examined in court in the second century BCE or that the worth of the individual—even women—was accorded first priority in courts in Hellenistic Judaism.

Bel and the Dragon (Bel and the Snake). This story of forty-two verses contains two separate tales. The first, one of our earliest examples of a detective story, describes how Daniel, by pointing out footprints in the ashes he had strewn on the floor of a temple, reveals to the king that the priests, their wives, and children had been eating the food offered to Bel, the Babylonian idol. The king recognizes he has been duped, becomes enraged, sees the secret doors used by the priests, and orders their deaths. Daniel is told to destroy the idol and its temple. The second story tells how Daniel destroys an idol, which is shaped like a great dragon (*drakōn*, v. 23), and is subsequently thrown into a lions' den. He survives, and Habakkuk, with angelic aid, zooms to Babylon and feeds Daniel. The king releases Daniel and casts his enemies into the pit. The shout of the king is significant for the purpose of these two stories: "You are great, O Lord God of Daniel, and there is no other but you" (v. 41). These stories lack the polish and brilliance of *Tobit* and *Judith;* their purpose is to ridicule idolatry and affirm the importance of worshiping God alone.

1 Baruch. O. C. Whitehouse (in Charles, 1913, pp. 572–573) argued that *1 Baruch* had been written in Greek; but his editor, R. H. Charles, appended a significant footnote (pp. 573–574) in which he claimed it had been composed in Hebrew. Modern scholars have concluded that at least parts of this document were composed in Hebrew, others in Hebrew or perhaps Greek. Although the precise date of the document in its present form is unknown, there is wide agreement that it dates from the second or first centuries BCE. W. O. E. Oesterley (*An Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha*, New York, 1935, p. 260) and Whitehouse (in Charles, 1913, p. 575) were certainly wrong to have dated *1 Baruch* after 70 CE. The provenience may be Palestinian.

The document is a composite: 1:1–3:8 is a prose composition and contains a confession of sins and a plea for God's compassion after the destruction of Jerusalem (cf. *Deuteronomy* 28–32 and *Daniel* 9:4–19); 3:9–4:4, by another writer, is in poetry and praises wisdom (cf. *Ben Sira* 24 and *Job* 28:12–28); 4:5–5:9, probably by the second writer, describes how Jerusalem's lament was heard. In *The Poetry of Baruch: A Reconstruction and Analysis of the Original Hebrew Text of Baruch 3:9–5:9* (Chico, Calif., 1982), David G. Burke argues that the second section, the poem on wisdom, is the earliest portion of the work and that the compilation dates somewhere from 180 to 100 BCE; he also attempts to reconstruct the original Hebrew of 3:9–4:4. This document is an example of Hellenistic Jewish theology, but noticeably absent are references to a messiah, eschatological or apocalyptic ideas, beliefs in a resurrection, and any signs of a dualism.

Wisdom and philosophical literature. Two books in the Apocrypha are from the wisdom school of Hellenistic Judaism, but while each is written by a single author, they are very different. *Ben Sira*, written in Hebrew, is by a conservative traditionalist from Palestine, perhaps even Jerusalem. The *Wisdom of Solomon*, written in Greek, is by a liberal thinker, thoroughly open to and influenced by non-Jewish ideas and philosophy—reminiscent to a certain extent of Philo Judaeus of Alexandria and *4 Maccabees;* it comes from Egypt, probably Alexandria.

Ben Sira (Sirach, Ecclesiasticus). The author addressed his work to fellow Jews and wrote it probably around 180 BCE. Fragments of the Hebrew original of 39:27–43:30 were discovered in 1964 in an eastern casemate wall at Masada. These twenty-six leather fragments must predate 74 CE, the date of the destruction of Masada, and paleographically they are from circa 125–25 BCE; they are middle or late Hasmonean (see the facsimiles in Yigael Yadin, *The Ben Sira*

Scroll from Masada, Jerusalem, 1965, pls. 1–9 and pp. 2–11). The Qumran fragments of *Ben Sira* (2QSir) are also approximately of the same date; they are late Hasmonean or early Herodian (see M. Baillet in *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumrân*, Oxford, 1962, p. 75 and pl. 15). Also, the Hebrew text of *Ben Sira* 51 (11QPs^{a}Sirach; see J. A. Sanders, ed., *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11*, Oxford, 1965, pp. 79–85, cols. 21 and 22) has been found in a Qumran manuscript dating from the first half of the first century CE. It is now certain that *Ben Sira* predates the first century BCE. Moreover, the Hebrew original must antedate the Greek translation (in the Septuagint) made by Ben Sira's grandson in Egypt not long after 132 BCE (see the prologue to *Ben Sira* in the Septuagint by the grandson, who refers to "the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Euergetes"). Finally, most scholars date the work to around 180, which seems reasonable, because in 50:1–24 the author refers to Shimʿon (i.e., Simon II, 219–196 BCE) as if he had died recently (note the Hebrew of 50:24, *yeʾamen ʿim Shimʿon ḥasdo;* see the text in Moses H. Segal, *Sefer ben Siraʾ ha-shalem*, Jerusalem, 1958, ad loc.).

A work of fifty-one chapters, *Ben Sira* is an apology for Judaism and is directed against the encroachments from Greek religion and culture. In particular, note the claim that Wisdom found a home in Israel and not in other nations (24:1–12). Some characteristic ideas in this long and major work are the following. The author believes in one God (explicit monotheism in 36:1–5) who is all-knowing (42:18), eternal (18:1), holy (23:9), just (35:12–13), and merciful (2:11, 48:20, 50:19). Ben Sira does not advocate an afterlife (17:27–28); immortality is through a son (30:4). Sin began with a woman (*me-ishshah teḥillat ʿavon*, 25:24) and death then appeared; but the author is not affirming the concept of original sin or predestination. He rather affirms man's essential freedom to obey the Law because of the inclination (*be-yad yitsro*, 15:14) given to man by God (see the brilliant discussion "Sin and Death" by E. E. Urbach in *The Sages: Their Concepts and Beliefs*, 2 vols., Jerusalem, 1979, vol. 1, pp. 420–422). He reveres the Temple and the priests (45:6–25) and elevates the Law (viz. 9:15). Wisdom is both personified and divine (viz. 24:3–5). Noticeably absent are beliefs in angels and the coming of a messiah.

G. H. Box and W. O. E. Oesterley (in Charles, 1913, p. 283) argued that this document "in its original form, represented the Sadducean standpoint." Today, scholars are far more reluctant to assign the text, in any form, to the Sadducees. It is certain that many ideas in *Ben Sira* are similar to those attributed by Josephus to the Sadducees (*Antiquities* 18.1), but does that factor indicate that the document comes from the Sadducees? Would a Sadducean document have been accepted at Qumran, and at Masada?

Wisdom of Solomon. Addressed to non-Jews, to whom the author often accommodates his thought, and written probably in the first half of the first century CE (Winston, 1979, pp. 20–25) or conceivably as early as 100 BCE (Pfeiffer, 1949, p. 327; Metzger, 1957, p. 67), this document reflects the intriguing blend of ancient Israelite and Jewish wisdom traditions with earlier and contemporary Greek philosophy and Egyptian reflective thought. The influence of non-Jewish ideas often replaces earlier Jewish perspectives; for example, many scholars, notably Metzger (1957, p. 75) and Chrysostome Larcher (*Études sur le livre de la Sagesse*, Paris, 1969, pp. 43, 91, 104), correctly claim that the Platonic conception of the soul's immortality, and not the Jewish idea of the resurrection of the body (see esp. *2 Maccabees* 14:37–46) is presented in *Wisdom of Solomon* 3:1–19 (viz., verses 1 and 4: "But the souls of the righteous . . . their hope [is] full of immortality"; cf. also 1:15, 5:15, 8:13–20). As in *Ben Sira*, Wisdom has now become personified in Jewish thought; she even appears to be hypostatic (see 7:21–8:21). Winston (1979, p. 4) divides the document into three sections (1:1–6:21, Wisdom's Gift of Immortality; 6:22–10:21, Wisdom's Nature and Power and Solomon's Quest for Her; and 11:1–19:22, Wisdom in the Exodus) and distinguishes two "excursuses" (11:15–12:22, On Divine Mercy, and 13:1–15:19, On Idolatry).

Quasi-historical books. It has been customary to refer to *1 Maccabees* and *2 Maccabees* as historical works; R. H. Charles (1913) arranged them, along with *2 Ezra* (*3 Esdras* in the Vulgate) and *3 Maccabees*, under the heading "Historical Books"; he put *Tobit* and *Judith* under the heading "Quasi-historical Books Written with a Moral Purpose." Today we recognize that *Tobit* and *Judith* are romantic and didactic stories, and that *1 Maccabees* and especially *2 Maccabees* are far too tendentious and selective to be labeled anything more than "quasi-historical."

1 Maccabees. The sixteen chapters of *1 Maccabees* were written in Hebrew, in Palestine, perhaps Jerusalem, shortly before the end of the second century BCE. They recount the military exploits of the Maccabees and the history of Judaism from the incursions by Antiochus IV Epiphanes (176–165 BCE) and the zealous rejection of paganism by Mattathias to the rule of John Hyrcanus I (135/4–105/4 BCE). As Jonathan A. Goldstein (1976) has emphasized, the author of *1 Maccabees* held strong theological views: he is fervently pro-Hasmonean and is impressively silent about—and probably rejected—beliefs in immortality and resurrection. In contrast to the author of *2 Maccabees*, he apparently disavows the value of martyrdom in prompting God to action, and he clearly accepts the twelve-month Babylonian lunar calendar.

2 Maccabees. The fifteen chapters of *2 Maccabees*, compiled by an unknown author, are an epitome (or abridgment) of a lost five-volume work (which is our only example of the "pathetic history" genre) by Jason of Cyrene (*2 Mc.* 2:19–32), of whom we otherwise know nothing. The epitomist probably wrote in Greek in Alexandria—or possibly in Jerusalem—shortly after 124 BCE or early in the first century BCE; he wrote for a sophisticated, informed Jewish audience.

This abridged history of Jason's tomes, which emphasizes the holiness of the Jerusalem Temple (see Elias Bickerman, *The God of the Maccabees*, Leiden, 1979, p. 21), is often fundamentally different from *1 Maccabees*. It presents the clearest examples of the Jewish belief in the resurrection of the body (see esp. 7:1–42, 12:43–45, and 14:37–46). Martyrdom by faithful Jews is efficacious, moving God to act and ensuring military victories (7:37–38, 8:3–7). Miracles are employed to explain major events.

Perhaps the most significant difference between *1 Maccabees* and Jason's work, according to *2 Maccabees*, is that the former legitimizes the Hasmonean dynasty but the latter tends to disparage it (see 10:19–23, 12:39–43, and Goldstein, 1976, pp. 27–34). Robert Doran argues in *Temple Propaganda: The Purpose and Character of 2 Maccabees* (Washington, D.C., 1981) that the epitomist was anti-Hasmonean, because he rejected the late Hasmonean use of mercenary troops and attributed military success to God rather than to the Maccabees.

The larger part of *2 Maccabees*, 3:1–15:36, is commonly called the Epitome. The Epitome covers Jewish history from circa 180; it gives prominence to the high priest Onias III (d. 170 BCE) and to the defeat and death of Nicanor in 161. It thereby corresponds to *1 Maccabees* 1:10–7:50.

Appreciably different from the Epitome are the two letters that begin *2 Maccabees*. The first letter (1:1–10a) was probably written in Hebrew or Aramaic (the most likely language for official communications at that time), as both Charles Cutler Torrey (1945, pp. 78–79) and Jonathan A. Goldstein (1976, p. 35) have concluded. It appears to be an authentic letter from Jewish authorities in Jerusalem to Jews in Egypt (*2 Mc.* 1:1). While it dates from 124 BCE, it also quotes in verses 7–8 an earlier letter of 143/2 BCE. The purpose of the letter is to urge the proper celebration of Ḥanukkah (verse 9), and it may have been propaganda against Onias's temple at Leontopolis, as Goldstein (1976, p. 35) argues.

The character of the second letter (1:10b–2:18) continues to be debated among scholars. Probably no part of it is authentic (*pace* Arnaldo Momigliano, *Prime linee di storia della tradizione Maccabaica* [1931], Amsterdam, 1968, pp. 81–94), and probably it was not written in Aramaic (*pace* Torrey, 1945, pp. 78–79). It was most likely written in Greek and is inauthentic (Goldstein, 1976, p. 36; Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, Philadelphia, 1974, vol. 1, p. 100, vol. 2, p. 69; Christian Habicht, *Historische und legendarische Erzählungen: 2. Makkabäerbuch*, Gütersloh, 1976, pp. 170, 199–207). The date assigned to this forged letter and its possible provenience are uncertain; it may be as early as 103 BCE (Goldstein, 1976, p. 36) or as late as 60 BCE (Bickerman, *Studies in Jewish and Christian History*, Leiden, 1980, pp. 136–158), and it may derive from Jews in either Jerusalem or Alexandria.

Goldstein (1976, p. 36) suggests that both letters are anti-Oniad propaganda and that they were prefaced to the Epitome shortly after 78 or 77 BCE in order to create a liturgical text that would be proper for the celebration of Hanukkah and serve for that festival as *Esther* does for Purim.

It is difficult to identify or categorize the epitomist himself. Only 2:19–2:32 and 15:37–39, derived neither from letters nor from Jason of Cyrene, appear to have originated with him.

2 Maccabees is, therefore, a recital through prophetic perspectives of the highlights in Jewish history of the second century BCE. This deliberate alteration of history by theology tends to cast *1 Maccabees* as more reliable for a reconstruction of the paradigmatic and historic events by the Hasmoneans.

THE PSEUDEPIGRAPHA. The Pseudepigrapha has been inadvertently defined incorrectly by the *selections* from this corpus published in German under the editorship of Emil Kautzsch in *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, 2 vols. (Tübingen, 1900), and in English under the editorship of R. H. Charles in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1913). Charles's edition of the Pseudepigrapha contains all the documents in Kautzsch's collection plus four additional writings: *2 Enoch*, *Ahiqar*, a Zadokite work, and *Pirke Aboth* (*Pirqei avot*). The last two works belong, respectively, among the Dead Sea Scrolls and the rabbinic writings. All the others and many more, to a total of fifty-two writings plus a supplement that contains thirteen lost Jewish works quoted by the ancients, especially Alexander Polyhistor (c. 112–30s BCE), are included in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols., edited by James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, N.Y., 1983–1984).

The fifty-two main documents in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha (OTP)*—which is not a canon of sacred writings but a modern collection of Jewish and Christian writings from circa 200 BCE to 200 CE—can be organized in five categories: (1) apocalyptic literature and related works; (2) testaments, which often include apocalyptic sections; (3) expansions of biblical stories and other legends; (4) wisdom and philosophical literature; and (5) prayers, psalms, and odes. (See *The Pseudepigrapha, Arranged by Category,* below.) To represent the corpus of the Pseudepigrapha within the confines of this relatively short article demands that comments on each category of writings be brief and sharply focused.

THE PSEUDEPIGRAPHA, ARRANGED BY CATEGORY:

Apocalyptic Literature and Related Works

1. Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Enoch* (*1 Enoch*)
2. Slavonic *Apocalypse of Enoch* (*2 Enoch*)
3. Hebrew *Apocalypse of Enoch* (*3 Enoch*)
4. *Sibylline Oracles*
5. *Treatise of Shem*
6. *Apocryphon of Ezekiel*
7. *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*
8. *Fourth Book of Ezra* (*4 Ezra*)
9. *Apocalypse of Ezra*
10. *Vision of Ezra*
11. *Questions of Ezra*

12. *Revelation of Ezra*
13. *Apocalypse of Sedrach*
14. Syriac *Apocalypse of Baruch* (*2 Baruch*)
15. Greek *Apocalypse of Baruch* (*3 Baruch*)
16. *Apocalypse of Abraham*
17. *Apocalypse of Adam*
18. *Apocalypse of Elijah*
19. *Apocalypse of Daniel*

Testaments

1. *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*
2. *Testament of Abraham*
3. *Testament of Isaac*
4. *Testament of Jacob*
5. *Testament of Job*
6. *Testament of Moses*
7. *Testament of Solomon*
8. *Testament of Adam*

Expansions of Biblical Stories and Other Legends

1. *Letter of Aristeas*
2. *Jubilees*
3. *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah*
4. *Joseph and Aseneth*
5. *Life of Adam and Eve*
6. *Pseudo-Philo*
7. *Lives of the Prophets*
8. *Ladder of Jacob*
9. *Fourth Book of Baruch* (*4 Baruch*)
10. *Jannes and Jambres*
11. *History of the Rechabites*
12. *Eldad and Modad*
13. *History of Joseph*

Wisdom and Philosophical Literature

1. *Ahiqar*
2. *Third Book of the Maccabees* (*3 Maccabees*)
3. *Fourth Book of the Maccabees* (*4 Maccabees*)
4. *Pseudo-Phocylides*
5. *Syriac Menander*

Prayers, Psalms, and Odes

1. Five More Psalms of David (Psalms 151–155)
2. *Prayer of Manasseh*
3. *Psalms of Solomon*
4. *Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers*
5. *Prayer of Joseph*
6. *Prayer of Jacob*
7. *Odes of Solomon*

Apocalyptic literature and related works. Nineteen pseudepigrapha can be grouped in the category of apocalyptic literature and related works (see *The Pseudepigrapha, Arranged by Category*). These nineteen works cover three overlapping chronological periods.

1. Antedating the burning of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 CE, the great watershed in the history of Early Judaism (250 BCE–200 CE), are *1 Enoch*, some of the *Sibylline Oracles*, the *Apocrypha of Ezekiel*, and perhaps the *Treatise of Shem.*
2. After 70, the great varieties of religious thought in Judaism waned markedly as religious Jews, with great anxiety, lamented the loss of the Temple and pondered the cause of their defeat. *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*, *3 Baruch*, and the *Apocalypse of Abraham* are characterized by an intense interest in theodicy. *4 Ezra* is very pessimistic; its author finds it difficult to see any hope in his remorse. *2 Baruch* is much more optimistic than *4 Ezra;* the Temple was destroyed by God's angels because of Israel's unfaithfulness (7:1–8:5), not by a superior culture or the might of the enemy.
3. Later works are documents 3, some of 4, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 18, and 19, ranging in date from the lost purported Jewish base of (or traditions in) the *Apocalypse of Adam* in the first or second century CE to the *Apocalypse of Daniel* in the ninth. These works are important for an understanding of Early Judaism only because they apparently preserve some edited works and record some early Jewish traditions.

The most important pseudepigraphon in this group is the composite book known as *1 Enoch*. It is preserved in its entire, final form only in Ethiopic, although versions of early portions of it are preserved in other languages; of these the most important are the Greek and Aramaic. The Qumran Aramaic fragments, because of their paleographic age, prove that portions of *1 Enoch* date from the third, second, and first centuries BCE.

In *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford, 1976), J. T. Milik not only published the *editio princeps* of the Aramaic fragments of *Enoch*, but he also claimed that chapters 37–71 must be Christian and postdate 260 CE. He obtained this surprising conclusion because of the absence of these chapters at Qumran, the striking similarity to the New Testament concepts of the Son of man and the Messiah, and the author's imagined reference to the "events of the years 260 to 270 CE" (p. 96). These arguments are erroneous, and they have been rightly rejected by all specialists. The absence of fragments at Qumran is not so significant as Milik claims; the striking parallels to the New Testament are due either to a shared culture or to influences from

1 Enoch 37–71 upon Jesus or the New Testament authors; the historical events of the third century CE are *not* reflected in *1 Enoch.* Moreover, all manuscripts of *1 Enoch* attest that chapters 37–71 move climactically to the elevation of Enoch as son of man (in 71:14, the angel says to Enoch, "You are the son of man."). Hence, all of *1 Enoch* is Jewish and predates 70.

1 Enoch consists of five works that were composed over three centuries. In chronological order they are *Enoch's Astronomical Book* (*1 Enoch* 72–82), from the third century BCE; *Enoch's Journeys* (*1 Enoch* 1–36), from pre-160 BCE; *Enoch's Dream Visions* (*1 Enoch* 83–90), from pre-160 BCE), *Enoch's Epistle* (*1 Enoch* 91–105), from the second or first century BCE; and *Enoch's Parables* (*1 Enoch* 37–71), from pre-70 CE. Addenda (*1 Enoch* 106–108) are of uncertain date.

Some of the chapters that begin and end the divisions in *1 Enoch* were added or edited as the separate works were brought together into one document; this composite work circulated in Palestine before 70. While the precise dates for these sections of *1 Enoch*, or *Books of Enoch*, are debated, it is clear that the ideas they contain, such as the advocation of a solar calendar, were characteristic of some Jews from the third century BCE to the first century CE. *1 Enoch* is one of our major sources for Hellenistic Jewish ideas on cosmology, angelology, astronomy, God, sin, and mankind.

Example: "Then an angel came to me [Enoch] and greeted me and said to me, 'You, son of man, who art born in righteousness and upon whom righteousness has dwelt, the righteousness of the Antecedent of Time will not forsake you'" (*1 En.* 71:14; trans. E. Isaac in *OTP).*

Testaments. Eight testaments, some of which include apocalyptic sections, make up a second group of pseudepigrapha (see *The Pseudepigrapha, Arranged by Category*). Of these, only the *Testament of Job* and the *Testament of Moses* clearly predate 70 CE. The *Testament of Adam*, in its present form, may be as late as the fifth century CE. The *Testament of Solomon* is earlier, perhaps from the third centruy CE. The *Testament of Isaac* and the *Testament of Jacob* were possibly added in the second or third century to the *Testament of Abraham*, which in its earliest form probably dates from the end of the first century or the beginning of the second century CE.

The most important—and most controversial—document in this group is the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.* Marinus de Jonge (for bibliographic data, see Charlesworth, 1981) has argued that this document is a Christian composition that inherits much Jewish tradition, both oral and written. Most scholars have concluded that, while the extant document is Christian, the Christian passages are clearly interpolations and redactions added to a Jewish document that dates from the second or first century BCE. This documents consists of twelve testaments, each attributed to a son of Jacob and containing ethical instruction often with apocalyptic visions.

Example: "A copy of the words of Levi: the things that he decreed to his sons concerning all they were to do, and the things that would happen to them until the day of judgment. . . . I, Levi, was born in Haran and came with my father to Shechem. . . . There I again saw the vision as formerly. . . . And now, my children, I know from the writings of Enoch that in the end time you will act impiously against the Lord . . . your brothers will be humiliated and among all the nations you shall become the occasion for scorn. For your father, Israel, is pure with respect to all the impieties of the chief priests [who laid their hands on the savior of the world (*sōtēra tou kosmou.*)], as heaven is pure above the earth; and you should be the lights of Israel as the sun and the moon" (*T. Levi* 1:1, 2:1, 8:1, 14:1–3; trans. H. C. Kee in *OTP;* brackets denote the Christian interpolation).

Expansions of biblical stories and legends. The documents in the Hebrew Bible, because of their recognized divine authority and revered antiquity, profoundly affected the daily and religious life of Jews in the Hellenistic world. The three divisions of the Hebrew Bible—the Torah (Law), Prophets, and the Writings—moved toward canonicity during the years from 300 BCE to 200 CE. Almost all Jewish religious writings were categorically shaped on the literary norms, theological perspectives, and semiotic language already developed in the Hebrew Bible. Of the many ramifications caused by the normative force of the biblical books, one is singularly represented by the documents that expand upon the biblical stories, supplying details and providing answers—often through pictorially rich narratives—to questions aroused by careful and repeated readings of the sacred books. Thirteen documents fall into this category (see *The Pseudepigrapha, Arranged by Category*).

These thirteen documents represent Jewish expansions of stories in the Hebrew scriptures over many centuries. The *History of Joseph*, in a class by itself, is late, and perhaps reached its final form in the sixth century CE. Five writings, documents 8–12, date from the late first century to the late second century. The *History of the Rechabites*, however, was extensively expanded and reworked by early Christians; its present form in Syriac, and perhaps in Greek, was not complete until around the sixth century.

In this group the most important writings for Hellenistic Judaism are documents 1–7. Almost all these predate the destruction of Jerusalem in 70. The *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah* is a significant exception; it continued to be expanded and was redacted by Christians up until about the fourth century. *Joseph and Aseneth* has been a controversial writing; while it has been dated by some scholars as early as the second century BCE, it probably dates from the early decades of the second century CE (see Charlesworth, 1981; Denis, 1970; and especially C. Burchard in *OTP*). *Jubilees* was probably composed in the years between 163 and 140 BCE.

Example: "And in the eleventh jubilee Jared took for himself a wife. . . . And she bore a son for him in the fifth week. . . . And he called him Enoch. This one was the first who learned writing and knowledge and wisdom. . . . And who wrote in a book the signs of the heaven according to the order of their months, so that the sons of man might know the (appointed) times of the years according to their order, with respect to each of their months" (*Jub.* 4:16–17; trans. Orval Wintermute in *OTP*).

Wisdom and philosophical literature. Mankind's search for understanding and wisdom crosses all boundaries, including the fictitious divides of centuries and the fluctuating contours of nations. Five pseudepigrapha constitute a Hellenistic Jewish record of humankind's insights into wisdom and present practical ethical rules and aphorisms for enlightened actions (see *The Pseudepigrapha, Arranged by Category*). *Syriac Menander*, as a collection, seems to date from the third century CE (see T. Baarda in *OTP*), but *Pseudo-Phocylides* and *4 Maccabees* date from the first century CE, and perhaps the former from even the first century BCE (see P. W. van der Horst in *OTP*). *3 Maccabees* was clearly composed in the first century BCE. *Ahiqar* is very early, dating from the fourth or even fifth century BCE, but it influenced the author of *Tobit* around 180 BCE.

Examples: "The love of money is the mother of all evil" (*Ps-Phoc.* 42; trans. van der Horst in *OTP*). "Long hair is not fit for boys, but for voluptuous women" (*Ps-Phoc.* 212; trans. van der Horst in *OTP*). "Do not laugh at old age, for that is where you shall arrive and remain" (*Syr. Men.* 11–12; trans. T. Baarda in *OTP*). "For reason [*logismos*] is the guide of the virtues and the supreme master of the passions" (*4 Mc.* 1:30; trans. H. Anderson in *OTP*).

Prayers, psalms, and odes. The Davidic Psalter, the hymnbook of the Second Temple, was gradually considered closed during the centuries that preceded the destruction of the Temple. Other poetic compositions were completed during the years from the conquests of Alexander the Great in 336–323 BCE until the final defeat of Shimʿon Bar Kokhba in 135 CE. Many of these were incorporated into various pseudepigrapha to accentuate or illustrate a point or to raise the confessional level of the narrative. Others were collected into "hymnbooks" or "prayer books" that may be grouped as a fifth, and final, category of pseudepigrapha (see *The Pseudepigrapha, Arranged by Category*). The *Odes of Solomon*, the earliest Christian "hymnbook," is modeled on the poetic style of the Davidic Psalter; it dates from the late first century or the beginning of the second century CE. The *Prayer of Joseph* and the *Prayer of Jacob* are Jewish compositions from perhaps as early as the first century CE. The "Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers," preserved in books 7 and 8 of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, are Christian in their present form, but they may well be remnants of Jewish prayers that date from the early centuries CE. The *Psalms of Solomon*, which seems to represent the piety of a circle of Jews living in Jerusalem, was certainly composed in the second half of the second century BCE. The *Prayer of Manasseh* is very difficult to date, but it probably comes from the turn of the eras. The Davidic Psalter itself was expanded with "Five More Psalms of David" (psalms 151–155), which date from various time periods, ranging from the third century (151) to the second or first century BCE (152–155). The original language of Psalms 151, 154, and 155 is Hebrew; the others were composed in a Semitic language (Hebrew, Aramaic, or Syriac).

Example: "O Lord, do not condemn me according to my sins; / For no one living is righteous before you" (Psalm 155 [110Ps^a 155]; trans. Charlesworth in *OTP*).

See Also Apocalypse, overview article and article on Jewish Apocalypticism to the Rabbinic Period.

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Revised Bibliography

BIBLICAL LITERATURE: NEW TESTAMENT

The New Testament is a collection of twenty-seven books written by over a dozen authors with diverse theological convictions. The books were written between circa 50 CE and 150 CE. Along with the Hebrew Bible, they are the normative scriptures of the Christian churches. They gained that status only after a long and complex process; the shape of the collection took definitive form for most churches only in the fourth century.

Neither Jesus nor the early Christians knew anything of a New Testament. Their Bible was the Jewish Bible alone. Originally, Christian traditions were oral, and a preference for the oral over the written lived on into the second century. But during the last thirty or so years of the first century CE, traditions about Jesus came to be transmitted in written sources that were read at Christian gatherings. Concurrently, some communities began to use several Pauline epistles in their gatherings. Gradually, then, theological and moral authority came to be embodied in written Christian texts. However, since different writings were read in different places, and because the diversity in the early church was considerable, there was often disagreement over which texts to privilege.

The Four Gospels and *Acts*. Jesus did not to our knowledge write anything. He was an oral preacher, with a repertoire of parables, aphorisms, exhortations, and example stories. If, as the Gospels have it, he sent out followers to preach what he preached (see *Lk.* 10:2–12), they must have learned much the same repertoire, so oral transmission of the Jesus tradition must have begun before Jesus' death.

After Jesus' crucifixion, his disciples continued to recite his words, and they also began to tell stories about him. Unfortunately, the roads along which the tradition moved to the written Gospels, who moved it, and how much it changed along the way, cannot be recovered. The tradition was sometimes used in moral exhortations, other times in polemical and apologetical settings, other times in gatherings for worship. While the tradition was not fixed word-for-word, it likewise did not have the character of an amorphous folk tradition. Beyond such generalities, however, it is not known how the tradition was handled.

Sometime in the second century, for reasons unknown, the Gospels of *Matthew, Mark, Luke,* and *John* began to circulate as a collection. This fact troubled some because these four present distinctly different pictures of Jesus and sometimes contradict each other. So some preferred to read only one gospel. In the middle of the second century, in Rome, Marcion used a version of Luke's gospel. Shortly thereafter, Tatian composed his *Diatessaron,* which turned four books into one. Many eastern churches accepted this harmony as canonical for three centuries thereafter. By the beginning of the third century, however, many churches were reading the fourfold collection.

Historically, most Christians, being more interested in Jesus than the evangelists, have sought to downplay the differences between the four Gospels. Modern scholarship has instead highlighted them, emphasizing that the Gospels are not just the product of their subject but also of their authors and their creative theological traditions, so that the Gospels tell us about the church as well as Jesus. By including, excluding, arranging, rewriting, offering commentary, and creating materials, each writer reflects a particular theological tradition that should not be flattened for harmony with the other writers.

The synoptic problem and *Q*. *Matthew, Mark,* and *Luke* are known as "the synoptics." They are sufficiently similar that one can place them side by side and view most of their contents synoptically, at the same time. They share many sayings and stories and often the order of those stories and sayings. About 55 percent of *Mark* is in *Luke,* and about 90 percent of *Mark* is in *Matthew;* often there is word-for-word agreement (compare, for example, *Mt.* 3:7–10 with *Lk.* 3:7–9). While it is impossible to prove that such agreements do not derive from careful memorization of the same oral tradition, most scholars take the extensive agreements to indicate a literary relationship.

The consensus that emerged in Germany, England, and the United States at the end of the nineteenth century, and that held for most of the twentieth century, is that *Mark* was the first written gospel, and that Matthew and Luke, independently of each other, both knew and used *Mark.* Matthew and Luke also had access to a lost text known as *Q.* This last was mostly a collection of sayings of Jesus not unlike the apocryphal *Gospel of Thomas.*

It is not hard to find dissenters. Some important scholars have characterized *Q* not as a written source but as a series of tractates or even oral sources. Others have explained the data by arguing that *Mark* used both *Matthew* and *Luke,* or that *Mark* came first, after which Matthew expanded *Mark,* after which Luke used both. Still, the most common view remains that Matthew and Luke independently used *Mark* and *Q.* Among the reasons, which are suggestive rather than demonstrative, are these:

(1) Texts in *Mark* but not in *Matthew* include: *Mark* 3:21 (Jesus' family seeks to restrain him because some think him mad); 8:22–26 (Jesus heals a blind man who then sees, but only imperfectly, and Jesus has to heal him a second time); 9:49 (Jesus says "everyone will be salted with fire"); 11:16 (Jesus forbids vessels to be carried in the temple); and 14:51–52 (a young man runs away naked when Jesus is arrested). On the theory of Markan priority, Matthew omitted these items. On the theory of Matthean priority, Mark added them. The latter is less likely, for the items catalogued are all potentially embarrassing, of uncertain meaning, or not theologically significant. It is easier to imagine someone dropping them than adding them.

(2) If Mark used *Matthew,* he decided not to reproduce the story of the virgin birth, the tale of the magi, the sermon on the mount, and other portions that seem memorable, entertaining, and edifying. It is unclear what would have motivated Mark to not include them.

(3) Jesus spoke Aramaic, and *Mark* exhibits more traces of this fact, containing as it does several Semitic words or phrases missing from both *Matthew* and *Luke: Boanerges* (3:17); *talitha cum* (5:41); *korban* (7:11); *rabbouni* (10:51); and *abba* (14:36).

(4) *Matthew*'s Christology, being higher than *Mark*'s, seems later. Jesus is called "Lord" only once in *Mark* but a full nineteen times in *Matthew.* In *Mark* 1:32–33 and 3:10, Jesus heals "many," but the Matthean parallels have him healing "all." Several times in *Mark,* Jesus asks questions, all of which are missing from *Matthew* (see *Mk.* 5:9, 30; 8:12; 9:12, 16, 33; 10:18; and 14:14). Again, whereas *Mark* 6:5 says Jesus "could do no deed of power" in Nazareth, *Matthew*'s "he did not do many deeds of power there" (13:58) not only implies that he worked some miracles but further avoids the implication, near to hand from *Mark,* that maybe Jesus tried but failed.

Regarding *Q, Matthew* and *Luke* alone share about 230 verses in common. It is unlikely that Matthew took them from Luke, for *Matthew* does not show clear knowledge of Luke's editorial work, and there are no obvious reasons for Matthew to omit memorable parts of *Luke,* such as the tales of the rich man and Lazarus (16:19–31) and the prodigal son (15:11–32). Similarly, it is unlikely that Luke copied Matthew, because *Luke* does not show clear knowledge of Matthew's editorial work, and there are no obvious reasons for Luke having omitted memorable parts of *Matthew,* such as Herod's slaughter of the infants (2:1–21) or the fuller version of the Lord's Prayer (6:9–13).

If *Matthew* and *Luke* are independent of each other, the non-Markan traditions they share came to them through oral tradition or in writing. Favoring a written text is the fact that most of the common material occurs in four large blocks that are in the same order in the two gospels: the sermon on the mount or plain (*Mt.* 5-7; *Lk.* 6:17–49); missionary directives (*Mt.* 10; *Lk.* 9, 10); polemic against leaders (*Mt.* 23; *Lk* 11); and eschatological matters (*Mt.* 24:28, 37–40; *Lk.* 17: 20–37).

Although *Q* remains hypothetical, this has not prevented attempts to recover its text, date it, reconstruct its stages of composition, and so on. Particularly intense has been the debate over whether *Q* reflects a faith that did not have as its center the death and resurrection of Jesus. Because there is no evidence that the document contained a passion narrative or described Jesus' resurrection, this is possible. But *Q*'s silence can also be explained by its genre as a collection of sayings of Jesus, which need not be a full-length mirror of its community's convictions.

Matthew. Papias, a bishop in Asia Minor, wrote in the early second century: "Now Matthew made an ordered arrangement of the oracles in the Hebrew [or Aramaic] language, and each one translated [or interpreted] it as he was able." These words and the traditional title *According to Matthew*—added at an early but uncertain date—show that some attributed this gospel to the disciple named in *Matthew* 9:9 and 10:3. Most now doubt the tradition. Papias and others after him consistently associated Matthew's authorship with a Semitic text, but *Matthew* is in Greek and seems unlikely to be a translation from Hebrew or Aramaic. Furthermore, it is unlikely that a Semitic document, such as Papias speaks of, would have incorporated, as *Matthew* seems to have done, the Greek *Mark* almost in its entirety.

The author of *Matthew,* whatever the name, was probably a Jew. Some of the biblical quotations seem to be translated from the Hebrew specifically for the gospel (2:18, 23; 8:17; 12:18–21). There is, further, concentrated focus on the synagogue (e.g., 6:1–18; 23:1–39), as well as affirmation of the abiding force of the Mosaic law (5:17–20). And *Matthew* alone records Jesus' prohibitions against mission outside Israel (10:5; 15:24) and shows concern that eschatological flight not occur on a Sabbath (24:20).

Majority opinion holds that *Matthew* appeared in the last quarter of the first century CE A later date is excluded because Christians writers from the first part of the second century, such as Ignatius of Antioch and Papias, show knowledge of *Matthew,* which accordingly must have been composed before 100 CE. An earlier date is excluded because *Matthew* 22:7 seems to betray knowledge of the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE. An origin in Antioch in Syria is a common guess, but it is no more than a guess.

The primary structure of the gospel is narrative followed by discourse followed by narrative followed by discourse, and so on:

1–4: Narrative—the main character introduced.

5–7: Discourse—Jesus' demands upon Israel.

8–9: Narrative—Jesus' deeds within and for Israel.

10: Discourse—extension of ministry through words and deeds of others.

11–12: Narrative—negative response.

13: Discourse—explanation of negative response.

14–17: Narrative—founding of new community.

18: Discourse—instructions to the new community.

19–23: Narrative—commencement of the passion.

24–25: Discourse—the future: judgment and salvation.

26–28: Narrative—conclusion: the passion and resurrection.

Matthew not only often quotes the Jewish Bible, it also draws upon it to create typologies that order and add details to the story. In chapters 1 to 5, for instance, the text again and again directs the informed reader to the foundational story in *Exodus,* and so teaches that Jesus is a new lawgiver whose advent inaugurates a new exodus. Herod's order to do away with the male infants of Bethlehem (2:16–18) is like Pharaoh's order to do away with every male Hebrew child (*Ex.* 1). The quotation of *Hosea* 11:1 in *Matthew* 2:15 evokes thought of the exodus, for in its original context "Out of Egypt I have called my son" concerns Israel. Jesus, like Israel, is exiled to Egypt and then returns to the land. *Matthew* 2:19–21 borrows the language of *Exodus* 4:19–20 so that just as Moses, after being told to go back to Egypt because all those seeking his life have died, takes his wife and children and returns to the land of his birth, so too with Jesus: Joseph, after being told to go back to Israel because all those seeking the life of his son have died, takes his wife and child and returns to the land of his son's birth. When Jesus passes through the waters of baptism and then goes into the desert to suffer temptation, Matthew again recalls the exodus (cf. especially *Dt.* 8:2–3). Jesus, whose forty-day fast reminds one of Moses' forty-day fast (*Ex.* 24:18), is, like Israel, tempted by hunger (*Ex.* 16:2–8), tempted to put God to the test (*Ex.* 17:1–4; cf. *Dt.* 6:16), and tempted to idolatry (*Ex.* 32). On each occasion *Matthew* quotes from *Deuteronomy*—from 8:3 in *Matthew* 4:4, from 6:16 in *Matthew* 4:7, and from 6:13 in *Matthew* 4:10. After all this, Jesus goes up on a mountain, where he delivers the sermon on the mount, perhaps Christianity's most important source of ethical direction. In this he discusses the Sinai commandments of Moses (5:17–48) and delivers his own imperatives. Jesus is a new Moses.

Mark. This gospel is traditionally ascribed to John Mark. *Acts* mentions him several times, claiming that believers met in his mother's house in Jerusalem and that he was the cause of a falling out between the apostles Paul and Barnabas (*Mk.* 12:12, 25; 13:5; 15:37, 39). This man also appears in Paul's letters, where he is a coworker (*Col.* 4:10; *2 Tm.* 4:11; *Phlm.* 24), as well as in *1 Peter* 5:13, which associates him with Peter.

It is not known when early *Mark* gained its title, but the gospel was attributed to Mark in the early second century CE Papias defended Mark this way:

> The Presbyter said this: Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, accurately wrote what he remembered, although not in order, the things said and done by the Lord. . . .Mark erred not in recording what he remembered. For he took forethought for one thing, not to omit any of the things that he had heard nor to state any of them falsely.

Proponents of Markan authorship have asked why anyone would, without good reason, attribute a gospel to someone as relatively obscure as John Mark. Why not Peter himself?

Many, nonetheless, doubt the tradition. The gospel itself nowhere purports to come from John Mark or otherwise associates itself with Peter. It furthermore makes no claim to pass on eyewitness information, nor does it contain any evidence of such; if the work had been written by a Mark even less important than John Mark, tradition might have turned one into another.

Early tradition says that *Mark* was composed shortly before or after Peter's death. As Peter was probably martyred in the 60s, the tradition is not here far from the modern consensus, which places *Mark* shortly before or after 70 CE. One reason for the consensus is that if Matthew and Luke knew *Mark,* and if they appeared before the end of the first century, *Mark* must be earlier. Another reason is that *Mark* 13 seems to reflect the circumstances of the late 60s and maybe the destruction of the temple in 70 CE.

According to Clement of Alexandria in the last quarter of the second century, the gospel was composed in Rome. This fits the conventional ascription to John Mark, because tradition has Peter moving to Rome and because *1 Peter* 5:13 associates John Mark and Peter with Rome (represented by Babylon). Many scholars still find a Roman origin plausible and think that the gospel's emphasis upon suffering may reflect the trying conditions of Christian life in Rome in and after Nero's days. But the gospel itself contains no statement about where it was written, and other scholars believe that Galilee or somewhere else is no less likely.

Regarding *Mark*'s audience, probably most were Gentiles. This follows from *Mark* 7:3–4: "For the Pharisees, and all the Jews, do not eat unless they thoroughly wash their hands, thus observing the tradition of the elders; and they do not eat anything from the market unless they wash it; and there are also many other traditions that they observe, the washing of cups, pots, and bronze kettles." Apart from the problem that this statement may not be wholly accurate, it would make little sense for an author to inform Jews about Jewish customs. The gospel is, nevertheless, firmly rooted in Jewish culture and tradition. It begins by citing the Bible (*Mk.* 1:2–3) and continues to quote from and allude to the Scriptures throughout. Jesus' God is explicitly the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (*Mk.* 12:26). And all of the main characters are, with the exception of Pilate, Jews.

Unlike *Matthew, Mark* is not organized in any obvious way. Material is sometimes arranged by topic, sometimes by geography, sometimes by chronology. The parables in chapter 4 and the collection of eschatological materials in chapter 13 display a topical interest, whereas a geographical interest emerges in chapter 1, which brings together events that take place in Capernaum, as well as in the latter chapters, which bring together all of the stories about Jesus in Jerusalem. (Contrast John's gospel, in which Jesus goes up to Jerusalem several times.) The main outline of the book, however, is chronological: Jesus is baptized; then he engages in his public ministry; then he goes up to Jerusalem; then he has a last supper with his disciples; then he is arrested; then he is put on trial; then he is crucified; and then he is buried.

Like *Matthew* and *Luke, Mark* consists mostly of small units that could stand alone. More often than not paragraphs have an introduction and a conclusion and do not require a context to be understood. Evidently most of the paragraphs once functioned as isolated units. Mark was then largely responsible for the geographical and chronological placement that the stories and sayings now possess.

Mark's ending is problematic. *Mark* 16:9–20 cannot, for both literary and textual reasons, be original. Scholars debate whether the book's original ending was lost or whether it ended at 16:8, without recounting a resurrection appearance. Most recent experts have favored the view that *Mark* exists in its entirety. But one may ask whether the current consensus, which favors 16:8 as the original, ambiguous, mysterious ending, is popular partly because it appeals to modern sensibilities, which are often suspicious of neat closure and happy endings.

Luke-Acts. *Luke* and *Acts*—the New Testament's two longest books—are now separated. Originally, however, as the two prefaces imply (*Lk.* 1:1–4; *Acts* 1:1–2), they were volumes one and two of the same work, which scholars call *Luke-Acts.* Whether the two volumes first appeared together, or whether *Acts* was a sequel that appeared sometime after the gospel, is unknown. In any case, both works are from the same author, and *Acts* continues the story of *Luke.* A brief outline might look something like this:

Volume 1, *Luke:* How Christianity began with Jesus in Galilee and Jerusalem.

1–12. The coming of Jesus (infancy, youth).

3–4:13. The call of Jesus (baptism, temptation).

4:14–9:50. The Galilean ministry (teaching, miracles).

9:51–19:48. The road to Jerusalem (teaching, miracles).

20–24. The end in Jerusalem (passion, resurrection).

Volume 2, *Acts*: How the apostles carried the gospel from Jerusalem to Rome.

1–12. From Jerusalem to Antioch.

13–28. From Antioch to Rome.

Jesus is the central character in volume 1; Peter in chapters 1–12 of volume 2; and Paul in chapters 13–28 of volume 2. Both volumes cover approximately the same amount of time, about thirty years.

Apart from the traditional title for the gospel (*According to Luke* or *The Gospel according to Luke*), the earliest testimony to authorship comes from Irenaeus and Tertullian in the latter part of the second century. Both associate the gospel with the common name "Luke." Tradition identified him with a native of Antioch in Syria. *Colossians* 4:14 calls him a physician and implies his Gentile status. *2 Timothy* 4:11 identifies him as a coworker of Paul. Some scholars think that the tradition is right, for a number of reasons. (1) Several portions of *Acts* use the first person plural ("we"): 16:10–17; 20:5–15; 21:1–18; and 27:1–28:16. As these "we" sections, which are rich with detail, are unlikely to be a fictional literary device, either the author incorporated a source ostensibly composed by one of Paul's companions or the author was such a companion. In favor of the latter is the fact that these sections do not differ in style from the rest of *Acts.* (2) Those sections, taken at face value, imply that their author was one of the four individuals who traveled with Paul to Rome—Titus, Jesus Justus, Crescens, or Luke. (3) Why would tradition latch onto Luke if he were not the author? Why not rather pick the better known and more important Titus? (4) Although the author of *Acts* probably did not know Paul's epistles, *Acts* does know many things that those epistles confirm, such as that Paul did not stay long in Thessalonica (*Acts* 17; cf. *1 Thes.*), or that Paul visited Athens but had no substantial ministry there (again *Acts* 17; cf. *1 Thes.* 3:1; the epistles make no other mention of Athens), or that Paul had exceptional success in Ephesus (*Acts* 19; cf. *1 Cor.* 16:8, 9).

There remain, however, many who reject the traditional ascription. The "we" passages do not make Luke any more likely a candidate for authorship than Titus or the other companions. Perhaps the tradition inferred Lukan authorship from the latter part of *Acts* and picked the wrong individual. It is, moreover, possible that the author took the "we" sections from a source and rewrote them, which would explain why their style matches the rest of the book. Those who hold this view typically underline the differences between *Acts* and the historical Paul as known from his letters. Many have thought it impossible, for instance, to reconcile the Paul of *Galatians* with the Paul of *Acts* 16:3, who has Timothy circumcised. Yet why Luke's being a companion of Paul entails that he agreed with Paul on everything or that he wrote nothing but sober history does not appear. The tradition, then, could be correct, even if the case for it falls short of demonstration.

The date of *Luke-Acts* raises important questions about interpretation. The usual line is that *Luke-Acts* had to have been written after Paul's death in the 60s because *Luke* 21:20 shows knowledge of the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE But some find a difficulty here. *Acts* ends by relating that Paul lived for two years in Rome in prison (28:30–31). Could the author have concluded without narrating Paul's fate? Deaths are important events in *Luke-Acts,* which relates the crucifixion of Jesus (*Lk.* 23), Judas's suicide (*Acts* 1), and Stephen's martyrdom (*Acts* 7). So if the author knew about Paul's martyrdom, should we not expect its narration? Since it is absent, maybe it had not yet happened. Maybe *Acts* was written at the end of the two-year period in *Acts* 28, and so in the mid-60s.

This argument has persuaded only a minority, in part because there are other explanations for the ending on the assumption that Paul was dead when *Luke-Acts* appeared, such as: (1) A third volume was planned and, for whatever reason, never completed. (2) The author did finish, and the conclusion is one or more of the pastoral epistles. Some ancient narratives come with epistles from the hero. (3) The author wanted to present a favorable picture of Christianity to the Romans and so did not want to relate that the emperor had Paul executed. (4) The author's purpose is reached in chapter 28. *Acts* 1:8 speaks of the gospel going to the ends of the earth, and that is what the author cares about, not Paul's biography (which is why the book says nothing of his early life). Once the gospel goes to Rome, the story is over. *Luke* also says nothing about the fates of Peter or James, the brother of Jesus, nor does he tell the gruesome story of the beheading of John the Baptist. (5) The true verdict about Paul is reached in the sea storm episode in chapter 27. Here God vindicates the apostle. The subsequent earthly verdict is irrelevant. (6) Ending with Paul's death would have created an aesthetic imbalance. *Luke* ends not with death but resurrection. If the second book ended with a death without resurrection, it would have seemed anticlimactic.

Luke and *Acts* both address themselves to "Theophilus" (*Lk.* 1:1; *Acts* 1:1) whose identity is not known. He was perhaps Luke's literary patron or publisher. Some have suggested that he was a non-Christian Roman official, and that *Luke-Acts* was intended to correct official misapprehensions about Christianity. The word *theophilus* itself, however, means "lover of God" or "loved by God," and some have supposed him entirely fictional: *Luke-Acts* addresses itself to those who love God.

Luke-Acts seems to be for Gentile Christians. The author prefers Greek terms to Hebrew terms (e.g., the Greek *master* instead of *rabbi,* and *truly* instead of *amen*). Jesus' controversy with the Pharisees over things clean and unclean (*Mark* 7) is, moreover, omitted, as are derogatory uses of the word *Gentile* (contrast *Mt.* 5:47; 6:7).

Regarding the purpose of *Luke-Acts*, the preface fails to allude to any specific occasion or crisis that might have called it forth. "I too have decided" is the only stated motive, and for the rest *Luke* 1:1–4 is formulated in frustratingly general terms. Attempting to be more specific, some have proposed that the writer wished to show Christianity to be politically harmless. After Nero, Christians became a political problem, and it is striking that in *Luke-Acts* Roman officials repeatedly pronounce Christian figures to be politically innocent (*Lk.* 23:4, 14, 22; *Acts* 16:39; 17:6–9; 18:12–17; 19:37–41; 23:29; 25:25; 26:31–32). Another suggestion is that the author wanted to show Christianity to be rooted in Judaism, which the empire tolerated as a legal religion. *Luke* 1–2 opens the story by painting a picture of pious Jews, and the rest of *Luke* is about Jesus the Jew and his mission to Israel. *Acts* begins in Jerusalem, its hero calls himself a Pharisee (23:6), and Christianity is labeled a "sect" or "party" of Judaism (24:5, 14; 28:11).

The chief literary feature of *Luke-Acts* may be parallelism. Both *Luke* and *Acts* open with a preface to Theophilus (*Lk.* 1:1–4; *Acts* 1:1–2). Both narrate the descent of the Spirit upon those who have been praying (*Lk.* 3:21–22; *Acts* 1:14, 24; 2:1–13). Both have opening sermons that feature prophetic fulfillment and the rejection of Jesus (*Lk.* 4:13–30; *Acts* 2:14–40). Both follow this with stories of healing the lame (*Lk.* 5:17–26; *Acts* 3:1–10), conflict with Jewish leaders (*Lk.* 5:29–6:11; *Acts* 4:1–8:3), a centurion asking for help (*Lk.* 7:7–10; *Acts* 10), Pharisaic criticism of Jesus (*Lk.* 7:36–50; *Acts* 11:1–18), and so on. Not only does *Acts* replay *Luke,* but *Acts* 13–28 often parallels *Acts* 1–12, and *Luke* is quite fond of piling up parallels between sympathetic characters—John the Baptist and Jesus, Stephen and Jesus, Paul and Jesus, Peter and Paul. There are several explanations for this literary phenomenon, which has parallels in both Greek and Jewish sources, but one motive is a desire to set Jesus up as a moral model, whom others emulate.

John. "According to John" became affixed to the gospel sometime during the second century, at the end of which Irenaeus wrote: "All the elders that associated with John the disciple of the Lord in Asia bear witness that John delivered it [John's gospel] to them. For he remained among them until the time of Trajan" (who ruled 98–117); "afterwards [after the writing of the other gospels] John, the disciple of the Lord, who also reclined on his bosom, published his gospel, while staying at Ephesus in Asia."

This John is the brother of James, son of Zebedee. *Mark* 1:16–20 recounts his call to discipleship, and elsewhere in *Mark* he belongs to an inner circle around Jesus (3:17; 5:37; 9:2; 14:33). *Acts* presents him as a companion of Peter and as an evangelist and leader of the church (4:1, 13, 23; 8:14–17). *Galatians* 2:9 refers to him, along with James the brother of Jesus and Peter, as one of the pillars of the Jerusalem church.

The Fourth Gospel nowhere mentions John by name (although 21:2 refers to "the sons of Zebedee"). John's gospel does, however, speaks of "the disciple that Jesus loved": 13:23–25; 19:25–27; 20:2; 21:7, 20. It also refers to a "witness" to Jesus (19:35; 21:24), as well as someone it calls "the other disciple" (18:15–16; 20:2–10). Chapter 20 identifies this "other disciple" with the beloved disciple, and 19:35 implies that the beloved is the "witness."

Putting everything together, the beloved disciple belongs to Jesus' inner group. He is present at the last supper (*Jn.* 13), Mary is entrusted to him (*Jn.* 19:25–27), and he is among the group in 21:2, which includes Peter, Thomas, Nathaniel, the sons of Zebedee, and two other unnamed disciples. He is clearly not Peter. Nor can he be James (*Acts* 12:2 has James martyred very early); and since he belongs to Jesus' inner circle, tradition identified him with John, son of Zebedee. The identification is consistent with the gospel's knowledge of pre-70 Jerusalem (see, e.g., *Jn.* 4:5; 5:2; 9:7; 19.13).

One difficulty with the tradition is that John's gospel was not widely used in the second century, which is odd if it was known as the work of an apostle. Furthermore, the "we" of 21:24 cannot be the beloved disciple himself. So perhaps the book was published anonymously and became attached to John's name because the church felt the need to give the document apostolic authority. This might have been especially important given the differences between John and the synoptics, which have always been obvious.

It seems likely that John's gospel was the product of a long process and that more than one person was involved in its editing. This would account for 21:24, where the author speaks in the first-person plural and appears to be different from the beloved disciple, and for 19:35, which speaks of the beloved disciple in the third person. In this case, the beloved disciple, whether John or not, could have been a follower of Jesus who was thought of as the source and guarantee of the tradition behind the gospel.

Whether the author of *John* knew the synoptics is disputed. One possibility is that the author did know them and wanted to supplement them, correct their omissions, and so on. This would make sense of all that is present in *John* but not the synoptics. It does not, however, explain the many overlaps. Common to *John* and the synoptics are, among other things, the cleansing of the temple, the feeding of the five thousand, the walking on the water, the entry into Jerusalem, the anointing of Jesus, the arrest of Jesus, the denials of Peter, the trial before Pilate, the crucifixion, the burial by Joseph of Arimathea, and the discovery of empty tomb. So others have imagined that the author wanted to correct the synoptics. One can interpret *Matthew* and *Luke* as doing this to *Mark.* But then one could also consider the option that the author wanted to replace or oust the synoptics.

Still another option is that *John*'s author did not know the synoptics at all. Yet *John* appeared some time after *Mark* (see below), and there are overlaps with Luke's gospel in particular that may suggest literary contact. Both gospels tell us that Satan entered into Judas (*Lk.* 22:3; *Jn.* 13:27), that Peter cut off the right ear of a servant (*Lk.* 22:50; *Jn.* 18:10), that Jesus' tomb was new (*Lk.* 23:53; *Jn.* 19:41), that there were two angels at the tomb (*Lk.* 24:4; *Jn.* 20:12), that there were resurrection appearances in Jerusalem (*Lk.* 24; *Jn.* 20), and that the risen Jesus invited the disciples to touch him (*Lk.* 24:36; *Jn.* 20:19). Even if, however, *John*'s author knew one or more of the synoptics, use of an independent tradition remains plausible. Apart from traditions going back to the beloved disciple and perhaps the synoptics, John's gospel probably incorporates a traditional passion narrative, a collection of numbered miracle stories designed to show Jesus' messianic status (scholars dub this the "Signs Source"), and various oral traditions.

Most now date *John* to between 80 and 100 CE. Tradition has *John* written after the other gospels, during the time of Trajan (98–117 CE). Such a late date is consistent with both 21:18–19, which probably presupposes the tradition about Peter's martyrdom, and 21:22–23, which reflects eschatological disillusionment when the last of Jesus' disciples had died (some believed that Jesus would return before all of his disciples had passed on; see *Mk.* 9:1). A date later than this is prohibited by an early second-century papyrus fragment containing *John* 8:31–33 and 8:37–38. A date in the 90s or shortly after the turn of the century seems plausible.

Scholars have offered an array of suggestions concerning *John*'s purpose: (1) To record the testimony of the beloved disciple, an eyewitness to Jesus. (2) To supplement, correct, or displace the synoptics. (3) To discourage Christians from maintaining contact with the Jewish synagogue. This would explain the emphasis upon how Jesus replaces Jewish institutions. Again and again *John* uses "the Jews" in a disparaging way. (4) Maybe *John* counters Christians who denied the physical reality of Jesus. Such people were certainly around not long after *John* was written, and if 1:14 emphases that the "word" became flesh, 19:34 speaks of the blood and water coming from Jesus' side. (5) Maybe *John* encourages Christians. *John* 20:31 can be read as an invitation to continue to believe, and most of *John* 13–17 functions to edify believers and build up their faith.

John's differences from the synoptics raise questions about its status as a historical source. The gospel presents Jesus as the Logos (1:1–18) and has Jesus regularly speak in long discourses with a central theme. *John*'s Jesus uses certain words and expressions repeatedly that are rare in the synoptics (e.g., "to love," "I am," "life"). Only *John* clearly teaches Jesus' preexistence and deity (see especially 1:1–18), and only *John*'s Jesus makes clear public statements about himself (e.g., 6:35: "I am bread of life"; 8:12: "I am the light of the world"; 10:30: "I and the Father are one"). In the synoptics, Jesus favors parables and aphorisms; in *John*, these are rare. In the synoptics, Jesus celebrates Passover; in *John*, the Passover lamb is slaughtered as Jesus is being crucified. In the synoptics, Jesus enters the temple at the end of his ministry; in *John*, Jesus does this at the beginning. In the synoptics, the central theme of Jesus' proclamation is the "kingdom of God"; in *John*, Jesus uses the term only twice. In the synoptics, Jesus is preoccupied with future eschatology; in *John*, Jesus focuses on the present (see, e.g., 5:25; 6:47; 16:11). In the synoptics, Jesus goes to Jerusalem once; in *John*, he goes three times, and the public ministry lasts at least three years.

The synoptic picture of Jesus is closer to history than *John*'s portrait. Not only does *John*'s higher Christology reflect later developments, but *John*'s author was not much concerned to differentiate his own words from those of Jesus. There are places, such as the end of *John* 3, where modern editors cannot even agree on where a quotation from Jesus ends and the editor's words begin. Because comparison with the synoptics proves that there are traditional words of Jesus embedded in *John*, the long discourses may have developed from reflection upon those words; they may indeed be something like homilies upon them.

THE LETTERS ATTRIBUTED TO PAUL. Thirteen New Testament letters purport to come from Paul. When one adds that he is the major figure in *Acts*, he clearly dominates half of the New Testament. One wonders whether Paul was as important in his own time as his prominence in the canon implies, or whether his canonical importance exaggerates his initial significance and influence. Whatever the answer, the collection of letters assigned to him must be the primary source for his life and thought. Although Paul's self-perception and accounts of events cannot be taken at face value, they must be deemed more reliable than the flattering presentation in *Acts*, whoever authored it.

Of the thirteen canonical Pauline epistles, scholars recognize seven as undoubtedly from Paul: *Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, 1 Thessalonians,* and *Philemon*—all of which come from the second half of his ministry, circa 50 CE and later. The authorship of *2 Thessalonians* and *Colossians* are disputed. Most scholars think that *Ephesians* and the so-called pastoral epistles—*1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, and Titus*—were written in Paul's name after his death.

Romans. Paul wrote this essay in letter form, his most systematic product, during his last visit to Corinth, probably in 56 or 57 CE He was on his way to Jerusalem with money he had collected for the church there. Little is known about Christianity in Rome at that time. Paul was not the founder of the church, which consisted of both Jews—the Jewish population of Rome was substantial—and Gentiles. *Romans* 1:13 and 11:13 imply that Gentile Christians outnumbered Jewish Christians.

The occasion and purpose of the letter are cloudy. Local circumstances could have called it forth. Perhaps Paul had heard reports of conflict between Jewish and Gentile Christians and wished to help. Yet given that most of the letter has a general character and addresses issues that do not seem specific to the Roman church, it is more common to see *Romans* in a broader context. Maybe the letter is Paul's attempt to clarify his own mind about certain matters, especially in view of his upcoming visit to Jerusalem and the trouble he anticipated there, although the suggestion that Paul wanted a copy of *Romans* sent to Jerusalem is not demonstrable. More persuasive are attempts to read *Romans* as a sort of introduction to Paul himself, sent to prepare the way for his coming to the empire's capital (see 1:10–11; 15:15, 20, 24, 28–29). Paul was a controversial figure about whom rumors must have flourished, and if he planned on going to Rome and using it as a missionary base for his work in Spain, he may have felt a need to explain clearly what he was all about and so recommend himself.

The original form of *Romans* is problematic. The doxology, 16:25–27, is missing in some ancient manuscripts, and the preceding 16:24 ("The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.") is unlikely to be pristine. Some textual authorities put 16:25–27 immediately after chapter 14, or immediately after chapter 15; others put it in both places, and it is altogether missing from still others. A few Latin manuscripts omit 15:1–16:23, and the third-century church father Origen says that the second-century heretic, Marcion, removed the last two chapters. In addition, some textual authorities do not name Rome in 1:7 and 15.

Several accounts of the data are possible. (1) Paul composed a letter to the Roman church, containing everything except 16:24–27. He then reissued the letter, omitting the last two chapters, which contain much personal material. He also excised "Rome" from 1:7 and 15, thus creating a treatise for a larger audience. (2) Paul turned a general letter into a letter for Rome. Originally he composed a general essay, which he then revised for the Roman community in particular by naming Rome in 1:7 and 15 and adding chapter 16 or chapters 15 and 16. (3) Perhaps Paul sent chapters 1 to 15 to Rome and afterward added chapter 16, sending the enlarged, expanded letter to Ephesus, which is associated with many of the people *Romans* 16 names. (4) Maybe chapter 16 is an independent Pauline letter, sent to Ephesus, and someone other than Paul preserved it by tacking it onto the end of *Romans.* (5) Origen may have been right: someone omitted the last two chapters. Since 14:23 does not work well as an ending, someone added the doxology in 16:25–27.

After the introduction in 1:1–15, *Romans* 1:16–3:20 indicts humanity's sin and guilt. The chapters are unremittingly bleak, and among the most pessimistic evaluations of the human condition in ancient literature. Such pessimism is the foil for 3:21–8:39, with its thesis in 3:21–31. This large section presents the solution to humanity's plight, which is the grace of God in Jesus Christ, to be appropriated by faith. Paul's presentation of this solution involves a critique of the Jewish Torah, but the attack is less sweeping and more moderate than in *Galatians.* Paul is in *Romans* inclined to say positive things about the law. Perhaps the strident statements in *Galatians* had proved to be too extreme even in Paul's own eyes.

Romans 9:1–11:36, which historically has been a theological battleground for debates over free will and predestination, addresses the problem of Israel, which was occasioned by the failure of so many Jews to accept the Christian Gospels. How could Israel not embrace the messiah? What of God's promises to Israel? The logic of these three chapters is tortured because Paul's reduction of salvation to Christology resists harmonization with his biblically inspired faith in the redemption of Israel.

Romans 12:1–15:13, which at points echoes sayings attributed to Jesus, outlines Paul's ethic. His critique of the Torah disallows him from simply citing its ethical imperatives as authoritative, even though his counsels are for the most part taken over from Jewish tradition. He in effect reinvents the law by grounding proper behavior in Christian theology.

Christians have often found in *Romans* an account of Judaism as a religion of salvation based on works, of a legalism unconnected to God's grace. Jewish sources, whether biblical, intertestamental, or rabbinic, do not support this view, which is a caricature due not only to a misreading of Paul but also to Paul's tendentious generalizations. The apostle offers neither an objective account of Jewish life under the law nor an insider's sympathetic understanding, but rather pens polemic in the service of his cause. His arguments, in the final analysis, issue from his seeing matters through the eyes of his Gentile converts. Some in the early church desired those converts to undergo circumcision and otherwise follow Jewish customs. Paul instead sponsored a theology according to which Gentiles fully participate in redemption, and he disagreed fervently with those who urged that those born outside the covenant with Abraham needed, in addition to their faith in Jesus Christ, to undergo circumcision and embrace other distinctive Jewish practices. It was this conflict regarding Gentiles that led to Paul's sweeping generalizations about the law. He could have been fairer to Judaism had he simply affirmed that the Torah was never intended for Gentiles, or if he had not treated the law as a whole but rather argued for its partial observance (which is what in fact most Christians have done ever since). Paul, however, took another course, and the outcome is no guide to how Judaism looked and felt to its practitioners.

The Corinthian correspondence. The Corinthian correspondence supplies the most valuable information available about early Gentile Christianity. The letters, although a record of what happened to one church, presumably reflect the sorts of problems faced by Gentile converts everywhere in the Roman world.

Corinth is located near the isthmus that links the Peloponnesus to mainland Greece. In Paul's day it was the capital of the province of Achaia and a cosmopolitan seaport. Paul founded the Christian community there and spent two years ministering in the area (see *Acts* 18).

To read *1* and *2 Corinthians* is to hear only one side of the conversation, so much remains hidden. But from the letters and *Acts* 18 one can reconstruct a sequence of events into which it is possible to place *1* and *2 Corinthians.*

Paul first visited Corinth in 50 or 51 CE During his extended stay, he made converts, began a house church, and handed down Christian traditions. He did not, however, remain the only Christian leader known to the Corinthians. Apollos and probably Peter came to Corinth soon after his departure (*1 Cor.* 1:12; 9:4–5).

After leaving Corinth, Paul sent to the Corinthians a letter no longer extant (unless *2 Corinthians* 6:14–7:1, which badly disrupts its present context and seems secondary, preserves part of it). *1 Corinthians* 5:9 refers to this letter: "I wrote to you in my letter not to associate with immoral men." In part as a response to this lost letter, the Corinthians wrote their own letter to Paul, to which most of *1 Corinthians* (composed 52–55 CE) is a point-by-point reply. *1 Corinthians* 7:1 (on marriage and divorce), 25 (on virgins), 8:1 (on food offered to idols), 12:1 (on spiritual gifts), 16:1 (on the collection for the church in Jerusalem), and 12 (on Apollos) all open with the phrase, "Now concerning," and in each case Paul is responding to Corinthian queries. He even at points seems to quote the Corinthians: "All things are lawful" (6:12; 10:23); "It is well for a man not to touch a woman" (7:1); and "All of us possess knowledge" (8:1).

The various topics that *1 Corinthians* addresses are not all clearly related to each other; they cannot be traced to one central theological idea. Rather, there was a host of issues. Some Corinthians valued other teachers more than Paul (*1 Cor.* 1:11–16; 3:10–4:20). Some thought the apostle insufficiently sophisticated (3:1–9). One man was living with his stepmother (5:1–13). Some believers had taken others to court (6:1–8). There were questions about divorce as well as virginity, which some Corinthians reckoned a superior state (7:1–40). There was debate over whether believers could eat food consecrated to pagan idols (8:1–11:1). Some women—virgins wishing to display their equality with men?—were worshiping without head coverings (11:2–16). The common meal of the community was fractured by cliques, probably according to social status (11:17–34). Ecstatic gifts were creating disorder in worship and becoming an inordinate source of pride (12:1–14:40). *1 Corinthians* 14:33b(34)–36, with its prohibition of women speaking in church, may be an interpolation; it contradicts 11:2–16, where women pray and prophesy. In addition, some Corinthians evidently had an anthropology that made bodily resurrection unnecessary and unwanted (15:1–58).

1 Corinthians was followed by a "painful visit" (see *2 Cor.* 2:1; 12:14; 13:1). Clearly the letter had not worked its intended result. Perhaps already by the time of the second visit, Jewish Christian teachers, with letters of commendation from Jerusalem, had arrived and were offering criticism of Paul (see *2 Cor.* 3:1; 11:4–6, 22–23).

After the failure of his second visit, Paul sent from Ephesus through Titus a "severe letter" (see *2 Cor.* 3–4, 9; 7:8). Some have identified this letter with *2 Corinthians* 10–13; others believe it has been lost. Whatever the truth, this severe letter was followed by *2 Corinthians* 1–9 (chapters 8 and 9 should probably not be considered separate letters, occasional opinion to the contrary). Titus had returned with good news (*2 Cor.* 7:2), which explains Paul's thanksgiving and confidence in much of *2 Corinthians.* He is irenic, however, only in chapters 1–9. Chapters 10–13 are defensive and polemical and reflect a different situation. If *2 Corinthians* 10–13 was sent before chapters 1–9, it apparently met a favorable response, given the relief and gratitude expressed in *2 Corinthians* 1–9. If *2 Corinthians* 10–13 was sent after chapters 1–9, then *2 Corinthians* 1–9 must have met an unsympathetic hearing. In either case, Paul determined to visit Corinth for a third time (see *2 Cor.* 12:14; *Acts* 10:1–2). What happened then is not known.

Galatians. Paul preached in Galatia, where an infirmity perhaps delayed his departure (4:13). He founded several house churches there. After Paul left Galatia, other Christian teachers arrived. Although these were, like Paul, Jewish Christians, they regarded him as promoting an inferior brand of Christianity, and he viewed them as enemies of his proclamation. Their theology can be partly inferred from *Galatians* 4:10 ("You are observing special days, and months, and seasons, and years") and 6:12–13 ("They want you to be circumcised so that they may boast about your flesh"). They demanded that Gentile Christians observe Jewish practices.

Despite scholarly ingenuity, many questions remain unanswered. It is unclear whether the teachers with whom Paul disagreed were closely connected with either James or those whom Paul debated in Jerusalem according to 2:3–6. Nor is it known whether, in addition to the Jewish Christians who imposed circumcision, other agitators promoted an antinomianism (some see this in 5:13–6:10). How the Galatians responded to Paul's passionate pleas is a mystery—although his conviction that Gentiles should not be circumcised eventually became the dominant position of the church.

Commentators dispute whether Paul wrote to Celts living in the northern part of Roman Galatia or whether his converts lived in the southern section of the province, where most were not Celts. There is also debate over the date of composition. Some think *Galatians* was written in 49 or 50 CE. Others believe a date in the later 50s better fits the evidence. The issues are complex and involve deciding whether the meeting in Jerusalem in *Galatians* 2 should be equated with the council of *Acts* 15 or instead with the episode in *Acts* 11:29–30. The tendency of modern scholarship is to favor the northern destination, the later date, and the equation of *Galatians* 2 with *Acts* 15.

The introduction, *Galatians* 1:1–9, contains, uncharacteristically for a Pauline letter, a rebuke (1:6–9). Notably missing is any thanksgiving. *Galatians* 1:10–2:21 follows with an autobiographical defense (the starting point for any reconstruction of Pauline chronology). Here Paul stresses the divine origin of his ministry, his independence from Jerusalem, others' recognition of his ministry, and Peter's hypocrisy in dealing with Gentile Christians. In 3:1–5:1, Paul offers arguments from experience (3:1–5), from Scripture (3:6–9; 4:21–31), and from Christology (3:10–4:20) to buttress his understanding of a law-free gospel and to impeach those with another point of view. The last major section, 5:2–6:10, which conceives of the moral struggle as a battle between "spirit" and "flesh," contains exhortations; Paul at least did not feel that his theology entailed ethical indifference. It is noteworthy that 6:2 refers to "the law of Christ." While the expression remains susceptible to various interpretations, Paul cannot, despite the seeming implication of his polemic, do without some sort of "law."

Ephesians. This letter opens with a salutation (1:1–2) and a long thanksgiving (1:3–23). *Ephesians* 2:1–10 follows with an account of the saving benefits that have come to those with faith in Christ, who were formerly captive to "the prince of the power of the air." *Ephesians* 2:11–22 displays the collective nature of those benefits though an exposition of the church as a manifestation of the new humanity, in which the differences between Jew and Gentile no longer count. *Ephesians* 3:1–13, which sounds like a retrospective paean, not an authentic self-evaluation, testifies to Paul and his distinctive role in disseminating God's revelation throughout the world. Then, in 3:14–21, the author seemingly reverts to the prayer of chapter 1, asking that the recipients may be strengthened, grounded in love, and filled with knowledge of "the love of Christ." *Ephesians* 4:1–6:20 explores the behavioral implications of the preceding theology. Believers are to seek unity among themselves (4:1–16), lay aside pagan habits (4:17–5:20), observe proper rules for the household (5:21–6:9), and live in truth, righteousness, peace, faith, and prayer (6:10–20).

Paul did not write *Ephesians.* There is an uncharacteristic absence of personal data, and the concerns are not those of a concrete community. Much of the vocabulary and style are also un-Pauline. Decisive against the traditional attribution is the dependence upon *Colossians.* Readers may compare, to illustrate this, *Ephesians* 1:15–17 with *Colossians* 1:3–4, 9–10; *Ephesians* 4:31–32 with *Colossians* 3:8, 12; and *Ephesians* 6:5–9 with *Colossians* 3:22–4:1. Notably, the traditional text of *Ephesians* 1:1, with "the faithful who are at Ephesus," is secondary. Originally, the recipients were unnamed.

Given that Christian writers of the first half of the second century clearly knew *Ephesians,* it was presumably written not long after Paul's death. That it was composed to introduce a collection of the apostle's epistles is an intriguing if unproven suggestion. In any case, *Ephesians* is someone's meditation on Paul and a development of his theology and ethics. The place of composition cannot be determined.

Philippians. Paul wrote this letter to his first European converts, the Christians of Philippi in Macedonia (see *Acts* 16). At the time of writing, Paul was in prison (*Phil.* 1:12–26). Whether this was his Roman imprisonment (see *Acts* 28), as most used to think, is uncertain. The date in this case would be the early 60s. Some think rather of Caesarea, where Paul was a prisoner in the late 50s CE according to *Acts* 23–24, or of Ephesus, where, despite the silence of *Acts,* Paul may have been a prisoner for a time (c. 56 CE).

To judge from *Philippians* 2:25–29 and 4:18, the *Philippians* sent Epaphroditus to Paul with a gift, presumably of money. *Philippians* is Paul's happy response. He takes the occasion to return his thanksgiving for the Philippians, to whom he seems particularly attached (1:3–11). He describes his circumstances and entertains the possibility of his own death (1:12–26), offers ethical admonitions (1:27–2:18), shares news (2:19–3:1), warns against proponents of circumcision (3:2–11), commends himself as an example for emulation (3:12–4:1), gives counsel regarding Euodia and Syntyche (4:2–3), calls for rejoicing in all things—poignant given his circumstances (4:4–13)—and thanks the Philippians for their gift (4:14–20).

The tone of chapter 3 differs from the tone of chapters 1 and 2. Common, then, is the proposal that *Philippians* is a conflation of two letters, one consisting perhaps of 3:1b–4:20 or 23, the other of 1:1–3:1a (+ 4:21–23). Even more popular has been the suggestion that *Philippians* combines three originally separate letters: a polemical letter in 3:1b–4:3 + 4:8–9; a letter of thanks for the Philippians' gift in 4:10–20 or 23; and a longer letter in 1:1–3:1a + 4:4–7 + (perhaps) 21–23. It is hard to know how to evaluate such proposals. Authentic letters of Paul do contain some abrupt shifts. Many have not been compelled to deny the unity of the letter.

Colossians. The authorship of *Colossians* continues to be disputed, although perhaps most authorities now doubt that Paul wrote it. The opponents are unlike any in other authentic letters. (The problem in Colossae cannot be identified with the problem in Galatia.) Jesus' cosmic role in creation and redemption is distinctive, as is the church's participation in his cosmic authority. The eschatology is more realized than what is otherwise found in Paul. And there are some stylistic peculiarities. Some scholars, however, maintain that *Colossians* is distinctive because of the unique situation it addresses and because Paul allowed a secretary some compositional freedom or even assigned its composition to an associate.

Colossae was a small town about a hundred miles east of Ephesus in Asia Minor. *Colossians* 1:7 implies that Paul's associate, Epaphras, founded the church there. If *Colossians* came from Paul, he wrote it at the same time he sent *Philemon* (see below). If it is a pseudepigraphon, written in the last quarter of the first century, the author gave the work the appearance of authenticity by borrowing personal details from *Philemon.*

Colossians opposes Christians who sponsor a "philosophy" (2:8), observe Jewish food laws and a Jewish calendar (2:16), value visionary experiences (2:18), and venerate angels or participate in the angel's heavenly liturgy (2:18). There is no consensus concerning the Colossians' identity and the source of their convictions. Commentators have thought of Christians enamored of Hellenistic philosophy, or of people who mixed their Christianity with a pagan mystery cult, or of mystical Jewish visionaries, perhaps related to those who composed many of the Dead Sea Scrolls, or of Jewish Christians on the path toward Gnosticism.

1 Thessalonians. According to *Acts* 17, Paul, Silas, and Timothy founded the church in Thessalonica, Macedonia's capital. Because of opposition, they soon left. Anxious about his converts, Paul sent Timothy back to the Thessalonians. When Timothy subsequently returned to Paul with news, Paul wrote *1 Thessalonians* from Corinth (probably only a few months after he left). The letter is full of gratitude for how well the Thessalonians, despite suffering, have fared. Although *1 Thessalonians* is the earliest extant of Paul's letters (c. 50 CE), it was written after he had been a Christian for approximately fifteen years, so it need not reflect an immature theology.

The first three chapters are mostly personal. *1 Thessalonians* 4:1–12 offers general exhortations. *1 Thessalonians* 4:13–18 explains that Christians who have died will share in

Jesus' return. Evidently Paul had preached an imminent second advent. When more than one Thessalonian Christian died, there was dismay. Such dismay may well have been exacerbated by non-Christians who attributed the deaths to supernatural vengeance. Paul in any event had not said much about the general resurrection, probably because his converts' ancestors were not Christians. *1 Thessalonians* 5:1–11, with close parallels in *Matthew* 24 and *Mark* 13, presents the Parousia (Second Coming) as near and sure to come suddenly.

2 Thessalonians. This letter depicts the eschatological judgment (1:5–12) and outlines events on the day of the Lord (2:1–12). Between the eschatological teaching in chapters 1 and 2 is an appeal "not to be quickly shaken in mind or alarmed, either by spirit or by word or by letter, as though from us, to the effect that the day of the Lord is already here" (2:1–2). The nature of this conviction is unclear. Is it a spiritualized or fully realized eschatology? Is it belief in a very near end? Is it the conviction that certain events in the eschatological scenario, including the punishment of enemies, have already taken place?

Unlike *1 Thessalonians,* the Pauline authorship of *2 Thessalonians* is controversial. Many are suspicious of the extensive overlap between *1* and *2 Thessalonians,* which they take as a sign of the latter copying the former (compare, for example, *2 Thes.* 3:8 with *1 Thes.* 2:9). Questions are also raised by *1 Thessalonians* 3:17 ("This greeting is with my own hand. This is the mark in every letter of mine"), which may imply a collection of Paul's letters. Further questions are raised by the length of the sentences, which are longer than is Paul's wont, and by the eschatological scenario in chapter 2, which stands in tension with *1 Thessalonians* 4–5 (in *1 Thessalonians* the day comes like a thief; in *2 Thessalonians* it follows a well-defined series of events). This last consideration, however, does not count for much because Paul is elsewhere inconsistent and because ancient eschatological discourses often display contradictions.

If Paul wrote *2 Thessalonians,* he wrote it after *1 Thessalonians,* perhaps after several return visits. He was concerned about discouragement brought by persecution and by the failure of some to continue working for a living. If Paul did not write *2 Thessalonians,* then someone late in the first century, in a context of persecution, sought in his name to impart eschatological instruction and encouragement.

The pastorals. *1 Timothy, 2 Timothy,* and *Titus,* collectively known as the pastoral epistles, address themselves not to communities but to two leaders that Paul left in charge of churches, Timothy in Ephesus and Titus on Crete. Like the correspondence between Paul and Seneca, the pastorals are pseudepigrapha. Someone wrote them in Paul's name at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century.

1 Timothy consists mostly of two sorts of material. Chapters 2, 3, 5, and 6 concern themselves with church administration—with the ordering of public worship (2:1–15), for instance, and with the behavior of women and widows (5:3–16)—as well as with more general moral guidance. Chapters 1 and 4 counter false teaching. It is most likely that an early form of Gnosticism is the target. The author's opponents occupy themselves with "myths" (1:4), practice some sort of asceticism (4:3), and possess what the pastor calls a false *gnosis,* or knowledge (6:20). *1 Timothy* 6:18 suggests not only a knowledge of *1 Corinthians* 9 but also seemingly quotes *Luke* 10:7 as "scripture," a circumstance impossible in Paul's lifetime.

2 Timothy, which has more claim that *1 Timothy* or *Titus* to be from someone who knew Paul, purports to be composed from a Roman prison (1:16–17), with Paul's death near (4:6–8). *2 Timothy* 2:14–3:9 warns against false doctrine, including the conviction that the resurrection is past (2:17–18). The exact nature of this realized eschatology is unknown, although it proponents may be Gnostics, who sometimes spoke of a present resurrection (as in the *Treatise on the Resurrection* from Nag Hammadi).

Titus, addressed to a Gentile companion of Paul known from *2 Corinthians, Galatians,* and *2 Timothy,* but not *Acts*, consists primarily of instructions on the appointment of leaders and exhortations to defend sound doctrine. It largely replays *1 Timothy.* Chapter 1 focuses on elders and bishops in the context of "rebellious people, idle talkers and deceivers, especially those of the circumcision" (1:10). Chapter 2 offers advice for older men, older women, younger men, and slaves (2:1–10) and concludes with a general summary of Christian behavior. Chapter 3 continues to outline the Christian response to God's actions in Jesus Christ and then ends with personal details intended to add verisimilitude to the letter (3:12–15).

Philemon. Although the brief letter is cryptic about some things, it seems best to follow the conventional view that Onesimus, the slave of the Christian Philemon, had run away from his master. Onesimus then sought an advocate in Paul, who wrote and flattered Philemon in the hope of reconciling him to Onesimus upon the latter's return. But what exactly Paul was asking Philemon to do is unclear, and there is no way of finding out what did in fact happen. Did Paul want Onesimus to turn around and come back to him, or did he expect Onesimus to stay with Philemon? Or was he willing to let Philemon decide that? And did Paul expect Philemon to treat Onesimus differently thereafter, or even to manumit him? The latter possibility seems doubtful. One should not forget that Christians who supported the slave trade appealed to Philemon; they observed that Paul nowhere in this or other letters does much to undermine slavery.

Paul wrote *Philemon* in prison. The parallels in personal matters it shares with *Colossians* imply that, if the latter is authentic, the two letters were sent to Colossae at the same time (note *Col.* 4:9). If Paul wrote from Ephesus, the date would be circa 56. If he wrote from Rome, a date in the early 60s would be required.

***HEBREWS* AND THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES.** Following the Gospels and Paul, the New Testament contains eight additional letters. These had a harder time making it into the canon. *Hebrews* comes first because of its mistaken ascription to Paul; it serves as a conclusion to the Pauline collection. The remaining seven letters are traditionally assigned to four authors—James, Peter, John (compare the order of *Gal.* 2:9), and Jude. Unlike the Pauline epistles, the titles identify the authors rather the recipients (e.g., "The Epistle of James" versus "To the Romans"). The general character of these letters encouraged the conviction that they address the church universal. From the fourth century on they have collectively been known as the "Catholic epistles."

Hebrews. While often in the past attributed to Paul (although not in the West until the fourth century), this rhetorically polished work, so heavily indebted to Platonism, was originally anonymous. No contemporary scholar believes that Paul wrote it, although at points the author shows a knowledge of Pauline thought. Some have guessed that it was written by a member of Paul's circle, but Origen's comment that "only God knows" stands. The book is not, despite the epistolary ending, formally a letter, and the title, "To the Hebrews," cannot be original. The date of composition was probably between 60 and 90 CE. Some have insisted that it must come from before the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE, for the author uses the present tense for activities in the temple (7:27–28; 8:3–5; etc.). But many rabbinic texts composed long after 70 also speak of the temple as though it were still standing. A date before 90 is required by the fact that *1 Clement,* probably written in the 90s, quotes from *Hebrews.* The places of writing and destination are unknown (although Jerusalem and Rome have been common proposals for the latter).

Despite the traditional title, the first readers need not have been Jews. A Gentile or mixed readership is possible. The concerns vocalized, such as that its readers are "sluggish" (6:12), or that some Christians are no longer meeting together (10:25), do not allow us to say anything concrete about the recipients or their situation. All that is know of the recipients is that they had suffered affliction (10:32–34). If the author was combating particular opponents, there is no way detect who they were.

There are three highly structured discourses. *Hebrews* 1:5–4:16 argues for Jesus Christ's superiority over angels and Moses. *Hebrews* 5:1–10:39 presents Jesus as a great high priest whose invisible heavenly realities mirror the priestly duties of Jewish tradition. This section famously develops the parallels between Jesus and Melchizedek, whose fleeting presence in the story of Abraham scarcely prepares readers for what they find here. *Hebrews* 11:1–13:19 then contains calls to faith and moral exhortations.

James. *James* is an enigma. The identity of its author is unknown, as are the date and place of composition. The book moreover does not develop as an argument but instead seems to touch on loosely related topics. Its purpose remains unclear. Equally unclear is the sort of Christianity it represents.

Tradition assigns the book to James, Jesus' brother. While one cannot rule out his authorship entirely, it is more likely that the book is a pseudepigraphon. The good Greek, the possible dependence upon *1 Peter,* the fact that nothing but the title and opening line of the book link it to James, and the work's long struggle for canonical acceptance all go against the conventional ascription.

The date, on the theory of pseudonymity, is hard to guess. While there are possible contacts with works from the early second century (*1 Clement; Shepherd of Hermas*), there is no clear knowledge of *James* until the beginning of the third century, when Origen refers to it. There are three papyrus scraps of *James* from the third century. Although maybe most scholars now date *James* to the end of the first century, a later date is possible.

James displays several anomalous features. One is its reluctance to be explicitly Christian. Jesus is mentioned only twice, in 1:1 and 2:1, and the relevant clause in 2:1 has often, because of its grammatical awkwardness, been reckoned an interpolation. The obviously Christian elements are so sparse that a few have claimed the text was originally Jewish; Christian hands then added the references to Jesus in 1:1 and 2:1. But this cannot be right. *James* borrows too heavily from traditions that were specifically Christian for it to be non-Christian in origin. The teaching on oaths in 5:12, for instance, clearly reproduces the same tradition that lies behind *Matthew* 5:34–37, which presumably goes back to Jesus and which in any event was handed down through Christian channels. Chapter 2, moreover, is almost certainly polemic directed at Paul or people influenced by him: *James* looks like a Christian document.

Even if *James* must be Christian, Jesus' crucifixion is not alluded to. Nor is anything said about his resurrection or exaltation. The deeds of Jesus, so important for the synoptic evangelists and John, also fail to put in an appearance, and one searches in vain for any remark upon Jesus' character or his status as a moral model—a striking omission given the appeals to other moral models. The tradition of his words is alluded to, perhaps often, but the author never says "This comes from Jesus." *James* likewise has nothing to say about baptism, the Lord's Supper, the Holy Spirit, or fulfilled prophecy. Martin Luther speculated that *James* was written by a Jew who did not know much about Christianity.

Another striking feature of *James* is that it is written to "the twelve tribes in the diaspora." While commentators often equate the twelve tribes with the church, this is not convincing. Certainly nothing demands a Gentile audience; much suggests a Jewish one. *James* 2:21 calls Abraham "our father" without any hint that the expression has a transferred sense. The readers gather in a "synagogue" (2:2). In 2:19, their faith is embodied in the Shema' ("You believe that God is one"; see *Dt.* 6:4). The writer calls God "the Lord Sabaoth" without explanation (5:4). And all the moral exemplars are from Jewish tradition—Abraham, Rahab, the prophets, Job, Elijah. More than this, parts of *James* do not seem to address believing Christians. *James* 4:1–10 demands that readers submit themselves to God, resist the devil, cleanse their hands, purify their minds, mourn and weep, and humble themselves. These individuals are called "adulterers" (4:4) and "sinners" (4:8). They are full of covetousness (4:2) and are friends of the world and enemies of God (4:4). They are even guilty of murder (4:2). *James* 4:13–5:6 upbraids the rich who are about to suffer eschatological misery, people who have "condemned and murdered the righteous one, who does not resist you" (5:3–6).

One explanation of *James* is that it addresses a fictional audience (the twelve tribes) and that it represents a distinctive sort of Jewish Christianity still trying to make its way within the synagogue. James condemns persecutors and communicates that Jesus' followers are not apostates but faithful members of the synagogue who live according to the Jewish moral tradition, keep the Torah, and oppose those who want to divide faith from works. One might further attempt to relate *James* to one of the groups Johannine scholarship has detected behind the scenes of John's gospel—Jews who attended synagogue and believed in Jesus but did not proselytize. Such crypto-Christians, as they have been called, promoted tolerance.

The most controversial part of *James* has been 2:14–26. These verses, which discuss faith and works, are likely aimed against the perceived teaching of Paul. Many believe the argument is misdirected because Paul and *James* use the word *faith* differently. For Paul, *faith* is trust in Jesus Christ. In *James*, it is intellectual assent. While the latter may exist without good works, the former, so it is claimed, cannot. Whatever the theological truth, *James* may be less a response to the historical Paul than a reaction to a later version of Paulinism, which someone perceived as disconnecting ethics from faith.

1 Peter. This collection of exhortations and moral and religious guidance has no clear outline or developed argument. It addresses itself to "the exiles of the Dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, chosen and destined by God the Father and sanctified by the Spirit for obedience to Jesus Christ" (1:1–2). As the readers are Gentiles (1:14, 18, 21; 2:10, 25; 4:3), "the Dispersion" must stand for the church in exile from the pagan world in Asia Minor. The letter's chief aim is to offer encouragement to Christians who are suffering social ostracism for their faith.

The work attributes itself to Peter and claims to come from Rome. (In *1 Pt.* 5:13, as in *Rev.*, Babylon represents Rome). If this is the truth, it must have been penned before Peter's death in the mid-60s. But Petrine authorship should be doubted. The Greek is better than one would expect from a Galilean fisherman. If one responds that Sylvanus (see *1 Pt.* 5:12) was commissioned to write it and is responsible for the language, nothing apart from the title and the claim of the opening verse ties the letter to Peter. The work betrays no first-hand knowledge of Jesus. And if one were going to write in someone else's name, one could hardly do better than Peter. Other pseudonymous works, such as the *Gospel of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Peter,* circulated under his name.

1 Peter probably appeared not long after Peter's death. For one thing, the letter was known to Polycarp and Papias in the first half of the second century. For another, the view of the Roman Empire is less critical than in *Revelation*, which probably appeared in the last decade of the first century. A date between 70 and 90 CE is likely.

2 Peter. Presenting itself as a follow-up to *1 Peter* (see 3:1), this letter contains three main sections. *2 Peter* 1:3–21 mixes exhortations to holiness with a defense of the author's authority. *2 Peter* 2:1–22 attacks false teachings with language that in large part reproduces *Jude* (but out of anxiety omits *Jude*'s borrowing from extra-canonical material). *2 Peter* 3:1–18 defends the author's eschatological convictions.

2 Peter, despite its claims, is not Peter's work. As in the case of *1 Peter*, the good Greek is not that of a Galilean fisherman. Even more importantly, although Peter died in the mid-60s, the author of *2 Peter* 3:15–16 knows a collection of Paul's letters, which cannot have been in existence so early. It is telling that there is no solid evidence for *2 Peter* until the beginning of the third century, in the work of Origen, who observes its disputed status; *2 Peter* is not widely cited or discussed until the fourth century (when Jerome writes that most reject it because its style is inconsistent with *1 Peter*'s style). A letter known to come from Peter would not have met with such a tepid reception.

2 Peter may not have come into circulation until the middle of the second century. Consistent with such a late date is the problem of the third chapter. *2 Peter* 3:4 counters scoffers who ask, "Where is the promise of his coming? For ever since the fathers fell asleep, all things have continued as they were from the beginning of creation." Such disillusionment is unlikely to have arisen until the first generation of Christians had died. Also harmonizing with a second-century date is the real possibility that *2 Peter* opposes Gnostics. The author's adversaries spin "clever myths" (1:16) and reject traditional eschatology (3:3–10). They interpret the Jewish Bible in unacceptable ways (1:21), and they find support for their theology in their own interpretation of Paul (7:15–18).

The three Johannine epistles. The titles to *1*, *2*, and *3 John* assign them to the same person, traditionally identified as John the disciple of Jesus. Many early Christian writers, however, including Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome, thought otherwise. They believed that *2* and *3 John*, which attribute themselves to "the Presbyter," had a different author than *1 John.* Some moderns have also thought this. A few have even thought of three different authors.

Whether or not *1 John*, which is not formally a letter, ever circulated apart from the other two, which formally are letters, its author never uses a name or title. But the tradition is likely correct to assign all three letters to one individual. The common style and vocabulary are striking. The parallels are such that the choice is either a common author or deliberate imitation.

Scholars do not often assign these letters to the apostle John. The books themselves do not name their author, and their content does not establish apostolic authorship. As for their relationship to John's gospel, it is possible that the person who wrote *1, 2,* and *3 John* was also involved in the publication of the gospel. There are certainly intriguing thematic overlaps, and the opening of *1 John* recalls the opening of the gospel (see 1:1–3). Both texts also speak about walking in darkness (*1 Jn.* 1:6–7; 2:10–11; *Jn.* 8:12; etc.), use the expression "little children" (*1 Jn.* 2:1, 12, etc.; *Jn.* 13:33), refer to a new commandment (*1 Jn.* 1:2–8; *Jn.* 13:34), teach that the world, ignorant of God, hates the followers of Jesus (*1 Jn.* 3:1, 13; *Jn.* 7:7; etc.), and associate water, blood, and Spirit (*1 Jn.* 5:6; *Jn.* 19:30, 34).

Yet there are also differences. For example, *John* uses the inferential particle *oun* ninety-four times; *1 John* never uses it. And if, in *John*, Jesus is the *logos,* or "word," in *1 John, logos* is rather the author's message. So the many similarities exist alongside significant differences. Perhaps there was some sort of group or school, the members of which shared an insider language. One common view is that the publication of the *Gospel of John* helped precipitate a crisis, which the epistles, from another author or not, reflect. Maybe the epistles are something like a late epilogue to the gospel, an attempt at correct commentary.

Whatever the relationship to John's gospel, the epistles reflect a crisis. Some people had left the community (*1 Jn.* 2:18–19), denying the real humanity of Jesus (see *1 Jn.* 4:1–3; *2 Jn.* 7). If John's gospel intended to correct an emerging docetism, it did not convert everyone. Perhaps some readers of *John,* observing the high Christology and the "I am" statements, did not reckon Jesus to be a real human being. The author of *1 John* instead emphasized that Jesus came in the flesh (1:1; 4:2). It may also be that some readers of *John* came away with the notion that it is possible to be without sin (see *Jn.* 8:31ff.), or that eschatology is wholly realized in the present, and that *1 John* responded by recognizing the reality of sin (1:8, 10) and forwarding a literal, future eschatology (3:2–3).

The reason *1 John* talks so much about love is that its goal is reconciliation. To judge by *2* and *3 John,* this reconciliation was not achieved. *2 John* shows us that some people left the community, and *3 John* shows us that there were rival communities. *2 John* counsels avoiding contact with the group that has left (vv. 10–11). The situation of *3 John* is harder to pin down. It is addressed to named individuals and encourages hospitality for certain missionaries. But the identities of Demetrius in verse 12 and Diotrephes in verses 9–10 remain unclear. Is Diotrephes a theological opponent of the Presbyter? Is he an independent figure not on the side of the Presbyter or his opponents? Is he a bishop? Whatever the answers, *3 John* indicates that the problems reflected in *1* and *2 John* remained unresolved.

Jude. Containing only twenty-five verses, *Jude* appears to be a sermon in letter form. Although it opens with a salutation (vv. 1–2), it ends not with greetings but with a doxology, perhaps designed for public reading (vv. 24–25). In between is an exposé of false teachers. These teachers are said to be "ungodly" (v. 4), to sponsor licentiousness (v. 4), to reject authority and slander angels (v. 8), to "feast without fear" (v. 12), and to grumble, boast, and flatter (v. 16). From the author's point of view, the teachers set up divisions and are worldly (v. 19). In condemning these people, the author manages, in a very short space, to refer to a host of traditions—the exodus from Egypt (v. 5), the sin of the Sons of God in *Genesis* 6 (v. 6), Sodom and Gomorrah (v. 7; see *Gn.* 19), a tale about the burial of Moses (vv. 8–9, probably from the lost ending of *The Testament of Moses*), Cain's murder of Abel (v. 11; see Gn. 4:9), the story of Balaam's ass (v. 11; see *Nm.* 22–24), Korah's rebellion (v. 11; see *Nm.* 16), a prophecy of Enoch (vv. 14–15; the author here quotes the extra-canonical *1 Enoch* 1:9), and a prophecy of "the apostles": "In the last time there will be scoffers, indulging their own ungodly lusts" (v. 18). In each case the author draws analogies between the past and his own present. Thus his opponents are like Cain, like the Sons of God who erred, like those who rebelled in the desert, and so on.

The identity of *Jude*'s opponents is unknown. Suggestions are numerous. Maybe they were Gnostics, or maybe Essenes, or maybe Pauline antinomians, or maybe Jewish antinomians. *Jude*, assuming that its recipients already know who these people are, does not introduce them. It rather traffics in polemic, which is uninterested in objective description. Yet giving caution its due, and on the assumption that the letter has particular people in view, they may well have been antinomians who engaged in sexual activities disturbing to the author.

The letter claims to be from Jude, "the brother of James." Although the New Testament knows several people by these names, tradition has usually thought of Jude, the brother of James and Jesus (*Mt.* 13:55; *Mk.* 6:3). In favor of this is Jude's seeming obscurity, the apparent use of the Hebrew as opposed to the Greek Bible in verse 12 (this agrees with the Hebrew of *Prv.* 25:14, not the Greek), and the lack of any firm evidence for a late date for the letter. Yet one cannot rule out the use of a pseudonym. The appeal to "remember the predictions of the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ" in verse 17 may be a retrospective glance from a later age. Also, it is not known when Jude the brother of Jesus died, and so it cannot be determined how early the composition would have to be if authentic. Perhaps, furthermore, Jude was an important figure in some sectors of Jewish Christianity, and in that context a pseudepigraphon in his name made sense.

The *Revelation* to John. The book is from a certain John (1:1). Tradition, despite the stylistic differences between *Revelation* and John's gospel, which prohibit common authorship, identified him with John the son of Zebedee, one of the twelve disciples (so thought Justin Martyr, for instance, in the middle of the second century). The Apocalypse, however, does not require this identification, and internal evidence to support it is lacking. John was a popular name in the first century, and the New Testament knows several Johns.

Church tradition and most modern historians date the book to the time of the Roman emperor Domitian, circa 90 to 95 CE. Some have instead argued for a date during Nero's reign, sometime shortly before 70 CE. Both periods saw Christians persecuted, and *Revelation* was seemingly written in a time of suffering. According to 1:9, the seer is in exile, on the island of Patmos off the coast of Asia Minor. *Revelation* 2:13 refers to the recent execution of a certain Antipas. *Revelation* 3:10 speaks of a soon-approaching time of trouble, and 6:10 has dead saints crying out to God to avenge their blood.

Until modern historical criticism, there were basically four different ways of interpreting the Apocalypse. (1) On the "futurist" reading, *Revelation* is primarily a divinely inspired prophecy about the end of the world and the events preceding that end. With the exception of the first few chapters—especially the letters to the seven churches in chapters 2 and 3—the entire work is about the latter days and the second coming of Christ. (2) According to the "historicist" view, *Revelation* is an outline of church or human history. It begins in the first century and maps out in chronological fashion the course of events until the second advent. (3) The "preterist" view holds that John was completely preoccupied with the events of his own day, as opposed to the future consummation. (4) A few, taking an "idealist" view, have tried to divorce *Revelation* from history. For them, the book is not about the course of history or the end of history but theological principles or ideas. In other words, it is timeless. Its symbols refer not to events in the everyday world but to the eternal order.

Each approach is deficient. The futurist makes the book irrelevant and unintelligible to its first readers. The historicist is wrong because the Apocalypse belongs to a recognized literary genre, and the other members of this genre cannot bear a historicist reading. The preterist view is untenable because *Revelation* is without question about the latter days. As for the idealist view, it is perfectly valid so long as the interpreter does not pretend to be recovering the intention of the author, which was something other than the communication of large theological ideas.

Revelation is an enigma to contemporary readers unfamiliar with the literary category to which it belongs. The ancients, however, would have recognized it as an apocalypse, a well-known literary genre in ancient Judaism and early Christianity. More than a few old Jewish and Christians books are filled with strange beasts, with number symbolism, with descriptions of the end of the world (thought of as near), with accounts of heavenly journeys, with pictures of God's throne, and with prophecies of a shattered planet. *1 Enoch, 2 Enoch, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch,* and the *Apocalypse of Abraham* are examples. *Revelation* should be interpreted in the same way that these other books are interpreted. Moreover, anyone unfamiliar with the genre will be unable to understand the Apocalypse correctly, and it makes no more sense to plot the future of the world by reading *Revelation* than it does by reading its literary cousins.

EARLY NONCANONICAL LITERATURE. For convenience, early Christian works outside the canon may be divided into three groups.

New Testament apocrypha. This is a large, ill-defined collection of texts, many of which mimic New Testament models. They come from different places, different times, and different authors. Most of them date from the second to fourth centuries. The category is purely retrospective. It groups texts that, although in some times and places reckoned authentic or authoritative, failed to win their way into the canon. But their status before the closing of the canon was often unclear. That some of them exist in several languages is testament to their popularity. Among them are papyrus fragments of unknown gospels, gospels used by various groups of Jewish Christians (e.g., the *Gospel of the Hebrews,* the *Gospel of the Ebionites,* the *Gospel of the Nazoraeans*), and infancy gospels (e.g., the *Protevangelium of James,* the *Infancy Story of Thomas*). Christians never ceased to create new stories about Jesus and the sayings of Jesus. Although most of the material in the apocryphal gospels is post-first century and so less helpful than the canonical Gospels for reconstructing the historical Jesus, contemporary scholars are more inclined than their predecessors to see early traditions independent of the canon in some of the extra-canonical sources.

There are also apocryphal letters (e.g., the *Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans* and the *Epistle of Titus,* both parasitic upon Paul's correspondence) and apocryphal acts (e.g., the *Acts of John,* the *Acts of Peter,* the *Acts of Paul).* Some of the latter appear to have been particularly popular. Equally well known were some apocryphal apocalypses, especially the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Paul*—both canonical still in the sixth century in some places—which contributed so much to popular ideas about the afterlife.

The Nag Hammadi library. In 1945, thirteen Coptic papyrus codices from the fourth century CE were discovered near Nag Hammadi, Egypt. Presumably from an old Christian monastery, they contain fifty-two tractates, only fourteen of which were already known (including a fragment of Plato's *Republic*). The majority are Gnostic texts attributed to important individuals known from the New Testament. Included are apocryphal gospels (e.g., the *Gospel of Truth* and the *Gospel of the Egyptians*), acts (e.g., the *Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles* and the *Acts of Peter*), apocalypses (e.g., the *Apocalypse of Paul* and the *First Apocalypse of James*), and several writings that purport to pass on secret revelations of the risen Jesus (e.g., the *Apocryphon of James* and the *Apocryphon of John*).

The most interesting and controversial document is the *Gospel of Thomas.* It contains 114 sayings of Jesus, some of them already known from the synoptics. As Origen rejected its authority, and as there exist Greek fragments from not long after 200 CE, a date no later than the second century is demanded. Some who fail to find in *Thomas* any knowledge of the synoptics, but rather take it to be independent of the canon, date *Thomas* as early as the first century.

The apostolic fathers. This designation is a modern one and includes over a dozen writings from the first and second or third centuries: *1 Clement,* a letter written by the bishop of Rome at the end of the first century; *2 Clement,* a homily from the second century by an unknown author; seven epistles from Ignatius, a bishop of Antioch martyred before 117 CE; the *Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians,* written by a bishop of Smyrna martyred in 155 CE; the *Didache,* an anonymous, influential church order perhaps written in the late first century; the *Epistle of Barnabas,* an anonymous second-century treatise featuring allegorical exegesis of the Jewish Bible; the *Shepherd of Hermas,* a second-century apocalypse; the *Martyrdom of Polycarp,* the earliest account of Christian martyrdom; and the Epistle to *Diognetus,* an apology from the third century or the late second century. Most of these books were received as authoritative writings by some early Christians, while others who did not put them on the same level as the Gospels and Paul nonetheless found them edifying and worth reading in churches.

THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. The Greek word *canon* means first "reed" and then "measuring stick" or "norm." The church has used the term to refer to its authoritative writings. Although Christians consider the New Testament to be the norm of their faith, it was not precisely defined until the fourth century.

The first step toward the later canon probably occurred during the last quarter of the first century, when someone collected letters attributed to Paul. In the apostle's own lifetime, his correspondence, which typically addresses specific problems of specific communities, probably did not circulate widely. Some writers in the first half of the second century, however, must have known collections. Clement of Rome (c. 96), Ignatius (c. 110), and Polycarp (d. 155) all quote from or allude to several of Paul's epistles. The extent of the collections they knew is unclear, but each knew at least several letters.

In the middle of the second century, the controversial Roman theologian Marcion used a collection of Paul's epistles with this order: *Galatians, 1* and *2 Corinthians, Romans, 1* and *2 Thessalonians, Ephesians* (which Marcion knew as "To the Laodiceans"), *Colossians, Philippians,* and *Philemon.* The pastoral epistles (*1* and *2 Timothy* and *Titus*) are missing.

The pastoral epistles were also not in the other early collections, which usually took one of two forms. One had this order: *1* and *2 Corinthians, Romans, Ephesians, 1* and *2 Thessalonians, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians,* and *Philemon.* The other had: *Romans, 1* and *2 Corinthians, Ephesians, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, 1* and *2 Thessalonians,* and *Philemon.* Both collections ordered the texts according to decreasing length, the difference being that the first counts both *1* and *2 Corinthians* and *1* and *2 Thessalonians* as single books.

It is not know who first published a collection of Paul's letters, nor is anything known about subsequent revisers. Perhaps the process was a haphazard affair, with no guiding hand, no definitive moment. Perhaps smaller collections grew into larger collections over time. Yet it could also be that a devoted follower of Paul, sometime after his death, collected several of his epistles and published them as a collection.

Little is also known regarding the emergence of the fourfold Gospels. Numerous gospels circulated in the early church, and there is probably no explanation as to why most churches ended up with the four they did. One can say no more than that the collection reflects the preferred liturgical practice of many churches at the end of the second century. Initially, various churches must have used just one gospel. This seems confirmed by the early papyri P^{52} and P^{66}, which contain only *John.*

Early in the second century, things changed. Papias knew both *Mark* and *Matthew* as authoritative texts. A bit later, Justin Martyr knew *Matthew* and *Luke* and probably *Mark.* By the last quarter of the second century, *Matthew, Mark, Luke,* and *John* were together liturgical texts in many places.

The latter half of the second century was also the period during which many Christians began to think of the Gospels and Paul as together constituting an authoritative corpus, along with the Old Testament and a few other Christian writings. *Acts* seems to have been universally accepted. But it seems impossible to generalize about *Hebrews, James, 1* and *2 Peter, 1, 2, and 3 John, Jude,* and *Revelation,* except that their status was uncertain.

The earliest discussion of a collection of New Testament books beyond the four Gospels appears in the so-called Muratorian canon. Although extant only in a seventh-century Latin manuscript, it was (despite some recent debate) originally composed in Rome in the late second or early third century. The beginning, although lost, clearly mentioned *Matthew* and *Mark.* The author, in discussing what books the churches read, listed the following: *Luke* (cited as "the third book of the Gospel"), *John, 1* and *2 Corinthians, Galatians, Romans, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1* and *2 Thessalonians, Philemon, Titus, 1* and *2 Timothy, Jude, Revelation,* two epistles of John (one of which must be *1 John*), the *Apocalypse of Peter* (which the author says some do not accept), and the Shepherd of Hermas (which the author regards as inspired but not apostolic). Also mentioned are letters to the Laodiceans and the Alexandrians, which are dismissed as forgeries.

The Muratorian canon is typical of what one finds from the end of the second century on, namely, recognition of the four Gospels, recognition of Paul's epistles, recognition of several additional books, uncertainty and disagreement over others. Many did not know or questioned the authority of *Hebrews, James, 2 Peter, 2* and *3 John, Jude,* and *Revelation.* Only in the fourth century do statements that match today's canon appear.

In discussing the content of the canon, theologians often discussed authorship, date, doctrine, and church tradition. The latter two were the decisive factors. Many wanted a collection that did not support the doctrines of Marcion or the Gnostics or Montanists. No less important was the actual practice of the churches. Later theologians for the most part justified after the fact what most communities, for reasons that escape easy generalization, had long been reading.

THE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT AND TEXTUAL CRITICISM. None of the original Greek New Testament survives. The documents presumably wore out. The earliest extant text is a tiny fragment of John's gospel known as P^{52}. Dated on the basis of its handwriting to around 125 CE, it contains parts of *John* 18. The next witnesses are all fragmentary papyri from Egypt that date to around 200.

The oldest copies of the New Testament as a whole are from the fourth century, the two most famous being *Codex Sinaiticus* and *Codex Vaticanus* (although the latter lacks *Hebrews,* some of Paul's letters, and *Revelation*). These are all on parchment (the skins of sheep and goats). Their good quality reflects the prosperity of the fourth-century church, which could afford better copies of its scriptures after the legalization of Christianity. Before this period, Christians had often suffered persecution, and many of their books were burned.

No two extant manuscripts of the New Testament are exactly alike. So scholars have to reconstruct likely originals. Current editions of the Greek New Testaments do not reproduce any ancient manuscript but are rather the product of a committee's vote.

There are two types of variants. First are unintentional changes due to errors of sight or hearing. These include misreading a single letter (e.g., some manuscripts of *Luke* 6:43 have *karpos,* "fruit," instead of *karphos,* "speck"); *homoioteleuton* (a scribe passing from one occurrence of a series of letters to another—as when some witnesses move from the first occurrence of "in the kingdom of heaven" in *Matthew* 5:19 to the second occurrence, omitting the words in between); simple reversal of two words; hearing one word instead of another; *dittography* (writing the same word twice); or its opposite, *haplography* (writing a word once when it should be written twice).

While unintentional errors fill the manuscripts, many variants arose from intentional alterations. There are stylistic changes, due to a scribe seeking to improve the Greek. There are doctrinal changes, due to someone wanting to make a theological text more acceptable. Some who believed in Mary's perpetual virginity omitted part of *Matthew* 1:25 so that it no longer implies the resumption of conjugal relations. Someone else added a testimony to the Trinity in *1 John* 5:7: "There are three that testify in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one." There are liturgical changes, which make a text more suitable for public reading. Thus "amen" concludes each of the four Gospels in some witnesses, and there are doxologies added to the Lord's Prayer in *Matthew* 6:13, which otherwise ends with "but deliver us from evil." There are changes of clarification, such as the addition to *Matthew* 1:22, which turns "This all happened in order to fulfill the word of the Lord through the prophet, saying. . ." into "This all happened in order to fulfill the word of the Lord through the prophet Isaiah, saying. . . ." There are also changes due to correction. Thus the erroneous reference in *Mark* 2:26 to Abiathar is dropped in some manuscripts.

Although an earlier reading is better than a later one, all other things being equal, typically other things are not equal. Internal evidence must accordingly be considered. A reading that fits an author's style and vocabulary is preferable to one that does not. It also seems reasonable to prefer hard readings because scribes tended to iron out difficulties. "The only begotten God" in *John* 1:18 could supply an illustration of this: the phrase is so strange that one can understand it being altered.

The chief criterion, however, is this: the best reading explains the other readings. When faced with variants, one wants to tell a story that explains how, beginning with one text, the other texts came into being. A simple example of this is *Luke* 11:2, which introduces the Lord's Prayer. The address in some witnesses is simply "Father." In others it is "Our Father who art in heaven." It is easy to see why someone familiar with *Matthew*'s version of the Lord's Prayer, which has dominated liturgical usage, assimilated *Luke* to *Matthew* by expanding the shorter address into the longer. Again, while some witnesses to *Matthew* 5:22 forbid anger unconditionally, others forbid anger that is "without a cause." As the church father Cassian already observed, someone added the qualification. It relaxes an otherwise impossible imperative and brings Jesus into line with scriptures in which God and Jesus get angry.

Most of the variants in the textual tradition are insignificant and do not change the sense. Further, even without the original Greek texts, it is presumably possible to reconstruct something close to what circulated in the first century. There are, however, some cases in which the stakes are theologically significant. One is the ending of the *Gospel of Mark,* already discussed. Another is *John* 7:53–8:11, the story of the woman caught in adultery. This has been a liturgical text for centuries, and it is in all contemporary translations of *John* (although it is typically set apart in some way). But it is more than suspect. Many manuscripts, including most of the older ones, omit it. Others mark the passage with asterisks. It is also missing from many Latin texts and some of the other versions and does not appear to have been known to a number of the Church Fathers. The earliest Greek commentator to write upon it lived in the eleventh century, and he declares that it is not found in the most accurate copies. Some manuscripts put *John* 7:53–8:11 after *Luke* 21, others after *John* 21. Augustine of Hippo argued that someone removed the text because Jesus' treatment of adultery seemed overly generous. Yet when one considers that the passage contains words and phrases not typical of *John,* the conclusion that it is not original is inevitable. Where it came from is not known. Apart from whether it contains a historical memory, the text is nonetheless a favorite of many Christians, and knowledge of its secondary nature does not seem likely to erase its canonical status.

ANCIENT VERSIONS AND MODERN TRANSLATIONS. Although Jesus spoke Aramaic, all of the New Testament documents were composed in Greek. Beginning in the second century, the spread of Christianity required translating the Greek into other languages. The resultant versions are important not only for doing textual criticism but also because they help show us what text types were dominant in what regions. Eastern translations include:

Syriac. In the latter part of the second century, Tatian, a native of Mesopotamia who studied in Rome, produced the *Diatessaron,* a harmony of the canonical Gospels. Containing fifty-five chapters, it was designed for liturgical use. Although popular for centuries (and translated into Arabic, Latin, Persian, and other languages), it did not entirely displace the four Gospels, which also circulated in Syriac (the so-called Old Syriac). In the fifth century a Syriac version of the New Testament, lacking only *2 Peter, 2* and *3 John, Jude,* and *Revelation,* was published. This, known as the *Peshitta,* was revised in the sixth and seventh centuries, when the missing five books were added.

Coptic. Bohairic and Sahidic were the two chief dialects of Coptic, the last stage of the Egyptian language. The New Testament was translated into Sahidic no later than the early third century, and into Bohairic (still the language of Egyptian Christians today) a bit later.

Armenian. Although Christianity arrived in Armenia in the third century, it appears that a translation into Armenian (perhaps from the Syriac) was not made until the fifth century. Included in the Armenian canon are a third letter of Paul to the Corinthians and a letter supposedly written by the Corinthians to Paul.

There were also translations into Georgian (fifth century), Ethiopic (maybe as early as the fourth century), Arabic (eighth century?), and Persian (fourth or fifth century). Among the more important Western translations are the following:

Old Latin. This refers not to a single translation but to a variety of Latin translations made prior to Jerome's Vulgate in the late fourth century. Although ecclesiastical tradition is silent on the subject, it seems likely that some Latin translations were made in second-century North Africa, others in third-century Rome. No complete copy of the New Testament in Old Latin exists.

The Vulgate. In 382, Pope Damasus commissioned Jerome to standardize the Latin text. Jerome's version eventually replaced the Old Latin versions, thus earning its name, which means "popular" or "common." It became the liturgical text of the Roman Catholic Church and stamped all subsequent Christian language in the West.

Gothic. Ulfilas, a missionary to the Goths along the lower Danube, translated the Bible into Gothic in the last half of the fourth century. Ulfilas created the Gothic alphabet for this purpose. As the Ostrogothic kingdom fell in the sixth century, and as the Gothic language died not long thereafter, few manuscripts of the Gothic Bible exist.

The New Testament, or portions of it, have at this point in history been translated into over two thousand languages, and for many modern languages there are several contemporary translations. In the English-speaking world, there is no lack of sound translations. Unfortunately, new versions continue to appear not because of new discoveries, but mostly for marketing reasons.

SEE ALSO Apostles; Biblical Exegesis, article on Christian Views; Canon; Gospel; Marcionism; Nag Hammadi.

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BIBLICAL RELIGION SEE ISRAELITE RELIGION

BIBLICAL TEMPLE.

[*This entry is a discussion of the history, activities, and structure of the biblical Temple.*]

The Hebrew Bible records various temples dedicated to God throughout ancient Israel. Recent archaeological discoveries generally have corroborated the record, while at the same time raising new questions about the character, functions, and locations of temples of the biblical period. Foremost among these temples were the First and Second Temples built in Jerusalem.

HISTORY AND DESIGN. The First Temple was built between 960 and 950 BCE during the reign of Solomon; it was destroyed in 587/6 with the Babylonian conquest of Judah. The Second Temple was built on the site of the First in 516, and was destroyed by the Romans in 70 CE. However, both Temples underwent periodic renovations, expansion, and even restructuring, so that in describing temples we are speaking of an ongoing process, rather than of single events. Furthermore, the term *Temple* is ambiguous since it may designate either the building specifically, the focus of cult activity, or the entire complex of buildings, gates, and walls that together constitute the institution. For the purposes of this article, *Temple* refers to the building, *Temple complex* to the institution.

Most of the physical changes that the two Temples underwent at various times came in response to corresponding changes in the urban environment that were brought about, in turn, by changing political circumstances. Increased population density and the fluctuating political status of Jerusalem stimulated a tendency to protect, even barricade, the Temples against the outside. To a degree, and according to conditions, such efforts may have been vital to defense. More consistently, however, they expressed specific religious attitudes: the Temple and cult were to be shut off from the sounds and movements of the world around.

Temples in antiquity generally were intended to be prominent, to stand out in relation to the environment. They were often located on the summits of hills, and if construction intensified in the area either the temple was elevated, or the courtyards and buildings in the vicinity were downgraded.

Solomon's Temple (The First Temple). The Temple of Solomon gained preeminence as a result of political and religious movements, most notably the conquest of the northern kingdom of Israel by the Assyrians, and the drive, for both religious and political causes, to eliminate local and regional temples. David, founder of the united Israelite kingdom, had made Jerusalem (more precisely, the City of David on Mount Zion) his capital after conquering it around 1000 BCE; he confirmed royal sponsorship of the cult of the Ark of the Covenant by bringing the Ark to the city, while at the same time sanctioning the city as his royal seat (*2 Sm.* 6–7).

The best functional definition of the Temple complex that eventually arose on Mount Zion is preserved in *Amos* 7:13, which originally applied to Bethel, not Jerusalem. Bethel was the most important cult center of the northern kingdom in the eighth century, and the priest of Bethel admonished Amos not to speak against the king at Bethel: "Don't ever prophesy again at Bethel; for it is a king's sanctuary and a royal domain." Indeed, the Temple was initially only one component of a royal acropolis built on the northern summit of Mount Zion.

As described in *1 Kings* 6–8, Solomon's Temple was an oblong, stone structure, reinforced by cedar beams. The interior was divided by a wooden partition into two sections: the *heikhal* (great hall), encountered upon entering the building through swinging wooden doors, followed by the *devir* ("shrine"), the holiest section of the Temple, sometimes called the Holy of Holies. The shrine was raised higher than the floor of the great hall, and was set upon a huge rock, known later in the Jewish tradition as *even ha-shetiyyah* ("the foundation stone") and in Arabic as *al-sak̆hrah* (the "rock"), over which the Dome of the Rock was later built.

There were no interior columns, for the roof rested on large beams, and rows of windows punctuated two walls of the Temple. The facade of the Temple included a portico (*ulam*) extending the width of the building, in front of which stood two massive, ornamental columns, *yakhin* and *boʿaz*, that were probably insignia of the Davidic monarchy. The Temple lay on an east-west axis.

The design of Solomon's Temple points to Syrian and Phoenician models. The temple at Tell Tuʿeimat (ancient Kunulua) on the Syrian coast is often mentioned by archaeologists, as are temples at Zinjirli in Northwest Syria, and at Carchemish and Byblos. The Kunulua temple was also an oblong structure, divided into three parts: portico, hall, and shrine. An earlier prototype may have been the late Bronze Age temple at Hazor in Galilee, dating from between the sixteenth and the thirteenth centuries.

What is unusual about Solomon's Temple is its east-west orientation. Some have suggested that this was to allow the sun's rays to penetrate the Temple; others have speculated that the alignment was to allow the sun, at certain times of the year, to shine through two successive doorways into the shrine itself.

The interior doors were paneled with cedar, as was the ceiling, and both were extensively decorated with floral motifs and cherubs, overlaid with gold. In the windowless shrine stood the Ark, and hovering over it were two cherubs, whose combined wingspan reached from one wall to the other. In the great hall, facing the entrance to the shrine, stood the incense altar, made of cedar wood and overlaid with gold, and two rows of five lampstands, ten in all, hammered of solid gold.

Abutting three of the outer walls of the Temple was a network of stone chambers three stories high, called the *yatsiʿa*, through which one proceeded from chamber to chamber, climbing to the higher stories. Although the biblical text fails to specify the *yatsiʿa*'s function, it undoubtedly was used for storing consecrated materials and for priestly preparations. The structure reached halfway up the Temple's walls, so that the great hall's windows on the north and south walls were not blocked.

The Temple was surrounded by an enclosed courtyard (*ḥatser*), in the center of which, facing the entrance to the Temple, stood the altar for burnt offerings. The Temple had three gates, on the east, north, and south. Upon entering to the right and again in front of the Temple was a huge bronze reservoir, the *yam* ("sea"), and ten mobile basins—all ornamented with beasts of burden, as if to indicate that these animals carried the sea and the basins.

As described in *1 Kings*, the Temple was more exposed initially than in later periods. A comparison of Solomon's Temple complex with the visionary descriptions of the Temple complex in *Ezekiel* 40–48 shows how the process of insulating the Temple from the outside world had proceeded from the tenth century to the early sixth century, prior to the Temple's destruction in 587/6. Serious doubt exists as to how realistic the descriptions of *Ezekiel* are, given their visionary, literary context, but they probably reveal somewhat how the Temple complex appeared in its last years.

Two periods of major renovation were the reign of Hezekiah in the late eighth and early seventh centuries, and the reign of Josiah in the late seventh century. Hezekiah's projects undoubtedly were motivated by the growth of the population of Jerusalem after the fall of the northern kingdom of Israel in 722, which left the Temple as the only national religious center.

2 Kings 22 tells of Josiah's Temple renovations. Both he and Hezekiah were, of course, devout Yahvists; Josiah, in particular, had a lasting impact on the historical importance of the Temple. However, not only pious, Yahvistic kings were motivated to undertake Temple renovation. Ahaz, Hezekiah's father and hardly a devout, Yahvistic monarch, installed an additional altar, modeled after one he had seen in Damascus, and he built a passageway leading from his palace to the Temple (*2 Kgs.* 16). Even Manasseh, characterized as wicked, who ruled during much of the seventh century, may not have neglected the Temple; indeed, Nahman Avigad's excavations in Jerusalem's upper city reveal the extent of Manasseh's construction efforts.

By the time of Ezekiel the Temple is described as enclosed in two courtyards; there were now three sets of gatehouses, so that the Temple was approached by mounting three staircases; the burnt offering altar was elevated, and numerous stores were near the walls and gates (*Ez.* 40–48).

The Second Temple. Returning Judahite exiles, under their Davidic king Zerubbabel, rebuilt the Temple of Jerusalem on its original site pursuant to the edict of Cyrus II (the Great), issued in 538. Despite opposition from Samaritan leaders and other causes of delay, the Second Temple was dedicated in 516, its design resembling that of the First Temple. Measurements in *Ezra* 6:3, however, indicate that there may have been an upper story or attic above the ceiling of the Temple, as in later times, causing it to loom larger over the surrounding area than the First Temple.

As far as we know, no administrative buildings were located in the Temple complex, an absence that is understandable given the changed status of Jerusalem from capital of a sovereign kingdom to provincial temple city, one of many such entities throughout the Persian Empire.

Since its inception, the Second Temple had been devoid of certain artifacts once considered essential to the sanctity of the First. For instance the shrine held neither ark nor cherubs. (These cultic objects are missing in Ezekiel's descriptions of the First Temple.) Also missing were the two ornamental columns in front of the portico, since they symbolized royal authority and the Jews no longer had their own king. Yet even though no attempt was ever made to fashion a new ark (or cherubs), the empty shrine nevertheless was believed to be the domicile of the God of Israel.

Nehemiah 7:2 describes a fortress, *birah*, built in the northwest corner of the acropolis. (It is also mentioned in the *Letter of Aristeas* in the third century BCE.) In Herod's time it was renamed the Antonia and heavily fortified.

Records from the Persian period (538 to around 330 BCE) are sparse, but once Hellenistic sources begin to appear, more information emerges. The writings of Josephus Flavius, a Jewish historian of the first century CE, early tractates of the Mishnah, and passages in the New Testament all afford considerable information. Josephus, in *Against Apion*, refers to a certain Hecateus of Abdera who visited the temple in Jerusalem in the late fourth century BCE; from the third century come descriptions in the *Letter of Aristeas*, and Yehoshuʿa son of Sirah (*Ben Sira*) mentions that Shimʿon ha-Tsaddiq (Shimʿon the Just) undertook Temple renovations around 200. The recently discovered Temple Scroll, a pre-Herodian, Hebrew document, preserves detailed plans for a Jewish temple, and archaeological excavations in the Temple complex area have yielded additional material of interest.

Two periods appear to be times of major renovations and structural changes in the Temple: one following the Maccabean liberation of the Temple in 164, and the other, beginning about 20 BCE when Herod undertook the rebuilding of the entire Temple complex, a project that continued virtually until the destruction in 70 CE. From 164 the Hasmonean (Maccabean) rulers maintained a degree of political autonomy, after ridding the Temple of the heterodox artifacts and cult practices introduced by the Hellenizing priesthood of Jerusalem in the period leading up to the persecutions of Antiochus IV. During the Hasmonean period, construction began on a series of archways leading to the Temple, connecting it to the city of Jerusalem. These are better known from the Herodian period.

Herod, descendant of the Idumeans who converted to Judaism, was a favorite of the Romans. His monumental Temple project was motivated by both his desire to rule over a majestic polis of the Roman Empire, and at the same time be accepted by the religious leaders of the Jews. The accommodation struck by Herod produced a Temple complex conceived along Roman lines that nonetheless retained the traditional Temple building, by now probably heightened considerably.

Extensive archaeological excavations in the Temple mount area, initiated under the direction of Benjamin Mazar in 1968, have provided new information. It seems that Herod's Temple preserved earlier Temple design but the dimensions were considerably enlarged, including its height.

The inner area of Herod's Temple complex was prohibited to Gentiles, and it was bounded by a balustrade called the *soreg*. Josephus mentions that inscriptions in Greek and Latin were posted at intervals warning Gentiles not to pass beyond that point; two examples of these inscriptions have been discovered in modern times.

A visitor moving from east to west would perceive that the walled area of the temple was composed of two main sections. First, he would pass through the Beautiful Gate into the women's court and proceed up a staircase through the Nicanor Gate to the court of Israel, where male worshipers assembled. (Men and women did not worship together.) The court of Israel was set off in the eastern section of the inner court, and there was no wall separating it from the priests' court where the altar of burnt offerings stood. This entire walled section contained various chambers, including the Chamber of Hewn Stone, where the Sanhedrin, the high court of the Jews, convened prior to approximately 30 CE.

The altar for burnt offerings was situated in front of the Temple, slightly to the south of the staircase leading to the portico. In the Herodian period it was a raised altar reached by a ramp called the *kevesh*. Sacrificial animals were slaughtered in the northern front section of the court of priests, and a laver stood near the southern wall. The portico facade itself is described as exceedingly impressive and ornate; however, it included a golden eagle that aroused intense opposition because many Jews regarded the eagle as a pagan symbol.

The entire Temple mount, some of it resting on pillars, was enclosed by a high wall called the *ḥeil*. It undoubtedly served as a fortification, along with the Antonia fortress. The Temple mount had massive retaining walls, some of which have been exposed in recent archaeological excavations. (One is the so-called Western Wall.) On the periphery of the Temple mount were porticos, the best known of them being the royal portico, built along the southern side of the outer courtyards. This royal portico, which is profusely praised by Josephus, has been identified with the *ḥanuyyot* ("stores") mentioned in the Mishnah (*Taʿan.* 1.6). The Temple mount's outer dimensions prior to the destruction are estimated at 1,550 meters, an area twice the size of Trajan's forum in Rome.

The two Temples of Jerusalem, built on the same spot, had the cumulative effect of sanctifying that place for all subsequent generations of Jews.

THE CULT OF THE TEMPLES OF JERUSALEM. Information on the conduct of worship in the Temples of Jerusalem comes from several kinds of sources, all of which are problematic in one way or another. Most of the detailed descriptions of cultic praxis in biblical times come from the priestly codes of the Pentateuch, known as the P source. This source projects the sacrificial cult back to the time of the Sinai migrations, prior to Israelite settlement in Canaan. Historically these codes of practice, found primarily in *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, and *Numbers*, belong to a much later period and probably reflect the Jerusalem Temple cult. It is difficult, however, to as certain whether the cult of the First or Second Temple is being described. While the P source, as we have it, is more logically the product of the early postexilic period, the time of Persian domination (538–c. 330 CE), much of it, especially as pertains to types of sacrifices and their essential modes of presentation, was probably in effect in Judah in the latter part of the monarchic period, prior to the Babylonian exile. Today, the dating of the P source is a matter of considerable disagreement among scholars, with a substantial number favoring a preexilic provenance.

The *Letter of Aristeas* and the *Book of Ben Sira* contain a good deal of information from pre-Maccabean times about the Second Temple. For the Herodian period and thereafter (about the last one hundred years of the Temple), considerable information is preserved in the writings of Josephus. The Mishnah and Tannaitic literature may also be employed for the Herodian period even though they were not compiled until the early third century CE. *Megillat ta'anit* and the books of the New Testament also contain authentic information on Temple worship. It is warranted to assume a high degree of conservatism in the religious practice of ancient Jerusalem.

Structure of the cultic worship. The public cult of Jerusalem was, from earliest times, structured around a daily regimen, wherein the major sacrifice was offered in the morning, and a less elaborate one offered before sunset. This was the ancient Near Eastern pattern, according to which the day was defined as the daylight hours. This was the time frame for most worship, although certain types of ritual were conducted at night, magic and penitential worship for the most part. The daytime schedule expressed the basic aim of worship: the need to secure God's blessings and help in the practical pursuits of life, in the activities of each day.

Thus, the Bible tells us that Ahaz, king of Judah, instructed the priests of Jerusalem to offer "the burnt offering of the morning and the grain offering of the evening" (*2 Kgs.* 16:15). The late afternoon came to be referred to as the time "of the ascent of the grain offering" (*1 Kgs.* 18:29, 18:36). In *Ezekiel* 46:12–15, both a burnt offering and a grain offering were to be sacrificed each morning, but there is no mention of a second burnt offering later in the day, as is required by the laws of the Torah (*Ex.* 29:38–46; *Nm.* 28:1–8). It is likely, therefore, that the Torah codes which project two daily burnt offerings are postexilic, as suggested by Roland de Vaux.

On Sabbaths, new moons, and festivals, additional or perhaps special sacrifices were offered. The Mishnah, especially in tractate *Tamid*, describes the daily regimen of the Second Temple, including the procedures for assignment of priests to various duties.

Basic kinds of sacrifices. *Leviticus* 1–3 and 5–7 outline the three basic types of sacrifices offered on the altar of burnt offerings:

1. *'Olah*, functionally translated as "burnt offering" or "holocaust," was a sacrifice burned to ash, no part of which was eaten by the priest or donors. Literally, *'olah* means "that which ascends [in smoke]." An *'olah* could consist of a bull, a sheep or goat, or certain birds. The donor of the sacrifice laid his hands on the animal's head and, following a set formula, assigned it as an *'olah;* the Mishnah (*'Arakh.* 5.5) preserves examples of such formulas used during the late Second Temple. The priest then slaughtered the animal, flayed it, washed certain internal organs, and decapitated and sectioned it. The blood of the sacrifice was then splashed on the altar. The *'olah* was also termed an *isheh* (offering by fire), a more general term for all burnt offerings, as well as a *qorban* ("offering").
2. *Minḥah* (grain offering) consisted of semolina wheat flour, finely ground, mixed with oil and frankincense into a dough. A scoop of the dough was burned on the altar, while the remainder was baked or cooked some other way. Any grain offering burned on the altar had to be made of unleavened dough (*matsah*). The reason for this restriction is not known. Portions of the *minhah* were eaten by the priests.
3. *Zevaḥ shelamin* ("a sacred gift of greeting"; sometimes termed a "peace offering"). The term *zevaḥ* seems to mean "sacred meal," or "food." Such an offering could consist only of a bull, sheep, or goat. It too was assigned by the donor; its blood was splashed on the altar. But, in contrast to the first two kinds of sacrifice, this offering was shared with the donors. The altar received certain of the internal organs and the fat adhering to them, whereas the meat was divided between priests and donors and then boiled in pots (*1 Sm.* 2:13). In addition, libations of wine usually accompanied the major sacrifice (*Nm.* 15:1–16, 15:22–31).

Sacrifice as a mode of worship. The sacrificial regimen just outlined represents the outcome of a long process of development; left unanswered are questions about the history and meaning of sacrifice.

There were two basic sacrificial modes in biblical Israel: the presentation and the burnt offering. In the presentation offering, the deity is portrayed as looking upon the offering and accepting or rejecting it. Such offerings, once "set" or placed before God, were usually assigned to the priests who would partake of them. Examples include the offering of first fruits (*Dt.* 26:1–11); the "bread of display," placed on tables in the Temple for a week and then given to the priests (*Lv.* 24:5–9, *1 Sm.* 21:7); the leavened loaves of the thanksgiving offering (*Lv.* 6:11–13); and the offering of the sheaf from the new grain crop (*Lv.* 23:11, 23:17). Therefore, to a degree mode relates to substance, and presentations tended to consist of grain and fruits, very much in keeping with sacrifice in other ancient Near Eastern countries.

With the burnt offering, the deity is portrayed as inhaling the aromatic smoke of the sacrifice, typical of an incense offering—a kind of sacrifice in its own right (*Ex.* 30:7f, *Lv.* 6:12–15, *Is.* 1:13). Historically, the burnt offering may have originated in northern Syria, for it is known that it was adopted and widely used by the Hittites. It may not have been native to Canaan, although current research into this question is inadequate.

What is clear from biblical literature is the progressive ascendancy of the burnt offering in the public cult and in private donations. This can be traced in the adaptation of certain modes of sacrifice. The grain offering is a case in point. As prescribed in *Leviticus* 2 it can be analyzed as the accommodation of what was originally a presentation offering: only a scoop of dough was burned on the altar, the rest was given to the priests after having been offered first to the deity.

Yet another instance of accommodation is implicit in the term *tenufah* (raised offering). Before certain offerings were placed on the altar, they were held up and carried about for the deity to view (*Lv.* 10:4).

Procedures whereby offerings initially having nothing to do with the altar were adapted to the prevailing mode are also evident with respect to animal sacrifices. According to the old mode of sacrifice, the paschal lamb was roasted whole over an open fire without employing the altar (*Ex.* 12 and 13). But as prescribed in *Deuteronomy* 16:7 and like all other sacrifices of the *zevaḥ* variety, it was to be boiled in pots, with certain parts burned on the altar.

Generally, most sacrificial types and modes existed quite early in the biblical period, and some are mentioned independently by eighth-century prophets. What changes perceptibly is the elaborateness of composite, public rituals, such as those performed at festivals, or in purifying the Temple. The liturgical calendar in *Numbers*, chapters 28 through 29, shows the growth of a frequent and detailed sacrificial activity since an earlier period in *Leviticus* 23.

Certain very ancient sacrifices were revived after long periods; one was the water libation, mentioned in connection with David's early years (*1 Sm.* 23:16), and which figured in Elijah's confrontation with the Baal priests somewhere in the Carmel mountain range (*1 Kgs.* 18). It was revived in the early rabbinic period (*Sheq.* 6:3).

Interacting with mode and substance was motivation, the reason for the sacrifice. There were several types of sacrifices whose objective was expiation, through purification; two major ones were the *ḥaṭṭaʿt* ("sin offering") and the *asham* ("guilt offering"). The *asham* in particular had a votive aspect, and it could be donated in other than a sacrificial form (as silver, for instance), especially since the priesthood at different times preferred different kinds of revenue. The *asham*, as a sacrifical offering, had no role in the public cult, but the *ḥaṭṭaʿt* was used in Temple purification in rites such as those described for the Day of Atonement (*Lv.* 16). These sacrifices resembled others in substance, and usually consisted of large or small cattle, except that allowances were made for less expensive offerings from donors with limited means so as not to deny them expiation.

Private and public worship intersected in the Temple. Individuals donated public sacrifices; the Temple was a place to pronounce vows and fulfill pledges; new mothers, in accordance with *Leviticus* 12, brought pigeons and doves to the Temple following their specified periods of seclusion. Scattered among the legal discussions of the Talmudic sages are beautiful descriptions of celebrations in the late Second Temple period; for example, the description of the offering of first fruits in Jerusalem, as first commanded in *Deuteronomy* 20:1–11, and later recorded in the Mishnah, tractate *Bikkurim*, chapter 3.

Once consecrated, sacrificial materials became susceptible to defilement, and could not be left unused. Not only would certain foodstuffs spoil, which was a practical consideration, but there was always the fear that impurity would affect the entire Temple complex or, put another way, that demonic forces would contaminate sacrifices.

Sacrificial blood was utilized in the Temple cult in special ways. As such, blood from sacrifices was considered taboo, as was all blood from cattle, sheep, and goats used as food (*Gn.* 9:4; *Lv.* 3:17, 17:10f.; *Dt.* 12:16f.). In most sacrifices, the blood was splashed on the sides of the altar, and in some cases on the horns atop the altar. In certain expiatory rites, such as those performed in Temple purification, blood was also dabbed on the interior incense altar, on the curtains at the entrance to the great hall and the shrine, and even on the Ark and cherubs. Blood, as the vital fluid of living creatures, was to be returned to the earth, and the blood splashed on the sides of the altar would therefore be allowed to run down into the earth. What had once been a blood libation to chthonic powers became an offering to God. Other uses, such as dabbing blood on cult objects (and occasionally people), seem to have been intended to ward off demonic forces. Salt was applied to offerings to drain off residual blood after slaughter (*Lv.* 2:13), and the method of slaughter, later described in the Mishnah (*Ḥul.* 2.4), was to cut the jugular vein. An entire order of the Mishnah, *Qodashim* ("Sacred Things"), is devoted to procedures of sacrifice in late Second Temple times.

Apart from sacrifices, the Temple cult always included prayers and song, and probably dance as well (or at least orchestrated movement). The *Psalms* were first prayers, and one tradition has it that the Levites were the singers (*Ez.* 2:41, *Neh.* 7:44, *1 Chr.* 15:10), at least at the time of the Second Temple. This tradition is reflected in the captions of certain psalms that associate them with Levitical clans. But prayer and song were not regarded as the main events or even as sufficient modes of worship: only sacrifice and its rituals were ultimately efficacious. The *tamid* or daily sacrificial offering that in the Second Temple was burned twice each day was the mainstay of the cult, and when it was suppressed by decree great anxiety overtook Jewish people everywhere.

FUNDING AND ADMINISTRATION. Temple building and maintenance, the public cult, and the support of Temple personnel all required large outlays of funds. Who bore the costs? As with other matters pertaining to the Temples of Jerusalem, we are reliant primarily on the Hebrew Bible, since we lack contemporary documentation in the form of administrative records, such as those that have survived from the major ancient temples of Syria-Mesopotamia, or the inscribed ancient wall reliefs, for instance, that we find in Egypt. With the Hellenistic period, documentation begins to appear, and in the Roman period Jewish writings become available. Together these sources provide more specific information on the operation of the Second Temple.

In itself, the biblical record is complex and often confusing: the Torah tells one story, and the historical books of Hebrew scriptures—*Samuel*, *Kings*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Chronicles*—another. The Torah gives little indication as to the role of the monarchy in biblical Israel, never venturing beyond stating the eventuality of a monarchy. Nor is there evidence of governmental taxation, only gifts to God—tithes, priestly emoluments, voluntary and obligatory sacrifices, and so forth. The various documentary sources of the Torah project legislation into the days of Moses, before the Israelite settlement of Canaan, when there was no king and no temple in Jerusalem. Historically misleading, all matters concerning the major temples of the land were controlled by the monarch, once established, in both Judaea and northern Israel. Although priestly groups probably originated independent of the monarchy, retaining traditional prerogatives, they nonetheless operated under royal jurisdiction for most of the preexilic period.

The contrast between the laws of the Torah, which provide so much detail on the performance of the cult, and the historical books of the Hebrew Bible, which contain little on these subjects but considerable information on governmental administration, can be demonstrated by the case of the tithe. The tithe amounted to one-tenth of the annual yield of grain and fruit, as well as an equal percentage of any increase in herds and flocks. In the Torah, such tithes are represented as cult dues or religious duties owed to the Levitical priests and the needy, without any governmental involvement in the process (*Dt.* 14:22–29, 15:19–23; *Lv.* 27:30). In contrast, the statement of royal jurisdiction preserved in *1 Samuel* 8 (especially verse 15) refers to the fact that kings are the ones who impose tithes on crop yield. Projecting back to Moses, so characteristic of the Torah, often masks the realities of royal administration that obtained during the preexilic period, as well as the realities of priestly administration under foreign rulers in the postexilic period.

Funding in the Second Temple. The preferred method of studying Temple funding would be to begin with the Hellenistic period, for which we have contemporary evidence, and work backward. Elias Bickerman (1976) has clarified this subject for the Ptolemaic and Seleucid periods in Judaea and Jerusalem (c. 312–363 CE) in a study of the mission of Heliodorus to the Temple of Jerusalem, as recounted in *2 Maccabees* 3 and as known well in later literature and art.

In later times, maintaining the Temple and cult in Jerusalem was a royal responsibility; tax revenues were allocated for this purpose, augmented by gifts from the nobility. Under the Romans (63 BCE–70 CE) the system was more complicated, as will become apparent.

The principle of royal sponsorship also applied during the earlier Achaemenid period (538–330 BCE); both Hebrew and Aramaic versions of the edict of Cyrus II of 538 BCE have been preserved (*Ezr.* 1:2–3, 6:6–12). Of particular relevance are statements of the Aramaic version, in *Ezra* 6:8–9, relevant to the funds and materials required for the restoration of the public cult in Jerusalem:

> The expenses are to be paid to these men [the Judean elders] with dispatch out of the resources of the king, derived from the taxes of the province of Beyond the River, so that the work not be interrupted. They are to be provided daily, without fail, whatever they need of young bulls, rams and lambs as burnt offerings for the God of Heaven and wheat, salt, wine and oil, at the order of the priests in Jerusalem.

Further back in history, similar information about the funding of the First Temple under the national Judahite kings can be found.

Ezekiel 45 contains a statement on the prerogatives of the *nasi'* ("prince"; literally, "the one elevated, raised" above the people), Ezekiel's term for the future ruler of the restored Judahite community. It is not certain when this chapter was composed, but it is probably warranted, as in the matter of Temple design, to regard it as expressing the principle of royal funding in effect during the last days of the First Temple.

The chapter begins by designating a quarter inside Jerusalem to be set aside for the Temple complex (*Ez.* 45:1–8). Verses 9 through 17 establish standards of weights and measures, and specify a system of taxation based on percentage of annual yield. Verses 16–17 are particularly relevant:

> The entire population must pay this levy to the *nasi'*. It shall then be the responsibility of the *nasi'* to provide the holocausts, grain offerings and libations on the pilgrimage festivals, on New Moons and Sabbaths, on all the appointed celebrations of the House of Israel.

This passage has been variously interpreted by biblical historians, such as Jacob Jiver, who was undoubtedly correct in seeing it as reflecting royal sponsorship. In accounting terms royal sponsorship was a form of indirect funding. Taxes collected by government agents (sometimes priests served in this capacity) were partially or fully allocated to the Temple. Direct Temple funding came from the people, and was specifically earmarked for Temple use. The *nasi'*, a civil authority although he had sacral functions, was made responsible for the entire Temple restoration, and it was he who collected taxes for the Temple project and the public cult.

But Ezekiel's vision never materialized, because during the postexilic period Temple funding became a function of foreign kings, and indeed the Davidic king Zerubbabel did not retain authority very long. Morton Smith has correctly understood the statement in *Zechariah* 6:12–13 as an official, prophetic endorsement of Zerubbabel as sponsor of the rebuilt Temple of Jerusalem, with the authority of the high priest less precisely defined. He notes, however, that king and high priest are often addressed together, as coleaders of the people (*Hg.* 1:1, 1:12, 1:14, 2:2; *Zec.* 3–4), and by placing two crowns in the Temple, their joint authority was memorialized. As time goes on, with priestly administration of the Temple under Persian jurisdiction as the everyday reality, much less is said in scripture about a Davidic restoration. So in effect Ezekiel's recast vision embodies the principle of royal sponsorship as it operated in the period of the First Temple. Further, *Samuel* and *Kings* clearly describe the First Temple as a royal agency, but say little about taxation other than that labor forces were conscripted for Temple projects and other royal enterprises.

Funding in the First Temple. One way to investigate Temple funding in the preexilic period is to discuss the royal and Temple treasuries, both mentioned in *1 Kings* 12:19, 14:26, and elsewhere, as separate agencies under royal control. We often read of "sanctuary weight" but hardly ever of royal standards of weights and measures. And yet, in a single, random passage (*2 Sm.* 14:26), we read of *ʿeven ha-melekh* ("the royal weight"), which tells something about the degree to which even the historical chronicles mask administrative reality in a preoccupation with religious concerns.

Several biblical chronicles tell how Judahite kings, both "upright" in God's sight and those who "did what was evil," appropriated Temple treasures for other than cult purposes (*2 Kgs.* 18:15–16). In speaking of these acts, an assertion of royal authority over the Temple, *Kings* usually refers to Temple treasures as "sacred gifts" (*qodashim*) donated by the various Judean kings and their ancestors, as if to imply that they, in turn, had the right to expropriate them.

Chapters 12 and 22 in *2 Kings* are particularly informative on the subject of Temple funding during the period of the Judahite monarchy. Chapter 12 tells of Joash, a king who ruled in the late ninth century BCE, who used Temple treasures for tribute. The chapter's present arrangement has the confrontation with the Aramean king, Hazael, after Temple renovations undertaken by Joash, as seen in verses 18 and 19, yet it is quite logical to regard the renovations mentioned in verses 1 through 17 as actually taking place subsequent to Joash's payment to Hazael.

Payments to Hazael left Temple coffers empty. The chapter opens with an edict issued by Joash to the priests: all silver brought into the Temple as votaries was to be collected by the priests and used for Temple renovation. This was apparently an exceptional measure, and the priests were lax to resort to votaries for this purpose, expecting instead royal allocations to cover their cost. After a time the king, seeing that repairs had not been made, summoned the chief priest of the Temple and, prevailing over the priest's objections, insisted that his edict be carried out. The priest installed a collection box near the altar where all donors were to deposit their votaries. At appropriate intervals the priest would tally donations, in the presence of the royal scribe, and the silver would be melted down into ingots; these, in turn, were paid out to craftsmen working on the Temple who apparently were so trustworthy that no accounting system was required for them. A freeze was placed on the manufacture of cultic vessels of silver and gold in order that all available funds could be used for needed repairs. The only exemption, for penalties brought to the Temple by worshipers in need of expiation, was granted so that atonement would not be delayed.

2 Kings 22 describes a similar situation under Josiah, king of Judah, in the late seventh century BCE; both chapter 12 and this chapter are drawn from the same kind of royal chronicles. Again, all silver, this time collected by the Temple gatekeepers, was to be melted down into ingots to pay Temple workers. Josiah's coffers were also empty after the long period of Manasseh's reign.

Both chapters report that the king had jurisdiction over the Temple, royal scribes supervised Temple accounting procedures, and craftsmen were paid by royal order. In part records were preserved to credit Judean kings for proper maintenance of the First Temple of Jerusalem and for attending to necessary repairs. And yet they also point to another fairly constant source of Temple revenue and serve to link the historical books of the Hebrew Bible to the laws of the Torah.

Sacred vessels and sacrificial offerings were regularly donated (or "devoted") to the Temple by individual Israelites and their families. Votaries mentioned in *2 Kings* 12, in fact, are the subject of Torah legislation in *Leviticus* 27, where specific payments are determined separately for men and women by age group. Such devotions often assumed large proportions. The writings of Josephus and rabbinic sources describe large-scale devotions from prominent Diaspora Jews, such as Helene, the queen of Adiabene. These donations were usually prompted by the motive of sponsorship.

The priesthood, for its part, relied on popular support, which, however, was not always adequate to sustain the priests and their families. People were exhorted to pay tithes and vows on time and to devote sacrifices; indeed, the Torah sets down the dues payable to the Levitical priesthood and includes a whole schedule of offerings (*Nm.* 18).

Fiscal responsibilities. The main problem here is to determine who bore responsibility for the Temples of Jerusalem—the government (so to speak), or the private sector. No persistent policy of support by the private sector is evident until late Hasmonean or early Roman times. Basing his work on Bickerman's, Jiver meticulously surveyed the background of this development, showing that the first reference to popular funding of the Temple is found in the writings of Josephus (*Jewish Antiquities* 18:312), who tells of the annual head tax of one-half shekel (at times, equal to two Roman drachmas); *Matthew* 17:24 through 17:27 speaks about the collection of this tax in Capernaum, in the early first century CE. In the Mishnah (*Sheq.* 1:3–6) the tax is called *terumat ha-lishkah* ("the levy of the bureau," for the bureau in the Temple complex where it was collected); it was used mainly to fund the *tamid* or daily sacrifice that was the mainstay of the public Temple cult. It was not accepted from Gentiles, thereby excluding them from any role in supporting the cult. But more specifically, at some prior time Jewish religious leaders decided that the cult should be supported "by all Israel," and not by foreign rulers—Herodian or Roman. This decision is first recorded in the *scholia*, or comments, affixed to *Megillat taʿanit*, concerning a dispute involving the early Pharisees. The text states that Boethusians (perhaps the Sadducees, or some other anti-Pharisaic sect) claimed:

> The *tamid* sacrifices may be brought from private contributions: one person may offer it for one week, another may offer it for two weeks, and still another for thirty days. The Sages [Pharisees] retorted: "You are not permitted to act in this way, because this sacrifice may only be contributed by all Israel . . . and all of them [the sacrifices] are to come from the 'levy of the bureau.' " When they [the Pharisees] prevailed over them and defeated them, they instituted that all should weigh out their shekels and deposit them in the bureau, and *tamid* sacrifices were henceforth offered from popular funds. (quoted in Lichtenstein, 1931–1932, p. 325)

We cannot date the enactment of which this passage speaks, but historically it may have been the result of Pharisaic displeasure with the later Hasmoneans; some scholars trace it to the reign of Salome Alexandra (76–67 BCE). Whatever the case, Jewish communities from all over the Diaspora contributed their shekels.

The policy of refusing royal support was based on several Torah traditions that speak of all Israelites as contributing to the building of the Tabernacle in the Sinai wilderness. These traditions have baffled biblical historians, who have searched for a historical situation that could account for them. Since no such principle is known for either the First Temple or the Second, both of which relied on royal funding, the question remains as to when popular funding came to function as a system.

The Torah traditions are preserved primarily in the priestly sources of *Exodus* and *Numbers*. Beginning with *Exodus* 30:11 through 16, a law required every adult Israelite male to contribute one-half shekel "to Yahveh" to support the Tabernacle; it was to be collected in the course of a census.

In its context, this law was formulated as a one-time obligation. *Exodus* 25 and the following chapters appealed to all Israelites to contribute voluntarily to the construction of gold and silver objects for the Tabernacle, valuable fabrics, and the like. This fund-raising effort was very successful, and sufficient materials were donated. The half-shekel was for the "service" of the Tabernacle, to support its sacrifical cult. Of course it is possible that in *Exodus* 25 and 30 parallel traditions on funding exist: one recording a fixed tax, the other a voluntary contribution.

Either way, these traditions, reinforced by *Numbers* 7, which tells that the chieftains of the twelve tribes contributed identical vessels and sacrificial materials for the dedication of the Tabernacle, quite clearly idealize popular support for the Temple and its public cult. Nonetheless, all Israelites participated in its support, making it an institution of and for the people, even though it was conducted by the priesthood.

Since it is virtually out of the question to date these Torah traditions to the late first century BCE, it is difficult to identify their historical situation. Most likely Julius Wellhausen and others were right in attributing the head tax of *Exodus* 30 with the period of Nehemiah, the late fifth century BCE; he was a Jew who served for two terms under the Persians as governor of Judah. In *Nehemiah* 10 is a record of a popular assembly, or "constitutional convention," that some historians date to around 438 BCE, although *Nehemiah* may have been written considerably later.

Under Nehemiah the people, along with priestly leaders and civil officials, assembled in Jerusalem and pledged to fulfill the Torah of Moses. In fact, however, they also instituted some new marriage restrictions, reinforced the observance of the Sabbath, and assumed certain financial obligations in support of the Temple cult. They pledged one-third shekel a year in support of the cult and cast lots to determine who would provide wood for the altar fire. In addition, they promised to pay tithes, redeem firstlings and firstborns by remitting their set value to the Temple, and offer first fruits of the harvest—all of which brought profit to the Temple.

It is reasonable to see the priestly traditions as the institutionalization of a temporary policy change that occurred in the late Persian period when the economic fortunes of the Empire declined, threatening the continuity of the cult. According to the *Book of Nehemiah*, especially chapter 5, taxes were heavy and Jewish leaders had to help matters along. With the conquest of Alexander the Great, and the initiation of Ptolemaic and Seleucid rule in Jerusalem and Judaea, the economic situation improved substantially, and royal sponsorship functioned well once again.

The Torah traditions also correlate with other references to popular responsibility for the public cult in *Ezra* and *Chronicles*, although these references reach into the fourth century BCE. (See *Ezra* 1:4, an addendum to the Cyrus Edict, also *Ezra* 3:5, 8:28; *2 Chronicles* 31:14, 35:8.)

2 Chronicles 24:4 through 14 is a late recasting of *2 Kings* 12, discussed earlier. In this version, Joash orders the priests and Levites to travel to every town in Judaea to collect silver for Temple repairs, from "all Israel." When the Levites fail to do their part, he rebukes them (*2 Chr.* 24:6). Thus, this preexilic chronicle's version of Temple votary expropriation was recast as the record of a tax collected throughout the land from all the people.

The Torah traditions, whenever composed, became epitomes ultimately of a democratic ideal—the liberation of the Temple cult from royal domination. The Jews took charge of the Temple and limited the authority of foreign kings over the conduct of religious life. Perhaps for the first time, these kings, who had spent a fortune on the Temples from taxes collected from the people, were no longer permitted to claim exclusive sponsorship of the worship of God.

The Torah speaks of "consecrations" to the Temple (*Lv.* 27), with an assured 20 percent profit on "redemptions" of land or real estate so designated. Land was also permanently bequeathed to the Temple, making it the beneficiary of private estates. More than likely, the Temple served as a channel for tax exemptions.

The Mishnah describes how the Temple operated on a day-to-day basis in Herodian times and prior to its destruction. Like the prophet Jeremiah before him, Jesus certainly had reason to object to the atmosphere of the marketplace that characterized the Temple complex, but such was the nature of holy cities everywhere. Great numbers of sacrificial animals, as well as large quantities of incense, flour, wine, and oil, were stocked in the Temple stores; priests and their agents attended to the business of the Temple, selling to worshipers the goods that they required and collecting various payments. Priests were assigned to Temple duty, usually of a week's duration. Ancient records of these tours (*mishmarot*) have been discovered in recent archaeological investigations, such as those at Beit She'an. The Temple proper was inspected every morning; a daily duty roster was used, with one priest placed in charge of work assignments each day; treasurers kept Temple accounts. Indeed, the Temple complex was the very hub of Jerusalem.

TEMPLE FUNCTION AND PHENOMENOLOGY. Throughout biblical literature, the temple of Jerusalem is called *beit YHVH* ("the House of Yahveh"). This role emerges clearly from *1 Kings* 8, a mixed text that presents both an early statement on the functions of this house and a later postexilic reinterpretation. Its primary function is best conveyed in verses 12 and 13: "Then Solomon spoke: Yahveh has chosen to abide in dense cloud. I have accordingly built for You a royal house, a dais for Your eternal enthronement."

The Temple served as an earthly residence for God and was designed to replicate his celestial estate. In the heavens, God is enveloped by dense cloud (*2 Sm.* 22; *Ps.* 18, 97:2; *Jb.* 38:9); his heavenly throne room was, in graphic terms, an arrested version of his chariot, fashioned as a winged sphinx and cherub (*Ez.* 28:14, *Ps.* 18:11). God rode his chariot across heaven, as "rider amid the clouds" (*Ps.* 68:5) and as "Yahveh of the [heavenly] hosts, seated astride the cherubim" (*1 Sm.* 4:4, *2 Sm.* 6:2)—a projection now recognized as a very ancient Near Eastern image known in Ugaritic mythology.

Also basic to celestial depictions is the obscurity that afforded protection from view and access. Moses climbed Mount Sinai, "into the dense cloud where God is" (*Ex.* 20:21); God had descended there to communicate with Moses, a dramatic move in keeping with other visible manifestations of the deity (*2 Sm.* 20:10, *Ps.* 18:10).

The Temple was a divine palace. In the ancient Near Eastern tradition of inverting reality, earth was perceived as a replica of heaven, yet poets and writers depicted heaven according to what they knew on earth—an inversion seemingly endemic to the human imagination. The earthly residence of God in Jerusalem contained a shrine without windows, a dark room; in it the Ark served as God's footstool, and his throne was formed by the arched, winged cherubs. He was present, but invisible, and immaterial. On those rare occasions that the high priest entered the shrine, he bore incense, partly to protect himself, but also to cloud the immediate area of the shrine where the deity was thought to be seated (*Lv.* 16:13).

The term for great hall, *heikhal*, goes back to Sumerian *egal* ("big house"); Akkadian *hekallu*, and Ugaritic *hkl*. The Egyptian title *pharaoh* (*pr*) literally means "big house," the ruler who lives in a palace. The great hall was a veritable audience room or parlor, where priests (perhaps originally worshipers as well) offered gifts to the resident divine monarch. There was a table for presentations and an incense altar, so that the air would be sweetened for God's pleasure. The cedar-paneled walls and ceiling were decorated with motifs suitable for a divine residence—cherubs and floral motifs. Here was an effort to simulate a heavenly "garden," such as described in *Ezekiel* 27–28. Such decorations were not thought to contradict the ban on iconography so basic to Israelite monotheism (*Ex.* 20:4, *Dt.* 5:8). And, like a palace, the Temple had a portico, so that one would not enter into the presence of the deity abruptly.

Offerings. In the open-air courtyard stood the altar of burnt offerings, facing the entrance of the Temple. Every day sacrifices were burned on this altar, and other installations and artifacts were also present to serve the priests' needs.

The classic plan of Solomon's Temple and of all its successors represented the integration of two originally separate concepts: that of a house, closed and covered by a roof, and that of an open-air encampment. Within the "house" gifts were presented to the deity, and his "looking upon" them with favor constituted his acceptance of them. Normally, such gifts were assigned to the priests, who partook of them in a sacred meal.

The offerings of incense inside the great hall point to another kind of divine response—inhalation. In this respect, incense and the burnt offerings of animals, birds, and grain belonged together on the outdoor altar. Therefore, two modes of sacrifice took place in the great hall: presentation, which was intended to evoke a visual response from God, and aromatic smoke, intended for inhalation by the deity. A description of the open-air ceremony will help us to understand the phenomonology of incense offerings. On the altar of burnt offerings were placed parts of animals and fowl and scoops of dough that were reduced to ash by the fire. The smoke ascended heavenward, there inhaled by God and in this manner accepted by him. When God disapproved of the worshipers or the manner of their worship, he angrily refused to inhale the aromatic smoke of their burnt offerings (*Am.* 5:21, *Lv.* 26:31).

The open-air altar was oriented vertically and the effects of the rite directed heavenward, which helps explain the preference for mountaintops and high places. As the sacrificial rite began, God was thought to be in heaven, not yet present; once the smoke rose to heaven, it was hoped that he would be attracted by the sweet aroma, and come to his worshipers (*Ex.* 20:24). Once God drew near he could be entreated and petitioned for the blessings of life. This was the basic phenomenology of the open-air burnt offering. In liturgical terms it was a form of invocation, and this seems to be the original function of the burnt offering referred to as *ʿolah* (literally, "that which *ascends*," in aromatic smoke, to heaven).

The presentation clearly had a horizontal orientation. The deity was perceived as already present in his "house." This is the basic difference between a "house" and the open-air setting. The Temple "house" was God's permanent residence, affording him shelter and the necessities of life (so to speak), whereas an altar or *bamah* ("high place") was a site visited by him on occasion. Consequently, it is likely that the incense offering was originally an open-air ritual. Archaeological evidence seems to suggest this; many incense stands have been found in front of temples, or outside their entrances. But it is also reasonable to assume that the venue of the incense offering was, in certain instances, shifted to the Temple's interior.

Structure. As a projection of differing patterns of human habitation, the typical temple plan—including both an open-air court and a closed, covered "house"—combines the encampment and the town, the pastoral and the more settled, agricultural bases of economic life into one expression.

Wood was preferred for temple architecture, particularly the fine, aromatic cedar from Lebanon. The Sumerian king Gudea used cedar wood in his temple, built more than a thousand years before Solomon's Temple. In many areas of the ancient Near East there seems to be an almost symbolic preference for wood, persisting long after stone and mud brick became the functional materials for construction. In the earliest temple tombs of Egypt, wooden motifs were retained long after stone was used. It was conventional to romanticize more ancient modes of construction, while for practical purposes utilizing stronger, more lasting materials.

The huge reservoir, *yam* ("sea"), located in the courtyard also had its particular meaning; in Mesopotamian temples similar reservoirs were called *apsu* ("the deep"). Aside from their practical purposes, their names reflect a common cosmic or mythological concept. *Zechariah* 14:8 states that the Temple rested on the fountainhead of the earth and was connected to the deep wellsprings. As in heaven, where gods lived at the junctures of cosmic streams, so too on earth the divine palace was associated with water. The manmade reservoir was called "sea" to symbolize the purifying and fructifying properties of "living water."

Gods normally desired an earthly house or palace built by worshipers (usually their king) more fervently than they desired altars and high places. This desire is beautifully expressed (and with considerable pathos) in ancient Near Eastern literature from Sumer to Ugarit. Biblical historiography reports this suprisingly sophisticated attitude as attributed to the God of Israel when he, in effect, initially refuses David's offer to build a temple in his honor. He states that only when the Davidic dynasty is established and the conquest of the promised land accomplished will he insist on a "house." In *2 Samuel* 7 "house" (*bayit*) undergoes an ingenious semantic transaction: both David's dynasty and the Temple are houses, and only when David's dynasty is established, in the days of his son, will the time be right to build God his house.

The Temple is thus a royal project par excellence, a fact further demonstrated by the other components of Solomon's acropolis. The two pillars in front of the portico (*yakhin* and *boʿaz*) were apparently royal insignia, although the precise meaning of their names remains elusive. The hall of justice demonstrates the judicial role of the king, as the one responsible for establishing justice in the land, and as a court of last resort for the redress of grievances. The king, chosen by God to rule in his name, exercised judicial authority over the Temple complex; documents were stored for safekeeping near the Temple, as was the practice in other temples. Oaths were pronounced in God's name, often in his presence, that is in the Temple (*Ex.* 21:7). Priests served as judges as well as cultic officiants, determining innocence or culpability according to a code of instruction (a *torah*), and the king was commanded to consult God's law in arriving at his judgments (*Dt.* 17:18–20). This set of functions is articulated in *Deuteronomy* 17:8f.:

> If a case is too baffling for you to decide . . . you shall promptly repair to the place which the Lord your God will have chosen, and appear before the Levitical priests, or the magistrate in charge at the time and present your problem.

Reference to the "the place which the Lord your God will have chosen" is *Deuteronomy*'s way of referring to the central temple of the land, ultimately identified as the Temple of Jerusalem.

Until soon before the Roman destruction of the Second Temple in 70, the Sanhedrin convened in a chamber of the inner Temple complex; around 30 CE it moved out to the portico, in the outer Temple area.

Sanctity. The Temple area itself was considered sacred space; this very ancient notion that certain spaces are sacred goes back to animism, the belief that power (or "life") is immanent in mountains, rivers, trees, and the like. Biblical statements on the subject of sanctity rarely (if ever) define it as immanent, but rather as property attributed to a certain place, object, person, act, or time. It was therefore important to know how and when a particular site had become sacred in the first place. A story or poem that relates how a place became sacred is known as *hieros logos*, and the Bible presents quite a few examples. A classic example is found in *Genesis* 28, which tells how Bethel, the major cult center of the northern kingdom of Israel, first achieved its sanctity: the partriarch Jacob once spent the night there and experienced a theophany.

The sanctity of Jerusalem is recounted in several biblical sources. In addition to the historiographies and oracles of *2 Samuel* 6 and 7 and the chronicle of *1 Kings* 8, a *hieros logos* in *2 Samuel* 24 relates that David, after fighting many battles, angered God by conducting a census and imposing new conscriptions and taxes on the already weary people of Israel. God's anger was unleashed in a plague that at the critical moment was stopped when David confessed his sinfulness. This confession took place in front of a threshing floor owned by Aravnah, the Jebusite, most probably the Canaanite ruler of Jerusalem. Realizing that the spot was propitious, David obeyed a prophetic order to worship the God of Israel there. He purchased the facility from Aravnah, as well as sacrificial animals, insisting on making full payment. He then offered sacrifices to God. In addition, the episode of Abraham and the king of Salem, Melchizedek (*Gn.* 14:18–20), has been interpreted as a veiled allusion to Jerusalem, in that Salem is traditionally equated with [Jeru]salem. This is further suggested by Psalm 110, wherein Melchizedek is praised and promised the priesthood of Zion.

In other words, biblical literature preserves stories about the sanctity of Jerusalem (and Zion) as the divinely chosen site for the Temple, just as it does for other similar sites, such as Bethel, Shiloh, and elsewhere. While these accounts seem to sanction changing political realities, in terms of religious phenomenology they explain the basis for the sanctity of certain "spaces." In the case of Jerusalem, we have an entire genre of psalms in which the divine selection of Jerusalem (Zion) is recounted (for example, Psalms 48, 78, and 122).

Historically, however, sites like Bethel were sacred to the Canaanites before sanctification by the Israelites, as is evident from the intensive archaeological excavations that have been carried out at Bethel, Shechem, and other sites. Information about pre-Israelite Jerusalem is less precise, but there are indications of cultic history there as well. The Israelites, notwithstanding their distinctive religion, were not averse to appropriating sacred space and worshiping the God of Israel where others had worshiped pagan gods. Sanctity of space seems to have cut across religious and national boundaries, and once attributed to a space, no matter by whom, such sanctity was permanent.

The Jerusalem Temple complex was a sacred space in which the farther one penetrated, the greater the sanctity, and, accordingly, the greater the restrictions on those who may enter and the greater the degree of purity required. Precise information is lacking on the "graduated" sanctity of the First Temple of the kind available on the Second Temple in its later period. The priestly writings of the Torah, projecting an elaborate system of purity and describing a Tabernacle with demarcated zones of graduated sanctity, may not have reflected the First Temple in detail, but rather the postexilic Temple. Nevertheless, it is quite certain that in principle there were, from the outset, limitations on who could enter the Temple, and there were rites of purification for all who desired entry. It is reasonable to conclude that only priests who were consecrated could enter the Temple, or stand in the courtyard near the Temple, although Judean kings may not have always respected this rule. Sacrificial animals and other materials used in worship had to conform to certain specifications; cult artifacts were also subject to specific standards, and in this connection the introduction of pagan or otherwise improper cult objects into the Temple or its courtyards defiled the sanctity of the Temple. certain kings were guilty of such acts of defilement, and others—the more upright in God's sight—piously removed the improper cult objects from the Temple and its courts, thus restoring its condition of purity.

Whereas the preexilic prophets concentrated their denunciations on paganism and on social evils for which no ritual remedy existed (*Isaiah* 1 is a good example), early postexilic prophets, taking their cue from Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and "Second Isaiah," begin to attack the problem of defilement more pointedly. Thus, the *Book of Malachi* insists on ritual purity and quite explicitly condemns improper sacrifice. It is reasonable to place the elaborate priestly regimen of *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, and *Numbers* in the early postexilic period, when the Temple became the center of the restored Judean community, and certainly by the end of the fourth century BCE the degree of ritual stringency with respect to sacred spaces had increased considerably, as can be gathered from *1* and *2 Chronicles*, and from passages of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*—all literary products of that century.

This priestly tradition was the basis for the later rabbinic codification of law relating to the Temple and cult, preserved primarily in the Mishnah and other tannaitic sources. In other words, early rabbis utilized the complete Torah, drawing on it selectively to produce a regimen of purification.

With the changing designs of both the First and Second Temples of Jerusalem, progressively, the Temple and its inner courts were further protected or barricaded against the outside world by the addition of more walls, gates, and courtyards. Since a great deal is known about the Herodian temple, it is possible to be specific on the subject of "graduated" sanctity. The design of the structure prohibited entry to gentiles beyond a balustrade that encircled the inner Temple complex: this then was the first graduation. Such a restriction is actually presaged in principle in the priestly writings of the Torah; *Ezekiel* 44:63 is the first to mention explicit opposition to the presence of Gentiles within the Temple, in a passage that is exilic at the very earliest.

Within the compound open to all Jews, the next graduation pertained to the exclusion of women. There is no explicit evidence from preexilic sources that women were excluded from those areas of the Temple complex that were open to men. Even if the laws of *Leviticus* 12 are preexilic (which is less likely than some suppose), the exclusion would have affected menstruating women and new mothers, and only for a limited length of time. But little information exists on the status of women and sacred space until late in the postexilic period; it is known, however, that women were never considered legitimately acceptable as priests, although they undoubtedly served in that capacity under heterodox sponsorship.

The next graduation pertained to the priesthood itself. In the Herodian Temple complex, the court of Israel was not separated by a wall from the court of the priests, but probably by a marker. Opposed to the increasingly greater emphasis on purity was the ancient notion that the donor of the sacrifice, the Israelite who offered the gift to God, should "appear" before him and stand in his presence (*Ex.* 23:17). According to priestly law, the donor was to lay his hands upon the sacrifice (*Lv.* 1:4), so no wall or absolute barrier could stand between donor and altar.

Beyond the court of Israel was the court of the priests and the Temple itself. The shrine, the Holy of Holies, was out of bounds to priests, even to the high priest for the most part. Only when ritual purification of the Temple was obligatory could the high priest penetrate its space. We do not know how early in the biblical period the laws of *Leviticus* 16 detailing the purification of the Temple were in force, but prior to the end of the Persian period at the very latest there was an annual day of purification, Yom Kippur.

Following any defilement, purification of the Temple complex and its ground was both possible and necessary (*2 Kgs.* 18, and 23; *1 Mc.* 1). Depending on the material of construction, many cultic vessels had to be destroyed, and sacrificial materials—meat and other foodstuffs—usually were not susceptible to purification and had to be likewise eliminated. Generally people could be purified, certainly as long as the Temple cult was in operation. Ultimately, the Temple complex and grounds withstood all the defilements recorded in literature and retained their sanctity through the ages.

Sanctification of space could also be affected by a ritual process, usually based on "mythic" models. At the first level, Israelites visited sites thought to be holy; in all cases, however, formal consecration was required. Jacob anointed the foundation stone of the temple at Bethel and offered sacrifices on an altar (*Gn.* 28). Usually there were specific recitations and celebrations, proclaiming the sanctity of the site; the process was then inverted and a myth created: it was declared that God had chosen the site and manifested himself there. But the myth was never quite sufficient, however, and communal sanctification was required.

Pilgrimage. There is no clearer demonstration of how the notion of sacred space worked than the religious pilgrimage. Important, often obligatory, the pilgrimage supported the belief that worshiping God at a sacred site is more efficacious than worship elsewhere.

In biblical Israel the three annual festivals—*matsot* in the early spring, the spring grain harvest, and the autumn fruit harvest—were all referred to as *ḥag*, which means "pilgrimage." On these occasions an Israelite was required to appear before God, bearing gifts, at a proper pilgrimage center (*Ex.* 23, 34). *1 Samuel* 1 tells the story of a family undertaking an annual pilgrimage to Shiloh, in the Ephraimite mountains. The occasion was not a scheduled religious festival but instead an annual clan gathering.

Throughout most of the preexilic period, there were temples and altars throughout the Land of Israel. An open-air cult site was called *bamah* ("high place") in Judaea and *maqom* ("cult site") in northern Israel. Political and demographic realities determined their relative prominence as pilgrimage centers.

HETERODOXY AND CENTRALIZATION OF THE CULT. Experience with local and regional temples, high places, and altars, both in Judah and in northern Israel, was usually troublesome from the point of view of piety because of the almost inevitable tendency to introduce pagan elements into the ritual. There were even temples dedicated to pagan gods. These trends were regularly denounced by the prophets, such as the northern Israelite Hosea. *1* and *2 Kings*, since they reveal a strong pro-Judahite bias, tell less about heterodoxy in Judah and Jerusalem, although there must have been similar problems there as well.

1 Kings 18:4 tells that Hezekiah, king of Judah after the fall of the northern kingdom of Israel, removed the *bamot*. However, no record of a follow-up exists and historians assume that the efforts of this "upright" king were not effective, especially since, following Hezekiah, his son Manasseh, who reigned for many years, pursued a decidedly heterodox policy. The next attempt to remove the *bamot*, an issue that pervades *1* and *2 Kings*, was during the reign of Josiah (*2 Kgs.* 22, 23). In response to the horrendous execrations found in an old document that had been deposited in the Temple, Josiah closed down the local and regional cult sites in the towns of Judah, ordering all the priests to report to Jerusalem. He destroyed what remained of the temple and necropolis of Bethel, the major cult site of the erstwhile northern kingdom. Josiah further proclaimed a celebration of the paschal sacrifice in the Temple of Jerusalem for the first time, thereby altering in a basic way the relevance of what had been a domestic, clan-centered sacrifice.

To understand just how the site of the temples of Jerusalem eventually became the unique sacred space in Jewish religion, the background and consequences of Josiah's (and Hezekiah's) edicts need to be discussed. One of the major preoccupations of modern Bible scholarship has been to define the historical relationship between the events recorded in *2 Kings* 22 and 23 and the doctrine in *Deuteronomy* 12 and 16. The narrative setting of *Deuteronomy* is projected back into the presettlement period of Israelite history, a projection consistent with Torah traditon. Chapters 12 and 16 state that once the Israelites have securely settled in their land, they must discontinue their customary practice of offering sacrifice at cult sites throughout the land and paying tithes locally, and they must do all of these things only at a central temple, to be built in a town selected by God.

At first, modern scholars tended to regard this doctrine of cult centralization as a seventh-century Judahite movement, a reaction to the heterodox policies of Manasseh. H. L. Ginsberg (1982) has made a good case for regarding the core of *Deuteronomy*, wherein this doctrine is expounded, as the product of the mid- to late eighth century, in northern Israel. He compares the language of *Hosea* and *Deuteronomy*, showing the unique correspondences, and argues that the doctrine of cult centralization grew out of the extreme dissatisfaction of northern Israelite prophets and leaders with the cults of the many local altars operating there, and eventually with the major temples of Dan and Bethel as well. They sought a solution in the form of a new, central temple, perhaps in Shechem on Mount Gerizim, which was still sacred to the Samaritans. *Deuteronomy* never refers to Jerusalem, even by allusion, but after the fall of the northern kingdom, it was logical to identify the proper site of the central temple as Jerusalem and to evoke the myth of Jerusalem's selection by God. So, some forty years before the Babylonian destruction (c. 622), Josiah taught this doctrine by devout priests who had educated him, acted in fulfillment of *Deuteronomy's* doctrine. In the short run he probably failed to remove all local cult sites, but in the long run he succeeded.

The real motivations behind cult centralization as a means of control over religious worship can only be guessed at. From the beginning of the monarchy, there were at least two factions or "parties" in Judah and the northern kingdom: what Morton Smith (1971) called "the Yahveh-alone" party, and a party that accepted Yahveh as the national god of Israel but saw no reason not to allow (or even sponsor) worship of other gods as well.

In 587/6 BCE the Babylonians conquered all of Judah and destroyed the Temple of Jerusalem. At that point religious life, both in the devastated land and among the exiles in Babylonia, Egypt, and elsewhere, could have gone one of two ways. Sacrificial worship might have been undertaken at substitute sites, which would have been the normal course. As it happened, Jewish leadership opposed substitute sites and insisted on a restoration theology—sacrifice would be resumed only at the site of a rebuilt Jerusalem Temple, as God had promised.

There were several Jewish temples in the Diaspora—the best known were one near Heliopolis, a suburb of Cairo, and one at Aswan (Elephantine) in Upper Egypt. There is also evidence of temples in Transjordan and possibly elsewhere in the Land of Israel. But in the main the Jewish religious leadership during the exilic period opposed such worship, and a clue to this policy may be preserved in *Ezekiel* where the elders of Israel approached Ezekiel in Babylonia and apparently inquired of him as to whether it would be proper to erect an altar to the God of Israel while in exile. The unequivocal response of the prophet: only when God restores his people to his holy mountain and to the Land of Israel will he once again be worshiped by sacrifice. Meanwhile, God would be present among the exiles, and there was no need for a temple in exile (*Ez.* 20:40–44).

During the period of the Second Temple, the religious pilgrimage and support of the priesthood and cult of Jerusalem became mainstays of Jewish religious life throughout the expanding Diaspora. The statements in *Deuteronomy* about being distant from the central temple (*Dt.* 12:21) took on a new, somewhat pathetic interpretation: dispersed Jews must attend upon the cult of Jerusalem's Temple. *Tobit*, a pseudepigraphica work probably writen well before the Maccabean period, relates that Tobit made regular pilgrimages to Jerusalem and contributed his dues to the Temple (*Tb.* 1). The Jewish military colony of Elephantine, active in the fifth century BCE, which had its own temple, nevertheless maintained a steady relationship to the Temple of Jerusalem, as is known from the archives of that community.

During the period of the Second Temple, the Jewish synagogue came into being as a local institution devoid of any cultic status, strictly speaking. Jews in Israel and Diaspora communities assembled at synagogues for prayer and the reading of sacred writ, to attend to communal matters, and to celebrate in their own way Sabbaths and festivals, while the cult of the Temple of Jerusalem was in full operation. The true and sufficient worship of the God of Israel took place in the Temple, and delegations of pilgrims were dispatched to Jerusalem to attend the offering of sacrifices as representatives of the far-flung communities (*Taʿan*, chap. 4).

In *1 Kings* 8 great emphasis is placed on prayer and song as forms of religious devotion. Prayers are heard by God in heaven when recited at the Temple. Prayer assumed an importance it did not have in the preexilic Temple, although the psalms, many of them preexilic in origin, show evidence that prayer and sacrifice coexisted even in earlier periods.

From praying "at" the Temple to praying elsewhere "toward" or "facing" it is a fascinating step in religious phenomenology, having relevance not only to postbiblical Judaism but to Christianity and Islam as well. Islam substituted Mecca for Jerusalem but insisted that in every mosque in the world the *qiblah* ("niche") be oriented toward a central spot, the focus of pilgrimage. Daniel, the wise seer of the exile, turned toward Jerusalem thrice daily when praying to God while in exile (*Dn.* 6:11).

Throughout the centuries, Jewish pilgrims attempted and often succeeded in visiting the site of the Temple in Jerusalem, but in fact Judaism accommodated itself to the loss of the Temple—to living without sacred space. It is still too soon to speculate on the effects upon the Jewish religion of the modern resettlement of Israel, except to take note of the renewed importance of sacred space, as identified with Jerusalem.

SEE ALSO Altar; Iconography, article on Jewish Iconography; Israelite Religion; Levites; Music, article on Music and Religion in the Middle East; Pilgrimage, article on Contemporary Jewish Pilgrimage; Priesthood, article on Jewish Priesthood; Psalms; Rabbinic Judaism in Late Antiquity; Sacrifice; Synagogue; Tithes.

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BINDING. The motif of binding is widespread in the history of religions, in both the so-called primitive religions and in the religions of both ancient and modern higher civilizations. Its many, complex transpositions, often quite original, vary according to the cultural milieu and the historical moment of which they are the expressions.

Drawing on extraordinarily rich examples taken from the most diverse civilizations, phenomenologists of religion have called attention to the enormous sacred potential that is polarized around acts of physical and symbolic binding, to the concretization of this potential in the form of knots, and to the importance of the opposing act of loosening a bond. In many traditional cultures, important mythical events are believed to be the result of the fastening or loosening of bonds. Actions of binding and loosing frequently occur at the center of rituals, both cultic rituals that involve superhuman beings, and autonomous rituals that are efficacious in themselves, such as the so-called rites of passage, rites of purification, and, above all, magic.

The agents of these actions of binding and loosing vary according to circumstances. They may be superhuman beings of the most diverse kinds, whether located at the time of origins (as, for example, the creator, the first man, the *dema*, the trickster, the culture hero, the totemic ancestor, and so on), or believed to be still acting in the present (as, for example, the supreme being, the earth mother, fetishes, spirits, ancestors, polytheistic gods, or the god of monotheistic religions). Or it may be ordinary mortals who bind and loose, especially those who belong to a specialized sacred group (priests, shamans, wizards, magicians, etc.). The materials with which the bond is made are extremely diverse but generally may be distinguished as either concrete or abstract. Equally numerous are the ends that the binding or loosing action is intended to serve, whether positive or negative. This variety has been well illustrated in the works of Arnold van Gennep, Gerardus van der Leeuw, and Mircea Eliade.

Scholarly interest in binding began in the first half of the nineteenth century, when scholars such as Jacob B. Listing (1847) and Peter Guthrie Tait (1879) became interested in the question of knots. It was James G. Frazer, however, who finally brought the problem to the attention of historians of religion in the first decade of the present century. In the wake of his studies of the concept of taboo and the binding action it exercised, Frazer (1911) saw the need to broaden the scope of his research to include the special type of restraint constituted by the bond as such, its varieties and its functions. Given Frazer's predominant interest in magic, it is not surprising that he interpreted bonds as magical impediments. Despite the problems involved with such an emphasis on the magical—itself inadequately conceived as prior to or even opposed to religion—Frazer's work had the merit of interpreting sacred bonds in terms of the specific historical circumstances in which they are found, showing that the significance of a bond is relative to the positive or negative nature of what it restrains. This latter aspect of Frazer's work unfortunately left little trace in the works of his successors, such as Isidor Scheftelowitz (1912) and Walter J. Dilling (1914). Today this historical dimension to the study of bonds and binding, initially opened up by the great English scholar, remains to be developed.

The less positive side of Frazer's theory, namely the emphasis on magic, has by contrast provided the direction for more recent studies. This can be seen in the case of Georges Dumézil. Dumézil's researches, carried out in the 1930s, were based upon studies of deities of the Vedic religion of ancient India, Varuṇa most especially, but also Mitra, Vṛtra, Indra, Yama, and Nirṛti. These deities were believed to possess snares or at least to be endowed with the ability to bind their enemies and ensnare evil human beings. Accepting the thesis of the magical value of binding *in toto* and uncritically, Dumézil identified a structure of magical binding within the royal function of ancient Indo-European culture, a function that was itself associated with magic.

Dumézil's findings were based largely on Indo-European cultures. A decade later, however, Eliade, in an elegant effort to reinterpret Dumézil's conclusions, demonstrated the presence of what he called the "binding complex" in other civilizations as well, both higher civilizations (for example, in the Semitic world) and in primitive ones, and on several different planes: cosmological, magical, religious, initiatory, metaphysical, and soteriological. Although he initially followed the Frazer-Dumézil line, Eliade soon departed from it, distancing himself from the conflicts over the presumed necessity of interpreting every binding action exclusively in terms of magic or in strict accordance with French trifunctionalism. Beyond the diverse historical forms assumed by the binding motif in the most diverse cultural surroundings, Eliade attempted to identify an archetypal form of binding that would find different realizations on an infinite variety of levels. In the process, he demonstrated that it was possible to interpret the various forms of binding in nonmagical terms. At the same time, however, his work was indicative of the problematic status that the question of binding continues to have in historical comparative studies. Although there are particular studies concerning this or that type of sacred bond that are founded on a rigorously historical basis, in general the scholarly world continues to address the issue merely on the phenomenological level, thereby leaving the question of the historical foundations of the binding motif unresolved.

On the properly historical level, however, it seems possible, and indeed necessary, to establish the precise relation between the sacred value of the bond and the type of reality that lies at the origin of this value; to explain why such a phenomenon arises, and under what circumstances.

The fact that sacred bonds are known in even the most archaic cultures suggests that we should seek an answer to these questions in primitive societies before confronting them on the level of higher civilizations, with their more abstract symbolism. To take only one example, an observation made by Raffaele Pettazzoni in his comparative study of the confession of sins contributes more to our understanding of the "snares" used by the Vedic god Varuṇa than does the sophisticated tri-functional theory of Dumézil. Pettazzoni noted how often primitive peoples try to concretize their sins in the form of knots, tied in various kinds of material (ropes, lianas, vegetable fibers, etc.). He went on to interpret the Vedic motif of binding as "the primitive idea of evil-sin as a fluid wrapping the sinner like the meshes of a net" (*La confessione dei peccati*, vol. 1, Bologna, 1929, p. 230).

It is characteristic of the religions of primitive peoples that sacred bonds, of whatever type they may be and whatever their function, are viewed in a way that is not at all dissimilar to the normal, concrete bonds used in the most varied circumstances of everyday life: the means by which a shaman attempts to "capture" the soul of a sick person to bring it back to the body is an ordinary lasso, of the type ordinarily used to stop a running animal or to prevent it from straying off. Similarly, among the Aranda, an ordinary rope represents the means by which the Tjimbarkna demons tie up at night men whom they want to harm. Akaanga, the lord of the dead for the Aranda inhabitants of Harvey Island, Australia, is believed to capture the deceased by means of a real net, of the kind used by fishermen. There are many such examples.

The same parallel between sacred and ordinary bonds is found in the mythologies of primitive peoples. Here the lassos, traps, nets, and so forth, with which the sun, moon, or clouds are captured, or with which one snares the spirits, are the same as those with which on other occasions poles are tied together in the construction of a hut, wild animals are captured, and fish caught. There is nothing extraordinary in these bonds, except for the increase in power that their use normally confers on the person who employs them.

These facts should lead us to reflect on the enormous importance that fibers used for weaving and spinning, ropes, lassos, nets, and other means of binding have for peoples with a technology that is still at a rudimentary level. Such simple materials and implements are needed for the capture and domestication of animals, and for making weapons, garments, utensils, containers, pottery, and so on. These are the tools and instruments by which the labor potential of *homo faber* can be significantly increased beyond its natural limits, so as to enable the social group to establish greater control over reality, especially over those sectors that most closely concern economic interests and that would otherwise be too difficult to master. There is nothing strange, therefore, in the constant tendency of primitive cultures to transpose the techniques and the tools used to perform a binding action onto a superhuman level. The main goal of this transposition is to strengthen their supposedly extraordinary nature and to place their beneficial effects under the care of the supernatural beings who are often believed to be the source of these marvels. In this way their use can also be protected from possible risks by means of appropriate ritual practices.

Spinning and weaving provide numerous examples of such transposition. These techniques in particular involve the activity of binding and tying (one thinks of the countless loops, weaves, and knots to be found in even a tiny piece of fabric). For example, among the Bambara of Mali, the spindle and the batten, originally the possessions of Faro, the lord of the waters, were granted by him to human beings, whom he also instructed in their use. Thus the first work of a weaver cannot be used, but must be thrown into the river in honor of the superhuman being. The Dogon, on the other hand, link the invention of spinning and weaving directly with the myth of the origin of the world. Among the Ashanti various sacred precautions are taken to protect weaving. It is usually exclusively reserved for men, or else for women who have passed menopause; the work cannot be begun or finished on Friday, the day on which, according to tradition, the use of weaving had been introduced into the land; menstruating wives of weavers must not touch the loom or speak to their husband for the entire duration of the period of impurity; and in the case of adultery with another weaver, a goat must be sacrificed on the loom. In the so-called weaving schools found among the Maori of New Zealand, the technical procedures and the sacred practices are taught at the same time. The sacred practices must be scrupulously observed throughout the work in order to increase the weaver's skill. Weavers must be initiated into the profession by a priest, and are required to follow various alimentary taboos and protect their work from the harmful gaze of strangers, in order to prevent the loss of their own inventiveness and mastery.

In addition to spinning and weaving, other specific binding actions, such as the working of fibers and wicker to produce ropes, baskets, nets, traps, and so forth, are projected onto the sacred plane. In the beginning they are the exclusive property of superhuman beings of various kinds, who decide at a certain point to transmit the practice to human beings. The Athapascan-speaking Wailaki of northwestern California relate that the culture hero Kettanagai taught people to weave ropes, baskets, and fishing nets after the flood. Among the Diegueño of southern California the art of working wicker through weaving was included in the comprehensive knowledge that exploded from the head of the primordial serpent and spread throughout the world. The Hopi, for their part, maintain that Spider Woman, a superhuman being connected for several reasons with spiders, and who had directly collaborated in creation, taught the Indians to spin and weave cotton. Among the eastern Pomo (north central California), Marunda first created men by weaving his own hair and, immediately thereafter, wicker; he then taught the art of working wicker to humanity.

The ever closer relationship that is being established by the comparative history of religions between the sphere of work and the sphere of the sacred in the explanation of the activity of binding may furnish us with the possibility of going back to quite precise and concrete historical roots, and to the corresponding economic substrata of all types of bonds, temporarily bypassing the complex and sophisticated symbolism with which they are often associated in higher civilizations. This more complex symbolism, once condemned to obscurity through the now outmoded label of "magical," may itself finally find a more fitting, definite, and substantial clarification.

Thus we may expect to find that behind the "snares" so skillfully manipulated by this or that god in the Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, or Semitic areas (zones with a pastoral economy in antiquity) in order to prevent deviations from the just order of things stand the actual snares (or lassos) with which the society of primitive stockbreeders, during their continual migrations in search of new pastures, maintained control over their herds, the almost unique source of their subsistence. Snares stood, therefore, as a precious guarantee of the proper course of reality.

SEE ALSO Knots; Webs and Nets.

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GIULIA PICCALUGA (1987)
Translated from Italian by Roger DeGaris

BIOETHICS. Bioethics as a discipline clearly did not begin fully developed, and its origins are somewhat unclear. Very remote origins can be traced to late medieval discussions in Roman Catholicism concerning what means were required to preserve life in the face of illness. These discussions, commented on by the majority of theologians, initiated the famous distinction between ordinary and extraordinary means of preserving life. The assumption was that all had an obligation to preserve their own lives because life was a gift of God and while humans exercised stewardship over life, they had no dominion over it. Thus the question became "does proper stewardship mandate doing everything possible to preserve life?" The clear consensus throughout the Middle Ages was that it did not: one did not need to be a hero and submit to any number of painful and marginally useful treatments, nor did one have to bankrupt one's self or one's family, nor did one have to move to a better climate, or seek out the best and most healthful foods. If one would be embarrassed by a physical examination, one could decline the exam. Thus began a long conversation over the problem of the ethical management of one's death.

In various religious communities this tradition continued in pastoral counseling: the provision of theological guidance to those in various crises, spiritual, moral, or medical. Pastoral counseling in some form was an element of all denominations, more formal in some and more individualized in others. But the reality of religious institutions both reflecting on and expressing their concern for the sick and dying ensured that questions of significance related to medical practice would be an important part of the tradition.

Thus in the United States, the real locus of the beginning of bioethics as a discipline, when questions about the application of new technologies in medicine began to come to the fore, particularly issues of death and dying—the use and removal of ventilators, the distribution of the scarce resource of the kidney dialysis machine—theologians were receptive and, because of the religious bioethics tradition, did not have to begin from square one. A conversation was already in place and new questions could be brought in and the conversation furthered.

The first formal structuring of bioethics took place at the Hastings Center—founded in 1971 and originally known as the Institute for the Study of Ethics and the Life Sciences. While these developments occurred under the direction of the center's founders, a philosopher and a psychiatrist, the majority of the individuals in the first groups invited to meetings were theologians or people in religious studies, or clergy. While the perspectives brought to the table were sectarian, the discussions were surprising ecumenical and nondoctrinaire. This mix of participants also characterized the first Presidential Bioethics Commission.

Philosophers were also part of this early mix but their entry was more difficult, perhaps because many philosophers were, at that time, trained in the analytic tradition and were more interested in problems of theory. Thus the turn to practice was a little complicated and was not fully validated until the development of the field called applied philosophy, another birth accomplished only under difficult circumstances. While theory has always been part of theological reflection, people in theology and the ministry in particular were used to discussion of cases and were immediately attuned to the specifics of the problems brought to bioethics.

Following the foundation of the Hastings Center and then of the Kennedy Institute of Ethics, bioethics saw a blossoming of undergraduate courses and bioethics centers nationwide. These centers were staffed by individuals who had theological or philosophical training, but were typically not versed in the sciences or the new developments in medicine and technology. Thus one of the first functions of both of these bioethics centers was to offer summer courses in the new field to get people scientifically and technically up to speed. Eventually these people found their way into medical schools and programs in medical ethics and medical humanities became an established part of the medical curriculum.

These developments were quickly followed by the creation of graduate courses, journals, conferences, graduate programs, and a professional society: the American Society of Bioethics and Humanities. This society, as the premier professional bioethics organization, is reflective of major changes in the field. Only a minority of the society's members comes from theology or religious studies backgrounds. The majority comes from the social sciences, medicine, literature, anthropology, and so on. Although there have been sessions on religion at the society's meetings, they are not a standard feature of conventions. People in theology or religious studies seem to do much of their professional work in bioethics through special sessions or programs in associations such as the American Academy of Religion, the Society of Christian Ethics, the Society of Jewish Ethics, and other denominational professional societies.

While many individuals at work in the field of bioethics are theologians or in the field of religious studies, the discipline seems to have moved from these to other academic disciplines as new questions are examined and new discussions established. This shift may also reflect a growing secularization and pluralism within American culture and a greater interest in the public policy dimensions of bioethical debates, debates in which religious perspectives are seen as particularly divisive. Thus the religious perspective, though the inspiration for many of the early discussions in bioethics, has now moved to the side as new disciplines bring their perspectives forward.

A Shift in Context. Probably one of the largest shifts in bioethics has been from clinical perspectives to public policy issues. The early decades of bioethics were centered on the clinical experience of the physician-patient relationship. In part this was because of the case-oriented nature of bioethics' theological background, but it was also because the physician-patient relationship was the dominant locus of the practice of medicine. Here the discussion, from both theological and philosophical perspectives, centered on the values of the patient and the physician, how they complemented each other, how they clashed, whose would take priority, and how were both of their value sets to be respected in practice. In these discussions, principles were appealed to as well, whether theological or philosophical. But the focus of the discussion was always the individual patient and the individual physician. Both theology and philosophy were comfortable with this framework.

The problem now is that both the field and the critical questions in bioethics have moved from a primary emphasis on the physician-patient dyad to how that dyad is understood within the context of a variety of public policy issues, relating to such complexities as the variety of health insurance plans, hospital organization, research agendas, the funding of public and private health-care delivery systems, and the requirements of care for a variety of specialized populations: the newborn, the disabled, the incompetent, the aging. A major focus is now on what could be termed institutional bioethics, in that the questions have to do with issues of justice within the system of health care itself and with what services are available and to whom and how are they delivered.

Needless to say, such questions give rise to a variety of competing values-based positions regarding priority of needs, equitable distribution of resources, and ease of access to various programs. While religious communities are both providers of health care and participants in these discussions, the public debate is complicated by the presence of a variety of competing actors: insurance companies, HMOs, advocacy groups for various diseases and programs, and the Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid programs to name just a few. While all recognize that values are at the center of the debate, the pluralistic nature of U.S. society is a complicating factor precisely because of the competition of values originating from so many different communities.

While it is the case that a variety of forms of national health care exist in many other countries, many of these plans are beginning to experience crises stemming from the need for increased funding, a demand for improved services and better and more rapid access to them, and the pressures put on such systems by the needs of an expanding population of aging citizens. Additionally, due to recent immigration into Europe, the problems associated with pluralism are beginning to be experienced there, and this will undoubtedly have an impact on various national health-care systems. Many of the debates in the United States will soon be part of the discussion in Europe.

EMBRYONIC STEM CELL RESEARCH: AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES. One particularly contentious debate in the field of bioethics concerns the question of at what developmental stage human life becomes subject to morally and legally mandated protections. In the United States, this debate was brought into focus by the 1973 U.S. Supreme Court case *Roe v. Wade.* This decision decriminalized abortion in the first trimester, permitted some state regulation of abortion within the second trimester, and permitted more regulation in the final trimester. It set off both a firestorm of debates and about 1.3 million abortions per year in the United States, though these figures vary by the year. The debate has been complicated by the introduction of a variety of fetal diagnostic technologies, including preimplantation genetic diagnosis, and of prenatal technologies such as amniocentesis and ultrasound. Additionally, part of the practice of in vitro fertilization (IVF) is the freezing of embryos not immediately used to achieve a pregnancy. Their status and disposition has been the subject of moral, religious, clinical, court, and public policy debates. Finally, given the possibilities of embryonic stem cell research, new questions are being raised: can human embryos be generated expressly for research purposes, are human embryos generated by cloning morally the same as those generated in the customary way, and might frozen embryos be used in this research? The public policy of the Bush administration enunciated in August 2002 was a political finesse that permitted federally supported research on already existing lines of cells derived from embryos, but prohibited the creation of any new cell lines for research from either embryos in storage in IVF clinics or embryos generated expressly for such research. Originally scientists thought that there might be some sixty-three such cell lines available for research but the actual number of useable lines is around ten. Many hailed this decision as an appropriate compromise that permitted some research to go forward but also protected human life by prohibiting the future destruction of embryos for this project. Additionally, in 2003 and 2004, the states of California and New Jersey passed legislation permitting embryonic stem cell research, thus setting a precedent for other resolutions regarding the permissibility of such research as well as the funding of it.

In general, religious communities in the United States have varied considerably in their reaction to this solution. The most conservative is the Roman Catholic community, which prohibits absolutely any direct abortion or any procedure that involves killing the embryo, though it does permit research designed to benefit the fetus. This leads to the position that any research predicated upon the destruction of human embryos is totally prohibited, regardless of whether the cell lines are already in existence or generated and destroyed for a specific research project. This position is shared by the Orthodox Bishops of America for precisely the same reason: the sacredness of human life from its inception. The other religious denominations typically approve of some abortions under certain circumstances, though this moral approval is given reluctantly.

Many other denominations tend to be conservative on the use of the embryo in research, typically arguing against the embryo's being reduced to an object and its possible commodification. Officials in the Methodist Church have suggested a moratorium on embryonic stem cell research and already deplore the use of research that produces what they call waste embryos. The Presbyterian Church, which both recognizes the moral status of the embryo/fetus and also supports a woman's right to abortion, affirms the use of fetal tissue and embryonic stem cells from surplus embryos from IVF for research that could lead to lifesaving breakthrough in medicine. They require a proportion between the significance of the research and the destruction of the embryo.

Judaism affirms the traditional doctrine of stewardship by acknowledging that our bodies are on loan to us from God. This then generates a corresponding obligation to seek cures for diseases. However, in Judaism, as in Christianity, one finds a variety of positions. The more liberal position argues that because abortions are permitted, based on the Talmudic teaching that for the first forty days the fetus is as water, one could argue that the destruction of the fetus is not murder. Such destruction would be possible as one way of fulfilling the obligation to seek cures for serious diseases. Other experts within Judaism are more conservative in their position on abortion. Therefore, they do not support the destruction of embryos for research. Because of their concern for protecting human life, these experts would limit such research with stringent regulations. Still others respond that such limitations on research, though intended to protect human life, also erect barriers to curing disease, relieving pain and suffering, and promoting health.

Public policy implications. This debate has complicated the public policy process of deciding on whether embryos can be used in research in at least two ways. First, there is great controversy over who is appointed to various commissions. Second, there is debate within the commissions themselves. And both are subsets of the critical litmus test in U.S. politics: one's position on the moral status of the human embryo. The goal in appointing national commissions is to achieve balance or adequate representation of particular positions, especially those that represent the main constituencies of the one doing the appointing. That process then creates problems for the commission in its deliberations, frequently manifest by lopsided votes or minority reports, or by the final recommendations not being accepted or being left to languish. The main problem is that the politicization of the process inhibits genuine debate and research that might prove profitable for the country as a whole. Additionally, while the individuals chosen for such panels or commissions are generally qualified, the main criterion guiding their selection is their advocacy of a particular viewpoint.

EMBRYONIC STEM CELL RESEARCH: EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVES. In Europe the situation is somewhat different and is a function of the developing policies of the European Union (EU) and of how the legislation of individual countries within the EU relate to them. The situation is also complicated by the political situations and religious traditions of various countries. And the situation is very dynamic.

The nub of the issue is the question of whether human embryos can be generated for research or whether only surplus embryos from IVF clinics can be used. In November 2003, the European Parliament, in a 298-242 vote with 21 abstentions, voted to permit the use of EU funds for experimenting on human embryos that were no older than fourteen days and were from IVF clinics. In the Parliament's Environmental Committee, amendments to ban human embryonic stem cell research were blocked. The European Union Industry Committee, in a 28-22 vote with 2 abstentions, permitted the use of such cells for research under strict conditions. In addition, this committee stated that the funding should depend both on the contents of the research proposals and the legal framework of the individual country. Additionally, the committee ruled that priority should be given to adult stem cells; it also permitted the funding of research using embryonic or fetal cells from spontaneous or therapeutic abortions. In December 2003, the EU voted not to permit the use of EU money on research using new human embryos.

With respect to individual members of the EU early in the twenty-first century, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Greece, the Netherlands, Sweden, and the United Kingdom permit taking cells from surplus embryos for research. However, Austria, Germany, France, Ireland, and, under some circumstances, Spain prohibit such obtaining of these cells. Luxembourg, Italy, and Portugal have no specific legislation as of 2004. Nonetheless, Italy is proposing legislation to prohibit any research on generating embryos for research and the destruction of human embryos. Spain, however, appears to be ready to permit obtaining cells from surplus embryos from IVF if donor consent is obtained. Germany permits the use of human embryos for research only if the cells have been imported and if the research is critical and no alternatives to human embryonic stem cells are available.

Background. In Europe in general, there has been relatively strong resistance to a variety of forms of genetic engineering, whether applied to humans, animals, or crops. This movement has been particularly strong in Germany, an understandable position given the eugenic dimension of the National Socialist Party. Other countries, including Ireland, have constitutions that give strong protection to early human life. England permits both cloning for therapeutic purposes (generating embryos for therapy in the donor of the cell) and the use in research of human embryos and cells from them so long as embryos are no more than fourteen days old.

The Commission of European Bishops' Conferences has criticized the actions of the EU with respect to stem cell research. The conference recommends the prohibition of EU funds for research on human embryos and embryonic stem cells primarily because of the intrinsic value of human life at all stages of development. Thus such material should not be used for research, regardless of any good ends to which the research might be put. Additionally the bishops argue that there is yet to be found any clear evidence for any therapeutic benefits from such research.

The cultural and religious situation in Europe is moving from positions of relative homogeneity to that of pluralism. This is due to population changes resulting from immigration, the changing status and level of political power of the Catholic Church in historically Catholic countries, and pressure from various groups, both governmental and private, to advance the participation of the EU in genetic research. At stake are religious and cultural values as well as vast economic consequences. The final resolution of the specific issue of the use of human embryos in research as well as the larger question of the reconfiguration of religious and cultural values in the EU is yet to be determined. But this resolution will present a major case study in how such resolutions are brokered.

CONCLUSIONS. The beginnings of bioethics occurred within the context of religion broadly understood. Various denominations had pursued bioethical questions for long periods of their history, but typically within the context of pastoral counseling or the resolution of particular cases at the bedside. As bioethics became more of an academic discipline, the orientation shifted from a religious perspective to a more philosophical one. However, as public policy issues related to bioethics began to be debated, religious issues came to the fore once again, both in terms of the content of policy proposals and in terms of the selection process that determined the membership of bioethics committees.

In the United States at the present time, there is a significant debate over the place of religion in discussions of public policy. But the terms of the debate are far from clear. Some buttress their arguments by appealing to the so-called traditional Christian heritage of the United States. Others point out the difficulties of that position in light of the United States' current religious heterogeneity. Yet others argue that religion is being marginalized in favor of a secularized society through attempts to eliminate religious voices from the debate. Others still argue that religious positions or institutions are being favored by the government through voucher programs and public funding of some religiously based charities. Just who is on what side of the debate seems occasionally to vary from case to case, the result being an increasing cacophony in the public arena.

What is clear is that, in Western culture, religion is important for many citizens and that believers expect some degree of coherence between their beliefs and their social life. Religion is not simply a private belief system; it has personal and social behavioral implications. Additionally, we assume that religious bodies, as well as individual representatives of those bodies, have the right to participate in public debate over public policy. And while in theory many will agree that one's religious beliefs should not be a litmus test for participation in office or committees, those beliefs are in fact becoming increasingly important in nominating processes and elections.

Nonetheless, bioethics should not shed or attempt to eliminate its religious heritage. That heritage has been exceptionally helpful in the analysis and resolution of many questions in bioethics. What needs to be added to this heritage is a new chapter of ecumenical reasoning and of dialogue between all religious traditions. What is also needed is a focused reflection on the process of conducting public policy debates, with respect to the religious traditions represented, to the merging of these traditions, and to the public presentations of the positions of these traditions. The contribution of these traditions to the public debate is important not only because of the inherent value of their positions, but also because religious viewpoints may bring out or highlight facets of the public policy debate that might be missed or undervalued by others. Such a contribution will be made, however, only when the religious traditions can articulate these positions in a language and style accessible to a broad public. This is the challenge for the new religiously based bioethics.

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THOMAS A. SHANNON (2005)

BIOGRAPHY. The subject here is best termed *sacred biography*, which most precisely designates the written accounts of lives of persons deemed to be holy, although its usage is extended also to oral traditions concerning such figures. The reason for allowing this wider usage is clear: in most contexts it was oral traditions that not only preceded but also largely shaped the later, written versions. The category of sacred biography is bounded on one side by mythology—that is, narratives concerning gods and other beings thought to be supernatural—and on the other side by biography, efforts to reconstruct credible accounts of the lives of ordinary human beings. It might also be defined as a genre that mixes myth and biography: unlike the former, its subjects are held even today to have actually lived but, unlike the latter, the received versions of their lives are often heavily mythologized.

Whereas mythology will usually tell only of random deeds of deities in a largely episodic and nonconsecutive manner, the subjects of a sacred biography will tend to be treated as persons whose life stories need to be told as discrete and continuous lives. The subject of a sacred biography will tend to be treated as someone whose life story can be told from birth to death and, to that degree at least, as it would be treated in a secular biography. The difference from the latter, however, lies in the degree to which such a subject will be represented as carrying out a divinely planned mission, being the possessor of a "call" or visions authenticating such a mission, and having either infallible knowledge or supernatural powers. Individual instances of this genre differ in the degree to which they exemplify either the empirical or the mythological sides of the spectrum, but some degree of combination is present in all. Most sacred biographies are written either about the founders of the major religions or about saints—in which case this rubric overlaps with hagiography. In order to illustrate the genre our consideration here will focus upon sacred biographies of the founders.

HISTORY OF THE DESIGNATION "SACRED BIOGRAPHY." The detection or designation of sacred biography as a genre of oral and written literature with its own structure and rules was initially a concomitant of that nineteenth-century scholarship which, under the aegis of positivist expectations and the use of an objective historical method, had sought to disentangle the incontrovertible "facts" of the life of Jesus of Nazareth from the overlay both of pious fabrications and Christological dogma. The intention of this process of winnowing and reconstruction was captured best in Albert Schweitzer's phrase "the quest of the historical Jesus." To some extent Schweitzer's work, while not terminating the search for verifiable facts, did signal the end of the nineteenth-century scholars' confidence that they could simply circumvent or dispense with the piety and Christology of the early Christian community and thereby disclose the "facts" of Jesus' life. When twentieth-century scholarship abandoned that part of the earlier "quest," it became possible to see that the Gospels are not merely flawed or failed biographies but a form of devotional literature of the early church, and, to that extent, examples of a genre with its own intentions and norms. As a result scholars came to see the rubric of sacred biography as discrete and legitimate for the first time. They recognized that the documents in question ought not merely to be sifted through for the purpose of separating fact from fiction, but that they had to be subjected to the more sophisticated type of analysis known as "form criticism."

With this perspective such studies could also become comparative and cross-cultural for the first time. Important in this development was Martin Dibelius's *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* (Tübingen, 1919), translated as *From Tradition to Gospel* (New York, 1935). Dibelius referred to a "law" at work in such biographies and noted that there existed "many points of agreement between Buddha-legends and Jesus-legends" as well as between the saints of otherwise very different traditions. He claimed that this was a "law of biographical analogy leading to formulations constantly renewed" rather than a pattern that arose from cultural borrowing or diffusion. As examples he noted that various traditions separately articulate "a fixed idea of the life of the holy man: such a man may neither be born nor die without the significance of the event being proclaimed from heaven." Likewise his calling is announced in his youth and he has divine powers at his disposal throughout his life.

Although Dibelius arrived at this formulation through his analysis of the literary form of the Christian Gospels, his attribution of intrinsic value to sacred biography implicitly recognized that the early Christian community had quite properly had the decisive role in shaping the account of the life of Jesus according to its own ideals and expectations; modern scholars neither could nor should simply circumvent the contributions of the church in an attempt to reconstruct an "objective" biography of its founder.

This shift in attitude coincided with the embryonic development of the sociology of religion. Joachim Wach interpreted and applied Max Weber's concept of charisma and its routinization in his *Sociology of Religion* (Chicago, 1944). He discussed in some detail the founders of the great religions and took note that the term *founder* "does not denote any intrinsic quality or activity of the personality but refers to the historical and sociological effect of his charisma." He went on to state that "virtually all the founders became objects of religious veneration themselves." Although Wach tended to give causal priority to the founder and his teaching, he went further than others before him in recognizing an element of *reciprocal* generation in this phenomenon: at least in a sociological sense, the religious community creates its founder almost as much as the founder creates the community. Therefore, the message of the founder will often tend to be "implemented by miraculous acts, such as healing, feeding, transforming matter, etc." In this "hagiographical development" will be illustrated "the specific personal charisma which designates the man of God in an unmistakable and uninterchangeable way."

Wach, who brought a detailed knowledge of many religious traditions to his comparative efforts, tried as much as possible to retain the particularity of the separate traditions. His focus on the social matrix of religious traditions also led him to emphasize the relationship that each founder of a major religion had to his own circle of disciples. His 1924 essay on this topic shows how central it was in his thinking (Eng. trans., "Master and Disciple: Two Religio-Sociological Studies," *Journal of Religion* 42, 1962, pp. 1–21). The importance of this essay is that it reconstructs the psychological and social interaction between a master and his disciples—precisely the element that would seem to have frequently been the prelude to a later mythic embellishment of the deceased master's life in the form of sacred biography.

Although Mircea Eliade did not specifically elaborate a new theory of sacred biography, his discussions of the paradigmatic and exemplary nature of sacred time had a deep impact upon many scholars working on biographical materials of the past. This influence is clearly evident in the most comprehensive study of this topic to date, namely, *The Biographical Process: Studies in the History and Psychology of Religion*, edited by Frank E. Reynolds and Donald Capps (The Hague, 1976).

SACRED BIOGRAPHY AND THE GREAT FOUNDERS. The crucial importance of the concept of sacred biography in modern scholarship is that it has forced attention to certain kinds of materials that had tended to be slighted, dismissed, or regarded as uninteresting to intellectual historians and positivist text critics. It acknowledges that the formation of the major religions and religiously based philosophies was not merely the result of individual geniuses and their ideas but equally the product of social groupings and the projection of their shared ideals onto that person who, precisely through this reciprocity, was coming to be regarded as the "founder" of the new community. In the section above we looked at the process through which the Christian Gospels came to be gradually recognized as such a form of sacred biography. But a similar process was present in the formation of the received "lives" of the founders of the other major religions as well, and we focus here upon the Buddha, Muḥammad, and Confucius by way of illustration.

Although the scholarly study of Buddhism in nineteenth-century Europe made great strides in linguistic and textual matters, the recognition of the received biographies of the Buddha as a form of sacred biography was comparatively late. The reason for this was that scholarship on the life of the Buddha tended to oscillate between the two positions just beyond the boundaries of the sacred biography spectrum: pure mythology on one side and "factual" biography on the other. Advocates of the former, scholars working mostly with Sanskrit texts, saw the Buddha's life story as a variety of myth—solar myth in this case. The two principal proponents of this view were Émile Senart in his *Essai sur la légende du Bouddha, son caractère et ses origines* (Paris, 1882) and Hendrik Kern in his *Der Buddhismus und seine Geschichte in Indien* (Leipzig, 1882–1884). Their position was strenuously opposed by T. W. Rhys Davids and others in England who, working with and usually trusting the antiquity and reliability of the newly discovered Pali texts, were convinced that, with the carrying out of requisite analyses, the authentic life of the Buddha could be extracted from these sources. Although their materials were many and various, the scholars of the London school of Pali studies saw their task as different from that of their counterparts working on the life of Jesus, inasmuch as the Pali texts tended to present the Buddha—especially in his adult years—as an unparalleled but fully human teacher, not as an incarnate deity performing miracles. In that sense their texts themselves resembled ordinary biography much more than mythology.

Posed in this way between the alternatives of myth on one side and ordinary biography on the other, scholars working on the life of the Buddha had difficulty recognizing the presence and integrity of sacred biography in their texts. Only with the collapse of the solar-myth hypothesis and the gradual recognition that the Pali sources were more complex and mythicized than had been previously assumed did it finally become possible to see the life of the Buddha as a variety of sacred biography. Edward J. Thomas's *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History* (London, 1927) makes some tentative steps in that direction. By the middle of the twentieth century scholars had generally accepted the fact that, even though the Buddha had existed and had lived within a detectable time frame, it was impossible to ignore the role that the ideals of the early *saṃgha* (the Buddhist order) had played in shaping and elaborating the received narratives of their founder's life. To that extent the impassable presence of sacred biography has been recognized even though individual scholars differ considerably in their analyses of the process of its composition and its movement from oral tradition to scripture.

Once the sacred biographies of the Buddha could be seen not merely as excrescences to be scaled off but as research topics with their own intellectual importance, the relationship of these to the specific cultural matrix of India could be studied as well. In particular, the Indian presupposition that life involves multiple lives could be positively assessed: the Jātakas, tales of the earlier lives of the Buddha, could be studied as part of the later sacred biographical tradition.

Quite soon after the death of Muḥammad in 632—at least by the eighth century—biographies appeared that demonstrated the growing tendency to idealize the Prophet as sinless and capable of performing miracles. Throughout most subsequent history the received accounts of the life of Muḥammad were clearly in the genre of sacred biography. Beginning with William Muir's *The Life of Mahomet and History of Islam, to the Era of Hegira* (London, 1861), this view was challenged, especially by Ignácz Goldziher's *Muhammedanische Studien* (Halle, 1888–1890). The Qurʾān itself was subjected to analyses in order to locate reliable data for the reconstruction of what European scholars regarded as a verified account of the life of Muḥammad. This was much to the consternation of Muslims, for whom the Qurʾān is special and divinely derived revelation, not a source among other sources for a critical study of the Prophet's life. The first reaction to this approach on the part of Muslim scholars themselves came in the last quarter of the nineteenth century in the form of many new biographies of Muḥammad, works clearly intended to state the facts of his life correctly from within the faith-framework of Islam. Although these biographies did tend to stress the prophetic in Muḥammad's life and to play down the miraculous, to many Western scholars they nevertheless seem continuous in some sense with the classical sacred biographies' tendency to idealization.

Within this context the study of sacred biographies of Muḥammad has been relatively difficult. Tor Andrae, best known for his *Mohammed: The Man and His Faith* (London, 1936), contributed earlier and substantially to this topic in his *Die person Muhammeds in lehre und glauben seiner gemeinde* (Stockholm, 1918). Distinguished by its skillful use of comparative materials, Andrae's book amply demonstrated the growth of legends that formed over time around the person of the Prophet—so much so that as a superhuman exemplary figure he eventually came to have status almost equal to that of the Qurʾān for some Muslims. More recent studies include *Divine Word and Prophetic Word in Early Islam* by William A. Graham (Paris, 1977), a work that uses and adapts Eliade's conception of "sacred time" to insist that later Muslims looked back on the whole period of Muḥammad's life as such a paradigmatic age even though it was historical time as well. Graham notes that, although passages in the Qurʾān distinguish mortal Muḥammad from immortal God, the tradition also includes materials showing that "the divine authority of [Muḥammad's] role as God's Apostle was a major factor in the tendency to divinize his person" and that as such he became "the paradigm for Muslim life" (p. 23). In an important essay Earle H. Waugh focuses upon later (Ṣūfī) materials but also uses Eliade's studies of shamanism to analyze the legends concerning Muḥammad's Miʿrāj as a form of shamanic ascension. He also explores the exemplary role of these legends in the spiritual life of individual Ṣūfīs ("Following the Beloved: Muhammed as Model in the Ṣūfī Tradition," in Reynolds and Capps, 1976, pp. 63–85). Perhaps what makes the study of sacred biography in the Islamic tradition both difficult and fascinating is the fact that its very existence—suggesting as it does the apotheosis of the founder—could only exist and develop in some state of tension with Islamic orthodoxy's insistence upon the uncompromisable transcendence of God.

The study of sacred biography as it exists in the Chinese cultural context has presented scholars with very different kinds of problems. Because there remain serious questions about any historical fact underlying the accounts of the life of Laozi, the reputed founder of Daoism, it is best here to restrict our consideration to Confucius (511–479 BCE). If sacred biography is characterized by the forging together of myth and history, accounts of the life of Confucius certainly tend to remain closer to the history side of this combination. In addition, since the *Analects* (*Lun-yü*) clearly shows that Confucius himself turned attention away from the gods and spirits and toward man and society, modern scholars, sensing this way of thought to be remarkably consonant with the temper of the modern West, have tended to find the subsequent sacralization of Confucius within China to be intellectually uninteresting at best and reprehensible at worst. It is not incidental, therefore, that the latter of these views informs the approach taken in what remains to date the most important and influential biographical study, H. G. Creel's *Confucius: The Man and the Myth* (New York, 1949), republished as *Confucius and the Chinese Way* (New York, 1960).

There was indeed a tradition of sacred biography that grew up around the figure of Confucius, but his apotheosis was shaped by distinctly Chinese cultural norms. This is shown in the fact that the Master's apotheosis was expressed through the extension of his sagacity rather than his power; in a work such as the *K'ung-tzu chia yü* (Discourses of the Confucian school) of the third century BCE, Confucius is presented as infallible, not as a miracle worker. In a similar fashion the *Tso chuan*, which was composed around 300 BCE, attributes to him not supernatural deeds but knowledge of arcane and supernatural matters—things that seem rather far removed from the Confucius of the *Analects*. Also in the *Tso chuan* his lineage is presented as derived from that of the Sage-Kings of archaic times; some scholars such as D. C. Lau (in his translation *The Analects*, London, 1979) do not find this exceptionable, but Creel judged it to be so. If it was, in fact, part of the developing sacred biography of Confucius, it also shows the imprint of the pattern of the culture. In subsequent centuries, especially in the writings of what was called the New Text school, Confucius was viewed as having received a mandate from Heaven and was often also treated as a supernatural being (See Donald J. Munro's *The Concept of Man in Early China*, Stanford, 1969, p. 40).

The cult of Confucius increased over the centuries, often to the neglect of his writings. As late as the early twentieth century Kang Yuwei (1858–1927) advocated Confucianism as a state religion for China. Although much less work has been done on Confucius than on the other founders considered above, the tradition of reverence for him as a founder presents difficult but important problems for any theory of the nature of sacred biography. It demonstrates that, whatever tendency may exist for sacred biography to develop around a figure who comes to be recognized as a religious founder, that development occurs in distinctive *cultural* patterns. Confucius's life is certainly presented as a paradigmatic one, but he is the exemplar of the teacher and sage. There seem to be specific cultural restraints—perhaps even derived from the doctrinal content of the *Analects* itself to the exfoliation of the mythic dimension in this case. Wach's explication of the master-disciple relationship may well be the most useful methodological tool to apply in connecting the sacred biographies of Confucius with those of the other founders of the great religions.

RECENT DIRECTIONS IN SCHOLARSHIP. Current scholarship shows a marked tendency to focus upon the varieties of sacred biographical composition found within a specific cultural context. The research tradition that began it all—namely, the one initially concerned with the Gospels and the quest for the historical Jesus—remains in the forefront in terms of detailed and innovative studies. The scope has been widened to include a variety of types of hagiography and sacred biography found throughout the Hellenistic period extending to late antiquity. Although Eliade's point about sacred biographies being paradigmatic and exemplary is widely accepted and employed, there is increasing attention to both intertextuality in these matters and to the particularity of special kinds of idealized figures within a given cultural context. One example is the hypothesis that there exists a connection between the Gospels and the aretalogies of the Greco-Roman period—proposed especially by Morton Smith in his "Prolegomena to a Discussion of Aretalogies, Divine Men, the Gospels, and Jesus" (*Journal of Biblical Literature* 90, 1971, pp. 174–199) and Jonathan Z. Smith in his "Good News Is No News: Aretalogy and Gospel" (in *Christianity, Judaism, and Other Greco-Roman Cults*, edited by Jacob Neusner, Leiden, 1975, vol. 1, pp. 21–38).

Also important is the growing attention to the combination of religious with sociopolitical aspirations in every specific community that projected its ideals onto its founder or its saints. Not only the specific social matrix of the community that shaped its sacred biographies but also the history of such popular piety deserves attention. In his critique of the "two-tiered model" that has long relegated popular piety to the inferior status of something that is always and everywhere the same, Peter Brown (*The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*, Chicago, 1981) charts a direction that could be profitably followed by students of sacred biography generally. Another important new study—again focused on the Greco-Roman world—is Patricia Cox's *Biography in Late Antiquity: A Quest for the Holy Man* (Berkeley, 1983). Especially valuable is her discussion of paradigms of the divine sage in that period.

Aside from Frank E. Reynolds and Donald Capps's *The Biographical Process* and Michael A. William's *Charisma and Sacred Biography* (1982), real comparative work on this genre seems nonexistent in recent literature. (This is in keeping with the concentration of recent studies upon intertextuality and the continuities within a specific cultural area.) Perhaps after this phase of scholarship has attained its objectives, new energies and techniques can again be directed toward comparative work on sacred biography.

SEE ALSO Autobiography; Buddha; Confucius; Heroes; Jesus; Muḥammad; Myth; Oral Tradition; and Sainthood; Schweitzer, Albert.

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BIRDS are primarily the epiphanies of the gods and spirits, but they also appear as messengers of the heavenly divine beings. They announce new situations in advance and serve as guides. Moreover, birds symbolize man's soul or spirit as it is released from the body in ecstasy or in death; the bird is a symbol of absolute freedom and transcendence of the soul from the body, of the spiritual from the earthly. Hence, a bird is often associated with divinity, immortality, power, victory, and royalty.

Birds and bird-masked figures are clearly attested as early as the Paleolithic period. In the cave painting at Lascaux in the Dordogne, dating from approximately 15,000 BCE, a bird-masked person is depicted as falling backward before a bison confronting him. At his feet lies his spear-thrower, and the spear that he has discharged has pierced the bison's body. Quite close to them is a bird perched on a pole. Most scholars interpret this scene as depicting a hunting tragedy: wearing a bird mask, the hunter has been killed by the bison. The mask may have been used as a device to enable the hunter to approach his prey without being noticed. The bird on a pole may represent the soul of the dead man or the totem and mythical ancestor of the tribe to which he belongs. For other scholars, the scene presents the shamanic trance. The man wearing a bird mask is a shaman; he lies unconscious while his soul has departed for the ecstatic journey to the world beyond. A companion on this spiritual journey is his helping spirit, here symbolized by the bird on a pole. The bison is possibly a sacrificial animal.

Although it is still uncertain whether shamanism originated in the Paleolithic period, birds undoubtedly occupy a very important place in the spiritual world of hunters generally and of northern Eurasia in particular, where shamanism has been a dominant magico-religious force. In fact, the shaman of Inner Asia and Siberia receives help from the spirits of wild animals and birds when undertaking an ecstatic journey. Bird spirits (especially those of geese, eagles, owls, and crows) descend from heaven and enter the shaman's body to inspire him as he beats his drum, wearing the shamanic costume of the bird type. Otherwise, they move into his drum or sit on his shamanic costume. This is precisely when shamanic ecstasy occurs; the shaman is transformed into a spiritual being, a bird in his inner experience. He moves, sings, and flies like a bird; his soul leaves the body and rises toward the heavens, accompanied by bird spirits. This motif of the ascending bird spirit has been revalorized by Daoism on a new spiritual plane: in the *Zhuangzi*, dating from the third century BCE, for example, a huge bird named Peng appears as the symbol of the soaring spirit that enjoys absolute freedom and is emancipated from mundane values and concerns. When a shaman dies among the Yakuts, the Tunguz, and the Dolgans, it is customary to erect on his tomb poles or sticks with a wooden bird at each tip. The bird symbolizes the soul of the departed shaman.

Birds appear in the myths of creation that center on the theme of the cosmogonic dive or the earth diver. In the beginning, when only the waters exist, aquatic birds (ducks, swans, geese, or swallows) dive to the bottom of the primeval ocean to fetch a particle of soil. Birds dive sometimes by God's order and sometimes by their own initiative, but in some variants God transforms himself into a bird and dives. This motif of the diving bird, common among such Altaic peoples as the Buriats and the Yakuts, is also found among the Russians and such Uralic peoples as the Samoyeds, the Mansi, the Yenisei, and the Mari. Earth divers also appear in a certain number of Indian cosmogonic myths of North America. The result of the courageous dive is always the same: a small particle of soil that has been brought up grows miraculously until it becomes the world as it is today. In Finnish and Estonian cosmogonic myths, God flies down as a bird onto the primeval ocean and lays on it the cosmic eggs from which the world emerges. This motif is also found in Indonesia and Polynesia.

Myths of kingship in northern Eurasia are often imbued with the symbolism of birds. According to the Mongolians, a golden-winged eagle gave them the *yasa*, or basic rules of life on the steppes, and helped them to establish the foundation of the Mongol empire by installing Chinggis Khan on the royal throne. Japanese myths tell how a crow (or raven) and a golden kite flew down as messengers of the heavenly gods and served Jimmu, the first mythical emperor of Japan, as guides in his march through the mountains to Yamato, where he established his imperial dynasty. The Hungarians have the tradition that the Magyars were guided by a giant *turul* (falcon, eagle, or hawk) into the land where Árpád founded the Hungarian nation. The *turul* is known as the mythical ancestor of the Árpáds.

These myths of creation and kingship reveal the prominent role played by birds in the formation of the cosmic order. As an epiphany of a god, demiurge, or mythical ancestor, a bird appears in the beginning of the world, and its appearance serves as an announcement of the creation of the universe, of the alteration of the cosmic structure, or of the founding of a people, a dynasty, or a nation. The eagle in Siberia, as well as the raven and thunderbird in North America, is especially invested with the features of the culture hero. Often described as the creator of the world, the bird is the divine being who familiarizes the people with knowledge and techniques, endows them with important cultural inventions, and presents them with the rules of life and social institutions.

In the ancient Near East and the Greco-Mediterranean world, birds are charged with a complex of symbolic meanings. Here, as elsewhere, the bird is essentially an epiphany of deity. In the Near East the dove usually symbolizes the goddess of fertility by whatever name she is known, and in Greece it is especially an epiphany of Aphrodite, the goddess of love. The eagle is a manifestation of the solar deity, as is clearly illustrated by the winged sun disks of Mesopotamia and later of Persia. The eagle is often represented as engaged in fighting with the snake or dragon. This archaic motif, attested in the Near East, India, and the southern Pacific, shows the tension that exists between the celestial solar principle and that of the maternal chthonic forces, but it also reveals man's inextinguishable aspiration for universal oneness or wholeness, which can be achieved by the cooperation and synthesis of conflicting powers.

The bird, and particularly the dove, often symbolizes love as an attribute of the goddess of fertility. In the cults of Dumuzi and Adonis, the goddess appears as a mother who laments over her son's captivity in the underworld and descends there to rescue him, to raise him from the dead. It is possible that the dove's moaning contributed to making it the special symbol of the goddess of love in the ancient Near East. In Greece the dove is an epiphany of divinity, but divinity in its amorous aspect, as can be seen from the dove's association with Aphrodite. In the Greco-Mediterranean world the dove has never lost this erotic connotation.

The eagle, the king of birds, is inseparably associated with royalty as well as with the solar deity. Indeed, royalty has never severed its symbolic ties with the sun and the eagle. In the Near East certain coins depict Hellenistic kings wearing a tiara with a pair of eagles on it facing the sun between them. In utilizing these symbols, the kings declare that they are divine by nature or deified. The divinity of the Roman emperor is expressed through the symbolism of Sol Invictus ("the invincible sun") and the eagle.

More generally, birds in the ancient Near East also signify the immortal souls of the dead. This celebrated image seems to have survived in Islam, where it is believed that the souls of the dead will remain as birds until the Day of Judgment. In Greece, images of the dove on graves may symbolize the soul of the departed, the divinity coming to help the departed, or the soul now in divine form. In Syria, the eagle depicted on tombs is the psychopomp, who leads the soul of the deceased to heaven. On Egyptian tombs the soul of the dead is represented as an androcephalic bird. However, soul birds (hawks, ducks, or geese) in Egypt have more than one function, usually in connection with the mummy. Certainly they are immortal souls, but they also symbolize divine presence and protection; birds bring all sorts of nourishment to the corpse to revive it. Thus in Egypt as elsewhere, the bird is both the soul of the departed and the divinity, regardless of what bird is depicted. The peacock, which in the Greco-Roman world may have symbolized man's hope for immortality, is of Indian origin. In Buddhism not only the peacock but also the owl and many other birds appear as epiphanies of the Buddhas and *bodhisattvas*, preaching the message of enlightenment and compassion. The *bodhisattva* Mayūrāsana, for example, is usually portrayed riding on a peacock.

In Judaism the dove and the eagle, the two most important birds, seem to have kept much the same symbolic values intact although they have been given specific Jewish colorings. The dove depicted on Jewish tombstones, in the wall paintings of Jewish catacombs, and on the ceilings of synagogues signifies Israel the beloved of God, the individual Israelite, or the salvation and immortality given to the faithful by God. In rabbinic tradition, too, the dove symbolizes not only the soul departing at death, but especially Israel the beloved. Moreover, the dove serves as the psychopomp. The eagle is equally multivalent; it is an epiphany of God of the power of God, but it is symbolic also of man's hope for eternal life and immortality.

The Christian symbolism of the dove and the eagle has also undergone a process of revalorization. The dove signifies the Holy Spirit in the baptism of Jesus, but is also becomes the erotic and impregnating force in the Annunciation. The motif of soul birds is well attested in early Christian literature and iconography. The soul becomes a dove at baptism; it identifies thereby with the Holy Spirit, the dove of Jesus' baptism. As a dove, the soul of the departed becomes immortal, soaring up to heaven at death, especially at martyrdom. The eagle as a Christian symbol is bound up with a complex of ideas and images. For early Christians the eagle was symbolic of John the Evangelist because at the beginning of his gospel it is implied that John has risen to the heights of the genealogy of the Logos. But the eagle also symbolizes Jesus Christ himself, and it is believed that as an eagle Christ has accompanied John on his flight in quest of visions. Moreover, the eagle represents the Logos itself, just as in Judaism it signifies God or his power. Finally, the eagle depicted on Christian sarcophagi is inseparably associated with the hope for eternal life, light, and resurrection; it serves as the escort of the souls of departed Christians into immortal life with God.

In Islamic literature and folklore, the symbolism of birds abounds. Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭar's famous epic *Manṭiq al-ṭayr* (Conversation of the birds) uses the imagery of birds as human souls that journey through the seven valleys and, at the end of the road, discover their identity with the Simurgh, the divine bird that "has a name but no body," a perfectly spiritual being. The Turkish saying "Can kuşu uçtu" ("His soul bird has flown away"), uttered when someone dies, expresses the same concept. And throughout Persian and Persianate poetry and literature, one finds repeatedly the image of the nightingale *(bulbul)* in love with the radiant rose *(gul)*, representing the soul longing for divine beauty.

Birds are not yet deprived of symbolic meanings. Dreams of flying birds still haunt us. In his masterpiece *Demian*, Hermann Hesse has given new life to bird symbolism when he speaks of the "bird struggling out of the egg." Modern man's aspiration for freedom and transcendence has also been admirably expressed by the sculptor Constantin Brancusi through images of birds.

SEE ALSO Cocks; Eagles and Hawks; Owls; Swans.

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BIRTH. The mystery associated with birth forms a central motif in every religion. The motif may be appreciated in its irreducible physical form or may become a highly abstract symbol or ritual. Religiously, birth is not regarded as merely a physiological process, or even a ritualized physiological event, but is associated with the evolution and transcendence of spiritual powers or the soul. Transmuted through myth, ritual, and symbol, the concept of birth becomes a major cipher for understanding existence and expressing wonder at creation.

Most religions explore the motif of birth through these three areas of myth, ritual, and symbol. Mythic narratives about important births or mythic figures who give birth are found in most religious traditions, and these myths shed light on the theological and ethical importance of rituals surrounding birth and rebirth. The ritual concerning physical childbirth itself makes this physiological event a religious experience. A third important motif is symbolic rebirth. Many religions speak of the central transformations in the religious life as rebirth. Whether as a collective initiation or as a solitary conversion, members of most religions are expected to undergo a second birth, which sometimes closely duplicates the first, physiological birth. At other times it is intended to undo the inadequacies of the first birth, so that there is an opposition between physiological birth and spiritual or social rebirth. This kind of second birth can often involve great tension or even hostility between women and men. This second birth can be so abstract that the way in which it duplicates one's first birth is unclear.

PRIMAL RELIGIONS. Statues of pregnant women dating from the Paleolithic period are important as indicators of the earliest attachment of religious significance to birth. Found in archaeological sites from Spain to Russia, these statues date from about 25,000 BCE on. Since they are found in the remains of old settlements and dwellings, they are thus assumed to be part of domestic religion. Although the exact use and significance of these figures cannot be determined, it seems undeniable that they reflect and express concern with birth specifically and with feminine energy in general as central existential and religious symbols.

For the Neolithic period, the evidence for a religion centered on goddesses and for a matrifocal society in Old Europe between 6500 and 3500 BCE is convincingly presented by Marija Gimbutas (1982). According to Gimbutas, the appropriate collective title for the goddesses is "the Goddess-Creatrix in her many aspects." Among the most important of these aspects is "the life-giving goddess, her legs widely parted" (p. 176). Reliefs of this goddess found in the temples of the Anatolian village of Çatal Hüyük (excavated and reported by James Mellaart) have become especially well known. Contemporary interpreters of this culture have suggested that one may contemplate the impact of entering a religious sanctuary and finding the large, central, elevated image of the Great Birth-Giver with widely parted legs. Such sanctuaries were common in Çatal Hüyük for at least a millennium. In addition, according to Gimbutas, the schematic diagram for this birth-giving goddess was widespread in Old Europe.

The religious significance of birth in primal religions can also be studied in the context of the present ethnographic data. Rituals surrounding first and second birth have been minutely described and analyzed for many societies. Small-scale societies provide reference points for many classic analyses of birth and rebirth ritual. The links between these rituals of birth and mythologies about birth have not been thoroughly studied, but many small-scale societies also possess a significant mythology concerning births.

Physiological birth is the occasion for rituals in almost all small-scale societies. The well-known pattern for transition rituals—withdrawal, seclusion, and return—is evident in the activities surrounding physiological childbirth. In this case there is an especially close connection between physiological requirements and ritual elaboration. Other transition rituals do not carry the same physiological necessity for withdrawal and seclusion, which strengthens the hypothesis that the experience of giving birth is the model upon which other transition rituals are based. This observation also intensifies the impression that the religious meaning of birth extends far beyond physiological childbirth, which is nevertheless one of the most powerful and pervasive root metaphors of religion.

The pattern of withdrawal, seclusion, and return can take many forms and can include other ritual details. The withdrawal may begin some time before the actual delivery, or it may begin only with the onset of labor, as among the !Kung of southern Africa. The seclusion may be short and solitary, an unusual pattern found among the !Kung and, among them, only for uncomplicated deliveries. Usually the woman giving birth is secluded with appropriate relatives and helpers. Though there are exceptions, as among the inhabitants of Tikopia and the Marquesas, one of the most reliable generalizations that can be made about childbirth seclusion in primal religions is the absence of men. Usually their absence is not merely an accident or a practical arrangement but rather a deeply felt religious requirement. However, the woman's husband may participate vicariously in childbirth through practicing couvade, a series of work and food taboos, physical symptoms, and seclusion. These practices are especially associated with South American Indians. While male absence from childbirth is a general requirement, exceptions are sometimes made in special circumstances such as a difficult delivery; then the shaman or the father may attempt to help the delivery.

After childbirth, the seclusion for the woman continues usually for at least a few days and frequently for a month or more. During this seclusion period, both mother and child receive special treatment and are subject to special restrictions. In most cases, during the entire period of the withdrawal, seclusion, and return, normal routines of eating, working, and human association are disrupted. Normal activities or associations may be restricted to protect either the mother and child or those with whom the mother comes in contact or both. On the other hand, the mother may also be indulged with special foods, a lighter workload, and the solicitous companionship of her friends and relatives. Generally, some ritual elaboration of physiological childbirth seems to be universal among the women of primal cultures.

Almost all of the observances of childbirth outlined above are found among the Aboriginal Australians. The ethnographic literature on these groups concentrates heavily on the second birth, or initiation, as the important birth. In fact, many analyses of Australian Aboriginal religion suggest that physiological birth is the low point in the life cycle relative to membership in the sacred or religious community, and that this situation begins to change only with a second or so-called real birth during initiation. For the birth-giver, however, childbirth is definitely a religious experience that also serves to advance her ritual status. She experiences and practices all the rituals associated with participation in a sacred ceremony and thus emulates models from the mythic Dreaming that sanction her experience and behavior.

For members of many primal religions, birth is believed to be something that must be reexperienced at least once, especially by men. Frequently, for this purpose, boys are forcibly removed from their familiar surroundings, isolated from women, subjected to painful ordeals and physical operations, and taught secret lore that only men may know (although, in fact, women often surreptitiously find out these secrets). When the boys are reintegrated into the society, they have become "men" through the agency of their male initiators.

Though there are exceptions, as among the Mende of West Africa, this process of a prolonged and tedious rebirth is more typically expected of males than of females. Some scholars analyze this male rebirth ritual as a symbolic gesture whereby boys enter the masculine realm and are freed of the feminine world in which they had previously lived. The second-birth ceremonies of Australian Aborigines may also be seen as experiences that serve as a transition from profane to sacred status. This analysis suggests that the second symbolic birth is the *real* birth, and that male initiation is needed to accomplish what women cannot do when they give birth. This analysis stresses the differences and tensions between the two modes of birth—that given by women and that given by men—and focuses often on male-female tension and hostility in the culture. However, other analyses emphasize the continuity between first and second births and see the second birth as a duplication rather than an undoing of the first birth. More significantly, the male initiators finally experience vicarious childbirth in a kind of delayed couvade as they duplicate the pattern of childbirth. This kind of analysis stresses the extent to which the ceremonies of male second birth are based on awe of, not scorn for, the women's accomplishment in giving birth.

Aboriginal Australian male ceremonies of second birth give clear evidence for the dual meaning of second birth as both a transformation of boys into men and as a birth-giving experience for men. During the ceremonies, boys are carried about by men in the same way that women carry babies. After the initiation operation, the boys are taught a new language, and the men engage in the same purificatory and healing practices as do women after childbirth like the mythic sisters of the Dreaming. The operation itself is symbolic of severing the umbilical cord. In other ceremonies, a trench, symbolizing a uterus, is dug on sacred ritual ground and boys are made to lie in it until the proper time for their emergence, which is indicated by the correct sequence in the dance dramas conducted by the men. In some ceremonies, men ritually wound themselves and correlate their blood with the blood that flows in childbirth.

Many primal religions focus on mythic births and birth-givers. No mythological system among primal religions is devoid of female personalities and activities that focus on birth and rebirth. Among the Aborigines of Australia, there are several well-known mythologies of birth-givers, who are also models for current ritual practices that both women and men engage in. Ronald M. Berndt has reported on two major myth cycles in *Kunapipi* (Melbourne, 1951) and *Djanggawul* (Melbourne, 1952). The Djanggawul epic concerns a brother and two sisters who travel together; the sisters are perpetually pregnant and constantly give birth, assisted by their brother. The other epic concerns two sisters, the Wawalag, one of whom is pregnant and gives birth. The sisters reveal their experiences to men through dreams that become the basis for the men's ritual drama that accompanies second birth. In some Aboriginal mythologies, the ritual process of second birth is itself identified with the great All-Mother or Birth-Giver.

INDIAN RELIGIONS. In the Indian religious context, especially in Indian folk religions, childbirth remains an occasion for religious observances. These rituals follow familiar patterns of withdrawal, seclusion, return, and disruption of normal daily routines. Usually both women and men take part in some birth observances, though the rituals are much more extensive for women. Indian childbirth practices are characterized by uniquely Hindu notions and practices of ritual purity and pollution and are colored by the highly patriarchal character of the Indian family.

The childbirth rituals of an Indian village have been described in a study by Doranne Jacobsen (1980). Though restrictions on food and activity during pregnancy are minimal, with the onset of labor the woman giving birth is separated from others. It is believed that during labor and for a short period immediately following childbirth, the woman and her baby are in a highly polluted and polluting state, similar to the state of people in the lowest untouchable classes. Anyone who contacts the mother and child contracts this pollution, so the two are carefully isolated. Only the midwife, who belongs to a very low class because of the polluting nature of her work, and one married female relative stay with the woman. This childbirth pollution extends to a lesser extent to all members of the husband's family. They also observe some of the restrictions incumbent upon one in a state of pollution and undergo purificatory practices.

The delivery is followed by a series of ceremonies gradually reintegrating the woman and child into the ongoing life of the village. On the evening of the birth girls and women gather in the courtyard of the house to sing. After three days, the level of pollution is lessened when the woman is given purifying baths; she then begins to have limited contact with her household. After ten days, in an important women's ceremony, the woman and her baby leave the house momentarily for the first time, and the mother blesses the family water pots and water supply. For the next month, the woman is still in a transitional state, participating in some of the family's activities, but not cooking or participating in worship services for the deities. Usually the pollution period ends about forty days after the birth, when the mother performs a ceremony at the village well at night, symbolically extending her fertility to the village water supply and completing her reintegration into the community.

This transition period in the woman's life is significant not only for her but for her entire family and community. Both male and female members of her husband's family, who often make the young wife's life very difficult, recognize the new mother's ritual status and must change their behavior appropriately. For the new mother herself, the forty-day seclusion is not so much a period of liability and deprivation as a period of healthful rest and indulgence. She receives special foods, attention, and a new, respected status in her husband's family, especially if she has just given birth to her first son. These rituals surrounding childbirth support and validate women's vital role in a society that often expresses ambivalence toward women and projects strong male dominance.

Second symbolic birth is important in some Indian castes and some religious groups. During the Vedic period (c. 1500–900 BCE) and in those castes that are still heavily involved in rituals and privileges having Vedic antecedents, second birth is an important affair. During Vedic times it was important in its own right; in contemporary Hinduism it is more important because of the privileges associated with being eligible to undergo a second birth.

The upper levels of Hindu society call themselves "twice-born"; their second birth gives them privileges, status, and responsibilities unavailable to the rest of the population. The privileges include the right to study the Vedic sacred texts and to practice religious ceremonies derived from Vedic models. The visible symbol of this status is a cotton cord worn by men across the left shoulder and resting on the right hip. A boy's second birth occurs when he is invested with this sacred thread, receives a sacred verse from his mentor, and undertakes, for at least a few moments, the ascetic discipline of a religious student.

The ancient texts regarding this initiation ceremony regard it as a second birth conferred by the male preceptor. The preceptor transforms the boy into an embryo, conceiving him at the moment when he puts his hand on the boy's shoulder. The preceptor becomes the boy's mother and father and symbolically carries him in his belly for three nights; on the third day the boy is reborn as a member of the privileged twice-born group. After his initiation the twice-born man can perform further sacrifices, which also begin with an initiation involving return to embryonic status and rebirth. Some Indian cultic traditions that still rely heavily on initiation continue to employ these motifs. For example, some Buddhist initiations begin with a series of rites in which the neophyte, deliberately compared to an infant, is washed, dressed, decorated, taught to speak, given a name, and so on.

However, though the theme of second birth occurs in the Indian contexts, many of the great soteriological themes of the Indian tradition do not rely on metaphors of birth and rebirth. Neither Hindu yoga nor the Buddhist Eightfold Path are a process of second birth; neither Hindu *brahman* nor Buddhist *nirvāṇa* results from second birth. They destroy delusion and result in insight and understanding. Images of maturation and death, rather than images of birth and rebirth, more accurately describe this attainment of an otherworldly attitude.

In the Indian context both stories of mythic birth and images of great birth-givers are ambiguous. The two most familiar birth stories, that of the Buddha and that of Kṛṣṇa, are highly unusual. Rather than serving as paradigms of birth-giving, they tell of the extraordinary futures awaiting the infants Buddha and Kṛṣṇa. Goddesses are numerous and important, but they are never simple mother goddesses. Though the creative power of the goddesses is stressed, none of the great goddesses of Hindu mythology experiences a pregnancy and delivery with which a human female could identify, not even Pārvatī, the wife of Śiva and the mother of two of his children. But the veneration of symbols of male and female sexuality is widespread. Temple reliefs of goddesses, naked, hands on hips, knees turned outward to display their sex, recall the Creatrix of Çatal Hüyük. As Sakti, vital energy, she is the energy that fuels the entire phenomenal world. Moreover, without the touch of her energizing dancing feet even the greatest god, Śiva, is a mere *sava* or corpse.

MONOTHEISTIC RELIGIONS. In the ancient Near East, the concept of monotheism involved the suppression of the goddess as the legitimate symbol of divine creativity and resulted in her replacement by a solitary sovereign, an abstract and nonsexual, though male, creator. Many mythologies from the third millennium onward display an increasing attempt to present males as primordially creative, even as the first birth-givers. They become pregnant and give birth, despite their anatomical limitations. Even if they are not directly involved in birth-giving, they are depicted as performing creative acts. Perhaps the most dramatic account of this reversal occurs in the creation epic of ancient Mesopotamia (mid-second millennium BCE). The older generation of gods are the primordial parents Apsu and Tiamat. After Apsu is killed by younger gods, Tiamat engages in battle against the younger gods. The battle is a confrontation between Marduk, a young male hero, and Tiamat, the Original Mother. He kills her and creates the cosmos out of her lifeless body. The gender identification of the two protagonists, though often ignored, is extremely significant. It is also found in one of the most important myths of Western culture, the creation of the female (Eve) out of the male (Adam).

Against this mythological background, physiological childbearing is not an especially important or religiously valued activity in monotheistic religions. The pains of childbirth are explained as punishment for Eve's curiosity and disobedience; the most noteworthy birth, Jesus' virgin birth, can no more be a model for ordinary women than can the births of the Buddha or Kṛṣṇa. Throughout the centuries, though women have been exhorted to bear children and even have been declared saved by their childbearing (*1 Tm.* 2:15), their childbearing has neither been given value by significant religious rituals nor been utilized as a significant symbol in the mythological system. In the Christian, Jewish, and Muslim traditions, childbirth has nevertheless been surrounded by folk rituals, taboos, and superstitions. Even in modern secular societies, the activities surrounding childbirth are highly ritualized, as has been pointed out by several anthropological analyses of modern Western cultures. These rituals are changing at present, as indicated by the growing popularity of home births, birthing centers, and so on, and by much more direct participation of fathers in the childbirth process than is found in most other societies.

In the context of these Western religious traditions, mothering as an activity has been a more significant religious symbol than birth itself, as is evidenced by the madonna-and-child imagery that is popular in Christian piety. Scholars are beginning to notice aspects of motherly energy in the symbolism of the divine. Yahveh of the Hebrew scriptures is also depicted as a mother eagle. The word for his mercy (*raḥamim*) derives from the word meaning "womb" (*reḥem*); some suggest that the phrase "merciful father" could be translated as "motherly father." The words for his spirit may be masculine or feminine, while the word for his wisdom is definitely feminine, as is *shekhinah,* the term for his presence on earth. In medieval times Christ was depicted as being motherly and feminine. Anselm, in his ontological proof of the existence of God, pictured Christ as a mother hen, an image that appears in the Bible (*Mt.* 23–37, *Lk.* 13–34).

Second birth has remained a central motif in monotheistic religions, especially in Christianity. Physiological birth by itself is insufficient to initiate a person into complete membership in the religious community, which is accomplished by the second and *real* birth. In Judaism and Islam the circumcision ritual does not stress, or even recognize, circumcision as rebirth. In Judaism it is simply "entry into the covenant," and is the first religiously significant event, but is not modeled on an earlier birth.

In Christianity, the necessity of second birth has been especially strong. The contrast between the "Old Adam" and the "New Man" is deeply built into the Christian symbol system. Transition from one birth to the other is a necessary individual experience, verified in baptism, or more recently, in the psychological experience of being "born again." Inasmuch as baptism is performed by a traditionally all-male clergy, the ritual resembles the second births performed by men in other religions. However, rebirth is not a duplication of physiological childbearing but instead emphasizes the need to die to the "old life." In Christianity, everyone, whether female or male, needs to be individually reborn. In this way the Christian understanding of true rebirth departs significantly from other traditions. However, this rebirth occurs through the ritual agency of a male clergy and is almost always understood as a rebirth into the graces of a male monotheistic deity. Perhaps in no other context is the need to be reborn so strongly felt yet so strongly removed from the arenas of feminine symbolism and replication of female activity.

SEE ALSO Couvade; Initiation; Prehistoric Religions.

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RITA M. GROSS (1987 AND 2005)

BĪRŪNĪ, AL- (AH 362–442/973–1051 CE), more fully known as Abū Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī; Muslim scientist and polymath. Among the most brilliant, eclectic, and fertile minds produced by Islamic civilization in its peak middle period, al-Bīrūnī is a genius to be compared to but two contemporary Muslim literati, Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna; d. 1037), the medical philosopher, with whom he maintained an intermittent correspondence, and Firdawsī (d. 1020), author of the heralded and often illustrated Persian epic, the *Shāh-nāmah*. Firdawsī shared with al-Bīrūnī the unhappy fate of being a scholar-prisoner in the court of the Turkic warrior Maḥmūd of Ghaznah (r. c. 1000–1030).

LIFE. Al-Bīrūnī's life illustrates the keen interest that Persian-Turkic dynasts of the tenth and eleventh centuries had in promoting scientific learning and literary productivity. It also reveals the extent to which all scholars, like all branches of scholarship, were dependent on the taste—and sometimes the whim—of powerful political patrons. While official support allowed al-Bīrūnī to travel widely, to gather disparate data, and to develop a broad network of contacts in Central and South Asia, certain of his patrons, especially Maḥmūd, may have impeded as much as they aided his intellectual undertakings. Only kings and princes, in his view, "could free the minds of scholars from the daily anxieties for the necessities of life and stimulate their energies to earn more fame and favor," but, he adds, "the present times are not of this kind. They are the very opposite, and therefore it is quite impossible that a new science or any new kind of research should arise in our days. What we have of sciences is nothing but the scanty remains of bygone better times" (E. C. Sachau, trans., *Alberuni's India*, vol. 1, p. 152).

Despite that harsh judgment, al-Bīrūnī's biography serves to highlight the manner in which a genius, though subject like other mortals to political strictures and the vagaries of fate, nonetheless maximizes the narrow opportunities provided him. Born near Khorezm, just south of the Aral Sea in modern Uzbekistan, he studied under eminent local scientists. Though he favored mathematics and astronomy, he gained competence and even renown in several fields. Political disturbances constantly uprooted him; from 995 until 1004 he found employment under patrons of the Samanid and Ziyarid dynasties. After his return to Khorezm in 1004, he was caught up in diplomatic as well as academic pursuits until 1017, the date of the Ghaznavid conquest of his native region. Pressing al-Bīrūnī into his royal entourage, Maḥmūd sent him first to Ghaznah (Afghanistan) and then to parts of India during prolonged military compaigns there. Maḥmūd died in 1030, but al-Bīrūnī remained in Ghaznah, where he served first under Maḥmūd's son and successor, Masʿūd, and then under weaker dynasts, until his own death in 1051.

WORKS. Al-Bīrūnī's scholarship transcends the limiting circumstances of his life and reveals a mind of broad interests and encyclopedic learning. He was first and foremost an empiricist, fascinated by discoveries of the physical world derived through precise observation and careful calculation. Benefiting from the comprehensive curricular resources available to the intellectual elite of the eastern Muslim world by the eleventh century, he studied and wrote about astronomy, mathematics, geology, pharmacology, languages, and geography. He also concerned himself with history, philosophy, and religion. During his lifetime al-Bīrūnī wrote approximately thirteen thousand pages of publishable text, most of it highly technical in nature. This may be sorted out into 138 titles, although some have said he wrote 146 or even 180 independent volumes. Only 22, however, are known to have survived: most were written in Arabic, his preferred scholarly language, although some also exist in Persian versions. Among the most notable are the following:

1. *Al-āthār al-bāqiyah ʿan al-qurūn al-khāliyah* (Vestiges of bygone days), his first major work, completed around 1000 but subsequently revised. In it al-Bīrūnī sets forth a comparative chronology of the eras and festivals of various ethnic and religious groups.
2. *Qānūn al-Masʿūdī* (The canon Masʿudicus), compiled over several years but dedicated in 1031 to Maḥmūd's son and successor, Masʿūd. It is the most systematic and comprehensive of his numerous works on astronomy and includes an appendix on astrology that leaves little doubt about his personal distaste for it as a pseudoscience, despite its popularity among his coreligionists.
3. *Kitāb taḥqīq mā lil-Hind min maqbūlah lil-ʿaql aw mardhūlah* (The book confirming what pertains to India, whether rational or despicable), often simply known as the *India*, composed in 1030. This work is based on al-Bīrūnī's study of Sanskrit scientific texts and his conversations with Indian pandits whom he met while forced to accompany Maḥmūd on military campaigns against their patrons. Neither the *Āthār* nor the *Qānūn* nor any of his extant works can surpass the *India's* sheer breadth of learning and novel sense of cosmopolitan objectivity.

Al-Bīrūnī's work as a comparative religionist is rated high on the scale of his total scholarly output primarily because of the *India.* In it he not only distances himself from his warlike patron, Maḥmūd, for whose brutality he expresses barely veiled contempt, but he also attempts to understand what it was that made Indians think as they did; he prejudges neither the truth nor the falsehood of their religious beliefs and ritual practices. If the *India* reveals any weakness, it is al-Bīrūnī's constant preference for literary evidence over ethnographic observation and his predilection to posit the underlying metaphysical unity of Hindu, Greek, and Muslim elites, with disregard bordering on disdain for the views of nonelites. But the shortcomings of the *India* pale in comparison with its achievement, a vast, unprecedented, and unrepeated compendium that details the cultural traits of a conquered people from the point of view of one of their conquerors.

Al-Bīrūnī's vast erudition and innovative scholarship should have commended his works to Muslims of his own and later generations. Unfortunately, he stands out as an exception to his time rather than a model for others to respect or emulate. His scientific work did gain him a reputation as the outstanding authority in fields as diverse as astronomy, geology, and pharmacy, yet his contribution as a comparativist inspired no Muslim successors. It remained for nineteenth-century European scholars to rediscover al-Bīrūnī's legacy as a cultural historian and to spark an interest in the further study of him, both among educated Muslims and Western scholars of Islam. One mark of al-Bīrūnī's continued success is the large number of his extant writings that have been edited, published, and translated since the 1930s, some of them by Soviet scholars laying claim to a native son.

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A fuller appreciation of his contribution to the Muslim study of non-Muslim religions must be derived from unpublished or incomplete studies, such as Michael H. Browder's "Al-Biruni as a Source for Mani and Manichaeism" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1982) and Shlomo Pines and Turia Gelblum's "Al-Bīrūnī's Arabic Version of Patañjali's Yogasūtra," a text that preceded and informed his evaluation of Brahmanic beliefs in the *India*, published seriatim in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 29, no. 2 (1966): 302–325 (chap. 1), 40, no. 3 (1977): 522–549 (chap. 2), and 46, no. 2 (1983): 258–304 (chap. 3).

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BISṬĀMĪ, ABŪ YAZĪD AL- (Abū Yazīd) Ṭayfūr, born ʿĪsā b. Surūshān, better known as Bāyazīd (or Abū Yazīd) Bisṭāmī, famed as the "King of the Gnostics" (*Sulṭān al-ʿārifīn*), is perhaps the most famous of early Persian Ṣūfīs, widely renowned for his ecstatic sayings and extraordinary spiritual discourses. Born in 777–778, he passed in most of his life in Bisṭām, located in the modern-day province of Simnān in northern Iran, where he died in 848 or 875.

SCHOOL, STATURE, AND SAYINGS. His master in Sufism was reputedly Abū ʿAlī al-Sindī, an illiterate sage. His antinominian utterances, such as his claim to have visited the Almighty's court, only to find it devoid of all Muslim scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*) and jurisprudents (*fuqahā*), his derogatory reference to scholars specializing in traditions of the Prophet as "dead men who narrate from the dead," his assertion that "I am greater" upon hearing the Muslim call to prayer, "*Allāh akbar*" (God is supreme!), and his claim to have had his own interiorized version of the Prophet's "ascension" (*Miʿrāj*), did not endear him to formalistic clerics. He was accordingly exiled several times from his native Bisṭām.

His large circle of Ṣūfī acquaintances and associates (some of whom with he exchanged legendary correspondences) included many of the foremost Ṣūfīs of his day. He was also acquainted with Sarī Saqaṭī (d. 871) whose nephew and disciple Abū'l-Qāsim al-Junayd (d. 910) later commented on Bāyazīd's sayings. Several famous Ṣūfī women featured among his associates as well, including Fāṭima of Nīshāpūr (d. 838), of whom he confessed, "In my life I encountered one true man and one true woman—and that was Fāṭima of Nīshāpūr. There was not any station on the way about which I told her that she had not already experienced." Yet Bāyazīd's unmarried state, explicitly outlined in such early sources as Qushayrī's *Risāla*, sets him at odds with the majority of Ṣūfīs.

Since he authored no written works, the main sources for later accounts of Bāyazīd are isolated collections of sayings and tales (all of uncertain authenticity) narrated by close companions and relatives several generations later. Many of these were recorded by Abū'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Sahlajī (d. 984) in his *Kitāb al-nūr min kalimāt Abī Ṭayfūr*. The two other important sources of sayings are Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj's (d. 988) *Kitāb al-lumaʿ fī'l-taṣawwuf*, and Rūzbihān Baqlī Shīrāzī's (d. 1209) *Sharḥ-i shaṭḥiyyāt*, which features fifty of Bāyazīd's paradoxes.

A century after his death a Bāyazīdian school came into being, and some two centuries later this school's contours became intellectually formalized in ʿAlī Hujwīrī's (d. 1071) *Kashf al-maḥjūb*, a Persian manual of Ṣūfī teachings and doctrine, in which Bāyazīd's followers are classified as comprising a separate school of thought known as the Ṭayfūriyya and described as advocates of rapture (*ghalabat*) and intoxication (*sukr*), as opposed to Junayd's "school of Sobriety (*saḥw*)."

Bāyazīd's Herculean stature still dominates the pantheon of Muslim mystics. He was, as Louis Massignon remarks, "a figure without peer. . . the model of the perfect Muslim ascetic." Rūmī, among others, has said, "If a drop of Bāyazīd's faith were to fall into the ocean, the ocean itself would be drowned in that drop" (*Mathnawī*, ed. Nicholson, V: 3394), which seems to be a paraphrase of Abū Saʿīd ibn Abī'l-Khayr's (d. 440/1048) hyperbolic tribute, "I see the 18,000 worlds as full of Bāyazīd, yet nowhere therein can 'Bāyazīd' be found," cited by ʿAṭṭār (*Tadhkirat*, pp. 160–161). Hujwīrī notes that Junayd said of Bāyazīd that, "he is among us [the Ṣūfīs] as Gabriel is among the angels." Rūzbihān believed the abode of the esoteric lore of the Ṣūfīs could only be found through the dynamic leadership of Bāyazīd's paradoxical words (*Sharḥ-i shaṭḥīyyāt*, p. 78). Ibn ʿArabī referred to Bāyazīd more often than any other early Ṣūfī. Many great mystics have been celebrated as "the Bāyazīd of their age."

Bāyazīd's memory was kept alive by a cult of patronage centered around his tomb actively supported by the political elite. The Mongol Īl-Khān ruler Öljeitü (r. 1304–1316) reconstructed his tomb and named three of his sons (Bisṭām, Bāyazīd, and Ṭayfūr) after him. In fifteenth-century India a certain "Ṭayfūriyyya Order" appeared, claiming descent from Bāyazīd. It soon branched off into various suborders, of which the best known was the "Shaṭṭāriyya," established in India by ʿAbdu'llāh Shaṭṭārī (d. 1428) Another Ṭayfūrī branch was the ʿIshqiyya centered in Iran. Finally, a Bisṭāmiyya branch appeared in Ottoman Turkey.

BĀYAZĪDIAN MYSTICAL THEOLOGY. Bāyazīd is placed by Ibn ʿArabī (*Futūḥāt*, III, 34.11) among the *malāmatī* Ṣūfīs who constitute the highest category of saints, willingly enduring humiliation and incurring blame for the sake of their beliefs in order to subdue their own pride and conceit. Complementing and balancing the need to call down public blame upon oneself, with the Ṣūfīs of this school vying with one another for the title of greatest sinner on the one hand, Bāyazīdian teaching also aspires paradoxically on the other toward a kind of apotheosis that is grounded in the key Ṣūfī doctrines of annihilation (*fanāʾ*) and mystical drunkenness (*sukr*). Bāyazīd claimed that his self-identity, his individuality, was annihilated in God's Self-identity, so that he contemplated God directly through God's own eye (Rūzbihān, *Sharḥ*, p. 115). The same Bāyazīd who confessed that one should stand before God as if one is a "Zoroastrian infidel" about to convert to Islām (Sahlajī, *Al-Nūr*, p. 69), and who even went so far as to say that he had prayed for thirty years imagining himself a Zoroastrian (infidel) about to sever his cincture (*zunnār*) and recant, in the same breath could also give voice to the "blasphemous" claim, "Glory be to me! How great is my majesty!" and could tell God: "Thy obedience to me is greater than my obedience to Thee!" He even said to a disciple, "It is better for you to see me once than God a thousand times!" Beneath the cloak of exterior humility and outward abasement an interior exaltation of the Spirit is revealed. "The reality of esoteric sapience (*ḥaqīqat-i maʿrifat*)," he thus explained, lies in "being annihilated under the omniscience of God and becoming eternally subsistent upon the wide expanse of God, without any self or creature. In this wise, the mystic is a perishable being (*fānī*) who is eternal (*bāqī*), an eternal being who is perishable, a dead person who is living, a living person who is dead, a veiled person who is visibly exposed, and a manifest being who is hidden from sight." (ʿAṭṭār, *Tadhkirat*, p. 199)

The theory that an Indian origin could be found for Bāyazīd's doctrine of *fanāʾ* in the Buddhist doctrine of *nirvāṇa*, or Vedāntin ideas, espoused by earlier scholars such as Max Horten, R. A. Nicholson and R. C. Zaehner, has been definitively rejected by modern scholarship and has long since demolished by a number of scholars, including A. J. Arberry (1962), Muhammad Abdur Rabb (1971), and more recently by Michael Sells (2002).

The secret of Bāyazīd's continuing popularity lies in the power of his paradoxes to foster a kind of transcendental Ṣūfī ecumenism, with Muslim faith representing a kind of higher esoteric, interiorized religion, in contrast to exoteric Islam. To illustrate this higher form of faith, Rūmī recounts the tale of a "pagan" Zoroastrian who refused to convert to the form of "Islām" offered him by his "Muslim" neighbor (which, he objected, is so empty that it "chills the love of anybody with even a mite of potential faith"), since he claimed to be a follower of the interior spirit of Bāyazīd's faith, which he asserted to be "superior to all other faith" (*Mathnawī*, V: 3361–2). A saying of Bāyazīd confirms the *malāmatī* sentiments of his "pagan Zoroastrian" follower precisely: "The infidelity of adepts with high aspiration (*ahl-i himmat*) is nobler than the Islam of egotists (*ahl-i maniyyat*)" (Hujwīrī, *Kashf*, p. 541).

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BLACK ELK (1863–1950) was a Lakota spiritual leader known in Lakota as Hehaka Sapa. Few American Indian spiritual leaders have gained greater national and indeed international recognition than this Oglala Lakota. Although Nicholas Black Elk was well known by his own people as a holy person *(wicasa wakan),* it was the poetic interpretation given to his life in *Black Elk Speaks* (1932) by John G. Neihardt that caught the imagination of a much wider public. A second book, on the seven rites of the Lakota, was dictated at Black Elk's request to Joseph Epes Brown. This work, *The Sacred Pipe* (1953), further stimulated interest in the man and his message, which became, especially during the 1960s, meaningful symbols for a generation seeking alternate values.

Of the Big Road band of Lakota, Black Elk was born in December 1863 on the Little Powder River in present-day Wyoming. During this time his people hunted west of the Black Hills (Pa Sapa in Lakota) until 1877, when they were forced to move east to their present reservation at Pine Ridge in South Dakota. At thirteen Black Elk was present at General George Custer's defeat at the Battle of the Little Bighorn. He remembered the murder at Fort Robinson of his relative, the great warrior and spiritual leader Crazy Horse, and recalled the years when his people sought refuge with Sitting Bull's band in Canada. He was also present at the tragic massacre at Wounded Knee (1890), which nearly ended the revivalistic Ghost Dance movement.

Against that background of traumatic historical events, Black Elk at the age of nine received the first of a long series of sacred visionary experiences that set him upon a lifelong quest to find the means by which his people could mend "the broken hoop" of their lives, could find their sacred center, where "the flowering tree" of their traditions could bloom again. This first of many vision experiences was of terrifying Thunder Beings, the powers of the West; whoever received their power was obliged to become a *heyoka,* or sacred clown. Shaken by his experience, Black Elk could not bring himself to reveal the vision until he reached the age of seventeen. Then he confided it to the holy man Black Road, who instructed Black Elk in the spring of 1881 to enact part of his visionary experience, the Great Horse Dance, so that the people might share in the power of his vision.

It was in part his mission to find a means to help his people that led Black Elk to join Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show in 1886. He appeared in New York and then in England in 1887–1888 for the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria, whom he apparently met. He subsequently joined another western show and toured France, Germany, and Italy, finally returning to South Dakota in 1889.

Shortly after his return Black Elk married Katie War Bonnet, and they soon had children. From 1889 to about 1904 Black Elk gained much respect among his people as a curer, spiritual counselor, and ceremonial leader. It was also during this time that Black Elk was introduced to the Ghost Dance. He gained new inspiration through the similarities between the dance and his own vision: dancers surrounded a sacred pole seeking promises of renewal. After Wounded Knee and the end of the Ghost Dance, Black Elk turned his back on white culture, pursuing his work as a traditional Lakota holy man. During one healing ceremony on the Pine Ridge Reservation, a priest broke into the ceremony, destroying his sacred objects and accusing Black Elk of doing the work of Satan. Black Elk's patient recovered, but the priest died shortly thereafter in a riding accident.

Despite this experience, in 1904, following the death of his wife, Black Elk sought out the teachings of the Catholic Church. Shortly thereafter Black Elk became an important figure in the local parish, working as a catechist. While Black Elk's conversion was certainly sincere, the decision was also pragmatic. As a catechist of the church, Black Elk was able to maintain his social role as traditional Lakota spiritual leader. Further, with the suppression of traditional men's and women's sacred societies, a central feature of classical Lakota religious and cultural life, Lakota community and social structure were threatened. Catholic men's and women's societies offered an alternative, providing many of the same social and cultural functions.

As a catechist in the Society of Saint Joseph, Black Elk continued his traditional role as holy man: counseling and advising the people, praying and singing for them, instructing children, visiting the sick, and coordinating spiritual societies. As most priests were rarely able to visit outlying communities and spoke little Lakota, they relied heavily on such catechists as Black Elk, who soon became one of the most influential figures in reservation religious life. His work as a catechist also supplied him with financial support and other resources, resources that he immediately distributed to those in his community who were in need, a gesture characteristic of a traditional Lakota spiritual leader.

As Julian Rice argues, Black Elk's life work and cooperation with Neihardt and Brown can also be understood through the lens of traditional Lakota spiritual leadership. As a holy man and religious leader, whether traditionalist or Catholic, Black Elk's obligation was to the protection and well-being of his people. Throughout his labors, as a *yuwipi* ceremonialist, a catechist, or as a collaborator with Neihardt and Brown, Black Elk worked for his people's cultural and spiritual survival.

Black Elk knew something of the power of the printed word. He was thus willing to give in his two books details of his visions as well as accounts of the rites and metaphysics of his people. However, Raymond DeMallie has argued that Neihardt's *Black Elk Speaks* presents an inaccurate image of Black Elk. Neihardt viewed the Lakota as players in a tragic epic, in which Native people were vanishing before the destructive march of civilization. He placed Black Elk within this tragic story when he wrote: "With running tears I must say now that the tree has never bloomed. A pitiful old man, you see me here, and I have fallen away and have done nothing. Here at the center of the world, where you took me when I was young and taught me; here, old, I stand, and the tree is withered, Grandfather, my Grandfather!" (p. 273).

However, the transcript of Black Elk's actual words to Neihardt is not so bleak, instead presenting a man determined to work for his people's renewal, and his hope that through sharing his vision this might be accomplished:

> At that time I could see that the hoop was broken and all scattered out and I thought, "I am going to try my best to get my people back into the hoop again. . . . You know how I felt and what I really wanted to do is for us to make the tree bloom. On this tree [of life] we shall prosper . . . therefore we shall go back into the hoop and here we'll cooperate and stand as one . . . our families will multiply and prosper after we get this tree to blooming." (DeMallie, 1984, p. 294)

Black Elk sought the means for this cultural renewal within both traditional Lakota spirituality and the Catholic Church. Contemporary scholars disagree over the degree to which Black Elk's conversion was merely pragmatic, a recognition of the need to survive in a rapidly changing world. Most agree that his conversion was likely sincere but that Black Elk was able to accommodate both religious traditions without inner conflict. Some see him as a sophisticated ecumenicalist, negotiating both religious systems and incorporating them within his life's work.

Until the end of his life, Black Elk maintained a commitment to the Catholic Church and to traditional Lakota spirituality, seeing them as inherently compatible and describing the Six Grandfathers of the Lakota tradition as One, as Wakan Tanka, as the Great Spirit. When he died on August 19, 1950, in his log cabin at Manderson, South Dakota, there was for him no contradiction in the fact that he was holding a Christian rosary as well as a Lakota sacred pipe, which he had never given up smoking in the ceremonial manner. Whether Catholic or traditionalist, Black Elk worked for the well-being of his people, for their survival as a nation, and for the renewal of the sacred tree. The widespread popularity of his legacy, among both American Indians and non-Indians, and the subsequent revitalization of traditional ceremonies across the reservations by younger Native people, attest that Black Elk still speaks.

SEE ALSO Lakota Religious Traditions; Native American Christianities.

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BLACKFEET RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS.

The name Niitsitapiiksi, referring to the Blackfoot Native American people, means "Real People," as in honest, good, true beings. This is the general collective term that encompasses the different divisions of the Blackfoot Confederacy who presently reside on four different reservations, three of which are in Alberta, Canada, and one which is in northwest Montana. The Montana division is called the Southern Piegan or Blackfeet, Aamskaapipiikani, while the Northern Peigan, Aapatohsipiikani and Blood, Kainai and Siksika (the Blackfoot proper) divisions reside in Canada. The entire Confederacy can be referred to with Niitsitapiiksi or Blackfoot, so for simplicity, this chapter uses this designation. The term "Blackfeet" has often been attributed to accounts of stories about the burnt prairies that stained moccasins with soot, but the Blackfoot trace the origin of the name to a sacred story of a man with three sons to whom he gave each a gift. Present population of the entire confederacy has estimates that vary widely, generally falling somewhere between 25,000–50,000 depending on how reservation resident status, enrolled vs. non-enrolled, official census tabulations, etc. are counted.

Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) religion is not so much a "religion" as a way of life, a collection of lessons, most learned from the natural environs, including plants, animals, the weather, the seasons, and the dimensions that involve—or house—the spiritual and the spirits. The meanings and the semantics of terms typically used to describe religious life and belief are appropriate, in given degrees, only to the "way of being" expected of those who practice the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) spiritual traditions. The creation of the universe happened in a series of stages even though the central energy emanated from the central Giver-of-Life.

THE BLACKFOOT COSMOGONY: BETWEEN THE LAND AND THE SKY. Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) traditions consider that people have skills and attributes that allow them to survive, but people must learn to request assistance from those who have been here for much longer and therefore know the world well. The act of sacrifice has a key role in Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) spiritual life because the reciprocal and symbiotic relationships and properties that are the general rule of life apply to humans as well. Improving individual abilities to interact with the unseen forces of the universe means that an accumulation of information about this skill becomes part of the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) repository of skills. The complex of stories about the origin and continuation of the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) take place within the traditional homeland of the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) at specific locations. They bind the learning of each generation of Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) in the teaching the earth, the sky, and all of the elements in between offer. The stories anchor the people's history and identity in their surroundings, stellar and earthbound, where every aspect of the space and the beings in it is occupied by the Creator's energy.

Individual sites and locations, the keystones of the culture and religious or spiritual orientation throughout the traditional Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) homeland, provide the foundation for the spiritual and religious life of the people. These sites are coordinated with astral reference points—star beings in the sky—and the exchanges recorded in the stories between them give rise to a complex matrix of relationships among elements, directions, beings, and forces that the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) must learn to understand and with which they must interact appropriately. The relatives that inhabit different sites within the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) homeland have over time offered assistance and encouraged the building of a life for the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) people. Protecting the homeland is important because these relationships took a long time to build and because they continue into the present and future.

STORIES AND ORAL TRADITION. Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) terms for persons that emphasize concepts central to the way of being that is reinforced in Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) traditions of the spirit include Sun (painted, with Sun Dogs), Creator, Life-Giver, World-Maker, Grandfather; Napi, Old Man; Moon(s), Night Light, Old Woman, Grandmother; Morning Star, Early Riser; Backbone of the World; Thunder; Rivers and Creeks (the water system and life within boundaries); Cold Maker; Winds (including the Chinook "Snow-Shrinker"); Celestial Beings (different constellations); Above Persons, Ground Persons, Below Persons; Ground of Many Gifts (that is, a homeland that is all alive, filled with persons in different shapes and forms); "Helpers" (when seeking pity and assistance); Dream (Nitsokan); Cosmic Clock (to which humans pace their lives); Energies (animate-inanimate, manifested-potential, earth-sky, shadow-light, life-death). All of these play central roles in stories about creation, as do Scarface, the Woman-Who-Married-the-Star, Blood-Clot, and others.

In the traditional context Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) spiritual traditions were taught initially and primarily as stories. Through these sacred narratives the young were introduced to the important roles of certain elements or energies that are deemed powerful or that contain or have access to even more powerful sources of energy. The Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) stories introduced the complex relationships of these energies and described their roles in the creation of the universe and world. Within the stories are multiple levels in an uneven and unpredictable hierarchy of powers, but constants are recognized as well and prayed to for guidance and strength. The stories orient listeners, beginning as young children, to the variable nature of the universe and tell of the long-standing observations of the cycles and patterns of nature in which they are rooted. In their observation as in their telling and retelling, the stories ground listeners in the natural surroundings and encourage them to remain sensitive to other dimensions or sources of existence intimately interrelated with their living selves in physical manifestations of being.

Throughout the stories there are warnings, examples, and notifications of helpers and sources of strength. Various types of beings communicate with each other, and they help the child learn that the world, this combination of sources of life energy, existed long before humans were brought into it and that attention to the details of the powers that were interacting and balancing each other before humans arrived is essential for continued survival. The stories, in their retelling, take the listener into the time of the original occurrence described and allow the listener to experience firsthand, as the first person to experience the story would have. Not only does the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) language have the grammatical structure to accommodate such movement in time, it also requires it, because the spoken form of the stories conveys firsthand experience to the listener, who becomes a participant. This ability to have the listener essentially relive the experiences of those who came before is why storytelling is not simply about relating events or emotions as experienced by someone else but is the act of placing the listener in the role of the actor and protagonist, the main player in the story, the focus of the event.

The Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) origin stories essentially encapsulate the rules for proper living within an extensive but not unbounded moral universe, where everyone has intention, emotion, action, and choice about how to interact. The spiritual-religious levels reinforce the moral code laid out in the stories. The stories tell of physical challenges that are also understood to be spiritual journeys and relate seemingly individual experiences that are understood to comment on the broader communitywide level. Most significantly the stories codify layered interpretations that range from the most basic of human needs and desires to the complex workings of the natural world, such as the rhythms of the celestial beings, which in turn guide the systems and cycles of creation that humans map themselves into and ties these altogether. Patterns are attended to, cycles observed, and distinctions made between the usual and the unusual, but all are included in the interrelated stories. The stories keep in order the songs that are the communicative force among the elements, persons, and levels of the universe. It is a universe that communicates with all, sometimes directly, sometimes through intercessors and intermediaries, and listens.

The stories reveal relationships that are important to attend to, that make up a whole, an extended description of the timeless and reiterating, returning nature of nature itself and of our connection to it. They remind one to try to live in sync with those patterns set by the earlier relatives before one's arrival. They show that the physical dimension or aspect of who one is constitutes, mirrors, or reveals opportunities for growth at that unseen level and that in life these energies must be balanced. The stories that bind the bundles are a bound bundle themselves, held together by links and transfers that make their most recent participant the recently initiated.

NIITSITAPII (BLACKFOOT) LANGUAGE. In physical culture the language communicates a visual picture, a perception, or a description of action that takes place in the moment of speaking, the full meaning of which is explained by the physical context. The language shares these descriptive duties by separating inanimate and animate beings, classified by some as having gender, although they then have to place nouns as being either animate or inanimate. Celestial beings, together with plants and animals, are animate.

The sign language used by the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) also makes use of spatial orientation as a foundational principle, as does the syllabary system. The writing on rocks also relates stories. The placing of stones in particular shapes tells stories, which can then be read, telling of significant events that affect the entire community, that is, they are told by the community members to signal that some important event took place there. The orthography of lodge paintings and other expressions of the universe's forces also expresses this localizing order. A rich vocabulary is contained in each. All action has boundary and orientation, which is how one knows what happened. Above Ones, Below Ones, and All Four Directions, the origin stories, are based in the same rules. Patterns are sought and utilized in visual dimensions, with these depictions rooted in the oral patterns that set rhythm and segment, order and beauty to the storytelling. In songs and prayers, the vibration of creation is repeatedly re-created.

DREAMS, VISIONS, AND ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE INVISIBLE UNIVERSE. The stories that have formed over a long period of varied interactions the foundational structures and values of the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) way of being have several sources. One essential source is in the people's communications through times of increased awareness, which are also of varied forms and of different degrees. Whether they are classified as dreams, visions, or near-death experiences, they can occur under several possible conditions and, depending upon the reasons, are difficult to even see as belonging to any specific category defined by the English language. It is more accurate to simply say that the ways the sacred forces of the universe communicate to or through people are unique and not entirely predictable. Given this general observation, precedent—even when established generations ago by a third party—is granted great weight in such considerations. The observations of innumerable individuals who have lived an experience with the sacred powers that surround us and inhabit the entire universe are naturally recorded and repeated so the rest of the people might get a chance to grow from that experience. The stories frame the boundaries, physical and nonphysical, that form the basis of the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) way of being in life and create a backdrop upon which to interpret the slightest significance of the movements of the natural world. Interpreting energies (for example, light and dark), the roles of the celestial beings, and the cycles of the life system within which the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) were created was traditionally recognized as a highly valued skill that not everyone had the abilities for, but that was nonetheless respected and encouraged.

CEREMONIAL BUNDLES AND CEREMONIES. The many inhabitants of the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) homeland continue to offer support and relationship with the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) by serving as intermediaries, keeping the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) reminded of healthy pathways in life. The stories that literally ground the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) to the homeland and explain the history of the first relationships between the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) and the rest of the natural forces of the universe are housed in groupings that were gathered together in the form of bundles. All bundles, even those known to only their individual keepers as personal bundle with unique obligations and regulations, have in common the practice uniting various dimensions through their contents. Each article has a role and a story that are part of the larger Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) narrative. Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) religious-spiritual traditions were created in a specific physical context and environmental setting, where animal forms from each of the relevant realms—underwater, earth, and sky—all relate to one another and interact with human forms as well. The energies that form the bundle function as a condensed conduit for communications and exchanges between the living, physical world and the unseen dimensions.

Bundles can range from a single individual's personal bundle, which may not necessarily ever be transferred, to larger community-held bundles that circulate among, and are cared for by, different members of the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) community. There are also society bundles kept by individuals and transferred to new society members and cared for by different members of the ever-changing society membership. Some examples of the larger bundles include the Sun Dance (Turnip) Bonnet Bundle, the Beaver Bundle, and the Medicine Pipe Bundle. There has always been a variety of types of bundles, all simultaneously created and used to express the spiritual life of the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot).

THE NIITSITAPII (BLACKFOOT) VIEW OF THE UNIVERSE. The Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) origin stories, which are replete with detailed encounters of life with the celestial beings recognized as having played key roles in the creation of the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) world, are recorded in several ways throughout the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) lifeways. The constant transfer of energy between celestial and other beings on earth and through the flow of the cosmos has been charted and recorded by bundle keepers, a tradition based on a close watch of the transitions, directions, risings, respective speeds, and patterns of movement in the celestial realm. To better observe these celestial movements and messages, observatories are located within the traditional homeland. Such sites are not ideal for habitation but are specifically associated with the observatory purposes of Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) bundle keepers and ceremonial leaders. Their observations and experiences became the focus of the central ceremonies and religious rites practiced by the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot).

The definition of the earthbound physicality of human nature was originally designed from the earth, given form, purpose, and its source of identity in the relationship with the earth as proof of a conjoined past and of sustenance for a similar future. Because traditionally there is no strict separation between the sacred and everyday realms, the sacred could be seen depicted and represented all over sacred and everyday items as reminders of sacred pacts, covenants, and obligations with those powers. Several examples include patterns depicted in the oldest-known forms in rock art distributed throughout the homeland (such as in Writing-on-Stone), in picture writing in the rocks (patterned after the sign language), quill and beadwork designs, feathers and other articles used in headdresses, body paint, lodge-cover designs, and designs on ceremonial items. These designs demonstrate how the structure of the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) universe and the order of powers within it are simultaneously hierarchical and fluid, structured and unpredictable, multidimensional and seemingly simplistic to the uninitiated. The origin stories are inextricably linked to the explanations of the ceremonial and establish a clear familial and kin relationship to the people, so every Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) is aware of the human's connection to the rest of the creative forces of the universe. The stories and the ceremonies and celebrations they support help humans connect to the underlying consciousness of the universe. The articles, objects, and structures used in the ceremonies are tools and memory devices to assist this endeavor. The universe's energies expect recognition, respect, and reciprocity. Attention is paid to the sources of power, such as the sun, and to those who are endowed with the same power, spread throughout various dimensions and elements, and offer it to humans to use, who then have the power to decide whether it will be used to heal or hurt, to extend a productive and vibrant way of life, or to pursue directions that weaken and kill. These forms work together to help humans maintain harmony with the spirit world in their work through the renewal of commitments and vows.

PRACTICE AS A WAY OF LIFE: CYCLES, PARADIGMS, AND PEOPLE. Following an introduction through stories and storytelling, children were traditionally encouraged to witness and to be active participants in the religious-spiritual life of the community. Numerous religious-spiritual-social societies that incorporated youngsters on through to those well advanced in age were also rooted in stories and in the practices indicated by them. Formal initiation is still a prerequisite. Individual children are selected to receive special pipes or other articles, which they hold, in formal ceremonies. Therefore even as a more informal, familial setting was and still is a source of religious training and exposure, the traditional social structure of the community includes formal recognition and practices, areas and contexts where spiritual protocols are taught in settings that emphasize the interrelatedness of purposes and the compound lessons to be acquired in order to live life well. These societies are based on the observation that learning—spiritual and otherwise—takes time. The group authorizes individual members. Some of these include the Horns, the Brave Dogs, the Buffalo Women's Society, the Prairie Chickens, the Doves, the Mosquitoes, and several others that traditionally include young children.

There was traditionally no "religious" consciousness separate from that of a moral philosophy that allows younger generations to live in good relations with each other and to be good people. Preferably training involved a combination of the individual and the community on the levels both of the religious-social societies and of the larger Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) community. Instead of strict adherence to a doctrine, Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) spiritual traditions encouraged unique contributions and awareness that, when brought back to the group, strengthen the overall knowledge and awareness of the larger community. Individual attainment of access to knowledge or spiritual gifts, such as those revealed in unique visions or dreams (among other ways) are brought into the matrix, to the already extant and fully operating intricate web of spiritual communications and exchanges. Exchanges can be mediated by representatives from the natural, nonphysical world who might reveal themselves in the form of an animal or a storm, among other things. The process of learning to be a contributing member of the societies includes creating a fully human being who understands that the world is composed of a balance between the physical manifestations of life and the nonphysical powers that are in constant communication and sharing. Through the accumulation of lived experiences over an untold amount of time, a number of interactions occur that let the people know what and with whom the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) share their home. A complete existence is one that acknowledges the balance of the universe. Humans are powerful enough to recognize and even manipulate this balance.

There is redundancy and coupling and pairing, repetition and recycling, and returning and refreshing in all Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) spiritual-religious practices. There is emphasis placed on actions of participation in the spiritual life instead of on the question of faith itself. There is the imperative to repeat, renew, and refresh instead of establishing completion. There is a focus on caretaking and the well-being of the group. There is careful consideration and selection of individuals who would accept the duties and put the needs of the community in a place of priority. There is agency and purpose in those energies that inhabit the space all share. The orientation offered by the stories and the ceremonial life underscores the imperative to seek connections to the larger order of things. Humans live in a unique position of having the ability to seek to understand the cycles of the world or to ignore and destroy the cycles and themselves in the process. The spiritual life of the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) people, just as for each individual Niitsitapii person, is part of a longer, more extended life of the spirit world that cycles and recycles all its energies. There are circles within circles that extend out into the natural world from humans. The visible manifestations of vibrations in water and the invisible that move through the air as sound waves are the sorts of energies that the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) met through re-creations of the same shapes surrounding the traditional homeland and into which every aspect of the world was tied. Being attentive and sensitive to the rhythms of the universe and learning to live within them is the traditional Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) focus. The circular formation of the growth pattern of a small plant, for example, would be emulated in the shape of the family dwelling and then in a camping arrangement, in a dance pattern, and in the largest community gathering during the most sacred celebrations and in innumerable ideals and protocols in Niitsitapii life. There is an order to the world; what matters is how good one is at learning to live with its apparently unpredictable and predictable aspects and the delicate balance that results.

CHALLENGES AND CONSTANTS. Since the arrival of the Europeans, the traditional Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) religious-spiritual life has suffered a great deal though it has been continued and carefully maintained through the determined efforts and constant struggle of those Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) knowledgeable about the traditions. Whether trader, missionary, military, or otherwise, the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) resistance to incursions into the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) way of being in life has been well documented and has historically been a notable characteristic of the people. Before policies to exterminate then rehabilitate the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) and before the combination of government and military forces with diverse economic interests—furs, gold, precious metals, water, land, and a variety of natural resources—that initially spread diseases and justified massacres, the nonnatives that visited the Blackfoot were interested in capturing the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) soul. The killing and abduction of those who continued to practice the traditions were seen as a necessary step in ridding the future of "heathens" and "devil worshippers" who were and are presently considered morally corrupt. They were supported by the outlawing of ceremonies and the societies that sponsored them and by the imprisonment of Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) who refused to give up the old way of life into modern times. State-supported denominations have long vied for membership and control, resulting in the splitting of families—and by extension the entire community—into several distinct religious factions. Intermarriage for the sake of gaining economic and political advantage, false representation in negotiations with governments, violated and ignored treaty guarantees, and the forced indoctrination and relocation of the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) people from the traditional homeland have compounded this initial negative effect on the traditional life.

Despite the numerous challenges to the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) spiritual-religious traditions, there are those for whom, through their continuing practice and the accompanying sacrifices, the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) way of life survives. The Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) way is not concerned with instructing a fixed perception of the sacred in which one must believe; it is precisely about seeking the best routines and awareness that enable one to experience firsthand the sacred powers of the universe. Knowledge of the Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) language teaches an orientation in the world that is rooted in the land, location, and spatial orientation in unique ways. It binds the landscape of the traditional homeland to those living in it and to the recognition of the traditional Niitsitapii (Blackfoot) observations.

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NIMACHIA HERNANDEZ (2005)

BLACK MUSLIMS SEE AFRICAN AMERICAN RELIGIONS, *ARTICLE ON* MUSLIM MOVEMENTS; ELIJAH MUHAMMAD; MALCOLM X

BLACK THEOLOGY. African Americans have a long, rich history of spiritually based advocacy for social change. African Americans read their religious texts through their experience. Consequently there is a long tradition of interpreting the Christian gospel in ways that reflect God's involvement in the struggles of oppressed peoples. This tradition is documented in several places, most notably in the life and work of David Walker (1785–1830), particularly in the classic *Walker's Appeal in Four Articles* (1829); Frederick Douglass (1817–1895); and Howard Thurman (1900–1981), particularly his classic text *Jesus and the Disinherited* (1949).

Black Theology as it is largely understood in the early twenty-first century refers to the movement initiated by James Cone (b. 1938) at Union Theological Seminary in New York and later taken up by his students and a successive generation of thinkers. It is a contextual liberation theology that draws its strength and focus from the historic African American struggle for freedom in North America as it was primarily, although not exclusively, manifested in and through the black church. In this sense it must not be thought of as in anyway an exhaustive or definitive account of African American religious reflection, reflection on African American religious or Christian experience or African American theology. Black Theology is therefore one among a variety of orientations to African American thought on Christian experience in particular and religious experience in general. "Most of us in this school of black theology have contended that we belong to a radical, but honorable and widely recognized, tradition in the African American community. Moreover we believe that this orientation, while not the only one, has been the most distinctive, persistent, and valuable part of the religious heritage of African Americans in the United States" (Cone, 2001, p. 147).

Although Black Theology is largely identified with the work of James Cone and his followers, other thinkers and theologians in what is referred to as the first generation, such as J. Deotis Roberts, Gayraud Wilmore, Joseph R. Washington, Albert B. Cleage, and Major Jones, played a prominent role in the founding of the movement and have continued (with the exception of perhaps Cleage) to exercise considerable influence in the early twenty-first century. Contributing to the formation of the Black Theology movement, they helped shape its substantive and methodological agenda. While other prominent African American scholars and thinkers, like Charles Long, a historian of religion; Cecil Cone, a theologian (and brother of James Cone); Vincent Harding, a historian; William R. Jones, a philosopher; and C. Eric Lincoln, a sociologist, all made valuable contributions to the formation of Black Theology, serving as invaluable resources for the standard interpretation of African American history as the history of resistance if not revolt and as interlocutors raising critical issues with respect to the methodology, epistemological status of, and interpretive claims on the nature of black religious experience as employed in Black Theology, they cannot be identified as

"Black Theologians." All of these thinkers operated effectively in the long-standing tradition of academic reflection on African American and religious experience within their respective fields of study.

ORIGINS OF BLACK THEOLOGY. Black Theology arose from the ferment of the late 1960s as many African American clergy, scholars, and activists, disillusioned by the pace of social change in regard to the condition of the African American masses, moved from the integrationist perspective that served as the touchstone of the Civil Rights movement toward an affirmation of black power (i.e., black self-determination, cultural affirmation, political empowerment, and racial pride) and the identity politics of the early 1970s. The Black Theology movement was the Christian theological response to and expression of the burgeoning African American self-affirmation that crystallized during the period. The movement came in answer to the fundamental challenge posed by many in the African American community who saw in Christianity the epitome of not only American but also Western spiritual hypocrisy. Christianity's historical complicity in African American slavery, suffering, and oppression and the occlusion of the African American encounter with Christianity in the grand narrative of American church history and theology as well as its failure to respond courageously, aggressively, and positively to the ongoing struggle of the late 1960s read like a balance sheet on the moral and spiritual bankruptcy of the Christian faith.

There is a sense in which Black Theology can be read as an outcome of the larger problematic of Christianity's confrontation with modernity, rendering it more or less a variation on a theme. Classically conceived, this problematic is twofold, involving, first, the search for justice and, second, the encounter with science. Black Theology has yet to take on the issue of science in any meaningful sense, although the issue is implicated at least at the epistemological level inasmuch as it employs a particular understanding of history and an implicit metaphysics, moves into more dialogue with the social sciences, and attempts a more rigorous social analysis to substantiate claims and make purportedly objective statements about the sociocultural location of African Americans.

More to the point, however, is the issue of social justice. In spite of the efforts of some theologians to take the challenge for social justice seriously, European American theology remained strangely and disturbingly silent on the issue of race. The theological concern with social justice in the dominant theology prior to the rise of Black Theology made only passing reference to African Americans or their plight. Given the centrality of race and its concomitant ideologies in the shaping of modernity, from the role played by slavery in the Western articulation of capitalism, colonialism, and imperialist expansion to American Jim Crow, South African apartheid, institutionalized poverty, and second-class citizenship in the second half of the twentieth century, all sanctioned and justified by the dominant Christianity and grounded in its theological articulation. The failure of European American theology to figure in the utter centrality of race fatally compromised its legitimacy and forfeited all pretensions to universality. The centrality of race and the elimination of the epithet *social* from this new proclamation of the Gospel effectively and fundamentally distinguished the movement from previous articulations of the "Social Gospel."

Is Christianity the "white man's" religion? Are there resources in the Christian faith as experienced by black people for a liberating praxis, or is it the instrument of subjugation some of the more radical and educated voices in the black community have claimed it to be? Can Christianity become the vehicle for freedom, or should it be tossed to the dustbin of history with all the other lies and deceptions heaped upon the backs of the oppressed to keep them bent in bondage? These were the questions no serious-minded African American Christian could ignore. It was the genius of the first generation Black Theologians not only to resist the temptation to sidestep the issues with an apologetic for the failures of historical Christianity but to lead the charge in proclaiming them. Secondly, they turned to a rigorous examination of the African American tradition, confirming both its uniqueness and its affirmation of black humanity. They discovered that not only could African American Christianity provide a liberating vision and praxis for the oppressed but in fact it already had.

BLACK THEOLOGY'S MESSAGE. Joseph R. Washington, in a ninety-degree turn from his earlier work, *Black Religion* (1964), where he argued that the solution to the Negro problem in Christianity was full-scale integration and assimilation into the "theologically grounded" white church, now argued in *The Politics of God* (1967) that the black church's mission was to bring the message of equality, freedom, and true democracy to the United States. As the new "suffering servant," the black person "bound" to the white person through slavery has been called to the task "not only of being released from bondage but of releasing [their] captors from their shackles as well" (Washington, 1967, p. 157). More than this prescriptive imputation of meaning to the struggle, the sheer identification of a stream of African American folk Christianity with the religion of freedom, equality, and justice was a major contribution. In addition Washington articulated what would become a major theological criterion or hermeneutical lens for evaluating the religious contributions of African Americans in Black Theology. "The authenticity of the Spirituals resides in their expression of the love and drive for freedom and equality with and for all men. The inauthenticity of the spirituals are those expressions of escape from this world" (Washington, 1967, p. 157). Later James Cone examined the spirituals as an expression of the spirit of liberation but dropped the qualifier "all men," affirming their exclusive relevance in Black Theology to black people.

In response to the internal critique from many African Americans and the external assumption of many whites that African Americans and their Christian faith was historically essentially quietistic and accommodatingly otherworldly, people such as Vincent Harding (*There Is a River*) and Gayraud Wilmore (*Black Religion, Black Radicalism*) uncovered a long, unbroken story of resistance and rebellion that ran through the black tapestry of African American history like a scarlet thread, beginning before the ships made shore in the Americas and continuing through the modern-day Civil Rights movement. The river Harding wrote of may not have always raged beyond its prescribed borders, but even contained the powerful current and strong undertow continued its flow wide and deep.

Black Theology and Black Power, published in 1969, was James Cone's first firm and fearless statement of the convergence of black power and Christian thought at an academic level. This revolutionary statement exploded expectations in the white church that African American Christians would aid and abet their comfortable conformity with the historically oppressive, traditional power structure and the more gradualist and conservative elements in the African American community. In Cone's *Black Theology and Black Power* and in another two of his books, *A Black Theology of Liberation* (1970) and *God of the Oppressed* (1975), which came in relatively quick succession, Black Theology proclaimed with a joyful and liberating resonance, particularly to those trapped in a paralyzing tension, that there was no conflict between black self-affirmation and self-determination, in a word black liberation, and the Gospel of Jesus Christ. In fact the struggle for black liberation as defined by black power advocates was the mandate of the Gospel, and its emergence was a contemporary manifestation of the liberating activity of the Jesus revealed in New Testament Scripture. Since God was the God of the oppressed, always on the side of the oppressed, and Jesus Christ was his self disclosure and a living historical presence, then he manifests himself amid the oppressed. In the United States, African Americans were the oppressed, and hence Jesus Christ would not only be among them in their struggle for freedom but would manifest himself in them and their struggle. Jesus Christ revealed himself in the black faces affirming their freedom. In the United States therefore Jesus was black.

Other voices forcefully entered the fray emphasizing other aspects of Black Theology, some at least implicitly and others explicitly critical of Cone. Black Theology for Cone was theology of, by, and for black people. J. Deotis Roberts insisted upon the preeminence of the theme of reconciliation. The emphasis on reconciliation was essential to preserve the doctrinal integrity of Black Theology, given its claim to be Christian and normative. In addition to reconciliation Roberts feared an unhealthy isolation of Black Theology as it divorced itself, through a kind of ideological separatism, from the larger Christian theological tradition. "If we unwisely mark off a little space for our operation as black scholars, most white scholars will gladly let us operate only within these bounds. There will be no need to admit the black theologian to the comprehensive field of theology. Some of us have fought too long and hard to give up this territory now" (Roberts, 1971, pp. 19–20). Major J. Jones, continuing in this vein with some unique contributions and further elaboration, radicalized the approach to "reconciliation" in his *Christian Ethics for Black Theology* (1974), arguing that the concept presupposed "an ideal prior relationship" that blacks and whites did not share. In this work, while critically examining the Black Theology project, he suggested grounds for building "a totally new relationship that has never heretofore existed between black and white people in America" (Jones, 1974, p. 8).

Although Black Theology's essential critique of the white church gained wide acceptance, its constructive theological program drew heavy but primarily constructive criticism from several different quarters. Those that criticized Black Theology were no less committed to the struggle for African American liberation. They did not, however, accept James Cone's theological method, the rationality of his claims, or his interpretation of the essential nature of African American religious experience in which his theology claimed to be grounded. Nor did they accept the claim that it was somehow free of the traditional conceptual entanglements, challenges, and demands of academic accountability of the "white" theological tradition. Charles Long, in *Significations* (1986), and Cecil Cone, in a more strictly theological vein in *The Identity Crisis in Black Theology* (1975), argued that African American religious experience had to be more broadly interpreted in order to remain true to the nature of the "religious," the sources themselves, as well as maintain the theoretical integrity of theological method. Black Theology came under fire for reducing religious experience primarily to a selective interpretation of black church history. Many critics of Black Theology argue that its method is primarily tautological in that it formulates its conclusions, then shapes the interpretation of the sources it claims to be based on to fit them, dismissively excising or devaluing those dimensions of the experience that remain recalcitrant. In a word, critics have claimed that Black Theology has forced African American religious experience onto the procrustean bed of a quasi-political ideology in view of the methodological prominence of "black power."

A second generation of Black Theologians is attempting to meet some of these and other challenges by (1) broadening their reach into the sources, such as slave narratives, African American literature, and other cultural artifacts (see, for instance, *Cut Loose Your Stammering Tongue: Black Theology in the Slave Narratives* (2003), edited by Dwight N. Hopkins and George C. L. Cummings); (2) widening the scope of Black Theology by engaging in conversation with other third world and liberation theologies; and (3) placing themselves in dialogue with indigenous African religious traditions (see Josiah U. Young and Will Coleman).

There were other earlier attempts to respond to the limitations of the black theological vision, but these have garnered little attention, ironically, because of the academic ascendancy of the one particular vein. One such instructive effort, *Black Theology II: Essays on the Formation and Outreach of Contemporary Black Theology* (1987), edited by Calvin E. Bruce and William R. Jones, remains a valuable contribution to the ongoing development of the black theological project.

WOMANIST THEOLOGY. One of the most promising developments in the movement has been the emergence of Womanist Theology. The womanist perspective distinguishes itself by challenging the traditional neglect of black women's experience by black (and white) men in the academy and the church. In addition to challenging the neglect of their experience, they critique the openly oppressive nature of the black church, given the disproportional numbers of women who make up black congregations and their virtual absence in leadership roles in local congregations and denominational hierarchies. Womanists also distinguish themselves from white feminists, challenging their implicit and explicit racism, while affirming their distinctive contribution to the larger feminist dialogue (see *White Women's Christ and Black Women's Jesus: Feminist Christology and Womanist Response* [1989] by Jacquelyn Grant). The term *womanist* was derived from Alice Walker's definition of the term, which is comprised of a distinctive African American cultural inflection. Although some "Womanist" Theologians have expressed uneasiness about being identified too closely with a label that carries what many women in the black church consider morally ambiguous baggage, the term has become ensconced in the discourse as the recognized designation. Other notable figures in the Womanist movement are Delores S. Williams, Kelly Brown Douglas, Cheryl J. Sanders, M. Shawn Copeland, and Emily Townes. While the broader themes of Womanist Theology bring coherence to the movement, there are significant differences in approach, theoretical inflection, and theological sensibility (see *Introducing Womanist Theology* [2002] by Stephanie Mitchem).

SEE ALSO Liberation Theology.

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BLADES, such as those of swords, knives, axes, scythes, scissors, and saws, are instruments for cutting things apart. As hierophanies of divine power, blades manifest the instrumental function of intentional or purposeful cutting, dividing, separating, splitting, cleaving, or articulating.

The divine cutting power epiphanized by blades acts creatively or constructively when it differentiates a primordial entity; multiplies one into many by cutting something into parts; releases or receives some fructifying substance by cutting something open; orders a confused state by dividing it into parts; or purifies or brings something to its perfected form by cutting away a nonessential admixture. The same cutting power acts in a negating, limiting, or destructive way when it brings about a premature end by cutting off further development, by establishing an impassable boundary, or by destroying the necessary integrity or organic unity required for the continuance of something.

Blades are manmade instruments designed for implementing conscious intentions; they require craft for their manufacture and both training and discipline for their use. This quality of consciousness enables them to symbolize the divine intellect, purpose, will, judgment, craft, cunning, or wisdom that wields or guides the cutting power.

Blades manifest their divine power in all domains of existence—agriculture, warfare, civil administration, service to the gods, and meditative disciplines. For instance, cutting power in the form of the sickle is an attribute of divinities connected with agriculture as a sacred institution. The ancient Italian god of seedtime and harvest, Saturnus, carries a sickle. The Greek earth goddess, Gaia, invented the sickle and urged her son Kronos to castrate his father with it because he was preventing her children from coming into the light.

Cutting power in the form of a sword is an attribute of divinities connected with meditative disciplines. In Hinduism, for example, the sword Nandaka ("source of joy"), which is held by the god Viṣṇu represents pure knowledge (*jñāna*), whose substance is wisdom (*vidyā*). The flaming sword of knowledge is the powerful weapon that destroys ignorance. Generally, in whatever domain of existence the divine cutting power manifests itself it does so as the sacred blade of a numinous agent who wields the blade and whose essential nature is represented by it.

Blades as attributes of the ruling gods of the sky in various religious traditions manifest cutting power in both its constructive and its negative connotations. The blades of the sky gods have their natural analogue in the phenomenon of lightning. For example, the Vedic ruler of heaven, the cloud-dwelling god Indra, is deity of space, dispenser of rain, thrower of the thunderbolt (*vajra*), and principle of lightning—the energy of cosmic and animal life, which is stored as the semen (*vīrya*) of all beings. When the priest of Indra brandishes the ritual wooden sword (*sphyha*), he is regarded as raising the thunderbolt used by Indra to behead Vṛtra, the dragon (or demon) that caused drought. In the epic *Mahābhārata*, Indra's thunderbolt is equated with the penis, and in the Tantras it is equated with sexual power as the fundamental energy.

According to Ananda Coomaraswamy, "the Japanese sword, Shinto, royal, or samurai, is in fact the descendant or hypostasis of the sword of lightning found by Susa-no-Wo-no-Mikoto in the tail of the Dragon of the Clouds, whom he slays and dissevers, receiving in return the last of the daughters of the Earth, whose seven predecessors have been consumed by the Dragon" (*Selected Papers*, Princeton, 1977, vol. 1, p. 434).

Lightning is also a metaphor expressive of the flashing sword of judgment wielded by Yahveh. "I have posted a sword at every gate to flash like lightning, polished for havoc" (*Ez.* 21:20). After Adam and Eve are expelled from the Garden of Eden, Yahveh posts "the cherubs, and the flame of a flashing sword, to guard the way to the tree of life" (*Gn.* 3:24).

The ax is also an attribute of sky gods. Indra is incarnated as the god Rāma-with-the-Ax, Parasic-Rāma. Rāma's ax is the cutting power in the service of reestablishing the proper social order by means of war. Rāma was given the ax and trained in its use by Śiva, the god or principle of disintegration, dispersion, and annihilation. Zeus is another example of a sky god whose warrior power is represented by the ax. At the time of his birth on Mount Ida in Crete the mountain brought forth the Kouretes, youths armed with battle-axes and shields, who danced around the divine child to conceal his cries from Kronos, his murderous father. The birthplace of Zeus on Crete is also a major site of the cult of the double ax. Apparently the double ax itself was worshiped, and in later representations Zeus is shown shouldering the ax.

Blades are attributes of sun gods and solar heroes. These blades have their natural analogue in the form and activity of sunbeams and rays of sunlight. The Babylonian sun god, Shamash, who was a judge, lawgiver, and fertility deity, is depicted holding a saw with which to cut decisions. His heroic and kingly agent, Gilgamesh, carries a battle-ax and a sword with which he kills both the monster Huwawa, who rules the wilderness, and the Bull of Heaven, sent against him by the goddess Ishtar, whose seduction he rejects. In general, the blades associated with sun gods and solar heroes manifest the divine cutting power serving the interest of establishing the human order, civilization, and kingship.

Swords are almost universally found as a part of royal regalia, for the sovereign is the temporal counterpart of the divine principle that rules through cutting power. For example, there are five swords in the regalia of the British monarch: the sword of state, a smaller sword substituted for it that is used during the coronation ceremony, the sword of spiritual justice, the sword of temporal justice, and the sword of mercy, which has a blunted tip.

Scissors are particularly connected with the power of terminating or cutting something off. For example, the Moirai or goddesses of fate in the pre-Olympian Greek religion spun and determined the length of the threads of human lives. One of them, Atropos, snipped off the threads with scissors. In Hindu iconography the goddess Kālī is sometimes depicted with scissors, which she uses to snip the thread of life.

Kālī or Mahā-Kālī, the transcendent power of time that dissociates all things, is often shown holding a sword, which represents the destructive power of time to cut off life. The sword is also an instrument of sacrifice in the rites of Kālī.

Blades are also attributes of gods of the underworld. For instance, Yama, the Hindu sovereign of the infernal regions and judge of the dead, carries a sword, an ax, and a dagger. The name *Yama* means "binder, restrainer." When Yama is identified with the principle of time (Kālā) he is shown as an old man carrying a sword and shield, as this concept has to do with endings.

In the biblical *Book of Revelation* (15:14–16) the end of time is represented by the image of the Son of man appearing on a cloud with a sickle in his hand. "Then another angel . . . shouted aloud to the one sitting on the cloud, 'Put your sickle in and reap: harvest time has come and the harvest of the earth is ripe.' Then the one on the cloud set his sickle to work on the earth. . . ." The judging Word of the Lord is also represented in the image of the Son of man with the double-edged sword coming from his mouth (*Rv.* 1:16).

Thus the divine cutting power manifested in blades works toward a multiplicity of ends in all domains of existence. Depending upon the context in which it appears, the blade traditionally symbolizes the instrument of creativity, liberation, justice, power, authority, fertility, purification, enlightenment, punishment, death, execution, destruction, martyrdom, and limitation.

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BLASPHEMY

This entry consists of the following articles:

JEWISH CONCEPT
CHRISTIAN CONCEPT
ISLAMIC CONCEPT

BLASPHEMY: JEWISH CONCEPT

There is no one standard Hebrew term for blasphemy, indicating that blasphemy—namely, speaking impiously or irreverently about God or sacred things—is not recognized as a distinct, prohibited category of speech in traditional Judaism. In fact, some activities or statements that might appear to members of different religious traditions as blasphemous toward God are part and parcel of Judaism. Thus, although one might think that arguing with God is a blasphemous activity, the precedent of Abraham's bargaining with God before the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (*Gn.* 18:16–33) legitimized the Jewish convention of disputing with God, most notably in modern Hasidism. Some medieval Christians found certain rabbinic utterances about God to be blasphemous, but this was partially the result of a Christian desire to find reasons to outlaw the Talmud (the accusation of blasphemy was used as a justification for Christian censorship of Jewish books). Jews, however, accepted the ostensibly objectionable statements, even if they sometimes appeared to be peculiar, as a legitimate part of Judaism (although they were often explained allegorically by Jewish rationalists). Although one cannot say that Judaism allows complete freedom of speech, it would seem that the rabbis were more concerned with language that offended humans (e.g., idle and malicious gossip) than with language that might have been taken as offensive to God.

There are, however, certain actions that the Jewish tradition might consider a type of blasphemy, some of which are more culpable than others. These actions can be categorized, from the more specific and punishable to the more general and unenforceable, as: (1) cursing God and God's name; (2) using God's name in vain, pronouncing it illicitly, or destroying its written form; (3) saying inappropriate things about God; and (4) acting in a manner that would bring disrepute upon the God of Israel (and, therefore, upon the people of Israel).

CURSING GOD. The holiness of God's name was such that an offense against that name was considered a severe crime. The gravity of the act was so great that a euphemism was often used to describe the transgression—for example, cursing God was referred to as "blessing God." The first mention of the prohibition in the Bible (*Ex.* 22:27) links reviling God (*Elohim*) with the cursing of a ruler (*nasi*), but no punishment is prescribed, and Jewish tradition has generally, but not unanimously, understood *Elohim* in this passage to mean *judges* and not *God.* A more specific reference occurs when, as a result of an altercation in the desert camp of the Israelites, the son of an Israelite woman and an Egyptian man enunciated the Name (*ha-shem,* presumably the tetragrammaton, YHVH) and cursed. Moses did not know what to do with the miscreant, but God informed him that the community was to put him to death by stoning after those who heard the curse placed their hands on the head of the sinner. Furthermore, those who curse God (*Elohim*) are culpable, and those who enunciate the name of YHVH are to be punished by stoning. The fact that the offender was not a full Israelite did not mitigate the severity of the crime, since the law applied to both the native born and strangers. The sentence was then carried out (*Lv.* 24:10–23). Commentators are divided as to the exact nature of the offense for which this half-Israelite/half-Egyptian was executed—was it, for instance, pronouncing the name, cursing it, or both? In any event, it would appear that the man committed a transgression specifically against God's name, an act that could be construed as blasphemy and that was punishable by death.

The Bible provides other examples of this offense. When King Ahab fell into a deep depression after being unsuccessful in convincing Naboth the Jezreelite to sell him his ancestral vineyard, Ahab's wife Jezebel conspired to have Naboth executed by inciting false witnesses to accuse him of having cursed (literally, blessed) God (*Elohim*) and the king (*melekh*). This would indicate that the prohibition of *Exodus* 22:27 was enforced as a capital offense (*1 Kgs.* 21:1–17). Job's wife thought Job's troubles would be over if he "cursed [literally, blessed] God and died" (*Jb.* 2:9).

The consequences of cursing God were felt not only by the executed malefactors, but also by those who heard the curse and by the community. The accusation against Naboth was accompanied by a call to public fasting (*1 Kgs.* 21:9, 12). When the Assyrian army commander came to the besieged Jerusalem and made highly unflattering statements about the God of Israel (YHVH), and said them in Hebrew (literally, Judean) so that the beleaguered people would understand him, his Israelite interlocutors rent their garments (*2 Kgs.* 18:37; *Is.* 36:22). The punishment for the Assyrians was a plague that destroyed their army, wiping out 185,000 soldiers (*2 Kgs.* 19:35; *Is.* 37:36).

The Bible, then, seems to consider offensive speech against God serious and actionable both by human courts and by God. Hellenistic Jewish literature described such offensive speech with the Greek term *blasphemy* and understood the concept as including any offense against the sovereignty of God. The Septuagint used the word *blasphemy* in its translation of a number of biblical passages that have reference to reviling or insulting God (*2 Kgs.* 19:4, 6, 22; *Is.* 52:5; *Ez.* 35:12; *Dn.* 3:29). The Syrian-Greek attempt to eradicate Judaism and replace it with idolatry is seen by the author of *2 Maccabees* as a form of blasphemy. After the author described the deadly illness of King Antiochus as divine punishment for his sins, he wrote: "So the murderer and blasphemer, having endured the most intense suffering, such as he had inflicted on others, came to the end of his life by a most pitiable fate" (*2 Mc.* 9:28). In the wars between the Syrian-Greeks and the Judeans, the former are portrayed as uttering insults about the God of Israel, namely blaspheming, and this action inspired the Maccabees to fight more fiercely (*2 Mc.* 10:34–35; 12:14–15). Judah Maccabeus prayed to God that his contemporary blasphemers suffer the fate of the 185,000 Assyrian troops who had attacked Jerusalem (*2 Mc.* 15:22–24).

This expansive use of the concept and term of *blasphemy* was not adopted by the rabbis of the Talmud, who had a more limited view of the crime of offensive speech against God, restricting it specifically to cursing God. They also made it almost impossible to execute someone for this action. In general, although the Bible prescribes capital punishment for a number of crimes, rabbinic law was instrumental in limiting the possibility of judicial executions. In order to put someone to death, the offense must have been committed before two eyewitnesses who had previously warned the criminal explicitly against the act and had received his acknowledgment of their warning. In the case of cursing God, the rabbis added further restrictions, including the fact that the case is a capital one only if God's personal name, the tetragrammaton, was used both as the one who curses and the accursed. In rabbinic parlance, this meant that the miscreant must say something in the form of "May Yossi smite Yossi," in which *Yossi* is used as a euphemism for the divine name. The euphemism is used until the very end of the judicial procedure, but since a person could not be executed on the basis of an accusation consisting only of a euphemism, the eldest witness would then be asked to say exactly what he had heard. At this point, the judges rend their garments irreparably, and the younger witnesses say: "I also heard it like this" (Mishnah *Sanhedrin* 7:5). A Talmudic rabbi opined that hearing other names of God cursed did not require tearing the garments, since "if that were the case, one's garments would be full of rents" (Babylonian *Sanhedrin* 60a).

It is unclear whether this punishment was ever carried out by rabbinic courts, since by the time of the editing of the Mishnah (c. 200 CE), Jews no longer had authority to impose capital punishment upon malefactors. Medieval discussions of this capital offense were certainly theoretical and do not reflect applied case law. Maimonides (d. 1204), whose code dealt with all of Talmudic law, whether it was pertinent in his own day or not, extended the capital prohibition to the main substitute for the tetragrammaton (ADNY), whereas cursing God using other holy names was forbidden but not actionable by a human court (*Mishneh Torah,* Laws of Idolatry, 2:7–10). Later codes, which are not as inclusive and do not treat of capital offenses, omit this prohibition altogether, but they do obligate those who hear God's name cursed, even if only a substitute for that name (and perhaps even in a foreign language), to rend their garments (*Shulhan Arukh,* Yoreh De'ah, 340:37).

USING GOD'S NAME IN VAIN, PRONOUNCING IT, OR DESTROYING IT. The third commandment reads: "You shall not take the name of the Lord your God in vain, for the Lord shall not clear one who takes His name in vain" (*Ex.* 20:7; *Dt.* 5:11). The Jewish exegetical tradition generally understands this prohibition as using God's name for making a false oath and not necessarily as solely misusing God's name (Maimonides, *Book of Commandments,* Negative Commandment 62). The exact nature of what false oaths are is also a matter of dispute, although some would understand the prohibition as any unnecessary use of God's name when swearing. Avraham ibn Ezra (d. 1167) noted that this injunction is the most violated of the Ten Commandments, which is the cause of the continued exile. The violation is so widespread that even if one points out to people that they are swearing by God's name, they will swear by God's name that they are not doing so (*Long Commentary on Exodus,* 20:7).

A different prohibition is pronouncing God's name. The tetragrammaton was understood as God's personal name, and, therefore, it was imbued with particular holiness. Pronunciation of the name became increasingly rare, and, according to later sources, by the Second Temple period it was articulated only once a year on Yom Kippur in the Temple's Holy of Holies. In general usage, the tetragrammaton is replaced by *Adonai* (Lord) or *Ha-Shem* (the Name); someone who attempts to pronounce the tetragrammaton by its letters is said not to have a portion in the world to come (Mishnah *Sanhedrin* 10:1). Today, there is no agreement as to the correct pronunciation of the tetragrammaton, and therefore the prohibition is more or less moot, even though there are some who would forbid attempts at saying the name lest one come up with the correct pronunciation. Because of the perceived holiness of divine names, observant Jews generally refrain from any full pronunciation of these names, even those used instead of the tetragrammaton, except in specific ritual actions. As alternate divine names or notations become widespread, they too are imbued with sanctity, and there is a tendency to seek further substitution for them.

Because of the sanctity of the divine name, it is forbidden to destroy its written form. This is the reason why Jewish written materials that include divine names are generally buried (in a *geniza,* a special repository for this material) rather than destroyed. Maimonides lists seven such names that are not to be destroyed, and anyone who erases even one letter of these names is punished by lashes (*Mishneh Torah,* Laws of the Foundations of the Torah, 6). Just as one does not pronounce divine names in everyday speech, one also does not write divine names fully for fear of profaning them. There is a difference of opinion as to whether this caution is to be applied to divine names in languages other than Hebrew, but the most stringent employ substitute formulations and spellings even in non-Hebrew writing and speech. It is also incumbent to treat both a Torah scroll and traditional Jewish books with reverence lest one show disrespect to God by demeaning the divine word.

SAYING INAPPROPRIATE THINGS ABOUT GOD. Before one can prohibit blasphemy as a form of saying inappropriate things about God, one must first determine what exactly it is that is inappropriate to say. Since Judaism has always placed greater stress on observance of the law rather than on correct beliefs, there is a wide latitude in Jewish theology and no central authority to decide on questions of faith. Thus, it is difficult to define that which is inappropriate to say about God. For instance, Maimonides wrote that one who says that there is one God, but that God has body and form, is a heretic who has no portion in the world to come. This statement was highly criticized by Rabbi Avraham ben David of Posquières (RABaD, d. 1198) as unfair to those "greater and better" than Maimonides who held such views (*Mishneh Torah,* Law of Repentance, 3:6). Obviously, one person's blasphemy can be someone else's deep-seated pious belief. The Middle Ages witnessed a large number of controversies between rationalist and more conservative Jews as to which statements about God are meant literally and which are to be taken allegorically.

The medievals debated the question of heresy as well. Although there are many terms in post-biblical Hebrew for *heretic* (the Bible, itself, does not mention the concept of heresy), there is no agreement in rabbinic or medieval literature as to what makes one a heretic. The rabbis deny a place in the world to come to someone who negates the beliefs in the divinity of the Torah or the resurrection of the dead, or to the Epicurean (Hebrew, *apiqoros*—apparently one who denies divine providence, but traditionally one who is disrespectful to the sages; Mishnah *Sanhedrin* 10:1). Although this statement cannot necessarily be used to define the rabbinic view of heresy, it did influence medieval discussions of Jewish dogmatics. Maimonides' Thirteen Principles were formulated as part of his commentary on this statement, and they seem to be based upon them. Other authors of dogmatic systems, however, did not always use them as a means of identifying heretics, and Judaism never achieved unanimity as to the parameters of heresy. There were also disagreements as to the status and culpability of the inadvertent heretics (those who are unaware of the heresy of their beliefs). Thus, in the absence of clear definitions of heresy, there could be no identification of heretical statements with blasphemy.

ACTING IN A MANNER THAT WOULD BRING DISREPUTE UPON THE GOD OF ISRAEL. The Torah provides remedies for those who transgress God's law unintentionally, but the *Book of Numbers* (15:30) states that intentional disobedience by a native-born Israelite or by a stranger is considered a form of insulting God *(giduf)* and is punishable by excision (*karet*), a sanction that is apparently a divine, rather than human, punishment. Since this verse seems to expand unreasonably the sanction of excision, in contrast to other biblical punishments, the rabbis generally restricted its application to the prohibition of idolatry. In fact, the prophet Ezekiel cited Israelite idol worship as an example of this type of insult to God, and he predicted that God would punish the people for their sin, forcing them to acknowledge the sovereignty of God (*Ez.* 20:27–44).

More broadly, the Bible enjoins Jews to sanctify God's name and to refrain from desecrating it (e.g., *Lv.* 22:32). This has been interpreted in the Jewish tradition as the responsibility Jews have to act in such a way as not to bring discredit upon God and Israel, God's people. Sanctification of God's name can include such actions as doing business honestly (so that the non-Jew is impressed by the influence God has on everyday transactions and on Jewish honesty), or being willing to die rather than convert to another religion (so that the non-Jew is impressed by the Jewish loyalty to God's religion). Conversely, actions that bring dishonor upon God (a Jew's acting dishonestly in business or not choosing death over coerced conversion) are understood as desecrating God's name and bringing dishonor upon Israel. It is difficult, however, to define clearly either sanctification or desecration of God's name, and human punishment for the latter would thus be hard to enforce. In general, desecration of God's name is more a moral category than a legal one, and it is not punished, for instance, as cursing God is. Yet, desecrating God's name in the ways mentioned might be considered, by extension, a form of blasphemy.

Jewish law provides outlines as to how one is to act to prevent public desecration of God's name. Thus, even if one may generally transgress a commandment under duress (except for the prohibitions of idolatry, murder, and adultery and incest), if that duress is public, for the purpose of offending God and the people of Israel, then Jews are enjoined not to violate minor proscriptions as well, even at the pain of death. Sanctification of God's name is one of the most important commandments that a Jew can perform, and as such it is almost the exact opposite of the offense of blasphemy.

See Also Heresy.

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BLASPHEMY: CHRISTIAN CONCEPT

The word *blasphemy* derives from a Greek term meaning "speaking evil," but in the Christian religious tradition the word refers to verbal offenses against sacred values or beliefs. A seventeenth-century Scottish jurist epitomized blasphemy by calling it "treason against God." The concept of blasphemy has never remained fixed. It has ranged from the ancient Hebrew crime of cursing the ineffable name of God to irreverent statements that outrage the religious sensibilities of others. What is deemed blasphemous varies from society to society and may differ with time and place, but whatever is condemned as blasphemy is always regarded as an abuse of liberty and reveals what a society cannot and will not tolerate. Blasphemy constitutes a litmus test of the standards a society feels it must enforce to preserve its religious peace, order, morality, and above all, salvation. Wherever organized religion exists, blasphemy is taboo.

Yet Christianity holds no monopoly on the concept of blasphemy. Every society will punish the rejection or mockery of its gods. Because blasphemy is an intolerable verbal violation of the sacred, it affronts the priestly class, the deep-seated beliefs of worshipers, and the basic religious values that a community shares. Punishing the blasphemer may serve any one of several social purposes in addition to setting an example to warn others. Punishment is also supposed to propitiate the offended deities by avenging their honor, thereby averting their wrath in the shape of earthquakes, infertility, lost battles, floods, plagues, or crop failures. Public retribution for blasphemy also vindicates the witness of believers, reaffirms communal values, and avoids the snares of toleration. Toleration sanctions the offense, inviting others to commit it, and sheds doubt on orthodox truths.

Periclean Greece cherished liberty yet prosecuted its blasphemers. Anaxagoras the philosopher, by imagining a superior intellect that had imposed a purposeful order on the physical world, insulted the Greek gods; Phidias the sculptor, by carving a figure of himself on the shield of his colossal statue of Athena, profaned her; Euripides the tragic poet seemed to doubt the sanctity of oaths witnessed by the gods; Alcibiades the general supposedly mocked the sacred rites honoring Demeter, the grain goddess; Protagoras the mathematician and Diagoras the poet confessed to agnosticism. Finally, Socrates, whose trial for blasphemy is the best known in history next to that of Jesus, was charged with corrupting the youth by disbelieving in the gods of the state and advocating deities of his own.

Christendom's concept of blasphemy derived from the Mosaic injunction of *Exodus* 22:28, which declares, "You shall not revile God." The precedent for punishing blasphemy as a crime is in *Leviticus* 24:16, where one who cursed the name of the Lord was put to death by stoning. None of the Old Testament references to the commission of blasphemy quotes the actual crime for fear of repeating it. The Hebrew scriptures distinguished blasphemy from other offenses against religion, in contrast to the Septuagint. Where, for example, Greek usage showed a preference for *blasphemy* and used that term somewhat loosely, the Hebrew scriptures referred more precisely to "idolatry" or "sacrilege," as in *Isaiah* 66:3 and *1 Maccabees* 2:6, or sometimes to "speaking anything against God," as in *Daniel* 3:29. On the other hand, the term for "blasphemy" in the Hebrew scriptures is *linqov,* which means "to specify, enunciate, or pronounce distinctly"; but *Leviticus* 24:10–23 uses it in conjunction with *qillel,* which means "curse." The word cannotes also "to pierce [the name of God], rail, repudiate, derogate, speak disrespectfully, denounce, insult, and abuse." The blasphemy of Rab-Shakeh in *2 Kings* 18–19 shows the offense to mean speaking disrespectfully of God, doubting his powers, and comparing him to idols. However, only cursing the personal name of the Lord merited the death penalty; for a lesser blasphemy, the punishment was probably excommunication. To curse was a far more serious offense than in our time. "God damn," a familiar curse, is today mere profanity; in the biblical sense, to curse meant uttering an imprecation in the name of God for the purpose of calling upon his power to perform an evil deed. Although the Septuagint tends to use *blasphemy* as a broad term for any offenses against religion, with the exception of *Ben Sira* 3:16 no Greek-Jewish text uses the word or any form of it that is not God-centered. Only God can be blasphemed in Jewish thought. And nowhere in Old Testament or Greek-Jewish sacred books is *blasphemy* a synonym for *heresy.* Indeed, no equivalent for the concept of heresy exists in the pre-Christian era. Christianity, though greatly influenced by Greek-Jewish texts, would use the two terms *blasphemy* and *heresy* as equivalents and as more than a God-centered offense. Not until Christianity began did the meaning of *blasphemy* change.

The New Testament retained the God-centeredness of the Mosaic code but expanded the concept of the offense to include the rejection of Jesus and the attribution of his miracles to satanic forces. Although only Mark and Matthew depict a formal trial and condemnation of Jesus by the Sanhedrin, all four evangelists employ the motif that the Jewish rejection of Jesus was blasphemy. Readers understand that whenever the Gospels depicted the Jews as describing Jesus as blasphemous for performing some miracle, or healing on the Sabbath, or forgiving sins, none of which constituted the crime of blasphemy in Jewish law, the Jews by their rejection, and not Jesus, were blasphemous. Thus in the climax of the trial scenes before the Sanhedrin, those who found Jesus guilty were blasphemers because they did not recognize him as the Son of God and the Messiah. Jesus' answer to Caiaphas in *Mark* 14:62 ("I am") should be understood as post-Easter theology, but it became the basis for a new, expanded concept of blasphemy in Christian thought.

For four centuries after the crucifixion, many different interpretations of Christianity competed with each other as the true faith, producing accusations of blasphemy. Jesus, having joined God as a divine majesty in Christian thought, though not in Arianism, became a target of blasphemers or, rather, the basis for leveling the charge of blasphemy against variant professors of Christianity. Cursing, reproaching, challenging, mocking, rejecting, or denying Jesus Christ became blasphemy. Posing as Jesus, claiming to be equal to him, or asserting powers or attributes that belonged to him, became blasphemy. Ascribing evil or immoral inspiration to any work of God or of the Holy Spirit that moved Jesus also became blasphemy, as did any denial or renunciation of the faith, and any discord, false beliefs, or dissent from Jesus' teachings. Denying the incarnation or calling the Son of God a human being only resulted in the same charge. Blasphemy was a concept of primary concern to Christians, as well as a vile epithet with which to blacken religious enemies. During the four centuries it took for Christianity to define itself and develop its faith, every faction accused its opponents as blasphemers. In time, heresy, which originally meant a factionalism arising from the willful choice of an untrue faith, became not just a form of blasphemy that exposed the true faith to contention; it became a term that eclipsed blasphemy. A point implicit in the deutero-Pauline epistles became explicit in *2 Clement,* which stated that blasphemy means "you do not do what I desire" and therefore consists of anything that contravened ecclesiastical authority. This viewpoint became a fixed position in Christian thought.

Any religious view contrary to church policy was blasphemy, a form of heresy, but the doctrine of the Trinity became the focal point in the controversy over blasphemy. The conflict between Arians and Athanasians involved more than a dispute over the right faith; it concerned the right road to salvation for all Christians. The authority of the church, when backed by the coercion of the state, settled the controversy by fixing on the Nicene Creed, which ultimately became the test of orthodoxy. Constantine's decrees against Arians and Arian books eventually led to the Theodosian Code of 438, enthroning Catholic Christianity as the exclusive religion of the empire, and Christians began persecuting each other. Heresy then superseded blasphemy as the great crime against Christianity. Unfreighted with Old Testament origins, heresy was more flexible and spacious a concept than blasphemy and had as many meanings. Both Athanasius and Augustine freely intermixed accusations of blasphemy and heresy, as if the two terms were interchangeable. But heresy became the encompassing term, because the church faced abusive criticism and competing doctrines about the faith, not abusive speech about God. Augustine developed a theory of persecution that lasted more than a millennium. Blasphemers, he wrote, "slay souls," causing "everlasting deaths." Rape, torture, and death were nothing compared to rejection or corruption of the pure faith. The church persecuted "out of love," he declared, "to save souls." Toleration intensified the heretic's damnation and passed his guilt to church and state for allowing him to contaminate others, multiplying his eternal fate among the faithful. Those who knew the revealed truth yet permitted disloyalty to it committed a greater crime than those who rejected it. Indulging willful error in a matter of salvation betrayed the faith and risked the worst calamity in the hereafter. Blasphemy, Augustine wrote, was the most "diabolical heresy."

Theologians who discussed blasphemy in the times of Bede, Gratian, Aquinas, Bernard Gui, and Bellarmine said nothing significantly different from Augustine. Aquinas regarded blasphemy as saying or thinking something false against God; he therefore understood it as a species of unbelief meriting death. But he also condemned all heresies as blasphemy: heretics, he thought, ought to be punished for crimes worse than treason or murder because they victimized God, not merely other human beings. According to Aquinas, "heretics . . . blaspheme against God by following a false faith."

Protestants during the Reformation had to reinvent the crime of blasphemy on the fiction that it was distinguishable from heresy. Because "heresy" was the Catholic description for Protestantism, Protestant leaders tended to choke on the word *heretic* and preferred to describe as "blasphemy" anything they disliked or disagreed with, just as the church had used "heresy." Luther, for example, impartially if promiscuously condemned as blasphemies Anabaptism, Arianism, Catholicism, Judaism, and Islam. Any denial of an article of Christian faith as he understood it was blasphemy. So too, sin was blasphemy, opposing Luther was blasphemy, questioning God's judgments was blasphemy, persecution of Protestants by Catholics was blasphemy, Zwinglian dissent from Lutheranism was blasphemy, missing church was blasphemy, and the peasantry's political opinions were blasphemy. Luther abused and cheapened the word, but he certainly revived and popularized it. It became part of the Protestant currency. In 1553 Calvin's Geneva executed Michael Servetus, the first systematic antitrinitarian theorist, for his "execrable blasphemies" that scandalized the Trinity and entailed the murder of many souls. Of all the blasphemy cases of the sixteenth century the strangest was that of Ferenc Dávid, the head of the Unitarian church in Transylvania. His allies, the Socinians, denounced and prosecuted him as a blasphemer because of his belief that Christians should not worship Christ. In 1579 the Hungarian Diet convicted him of blasphemy and sentenced him to life imprisonment.

During the seventeenth century blasphemy increasingly became a secular crime. The state began to supplant the church as the agency mainly responsible for instigating and conducting prosecutions. The connection between religious dissent and political subversion and the belief that a nation's religious unity augmented its peace and strength accounted in part for the rising dominance of the state in policing serious crimes against religion. Governments intervened more frequently to suppress nonconforming sectarians and intellectuals. Although Rome had charged Giordano Bruno with blasphemy and burned him for heresy in 1600, Protestant precedents were not without some influence. The church condemned for heresy, the state increasingly for blasphemy, even in Catholic states. On the continent, blasphemy prosecutions continued into the present century, although the death penalty for the crime was abandoned during the eighteenth century.

In England the prosecution of heresy as a capital crime had begun to die out in the reign of Elizabeth. The earliest Protestant codification of ecclesiastical law in England (1553) had the first separate section on blasphemy. Elizabeth burned five or six Arians and Anabaptists whose crimes included the beliefs that Christ was not God and that infant baptism was unnecessary. The last English executions for religion occurred in 1612; both victims were antitrinitarians, the principal targets of suppression throughout the century. John Biddle, the Socinian father of English Unitarianism, was persecuted for seventeen years and finally died in prison in 1662.

In 1648 Parliament had enacted a statute against blasphemy that reached the doctrines of Socinianism but not those of Ranterism, a phenomenon of the disillusioned and defeated political left that turned to religion for expression. Ranters believed that, as God's grace is unbounded, nothing is sinful. Antinomian sentiment run amok into religious anarchy, the Ranters were seditious, obscene, and blasphemous in ways as flagrantly offensive as possible. A 1650 act against blasphemy cataloged Ranter beliefs but punished them lightly compared to Scotland, which carried out the death penalty. The Ranters, believing that life should be enjoyed, recanted easily and disappeared. Unlike the Socinians or the Quakers, they did not have the stuff of martyrs.

George Fox, the founding Quaker, who was prosecuted for blasphemy four times, and his followers endured violent persecution. Their belief in the Christ within seemed blasphemous. In 1656 James Nayler, then the greatest Quaker, was convicted by Parliament for blasphemy because he reenacted Jesus' entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday as a sign of the imminent Second Coming. Nayler was savagely beaten and imprisoned. The first person imprisoned for blasphemy after the Restoration was William Penn, accused of antitrinitarianism.

In 1676 John Taylor, a farmer who really blasphemed ("Religion is a cheat" and "Christ is a bastard"), was convicted by the King's Bench. Chief Justice Matthew Hale delivered an opinion that made Taylor's case the most important ever decided in England; he ruled that the secular courts had jurisdiction of blasphemy and could punish blasphemers, because Christianity is part of the law of the land and the state has to prevent dissolution of government and religion. After the crime of nonconformity died in consequence of the Toleration Act of 1689, blasphemy remained an offense punishable by the state. A blasphemy act of 1698 targeted antitrinitarians, showing that England still regarded them as execrable atheists.

English precepts about blasphemy made the Atlantic crossing. Virginia's first code of laws (1611) specified death for anyone blaspheming the Trinity or Christianity, and most other colonies followed suit. But the actual punishments consisted of fines, branding, whipping, banishment, and prison. Massachusetts regarded Quakers as blasphemous but inflicted the death penalty, technically, for defiance of banishment decrees. In the eighteenth century, the Age of Enlightenment, blasphemy prosecutions on both sides of the Atlantic diminished. All the American colonies produced only half a dozen convictions, and the worst sentence was boring through the tongue and a year in prison. In Great

Britain, where there were a dozen convictions, the cases involved important defendants, serious legal issues, and heavier sentences. In one case the first minister to call himself a Unitarian was convicted for writing a book that temperately argued the subordination of Christ to God. A biblical scholar who mocked literal interpretations of miracles lost his appeal when the high court of Britain relied on the judgment in Taylor's case. As the century closed, a series of blasphemy prosecutions began against the publishers and sellers of Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason.*

The number of blasphemy cases peaked in England and the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century. Between 1821 and 1834 English trials produced seventy-three convictions. The defendants, who in the past had professed to be believing Christians, increasingly became agnostics, deists, and secularists who relied on freedom of the press more than freedom of religion, with as little success. In the American cases the courts maintained the legal fiction that the law punished only malice, never mere difference of opinion. The law aimed, that is, not at what was said but the way it was said; the judicial cliché on both sides of the Atlantic rested on the doctrine that manner, not matter, determined criminality. That seemed so in an important New York case of 1811 *(People v. Ruggles),* in which the court ruled that only Christianity could be blasphemed and judged guilty the defendant, who had declared that Jesus was a bastard, his mother a whore. Such malicious blasphemy found no protection in constitutional guarantees of freedom of expression or separation of church and state. But in the leading American case *(Commonwealth v. Kneeland),* decided in 1838 in Massachusetts, arguments based on liberty of conscience and press failed even though the defendant was a pantheist who declared in language devoid of scurrility that he did not believe in God, Christ, or miracles. The view that received no judicial endorsement in the nineteenth century was that espoused in 1825 by two old men, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, who agreed that blasphemy prosecutions conflicted with the principle of free inquiry; Jefferson also sought to prove that Christianity was not part of the law of the land and that religion or irreligion did not belong to the cognizance of government. In 1883 the Lord Chief Justice of England supposedly liberalized the law by holding that decency of expression would exempt from prosecution even an attack on the fundamentals of Christianity—a fairly subjective test. Moreover, the decencies of controversy were also subjective in character. Indeed, the authors of most of the books of the Old and New Testaments as well as many leading saints and the originators of most Protestant denominations and sects gave such offense that they would not have passed the legal tests that prevailed in England and America.

In the twentieth century, blasphemy prosecutions have dwindled in number. In 1977 Massachusetts refused to repeal its three-hundred-year-old act against blasphemy, even though the last prosecutions in that state were conducted in the 1920s and had failed. But in the same year a prosecution succeeded in London, the first in over half a century. In the United States no prosecution has occurred since 1968, despite laws against blasphemy, and no prosecution ending in a conviction could survive judicial scrutiny on appeal, given the contemporary interpretations of First Amendment freedoms by the Supreme Court. Blasphemy prosecutions, relics of the Anglo-American world, are becoming obsolete even elsewhere in Christendom. People seem to have learned that Christianity is capable of surviving without penal sanctions and that God can avenge his own honor.

SEE ALSO Cursing.

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BLASPHEMY: ISLAMIC CONCEPT

Offering insult (*sabb*) to God, to the prophet Muḥammad, or to any part of the divine revelation is a crime in Islamic religious law, fully comparable to blasphemy. In the Christian tradition, blasphemy properly denotes mockery or *lèse majesté* of God. There is no exact equivalent to *blasphemy* in the Islamic tradition, although the Qurʾanic phrase "word of infidelity" (*kalimat al-kufr*) comes fairly close. From the viewpoint of Islamic law, blasphemy may be defined as any verbal expression that gives grounds for suspicion of apostasy (*riddah*). In theological terms, blasphemy often overlaps with infidelity (*kufr*), which is the deliberate rejection of God and revelation; in this sense, expressing religious opinions at variance with standard Islamic views could easily be looked upon as blasphemous. Blasphemy can also be seen as the equivalent of heresy (*zandaqah*), a pre-Islamic Persian term used in reference to the revolutionary teachings of Mani and Mazdak; in this sense, it can mean any public expression of teachings deemed dangerous to the state. Thus, in describing the Islamic concept of blasphemy, it is necessary to include not only insulting language directed at God, the Prophet, and the revelation, but also theological positions and even mystical aphorisms that have come under suspicion.

BLASPHEMY IN EARLY ISLAM. During his own lifetime, the prophet Muḥammad (d. AH 10/632 CE) encountered strong opposition from the leaders of the Arab clans of Mecca when he preached the worship of the one God and attacked the traditional polytheism of the Arabs. Most frequently, this opposition took the form of verbal disputes and abuse, by which the pagan leaders rejected and ridiculed the Qurʾanic teachings on the unity of God and the resurrection. Muḥammad's opponents, moreover, mocked his claim to be an inspired prophet and accused him variously of being possessed, a soothsayer, a magician, a poet, or an unscrupulous power-seeker. From the beginning, as the Qurʾān attests, the blasphemous language of the Prophet's opponents thus consisted of calling divine revelation a lie (*takdhīb*). Insult to the Prophet was particularly blasphemous, since Muḥammad was the chief medium of that revelation. Among Muḥammad's opponents the Qurʾān (*sūrah* 111) singles out Abū Lahab above all as destined to punishment in hellfire; according to traditional accounts, the Qurʾān turns back on Abū Lahab the very words that he had used to curse Muḥammad. The followers of Muḥammad who killed two poets who had written satires on the Prophet evidently considered this kind of mockery to be blasphemy. The Qurʾān stresses the opposition that previous prophets experienced, as in the notable case of the pharaoh who called the revelation to Moses a lie, saying, "I am your highest Lord" (79:24). As a rejection of divine lordship, this saying is usually considered to be the height of blasphemy. Within the early Islamic community itself, the "hypocrites" (*munāfiqūn*) uttered blasphemous jests about God and the Prophet (9:65–66). Such mockery constituted infidelity (*kufr*) after professing faith (*īmān*) and invalidated whatever good deeds they might have previously performed (5:5).

BLASPHEMY IN ISLAMIC LAW. Building upon the descriptions of and pronouncements on blasphemy found in the Qurʾān and the example (*sunnah*) of the Prophet, the various legal schools have elaborated upon the nature, conditions, and punishments for blasphemy. Jurists describe it as the expression of denigration *(istikhfāf),* contempt (*ihānah*), or scorn (*ḥaqārah*) for God, the Prophets, the Qurʾān, the angels, or the traditional religious sciences based on revelation. The legal handbooks of the Ḥanafī school, in particular, offer numerous examples of blasphemous sayings, usually classified under the heading of "words of infidelity" (*kalimāt al-kufr;* see *sūrah* 9:74). Since most of the classical collections of case-judgments (*fatāwā*) of this school derive from Iranian and Central Asian jurists of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the blasphemous sayings are usually given not in Arabic but in Persian, which was the spoken language of those regions. The sayings, many of which were doubtless uttered in levity or in the heat of emotion, are generally wisecracking remarks, oaths, and imprecations of an intemperate or irreligious nature. Some examples are borderline cases, which are judged ambiguous or declared innocent. Later works, which include several separate monographs on "words of infidelity," give even larger collections of examples, with special prominence for those remarks that give offense to religious scholars as a class. An insult to religious scholarship is equivalent to rejection of religious knowledge and, hence, gives the lie to divine revelation. Under the same heading, the handbooks also include acts of sacrilege, such as donning the clothing of Jews or Zoroastrians, or participating in non-Islamic religious festivals. To claim that forbidden acts are permitted, or to invoke the name of God while committing sins, is blasphemy. A very small proportion of blasphemous statements (primarily in Ḥanafī texts) concern doctrinal matters, such as the formula used to declare oneself as a faithful worshiper.

Legal authorities agree that the conditions for blasphemy include adulthood, lack of duress, and being of sound mind, and it is immaterial whether the offender is a Muslim or not. Accidental blasphemy is, in general, not excused, although Ḥanafī jurists allow suspicious statements to be construed innocently if a legitimate case can be made for the interpretation. The Mālikī school permits an excuse to be made for one who has converted to Islam from another religion, but otherwise views blasphemy as entailing apostasy (*riddah*).

The punishment for blasphemy differs somewhat from one school to another. The Ḥanafīyah define blasphemous statements as acts of infidelity (*kufr*) and strip the blasphemer of all legal rights: his marriage is declared invalid, all religious acts worthless, and all claims to property or inheritance void. The death penalty is a last resort that most authorities try to avoid, especially if some element of accident or doubt is present. Repentance, however, restores all previous rights, although it is necessary to renew marriage. A few cases are mentioned in which a woman uttered blasphemies as a stratagem to annul her marriage, with the intention of repenting later to regain her other rights. The Mālikīyah, treating blasphemy as apostasy, call for immediate execution of the offender; as in cases of apostasy, they do not offer the chance to repent. An exception is made for female blasphemers, who are not to be executed but punished and encouraged to repent. In cases of minor blasphemies, or cases supported by only a single witness, the Mālikīyah prescribe a discretionary punishment in place of the death penalty.

Blasphemy in Islamic Theology and Philosophy. As indicated above, certain doctrinal propositions found their way into the lists of blasphemous statements. One of the earliest credal documents in Islam, the *Fiqh Akbar I* attributed to the jurist Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 767), includes two blasphemous statements about the prophets and God and calls them infidelity. But with the development of theological dogma, there was a tendency for scholars to label opposing doctrinal positions as forms of infidelity, even though only highly abstract arguments were involved. The legal consequences of such accusations were quite serious, as noted above, so it was natural that cooler heads insisted on moderating the use of such anathemas in theological debate. The great religious thinker Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) clarified this problem by removing infidelity (and hence blasphemy) from the realm of doctrine altogether. Insisting that infidelity is strictly a legal matter, al-Ghazālī defined it as calling the Prophet a liar in any respect; this is to equate infidelity with blasphemy. He further stipulated that no one who prays toward Mecca and repeats the Muslim confession of faith should be accused of infidelity, unless there is clear proof regarding a matter essential to the faith. In doctrinal terms, there are only three teachings that al-Ghazālī regards as infidelity in this sense. These teachings, all drawn from the works of philosophers such as Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna, d. 1037), are the doctrines that (1) the world is eternal and not God's creation; (2) God does not know particulars; and (3) the resurrection is not bodily but spiritual. Although al-Ghazālī enumerates many other doctrines that he considers objectionable, these alone appear to contradict the Prophet and divine revelation on essential matters (creation, divine omniscience, and eschatology). Thus teaching these doctrines is a blasphemous act punishable by death. It is worth noting that the Andalusian philosopher Ibn Rushd (Averroës, d. 1198) disputed al-Ghazālī's findings on both doctrinal and legal grounds, and later Iranian philosophers, such as Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1637), certainly upheld similar theses. Although the doctrines of Greek philosophy seem far removed from the scurrilous insults that generally constitute blasphemy, certain of these teachings were potentially in serious conflict with the traditional Islamic understanding of revelation. Insofar as philosophy could be seen as calling the Prophet a liar, it constituted blasphemy.

Blasphemy in Ṣūfī Mysticism. The concept of blasphemy is applied rather differently in the case of mysticism. The growing Ṣūfī movement, which was centered on meditative practices that interiorized the Qurʾān and the ritual prayer, distinguished itself also by creating a technical vocabulary to express the states of mystical experience. Legalists challenged this innovation as a departure from the usage of the Qurʾān. More suspicious still were the ecstatic sayings (*shaṭḥīyāt*) that uncontrollably burst forth from the mystics. Ṣūfīs such as Abū Yazīd (Bāyazīd) al-Bisṭāmī (d. 874) and al-Ḥallāj (executed in 922) were notorious for such sayings as the former's "Glory be to Me! How great is My Majesty!" and the latter's "I am the Truth." Such proclamations appeared to be pretensions to divinity or prophecy, and readily fell into the category of blasphemy. Other sayings of this type criticized mechanical performance of ritual, made light of the punishments of hell, and, in general, made claims of great audacity.

Since Islamic law did not take formal cognizance of the existence of mystical states, the legal reaction to ecstatic sayings was not systematic. Certain Ṣūfīs, such as Nūrī (d. 907), ʿAyn al-Quḍāt (d. 1131), and the above-mentioned al-Ḥallāj, were put on trial and even executed, but such trials were heavily politicized and did not reflect correct juridical procedure. Contrary to popular opinion, however, Ṣūfīs such as al-Ḥallāj were not executed on account of their utterances; historical accounts reveal a mixture of charges, including radical Shiism, philosophical atheism, pretension to divinity and prophecy, and libertinism. Al-Ḥallāj was formally accused of maintaining the legitimacy of private ritual that could substitute for pilgrimage to Mecca. The Ḥanafī legal textbooks give a few examples of blasphemous statements that savor of mysticism. These generally consist of claims to know the unseen (*ghayb*), the assertion that only God exists, and the recognition of the omnipresence of God. Authentic ecstatic sayings were far more audacious than these examples cited by the jurists. One of the few jurists to review ecstatic sayings in detail was Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1200), who severely criticized these utterances in his polemical treatise, *The Devil's Delusion.* Later jurists frequently criticized the theosophical writings of the Andalusian Ṣūfī Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1240) as blasphemous; he drew fire, in particular, for upholding the validity of Pharaoh's confession of faith, though it was made even as the waters of the Red Sea fell upon him (10:90). This was not so much a contradiction of the Qurʾān as it was a rejection of the dominant learned opinion.

Some authorities attempted a compromise on the subject of ecstatic sayings by considering them the products of intoxication (*sukr*). As such, they were like the ravings of a madman and hence were not punishable as blasphemy. From this point of view, ecstatic sayings were neither accepted nor condemned. Ṣūfīs, on the other hand, maintained that they were symbolic of inner experiences and could only be understood by those who had attained to esoteric knowledge. Legalists were thus incapable of the spiritual exegesis (*taʾwīl*) that alone could provide the correct interpretation of ecstatic sayings. A significant minority of legal scholars accepted this distinction and so excused ecstatic sayings from the charge of blasphemy, on the grounds that they were symbolic.

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CARL W. ERNST (1987)

BLAVATSKY, H. P. Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831–1891) was the principal founder of the modern theosophical movement. Blavatsky, née von Hahn, was born in Ekaterinoslav, Russia, of distinguished parentage. Her father, of German descent, was an army officer. Her mother, a popular novelist, died during Helena's childhood. Helena was raised largely on the estate of her maternal grandfather, then civil governor of Saratov. An unusual and gifted child, she read widely in her grandfather's library, taking a special interest in science and occultism. She also enjoyed riding vigorously with her father's regiment. In 1849 she married the middle-aged Nikifor Blavatsky, vice-governor of Yerevan, but quickly left him to make her way to Constantinople and, by her own account, to travel the world in pursuit of esoteric teachings, culminating with study and initiation in Tibet in the late 1860s under the tutelage of mahatmas (highly evolved teachers). Much of this period of her life is undocumented. But she asserted throughout her mature life that her work and teaching were guided by her mahatmas, and this is a key facet of her character. She was also by all accounts a colorful and unforgettable person, capable of tempestuous outbursts and great kindness, possessed of what many perceived as remarkable psychic talents, set apart by a certain air of mystery.

Helena Blavatsky came to America in 1873, where she met Henry Steel Olcott (1832–1907), a lawyer, journalist, and student of spiritualism. He, Blavatsky, and others founded the Theosophical Society in New York in 1875, an organization initially devoted to the investigation of occult lore, both Eastern and Western. In 1877 Blavatsky's first book, *Isis Unveiled*, was published, based on her occult study and experience.

Then, in 1878, she and Olcott departed for India, believed to be a reservoir of the wisdom she was seeking. She remained in India until 1885. Those were years of rapid growth for the theosophical movement, but also of much controversy related especially to a critical report on Blavatsky published by the Society for Psychical Research in 1885. Returning to Europe that year, Blavatsky settled in London in 1887. Despite failing health, she produced several more major works before her death in 1891: *The Secret Doctrine* in 1888, and *The Key to Theosophy* and *The Voice of the Silence* in 1889. *The Secret Doctrine* presents, often in mythopoeic language, the fullest and most mature articulation of her outlook, tracing through two large volumes the evolution of the universe, the solar system, the world, life, and humanity by the interaction of matter and consciousness from the first light through various "root races" to its present state and beyond. *The Key* summarizes theosophical basics in question-and-answer form. *The Voice* is a guidebook for "the few" who follow a path of altruistic mysticism.

The underlying theme of Blavatsky's work was the recovery of what she often called "the ancient wisdom": primordial lore about the manifestation and inner nature of the universe and humanity. She believed that in recent centuries this wisdom had been largely obscured by dogmatic religion and doctrinaire materialistic science, being preserved only in a scattering of esoteric groups and reservoirs of ancient truth such as Tibet. However, certain adept teachers, those also called mahatmas or masters, were prepared to instruct select candidates in the path to this almost forgotten learning. These adepts were largely real persons living in out-of-the-way places on earth, but able to communicate psychically with one another and with students like Blavatsky.

Blavatsky's theosophy could be termed an enhanced naturalism. She said that the universe works by law and evolves naturally out of original oneness from within. But, in contrast with the prevailing scientific view, as she perceived it, that process includes consciousness, which has coexisted with matter eternally and is evolving with it. In her more picturesque hermetic language, the inner essence of each individual is the "monad" or "pilgrim," an entity of refined consciousness traveling from life to life, world to world, and state to state as it descends into the realm of experience and ascends upward again toward ultimate unity.

The ethical dimension of Blavatsky's teaching must be underscored. Especially in her later writings, she emphasized that her evolutionary outlook and the ancient wisdom concealed everywhere indicated the "brotherhood" of all humanity, the importance of kindness and justice, and the evil of dogmatism and persecution. The early theosophical movement clearly had a place in the reformism of the Progressive Era in areas like feminism, education, anticolonialism, and child and animal welfare.

The influence of Blavatsky and her Theosophical Society is difficult to assess precisely, but it is increasingly recognized as a significant element within twentieth-century modernism in art, music, and poetry. The tribute she paid to Eastern and other submerged religions and cultures in the heyday of European imperialism by describing them as important custodians of ancient wisdom played a role in subsequent spiritual revivals and national independence movements from Ireland to India and Sri Lanka. Theosophy was no less important in popularizing Eastern religious concepts such as karma and reincarnation in the West. Some aspects of her philosophy hinted at forthcoming insights in relativity, quantum, and evolutionary theory. More narrowly, her work has had a powerful impact on all later occult, esoteric, and New Age ideologies. Finally, as a woman of strong and independent personality, exercising international spiritual leadership outside established institutions, she could be considered a feminist prototype.

Blavatsky aroused intense controversy in her lifetime, and she has continued to do so ever since. Charges of psychic fraud and plagiarism have been made but not conclusively substantiated. In the end she must be assessed by the historical significance of her movement and the inherent worth of her teachings.

SEE ALSO Besant, Annie; Theosophical Society.

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ROBERT S. ELLWOOD (2005)

BLEEKER, C. JOUCO

BLEEKER, C. JOUCO (1898–1983), Dutch historian of Egyptian religion and leading figure in the field of phenomenology of religion. Claas Jouco Bleeker was born in Beneden Knijpe, the Netherlands, and attended school in Leeuwarden. He went on to study theology at the University of Leiden. There he specialized in Egyptology and the history of religions, chiefly under the tutelage of W. Brede Kristensen, whose work influenced him greatly. He continued his studies at the University of Berlin, and in 1929 he received his Th.D. from the University of Leiden for his thesis *De beteekenis van de Egyptische godin Ma-a-t* (The Significance of the Egyptian Goddess Maat). In 1925 Bleeker began a career as a minister in the Dutch Reformed church, serving first in the town of Apeldoorn. He held pulpits in various Dutch cities until 1946 when he was appointed professor of the history of religions and the phenomenology of religion at the University of Amsterdam. He remained in that post until his retirement in 1969.

Bleeker's interest both in the religion of ancient Egypt and in religious phenomenology continued throughout his life. His writings on Egyptian religion consist for the most part of studies of individual deities, such as *Die Geburt eines Gottes: Eine Studie über den ägyptischen Gott Min und sein Fest* (The Birth of a God: A Study on the Egyptian God Min and His Festival; 1956), and research on particular aspects of Egyptian religious life, such as *Egyptian Festivals: Enactments of Religious Renewal* (1967).

His work in the field of phenomenology was strongly influenced by Kristensen and Gerardus van der Leeuw. Bleeker was concerned with establishing phenomenology of religion as a distinct scholarly discipline that would examine the meaning of religious phenomena in the light of their realized "essence." He understood religion to be structured in terms of "(a) a holy vision of the Supreme Being or of the being and the will of the Deity, (b) a holy path that a man must pursue in order to be freed from his sin and suffering, and (c) a holy action that the believer must carry out in the cult and in his personal religious life" (*The Rainbow,* 1975, p. 8). He proposed three main objectives for phenomenology of religion. First, it must seek to understand individual phenomena that appear in all or many religious systems, such as prayer (this type of inquiry he called "theōria"). Second, it must try to discover the inner laws that determine the structure of a particular religion ("logos"). Finally, it should attempt to elucidate the way in which religions develop and evolve ("entelecheia").

Bleeker viewed the study of religion as an examination of humanity's varied relationships with God, and he attempted to understand humankind in light of its various attitudes toward divinity. Furthermore, he believed that the science of religion could engender greater mutual respect and understanding among religious groups holding widely differing opinions.

An able and energetic administrator, Bleeker served as secretary-general of the International Association for the History of Religions from 1950 to 1970. From 1960 to 1977 he edited the I. A. H. R.'s review *Numen* and supervised that journal's supplementary monograph series "Studies in the History of Religions." With Geo Widengren he coedited the important, two-volume hand-book *Historia Religionum* (1969–1971). He also oversaw the publication of the proceedings of several important international conferences.

Upon his retirement Bleeker was honored with a festschrift, *Liber Amicorum* (1969). Thereafter, until the time of his death, he remained active as a scholar, organizer, and editor.

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M. HEERMA VAN VOSS (1987)

BLESSING. Blessing is one of the most common religious acts in all belief systems. It is the beginning and the end of almost all rituals, including funeral services. Blessing manifests in worldly activities and common speech, in which it may be imperceptibly embedded, as well as in highly aspired religious contexts. Blessing nurtures hope and wards off fear; it is a companion and assurance in time of peace and a consolation and hope in time of crisis. Blessing is indispensable in celebrations, initiations, rituals, sacrifices, and rites of passage.

The process of blessing involves the act of blessing, its content, the means, the agent who has the power to grant the blessing, and the recipient who requests and receives the blessing. The act of blessing forms a bond between the supreme beings and the faithful. The contents of blessing reveal the hopes and fears of humankind.

GENERAL NOTIONS. Etymologically, the verb *to bless* comes from the word *blood*, suggesting the use of blood in consecration. Blessing thus directly invokes the ritual of consecration. When the Bible was translated into English, *to bless* was derived from the Hebrew word *berakh,* which was earlier translated into Greek as *eulogia* and into Latin as *benediction.* In the process of translation we find at least three meanings of what is supposedly the same word: consecration, eulogy, and benediction. In addition to these, there are common expressions that we usually consider to be blessings: Happy Birthday; Happy New Year; Merry Christmas; may God protect you; peace be with you; long live the king; with this truth; may you attain liberation. These phrases show that *blessing* has a broader meaning than that used in the process of translating the Bible.

Common and technical usages in different traditions reveal a wide range and many shades of meaning for the word *blessing.* Blessing can be an act or just an expression to convey good will or favor, frequently invoking God, gods, or a supreme being. One may assign to *blessing* three primary meanings: an act or rite of granting and receiving favor, with or without divine power; the expression of human aspiration towards goodness; and praise to a supreme and powerful entity. In order to cover all traditions, *supreme entity* is used here to mean superhuman authority, be it God, gods, holy men, or revered objects. There is no simple boundary among these three meanings. They are in a sense derived from the one concept that there is a benign power able to confer benefits upon humanity, individually or collectively.

Since God, gods, and holy persons are sources of goodness and mercy, offering praise to them can be a blessing automatically. Consecrated objects are blessed; that is, empowered to bring benefits. Blessing, in the sense of accord or approval, suggests that what has been proposed will advance shared aims for good. In all these meanings there is the undeniable presence of religious elements, such as belief in a supreme entity or in the efficacy of morality and ethics.

Among communicative speeches, which could include blessing, thanking, congratulating, or cursing, blessing is positive and creative. But blessing is not confined to words alone; the act of blessing involves semantic, social, psychological, and other elements. It should therefore be defined as a whole process of creating something beneficial.

THE COMPONENTS OF BLESSING. Within the process of blessing one can discern three elements: verbal, nonverbal, and religious actions. These rites are not distinct from each other, but rather act as coefficients. The third element is the most important, since without it blessing would not be effective.

Verbal elements. Blessing expressed through language is in fact the end-product of the process, the last to appear. But since it is the most obvious, we shall consider this aspect first. Blessing can embed in everyday language even without obvious religious context or intention. Whether the actual statement of blessing is embedded or independent, what is important is that it is a complete act, an attempt to do something by speaking. We can say that a blessing is an act done by speaking: it is a *speech-act.* Verbal statements like "to bless," "to promise," "to pronounce," "to wish," and "to vow" have the quality of performing or realizing themselves when uttered. The actualization of what is pronounced is not crucial. If circumstances are favorable it will materialize, but the act of blessing is complete in itself. These favorable circumstances, the *felicity condition*s, may consist of various elements according to circumstances.

But a speech-act cannot be the whole blessing. Speech has thought as its basis and it must have a semantic base. There are psychological and semantic elements in communicative situations involving blessings, curses, vows, oaths, and so on. If one describes the act of blessing as performative, then one might describe the pre-blessing state—the psychosemantic or thought state—as generative. Speech-acts show the speaker's attitude toward the good and bad things of life. The blessing must be said in context, otherwise how could we distinguish a blessing from a curse? The situation is contextually dependent.

The relation between benefactor and beneficiary or between benefactor and petitioner or supplicant, whether blessing is sought for oneself or for another, can be explained through the background of the supplicant. The content and the process of blessing can be generalized or universalized from the point of view of the benefactor, since a powerful entity is usually considered to be omnipresent, omnipotent, and omniscient. From the point of view of the petitioner, blessing is specific and personal. Humanity is always imperfect, which is why blessing is needed.

Nonverbal elements. Nonverbal elements accompany, surround, and evolve with or around blessing. They comprise a wide range of objects, places, persons, and phenomena. Everything worshiped, everything believed to be sacred and to have the power to bless, can be subsumed in this category. To attempt an inventory would be a superfluous endeavor: some examples will suffice to show how vast the nonverbal elements of blessing can be.

Signs, symbols, emblems, or diagrams which are deemed sacred and auspicious can be an instant blessing. The swastika, the Eight Auspicious Symbols of Indian tradition, sacred initials, anagrams, the cross, and others have long been used as devices of blessing. Images of founders (buddhas, Jain *Tīrthaṅkaras*, Jesus, Laozi, Confucius), deities, *bodhisattvas,* and saints, no matter whether they are painted, sculpted, or otherwise produced, are empowered to bless by consecration rites, myths, auspiciousness of the location, connection with relics, and so on. To witness these objects is to be blessed; a wish made in their presence is sure to be granted. Pilgrimages, miracles, and oracles reinforce the reputation of these special images, relics, and shrines: the process of empowerment is continuing and relational.

Natural features like the Ganges River, the Himalayas, caves, or even an island such as Delos are seen as sources of blessing, and have been popular destinations for pilgrimage since ancient times. Myth and legend, images and relics reinforce the holy or sacred status of these geographic locations. For the Hindu, the Ganges River is a blessing: to merge into the Ganges is to liberate oneself from suffering and sins, which is one of the most sought-after blessings. The complexities of social activities that center upon the Ganges demonstrate how a sacred locality can loom large in religion and belief and develop into a socioeconomic phenomenon.

Blessing is signified physically by gestures like raising or extending the right hand with palm open, the *varadamudrā.* Blessings are usually accompanied by verbal elements or verbal symbolism such as the sacred syllable *Oṃ* or a *mantra.* Verbal embodiments of blessing, even when muttered or inscribed, generate the power of protection and benediction. Music and dance are commonly used in ritual. In many cultures, for example Indian or Thai, there are specific songs or tunes auspicious for blessing, and there is also blessing by means of music: the music itself is sacred and is a blessing when played.

Nonverbal elements mainly concern the benefactor or situations favorable to giving a blessing. They mediate or enhance the blessing, as is evident in ritual, which usually incorporates symbolism, icons, and the concept of sacred space. In ritual the verbal and the nonverbal elements unite. Ritual is performed by religious experts, priests, monks, or shamans, within a consecrated space, using implements, gestures, words, music, and chants. Nonverbal elements are also used to transfer blessings. In some cases, such as in Armenian tradition, fragments from an old Bible are inserted into a new one as a blessing. The blessing is transferred by means of nonverbal empowerment.

The religious elements of blessing. The religious element is the most important component of blessing, since without it the other elements, verbal or nonverbal, cannot become a blessing. These elements are something already produced. To use a linguistic term, this is a surface structure. The religious element is in the deep structure of blessing. It must be present before a blessing is performed, and not cease to exist afterward. We can hear a blessing when it is uttered, we can perceive its surroundings with our senses. But the mystic power, which is the most fundamental element in the production of a blessing, is intangible. That power exists because we believe in the power of the blessing, and that is why blessing is deemed to be religious. Human beings assume that there is an entity or, in some cultures, entities, that possess or generate power and transform it into a blessing; but the power and process of transformation is intangible and unquantifiable.

The transcendental power. Generally, all religions worship and venerate something as sacred and powerful. The names might be different but the concept, and thus the relation between the ultimate entity and humanity, is more or less comparatively the same among people of different faiths. The sacred or the transcendental entity can take many forms. It can be represented by a panoply of gods and goddesses, as in Indian and Chinese religions. It can be a pervasive and universal essence, as in the concept of *ātman-paramātman* in Indian philosophy. It can be a one and only God as in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. In religions like Jainism and Buddhism, where God or gods do not play the role of supreme power, the founders themselves—the Jinas, the buddhas and the buddhas-to-be, and the *bodhisattvas*—because of the wisdom, purity, and mercy gained from their enlightenment, take the position of the ultimate.

It is true that in some forms of belief, such as monism, the supreme power is both fearful and graceful, as it encompasses and is the same as chaos and the cosmos. This pervasive power manifests in various forms to answer the needs of humanity, but it is, in whatever form, refuge to the faithful. Since this power is transcendental and blissful it is always available for supplication and always ready to bless. The ways and means to approach and ask favor from the power and how the power is to be transferred to the supplicants vary.

The divine or the sacred can transfer a blessing to human beings at will and without intermediary. However, in practice a blessing is usually transferred with some form of mediation. Two main intermediaries are common in most traditions (this is especially prominent in Catholicism). First, ritual or sacrifice, with its accessories and liturgical procedures in which words or speech-acts form a vital role; second, the agents who perform the ritual, who can be priests, monks, shamans, kings, or leaders, or the senior male or female members of a community or family. It should be noted that in Buddhism ritual is meant to bless and is performed mostly with words: chanting of the sacred texts or praises to the Three Gems and the *dharma.* It is a blessing ritual, not a ritual in which blessing forms a part.

Power of the word: divine origin and origin of the world. Speech possesses power because it is unique to humans, so much so that it is thought to be divine or of divine origin. Language, as a vehicle of thought and emotion, is not totally explicable. It is not actually known how the power of communication works, but language and thought are clearly not separable. Words carry not only significative and suggestive, but also mystic, meaning. Words can convey not just the content but also the power and the mystic elements embodied in God and blessing. In some traditions, like the Indian, speech is the outcome of thought, or the inner language system, of a person, which originates in the universal langue. It is the bridge connecting the abstract and the concrete.

Words express, reveal, and expose reality. They are equal to the essence of the universe itself. In other words they are equal to god. In Vedic tradition the word *vac* (word or speech) is said to be the origin and the essence of this universe. The ultimate word is *brahman* (the essence of the universe.) And in the New Testament, the same concept is propounded: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God" (*John* 1:1). Words in themselves are thus divine and have power. Speech-acts such as blessings, curses, and vows are more intensified by psychological processes than normal significative ones. Since speech is powerful, blessing has the potential to be efficacious.

Words are more powerful if they stem from the ultimate power and are considered to be the words of god or the Truth, realized or seen by sages such as Vedic seers or the Buddha. Holy texts like the Bible, the Qurʾān, or the Buddhist canon are considered to be blessings by themselves. They are the words of power. Words can also become more powerful through encrypted forms. Mantras, sacred syllables, chanting in a reversed order, or syllables set in diagrams are examples of this type. They can bless and act as blessings. These words of power are closely related to the action-oriented blessing. To listen, chant, read, copy, or propagate the chosen words lead to happiness, a blessing gained by action.

FORMS AND CONTENTS OF BLESSINGS. The three elements—verbal, nonverbal, and religious—evolve into different forms to express a blessing. Blessing can be simple and personal or ritualized and public, both in verbal and nonverbal form. The act of blessing usually involves a benefactor, a petitioner, and a beneficiary. In this case, one can say that blessing acts as a tie between humanity and the supreme power or the sacred. It is a search for the benign qualities in a supreme entity and an effort to transfer them.

Blessing can be expressed in various forms of speech. In relation to a benefactor, a blessing is expressed in eulogy, praise, or prayer. Praise and prayer breathe life into the sacred and make the sacred real and present. In relation to the supplicant who requests something from a powerful entity, blessing conveys favors and is a gift from the sacred to humankind. Here blessing can take the form of an invocation or supplication. It marks the relationship between the sacred and humanity as benevolent, in contrast to the malevolence of evil. In ritual it takes the form of benediction.

Language formulas also reflect how the faithful receive a blessing. Invocation and praises to god or the transcendental power are the most common formulas. They are mixed into common speech to the point that they have often become exclamation words. They are personal, since one can invoke and praise a powerful entity by oneself. But they can also be ritualized and liturgical. In this case, blessing is sought through participation in ritual. Catholic liturgies usually end with a blessing, the benediction. The central activity of Buddhist rituals for auspicious occasions is the chanting of *paritta* or *raksa* text, selected auspicious and protective blessings, by monks. Even a funeral rite ends with stanzas of blessing.

As a supplication, blessing is related to wishes for oneself or for another. Wishes for others may be expressed through vows and strong altruistic intentions. When the wish is for oneself, the activity is mainly on the beneficiary's part. This is generally an activity-oriented blessing, in which the petitioner asks the sacred for help in doing something. In other cases something is done or promised which will make the recipient worthy of blessing, or a vow is made to do something to express gratitude to the sacred if the wish is granted. The petitioner may go to any sanctuary, or one associated with a specific need or wish. In strong monotheistic traditions like Christianity or Islam, total submission to God is the most meritorious act and is a form of blessing in itself: if one acts as God or the Prophet has prescribed, one is saved and blessed.

Participation in religious ritual and sacrifice are also considered meritorious. In traditions where there is no divine authority, the path laid down by the founder is the way to blessedness. In Buddhism the emphasis is on good *karma,* the cultivation of meritorious deeds by body, speech, and mind. Blessing is instantaneous when one does something good. In this case even an inferior in age, position, or spiritual attainment can bless a superior. This phenomenon is not limited to Buddhism but can be observed in all religions. One can bless priests or rabbis for the good they have done by wishing them long life or good health, for example. This is blessing through gratitude or thankfulness. In Islam, performing the *zakāt* as prescribed is a blessing in itself. We may say that in these cases rituals have been transformed into moral acts. In theistic religions moral acts function as intermediaries because they are prescribed by God, who alone has the power to bless.

Generally speaking, the content of blessings is what one wishes for and asks from the Ultimate. Blessing can have general content, unspecified and at the same time universal, as in expressions like "Bless you," "God bless," and "May good merit protect you." In religious ceremonies blessing is pervasive—everyone who participates is blessed, and participants can direct the blessing to whatever end they like. When blessing is more specific in content it can be classified as material or spiritual. The first category comprises all that is tangible: wealth, health, prosperity, progeny, longevity, and protection. Examples of spiritual blessing are found in several traditions. In *Ephesians* 1:3, spiritual blessing is mentioned: "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has blessed us with every spiritual blessing." In Buddhism it is common to wish for the ultimate blessing of liberation from suffering, which, ironically, is only possible through an arduous spiritual journey.

BLESSINGS IN MAJOR RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS. The four major religious traditions each have their own version of blessing, governed by their individual natures. Judeo-Christian and Islamic tradition exemplifies strong monotheistic principles. The Indic religion is a challenge to classify because it embraces all conceivable types of religion: polytheistic, henotheistic, monotheistic, and monistic. In the Buddhist tradition, gods and goddesses play some roles but are not essential. The Chinese tradition can be called mystically pragmatic or naturalistic, and the mystic forces of nature elements play an essential role.

Judaic, Christian, and Islamic traditions share the concept of the One God, the Almighty, the Creator, who has absolute, transcendental power over what he has created. God is thus the source of all blessings. The power to bless is the nature of God, but God himself is also considered a blessing. He is evoked before any ritual can commence so that the ritual can become a blessing.

Judaic traditions. The word *blessing* in these traditions is derived from the Semitic root *brk* (to bless). The derivations of the root evolve into various shades of meaning in these traditions, which reflect their thinking on blessing. The Hebrew scriptures emphasize the principle of God as the sole source of blessings. He created humans and bestowed various blessings on them. Of course he punished them from time to time, but less frequently than he blessed them. Forms of the word *berakhah* (blessing) appear 398 times in the Hebrew Bible. In Jewish tradition blessings are bestowed upon the Chosen People, the people of God. But since all human beings come from the same ancestor, the tradition extends blessings to all of humanity. And only through God's blessings can one attain salvation.

Blessing can also be transferred to humanity by means of an intermediary—a family head, king, or priest—charged with a mission. When the Hebrew religious institutions were established and the religious organization refined, the content and intermediary of blessings were codified:

> And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, Speak to Aaron and his sons, saying, This is the way you shall bless the children of Israel. Say to them: the Lord bless you and keep you; the Lord make His face shine upon you and be gracious to you; The Lord lift up His countenance upon you and give you peace. So they shall put My name on the children of Israel, and I will bless them. (*Num.* 6:22–27)

But this is not the only means by which the Jewish people ask for blessing and bless. Blessings as both a means of praising God and of requesting his favor blend into every aspect of Jewish life.

Berakhah (blessing), widely rendered in liturgical literature as *benediction,* has a fixed formula in Jewish liturgy. It must contain the words *baruch atta adonai elohenu melech ha'olam baruch* (Blessed art thou Lord, our God, King of the Universe). *Berakhah* can be found throughout every form of the Jewish liturgy.

Jewish daily life starts with blessing from the moment of waking up. There are blessings for every activity: washing one's hands before a meal, saying grace before and after a meal, even smelling fragrant trees or bark. Blessings are spoken over wine and over specially prepared food. In domestic and public rituals of worship, blessing, in the sense of praising and supplicating, pervades the liturgical sequences. Through blessing, activities, no matter how mundane, are sanctified, and the relationship between God and his people is confirmed.

In public worship there are two essential components in the liturgical sequence that show *berakhah* as the core and the focal point of the liturgy: the praise, s*hevah,* which has the Confirmation of the Faith as its focal point, and the prayer, *tefillah* or *ʿamida.* They both contain *berakhah,* but it is in the prayer that blessing has a special status. Evidence shows that both *shʾmaʿ* and *ʿamida* originated in the sacrificial rites performed in the Temple of Solomon before its destruction in 70 CE.

There are several terms used for *tefillah.* It may be called *ʿamida,* because it is recited while standing; or *shʾmoneh ʿesreh,* because it has eighteen blessings or benedictions (even when the nineteenth is added, the name stands). It consists of nineteen benedictions. These include three benedictions called praise, thirteen petitions, and three thanksgivings. In regular daily services all are recited, first silently by each individual so sinners can atone without embarrassment, then repeated aloud by the reader. At festive occasions the petitions are replaced by an appropriate blessing.

The *shʾmaʿ* and *ʿamida* are the core of Jewish liturgy; in fact they can be considered instrumental in holding the religion together. The Confirmation of the Faith holds Israel to be a nation no matter how far and wide the Jews spread over the world. Blessings accompanying the *shʾmaʿ* stress that Jews are the Chosen People blessed by God. In *ʿamida* blessing shines forth with its whole range of meanings, be it praise, petition, or thanksgiving. It establishes God as the sole resource, power, and refuge of humankind.

Christian traditions. The Christian tradition is similar to the Jewish in that God is the source of all blessings. The word *berakhah* is translated as *eulogia* in Greek and *benediction* in Latin, carries the meaning of "speak well" or "good words." This can be interpreted in two ways: towards God, the good words are praises, while towards human beings, they are gifts from God. There is parallelism here: Jesus is the gift of god to humankind, he is the *eulogia* and through him the *eulogia* passes to humankind. Jesus' communication to God is direct, thus his words, as praises and petitions to God, are the most effective. This direct communication with God was continued by the Apostles and later by the priests of the church. Thus in Christianity blessings are passed along by means of ritual officiated over by the designated officers of God. The most common blessing used by Jesus, *pax vobis* (peace be with you), has become part of all the sacraments.

Islamic traditions. In the pre-Islamic Arab world the root *brk* has two meanings: "to bless" and "to crouch." The second meaning, as a noun, *baraca,* alludes to the crouching camel and to mating, which suggests a fertility cult. The meaning is further extended to signify wealth and all desirable things. But in the uncompromising monotheistic view of Islam, the meaning of the word *baraca* and *al baracat,* the plural form, is restricted to blessings from God. It is God's mercy that makes blessing possible. Anyone who is totally submissive to his will, will be blessed.

Indic traditions. In Indic tradition the word for blessing, *vara,* is derived from the root *vr* (to choose). The concept of blessing has its root in *yajna,* sacrifice to gods and goddesses. Sacrifice is officiated over by priests to please the gods, and the *yajamana,* the person who sponsors the sacrifice, chooses the blessing to receive. The way to obtain something through the action of sacrifice is called *karma.* The arrangement and the sequences of sacrifices, which in later periods become more elaborate and complex, are seen as the means by which the universe is regulated. In this sense sacrifice can be called *dharma,* the upholder of the universe.

On a personal level, the act of sacrifice is further internalized and becomes a moral act, good or bad, which will entail a result. It can also be an act done to please the gods in the form of *tapas* (penance). This is one of the most popular ways to obtain divine blessing, and appears abundantly in Indian literature. At times, the blessing that was chosen had a negative effect on other people or even upset the universe, and the gods were obliged to convene to try to save the situation.

When ethics and morality are emphasized, good actions, the *kusalakarma* or *dharma,* in the sense of the upholder of society, are the source of blessings. In orthodox Indic tradition, *dharma* in this sense means action as prescribed by the gods for the four classes, or *varna* (Brāhmaṇ, the priests; *kṣatriya,* the warriors; *vaiśya,* the merchants and craftmen; *śūdra,* the serfs). Those who act according to the divine rule sustain the goodness and peace in this world and are blessed by the gods.

Another aspect of blessings in Indic tradition is the intimacy between gods and man. There are many gods, goddesses, local spirits, and sacred places to which the Indian will go for blessings. Images of gods and goddesses, whether in a temple or private shrine, are worshiped daily as if they were alive; they are clothed and fed and offered ornaments, music, and fragrances.

Words are crucial in all of these rituals. In Vedic times the correct pronunciation of the mantra of the Veda was at the heart of a sacrifice. When it is internalized and intensified in the mind, action is considered to be a genuinely efficacious power. When uttered solemnly, words, blessings, and curses become real and have a real effect. Words uttered by holy or virtuous individuals and the Truth expressed through words are especially potent.

Blessings penetrate into all actions in Indian life. No activity can begin if the blessing of the gods is not first invoked. In the morning the *Savitṛ* stanza must be recited before any activity is undertaken. In Indic tradition, as well as in Southeast Asian traditions such as those of the Thai, Burmese, and Khmer, literary works start and end with blessing stanzas, which confer auspiciousness and protection to the writer, listener, and reader. The performing arts and fine arts begin with homage to the teachers to express gratitude, to obtain blessings, and to ward off all obstacles and mishaps.

Buddhist traditions. Buddhist practice follows the same line as mainstream Indic tradition. Buddhists propitiate buddhas and *bodhisattvas* as well as gods and goddesses for good fortune and protection. They have *paritta* or *raksa* text, the blessing literature, which they chant or have monks chant in ceremonies for blessing. Monks, or even lay people by virtue of their high moral status, can also be the source of blessings.

Chinese traditions. The Chinese concept of blessing and the blessed state stems from harmony among the three realms of the universe: Heaven, Earth, and Man. Heaven is the source of blessings through the king or emperor, who has the right and duty to propitiate Heaven by performing sacrifices according to the treatises. The ideal state is expressed by the balance between the two forces of yin and yang and the Five Elements. Since these elements are the components of the universe, they arrange themselves in various shapes and forms. The elements take turns to preside over Earth and human beings. One must know which element is predominant at a specific moment or period in order to act in harmony with that element and to gain thereby the energy and blessing in full force.

The same concept applies to feng shui practice, which is the art of drawing on natural forces to gain favor and blessings. Sacrifice is the key to harmony. The king or emperor performs sacrifices for the blessing of the state and his people. Heaven blesses through the medium of the emperor; this was the role of a priest-king in ancient times. In a household, the head of the family performs sacrifices to ancestral and other gods to maintain the harmony of the family.

Language, both spoken and written, plays a special role in the Chinese tradition of blessing. Auspicious characters, singly or in combination, such as those for fortune, longevity, and promotion, confer blessings in their own right. Auspicious characters, graphic designs, and phrases represented in calligraphy are affixed inside and outside of buildings to bring blessings. They may be represented in forms other than calligraphy, appearing in paintings or decorative arts as symbols derived from homonyms of auspicious words. A picture of a bat stands for fortune because *bat* and *fortune* are homonyms. These visual representations confer instantaneous and constant blessings.

The primary blessings in Chinese thought are *fu* (felicity), *lu* (prosperity or promotion), and *shou* (longevity). They are represented in calligraphy, in personified form, and by symbols on almost everything, from the architectural elements of a house or a town to the decorations on utensils such as plates, cups, and bowls. As a result, the Chinese live amid a landscape of blessings.

Blessing can be considered the act of giving blessing, the blessing itself, and the process by which blessing is transferred. Language and complex systems of communication are believed to belong only to humankind; they enable humans to control society and their environment and thus express or embody power. They convey meaning and transmit knowledge, emotion, and thought. Words uttered intentionally, like blessings, are moral and social acts by themselves. Intensified by mental and spiritual factors they are invested with potency both in the minds of the speakers and the audience. Words of god, pertaining to god or gods or the sacred, are endowed with power by themselves.

Blessings are an essential part of life. Even in religions where they must be granted only by God and through the intermediacy of authorized representatives, adherents bless each other when they are on good terms and curse each other when on bad terms. They even bless God, whether or not he can be or needs to be blessed. Blessings represent creative, benign, or even saving forces. They help reconcile us with this imperfect world. They are a primary consolation, since they express the hopes of humankind. They manifest the benign relationship between the sacred and the human. In a sense, blessing breathes life into the sacred and the supreme and makes them vivid and real in human life.

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PRAPOD ASSAVAVIRULHAKARN (2005)

BLONDEL, MAURICE (1861–1949), French Roman Catholic philosopher. Blondel was born at Dijon and educated at the École Normale Supérieure, where he was a pupil of Léon Ollé Laprune, to whom he dedicated his thesis, published as *L'action,* which he presented at the Sorbonne in 1893. He was professor of philosophy at Aix-en-Provence from 1897 to 1927. *L'action* aroused much interest and controversy because of its originality. Blondel claimed that from purely philosophical premises he had reached theological conclusions. Unlike the positivists, who were dominant in the university, and the scholastics, who controlled the theological schools, Blondel worked from a subtle analysis of what was involved in human experience, and maintained that it pointed to, and in the end required, the supernatural. Thus by what was known as "the method of immanence" he arrived at the transcendent. By "action" he did not mean only activity but all that is involved in the human response to reality, including affection, willing, and knowing.

Blondel was not a lucid writer, and his teaching was regarded as complicated and obscure. He spent the rest of his life in trying to clarify his meaning and seeking to distinguish his ideas from those of others with which they were liable to be confused. He waited for many years before publishing a revised edition of *L'action,* which, with other works, won for his thought a widespread influence in France. Most important among these other works were *Le problème de la philosophie catholique* (The problem of Catholic philosophy; 1932), *La pensée* (Thought; 1934), *L'être et les êtres* (Being and beings; 1935), and *La philosophie et l'esprit chrétien* (Philosophy and the spirit of Christianity; 1944–1949). One of his closest collaborators was Lucien Laberthonnière, but eventually Blondel fell out with him, as he did with most of his contemporaries. He was involved in the modernist movement and obviously desired a renewal of the church's teaching, but he insisted that he did not share the views of modernists such as Alfred Loisy, Édouard Le Roy, and Friedrich von Hügel. Though sometimes threatened with ecclesiastical censure, he avoided it, and indeed received a certificate of orthodoxy from Pope Pius X.

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ALEC VIDLER (1987)

BLOOD. Among the religions of the world one finds many ambivalent or contradictory attitudes toward blood. Blood is perceived as being simultaneously pure and impure, attractive and repulsive, sacred and profane; it is at once a life-giving substance and a symbol of death. Handling blood is sometimes forbidden, sometimes mandatory, but usually dangerous. Rites involving blood require the intervention of individual specialists (warriors, sacrificers, circumcisers, butchers, or executioners) and always the participation of the group or community.

In many primitive societies, blood is identified as a soul substance: of men, of animals, and even of plants. The Romans said that in it is the *sedes animae* ("seat of life"). In pre-Islamic times, Arabs considered it the vegetative, liquid soul that remains in the body after death, feeding on libations. For the Hebrews, "the life of the flesh is in the blood" (*Lv.* 17:4).

The spilling of blood is often forbidden. This ban applies to certain categories of humans and animals: sacrificial victims, royalty, game, and so on. The Iroquois, the Scythians (Herodotus, 4.60–61), and the old Turco-Mongols, as well as the rulers of the Ottoman empire, forbade shedding the blood of persons of royal lineage. There is reason to believe that the Indian Hindu religions that have abolished sacrifices, and the feasting that goes with sacrifice, have done so more to avoid the shedding of blood than to comply with the dogmas of nonviolence and reincarnation. According to *Genesis* 9:4, the eating of raw meat is forbidden: "But you must not eat the flesh with the life, which is the blood, still in it." The Islamic tradition has similar restrictions.

Attitudes toward blood can be divided into two general categories: toward the blood of strangers, foreigners, or enemies and toward the blood of members of one's own community.

The blood of enemies usually is not protected by any taboo. It has been suggested that one justification for war is the perceived necessity of shedding blood in order to water the earth. One frequently encounters the idea that the earth is thirsty for blood—but only for licit blood. It can refuse blood that is not licit or cry out for vengeance against such illicit bloodshed, as the biblical passages *Isaiah* 26:21 and *Job* 16:18 illustrate. In pre-Columbian America blood was essential to the survival of the Sun, and in other countries it was demanded by the gods.

The killing of enemies is sometimes mandatory. Among the Turkic peoples in ancient times and again during the Islamic period in the sixteenth century, an adolescent did not acquire his adulthood, his name, and thus his soul until he committed his first murder. Killing—and being killed—has been the *raison d'être* for the Ojibwa and Dakota Indian tribes, as well as, to a certain extent, the Muslim "martyrs" of holy war and the Japanese samurai. At one time, a bloody death at the hand of an enemy seemed more to be envied than a natural death. However, concerning the caste of Hindu warriors in India, it was believed that one whose vocation was killing awaited his own immolation.

The blood of the enemy is rarely dangerous, even though the qualities and strengths of the soul remain in it. In antiquity people attempted to appropriate these qualities of blood by drinking it or washing themselves in it. Herodotus (17.64) notes that the Scythians drank the blood of the first victims they killed.

Within the community, however, attitudes toward blood and killing are different. Members of the community are connected by consanguinity, and they share collective responsibility for one another; the blood of each is the blood of all. The group's totemic animals may be included in this community, which is connected to the animals by adoption or alliance. A stranger can enter the group through marriage or "blood brotherhood," a custom practiced among the Fon of West Africa and among Central Asian peoples. Relations between blood brothers can be established in various ways, often through the juxtaposition of cuts made in their wrists or by pouring a few drops of blood into a cup, mixing it with wine (called "the blood of the vine" in antiquity), and drinking it. The Turkic peoples, Scythians, and Tibetans used the tops of skulls for drinking cups.

Murder within the community is forbidden. To kill one's relative is tantamount to shedding one's own blood; it is a crime that draws a curse that lasts for generations. When Cain murdered Abel, Abel's "blood cried out for vengeance," and Cain's descendants suffered as a result. When Oedipus unknowingly killed his father, he gouged out his own eyes to confess his blindness, but his punishment fell upon his children. After Orestes executed his mother, Clytemnestra, he was followed by the Furies, spiritlike incarnations of blood. The death of the just and innocent brings vengeance. King David protested: "I and my kingdom are guiltless before the Lord forever from the blood of Abner. . . . Let it rest on the head of Joab, and on all his father's house" (*2 Sm.* 3:28–29). According to Matthew, after the sentencing of Jesus to be crucified the Jews cried: "Let his blood be upon us and upon our children" (27:25).

A murder between families or between clans is a grave wrong that must be avenged by killing the guilty party. The latter, who in turn becomes the victim, will have his own avenger from among his relatives. Thus develops the cycle of vendetta killing, which can be broken only by "paying the blood price." Vendetta killing is found in ancient Greece, pre-Islamic Arabia, modern Corsica, and among the Nuer of the Sudan. The Jewish and Muslim demands of "an eye for an eye" may be similar to this phenomenon.

Under certain circumstances killing is perceived as a creative act, especially in the realm of the gods, where suicide or parricide sometimes leads to birth or new life. Mesopotamian and Babylonian cosmogonies feature gods who were slain in order to give life. The Greek Kronos severed the testicles of his father Ouranos (Sky) with a billhook while the latter lay in a tight embrace with Gaia (Earth). The blood of Ouranos's genital organs gave birth to new beings and, according to some traditions, to Aphrodite herself. This kind of suicide—relinquishing a part to preserve the whole—was sometimes magnified into a supreme act of love or redemption: Odin gave up one eye for the sake of supernatural "vision"; Attis emasculated himself; Abraham was prepared to slit the throat of his only son; Jesus accepted death voluntarily.

Some kinds of sacrifice are centered around blood. Blood is the drink of the gods or the drink shared by mortals with the gods. Blood sacrifices are varied in form and function. In Jewish sacrifice (abolished since the destruction of the Temple), the victim is not human but animal; its death has reconciliatory and expiatory value. In Muslim sacrifices, the gift of meat is the price paid by the genuinely guilty; there is no blessing or grace expected, and reconciliation and expiation are not involved.

In the Christian concept of sacrifice, the slitting of an animal's throat is abolished, and the animal is replaced by the "Lamb of God," Jesus on the cross. Crucifixion and asphyxiation, although not bloody in themselves, are perceived as fundamentally bloody. The sacrifice (at least, as it is understood outside Protestantism) is renewed daily; it is both expiatory and redemptory. The sacrifice is accompanied by a communal meal (Eucharist) where the believer is invited to eat bread, symbolizing the body of Christ, and to drink wine, symbolizing his blood. Charles Guignebert has noted that the bread has been of less interest than the wine; the wine "is the symbolism of blood that dominates in the Eucharist . . . and affirms its doctrinal richness" (Guignebert, 1935, p. 546). Christ, who offers the cup to his disciples, says, "This is the blood of the new testament that is shed for many for the remission of sins."

Judaism had already established that the covenant between God and his people was one of blood, of circumcision and sacrifice. Moses sprinkled the people with the blood of sacrificed bulls, saying, "Behold the blood of the covenant which the Lord hath made with you" (*Ex.* 24:8).

The idea of establishing a covenant through blood is found in many cultures. People create covenants among themselves as well as between their gods and themselves. Some peoples in Central Asia, in Siberia, and on the steppes of eastern Europe cut a dog or other animal in two to seal a treaty or to take a solemn oath, thus guaranteeing their loyalty. The protective force of blood is illustrated in the covenant between God and Israel in *Exodus* 13:7–13; the Israelites, remaining in their homes, which were marked with blood, were spared from the death that struck the Egyptians. A similar idea is expressed in Indonesia when the doors and pillars of houses are smeared with blood during sacrifices of domestic dedication.

Blood can eliminate flaws and weaknesses. In Australia, a young man would spread his blood on an old man in order to rejuvenate him. Some Romans, in honor of Attis, emasculated themselves and celebrated the *dendrophoria* by beating their backs, hoping thus to escape the disease of death and to wash themselves of its stain. Similarly, Shīʿī flagellants relive the martyrdom of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, grandson of the prophet Muḥammad.

The most common type of self-inflicted wound is circumcision. In the female the incision of the clitoris sometimes corresponds with this rite. Male circumcision is required in Hebrew tradition, where it is the sign of a covenant with God. It is common also in Islam. Many explanations have been given for this almost universal rite. It is seen primarily as a manifestation of the desire to eliminate any traces of femininity in the male. It is doubtful that circumcision is an attempt to imitate the menses. If the sexual act is considered a defilement, the removal of the foreskin could, in effect, rid the sexual organ of impurity transmitted from the mother. Yet there are some societies where the circumcised male is considered to be as impure as the menstruating female and where he is treated as if he were one.

The menses are universally considered the worst impurity, due to the involuntary and uncontrollable flowing of blood. Menstruating women are believed to pose great dangers to men, and for this reason many peoples of New Guinea, Australia, Polynesia, Africa, Central Asia, and the Arctic have feared them and imposed innumerable bans on them. One finds similar fears in the Hebrew (*Lv.* 20:18), Islamic, and Hindu traditions. Researchers have not yet properly emphasized the implications of the interruption of menstruation during pregnancy; one can surmise that the fetus, believed to be fed with the impure blood, acquires this impurity, which has to be removed at birth. The impurity only indirectly appears to be a function of the sexual act or of the vaginal bleeding at delivery.

SEE ALSO Circumcision; Clitoridectomy; Human Sacrifice; Mortification; Omophagia; Revenge and Retribution; Sacrifice.

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Jean-Paul Roux has published *Le sang. Mythes, symboles et réalités* (Paris, 1988), which is the only monograph tackling this subject in a cross-cultural perspective. There is a plentiful bibliography but the approach is old-fashioned and the style not very scholarly. An indispensable tool for any further research is represented by the imposing series "Sangue e antropologia," edited for nine years in twenty two volumes by Francesco Vattioni under the auspices of the Centro Studi Sanguis Christi (Rome, 1981–1996). Philologists, historians and theologians present and discuss a host of materials related to blood functions and symbolism in various cultural contexts, with focus on Christianity in Biblical and patristic times.

JEAN-PAUL ROUX (1987)
Translated from French by Sherri L. Granka
Revised Bibliography

BOAS, FRANZ (1858–1942), German-American anthropologist, was born at Minden, Prussian Westphalia, on

July 9, 1858, the son of Jewish parents of comfortable means, both of whom were assimilated into German culture. His education was largely at the local state school and gymnasium. He seems not to have had significant Jewish religious instruction. His mother, Sophie Meyer Boas, who had been part of a circle of liberal and Marxist intellectuals dedicated to the revolutionary principles of 1848, was a major influence in his youth. He studied the sciences at the universities of Heidelberg (1877), Bonn (1877–1879), and Kiel (1879–1881), but he decided upon geography as a career. Shortly after receiving his doctorate, he left for a twelve-month expedition to Baffin Island, studying local geography and anthropology. He qualified as a university instructor at Berlin in 1886 but never taught, instead going to the United States, where he undertook a research trip to the Northwest Coast, whose native peoples became the subjects of his most intensive ethnological scrutiny. He worked for a number of scholarly institutions in the United States and Canada from 1887 until 1896, when he found secure employment in New York City at the American Museum of Natural History and Columbia University. He left the museum in 1906 but continued at Columbia until his retirement in 1936. In his later years he became increasingly involved in public affairs, speaking out especially against racialist ideas. He died in New York on December 22, 1942.

Boas published in a wide range of anthropological fields, exercising a dominating influence on American anthropology both in his own right and through a network of associates and former students, including A. L. Kroeber, Paul Radin, Alexander Goldenweiser, Robert H. Lowie, Ruth Benedict, Leslie Spier, J. R. Swanton, and Margaret Mead. Many of these, Radin and Lowie in particular, were more systematically concerned with religion than he.

Boas was himself a rationalist without conscious religious views. One of the mainsprings of his intellectual life was the search for an explanation of the "psychological origin of the implicit belief in the authority of tradition," a belief foreign to his own mind, and thus for an explication of how "the shackles that tradition has laid upon us" might be recognized and then broken. Alongside this, however, went a relativist's tolerance of the beliefs and values of others.

Boas's anthropological methodology was so strongly particularistic that his religious descriptions usually have little generalizing value in themselves; his approach was so concerned with the integrated totality of a culture that religion often seems to occur only as a by-product in his work. However, the enormous amount of material, especially texts, that he published on mythology, ceremonialism, and secret societies contains rich material for the study of beliefs, and his shorter treatments, including the religion entry in the *Handbook of American Indians* and his discussion of esoteric doctrines and the idea of future life among primitive tribes, are valuable.

The fundamental concept bearing on the religious life of the North American Indians, Boas wrote, was a belief in the existence of a "magic power," the "wonderful qualities" of which are believed to exist in objects, animals, humans, spirits, or deities and that are superior to the natural qualities of humans. The actions of the Indians were regulated by the desire to retain the good will of powers friendly to them and to control those that were hostile. Taboos, guardian spirits, charms, offerings and sacrifices, and incantations were all means to these ends. Boas also clearly associated religion with social structure in totemic kinship groups, in ceremonialism, and in explanatory mythology.

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BOATS. It is not surprising that those who live by the sea or on a river often visualize a person's last journey as being undertaken in a boat. One encounters the use of boats in the burial rites of such peoples as well as in their mythology. Although boats figure in strikingly similar ways in the rituals and mythologies of peoples from all over the globe, their exact significance in a given culture or religion and the precise relationship between their cultic use and their appearance in myth are often far from clear. In some cases a specifically religious significance may be lacking, or the actual use of boats in the cult may bear no discernible relation to their role in mythology. These thoughts should be kept in mind as one considers individual cases of the use of boats or boat symbolism in the history of religions.

THE MYTHIC FERRY ACROSS THE WATERS OF DEATH. The use of a boat to cross the waters of death is fairly common in the ancient Near East and in classical antiquity. The Assyrian version of the well-known Babylonian *Epic of Gilgamesh*

(c. 1200 BCE) provides a particularly striking example. The tenth episode of the epic describes the hero's long and arduous attempt to reach Utanapishtim, the Akkadian Noah, and obtain the secret of immortality. In order to do so Gilgamesh must cross the sea and the Waters of Death, something no mortal has ever done. Only Shamash, the sun god, is able to cross the sea. However, with the help of Urshanabi, Utanapishtim's boatman, Gilgamesh manages to cross the waters in a boat equipped with 120 stout, ferruled punting poles, each 60 cubits in length. Since the Waters of Death must not be touched by human hands, each pole can be used for only a single thrust. As the final pole is used, Gilgamesh and Urshanabi arrive at the dwelling of Utanapishtim, the keeper of the plant of immortality.

Most of the elements contained in later accounts of the journey to the otherworld can be found in the Gilgamesh epic. Thus one can understand the enthusiasm of the German Assyriologist Peter Jensen (1861–1936), who thought he could detect traces of it in all subsequent epic writings.

In classical antiquity one finds a boat being used by Charon, the ferryman of the underworld. According to ancient Greek belief, first documented in the fragmentary epic *Minyas* and in paintings found at Delphi, Charon used a boat to ferry the dead across the rivers of the underworld to the gates of Hades, which were guarded by Kerberos. Vergil, in the sixth canto of the *Aeneid,* describes Charon's repulsive appearance and adds that his services are reserved for the dead alone. It was customary to bury the dead with an obol (a small coin) for Charon left in the mouth to make sure that he would perform the necessary service. Charon has survived in neo-Grecian Christian belief as the figure Charos.

The description of Charon's boat was detailed by the Greek satirist Lucian. In *The Downward Journey,* Lucian has Charon describe his vessel to Hermes, who has just delivered to him more than three hundred souls ready for the crossing: "Our ship is ready and very well prepared for putting to sea. It is bailed out, the mast is raised, the sail is ready hoisted and each of the oars is furnished with its thong. Nothing prevents us, as far as I am concerned, from weighing anchor and taking off."

EGYPTIAN GRAVE BOATS. Boats and ships were part of Egyptian burial gifts since earliest times. The simple clay representations of boats found in prehistoric times were replaced, during the Old Kingdom period (c. 3000–2200 BCE), by reliefs or by references to boats in the sacrificial lists. Near the end of the sixth dynasty (c. 2350–2260 BCE), representations of boats in wall decorations gave way to simple sculptures, including model ships complete with crews and cabins where the dead rested. Sailboats were to be used for the journey up the Nile toward the south, rowboats for the journey downstream toward the north. During the New Kingdom period (c. 1569–1085 BCE), the use of such models was discontinued for all but the royal tombs.

The primary function of these boats was to facilitate the continued journeys of the dead to specific places in the otherworld, just as they had facilitated journeys in life. The presence of war ships and hunting boats suggests a continuity between this life and the next. There was also a belief in a journey to the west. A model boat or the ceremonial "formulas for bringing a ferry" were believed to guarantee that the deceased would successfully reach his goal. Some of the boats found in or around the tombs lack equipment and in all probability were intended not as burial gifts but for use during the funeral ceremonies.

As worship of Osiris, god of the dead, gained ground, boats acquired yet another function: to take the dead to Busiris and Abydos, the shrines of Osiris, so that they could partake of the life-giving blessings of the god. During the journey, the mummy rested on a bier under a canopy while a priest made offerings of incense and read from the sacred texts. Still later, the deceased acquired a superhuman quality, assuming an Osiris-like form during the course of the journey.

Toward the end of the Old Kingdom, models of the two sun boats—the ships in which the eye of the day traveled across the evening and morning sky—made their appearance. These are known from Tutankhamen's tomb dating from the New Kingdom period. From the *Book of Going Forth by Day* (often called the *Book of the Dead*) it is known that these particular burial gifts expressed the desire to be united with Re, the sun god, and to accompany him in his sun boat. According to texts found in the pyramids, the dead king would thus be able to share in the governance of the world. Later this privilege was extended to commoners, and the sun boats were laden with food offerings to be shared among the fellow travelers.

SHIP BURIALS. Boats and ships constitute the most frequently encountered images in the Bronze Age rock carvings of central and southern Sweden (c. 1600–500 BCE). Interpretation is difficult because no written sources exist from this period or the one immediately following. The images consist of two parallel lines that curve upward at the ends and are joined by cross strokes, one of which sometimes terminates in an animal head. The fact that several contain men obviously handling paddles argues against the theory that these images actually represent sleds. Occasionally, depictions of a steering oar or helmsman are found. The ships may be outrigged canoes or, in the case of the carvings found in northern Scandinavia, skin boats similar to the Inuit (Eskimo) kayaks. It is unclear, however, whether these images represent real boats, cultic objects associated with solar worship, or even scenes from mythology.

Ships and other objects represented in these rock carvings are also found in Bronze Age graves. The end of this period marks the appearance of both ship graves and ship settings (stones erected spaced so that they form the outline of a ship's deck). The island of Gotland in the Baltic contains around three hundred such ship settings from the late Bronze Age. After an interval of about a thousand years, ships were once more used as funeral symbols on memorial stones found on the same island. They remained in use until the end of the pagan era. These memorials stem mainly from the late Iron Age (c. 400–1050 CE). The dead were sometimes buried in boats, or a ship setting was erected either on top of the actual grave or as a memorial over an empty grave. All kinds of equipment were buried with the dead for use in the otherworld.

At about the same time, boat burials came into use in Sweden, Norway, and, through Norse invaders, in East Anglia. Seventh-century grave fields containing unburned boats have been uncovered in the Swedish province of Uppland (Vendel, Valsgärde, Ultuna, and Tuna in Alsike). The dead that the boats contain—in all probability they were wealthy yeomen and heads of families—have been equipped with costly weapons and ample provisions. Ordinary family members, by contrast, were cremated and their remains buried in mounds in a routine fashion. Numerous boat graves have also been found along the Norwegian coast—at the ancient trading center by the Oslo Fjord, for instance. However, the best-known Norwegian ship graves are in Oseberg and Gokstad in the southern part of the country. The ships found here are lavishly equipped seagoing vessels, leading one to suspect that the dead men were kings. The same applies to the famous Sutton Hoo find made in Suffolk in 1939, which also dates from the seventh century.

By 1970 Michael Müller-Wille had found a total of 190 Norse graves that contained boats. Graves containing burned boats or ships, however, are most numerous in Scandinavia (where a total of 230 have been found) and in the territories colonized by Norsemen, for example, in Knoc y Doonee, Parish of Andreas, and Balladoolee, Parish of Arbory, on the Isle of Man, and on Colonsay in the Hebrides. Evidence from the Hebrides makes it clear that women followed their men in death. A ship grave also has been discovered on the Île de Groix off the Brittany coast. Only a few cases of ship burial are known from Denmark (e.g., Ladby, c. 900 CE). Five boat graves from the tenth century have been found so far in Iceland.

Thus there is a wealth of Norse archaeological material attesting to the custom of real boat burial, a custom unique to Europe and limited both chronologically and geographically to a single ethnic group. Similar customs in the Near East and among North American Indians do not include burial of the actual boat. Nevertheless the significance of the Norse practice remains unclear. What can be the explanation for this way of burying the dead (or at least the most prominent among the dead)? Icelandic literary sources mention the practice of placing the dead in a ship that was then covered with a burial mound, but they offer no explanation of why this was done.

One could reasonably assume that boat graves are in some way tied to the notion of a voyage on the water. Norse mythology in fact knows several worlds of death, all of which are reached by a long journey. The Icelandic epic poet Snorri Sturluson (c. 1179–1241) relates that the wicked go to Hel and thence to Misty Hel (Niflhel, Niflheimr). The journey passes north through deep and dark valleys, and the traveler must be well equipped. Nastrand ("the shore of corpses") and the Land of Death, surrounded by rushing rivers, lie to the north. Still, neither the journey to the underworld nor the way to Valhǫll calls for sailing ships. The ships of the dead that are sometimes set ablaze and launched, such as those mentioned in *Beowulf,* the *Ynglingasaga,* the *Skjoldungasaga,* and the *Gylfaginning,* all trace their origins to Celtic legends and are thus not thought to be associated with Norse burial customs. Nor may any sure conclusions be drawn from the early medieval German usage of the words *naufus* or *naucus* ("ship") alongside *truncus* ("trunk"), used to denote a coffin. These may well be terminological relics of the ancient custom of boat burial but only the terms survive.

One must conclude, therefore, that the Norse sources ultimately fail to explain the purpose behind boat burials. While the introduction of the boat into burial customs is certainly an interesting innovation, it may well have been intended merely as an addition to such other burial paraphernalia as weapons and food. Such boats do not necessarily have to be understood as burial ships designed to carry the dead to a distant and unknown land.

There is some evidence, however, that at least in some instances the funeral boat was understood as such. A famous and detailed eyewitness account of the funeral of a Norse chieftain on the banks of the Volga in 922 CE was given by an Arabian diplomat, Ibn Faḍlān, a member of a delegation sent by a caliph in Baghdad to the Bulgars along the Volga. According to Ibn Faḍlān's description, all the grave offerings were first placed in a ship, then, as a final offering, a servant woman was brought forward to follow her master into death. Before being killed, she looked three times over a kind of door frame to see what was awaiting her and told the men who lifted her that she could see her father, her mother, and her dead relatives. The last time she was lifted she added: "I can see my master, seated in Paradise, and Paradise is green and fair. . . . He is calling me; send me to him." She was then killed by an old woman known as "the angel of death," and everything was subsequently consumed by a fire lit by the nearest kinsman. A mound was built up over the site and crowned by a wooden monument. Ibn Faḍlān also reported that the Norsemen deride the Arabs for giving their dead to the earth and the worms: "We burn him in a moment, so that he enters paradise at once. . . . His master, out of love for him, sent him the wind to carry him off in an hour."

Although this description has been colored by Ibn Faḍlān's Islamic preconceptions and by his manner of presentation, the purpose of the funeral rites is clear, even though the role played by the ship remains uncertain. Does the wind refer to the breeze fanning the flames or to a sailing wind? If the latter is the case, it may be concluded that, at least in this case, the burial ship was indeed intended to carry the dead to the otherworld, although this may not have been its only purpose. In addition to the report by Ibn Faḍlān, other studies confirm a link between eschatological myth and burial rites among the Norse.

Among certain North American Indians, burial customs involving boats and a journey to the land of the dead have been documented. For instance, the typical grave of the Twana and other Coast Salish Indians consists of a canoe suspended on poles or on an elevated platform. A grieving husband traditionally spends four days and four nights near the canoe, waiting for his wife to depart for the otherworld. According to a Twana tale, the inhabitants of the realm of the dead come in a canoe to claim the newly deceased. Late at night it is said that one can hear their paddles in the water as they come to carry away their new companion.

The same vivid imagination characterizes a song from an entirely different part of the world, the Trobriand Islands, north of the eastern point of New Guinea. The tale is told of a warrior's sweetheart who, fearing that her lover has fallen in battle, waits by the shore to greet him in his spirit boat as he travels to the otherworld.

In Late Megalithic cultures, there is a belief among certain island people that their ancestors had arrived at their present location by canoe, having come across the sea from the west. On the Tanimbar Islands in Indonesia, for instance, this belief is reflected in the roofs of the ceremonial huts, which are shaped like canoes and have gables that are referred to as "stems" and "sterns." Canoes and stone or wooden representations of canoes also figure prominently in burial rites. The underlying thought is that the spirits of the dead journey across the sea in a spirit boat to the land of their ancestors in the west. The organization of the community itself is modeled on that of a ship's crew, exactly as it is in ancient Scandinavia.

Throughout central Polynesia the dead are placed in canoes or canoe-shaped coffins or receptacles. Robert W. Williamson (1977) speculates that the spiritual essence of the visible canoe was intended to carry the soul on its journey to the spirit land called Hawaiki. The voyage could be undertaken symbolically as well in miniature boats containing bones and images of the dead person. In the case of inhumation and cremation, the grave on land could be shaped like a ship, or pictures of ships could be carved on top of the memorials. The canoe was also used as an instrument for the removal of a dead person's sins.

CELTIC TALES OF SEA JOURNEYS TO MYTHICAL LANDS. The Celtic imagination is especially fertile when it comes to depicting the adventures of the deceased on the way to their final resting place. This place is represented as an earthly Elysium—the abode of the gods—a notion that is clearly derived from Classical Greek sources. This paradise on earth has many names, such as Magh Mór ("great plain"), Magh Mell ("plain of delights"), Tír na nÓg ("land of the young"), Annwn ("abyss"), and Tír nam Béo ("land of the living"). Tales are told of a sea voyage (*imram*) to various scattered islands, often involving a magic ship or vessel. In what is possibly the earliest of these tales, the *Voyage of Bran* (eighth century), the hero sails from one marvelous island to another: the Land beneath the Waves, the Island of Laughter, and the Island of Women. Other islands are mentioned in the *Voyage of Maeldúin* (ninth to eleventh century), in which the voyager builds the boat himself. The same elements, combined with other motifs, are also found in the widespread account of the *Navigation of Saint Brendan* (c. tenth century), where the journey ends in the Land of Promise, or Paradise. In this case, the story is obviously colored by Christian legends. The role of the seagoing vessel appears to have faded in the medieval visionary literature and in the extracanonical apocrypha and apocalypses, possibly because of its pagan connotations.

Medieval allegories, ballads, and romances, as well as historical legends, contain stories about magic ships, often rudderless and unpiloted. Marie de France, the earliest known French female writer (twelfth century), describes such a ship in her lay *Guigemar.* Its sails are made of silk, the timbers of ebony, and it contains a sumptuous bed in a pavilion. It carries a wounded hero to a castle in an ancient town where he encounters a fairy endowed with healing powers. This same motif of a rudderless boat is found in *Beowulf* where Scyld (Skjold), the founder of the Danish dynasty of the Skjoldunger, is said to arrive as a child in an unpiloted ship. He also departs for an unknown destination in a burial ship. The story appears to be patterned on the theme of the journey to the otherworld but may also reflect notions connected with ship burials.

SHIP SYMBOLISM. Ship symbolism was very highly developed in the Hellenistic world, a fact that helps explain its importance in Christian sources. But the Greeks did not go to sea with undiluted joy. "The sea is an evil thing, seafaring is a hazardous and dangerous undertaking," declares the Greek rhetorician Alciphron; "the sailor is the neighbor of death." But the danger, though mortal, was nevertheless considered wonderful and tempting, worthy of men who are like gods. Courage, hope, and joy characterize the names of the Athenian ships—names that might as easily refer to the ship of the church—and they are always feminine: *Salvation, Grace, Bringer of Light, Blessed, Victorious, Virgin, Dove, Savior, Providence, Help,* and *Peace.*

Allusions to ships are frequent in classical literature. The ancient ship of Theseus, in which the planks of the hull are successively exchanged, is compared by Plutarch to the human body that is also in a process of constant renewal. Meleager, the Greek epigrammatist (first century BCE), turns this image the other way around and refers to his beloved in her old age as an old frigate: the various members of her withered body are compared with nautical precision to the different parts of a ship. Love is like a hazardous voyage; the cunning Greek or Roman "turns his sheet windward"; death overtakes one "with swelling sails." To act to one's own detriment was expressed by the ancient Greek or Roman as "drilling holes through the hull." To give up a fight was "to take down the sail"; from beginning to end was "from fore to aft."

An expression still in use, "to be in the same boat," is borrowed from Cicero. A good ship is necessary for the voyage through life.

Three classical images are of special importance and exerted a strong influence on the development of Christian symbolism: the ship of state, the ship of the soul, and the ship of the world. In the shared fate of the crew and in their dependence on their captain—reflected in such expressions as "our governor" and "to be at the helm"—the Greek sailors saw a clear allegorical reference to their own city-state. The Greek lyrical poet Alcaeus wrote around 600 BCE of "the storm-tossed ship of state." He is echoed by many, Horace among them. The Greek writers of tragedy, Aeschylus and Sophocles, used the same symbols, which entered the field of political philosophy through Plato: all is well on a ship where all obey the captain (*nauklēros*), while nothing but misfortune awaits a ship where the captain is ignorant and each sailor wants to be in command. The human body too is likened to a ship where the soul and reason are the helmsman, and the eyes and ears constitute the lookout. Cooperation is vital, just as governors and governed must cooperate in a good state. Aristotle maintains that the common goal of all good citizens, regardless of their tasks and rights, must be a good voyage (that is, the welfare of the state). Nautical symbols are found in Demosthenes, Plutarch, and Cicero, as well as in the writings of emperors and church fathers.

The idea of the body as the ship of the soul is based on the image of a hull under construction: the spine is likened to the keel, the frame timbers represent the ribs, and the place of the helmsman is the head (see Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 14.549–554). This comparison between the human body and a ship later becomes important in the characterization of the ship as a symbol of the church. The church fathers perceived Noah's ark as a symbol of the church and interpreted it in terms of the human body. In this way, the images of the mystical body of Christ and the ship of the church were able to merge. What applies to the church as the collectivity of the redeemed applies as well to the individual soul, itself conceived of as a vessel, a *navicula animae.*

The relationship between body and soul, which in Platonism and Neoplatonism is likened to the dependence of a ship on its captain, is a recurring image in the Christian sermon. Death is spoken of as a shipwreck. The emperor Constantine talks of the flotsam of the body on the underworld river Acheron. In the image of Charon and his ferry, death becomes a voyage to the other side. The fluidity of such symbolism allows the images to merge independently of any restraints imposed by logic. This in turn leads to the Christian reference to "the blessed haven."

The Stoic philosopher Chrysippus claims that reason (*logos*) governs humanity like a ship. Plutarch further develops this metaphor: the governing part of the soul is itself governed by God like a rudder, or it listens like an experienced helmsman to the divine captain. Jerome, in commenting on Psalm 103, is therefore able to preach to his attentive monks: "Who among us is such a sturdily built ship that he is able to escape this world without going down or running aground on a rock—if he wants to reach salvation, the right sense (*sensus*) must be his pilot." The philosophical *logos* has thereby been replaced by reason enlightened by faith, and Christ as the true Logos becomes the real pilot of the soul. The ascetic tradition refers to "the ship of the soul," "the ship of the heart," and "the ship of life." Augustine gives further impetus to the notion of Christ dwelling in the heart as in a ship.

The divinely governed world is also likened to a ship. Although worshiping the thing created is as reprehensible as mistaking the ship for its captain, it is nevertheless possible to deduce the builder from the ship. Platonic, Neoplatonic, and Stoic thought lends itself especially well to adoption and christianization. The large eye, which is still painted on the bows of Mediterranean boats, is interpreted by ancient philosophers and Christians alike as a symbol of Providence. Furthermore, the ship of the world must perish one day; only the ship of the church will survive.

The image of the ship of the church or of salvation can be further extended so that the cross becomes the mast and the yard, a spiritual wind fills the sails, and Christ himself is at the helm. The account of Odysseus, fettered to the mast in order not to succumb to the sirens' song, is also easily christianized. The ship of salvation sails across the sea of time, past all temptations, toward the heavenly haven.

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CARL-MARTIN EDSMAN (1987)
Translated from Swedish by Kjersti Board

BOCHICA was a major deity of the Muisca (Chibcha) Indians of the highlands around Bogotá, Colombia, at the time of the Spanish conquest, in the sixteenth century. Early Spanish chroniclers report varying mythical dates for Bochica's appearance in Muisca territory. He was called by several names or titles, one of which means "sun," another "disappearing one." Said to be a foreigner from the east (i.e., present-day Venezuela), he appeared as an old man with a waist-length beard, long hair, and a mantle. He preached and taught virtuous behavior, religious ritual, and crafts, particularly spinning, weaving, and cloth painting. Traveling to the west through the Muisca region, then eastward again, he arrived at Sogamoso, on the eastern Muisca border. There, according to different accounts, he died, disappeared, or became the Sun. At the time of the Conquest, there was an important Temple of the Sun at Sogamoso. One Muisca myth tells that the world was created there, and one of Bochica's titles was "messenger of the creator."

Bochica combines the culture hero, sun, and transformation aspects characteristic of many New World gods. He was the patron of chieftains and goldsmiths, the latter perhaps because of his association both with the sun and with craft. Worked gold was offered to him. When an angry local god once caused a destructive flood, so a tale relates, the Muisca people appealed to Bochica, who appeared on a rainbow to strike and shatter a rock with his golden staff, releasing the floodwaters from the Bogotá plateau and creating the great Tequendama waterfall, one of the wonders of the South American landscape.

According to one set of mythical stories, a beautiful goddess taught the people promiscuity, pleasure, and dancing—the opposite of Bochica's instructions. In some accounts, she was the Moon, or was changed by Bochica into the Moon; because she was evil, she was permitted to shine only at night. She was sometimes called the wife of the Sun (presumably Bochica). In one tale, the goddess was turned by Bochica into an owl.

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BODHIDHARMA (fl. c. 480–520), known in China as Damo and in Japan as Daruma; traditionally considered the twenty-eighth patriarch of Indian Buddhism and the founder of the Chan (Jpn., Zen) school of Chinese Buddhism.

THE "HISTORICAL" BODHIDHARMA. Accounts of Bodhidharma's life have been based until recently on largely hagiographical materials such as the *Jingde chuandeng lu* (1004). However, the discovery of new documents among the Dunhuang manuscripts found in Central Asia at the turn of this century has led Chinese and Japanese scholars to question the authenticity of these accounts. The oldest text in which Bodhidharma's name is mentioned is the *Luoyang qielan ji*, a description of Buddhist monasteries in Luoyang written in 547 by Yang Xuanzhi. In this work, a monk called Bodhidharma from "Po-ssu in the western regions" (possibly Persia) is said to have visited and admired the Yongning Monastery. This monastery was built in 516 and became a military camp after 528. Consequently, Bodhidharma's visit must have taken place around 520. But no other biographical details can be inferred from this, and the aged western monk (he was purportedly one hundred and fifty years old at the time) bears no resemblance to the legendary founder of Chinese Chan.

The most important source for Bodhidharma's life is the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, a work written by Daoxuan in 645 and revised before his death in 667. It states that Bodhidharma was a brahman from southern India. After studying the Buddhist tradition of the Greater Vehicle (Mahāyāna), Bodhidharma decided to travel to China in order to spread Mahāyāna doctrine. He arrived by sea at Nanyue, in the domain of the Liu Sung dynasty (420–479), and later traveled to Lo-yang, the capital of the Northern Wei (386–534). In Lo-yang, he attempted to win converts, apparently without great success. Nonetheless, he eventually acquired two worthy disciples, Huike (487–593) and Daoyou (dates unknown), who studied with him for several years. He is said to have transmitted the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, the scripture he deemed best fitted for Chinese practitioners, to Huike. Bodhidharma seems also to have met with some hostility and slander. Daoxuan stresses that Bodhidharma's teaching, known as "wall-gazing" (*biguan*), or as the "two entrances" (via "principle," *liru*, and via "practice," *xingru*), was difficult to understand compared to the more traditional and popular teachings of Sengchou (480–560). Daoxuan concludes by saying that he does not know where Bodhidharma died. In another section of the text, however, Daoxuan states that Bodhidharma died on the banks of the Lo River. That Bodhidharma's teachings evoked hostility in China is evident from the fact that after his death, his disciple Huike felt it necessary to hide for a period. Since the locale mentioned is known to have been an execution ground, it is possible that Bodhidharma was executed during the late Wei rebellions.

Although Daoxuan's account is straightforward, succinct, and apparently fairly authentic, it presents some problems. Most important, it presents two different, almost contradictory, images of Bodhidharma—as a practicer of "wall-gazing," intent on not relying on the written word, and as a partisan of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*. Daoxuan clearly has some difficulty in reconciling his divergent sources. Primarily, he draws on the preface to the so-called *Erru sixing lun* (Treatise on the two entrances and four practices), written around 600 by Bodhidharma's (or Huike's) disciple Tanlin (dates unknown) and on information concerning the reputed transmission of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*. This latter had probably been given to Daoxuan by Fachong (587?–665), an heir of the tradition. In any case, at the time of Daoxuan's writing, Bodhidharma was not yet considered the twenty-eighth patriarch of Indian Buddhism.

In Daoxuan's time, a new school was developing on the Eastern Mountain (Dongshan, in modern Hunan) around the *dhyāna* masters Daoxin (580–651) and Hongren (601–674). The latter's disciples, Faru (638–689), Shenxiu (606–706), and Huian (attested dates 582–709), spread this new teaching, known as the "Dongshan doctrine," in the region of the Tang capitals (Ch'ang-an and Luoyang). Faru's epitaph and two historiographical works of this metropolitan Chan written in the first decades of the eighth century, the *Chuan fabao ji* and the *Lengqie shizi ji*, succeeded in linking the Dongshan tradition to the *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition. Bodhidharma and Huike were defined in these texts as the first two Chinese patriarchs of the Chan school and Daoxin and Hongren were designated the fourth and fifth patriarchs. The missing link was conveniently provided by an obscure disciple of Huike, Sengcan (d. 606)—baptized "third patriarch." Having established its orthodoxy and spiritual filiation, the new Chan school, popularly known as the Damo zong (Bodhidharma school) or the Lengqie zong (*Laṅkāvatāra* school), quickly developed as the main trend of Chinese Buddhism and its "founder" Bodhidharma accordingly acquired legendary status.

THE LEGEND OF BODHIDHARMA WITHIN THE CHAN SECT. About 150 years after Bodhidharma's death, his legend had already grown considerably. His Indian origin plus the very scarcity of information available from the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* seem to have been the essential factors in Bodhidharma's posthumous assumption of the status of "first patriarch" of the new Chan school. In 686, Faru settled at Song Shan, near Luoyang (in modern Henan). Song Shan was already a Buddhist stronghold; Sengchou, Bodhidharma's lucky rival, had once studied under another Indian monk named Fotuo (dates unknown) at Song Shan. Fotuo was revered by the Northern Wei emperor, Xiaowen di (r. 471–499), who, after moving the capital to Luoyang in 496, had the Shaolin Monastery built for him at Song Shan. It seems that later, in Faru's circle, an amalgam was made of the legends of Fotuo, Sengchou, and Bodhidharma. This may be the reason why Bodhidharma became associated with the Shaolin Monastery. According to the *Chuan fapao ji*, Bodhidharma practiced wall-gazing at Song Shan for several years. He thus became known as the "wall-gazing brahman," the monk who remained without moving for nine years in meditation in a cave on Song Shan (eventually losing his legs, as the popular iconography depicts him). There he also met Huike, who, to show his earnestness in searching for the Way, cut off his own arm. (The *Chuan fapao ji* severely criticizes Daoxuan for claiming that Huike had his arm cut off by bandits.) This tradition, fusing with the martial tradition that developed at Song Shan, resulted in Bodhidharma becoming the "founder" of the martial art known as Shaolin boxing (Jpn., Shōrinji *kempō*).

Bodhidharma's legend continued to develop with the *Lidai fabaoji* (c. 774), the *Baolin* (801), and the *Zutang ji* (Kor., *Chodangjip*, 952), and reached its classical stage in 1004 with the *Jingde chuangdeng lu.* In the process, it borrowed features from other popular Buddhist or Daoist figures such as Baozhi or Fuxi (alias Fu Dashi, "Fu the Mahāsattva," 497–569, considered an incarnation of Maitreya). But its main aspects were already fixed at the beginning of the eighth century. For example, the *Chuan fabao ji* contains the following account concerning Bodhidharma's "deliverance from the corpse" (a typical Daoist practice): On the day of his death, he was met in the Pamir Mountains by Songyun, a Northern Wei emissary on his way back from India. After his arrival in China, Songyun told Bodhidharma's disciples of his encounter. The disciples, opening their master's grave, found it empty except for a single straw sandal. Bodhidharma returning to his home in the western regions on one sandal has become a standard motif in Chan iconography.

Another important—if somewhat later—motif is Bodhidharma's encounter with Liang Wudi (r. 502–549) on his arrival in China. This story, which became a favorite theme of Chan "riddles" or *gongan* (Jpn., *kōan*), has its prototype in Fuxi's encounter with Liang Wudi. In both cases, the emperor failed to understand the eminence of the person he had in front of him.

It is also noteworthy that many early Chan works formerly attributed to Bodhidharma have recently been proved to have been written by later Chan masters such as Niutou Farong (594–657) or Shenxiu (606–706). That so many works were erroneously attributed to Bodhidharma may be due simply to the fact that the Chan school was at the time known as the Bodhidharma school, and that all works of the school could thus be considered expressive of Bodhidharma's thought. Whatever the case, these works have greatly contributed to the development of Bodhidharma's image, especially in the Japanese Zen tradition. Further confusing the issue is the "discovery," throughout the eighth century, of epitaphs supposedly written shortly after his death. In fact, these epitaphs were products of the struggle for hegemony among various factions of Chan.

BODHIDHARMA IN POPULAR RELIGION. The *Genkōshakusho*, a well-known account of Japanese Buddhism written by a Zen monk named Kokan Shiren (1278–1346), opens with the story of Bodhidharma crossing over to Japan to spread his teachings (a development of the iconographic tradition representing him crossing the Yangtze River). In Japan, Bodhidharma's legend seems to have developed first within the Tendai (Chin., Tiantai) tradition brought from China at the beginning of the Heian period (794–1191) by the Japanese monk Saichō (767–822) and his disciples. One of them in particular, Kōjō (779–858), was instrumental in linking the Bodhidharma legend to the Tendai tradition and to the legend of the regent Shōtoku (Shōtoku Taishi, 574–622), who was considered a reincarnation of Nanyue Huisi (515–577), one of the founders of the Tiantai school (notwithstanding the fact that Shōtoku was born before Huisi died). In his *Denjutsu isshin kaimon*, a work presented to the emperor, Kōjō mentions the encounter that took place near Kataoka Hill (Nara Prefecture) between Shōtoku and a strange, starving beggar—considered a Daoist immortal in the version of the story given by the *Kojiki.* Kōjō, arguing from a former legendary encounter between Huisi and Bodhidharma on Mount Tiantai in China, and from Bodhidharma's prediction that both would be reborn in Japan, has no difficulty establishing that the beggar was none other than Bodhidharma himself.

This amalgam proved very successful and reached far beyond the Tendai school. Toward the end of the Heian period a Zen school emerged from the Tendai tradition, and its leader, Dainichi Nōnin (dates unknown), labeled it the "Japanese school of Bodhidharma" (Nihon Darumashū). This movement was a forerunner of the Japanese Zen sect, whose two main branches were founded by Eisai (1141–1215) and Dōgen (1200–1253) at the beginning of the Kamakura period (1192–1337). This eventually led to the publication of a *Daruma sanchōden* (Biography of Bodhidharma in the Three Kingdoms [India, China, and Japan]) during the Edo period.

But it is in popular religion that Bodhidharma's figure developed most flamboyantly. Early in China, Bodhidharma not only borrowed features from Daoist immortals but became completely assimilated by the Daoist tradition; there are several Daoist works extant concerning Bodhidharma. In Japan, Bodhidharma's legend developed in tandem with that of Shōtoku Taishi; a temple dedicated to Daruma is still to be found on the top of Kataoka Hill. The Japanese image of Daruma, a legless doll known as *fuku-Daruma* ("Daruma of happiness"), presides over many aspects of everyday life (household safety, prosperity in business, political campaigns, etc.). This figure, impressed on every child's mind, has come to play an important role in Japanese art and culture.

SEE ALSO Chan; Liang Wudi; Shotoku Taishi.

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BODHISATTVA PATH.

A *bodhisattva* (Pali, *bodhisatta*) is a person who, according to Buddhism, is on the path to attaining the status of an enlightened being. More specifically the term is commonly used for one on the path to becoming a fully enlightened buddha. The "path of the *bodhisattva*" is usually known in Sanskrit as the *bodhisattvamārga* (*bodhisattva*-path), the *bodhisattvayāna* (bodhisattva-vehicle), or the *bodhisattvacaryā* (*bodhisattva*-conduct). It is the path followed by such a person from the time he or she first attains *bodhisattva* status until reaching the "fruit of the path," commonly full buddhahood.

There is no significant difficulty with the meaning of *bodhi.* This derives from the Indo-Aryan root *budh-*, from which the word *buddha* also derives, literally "awakening," or "enlightenment." The real problem is with *sattva.* This commonly means in Sanskrit a "[sentient] being," an "essence," or sometimes "courage." Thus a *bodhisattva* would be an "enlightenment being," "one who has enlightenment as essence," or occasionally perhaps an "enlightenment hero." And that is how the term is regularly glossed in Buddhist Sanskrit sources. But it is not clear how it relates to one that has not yet attained the goal of enlightenment. K. R. Norman (1990–1996, p. 87) suggests that *bodhisattva* may have been "back-formed" as part of sanskritization of Middle Indo-Aryan (such as Pali) expressions. Thus the Middle Indo-Aryan *bodhisatta* has been sanskritized as *bodhisattva.* There are other possible alternatives, however, and these alternatives fit better with explanations given for the etymology of *bodhisatta* in Pali commentaries. The Sanskrit of *bodhisatta* could equally be *bodhisakta* (directed toward enlightenment), or it could be *bodhiśakta* (capable of enlightenment). Clearly these etymologies make better sense.

Buddhism divided fairly early into a number of monastic ordination traditions, identified by different Vinayas, monastic codes. Thus one can speak of, for example, Theravāda, Sarvāstivāda, Mahāsaṃghika, or Dharmaguptaka traditions. In looking at texts deemed authoritative for each of these monastic traditions, one finds discussions of the *bodhisattva* path and the gradual evolution of a common or preferred "school" position. The details of those, however, may not be identical.

As Buddhism developed, it came to refer to three types of enlightenment. There is the enlightenment of those who heard and followed the teaching of the Buddha (i.e., "hearers," *śrāvaka*s), attaining *nirvāṇa*, becoming an *arhat* (Pali, *arahant*), and thus putting an end to all types of suffering. One has also the enlightenment of a shadowy group of "solitary buddhas" called *pratyekabuddha*s (Pali, *paccekabuddha*s). Finally, there is the supreme, full enlightenment of a buddha. How the enlightenment of a buddha differs was a point of dispute, but no one denied that in certain important respects it was different. Since *bodhi* means "enlightenment" and three types of enlightenment have been identified, the term *bodhisattva* was therefore also recognized as having application to persons on each of these three "vehicles."

Although *bodhisattva* is commonly used colloquially for a person on just the third of these paths, to full buddhahood, where texts want to make this point explicit the word *bodhisattva* is linked with *mahāsattva.* A Buddha-to-be is a *bodhisattva mahāsattva.* One significance of this is that if Norman's use of the Pali etymologies is correct, the *mahā* (great) in *mahāsattva* might entail "one directed toward the great" or "one capable of the great." If so then "the great" must be buddhahood. It is not clear how early this *bodhisattva mahāsattva* usage occurred, although it is found in fairly early Mahāyāna scriptures. It allows the hypothesis that *mahā* in Mahāyāna should also be taken as referring to "the great," that is, buddhahood (compare *mahābodhiyāna* in Dhammapāla's c. sixth-century *Caryāpiṭaka* commentary). Thus Mahāyāna would be in origin etymologically the "Vehicle [which leads to] the Great," that is, buddhahood.

The path of the *bodhisattva* in this sense is central to Mahāyāna theory and practice. For Mahāyāna, all who can should have buddhahood as their goals, as did the Buddha himself. Because no Buddhist tradition would hold that to be enlightened as an *arhat* or as a *pratyekabuddha* is as distinguished as becoming a buddha, the Mahāyāna can be contrasted with a *yāna* that is by definition inferior, a *Hīnayāna.* To translate *hīna* as "small" or "lesser" would be to miss the point. Those who disagree that it is necessary or even possible that all now should aim to become buddhas follow regular, mainstream Buddhism as *śrāvaka*s aiming for enlightenment (to become *arhat*s), without a Mahāyāna understanding of what it should all be about. They consider themselves simply to be following the teaching of the Buddha, the way to enlightenment, the end of all suffering. Following some other contemporary scholars, this article refers to the non-Mahāyāna position as "Mainstream Buddhism."

Little is known about how specifically Mahāyāna doctrinal schools developed and were transmitted in India. It would be better to think (at least at this stage) in terms of various discussions in a number of different Mahāyāna texts, some of which gradually came to influence each other. Thus one should not expect to find a single *bodhisattva* path, even in Mahāyāna. To the extent to which texts know of each other there may be mutual influences, positive or negative. How far and in what way that was the case in India is still a subject of research. Outside India, in Tibet, for example, as synthesizing schools of Buddhism developed, attempting to make sense of all this Buddhist and particularly Mahāyāna material, sources were harmonized and molded to create the *bodhisattva* path of that school, eventually more or less accepted by all school members.

This article will first describe how the *bodhisattva* and his or her path is seen in Mainstream Buddhism and will focus on material preserved in Pali associated with the Theravāda tradition. By far the most important sources are in the *Khuddaka Nikāya* section of the canon. These are the *Buddhavaṃsa* (Chronicle of buddhas) by Buddhadatta, *Caryāpiṭaka* (Basket of conduct) by Dhammapāla, and *Nidānakathā* (Story of the origins) attributed to Buddhaghosa, with their associated commentaries (fifth and sixth centuries CE).

These discussions of the career of a *bodhisattva* are placed firmly within a descriptive account of the actual career as a *bodhisattva* of Gautama (Pali, Gotama) Buddha, "our" Śākyamuni. The *Buddhavaṃsa* recounts that Gautama constructed a miraculous jewel-walk in the sky. This is because, so the commentary relates, there were those who grumbled that he was still a young chap and therefore could not be anything that special. Gautama points out that actually it takes an enormous amount of time to become a buddha. It was four "incalculable" aeons plus a hundred thousand aeons ago that, as the accomplished Brahmin ascetic Sumedha, Gautama-in-a-previous-life, had fallen on his face in the mud before a previous buddha, Dīpaṃkara, out of deep respect and admiration and in order to save that buddha from muddy feet. At that time Sumedha vowed that he too would become a Buddha:

> (54) If I so wished I could burn up my defilements today. (55) What is the use while I (remain) unknown of realizing dhamma here? Having reached omniscience, I will become a Buddha in the world with the devas. (56) What is the use of my crossing over alone, being a man aware of my strength? Having reached omniscience, I will cause the world together with the devas to cross over. (57) By this act of merit of mine towards the supreme among men I will reach omniscience, I will cause many people to cross over. (Horner, pt. 3, 1975, p. 14)

The *Buddhavaṃsa* explains that at this fortunate time various factors had come together through *karma* to make realistic aspirations to buddhahood possible:

> (59) Human existence, attainment of the [(male)] sex, cause [possibility of becoming an *arhat*], seeing a Teacher [a Buddha], going forth [as a renunciate], attainment of the special qualities [spiritual attainments], and an act of merit [sacrificing even one's own life for the Buddhas], and will power. (Horner, pt. 3, 1975, p. 15; commentary paraphrased from Buddhadatta, 1978, pp. 133–134)

Dīpaṃkara predicts that Sumedha will indeed, many aeons hence, become the Buddha Śākyamuni. And a buddha's prediction, Sumedha reflects, cannot be mistaken. Others at that time, hearing this, are delighted. If they fail to attain enlightenment under Dīpaṃkara, they can always attain it in the future with Śākyamuni.

The following points are notable. The story of Sumedha's vow under Dīpaṃkara is intended (a) to engender respect for Śākyamuni and (b) to encourage present followers who had failed to gain enlightenment in his presence with the possibility of enlightenment in the future under the next buddha. This will be Metteyya (Sanskrit, Maitreya), already predicted by Śākyamuni. In addition the *bodhisattva* makes a firm vow. His vow takes place in the presence of a previous buddha, who is able to predict the future success of the vow. Commentaries make it clear that it is not enough to take the vow in the presence of a substitute, like the Buddha's relics. Thus at this time the *bodhisattva* had reached an irreversible stage. But what had led to this? Later Pali works describe even earlier stages when, for example, a *bodhisattva* first conceives the idea of becoming a buddha. The notion of earlier stages had already been formalized in, for example, another important Mainstream Buddhist source, the Sanskrit *Mahāvastu* (The great topic) of the Mahāsāṃghikas. First, there is the "natural" stage, when the *bodhisattva*-to-be lives a normal virtuous life before conceiving the wish to become a buddha. Then there is the "resolving," when the vow is first conceived, then that of "living in conformity" with it. Finally, the *bodhisattva* is declared "irreversible" (Mahāvastu, 1949–1956, vol. 1, p. 1 n. 2, 39–46). The *Mahāvastu* also mentions ten successive "stages" (*bhūmi*) of a *bodhisattva*'s career to buddhahood (see Mahāyāna below).

Sumedha took the vow out of concern to help others as well as himself but also perhaps out of some sort of recognition that, under the circumstances that had come about, the highest fame and glory were fitting for him. It was, one might say, his duty. Had Sumedha not taken the vow of a bodhisattva at that time he would have wasted a precious opportunity, and crucially Śākyamuni buddha would never have existed.

All the sources, but particularly the *Caryāpiṭaka* and commentary, then describe the many rebirths of Sumedha between his vow and eventual fruition as Śākyamuni. During this time there were twenty-three further buddhas. The *bodhisattva* renewed his vows under each of them but also developed those qualities necessary to become a buddha. These are listed as ten and are called "perfections" (Pali, *pāramī* or *pāramitā*). In the Pali sources they are giving, morality, renunciation, wisdom, energy, patience, truth telling, resolute determination, loving kindness, and equanimity. Dhammapāla reduced these to six: giving, morality, patience, energy, meditation, and wisdom. It has been suggested that this shows Mahāyāna influence, but this scheme of the perfections is also found in Mainstream Buddhist sources like the *Abhidharmakośa.* All of these perfections are to be acquired by each Buddhist practitioner. It is the degree of perfection that distinguishes a buddha.

With the plan of the rebirths of Sumedha, in which he develops the perfections, are recounted enjoyable stories of heroic virtue. For example, the *bodhisattva* was reborn as the prince Vessantara. In that life he particularly practiced the perfection of generosity. He gave everything away when asked, even his wife and children. In some lives the *bodhisattva* was an animal, like the virtuous monkey king. Thus popular fables with moral purpose were assimilated into Buddhist pedagogy. These "rebirth stories" are the *Jātaka* tales, and throughout the Buddhist world they really tell the path of the *bodhisattva.*

Crucially this whole account is entirely descriptive, within the context of admiration for the success and sheer goodness of Śākyamuni (and by implication the similar acts that led to past buddhas and will lead to future buddhas). No one denies that the concern of followers of Śākyamuni should be their own acquisition of freedom from all suffering, that is, *nirvāṇa.* There is no indication that anyone else need currently take the vow of a *bodhisattva.* Indeed they cannot, because a buddha is no longer around to confirm the vow. The next buddha, Metteyya (Sanskrit, Maitreya), is already predicted and "in process."

Yet there is instability in this account of Sumedha. It is quite clear that Sumedha could have become an enlightened *arhat* there and then. So why did he take the *bodhisattva* vow? The suggestion is that factors came together that might otherwise be wasted (there would now be no Śākyamuni) and that Sumedha sought the greater glory, perhaps precisely out of a sense of duty. He was also astonished by the sheer magnificence of Dīpaṃkara, and he wanted to save more people than just himself. Overwhelmingly there is a feeling of moral justification, in Buddhist terms preeminently compassion. The soteriological thrust of early Buddhism, in common with other contemporary Indian soteriologies, was toward freedom through knowing (Williams and Tribe, 2000, pp. 17–18). Yet with the account of Sumedha emerges a suggestion that it is actually in some way better to become a buddha, and this must be for reasons not of knowing but of virtue. Sumedha wished to help others in such a way that immediate freedom for himself was left behind. There is something better than immediate spiritual freedom. Almost all the perfections are matters of moral qualities, virtue. The *Jātaka* tales are accounts of heroic virtue. The liberation of a buddha must be significantly higher than, morally better than, that of an *arhat.* And the ways in which this is the case must relate to altruism, for there is nothing more to gain for oneself than becoming an *arhat.* If that is the case, then perhaps, some thought, all should try to aim for buddhahood, that is, take the vow of a *bodhisattva.*

The Mahāyāna goes beyond the descriptive account of the *bodhisattva*'s path as a description of Śākyamuni's previous lives in order to generate respect for the buddha and hope for the future, to a prescription. Because buddhahood is much better than being an *arhat* in ways that actually count, all who can should surely take the *bodhisattva* vow. It makes no sense in this Mahāyāna context to talk, as do some older books, of the *bodhisattva* postponing enlightenment. The *bodhisattva* renounces the goal of ever becoming an *arhat* in favor of attaining as quickly as possible a much superior buddhahood.

Textual evidence shows that the earliest Mahāyāna notion of *bodhisattva*s was as a group one should actually join. But there is an obvious problem. How is one to do this, given that the vow has to be taken in the presence of a buddha? There is currently no buddha around, and the next will not appear for a long time. Crucial here was the development of the notion that buddhas are still around and still active on behalf of sentient beings. One can verify this, it was argued, because it is possible to see them in visions and receive new teachings from them (Williams, 1989, 29–31; Williams and Tribe, 2000, pp. 108–111). If buddhas are still around even after their apparent deaths, everything changes. This makes sense too of the claimed superiority of buddhas over *arhat*s in key matters relating to their liberation.

In any relatively comprehensive discussion of a Mahāyāna *bodhisattva* path the root source has to be the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* (Ten stage scripture). This can be supplemented with Indian exegetical texts like the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (Ornament for the realizations) and the commentaries by Haribhadra (late eighth century CE), Asaṅga's (c. fourth century CE) *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* (Ornament for the Mahāyāna Scriptures) and *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (Stages for the *bodhisattva*), the *Madhyamakāvatāra* (Supplement to the middling) and the commentary by Candrakīrti (seventh century), Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (Introduction to the conduct that leads to enlightenment; eighth century CE), and summaries of practice such as Kamalaśīla's three *Bhāvanākrama*s (Stages of cultivation; eighth century) and Atiśa *Bodhipathapradīpa* (Lamp for the path to enlightenment; eleventh century). Because of the limitation of space, however, this article follows the typical late Indian Mahāyāna scheme of the first *Bhāvanākrama.*

As befits the prescriptive Mahāyāna schema, where the earlier stages in particular have direct relevance to conduct, Kamalaśīla starts his account well before the *bodhisattva* has reached the stage of irreversibility or any prediction by a buddha. It is assumed of course that the aspiring *bodhisattva* is already an ardent Buddhist with a good practical appreciation of basic Buddhist tenets and practice, such as morality and renunciation. Note incidentally that historically the thesis (favored particularly by Japanese scholars) that the role of the *bodhisattva* in Mahāyāna had anything to do in India with the significance and aspirations of the laity is now doubted. In practice Mahāyāna path builds on existing patterns of morality and monastic renunciation rather than ignoring, negating, or superseding them. The aspiring *bodhisattva*, Kamalaśīla says, needs to strive in three things: compassion (*karuṇā*), the "awakening mind" (*bodhicitta*), and meditative cultivation. The basis of all is compassion. It is compassion that generates the motivation that leads one to undertaking the *bodhisattva* path. It is therefore compassion that produces Mahāyāna affiliation. Thus the *bodhisattva* practices systematic meditations calculated to create a deep sense of universal compassion for others. When compassion becomes perfect, it is called "great compassion" (*mahākaruṇā*).

Eventually the *bodhisattva* conceives the deep yearning to obtain perfect buddhahood for the sake of all sentient beings. This is the "arising of the awakening mind" (*bodhicittotpāda*). It is a completely self-transforming, deep revolution in the mind from selfishness to altruism in its highest degree. It is hymned extensively and beautifully in Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra,* chapter one. Both Kamalaśīla and (famously) Śāntideva refer to two types of awakening mind. First is the aspiration, that is, the yearning intention, for buddhahood. Second, there is actually engaging in the *bodhisattva* path through making a vow and, over an enormously long period of time, acquiring the stocks of merit and wisdom necessary to become a buddha. The *bodhisattva*-to-be thus takes a vow to buddhahood. Kamalaśīla speaks of formally taking this vow in the presence of a master who holds the vow (and who as the *guru* is to be seen as a buddha). If there is no master available, significantly it can be taken in the presence of all the buddhas and advanced *bodhisattva*s who, from a Mahāyāna perspective, are still present throughout all directions.

This leads to a *bodhisattva* who truly practices as a *bodhisattva.* The practice is one of equal development in the means (of helping all sentient beings) and wisdom (seeing things the way they really are) without neglecting either. This requires mastery of meditative cultivation. The *bodhisattva* acquires "calm abiding" (*śamatha*), an ability to steady the mind on a meditation subject perfectly and at will. He or she masters the various trance states, with the possible acquisition of supernormal powers and ability in meditation to visit and see buddhas. He or she also applies a calm, steady mind to analyzing reality until coming to an understanding of the true nature of things through meditative "insight" (*vipaśyanā*). This true nature is described as "emptiness" (*śūnyatā*), the complete absence anywhere of any sort of intrinsic existence. Eventually it becomes possible to place the mind steadily and one-pointedly in meditation on this true nature, the way things really are, but within the context of a compassion that will not lead to abandoning sentient beings and falling into the path of an *arhat.* Thus one aims for a "not-settled-down *nirvāṇa*" (*apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa*), constantly engaged in benefiting beings.

The path from now on is organized in accordance with a path structure familiar from Mainstream Buddhism, such as the Sarvāstivāda (but not Theravāda). This is the five paths, and all the attainments of the way to buddhahood (typically spoken of as the thirty-seven principles conducive to enlightenment) are plotted onto this scheme in due order.

The first path is the path of accumulation (*sambhāramārga*). Kamalaśīla says little about this path. It initially occurs with the full arising of the awakening mind and is described as having three progressive phases. Through increasing depth in meditation, of integrating calm abiding and insight into the nature of reality, one reaches the path of preparation (*prayogamārga*). This has four progressive phases of meditative achievement (further subdivided), known as warmth, climax, patience, and highest mundane thing. It leads to direct nonconceptual insight into the true nature of things. At this point one attains the path of seeing (or vision, *darśanamārga*). As part of the *bodhisattva* path the *bodhisattva* is finally a noble one (*ārya*), no longer an ordinary worldling, and can inter alia control his or her rebirths. But the *bodhisattva* still has far to go. Directly seeing the true nature of reality is in a sense just the beginning. The *bodhisattva* is only doing all this in order to become a buddha and benefit others. From now on a *bodhisattva* animated by deep compassion, who also sees directly the true nature of things, may act in ways not in keeping with legalistic "lower" moral codes.

On attaining the path of seeing, the third of the five paths, the *bodhisattva* also attains the first of the ten *bodhisattva* stages (*bhūmi*), the Stage of Joy. The sequential attainment of the six or ten Mahāyāna perfections (*pāramitās*) is grafted onto these stages. Thus at the first *bhūmi* the *bodhisattva* strives and attains the perfection of giving. Therefore for a *bodhisattva* giving and the other perfections are embedded in the achieving in meditation of direct nonconceptual insight into the true nature of things. This is no ordinary giving. That is why it becomes, at its highest degree, the "perfection of giving."

The following nine *bodhisattva* stages all occur on the fourth of the five paths, the path of cultivation (or contemplation, *bhāvanāmārga*). Thus the corresponding perfection brings the:

Stainless Stage: morality
Luminous Stage: patience
Radiant Stage: energy
Difficult to Conquer Stage: meditation
Face-to-Face Stage: wisdom
Gone Afar Stage: skill in means
Immovable Stage: vow
Good Stage: power
Cloud of Dharma (Teaching) Stage: gnosis (*jñāna*)

Four further perfections are added to the basic six of Sanskrit Buddhism, correlating to the last four *bodhisattva* stages (compare also the Pali ten).

At the seventh stage a *bodhisattva* is said to become irreversible. The last three stages are thus termed "pure." At the tenth stage the *bodhisattva* appears on a lotus seat, surrounded by other *bodhisattva*s and buddhas, light rays fill the sky, and he (there is little evidence in Indian Buddhism that it could be a woman) is consecrated to full buddhahood. A tenth-stage bodhisattva is extraordinary. For example, he can emanate innumerable forms to help others or place whole world systems inside each pore of his skin. It is at this level that commonly Mahāyāna practitioners locate *bodhisattva*s like Avalokiteśvara (the Bodhisattva of Compassion) or Mañjuśrī (the Bodhisattva of Wisdom), iconically represented bodhisattvas to whose compassionate care prayers for help can be made.

Becoming a buddha is to attain the fifth path, the path of no more learning (*aśaikṣamārga*). Kamalaśīla observes that even buddhas could not fully tell of the wonderful qualities possessed by buddhas for the welfare of all sentient beings.

This description of the path of the *bodhisattva* has been in accordance with exoteric Indian sources. But in later Indian Buddhism esoteric Tantric materials and practices begin to emerge. Two elements in Tantric doctrine taken as a whole make considerable difference to the *bodhisattva* picture. First, through certain Tantric practices it is possible to follow the whole *bodhisattva* path from beginning to end in just one lifetime. Second, no matter how much one practices the path described above, it becomes necessary to engage in Tantric practice to attain full buddhahood. Great summas of Buddhism, concentrating on the *bodhisattva* path and integrating Tantra at the appropriate point, are found particularly in Tibet. An example would be the *Lam rim chen mo* (Greater stages of the path) by Tsong kha pa (late fourteenth century and early fifteenth century). This tendency to shorten (or even sideline) the lengthy *bodhisattva* path is also found in some East Asian Buddhist traditions, such as Zen.

SEE ALSO Amitābha; Buddha; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Mahāyāna Philosophical Schools of Buddhism; Iconography, article on Buddhist Iconography; Jñāna; Karuṇā; Merit, article on Buddhist Concepts; Pāramitās; Prajñā; Śāntideva; Soteriology; Stupa Worship.

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PAUL WILLIAMS (2005)

BODILY MARKS. The human body is constantly altered by natural and cultural processes. These alterations leave visible traces, which in many societies are associated with religious ideas, beliefs, and forces. Biological growth itself leaves marks on the body. Adolescence brings changes in physical structure to members of both sexes. Aging alters the coloring and density of body hair. Firm flesh wrinkles; teeth drop out. Furthermore accidents at work and play mar, scar, mutilate, and deform the body. Such biological and accidental changes may in many cultures be evidence of the operation of invisible beings or powers, such as deities, ancestors, or witchcraft. Or compensatory, supernormal powers may be attributed to the lame, to the malformed, to the blind, and to albinos. Just as certain kinds of diviners may read hidden meanings in such natural phenomena as the flight of birds or the spoor of foxes in sand, so too may the will of invisible entities be read into the natural marks left on the body by growth, illness, and violent mishap.

But nature lags far behind culture in the use of the body as a "canvas," as manipulable material for the expression of meaning. Clothing, headgear, ornaments, and regalia are of course salient agencies for the situational communication of personal and social identity, religious and secular values, and social status. Masks too have similar functions. Such external coverings indicate cultural transformations, particularly those of a transitory and repeatable character. It must be stressed, however, that in ritual settings in many cultures the same concepts and beliefs may be expressed by the marking of the body and by its clothing and masking. Ritual enlists many sensory codes, nonverbal and verbal, and orchestrates them to convey many-layered messages about the meaning of the human condition.

Bodily marking proper may be divided into two main types. The first, permanent marking, involves surgical or quasi-surgical operations on the surface of the body by means of cutting or piercing instruments, such as knives, needles, or razors. The general purpose here is to leave indelible marks on the body, mute messages of irreversible status change, permanent cultural identity, or corporate affiliation. The second category, temporary marking, includes the application to the body of decorations through such media as chalk, charcoal, paint, or other substances that can readily be washed or dusted off. In a sense such bodily marks are less durable than clothing, but when they are used in ritual contexts, they may convey more tellingly important aspects of the cosmological order.

Radical alteration of the genitalia is common to many cultures. It should be noted, however, that such operations, both in preindustrial societies and among adherents of some of the major historical religions, take place in a religious context, often to mark an important stage of the patient's life cycle. Symbolic action reinforces the surgical message that the patient, also an initiate, is undergoing an irreversible change in status and mode of being as culturally defined. Religious as well as cultural definitions and evaluations—gender, age, social segmentation, and cultic, tribal, and national affiliation—are given permanent expression precisely in the surgical refashioning of those bodily parts through which the very existence of the patient's group is genetically transmitted.

Many authorities hold that, generally speaking, tattooing has flourished most among relatively light-skinned peoples, whereas scarification and cicatrization are mostly found among dark-skinned peoples because raised scars and keloids are more easily seen as pattern elements than the darker pigments. In contrast to body painting, however, all forms of piercing, cutting, or cauterizing the body involve contact with nerve endings resulting in pain, hence their not infrequent association with initiatory ordeals, in which respect they find common ground with such practices as genital excision, scourging, and knocking out teeth. Neuroscience may someday discover the precise effects on the central nervous system and on such concomitant psychological functions as memory and sexuality that are produced by these often prolonged operations on the subcutaneous neuronic network.

With the spread of Western culture, many societies that formerly practiced surgical bodily marking in religious contexts have abandoned these customs. Certainly the three major religions "of the book"—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—have interdicted tattooing since early times. Body marking was forbidden to Jews by God in the Torah (*Lv.* 19:28; *Dt.* 14:1). In 787 CE a Roman Catholic council forbade tattooing. Tattooing was also forbidden by Muḥammad. Nevertheless tattooing has been frequently practiced, for therapeutic or decorative reasons, by nominal adherents of these three religions: for example, by Bosnian Catholics, where it may be a survival of an ancient puberty rite (reported by Mary Durham, 1928, pp. 104–106), by Muslims in the Middle East (exhaustively discussed in Henry Field, 1958), and (rarely) among Middle Eastern and North African Jews.

TATTOOING. European explorers during the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries were struck by the marks they found on the bodies of the peoples they encountered in hitherto unknown lands. Captain John Smith in Virginia and Captain James Cook in Polynesia (who coined the term *tattoo* from the Tahitian word *tattau*, meaning "to mark") were struck by this form of body marking "by inlaying the Colour Black under their skins in such a manner as to be indelible" (Cook, 1893, p. 93). European explorers found tattooing in general practice among the Maori of New Zealand and most other Polynesian islands. The custom was also common throughout New Guinea, Melanesia, Micronesia, the Malay Archipelago, and the Malay Peninsula. On mainland Asia certain peoples of India, Burma, and the fringes of Tibet employed tattooing. Some African groups, including the Nama Khoi, also practiced the art. Tattooing was relatively frequent among North and South American Indians.

Tattooing resembles painting, with the face and body as canvas, while scarification resembles sculpture or woodcarving. Both processes can be painful, but tattooing seems to be less so than scarification, though a full design may take longer to apply. Perhaps the relative quickness of scarification and cicatrization is one of the reasons they figure so prominently in rites of passage and other religious and therapeutic rituals, because they literally mark a sharp contrast between the initiate's previous and subsequent state and status. Nevertheless if such rites include a lengthy period of seclusion from the mundane domain, the slower, more cumulative operation of tattooing may proceed at a more leisurely pace.

Full-body tattooing may take years to complete and may be accomplished in several ritually significant stages. Wilfrid D. Hambly (1925) reported, for example, that among the Motu Koita of New Guinea tattooing played a prominent role in rituals celebrating the physical development of the female body. At about five years old, the hands and forearms were tattooed. Between five and ten years of age, the chin, nose, lower abdomen, and inner thighs were tattooed as they lost their infantile appearance and grew firmer. At puberty, the breast, back, and buttocks were tattooed as they took on adult contours. During marital rites and then at motherhood, the final designs were placed. Each phase of maturation had its own design. Indeed the Motu believed that tattooing not only signified growing up but even helped to cause it (Hambly, 1925, p. 32).

In a religious context, as distinct from a purely decorative context, tattoo marks are clearly symbolic. Hambly, for example, showed how the tattooing of initiates in girls' puberty rituals among the Omaha of North America was originally associated with rites devoted to the sun, the dominant power in their universe. The Omaha deified day and night as the male and female cosmic powers, akin to the Chinese opposition of yang and yin. At the apogee of solar ritual, a nubile girl was the focus of ritual dances, painting, and tattooing. She was tattooed with a disk representing the sun and a star standing for night. Four points on the star signified the four life-giving winds. The two marks together expressed the message that night gives way to the sun, a presage of the girl's marriage. The tattoos were believed to confer life energy and potential fecundity on the developing woman during this liminal phase. If her tattoo sores did not heal quickly, this was thought to indicate the displeasure of spirits because she had been unchaste (Hambly, 1925, pp. 83–84). This example illustrates how ritual tattooing inscribes—or one might even say incarnates—cosmological ideas and forces, leaving a permanent impress, both subjectively and objectively.

There is archaeological evidence for puncture tattooing in the Middle East at least as early as the second millennium BCE. Puncture marks on mummy skins with duplicate signs painted on figurines have been found in Nubian burials from this period. Just as in preliterate societies, the polytheistic cultures of the eastern Mediterranean world saw tattooing as an efficacious means of communication between the invisible and visible domains, here regarded as divine and human. For example, the pharaoh Akhenaton (Amenhotep IV) is represented in reliefs as bearing the name Aton on his body. Although Akhenaton was reared in a polytheistic tradition, he tried to develop a solar monotheism and encouraged naturalistic art at the expense of symbolism. Hence his tattoo was a name, not a symbol. The great monotheistic religions went even further in forbidding the marking of symbols of deities on the body. Field (1958, p. 4) supplied further evidence of rapport between humans and deities effected by tattooing. The symbol of the goddess Neit, for example, was tattooed on the arms and legs of Libyan captives figured on the tomb walls of Seti I (1318–1304 BCE). Even in modern North Africa a tattoo pattern called Triangle of Tanit has been identified as the symbol of the Carthaginian goddess Tanit, who was perhaps the Libyan goddess Ta-Neit taken over by the Carthaginians. Field also mentioned that the devotees of Dionysos were stamped with that god's symbol, the ivy leaf. In Syria-Palestine the worshipers of the moon goddess Mylitta were tattooed with her figure or symbol on their hands or the backs of their necks.

Subsequently, despite religious interdictions, both Christians and Muslims bore tattoos as evidences of pilgrimages to the sacred places. This practice apparently derived from the time of the Crusades. Coptic pilgrims were tattooed with the word *Jerusalem* with the date of the visit beneath it or a standardized religious emblem. Moses Maimonides (1135/8–1204), commenting on the prohibition against tattooing in *Leviticus*, reiterated the central Judaic argument against idolatry as its motive force, whereas other scholars in his tradition stressed the integrity of the human body made in the express image and likeness of God as justification for the ban.

In the cultural history of tattooing, certain main trends are discernible. In antiquity and in many of the reports of travelers in the early modern period, tattooing in preindustrial societies dominantly relates the tattooed person to a social group or category (totemic clan, age or sex category, secret society or warrior association, unmarried or married categories, the widowed, and the like). Sometimes the tattooing process is embedded in an encompassing ritual process. In other instances, as discussed, cumulative tattooing may operate independently from rites of passage, stressing individual development rather than collective affiliation. As societies increase in scale and grow more complex and the division of economic and social labor becomes more refined, tattooing becomes more a matter of individual choice and serves the purpose of self-expression, stressing the decorative rather than the religious and corporate functions. Instead of classing individuals together, homogenizing them symbolically, it now differentiates them. An antinomian character invests tattooing. As the technology of the art develops (for example, the invention of the electric tattooing needle), the designs and colors multiply, allowing considerable scope for self-expression and for making statements about the self not only to others but also to oneself, indelibly imprinting a complex image of one's identity upon one's body.

In societies where tattooing is strongly interdicted or frowned upon for religious or political reasons, tattooing comes to mark and identify not only recalcitrant individuals but also marginal groups that otherwise have few means to display identity in mainstream society. A considerable literature exists on tattooing among such diverse categories as enlisted men in World Wars I and II, criminals, prostitutes, homosexuals, juvenile delinquents, and motorcycle gangs such as the Hell's Angels.

In Japan, where the art of tattooing (*irezumi*) has been long established and may have had, as in Polynesia, ritual connections, the practice fell under interdict in the late Tokugawa period, but it was strongly revived after 1881, when it ceased to be a penal offense. According to Robert Brain, the Japanese—who embroider the whole body with artistic designs, the equivalent of a suit of clothes to a culture that has never hallowed the nude—"use tattooing to give personality to the naked body. . . . Even the bare skin, incorporated into the overall design, acquires an appearance of artificiality" (Brain, 1979, p. 64). The designs are traditional and include the dragon, "giver of strength and sagacity," the horse and the carp (mutations of the dragon), epic heroes such as Yoshitsune, Chinese sages, and the gods whose deeds are recorded in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* (*Nihonshoki*). In Japan it has often been difficult to distinguish, in Western style, the religious from the aesthetic and social. Contemporary tattooed men and women wear on their bodies subtle and beautiful expressions of a continuous tradition that links deity, nature, and humankind.

As tattooing became detached from its earlier religious contexts, it seems to have become increasingly associated with the magical protection of individuals and with curative rites performed in cases of individual affliction. Field (1958) provided innumerable examples of tattooing in Syria, Iraq, Iran, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Palestine, Baluchistan, and West Pakistan used as prophylaxis, cure, and subsequent prevention of a variety of diseases and ailments, mostly thought to be due to supernatural causes, such as the evil eye, witchcraft, or demons. Therapeutic tattooing is found in many cultures. For example, the Sarawak Kaya of Borneo believe that sickness is caused by the soul leaving the body. A ritual therapist, the *dayong*, is called in to perform a ritual, including dancing and incantations, to recall the patient's soul to its body. After he is sure the soul is back, the *dayong* tattoos an emblem on the patient to keep it from straying again. Similar uses are found cross-culturally in abundance.

Mention should be made of the growth of tattooing in the United States, particularly in California during the late 1970s. After World War II the practice subsided, but because of the influence of the "counterculture" of the late sixties, the role of electronic media in bringing the practices of other cultures into the American home, extensive tourism, a general emphasis on individuality (in dress, sexual mores, art, and religion), and improvements in the techniques of professional tattooing, there has been a marked revival in the art. In the early twenty-first century tattoos along with body piercing became such an integral part of American popular culture that, for many youths, obtaining a tattoo became something of a rite of passage into adulthood. As such the ancient connection with religion has not been forgotten. In addition at the Fifth World Convention of Tattoo Artists and Fans, held in Sacramento, California, in 1980, the prize tattoo was "a large back mural, which included the Virgin of Guadalupe, set on a bed of bright roses, framed in the lower corners by a skull face and a human face, and in the upper, by flowing angels" (Govenar, 1981, p. 216).

SCARIFICATION AND CICATRIZATION. Whereas tattooing is the insertion of pigment under the skin and involves pricking instruments ranging from thorns, fish spines, cactus spikes, shells, and bones to steel and electric needles, scarification and cicatrization are more drastic ways of marking the body. Many anthropologists equate these terms, but strictly speaking scarification is the operation of marking with scars, whereas cicatrization is the subsequent formation of a scar at the site of a healing wound, that is, the healing process. It might be useful to distinguish *scarification*, the production of long cuts, from *cicatrization*, the deliberate formation of keloids, sharply elevated, often round or oval scars due to the rich production of collagen in the dermal layer. David Livingstone, in his *Last Journals of David Livingstone in Central Africa* (1874), gave the classic definition of keloid formation when writing of the Makwa, who have double lines of keloids on the face: "After the incisions are made, charcoal is rubbed in, and the flesh pressed out, so that all the cuts are raised above the level of the surface" (Livingstone, 1874, vol. 1, p. 33). In many parts of sub-Saharan Africa cicatrization follows the work of two instruments: a hooked thorn to raise the skin and a small blade to slice it. The more the skin is raised, the more prominent the resulting keloid.

In many preindustrial societies the cicatrization process is embedded in a complex ritual sequence. In *The Drums of Affliction* (Victor Witter Turner, 1968) Edith Turner reported such a ritual sequence among the Ndembu of Zambia. During the seclusion phase of a girl's puberty ritual, the initiate is cicatrized by a woman skilled in the work. The girl is said to feel much pain while the incisions are made, but after the operation she is allowed to revile the operator in compensation, just as boys are permitted to swear at the circumciser during the corresponding male initiation rites. Groups of horizontal incisions converge on the navel from either side, like several sentences of braille. Other keloids are made beneath the navel toward the pubes and on the small of the back. Black wood ash mixed with castor oil is rubbed into the cuts. The raised cicatrices beside the navel constitute a kind of erotic braille and are "to catch a man" by giving him enhanced sexual pleasure when he plays his hand over them. Initiates who can stand the pain are also cicatrized on the mid-chest above the breast line. Two parallel cuts, known by a term signifying "to deny the lover," are made. The first keloid, to the left, represents the initiate's premarital lover, the second, to the right, her husband-to-be. The girl is told never to mention her lover's name to her husband, for the two men should "remain friends" and not fight each other.

Although tattooing, cicatrization, and scarification have much in common, may be combined in various ways, or may each be applied in different contexts in the same society, it may be broadly concluded that tattooing, like body painting, lends itself well to decorative use and personal art. The body becomes a canvas on or under the skin of which may be depicted naturalistic scenes and portraits, abstract designs, and symbolic patterns. Cutting and scarring flesh too may result in aesthetic effects of a quite sophisticated character but also constitutes a visible record of incarnate religious forces and a sacred chronicle of a culture's life-crisis ceremonies. Here the incised body itself proclaims carnally the disciplines involved in the cultural definition of its age, gender, and communal and structural identifications and alliances. In certain societies these marks are believed to be inscribed on the ghost or spirit after death, enabling the gods or spirits to recognize the membership and status of the deceased and to send him or her to an appropriate place of posthumous residence. It is interesting that the Roman Catholic and Orthodox branches of Christianity have sublimated similar beliefs, while condemning body marking itself, in the notion that sacraments of baptism, confirmation, and ordination confer indelible marks upon the soul.

Body Painting. Of the many languages of bodily adornment, several may coexist in a single culture. Terence S. Turner (1977) pointed out, for example, that the Chikrí, a Ge-speaking group in central Brazil, possess elaborate body painting, adorn themselves with earplugs, lip plugs, and penis sheaths, and put on cotton leg and arm bands in ritual contexts. Turner argued that such body adornments are a kind of symbolic language. Body painting is a code that expresses a wide range of information about social status, sex, and age. More than this, wrote Turner, it "establishes a channel of communication *within* the individual, between the social and biological aspects of his personality" (Terence S. Turner, 1977, p. 98).

Color symbolism is most important here, especially the colors red, black, and white, all of which are used in determinate ways. Red is always applied on bodily extremities, forearms and hands, lower legs and feet, and the face. Black is used on the trunk and the upper parts of the limbs as well as for square cheek patches and borders along the shaved areas of the forehead. Black face paintings, executed with great care, are often covered immediately by a heavy coat of red that renders them almost invisible. This practice may be explained by the symbolic values of the colors. Red, according to Turner, represents energy, health, and "quickness," both in the sense of swiftness and of heightened sensitivity. Black, per contra, is associated with transitions between clearly defined states or categories, with liminal conditions, or with regions where normal, precisely defined structures of ideas and behavioral rules are "blacked out." Black also means "dead" and is adjectivally applied to a zone of land outside the village, separating it from the wild forest, that is used for graveyards and seclusion camps for groups undergoing rites of passage. The Chikrí see death itself as a liminal phase between life and complete oblivion. Ghosts survive for one generation in the village of the dead before they "die" once more, this time forever. White represents the pure, terminal state of complete transcendence of the normal social world, for white is the color of ghosts, and white clay is the food of ghosts. The Chikrí paint over the black designs with red to make a symbolic statement, clearly uninfluenced by aesthetic considerations. According to Turner, the black designs represent the socialization of the intelligent part of the person, which is then energized by the biological and psychic life force represented by the thick red overpainting.

Turner's conclusion that body painting at this general level of meaning "really amounts to the imposition of a second, social 'skin' on the naked biological skin of the individual" (Terence S. Turner, 1977, p. 100) has a wide cross-cultural range of applications. The etymological link between *cosmos* and *cosmetics* has often been noted; both derive from the Greek term meaning "order, ornament, universe." When the face and body are painted with designs and colors, the cosmeticized ones are living links between the individual and the sociocultural order with which he or she is temporarily identified. But as with tattooing, in complex industrial societies body painting may assume an antinomian function; bizarre and extravagant designs may betoken rebellion against a society's most cherished values. Or it may become merely an expression of personal vanity and love of adornment.

Marks of Supernatural Election. A considerable literature exists on bodily marks that are believed to be signs of election to high religious status. These must be distinguished from blemishes or birthmarks taken to be indications of reincarnation. In many sub-Saharan societies, for example, recently born infants are carefully inspected for marks corresponding to conspicuous scars and moles found on some deceased relative. Among the Ndembu of Zambia, a child was called Lupinda because marks resembling scratches on his thigh were similar to the scar marks of a leopard-inflicted wound on the thigh of his mother's brother, the great hunter Lupinda. It was expected that the boy, Lupinda reborn, would likewise excel at the chase. Similar beliefs have been reported among the Haida and Tlingit of northwestern North America.

In the great historical religions founders, prophets, saints, and notable teachers of the faith are sometimes associated with supernaturally generated bodily characteristics. For example, it is reported that when Siddhārtha Gautama, who became the Buddha, was born, his body bore the thirty-two auspicious marks (*mahapu-rusa laksanani*) that indicated his future greatness besides secondary marks (*anuvyañjananī*). The Indian poet Aśvaghoṣa, who wrote his *Buddhacarita* (Life of the Buddha) in the second century CE, mentioned some of these marks: the sign of a wheel on one foot, webbing between his fingers and toes, and a circle of hair between his eyebrows. In Islam too there is a tradition of a person bearing bodily marks signifying divine election. Muḥammad's son-in-law ʿAli predicted that the Mahdi, the "divinely guided one," would come to restore justice and righteousness to the world and that he would be recognized by certain bodily traits, among them a balding forehead and a high, hooked nose. A birthmark on his right cheek, a gap between his front teeth, and a deep black beard were also predicted. Muḥammad Aḥmad, who was believed to be the Mahdi by many living in the Sudan during the nineteenth century, was said to have all the looked-for attributes.

Christianity also has its tradition of bodily marks divinely imposed. For Christians the term *stigmata* refers to wounds some people bear on the hands and feet and occasionally on the side, shoulder, or back that are believed to be visible signs of participation in Christ's passion. Francis of Assisi (1181/2–1226) is said to have been the first stigmatic. Since his time the number has multiplied. Historically the stigmata have taken many different forms and have appeared in different positions on the body, hands, and feet of stigmatics. For example, Francis's side wound was on the right, while that of the celebrated modern stigmatic Padre Pio (1887–1968) was on the left. For the Catholic Church stigmata do not by themselves indicate sanctity. Of the several hundred stigmatics listed since the thirteenth century, only sixty-one have been canonized or beatified. Herbert Thurston (1933), an authority on this phenomenon, was extremely reluctant to attribute stigmatization to a miracle. Other theologians are ready to await the verdict of neuroscientific research to settle the problem. Moreover C. Bernard Ruffin, a Lutheran minister, has pointed out that "for every genuine stigmatic, whether holy or hysterical, saintly or satanic, there are at least two whose wounds are self-inflicted" (Ruffin, 1982, p. 145).

SUMMARY. In many societies birthmarks, blemishes, deformities, and other natural signs have been regarded as visible indicators of the permanent or transient presence of invisible, preternatural forces and influences, whether of a magical or religious character. They may be linked with notions of reincarnation, illness caused by spirits or witches, election to a priestly or shamanic role, or the marking of basic group identity. However, the deliberate shaping of the body as an artifact by cultural means is the most widely practiced marker of group identity, an identity that in the simpler societies is also religious identity. Here the body becomes a deliberately created badge of identity. Both permanent and temporary changes are made for this purpose. In addition to the means described above, one might cite tooth filing, piercing or otherwise changing the shape of ears, nose, tongue, and lips, and changes made in the body's extremities, such as hair, feet, fingers, and nails. Although discussion of clothing, the identifying medium for all kinds of religions in all cultures, is beyond the scope of this article, as is detailed discussion of the relationship between aesthetic and ritual bodily marking, it is clear that the body, whether clad or unclad, painted or unpainted, smooth or scarred, is never religiously neutral. It is always and everywhere a complex signifier of spirit, society, self, and cosmos.

SEE ALSO Circumcision; Clitoridectomy; Clothing; Human Body; Masks; Nudity.

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EDITH TURNER (2005)

BODY SEE HUMAN BODY

BODY PAINTING SEE BODILY MARKS

BOEHME, JAKOB (1575–1624), Protestant visionary and theologian. Born into a Lutheran farming family in the village of Alt Seidenberg near Görlitz, Saxony, Boehme was apprenticed to a shoemaker following his elementary education. In 1599 he became a citizen of Görlitz, where he opened a shoemaking business and married. Boehme was early associated with various religious groups in the city, and through them he encountered the work of the alchemist Paracelsus (1493–1541) and the nature mystic Valentin Weigel (1533–1588). He also shared with his religious associates an interest in Qabbalah.

In 1600 Martin Moller (d. 1606) came to the city as Lutheran pastor and formed the Conventicle of God's Real Servants, which Boehme joined following a religious conversion. Deeply concerned with the problem of theodicy, Boehme in 1612 completed *Aurora*, but when a copy of the manuscript fell into the hands of the local Lutheran pastor, the book was confiscated and the author banned from further writing. Seven years later, as the result of an illumination, Boehme broke his silence with the publication of *On the Three Principles of Divine Being*, a work abounding in alchemic imagery, which was to shape the form of his arguments for the next several years. In 1620 there appeared *On the Three-fold Life of Man*, *On the Incarnation*, *Six Theosophical Points*, and *Six Mystical Points*. Other major works followed quickly, including, *Concerning the Birth and Designation of All Being*, *On Election to Grace*, the large commentary on *Genesis* titled *Mysterium magnum*, and the various tracts that make up *The Way to Christ*. As a result of these publications, Boehme was involved in bitter controversy, and suffered exile for a short time. He died in Görlitz on November 17, 1624.

In an attempt to solve the problem of theodicy, Boehme began with the nothing (unknown even to itself), which, as a single unified will, wills a something. In this act of willing, the Son is begotten. In this begetting the nothing discovers the something within itself, which is itself the ground of the abyss. Simultaneously the will proceeds from the Son as Holy Spirit to an eternal contemplation of itself as wisdom (Sophia).

In this contemplation are conceived the various possibilities of being present in the Word (the Son) and created by it. The will of the nothing looks out to the something as light (love) and returns into itself as a desiring fire (wrath). In the knowledge that results, eternal nature has its being. The two fused principles of fire and light reflect in themselves a third, the being of the universe, which is progressively manifested through seven properties: harshness; attraction; dread; the ignition of fire, which is the basis of sensitive and intellectual life; love, which overcomes the individualism of the first four; the power of speech; and speech itself. All properties are present in all being. Further, the seven properties can be categorized according to three principles. The first three properties represent the fire (wrath) principle. The fifth and sixth properties represent the light (love) principle. The seventh property represents the third principle (being of the universe). The fourth property is the center on which all turn. All beings of the third principle are free and can turn to either of the first two principles, thereby upsetting the balance. Searching for the controlling fire of light, Lucifer refused to accept the light principle within himself and as a result fell.

At the moment of Lucifer's fall, temporal creation came into existence. At its height stood Adam, a perfect balance of the four elements fire and light, male and female. But Adam, too, chose to know the principles separately and fell. In the loss of the balance, these four elements were awakened and male and female divided. Thereafter human beings have chosen the fiery origin that, untempered by light, love, or the spiritual water of the new life, would destroy each individual human being. In his mercy, however, God fully revealed the light element in the New Man, Christ, in whose perfect balance each human being can once more live in harmony with the divine contemplation, the virgin Sophia.

Following Boehme's death, his disciples, chief among whom was Abraham von Franckenberg (1593–1649), spread his ideas throughout Europe. The Silesian poet Angelus Silesius (Johann Scheffler, 1624–1677) used Boehme's images extensively in his poetry before and after his conversion from Lutheranism to Roman Catholicism. By 1661 Boehme's works appeared in English translation, and under the direction of Jane Leade (1623–1704) the Philadelphian Society was founded in London on Boehmist principles. In England alone Boehme's influence can be traced in the seventeenth century to persons of such stature as the Cambridge Platonist Benjamin Whichcote, the poet John Milton, and the physicist Isaac Newton, and in the eighteenth century to the spiritual writer William Law and the visionary poet William Blake. In the Low Countries, Boehme's thought was popularized by the most important of his editors and students, Johann Georg Gichtel (1638–1710), and by radical Quietists such as Antoinette Bourignon (1616–1680) and Pierre Poiret (1646–1719).

SEE ALSO Alchemy; Sophia.

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BOETHIUS (c. 475–c. 525), more fully, Anicius Manlius (Torquatus) Severinus Boethius, late Roman philosopher, theologian, and statesman. Because of the paucity of sources concerning Boethius's life, no more than the most shadowy biographical sketch is possible. A member of one of the great Roman families, Boethius was almost certainly born at Rome. The Rome in which he lived had lost much of its importance—imperial control had given way to the reign of the barbarian king Odoacer about the time of his birth—but the prestige of the Anician family remained intact, as shown by the consulship of Boethius's father in 487. Upon completing his schooling, which he presumably received at Rome, Boethius continued his education by studying philosophy, probably at Alexandria, but possibly in his native city. Of his public life, it is known only that he served as consul in 510 and that, about 523, he became master of offices, one of the highest civil officials in the court of the Ostrogothic king of Italy, Theodoric. While master of offices, Boethius was implicated in a treasonable conspiracy with the Eastern emperor, which apparently centered upon a plot to overthrow Theodoric. Although Boethius resolutely maintained his innocence, he was imprisoned. During his imprisonment he wrote *On the Consolation of Philosophy*, his most famous work, which he completed only shortly before his execution.

Much more important than his public career, which was not unusual for a person of his standing, was his literary career. In one of his early works, he described his projected program of philosophical writings: in a world in which the Latin West was rapidly losing its knowledge of Greek, Boethius wished to translate into Latin all the works of Plato and Aristotle and to show, through a series of commentaries on these works, that there was no essential conflict between the Platonic and Aristotelian traditions. He did not realize this plan in its entirety, but he did translate a number of the logical works of Aristotle (the so-called *Organon*) and wrote (or possibly only translated from the Greek) several commentaries on these writings. In doing so, he rendered a very important service to the early medieval West by providing the only Latin translations of Aristotle available until the gradual introduction of the "new learning" in the late Middle Ages.

Despite his failure to translate any of the works of Plato, Boethius did provide the medieval world with one of its most important source books of Neoplatonic thought, *On the Consolation of Philosophy*, one of the most widely read books of the Middle Ages. Cast in the form of a cosmological revelation by Lady Philosophy to the imprisoned and perplexed Boethius, the *Consolation* presents a highly sophisticated and systematic Neoplatonic worldview. The curious fact that Boethius, who was certainly a Christian, looked to Neoplatonism rather than to Christianity to console him is inexplicable.

Boethius's chief creative contribution to the intellectual tradition of the West comes in his five brief Christian theological works. Although these works are highly Augustinian in their content, Boethius established his independence from Augustine in matters of terminology and method. In *On the Trinity*, he employed the term *theology* for the first time as a technical Christian term denoting the philosophical inquiry into the nature of God. Methodologically, his contribution lies in the use of formal Aristotelian demonstrative logic for the first time in the service of Christian theology. In doing so, he anticipated the fundamental character of the Thomistic method of "scientific" theology by some five and one-half centuries.

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A. RAND SUTHERLAND (1987)

BON. There are two organized religious traditions in Tibet: Buddhism and a faith that is referred to by its Tibetan name, Bon. Since its introduction into Tibet in the eighth century, Buddhism has been the dominant religion; in the person of the Dalai Lama, present-day Tibetan Buddhism has an articulate and internationally respected spokesman.

The Bon religion is much less well known, although the number of its adherents in Tibet is by all accounts considerable. In the West, the traditional view of Bon has been less than accurate. It has been characterized as "shamanism" or "animism," and as such, regarded as a continuation of what supposedly were the religious practices prevalent in Tibet before the coming of Buddhism. It has also been described in rather unfavorable terms as a perversion of Buddhism, a kind of marginal countercurrent in which elements of Buddhist doctrine and practice have either been shamelessly copied or inverted and distorted in a manner that has been somewhat imaginatively compared with satanic cults. It was only in the mid-1960s that a more accurate understanding of this religion emerged (first and foremost thanks to the efforts of David L. Snellgrove), so that Bon is now recognized as closely related to the various Buddhist schools in Tibet (in particular the Rnying ma pa [Nyingma pa] order) and yet possessed of an identity of its own that justifies its status as a distinct religion.

PROBLEMS OF DEFINITION. An adherent of the Bon religion is called a Bonpo, again using the Tibetan term. A Bonpo is "a believer in *bon*," and for such a believer the word *bon* signifies "truth," "reality," or the eternal, unchanging doctrine in which truth and reality are expressed. Thus *bon* has the same range of connotations for its believers as the Tibetan word *chos* (corresponding to the Indian word *dharma*) has for Buddhists.

A problem, however, arises when one is confronted with the fact that an important group of ritual experts in pre-Buddhist Tibet were likewise known as *bonpo*s. It is possible that their religious practices were styled Bon (although scholars are divided on this point); certainly their practices were so designated in the later, predominantly Buddhist historiographical tradition. Be that as it may, their religious system was essentially different not only from Buddhism, but also, in certain important respects, from the Bon religious tradition as practiced in later centuries. For example, the pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet gives the impression of being preoccupied with the continuation of life beyond death. It included elaborate rituals for ensuring that the soul of a dead person was conducted safely to a postmortem land of bliss by an appropriate animal—usually a yak, a horse, or a sheep—which was sacrificed in the course of the funerary rites. Offerings of food, drink, and precious objects likewise accompanied the dead. These rites reached their highest level of elaboration and magnificence in connection with the death of a king or a high nobleman; as was the case in China, enormous funerary mounds were erected, and a large number of priests and court officials were involved in rites that lasted for several years. The purpose of these rites was twofold: on the one hand, to ensure the happiness of the deceased in the land of the dead, and on the other, to obtain their beneficial influence for the welfare and fertility of the living.

The term *Bon* refers not only to these and other religious practices of pre-Buddhist Tibet, but also to the religion that apparently developed in close interaction with Buddhism from the eighth century onward and that still claims the adherence of many Tibetans. It is with the latter religion that this article is concerned. The Bonpos claim that there is an unbroken continuity between the earlier and the later religion—a claim that, whatever its historical validity, is significant in itself.

The matter is further complicated by the fact that there has always existed a vast and somewhat amorphous body of popular beliefs in Tibet, including beliefs in various techniques of divination, the cult of local deities (connected, above all, with certain mountains), and conceptions of the soul. In Western literature, such beliefs are frequently styled "Bon," and reference is made to "Bon animism" and other supposedly typical Bon attributes. This has, however, no basis in Tibetan usage, and since this popular, unsystematized religion does not form an essential part of Buddhism or Bon (although it is, to a large extent, sanctioned by and integrated into both religions), an appropriate term for it is the one coined by Rolf A. Stein, "the nameless religion."

THE BONPO IDENTITY. Although limited to Tibet, Bon regards itself as a universal religion in the sense that its doctrines are true and valid for all humanity. For this reason it styles itself G'yung drung Bon, "Eternal Bon." According to its own historical perspective, it was introduced into Tibet many centuries before Buddhism and enjoyed royal patronage until it was supplanted and expelled by the "false religion" (Buddhism) coming from India.

Before reaching Tibet, however, it is claimed that Bon prospered in a land known as Zhang-zhung and that this country remained the center of the religion until it was absorbed by the expanding Tibetan empire in the seventh century. There is no doubt as to the historical reality of Zhang-zhung, although its exact extent and ethnic and cultural identity are far from clear. It does, however, seem to have been situated in what today is, roughly speaking, western Tibet, with Mount Kailash as its center.

The ultimate homeland of Bon, is, however, to be sought farther to the west, beyond the borders of Zhang-zhung. The Bonpos believe that their religion was first proclaimed in a land called Rtag gzigs (Tazik) or 'Ol mo lung ring. Although the former name suggests the land of the Tajiks in Central Asia, it has so far not been possible to identify this holy land of Bon in a convincing manner.

In Rtag gzigs, so the Bonpos claim, lived Ston pa Gshen rab (Tonpa Shenrap), a fully enlightened being who was, in fact, nothing less than the true Buddha of our world age. The Bonpos possess a voluminous biographical literature in which his exploits are extolled. Without entering into details, or discussing the many problems connected with the historical genesis of this extraordinary figure, one may at least note that his biography is not closely related to the biographical traditions connected with Śākyamuni, the Buddha on whose authority the Buddhists base their doctrines. Ston pa Gshen rab was a layman, and it was as a prince that he incessantly journeyed from his capital in all directions to propagate Bon. It is remarkable that this propagation also included the institution of innumerable rituals, the supervision of the erection of temples and stupas, and the conversion of notorious sinners. His numerous wives, sons, daughters, and disciples also played a significant role (in a way for which there is no Buddhist parallel) in this soteriological activity. It was only late in his life that he was ordained as a monk, and at that point in his career he retired to a forest hermitage. On the other hand, Ston pa Gshen rab is considered to have been a fully enlightened being from his very birth, endowed with numerous supernatural powers. His importance in the Bon religion is crucial; it is he who—directly or indirectly—lends authority to the religious literature of the Bonpos, and he is the object of their intense devotion.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES. In the same way as the Buddhists of Tibet divide their sacred scriptures into two vast collections, the Bonpos also—probably since the middle of the fourteenth century CE—possess their own Bka' 'gyur (Kanjur, texts considered to have been actually expounded by Ston pa Gshen rab) and Brten 'gyur (Tenjur, later commentaries and treatises), comprising in all approximately three hundred volumes. Since the middle of the nineteenth century wooden blocks for printing the entire collection have been available in the principality of Khro bcu in the extreme east of Tibet, and printed copies of the canon were produced until the 1950s. (The blocks were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution.) The Bka' 'gyur and Brten 'gyur have been reconstituted and printed editions have been published in Tibet.

A common division of the Bonpo Bka' 'gyur is the fourfold one into Sūtras (*mdo*), Prajñāpāramitā texts (*'bum*), Tantras (*rgyud*), and texts dealing with the higher forms of meditation (*mdzod*, lit. "treasurehouse"). The Brten 'gyur is divided into three basic textual categories: "External," including commentaries on the Vinaya, the Abhidharma, and the Sūtras; "Internal," comprising the commentaries on the Tantras and the rituals focusing on the major Tantric deities, as well as the cult of *ḍākinī*s, *dharmapāla*s, and worldly rituals of magic and divination; and finally, "Secret," a section that treats meditation practices. A section containing treatises on grammar, architecture, and medicine is appended.

For the sake of convenience, the Indian (Buddhist) terms corresponding to the Tibetan have been used here, but it must be kept in mind that although the Bonpos employ the same Tibetan terms as the Buddhists, they do not accept their Indian origin, since they trace, as explained above, their entire religious terminology to Zhang-zhung and, ultimately, to Rtag gzigs.

As this review of Bonpo religious literature indicates, the doctrines they contain are basically the same as those of Buddhism. The concepts of the world as suffering, of moral causality and rebirth in the six states of existence, and of enlightenment and Buddhahood are basic doctrinal elements of Bon. Bonpos follow the same path of virtue and have recourse to the same meditational practices as do Buddhist Tibetans.

In the early fifteenth century—and indeed even earlier—the Bonpos began to establish monasteries that were organized along the same lines as those of the Buddhists, and several of these monasteries developed into large institutions with hundreds of monks and novices. The most prestigious Bonpo monastery, founded in 1405, is Sman ri (Menree) in central Tibet (in the province of Gtsang, north of the Brahmaputra River). Fully ordained monks, corresponding to the Buddhist *dge slong* (Gelong; Skt., *bhikṣu*), are styled *drang srong* (a term that in Tibetan otherwise translates *ṛṣi*, the semidivine "seers" of the Vedas). They are bound by all the rules of monastic discipline, including strict celibacy.

Over the centuries the monastic life of Bon has come increasingly under the influence of the tradition of academic learning and scholastic debate that characterize the dominant Dge lugs pa (Geluks pa) school, but the older tradition of Tantric yogins and hermits, constituting an important link between the Bonpos and the Rnying ma pas, has never been quite abandoned.

An important class of religious experts, which likewise finds its counterpart in the Rnying ma pa tradition, consists of the visionaries—both monks and laymen—who reveal "hidden texts." During the Buddhist persecution of Bon in the eighth and ninth centuries, the Bonpos claim, their sacred texts were hidden in caves, buried underground, or walled up in certain temples. Later (apparently from the tenth century onward) the texts were rediscovered—at first, it would seem, by chance, and subsequently through the intervention of supernatural beings who would direct the chosen *gter ston* ("treasure finder") to the site. Later still, texts would be revealed in visions or through purely mental transference from divine beings. The greater part of the Bon Bka' 'gyur and Brten 'gyur consists of such "rediscovered" or supernaturally inspired texts. "Treasure finders" have been active until the present, and indeed may be said to play an important role in the revival of religious activities in Tibet today, as texts that were hidden for safekeeping during the systematic destruction of the 1960s and 1970s are once more being removed from their hiding places.

As is the case in Tibetan religion generally, these texts are particularly important in that they serve, in an almost literal sense, as liturgical scores for the innumerable and extremely complex rituals, the performance of which occupies much of the time and attention of the monks. Many of these rituals do not differ significantly from those performed by the Buddhists, except that the deities invoked—although falling into the same general categories as those that apply to the deities of Mahāyāna Buddhism—are different from the Buddhist ones. They have different names, iconographical characteristics, evocatory formulas (mantras), and myths. A systematic study of this pantheon has, however, only just begun, and likewise, our knowledge of the rituals of the Bonpos is still extremely incomplete.

The laypeople are confronted by many of these deities, impersonated by monks, in the course of mask dances. The lay Bonpos have the same range of religious activities as Tibetan Buddhist laypeople: the practice of liberality toward monks and monasteries (in exchange for the performance of rituals); the mechanical multiplication of prayers by means of prayer flags and prayer wheels; and journeys of pilgrimage to the holy places of Bon, such as Mount Kailash in the western Himalayas, or Bon ri ("mountain of Bon"), in the southeastern province of Rkong po (Kong po).

THE DIFFUSION OF BON. Both Buddhists and Bonpos agree that when Buddhism succeeded in gaining royal patronage in Tibet in the eighth and ninth centuries, Bon suffered a serious setback. By the eleventh century, however, an organized religious tradition, styling itself Bon and claiming continuity with the earlier, pre-Buddhist religion, appeared in central Tibet. It is this religion of Bon that has persisted to our own times, absorbing doctrines and practices from the dominant Buddhist religion but always adapting what it learned to its own needs and its own perspectives. This is, of course, not just plagiarism, but a dynamic and flexible strategy that has ensured the survival, indeed the vitality, of a religious minority.

Until recent years, much has been made in Western literature of the fact that the Bonpos perform certain basic ritual acts in a manner opposite to that practiced by the Buddhists. Thus, when circumambulating sacred places and objects or when spinning their prayerwheels, the Bonpos proceed counterclockwise rather than following the (Indian and Buddhist) tradition of *pradakṣiṇā*, or circumambulation "toward the right." For this reason, it has been said of Bon that "its essence lay largely in contradiction and negation," and Bon's "willful perversions and distortions" have been pointed out. The error of such views cannot be too strongly emphasized. The Bonpos are conscious of no element of "contradiction and negation" in their beliefs and practices but regard their religion as the pure path to liberation from suffering and rebirth. It is true that down through the centuries Bonpo historiographers have generally regarded the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet as a catastrophe, which they have ascribed to the accumulated collective "evil karma" of the Tibetans. On the other hand, conciliatory efforts have not been lacking; thus one source suggests that Ston pa Gshen rab and Śākyamuni were really twin brothers.

It is difficult to assess just how large the Bonpo community of Tibet is. Certainly the Bonpos are a not insignificant minority. Particularly in eastern Tibet, whole districts are populated by Bonpos. Scattered communities are also to be found in central and western Tibet, particularly in the Chumbi Valley (bordering Sikkim) and among nomads. In the north of Nepal, too, there are Bonpo villages, especially in the district of Dolpo. At a point in history that remains to be determined precisely, Bon exerted a strong influence on the religion of the Nakhi people in Yunnan Province in southwestern China; with this exception, the Bonpos do not seem to have engaged in missionary enterprises. In India, Bonpos belonging to the Tibetan refugee community have established (since 1968) a large and well-organized monastery in which traditional scholarship, rituals, and sacred dances are carried on with great vigor. Since 1980, when religious life was revived in Tibet itself, the Bonpos there have rebuilt several monasteries (albeit on a reduced scale), installed monks, and resumed—to the extent that prevailing conditions permit—many aspects of traditional religious life. It would thus seem that there is good reason to believe that Bon will continue to exist, and even, with certain limits, to flourish.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, Schools of, article on Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism; Dge lugs pa; Tibetan Religions, overview article.

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PER KVAERNE (1987 AND 2005)

BONAVENTURE, religious name of Giovanni di Fidanza (c. 1217–1274), Italian scholastic theologian, minister general of the Friars Minor, cardinal bishop of Albano, doctor of the church, and Christian saint.

LIFE AND WORKS. Information concerning the early life of Bonaventure is scant. His parents were Giovanni di Fidanza, who was a doctor in Bagnoregio in Tuscany, and Maria di Ritello. Bonaventure himself tells that he was cured of a serious childhood illness through his mother's prayer to Francis of Assisi. After early schooling at the Franciscan friary in Bagnoregio, Bonaventure began his studies at the University of Paris in 1235. After earning a master of arts degree, he entered the Franciscan order (Friars Minor), probably in 1243, pursuing the study of theology first under the Franciscan masters Alexander of Hales and John of La Rochelle and later under Odo Rigaldi and William of Meliton.

After he received a bachelor of scripture degree in Paris in 1248, Bonaventure began lecturing on the Bible. Although not all his commentaries survived, those on *Luke* and *John* remain important sources for his early theological viewpoints. After giving his courses on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard between 1250 and 1252, he was ready to receive the licentiate and the doctorate in theology. Although there is some debate concerning the exact date of his formal acceptance into the masters' guild, there is strong evidence indicating that he functioned as regent master at the school of the Friars Minor at Paris from 1253 to 1257. During this period, he composed at least three well-known sets of disputed questions: *On Evangelical Perfection*, *On Christ's Knowledge*, and *On the Mystery of the Trinity*. Because of his election as minister general, Bonaventure had to resign his university post to take up the pressing tasks of administration. Even though he no longer lectured at the university, he made Paris his headquarters and preached frequently to the students and masters gathered there.

During his first years as minister general of the Friars Minor, Bonaventure produced three works that are important sources for his system of thought: a concise handbook of theology called the *Breviloquium* (1257), a brief tract titled *Retracing the Arts to Theology* (date unknown), and a synthesis of his speculative and mystical theology known as *The Journey of the Mind to God* (1259). Most of the writings coming from his years as minister general are directly religious or ascetical in nature, including many sermons, letters, and regulations for the friars, two lives of Francis of Assisi, and the *Defense of the Mendicants* (c. 1269). Of particular importance for insight into the development of Aristotelianism are three sets of conferences held for the friars of Paris: *On the Ten Commandments* (1267), *On the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit* (1268), and *On the Six Days of Creation or the Illuminations of the Church* (1273). The final set of conferences was left unfinished when Bonaventure was named cardinal bishop of Albano by Pope Gregory X in 1273.

Bonaventure left Paris to help with preparations for the Council of Lyons, which convened on May 7, 1274, and he took an active part in the council until his unexpected death on July 15, 1274. Canonized by Sixtus IV in 1482, he was declared a doctor of the church by Sixtus V in 1588 with the title "Seraphic Doctor."

THEOLOGICAL TEACHING. Although not a stranger to philosophy, Bonaventure is known primarily as a theologian. He acknowledged philosophy as a legitimate and important level of reflection, but he believed that it must be transcended by speculative theology and finally by mystical union with God. Bonaventure's theology was influenced not only by the spirituality of Francis of Assisi and the thought of Augustine but also by Dionysius the Areopagite, Boethius, Joachim of Fiore, Richard of Saint-Victor, Aristotle, and Ibn Gabirol (Avicebron).

Bonaventure's theological system is strongly Christocentric. While his early *Commentary on John* describes a view emphatically centered around the Word, his final work, *Collations on the Six Days of Creation*, reveals a system for which the Word as incarnate is the point of departure for theological reflection. While Christ is the historical foundation of Christian theology, reflection on Christ reveals the ontological foundation of theology, which is the triune God.

Doctrine on God. Bonaventure is deeply Augustinian in his conviction that the existence of God cannot be denied (*Opera*, vol. 1, p. 155; vol. 5, pp. 45–51). Human reason can be called on either to affirm or to deny the existence of God. Bonaventure develops three approaches that he sees not as philosophical demonstrations but as spiritual exercises that make one aware of the closeness of God to the human spirit. Any doubt concerning the existence of God can arise only from some deficiency in the human subject. Ultimately, knowledge of God is not an affair of the intellect alone. Love pushes beyond reason. The knowledge of God through love is the goal to which the intellectual analysis is directed and to which it is subordinate (*Opera*, vol. 3, pp. 689, 775).

Bonaventure's theology of the Trinity begins with the New Testament perception of God as a mystery of goodness and love. This theme is developed into metaphysical reflection on the nature of goodness and love by drawing on the insights of Dionysius the Areopagite, Richard of Saint-Victor, Aristotle, and the *Liber de causis*, an influential Neoplatonic work of uncertain authorship. This perception of God as supreme love that is necessarily triune is the highest level of metaphysical insight available to the human mind in this world. Open to us only through revelation, it leads us beyond philosophical metaphysics, which is constrained to reflect on the supreme reality under the name of being (*Opera*, vol. 5, p. 308). As supreme, self-communicative goodness and love, God is conceived as *plenitudo fontalis*, an overflowing fount of being and life that first flows into the two internal emanations through which the Son is generated and the Spirit is breathed forth, then flowing outward into creation. Peculiar in Western trinitarian theology is the emphasis given to the primacy of the Father within the Trinity. As the Trinity is first with respect to the created world, the Father is first with respect to the divine persons (*Opera*, vol. 5, p. 115).

Christology. From the centrality of Christ in the spirituality of Francis of Assisi, Bonaventure moves to systematic reflection on Christ as the center. The core of the Christological mystery is that in Christ the center of reality has become incarnate and has been made historically visible. The theme of the center becomes ever more important in Bonaventure's thought, finding its most extensive development in his *Collations on the Six Days of Creation*. The Son who from eternity is the center of the Trinity mediates all the divine works of creation, illumination, and consummation. When the Son became incarnate in Jesus, he assumed his place as the center of the created universe and its history.

The concept of Christ as center is grounded in Bonaventure's understanding of exemplarity. As a metaphysical concern, exemplarity is the question of the original reality in whose likeness all the copies in creation are formed. The Platonic influence in Bonaventure's thought is apparent in his conviction that exemplarity is the most basic metaphysical question. The Word is the most compact expression of the original divine reality, copies of which are scattered throughout the created cosmos. When the Word becomes incarnate in a particular human being, that human being provides the crucial key to unlock the mystery of reality. As the incarnate Word, Jesus is both the temporal and the eternal exemplar (*Opera*, vol. 8, pp. 242–243). Therefore, his moral teaching and example have normative significance in the search for authentic human existence. For Bonaventure, spirituality is above all the journey of the human soul to God. This journey is made through the person of Christ, who mediates grace to the soul and draws the human person to respond to God by shaping human life in terms of the normative values that have been lived and taught by Christ.

Creation and salvation. Creation and salvation are symbolized by the two sides of a circle whereby Bonaventure expresses the spiritual journey that is the mainspring of world history. Emanation and return (*egressus* and *reditus*) speak of the origin and finality of creation. These paired concepts indicate that in Bonaventure's system creation and salvation are inseparably related. Creation is the movement of finite being from nothing toward that fullness of life that constitutes salvation. Salvation is the actualization of the deepest potential latent in finite reality by reason of the creative love of God.

Bonaventure's understanding of creation coheres with his understanding of God as *plenitudo fontalis*. Since God is the fullest abundance of being, creation is like an immense river that flows from the fecund love of God. Emanating from the depths of the Father through the mediation of the Son and the Spirit, creation circles back to its point of origin. Emanation is always a movement toward return.

The world of created reality takes shape in a hierarchical order based on degrees of Godlikeness. The faintest reflection of God is found in the shadow (umbra) or vestige (*vestigium*) at the level of inorganic substances and lower forms of life. By nature, man is an image (*imago*) principally because of his soul. As the image is reformed by grace, it becomes a likeness (*similitudo*) of God. An angel, by reason of its purely spiritual nature, is also a similitude. Bonaventure employs the doctrine of Dionysius the Areopagite on the angelic and ecclesiastical hierarchies as a means of elaborating the structure of the angelic world and the mediatorial nature of the church.

To the enlightened eye, the entire created world may become a road that leads the human person to God and thus to the fulfillment of creation's destiny. The return of creation to God (technically, *reductio*), which takes place in and through the spiritual journey of humanity, is above all the work of the illumination and grace mediated through Christ. The redemptive process, begun decisively in Christ, includes the overcoming of sin (satisfaction) and the completion of the creative work of God (cosmic fulfillment). The theology of redemption is the elaboration of the return of an incomplete and fallen creation to God.

Spiritual life. Bonaventure has long been regarded as one of the masters of the spiritual life. Reflecting the spirituality of Francis of Assisi, the spiritual doctrine of Bonaventure is centered around Christ as mediator of grace and interior teacher of the soul. Christ's historical life and teaching manifest the basic values by which human life is transformed in its response to God's grace. As risen Lord, Christ functions as a hierarch, exercising the three hierarchical acts of purgation, illumination, and perfection, which Bonaventure draws from Dionysius the Areopagite (*Opera*, vol. 8, pp. 3–27). Through its response to Christ's action, the soul becomes hierarchized as the disorder of sin is replaced by order. The goal of the spiritual journey is contemplative union in love with God. All philosophical and theological reflection is subordinate to this end. Bonaventure follows Dionysius in describing a level of ecstatic, loving contact with God that transcends all purely intellectual knowledge of God. At this point, apophatic theology and silence are appropriate (*Opera*, vol. 5, pp. 312–313).

The doctrine of the soul's journey integrates the spirituality of Francis into the broader context of Augustinian and Dionysian mysticism. Finally, the journey of the individual soul is integrated into the journey of the church, and Francis of Assisi becomes the model of the destiny of the church as *ecclesia contemplativa*.

Theory of knowledge. While Bonaventure agrees with Aristotle that knowledge of the external world is dependent on sensation, he attempts to integrate elements of Aristotle's empiricism with Augustine's doctrine of illumination. Convinced that the experience of certitude can be accounted for neither in terms of mutable objects nor in terms of the mutable human mind, Bonaventure suggests a mode of divine cooperation whereby the human mind is elevated by the light of the divine ideas and thus is able to arrive at certitude even though all the objects of experience are mutable (*Opera*, vol. 5, p. 23). The divine ideas function as a regulatory and motivating influence that illumines the mind so that it can judge in accord with the eternal truth. Illumination is involved especially in the full analysis of finite being, which leads ultimately to absolute being. Such analysis, or reduction, is possible only if the human mind is aided by that being that is "most pure, most actual, most complete and absolute" (*Opera*, vol. 5, p. 304).

Though the soul is dependent on the senses for knowledge of the external world, it enjoys a relative independence of the senses in its knowledge of itself and its own activity. Thus Bonaventure departs from the Aristotelian view that there is nothing in the intellect that is not first in the senses, and he incorporates into his theory of knowledge the way of interiority inherited from Augustine and found in a variety of mystical systems.

Theology of history. Among the great theologians of history, Bonaventure is one of the most consistently apocalyptic. Influenced by Joachim of Fiore's theory of exegesis, Bonaventure interpreted Francis of Assisi as a positive sign of the dawning of a new contemplative age. The adulteration of the wine of revelation by the water of philosophy was seen as a negative sign of apocalyptic import. To Bonaventure it seemed that his own time was experiencing the crisis of the "sixth age" of history. This would be followed by an age of full revelation and peace prior to the end of the world, an age in which the Holy Spirit would lead the church into the full realization of the revelation of Christ, making all rational philosophy and theology superfluous.

INFLUENCE. Bonaventure's theological views were instrumental in consolidating late-thirteenth-century opposition to radical Aristotelianism. In the context of the controversy concerning Thomas Aquinas's philosophy, Franciscans, including John Pecham, Roger Marston, William de la Mare, Walter of Bruges, Matthew of Aquasparta, and others, developed a form of neo-Augustinianism that drew much inspiration from the work of Bonaventure. It is hardly possible, however, to speak of a Bonaventurian school in the fourteenth century. The founding of the College of Saint Bonaventure at Rome by Sixtus V in 1587 was intended to foster Bonaventurian studies. The most significant contribution of the college was the first complete edition of the works of Bonaventure (1588–1599). An attempted Bonaventurian revival in the seventeenth century met with little success. The College of Saint Bonaventure at Quaracchi, near Florence, founded in the late nineteenth century, produced the critical edition of Bonaventure's works, which provides the basis for the many studies that appeared in the twentieth century.

The influence of Bonaventure as a master of the spiritual life has been extensive, especially in Germany and the Netherlands during the late Middle Ages. The *Soliloquy* and the *Threefold Way* were widely disseminated in vernacular translations and influenced Germanic education, piety, and theology for centuries. In *Bonaventura deutsch* (Bern, 1956), Kurt Ruh calls Bonaventure "an essential factor in the history of the German mind" (p. 295).

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ZACHARY HAYES (1987)

BONES have long been a major object of concern in burial, sacrificial, and divination practices throughout the world. Indeed, this role has been so significant that a number of theories have been developed to explain their prominence. In the earlier part of the twentieth century, many of these theories were based upon evolutionary claims: several scholars hypothesized that the rituals involving bones emerged from earlier hunting cultures, and that the continuing prevalence of bones in the rituals of agricultural societies represented a survival of these earlier beliefs.

Particular emphasis in many of the theories about bones was based on ethnographic evidence from northern Eurasia and northern America, where several hunting societies believed that after they killed an animal, its bones should be treated with ritual care (for instance, buried, hung in trees, thrown into the sea). If done properly, the animal would then be reborn from the bones. The single most famous example of these beliefs is the bear ceremonial, practiced among the Inuit, Saami, and Ainu, among others (see Hallowell, 1926).

Building upon this evidence, figures such as Adolf Friedrich, Karl Meuli, Joseph Henninger, and Walter Burkert argued that these were probably widespread Paleolithic beliefs, and that sacrificial, burial, and divination practices in cultures throughout the world should accordingly be explicated as remnants of these early rituals. Henninger (1971), for example, used this argument to analyze the proscription against breaking the bones of the Passover lamb. Meuli (1946) and Burkert (1983) attempted to explicate ancient Greek sacrificial practice along these lines as well. Combining archaeological data of bone assemblages with the ethnographic record of hunting societies in Siberia, Meuli and Burkert hypothesized that early hunters perhaps felt guilt over killing for food, so they would gather the bones of the killed animals to help restore the animals to life. Accordingly, Meuli and Burkert argued, the ancient Greek sacrificial practice of offering the bones of a slaughtered animal to the gods should be understood as a survival of these earlier hunting rituals.

The problems with such theories are twofold. To begin with, the ethnographic record necessitates a qualification of some of the assumptions made by these scholars concerning hunting rituals. Although it is true that several hunting societies practice rituals to ensure the rebirth of the animals they kill, these rituals are not necessarily focused predominantly upon the bones. With the Algonquian Cree, for example, depositing bones in a mortuary is a crucial part of their ritual practices, but equally important is the consumption of the animals' flesh because the cycle of reincarnation for animals includes the phase of passing through humans (Brightman, 1993). Among the Kwakiutl, as well, a constant concern was to recycle the souls of the animals one killed, but the animals' skins were at least as important as the bones for this recycling process (see in particular Goldman, 1975, and Walens, 1981).

The second problem with the theories mentioned above is that arguments of survival are often insufficient. Even if a given ritual were to survive from an earlier period, it is still important to understand the meanings that the ritual has for the people who practice it. Because of this, scholars have more recently shifted the focus to analyses of the symbolic associations of rituals in particular cultures. According to this reading, the explanation for the importance of bones in religious practices throughout the world would lie in something simpler than survival from earlier hunter-gatherer practices. The fact that bones survive long after the flesh decays has perhaps made bones—to paraphrase Lévi-Strauss (1963, p. 89)—good to utilize in ritual actions dealing with human afterlife, as well as with sacrifices and divinations to immortal or long-lived gods.

ANCIENT GREEK SACRIFICE. In terms of Greek sacrificial traditions, the most significant attempt to analyze the meanings of the ritual acts has been undertaken by Jean-Pierre Vernant and Marcel Detienne. According to Vernant (1989) and Detienne (1989), the code of early Greek sacrifice can rather be explained with reference to the cultural concerns expressed in Hesiod's *Theogony.* There, sacrifice is presented as a recapitulation of the actions of Prometheus. According to Hesiod, Prometheus killed an ox and split it into two portions: the meat and the bones. In order to fool Zeus, Prometheus then disguised both portions—wrapping the bones in fat to make them look appetizing, and hiding the meat in the ox's stomach to make it look unappetizing. He kept the meat for himself, and offered the disguised bones to Zeus. As a punishment for the trick, Zeus kept fire away from Prometheus, and Prometheus had to steal it in order to cook the meat. Zeus in turn gave humanity women and death. The acts of Prometheus thus won humanity autonomy from the gods, but they also condemned humanity to mortality and a life of labor, as opposed to the immortality of the gods. According to Vernant and Detienne, Greek sacrificial practice is symbolically a repetition of the acts of Prometheus: the offering of bones to the gods thus underscores that gods do not need to eat, while humans, who require sustenance to survive, consume the meat. The sacrificial meal is thus both a communion between gods and humanity as well as a recapitulation of the tragic separation of humanity from the immortal life of the gods. Here, then, the practice of utilizing bones in sacrifice is explicated not through survivals of earlier hunting rituals but rather through the symbolic associations with bones in the culture in question.

BONES IN MORTUARY PRACTICES. Much scholarship has also been undertaken to study the meanings of bones in mortuary practices. A particularly rich area for the study of these practices is Southeast and East Asia, where one finds a strong distinction made between flesh, seen as the inheritance of the mother, and the bones, seen as the inheritance of the father (Lévi-Strauss, 1969, pp. 393–405). In patrilineal cultures that support such a distinction, the goal is often to define ancestors solely in terms of the bones. This has led to the practice of "secondary burial." After the dead have been buried, they are later dug up again and reburied. The crucial issue here is that during the first internment, the flesh—a pollution that needs to be eradicated—decomposes. The society is then free to bury the bones—associated with the patrilineal line—in a way that ensures the continuity of the patrilineal line freed from the pollution of flesh.

Burial practices of this sort have been described in south China. As James Watson has described among rural Cantonese of the New Territories, Hong Kong, the goal of a family is to maintain the patriline. Marriage is exogamous, so females are brought in from other lineages in order for a patriline to continue. Because the patriline is associated with the bones, the flesh that the females contribute is seen as bringing in a dangerous pollution to the family as well. After death, therefore, the goal is to eradicate this flesh and define the ancestor exclusively in terms of the bones. The corpse is first placed in a coffin. Just before the coffin is taken out of the village, the daughters and daughters-in-law of the deceased rub their hair against the coffin, thus absorbing the pollution of the decaying flesh. The coffin is then buried. Then, after roughly seven years (and after the flesh has fully decomposed), the bones are exhumed. The bones are cleaned of every last scrap of flesh and are then placed in a ceramic urn. An auspicious location is determined, and the bones are reburied in a tomb. If done properly, the bones are then believed to bring fertility and good luck to the descendants.

The Merina of Madagascar, as described by Maurice Bloch (1971), also practice secondary burial, but with somewhat different cultural concerns. When a death occurs, the dead person is simply buried on a hillside near the place where the death occurred. This first burial represents the death of the individual. After the corpse has decomposed, the remains are then exhumed. Unlike the Cantonese, however, effort is made to recover not just the bones but also some of the powdered remains of the flesh. The difference here presumably is due to the fact that, unlike the exogamous Cantonese, the Merina are endogamous: because the mother of the deceased came from within the same kin group, the Merina do not feel the need to define the flesh as a nonlineage pollution requiring full eradication (Bloch and Parry, 1982, pp. 20–21). The decomposed corpse would then be moved to a communal ancestral tomb in the land of the deceased's kin group. For the reburial, the corpses of the other ancestors were taken out and—together with the corpses of the recently deceased—danced with joyously, then reburied in the communal tomb. This communal secondary burial in the ancestral land represents the collectivity and continuity of the ancestral line.

In other burial practices, the goal is to have the soul escape from the confines of the bones. In Hindu practices in Benares, as described by Parry (1982), proper death is believed to occur when the chief mourner cracks open the skull of the corpse to release the vital breath. Following this, the entire body of the corpse is cremated, and the ashes are thrown into the Ganges. The goal, in short, is the complete destruction of the body. Death is thus symbolically presented as though the deceased had renounced his or her own body. Parry argues that the goal is to present each individual death as a recapitulation of the beginning of the cosmos, in which Viṣṇu generated the world through a self-sacrifice. The mortuary practice is thus presented symbolically as part of a regeneration of life.

In all of these mortuary practices, reproduction is indeed crucial—the reproduction of the patriline, the kin group, or the world as a whole. Bones play a crucial role in this reproduction. Yet bones are not necessarily seen as the basis of that reproduction. The particular meanings attached to bones vary dramatically across cultures, and the ways that bones are utilized vary as well with the forms of reproduction that the rituals seek to create.

SCAPULIMANCY. Similar points made regarding mortuary practices could also be made with regard to divination practices of scapulimancy. During the late period of the Chinese Shang dynasty (c. 1500–1050 BCE), divinations to ancestors were made through the use of the scapula of oxen and the carapaces of turtles (see Keightley, 1978). Heat was applied to the bones, and the diviner then read the resulting cracks in the bones to foretell the future. The divinations themselves were then carved into the bone. Similar forms of scapulimancy (without the carved inscriptions) have been recorded in Mongolia (see in particular Bawden, 1959), Tibet, Japan, and Siberia (Cooper, 1936). It was also practiced in North America among Algonquin speakers, who would utilize the caribou or hare shoulder blade or grouse sternum (Speck, 1935, p. 139; Tanner, 1979, pp. 117–124), as well as among northern Athabaskan speakers (Cooper, 1936).

Because scapulimancy is practiced in many of the same cultures across northern Eurasia and the Americas that scholars looked to for examples of hunting rituals concerning bones, attempts have been made to connect scapulimancy to beliefs associating bones with rebirth. Mircea Eliade, for example, proposed that bones were used for divination because they symbolized everything pertaining to the future of life (Eliade, 1964, pp. 164–165). While this remains a hypothesis worth exploring, other explanations have been attempted as well. Bogoras (1907, pp. 487–488), for example, points out that the Chukchi of Siberia treated the scapula used for divination as world maps. Keightley, in part inspired by Bogoras, has suggested that Shang divination bones may have also had the same symbolic associations (2000, pp. 93–96). Further research on the meaning of bones in the numerous cultures that practice scapulimancy would well repay the efforts.

SEE ALSO Death; Relics; Sacrifice.

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BONHOEFFER, DIETRICH (1906–1945), Lutheran pastor, theologian, and martyr. The sixth of eight children, Bonhoeffer was raised in Berlin in the upper-middle-class family of a leading neurologist. He received his doctorate in theology from the University of Berlin. A student of Adolf von Harnack, Bonhoeffer was deeply influenced by the writings of the young Karl Barth. From 1930 to 1931, he studied at Union Theological Seminary in New York with Reinhold Niebuhr. He then returned to Berlin, teaching theology and becoming student chaplain and youth secretary in the ecumenical movement.

As early as 1933 Bonhoeffer was struggling against the Nazification of the churches and against the persecution of the Jews. Disappointed by the churches' nonaction against Nazism, he accepted a pastorate for Germans in London. However, when the Confessing church (i.e., Christians who resisted Nazi domination) founded its own seminaries, he returned to Germany to prepare candidates for ordination, a task he considered the most fulfilling of his life. As a result of this work, he was forbidden to teach at the University of Berlin. In 1939, after conflicts with the Gestapo, he accepted an invitation to the United States, again to Union Theological Seminary. After four weeks, however, he returned to Germany, convinced he would be ineffectual in the eventual renewal of his nation were he to live elsewhere during its most fateful crisis. He then became an active member of the conspiracy against Hitler. On April 5, 1943, he was imprisoned on suspicion. After the plot to assassinate Hitler failed, Bonhoeffer was hanged (on April 9, 1945), along with five thousand others (including three other members of his family) accused of participating in the resistance.

Bonhoeffer's writings have been widely translated. His early work reflects his search for a concrete theology of revelation. His first dissertation, "Sanctorum Communio," published in Germany in 1930 (also under that title in London, 1963; and as *The Communion of Saints*, New York, 1963), relates the revelational character of the church to its sociological features. An original statement at the time, it remains evocative. His second dissertation, "Act and Being," was written in 1931 against a background of such opposing philosophies as Kantian transcendentalism and Heideggerian ontology. This work tries to reconcile an existential theological approach with an ontological one. According to Bonhoeffer, these approaches work themselves out in the church, in which revelational contingency and institutional continuity merge.

Turning to the actual life of the church and to criticism of it, Bonhoeffer, in 1937, published his controversial *The Cost of Discipleship* (New York, 1963). Asserting that "cheap grace is the deadly enemy of our Church," this work, which is based on the sermon on the mount, critiques a Reformation heritage that breaks faith and obedience asunder. In *Life Together* (New York, 1976), Bonhoeffer's most widely read book, the author considers experiments to renew a kind of monastic life for serving the world. In 1939 Bonhoeffer began to write a theological ethics, the work he intended to be his life-work, but he completed only fragments of it (*Ethics*, New York, 1965). These fragments reveal Bonhoeffer as moving beyond a situational ethic to a Christ-centered one.

The most influential of Bonhoeffer's posthumous publications has become *Letters and Papers from Prison* (New York, 1972). Among his daily observations was a vision of a future Christianity ready for "messianic suffering" with Christ in a "nonreligious world." To Bonhoeffer "religion" was a province separated from the whole of life—providing cheap escapism for the individual—and a tool in the hands of the powers that be for continuing domination of dependent subjects. Bonhoeffer was critical of Western Christianity because of its complicity with the Holocaust; his letters reveal his conviction that a life with Christ means "to exist for others." It was his belief in a "religionless Christianity"—that is, a praying church that responds to Christ out of the modern (not sinless) strength of human beings and their decisions—that enabled Bonhoeffer to begin to write a revised theology of "Jesus, the man for others," and to participate in the conspiratorial counteraction against the deadly forces of Hitler.

Bonhoeffer's thought emerged from his cultural heritage of German liberalism. He suffered when he experienced its weakness in the face of Nazism. He rethought this heritage within a Christocentric theology, thus becoming a radical critic of his contemporary church and of contemporary theology because they seemed to him to touch only the insignificant corners of life.

The originality of Bonhoeffer's thought may be summarized in three ways. First, by employing biblical and modern criticism of religion, he gave to theology and piety epochal stress on the idea that the God who is not of this world posits a requisite "this-worldliness" of faith, which is not, however, absorbed by immanentism. Second, Bonhoeffer's words and deeds teach that each generation must discern its own particular means to express its contribution to faith and action. Third, in areas where developments press toward a "confessing church," Bonhoeffer challenges Christians to analyze and to resist ideological syncretism with any zeitgeist, whether the result is a Greek, a Teutonic, or an American Christ.

His influence is worldwide for two reasons. First, his life as theologian and thinker was sealed by martyrdom. Second, Bonhoeffer's legacy has stimulated ecumenism beyond his own national, spiritual, and institutional borders, including influence among Roman Catholics and Jews who see in him a Christian theologian who never cheaply evaded controversial issues.

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In addition to the works by Bonhoeffer mentioned in the article, see three collections of letters, lectures, and notes titled *No Rusty Swords* (New York, 1965), *The Way to Freedom* (New York, 1966), and *True Patriotism* (New York, 1973). For works about Bonhoeffer, see my *Dietrich Bonhoeffer: Theologian, Christian, Contemporary*, 3d abr. ed. (New York, 1970); André Dumas's *Dietrich Bonhoeffer: Theologian of Reality* (New York, 1971); Clifford J. Green's *The Sociality of Christ and Humanity: Dietrich Bonhoeffer's Early Theology, 1927–1933* (Missoula, Mont., 1972); and Keith W. Clements's *A Patriotism for Today: Dialogue with Dietrich Bonhoeffer* (Bristol, 1984).

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BONIFACE (673–754), the most distinguished in the group of English missionaries who, in the eighth and succeeding centuries, felt impelled to cross the seas and to preach the gospel to the peoples of the continent of Europe who were still non-Christians. Winfrith, to whom the pope, as tradition has it, gave the name Boniface in 722, was a missionary, founder of monasteries, diffuser of culture, and church organizer. Born in Devonshire, he was introduced to monastic life at an early age. Here he grew up in an atmosphere of strict observance of the Benedictine rule and acceptance of the vivid culture which was spreading abroad from

Northumbria. His many gifts would have assured him of a distinguished career in the growing English church but he felt within himself an intense inner call to carry the gospel to the as yet non-Christian world.

Two attempts at missionary work with Willibrord in Friesland led to nothing, perhaps because of temperamental differences between the two. In 719, Winfrith made the journey to Rome and received a commission from the pope as missionary to the Frankish lands. This commission was later strengthened by his consecration as bishop. Before long the missionary convictions of Boniface became firmly settled on three points: that the missions of the Western church must be controlled and directed by the central authority in Rome, that religious houses both for men and women must be founded to supply the necessary continuity of Christian life in a period of almost ceaseless military disturbance, that regular dioceses must be founded and supplied with loyal and well-trained bishops.

The first period of Boniface's work was marked by notable successes in Hesse and Thuringia. At Geismar he dared to fell the sacred oak of Thor. This episode was understood by the people of the time as a conflict between two gods. When Boniface felled the oak and suffered no vengeance from the resident Germanic god, it was clear that the God whom he preached was the true God who alone is to be worshiped and adored.

Boniface was successful in securing the confidence and support, first of the all-powerful Frankish ruler, Charles Martel, who in 732 defeated the Muslims at the battle of Tours, and, after Charles's death in 741, of Martel's sons Carloman and Pépin. This helped Boniface greatly in his work of restoring or creating order in the churches in the dominions of the Franks, the goal of his second period of the work. He was successful in creating four bishoprics in Bavaria, where churches existed but without settled order. He also called into being four dioceses in the territories to the east of the Rhine. During this period he brought in many colleagues, both men and women, and founded a number of religious houses. His favorite was Fulda (744), where he was buried, and which for more than a thousand years was a great center of church life in Germany.

Until 747 Boniface had been a primate and archbishop without a diocese. In 747 he was appointed archbishop of Mainz. In the meantime his influence had extended westward, until it was felt in many parts of what is now France. In 742 he was able to hold a synod of the French churches, commonly known as the German Council, and in 744 an even more important meeting at Soissons. It is to be noted that the decrees of the earlier council were issued in the name of Carloman and became the law of the church as well as of the state.

Two special features of the work of Boniface are to be noted. Boniface was too busy to become an accomplished scholar but was deeply concerned for the spread of culture and used his monasteries as centers for the diffusion of knowledge. He himself wrote Latin clearly and elegantly, coming between the over-elaborate style of Aldhelm (d. 709) and the rather flat scholastic Latin of the Middle Ages. Frank Stenton has called him the one great writer produced by the early schools of southern England and a man of individual genius.

The part played by women in the development of the church in this period is astonishing. At a time at which the vast majority of women were illiterate, the religious houses of England produced a number of aristocratic and highly cultivated nuns, a number of whom Boniface brought over to Europe to be the abbesses of his newly founded monasteries. To Leobgytha (Leoba), abbess of Tauferbischofsheim, he was bound, as the letters exchanged between them show, in a relationship of specially affectionate friendship. She survived him by more than a quarter of a century, and when she died in 780, she was buried near her venerable friend at Fulda, in accordance with her earnest desire.

In 752, Boniface, feeling that his work was done, and perhaps wearied by the increasing opposition of the Frankish churchmen to the English dominance, resigned all his offices and returned as a simple missionary to Friesland, where he had begun his missionary career. Great success marked the first year of this enterprise. But on June 4, 754, Boniface and his companions found themselves surrounded by a band of pagans, determined to put a stop to the progress of the gospel. Boniface forbade armed resistance, and he and fifty-three of his followers met their death with the quiet fortitude of Christian martyrs.

The English are accustomed to speak of these years as "the dark ages," but, as the eminent German church historian K. D. Schmidt once remarked, "to us this was the period of light, when the light of the Gospel and of Christian civilization came to us." Boniface, the apostle of Germany, was one of those burning and shining lights.

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BONIFACE VIII (Benedetto Gaetani, c. 1235–1303), pope of the Roman Catholic church (1294–1303). Connected by family relationship not only with the earlier popes Alexander IV and Nicholas III but also with the Orsini and Colonna families, Gaetani studied law at Bologna, worked as a notary at the Curia Romana, served on embassies to France and England, discharged the office of papal legate in France, and by 1291 had become cardinal priest of San Martino. A capable, experienced, and energetic administrator, he was by temperament bold, hardheaded, formidably stubborn, and, at least in his latter years, prone to damaging outbursts of irascibility that some have attributed in part to painful bouts with "the stone." Unfortunately, the juxtaposition of his energetic pontificate with the brief (and chaotic) reign of his predecessor, the devout hermit-pope Celestine V, proved to be a case of the wrong men in a crucial role at the wrong time and in the wrong sequence. The troubles besetting the two pontificates are usually taken to mark the great turning point in the fortunes of the late medieval papacy.

Certainly, the difficulties and disputes that marked the reign of Boniface VIII have served to obscure for posterity the pope's more positive achievements. These were real enough. His reordering of the curial fiscal and administrative system, his publication in 1298 of the *Liber sextus*, a legal compilation supplementary to the decretals of Gregory IX, his sponsorship in 1300 of the Jubilee Year at Rome, his decisive ruling of that same year on the relationship between the diocesan clergy and the clergy of the mendicant orders, his foundation in 1303 of a *studium generale* at Rome—all had important, and some of them enduringly positive, consequences. Nonetheless, even such unquestionably positive achievements sometimes generated problems for Boniface. Thus, the increase in financial support and papal prestige stemming from the enormous flow of pilgrims to Rome during the Jubilee may well have bolstered Boniface's self-assurance and encouraged him to be too unyielding in his subsequent dealings with the French king. Similarly, while they were impartially and carefully framed, the measures he introduced to remedy the dissension and disorder in diocesan government spawned by the extensive exemptions and privileges previously granted to the mendicant orders nevertheless succeeded in alienating many of the friars. Yet again, his tightening of the papal fiscal system after the chaos of the previous pontificate, and, within the papal territories, his success in suppressing disorder, enforcing papal control, and extending the property holdings of his Gaetani kin led him into a fatal conflict with the landed interests of the powerful Colonna family.

Problems with Philip IV, king of France, had begun already in 1296 and centered on the right of monarchs to tax the clergy of their kingdoms. Hostilities between Philip and Edward I of England had broken out in 1294, and even in the absence of papal consent the two kings had taken it upon themselves to tax their national churches. Responding to a protest launched by the French Cistercians, Boniface moved in the bull *Clericis laicos* (February 24, 1296) to proscribe (in the absence of explicit papal permission) all lay taxation of the clergy. In the prevailing climate of opinion, with lay sentiment in the two kingdoms favoring the monarchs and some of the clergy inclining to support them too, threats of excommunication proved to be of no avail. The prestige of the papacy had fallen too low to permit the successful deployment of such spiritual weaponry—so low, indeed, that in 1297, confronted also by the combined opposition in Italy of the Colonna family and the Spiritual Franciscans, Boniface was forced to compromise on the question of taxation and in effect to concede the principle he had attempted to establish.

That concession, however, did not prevent his reacting with great firmness when in 1301 Philip IV arrested Bernard of Saisset, bishop of Pamiers, tried him, threw him into prison, and demanded that the pope endorse those actions. Boniface responded by issuing the bulls *Salvator mundi* and *Ausculta fili*, demanding the bishop's release, revoking the taxing privileges earlier granted to the French king, and commanding attendance of the French bishops at a council to be held at Rome in November 1302 in order to consider the condition of religion in France.

Defeated by a Flemish army at Courtral in the summer of 1302, Philip adroitly used the excuse of a national emergency to prohibit attendance of the French bishops at the Roman council. The abortive nature of that assembly, however, did not prevent Boniface from issuing in November 1302 the bull *Unam sanctam*, a rather derivative document but one culminating with the famous declaration "It is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff." Philip's response was even more forceful. Rallying national opinion during the spring of 1303 at a series of assemblies in Paris, and echoing the old Colonna call for convocation of a general council to judge the pope, Philip also authorized his adviser Guillaume de Nogaret to lead an expedition to Italy to seize the person of the pope and bring him back for judgment.

Hence evolved the extraordinary chain of events leading up to the "outrage of Anagni" on September 7, 1303: the attack on the papal palace by Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna, the humiliation of the aged pope, his subsequent rescue by the citizens of Anagni, and his demise soon after at Rome. French pressure by no means ended with his death, and Boniface VIII has since been portrayed as the pope who, while advancing some of the most ambitious claims ever made for the power of the medieval papacy, contrived also to precipitate its decline.

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BOOK See CANON; SCRIPTURE

BOOTH, WILLIAM (1829–1912), English evangelist, founder of the Salvation Army. William Booth was born on April 10, 1829, in Nottingham, England, the only son of the four surviving children of Samuel and Mary Moss Booth. The elder Booth, an unsuccessful building contractor, and his wife were no more than conventionally religious, but William, intelligent, ambitious, zealous, and introspective, was earnest about Christianity from an early age. He was converted at the age of fifteen and two years later gave himself entirely to the service of God as the result of the preaching of James Caughey, a visiting American Methodist revivalist. From the age of thirteen until he was twenty-two Booth worked as a pawnbroker's assistant, first in Nottingham and after 1849 in London. His zeal for souls and compassion for the poor drove him to preach in the streets. In 1852 he became a licensed Methodist minister. Although Booth had been forced by his father's financial ruin to withdraw from a good grammar school at age thirteen, he read avidly, sought instruction from older ministers, and developed an effective style in speech and writing. In 1855 he married Catherine Mumford, a woman of original and independent intelligence and great moral courage, who had a strong influence on him. They had eight children.

In 1861 Booth began to travel as an independent evangelist, sometimes appearing with Catherine, who publicly advocated an equal role for women in the pulpit. In 1865 the couple established a permanent preaching mission among the poor in the East End of London, in a place where Booth had conducted an especially effective series of meetings. This new endeavor, which soon included small-scale charitable activities for the poor, was known for several years as the Christian Mission. In 1878 the mission was renamed the Salvation Army.

The military structure suggested by the new name appealed to the Booths and to the co-workers they attracted to their work. Booth remained an orthodox Methodist in doctrine, preaching the necessity of repentance and the promise of holiness—a voluntary submission to God that opened to the believer a life of love for God and for humankind. A premillennialist as well, he was convinced that the fastest way to complete the work of soul winning that would herald the return of Christ was to establish flying squads of enthusiasts who would spread out over the country at his command. The General, as Booth was called, saw evangelism as warfare against Satan for the souls of individuals; the militant tone of scripture and hymns was not figurative to Booth and his officers, but literal reality. The autocracy of military command was well suited to Booth's decisive and uncompromising personality; and it appealed both to his close associates, who were devoted to him and who sought his counsel on every matter, and to his more distant followers, the "soldiers" recently saved from sin, most of them uneducated, new to religion, and eager to fit themselves into the great scheme.

William and Catherine were convinced from the beginning of their work in London that it was their destiny to carry the gospel to those untouched by existing religious efforts. To them this meant the urban poor. Their sympathy led them to supplement their evangelism by immediate and practical relief. They launched campaigns to awaken the public to the worst aspects of the life of the poor, such as child prostitution and dangerous and ill-paid piecework in neighborhood match factories. Soup kitchens, men's hostels, and "rescue homes" for converted prostitutes and unwed mothers became essential parts of the Army's program.

In 1890 William Booth published *In Darkest England and the Way Out,* which contained a full-fledged program to uplift and regenerate the "submerged tenth" of urban society. The heart of the scheme was a sequence of "city colonies" (urban missions for the unemployed), "land colonies" (retraining in agricultural skills), and "overseas colonies" (assisted emigration to one of Britain's colonies). The book also explained the existing programs and promised many new schemes in addition to the colonies: the "poor man's lawyer," the "poor man's bank," clinics, industrial schools for poor children, missing-persons inquiries, a "matrimonial bureau," and a poor-man's seaside resort, "Whitechapel-by-the-Sea." The *Darkest England* scheme, which was widely endorsed, represents an important turning point in public support for the Army.

Booth would not have claimed to be a saint in any conventional sense, and there are certainly controversial aspects to his life and work. Always overworked and chronically unwell, he often had strained relationships with his close associates, especially after the death of Catherine in 1890. Many of his statements about the Army overlooked the fact that much of its program was not original. He offered no criticism of the basic social and political structure that surrounded him, and his confidence in the desirability of transferring the urban unemployed to the more healthful and "natural" environment of the country was romantic and impractical. Yet the fact remains that Booth combined old and new techniques of evangelism and social relief in an immensely effective and appealing program. He displayed great flexibility in adapting measures to the needs of the moment, altering or eliminating any program, however dear to him, if its effectiveness diminished. He abandoned anything in the way of theology (such as sacraments) or social theory that might confuse his followers or dampen their zeal for soul winning and good works.

Guileless and unsentimental, Booth showed a rare and genuine single-mindedness in the cause of evangelism. His last public message, delivered three months before his death on August 20, 1912, is still cherished by the Army that is his most fitting memorial. The concluding words of the message were these: "While there yet remains one dark soul without the light of God, I'll fight—I'll fight to the very end!"

SEE ALSO Salvation Army.

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BORNEAN RELIGIONS.

From earliest times, the coasts of Borneo have been visited by travelers going between ancient centers of civilization in Asia. Since the sixteenth century Islam has slowly spread from coastal trading centers, such as Brunei in the north and Banjarmasin in the south. Immigrant Chinese have brought the practices of their homeland, and in the last century Christian missionaries have been increasingly successful in the interior, prompting syncretic revivalist cults. This article, however, is concerned with the indigenous religions of the great island. Many of these have passed out of existence or are imminently about to do so without being studied in depth. The existing data indicate wide variation in belief and practice. Nevertheless, there are features widely characteristic of Bornean religions, and it is these that are summarized here.

ETHNIC DIVERSITY. All the indigenous peoples of Borneo speak Austronesian languages, but they exhibit bewildering ethnic diversity. There is still no generally agreed upon taxonomy, and many of the most familiar ethnic terms are vague. In the south and west there are large, politically fragmented populations that nevertheless manifest considerable cultural uniformity. Examples of these are the Ngaju and Iban, both numbering some hundreds of thousands. To the north the terrain is mountainous and the rivers difficult to navigate. Here are found many small groups, each at most only a few thousand strong. The ethnic diversity is of immediate consequence for religions, because the religions are rooted in the local community and contribute to much of its identity.

THE GENERAL CONCEPT OF RELIGION. Many of the cultures of interior Borneo lack the concept of a separate domain of religion. Instead, ritual observance is incorporated into a spectrum of prescribed behaviors that includes legal forms, marriage practices, etiquette, and much else. All of these are matters of collective representations shared by autonomous communities. Such communities often consist of a longhouse with a few hundred inhabitants and are separated from neighboring villages by tracts of jungle. There is no notion of conversion to another religion; if an individual moves to another community—for instance, as the result of a marriage—he or she simply adheres to the ritual forms of that place. Significantly, members of a community often exaggerate their ritual peculiarity. An outside observer readily identifies items shared with neighboring groups, but the patterns of distribution are complex, reflecting migration and borrowing over many centuries.

The religions of interior Borneo are rich in both ritual and cosmology. In perhaps the best known account, Schärer (1963) describes the subtle notions of the godhead found among the Ngaju, replete with dualistic aspects of upper world and underworld, multilayered heavens, and complex animal and color symbolism. Other peoples have comparably extensive spirit worlds. Because of the archaeologically attested antiquity of contact with India, some authors have discerned elements of Hindu belief. Schärer (1963, p. 13) attributes one of the names of the Ngaju supreme deity to an epoch of Indian influence. In the north there are features of the religion—for instance, in number symbolism—that may indicate influence from China, but there is no overall similarity to Indian or Chinese religions.

THE PROMINENCE OF MORTUARY RITUAL. One element of ancient Southeast Asian provenance is a central feature of many Bornean religions: that is, a focus on death and, in particular, on secondary treatment of the dead. This mortuary complex has been associated with Borneo at least since the publication of Robert Hertz's classic essay (1907). By no means did all interior peoples practice secondary disposal in recent times. The custom is found across much of the southern third of the island but has only a scattered distribution further north. Stöhr (1959) surveys the variety of death rites across the island. Where secondary treatment occurs, it is part of an extended ritual sequence, often the most elaborate of that religion (Metcalf, 1982). The occurrence of secondary treatment also draws attention to the importance of the dead in indigenous cosmologies. Other life-crisis rituals are generally celebrated on a smaller scale, one that does not involve the participation of entire communities.

AGRICULTURAL RITES. Major calendrical rituals are usually coordinated with the agricultural cycle. This is especially true among the Iban, who speak of the soul of the rice in anthropomorphic terms, and focus rites upon it at every stage of cultivation (Jensen, 1974, pp. 151–195). In some areas, however, notably the northwestern subcoastal belt, reliance on hill rice is relatively recent. In these areas, where sago is produced, rice ritual is less prominent.

HEAD-HUNTING RITES. Head-hunting is another practice commonly associated with Borneo. Formerly prevalent, it usually occurred in the context of warfare or as an adjunct to mortuary rites. Frequently heads were required in order to terminate the mourning period for community leaders. In contrast to other parts of Southeast Asia, heads were the focus of much ritual. Hose and McDougall describe the techniques of warfare and head-hunting found among the Kayan and Kenyah of central northern Borneo, and also the large festivals periodically held to honor the heads (Hose and McDougall, 1912, vol. 1, p. 159; vol. 2, pp. 20–22, 41, 47).

RITUAL SPECIALISTS. Even in societies with little technological and political specialization, ritual specialists are important. But there is great variation in the particular combinations of roles played by priest, shaman, and augur. Women often play a major part. Among the Dusun of northern Borneo, for example, priestesses officiate at all major rituals (Evans, 1953, p. 42). Often in association with death rites there are psychopomps to conduct the deceased to the land of the dead. In all of this, ritual languages are prominent. Often the major function of priests and priestesses is to recite long chants that deal with mythical events. These chants are complexly structured in terms of parallel phraseology; even prayers uttered by laymen in small family rituals display formal structure (Evans, 1953, pp. 42–56). Ritual is often accompanied by the sacrifice of chickens, pigs, or buffalo.

Shamanism is found everywhere and typically involves the recovery of errant souls through séances. Concomitantly, theories of illness usually focus on soul loss, in which all manner of nonhuman, malign agencies are implicated. Yet there is often a complementary theory of illness that results from the infraction of primordial taboo. Although not entirely absent, there is remarkably little concern with witchcraft.

RITUAL AND SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION. Some societies of interior Borneo are hierarchically stratified, while others are egalitarian. But even in the latter, major public rituals are closely bound up with the forms of leadership and social control. There is a dearth of rites of prestation, in which wealth passes between similar collectivities. This may in part be a result of social organization that is predominantly cognatic, that is, lacking groups defined by fixed rules of descent. In large-scale festivals, however, leaders coordinate the efforts of entire communities in order to feed guests and erect monuments.

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PETER METCALF (1987)
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BORROMEO, CARLO (1538–1584), reforming archbishop of Milan, cardinal, and canonized saint of the

Roman Catholic church. Carlo Borromeo, second son of Count Gilberto Borromeo and Margherita de' Medici, was born at Arona, northwest of Milan, on October 2, 1538. From 1552 he attended the University of Pavia, where he received a doctorate in civil and canon law in 1559. At the end of that year his maternal uncle, Gian Angelo de' Medici, was elected Pope Pius IV and immediately bestowed upon his twenty-one-year-old nephew the archbishopric of Milan, a collection of other wealthy benefices, and a cardinal's hat. Borromeo, however, proved by his seriousness and personal austerity to be an atypical beneficiary of nepotism; thus when his elder brother died heirless and his family attempted to persuade him to revert to lay status, marry, and assume the noble title, he refused and instead had himself secretly ordained a priest July 17, 1563.

Borromeo's most significant role in the pontifical government of his uncle was his work as liaison between the Curia Romana and the third session of the Council of Trent (1560–1563). Afterward he served on various postconciliar commissions and oversaw the preparation of the *Catechism of the Council of Trent*—not so much a catechism in the ordinary sense as a doctrinal manual for the use of parish priests. This book was completed in 1564 and published in 1566.

Among the most important reforms of the Council of Trent was the requirement that bishops reside in their dioceses, but Pius IV would not allow his nephew to fulfill this obligation. Borromeo did however visit Milan in September and October of 1565, during which time he summoned and presided over his first provincial council. Recalled to Rome to assist at his uncle's deathbed, he participated in the conclave that followed and was instrumental in the election of his fellow-reformer, Pius V, on January 8, 1566.

Borromeo returned to Milan in April 1566 and labored there for the rest of his life. He became during those years the ideal of the Counter-Reformation bishop, not only because his own spiritual life was rich and deep and in accord with the ascetic principles of his time, but also because he reconstructed his great diocese and province along the lines mandated by the Council of Trent. He was present everywhere to oversee the moral reform of clergy, laity, and religious, either through tireless journeys of episcopal visitation or through the six provincial and eleven diocesan synods he held during his tenure. He founded six seminaries and a special missionary college to train priests to work in nearby Switzerland. He established hundreds of catechetical centers, which by the time he died were serving regularly more than twenty thousand children. He founded orphanages, hospitals, and homes for abandoned women. In his educational projects he worked closely with the new Society of Jesus. He was punctilious in carrying out his pastoral duties and careless of his personal safety, notably during the plague years of 1570 and 1576.

Borromeo's severity earned him enemies as well as adherents. In 1569 a friar attempted to assassinate him. He was constantly at odds with the Spanish authorities who governed the duchy of Milan, and particularly with the redoubtable viceroy, Requesens, whom he excommunicated. But Borromeo never heeded opposition, and during his relatively short span of years he established the model of the Tridentine bishop, a model destined to perdure for nearly four centuries. He was canonized on November 1, 1610.

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BRAHMĀ is the creator in Hindu mythology; sometimes he is said to form a trinity with Viṣṇu as preserver and Śiva as destroyer. Yet Brahmā does not have the importance that creator gods usually have in mythology, nor is his status equal to that of Śiva or Viṣṇu. Though Brahmā appears in more myths than almost any other Hindu god, as the central figure in quite a few, and as a bit player in many more, he was seldom worshiped in India; at least one important version of the myth in which Śiva appears before Brahmā and Viṣṇu in the form of a flaming phallus explicitly states that Brahmā will never again be worshiped in India (to punish him for having wrongly sworn that he saw the tip of the infinite pillar). Brahmā's ability to create is little more than an expertise or a technical skill that he employs at the behest of the greater gods; he is called upon whenever anyone is needed to create something, or even to create a pregnant situation—to give power to a potential villain so that the action of the conflict can unfold. But if one were to create a functional trinity of gods who wield actual power in Hindu mythology, one would have to replace Brahmā with the Goddess.

Brahmā's mythology is derived largely from that of the god Prajāpati in the Brahmāṇas. Unlike Brahmā, Prajāpati is regarded as the supreme deity, and he creates in a variety of ways: he casts his seed into the fire in place of the usual liquid oblation; he separates a female from his androgynous form and creates with her through incestuous intercourse; or he practices asceticism in order to generate heat, from which his children are born. In this way he creates first fire, wind, sun, moon; then all the gods and demons (the *deva*s and *asura*s, who are his younger and older sons); then men and animals; and then all the rest of creation. In the epics and Purāṇas, when Brahmā takes over the task of creation he still uses these methods from time to time, but his usual method is to create mentally: he thinks of something and it comes into existence. While he is under the influence of the element of darkness (*tamas*) he creates the demons; under the influence of goodness (*sattva*) he creates the gods. Or he may dismember himself, like the Ṛgvedic cosmic man (Puruṣa), and create sheep from his breast, cows from his stomach, horses from his feet, and grasses from his hairs. Paradoxically (or perversely), he usually employs less abstract methods (such as copulation) to produce the more abstract elements of creation (such as the hours and minutes, or the principles of logic and music).

Brahmā's name is clearly related both to *brahman*, the neuter term for the godhead (or, in earlier texts, for the principle of religious reality), and to the word for the priest, the *brahmāṇa*. In later Hinduism Brahmā is committed to the strand of Hinduism associated with *pravṛtti* ("active creation, worldly involvement") and indifferent, or even opposed, to *nivṛtti* ("withdrawal from the world, renunciation"). He therefore comes into frequent conflict with Śiva when Śiva is in his ascetic phase, and competes with Śiva when Śiva is in his phallic phase. Brahmā's unilateral attachment to *pravṛtti* may also explain why he alone among the gods is able to grant the boon of immortality, often to demon ascetics: he deals only in life, never in death. This habit unfortunately causes the gods serious problems in dealing with demons, who are usually overcome somehow by Śiva or Viṣṇu. Immortality (or release from death) is what Brahmā bestows in place of the *mokṣa* (release from rebirth and redeath) that Śiva and Viṣṇu may grant, for these two gods, unlike Brahmā, are involved in both *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti*. This one-sidedness of Brahmā may, finally, explain why he failed to capture the imagination of the Hindu worshiper: the god who is to take responsibility for one's whole life must, in the Hindu view, acknowledge not only the desire to create but the desire to renounce creation.

SEE ALSO Indian Religions, article on Mythic Themes; Prajāpati; Śiva.

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BRAHMAN.

In the Vedic hymns the neuter noun *bráhman* denotes the cosmic principle or power contained in the priestly or inspired utterance. As such, it came to be viewed as embodied in the Veda when the latter was fixed in a body of texts. The masculine form of the word, *brahmán*, denotes the priest who knows and speaks such utterances; in the later standardized Vedic ritual he is one of the four main priests who, mostly silently, oversees and rectifies errors in the sacrificial proceedings. The derivative term *brāhmaṇa* has two denotations. One indicates the Vedic prose texts that expound the *śrauta* ("solemn") ritual; these texts are also known in English as the Brāhmaṇa. The other indicates a person of the first of the four *varṇas*, or "castes"; in English this becomes *brahman* or *brahmin*. Finally, Brahman or Brahmā is a name for the creator god in Hinduism.

ETYMOLOGY. Notwithstanding many and various attempts to establish the linguistic derivation of *brahman*, the question remains unsettled. The old equation with Latin *flamen* has been vigorously and repeatedly championed by Georges Dumézil. Louis Renou suggests derivation from the root *barh* (or *brah*), which would mean to speak in riddles. Jan Gonda wants to derive *brahman* from the root *bṛh* ("to be strong"), a view that he finds supported by the ancient Indian exegetes and that has the advantage of bringing together the two largely interchangeable Vedic divinities Bṛhaspati and Brahmaṇaspati. Paul Thieme, rejecting Gonda's reliance on traditional Indian exegesis, starts from a basic meaning of "form(ing), formulation" and pleads for connecting it with Greek *morphē*. These, as well as other proposed etymologies, run into formal or semantic difficulties. Much depends on the view one takes of the basic meaning. Consensus tends to look for the basic meaning in the sphere of (sacred) word or formulation, as is in accordance with abundant textual evidence. The main problem, however, is the multi-interpretability of the element *brah*, which keeps frustrating attempts to arrive at a satisfactory solution.

MYTHOLOGY. In the Brāhmaṇas and especially in the Upaniṣads, *brahman* comes to designate the impersonal eternal principle and first cause of the universe. It plays, however, no distinct role in Vedic cosmogony. Its connection—under the form of the god Brahmā—with the cosmogonic myth of the golden germ or egg (*hiranyagarbha*) is post-Vedic. In the *Laws of Manu* (1.5ff.) the golden egg is said to have arisen from Brahmā's seed, which he deposited in the primordial waters. After remaining in this embryonic state, Brahmā is born from the golden egg as the cosmic man, Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa. The essential point of this and similar passages is that Brahmā as the single principle and cause of the universe is "self-existent" (*svayaṃbhū*) and therefore can only put the cosmogonic process into motion by reproducing himself. In the same line of self-reproduction we find the motif of Brahmā's incest with his daughter, Vāc ("speech")—a motif transferred from the Vedic creator god Prajāpati, lord of creatures. Though fused with the cosmic man, Puruṣa, and with Prajāpati, he has not given rise to a cosmogonic myth specific to him. In Hindu cosmology he is either a presiding but inactive deity—not unlike the brahman priest in the sacrificial ritual—or a demiurge who comes into his own only in the second stage of the cosmogony, when the phenomenal world starts its deployment. He is then seated on the lotus that grows out of Viṣṇu's navel, or, again, he is born from the cosmic egg (*brahmāṇḍa*).

In the Hindu pantheon, Brahmā is united, as the static center, with the dynamic supreme deities Viṣṇu and Śiva in the *trimūrti*, the triple form of the divine. Iconographically, he is represented with four bearded heads and four arms. His attributes are the four Vedas, the water vessel, the offering ladle, the rosary (emblems of the brahman), the lotus, and the scepter (or bow), while his mount is the *haṃsa* or goose. The otherwise abundant Hindu mythology does not, however, give much attention to Brahmā, nor is there clear evidence of a cult. In essence, *brahman* remained an abstract concept that was elaborated in the Upanisads and the monistic Vedānta philosophy.

SEMANTIC DEVELOPMENT. Hermann Oldenberg summarized the general meaning of *brahman* (neuter) as the sacred formula and the magic power inherent in it ("die heilige Formel und das sie erfüllende Fluidum der Zauberkraft"; 1917, vol. 2, p. 65). Although this is consistent overall with Vedic usage, it still leaves a large distance between sacred formula and the later meaning of *principium omnium*. Moreover, the Vedic *brahman*, far from being eternal and immutable, is said to be made or "carpented." Gonda's view of *brahman* as "power," derived from the verbal root *bṛh* ("to be strong"), is useful but too general to answer the problem in more precise terms. Thieme's analysis leading to "form(ing), formulation" (*Formung*, *Gestaltung*, *Formulierung*) as the original meaning, especially in the sense of (improvised) poetic formulation and later (stereotyped) truth formulation, goes a long way toward filling the gap. Renou, apart from the doubtful etymology proposed by him, draws attention to a particular dimension of the formulation. In his view, *brahman* is distinguished by its enigmatic or paradoxical nature. The *brahman*, then, is the formulation of the cosmic riddle, a riddle that cannot be solved by a direct answer but only formulated in paradoxical terms that leave the answer—the (hidden) connection (*bandhu*, *nidāna*) between the terms of the paradox—unexpressed. In Renou's felicitous phrase, the *brahman* is the "énergie connective comprimée en énigmes" (1949, p. 43).

Yet another element must be taken into account in fixing the semantic range of *brahman*, namely, the verbal contest. This element is preserved, albeit in fixed and ritualized form, in the Brahmodya of the Vedic ritual, especially in the horse sacrifice, or Aśvamedha. It consists of a series of rounds of verbal challenges and responses. In each round two contestants put riddle questions to each other. The point of the riddle contest is to show that one has "seen" or understood the hidden "connection" by responding with a similar, if possible even more artfully contrived, riddle. The one who holds out longest and finally reduces his opponent to silence is the winner, the true *brahman*, holder of the hidden connection. Hence the importance of silence stressed by Renou. In the elaborate Brahmodya of the horse sacrifice the last round is concluded by the brahman priest who asserts himself, apparently as the winner, with the words: "This *brahman* is the highest heaven of speech" (*brahmāyaṃ vācaḥ paramaṃ vyoma*). In the last resort, then, man as a contestant must place himself in the open gap of the unresolved cosmic riddle and vindicate himself as the live "connection" that holds together the cosmos.

The original Brahmodya, therefore, is not an innocuous riddle game but a matter of life and death. This still transpires in the Brahmodya-like debates of the Upaniṣads, where the losing contestant who fails to submit to his superior opponent and goes on challenging him has to pay for his boldness with his life or, more precisely, with his head. As a contest, the Brahmodya takes its place among other contests, such as chariot races, surviving in fixed, ritualized form. In fact, the Vedic sacrifice itself appears originally to have been a perilous and violent contest for the goods of life. However, the Vedic sacrificial ritual, as the prose texts describe it, is a perfectly peaceful and all but obsessively ordered procedure that has no place for adversaries and real contests. It is the exclusive affair of an individual sacrificer.

This fundamental change is expressed in interesting fashion in a ritualistic myth relating the decisive sacrificial contest between Prajapati and Mrtyu, or Death (*Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* 2.69–2.70). Prajāpati wins his final victory by his "vision" of equivalence that enables him to assimilate his adversary's sacrificial panoply and thereby to eliminate him once and for all. "Since then," the text concludes, "there is no sacrificial contest anymore." But this also meant that the formulation of the cosmic life-death riddle with its hidden connection was replaced with flat and artless statements of equivalence, establishing the identification of the elements of macro- and microcosmos with those of the standardized ritual. Thus the so-called "four *hotṛ*" (*caturhotṛ*) formulas are still said to be "the highest hidden *brahman* of the gods" and their original context appears indeed to have been the verbal contest. However, in the way these formulas are given in the texts, they are no more than a string of simple identifications—"Thinking is the ladle, thought is the ghee, speech is the altar . . ."—without mystery or enigma, to be learned and recited by rote. The dynamic tension of the hidden connection has collapsed into flat and static identification. The uncertain outcome of the contest has been replaced by the ritualistic knowledge of him "who knows thus" (*ya evam veda*), namely the identifications that concentrated the whole of the universe in the ritual proceedings and, ultimately, in the single sacrifice.

In the context of the ritual's development and fixation the *brahman* evolves from the visionary formulation of the cosmic riddle to comprise the immutably fixed corpus of Vedic texts. From the subjective truth of the visionary poet it has become the objective truth of the suprahuman, transcendent law of the universe, realized in the ritual and underpinned by identification. This also meant that the function of the *brahman* (masc.), that is, the speaker or knower of *brahman* (neuter), was narrowed down to that of the mostly silent *brahman* priest in the ritual, while the *brāhmaṇa* became (ideally) the human carrier of the Veda (hence the scriptural stress on its oral preservation and transmission by the brahman).

At the same time, the *brahman* kept up its intimate connection with speech, which gave rise to the later speculations on the primordial utterance as the cosmic principle (*śabda-brahman*) and to philosophy of language, as well as to grammatical description.

On the other hand, identification made it possible to concentrate the whole of the spoken and acted proceedings of the ritual in the person of the single sacrificer, who in this way internalizes the whole of the ritual, that is, the transcendent cosmic order, and so becomes identical with *brahman.* This was already prefigured in the *brahman* who, as we saw, identifies himself with "the highest heaven of speech." Here the development leads over to the Upanisadic doctrine of the unity of *ātman*, the principle of individuation or the individual "soul," and *brahman*, which gave rise to the monistic philosophy of the Vedānta.

SEE ALSO Brahmā; Priesthood, article on Hindu Priesthood; Upaniṣads; Varṇa and Jāti; Vedānta.

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BRĀHMAṆAS AND ĀRAṆYAKAS.

The Brāhmaṇas are the oldest Indian Sanskrit prose texts, usually dated from the first half or the middle of the last millennium BCE. Their chronology, like that of most classical Indian texts, is uncertain and hinges on equally uncertain external factors such as the dates for the *Ṛgveda*, for the grammarian Pāṇini, and for the Buddha; moreover, the time span between their first formulation and their final redaction may have been considerable. The word *brāhmaṇa* means a statement on *brahman*, that is, on the cosmic importance or meaning of the Vedic sacrificial ritual, whether of each individual act (*karman*) and formula (*mantra*), or of the combination of such acts and formulas that constitute a particular sacrifice. *Brāhmaṇa* then becomes the generic term applied to such collections of statements or commentaries. As a class of texts, they deal in a step-by-step, rite-by-rite manner with the whole of the *śrauta* ("solemn") ritual. Together with the usually metrical *mantra*s, the prose Brāhmaṇas constitute the *śruti* (whence the adjective *śrauta*), the corpus of the "revealed" Veda.

The Brāhmaṇas follow the division of the four Vedas and the corresponding parts of the ritual—*Ṛgveda*, recitation; *Yajurveda*, performance; *Sāmaveda*, chanting; and *Atharvaveda*, officiating. The central and oldest group of Brāhmaṇas are those of the *Yajurveda*, which is concerned with the overall scheme of the ritual process. In the older versions or *śākhā*s ("branches") of the *Yajurveda*, the *mantra* and Brāhmaṇa parts are intermingled in the Saṃhitās of the relevant "branch" (*Kāṭhaka*, *Maitrāyaṇī*, and *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*s together forming the *Kṛṣṇa* or "Black" *Yajurveda*). In the younger *Śukla* or "White" *Yajurveda*, the Saṃhitā with the *mantra*s pertaining to the ritual acts is separated from the Brāhmaṇa (the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*), as is also the case with the *Ṛgveda* and the *Sāmaveda*, while the *Atharvaveda* has appended to its Saṃhitā (which stands apart from the basic threefold Veda) a Brāhmaṇa that is only loosely connected and derivative. In this way the Brāhmaṇas developed into a separate class or genre characterized by a standardized expository prose style. As a genre they remained, however, tied up with the *śrauta* ritual and came to a halt with the ultimate institutionalization of the associated ceremonies. On the other hand they spawned the productive genre of the Upaniṣads, which originally were part of the Brāhmaṇa literature but eventually turned away from the ritual to treat meta-ritualistic and esoteric speculation.

The ritualistic thought of the Brāhmaṇas owes its origins to a fundamental change in worldview that gave rise to a new conception of sacrifice. Though direct and coherent information on the ritual of sacrifice preceding the Brāhmaṇa texts is lacking, they do contain in their explanations many scattered and archaic but telling references that allow us to reconstruct a rough outline of previous ritual practices. In fact, the Brāhmaṇa authors show themselves to be aware of restructuring the sacrifice within the context of a new, rationalized system of ritual. The old pattern of sacrifice was intimately bound up with conflict, contest, and battle, corresponding with the mythological motif of the enmity and combat between the conquering gods (*deva*s) and their adversaries, the lordly *asura*s. The agonistic sacrificial festival was the central institution in an essentially tragic-heroic worldview. Its destructive violence is preserved in hypertrophic form in the all-embracing epic war of the *Mahābhārata*. The constant threat of sacrally sanctioned violence, death, and destruction provided the impetus for the intensive reflection on sacrifice and the construction of the *śrauta* ritual expounded in the Brāhmaṇas.

The main thrust of this new exposition of ritual practice served to remove the agonistic festival with its unsettling dangers and uncertain outcome from its central position and to replace it with the absolutely failsafe order of a mechanistic, rational rite. To this end, sacrifice was taken out of its agonistic context. This meant the exclusion of the adversary from the place of sacrifice. With that, sacrifice became a strictly personal affair of the individual sacrificer (acting in perfect unison with the priestly technicians of the ritual engaged by him for the purpose). Hence the striking absence of *sacra publica* from the *śrauta* ritual. Even in the royal rituals the king is just a single sacrificer and as such no different from a commoner. In other words, sacrifice was desocialized and set apart in a separate sphere of its own, transcending the social world. Outside society the sacrificer creates his own conflict-free, perfectly ordered universe, subject only to the absolute rules of the ritual.

Mythologically, this ritualized *agon* is expressed in the identification of the sacrificer with the creator god Prajāpati, the Lord of Creatures, who personifies the monistic conception of sacrifice, being himself both victim and sacrificer. Through sacrifice Prajāpati makes the beings go forth from his dismembered body, recalling the relatively late *Ṛgveda* hymn (10.90) that celebrates the cosmogonic sacrifice by the gods of Puruṣa, the Primordial Being. In this respect Prajāpati supersedes the warrior-god Indra and his cosmogonic martial exploits. The outcome no longer depends on prowess in the sacrificial contest involving martial arts such as charioteering and verbal skills, but on unerring knowledge of the complicated but systematic (and therefore readily learnable) body of ritual rules.

In contrast to the poetic or visionary metaphor, which was based on numerical equivalence (*saṃpad*, *saṃkhyāna*), the mainstay of Brahmanic thought in elaborating the ritual system was identification in uncomplicated "this-is-that" terms. Elements of the ritual (*mantra*s, recitations, chants, acts, ritual implements, the place of sacrifice and its various parts) are identified with those of the universe and of the self. In this way the course of the universe, of man, and of his life are reduced to the denominator of the ritual. In the last resort it is the sacrificer who, through his identification with Prajāpati, the God-Sacrifice, integrates the ritually ordered universe in himself. We are here on the threshold of the Upanisadic doctrine of the identity of the *ātman*, the self, with the *brahman* (*principium omnium*)—a doctrine that announces itself already in a passage of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (10.6.3.1–2).

It is possible to view the Brāhmaṇas' conception of sacrifice as "a piece of magic pure and simple," enabling the sacrificer to obtain fulfillment of his wishes—cattle, progeny, prestige, power, health, long life—and indeed the texts are effusive in promising such rewards to the sacrificer. It is, however, a subtly different matter when, as is frequently the case, heaven and immortality are brought in. The problem of death appears as the central motif of the Brahmanic cosmico-ritual system, which is aimed at escaping from the cyclic life-death alternation (the dreaded "re-death," *punarmṛtyu*) by making for oneself an immortal body in the hereafter in accordance with the transcendent order of the ritual. Although the ritual system of the Brāhmaṇas remains open to magic interpretation, this should not obscure their rigorously systemic reflection on the sacrifice resulting in the maximization of the structuring capacity of ritual and the construction of an absolute, comprehensive, and exhaustive system of rules. In this sense we can speak of a "science of ritual" (cf. Hermann Oldenberg's view of the Brāhmaṇas as "vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft"). Although the term *brāhmaṇa* refers primarily to the ritual's cosmic importance, expressed in the form of identifications, the *śrauta* tradition gives pride of place to the system of rules as such. Thus the Brāhmaṇas are already characterized early on as ritual injunctions (*codanā*), while the explanatory discussions (*arthavāda*)—including the statements of the cosmic importance of the rites, illustrated by mythological tales and relations of past events—are qualified as secondary, a mere "remainder." Only the pure systematics of the ritual count. In the final analysis, the potential for magic is rejected. The ritual system stands by itself, divorced from mundane reality and unaffected by its uses or abuses.

At this point the development of the ritual bifurcates. On the one hand, the doctrine of the Brāhmaṇas gave rise to the prescriptive handbooks, the Śrautasūtras, and ultimately, via the meta-rules contained in them, to the classical Mīmāṃsā school of jurisprudence. On the other hand, the statements on *brahman*, that is, the cosmic importance of the rites contained in the *arthavāda* parts, prefigure the musings of the Upaniṣads, which go on to form the final series of anskrit prose commentaries and speculation classified as Vedānta, the "conclusion of the Veda."

Āraṇyaka, literally pertaining to the wilderness (*araṇya*), is the name of a loosely defined class of texts that form part of or are attached to the Brāhmaṇas. Their distinctive trait is that the material contained in them—both *mantra* and Brāhmaṇa—is traditionally qualified as secret or dangerous and therefore has to be studied outside the settled community (*grāma*) in the wilderness while submitting to restrictive rules of behavior (*vrata*). Why these texts should be so classified is not explained. Although the Āraṇyakas vary in their contents, they are mainly concerned with the Mahāvrata, originally a New Year festival with agonistic and orgiastic features, and with parts of the ritual concerning the fire, especially the Pravargya (milk offering), featuring an earthen pot brought to glowing temperature in the fire, while funerary rites also occur. The latter item might explain the putatively secret or dangerous nature of the Āraṇyakas, but funerary rites as such do not form a commonly shared or preeminent part of these texts. Perhaps their common denominator could be found in that their contents were still recognized as being specifically bound up with life outside the settled community, that is, not, as has been erroneously thought, the life of the ascetic (*vānaprastha*), but of the nomadic warriors of old setting out with their fires and cattle into the wilds. An indication to this effect may be contained in the formulas giving the names of the divine warriors, the Maruts, and in those celebrating the dread forms or bodies (*ghorā tanvaḥ*) of the fire. Since systematization of the ritual was aimed at the exclusion of the warrior and his deeds, the relevant traditions were relegated to the margin of the ritualistic Brāhmaṇas. On the other hand, the wilderness was of old the typical locus of revelatory vision, which therefore became associated with the warrior. The links between wilderness, warrior, and vision may have been the original basis for the reputation of danger and secrecy attached to the Āraṇyakas, while their marginalization may explain the mixed and disjointed nature of their contents (to which later materials may have been added) as hallowed remnants of the otherwise discredited world of the warrior that could not be easily fitted into the ritual system. For the same reasons, however, it would seem that the Āraṇyakas offered the proper slot for attaching the Upaniṣads to the ritualistic Brāhmaṇas. In this respect it is interesting that in their form the Upaniṣads recall an important aspect of the warrior-and-seer phenomenon, namely the verbal contest (*brahmodya*) on the hidden cosmic connection.

SEE ALSO Brahman; Prajāpati; Upaniṣads; Vedas; Vedism and Brahmanism.

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BRĀHMO SAMĀJ. The Brāhmo Samāj, also known as Brāhma Samāj and Brāhmo (or Brāhma) Sabhā, was the first modern Hindu reform movement. It was founded in Calcutta in 1828 by Ram Mohan Roy (1772–1833). As an expression of the social and religious views of a small but influential group of westernized Indians, the Brāhmo Samāj ("congregation of *brahman*") sought to create a purified form of Hinduism, a Hindu *dharma* free of all Puranic elements such as temple rituals and image worship. Led by a series of prominent Bengali intellectuals, the movement was a major factor in shaping Hindu responses to both secular and Christian influence from the West and thus helped pave the way for the so-called Hindu Renaissance in the late 1800s. The Brāhmo Samāj, along with the Ārya Samāj, was one of the most important religio-political influences in the Independence movement, the Brāhmo Samāj being a reform movement and the Ārya Samāj tending toward a revitalistic concern for the religious heritage of the Vedas mediated through new social and theological forms.

The Hindus involved in the Brāhmo Samāj were not broadly representative of the Bengal Hindu population, but instead belonged to a group of castes and families that had prospered in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries after Mughal domination had given way to rule by the British East India Company. The Bengalis who gained money and land during this difficult economic period were mainly those who served as suppliers, agents, or bankers for the British. In the early period of company rule, those who were prepared to take this westernizing route to new wealth were mostly Hindus from a few select castes, and it was they and their descendants who provided the leadership and most of the membership of the Brāhmo Samāj.

The initial Indian response to British rule in Bengal was strongly influenced by caste and religious factors. Muslims deprived of political power and related social privileges largely withdrew from involvement with their conquerors, while Hindu response was divided between what were known in Bengal as *kulīna* and non-*kulīna* castes. In the unique Bengal hierarchy, the highest status was given to five *kulīna* ("superior") brahman castes and three *kulīna* castes of *kāyastha*s (traditional writer/clerical castes of *śūdra* origin). Faced with British rule these *kulīna* castes remained aloof, as they previously had from Muslim rulers, in order to preserve their ritual purity. The upper echelons of non-*kulīna*s, however, were less concerned about purity and were in many cases accustomed to relations with non-Hindu rulers. Members of these castes, whose ranks included the non-*kulīna* brahman families of Roy and Tagore as well as non-*kulīna* *kāyastha*s and *vaidya*s, recognized the benefits of working with the British, and using this involvement to their advantage, they had emerged by the early 1800s as wealthy entrepreneurs and landowners more receptive than other Bengalis to Western social and religious influences.

The newly affluent non-*kulīna* Hindus formed a natural constituency for Hindu reform. They were wealthy, but within the traditional Hindu system they had to accept religious leadership from *kulīna*s. Although attracted to Western culture, most were unwilling to reject Hinduism in favor of Christianity—a choice increasingly urged on them after the British East India Company opened Bengal to Christian missionaries in 1813. If they were to acquire Western culture, retain their Hindu identity, and also improve their religious status, a new form of Hinduism in which they could set the terms and take the leading role was necessary. Thanks to the genius of Ram Mohan Roy, this need was met by the creation of the Brāhmo Samāj in 1828.

The son of a non-*kulīna brahman* and himself a successful entrepreneur, Roy had a passion for reason and universality that led him by 1815 to reject Hindu polytheism and image worship in favor of the monotheism of the early Vedānta texts, the Upaniṣads and the *Brahma Sūtra*, which he interpreted as teaching the worship of *brahman* as the sole creator and supporter of the universe. Applying his standards to Christianity, he concluded that Jesus' ethical teachings had universal validity, though he rejected trinitarian theology. For a brief period in the early 1820s he aligned himself with the Unitarian movements in England and America, but when he saw that Hindus could not satisfy their spiritual and religious needs by becoming Unitarians, he founded the Brāhmo Samāj as a Hindu counterpart.

As Roy conceived it, the Brāhmo Samāj was a rational and ethical expression of Vedantic monotheism, reformist rather than radical in its ideas and goals. One radical element, however, was the assumption of religious leadership by Roy himself, a worldly self-taught non-*kulīna* who rejected traditional priestly authority. Once this example was accepted, the way was open for a new type of religious leader. In Bengal, this meant the recognition of upper non-*kulīna*s such as the Tagores, the Sens, and the Dutts as valid religious guides, and it was they in fact who provided leadership for most of the new religious movements throughout the nineteenth century.

Roy's successors in Brāhmo leadership, Debendranath Tagore (1817–1905) and Keshab Chandra Sen (1838–1884), converted the fledgling enterprise into a vital movement for religious and social reform. Between 1843 and 1858, Tagore recruited hundreds of new members, codified Brāhmo teachings, and campaigned actively against Christian proselytizing. Sen, the son of a Vaiṣṇava *vaidya* banker, expanded the efforts for social reform and brought the movement national attention with his charismatic missionary activities. Most significantly, as non-*kulīna*s, both men reinforced Roy's principle that religious authority rests on reason and ability and not on priestly caste.

By the time Sen died, the Brāhmo Samāj had largely completed its mission, having met the initial impact of Christianity and Western culture and having shown how they could be used to strengthen Hinduism instead of destroying it. In the process, the movement created a new and lasting religious model that could release the creative energies of a class of people who formerly had been patrons rather than leaders in the Hindu system. Although the Brāhmo Samāj survived as an independent organization, the energies of that class after 1884 were largely expressed in other movements of religious, social, and political reform. Such nonpriestly religious leaders as Vivekananda and Gandhi, however, were certainly both beneficiaries and worthy successors to Roy's initial vision.

SEE ALSO Ārya Samāj; Gandhi, Mohandas; Roy, Ram Mohan; Sen, Keshab Chandra; Vivekananda.

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BRAINWASHING (DEBATE).

The current debate over brainwashing (the term is used here generically to refer to mind control, coercive persuasion, or thought reform unless otherwise stipulated) is best understood in the broader context of recurrent concerns through Western history over powerful, illicit sources of influence on individual loyalty and commitment. Brainwashing is a contemporary version of such historic concerns. These anxieties have periodically assumed crisis proportions when there have been extreme sociocultural tensions that have given rise to allegations of the existence of subversive forces and the marshaling of countersubversion campaigns, with the objective of controlling specific types of contested relationships. As in the case of its predecessors, the contemporary debates over brainwashing embody these related elements. The evidence in both the historical and contemporary episodes supports the conclusions that concerns about powerful, illicit sources of influence are pronounced during periods of sociocultural tension and that certain types of relationships have repeatedly been at issue. However, there is little support for the existence or efficacy of subversive forces as depicted in brainwashing ideologies.

Extreme sociocultural tensions are likely to occur during unsettled periods when a society experiences conflict between alternative, incompatible organizing principles or is moving from one set of organizing principles to another. In Western history, the movement from premodern to modern to postmodern social structures has yielded a succession of these unsettled periods. During such moments the major social forms that orient individual and institutional patterns stand in opposition to one another and therefore yield contradictory behavioral imperatives. It is during unsettled periods that subversion fears are most likely to surface. Throughout history, subversives have appeared in various forms, such as gods, fate, demons, and witches. What such subversives purportedly have in common has been their tendency to work in a secret, conspiratorial fashion with malevolent intent to corrupt individuals' natural essence or purpose, variously conceived as free will, soul, or sanity. American history is replete with subversion fears, such as allegations of the transformation of early settler captives into savages by American Indians, colonial-era witchcraft possession, mesmerism of converts by Mormons, and imprisonment of nuns in Catholic convents. Although the term *brainwashing* had yet to be coined, these earlier forms are related to more modern forms in which the real or imagined subversive agents are Communists, mafioso, religious cult leaders, extraterrestrials, satanists, and terrorists.

The debate over brainwashing and its predecessor forms has centered on forces influencing individual-group relationships. Over the last several centuries, the culturally appropriate form of individuality has increasingly emphasized autonomy, voluntarism, and self-directedness. Individuals are deemed autonomous to the extent that they are not subject to external constraint through coercion, accident, miracle, or nature. Voluntarism is presumptively present when individuals orient their motives and intent in a goal-directed fashion by exercising choice. Self-directedness involves the pursuit of goals that reflect external self-interest or internal self-fulfillment. Relational involvement in any context that may compromise these attributes, particularly those outside of relationships in support of legitimate institutional mandates, are likely to be contested.

The focus of this entry is on allegations of brainwashing in the case of contemporary religious movements. The historical context for the current debate is cold war era disputation over alleged Communist brainwashing. There also have been a number of other related events and episodes in which brainwashing has been alleged that have contributed to broad public acceptance of the reality of brainwashing and to the availability of brainwashing as an explanation for troubling events.

COMMUNIST BRAINWASHING. The term *brainwashing* originated in the cold war division of nations into socialist and capitalist blocs. The historic tensions between those two forms of political and economic organization were reflected in high levels of militarization, a succession of regional wars, and an ongoing threat of nuclear conflagration. The English term *brainwashing* derives from a Chinese counterpart (*si xiang gai zao*) that roughly translates into English as "to cleanse (or wash clean) thoughts" and refers to sociopolitical attitude correction. During the cold war era, American government officials were confronted by a series of disquieting events: public confessions by dissidents during Soviet show trials, apparent conversions by individuals who were subjected to Chinese revolutionary universities, and collaborationist statements and actions by American prisoners of war during the Korean War. It was a Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) operative and journalist, Edward Hunter, who in 1953 coined the term *brainwashing* to account for apparent cases of conversion or collaboration with Communist regimes. During the 1950s and 1960s the CIA undertook its own research on brainwashing, conducting experiments that involved the use of pain, sensory deprivation, and hypnosis on a variety of subjects. While these experiments were successful in psychologically destabilizing subjects, they did not result in implanting new attitudes and values. The CIA version of brainwashing theory permeated popular culture, most notably in the 1962 film, *The Manchurian Candidate.* In that film, Communist captors attempt to turn an American prisoner of war into a robotlike agent through the use of programming by hypnosis and drugs.

Two major studies of Communist brainwashing published in 1961 were particularly influential in shaping later conceptions of the process—Edgar Schein's *Coercive Persuasion* and Robert Lifton's *Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism.* In his study of Korean War prisoners and the Chinese indoctrination program, Schein identified three processes in coercive persuasion: (1) unfreezing (displacing the individual's former identity); (2) changing the identity; and (3) refreezing (establishing a new identity). However, Schein criticized the crude CIA brainwashing model, argued that preexisting individual beliefs and values were relevant to the impact of coercive persuasion techniques, and concluded that the Korean and Chinese techniques had been ineffective in producing an attitude change in the targeted individuals. Schein was careful to draw a distinction between conformity to captors' demands during incarceration and actual conversion. On the basis of his research, he could find no cases of conversion. He further argued that there were significant similarities between Communist indoctrination programs and the social pressures generated by such mainstream Western entities as educational institutions, psychotherapy, religious orders, and religious revivals.

The most influential model remains Lifton's theory of thought reform. Lifton studied twenty-five Westerners and fifteen Chinese who were imprisoned and subjected to thought reform programs and subsequently migrated to Hong Kong. On the basis of those cases, Lifton developed eight "themes" that are integral to ideological totalism, which is produced by a combination of extreme ideology and extreme individual character traits. Conditions fostering ideological totalism include the following:

1. Milieu control (controlling internal communication and eliminating external communication);
2. Mystical manipulation (manipulating individuals' perceptions of their own behavior);
3. The demand for purity (moral polarizing of insiders and outsiders);
4. The cult of confession (using confession rituals to expose unacceptable relationships and actions);
5. Sacred science (propounding totalitarian ideology as absolute truth);
6. Loading the language (utilizing emotionally laden concepts that impede critical thought);
7. Doctrine over person (interpreting reality and other persons through group ideology);
8. Dispensing of existence (elevating the group and its ideology as the highest value).

Lifton's theory does not rely simply on the compliance generated by a totalistic situation, as he also argues that some individuals are more predisposed to seek or accept totalistic solutions. To the extent that thought reform occurs, then, it is the product of an interaction between individual predispositions and a totalistic situation. In the cases that Lifton studied, however, thought reform was not very successful. All of the forty individuals Lifton studied did indeed collaborate with their jailers in various ways (such as signing public statements condemning the United States or confessing to germ warfare). However, only two maintained these positions once they were outside of the control of Communist officials, and Lifton found totalistic predispositions in both cases.

Further evidence of the relative lack of success of brainwashing programs can be found in the aggregate statistics on the impact of these programs on American prisoners during the Korean War. Only about half of captured American soldiers survived the brutal conditions to which they were subjected in internment camps. Facing the prospect of starvation and torture, about one-third of the survivors collaborated with their captors. However, only twenty-one of the nearly 4,500 Americans held at the end of the war refused repatriation; several years later eleven members of that group requested repatriation. This defection rate is roughly comparable to the rate for other wars. By contrast to American prisoners of war, about ninety thousand captured North Korean and Chinese soldiers refused repatriation.

In the case of allegations of Communist brainwashing, then, it is clear that there were tensions between capitalist and socialist states that at various times rose to crisis levels, and those tensions produced mutual fears of subversion. However, there is little evidence to support the CIA version of brainwashing, and the agency's own brainwashing experiments were unsuccessful. Independent research by Lifton and Schein produced evidence of collaboration under duress but no evidence of an overpowering psychotechnology that produced lasting transformation of beliefs and attitudes. Lifton's work, in particular, has continued to be influential as a model of totalistic environments and processes. Furthermore, the generic concept of brainwashing has been incorporated into American popular culture. Both formal theories and informal cultural beliefs have created a reservoir of credibility for brainwashing that served as the basis for its introduction into the disputes involving new religious groups in the 1970s.

CULTIC BRAINWASHING. The controversy over new religious movements (NRMs), popularly referred to as *cults*, is most immediately a product of the 1960s countercultural period. As political and social countercultural movements dissipated, alienated young adults began seeking alternative forms of protest. A wave of new movements, some of which immigrated to the West following the rescinding of Asian immigration exclusion legislation and some domestic groups that had languished in relative obscurity, suddenly began attracting converts. Although characteristics of converts varied by movement, in general the first recruits to NRMs were white, middle-class, well-educated young adults. The movements quickly drew attention from families of converts, established churches, and scholars studying religion and social movements.

Opposition to new religions soon mounted as the groups challenged educational, political, occupational, religious, and familial institutions. There were two major wings to the opposition, both of which sought to distinguish between legitimate churches and pseudo-religious "cults." The religious opposition groups involved in the countercult movement existed long before the cult controversy and typically challenged sectarian Christian and non-Christian churches. When new movements appeared, countercult organizations simply added them to their list of opponents. The countercult movement, which drew its strength largely from the ranks of conservative denominational groups, regarded new movements as a spiritual threat because they propagated heretical doctrines. Religious countercult groups were more likely to regard recruits to NRMs as deceived rather than brainwashed. The secular anticult associations were founded by family members of NRM converts. Anticult ideology sought to distinguish cults from legitimate groups on the basis that the former employed brainwashing techniques. Brainwashing in this context typically refers to a deliberate, potent program of indoctrination and control that reduces individual autonomy, voluntarism, and self-directedness.

As initially formulated, anticult ideology depicted NRMs as rapidly growing; unprecedented in their organization, tactics, and destructiveness; and capable of dramatically altering individual beliefs and behaviors and of creating long-term emotional damage to anyone subjected to them. The earliest brainwashing theories were developed by deprogrammers who sought to reverse the effects of cultic "programming" and thereby extract individuals from new religions. These crude and easily disproved theories alleged that individuals were rendered powerless by some combination of hypnosis, sleep deprivation, relentless indoctrination, altered diet, and extreme isolation.

Much more influential was the work of psychologist Margaret Singer who provided the foundation of anticult brainwashing theory, as well as expert witness testimony in many cases based on brainwashing allegations. Singer identified six conditions that she argued are integral to the brainwashing process:

1. Preventing the individual from becoming aware of the group's control or change program;
2. Controlling the individual's environment by limiting and shaping information and contacts;
3. Creating a sense of fear, dependence, and powerlessness in the individual;
4. Eradicating the individual's old attitudes and behavior;
5. Instilling new attitudes and behavior in the individual;
6. Creating a closed logical system through which the individual processes information.

Although Singer's theories were the most influential within anticult circles and judicial forums, there were a variety of other theories ranging from cybernetic trauma to manipulative use of trance and hypnotic states to relational disorders.

More recently, there have been efforts to reorient brainwashing theory. For example, Benjamin Zablocki has argued that brainwashing is better understood as a technique for retaining (rather than obtaining) members, that it may be effective on only a small number of individuals, and that individuals may participate voluntarily in the process. All of these theories share in common a focus on group-induced, deleterious effects on individuals affiliated with religious movements. While they admit some measure of both individual and group influence, the latter is asserted to be more powerful and determinative of outcomes.

NRMs quickly attracted the attention of scholars in the social sciences and religious studies because their appearance and growth during the 1970s appeared to contravene established theories among social scientists predicting the continued secularization of Western societies. Affiliation to (and later disaffiliation from) new religions, based on studies of members, has been by far the most researched aspect of new religions. The vast majority of published findings have employed conversion or affiliation theories that do not presume the illegitimacy of the groups or the manipulative practices inherent in brainwashing models. In mainstream scholarly work, affiliations of individuals with new religions have been interpreted as the product of ongoing countercultural protest, youthful experimentation with alternative lifestyles, or tensions surrounding the transition from adolescence to adulthood, rather than the subversive power of cults. The conversion process is described not in terms of powerful brainwashing techniques but rather in terms of such processes as adherents' adoption of a new symbolic identity, a strengthening of one set of ties to a social network with a corresponding weakening of ties to another network, and role playing and experimentation by individuals searching for meaning in their lives.

There have been a number of major studies of movements associated with brainwashing allegations, including the Unification Church, the Family (originally the Children of God), and the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON or Hare Krishnas). These studies include three books on Unificationism—John Lofland's *Doomsday Cult* (1966), David Bromley and Anson Shupe's *Moonies in America* (1979), and Eileen Barker's *The Making of a Moonie* (1984); four books on the Family—David van Zandt's *Living in the Children of God* (1991), Ruth Wangerin's *The Children of God* (1993), James Chancellor's *Life in the Family* (2000), and William Bainbridge's *The Endtime Family* (2002); and two books on the Hare Krishnas—E. Burke Rochford's *Hare Krishna in America* (1985) and Larry Shinn's *The Dark Lord* (1987). The clear implications in these works are that there is no single process of affiliation but rather a variety of kinds of conversion with different dynamics—the personal transformation associated with religious movements may be limited or pervasive, and whatever transformation does occur is a product of both individual volition and group socialization.

Furthermore, these and many other studies challenged basic assumptions of the brainwashing approach. They found that, contrary to the expectations of brainwashing models, the recruitment rates of NRMs were very low while turnover rates were very high. They questioned how such diverse, unrelated groups all could have discovered and implemented brainwashing techniques at precisely the same moment. They also found that organizations within the same movement used different recruitment and socialization practices, and movements changed these practices frequently. Based on movement membership patterns, they concluded that movement recruitment success declined rather than improved over time, a finding difficult to reconcile with brainwashing theory. Finally, they reported that movements displayed a pervasive pattern of factionalism, schism, and conflict, a pattern inconsistent with the compliance that would be predicted by a brainwashing explanation.

The debate over brainwashing became legal disputation when the anticult movement initiated a program to "rescue" members of new religious groups who allegedly had been brainwashed. The process of reversing the effects of putative cultic programming was called *deprogramming.* The procedure was devised by Theodore "Ted" Patrick, who deprogrammed members of many movements. As practiced by Patrick and others, deprogramming bore a striking resemblance to the brainwashing process it was designed to reverse. NRM members were physically abducted, held in isolation for extended periods, and bombarded with ideology and pressure from deprogrammers, former NRM members, and family members. The process was relatively successful, particularly with recent affiliates who lacked strong group ties, but it soon encountered legal problems due to a reliance on coercive restraint. Anticult groups therefore sought legal warrant for deprogramming by obtaining guardianship and conservatorship orders that awarded parents custody of NRM converts based on assertions of brainwashing. This strategy succeeded until religious groups began legally contesting the conservatorships.

Subsequently, anticult organizations encouraged and sometimes orchestrated civil suits against religious groups by former members who had disaffiliated and agreed to "exit counseling." Suits were initiated on grounds that individuals had been brainwashed and were suffering from an infliction of emotional distress or post-traumatic stress syndrome. The litigation strategy avoided problems of coercive restraint and allowed the introduction of expert witnesses who testified to cultic brainwashing practices. This strategy produced a number of favorable trial verdicts, although verdicts often were modified or reversed by appellate courts.

Litigation gradually undermined the viability of cases based on brainwashing assertions, but there were divergent outcomes in some cases. Access to conservatorships based on allegations of cultic brainwashing was dramatically reduced following *Katz v. Superior Court* (1977). After a California judge had granted legal custody of five adult members of the Unification Church to their parents, a California court of appeals overturned the order based in part on the conclusion that inquiry into coercive persuasion involved a constitutionally impermissible investigation of the legitimacy of a religious faith. The later anticult strategy of bringing civil suits against NRMs on the basis that brainwashing involved the intentional infliction of emotional distress also was gradually eroded as successes became more problematic. *Molko and Leal v. Holy Spirit Association* (1983) exemplifies these mixed results. Two former members of the Unification Church, David Molko and Tracey Leal, sued the church for damages suffered as a result of brainwashing after having been successfully deprogrammed. Molko and Leal's complaints were rejected by the trial court, and expert testimony on brainwashing was rejected on the grounds that it lacked scientific standing. However, in 1988 the California Supreme Court reversed the lower court ruling in asserting that the constitution did not preclude brainwashing claims in cases of fraud involving flagrant deception.

Another major case involving infliction of mental distress as a result of brainwashing was brought against the International Society for Krishna Consciousness. In *Robin George v. ISKCON* (1983), brainwashing charges were dismissed by a Los Angeles court after several appeals, and the suit was finally settled in 1993. An important federal case was *U.S. v. Fishman* (1990). In that case Steven Fishman claimed that his fraudulent activities were the result of the debilitating influence of his membership in the Church of Scientology. The judge ruled against allowing mind-control testimony in the trial on the basis that it did not possess scientific standing. Psychologist Singer was the most active and influential anticult expert witness in brainwashing cases. Forensic psychologist Dick Anthony played a pivotal role in convincing courts to exclude Singer's testimony in a number of these cases. These and other cases made presenting brainwashing claims increasingly problematic.

The brainwashing debate spilled over into professional societies as well, most notably the American Psychological Association (APA). In 1983 the APA formed the Deceptive and Indirect Methods of Persuasion and Control (DIMPAC) task force headed by Singer to evaluate the status of such theories. Although the task force was dominated by psychologists sympathetic to anticult brainwashing theories, the APA's Board of Social and Ethical Responsibility rejected the DIMPAC report. Other professional associations also debated the brainwashing issue, but none has endorsed brainwashing theory.

While brainwashing theory has not fared well in U.S. legal and political forums, it has had an impact in Europe and the People's Republic of China. A number of European governments proposed controls over new religions in the wake of the 1994 murder/suicides by the Solar Temple in Switzerland and Canada. American anticult officials consulted with European governmental officials, who made anticult brainwashing theory a key component of reports and legislation. In 1998, France established a new office, the Mission Interministérielle de Lutte les Sectes (Interministerial commission to make war on sects) to monitor *sectes* (cults). A key defining characteristic of *sectes* is "mental manipulation" (a parallel to brainwashing). In the People's Republic of China, anticult representatives have consulted with government officials concerning efforts to suppress Falun Gong, which Chinese officials refer to as a dangerous cult.

OTHER EPISODES AND EVENTS. There has been a succession of other occurrences that have provided popular legitimation for brainwashing. In 1973 the term *Stockholm syndrome* was coined after four Swedish bank employees, who were held hostage for six days by bank robbers, resisted police efforts to free them and publicly defended their captors. The hostages continued to express support for the robbers, and two female captors subsequently became engaged to their captors. According to the Stockholm syndrome theory, hostages may bond with their captors when their lives are in imminent danger, when they are unable to escape the situation, when they do not have access to alternative sources of information, and when the captors are humane. Like brainwashing theories, the Stockholm syndrome is vigorously debated. Nonetheless it has been invoked to account for a variety of contested behaviors, including abused wives who do not support feminism, parents who are unable to win their children's loyalty in custodial disputes, and liberal Israelis who are conciliatory toward Palestinians.

One of the most celebrated events related to brainwashing involved the kidnapping of the Hearst publishing empire heiress Patty Hearst by the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) in 1974. Hearst was confined to a closet for an extended period, raped, and subjected to SLA indoctrination. She resurfaced months later as Tania, apparently now a convert to the SLA since she participated with the group in a bank robbery and did not attempt to escape when she had obvious opportunities to do so. After her capture, Hearst's defense team argued that she collaborated with her captors because she had been terrorized and had continuously feared for her life. The jury rejected this argument, however, and Hearst was convicted and imprisoned. She later received a presidential pardon.

Finally, brainwashing was a core element of the Satanism scare that swept through North American and Europe during the 1980s. Proponents claimed the existence of an international, underground cult of satanists who engaged in a range of nefarious activities. Most horrific were the claims that satanists sought enhanced personal power by absorbing the life energy of young children in ritual sacrifices. Brainwashing, drugs, and hypnosis were all allegedly used to maintain control over children. The most significant legal cases emanated from child-care facilities where satanic activity was believed to be occurring. In these cases the testimony of very young children under the care of therapists was pivotal in gaining criminal convictions. Ultimately these cases were discredited as evidence mounted that the biographies of ritual abuse survivors had been fabricated, therapists had implanted memories of abuse in impressionable children, and no victims of satanic rituals were to be found. A series of academic books and reports by investigatory commissions and police agencies unanimously concluded that allegations of underground satanic cults were baseless. Analyses concluded that satanic cults symbolically represented a widely experienced sense of vulnerability and danger among American families by high rates of child sexual abuse; increasing participation of women in the labor force; and unreliable, expensive child-care facilities.

Like their historical predecessors, contemporary episodes of brainwashing allegations have involved claims that culturally illicit groups possessed the capacity to undermine culturally appropriate expression of autonomy, voluntarism, and self-directedness. Brainwashing allegations involving Communists, cultists, and satanists all reflect this pattern. Theory and research on these episodes indicate that allegations of brainwashing occurred in response to sociocultural tensions and that culturally appropriate autonomy, voluntarism, and self-directedness were the behaviors at issue. In each case, social science research has not supported the overwhelming psychotechnology theories, and the judicial system and professional social science associations have likewise declined to grant brainwashing explanations scientific standing.

EMERGING DEVELOPMENTS. Rejecting brainwashing as a general explanation for individual and collective conduct requires offering an adequate alternative explanation for the dynamics of highly regulated or conformist situations. Many questions remain unanswered. There is little doubt that some group contexts complicate and may compromise individuals' ability to sustain culturally appropriate autonomy, voluntarism, and self-directedness. Once the presumption of the existence of an overpowering psychotechnology (brainwashing) by groups has been rejected, the question of how actual uniformities in behavior in diverse groups occur becomes open to explanation. Social scientists are now beginning to explore these issues. For example, the brainwashing model's assertion that behavioral uniformities are the product of the personality characteristics of a manipulative charismatic leader is being displaced by a more complex analysis of charisma as a social construction. In this emerging analysis, charismatic influence is understood as the product of interactive forces that include internal challenges to leadership, pressures to demonstrate charismatic competence, influences by inner circle leadership on the charismatic leader, and external constraints on charismatic legitimacy.

Similarly, there is active investigation of the conditions under which religious movements become involved in violent confrontations with their host societies. Challenging the logic that new religious movements are inherently unstable and prone to violence, there is an emerging consensus that such extreme outcomes involve both internal and external influences to varying degrees. High tension between a movement and the established social order can produce polarization such that each side poses an inherent threat to the other. Under these conditions, factors such as secretive actions on both sides, centripetal and centrifugal forces within the movement or control groups, and the disempowerment of third parties that might mediate conflict are likely to destabilize an already volatile situation. For these and other important questions, simplistic answers are gradually giving way to more complex analyses.

While the specifics of explanations for extreme behavioral uniformities remain to be determined, it appears likely that satisfactory explanations will include sociocultural conditions, organizational characteristics of the groups, dynamics of relationships within the groups, and personality predispositions of individual members. It is also likely that there will be continuing debate over issues of conformity and control because these are inherently normative matters and the cultural norms are constantly changing. There is every reason, then, to expect that there will be no final resolution to the question of what types of organizations may shape individual autonomy, voluntarism, and self-directedness, and what influence processes they may legitimately exercise.

SEE ALSO Anticult Movements; Cults and Sects; Deprogramming; Law and Religion, article on Law and New Religious Movements.

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David G. Bromley (2005)

BRANCH DAVIDIANS. On February 28, 1993, the United States Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) staged a raid on the home and church of a millennialist, sectarian group outside of Waco, Texas. The thoroughly bungled attempt to serve a search warrant took the lives of four ATF agents and six members of the millennialist group and led to a fifty-one day siege that climaxed with a devastating fire that claimed seventy-four more lives. Although many of the people within the Mount Carmel Center simply saw themselves as students of the Bible, particularly the apocalyptic message of the book of *Revelation*, they became known to the public as Branch Davidians and followers of the self-proclaimed messiah, David Koresh.

Beginnings. The group that gathered around Koresh had a long history in the Waco area, and an even longer history before that. With only a few exceptions, Koresh's disciples had religious roots in the Seventh-day Adventist tradition, which itself grew out of the Millerite movement of the mid-nineteenth century. After painstaking study of the scriptures, William Miller (1782–1849) had come to the conclusion that the second coming of Jesus Christ would occur sometime between March 21, 1843, and March 21, 1844. When the second date passed without incident, the Millerites recalculated the date to October 22, 1844. The failure of Jesus to reappear on that second date provoked what came to be known as the "Great Disappointment," but it only diffused rather than decreased the general Adventist fervor. By the end of 1845, a small group of New Hampshire Millerites had begun to observe the Sabbath on the seventh day, Saturday, and to fashion a new understanding of Miller's prophecy. Led by Joseph Bates, James White, and Ellen G. Harmon, who would marry White in 1846, the group argued that October 22, 1844, had in fact been a crucial date for human salvation, because Jesus Christ had entered the heavenly temple on that day in preparation for the final judgment. His return would happen at an unspecified time in the future.

To their observance of the seventh-day Sabbath, Bates and the Whites added another distinctive theological tenet. They believed that God's will is revealed progressively and that each new generation could expect to receive its "present truth" or "new light." That doctrine introduced a dynamism into the Seventh-day Adventist tradition that would contribute to the schisms that eventually produced Koresh's group of Branch Davidians.

From Davidians to Branch Davidians. The Davidian Adventists, precursors to the Branch Davidians, originated in 1929 in the teaching of Victor Houteff. A Bulgarian immigrant to the United States, Houteff became a Seventh-day Adventist in 1918. His intensive study of biblical prophecy led him to two conclusions that conflicted with orthodox Adventist doctrine. First, he indicted the church for having become complacent and far too "worldly." Houteff believed that his divinely appointed task was to purify the church from within and to gather the 144,000 "servants of God" mentioned in *Revelation* 7 to wait for the imminent arrival of Jesus Christ. In addition, Houteff concluded that the coming Kingdom of God would be a literal, physical, millennial rule on earth, centered in the holy land of Palestine. Houteff's teaching attracted some of his fellow Adventists, but church elders quickly barred him from teaching and in 1934 officially removed him from membership.

Forced out of the mother church, Houteff named his movement the Davidian Seventh-day Adventists to emphasize their belief in the imminent restoration of a Davidic messianic kingdom in Palestine whose practices would closely follow those of traditional Judaism. Houteff came to see himself as the seventh and final link in a line of reformers including Martin Luther, Miller, and Ellen White. As relations between his group and the main body of Adventists worsened, Houteff excoriated the denomination as a heathen, apostate group; in 1935 he moved the Davidians to an isolated 189-acre parcel of land outside Waco and named their settlement Mount Carmel. Although the anticipated move to the holy land never materialized, Houteff led Bible studies every night and eventually conducted a vigorous proselytization program that sent out tracts to thousands of Seventh-day Adventists and sent missionaries to Adventist groups throughout the world.

When Houteff died in 1955, he was succeeded by his wife, Florence. Convinced that the end would come in 1959, she urged Davidians and Adventists all over the world to assemble at the new Mount Carmel Center near Elk, Texas, which the group had recently purchased. In April 1959 some nine hundred Davidians were gathered there. But, in an outcome reminiscent of the "Great Disappointment" of Miller's time, their expectations were frustrated. The numbers of faithful then quickly dwindled, and Florence Houteff herself moved away and became inactive.

Out of the infighting among those remaining in the 1960s, Ben Roden and his wife, Lois, eventually took control of the Mount Carmel property and became the leaders of the handful of stalwarts who still lived there. Like Miller, Ellen White, and Houteff before him, Ben Roden believed that he had a prophetic calling. He portrayed himself as the anointed "Branch" mentioned by Zechariah (*Zech.* 3:8; 6:12) who was to organize the theocratic kingdom in preparation for Christ's return. Roden revivified the group, adding the biblical festivals of Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles to their ritual calendar and renewing Houteff's publishing and missionary programs. On his death in 1978, Roden was succeeded by his wife as leader of the Branch Davidians, now a distinct offshoot from Houteff's movement.

Like her predecessors, Lois Roden also claimed special revelations. She taught that the Holy Spirit was a feminine figure and that the coming messiah would fully embody the female aspects of the divinity. Roden actively spread her new version of the Branch Davidian message through extensive missionary travels and the publication of a magazine named *SHEkinah*, after the feminine Hebrew word for the spirit or presence of God. Lois Roden was the leader of the Branch Davidians when David Koresh, then known as Vernon Howell, joined in 1981. Koresh's embrace of Lois Roden's teachings, the possibility that they formed an intimate personal relationship, and her implicit recognition of Koresh as her successor, sparked the enmity of Lois's son George, who had tried to establish himself in a leadership position during his mother's travels. Even before Lois's death in 1986, relations between George Roden and Koresh were hostile; by 1987 they flared into violence over George's bizarre challenge to Koresh that he could resurrect a long-dead member of the community. When Koresh and his armed followers tried to secure evidence of George Roden's grotesque practices, a gun battle erupted between the two groups. In the ensuing trial, Koresh's accomplices were found not guilty and the jury split on the question of Koresh's guilt, with the judge declaring a mistrial. After an unrelated incident, George Roden was found guilty of murder, declared insane, and sentenced to a state mental hospital. Koresh paid the back taxes on the property and his group took over the Mount Carmel Center.

THE BRANCH DAVIDIANS UNDER DAVID KORESH. Koresh's leadership of the Branch Davidians was founded on his ability to interpret the Bible. Many of those who lived with him at the Mount Carmel Center explicitly cited his unparalleled exegetical ability as the reason why they had taken up residence. Koresh's characteristic mode of teaching was the oral Bible study, often lasting several hours or more, in which he recited many portions of the text from memory, wove them together into a single apocalyptic scenario, and exhorted his students to prepare themselves for the coming end. Although much of his teaching resembled that of many other Christian millennialists, Koresh saw things in the Bible that no one before him had. Most notably, he saw himself. As a consequence of a 1985 experience of ascent into the heavens that happened while he was in Jerusalem, Koresh became convinced that he was the Lamb of God described in *Revelation* 4 and 5 as the only one who could open the scroll sealed with seven seals. Koresh also referred to himself as a "Christ," a person anointed by God to undertake a specific mission. He understood his calling to include not only preaching the message of the seven seals but also enacting the apocalyptic events foretold in that message.

In his Bible studies, Koresh impressed upon his students the imminence of the end and urged them to be ready to fight on behalf of God at the battle of Armageddon. Koresh expected the events prophesied in *Revelation* to unfold in the land of Israel very soon. But in the meantime, in the daily life of the Mount Carmel community, Koresh's authority depended less on his claim to the extraordinary experience of ascent into the heavens than it did on his repeated ability to make sense of the message of *Revelation* in his Bible studies. He frequently challenged his students to provide alternative readings of the text that they all shared; every time they accepted his interpretation, his authority was reinforced. The daily Bible studies were Koresh's most important tool for maintaining and enhancing his power, authority, and status within the group. It is an indication of his confidence in his mission, persuasiveness, and interpretive facility that Koresh maintained his position, but it is also an indication of his followers' deep yearning for a thorough renovation of the world that they continued to accept Koresh's teaching about the seven seals and to find in it the promise of their own salvation.

Koresh's hold on his followers could be breached, however. When Koresh proclaimed a "new light" revelation in 1989 that enjoined celibacy on all of his male followers and reserved all females for mating with him in order to produce children who would inherit an exalted status in the coming Kingdom of God, several members left the group. One of them, Marc Breault, would later be instrumental in spreading damaging information about Koresh both to media outlets and the United States government.

The February 28, 1993, assault unsettled the Branch Davidians' expectations. In some ways it seemed that the forces of "Babylon" had indeed begun the apocalyptic battle, but not where it was anticipated. During the fifty-one day siege, in addition to striving unfruitfully to explain his theological system to a series of negotiators sent in by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Koresh attempted to fit the unfolding events into his scenario of the end. In an April 14 letter to his attorney, Koresh claimed that he had finally received "word from God" that he could write down his message of the seven seals and share it with the world. In that letter Koresh promised to finish his commentary as quickly as he could and then to come out of Mount Carmel to answer any questions about his actions. The FBI agents in command, however, did not take the offer seriously; the final assault was quickly authorized, and early on the morning of April 19, 1993, the sequence of events that initiated the catastrophic fire commenced. One of the nine people who escaped the flames carried with her a computer diskette of Koresh's unfinished work.

REVIEWING THE SIEGE. The siege that dramatically forced the Mount Carmel community out of its decades of obscurity was not inspired by theological issues. Acting on allegations that the residents of Mount Carmel were illegally turning semiautomatic weapons into automatic machine guns, the ATF had conducted surveillance of Mount Carmel and had begun planning to serve its search warrant. The affidavit in support of the warrant also included allegations that children were being abused by members of the group and that methamphetamines were being manufactured in Mount Carmel. In the later stages of their preparations, agents of the ATF were worried that the group would react negatively to a forthcoming investigative report by the *Waco Tribune-Herald* that cast Koresh as the "Sinful Messiah" who brainwashed his followers, sexually exploited women and young girls, and maintained a large, threatening arsenal.

The ATF's planning, the FBI's conduct of the siege, and the media's coverage of the ongoing drama were all influenced by powerful stereotypes developed by the American anticult movement over the previous two decades. Building primarily on the example of the 1978 murder/suicide of 914 people at the Peoples Temple Agricultural Mission in Jonestown, Guyana, a loose confederation of aggrieved parents, moral entrepreneurs, concerned mental health professionals, and other sympathizers had aggressively marketed the notion that all new religious movements or "cults" were led by dangerously unstable con men who destroyed the mental freedom of their members and could easily lead them to their death. The anticult caricatures so thoroughly shaped public and governmental understandings of the Branch Davidians that it still remains difficult to come to a balanced understanding of the siege and its aftermath, even after multiple government, academic, and other investigations, as well as several court cases.

In that context, the question of whether the Branch Davidians were illegally converting firearms largely fades into the background. Even if they were, the violation is typically punishable by a simple fine. Also, survivors of Mount Carmel vigorously dispute the claim that they were training for an apocalyptic war. They assert that the weapons were the lucrative hobby of a few members who sold them at gun shows for a profit. The affidavit's assertions about drug manufacturing have been totally discredited. But the accusations of child abuse have gained increasing support as the extent of Koresh's sexual involvement with young girls has come to light. Proper investigation and prosecution of those charges, however, would involve agencies other than the ATF.

The ATF has been severely criticized for both its planning and execution of the initial raid and for its failure to attempt to take Koresh into custody during his frequent trips off the property. Similarly, the FBI has been criticized for failing to take Koresh's religious concerns seriously and for quickly deciding that they were merely "Bible babble," but reorganizations within the bureau and the conduct of subsequent encounters, such as the 1996 Montana Freemen standoff, suggest a growing FBI sensitivity to religious factors. On the other hand, the anticult movement has seized upon "Waco" and subsequent events, such as the 1997 Heaven's Gate suicides and the 1995 Aum Shinrikyō attack in Tokyo, as further proof that all "cults" are prone to violence and must thus be constantly monitored and militantly opposed. In the minds of many, and despite more nuanced analyses, the Branch Davidians have been indelibly identified as a "cult" and Koresh stands as the paradigm of the manipulative "cult" leader who exploited his followers for his own gain.

After David Koresh. Although the April 19, 1993, fire virtually obliterated the Branch Davidian community, several people have tried to keep it alive. What remains of Mount Carmel has become both a memorial and a contested site. Though she no longer lives on the property, Amo Paul Bishop Roden, the former wife of George Roden, has abandoned neither her claims to Mount Carmel nor her claims of leadership of the Branch Davidians. Clive Doyle, who survived the fire in which his daughter died, lives in a trailer on the Mount Carmel site and leads a small group of survivors, but the claim of those faithful to Koresh to legal ownership of the property remains unsettled. Despite his own difficult economic circumstances, Doyle has helped erect a small chapel at Mount Carmel and to conduct the annual memorial services. From prison, Livingstone Fagan—who left Mount Carmel during the siege and, after a controversial 1994 trial, began serving a forty-year prison sentence (later reduced to fifteen) for his actions on February 28—continues to represent Koreshian orthodoxy in his self-published writings, including *Mt. Carmel: The Unseen Reality* (1994). Fagan remains convinced of Koresh's messianic mission and limits his own contribution to re-presentation and clarification of Koresh's message. Another imprisoned Branch Davidian, Renos Avraam (writing as the "Chosen Vessel"), has claimed divine approval to further develop Koresh's message of the seven seals. Appealing to the familiar Adventist concept of "present truth" or "new light," the Chosen Vessel emphasizes the limitations and inaccuracies of Koresh's message and claims that his book reveals the necessary new understanding of the imminent end. Both Fagan and the Chosen Vessel retain the apocalyptic expectations that have been so central to the Adventist and Branch Davidian traditions, but the Chosen Vessel claims an insight that eclipses even Koresh's. The development of Branch Davidian thought and practice after Koresh is fluid and multifaceted; some wait for Koresh's imminent resurrection, while others put forward innovative interpretations of his teaching about the seven seals. By all accounts, however, there has not been a substantial influx of converts into the movement since 1993.

Beyond the small circles of surviving and newly converted Branch Davidians and their sympathizers, the destruction of the Mount Carmel Center and the near extinction of the community have had other reverberations. Orthodox Seventh-day Adventist have reviewed events to see if they could identify why faithful Adventists would accept Koresh as a self-proclaimed messiah. Members of several other new religious movements have tried to distance themselves and their groups from association with Koresh's abusive leadership in order to insulate themselves from public criticism and potential governmental intervention. Some more extreme advocates of the right to bear arms have made the Branch Davidians into symbols of the damaging effects of the United States government's efforts to curtail individual freedoms. Most noteworthy among the latter group is Timothy McVeigh, who was executed in 2001 for his role in the 1995 bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah federal building in Oklahoma City. McVeigh explicitly characterized his actions as revenge for what the government had done at Waco.

The Branch Davidians did not cease to exist after the trauma of the destruction of the Mount Carmel Center. Some of the survivors have struggled to rebuild their lives and to stay together as a worshiping community, despite their radically diminished membership. Writing from prison, their theologians have endeavored to keep the message of the seven seals alive, even as they have contended over its adequacy for the present time. For some Seventh-day Adventists, the events at Waco provide a cautionary tale about the consequences of accepting false messiahs. For other new religious movements the destruction of the Mount Carmel Center raises the specter of the awesome power of the state to crush religious innovation. And for the shadowy and overlapping subcultures of self-styled patriots, constitutionalists, militia members, and other denizens of the radical right, the Branch Davidians' fate remains the embodiment of their worst fears about a rogue government turning its military might against its own citizens. The remaining Branch Davidians continue to voice their own millennial hopes, and they also serve as a point of reference for the millennial expectations of others.

SEE ALSO Aum Shinrikyō; Heaven's Gate; Koresh, David; New Religious Movements, overview article, articles on New Religious Movements and Violence, New Religious Movements and Millennialism; Seventh-day Adventism; White, Ellen Gould.

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EUGENE V. GALLAGHER (2005)

BRANDON, S. G. F. (1907–1971), English historian of religions and of the early Christian church. Born in Devonshire, Samuel George Frederick Brandon was trained for the priesthood of the Church of England at the College of the Resurrection, Mirfield, during which time he also studied history at the University of Leeds. He was graduated in 1930 and was ordained two years later. After seven years as a parish priest in the west of England, he became in 1939 a chaplain in the British army, serving in the European and North African campaigns and taking part in the Dunkirk evacuation. He remained in the regular army until 1951, when he was appointed professor of comparative religion at the University of Manchester despite a lack of previous academic teaching experience; he held the post until his death.

Brandon's work centered on two areas. The first and more controversial was the early history of the Christian church. Here he took with the utmost seriousness the older theory of a conflict in the early church between a Petrine, Jewish group and a Pauline, gentile community, the latter gaining the upper hand only after 70 CE. This was the theme of his first book, *The Fall of Jerusalem and the Christian Church* (1951). Over a decade later he returned to the subject of Christian origins in *Jesus and the Zealots* (1967) and *The Trial of Jesus of Nazareth* (1968), in which he emphasized that Jesus had been executed by the Romans for sedition, and drew parallels between Jesus' followers and the violent anti-Roman movements of the time. Coming as they did at a highly volatile period in Western religious history, these books gained him a considerable (and to Brandon, unwelcome) radical following, and much international attention, owing to reports in *Time, Newsweek,* and other newsmagazines.

Brandon's other major interest was centered on the belief that religion is a human response to the inexorable passage of time. His thesis was stated in *Time and Mankind* (1951), and was repeated in various ways in such books as *Man and His Destiny in the Great Religions* (1962), *History, Time, and Deity* (1965), and *The Judgment of the Dead* (1967). Wider interests were revealed in *A Dictionary of Comparative Religion* (1970), planned, edited, and to a great extent written by him, and in his last work, published after his death, *Man and God in Art and Ritual* (1975). Here the focus shifted to iconography, but the underlying theme remained that of history and time.

In 1970 Brandon was elected general secretary of the International Association for the History of Religions, but his unexpected death a little more than a year later prevented him from exercising any permanent influence on that organization.

Despite his years as a parish priest and chaplain, after 1951 Brandon virtually lost touch with the church, and as a professor he had no interest in Christian apologetics. He was a historian pure and simple, who saw Western religion as having been in irreversible decline since the high Middle Ages, and who believed that understanding of religious traditions could be gained only from a study of their origins. His view of the interrelations of religion and the sense of time was undoubtedly valid; however, being uninterested in psychology, philosophy, or phenomenology—or in methodological questions generally—he seldom carried his investigations far enough. Although he was a disciplined scholar and a fastidious writer, his mind lacked flexibility, and his short academic career can now be seen as having marked the end of the era of traditional comparative religion in Britain. In the area of Christian origins, his views were too controversial to win ready acceptance, but it was important that he drew attention to the political setting of early Christianity, a field in which much work remains to be done.

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BREAD. We learn from the *Epic of Gilgamesh* that bread was offered to the gods over five thousand years ago. Since that time, wherever grain has been cultivated, bread has held a place of honor in rituals. Bread is the staff of life and often, as in the Lord's Prayer, stands for food in general.

Raised bread was invented by the Egyptians, who made it the basis of their administrative system. Although the Israelites used bread in many of their religious rites and the Greeks honored a bread goddess, it was Jesus who exalted bread to the highest religious value when he said, "This is my body."

In early agricultural societies, the first fruits of the harvest were offered to the gods (cf. *Lv.* 23:15–22). For the harvest feast, Shavuʿot, the Feast of Weeks, the Israelites were instructed to bring two loaves of bread made of wheaten flour as an oblation to Yahveh. Because the festival occurred fifty days (seven weeks) after Passover, it came to be known by the Greek name *Pentecost* and commemorated the giving of the Law at Sinai.

Ḥag ha-Matsot, the Feast of Unleavened Bread, was one of the three great agricultural festivals celebrated by the Israelites after they settled in Canaan. Originally a rite of thanksgiving at the beginning of the grain harvest, it was later linked to the nomadic pastoral feast of Passover as a historical commemoration of Israel's deliverance from Egypt. For seven days, only unleavened bread was eaten, as a sign of a new beginning (cf. *1 Cor.* 5:6–8).

Somewhat similar to first fruits was the "bread of the presence" (shewbread), which the Israelites laid out before the Holy of Holies in the Temple (*Lv.* 24:5–9). Twelve cakes of pure wheaten flour, representing the twelve tribes of Israel and their unending covenant with Yahveh, were placed on a table in two lines. Each Sabbath they were replaced and then eaten by the priests. Because incense was burned while the loaves were being replaced, scholars have viewed the bread as either a sacrificial or a thanks offering.

From the seventh century BCE, the Greeks celebrated the mysteries of Demeter, the bread goddess of Eleusis, whose cult was the established religion of Athens. Demeter was also the intercessor in the realm of the dead. Her two roles were complementary, for grain must die in the earth before it regenerates. Little else is known about the Eleusinian mysteries because adherents took a vow of secrecy.

Bread was among the food offerings that the ancient Egyptians provided for their deceased. An incantation in the *Book of Going Forth by Day* was to be recited if an enemy challenged the deceased's right to bread. In the *Book of Tobit* (4:18), Tobias is told to "be generous with bread and wine on the graves of virtuous men."

The ritual use of bread may have originated as an offering of nourishment to the deity. But since the God of the Israelites refused all nourishment (*Jgs.* 13:16), the loaves became a symbol of communion between Yahveh and his people. In cultures where bread was the staple of life, it was natural that communion be symbolized by the sharing of bread, since eating together has always been a sign of fellowship.

Bread was elevated to a symbol of supreme importance when Jesus spoke of himself as the "bread of life" that would give eternal life to those who believed in him, quite unlike the manna that the followers of Moses fed upon in the desert (*Jn.* 6). In New Testament accounts of sharing bread at a meal, a recurrent series of words (*took*, *gave thanks* or *blessed*, *broke*, and *gave*) describes the actions of Jesus at the Last Supper when he instituted the Eucharist. By the ritual act of breaking bread (*Acts* 2:42, 20:7) and eating it, Christians would become one with Christ and his Father in heaven.

The bread that becomes the body of Christ has an interesting parallel among the Aztec, who made a doughlike paste from the crushed seeds of the prickly poppy and molded it into a figure of the god Huitzilopochtli. The ritual involved "god-eating": the bread body was broken into pieces and eaten.

Bread presented by the faithful for the Eucharist but not used for that purpose was called the *eulogia.* The bishop blessed it and had it distributed to catechumens and to absent members of the community. By the fourth century, Christians were sending the *eulogia* to one another as a symbol of their union. Hippolytus of Rome (170–235) pointed to another sign of the special unity that bound early Christians together when he spoke of the bread of exorcism that should be given to catechumens in place of eucharistic bread.

Bread as a symbol has also had negative aspects. The good wife does not eat the "bread of idleness" (*Prv.* 31:27). The ungodly "eat the bread of wickedness" (*Prv.* 4:17). The "bread of deceit" has a sweet taste but leaves the mouth full of gravel (*Prv.* 20:17). Yahveh, when angry with his people, sends the "bread of adversity" (*Is.* 30:20) or the "bread of tears" (*Ps.* 80:5). These expressions evolved from a recollection of God's curse on Adam, who was to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow (*Gn.* 3:19).

SEE ALSO Leaven.

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JAMES E. LATHAM (1987)
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BREATH AND BREATHING. The concept of breath figures prominently in the development of thought in many religions. Egyptian *ka,* Hebrew *nefesh* and *ruah,* Greek *psuchē* and *pneuma,* Latin *anima* and *spiritus,* Sanskrit *prana,* Chinese *qi,* Polynesian *mana,* and Iroquoian *orenda* all demonstrate that the theme of breath has had a major place in humanity's quest for religious understanding. Moreover, theological conceptions of breath have led many of the world's traditions to feature respiratory exercises in their religious disciplines, especially in Asia and among groups influenced directly or indirectly by practices from the Indian subcontinent.

BREATH AND THE RELIGIOUS UNDERSTANDING OF HUMANITY. The centrality of breath in defining humanity has focused on understanding what it is that gives humans life and under what circumstances humans define their own deaths. Moreover, the theme of breath, along with related notions of vitality and energy, has been associated with views of the soul and with questions regarding the mortal and immortal aspects of human life.

Greek views. Although the theme of breath is seldom mentioned by Plato and Aristotle, some of their predecessors, for whom the universe was a quasi-living organism, saw air, wind, or breath as central to the definition of the soul. Pre-Socratic philosophers identified two qualities of the soul, movement and knowledge. Empedocles, for example, believed that because the soul knows all natural things, and because natural things can be analyzed into four constituent parts—fire, air, water, and earth—the soul must be made up of a combination of these four elements, together with the principles of love and strife.

Diogenes, taking up the position of the Ionians (one of whom, Anaximenes, described the soul as having an airlike nature that guides and controls the living being), credited air itself with sentience and intelligence. For Diogenes, air was the element most capable of originating movement, because it was the finest element in grain; in this characteristic, he thought, lay the grounds of the soul's own powers of knowing and of originating movement. Moreover, he stated, the internal air in the body had an important role in the functioning of each of the sense organs. Similarly, some of the Pythagoreans believed that the particles in the air, or the force that moved them, were soul, and Heraclitus declared that the soul as first principle was a "warm exhalation" of which everything else was composed.

Of the words Plato used for "soul," including *nous, sōma, psuchē,* and *genesis, psuchē* was the closest to a concept that incorporated breath. In Homer, *psuchē* refers to the life that is lost at death, as well as to the shade or wraith that lives on. Like the ancient Egyptian *ka* ("breath"), the "double" of humanity that was born with humans but survived death and remained close to the tomb, the Homeric soul was an airy, ethereal entity identified with the breath of life. In Plato, however, *psuchē* designates a comprehensive personal soul, the divine aspect of humanity that is the seat of rational intelligence and moral choice, entirely separate from the body. Although, from the beginning of Greek philosophy, *psuchē* referred to the "life force" in all its psychosomatic connotations, it was not always related to breath per se. Because Greek philosophy placed such a premium on the intellectual life of the soul, the "breath of life" came to be relegated to a place of little stature.

Biblical views. In the Bible, the role of breath rests on several concepts: *ruaḥ, neshamah, nefesh, psuchē,* and *pneuma.* Of these, *nefesh* and *psuchē* refer specifically to the individual as the subject of life, while *ruaḥ* and *pneuma* refer to a more generic understanding of breath as a symbol of life and even as life itself.

The Hebrew term *ruaḥ* means "breath, wind," or "spirit." As a concept of nature, it refers to the winds of the four directions, as well as to the wind of heaven. For humans as a species, *ruaḥ* is a general principle, covering such things as the physical breath that issues from the mouth and nostrils, words carried forth on this breath, animated emotions (such as agitation, anger, vigor, courage, impatience, bitterness, troubled disposition, discontent, uncontrollable impulse, and jealousy), and, occasionally, mental activity and moral character. *Ruaḥ* is also the spirit in humans that gives them life; because this spirit is created and preserved by God, it is thus understood to be God's spirit (the *ruaḥ elohim* of *Genesis* 1:2), which is breathed into humans at the time of creation. Biblical literature sees evidence of God's spirit in such phenomena as prophecy (whereby human beings utter instructions or warnings), ecstatic states of frenzy and possession, and situations of authority through which divine wisdom is revealed.

The term *neshamah,* although used considerably less often than *ruaḥ,* nevertheless carries many of the same meanings: the breath of God as wind (hot, cold, life creating, or life destroying), the breath of humans as breathed into them by God, and breath as found in every living thing.

The individual soul of humans is usually designated by the term *nefesh.* From a root probably meaning "to breathe" (cf. Akkadian *napashu,* "expand"), *nefesh* occasionally designates the neck or throat (which opens for breathing), but is more often the concrete sign of life, the breathing substance, and then the soul or inner being, in man. Moreover, since the living are distinguished from the dead by breath, *nefesh* indicates the individual, the person or "I," which after death goes to Sheʾol. As the life force in individual beings, *nefesh* is mentioned in referring to both animals and humans, and is that which makes flesh alive. The relation between *neshama,* as "breath," and *nefesh,* denoting "person," is seen in *Genesis* 2:7: "Then the Lord God formed man of dust from the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath [*neshamah*] of life; and man became a living being [*nefesh*]." This belief in the unity of body and soul is continued from the biblical period into later Jewish philosophy.

Like *ruaḥ, pneuma* in the New Testament denotes "spirit," and it refers both to the Holy Spirit and the spirit of an individual person, as well as to the evil spirits or demons that are responsible for mental illness. Although it has the same psychosomatic implications as *ruah,* its ties to the notion of breath are less obvious.

The New Testament term *psuchē,* on the other hand, although it continues to carry the old Greek sense of life force, corresponds more to the Hebrew notion of breath of life than it does to its use in Plato or the pre-Socratics. Like *nefesh, psuchē* is the individual soul, the "I" that feels, loves, and desires, and that lives only because it has been infused with breath. Nevertheless, under Greek influence, the *nefesh*-become-*psuche* concept was gradually opposed to the mortal body and used to designate the immortal principle in humans.

Breath is of little importance in later Christian investigations of the soul. Tertullian, however, relying on the Stoic tradition, emphasized the union of soul and body, and said that the soul is "born of the breath of God, immortal, corporeal, and representable"—though it was only Adam's soul that was created by God, as all others have come into being by an act of generation.

Islamic views. Arabic terms related to breath parallel the Hebrew. In pre-Qurʾanic poetry, for example, *nafs* is the "self" or "person" and *rūḥ* is breath and wind. Beginning with the Qurʾān, *nafs* takes on the additional meaning of "soul," while *rūḥ* comes to refer to an angel, or heavenly messenger, or to a special divine quality. The two words are eventually synonymous in post-Qurʾanic literature, where they refer equally to the human spirit, to angels, and to *jinn* (supernatural beings). The term *nafas,* "breath" and "wind," is cognate to *nafs* through its root and to *rūḥ* in some meanings. It first appears in Islamic literary history in the early poetry.

Classical Islamic philosophy gives a central role to breath in the perfection of humanity within the cosmos. According to Ibn Sina, God created the left side of the heart, the main organ of breathing, to be a source and storehouse for breath, which is the rallying point for the faculties of the soul and the conveyor of these faculties to various parts of the body. Breath begins as a divine emanation moving from potentiality to actuality, proceeding without interruption until each form is complete and perfect. There is one breath that acts as the origin of the others; this principal breath arises in the heart and moves throughout the body, giving its parts their proper temperament. It is identified with the force of life itself and is thus the link between the bodily and spiritual aspects of an individual's being. The principal breath of humans, then, makes possible the perfect equilibrium and balance of the elements—a condition necessary for the manifestation of the divine.

Hindu views. The Sanskrit term *prāṇa* is a word of broad import that can refer to breath, respiration, life, vitality, wind, energy, and strength. In general, it is used in the plural to indicate the vital breaths in the body, but is also related to speculation about the individual soul. Early Indian literature proposed a variety of notions about the relation between human breath (*prāṇa*), its natural correlate the atmospheric wind, and the cosmic order. The most important of these equated the atmospheric wind with the breath of Puruṣa, the cosmic man (*Ṛgveda* 10.90.13) who was, like the Egyptian god Amun, a deity manifest in the wind and, as breath, the mysterious source of life in men and animals.

Indian medical theory, the basis for *haṭhayoga,* identifies five *prāṇa*s operative within the body: *prāṇa,* the "breath of the front," or thoracic breath, which ensures respiration and swallowing; *udāna,* the "breath that goes upward," which produces speech; *samāna,* "concentrated breath," which provides air to the internal "cooking" fire for digesting food; *apāna,* the "breath that goes downward," or abdominal breath, which controls the elimination of urine and feces; and *vyāna,* the "diffused breath," which circulates throughout the entire body and distributes the energy derived from food and breath. The general process of inhalation and exhalation is referred to by the compound *prāṇāpānau.*

In addition, there are five subsidiary "winds" or *vāyūs*: *nāga,* which relieves abdominal pressure through belching; *kūrma,* which controls the movements of the eyelids, thereby preventing foreign matter and bright light from entering the eyes; *kṛkara,* which controls sneezing and coughing, thereby preventing substances from passing up the nasal passages and down the throat; *devadatta,* which provides for the intake of extra oxygen into the tired body by causing a yawn; and *dhanaṃjaya,* which remains in the body after death, often bloating up the corpse.

There is some debate about the relation of yogic *prāṇa* to the cosmic forces in the universe. In modern literature on yoga, *prāṇa,* even in the compound *prāṇāyāma,* "the restraint of breath," is often interpreted as a subtle psychic force or cosmic element. This is not borne out by the early texts, however, and Patañjali, who provided the first real exposure to yoga, uses the term *prāṇāyāma* to refer only to respiratory movements. Later *haṭhayoga* texts do use the word *prāṇa* to indicate a subtle psychic force, but this is the force awakened by the process of *prāṇāyāma* and not *prāṇāyāma* itself.

The Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads equate breath, as "vital breath," with the *ātman* or soul (cf. German *Atem,* "breath") and with *brahman,* the cosmic essence. The vital air in the upper part of the body is here thought to be immortal and to be the inspirer of thoughts. Moreover, it is by the breath of his mouth that Prajapāti created the gods and by the *prāṇa* of his lower body that he created the demons. Finally, in the Vedic sacrifice, bricks for the altar are sniffed by the sacrificial horse, who thereby bestows "breath" upon them—explained as a "sniff-kiss" in which the horse transfers beneficent power to ritual objects.

Chinese views. In ancient China, each person was thought to have two souls, both composed of very subtle matter: the *hun* ("air soul") came from the upper air and was received back into it at death, while the *po* ("earth soul") was generated by the earth below and sank back at the end to mingle with it. Of the two, it was the *hun* that was the object of ancestor worship. This two-part system corresponded to the *yinyang* equilibrium, the *hun* soul being the *yang* aspect, in which the spiritual dominates, and the *po* being the *yin* aspect, in which the demonic dominates. In later tradition, the *hun* soul was thought to give rise to the seminal and mental essences, while the *po* was responsible for the existence of the flesh and bones of the body.

BREATH AND RELIGIOUS DISCIPLINES. Many of the major religious traditions are familiar with some type of respiratory practice. The oldest known and most comprehensive of these breathing disciplines is that of Hindu yoga, from which the disciplines of Jainism and Buddhism are derived. Some scholars have suggested that other traditions as well (particularly Daoism and Islam) have been influenced, at least in part, by Indian practices.

Hindu yoga. The Indian science of respiratory discipline, *prāṇāyāma,* fits within the larger complex of Hindu yoga, the most important type of which, for understanding breath control, is *haṭhayoga.* In general, yoga has as its goal the steady control of the senses and mind, leading to the abolition of normal consciousness and to freedom from delusion. *Prāṇāyāma,* the rhythmic control of the breath, is the fourth in the traditional eight states of yoga, coming after *āsana,* posture, and before *pratyāhāra,* withdrawal of the senses. Its main purpose is to change the ordinarily irregular flow of breath—which can be upset by indigestion, fever, cough, and cold, or by emotions like fear, anger, and lust—by bringing the breath under conscious control so that its rhythm becomes slow and even and respiratory effort is eliminated. By means of *prāṇāyāma* not only are the lungs cleansed and aerated, the blood oxygenated, and the nerves purified, but longevity as well as subtle states of consciousness leading to spiritual release are promoted. Although *prāṇāyāma* came to be a yogic exercise of great importance, Patañjali allots only three *sūtra*s to it (1.34, 2.29, 2.49). The technical details for *prāṇāyāma* were then elaborated in the commentaries of Vyāsa, Bhoja, and Vācaspati Miśra, and especially in the classical works on *haṭhayoga.*

Although extraordinary feats resulting from respiratory discipline have been documented in numerous sources, including submersion in water or burial alive for unbelievable lengths of time, more frequent mention is made of the dangerous results of improper breathing. Practitioners are cautioned to undertake *prāṇāyāma* only under the instruction of a knowledgeable teacher, and to proceed with the exercises very slowly at first and according to their own capacity; otherwise they will incur disease or even death. By improper practice of *prāṇāyām,* for example, a pupil can introduce disorders into his system, such as hiccups, wind, asthma, cough, catarrh, pains in the head, eyes, and ears, and severe nervous irritation; by proper practice, however, one is freed from these and most other diseases. The classic example of improper respiratory discipline is that of the nineteenth-century Hindu saint Rama-krishna. When he was young, Ramakrishna's practice of yoga almost always ended in blackout. He later developed bloodshot eyes, then bleeding of the gums, and finally the cancer of the throat from which he died. In this regard, the classical tradition holds that when *prāṇāyāma* is too intensive, that is, when the body becomes overloaded with *prāṇa,* colored flames dance before the eyes and blackout inevitably occurs.

The respiratory rhythm of *prāṇāyāma* is measured in units of time called *mātrāprāmāṇa,* one *mātrā* being the time necessary for one respiration. This rhythm is achieved by harmonizing the three basic activities of inhalation (*pūraka*), retention of breath (*kumbhaka*), and exhalation (*recaka*). The most favored proportion of *pūraka* to *kumbhaka* to *recaka* is 1:4:2, although other traditions recommend 1:2:2 (for beginners) or an equal measure for all three parts. Still another tradition recommends that beginners not practice *kumbhaka* at all. Although this particular terminology is not used by either Patañjali or Vyāsa, it is traditional in *haṭhayoga* texts, where *kumbhaka* alone can sometimes refer to all three respiratory processes. A more detailed analysis describes two different states of "breath retention," *antara kumbhaka,* when breathing is suspended after full inspiration (the lungs being full), and *bāhya kumbhaka,* when breathing is suspended after full exhalation (the lungs being empty).

The technique of *prāṇāyāma* is thought to transform the natural processes already at work in the body. It is believed that every living creature breathes the prayer "So'ham" ("The immortal spirit, he am I") with each inward breath, and "'Hamsah" ("I am he, the immortal Spirit") with each outgoing breath. This unconscious repetitive prayer goes on throughout life, and is to be brought into full consciousness through the discipline that begins with breathing.

Prāṇāyāma should be undertaken only when the third stage of yoga has been mastered, for it is only when correct posture has been achieved and complete relaxation has set in that breath can be made to flow freely. The student of *prāṇāyāma* should be sure that the bowels and bladder are empty, and especially that the stomach has little or no food in it when he or she begins the practice: for the physical culturist, *prāṇāyāma* should take place at least one half hour before the next meal and four and a half hours after the last; for the spiritual culturist, one meal a day is best, but at least six hours should have elapsed since the last meal was eaten. For serious students, *prāṇāyāma* should be practiced four times a day (early morning, noon, evening, and midnight), with a count of eighty cycles per sitting. The best seasons to begin are spring and fall, when the climate is equable, and the best place to practice is one that is well ventilated but without a strong draft. Traditionally *prāṇāyāma* was performed on a carpet of *kuśa* grass covered with a deer hide and then with a clean thick cloth, but current rules prescribe a folded blanket on the floor. The eyes should be fixed in a special gaze (usually directed ahead or at the tip of the nose), while the mind is passive but alert. The breathing itself is directed through the nostrils only, not through the mouth. Specific rules for *prāṇāyāma* differ according to the authority in question, but in most treatises, special respiratory rules are given for pregnant women and those just completing childbirth.

Breath is made to flow through the yogin's body by an elaborate system of controls designed to prevent internal damage: the *bandha*s are postures in which certain organs or parts of the body are contracted and controlled; the *nāḍi*s are tubular channels in the body through which the breath energy flows; and the *cakra*s are the flywheels controlling the body's machinery. The three most important *bandha*s are the *jālandhara bandha* ("chin lock"), whereby the chin is pressed against the chest and the abdomen is withdrawn; the *uḍḍīyāna bandha* ("raising of the diaphragm"), whereby the diaphragm is pulled up and the abdominal organs are brought against the back and held toward the spine; and the *mūla bandha* ("anal contraction"), whereby the sphincter muscle is tightened. These postures affect what most authorities believe are the seventy-two thousand *nadi*s, along which the breath or life current flows to all parts of the body. Some *nāḍi*s are more important than others, the single most important being the *suṣumna,* identified with the spinal cord. The breath energy flowing through the *nāḍi*s is then regulated by the *cakra*s, control points placed at crucial locations in the body.

Respiratory discipline is central in bringing about the unification of consciousness, the goal of yoga. From an early period, mind and breath were held to be intimately connected, and the arousal or cessation of one was known to affect the other. Patañjali, for example, recommended *prāṇāyāma* for achieving equanimity and inner peace, and Bhoja noted that through the suspension of sense activity, breath control could bring about single-pointed concentration (the fifth stage of yoga, *pratyāhāra*). The classical image used here is that of the chariot, according to which the mind is a chariot yoked to a pair of powerful horses, one of which is breath (*prāṇa*), the other, desire. The chariot moves in the direction of the more powerful animal; if breath prevails, desires are controlled, but if desires prevail, breath becomes irregular. Through *prāṇāyāma,* which ensures the controlled progress of the chariot, the advanced yogins can penetrate the four basic structures of consciousness—waking, sleeping with dreams, sleeping without dreams, and the *tuīya* state—thereby unifying all four within themselves.

With the development of Tantrism, the yogic disciplines of posture and breath control were combined with sexual practices that served to unite the practitioner with cosmic energy or *śakti,* as symbolized by the great goddess. According to Tantric texts, the object of *prāṇāyāma* is to arouse *kuṇḍalinī,* the divine cosmic force in the body, symbolized by a coiled and sleeping serpent that lies dormant in the lowest nerve center (*cakra*) at the base of the spinal column. Once aroused by *prāṇāyāma*, this energy rises up through the spinal column, piercing each *cakra* on its way until it reaches the head and there unites with the supreme soul.

Buddhist meditation. For Therāvada Buddhists, respiratory discipline is counted as part of the contemplation of the body—*ānapānasati* ("mindfulness of breathing"). The Pali canon describes the meditation as "mindfully he breathes in, mindfully he breathes out," and then enumerates sixteen ways in which mindful breathing can be practiced. The work begins with developing an awareness of "breathing in a long breath, breathing out a long breath, breathing in a short breath, breathing out a short breath," and continues through the practices until discursive thinking has been cut off and full concentration attained. Unlike yogic breathing techniques, however, Buddhist mindfulness of breath does not hold or control the breath but lets it come and go naturally, with the goal only to become fully aware of all states of the breathing process.

In Tibetan Buddhism, breathing is a part of the complex process of visualization by which a deity is mentally created in front of the practitioner out of his internal psychic elements. Tibetan Buddhists believe that breath or vitality in the body enters not only through the nose but also through the eyes, ears, mouth, navel, male or female organ, anus, and head and body hair pores. Since these "winds" act as a mount or basis for consciousness, the mind's scattering is stopped when they are restrained. Visualization, therefore, can proceed only when vitality (or breath) and exertion (or distraction) have been controlled. To achieve the mental stability needed for visualization, meditators are advised to practice "wind yoga," that is, to hold their breath—"hold the wind"—while simultaneously holding their mind on the divine body that is the object of meditation. When they can no longer retain the breath, they should let it out gently, see themselves clarified as the deity, and then hold their breathing again, keeping in mind, as before, one aspect of the deity. It is only when the mind is thus stabilized that the divine body will appear.

Daoist yoga. In China, breathing exercises go back to an early period. Laozi and Zhuangzi were familiar with a "methodical breathing," and a Chou dynasty inscription, dating from as early as the sixth century BCE, prescribes a precise collection and circulation of the breath inside the body that is designed to achieve long life. Also known were archaic shamanic techniques that imitated the movements and breathing of animals—a practice reflected later in the Daoist notion that the deep and silent breathing of ecstasy is like the breathing of animals in hibernation.

Unlike the many alchemical practices of Chinese tradition, which use aphrodisiacs to restore sexual activity, Daoist yoga aims primarily at restraining and rechanneling the sexual urges of the body. Through the regulation of breathing and other yogic techniques, the practitioner learns to sublimate the generative force that produces sexual fluid, and to prevent this fluid from following its normal course of satisfying desires and producing offspring. The correct method of breathing is essential in Daoist yoga, for it serves to circulate an inner fire through a microcosmic orbit and so immobilize the generative force, causing the genital organ to retract and stopping the drain of vitality caused by the emission of semen.

The ultimate purpose of stemming the generative force is to obtain *chang sheng* ("long life"), a state understood as a material immortality of the body. The practitioner begins by holding the breath through a period of 3, 5, 7, 9, and 12 normal respirations, then up to 120 or even more. To attain immortality, however, one must hold the breath through 1,000 respirations. The practitioner will, in the end, enter a state of serenity characterized by the qualities of *nianchu* ("thoughtlessness"), *xizhu* ("breathlessness"), *mozhu* ("pulselessness"), and *mie jin* ("unmindfulness of worldly existence").

Daoist respiratory disciplines are not, like *prāṇāyāma,* preliminary or auxiliary exercises in meditation to prepare the yogin for spiritual concentration but, rather, techniques that actually accomplish the purpose of the yoga itself: the indefinite prolongation of bodily life. The question whether there may be a historical relation between Daoist and Indian practices has not been resolved. Some scholars believe that Neo-Daoism borrowed from Tantric yoga practices. Others have noted that Daoism must have taken the notion of a physiological role of breath from India, for ancient Chinese medicine—Daoism's most likely source—had no such notion. Whatever the case, the results of both yogas are, in some instances, very similar, for the Daoist's ability to enter the water without drowning or walk on fire without being burned resemble Indian yogic powers or *siddhi*s.

The aim of the breathing exercises is to try to return to the type of breathing experienced by the embryo in the womb; when the umbilical cord was cut at birth, this initial type of breathing was replaced by breathing through the nostrils. During the practice, inspiration and expiration are kept as quiet as possible, and breath is held closed up in the body—"swallowed," some texts say—until it is intolerable, and then let out through the mouth. "Embryonic breathing" or "immortal breathing" is thus a restoration of profound fetal breathing; it wipes out all postnatal conditions so that prenatal vitality can be transmuted and the seed of immortality nurtured. As a stage in the quest for immortal breath, the embryonic breathing of Daoism is not merely a checking of respiration, but an internal circulation of vital principles whereby the individual can remain completely airtight. If, however, breathing through the nostrils and mouth is used (and used randomly) in advanced stages of this yoga, then the psychic center in the heart will burst and the practitioner will become deranged.

Central to the yogic endeavor of Daoism is the theory of the five vital breaths located in the heart, spleen, lungs, liver, and kidneys that keep these organs functioning, and without which the body perishes. These vitalities have their source in the brain, and when they converge again in the head into one vitality, a golden light is made manifest. This system of vital breaths is held to correspond to the interaction in the body of the five basic elements: heart (fire), spleen or stomach (earth), lungs (metal), liver (wood), and kidneys (water).

The vital breaths are linked to one another by a network of eight main psychic channels that, when clear, have two distinct roles: the unimpeded flow of the generative force and the unrestricted circulation of the vital breaths. This network contains a microcosmic orbit with four cardinal points: at the root of the penis, where the generative force is gathered; at the top of the head; and at the two points between them in the spine and in the front of the body, where the generative force is cleansed and purified during the microcosmic orbiting.

Dysfunctional breathing in Daoism is designated by the "nine unsettled breaths." They are caused by anger, which lifts the breath, and fear, which lowers it; joy, which slows it down; grief, which disperses it; terror, which throws it out of gear; thinking, which ties it up; toil, which wastes it; cold, which collects it; and heat, which scatters it.

Islamic prayer. The Muslims belonging to the school of Ibn al-ʿArabi practiced a technique comparable to the *prāṇāyāma* of Hinduism. In breathing out, the words *lā-ilāha* ("There is no god") are formed, while the inward breath coincides with the words *illā Allāh* ("but God"), resulting in a profession of faith. Breath control is practiced by Islamic mystics in *dhikr* ("remembrance"), a practice dedicated to the glorification of God that repeats certain fixed phrases in a ritual order, either out loud or in the mind, and is accompanied by certain breathing and physical movements. Although it is not known exactly when methods of breath control (*ḥabs-i dam,* "keeping one's breath in recollection") were adopted into Sufism, there is a twelfth-century text prescribing the following: the breath is "emitted above the left breast (to empty the heart); then the word *lā* is exhaled from the navel (against the sexual demon); then *ilāha* is uttered on the right shoulder, and *illā* at the navel; finally *Allāh* is strongly articulated in the empty heart."

For the Ṣūfī, every breath that goes out without remembering God is "dead," while every breath that goes out in recollection of the Lord is "alive" and connected with him. In *dhikr* one is enjoined not to speak much but rather, in a variant form of the above text, to say, three times in one breath, "Lā ilāha illā Allāh" from the right side and then, having brought the breath down to the heart, to bring forth "Muḥammad rasūl Allāh" from the left side. The importance of breath regulation in *dhikr* to the advanced Ṣūfī is seen in the following example from Pashto poetry: "Thy every breath is a pearl and a coral of inestimable price / Be careful, therefore, and guard every respiration well!" Directions are given in various texts for the exact count and duration of the respiratory cycle in *dhikr,* and some sources state that the experienced mystic is often able to hold his breath for almost three hours. *Dhikr* is also used for healing purposes. Even in the early twenty-first century the recitation of the *Fātiḥah* or some other prayer, together with a "breathing upon" the sick, is common in the Muslim world.

The extent to which the breath control used by Ṣūfīs in their *dhikr* developed under the influence of Indian practices is not certain. It is known that regulated breathing existed among the Ṣūfīs of eastern Iran before Sufism spread to India, but in the later period when there was contact with India, yogic practices undoubtedly further colored numerous aspects of Ṣūfī life.

Christian prayer. Respiratory techniques similar to those used in Hindu yoga can be found in the Christian tradition of hesychasm. Hesychasm is a type of prayer in Eastern Christianity based on a control of physical faculties and a concentration on the Jesus Prayer to achieve peace of soul and union with God. Although the earliest descriptions of the hesychastic method of contemplation go back at least to the fifth century, to John of Jerusalem, the earliest datable combination of the Jesus Prayer with respiratory techniques is in the writings of Nikephoros the Solitary (fl. 1260). Nikephoros writes: "Sit down, compose your mind, introduce it—your mind, I say—into your nostrils; this is the road that the breath takes to reach the heart. Push it, force it to descend into your heart at the same time as the inhaled air. When it is there, you will see what joy will follow."

The traditional breath control that begins hesychastic contemplation is used, like *prāṇāyāma,* to prepare for mental prayer, that is, to bring about a "return of the mind." In a quiet cell, with the door closed, one sits in the corner and presses the (bearded) chin against the upper part of the chest, much as in the *jālandhara bandha* of Hindu yoga. One then directs the eye—and with it all the mind—to the navel, and compresses the inspiration of air in the nose so that normal breathing does not come easily, all the while ceaselessly repeating the Jesus Prayer: "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me!" This exercise prepares one for the attainment of absolute quietude of the soul and for the experience of divine light.

See Also Buddhist Meditation; Inspiration; Life; Meditation; Prāṇa; Samadhi; Yoga.

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Ellison Banks Findly (1987 and 2005)

BRELICH, ANGELO (1913–1977), was an Italian historian of religions. After completing his academic studies in Hungary under Károly Kerényi and Andreas Alföldi, Brelich became the assistant to the chair of history of religions at the University of Rome, a chair then held by Raffaele Pettazzoni, whom he succeeded as professor ordinarius in 1958. His first publication, *Aspetti della morte nelle iscrizioni sepolcrali nell'Impero romano* (Aspects of Death in the Sepulchral Inscriptions of the Roman Empire; 1937), was based upon a thorough exploration of the *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* and anticipated Brelich's future interest in methodological reflection. There followed in 1949 *Die geheime Schutzgottheit von Rom* (The Secret Protecting Deity of Rome) and *Vesta,* which show the strong influence of his teacher Kerényi and bear witness to Brelich's own search for scientific originality. In these two books, which were conceived as a unit, Brelich distinguishes between "analytical research," aimed at delineating the fundamental elements of themes present in a divine figure, and "historical research," which is concerned with the figure's specific content and further developments.

A new period in Brelich's studies began in the 1950s. *Tre variazioni romane sul tema delle origini* (Three Roman Variations on the Theme of Origins; 1955) emphasizes the theme of historical creativity. Unlike the evolutionist notion of survival (i. e., the notion of vestigial cultural elements surviving merely as erratic blocks in the living stream of more recent cultural formations), Brelich's notion of historical creativity implies the validation of elements already found within different mythological and religious horizons on the part of new, emerging cultural-historical settings. Brelich also makes use of a basic opposition between primordial chaos or "non-order" and the order that results from the organization of the cosmos. These methodological principles recur in the volume *Gli eroi greci* (The Greek Heroes; 1958), where Brelich advocates the inclusion of the study of the religions of the classical world within the problematic of the history of religions. In the same book, Brelich also reflects on the type of the hero, especially as the object of a funerary cult and in its connection with cosmogonic themes. He was later to alter those views expressed here, however, because of the radicalization of his analytic hermeneutics.

During this period Brelich became deeply interested in polytheism, which had been a rather neglected topic in the field of comparative, cultural-historical studies. He saw in polytheism a religious phenomenon typical of the archaic "high cultures" such as were found in Japan, India, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Greece, as well as in Central America and Peru. He believed that the polytheistic conception of "god" or deity was to be distinguished from both the ghosts of animism and the *dei otiosi* ("idle gods") of some nonliterate cultures. Polytheism for Brelich is a *sui generis* phenomenon and the proper object of historical research aimed at discovering its structure and *raison d'être* in the religious history of humankind.

Guerre, agoni, e culti nella Grecia arcaica (Wars, Ritual Competitions, and Cults in Archaic Greece; 1961) marked

Brelich's growing interest in initiatory institutions. These institutions are central to his *Paides e Parthenoi* (1969), which is a study of the way in which tribal initiation rites were adapted to use in the Greek polis once their original purpose had been lost. Here again is seen Brelich's interest in historical creativity. He showed less interest in soteriological and eschatological aspects of these institutions.

Brelich left unfinished a complex history of the cult of Jupiter, a history that was to trace Jupiter's development from the status of an Indo-European prepolytheistic heavenly being to that of the head of an entire pantheon, noting especially the political implications of this development. As for his view of religion as a general phenomenon, Brelich's introduction to Henri-Charles Puech's *Histoire des religions* (1970) seems to indicate that he accepted functionalist explanations.

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UGO BIANCHI (1987)

BRETHEREN OF PURITY SEE IKHWĀN AL-ṢAFĀʾ

BREUIL, HENRI

BREUIL, HENRI (1877–1961), French scholar of prehistoric humans. Henri-Édouard-Prosper Breuil was born in Mortain, Manche. As a youth, he developed an interest in natural history and the history of early humankind, which he pursued during his years at the seminary of Issy. Ordained a priest in 1900, he devoted the rest of his scholarly life to human paleontology. Breuil was introduced to Paleolithic studies by Émile Cartailhac, with whom in October 1902 he opened the Altamira cave in Spain, and his studies of Paleolithic art and artifacts were furthered by Édouard Iette and Joseph-Louis Capitan. In these early stages, Breuil's work was actively supported by Prince Albert of Monaco.

After having taught from 1905 to 1910 at the University of Fribourg, Breuil became professor of prehistoric ethnography at the Institut de Paléontologie Humaine in Paris. From 1929 to 1947 he served as professor of prehistory at the Collège de France. During his career, Breuil taught also in Lisbon (1941–1942) and Johannesburg (1942–1945). He traveled extensively in Europe and southern Africa, and even journeyed to China, searching for survivals of Paleolithic humans.

Through his global studies of Paleolithic cave art and the tools and techniques of Paleolithic craftsmen, Breuil greatly increased our knowledge of the conditions of life and the creative work of Paleolithic people. He drew attention, for example, to the religious aspects (i.e., the symbolic and possible ritual functions) of paintings such as that of "the Sorcerer" in the cave of Les Trois Frères, discovered in 1916 in southern France. He was also interested in the religious meaning of funerary practices and their hieratic manifestations, to which he ascribed a common origin. Breuil gave the first scholarly description of the famous caves of Lascaux (1940). In his thinking about human evolution (and the evidences for such evolution that he found in humanity's early religious history), Breuil envisaged a developing cosmic order moved by energy. Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, who for some time was associated with Breuil, developed these ideas more systematically.

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Most of Breuil's publications are descriptions of the more than eighty painted caves he studied in France and Spain and the hundreds of rock paintings he investigated in Spain, Ethiopia, and southern Africa. An excellent example of these descriptions is his *Les peintures rupestres schématiques de la Péninsule ibérique,* 4 vols. (Lagny-sur-Marne, 1932–1935). Breuil's more extensive works, done in collaboration with other scholars, include *Afrique* (Paris, 1931), which Breuil edited with Leo Frobenius and which contains Breuil's essay "L'Afrique préhistorique" (pp. 60–119), and *Les hommes de la pierre ancienne* (Paris, 1951). A significant example of Breuil's works on the religion of early humanity is his piece "Pratique religeuses chez les humanités quaternaires," in *Scienza e civiltà* (Rome, 1951), pp. 47–73. Among Breuil's books that have been translated into English, the following should be mentioned: *Rock Paintings of Southern Andalusia,* written with M. C. Burkitt and Montagu Pollock (Oxford, 1929); *The Cave of Altamira at Santillana de Mar,* written with Hugo Obermaier (Madrid, 1935); *Beyond the Bounds of History: Scenes of the Old Stone Age* (London, 1949); and *Four Hundred Centuries of Cave Art* (Montignac, 1952). A bibliography of Breuil's writings is contained in *Hommage à l'abbé Henri Breuil pour son quatre-vingtième anniversaire,* compiled by G. Henri-Martin (Paris, 1957).

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JACQUES WAARDENBURG (1987)

BRIDGES.

BRIDGES. All over the world, in different religions and cultures, there are vivid descriptions of a perilous way that the dreamer, the ecstatic visionary, or the deceased has to follow on his journey to the otherworld. One of the perils may be a bridge leading across a chasm, a rapacious stream, or the void. Success in crossing the bridge may depend on the traveler's own behavior during life or on the sacrifices he or his surviving relatives have performed. Ethical qualifications are not always needed.

Parallel with these eschatological ideas, actual bridge-building on earth has been connected with sacrifices and with religious, folkloric, and magical conceptions. At times, the construction of a tangible bridge—whether for day-to-day use or for ritual use only—is related to the soul's passage to the afterlife. Finally, the bridge in itself has often been a very useful symbol to signify the transcendence of the border between two realms or the ascension from a lower to a higher dominion.

HISTORY. One of the striking characteristics of the bridge as symbol is its universality among traditions from all over the world.

Indo-Iranian religions. In the Hindu religion, from the *Ṛgveda* (9.41.2) onward, the bridge occurs as a link between earth and heaven, the world of illusion (*māyā*) and reality. The sacrifice terminology and the lofty speculations of the Upanisads use it in a figurative rather than a literal sense, though the popular imagination might suppose the latter to be the case. Just as the gods enter the heavenly world by means of the "southern fires" (*dakṣiṇā*s) in the Agnicayana ritual, using them as steps and ladders, so the sacrificer "crosses a bridge and enters into the world of heaven" (*Yajurveda, Kāṭhakam* 28.4). It is necessary to make a ladder or a bridge with sacrificial gifts in order to ascend into that heavenly realm.

On the other hand, this luminous *brahman* world is attained by recognition of *ātman,* the spiritual reality. To the extent that this universal self is conceived of as a person, God himself is called "the highest bridge to immortality" (*Svetāśvatara Upaniṣad* 6.19). That bridge, God, in itself is not ethical, but all evil is excluded from the *brahman* world: "Therefore, if blind people go over the bridge they receive their sight, if wounded, they are cured; therefore, if the night crosses the bridge, it is turned to day" (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 8.4.1).

According to Herman Lommel (1930, pp. 264ff.), the greatest significance of the ancient Indian bridge is that it holds two worlds, heaven and earth, apart. But, speaking of the Nāciketas fire—"the bridge of the sacrificers to that eternal highest *brahman*"—Lommel does not mention some later lines where the road is described as the "sharp edge of a razor, difficult to pass over" (*Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad* 3.14). The bridge, however, is not explicitly mentioned in this connection.

A comparison of the Indian and Iranian sources reveals common as well as differing conceptions of the bridge and of the whole structure of ideas to which it belongs. The paradisiacal delights of the virtuous are pictured in a very concrete way in *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* 1.4: "Five hundred nymphs [*Apsara*s] go to meet him, one hundred with fruit in their hands, one hundred with ointment in their hands, one hundred with wreaths, one hundred with raiment, one hundred with fragrant powder in their hands" (Lommel, p. 270).

Space does not allow a thorough account here of the Iranian sources with their various chronologies, varying content, and difficulties of philological interpretation (cf. Lommel, pp. 263ff., with Nyberg, 1966, pp. 180ff.). Some general ideas may be summarized, however, with the help of a present-day specialist.

In ancient Iran, the ceremonies of the first three days after death were regarded as very important for the soul of the dead person. It had to be protected against evil powers and had to be strengthened before the dangerous journey to the otherworld. Originally, at least, princes, warriors, and priests might hope to come to a luminous paradise with all its delights. The "crossing of the Separator" (Av., Chinvatō Peretu) was imagined as passing over a bridge that began on top of Mount Harā and ended on the road to Heaven. Only worthy souls, perhaps those who had given rich offerings, could reach the heavenly way; the others fell down into the subterranean Hell (Boyce, 1979, pp. 13ff.).

Zarathushtra taught that everyone had the possibility of gaining Paradise and that the successful passing of the bridge depended on the moral qualities of the departed, not on social rank or costly sacrifices. Three godly judges weigh the soul's good and bad thoughts, words, and deeds. If the good are heavier, the bridge is made broader, and the soul can pass, accompanied by a beautiful maiden, Daēnā, its own heavenly double or good conscience. Otherwise, the bridge gets as narrow as a blade edge, and the soul is propelled into the place of torment by an ugly hag (Boyce, 1979, p. 27). The classical sources of this short abstract are the ritual law contained in the Younger Avesta, *Vendidad* 19.28–32, combined with the fragment of the *Hadhōkht Nask* belonging to the same canon, composed in pre-Christian times and supplemented with later Pahlavi literature, from the ninth century CE (*Mēnōg i Khrad* 2; *Bundahishn* 30), as quoted in detail by Nyberg (pp. 180ff.; cf. Duchesne-Guillemin, 1973, pp. 333ff.).

Judaism and Islam. Probably through Iranian influence, a similar conception appears in Judaism. It has been mistakenly cited as existing in the Jewish apocalypse of Ezra (*2 Esdras* 7:8ff., end of first century CE). There, according to Silverstein (1952, pp. 95f.), the bridge, whose width accommodates only a single person's feet, becomes broader when the righteous cross it and narrower for the sinners. But this passage actually refers to two different ways (not bridges), one belonging to this earthly world, the other to the heavenly one. The ordeal of crossing the bridge over the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which according to Jewish eschatology occurs in the Last Judgment, is of a later date.

The corresponding eschatological ideas in Islam also seem to be dependent on Iranian tradition, perhaps with a Jewish intermediary. The Islamic name of this bridge is Ṣirāṭ, which simply means "way." Thus it has been possible to discover the bridge in Qurʾanic passages concerning the afterlife that refer only to a way (36:66, 37:23f.). But the later tradition (*ḥadīth*) describes a real bridge, "thinner than a hair and sharper than the edge of a sword," which leads the dead over Hell's uppermost part, Jahannam. Out of compassion or in recognition of the good deeds of the person concerned, God makes it possible for believers to pass over the bridge. The just and those who have received forgiveness come over without mishap, while sinful Muslims plunge down into Hell and remain there for a limited time in a sort of purgatory. Unbelievers, however, remain in those portions that function as places of punishment. Gabriel stands before the bridge and Michael upon it; they question those who pass over about the lives they have led (Gardet, 1968, p. 87).

According to a tradition that goes back to Ibn Masʿūd, everyone must cross the bridge. In accordance with their works, they do it more swiftly or more slowly: as the wind, as a bird, as a fine horse or a camel, as a running person, or as a person walking only on the big toes, who is immediately shaken off into the fire by the sharp, slippery bridge bristling with barbs. In his passage, the walker is also attacked by angels with fiery pitchforks (Jeffery, 1962, p. 247). The bridge may be arched, ascending for a thousand years, running level for a thousand, and descending for a thousand years. In this tradition, the gate of Paradise is opened only if the deceased gives the right answers. Then he is accompanied over the now soft and level bridge by an angel (Coomaraswamy, 1944/1945, p. 203, with references).

Christianity. In the literature of classical antiquity and in the Bible, no soul-bridge is known. But the classical writer of the Syrian church, Ephraem (fourth century), speaks of the cross of Christ as a bridge leading over the terrible abyss with its menacing fire. This river or sea of fire as an obstacle on the journey of the soul can be transcended in other ways, too; the righteous may even pass through it without being damaged. Because of their vividly striking descriptions, it is sometimes difficult to say whether these passages are to be taken literally or figuratively (Edsman, 1940, pp. 121ff.; cf. pp. 52ff.).

In medieval Russian spiritual songs, which represent popular religion, the language is very realistic (Edsman, 1959, pp. 106ff.). In medieval times, the world of folk imagery knew well the perilous bridge. It also has a place in the literature of Christian visionaries, with its roots in the ancient church's rich outpouring of apocalyptic descriptions of the hereafter. To a great extent, these descriptions are found in the extracanonical apocrypha; these, in turn, are descended from Judaism and Iran.

However, the classic Christian image of a bridge, which has been very influential throughout history, is contained in the *Dialogues* of Gregory I (c. 540–604). The framework is the same as in the famous vision of Er in the last book of Plato's *Republic:* one who seems to be dead revives and tells those around him what he has experienced. In Gregory's story, it is a certain soldier who tells of a bridge under which a dark and stinking river runs, but that leads to the heavenly green meadows and shining mansions inhabited by men in white clothes. Any wicked person who tries to go over the bridge tumbles down into the river, whereas the righteous pass safely across. The soldier also saw a fight between angels and demons over a person who had slipped on the bridge so that half his body was hanging over the edge (*Dialogues* 4.36). As Howard Rollin Patch (1950, pp. 95f.) points out, Gregory quotes *Matthew* 7:14 as part of his interpretation: "For very narrow is the path which leads to life." This quotation, in turn, demonstrates the technique of combining biblical and extrabiblical source material.

The bridge motif occurs in many different categories of medieval literature and belongs to Celtic and Germanic mythology also (Patch, 1950; Dinzelbacher, 1973). It can have greater or lesser importance in the Christian representations of the general topography of the otherworld, where the account of the soul's union with the Savior on the other shore may outweigh the description of the horrors on the way (Dinzelbacher, 1978). Moreover, the eschatological ideas were combined with the practical construction of a bridge; this was considered a pious work that was also helpful for the future fate of the builder. Frequently, a bridge had its own chapel for prayers and often its own hospital. Papal and episcopal indulgences encouraged such construction. Consequently, legacies became common, and bridge-building brotherhoods were founded beginning at the end of the twelfth century (Knight, 1911, p. 856; Boyer, 1967, p. 798).

Buddhism. That the soul-bridge also turns up in Buddhism is hardly surprising, since Buddhism is a daughter religion of Hinduism. As conceptions of an afterlife influenced by Islam can be found in the great stretches of Central Asia into which the Muslim religion has penetrated (Paulson, 1964, 152f.; cf. Eliade, 1964, pp. 482ff.), so a corresponding eschatology has followed Buddhism into East Asia. But here a new feature is observed. Even though people have tried in various ways in the different religions to affect the fate of deceased persons (for example, during the Christian Middle Ages, by accomplishing the actual construction of a bridge as a spirit-gift for the deceased), it is only in "northern" Buddhism that there is found a comprehensive symbolic bridge-building ceremony combined with the funeral. One of the classical Sinologists, J. J. M. de Groot, has written in careful detail about the Buddhist rites for the dead in Amoy, which lies in Fukien opposite Taiwan (1885, pp. 97ff.). According to de Groot, the bridge ceremony that takes place in connection with these rites is based on a quotation from a relatively late description of Hell. According to the latter, no less than six bridges of different materials lead from the underworld to the world of rebirth. There, the souls are sorted out, and their impending fates in the six different forms of existence are decided in detail.

The rites for the dead are intended to help the souls over some of these bridges. If a deceased person has not completely atoned for his crimes by enduring the torments of Hell or has not, through the actions of clergy, been freed from his remaining punishment, he has to plunge down into the pit, which is filled with snakes and writhing monsters. Therefore, in the room where the rites for the dead are being carried out, the priests build a temporary bridge out of boards that are laid upon chairs or out of a long bench without a back. The soul-bridge is also provided with railings of bamboo and cloth or paper, sometimes even with an overhead canopy. As soon as the ceremony, which is called "the beating of Hell," is completed, they undertake "the crossing of the bridge." The happy completion of this is reported to the powers of the underworld, so that they will not be able to hinder the soul in its progress.

Just as the variations in such rituals are numerous, the afterlife concepts that lie behind them also change. Thus, Nai-ho Bridge ("the bridge without return") is also found in the popular color illustrations that the Jesuit father Henri Doré reproduced in his instructive and comprehensive work on what he calls "superstitions" in China (1914, pp. 194f., fig. 52). The text quoted by Doré describes the picture exactly: souls receive the wine of forgetfulness from the ten underworld judges before they continue to what is also called the Bridge of Pain, which goes over a red foaming stream in a hilly region. When the souls have read a text on the conditions of existence, they are seized by two devils, Short Life and Quick Death, who hurl them into the stream. They are swept out through the stream into new existences to live as men, four-footed animals, birds, fish, insects, or worms. As late as after World War II such ceremonies were carried out both in mainland China (Hsu, 1948, p. 165) and on Taiwan.

RITUAL SACRIFICES. The Latin word *pontifex* is composed of the noun *pons* and the verb *facere,* and it signifies "he who makes or builds bridges." One cannot prove historically that the incumbents of this ancient Roman office literally had such a function. However, the etymology, which existed as early as the Roman librarian and scholar Varro (116–27 BCE), is disputed both in antiquity and among modern researchers. Evidently an old Indo-European meaning is hidden in *pons,* giving it the sense of a "path" or "way," not necessarily over a river (Szemler, 1978, cols. 334ff.).

Discussing the various interpretations of the term *pontifices* and rejecting that of "bridge builders," the Greek writer Plutarch (b. 46?–d. around 119 CE) gives us the arguments of those who defend that theory: the name refers to the sacrifices performed at the very ancient and sacred bridge Pons Sublicius over the Tiber, which were necessary to prevent a sacrilegious demolition of the entirely wooden construction (*Numa* 9.2). The Roman poet Ovid (43 BCE–17 CE) makes reference to this ceremony, at which the Roman high priest, *pontifex maximus,* officiated together with the first Vestal: "Then, too, the Virgin is wont to throw the rush-made effigies of ancient men from the oaken bridge" (*Fasti* 5. 621f.). This ancient festival in the middle of May is also mentioned by another historian, Dionys of Halikarnassos (fl. 20 BCE). Dionys already understands that the puppets are a substitute offering for men (1.38.3).

The purpose of this and corresponding sacrifices is interpreted in different ways by both ancient and modern authors. According to James G. Frazer, the river god must be propitiated when humans intrude into his domain and transcend a border. Or, as Eliade (1957) explains, any building, to withstand its hardships, ought to have a life and soul that are transferred to it by a bloody sacrifice.

A Greek folk song, "The Bridge at Arta," which speaks of this matter, has become famous. The song describes how people keep on building the bridge for three years, but the last span is never finished because what is built by day collapses by night. When the builders begin to complain, the demon or *genius loci,* perhaps originally the river god, lets his voice be heard: he tells the people that unless they sacrifice a human life, no wall is securely founded. They are not, however, to give an orphan child, a traveler, or a foreigner but instead the construction foreman's beautiful wife. From one of the Ionian islands, Zante (Gr., Zákinthos), there is the tale that, as late as the second half of the nineteenth century, the people had wanted to sacrifice a Muslim or a Jew at the building of the more important bridges. There is also a legend that a black person was walled up in an aqueduct near Lebadea in Boeotia (Lawson, 1910, pp. 265f., 276f.; Armistead and Silverman, 1963). In 1890, China's department of public works paid the price of ten pounds for a human bridge sacrifice, if one is to believe a highly respected English reference work (Knight, 1911, p. 850). In Western countries sacrificial ceremonies at the building of bridges have survived as only partly understood reminiscences; they take the form of children's games (Knight, 1911, p. 852; Edsman, 1959).

SYMBOLISM. In Christian metaphorical language, life is likened to a pilgrimage. One is not to become so captivated with the joy of traveling, whether by wagon or ship, that one forgets the destination. It is a matter of using the world, not of enjoying it. Augustine conveys this theme in *On Christian Doctrine* (1.4), while in his discourses on the *Gospel of John* (40.10) he speaks of the world as a lodging where one has temporarily stopped over during one's journey.

This metaphor can easily be reformulated using the bridge symbol. One can then consider a saying of Jesus that is lacking from the New Testament, a so-called agraphon, that has survived in Islamic tradition. It is best known through the inscription that, in 1601, Emperor Akbar caused to be affixed at the chief entrance to the great mosque in Fatehpur Sikri in North India: "Jesus, peace be upon him, has said: 'The world is a bridge, walk over it, but do not sit down on it.'" The saying can be traced through Islam as far back as the seventh century (Jeremias, 1955).

Among the extremes of modern psychoanalytical interpretations of the bridge is the Freudian-inspired theory that the bridge constitutes a phallic symbol, with all that suggests about sexual fantasies, castration complexes, and incest (Friedman, 1968). A different interpretation is found in the writings of Hedwig von Beit, who was inspired by C. G. Jung to apply his categories to research into fairy tales. The bridge, which divides two land areas, would thus reflect a psychic situation in which a gap in consciousness occurs or where a transition is occurring to another area. It is at just such a point that the "demons" of the unconscious are free to make an appearance (Reimbold, 1972, pp. 66f., pp. 71f.).

Mircea Eliade, who has also been influenced by Jung, gives a phenomenological interpretation of the bridge symbol in the initiation of shamans among the Mongolian Buriats of southern Siberia. A climbing ceremony is involved in which the candidate climbs nine birches that are tied together with a rope and called a "bridge." Eliade interprets the red and blue ribbons, which further bind this arrangement with the yurt, as a symbol of the rainbow. This would lend support to the interpretation that Eliade gives to the whole ceremony: it is a visualization of the shaman's heavenly journey, his rite of ascension. Therefore, the initiation of the Mongolian shaman can be connected with the crossing of the Chinvat Bridge in ancient Iranian eschatology, which also constitutes a test or an initiation. But both pertain to an even larger framework: the reinstitution of the paradisiacal antiquity when humans and gods could converse with each other without difficulty, thanks to the bridge that then connected them (Eliade, 1964, pp. 116ff.; cf. Berner, 1982). Eliade has treated this theme in his fiction, in a tale entitled "Bridge" (1963) included in his collection *Phantastische Geschichten* (1978), as Berner has pointed out. Eliade's critics, in turn, consider a hermeneutic of this kind fantastic; other specialists (e.g., Blacker, 1975) have found his interpretation confirmed by their own material.

SEE ALSO Chinvat Bridge; Pontifex.

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CARL-MARTIN EDSMAN (1987)
Translated from Swedish by David Mel Paul and Margareta Paul

BRIGHID (c. 454–c. 524) was an early medieval Irish Christian saint celebrated as a virgin and miracle worker and the founder of an important monastic community at Kildare. According to early annals, she died in 524 CE at the age of seventy. However, that date is best understood as evidence of the tradition that holds Brighid to be a younger contemporary of Saint Patrick rather than as a precise record. Although Brighid has always been associated with the province of Leinster, in southeastern Ireland, she was also, from at least as early as the seventh century, revered along with Saint Patrick and Colmcille as one of the principal patrons of all Ireland. With the movement of Irish monks in the eighth and ninth centuries, the cult of Brighid spread throughout much of Europe. The spelling *Brighid* is the Middle Irish form of the Old Irish *Brigit*, the modern Irish *Bríd*, and the English *Brigid*.

EARLY RECORDS. The earliest surviving records of Brighid's life date from the seventh century, more than a hundred years after her death; both accounts are in Latin, one anonymous and the other composed by Cogitosus. The former describes her birth to a slave woman who was the concubine of a nobleman; her infancy and early childhood with the druid to whom her mother was sold; her eventual return to her father's home; her resistance to his efforts to arrange a marriage for her; her consecration of her virginity; and her travels throughout Ireland with the women who gathered around her, doing good and performing miracles. Her birth and infancy are said, in this life, to have been accompanied by many portents of her future greatness, and it is of considerable interest that druids as well as Christian bishops recognize them.

The miracle stories give considerable emphasis to Brighid providing food and drink: turning water into milk on some occasions and into beer on others, making butter out of nettles and bacon out of bark, feeding a large crowd on "twelve loaves, a little milk, and one sheep," and producing salt from a stone. Although they are certainly modeled to some extent on accounts of Christ's multiplication of the loaves and fishes and transformation of water into wine in the New Testament, the multiplicity of these stories suggests that abundance and hospitality were qualities associated from a very early date with Saint Brighid's cult.

The early lives also represent Brighid as having extraordinary sympathy with animals. In one of these stories, a wild boar that is being hunted joins her herd of swine and becomes tame. In another, a man has been condemned to die and his family to be enslaved because he has killed a king's pet fox, mistaking it for an ordinary one. At Brighid's behest, a wild fox plays tame and performs tricks just long enough for the king to accept it as a replacement for his lost pet and free the man; then it flees the court and returns to the wild. Several miracle stories involve both her empathy with animals and her liberal provision of food, as when she feeds a substantial portion of bacon to a hungry dog but when it is time to serve her human guests finds the total quantity of meat to be undiminished. As Cogitosus has it, "It is plain that the whole order of beasts, flocks and herds was subject to her rule" (De Paor, 1993, pp. 207–224).

CHRISTIAN AND PRE-CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS. The association of Saint Brighid with food and with animals may reflect aspects of a pre-Christian Irish goddess called Brigit or Bríg. Traces of this figure are faint in the written record, as one might expect them to be in early medieval Irish literary culture, since it was the product of Christian monasteries. A tenth-century list of terms deemed already archaic identifies Brigit as a goddess once worshiped by poets and the sister of two other Brigits, one a healer and one a smith, but it is rather Bríg *briugu*, a legendary hospitaler or innkeeper mentioned briefly in a seventh-century Irish law tract, who might more readily be imagined to have had affinities with the saint as she came to be represented in Christian hagiography. The name of the goddess Brigantī (Exalted One) appears in inscriptions and in the name of the British people known to the Romans as the Brigantes. Quite possibly cognate with *Brighid* or *Bríg*, this name suggests that Brighid may represent the Irish version of a goddess revered by various Celtic-speaking peoples. Since Brigantī was the tutelary goddess of the Brigantes, so was Saint Brighid understood to be the guardian of the Irish province of Leinster. In the anonymous early life, known as the *Vita Prima*, she appears leading the king of Leinster into battle, "with her staff in her right hand and a column of fire blazing skywards from her head" (Connolly, 14–49, at 41).

Many practices are associated with Brighid and with February 1, her feast in the Christian calendar, which was also the pre-Christian festival of *Imbolc*. The Brighid's Day customs, well attested into the second half of the twentieth century and surviving into the twenty-first century, include weaving crosses of rush that can be hung over the byre to protect livestock and in the home to protect the family, and particularly its women; making a figure or doll representing Brighid, the *brídeog*, which is carried around a village and welcomed into each home; and preparing the *brat Bhríde*, or Brighid's cloak, a piece of cloth left outdoors overnight to receive the saint's blessing and then employed throughout the following year to protect and heal humans and animals. Numerous springs or wells regarded as having curative properties are associated with Brighid, and many prayers and charms in Irish and Scottish Gaelic tradition invoke her name.

The explicit linking of the Christian saint and the pre-Christian goddess may be traced to 1900, when Brighid in her two aspects was adopted as the patron of *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* (Daughters of Ireland). Since 1993, several organizations have developed a cult of this dual Brighid; their practices center on maintaining a perpetual flame at Kildare, which was inspired by a twelfth-century account of such a fire tended by women and by Brighid herself, and on the two holy wells in the area associated with Brighid. Brighid's feast is observed at Kildare with a candlelight procession and vigil. These groups place a strong emphasis on women's spirituality, but they are by no means exclusively composed of women.

SEE ALSO Celtic Religion, overview article.

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CATHERINE MCKENNA (2005)

BRINDAVAN See VṚNDĀVANA

BROADCASTING, RELIGIOUS See RELIGIOUS BROADCASTING

BROWNE, ROBERT (c. 1550–1633), leading Protestant Separatist from the Church of England in the reign of Elizabeth I. Although he finally conformed, his teaching anticipated much in later Independency, or Congregationalism. He was born at Tolesthorpe in Rutlandshire. For about twenty years after leaving Cambridge, he was an active Separatist. On receiving the bishop's license to preach in 1579, he threw it in the fire, asserting that he preached "not as caring for or leaning on the Bishop's authority, but only to satisfy his duty and conscience." He helped gather a dissenting congregation in Norwich in 1518 and was frequently imprisoned. In 1582 he was in exile in Holland.

During exile, he wrote the tracts that later became influential among more radical Protestants in which he insisted on the voluntary nature of church membership. The best-known is *A treatise of Reformation without Tarying for Anie* (1582). *A Booke which Sheweth the life and Manner of All true Christians* (1582) is the first outline of an Independent church polity.

Browne was a contentious individualist who frequently had to be rescued from trouble by his kinsman Lord Burghley. He fell out with his fellow Separatists Henry Barrow and John Greenwood over the eldership. In 1586, he became master of Saint Olave's School in Southwark but continued to minister to dissenting congregations. In 1591, however, Burghley presented him with the living of a church in Northamptonshire, where he remained for the rest of his life. He appears to have continued to be contentious even in conformity, because he died in Northampton jail after assaulting a constable.

Browne is best thought of as a precursor rather than a founding father of the later Congregational churches. The word *Brownists* became a general term of abuse for English Protestants who favored a democratic church polity.

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DANIEL JENKINS (1987)

BRUNNER, EMIL (1889–1966), Swiss Protestant theologian. Brunner was a critic of liberalism and secularism. His writing on knowledge and faith was influenced by Kant; his stress on religious experience by Kierkegaard and Husserl; and his stress on God's transcendence and the need for vigorous social and political action by Luther and Calvin.

Brunner anticipated Martin Buber's notion of the I-Thou relationship, elucidating throughout his *Dogmatics* the encounter between humanity and God as humanity's most significant existential experience. In *The Divine Imperative*, Brunner argues that the source of Christian ethics lies in God's imperative. He deemed personhood to be the center of human-divine interaction, deploring the reductionism of positivism and behaviorism. Although sympathetic to philosophy, he opposed its attempts to stand in judgment of theology, as well as attempts by Paul Tillich and others to use such philosophical terms as *being* and *ground of being* in reference to God. In contrast to Barth, Brunner asserted that even sinful man can attain some knowledge of God but that, apart from the Christian revelation, this knowledge has no salvific value.

Brunner's theology is rich in the areas of ethics and sociopolitical thought. We are told in his *The Divine Imperative, Christianity and Civilization*, and *Justice and the Social Order* that God's command is to love and that the person who has faith in Jesus Christ responds to God's love by living a life of hope and love in "orders of creation"—the family, the economy, the state, the culture, and the church. Though the New Testament contains no blueprint for a socio-economic-political order, Brunner believed that human institutions could be informed by love and by justice in the service of God.

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CHARLES W. KEGLEY (1987)

BRUNO, GIORDANO (1548–1600), Italian philosopher. Bruno was a brilliant and encyclopedic though erratic thinker of the Italian Renaissance, a man who synthesized and transformed thought in terms of the situation of his own times. Born in Nola, Bruno joined the Dominican order in Naples at the age of fifteen. He was expelled for his views on transubstantiation and the immaculate conception and fled Rome about 1576. After wandering over half of Europe, he finally returned to Italy, only to be imprisoned by the Roman Inquisition for his cosmological theories and burned as a heretic, the "martyr of the Renaissance."

Bruno was strongly influenced by the German philosopher Nicholas of Cusa and the latter's theory of the "coincidence of opposites," namely, that the infinitely great coincides with the infinitely small, and that God relates to the world as does one side of a piece of paper to the other side (panentheism). Drawing on Neoplatonic philosophy in developing his theories about the universe, Bruno rejected Aristotle's conception of the structure of the universe, held to a theory of animate monads, taught the relativity of space, time, and motion, and maintained that the universe is infinite in extension and eternal in its origin and duration.

Bruno was a prolific author and, especially in his Italian works, a beautiful writer, though some of his Latin works were prolix and confused. He had obsessions, such as his preoccupation with mnemonic theories, and he was easily distracted by strange thinkers like Ramón Lull (c. 1235–1315). Among Bruno's better-known works are *On Heroic Rages*, expounding a Neoplatonic theodicy cast in mythical form, describing the soul's ascent to God as its return to the original and highest unity; *An Ash Wednesday Conversation*, discussing the Copernican heliocentric theory; *On the Infinite Universe and Worlds*, an ecstatic vision of a single infinite universe; *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, an allegory dealing mostly with moral philosophy; and *On the Beginnings, Elements and Causes of Things*, his cosmic philosophy. Bruno's writings influenced Jakob Boehme, Spinoza, Leibniz, Descartes, Schelling, and Hegel.

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LEWIS W. SPITZ (1987)

BUBER, MARTIN (1878–1965) was a Jewish philosopher and educator. Born in Vienna to Carl and Elise Buber, he was raised by his paternal grandparents, Salomon and Adele Buber, following the breakup of his parents' marriage. He studied at universities in Vienna; Leipzig, Germany; Zurich, Switzerland; and Berlin. In 1904 he received a Ph.D. from the University of Vienna, writing his dissertation on Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464) and Jakob Boehme (1575–1624). In 1899 Buber married Paula Winkler, a well-known German writer, with whom he had two children.

During his late teens and early university years, Buber experienced a sense of alienation from Judaism and the Jewish community. The newly formed Zionist movement opened the way to a renewed connection to the Jewish community. Embracing Zionism as a form of Jewish spiritual renewal, Buber began to write extensively on Judaism and Jewish nationalism. From 1901 to 1904 he edited the official journal of the Zionist movement, *Die Welt.*

A five-year (1904–1909), intensive engagement with the sources of Hasidism, an eastern European movement of Jewish religious renewal, helped revive Buber's connection to the religious and spiritual dimensions of Judaism. In Hasidism, which he first encountered as a child living with his grandparents in central Europe, Buber experienced a spiritual energy that he considered missing from most forms of Jewish life. This five-year period of study resulted in two volumes in German, *The Tales of Rabbi Nachman* (1906) and *The Legend of the Baal-Shem* (1908). These were followed by volumes of essays and translations, including *For the Sake of Heaven* (1945), *Tales of the Hasidim* (1947), and *The Origin and Meaning of Hasidism* (1960), which first appeared in Hebrew, and *Hasidism and Modern Man* (1958). Other early writings include studies in mysticism, *Ekstatische Konfessionen* (1909) and *Reden und Gleichnisse des Tschuang-Tse* (1910), as well as two collections of essays on Jewish national and religious renewal, *Die Jüdische Bewegung* (2 vols., 1916–1920) and *Reden über das Judentum* (On Judaism, 1923). He also edited a monographic series on social thought, *Die Gesellschaft* (1904–1912), and a journal, *Die Jude* (1916–1924), that focused on Jewish history and culture.

Buber taught at the University of Frankfurt from 1923 to 1933 and had a powerful spiritual impact on Jewish youth. Active in Jewish cultural life, he also lectured at the Frankfurt Jüdische Lehrhaus directed by Franz Rosenzweig (1886–1929). During the 1930s Buber's lectures and writings served as an important source of spiritual inspiration for the besieged German Jewish community. In 1938 Buber immigrated to Palestine, where he served as professor of social philosophy at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and actively engaged in adult education. Buber was a founder and active participant in Brit Shalom and Ihud, movements for Arab-Jewish rapprochement. A staunch advocate of a binational state in Palestine, he wrote and lectured on its behalf.

PHILOSOPHY OF JUDAISM. Buber's imaginative reading of Hasidism served as an important foundation for his distinctive interpretation of Judaism and religion. He was particularly drawn to Hasidism's emphasis on the hallowing of the everyday. Rather than seek the sacred in special places, moments, or ritual practices, Hasidism, according to Buber, found it in everyday encounters with other people, animals, and nature. As he read them, the Hasidic teachings provided a viable path whereby his generation could bridge the gulf between the sacred and the profane.

Buber did not consider becoming a member of a Hasidic community to be a viable possibility. Rejecting Orthodoxy, he espoused spontaneous, experiential "religiosity" over static, institutionalized "religion." Eschewing the formal rabbinic practices and structures of classical Hasidism, he instead encouraged an existential engagement with Hasidic teachings as a path of religious renewal for Jews and non-Jews alike.

Taking issue with both Jewish historical scholarship and rationalist Jewish theology, Buber emphasized the mystical and mythic components of Judaism. Gershom Scholem (1897–1982), a leading modern scholarly interpreter of Jewish mysticism, objected to Buber's interpretations of Hasidism. His criticisms and Buber's response resulted in one of the most significant debates among modern Jewish scholars concerning the interpretation of religion in general and Judaism in particular. Diverging from the canons of Western academic scholarship, Buber, according to Scholem, produced a subjective, idiosyncratic, misleading representation of Hasidism. Ignoring such basic sources of Hasidic teachings as liturgical texts and biblical commentaries, Buber focused exclusively on the Hasidic tales. Moreover, ignoring the nihilistic tendencies in Hasidic teachings, Buber, according to Scholem, focused solely on Hasidism's affirmation of everyday life. Finally, swayed by his own anarchistic tendencies, Buber had neglected the central role of formal religious practices *(halakhah)* in Hasidism.

Responding to Scholem in "Interpreting Hasidism," Buber distanced himself from conventional historical scholarship that "addresses the past as an object of knowledge with the intention of advancing the field of historical knowledge" (Buber, 1963, p. 218). To Buber the study of the past was important not for its own sake, but because of its power in assisting people to confront the spiritual crisis of the present. While never explicitly denying the validity of historical inquiry, Buber considered it an ineffective way to address the spiritual demands of the present.

To Buber, Hasidism incorporated a spiritual power that could help the modern person overcome the alienation that separated people from one another, from the world of nature, and from the divine. More than a system of theological concepts and ritual practices, Hasidism, argued Buber, was a way of life. As such, its dynamic power is best revealed through tales and legends that emerged out of life situations.

Biblical writings provided another important foundation for Buber's interpretation of Judaism. In such works of biblical interpretation as *Kingship of God* (1932), *Moses* (1945), *Prophetic Faith* (1942), and *On the Bible* (1968), Buber sought to recover the living situations from which the biblical text emerged. While his biblical writings reveal a great appreciation for critical scholarship, his primary concern was to engage the Bible as a living record of Israel's ongoing dialogue with God. In his German translation of the Hebrew Bible, Buber, together with his collaborator Rosenzweig, sought to recover the sensuous, poetic force of the spoken language. (The first volumes of this translation were published in 1925; following Rosenzweig's death, Buber finally completed it in 1962.)

PHILOSOPHY OF RELATION AND DIALOGUE. Following in the tradition of existential philosophers (Søren Kierkegaard [1813–1855], Friedrich Nietzsche [1844–1900]) and German social theorists (Ferdinand Julius Tönnies [1855–1936], Georg Simmel [1858–1918], Max Weber [1864–1920]), Buber believed that modern society and culture estranged people from their authentic selves, and from other persons, nature, and God.

After World War I, Buber's philosophical orientation increasingly privileged interpersonal encounters over individual mystical experiences. His neologism *das Zwischenmenschliche* (the interhuman) reflects his effort to uncover and represent a unique, overlooked dimension of human life. In

Ich und Du (I and thou, 1923) he sought to formulate a philosophy that highlighted the fundamental importance of this realm and to elucidate the relations that derive from it.

Buber's philosophical discourse may be understood in terms of Richard Rorty's distinction between normal and edifying philosophers. Like Kierkegaard and Nietzsche, Buber's basic concern was not to construct a philosophical system but to render visible the alienating forms of contemporary society and provide an alternative way of thinking and relating. In evaluating Buber's edifying philosophy, the question is not whether or not it accurately mirrors reality, but whether or not it can transform one's life and relations to other persons, the divine, and the nonhuman world. Buber distinguished between two basic modes of relation, "I-You" and "I-It." The I-It mode is characterized by a practical, goal-oriented, instrumentalist perspective. In it, people relate to others according to their usefulness and value. From a detached stance, people measure and type others in terms of their own needs and objectives. Whereas this mode of relation may be appropriate to technological and practical endeavors, Buber denounced the extent to which the I-It mode had come to dominate human relationships. In social relationships, rather than relate to others as unique beings, the modern person tends to reduce them to the status of objects or tools, valuing them solely for their use in helping one fulfill his or her own goals and purposes.

A major concern of Buber's was to formulate an alternative to the dominant I-It form of human relationship. This alternative, which he referred to as the I-You mode, is marked by direct, nonpurposive relations. In the I-You mode one relates to the other as an end (You), rather than a means (It). In so doing people accept, confirm, and nurture the unique qualities of the other. Such relations infuse lives with meaning and purpose.

Whereas structured, ordered I-It relations perdure, I-You relations are fleeting and fluid and cannot be planned. When they do occur, they quickly revert back to I-It relationships: "Every you in the world is doomed by its nature to become a thing, or at least to enter into thinghood again and again" (Buber, 1970, p. 69).

According to Buber, people are as they relate: "In the beginning is the relation" (Buber, 1970, p. 69). Through I-You relations, people actualize their humanity. In later writings Buber grounded the I-You relation in a person's basic wish "to be confirmed as what he is, even as what he can become, by men; and the innate capacity to confirm his fellow men in this way" (Buber, 1965, p. 68). In genuine dialogue, rather than frame the other in terms of one's own needs, one accepts, affirms, and confirms the other as the person that he or she is and can become. In a series of writings, *Between Man and Man* (1947) and *Knowledge of Man* (1965), Buber sought to formulate a philosophical-anthropological grounding for his philosophy.

BUBER AND THE DAO. Buber's encounter with the teachings of ancient China provides an important context for understanding his philosophy. In particular, he seriously engaged and was influenced by the *Dao de jing* and *Zhuangzi,* two fundamental texts of Daoism. As early as 1914 Buber produced a pioneering German translation of and commentary to sections of *Zhuangzi.* A series of unpublished lectures on the *Dao de jing,* delivered in 1925 in Ascona, Switzerland, reveals important connections between the teachings of this text and Buber's philosophical views. Several articles, published at different periods of his life, provide further examples of his attraction to, as well as his reservations about, the Chinese teachings. Buber's attraction to, and use of, concepts drawn from Chinese teachings distinguished him from other Jewish philosophers of the twentieth century. More recent studies in Chinese philosophy have enhanced our understanding of the connections between Buber's philosophy and Daoist teachings. These studies help to clarify the importance of concepts such as *wu-wei* to Buber's understanding of human relations.

As formulated in the concept *wu-wei,* one accommodates oneself to the other's values and perspectives, doing nothing to impose one's own views. *Wu-wei,* like I-You relations, contrasts sharply with dominant Western modes of relation, where effectiveness is measured in terms of power and goals. Both *wu-wei* and I-You conceive of human relationships based upon noninterference.

The I-You relation, like *wu-wei,* emphasizes "action without doing, action through nonaction" (Buber, 1967, 190). Both concepts provide a major alternative to the prevailing Western conceptions of action and relation. In each people engage the other not by imposing themselves on him or her but by helping him or her actualize his or her inherent qualities.

Buber's description of the I-You relationship as "election and electing, passive and active at once" (Buber, 1970, p. 62) is no less applicable to *wu-wei.* In both instances, while seemingly passive, one acts with one's whole being while refraining from imposing on or interfering with the other or the world around one. In both cases action is spontaneous rather than calculated and natural rather than forced.

RELIGIOUS FAITH AND THE ETERNAL YOU. In his writings on religious faith, elaborated in such texts as *I and Thou* (1923), *Two Types of Faith* (1951), *Eclipse of God* (1952), and *Good and Evil* (1953), Buber emphasized the centrality of divine-human relation. Although he admitted the possibility of direct divine-human encounters, he situated the primary locus of genuine religious life in the realm of the "interhuman." I-You relations between persons, when extended, "intersect in the Eternal You" (Buber, 1970, p. 123). As he made clear in his Hasidic writings, one lives religiously by hallowing the beings that one encounters, human and nonhuman alike. In confirming their unique qualities and potentials, nurturing the divine spark in each of them, one actualizes God in the world.

Speaking of the divine as the "Eternal You," Buber denied that people could relate to it through the objectifying I-It mode. Revelation, in his view, occurs when one directly encounters a "presence," receiving a ground of meaning that one must translate into action. Moments of divine-human encounter, like all significant moments of relation, elude conceptual speech and are best conveyed through myth and poetry.

Genuine relation both presupposes and fosters genuine community, characterized by authentic relations between members and between members and leader. Like his mentor, the Romantic socialist and anarchist Gustav Landauer (1870–1919), Buber advocated a community based on "utopian socialism," that is, mutual ownership and mutual aid.

JUDAISM AND GENUINE COMMUNITY. To Buber the Jewish people's unique vocation is to actualize true community in daily life. Israel fulfills its responsibility as a specific nation by actualizing in its social life genuine, nonexploitative, confirming relations between people. As conveyed in the Bible, the Jews, a people united by common kinship, fate, and memory, accepted this task as an obligation. In Buber's view the Israeli kibbutz, a unique social experiment, stands out as one of history's most successful efforts to establish genuine community based upon mutual responsibility.

To live as a Jew means to dedicate oneself to actualizing genuine relation in all spheres of life. Rejecting all prepackaged recipes, norms, and principles, Buber emphasized the people of Israel's continuing responsibility to draw anew the "line of demarcation" separating just from unjust action.

For Buber, the Arab-Jewish conflict is the greatest test of the Jewish people's ability to actualize its vocation. His efforts on behalf of Arab-Jewish rapprochement can best be understood in terms of his philosophy of relation. A major figure in a small group of Jews espousing such rapprochement, he advocated a binational state in which Jews and Arabs would live together as two culturally autonomous people with absolute political equality. With the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, he reluctantly abandoned this idea, accepting a separate Jewish state as a necessary outcome of historical realities. An active critic of the policies of the new state, he repeatedly rebuked Israel's political leaders for approaching Arab-Jewish relations in terms of power politics rather than genuine relations between persons.

Buber viewed the State of Israel as a microcosm of general humanity. Like Israel, all nations share a responsibility to actualize true community and dialogue in people's daily lives. Acceptance of this responsibility is a prerequisite for world peace. Criticizing both the centralization of power in the modern nation-state and the existential mistrust that permeates modern society, Buber envisioned a network of decentralized communities grounded in mutual production and direct relations between people.

INFLUENCE. Buber's influence among European Jewish youth was great. In Israel, however, most of his fellow Jews, religious and secular, considered his unique synthesis of religious existentialism and cultural nationalism unacceptable. Consequently his influence was limited to small groups of intellectuals and kibbutz members. In the United States many rabbis were put off by his strongly anti-institutional orientation to religion. He had a great impact, however, on a small but significant group of Jewish theologians, including Will Herberg (1902–1977), Arthur A. Cohen (1928–1986), and Eugene B. Borowitz (b. 1924). His impact on Christian theologians, such as Paul Tillich (1886–1965) and H. Richard Niebuhr (1894–1962), was extensive, and his writings were widely read in Christian seminaries.

Beyond the borders of the religious community, Buber's teachings had a strong impact on psychiatrists such as R. D. Laing, Irvin Yalom, and Leslie Farber; on philosophers such as Gabriel Marcel, Phillip Wheelwright, and Ernst Becker; and on the anthropologist Victor Turner. Deeply attracted by the political implications of Buber's philosophy of relation, Dag Hammarskjöld (the secretary general of the United Nations from 1953 to 1961) was, at the time of his death, engaged in translating Buber's writings into Swedish.

SEE ALSO Jewish Thought and Philosophy, article on Modern Thought.

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LAURENCE J. SILBERSTEIN (1987 AND 2005)

BUCER, MARTIN (1491–1551), Christian humanist and reformer. Best known as the chief reformer of the Free Imperial City of Strasbourg, Bucer illustrates the combining of Martin Luther's evangelical theology with aspirations and traditions that predated the Reformation. A Dominican, Bucer was thus trained in the *via antiqua* of Thomas Aquinas but early fell under the spell of Erasmian humanism. Meeting and hearing Luther for the first time at the Heidelberg Disputation (1518) led him to become increasingly dissatisfied with his vocation and finally to secure release from his vows. He thus arrived in Strasbourg (1523) as a dispossessed and married cleric who could only appeal to that city's authorities for protection from the episcopal court. Friends arranged a position for him; he led in the efforts to abolish the Mass (1529), to erect a new church (1533–1534), and to construct the city's policy of mediation in the Sacramentarian Controversy. Eventually he became president of the Company of Pastors, but he was forced because of his opposition to the Interim (a temporary religious settlement arranged by Charles V) to flee to England, where he participated in the revision of *The Book of Common Prayer* shortly before his death. Ostensibly he appeared to have broken decisively with the intellectual and religious traditions that predated his encounter with Luther.

Bucer was thoroughly evangelical—and a follower of Luther—in the basic outline of his theology, but prior allegiances were apparent in his actions. At colloquies with representatives of Rome in the 1540s, he agreed to a theory of "double justification," according to which a Christian cooperates with God after the gift of salvation, a claim that may hark back to Thomas. In the Sacramentarian Controversy, although he was an early adherent to Zwingli's spiritualist view of the elements and later agreed with Luther in the Wittenberg Concord (1536), he consistently argued that the true meaning of the Lord's Supper was communion among the believers and with Christ. His mediatory efforts both flowed directly from this view and reflected the earlier influence of Erasmus and northern humanism.

These prior traditions and aspirations showed through most clearly in the sort of reformation Bucer promoted and the manner in which he did so. Like many others who translated Luther's theology into practice, Bucer sought a thorough reform of all of Christian society, as is well summarized in his posthumously published *De regno Christi*, dedicated to Edward VI. Outlined there is the program he followed throughout his entire career. Not only did he advocate that the Mass be abolished and proper Christian worship and doctrine be put in its place. He also helped found schools that had the humanist educational program at the heart of the curriculum. He laid the groundwork for creating in Strasbourg and elsewhere an educated clergy, who in turn made religion even at the popular level a matter of the mind as well as of the heart. And he helped to establish civil authority over relief for the poor and over marriage and morals. Finally, throughout his career he sought to tame the turbulent reform movement by working with the Christian magistrates, as he called the princes and city councils, so that peace might prevail and Christian society flourish.

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JAMES M. KITTELSON (1987)

BUDDHA. Etymologically, the Sanskrit/Pali word *buddha* means "one who has awakened"; in the context of Indian religions it is used as an honorific title for an individual who is enlightened. This metaphor indicates the change in consciousness that, according to Buddhism, is always characteristic of enlightenment. It suggests the otherness and splendor associated with those named by this epithet in various Buddhist traditions. *Buddha* is also related etymologically to the Sanskrit/Pali term *buddhi*, which signifies "intelligence" and "understanding." A person who has awakened can thus be said to be "one who knows."

Within the traditional Buddhist context *buddha* is an appellative term or title—that is, a term or title that is inclusive in character. As with all titles of office (e.g., king), the term *buddha* denotes not merely the individual incumbent but also a larger conceptual framework. As an appellative, *buddha* describes a person by placing him or her within a class, instead of isolating and analyzing individual attributes. It emphasizes the paradigm that is exhibited, rather than distinctive qualities or characteristics.

The designation *buddha* has had wide circulation among various religious traditions of India. It has been applied, for example, by Jains to their founder, Mahāvīra. Definition of the inclusive category has varied, however, and *buddha* has been used to describe a broad spectrum of persons, from those who are simply learned to those rare individuals who have had transforming and liberating insight into the nature of reality. Buddhists have, in general, employed the term in this second, stronger sense.

Buddhists adopted the term *buddha* from the religious discourse of ancient India and gave it a special imprint, just as they have done with much of their vocabulary. It seems, however, that the early Buddhists may not have immediately applied the term to the person—the historical Gautama—whom they recognized as the founder of their community. In the accounts of the first two Buddhist councils (one held just after Gautama's death, the other several decades later) Gautama is spoken of as *bhagavan* ("lord," a common title of respect) and *śāstṛ* ("teacher"), not as *buddha.* However, once the term *buddha* was adopted, it not only became the primary designation for Gautama but also assumed a central role within the basic structure of Buddhist thought and practice.

We will begin our discussion by focusing on the question of the historical Buddha and what—if anything—we know about him and his ministry. This issue has not been of particular importance for traditional Buddhists—at least not in the way that it is formulated here. But it has been of major significance for modern scholars of Buddhism, and it has become of great interest to many contemporary Buddhists and others who have been influenced by modern Western notions of history.

We will then turn to the term *buddha* as it has been employed within the various traditions that constitute classical Buddhism. As an appellative term utilized in classical Buddhist contexts, *buddha* has had three distinct, yet interwoven, levels of meaning. It has referred, first of all, to what we will call "the Buddha"—otherwise known as the Gautama Buddha or the Buddha Śākyamuni ("sage of the Śākyas"). Most Buddhists recognize Gautama as the buddha of our own cosmic era and/or cosmic space, and they honor him as the founder of the existing Buddhist community. As a perfectly enlightened being, Gautama is understood to have perfected various virtues (*pāramitā*s) over the course of numerous lives.] These prodigious efforts prepared Gautama to awake fully to the true nature of reality just as other Buddhas had awakened before him. The preparation also gave him—as it did other Buddhas—the inclination and ability to share with others what he had discovered for himself. Following his Enlightenment, Gautama became a teacher who "set in motion the wheel of Dharma" and oversaw the founding of the Buddhist comunity of monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen.

The second level of meaning associated with *buddha* as an appellative term has to do with "other buddhas." Many buddhas of different times and places are named in Buddhist literature. Moreover, anyone who attains release (*mokṣa*, *nirvāṇa*) from this world of recurring rebirths (*saṃsāra*) can be called—in some contexts at least—a buddha. Buddhas, then, are potentially as "innumerable as the sands of the River Ganges." But all buddhas are not equal: they possess different capabilities according to their aspirations and accomplishments. The enlightened insight of some is greater than that of others. Some attain enlightenment only for themselves (e.g., *pratyekabuddha*), others for the benefit and welfare of many (e.g., *samyaksaṃbuddha*). Some accomplish their mission through their earthly careers, others through the creation of celestial buddha fields into which their devotees seek rebirth.

Finally, the term *buddha* as an appellative has a third level of meaning that we will designate as buddhahood—a level that provides its widest conceptual context. This level is constituted by the recognition that the Buddha and other buddhas are, in a very profound sense, identical with ultimate reality itself. Consequently, Buddhists have given the more personal and active connotations associated with the Buddha and other buddhas to their characterizations of absolute reality as *dharma* (salvific truth), *śūnyatā* ("emptiness"), *tathatā* ("suchness"), and the like. At the same time, the term *buddhahood* has on occasion given a somewhat depersonalized cast to the notions of the Buddha and other buddhas. For example, early Buddhists, who were closest to the historical Buddha, were reluctant to depict Gautama in anthropomorphic forms and seem to have intentionally avoided biographical structures and iconic imagery. They used impersonal and symbolic representation to express their perception that the Buddha whose teachings they had preserved was fully homologous with reality itself. In some later traditions the pervading significance of this third level of meaning was expressed through the affirmation that the Buddha's impersonal and ineffable *dharmakāya* ("*dharma* body") was the source and truth of the other, more personalized manifestations of Buddhahood.

THE HISTORICAL BUDDHA. The scholars who inaugurated the critical study of Buddhism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were deeply concerned with the question of the "historical Buddha." But their views on the subject differed radically. The field was largely divided between a group of myth-oriented scholars, such as Émile Senart, Heinrich Kern, and Ananda Coomaraswamy, and a group of more historically oriented philologists, such as Hermann Oldenberg and T. W. and C. A. F. Rhys Davids. The myth-oriented interpreters placed emphasis on the study of Sanskrit sources and on the importance of those elements in the sacred biography that pointed in the direction of solar mythology; for these scholars, the historical Buddha was, at most, a reformer who provided an occasion for historicizing a classic solar myth. In contrast, the historically oriented philologists emphasized the texts written in Pali, as well as those elements in these texts that they could use to create (or reconstruct, in their view) an acceptable "historical" life of the Buddha. From the perspective of these scholars, the mythic elements—and other supposedly irrational elements as well—were later additions to a true historical memory, additions that brought about the demise of the original Buddhism of the Buddha. Such pious frauds were to be identified and discounted by critical scholarship.

More recently, scholars have recognized the inadequacy of the older mythic and historical approaches. Most scholars working in the field at present are convinced of the existence of the historical Gautama. The general consensus was well expressed by the great Belgian Buddhologist Étienne Lamotte, who noted that "Buddhism would remain inexplicable if one did not place at its beginning a strong personality who was its founder" (Lamotte, 1958, p. 707). But at the same time scholars are aware that the available tests provide little information about the details of Gautama's life.

The difficulties involved in saying anything significant about the historical Buddha are illustrated by the lack of certainty concerning the dates of his birth and death. Since different Buddhist traditions recognize different dates, and since external evidence is slight and inconclusive, scholars have ventured diverging opinions.

Two chronologies found in Buddhist texts are important for any attempt to calculate the date of the historical Buddha. A "long chronology," presented in the Sri Lankan chronicles, the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa*, places the birth of the historical Buddha 298 years before the coronation of King Aśoka, his death 218 years before that event. If we accept the date given in the chronicles for the coronation of Aśoka (326 BCE), that would locate the Buddha's birth date in 624 BCE and his death in 544. These dates have been traditionally accepted in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia and were the basis for the celebration of the 2500th anniversary of the Buddha's death, or *parinirvāṇa*, in 1956. However, most modern scholars who accept the long chronology believe, on the basis of Greek evidence, that Aśoka's coronation took place around 268 or 267 BCE and that the Buddha's birth and death should therefore be dated circa 566 and circa 486, respectively. These later dates are favored by the majority of Buddhologists in Europe, America, and India.

A "short chronology" is attested to by Indian sources and their Chinese and Tibetan translations. These sources place the birth of the Buddha 180 years before the coronation of Aśoka and his death 100 years before that event. If the presumably reliable Greek testimony concerning Aśoka's coronation is applied, the birth date of the Buddha is 448 and the date of his death, or *parinirvāṇa*, is 368. This short chronology is accepted by many Japanese Buddhologists and was spiritedly defended by the German scholar Heinz Bechert in 1982.

Although there seems to be little chance of resolving the long chronology/short chronology question in any kind of definitive manner, we can say with some certainty that the historical Buddha lived sometime during the period from the sixth through the fourth centuries BCE. This was a time of radical thought and speculation, as manifested in the pre-Socratic philosophical tradition and the mystery cults in Greece, the prophets and prophetic schools of the Near East, Confucius and Laozi in China, the Upaniṣadic sages and the communities of ascetic wanderers (*śramaṇas*) in India, and the emergence of "founded" religions such as Jainism and Buddhism. These intellectual and religious movements were fostered by the formation of cosmopolitan empires, such as those associated with Alexander in the Hellenistic world, with the Qin and Han dynasties in China, with Darius and Cyrus in Persia, and with the Maurya dynasty in India. Urban centers were established and soon became the focal points around which a new kind of life was organized. A significant number of people, cut off from the old sources of order and meaning, were open to different ways of expressing their religious concerns and were quite ready to support those engaged in new forms of religious and intellectual endeavor.

The historical Buddha responded to this kind of situation in northeastern India. He was a renouncer and an ascetic, although the style of renunciation and asceticism he practiced and recommended was, it seems, mild by Indian standards. He shared with other renunciants an ultimately somber view of the world and its pleasures, and he practiced and recommended a mode of religious life in which individual participation in a specifically religious community was of primary importance. He experimented with the practices of renunciants—begging, wandering, celibacy, techniques of self-restraint (yoga), and the like—and he organized a community in which discipline played a central role. Judging from the movement he inspired, he was not only an innovator but also a charismatic personality. Through the course of his ministry he gathered around him a group of wandering mendicants and nuns, as well as men and women who continued to live the life of householders.

Can we go beyond this very generalized portrait of the historical Buddha toward a fuller biography? Lamotte has advised caution, observing in his *Histoire* that writing the life of the historical Gautama is "a hopeless enterprise" (p. 16). There are, however, a few details that, though they do not add up to a biography, do suggest that there is a historical core to the later biographical traditions. These details are presented in almost identical form in the literature of diverse Buddhist schools, a reasonable indication that they date from before the fourth to third centuries BCE, when independent and separate traditions first began to develop.

Some of these details are so specific and arbitrary or unexpected that it seems unlikely that they were fabricated. These include the details that Gautama was of the *kṣatriya* caste, that he was born in the Śākya clan (a more distinguished pedigree could have been created), that he was married and had a child, that he entered the ascetic life without the permission of his father, that his first attempts to share the insights that he had gained through his Enlightenment met with failure, that his leadership of the community he had established was seriously challenged by his more ascetically inclined cousin, and that he died in a remote place after eating a tainted meal. But these details are so few and disconnected that our knowlege of the historical Buddha remains shadowy and unsatisfying. In order to identify a more meaningful image of Gautama and his career we must turn to the Buddha who is explicitly affirmed in the memory and practice of the Buddhist community.

THE BUDDHA. The general history of religions strongly suggests that the death of a founder results in the loss of a charismatic focus. This loss must be dealt with if the founded group is to survive. In his classic article "Master and Disciple: Two Religio-Sociological Studies," Joachim Wach suggests that "the image" of the beloved founder could produce a unity sufficient for the group to continue (*Journal of Religion* 42, 1962, p. 5).

Each founded religion has developed original ways of preserving the image of their master: Christians with the Gospels and later artistic expressions, Muslims with *ḥadīth* and *Miʿrāj* stories of Muḥammad's journeys to heaven, and so on. Buddhists, it seems, have addressed this crisis with the assumption—explicitly stated in the words of a fifth-century CE Mahāyāna text known as the *Saptaśatikā-prajñāpāramitā*—that "a Buddha is not easily made known by words" (Rome, 1923, p. 126). This recognition has not proved to be a restraint but has instead inspired Buddhists to preserve the image of Gautama through the creation and explication of epithets, through a variety of "biographical" accounts, and through a tradition of visual representation in monumental architecture and art. The image of the founder became, in Joachim Wach's phrase, "an objective center of crystalization" for a variety of opinions concerning the nature and significance of his person.

The creative preservation of the image of the Buddha was closely related to evolving patterns of worship—including pilgrimage, contemplation, and ritual—in the Buddhist community. This reminds us that the various ways of portraying the Buddha are the result of innumerable personal efforts to discern him with immediacy, as well as the product of the desire to preserve and share that image.

Epithets. Certainly one of the earliest and most ubiquitous forms in which Buddhists have expressed and generated their image of Gautama Buddha was through the medium of epithets. For example, in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (London, 1948, vol. 1, p. 386), a householder named Upāli, after becoming the Buddha's follower, acclaims him with one hundred epithets. The Sanskrit version of this text adds that Upāli spoke these epithets spontaneously, as an expression of his faith and respect. Over the centuries the enumerations of these and other epithets focused on the extraordinary aspects of the Buddha's person, on his marvelous nature. In so doing they became a foundation for Buddhist devotional literature, their enunciation a support of devotional and contemplative practice.

Countless epithets have been applied to the Buddha over the centuries, but *buddha* itself has been a particular favorite for explanation. Even hearing the word *buddha* can cause people to rejoice because, as the Theravāda commentary on the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* says, "It is very rare indeed to hear the word *buddha* in this world" (London, 1929, vol. 1, p. 312). The *Paṭisambhidā*, a late addition to the Theravāda canon, explored the significance of the word *buddha* by saying that "it is a name derived from the final liberation of the Enlightened Ones, the Blessed Ones, together with the omniscient knowledge at the root of the Enlightenment Tree; this name 'buddha' is a designation based on realization" (*The Path of Purification*, translated by Ñyāṇamoli, Colombo, 1964, p. 213). Sun Chou, a fourth-century Chinese writer, explicated the *buddha* epithet in a rather different mode, reminiscent of a Daoist sage: "'Buddha' means 'one who embodies the Way'. . . . It is the one who reacts to the stimuli (of the world) in all pervading accordance (with the needs of all beings); the one who abstains from activity and who is yet universally active" (quoted in Erik Zürcher's *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, Leiden, 1959, p. 133).

Particular epithets accentuate specific qualities of the Buddha that might otherwise remain unemphasized or ambiguous. Thus the epithet "teacher of gods and men" (*satthar devamanussānāṃ*) is used in the *Mahāniddesa*, another late canonical text in the Theravāda tradition, to display the Buddha as one who helps others escape from suffering. The techniques used—exploiting ordinary polysemy and puns and deriving elaborate etymologies—are favorites of Buddhist commentators for exposing the significance of an epithet.

> He teaches by means of the here and now, of the life to come, and of the ultimate goal, according as befits the case, thus he is Teacher (*satthar*). "Teacher (*satthar*)": the Blessed One is a caravan leader (*satthar*) since he brings home caravans. Just as one who brings a caravan home gets caravans across a wilderness. . . gets them to reach a land of safety, so too the Blessed One is a caravan leader, one who brings home the cara-

> vans; he gets them across. . . the wilderness of birth. (Ñyāṇamoli, p. 223)

Some of the epithets of the Buddha refer to his lineage and name: for example, Śākyamuni, "sage of the Śākya tribe," and his personal name, Siddhārtha, "he whose aims are fulfilled." Some refer to religio-mythic paradigms with which he was identified: *mahāpuruṣa* means "great cosmic person"; *cakravartin* refers to the "universal monarch," the possessor of the seven jewels of sovereignty who sets in motion the wheel of righteous rule. Some—such as *bhagavan*—convey a sense of beneficent lordship. Others—such as *tathāgata* ("thus come," or "thus gone")—retain, at least in retrospect, an aura of august ambiguity and mystery.

Various epithets define the Buddha as having attained perfection in all domains. His wisdom is perfect, as are his physical form and manner. In some cases the epithets indicate that the Buddha is without equal, that he has attained "the summit of the world." André Bareau concluded his study "The Superhuman Personality of the Buddha and its Symbolism in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*," which is largely an examination of the epithets in this important text, by stating that through these epithets the authors "began to conceive the transcendence of the Buddha. . . . Perfect in all points, superior through distance from all beings, unique, the Beatific had evidently taken, in the thought of his followers, the place which the devotees of the great religions attributed to the great God whom they adored" (*Myths and Symbols*, ed. Charles H. Long and Joseph M. Kitagawa, Chicago, 1969, pp. 19–20).

The epithets of the Buddha, in addition to having a central place in Buddhist devotion, are featured in the *buddhānusmṛti* meditation—the "recollection of the Buddha." This form of meditation, like all Buddhist meditational practices, had as its aim the discipline and purification of the mind; but, in addition, it was a technique of visualization, a way of recovering the image of the founder. This practice of visualization by contemplation on the epithets is important in the Theravāda tradition, both monastic and lay, and it was also very popular in the Sarvāstivāda communities in northwestern India and influential in various Mahāyāna traditions in China. It was instrumental in the development of the Mahāyāna notion of the "three bodies" (*trikāya*) of the Buddha, particularly the second, or visualized, body that was known as his *saṃbhogakāya* ("body of enjoyment").

Biographies. Like the tradition of uttering and interpreting epithets that extolled the exalted nature and virtues of the Buddha, the tradition of recounting biographical episodes is an integral part of early Buddhism. Episodic fragments, preserved in the Pali and Chinese versions of the early Buddhist literature, are embedded in sermons attributed to the Buddha himself and illustrate points of practice or doctrine. Such episodes are also used as narrative frames to provide a context indicating when and where a particular discourse was taught. It appears certain that other episodic fragments were recounted and generated at the four great pilgrimage centers of early Buddhism—the sites that were identified as the locations of the Buddha's birth, of his Enlightenment, of the preaching of his first sermon, and of his death, or *parinirvāṇa*. Some of the scattered narratives do seem to presuppose a developed biographical tradition, but others suggest a fluidity in the biographical structure. Thus, a crucial problem that is posed for our understanding of the biographical process in the Buddhist tradition is when and how a more or less fixed biography of the Buddha actually took shape.

The most convincing argument for the very early development of a comprehensive biography of the Buddha has been made by Erich Frauwallner (1956). Frauwallner argues, on the basis of a brilliant text-critical analysis, that a no longer extant biography of the Buddha, complete up to the conversion of the two great disciples, Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, was written approximately one hundred years after the Buddha's death and well prior to the reign of King Aśoka. This biography, he maintains, was composed as an introduction to the *Skandhaka*, a text of monastic discipline (Vinaya) that was reportedly confirmed at the Second Buddhist Council held at Vaiśālī. Appended to the *Skandhaka*, according to Frauwallner, was an account of the Buddha's death, or *parinirvāṇa*, and of the first years of the fledgling monastic community. Frauwallner contends that all subsequent Buddha biographies have been derived from this basic ur-text. The fragmentary biographies found in the extant Vinaya literature of the various Buddhist schools indicate a crumbling away of this original biography; later autonomous biographies are versions cut from the original Vinaya context and subsequently elaborated.

A different argument has been made, also on the basis of close text-critical study, by scholars such as Alfred Foucher, Étienne Lamotte, and André Bareau. They have argued that there was a gradual development of biographical cycles, with only a later synthesis of this material into a series of more complete biographies. According to this thesis, the earliest stages of the development of the Buddha biography are the fragments in the sūtra and Vinaya texts, which show no concern for chronology or continuity. The Sūtra literature emphasizes stories of the Buddha's previous births (*jātaka*), episodes leading up to the Enlightenment, the Enlightenment itself, and an account of his last journey, death, and funeral. André Bareau states that the biographical material in the sūtras was "composed for the most part of episodes taken from separate traditions, from which the authors chose with complete freedom, guided only by their desire to illustrate a particular point of doctrine" (Bareau, 1963, p. 364). The Vinaya texts, on the other hand, focus on the Buddha as teacher and incorporate—in addition to accounts of the events associated with his Enlightenment—narratives that describe the early days of his ministry, including an account of the conversion of his first disciples. The air of these Vinaya fragments seems to be to confer authenticity on the monastic rules and practices set forth in the rest of the text.

The oldest of the surviving autonomous biographies is the *Mahāvastu*, an unwieldly anthology written in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit about the beginning of the common era. Other more tightly constructed biographies were produced soon after the *Mahāvastu*—notably, the *Lalitavistara*, which played an important role in various Mahāyāna traditions; the *Abhiniṣkramaṇa Sūtra*, which was especially popular in China, where at least five Chinese works were, nominally at least, translations of it; and the very famous and popular *Buddhacarita*, attributed to Aśvaghoṣa. Much later, between the fourth and fifth centuries, still another autonomous biography, known as the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, was given its final form. This voluminous compendium of biographical traditions provided later Mahāyāna schools with a major source for stories about the Buddha and his career.

These new autonomous biographies continued to incorporate stories that had developed at the pilgrimage sites associated with the Buddha's birth and great renunciation, his Enlightenment, and his first sermon. For example, in the *Lalitavistara* an episode is recounted that is clearly related to a specific shrine at the Buddhist pilgrimage site at Kapilavastu—namely, the story in which the Buddha's charioteer leaves him and returns to the palace in Kapilavastu. What is more, these new autonomous biographies also continued to exhibit structural elements that had been characteristic of the biographical segments of the older Vinaya literature. For example, all of the early autonomous biographies (with the exception of the "completed" Chinese and Tibetan versions of the *Buddhacarita*) follow the Vinaya tradition, which ends the story at a point soon after the Buddha had begun his ministry.

These new autonomous biographies testify to three important changes that affected the traditions of Buddha biography during the centuries immediately following the death of King Aśoka. The first is the inclusion of new biographical elements drawn from non-Buddhist and even non-Indian sources. The autonomous biographies were the products of the cosmopolitan civilizations associated with the Śātavāhana and Kushan (Kuṣāṇa) empires, and therefore it is not surprising that new episodes were adapted from Greek and West Asian sources. Somewhat later, as the autonomous Buddha biographies were introduced into other areas, changes were introduced to accentuate the Buddha's exemplification of new cultural values. Thus, in a fourth-century Chinese "translation" of the *Abhiniṣkramaṇa*, great emphasis was placed on the Buddha's exemplification of filial piety through the conversion of his father, King Śuddhodana.

The second important change exhibited by these new autonomous biographies was the ubiquitous inclusion of stories about the Buddha's previous lives (*jātaka*) as a device for explicating details of his final life as Gautama. This is particularly evident in the *Mahāvastu* and in certain versions of the *Abhiniṣkramana Sūtra*, in which, according to Lamotte, "the Jātakas become the prime mover of the narration: each episode in the life of the Buddha is given as the result and reproduction of an event from previous lives" (Lamotte, 1958, p. 725).

The third discernible change is the increasing placement of emphasis on the superhuman and transcendent dimensions of the Buddha's nature. Earlier narratives refer to the Buddha's fatigue and to his susceptibility to illness, but in the autonomous biographies he is said to be above human frailties. There is a tendency to emphasize the Buddha's superhuman qualities, not only of mind, but also of body: "It is true that the Buddhas bathe, but no dirt is found on them; their bodies are radiant like golden amaranth. Their bathing is mere conformity with the world" (*Mahāvastu*, trans. J. J. Jones, London, 1949, vol. 1, p. 133). As a function of this same emphasis on transcendence, the Buddha's activities are increasingly portrayed in the modes of miracle and magic. With the emergence and development of Mahāyāna, new narratives began to appear that portrayed the Buddha preaching a more exalted doctrine, sometimes on a mountain peak, sometimes in a celestial realm, sometimes to his most receptive disciples, sometimes to a great assembly of *bodhisattva*s (future buddhas) and gods.

Whereas the Mahāyāna accepted the early autonomous biographies and supplemented them with additional episodes of their own, the Theravāda community displayed a continuing resistance to developments in the biographical tradition. For almost nine centuries after the death of Gautama, the various elements of the Buddha biography were kept separate in Theravāda literature. But in the fifth century CE, about half a millennium after the composition of the first autonomous biographies, the Theravādins began to create their own biographical genres. These brought together and synthesized, in their own, more restrained style, many of the previously fragmented narratives.

Two types of Buddha biographies have had an important impact and role in the later history of the Theravāda tradition. The model for the classical type is the *Nidānakathā*, a text that serves as an introduction to the fifth-century *Jātaka Commentary* and thus continues the pattern of using biography to provide a narrative context that authenticates the teaching. It traces the Buddha's career from the time of his previous birth as Sumedha (when he made his original vow to become a buddha) to the year following Gautama's Enlightenment, when he took up residence in the Jetavana Monastery. Subsequent Theravāda biographies, based on the *Nidānakathā*, continued the narration through the rest of Gautama's ministry and beyond.

The second type of Theravāda biography—the chronicle (*vaṃsa*) biography—illustrates a distinctive Theravāda understanding of the Buddha. From very early in their history the Theravādins had distinguished between two bodies of the Buddha, his physical body (*rūpakāya*) and his body of truth (*dharmakāya*). After the Buddha's death, or *parinirvāṇa*, the *rūpakāya* continued to be present to the community in his relics, and his *dharmakāya* continued to be present in his teachings. In the fourth to fifth centuries

CE the Theravādins began to compose biographical chronicles that focused on these continuing legacies. These begin with previous lives of the Buddha, then provide an abbreviated account of his "final" life as Gautama. They go on to narrate the history of the tradition by interweaving accounts of kings who maintain the physical legacy (in the form of relics, stupas, and the like) with accounts of the monastic order, which maintains his *dharma* legacy (in the form of proper teaching and discipline). Examples of this type of biographical chronicle are numerous, beginning with the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa* and continuing through many other *vaṃsa* texts written in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia.

Throughout the premodern history of Buddhism, all of the major Buddhist schools preserved biographies of the Buddha. And in each situation, they were continually reinterpreted in relation to contemporary attitudes and experiences. But in the modern period, a new genre of Buddha biographies has been introduced. This new type of biography has been influenced by Western scholarship on Buddhism and by Western attempts to recover the historical Buddha, who had—from the modernist perspective—been hidden from view by the accretions of tradition. New, largely urbanized elites throughout the Buddhist world have sought to "demythologize" the Buddha biography, deleting miraculous elements of the Buddha's life and replacing them with an image of the founder as a teacher of a rationalistic ethical system or a "scientific" system of meditation or as a social reformer committed to the cause of democracy, socialism, or egalitarianism. This new genre of Buddha biography has appeared in many Buddhist contexts and has made an impact that has cut across all the traditional lines of geographical and sectarian division.

Visual representations. The images of the founder that Buddhists have generated and expressed visually are more enigmatic than the images presented in epithets and biographies. The history of Buddhist monumental architecture, art, and sculpture does not neatly fit such accustomed categories as "mythologization" or "divinization." Furthermore, the association of various kinds of visual representation with veneration and worship challenges many stereotypes about the secondary place of cult activity in the Buddhist tradition. The situation is further complicated by the fact that the function and significance of visual representations of the Buddha are only explained in relatively late Buddhist literature, after both doctrine and practice had become extremely complex.

The most important of the very early visual representations of the Buddha was the burial mound, or stupa (Skt., *stūpa*). The interment of the remains of kings and heroes in burial mounds was a well-established practice in pre-Buddhist India. Buddhists and Jains adopted these mounds as models for their first religious monuments and honored them with traditional practices. In the Pali *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* and its parallels in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese, the Buddha gives instructions that his funeral rites should be performed in the manner customary for a "universal monarch" (*cakravartin*), an epithet that was applied to the Buddha. After his cremation his bones were to be deposited in a golden urn and placed in a mound built at the crossing of four main roads. Offerings of flowers and garlands, banners, incense, and music characterized both the funeral rites themselves and the continuing worship at a stupa.

As Buddhism developed, the stupa continued to serve as a central visual representation of the founder. Seeing a stupa called to memory the greatness of the Buddha and—for some at least—became equivalent to actually seeing the Buddha when he was alive. Since the Buddha's physical remains could be divided, replicated, and distributed, new stupas containing relics could be constructed. They became a focal point for worship wherever Buddhism spread, first within India and then beyond. What is more, the stupa had symbolic connotations that exerted a significant influence on the way in which the Buddha was perceived. For example, stupas had a locative significance through which the Buddha was associated with specific territorial units. They also came increasingly to represent a cosmology and cosmography ordered by Buddhist principles, thus symbolically embodying the notion of the Buddha as a cosmic person.

The later literature explains that a stupa is worthy of worship and reverence not only because it contains a relic or relics but also because its form symbolizes the enlightened state of a Buddha, or Buddhahood itself. In some texts the stupa is described as the *dharmakāya*, or transcendent body, of the Buddha, and each of its layers and components is correlated with a set of spiritual qualities cultivated to perfection by a Buddha. Such symbolic correlations made evident what, in some circles at least, had been long accepted, namely, the notion that the stupa represents the Buddha's spiritual, as well as his physical, legacy.

The beginnings of Buddhist art are found on post-Aśokan stupas, such as those found at Bhārhut, Sāñcī, and Amarāvatī. These great stupas and their gates are decorated with narrative reliefs of events from the Buddha's life and with scenes of gods and men "rendering homage to the Lord." The Buddha is always depicted symbolically in these reliefs, with emblems appropriate to the story. For example, in friezes depicting scenes associated with his birth he is often represented by a footprint with the characteristic marks of the *mahāpuruṣa* (the cosmic man destined to be either a *cakravartin* or a Buddha). In scenes associated with his Enlightenment he is often represented by the bodhi tree under which he attained Enlightenment, or the throne on which he was seated when that event occurred. When the subject is the preaching of his first sermon he is often represented by an eight-spoked wheel that is identified with the wheel of *dharma*. When the subject is his death, or Pāramitās *parinirvāṇa*, the preferred symbol is, of course, the stupa.

The motivation for this aniconic imagery is not clear, especially since the friezes abound with other human figures. However, it is probable that abstract art was more adaptable to contemplative uses that we have already seen emphasized in connection with the epithets of the Buddha and with the symbolic interpretation of the stupa. It may also be that these aniconic images imply a conception of the Buddha as a supramundane being similar to that of the docetic portrayals found in the autonomous biographies that appear somewhat later. This suggests that at this time Buddhism may have been richer in its concrete reality, in its practice, than in its doctrine, as it took centuries for a doctrinal understanding of the significance of these first representations to be formulated in the literature.

The stupa and other aniconic symbols emblematic of the Buddha have remained an integral component of Buddhist life in all Buddhist areas and eras. Toward the end of the first century BCE, however, another form of visual representation began to appear, namely, the anthropomorphic image that subsequently assumed paramount importance in all Buddhist countries and sects. The first of these images are contemporary with the autonomous biographies of the Buddha, and like these texts, they appropriate previously non-Buddhist and non-Indian motifs to express Buddhist conceptions and experiences. At Mathurā, in north-central India, where the first statues seem to have originated, sculptors employed a style and iconography associated with *yakṣa*s, the popular life-cult deities of ancient India, to create bulky and powerful figures of the Buddha. At Gandhāra in northwestern India, another major center of early Buddhist image-making, the artists sculpted the Buddha images quite differently, appropriating Hellenistic conventions introduced into Asia by the Greeks, who ruled the area in the centuries following the invasions of Alexander the Great.

A great many styles have developed for the Buddha image; and just as at Mathurā and Gandhāra, local conventions have been fully exploited. There has been a continuity, however, to all these creations: the Buddha image has consistently served a dual function as both an object of worship and a support for contemplation. It seems clear that the basic form of the image was shaped by conceptions of the Buddha as *lokottara* (supramundane), *mahāpuruṣa*, *cakravartin*, omniscient, and so on, and standardized iconography was used to convey these various dimensions. The sculpted (and later painted) image was both an expression of, and an aid for, the visualization of the master and the realization of his presence.

If aniconic symbols lend themselves especially well to contemplative uses, anthropomorphic images seem more appropriate to emotion and prayer, as well as to worship as such. In fact, the patterns of veneration and worship that developed in connection with Buddha images show a strong continuity with the ancient devotional and petitionary practices associated with the *yakṣa*s and other folk deities. Throughout Buddhist history the veneration and worship of Buddha images have involved sensuous offerings of flowers, incense, music, food, and drink, and have often been closely tied to very immediate worldly concerns.

Later Buddhist literature explains that the Buddha image is worthy of honor and worship because it is a likeness of the Buddha. Popular practice often ascribes a living presence to the statue, whether by placing a relic within it or by a ritual of consecration that infuses it with "life." Thus the image of the Buddha, like the stupa, is both a reminder that can inspire and guide and a locus of power.

OTHER BUDDHAS. The representations of the Buddha in epithet, biography, and image have been shared in their main outlines by the great majority of Buddhist schools. However, the recognition of other buddhas, the roles other buddhas have played, and the evaluation of their significance (and hence the role and significance of Gautama himself) have varied greatly from one tradition to another.

Buddhas of the past and future. Quite early, Gautama is perceived as one of several buddhas in a series that began in the distant past. In the early canonical literature, the series of previous buddhas sometimes appears as a practically anonymous group, deriving probably from the recognition that Gautama could not have been alone in achieving enlightenment. It is thus not surprising that in texts such as the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* the interest in these previous buddhas focuses on their thoughts at the time of enlightenment, thoughts that are identical with those attributed to Gautama when he achieved the same experience.

The most important early text on previous buddhas is the *Mahāvadāna Sutta*, which refers to six buddhas who had appeared prior to Gautama. This text implicitly contains the earliest coordinated biography of the Buddha, for it describes the pattern to which the lives of all buddhas conform. Thus, describing the life of a buddha named Vipaśyin, Gautama narrates that he was born into a royal family, that he was raised in luxury, that he was later confronted with the realities of sickness, aging, and death while visiting a park, and that he subsequently took up the life of a wandering mendicant. After Vipaśyin realized the truth for himself, he established a monastic order and taught what he had discovered to others. In the narratives of the other Buddhas, some details vary; but in every instance they are said to have discovered and taught the same eternal truth.

There is clear evidence that buddhas who were thought to have lived prior to Gautama were worshiped in India at least from the time of Aśoka through the period of Buddhist decline. In the inscription, Aśoka states that he had doubled the size of the stupa associated with the Buddha Konākamana, who had lived earlier than Gautama and was his immediate predecessor. During the first millennium of the common era, successive Chinese pilgrims recorded visits to Indian monuments dedicated to former buddhas, many of them attributed to the pious construction activities of Aśoka.

The *Buddhavaṃsa* (Lineage of the buddhas), which is a late text within the Pali canon, narrates the lives of twenty-four previous buddhas in almost identical terms. It may be that the number twenty-four was borrowed from Jainism, which has a lineage of twenty-four *tīrthaṃkara*s that culminates in the figure of the founder, Mahāvīra. The *Buddhavaṃsa* also embellished the idea of a connection between Gautama Buddha and the lineage of previous buddhas. It contains the story that later came to provide the starting point for the classic Theravāda biography of Gautama—the story in which the future Gautama Buddha, in his earlier birth as Sumedha, meets the previous Buddha Dīpaṃkara and vows to undertake the great exertions necessary to attain buddhahood for himself.

According to conceptions that are closely interwoven with notions concerning previous buddhas, the appearance of a buddha in this world is determined not only by his own spiritual efforts but also by other circumstances. There can only be one buddha in a particular world at a given time, and no buddha can arise until the teachings of the previous buddha have completely disappeared. There are also cosmological considerations. A buddha is not born in the beginning of a cosmic aeon (*kalpa*) when human beings are so well off and live so long that they do not fear sickness, aging, and death; such people, like the gods and other superhuman beings, would be incapable of insight into the pervasiveness of suffering and the impermanence of all things and therefore would not be prepared to receive a buddha's message. Furthermore, buddhas are born only in the continent of Jambudvīpa (roughly equivalent to India) and only to priestly (*brāhmaṇa*) or noble (*kṣatriya*) families.

The idea of a chronological series of previous buddhas, which was prominent primarily in the Hīnayāna traditions, accentuates the significance of Gautama by designating him as the teacher for our age and by providing him with a spiritual lineage that authenticates his message. This idea also provides a basis for hope because it suggests that even if the force of Gautama's person and message has begun to fade, there remains the possibility that other buddhas are yet to come.

The belief in a future buddha also originated in the Hīnayāna tradition and has played an important role in various Hīnayāna schools, including the Theravāda. The name of this next buddha is Maitreya ("the friendly one"), and he seems to have come into prominence in the period after the reign of King Aśoka. (Technically, of course, Maitreya is a *bodhisattva*—one who is on the path to buddhahood—rather than a buddha in the full sense. However, the degree to which the attention of Buddhists has been focused on the role that he will play when he becomes a buddha justifies consideration of him in the present context.)

According to the Maitreyan mythology that has been diffused throughout the entire Buddhist world, the future buddha, who was one of Gautama Buddha's disciples, now dwells in Tuṣita Heaven, awaiting the appropriate moment to be reborn on earth, where he will inaugurate an era of peace, prosperity, and salvation. As the buddha of the future, Maitreya assumed many diverse roles. Among other things he became an object of worship, a focus of aspiration, and a center of religio-political interest both as a legitimator of interest both as a legitimator of royalty and as a rallying point for rebellion.

The wish to be reborn in the presence of Maitreya, whether in Tuṣita Heaven or when he is reborn among humans, has been a sustaining hope of many Buddhists in the past, and it persists among Theravādins even today. The contemplation and recitation of the name of Maitreya inspired devotional cults in northwestern India, Central Asia, and China, especially between the fourth and seventh centuries CE. But in East Asia his devotional cult was superseded by that dedicated to Amitābha, a Buddha now existing in another cosmic world.

Celestial and cosmic buddhas. The recognition that there could be other buddhas in other world systems described in Buddhist cosmology builds on implications already present in the idea of past and future buddhas. Like the first buddhas of the past, the first Buddhas associated with other worlds are largely anonymous, appearing in groups to celebrate the teaching of the Buddha Gautama. The many epithets of the Buddha were sometimes pressed into service as personal names for individual buddhas who needed to be identified.

The idea of buddhas existing in other worlds comes to the fore in the early Mahāyāna literature. It was first employed, as in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* (Lotus of the true law), to authenticate new teachings, just as the tradition of former buddhas had done for the teachings of the early community. In the course of time, some of these buddhas came to be recognized individually as very powerful, their worlds as indescribably splendid and blissful. They were buddhas in superhuman form, and their careers, which were dedicated to the saving of others, lasted for aeons. Their influence was effective beyond their own worlds, and they could provide assistance—through the infinite merit they had accumulated—to the inhabitants of other world systems, including our own. The traditions that have focused attention on these buddhas have inevitably deemphasized the importance of Gautama Buddha by removing his singularity in human experience and by contrasting him with more powerful buddhas who could make their assistance and influence immediately and directly available.

While the number of such coexisting celestial buddhas is, in principle, infinite, and a great number are named in Buddhist literature, distinct mythological, iconic, and devotional traditions have only developed in a few cases. Amitābha ("boundless light") is one of the most important of the buddhas who did become the focus of a distinctive tradition. Originating in Northwest India or Central Asia, his appeal subsequently spread to China, Tibet, and Japan. Amitābha rules over a paradise that contains all the excellences of other buddha lands. He offers universal accessibility to this Pure Land (called Sukhāvatī), granting rebirth to those who practice the Buddha's determination to be reborn in it, and even to those who merely recite his name or think of him briefly but with faith. In the Amitābha/Pure Land traditions, which have had continuing success in China and Japan, we see a concentration on patterns of contemplation, visualization, and recitation first developed in connection with the epithets of the Buddha.

Another celestial buddha who came to hold a position of importance in the Buddhist tradition is Bhaiṣajyaguru, the Master of Medicine. Bhaiṣajyaguru rules over his own paradisiacal realm, which, in contrast to Amitābha's western paradise, is traditionally located in the east. Unlike Amitābha, he does not assist human beings in reaching final liberation, nor does he even offer rebirth in his land. Rather, the repetition or rememberance of his name relieves various kinds of suffering, such as sickness, hunger, and fear. The ritual worship of his statue brings all things that are desired. In the cult dedicated to Bhaiṣajyaguru—popular in China and Japan, where it was often influenced by Amitābha traditions—we see a magnification of the patterns of worship that had originally coalesced around the stupa and the Buddha image.

In other contexts, conceptions of integrated pantheons of buddhas were developed and exerted widespread influence. For example, in the traditions of Esoteric Buddhism a strong emphasis was placed on a primordial, central buddha. He was taken to be the essence or source of a set of buddhas who were positioned in the form of a cosmic *maṇḍala* ("circle") that was vividly depicted in iconography and ritual, for example, in the *tanka* paintings of Tibet. In certain Indo-Tibetan traditions the central buddha was Vajradhara ("diamond holder") or sometimes, when the emphasis was more theistic, the Ādi ("primordial") Buddha. In other Indo-Tibetan traditions the central buddha was Vairocana ("resplendent"), who also served as the preeminent buddha in the Esoteric (Shingon) tradition of Japan, where he was identified with the all-important solar deity in the indigenous pantheon of *kami.* In both cases—the one associated with Vajradhara and the Ādi Buddha and the one associated with Vairocana—the pantheon encompassed other Buddhas (and sometimes their "families"), who were identified with subsidiary cosmic positions. These included the east, a position often occupied by Akṣobhya ("imperturbable"); the south, often occupied by Ratnasambhava ("jewel-born"); the west, often occupied by Amitābha; and the north, often occupied by Amoghasiddhi ("infallible success"). In both cases the pantheon had a macrocosmic reference to the universe as a whole and a microcosmic reference in which the Buddhas of the pantheon were homologized with the mystic physiology of the human body.

Living buddhas. In addition to the Buddha, *pratyekabuddha*s, previous buddhas, the future buddha, celestial buddhas, and cosmic buddhas, still another kind of buddha was recognized by some Buddhists—what we shall call a "living buddha." Living buddhas are persons in this world who have, in one way or another, achieved the status of a fully enlightened and compassionate being. In some cases these living buddhas have attained buddhahood through various, usually Esoteric, forms of practice; in others they are incarnations of a buddha, ordinarily a celestial buddha, already included in the established pantheon. The presence of living buddhas tends, of course, to diminish to a new degree the significance of Gautama Buddha (except in rare cases where it is he who reappears). However, their presence also reiterates with new force two characteristic Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna emphases: that the message of the Buddhas continues to be efficaciously available in the world and that the community still has direct access to the kind of assistance that only a buddha can provide.

Like the notions of previous buddhas and the buddhas of other worlds, the concept of living buddhas began to be elaborated in a context in which a new kind of teaching and practice was being introduced. In this case the new teaching and practice was Esoteric in character and was focused on ritual activities that promised to provide a "fast path" to buddhahood. Thus the new kind of buddha—the living Buddha—was both a product of the new movement and a mode of authenticating it. The analogy between the earlier development of the notion of celestial buddhas and the later development of the notion of living buddhas can be carried further. Just as only a few celestial buddhas received their own individual mythology, iconography, and devotional attention, so too a limited number of living buddhas were similarly singled out. It is not surprising that many of these especially recognized and venerated living buddhas were figures who initiated new strands of tradition by introducing practices, revealing hidden texts, converting new peoples, and the like. A classic example of a living buddha in the Tibetan tradition is Padmasambhava, the famous missionary from India who is credited with subduing the demons in Tibet, converting the people to the Buddhist cause, and founding the Rnying ma pa order. An example of the same type of figure in Japan is Kūkai, the founder of the Esoteric Shingon tradition, who has traditionally been venerated both as master and as savior.

The notion of living buddhas as incarnations of celestial buddhas also came to the fore with the rise of Esoteric Buddhism. In this case there seems to have been an especially close connection with Buddhist conceptions of kingship and rule. In both the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna contexts, the notion of the king as a *bodhisattva*, or future buddha, was ancient; in the case of the rather common royal identifications with Maitreya, the distinction between the king as an incarnation of the celestial *bodhisattva* and the king as a living buddha had been very fluid. With the rise of the Esoteric Buddhist traditions a further step was taken. Thus, after the Esoteric tradition had been firmly established in the Khmer (Cambodian) capital of Angkor, the king came to be explicitly recognized and venerated as Bhaiṣajyaguru, Master of Medicine. Somewhat later in Tibet, the Panchen Lamas, who have traditionally had both royal and monastic functions, were identified as successive incarnations of the buddha Amitābha.

BUDDHAHOOD. The epithets, biographies, and images of Śākyamuni and other Buddhas weigh the distinctiveness of each Buddha against his inclusion within a series or assembly of similar beings. However, as the appellative character of the term *buddha* suggests, at the level of buddhahood each tradition has affirmed the ultimate identity of all those they have recognized as buddhas. Even the Theravādins, who have consistently given pride of place to Gautama, have acknowledged this final level at which differentiations are not relevant. The same is true for those movements that focus primary attention on Amitābha or Mahāvairocana. The consensus of Buddhists in this respect is voiced by the *Milindapañha* (The questions of King Milinda), a Hīnayāna text dating from the beginning of the common era: "There is no distinction in form, morality, concentration, wisdom, freedom. . . among all the Buddhas because all Buddhas are the same in respect to their nature" (London, 1880, p. 285).

This initial consensus concerning the ultimate identity of all buddhas notwithstanding, the actual delineation of buddhahood has varied significantly from one Buddhist tradition to another. This third level of meaning of the term *buddha* has always been discussed in connection with questions concerning the nature and analysis of reality. Early Buddhists believed that a buddha awoke to and displayed the causal process (*pratītya-samutpāda*, codependent origination) that perpetuates this world, allowing himself and others to use those processes to end further rebirth. The early Mahāyāna, especially in the Prajña-paramita literature, saw buddhahood as awakening to the absence of self-nature in all things (*śūnyatā*) and proclaimed this absence as the ultimate reality (*tathatā*). Later Mahāyāna schools, such as the Yogācārins, held a more idealistic worldview; for them buddhahood was the recovery of an originally pure and undefiled mind. The Huayen (Jpn., Kegon) school, an East Asian tradition based on the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, posited the infinite mutual interaction of all things and developed a striking conception of a universal, cosmic buddha who is all-pervasive. In such contexts buddhahood itself became an alternative way of describing reality.

Between the consensus about the identity of all buddhas and the diversity of interpretations, there are at least two different languages in which buddhahood has traditionally been conceived and described. The first is the identification of buddhahood in terms of the special characteristics associated with a buddha. The second is the discussion of the buddha bodies that make up buddhahood. These two clusters of concepts allow us to see patterns of continuity in the midst of the very different ways in which buddhahood has been understood.

Buddhist scholasticism developed subtle catalogs of the unique powers and qualities of a buddha, culminating in lists of *āveṇika dharmas* (special characteristics). These special characteristics vary in number from 6 to 140, depending on the text and context. What interests us here is not the multitude of qualities and powers that are mentioned but, rather, the fact that these qualities and powers are often grouped under four major headings. These four headings are conduct and realization, which apply to the attainment of buddhahood, and wisdom and activity, which apply to the expression of buddhahood.

Throughout Buddhist history these four dimensions of buddhahood have been interpreted in different ways. For example, Hīnayānists have tended to emphasize motivated conduct as a means to the realization of buddhahood, whereas Mahāyānists and Vajrayānists have tended to stress that buddhahood (often in the form of buddha nature) is in important respects a necessary prerequisite for such conduct. Similarly, Hīnayānists have often recognized a certain distance between the attainment of wisdom and a commitment to compassionate activity, whereas in the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna traditions the stress has been placed on the inseparable fusion of wisdom on the one hand and the expression of compassion on the other. These differences notwithstanding, the four basic dimensions are present in virtually all Buddhist conceptions of buddhahood.

When we turn to the way buddhahood has been expressed through the language of buddha bodies, we discern the same sort of continuity in the midst of difference. In the early Buddhist literature (e.g., *Dīgha Nikāya*, vol. 3, p. 84) the Buddha is described as having a body "born of *dharma*," that is, a *dharmakāya*. In this early period, and in the subsequent Theravāda development, the notion that Gautama possessed a *dharmakāya* seems to have served primarily as a metaphor that affirmed a continuity between the personal realizations that he had achieved and truth or reality itself. In some later Hīnayāna traditions such as the Sarvāstivāda, and in the Mahāyāna, the notion of *dharmakāya* took on a stronger meaning. It served as a primary means through which an increasingly transcendent vision of buddhahood could subsume the inescapable fact of Gautama's death. According to such texts as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, the *dharmakāya* is the true meaning of buddhahood; buddhas such as Gautama who appear, teach, and die among human beings are mere manifestations. In this early Mahāyāna context, however, the correlated notions of buddhahood and *dharmakāya* are still conditioned by their close association with philosophical conceptions such as *śūnyatā* ("emptiness") and *tathatā* ("suchness").

The *dharmakāya* is given a more ontological cast in other Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna traditions. In these cases, *dharmakāya* denotes a "ground" or "source" that is the reality that gives rise to all other realities; this provides the basis for a new understanding of the whole range of buddha bodies. buddhahood comes to be explicated in terms of a theory of three bodies. The *trikāya* ("three bodies") are the *dharmakāya*, the primal body that is the source of the other two; the emanated *saṃbhogakāya* ("enjoyment body"), a glorious body seen in visions in which buddhas of other worlds become manifest to devotees in this world; and the "magical" and ephemeral *nirmāṇakāya*, the physical body in which Gautama, for example, appeared among his disciples.

In some Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna contexts, this more ontological conception of the buddhahood and *dharmakāya* was also connected with the important soteriological notion of a buddha nature, or *tathāgata-garbha* (*tathāgata* is an epithet for a buddha, *garbha* means "womb"), which is the source and cause of enlightenment as well as its fruit. In these traditions, buddha nature, or *tathāgata-garbha*, is taken to be the *dharmakāya* covered with defilements. Enlightenment, and therefore buddhahood, is the recovery of this pure, original state of being that is identical with ultimate reality itself. In other Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna contexts, even the dichotomy between purity and defilement is transcended at the level of buddhahood.

CONCLUSION. In the course of our discussion of *buddha* as an appellative term we have distinguished three basic levels of meaning—those associated with Gautama Buddha, with other buddhas, and with buddhahood as such. However, it is important to note that Buddhist usage has always held the three levels of meaning closely together, with the result that each level has had a continuing influence on the others. Thus, even though a distinction between the different denotations of *buddha* is helpful for purposes of interpretation and understanding, it cannot be drawn too sharply.

In fact, these three meanings represent three different modes of reference that, according to some Indian theories of denotation, are common to all names. The word *cow*, for example, refers to individual cows ("a cow"), the aggregation of cows, and the quality of "cowness" common to all cows. There are obvious parallels to the uses of *buddha.* It might be helpful for those unfamiliar with such theories to think of *buddha* in terms of set theory: individual buddhas are members of subsets of the set of buddhahood. Just as mathematical sets exist without members, so buddhahood exists, according to the affirmation of Buddhists, even when it is not embodied by individual buddhas.

SEE ALSO Amitābha; Bhaiṣajyaguru; Bodhisattva Path; Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; Buddhism, Schools of; Buddhist Ethics; Buddhist Philosophy; Cakravartin; Cosmology, article on Buddhist Cosmology; Huayan; Iconography, article on Buddhist Iconography; Karuṇā; Mahāvairocana; Mahāvīra; Maitreya; Merit, article on Buddhist Concepts; Millenarianism, article on Chinese Millenarian Movements; Nianfo; Nirvāṇa; Padmasambhava; Pāramitās; Prajñā; Pratītya-samutpāda; Pure and Impure Lands; Stupa Worship; Śūnyam and Śūnyatā; Tathāgata; Tathāgata-garbha; Tathatā; Upāya; Yogācāra.

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Scholarship that is available in European languages generally treats the different levels of meaning of the appellative *buddha* in isolation. The interrelations among the different levels of meaning still remain largely unexplored.

Two books by Edward J. Thomas, if read in conjunction, can serve as a suitable introduction to the subject. *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History* (1927; 3d rev. ed., London, 1949) remains the standard work on the biography of the Buddha in English. *The History of Buddhist Thought* (1933; 2d ed., New York, 1951) surveys the development of ideas of other buddhas and buddhahood against the backdrop of the Indian Buddhist tradition. Thomas, however, does not include any of the developments in Tibet or East Asia, and his work has a definite bias in favor of the Pali tradition. A useful supplement for Tibet is David L. Snellgrove's *Buddhist Himālaya* (Oxford, 1957), which provides an introduction to the Vajrayāna interpretations. East Asian innovations were largely in connection with the meaning of buddhahood. They may be approached through Junjirō Takakusu's *The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, edited by Wing-Tsit Chan and Charles A. Moore (Honolulu, 1947), although, as the title suggests, Takakusu is not primarily concerned with Buddhological patterns as such.

Heinz Bechert's important article "The Date of the Buddha Reconsidered," *Indologica Taurinensia* 10 (1982): 29–36, provides helpful summaries of the arguments favoring the long and short chronologies for calculating the date of the Buddha, although his conclusion in favor of the short chronology is by no means definitive. The cultural context of the historical Buddha is outlined by Padmanabh S. Jaini in his "*Śramaṇas:* Their Conflict with Brāhmaṇical Society," in *Chapters in Indian Civilization*, rev. ed., edited by Joseph W. Elder (Dubuque, 1970) vol. 1, pp. 39–81. This article should be read together with J. A. B. van Buitenen's "Vedic and Upaniṣadic Bases of Indian Civilization," which immediately preceeds it in the same volume (pp. 1–38).

A helpful starting point for the study of the Buddha biography is Frank E. Reynolds's "The Many Lives of Buddha: A Study of Sacred Biography and Theravāda Tradition" in *The Biographical Process*, edited by Reynolds and Donald Capps ("Religion and Reason Series," vol. 11, The Hague, 1976). It provides a survey of the patterns of interpretation that have developed in connection with the Buddha biography in Western scholarship, as well as an overview of the relevant Hīnayāna and later Theravāda texts.

The most important recent research on the biographies of the Buddha is written in French. An argument for successive stages in the development of the Buddha biography is found in Étienne Lamotte's *Histoire du bouddhisme indien* (Louvain, 1958), pp. 707–759, in which Lamotte responds to Erich Frauwallner's thesis that there was a very early, complete biography. Frauwallner presented this thesis in *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature* (Rome, 1956). An indispensable aid to serious work on the Buddha biography is André Bareau's *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha dans les Sūtrapitaka et les Vinayapiṭaka anciens*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1963–1971). In these volumes Bareau documents and improves upon Lamotte's arguments in favor of a gradual development of the biographical cycles.

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Modern research on "other Buddhas" is much less extensive than the research focused on the biographies and symbols associated with Gautama. Those interested in short, well-done introductions to Akṣobhya, Amitābha (Amita), and Bhaiṣajyaguru should consult the *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, edited by G. P. Malalasekera (Colombo, 1968). Vairocana is discussed by Ryūjun Tajima in his *Étude sur le Mahāvairocana sūtra* (*Dai-nichikyō*), (Paris, 1936). Material on "living buddhas" can be gleaned from various sections of Giuseppe Tucci's *The Religions of Tibet*, translated from the Italian and German by Geoffrey Samuel (Berkeley, 1980).

A work of monumental importance for the study of the concept of the Buddha and of Buddhism in general, is Paul Mus's *Barabaḍur*, 2 vols. (1935; reprint, New York, 1978). It is perhaps the only academic work that exploits the full potential of the appellative character of the term *buddha*. It contains seminal discussions of Buddhology in early, Hīnayāna, and Mahāyāna traditions; of the symbolism of the stupa and the relics; of celestial and cosmic Buddhas; and of the origin of Pure Land symbolism and thought. Unfortunately, this ponderously long work has not been translated, and the French is extremely difficult.

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BUDDHADĀSA. Phra Dhammakosājān (1906–1993), better known by his self-designated monastic name, Buddhadāsa Bhikkhu ("Servant of the Buddha"), was one of the most influential Thai monks of the twentieth century. Born on May 21, 1906, as Nguam Panich, Buddhadāsa spent three years as a temple boy at Wat Pum Riang, a monastery in his home town, where he learned to read and write and was introduced to Buddhist teachings and rituals. After completing his primary schooling and beginning lower secondary education in Chaiya, south Thailand, his father's untimely death forced him to work in his family's business at age sixteen. Ordained a Buddhist monk in 1926, by 1928 he had passed the third and final level of the monastic curriculum and was invited to teach at the royally sponsored Wat Boromathat monastery in Chaiya.

After two years residency in Bangkok to study Pali (1930–1932), he became disenchanted with rote learning, the noise and distractions of the city, and the lax behavior of Bangkok monks. He returned home in the spring of 1932, the year Thailand's government changed from an absolute to a constitutional monarchy, where subsequently he established a forest monastery, Suan Mokkhabalārāma ("The Garden of Empowering Liberation"), known simply as Suan Mokkh. There, with the help and encouragement of his brother, Dhammadāsa, he founded a quarterly periodical, *Buddhasadana*, through which he captured the attention of the Thai Buddhist intelligentsia and rapidly gained a reputation for his intellectual prowess, his ability as a teacher, and his innovative interpretations of Theravāda doctrine. By 1937 his history of the Buddha's life was being used as a textbook at the Thammayut monastic university, Mahāmakut. In 1940 Buddhadāsa gave a series of lectures at the Buddhadhamma Association in Bangkok that attracted wide attention. His plain language unencumbered with technical monastic jargon, and his rational, demythologized interpretation of Buddhist teachings appealed to the growing urban, educated elites.

THE GARDEN OF EMPOWERING LIBERATION. Suan Mokkh continued to expand, moving to its present site in 1944. The center combines aspects of early Buddhist forest practice with modern methods of propagating the *dhamma.* The resident monks live in simple wooden structures (*kuṭī*) with fewer amenities than are found in wealthy urban monasteries. Monks observe the traditional precepts of monastic life (*vinaya*), devote much of their day to study and meditation, and shun the ceremonial rituals that demand the attention of the typical Thai monk. In seemingly stark contrast to these traditions that emulate the lifestyle of the early *saṅgha* is the "Spiritual Theater" equipped to teach the *dhamma* using modern audiovisual technology. Copies of bas-reliefs from Sāñcī and Barhut adorn the exterior walls, while the interior walls are covered by mural paintings inspired not only by Buddhism but by other religious traditions as well. The building embodies Buddhadāsa's universalist vision that the highest goal of all religions is to transform selfish egoism into compassionate altruism.

In the decade prior to Buddhadāsa's death in 1993, he directed the establishment of a training center ancillary to Suan Mokkh, the International Dhamma Hermitage, where monthly meditation retreats are conducted in English. He also had plans to develop two other training centers, one for women (*dhammamata*) and another to train monks from all over the world in the practical application of the Buddha's teaching to the solution of global problems.

***NIRVĀṆA*, REBIRTH, AND THE BUDDHA.** Buddhadāsa's teachings have become the central platform of reformist Buddhism in Thailand for both monks and laity. Several noted Thai social activists, including Sulak Sivaraksa and Dr. Prawet Wasi, acknowledge their indebtedness to his example and interpretation of the *buddhadhamma.* His books are taught in monastic and secular universities, and he remains one of the most widely published and read Buddhist authors in the country. A severe critic of mainstream Thai Buddhism's self-serving preoccupation with merit-making rituals, he characterizes ceremonials whose intent aims at worldly personal gain as nothing but religious materialism. For Buddhadāsa, *nirvāṇa* is not an unachievable ideal but liberation from egoistic preoccupation, whether seen as a temporary cessation of the idea of "I" and "mine" (*tadaṅga-nibbāna*)—a mental peace that accompanies a state of meditative calmness—or a permanent state achieved through vigilant awareness that leads to the total elimination of the "I" idea.

Buddhadāsa's innovative teaching offers a counterpoint to the conventional Thai Theravāda understanding of rebirth (*saṃsāra*) and *nirvāṇa.* For him both are mental events: *saṃsāra* the everyday mind conditioned by the repeated arising and cessation of the "I" idea, and *nirvāṇa* the total elimination of that condition. In a similar vein, Buddhadāsa argues that devotion to the person of the Buddha, either as a historical being or as represented in images and relics, distorts the true significance of the Buddha, namely, the truth (*dhamma*) he realized at his awakening. Consequently, for Buddhadāsa, true devotion to the Buddha is the achievement of the mind of the Buddha, namely, the *dhamma*, not worshiping the person of the Buddha in the hope that the Blessed One will grant boons in the manner of a Hindu deity. Buddhadāsa's demythologized approach to the Buddha, *nirvāṇa*, rebirth, and other concepts is based on a Madhyāmikan epistemology that distinguishes between ordinary language (Thai, *phassā khon*) and truth-language (Thai, *phassā tham*). Within this framework, a *phassā khon* understanding of the Blessed One obscures the true meaning of the Buddha as the *dhamma*, namely, the universal law of causality (*idapaccayatā*).

PERSONAL LIBERATION, THE JUST SOCIETY, AND THE NATURAL ORDER. Buddhadāsa's lectures and writings, published in seventy-two volumes, span a period of sixty years and are so wide-ranging that they have yet to be systematized. However, the legacy of his ethical thought can be distilled into three broad themes: personal liberation (Thai, *chit wāng*), the just society (Thai, *thamika sankhom niyom*), and the natural order (Thai, *kot thamachāt*). First and foremost, Buddhadāsa was committed to the central importance of the liberation of the individual from attachment to self. In his talks and essays he continually refers to the liberated mind and heart (*chit wāng*), overcoming selfishness (Thai, *mai hen kae tua*), and other Thai and Pali terms related to liberation from egocentrism (Thai, *tua kū khong kū*). He asserts that the core of the Buddha's teaching is epitomized not by the oft-quoted phrase, "Refrain from evil, do only good, purify the mind," or even the four noble truths, but by the statement in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (Collection of middle-length discourses), "Nothing whatsoever should be clung to" (*sabbe dhammā nālaṃ abhinivesāya*).

In one of his seminal writings, *Tu Kū Khong Kū* (Me and mine) Buddhadāsa makes the provocative, iconoclastic claim that the realization of not-self (Pali, *anattā*) negates the need to speak about the Buddha, the *dhamma*, the *saṃgha*, or any point of doctrine or event in the history of Buddhism. Where Buddhadāsa departs from conventional Theravāda wisdom is not in his emphasis on nonattachment and the liberation from craving (Pali, *tanhā*), but in the unique way in which he formulates and universalizes it. In Buddhadāsa view, liberation is the business of all Buddhists, not just monks; it is not something that one achieves only after many lifetimes but is attainable here and now; and, in an even more radical vein, liberation (Thai, *khwam wāng*) is the realization of our original condition unobscured by the taints or defilements (Pali, *kilesa*) that result from our preoccupation with gain and loss, love and anger, hatred and fear. Our original mind freed from defilement is a state of emptiness (Pali, *suññatā*), the normal or normative (Pali, *pakati*) state of things. When the mind attains to this condition it is in a state of buddhahood; that is, the mind knows the true nature of things.

Armed with truth and nonattachment we are able to act in a manner of open mutual regard. Only when we transcend our own ego-centeredness are we able to realize the common condition of all beings, that we are subject to the same process of birth, old age, suffering, and death, and to perceive that everything in the world is conditioned by the same universal natural law (Pali, *paṭicca samuppāda, idapaccayatā*). The just society that results is a dhammically governed society (Thai, *thamika sangkhom niyom*), a community grounded in the *dhamma* in which all members restrain their acquisitive self-interests and act on behalf for the mutual benefit of all. Such a community operates according to three complementary principles: the good of the whole, restraint and generosity, and respect and loving kindness. A dhammically grounded, mutually cooperative society, then, promotes a lifestyle of simplicity, moderation, and nonviolence. Buddhadāsa contends that the Buddhist philosophy of the Middle Way (Pali, *majjhimā patipadā*) supports such a cooperative society, as does the example of the life of the Buddha and the early *saṅgha*.

Buddhadāsa's utopian vision of the just society includes not only the human community but also the total natural and physical environment (Pali, *dhammajāti*; Thai, *thamachāt)*. Everything is incontrovertibly linked together in the process of dependent co-arising; the human body, human society, and the entire cosmos operate according to this universal, dhammic, principle. The core of Buddhadāsa's ecological hermeneutic, consequently, is an identification of the *dhamma* with nature, and it was his sense of the liberating power of nature-as-*dhamma* that inspired him to found Wat Suan Mokkh. It is by understanding the natural order of things (*dhamma-idapaccayatā, pakati*) that human beings are enabled to truly comprehend the lesson of self-forgetting. In Buddhadāsa's biocentric spirituality, being attuned to the lessons of nature is tantamount to being at one with the *dhamma*. By inference, conversely, the destruction of nature implies the destruction of the *dhamma*; hence, caring for (Thai, *anurak*) and conserving the natural world is, for Buddhadāsa, not only an environmental imperative but a profoundly spiritual act.

Buddhadāsa's death on July 8, 1993, was a significant event of national mourning. Although Thailand does not celebrate a "Buddhadāsa Bhikkhu Day," his birth and death anniversaries are commemorated with lectures and symposia, and in anticipation of the one hundredth anniversary of his birth in 2006, twenty-five workshops have been scheduled and dozens of publications planned. While Buddhadāsa is no longer physically present, he noted in his own poetic necrology that he will continue to live on in his teaching:

> Even when I die and the body ceases,
> My voice still echoes in comrades' ears,
> Clear and bright, as loud as ever.
> Just as if I never died, the *Dhamma*-body lives on.

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BUDDHAGHOSA (fl. fifth century CE), one of the greatest Buddhist commentators. Participating in the Buddhist heritage as it neared completion of its first millennium, Buddhaghosa is most acclaimed for providing a commentarial and interpretive structure for the Theravāda tradition. He took the many strands of contemporary Buddhist teachings and traditions, both oral and written, and through patience and methodical scholarship wove them together to produce the standard Theravāda orientation for interpreting the teachings of the Buddha. He accomplished this by coordinating, collating, translating, and editing the vast, imposing body of the Theravāda canon.

Very little about the life of Buddhaghosa can be established definitely. That he was held in great esteem in the Theravāda tradition is seen in the *Buddhaghosuppatti*, a late Pali text of uncertain origin, date, and authorship, which presents a legendary account of his life and work. The *Mahāvaṃsa*, the chronicle of Sri Lanka written and preserved by the monastic community there, provides some information about this figure, but in a section (chap. 37, vv. 215ff.)

considered to have been written seven to eight centuries after his life. From the silence regarding biographical information about such a prolific commentator, one may infer that his enormous industry and productivity were the consequence of a consistently self-effacing purpose. His foremost aim was to provide a commentarial framework in the language of the canonical texts that would contribute to a clearer understanding of the canonical teachings and ensure the continuity of these teachings and interpretations for posterity.

Although an old Burmese tradition has claimed that Buddhaghosa was a native of Thaton, in lower Burma (a position generally discredited, but argued anew on occasion), it appears that Buddhaghosa was from India, but opinions vary as to whether he came from the region of Bodh Gayā or from Andhra, or from an area farther to the south, around Kāñcīpuram.

Buddhaghosa received his ordination into the monastic order, came to Sri Lanka, and resided either at the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura or in nearby monastic dwellings. His purpose there was to study the Theravāda exegetical tradition. When he arrived in the early fifth century, he found approximately twenty-five sources forming a multifaceted collection of commentarial literature written in Sinhala, the predominant language of Sri Lanka. At least one additional commentarial source seems to have been preserved in a Dravidian language. These sources had developed over several centuries and by the end of the first century CE had reached the state in which Buddhaghosa found them.

It was against this historical background that Buddhaghosa wrote in Pali the *Visuddhimagga* (The path of purity), his first literary effort in Sri Lanka. This encyclopedic work, structured upon a cardinal tripartite theme in the Buddhist heritage—virtue (Pali, *sila*), concentration (*samādhi*), and wisdom (*paññā*)—demonstrates Buddhaghosa's talent in arranging the complex details of the Buddhist teachings at his disposal. He brought together details drawn from practically all of the canonical Pali texts, a few postcanonical works, and several Sinhala commentarial sources. His classic work remains the scholar's gateway to a Theravāda perspective on the canonical teachings and through which those canonical teachings subsequently passed into the continuing tradition.

Buddhaghosa continued his labor to assure a wider dissemination of the received commentarial interpretations of Sri Lanka by translating into Pali the Sinhala exegetical literature on many of the canonical texts. The chronological order of his works remains uncertain, however. He drew from his sources to provide a commentary on the Vinaya Piṭaka, the voluminous *Samantapāsādika.* He also provided a particular commentary, the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī*, on a portion of the Vinaya known as the *Pātimokkha.* He further provided commentaries on the four sections of the Sutta Piṭaka: the *Sumaṅgalāvilasinī* on the *Dīgha Nikāya;* the *Papañcasūdanī* on the *Majjhima Nikāya;* the *Saratthappakāsinī* on the *Saṃyutta Nikāya;* and the *Manorathapūraṇī* on the *Aṅguttara Nikāya.* Each work testifies, in its prologue, that it represents a translation of the Sinhala commentaries established by Mahinda, who is said to have brought the *buddhadhamma* to Sri Lanka in the middle of the third century BCE; these commentaries were preserved in the Mahāvihāra.

Although the point remains open to debate, it appears that Buddhaghosa also wrote commentaries on the seven texts comprising the third major division of the Pali canon, the Abhidhamma Piṭaka: on the *Dhammasaṅganī* he provided a commentary called *Atthasālinī*; on the *Vibhaṅga*, the *Sammohavinodanī*; and on the remaining five texts, one work called *Pañcappakaraṇaṭ-ṭhakathā.* The commentaries note that they are based on the older Sinhala commentaries and follow the tradition of interpretation endorsed at the Mahāvihāra.

A few years after completing these commentaries, political turmoil disrupted the calm of the Mahāvihāra when Anurādhapura was overrun by invaders. This probably was the cause of Buddhaghosa's departure from Sri Lanka and the reason he did not complete commentaries on all the canonical texts. The weight of tradition says that he returned to India, although some accounts claim that he left Sri Lanka for lower Burma. Additional commentaries have been ascribed to Buddhaghosa, but they were probably the work of others. Buddhaghosa was followed by other notable commentators, namely Buddhadatta, Dhammapāla, Upasena, and Mahānāma.

SEE ALSO Theravāda.

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BUDDHAPĀLITA (c. 470–540), Indian Buddhist dialectician belonging to the Madhyamaka (Mādhyamika) school. According to the Tibetan historian Tāranātha, Buddhapālita (Tib., Sangs rgyas skyangs; Chin., Fo-hu; Jpn., Butsugo) was born at Haṃsakrīḍa (Ngang pas rtse ba) in the South Indian district of Tambala. Having taken religious ordination there, he learned much about the scriptures of Nāgārjuna from Saṃgharakṣita (Dgeʾ dun bsrung ba), a disciple of Nagāmitra (Klu'i bshes gnyen). He attained the highest knowledge through intense meditation and had a vision of Mañjuśrī. Residing in the Dantapurī monastery, he delivered many sermons on the Dharma and composed commentaries on treatises by such authors as Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva. Finally, he attained the miraculous powers (*siddhi*). More or less the same account of his life is given in Bu ston's *Chos 'byung* (History of Buddhism) and Sum pa mkhan po's *Dpag bsam ljon bzang*, although these works exist only in fragments.

Buddhapālita is one of the traditionally reported "eight commentators" on Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, the seven others being Nāgārjuna himself, Bhāvaviveka, Candrakīrti, Devaśarman, Guṇaśrī, Gunamati, and Sthiramati (the last four commentators are Yogācāras). According to tradition, he composed commentaries on many Madhyamaka treatises, but only one has survived: the (*Buddhapālita*) *Mūlamadhyamakavṛtti*. The original Sanskrit text is actually lost; the work is only preserved in the Tibetan translation made by Jñānagarbha and Klu'i rgyal mtshan in the beginning of the ninth century. This commentary is one of the six extant commentaries on the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, the five others being: (1) the *Akutobhayā* (Derge edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka 3829, hereafter cited as D.; Beijing edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka 5229, hereafter cited as B.); (2) Qingmu's (Piṅgala?) *Zhonglun* (T.D. no. 1824); (3) Bhāvaviveka's *Prajñāpradīpa* (D. 3853, P. 5253); (4) Sthiramati's *Dasheng zhong guan shilun* (T.D. no. 1567); (5) Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā* (Sanskrit ed. by L. de La Vallée Poussin in Bibliotheca Buddhica 4; D. 3860, P. 5260).

Buddhapālita's commentary consists of twenty-seven chapters in accordance with its basic text the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*. Chronologically, it was composed between the *Akutobhayā* and the *Prajñāpradīpa*. It incorporates most of the *Akutobhayā*'s passages; the last five chapters are almost identical. Chapter titles in Buddhapālita's commentary are the same as those of the *Akutobhayā* and the *Prajñāpradīpa* (perhaps because the translators of these three commentaries are the same: Jñānagarbha and Klu'i rgyal mtshan), but they differ slightly from the titles of Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā* (particularly chapters 2, 3, 7, 11, 13, 15, 18, and 20). Buddhapālita's titles thus represent an older text of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, which was known to these translators before the revision by Pa tshab Nyi ma grags (b. 1055) and his collaborators when they translated the *Prasannapadā*. The main authorities cited by Buddhapālita in his commentary are Nāgārjuna (*Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*), Āryadeva (*Catuḥśataka*), Rāhulabhadra (*Prajñāpāramitāstotra*), and 'Phags pa 'jigs med (Āryābhaya?).

Buddhapālita's main philosophical methodological approach consisted of his explaining the philosophy of Nāgārjuna by the method of *prasaṅgavākya* (*reductio ad absurdum*). That is, without himself maintaining any thesis or proposition to be established, he tried to point out the necessary but undesired consequences resulting from a non-Madhyamaka opponent's thesis. This method was strongly criticized by Bhāvaviveka, who wanted to make use of independent inferences (*svatantrānumāna*) to prove the Madhaymaka standpoint, but it was later defended by Candrakīrti. The Tibetan doxographers accordingly classified Buddhapālita with Candrakīrti as members of the Prāsaṅgika (Thal 'gyur ba) school, while Bhāvaviveka was classed in the Svātantrika (Rang rgyud pa) school.

SEE ALSO Mādhyamika.

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BUDDHAS AND BODHISATTVAS

This entry consists of the following articles:

CELESTIAL BUDDHAS AND BODHISATTVAS
ETHICAL PRACTICES ASSOCIATED WITH BUDDHAS AND BODHISATTVAS

BUDDHAS AND BODHISATTVAS: CELESTIAL BUDDHAS AND BODHISATTVAS

The term *bodhisattva* occurs frequently in early Buddhist literature, usually referring to Śākyamuni Buddha prior to the time of his enlightenment, which he achieved as he sat under the famous bodhi tree (Skt., *bodhivṛkṣa,* "tree of enlightenment") a few miles south of Gayā in modern Bihar. *Bodhisattva* means literally "enlightenment being," or, according to a theory that *bodhisattva* is a slightly mistaken Sanskrit spelling of the early dialectical form *bodhisatta* (as preserved in Pali), it could have originally meant "intent upon enlightenment." Whatever the literal meaning (and most scholars would favor the first one), a *bodhisattva* is a living being, usually human but not necessarily so, who has set out on the long path toward Buddhahood, which in accordance with the general Buddhist acceptance of the Indian theories concerning continual rebirth (or transmigration) was calculated to lead the aspirant through a very long series of different lives.

Large collections of such legendary life stories *(jātaka)* were made in the early Buddhist period, illustrating the heroic self-sacrifice of the future Buddha Śākyamuni in his progress toward his last life (also told in legendary style), when his purpose was finally revealed to the world. As Śākyamuni was never regarded as the one and only Buddha, but rather as one in a whole series (seven are named in early texts, but the number is gradually much extended), each of whom appears in a separate world age, it was inevitable that his followers should come to expect a future Buddha for the next world age. Thus, a new *bodhisattva,* Maitreya ("loving kindness"), appears as the first of the many other "great beings," who later extend the Buddhist pantheon to infinity. The cult of Maitreya is certainly attested among the followers of the early Buddhist sects, later referred to disparagingly as Hīnayānists, and his appearance seems to mark the beginning of the considerable devotion that came to be directed toward these celestial beings.

It should be borne in mind that the distinctions between the so-called Mahāyānists and Hīnayānists were not so clear-cut in the early centuries CE as they appear to be later. The same mythological concepts concerning the nature of a Buddha and a *bodhisattva* (a future Buddha) remain fundamental to Buddhism in all its forms, and it can easily be shown that all the later extravagant developments of the Mahāyāna are traceable to tendencies inherent in the earliest known forms of Buddhism. The Mahāyānists differed in their philosophical assumptions and the manner in which they applied the *bodhisattva* theory to normal religious life. For them, the *bodhisattva* career was the only genuine path toward enlightenment, which they distinguished from the goal of *nirvāṇa,* interpreted by them as the limited selfish aspiration of the early disciples. At the same time they followed the same forms of monastic discipline (Vinaya) as their Hīnayāna brethren, often living together in the same monastic compound until doctrinal disputes led them to set up separate communities of their own. Thus freed, the Mahāyānists began to go their own way, but there would appear to have been no very noticeable iconographic changes in their monasteries until several centuries later.

The well-known caves of Ajantā were probably occupied by Buddhist communities up to the eighth century CE, and there is scarcely any image or painting there that might displease a determined adherent of the older sects. The only celestial *bodhisattva* apart from Maitreya to be painted at Ajantā is Avalokiteśvara ("the lord who looks down in compassion"), and he may be quite convincingly interpreted as the future Buddha Śākyamuni, who looked down in compassion from the heaven called Tuṣita ("joyful") before finally agreeing to be born in our world for the benefit of its inhabitants. None of the many Buddha and *bodhisattva* images surviving at Ajantā in carved stone can be identified as particular celestial Buddhas and *bodhisattva*s. Numerous *bodhisattva*s are named in Mahāyāna sūtras from the first century CE onward, but a rather more limited number achieved generally accepted iconographic forms, namely those who were especially popular as distinct beings and those who were fitted into *maṇḍala*s and related iconographic patterns.

The earliest iconographic pattern, which resulted in the eventual appearance of three leading *bodhisattva*s, is probably the triad of images representing Śākyamuni Buddha flanked by two attendants. According to early accounts, Śākyamuni was attended by Indian divinities at his birth. Originally, these two attendants may have been thought of as Brahmā and Indra, but they came to be accepted as Buddhist divinities by the simple method of giving them new Buddhist names. They thus become identified as Padmapāṇi ("lotus-holder") and Vajrapāṇi ("*vajra*-holder"). Padmapāṇi comes to be identified with Avalokiteśvara, who also holds a lotus flower, and thus becomes a great *bodhisattva* in his own right. Vajrapāṇi's rise to fame is very much slower, since through the earlier Mahāyāna period he continues to be regarded as Śākyamuni's personal attendant, his function and duties merely being extended to protect all other *bodhisattva*s.

It is not until we reach the early Tantric period as represented by the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* that Vajrapāṇi appears as a powerful *bodhisattva* in his own right, but still as a member of a triad. By this time (perhaps the fifth to the sixth century CE) many non-Buddhist divinities were being spontaneously accepted into the Buddhist fold; they were being accepted for the straightforward reason that those who became supporters of the monks or who even became Buddhist monks themselves did not need to renounce their devotion to other divinities, whose existence and capabilities were never denied either by Śākyamuni himself or by his followers. Local divinities decorate Buddhist stupas (Skt., *stūpa*s) from at least the second century BCE onward, and as already noted, the great Hindu divinities were soon incorporated as Buddhist "converts." This process continued throughout the whole history of Indian Buddhism and goes far to explain the existence of so many celestial beings in the ever more elaborate Buddhist pantheon.

In the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* these divinities are grouped into various "families," of which the three chief ones are those of the Buddha or Tathāgata, the Lotus, and the Vajra. Divinities who were already accepted as fully Buddhist were placed in the Buddha's family, while gentle divinities due for conversion were placed in the Lotus family under the leadership of Avalokiteśvara; fierce divinities, whose conversion was supposed to be troublesome, were placed under the command of Vajrapāṇi, who was able to subdue them with his powerful *vajra* ("thunderbolt"). Since it was suitable that the original Buddha family should be headed by a *bodhisattva* just like the other two, this position was assigned to Mañjuśrī ("gentle and glorious one," also known as Mañjughoṣa, "gentle voice"), who appears in early Mahāyāna sūtras as Śākyamuni's chief spokesman. His origin is obscure but it is significant that he is later linked with Sarasvatī, the Hindu goddess of speech, taking her *mantra* ("Oṃ vāgīśvari muṃ") as his own. It must be emphasized that none of these great *bodhisattva*s has a "history" in the modern sense: they are all mythological creations.

CELESTIAL BUDDHAS. While the cult of a celestial *bodhisattva* as a Great Being of heavenly associations clearly has its roots in the early cult of Śākyamuni, who was appealed to as both Buddha and *bodhisattva*, its full implications were developed from approximately the first century CE onward by those who began to adopt specific Mahāyāna teachings. Śākyamuni was traditionally acclaimed as the one and only Buddha of our present world age, and early legends tell how he made the vow, when he was a *brahman* boy named Megha or Sumegha, before a previous Buddha, Dīpaṃkara, to follow the self-sacrificing *bodhisattva* path toward Buddhahood. It must be emphasized that the later concepts never had the effect of negating the earlier ones, and despite the change of viewpoint that I am about to explain, the cult of Buddhas of the past, as well as of the future, was never abandoned. The "Buddhas of the three times" (past, present, and future) are frequently mentioned in Mahāyāna literature and their cult has continued in Tibetan Buddhism to this day.

The change that takes place in Mahāyāna theories results from their perhaps more realistic view of the nature of the cosmos. The early Buddhists viewed the world as a closed system, comprising four main island-continents arranged around a central sacred mountain, known as Meru, identified with Mount Kailash in western Tibet. Mahāyāna teachings, on the other hand, were greatly affected by views that envisaged the universe as whole galaxies of world systems, extending endlessly throughout all the directions of space. It followed logically from this that there should also be Buddhas operative in all these other world systems. One of the earliest disputes that arose between Mahāyānists and those who held to the earlier views concerns precisely the problem of whether there can be more than one Buddha at a time, and it is clear that they argue against different cosmological backgrounds. Mahāyāna ideas on the nature of such myriads of world systems may be learned from the reading of any of the Mahāyāna sūtras, where Buddhas, surrounded by *bodhisattva*s, continue to preach simultaneously in their various "buddha fields" *(buddhakṣetra).*

Not all such worlds are fortunate enough to have a Buddha at any particular time. Those that do are divided generally into two classes, known as "pure" or "impure." The pure fields contain only those beings who are on the way to Buddhahood, that is, *bodhisattva*s, while the impure fields contain beings of all kinds at all stages of spiritual advance and decline. The manner in which *bodhisattva*s may travel miraculously from one buddha field to another is well illustrated in the important Mahāyāna sūtra, the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (The teaching of Vimalakīrti), where the question is understandably raised as to why Śākyamuni should have elected to be born in an impure field rather than a pure one. His superiority is acknowledged by visiting *bodhisattva*s from a pure field, who exclaim: "The greatness of Śākyamuni is established; it is wonderful how he converts the lowly, the wretched and the unruly. Moreover, the Bodhisattvas who are established in this mean Buddha-sphere (i.e., our world) must have inconceivable compassion" (Lamotte, 1976, pp. 204–218).

Śākyamuni's essential identity with all other Buddhas is often asserted, sometimes subtly, sometimes quite explicitly, as in chapter 15 of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra (Lotus of the True Law Scripture).* In another sūtra, the *Śūraṃgamasamādhi* (Lamotte, 1965, pp. 267–270), the *bodhisattva* Dṛḍimati asks Śākyamuni how long his life will last. Śākyamuni tells him to go and ask another buddha named Vairocana ("resplendent one"), who presides over a world system named Well Adorned, which is to be reached in the eastern direction by crossing over thirty-two thousand buddha fields. Having traveled there he is told by that Buddha: "My length of life is exactly the same as that of the Buddha Śākyamuni, and if you really want to know, the length of my life will be seven hundred incalculable world ages." Returning to Śākyamuni, the inquiring *bodhisattva* says: "In so far as I understand the words of the Lord, I would say that it is you, O Lord, who are in the world-system named Well Adorned, where with another name you work for the happiness of all living beings."

So many different kinds of Buddha manifestations are taken for granted in the Mahāyāna sūtras that scholarly efforts have been made to reduce them to some order. The best account of such attempts will be found in Louis de la Vallée Poussin's translation of the *Cheng weishi lun,* Xuanzang's compilation of ten major commentaries to Vasubandhu's *Triṃśikā* (La Vallée Poussin, 1929, vol. 2, p. 762).

The simplest scheme, which gradually gained general acceptance, envisages an "Absolute Buddha Body" (the *dharmakāya* of early Buddhist tradition) manifesting itself as various "glorious bodies" (*saṃbhogakāya,* "body of enjoyment") to high-ranking *bodhisattva*s in celestial spheres, and as various "human bodies" (*nirmāṇakāya,* "manifested body"), which need not necessarily be human but are usually conceived as such, in impure Buddha fields like our own world. Later Tantric tradition suggests the existence of a fourth, supreme body, known as *svābhāvikakāya* ("self-existent"), but earlier this is used as an alternative name for the Absolute Body *(dharmakāya).* We shall note later the tendency to arrive at ever-more-transcendent states of buddhahood, when a sixth, supreme buddha is placed above the set of five cosmic buddhas. To these we must now give attention as the production of later Mahāyāna speculation and as the foundation of the whole class of *tantra*s known as Yoga Tantras.

Just as buddha manifestations, conceived in a diachronic time sequence in accordance with the earlier conceptions of buddhahood, came to be represented by a triad of Buddhas, referred to as the Buddhas of the Three Times, namely Dīpaṃkara, Śākyamuni, and Maitreya (in this later context he is referred to as Buddha and no longer as *bodhisattva*), so those other buddha manifestations, conceived synchronically as existing simultaneously in all directions throughout space in accordance with later Mahāyāna conceptions of the universe, came to be symbolized by the Five Buddhas of the cosmos, representing the center and the four cardinal points. These have been popularly referred to as *dhyāni-buddha*s ("meditational buddhas"), a term that Brian Hodgson (1800–1894) seems to have heard used locally in Nepal but that appears to have no traditionally established justification. In the few sūtras and the many *tantra*s and their commentaries in which they are referred to, they are known simply as the Five Buddhas *(pañcabuddha)* or the Five Tathāgatas *(pañcatathāgata)* with no other ascription. If such is required, then the term *Cosmic Buddhas* seems appropriate, in that their primary function is to represent buddhahood in its cosmic dimension, as symbolized in the fivefold *maṇḍala.*

As may be expected, this set of five buddhas evolved gradually, and we find at first various sets of names, some of which become gradually stabilized. Two fairly constant ones from the start are Amitābha ("boundless light") or Amitāyus ("boundless life") as the Buddha of the West, and Akṣobhya ("the imperturbable") as the Buddha of the East. It has been suggested with great plausibility that the Buddha of the West was first accepted as an object of devotion by the Buddhists of the far northwest of the Indian subcontinent as a result of Persian cultural and religious influence, since light and life are essential characteristics of the chief Zoroastrian divinity, Ahura Mazdā. This hypothesis is borne out by the very special devotion shown to this particular Buddha in Central Asia and especially in China and Japan, where a particular constellation of sects (known generically as Pure Land) is devoted to his cult. There is no indication that any such special cult developed elsewhere in India, where Amitābha/Amitāyus remains simply one of the Five Buddhas. Judging by the very large number of images found, the most popular buddha, certainly in northeastern India, where Buddhism survived until the early thirteenth century, is Akṣobhya, the Buddha of the East. Iconographically he is identified with Śākyamuni Buddha, who was challenged at the time of his enlightenment by Māra, the Evil One (the Satan of Buddhism), to justify his claim to buddhahood. Śākyamuni called the earth goddess to witness his claim by tapping the ground with the fingers of his right hand, and she duly appeared to give testimony, to the total discomfiture of Māra. A buddha image formed in this style became the typical image of Bodh Gayā (south of Gayā) in eastern India, where Śākyamuni showed himself imperturbable *(akṣobhya)* despite the assaults of the Evil One.

The geographical choice of this particular buddha (Akṣobhya) as the Buddha of the East in the later formulation of the set of five is not difficult to understand, being the obvious one because of his popularity in the eastern region. The central buddha came to be identified with the buddha image, which must have been typical of another famous place of pilgrimage, the Deer Park (now known as Sārnāth, a few miles from Vārāṇāsī), where Śākyamuni was believed to have preached his first sermon. The gesture of preaching is symbolized by the two hands linked in front of the chest in order to suggest a turning wheel, the "wheel of the doctrine," which Śākyamuni is said to have turned, just as the chariot wheels of a universal monarch (*cakravartin,* "wheel-turner") turn throughout the world.

A buddha's supremacy in the religious sphere was equated in very early Buddhist tradition with the supremacy of the quasi-historical but mainly mythological concept of a "universal monarch," with the result that a *bodhisattva* is generally idealized as a kind of crown prince; thus it is in princely garments that he is generally portrayed. In particular, Mañjuśrī, Śākyamuni's spokesman in early Mahāyāna sūtras, is referred to specifically as the prince *(kumārabhūta).* It is not surprising that as central Buddha of the set of five, the preaching Śākyamuni comes to be referred to as Vairocana ("resplendent one"), the very buddha of vast age with whom he claims identity in the *Śūraṃgamasamādhi Sūtra.* The full name of that particular buddha is in fact Vairocana-raśmipratimaṇḍita-vikurvanarāja ("resplendent one, adorned with light-rays, transformation-king"). The remaining two buddhas, placed to the south and to the north, become generally stabilized in this configuration as Ratnasambhava ("jewel-born"), presumably symbolizing Śākyamuni's boundless generosity, and Amoghasiddhi ("infallible success"), symbolizing his miraculous powers.

Summarizing these various kinds of Buddha manifestations, one may make the following observations:

1. The state of Buddhahood is essentially one and only, or, to use a safer term, nondual, and nonmanifest in any way whatsoever: such is the Absolute Body of Buddhahood.
2. The various stages at which this Absolute Body may assume apparently manifested form have been explained as various grades of buddha bodies, of which the Glorious Body, or Body of Enjoyment, and the Human Body, or Manifested Body, are the other two terms in more general use.
3. According to the earliest Buddhist beliefs, buddhas manifest themselves in a kind of historical sequence, each one presiding over a different world age.
4. According to the later Mahāyāna theories, Buddhas are

> manifest all the time in all the directions of space, presiding over their individual buddha fields.

These various concepts, which may appear to an outsider as in some measure conflicting, are retained by those who were responsible for the later formulations, while in general the "historical" buddha Śākyamuni continues to hold the center of the stage.

BODHISATTVAS AND GODDESSES. Large numbers of *bodhisattva*s are mentioned in the Mahāyāna sūtras as residing in various Buddha fields, but very few of these come to receive a special cult as great individuals. The three primary ones, Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, and Vajrapāṇi, have already been mentioned. These are later identified as the "spiritual sons" of the three primary Buddhas, Śākyamuni (alias Vairocana), Amitābha, and Akṣobhya. The concept of Five Buddhas causes the number of buddha "families," previously three, to be extended to five, and thus two more leading *bodhisattva*s are required to complete the set. They are known as Ratnapāṇi ("jewel-holder") for the Jewel family of Ratnasambhava, and as Viśvapāṇi ("universal holder") for the Sword or Action family of Amoghasiddhi. Both these are latecomers and their artificial nature is suggested by their names.

In the early Mahāyāna sūtras we find various *bodhisattva*s named, such as the student Sadāprarudita ("always weeping"), whose story is told in the Perfection of Wisdom literature, or Dṛḍhamati ("firm-minded"), who is the main spokesman in the *Śūraṃgama Sūtra,* or again the *bodhisattva* Dharmākara ("expression of the *dharma*"), who sets the conditions for his own buddha field through a long series of vows, the fulfillment of which is a precondition for his becoming the buddha Amitābha. None of these achieves individual fame except for the last as the buddha Amitābha, of whom he is little more than a formative shadow, like the *brahman* boy Megha who eventually became the buddha Śākyamuni. Vimalakīrti, already mentioned above, gains a popular following in Central Asia and in China. Of others so far not mentioned there is the one-time *bodhisattva* Bhaiṣajyaraja ("king of medicine"), named in *The Lotus of the True Law* (see Kern, 1963, pp. 378ff.), whom we find soon elevated to the rank of buddha with the name of Bhaiṣajyaraja. In certain sets of divinities, the *bodhisattva* Ākāśagarbha ("womb of space") replaces Ratnapāṇi as chief of the Jewel family; neither of these leading *bodhisattva*s appears to attract any special cult. Paralleling Ākāśagarbha, at least in name, is the *bodhisattva* Kṣitigarbha ("womb of the earth"). Perhaps by the mere chance form of his name, Kṣitigarbha achieved enormous success in Central Asia and China as the one who controls the welfare of the dead. By far the most popular of all the "great gods" of Buddhism is Avalokiteśvara, who also assumes the name of Lokeśvara ("lord of the world"), normally Śiva's title in Hindu tradition. It is possible that his name was a deliberate parody of Śiva's title, with the syllables changed sufficiently to give the new meaning of "lord who looks down (in compassion)." It remains doubtful if any image of him can be identified specifically before the sixth century, unless we include the lotus-holding (Padmapāṇi) attendant by Śākyamuni's side, already referred to above. However, by the sixth century his cult is well established, as attested by an entire sūtra, the *Kāraṇḍavyūha,* compiled in his honor. It is here that the well-known *mantra* "Oṃ maṇipadme hūṃ" ("O thou with the jeweled lotus") can be firmly identified for the first time. This *mantra,* like the one of Mañjuśrī, is in the form of a feminine vocative for reasons that should become immediately clear.

Feminine divinities first appear within the Buddhist pantheon as handmaidens of the great *bodhisattva*s, whom they accompany in much the same way that Indian princes were usually depicted with a small circle of lady companions. Thus we may note that in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (Macdonald, 1962, pp. 107ff.) Avalokiteśvara is surrounded by Pāṇḍaravāsinī ("white-clad"), Tārā ("savioress"), Bhrukuṭi ("frowning"), Prajñāpāramitā ("perfection of wisdom"), Tathāgata-locanā ("Buddha-eye"), and Uṣṇāṣarājā ("lady of the wisdom-bump"). We shall meet with some of these again within the scheme of the fivefold *maṇḍala,* but already two and possibly three look forward to devotional cults of their own, since they become the great goddesses of Buddhism. The goddess Prajñāpāramitā represents the fundamental wisdom of Mahāyāna philosophy, as a divine concept corresponding in many respects to Sancta Sophia of Christian tradition. Even more popular is Tārā, whose flourishing was assured by the salvific assurance conveyed by her name. She was soon recognized as the feminine counterpart (not a partner in the Tantric sense) of Avalokiteśvara. Tārā is his feminine expression, just as Sarasvatī becomes the feminine expression of Mañjuśrī. Thus we may note that since the *mantra* of a great divinity is also his expression (his *vidyā* or special knowledge, as it is often called), his *mantra* too assumes a feminine form. Tārā became so important that many other feminine divinities came to be regarded as her various forms. Thus she appears as Bhrukuṭi when she wishes to show her displeasure, or in the triumphant form of Uṣṇīśasitātapatrā ("lady of the wisdom-bump with the white parasol") when she becomes manifest with a thousand arms and a thousand heads, arranged in paintings so as to appear as a high, elaborate headdress, so that she is in no way grotesque. Here, she corresponds to the eleven-headed, thousand-armed form of Avalokiteśvara.

These more complex forms may clearly be related to subsequent Tantric developments, where the central divinity of the *maṇḍala* may be conceived of as comprising in his person all his various directional manifestations, from four to a thousand. Fluctuation in sex is not uncommon in the early stages of elaboration of this vast and complex pantheon; as is well known, in later Chinese Buddhist tradition Avalokiteśvara (Kuan-yin) merges with Tārā so as to become a feminine divinity. Returning to the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa,* we may note that just as Avalokiteśvara is surrounded by benign goddesses (except possibly for Bhrukuṭi), so Vajrapāṇi is surrounded by fierce ones, named Vajrāṇkuśī ("lady of the *vajra* hook"), Vajraśṛṅkhalā ("lady of the *vajra* fetter"), Subāhu ("strong-armed one"), and Vajrasenā ("lady of the *vajra* army"). It is sometimes difficult to draw a line between *bodhisattva*s and great goddesses, but Tārā in her various manifestations is as great as the greatest of *bodhisattva*s. She is saluted as the mother of all Buddhas, and in time Śākyamuni's human mother was duly seen as one of her manifestations.

The travelogue of the famous Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang, who visited monasteries throughout Central Asia and the Indian subcontinent between 629 and 645, well illustrates the extent of popular devotion accorded the images of certain great *bodhisattva* figures during the seventh century CE. Himself a scholarly Mahāyāna philosopher, Xuanzang was nonetheless pleased to hear of the miraculous powers of such images, mentioning in particular those of Maitreya, Avalokiteśvara, and occasionally Mañjuśrī and the great goddess Tārā; on many occasions he offered devout prayers to them on his own account. One may also mention that Xuanzang was equally interested in the cult of *arhat*s ("worthy ones"), those early disciples of Śākyamuni Buddha, who, having achieved *nirvāṇa,* were often believed to continue in some kind of suspended existence in remote mountain places. More wonderful tales of *arhat*s, tales certainly learned from his Mahāyānist brethren in India, are retold in his account than stories about *bodhisattva*s. In fact, the continuing cult of *arhat*s (Chin., *lo-han*), which spread through Central Asia to China, survives in a set of sixteen or eighteen Great Arhats well known to Tibetan Buddhists. These earlier traditions provide an interesting link, all too often ignored, between Hīnayānists and Mahāyānists. Thus, the Buddhist world of the early centuries CE was peopled with a large variety of celestial beings, among whom certain favorite *bodhisattva*s were only just beginning to come to the fore.

Tantric Buddhism, at least in its higher aspirations, may be described as a system of practices, either of ritual yoga or of physical and mental yoga, by means of which the practitioner identifies himself with his tutelary divinity, who is identified both with the practitioner's own teacher and with the goal of final enlightenment. One of the main means toward such an objective is the *maṇḍala* or mystic circle of divinities who symbolize existence at all its various levels, the essential sameness of which the pupil must learn to experience through the guidance of his teacher *(guru). Maṇḍala*s are described in earlier *tantra*s, where a "three-family" arrangement predominates, but it is not until the so-called Yoga Tantras, with their fivefold arrangement of *maṇḍala*s, begin to appear that the new symbolism can be worked out effectively.

In the earlier Tantras there is a gradation of importance in the various families: the Buddha or Tathāgata family predominates; the Lotus family with its gentle divinities comes next; the Vajra family of Vajrapāṇi and his fierce children comes last. However, in the Yoga Tantras Vajrapāṇi comes right to the fore as the chief representative of Śākyamuni, alias Vairocana. He is also called Vajradhara ("holder of the *vajra*") and Vajrasattva ("*vajra* being"), names that at a later stage of Tantric development refer exclusively to a sixth, utterly supreme Buddha. The main *tantra* of the Yoga Tantra class is the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* and here the chief *maṇḍala* is known as the Vajradhātu maṇḍala, the Maṇḍala of the Adamantine Sphere, where *bodhisattva*s with Vajra names, all essentially manifestations of Vajrapāṇi, form circles around the Five Buddhas and the four Buddha goddesses. Although *maṇḍala* means circle, the main divinities may also be arranged around a central square within the main circle, since this square, which is usually provided with four elaborate doorways, represents the sacred palace in which the main divinities dwell.

Next in importance after the Five Buddhas are the four Buddha goddesses, who occupy the subsidiary directions of space, namely Locanā, Māmakī ("my very own"), Pāṇḍaravāsinī, and Tārā. They are usually interpreted as symbolizing the four main elements (earth, water, fire, and air), while the fifth (space) coalesces with supreme Buddhahood at the center. In later *tantra*s a fifth, central Buddha goddess is named Vajradhaātvīśvarī ("lady of the adamantine sphere"), but she does not appear in *maṇḍala*s of the Yoga Tantra class normally, since these coupled male-female divinities (known as *yab-yum,* "father-mother" in Tibetan) do not form part of their symbolism. Apart from the sixteen Great Bodhisattvas, all with Vajra names, we may draw attention to the eight lesser goddesses of the offerings, arranged farther out from the center in the intermediate directions, and the four door guardians at the four main entrances. The eight goddesses of the offerings are mere symbols, as their names indicate at once:

1. Vajralāsyā, or Vajra Frolic
2. Vajradhūpa, or Vajra Incense
3. Vajramālā, or Vajra Garland
4. Vajrapuṣpā, or Vajra Flower
5. Vajragīti, or Vajra Song
6. Vajrālokā, or Vajra Lamp
7. Vajranṛtyā, or Vajra Dance
8. Vajragandhā, or Vajra Scent

The names of the four door guardians, beginning with the eastern one, may be interpreted as Vajra Hook, Vajra Noose, Vajra Fetter, and Vajra Bell.

The possible variations within this fundamental pattern are considerable. Thus, the sixteen *bodhisattva*s fall into four groups of four, being allocated in these sets to the four directional Buddhas. The leaders of these four groups are directly identifiable with the chief *bodhisattva*s, already mentioned above, as well as with others who have not yet been mentioned. Such names are generally interchangeable within the

Vajra family, which in the Yoga Tantras is closely associated with the so-called family of All Buddhas. Among the names not met before in this article we draw attention especially to Samantabhadra ("all good"), from whom Vajrapāṇi is said to arise. Since it is also used as a title of Vairocana, the central buddha, it is not surprising that it is used later as one of the names of a sixth, supreme buddha.

Other *tantra*s of the Yoga Tantra class, while generally retaining all the Buddha goddesses, the sixteen *bodhisattva*s, and lesser divinities, introduce different names and iconographic forms for the Five Buddhas themselves. As devised by Tantric masters in India (presumably from the seventh century onward) from a wide choice of names, to which others could be added as one pleased, the combinations, at least in theory, are infinite. Mañjuśrī in a four-headed and eight-armed manifestation may replace Śākyamuni at the center, and a highly complex *maṇḍala,* which includes the eight Uṣṇīṣa Buddhas as well as the four directional Buddhas together with the sixteen Great Bodhisattvas and a host of lesser divinities, is known as Dharmadhātu Maṇḍala, or the Maṇḍala of the Dharma Sphere, of which a fine example survives in the eleventh-century monastery of Sumda in Zangskar.

HORRIFIC BUDDHAS. As a result of Śaiva influence transmitted through Tantric yogins of northeast India, celestial Buddhas of horrific appearance become acceptable tutelary divinities in Mahāyāna communities from perhaps the ninth century onward. Most of the *tantra*s that describe these divinities provide their own special *maṇḍala*s, with Heruka, Hevajra, Śaṃvara, Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa, and other such horrific figures clasping their equally horrific feminine partners as they dance on corpses at the center of their circle of *yoginī*s. *Bodhisattva*s are rare in such company. Of the strange Buddha figures just named, only Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa has male divinities in the four directions, who are all manifestations of Acala ("imperturbable"), a variant of Akṣobhya's name. Claiming superiority over all previous *tantra*s, their propagators asserted the existence of a sixth, supreme Buddha, who subsumed the fivefold set, and with whom their particular tutelary divinity is identified. He is usually given the name of Vajrasattva ("*vajra* being") or Vajradhara ("*vajra*-holder"), both of which are titles of Vajrapāṇi in the earlier Yoga Tantras, as has already been noted.

Special mention should be made of the *Guhyasamāja* ("secret union") *Tantra,* for although this *tantra* was later grouped together with the others just mentioned as a so-called Anuttarayoga Tantra ("*tantra* of supreme yoga"), it adheres much more firmly to the fivefold scheme, and although Akṣobhya is made central Buddha of the set of five, the sixth, supreme Buddha is known as Great Vairocana (Mahāvairocana). *Tantra*s of the "Old School" (Rñiṅ-ma-pa) of Tibetan Buddhism are to a large extent based on the fivefold scheme of Yoga Tantras with the addition of fierce divinities of the Heruka type. Their supreme Buddha, as in the case of those heterodox Tibetan Buddhists, the Bon-pos, is named Samantabhadra, a title also earlier closely connected with Vajrapāṇi.

FINAL SURVEY. While we have pointed out that far too stark a contrast is often drawn between Mahāyāna Buddhism of the early centuries CE with the already developed Buddhism accepted by their Hīnayānist brethren, there is no doubt that the contrast must have been very stark indeed during the last few centuries of Buddhist life in northern India (from the tenth to the twelfth century), concentrated mainly in Kashmir in the far northwest and in Bihar, Bengal, and Orissa in the east. While the monasteries continued to practice the same ancient monastic rules, one of which was adopted by the Tibetans from the eighth century onward (namely that of the order known as Mūlasarvāstivāda, particularly strong in Central Asia and northern India), the cult of Buddhas, *bodhisattva*s, greater and lesser goddesses, and various attendant beings had developed in the manner described above, introducing many new iconographic forms into the temples and covering the walls with murals of the kind that now only survive in the old temples of Ladakh and western Tibet (tenth to thirteenth century). Although no such murals survive in India (those of Ajantā up to the eighth century are the only ones remaining), the close relationship between the early Tibetan paintings and the original Indian ones, now lost, is proved by the many that still can be seen in the form of miniature paintings on manuscripts of the Pāla dynasty, which ruled in eastern India during the last Buddhist period. These have survived in Nepal and Tibet, where they were subsequently carried.

It would seem that it was not so much the Mahāyāna that was responsible for the great divergence that develops between the cults of the "early" schools (Hīnayāna) and later Buddhism, despite the very important role that celestial *bodhisattva*s play in Mahāyāna sūtras. As noted already, very few of these can be identified iconographically before the sixth or even the seventh century, namely Maitreya, Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, the great goddess Tārā, and finally Vajrapāṇi, who begins to come to the fore only at the end of this Mahāyāna period. Vajrapāṇi has the best-documented "career" of all Buddhist divinities and it is he (or rather his cult) that results in the Vajrayāna. He appears together with Padmapāṇi ("lotus-holder"), flanking Śākyamuni in several surviving iconographic examples, and the identification of Padmapāṇi with the favorite *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara must have suggested a higher status for Vajrapāṇi as well. This he receives in the earliest *tantra*s, but he still heads the lowest of the three families, for it is clearly taught that those who receive consecration in his Vajra family cannot perform rites in the two higher families.

It is only in the Yoga Tantras, which become well-known from the eighth century onward, that Vajrapāṇi comes fully to the fore as the leading *bodhisattva,* for all the *maṇḍala*s are based on the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala, even those of the Buddha (or All Buddhas) family. It is thus from this time on that one may correctly speak of a Vajrayāna, as distinct in many ways from the Mahāyāna. All the later *tantra*s, which came to be classed as Tantras of Supreme Yoga, belong effectively to the Vajra family. It is even said that Vajrapāṇi himself taught them on the instructions of Śākyamuni Buddha, for although the Yoga Tantras and all earlier ones together with all Mahāyāna sūtras are explicitly taught as the word of the Buddha (i.e., Śākyamuni) himself, there was some understandable hesitancy in attributing the Yogini Tantras, as they were earlier called, directly to him. Moreover, as related above, the sixth, supreme Buddha of these *tantra*s is named as Vajrasattva or Vajradhara, titles that are applied exclusively to Vajrapāṇi in the Yoga Tantras. Thus with these exclusive titles and with a slightly developed iconographic form he attains the highest possible rank in the Buddhist pantheon. It has already been pointed out that no later development ever nullifies earlier ones, with the result that Vajrapāṇi continues to fulfill all the roles described above.

Mañjuśrī also becomes the representative of supreme buddhahood in the Dharmadhātu Maṇḍala; later he receives a form expressing the union of "means" *(upāya)* and wisdom in that he clasps his feminine partner to his breast in the manner of all the great Tantric divinities of this class of *tantra.* Known as Mañjuvajra, he is in essence identical with Vajradhara/Vajrasattva. On the other hand, Avalokiteśvara remains the most popular of the great *bodhisattva*s, especially in his triumphant eleven-headed thousand-armed form. But despite his close relationship with Tārā, his feminine counterpart, neither he nor she is even thought to have lost their virginity. It is interesting to note how all the great *bodhisattva*s, despite iconographic changes, preserve their most essential attributes throughout the whole history of Buddhism. Being a powerful queller of the foe, it is Vajrapāṇi who forcibly converts the great gods of Hinduism, thus becoming their leader and finally the representative of all terrible divinities who are raised to high Buddhist rank. Mañjuśrī remains the representative of pure Buddhist teaching (despite his aberrational form as Mañjuvajra): when the followers of Tsong Kha pa (1357–1419) look for a suitably holy lineage for the leader of the reformed Tibetan Dge lugs pa ("yellow hat") order, they identify him as an incarnation of this particular *bodhisattva.* Avalokiteśvara remains popular for his unbounded compassion for the sufferings of all living beings. In order to save living beings, he is prepared to be born in any of the wretched places of existence, among suffering animals or tormented spirits, and even in the regions of hell. It was thus not difficult to suggest that he might also deliberately appear on earth as a recognizable incarnation. Since the Tibetans, in accordance with their pre-Buddhist beliefs, accepted their early kings (those from the sixth to the ninth century) as divine representatives from the heavens, it is not at all surprising that the king during whose reign Buddhism was first introduced into the country (namely Sron brstan sgam po, d. 650?) should have been retrospectively regarded as an incarnation of the *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara.

When the fifth Dalai Lama reunited Tibet under his rule in 1642 this same distinction was claimed for him, and since then all succeeding Dalai Lamas, while being theoretically reincarnations of their predecessors, are at the same time honored as incarnations of Avalokiteśvara. Other interesting high incarnations are those of the Grand Lama of Bkra śis lhun po (Tashilhunpo), who is identified traditionally with the buddha Amitābha, and the abbess of Bsam-sdings Monastery (now presumably destroyed), near the Yar 'brog (Yamdrok) Lake, who is identified with the boar-headed partner of the horrific Tantric Buddha Cakrasaṃvara, known as Vajravārāhī ("adamantine sow"), a sufficient indication that such "converted" Hindu divinities were in practice accorded *bodhisattva* rank.

From the above comments it should be clear that it is difficult to draw distinctions in late Indian Buddhism and in Tibetan religion, which inherits the greater part of Indian Buddhist traditions, between *bodhisattva*s and other divinities who are effectively raised to *bodhisattva* rank. Thus, to my knowledge the position of the four chief goddesses, Locanā, Māmakī, and so forth, as well as that of the feminine partners of the great Tantric divinities (who are themselves manifestly accorded full buddha rank) is scarcely definable in traditional Buddhist terms. They are all said to be manifestations of the Perfection of Wisdom, at least according to the later Tantric theories, and thus an associate buddha rank must be assumed for them. Clearer distinctions, however, continue to remain between buddhas and *bodhisattva*s, in accordance with the ideas prevalent during the earliest Buddhist period. According to purist theories, once a *bodhisattva* achieves enlightenment and thereby becomes a buddha ("enlightened") he effectively passes beyond the realm of imperfect living beings. The fact that Śākyamuni Buddha continued to work for the good of others during the forty-five years that elapsed between his enlightenment at the age of thirty-five and his decease *(parinirvāṇa)* at the age of eighty created a philosophical problem for the philosophers of the early schools. Only as *bodhisattva* can there be no doubt of his ability to respond to the needs of lesser beings. It may be for this reason that some early Buddha images are inscribed as *bodhisattva* images, for Śākyamuni in the earliest period could be regarded as both buddha and *bodhisattva.*

The cult of Maitreya as future buddha soon supplied the need for a *bodhisattva,* who could still assist living beings so long as he had not entered the impassive state of Buddhahood. His cult was followed by that of Avalokiteśvara, the "lord who looks down (in compassion)," doubtless suggested by Śākyamuni's previous existence in the heavens, when as *bodhisattva* he had looked down on suffering living beings. The whole *bodhisattva* doctrine represents a remarkable aspect of Buddhist religion, expressing a degree of compassionate concern for others that is either far less developed or lacking altogether in other Indian religious traditions. The distinction between a buddha who represents an ideal state still to be achieved and a *bodhisattva* who assists one on the way there remains fairly clear throughout the whole history of Buddhism. Only rarely can a buddha become an object of prayer and supplication. One well-known exception is Amitābha, the Buddha of the West. But one may note that his cult, so strong in China and Japan, is based upon the *Sukhāvativyūha Sūtra,* which lists the many aspirations of the monk Dharmākara toward achieving buddhahood in a buddha paradise, where he may still be available for the solace of living beings in the most marvelous manner possible. This particular Buddha cult may therefore be regarded as exceptional.

SEE ALSO Amitābha; Arhat; Avalokiteśvara; Bodhisattva Path; Buddha; Buddhism, Schools of, articles on Esoteric Buddhism, Mahāyāna Philosophical Schools of Buddhism; Cosmology, article on Buddhist Cosmology; Kṣitigarbha; Mahāvairocana; Maitreya; Maṇḍalas, article on Buddhist Maṇḍalas; Mañjuśrī; Nirvāṇa; Pure and Impure Lands; Soteriology; Tārā; Tathāgata.

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BUDDHAS AND BODHISATTVAS: ETHICAL PRACTICES ASSOCIATED WITH BUDDHAS AND BODHISATTVAS

Buddhas and *bodhisattvas* represent exalted images of ethical perfection in Buddhism. In the midst of the kaleidoscopic complexity of Buddhist ethical thought and practice, the presence of buddhas and *bodhisattvas* serve as a universal focal point across traditions.

Buddhist ethics conceives of buddhas and *bodhisattvas* within a hierarchy of distinct categories of ethical actors. These categories are permeable and this hierarchy is not fixed; as ethical transformation occurs, over lifetimes or in some rare cases in a single lifetime, an actor's position is elevated (or potentially deescalated) in this ideational ordering of the ethical universe. It is a general truth that Buddhist traditions highly value the difference between ethical actors. While all beings have a future potential for enlightenment—and in some traditions an inherent capacity for buddhahood—the potential to live in the company of those with greater capacities than oneself—epitomized in the figure of the *kalyāṇamitra*, or beautiful friend—is a primary condition enabling ethical transformation.

The fluidity in this hierarchy is expressed in many ways, such as the debates over which category of being represents the highest ideal of ethical perfection: a buddha or a *bodhisattva.* Mahāyāna traditions have sometimes been characterized (and criticized) for elevating *bodhisattvas* over buddhas because *bodhisattvas* have postponed their full enlightenment for the sake of others, while the buddhas have entered into *nirvāṇa* before all beings have been freed from *saṃsāra.* Whereas the enlightened powers of the Celestial Bodhisattvas may be difficult to distinguish from buddhas, ordinary *bodhisattvas*—that is, *bodhisattvas* at lower stages (*bhūmis*) of the path—may be imperfect in many regards because their own transformations are still taking place.

The conceptions of buddhas and *bodhisattvas* in Buddhist ethical practices are shaped to a significant degree by the Buddhists who stand in relationship to these enlightened beings. buddhas and *bodhisattvas* are the heroes of Buddhist traditions; their extraordinary acts of compassion mitigate suffering in the world. They are also role models for escaping the suffering of *saṃsāra* for oneself and for others. The intercession of buddhas and *bodhisattvas* is sought because of both their power as heroes and their accessibility as role models.

BUDDHAS AND *BODHISATTVAS* AS MORAL HEROES. The originating moment of the *bodhisattva* path—the arising of *bodhicitta*—is nothing short of heroic. The aspiration for enlightenment is a vow to free all beings from suffering; the enormity of this commitment is unparalleled—the weight of the world's suffering rests upon the bodhisattva's shoulders. The power of this vow is captured by Śāntideva, an Indian monk believed to have lived in the seventh and eighth centuries CE. In his exposition of the *bodhisattva* path—the famous *Bodhicaryāvatāra*—he writes: "As long as space abides and as long as the world abides, so long may I abide, destroying the suffering of the world"(Crosby & Skilton, 1995:143). Making the vow is an ethical act that recreates a person as a *bodhisattva* and sets the ethical course they will follow. While the ability to actualize this commitment is far in the future—indeed, potentially numerous lifetimes in the future—the intention to realize this goal establishes the *bodhisattva* as a particular and extraordinary category of ethical actor. The obligations and challenges of this *bodhisattva* identity can at first evoke fear and self-doubt as well as determination, as Śāntideva so evocatively articulates. Buddhas and *bodhisattvas* serve as both inspiration and protection for *bodhisattvas* undergoing the process of ethical transformation as they move through the stages of the path.

Heroic actions of buddhas and *bodhisattvas*. Buddhas and Celestial *Bodhisattvas* actualize the power of their vows through ethical actions that appear nothing short of miraculous. The heroics of buddhas and *bodhisattvas* also lay in the miraculous, superhuman qualities of their actions. As fully enlightened beings, buddhas are perfectly ethical; thus ethics and soteriology are significantly intertwined. Among the perfections (*pāramitās*) cultivated on the bodhisattva path is a specific virtue, *śilā,* often translated as morality. Yet all the *pāramitās*, including vigor (*vīrya*), meditation (*dhyāna*), and wisdom (*prajñā*) are resources for the ethical life.

Buddhas' enlightened status enables them to act with absolute morality. This is modeled in some traditions, such as Chan or Zen, as perfect responsiveness—an enlightened being instantaneously responds exactly as a situation demands. These actions, however, may not always be understood by those without an enlightened perspective. Actions by buddhas and *bodhisattvas* can actually appear to be contrary to moral prescriptions and ethical values. A famous example of this is the parable told by the buddha in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, *Lotus Sūtra*, in which a rich man lies to his children in order to get them out of a burning house. His actions are viewed not as a deception, but as *upāya*, a skillful means to most effectively teach the Dharma to beings in its most effective form.

The extraordinary quality of a buddha's or *bodhisattva's* actions raises the question of whether imitation is desirable or possible. Take for example the extraordinary act of *dāna* (giving) in the buddha's penultimate lifetime as a *bodhisattva,* when he was born as the prince Vessantara. He gives away not only his kingdom's auspicious white elephant, but also his two children and his wife. Different versions of the Vessantara *jātaka* emphasize the outrageousness of these actions, as well as the high stakes for everyone involved—his children beg to be released from bondage from the cruel, torturous Brahmin, his wife writhes in physical and psychic agony upon discovering the loss of her children, and even Vessantara is tormented by the effects of his boundless generosity.

Vessantara's actions take place, from this perspective, on a normal moral stage. His actions, regardless of intent or motivation for the future attainment of buddhahood, cause pain. In fact, as Buddhist commentators from a variety of time periods have argued, his actions are not unquestionably ethical. The *bodhisattva's* actions are so different in degree from the norm of ethical practices so as to be a different kind of ethical action altogether. Because of this, the story is not meant to inspire imitation, but rather devotion. While the Vessantara story may be a source of inspiration for the ethical life, the actions it describes must be translated into a human morality. So, whereas it is not moral for a person to give away a child or a spouse in every circumstance, it is a valid moral choice, for instance, to give one's children to the *saṅgha.*

Heroic actions inspiring imitation. In certain instances extraordinary Buddhists have directly imitated the heroic actions of buddhas and *bodhisattvas.* A powerful example can be found in the self-immolation of Vietnamese monks during the Vietnam War—a dramatic demonstration of both commitment to Buddhist tradition and to the power of Buddhist ethical practices as a form of protest. As William LaFleur has argued, this modern-day act had precedence in the story of the Bodhisattva Bhaisajyaguru, in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, who devotedly lights himself on fire as offering to the buddhas. The heroics in both cases—historical and textual—draw stark distinctions between the ethical agents capable of such extraordinary acts, and the more ordinary beings, who, although perhaps awed, might also have confused these actions different not only in kind but also in degree from the standards for Buddhist ethical life.

Heroic actions inspiring devotion. Devotion inspired by the heroics of buddhas and *bodhisattvas* alike is an important resource for ethical cultivation. Buddhist traditions value celebrating the good deeds of others as beneficial and efficacious for generating merit, as well as engendering gratitude towards buddhas and *bodhisattvas.* The descriptions of the celebratory responses to the heroics of buddhas and *bodhisattvas* are among the most beautiful narrations in Buddhist literature, in which a whole universe—animals, humans, gods and goddesses, as well as the material world—responds with cheers of adulation, showers of flowers, and skies filled with rainbows. Lotus flowers arise from the earth to accept the tiny foot of the newborn baby who strides in each direction at his birth announcing his destiny to become the buddha. Thus, Buddhist traditions posit a world that is not ethically neutral; it is a moral world in which people live.

It would be a mistake to assume that devotion is transcended at a certain stage of ethical or spiritual development.

Many Buddhist traditions emphasize that the experience of enlightenment should create a heightened sense of gratitude towards the buddhas. In his autobiography, *Itsumadegusa*, Hakuin, a seventeenth century Rinzai Zen monk, describes his commitment to teaching other monks as a way to repay the debt he felt he owed to the buddhas and his lineage patriarch. Many other examples from various Buddhist traditions emphasize the gratitude enlightened beings feel as they reflect upon the care they received at every stage of their own process of transformation. This gratitude necessitates a reciprocal devotion to caring for others.

BUDDHAS AND BODHISATTVAS AS ETHICAL ROLE MODELS. Devotion for buddhas and *bodhisattvas,* inspired by their super-human achievements, is not antithetical to the desire to form oneself in their image. As ethical role models, buddhas and *bodhisattvas* are paradigms of virtues—their paths to enlightenment become the templates for ethical transformation.

It is important to ask what people would have been likely to view the buddhas and *bodhisattvas* as role models for their own practices and goals. The bodhisattva path, systematized in different forms by Buddhist traditions, is the most basic model for attaining the achievements of buddhas and *bodhisattvas.* Each stage of the path is a form of ethical practice. The arising of *bodhicitta*, the practice of the perfections and the movement through stages of the path, entail commitments, obligations, and increasing resources for ethical life. A general assumption in scholarship—informed to a significant degree by rhetoric in Mahāyāna sūtras—posits an extreme contrast between the exclusivity of the Hīnayāna conception of the *bodhisattvas* path with the Mahāyāna ideal of a universal path open to all beings. Indeed, the polemic term *Hīnayāna* (lesser vehicle) directly represents the Mahāyāna critique that these early Buddhist traditions—the Therāvada being the only one now extant among them—settled for the less ethically robust figure of the *arhant*, a being, according to the Mahāyāna critics, who attains enlightenment for his or her own benefit alone.

Textual evidence suggests a historical development of the *bodhisattva* ideal and path in both Mahāyāna and Theravādin traditions. Recent studies by scholars such as Paul Harrison and Jan Nattier argue that the Mahāyāna ideals of a universal path were not present in early formulations of the Mahāyāna in the first centuries of the Common Era. In early sūtras the *bodhisattva* ideal and the practitioners who modeled themselves after it were an exclusive minority of male monastic practitioners and even fewer male householders. If the Mahāyāna universal imperative of buddhahood broadened in conception and practice over time, these ideals were not absent from Theravādin traditions either. Theravādin traditions developed a more inclusive category of the *bodhisatta* (the Pali form of the Sanskrit word "*bodhisattva*") in the medieval period, expanding narrative traditions to include a fuller accounting of the *bodhisatta* path of Gautama as well as a more populous pantheon of additional *bodhisatta* who will become buddhas following the next buddha, Metteyya. While Theravādin descriptions of *bodhisattas* remained primarily hagiographical, and primarily (although not exclusively) tied to the *jātaka* lifetimes of Gotama, some systematic formulations of a *bodhisatta* path did emerge in the Theravādin commentarial and post-commentarial literature. Inscriptions and colophons from different parts of the Theravādin world suggest that practices paralleled the broadening of textual representations as some adherents conceived of their own future lifetimes, if not their present ones, as embarking upon the *bodhisattva* path.

Models for ethical transformation. Fascinating temporal issues are raised when we consider buddhas and *bodhisattvas* as ethical role models. From one perspective these figures offer an inspiring vision of the ethical being they aspire to become in the future, often a future lifetime, as it seems impossible for many Buddhists to attain this level of perfection in their present conditions. This future-orientation is powerfully at play in the bestowal of a prediction, *vyākaraṇa*, that is a condition of buddhahood for every *bodhisattva.* In order to become a buddha, a *bodhisattva* must first receive a prediction of their future buddhahood directly from another buddha. In this prediction a buddha describes the details of the *bodhisattva's* future biography when buddhahood will finally be attained. The buddha significantly models this future to be fulfilled by the *bodhisattva.* The prediction powerfully shapes the present as well as the face-to-face encounter between buddha and *bodhisattva*, narrated for example in the Pali *Buddhavaṃsa*, gives the *bodhisatta* a vision of the perfect being he will become in the future.

The bridging of present reality with future ideals is accomplished in a variety of practices directed at generating and experiencing the virtues and powers of enlightened beings. Through the recitation of the buddha's names in the practice of *buddhānusmṛti* (remembrance of the buddha) the qualities of the buddha described in these honorific titles begin to be embodied by the practitioner. The Vajrayāna practice of deity yoga leads the meditator to an experience of identification with a buddha during the course of the visualization.

As Buddhist traditions have changed in different times and places so too have the imaginations of how to best follow the ethical imperatives for *bodhisattvas* and buddhas. In the post-modern, global Buddhist world, the imitation of classical ideals has continued. For example, throughout the Theravādan world ordination ceremonies include a reenactment of the buddha's departure from his palace as he began his six-year struggle for enlightenment. Imitation has also given way to adaptation as Buddhists re-imagine what actions best emulate the compassion of buddhas and *bodhisattvas.* The Engaged Buddhist movement, led by figures like the Vietnamese monk Thich Nhat Hanh, image a universal practice of the *bodhisattva* path. Engaged Buddhism advocates a broad range of social conscious living such as participation in peace rallies, prison advocacy, and even recycling as *bodhisattva* acts.

THE INTERCESSION OF BUDDHAS AND *BODHISATTVAS*. As moral heroes and ethical role models, buddhas and *bodhisattvas* intercede in the lives of others in order to extinguish suffering in its endless varieties and support individuals and communities in their ethical practices. Acts of intercession illuminate the heroic depths of buddhas' and *bodhisattvas*' compassion—a compassion that is active and effective. Important Buddhist conceptions of ethical agency underlie the many different ways buddhas and *bodhisattvas* contribute to the ethical lives of others. For the devotee, the petition to a buddha or *bodhisattva* and the confidence in their response underlies two basic conceptions of Buddhist ethics: first, that while existence is governed by the first noble truth of the ever-present reality of suffering, this suffering can be alleviated by the compassionate intervention of buddhas and *bodhisattvas*; and following directly from this, Buddhist ethics demands that the ethical person conceive of their dependence on others for their own well-being. Communal agency is prioritized over autonomy. Beings depend upon the aid of others in order to reach the heights of ethical perfection as buddhas and *bodhisattvas*—a perfection that is desired in order to more effectively aid others in turn.

While every *bodhisattva* makes a generalized vow to alleviate suffering, buddhas and Celestial Bodhisattvas are differentiated by their individualized vows to address suffering with particular forms of compassion. As a *bodhisattva,* Amitābha Buddha, for example, vowed to become Buddha of Infinite Light, of Infinite Life, and to create a Pure Land, Sukhāvatī, where all beings who said his name would be reborn. In his or her variety of regional, gendered and iconographic forms, the Celestial Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is the hero among heroes who saves beings in the saṃsāric world from suffering in whatever form it takes. This *bodhisattva's* interventions, such as granting a child to the infertile, or rescuing the shipwrecked from certain death, display the ever-ready responsiveness of the *bodhisattva* to the particularities of suffering. These examples of intercession are responses to petitions for aid made by engaging in devotional activities such as reciting a *mantra* or a sūtra, or leaving offerings at a *bodhisattva* shrine. The methods for invoking a buddha's or *bodhisattva's* aid is in some cases precisely defined, as in the *Bhaiṣajyaguru sūtras*—the sūtras of the Medicine Buddha—that instruct the devotee how to rid oneself of physical illness.

A decidedly different conception of the un-requested intervention of a buddha or *bodhisattva* is seen as a response to the ethical achievements of particular actors. In these instances, a buddha or *bodhisattva* intervenes to support and encourage the dedicated practitioner striving for ethical fulfillment. In Japan, for example, the Bodhisattva Jizō, often disguised as a young monk, appears to support the beneficial activities of those desiring to follow an ethical path, such as a monk on austere retreat or a devotee leaving offerings at a shrine. In these instances, it is precisely in response to the already present ethical qualities that the *bodhisattva* intervenes in order to promote the success of further ethical development. Jizō's concealed identity in these narratives emphasizes both the worthiness of the person receiving his aid, as well as the intent of the *bodhisattva* to encourage the success of that person, rather than to primarily draw attention to the *bodhisattva's* power and virtues.

Buddhas and *bodhisattvas* as ethical refuges. Buddhas and *bodhisattvas* may also directly intercede in moments of crisis in order to prevent a being from causing physical and karmic harm to themselves or others. In many narratives they are imagined as the final refuge for beings who have found no other resources to redress their suffering. The concept of a buddha, and by extension, a *bodhisattva*, as one of three Refuges has a heightened ethical significance in stories, found in every Buddhist tradition, which describe the precise ways buddhas and *bodhisattva* prevent harm and bring relief. There are countless examples of these forms of intercession. For example, in the famous story of Aṅgulimāla, a moral young man is commanded by his teacher to make him a necklace out of 1,000 fingers. Just as he is about to complete his necklace by murdering his own mother, the Buddha miraculously intervenes, preventing the heinous sin of matricide and setting Aṅgulimāla on an ethical course ultimately ending in enlightenment.

Moral challenges directly confronting ethical self understanding can find a resolution through the intervention of buddhas and *bodhisattvas*, who can re-establish conceptions of integrity for ethical actors. People who perceive themselves as harming others can, through a separate set of actions directed towards a buddha or *bodhisattva*, either redress the particular wrong committed or establish their moral worthiness. Practices from various traditions and time periods show how recourse to interaction with buddhas and *bodhisattvas* provides a redemptive space for those who have faced and perceived failure in an ethical crisis. One might think of the devotional programs of the legendary King Asoka as, in part, a response to the warfare of his early reign; or the trials of the Tibetan yogi, Milarepa—designed by his teacher Marpa, a living buddha—to cleanse the karma produced in his murderous youth; or the modern Japanese practices of mizuko kuyō, where devotional offerings are made to the Bodhisattva Jizō—the caretaker of dead children—by those who have had an abortion. These forms of intervention for redressing or establishing ethical identity are inherently complex religious-social phenomena, as illuminated by this final example where gender, economic, and political factors—as well as ethical ones—are at play.

The ethical formulation of dependency arguably reaches its fullest form in the thinking of Shinran, the twelfth- and thirteenth-century founder of Jōdo Shinshū. In his teachings, the only possibility for ethical action is to give oneself over completely to the Other power of Amida Buddha, who, as the Bodhisattva Dharmakara, vowed to end the suffering of all beings and to bring all who say his name to enlightenment through rebirth in his Pure Land, Sukhāvatī. It is the recognition of one's own complete inability to act ethically that enables the compassion of Amida to transform one into an ethical actor. According to Shinran's thought, the devotee neither inspires nor invokes Amida's compassion; rather, Amida is the sole agent in bringing about the ethical formation of his devotees. Without Amida, Shinran estimated, he was completely without options for leading an ethical life.

This emphasis on the power of a buddha to shape the ethical life of beings is not exclusive to Pure Land traditions. While not articulated with the same direct emphasis as with Shinran, there is, in the Theravādin traditions, for example, the conception that the presence of a buddha—through physical proximity in his lifetime or through his relics after his *parinibbāna*—can change people's destinies. Hagiographical accounts of the buddha's teaching career are filled with stories of the multitudes of people who quickly attained arahatship upon receiving the Dharma from the Buddha.

In addition to these generalized patterns, narratives also depict personalized encounters with the Buddha Gautama. The evocative story of Pattācāra, recorded in the Pali *Therīgīthā*, describes how the Buddha's intercession changes the ethical destiny of a woman whose grief at the loss of her entire family renders her insane, wandering naked as an outcast from society. The Buddha becomes literally her last refuge; he is the only one who clearly perceives her naked ravings as an exposure of suffering. The encounter brings sanity, a new family in the *saṅgha*, and ultimately, enlightenment. Attaining enlightenment is not the ultimate goal for Buddhist ethical life; rather, it is to continue to aid others, both through acts of heroic intervention and, like Pattācāra, by serving as an inspiring role model for others.

SEE ALSO Buddha; Buddhism, articles on Buddhism in Japan and Buddhism in Tibet; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism; Celestial Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

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KAREN DERRIS (2005)

BUDDHISM

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
BUDDHISM IN INDIA
BUDDHISM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA
BUDDHISM IN CENTRAL ASIA
BUDDHISM IN MONGOLIA
BUDDHISM IN TIBET
BUDDHISM IN CHINA
BUDDHISM IN KOREA
BUDDHISM IN JAPAN
BUDDHISM IN THE WEST

BUDDHISM: AN OVERVIEW

[*This article attempts to identify certain of the elements and structures that have constituted the Buddhist tradition as it has evolved over the past twenty-five hundred years. It traces a complex of social and ideological formations that have allowed it to develop from a small religious community to a "universal" religion associated with empire, to an important component in the several cultures of Buddhist Asia, to a tradition faced with the problems raised by modernity and contact with the West.*]

The concept of Buddhism was created about three centuries ago to identify what we now know to be a pan-Asian religious tradition that dates back some twenty-five hundred years. Although the concept, rather recent and European in origin, has gradually, if sometimes begrudgingly, received global acceptance, there is still no consensus about its definition. We can, however, identify two complementary meanings that have consistently informed its use. First, it groups together the thoughts, practices, institutions, and values that over the centuries have—to use a phrase coined by the French Buddhologist Louis de La Vallée Poussin—"condensed around the name of the Buddha." The implicit conclusion of this usage is that Buddhism is, in short, whatever Buddhist men and women have said, done, and held dear. Second, the concept suggests some unifying character or order in the overwhelming diversity encompassed by the first usage. The beginning of this ordering process has often been to consider Buddhism as an example of larger categories, and thus Buddhism has been variously labeled a religion, a philosophy, a civilization, or a culture. It must be admitted, however, that no single ordering principle has been found that takes full account of the data included within the first meaning. This admission stands as a rebuke of the limitations of our current understanding, and as a continuing challenge to go further in our descriptions and explanations.

When the first meaning of Buddhism, which emphasizes its encompassment of accumulated traditions, is placed in the foreground, the resulting conception is indeed comprehensive. The further scholarship proceeds, the more comprehensive this conception becomes, because Buddhists have done in the name of the Buddha almost everything that other humans have done. Buddhists have, of course, been concerned with living religiously, some with the aim of salvation, and they have created traditions of belief and practice that help to realize these aspirations. But they have been concerned with much more as well. Buddhists have built cities sanctified by monuments dedicated to the Buddha and they have cultivated their crops using blessings that invoke his name. They have written self-consciously Buddhist poems and plays as well as highly technical works of grammar and logic that begin with invocations to the Buddha. They have commended nonviolence, but they have also gone to war with the name of Buddha on their lips. They have valued celibacy, but have also written erotic manuals and rejoiced in family life, all in the name of Buddha. Buddhists have created subtle philosophical concepts, such as the absence of self (*anātman*), which are contravened by other ideas and values they have held. Like other human beings, Buddhists have been inconsistent and even contradictory, and they have been both noble and base in what they have said and done.

Although most scholars have at some level accepted this first conception of Buddhism as a diverse cumulative tradition, few have been content to allow this encompassing notion to prevail. They have sought to discover what ideals and values have inspired Buddhists, or to formulate generalizations that will help us to see the behavior of individuals as distinctively Buddhist. Some scholars have singled out a pattern, an idea, or a cluster of ideas that they felt was important enough to provide continuity through Buddhist history, or at least sufficient to suggest a coherence to the variety. Important candidates for this "key" to Buddhism are the purported teaching of the founder of Buddhism, Gautama, which provides an essence that has unfolded over the centuries; the monastic organization *(saṃgha),* whose historical continuity provides a center of Buddhist practice and a social basis for the persistence of Buddhist thought and values; the closely related ideas of nonself and emptiness *(anātman, śūnyatā),* realized through insight, which are said to mold Buddhist behavior; and the goal of *nirvāṇa* as the purpose of life. While such patterns and notions are very important for Buddhist sociology and soteriology, they also omit a great deal. Moreover, we can see that the element that is singled out as important is often distictive to Buddhism only in comparison with other religions or philosophies and cannot serve as a core that informs the entire corpus of Buddhist beliefs, rituals, and values.

Scholars have also sought to identify the characteristic order of Buddhism by dividing the cumulative tradition into more manageable parts, whether by chronology, by school, or by country. Some scholars, following the Buddhist historians Bu ston (1290–1364) and Tāranātha (1574–1608), have divided Buddhism into three periods, mainly along philosophical lines. A first phase, represented by the early Theravāda (Way of the Elders) and Sarvāstivāda (All Things Are Real) schools, emphasized the no-soul idea and the reality of the constituents (*dharma*s) of the world. A middle phase, represented by the Mādhyamika (Middle Way) school, introduced the idea of the ultimate emptiness *(śūnyatā)* of all phenomena. A third period, represented by the Vijñānavāda (Consciousness Only) school, was philosophically idealistic in character. The limitations of this philosophical division are severe in that it only touches certain aspects of Buddhism and acknowledges no significant development after the fifth century CE.

Other scholars have elaborated a schema based on polemical divisions within the Buddhist community. They have focused attention on three great Buddhist "vehicles" (*yāna*) that are characterized by different understandings of the process and goal of salvation. The Hīnayāna, or Lesser Vehicle, elaborated a gradual process of individual salvation, and in that context distinguished among the attainment of an *arhat*, the attainment of a *pratyekabuddha* (one who achieves enlightenment on his own but does not become a teacher), and the attainment of a fully enlightened Buddha who teaches others the way to salvation. The Theravāda and Sarvāstivāda schools mentioned above are two of the major schools that are included under the Hīnayāna rubric. The term *Hīnayāna* was in its origins a pejorative name coined by the adherents of a new movement, self-designated as the Mahāyāna, or Great Vehicle, which generated new texts and teachings that were rejected by the Hīnayānists.

Like the adherents of the Hīnayāna, the Mahāyānists elaborated a gradual path of salvation lasting over many lifetimes, but their emphasis was different in two very important and related respects. They held that an individual's soteriological process could be aided and abetted by what some Mahāyāna schools came to designate as "other-power," and they recognized, ultimately, only one soteriological goal—the attainment of fully realized Buddhahood. The Vajrayāna (Diamond Vehicle), which is also known as Mantrayāna (Sacred Sounds Vehicle), Esoteric Buddhism, or Tantric Buddhism, accepted the basic approach and goal of the Mahāyāna, but felt that individual realization could be accomplished more quickly, in some cases even in this present life. The Vajrayānists described the practices that lead to this attainment in texts called *tantra*s that were not accepted by either the Hīnayāna or the Mahāyāna schools. Although this Hīnayāna/Mahāyāna/Vajrayāna schema is probably the most common one used by scholars to divide Buddhism into more manageable segments, it too has serious drawbacks. It underestimates the significance of developments after the first millennium of the common era and it tends to overemphasize certain traits therein as extreme differences, beyond what is warranted by history.

Finally, scholars have recognized that Buddhism has always been deeply shaped by its surrounding culture. The Buddhist tradition has been more accretive in its doctrine and practice than the other great missionary religions, Christianity and Islam. It has shown an enduring tendency to adapt to local forms; as a result we can speak of a transformation of Buddhism in various cultures. The extent of this transformation can be seen in the difficulty that the first Western observers had in recognizing that the religion they observed in Japan was historically related to the religion found in Sri Lanka. This cultural division of Buddhism into Tibetan Buddhism, Chinese Buddhism, and so forth has been most successfully applied to the more recent phases of Buddhist history, especially to contemporary developments. Its dangers are, of course, quite obvious: above all, it conceals the Buddhist tradition's capacity to transcend the boundaries of culture, politics, and nationality.

The general trends of scholarship on Buddhism in this century have been within such accepted divisions of the cumulative tradition, with the result that our sense of Buddhism's historical continuity has been greatly obscured. Theodore Stcherbatsky, a Soviet Buddhologist, is in this regard a representative example. He adopted Bu ston's tripartite "philosophical" division of Buddhist history and, in his *Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa* (Leningrad, 1927), commented on the transition between the first phase and the second phase as follows: "the history of religions has scarcely witnessed such a break between new and old within the pale of what nevertheless continued to claim common descent from the same religious founder" (p. 36). Similar statements pointing to radical discontinuity have been made from the perspective of the soteriological and cultural forms of Buddhism as well.

The investigation of each segment of the Buddhist cumulative tradition is now generally done in isolation from other segments. This strategy has had remarkable success in our discovery of the imprint of Buddhist thought and practice in areas far beyond the monasteries, beyond the level of elite groups. In small domains scholars have begun to see patterns in the full extent of phenomena grouped under the name of Buddhism. At the same time, contemporary scholarship often risks missing the forest for the trees. Our advances in particular areas of research may be at the price of the scholar's unique vision of Buddhism as a pan-Asian tradition.

As is often the case in the study of religion, however, the scale of investigation is decisive. This article will discuss Buddhism on a general level and will highlight continuities rather than disjunctions within the tradition. These continuities cannot be found in any static essence or core threading its way through all of Buddhist history. They will be traced here by following certain elements that have been preserved in a changing series of structures, expanded to meet new needs, and brought into relation with new elements that are continuously being introduced. We will, in other words, identify various elements and successive structures that have constituted Buddhism as it developed from a small community of mendicants and householders in northeastern India into a great "universal" religion associated with empire, civilization, and culture in various parts of Asia, and ultimately with "modernity" and the West as well.

BUDDHISM AS SECTARIAN RELIGION. Buddhism began around the fifth or fourth century BCE as a small community that developed at a certain distance, both self-perceived and real, from other contemporary religious communities, as well as from the society, civilization, and culture with which it coexisted. Thus, we have chosen to characterize the Buddhism of this period as "sectarian."

It is quite probable that Buddhism remained basically a sectarian religion until the time of King Aśoka (third century BCE). Whether this was a period of approximately two hundred years, as some scholars, dating the death of the Buddha around 486 BCE, maintain, or of approximately one hundred years (accepting a death date around a century later) as others contend, it was by all accounts a crucial period in which many elements and patterns were established that have remained fundamental to subsequent phases of Buddhist thought and life. Despite the importance of this early phase of Buddhist history our knowledge about it remains sketchy and uncertain. Three topics can suggest what we do know: the source of authority that the new Buddhist community recognized, the pattern of development in its teaching and ecclesiastical structures, and the attitude it took toward matters of political and social order. In discussing these three topics we shall identify some of the main scholarly opinions concerning them.

One primary factor that both accounts for and expresses Buddhism's emergence as a new sectarian religion rather than simply a new Hindu movement is the community's recognition of the ascetic Gautama as the Buddha ("enlightened one") and of the words that he had reportedly uttered as a new and ultimate source of sacred authority. The recognition of the Buddha's authority was based on an acceptance of the actuality and relative uniqueness of his person and career, and of his enlightenment experience in particular. It was based on the conviction that through his enlightenment he had gained insight into the *dharma* (the Truth). This included the aspect of truth that he had formulated more "philosophically" as, for example, in the teaching concerning the dependent co-origination (*pratītya-samutpāda*) of the various elements that constitute reality, and also the aspect of truth he had formulated more soteriologically, as summarized, for example, in the classic delineation of the Four Noble Truths (that reality is permeated with suffering, that desire is the cause of suffering, that the cessation of suffering is a possibility, and that there is a path that leads to a cessation of suffering). Finally, the Buddha's authority was based on the confidence that the teachings and actions that had flowed from his enlightenment had been accurately transmitted by those who had heard and seen them.

From certain stories preserved in the tradition it seems that there were some challenges to the Buddha's authority. For example, there are numerous reports that even during his own lifetime a more ascetically inclined cousin named Devadatta tried to take over leadership of the new movement. Such challenges were successfully met by the Buddha and by those who carried on the tradition. As a result, later controversies concerned not so much the authority of his teachings and actions as their content and correct interpretation.

There is less scholarly agreement concerning the more specific content of the early Buddhist teaching and about the closely related question of the structure of the early Buddhist community. Three conflicting interpretations have been set forth, each defended on the basis of detailed text-critical research. Some scholars have maintained that early Buddhism was a movement of philosophically oriented renouncers practicing a discipline of salvation that subsequently degenerated into a popular religion. A second group has contended that Buddhism was originally a popular religious movement that took form around the Buddha and his religiously inspiring message, a movement that was subsequently co-opted by a monastic elite that transformed it into a rather lifeless clerical scholasticism. A third group has argued that as far back as there is evidence, early Buddhist teaching combined philosophical and popular elements, and that during the earliest period that we can penetrate, the Buddhist community included both a significant monastic and a significant lay component. This argument, which is most convincing, has included the suggestion that the philosophical/popular and monastic/lay dichotomies should actually be seen as complements rather than oppositions, even though the understandings of the relative importance of these elements and their interrelationships have varied from the beginning of the Buddhist movement.

By the time of the Second Buddhist Council, held in the city of Vaiśālī probably in the fourth century BCE, the Buddhist community already encompassed two competing assemblies whose members espoused positions that correspond to the modern scholarly group of those who associate the "original" or "true" Buddhism with an elite monastic tradition, and those who associate it with a more democratic and populist tradition. A split occurred at or shortly after the Second Council: those who adhered to the former position came to be known in Sanskrit as Sthaviravādins (Pali, Theravādins; the proponents of the Way of the Elders), while those who adhered to the latter position came to be known as the Mahāsāṃghikas (Members of the Great Assembly).

The third area of discussion about early Buddhism has focused on its sectarian character. While it is not disputed that during the pre-Aśokan period the Buddhist community was a specifically religious community only tangentially involved with issues of political order and social organization, it is less clear whether this distance was a matter of principle or simply an accident of history. Some scholars have argued that early Buddhists were so preoccupied with individual salvation, and the early monastic order so oriented toward "otherworldly" attainments, that early Buddhism's sectarian character was intrinsic, rather than simply circumstantial. While individualistic and otherworldly strands played an important role in some segments of the early Buddhist community, there are balancing factors that must also be taken into account. Early Buddhists were concerned to gain royal patronage and were often successful in their efforts; they appropriated royal symbolism in their depiction of the Buddha and his career; they maintained their own explicitly anti-Brahmanic conception of kingship and social order, in the *Aggañña Sutta*, for example; and they encouraged a respect for authority and moral decorum conducive to civil order and tranquillity. Thus, within the sectarian Buddhism of the early period, there were a number of elements that prepared the way for the "civilizational Buddhism" that began to emerge during the reign of King Aśoka.

BUDDHISM AS CIVILIZATIONAL RELIGION.

Buddhism has never lost the imprint of the sectarian pattern that characterized its earliest history, largely because the sectarian pattern has been reasserted at various points in Buddhist history. But Buddhism did not remain a purely sectarian religion. With the reign of King Aśoka, Buddhism entered a new phase of its history in which it became what we have chosen to call a "civilizational religion," that is, a religion that was associated with a sophisticated high culture and that transcended the boundaries of local regions and politics. By the beginning of the common era Buddhism's civilizational character was well established in various areas of India and beyond. By the middle centuries of the first millennium CE, Buddhism as a civilizational religion had reached a high level of development across Asia. However, the signs of the transition to a new stage had already begun to appear by the sixth and seventh centuries CE.

History and legend of the Aśokan impact.

Aśoka (r. circa 270–232 BCE) was the third ruler in a line of Mauryan emperors who established the first pan-Indian empire through military conquest. In one of the many inscriptions that provide the best evidence regarding his attitudes and actual policies, Aśoka renounced further violent conquest and made a commitment to the practice and propagation of *dharma.* In other inscriptions Aśoka informs his subjects concerning the basic moral principles that form his vision of the *dharma;* he mentions related meditational practices that he commends to his subjects as well as festivals of *dharma* that he sponsored. He also tells of sending special representatives to ensure that the *dharma* was appropriately practiced and taught by the various religious communities within his realm.

It would seem from Aśoka's inscriptions that the *dharma* that he officially affirmed and propagated was not identical to the Buddhist *dharma*, although it was associated with it, especially insofar as Buddhist teaching impinged on the behavior of the laity. However, the inscriptions give clear evidence that if Aśoka was not personally a Buddhist when he made his first commitment to the *dharma*, he became so soon thereafter. His edicts indicate that he sponsored Buddhist missions to various areas not only within his own empire, but in the Greek-ruled areas of the northwest and in Sri Lanka to the south. They indicate that he maintained a special interest in the well-being and unity of the Buddhist *saṃgha*, that he was concerned to emphasize the importance of Buddhist texts that dealt with lay morality, and that he undertook a royal pilgrimage to the sites associated with the great events in the Buddha's life.

Aśoka's actual policies and actions represent only one aspect of his impact in facilitating the transition of Buddhism from a sectarian religion to a civilizational religion. The other aspect is evidenced in the legends of Aśoka that appeared within the Buddhist community in the period following his death. These legends vary in character from one Buddhist tradition to another. For example, the Theravādins present an idealized portrait of Aśoka and depict him as a strong supporter of their own traditions. Another widely disseminated Aśokan text, the *Aśokāvadāna*, composed in Northwest India probably in a Sarvāstivāda context, depicts an equally imposing but more ambivalent figure, sometimes cruel in behavior and ugly in appearance. But all of the various Aśokan legends present in dramatic form an ideal of Buddhist kingship correlated with an imperial Buddhism that is truly civilizational in character.

During the Aśokan and immediately post-Aśokan era there are at least three specific developments that sustained the transformation of Buddhism into a civilizational religion. The first, a realignment in the structure of the religious community, involved an innovation in the relationship and balance between the monastic order and its lay supporters. Prior to the time of Aśoka the monastic order was, from an organizational point of view, the focus of Buddhist community life; the laity, however important its role may have been, lacked any kind of independent institutional structure. As a result of the Aśokan experience, including both historical events and the idealized example he set as lay participant *par excellence* in the affairs of the *saṃgha*, the Buddhist state came to provide (sometimes as a hoped-for possibility, at other times as a socioreligious reality) an independent institution that could serve as a lay counterpoint and counterbalance to the order of monks. In addition, this realignment in the structure of the Buddhist community fostered the emergence of an important crosscutting distinction between monks and laypersons who were participants in the imperial-civilizational elite on the one hand, and ordinary monks and laypersons on the other.

The transformation of Buddhism into a civilizational religion also involved doctrinal and scholastic factors. During the Aśokan and post-Aśokan periods, factions within the monastic community began to formulate aspects of the teachings more precisely, and to develop those teachings into philosophies that attempted to explain all of reality in a coherent and logically defensible manner. As a result, the literature in which the community preserved its memory of the sermons of the Buddha (the sūtras) and of his instructions to the monastic order (Vinaya) came to be supplemented by new scholastic texts known as Abhidharma ("higher Dharma"). Given the philosophical ambiguities of the received traditions, it was inevitable that contradictory doctrines would be put forward and that different religio-philosophical systems would be generated. This led to controversies within the community, and these controversies led to the proliferation of Buddhist schools and subschools, probably in conjunction with other more mundane disputes that we do not have sufficient data to reconstruct. Some sources list a total of eighteen schools without any consistency in names. The institutional and ideological boundaries between groups and subgroups were probably very fluid.

Developments in the areas of symbolism, architecture, and ritual were also significant components in the transformation of Buddhism into a civilizational religion. Some changes were related to the support Buddhism received from its royal and elite supporters. For example, royal and elite patronage seems to have been crucial to the emergence of large monastic establishments throughout India. Such support was also a central factor in the proliferation of stupas (Skt., *stūpa*s), memorial monuments replete with cosmological and associated royal symbolism that represented the Buddha and were, in most cases, believed to contain a portion of his relics. These stūpas were an appropriate setting for the development of Buddhist art in which the Buddha was represented in aniconic forms such as a footprint, a Bodhi ("enlightenment") Tree, a royal throne, the wheel of the *dharma*, and the like. Merit making and related rituals proliferated and assumed new forms around these stupas. Pilgrimages to the sacred sites associated with the great events of the Buddha's life became more popular. The veneration and contemplation of stupas and other symbolic representations of the Buddha became increasingly widespread. Moreover, the notion of merit making itself was expanded so that it came to include not only merit making for oneself but the transfer of merit to deceased relatives and others was well.

Imperial Buddhism reasserted and transcended. Despite the importance of Aśoka to the history of Buddhism, the imperial order that he established persisted only a short time after his death. Within fifty years of his death (i. e., by the year 186 BCE), the Buddhist-oriented Mauryan dynasty collapsed and was replaced by the Śuṅga dynasty, more supportive of Brahmanic Hindu traditions. The Buddhist texts claim that the Śuṅgas undertook a persecution of Buddhism, although the force of any such persecution is rendered dubious by the fact that Buddhism and Buddhist institutions continued to flourish and develop within the territory ruled by the Śuṅgas. Moreover, Buddhism emerged as a dominant religion in areas outside northeastern India where the Śuṅgas were unable to maintain the authority and prestige that their Mauryan predecessors had enjoyed.

During the three centuries from the second century BCE through the first century CE Buddhism became a powerful religious force in virtually all of India, from the southern tip of the peninsula to the Indo-Greek areas in the northwest, and in Sri Lanka and Central Asia as well. New polities seeking to secure their control over culturally plural areas emulated Aśoka's example and adopted Buddhism as an imperial religion. This happened in Sri Lanka, probably when Duṭṭhagāmaṇī brought about the unification of the island kingdom in the mid-second century BCE. It happened in central India when the rising Śātavāhana dynasty became a supporter of the Buddhist cause. It happened to some extent in northwestern India when certain Greek and invading Central Asian kings converted to Buddhism. And it happened more fully in northwestern India during and after the reign of King Kaniṣka (first to second century CE), who ruled over a vast Kushan empire that extended from northern India deep into Central Asia. By this time Buddhism had also begun to penetrate into trading centers in northern China and to spread along land and sea routes across Southeast Asia to South China as well.

A major aspect of the transformation of Buddhism into a fully civilizational religion was the differentiation that occurred between Buddhism as a civilizational religion and Buddhism as an imperial religion. During late Mauryan times the civilizational and imperial dimensions had not been clearly differentiated. However, by the beginning of the common era Buddhism had become a civilizational religion that transcended the various expressions of imperial Buddhism in particular geographical areas. As a direct correlate of this development, an important distinction was generated within the elite of the Buddhist community. By this period this elite had come to include both a truly civilizational component that maintained close international contacts and traveled freely from one Buddhist empire to another and beyond, as well as overlapping but distinguishable imperial components that operated within the framework of each particular empire.

At this time Buddhist texts and teachings were being extended in a variety of ways. In some schools, such as the Theravāda and the Sarvāstivāda, canons of authoritative texts were established, but even after this had occurred new elements continued to be incorporated into the tradition through commentaries. In the case of the Sarvāstivādins, a huge collection of commentaries known as the *Mahāvibhāṣā* was compiled at a Buddhist council held by King Kaniṣka. In other schools the Pitakas themselves were still being enriched by the incorporation of a variety of new additions and embellishments. There also began to appear, on the fringes of the established schools, a new kind of sūtra that signaled the rise of a new Buddhist orientation that came to be known as the Mahāyāna. The earliest of these were the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras,* which put forward the doctrine of *śūnyatā* (the ultimate "emptiness" of all phenomena) and proclaimed the path of the *bodhisattva* (future Buddha) as the path that all Buddhists should follow. Before the end of the second century CE the great Buddhist philosopher Nāgārjuna had given the perspective of these sūtras a systematic expression and thereby established a basis for the first of the major Mahāyāna schools, known as Mādhyamika.

This extension of Buddhist traditions of texts and teachings was accompanied by two other developments that also contributed to their civilizational efficacy. During this period the older Buddhist schools (hereafter collectively called the Hīnayāna) that had previously limited themselves to the oral transmission of tradition, and the newly emerging Mahāyāna fraternities as well, began to commit their versions of the Buddha's teaching to writing. Some Buddhist groups began to translate and write their most authoritative texts in Sanskrit, which had become the preeminent civilizational language in India.

The rapid development of Buddhism led to major changes in Buddhist ways of representing the Buddha and relating to him ritually. Some Hīnayāna schools produced autonomous biographies of the Buddha. The most famous of the biographies is the *Buddhacarita* (Acts of the Buddha), by Aśvaghoṣa, written in refined Sanskrit in a classic literary form (*kavya*). The Hīnayāna schools provided the context for the production of anthropomorphic images of the Buddha, which became a major focal point for sophisticated artistic expression on the one hand, and for veneration and devotion on the other. These schools also made a place within the Buddhist system for a new and very important figure who became a focus for new forms of devotional practice and, in later phases of Buddhist history, new forms of religio-political symbolism and activity as well. This new figure was the future Buddha Maitreya ("the friendly one"), who was believed to be residing in the Tusita Heaven awaiting the appropriate time to descend to earth. By the beginning of the common era other buddhological trends were beginning to surface that were exclusively Mahāyāna in character. For example, sūtras were beginning to appear that focused attention on a celestial Buddha named Amitābha ("infinite light") and portrayed practices of visualization that could lead to rebirth in the western paradise over which he presided.

Closely associated developments were taking place at the level of cosmology and its application to religious practice. In the Hīnayāna context the most important development was probably the rich portrayal of a set of six cosmological *gati*s, or "destinies" (of gods, humans, animals, *asura*s or titans, hungry ghosts, and beings who are consigned to hell), which depicted, in vivid fashion, the workings of *karman* (moral action and its effects). These texts, which were probably used as the basis for sermons, strongly encouraged Buddhist morality and Buddhist merit-making activities. Other Hīnayāna works of the period suggested the presence of a vast expanse of worlds that coexist with our own. In the new Mahāyāna context this notion of a plurality of worlds was moved into the foreground, the existence of Buddhas in at least some of these other worlds was recognized, and the significance of these Buddhas for life in our own world was both affirmed and described. Finally, there are indications that during this period both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhists increasingly employed exorcistic rituals that depended on the magical power of various kinds of chants and spells (*paritta* in Pali, *dhāraṇī* in Sanskrit).

Buddhism as Pan-Asian Civilization. From the second to the ninth century, Buddhism enjoyed a period of immense creativity and influence. Prior to the beginning of the sixth century, Buddhist fortunes were generally on the rise. Buddhism flourished in Sri Lanka, India, and Central Asia. Through already familiar processes involving its introduction along trade routes, its assimilation to indigenous beliefs and practices, and its adoption as an imperial religion, Buddhism became firmly entrenched in both northern and southern China and in many parts of Southeast Asia. After about 500 CE, these well-established dynamics of expansion continued to operate. Buddhism became the preeminent religion in a newly unified Chinese empire, it continued its spread in parts of Southeast Asia, and it was established in important new areas, first in Japan and then in Tibet. However, during this latter period its successes were coupled with setbacks, and by the middle of the ninth century the era of Buddhism as a pan-Asian civilization was rapidly drawing to a close.

The geographical expansion of Buddhism was both a cause and an effect of its civilizational character. But Buddhism's role as a pan-Asian civilization involved much more than a pan-Asian presence. Buddhist monasteries, often state supported and located near capitals of the various Buddhist kingdoms, functioned in ways analogous to modern universities. There was a constant circulation of Buddhist monks, texts, and artistic forms across increasingly vast geographical areas. Indian and Central Asian missionaries traveled to China and with the help of Chinese Buddhists translated whole libraries of books into Chinese, which became a third major Buddhist sacred language alongside Pali and Sanskrit. In the fifth century Buddhist nuns carried their ordination lineage from Sri Lanka to China. Between 400 and 700 a stream of Chinese pilgrims traveled to India via Central Asia and Southeast Asia in order to visit sacred sites and monasteries and to collect additional scriptures and commentaries. Some of these, such as Faxian, Xuanzang, and Yijing, wrote travel accounts that provide information concerning Buddhist civilization in its fullest development. In the sixth century Buddhism was formally introduced into Japan; in the following century Buddhists from Central Asia, India, and China made their way into Tibet. Beginning in the eighth and ninth centuries monks from Japan visited China in order to receive Buddhist training and acquire Buddhist texts. These are only a few illustrations of the kind of travel and interaction that characterized this period.

While Buddhism was reaching its apogee as a civilizational religion, the teachings of the Hīnayāna tradition were further extended and refined. New commentaries were produced in both Sanskrit and in Pali. During the fifth century these commentaries were supplemented by the appearance of two very important manuals, Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*, composed in the Sarvāstivāda-Sautrāntika context in Northwest India, and Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* (Path of Purification), written in the Theravādin context in Sri Lanka. Moreover, many Hīnayāna themes remained basic to the other Buddhist traditions with which it coexisted. Most Buddhists continued to recognize the Buddha Gautama as an important figure, and to focus attention on the single-world cosmology that posited the existence of three realms—the realm beyond form associated with the most exalted gods and the highest meditational states, the realm of form associated with slightly less exalted gods and meditational states, and the realm of desire constituted by the six *gati*s previously mentioned. This latter realm was especially prominent as the context presumed by pan-Buddhist teachings concerning karmic retribution and the value of giving, particularly to the members of the monastic community.

Within the Mahāyāna tradition this period of Buddhist efflorescence as a civilizational religion was characterized by a high level of creativity and by a variety of efforts toward systematization. In the earlier centuries the Mahāyānists produced a rich and extensive collection of new sūtras, including the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* (Lotus of the true law), the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, and the *Avatamsaka Sūtra*. With the passage of time, voluminous commentaries were written on many of these sūtras in India, Central Asia, and China. These *sūtra*s and commentaries developed new teachings concerning the emptiness of the phenomenal world, the storehouse consciousness (*ālaya-vijñāna*), and the "embryo of the Tathāgata" (*tathāgata-garbha*). These teachings were given scholastic forms in various Mahāyāna groups such as the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra schools, which originated in India, and the Tiantai and Huayan schools, which originated in China. In addition, these sūtras and commentaries recognized a vast pantheon of Buddhas and *bodhisattva*s (future Buddhas) and acknowledged the existence of a plurality, even an infinity, of worlds. Some went on to affirm the reality of an eternal, cosmic Buddha whom they took to be the ultimate source of these innumerable Buddhas, *bodhisattva*s, and worlds (and of all else as well). Some of these texts highlighted various kinds of soteriological help that particular Buddhas and *bodhisattva*s could provide to those who sought their aid. In addition to Maitreya and Amitābha, mentioned above, other Buddhas and *bodhisattva*s who became particularly important include Bhaiṣajyaguru (the Buddha of healing), Avalokiteśvara (the *bodhisattva* exemplar of compassion), Mañjuśrī (the *bodhisattva* patron of the wise), and Kṣitigarbha (the *bodhisattva* who specialized in assisting those who suffer in hell).

By the second half of the first millennium CE a new strand of Buddhist tradition, the Vajrayāna, or Esoteric Vehicle, began to come into the foreground in India. This new vehicle accepted the basic orientation of the Mahāyāna, but supplemented Mahāyāna insights with new and dramatic forms of practice, many of them esoteric in character. The appearance of this new Buddhist vehicle was closely associated with the composition of new texts, including new sūtras (e.g., the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*), and the new ritual manuals known as *tantra*s. By the eighth and ninth centuries this new vehicle had spread through virtually the entire Buddhist world and was preserved especially in Japan and in Tibet. But before the process of systematization of the Vajrayāna could proceed very far the infrastructure that constituted Buddhist civilization began to break down, thus at least partially accounting for the very different form that this tradition took in Tibet and in Japan, where it became known as Shingon.

During the period of its hegenomy as a pan-Asian civilization, Buddhism retained a considerable degree of unity across both the regional and text-oriented boundaries that delimited particular Buddhist traditions. In each cultural area and in each of the three *yāna*s there were ascetics and contemplatives who practiced Buddhist meditation; there were ecclesiastics and moralists whose primary concern was Buddhist discipline; there were monks and laypersons who were involved in Buddhist devotion; and there were those who took a special interest in Buddhist magic and exorcism. These diverse groups and individuals shared—and many realized that they shared—beliefs, attitudes, and practices with like-minded Buddhists in distant areas and other *yāna*s.

Moreover, during the period of its ascendancy as a civilizational religion, Buddhism provided a successful standard of cultural unification such that other religious traditions, including the Hindu in India, the Manichaean in Central Asia, the Daoist in China, the Shinto in Japan, and the Bon in Tibet, responded to it with their own innovations shaped by Buddhist ideas and values. During this period, in other words, Buddhism set the standards, religious, philosophical, artistic, and so on, to which a whole range of other Asian traditions were forced to respond. Buddhism also served as a civilizational religion by encompassing other elements—logic, medicine, grammar, and technology, to name but a few—that made it attractive to individuals and groups, including many rulers and members of various Asian aristocracies who had little or no interest in the spiritual aspect of religion.

BUDDHISM AS CULTURAL RELIGION. For more than a thousand years, from the time of King Aśoka to about the ninth century, Buddhism exhibited a civilizational form that began as pan-Indian and ultimately became pan-Asian in character. Like the sectarian pattern that preceded it, this civilizational pattern left an indelible mark on all subsequent Buddhist developments. Buddhism never completely lost either its concern for inclusiveness or its distinctively international flavor. But beginning in about the fifth century the civilizational structure suffered increasingly severe disruptions, and a new pattern began to emerge. All across Asia, Buddhism was gradually transformed, through a variety of historical processes, into what we have chosen to call "cultural religion."

The period of transition. Buddhist civilization, which characteristically strove for both comprehensiveness and systematic order, was dependent on the security and material prosperity of a relatively small number of great monasteries and monastic universities that maintained contact with one another and shared common interests and values. This institutional base was, in fact, quite fragile, as was demonstrated when historical events threatened the well-being of these monasteries and their residents. New developments arose within the Buddhist community as a result of these vicissitudes, developments that eventually transformed Buddhism into a series of discrete cultural traditions.

Some indication of these developments can be seen quite early, even as Buddhist civilization was at the peak of its brilliance. Events in Central Asia during the fifth and sixth centuries were not favorable to the Buddhist kingdoms along the Silk Route that connected Northwest India and northern China. These kingdoms were invaded and in some cases conquered by different nomadic peoples such as the Huns, who also invaded India and the Roman empire. The Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang, who visited Sogdiana in 630, saw only ruins of Buddhist temples and former Buddhist monasteries that had been given over to the Zoroastrians.

The instability in the crucial linking area between India and China during the fifth and sixth centuries seems to have been sufficient to weaken Buddhism's civilizational structure. For the first time we see the emergence of new Buddhist schools in China that are distinctively Chinese. The appearance of synthetic Chinese schools like Tiantai and Huayan suggests a continuation of the civilizational orientation. These schools sought to reconcile the divergent views found in Buddhist literature through an extended elaboration of different levels of teaching. This is, of course, characteristic of Buddhism as a civilizational religion, but the manner of reconciliation reflects a style of harmonization that is distinctively Chinese.

The increasing importance of Tantra in late Indian Buddhism and the success of the Pure Land (Jingtu) and Chan (Zen) schools in China during the Sui and Tang period (598–907) are further indications that the Buddhist tradition was becoming more local in self-definition. Chinese Buddhism had a new independent spirit in contrast to the earlier India-centered Buddhism. Moreover, the new movements that emerged at that time seem to be the result of a long development that took place apart from the major cosmopolitan centers. Far more than in the past, expressions of Buddhism were being made at all levels of particular societies, and there was a new concern for the interrelation of those levels within each society.

During the last centuries of the first millennium CE, Buddhist civilization developed a new, somewhat independent center in China that reached its peak during the Sui and Tang dynasties. Thus, when Buddhist texts and images were introduced into Japan during the sixth century they were presented and appropriated as part and parcel of Chinese culture. The new religion gained support from the prince regent, Shōtoku Taishi, who wanted to model his rule after that of the Buddhist-oriented Sui dynasty. Chinese Buddhist schools such as Huayan (Jpn., Kegon) also prospered in the Nara period in Japan (710–784) as Chinese cultural influence continued to flourish.

The two centers of Buddhist civilization, China and India, also competed with each other, as can be seen in a situation that developed in Tibet. Buddhism had been brought to Tibet by King Sroṅ bstan sgam po (d. 650), who established the first stable state in the area. Buddhist texts were translated into Tibetan from both Sanskrit and Chinese. A later king, Khri sroṅ lde btsan (755–797), officially adopted Buddhism as the state religion and determined to resolve the tension between Indian and Chinese influence. He sponsored the famous Council of Lhasa, in which a Chinese party representing a Chan "sudden enlightenment" point of view debated an Indian group that advocated a more gradualist understanding of the Buddhist path. Both sides claimed victory, but the Indian tradition gained predominance and eventually translations were permitted only from Sanskrit.

During the ninth and tenth centuries the two Buddhist civilizational centers in India and China were themselves subject to attack, both internally and externally. The combination of Hindu resurgence and Muslim invasions led to the effective disappearance of the Buddhist community in India by the thirteenth century. Repeated invasions by Uighurs and Turkic peoples, as well as official persecutions and the revival of the Confucian tradition, resulted in a decisive weakening of institutional Buddhism in China.

The processes of acculturation that had first become evident in the sixth century in India and China repeated themselves beginning in the tenth century in Japan, Korea, Tibet, Sri Lanka, and Southeast Asia. In each of these areas distinct cultural forms of Buddhism evolved. There was a reorganization of the Buddhist community with an increased emphasis on the bonds between elite and ordinary Buddhists in each particular area. There was a renewed interest in efficacious forms of Buddhist practice and the Buddhist schools that preserved and encouraged such practice. Within each area there was a development of Buddhist symbols and rituals that became representative of distinct Buddhist cultures, particularly at the popular level.

In Central Asia the Buddhist community had no success in surviving the Muslim expansion. Buddhism had some limited success in India during the last centuries of the first millennium. It benefited from extensive royal and popular support in northeastern India under the Pāla dynasty from the eighth to the twelfth century, but Hindu philosophy and theistic (*bhakti*) movements were aggressive critics of Buddhism. Hardly any distinct Buddhist presence continued in India after the last of the great monasteries were destroyed by the Muslims. In China there was more success, although the Confucian and Daoist traditions were powerful rivals. As a result of persecutions in the ninth century, Buddhism lost its distinctively civilizational role, but it continued as a major component of Chinese religion, becoming increasingly synthesized with other native traditions. In Sri Lanka, Southeast Asia (except for Indonesia and the Malay Peninsula, where Buddhism suffered the same fate that it suffered in India), Japan, Korea, and Tibet (from whence it eventually spread to Mongolia), areas where Buddhism did not have to compete with strongly organized indigenous traditions, it was successful in establishing itself as the dominant religious tradition. The religious creativity of these areas, once the periphery of the Buddhist world, resulted in a Buddhist "axial age" that dramatically transformed the tradition as a whole.

Monastic order, royal order, and popular Buddhism. The transformation of Buddhism from a civilizational religion to a cultural religion depended on a fundamental realignment in the structure of the Buddhist community. As a civilizational religion, Buddhist community life had come to include a largely monastic elite that traveled extensively, was multilingual, and operated at the civilizational level; an imperial elite made up of monks and laypersons associated more closely with royal courts and related aristocracies; and a less exalted company of ordinary monks and laypersons living not only in urban areas but in the countryside as well. In Buddhism's zenith as a civilizational religion the central organizing relationship was that between the largely monastic civilizational elite and the imperial elites, consisting of kings, queens, and other high-placed members of the laity on the one hand, and the monks whom they supported on the other. The ordinary members of the laity and the less exalted monks played a role, of course, but in most areas at most periods of time they seem to have been somewhat distanced from the mainstream of Buddhist community life. With the transformation of Buddhism into a cultural religion, however, this situation was drastically altered.

One aspect of this transformation was major changes that took place at three different levels: monastic, imperial, and popular. The demise of the monastic network through which the civilizational aspect of Buddhism had been supported and maintained was decisive. To be sure, there were elements of the monastic community that never lost their international vision, and travel and exchanges between specific cultural areas was never totally absent, particularly between China and Japan, China and Tibet, and Sri Lanka and mainland Southeast Asia. Nevertheless, it would be difficult to speak of a pan-Asian Buddhist elite after the ninth or tenth century.

The pattern at the imperial level was altered by the loss of monastic power and influence coupled with increased state control in monastic affairs. During the period that Buddhism was an effective civilizational religion its great monasteries functioned practically as "states within the state." Monasteries commanded extensive resources of land and labor and were often actively involved in commercial enterprises. This public splendor made the monasteries inviting targets, especially after their usefulness as civilizational centers had declined. If the monasteries were not simply destroyed, as they were in India and Central Asia, they were often deprived of their resources, as occurred at one time or another in virtually every Buddhist area. With the decline of monastic influence at the imperial level, the control of the state over monastic affairs inevitably increased. In China and Japan, and to a lesser extent in Korea and Vietnam, state control became thoroughly bureaucratized. In Sri Lanka and the

Theravāda areas of Southeast Asia, state control was implemented more indirectly and with considerably less efficiency by royal "purifications" of the *sangha.* Specific local conditions in Tibet led to a unique situation in which monastic and royal functions became so tightly interlocked that they were often completely fused.

The demise of the international Buddhist elite and the weakening of the large and powerful establishments were counterbalanced by a strengthening of Buddhist life at the grass-roots level. Smaller, local institutions that for a long time had coexisted with the great monasteries took on new importance as focal points in Buddhist community life. For example, smaller so-called merit cloisters (*kung-te yüan*) supported by wealthy laymen were significant components in the development and life of Chinese Buddhism. In Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia the emergence of cultural Buddhism was closely associated with monks who were called *gāmavāsin*s (village dwellers) and who strengthened Buddhist influence among the people in the major cities and in the more distant provinces as well. In contrast to civilizational Buddhism, in which the crucial structural alignment was that between the civilizational elite and the monks and laity at the imperial level, the crucial structural alignment in cultural Buddhism was between the monks and laity of the imperial or state elites, who were located primarily in the capital cities, and the ordinary people who inhabited local monasteries and villages.

The preeminence of practice. The era of comprehensive Buddhist philosophizing and the formulation of original systems of thought came to an end, for the most part, with the demise of Buddhism as a civilizational religion. There continued to be philosophical innovations, and some of the great systems that were already formulated were adjusted to meet new circumstances. However, the real creativity of Buddhism as a cultural religion came to the fore in schools and movements that emphasized efficacious modes of Buddhist practice.

A major component in the development of various Buddhist cultures is the ascendancy of schools or movements that combined a strong emphasis on the importance of discipline (particularly although not exclusively the monastic discipline) with an accompanying emphasis on meditation. In China and Japan, Chan and Zen, with their emphasis on firm discipline and meditative practices such as "just sitting" and the contemplation of *kung-an* (Jpn., *kōan*; enigmatic verses), are representative of this kind of Buddhist tradition. These were the schools that became more prominent as Mahāyāna Buddhism emerged as a cultural religion in East Asia, and they continued to exert influence on the various East Asian political and aesthetic elites from that time forward. The Āraññikas, or "forest-dwelling monks," represented an analogous orientation and played a similar role in Sri Lanka and subsequently in Southeast Asia. The Āraññikas appeared on the Sri Lankan scene in the ninth and tenth centuries as a group of monks who had chosen to withdraw from the wealthy monasteries of the capital, to adopt a strictly disciplined mode of life, and to devote themselves to study and/or meditation. In the twelfth century the Āraññikas led a major reform in Sri Lanka and in subsequent centuries they extended their reform movement throughout the Theravāda world, which included not only Sri Lanka but also Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos. The Āraññikas in the Theravāda world, like the Chan and Zen practitioners in East Asia, were closely affiliated with the elite segments of the various societies in which they were active. A similar kind of emphasis was placed on discipline, study, and meditation in Tibet, where the Vajrayāna tradition was established by Atīśa, the monk who in the eleventh century inaugurated the "second introduction" of Buddhism into the country. In the fifteenth century another infusion of discipline-oriented reform was provided by reformers who established the Dge lugs pa, the so-called Yellow Hats, which became the preeminent Tibetan (and Mongolian) school subsequently headed by the well-known line of Dalai Lamas.

Each expression of Buddhism as a cultural religion generated, as a kind of counterpoint to its more elitist, discipline-oriented schools and movements, other schools and movements that focused on more populist forms of devotional or Esoteric (Tantric) practice. In the East Asian Mahāyāna areas the most important development was the increasing prominence of the Pure Land schools in the early centuries of the second millennium CE. The Chinese Pure Land schools remained in close symbiosis with the practitioners of Chan and retained a relatively traditional mode of monastic practice. Their Japanese counterparts, however, became more differentiated and considerably more innovative. During the Kamakura period (1185–1333) a number of new, distinctively Japanese Pure Land and related schools were founded by charismatic leaders such as Hōnen, Shinran, and Nichiren; these schools took on a distinctively Japanese cast. For Nichiren, the Pure Land was Japan itself.

Although less important than Pure Land and related kinds of devotion, Esoteric or Tantric modes of religion also were a significant part of cultural Buddhism in East Asia. In China the Esoteric elements were closely related to influences from the Vajrayāna tradition in Tibet as well as interactions with forms of indigenous Daoism. In Japan more sophisticated Esoteric elements persisted in the Tendai (Chin., Tiantai) and Shingon schools, while more rustic and indigenous elements were prominent in groups that were integrated into these schools, for example, the Shūgendō community that was made up of mountain ascetics known as *yamabushi.*

In Sri Lanka in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (the period of Hōnen, Shinran, and Nichiren in Japan) devotional religion also seems to have been influential in the Buddhist community, generating new genres of Buddhist literature that were written primarily in Sinhala rather than Pali. Although no specifically devotional "schools" were formed, a whole new devotional component was incorporated into the Theravāda tradition and subsequently diffused to the

Theravāda cultures in Southeast Asia. Similarly, there were, as far as we know, no "schools" that were specifically Esoteric or Tantric in character. However, there is some evidence that indicates that Esoteric elements played a very significant role in each of the premodern Theravāda cultures. This kind of influence seems to have been particularly strong in northern Burma, northern Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia.

In Tibet and Mongolia, as one would expect given their Vajrayāna ethos, the primary counterpoints to the more discipline-oriented traditions were the schools, such as the Rnying ma pa and Bka' brgyud pa, that emphasized the performance of Esoteric and Tantric rituals in order to achieve worldly benefits and to proceed along a "fast path" to salvation. However, just as in the other Buddhist cultures devotion was supplemented by recourse to Esoteric and Tantric techniques, so in Tibet and Mongolia Esoteric and Tantric techniques were supplemented by the practice of devotion.

Another important component of Buddhism as a cultural religion was the mitigation, in some circles at least, of traditional distinctions between monks and laity. This trend was least evident in the more discipline-oriented contexts, but even here there was some movement in this direction. For example, in the Chan and Zen monasteries, monks, rather than being prohibited from engaging in productive work as the Vinaya had stipulated, were actually required to work. In the Pure Land schools in Japan, and in some of the Esoteric schools in Japan and Tibet, it became permissible and common for clergy to marry and have families. Also, certain kinds of monastic/lay and purely lay associations played important roles in China and Japan. These included both straightforward religious associations devoted to the various Buddhist causes, and, particularly in China, a number of secret societies and messianically oriented groups. Even in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia tendencies toward the laicization of the monastic order can from time to time be observed, but in these strongly Theravāda areas the process was always thwarted by royal intervention before the innovations could take root.

The pervasiveness of ritual. Alongside the particular schools and movements that characterized Buddhism as a cultural religion there were also modes of Buddhist practice that, although influenced by those schools and movements, were more pervasively involved in Buddhist cultures as such. Pilgrimage was in the forefront of these practices.

Virtually every instance of Buddhism as a cultural religion had its own particular patterns of Buddhist pilgrimage. In many cases these pilgrimage patterns were a major factor in maintaining the specificity of particular, often overlapping, religious and cultural complexes. In some contexts these pilgrimage patterns delimited Buddhist cultural complexes that supported and were supported by particular political kingdoms. An example of this situation was the Sinhala pattern, in which there were sixteen major sites systematically distributed throughout all of Sri Lanka. In other situations, for example in Southeastern Asia, these patterns often delimited Buddhist cultural complexes that cut across political divisions.

Many of the sites that were the goals of major Buddhist pilgrimages were mountain peaks or other places that had been sacred from before the introduction of Buddhism and continued to have sacred associations in other traditions that coexisted with Buddhism. Through pilgrimage practices at these sites Buddhism assimilated various deities and practices associated with local religious traditions. At the same time, of course, the Buddhist presence imbued those deities and practices with Buddhist connotations. In Japan, Buddhas and *bodhisattva*s became virtually identified in many situations with indigenous *kami* (divine spirits). In China great *bodhisattva*s such as Kṣitigarbha, Mañjuśrī, and Avalokiteśvara became denizens of sacred mountains that were popular pilgrimage sites, and in those pilgrimage contexts underwent a thoroughgoing process of sinicization. Stūpas, footprints, and other Buddhist objects of pilgrimage in Southeast Asia became, for many who venerated them, representations in which the Buddha was closely associated with indigenous spirits (e.g., *nats* in Burma, *phī* in Thailand, etc.) who served as the local guardians or protectors of Buddhist institutions.

Wherever Buddhism developed as a cultural religion it penetrated not only the sacred topography of the area but also the cycle of calendric rites. In China, for example, the annual cycle of Buddhist ritual activities included festivals honoring various Buddhas and *bodhisattva*s, festivals dedicated to significant figures from Chinese Buddhist history, a great vegetarian feast, and a very important "All Soul's" festival in which the Chinese virtue of filial piety was expressed through offerings intended to aid one's ancestors. While these rituals themselves involved much that was distinctively Chinese, they were interspersed with other festivals, both Confucian and Daoist, and were supplemented by other, lesser rituals associated with daily life that involved an even greater integration with non-Buddhist elements. In Sri Lanka the Buddhist ritual calendar included festivals honoring events of the Buddha's life; a festival that celebrated the coming of Mahinda, Aśoka's missionary son, to establish Buddhism in Sri Lanka; a festival in the capital honoring the Buddha relic that served as the palladium of the kingdom; and the monastic-centered *kathin* (Pali, *kaṭhina*; giving of robes) ceremony that marked the end of the rainy season. These Buddhist rituals were interspersed with non-Buddhist celebrations that were, in this case, largely Hindu. These large-scale rituals were supplemented by more episodic and specialized rites that involved an even wider variety of indigenous elements such as offerings to local spirits. In the Tibetan cultural area the Buddhist calendar encompassed great festivals sponsored by monasteries in which the introduction of Buddhism to Tibet was celebrated as the Buddhist defeat of indigenous demons, as well as festivals honoring Buddhist deities (e.g., Tārā) and Tibetan Buddhist heroes (e.g., Padmasambhava). The Tibetan Buddhist calendar also included other large- and small-scale rituals in which Buddhist and indigenous shamanistic elements were combined.

Buddhism in its various cultural expressions also became associated with life cycle rites, especially those of the male initiation into adulthood and those associated with death. The Buddhist involvement in male initiation rites was limited primarily to Southeast Asia. In many Buddhist countries children and young men were educated in the monasteries, but only in Southeast Asia did temporary initiation into the order, either as a novice (as in Burma) or at a later age as a full-fledged monk (as in central Thailand), become a culturally accepted necessity for the attainment of male adulthood. Buddhist involvement in funerary rituals was, on the other hand, a phenomenon that appeared again and again all across Asia. For example, in the Theravāda countries where Buddhism has been the dominant cultural religion elaborate cremations patterned after the ceremony reportedly performed for the Buddha himself have become the rule for members of the royal and monastic elites. Simpler ceremonies, based on the same basic model, were the norm for those of lesser accomplishment or status. Even in cultures where Buddhism coexisted with other major religions on a more or less equal basis, Buddhists have been the preferred officiants in the funerary context. The prime example is China, where Buddhists developed elaborate masses for the dead that were widely used throughout the whole of society. Originally introduced into China by the now defunct Zhenyan (Vajrayāna) school, these masses for the dead were adapted to their new Chinese environment and became an integral component of Chinese Buddhist culture.

All across Asia Buddhism expressed itself as a cultural religion through different kinds of ritual at different levels of society. It was through these ritual forms, more than in any other way, that it became an integral component in the life of different Asian peoples, molding cultures in accordance with its values and being itself molded in the process. Once Buddhism became established as a cultural religion, it was these rituals that enabled it to maintain its position and influence, and to do so century after century on into the modern era.

BUDDHISM IN THE MODERN WORLD. The beginnings of European mercantilism and imperialism in the sixteenth century initiated a chain of events that continue to stimulate and to threaten the Buddhist community in its parts and as a whole. Traditional social and economic patterns on which the various Buddhist cultures depended were disrupted and eventually displaced by new patterns. These new patterns inextricably linked individual Buddhist societies to a global community and especially to the West. As a result, all of the profound transformations that have occurred in European civilization in the last three centuries, the advent of rationalism, scientific materialism, nationalism, relativism, technology, democracy, and communism, have challenged Buddhists in Asia just as they have challenged religious men and women in Europe and the Americas.

The modern encounter of cultures and civilizations has not been monolithic. Three stages can be identified in Buddhist Asia. The first was the arrival of missionaries with traders in various parts of Asia. These missionaries came to convert and instruct, and they brought printing presses and schools as well as Bibles and catechisms. There was a missionary onslaught on Asian religious traditions, including Buddhism, in Sri Lanka, Southeast Asia, China, and Japan. This onslaught was sometimes physically violent, as in the Portuguese destruction of Buddhist temples and relics in Sri Lanka, but for the most part it was an ideological assault. A second stage was more strictly colonial, as some European powers gained control over many different areas of the Buddhist world. Some Buddhist countries, such as Sri Lanka, Burma, and the Indochinese states, were fully colonized while others, such as Thailand, China, and Japan, were subjected to strong colonial influences. In virtually every situation (Tibet was a notable exception), the symbiotic relationship between the political order and the monastic order was disrupted, with adverse effects for Buddhist institutions.

The twentieth-century acceptance of Western political and economic ideologies, whether democratic capitalism or communism, represents a third stage. Buddhists in China, Mongolia, Tibet, and parts of Korea and Southeast Asia now live in communist societies, and the future of Buddhist communities in these areas looks bleak. Capitalism has been dominant in Japan, South Korea, Sri Lanka, and parts of Southeast Asia (Thailand being the prime example), and greater possibilities for the Buddhist tradition are presumed to exist in these areas. But capitalism, as well as communism, has undercut the claim that Buddhist thought and values are of central significance for contemporary life. Buddhist monuments and institutions are in many cases treated as museum pieces, while Buddhist beliefs are often banished to the sphere of individual opinion. In many situations Buddhism is deplored as backward and superstitious, and is for that reason criticized or ignored. As Edward Conze noted in his *A Short History of Buddhism* (London, 1980), “One may well doubt whether capitalism has been any more kind to Buddhism than communism” (p. 129).

Despite the difficulties that Buddhists have faced, they have responded creatively to the turmoil of recent history. They have engaged in many efforts to adapt to their changing environment, just as they have done repeatedly in the past. Thus far, however, they have drawn on their traditional heritage for suitable models, and their varied responses can thus be grouped as cultural, civilizational, and sectarian.

Cultural responses. The initial responses to European civilization were cultural in character, and often reactionary. Some Buddhist kingdoms, after an initial exposure to elements of European civilization, attempted to isolate themselves as a way of preserving their cultural identity. This was done in Japan, Korea, and Tibet, and was attempted in China. In other cases, Buddhist revivals were inspired by the missionary challenges. In Sri Lanka and China, Buddhist intellectuals responded to the efforts of Christian missionaries to criticize Buddhism with their own spirited apologetics. These intellectuals readily adopted the methods and instruments of the Christian missionary, the printing press and the school, as well as his militancy, to promote the Buddhist cause. Some processes that began in the period of Buddhist culture, especially the mitigation of distinctions between monks and laity, were also stimulated by these innovations. Modern technology, such as improved modes of transportation, also made it easier for more people to engage in traditional practices like pilgrimage.

The Buddhist revivals often were inspired by cultural loyalism. To choose Buddhism as one's religious identity in the face of the Christian challenge also meant that one was choosing to be Sinhala, Thai, or Chinese. It was an emphatic denial that things Chinese, for example, were inferior, even if this was suggested by the power and prestige of Christianity and European civilization.

The association between Buddhism and cultural loyalism has been strongest in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia. Buddhists, both laity and monks, were actively involved in the local independence movements. In these contexts Buddhism has been given a sharply defined nationalistic character by drawing on both the heritage of indigenous Buddhist culture and the example of Aśoka's imperial religion. Buddhism has been used as an instrument for national integration in post-colonial politics and elements of Buddhism have been appropriated by emerging civic religions in Sri Lanka, Burma, and Thailand.

The colonial disestablishment of Buddhism in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia, and its analogues in Qing-dynasty China and Meiji Japan, altered again the lay-monk relationship and encouraged the emergence of an active lay leadership. Monasteries, deprived of government maintenance and generally without sufficient resources of their own, found it necessary to cultivate the support of local patrons. A larger number of people from various economic and social levels thus became actively involved in religious affairs focusing on the monasteries. This, of course, often led to controversy, with further segmentation of the monastic communities resulting. It also created an environment in which laity and monks could come together in new kinds of associations, much as had happened in the development of Buddhist cultures. Some of the strikingly successful "new religions" of Japan and Korea, such as Reiyūkai (Association of the Friends of the Spirit) and Won Buddhism, are products of this environment.

The disestablishment of Buddhism also encouraged the development of an active lay leadership among the new urban elites who were most influenced by European civilization. These elites introduced "reformed" interpretations of elements of the Buddhist tradition in order to bring those elements into harmony with the expectations of European civilization. Modern reformers' interpretations of the Buddha's biography have emphasized his humanity and his rational approach to the problem of human suffering. Some modernists have sought to relate Buddhist thought to Western philosophical perspectives and also to scientific patterns. Many Buddhist reformers have stressed the relevance of Buddhist teachings to social and ethical issues.

Civilizational responses. The encounter between European civilization and Buddhist cultures encouraged a new awareness among Buddhists of their common heritage. New contacts among Buddhists began on a significant scale, and, as a result, there was also a renewed sense of Buddhism as a civilizational religion.

This sense that Buddhism could again be a civilizational standard that could encompass the conflicting ideologies present in modern Asia and the world had great appeal to the new urban elites. In many countries Buddhist apologists maintained that Buddhism could be the basis for a truly democratic or socialist society and, as a nontheistic religion, could be the basis for world peace and unity. Sōka Gakkai (Value Creation Society), a Japanese "new religion" stemming from the Nichiren tradition, for example, presents an understanding of Buddhism as the "Third Civilization," which can overcome the opposition of idealism and materialism in thought and, when applied to the economy, can bring about a synthesis of capitalism and socialism.

New missionary efforts to Asian countries such as India, Indonesia, and Nepal, where Buddhist influence had waned, and to the West have been encouraged by this view of Buddhism as "the supreme civilization" and the antidote to the spiritual malaise generated by European civilization.

Sectarian developments. New sectarian developments in the modern period have resulted from the expansion of Buddhism, through missionary work, and from Buddhist losses that have occurred through the encounter with European civilization. These developments are evidence that the idea of a new Buddhist civilization remains, as yet, more an aspiration than a reality.

Sectarian developments resulting from expansion can be seen in the establishment of Buddhism in the West, which has been accomplished at a certain distance from the mainstream communities, whether among immigrant groups or among intellectuals and spiritual seekers disaffected by Western cultures and religious traditions. Another sectarian development resulting from expansion is the neo-Buddhist movement among *harijan*s, or scheduled castes, in India, led by B. R. Ambedkar.

A resurgence of sectarian patterns, resulting from Buddhist losses, can be seen in totalitarian communist areas. These developments tend to be pragmatic and defensive in character. Buddhists have attempted to isolate their community from the mainstream of communist society and thus avoid criticism and attack, but these efforts have rarely been successful. Sectarian isolation, however, has often been enforced by new communist governments as a way of weakening and discrediting Buddhist influence. Through a combination of criticism of Buddhist teaching by communist ideology and the radical disestablishment of Buddhist monasteries, communist governments have been able to divest Buddhist leaders and institutions of their cultural power and influence very quickly. This has occurred in the Soviet Union, Mongolia, North Korea, Vietnam, and with special ferocity in Cambodia (Kampuchea) and Tibet.

The Tibetan experience provides a tragic example of a new sectarian development in Buddhism. Buddhist institutions and leaders have been subject to a brutal attack as part of the effort to incorporate Tibet into the People's Republic of China. This has often taken the form of sinicization, with Buddhism being attacked because of its central place in traditional Tibetan culture. Following the Chinese invasion of 1959, thousands of Tibetans, including the Dalai Lama, fled the country. They have established refugee communities in North America, Europe, and India, where they are trying to preserve the heritage of Tibetan Buddhist culture.

Finally, the growth of millenarian movements among Buddhists in the modern period, especially in Burma, Thailand, and Vietnam, may be described as sectarian developments resulting from Buddhist losses. Like so much else of Buddhism in the modern period, Buddhist millenarian movements were transitory responses to crises of power and interpretation within the Buddhist community.

CONCLUSION. Buddhism as a whole has not yet developed a distinctive character in the modern period. On the contrary, there is a great deal of continuity between the historical development of Buddhism and the current responses and innovations. Thus the sectarian, civilizational, and cultural patterns continue to exert a predominant influence in the evolution of Buddhist tradition.

At the same time, we can see that Buddhism, like other world religions, participates in a modern religious situation that is, in many respects, radically new. Buddhism has thus come to share certain modern elements with other contemporary religions. We can see such elements in the search for new modes of religious symbolism, as is found in the writings of the Thai monk Buddhadasa and the Japanese Kyoto school of Buddhist philosophy. We can also see these common elements in the preoccupation with the human world and this-worldly soteriology that is emerging in many Buddhist contexts. A modern Sinhala Buddhist, D. Wijewardena, expressed this attitude in a polemical tract, *The Revolt in the Temple* (Colombo, 1953), by saying that Buddhists must pursue "not a will-o'-the-wisp Nirvana secluded in the cells of their monasteries, but a Nirvana attained here and now by a life of self-forgetful activity . . . [so that] they would live in closer touch with humanity, would better understand and sympathize with human difficulties" (p. 586).

This diversity, representing both tradition and present situation, reminds those of us who would study and understand Buddhism and Buddhists that, in the end, the decisive meaning of our concept of Buddhism must be that of cumulative tradition. Our concept must remain open-ended to allow for future transformations of the Buddhist tradition for as long as men and women associate their lives with the name of Buddha.

SEE ALSO Ālaya-vijñāna; Ambedkar, B. R; Amitābha; Arhat; Aśoka; Atīśa; Avalokiteśvara; Bhaiṣajyaguru; Bodhisattva Path; Buddha; Buddhaghosa; Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, article on Celestial Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Mahāyāna Philosophical Schools of Buddhism; Buddhist Books and Texts; Buddhist Ethics; Buddhist Meditation; Buddhist Philosophy; Buddhist Religious Year; Cakravartin; Chan; Chinese Religion, overview article; Confucianism; Cosmology, article on Buddhist Cosmology; Councils, article on Buddhist Councils; Dalai Lama; Dge lugs pa; Dharma, article on Buddhist Dharma and Dharmas; Duṭṭhagāmaṇī; Eightfold Path; Faxian; Folk Religion, article on Folk Buddhism; Four Noble Truths; Hōnen; Huayan; Iconography, article on Buddhist Iconography; Indian Religions, overview article; Islam, article on Islam in Central Asia; Japanese Religions, overview article; Jingtu; Jōdo Shinshū; Jōdoshū; Kamalaśīla; Karman, article on Buddhist Concepts; Kingship, article on Kingship in East Asia; Korean Religion; Kṣitigarbha; Language, article on Buddhist Views of Language; Mādhyamika; Mahāsāṃghika; Mahāsiddhas; Maitreya; Mañjuśrī; Merit, article on Buddhist Concepts; Millenarianism, article on Chinese Millenarian Movements; Missions, article on Buddhist Missions; Monasticism, article on Buddhist Monasticism; Mongol Religions; Mountains; Nāgārjuna; Nats; New Religious Movements, article on New Religious Movements in Japan; Nichiren; Nichirenshū; Nirvāṇa; Padmasambhava; Pilgrimage, article on Buddhist Pilgrimage in South and Southeast Asia; Pratītya-samutpāda; Priesthood, article on Buddhist Priesthood; Pūjā, article on Buddhist Pūjā; Pure and Impure Lands; Reiyūkai Kyōdan; Saṃgha, overview article and articles on Saṃgha and Society; Sarvāstivāda; Sautrāntika; Shingonshū; Shinran; Shōtoku Taishi; Shūgendō; Sōka Gakkai; Soteriology; Soul, article on Buddhist Concepts; Southeast Asian Religions, article on Mainland Cultures; Stupa Worship; Śūnyam and Śūnyatā; Tārā; Tathāgata; Tathāgata-garbha; Temple, articles on Buddhist Temple Compounds; Tendaishū; Theravāda; Tiantai; Tibetan Religions, overview article; Turkic Religions; Vasubandhu; Vinaya; Worship and Devotional Life, articles on Buddhist Devotional Life; Xuanzang; Yijing; Yogācāra; Zen; Zhenyan.

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Many of the most important studies of the early, sectarian phase of Buddhism in India extend their discussions to the later phases of Indian Buddhism as well. This is true, for example, of Sukumar Dutt's *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India* (London, 1962) and of Edward Conze's *Buddhist Thought in India* (Ann Arbor, 1967). For those interested in Buddhist doctrines, Conze's book may be supplemented by David J. Kalupahana's *Causality: The Central Philosophy of Buddhism* (Honolulu, 1975), which focuses on sectarian Buddhism, and Fredrick J. Streng's *Emptiness: A Study in Religious Meaning* (New York, 1967), which examines the work of the famous early Mahāyāna philosopher Nāgārjuna.

A historical account that is focused more exclusively on the sectarian period and the transition to civilizational Buddhism is provided by Étienne Lamotte in his authoritative *Histoire du bouddhisme indien: Des origines á l'ère Saka* (Louvain, 1958). A somewhat different perspective on the same process of development is accessible in three closely related works that can profitably be read in series: Frank E. Reynolds's title essay in *The Two Wheels of Dhamma*, edited by Frank E. Reynolds and Bardwell L. Smith, "AAR Studies in Religion," no. 3 (Chambersburg, Pa., 1972); John C. Holt's *Discipline: The Canonical Buddhism of the Vinayapiṭaka* (Delhi, 1981); and John Strong's *The Legend of King Aśoka: A Study and Translation of the Aśokāvadāna* (Princeton, 1983).

Good books that treat Buddhism as an international civilization are hard to come by. Three that provide some assistance to those interested in the topic are Trevor O. Ling's *The Buddha: Buddhist Civilization in India and Ceylon* (London, 1973); Erik Zürcher's *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China*, 2 vols. (Leiden; 1959); and René Grousset's *In the Footsteps of the Buddha*, translated by J. A. Underwood (New York, 1971). Works that focus on the process of acculturation of Buddhism in various contexts include Hajime Nakamura's *Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples*, the revised English translation of which was edited by Philip P. Wiener (Honolulu, 1964); Alicia Matsunaga's *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation* (Tokyo and Rutland, Vt., 1969); and Kenneth Chen's *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism* (Princeton, 1973).

Studies of particular Buddhist cultures are legion. Some valuable studies focus on Buddhism in the context of the whole range of religions that were present in a particular area. Good examples are Giuseppe Tucci's *The Religions of Tibet*, translated by Geoffrey Samuel (Berkeley, 1980), and Joseph M. Kitagawa's *Religion in Japanese History* (New York, 1966). Other treatments of particular Buddhist cultures trace the Buddhist tradition in question from its introduction into the area through the period of acculturation and, in some cases, on into modern times. Two examples are *Religion and Legitimation of Power in Sri Lanka*, edited by Bardwell L. Smith (Chambersburg, Pa., 1978), and Kenneth Chen's comprehensive *Buddhism in China* (Princeton, 1964). Finally, some interpretations of particular Buddhist cultures focus more narrowly on a specific period or theme. See, for example, Lal Mani Joshi's *Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of India* (Delhi, 1967), which deals primarily with Buddhist culture in Northeast India during the seventh and eighth centuries; Daniel Overmyer's *Folk Buddhist Religion: Dissenting Sects in Late Traditional China* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976); and William R. La Fleur's *The Karma of Words: Buddhism and the Literary Arts in Medieval Japan* (Berkeley, 1983).

There is also a myriad of books and articles that consider the development of Buddhism in the modern period. The most adequate overview of developments through the early 1970s is provided in *Buddhism in the Modern World*, edited by Heinrich Dumoulin and John Maraldo (New York, 1976). In addition, there are two excellent trilogies on particular traditions. The first, by Holmes Welch, includes *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900–1950* (1967), *The Buddhist Revival in China* (1968), and *Buddhism under Mao* (1972), all published by the Harvard University Press. The second, by Stanley J. Tambiah, includes *Buddhism and the Spirit Cults in North-East Thailand* (1970), *World Conqueror and World Renouncer: A Study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand against a Historical Background* (1976), and *The Buddhist Saints of the Forest and the Cult of Amulets* (1984), all published by the Cambridge University Press.

For those interested in pursuing the study of Buddhism in a cross-cultural, thematic manner, Frank E. Reynolds's *Guide to the Buddhist Religion* (Boston, 1981), done with the assistance of John Holt and John Strong, is a useful resource. It provides 350 pages of annotated bibliography of English, French, and German materials (plus a preface and 65 pages of index) organized in terms of eleven themes, including "Historical Development," "Religious Thought," "Authoritative Texts," "Popular Beliefs and Literature," "Social, Political and Economic Aspects," "The Arts," "Religious Practices and Rituals," and "Soteriological Experience and Processes: Path and Goal."

FRANK E. REYNOLDS (1987)
CHARLES HALLISEY (1987)

BUDDHISM: BUDDHISM IN INDIA

A contemporary visitor to the South Asian subcontinent would find Buddhism flourishing only outside the mainland, on the island of Sri Lanka. This visitor would meet small pockets of Buddhists in Bengal and in the Himalayan regions, especially in Ladakh and Nepal, and as the dominant group in Bhutan and Sikkim. Most of the latter Buddhists belong to the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna forms of Buddhism and represent denominations and orders of Tibetan and Nepalese origin. Buddhists may also be found in the subcontinent among Tibetan refugees (mostly in Himachal Pradesh and Bangalore), among the Ambedkar Buddhists of Maharashtra, and among pilgrims and missionaries flocking to the sacred sites of India. The diversity of manifestations is not new, but the specific forms are not representative of what Indian Buddhism was in the past.

ORIGINS. Approximately twenty-five hundred years ago the founder of the Buddhist religion was born into the Śākya tribe in a small aristocratic republic in the Himalayan foothills, in what is today the kingdom of Nepal. In his youth he descended to the Ganges River valley in search of spiritual realization. After several years of study at the feet of spiritual masters he underwent a profound religious experience that changed his life; he became a teacher himself, and lived for the rest of his adult life as a mendicant peripatetic. His worldview and personal preoccupations were shaped in the cultural milieu of India of the sixth century BCE; the religious communities that trace their origin to him developed their most distinctive doctrines and practices in Indian soil.

Sources and setting. Unfortunately, we do not possess reliable sources for most of the history of Buddhism in its homeland; in particular, we have precious little to rely on for its early history. Textual sources are late, dating at the very least five hundred years after the death of the Buddha. The archaeological evidence, abundant as it is, is limited in the information it can give us. A few facts are nevertheless well established. The roots of Indian Buddhism are to be found in the "shramanic" movement of the sixth century BCE, which owes the name to its model of religious perfection, the *śramaṇa*, or wandering ascetic. The *śramaṇa*s set religious goals that stood outside, and in direct opposition to, the religious and social order of the *brāhmaṇa*s (brahmans), who represented the Indo-Aryan establishment. Most of the values that would become characteristic of Indian, and therefore Hindu, religion in general were shaped by the interaction of these two groups, especially by a process of assimilation that transformed the Brahmanic order into Hindu culture.

The appearance of two major shramanic religions, Buddhism and Jainism, marked the end of the Vedic-Brahmanic period and the beginning of an era of cross-fertilization between diverse strata of Indian culture. This new age, sometimes called the Indic period, was characterized by the dominant role of "heterodox" or non-Hindu religious systems, the flourishing of their ascetic and monastic orders, and the use of the vernaculars in preference to Sanskrit.

We can surmise that this new age was a time of social upheaval and political instability. The use of iron had changed radically the character of warfare and the nature of farming. The jungle was cleared, farmland could support a court bureaucracy, and palaces and city walls could be built. A surplus economy was created that made possible large state societies, with concentrated populations and resources, and consequently with heightened political ambition.

The Buddha must have been touched directly by these changes: shortly before his death the republic of the Śākyas was sacked by the powerful kingdom of Kośala, which in turn would shortly thereafter fall under the power of Magadha. At the time of the Buddha sixteen independent states existed in north-central India, a century later only one empire would rule in the region, and in another hundred years this empire, Magadha, would control all of northern India and most of the South. The unity of the empire was won at a price: political and social systems based on family or tribal order crumbled; the old gods lost their power.

As the old order crumbled, the brahmans claimed special privileges that other groups were not always willing to concede. Those who would not accept their leadership sought spiritual and moral guidance among the *śramaṇa*s. Although recent research has shown that the interaction between these two groups was more complex than we had previously imagined, it is still accepted that the shramanic movement represented some of the groups displaced by the economic and political changes of the day, and by the expansion of Brahmanic power. The *śramaṇa*s, therefore, were rebels of sorts. They challenged the values of lay life in general, but especially the caste system as it existed at the time. Thus, what appeared as a lifestyle designed to lead to religious realization may have been at the same time the expression of social protest, or at least of social malaise.

The shramanic movement was fragmented: among the shramanic groups, Buddhism's main rival was Jainism, representing an ancient teaching whose origin dated to at least one or two generations before the Buddha. A community of mendicants reformed by Vardhamāṇa Mahāvīra (d. around 468 BCE) shortly before the beginning of Buddha's career, Jainism represented the extremes of world denial and asceticism that Buddhism sought to moderate with its doctrine of the Middle Way. Buddhists also criticized in Jainism what they saw as a mechanistic conception of moral responsibility and liberation. Another school criticized by early Buddhists was that of Makkhali Gosāla, founder of the Ājīvikas, who also taught an extreme form of asceticism that was based, strangely, on a fatalistic doctrine.

We have to understand the shramanic movements as independent systems and not as simple derivations or reforms of Brahmanic doctrine and practice. One can find, nevertheless, certain elements common to all the movements of the age: the *śramaṇa*s, called "wanderers" (*parivrājaka*s), like the forest dwellers of Brahmanism, retired from society. Some sought an enstatic experience; some believed that particular forms of conduct led to purity and liberation from suffering; others sought power through knowledge (ritual or magical) or insight (contemplative or gnostic); but most systems contained elements of all of these tendencies.

Among the religious values formed during the earlier part of the Indic age, that is, during the shramanic period, we must include, above all, the concept of the cycle and bondage of rebirth (*saṃsāra*) and the belief in the possibility of liberation (*mokṣa*) from the cycle through ascetic discipline, world renunciation, and a moral or ritual code that gave a prominent place to abstaining from doing harm to living beings (*ahiṃsā*). This ideal, like the quest for altered states of consciousness, was not always separable from ancient notions of ritual purity and spiritual power. But among the shramanic movements it sometimes took the form of a moral virtue. Then it appeared as opposition to organized violence—political, as embodied in war, and religious, as expressed in animal sacrifice.

The primary evil force was no longer envisioned as a spiritual personality, but as an impersonal moral law of cause and effect (*karman*) whereby human actions created a state of bondage and suffering. In their quest for a state of rest from the activities of *karman*, whether the goal was defined as enstasy or knowledge, the new religious specialists practiced a variety of techniques of self-cultivation usually known as *yogas*. The sustained practice of this discipline was known as a "path" (*mārga*), and the goal was a state of peace and freedom from passion and suffering called *nirvāṇa*.

As a shramanic religion, Buddhism displayed similar traits but gave to each of these its unique imprint. The conception of rebirth and its evils were not questioned, but suffering was universalized: all human conditions lead to suffering, suffering has a cause, and that cause is craving, or "thirst" (*tṛṣṇā*). To achieve liberation from the cycle of rebirth one must follow the spiritual discipline prescribed by the Buddha, summarized in the Eightfold Path. The follower of Buddhism was expected to renounce the lay life and become a wandering ascetic, an ideal epitomized by the spiritual career of the founder.

Most shramanic groups made provisions for their lay supporters, essentially members of the community who by circumstance or choice could not follow the wanderer's path. Buddhist laymen could begin moving in the right direction—with the hope of being able to renounce the world in a future birth—by "taking refuge" (*śaraṇa-gamana*), that is, by making a confession of faith in the Buddha, his teachings, and his monastic order, and by adopting five fundamental moral precepts (*pañcaśīla*): not to deprive a living thing of life, not to take what is not given to you, not to engage in illicit sexual conduct, not to lie, and not to take intoxicating drinks.

The Three Jewels. Perhaps all we can say with certainty about the roots of Buddhist doctrine and doctrinal continuity in Buddhism is that the figure of the Buddha and his experience dominate most of Buddhist teachings. If we wish to understand Buddhism as a doctrinal system, we can look at its oral and written ideology—including its scriptures—as the effort of diverse Buddhist communities to explore and define the general issues raised by the Buddha's career. These include questions such as the following: Does the Buddha "exist" after liberation? Is the experience of awakening ineffable? Which of the two experiences, awakening or liberation, is the fundamental one?

On the other hand, if we wish to understand Buddhism as a religion rather than as a system of doctrines, its focus or fulcrum must be found in the religious communities and their objects of veneration. The early community was represented primarily by the gathering of mendicants or monks called the *saṃgha*, held together by ascetic or monastic codes (*prātimokṣa*) attributed to the Buddha himself, and by the objects of worship represented by (1) the founder himself as the "Awakened One" (*buddha*); (2) his exemplary and holy life, his teachings and his experience (*dharma*); and (3) the community (*saṃgha*) itself, sustained by the memory of his personality and teaching. These objects of veneration are known as the "Three Treasures" (*triratna*), and the believer's trust in these ideals is expressed, doctrinally and ritually, in the "Three Refuges" (to rely on the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha). To this day, this formula serves at once as an indication of the meaning of monastic ordination and a lay confession of faith.

Buddha. No Western scholar today would claim to know the exact details of the founder's biography, or for that matter the exact content of his teachings. The above is merely an educated guess based on formulations from a time removed by several centuries from their origins. Scholars agree, nevertheless, on the historicity of the founder. That is to say, though they may doubt the accuracy of the information transmitted in traditional "biographies" (beginning with his personal name, Siddhārtha Gautama) or in legends about the Buddha's sermons, Western scholars accept the existence of an influential religious figure, called Śākyamuni ("the sage of the Śākya tribe") by his disciples, who at some point in the sixth century BCE founded in the Ganges River valley the community of wandering mendicants that would eventually grow into the world religion we now call Buddhism.

Scholars generally tend to accept the years 563 to 483 BCE as the least problematic, if not the most plausible, dating for the life of Gautama Buddha. (Other dating systems exist, however, that place his life as much as a century later.) Assuming, moreover, that the legend is reliable in some of its details, we can say that the history of the religion begins when Śākyamuni was thirty-five (therefore, in about 528), with his first sermon at Sārnāth (northeast of the city of Vārāṇasī).

Before and after his enlightenment, Śākyamuni followed the typical career of a wanderer. At twenty-nine he abandoned the household and sought a spiritual guide. An early legend claims that Śākyamuni actually studied under two teachers of the age, Āḷāra Kālāma and Udraka Rāmaputra. From such teachers the young ascetic learned techniques of meditation that he later rejected, but the imprints of which remain in Buddhist theories of meditation. Dissatisfied with what he had learned, he tried the life of the hermit. Finally, after six years of struggle, he "awakened" under a pipal tree (*Ficus religiosa*) near the border town of Uruvilvā (Bodh Gayā).

His first sermon was followed by forty-five years of wandering through the Ganges River valley, spreading his teachings. Although tradition preserves many narratives of isolated episodes of this half century of teaching, no one has been able to piece together a convincing account of this period. For the tradition this was also a time for the performance of great miracles, and historical accuracy was never an important consideration.

At the age of eighty (c. 483), Siddhārtha Gautama, the Buddha Śākyamuni, died near the city of Kuśinägara. To his immediate disciples perhaps this fading away of the Master confirmed his teachings on impermanence, but the Buddha's death would soon come to be regarded as a symbol of his perfect peace and renunciation: with death he had reached his *parinirvāṇa*, that point in his career after which he would be reborn no more. His ashes, encased in a reliquary buried in a cairn, came to stand for the highest achievement of an awakened being, confirming his status as the one who had attained to truth, the Tathāgata—an epithet that would come to denote ultimate truth itself.

Dharma. The first preaching, known as the "First Turning of the Wheel of Dharma" (or, in the West, the "Sermon at Banaras" or the "Deer Park Sermon"), symbolizes the appearance in history of the Buddhist teaching, whereas Śākyamuni's enlightenment experience, or "Great Awakening" (*mahābodhi*), which occurred in the same year, represents the human experience around which the religion would develop its practices and ideals. This was the experience whereby Śākyamuni became an "Awakened One" (*buddha*). His disciples came to believe that all aspects of Buddhist doctrine and practice flow from this experience of awakening (*bodhi*) and from the resultant state of freedom from passion, suffering, and rebirth called *nirvāṇa*. The teachings found in the Buddha's sermons can be interpreted as definitions of these two experiences, the spiritual practices that lead to or flow from them, and the institutions that arose inspired by the experience and the human beings who laid claim to it.

However, it is difficult, if not impossible, to surmise which, if any, among the many doctrines attributed by tradition to the founder are veritably his. Different Buddhists, even when they can agree on the words, will interpret the message differently. Although most would find the nucleus of Śākyamuni's teachings in the "First Sermon," especially in the doctrine of the Four Noble Truths allegedly preached therein, a host of other doctrinal statements compete for the central position throughout the history of Buddhism in India and beyond. Moreover, a number of texts that can claim great antiquity are not only silent about the Four Noble Truths but actually do not seem to presuppose them in any way. The same can be said about other doctrines that would become central to the development of Buddhist doctrinal speculation, for instance, the principle of conditioned arising (*pratītya-samutpāda*) and the analysis of the human personality into its constituent parts (*skandhas*, etc.).

It is difficult to determine to what extent early Buddhism had an accompanying metaphysics. Some of the earliest strata of Buddhist literature suggest that the early community may have emphasized the joys of renunciation and the peace of abstention from conflict—political, social, and religious—more than a philosophical doctrine of liberation. Such are the ascetic ideals of one of the earliest texts of the tradition, the *Aṭṭhakavagga* (*Suttanipāta*). The mendicant abstains from participating in the religious and metaphysical debates of brahmans, *śramaṇa*s, and sages. He is detached from all views, for

> Purity is not [attained] by views, or learning, by knowledge, or by moral rules, and rites. Nor is it [attained] by the absence of views, learning, knowledge, rules, or rites. Abandoning all these, not grasping at them, he is at peace; not relying, he would not hanker for becoming. (*Suttanipāta* 839)

There is in this text a rejection of doctrine, rule, and rite that is a critique of the exaggerated claims of those who believed they could become pure and free through ritual, knowledge, or religious status. The lonely ascetic seeks not to become one thing or the other and avoids doctrinal disputes.

If such statements represent some of the earliest moments in the development of the doctrine, then the next stage must have brought a growing awareness of the need for ritual and creed if the community was to survive. This awareness would have been followed in a short time by the formation of a metaphysic, a theory of liberation, and a conscious system of meditation. In the next strata of early Buddhist literature these themes are only surpassed in importance by discussions of ascetic morality. The ascetic ideals of the early community were then expanded and defined by doctrine—as confession of faith, as ideology, and as a plan for religious and moral practice. The earliest formulations of this type are perhaps those of the Eightfold Path, with its triple division into wisdom, moral practice, and mental concentration. The theoretical or metaphysical underpinnings are contained in the Four Noble Truths and in the Three Marks (impermanence, sorrow, and no-self), both traditionally regarded as the subject matter of the Buddha's first sermons.

Saṃgha. With the first sermon the Buddha began a ministry that would last forty-five years. During this period he established a religious order—perhaps only a mendicant order in its beginnings—and trained a number of distinguished disciples who would carry on the teaching after the founder's death. Tradition preserves the names of many of his disciples and immediate heirs to his teaching: Kauṇḍinya, the first convert to be admitted into the Buddha's religious order (*saṃgha*); Yasa, the first householder to receive full lay initiation with the Three Refuges; Śāriputra, the master of wisdom; Maudgalyāyāna, the great thaumaturge; Upāli, the expert in the monastic code; Ānanda, the Buddha's cousin and beloved disciple; Mahāprajāpati, the first woman admitted into the monastic order; and Mahākāśyapa, who undertook to preserve the Buddha's teaching and organized the First Council. The Buddha's disciples represented a wide spectrum of social classes. Yasa was the son of a wealthy guild master; Upāli, a humble barber; Śāriputra, a brahman; Ānanda, a member of the nobility (*kṣatriya*). Among the early followers we find not only world renouncers but believers from a variety of walks of life; King Bimbisara, the wealthy banker Anāthapiṇḍika, the respectable housewife Viśākhā, and the courtesan Amrapālī, for instance.

Although the Buddhist monastic community was an integral part of Indian society, serving as an instrument of legitimation and cohesion, it also served on occasions as a critic of society. Especially in its early development, and in particular during the period of the wandering mendicants, the *saṃgha* was a nonconformist subgroup. The variety of social classes represented by the roster of early disciples in part reflects the fluid state of Indian society at the time; but it also reflects the Buddha's open opposition to the caste system as it existed then. Although the challenge was religious and political as well as social, the Buddha's critique of Brahmanism made his order of mendicants an alternative community, where those who did not fit in the new social order could find a sense of belonging, acceptance, and achievement. Buddhist reforms and institutions would waver in their function as rebels and supporters of social order until Buddhism ultimately became absorbed into Hinduism during the centuries following the first millennium of the common era.

We can surmise that the earliest community did not have a fixed abode. During the dry season the Buddhist *śramaṇa*s would sleep in the open and wander from village to village "begging" for their sustenance—hence their title *bhikṣu*, "mendicant" (fem., *bhikṣuṇī*). They were persons who had set forth (*pravrajyā*) from the household to lead the life of the wanderer (*parivrājaka*). Only during the rainy season would they gather in certain spots in the forest or in special groves provided by lay supporters. There they would build temporary huts that would be dismantled at the end of the rainy season, when they would set out again in their constant wandering to spread the Buddha's Dharma.

The main ideals of the mendicant life of the "wanderers" is expressed in a passage that is presented as the creed or code (the Prātimokṣa) recited by the followers of the "former Buddha" Vipaśyin when they interrupted the wandering to meet and renew their common ideals:

> Enduring patience is the highest austerity, *nirvāṇa* is the highest condition—say the Buddhas. For he who injures another is not a true renouncer, He who causes harm to others is not a true ascetic. Not to do any evil, to practice the good, to purify one's own mind: This is the teaching of the Buddhas. Not to speak against others, not to harm others, and restraint according to the rule (*prātimokṣa*), Moderation in eating, secluded dwelling, and the practice of mental cultivation (*adhicitta*): This is the teaching of the Buddhas. (*Mahāpadāna Suttanta*)

These verses outline important aspects of the early teaching: the centrality of *ahiṃsā*, the two aspects of morality—abstention and cultivation—and the practice of meditation, all in the context of a community of ascetics for whom a life of solitude, poverty, and moderation was more important than the development of subtle metaphysics.

Probably—and the earliest scriptures suggest this—the first aspect of Buddhist teachings to be systematized was the rule, first as a confession of faith for dispersed communities of mendicants, soon as a monastic rule for sedentary ascetics. Also at an early stage, the community sought to systematize its traditions of meditation, some of which must have been pre-Buddhistic (the Buddha himself having learned some of these from his teachers). Thus, Buddhist techniques of meditation represent a continuation of earlier processes of yoga, though we cannot be certain as to the exact connection, or the exact content of the early practices.

The first of these developments brought the community closer together by establishing a common ritual, the recitation of the rule (*prātimokṣa*) at a meeting held on the full and new moon and the quarter moons (*uposatha*). The second development confirmed an important but divisive trait of the early community: the primary source of authority remained with the individual monk and his experience in solitude. Thus, competing systems of meditation and doctrine probably developed more rapidly than differences in the code.

THE CENOBIUM. As India moved into an age of imperial unity under the Maurya (322–185) and Śuṅga dynasties (185–73), the Buddhist community reached its point of greatest unity. Although the *saṃgha* split into schools or sects perhaps as early as the fourth century BCE, differences among Buddhists were relatively minor. Transformed into a monastic brotherhood, Buddhism served a society that shared common values and customs. Unity, however, was shortlived, and Buddhism, like India, would have to adapt rapidly to new circumstances as the first invasions from Central Asia would put an end to the Śuṅga dynasty in 175. Until then, however, during the approximately three hundred years from the death of the founder to the beginning of the age of foreign invasions, Buddhist monks and laymen began the process of systematization that defined the common ground of Indian Buddhism in practice, scripture, and doctrine.

The primary element of continuity became the Prātimokṣa, the rules for the maintenance of the community and the liturgical recitation thereof; differences in this regard would be more serious than differences of doctrine. Thus the Second Council, which is supposed to have caused the most serious split in the history of the community, is said to have been called to resolve differences in the interpretation and formulation of minor details in the monastic regulations. In order to justify and clarify the rules that held the community together a detailed commentary of the Prātimokṣa rules had to be developed. The commentary, attributed to the Buddha himself, eventually grew into the *Vinaya*, an extensive section of the canon.

But the full development of the monastic code presupposes a sedentary *saṃgha*. We can surmise that not long after the Buddha's death the retreat for the rainy season began to extend into the dry season, perhaps at the invitation of the lay community, perhaps owing to dwindling popular support for the mendicant wanderers. Soon the temporary huts were replaced by more or less permanent structures built of wood, and the community of wanderers became a cenobium. The stone and gravel foundation of one of the earliest monasteries remains in the vicinity of Rājagṛha (Bihar). These are the ruins of the famous "Jivaka's Mango Grove" (Jivakāmravaṇa) Monastery, built on a plot of land donated to the order at the time of the Buddha. In its early history it may have been used only during the rainy season, but it already shows the basic structure of the earliest monasteries: living quarters for the monks and a large assembly hall (perhaps for the celebration of the Uposatha).

As the community settled down, rules and rituals for regulating monastic life became a necessity. At least some of the items in the *Prātimokṣa* section of the *Vinaya* and some of the procedural rules discussed in the *Karmavācanā* may go back to the time of the Buddha. The rule and the procedures for governing the *Saṃgha* are clearly based on republican models, like the constitution of the Licchavis of Vaiśālī, which is praised in the canonical texts. If this admiration goes back to the founder, then we can say that the Buddha ordered his community of wandering mendicants on the political model provided by the disappearing republics of North India. Such a rule would encourage order and harmony on the one hand, and peaceful disagreement and individual effort on the other. It provided for mutual care and concern in matters of morals, but lacked a provision for a central authority in political or doctrinal matters.

The common doctrinal ground. The Buddha realized the true nature of things, their "suchness" (*tathatā*), and therefore is one of those rare beings called *tathāgatas*. Yet, whether there is a *tathāgata* to preach it or not, the Dharma is always present, because it is the nature of all things (*dharmatā*). Four terms summarize this truth known by the *tathāgatas*: impermanence, sorrow, no-self, *nirvāṇa*. The first implies the second, for attachment to what must change brings sorrow. Our incapacity to control change, however, reveals the reality of no-self—nothing is "I" or "mine." The experience of no-self, on the other hand, is liberating; it releases one from craving and the causes of sorrow; it leads to peace, *nirvāṇa*.

These principles are summarized also in a doctrine recognized by all schools, that of the Four Noble Truths: sorrow, its cause, its cessation, and the path leading to cessation. Buddhist tradition, therefore, will spend much of its energy in understanding the causes of suffering and the means to put an end to it, or, in doctrinal shorthand, "arising" and "cessation." Since cessation is in fact the obverse of arising, a proper understanding of arising, or causation, becomes central to Buddhist speculation in India. The most important doctrine for this aspect of the religion is the principle of dependent arising (*pratītya-samutpāda*): everything we regard as "the self" is conditioned or compounded; everything conditioned depends on causes and conditions; by understanding the causes of our idea of the self and of the sorrow that this idea brings to us we can become free of suffering. This doctrine is summarized in a stanza that has become one of the best known Buddhist creeds throughout Asia:

> The Tathāgata has proclaimed the cause,
> as well as the cessation,
> of all things (*dharma*) arising from a cause.
> This is the Great *Śramaṇa*'s teaching. (*Mahāvastu* 2.62;
> Pāli *Vinaya* 1.40)

Abstract theories of causation were perceived as having an ultimately soteriological meaning or function, for they clarified both the process of bondage (rebirth forced upon us as a consequence of our actions) and the process of liberation (freedom from rebirth by overcoming our ignorance and gaining control over the causes of bondage). Liberation was possible because the analysis of causation revealed that there was no reincarnating or suffering self to begin with.

Impermanence and causation were explained by primitive theories of the composition of material reality (the four elements) and mental reality (the six senses, the six types of sense objects, etc.) and, what is more important, by the theory of the constituents (*skandhas*) of human personality. These notions would become the main focus of Buddhist philosophy, and by the beginning of the common era they were being integrated into systematic treatments of the nature of ultimately real entities (*dharma*).

Although the themes of impermanence and causation will remain at the heart of Buddhist philosophical speculation for several centuries, from the religious point of view the question of no-self plays a more important role. At first seen as an insightful formulation of the meaning of awakening and liberation, the doctrine of no-self raised several difficulties for Buddhist dogma. First, it was not at all obvious how moral (or karmic) responsibility could be possible if there was no continuous self. Second, some Buddhists wondered what was the meaning of liberation in the absence of a self.

Closely related to these issues was the question of the nature and status of the liberated being. In other words, what sort of living being is a *tathāgata*? Some Buddhists considered the *tathāgata* as a transcendent or eternal being, while others saw him as someone who by becoming extinct was nonexistent; still others began to redefine the concept of liberation and no-self in an attempt to solve these questions and in response to changes in the mythological or hagiographic sphere. These issues are an essential part of the changes in doctrine and practice that would take place during the age of invasions, culminating in the emergence of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Worship and ritual. The most important ritual of the monastic community continued to be Upavasatha or Uposatha, a gathering of the *saṃgha* of a given locality or "parish" (*sīmā*) to recite the rules of the Prātimokṣa. These meetings were held at every change in the moon's phase. A similar ceremony, but with greater emphasis on the public confession of individual faults, was held at the end of the rainy season. At this time too was held the *kaṭhina* ceremony, in which the monks received new robes from the lay community. Other rituals, such as the ordination ceremony, had a more limited impact on the community at large, but were nevertheless important symbols of the status of the religious specialist in society at large.

Above all other rituals, one of shramanic origin offered continued reinforcement of the ties that bound the religious order with the laity. The *bhikṣu*, as his title indicates, was expected to receive his sustenance from the charity (*dāna*) of pious laymen and laywomen. Accordingly, the monks would walk the villages every morning to collect alms. By giving the unsolicited gift the layperson was assured of the merit (*puṇya*) necessary to be reborn in a state of being more favorable for spiritual or material progress. According to some traditions, the monk received the benefits of helping others gain merit; but some believed the monk could not gain merit except by his own virtue.

In the early stages lay followers were identified by their adherence to the fivefold moral precept (*pañcaśīla*) and the formal adoption of the Three Refuges. These practices continued throughout the history of Indian Buddhism. It is also likely that participation of lay members in Upavasatha meetings with the *saṃgha* was also an early and persistent practice.

At first the cenobitic life of the monks probably had no room for explicit acts of devotion, and the monk's religion was limited to a life of solitude and meditation. The early monastic ruins do not show evidence of any shrine room. It was essential to have the cells open onto a closed courtyard, to keep out the noise of the world; it was essential to have an assembly hall for teaching and the recitation of the Prātimokṣa; a promenade (*caṅkrama*) for walking meditation was also necessary. But there were no shrine rooms.

With the institutionalization of Buddhism, however, came new forms of lay and monastic practice. The monastic brotherhood gradually began to play a priestly role; in tandem with the lay community, they participated in nonmonastic rituals, many of which must have been of pre-Buddhist origin. One practice that clearly was an important, nonascetic ritual, yet characteristic of Buddhism, was the worship of the relics of the Buddha and his immediate disciples. The relics were placed in a casket, which was then deposited in a cairn or tumulus (stupa, *caitya*), to which the faithful would come to present their offerings. Already by the time of Aśoka (mid-third century BCE) we find evidence of a flourishing cult of the relics, often accompanied by the practice of pilgrimage to the sacred sites consecrated by their role in the life of Śākyamuni—especially the birth place, the site of the Great Awakening, the site of the First Sermon, and the spot where the Buddha was believed to have died. Following an ancient custom, tumuli were built on these spots—perhaps at first as reliquaries, later as commemorative monuments. Monasteries near such sites assumed the role of shrine caretakers. Eventually, most monasteries became associated with stupas.

Aśoka erected columns and stupas (as many as eighty thousand, according to one tradition) marking the localities associated with the life of the Buddha as well as other ancient sacred sites, some associated with "former Buddhas," that is, mythical beings believed to have achieved Buddhahood thousands or millions of lives before the Buddha Śākyamuni. The latter practice and belief indicates the development of a new form of Buddhism, firmly based on the mythology of each locality, that expanded the concept of the Three Treasures to include a host of mythical beings who would share in the sanctity of Śākyamuni's experience and virtue and who were therefore deserving of the same veneration as he had received in the past.

The cairn or tumulus eventually became sacred in itself, whether there was a relic in it or not. Chapels were built to contain the *caitya.* The earliest surviving examples of these structures are built in stone and date from the first or second century BCE, but we can surmise that they existed in wood from an earlier date. These "*caitya* halls" became the standard shrine room of the monastery: a stylized memorial tumulus built in stone or brick, housed in an apsidal hall with a processional for the ritual circumambulation of the tumulus.

Reliefs at the *caitya* hall at Bhājā in western India (late Śuṅga, c. end of the second century BCE) suggest various aspects of the cult: the main form of worship was the ritual of circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇa*), which could be carried out individually or in groups. The stupa represented the sacred or cosmic mountain, at whose center was found the *axis mundi* (now represented by the Buddha's royal parasol); thus the rite of circumambulation expressed veneration for the Buddha and his teaching, while at the same time it served as a symbolic walking of the sun's path around the cosmic mountain.

Stupas were often erected at ancient sacred sites, hills, trees, the confluence of streams, which in many cases were sacred by virtue of non-Buddhist belief. Thus, pre-Buddhist practice, if not belief, survived side by side, and even within, Buddhist liturgy and belief. There is ample evidence of a coexisting cult of the tree (identified with the "Tree of Awakening"), of forest spirits (*yakṣas*) and goddesses (*devatā*), and the persistence of Vedic deities, albeit in a subordinate role, beside a more austere, and presumably monastically inspired, cult of aniconic symbolizations of Buddhahood: the tree and the throne of enlightenment standing for the Great Awakening, the stupa representing the *nirvāṇa*, the wheel representing the doctrine of the Buddha. But one must not assume that the implied categories of "high tradition" and popular cult were mutually exclusive.

The councils and the beginning of scriptural tradition. The First Council, or Council of Rājagṛha, if a historical fact, must have served to establish the Buddhist *saṃgha* and its doctrine for the community of the Magadhan capital. In all probability the decisions of the Council were not accepted by all Buddhists. Further evidence of disagreement, and geographical fragmentation is found in the legend of the Second Council, one hundred years after the Buddha's death.

Since the early community of wanderers, there had been ample room for disagreement and dissension. But certain forces contributed to maintaining unity: the secular powers, for instance, had much at stake in preserving harmony within the *saṃgha*, especially if they could maintain some kind of control over it. Thus, as the legends have it, each of the three major councils were sponsored by a king: Ajātaśatru, Kālāśoka, and Aśoka, respectively. Within the *saṃgha*, there must have been interest groups, mainly conservative, seeking to preserve the religion by avoiding change—two goals that are not always conciliable. There must have been, therefore, a strong pressure to recover the ideal unity of the early community (as we have seen, probably a fantasy), by legislation. These efforts took two forms: in the first place, there was the drive to establish a common monastic code, in the second place, there was the drive to fix a canon of scriptures. Both tendencies probably became stronger toward the beginning of the common era, when a number of political factors recreated a sense of urgency and a yearning for harmony and peace similar to the one that had given rise to the religion.

The most important result of the new quest for harmony was the compilation and redaction of scriptures. Transmitted and edited through the oral tradition, the words of the Buddha and his immediate disciples had suffered many transformations before they came to be compiled, to say nothing of their state when they were eventually written down. We have no way of determining which, if any, of the words contained in the Buddhist scriptures are the words of the founder: in fact we have no hard evidence for the language used by the Buddha in his ministry. Scholars have suggested an early form of Māgadhī, since this was probably the lingua franca of the kingdom of Magadha, but this is at best an educated guess. If it is correct, then none of the words of the Buddha have come to us in the original language.

Although the Theravādin tradition claims that the language of its canon, Pali, is the language spoken by the Buddha, Western scholars disagree. Evidently, the Pali canon, like other Buddhist scriptures, is the creation, or at least the compilation and composition, of another age and a different linguistic milieu. As they are preserved today, the Buddhist scriptures must be a collective creation, the fruit of the effort of several generations of memorizers, redactors, and compilers. Some of the earliest Buddhist scriptures may have been translations from logia or sayings of the Buddha that were transmitted for some time in his own language. But even if this is the case, the extant versions represent at the very least redactions and reworkings, if not creations, of a later age.

Since the *saṃgha* was from the beginning a decentralized church, one can presume that the word of the Buddha took many forms. Adding to this the problem of geographical isolation and linguistic diversity, one would expect that the oral transmission would have produced a variegated textual tradition. Perhaps it is this expectation of total chaos that makes it all the more surprising that there is agreement on so many points in the scriptures preserved to this day. This is especially true of the scriptures of the Theravāda school (preserved in Pali), and fragments of the canon of the Sarvāstivāda school (in the original Sanskrit or in Chinese translation). Some scholars have been led to believe, therefore, that these two traditions represent the earliest stratum of the transmission, preserving a complex of pericopes and logia that must go back to a stage when the community was not divided: that is, before the split of the Second Council. Most scholars tend to accept this view; a significant minority, however, sees the uniformity of the texts as reflecting a late, not an early stage, in the redaction of the canon.

The early canon, transmitted orally, must have had only two major sections, Dharma and Vinaya. The first of these contained the discourses of the Buddha and his immediate disciples. The Vinaya contained the monastic rules. Most Western scholars agree that a third section, Abhidharma, found in all of the surviving canons, could not have been included in early definitions of canonicity, though eventually most schools would incorporate it in their canon with varying degrees of authority.

Each early school possessed its own set of scriptural "collections" (called metaphorically "baskets," piṭaka). Although eventually the preferred organization seems to have been a tripartite collection of "Three Baskets," the Tripiṭaka, divided into monastic rules, sermons, and scholastic treatises (Vinaya, sūtra, Abhidharma), some schools adopted different orderings. Among the collections that are now lost there were fourfold and fivefold subdivisions of the scriptures. Of the main surviving scriptural collections, only one is strictly speaking a Tripiṭaka, the Pali corpus of the Theravādins. (The much later Chinese and Tibetan collections have much more complex subdivisions and can be called Tripiṭakas only metaphorically.)

THE AGE OF FOREIGN INVASIONS. The decline and fall of the Maurya dynasty (324–187) brought an end to an age of assured support for Buddhist monastic institutions. Political circumstances unfavorable to Buddhism began with persecution under Puṣyamitra Śuṅga (r. about 187–151). The Śuṅga dynasty would see the construction of some of the most important Buddhist sites of India: Bhārhut, Sāñcī, and Amarāvatī. But it also foreshadowed the beginning of Hindu dominance. The rising cult of Viṣṇu seemed better equipped to assimilate the religion of the people and win the support of the ruling classes. Although Buddhism served better as a universal religion that could unite Indians and foreign invaders, the latter did not always choose to become Buddhists. A series of non-Indian rulers—Greek, Parthian, Scythian (Saka), Kushan—would hesitate in their religious allegiances.

Among the Greek kings, the Buddhist tradition claims Menander (Milinda, c. 150 BCE) as one of its converts. The Scythian tribe of the Sakas, who invaded Bactriana around 130 BCE, roughly contemporaneous with the Yüeh-chih conquest of the Tokharians, would become stable supporters of Buddhism in the subcontinent. Their rivals in South India, the Tamil dynasty of the Śātavāhana (220 BCE–236 CE), sponsored in Andhra the construction of major centers of worship at Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunīkoṇḍa. The Yüeh-chih (Kushans) also supported Buddhism, though perhaps less consistently. The most famous of their rulers, Kaṇiṣka, is represented by the literature as a pious patron of Buddhism (his dates are uncertain; proposed accession in 78 or 125 CE). During the Kushan period (c. 50–320 CE) the great schools of Gandhāra and Mathurā revolutionized Indian, especially Buddhist, art. Both the northern styles of Gandhāra and Mathurā and the southern school of Andhra combined iconic and aniconic symbolization of the Buddha: the first Buddha images appeared around the third century of the common era, apparently independently and simultaneously in all three schools.

The appearance of schools and denominations. Any understanding of the history of composition of the canons, or of their significance in the history of the religion, is dependent on our knowledge of the geographic distribution, history, and doctrine of the various sects. Unfortunately, our knowledge in this regard is also very limited.

Developments in doctrine and in scholastic speculation. As the original community of wandering mendicants settled in monasteries, a new type of religion arose, concerned with the preservation of a tradition and the justification of its institutions. Although the "forest dweller" continued as an ideal and a practice—some were still dedicated primarily to a life of solitude and meditation—the dominant figure became that of the monk-scholar. This new type of religious specialist pursued the study of the early tradition and moved its doctrinal systems in new directions. On the one hand, the old doctrines were classified, defined, and expanded. On the other hand, there was a growing awareness of the gap that separated the new developments from the transmitted creeds and codes. A set of basic or "original" teachings had to be defined, and the practice of exegesis had to be formalized. In fact, the fluidity and uncertainty of the earlier scriptural tradition may be one of the causes for the development of Buddhist scholasticism. By the time the canons were closed the degree of diversity and conflict among the schools was such, and the tradition was overall so fluid, that it was difficult to establish orthodoxy even when there was agreement on the basic content of the canons. In response to these problems Buddhists soon developed complicated scholastic studies.

At least some of the techniques and problems of this early scholasticism must go back to the early redactions of the sūtra section of the canon, if not to a precanonical stage. The genre of the *mātṛkā*, or doctrinal "matrices," is not an uncommon form of sūtra literature. It is suggested in the redaction of certain sections of the Pali and Sarvāstivādin canons, is found in early Chinese translations (e.g., the *Dharmaśarīraka Sūtra* and the *Daśottara Sūtra*), and continues in Mahāyāna *Sūtra* literature. It is a literary form that probably represents not only an exegetic device but an early technique of doctrinal redaction—a hermeneutic that also served as the basis for the redaction of earlier strata of the oral transmission.

The early sects. Given the geographical and linguistic diversity of India and the lack of a central authority in the Buddhist community one can safely speculate that Buddhist sects arose early in the history of the religion. Tradition speaks of a first, but major, schism occurring at (or shortly after) the Second Council in Vaiśālī, one hundred years after the death of the founder. Whether the details are true or not, it is suggestive that this first split was between the Sthaviras and the Mahāsāṃghikas, the prototypes of the two major divisions of Buddhism: "Hīnayāna" and Mahāyāna.

After this schism new subdivisions arose, reaching by the beginning of the common era a total of approximately thirty different denominations or schools and subschools. Tradition refers to this state of sectarian division as the period of the "Eighteen Schools," since some of the early sources count eighteen groups. It is not clear when these arose. *Faut de mieux*, most Western scholars go along with classical Indian sources, albeit with a mild skepticism, and try to sort out a consistent narrative from contradictory sources. Thus, we can only say that if we are to believe the Pali tradition, the Eighteen Schools must have been in existence already in the third century BCE, when a legendary Moggaliputtatissa compiled the *Kathāvatthu*. But such an early dating raises many problems.

In the same vein, we tend to accept the account of the Second Council that sees it as the beginning of a major split. In this version the main points of contention were monastic issues—the exact content and interpretation of the code. But doctrinal, ritual, and scholastic issues must have played a major role in the formation of separate schools. Many of the main points of controversy, for instance, centered on the question of the nature of the state of liberation and the status of the liberated person. Is the liberated human (*arhat*) free from all moral and karmic taint? Is the state of liberation (*nirvāṇa*) a condition of being or nonbeing? Can there be at the same time more than one fully awakened person (*samyaksaṃbuddha*) in one world system? Are persons already on their way to full awakening, the *bodhisattva*s or future Buddhas, deserving of worship? Do they have the ability to descend to the hells to help other sentient beings?

Among these doctrinal disputes one emerges as emblematic of the most important fissure in the Buddhist community. This was the polemic surrounding the exalted state of the *arhat* (Pali, *arahant*). Most of the Buddhist schools believed that only a few human beings could aspire to become fully awakened beings (*samyaksaṃbuddha*), others had to content themselves with the hope of becoming free from the burden of past *karman* and attaining liberation in *nirvāṇa*, without the extraordinary wisdom and virtue of Buddhahood. But the attainment of liberation was in itself a great achievement, and a person who was assured of an end to rebirth at the end of the present life was considered the most saintly, deserving of the highest respect, a "worthy" (*arhat*). Some of the schools even attributed to the *arhat* omniscience and total freedom from moral taint. Objections were raised against those who believed in the faultless wisdom of the *arhat*, including obvious limitations in their knowledge of everyday, worldly affairs. Some of these objections were formalized in the "Five Points" of Mahādeva, after its purported proponent. These criticisms can be interpreted either as a challenge to the belief in the superhuman perfection of the *arhat* or as a plea for the acceptance of their humanity. Traditionally, Western scholars have opted for the first of these interpretations.

The controversies among the Eighteen Schools identified each group doctrinally, but it seems unlikely that in the early stages these differences lead to major rifts in the community, with the exception of the schism between the two trunk schools of the Sthavira and the Mahāsāṃghika; and even then, there is evidence that monks of both schools often lived together in a single monastic community. Among the doctrinal differences, however, we can find the seeds of future dissension, especially in the controversies relating to ritual. The Mahīśāsakas, for instance, claimed that there is more merit in worshiping and making offerings to the *saṃgha* than in worshiping a stupa, as the latter merely contains the remains of a member of the *saṃgha* who is no more. The Dharmaguptakas replied that there is more merit in worshiping a stupa, because the Buddha's path and his present state (in *nirvāṇa*) are far superior to that of any living monk. Here we have a fundamental difference with both social and religious consequences, for the choice is between two types of communal hierarchies as well as between two types of spiritual orders.

Developments in the scriptural tradition. Apart from the Theravāda recension of the Pali canon and some fragments of the Sarvāstivādin Sanskrit canon nothing survives of what must have been a vast and diverse body of literature. For most of the collections we only have the memory preserved in inscriptions referring to *piṭakas* and *nikāya*s and an occasional reference in the extant literature.

According to the Pali tradition of Sri Lanka, the three parts of the Tripiṭaka were compiled in the language of the Buddha at the First Council. The Second Council introduced minor revisions in the *Vinaya*, and the Third Council added Moggaliputtatissa's *Kathāvatthu.* A few years later the canon resulting from this council, and a number of extracanonical commentaries, were transmitted to Sri Lanka by Mahinda. The texts were transmitted orally (*mukhapāṭhena*) for the next two centuries, but after difficult years of civil war and famine, King Vaṭṭagāmaṇī of Sri Lanka ordered the texts written down. This task was carried out between 35 and 32 BCE. In this way, it is said, the canon was preserved in the original language. Although the commentaries were by that time extant only in Sinhala, they continued to be transmitted in written form until they were retranslated into Pali in the fifth century CE.

Modern scholarship, however, questions the accuracy of several points in this account. Pali appears to be a literary language originating in Avantī, western India; it seems unlikely that it could be the vernacular of a man who had lived in eastern India all his life or, for that matter, the lingua franca of the early Magadhan kingdom. The Pali texts as they are preserved today show clear signs of the work of editors and redactors. Although much in them still has the ring of oral transmission, it is a formalized or ritualized oral tradition, far from the spontaneous preaching of a living teacher. Different strata of language, history, and doctrine can be recognized easily in these texts. There is abundant evidence that already at the stage of oral transmission the tradition was fragmented, different schools of "reciters" (*bhāṇaka*) preserving not only different corpuses (the eventual main categories of the canons) but also different recensions of the same corpus of literature. Finally, we have no way of knowing if the canon written down at the time of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī was the Tripiṭaka as we know it today. There is evidence to the contrary, for we are told that the great South Indian scholar Buddhaghosa revised the canon in the fifth century when he also edited the commentaries preserved in Sinhala and translated them into Pali, which suggests that Pali literature in general had gone through a period of deterioration before his time.

Most scholars, however, accept the tradition that would have the Pali canon belong to a date earlier than the fifth century; even the commentaries must represent an earlier stratum. However late may be its final recension, the Pali canon preserves much from earlier stages in the development of the religion.

Of the Sanskrit canon of the Sarvāstivāda school we only possess a few isolated texts and fragments in the original, mostly from Central Asia. However, extensive sections survive in Chinese translation. This canon is supposed to have been written down at a "Fourth Council" held in Jālandhara, Kashmir, about 100 CE, close to the time when the same school systematized its Abhidharma in a voluminous commentary called the *Mahāvibhāṣa.* If this legend is true, two details are of historical interest. We must note first the proximity in time of this compilation to the date of the writing down of the Pali canon. This would set the parameters for the closing of the "Hīnayāna" canons between the first century BCE and the first century CE. Second, the close connection between the closing of a canon and the final formulation of a scholastic system confirms the similar socio-religious function of both activities: the establishing of orthodoxy.

Developments in practice. The cult at this stage was still dominated by the practice of pilgrimage and by the cult of the *caitya*, as described above. However, we can imagine an intensification of the devotional aspect of ritual and a greater degree of systematization as folk belief and "high tradition" continued to interact. Sectarian differences probably began to affect the nature of the liturgies, as a body of liturgical texts became part of the common or the specific property of different groups of Buddhists. Among the earliest liturgical texts were the hymns in praise of the Buddha, especially the ones singing the many epithets of the Awakened One. Their use probably goes back to the earliest stages in the history of monastic ritual and may be closely connected with the practice of *buddhānusmṛti*, or meditation on the attributes of the Buddha.

Pilgrimage sites and stupas. Many Buddhist practices and institutions remain apparently stable in the subcontinent until the beginnings of the common era. The monuments of Bhārhut and Sāñcī, for example, where we find the earliest examples of aniconic symbolism, represent a conservative Buddhism. Other signs of conservatism, however, confirm a continuous nonliterary cult. The oldest section at Sāñcī, the east gateway, dating from perhaps 90 to 80 BCE, preserves, next to the illustrated Jātakas, the woman and tree motifs, *yakṣas* and *yakṣīs* (with the implied popular cult of male and female fertility deities), and the aniconic representations of the wheel, the footprint, the throne, and the tree. The most advanced or innovative trait is the increasing iconographic importance of the previous lives of the Buddha, represented in the reliefs of Jātakas. These indicate a developed legend of the Buddha's past lives, a feature of the period that suggests the importance of past lives in the cult and in the future development of Mahāyāna. The most important cultic development of the pre-Mahāyāna period, however, was the shift from the commemorative ritual associated with the stūpa and the aniconic symbol to the ritual of worship and devotion associated with the Buddha image. After the beginning of the Christian era major developments in practice reflect outside influence as well as new internal developments. This is the time when the sects were beginning to commit to writing their sacred literature, but it is also the time of foreign invasions. These may have played a major role in the development of the Buddha image. Modern scholarship has debated the place of origin of this important cultic element and the causal factors that brought it about. Some, following Foucher, proposed a northwestern origin, and saw the Buddhas and *bodhisattva*s created under the influence of Greco-Roman art in Gandhāra (Kushan period) as the first images. Others, following Coomaraswamy, believed the first images were created in Andhra, as part of the natural development of a South Indian cult of the *yakṣas*, and in the north central region of Mathurā. Be that as it may, the Buddha image dominates Buddhist iconography after the second century CE; stupas and Jātaka representations remain but play a secondary role. There seems to be, especially in Mathurā art, an association between the Buddha image and solar symbolism, which suggests Central Asian or Iranian influences on Buddhism and may be closely related to the development of the new doctrinal conceptions, such as those that regarded the Buddha as "universal monarch" (*cakravartin*) and lord of the universe, and Buddhas and *bodhisattva*s as radiant beings. The abundance of *bodhisattva* images in Gandhāra, moreover, suggests the beginning of a gradual shift towards a conception of the ideal being as layman, or at least a shift in the way the *bodhisattva* was conceived (from merely an instance of a Buddha's past to the central paradigm of Buddhahood). As a balance to the growing importance of the past lives of the Buddha, the process of redacting the scriptures also brought about the necessity of formulating a biography of the Buddha. The first "biographies" appear at the beginning of the common era, perhaps as late as the second century CE. Partial biographies appear in the literature of the Sarvāstivādins (*Lalitavistara*) and Lokottaravādins (*Mahāvastu*). The first complete biography is a cultured poem in the *kāvya* style, the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa. This is also a time when noncanonical literature flourished. Poets wrote Buddhist dramas and poetical recastings of canonical parables and legends. Aśvaghoṣa, for instance, wrote a drama on the life of Śāriputra, and a poem narrating the conversion of Nanda (*Saundarānanda*). Developments in the literary tradition perhaps should be seen as reflecting other strata of the living tradition. Thus, the vitality of the Jātaka tradition is seen in its appearance as a literary genre in the Jātakamālā of Āryaśūra (fl. c. 150 CE). This classical poet is sometimes identified with Mātṛceṭa, who in his works (e.g., *Śatapañcaśatka*) gives us a highly cultured reflection of the hymns of praise (*stotras*) that must have been a regular part of the Buddhist cult of the day. In these hymns we already see the apotheosis of the Buddha figure, side by side with the newly redefined *bodhisattva* ideal.

Mystics and intellectuals. The development of devotional Buddhism did not obscure the ascetic and contemplative dimensions of the religion. The system of meditation contained in the Nikāyas probably achieved its final form during this period. Diverse techniques for the development of enstasy and insight were conflated first in the canonical *Sūtra* literature, then in the Abhidharmic texts. Side by side with the development of popular and monastic cults a new elite of religious specialists appeared, seeking to follow the Buddha's path through systematic study into the scriptures. They belonged to the tradition of the *mātṛkās* and composed treatises purporting to treat the "higher" Dharma (*abhidharma*)—or, what is perhaps the more correct etymology, treatises "on the Dharma." Although the analysis of meditational categories was an important aspect of these traditions, the scholar-monks were not always dedicated meditators. In fact, many of them must have made scholarship the prime objective of their religious life, leaving the practice of meditation to the forest monks. For the scholars, the goal was to account for the whole of Buddhism, in particular, the plethora of ancient doctrines and practices found in the canon. Above all, they sought to define and explain the ultimately real components of reality, the *dharma*s, into which one could analyze or explode the false conception of the self. This critique was not without soteriological implications. The goal was conceived at times as ineffable, beyond the ken of human conception. Thus canonical literature describes the liberated person, the *arhat*, as follows:

> When bright sparks fly
> as the smith beats red-hot iron,
> and fade away,
> one cannot tell where they have gone.
>
> In the same way, there is no way of knowing
> the final destination of those who are truly free,
> who have crossed beyond the flood, bondage, and desire,
> obtaining unshakable bliss. (*Udāna*, p. 93)

But side by side with the tradition of ineffability, there was a need to define at the very least the process of liberation. For the gradual realization of selflessness was understood as personal growth. Accordingly, a set of standard definitions of liberation was accompanied by accepted descriptions of the stages on the path to liberation, or of degrees of spiritual achievement. The canonical collections already list, for instance, four types of saints (*āryapudgala*): the one who will be reborn no more (*arhat*); the one who will not come back to this world, the "non-returner" (*anāgamin*); the one who will return only once more (*sakṛdāgamin*); and the one who has entered the path to sainthood, the "stream-enterer" (*srotāpanna*). Canonical notions of levels or hierarchies in the path to liberation became the focus of much scholastic speculation—in fact, the presence of these categories in the canons may be a sign of scholastic influence on the redaction of the scriptures. The construction of complex systems of soteriology, conceived as maps or detailed descriptions of the path, that integrated the description and analysis of ethical and contemplative practices with philosophical argumentation, characterized the Abhidharmic schools. This activity contributed to the definition of the doctrinal parameters of the sects; but it also set the tone for much of future Buddhist dogmatics. The concerns of the Abhidharmists, ranging from the analysis of enstasy and the contemplative stages to the rational critique of philosophical views of reality, had a number of significant doctrinal consequences: (1) scholars began devising "maps of the path," or theoretical blueprints of the stages from the condition of a common human being (*pṛthag-jana*) to the exalted state of a fully awakened being (*samyaksaṃbuddha*); (2) Buddhist scholars engaged other Indian intellectuals in the discussion of broad philosophical issues; (3) various orthodox apologetics were developed, with the consequent freezing of a technical terminology common to most Buddhists; (4) the rigidity of their systems set the stage for a reaction that would lead to the creation of new forms of Buddhism.

THE SECTS AND THE APPEARANCE OF MAHĀYĀNA. Most of the developments mentioned above overlap with the growth of a new spirit that changed the religion and eventually created a distinct form of Buddhist belief and practice. The new movement referred to itself as the "Great Vehicle" (Mahāyāna) to distinguish itself from other styles of Buddhism that the followers of the movement considered forms of a "Lesser Vehicle" (Hīnayāna).

The early schools outside India. If we accept the general custom of using the reign of Aśoka as the landmark for the beginning of the missionary spread of Buddhism, we may say that Buddhism reached the frontiers of India by the middle of the second century BCE. By the beginning of the common era it had spread beyond. In the early centuries of the era Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna spread in every direction; eventually certain areas would become predominantly Mahāyāna, others, predominantly Hīnayāna.

Mahāyāna came to dominate in East and Central Asia—with the exception of Turkistan, where Sarvāstivādin monasteries flourished until the Muslim invasion and conversion of the region. Hīnayāna was slower to spread, and in some foreign lands had to displace Mahāyāna. It lives on in a school that refers to itself as the Theravāda, a Sinhala derivative of the Sthavira school. It spread throughout Southeast Asia where it continues to this day.

The Great Vehicle. The encounter of Buddhism with extra-Indian ethnic groups and the increasing influence of the laity gradually transformed the monastic child of shramanic Buddhism into a universal religion. This occurred in two ways. On the one hand, monasticism adapted to the changing circumstances, strengthened its ties to the laity and secular authorities, established a satisfactory mode of coexistence with nonliterary, regional forms of worship. Both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna schools participated in this aspect of the process of adaptation. But Buddhism also redefined its goals and renovated its symbols to create a new synthesis that in some ways may be considered a new religion. The new style, the Mahāyāna, claimed to be a path for the many, the vehicle for the salvation of all sentient beings (hence its name, "The Great Vehicle"). Its distinctive features are: a tilt toward world affirmation, a laicized conception of the human ideal, a new ritual of devotion, and new definitions of the metaphysical and contemplative ideals.

The origins of Mahāyāna. The followers of Mahāyāna claim the highest antiquity for its teachings. Their own myths of origin, however, belie this claim. Mahāyāna recognizes the fact that its teachings were not known in the early days of Buddhism by asserting that Śākyamuni revealed the Mahāyāna only to select *bodhisattva*s or heavenly beings who kept the texts hidden for centuries. One legend recounts that the philosopher Nāgārjuna had to descend to the underworld to obtain the Mahāyāna texts known as the "Perfection of Wisdom" (Prajñāpāramitā).

Western scholars are divided on the question of the dates and location of the origins of Mahāyāna. Some favor an early (beginning of the common era) origin among Mahāsāṃghika communities in the southeastern region of Andhra. Others propose a northwestern origin, among the Sarvāstivādins, close to the second and third centuries CE. It may be, however, that Mahāyāna arose by a gradual and complex process involving more than one region of India. It is clear that Mahāyāna was partly a reform movement, partly the natural development of pre-Mahāyāna Buddhism; still in another sense, it was the result of new social forces shaping the Indian subcontinent.

The theory of a southern origin assumes that the Mahāsāṃghika monastic centers of Andhra continued to develop some of the more radical ideals of the school, until some of these communities saw themselves as a movement completely distinct from other, so-called Hīnayāna schools. This theory also recognizes external influences: the Iranian invaders as well as the non-Aryan substratum of southern India, the first affecting the mythology of the celestial *bodhisattvas*, the second incorporating non-Aryan concepts of the role of women into the mainstream of Buddhist religious ideals.

For the sake of clarity one could distinguish two types of causes in the development of Mahāyāna: social or external, and doctrinal or internal. Among the first one must include the Central Asian and Iranian influences mentioned above, the growing importance of the role of women and the laity, especially as this affected the development of the cultus, and the impact of the pilgrimage cycles. The foreign element is supposed to have introduced elements of light symbolism and solar cults, as well as a less ascetic bent.

Doctrinal factors were primarily the development of the myth of the former lives of Śākyamuni and the cult of former Buddhas, both of which contributed to a critique of the *arhat* ideal. The mythology of the Buddha's former lives as a *bodhisattva* led to the exaltation of the *bodhisattva* ideal over that of the *arhat.* The vows of the *bodhisattva* began to take the central role, especially as they were seen as an integral part of a developing liturgy at the center of which the dedication of merit was transformed as part of the exalted *bodhisattva* ideal.

It seems likely, furthermore, that visionaries and inspired believers had continued to compose sūtras. Some of these, through a gradual process we can no longer retrace, began to move away from the general direction of the older scholastic traditions and canonical redactors. Thus it happened that approximately at the time when the older schools were closing their canons, the Mahāyāna was composing a set of texts that would place it in a position of disagreement with, if not frank opposition to, the older schools. At the same time, the High Tradition began to accept Mahāyāna and therefore argue for its superiority; thus, a Mahāyāna *śāstra* tradition began to develop almost at the same time as the great Sarvāstivādin synthesis was completed.

In the West, the gap between Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna is sometimes exaggerated. It is customary to envision Mahāyāna as a revolutionary movement through which the aspirations of a restless laity managed to overcome an oppressive, conservative monastic establishment. Recent research suggests that the opposition between the laity and the religious specialists was not as sharp as had hitherto been proposed. Furthermore, it has become apparent that the monastic establishment continued to be a powerful force in Indian Mahāyāna. It seems more likely that Mahāyāna arose gradually and in different forms in various points of the subcontinent. A single name and a more or less unified ideology may have arisen after certain common aspirations were recognized. Be that as it may, it seems evident that the immediate causes for the arising of this new form of Buddhism were the appearance of new cultic forms and widespread dissatisfaction with the scholastic tradition.

Merit, bodhisattvas, and the Pure Land. Inscriptional evidence shows that the doctrine of merit transference had an important role in the cultus even before the appearance of Mahāyāna. Although all Buddhists believe that virtuous thoughts and actions generate merit, which leads to a good rebirth, it appears that early Buddhists believed that individuals could generate merit only for themselves, and that merit could only lead to a better rebirth, not to liberation from the cycle of rebirth. By the beginning of the common era, however, some Buddhists had adopted a different conception of merit. They believed that merit could be shared or transferred, and that it was a factor in the attainment of liberation—so much so that they were offering their own merit for the salvation of their dead relatives.

Dedication of merit appears as one of the pivotal doctrines of the new Buddhism. Evidently, it served a social function: it made participation in Buddhist ritual a social encounter rather than a private experience. It also contributed to the development of a Buddhist high liturgy, an important factor in the survival of Buddhism and its assimilation of foreign elements, both in and outside India.

This practice and belief interacted with the cult of former Buddhas and the mythology of the former lives to create a Buddhist system of beliefs in which the primary goal was to imitate the virtue of Śākyamuni's former lives, when he was a *bodhisattva* dedicated to the liberation of others rather than himself. To achieve this goal the believer sought to imitate Śākyamuni not as he appeared in his last life or after his enlightenment, when he sought and attained *nirvāṇa*, but by adopting a vow similar to Śākyamuni's former vow to seek awakening (*bodhi*) for the sake of all sentient beings. On the one hand, this shift put the emphasis on insight into the world, rather than escape from it. On the other hand, it also created a new form of ideal being and object of worship, the *bodhisattva.*

Contemporary developments in Hindu devotionalism (*bhakti*) probably played an important role in the development of Buddhist liturgies of worship (*pūjā*), but it would be a mistake to assume that the beginnings of Mahāyāna faith and ritual can be explained adequately by attributing them merely to external theistic influences. For instance, the growth of a faith in rebirth in "purified Buddha fields," realms of the cosmos in which the merit and power of Buddhas and *bodhisattva*s create an environment where birth without suffering is possible, can be seen as primarily a Buddhist development. The new faith, generalized in India through the concept of the "Land of Bliss" (the "Pure Land" of East Asian Buddhism), hinged on faith in the vows of former *bodhisattva*s who chose to transfer or dedicate their merit to the purification of a special "field" or "realm." The influence of Iranian religious conceptions seems likely, however, and one may have to seek some of the roots of this belief among Central Asian converts.

Formation of a new scriptural tradition. With the new cult and the new ideology came a new body of scriptures. Mahāyāna sūtras began to be composed probably around the beginning of the Christian era, and continued to be composed and redacted until at least the fifth or sixth century CE. Unlike the canons of the earlier schools, the Mahāyāna scriptures do not seem to have been collected into formal, closed canons in the land of their origin—even the collections edited in China and Tibet were never closed canons.

In its inception Mahāyāna literature is indistinguishable from the literature of some of the earlier schools. The *Prajñāpāramitā* text attributed to the Pūrvaśailas is probably an earlier version of one of the Mahāyāna texts of the same title; the *Ratnakūṭa* probably began as part of a Mahāsāṃghika canon; and the now lost *Dhāraṇī Piṭaka* of the Dharmaguptaka school probably contained prototypes of the *dhāraṇī-sūtra*s of the Mahāyāna tradition. The Mahāyānist monks never gave up the pre-Mahāyāna Vinaya. Many followed the Dharmaguptaka version, some the Mahāsāṃghika. Even the Vinaya of a school that fell squarely into the Hīnayāna camp, the Sarvāstivāda, was used as the basis for Mahāyāna monastic rule.

Still, the focus of much Mahāyāna rhetoric, especially in the earlier strata of the literature, is the critique of non-Mahāyāna forms of Buddhism, especially the ideal of the *arhat.* This is one of the leading themes of a work now believed to represent an early stage in the development of Mahāyāna, the *Raṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā*, a text of the *Ratnakūṭa* class. In this text, the monastic life is still exalted above all other forms of spiritual life, but the *bodhisattva* vows are presented for the first time as superior to the mere monastic vows.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to establish with any degree of certainty the early history of Mahāyāna literature. It seems, however, that the earliest extant Mahāyāna *sūtra* is the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*, or its verse rendering, the *Ratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā*. Both reflect a polemic within Buddhism, centering on a critique of the "low aspirations" of those Buddhists who chose not to take the vows of the *bodhisattva*s. The *Ratnaguṇa* defines the virtues of the *bodhisattva*, emphasizing the transcendental insight or "perfect wisdom" (*prajñāpāramitā*) that frees him from all forms of attachment and preconceived notions—including notions of purity and world renunciation. An important aspect or complement of this wisdom is skill in means (*upāyakauśalya*)—defined here as the capacity to adapt thought, speech, and action to circumstances and to the ultimate purpose of Buddhist practice, freedom from attachment. This virtue allows the *bodhisattva* to remain in the world while being perfectly free from the world.

The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* treats these same concepts, but also expands the concept of merit in at least two directions: (1) dedication of merit to awakening means here seeing through the illusion of merit as well as applying merit to the path of liberation; and (2) dedication of merit is an act of devotion to insight (wisdom, *prajñā*). As the goal and ground of all perfections (Pāramitā), Perfection of Wisdom is personified as the Mother of All Buddhas. She gives birth to the mind of awakening, but she is present in concrete form in the Sacred Book itself. Thus, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* is at the same time the medium expressing a sophisticated doctrine of salvation by insight and skill in means, the rationalization of a ritual system, and the object of worship.

Another early Mahāyāna text, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (Lotus Sutra), also attacks the *arhat* ideal. This *sūtra* is considered the paradigmatic text on the developed Buddhology of the Mahāyāna: the Buddha is presented as a supernatural being, eternal, unchanging; at the same time he is Buddha by virtue of the fact that he has become free from all conceptions of being and nonbeing. The Buddha never *attained* awakening or *nirvāṇa*—because he is Buddhahood, and has been in awakening and *nirvāṇa* since eternity, but also because there is no Buddhahood or *nirvāṇa* to be attained.

The widespread, but clearly not exclusively popular, belief in the Land of Bliss (Sukhāvatī) finds expression in two texts of the latter part of the early period (c. first to second century CE). The two *Sukhāvatī* sūtras express a faith in the saving grace of the *bodhisattva* Dharmākara, who under a former Buddha made the vow to purify his own Buddha field. The vows of this *bodhisattva* guarantee rebirth in his Land of Bliss to all those who think on him with faith. Rebirth in his land, furthermore, guarantees eventual enlightenment and liberation. The Indian history of these two texts, however, remains for the most part obscure.

The attitude of early Mahāyāna sūtras to laity and to women is relatively inconsistent. Thus, the *Ugradattaparipṛcchā* and the *Upāsakaśīla*, while pretending to preach a lay morality, use monastic models for the householder's life. But compared to the earlier tradition, the Mahāyāna represents a significant move in the direction of a religion that is less ascetic and monastic in tone and intent. Some Mahāyāna sūtras of the early period place laypersons in a central role. The main character in the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, for instance, is a young lay pilgrim who visits a number of *bodhisattva*s in search of the teaching. Among his teachers we find laymen and laywomen, as well as female night spirits and celestial *bodhisattva*s. The *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* is more down-to-earth in its exaltation of the lay ideal. Although not without its miraculous events, it represents the demythologizing tendencies of Mahāyāna, which are often carried out to the extreme of affirming that the metaphoric meaning of one doctrine is exactly its opposite.

The Development of Mahāyāna. Although Buddhism flourished during the classical age of the Guptas, the cultural splendor in which it grew was also the harbinger of Hindu dominance. Sanskrit returned as the lingua franca of the subcontinent, and Hindu devotionalism began to displace the ideals of the Indic period. Mahāyāna must have been a divided movement even in its inception. Some of the divisions found in the Hīnayāna or pre-Mahāyāna schools from which Mahāyāna originated must have carried through into Mahāyāna itself. Unfortunately, we know much less of the early sectarian divisions in the movement than we know of the Eighteen Schools. It is clear, for instance, that the conception of the *bodhisattva* found among the Mahāsāṃghikas is different from that of the Sarvāstivādins. It appears also that the *Prajñāptivādin*s conceived of the unconditioned dharmas in a manner different from other early schools. However, though we may speculate that some of these differences influenced the development of Mahāyāna, we have no solid evidence.

As pre-Mahāyāna Buddhism had developed a scholastic system to bolster its ideological position, Mahāyāna developed special forms of scholarly investigation. A new synthesis, in many ways far removed from the visionary faith underlying the religious aspects of Mahāyāna, grew in the established monasteries partly as a critique of earlier scholastic formulations, partly due to the need to explain and justify the new faith. Through this intellectual function the monastery reasserted its institutional position. Both monk and layman participated in giving birth to Mahāyāna and maintaining its social and liturgical life, but the intellectual leadership remained monastic and conservative. Therefore, Mahāyāna reform brought with it an element of continuity—monastic institutions and codes—that could be at the same time a cause for fossilization and stagnation. The monasteries would eventually grow to the point where they became a burden on society, at the same time that, as institutions of conservatism, they failed to adapt to a changing society.

Still, from the beginning of the Gupta dynasty to the earlier part of the Pāla dynasty the monasteries were centers of intellectual creativity. They continued to be supported under the Guptas, especially Kumāra Gupta I (414–455), who endowed a major monastery in a site in Bihar originally consecrated to Śāriputra. This monastic establishment, called Nālandā after the name of a local genie, probably had been active as a center of learning for several decades before Kumāra Gupta decided to give it special recognition. It would become the leading institution of higher learning in the Buddhist world for almost a thousand years. Together with the university of Valabhī in western India, Nālandā represents the scholastic side of Mahāyāna, which coexisted with a nonintellectual (not necessarily "popular") dimension, the outlines of which appear through archaeological remains, certain aspects of the sūtra literature, and the accounts of Chinese pilgrims.

Some texts suggest a conflict between forest and city dwellers that may in fact reflect the expected tension between the ascetic and the intellectual, or the meditator and the religious politician. But, lest this simple schema obliterate important aspects of Buddhist religious life, one must note that there is plentiful evidence of intense and constant interaction between the philosopher, the meditator, and the devotee—often all three functions coinciding in one person. Furthermore, the writings of great philosophical minds like Asaṅga, Śāntideva, and Āryadeva suggest an active involvement of the monk-*bodhisattva* in the social life of the community. The nonintellectual dimensions of the religion, therefore, must be seen as one aspect of a dialectic that resolved itself in synthesis as much as rivalry, tension, or dissonance.

Mahāyāna faith and devotion, moreover, was in itself a complex phenomenon, incorporating a liturgy of the High Tradition (e.g., the *Hymn to the Three Bodies of the Buddha*, attributed to Aśvaghoṣa) with elements of the nonliterary and non-Buddhist religion (e.g., pilgrimage cycles and the cult of local spirits, respectively), as well as generalized beliefs such as the dedication of merit and the hope of rebirth in a purified Buddha Land.

Developments in doctrine. In explaining the appearance of Mahāyāna, two extremes should be avoided carefully. On the one hand, one can exaggerate the points of continuity that link Mahāyāna with pre-Mahāyāna Buddhism; on the other, one can make a distinction so sharp that Mahāyāna appears as a radical break with the past, rather than a gradual process of growth. The truth lies somewhere between these two extremes: although Mahāyāna can be understood as a logical expansion of earlier Buddhist doctrine and practice, it is difficult to see how the phenomenon could be explained without assuming major changes in the social fabric of the Indian communities that provided the base for the religion. These changes, furthermore, are suggested by historical evidence.

The key innovations in doctrine can be divided into those that are primarily critiques of early scholastic constructs and those that reflect new developments in practice. In both types, of course, one should not ignore the influence of visionary or contemplative experience; but this aspect of the religion, unfortunately, cannot always be documented adequately. The most important doctrine of practical consequence was the *bodhisattva* doctrine; the most important theoretical development was the doctrine of emptiness (*śūnyatā*). The first can be understood also as the result of a certain vision of the concrete manifestation of the sacred; the second, as the expression of a new type of mystical or contemplative experience.

The bodhisattva. In pre-Mahāyāna Buddhism the term *bodhisattva* referred primarily to the figure of a Buddha from the time of his adoption of the vow to attain enlightenment to the point at which he attained Buddhahood. Even when used as an abstract designation of an ideal of perfection, the value of the ideal was determined by the goal: liberation from suffering. In the teachings of some of the Hīnayāna schools, however, the *bodhisattva* became an ideal with intrinsic value: to be a *bodhisattva* meant to adopt the vow (*praṇidhāna*) of seeking perfect awakening *for the sake of living beings*; that is, to follow the example set by the altruistic dedication of the Buddha in his former lives, when he was a *bodhisattva*, and not to aspire merely to individual liberation, as the *arhat*s were supposed to have done. The Mahāyāna made this critique its own, and the *bodhisattva* ideal its central religious goal.

This doctrinal stance accompanied a shift in mythology that has been outlined above: the belief in multiple *bodhisattva*s and the development of a complex legend of the former lives of the Buddha. There was likewise a change in ritual centered around the cult of the *bodhisattva*, especially of mythical *bodhisattva*s who were believed to be engaged in the pursuit of awakening primarily, if not exclusively, for the sake of assisting beings in need or distress. Closely allied with this was the increasing popularity of the recitation of *bodhisattva* vows.

Whereas the *bodhisattva* of early Buddhism stood for a human being on his way to become a liberated being, the *bodhisattva* that appears in the Mahāyāna reflects the culmination of a process of change that began when some of the Hīnayāna schools extended the apotheosis of the Buddha Śākyamuni to the *bodhisattva*—that is, when they idealized both the Buddha and the spiritual career outlined by the myth of his previous lives. Mahāyāna then extended the same religious revaluation to numerous mythical beings believed to be far advanced in the path of awakening. Accordingly, in its mythology Mahāyāna has more than one object of veneration. Especially in contrast to the more conservative Hīnayāna schools (the Sarvāstivāda and the Theravāda, for instance), Mahāyāna is the Buddhism of multiple Buddhas and *bodhisattva*s, residing in multiple realms, where they assist numberless beings on their way to awakening.

Accordingly, the early ideal of the *bodhisattva* as future Buddha is not discarded; rather it is redefined and expanded. As a theory of liberation, the characteristic position of Mahāyāna can be summarized by saying that it emphasizes *bodhi* and relegates *nirvāṇa* to a secondary position. Strictly speaking, this may represent an early split within the community rather than a shift in doctrine. One could speculate that it goes back to conflicting notions of means to liberation found among the shramanic religions: the conflict between enstasy and insight as means of liberation. But this analysis must be qualified by noting that the revaluation of *bodhi* must be seen in the context of the *bodhisattva* vow. The unique aspiration of the *bodhisattva* defines awakening as "awakening for the sake of all sentient beings." This is a concept that cannot be understood properly in the context of disputes regarding the relative importance of insight.

Furthermore, one should note that the displacement of *nirvāṇa* is usually effected through its redefinition, not by means of a rejection of the basic concept of "freedom from all attachment." Although the formalized texts of the vows often speak of the *bodhisattva* "postponing" his entrance into *nirvāṇa* until all living beings are saved, and the Buddha is asked in prayer to remain in the world without entering *nirvāṇa*, the central doctrine implies that a *bodhisattva* would not even consider a *nirvāṇa* of the type sought by the *arhat*. The *bodhisattva* is defined more by his aspiration for a different type of *nirvāṇa* than by a rejection or postponement of *nirvāṇa* as such. The gist of this new doctrine of *nirvāṇa* can be summarized in a definition of liberation as a state of peace in which the liberated person is neither attached to peace nor attached to the turmoil of the cycle of rebirth. It is variously named and defined: either by an identity of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* or by proposing a *nirvāṇa* in which one can find no support (*apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa*).

As noted above, in the early conception a *bodhisattva* is a real human being. This aspect of the doctrine is not lost in Mahāyāna, but preserved in the belief that the aspiration to perfect awakening (the *bodhicitta*) and the *bodhisattva* vow should be adopted by all believers. By taking up the vow—by conversion or by ritual repetition—the Mahāyāna Buddhist, monk or layperson, actualizes the *bodhicitta* and progresses toward the goal of becoming a *bodhisattva*. Also uniquely Mahāyāna is the belief that these human aspirants to awakening are not alone—they are accompanied and protected by "celestial *bodhisattva*s," powerful beings far advanced in the path, so perfect that they are free from both rebirth and liberation, and can now choose freely if, when, and where they are to be reborn. They engage freely in the process of rebirth only to save living beings.

What transforms the human and ethical ideal into a religious ideal, and into the object of religious awe, is the scale in which the *bodhisattva* path is conceived. From the first aspiration to awakening (*bodhicitta*) and the affirmation of the vow to the attainment of final enlightenment and liberation, countless lives intervene. The *bodhisattva* has to traverse ten stages (*bhūmi*), beginning with the intense practice of the virtue of generosity (primarily a lay virtue), passing through morality in the second stage, patience in the third, then fortitude, meditation, insight, skill in means, vows, powers, and the highest knowledge of a Buddha. The stages, therefore, correspond with the ten perfections (*pāramitā*). Although all perfections are practiced in every stage, they are mastered in the order in which they are listed in the scheme of the stages, suggesting at one end of the spectrum a simple and accessible practice for the majority of believers, the human *bodhisattva*, and at the other end a stage clearly unattainable in the realm of normal human circumstances, reserved for semidivine Buddhas and *bodhisattva*s, the object of worship. Although some exceptional human beings may qualify for the status of advanced *bodhisattva*s, most of these ideal beings are the mythic objects of religious fervor and imagination.

Among the mythic or celestial *bodhisattva*s the figure of Maitreya—destined to be the next Buddha of this world system after Śākyamuni—clearly represents the earliest stage of the myth. His cult is especially important in East Asian Buddhism. Other celestial *bodhisattva*s include Mañjuśrī, the *bodhisattva* of wisdom, the patron of scripture, obviously less important in the general cultus but an important *bodhisattva* in monastic devotion. The most important liturgical role is reserved for Avalokiteśvara, the *bodhisattva* of compassion, whose central role in worship is attested by archaeology.

Emptiness. The doctrine of emptiness (*śūnyatā*) represents a refinement of the ancient doctrine of no-self. In some ways it is merely an extension of the earlier doctrine: the denial of the substantial reality of the self and what belongs to the self, as a means to effect a breaking of the bonds of attachment. The notion of emptiness, however, expresses a critique of our common notions of reality that is much more radical than the critique implicit in the doctrine of no-self. The Mahāyāna critique is in fact unacceptable to other Buddhists, for it is in a manner of speaking a critique of Buddhism. Emptiness of all things implies the groundlessness of all ideas and conceptions, including, ultimately, Buddhist doctrines themselves.

The doctrine of emptiness was developed by the philosophical schools, but clearly inspired by the tradition of the Mahāyāna sūtras. Thus we read: "Even *nirvāṇa* is like a magical creation, like a dream, how much more any other object or idea (*dharma*). . .? Even a Perfect Buddha is like a magical creation, like a dream. . ." (*Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, p. 40). The practical correlate of the doctrine of emptiness is the concept of "skill in means" (*upāya*): Buddhist teachings are not absolute statements about reality, they are means to a higher goal beyond all views. In their cultural context these two doctrines probably served as a way of making Buddhist doctrine malleable to diverse populations. By placing the truth of Buddhism beyond the specific content of its religious practices, these two doctrines justified adaptation to changing circumstances and the adoption of new religious customs.

But emptiness, like the *bodhisattva* vows, also reflects the Mahāyāna understanding of the ultimate experience of Buddhism—understood both as a dialectic and a meditational process. This experience can be described as an awareness that nothing is self-existent. Dialectically, this means that there is no way that the mind can consistently think of any thing as having an existence of its own. All concepts of substance and existence vanish when they are examined closely and rationally. As a religious experience the term *emptiness* refers to a direct perception of this absence of self-existence, a perception that is only possible through mental cultivation, and which is a liberating experience. Liberation, in fact, has been redefined in a way reminiscent of early texts such as the *Suttanipāta*. Liberation is now the freedom resulting from the negation of all assumptions about reality, even Buddhist assumptions.

> The cessation of grasping and reifying,
> calming the plural mind—this is bliss.
>
> The Buddha never taught any thing/doctrine [*dharma*]
> to anyone anywhere. (*Madhyamakakārikā* 25.24)

Finally, emptiness is also an affirmation of the immanence of the sacred. Applied to the turmoil of the sphere of rebirth (*saṃsāra*), it points to the relative value and reality of the world and at the same time transforms it into the sacred, the experience of awakening. Applied to the sphere of liberation (*nirvāṇa*), emptiness is a critique of the conception of liberation as a religious goal outside the world of impermanence and suffering.

Other views of the Absolute. Mahāyāna developed early notions of the supernatural and the sacred that guaranteed an exalted status to the symbols of its mystical and ethical ideals. Its notion of extraordinary beings populating supernal Buddha fields and coming to the aid of suffering sentient beings necessitated a metaphysic and cosmology that could offer concrete images of a transcendent sacred. Accordingly, the abstract, apophatic concept of emptiness was often qualified by, or even rejected in favor of, positive statements and concrete images.

Pre-Mahāyāna traditions had emphasized impermanence and no-self: to imagine that there is permanence in the impermanent is the most noxious error. Mahāyāna introduced the notion of emptiness, urging us to give up the notion of permanence, but to give up the notion of impermanence as well. Within the Mahāyāna camp others proposed that there was something permanent within the impermanent. Texts like the [*Mahāyāna*] *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* asserted that the Buddha himself had taught a doctrine of permanence: the seed of Buddhahood, innate enlightenment, is permanent, blissful, pure—indeed, it is the true self, present in the impermanent mind and body of sentient beings.

The *tathāgata* as object of worship was associated with "suchness" (*tathatā*), his saving actions were seen as taking effect in a world formed in the image of the dharma and its ultimate truth (*dharmadhātu*), and his form as repository of all goodness and virtue represented his highest form.

A doctrine common to all Mahāyānists sought to establish a link between the absolute and common human beings. The Tathāgata was conceived of as having several aspects to his person: the human Buddha or "Body of Magical Apparition" (*nirmāṇakāya*), that is, the historical persons of Buddhas; the transcendent sacred, the Buddha of the paradises and Buddha fields, who is also the form that is the object of worship (*saṃbhogakāya*); and the Buddha as Suchness, as nonduality, the *tathāgata* as embodiment of the *dharmadhātu*, called the "Dharma Body" (*dharmakāya*).

Developments in practice. The practice of meditation was for the Mahāyānist part of a ritual process beginning with the first feelings of compassion for other sentient beings, formulating the vow, including the expression of a strong desire to save all sentient beings and share one's merit with them, followed by the cultivation of the analysis of all existents, reaching a pinnacle in the experience of emptiness but culminating in the dedication of these efforts to the salvation of others.

Worship and ritual. The uniquely Mahāyāna aspect of the ritual is the threefold service (*triskandhaka*). Variously defined, this bare outline of the essential Mahāyāna ritual is explained by the seventh-century poet Śāntideva as consisting of a confession of sins, formal rejoicing at the merit of others, and a request to all Buddhas that they remain in the world for the sake of suffering sentient beings. A pious Buddhist was expected to perform this threefold ritual three times in the day and three times in the night.

A text known as the *Triskandhaka*, forming part of the *Upālipariprcchā*, proves the central role of confession and dedication of merit. The act of confession is clearly a continuation of the ancient Prātimokṣa ritual. Other elements of continuity include a link with early nonliterary tradition (now integrated into scripture) in the role of the dedication of merit, and a link with the general Buddhist tradition of the Three Refuges.

More complicated liturgies were in use. Several versions remain in the extant literature. Although many of them are said to be "the sevenfold service" (*saptavidhānuttarapūjā*), the number seven is to be taken as an abstract number. The most important elements of the longer liturgies are the salutation to the Buddhas and *bodhisattva*s, the act of worship, the act of contrition, delight in the merit of others, and the dedication of merit. Xuanzang, the seventh-century Chinese pilgrim to India, describes, albeit cursorily, some of the liturgies in use in the Indian monasteries of his time.

Most common forms of ritual, however, must have been less formalized and less monkish. The common rite is best represented by the litany of Avalokiteśvara, preserved in the literature and the monuments. In its literary form it is a solemn statement of the *bodhisattva*'s capacity to save from peril those who call on his name. But in actual practice, one can surmise, the cult of Avalokiteśvara included then, as it does today in East Asia, prayers of petition and apotropaic invocations.

The basic liturgical order of the literary tradition was embellished with elements from general Indian religious custom, especially from the styles of worship called *pūjā*. These included practices such as bathing the sacred image, carrying it in procession, offering cloth, perfume, and music to the icon, and so forth.

Ritual practices were also expanded in the monastic tradition. For instance, another text also going by the title *Triskandhaka* (but preserved only in Tibetan translation) shows an intimate connection between ritual and meditation, as it integrates—like many monastic manuals of meditation—the typical daily ritual cycle with a meditation session.

Meditation. The practice of meditation was as important in the Mahāyāna tradition as it had been before. The maps of the path and the meditation manuals of Mahāyāna Buddhists give us accounts, if somewhat idealized ones, of the process of meditation. Although no systematic history of Mahāyāna meditation has been attempted yet, it is obvious that there are important synchronic and diachronic differences among Mahāyāna Buddhists in India. Considering, nevertheless, only those elements that are common to the various systems, one must note first an element of continuity with the past in the use of a terminology very similar to that of the Mahīśāsakas and the Sarvāstivāda, and in the acceptance, with little change, of traditional lists of objects and states of contemplation.

The interpretation of the process, however, and the definition of the higher stages of contemplation differed radically from that of the Hīnayāna schools. The principal shift is in the definition of the goal as a state in which the object of contemplation (*ālambana*) is no longer present to the mind (*nirālambana*). All the mental images (or "marks," *nimitta*, *saṃjñā*) that form the basis for conceptual thought and attachment must be abandoned through a process of mental calm and analysis, until the contemplative reaches a state of peaceful concentration free of mental marks (*ānimitta*), free of conceptualizations (*nirvikalpa-samādhi*).

These changes in contemplative theory are closely connected to the abandonment of the *dharma* theory and the doctrine of no-self as the theoretical focus of speculative mysticism. One may say that the leading theme of Mahāyāna contemplative life is the meditation on emptiness. But one must add that the scholastic traditions are very careful to define the goal as constituted by both emptiness and compassion (*karuṇā*). The higher state of freedom from conceptions (the "supramundane knowledge") must be followed by return to the world to fulfill the vows of the *bodhisattva*—the highest contemplative stage is, at least in theory, a preparation for the practice of compassion.

The new ethics. The *bodhisattva* ideal also implied new ethical notions. Two themes prevail in Mahāyāna ethical speculation: the altruistic vow and life in the world. Both themes reflect changes in the social context of Buddhism: a greater concern, if not a stronger role for, lay life and its needs and aspirations and a cultural context requiring universal social values. The altruistic ideal is embodied in the *bodhisattva* vows and in the creation of a new set of ethical rules, commonly known as the "Bodhisattva Vinaya." A number of Mahāyāna texts are said to represent this new "Vinaya." Among these, the *Bodhisattvaprātimokṣa* was especially important in India. It prescribes a liturgy for the ritual adoption of the *bodhisattva* vows, which is clearly based on the earlier rites of ordination (*upasaṃpadā*). Although the Mahāyāna Vinaya Sūtras never replaced in India the earlier monastic codes, they preserved and transmitted important, and at times obligatory, rites of monastic and lay initiation, and were considered essential supplements to traditional monastic Vinaya.

THE HIGH TRADITION AND THE UNIVERSITIES. The most important element in the institutionalization of Mahāyāna was perhaps the establishment of Buddhist universities. In these centers of learning the elaboration of Buddhist doctrine became the most important goal of Buddhist monastic life. First at Nālandā and Valabhī, then, as the Pāla dynasty took control of East Central India (c. 650), at the universities of Vikramaśīla and Odantapurī, Mahāyāna scholars trained disciples from different parts of the Buddhist world and elaborated subtle systems of textual interpretation and philosophical speculation.

The Mahāyāna synthesis. Although eventually they would not be able to compete with more resilient forms of Buddhism and Hinduism, the Mahāyāna scholars played a leading role in the creation of a Mahāyāna synthesis that would satisfy both the intelligentsia and the common believers for at least five hundred years. Devotion, ritual, ethics, metaphysics, and logic formed part of this monument to Indian philosophical acumen. Even as the ruthless Mihirakula, the Ephthalite ("White") Hun, was invading India from the northwest (c. 500–528) and the Chalukya dynasty was contributing to a Hindu renaissance in the southwest (c. 550–753), India allowed for the development of great minds—such distinguished philosophical figures as Dignāga and Sthiramati, who investigated subtle philosophical issues. Persecution by Mihirakula (c. 550) was followed by the reign of one of the great patrons of Buddhism, Harṣa Vardhana (c. 605–647). Once more Buddhism was managing to survive on the seesaw of Indian politics.

Schools. The scholastic tradition of Mahāyāna can be divided into three schools: Mādhyamika (Madhyamaka), Yogācāra, and the school of Sāramati. The first two dominated the intellectual life of Mahāyāna in India. The third had a short-lived but important influence on Tibet, and indirectly may be considered an important element in the development of East Asian Buddhism.

Mādhyamika. The founder of this school can also be regarded as the father of Mahāyāna scholasticism and philosophy. Nāgārjuna (fl. c. 150 CE) came from South India, possibly from the Amarāvatī region. Said to have been the advisor to one of the Śātavāhana monarchs, he became the first major philosopher of Mahāyāna and a figure whose ideas influenced all its schools. The central theme of his philosophy is emptiness (*śūnyatā*) understood as a corollary of the pre-Mahāyāna theory of dependent origination. Emptiness is the Middle Way between affirmations of being and nonbeing. The extremes of existence and nonexistence are avoided by recognizing certain causal relations (e.g., the path and liberation) without predicating a self-existence or immutable essence (*svabhāva*) to either cause or effect. To defend his views without establishing a metaphysical thesis, Nāgārjuna argues by reducing to the absurd all the alternative philosophical doctrines recognized in his day. For his own "system," Nāgārjuna claims to have no thesis to affirm beyond his rejection of the affirmations and negations of all metaphysical systems. Therefore, Nāgārjuna's system is "the school of the Middle" (*madhyamaka*) both as an ontology (neither being nor nonbeing) and as a logic (neither affirmation nor negation). In religious terms, Nāgārjuna's Middle Way is summarized in his famous statement that *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* are the same.

Three to four centuries after Nāgārjuna the Mādhyamika school split into two main branches, called Prāsaṅgika and Svātantrika. The first of these, represented by Buddhapālita (c. 500) and Candrakīrti (c. 550–600), claimed that in order to be faithful to the teachings of Nāgārjuna, philosophers had to confine themselves to the critique of opposing views by *reductio ad absurdum.* The Svātantrikas, on the other hand, claimed that the Mādhyamika philosopher had to formulate his own thesis; in particular, he needed his own epistemology. The main exponent of this view was Buddhapālita's great critic Bhāvaviveka (c. 500–550). The debate continued for some time but was eclipsed by other philosophical issues; for the Mādhyamika school eventually assimilated elements of other Mahāyāna traditions, especially those of the logicians and the Yogācārins.

Mādhyamika scholars also contributed to the development of religious literature. Several hymns (*stava*) are attributed to Nāgārjuna. His disciple Āryadeva discusses the *bodhisattva*'s career in his *Bodhisattva-yogācāra-catuḥśataka*, although the work deals mostly with philosophical issues. Two anthological works, one attributed to Nāgārjuna, the *Sūtrasamuccaya*, and the other to the seventh-century Śāntideva, the *Śikśāsamuccaya*, became guides to the ritual and ethical practices of Mahāyāna. Śāntideva also wrote a "guide" to the *bodhisattva*'s career, the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, a work that gives us a sampling of the ritual and contemplative practices of Mādhyamika monks, as well as a classical survey of the philosophical issues that engaged their attention.

Yogācāra. Approximately two centuries after Nāgārjuna, during the transition period from Kushan to Gupta power, a new school of Mahāyāna philosophy arose in the northwest. The founders of this school, the brothers Asaṅga (c. 310–390) and Vasubandhu (c. 320–400), had begun as scholars in the Hīnayāna schools. Asaṅga, the elder brother, was trained in the Mahīśāsaka school. Many important features of the Abhidharma theories of this school remained in Asaṅga's Mahāyāna system. Vasubandhu, who converted to Mahāyāna after his brother had become an established scholar of the school, began as a Sautrāntika with an extraordinary command of Sarvāstivādin theories. Therefore, when he did become a Mahāyānist he too brought with him a Hīnayāna scholastic grid on which to organize and rationalize Mahāyāna teachings.

The school founded by the two brothers is known as the Yogācāra, perhaps following the title of Asaṅga's major work, the *Yogācārabhūmi* (sometimes attributed to Maitreya), but clearly expressing the centrality of the practice of self-cultivation, especially through meditation. In explaining the experiences arising during the practice of yoga, the school proposes the two doctrines that characterize it: (1) the experience of enstasy leads to the conviction that there is nothing but mind (*cittamātratā*), or the world is nothing but a perceptual construct (*vijñaptimātratā*); (2) the analysis of mind carried out during meditation reveals different levels of perception or awareness, and, in the depths of consciousness, the basis for rebirth and karmic determination, a storehouse consciousness (*ālaya-vijñāna*) containing the seeds of former actions. Varying emphasis on these two principles characterize different modes of the doctrine. The doctrine of mind-only dominates Vasubandhu's *Viṃśatikā* and *Triṃśikā*; the analysis of the *ālaya-vijñāna* is more central to Asaṅga's doctrine. Since both aspects of the doctrine can be understood as theories of consciousness (*vijñāna*), the school is sometimes called Vijñānavāda.

One of the first important divisions within the Yogācāra camp reflected geographical as well as doctrinal differences. The school of Valabhī, following Sthiramati (c. 500–560), opposed the Yogācārins of Nālandā, led by Dharmapāla (c. 530–561). The point at issue, whether the pure mind is the same as the storehouse consciousness, illustrates the subtleties of Indian philosophical polemics but also reflects the influence of another school, the school of Sāramati, as well as the soteriological concerns underlying the psychological theories of Yogācāra. The debate on this point would continue in the Mādhyamika school, involving issues of the theory of perception as well as problems in the theory of the liberated mind.

Tathāgata-garbha theory. Another influential school followed the tendency—already expressed in some Mahāyāna sūtras—toward a positive definition or description of ultimate reality. The emphasis in this school was on the ontological basis for the experience and virtues of Buddhahood. This basis was found in the underlying or innate Buddhahood of all beings. The school is known under two names; one describes its fundamental doctrine, the theory of *tathāgata-garbha* (the presence of the Tathāgata in all beings), the other refers to its purported systematizer, Sāramati (c. 350–450). The school's emphasis on a positive foundation of being associates it closely with the thought of Maitreyānatha, the teacher of Asaṅga, to whom is often attributed one of the fundamental texts of the school, the *Ratnagotravibhāga.* It may be that Maitreya's thought gave rise to two lines of interpretation—*tathāgata-garbha* and *cittamātratā.*

Sāramati wrote a commentary on the Ratnagotravibhāga in which he explains the process whereby innate Buddhahood becomes manifest Buddhahood. The work is critical of the theory of emptiness and describes the positive attributes of Buddhahood. The *bodhisattva*'s involvement in the world is seen not so much as the abandonment of the bliss of liberation as it is the manifestation of the Absolute (*dharmadhātu*) in the sphere of sentient beings, a concept that can be traced to Mahāsāṃghika doctrines. The *dharmadhātu* is a positive, metaphysical absolute, not only eternal, but pure, the locus of ethical, soteric, and epistemological value. This absolute is also the basis for the *gotra*, or spiritual lineage, which is a metaphor for the relative potential for enlightenment in living beings.

The logicians. An important development in Buddhist scholarship came about as a result of the concern of scholastics with the rules of debate and their engagement in philosophical controversies with Hindu logicians of the Nyāya school. Nāgārjuna and Vasubandhu wrote short treatises on logic, but a creative and uniquely Buddhist logic and epistemology did not arise until the time of Dignāga (c. 480–540), a scholar who claimed allegiance to Yogācāra but adopted a number of Sautrāntika doctrines. The crowning achievement of Buddhist logic was the work of Dharmakīrti (c. 600–650), whose *Pramāṇavārttika* and its *Vṛtti* revised critically the whole field. Although his work seems on the surface not relevant for the history of religion, it is emblematic of the direction of much of the intellectual effort of Mahāyāna scholars after the fifth century.

Yogācāra-Mādhyamika philosophers. As India moved away from the security of the Gupta period, Mahāyāna Buddhist philosophy gradually moved in the direction of eclecticism. By the time the university at Vikramaśīla was founded in the eighth century the dominant philosophy at Nālandā was a combination of Mādhyamika and Yogācāra, with the latter as the qualifying term and Mādhyamika as the core of the philosophy. This movement had roots in the earlier Svātantrika Mādhyamika and like its predecessor favored the formulation of ontological and epistemological theses in defense of Nāgārjuna's fundamental doctrine of emptiness. The most distinguished exponent of this school was Śāntirakṣita (c. 680–740); but some of his theories were challenged from within the movement by his contemporary Jñānagarbha (c. 700–760). The greatest contribution to religious thought, however, came from their successors. Kamalaśīla (c. 740–790), a disciple of Śāntirakṣita who continued the latter's mission in Tibet, wrote a number of brilliant works on diverse aspects of philosophy. He traveled to Tibet, where he wrote three treatises on meditation and the *bodhisattva* path, each called *Bhāvanākrama*, which must be counted among the jewels of Indian religious thought.

New scriptures. The philosophers found their main source of inspiration in the Mahāyāna sūtras, most of which did not advocate clearly defined philosophical theories. Some sūtras, however, do express positions that can be associated with the doctrines of particular schools. Although scholars agree that these compositions are later than texts without a clear doctrinal affiliation, the connection between the sūtras and the schools they represent is not always clear.

For instance, some of the characteristic elements of the school of Sāramati are clearly pre-Mahāyānic, and can also be found in a number of sūtras from the *Avataṃsaka* and *Ratnakūṭa* collections. However, Sāramati appealed to a select number of Mahāyāna sūtras that clustered around the basic themes of the school. Perhaps the most famous is the *Srīmālādevīsiṃhanāda*, but equally important are the

[*Mahāyāna*] *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, the *Anūnatvāpūrṇatvanirdeśa*, and the *Dhāraṇīrāja*.

A number of Mahāyāna sūtras of late composition were closely associated with the Yogācāra school. Although they were known already at the time of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, in their present form they reflect a polemic that presupposes some form of proto-Yogācāra theory. Among these the *Laṅkāvatāra* and the *Saṃdhinirmocana* are the most important from a philosophical point of view. The first contains an early form of the theory of levels of *vijñāna*.

Decline of Mahāyāna. It is difficult to assess the nature and causes of the decay of Mahāyāna in India. Although it is possible to argue that the early success of Mahāyāna led to a tendency to look inward, that philosophers spent their time debating subtle metaphysical, logical, or even grammatical points, the truth is that even during the period of technical scholasticism, constructive religious thought was not dormant. But it may be that as Mahāyāna became more established and conventional, the natural need for religious revival found expression in other vehicles. Most likely Mahāyāna thinkers participated in the search for new forms of expression, appealing once more to visionary, revolutionary and charismatic leaders. But the new life gradually would adopt an identity of its own, first as Tantric Buddhism, eventually as Hinduism. For, in adopting Tantric practices and symbols, Mahāyāna Buddhists appealed to a symbolic and ritual world that fit naturally with a religious substratum that was about to become the province of Hinduism.

The gradual shift from Mahāyāna to Tantra seems to have gained momentum precisely at the time when Mahāyāna philosophy was beginning to lose its creative energy. We know of Tantric practices at Nālandā in the seventh century. These practices were criticized by the Nālandā scholar Dharmakīrti but apparently were accepted by most distinguished scholars of the same institution during the following century. As Tantra gained respectability, the Pāla monarchs established new centers of learning, rivaling Nālandā. We may say that the death of its great patron, King Harṣa, in 657 signals the decline of Mahāyāna, whereas the construction of the University of Vikramaśīla under Dharmapāla about the year 800 marks the beginning of the Tantric period.

TANTRIC INNOVATIONS. As with Mahāyāna, we must assume that Tantra reflects social as well as religious changes. Because of the uncertainties of the date of its origin, however, few scholars have ventured any explanation for the arising of Tantra. Some advocate an early origin for Tantra, suggesting that the literature existed as an esoteric practice for many centuries before it ever came to the surface. If this were the case, then Tantra must have existed as some kind of underground movement long before the sixth century. But this theory must still explain the sudden appearance of Tantrism as a mainstream religion.

In its beginnings, Buddhist Tantra may have been a minority religion, essentially a private cult incorporating elements from the substratum frowned upon by the Buddhist establishment. It echoed ancient practices such as the critical rites of the *Atharvaveda* tradition, and the initiatory ceremonies, Aryan and non-Aryan, known to us from other Brahmanic sources. Starting as a marginal phenomenon, it eventually gained momentum, assuming the same role Mahāyāna had assumed earlier; a force of innovation and a vehicle for the expression of dissatisfaction with organized religion. The followers of Tantra became the new critics of the establishment. Some asserted the superiority of techniques of ritual and meditation that would lead to a direct, spontaneous realization of Buddhahood in this life. As wandering saints called *siddhas* ("possessed of *siddhi*," i. e., realization or magical power), they assumed the demeanor of madmen, and abandoned the rules of the monastic code. Others saw Tantra as the culmination of Mahāyāna and chose to integrate it with earlier teachings, following established monastic practices even as they adopted beliefs that challenged the traditional assumptions of Buddhist monasticism.

The documented history of Tantra, naturally, reveals more about the second group. It is now impossible to establish with all certainty how the substratum affected Buddhist Tantra—whether, for instance, the metaphoric use of sexual practices preceded their explicit use, or vice versa. But is seems clear that the new wandering ascetics and their ideology submitted to the religious establishment even as they changed it. Tantra followed the pattern of cooperation with established religious institutions set by Mahāyāna in its relationship to the early scholastic establishment. Tantric monks would take the *bodhisattva* vows and receive monastic ordination under the pre-Mahāyāna code. Practitioners of Tantra would live in the same monastery with non-Tantric Mahāyāna monks. Thus Tantric Buddhism became integrated into the Buddhist high tradition even as the *siddhas* continued to challenge the values of Buddhist monasticism.

Although it seems likely that Tantric Buddhism existed as a minority, esoteric practice among Mahāyāna Buddhists before it made its appearance on the center stage of Indian religion, it is now impossible to know for how long and in what form it existed before the seventh century. The latter date alone is certain because the transmission of Tantra to China is marked by the arrival in the Chinese capitals of Tantric masters like Śubhākarasiṃha (arrives in Ch'ang-an 716) and Vajrabodhi (arrives in Lo-yang 720), and we can safely assume that the exportation of Tantra beyond the Indian border could not have been possible without a flourishing activity in India. Evidence for an earlier origin is found in the occasional reference, critical or laudatory, to *mantras* and *dhāraṇīs* in the literature of the seventh century (Dharmakīrti, Śāntideva) and the presence of proto-Tantric elements in Mahāyāna sūtras that must date from at least the fourth century (*Gaṇḍavyūha*, *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*).

Tantra in general makes use of ritual, symbolic, and doctrinal elements of earlier form of Buddhism. Especially the apotropaic and mystical formulas called *mantras* and *dhāraṇīs* gain a central role in Tantrayāna. The *Mahāmāyūrī*, a proto-Tantric text of the third or fourth century, collects apotropaic formulas associated with local deities in different parts of India. Some of these formulas seem to go back to parittas similar to those in the Pali canonical text *Āṭāṇātiya Suttanta* (*Dīgha Nikāya* no. 32). Although one should not identify the relatively early, and pan-Buddhist, genre of the *dhāraṇī* and *paritta* with the Tantrayāna, the increased use of these formulas in most existing forms of Buddhism, and the appearance of *dhāraṇī-sūtra*s in late Mahāyāna literature perhaps marks a shift towards greater emphasis on the magical dimension of Buddhist faith. The Mahāyāna sūtras also foreshadow Tantra with their doctrine of the identity of the awakened and the afflicted minds (*Dharmasaṅgīti*, *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*), and innate Buddhahood (Tathāgatagarbha sūtras).

Varieties of Tantra. Whatever may have been its prehistory, as esoteric or exoteric practice, the new movement—sometimes called the third *yāna*, Tantrayāna—was as complex and fragmented as earlier forms of Buddhism. A somewhat artificial, but useful classification distinguishes three main types of Tantra: Vajrayāna, Sahajayāna, and *Kālacakra* Tantra. The first established the symbolic terminology and the liturgy that would characterize all forms of the tradition. Many of these iconographic and ritual forms are described in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (finished in its extant form c. 750), the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, and the *Vajraśekhara* (or *Tattvasaṃgraha*) *Sūtra*, which some would, following East Asian traditions, classify under a different, more primitive branch of Tantra called "Mantrayāna." The Sahajayāna was dominated by long-haired, wandering *siddhas*, who openly challenged and ridiculed the Buddhist establishment. They referred to the object of their religious experience as "the whore," both as a reference to the sexual symbolism of ritual Tantra and as a challenge to monastic conceptions of spiritual purity, but also as a metaphor for the universal accessibility of enlightenment. The *Kālacakra* tradition is the farthest removed from earlier Buddhist traditions, and shows a stronger influence from the substratum. It incorporates concepts of messianism and astrology not attested elsewhere in Buddhist literature.

Unfortunately, the history of all three of these movements is clouded in legend. Tibetan tradition considers the Mantrayāna a third "turning of the wheel [of the dharma]" (with Mahāyāna as the second), taking place in Dhānyakaṭaka (Andhra) sixteen years after the enlightenment. But this is patently absurd. As a working hypothesis, we can propose that there was an early stage of Mantrayāna beginning in the fourth century. The term *Vajrayāna* could be used then to describe the early documented manifestations of Tantric practice, especially in the high tradition of the Ganges River valley after the seventh century.

Sahajayāna is supposed to have originated with the Kashmirian yogin Lūi-pa (c. 750–800). The earliest documented Sahajayānists are from Bengal, but probably from the beginning of the ninth century. Regarding the *Kālacakra*, Western scholarship would not accept traditional views of its ancient origins in the mythic land of Shambhala. It must be dated not earlier than the tenth century, probably to the beginning of the reign of King Mahīpāla (c. 974–1026). Its roots have been sought in the North as well as in the South.

The Vajrayāna. The Vajrayāna derives its name from the centrality of the concept of *vajra* in its symbolism. The word *vajra* means both "diamond" and "cudgel." It is therefore a metaphor for hardness and destructiveness. Spiritually, it represents the eternal, innate state of Buddhahood possessed by all beings, as well as the cutting edge of wisdom. The personification of this condition and power is Vajrasattva, a deity and an abstract principle, which is defined as follows:

> By *vajra* is meant emptiness;
> *sattva* means pure cognition.
>
> The identity of these two is known
> as the essence of Vajrasattva. (*Advayavajra Saṃgraha*, p. 24)

Behind this definition is clearly the metaphysics of Yogācāra-Mādhyamika thought. Vajrasattva stands for the nondual experience that transcends both emptiness and pure mind. In religious terms this principle represents a homology between the human person and the essence of *vajra*: in the human body, in this life, relative and absolute meet.

The innate quality of the nondual is also represented by the concept of the "thought of awakening" (*bodhicitta*). But innate awakening in Vajrayāna becomes the goal: enlightenment is present in its totality and perfection in this human body; the thought of awakening is awakening:

> The Thought of Awakening is known to be
> Without beginning or end, quiescent,
> Free from being and nonbeing, powerful,
> Undivided in emptiness and compassion. (*Guhyasamāja* 18.37)

This identity is established symbolically and ritually by a series of homologies. For instance, the six elements of the human body are identified with different aspects of the body of *Mahāvairocana*, the five constituents of the human personality (*skandhas*) are identified with the five forms of Buddha knowledge.

But the most characteristic aspect of Tantric Buddhism generally is the extension of these homologies to sexual symbolism. The "thought of awakening" is identified with semen, dormant wisdom with a woman waiting to be inseminated. Therefore, wisdom *(prajñā)* is conceived as a female deity. She is a mother *(jananī)*, as in the Prajñāpāramitā literature; she is the female yogi *(yoginī)*; but she is also a low-caste whore *(ḍombī caṇḍālī)*. Skillful means (*upāya*) are visualized as her male consort. The perfect union of these two (*prajñopāya-yuganaddha*) is the union of the nondual. Behind the Buddhist interpretation, of course, one discovers the non-Aryan substratum, with its emphasis on fertility and the symbolism of the mother goddess. But one may also see this radical departure from Buddhist monkish prudery as an attempt to shock the establishment out of self-righteous complacency.

Because the sexual symbolism can be understood metaphorically, most forms of Buddhist Tantra were antinomian only in principle. Thus, Vajrayāna was not without its vows and rules. As *upāya*, the symbols of ritual had as their goal the integration of the Absolute and the relative, not the abrogation of the latter. Tantric vows included traditional monastic rules, the *bodhisattva* vows, and special Tantric rules—some of which are contained in texts such as the *Vinayasūtra* and the *Bodhicittaśīlādānakalpa*.

The practice of the higher mysteries was reserved for those who had mastered the more elementary Mahāyāna and Tantra practices. The hierarchy of practice was established in systems such as the "five steps" of the *Pañcakrama* (by the Tantric Nāgārjuna). Generally, the order of study protected the higher mysteries, establishing the dividing line between esoteric and exoteric. Another common classification of the types of Tantra distinguished external daily rituals (Kriyā Tantra), special rituals serving as preparation for meditation, (Caryā Tantra), basic meditation practices (Yoga Tantra), and the highest, or advanced meditation Tantras (Anuttarayoga Tantra). This hermeneutic of sorts served both as an apologetic and a doctrinal classification of Tantric practice by distinguishing the audience for which each type of Tantra was best suited: respectively *śrāvaka*s, *pratyekabuddha*s, Yogācārins, and Mādhyamikas.

Elements of Tathāgata-garbha theory seem to have been combined with early totemic beliefs to establish a system of Tathāgata families or clans that also served to define the proper audience for a variety of teachings. Persons afflicted by delusion, for instance, belonged to Mahāvairocana's clan, and should cultivate the homologies and visualizations associated with this Buddha—who, not coincidentally, represents the highest awakening. This system extends the homologies of *skandhas*, levels of knowledge, and so forth, to personality types. This can be understood as a practical psychology that forms part of the Tantric quest for the immanence of the sacred.

The Sahaja (or Sahajiyā) movement. Although traditional Sahaja master-to-disciple lineages present it as a movement of great antiquity, the languages used in extant Sahaja literature belong to an advanced stage in the development of New Indic. These works were written mostly in Apabhrāṃśa (the *Dohākośa*) and early Bengali (the *Caryāgīti*). Thus, although their dates are uncertain, they cannot go as far back as suggested by tradition. Scholars generally agree on a conjectural dating of perhaps eighth to tenth century.

Works attributed to Sahaja masters are preserved not only in New Indian languages (Saraha, c. 750–800, Kāṇha, c. 800–850, Ti-lo-pa, c. 950–1000); a few commentaries exist in Sanskrit. The latter attest to the influence of the early wandering *siddhas* on the Buddhist establishment.

The basic doctrinal stance of the Sahaja movement is no different from that of Vajrayāna: sahaja is the innate principle of enlightenment, the *bodhicitta*, to be realized in the union of wisdom and skillful means. The main difference between the two types of Tantra is in the lifestyle of the adept. The Sahajiyā was a movement that represented a clear challenge to the Buddhist establishment: the ideal person was a homeless madman wandering about with his female consort, or a householder-sorcerer—either of which would claim to practice union with his consort as the actualization of what the high tradition practiced only in symbolic or mystical form. The Vajrayāna soon became integrated into the curriculum of the universities, controlled by the *Vinaya* and philosophical analysis. It was incorporated into the ordered program of spiritual cultivation accepted in the monasteries, which corresponded to the desired social and political stability of the academic institutions and their sponsors. The iconoclastic staints of the Sahaja, on the other hand, sought spontaneity, and saw monastic life as an obstacle to true realization. The force of their challenge is seen in quasi-mythic form in the legend that tells of the bizarre tests to which the *siddha* Ti lo pa submitted the great scholar Nā ro pa when the latter left his post at Vikramaśīla to follow the half-naked madman Ti lo pa.

This particular Tantric tradition, therefore, best embodied the iconoclastic tendencies found in all of Tantra. It challenged the establishment in the social as well as the religious sphere, for it incorporated freely practices from the substratum and placed women and sexuality on the level of the sacred. In opposition to the bland and ascetic paradises of Mahāyāna—where there were no women or sexual intercourse—Tantrism identifies the bliss of enlightment with the great bliss (*mahāsukha*) of sexual union.

The Kālacakra Tantra. This text has several features that separate it from other works of the Buddhist tradition: an obvious political message, suggesting an alliance to stop the Muslim advance in India, and astrological symbolism and teachings, among the others. In this work also we meet the concept of "Ādibuddha," the primordial Buddha, whence arises everything in the universe.

The high tradition, however, sees the text as remaining within the main line of Buddhist Tantrism. Its main argument is that all phenomena, including the rituals of Tantra, are contained within the initiate's body, and all aspects of time are also contained in this body. The concept of time (*kāla*) is introduced and discussed and its symbolism explained as a means to give the devotee control over time and therefore over the impermanent world. The *Sekoddeśaṭīkā*, a commentary on part of the *Kālacakra* attributed to Nā ro pa (Nāḍapāda, tenth century), explains that the time (*kāla*) of the *Kālacakra* is the same as the unchanging *dharmadhātu*, whereas the wheel (*cakra*) means the manifestations of time. In *Kālacakra* the two, absolute and relative, *prajñā* and *upāya*, are united. In this sense, therefore, in spite of its concessions to the substratum and to the rising tide of Hinduism, the *Kālacakra* was also integrated with mainline Buddhism.

Tantric literature. The word *tantra* means "thread" or "weft" and, by extension, "text." The sacred texts produced as the new dispensation, esoteric or exoteric, were called Tantras, and formed indeed a literary thread interwoven with the secret transmission from master to disciple. Some of the most difficult and profound Tantras were produced in the early period (before the eighth century); the *Mahāvairocana*, *Guhyasamāja*, the earlier parts of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, and the *Hevajra*. By the time Tantra became the dominant system and, therefore, part of the establishment, a series of commentaries and authored works had appeared. Nāgārjuna's *Pañcakrama* is among the earliest. The Tantric Candrakīrti (ninth century) wrote a commentary on the *Guhyasamāja*, and Buddhaguhya (eighth century) discussed the *Mahāvairocana*. Sanskrit commentaries eventually were written to fossilize even the spontaneous poems of the Sahaja saints.

Tantra and the high tradition. Thus, Tantra too, like its predecessors, eventually become institutionalized. What arose as an esoteric, intensely private, visionary and iconoclastic movement, became a literary tradition, ritualized, often exoteric and speculative.

We have abundant evidence of a flourishing Tantric circle at Nālandā, for instance, at least since the late seventh century. Tantric masters were by that time established members of the faculty. Especially during the Pāla dynasty, Tantric practices and speculation played a central role in Buddhist universities. This was clearly the period of institutionalization, a period when Tantra became part of the mainstream of Buddhism.

With this transformation the magical origins of Tantra were partly disguised by a high Tantric liturgy and a theory of Tantric meditation paralleling earlier, Mahāyāna theories of the path. Still, Tantric ritual and meditation retained an identity of their own. Magic formulas, gestures, and circles appeared transformed, respectively, into the mystical words of the Buddhas, the secret gestures of the Buddhas, and charts (*maṇḍalas*) of the human psyche and the path.

The mystical diagram (*maṇḍala*) illustrates the complexity of this symbolism. It is at the same time a chart of the human person as it is now, a plan for liberation, and a representation of the transfigured body, the structure of Buddhahood itself. As a magic circle it is the sphere in which spiritual forces are evoked and controlled, as religious symbol it is the sphere of religious progress, experience, and action. The primitive functions remain: the *maṇḍala* is still a circle of power, with apotropaic functions. For each divinity there is an assigned meaning, a sacred syllable, a color, and a position within the *maṇḍala*. Spiritual forces can thus be evoked without danger. The sacred syllable is still a charm. The visualization of Buddhas is often inseparable from the evocation of demons and spirits. New beings populate the Buddhist pantheon. The Buddhas and *bodhisattva*s are accompanied by female consorts—these spiritual sexual partners can be found in explicit carnal iconographic representations.

Worship and ritual. Whereas the esoteric ritual incorporated elements of the substratum into a Buddhist doctrinal base, the exoteric liturgies of the Tantric high tradition followed ritual models from the Mahāyāna tradition as well as elements that evince Brahmanic ritual and Hindu worship. The daily ritual of the Tantric Buddhist presents a number of analogies of Brahmanic *pūjā* that cannot be accidental. But the complete liturgical cycle is still Buddhist. Many examples are preserved, for instance, in the Sanskrit text *Ādikarmapradīpa*. The ritual incorporates Tantric rites (offering to a *maṇḍala*, recitation of *mantras*) into a structure composed of elements from pre-Mahāyāna Buddhism (e.g., the Refuges), and Mahāyāna ritual (e.g., confession, vows, dedication of merit).

More complex liturgies include rites of initiation or consecration (*abhiṣeka*) and empowerment (*adhiṣṭhāna*), rites that may have roots going as far back as the *Atharvaveda*. The burnt-offering rites (homa) also have Vedic and Brahmanic counterparts. Elements of the substratum are also evident in the frequent invocation of *yakṣas* and *devatā*s, the propitiation of spirits, and the underlying sexual and alchemical symbolism.

Meditation. The practice of Tantric visualization (*sādhana*) was even more a part of ritual than the Mahāyāna meditation session. It was always set in a purely ritual frame similar to the structure of the daily ritual summarized above. A complete *sādhana* would integrate pre-Mahāyāna and Mahāyāna liturgical and contemplative processes with Tantric visualization. The meditator would first go through a gradual process of purification (sometimes including ablutions) usually constructed on the model of the Mahāyāna "sevenfold service." He would then visualize the mystical syllable corresponding to his chosen deity. The syllable would be transformed into a series of images that would lead finally to clear visualization of the deity. Once the deity was visualized clearly, the adept would become one with it. But this oneness was interpreted as the realization of the nondual; therefore, the deity became the adept as much as the adept was turned into a deity. Thus, the transcendent could be actualized in the adept's life beyond meditation in the fulfillment of the *bodhisattva* vows.

Tantric doctrine. Tantric symbolism was interpreted in the context of Mahāyāna orthodoxy. It is therefore possible to explain Tantric theoretical conceptions as a natural development from Mahāyāna. The immanence of Buddhahood is explicitly connected with the Mahāyāna doctrine of the identity of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* and the teachings of those Yogācārins who believed that consciousness is inherently pure. The magical symbolism of Tantra can be traced—

again through explicit references—to the doctrine of the *bodhisattva* as magician: since the world is like a dream, like a magical apparition, one can be free of it by knowing the dream as dream—knowing and controlling the magical illusion as a magician would control it. The *bodhisattva* (and therefore the *siddha*) is able to play the magical trick of the world without deceiving himself into believing it real.

One should not forget, however, that what is distinctively Tantric is not limited to the externals of ritual and symbolism. The special symbolism transforms its Mahāyāna context because of the specifically Tantric understanding of immanence. The Buddha is present in the human body innately, but the Buddha nature is manifested only when one realizes the "three mysteries," or "three secrets." It is not enough to be free from the illusion of the world; one becomes free by living *in* illusion in such a way that illusion becomes the manifestation of Buddhahood. Tantra seeks to construct an alternative reality, such that a mentally constructed world reveals the fundamental illusion of the world and manifests the mysterious power of the Buddha through illusion. The human body, the realm of the senses, is to be transformed into the body of a Buddha, the senses of a Buddha.

The body, mind, and speech of the Buddha (the Three Mysteries) have specific characteristics that must be recognized and reproduced. In ritual terms this means that the adept actualizes Buddhahood when he performs prostrations and ritual gestures (*mudrās*); he speaks with the voice of the Buddha when he utters *mantras*; his mind is the mind of the Buddha when he visualizes the deity. The magical dimension is evident: the power of the Buddha lives in the formalized "demeanor of a Buddha." But the doctrine also implies transforming the body by a mystical alchemy (rooted in substratum sexual alchemy) from which is derived the soteriological meaning of the doctrine: the ritual changes the human person into a Buddha, all his human functions become sacred. Then this person's mind is the mind of an awakened being, it knows all things; the body assumes the appearance appropriate to save any living being; the voice is able to speak in the language of any living being needing to be saved.

THE DECLINE OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA. With Harṣa's death Indian Buddhism could depend only on the royal patronage of the Pāla dynasty of Bihar and Bengal (c. 650–950), who soon favored the institutions they had founded—Vikramaśīla (c. 800), Odantapurī (c. 760). The last shining lights of Nālandā were the Mādhyamika masters Śāntirakṣita and Kamalaśīla, both of whom participated actively in the conversion of Tibet. Then the ancient university was eclipsed by its rival Vikramaśīla, which saw its final glory in the eleventh century.

Traditionally, the end of Indian Buddhism has been identified with the sack of the two great universities by the troops of the Turk Muḥammad Ghūrī: Nālandā in 1197 and Vikramaśīla in 1203. But, although the destruction of Nālandā put an end to its former glory, Nālandā lingered on. When the Tibetan pilgrim Dharmasvāmin (1197–1264) visited the site of the ancient university in 1235 he found a few monks teaching in two monasteries remaining among the ruins of eighty-two others. In this way Buddhism would stay on in India for a brief time, but under circumstances well illustrated by the decay witnessed by Dharmasvāmin—even as he was there, the Turks mounted another raid to further ransack what was left of Nālandā.

For a long time scholars have debated the causes for the decline of Buddhism in India. Although there is little chance of agreement on a problem so complex—and on which we have precious little evidence—some of the reasons adduced early are no longer widely accepted. For instance, the notion that Tantric Buddhism was a "degenerate form" of Buddhism that contributed to or brought about the disappearance of Buddhism is no longer entertained by the scholarly community. The image of a defenseless, pacifist Buddhist community annihilated by invading hordes of Muslim warriors is perhaps also a simplification. Though the Turkish conquerors of India were far from benevolent, the Arabs who occupied Sindh in 711 seem to have accepted a state of peaceful coexistence with the local population. Furthermore, one must still understand why Jainism and Hinduism survived the Muslim invasion while Buddhism did not.

Buddhist relations with Hindu and Jain monarchs were not always peaceful—witness the conquest of Bihar by the Bengali Śaiva king Śaśīṅka (c. 618). Even without the intervention of intolerance, the growth of Hinduism, with its firm roots in Indian society and freedom from the costly institution of the monastery, offered a colossal challenge to Buddhism. The eventual triumph of Hinduism can be followed by a number of landmarks often associated with opposition to Buddhism: the spread of Vaiṣṇavism (in which the Buddha appears as a deceptive *avatāra* of Viṣṇu); the great Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva saints of the South, the Āḻvārs and Nayānars, respectively, whose Hindu patrons were openly hostile to Buddhism and Jainism; the ministry of Śaṅkara in Mysore (788–850), a critic of Buddhism who was himself accused of being a "crypto-Buddhist"; and the triumph of Śaivism in Kashmir (c. 800).

But the causes for the disappearance of Buddhism were subtle: the assimilation of Buddhist ideas and practices into Hinduism and the inverse process of the Hinduization of Buddhism, with the advantage of Hinduism as a religion of the land and the locality. More important than these were perhaps the internal causes for the decline: dependence on monastic institutions that did not have broad popular support but relied exclusively on royal patronage; and isolation of monasteries from the life of the village community, owing to the tendency of the monasteries to look inward and to lose interest in proselytizing and serving the surrounding communities.

The disappearance of Buddhism in India may have been precipitated by the Muslim invasion, but it was caused primarily by internal factors, the most important of which seems to have been the gradual assimilation of Buddhism into Hinduism. The Muslim invasion, especially the Turkish conquest of the Ganges Valley, was the *coup de grace;* we may consider it the dividing line between two eras, but it was not the primary cause for the disappearance of Buddhism from India.

BUDDHIST REMNANTS AND REVIVALS IN THE SUBCONTINENT. After the last days of the great monastic institutions (twelfth and thirteenth centuries) Indian Buddhism lingered on in isolated pockets in the subcontinent. During the period of Muslim and British conquest (thirteenth to nineteenth century) it was almost completely absorbed by Hinduism and Islam, and gave no sign of creative life until modern attempts at restoration (nineteenth and twentieth centuries). Therefore, a hiatus of roughly six hundred years separates the creative period of Indian Buddhism from its modern manifestations.

Buddhism of the frontier. As the Turk occupation of India advanced, the last great scholars of India escaped from Kashmir and Bihar to Tibet and Nepal. But the flight of Buddhist talent also responded to the attraction of royal patronage and popular support in other lands. The career of Atīśa (Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna, 982–1054), who emigrated to Tibet in 1042, is emblematic of the great loss incurred by Indian Buddhism in losing its monk-scholars. He combined extensive studies in Mahāyāna philosophy and Tantra in India with a sojourn in Sumatra under the tutorship of Dharmakīrti. He had studied with Bodhibhadra (the successor of Nā ro pa when the latter left Vikramaśīla to become a wandering ascetic), and was head master (*upādhyāya*) of Vikramaśīla and Odantapurī at the time of King Bheyapāla. He left for Tibet at the invitation of Byaṅ-chub-'od, apparently attracted by a large monetary offer.

The migration of the Indian scholars, and a steady stream of Tibetan students, made possible the exportation of Buddhist academic institutions and traditions to Tibet, where they were preserved until the Chinese suppression of 1959. The most learned monks were pushed out to the Himalayan and Bengali frontiers in part because the Indian communities were no longer willing to support the monasteries. Certain forms of Tantra, dependent only on householder priests, could survive, mostly in Bengal and in the Himalayan foot-hills. But some Theravādin Buddhists also survived in East Bengal—most of them taking refuge in India after the partition, some remaining in Bangledesh and Assam.

Himalayan Buddhism of direct Indian ancestry remains only in Nepal, where it can be observed even today in suspended animation, partly fused with local Hinduism, as it must have been in the Gangetic plain during the twelfth century. Nepalese Buddhists produced what may very well be considered the last major Buddhist scripture composed in the subcontinent, the *Svayaṃbhu Purāṇa* (c. fifteenth century). This text is an open window into the last days of Indian Buddhism. It reveals the close connection between Buddhist piety and non-Buddhist sacred localities, the formation of a Buddhist cosmogonic ontology (the Ādibuddha), and the role of Tantric ritual in the incorporation of religious elements from the substratum. Nepalese Buddhism survives under the tutelage of married Tantric priests, called *vajrācaryā*s. It is therefore sometimes referred to as "Vajrācaryā Buddhism."

Buddhism of Tibetan origin survives in the subcontinent mostly in Ladakh, Sikkim, and Bhutan, but also in Nepal. Perhaps the most significant presence in modern India, however, is that of the Tibetan refugee communities. The Tibetan diaspora includes about eighty thousand persons, among which are several thousand monks. Some have retained their monastic robes and have reconstructed in India their ancient Buddhist academic curricula, returning to the land of origin the disciplines of the classical universities. So far their impact on Indian society at large has been insignificant and their hope of returning to Tibet dwindles with the passing of time. But the preservation, on Indian soil, of the classical traditions of Nālandā and Vikramaśīla is hardly a trivial accomplishment.

Attempted revival: The Mahābodhi society. Attempts to revive Buddhism in the land of its origin began with the Theosophical Society, popularized in Sri Lanka in the early 1880s by the American Henry S. Olcott. Although the society eventually became the vehicle for broader and less defined speculative goals, it inspired new pride in Buddhists after years of colonial oppression. The Sinhala monk Anagārika Dharmapāla (1864–1933; born David Hewavitarane) set out to modernize Buddhist education. He also worked untiringly to restore the main pilgrimage sites of India, especially the temple of Bodh Gayā, which had fallen in disrepair and had been under Hindu administration for several centuries. To this end he founded in 1891 the Mahābodhi Society, still a major presence in Indian Buddhism.

Ambedkar and "Neo-Buddhism." The most significant Buddhist mass revival of the new age was led by Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (1891–1956). He saw Buddhism as the gospel for India's oppressed and read in the Buddhist scriptures ideals of equality and justice. After many years of spiritual search, he became convinced that Buddhism was the only ideology that could effect the eventual liberation of Indian outcastes. On October 14, 1956, he performed a mass "consecration" of Buddhists in Nagpur, Maharashtra. The new converts were mostly from the "scheduled caste" of the *mahār*s. Although his gospel is in some way on the fringes of Buddhist orthodoxy, Buddhist monks from other parts of Asia have ministered to the spiritual needs of his converts, and inspired Indian Buddhists refer to him as "Bodhisattva Ambedkar."

Other aspects of modern Buddhism. The most fruitful and persistent effort in the rediscovery of Indian Buddhism has been in the West, primarily among Western scholars. The achievements of European scholars include a modern critical edition of the complete Pali canon, published by the Pali Text Society (founded in London in 1881), and the recovery of original texts of parts of the canon of the Sarvāstivāda. The combined effort of Indian, North American and European historians, archaeologists, and art historians has placed Indian Buddhism in a historical and social context, which, though still only understood in its rough outlines, allows us to see Buddhism in its historical evolution.

Japanese scholarship has also made great strides since the beginning of the twentieth century. The publication in Japan of three different editions of the Chinese canon between 1880 and 1929 may be seen as the symbolic beginning of a century of productive critical scholarship that has placed Japan at the head of modern research into Indian Buddhism.

Another interesting phenomenon of the contemporary world is the appearance of "neo-Buddhists" in Europe and North America. Although most of these groups have adopted extra-Indian forms of Buddhism, their interest in the scriptural traditions of India has created an audience and a demand for research into India's Buddhist past. The Buddhist Society, founded in London in 1926, and the Amis du Bouddhisme, founded in Paris in 1928, both supported scholarship and encouraged the Buddhist revival in India.

In spite of the revived interest in India of the last century, the prospects of an effective Buddhist revival in the land of Śākyamuni seem remote. It is difficult to imagine a successful living Buddhism in India today or in the near future. The possibility of the religion coming back to life may depend on the reimportation of the Dharma into India from another land. It remains to be seen if Ambedkar and Anagārika Dharmapāla had good reasons for hope in a Buddhist revival, or if in fact the necessary social conditions for the existence of Indian Buddhism disappeared with the last monarchs of the Pāla dynasty.

SEE ALSO Ahiṃsā; Ājīvikas; Āḻvārs; Ālaya-vijñāna; Ambedkar; Amitābha; Amoghavajra; Arhat; Āryadeva; Asaṅga; Aśoka; Atīśa; Avalokiteśvara; Avatāra; Bengali Religions; Bhakti; Bhāvaviveka; Bodhisattva Path; Buddha; Buddhapālita; Buddhism, Schools of, overview article and articles on Mahāyāna Philosophical Schools of Buddhism; Buddhist Ethics; Buddhist Studies; Cakravartin; Candrakīrti; Councils, article on Buddhist Councils; Dharma, article on Buddhist Dharma and Dharmas; Dharmakīrti; Dharmapāla; Dignāga; Eightfold Path; Folk Religion, article on Folk Buddhism; Four Noble Truths; Goddess Worship, article on The Hindu Goddess; Gosāla; Hindu Tantric Literature; Iconography, article on Buddhist Iconography; Indian Religions; Inner Asian Religions; Islam, articles on Islam in Central Asia and Islam in South Asia; Jainism; Kamalaśīla; Karman, article on Buddhist Concepts; Karman, article on Hindu and Jain Concepts; Karuṇā; Kṛṣṇaism; Mādhyamika; Mahāsāṃghika; Mahāsiddhas; Mahāvīra; Maitreya; Maṇḍalas, article on Buddhist Maṇḍalas; Mañjuśrī; Mantra; Marathi Religions; Meditation; Missions, article on Buddhist Missions; Moggaliputtatissa; Mokṣa; Monasticism, article on Buddhist Monasticism; Nāgārjuna; Nāgas and Yakṣas; Nirvāṇa; Pāramitās; Pilgrimage, article on Buddhist Pilgrimage in South and Southeast Asia; Prajñā; Pratītya-samutpāda; Priesthood, article on Buddhist Priesthood; Pūjā; Pure and Impure Lands; Śaivism, overview article and article on Nayānars; Saṃgha; Saṃnyāsa; Saṃsāra; Śaṅkara; Śāntarakṣita; Śāntideva; Sarvāstivāda; Sautrāntika; Śīlabhadra; Soul, article on Buddhist Concepts; Sthiramati; Stupa Worship; Śubhākarasiṃha; Śūnyam and Śūnyata; Tantrism; Tathāgata; Tathāgata-garbha; Tathatā; Temple, articles on Buddhist Temple Compounds; Theosophical Society; Theravāda; Upāya; Vaiṣṇavism, overview article; Vajrabodhi; Vasubandhu; Vedism and Brahmanism; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Buddhist Devotional Life in Southeast Asia; Yoga; and Yogācāra.

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LUIS O. GÓMEZ (1987)
Revised Bibliography

BUDDHISM: BUDDHISM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Conventional wisdom labels the Buddhism of Southeast Asia as Theravāda. Indeed, customarily a general distinction pertains between the "southern," Theravāda, Buddhism of Southeast Asia, whose scriptures are written in Pali, and the "northern," Sanskrit Mahāyāna (including Tantrayāna), Buddhism of Central and East Asia. A Thai or a Burmese most likely thinks of the Buddhism of his country as a continuation of the Theravāda tradition, which was allegedly brought to the Golden Peninsula (Suvaṇṇabhūmi) by Aśoka's missionaries Sona and Uttara in the third century BCE. But modern scholarship has demonstrated that prior to the development of the classical Southeast Asian states, which occurred from the tenth or eleventh century to the fifteenth century CE, Buddhism in Southeast Asia—the area covered by present-day Burma, Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia (Kampuchea), and Laos—defies rigid classification. Both archaeological and chronicle evidence suggest that the religious situation in the area was fluid and informal, with Buddhism characterized more by miraculous relics and charismatic, magical monks than by organized sectarian traditions. In short, the early period of Buddhism in Southeast Asia was diverse and eclectic, infused with elements of Hindu Dharmśāstra and Brahmanic deities, Mahāyāna Buddhas such as Lokeśvara, Tantric practices, Sanskrit Sarvāstivādin texts, as well as Pali Theravāda traditions.

The classical period of Southeast Asian Buddhism, which lasted from the eleventh to the fifteenth century, began with the development of the monarchical states of Śrīvijaya in Java, Angkor in Cambodia, Pagan in Burma, Sukhōthai in Thailand, and Luang Prabang in Laos, and culminated in the establishment of a normative Pali Theravāda tradition of the Sinhala Mahāvihāra monastic line. Hence, by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the primary, although by no means exclusive, form of Buddhism in Burma, Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia was a Sinhala orthodoxy that was dominated doctrinally by "the commentator" (Buddhaghosa) but enriched by various local traditions of thought and practice. By this time, what is now Malaysia and Indonesia, with the exception of Bali, had been overrun by Islam, and the popular religion there was an amalgamation of animism, Brahmanic deities, and the religion of the Prophet. The colonial interregnum, which infused Western and Christian elements into the religious and cultural milieu of Southeast Asia, gradually challenged the dominance of the Indian Buddhist worldview and its symbiotically related institutional realms of kingship (*dhammacakka*) and monastic order (*sāsanacakka*). From the nineteenth century onward Buddhism in Southeast Asia has faced the challenges of Western science; provided cultural and ideological support for modern nationalist movements; offered idiosyncratic, sometimes messianically flavored, solutions to the stresses and strains of political, economic, and social change; and formulated doctrinal innovations challenging the Abhidammic orthodoxy of Buddhaghosa that characterizes the Sinhala Theravāda.

The following essay will examine Buddhism in Southeast Asia in terms of its early development, the establishment of a normative Theravāda orthodoxy, and the diverse responses of this tradition to the challenges of the modern period. The future of Buddhism in Southeast Asia may not hang in the balance; nevertheless, it does appear to be problematic. Political events in Cambodia (Kampuchea) and Laos have threatened the very foundations of institutional Buddhism in those countries. Thailand's rapid and widespread modernization and secularization have undermined many traditional aspects of the religion (*sāsana*), and internal political strife in Burma has had severe, detrimental effects on the *sangha* (Skt., *saṃgha*). Our attention to Southeast Asian Buddhism should not ignore its fragility or its potential contribution to the continuing self-definition and self-determination of these civilizations.

EARLY DEVELOPMENT. From its earliest beginnings to the establishment of the major monarchical states, Buddhism in Southeast Asia can only be characterized as diverse and eclectic. Its presence was felt as part of the Indian cultural influence that flourished throughout the area. During these early centuries Buddhism competed successfully with indigenous forms of magical animism and Brahmanism, undoubtably becoming transformed in the process. Its propagation probably followed the same pattern that was seen in Central and East Asia, with which we are more familiar: Padmasambhava-type monks subjugating territorial guardian spirits; monks accompanying traders and bringing in objects of power and protection, such as relics and images, as well as a literary tradition in the forms of magical chants in sacred languages and also written texts. We glean something of this pattern from Buddhist chronicles in Pali and in Southeast Asian vernacular languages of a later time. When the *Sāsanavaṃsa* of Burma or the *Mūlasāsana* of Thailand relates the story of the Buddha's visit to these countries to establish the religion, we interpret myth in historical terms, reading "the Buddha" to mean "unnamed Buddhist monks" who were bearers of a more advanced cultural tradition. While the chronicles, more so than the early inscriptions, paint a picture of dubious historical accuracy, they correctly associate Buddhism with a high continental way of life in contrast to the less sophisticated life of tribal peoples. Buddhism, then, abets the development of a town or urban culture, provides symbols of translocal value, and articulates a worldview in which diverse communities can participate and find a new identity, a language in which they can communicate, and institutions in which an organized religious life can be pursued and systematically taught.

Such a general description of the early centuries of Buddhism in Southeast Asia does not preclude the establishment of identifiable Buddhist traditions in the area. These include not only strong Pali Theravāda tradition but also other Buddhist sects and schools representing Mahāyāna and Tantric traditions. Pali inscriptions found in Hmawza, the ancient Pyu capital of Śrīkṣetra in lower Burma, indicate the existence of Theravāda Buddhism by the fifth or sixth century CE. Their Andhra-Kadamba script points to connections with Kāñcīpuram, Negapatam, and Kāverīpaṭṭanam in South India. The Chinese traveler Yijing, who visited Shih-li-cha-to-lo (Śrīkṣetra, or Prome) in the seventh century, mentions the presence of not only Theravādins (Āryasthaviras) but also the Āryamahāsāṃghika, Āryamūlasarvāstivāda, and Āryasammatīya schools. We know of the Mahāsāṃghikas as among the forerunners of the Mahāyāna tradition. While their original home was in Magadha, their tradition established itself in parts of northern, western, eastern, and southern India. The Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions, for instance, mention the Mahāsāṃghikas and state that their canon was written in Prakrit. The three other sects are Hīnayāna schools. The Mūlasarvāstivāda, according to one tradition, was one of the seven branches of the Sarvāstivādin tradition and was widespread in India, although it was especially strong in the north, whence it was propagated under the aegis of King Kaniṣka during the late first century CE. Its canon was written in a Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. The Sammatīya sect, also known as the Vātsīputrīya or Vajjipattaka, came from Avanti, but inscriptions point to its presence in Sārnāth during the fourth century and in Mathurā during the fifth century. The great early seventh-century ruler Harṣavardhana is thought to have supported the Sammatīyas in the early part of his reign. Hence, the four sects whose presence in the Prome area was attested to by Yijing are all associated with important Indian Buddhist centers and with the reigns of powerful monarchs reputed to have been supporters of various Buddhist sectarian traditions.

Evidence of the diverse nature of sectarian Buddhism during the formative period of Southeast Asian history comes from Burmese and other sources in both mainland and insular Southeast Asia. The Tang dynastic chronicles (seventh to tenth century CE) state that Buddhism flourished in the Pʿiao (Pyu) capital of Shih-li-cha-to-lo (Śrīkṣetra) in the eighth and ninth centuries. Archaeological and sculptural evidence of the same period from Prome and Hmawza portray the Buddha in scenes from the Jātakas and from popular commentarial stories. Terracotta votive tablets depicting scenes from the life of the Buddha and of the Mahāyāna *bodhisattvas* have also been found, as well as inscriptions written in Sanskrit, Pali, mixed Pali and Sanskrit, and Pyu written in South Indian alphabets. Evidence from ruined stupas in Hmawza, which date from the fifth to the eighth century, reinforce the claim to a strong but diverse Buddhist presence.

The Mon, or Talaing, lived south of the Pyu, occupying the coastal area of lower Burma, with flourishing centers at Pegu (Haṃsavatī) and Thaton (Sudhammavatī). This region, known as Rāmaññadesa in Burmese and Thai chronicles, extended over much of present-day Thailand; one major Mon center was as far north as Haripuñjaya (present-day Lamphun). In Nakorn Prathom, thirty miles southwest of Bangkok, archaeological evidence points to a flourishing Mon Buddhist culture in the region known as Dvāravatī, in which forms of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism were present. Amarāvatī-style Buddha images in the vicinity of Nakorn Prathom and Pong Tuk date from the fourth to fifth century CE, and images of both early and late Gupta are also found there. While Mon-Dvāravatī Buddhism in Thailand and lower Burma lacked the homogeneity attributed to it by later chroniclers, both archaeological and textual evidence suggest a strong Pali Theravāda presence, especially in comparison to that found in Pagan.

Pagan, near the sacred Mount Popa on the Irrawaddy Plains of upper Burma, had become the locus of power of the Mrammas, a Tibeto-Dravidian tribe who eventually dominated and consequently named the entire region. During the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Buddhism present among people of the Pagan-Irrawaddy River basin seems to have been dominated by an eclectic form of Mahāyāna Tantrism similar to that found in esoteric Śaivism or in animistic *nāga* cults. According to the Burmese chronicles, the monks of this sect, who are referred to as Ari, rejected the teachings of the Lord Buddha. They believed in the efficacy of magical *mantras* over the power of *karman* and propagated the custom of sending virgins to priests before marriage. In addition to numerous figures of Mahāyāna *bodhisattvas*, such as Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśri, findings include remnants of murals that depict deities embracing their consorts.

According to the *Hmannān mạha yazạwintawkyī* (Glass Palace Chronicle, begun 1829) of Burma, the country's political and religious history was changed by the effect of Shin Arahan, a charismatic Mon Theravāda monk from Thaton, on the Burmese ruler Aniruddha (Anawratha), who ascended to power in Pagan in 1044 CE. According to this account, Shin Arahan converted Aniruddha to a Theravāda persuasion, advising him to secure relics, *bhikkhus* (monks), and Pali texts from Manuha (Manohari), the king of Thaton. Manuha's refusal became the excuse for Aniruddha's invasion of Thaton, the eventual subjugation of the Mons in lower Burma, and the establishment of Theravāda under Kyanzittha (fl. 1084–1113) as the dominant, although by no means exclusive, Buddhist sect.

As part of the Indian cultural expansion into "greater India," Mahāyāna, Tantric, and Hīnayāna forms of Buddhism were established in other parts of mainland and insular Southeast Asia from the fifth century onward. Guṇavarman is reputed to have taken the Dharmaguptaka tradition from northern India to Java in the fifth century, and by the seventh century Buddhism was apparently flourishing in the Sumatra of Śrīvijaya. An inscription from 684 CE, for instance, refers to a Buddhist monarch named Jayanāsā. I-ching, who spent several months in Java on his return to China in order to copy and translate Buddhist texts, indicates that both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna forms of Buddhism were present at that time. Indonesia was also visited by Dharmapāla of Nālandā University and by two prominent South Indian monks, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra, both adherents of a Tantric form of Buddhism. Two inscriptions from the late eighth century refer to the construction, under the aegis of Śailendra rulers, of a Tārā temple at Kalasan and an image of Mañjuśrī at Kelunak. The Śailendras were great patrons of the North Indian Pāla form of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

The rulers of Champa, in southern Annam (Vietnam), also patronized Buddhism. According to Yijing, the dominant tradition in Champa was that of the Āryasammatīya *nikāya*, but the Sarvāstivādins were also present. Amarāvatī-style Buddha images and monastery foundations from the ninth century have been discovered in Quang Nam Province, and an inscription of the same period from An-Thai records the erection of a statue of Lokanātha and refers to such Mahāyāna deities as Amitābha and Vairocana.

Although Hinduism was initially the dominant religion in Cambodia, there is some evidence of Buddhism from the fifth century CE. Jayavarman of Fu-nan sent representatives to China in 503 CE who took as gifts a Buddha image; and an inscription by Jayavarman's son, Rudravarman, invokes the Buddha. In the eleventh century Sūryavarman was given the posthumous Buddhist title of Nirvāṇapada, and Jayavarman VII, the Khmer empire's greatest monarch and builder of Angkor Thom, patronized Buddhism of the Mahāyāna variety. A Pali inscription from 1308, during the reign of Śrīndravarmadeva, refers to a Hīnayāna form of Buddhism, and a Chinese source from about the same time refers to Hīnayāna Buddhism as flourishing in Cambodia at that time.

The evidence cited supports the contention that throughout much of Southeast Asia Buddhism was present as part of the larger Indian cultural influence. Various sources, ranging from testimony of Chinese and indigenous chronicles, diaries of Chinese monk-travelers, as well as a large amount of archaeological and inscriptional evidence, support the contention that both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna forms of Buddhism existed side by side, dependent on such factors as the particular regional Indian source and the predilection of a given ruler. Clearly, before the emergence of the major classical Southeast Asian states, no standard form of Buddhism existed.

It is also true that various types of Buddhism in this period competed with autochthonous forms of animism as well as Brahmanic cults. Were the early states in Burma, Cambodia, Thailand, and Indonesia—such as Fu-nan, Champa, Śrīkṣetra, Dvāravatī, and so on—Buddhist or Hindu? Or were these great traditions themselves so accommodated and transformed by the Southeast Asian cultures that they qualified the labels "Buddhist" and "Hindu" almost beyond recognition? Although rulers in these preclassical states may be characterized as Hindu or Buddhist and their brand of Buddhism defined by a given sect or school, in all probability they supported a variety of priests, monks, and religious institutions and worshiped various gods and spirits ranging from territorial guardians to Viṣṇu, Śiva, and Vairocana. In some cases we are prone to assign labels when, in reality, the diversity of the situation makes labeling a problematic enterprise at best. Such a qualification does not mean that we are unable to make certain claims about the nature of Buddhism in Southeast Asia in the formative period; however, evidence supporting the presence of particular Buddhist schools and sects should be understood within the general framework of the varied and eclectic nature of Buddhism in this era.

CLASSICAL PERIOD. While diversity and eclecticism continue to mark the character of Buddhism during the period of the foundation of the classical Southeast Asian monarchical states, homogeneity of form and institutional orthodoxy began to emerge during this period. On the one hand, Buddhism and Hinduism contributed to the development of the nature and form of Southeast Asian kingship. On the other hand, the symbiotic relationship that developed between the monarchy and the Buddhist *sangha* tended to support a loose religious orthodoxy. Historically, this orthodoxy follows the Sinhala Theravāda tradition and accompanies the ascendancy of the Burmese and the Tai in mainland Southeast Asia. Vietnam, Malaysia, and Indonesia, however, depart from this pattern: Vietnamese culture was strongly influenced by China, and Malaysia and Indonesia were affected by the advent and spread of Islam during the thirteenth century. We shall first examine Buddhism at the level of the nature and form of classical Southeast Asian kingship and then trace the emergence of Sinhala Theravāda Buddhism as the normative tradition in Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos after the thirteenth century.

Buddhism and monarchy. The relationship between Buddhism and the rise of the monarchical states in the classical period of Southeast Asian history is customarily referred to as symbiotic, that is, one of mutual benefit. Rulers supported Buddhism because it provided a cosmology in which the king was accorded the central place and a view of society in which the human community was dependent on the role of the king. Ideologically, Buddhism legitimated kingship, providing a metaphysical rationale and moral basis for its existence. The Buddhist *sangha*, in turn, supported Southeast Asian monarchs because the material well-being, success, and popularity of institutional Buddhism depended to a significant degree on the approval, support, and largess of the ruling classes.

The Theravāda picture of the cosmos, set forth classically in the *Aggañña Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, depicts the world as devolving from a more perfect, luminous, undifferentiated state to a condition of greater opacity and differentiation. Imperfection results because differences in sex, comeliness, size of rice fields, and so on engender desire, greed, lust, and hatred, which, in turn, lead to actions that destroy the harmony and well-being of the inhabitants of the world. Recognizing the need to correct the situation, the people select a person whose comeliness, wisdom, virtue, and power enable him to bring order to this disharmonious, chaotic situation. That person, the ruler or king, is referred to in the text as *mahāsammata* because he is chosen by the people. He is *rāja* (king) because he rules by the Dhamma, and he is also *khattiya*, or lord of the fields, responsible for maintaining the economic and political order. Social order is dependent upon the righteous ruler, who creates and maintains the fourfold social structure (the traditional Indian *varṇa* hierarchy). Such a peaceful and harmonious situation also allows for the sustenance of *bhikkhu*s, who seek a higher, nonmundane end, that is, *nibbāna* (Skt., *nirvāṇa*). The ruler, then, is responsible for the peace, harmony, and total well-being of the people, which includes the opportunity to pursue a religious or spiritual life.

Buddhism's contribution to the classical conception of Southeast Asian kingship is particularly noteworthy in its emphasis on Dhamma and on the role of the ruler as a moral exemplar. The king is a *cakkavattin*, one whose rule depends upon the universal Dhamma of cosmic, natural, and moral law. His authority stems from the place he assumes in the total cosmic scheme of things. But his power and, hence, his effectiveness rest on his virtue. While the king rules by strength of arms, wealth, intellect, able ministers, and the prestige of his own status, his embodiment of the Dhamma and, hence, his ability to rule depend on his maintenance of the ten *rājadhamma*s: liberality, good conduct, nonattachment, straightforwardness, mildness, austerity, suppression of anger, noninjury, patience, and forbearance. The ideal king should cleanse his mind of all traces of avarice, ill will, and intellectual confusion and eschew the use of force and weapons of destruction. These moral virtues represent the highest ideals of Theravāda Buddhism, an overlapping of two "wheels" (*cakka*), or realms: the mundane (*ānācakka*, *lokiya*) and the transmundane (*sāsanacakka*, *lokuttara*), or the ideals of the political leader (*cakkavattin*) and the religious exemplar (Buddha).

This symbiotic relationship between political and religious leadership roles takes a particular mythic pattern in many of the classical Southeast Asian chronicles, such as the *Jinakālamālipakaraṇaṃ* (The Sheaf of Garlands of the Epochs of the Conqueror), a pattern also present in the Pali chronicles of Sri Lanka (e.g., the *Mahāvaṃsa*). Essentially, the chroniclers hold that the Budda sacralizes a region by visiting it. He frequently converts the indigenous populations and teaches them the Dhamma. To be sure, the monastic authors had a vested interest in establishing the precedence of Buddhism in the land, but the Buddha's visits to such places as the Tagaung kingdom of Burma and Haripuñjaya in northern Thailand serve the additional purpose of grounding a later interrelationship between Buddhism and kingship. In the northern Thai chronicles, for example, when the Buddha visits the Mon-Lava state of Haripuñjaya in the Chiangmai Valley, he predicts that his bone relic will be discovered by King Ādicca (Āditarāja), one of the principal twelfth-century monarchs of this state. This tale not only points to royal support of the *sāsana*, it makes the king the symbolic actualizer of the tradition, which he celebrates by building a *cetiya* for the relic. Furthermore, the Buddha in effect engenders the monarch with the power necessary to rule, a magical potency inherent in the relic. The *cetiya* reliquary mound thus functions as a magical center, or *axis mundi*, for the kingdom. In Haripuñjaya, alliances between the northern Tai kingdom of Lānnā and other states were sealed in front of the magical center. The Emerald Buddha image has played a similar role in Lao and Tai religious history, with various princes of the kingdom swearing fealty to the reigning monarch who possessed it.

The nature of the interrelationship between Buddhism and classical monarchical rule in Southeast Asia manifests itself architecturally in the great *cetiya* or stupa (Skt., *stūpa*) monuments of Borobudur, Angkor, Pagan, and other ancient capitals. The earliest of these, Borobudur, was constructed on the Kedu Plain outside of present-day Jogjakarta on the island of Java in the mid-eighth century CE under a dynasty known as the Śailendras, or "kings of the mountain." The monument's strong Mahāyāna influence is reflected in bas-reliefs that depict stories from the *Lalitavistara*, *Divyāvadāna*, *Jātakamālā*, and *Gaṇḍavyūha*. The seventy-two perforated, hollow stupas on the top of three circular platforms cover seated images of the Buddha Vairocana. Scholars have argued that the monument, as a cosmic mountain, connects royal power with the Dharma, the basis of all reality; it may also synthesize an autochthonous cult of "kings of the mountain" with the Ādibuddha, or universal Buddha nature. In support of this connection it is speculated that Śailendra inscriptions use the Sanskrit term *gotra* to signify both "line of the ancestors" as well as "family of the Buddha," thereby identifying the Śailendra ancestral line with that of the Tathāgata.

Angkor, in Cambodia, has been even more widely studied as a source for understanding the interrelationships between Southeast Asian kingship and religion, especially regarding the *devarāja* (god-king) concept. It may be that this concept originated in Fu-nan, a Chinese term derived from the Mon-Khmer *bnam*, meaning "mountain" and possibly referring to a cult of a national guardian spirit established by the founder of the state. In the early ninth century the Khmer ruler Jayavarman II built on this background, adopting Śaivism as the state religion and thus requiring that the king be worshiped as a manifestation of Śiva. This identification was symbolized by a *liṅga* that was set upon the central altar of a pyramidal temple as an imitation of Mount Meru and the center of the realm. The *devarāja* cult took on Mahāyāna Buddhist forms under Sūryavarman I in the early eleventh century and under Jayavarman VII (1181–1218), who constructed the great Bayon Temple, in which Jayavarman and Lokeśvara appear to be identified, at Angkor Thom at the end of the twelfth century. It can be inferred that in the tradition of the *devarāja*, Suryavarman and Jayavarman became *buddharāja*s, or incarnate buddhas.

Other classical Southeast Asian capitals and major royal and religious monuments exhibit the influence of both Hindu and Buddhist worldviews. The remains of over five thousand stupas can be seen at the site of ancient Pagan, an area covering sixteen square miles. It was unified by Aniruddha (1040–1077) and the commander of his forces and successor, Kyanzittha (fl. 1084–1113). The Schwezigon Pagoda, possibly begun by Aniruddha but certainly completed by Kyanzittha, enshrines three sacred Buddha relics, symbolizing the power of the *cakkavattin* as the defender of the sacred order of things (*dhamma*). Other stupas, such as the Mingalazedi, which was completed in the late thirteenth century, reflect the basic macro-micro cosmological symbolism of Borobudur; it has truncated pyramidal and terraced bases and a central stairway on each side. The Ānanda Temple, the stupa that dominated Pagan, was constructed by Kyanzittha in the late eleventh century and combines both cosmic mountain and cave symbolism: an ascetic's cave in which the Buddha meditates and a magical *axis mundi* that empowers the entire cosmos. A small kneeling image facing the large Buddha image in the temple is thought to represent Kyanzittha, corroborating inscriptional claims that he saw himself as a *bodhitsatta* and *cakkavattin.*

The mythic ideal of the *cakkavattin* is embodied in the moral example of Aśoka Maurya. Similarly, the *cakkavattin* of the Suttas provides the legendary charter for the idealized kingly exemplar of the Southeast Asian Theravāda chronicles. Aśoka was the moral exemplar *par excellence*, in whose footsteps, so say the chronicles and inscriptions, the monarchs of Burma, Thailand, and Laos follow. Aśoka's conversion divides his biography into two halves—the first tells of warring, wicked Aśoka (Pali, Caṇḍāsoka) and the second of the just, righteous Aśoka (Pali, Dhammāsoka). Similarly Aniruddha kills his brother to become the ruler of Pagan but then becomes a patron of Buddhism, and Tilokarāja (1441–1487) of Chiangmai revolts against his father but then devotes much of his attention to the prosperity of the Buddhist *sangha.* Southeast Asian rulers are also reputed to have called councils, as did Aśoka, in order to purify the *sangha* and regularize the Tipiṭaka. These activities, which supported Buddhism, represented ways the monarch could uphold his reputation for righteousness in ruling the state and in his dealings with the people. In his famous 1292 inscription, Rāma Kham-haeng (Ramkhamhaeng) of Sukhōthai says that the king adjudicates cases of inheritance with complete impartiality, does not kill or beat captured enemy soldiers, and listens to the grievances of his subjects. This paternalistic model of the dhammically righteous king is obviously indebted to the Aśoka model.

Dominance of Sinhala Theravāda Buddhism. The shift to a Sinhala Theravāda orthodoxy in what became, in the true sense, Buddhist Southeast Asia (Burma, Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia) took place gradually from the late eleventh to the early thirteenth century and onward. This development reflected several factors: the decline of Buddhism in parts of Asia that had influenced the Southeast Asian mainland; the rising influence of Sri Lanka under Vijayabāhu I (1055–1110) and Parākramabāhu I; the consolidation of power by the Burmese and Tai; an increasing interrelationship among Sri Lanka, Burma, and Thailand; and the spread of popular Theravāda practice among the general population of mainland Southeast Asia. The general outline of the story of the establishment of Sinhala Theravāda Buddhism in Southeast Asia is reasonably clear, although disparities between epigraphic and chronicle sources make historical precision difficult. Consequently, scholars disagree on dates, and historical reconstructions keep on changing.

Pali Theravāda and Sanskrit Hīnayāna forms of Buddhism were present at a relatively early time. Pali inscriptions found in central Thailand and lower Burma and associated with Mon culture support this claim, as does chronicle testimony, such as the story of Aniruddha's excursion into Rāmaññadesa to secure Pali scriptures. Inscriptional evidence makes it reasonable to assume that the roots of Mon Theravāda lay in the Kāñcīpuram area along the east coast of India. Even the popular Burmese tradition that holds that Buddhaghosa, who has been associated with Kāñcī, either came from Thaton or went there after visiting Sri Lanka may contain a kernel of historical truth, namely, the spread of Kāñcī Theravāda Buddhism into the Mon area. The presence of Pali Theravāda Buddhism among the Mon, who strongly influenced both the Burmese and Tai, provides the religio-cultural backdrop to the eventual consolidation of Sri Lankan forms of Theravāda Buddhism. As we shall see, both the Burmese and the Tai assimilated elements of Mon culture: its religion, legal traditions, artistic forms, and written script. Mon Theravāda, in effect, mediated Sinhala Theravāda. On the one hand, Theravāda Buddhism from Sri Lanka provided continuity with Mon religio-cultural traditions; on the other, it enabled the Burmese and Tai to break away from a Mon religio-cultural dominance. We must now explore some of the details of this story of cultural transformation and religious consolidation.

Burma. Contact between Burma and Sri Lanka dates from the establishment of the Pagan era by Aniruddha. Because of the disruption of Sri Lanka caused by wars with the Cōḻas in the mid-eleventh century, Vijayabāhu I, knowing of the strength of the Mon Theravāda traditions, sought help from Aniruddha to restore valid ordination. Aniruddha responded by sending a group of monks and Pali scriptures to Sri Lanka. In turn, Aniruddha requested, and was sent, a replica of the Buddha's tooth relic and a copy of the Tipiṭaka with which to check the copies of the Pali scriptures acquired at Thaton. The tooth relic was enshrined in Pagan's Schwezigon Pagoda, which became Burma's national palladium. Although archaeological evidence calls into question the chronicler's claim regarding the acquisition of the entire Pali Tipiṭaka, the tale might well be interpreted to indicate the growing importance of Sinhala Buddhism, not simply because the texts were more authoritative, but because the alliance between the king and the new sectarian tradition legitimated his authority over the Mon religio-cultural tradition.

Sinhala Buddhism flourished during the reign of Narapatisithu (1173–1210), and the Mahāvihāra tradition became normative at this time. Sinhala Buddhism, in particular the Mahāvihāra tradition, gained position partly through visits of distinguished Burmese monks to Sri Lanka. Panthagu, successor to Shin Arahan as the nominal head of the Pagan Buddhist *sangha*, visited the island in 1167. The Mon monk Uttarajīva Mahāthera followed in his predecessor's footsteps by journeying to Sri Lanka in 1180 with a group of monks that included a Mon novice named Chapaṭa, who was to figure most prominently in establishing the precedent authority of the Mahāvihāra. Chapaṭa and four others remained in Sri Lanka for ten years and were reordained as Mahatheras in the Mahāvihāra lineage. Their return to Burma marked the permanent establishment of Sinhala Buddhism in mainland Southeast Asia and brought about a schism in the Burmese Buddhist *sangha* between the Theravāda school of Thaton and Kāñcī, characterized by Shin Arahan's orthodoxy; and the Sinhala Theravāda tradition. When Chapaṭa returned to Pagan, Narapatisithu requested that he and the other four Mahatheras reordain Burmese monks of the Shin Arahan tradition, thereby establishing the superior legitimacy of the Sinhala orthodoxy over the Mon form of Theravāda. The chronicles refer to the Shin Arahan tradition as the "early school" (*purimagaṇa*) and to Chapaṭa's Sīhaḷa Sangha simply as the "late school" (*pacchāgaṇa*). Owing to disciplinary and personal reasons, the *pacchāgaṇa* was to divide into several branches each loyal to one or another of the Mahātheras who had returned from Sri Lanka. One point of dispute among the branches was whether gifts could be given to particular monks or to the *sangha* at large.

The Sīhaḷa order was introduced to lower Burma at Dala, near Rangoon, by Sāriputta, who bore the title Dhammavīlasa, meaning a scholar of great repute. This tradition is referred to as the Sīhaḷapakkhabhikkhu Sangha, in contrast with the Ariyārahanta-pakkhabhikkhu Sangha, which represents the Mon Theravāda tradition. The chronicles also call this school the Kambojasanghapakka on the grounds that it was headquartered near a settlement of Kambojans (Cambodians). This title may reflect historical fact or refer to the earlier Theravāda of the Mon-Khmer areas to the east (i.e., Dvāravatī), which found its way into lower Burma. The Sīhaḷa Sangha was also introduced to Martaban by two Mon monks, Buddhavaṃsa Mahāthera and Mahāsāmi Mahāthera, who had been reordained in Sri Lanka. According to the Kalyāṇī inscriptions of Pegu, by the thirteenth century six Buddhist schools—the Mon Ariyārahanta and five Sīhaḷa sects—existed in Martaban. Sectarianism in Burmese Theravāda has continued into the modern period and contrasts with the relative homogeneity of Theravāda Buddhism in Thailand.

Buddhism prospered during the reign of Narapatisithu (1173–1210). Many beautiful temples were built under his sponsorship (e.g., Sulamani, Gawdawpalin), and Pali scholarship flourished. For example, Chapaṭa (also known as Saddhammajotipāla) wrote a series of famous works dealing with Pali grammar, discipline (Vinaya), and higher philosophy (e.g., *Suttaniddesa*, *Sankhepa-vaṇṇanā*, *Abhidhammatthasangha*), and Sāriputta wrote the first collection of laws composed in Rāmaññadesa, known as the *Dhammavīlasa* or *Dhammathāt*. The shift away from a dominant Mon influence that occurred during Narapatisithu's reign is also reflected in the architectural style and the use of Burmese in inscriptions.

Thailand. The development of Buddhism among the Tai followed roughly the same pattern as in Burma. As the Tai migrated from southwestern China into the hills east of the Irrawaddy (home of the Shans), the upper Menam Plain (the Siamese), and farther east to the Nam U (the Lao), and as they gradually moved into the lowland area dominated by the Mons and the Khmers, they came into contact with Theravāda and Mahāyāna forms of Buddhism as well as with Brahmanism. After Khubilai Khan's conquest of Nan-chao in 1254 caused ever greater numbers of Tai to push south, they began to establish domination over the Mon and Khmer and to absorb elements of these more advanced cultures. As was the case in Burma, Mon Buddhism in particular became a major influence on the Tai as they extended their sway over much of what we now know as modern Thailand. This influence is seen in the establishment of two major Tai states in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Sukhōthai and Chiangmai.

Both Sukhōthai and Chiangmai became powerful centers of Tai settlement under the leadership of the able rulers Rāma Khamhaeng (r. c. 1279–1299) and Mengrai respectively. Sukhōthai, which had been a Khmer outpost from at least the time of Jayavarman VII, became an independent Tai state in the middle of the thirteenth century. Two Tai chieftains, Phe Muʾang and Bang Klang Hao, seized Śrī Sajanalāya and drove the Khmer governor from Sukhōthai. Bang Klang Hao was installed as ruler of Sukhōthai with the title Indrāditya. Indrāditya's third son, Rāma Khamhaeng, was to become Sukhōthai's greatest monarch and one of the exemplary Buddhist kings of Tai history. During his reign, which extended over the last two decades of the century, Rāma Khamhaeng asserted his sway over a large area extending from Haṃsavatī (Pegu) to the west, Phrae to the north, Luang Prabang to the east, and Nakorn Sri Dhammaraja (Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja; Ligor or Tambraliṅga) to the south. Nakorn Sri Dhammaraja, although dominated by Śrīvijaya from the eighth to the twelfth century and later by the Khmer, was an important center of Theravāda Buddhism by the eleventh century. Prior to Rāma Khamhaeng's ascendance to power in Sukhōthai, Chandrabhānu of Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja had sent a mission to Sri Lanka, and the *Cūlavaṃsa* reports that Parākramabāhu II invited Dhammakitti Mahāthera, a monk from Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja, to visit Sri Lanka. Rāma Khamhaeng, who was well aware of the strength of Theravāda Buddhism at Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja, invited a Mahāthera from the forest-dwelling tradition (*araññaka*) there to reside in Sukhōthai. Rāma Khamhaeng's famous 1292 stela inscription refers to various religious sanctuaries in Sukhōthai, including the *araññaka* monastery (Wat Taphan Hin), a Khmer temple (Wat Phra Phai Luang), and a shrine to the guardian spirit of the city, Phra Khaphung. In short, while we have definitive evidence that Rāma Khamhaeng supported Theravāda Buddhism, religion in thirteenth-century Sukhōthai was varied and eclectic.

During the reigns of Rāma Khamhaeng's successors—his son Lö Tai (1298–1347), and his grandson Lü Thai (1347–1368/74?)—Sinhala Buddhism became normative. According to the *Jīnakālamāli*, a Sukhōthai monk named Sumana studied under, and received ordination from, a Sinhala Mahāthera, Udumbara Mahāsāmi, who was resident in Martaban. Sumana returned to Sukhōthai to establish the Sīhaḷa Sangha there, and, along with his colleague Anōmadassī, he proceeded to spread the Sīhaḷa order throughout much of Thailand (Ayuthayā, Pitsanulōk, Nān, Chiangmai, and Luang Prabang). King Lü Thai, in particular, was noted for his piety and his support of Buddhism. He brought Buddha relics and images and established Buddha "footprints" (*buddhapada*) in an effort to popularize Buddhist practice throughout his realm. A Buddhist scholar of note, he was particularly known as the author of the *Traibhūmikathā* (Verses on the Three Worlds), thought to be the first systematic Theravāda cosmological treatise.

About the same time that Sinhala Buddhism was coming into its own in Sukhōthai, it was also being spread to Tai states to the north and northeast, namely, Chiangmai and Luang Prabang. Chiangmai was established as the major Tai state in northern Thailand by Mengrai, who expanded his authority from Chiangsaen to encompass Chiangrai, Chiangkhong, and Fāng. He subjugated the Mon-Lava center of Haripuñjaya in 1291 before founding Chiangmai in 1296. According to both inscriptional and chronicle evidence, Sumana Mahāthera brought the Sinhala Buddhism he had learned from his preceptor in Martaban to Chiangmai in 1369 at the invitation of King Küna (1355–1385). Küna built Wat Suan Dọk to house the Buddha relic brought by Sumana, and Sinhala Buddhism gained favored status over the Mon Theravāda traditions of Haripuñjaya. As in the case of Sukhōthai and Pagan, Sinhala Buddhism functioned not only as a means to build continuity with the Mon Theravāda tradition over which the Tai and the Burmese established their authority but also as a means to assert their unique religio-cultural traditions.

The apogee of the development of the Sīhaḷa order in Chiangmai was reached during the reigns of Tilokarāja, one of the greatest of the Tai monarchs, and Phra Muʾang Kaew (1495–1526). Tilokarāja legitimated the overthrow of his father, Sam Fang Kaen, through the support of the Mahāvihāra order, which had been brought to Chiangmai in 1430. According to the Mūlasāsana of Wat Pa Daeng in Chiangmai, the center of this sect, this tradition was brought to Thailand by a group of thirty-nine monks from Chiangmai, Lopburi, and lower Burma who had visited Sri Lanka in 1423 during the reign of Parākramabāhu VI of Kotte. They returned to Ayutthayā, a Tai state that subjugated Sukhōthai under the Indrarāja in 1412, and dominated central Thailand until they were conquered by the Burmese at the end of the eighteenth century. According to the northern Tai chronicles, members of this mission spread throughout central and northern Thailand, reordaining monks into the new Sīhaḷa order. Tilokarāja made this Wat Pa Daeng-Mahāvihāra group the normative monastic tradition in Chiangmai at a general council in 1477. The Pa Daeng chronicles depict Tilokarāja as a great supporter of the *sangha* and as a righteous and exemplary monarch in the Aśokan mode. During the reign of Tilokarāja's successor, Phra Muʾang Kaew, Pali Buddhist scholarship in Chiangmai flourished. The *Māṅga-ladīpaṇi*, a Pali commentary on the *Māṅgala Sutta*, was written at this time and is still used as the basis of higher-level Pali studies, and the most important northern Tai chronicle, the *Jīnakālamālipakaraṇa*, also dates from this period.

Contemporaneous with the apogee of Buddhism in Chiangmai was the reign of Dhammaceti (1472–1492), who ruled Burma from Pegu, in the lower part of the country. According to the northern Tai and Burmese chronicles as well as the Kalyāṇī inscriptions, during Dhammaceti's reign there were several religious missions to Sri Lanka from Pegu and Ava, and Sīhaḷa monks, in turn, visited Burma. Burmese monks were reordained and visited sacred shrines on the island. Like Tilokarāja, Dhammaceti wanted to unify the *sangha* and used the new ordination to unite Buddhists in the Pegu kingdom. Monks from all over lower Burma, Ava, Tougoo, from the Shan kingdoms, Thailand, and Cambodia came to Pegu to be ordained during what the chronicles portray as the "golden age" of lower Burma.

Cambodia and Laos. Theravāda Buddhism was introduced to Cambodia by the Mon of the lower Menam Chaophraya River valley. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Theravāda also existed alongside Mahāyāna forms of Buddhism as well as Brahmanism. Mahāyāna Buddhism certainly received royal patronages in the eleventh century, and

Jayavarman VII, the builder of the Bayon Temple at Angkor Thom, was identified with the Buddha Lokeśvara in the divine-royal symbiosis of the Khmer *devarāja/buddharāja* cult. Yet, typical of the classical Southeast Asian monarchs, Jayavarman's patronage of Mahāyāna Buddhism was not exclusive. According to the Kalyāṇī inscriptions and *The Glass Palace Chronicle*, a Cambodian monk, possibly Jayavarman's son, was part of the Burmese mission to Sri Lanka in the twelfth century. There was certainly an influx of Mon Buddhists from the Lopburi region in the face of Tai pressure in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Testimony of Chau Ta Kuan, a member of a late-thirteenth-century mission to Angkor, indicates that Theravāda monks were present in the Khmer capital during that period. The *Jīnakālamāli* account of the Chiangmai mission to Sri Lanka in 1423 CE includes reference to eight Khmer monks who brought the Sīhaḷa order of the Mahāvihāra to Cambodia.

The development of Buddhism in Laos was influenced by both Cambodia and Thailand. According to the Lao chronicles, Jayavarman Parmesvara (1327–1353) helped Phi Fa and Fa Ngum establish the independent kingdom of Lān Chāng, which earlier had been under the political hegemony of Sukhōthai. An inscription at Wat Keo in Luang Prabang refers to three Sinhala Mahātheras—including Mahāpasaman, Fa Ngum's teacher at Angkor—who went from Cambodia to Lān Chāng as part of a religious mission. Certainly, from the late fourteenth century onward, Buddhism in Laos and Cambodia was primarily influenced by the Tai as a consequence of their political dominance in the area. Even in the modern period, Theravāda sectarian developments in Thailand were reflected in Cambodia and Laos, and prior to the Communist revolution, monks from Cambodia and Laos studied in the Buddhist universities in Bangkok.

Summary. During the period that marks the rise of the classical Southeast Asian states, Buddhism existed in many guises. Pali Theravāda was introduced principally through the Mon of Dvāravatī and lower Burma and was considered a "higher" culture appropriated by the Burmese and the Tai. A strong Mahāyāna Buddhist presence is apparent not only in Śrīvijaya and Angkor but also in Pagan and the early Tai states. Furthermore, these forms of Buddhism competed with, and were complemented by, autochthonous animistic cults and Brahmanism. Buddhism made a decisive contribution to the conception of Southeast Asian kingship and monarchical rule through its ideal of the *dhammarāja*, who was not only represented by King Aśoka in India but by such Southeast Asian monarchs as Kyanzittha, Rāma Khamhaeng, and Tilokarāja.

Sri Lanka played the decisive role in the increasing dominance of Theravāda Buddhism in mainland Southeast Asia. Several factors contributed to this development, but I have singled out two: the rise to power of the Burmese and the Tai, who appropriated the Theravāda Buddhism of the Mon; and their subsequent adoption of Sinhala Buddhism as a way of establishing their own distinctive cultural and religious identity. While Sīnhala influence can be traced to the eleventh century, the Sīhala order only became dominant with the rise and development of the classical states from the mid-twelfth to the end of the fifteenth century. Sinhala Buddhism contributed to the legitimation of the ruling monarchies through its worldview, interpretation of history, monastic institution, education, and language; however, just as important, it became the religion of the masses through the worship of relics and sacred images and through the development of popular syncretic cults.

Vietnam has been largely excluded from the story of the development of the classical Buddhist Southeast Asian states because of the predominance of Hinduism among the Chams during early Vietnamese history and the overwhelming cultural influence of China on the country. Until the eleventh century the Vietnamese were effectively a group within the Chinese empire, and they looked to China for cultural inspiration even after they achieved independence under the Ly dynasty (1009–1224). Mahāyāna Buddhism was certainly part of the Chinese cultural influence, and the Chan (Viet., Thien) school, allegedly first established in 580 CE by Ti-ni-da-luʾu-chi, was the major Buddhist tradition in Vietnam. The elite eventually came to prefer Confucianism, but Buddhism continued to be important among the masses.

SOUTHEAST ASIAN BUDDHISM IN THE MODERN PERIOD.

The classical Southeast Asian religio-cultural synthesis, of which Theravāda Buddhism has been a major component, has given the cultures of Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam a unique sense of identity and has sustained them to the present. Faced with Western imperialistic expansion from the seventeenth century onward and the challenge of modernity, the classical religious worldview, institutional structures, and cultural ethos have been changed, modified, and reasserted in a variety of ways. We shall examine how Buddhism has adapted to this challenge, its role in the development of the modern nation-state, and what the most recent trends suggest for the future of Buddhism in the region.

The condition of Southeast Asian Buddhism in the modern period reflects, to a large degree, the forces unleashed during the colonial period, especially during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Although modern religious histories of Burma, Thailand, and Indochina differ because of internal factors as well as the uniqueness of their colonial experiences—just as the Enlightenment fundamentally challenged the medieval synthesis of Christian Europe—the last century and a half has called into question the traditional Buddhist-Brahmanic-animistic synthesis of Southeast Asia and, consequently, the institutions and values associated with that worldview. The challenge to the classical worldview, and to the traditional moral community that was based on it, occurred on many fronts. Throughout the region the educational role of the *sangha* has been undermined by Western education. The status of the monk as one who was educated and as an educator and the significance of what was traditionally taught have also suffered. In Burma, the destruction of the institution of Buddhist kingship in 1885, as well as the relatively open posture of the British toward Buddhism, left the *sangha* in disarray, without the authority and direction the king traditionally provided. Thailand's rapid urbanization over the past fifty years has dramatically changed the village or town milieu that has historically informed and supported Buddhist religious practice. The communist revolutions in Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam have displaced Buddhism as the fundamental mediator of cultural values. These are but a few of the challenges that Southeast Asian Buddhism has faced in the modern and contemporary periods.

Modernization and reform. The eve of the assertion of colonial power in the Buddhist countries of Southeast Asia found them in differing states and conditions. The Burmese destruction of Ayutthayā in 1767 provided the Thai (the designation applied to Tai living in the modern nation-state) the opportunity to establish a new capital on the lower Chaophraya River at present-day Bangkok. Because of its accessibility to international commerce the new site was much better situated for the new era about to dawn; the new dynastic line was better able to cope with the increasing impact of Western influence and was also committed to building a new sense of national unity. The Burmese, on the other hand, tired of wars under Alaungpaya and his son, were beset by religious and ethnic fractionalism. They were disadvantaged by the more isolated location of their capital (Ava, Amarapura, and then Mandalay), and governed by politically less astute rulers such as King Bagyidaw, who lost the Arakan and lower Burma to the British in the Anglo-Burmese Wars. Cambodia, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, basically fell victim to either the Thai or the Vietnamese until the French protectorate was established over the country in the 1860s. The Lao kingdoms of Luang Prabang and Vientiane were subject to Thai dominance in the nineteenth century until King Norodom was forced to accept French protection in 1863. Only in the 1890s were the French able to pacify Cochin China, Annam, and Tongkin, which, together with Cambodia, were formed into the Union Indochinoise in 1887. With the rest of Buddhist Southeast Asia disrupted by the colonial policies of France and Great Britain, Thailand's independence and able leadership under Mongkut (Rāma IV, 1851–1868) and Chulalongkorn (1868–1910) abetted religious modernization and reform, making Thailand the appropriate focus for this topic.

The classical Thai Buddhist worldview had been set forth in the *Traibhūmikathā* of King Lü Thai of Sukhōthai. In one sense this text must be seen as part of Lü Thai's program to reconstruct an administrative and political framework and to salvage the alliance structure that had collapsed under the policies of his predecessor. In laying out the traditional Buddhist stages of the deterioration of history, Lü Thai meant to affirm the meaningfulness of a karmically calculated human life within a given multitiered universe. As a Buddhist sermon it urges its listeners to lead a moral life and by so doing to reap the appropriate heavenly rewards. Within its great-chain-of-being framework of various human, heavenly, and demonic realms, the text focuses on a central figure, the universal monarch, or *cakkavattin*, exemplified by the legendary king Dharmaśokarāja. Lü Thai's traditional picture of the world, the role of the king, the nature of karmic action, and the hope of a heavenly reward provide a rationale for Sukhōthai political, social, and religious order. That King Rāma I (1782–1809), who reestablished the fortunes of the Thai monarchy, commissioned a new recension of the *Traibhūmi* testifies to its longevity and also to its utility as a charter for order and stability during yet another time of political and social disruption.

The worldview of the *Traibhūmi* was soon to be challenged by the West, however. European and American missionaries, merchants, and travelers came to Bangkok in the 1830s and 1840s, and by 1850 Thailand, or Siam, had signed commercial treaties with several Western nations. Led by Mongkut, who was crowned king in 1851, and by Chao Phraya Thiphakorawong, his able minister of foreign affairs, the Siamese noble elite proved to be interested in and open to Western technology and culture. A pragmatic type of scientific empiricism began to develop among them, leading even the devout Mongkut to articulate a demythologized Buddhism somewhat at odds with the traditional *Traibhūmi* worldview. This critique was formally set forth in 1867 in Chao Phraya Thiphakorawong's *Kitchanukit* (A Book Explaining Various Things), which explains events not in terms of traditional cosmological and mythological sources but using astronomy, geology, and medicine. For example, he argues that rain falls not because the rainmaking deities venture forth or because a great serpent thrashes its tail but because the winds suck water out of clouds; illness, he says, is caused not by a god punishing evil deeds but by air currents. Although the explanations were inaccurate, they were naturalistic rather than mythological or religious. The *Kitchanukit* presents Buddhism as primarily a system of social ethics; heaven and hell are not places but have a moral or pedagogical utility; *kamma* (Skt., *karman*) is not an actual causal force but a genetic principle that accounts for human diversity. Mongkut's successor, his son Chulalongkorn, moved even further from the mythic cosmology of the traditional Southeast Asian Buddhist worldview, declaring the *Traibhūmi* simply an act of imagination.

Modernization of the Thai Buddhist worldview was accompanied by a reform of the Buddhist *sangha*, led initially by Mongkut and continued during the reign of Chulalongkorn. Before his coronation in 1851 Mongkut had been a monk for twenty-five years. During that time his study of the Pali scriptures and his association with Mon monks of a stricter discipline convinced him that Thai Buddhism had departed from the authentic Buddhist tradition. He advocated a more serious study of Pali and Buddhist scripture as well as the attainment of proficiency in meditation. His efforts at religious reform resulted in an upgrading of monastic discipline in an effort to make it more orthodox. The group of monks who gathered around Mongkut at Wat Bovornives called themselves the Thammayut ("those adhering to the doctrine") and formed the nucleus of a new, stricter sect of Thai Buddhism. With its royal origins and connections, the Thammayut, or Dhammayuttika, sect has played a very influential role in the development of modern Thai Buddhism. In 1864 the Khmer royal family imported it to Cambodia, where it played a similar role. Its impact in Laos, however, was less significant.

The development of a reformist Buddhist tradition that embodied Mongkut's ideals brought about further changes in the monastic order, especially as the *sangha* became part of the policies and programs of Mongkut's son Chulalongkorn. At the same time that he implemented reforms designed to politically integrate outlying areas into the emergent nation-state of Thailand, Chulalongkorn also initiated policies aimed at the incorporation of all Buddhists within the kingdom into a single national organization. As a consequence, monastic discipline, as well as the quality of monastic education, improved throughout the country. A standard monastic curriculum, which included three levels of study in Buddhist history, doctrine, and liturgy, and nine levels of Pali study, was established throughout the country. In addition, two Buddhist academies for higher studies were established in Bangkok.

The modernization and reform of Buddhism in Thailand in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries stand out, but the Thai case must be seen as part of a general trend in all the Southeast Asian Buddhist countries. In the area of text and doctrine a new scripturalism, epitomized by the new redaction of the Tipiṭaka in conjunction with the general Buddhist council held in Burma in 1956 and 1957, has emerged. Doctrinal reinterpretation has followed three major lines: an emphasis on the ethical dimensions of the tradition at the expense of the supernatural and mythical; a rejection of magical elements of popular thought and practice as incompatible with the authentic tradition; and a rationalization of Buddhist thought in terms of Western categories, along with an apologetic interest in depicting Buddhism as scientific. Some apologists, such as U Chan Htoon of Burma, have claimed that all modern scientific concepts preexisted in Buddhism. Others make less sweeping claims but cite specific correlations between such Buddhist doctrines as interdependent co-arising (*paṭicca samuppāda;* Skt., *pratītya-samutpāda*) and Einstein's relativity theory. Generally speaking, Buddhist apologists have attempted to prove that Buddhism is more scientific than other religions, particularly Christianity; that the empirical approach or methodology of Buddhism is consistent with modern science; and that science proves or validates particular Buddhist teachings.

Institutional modernization and reform have also taken place along the lines that we have examined in some detail in regard to Thailand. Cambodia, for example, not only adopted the Dhammayuttika sect from Thailand but also reorganized the *sangha* along national lines. In Laos and Burma various Buddhist organizations and associations with reformist intent emerged, often under lay leadership.

Buddhism and the modern nation-state. Buddhism proved to be a crucial factor during the end of the colonial and the postcolonial periods, as Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam became modern nation-states. On the one hand, Buddhism contributed decisively to the development of the new nationhood; on the other, it resisted in various ways changes forced upon traditional Buddhist thought and practice. We shall first examine the Buddhist contributions to the national independence movements and to the maintenance of national identity and unity; second, we shall explore Buddhist resistance to pressures put on the tradition by the organization of the modern nation-state.

Historically, Buddhism played an important role in the definition of the classical Southeast Asian states. It was inevitable, therefore, that it would be a crucial factor in the redefinition of these states. In those cases, for example, in which a country was dominated by a colonial power, nationalist movements grew out of, or were identified with, a religious base or context. Take Burma as a case in point. Buddhism provided the impetus for the independence movement that arose there during the first decades of the twentieth century. The YMBAs (Young Men's Buddhist Association) of Rangoon and elsewhere in Burma quickly assumed a political role. The first issue of major consequence was the "no footwear" controversy of 1918. The YMBAs argued that Europeans, in keeping with Burmese custom, should be prohibited from wearing shoes in all pagodas; accordingly, the British government allowed the head monk of each pagoda to decide the regulations applying to footwear. During the next decade the nationalist cause was led primarily by the General Council of Burmese Associations and by such politically active monks as U Ottama, who was imprisoned for urging a boycott of government-sponsored elections, and U Wisara, who became a martyr to the independence movement when he died during a hunger strike in a British jail.

When U Nu became prime minister in January 1948, following Aung San's assassination, he put Buddhism at the heart of his political program. Although he rejected Marxism, he espoused a Buddhist socialism. In essence, he believed that a national community could be constructed only if individuals are able to overcome their own self-acquisitive interests. Sufficient material needs should be provided for everyone, class and property distinctions should be minimized, and all should strive for moral and mental perfection. The state was to meet the material needs of the people and Buddhism their spiritual needs. To this end he created a Buddhist Sasana Council in 1950 to propagate Buddhism and to supervise monks, appointed a minister of religious affairs, and ordered government departments to dismiss civil servants thirty minutes early if they wished to meditate. In 1960 U Nu committed himself and his party to making Buddhism the state religion of Burma, an unpopular move with such minorities as the Christian Karens. This attempt was one of the reasons given for General Ne Win's coup in March 1962, which deposed U Nu as prime minister. While in many ways naive and politically unrealistic, U Nu's vision of Buddhist socialism harked back to an earlier vision of the political leader as one who ruled by *dhamma* and who would engender peace and prosperity by the power of his own virtue. But such a vision proved incompatible with the political realities of the 1960s.

Buddhism figured prominently in other Southeast Asian countries, both as a basis of protest against ruling regimes and as an important symbolic component of political leadership. In the 1960s politically active Vietnamese monks contributed to the downfall of the Diem regime, and afterward the United Buddhist Association, under the leadership of Thich Tri Quang and Thich Thien Minh, remained politically active. In Cambodia, Prince Sihanouk espoused a political philosophy based on Buddhist socialism and was the last Cambodian ruler to represent, although in an attenuated way, the tradition of classical Southeast Asian Buddhist rule.

In addition to providing the inspiration for political independence movements, contributing to a political ideology with uniquely Buddhist features, and being the motivating force challenging political power structures, Southeast Asian Buddhism has been used to promote political unity within the boundaries of the nation-state. U Nu's hope that making Buddhism the state religion would promote national unity was naive; it did not take into account the contending factions within the Buddhist *sangha* and the presence of sizable non-Buddhist minorities who feared they might be threatened by covert, if not overt, pressure from the Buddhist majority.

In Thailand the centralization of the Thai *sangha* under King Chulalongkorn and his able *sangharāja*, Vajirañāṇa, not only improved monastic discipline and education but also integrated the monastic order more fully into the nation-state. Chulalongkorn's successor, Vajiravudh (1910–1925), made loyalty to the nation synonymous with loyalty to Buddhism; in effect, he utilized Buddhism as an instrument to promote a spirit of nationalism. In particular, he glorified military virtues and identified nationalism with the support of Thai Buddhism. He founded the Wild Tigers Corps, resembling the British Territorial Army; the Tiger Cubs, a branch of the corps, was later assimilated into the Boy Scout movement. Both encouraged loyalty to nation, religion (i.e., Buddhism), and the king.

Buddhism has continued to be an important tool in the government's policy to promote national unity. In 1962 the Buddhist Sangha Act further centralized the organization of the monastic order under the power of the secular state. In the same year the government organized the Dhammadhuta program, and in 1965 the Dhammacarika program. The former supported Buddhist monks abroad and those working in sensitive border areas, especially the northeastern region of the country, while the latter has focused on Buddhist missions among northern hill tribes.

Buddhism, however, has not only functioned as a kind of "civil religion," contributing to the definition and support of the new Southeast Asian nation-states in the postcolonial period. It has also resisted the kind of accommodation and change brought on by the new nationalism. In some cases this resistance has been generated by the desire to maintain traditional religious practices and more local autonomy; in others, it has come in the form of armed rebellion and messianic, millenarian movements. As an example of the former we cite Khrūbā Sīwichai, a northern Thai monk of the early twentieth century, and of the latter we cite the Saya San rebellion (1930–1931) in Burma.

While the vast majority of the Buddhist *sangha* in Thailand cooperated with the central government's attempts in the early twentieth century to standardize monastic organization, discipline, and education, there were a few notable exceptions. Khrūbā Sīwichai of the Chiangmai region of northern Thailand was one of them. He ran into problems with the *sangha* hierarchy because he ordained monks and novices according to northern Thai custom although he had not been recognized as a preceptor by the national order. He also singlehandedly raised vast sums of money to rebuild monasteries that had fallen into disrepair and to construct a road, using manual labor, to the famous Mahādhātu Temple on Doi Sutēp Mountain, overlooking Chiangmai. Because of his success in these enterprises, miraculous powers were attributed to him. In 1919, however, he was ordered to report to Bangkok to answer charges of clerical disobedience and sedition, but high Thai officials, fearing the repercussions that punishment of Khrūbā Sīwichai might have, intervened on his behalf. Although eventually Sīwichai submitted to the laws of the Thai national monastic order, *sangha* officials tacitly agreed to permit the northern clergy to follow some of its traditional customs.

Other, more radical Buddhist responses to the emerging nation-state developed in various parts of Southeast Asia and usually centered on a charismatic leader who was sometimes identified as an incarnation of the *bodhisattva* Maitreya. In Burma several rebellions in the early twentieth century aimed to overthrow British rule and to restore the fortunes of both Burmese kingship and Burmese Buddhism. One of these was led by Saya San, who had been a monk in the Tharrawaddy district in lower Burma but disrobed to work in a more directly political way to overthrow the British. Saya San's movement had a strongly traditional religious and royal aura, and much of his support came from political monks associated with nationalistic associations (*wunthanu athins*) that had formed in the 1920s. Saya San was "crowned" as "king" in a thoroughly traditional Burmese manner in a jungle capital on October 28, 1930. An armed group was trained and the rebellion launched toward the end of December. As the conflict spread throughout lower Burma and into the Shan States, the British army was called in to help the police forces repress the rebellion. Only after eight months of fighting did the warfare end.

Recent trends. The chapter on Southeast Asian Buddhism's future within the context of the modern nation-state has yet to be closed. The disestablishment of the *sangha* in Cambodia and Laos has shaken, but by no means rooted out, the tradition, even though Pol Pot's genocidal regime attempted such wholesale destruction in the aftermath of American withdrawal from the war in Indochina. Laos and Cambodia, however, have experienced a breakdown of the traditional religio-cultural synthesis. This is taking place more slowly in Thailand and even in Burma, which has been much more isolated from Western influences since the early 1960s. The political and economic contexts of Southeast Asian Buddhism, in short, have obviously affected the state of Buddhism in Southeast Asia. The trends that have emerged seem paradoxical, if not contradictory. We shall examine three sets or pairs: increasingly active lay leadership and the veneration of monks to whom supernatural powers are ascribed; a revival of meditation practice and an emphasis on active political and social involvement; rampant magical, syncretic ritual practice and insistence on the purity of the authentic teaching.

The modern period has seen increased lay leadership at various levels of religious life. The YMBAs of Burma and the Buddhist "Sunday schools" that have arisen in Thailand have obviously been influenced by Western Christian models. Lay associations have developed for various purposes. For example, prior to the revolution Cambodia had the Buddhist Association of the Republic of Cambodia (1952), the Association of Friends of the Buddhist Lycée (1949), the Association of Friends of Religious Welfare Aid Centers, the Association of Religious Students of the Republic of Cambodia (1970), the Association of the Buddhist Youth of Cambodia (1971), and so on. Buddhist laity have also been actively involved in the worldwide Buddhist movement. Most notable of the laity groups are the World Fellowship of Buddhists, which has headquarters in Bangkok, and the World Council of Churches, which holds interreligious dialogue consultations.

The increasingly significant role of the laity in a religious tradition noted for the centrality of the monk reflects many developments in modern Southeast Asian countries, not the least of which is the spread of secular, Western education among the elites. Coupled with this phenomenon, however, we find a polar opposition—a persistent cult of the holy man to whom supernatural powers are attributed. In some instances the holy monk becomes a charismatic leader of a messianic cult (e.g., the Mahagandare Weikzado Apwegyoke in Burma), while in others the form of veneration is more informal and generalized (e.g., Phra Acharn Mun in Thailand). In many cases the holy monk makes few, if any, miraculous or supernatural claims, but these will be ascribed to him by his followers. Hagiographic literature, describing cosmic portents of the monk's birth, extraordinary events during his childhood, and other characteristics of this genre, will often emerge. While the monk as miracle worker is not a new phenomenon in Theravāda Buddhism, it has persisted to the present time and, some observers claim, has been on the upswing in the contemporary period.

Meditation has always been the *sine qua non* of Buddhist practice, but traditionally it was the preserve of the forest-dwelling (*araññavāsī*) or meditating (*vipassana dhura*) monk. In the modern period, meditation has been more widely practiced as part of the routines of ordinary Buddhist temples and, more particularly, in meditation centers that either include or are specifically for lay practice. The lay meditation movement was especially strong in Burma under the leadership of such meditation masters as U Ba Khin and Ledi Sayadaw (1856–1923). Westerners have been particularly attracted to some of Southeast Asia's renowned meditation teachers, such as Acharn Cha of Wat Pa Pong in Ubon Ratchathani. Some meditating monks have also gained reputations not only for their method of meditation or for holiness but for the attainment of extraordinary powers as well.

While meditation has become a lay as well as monastic practice in contemporary Southeast Asian Buddhism, this development has not precluded a movement to formulate a strong, activist social ethic. The Vietnamese Zen monk Thich Nhat Hahn attempted to work out a Buddhist solution to the military conflict in his country during the 1960s, and there has been a widespread interest in formulating a Buddhist theory of economic development that is critical of Western capitalism but not necessarily indebted to Marxism. Buddhists have also acted to solve particular social problems, such as drug addiction, and have spoken out strongly against the proliferation of nuclear arms. Southeast Asian Buddhists have also joined with members of other religious groups, both within their own countries as well as in international organizations, to work for such causes as world peace and basic civil rights for all peoples. Buddhist interpreters, such as the Thai monk Bhikkhu Buddhadāsa, have referred to Buddhism as a practical system of personal and social morality.

Buddhadāsa has also been strongly critical of conventional Thai Buddhist religious practice, which has stressed merit-making rituals. These are aimed at obtaining personal benefit and propitiating various supernatural powers for protection or good luck. In his writings and at his center in Chaiya, southern Thailand, he emphasizes the importance of overcoming greed and attachment. *Nibbāna*, for Buddhadāsa, is the state that is achieved when egoism is overcome. This is the goal of all Buddhists, not just monks. Indeed, he argues, this is the purpose of all religions. Buddhadāsa's critique reflects the magical nature of popular Buddhist ritual practice not only in Thailand but, more generally, in Southeast Asian Buddhism, the goal of which is to improve one's life materially through the mechanism of gaining merit or improving one's karmic status. Buddhadāsa's proposal that such teachings as *nibbāna* and *anatta* (not-self), which represent the essence of the Buddha's teachings, must be part of every Buddhist's religious practice exemplifies an interest on the part of many contemporary Buddhist thinkers to restore the kernel of the authentic tradition, which has often been hidden beneath layers of cultural accretions. Thus, while the popular religious ethos is syncretic and emphasizes the attainment of worldly goals, various apologists in Burma and Thailand are attempting to make the core of the tradition a part of the understanding and practice of the Buddhist populace at large. Some critical observers have referred to this trend as a "protestantizing" of Southeast Asian Buddhism.

The contemporary ethos of Buddhism in Southeast Asia reflects an ancient heritage but also points in new directions. It is difficult to predict how the *sangha* will fare under the Marxist regimes in Laos and Cambodia or, for that matter, in the urban and increasingly materialistic environment of Bangkok and Chiangmai. Can the Theravāda monk maintain his place in society when his education cannot compare with that of the elite? Can Buddhism effectively address problems of overpopulation, prostitution, malnourishment, and economic exploitation? To what extent can the tradition change with the times and retain its identity? These and other questions face a religion that has not only been fundamental in the identity of the Burmese, Thai, Laotians, Cambodians, and Vietnamese but has also contributed much to world culture.

SEE ALSO Amoghavajra; Aśoka; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Tantric Ritual Schools of Buddhism; Burmese Religion; Cakravartin; Dharmapala; Khmer Religion; Kingship, article on Kingship in East Asia; Lao Religion; Mongkut; Pilgrimage, article on Buddhist Pilgrimage in South and Southeast Asia; Saṃgha, articles on Saṃgha and Society; Southeast Asian Religions, article on Mainland Cultures; Thai Religion; Theravāda; Vajrabodhi; Vietnamese Religion; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Buddhist Devotional Life in Southeast Asia.

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Revised Bibliography

BUDDHISM: BUDDHISM IN CENTRAL ASIA

Central Asia is not a clearly defined term. In a narrower sense, it refers to the region previously known as Eastern or Chinese Turkestan, as the Tarim Basin, or as Sinkiang (Xinjiang), lying between the towns of Kashgar in the west and Dunhuang in the east. In a wider sense, it also refers to the former Soviet republics, now independent states, of Middle Asia, generally known as Western Turkestan, and to the whole Tibetan plateau in the south. Here it is meant to include Eastern Turkestan, i.e., the present Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region in the People's Republic of China, and those parts of the Middle Asian republics where traces of Buddhism have been found.

During the period of its maximum spread, Buddhism became a major religious and cultural factor not only in India and in East and Southeast Asia, but also in Afghanistan and in large parts of Central Asia. In the northwest, it reached Merv in present-day Turkmenia, Termez at the southern border of Uzbekistan, and Qurġan-tübä in southern Tadjikistan. Although written sources and excavations attest to its presence even farther north, for instance in Samarkand, in Quvā near Fergana, and in Aq Bešim near Frunse, in these areas it did not gain the popularity it did south of the Amu Darya (Oxus). Following old trade routes, monks and merchants brought Buddhism from the northwest of the Indian subcontinent into Central Asia and farther east to China. In all those regions, it was the vigorous spread of Islam that finally replaced the various other religious movements, to the extent that Buddhism disappeared from western Central Asia before the turn of the millennium and was continually driven back in the east. From about the fifteenth century, followers of Buddhism were no longer found, and therefore a description of its history is now based on archaeological remains and on such historical sources as, for instance, the travel accounts of the Chinese Indian pilgrims Faxian (fifth century), Xuanzang (seventh century), Huizhao (eighth century), and others. These written sources are few, and it is mainly such impressive monuments as the two stone statues of the standing Buddha in Bāmiyān, formerly 174 and 115 feet (53 and 35 meters) high (but in 2001 destroyed by the Taliban), or large cave monasteries like Dunhuang with its overwhelming wealth of fascinating wall paintings, which bear witness to the former splendor and importance of Buddhism, as no traces of it are preserved in the present-day cultures of the area.

Although an ever-growing number of publications, mainly on the Buddhist art and literature of the region, continues to appear, the history of Buddhism in Central Asia remains fragmentary. One of the basic difficulties is that Central Asia never formed a political unity during the first millennium CE. A multitude of ethnic groups faced frequent changes of the ruling powers, and powerful neighbors like the Sassanids in the west, the Tibetans in the south, or the Chinese in the east continually sought to establish political and economical influence, often by force and military campaigns. Nomadic tribes from the northern steppes often invaded the area, sometimes causing considerable destruction, as in the case of the White Huns (Hephtalites) on their way through Afghanistan to India, but sometimes becoming sedentary and adopting the local cultures, as in the case of the Uighurs. Powerful empires like those of the Kushans, Tang-dynasty China, or imperial Tibet never succeeded in bringing the whole of Central Asia under their sway. Buddhism offered one of the few uniting elements of the area. However, Buddhism itself did not appear as a uniform phenomenon, but was spread in various forms and school traditions and thereby contributed to the diversity of the whole picture. The situation of the various cultures, especially in the oasis towns along the Silk Road, must have been very complex and is probably best characterized by the modern term "multicultural." Members of very different ethnic groups and cultures-Chinese, Indians, Sakas, Sogdians, Tibetans, Tocharians, Uighurs, to name only the most important ones-lived together and followed various different religious traditions, including Buddhism, Manichaeism, Zoroastrianism, Nestorian Christianity, while the ethnic borders were never identical with linguistic, religious, or political borders.

BEGINNINGS. Buddhism reached Central Asia from the northwest of the Indian subcontinent. Its spread into Afghanistan must have begun not later than the third century BCE when the Indian dynasty of the Mauryas, and especially their most important ruler Aśoka (c. 268–233 BCE), succeeded in uniting major parts of India and advancing the northwestern border of their empire up to Kabul and Kandahār in Afghanistan. This extension is well documented by the famous stone inscriptions placed by Aśoka in various parts of the empire. Such inscriptions are preserved in northwest Pakistan (in Shābāzgaṛhī and Mānsehrā) and in Afghanistan (in Kandahār, in Lampāka, and at the river Laghmān). The inscriptions suggest that Aśoka supported the various religious movements in his empire, but especially Buddhism, to which he appears to have been personally inclined. Since in Buddhist scripture he is depicted as one of the foremost supporters of the faith, it may be concluded that the development of Buddhism, from an ascetic movement mainly situated in northeast India to a universal religion, accelerated during his reign and that the political stability achieved by the Mauryas favored its spread, especially along the trade routes.

Apart from these inscriptions, very few traces of the presence and spread of Buddhism during that period remain. Well-known is the Dharmarājika stupa in the old town of Taxila, a large excavation in Pakistan; the stupa is dated to the time of the Mauryas. This situation changed around the beginning of the common era, when another great empire arose in the northwest and guaranteed an enduring period of peace and stability. In the first century CE, the dynasty of the Kushans united the northwest and established an empire that included Afghanistan and reached from Bactria into northern India and Eastern Turkestan. Trade routes became safe and allowed long-distance trade that facilitated the exchange and spread of both material and non-material cultural goods. Like Aśoka before him, Kaniṣka the Great (first half of the second century CE), the most important ruler of the Kushan dynasty, is described as a devoted supporter of Buddhism in Buddhist sources. No external indications are preserved that could confirm the Buddhist picture of Kaniṣka, as the inscriptions do for Aśoka, but he appears to have built stupas and a monastery near Kāpiśī (Begram). Although the Kushan rulers also supported other religions, the tradition connected with Kaniṣka suggests that Buddhism flourished under the Kushans. Within the varied pantheon depicted on his coins, there is also the figure of a standing Buddha. As far as datable archaeological remains are preserved, only very few monasteries seem to go back to this period, which hints at the possibility that institutionalized Buddhism was less widespread than is often supposed.

ART. As an extremely important innovation, the representation of the Buddha in human form was created during the reign of the Kushan dynasty. Previously, the Buddha had been represented in art only aniconically, for instance by a wheel to symbolize the first teaching. It is still a matter of debate whether the first Buddha figure was created in Mathurā in northern India or in Gandhara, a region in northern Pakistan, but many scholars now believe that the step from aniconic to iconic representation was taken in Gandhara. By fusing Greco-Roman forms with Indian contents, artists in Gandhara created a distinctive style that influenced Indian art and became the model for Buddhist art in Central and East Asia. It is well known that Apollo served as a model for the Buddha, as did Herakles for Vajrapāṇi, a non-human attendant of the Buddha, or Tyche/Fortuna for the goddess Hāritī. Greeks had been living in Bactria and Gandhara since the Indian campaign of Alexander the Great in the fourth century, and the influence of Hellenistic, and then Roman, culture continued until the first centuries CE.

Gandharan art attests to the importance of the cult of *bodhisattvas,* probably Siddhārtha (the Buddha before his enlightenment) and definitely Maitreya (the future Buddha), but despite an overwhelming richness of surviving sculptures, there are very few that can be indisputably connected with Mahāyāna Buddhism and its specific Buddhas and *bodhisattvas.*

THE KUSHANS. The Kushans adopted Bactrian, a Middle Iranian language, for their coins and for inscriptions, but they also used Gandhari, a Middle Indian language written in Kharoṣṭhī script, for administrative purposes. Kushan influence extended well into Central Asia and administrative documents written in Gandhari and dating from the period between 200 and 320 have been found in the kingdom of Shan-shan (Kroraina), which stretched from the Niya River, a short distance east of Khotan as far as Lob Nor. At the same time, Gandhari was the language used by the Dharmaguptakas, a school of mainstream Buddhism. Translations of scriptures of this school into Chinese are known from the beginning of the fifth century, but until recently only one text was known in its Indian original, the famous manuscript of the *Dharmapada,* found more than a hundred years ago in Khotan and probably to be dated to the second or third century CE. Since the 1990s, however, a steadily growing number of Dharmaguptaka texts has been found in Afghanistan. They attest to the importance of this school in the Kushan Empire, and they support the thesis that the Dharmaguptakas were among the first to bring Buddhism to the south and east of Central Asia.

Another school of mainstream Buddhism apparently flourishing in the Kushan Empire was that of the Sarvāstivādins. Originally, they also must have used a Middle Indian language, but they adopted Sanskrit for their commentaries and their poetical literature and then gradually sanskritized their canonical literature. They spread mainly along the northern route of the Silk Road, and the cave monasteries in the oases of Kučā, Karašahr and Turfan became strongholds of the Sarvāstivāda. It is difficult, if not impossible, to date this process. An Shigao, the first known translator of Buddhist texts into Chinese active around 140 CE, apparently used Sarvāstivāda versions, but he came from Parthia in the west of Central Asia. A large amount of manuscript fragments has been found in the monasteries along the northern route, and the oldest of them date to the second century CE, but these are palm-leaf manuscripts imported from India. The oldest Sanskrit manuscripts actually written in Central Asia probably date to the fifth century; they are written on paper, a material introduced from China, but not used in India and Afghanistan at that time.

FORMS OF BUDDHISM. The spread and distribution of various forms of Buddhism in Central Asia has to be reconstructed from the manuscript finds and the reports of the Chinese pilgrims to India. The evidence suggests a clear divide between Buddhism on the northern and southern branches of the Silk Road. Between Kashgar at the western end of the Tarim Basin and Anxi at its eastern end the Silk Road divided into two routes, which followed the mountain ranges from oasis to oasis and skirted the terrible Takla Makan desert. The northern route followed the Tianshan and connected the oases of Tumšuq, Kučā, Karašahr, Turfan, and Hami, while the southern route led along the Kunlun to Khotan and then on to Niya, Mirān, and Dunhuang. Most of the monks in the monasteries on the northern route followed mainstream Buddhism in the form of the Sarvāstivāda school. The overwhelming majority of Sanskrit manuscripts found there belongs to the canonical and postcanonical literature of the Sarvāstivādins. The work represented by the largest number of manuscripts is the *Udānavarga,* a very popular collection of verses allegedly spoken by the Buddha. Next comes the *Prātimokṣasūtra,* the confession formulary of the Buddhist monks. The number and order of its rules are school-specific, and the frequency of this text serves as one of the main arguments for determining the school affiliation of the monasteries along the northern route. Fragments of the corresponding text for the Buddhist nuns point to the possible existence of nunneries, but the fragments are very few and none of the spots where they were found have been proven to be convents for nuns. Besides works from the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (the collection of rules of the Buddhist order), a few from that of the Mūlasarvāstivādins have also been found, and altogether three texts from the canon of the Dharmaguptakas. Interestingly enough, the latter are no longer written in Gandhari, but in Sanskrit, apparently under the influence of the Sarvāstivādins. A certain number of fragments of *Mahāyānasūtras* has come to light, but they belong to no more than thirty manuscripts, most of which have been found in the oases of Šorčuq and Toyoq farther east.

Khotan, on the contrary, must have been an a leading center of Mahāyāna Buddhism, since nearly all of the Sanskrit texts found there belong to sūtras of the "Great Vehicle." The precise date of Buddhism's initial establishment in Khotan is unknown. According to Chinese sources, there was a Buddhist community in Khotan by the second century CE. Zhu Shixing, who studied Prajñāpāramitā literature in the Chinese city of Luoyang in the third century, went west in search of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra,* which he found in Khotan. Mokṣala, who translated this work into Chinese in 291, was a Khotanese, and another Khotanese, Gītamitra, took a copy of the same text with him to the Chinese capital Chang'an in 296. Thus, Khotan was already a well-established center of Mahāyāna studies in the third century. None of the manuscripts found in Khotan, however, belongs to this early period. Most of them date from the seventh to the tenth centuries, and they contain either Sanskrit texts or translations from Sanskrit into Khotanese, an Iranian language. Common are manuscripts of the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtras,* the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra,* the *Saṃghāṭasūtra,* and the ubiqitous *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra,* which, amazingly, was never translated into Khotanese. One of the most famous manuscripts from Central Asia is the so-called Kashgar manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra.* Originally, it comprised 459 leaves, 447 of which are preserved in full or in fragments and are now distributed over the collections in St. Petersburg, London, Berlin, Dalian (China), and New Haven, a not-at-all uncharacteristic example of the fate of many manuscript finds, especially those from Khotan and from Dunhuang.

LANGUAGES. Indian languages, and from the fifth century onwards, only Sanskrit, remained the "church language" (Nattier, 1990) in Central Asia, and the percentage of Indian texts among the literature is absolutely remarkable. In the western part, in Bactria, Sogdiana, and Afghanistan, no translations into any of the vernaculars have been found so far. Two Buddhist texts in Bactrian, which came to light among the finds from Afghanistan in the 1990s, are possibly not translated, but may have been originally composed in Bactrian. The Sogdians played a very important role in the transmission of Buddhism to the east, since from the third century onwards they took over the long-distance trade and built up a network of trade posts from Samarkand far into China. But when they finally started to translate Buddhist scriptures into their own language, they did so not from Sanskrit originals, but from Chinese. In Eastern Turkestan, however, the situation was different: Sanskrit texts are found side by side with translations into the vernaculars, and they remained in use until the end of Buddhism in the area. Texts in Tocharian, the easternmost Indo-European language, which have been found mostly in Kučā, Karašahr, and Turfan, belong to the literature of the Sarvāstivādins and suggest that it was mainly the Tocharians who continued to use the original Sanskrit texts of that school. Many bilinguals and Sanskrit manuscripts with Tocharian glosses confirm this supposition. To a certain extent, this also holds true for the literature of the Uighurs. After the fall of their empire in the Orkhon Basin further northeast, parts of this Turkish tribe had settled from 840 onwards in the oases of Kučā, Karašāhr, and Turfan, but also in Hami and in the Gansu corridor. In Xočo in the oasis of Turfan, a Uighur kingdom was established, which existed from approximately 850 to 1250. The Uighurs also used Sanskrit, but from the eighth or ninth century onwards they translated a growing number of texts, mostly of Mahāyāna affiliation, from Chinese into Uighur.

INDIGENOUS DEVELOPMENTS. Very different from the development in China, and later in Tibet, it appears that none of the Central Asian forms of Buddhism succeeded in establishing an important indigenous literary tradition based on the received canonical literature. There are very few independent works in the vernaculars; a famous example is a work in Khotanese, provisionally called the "Book of Zambasta" after the person who commissioned it, a voluminous verse-summary of Buddhism, which probably dates from the seventh century. Remarkably enough, its author complains that "The Khotanese do not value the [Buddhist] Law at all in Khotanese. They understand it badly in Indian. In Khotanese it does not seem to them to be the Law. For the Chinese the Law is in Chinese. . . . To the Khotanese that seems to be the law whose meaning they do not understand at all" (Emmerick, 1968, p. 343ff.). This clinging to Sanskrit as the authoritative medium of religious literature may have been one of the reasons for the comparatively small number of indigenous works in the vernaculars.

One of the most important works from the northern route is the *Maitreyasamitināṭaka,* the "dramatical description of the meeting with [the future Buddha] Maitreya" in twenty-seven chapters. Although the text pretends to be of Indian origin, it was probably composed in Karašāhr in Tocharian and then translated into Uighur under the title *Maitrisimit.* It attests to the important position of the cult of Maitreya in Central Asian Buddhism. This cult was practiced equally by followers of mainstream and of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and significantly a whole chapter of the "Book of Zambasta" is devoted to Maitreya. As in the case of Amitābha, the most popular meditation Buddha in Central Asia, an Iranian origin or at least influence has been much discussed. Although both figures display certain elements that are also found with Iranian gods, these elements can just as easily be explained with reference to the Indian background.

One of the most important sites in the region is the monastery Qianfo-dong ("caves of the thousand Buddhas") near Dunhuang. The Indo-Scythian Dharmarakṣa, one of the great translators of Buddhist texts into Chinese, was born there around 230 CE, and one of his Chinese disciples founded a large monastery there. The caves are famous for their excellently preserved wall paintings, but one of them contained another surprise for the European scholars who came there in the first decade of the twentieth century. The local attendant led them to a previously walled-off chamber, which concealed a sensational collection of manuscripts. They had been hidden probably before 1035 when Dunhuang was conquered by the Tanguts, since no Tangut texts are found there. The chamber contained forty to fifty thousand manuscripts, most of them Chinese and Tibetan, the latter dating to the eighth and ninth centuries when the Tibetan empire occupied most of Eastern Turkestan. Besides the Chinese and Tibetan manuscripts, the library included texts in Uighur, Sanskrit, Tocharian, Khotanese, and Sogdian (in the last two cases most of what survives in these languages was found at Dunhuang).

Although the Tibetan texts from Dunhuang are of singular importance for the early history of Tibet, the Tibetan occupation made little mark on Central Asian Buddhism. Only the Uighurs translated Buddhist texts from Tibetan into their own language, but when they started to do so it was after the turn of the millennium and at a time when Tibet had long lost all political influence in Central Asia. This was very different with Chinese Buddhism. During the first centuries CE, it was mainly monks from Central Asia who brought the new religion to China and who became instrumental in acquainting the Chinese with Buddhism by translating the texts. Without such outstanding figures like the famous Kumārajīva, Buddhism would probably never have made a lasting impact on Chinese culture. As a son of an Indian father and a local princess, Kumārajīva was born in Kučā and brought to Chang'an at the beginning of the fifth century. With him, a new translation technique was developed, which finally succeeded in presenting Buddhism in a literary form acceptable to Chinese taste. From the time of the Tang dynasty, however, the relationship was partly reversed. Buddhist literature was no longer imported from Central Asia; instead, Chinese translations of what were originally Indian texts were now translated into Khotanese, Sogdian, and Uighur.

In the western part of Central Asia, Buddhism had practically disappeared by the end of the first millennium. Around 950, it came to an end in Khotan when the rulers decided to embrace Islam. Only on the northern route of the Silk Road did Buddhism survive for a few more centuries, although it must already have been in decline at that time. Around the end of the fifteenth century, at the latest, it finally disappeared from the Turfan oasis when the ruler of Xočo withdrew his support of the local monks.

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BUDDHISM: BUDDHISM IN MONGOLIA

Buddhism in Chinese, Central Asian, Kāśmiri, and Tibetan forms influenced Mongolia's ancient and medieval nomadic empires in varying degrees. From 1580 to 1920 Tibetan-style Buddhism dominated Mongolia and touched every aspect of life. Communist antireligious campaigns destroyed this hegemony, but after 1985 liberalization led to a renewed religious revival. The Mongolian plateau can be divided into Mongolia proper (Outer Mongolia, now the independent State of Mongolia) to the north, and Inner Mongolia (now an autonomous region in China) along the borders of China proper. From the fourth century on, the Mongolic-speaking Xianbi in Inner Mongolia and north China patronized Chinese Buddhism. The Kitans, another branch of the Xianbi, whose Mongolic language has been partly deciphered, became avid patrons and practitioners of Chinese Buddhism under their Liao dynasty (907–1125). Many rulers of the Türk empires, which dominated Mongolia proper from 552 to 745, also patronized Buddhist monks from the Central Asian oasis states and from China.

By the twelfth century, Mongolia and Inner Mongolia were occupied by a variety of Turkic and Mongolic-speaking tribes, and Buddhist influence had virtually disappeared. The unification of the plateau by Chinggis Khan (Genghis, r. 1206–1227) and his conquests brought the Mongols again in touch with Buddhism among the Uighurs of the Central Asian oases (in today's eastern Xinjiang) and in northern China. In 1219 Chinggis Khan granted tax exemption to all Buddhist clerics. Buddhism, alongside Christianity, Daoism, and Islam, became one of the four favored religions of the Mongol empire. Until 1253, the khans chiefly patronized Chinese *dhyāna* (Zen) monks.

With the conquest of the Xi (western) Xia or Tangut dynasty in northwestern China completed in 1227, the Mongols learned of its long-standing ties with Tibetan Buddhist clerics. In 1240 the Mongols first reconnoitered Tibet to find a Tibetan cleric. In 1247, the first Tibetan Buddhist lama came to the court of a Mongol prince. Mongol expansion also brought contact with Kāśmiri monks.

In 1251 a new branch of Chinggis Khan's family seized power. Möngke Khan (r. 1251–1259) began actively patronizing Tibetan and Kāśmiri Buddhist leaders of several different lineages. Möngke's brother Qubilai Khan (r. 1260–1294) made 'Phags pa Lama, of the Tibetan Sa skya pa monastic order, the chief cleric of the empire. From then on, the imperial family of the Mongols in China, as well as many aristocratic Mongol clans, regularly received tutoring and Tantric initiations from Sa skya pa and other Tibetan Buddhist hierarchs.

The Mongols adopted the Uighur script under Chinggis Khan. In the late thirteenth and early to mid-fourteenth centuries, the Mongols in China sponsored many Buddhist translations. Although the translations were generally made from Tibetan texts, the translators were strongly influenced by Uighur Buddhist terminology. The translations of Chos-gi-Odsir (fl. 1307–1321) were particularly famous. A Nepalese artist, Aniga (1244–1278), invited to Qubilai's court, began a school of Nepalese-influenced Inner Asian Buddhist artwork. Surviving monuments of the era include the White Pagoda in central Beijing. Mongol princes also patronized other religions and 'Phags pa Lama and succeeding court chaplains participated in the Mongol ancestral cults maintained at court. Buddhist clergy served as astrologers and diviners.

After 1260, the Mongol dominions in the Middle East, Eastern Europe and Kazakhstan, and in Central Asia broke away from the power of the great khans in East Asia. The local Mongol rulers continued to patronize Buddhist monks, called *baqshi*, who were sometimes Tibetan, Kāśmiri, or Chinese, but mostly Uighur. This patronage in the Mongols' western domains ceased after successive waves of Islamization from 1295 to 1335.

Although the Mongol great khans were expelled from China in 1368, they continued to rule on the Mongolian plateau in the name of the Chinggisid dynasty. Buddhist monks were appointed as court chaplains at least through 1455, but after that the influence of Buddhism declined. Particularly after the reign of Dayan Khan (1480?–1517?), the ancestral cult of Chinggis Khan became the focus of court religious life.

From the 1550s on, Mongols expanded into Kökenuur (Qinghai) in northeastern Tibet where they again came in contact with Tibetan Buddhist clerics. At the same time, Altan Khan (1508–1582), in Höhhot of modern Inner Mongolia, gave refuge to millenarian Buddhists fleeing persecution in China. After making peace with China in 1571, however, Altan Khan extradited the millenarian leaders and instead turned to Tibetan lamas. The Second Conversion that made Mongolia a pervasively Buddhist country began in 1578 when Altan Khan and the Chinggisid nobility of southwestern Inner Mongolia met the Third Dalai Lama of the new Dge lugs pa, or Yellow Hat, order of Tibetan Buddhist monks.

In Tibet itself, the passionately convinced Dge lugs pa adherents fought fierce opposition in order to purge Buddhism of noncanonical tantras and practices. The embattled Dge lugs pa saw the Mongol conversion as a chance to create a purely Yellow Hat society. Mongol rulers converted to Dge lugs pa Buddhism, destroyed shamanist ancestral figures, and severely punished shamanist sacrifices. As Dge lugs pa missionaries expanded to eastern Inner Mongolia and Mongolia proper during the seventeenth century, they also struggled tenaciously against adherents of older Buddhist orders, particularly the Sa skya pa. The missionary endeavor of the Dge lugs pas paid off in 1642 when Güüshi Khan, ruler of the western Oirat Mongols (from today's northern Xinjiang) invaded Tibet, destroyed the enemies of the Yellow Hats, and enthroned the Fifth Dalai Lama as Central Tibet's secular and religious ruler. By 1700, non-Yellow Hat Buddhism had essentially disappeared from Mongolia. Shamanism was more tenacious, but by 1800 it survived in institutionalized form only on the eastern and northern fringes of the Mongolian plateau. From 1800 on, another wave of Dge lugs pa missionary activity converted many Buriat Mongols in southern Siberia.

During the Second Conversion, noblemen dedicated their children to monastic life. Monastic institutions rapidly took shape all over Mongolia. In 1639 the son of a Chinggisid nobleman became the first of the line of Jibzundamba Khutugtus, the most holy Mongolian Buddhist incarnate lama lineage. This First Jibzundamba Khutugtu, named Zanabazar (1635–1723), also become a major political leader who led the Mongols of Mongolia proper into submission to the Manchu Qing dynasty (1636–1912). He was also one of the great sculptors of the Buddhist artistic tradition. Translation of the Buddhist scriptures culminated in the complete translation of the Tibetan Buddhist canon, first of the Bka' 'gyur (the canonical sutras and tantras), in 1628 to 1629 and then of the Bstan 'gyur (the canonical Indian commentaries) in 1749.

By the 1830s virtually every aspect of Tibetan monastic culture had been transplanted to Mongolia. With only a few exceptions, Mongolian Buddhist services were carried on in Tibetan language. In the 1918 census of Mongolia proper, about 45 percent of the Mongolian male population had received some monastic education and hence were considered lamas. Only about a third of these, however, actually lived in monasteries as celibate lamas. The rest left the monasteries in their late teens and became married householders, performing all normal lay duties. Nuns (*chibagantsa*) were almost always widows or unmarried older women who took vows; no organized nunneries are known. Incarnate lamas and major monasteries also had lay subjects, called *shabi* (disciples). Mongolia's present capital, Ulaanbaatar, developed around the monastery of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu. Other major monasteries include Erdeni Zuu in central Mongolia and Badgar Juu in Inner Mongolia.

Mongolian Buddhist literature was first nurtured by translated Indian and Tibetan works. Many Mongolian scholars wrote in Tibetan on Buddhist philosophy, tantra, astrology, medicine, and grammar. In the eighteenth century, the Third Mergen Gegeen Lubsang Dambi Jalsan (1717–1766) designed a Mongolian-language liturgy that incorporated local Mongolian deities and spirits. He also began the tradition of writing didactic poetry and devotional songs in Mongolian; many of his songs are still sung today. This tradition reached its height with the wild poet and incarnate lama Danzin Rabjai (1803–1856).

Lay Mongolian religious life revolved around a number of cults such as that of the *oboo* (cairns), the "White Old Man" (*tsagan ebügen*), and the rituals of the household fire, particularly that of the Lunar New Year. Many scholars have seen these as "survivals of shamanism," yet they were completely integrated into Mongolian Buddhist practice. In fact, the *oboo* cult actually seems to have been introduced into

Mongolia from Tibet in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries. Poems and sermons addressed to the laity castigated social evils such as hunting, blood sacrifices, alcohol, smoking, and youthful romance, while advocating filial piety, frugality, and obedience to authorities in religion and state.

After the Manchu Qing dynasty changed its policy to sinicizing the Mongols in 1901, the Eighth Jibzundamba Khutugtu (1870–1924) declared Mongolia proper independent in 1911. Under his theocratic rule from 1911 to 1919, clerical privileges in Mongolia expanded to unprecedented levels. Several monuments of Buddhist architecture were built, including the temple housing the 80-foot high statue of Avalokiteśvara and the Green Palace.

In southeastern Inner Mongolia, the Chinese-influenced writer Injannashi (1837–1892) had sharply criticized Buddhist lamas for their ignorant and arrogant rejection of the world. This criticism, reflecting a long-standing Confucian critique of Buddhism, developed in the early twentieth century into an anticlerical ethos that pervaded the new schools movement in eastern Inner Mongolia. By contrast, many Buriat Mongols of southern Siberia clung strongly to Buddhism in resisting Tsarist Russia's policies of Russification and Christianization. After 1917, the lama Agwang Dorzhiev (1853–1938) and the secular intellectual Tsyben Zhamtsarano (1881–1942) strongly advocated the compatibility of Buddhism with modern science and socialism.

In independent Mongolia, a Soviet-supported leftist regime was installed in 1921. When the Eighth Jibzundamba Khutugtu died in 1924, Mongolia was declared a People's Republic. In 1929, mass anti-Buddhist campaigns began among the Buriat Mongols of southern Siberia and in Mongolia proper. Popular support for the monasteries remained strong and religiously based insurrections in Mongolia in 1932 forced a temporary reversal. Between 1936 and 1939, however, pressure from Moscow resulted in the complete destruction of institutional Buddhism in Mongolia and Siberia. In Mongolia, perhaps 50,000 lamas were arrested or shot.

After 1944 one monastery was reopened in Mongolia proper and two in Buriatia. Education of children in religious tenets was prohibited. Lamas were prohibited from performing any religious functions outside the monasteries. All lamas were expected to marry. In 1947 the Chinese Communists came to power in Inner Mongolia. After a period of limited religious tolerance, anti-Buddhist persecution began there in 1958, which resulted in the destruction of all Buddhist institutions after 1966.

In 1979 liberalization in China allowed Inner Mongolian monasteries to open again. By the 1990s, Buddhist monasteries again enjoyed a qualified toleration, although the Communist party still controlled education and public discourse. After 1989, the collapse of the Soviet bloc brought full religious freedom to Mongolia proper for the first time. Old Buddhist monasteries are being rebuilt, often with funds from India, Japan, and the Mongolian government. Child-monks are being trained in new religious schools. At the same time, Buddhism faces new competition from evangelical Christian missionaries. Among the Buriat Mongols, Christian missions are much more limited, but Western-based advocates of non-Dge lugs pa, non-traditional forms of Buddhism have brought new divisions.

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BUDDHISM: BUDDHISM IN TIBET

Religion pervades many aspects of Tibetan life and culture, and the dominant, institutional religious system of Tibet is Buddhism (*sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa*). The Tibetan Bon religion, in its organized, clerical dimension, is a form of Buddhism whose first human teacher, Ston pa Gshen rab (Tönpa Shenrab), is always referred to by the Bon po as a buddha (*sangs rgyas*) who lived long before Śākyamuni. Bon, like the other forms of Buddhism in Tibet, embraces a wide-ranging sphere of cultural and religious activity, whose elaborate traditions of ritual, art, and learning derive from both indigenous sources and the ancient religious matrices of India, Iran, and China.

Besides the originally "foreign" traditions of Buddhism and Bon, Tibetan religions embrace a broad range of beliefs, practices, and specialist practitioners that appear to be of autochthonous origin. These may be found in both Bon po and Buddhist settings as well as in some contexts in which sectarian affiliation is left unclear. At issue are the elements of Tibetan religious life that constitute what R. A. Stein has called the "nameless religion," in preference to the misleading designation of "popular religion." What is at stake here is not a distinction between the beliefs of the general populace and those of the religious or social elite. In actual practice, the nameless religion, centering on the cults of local divinities and spirits, the harmony or conflict between humans, and the invisible forces with which they must interact, is the concern of persons belonging to all strata of Tibetan society, and it is in fact almost named Buddhism or Bon, depending upon the contexts in which it occurs. For the purposes of the present survey, however, the point of focus must be restricted to Tibetan Buddhism as represented in the historical and doctrinal traditions of the major Buddhist orders apart from Bon, with some attention too to the role of Buddhism in Tibetan society overall.

TIBETAN BUDDHIST BEGINNINGS. It is not clear when, exactly, Tibetans made their first contact with the Buddhist religion. Indigenous tradition holds that in the time of the legendary king of the Yar lung principality, Lha Tho tho ri (Lha Thotori, c. fourth century CE), Buddhist scriptures and images miraculously fell onto the palace or else that these objects were carried there by a central Asian Buddhist monk. Though these tales must be considered as legends, it is not implausible that some knowledge of Buddhism may have found its way to Tibet during this late period of its prehistory for the Tibetan plateau was by then surrounded on all sides by lands in which Buddhism was well established as a religious and cultural system: Nepal and India to the south, China to the east, the Silk Road states to the north, and the Iranian world to the west.

History proper begins in Tibet with the emperor Srong btsan sgam po (Songtsen Gampo, c. 617–649), who politically unified the peoples occupying the Tibetan plateau and whose armies then penetrated deep into the surrounding territories. The Tibetan system of writing was also developed at this time. The emperor's marriage to the Chinese princess of Wencheng (d. 678) was accompanied by the installation in his capital, Lhasa, of a precious image of Śākyamuni Buddha brought from China as part of her dowry and said to have been originally manufactured in India as an exact likeness of the Buddha himself. The statue, known as the *Jowo* (Lord), remains Tibet's holiest object of pilgrimage. Later accounts relate that the monarch also married a Nepalese Buddhist princess, Bhṛkuṭī, and that, inspired by the devotion of his two foreign queens, Srong btsan sgam po and the inner circle of his court embraced the Indian religion. Indeed, the emperor was regarded in later times as a Tibetan emanation of the regal *bodhisattva* of compassionate love, Avalokiteśvara.

Though Srong btsan sgam po may have extended some degree of official tolerance to Buddhism, at least in order to accommodate his Chinese bride and her court, it is unlikely that the alien faith made much progress in Tibet before another half century or more had passed. In the time of the ruler Khri 'Dus srong (Trhi Düsong, d. 704), a temple was founded in the region of Gling, in far eastern Tibet, perhaps in connection with military campaigns in the southeastern part of the Tibetan Empire, aimed at subjugating the Buddhist kingdom of Nanzhao (in modern Yunnan). Nevertheless, it was only during the reign of Khri 'Dus srong's noted successor Khri Lde gtsug btsan (Trhi Detsuktsen, 704–755) that there is clear evidence of Buddhist advances in central Tibet. Once again, it was a Chinese princess who played an instrumental role in supporting the faith.

The princess of Jincheng arrived in Tibet in 710, two years before her then six-year-old husband-to-be was granted his regal title. She is said to have been much saddened by the absence of Buddhist funerary rites for the deceased nobility and so introduced the Chinese Buddhist custom of conducting rites for the dead during a period of seven weeks of mourning. This practice later gave rise to the belief, famed in such works as the so-called *Tibetan Book of the Dead,* that forty-nine days intervene between death and rebirth. The princess also invited to central Tibet Khotanese monks, who formed the first community of the *saṃgha* in that land. However, following the death of the princess in 739, probably due to an outbreak of the plague, there was a sharp anti-Buddhist reaction, and the foreign monks were expelled.

The last years of Khri Lde gtsug btsan's reign were marked by grave factional conflict among the nobility, resulting finally in the monarch's assassination. When his thirteen-year-old son was placed on the throne in 755, the factions dominating the court were implacably hostile to Buddhism. The young emperor, Khri Srong lde'u btsan (Trhi Songdetsen, 742–c. 797), nevertheless became imperial Tibet's greatest ruler as well as an unparalleled Buddhist benefactor. In the monarch's own surviving edicts, it was written that during the early years of his reign Tibet faced severe epidemics, afflicting both humans and livestock. When no other viable solution appeared, he rescinded the ban on the practice of Buddhist rites and matters rapidly turned for the better. As a result, he himself adopted the Buddhist religion and undertook to study its teachings in depth. His conversion took place in 762, when he was just twenty years of age.

It is sometimes thought that the adoption of Buddhism by the Tibetan court pacified the formerly warlike Tibetan people and thus contributed to the decline and fall of the empire. Research, however, makes clear that Tibet continued aggressive policies of imperial expansion long after Buddhism became a key aspect of Tibetan imperial ideology. Buddhism, in this context, provided the empire with the symbolic means to represent itself throughout its domains and to its neighbors as embodying a universal spiritual and political order.

Khri Srong lde'u btsan went on to construct Tibet's first Buddhist monastery, Bsam yas (Samye, c. 779), and invited the learned Indian monk Śāntarakṣita to ordain the first officially recognized Tibetan Buddhist monks. Henceforth, the Tibetan Buddhist monastic community adhered to the Vinaya of the Indian Mūlasarvāstivāda order as the basis for its monastic code. The court also sponsored the translation of Buddhist canonical scriptures, and the hundreds of texts translated into Tibetan by the imperial translation committees may be counted among the greatest achievements of the art of translation in world history. The Tibetan translation canon, later organized into the complementary collections of the *Kanjur* (*bka' 'gyur,* "translated scriptures") and *Tanjur* (*bstan 'gyur,* "translated commentaries"), preserves numerous Indian and Chinese texts now unavailable elsewhere.

The foundation of Bsam yas is said also to have involved the intercession of Padmasambhava, a renowned Tantric adept from Oḍḍiyāna in northern India, whose services were required to quell the hostile spirits and divinities of Tibet and to win their allegiance to Buddhism. Together, the king Khri Srong lde'u btsan, the monk Śāntarakṣita, and the adept Padmasambhava are popularly revered as the trinity of the Tibetan conversion and represent three of the major constituents of the Tibetan Buddhist world: patron, monk, and Tantric adept.

During the 780s, Khri Srong lde'u btsan's armies conquered Dunhuang, a major center of Chinese Buddhism. The Chinese Chan master Moheyan was invited to central Tibet and became involved in a debate or discussion at Bsam yas with Śāntarakṣita's disciple, the Indian philosopher Kamalaśīla. Their debate may well have led to a draw, but later tradition reviles Moheyan as representing an irrational doctrine of mystical intuition and regards Kamalaśīla's emphasis upon the gradual cultivation of the virtues of a *bodhisattva* as the enduring paradigm to be emulated by Tibetan Buddhists. The Tibetan occupation of Dunhuang in any event broadened Tibet's relations with Chinese Buddhism. The preservation there of numerous Tibetan manuscripts, which first became known in Europe through the work of the British explorer Marc Aurel Stein in 1907, provides the richest source of Tibetan documentation for the religious life of the late first millennium.

DECLINE AND RENAISSANCE. Under Khri Srong lde'u btsan's successors, Khri Lde srong btsan (r. 804–815) and Khri Ral pa can (Trhi Relpacen, r. 815–838), Buddhist monasteries and schools continued to flourish with royal support. In the reign of U'i dum btsan (Üdumtsen, popularly known as Glang Dar ma [Lang Darma], "Ox Dharma," 838–842), state sponsorship of the monasteries was reduced or withdrawn, perhaps for fiscal reasons. Later tradition, however, recounts that there was a persecution of Buddhism culminating in Glang Dar ma's assassination in 842 by the Buddhist monk Lha lung Dpal gyi rdo rje (Lhalung Pelgi Dorje). The collapse of the Tibetan Empire soon followed, and Tibet remained without central authority for a full four hundred years. Though much of Buddhist activity was curtailed, some traditions of study and practice nevertheless survived, and the Tantric traditions appear actually to have flourished following the empire's fall. Monastic Buddhism, however, virtually disappeared in central Tibet for more than a century and was preserved among Tibetans solely in what had been the empire's far eastern districts, in the modern Chinese provinces of Qinghai and Gansu. It was here, at some time during the mid-tenth century, that a young Bon po converted and received Buddhist ordination. Known to posterity as Bla chen Dgongs pa rab gsal (Lachen Gongpa Rapsel), the "great lama whose spirit was clear," he later ordained a group of seekers from central and western Tibet, thus sparking the late-tenth-century monastic revival movement that came to be called the "later promulgation of the teaching" (*bstan pa phyi dar*).

Tibet had now entered a new period of economic and political development and change. Throughout much of the Tibetan world, local lords struggled for supremacy, and religious authority was no less contested than temporal power. Seekers and adventurers looked for authoritative sources of Buddhist teaching in India and Nepal, traveling there in search of *gurus,* scriptures, and esoteric lore. These developments were particularly prominent in western Tibet, where the great translator Rin chen bzang po (Rinchen Zangpo, 958–1055) was patronized by the devout monarch of the Gu ge Kingdom, Ye shes 'od (Yeshe-ö), who was concerned to purify Tibetan Buddhism from what he regarded as the corrupt forms of Tantrism that had emerged during the post-imperial period. At the royal monastery of Tho ling, one of a number of religious establishments newly founded in Gu ge's domains, a translation academy was created, where Indian Buddhist scholars were invited to collaborate with Rin chen bzang po and his disciples. The Tibetan Buddhist translations, particularly of Tantric materials, produced from this time on became known as the "new translations" (*gsar 'gyur*) in contradistinction to the "former translations" (*snga 'gyur*), whose Tantric texts some believed to be apocryphal or corrupt. Tho ling continued to flourish long after Ye shes 'od's decease, and in 1042 his successor Byang chub 'od (Changcup-ö) invited the renowned Bengali scholar and adept Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna, known to posterity as Atīśa, to teach there. Three years later Atīśa traveled to central Tibet, where he continued to augment his Tibetan following until his death at Snye thang, not far from Lhasa, in 1054.

Atiśa appears in Tibetan accounts to have been an enthusiastic, generous, and saintly teacher, austere but at the same time humorous and good-natured, learned but more concerned with the quality of practice than with scholarship per se. His successors, above all those affiliated with the line of his lay disciple ’Brom ston Rgyal ba’i ’byung gnas (Dromtön, 1004–1064), came to be known as Bka’ gdams pa (Kadampa), “adherents of the scriptures and precepts,” the first such named Tibetan Buddhist order. ’Brom ston founded the seat of the order at the monastery of Rwa sgreng (Reting), to the north of Lhasa, in 1057. Buddhist philosophical education came to flourish at some Bka’ gdams pa centers as well. Especially notable in this regard was the monastery of Gsang phu (Sangphu), founded in 1071, where Rngog Blo ldan shes rab (Ngok Loden Sherab, 1059–1109) established a formal curriculum emphasizing debate and scholastic study, which formed the model for all later Tibetan monastic education.

The renewal of Buddhist activity was marked by intermittent tensions due to a variety of factors: competing lines of transmission, regional and clan affiliations, relations between preexisting Tibetan Buddhist traditions and newly imported Indian teachings, orientations favoring monastic scholarship versus Tantrism and yoga, and competition for patronage among them. It was in this setting that the *guru,* or lama (*bla ma*), began to emerge as a focal point of religious and political authority. Though foreigners have sometimes followed the Chinese in using the word *lama* to refer to Tibetan monks in general, it is a term that retains for Tibetans a special reference to the religious teacher who guides the spiritual life of the individual and often the practical life of the community as well.

Despite the reticence evinced by some factions toward aspects of Tantrism, particularly ritualized sex and violence, it was precisely during this same period that new efforts were made to translate and transmit Buddhist Tantric traditions. These efforts moreover reflected important changes within the Indian Buddhist Tantrism itself: roughly, a shift to systems emphasizing internal yoga over external ritual, which were often strongly eroticized in symbolism and sometimes in practice as well. Indian Tantric adepts active at this time claimed to possess particularly efficacious means for the swift attainment of spiritual powers of various kinds, including and culminating in enlightenment. Hence, the claims on the part of Tibetan masters to continue the authoritative transmission of such esoteric knowledge in Tibet came to play a special role in authenticating new sources of power, prestige, and authority.

Though the age of the new Tantric translations is generally said to have begun with Rin chen bzang po, it is one of his junior contemporaries who is regarded as the first great proponent of these innovative forms of Indian Buddhist Tantrism. ’Brog mi Śākya ye shes (Drokmi, 993–1050) was, like most who entered the *saṃgha* in Tibet during the late tenth century and early eleventh century, ordained within monastic traditions stemming from the indigenous tenth-century monastic revival. But after years of study in Nepal and India, he established his own monastic center and translation academy at Myu gu lung (Nyugulung), where he collaborated with the Indian Tantric master Gayadhara. His most renowned contribution to later Tibetan Buddhism was the transmission of a system of Tantrism and yoga based upon the *Hevajratantra* that came to be the central esoteric tradition of the Sa skya pa (Sakyapa) order, founded by the aristocratic ’Khon (Khön) household in 1073.

Among those who studied with ’Brog mi was Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros (Marpa, 1012–1096), who was sent to study translation when his parents found him otherwise impossible to control. Eventually he rebelled against his teacher’s exactions, for ’Brog mi’s tutelage did not come cheap, and set out to make his own way among the celebrated masters of India. Famed as the leading Tibetan successor of the renowned Indian *siddhas* Nāropa and Maitrīpa, he attracted many disciples, who, with their successors, came to be known as Bka’ brgyud pa (Kagyüpa), “adherents of the oral lineage.” Most famous among them was Mi la ras pa (Milarepa, 1040–1123), the great Tibetan mystical poet. The latter’s disciple Sgam po pa (Gampopa, 1079–1153) sought to harmonize the esoteric teachings of Mar pa’s tradition with the ethical instructions of the Bka’ gdams pa, thus “mingling the two streams.” The several monastic orders of the Bka’ brgyud pa stem from among his disciples and played an important role in later Tibetan religious and political life.

The new infusion of Indian Buddhist teaching during this period gave rise to a large number of new Tibetan Buddhist sects and schools, focusing on both philosophical and Tantric teachings. At the same time, the reassertion of the Bon and Rnying ma pa (Nyingmapa) traditions was advanced by means of rediscovered “treasures” (*gter ma*), texts, and religious objects said to have been cached by famous teachers in ancient times and now recovered. Among the Rnying ma pa, their concealment was mostly attributed to Padmasambhava. By means of their revelation, Nyang ral Nyi ma ’od zer (Nyangrel Nyima Özer, 1124–1196) and the later “treasure revealers” (*gter ston*) elaborated an abundant and influential body of ritual, historical, and legendary literature. Here the memory of the Tibetan Empire of the seventh to ninth centuries is transformed to become a national religious myth in which the emperor Srong btsan sgam po figures as the worldly presence of the *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara and his Chinese and Nepalese brides as that of the savioress Tārā. Padmasambhava himself is now transfigured to become the “Precious Guru” (*Gu ru Rin po che*) of the Tibetan people overall. A famous later example of the *gter ma* literature is the so-called *Tibetan Book of the Dead,* the book of “liberation by hearing in the intermediate state” (*Bardo Thödröl*). This fourteenth-century revelation reflects in part the ancient Tibetan religious concern with the safe passage of the deceased.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS. In 1204 the Kashmiri scholar Śākyaśrī arrived in Tibet with a retinue of learned followers.

Their visit did much to catalyze a new enthusiasm for Indian scholarship. Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (Kunga Gyaltsen, 1182–1251), an heir to the 'Khon family of Sa skya and later famed as Sa skya Paṇḍita, was among those inspired to devote himself to the advancement in Tibet of Indian intellectual traditions. Contemporaneously, much of Eurasia experienced the devastating upheaval of the Mongol conquest, which had begun with the rise of Chinggis Khan (d. 1227). By the end of the third decade of the century, prophecies began to appear warning of an impending Mongol attack on Tibet. These proved true when in 1239 an army commanded by Dorta the Black swept into central Tibet, sacking the temple of Rwa sgreng. The Mongols, however, withdrew without consolidating their rule in Tibet. In 1246 Sa skya Paṇḍita embarked on a mission to the Mongol ruler, Godan Khan, and remained among the Mongols until his death. His visit established a precedent for Mongol relations with Tibet and for the eventual adoption of Buddhism by the Mongols. Sa skya Paṇḍita's nephew 'Phags pa (Phakpa, 1235–1280) later became the Tibetan preceptor of Kublai Khan. As the preeminent Tibetan clergyman in the eastern Mongol Empire (the Chinese Yuan dynasty), he would be instrumental in the establishment of Sa skya pa preeminence in Tibet under the Mongols.

Members of non–Sa skya pa orders also maintained relations with the Mongol lords: examples are the second Karma pa hierarch, Karma Pakshi (1206–1283), and his successor, Karma pa III Rang byung Rdo rje (Rangjung Dorje) (1284–1339). The Karma pas, who headed one of the prominent Bka' brgyud pa orders, were instrumental in creating Tibet's unique form of ecclesiastical succession, in which a child is identified as the reborn emanation (*sprul sku*) and legal heir of a deceased master. During the period of the Mongol–Sa skya pa hegemony, Tibetan Buddhist scholastic philosophy also came into flower, thanks in part to Sa skya Paṇḍita's example. The many famous figures active during this period included the Bka' gdams pa scholiast Bcom ldan rig ral (Comden Raldri, early fourteenth century), the celebrated canonical editor Bu ston (Butön, 1290–1364), the promulgator of the Jo nang pa (Jonangpa) order's controversial "extrinsic emptiness" (*gzhan stong*) doctrine, Dol po pa (1292–1361), and the redactor of the Great Perfection system, Klong chen Rab 'byams pa (Longchen Rabjampa, 1308–1363).

Toward 1350, under the leadership of Ta'i Si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan (Tasi Changcup Gyaltsen, 1302–1364) of the Phag mo gru pa (Phakmotrupa) order, a Bka' brgyud pa offshoot, Tibet was freed from the Sa skya pa–Mongol regime. It was during the period of Phag mo gru pa dominance that followed that Rje Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa (Je Tsongkhapa, 1357–1419) founded the Dga' ldan (Ganden) monastery to the east of Lhasa (1409), which emerged as the main seat of a new order, best known as Dge lugs pa (Gelukpa), the "adherents of virtue." Though Tsong kha pa was greatly revered for his vast learning and rigorous standard of practice, relations between his disciples and some representatives of the older orders grew increasingly contentious. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries witnessed intensive doctrinal debate between the Dge lugs pa and their Sa skya pa and Bka' brgyud pa rivals.

The connection between Tibetan Buddhism and imperial China, which had been formed under China's Mongol rulers during the Yuan dynasty, did not come to an end after that dynasty fell in 1368. An example may be found in the relationship between one of the greatest Ming emperors, Yongle (r. 1403–1424), and the fifth Karma pa hierarch De bzhin gshegs pa (Dezhinshekpa, 1384–1415). Though the Ming dynasty is often regarded as a period of Karma pa dominance in Sino-Tibetan affairs, the Ming emperors were by no means exclusive in their allegiance to a single Tibetan school. Tsong kha pa's disciple, Byams chen Chos rje (Jamchen Chöje, 1352–1435), for instance, who established Se ra Monastery near Lhasa in 1419, traveled to the Chinese capital and enjoyed an enthusiastic reception at the court, where he was showered with honors and gifts.

Throughout the fifteenth century, Tsong kha pa's successors continued to found important new monastic establishments, gathering the patronage and support of leading princes and powerful families. One of those who succeeded in this way was Dge 'dun grub (Gendündrup, 1391–1474), founder of the Bkra shis lhun po (Tashi Lhünpo) monastery in Gtsang (Tsang) province. This had significant political ramifications during the seventeenth century, when the rulers of Gtsang came to favor the Dge lugs pa's rivals, above all, the Karma pas. Dge 'dun grub and his successor, Dge 'dun rgya mtsho (Gendün Gyatso, 1476–1542), were, however, primarily famed for their learning and sanctity, and under their guidance Bkra shis lhun po soon became the preeminent Dge lugs pa institution in Gtsang and the base for the expansion of the order throughout western Tibet.

During the sixteenth century, important powers in central Tibet were allied with the Dge lugs pa, while the kings of Gtsang in the west supported hierarchs of the Bka' brgyud pa, Jo nang pa, and other orders. Dge 'dun rgya mtsho's successor, Bsod nams rgya mtsho (Sonam Gyatso, 1543–1588), at this time became a missionary to the Mongols, and on winning the allegiance of the chieftain Altan Khan (1578) of the Tumed tribe, he received the Mongolian title Dalai Lama (oceanic guru). Because the title was bestowed posthumously on his predecessors, he became the third in the line. The connection forged with the Mongols encouraged the renewed interest of the Mongolian leadership in Tibetan affairs, and in 1642 Gushri Khan of the Khoshot tribe conquered all of Tibet, establishing the fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682) as ruler of the reunified realm. The kingdom of Gtsang was suppressed together with the religious traditions it had favored, above all the Jo nang pa, who were banned from all but a few Tibetan territories outside the sphere of the Dalai Lama's control. The government of the fifth Dalai Lama strongly supported the development of mass monasticism in all parts of the country, and new Dge lugs pa establishments were founded everywhere. Many centers of the older orders and of the Bon religion were now required to become Dge lugs pa.

The fifth Dalai Lama forged Tibet's unique political system, based in principle upon a reciprocal relationship between the religious and secular branches of government (*chos srid gnyis ldan*), with the Dalai Lama or his regent directing the affairs of state. This system required that monastic hierarchs and officials be directly involved in most offices of the Tibetan government. The authority of the Great Fifth's regime was given concrete form in the imposing Potala Palace, a large complex of government offices, shrines, and residences. His tutor, the Paṇchen bla ma Blo bzang chos rgyan (Lozang Chögyen, 1567–1662), a distinguished scholar, rose to prominence at this time as well. Thereafter, the successive rebirths of the Panchen Lamas were recognized at Bkra shis lhun po, where they often wielded considerable political power. The Panchen Lamas were officially second in rank to, but sometimes actually rivaled, the Dalai Lamas themselves.

The Manchu rulers of China's Qing dynasty (1644–1911) became directly involved in Tibetan affairs in opposition to the renewed Mongol power in Tibet, and the fifth Dalai Lama visited the court soon after the new dynasty's inception. Tibet was soon a focal point of competition between Manchus and Mongols in their struggle for hegemony in central Asia. The controversial sixth Dalai Lama, Tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho (Tshangyang Gyatso, 1683–1706), a libertine who preferred the company of women to the life of a monk, was forcibly removed from office and died under mysterious circumstances enroute to the Chinese capital. In 1717 the Mongolian Dzungar tribe invaded Tibet, bringing renewed civil war and intersectarian violence. During the 1720s, the Manchus sought to consolidate their rule over large parts of the eastern Tibetan provinces of Amdo and Kham. Leading Dge lugs pa hierarchs from Amdo, such as the Qianlong emperor's teacher Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje (Jangkya Rölpe Dorje, 1717–1786), came to play an important role in the religious affairs of the Manchu Empire.

The political turmoil in central Tibet throughout much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries contributed to a remarkable shift in Tibet's cultural geography. Whereas central Tibet had been, throughout the preceding centuries, the unrivaled heart of Tibetan religious life, it became now the tendency for masters of eastern Tibetan origin to devote much of their energy to activities in or near their native districts. The eastward displacement of cultural activity had many causes and consequences. Thus, for example, the civil wars of the seventeenth century made an exile of the tenth Karma pa, Chos dbyings rdo rje (Chöying Dorje, 1605–1674), a talented painter and patron of the arts, and led him to spend much of his career in the far southeast of Tibet, in what is now Yunnan. The patronage of his order by important princes in Khams encouraged his followers to regard the east as their true base, so that in succeeding centuries the major center of learning and culture in the Karma pa order was Dpal spungs (Pelpung) monastery, in the eastern principality of Sde dge (Derge). With the patronage of the rulers of Sde dge, eastern Tibetan Karma pa and Sa skya pa masters contributed to the foundation of Tibet's greatest publishing house, the Sde dge Printery, whose eighteenth-century edition of the Tibetan Buddhist canon is considered one of the masterworks of traditional Tibetan printing. At the same time, some of the Dge lugs pa monasteries in eastern Tibet for the first time also became important centers of learning in their own right, particularly in Amdo. The best-known examples were no doubt Sku 'bum (Kumbum), near Tsong kha pa's birthplace not far from the city of Xining (Qinghai province), and Bla brang Bkra shis 'khyil (Labrang Tashikhyil), founded by 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa (Jamyang Zhepa, 1648–1721) in southern Gansu.

Nineteenth-century Khams became home to a dynamic movement often characterized as "eclectic" or "universalist" (*Ris med*), which sought to defuse the intense sectarianism that had often plagued Tibetan Buddhism. The encyclopedic writings of 'Jam dbyangs Mkhyen brtse'i dbang po (Jamyang Khyentse, 1820–1892) and 'Jam mgon kong sprul (Jamgön Kongtrül, 1813–1899) became in some respects a new canon for the adherents of this movement. One of their disciples, Mi pham rnam rgyal (Mipham Namgyal, 1846–1912) also elaborated a new scholastic curriculum emphasizing the doctrinal standpoint of the Rnying ma pa order. Though the thirteenth Dalai Lama (1876–1933) was sympathetic to the goals of the eclectic movement, some factions within the Dge lugs pa leadership were not. Prominent among them was Pha bong kha pa Bde chen Snying po (Phabongkhapa Dechen Nyingpo, 1878–1941), whose visions of the spirit Rdo rje shugs ldan (Dorje Shukden) seem to have entailed a commitment to oppose actively the other schools of Tibetan Buddhism and the Bon religion. There has been, as a result, a continuing legacy of sectarian dispute among Tibetans to the early twenty-first century.

ESSENTIAL BELIEFS AND DOCTRINES. The several orders and schools of Tibetan Buddhism have a great many particular doctrines and precepts, which impart to them each a distinctive character. Here, however, only salient features of the common heritage of Tibetan Buddhism will be considered.

Like many Buddhist traditions, Tibetan Buddhism emphasizes the impermanence of conditioned reality and the resulting inevitability of suffering and death. Living beings who have not achieved *nirvāṇa* (*myang 'das*), that is, the enlightenment of a buddha, are subject to a perpetual, painful round of rebirth, or *saṃsāra* (*'khor ba*), their condition in any given lifetime, whether human, divine, or infernal, being determined by the impetus of their past meritorious and demeritorious *karma* (*las*). Tibetan Buddhism therefore stresses the necessity of gaining merit (*bsod nams*) through donations to monks and religious institutions, offering of lamps and incense, recitation of scriptures, performance of prostrations and circumambulations, "ransoming" of animals from the butcher, and many other types of religiously valued actions. One must turn from worldly activities to religion by taking refuge in the Three Precious Jewels (*dkon mchog gsum*): the Buddha, his teaching (*chos*), and the religious community (*dge 'dun*). Often one's lama is added to this universal Buddhist trinity as a fourth refuge.

Tibetan Buddhists are encouraged not to seek *nirvāṇa* for themselves alone but to cultivate compassion (*snying rje*) for all living beings. One is to embark upon the Great Vehicle, the Mahāyāna (*theg chen*), that is, the path of a *bodhisattva (byang chub sems dpa')*, and to develop the virtues of charity, self-restraint, patience, diligence, meditation, and insight. This last is, above all, insight into the radically contingent nature of conditioned things, that is, their emptiness (*stong nyid*). To comprehend this difficult concept through reason is among the central concerns of Tibetan Buddhist philosophy and is a source of considerable debate.

MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS AND EDUCATION. The institutional heart of Tibetan Buddhism is the monastery. Mass monasticism was encouraged in traditional Tibetan society, particularly after the consolidation of political power by the fifth Dalai Lama. This was justified ideologically by the notion that the monk was in an especially privileged position to avoid evil and to achieve merit, so that by maximizing monasticism, the maximum merit accrued to Tibetan society as a whole and especially to those individuals and families who most contributed to the monastic system by dedicating sons to the religious life and who used their wealth to support religious activities. Nomadic groups in the east often felt this to be a particularly urgent matter, for the merit earned by supporting good monks and their monasteries was believed to counterbalance the burden of sin that one acquired through actions prohibited by the system of religious ethics, especially the slaughter of animals, that were nevertheless unavoidable in a nomadic livelihood. Although worldly life was thought to be inevitably ensnared in various evils, a family could still better itself spiritually by committing some sons to the clergy. And if those sons achieved religious distinction, this could sometimes also impact favorably upon the status of the family concerned.

The monastery fostered a concentration of cultural resources, serving as a center for education and for the cultivation of the arts (though in most cases, only a minority of the monks participated in these pursuits). Significantly too the monastery absorbed surplus labor. Whenever the rate of fertility outpaced the expansion of economic activity, monasticism provided a socially valued alternative to production. For religious girls and women, nunneries also existed, though nuns appear to have been less numerous than monks and seldom had access to resources for more than a rudimentary education.

Most monks entered the monastery as children and did so at the wish of their parents. Such children were granted the essential vows of the Buddhist novitiate and became eligible to receive full ordination as *bhikṣu* (*dge slong*) only in later adolescence. Rudimentary alphabetization seems to have been relatively widespread among monks and nuns, though the numbers able or inclined to pursue a higher education in Buddhist philosophy, or in such disciplines as medicine, art, or astrology, were few. The majority of the monks participated when possible in prayer services sponsored by lay patrons, who offered tea, butter, grain, and cash to the assembled congregation. Monks also pursued economic or administrative activities required for their own support or for that of the monastic community. They therefore were regularly involved in commerce and in various trades. Larger monasteries had their own complex bureaucracies, in which some offices were filled according to merit and ability and others occupied by incarnates (*sprul sku*) groomed for the task since childhood.

Some monasteries housed colleges where advanced studies could be pursued by those who were motivated to do so. Aspirant monk-scholars sometimes traveled for months across the whole of the Tibetan world to enter an especially famous college. Besides the economic and ritual functions of the monastery therefore, almost the entire apparatus of Tibetan formal education was concentrated within the monasteries as well. Literacy in traditional Tibet was a preeminently religious affair, and so, not surprisingly, the clerical services of trained monks were required by the old Lhasa government and by the administrations of the eastern Tibetan principalities as well.

It has become customary to characterize the intellectual life of the Tibetan monastic colleges as a type of scholasticism. From the late eleventh century onward, the Tibetan colleges emphasized a highly rationalized approach to Buddhist doctrine, over and against one dominated exclusively by faith. The curriculum of the colleges required the careful study of Indian Buddhist philosophical writings, with the epistemological and logical works of Dharmakīrti (c. 600) supplying the major methodological organ. Other required topics included the monastic code or Vinaya (*'dul ba*), the "meta-doctrine" or Abhidharma (*chos mngon pa*), the Perfection of Wisdom or Prajñāpāramitā (*phar phyin*), and the teaching of the Middle Way (*dbu ma*), that is, the Mādhyamika dialectic of the Indian philosopher Nāgārjuna. In the Dge lugs pa colleges, those who completed this curriculum were awarded the title of *dge bshes,* "spiritual benefactor" (equivalent to the Sanskrit *kalyāṇamitra*).

Among the most contentious of topics for doctrinal debate was the relationship between the Mādhyamika teaching of emptiness and the positive conception of a "buddha nature" pervading living beings and forming the basis for their potential to achieve enlightenment. While some interpreted the latter as just a metaphorical description of emptiness, the proponents of "extrinsic emptiness," following the teaching of the Jo nang pa master Dol po pa, argued that the absolute, in its proper nature, was not intrinsically empty at all but embodied instead the plenitude of the attributes of the Buddha's enlightenment.

TANTRISM AND YOGA. Tibetan Buddhism was especially influenced by the esoteric Indian teachings of Vajrayāna, the "Vajra Vehicle" (*rdo rje theg pa*), so-called because the primary symbol of this branch of Mahāyāna Buddhism is the *vajra* (*rdo rje*), a ritual implement at once symbolizing the diamond-like clarity and unalterabilty of mind as emptiness and its lightning-like brilliance. Vajrayāna Buddhism has its own authoritative texts, called Tantras (*rgyud*), which are primarily manuals of ritual and esoteric lore. Among the major topics treated in the Tantras is *abhiṣeka* (*dbang*), the consecration or "empowerment" whereby a disciple is initiated into a sphere of meditation called a *maṇḍala* (*dkyil 'khor*), which is most often represented as a heavenly palace. This is the residence of the deity, who is the focal point of the initiate's meditation and who is invoked by means of special formulas called *mantras* (*sngags*). The central deity may be male, female—in which case she is sometimes referred to as a *ḍākinī* (*mkha' 'gro ma*), a term also used to describe women who are Tantric adepts—or a couple in union and is often surrounded by a retinue of divine attendants, arranged symmetrically throughout the *maṇḍala.* Avalokiteśvara (*spyan ras gzigs*) in particular was identified as the national patron-deity and became the focus of a much-elaborated cult. Of central importance is the recitation of Avalokiteśvara's famous six-syllable *mantra, Oṃ Maṇipadme Hūṃ,* invoking the divinity as the "bearer of jewel and lotus. " The ubiquitousness of this formula in Tibetan religion—it is often uttered aloud while turning a prayer wheel containing the *mantra* written many times on a paper scroll—was noted even by medieval European visitors to Tibet.

The systems of meditation taught in the Tantras are referred to as yoga (*rnal 'byor*), or "union," for yoga is a discipline said to unite the adept with the realization of ultimate reality. This unification of the enlightened mind and the absolute is symbolized by the depiction of deities as couples in sexual embrace. Besides those types of yoga concerned with the visualization of *maṇḍala* and deity and the recitation of the *mantra,* there are also more advanced disciplines involving visualizations and exercises in which one's body is conceived as a network of subtle channels and energies, the skillful manipulation of which is believed to hasten the adept's progress toward enlightenment and also to lead to the acquisition of uncanny, magical abilities: clairvoyance, miraculous flight, and the resurrection of the dead. These advanced techniques of yogas are often described in terms of six doctrines (*chos drug*):

1. Inner Heat (*gtum mo*), whereby the adept learns to master the subtle physical energies of the body;
2. Body of Apparition (*sgyu lus*), through which the illusion-like nature of experience becomes known;
3. Dream (*rmi lam*), whereby one achieves the ability to consciously explore the possibilities revealed during dreams;
4. Radiant Light *('od gsal),* referring to the luminous dimension of the mind;
5. Transference (*'pho ba*), the means to cause one's consciousness to leave the body abruptly at the moment of death and to seek rebirth in a pure realm;
6. Intermediate State (*bar do*), which here refers primarily to the state of consciousness in the course of migration between death and rebirth.

The first four doctrines enable one to attain enlightenment swiftly during this very lifetime, the last two to achieve it at death. Adepts who have attained the goals of this esoteric path are called *siddha* (*grub thob*), "accomplished" or "perfected," because they have attained *siddhi* (*dngos grub*), the mundane or supermundane powers and realizations that are especially cultivated on the path of the Vajrayāna.

The highest teachings of Tibetan Tantric Buddhism are those relating to the abstract realization of the ultimate nature of mind. For the Rnying ma pa tradition, these are represented primarily by the Great Perfection (*rdzogs chen*) teaching, while for the Bka' brgyud pa and Dge lugs pa, the Great Seal (*phyag chen*) system in the tradition of Mar pa is preeminent. Although there are many special points of emphasis, particular to each of these approaches to the absolute, the words of Klong chen Rab 'byams pa summarize their common orientation:

> The luminous nucleus is the absolute truth, permanent, stable, not subject to change or transformation, quiescent, undeceiving, the essence of gnosis that accords with the ground from beginning to end and is free from all the limits of intellectual elaboration. It should be known to be by nature neither stained, nor being stained, nor about to be stained by any of the principles of mind or mental events, and like unto the taintless orb of the sun.

PILGRIMAGES, FESTIVALS, AND RITUAL CYCLES. Among the many characteristic religious activities in which virtually all Tibetans at some time or other participate, pilgrimage is particularly prominent. Pilgrimage was traditionally one of the central phenomena contributing to, and perhaps even to some extent engendering, the cultural unity of Tibet. Pilgrimage, among other things, promoted trade in both goods and information. It brought persons from distant parts of the Tibetan world into direct contact with one another and thus militated to some extent against divisive regional tendencies.

Among the many famous Tibetan places of pilgrimage, most Tibetans regarded the religious shrines of Lhasa to be particularly important to visit. There, in the ancient Tibetan capital, they could behold and be blessed by contact with the Jowo Śākyamuni image residing in the central temple that was thought to have been brought from China by the princess of Wencheng. The pilgrims who flocked to Lhasa brought offerings for the temples and monks and also frequently engaged in trade to finance their journeys. Thus, besides its purely religious significance, pilgrimage also came to play an important role in the Tibetan economy.

The capital, however, was not the sole center of pilgrimage. In fact, there was a sort of national pilgrimage network in Tibet, whose routes, extending the length and breadth of the country, joined great and small temples and shrines as well as caves, mountains, valleys, and lakes that were imbued with sacred significance. In far western Tibet, the greatest pilgrimage center was undoubtedly Mount Kailash, regarded popularly as being substantially identical with the world-mountain, the *axis mundi.* As such it was a major destination for both Hindus and Buddhists. Other important centers of pilgrimage included Tsa ri, where a great procession that convened once every twelve years was said to purge even the taint of murder, and Mchod rten Nyi ma (Chöten Nyima), to the north of Sikkim, where incest pollution could be cleansed.

Related in some respects to the pilgrimage cycles are the festivals of Tibetan Buddhism. The celebration of the Buddha's enlightenment (*sa ga zla ba,* equivalent to the Vesakh of Theravāda Buddhism) is marked by fasting and communal prayer. The Tibetan New Year requires the performance of extensive rites on behalf of the protective divinities and is the occasion for the convening of the Great Prayer Festival (*smon lam chen mo*) in Lhasa. The tenth day of each lunar month is consecrated to the *guru* and, among the Rnying ma pa in particular, is a time for communal feast rituals and sometimes also the elaborate masked dances known as *'cham.*

TIBETAN BUDDHISM IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. When the course of events in China turned decisively in favor of the communists after World War II, some Tibetan modernists felt that the revolutionary programs of the Communist Party offered them the best opportunity for modernization and reform. An example was the celebrated monk-scholar Rdo bis Shes rab rgya mtsho (Dobi Sherab Gyatso, 1884–1968), who after allying himself with the Chinese Nationalists during the 1930s, later turned to the Communists. In 1952, two years after China assumed control of Tibet, he became the first chairman of the Chinese Buddhist Association. His attempt to find a common ground between the policies of the party and the interests of Tibetan Buddhism came to represent in some measure the norm among educated Tibetan clergy during the 1950s, when both the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama embraced the hopeful idea that Mao Zedong's revolution had room for their religion and indeed that the ethical concerns of Mahāyāna Buddhism for universal well-being would be realized by the dawning socialist order.

Soon, however, the promise of a harmonious relationship between Chinese Communism and Tibetan Buddhism came undone. As the monasteries were considered by China's leadership to be among the centers of resistance to the implementation of Communist programs and also to be giving shelter to rebels in the eastern Tibetan province of Khams, they became increasingly prone to direct attack, and in 1956 a number of eastern Tibetan monasteries were subjected to aerial bombardment. These circumstances were deeply shocking to Tibetan sensibilities and led to the flight of large numbers of eastern Tibetans to central Tibet. With the events surrounding the Lhasa Uprising of 1959 and the subsequent flight of the Dalai Lama to India, the steadily worsening relations between the Tibetan Buddhist establishment and the Chinese government spun altogether out of control. The Dalai Lama and many religious Tibetans fled into exile in India, and many who remained behind were persecuted and imprisoned. By 1962 both the tenth Panchen Lama and Shes rab rgya mtsho, the two leading Tibetan clerics remaining in China, openly expressed their disillusionment and were subsequently dismissed from their posts. The assault on religion intensified throughout the 1960s and during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), when all but a few of the thousands of Tibetan temples and monasteries were razed, their artistic treasures and libraries destroyed or plundered. Tens of thousands of monks and nuns were forced to undergo "reeducation," and many perished under extraordinarily harsh conditions or suffered prolonged maltreatment in prison.

The conclusion of the Cultural Revolution and the consolidation of Chinese power by Deng Xiaoping in 1978 brought great changes to cultural and religious affairs. A visit to Tibet in 1980 by the party secretary Hu Yaobang clearly signaled that cultural redevelopment was now possible. In view of new policy directives, a dramatic revival of Tibetan Buddhism now ensued, which took many different forms. At its most basic level, it meant that ordinary believers could now engage publicly once more in a variety of devotional and ritual activities: performance of prostrations, circumambulations, offerings, and prayers at temples and other sacred sites; erecting prayer flags and stone walls with prayers carved upon them; copying and distributing prayer books and religious icons. The small number of temples and monasteries that had survived in more or less usable condition began to be refurbished and reopened, and efforts were made to rebuild some that had been destroyed. As the monasteries reopened, the few aged monks who remained were joined by numbers of young new recruits. The reinception of religious festivals and pilgrimages was also a development welcomed by both monks and laypersons.

The revival that began in the late twentieth century continued into the twenty-first century and even attracted non-Tibetan, Chinese converts to Tibetan Buddhism, but it has nevertheless been marked by repeated tensions with the Chinese political leadership. Most dramatically, a series of demonstrations in support of the exiled Dalai Lama, staged by monks in Lhasa beginning in 1987, led to rioting that culminated in the declaration of a state of emergency in 1989. Subsequently, the government's view of the Dalai Lama steadily hardened, and after a period during which the expression of purely religious devotion to him was tolerated, any explicit manifestation of loyalty to him became treated as fundamentally political in nature.

In 1989 the highest-ranking Buddhist hierarch who had remained in Tibet after 1959, the Panchen Lama, died suddenly, and his passing led to new disputes between Chinese authorities and the partisans of the Dalai Lama. This received worldwide attention when, on May 14, 1995, the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan government-in-exile announced the discovery of the young incarnate Panchen in Tibet. The Chinese responded harshly: the acting abbot of Tashi Lhünpo monastery, Chadrel Rinpoche, was arrested in Chengdu, Sichuan, and Gendun Choekyi Nyima, the young boy who had been recognized as the Panchen Lama by the Dalai Lama, was detained with his family. Shortly thereafter, his recognition was rejected by the Chinese government, and a lottery was held on November 29, 1995, to choose a new Panchen Lama from among several officially approved candidates.

The Dalai Lama, a Nobel Peace Prize laureate in 1989, remained of course the best-known symbol of Tibetan aspirations in the world at large and also for Tibetans themselves. During the late 1980s and the early 1990s, photographs of the Dalai Lama were so ubiquitous as to be seen plentifully in temples, homes, shops, and markets. In reaction to the Panchen Lama affair, the Communist Party launched a campaign in April 1996 to remove such images from view, particularly from public and otherwise high prestige venues, such as schools and the homes and offices of Tibetan officials. With the beginning of the new millennium, the Dalai Lama's government-in-exile and the Chinese leadership cautiously resumed efforts to settle their differences through negotiation. These seem to have made little progress so far, and Buddhism in the Tibetan autonomous region remains hampered by severe restrictions placed on religious recruitment, livelihood, and education.

SEE ALSO Bon; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism; Dalai Lama; Dge lugs pa; Mahāsiddhas; Pilgrimage, article on Tibetan Pilgrimage.

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BUDDHISM: BUDDHISM IN CHINA

First imported from India and Central Asia around the first century CE, Buddhism in China is an evolving hybrid of Chinese and foreign elements. As a social organization with significant implications for the proper ordering of the world, Buddhism has had a long, complicated relationship with the Chinese state, both the imperial dynastic system and the modern Republican and Communist states that began in the twentieth century. Buddhist conceptions of rebirth and salvation, mythologies of buddhas, *bodhisattvas*, and other figures as well as Buddhist art and temple life have attracted people from all social classes. Philosophers have wrestled with Buddhist understandings of emptiness, enlightenment, and sagehood. Buddhist rituals, formed partly in relation to Daoist traditions, are diffused throughout much of Chinese popular religion. Even during those eras when the institutional presence of Buddhism in the form of temples, monks, and nuns has been small, its influence on Chinese culture has remained strong.

A HYBRID OF CHINESE AND FOREIGN. Both in its origin and later development, Buddhism in China constituted a mixture of foreign and native elements. The first Buddhists in China were immigrants. Before entering the Chinese Empire ruled by the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE), they grew up in lands to the west: parts of India ruled by the Kushan dynasty (an Indo-Scythian ethnic group, called Yuezhi in Chinese, that ruled from 128 BCE to 450 CE), and smaller Central Asian kingdoms like Parthia and Sogdiana. The texts they memorized, or in some cases carried with them, were composed in Sanskrit, forms of *prakrit*, or other Indo-Iranian languages of the Silk Road. When these travelers first arrived in Dunhuang (modern Gansu province, China), the westernmost garrison town in Chinese territory, and proceeded to the capital city of Luoyang (Henan province), they probably could not speak Chinese. Before they developed proficiency in the spoken language, they relied on translators. Thus to explain their beliefs to their Chinese hosts, foreign monks depended on local go-betweens, Chinese-born interpreters whose cultural presuppositions inevitably influenced how they articulated what their guests were trying to say. The first Buddhists in China had even less control over how their message was conveyed in written form. Most of them never mastered Classical Chinese, which differs significantly from the spoken language in both grammar and lexicon (comparable to the difference between Latin and the Romance vernacular languages). For the first several centuries, translation was usually a process conducted by a committee with numerous overseers, none of whom was capable of judging the result against the original.

The vocabulary developed by foreign monks and their local assistants advertises this mixture of cultural influences. Some foreign terms were translated by Chinese words that had a preestablished frame of meaning. *Dharma*, for instance, was rendered by the Chinese word for "law," "principle," or "method" (*fa*). Another translation strategy was to use Chinese words that mimicked the sound of the foreign word but made no sense in Chinese. *Buddha*, for instance, was pronounced in Chinese as *Fotuo* (or abbreviated as *Fo*), which attempts to reproduce the phonetics of the original Indic word. The significance of the second method of translation is that Chinese Buddhists chose to maintain an audible trace of the non-Chinese nature of their religion.

Chinese Buddhists often celebrate that theirs is a foreign faith, meaning that its founder and earliest patriarchs lived outside of China. These facts are both undeniable and misleading. Already in the Han dynasty, Buddhist monks were criticized for worshiping a foreign god, following doctrines unattested in the Chinese classics, dressing in barbarian fashion, and destroying the foundation of the Chinese kinship system. Rather than disavowing their foreign origins, Buddhists responded by claiming that even Chinese figures like Laozi (sixth century BCE) had left China to gain enlightenment as a disciple of Śākyamuni Buddha. They explained that the meaning of the Buddha's golden speech could be accurately conveyed in Chinese translation, that monks followed the more noble among the barbarian habits, and that the ultimate devotion to one's parents was bringing Buddhist salvation to one's ancestors rather than begetting offspring. The controversy over the foreign nature of Chinese Buddhism was never fully settled. *Native* and *foreign* (or the various words authors used for *Chinese* and *Indian*) were continually redefined in relation to each other; they were rhetorical claims rather than fixed identities.

The interdependence of the notions of India and China also casts doubt on the model of Sinification (making Chinese), often used to conceptualize the history of Chinese Buddhism. In general terms it might make sense to say that over a span of two thousand years, Buddhism in China was made more Chinese, or that the tradition was uprooted from Indian soil and transplanted in China. The problem is that the two parties engaged in this imagined process—"India" and "China"—were themselves undergoing constant change. One of the more interesting features of Chinese Buddhism is that it provides such a helpful lens for bringing this history of intercultural redefinition into better focus. The metaphor of transplantation is faulty because the two soils in which the plant grew were not inert media or simply defined cultures. Rather, they were city-states, kingdoms, and empires the definition of which was changing and often contested. Furthermore models of Sinification, transmission, and transplanting assume that the religion transmitted between cultures was sufficiently stable to be identified as an Indian tradition at one moment and a Chinese tradition at another point in time. Yet neither in India nor in the various oasis empires of Central Asia was Buddhism defined by a single canon or governing body. In China too Buddhism might best be considered plural rather than singular. The hybrid nature of Chinese Buddhism thus means that the model of Buddhism being made more Chinese is simplistic at best and misleading at worst.

BUDDHISM AND POLITICAL AUTHORITY. In both theory and practice, the Buddhist movement in China intersected frequently with political power. Even when Buddhists defined their ultimate purpose as the achieving of *nirvāṇa* (literally, "extinction") or enlightenment, they made strong claims about the social world in which that goal was pursued. Like Buddhists elsewhere, Chinese Buddhists considered morality to be the foundation of religious practice. Most Chinese authors appreciated that traditional Buddhist thought accepted the government and social order as givens. Chinese audiences were also receptive to some of the standard Buddhist models for political authority, especially the ideal of the *cakravarti-rāja* or "wheel-turning king," the monarch who achieves dominion over the entire world through his support of the *dharma.* King Aśoka, who ruled the Mauryan Empire in India from circa 270 BCE to 230 BCE and sent relics and monks abroad to disseminate Buddhism, was a living symbol for some Chinese emperors. Such ideals were a powerful supplement and at times an alternative to the Confucian symbolism of imperial rule. Buddhist models of divine kingship were especially attractive to groups, such as female emperors and rulers of non-Chinese origin, who were normally left out of traditional political theory.

Despite their differences, the paradigms of imperial sovereignty offered by Buddhists, Daoists, and Confucians all stipulated that the emperor should behave as the ritual master of the cosmos. As son of heaven (*tianzi*, ancient parlance for the emperor), the divine monarch was supposed to bring harmony to the world by ordaining the proper ceremonies, including sacrifices to heaven and earth, rites to guarantee good harvests, and observances to assure victory in war. Emperors drew ecumenically from the ritual repertoires offered by shamans and by specialists in Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism. From the emperor's perspective, as ritual techniques for rainmaking or blessing the nation, any of these traditions served as well as the others.

Buddhism also played a significant role in the private religious life of the ruler. In their personal as opposed to political lives, emperors behaved like other people: they got sick and needed curing, they were concerned with the afterlife and the fate of their ancestors, and they made donations to religious establishments. Many emperors turned to both Buddhism and Daoism, simultaneously or in succession, for this side of their religious lives. They followed the ceremony of becoming a lay Buddhist, ransomed themselves to Buddhist monasteries, practiced meditation, sought longevity, and built temples to honor their parents.

Buddhism had inescapable political implications in yet another sense by virtue of the large-scale social organization it proposed: a community of monks and nuns dependent on lay donors for support. In China the state vested in itself the right to encourage, limit, or destroy any social institution outside the family whose membership attracted significant numbers or whose organizers even hinted at rebellion. The successive dynasties placed Buddhist and Daoist monastic institutions under the control of various branches of the government. By licensing institutions and practices, the government could simultaneously offer support, exercise power, and take advantage of the religion's popularity. The state limited the number of monks and nuns, sold ordination certificates, established state-supported monasteries and nunneries, drafted statutes governing monastic behavior, defined the Buddhist canon, and distributed copies of the canon throughout the empire. At the other extreme, the government proscribed books, melted down statues, forcibly returned clerics to lay life, redistributed temple landholdings, banned religious organizations, and put their leaders to death.

CONTINUING TRENDS. Beginning around 400 CE the basic foundation of Buddhist belief and practice was well established and has remain recognizable as such into the twenty-first century. The fundamental characteristics of Chinese Buddhism described here apply to people from all walks of life, including those—the vast majority—who would never have identified themselves as exclusive followers of any single religious tradition. (Variations over time and the activities of monks, elite laypeople, and the state are discussed in the following sections.)

The basic worldview of premodern Buddhism proved difficult but not impossible to translate into Chinese terms. The cosmology of continual rebirth was depicted in paintings of the six paths in which sentient beings are reborn: gods in heaven, demigods or *asuras*, humans, animals, hungry ghosts, and beings in hell. Preachers explained how people are reborn in accordance with their deeds (*karma*). Many rituals aimed for rebirth in paradises overseen by buddhas or in the heavens of the gods. This proximate result was supposed to be followed by the ultimate goal: having a direct encounter with a buddha and achieving enlightenment or *nirvāṇa.* Chinese Buddhists were concerned with the question of what exactly carried over from one lifetime to the next. Answers included canonical explanations (one's deeds, one's consciousness, or the five "bundles" [*skandha*] of psychophysical existence) as well as ideas about the yin and yang aspects of the person drawn from ancient Chinese cosmology. The basis of Buddhist practice was morality (*śīla*), followed by the cultivation of concentrative states (*samādhi*) and the development of wisdom (*prajñā*). Specific ethical duties varied from one group to the next. Although everyone was supposed to follow the same guiding principles, there was an ascending series of disciplines. Laypeople adhered to the five precepts, which prohibited the taking of life, stealing, illicit sexual relations, lying, and consuming alcohol. Novices undertook 5 more, fully ordained monks usually observed 250 regulations (348 for nuns), and ascetic monks and hermits were even more severe. The critique of egocentric clinging, analysis of perception, discussion of the path, and philosophy of language in Chinese Buddhism brought the tradition into sustained dialogue with pre-Buddhist Chinese philosophy. Chinese Buddhist writings on emptiness, nonduality, two levels of truth, and buddha-nature are as rich and complex as those in any Buddhist culture.

Chinese Buddhism offers devotees a responsive pantheon of gods and spirits. In theory buddhas are the most majestic and powerful of all beings. Having spent many lifetimes perfecting themselves, they have become "enlightened ones" (buddhas). Each buddha exercises dominion over an entire world or buddha-country. Śākyamuni (the historical Buddha, fifth-century BCE India) lived as a prince, renounced his birthright, achieved enlightenment, and spent fifty years teaching others. Beings who resided in India during his time were particularly fortunate, since hearing a buddha preach or simply being in his presence has a transformative effect on believers, more efficacious than trying to reach enlightenment on one's own. The next buddha who will be reincarnated in this world will be Maitreya, who now resides in Tuṣita Heaven. Amitābha (or Amitāyus) is a currently existing buddha who presides over a distant realm of bliss in the west, known as a "Pure Land" (Chinese, *jingtu*; Japanese, *jōdo*) in the Sino-Japanese tradition. Another important buddha is Mahāvairocana, a cosmic figure who functions as the ontological ground or essence for all manifestations of buddhahood. Just below buddhas are *bodhisattvas*, beings dedicated to becoming buddhas. They define themselves as *bodhisattvas* by taking a formal series of vows in the presence of a buddha. Often serving as saints to people in need, *bodhisattvas* have discrete functions or specializations. Avalokiteśvara (Chinese, Guanyin; Japanese, Kannon; Tibetan, Chenrezi), arguably the most popular *bodhisattva* in China, assures mothers of safe childbirth; Bhaiṣajyaguru (Chinese, Yaoshiwang) is especially invoked in curing rites; Kṣitigarbha (Chinese, Dizang; Japanese, Jizō) rescues beings reborn in hell. *Bodhisattvas* often reincarnate themselves in different guises to make their compassion more effective. Laypeople also modeled their own actions after those of the *bodhisattva* and committed themselves in ceremonies to lesser versions of the *bodhisattva* vows. Ranking significantly below *bodhisattvas* are gods who, in the Buddhist conceptual world, are only temporarily powerful and happy, since they will suffer demotion in their next life. Many gods reside in the heavens, like the gods living in Indra's palace atop Mount Sumeru. Less-powerful gods populate the terrestrial world, inhabiting trees, rocks, caverns, and lakes. All such beings can be converted to serve the Buddhist cause. Biographies, hagiographies, and miracle tales—genres that blend into each other—record the exemplary lives and unusual deeds performed by all these beings treading the path to enlightenment.

Because of its implications for the fate of the ancestors, the rebirth cosmology in which Buddhism was bundled has always been a prime concern for Chinese Buddhists. Religious rituals carried out in the home and a reverence for the ancestors were hallmarks of early Chinese social life. Buddhism preached the acceptance of impermanence and valorized the example of the Buddha, who approached his own special death (*nirvāṇa* rather than another lifetime of suffering) with equanimity. Buddhists accepted the traditional Chinese value of filial piety (*xiao*) but redefined its practice. Priests argued that deathbed rituals, funerals, rites of commemoration, and other pious acts performed by descendants on behalf of their ancestors were more effective when carried out in a Buddhist context, with offerings made to buddhas and *bodhisattvas* and payments given to the *saṃgha*.

Buddhism had a tremendous influence on rituals aimed at increasing good fortune and reducing bad luck. At all levels of society, there were Buddhist versions of rituals, performed by monks as well as unlicensed practitioners, for curing illness, prolonging life, vanquishing spirits, and foretelling the future. Buddhist ideas and ritual structures permeated other forms of Chinese religion. The cross-fertilization between Buddhist and Daoist versions of important rituals was particularly strong.

One religious structure that set Buddhism apart from other Chinese religions was monasticism, a special community of ascetics clearly demarcated from normal social life. Monks and in lesser number nuns were supposed to leave their families, remain celibate, give up worldly conveniences, dedicate themselves full-time to spiritual cultivation, and serve as paragons of the highest Buddhist ideals. Such theories usually came into conflict with realities, political and otherwise. The *saṃgha* itself was organized into ranks and administered by officers, monks and nuns did not fully divorce themselves from their families, monasteries and temples were frequented by lay visitors, and the Buddhist Church possessed great wealth that required careful corporate management. Sometimes the Daoist Church developed a similar monastic structure.

Although one can assume that most Buddhists in China reflected on their beliefs and thought about their religious practice, the overwhelming weight of evidence about Chinese Buddhism was produced by and for a tiny but powerful minority, the literate elite. With that caveat in mind, what was the self-understanding of well-educated Chinese Buddhists as contained in traditional Buddhist canons? The core of the canon consisted of faithful translations of any words attributed to the Buddha or his Indian followers, organized into the traditional three baskets (*tripiṭaka*; Chinese, *sanzang*) of sūtra, Vinaya, and *abhidharma.* In addition it contained an astonishing variety of books written in China: apologetic literature defending Buddhism, biographies, text criticism and bibliographies, encyclopedias, commentaries, essays, miracle tales, genealogies, local histories, debates with Daoists, official documents submitted to the throne, and chronicles of the fate of Buddhist institutions under imperial governance. Buddhist authors wanted to prove that Buddhism, like other noble Chinese traditions, possessed a hallowed historical record and was led by models worthy of emulation, ranging from buddhas, *bodhisattvas*, and *arhats* to local patriarchs, pure monks, and sagacious emperors.

Owing to the decentralization of the welter of texts brought into their country from the West, Chinese thinkers devoted themselves to making sense of the history and diversity of Buddhism. The problem of doctrinal classification gave rise to various attempts to "divide the teachings" (*pan-*

jiao). Since all teachings were understood as the infallible word of the Buddha, each text and philosophical movement was assigned to a specific time-period and audience of Śākyamuni's preachings. Followers of the Tiantai School (named for its monastic home, Mount Tiantai, in Zhejiang) placed the *Lotus Sūtra* at the apex of Buddha's pronouncements, while proponents of Huayan ("Flower Adornment") Buddhism (named after the text, the *Avataṃsaka* [Chinese, *Huayan*] *Sūtra*) believed that their text was the most subtle and profound. In keeping with Buddhist ideas of inclusivity, these interpretations of religious pluralism tended to privilege one school over another by portraying it not as the sole truth but as best adapted to its audience's needs.

Another important paradigm invoked by Chinese Buddhists to make sense of Buddhist history was that of lineage. Like the lines of descent that define Chinese kinship groups, a Buddhist lineage consists of current male members who trace their spiritual authenticity through successive generations of patriarchs. Especially but not exclusively used by the Chan (Japanese, Zen) School, the idea of patriarchal succession solved several problems. It located the sacred origin of current Buddhist leaders in the legendary heroes of the past; it linked China to India; it wrapped male authority in the guise of ineffable religious experience; it answered critics who impugned Buddhism's antiquity; and it helped solidify the identity of various Chinese schools (not really "sects" in the Protestant or modern Japanese sense) in relation to each other.

ORIGINS. Legends written long after the fact illuminate what later generations thought was important about the enculturation of Buddhism. According to some, Confucius (551–479 BCE) knew of the Buddha, and Laozi left China to study with him. Other accounts speak cryptically of a foreign magician carrying the implements of the Buddhist wanderer, a staff and begging bowl, when he visited China in 317 BCE. Some stories claim that the first Buddhist missionaries had been sent by King Aśoka. Another late source explains the chance discovery of sixty scrolls of Sanskrit texts in China by hypothesizing that they had been hidden intentionally to escape the burning of books carried out under the first Qin emperor, Shihuangdi (r. 221–210 BCE). Military records of the defeat of a Xiongnu army (a nomadic group in ancient northern China) in 120 BCE talk about the local people bowing and offering incense to a golden statue. Another legend states that in 2 BCE a man named Jinglu received oral instruction in Buddhism from a royal visitor to China sent by the Yuezhi. The most famous and one of the oldest stories about the origin of Chinese Buddhism is that Emperor Ming (r. 58–75 CE) dreamed of a golden deity and dispatched a mission to the Yuezhi; the embassy returned bearing the first Buddhist text to reach Chinese soil, perhaps accompanied by monks and statues.

It is most likely that Buddhist monks, texts, and images began to trickle into China sometime in the middle of the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE), the dynasty that gives its name to the dominant ethnic group in China as well. During the stable years of that dynasty, China was run by a centralized bureaucracy. Emperor Wu (r. 140–87 BCE) in particular was responsible for extending Han influence into Central Asia, sending emissaries all the way to Bactria in 138 BCE. The military ventures and trade missions of the first few centuries were responsible for securing the overland route between China and the West. It was via this Silk Road that Buddhism and other Western traditions first entered China. By the end of the Han dynasty, Buddhist communities composed of foreign monks, native monks, and local lay supporters had been established in at least three areas: the capital of Luoyang (Henan) in central China, Pengcheng (modern Datong, Shanxi) in the east, and the Tonkin region (now Vietnam, ruled by China 111 BCE–939 CE) in the far south. Monks followed a celibate lifestyle and practiced the semimonthly communal confession and recitation of the *prātimokṣa* rules, and laypeople observed periodic fasting. Buddhist statues were installed in public temples, sometimes alongside icons of Daoist deities. Han dynasty Buddhists also knew the rudiments of the biography of Śākyamuni. Buddhist philosophy of the time was already quite diverse, represented in early texts like the *Sūtra in Forty-Two Sections* and *Mouzi's Essay Resolving Doubts*. Scores of sūtras were translated by An Shigao (fl. 148–170 CE), a Parthian interested in meditation techniques and numbered lists of doctrines, and by Lokakṣema (Chinese, Zhi Loujiaqian, fl. 167–186 CE), a Yuezhi monk who propagated early Mahāyāna texts.

NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN BUDDHISM. Even after the dissolution of Han rule, Buddhism continued to grow in influence and numbers, as exemplified by the massive translation effort of Dharmarakṣa (Chinese, Zhu Faohu, fl. 265–313), a Yuezhi who was raised in Dunhuang. Under increasing military pressure from strong nomadic groups to the north, the unified Chinese Empire broke apart decisively in the early fourth century. From 317 until 589 CE the north was governed by a succession of strong regimes of various non-Han groups, especially the Tabgatch (Chinese, Tuoba), whereas south China was ruled by numerous Han aristocratic families. The bifurcation of political authority had important consequences for Buddhism.

In the south the landowning gentry extended the philosophical and literary experimentation that had begun at the end of the Han in a movement known as "dark learning" (*xuanxue*). The southern capital of Jiankang (modern Nanjing, in Jiangsu) was home to new reflections on texts by Laozi and Zhuangzi and on the *Book of Changes*. One of the most famous monks of the time, Zhi Dun (also known as Zhi Daolin, 314–366 CE), was interested in Buddhist understandings of the perfection of wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*), wrote commentaries on *Zhuangzi*, and offered a new analysis of the Chinese notion of principle (*li*). Another member of a southern aristocratic family, Huiyuan (334–416 CE), wrote on Buddhist philosophy and the practice of seeking a good rebirth and championed the independence of the *saṃgha* from state authority. The fortunes of organized Buddhism in the south rose to their highest symbolic level under Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty (r. 501–549 CE), who sponsored Buddhist ceremonies, promoted vegetarianism and social welfare, and oversaw the construction of lavish Buddhist temples.

In north China non-Han rulers frequently employed Buddhist resources to build a strong centralized government. The Central Asian monk Fotudeng (d. 349 CE) served the Later Zhao dynasty (328–352) for nearly twenty years and was famous for performing ceremonies to bring rain during times of drought and to assist the empire in warfare. Dao'an (312–385 CE) influenced many aspects of Buddhist philosophy. He wrote on meditation and emptiness, compiled a catalog of the translation of Buddhist texts into Chinese, led ceremonies for people seeking rebirth in Tuṣita Heaven, composed rules for monastic life, and suggested that the famous monk of Kucha, Kumārajīva (Chinese, Jiumoluoshi, 350–409/413 CE), be invited to China. With state support, Kumārajīva assembled a translation team said to number one thousand in the capital of Chang'an, where he rendered many texts, including key treatises of the Mādhyamika school. Kumārajīva's translation idiom and literary style, as seen in his *Lotus Sūtra* and *Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa*, soon became the dominant form of Chinese Buddhist writing. His Chinese disciple, Sengzhao (373–414 CE), wrote unparalleled essays on the meaning of emptiness (*śūnyatā*; Chinese, *kong*). In institutional terms one of the most important developments in the north was the monk Tanyao's (fl. 470 CE) creation of two social structures under the Northern Wei dynasty (493–534 CE). After a period of state support for Daoism and the mass migration of families uprooted by warfare, Tanyao reasoned that the resources of Buddhism should be used to relieve poverty and encourage agricultural production. He proposed that families be grouped into units called *saṃgha*-households that would send grain to monasteries, which would in turn distribute food to the poor and the general populace in times of drought. He also founded buddha-households, work units of criminals and slaves attached to Buddhist monasteries who worked in the temple or farmed its land.

CENTRALIZED COSMOPOLITAN DYNASTIES. Traditional histories view the Sui (581–618 CE) and Tang (618–907 CE) dynasties as a golden age or high point of Buddhism in China. This interpretation puts too much emphasis on dynastic structures, underplays social history, and privileges certain kinds of doctrinal innovation in Buddhism. Nevertheless there are good reasons for considering these three centuries as China's Buddhist age.

The capital cities of Chang'an and Luoyang were home to a large national bureaucracy of officials recruited increasingly through a publicly administered examination, and they were also the destination of diplomats, armies, Buddhist monks, entertainers, and merchants from most of Eurasia. The Tang court maintained contacts with Arab rulers and sought Indian scholars knowledgeable in mathematics, medicine, and astronomy. To most people outside of India—Uighurs and other Central Asian ethnicities, Tibetans, Koreans, and Japanese—the center of the Buddhist world was not India but China. The Japanese prelate Genbō (d. 746 CE) traveled to China and returned to Japan with over five thousand scrolls of Buddhist scripture, paving the way for later pilgrims like Kūkai (774–835 CE), Ennin (794–864 CE), and Dōgen (1200–1253). Buddhism dominated public religious life but did not blot out other traditions: Christianity in its Persian (Nestorian) form, Islam, and the Iranian religions of Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism were also known in some cities.

The ruling house of the Tang declared its descent from Laozi and officially claimed in 637 CE that the stability of the empire rested on the Daoist-inspired principle of effortless action (*wuwei*). This ostensive affiliation, however, never outweighed the value, personal and political, that the government saw in Buddhist rituals. Buddhist symbolism also played a crucial role in the career of Wu Zhao (624–705 CE), who had been empress (wife of Emperor Gaozong, r. 650–684 CE) but who seized control of the government, instituted a new dynasty (Zhou), and assumed the title of emperor in the year 690 CE. As a female monarch, Empress Wu could not easily draw on Confucian ideology to justify her rule. Instead, she turned to a variety of Buddhist regalia: she was portrayed as a incarnation of Maitreya and as a cakravartin king.

The most famous translator of Sanskrit scripture into Chinese was the Chinese monk Xuanzang (c. 600–664 CE). He was already considered a master of Buddhist philosophy when he embarked for India in 629 CE in search of authoritative texts and teachers. He traveled throughout Central Asia and India, studying intensively at the great center of Buddhist scholasticism, Nālandā (Bihar State, India), before returning to China in 645 CE. He carried back hundreds of texts and a knowledge of Sanskrit that few if any Chinese monks have ever matched. He translated seventy-three works into Chinese in a style known for its philological precision, and he composed a record of his journey detailing the geography, politics, and religious life of China's western neighbors. His exploits as an explorer also made him famous, and one thousand years later his legend was crystallized in the much-beloved vernacular novel *Journey to the West* (*Xiyou ji,* also known as *Monkey*).

One of Xuanzang's most influential contemporaries was Daoxuan (596–667 CE). Daoxuan was an expert on the Vinaya, and he set new standards in the compilation of biographies, miracle tales, apologetic literature, and catalogs of the Buddhist canon. Rather than following Xuanzang's overland route, the Chinese monk Yijing (635–713 CE) traveled by sea to South and Southeast Asia. After more than twenty years abroad, he returned and translated fifty-six separate books, many of them devoted to monastic discipline. Amoghavajra (Bukongjingang, 705–774 CE), who was probably born in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), came to China and translated nearly eighty texts, including a key scripture on the *Vajradhātu Maṇḍala* and many shorter Tantric ritual books.

The Sui and Tang were Buddhist dynasties also in the sense that literary, artistic, and philosophical production was dominated by explicitly Buddhist work in hitherto unprecedented ways. The poet Wang Wei (701–761 CE) employed what could be considered a Buddhist poetics and inculcated an attitude toward nature that draws heavily from Buddhist ideas. Even the most famous anti-Buddhist writer, Han Yu (768–824 CE), who wrote a memorial protesting Emperor Xianzong (r. 805–820 CE) honoring the Buddha's finger relic, was influenced by the tradition he criticized. Han Yu believed the bone had dangerous powers, and his attempt to resuscitate Confucian ideas and revitalize classical prose depended on Buddhist versions of orthodox transmission. The writing of miracle tales, many of which concerned icons, assumed the validity of reincarnation. The popular practice of storytelling with pictures (evidenced in "transformation texts," *bianwen*) was inspired by notions of the salvific intervention of buddhas and *bodhisattvas.* Paintings of paradise scenes and icons of Buddhist deities could be found everywhere. Wu Daozi (also known as Wu Daoxuan, fl. 710–760 CE), a highly placed court painter, was famous for the Buddhist subject matter he chose. His contemporaries report that his renderings of hell struck terror into viewers and that he carried out the act of painting in an inspired, theatrical manner. Buddhist metaphors were so well known that they rarely required explanation: a bubble meant evanescence, a lotus flower symbolized purity amid filth, silence was a reference to Vimalakīrti's understanding of wisdom. The debates of the age were dominated by Buddhist problems like sudden versus gradual approaches to enlightenment, the mechanics of rebirth in paradise, and the effectiveness of spells (*dhāraṇī* and *mantra*).

Written sources dating from the Tang dynasty also provide unambiguous evidence of the spread of Buddhist celebrations, especially in temples, that may have started earlier. Temples, which were not isolated enclaves of monastics in the first place, were especially busy during annual festivals. The yearly cycle included the emperor's birthday, the imperial ancestors' memorial days, the lantern celebration of the new year (around January 15), the Buddha's birthday (February 8 or April 8), and the ghost festival (July 15). Rituals involving the offering of a gift to the *saṃgha* and the participation of monks and nuns were carried out for life-cycle events (safe childbirth, weddings, building houses, curing illness, deathbed rites, funerals, memorial services) or at the behest of the individual practitioner (for commissioning statues or attending lectures). Tang dynasty manuscripts also supply the first detailed evidence of the formation of societies or loose congregations at the local level, groups that came together for semimonthly meetings, to hear monks preach, or to help members of the group with funeral expenses.

THE FORMATION OF SECTARIAN IDENTITY. Like the early Tang emperors, the first emperors of the Song dynasty (Northern Song, 960–1127; Southern Song 1127–1279) were lavish patrons of Buddhism. In many ways, however, the society they ruled and the religion they supported were quite different from those of earlier centuries. Wet rice cultivation became dominant, and the population of the south outnumbered that of the north. The gentry families who had controlled access to power declined at the same time that the use of paper money grew, a merchant class arose, and more and more people lived in cities. Wood-block printing, first used for the reproduction of Buddhist spells, led to the dissemination of all kinds of books. All of these changes meant that the general public to which Buddhism spoke and the wealthy classes whose support it sought were fundamentally different from its former clientele. The government virtually rescinded the tax-exempt status of the monkhood and made larger profits for the state through the sale of ordination certificates. The revival of Confucian thought among officials like Zhu Xi (1130–1200), although not yet constituting an official orthodoxy, began to offer comprehensive philosophical alternatives to Buddhist systems of thought.

Buddhist responses to this changing world resulted in a clearer definition of the relationship between elite Buddhism and other traditions as well as the drawing of clearer lines separating the various schools of Buddhism from each other. The very notion of a strong sectarian identity came into existence at this time through the writing of Chan histories, beginning with *The Record of the Transmission of the Flame [or Lamp] Compiled in the Jingde Era* (*Jingde chuandeng lu*, 1004). Earlier literature had portrayed connections between masters and disciples as contending lineages that could coexist simultaneously. Song sources, however, advance the claim that the orthodox tradition originated at a single point (Śākyamuni smiling or wordlessly passing a flower to Kāśyapā) and continued in a mind-to-mind transmission with only one patriarch per generation. The "records of discourse" (*yulu*) detailing the words and deeds of masters were put together during the Song. Dahui Zonggao (1089–1163) emphasized sustained meditation on the phrase "No" (a response to the question of whether dogs possess buddha-nature), and full collections of past examples of "public cases" (*gongan*; Japanese, *kōan*) were rendered in classic form in anthologies like *The Blue Cliff Record* (*Biyan lu*, 1125).

The Chan myth of patriarchy assumed that the Song dynasty form of identifiable Chan monasteries had begun during the Tang. The vague notion of a Buddhist "school" (*zong*) was forged into a more exclusive sense of identity also in response to the new institutional structures implemented under the Song. The government exercised formal control over a system of public monasteries divided into three classes, Vinaya (*lü*), teachings (*jiao*), and meditation (*chan*), the greatest number of which was the latter. In this atmosphere even proponents of Tiantai ideas followed the dominance of Chan and portrayed their patriarchs as single pearls in an unbroken strand rather than as abbots of strong local monasteries. Such a conception underlies the new genre of Buddhist history writing in Zhipan's (fl. 1258–1269) *Comprehensive Record of Buddhas and Patriarchs (Fozu tongji),* which was also influenced by developments in secular historiography. Genealogical exclusivity was even extended to the Pure Land tradition, which received its first formal list of unbroken patriarch succession from Tiantai writers in the thirteenth century. It should not be forgotten, however, that although sectarian rigidity existed as both rhetoric and institution, it was not universal. Most of Buddhist practice—attending festivals, making offerings to buddhas and *bodhisattvas*, seeking assistance at the local temple, praying for the salvation of one's parents—remained generic. Even the liturgies collected by self-avowed followers of the Tiantai school like Zunshi (964–1032) incorporated the practices of local cults. Buddhists of every persuasion continued to draw on Buddhist ideas that, though associated with one particular school or another, belonged to all: the one mind (Chan), Amitābha Buddha's vows (Pure Land), three thousand worlds in one moment of thought (Tiantai), and the realm of true reality (Huayan).

DYNASTIES OF NON-HAN RULE. Beginning in the tenth century three foreign, originally nomadic groups ruled as Chinese dynasties over portions of north China: the Khitan (Liao dynasty) from 946 to 1125, the Jurchen (Jin dynasty) from 1115 to 1234, and the Tangut (Western Xia dynasty) from 1038 to 1227. After that the Mongols, whose quadripartite dominance over Eurasia extended from Kiev and Bucharest in the west to Korea and Taiwan in the east, conquered all of China and established the Yuan dynasty (1206–1368). Whereas other dynasties could claim that China was a multiethnic and religiously plural empire, during the Yuan dynasty the already diverse Chinese polity was one portion of an even more diverse empire of global proportions. Europeans, the most famous of whom was Marco Polo (c. 1254–1324), traveled to and wrote about the Chinese part of the Mongol Empire, and Muslims from the Middle East and Central Asia directed financial administration for the Yuan government at the local level. Many traditions prospered in China under the Yuan. Despite the banning of all Daoist scriptures except the *Dao de jing* in 1281, four different Daoist movements flourished: Complete Perfection (Quanzhen), Grant Unity (Taiyi), Greatness of Perfection (Zhenda) in the north, and Correct Unity (Zhengyi) in the south. Mongol educators wittingly aided the institutionalization of Confucianism when they turned the *Four Books* (the *Analects* of Confucius, *Mencius, The Great Learning,* and *The Doctrine of the Mean*) with Zhu Xi's commentaries into the basis for the civil service examination in 1313.

Qubilai (Chinese reign name Shizu, r. 1260–1294) was instrumental in placing Tibetan Buddhist clergy at the apex of the Yuan religious establishment. He received consecration (*abhiṣeka*) into the cult of Hevajra (Tibetan, Dges pa rdo rje) in 1253 and named the Tibetan prelate Blo gros rgyal mtshan (Lodro Gyaltsen, the 'Phags pa bla ma, 1235–1280) the imperial preceptor in 1260. Tibetan Buddhism became the new state religion, existing on top of Chinese Buddhist practices and those of other religious traditions. Buddhist symbolism proved amenable to many foreign groups who never forgot that Buddhism itself had begun outside of China. Buddhist mythology, in addition to offering models like the cakravartin monarch, easily accommodated the protector deities, shamanistic practices, and styles of ancestor veneration of the northern nomads. This complicated process of cultural mixing is apparent in the temple architecture, tomb building, and art that survives from these periods. Under the Xia dynasty the Chinese Buddhist canon was written in Tangut script, while the Yuan emperors sponsored both the printing of the Chinese canon and the translation of the Tibetan canon into Mongolian.

BUDDHISM IN LATE IMPERIAL CHINA. Although many events can be used to demarcate important breaks in the history of China between the fourteenth and twentieth centuries, long-term trends are also apparent during this period. One continuity is the threat to imperial sovereignty emanating from the millenarian mythology embedded in some forms of Buddhism and other religions. Daoism, Buddhism, and Manichaeism (and later Christianity) all contained subtraditions positing an imminent cataclysm of cosmic proportions and the replacement of the current regime with a new order ruled by a divine king. Buddhist versions of this eschatology, known since the fourth century, focused on the impending incarnation of Maitreya as a ruler. Already during the Yuan dynasty, Maitreya belief took new social and literary forms. This was a time of growth for sectarian groups—voluntary organizations of laypeople not based on family ties or attendance at temples but rather defined by Buddhist belief and practice. Their members read and recited a relatively new form of vernacular sacred text, "precious scrolls" (*baojuan*), which mixed mythology, moral guidance, and elements from a variety of religious traditions. Movements like the White Cloud (Baiyun) remained utterly conventional in insisting that members observe all forms of political authority. Other groups, such as the White Lotus (Bailian), frequently sought the immediate installation of new, purified regimes or were suppressed by the government for being suspected of rebellion. The man who became the first Ming emperor, Zhu Yuanzhang (1328–1398), was a local leader of one such movement in Anhui. His military success allowed him to wrest control from the Mongols and other adversaries and be enthroned as the Hongwu emperor (r. 1368–1398) of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). The succeeding Qing dynasty (1644–1911) was founded by the Manchu people of the northeast, descendants of the Jurchens. Their leader was considered an incarnation of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, and all of the Qing emperors made significant visits to the temple complex on Mount Wutai (Sanxi province), where Mañjuśrī was believed to have manifested himself. With Qing imperial support, the Buddhist canon was translated into Manchu in 1790. Following the pattern of earlier dynasties, emperors regulated and manipulated Buddhist institutions, and the Ming and Qing ruling houses accorded political office to the highest ranking *bla mas* and other monastic authorities in Tibet and Mongolia.

Another important pattern of late imperial times is the seeming dissolution of distinctively Buddhist elements into Chinese society. During these centuries traces of Buddhism could be found almost everywhere yet not always recognized as such. Perhaps because it was so pervasive, the Buddhism of this period has received the least amount of scholarly research. The conceptual underpinnings of the ethical system of late imperial popular religion were heavily Buddhist. Although human centered, the worldview of Chinese religion had been englobed by a wider framework that included other species (animals) and forms of life (gods, hell beings). Every act, large or small, was thought to carry moral consequences, and ideas of *karma* were expressed in notions like "planting good roots" for future rebirths. Other myths, symbols, and rituals that derived from Buddhism had become a part of generic religious practice in annual festivals, rites of curing, exorcism, funerals, and pilgrimage. Buddhist monastic leaders like Yunqi Zhuhong (1535–1615) exhorted their elite followers to practice the releasing of life (freeing animals bound for the butcher), to adopt a vegetarian diet, and to refrain from wearing silk (the production of which kills silkworms) whenever possible. They promoted the joint practice of Chan-style meditation and the chanting of Amitābha Buddha's name, and they sought rapprochement among all schools of thought. Even outspoken proponents of Confucian learning launched ideas that had been heavily influenced by Buddhism. Wang Yangming (formally named Wang Shouren, 1472–1529) shifted the focus of Confucian discourse from principle *(li)* to the power of the mind and the process of moral thinking. Much as Buddhists predicated the achieving of enlightenment on the inborn capacity to become a buddha, Wang believed that ethical discernment was possible because of every person's "innate knowledge" (*liangzhi*). One piece of common wisdom in late imperial times was the slogan that "the three teachings are one" (*sanjiao heyi*). Different interpretations of the claim were offered—that Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism seek a common goal, or stem from the same metaphysical ground, or form three distinct stages of cultivation—but the basic idea (often called *syncretism*) was pervasive.

Increasingly during the Ming and Qing dynasties, Buddhism existed in a world that knew various forms of Christianity. Portuguese traders talked about their faith in the early 1500s, and a variety of European orders dispatched priests to China. Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), the most famous Jesuit in China, formulated a strategy for the propagation of Christianity after learning from the example of Buddhist missionizing. During his first years in China, Ricci adopted the dress of Buddhist monks; the two orders of monks did, after all, share a celibate lifestyle. Ricci soon felt the need, however, to distance himself from the role of ritual specialist and the suspicions cast on monks by the highest classes. He changed into the robes of the scholar, couched his message in terms derived from the Confucian classics, and drew on ancient Chinese precedents to castigate Buddhism, Daoism, and the practices of popular religion. A more pervasive Christian influence began in the early nineteenth century, when Protestant missionaries first arrived in China. They aimed at the lower strata of society and worked at the local level. They formed congregations by preaching about Jesus, translating the Bible into the spoken language, disputing Buddhist ideas of reincarnation, and railing against belief in spirits.

BUDDHISM IN MODERN CHINA. Buddhism was never insulated from the cataclysms shaking Chinese society from the 1850s to the twenty-first century: Western military incursions, imposition of treaties and reparations, unprecedented natural disasters, the overthrow of the imperial system of governance in 1911, the founding of the Republic of China in 1912, civil war and rule by warlords, warfare and eventually occupation of most of China by Japan between 1937 and 1945, the victory of Mao Zedong's (1893–1976) Communist Party and the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, continuing upheaval and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), the opening to foreign capital in 1978, and economic expansion and internationalization beginning in the 1990s. Propelled into the modern world so violently and in such a relatively short period of time (by comparison to Europe), China has offered many solutions to the problem of how to understand "modernity." Chinese from all walks of life debated what form government should take, what place in the world order China should occupy, and what roles science and religion should play in modern society. The answers have been complicated and varied. Intellectuals like Hu Shi (1891–1962) distinguished between unscientific, tradition-bound schools of thinking and rational, practical, Sinified forms of religious thought—including some forms of Buddhism—that could be harnessed to modernity. Monks like Taixu (1890–1947), theorizing the proper social functions of Buddhism, advocated turning away from involvement in funerals and memorial services and focusing on more this-worldly concerns. Buddhist clerics in China debated the contradictions involved in armed resistance against the Japanese military, just as their Japanese brethren came to grips with and often contributed to the Japanese colonial enterprise.

Modern China provides an interesting testing ground for the interaction between Buddhism and Communism. Marxist thought in general treats religion as a superstructure of the pre-Communist state. From this perspective Buddhism is an ideology used to camouflage real suffering in the world, which is caused by ownership of the means of production (land) by the gentry and the consequent alienation of the masses. Following Mao's exhortation, Marxist philosophers viewed Buddhist monks as a nonproductive class and criticized Buddhist idealism for its opposition to a materialist concept of history. The earliest land reforms in the 1940s began to expropriate the economic basis of the monastic livelihood, and the Cultural Revolution targeted monks, nuns, teachers, doctors, and other counterrevolutionaries for harsh reeducation. Nevertheless freedom of religious belief is guaranteed in the Chinese constitution, adopted in 1954. Under new policies in the post-Mao era, private belief in any of five recognized religions (Daoism, Buddhism, Islam, Catholicism, and Protestantism) is allowed. The Chinese Buddhist Association (Zhongguo fojiao xiehui), founded in 1953, is the government-supervised organization of clergy and laypeople. Under its auspices Buddha relics have been exchanged with other Buddhist countries, and intra-Asian missions have been sponsored. Having claimed political dominance over Tibet for centuries, the Chinese army took control of Tibet in 1959; the government formally recognized the authority of the Panchen Lama and derecognized the Dalai Lama, who escaped to India. For Tibetan Buddhists as well as Buddhist believers from other officially recognized minority groups (like those in Yunnan, Sichuan, Qinghai, and Xinjiang provinces), state entitlements are supposed to include the practice of traditional religion. How the government weighs this right against its perception of the overarching authority of the state to condone or extirpate any form of social action remains to be seen.

The future of Chinese Buddhism will depend increasingly on forms of Buddhism outside the Chinese mainland. Taiwan was ruled by the Japanese from 1895 to 1945, and the Nationalist Party (Guomindang or Kuomintang [KMT]) fled there in 1949. The Nationalists consciously distinguished their religious policies from those of their Communist foes and supported the practice of many forms of Chinese religion, including Buddhism. Many organized groups proliferated after the liberalization of laws regarding civic organizations in 1989, and religious revivals continued after the Nationalists lost the presidency in the 2000 elections. Taiwan in the late twentieth century saw the growth of many Buddhist organizations, including the Tzu Chi Foundation (or Buddhist Compassion Relief Merit Association [Fojiao ciji gongde hui]), founded by the nun Zhengyan (b. 1937), which emphasizes medical care, social welfare, and disaster relief; Buddha's Light International Association (Foguangshan), a broad-based, comprehensive organization of laypeople and clerics led by the monk Xingyun (b. 1927); and Dharma Drum Mountain (Fagushan), founded by the monk Shengyan (b. 1931), whose educational complex in northern Taiwan includes a Buddhist seminary, university, library, museum, and conference center. All three of these associations have branches active in other countries, Asian and Western, and they carry out exchanges with Buddhist groups in China.

Buddhist movements comprising laypeople and monastics continue to proliferate in the Chinese communities of Southeast Asia and the West. Just as Buddhism was originally carried into China from abroad, the undecided fate of Buddhism in China is now bound up with forms of Buddhism practiced elsewhere.

SEE ALSO Amoghavajra; Aśoka; Avalokiteśvara; Bhaiṣajyaguru; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Chinese Buddhism; Chinese Religion, overview article; Huiyuan; Kṣitigarbha; Kumārajīva; Nirvāṇa; Politics and Religion, articles on Politics and Buddhism and Politics and Chinese Religion; Taixu; Xuanzang; Yijing; Zhu Xi.

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Stephen F. Teiser (2005)

BUDDHISM: BUDDHISM IN KOREA

In any examination of the Korean Buddhist tradition, it is essential to recall that in no way was Korea isolated from neighboring regions of Northeast Asia. During its prehistory, Korean culture was most closely akin to that of the seminomadic tribes of the Central and North Asian steppes. From the Warring States period (403–221 BCE) on, however, when refugees from the northern Chinese states of Yan, Qi, and Zhao immigrated to the peninsula to escape the ravages of the mainland wars, Han civilization began to eclipse that indigenous culture at an ever-increasing pace. It is for this reason that Korean Buddhism must be treated as part and parcel of a larger East Asian Buddhist tradition. Indeed, Korea's later appellation as the "hermit kingdom" notwithstanding, there was in fact an almost organic relationship between the Korean, Chinese, and, during its incipient period, the Japanese Buddhist traditions. Admittedly, the Silk Route afforded China closer ties with the Buddhism of India and Central Asia, and China's overwhelming size, both in territory and population, inevitably led to its domination of the doctrinal trends within East Asian Buddhism. This does not deny, however, that Korean exegetes working on both the peninsula and the Chinese mainland made seminal contributions to the development of what are commonly considered to be distinctively "Chinese" schools of Buddhism, such as Tiantai, Huayan, and Chan. At the same time, many Chinese Buddhist theological insights were molded into new forms in Korea, innovations comparable to the Chinese syntheses of Indian and Central Asian Buddhist teachings. Hence, any appraisal of characteristically East Asian developments in the Buddhist tradition cannot neglect to take into account the contributions made by Koreans.

THREE KINGDOMS BUDDHISM (C. LATE FOURTH CENTURY–668 CE). According to such traditional Korean historical sources as *Samguk sagi* (Historical record of the Three Kingdoms), *Haedong kosŭng chŏn* (Biographies of eminent Korean monks), and *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia and mirabilia of the Three Kingdoms), Buddhism was transmitted to Korea from the Chinese mainland during the (Korean) Three Kingdoms period. The introduction of Buddhism into Korea is presumed to have occurred in 372 CE, when King Fujian (r. 357–384) of the Former Qin dynasty (351–394) sent a monk-envoy, Shundao (Kor., Sundo), to the Koguryŏ court with scriptures and images. Former Qin hegemony over the remarkably cosmopolitan region of eastern Turkistan had brought Chinese culture into intimate contact with Indian, Iranian, and Hellenistic civilizations, ultimately engendering a new, sinified form of Buddhism. Fujian's defeat, in 370, of the Former Yan state, which had for decades laid siege to Koguryŏ, initiated close ties between Fujian and his Koguryŏ contemporary, King Sosurim (r. 371–383). These contacts allowed this vibrant northern Chinese culture, which included the Buddhist religion, to be introduced into Korea. While a paucity of information remains by which we can evaluate the characteristics of the Buddhism of this early period, it is probable that it was characterized by thaumaturgic practices, a symbiotic relationship between the ecclesia and the state, Maitreya worship, and the study of scriptures affiliated with the Mahāyāna branch of Buddhism. A monastery is said to have been erected for Sundo in 376, the first reference to a formal Buddhist institution on Korean soil.

Sundo was followed in 384 by the Serindian monk Maranant'a (*Mālānanda; *Kumārānandin), who is reputed to have come via sea to Paekche from the Chinese state of Eastern Jin (317–420). His enthusiastic reception by the royal court initiated the rapid diffusion of Buddhism throughout the Paekche kingdom. Less than a year after his arrival a monastery had been founded on Mount Han for Maranant'a and the first Korean natives ordained as Buddhist monks. In both Koguryŏ and Paekche, there is evidence that such schools as Samnon (Mādhyamika), Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma, Nirvāṇa, Satyasiddhi, and Ch'ŏnt'ae (Chin., Tiantai) flourished, though few works from this period are now extant. Of vital importance for the dissemination of Buddhism throughout East Asia, however, was Paekche's nautical skill, which made the kingdom the Phoenicia of medieval East Asia. Over its well-developed sea lanes, Paekche began in 554 to dispatch Buddhist doctrinal specialists, psalmodists, iconographers, and architects to Japan, thus transmitting to the Japanese the rudiments of sinified Buddhist culture and laying the foundation for the rich Buddhist culture of the Asuka and Nara periods. Silla expansion throughout southern Korea also prompted massive emigration of Koreans to Japan (where they were known as *kikajin*), and many of the cultural and technical achievements of early Japan—such as the development of paddy fields, the construction of palaces and temples, and town planning—were direct results of the expertise introduced by these successive waves of emigrants. These advancements ultimately paved the way for Japan's first constitution, purportedly written by Prince Shōtoku in 604, and led to the Taika reform of 646, which initiated a sinified bureaucracy in Japan.

It was not until 529, following the martyrdom of Ich'adon (Pak Yŏmch'ŏk), that Silla, the last of the three kingdoms to consolidate its power, officially embraced Buddhism. Political exigencies were probably the catalyst for the acceptance of Buddhism in Silla. The Silla nobility, who continued their drive for peninsular unification, found strong incentive to embrace Buddhism in an effort to accommodate the newly conquered Koguryŏ and Paekche aristocracy, which had embraced Buddhism long before. The vital role played by the Buddhist religion as a conduit through which Chinese civilization was introduced into Silla closely parallels the sinification of non-Chinese tribes that occurred throughout Chinese history.

Three Kingdoms Buddhism seems to have been a thoroughgoing amalgamation of the foreign religion and indigenous local cults. Autochthonous snake and dragon cults, for example, merged with the Mahāyāna belief in dragons as protectors of the Dharma, forming the unique variety of *hoguk pulgyo* ("state-protection Buddhism") that was thereafter to characterize Korean Buddhism. One of the earliest examples of this amalgamation was the vow of the Silla king

Munmu (r. 661–681) to be reborn as a sea dragon after his death in order to guard his country and its new faith from foreign invasion. Buddhism and the state subsequently evolved a symbiotic relationship in which the monks entreated the buddhas and *bodhisattvas* to protect the state and the state provided munificent support for the dissemination of the religion throughout the empire. Many of the most visible achievements of the Korean church throughout its history, such as the xylographic carvings of the Buddhist canon undertaken during the succeeding Koryŏ dynasty, were products of this concern with state protection. Buddhist monks also sought to demonstrate correspondences between Korean ancestral heroes and the new religion, thereby accelerating the assimilation of the religion among Koreans. Attempts were made, for example, to prove that Hwanin, the Celestial Emperor, was identical to Śakro Devāṇām Indra (Chesŏk-ch'ŏn), the Indian and Buddhist king of the gods, and that Tan'gun, the progenitor of the Korean race, was the theophany of Śrī Mahādevī (Kilsang-ch'ŏn). Vestiges of the dispensations of previous buddhas were alleged to have been uncovered in Korea, and the advent of the future Buddha, Maitreya, was prophesied to occur in the south of the peninsula. Modern-day visitors to a Korean monastery will notice on the perimeter of the campus shrines devoted to the mountain god or to the seven stars of the Big Dipper, the presence of which is indicative of the synthesis of common sinified culture with Buddhism.

One of the most prominent institutions of Three Kingdoms Buddhism that is commonly assumed to have been indicative of this interaction between Buddhism and indigenous Korean culture was the Hwarang (Flower Boy) movement. According to the *Samguk sagi,* this movement was instituted around 576 by the Silla king Chinhŭng (r. 540–575), and was patterned upon a more primitive association of shamanesses. The formation of the Hwarang movement is considered to have been part of the expansionist policies of the Silla court, and was intended to instill in the sons of nobility a regard for ethical virtues and an appreciation of refined culture. A later Silla writer relates that they were trained in Confucian filial piety and national loyalty, Daoist quietism, and Buddhist morality. The prominent religious orientation of the Hwarang as related in this and other accounts militates against the popular notion that it was a paramilitary organization. The group aesthetic celebrations—such as singing and dancing out in the open—that are commonly associated with the Hwarang has suggested to a number of scholars the shamanistic activities of initiation journeys and pilgrimages. While the Hwarang's Buddhist affinities are far from certain, their eventual identification with Maitreya assured that tradition would regard the movement as one intended to disseminate the Buddhist faith among Koreans.

UNIFIED SILLA BUDDHISM (668–935). After the unification of the peninsula under the Silla banner in 668, the fortunes of the new religion expanded on an unprecedented scale. It was during this period that the major schools of scholastic Buddhism that had developed in China were introduced into Korea. The doctrinal teachings that had begun to be imported during the Three Kingdoms period were consolidated during the Unified Silla into five major ideological schools: the Kyeyul-chong, which stressed the study and training in Buddhist monastic discipline (Vinaya); the Yŏlban-chong, which promulgated the teachings of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra;* the Pŏpsŏng-chong (Dharma Nature), a uniquely Korean school of Buddhism that stressed a synthetic outlook toward Buddhist doctrine; the Wŏnyung-chong, which was the early Korean branch of the Flower Garland (Kor., Hwaŏm; Chin., Huayan) school; and the Pŏpsang-chong, derived from on the "consciousness-only" (*vijñāptimātratā*) teachings of Yogācāra. Some of the greatest achievements of early Korean philosophy occurred during this period, and such important scholiasts as Wŏnhyo (617–686) and Ŭisang (625–702) forged approaches to Buddhist philosophy that would become the hallmarks of the Korean church from that time onward. Korean exegetes working in China also played major roles in the development of Chinese schools of Buddhism. Both Wŏnhyo and Ŭisang were important vauntcouriers in the Huayan school, as reflected in their influence on the systematizer of the Chinese Huayan school, Fazang (643–712). Wŏnch'uk (613–696), a close disciple of Xuanzang (d. 664), was a prominent exegete in the Chinese Faxiang school, whose commentaries on such texts as the *Saṃdhinirmocana Sūtra* exerted profound influence on early Tibetan Buddhism.

It was during this era of ardent scholarly activity that one of the most characteristic features of the mature Korean Buddhist tradition developed: that of "ecumenism" or "synthesis." From the inception of Buddhism in East Asia, the religion had formed around a number of disparate scriptural and commentarial traditions that had developed first in India and later in Central Asia. For this reason, the Chinese church became characterized by a loosely structured sectarianism. The various extremes each of these factional divisions took led to an attempt, begun first in China and considerably refined later in Korea, to see these various approaches, each ostensibly Buddhist yet each so different, in some common light, so as to find some means by which their discordant elements could be reconciled. Certain features of the Korean tradition contributed to the synthetic tendency of the religion. Owing to the smaller size of Korea and its monastic population, there was little hope that Buddhism could continue as a stable and influential force within the religious arena if it was divided into contentious factions. In addition, the constant threat of foreign invasion created the need for a unified, centrally organized ecclesiastical institution. The quest to discover the common denominators in all of these sectarian interpretations—and subsequently to use those unifying elements in order to establish an interdenominational approach (*t'ong pulgyo*) to the religion that could incorporate all elements of Buddhist philosophy and practice—was to inspire the efforts of all major Korean Buddhist philosophers. This attitude prompted the Koreans to develop what remains one of the more ecumenical traditions of Buddhism to be found anywhere is Asia.

One of the most momentous developments in the history of Korean Buddhism occurred during the Unified Silla period: the introduction of the Chan teachings, known in Korea as Sŏn. The earliest transmission of Sŏn to the peninsula is attributed to the monk Pŏmnang (fl. 632–646), a Korean who is said to have trained with the fourth patriarch of the Chinese Chan school, Daoxin (580–646). While little is known of Pŏmnang's life or thought, there are indications that he attempted to combine the teachings of two distinct Chinese Chan lineages—that of Bodhidharma (c. fifth century), Huiguo (487–592), and Sengcan (d. 606) and that of Daoxin and Hongren (688–761)—with the synthetic *tathāgata-garbha* theory of the *Dasheng qixin lun* (Awakening of Faith). A successor in Pŏmnang's lineage eventually founded the Hŭiyang-san school, the oldest of the Korean Sŏn schools. During the eighth and ninth centuries, other Korean adepts returning from the mainland established eight other mountain Sŏn sites, forming what came to be known as the Nine Mountains school of Sŏn (Kusan Sŏnmun). Of these eight, seven were affiliated with the Hongzhou lineage of the Middle Chan period, which eventually evolved into the Linji school of the mature Chan tradition; one, the Sumisan school, was derived from the lineage of Qingyuan Xingsi (d. 740), from which developed the Caodong school. Korean masters on the mainland, however, also played major roles in the development of Chinese Chan. Perhaps the most prominent of these Koreans was the monk Musang, also known as Kim Heshang (680–756; alt. 684–762), who was regarded as a patriarch of the Baotang school of the Sichuan region, and was the first Chan master known to the Tibetans. Despite the continued traffic of Sŏn adepts between China and Korea, the entrenched position of the scholastic schools within the Korean ecclesia thwarted the propagation of Nine Mountains Sŏn. Continued frustration at their inability to disseminate their message led such Sŏn adherents as Toŭi (d. 825) and Muyŏm (799–888) to attack the scholastic schools directly, leading ultimately to a bifurcation of the Korean Buddhist church into two vociferous factions.

KORYŎ BUDDHISM (937–1392). The principal contribution of Koryŏ Buddhists to the evolution of the Korean church was the reconciliation they effected between the Sŏn and scholastic schools. It was Ŭich'ŏn (1055–1101) who made the first such attempt, by seeking to combine both the Nine Mountains and scholastic schools into a revived Ch'ŏnt'ae school. Ch'ŏnt'ae teachings are known to have been present on the peninsula prior to Ŭich'ŏn's time. A century before, for example, Ch'egwan (d. 971), a renowned Korean Ch'ŏnt'ae adept, had been invited to Tang China to reintroduce long-lost Tiantai manuals; during his expatriation Ch'egwan systematized the school's philosophies in his *Tiantai sijiao yi,* one of the most important of Chinese Tiantai exegetical writings. Ŭich'ŏn's efforts to revitalize the school, however, have led to his being considered the effective founder of its Korean branch. It appears that Ŭich'ŏn regarded the meditative emphasis of the Ch'ŏnt'ae teachings as the ideal vehicle for accommodating the varying concerns of the Sŏn and scholastic schools. Unfortunately, his premature death at the age of forty-six brought a sudden end to his endeavor and left the sectarian scene still more unsettled.

Ŭich'ŏn's efforts were followed some three generations later by those of Chinul (1158–1210), a charismatic Sŏn master who was similarly motivated by a synthetic vision of the unity of Sŏn and the scholastic teachings. Unlike Ŭich'ŏn's scholastic orientation, however, Chinul sought to merge the various Buddhist schools of his time into a new Sŏn school that would synthesize a disparate variety of Buddhist soteriological approaches. Chinul introduced into Korean Sŏn practice the investigation of the "critical phrase" (Kor., *hwadu*; Chin., *huatou*), better known by the closely synonymous term *kongan* (Chin., *gong'an*; Jpn., *kōan*), as it had been developed in China by Dahui Zonggao (1089–1163). Chinul then sought to incorporate this investigation into the soteriological scheme of sudden awakening/gradual cultivation taught by Zongmi (780–841), and finally to amalgamate this approach to Sŏn with the interpretation of Hwaŏm thought given by Li Tongxuan (635–730). Chinul's synthesis of Sŏn and the scholastic teachings came to be regarded as a distinctively Korean school of Sŏn, called the Chogye-chong. His efforts revitalized the enervated Koryŏ church, and marked the ascendancy of Sŏn thought in the Korean Buddhist tradition.

It was Chinul's disciple, Chin'gak Hyesim (1178–1234), who assured the acceptance of *hwadu* practice as the principal meditative technique in Korean Sŏn Buddhism. Following the model of Chinese thinkers of the Song dynasty (960–1279), Hyesim examined the points of convergence between the three religions of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism. This attempt to extend the embrace of Chinul's synthetic outlook so as to accommodate still other religions was to inspire a series of such investigations by later Korean authors. A Sŏn master of the later Koryŏ period, T'aego Pou (1301–1382), worked prodigiously to merge the remnants of the Nine Mountains Sŏn schools with the new Chogye-chong, and sought to graft onto this ecumenical school the Chinese Linji (Kor., Imje; Jpn., Rinzai) lineage, into which he had received transmission in Yuan-dynasty China. The efforts of these and other teachers assured that the Chogye-chong would remain the predominant school of Korean Buddhism, a position it has retained down to the present.

CHOSŎN BUDDHISM (1392–1910). With the advent of the Chosŏn dynasty in 1392 the fortunes of Buddhism began to wane. While the official policies of the Chosŏn dynasty are commonly considered to have been Confucian in orientation, many of the kings continued to give munificent personal support to Buddhism. For example, the founder of the dynasty, Yi T'aejo (r. 1392–1398), appointed the renowned monk, Muhak Chach'o (1327–1398), to the official post of preceptor to the royal family (*wangsa*), and the account of T'aejo's reign in the *Yijo sillŏk* (Veritable record of the

Chosŏn dynasty) teems with references to his sponsorship of temple construction projects, maigre offerings to monks, and various Buddhist rites. Confucian bureaucrats, however, continued to pressure the throne for stricter selection procedures for Buddhist monks, limits on the number of monasteries and hermitages, reduction in the number of officially sanctioned sects, and reorganization of the ecclesiastical system, all in order to effect more centralized supervision of the religion. Such policies were formally adopted by T'aejong (r. 1400–1418), the third Chosŏn sovereign, and carried out on a massive scale by his successor, King Sejong (r. 1418–1450). In Sejong's proclamation of 1424, the Chogye, Ch'ŏnt'ae, and Vinaya schools were amalgamated into a single Sŏn (Meditative) school, and the remaining scholastic schools were merged into the Kyo (Doctrinal) school. New regulations were adopted for obtaining monk's certificates, making ordination much more difficult, and many monks already ordained were defrocked. The official ranks of national master (*kuksa*) and royal master (*wangsa*) were abolished. Temple paddy lands and forest properties were confiscated by the state and the legions of serfs retained by the monasteries were drafted into the army. Buddhist monasteries were no longer permitted within the capital or major cities. It is not surprising that during this dire period, Buddhist activities were as much concerned with the very survival of the tradition as with novel scholarly and meditative endeavors.

During this extremely difficult period in Korean Buddhist history, it is Sŏsan Hyujŏng (1520–1604) who epitomizes the continued Sŏn orientation of the church. Drawing his inspiration from Chinul's earlier vision of the unity of the Sŏn and scholastic schools, Hyujŏng produced a succinct manual of practice, titled the *Sŏn'ga kugam* (Mirror of the Sŏn School). His other guides to Confucianism and Daoism were intended to sustain the reconciliation between Buddhism and its rival religions that was begun during the mid-Koryŏ and to outline their many similarities of purpose. Despite all the attempts of Hyujŏng's lineage, however, Buddhism's creative drive continued to wane.

BUDDHISM DURING THE MODERN ERA. Japanese inroads on the peninsula from the late nineteenth century onward presented both new opportunities and new pressures for the Korean Buddhist tradition. Following the ratification of the Korea-Japan treaty of 1876, Japanese Buddhist sects, beginning with the Higashi Honganji sect of Pure Land, began to proselytize among the increasing number of Japanese immigrants resident in Korea, an activity that soon spread to the native Korean populace as well. Remonstrations by Japanese Nichiren missionaries compelled the impotent Chosŏn court in 1895 to lift the centuries-old prohibition against the presence of Buddhist monks in the capital of Seoul. During the same period, a resurgence of Sŏn practice was catalyzed by the Korean Sŏn master Kyŏnghŏ (1857–1912) and his disciples, and successors in his lineage continue to teach today.

After the annexation of Korea in 1910, some Korean monks felt that the fortunes of the religion were dependent upon arranging a merger with a major Japanese sect. Yi Hoegwang went so far as to negotiate a combination of the Korean church with the Japanese Sōtō sect, but most Korean Sŏn monks regarded the gradualistic teachings of the Sōtō sect as anathema to the subitist orientation of their own tradition, and managed to block the merger. Another movement threatened to further divide the Buddhist church. As early as 1913, Han Yongun (1879–1944), a Buddhist signatory to the 1919 Korean independence declaration and major literary figure, had shocked his contemporaries by advocating that monks be allowed to marry, a move he felt was necessary if Buddhism were to maintain any viable role in modern secular society. While this position was diametrically opposed to the traditional celibate orientation of the Korean ecclesia, the Japanese colonial government ultimately sustained it in 1926 with its promulgation of new monastic regulations that legalized matrimony for monks. Within a decade, virtually all monastery abbots were married, thereby producing a dramatic change in the traditional moral discipline of the Korean church. Other reform movements designed to present Buddhism in a way that would be more relevant to modern concerns arose with increasing frequency. Among the most prominent of these was Wŏn Buddhism, founded in 1916 by Pak Chung-bin, Sot'aesan (1891–1943), which combined Buddhist teachings with a disparate variety of elements drawn from Confucianism, Daoism, Tonghak, and even Christianity.

After independence in 1945, Korean Buddhism was badly split between two irreconcilable sects. The T'aegochong, a liberal sect of married monks, had flourished under Japanese patronage and was based principally in the cities where it catered to the lay Buddhist population. The Chogye-chong was a smaller, religiously conservative faction of monks who had managed to maintain their celibacy during the long years of Japanese occupation; their concern was to restore the meditative, scholastic, and disciplinary orientations of traditional Korean Buddhism. Only after years of intense conflict did the Chogye-chong finally win government support for its position in 1954 and virtually all of major monasteries have reverted to its control. Now the predominant sect of Buddhism in Korea, the Chogye-chong has had considerable success in attracting a new generation of lay believers and monastic postulants to the teachings and practices of Buddhism.

SEE ALSO Chan; Chinul; Confucianism in Korea; Fazang; Huayan; Korean Religion; Tathāgata-garbha; Tiantai; Ŭichŏn; Ŭisang; Wŏnhyo; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Buddhist Devotional Life in East Asia; Xuanzang; Zongmi.

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BUDDHISM: BUDDHISM IN JAPAN

Use of the phrase "Buddhism in Japan" suggests in part that, on the one hand, the modern terminology of the nation-state of Japan can be appropriately used throughout discussions of Buddhist belief and practice in the geographic area usually referred to as the "Japanese isles." On the other hand, the use of the language of "Buddhism" might suggest that Buddhist beliefs and practices developed as a singular phenomenon bearing internal consistency. Use of either of these concepts has limitations, since the nation-state of Japan developed only in the late nineteenth century, and Buddhism does not connote a singular institution or way of life followed in the Japanese isles. In particular, while we speak of "Buddhism" in the Japanese case, Buddhistic beliefs and practices did not historically constitute a creedal faith of the kind common to monotheistic religions; neither did it historically feature universally agreed-upon weekly liturgies (a Buddhist "Sabbath") nor, until the last few centuries, did it feature adherence to exclusively defined or otherwise well-defined sectarian organizations.

EARLY HISTORICAL CONTEXTS. The initial introduction of Buddhist images and implements to the Japanese isles is extremely difficult to date. Moreover, we are limited to later representations produced by members of the royal court of Yamato, the first literate and highly organized government in the isles, and those associated with them; and archaeological studies have only marginally helped us to gain access to the very earliest era of Buddhist influence. The mythohistory *Nihonshoki* (720 CE), produced by the Yamato court, as well as temple legends (e.g., *Gangōji garan engi narabi ni ruki shizai chō*, probably a Heian era [794–1185 CE] compilation, yet based on a no longer extant eighth-century *Gangōji engi*) variously depicted the introduction of such figures in the form of gifts from the Korean kingdom of Paekche to the Japanese court in 552 CE or 538 CE.

Continental Asian influences. The Soga family, which drew upon the support of the large number of immigrant families in the capital area (and may have also had immigrant origins), was the most powerful clan of the court and sponsored the introduction of Buddhist clerics and objects, as well Buddhist construction, from the late sixth to mid-seventh centuries. In addition, in this connection the immigrant family of the Hata and, apparently, other immigrant families also constructed Buddhist temples at the time.

Prince Shōtoku. Although some of the other prominent families of the court drew their support from older families of the Japanese isles and argued that worship of Buddhist divinities would antagonize indigenous deities (*kami*), the Soga's efforts may have been bolstered through patronage by Prince Taishi Shōtoku (574?–622?), who is represented from the early eighth century on as having became an ardent supporter of the faith. The Sogas and Shōtoku seem to have seen buddhas and *bodhisattvas* as beings who offered a variety of benefits so long as they were approached through appropriate ritual. Moreover, the fact that all of the temples constructed prior to the mid-seventh century were erected in connection with efforts to protect specific clans—Asukadera, possessing the character of a "clan temple" of the Sogas, being most prominent—illustrates the extent to which the reception varied depending on the group, that there was no consensus in the larger court concerning its relevance, and that the thaumaturgical capacities of Buddhist ritual were central to their concerns more than enlightenment.

The Yamato Court in the late seventh century. Recent excavations have indicated that the government began to establish large temples in the seventh century. It is clear that in the late seventh century the court patronized Buddhist temples at the same time that it began also to promote a notion of the ruler as *tennō* ("heavenly thearch") and high priest of the court, with the ancestral *kami* (deity) of his family represented as the highest in the realm. The offering of reverence to *kami,* on the one hand, and veneration of buddhas/*bodhisattvas,* on the other, seem to have been accepted and, presumably, openly supported by the larger court. Indeed, it would seem that most in the court saw the buddhas and *bodhisattvas* as similar to the native *kami* in their perceived capacity to offer a variety of benefits (*riyaku*). Discourses concerning *karma,* rebirth, and enlightenment seem to have been virtually absent during this early era.

BUDDHISM IN THE NARA AND EARLY HEIAN PERIODS. It was during the Nara period (710–784 CE) that Buddhist institutions began to flourish on a much larger scale and Buddhist practices came to have an impact on the general populace in the isles. Japanese monks' travel to China to study under eminent Buddhist clerics became increasingly prominent in the Nara and Early Heian (794–1185) periods, among which the most prominent were Saichō (c. 767–822) and Kūkai (774–835), who respectively founded the lineages of Tendai and Shingon.

The impact of the ruling family. The reign of the ruler Shōmu (r. 724–749) and his wife Kōmyō constituted a clear shift toward ever more visible support of Buddhist temples and clerics. Shōmu began to establish a set of temples and convents in every province of the realm: in this case, a provincial temple that included, among its features, a *stūpa* of seven stories, in which were to be installed copies of the realm-protecting sūtras, the *Golden Light Scripture of Victorious Kings* and *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Wonderful Law,* together with part of the first sūtra written in the sovereign's own hand; an accompanying nunnery was to be referred to as "convent for the *Lotus Sūtra* expiation rite," in which nuns would perform regular repentance rites on behalf of the realm—evoking memories that the first Japanese Buddhist clerics had been nuns and had obvious ritual and thematic connections with native shamanistic traditions, associated generally with *kami* worship.

Shōmu and the court were supportive on a personal and broader level of the Nara Buddhist temples and to small Buddhist lineages that were developing in Nara. The well-known six lineages within the larger temples of Nara included: Sanron, Hossō, Ritsu (Skt., Vinaya), Jōjitsu (*satyasiddhi*), Kusha (*abhidharma*), and Kegon (Skt. Avatamsaka), the last of which seems to have been added only with the ongoing completion of construction of the head temple of the provincial system, Tōdaiji, in the 750s. In actuality, these lineages included only a small percentage of the monks residing in the great temples; for example, in the case of Tōdaiji, they included only roughly 2 percent of the some three thousand monks.

Shōmu's wife, Kōmyō, was an equally fervent patron of Buddhists. Her sponsorship of a sūtra-copying bureau, Tōdaiji administration, and convent construction indicate at least two important points about Buddhism in early Japan. First, it is clear that women of the court, particularly during the Nara period, were powerful sponsors of Buddhist activities. Second, such sponsorship, associated with efforts throughout continental Asia to collect Buddhist scriptures, constituted a forerunner of later efforts of Japanese sovereigns and temples to acquire newly copied or printed versions of the Buddhist canon (*daizōkyō*) and, in that connection, to establish large collections of Buddhist and related materials (*kyōzō, hōzō*).

The personal interest of Shōmu and the ruling house in Buddhism, while made problematic by his daughter's later relationship as *tennō* with the monk Dōkyō, also illustrates the close relationship leading families of the court had with Buddhist clerics from the Nara period onwards. Recent scholarship has made it clear that much of the vibrancy of Buddhism in the era was constituted in the employ of monks (or, sometimes, nuns) as family ritual practitioners or teachers. That is, monks were often invited, often for lengthy periods, to take up residence in the homes of leading aristocratic families; it is believed that such clerics spent most of their time engaged in rituals for the purpose of healing, bodily protection, and sometimes the more general avoidance of calamity *(sokusai)*, and that such activities foreshadowed those of the guardian palace monks *(gojisō)* of the Heian period.

The increasing prominence of Buddhist discourses on karma, rebirth, and enlightenment. During the Nara period, beliefs in karma, rebirth, and occasionally enlightenment became prominent in the court as well as in regional families, especially those close to the capital area. The earliest Japanese didactic story collection, *Nihon ryōiki* (*Anomalous Tales of Japan*) by the Yakushiji monk Kyōkai (fl. 823), indicates that many in the capital as well as regional areas believed in karma and related discourses like rebirth and indebtedness. Such developments may have been related to the activities of figures like Gyōki (668–749), who worked among the larger populace and was especially known for his help in the construction of landmarks such as bridges and water projects.

Thus, karma, rebirth, and notions of enlightenment were increasingly prominent among the larger populace, while the court, given its patronage of official Nara Buddhism, was clearly cognizant of such teachings and the Buddhist cosmology, which was distinct from that represented in the court mytho-histories concerning the ancestral *kami* of the ruling family. Moreover, Chinese Buddhist works depicting the lives of eminent monks commonly featured tensions between buddhas/*bodhisattvas* and native divinities, which may suggest a general parallel if not knowledge of earlier patterns of assimilation of native religiosity. Given such awareness, there were efforts, evident first through ritual practice and construction, to explain or resolve such ambiguity. First, small Buddhist temples called *jingūji* were constructed at shrine compounds like Ise and Usa from the eighth century on, in which clerics venerated buddhas/*bodhisattvas* on behalf of the *kami,* who were apparently seen as inferior and unenlightened beings in need of aid. Second, the ruling house itself incorporated Buddhist figures into its own ancestral veneration, as the shrine at Usa came to match Ise in its landholdings and prominence during the eighth century as a shrine of the ruling family; in particular, the main *kami* came, by the late eighth century, to be seen as not merely the spirit of the fifth-century ruler Ōjin but at the same time as the *bodhisattva* Hachiman (Yahata).

Nara Buddhism and the advent of new Buddhist lineages. A radical break did not actually occur in Japanese Buddhism with the move of the capital from Nara to Nagaoka and, shortly thereafter, Heian (Kyōto). The great Nara temples authorized by the government remained large institutions, and the lineages within them remained the province of a small number of monks.

The ruler Kanmu (r. 781–806) moved the capital and made efforts to strengthen the authority of the sovereign. He also sponsored new monastic and other envoys to China and welcomed the related advent of new lineages of Japanese Buddhism. The monks Saichō and Kūkai were the first monks to introduce major new lineages after their respective studies in Tang China in the early ninth century.

Tendai lineages. Saichō, who trained primarily in Tian-tai Buddhism there, with some studies of esoteric Buddhism as well, returned first in 805 and gained the patronage of Kanmu. Saichō succeeded in convincing Kanmu to introduce a new system of ordination the next year; the system based the distribution of annual ordinands granted to temples on their affiliation with specific lineages, which increased the prominence of the lineages while at the same time, insofar as it was limited to males, producing a gendered framework that would continue throughout the history of Buddhism in Japan. In this way, as scholars have recently noted, the novel production of male lineages at the same time seems to have constituted a major source of the precipitous decline that occurred in nuns' ordinations in the Heian periods.

Based on his studies in China, especially at Mount Tiantai, Saichō created in his Tendai lineage a catholic study program that allowed for four major areas of concentration while promoting the *Lotus Sūtra* as the greatest scripture in Mahāyāna Buddhism: esoteric Buddhism (Tantra), meditation, precepts, and the "perfect teaching" (Tendai). With the permission of the court, Saichō established a precepts platform at the temple complex he had established at Mount Hiei, not far from the capital of Heian. There, he used the Mahāyāna *bodhisattva* precepts based on the *Fan wang ching* scripture in clerical ordinations as an alternative to the traditional precepts, which had been carried over from early Buddhist into Mahāyāna Buddhist ordinations throughout East Asia. Saichō, drawing on Chinese Tian-tai doctrine, divided Buddhist teachings into classifications of scriptures, with the *Lotus Sūtra* and *Mahānīrvāna Sūtra* at the apex, and added new classifications conferring priority on scriptures (*sūtra*) over clerics' treatises (*śāstra*); he especially criticized Hossō and Sanron for their dependence on treatises. His acquisition of a precepts platform, teachings, as well as debates he had with monks of the Nara temples, illustrate that Saichō was not on good terms with the leading Nara Buddhist institutions.

Shingon lineages. Kūkai also went to China in 804 but returned a year later than Saichō, in 806. Kūkai studied esoteric Buddhist (Tantric) discourse and practice in the Chinese imperial capital of Chang-an under the monk Hui-kuo, and given his master's death, he was given a large number of esoteric Buddhist scriptures, ritual implements, and Buddha relics to take with him back to Japan. Kūkai initially found himself in a disadvantageous position vis-à-vis the Heian court, but he emphasized his unique possession of esoteric ritual knowledge and made a sustained effort to demonstrate it through performing esoteric Buddhist consecrations (*kanjō;* Skt. *abhiseka*) on behalf of large numbers of people, including the retired ruler Heizei (r. 806–809) and the leading clerics of the Nara Buddhist establishment. Kūkai's teaching emphasized that proper initiation into and practice of three mysteries lead to realization of buddhahood in this very body (*sokushin jōbutsu*): body (use of appropriate hand gestures), speech (sacred verbal formulae, *mantras*), and mind (use of *maṇḍalas*).

Given that the court believed his claims to ritual knowledge, Kūkai was often called upon to perform rites such as rain prayer. His increasingly close relationship with the court culminated in its granting him the temple Tōji in 822. From 834, the Shingon lineage received annual ordinands from the government. Although Kūkai introduced esoteric Buddhist precepts, he did so in collaboration with the official system of ordination, centered at Tōdaiji in Nara; thus, Shingon monks' ordinations would always be conducted only at Tōdaiji, guaranteeing an ongoing relationship between Shingon and the Nara lineages, especially Kegon and Sanron. In his later years, Kūkai retired to his remote temple complex at Mount Kōya, where he continued to write major treatises on esoteric Buddhism.

BUDDHISM IN THE MID-HEIAN AND KAMAKURA (1192–1333) PERIODS. From the mid-ninth century on, the royal court and those surrounding it underwent fundamental changes that made the Ritsuryō legal system, developed in the eighth century, increasingly irrelevant to the lives of the aristocrats and Buddhist clerics. The advent in 859 CE of the domination of the court by the northern Fujiwara family in the form of the system of chancellors and regents (*sekkan taisei*) governing on behalf of the *tennō* meant that the latter was increasingly reduced to primarily symbolic, ritual roles.

Annual court ceremonies and temple-shrine patronage. This development was also intimately related to the increasingly prominent series of annual court ceremonies *(nenjū gyōji)*, the fuller outlines of which became apparent by the 840s and that included some major Buddhist rites, including the Latter Seven-Day Rite, the Misai-e Assembly, the Buddha's Birthday Assembly (Kanbutsu-e), the Buddha-Names Assembly (Butsumyō-e), and the Seasonal Sūtra Recitation (of the Greater Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra), the last of which would be performed first in 859 CE, corresponding to the beginning of the regent-chancellor system. Meanwhile, Buddhist ordinands were granted to pray for the salvation of the *kami* even at great shrines like Kamo and Kasuga, beginning the very same year; on the occasion of the petition, the Hiei monk Eryō (c. 802–860) employed, as the very first historical instance, the explanation that the *kami* were "traces" (*suijaku*) of the Buddha (*honji*, "essence"), a discourse that would become increasingly common from the eleventh century on.

Ritual knowledge, transmission, and the increasing prominence of esoteric Buddhist lineages. From the tenth to twelfth centuries, mid-ranking aristocratic families typically tried to acquire ritual knowledge that would be useful at court, often through trying to gain their sons employ in record keeping on behalf of the government. At the same time, of course, the northern Fujiwaras themselves attempted to gain unparalleled access to knowledge of such ritual, and in the era just after the unrivaled leadership of the great Fujiwara no Michinaga (966–1027), established the first of many great treasuries of the era: Uji (no) Hōzō, which included great quantities of documents, objects, and Buddhist scriptures.

Indeed, the introduction of esoteric Buddhist lineages, which emphasized the importance of initiation into—access to—secret rituals and the related possession of ritual knowledge, was undoubtedly also related to this trend in the court. The esoteric Buddhist lineages, while partially influenced by earlier examples of temples' amassing of large collections of Buddhist scriptures, especially attempted to increase their collections of not merely Buddhist scriptures but also ritual treatises as well as oral transmissions (*kuden*) concerning ritual practice.

Shingon traditions drew upon the charisma associated uniquely with Kūkai's image to emphasize their esoteric lineages. Monks of Shingon lineage produced over time many biographies of Kūkai (*Kūkaiden*), though it is apparent that they wrote little along the lines of the treatises that Kūkai had himself produced; indeed, only one major treatise was written about Kūkai's works in the first two centuries after his death. From the late eleventh century on, when the larger aristocracy made increasing efforts to recover the high level of Chinese studies of the early Heian period, Shingon monks began to produce new editions of Kūkai's works and treatises on them, while the court scholar Fujiwara no Atsumitsu (1063–1144) wrote treatises about Kūkai's esoteric Buddhist writings.

Shingon lineages also increasingly began to splinter into lines of ritual and textual interpretation, particularly demonstrated in varied oral transmissions that usually claimed special access to knowledge of the "original teaching" (*honsetsu*) of Kūkai—interpreted as orthodox Shingon instruction. Partially in an effort to explain the oral transmissions concerning esoteric ritual practice, Shingon monks began to compile copious iconographic commentaries and other works, eventually producing extremely large manuscript treasuries.

The advent of Pure Land Buddhist discourses and practices. From early on, Tendai featured monks interested not only in esoteric Buddhist practice but also in the practice of the *nenbutsu,* that is, of chanting the name of the Buddha Amida (Sanskrit, Amitābha) in hopes of birth in his Pure Land at the time of death—or to help enable unsettled spirits find peace. Although there were clearly esoteric Buddhist elements in the Hiei monk Genshin's (942–1017) *Ōjō yōshū* (*Essentials for Birth in the Pure Land,* written in 985 CE), the work featured as its main theme the reasons for and means by which one can be born in the Pure Land of the Buddha Amida, and had a great influence on the aristocracy.

Meanwhile, semi-independent clerics increasingly inhabited areas adjacent to and sometimes distant from the major Buddhist monasteries, and they were referred to most commonly as ascetics or "holy ones" (*hijiri*). Perhaps influenced in part by the precedent of Gyōki, such figures typically had much more interaction with those in the general populace than other monks. They were commonly associated with one or the other of the major temple complexes, so they seem most often to have not been completely independent.

Since even the early ninth century veneration of prominent *bodhisattvas* such as Kannon, Miroku (Skt. Maitreya), and Jizō, and sometimes of resident holy men or mountain ascetics (*shugenja*) was increasingly common not only among aristocrats and the populace in the area in or near the capital but also in outlying regions. For many in the aristocracy and in the larger populace, Buddhist practice had little to do with scholastic study or participation in a school of Buddhism but rather with the perceived powers of divinities in specific temples—such as at Kumano, where multiple divinities, identified as local manifestations of buddha figures like the Pure Land Buddha and Kannon, were prominent objects of pilgrimage and veneration throughout premodern times.

Tendai lineages and shifts in Heian Buddhism. The major Tendai temples at Mount Hiei and Onjōji (Miidera) profited from the combination of their locale in the mountains and comparative geographical nearness to the capital and, in that context, especially close relationship with leading aristocrats such as those in the northern Fujiwaras, the family that dominated court politics from the mid-ninth to mid-eleventh centuries.

Ryōgen (912–985) was in many ways a paradigmatic and particularly early example of a monk at Hiei who negotiated the difficult path to clerical success through parlaying personal skills and alliances with powerful figures of his era. Following his impressive performance at a debate on the occasion of the Yuima-e Assembly at Kōfukuji in Nara, Ryōgen became known to members of the court and, eventually, Fujiwara no Tadahira (880–949) and Fujiwara no Morosuke (908–960), the most powerful aristocrats of the day, became his patrons in exchange for a variety of ritual services. Two of the sons of Morosuke were ordained under Ryōgen. One, Jinzen (943–990), eventually became head of the complex at Hiei, where he not only engaged in regular rituals on behalf of his family but also received large private donations of estates directed to monastic halls he controlled; in this way, Jinzen amassed many estates and effectively directed their earnings to halls where members of his family would, ideally, continue to reside as monks in perpetuity.

By the late Heian era, in a manner similar to Shingon, Tendai lineages increasingly splintered along lines of distinct ritual and textual transmission. It was, in particular, monks of Tendai lineages who in this connection introduced more and more discourses related to "original enlightenment" (*hongaku*), which were originally rooted in Chinese commentarial works that concerned the dichotomy between gradual or ascending approaches to the Buddhist path and those based on initial acknowledgement of the practitioner's inherently awakened status as "buddha."

Buddhist knowledge, proselytization, and the rise of "new Kamakura Buddhisms." Consideration of this explosion of literatures in the so-called established *kenmitsu* (exoteric-esoteric) lineages, apparent in Tendai discussions on *hongaku* and in Shingon efforts to uncover the "original teaching" (*honsetsu*) of the twelfth century and thereafter, indicates that what scholars have referred to as the "new Kamakura schools" of Japanese Buddhism did not, in any sense, exclusively demonstrate intellectual and religious vibrancy during the Kamakura and later eras.

For example, in connection with the explosion of literatures in the *kenmitsu* lineages, it is clear that they established preaching traditions even before the advent of the new Kamakura schools. One occasion for such practice was that of esoteric ritual (*shuhō*), in which a ritual pronouncement (*hyōbyaku*) would be made, and the texts of such pronouncements came to be commonly assembled in collections by the mid-twelfth century; soon after, liturgical prayers (*kōshiki*) also became increasingly common, as they were read on the occasion of Buddhist assemblies. Another series of prominent examples of such traditions included the Agui preaching lines, which began with one of the sons of the illustrious scholar and politician Fujiwara no Michinori (Shinzei; d. 1159), the Tendai monk Chōken (c. 1126–1203).

Moreover, lay aristocrats were also intimately involved in the "popularization" and intellectual activities of Buddhism in the late Heian period. Such activity was often connected with aristocratic or royal cloisters (*monzeki*) following the same general pattern as represented by the halls Jinzen established at Hiei. Lay involvement was registered not merely in the writing by figures like Ōe no Masafusa (1041–1111) of ritual pronouncements and Fujiwara no Atsumitsu's commentaries on Kūkai's esoteric treatises, but also in figures such as the aristocrat Fujiwara no Yorinaga (1120–1156), who studied Buddhist logic under the tutelage of masters at the Nara temples Tōdaiji and, especially, Kōfukuji. Moreover, Ōe no Masafusa and other aristocrats continued the practice of compiling hagiographical accounts (*ōjōden*) of those thought to have been born in the Pure Land at the times of their deaths.

Meanwhile, warriors who proclaimed themselves Fujiwaras and governed at the autonomous area of Hiraizumi to the northeast in the twelfth century followed patterns established by the northern Fujiwaras and retired emperors, establishing complexes of temples where they were entombed and the objects of Pure Land mortuary practice; thus, even lay believers who were apparently of cultural backgrounds distinct from the population of the capital area appropriated Buddhist practices to embolden their authority and improve their destinies in the afterlife.

The prince-monk Shukaku (1150–1202) drew upon his privileged access to multiple lineages of Buddhist and court ritual, clerical and general scholarship, and poetry to inaugurate the construction of a vast manuscript collection at the main Omuro cloister of the Shingon temple Ninnaji. Indeed, cultural salons or enclaves such as that at Shukaku's cloister, or those of certain other mountain temples in the area near the capital, brought together monks and aristocrats (sometimes disillusioned with capital politics) to engage in conversations (*kōdan*, *zōtan*), and thus helped give rise over time to a variety of aesthetic lineages. For example, Shingon and Tendai cloisters had a great impact on the development of literary treatises and poetry houses. Meanwhile, the powerful Tendai cleric Jien (1155–1225), in this connection, was not only a famous poet and rhetorician but also the author of the first treatise on Japanese history, *Gukan shō*.

The Nara Buddhist community, in fact, was also increasingly active. Although individual figures of Hossō lineage were prominent, such as the important scholar- and preacher-monk Jōkei (1155–1213), a grandson of Fujiwara no Michinori (Shinzei) who was well known in his day for his ritual pronouncements and liturgical prayers, practice of recitation of the historical Buddha's name (*shaka nenbutsu*), criticisms of Hōnen's (1133–1212) new Pure Land lineage, as well as faith in the *bodhisattvas* Miroku and Kannon, the lineages associated with Tōdaiji were most active, especially Kegon and Shingon. (Precept lineages also developed, which will be discussed in the next section.) Among the figures especially active were Chōgen (1121–1206), Myōe (1170–1232), Sōshō (1202–1278), and his disciple Gyōnen (1240–1321). Chōgen, a semi-independent holy man (*hijiri*) of Shingon lineage, was appointed the fundraiser for the rebuilding of Tōdaiji following its burning in the 1180s and supported Pure Land Buddhist practice through establishing a series of subsidiary temples—in that connection, acquiring buddha relics and promoting their veneration. Myōe attempted to restore Shingon and Kegon lineages to what he saw as their appropriate prominence—and like Jōkei openly opposed Hōnen's lineage; however, he is also known for his preoccupation with revelatory dreams, his establishment of the temple Kōzanji in Kyōto, related amassing of a large manuscript collection, authorship of a treatise on the esoteric *kōmyō shingon* death rite, and establishment of a convent for female survivors of the Hōjō family following the Jōkyū war.

Sōshō was especially eminent in Kegon studies, although he also had a broad background in the study of Buddhist logic, Yogācāra (J. Yuishiki), and *abhidharma* (J. Kusha). He was thus associated with the developing eclectic study tradition at Tōdaiji and left a massive corpus of commentaries and other works. Moreover, Sōshō, apparently in connection with the precedent of the recent Jōkei, became devoted to the *bodhisattva* Miroku, a topic about which he also wrote. His disciple Gyōnen became just as influential in the scholastic tradition at Tōdaiji, writing the famous work *Combined Study of the Eight Lineages* (*Hasshū kōyō*).

Thus, the monastic lineages of Tendai, Shingon, and the major Nara temples featured within their complexes and in their relationships with the court, aristocracy, and the larger population aspects often associated with the "new" Kamakura lineages. Temples of Nara as well as the Tendai complex at Hiei, moreover, sponsored buddha-relic assemblies open to women from the tenth century; in the latter case, such activity was undertaken especially with monks' mothers in mind, yet it also featured large processions in the capital that were attended by great numbers of the local populace. Female members of imperial house, especially retired empresses of the northern Fujiwaras, would be especially involved in relic veneration during the era of retired sovereigns. At the same time, fully ordained nuns became increasingly rare during the Heian period, and the major mountain complexes of the Tendai and Shingon lineages prohibited the presence of women; and while female aristocrats would often take varying levels of tonsure as household nuns, particularly in their old age, such activities were most often taken after the death of a spouse or even in desperation and thus did not suggest that the conditions of female Buddhist practice in any sense matched that achieved in the Nara era.

Kamakura Buddhisms. Given that those involved with "new" movements of the Kamakura period possessed a variety of relationships with their respective groups, it is useful to use the general category of "lineage" rather than "school" to analyze their activities.

The first Pure Land Buddhist lineage was that of Hōnen (1133–1212), who was trained at Mount Hiei but came to teach that only the chanting of the name of the Buddha Amida was appropriate to the Final Age of the Buddhist *dharma* (*mappō*), an ancient discourse introduced many centuries earlier that taught that the world would enter a darker era with increasing temporal distance from the life of the historical Buddha. The appeal of the Pure Land Buddha Amida was already especially associated with his ability to transform believers to his realm despite the problems of the Final Age, and such discourse was increasingly common not only in Tendai but also Shingon lineages. However, with the virtual absence of social mobility during Fujiwara preeminence as well as the increasing decentralization of power since the ascendance of the retired emperors—including the multiple power blocs all the more evident with the rise of the Kamakura shogunate—many in the aristocracy and greater populace realized the remarkably unstable character of their era and associated it all the more with the dire straits of *mappō.* Hōnen and his promotion of the exclusive practice (*senju*) of the *nenbutsu* chant thus gained a ready audience, especially among the aristocracy. Given that Hōnen called for such exclusive practice, high-ranking Tendai clerics of Hiei and of other *kenmitsu* temples were incensed, so he not only originally had to leave Hiei but would eventually be exiled and repeatedly denounced. His numerous disciples developed multiple lineages of belief and practice, including that of Shinran (1173–1262) whose would become, like Hōnen's, one of the main schools delineated by the government among the major Buddhist institutions of the Tokugawa period. Another prominent yet unrelated Pure Land lineage developing from the late thirteenth century on was that of the Jishū, based on the beliefs and practices of the itinerant monk Ippen (1239–1289).

Among other novel lineages that began to emerge in the early Kamakura period were those focused on sitting meditation (Zen; Chinese, Chan), which particularly drew upon beliefs and practices of contemporary Buddhism in Song Dynasty China. The monk Eisai (alternatively, Yōsai; 1141–1215) was also initially trained at Mount Hiei and went to China, where he studied Tendai and Zen, the latter of which flourished in the Song. Eisai returned from China and established Zen temples from the 1190s on, and he freely drew upon Tendai and esoteric Buddhist teachings and practices in his exploration of Rinzai Zen practice; though opposed by many in Nara and at Hiei, Eisai was supported by the Kamakura shogunate. Not long after, a Hiei monk named Dōgen (1200–1253) also traveled to China and studied the strict Zen of a contemporary master of the Cao-dong (J. Sōtō) lineage. Dōgen stressed the importance of "just sitting" (*shikan taza*) meditation as itself an end—attempting thereby to especially undercut any division between discourses of gradual and sudden attainment of enlightenment. It was, however, only with the developing Five Mountains (*gozan*) temple system of the Rinzai lineage, patronized by the Kamakura and then, especially, by the Ashikaga shogunates, that meditation lineages became increasingly prominent; from the late medieval era on, Zen temples would also become extremely prominent among the more general populace and were especially known for their performance of funerals, including the bestowal of posthumous ordinations (*kaimyō*). In the case of each of these kinds of temples, contrary to the images that would develop after Rinzai and Sōtō were assigned the designation of distinct schools in the Tokugawa period, it was common for temples to include monks affiliated with both lineages.

The Zen lineages spawned a number of convents. In fact, a system of Five Mountains Rinzai convents developed in Kyōto and Kamakura that complemented the more famous monastic system of the same name. A prominent nunnery was Tōkeiji in Kamakura. The wife of the late military ruler Hōjō Tokimune, who took the name of Kakusan (1252–1305) after her ordination, had studied with her husband under the Chinese Zen master Wu-xue (1226–1286), established Tōkeiji with her son in 1282; the convent, as a unique site outside of state restrictions, became prominent as a "divorce" nunnery for women who sought sanctuary from the seventeenth century on. In Sōtō Zen lineages, there were only a few convents, although fairly large groups of nuns were often trained in hermitages outside the gates of monasteries. At the same time, women were the object of the majority of recorded Sōtō Zen funerals in the late medieval era, which may be related to their status as lay patrons and, perhaps, to increasing associations of women with impurity in late medieval society, given the introduction of the Chinese *"Blood-bowl" Sūtra* (*ketsubonkyō*): the work depicted women's assignment to birth in a blood hell due to menstrual blood and the necessity of performing rites for their salvation.

Another series of new lineages that developed were those of *Nichiren* or Lotus Buddhism, which were based on the teachings and practices associated with the monk Nichiren (1222–1282), who seems to have believed that he would reform Tendai lineages through returning them to exclusive practice of devotion to the *Lotus Sūtra.* Nichiren promoted the chanting of the title of the scripture and called for the establishment of a Buddhocracy, whereupon the world would be realized as a Buddha Realm. Nichiren's lineages were also distinct insofar as Nichiren was himself from the eastern region (*Kantō*) of the main island rather than the western area, which was where most of the other new lineages initially developed. A series of lineages would develop based on the teachings of his leading disciples; two of these lineages, Nichirenshū and Nichiren Shōshū, would become particularly prominent in later eras.

Over the course of the Kamakura period, Precept lineages also developed within *kenmitsu* Buddhism. Although the Sennyūji monk Shunjō (1166–1227), the Kōfukuji monk Kakujō (1194–1249), and Tōdaiji's Enshō (1221–1277) were prominent figures, it was Eison (1201–1290) who had the greatest impact on the development of such lineages.

Eison, trained originally at the Shingon temple Daigoji in Kyōto and at Mount Kōya, inaugurated a Precept lineage (Risshū; later called Shingon Risshū) after developing a conviction concerning the importance of proper observance of the precepts and studying at the Nara Precepts temple Saidaiji in the 1230s. Eison also received instruction, at the time, in the "self-administered precepts" (*jisei jukai*) from the monk Kakujō at nearby Kōfukuji, in which one could administer one's own clerical precepts rite—in cases where qualified precepts masters were absent—through taking a vow directly in front of an image of the Buddha. Eison established the Precept lineage at Saidaiji, where he engaged in large-scale ordinations for both lay and monastic believers; in this connection, he was especially devoted to the historical buddha Śākyamuni. Eison also helped revive the convent of Hokkeji in Nara when he administered the Precepts to nuns there in 1245, leading to the nunnery's flourishing and reclassification as a subtemple of Saidaiji. Later, Eison, especially together with his active disciple Ninshō (1217–1303), came to engage in a variety of charitable activities for groups of so-called non-persons, or *hinin*, disadvantaged lepers and others at the margins of society (sometimes represented as having sacred powers to dissolve defilement).

In addition, *kenmitsu* Buddhist lineages spawned the beginnings of literatures and rituals of "Shintō" (originally pronounced Jindō) by giving rise in the late Kamakura period to new lineages that concerned themselves with understanding and appropriating the true character and power of the *kami,* which were understood in specifically Buddhist terms. It was, particularly, in Shingon Jingi (*kami*-worship) lineages and Tendai Jingi lineages that esoteric *kami* initiation developed. In particular, these lineages conducted so-called *shintō kanjō* consecrations patterned on initiatory *denbō kanjō* consecration rites. Just as the ruler began to undergo Buddhist consecration at the time of his accession (*sokui kanjō*) from the late thirteenth century on—and clearly related to its development—the Buddhist Jingi lineages developed such consecrations to enable initiates such as mountain ascetics (*shugenja*) and monks at shrines to ritually and symbolically acquire rulership in imitation of the *tennō.* In terms of ceremonial space, such activities ritually activated the trace essence (*honji-suijaku*) associations between *kami* and Buddha.

There were also discourses that cut across a large number of the new lineages that developed. As noted above, *hongaku* discourses in Tendai lineages and similar discourses in Shingon lineages (*honsetsu*, etc.) constituted important aspects of the explosion of Buddhist literatures of the era, especially from the twelfth century on. For example, discourses associated with the new lineages, such as attainment of enlightenment in an instant, focus on a single factor as the key to salvation, the universally encompassing character of enlightenment, and the fluidity of the relationship between moral causality and salvation all found expression in *hongaku* discussions.

BUDDHISM IN THE MUROMACHI AND TOKUGAWA PERIODS. Buddhist lineages and their temples underwent a series of fundamental changes over the course of the Muromachi (1336–1573) and Tokugawa (1600–1867) periods. At the same time, larger trends occurred in Buddhist belief and practice that, when considered with larger societal developments, provide insight into the extent and character of the "popularization" and, eventually, "nationalization" of Buddhism. Insofar as the Muromachi era witnessed the most unstable series of wars and related events in Japanese history, resulting in decentralized rule on an unprecedented level, it is not surprising that Buddhist lineages and their temples experienced varying combinations of growth and instability. Early on, divided imperial lines struggled mutually for political legitimacy. In this and related contexts, theories elaborating the meaning of *kami* within Buddhist cosmology reached new levels of complexity. The discourse of "origin trace" (*honji suijaku*), which had arisen in *kenmitsu* Buddhist circles from the Heian period on and positioned buddhas/*bodhisattvas* as essences with *kami* manifestations, became a linchpin not only for Buddhist Shintō initiations but also for all manner of "Shintō" theories within the *kenmitsu* temple complexes.

Changes in the *Kenmitsu* lineages. Meanwhile, institutionally, *kenmitsu* Buddhist lineages continued to thrive and prosper in a number of regions, while a number of the newer lineages continued to spread their practices, accompanied by their messages. The impetus to create larger and larger manuscript treasuries, increasingly accompanied by interest in continental Asian materials, particularly evident from the twelfth century on, continued throughout the Kamakura period and into the Muromachi period. Printing technology was appropriated to produce canons at Shingon's Mount Kōya, and temples in areas such as Kamakura and Nara printed Buddhist scriptures, Zen literature, and other works from the continent. At the same time, the production and hand copying (*shosha*) of vast quantities of works continued especially in the Shingon, Tendai, multiple Nara, and most of the newer Buddhist lineages; although substantially produced even from the twelfth century on, legends of the origins of temples (*engimono*), temple documentary or ritual records (*monjo*, *kikigaki*, *kirigami*, etc.), a variety of commentaries (*zuzō sho*, *shō*, *shōmono*), compilations (*shū*, *ruiju*), and biographies (*den*) increased dramatically in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Several of the major monasteries of the *kenmitsu* lineages, especially Enryakuji (Mount Hiei: Tendai), Onjōji (Tendai), Kōfukuji (Nara: Hossō), Tōdaiji (Nara: Kegon, Shingon), and Kongōbuji (Mount Kōya: Shingon), took advantage of the extremely decentralized conditions to not merely improve their economic conditions through attempting to acquire all manner of new lands and often engage in overseas trade, but to commonly establish fighting forces to serve on behalf of their interests. In connection with offerings of land, branch temples and shrines were often constructed, in which the resident Buddhist divinities or *kami* were commonly seen by those in the area as arbiters of natural forces and in need of propitiation or veneration. They routinely also established new temples, including sometimes relatively large manuscript collections, to spread ritual knowledge and, sometimes, monastic learning.

Zen and the culture of learning. At the same time, Zen lineages increasingly took unique positions among the newer lineages with their success at winning the patronage of the Ashikaga (Muromachi) shogunate, which came particularly to promote Rinzai Zen lineages and the Five Mountains system from the late fourteenth century on. The Zen traditions, similar to the relationship between the *kenmitsu* lineages and the larger aristocracy, began in their patronage by the shogunate to influence the production of new cultural practices and, eventually, aesthetic lineages. The leaders of the shogunate were especially interested in cultivating the cultural traits of the aristocracies of Japan as well as China, and certain arts associated with Zen presumably carried such traits (and, in part, Buddhist meaning as well). The development of Japanese landscape arts—especially landscape paintings and rock gardens—from the late fourteenth century on was especially indebted to those in the cultural enclaves of the Five Mountains Zen temples and convents. This culture of learning, commonly represented in the form of paintings of and literary references to the Zen monk's study (*shosai*), included Buddhist contemplation, analysis, and discussion of continental Asian scholarship. Moreover, the shogunate academy Ashikaga Gakkō, which developed by the 1420s, was directly indebted to those in the Five Mountains institutions. In addition, beginning in the fourteenth century, the shogunate supported the inception of tea parties reminiscent of similar events in China. The monk Murata Shukō (1423–1502), who studied under the unconventional Zen cleric Ikkyū at Daitokuji, developed the first form of the later tea ceremony, which would eventually blend the influence of such aristocratic practice with those of the general populace.

Developments in other newer lineages. Meanwhile, recluses associated with Jishū and Precept lineages were heavily involved in Linked Poetry (*renga*) gatherings, which were similar to the cultural enclaves yet were marked by bringing together persons of different status on common ground. These figures were thus connected also with the "nonhumans" (*hinin*)—itinerant priests, entertainers, traders, and lepers often living in liminal riverbank areas (*kawara*), where cadavers were commonly left. The origins of such gatherings may have also been related to Eison's and Ninshō's activities of the self-administered precepts, which also brought together persons of differing classes in activity marked by equality, and constituted leagues (*ikki*) that would transform into groups challenging authorities from the fifteenth century on. Other of the newer lineages of Buddhism variously made inroads into rural areas. Although lineages such as Shinran's and Nichiren's had moved to some degree into the rural areas of the eastern area (Kantō) of the main island as early as the late Kamakura era and the Jishū and Precept lineages were comparatively mobile, most of the newer lineages had little success in rural areas before well into the Muromachi period. It was particularly with the increasing decentralization of power and social mobility from the mid-fifteenth century on that the newer lineages became especially successful in attracting larger numbers of adherents, and such conversions were often made in connection with leagues (*ikki*) that these lineages offered—that is, related to efforts to challenge the authority of local lords, their retainers, and governors. Shinran's True Pure Land lineage (Jōdo shinshū, or Ikkō shū) became especially prominent from the fifteenth century, when the eighth patriarch Rennyo (1415–1499) led it. Shinran's teaching especially appealed to the general populace through its emphasis on the Final Age of the Buddhist *dharma* and, in that context, the notion that all, whether monk or lay, are equally incapable of contributing in any way to their own salvation; Shinran had indeed himself said he was "neither monk nor layman" and went so far as to take a wife (based on an instruction in vision from the *bodhisattva* Kannon)—the precedent for True Pure Land priests' marriage from that time forward. Arguing that only one recitation of the *nenbutsu* with faith was sufficient for birth in Amida's Pure Land, Shinran and his successors gradually developed a willing audience among the population, especially over the course of the Muromachi period, when traditionally accepted class distinctions were increasingly seen by some as fundamentally arbitrary in character. Rennyo, after his persecution by Hiei and move to the Hokuriku region of northern Japan, transformed the lineage by appealing especially to all classes of rural villagers (especially peasants and low-level samurai) and emphasizing the universal and simple character of Amidist beliefs and practices; in doing so, and given the gradual rise in literacy, Rennyo attempted to expand the number of people who could read monks' sermons in the lineage by encouraging use of the syllabary rather Chinese characters in their recording. He also promoted the use of parishes or confraternities (*kō*), where villagers met in the local place of practice (*dōjō*), located in a temple or in the home of a supporting layman, who was usually a low-level samurai. The *ikkō ikki* leagues that rebelled against local governors beginning in the 1570s, featuring the low-level samurai and large numbers of peasants—the latter of which did not want to pay rents to local lords—were often at variance with Rennyo's wishes, but following successes in Hokuriku in 1488 Rennyo went on to take advantage of the new wealth, land, and military strength to establish the Honganji temple in the capital of Kyōto in 1496. The Nichiren lineage (Hokke shū) also became similarly powerful through the development of leagues, although in this case it converted its followers increasingly in urban areas, especially in Kyōto during the 1530s.

The arrival of Europeans and the nationalization of Buddhist "schools." Following the mid-sixteenth-century appearance of the Europeans and their religion, the leading samurai destroyed the military powers of the Buddhists within decades. The newly formed ruling Tokugawa shogunate (1600–1867) then decided to incorporate Buddhists into its administrative structure. It first ordered each major "school" of Japanese Buddhism to have a main temple for the training of clerics and a strictly hierarchical system of main and branch temples, as well as possess rules for monks' status, discipline, and clothing within the organization. By order of the shogunate, a national system of main-branch temples (*honmatsu seido*) was developed, which forced all temples to affiliate with one or other of the nationally designated schools. The shogunate eventually required that all Japanese households (*ie*) register with and become parishioners of their local temple, a system that became universal by roughly the 1660s. The development of this national system of congregations or parishes (*danka seido*) meant that Buddhist institutions, which had directly or indirectly affected much of Japanese cultural and social life for a millennium, became even more pervasive. Each household, through its membership, could not easily change its affiliation from one temple or school of Buddhism to another, while it at the same time was required to support the temple, particularly through donating to clerics on the occasions of family funerals or related memorial rites. In this way, the members of most households came increasingly to associate Buddhist temples with death or mortuary rites. At the same time, it is clear that Buddhism thereby became an integral part of ritual life for virtually all Japanese. The traditional *kenmitsu* and the newer lineages tended to profit financially from the national system set in place by the shogunate. True Pure Land lineages, given the wealth of the Honganji, continued despite early subjugation efforts by the first shogun of the era, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616), to enjoy special privileges vis-à-vis the military government, such as the continuing right to marry. Most of the major temples increasingly offered a whole variety of ritual services on behalf of the local populations. Those with famous buddha, *bodhisattva,* or other images increasingly offered regular displays (*kaichō*) of their sacred icons. Buddhist monks typically asked, as had commonly been the case throughout history, for donations when they conducted occasional rituals, though in this case they also enjoyed the increasing benefit of the new series of required funerary and memorial rites. Meanwhile, temples of Shingon and other lineages undertook to reorganize and expand their manuscript collections not so much in connection with record-keeping requirements as an effort to revive their intellectual life, which had particularly suffered with the breakdown of shogunal authority from the late fifteenth century on. Although the shogunate tried to retain control over religious practice, transinstitutional practices such as pilgrimage became more vibrant than ever. Meanwhile, various groups of so-called Kumano nuns traveled the isles and preached, sometimes promoting a physical pilgrimage but more often using "Kumano Ten-Realms *Maṇḍala*" (*kumano jikkai mandara*) paintings to endorse a spiritual pilgrimage to salvation—avoiding the torments of the blood hell, which they taught awaited most women at death. Moreover, the fact that print had become a virtually universal medium in the burgeoning merchant economy meant that a whole variety of easily accessible publications appeared in connection with practices like pilgrimage. Guidebooks to pilgrimage sites, literary descendants in part of the earlier temple legend collections, flourished as such sites grew more popular than ever before, despite the shogunate's efforts to limit physical movement.

BUDDHISM IN THE MEIJI PERIOD (1868–1912) AND MODERN JAPAN. Given the increasing intellectual current of "nativism" (*kokugaku*), which was not only connected with movement toward the development of a nation-state and modernization but also increasingly with a call for the return to full sovereignty of the *tennō* and the rejection of foreign influences, it is not surprising that Buddhist institutions, long gateways to continental learning and civilization, came to be subjected to all manner of criticisms.

Following patterns established on a small scale from the mid-seventeenth century on by lords of certain local domains, the new government immediately decided to separate *kami*-worshipping shrines from Buddhist temples by force, taking a policy of "Separation of *Kami* and Buddhas" (*shinbutsu bunri*) and producing what would come to be called "State Shintō" *(kokka shintō)*. The sharply anti-Buddhist policies and tone of government statements created an atmosphere rife for exploitation, whereupon a virtual cultural revolution occurred in which Buddhist images and temples were purged throughout the Japanese isles. This purge, which came to known as "Expelling Buddhism and Destroying Śākyamuni" (*haibutsu kishaku*), began as soon as the new government policy was announced: a *kami*-worshipping priest led an armed group that stormed the Hie Shrine, part of the larger Enryakuji temple complex at Mount Hiei, and burned several hundred Buddhist images and scriptures. From this point on, violence against Buddhist institutions became rampant.

By 1871, the worst remnants of the purge were over, and Buddhist clerics, sometimes together with and sometimes in opposition to the government, began to make efforts to reconceive of and newly represent the relevance of Buddhist belief and practice to Japanese society. In response to the most prominent ideological attacks on institutional Buddhists—that monks and temples did not contribute to the nation, that their faith was foreign and counter to that of the nation, and that they held to ahistorical and mythic beliefs—they responded by engaging, increasingly along transsectarian (ecumenical) lines, in working on behalf of the population by constructing hospitals, aiding the poor, helping those in prison, feeding the ill of other lands, and also using their organizations to aid the Japanese military overseas.

For institutional Buddhists, the national and international unity of their faith was mediated by a transnational Asian Buddhism. Speaking of the "Three Realms" (India, China, Japan), a Japanese term originally used prior to nation-states (which also appropriated the same Japanese word, *koku/kuni*), they drew upon premodern discourses of the Tōdaiji monk Gyōnen and others who had attempted to legitimate Buddhist belief and practice in the Japanese isles through appealing to the presumed unified transmission of a singular and authentic Buddhist tradition. In the same period, Daisetsu Teitarō ("D.T.") Suzuki's (1870–1966) translation of *The Awakening of Faith* attempted to establish a "common ground" for all "true Buddhists" beyond attachment to "sectarian tenets," in this case an essential Mahāyāna doctrine represented as in no way inferior to the presumably more scientific early Buddhism. While Suzuki's work would later find a larger readership in Europe and the United States and come to stress discourses on buddha-nature in the context of Zen belief, *The Awakening of Faith* would be studied by modern Japanese scholars because of its influence on Tendai and other discourses concerning "original enlightenment" (*hongaku*) and interpreted by some as having reached its flowering in Japanese Buddhism. Such interpretations, combined with the emphasis on the Three Nations, are thought to have also contributed conceptually to pan-Asianism, which in the form of the Japanese policy of the "Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere" rhetorically helped to legitimize military aggression on the continent during the Pacific war. Recently, however, some other Japanese scholars would argue that Japanese Buddhism, especially in its emphasis on "original enlightenment," was especially prone to antinomianism.

Another aspect of institutional Buddhism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that should be noted was the universalizing of clerical marriage. While monks sometimes possessed wives and children but did not speak openly of their presence (this was frequent enough that children had rights to a deceased monk's property in the Heian period), it was only with Shinran and the True Pure Land lineages he founded that Buddhist clerics began to openly marry. However, Buddhist clerics as a whole now lost whatever privileges or exceptional aspects that had marked them; as a key part of this process, the government dismantled in 1872 all laws differentiating clergy from others in the populace—including official proscriptions against clerical marriage and meat eating (*nikujiki saitai*)—so most monks married. At the same time, almost all nuns, who unlike their male counterparts were not bequeathed family temples by their fathers and did not feel pressure to themselves bequeath—instead "left home" to enter the clergy—are unmarried to this day.

While monastic Buddhists were generally supportive of the war effort—and on peaceful terms with the militarists—the government was particularly distrustful of those in "new religions," including Buddhist ones like Sōka Kyōiku Gakkai (later called Sōka Gakkai), Reiyūkai, Risshō Kōseikai, Shinnyoen, Gedatsukai, and Honmon Butsuryūshū. Members of many of the new religions were observed on a regular basis and often imprisoned. With the destruction of the major metropolitan centers and the freeing of the leaders of the new religions, the latter enjoyed tremendous successes during the early postwar era. All of the new religions, including those Buddhist in character, offered this-worldly benefits of various sorts (often healing) as well as related resolutions to spiritual/emotional problems.

Sōka Gakkai, a lay organization that began within the Nichiren Shōshū sect, grew from an organization of a few thousand at the beginning of the 1950s to a membership of more than 7 million by the early 1970s. This and other of the new religions were particularly successful in urban areas, where residents were often geographically separated from their larger families; one member of an urban family, often the wife or mother in the household, would commonly enter the movement, attend regular meetings, and eventually bring in other members. Sōka Gakkai featured regular group meetings for Buddhist practice featuring recitation of the title of the *Lotus Sūtra,* belief in the essential importance of active proselytization, and, in that connection, political action to promote world peace and salvation. Other Buddhist new religions tended to emphasize ancestor veneration as a major component, including Reiyūkai, out of which other new religions, such as Risshō Kōseikai, have developed.

From the 1970s on so-called "new-new religions" (*shinshin shūkyō*) have developed, which generally share characteristics different from those of the new religions, and of which those of Buddhist character have also been active. While the growth of most of the earlier new religions slowed, these groups attempted to offer new responses to the changing conditions in contemporary Japan. For the most part, groups like Agonshū and Aum Shinrikyō, like their non-Buddhist counterparts, tended to appeal to youth through not merely this-worldly benefits but also a more critical stance vis-à-vis the current social and political situation.

Recently, institutional Buddhists have faced charges of social-class and gender discrimination. With regard to social discrimination, research during the last decades of the twentieth century clarified that some major sects of Japanese Buddhism, such as Zen, were involved historically in the use of "discriminatory precept names" (*sabetsu kaimyō*)—the application of discriminatory religious titles to those deceased of the outcast class (*burakumin*). Finally, the creation and increased use of *mizuko kuyō* rites, veneration of the *bodhisattva* Jizō (*mizuko jizō*) practiced on behalf of the spirits of aborted fetuses, from the 1970s on in some Buddhist temples had an integral relationship with advertising campaigns and broader temple efforts to increase profits; the motives of the temples have been particularly called into question, and some have argued that such practices target young women by producing fear of the curses (*tatari*) of unsettled fetus spirits—thus constituting an unfair and discriminatory practice.

Institutional Buddhists have also been challenged by recent changes in death practices. The image of greedy monks has led some Japanese to prefer to forgo such funerals, choosing options such as common graves and the free scattering of the dead's ashes.

However, alongside the growth of new practices transinstitutional rites of more traditional vintage like the Obon day of the dead as well as pilgrimage have been retained if not reinvigorated. Moreover, the New Year's pilgrimage, while associated with Shintō shrines, is often made instead to Buddhist temples, where Buddhas and *bodhisattvas* are likewise approached with prayers. In addition, Buddhist pilgrimage circuits vibrant since the Tokugawa period, such as the eighty-eight-temple route undertaken to match the piety of the great Shingon master Kūkai, have become as prominent as ever.

Finally, we should note that the influence of Buddhist discourses on society has accompanied the vast increase in media. The development of the internet as well as the popularity of *manga* (comics), *anime* (animation), and films have contributed to a wide diffusion of Buddhist images and ideas. Buddhist temples, new (and "new-new") Buddhist religions, and a variety of other Buddhist groups have taken advantage of the web to explain their teachings and offer other services. From the 1970s on, *manga* series such as the great Tezuka Osamu's series entitled *Buddha* and *anime* series such as *Ikkyū-san* have enjoyed great popularity. Buddhist themes also figured prominently in novels and other literature. The prominence of Buddhist figures, themes, images, and teachings in these media indicates the extent to which Buddhism continues to have a vibrant and multiple influence on Japanese culture, while its institutional presence perdures despite a variety of challenges.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, Schools of, article on Japanese Buddhism; Japanese Religions, overview article; Missions, article on Buddhist Missions; Pilgrimage, article on Buddhist Pilgrimage in East Asia; Shintō; Shugendō.

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Specialized Studies

Most of the promising work on Buddhism in Japan has been conducted in specialized studies or edited volumes. The following discussion constitutes an incomplete list, due to the volume of materials recently published. Early Japanese Buddhism remains little studied, although Ryūichi Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse* (New York, 1999) offers a useful overview of Buddhism in the Nara period. For a discussion of women in Nara period Buddhism, see Hongō Masatsugu, "State Buddhism and Court Buddhism: The Role of Court Women in the Development of Buddhism from the Seventh to the Ninth Centuries," in *Enduring Faith: Women and Buddhism in Premodern Japan,* edited by Barbara Ruch (Ann Arbor, Mich, 2002); the Ruch work includes a broad array of studies on women's involvement in both lay and monastic Buddhism prior to the modern era. For studies of Saichō and Kūkai, see Paul Groner, *Saichō: The Establishment of the Tendai School* (Honolulu, Hawaii, 2000), and the Abé work noted above, as well as the older Yoshito Hakeda, *Kūkai: Major Works* (New York, 1972). There are a number of important studies of Buddhism from the mid-Heian to the Kamakura period. William LaFleur's *The Karma of Words: Buddhism and the Literary Arts in Medieval Japan* (Princeton, N.J., 1983) examined the introduction of karmic cosmology into Japanese literature. With regard to Buddhist activities or lineages that existed prior to the advent of the new Kamakura period lineages, see Mark L. Blum, *The Origins and Development of Pure Land Buddhism: A Study and Translation of Gyōnen's Jōdo Hōmon Genrushō* (New York, 2002); Paul Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei: Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century* (Honolulu, Hawaii, 2002); Janet Goodwin, *Alms and Vagabonds: Buddhist Temples and Popular Patronage in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu, Hawaii, 1994); Brian D. Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes: Buddha Relics and Power in Early Medieval Japan* (Cambridge, U.K., 2000); Jacqueline I. Stone, *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism* (Honolulu, Hawaii, 1999); George J. Tanabe, *Myōe the Dreamkeeper: Fantasy and Knowledge in Early Kamakura Buddhism* (Cambridge, U.K., 1992), and Mimi Hall Yiengpruksawan, *Hiraizumi: Buddhist Art and Regional Politics in Twelfth-Century Japan* (Cambridge, U.K., 1998). With regard to studies of new Kamakura period lineages, James Dobbins, *Jōdo Shinshū: Shin Buddhism in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu, Hawaii, 2002) remains the standard work on Shinran's lineage, as does William Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu, Hawaii, 1993) concerning Sōtō Zen; the *Senchakushū* English Translation Project, trans. and ed., *Hōnen's Senchakushū* (Honolulu, Hawaii, 1998), provides the best translation of Hōnen's most famous work while offering a useful introduction. There are also a number of translations of works by Nichiren. Other works increasingly establish the commonalities between the previously existing lineages and those newly developed in the Kamakura period, including relevant Shintō lineages. These include Mikael S. Adolphson, *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan* (Honolulu, Hawaii, 2000); Bernard Faure, *Visions of Power: Imagining Medieval Japanese Buddhism* (Princeton, N.J., 1996); Richard K. Payne, ed., *Re-Visioning "Kamakura" Buddhism* (Honolulu, Hawaii, 1998); Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli, eds., *Buddhas and Kami in Japan:* Honji Suijaku *as a Combinatory Paradigm* (London, 2003); and Robert H. Sharf and Elizabeth Horton Sharf, eds., *Living Images: Japanese Buddhist Icons in Context* (Stanford, Calif., 2001). While the last of these works includes studies of Buddhism from the Muromachi and Tokugawa periods, the number of other prominent works remains comparatively few, and typically concern particular figures or institutions of the period or popular religious practices. Studies of figures include Peter Haskel and Ryūichi Abé, *Great Fool: Zen Master Ryōkan—Poems, Letters, and Other Writings* (Honolulu, Hawaii, 1996) and James H. Sanford, *Zen-man Ikkyū* (Chico, Calif., 1981). Prominent works on institutions or popular practices include Helen J. Baroni, *Ōbaku Zen: The Emergence of the Third Sect of Zen in Tokugawa Japan* (Honolulu, Hawaii, 2000); Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan* (Cambridge, U.K., 1981); Helen Hardacre, *Religion and Society in Nineteenth-Century Japan: A Study of the Southern Kanto Region, Using Late Edo and Early Meiji Gazetteers* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2002); Nam-Lin Hur, *Prayer and Play in Late Tokugawa Japan: Asakusa Sensōji and Edo Society* (Cambridge, U.K., 2000); Neil McMullin, *Buddhism and the State in Sixteenth Century Japan* (Princeton, N.J., 1984); D. Max Moerman, *Localizing Paradise: Kumano Pilgrimage and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan* (Cambridge, U.K., 2004); Joseph D. Parker, *Zen Buddhist Landscape Arts of Early Muromachi Japan (1336–1573)* (Albany, N.Y., 1999); and Duncan Ryūken Williams, *The Other Side of Zen: A Social History of Soto Zen Buddhism in Tokugawa Japan* (Princeton, N.J., 2005). There are numerous studies of Buddhism in the modern era, of which the most prominent are: Paula Kane Robinson Arai, *Women Living Zen* (New York, 1999); Helen Hardacre, *Lay Buddhism in Contemporary Japan: Reiyūkai Kyōdan* (Princeton, N.J., 1984); Helen Hardacre, *Marketing the Menacing Fetus in Japan* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999); Richard M. Jaffe, *Neither Monk Nor Layman: Clerical Marriage in Modern Japanese Buddhism* (Princeton, N.J., 2001); James Edward Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan: Buddhism and Its Persecution* (Princeton, N.J., 1990); William LaFleur, *Liquid Life: Abortion and Buddhism in Japan* (Princeton, N.J., 1991); Ian Reader and George Tanabe, *Practically Religious: Worldly Benefits and the Common Religion of Japan* (Honolulu, Hawaii, 1998); Brian Daizen Victoria, *Zen at War* (New York, 1997); and Judith Snodgrass, *Presenting Japanese Buddhism to the West: Orientalism, Occidentalism, and the Columbian Exposition* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2003) on the "new" Buddhism of the Meiji period and the interaction with the West and Western Buddhologists. Jamie Hubbard and Paul L. Swanson, eds., *Pruning the Bodhi Tree: The Storm over Critical Buddhism* (Honolulu, Hawaii, 1997), focuses on the debate concerning contemporary Japanese scholars who have criticized original enlightenment discourses in Japanese Buddhism.

Studies in Japanese

The great bulk of publications in the study of Japanese Buddhism has and remains in Japanese, and the volume of publication has dramatically increased in recent years. The most useful reference with which to consider the broader history of Japanese Buddhism has long been Tsuji Zennosuke, *Nihon bukkyōshi*, 10 vols. (Tokyo, 1944–1953), although there have been a large number of recent general works that address developments in theory and research. More recently, a series edited by Nihon Bukkyō Kenkyūkai entitled *Nihon no bukkyō,* 6 vols. (Kyōto, 1994–1996) and a volume edited by the same group called *Nihon bukkyō no kenkyūhō* (Kyōto, 2000) have offered the most rigorous series of general articles by leading contemporary scholars as well as the most up-to-date bibliographical essays on significant research that has been conducted on Japanese Buddhism in recent decades; the topics covered include not only the major historical periods, lineages of Japanese Buddhism, and *kami*-Buddha amalgamation but also the fields of Buddhist folklore, Buddhist literature, women in Buddhism, Buddhist art, and Buddhist architecture. For verification of the existence or historical validity of Buddhist texts, Ono Genmyō, ed., *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten,* 13 vols. (Tokyo, Supplementary vols. 12–13 ed. Maruyama Takao, rev. ed. 1964–1967) remains the best resource.

Specialized Studies

All of the major traditional sects of Japanese Buddhism have collected their own textual corpuses. However, careful study of any group or individual in Japanese Buddhism requires consultation of a broad range of both primary and secondary sources in Japanese. In terms of primary sources, initial collections that should be consulted are the sections including Japanese Buddhist works in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō,* 100 vols. (Tokyo, 1924–1932), *Dainihon zokuzōkyō,* 750 vols. (Kyōto, 1905–1912), and *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, 151 vols. (Tokyo, 1912–1922). Important sources for the study of early Buddhism include, of course, court chronicles, archaeological records, *Shōsō'in monjo* records, temple stories, and official temple collection records (*shizaichō*). As for major lineages that developed in the early period, only Tendai and Shingon feature large collections, which include: Tendai Shūten Kankōkai, ed., *Tendaishū zensho,* 25 vols. (Tokyo, 1935–1937), and Tendai Shūten Hensanjo, ed., *Zoku Tendaishū zensho,* 15+ vols. (Tokyo: 1987–); Shingonshū Zensho Kankōkai, ed., *Shingonshu zensho,* 44 vols. (Kōyasan, 1933–1939), and Zoku Shingonshū Zensho Kankōkai, ed., *Zoku Shingonshū zensho,* 42 vols. (Kōyasan, 1973–1988). As for the newer Kamakura period lineages, some of the major Pure Land Buddhist collections are Jōdoshū Shūten Kankōkai, ed., *Jōdoshū zensho,* 21 vols. (Tokyo, 1929–1931); Shūsho Hozonkai, ed., *Zoku Jōdoshū zensho,* 20 vols. (Tokyo, 1940–1942); Tsumaki Naoyoshi, ed., *Shinshū zensho,* 74 vols. (Tokyo, 1913–1916); Shinshū Tenseki Kankōkai, ed., *Shinshū taikei,* 37 vols. (Tokyo, 1974–1976) and *Zoku Shinshū taikei,* 24 vols. plus *Bekkan,* 4 vols. (Tokyo, 1976–1977). Some major Zen collections include: Sōtōshū Zensho Kankōkai, ed., *Sōtōshū zensho* (Tokyo, 1929–1935); Zoku Sōtōshū Zensho Kankōkai, ed., *Zoku Sōtōshū zensho* (Tokyo, 1974–1977). Prominent Nichiren lineage collections are Risshō Daigaku Nichiren Kyōgaku Kenkyūjo, ed., *Nichirenshū shūgaku zensho* (Tokyo, 1968–1978) and *Shōwa teihon Nichiren Shōnin ibun* (Minobusan, 1988). In the case of virtually all of the major lineages, collections of works by the founders and other major figures of the traditions have been published and should be consulted; recent research has resulted in the publication of large new collections of works attributed to figures lesser-known to scholarship, like the monk Shukaku of Shingon lineage. Collections of materials of the Tokugawa, Meiji, and modern periods can often be found in those of entire lineages, noted above. However, work of contemporary scholars such as scholars at the Historiographical Institute, University of Tokyo, and Tamamuro Fumio have also made great quantities of previously unpublished materials available for research. Relevant materials such as diaries and various genres of temple records should also be consulted regularly.

BRIAN O. RUPPERT (2005)

BUDDHISM: BUDDHISM IN THE WEST

During the twentieth century Buddhism became globally distributed and established. Buddhists have set foot in Australia and New Zealand, in the southern region of Africa, and in most countries of Europe, as well as in South and North America. Buddhism outside of Asia is marked by a heterogeneity and diversity that is observable in all thus-denoted "Western" countries. The entire range of Buddhism's main traditions and subtraditions can be found outside of Asia, often in one country and sometimes even in one major city, with some forty, fifty, or more different Buddhist groups in a single place. Buddhists of divergent traditions and schools have become neighbors—a rarity in Asia itself. Additionally, new Western Buddhist orders and organizations have been founded, signaling ambitious moves to create indigenized variations of Buddhist forms, practices, and interpretations. As the Western institutionalization of Buddhism rapidly accelerated in the closing three decades of the twentieth century, its research matured and became a recognized subject with numerous studies.

EARLY ENCOUNTERS. Very early information about Buddhist concepts can be traced to the records of the Greek philosopher Plutarch (first century CE). Plutarch writes about the Indo-Greek king Menander (Menandros, c. 155–130 BCE) and his conversation with the Buddhist monk Nāgasena, documented in the Pali text *Milindapañha* (Questions of King Milinda). The rise of Christianity and later of Islam blocked further exchange until Franciscan friars traveled to Mongolia in the thirteenth century. From the sixteenth century onwards, travelers and Jesuit missionaries to Tibet, China, and Japan left fragmentary accounts of Buddhist rituals and concepts. In the course of European colonial expansion, information was gathered about the customs and history of the peoples and regions that were subjected to British, Portuguese, and Dutch domination. Texts and descriptions began to be collected and translated in the late eighteenth century, although a distinction had not yet been clearly made between Hindu and Buddhist treatises. Simultaneously, in Europe the Romantic movement gave rise to a glorifying enthusiasm for the East and for India in particular. The Asian world and its religious and philosophical traditions were discovered along with efforts aimed at tracing a genuine and pure spirituality that was supposedly lost in Europe through the victory of rationalism.

Discovery of Buddhism through texts. The credit for first systematizing the increasing amount of information on Buddhist texts and concepts goes to the Paris philologist Eugène Burnouf (1801–1852). His *L'introduction à l'histoire du buddhisme indien* (1844) presented a scientific survey of Buddhist history and doctrines. Burnouf imposed a rational order on ideas hitherto perceived as unrelated, in this way creating the prototype of the European concept of Buddhism. In the 1850s, Europe witnessed a boom of studies and translations, paving the way for an enhanced knowledge of and interest in the teachings. At this time Asian religion was essentially treated as a textual object located in books, Oriental libraries, and institutes of the West.

The writings of the German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1860) inspired wide interest in Buddhist philosophy and ethics among intellectuals, academics, and artists. In the United States, the nineteenth-century transcendentalists Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, and Walt Whitman praised Indian philosophy and introduced translations, produced in Europe, to members of the American middle- and upper classes. Circles of aesthetic conversation and textual sources were the mediators that initiated the spread of and provided for the public presence of Buddhist ideas in Europe and the United States. The appeal of Indian spirituality was strengthened by the intervention of the Theosophical Society, founded by Helena P. Blavatsky (1831–1891) and Henry Steel Olcott (1832–1907) in 1875 in New York. In addition, Sir Edwin Arnold (1832–1904) published his famous poem *The Light of Asia* in 1879, followed by Olcott's *Buddhist Catechism* in 1881. Both works praised the Buddha and his teaching. Echoing this overt glorification of the Asian religion, a few Europeans became the first self-converted followers of the teaching in the early 1880s.

Though more Westerners took up Buddhist teachings as their new orientation in life, another twenty years passed before the first Buddhist organizations outside of Asia were formed. The Indologist Karl Seidenstücker (1876–1936) established the Society for the Buddhist Mission in Germany in 1903 in Leipzig. Likewise, the first British monk, Ananda Metteyya (Allen Bennett McGregor, 1872–1923), formed the Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland in 1907 in London. By means of lectures, pamphlets, and books, the first professed Western Buddhists tried to win recruits from the educated middle- and upper social strata of society. These and related activities were polemically commented on by Christian clergy, who criticized the "nihilism" of Buddhism and the "foreignness" of the Asian religion to European society. This debate was strengthened when a few committed men, including Anton Güth (1878–1957), ordained as Nyānatiloka, became monks in the Theravāda tradition in the early twentieth century and temporarily remained in Europe.

Internationalization: Toward a global Buddhism. To a certain extent the incipient Buddhist activities in Western countries relied on reformist approaches and modernist reinterpretations of Asian Buddhist concepts. In Ceylon (Sri Lanka), the center of South Asian Buddhist revival, educated urban Buddhists who had been influence by Orientalist concepts emphasized the rational and scientific aspects of Buddhist teachings. These modernist Buddhists portrayed Buddhism as text-based, pragmatic, rational, universal, and socially active. Both European scholarship and the Western glorification of Buddhist ideas strengthened national and religious self-confidence in South Asia, further generating ideas of a missionary outreach. In addition, in 1880 Olcott and Blavatsky visited Colombo, Ceylon, and publicly took refuge in the Buddha, *dharma,* and *saṃgha,* becoming the first Westerners to do so in an Asian country.

In the two decades that followed, Olcott and the Ceylonese Anagārika Dharmapāla (1864–1933) worked together to renew the importance of Buddhism. In 1891, Dharmapāla set up the Mahā Bodhi Society, its aim being to restore the neglected site of Bodh Gayā in North India and to resuscitate Buddhism in India. These activities led to Dharmapāla's invitation to the World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893. His well-received speech at this paramount event for the formal debut of Asian religions in the United States established Dharmapāla as the main spokesman of Buddhist revival in South Asia. It was in Chicago in 1893 as well that Carl Theodor Strauss (1852–1937) became the first American to formally convert to Buddhism on American soil. In the years to come Strauss and Dharmapāla worked jointly and traveled extensively around the world to spread Buddhist teachings. Overseas branches of the Mahā Bodhi Society were formed in the United States (1897), Germany (1911), and Great Britain (1926), in this way establishing the society as the first international Buddhist organization and its founder as the first global Buddhist missionary or propagandist.

Buddhism brought by immigrants. A different, nonmodernist, and religiously more tradition-oriented line of Buddhism reached Western countries with the arrival of Chinese and Japanese migrants to the U.S. West Coast and later to South America. Gold had been discovered in California in 1848, and miners from China came in hopes of unearthing a fortune. By the 1880s the number of Chinese in California, Montana, and Idaho had grown to over 100,000 people. Upon their arrival, the immigrants built Chinese temples, the first two in San Francisco in 1853. During the next fifty years hundreds of so-called joss-houses, where Buddhist, Daoist, and Chinese folk traditions mingled, appeared throughout the western United States.

In striking contrast to the high esteem that Buddhist texts and ideas had gained among East Coast intellectuals, Americans on the West Coast devalued East Asian culture as exotic, strange, and incomprehensible. The Chinese laundrymen, cooks, and miners were regarded as unwelcome immigrants. In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act restricted further immigration of Chinese nationals. In a similar way, Japanese who had come to the United States in search of work beginning in the 1870s faced racism and social exclusion. Buddhism was regarded as a foreign religion, causing a threat to the relationship between Japanese and American people. Nevertheless, two Jōdo Shinshū priests were sent in 1899 to support the spiritual needs of Japanese laborers, and the Buddhist Mission to North America became formally established in 1914.

More migrants from Japan arrived in Central and South America around the turn of the century. Japanese workers traveled to Mexico and Peru in 1897 and to São Paulo in Brazil in 1908. The laborers intended to work for only a few years on the plantations and then return to Japan. Most often, however, their stay turned into long-term residence. During the first forty years of residence in Brazil, only one Japanese Buddhist temple was established, in Cafelândia in São Paulo in 1932. Japanese workers were expected to assimilate as quickly as possible to Brazilian culture, an expectation that included, among other things, abandoning their "heathen practices" and converting to Roman Catholicism. A fair number did, as the Japanese saw conversion as necessary to the process of Brazilianization. On the other hand, the decision to change their status from sojourner to immigrant resulted in efforts to ensure the preservation of Japanese culture and identity. It was from the 1950s onward, after Japan's defeat in World War II brought an end to the migrants' hopes for return, that Buddhist and Shintō temples became established in Brazil. The Mission of Sōtō Zenshū in Brazil founded Busshinji temple in 1956, followed by the influx of other Buddhist traditions since the 1970s.

As in Brazil, World War II was a watershed for Japanese people in the United States. Acculturative processes had begun during the 1920s and 1930s to meet the needs of the American-born generation; these processes included education programs and such adaptations as referring to Buddhist temples as *churches* and to priestly personnel as *minister* or *reverend.* Paradoxically, adaptation accelerated tremendously during the time of the internment camps. From 1942 to 1945, some 111,000 people of Japanese ancestry were interned, almost 62,000 of them being Buddhists, the majority Jōdo Shinshū. Religious services in the camps were conducted in English, a demand that was later established as the norm. Of similar importance, formerly tight bonds with the mother temples in Japan dissolved. This emancipation from the normative Japanese model was expressed in the organization's new name: No longer a "Mission [from Japan] to North America," it became reincorporated as the Buddhist Churches of America in 1944.

Chinese in the United States remained mostly concentrated in Chinatowns along the West Coast. As the numbers of Chinese dropped due to the Chinese Exclusion Act, so did the number of temples. The other strand of Buddhism in the United States—made up of those who had converted to Buddhism—was no more successful at initiating Buddhist activities during the first half of the twentieth century. The appearance of the Japanese Rinzai Zen monk Sōen Shaku (1859–1919) at the World's Parliament of Religions gave momentum to the practice of Zen meditation, which was strengthened by two disciples sent by Sōen Shaku to the United States: Zen masters Nyōgen Senzaki (1876–1958) and Sokei-an Sasaki (1882–1945). Although they stayed in the United States for years, the meditation groups they set up were met with little interest. It was not until D. T. Suzuki (1870–1966) returned to North America for a long stay in the 1950s that a psychologically reshaped Zen became popular.

BUDDHISM IN EUROPE DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. World War I brought an end to the incipient Buddhist movements in Europe. But Buddhism was taken up again immediately after the war, especially in Britain and Germany. In contrast to the early period, Buddhism was now beginning to be practiced, at least by its leading proponents. The teachings were not only to be conceived by the mind, but also applied to the whole person. Religious practices such as spiritual exercises and devotional acts became part of German and British Buddhist life during the 1920s and 1930s.

In 1921 Georg Grimm (1868–1945) and Seidenstücker initiated the Buddhist Parish in Germany. The committed group saw itself expressly as a religious community of Buddhist lay followers. Lectures by Grimm were attended by five hundred to one thousand listeners. In Berlin, Paul Dahlke (1865–1928) built the famous Buddhist House in 1924. In this house, which served as both residence and monastery, Dahlke led the same kind of ascetic and religious life as South Asian Buddhist monks. The divergent interpretations of the teachings of the Pali canon by Grimm and Dahlke led to the formation of two independent schools, which polemically disputed the central teaching of *anattā* (Pali, "no-self"). Both schools continued their work during the Nazi period (1933–1945), albeit restricted to small, private circles that were at times under Nazi political control. Buddhists were regarded by the Nazis as pacifists and eccentrics. With the exception of those who had abandoned their Jewish faith and become Buddhists—about a third of all Buddhists in German-speaking areas during the 1920s—no official or public persecution of Buddhism took place.

In London, Christmas Humphreys (1901–1983) formed the Buddhist Lodge of the Theosophical Society in 1924. A Buddhist shrine room was opened in 1925, and Buddhist festivals were celebrated. As a result of Anagārika Dharmapāla's missionary efforts in Britain during the mid-1920s, British Buddhists founded a branch of the Mahā

Bodhi Society (1926) and established a Buddhist monastery with three resident Theravāda *bhikkhu*s (monks) in London (1928–1940, reopened in 1954). It was the first time that several monks resided for an extended period outside of Asia.

In Europe, it was undoubtedly those who had adopted Buddhism as their new orientation in life who dominated the small Buddhist scene. Except for a few Buddhist activists, such as Anagārika Dharmapāla and some Japanese Zen Buddhists, no Buddhist migrants from Asia came to Europe during this time. However, there is an important exception to this pattern: In the early twentieth century, Mongolian Tibetan Buddhists from Kalmykia and Buryatia in Russia established sizeable communities in Saint Petersburg, the czarist Russian capital until 1917. They built a Dge lugs (Geluk) style temple and monastery in Saint Petersburg in 1909 to 1915. The first Buddhist monastery on European soil thus became established not by European convert Buddhists but by so-called ethnic or migrant Buddhists led by the Buryat-Mongol lama Agvan Dorzhev. During the Communist Revolution in 1917, however, the temple was desecrated. Following the comparative calm of the 1920s, Buddhists and scholars were persecuted and murdered under Joseph Stalin's dictatorship (1930s–1953). It was not until the 1980s that conditions improved for Buddhists in Russia, and they were able to establish small communities and centers for different Buddhist traditions.

THE 1950S AND 1960S: SPREAD AND PLURALIZATION. In contrast to the first half of the twentieth century, the second half witnessed a boom of Buddhism outside of Asia. Western countries experienced a heavy influx of Asian immigrants and a tremendously expanded interest in Buddhist meditation, liturgy, and teachings among Westerners. World War II had brought an end to most public Buddhist activities in Europe. However, after 1945 Buddhists reestablished former Theravāda groups or founded new ones. Buddhist lectures were well attended and Buddhist books and journals well received. From the 1950s onwards, new Buddhist traditions were brought to Europe. Japanese Jōdo Shinshū was established in Britain (1952) and Germany (1956). The writings of Suzuki and Eugen Herrigel (1884–1955) popularized Zen meditation and art. Tibetan Buddhism won its first Western converts in Berlin in 1952 through the establishment of the Western branch of the order Arya Maitreya Mandala, founded by the German-born Lama Govinda in 1933 in India. In addition, the activities of Buddhist missionary organizations from South Asia gained momentum, an example being the Lanka Dharmaduta Society, founded in 1952, which sent Theravāda *bhikkhus* to the Berlin Buddhist House with the aim of spreading the *dharma.*

Buddhism spread more and more widely in various European countries as attractive books and translations became more readily available. Simultaneously, Asian teachers began visiting new Buddhist groups to lecture and conduct courses on a regular basis. During the 1960s a considerable change occurred in the way that members and interested people wanted to experience Buddhism both spiritually and physically. Meditation became popular, and Buddhists and sympathizers filled courses in Theravāda *vipassanā* meditation and Japanese Zen meditation. Zen seminars (Jpn., *sesshin*) took place in increasing numbers, with teachers coming from Japan to guide newly formed groups.

In the United States, lecture tours by Suzuki instigated an upsurge of interest in Zen concepts and meditation. At the same time, "Beat Zen" and "Square Zen" created by Allan Watts, Allen Ginsberg, and Jack Kerouac, popularized Zen and attracted members of the emerging counterculture. Japanese teachers such as Sōtō Zen master Shunryu Suzuki settled in the United States as immigration regulations were relaxed during the mid-1950s and 1960s. In addition, various meditation centers were founded as young Americans returned from Japan having received a traditional religious education. Notable among these was Philip Kapleau (1912–2004), author of the instrumental *The Three Pillars of Zen* (1965) and founder of the Rochester Zen Center in New York (1966), and Robert Aitken (b. 1917), founder of the Diamond Sangha in the 1960s. Both were disciples of Zen master Hakuun Yasutani (1885–1974), founder of the Zen school Sanbo Kyodan in 1954. In addition to the explosive interest in Zen meditational practice, further Buddhist traditions arrived from Asia with Sri Lankan, Thai, Chinese, Taiwanese, Korean, and Japanese teachers. Among these traditions and schools, one of the most vigorous turned out to be the Sōka Gakkai from Japan, which claimed a membership of 500,000 people in the mid-1970s.

The first Australian Buddhist organization was founded in 1952, with a membership of mainly well-educated citizens. Leading Australian Buddhists, such as Charles F. Knight (1890–1975) and Natasha Jackson (1902–1990), regarded Buddhism as a triumph of rationalism and used it as a foil in their attacks on Christianity. Their specific approach was strongly intellectualized, and they went to great lengths to prove that Buddhism was fully consonant with scientific thinking. As in Europe and the United States, Zen, Pure Land, and Sōka Gakkai were also imported into Australia during the 1960s.

In general, during this time two characteristics stand out in contrast to the previous phases: Buddhism was no longer dominated by a single main tradition, as had been the case in Europe with Theravāda and in the United States with Mahāyāna Buddhism. Rather, since the 1950s, Buddhist teachers of various traditions arrived from Asia to win converts and to found centers. A plurality of Buddhist traditions emerged, substantially supplemented by the various Buddhist strands formed by immigrant Buddhists. Secondly, the shift from intellectual interest to practical application deepened and spread through increased interest in meditation.

FROM THE 1970S ONWARD: RAPID INCREASE AND ONGOING PLURALIZATION. The Zen boom of the 1960s was followed by an upsurge of interest in Tibetan Buddhism. Tibetan teachers such as Tarthang Tulku (b. 1935) and Chögyam

Trungpa (1939–1987) arrived in the United States in 1969 and 1970 and formed organizations that established European branches during the 1980s. Beginning in the mid-1970s, high-ranking lamas conducted preaching tours in Europe, North America, and Australia, as well in South Africa and South America in later years. Many Westerners who were involved in the protest movements and counterculture of the late 1960s became fascinated by Tibetan Buddhist rituals and symbols and the lives of the lamas. Within two decades, converts to Tibetan Buddhism were able to found a multitude of centers and groups, which at times outnumbered those of all other Buddhist traditions in a given country.

This rapid increase, accompanied by an expansion of existing institutions, led to a considerable rise in the number of Buddhist groups and centers associated with convert Buddhists. In Great Britain, for example, the number of Buddhist organizations nearly quintupled from seventy-four to four hundred between 1979 and 2000. In Germany, interest in Buddhism resulted in an increase from approximately forty to more than six hundred groups, meditation circles, centers, and societies between 1975 and 2004. In North America, Don Morreale's *Complete Guide to Buddhist America* (1998) listed 1,062 meditation centers in 1997, the majority having been founded since the mid-1980s. Similar patterns are observable in Australia, where the number of Buddhist groups rose from 167 to 308 between 1991 and 1998. As a result of large-scale immigration, especially of Vietnamese people, the number of Buddhists in Australia multiplied more than six times from 35,000 to 200,000 from 1981 to 1996. As in Europe and North America, numerous schools, branches, and traditions of Theravāda, Mahāyāna, Tibetan, and nonsectarian Buddhism have gained a firm standing in Australia, and in New Zealand as well.

In a parallel development, considerable numbers of Buddhists from Asian countries have come to Western Europe, North America, and Australia since the 1960s. In Europe, and France in particular, large communities of refugees from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia have emerged. Paris has become the center for Southeast Asian Buddhist migrants, although the largest Vietnamese pagoda in Europe was inaugurated in Hanover, Germany, in 1991. Furthermore, many refugees, migrants, and business people from Asian countries have found asylum or a place to work in Western Europe. Similarly, in Canada and the United States hundreds of thousands of migrants arrived after immigration regulations were relaxed in the mid-1960s.

Whether in North America, Western Europe, or Australia, in the process of settling down, migrants established their own religious and cultural institutions to preserve their identity and heritage. By visiting pagodas and temples, performing customary acts of devotional worship, and jointly celebrating Buddhist festivals, immigrant Asian Buddhists gained a home away from home. Most Asian migrant communities have turned out to be markedly conservative, presenting a primarily stable and familiar environment for their members in the socioculturally foreign and often discriminatory environment. With the rise of second and third generations of immigrants from Asia, established role models and hierarchies are changing, and Asians in the West are pointing to language issues and calling for acculturated rituals, forms, and contents. Estimates of the total numbers of Buddhists in Europe at the beginning of the twenty-first century amount to around one million, two thirds of them Asian immigrants. In North America the number may be four to five times higher than in Europe, with Buddhists of Asian ancestry making up the vast majority.

Buddhism grew as well in both South America and South Africa beginning in the 1970s. Zen has captured the interest of non-Japanese Brazilians since the late 1970s, resulting in the establishment of numerous local meditation groups and centers. Likewise, Japanese traditions of Nichiren, Shingon, and Pure Land have gained followings. Tibetan Buddhism, arriving in Brazil the late 1980s, also experienced a boom during the 1990s. As in other non-Asian countries to which Buddhism spread, a plurality of schools and traditions has become established.

In South Africa, after an attempt to convert Indian migrant Hindus to Buddhism beginning in 1917, small Buddhist groups were formed during the 1970s in metropolitan centers. The emphasis was a nondenominational one, although followers of Tibetan, Zen, or Theravāda came together for joint meetings. One of South Africa's main Buddhist reference points became the Buddhist Retreat Center near Ixopo, formally inaugurated in 1980. In contrast to a prevalent ecumenical spirit, since the mid-1980s the various groups have begun sharpening their doctrinal identity and lineage adherence, and in many cases hitherto loose bonds with the Asian parent tradition or headquarters were strengthened. During the 1990s, Tibetan Buddhism gained a strong following as teachers started to stay permanently in South Africa. Likewise, Zen teachers and Theravāda *bhikkhus* settled in the country and firmly established their traditions.

PLURALITY AND GLOBAL INTERCONNECTEDNESS. Buddhism outside of Asia is deeply marked by its plurality and heterogeneity. A multitude of schools and traditions have successfully settled in urbanized, industrialized settings. The general traditions of Theravāda, Mahāyāna, and Tibetan Buddhism are internally heavily subdivided according to country of origin (e.g., Theravāda from Sri Lanka, Thailand, Myanmar, or Laos); lineage (e.g., Tibetan Buddhism following Dge lugs [Geluk], Karma Bka' brgyud [Kagyu], Sa skya [Sakya], or Rnying ma [Nyingma]; teacher (Asian and Western, manifold); and emphasis on specific Buddhist concepts and practices. Flourishing in the West, these various Asian-derived schools and traditions did not remain unchanged, and various subschools have evolved. In addition, a second generation of Western teachers who are disciples to Western, not Asian masters, is maturing. These multifold developments have given birth to both traditionally oriented centers and to independent centers favoring innovation and the creation of a "Western Buddhism." Noteworthy examples of the latter include the Insight Meditation Society in the United States and the Friends of the Western Buddhist Order, founded by the British Sangharakshita in 1967.

The marked plurality of Buddhism outside of Asia has been intensified by the globalization of once local organizations. The British-based Friends of the Western Buddhist Order has spread worldwide. Organizations formerly restricted to the United States, such as the Insight Meditation Society or Aitken's Diamond Sangha, have established branch centers in Europe, Australia, and elsewhere. This global reach also came to apply to American Zen teachers, including Richard Baker Rōshi, Bernard Glassman Rōshi, and Prabhasadharma Rōshi, as well as to prominent Vietnamese and Korean meditation masters, including Thich Nhat Hanh and Seung Sahn. Tibetan Buddhist organizations have created similar global networks. Lamas and teachers tour the globe untiringly, and they visit the multitude of local groups and centers, including Chögyam Trungpa's Vajradhātu organization (renamed Shambhala International), the Karma Kagyu centers affiliated with Ole Nydahl from Denmark, Sogyal Rinpoche's Rigpa organization, or the New Kadampa Tradition of Geshe Kelsang Gyatso.

Global interconnectedness has become greatly intensified as a result of the World Wide Web. Buddhist centers maintain their own websites, linked to sister centers and parent organizations, and facilitating the exchange and spread of information. Numerous so-called cyber-*saṃghas* are available online, thus establishing a new form of Buddhist community. In these ways Buddhism adapts, as it has done continuously during its 2,600 years of history, to new cultural, political, and technological environments.

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BUDDHISM, SCHOOLS OF

This entry consists of the following articles:

EARLY DOCTRINAL SCHOOLS OF BUDDHISM
MAHĀYĀNA PHILOSOPHICAL SCHOOLS OF BUDDHISM
TANTRIC RITUAL SCHOOLS OF BUDDHISM [FIRST EDITION]
TANTRIC RITUAL SCHOOLS OF BUDDHISM [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]
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BUDDHISM, SCHOOLS OF: EARLY DOCTRINAL SCHOOLS OF BUDDHISM

The term *Hīnayāna* refers to the group of Buddhist schools or sects that appeared before the beginning of the common era and those directly derived from them. The word *Hīnayāna*, which means "small vehicle," that is, "lesser means of progress" toward liberation, is pejorative. It was applied disdainfully to these early forms of Buddhism by the followers of the great reformist movement that arose just at the beginning of the common era, which referred to itself as the Mahāyāna, or "large vehicle," that is, "greater means of progress" toward liberation. Indeed, the adherents of the Mahāyāna charged those of the Hīnayāna with selfishly pursuing only their own personal salvation, whereas they themselves claimed an interest in the liberation of all beings and vowed to postpone their own deliverance until the end of time. In other words, the ideal of the practitioners of the Hīnayāna was the *arhat* (Pali, *arahant*), the saint who has attained *nirvāṇa*, while that of the Mahāyāna was the *bodhisattva*, the all-compassionate hero who, resolving to become a Buddha in some far-distant future, dedicated the course of his innumerable lives to saving beings of all kinds. It would be more correct to give the name "early Buddhism" to what is called Hīnayāna, for the term denotes the whole collection of the most ancient forms of Buddhism: those earlier than the rise of the Mahāyāna and those that share the same inspiration as these and have the same ideal, namely the *arhat*.

Although it is directly descended from the earliest Buddhism—that originally preached by the Buddha himself—this early Buddhism is distinguished from it by the continual additions and reformulations of its adherents and teachers in their desire to deepen and perfect the interpretation of the ancient teaching. This constant, and quite legitimate, effort gave rise to many debates, controversies, and divisions that resulted in the appearance of a score of sects or schools. The actual, original teaching of the Buddha is accessible to us only through the canonic texts of these schools, texts that were set down in writing only about the beginning of the common era and reflect the divergences that already existed among these sects. Moreover, only a very small part of this vast canonic literature has survived, either in its original Indian language or in Chinese or Tibetan translation, and for this reason our knowledge of the doctrine taught by the Buddha himself still remains rather vague and conjectural. We do not possess all the documents necessary to recover it with certainty: even by compiling all the doctrinal and other elements common to the canonic texts we do have, we can reach, at best, only a stage of Buddhist doctrine immediately prior to the divergence of these schools. Their texts have been preserved for us by the mere chances of history.

The Indic word, both Sanskrit and Pali, that we translate here as "school" or "sect" is *nikāya*, meaning, properly, "group." In our context, it refers to a group of initiates, most likely monks (*bhikṣus*) rather than laymen, who sincerely profess to be faithful disciples of the Buddha but are distinguishable from other similar groups in that they base their beliefs on a body of canonic texts that differs from others to a greater or lesser extent. These differences between canonic texts involve not only their wording or written form but also a certain number of doctrinal elements and rules of monastic discipline. Despite the disaggregative pressures to which they were exposed (the same pressures, indeed, that created them), despite their geographical expansion and sometimes considerable dispersion, and notwithstanding the vicissitudes of history, which often posed new problems for them, most of these groups preserved a remarkable internal cohesiveness throughout several centuries. Still, schisms did occur within many of them, leading to the formation of new schools. Moreover, to judge from the documents we have—though these are unfortunately very scarce—it seems that relations among these various groups were generally good. Their disputes remained at the level of more or less lively discussion and degenerated into more serious conflicts only when involving questions of economics or politics.

Several factors account for these divisions and for the formation of these sects or schools. First of all, the Buddhist monastic community (*saṃgha*) never knew a supreme authority, imposing its unity by powerful and diverse methods, as was long the case in Christianity with its papacy. If we believe some canonic texts that seem to faithfully reflect reality, the Buddha himself was probably faced with several instances of insubordination on the part of certain groups of his monks and was not always able to overcome them. The oldest traditions, furthermore, agree that he did not designate a successor to head the community but only counseled his followers to remain faithful to his Doctrine (Dharma). This was a fragile defense against the forces that tried to break up the community once it was "orphaned" by the death of its founder.

For at least five centuries, the Buddha's teaching was actually preserved by oral transmission alone, very probably in different, though related, dialects. This, and the absence of an authoritative ecclesiastical hierarchy in the *saṃgha*, constitute two obvious sources of progressive distortion and alteration of the message left by the Blessed One to his immediate disciples. Furthermore, this message was not entirely clear or convincing to everyone it addressed, leading Buddhist preachers to furnish explanations and interpretations of the teaching. Finally, the teaching given by the Buddha was far from a complete system containing solutions to all the problems that might occur to the minds of people as diverse as those it was destined to reach. Thus, monks and lay disciples, as well as people outside Buddhism but curious and interested in its doctrine—*brahman* opponents, Jains, and others—easily found numerous flaws, errors, and contradictions in the teaching. These troubled the *saṃgha* but pleased those who were determined to refute or discredit it. Although the Buddhist preachers who improvised answers to these varied questions and objections were guided by what they knew and understood of the Buddha's teaching, their attempts expanded upon the original teaching and at the same time inevitably created new causes for differences and disputes within the heart of the community itself.

According to some eminent scholars, we must distinguish Buddhist "sects" from "schools." Sects, under this interpretation, were invariably born from serious dissent over issues of monastic discipline. Such dissent resulted in a fracturing of the community, a *saṃghabheda*, or schism, the participants in which ceased to live together or carry on a common religious life. By contrast, schools were differentiated by divergences of opinion on doctrinal points, but their dissension in these matters never gave rise to actual schisms or open hostility. This interpretation is certainly attractive, but it must be mitigated somewhat by the recognition that the actual situation prevailing between the various communities of the early church was somewhat more complex and variable than that indicated by the theory advanced here.

ORIGIN AND RELATIONSHIP OF THE SECTS AND SCHOOLS. All the documents from which we can draw information about the origin of the early Buddhist groups were written after the beginning of the common era and are therefore unreliable. Nevertheless, since the oldest of these texts generally agree on the main points, we can attempt to restore with a certain amount of confidence the common tradition from which they derive. This should provide a fairly accurate reflection of the true interrelationships among the sects and schools.

The first division of the community probably occurred toward the middle of the fourth century BCE, some time after the council of Vaiśālī but having no direct connection with this event, the claims of the Sinhala (Theravāda) tradition notwithstanding. The schism was probably caused by a number of disagreements on the nature of the *arhat*s, who, according to some authorities, retained imperfections even though they had attained *nirvāṇa* in this world. Because they were more numerous, the supporters of these ideas formed a group called the Mahāsāṃghikas, "those of the larger community"; their opponents, who claimed to remain faithful to the teaching of the Buddha's first disciples and denied that the *arhat* could retain any imperfections, took the name Sthaviravādins, "those who speak as the elders" or "those who teach the doctrine of the old ones."

Each of these two groups were then, in turn, divided progressively into several sects or schools. Although we are in little doubt about their origins as Mahāsāṃghikas or

Sthaviravādins, we often do not know precisely how these subsequent sects were linked with the first two groups, nor do we know the circumstances or time in which they appeared. We are particularly bereft of information about the sects and schools that arose directly or indirectly from the Mahāsāṃghika.

Among the groups that developed from the Mahāsāṃghika were the Ekavyāvahārika, then the Gokulika, and finally the Caitika schools. The Ekavyāvahārika probably gave rise, in turn, to the Lokottaravādins, but it may be that the Lokottaravādins were simply a form taken by the Ekavyāvahārikas at a particular time because of the evolution of their doctrine. From the Gokulikas came the Bahuśrutīyas and the Prajñaptivādins. At least a part of the Caitika school settled in southern India, on the lower Krishna River, shortly before the beginning of the common era. From them two important sects soon arose: the Pūrvaśailas and the Aparaśailas, then a little later the Rājagirikas and the Siddhārthikas. Together, the four sects formed Andhraka group, which took its name from the area (Andhra) where they thrived during the first few centuries CE.

The Sthaviravāda group seems to have remained united until about the beginning of the third century BCE, when the Vātsīputrīyas, who maintained the existence of a quasi-autonomous "person" (*pudgala*), split off. A half century later, probably during the reign of Aśoka (consecrated c. 268 BCE), the Sarvāstivādins also separated from the non-Vātsīputrīya Sthaviravādins and settled in northwest India. This time the dispute was over the Sarvāstivādin notion that "everything exists" (*sarvam asti*). In the beginning of the second century, the remaining Sthaviravādins, who appear to have taken at this time the name Vibhajyavādins, "those who teach discrimination," to distinguish themselves from the Sarvāstivādins, found themselves divided once again. Out of this dispute were born the Mahīśāsakas and the Dharmaguptakas, who opposed each other over whether the Buddha, properly speaking, belonged to the monastic community and over the relative value of offerings made to the Blessed One and those made to the community. At an unknown date about the beginning of the common era four new groups sprang from the Vātsīputrīyas: the Dharmottarīyas, the Bhadrayānīyas, the Ṣaṇṇagarikas, and the Sammatīyas. The Sammatīyas, who were very important in Indian Buddhism, later gave rise to the Avantaka and the Kurukulla schools. One group broke from the Sarvāstivādins: the Sautrāntikas, who can be identified with the Dārṣṭāntikas and the Saṃkrāntivādins.

Some of the Vibhajyavādins settled in southern India and Lanka in the mid-third century BCE and seem to have maintained fairly close relations for some time with the Mahīśāsakas, whose presence is attested in the same area. Adopting Pali as a canonical language and energetically claiming their teaching to be the strict orthodoxy, they took the name Theravādins, a Pali form of the Sanskrit Sthaviravādins. Like the Sthaviravādins, they suffered from internal squabbles and divisions: some years before the common era, the Abhayagirivāsins split from the Mahāvihāras, founded at the time of the arrival of Buddhism in Lanka; later, in the fourth century, the Jetavanīyas appeared.

Finally, three sects derived from the Sthaviravādins present some problems regarding their precise relationship and identity. The Kāśyapīyas, whose basic position was a compromise between those of the Sarvāstivādins and the Vibhajyavādins, apparently broke from the latter shortly after the split that created the Sarvāstivāda and Vibhajyavāda *nikāyas.* More mysterious are the Haimavatas, about whom the facts are both scarce and contradictory. As for the Mūlasarvāstivādins, or "radical Sarvāstivādins," they appeared suddenly at the end of the seventh century with a huge "basket of discipline" (Vinaya Piṭaka) in Sanskrit, much different in many respects from that of the earlier Sarvāstivādins. It is impossible to determine exactly what connection the Mūlasarvāstivādins had with the Sarvāstivādins.

Except for a few of the more important of these sects and schools—such as the Theravādins, who left us the treasure of their celebrated Sinhala chronicles—we know nothing of the history of these different groups. Their existence is nevertheless assured, thanks to the testimony of a fair number of inscriptions and other substantial documents. To judge from the information given by Xuanzang and Yijing, by the time they made their long visits to India in the seventh century, most of the sects had already disappeared. Of all the many groups descended from the original Mahāsāṃghikas, only the Lokottaravādins were still numerous and thriving, but only in a very specific location, Bamian (Bāmiyān, in present-day Afghanistan).

Here arises an important question, one whose answer is still uncertain: what connections existed between these early Buddhist sects and schools, known as Hīnayāna, and the groups formed by the followers of the Mahāyāna? Were any of them—in particular those of Mahāsāṃghika origin—converted in large numbers to the Mahāyāna, or did they perhaps give birth to it through the natural evolution of their doctrine? Should we interpret in this sense the expression Mahāyāna-Sthaviravādin, which Xuanzang used to refer to numerous Buddhist communities he encountered throughout India, and deduce from it that their followers were Sthaviravādins converted to the Mahāyāna? Or did believers of both groups live together, without mingling, in the areas where they were found? This second interpretation strikes one as more satisfactory; nevertheless, the first cannot be rejected definitively.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION. Two types of records inform us about the geographical distribution of the sects and schools: inscriptions and the reports of a number of Chinese pilgrims who came to India. Numbering only a few tens and ranging in time between the second century BCE and the sixth century CE, the inscriptions that mention early sects give us only spotty and very insufficient data. Although they may actually attest to the presence of a given group in a specific place at a particular date, they leave us completely ignorant about the presence or absence of this sect in other places and at other times. The information supplied by the Chinese travelers, principally Xuanzang and to a lesser extent Yijing, is incomparably more complete, but it is valid only for the seventh century, when their journeys took place.

The study of these two kinds of sources—like that of the Sinhala chronicles, which are concerned mostly with Sri Lankan Buddhism—reveals some important general features about the early Buddhist schools. None of the groups was present everywhere throughout India and its neighboring countries; on the other hand, no area was the exclusive domain of any one group. For reasons that unfortunately nearly always escape us, certain groups were in the majority in some places, in the minority in others, and completely absent in still others but, as far as we can tell, coexisted in varying proportions with other groups wherever they were found. For example, in a number of places—especially those that history or legend made holy in the eyes of Buddhist devotees and were important places of pilgrimage—the monks of various sects lived together in neighboring monasteries and often venerated the same sacred objects—topes (*stūpas*), bodhi trees, and others. This was the case not only in the holy places in the Ganges Basin, where the major events in the Buddha's life occurred, but also far from there, in Sāñchī, Karlī, Amarāvatī, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, and elsewhere. In Sri Lanka, the three great monasteries that became the centers of the three subsects of the Theravāda, the Mahāvihāra, the Abhaya-giri, and the Jetavana, were located on the outskirts of the island's ancient capital, Anuradhapura.

All of the sects and schools seem to have been present in the middle Ganges Basin, which is easily understandable since the principal places of pilgrimage were located there. The more important ones, which originated in both the Mahāsāṃghika and Sthaviravāda groups, also appear to have coexisted in eastern India, Bengal, and nearby areas, at least in the seventh century, as reported by both Xuanzang and Yijing.

The Theravādins always dominated most of Sri Lanka and still do today. In the eleventh century, they also largely converted the Burmese, followed a little later by the people of Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos, where they continue to exercise religious dominion today. In the seventh century, the Vibhajyavāda Sthaviravādins, who were very close, if not identical, to the Theravādins, likewise controlled all the Tamil country, the part of India nearest to Sri Lanka, and were also extremely numerous in the coastal region north of Bombay and near Buddhist holy places on the Ganges from which people embarked on journeys to Lanka and southern India.

Very little is known about the location of the sects most closely related to these. The presence of the Mahīśāsakas is recorded both in the Indian northwest, on the banks of the Krishna, and in Sri Lanka; that of the Dharmaguptakas in the Indian northwest only; and that of the Kāśyapīyas mostly in the Indian northwest but also around Bombay. The Sarvāstivādins were clearly in a majority over all of northwest India, from the upper Ganges Basin to Kashmir, from the mid-third century BCE to at least the seventh century CE.

In the seventh century, the Sammatīyas formed the sect comprising the largest number of monks and generally controlled all of western India, from the middle Indus Valley to southeast of Bombay. They were also very numerous throughout the Ganges Basin and in eastern India. Several inscriptions testify to the presence, at the beginning of the common era, of Dharmottarīyas and Bhadrayānīyas in the area of Bombay.

Data concerning the Mahāsāṃghika proper, and most of the sects that developed from it, are rare and widely scattered. We know for certain that the Mahāsāṃghika existed in northwestern India, around Bombay and on the banks of the lower Krishna. Caitikas also inhabited these last two areas but primarily the second, where Bahuśrutīyas also resided. By the seventh century, the Lokottaravādins had made Bamian, in the heart of present-day Afghanistan, one of the main centers of Buddhism in the Indo-Iranian realms and were still very numerous there, as Xuanzang reports. The Pūrvaśailas, Aparaśailas, Rājagirikas, and Siddhārtikas prospered during the first centuries of the common era in the lower Krishna Valley, which they covered with magnificent monuments, but by the beginning of the seventh century they had almost disappeared.

MAJOR DOCTRINAL DIFFERENCES. We are well acquainted with the principal doctrinal differences that gave rise to many of these schools, the basic ideas that distinguish them, and the reactions and rebuttals the various sects offered each other. In most cases, though, and particularly with regard to the apparently less important sects, our information is unfortunately too vague, and sometimes even contradictory or nonexistent, to tell us anything about the specifics of their doctrine.

Although many questions divided all or some of the schools, they did not provoke the formation of new sects. These debates were sometimes very important for the evolution of Buddhism as a whole. Often, various of the early sects that we might expect to hold similar views given their genesis in fact adopted doctrinal opinions at great variance with one another. Thus, there often came about, among schools with similar opinions on specific questions, entirely different regroupings from those one would expect in light of their traditional relationships. Let us first examine the fundamental ideas that appear to have brought about the formation of the principal sects.

The Mahāsāṃghikas probably separated from the Sthaviravādins over the belief that certain *arhat*s, although they had attained *nirvāṇa* in this world, could be subject to nocturnal defilements as a result of erotic dreams; that they still harbored vestiges of ignorance; that they had areas of doubt on matters outside Buddhist doctrine; that they could be informed, indeed saved, by other people; and, finally, that they utter certain words when they meditated on the Path of Liberation. The Sthaviravādins denied these five possibilities, arguing that the *arhat* is completely free of all imperfections.

The Vātsīputrīyas and the schools that later developed from them, the Sammatīyas and others, believed in the existence of a "person" (*pudgala*) who is neither identical to the five aggregates (*skandhas*) that make up the living being nor different from them; neither within these five aggregates nor outside them. Although differing from the Brahmanic "soul" (*ātman*), denied unanimously by Buddhist doctrine, this "person" lives on from one existence to the next, thus ensuring the continuing identities of the agent of an act and of the being who suffers its effects in this life or the next. All the other schools rejected this hypothesis, maintaining the logical impossibility of conceptualizing this "person" and seeing in it simply a disguised form of the *ātman*.

The Sarvāstivādins claimed that "everything exists" (*sarvam asti*), that is, that the past and the future have real and material existence. This belief enabled them to explain several phenomena that were very important to Buddhists: the act of consciousness, which is made up of several successive, individual mental actions; memory or consciousness of the past; foresight or consciousness of the future; and the "ripening" (*vipāka*) of "actions" (*karman*), which takes place over a longer or shorter span of time, often exceeding the length of a single life. For the other sects, however, it was perfectly clear that what is past exists no longer and that what is to come does not yet exist.

The Kāśyapīyas, also called Suvarsṣkas, maintained a position between these two, namely, that a past action that has not yet borne fruit exists, but the rest of the past does not. This approach, however, satisfied neither the Sarvāstivādins nor their critics.

The Sautrāntikas distinguished themselves from the Sarvāstivādins insofar as they considered the canonic "basket of sermons" (Sūtra Piṭaka) to be the only one to contain the authentic words of the Buddha, whereas the "basket of higher teaching" (Abhidharma Piṭaka) is the work of the Blessed One's disciples. According to some of our sources, the Sautrāntikas were also called Saṃkrāntivādins because they held that the five aggregates (*skandhas*) constituting the living being "transmigrate" (*saṃkrānti*) from one existence to the next; probably this should be understood to mean that, in their view, four of these aggregates were absorbed at the moment of death into the fifth, a subtle consciousness. It also seems that the Sautrāntikas can be identified with the Dārṣṭāntikas, who were often criticized in the Sarvastivada writings and apparently gained their name because of their frequent use of comparisons or parables (*dṛṣṭātas*) in their discussions.

An important disagreement separated the Mahīśāsakas from the Dharmaguptakas. For the former, the Buddha is part of the monastic community (*saṃgha*); hence a gift given to the community produces a "great fruit" (*māhaphalam*), but one directed specifically to the Buddha does not. The Dharmaguptakas, on the other hand, held that the Buddha is separate from the community, and as he is far superior to it—since it is composed only of his followers—only the gift given to the Buddha produces a great fruit. These two opposing views had considerable influence on the religious practices of early Buddhism.

The Lokottaravādins differed from other Mahāsāṃghika schools in holding that the Buddhas are "otherworldly" (*lokottara*), a word having several very different senses but which they employed loosely to attribute an extraordinary nature to the Buddhas. According to them, the Buddhas are otherworldly not only because their thought is always perfectly pure but also because they remain outside and above the world. Thus it would seem to be among the Lokottaravādins that we should seek the origin of Buddhist docetism, that is, the distinction between the real, transcendent, and infinite Buddha, the "body of doctrine" (*dharmakāya*), and the apparent Buddha, the "body of magical creation" (*nirmāṇakāya*)—a kind of phantom emanating from the real one. To rescue beings, the *nirmāṇakāya* becomes incarnate, taking on their form and thus seeming to be born, to grow up, to discover and preach the doctrine of enlightenment, and to finally die and become completely extinguished. The Lokottaravādins must have also extolled the extraordinary character of the *bodhisattva*, undoubtedly on account of their supernatural conception of the Buddhas. These singular notions lead one to believe that this sect played an important part in the formation of the Mahāyāna, whose teaching adopted and developed similar ideas.

As their name seems to indicate, the Prajñaptivādins were probably distinguished from the other schools that arose from the Mahāsāṃghika group because they taught that all things are mere products of linguistic convention (*prajñapti*) and, hence, are devoid of actual existence. One might see here the origin of the famous theory of the universal "void" (*śūnyatā*), which is one of the basic elements of the Mahāyāna doctrine and is the main theme, reiterated with the greatest insistence, of its oldest works, the first Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras.

Unfortunately, we do not know the basic premises of the other schools, whether they arose from the Sthaviravāda group or the Mahāsāṃghika. The data that have come down to us concerning a few of them, such as the Gokulikas (also called Kukkuṭikas), the Bahuśrutīyas, the Sammatīyas, and some others, are very doubtful, vague, or extremely obscure, even contradictory. For others, we possess no information at all.

As noted above, hundreds of controversies also set the various schools apart from one another without provoking new divisions of the community. Most of these debates apparently concerned only two or three sects and lasted for a short time—unless this impression is due solely to our lack of information. On the other hand, certain of these arguments affected, and even impassioned, a large number of schools for long periods, sometimes for centuries, as evidenced by the treatises and commentaries on canonic texts that have come down to us. In these more important controversies the distribution of the sects between the two opposing camps is often independent of their derivational connections. It may be that relations of good neighborliness and, hence, ties based on geographical distribution favored such doctrinal alliances. In any case, I will point out the most significant of these divergences of opinion, which are important features in the history of early Buddhist thought.

The Sarvāstivādins, the Sammatīyas, and the Pūrvaśailas firmly believed in an "intermediate existence" (*antarābhava*) that linked death and rebirth. This concept was rejected by the Theravādins and the Mahāsāṃghikas. The latter, along with the Andhakas and the Sarvāstivādins, maintained that the *bodhisattva* may be born in the so-called evil existences *(durgati),* even in the various hells, to lighten the sufferings of the beings who live in them. The Theravādins denied that this was possible because, in their view, of the automatic retribution consequent upon all actions, a retribution that completely determines the circumstances of rebirths. According to the Vātsīputrīyas, the Sammatīyas, the Sarvāstivādins, and the Pūrvaśailas, the *arhat*s could backslide in varying degrees and even lose *nirvāṇa*, but the Theravādins, Mahāsāṃghikas, and Sautrāntikas refused to accept this idea. The Theravādins, the Sarvāstivādins, and the Dharmaguptakas agreed that it was possible for the gods to practice the sexual abstinence (*brahmacarya*) of ascetics, whereas the Sammatīyas and the Mahīśāsakas judged this impossible. For the Theravādins and the Sarvāstivādins, there were only five fates (*gatis*), namely, those of gods, men, animals, starving ghosts (*pretas*), and the damned, but the Andhakas and the Vātsīputrīyas added another, that of the *asuras,* the superhuman beings who were adversaries of the gods (*devas*) yet were not devils in the Christian sense.

The Mahāsāṃghikas, the Theravādins, and the Mahīśāsakas taught that the clear understanding (*abhisamaya*) of the four noble truths (*catvāry āryasatyāni*) was instantaneous, whereas the Andhakas, the Sarvāstivādins, and the Sammatīyas believed that it happened gradually. So important was this dispute that it was still the central theme of the council of Lhasa (held in the eighth century), where Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist teachers opposed each other in doctrinal debate. The Sarvāstivādins seem to have been alone in denying that "thought" (*citta*) is inherently pure and contaminated only by accidental impurities, a belief held by the Mahāsāṃghikas, the Theravādins, and the neighboring schools.

The Theravādins, the Vātsīputrīyas, and the Sammatīyas recognized only one absolute, or "unconditioned" (*asaṃskṛta*) *dharma*, namely, *nirvāṇa*, but the majority of schools also considered empty space (*ākāśa*) an unconditioned *dharma*. Several of them taught that "dependent origination" (*pratītya-samutpāda*), the path (*mārga*) of enlightenment, and sometimes other entities as well, in particular the "suchness" (*tathatā*) or "permanence" (*sthitatā*) of things, were equally absolute and unconditioned. Thus, the ideas of these schools were quite close to those of the Mahāyāna.

Several important debates centered on the nature of the passions, more specifically, latent passions or tendencies (*anuśaya*) and active passions or obsessions (*paryavasthāna*). The Mahāsāṃghikas, the Andhakas, and the Mahīśāsakas set up a very precise distinction between them, while the Theravādins and Sarvāstivādins chose to see in them only two aspects of the same passions. For the Theravādins and the Sarvāstivādins, tendencies and obsessions alike were connected, or cofunctioned, with thought (*cittasaṃprayukta*), whereas for the Mahāsāṃghikas, the Vātsīputrīyas, the Sammatīyas, and the Mahīśāsakas, tendencies were unconnected, did not cofunction, with thought (*cittaviprayukta*), while obsessions were connected with it. As for the Andhakas, they held that obsessions and tendencies were equally separate from thought.

According to the Sarvāstivādins and the Vātsīputrīyas, ascetics of other, non-Buddhist beliefs (*tīrthika*) could, through their efforts, obtain the five lesser supernatural faculties (*abhijñā*) and thus work various miracles—perceiving the thoughts of others, recollecting their past lives, seeing the rebirths of creatures as conditioned by their past actions, and so forth. The Mahīśāsakas and the Dharmaguptakas, however, declared that the five supernatural faculties—like the sixth, the cleansing of impurities, that is, the attainment of *nirvāṇa*—could be acquired only by Buddhist ascetics treading the Path of Enlightenment.

The relation between "matter" (*rūpa*) and the mechanism of the ripening (*vipāka*) of actions (*karman*) also gave rise to disagreements. For the Theravādins, matter is independent of the ripening of actions, and it is not the fruit of this ripening. It is morally neither good nor bad but inherently neutral. In contrast, the Sarvāstivādins, Sammatīyas, and Mahīśāsakas taught that matter can be good or bad when it participates, through the body of man, in a good or bad act. Matter is also the fruit of ripening when it becomes the body—be it handsome or ugly, robust or sickly—received by a person at birth as a consequence of past deeds.

According to the Sarvāstivādins, the five forms of sensory perception are always associated with passionate desires (*rāgas*). The Mahāsāṃghikas and the Mahīśāsakas thought that they were sometimes associated and sometimes unassociated with them, while the Vātsīputrīyas rejected both these possibilities, declaring that the five forms of sensory perception are morally neutral by nature and thus can never be either good or bad.

LITERATURE. The literature of early Buddhism must have been very important in extent and interest because what has been preserved for us, even though it represents only a small part of the whole, is considerable. The great majority of this literature vanished with the sects that produced it; let us recall that only one, the Theravāda, still flourishes today in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia. Most of the schools have left us nothing, save perhaps a few fragments, isolated sūtras, and other brief works in the original Indian language or more often in Chinese translation. Which sects they belonged to nearly always remains undetermined.

Roughly half of what has been handed down to us is in the original Indian language, in a more or less "hybrid" Sanskrit, in various Middle Indic dialects, and above all in Pali. It is in Pali that the body of Theravāda literature, which we possess practically in its entirety, was written. The remainder, of approximately the same size, has come down to us only in Chinese or Tibetan translations. The scope of what was preserved in the Tibetan version, as far as the Hīnayāna in particular is concerned, is much more limited than that of the Chinese translation and, moreover, is confined almost solely to works of the Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins. In Mahāyāna literature, in contrast, the enormous amount of material translated into Tibetan is virtually equal to what was translated into Chinese.

Thus, it seems that a greater proportion of the canonical literature—properly speaking, that which belonged to the Tripiṭaka ("three baskets")—than of the postcanonical literature has been passed on to us. It comprises, primarily, the complete Pali Tipiṭaka, made up of its Sutta Piṭaka ("basket of sermons"), its Vinaya Piṭaka ("basket of discipline"), and its Abhidhamma Piṭaka ("basket of higher teaching").

The Sutta Piṭaka, in turn, is composed of five Nikāyas, or "groupings," bringing together the "long" (*dīgha*), "medium" (*majjhima*), and "grouped" (*saṃyutta*) sermons; those arranged according to number of categories (*aṅguttara*); and, lastly, the "minor" (*khuddaka*) sermons, the longest and most varied section of all. The *Khuddaka Nikāya* assembles the legends of the former "births" (*jātaka*) of the Buddha, legends recounting the "deeds" (*apadāna*; Skt., *avadāna*) of the great disciples, didactic stanzas (*gāthā*) attributed to them, a famous but anonymous collection of other instructional stanzas called the *Dhammapada*, and ten or so other equally varied works.

Like the other Baskets of Discipline that have survived, the Pali Vinaya Piṭaka essentially contains three parts. These provide detailed definitions and explanations of the numerous rules of discipline imposed on monks (*bhikkus*), those to be observed by nuns (*bhikkunīs*), and specific rules concerning the material life of both: the correct use of objects they were allowed to own, ceremony, sentencing of offenders, settling of disputes, and so on.

The Pali Abhidhamma Piṭaka consists of seven different works, in which the doctrine set forth in no particular order in the sermons (*suttas*) is reorganized, classified systematically, and fleshed out at numerous points. One of these seven books, the *Kathāvatthu* (Points of controversy), refutes more than two hundred opinions held by other Buddhist schools and in the process reveals the doctrines peculiar to the Theravāda.

Sadly, we do not possess a complete Tripiṭaka from any other early sect, but more or less significant parts of several of them have been preserved. Thus, five Vinaya Piṭakas have come to us intact: those of the Mahāsāṃghikas, Mahīśāsakas, Dharmaguptakas, Sarvāstivādins, and Mūlasarvāstivādins, all in Chinese translation, plus more or less extensive fragments of the last two in the original Sanskrit. We have an entire Tibetan translation of the Mūlasarvāstivādins Vinaya Piṭaka, which is much more voluminous and written later than the others. In addition, we have a detached portion of the Lokottaravāda Vinaya Piṭaka under the name Mahāvastu (Great Tale) in Hybrid Sanskrit. This is actually a traditional and partial biography of the Buddha, heavily encrusted with legendry.

The non-Theravāda sects used the term *āgama* ("tradition") for the four or five parts that made up their Sūtra Piṭakas, which correspond to the Pali Nikāyas. Five of these Āgamas, evidently complete, have survived in Chinese translation: the Dirghagama of the Dharmaguptakas; the Madhyamagama of the Sarvāstivādins; the Samyuktagamas of the Sarvāstivādins and the Kāśyapīyas; and, finally, an *Ekottarāgama* that most probably belongs to a sect derived from the Mahāsāṃghikas but different from the Lokottaravādins. There are also more than 150 isolated sūtras, nearly all preserved in Chinese and a few in their original Indian language, but it is generally impossible to determine what school they come from. No collection corresponding to the Pali *Khuddaka Nikāya* survives, but we do have the Chinese translations of some seventy works similar to those that make up the Theravāda collection, as well as the Indian originals of a number of others.

Two complete Abhidharma Piṭakas have survived in Chinese translation: that of the Sarvāstivādins (one part of this also exists in Tibetan) and one entitled Śāriputra-abhidharma, which seems to have belonged to the Dharmaguptakas but was perhaps also influenced by the Mahāsāṃghika. Like the Abhidharma Piṭaka of the Theravādins, that of the Sarvāstivādins comprises seven works, but its overall structure is very different, as is its doctrine, although there are notable similarities between some parts of the two works. The Śāriputra-abhidharma, which is made up of four main sections, differs even more from the Theravādins text. For the most part these three collections definitely postdate the first appearance of the sects that composed them and defended their own positions in them. The teaching given by the sermons in the various Nikāyas or Āgamas of the Sūtra Piṭakas, in contrast, presents a truly remarkable consistency, whatever their school of origin, and, thus, a great fidelity to the common early Buddhist base, predating the community's division into sects. The same is true for most of the monastic rules contained in the various

Vinaya Piṭaka, which are distinguished mainly by details of secondary or minor aspects of the ascetic life.

The postcanonical literature was undoubtedly very important, but even less of it remains than of the canonic material, and it is more unevenly distributed. Luckily, we possess in Pali the greater part of what was written by the Theravādins—commentaries on the canonic texts, treatises on doctrine, collections of legends, and devotional poems. We have also the principal Sarvāstivāda treatises, several commentaries on these works and on the major portion of their Abhidharma Piṭaka, as well as a few other late works. Unfortunately, the postcanonic literature available to us from all the other schools is limited to a half-dozen works.

The whole series of commentaries in Pali on the Theravāda canonic texts was composed in the fourth and fifth centuries CE by Buddhadatta, Buddhaghosa, and Dhammapala, who made use of ancient commentaries, now lost, in Old Sinhala. We also owe to Buddhaghosa, the wisest and most renowned of all the Theravāda masters, a substantial treatise entitled *Visuddhimagga* (The path of purity), in which the Mahāvihāra school's entire doctrine is set forth. Another famous treatise is the *Abhidhammatthasangaha* (Collection of interpretations of the higher doctrine), written by the Sinhala monk Anuruddha about the eleventh century. Other, less important treatises of the Mahāvihāra school were composed by various authors between the fourth and fifteenth centuries. Each of these works was the subject of one or more commentaries, most of which have not survived. Only one non-Mahāvihāra Theravāda work—strangely, in Chinese translation—is extant: a large treatise called *Vimuttimagga* (The path of liberation), attributed to Upatissa, who must have lived some time before Buddhaghosa and was probably a master of the Abhayagiri school.

To the treatises may be added the *Lokapaññatti* (Description of the world), a fourteenth-century adaptation by the Burmese monk Saddhammaghosa of a lost Sanskrit work, and especially the well-known *Milindapañha* (Questions of King Milinda), likewise inspired by a lost work. This seems to have been a little Buddhist propaganda manual aimed at the Greeks and Eurasians, such as King Menander (Milinda), who lived in northwestern India in the second century BCE. Besides the Pali version, there are two Chinese translations of the *Milindapañha* that rather differ from each other and even more so from the Theravāda text.

The postcanonic Theravāda literature also includes instructional poems and collections of legends in verse or prose. Among the instructional poems are the *Anāgatavaṃsa* (History of the future), in which the monk Kassapa recounts the life of the next Buddha, named Metteyya, and the *Jinacarita* (Story of the conqueror), Medhaṃkara's account of the miraculous life of the historical Buddha. The *Rasavāhinī* (Transportress of flavors), translated into Pali by Vedeha from an Old Sinhala poem, is a collection of some one hundred legends meant to encourage a life of piety.

However, it is its famous chronicles, a genre almost entirely abandoned in ancient India, that make Theravāda literature stand apart from that of the other sects. The series of the *Dīpavaṃsa* (History of the island), *Mahāvaṃsa* (Great history), and *Cūḷavaṃsa* (Lesser history) records in verse the whole history of Sri Lanka, from its beginning to the end of the eighteenth century, from the very specific point of view of the "elders" (*theras*) of the Mahāvihāra, the principal Sinhala Theravāda school. Other chronicles recount, in grandiose verse style, the stories of sacred relics: the *Bodhivaṃsa* tells the story of the bodhi tree, the *Thūpavaṃsa* that of the principal mound of Anurādhapura, and the *Dāṭhāvaṃsa* that of the Buddha's tooth.

The main works of the Sarvāstivādin postcanonic literature have generally survived in Chinese or Tibetan translation. Complete or partial Sanskrit originals of several of them have also been found.

Only two commentaries on the postcanonic literature of the Sarvāstivādins have come down to us. One concerns the rules of monastic discipline and is entitled *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya-vibhāṣā*; the other, called *Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā*, comments on the *Jñānaprasthāna*, the principal work of the Abhidharma Piṭaka of this sect. This *Mahāvibhāṣā* (Great commentary) is an immense summation of the doctrine of the Sarvāstivādins or, more precisely, of their most important school, known as the Vaibhāṣika, "supporter of the (*Mahā-*) *Vibhāṣā*." It is one of the most voluminous works in all Buddhist literature.

The Sarvāstivādins left several treatises written in Sanskrit during the first few centuries of the common era. The principal and best known is the *Abhidharmakośa* (Treasury of higher doctrine), written by Vasubandhu in the fifth century and the subject of numerous commentaries, many of which are extant in the Sanskrit original or in Chinese or Tibetan translation. Vasubandhu was accused of holding Sautrāntika views by his contemporary Saṃghabhadra, a strictly orthodox Sarvāstivādin. Saṃghabhadra refuted these views in a large treatise entitled *Abhidharma-nyāyānusāra* (Consistent with the logic of the further doctrine) and in a long commentary on the didactic stanzas (*kārikās*) of the *Abhidharmakośa*. The Sarvāstivādins also composed a *Lokaprajñapti* (Description of the world) according to Buddhist ideas, which has survived in Chinese and Tibetan translations.

The other schools have left only Chinese translations of a few treatises and commentaries, often very short and of unknown origin. Among the commentaries, which all correspond to complete or partial Vinaya Piṭakas, we may mention the *Vinayasaṃgraha* (Collection of Discipline) by the Mūlasarvāstivādins Viśeṣamitra and the *Vinayamātṛkā* (Summary of discipline), the sectarian affinity of which is uncertain.

All that remains of the literature of the Vātsīputrīyas and related schools, which must have been considerable, are the Chinese translations, sadly inferior and obscure, of two small treatises summarizing their teaching. The most important of these is entitled *Sammatīya-nikāya-śāstra* (Treatise of the Sammatīya sect).

Two other works of the same type have also survived in Chinese translation, but although they are better translated and are much longer, their sectarian origin presents some difficulty. One, called *Satyasiddhi* (Realization of the truths), written by Harivarman around the third century CE, teaches and defends the doctrine of a Mahāsāṃghika-derived school, probably the Bahuśrutīyas. The other is the *Vimuttimagga*, mentioned above, whose author, Upatissa, probably belonged to the Sinhala Abhayagiri school; its Pali original was recently rediscovered.

The literary genre of devotional legends in verse or prose was also a great inspiration to authors of all sects, most of whom remained as anonymous as those of the canonic texts. Some of these works recounted the life of the historical Buddha, embellishing it with numerous miracles for the sake of greater glory. Two of the three most famous were preserved by chance in their Indian originals. These were composed in Hybrid Sanskrit, which is to say greatly influenced by the Prakrit dialects: the *Mahāvastu* (Great tale) and the *Lalitavistara* (Account of the sport), both important sources for the development of the Buddha legend. The first is a detached portion of the Lokottaravāda Vinaya Piṭaka, but in scope, as well as in specific subject matter, it can be considered a distinct and, moreover, rather late work. The *Lalitavistara* was first compiled by the Sarvāstivādins but later revised by followers of the Mahāyāna. In contrast with these two, the *Buddhacarita* (Story of the Buddha) was written in classical Sanskrit by one of the greatest Indian poets, Aśvaghoṣa, who lived around the second century CE; only half of the Sanskrit text has been recovered, but the Chinese translation is complete.

The collections of legendary material recounting the edifying deeds of Buddhist saints, or the previous incarnations of these or the future Buddha, are numerous, whether in Hybrid Sanskrit originals or in Chinese versions. We shall mention here only the best known, the *Avadāaśataka* (Hundred exploits) and the *Divyāvadana* (Divine exploits).

NOTABLE PERSONALITIES. Be they Buddhists, *brahmans,* or otherwise, the Indians of ancient times had practically no interest in history as we understand it, with its concern for the exact recording of events, dates, names, and biographies of important figures in order to preserve a precise record of them. This is especially true for the history of Indian Buddhism and the lives of its great masters. With very rare exceptions, to us the masters are only names attached to one or more literary works or, much less often, to an important item or event in the history of Buddhism—such as an idea that was declared heretical, a dispute, or a council. Nearly always, we know nothing whatever of the lives of these people, including the regions where they were born or lived and the centuries in which they were active. Moreover, the scant information that tradition has preserved about them is either vague, contradictory, or obviously distorted by legend, obliging us to make use of it with great skepticism. Even the biographies of the principal Sinhala elders (*theras*) of the Theravāda sect, whose history is told at length and in detail by the chronicles of Sri Lanka, are hardly better known to us than those of the masters of other groups and schools of early Indian Buddhism. In any case, we possess infinitely less detail about the lives of these *theras* than about those of the kings, princes, and generals who studded the history of Sri Lanka and protected the island's monastic community for two thousand years. Nonetheless, these chronicles permit us to know the names of a much larger number of these Sinhala Theravāda elders than of the masters of other sects, and thanks to them we are generally informed with some precision about the time and place in which many of them lived.

Among the most noteworthy figures of the Theravāda, we must first point out the three great scholars to whom all of the commentaries on the Pali canon and several important treatises on doctrine are attributed. The most famous is certainly Buddhaghosa, author of the *Visuddhimagga.* According to tradition, Buddhaghosa was an Indian *brahman* from Bihar who converted to Buddhism, then probably came to live in the Tamil country and afterward in the Sri Lankan capital, Anurādhapura, during the reign of Mahānāma (409–431). Buddhadatta, who was, it seems, a little older than Buddhaghosa, was probably born in the Tamil country, on the banks of the Kāverī, and spent most of his life there, but he probably sojourned in Anurādhapura as well. Finally, Dhammapāla was probably also a Tamil, born in Kāñcīpuram in the late fourth century, and most likely lived mainly in his native land but also journeyed to Lanka. Thus, it would seem that in the early fifth century, Tamil India was an important seat of Buddhist—or, more precisely, Theravāda—culture, on a par with Sri Lanka and perhaps even more active.

The reign of Parakkamabāhu (Parakramabāhu) I (1153–1186), an especially prosperous epoch for the Sinhala Theravādins, was made illustrious by a number of scholar-monks. The most famous was Sāriputta, a pupil of Kassapa of Udumbaragiri, who had played a pivotal role in the reform of the community ordered by the king and was himself a great scholar. Sāriputta turned his residence, the new monastery of Jetavana at Polonnaruwa, into the major center of knowledge and Buddhist learning of his time. Author of several authoritative subcommentaries on canonic texts, highly esteemed grammarian and poet, he was as well versed in Sanskrit as in Pali and composed his works in both languages. Several of his many students became learned monks and authors of valued literary works, notably Dhammakitti, Saṅgharakkhita, Sumaṅgala, Buddhanāga, Medaṅkara, and Vācissara.

In modern times, mention must be made of one first-rank figure whose influence on the evolution of Theravāda Buddhism was both decisive and extensive. Prince Mongkut, the youngest son of the Siamese king Rama II, became a monk and, during the quarter-century that he spent in yellow robes, undertook a great reform of the community in his country. In particular, he founded a new monastic order, the Thammayut, which observed the rules of discipline more strictly than did its contemporaries, but he also kept abreast of the social realities of Siam and enthusiastically studied the culture and religions of the West. Becoming king on the death of his elder brother, he ruled under the name Rama IV (1851–1868), completing his work and transforming his country into a modern state largely open to trade and external influence. He is one of the principal architects of the great reform of Theravāda Buddhism that took place after the mid-nineteenth century not only in Siam but also in the neighboring kingdoms and in Sri Lanka. This movement was characterized by a return to the sources of the religion, namely the Pali Tipiṭaka, and also by a necessary and rational adaptation to modern circumstances.

The best-known figure of the Sarvāstivādins is certainly Vasubandhu, the author of the *Abhidharmakośa.* Unfortunately, our information about this great master is suspect and seemingly contradictory, so that his life remains a subject of debate. Is Vasubandhu the Sarvāstivādin identical with Vasubandhu the Yogācāra, the brother of Aśanga? Did he live in the fourth or the fifth century of our era? Was he born at Purusapura (present-day Peshawar) into a *brahman* family? Did he live in Kashmir, and then Ayodhya (present-day Faizābād), where he probably died? No agreement has been reached on these or other, lesser points of his biography.

We know even less about his principal adversary, Saṃghabhadra, except that he was Vasubandhu's contemporary, a Kashmiri, and a staunch defender of Vaibhasika Sarvāstivāda orthodoxy. As for other great teachers of this sect, to whom are attributed various interpretations of the notion of *sarvam asti* or the treatises that have come down to us in Chinese translation, they are hardly more than names to us: Vasumitra (one or several?), Kātyāyanīputra, Dharmaśrī, Ghoṣaka, Upaśānta, Dharmatrāta. . . . Indeed, the Sarvāstivāda's founder, Madhyāntika, who probably settled with his disciples in Kashmir during the reign of Aśoka, seems himself to belong more to legend than to history.

The founders of other schools are also nothing but names to us, and even these have been handed down: Mahādeva for the Mahāsāṃghikas, Vātsīputra for the Vātsīputrīyas, Uttara for the Sautrāntikas, and so on. We only know two or three other masters, whose names have been preserved by chance, such as Śrīlāta of the Sautrāntika and Harivarman, the author of the *Satyasiddhi.* Of Śrīlāta we know nothing more than his opinions, as these were criticized in Sarvāstivādin tracts. Harivarman was probably a *brahman* from the middle Ganges Basin, who most likely lived around the third century CE and was converted to Buddhism as a follower of one of the Mahāsāṃghika sects, probably the Bahuśrutīya, to judge from the study of his long treatise.

EXPANSION OF THE SCHOOLS OUTSIDE OF INDIA. Owing to the pious zeal of the emperor Aśoka, from the mid-third century BCE Buddhism began to expand outside of India proper, southeastward into Sri Lanka and northwestward into what is now Afghanistan. Numerous important epigraphic and archaeological monuments show that it soon prospered in both these areas. From this evidence and from the Sinhala chronicles we know that the Theravādins very quickly became, and remained, the dominant group in Sri Lanka, but we do not know exactly which sects flourished at the same time—during the last three centuries BCE—in the mountainous areas of the northwest, then called Gandhara and Kapiśa. It seems, however, that the Sarvāstivādins, traditionally believed to have originated in nearby Kashmir during the reign of Aśoka, began the conversion of these lands to Buddhism and were joined somewhat later by schools of the Mahāsāṃghika group.

A few very scarce inscriptions, but especially the reports of the famous Chinese pilgrims Xuanzang and Yijing, as well as the numerous discoveries of Buddhist manuscripts in Central Asia, provide information on the presence of various early sects outside India. Sects were found in Southeast Asia, Indonesia, Central Asia, and China in the first few centuries of the common era, especially in the seventh century.

At this same time, the Theravādins had found their way into Indonesia, where the Sarvāstivādins or Mūlasarvāstivādins were a strong majority. These two groups were extremely numerous and nearly alone in all of Central Asia, and they also flourished in southern China, where the Mahīśāsakas, Dharmaguptakas, and Kāśyapīyas prospered as well. These last three sects thrived in Indonesia, and Dharmaguptakas were also found in eastern China as well as in Shensi province. As for the Sammatīyas, they were in the majority in Champa, in the center of present-day Vietnam. Such is the information provided by Yijing.

The Chinese translations of three different works of early Indian Buddhist sects formed the basis of an equal number of distinctively Chinese schools, which were introduced shortly afterward into Japan. The oldest is known by the name Chengshi, which is the title of Kumārajīva's Chinese translation (411–412) of Harivarman's *Satyasiddhi.* The main doctrine of this treatise, which attracted and held the attention of its Chinese followers, distinguishes two truths: a mundane or relative truth and a supreme or absolute truth. It teaches that all things are empty of substance, not only the individual person made up of the five aggregates of phenomena, but also the whole of the external world. Thus, the teaching of this work would seem to lie between those of the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna or, more precisely, the Mādhyamika. The Chengshi school was in fact founded by two direct disciples of Kumārajīva, Sengdao and Sengsong, who each headed a different branch, one centered in Anhui and the other in Jiangsu. These two masters and some of their disciples composed many commentaries on the *Satyasiddhi* or, more exactly, on its Chinese translation, which helped make it widely known throughout southern China. The leaders of the Chinese Mahāyānist Sanlun sect, who were faithful followers of the Mādhyamikas, vigorously combatted this teaching, insisting that its concept of the void was mistaken. Their attacks resulted in the decline of the Chengshi school in the mid-seventh century and in its disappearance shortly afterward. Still, in 625, a Korean monk introduced the Chinese translation of the *Satyasiddhi* and its teaching to Japan, but the sect, which received the name Jōjitsu (after the Japanese pronunciation of Chengshi), found less success there than in China and was quickly absorbed by the rival school of Sanron, the Japanese form of San-lun.

The second sect was called Jushe, a transliteration of the Sanskrit *kośa*, because it was based on the famous *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu, translated into Chinese by Paramārtha in 563–567 and by Xuanzang in 651–654. The Sarvāstivāda realism expounded in this treatise was not very successful in China, where Mahāyāna doctrines were then dominant; consequently, the Jushe school died out in the late eighth century, when it was absorbed by the Chinese form of Yogācāra known as Faxiang. Previously, as early as 658, two Japanese monks, Chitsu and Chitatsu, had introduced the sect to Japan, where it bacame known as the Kusha. There it had less success and longevity as an independent school than in China, for Chitsu and Chitatsu themselves were followers of Faxiang, called Hossō in Japan. Hossō had already attained considerable importance, and it soon absorbed the Kusha school.

The third and final Chinese school derived from early Buddhism was quite different from the other two. Called Lü ("discipline"), it was established in the mid-seventh century by the eminent monk Daoxuan as a reaction against the doctrinal disputes that preoccupied Chinese Buddhists of the time. He maintained that moral uprightness and strict monastic discipline were much more necessary for the religious life than empty intellectual speculations. Consequently, he imposed on his followers the well-defined rules in the *Sifen lü*, a Chinese translation of the Vinaya Piṭaka of the Dharmaguptakas made by Buddhayaśas and Zhu Fonian in 412. Although his school never had many adherents of its own, it had a clear and lasting influence on Chinese Buddhism. Thanks to the school's activities, the *Sifen lü* became, and remains, the sole collection of disciplinary rules to be followed by all Chinese Buddhist monks regardless of their school, including followers of the Mahāyāna. The school was introduced to Japan in 753 by the Chinese monk Jianzhen (Jpn., Ganjin), who was welcomed with open arms at the court of Nara. Known by the name of Ritsu (not to be confused with a homophonous branch of the Shingon sect), it is still active in Japan today (it also existed in China early in this century) but no longer has many adherents.

However, the only early Buddhist sect to thrive after spreading outside of India is the Theravāda. Its lasting success (it still flourishes today) can be explained by the fact that it was established well before the common era in Sri Lanka, a relatively isolated region, and that it has almost always maintained a strongly preferential relationship with the island's political authorities and has known how best to profit from it. Much less certain was the extension of this phenomenon to a compact group of countries of mainland Southeast Asia from the eleventh century, a time when Buddhism, especially the early, so-called Hīnayāna Buddhism, was dying out throughout India itself. At that time, Hīnayāna Buddhism could claim only a very few followers, scattered among small and failing communities, in the whole vast territory of India. We can understand how the effect of such a happy chance could have seemed miraculous to Buddhist devotees.

This process began in Burma, in the mid-eleventh century, when Anorātha, who ruled the central and northern parts of the country, conquered the southern, maritime region, where Theravāda monks had recently converted the ruler. Anorātha, too, soon adopted the Buddhist faith of the Theravādins. Driven by religious zeal, he compelled all of his subjects to follow his example. From that time on, Theravāda has remained the religion of the majority of the Burmese people.

Two centuries later, when the Thai descended from the mountains to the north and took control of the entire country known today as Thailand, the same process took place. Their king converted to the Theravāda and exercised all his authority to promote its extension to the whole of the population.

In the following century, under circumstances that are still poorly known, neighboring Cambodia, where Mahāyāna Buddhism and Hinduism had flourished until then, became completely Theravādin in a short space of time and has remained so to the present day. The petty kingdoms of Laos, stretched out along the middle Mekong, were not long in following suit.

In contrast to what had happened in India, this distribution of Theravāda Buddhism among a number of different countries, which were (except for Sri Lanka) in close proximity to each other, helped ensure the sect's lasting prosperity. Indeed, when a monastic community in one of these countries found itself in difficulty or in decline, which happened a number of times here and there, the pious Buddhist king would ask for and receive help from another country's ruler, who would then send him a group of knowledgeable, respected monks to resolve the problems in question and restore the Theravāda to its full value and strength. Similarly, whatever reforms and progress were made in one country quickly spread to the Theravāda communities in others. Such was the case in the last century, when the prince-monk Mongkut, who became King Rama IV of Siam, instituted great transformations that allowed the Theravāda to adapt to the modern world at the same time that he carried out a return to its distant canonic sources.

SEE ALSO Arhat; Buddhaghosa; Buddhism, articles on Buddhism in India, Buddhism in Southeast Asia; Buddhist

Books and Texts; Buddhist Philosophy; Councils, article on Buddhist Councils; Dharma, article on Buddhist Dharma and Dharmas; Eightfold Path; Four Noble Truths; Ganjin; Karman, article on Buddhist Concepts; Mahāsāṃghika; Missions, article on Buddhist Missions; Mongkut; Nirvāṇa; Pratītya-samutpāda; Saṃgha, overview article; Sarvāstivāda; Sautrāntika; Sinhala Religion; Soteriology; Southeast Asian Religions, overview article; Vasubandhu.

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BUDDHISM, SCHOOLS OF: MAHĀYĀNA PHILOSOPHICAL SCHOOLS OF BUDDHISM

Mahāyāna Buddhists in India developed numerous theories on a wide range of topics, and according to Buddhist thinkers, all such theories must relate in principle to reaching *nirvāṇa*, the highest goal toward which Buddhists are meant to strive. Usually a theory prescribes a specific contemplative practice that will lead the Buddhist to that highest goal, and it is understood that the practice will lead to *nirvāṇa* only when guided by the theory that recommends it. Indian Mahāyāna Buddhists who accepted the soteriological importance of theory thus faced some critical interpretive tasks: select, defend, and articulate the correct (i.e., soteriologically efficacious) theory among competing theories.

As Mahāyāna Buddhist thought develops, these interpretive tasks focus on philosophical texts (*śāstras*) that become, for one reason or another, the inviolable sources of a theoretical system. The main Mahāyāna texts of this kind were composed by three Buddhist thinkers: Nāgārjuna (c. 150 CE), Asaṅga (c. 325 CE), and Vasubandhu (c. 325 CE). Although other thinkers' works also received considerable attention, the works of these three thinkers form the core of the Mahāyāna philosophical schools. Their texts and ideas are studied and interpreted again and again by each generation of Indian Mahāyāna thinkers until the virtual disappearance of Mahāyāna philosophy in India (c. 1400 CE).

As each generation's commentators take up the study of these foundational figures, they invariably employ a kind of dialectical method: arguments are couched as discussions between the proponent and the opponent of a particular notion. These dialectical arguments respond to a wide range of views, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist. Hence, formulating its own retorts and criticisms, each generation develops new and often multiple interpretations of seminal texts and concepts.

By the sixth century, the rapid accumulation of competing interpretations leads Mahāyāna thinkers such as Bhāvaviveka (c. 525 CE) to systematically employ terms for what are often called "philosophical schools." One obvious circumstance underlies this move: commentators fall into well-defined camps that adopt a particular moniker to identify their position. Followers of Nāgārjuna, for example, speak of their philosophy as Madhyamaka (the "Middle Way"), a term that Nāgārjuna himself coins. Subsequent generations of Madhyamaka thinkers are always concerned to defend and articulate the works of Nāgārjuna and, to some degree, the commentaries on Nāgārjuna composed by their predecessors. One thus encounters an unambiguous cohesion within Madhyamaka texts, as evinced by their intertextuality, the continuity of their ideas, their appeal to the same authorities, and so on. Hence, in using a single moniker to refer to many thinkers and their texts, Bhāvaviveka is simply reflecting the obvious cohesiveness of their textual traditions.

In describing Buddhist thought as "schools," however, another motivation is the confusion caused by the multiplicity of views that develop over generations. By Bhāvaviveka's time, Buddhist thought exhibits many variations, and if one adds the opinions of non-Buddhist philosophers, one arrives at a tangled knot of theory. Parsing authors and texts into specific schools allows Buddhist thinkers to unravel that knot and present its various strands in a straightforward fashion. Instead of unpacking endless arguments between individual authors, one instead interprets them as debates between philosophical traditions.

The need to sort and classify the bewildering variety of Mahāyāna philosophical views becomes especially acute when Buddhism spreads to other regions, such as China and Tibet. Indeed, in Tibet an entire literature develops around the term *school*, and most Tibetan monastic libraries hold several dozen texts that are devoted to minutely parsing and classifying Indian philosophical systems. This literature, called *doxography*, has heavily influenced the academic study of Indian Mahāyāna thought. The success and influence of Tibetan doxographies stems in part from their ability to elaborate a general classification found in Indian doxographical texts. Enumerated in these terms, all Buddhist thought falls into the hierarchy of the "four schools": the lowest two, the Vaibhāṣika and the Sautrāntika, are not part of the Mahāyāna, but they provide the foundation for the higher schools; the latter two, Yogācāra and Madhyamaka, are considered Mahāyāna schools. This schema, along with its numerous subcategories, has become standard in the academic study of Mahāyāna philosophy.

Since it is so prominent, the model of the four schools will guide the discussion presented below. It will be useful, however, to begin with the problems inherent in the notion of "philosophical schools." An overview of the first two schools will then provide the overall context of Mahāyāna thought. After a concise historical synopsis, this entry focuses on the earliest historical forms of the two Mahāyāna schools, namely Madhyamaka and Yogācāra, along with a brief consideration of later developments.

"SCHOOLS" AND "PHILOSOPHY." The notion of a philosophical "school" is a difficult one, even in its English usage. In rough terms, a "school" is a voluntary association of various thinkers who articulate and defend a particular set of theories that are deliberately traced through a series of commentators to one or more original thinkers. A main concern in speaking of schools is the need to distinguish the mere avowal of a position from the systematic articulation and defense of that position within a tradition. To refer clearly to that type of systematic articulation, Indian Buddhist authors eventually settle on the term *siddhānta,* literally, the "conclusion" or outcome of one's theoretical arguments. It is this term that is often translated as "school."

Although clearly useful for Buddhist exegetes and academic interpreters, the concept of a *siddhānta* or school holds several problems. For example, if a taxonomy of schools is to be of any use, one must sort each thinker and his works into one school or another. In this sorting process, however, the way in which a thinker may resist or reinterpret his own school is all too easily lost. The sorting of thinkers into this or that school may also lead one to ignore noteworthy differences and create false boundaries. Candrakīrti (c. 625 CE) and Śāntideva (c. 650 CE), for example, diverge significantly in their views, but since they are lumped together into the same school, their important differences may be ignored. Likewise, Dharmakīrti (c. 650 CE) and Śāntarakṣita (c. 750 CE) are sorted into distinct schools, but their thought may converge in ways that are not apparent in terms of their schools' definitions. Along these same lines, the taxonomy of schools does not fare well when confronted with liminal cases, where a thinker's allegiances are difficult to discern.

The English term *school* may also suggest a type of institutional coherence that does not apply to these philosophical traditions. It appears that only men wrote Buddhist philosophical texts, and nearly all were monks. As such, they received their sustenance through a monastic institution, and they held property in common with that institution. The practical circumstances of a monk's life and the norms that regulated his behavior were also guided by the rules passed to him upon ordination. If issues such as sustenance and behavioral norms lie at the core of a monk's institutional identity, then one must identify nearly every Buddhist philosopher first and foremost as a monk from a particular monastery regulated by the rules of a particular monastic tradition. Monastic traditions, moreover, were not distinguished by their philosophies; instead, each tradition was set apart primarily by its regional origin and the often mundane details of its rules. Hence, in institutional terms, an Indian Buddhist philosopher is first distinguished not by a particular philosophy, but rather by the regional affiliation and rules of his monastery's code. To put it another way, in some cases the color of a monk's robe indicated unambiguously the monastic tradition that he followed, but no such visible cue ever marked the philosophical school that he upheld.

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to suppose that allegiance to a Mahāyāna philosophical school had no impact on a monk's life. Certainly, that allegiance located the philosopher within an intellectual community, one that extended across many monasteries in many monastic traditions; and it is clear that these intellectual communities engaged in both censure and approval of a thinker's works. A thinker's commitment to a Mahāyāna philosophical school also located him within a wider discourse on philosophy conducted by many traditions, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist. That is, although many Indian Buddhist thinkers did not compose their works in Sanskrit, Mahāyāna philosophers did use Sanskrit, and they thus shared a literary language with a wide range of non-Buddhist theorists. This may be one reason for the remarkable number of extended debates between Mahāyāna philosophy and these other, non-Buddhist traditions. In those debates, Mahāyāna Buddhist thinkers acted as intellectual defenders of the faith against philosophical critiques originating outside the Buddhist community, and this role probably impacted their lives in terms of patronage and prestige.

Another practical impact of allegiance to a school was the Mahāyāna notion of philosophy itself. Mahāyāna philosophical texts cover many of the same topics and use many of the same methods found in Euro-American philosophical traditions. And, as in classical Greece, *philosophy* here must not be interpreted as dry theory, but rather as systematic thought that is meant to explain, guide, and sustain contemplative practices. This does not mean that every argument correlates straightforwardly with a contemplative practice—consciously or not, Indian Buddhist thinkers often made philosophical decisions that have no obvious relation to such practices. Nevertheless, in a fundamental way Buddhist thinkers link their arguments to specific contemplative practices, such as meditations that analyze personal identity. This linkage reflects the avowed soteriological context of all Buddhist thought, namely, the cultivation of meditative experiences that allegedly eliminate suffering and lead to *nirvāṇa.* Indeed, from the traditional view, the Buddhist thinker's philosophical work was itself a kind of spiritual practice that moved the thinker closer to these final goals. Philosophy is therefore called "seeing" (*darśana*), a metaphor that evokes a central goal of Buddhist contemplative practice: an experience (*anubhava*) in which one sees things as they truly are (*yathābhūtadarśana*). Thus, in speaking of Mahāyāna "philosophy," one must recall that it is implicated deeply in this type of contemplative goal.

Despite the problems noted above, the schema of the four philosophical schools remains useful. The usual procedure is to begin by discussing the first two schools: the Vaibhāṣika and the Sautrāntika. Doxographers maintain that these schools do not embody any Mahāyāna philosophy, and it is precisely for this reason that they are presented first. In doing so, doxographers are able to present the shared, foundational notions that run through all Buddhist thought.

FOUNDATIONAL THEORIES. From its earliest period, Buddhist thought rested on a straightforward set of claims about human goals and the means to achieve those goals. In brief, the main human goal is the elimination of suffering, and the means to that end is the elimination of the causes of suffering. The strands of early Buddhist thought that develop into Mahāyāna philosophy specify that suffering's cause is a type of "ignorance" (*avidyā*), a distorted way of seeing the world that stems especially from misconceptions about personal identity. Ignorance creates and sustains mental dispositions that motivate and guide actions, and since those dispositions are rooted in a fundamental error, the actions guided by them are doomed to failure. Ignorance, moreover, permeates the minds of all unenlightened beings; hence, all of their actions—including those aimed at their highest goal of eliminating suffering—end in frustration.

The solution is to eliminate the fundamental misconceptions about one's personal identity that fuel ignorance, and one does so by demonstrating that their object, an essentially real and immutable "self" or *ātman,* does not exist. The procedure is to engage in a type of reductive analysis whereby, with the aid of contemplative practices, one searches through the constituents of body and mind in order to determine whether any of them—singly or in combination—could be such a self. Having seen that there is no such self to be found, one uses meditation to deepen that experience and explore all its implications. Eventually one becomes free of the misconceptions that create suffering; hence, one attains *nirvāṇa*, utter freedom from suffering.

This basic theory, which also lies at the core of Mahāyāna philosophy, is the main concern of the *abhidharma,* a style of Buddhist thought presented in great detail by the Vaibhāṣika school. The most basic of the four schools according to Indian and Tibetan doxographers, the Vaibhāsikas derive their name from the *Mahāvibāṣa* (Great commentary) that is their inspiration. Their principal task is to articulate an elaborate taxonomy of all the truly real constituents of the body and mind in order to facilitate an exhaustive search for the self. These psychophysical constituents, called *dharma*s, are discovered through analysis to be the irreducibly real building blocks of the universe, and when one knows them as such, one is seeing mind and body as they truly are (*yathābhūtadarśana*). Since a person is nothing other than those irreducible constituents of mind and body, and since no essential self or immutable identity is numbered among those constituents, one concludes that this alleged essential self (*ātman*) is not truly real.

This theory of "no-self" (*anātman*) is meant to demonstrate that no fixed essence lies at the core of personal identity, but it does not deny that in a contingent way, one can speak intelligibly of persons or selves. A traditional example is a chariot: when one performs the Vaibhāṣikas' reductive analysis of a chariot, one finds only the parts, such as the wheels, axle, and so on. At the same time, one knows that there is no chariot separate from those parts; if there were, it would absurdly follow that the chariot would still exist even after its parts were removed. Hence, even though it may seem that a chariot exists, if one accepts irreducibility as a criterion of true existence, one must admit that no such chariot truly exists. Nevertheless, one is still able to use the word "chariot" intelligibly when engaged in the practical task of, for example, driving the chariot. Thus, in terms of practical actions and use of language, a chariot does exist.

Codifying these two ways of existing, the Vaibhāṣika refers to another key concept for the Mahāyāna: the "two truths" or "two realities," namely the "ultimate" (*paramārtha*) and the "conventional" (*saṃvṛtti*). According to the Vaibhāṣikas, if one wishes to know whether an entity exists ultimately, then one employs their analytical techniques; if, at the end of that reductive analysis, the entity in question has not been reduced to some more fundamental constituents, one concludes that it is *ultimately* real. On the other hand, even if the entity is reducible to more fundamental constituents, one may decide that from a practical or linguistic point of view, it still appears to be existent. In such a case, the entity will be considered *conventionally* real because, although it does not withstand analysis, it does conform to the conventions that govern the use of language and practical actions. Thus, since it can be reduced to more fundamental constituents, a chariot is not ultimately real. Nevertheless, in terms of the conventions that govern the use of the word *chariot*, it appears to be real for practical purposes; hence, a chariot is conventionally real. Likewise, since a person can be reduced to more fundamental constituents, no person is ultimately real; nevertheless, in practical and linguistic terms, one can speak of a person as conventionally real.

In order for the schema of the two realities to make sense, the Vaibhāṣika must explain precisely what it means for one to know that an entity exists ultimately. Their view amounts to a kind of taxonomic atomism: an ultimately real entity is irreducible, and one has full knowledge of this fact when one sees that the entity, due to its essence or nature (*svabhāva*), belongs to one or another of the irreducible categories that exhaustively account for all the stuff of the universe. In other words, the endpoint of the Vaibhāṣika analysis is not just that the thing in question cannot be broken down further, but also that one knows in an affirmative sense what it truly is by virtue of its nature; and one arrives at this knowledge by correctly categorizing the irreducible thing in question.

In emphasizing this taxonomic approach, the Vaibhāṣikas' method betrays a realist attitude toward categories. This realism attracts the criticism of the second non-Mahāyāna school, the Sautrāntikas, who critique it by pointing to its naïve assumptions. One such assumption is the belief that categories—or more generally, words and concepts—refer in some direct and straightforward way to real entities in the world, such that the things expressed by a particular word or concept are understood to be the same. For example, when one uses the word or concept *blue*, one appears to be referring to a thing that is somehow, by its nature, the same as all other blue things. In fact, say the Sautrāntikas, words and concepts do not refer in this way to real things. Thus, the seeming sameness of each thing called "blue" is an illusion; in actuality, each thing is utterly unique, and its unique identity or nature cannot be fully expressed through words or concepts.

The Sautrāntika critique resorts to complex and technical arguments, but to appreciate its relevance to the development of Mahāyāna thought, one need only attend to a main outcome: namely, that the Sautrāntika view moves away from the notion that all things are fixed in categorical identities. For the Vaibhāṣikas, the universe is composed of irreducible elements, each of which belongs by its very nature to a particular category. But according to the Sautrāntikas, the nature of a thing cannot be fully captured by a categorical identity. This leaves open the explicit possibility that any given thing is susceptible to multiple interpretations at the level of words and concepts.

GENERAL TRENDS AND PROBLEMS IN MAHĀYĀNA THOUGHT. Examined through the traditional schema of the four schools, the first two schools—Vaibhāṣika and

Sautrāntika—are usually discussed in the somewhat contrived and ahistorical manner presented just above. Such an approach scarcely does justice to these two "lower" schools, but it does capture an important facet of Mahāyāna thought: namely, that it is explicitly rooted in non-Mahāyāna Buddhism. Mahāyāna thinkers accept all of the elements discussed above: namely, that the elimination of suffering is a main spiritual goal; that ignorance is the primary cause of suffering; that ignorance is eliminated by knowing things as they truly are; that on the theory of no-self, persons are not ultimately real; and that an entity that is not ultimately real may nevertheless be considered conventionally real. Rather than rejecting these basic theories, Mahāyāna thinkers modify them in a way that creates a conceptual transition—not a radical discontinuity—from the non-Mahāyāna to the Mahāyāna.

A key element in this conceptual transition is a fundamental change in the notion of *nirvāṇa*. In non-Mahāyāna thought, *nirvāṇa*, the state in which suffering has utterly ceased, stands in strict opposition to *saṃsāra*, the world of suffering. *Saṃsāra*, moreover, is literally created by ignorance, and on most accounts, this means that everything within *saṃsāra* is tainted by ignorance. For the Vaibhāṣika, this taint is an irreversible and indisputable fact about the *dharma*s or fundamental building blocks that constitute *saṃsāra*. *Nirvāṇa*, on the other hand, is utterly free not only of suffering, but also of the ignorance that causes suffering. Hence, on the Vaibhāṣika view, *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* must be entirely distinct.

In both literature and philosophy, Mahāyāna moves away from this strict distinction between *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*. In a literary work such as the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra,* one learns that those close to true *nirvāṇa* are capable of seeing this world as a blissful paradise called a *buddha-field*, while those farther from that state still see it as a world of suffering. In the systematic texts of the first Mahāyāna philosopher, Nāgārjuna, one reads that in ontological terms, there is no difference whatsoever between *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*. And in other systematic Mahāyāna works, *nirvāṇa* is redefined as "unlocated" (*apratiṣṭhita)* in that it is situated neither within the world of suffering that is *saṃsāra*, nor in a quietistic *nirvāṇa* that is diametrically opposed to that world. This new, nondualistic paradigm for *nirvāṇa* accompanies a redefinition of the highest goal for Buddhists. In short, for the Mahāyāna, the proper and highest goal of a Buddhist is not only the elimination of one's own suffering, but rather the attainment of buddhahood: a state of perfect bliss in which, while still active in a world that appears to be one of suffering, one is maximally efficient at leading other beings to *nirvāṇa*. Buddhahood is the goal that guides the *bodhisattva* ideal, the Mahāyāna's central ethical motif, which is based on a strong sense of compassion for all beings.

The Mahāyāna's new paradigm emphasizes the nonduality of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, and to make good philosophical sense, it must be accompanied by a revision of the Vaibhāṣika ontology. It can no longer be the case that the fundamental building blocks of reality are fixed by their very nature in immutable identities; that is, it can no longer be the case that the stuff of the world of suffering must always remain what it has always been, namely, the direct or indirect product of ignorance. Instead, it must be the case that the world appears as it does—as wracked with suffering or as a blissful buddha-field—not because of some fixed and essential nature of things, but instead due to the minds of the beings that are experiencing that world. Here is the relevance of the Sautrāntika's critique of Vaibhāṣika thought: the nature of a thing cannot be fully captured by a categorical identity, and multiple interpretations of its identity are possible. It is crucial for Mahāyāna theory that the Sautrāntika critique be correct.

From a doxographical perspective, the Mahāyāna's ontological revision is facilitated by extending the doctrine of no-self. The doctrine of no-self rejects the notion that persons have a fixed, essential identity: one may seem to be an ultimately real person, but in fact, one is not truly or ultimately a person because one is reducible to the real, fundamental elements of which one is composed. For the Mahāyāna, a similar critique applies to the fundamental elements or *dharma*s that supposedly make up the person: an infinitesimal particle of matter, for example, seems to be an infinitesimal particle, but it is not truly or ultimately an infinitesimal particle. Indeed, according to the Mahāyāna, all of the Vaibhāṣikas' allegedly fundamental elements of the universe lack any fixed, essential identity as elements. All things are therefore completely mutable, and the world of suffering that is *saṃsāra* is not fixed in its nature: it can be the very locus of *nirvāṇa*.

By extending the critique of essential identity from persons to all the elements of the universe, Mahāyāna thinkers encounter three main issues. First, they must present a new style of critique that is not simply reductive; in other words, the claim that irreducible entities are not ultimately real cannot be supported by reducing them once more, since one will just arrive at the same problem. Instead, some other kind of analysis must be brought to bear. Second, Mahāyāna thinkers must specify what it means for one to see the true identity of things—to "see them as they truly are" (*yathābhūtadarśana*)—when that new analysis reaches its culmination. In other words, the Vaibhāṣika analysis leads to a straightforward and even intuitive conclusion: when one is looking at a chair, in fact what one is seeing is a bunch of irreducible particles of matter; the notion of a "chair" is just a convenient fiction. But if, as Mahāyāna thinkers maintain, even those irreducible elements are not truly real, what then is left for one to be seeing? This problem relates to the third issue: namely, that if even the fundamental building blocks of the world are not truly real, how then does one give an account of conventional reality? For the Vaibhāṣika, an entity such as a chair is not ultimately real because it can be reduced to its more fundamental parts. Nevertheless, in conventional terms one may speak of a "chair" as real, and one can do so because the term *chair* actually refers to those irreducible parts that are functioning together in a particular way. Thus, for the Vaibhāṣika, the warrant for claiming that a chair or a person is conventionally real is precisely the fact that one can point to the ultimately real elements of which it is composed. Mahāyāna thinkers, however, deny the ultimately reality even of those elements. Of what, then is conventional reality constructed?

These three issues—the need for a new style of analysis, a new account of knowing things as they are, and a new approach to conventional reality—all raise another issue: namely, that Mahāyāna thinkers seem to be arguing that, to at least some degree, the Vaibhāṣikas and other non-Mahāyāna philosophers are just plain wrong. Not only do they seem to argue that many Buddhists are wrong, but since Mahāyāna thinkers accept the Vaibhāṣikas' claim that their theories come from words of the Buddha, they seem to say that the Buddha was wrong too. To deal with this problem, followers of the Mahāyāna do not reject most of the previous canonical texts, perhaps in part because causing such a schism was considered as heinous as matricide. Instead, Mahāyāna thinkers sought a method to reconcile their innovations with the long established Buddhist community in which they were embedded. They settled on the notion of "skill in means" (*upāyakauśalya).*

Strictly speaking, "skill in means" may not be a philosophical concept, but it certainly functions as a philosophical method. In its most basic form, it amounts to this: the teaching must be tailored to the audience. That is, one presents theories and arguments at a level that the audience is capable of understanding, and if the audience cannot understand (or will inevitably reject) the highest level of one's philosophy, one uses a lower level of analysis that will prepare the audience to understand or accept the higher level. In part this means that arguments must be couched in such a way that they fit into a hierarchy of levels, and as Mahāyāna thought develops in India, this attention to levels of analysis becomes the central motif of late Mahāyāna thought.

HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS. Considered in historical terms, the two Mahāyāna schools—Madhyamaka and Yogācāra—develop through the following stages: Nāgārjuna (c. 150 CE) composes the early Madhyamaka texts; Asaṅga and Vasubandhu (both c. 350 CE) compose the early Yogācāra texts; Dignāga (c. 450 CE) and Dharmakīrti (c. 625 CE), with the help of Bhāvaviveka (c. 500 CE), integrate a set of theories known as "Buddhist epistemology"into Mahāyāna thought; from the seventh century onward, Madhyamaka and Yogācāra subschools develop in reaction to the developments of Buddhist epistemology, and later Madhyamaka thinkers such as Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla (both c. 750 CE) create a synthesis that explicitly employs a hierarchy of schools representing levels of analysis. The discussion below focuses especially on early Madhyamaka and Yogācāra, and it concludes with a brief examination of their later subschools.

Early Madhyamaka: Nāgārjuna. The first systematic Mahāyāna thinker was Nāgārjuna, and his historical primacy is matched by his philosophical importance. As noted earlier, to move beyond early Buddhist thought Mahāyāna thinkers confront three main needs: a new style of analysis that moves beyond reductionism, a new account of knowing things as they are, and a new approach to the definition of conventional reality. Nāgārjuna's approach to these issues sets the stage for all subsequent Mahāyāna thought.

To formulate a new style of analysis, Nāgārjuna must critique the claim that through a strictly reductive analysis, one comes upon things that are ultimately real. The early Buddhist style of reductive analysis is straightforward: one analyzes an entity by attempting to break it into its component parts, and if it cannot be broken down further, the entity is ultimately real. A chair, for example, is not ultimately real because it can be broken down into more fundamental parts; and when the analytical process is brought to its conclusion, one eventually arrives at irreducible, partless particles that are the basic stuff of the chair.

Thus, when a reductive thinker such as a Vaibhāṣika completes the analysis of a chair, he concludes that a chair is actually just many particles. Hence, in ultimate terms, a chair exists as something other than itself: what seems to be a chair is not ultimately a chair; instead, it is actually irreducible particles. But, for these reductive thinkers, an irreducible entity such as a particle does ultimately exist as itself because it cannot be reduced to anything more fundamental. As such, that entity has *svabhāva*, literally, "own-existence." To speak of a thing's *svabhāva*, therefore, is to speak of what a thing is in and of itself; in other words, it is to speak of its "essence," the best translation of *svabhāva.*

To move beyond reductive analysis, Nāgārjuna focuses on this notion of essence. He accepts that, for an entity to exist ultimately, it must have an essence (*svabhāva*), but for him, to have an essence is not just a matter of being irreducible. Instead, he maintains that the notion of an essence is a way of indicating that the entity's identity is utterly devoid of any dependence on other entities. In short, he understands the notion of essence as independent or nonrelational existence. Hence, in lieu of reduction, his analysis examines the ways in which an entity might be dependent on other entities. If the entity is found to be dependent, then one must conclude that it lacks essence (*svabhāva*) and is thus not ultimately real.

For Nāgārjuna, dependence comes in various forms. For example, he begins his most influential work by arguing that causally produced entities cannot have essences because they depend on their causes. His analysis of causality, however, is only part of a larger strategy: namely, the analysis of relations. Even entities that are not causally produced are susceptible to this analysis. Perhaps the most radical example is *nirvāṇa* itself, which reductionists such as the Vaibhāṣika consider to be an ultimately real element that is free of any causal conditioning. Nāgārjuna, however, maintains that it is conditioned in another sense: one cannot give an account of what *nirvāṇa* is in itself without referring to its opposite, the world of suffering that is *saṃsāra.* In other words, *nirvāṇa* has no meaning without *saṃsāra*, just as "long" is meaningless without "short." Nāgārjuna thus concludes that "*nirvāṇa* is not at all different from *saṃsāra*" (*Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* 25.19).

When Nāgārjuna radically rejects any distinction between *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa,* he is not espousing some type of monism. Instead, he is drawing a consequence from a more fundamental point, namely, that *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* lack essence. That is, in order to draw a distinction between them in ultimate terms, one must do so in terms of their essences—what each is in itself without depending on anything else. *Saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, however, both lack essence because the identity of each is dependent on the other. Hence, any attempt to draw any ultimate distinction between them must fail.

More important is another conclusion of Nāgārjuna's analysis: since only an entity with an essence can be ultimately real, *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* are not ultimately real. Nāgārjuna goes on to extend this analysis not just to *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, but to all things, and the upshot of his critique is that they all lack essence. In other words, to have an essence is to have some fixed, nonrelational identity, and no entity can fulfill this requirement. Moreover, since only a nonrelational entity—that is, one with an essence—could be ultimately existent, Nāgārjuna maintains that no entities whatsoever exist ultimately. To know all things as they are truly or ultimately is therefore to recognize that none exist ultimately.

Here one encounters the second issue that all Mahāyāna thinkers must face, namely, the need for a new account of "seeing things as they truly are." As with the Vaibhāṣika, Nāgārjuna accepts that suffering can only be stopped by eliminating ignorance, and that to eliminate ignorance one must see things as they truly are. For the Vaibhāṣika, to see things as they truly are is to experience what is ultimately real, namely, the foundational elements of the universe. In doing so, one can eliminate ignorance: the confused belief that somewhere among those elements one will find one's absolute, fixed identity or self (*ātman*). For Nāgārjuna, however, ignorance is not just a confusion about one's personal identity; instead, it is the deeply ingrained cognitive habit that makes beings see *all things* as if they had some fixed, absolute identity or essence (*svabhāva*). Thus, to eliminate ignorance one must realize that that no entity has any such essence, and this means that one must realize that no entity is ultimately real. But if no entity is ultimately real, what does it mean to see things as they truly are? At the end of the analysis, what is left that one could see?

To answer this question, Nāgārjuna employs a metaphor that runs throughout Mahāyāna thought. Inasmuch as no entity can have a nonrelational identity, every entity lacks essence, and Nāgārjuna speaks of this lack of essence as "emptiness" (*śūnyatā*). Thus, to know an entity in ultimate terms is to know its emptiness, which is a metaphor for its utter lack of essence. The danger, however, is that one will construe this as some kind of absolute nothingness at every entity's core. In that case, Nāgārjuna would be wrong to say that all things lack essence because they would have an essence, namely, that absolute nothingness. Responding to the danger of this type of nihilistic interpretation, Nāgārjuna points out that even emptiness lacks essence and is thus ultimately unreal. Thus, just as a person is empty of really being a person, emptiness is empty of really being emptiness. By understanding this "emptiness of emptiness" (*śūnyatāśūnyatā*), one avoids nihilism.

Nāgārjuna may avoid nihilism, but many questions remain concerning the realization of things as they truly are. Here one should recall that such a realization comes not only through Nāgārjuna's arguments, but also through their integration into a contemplative practice. But what sort of practice would it be? What kind of meditative experience would the arguments help to induce? It should already be clear that the meditation on things as they truly are—that is, the meditation on emptiness—cannot be an experience of some absolute nothingness or any other negative content. It would also seem problematic to hold that the meditation has positive content, such as an object. That is, the meditative experience of emptiness is an experience of any entity's ultimate reality, and if that experience is of some object, then one might conclude that the object experienced was the fixed, ultimate essence of that entity. This would seem to contradict Nāgārjuna's notion that all things lack essence. Hence, the meditative experience of emptiness apparently can be neither of something, nor of nothing.

This conundrum of emptiness clearly vexes subsequent Mahāyāna thinkers, and it leads to many developments in Mahāyāna thought. It also points to problems in the third issue that Nāgārjuna faces: an account of the conventional. As noted above, on Nāgārjuna's view, if one seeks the fixed, nonrelational essence that would constitute the ultimate identity of an entity, one fails to find any such essence. And to exist ultimately, a thing must have such an essence; hence, one concludes that no entity exists ultimately. But as with the Vaibhāṣika, Nāgārjuna maintains that an entity that does not exist ultimately may nevertheless exist conventionally. Hence, even though he denies the ultimate reality of all things, including the Buddhist path, he does not at all mean to deny that many such things, most especially the Buddhist path, are real and valuable in a conventional sense.

Concerning the conventional, the Vaibhāṣikas are straightforward: it is just a matter of recognizing that words such as "chair" are convenient fictions that allow us to speak easily of what is really there, namely, many irreducible particles. Thus, conventionally real things are composed of the irreducible, ultimately real stuff of the universe. But for Nāgārjuna, there is no such stuff, nor does one find anything else that is "really there" in the case of a chair or anything else. How then does one make sense of conventional reality?

To answer this question, Nāgārjuna must redefine the notion of conventionality. For the Vaibhāṣika, a conventional entity depends on the ultimate because it is made from ultimately real stuff, but for Nāgārjuna the conventional and the ultimate define and depend upon each other through their mutual exclusion, as in other dyads such as "long" and "short" or *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa.* And since an ultimately real entity has an utterly independent or nonrelational identity, a conventionally real entity must be its antithesis: its identity is utterly dependent or relational. As Nāgārjuna puts it, "We say that emptiness is that which is interdependence" (*Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* 8.24). In other words, when one sees that all entities fail the test of ultimacy because they are all empty of any nonrelational identity, one should also realize that if they have identities even conventionally, those identities must be rooted in the radical relationality that is "interdependence" (*pratītya-samutpāda*).

In seeing the conventional as interdependence, Nāgārjuna sets a theme for all subsequent Mahāyāna thought, but as with the notion of emptiness, he leaves many questions unanswered. For example, he has not addressed the Vaibhāṣikas' basic intuition that the conventional is made up from ultimate stuff. In other words, the modality of conventional reality may indeed be interdependence, but does not such a concept presuppose that there are things standing in the relation of interdependence? A relation cannot exist without *relata*, so how could it make sense to speak of the relation that is interdependence if there are not really any entities to be related? These questions, along with the problems of knowing emptiness, create fertile ground for the growth of Mahāyāna thought.

Early Yogācāra: Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. Not long after Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu develop the other major strand of Mahāyāna thought, the Yogācāra (literally, "Practice of Yoga"). Also called *citta-mātra* ("mind only"), this school emphasizes mind (*citta*) or consciousness (*vijñāna*) in its responses to the three issues mentioned above, namely, style of analysis, seeing things as they truly are, and an account of the conventional.

In terms of analysis, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu largely follow Nāgārjuna's lead. Asaṅga's main style of analysis is also relational, but his focus is different. He begins with the assumption that the notion of an ultimately real personal identity is rooted in one's sense of subjectivity. His analysis is relational because on his view, the reality of that subjectivity is tied to the reality of the objects that it allegedly knows. Hence, in order to follow previous Buddhist thinkers in demonstrating that there is no such fixed, ultimately real personal identity, he must show that all the objects allegedly perceived by this subjectivity are ultimately unreal. Therefore, the subjectivity must also be ultimately unreal because it can truly be a subjectivity only if it perceives objects.

Focusing on the relation between subject and object in this way, Asaṅga follows Nāgārjuna in extending the critique of essence beyond persons to the fundamental elements of the universe, but unlike Nāgārjuna, his approach creates a more obvious bridge between non-Mahāyāna and Mahāyāna thought. That is, as with non-Mahāyāna thought, the main goal is still to refute one's notion of an ultimately real self (*ātman*), but Asaṅga suggests that this goal is best reached by critiquing the self's alleged objects. The intuition here is that the false impression of ultimately real selfhood is rooted in one's sense of subjectivity as a perceiver of objects. Thus, in showing that there are no ultimately real elements that could serve as objects, Asaṅga is just offering a more profound and effective rejection of any fixed, absolute personal identity.

Asaṅga's strategy requires some means to refute the reality of any entities that could be construed as objects existing in distinction from the subjectivity that perceives them. For the Vaibhāṣikas, those objects basically consist of the irreducible elements that they take to be ultimately real; hence, Asaṅga's critique must demonstrate that all those elements are not ultimately real. Buddhist models of consciousness require that his analysis cover two general types of objects: mental objects, which are immaterial, and sense objects, which, being material, are allegedly composed of irreducible particles.

In terms of mental objects, Asaṅga develops a critique elaborated further by Vasubandhu. As with Nāgārjuna, the critique employs a relational analysis whereby an entity could be ultimately existent only if it is utterly free of dependence on other entities. Exploring an area not systematically addressed by Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu refute the ultimate reality of mental objects by demonstrating that their allegedly independent existence is contradicted by the linguistic and conceptual relationality that enables them to be mental objects in the first place. Their detailed arguments demonstrate that the referent of a word or concept is necessarily mind-dependent to at least some degree, and being dependent, that referent cannot be ultimately real.

The critique of sense objects, which thinkers such as the Vaibhāṣika take to be composed of irreducible particles, is developed especially by Vasubandhu. Here too the continuity with non-Mahāyāna thought is striking, for Vasubandhu chooses to employ a reductive analysis to demonstrate the ultimate irreality of such particles. But in contrast to reductionists such as the Vaibhāṣika, Vasubandhu is willing to reduce matter to the point where it no longer exists. In short, he demonstrates that irreducibility is incompatible with material existence: if material particles were irreducible, then they could have no size, but if they have no size, then how could an accumulation of them form gross objects such as jars or chairs? On the other hand, if they do have size, then they clearly are not irreducible, since they then must have parts, such as front, back, left, right, top, and bottom. The conclusion of this analysis is a philosophical idealism that totally denies the existence of matter. And although a few academic interpreters maintain that Vasubandhu does not mean to refute the reality of matter, such an interpretation ignores all subsequent Indian commentators and all Tibetan doxographers.

The critique of mental and physical objects developed by Asaṅga and Vasubandhu differs in an important respect from Nāgārjuna's approach. For Nāgārjuna, when one reaches the conclusion of the analysis, one's "seeing things as they truly are" is just seeing emptiness, which is not readily construed as seeing anything at all; indeed, later Indian Madhyamakas will speak of it as the "seeing that is non-seeing." Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, however, see their analysis as ending in a realization that has a far more affirmative content. The positive nature of that realization is shown by the way they redefine emptiness. For Nāgārjuna, emptiness is utter lack of essence, and since all things are empty, all things lack essence; hence, they are all ultimately unreal. For Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, emptiness is the absence of subject-object duality in the mind of the perceiver. Thus, although ultimately real objects do not stand in opposition to some ultimately real subject, there remains nevertheless the undeniable fact of consciousness itself.

Asaṅga and Vasubandhu explain their new notion of emptiness through the theory of the "three natures" (*trisvabhāva*). The usual order of enumeration is: the constructed nature (*parikalpitasvabhāva*), the dependent nature (*paratantrasvabhāva*), and the perfect nature (*pariniṣpannasvabhāva*). It is helpful to place the dependent nature at the head of this list because the other two—the constructed and the perfect—are actually two different modes of the dependent nature. That is, the dependent nature is the causal flow of consciousness itself: it is the sequence of one moment of consciousness produced by its own previous moment and going on to produce its own subsequent moment. This ongoing stream of consciousness can appear in two different modes. For ordinary persons, it appears with a dizzying variety of sensory and mental objects, and each mental moment except for the deepest sleep is replete with such an object. Asaṅga's and Vasubandhu's analysis of mental and sensory objects, however, demonstrates that none of these objects is ultimately real. Nevertheless—and this is the key ontological claim—the conclusion that the objects are ultimately unreal does not adequately account for the fact that those objects are appearing. Instead, one must see that denying the ultimate, independent reality of those objects is the same as affirming their conventional, dependent existence within the mind itself. To put it another way, when one sees the color blue, the apparent existence of the blue object as an external, independent object is false. But the fact that it is appearing to consciousness is undeniable, and since the Yogācāra analysis shows that it could not be external and independent of the mind, it must be within the mind itself. Seeing that flow of mind in that way—namely, as devoid of the apparent subject-object duality—is to see the perfect nature. Thus all objects and all subjects are not distinct, but this is not to deny their reality altogether. Rather, the denial of subject-object duality still leaves intact the causal flow of mind in which all those apparently dualistic experiences are occurring.

This critique of subject-object duality leads to a redefinition of emptiness. The "dependent nature" is a way of referring to the causal flow of mind that is "dependent" since each moment of consciousness is contingent upon its own previous moment, which acts as its cause. The "constructed nature" refers to the objects that appear in the mind such that they seem distinct from the subjectivity that apprehends them. It is "constructed" in that this dualistic distinction between subject and object is not innate; instead, it is created by ignorance. In this system, "emptiness" describes the causal flow of mind in terms of its ultimate mode, the perfect nature. That is, ultimately the causal flow of consciousness (the dependent nature) is *empty* or devoid of the seeming subject-object duality (the constructed nature) that appears in the ordinary experience that is the constructed nature. Thus, to see "emptiness" or the perfect nature is to see the causal flow of mind as it truly is, namely, utterly devoid of the subject-object duality that is the constructed nature.

A metaphor used in Yogācāra texts is helpful here. Suppose that a magician casts a spell on some stones such that his audience now sees them as elephants. The stones themselves represent the causal flow of mind. Those stones appear to the tricked audience as elephants, and this represents the constructed nature, namely, the fact that the mind itself (the stones) is appearing as something other than the mind (i.e., as elephants). The realization of the perfect nature is embodied by the magician who knows indubitably that he is actually seeing stones, which are empty of being elephants.

By redefining emptiness in this way, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu respond to a problem in Nāgārjuna's thought, namely, that he left no clear account of the conventional beyond a vague appeal to interdependence. Although they do not directly quote Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu seem disturbed by this vagueness, especially in terms of their concern for a "basis for affliction and purification" (*saṃkleśavyavadānāśraya*), that is, an ontological foundation for the fact that one can be afflicted by ignorance or liberated into *nirvāṇa*. For them, that basis is consciousness itself.

Turning to the issue of conventional reality, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu's theory of the three natures also enables them to give a more elaborate account than Nāgārjuna's. The conventional for these thinkers consists of the seemingly dualistic experiences that are the constructed nature. These would include all ordinary perceptions, as when one sees colors such as red and yellow. Such perceptions are driven by ignorance, in that the red and yellow colors seem distinct from the subjectivity that perceives them. These perceptions are not caused by material objects, since matter does not in fact exist. What, then, could cause such perceptions?

The answer is "foundational consciousness" or *ālayavijñāna*. Also translated as "storehouse consciousness," this form of awareness is entirely unconscious, but within it lie all the "seeds" (*bīja*) of experience, such as the perceptions of a red apple or of yellow corn. When one sees the red apple or the yellow corn, it is not that one's perception is caused by some material object. Instead, various circumstances have come together to allow the seeds of those perceptions to ripen. One's world, in short, is just a projection of mind.

In arguing that the world is a projection of mind, however, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu are not proposing some kind of mental monism where everything is reducible to one universal mind. Their rejection of monism becomes evident when one asks: if the world is just a projection of one's mind, why is it that a perceptual object (such as an unpleasant smell) cannot become something else (the bouquet of a rose) merely by the intention of one's mind to make it so? Part of the answer is the conditioning of each individual's mind, whereby one's reality is incapable of such radical and immediate alterations. But part of the answer is also the influence of an infinite number of other minds. In other words, the "seeds" that ripen into experiences in one's own mind have been created not only by one's own previous experiences, but also by the experiences of all the minds of the beings around one. This notion of intersubjectivity, which in Yogācāra literature is tied to the workings of *karma*, enables the Yogācāra to surpass Nāgārjuna in their account of the conventional.

Later Yogācāra. From the standpoint of traditional doxography, all Mahāyāna thinkers after Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga, and Vasubandhu fall into one of two camps: Madhyamaka or Yogācāra. These two schools, however, are retroactively split into several subschools by doxographers in India and Tibet in an attempt to give some structure to the great variety of debates and disagreements that arise within both Madhyamaka and Yogācāra.

The divergent strands of Madhyamaka and Yogācāra arise largely in relation to a major development among a group of thinkers that, while not technically forming a "school," exhibit considerable coherence and continuity. This new philosophical approach was developed especially by the Yogācāra thinkers Dignāga (c. 450 CE) and Dharmakīrti (c. 625 CE), but Bhāvaviveka, a Madhyamaka thinker, also plays a major role. In terms of its overall concern, this new style of philosophy can be called "Buddhist epistemology," since its central aim is to give a detailed account of how one gains reliable knowledge, and how one justifies one's claims to knowledge. This epistemic focus arises in part due to interactions with non-Buddhist thinkers who, at Dignāga's time, were well ahead of their Buddhist counterparts in the study of such issues. One main topic was the analysis of oral arguments, and one way to trump an opponent in debate was simply to point out that his proofs were not well formed. Since formal debates within and between traditions may have been relatively common, Buddhist thinkers needed to come up with their own positions in this regard so as to defend their arguments against such a tactic.

The concern with justification of knowledge, however, also reflects the ongoing interest of Mahāyāna thinkers in providing an adequate account of conventional reality. For example, Buddhist epistemology texts discuss perception in detail, and they thus give Yogācāra thinkers the tools to explore a central question left unanswered by Asaṅga and Vasubandhu: namely, what is the status of one's mental content? This question may seem abstruse, but it is unavoidable in Yogācāra thought.

As noted above, on the theory of the three natures, to see things as they truly are is to see emptiness, and in this system this means seeing that the causal flow of mind is ultimately empty of subject-object duality. Hence, when seeing the color red, the color appears to be external to one's mind, and it seems that one is "inside" looking out at the world; but these are illusions created by ignorance. In fact, the color and the subjectivity perceiving it are both nothing but occurrences in the causal flow of mind itself. By developing a detailed account of perception, Buddhist epistemology uncovers an obvious question here that relates to seeing things as they truly are, that is, seeing things without the influence of ignorance. Specifically: when one sees the causal flow of mind as empty of subject-object duality, does one still see the color red, for example, but now in some nondualistic way? In other words, if a perception's duality is produced by ignorance, does this mean that even its sheer content is also contaminated by ignorance?

Employing the tools of Buddhist epistemology, some later Yogācāra thinkers such as Devendrabuddhi (c. 650 CE) answer this question by denying that ignorance contaminates all mental content. In other words, when one is seeing things as they truly are, one is indeed just seeing the mind itself empty of subject-object duality, but the perceptual content—such as a color or shape—can still appear in one's cognition; it is just that one experiences that content as identical to the mind. This position develops into the subschool known as "Proponents of True Content" (Satyākāravāda). One implication is that, for them, the perceptions of a buddha can include the type of content found in the mind of ordinary persons, with the exception that a buddha's perceptions will be free of subject-object duality.

Other Yogācāra thinkers, such as Śākyabuddhi (c. 675 CE), take the opposite tack. As "Proponents of False Content" (Alīkākāravāda), they maintain that not just the duality of the perception, but even the content itself is contaminated by ignorance. Hence, to be free of ignorance and see things as they truly are, one must experience the mind itself devoid not only of duality, but of any perceptual content at all. The implications for buddhahood are clear: since a buddha is utterly free of ignorance and always seeing the world as it truly is, a buddha cannot ever perceive the world that an ordinary person sees.

Later Madhyamaka and levels of analysis. As with Yogācāra, Buddhist epistemology also significantly impacts Madhyamaka thought. After Dignāga develops the early form of Buddhist epistemology, the Madhyamaka thinker Bhāvaviveka applies it to Nāgārjuna's arguments. In doing so, he critiques the commentator Buddhapālita (c. 500 CE) for failing to employ well-formed proofs or "independent inferences" (*svatantrānumāna*) that follow the rules of Buddhist epistemology. Candrakīrti (c. 625 CE) later responds to Bhāvaviveka, and he does so by claiming that by insisting on well-formed arguments Bhāvaviveka is introducing a subtle form of essentialism into Nāgārjuna's critique of essence.

Candrakīrti's critique addresses a basic principle in Buddhist epistemology: in order for a proof to be well formed, the entity that is being analyzed must be perceptible to both participants in the debate. For example, to present a well-formed proof that a chair is not ultimately real, the chair itself must be perceptible to the person presenting the proof and to the person that is the target of the proof. Hence, when Bhāvaviveka refutes essentialist positions by using well-formed proofs, he must maintain that both he and his essentialist opponent can perceive the entity that they are discussing. On Candrakīrti's view, however, a Madhyamaka thinker should not use this procedure because it would require him to agree that the entity has some form of independent existence, and such an admission is anathema to a Madhyamaka.

Although it is not usually expressed in this way, the upshot of Candrakīrti's criticism is that a Madhyamaka thinker cannot fully inhabit the same perceptual world as the essentialist that he is critiquing. To do so would require that both the Madhyamaka and the opponent see the same thing, and this would require that the thing in question be somehow independent of the minds that are perceiving it. Being independent in that fashion, the thing would be essentially real, albeit in a subtle way. Candrakīrti therefore maintains that the only proper method for a Madhyamaka is to point out the "unacceptable consequences" (*prasaṅga*) that follow from the opponent's position, rather than attempting to present arguments based upon what both the Madhyamaka and his opponent can perceive.

Tibetan doxographers coin terms to categorize these two streams of Madhyamaka thought. Those who follow Bhāvaviveka in his use of Buddhist epistemology are called *Svātantrika*, that is, those who use well-formed inferences in their arguments. And thinkers who follow Candrakīrti are known to the Tibetans as *Prāsaṅgika*, namely, those who argue by pointing out unacceptable consequences.

For most Tibetan doxographers, Candrakīrti's Prāsaṅgika subschool is the highest form of Madhyamaka, but historically Bhāvaviveka's use of Buddhist epistemology became the norm for Indian Madhyamaka thinkers. Part of the reason for the enthusiastic adoption of Buddhist epistemology by later Madhyamakas may well have been their interest in a strategy first employed systematically by the Buddhist epistemologist Dharmakīrti. Dharmakīrti develops Buddhist epistemology in such a way that he can readily argue from multiple philosophical perspectives; indeed, large portions of his texts can be accepted equally well by Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika, and Yogācāra thinkers. Dharmakīrti is thus able to establish a common ground for debate and then introduce a wrinkle into his argument that suddenly points to a uniquely Yogācāra concept as if it were the natural conclusion to an analysis that even Vaibhāṣikas and Sautrāntikas accept. This technique, which clearly rests on the notion of "skill in means" discussed above, creates levels of analysis within Dharmakīrti's work, and it enables him to address multiple audiences with great ease. Later Madhyamaka thinkers, most prominently Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla (both c. 750 CE) employ this method in nearly all their works, with the exception that their highest level of analysis is not Yogācāra, but rather Madhyamaka. Their use of levels of analysis also enables later Indian Madhyamakas to speak with greater precision and coherence about the relations among various schools of Buddhist thought, and it inspires the Tibetan doxographical enterprise that has encouraged the study of Mahāyāna thought in terms of schools.

SEE ALSO Abhinavagupta; Ālaya-vijñāna; Asaṅga; Buddhist Books and Texts; Buddhist Philosophy; Dharmakirti; Dignāga; Mādhyamika; Mahasamghika; Nāgārjuna; Sakya Pandita (Sa skya Pandita); Śūnyam and Śūnyatā; Vasubandhu.

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BUDDHISM, SCHOOLS OF: TANTRIC RITUAL SCHOOLS OF BUDDHISM [FIRST EDITION]

[*This entry was originally titled "Buddhism, Schools of: Esoteric Buddhism" in the first edition of the Encyclopedia.*]

Buddhist esotericism is an Indian movement obscure in its beginnings. Combining yoga and ritual, it calls itself the Diamond Vehicle (Vajrayāna)—where *diamond* means "the unsplittable"—or the Mantra Vehicle (Mantrayāna)—where *mantra* means "magical speech." The revealed texts of the tradition are called *tantra*, in contrast to sūtra (the generic name of the non-Tantric Buddhist scriptures), but both these words have the implication "thread" or "continuous line." In the case of the Tantras, the "continuous line" can be understood in various ways: the lineage of master-disciple, the continuity of vows and pledges in the practitioner's stream of consciousness, or the continuity of practice leading to a religious goal.

Much of Tantric literature is ritualistic in nature, manifesting Brahmanic influence by the use of incantations (*mantra*) and the burnt offering (*homa*), both of which were employed for magical purposes as far back as Vedic times. Similarly, the notion of the "five winds" found in certain of the Tantras dates back to some of the Upaniṣads. Many of the hand gestures and foot stances of Buddhist Tantric practice are also found in Indian dance. However, as specifically Buddhist Tantras, such texts are colored both by Buddhist theories and practices and by the typical terminology of Mahāyāna Buddhism. These texts regularly employ such ancient Buddhist formulations as the triad body, speech, and mind, and draw upon such common Mahāyāna notions as the pair "means" (*upāya*) and "insight" (*prajñā*). The Tantras accept the old Buddhist ontology of three worlds filled with deities and demons, and contribute the premise that one can relate to these forces by ritualistic manipulation of one's nature (body, speech, and mind), thereby attaining "success" *(siddhi)* in such mundane forms as appeasing the deities, or the supermundane success of winning complete enlightenment (Buddhahood), possibly in a single lifetime. The old Buddhist terminology "son or daughter of the family," here the Buddhist family, was extended to refer to Buddha families. Initially, the texts propose a triad of three Buddhas or Tathāgatas: Vairocana, Amitābha, and Akṣobhya. Later, Ratnasambhava and Amoghasiddhi are added to make up a family of five, and Vajrasattva to make a family of six. A supreme Buddha, referred to variously as Mahā-Vajradhara, Heruka, or Ādibuddha ("Primordial Buddha"), is also mentioned. But the texts do not use the term "Dhyāni Buddhas" that is sometimes found in Western books on the subject.

INFLUENCE IN TIME AND PLACE. Buddhist Tantrism appears to have originated in eastern India and to have been transmitted orally in private circles from around the third century CE. When we speak of the period of the origination of the tradition, however, we refer only to that era in which Buddhist Tantras arose in syncretism with an already extant lore non-Buddhist in character, and not to some hypothetic origin of Tantrism per se. The first textual evidence of this current is found in chapters bearing the title *dhāraṇī* (a kind of *mantra*) within certain Mahāyāna scriptures. The ninth chapter of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* (fourth century CE), for example, is devoted to magical formulas of supposedly meaningless sounds, which, when recited for one hundred and eight times, are claimed to ward off demons. The earliest Tantras are those that still give a leading role to Śākyamuni, the historical founder of Buddhism, perhaps placing him at the center of a *maṇḍala.* By comparing the names of the five Buddhas in the *Durgatipariśodhana Tantra* (i.e., Vairocana, Durgatipariśodhana, Ratnaketu, Śākyamuni, and Saṃkusumita) with those of the five Buddhas of the Mahākaruṇāgarbha Maṇḍala, which is derived from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Tantra* (i.e., Mahāvairocana, Dundubhinirghoṣa, Ratnaketu, Amitāyus, and Samkusumitarāja) and with the five of the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala, derived from the *Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra* (i.e., Mahāvairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi), we can observe that the name Śākyamuni is still employed in the earliest Tantras but is later replaced by the name Amitāyus, and finally by Amitābha, resulting in the standard set of Buddha names of later times.

Between the third and the eighth centuries, these cults, with their "revealed" scriptures, were transmitted secretly from master to disciple, but by the eighth and ninth centuries a remarkable change had occurred in the fortunes of Buddhist Tantrism. Evidence of the growing influence of the movement may be seen in the fact that a king called Great Indrabhūti of Uḍḍiyāna is said to have been initiated into the Tantric mysteries at about this time. Other important evidence of the growth of the tradition is found in the texts of the period. Whereas the revealed Tantric works of earlier centuries were written in strict anonymity and attributed to divine authorship, now historical figures begin to attach their names to commentarial literature. Buddhaguhya (second half of the eighth century) wrote learned commentaries on the three Tantras mentioned above. A host of commentaries also arose on the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* and the *Śrī-Cakrasaṃvara Tantra* cycles by such celebrated writers as Saraha and the Tantric Nāgārjuna (author of the *Pañcakrama*). While some Tantric works had been translated in Chinese earlier, it was not until the eighth century that Tantrism would take hold in China, owing largely to the efforts of the monk Vajrabodhi and his disciple Amoghavajra. Their kind of Tantrism was transmitted to the talented Japanese monk Kūkai (posthumously called Kōbō Daishi, 774–835), who introduced to Japan an elaborate cult based on the "two Tantras," the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and the *Tattvasaṃgraha.* This cult, a fusion of art, mysterious rituals, colorful costumes, religious music, and handsome calligraphy, would have a great cultural impact on Japan.

In this period certain Tantras were also translated into Tibetan. Tibet eagerly embraced these cults, and in time would produce native works on the most popular Tantras.

While a vast number of Tantric texts was translated into Tibetan, a lesser amount was preserved in Chinese translation. Chinese Buddhism generally disliked the Tantras, partly for their intricate ritualism, but more for the sexual symbolism, offensive to the Chinese mind, found in Tantras such as the *Guhyasamāja.* In Java, construction of the Borobaḍur monument, begun in the eighth century, shows Tantric influence in its use of *maṇḍala*s at its central stupa. It is also known that Atīśa, who arrived in Tibet in 1042 and became a towering figure in Tibetan Buddhism, had earlier studied for twelve years in the celebrated Tantric college of Śrīvijaya (now part of Indonesia). Thus it is clear that after the eighth century, Buddhist Tantrism was strongly entrenched in eastern India from Bengal north, had advanced to Nepal and Tibet, flourished for a time in China, became highly influential in Japan, and would establish a great school in the "Golden Isles" (Indonesia).

Tibet became an extraordinary center for Tantrism as well as the major storehouse of Tantric literature. The Indian *guru* Nā ro pa (956–1040?) was an important link in this development. It was Nā ro pa who transmitted Buddhist esotericism to the translator Mar pa, who in turn taught it to the poet Mi la ras pa. Thereafter, from this lineage arose the Bka' brgyud pa school, continuing the Great Seal *(mahāmudrā)* teachings and the six yoga doctrines that had been taught by Nā ro pa. In modern times, the Tibetan tragedy has resulted in a number of Tibetan monk refugees transplanting their Tantric lineages to Europe and the United States.

BUDDHIST TANTRIC LITERATURE. The Tibetan canon classifies the Tantras into four groups, the Kriyā Tantras, the Caryā Tantras, the Yoga Tantras, and the Anuttarayoga Tantras. The translations of the revealed Tantras were included under the four headings in a section of the canon called the Bka' 'gyur (Kanjur); the commentaries are grouped in a section of exegetical works called the Bstan-'gyur (Tanjur). The Sino-Japanese canon does not so group them. In the Tibetan canon, the two chief works of the Japanese Tantric school (Shingonshū), the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, are the principal works of the Caryā and Yoga Tantras, respectively. The *Hevajra Tantra* and the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, works well known to Western scholars, belong to the Anuttarayoga Tantra class, and are respectively a "Mother" and a "Father" Tantra of this class. The status of the popular *Kālacakra Tantra*, definitely an Anuttarayoga class text, has been disputed. There is also a host of small works called *sādhana*, which set forth methods of evoking a given deity. The *Sādhanamālā* is a well-known collection of such works. Since in the Tantric tradition deities are arrayed in designs called *maṇḍala*s, there are also treatises devoted to *maṇḍala*s and their associated rituals. The *Niṣpannayogāvalī* is a work on twenty-six of these *maṇḍala*s. During the last period of Buddhism in India the popularity of Tantrism gave rise to a group of Tantric heroes called *mahāsiddha*s ("great adepts"), and tales were compiled concerning their superhuman exploits. Their Tantric songs are collected in a work called the *Caryāgiti.* Other well-known Tantras include the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* (a Kriyā Tantra), the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana* (a Yoga Tantra), and the *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṃgiti*, which was commented upon both as a Yoga Tantra and as an Anuttarayoga Tantra.

The editor of the Tibetan canon, Bu ston (1290–1364), arranged the Tantras in their respective four classes according to a theory that in order for a Tantra to be a Buddhist one, it should be in some Buddhist family, headed by one of the Buddhas. In the case of the Anuttarayoga Tantras, the Mother Tantras were classified under one or another of seven Buddhas, in order: "Teacher" (Tib., *ston pa*, probably referring to Vajrasattva), Heruka (i.e., Akṣobhya), *Vairocana*, Vajraprabha (i.e., Ratnasambhava), Padmanarteśvara (i.e., Amitābha), Paramāśva (i.e., Amogha*siddhi*), and Vajradhara. The *Śrī-Cakrasaṃvara* and the *Hevajra* were included under Heruka. The Father Tantras were classified under six Buddhas, identical to those used to classify the Mother Tantras except that the first, "Teacher," is omitted. The *Guhyasamāja Tantra* was classified under Akṣobhya and the *Yamāri* (or *Yamāntaka*) *Tantra* under Vairocana. The *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti Tantra* and the *Kālacakra Tantra* were not included in this classification, presumably because they were classed under Ādibuddha, "Primordial Buddha."

In the case of the Yoga Tantras, the basic scripture, called *Tattvasaṃgraha*, is itself divided into four sections corresponding to four Buddha families. Explanatory Tantras of the Yoga Tantra class could thus be classed in one of those four sections or families, or could emphasize either "means" (*upāya*) or "insight" (*prajñā*). For example, the *Paramādya* is classed chiefly as an "insight" scripture.

The Caryā Tantras were classified under three Buddha families, the Tathāgata family (under Vairocana), the Padma family (under Amitābha), and the Vajra family (under Akṣobhya). The *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* is classed under the Tathāgata family; the *Vajrapāṇyabhiṣeka* is classed under the Vajra family; but the Padma family has no corresponding text among the Caryā Tantras.

The arrangement of the Kriyā Tantras is rather complicated. Using the same three families that govern the Caryā Tantras, the Kriyā Tantras make further subdivisions for the Lord of the Family, the Master, the Mother, Wrathful Deities, Messengers, and Obedient Ones. In addition, the Tathāgata family is subdivided into Uṣṇīṣa, *Bodhisattva*s, and Gods of the Pure Abode. For example, the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama*, which was also quite popular as a Mahāyāna sūtra, is included under the Mother of the Tantras family. The Kriyā Tantras also include a category "Worldly Families" as well as "General" Kriyā Tantras, a category that includes the *Subāhuparipṛcchā.*

Naturally, there was always a considerable degree of arbitrariness in such categorizations; in fact, certain Tantras had a disputed status. The traditions carried to Tibet also classified the four divisions of Tantras according to their respective deities and according to the preferences of the human performers. When classed in terms of deities, the division reflects degrees of courtship: laughing for the Kriyā Tantras, mutual gazing for the Caryā Tantras, holding hands for the Yoga Tantras, and the pair united for the Anuttarayoga Tantras. When arranged according to human performers, the respective preference for outer ritual or inner *samādhi* is the determining factor. Kriyā Tantras appeal to those with a preference for ritual over *samādhi.* In the Caryā Tantras, ritual and *samādhi* are balanced; in the Yoga Tantras *samādhi* prevails over ritual; and in the Anuttarayoga Tantras *samādhi* alone is the requisite practice. An unorthodox explanation of these four classes is found in Smṛti's commentary on the *Vajravidāraṇā-nāma-dhāraṇī* (Kriyā Tantra, Master of the Family class). This author claims the four classes correspond to four kinds of Buddhist followers and the way in which they "cleanse with voidness." For the *śrāvaka*s (i.e., Hīnayāna monks) external cleansing purifies the body. For the *pratyekabuddha*s (*ṛṣi*s, "seers") inner cleansing purifies speech. For the Yogācāras (the Mind Only school) secret cleansing purifies the mind, and for the Mādhyamikas "reality cleansing" with a diamondlike *samādhi* unifies body, speech, and mind.

THE LANGUAGE OF BUDDHIST ESOTERICISM. Opponents of the Tantras have based their condemnations on what they read in such works. Since works of the Anuttarayoga Tantra class, the *Hevajra* and *Guhyasamāja Tantra*s in particular, are still preserved in the original Sanskrit, modern scholars have consulted these for their conclusions about Tantrism and are usually unable to consult the Tibetan or Sino-Japanese versions of a wide range of Tantras. Some scholars accordingly have referred to Buddhist Tantrism by names such as the Vāmācāra ("left-handed path") or the Sahajayāna ("together-born path"), but the Tantras themselves do not use such terms, and in fact such designations fail to throw light on their contents. It should be recognized that the followers of the Tantric cults, including many Tibetan monks, would *never* presume to interpret a Tantra from the language of the revealed text alone. These invariably require the assistance of a commentary, perhaps one written by their *guru.* On such grounds a number of Tantras translated into Tibetan have traditionally been considered "off-limits" precisely because they were not transmitted with their "lineage," the authoritative explanation, or with "permission" (*anujñā*) to evoke the deity of the Tantra. Commenting on the *Guhyagarbha Tantra*, the Tantric Līlavajra observes that the literal interpretation of Tantric texts is the basis for misunderstanding them and practically admits that some of his contemporaries not only misunderstand the texts but also appeal to them in order to justify their own corrupt practices. In the same way, modern authors who are outsiders to the cult assume that the literal meaning is the only meaning, and thus wrongly explain fragments of Tantras available to them.

A commentary on the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* by the Tantric Candrakīrti sets forth four kinds of explanation of the sense of a given passage (cf. Wayman, 1977, pp. 116–117): (1) the invariant sense (*akṣarārtha*), or literal meaning; (2) the shared sense (*samastāṅgārtha*), or sense of the text that is shared either with non-Tantric traditions or with Tantras of the three lower classes; (3) the pregnant sense (*garbhyartha*), by which is meant a meaning that either clarifies the doctrine of lust (*rāgadharma*), reveals conventional truth (*samvṛtisatya*), or considers the three gnoses (*jñānatraya*; i.e., Light, Spread of Light, Culmination of Light); and (4) the ultimate sense (*kolikārtha*), or the one that clarifies the Clear Light (*prabhāsvara*) or reveals the paired union (*yuganaddha*).

Equally important, the Tantras frequently use language that is deliberately obscure. In the Anuttarayoga Tantras this kind of arcane language is called *sandhyābhāṣā*, frequently rendered "twilight language" or "intentional language." In this highly metaphoric idiom the term "Diamond Body" (*vajrakāya*) is used to refer to menstrual blood, "Diamond Speech" (*vajravāk*) to refer to semen, and "Diamond Mind" (*vajracitta*) to refer to scented water. Clearly, Tantric language does not conform to our expectations of ordinary expository writing, where the clearer text is considered "better." In no other Buddhist tradition do the texts strive deliberately to conceal their meaning. But the Tantras have a synthetic character that combines such standard, and non-esoteric, practices as the contemplation of voidness (*śūnyatā*) with special secret practices all their own. The most basic meaning of "secret" in the Tantric tradition is that its theories and practices should be kept secret from those who are not fellow initiates, that is, from those who have not obtained initiation (*abhiṣeka*) or taken vows (*samvara*) and pledges (*samaya*). When these works explain the term "secret" (usually *guhya* in Sanskrit), they apply it to certain things that owe their secrecy to being inward or hidden, like the secret of female sexuality. A list of secret topics in this literature would comprise states of yoga, the circle of deities, and other experiences that are not accessible to ordinary consciousness and cannot be appreciated by the thoroughly mundane mind. Accordingly, it was never maintained that a person with initiation into a Tantric cult had thereby experienced such esoteric matters. Rather, it continues to be held that someone who had gone through such a ritual establishes a bond with a *guru* who will supply the lore of the particular Tantra and guide the disciple in its practice. Tantric language shares with many other Indian works a difficulty of interpretation. The compact style of Indian philosophical treatises, for example, is the cause for much dispute over their meaning. The Tantras compound this difficulty by the very nature of their contents, making interpretation of the texts all the more difficult.

TANTRIC PRACTICE AND ANALOGICAL THINKING. Tantric practice aims at relating man to supramundane forces or deities. In so doing, it makes use of two widely disparate systems of analogy. One procedure associates man and the divine by means of rules applicable to all practitioners. The other procedure assigns persons to one or another Buddha family according to the dominant personality traits of the individual practitioner. In terms of the four divisions of the Tantras, the first two, the Kriyā and Caryā, make use of the first system. The latter two, the Yoga and Anuttarayoga, generally employ the second. Each approach has its supporters who claim that it provides a way to become a *saṃbuddha* ("complete Buddha").

A preeminent Tantra of the first kind is the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi.* This Tantra stresses the basic triad Body, Speech, and Mind—the "three mysteries" of the Buddha—and the prescribed practices by which certain attainments may be generated. Here, the human performer affiliates with the Body by means of hand gestures (*mudrā*); with the Speech by means of incantations (*mantra*); and with the Mind by means of deep concentration (*samādhi*), especially on the *maṇḍala.* In this Tantra, the transcendental Buddha is Mahāvairocana, and the human Buddha is Śākyamuni. This correspondence agrees with the division of the bodies of the Buddha into *dharmakāya* and *rūpakāya* that is found in early Mahāyāna Buddhism. In the same light, Kūkai, the founder of the Japanese Shingon school, explicitly identifies Mahāvairocana with the *dharmakāya.* It is noteworthy that the practice in the Caryā Tantra, in fact the practice based on the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*, has a twofold basis: "yoga with images" and "yoga without images." In the former, one contemplates the inseparability of "self reality" (*ātmatattva*) from "deity reality" (*devatātattva*), and in sequence the performer meditatively generates himself into Vairocana with one face and two hands, making the *samāpatti mudrā* ("seal of equipoise"). The process is called the "subjective ground." The performer then contemplates the Buddha Vairocana, like himself, in front of himself. This step is termed the "objective ground."

In the "yoga without images" the mind is understood to have two sides, one mundane-directed (the *manas* face), the other supramundane-directed (the *buddhi* face). Upon reaching the limit of "yoga with images" one perceives as though before the eyes a configuration of the body of the deity on the mundane-directed side of the mind. The practitioner then follows this with a contemplation in which the deity body appears as a bright illusion on the supramundane-directed side of the mind. Through this process one achieves the same result as do practitioners of the early Buddhist meditations on "calming the mind" (*śamatha*) and "discerning the real" (*vipaśyanā*). This approach is directed to an ultimate goal indicated by the term "arising of the Tathāgata," and chapters bearing this title are found both in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* and in the Mahāyāna scripture collection called the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra.* The multiple Buddhas in this tradition of Tantric analogies are on the mental level; they may also be understood to refer indiscriminately to "all Buddhas" rather than to particular Buddha families.

The fasting cult of Avalokiteśvara, which uses the *mantra* "Oṃ mani padme hūṃ," employs a similar system of analogies. The famous six-syllabled formula is correlated with six Buddhas, six colors, and six realms of sentient beings. It is also recited during six times of the day and the night. The individual performer must pass ritually through the six syllables. The situation is comparable to the youth Sudhana's tenure of study under many different teachers in sequence, as portrayed in the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* (part of the *Avataṃsaka*).

The second analogical system is formulated in the Yoga Tantra *Tattvasaṃgraha.* It consists of four sections. Persons of different predominant vices in their stream of consciousness are affiliated respectively with these sections, each presided over by a Buddha. The commentator Buddha*guhya* explains that the fourth of these sections results from a merger of the Ratna family (as agent) and the Karman family (as the fulfilling action), but for convenience, the *Tattvasaṃgraha* usually mentions only Ratnasambhava as the presiding Buddha here. The correlation of persons with particular Buddha families indicates which of the predominant mind-based vices is to be eliminated by the "purification path" of the particular Buddha family. Each of the four paths in turn requires four kinds of *mudrā* ("seal"), but each path emphasizes one of the four and subordinates the other three. The first path emphasizes the Great Seal *(mahāmudrā);* the second, the Symbolic or Linkage Seal *(samayamudrā);* the third, the Dharma Seal *(dharmamudrā);* and the fourth, the Action Seal *(karmamudrā).* The paths have been expanded by the addition of four corresponding *maṇḍala*s.

According to Mkhas grub rje's *Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras* the practice of these purificatory paths commences with an effort by the practitioner to generate the Symbolic Being, the practitioner's own symbolization of the deity with whom he has established a link or bond. One then draws in (usually through the crown of the head) the Knowledge Being (*jñānasattva*), the deity in the absolute sense, who is usually said to emanate "from the sky." Mkhas grub rje explains: "The purpose of executing the seals of the Four Seals is to merge and unify the body, speech, mind, and acts of the Knowledge Being with the body, speech, mind, and acts of the Symbolic Being. There would be no foundation for merger if either were present by itself."

The Japanese school of Tantra called Shingon is based on the Vairocana scripture (mainly its first chapter) and the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (mainly its first section, "The Diamond Realm"). Thus, this school ignores the real clash between these two scriptures. Shingon employs two *maṇḍala* realms, that of the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala (Jpn., Kongōkai), an unchanging "diamond" knowledge realm derived from the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, and that of the Mahākaruṇāgarbha Maṇḍala (Jpn., Taizō-kai), the changing realm of becoming that makes possible the "arising of the Tathāgata." This latter *maṇḍala* is derived from the Vairocana scripture. In the terminology of Tibetan Tantrism, this theory and practice of becoming a Buddha is classified as Caryā Tantra because the scripture from which the Mahākaruṇāgarbha Maṇḍala derives is so classified. This is so because there is no attempt here to relate performers to particular Buddha families according to dominant fault as is the case in the Yoga Tantras.

The Yoga Tantra *Tattvasaṃgraha* serves here to add a further dimension of knowledge in the form of commentarial additions and related practices, so as to preserve consistency between the two *maṇḍala* (Jpn., *mandara*) cycles.

The Anuttarayoga Tantras continue the procedure of the Yoga Tantras, and, in the Father Tantras, allot distinct character to the five Buddhas for the purpose of a fivefold correspondence with five different kinds of persons. The Mother Tantras of this class raise the correspondences to six. The Anuttarayoga Tantras also have a basic division into two stages, a stage of generation (*utpattikrama*) and a stage of completion or consummation (*saṃpannakrama*). Indeed, the stage of generation overlaps the Yoga Tantra by way of what it calls the "three *samādhi*s," named "preliminary praxis," "triumphant *maṇḍala*," and "victory of the rite." Tsong kha pa's *Snags rim chen mo* (Great treatise on the mantra path) elucidates the stage of generation in terms of six consecutive members, each of which corresponds to one of the three *samādhi*s. These three *samādhi*s can be used as a classification in Yoga Tantra practice as well. In fact, when generalized, the three are the three parts of every Buddhist Tantric ritual: the preliminaries, the main part, and the concluding acts.

The second stage of the Anuttarayoga Tantra, the "stage of completion," deals with more concrete matters like the centers in the body (*cakra*s) and five mysterious winds (first mentioned centuries earlier in the *Chāndogya* and other Upaniṣads). This stage comprises a six-membered yoga (*ṣaḍaṅgayoga*), also classified in five steps (*pañcakrama*). The five steps are accomplished in members three through six, while the first and second members represent a link with the stage of generation.

The Anuttarayoga Tantras also contain passages on the "higher initiations," the practice of which includes elements often referred to by modern writers as "sexo-yogic." Briefly speaking, these have to do with worship of the female, and, perhaps, a rite of sexual union in which the male performer does not emit semen. Before attempting any explanation of this topic, it would be well to mention that historically there were lay as well as renunciant Tantrics, just as there were lay as well as renunciant *bodhisattva*s in the Mahāyāna tradition. Among the Tibetan sects that practice Tantrism, it is only the Dge lugs pa that observes the Vinaya code of monastic morality. This does not mean, however, that the Dge lugs pa practices a "cleaned-up" Tantrism with the objectionable passages expurgated from the texts. As we have noted before, it is not necessary to read the Tantras in the literal manner without benefit of commentaries, as some modern scholars are wont to do.

The four initiations (*abhiṣeka*) of the Anuttarayoga Tantras begin with the "initiations of the flask," rites taken in common with the three lower classes of Tantras. To this is added a "secret initiation," an "insight-knowedge initiation," and an initiation known as the "fourth" (also called *akṣara*, denoting "syllable" or "the incessant"). The secret initiation involves a mysterious "red and white element," an experience of "bliss-void," and the implication that the initiation takes place in the *cakra*s of the body (those centers ranged along the spine but said to exist as well in a subtle body). Treatises such as that by Mkhas grub rje distinguish between a *karmamudrā* (the female partner) and a *jñānamudrā* ("seal of knowledge"). The insight-knowledge initiation involves a sequence of four joys (*ānanda*) associated with the downward progress of the "melted white element": descending from the forehead to the neck there is joy; descending to the heart there is "super joy" (*paramānanda*); descending to the navel there is the "joy of exhaustion" (*viramānanda*); and upon reaching the sex center there is "together-born joy" (*sahajānanda*), on which occasion the element is not to be emitted. If we are to assume that the element in question is indeed semen, how was it able to descend from the forehead?

There is also an Anuttarayoga Tantra explanation of the "four seals," but it differs from that found in the Yoga Tantras. In the Anuttarayoga Tantra, two separate sequences of *mudrā* are employed, one for the stage of generation, the other for the stage of completion. These are discussed in chapter 36 of the Mother Tantra *Śrī-Cakrasaṃvara* and in Tsoṅg kha pa's commentary to this text, the *Sbas don*. For the stage of generation the sequence is as follows:

1. *Karmamudrā*: one imagines the external *prajñā* woman in the form of an attractive goddess.
2. *Dharmamudrā*: sacred seed syllables such as *hūṃ* are imagined in that body.
3. *Samayamudrā*: the radiation from the seed syllables is drawn back together in the circle of the completed *maṇḍala*.
4. *Mahāmudrā*: one imagines oneself as having the body of the principal deity.

The version for the stage of completion reverses the position of the *samayamudrā* and the *mahāmudrā*.

Particularly worthy of note is the difference in the description of the *prajñā* woman in the stage of generation and in the stage of completion. In the former, the practitioner approaches the *prajñā* woman only through his imagination, that is, he imagines that she is a goddess with radiating germ syllables in her body. He imagines drawing back the radiation into his own body as a *maṇḍala*, and finally imagines himself as the chief deity. In the stage of completion this woman can confer concrete joy in the four degrees of courtship previously mentioned in correlation with the four classes of Tantras (laughing, mutual gazing, holding hands, the two united). But there is also another *prajñā* woman, the one of the central channel (among the three said to be in the position of the spine). When the texts speak of a *prajñā* consort, which one is intended? Nā ro pa has some important information about this in his commentary on the *Hevajra Tantra*. He cites a verse from the *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṃgiti* (10.14) referring to the four *mudrā*s, and gives their order in agreement with the stage of completion described above, substituting *jñānamudrā* for *dharmamudrā*. He then makes this revealing statement:

> The *karmamudrā* [i.e., the external woman] is the causal one, being initial, from which there is the together-born [*sahaja*] non-transiting joy. While this is indeed a truth [*satya*], there are two truths [conventional and ultimate], and [the *prajñā* woman of the *karmamudrā*] is true in a conventional sense, like a reflection in a mirror, but is not true in the absolute sense. Thus, one of keen intelligence should not embrace the *karmamudrā*. One should cultivate the *jñānamudrā* by such means as purifying the personal aggregates [*skandha*s], elements [*dhātu*s], and sense bases [*āyatana*s] into images of deities, as the ritual of the *maṇḍala* reveals. By working them with continual friction one ignites the fire of wisdom [*jñāna*]. What is to be attained is the Great Seal [*mahāmudrā*]. How is it attained? Through that fire when the ham syllable is burnt [as is stated in the final verse of chapter 1 of the *Hevajra Tantra*]. The Great Seal is like a dream, a hallucination, and the nature of mind. One should embrace this [the Great Seal] until one realizes directly the Symbolic Seal [*samayamudrā*], which is not a perishing thing. (*Vajrapada-sāra-saṃgraha-pañjikā*, Peking Tanjur, Jpn. photo ed., vol. 54, p. 248–255.)

Nā ro pa thus acknowledges that some male Tantrics (presumably laymen) resort to the concrete woman as both "initial" (mother) and "together" (wife) in this part of the stage of completion. But he goes on to insist that one of keen faculty, striving for the high goal, will skip this *mudrā* and go directly to the inner *prajñā* consort, the ignited "fire of wisdom" that brings on the Great Seal. Staying on this Great Seal, which introspects mental processes as a hallucination, one realizes directly the *samayamudrā*, the *mahāsukhakāya*, or "body of great bliss."

The above remarks should lend a more benign interpretation to the Tantras than has been the case in the past, when judgments such as "ghastly" were often passed on this literature. The style, of course, is quite unlike that of the older Buddhist scriptures.

RITUAL IN THE TANTRAS. The *maṇḍala* rites of the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* cycle may be seen in outline form in the following sequence:

1. Rites of the Site: clearing the site; seizing (contemplatively) the site; elimination of the obstructing demons
2. Preparatory Acts: pitching the (initial) lines (in the *maṇḍala*) with chalk; preparing the flask (i.e., placement of the flask by the *maṇḍala*); beseeching the gods; preparation of the disciple
3. The Main Rite, beginning with *maṇḍala* construction: placement of the five colored threads (representing the five Buddhas); putting in the colors (in the colored areas of the *maṇḍala*); invitation of the gods (to take residence in the *maṇḍala*)
4. Initiations of the Flask: drawing the disciple into the *maṇḍala*; diadem initiation; diamond initiation; mirror initiation (ater initiation); name initiation; emblem initiation (=bell initiation)
5. Offerings: offerings to the gods; offerings to the *guru*
6. Permission and Drawing Together: conferral of permission on the disciple to invoke the deity; drawing together of the deities who are in the *maṇḍala*
7. Concluding Acts: release of the magic nail, that is, dismissal of the deities along with a burnt offering (*homa*)

In order to work, each of these rituals must be accompanied by an intense awareness, referred to as *samādhi*, that could also be termed *yoga*. By "working" is meant that at all times the performer maintains a connection with the divine, as is confirmed by the *mantra* "Samayas tvam" ("You are the symbol").

These rituals are replete with details that would take much space to set forth properly. A few details can be given about one that is especially interesting, the disciple's entrance into the *maṇḍala*. The first phase is divided into "entrance outside of the screen" and "entrance inside of the screen." While outside the screen, the disciple ties on a red or yellow blindfold. This is not removed until later in the ceremony, when the initiate receives a superintending deity by throwing a flower into the *maṇḍala*, after which it will be proper to view the complete *maṇḍala*. The preceptor tells the disciple to imagine in his heart a *vajra*, thereon a sun, and on this a black *hūṃ* syllable. He is then to imagine in his throat a lotus, thereon a sun, and on this a red *āḥ* syllable; and in his head a wheel, thereon a moon, and on this a white *oṃ* syllable. He should also imagine that rays from those syllables make his body full of light. The preceptor guides the disciple to the east gate of the *maṇḍala*. Now, in the phase inside the screen, the disciple recites *mantra*s. He begins with the east gate, reciting to both the deity of the center and the deity of the east gate. The east gate deity is addressed in order to empower oneself; the south gate deity, to confer initiation on oneself; the west gate deity, to turn the wheel of the Dharma for oneself; and the north gate deity, to make the ritual acts effective. He also bows at each gate: for the east, he bows with all the limbs, the diamond palms (i.e., adamantine and thus unassailable by demons) advanced; for the south, he bows with the forehead, the palms joined at the heart; for the west, he bows with the mouth, the diamond palms joined at the top of the head; for the north, he touches the earth with the head, the diamond palms having been lowered from the top of the head and placed at the heart. Then at the east gate, the preceptor sets forth the pledge(s), contacting the disciple by taking his hand, or else by touching the disciple on the head with the *vajra*, and saying, "Today you may enter the family of all the Tathāgatas," in recognition of the fact that entrance into the *maṇḍala* makes one their progeny; and that having seen the *maṇḍala* means the deities are revealed to the initiate.

The disciple is not to disclose the rituals he has undergone to others who have not entered the *maṇḍala*. Dire consequences are threatened for violating the pledge; guarding it yields magical success. Among the pledges is one requiring that the initiate avoid the fourteen transgressions, especially the first one, disparaging one's master, and the seventh one, revealing the secrets to immature persons (that is, persons who have not been initiated). Both are transgressions of Dharma. After taking the pledge, the officiant goes through an imaginative process, the aim of which is to have the gnosis deity (*jñāna-sattva*) descend from the sky into the disciple. It begins with the officiant imagining the disciple in voidness, then generating him into a Buddha from a germ syllable, and then going through a sequence of *sādhana*s (evocations) in which he imagines the disciple's body filled with light. The disciple is induced to circumambulate the *maṇḍala* carrying a *vajra* in his right hand and doing a dance. The second phase is entering, in the sense of viewing, the *maṇḍala*. Still wearing the blindfold, the disciple is directed to throw a flower onto an area with five pictures representing Buddha families. The throwing of the flower constitutes entrance into the *maṇḍala*. The deity on whom the flower then falls is the superintendent deity (*adhideva*) for the disciple. The preceptor imagines that the Diamond Being is opening the Diamond Eye of the disciple; the disciple performs the same act of imagination and removes the blindfold, reciting the *mantra* "*Oṃ jñānacaksuḥ Hūṃ Āḥ Svāhā*," where *jñānacaksuḥ* denotes the eye of knowledge. Then the preceptor says, "Now, by virtue of faith, may you see the reality of this *maṇḍala!* May you be born in the family of the Buddha, be empowered by *mudrā* and *mantra*, be endowed with all *siddhi*s (magical success), be the best pledge (*samaya*)! May you realize the *mantra*s with the sport of the *vajra* and lotus!" Thus the disciple is given the "initiation of the flower wreath," a process that establishes whether the disciple should receive other initiations. When it is the case of conferring permission on the disciple to evoke a particular deity, a different procedure is followed. Such evocations are undertaken after examining dreams and other omens.

The burnt offering is among the concluding acts of the ritual. There are four kinds of burnt offering, each corresponding to a different type of magical art: the worldly aims of appeasing the deities (*śāntika*), winning material prosperity (*pauṣṭika*), subduing demons (*vaśīkaraṇa*), and overpowering enemies (*abhicāruka*).

Judging from these various indications, one may conclude that Buddhist esotericism has considerable appeal to Buddhists who find fulfillment in ritual participation, who prefer a secret life that is religiously motivated, and who believe that by exercising all avenues of one's being (body, speech, and mind) one is speeding up the progress to enlightenment. The performer must be strong in imagination of images and in belief, and resolute in daily service to the presiding or tutelary deity.

SEE ALSO Avalokiteśvara; Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Tibet; Buddhist Books and Texts; Language, article on Buddhist Views of Language; Mahāsiddhas; Maṇḍalas; Mantra; Mar pa; Mi la ras pa (Milarepa); Mudrā; Nā ro pa; Prajñā; Samādhi; Shingonshū; Upāya; Zhenyan.

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ALEX WAYMAN (1987)

BUDDHISM, SCHOOLS OF: TANTRIC RITUAL SCHOOLS OF BUDDHISM [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

When Alex Wayman's article, entitled "Buddhism, Schools of: Esoteric Buddhism," appeared in the first edition of *The Encyclopedia of Religion* in 1987, the study of Tantric and esoteric forms of Buddhism was just beginning to emerge from the margins of Buddhist studies in general. Since that time, it has come to occupy (or at least to share) center stage in most special areas of Buddhist studies. Accordingly, a thorough overview of the study of Buddhist esotericism as it now stands is a desideratum, but one that could not be realized in time for the present publication. The following brief remarks, together with the additions to the bibliography, must in the event serve to offer the reader an orientation to the present state of the field.

Just what is Tantric Buddhism? Though several definitions have been proposed, none has so far won universal acceptance. Several of the characteristics most frequently mentioned—recitation of *mantra*-like formulae, the practice of protective ritual, visualization, the ritual invitation of a divinity performed in conformity to the traditional Indian welcome of an honored guest—all of these are to be found in non-esoteric forms of Buddhism to varying degrees. At the same time, some practices that do seem to be exclusively Tantric, at least in the Buddhist context—for instance, internal systems of yoga relying on the subtle physiology, "Tantric sex," and the ritual ingestion of forbidden meats and intoxicants—cannot serve as the basis for a definition because they are absent from many forms of Buddhist Tantrism. The most plausible definitional feature that has been adduced is perhaps the requirement of *abhiṣeka,* the initiatory consecration, literally "aspersion," that is derived from early Indian coronation rites. Though referred to also in the sūtra literature of the Mahāyāna in connection with the Buddha's consecration of the highest *bodhisattvas,* the actual performance of such a rite on behalf of ordinary human aspirants seems to be uniquely characteristic of the major Buddhist esoteric traditions.

As this suggests, much of what has been considered typically Tantric in Buddhism is part and parcel of the ritual repertoire of non-Tantric Buddhism, chiefly (but not at all exclusively) within the Mahāyāna. Accordingly, some have expressed skepticism regarding the appropriateness of the notion of peculiarly Tantric Buddhist "schools." The clearest example of a particular Buddhist sect or order defining itself as esoteric, over and against rival orders, is no doubt the Japanese Shingon sect. Whether or not distinctly Tantric schools existed in India and China remains a contested question, while in Tibet, because all Buddhist orders transmitted both Tantric and non-Tantric forms of Buddhism, Tantrism per se hardly serves to define any particular school. Esotericism thus may be best regarded as a widely ramified current within the Mahāyāna, and just what counts as esoteric is in most respects relative to the particular religious milieu being considered. The study of esoteric forms of Buddhism has thus tended to renounce the effort to locate essential characteristics that apply to all such traditions and to focus instead on specific developments in particular places and times. At the same time, genetic connections among differing Buddhist esoteric traditions may be noted—the cult of the cosmic Buddha Vairocana throughout much of Buddhist Asia is a case in point—and the rigorous, comparative study of these has yet to be undertaken.

Despite the popular image of Tantrism as a libertine and iconoclastic form of religiosity, scholars of Buddhism in many Asian countries have remarked on the striking relationship between Tantric Buddhism and monarchy, with its attendant interest in hierarchies of power, protection of the realm, and public order. Far from providing a vehicle of expression for radical free spirits (though perhaps it has been sometimes that), Buddhist Tantrism seems more often to have served the interests of conservative forces within religious orders and society at large.

Finally, owing to the strongly erotic component associated with some forms of Buddhist Tantrism—primarily the *anuttarayoga* traditions of India and Tibet (though eroticized elements of Japanese esotericism have also been noted)—there has been considerable interest in this aspect of Buddhism in relation to issues of sex and gender. While some have found a sort of proto-feminism in the Buddhist Tantras, a means to acknowledge and liberate feminine energies and perhaps real women as well, others have regarded this element of Tantrism as primarily a projection of masculine archetypes of the feminine. Social historical and anthropological research, clarifying the roles and status of women in actual communities adhering to the various forms of esoteric Buddhism, will enable scholars to interpret more precisely the discourses pertaining to women in particular Tantric texts.

SEE ALSO Avalokiteśvara; Mahāsiddhas; Maṇḍalas, article on Buddhist Maṇḍalas; Mar pa; Mi la ras pa (Milarepa); Nā ro pa; Prajñā; Samādhi; Shingonshū; Upāya.

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MATTHEW T. KAPSTEIN (2005)

BUDDHISM, SCHOOLS OF: TIBETAN AND MONGOLIAN BUDDHISM

In introducing the "schools" of Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism, several different phenomena in the formation of religious traditions must be distinguished. One may speak, for instance, of distinct orders or sects (*chos lugs,* or more specifically *rang rkang btsugs pa'i chos brgyud),* religious traditions that are set apart from others by virtue of their institutional independence, that is to say, whose unique character is embodied outwardly in the form of an independent hierarchy and administration, independent properties, and an identifiable membership of some sort. Such corporate religious bodies are of great importance in the Tibetan religious world, but they must not be confounded with lineages (*brgyud pa*), continuous successions of spiritual teachers who have transmitted a given body of knowledge over a period of generations but who need not be affiliated with a common order. Lineages may be highly specific, for instance, the line of teachers through which the study of a particular text or ritual method has been transmitted, or they may be of broader reach, as is the case when one speaks of the "lineages of practice" *(sgrub brgyud),* which have conserved significant bodies of religious tradition, including textual learning, liturgy, practical disciplines, iconographical knowledge, and so on. In this latter sense, lineages have often been the basis for the formation of the distinct orders. Finally, orders and lineages must both be differentiated from schools of thought, *grub mtha'* ("philosophical systems," equivalent to *siddhānta* in Sanskrit). The adherent of a given Tibetan Buddhist order will, in the course of his career, usually receive instruction in (or at least derived from) a number of differing lineages and be exposed to several schools of thought. It should be noted, however, that the terminology introduced here is not used in Tibetan with perfect regularity. At least one major author, Thu'u bkwan Chos kyi nyi ma (1737–1802), adopts the expression *grub mtha'* to refer to the major orders and lineages of Tibetan Buddhism. Nevertheless, even in this case, the term is chosen precisely because Thu'u bkwan's primary interest is the doctrinal and philosophical orientation of each of the religious traditions he considers.

These apparent complexities of usage had their origins in the very beginnings of the Tibetan Buddhist tradition under the Tibetan Empire of the seventh to ninth centuries. At that time, there was only one Buddhist order active in Tibet, that of the Mūlasarvāstivāda (Tibetan, *gzhi thams cad yod par smra ba),* one of the eighteen orders of early Indian Buddhism, whose monastic code, or Vinaya, was uniquely adopted by the Tibetans. At the same time, Tibetan Buddhists became familiar with several Indian Buddhist schools of thought, though the Madhyamaka, and in particular the Yogācāra Madhyamaka of the philosopher Śāntarakṣita (fl. c. 775), appears to have quickly become predominant. In this period too, lineages of instruction in contemplative practice, including some representing Chinese Chan and others associated with Tantric esotericism, began to disseminate their teachings among Tibetans.

Institutional, lineage-based, and philosophical or doctrinal ways of thinking about religious adherence in Tibet were thus from the beginning complementary, and in time they began increasingly to intersect with or to diverge from one another. Hence, the exact classification of the schools of Tibetan Buddhism has posed something of a problem, not only for modern researchers but for traditional Tibetan authorities as well. Thus, for example, Thu'u bkwan (Thuken, 1737–1802) recognizes eighteen distinct Buddhist traditions in Tibet—in this he is no doubt numerologically influenced by the stereotypical division of early Indian Buddhism into eighteen orders—but nevertheless he considers only seven of these as meriting treatment in depth. By contrast, the renowned fifteenth-century historian 'Gos lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal (Gö Lotsawa) organizes his great work, the *Deb ther sngon po* (Blue annals) on the principle of lineage, of which he treats about a dozen as particularly important but discusses many others inter alia. The eclectic master of the nineteenth century, 'Jam mgon kong sprul Blo gros Mtha' yas (Jamgön Kongtrül, 1813–1899), arranges his encyclopedia of the major lines of teaching, the *Gdams ngag mdzod* (Treasury of instructions), according to the scheme of the "eight great lineages of practice," following the enumeration proposed by 'Phreng po gter ston Shes rab 'od zer (Trhengpo tertön, 1517–1584). Finally, in the system best known in the West, the Tibetan government of the Dalai Lamas from the seventeenth century through 1959 recognized four major orders, though in fact several others continued to be active, even if not granted the status of independent orders by the central Tibetan government.

THE EIGHT MAJOR "LINEAGES OF PRACTICE." For present purposes, this article considers the major lineages and their roles in the formation of the orders following the scheme of the "eight lineages of practice." Mongolian Buddhist orders have generally been derived directly from their Tibetan antecedents. Accordingly, this article refers to Buddhism among the Mongols where appropriate, to indicate the lines of Tibetan Buddhist transmission to them that were most influential. One must note too that the Tibetan Bon religion, which in its institutional dimensions must be considered a Buddhist order, is generally left out of the classificatory schemes mentioned here, though some writers—Thu'u bkwan is perhaps the best-known example—have also considered it in this context. As Bon is treated in the present work in a separate article, it will not be discussed here.

The "Ancient Translation Tradition" (Snga 'gyur rnying ma pa) includes all of those lines of teaching that maintain that their esoteric and Tantric traditions were derived from the texts and instructions transmitted during the time of the Tibetan monarchs of the eighth to ninth centuries, Khri Srong lde'u btsan (Trhi Songdetsen, 742–c. 797) above all. By the late tenth century such lineages were continued primarily by a lay priesthood that increasingly came to be attacked by proponents of the "new *mantra* traditions" (*gsang sngags gsar ma*) for adhering to esoteric teachings that, so the critics declared, had been corrupted. The formation of a distinctive Rnying ma pa (Nyingmapa) tradition was in some respects a reaction to such charges and involved both the elaboration of historical apologetics and the codification of the older Tantric transmissions, their special doctrines, and the rites connected with them.

Historically, the Rnying ma pa asserted the preeminence of the Indian Tantric master Padmasambhava, who came to be effectively deified. Other Indian and Tibetan masters of the eighth to ninth centuries, notably Vimalamitra and the translator Vairocana, were also claimed as forebearers. The teaching of these figures was considered to emphasize the organization of the whole gamut of Buddhist doctrine and practice into nine sequential vehicles (*theg pa rim pa dgu*), of which the last three, comprising the esoteric instructions of the highest Tantras, represented the distinctive heritage of the Rnying ma pa. The pinnacle of the system was taken to be the abstract and visionary approach to contemplation known as the Great Perfection (rdzogs chen [dzogchen]), the authenticity of which was sometimes contested by adherents of the newer schools. From the twelfth century onward, the Rnying ma pa came to rely increasingly on a tradition of renewed revelation, mostly of Padmasambhava's teachings, referred to as "treasure doctrines" (*gter chos*). Though widely contested, these came to play a major role in the formation of Tibetan religious culture generally.

The Rnying ma pa have always had an important following among lay Tantric adepts (*sngags pa*), sometimes organized in village-based communities. Though identifiable Rnying ma pa monastic institutions existed during the twelfth century and perhaps earlier, the organization of the Rnying ma pa as a distinct monastic order seems largely to have emerged during the seventeenth century and reflects in part the political reforms of Tibetan religious organization under the government of the fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682). At the same time, important lines of Rnying ma pa teaching have been preserved among the non–Rnying ma pa orders, including, for instance, the rites of the Tantric deities Vajrakīla and Yang dag Heruka among the Sa skya pa (Sakyapa), the "exceptionally secret" form of the deity Hayagrīva (*Rta mgrin yang gsang*) among the Dge lugs pa (Gelukpa), and the traditions of the *Tibetan Book of the Dead* and many other teachings derived from the treasure doctrines among the Bka' brgyud pa (Kagyupa).

Despite its emphasis on the practice of Tantric esotericism and though it has relied during much of its history on familial lineages of lay priests, the Rnying ma pa traditions have sometimes given rise to masters of the monastic traditions of Buddhist scholarship who have formulated distinctive doctrinal syntheses inspired by the special features of the Rnying ma pa teaching. Among the foremost are the lay adept Bsnubs Sangs rgyas ye shes (Nup Sangye Yeshe, c. tenth century), Rong zom Chos kyi bzang po (Rongzom Chözang, eleventh century), Klong chen Rab 'byams pa (Longchen Rabjampa, 1308–1363), Lo chen Dharmaśrī (1654–1717), 'Jigs med gling pa (Jikme Lingpa, 1730–1798), and Mi pham rgya mtsho (Mipham Gyatso, b1846–1912).

The "Tradition of [the Buddha's] Transmitted Precepts and Instructions" (Bka' gdams pa [Kadampa]) is traced to the activity of the Bengali master Atīśa (982–1054) and his leading Tibetan disciples, notably 'Brom ston Rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas (Dromtön, 1104–1163). As the first of the new orders formed beginning in the eleventh century, it had its immediate antecedents in the late-tenth-century Buddhist revival in the Gu ge kingdom of western Tibet, spearheaded by the monk-king of Gu ge, Ye shes 'od (Yeshe-ö), and the celebrated translator Rin chen bzang po (Rinchen Zangpo, 958–1055). By 1042, when Atīśa accepted the invitation of the former's successor, Byang chub 'od (Changcup-ö), to proceed to Tibet from the Vikramaśīla monastery in northeastern India, the renewal of Buddhism had been an ongoing concern in Gu ge for almost a century. After three years in residence there, where he composed his famous treatise on the Mahāyāna path, the *Byang chub lam gyi sgron ma* (Lamp for the path of enlightenment), Atīśa traveled to central Tibet and remained there for the last decade of his life. The Bka' gdams pa, as a distinctive order embodying his tradition of teaching, received institutional form after his lay disciple, 'Brom ston, founded the monastery of Rwa sgreng (Reting) in 1057.

The Bka' gdams pa were distinguished by a marked concern for moral rigor in the pursuit of the *bodhisattva*'s path. In some branches of the tradition, this resulted in an extreme emphasis on spiritual cultivation to the exclusion of the pursuit of learning. At the same time, Atīśa's own scholarly proclivities meant that some of his successors tended by contrast to emphasize study, so that the Bka' gdams pa were equally associated with the development of scholasticism at Gsang phu (Sangphu, founded 1071) and other monastic colleges. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Bka' gdams pa monastery of Snar thang (Narthang) emerged as a prominent scholastic center, renowned in particular for its traditions of learning in the *abhidharma* and other fields of Buddhist philosophy.

Owing to Atīśa's association with the Gu ge kings, who were suspicious of the moral excesses attributed to certain adherents of the Tantras, and owing to certain cautions expressed in Atīśa's own writings, the Bka' gdams pa are sometimes regarded as a non-Tantric lineage of Tibetan Buddhism. Atīśa himself, however, was a Tantric adept and, despite the concerns expressed by some among his more puritanical Tibetan disciples, he did teach aspects of Tantrism in Tibet. His role in the promotion of the cults of Avalokiteśvara and Tārā was particularly great, and he is widely associated as well with an important tradition of instruction in the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*. Nevertheless, the characteristic emphasis of his teaching was upon the exoteric Mahāyāna doctrine of "emptiness imbued with compassion" (*stong nyid snying rje'i snying po can*; Sanskrit, *śunyatā karuṇāgarbhā*), his insistence on which came to be emulated by all Tibetan Buddhist traditions. His Bka' gdams pa successors created a remarkable corpus of literature concerning spiritual exercise, called "training (or purification) of the mind" (*blo sbyong*), in which such common acts as eating and drinking, walking, going to sleep, and even breathing serve as focal points for the cultivation of spiritual love and a keen sense of the relativity of transient things.

The Bka' gdams pa tradition was therefore diverse in its nature, embodying elements of Mahāyāna ethical teaching, Tantrism, and formal Buddhist scholasticism. Its legacy was very widespread, and all of the later Tibetan orders, including the post-eleventh-century Rnying ma pa, reflect this to a great degree. Nevertheless, it was the Dge lugs pa order, whose foundation was inspired by Rje Tsong kha pa during the fifteenth century, that most self-consciously took up the Bka' gdams pa mantle, even adopting "new Bka' gdams pa" as a proper designation.

The "Tradition of the Path with Its Fruit" (Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa) was derived ultimately from the teachings of the Indian *mahāsiddha* Virūpa as introduced into Tibet by 'Brog mi Lo tsā ba Śākya Ye shes (Drokmi, 992–1072) on the basis of the instructions of the *paṇḍita* Gayadhara. This way of esoteric practice was based primarily upon the *Hevajra Tantra*, and though it enjoyed a very wide diffusion, giving rise to a great many lines of transmission, it became from early on a special concern of the Sa skya pa order, which, with its suborders, has remained the particular guardians of the "Path and Fruit." In its fundamentals, the teaching of the Path and Fruit emphasizes as foundational an understanding of the "three visions" (*snang gsum*): the impure vision of ordinary beings immersed in *saṃsāra*, the vision of spiritual experience that characterizes the *bodhisattva* progressing on the path, and the pure vision of enlightenment. On this basis, one may embark upon the actual practice of the *Hevajra Tantra,* conceived in terms of "three continua" (*rgyud gsum*): the continuum of the ground, the nature of mind as forming a basis for spiritual progress; the continuum of the methodical path of yoga; and the continuum of the result, that is, the attainment of the gnosis of buddhahood.

The founding figure of the Sa skya pa was 'Khon Dkon mchog rgyal po (Khön Könchog Gyalpo, 1034–1102), who abandoned his clan's hereditary Rnying ma pa affiliations to become a disciple of 'Brog mi and in 1073 established the temple of Go rum at Sa skya, henceforth the family seat of the 'Khon clan. His family line produced, during the generations that followed, a succession of masters, the "five forebearers" (*gong ma lnga*), of capital importance for the entire later history of Tibetan Buddhism. Sa chen Kun dga' snying po (Sachen Kunga Nyingpo, 1092–1158), Dkon mchog rgyal po's son, did much to impart a distinctive character to the early Sa skya tradition, that of an aristocratic household that patronized the Buddhist religion generally, valued the refinement of learning, and maintained a special proficiency in Tantric ritual and yoga. One of 'Brog mi's chief successors, Zhang ston Chos 'bar (Zhangdön Chöbar, 1053–1135) became Sa chen's tutor, nurturing his charge to be a preeminent exponent of the system of the "Path and Fruit." Two of Sa chen's sons, Bsod nams rtse mo (Sönam Tsemo, 1142–1182) and Grags pa rgyal mtshan (Trakpa Gyaltsen, 1147–1216), while following their father in remaining laymen, exclusively dedicated themselves to the family's religious and ritual tradition. It is in the writings of Grags pa rgyal mtshan that the Path and Fruit was definitively codified. He also was tutor to his nephew, Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (Sakya Paṇḍita Kunga Gyaltsen, 1182–1251), a monk who came to be recognized as one of the leading scholars of his day. Besides his numerous contributions to many branches of Tibetan learning, it was under his leadership that the Sa skya pa emerged as a major monastic order. His famous journey in 1246 to meet the ruler of the Mongol Empire, Godan Khan, came to be seen as the precedent for the Mongols' adoption of Buddhism, and his nephew, Chos rgyal 'Phags pa (Chögyal Phakpa, 1235–1280), the last of the five forebearers, became the spiritual preceptor of the Mongol ruler of China, Kublai Khan.

As a monastic order, the Sa skya pa have continued to emphasize training in refined textual scholarship, balanced with the practice of the esotericism of the *Hevajra Tantra* as taught in the Path and Fruit tradition. Of their two leading suborders, the Ngor pa (Ngorpa), founded by Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po (Ngorchen Kunga Zangpo, 1382–1456), and Tshar pa (Tsarpa), the former has enjoyed an extensive following, particularly in far eastern Tibet. The Sa skya pa produced a long line of outstanding doctrinal writers, who may be counted among the leading contributors to the development of Tibetan Buddhist philosophy. Noteworthy are Red mda' ba Gzhon nu blo gros (Remdawa, 1349–1412), Rong ston Shes bya kun gzigs (Rongtön, 1367–1449), Gser mdog Paṇchen Śākya mchog ldan (Serdok Panchen, 1428–1507), and Go rams pa Bsod nams seng ge (Gorampa, 1429–1489). Far from representing a unitary school dogma, these figures show considerable diversity in their approaches to the interpretation of Buddhist philosophical perspectives.

The "Succession of the Transmitted Precepts of Mar pa" (Mar pa bka' brgyud), most often referred to as Bka' brgyud pa, had as its particular domain the teachings of the Indian masters Tilopa (c. 988–1069), Nāropa (1016–1100), and Maitrīpa (1007–1085) as transmitted to Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros (Marpa, 1002/1012–1097). His tradition stressed the six doctrines (*chos drug*) of yogic practice and the culminating meditations of the great seal (*phyag rgya chen po*; Sanskrit, *mahāmudrā*), whereby the limits of all phenomena of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* are determined (hence, "sealed") in the realization of the ultimate nature of mind. The six yogas are:

1. Inner Heat (*gtum mo*), whereby the adept learns to master the subtle physical energies of the body;
2. Body of Apparition (*sgyu lus*), through which the illusion-like nature of ordinary experience becomes known;
3. Dream (*rmi lam*), in which one achieves the ability to consciously explore and to transform the possibilities that are revealed during dreams;
4. Radiant Light (*'od gsal*), referring to the luminous dimension of the mind;
5. Transference (*'pho ba*), the means to cause one's consciousness to leave the body abruptly at the moment of death and to seek rebirth in a pure realm;
6. Intermediate State (*bar do*), which here refers primarily to the state of consciousness in the course of migration between death and rebirth.

The first four enable one to attain enlightenment swiftly during this very lifetime, the last two to achieve it at death.

The proliferation of lineages adhering to the teachings of Mar pa was extensive, and the many lines of instruction that arose among his followers and their successors almost all created their own distinctive formulations of the Bka' brgyud teaching. As Mar pa and his major disciples were laymen, these were initially transmitted primarily within familial lineages. Of these, the line of the Rngog (Ngok) clan enjoyed a particular eminence for their mastery of the esoteric lore of the *maṇḍala*, while the Mes specialized in the exegetical traditions of the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*.

Mar pa's foremost disciple was the yogin Mi la ras pa (Milarepa, 1028/1040–1111/1123), who came to be regarded as Tibet's greatest poet and as a cultural hero exemplifying the ideal of the Tantric adept. His many students, such as Ras chung pa Rdo rje grags (Rechungpa Dorje Drak, 1084–1161), mostly adhered to his model, but one, Sgam po pa

Bsod nams rin chen (Gampopa Sonam Rinchen, 1079–1153), was a former physician who had been ordained as a monk in the Bka' gdams pa order following his young wife's tragic passing. It was Sgam po pa who formed the Bka' brgyud pa into a monastic order, and by stressing the path of gradual ethical self-cultivation as taught by the Bka' gdams pa, he created a unique synthesis of that teaching with the properly Bka' brgyud pa systems of yoga. Known as the "blending of the two streams" (*chu bo gnyis 'dres*), this synthesis has remained the normative teaching of all of the Bka' brgyud pa suborders. These are usually referred to as the "four great Bka' brgyud orders" (*bka' brgyud che bzhi*) founded by Sgam po pa's immediate disciples, among whom the leading disciples of Phag mo gru pa Rdo rje rgyal po (Phakmotrupa, 1110–1170) founded eight "lesser" orders (*chung brgyad*). (The terms *great* and *lesser* refer solely to their relative proximity to Sgam po pa and imply neither a quantitative nor a qualitative judgment.) The first Karma pa hierarch, Dus gsum mkhyen pa (Dusum Khyenpa, 1110–1193), is numbered among the four "greats," whereas 'Bri gung Skyob pa 'Jig rten gsum mgon (Drigung Kyopa, 1143–1217) was prominent among the founders of the eight "lesser" orders. Among the eight is also counted Gling rje ras pa Padma rdo rje (Lingje Repa, 1128–1188), whose disciple Gtsang pa Rgya ras (Tsangpa Gyare, 1161–1211) founded the 'Brug pa (Drukpa) Bka' brgyud pa order, which in turn gave rise to several major suborders of its own. (The 'Brug pa later established itself as the religion of the state in Bhutan, a position it retains in the early twenty-first century.)

Some branches of the Bka' brgyud pa began to "internationalize" with patronage from the Xixia (or Tangut) Kingdom during the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, resulting in their competing with the Sa skya pa for Mongol support after the fall of Xixia in 1227. The second and third Karma pa hierarchs, Karma Pakshi (1204–1283) and Rang byung rdo rje (Rangjung Dorje, 1284–1339), both charismatic teachers and prolific writers, were among those who received imperial honors in China, whereas the 'Bri gung pa branch of the Bka' brgyud pa allied itself with the Mongol dynasty of Iran. Following the decline of Mongol power in Tibet during the mid-fourteenth century, given the loss of patronage this entailed for the Sa skya pa, it was the Phag mo gru pa Bka' brgyud pa order that came to dominate Tibetan affairs. The formal institution of Bka' brgyud pa colleges, emphasizing Buddhist scholastic study, dates from this time. For the next two centuries, Bka' brgyud pa masters made considerable contributions to the ongoing development of Tibetan philosophy, literature, and art. Examples include the seventh and eighth Karma pa hierarchs, Chos grags rgya mtsho (Chodrak Gyatso, 1450/1454–1506) and Mi bskyod rdo rje (Mikyo Dorje, 1507–1554), and theorists of the Tantras, Dwags po Bkra shis rnam rgyal (Dakpo Tashi Namgyal, 1512–1587) and the fourth 'Brug chen hierarch, Padma dkar po (Pemakarpo, 1527–1592). Later luminaries of the Bka' brgyud traditions include Karma Chags med (Karma Chakme, d. 1678), who elaborated an original synthesis of the *mahāmudrā* and Great Perfection approaches to contemplation, and Ta'i Si tu Chos kyi 'byung gnas (Situ Chöki Jungne, 1699–1774), editor of the famed Sde dge edition of the Kanjur and a renowned scholar of linguistics. Mar pa Bka' brgyud pa teachings have been widely transmitted among non–Bka' brgyud pa orders, for instance among the Dge lugs pa, a considerable portion of whose esoteric traditions originated in Mar pa's lineage.

The "Succession of the Transmitted Precepts of Shangs" (Shangs pa bka' brgyud) took its name from the Shangs Valley, where the early-twelfth-century master Khyung po Rnal 'byor, "the yogin of the Eagle clan," founded his community. Though there is considerable uncertainty about his precise dates and traditional chronologies generally assign his birth to the year 990, he appears in fact to have been born half a century or so later. Originally an adherent of the Bon religion, he converted to Buddhism and became at first a follower of the Rnying ma pa tradition. Like many others of his generation, however, he regarded India as the source of uniquely authoritative Buddhist teachings and so left Tibet to pursue his path in the Kathmandu Valley of Nepal and in India proper.

During his travels in India Khyung po Rnal 'byor is supposed to have met numerous Tantric masters, including some who were at that time famed throughout the Tibetan Buddhist world. His foremost teachers, however, were two remarkable women, Niguma and Sukhasiddhi, the first of whom is referred to in his biography as Nāropa's "lady," a term that in this context is usually taken to mean "elder sister," though some say that Niguma had been Nāropa's wife. From Niguma, Khyung po learned a system of six yogas resembling the system taught by Nāropa as transmitted by Mar pa but differing primarily in its notable emphasis upon the topics of apparition and dream. The "six doctrines of Niguma" (*ni gu chos drug*), as they are known, continue to be practiced by Tibetan Buddhist adepts in the early twenty-first century. Khyung po's teaching as a whole was analogized to a tree, with the six doctrines as its roots, the "great seal" for its truck, the "three means for integrating ordinary experience with the path" as branches, the red and white forms of the sky-faring goddess, Khecarī, for flowers, and as the fruit, the realization that body and mind are deathless and without deviation.

The line of Khyung po Rnal 'byor's disciples—Rmog lcog pa (Mokcokpa), Dbon ston Skyer sgang pa (Öntön Kyergangpa), Gnyan ston (Nyentön), down to Sangs rgyas ston pa (Sangye Tönpa, 1219–1290)—uniquely transmitted the entire body of these precepts in a strictly secret lineage until the last mentioned began to disseminate them among practitioners of Tantric yoga. The early secrecy of the lineage contributes to considerable historical obscurity, though hagiographies of Khyung po and his successors do exist. Though there were a small number of properly Shangs pa hermitages at times, the Shangs pa were never established as an independent order and their doctrinal lineage was transmitted in later times among the Karma Bka' brgyud, Dge lugs pa, Sa skya pa, Jo nang pa, Rnying ma pa, and Zhwa lu pa orders. More recently, the Shangs pa teachings have aroused considerable interest among Buddhists in the West owing to the widespread activity of their leading twentieth-century representative, Kalu Rinpoche Rang byung kun khyab (1905–1989).

Zhi byed and Gcod. The related lineages of Zhi byed (zhije) ("Pacification") and Gcod (cö) ("Severance") originated respectively with the enigmatic Indian yogin Pha Dam pa Sangs rgyas (Phadampa Sangye, d. 1117) and his remarkable Tibetan successor, the *yoginī* Ma gcig lab sgron (Machig Labdron, c. 1055–1149). Although schools specializing in Pacification—as exemplified by the lineages of Rma Chos kyi shes rab (Ma Chöki Sherab, b. 1055), So chung Dge 'dun 'bar (Sochung Gendünbar, 1062–1128), and Kaṃ Ye shes rgyal mtshan (Kam Yeshe Gyaltsen, d. 1119)—were very widespread during the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, the teaching all but disappeared in later times. Pha Dam pa continued to be revered as a cultural hero, and the verse aphorisms attributed to him—*Ding ri brgya rtsa* (Century for the people of Ding ri)—is a popular classic of Tibetan gnomic literature. Severance, by contrast, permeated the entire Tibetan Buddhist tradition and is in the early twenty-first century preserved by all orders. Both of these systems of instruction seek to bring about realization as it is understood in the "Perfection of Wisdom" (Sanskrit, *Prajñāpāramitā*) sūtras by means inspired by esoteric Buddhist practice. This takes particularly dramatic form in the traditions of Severance, whose exquisite liturgies involve the adept's symbolic offering of his or her own body as food for all beings throughout the universe.

The "Yoga of Indestructible Reality" (Rdo rje'i rnal 'byor) designates the system of yoga associated with the *Kālacakra Tantra*, the "Wheel of Time," which was transmitted in Tibet initially by Gyi jo Lo tsā ba Zla ba'i 'od zer during the early eleventh century. A great many other lineages specializing in this Tantra also arose, so that it became one of the dominant esoteric traditions of the early second millennium.

The Kālacakra proposes in effect a system of universal knowledge, including astronomical calculation, medical tradition, and above all mastery of the internal disciplines of yoga. Indeed, these three domains—that of the universe without, the body within, and the esoteric realm of yoga—are treated homologously here, mapped onto one and the same divine *maṇḍala*. The Kālacakra became the basis for the Tibetan calendrical system among other branches of learning.

As a system of Tantric contemplative practice, the Kālacakra stresses a system of six yogas (*sbyor drug*): "withdrawal" and "absorption" are the yogas of body, whereby the purification of the subtle, central channel is achieved; "breath-control" and "restraint" are the yogas of speech, whereby the vital energies are caused to enter the central channel and to be stabilized; "recollection" is the yoga of mind, whereby the incorruptibility of the enlightened mind is attained; and finally, "concentration" is the refinement of gnosis, whereby the coalescence of bliss and emptiness is realized.

During the fourteenth century, two approaches to the interpretation and practice of the Kālacakra became predominant. The first was that of Zhwa lu Monastery, which was given its decisive formulation in the writings of the celebrated scholar and editor of the canon, Bu ston Rin chen grub (Butön Rinchendrub, 1290–1364). Though Bu ston's background was in the Bka' brgyud tradition, Zhwa lu was a clan-based monastery tied to the Lce family, so that it was regarded as representing a small but independent order. The second major Kālacakra tradition emerged at the monastery of Jo nang, which in its origins was in essence a Kālacakra hermitage. Its chief representative was the philosophically controversial master Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan (Dölpopa, 1292–1361). While these two contemporaries were both widely revered, they arrived at opposing conclusions regarding the Kālacakra's teaching in relation to Buddhist philosophy. For Dol po pa, the Tantra supported the controversial view that the definitive doctrine of Mahāyāna Buddhism was that of buddha-nature, not emptiness, so that the absolute could be considered not as empty in itself but only as extrinsically empty (*gzhan stong*) with respect to relative phenomena. In its own nature it was, rather, a plenitude of the qualities of the highest enlightenment. But, by contrast, Bu ston held that the discourse of buddha-nature was itself a relative way of speaking of the emptiness that stood as the true heart of the doctrine. The latter came to be favored in the Dge lugs pa order, and it is the "Bu ston tradition" (*bu lugs*) of the Kālacakra that continues to be transmitted in that order in the early twenty-first century, above all by the fourteenth Dalai Lama (b. 1935). The Jo nang pa order, which was suppressed for political reasons by the government of the fifth Dalai Lama during the seventeenth century, continued nevertheless to thrive in some parts of far eastern Tibet. Its controversial teaching of extrinsic emptiness became an important element in the nineteenth-century eclectic movement in Khams. The greatest of the Jo nang pa masters following Dol po pa was Rje btsun Tāranātha (1575–1634), a celebrated historian and Tantric commentator, whose later incarnation was recognized within the Dge lugs pa order in Mongolia. Known as the Jebtsundampa Hutukhtu, he was regarded as the "Dalai Lama of the Mongols" in pre-Communist society.

The "Service and Attainment of the Three Indestructible Realities" (Rdo rje gsum gyi bsnyen sgrub) represents what is in the early twenty-first century an extremely rare lineage of instruction, focusing upon the internal yoga of the subtle energy channels and vital energy and stemming from the teaching of the divine Vajrayoginī, as gathered by the Tibetan adept O rgyan pa Rin chen dpal (Orgyenpa Rinchenpal, 1230–1309) during his extensive travels in the northwestern quarters of the Indian subcontinent. The teaching was popularized by O rgyan pa's successors during the fourteenth century, when several commentaries on it were composed, but subsequently it seems to have lapsed into obscurity. O rgyan pa also figures prominently as a transmitter of several of the major Bka' brgyud pa lineages, notably the 'Brug pa and Karma pa traditions.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE DGE LUGS PA ORDER. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the religious life of Tibet was dominated by the Sa skya pa and by the proliferation of Bka' brgyud pa suborders, most of which were, like the Sa skya pa, closely associated with important aristocratic households. The Bka' gdams pa maintained their prominence, whereas several smaller orders, especially the Jo nang pa and the Zhwa lu pa, had achieved considerable renown. Though the other lines of teaching discussed above—Shangs pa, Zhi byed, and Gcod—were also widely transmitted at this time, it is less clear that well-defined monastic orders had been formed on their basis. In addition, there were some monasteries—for example, Gnas rnying not far from Rgyal rtse (modern Gyantse)—which must be considered as representing unique orders in their own right and as sometimes enjoying considerable local influence. A further example along these lines is offered by the monastery of Bo dong, near the Yam 'brog lake, whose great master Phyogs las rnam rgyal (Chokle Namgyal, 1376–1451) created his own vast synthesis of Buddhist learning comprising over 130 volumes.

The most important development, however, was the emergence of an altogether new order, the Dga' ldan pa (Gandenpa), later best known as Dge lugs pa, the "Virtuous Ones." The founder of the Dge lugs pa was the great scholar Rje Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa (Je Tsongkhapa, 1357–1419), who, however, certainly had no intention to create a new order. He saw himself, rather, as a custodian and rectifier of received tradition. Born in the far northeastern Tibetan province of Amdo (modern Qinghai), he came to central Tibet as a teenager and pursued rigorous studies with all the foremost luminaries of the age, including teachers of the Bka' gdams pa, Sa skya pa, Bka' brgyud pa, Zhwa lu pa, and Jo nang pa traditions. His dedication to the Bka' gdams pa teaching of the progressive path of the *bodhisattva* was such that he and his successors often came to be thought of as "new Bka' gdams pa" (Bka' gdams gsar ma), and his treatise *Lam rim chen mo* (Great progression of the path) is renowned as a definitive expression of this approach. From his main Sa skya pa teacher, Red mda' ba Gzhon nu blo gros (1349–1412), he acquired a special concern for the interpretation of the Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamika philosophy of the Indian master Candrakīrti (c. 600–650) as well as an orientation to Tantrism that emphasized the primacy of the *Guhyasamāja Tantra.*

Moreover, it was in collaboration with Red mda' ba that Tsong kha pa undertook his celebrated reform of the practice of the monastic code, or Vinaya. In his Tantric teachings, Tsong kha pa to a great extent continued Bka' brgyud pa traditions as well as the yoga of the *Kālacakra Tantra* as taught in the Jo nang pa and Zhwa lu pa orders. Nevertheless, he thoroughly rejected the "extrinsic emptiness" doctrine of Dol po pa, regarding it as an extreme representative of persistent Tibetan misunderstandings of the Yogācāra philosophy of India, and though accepting the authority of the Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamika, he developed his own distinctive interpretation thereof, which in many respects was not anticipated in the work of Red mda' ba. In short, though drawing on earlier tradition, Tsong kha pa formulated a novel synthesis of the Indian Buddhist legacy, strongly emphasizing careful textual study and the demands of logic.

Tsong kha pa attracted large numbers of talented disciples, who began at some point to refer to themselves after the name of the monastery their master had founded in 1409, Dga' ldan. This was soon replaced by the near-homonym Dge ldan pa ("virtuous"), which in turn gave way to the synonym Dge lugs pa. Because Tsong kha pa had followed the tradition of Bu ston in adopting a yellow ceremonial hat, in contrast to the red that was widely favored, his successors became known popularly as "yellow hats" (*zhwa ser*).

Tsong kha pa's followers appear to have shared a strong sense of corporate identity, reflected doctrinally in the writings of his leading students, including Rgyal tshab rje Dar ma rin chen (Gyaltsapje, 1364–1432), Mkhas grub rje Dge legs dpal bzang (Khedrupje, 1385–1438), and Dge 'dun grub pa (Gendün Drupa, 1391–1474), posthumously considered to be the first Dalai Lama. At the same time, a large number of new monastic centers emphasizing adherence to the Vinaya and rigorous programs of study based on the sustained practice of debate were established to promulgate his teaching. Examples include Se ra (1419) and 'Bras spungs (1416), in the vicinity of Lhasa. The latter, with as many as ten thousand monks, was, prior to 1959, considered to be the largest monastic community in the world. With the conversion by Bsod nams rgya mtsho (Sonam Gyatso, the third Dalai Lama) of the Mongol leader Altan Khan in 1578, the Dge lugs pa order became the predominant Tibetan Buddhist tradition among the Mongols, a position it continued to enjoy in the early twenty-first century.

Mongol intervention in Tibetan affairs brought about the consolidation of political power by the fifth Dalai Lama in 1642, so that the Dge lugs pa became, from this point on, the effective masters of Tibet. Coming in the wake of the preceding decades of civil strife, in which warring factions were generally allied with different orders, the Dalai Lama's regime sought to consolidate their control in part by a reorganization of religion. Numerous new Dge lugs pa monasteries were established throughout the country. Some older centers, particularly those of orders, such as the Karma pa and 'Brug pa Bka' brgyud pa, that had been allied with the Dge lugs pa's rivals, were forcibly converted. The Jo nang pa were altogether suppressed except for one nunnery within the Dalai Lama's domains. (The Bka' gdams pa by this time had been mostly absorbed into the Dge lugs pa order and so no longer had an independent existence.) Despite these politically impelled changes and despite the insistence by some of the more extreme sectarian proponents that only one order need be recognized, it was generally agreed that some degree of plurality was nevertheless desirable. This came to be expressed in the notion that there were but four Tibetan Buddhist orders—Rnying ma pa, Sa skya pa, Bka' brgyud pa, and Dge lugs pa—a conception formalized by the official ranks and titles conferred by the government upon the hierarchs of these traditions.

SEE ALSO Bon; Buddhism, articles on Buddhism in Mongolia, Buddhism in Tibet; Dge lugs pa; Mādhyamika; Tibetan Religions, overview article; Yogācāra.

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BUDDHISM, SCHOOLS OF: HIMALAYAN BUDDHISM

The historical Buddha Śākyamuni, born in Lumbinī and raised in Kapilavastu, both in present-day Nepal, must have often set his eyes on the slopes and peaks of the Himalaya, the "abode of snow," which can be seen on clear days from either of these places. Some 2,500 years after his birth, the Himalayan regions from Ladakh in the northwest across to Bhutan in the southeast are still suffused with the cultural practices of the Buddhist religion—its manifold rites, practices, and doctrines, its symbols and institutions, all reflecting with great clarity the different waves of the spread of the Buddha's teaching to the Himalaya.

PATRONS AND PRECEPTORS. The region of Kashmir, where Buddhism was first diffused about 250 BCE, on the orders of King Aśoka, later became one of the gateways through which monastic and tantric lineages entered Tibet, especially during the so-called second spread (*phyi dar*), from the end of the tenth century onwards. Particularly instrumental in this phase of the introduction of Buddhism into the western Himalayas were the early kings of Guge Purang (a confederation whose territory included what is today known as Ladakh), who selected a group of young men and sent them to Kashmir to be trained as "translators" (*lo tsā ba*). One such link between the Indian and Tibetan cultures was Rin chen bzang po (958–1055), later preceptor to King Ye shes 'od and his family. Due to efforts like his, Western Tibet became a center of Buddhist thought and practice based on a direct knowledge of Indian canonical and philosophical literature. Royal patronage was continued by later kings, one of whom financed, for example, the Indian journey of Rngog Lo tsā ba Blo ldan Shes rab (1059–1109). Another key figure, for having established a famous Vinaya ordination lineage in Tibet, was the Kashmiri Mahāpaṇḍita Śākyaśrībhadra (d. 1225), who was the last head of the Buddhist university of Vikramaśīla in Magadha and one of the teachers of Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182–1251).

Vikramaśīla was already seeking out contact with Tibet and other Himalayan regions during its peak period in the second half of the tenth century, the most notable example being in the person of Atiśa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (982–1054), another one of its heads to reach Tibet. In his case it was the family of the early kings of Guge Purang who issued the invitation, the monk-scholar from present-day Bengal arriving at their royal court in the year 1042. The influence of Atiśa was far-reaching, especially his insistence on the observance of the monastic rule and a restricted use of the Tantras. After his death this Buddhist school became known as the Bka' gdams pa, which in turn served as the model for the "New Bka' gdams pa," or Dge lugs pa, founded by Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa (1357–1419). This latter tradition was spread in the western Himalayas by a group of Tsong kha pa's disciples called the "six great diffusers of the teachings to the borders." It became prominent from the fifteenth century onward, with monastic lineages being established in Guge and Ladakh.

At about the same time, the Ngor pa tradition, a subsect of the Sa skya pa school, which had been founded by members of the 'Khon family to whom Sa skya Paṇḍita belonged, became influential in Purang. This religious shift was the result of Purang having become a dependency of Glo bo, another Himalayan kingdom (what is now Mustang in northern Nepal). Although this dominance of Glo bo over Purang was short-lived, it shows that the spread of Buddhist schools in the Himalayan region relied heavily on royal support for the definition and maintenance of their monastic institutions. This was true also in the next period in the history of the western Himalayas, when the rulers of Ladakh became the dominant political power and the twin countries of Guge and Purang faded into the background. The most popular Buddhist teacher during that time was Stag tshang ras pa (1574–1651), a religious figure still of great significance for the Ladakhi people. He was a member of the 'Brug pa subsect of the Bka' brgyud pa school, and he was generously supported by the king of Ladakh, from whom he received a number of estates while acting as his preceptor.

A significant role in the diffusion of Buddhist traditions in the western Himalayas was also played by another subsect of the Bka' brgyud pa school, the 'Bri gung pa, whose major zone of activity was the area around Lake Manasarovar and Mount Kailash. The hermitages around the sacred mountain were established by yogins following the example of their great fellow yogin Mi la ras pa (1028/40–1111/23), and were later occupied mainly by followers of the 'Brug pa, founded by Gling ras pa Padma rdo rje (1128–1188), and of the 'Bri gung pa, founded by Skyob pa 'Jig rten mgon po (1143–1217). These two schools left the strongest imprint on the tradition of Buddhist pilgrimages to Kailash, the "Snow Mountain Ti se" (*gangs ti se*), the legends surrounding their representatives being mainly responsible for the drive to idealize and spiritualize this Himalayan region. The 'Bri gung pa are said to have fostered innumerable numbers of "hermits" (*ri pa*), headed by what may be called a "rector" (*rdor 'dzin*), who supervised their spiritual life at the sacred mountain. In the fifteenth century the influence of the 'Bri gung pa in the Kailash area declined, doubtless under that of the Ngor pa tradition. In Ladkah, the 'Bri gung pa had become influential at the beginning of the thirteenth century, but when the ruling house became patrons of the 'Brug pas they lost their former standing there too, never to recover it.

A TRANSLATOR'S JOURNEY. The last Buddhist *mahāpaṇḍita* to reach Tibet during the second spread was the yogin Vanaratna (1384–1458) of present-day Bengal. He undertook three journeys to the plateau, where he assumed the role of preceptor of the Phag mo gru family, the rulers of Central Tibet before the Rin spungs pa took over. Vanaratna promulgated tantric transmissions, mainly from the cycles of the *Kālacakra Tantra*, the *Hevajra Tantra*, and the *Cakrasaṃvara Tantra*. Among his Tibetan disciples were two translators, 'Gos Lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal (1392–1481) and Khrims khang Lo tsā ba Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1424–1482), the former well known as the author of the famous

"Blue Annals," a comprehensive historiographical work of Tibetan Buddhism written in the years 1476 to 1478.

Bsod nams rgya mtsho, also called the "Great Translator" (*lo chen*), had met Vanaratna during the latter's final journey to Tibet in the years 1453 to 1454 and assisted him on the return trip to Nepal, where Vanaratna had taken up residence in a Buddhist *vihāra* in Patan. More than ten years later the translator undertook the daring journey to the south on his own in order to receive further tantric transmissions. This journey is a late case of a *lo tsā ba*'s quest for authentic Buddhist teaching, showing how the natural barrier of the Himalaya was overcome by these motivated travelers.

The mountain chain was approached in the region of Chu bar, close to the Gaurīśankar peak (7,146 m), which is known to Tibetans as the "glaciers of the Goddess of Long Life" (*tshe ring ma'i gangs rnams*). This area and its landscape is suffused, like the Kailash region, with the memory of Mi la ras pa, following whose example the translator is said to have appeased the local deities. Two routes could be taken from there onwards to the Nepal Valley. Bsod nams rgya mtsho chose the one passing through Dolakhā, a small independent kingdom to the northeast of the valley. Walking on treacherous paths through narrow gorges, he eventually reached Bhaktapur, the royal center of Nepal, ruled by King Jaya Yakṣamalla (r. 1424–1482). In the Govicandra Mahāvihāra in Patan the spiritual relationship with Vanaratna was renewed, and the Tibetan disciple obtained special tantric transmissions revealed to the Mahāpaṇḍita. One of these encounters took place in Śāntipura in the surroundings of the Buddhist stupa known today as Svayaṃbhūnāth. After a pilgrimage to the different sacred sites of the Nepal Valley, including a triad of celebrated statues of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara located within the cultural boundaries of fifteenth-century Nepal, Bsod nams rgya mtsho then left his teacher and Newar hosts and once again made his way through the dangerous gorges. Later he merely complained that he had not been able to collect medicinal plants growing in the Himalayan valleys in abundance, and compared his difficulties with the ones faced by an earlier Buddhist traveler.

In later times a second route, passing from Chu bar to Listi (to the west of Dolakhā), was normally taken by Tibetan priests making the journey to Nepal. Among these we find the Sixth Zhva dmar pa Chos kyi dbang phyug (1584–1630) and the Eighth Si tu Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1699–1774). Like Bsod nams rgya mtsho, in whose footsteps they followed, these hierarchs of the Bka' brgyud pa school were warmly welcomed by Malla rulers, including Jagajjyotirmalla (r. 1614–1637) and Jagajjayamalla (r. 1722–1736).

"THE HIMALAYAN EXPERIENCE." A widely used cultural corridor through which monastic and tantric lineages of the Buddhist religion entered the Tibetan plateau was Mang yul Gung thang, a kingdom in southwest Tibet located to the north of the Nepal Valley. During the time of the so-called earlier spread (*snga dar*) from the seventh to the ninth centuries, the great adept Padmasambhava was the most notable person to have traveled through the region, where he subdued mountain gods and local spirits on his way to the court of the Yarlung kings in Central Tibet. The same route was used by Śantarakṣita, the abbot who introduced the first Vinaya lineage into Tibet. Even Srong btsan sgam po, the first Buddhist ruler of the Yarlung dynasty, is believed to have undertaken a journey from Mang yul Gung thang to the Kathmandu Valley in order to bring back a statue of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara to Tibet. This legend accounts for the importance of the Newar culture in the transmission of Buddhist religious and artistic traditions to the north, and points at the same time to the widespread circulation of these kind of narratives centering on Srong btsan sgam po, and their relevance to what has been called "the Himalayan experience" in the diffusion of Buddhism.

The introduction of the Buddha's teaching to Tibet and neighboring Himalayan regions is a recurring theme within the cult of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, to whom is credited the conversion of uncivilized humans to the new religion. Instrumental in this scheme are a group of temples said to have been built during the reign of Srong btsan sgam po, and located for the most part in or near the southern valleys; these temples were held to be able "to tame the borders and areas beyond the borders" and thus secure the center, namely the Jokhang temple in Lhasa, for Buddhism. The whole process of "taming" (*'dul ba*) took on a special character when directed toward the Himalayan regions which, according to the Buddhist texts glorifying the deeds of Srong btsan sgam po, were wild and uncultivated. This notion was counterbalanced by authors who looked to the remote Himalayan regions in the south as a sort of earthly paradise, whose hillsides provided an ideal location for monasteries, and which was imbued with all the resources of nature needed for leading a life of Buddhist spirituality.

Both these cultural attitudes of viewing the Himalayan valleys as regions to be tamed and—especially in times of political turmoil—as sanctuaries to be sought out were cultivated and refined within the Rnying ma pa school, the followers of the great adept Padmasambhava. One of the most prolific writers in this respect was the "treasure-discoverer" (*gter ston*) Rig 'dzin Rgod ldem (1337–1408), whose texts describe various "hidden valleys" *(sbas yul)* ranging from the region of Mang yul Gung thang in the west to the Chumbi Valley between Sikkim and Bhutan in the east. This master acted as preceptor to the royal court of Mang yul Gung thang. Indeed the prophecies of Padmasambhava regarding its future rulers show that the idea of saving this royal branch of the Yarlung dynasty was a theme of central importance in the hidden-valley literature. These kind of texts state explicitly that sanctuaries in the Himalayan valleys are to be searched for during times when foreign armies threaten the security of Tibet. They can thus be understood as a reaction of the traumatized Rnying ma pas to the invasion by the Mongols in the thirteenth century and to their subsequent political dominion.

The supremacy of the Dge lugs pa school in Central Tibet four hundred years later, achieved with the help of their Mongol patrons, resulted once more in an increased production of this kind of literature and a more intense search for sacred abodes in the Himalayan borderlands. During this period, in the seventeenth century, the border-taming temple in Mang yul Gung thang functioned as one starting point for expeditions of Rnying ma pa treasure-discoverers to the south. The diffusion of Buddhist institutions and rites in such neighboring valleys as Glang 'phrang and Yol mo, located in present-day Nepal, must be seen as an outcome of these kinds of practices.

BUDDHIST MONARCHIES. The country of Sikkim, now part of the confederation of Indian states, was known to Rig 'dzin Rgod ldem under the name "Rice Land" (*'bras mo ljongs*). One of the monasteries that he founded, ruins of which still can be seen today, was within its borders. The greatest propagator of Buddhism in Sikkim appeared later: Lha btsun Nam mkha' 'jigs med (1587–1650), another treasure-discoverer of the Rnying ma pa school and follower of the Great Perfection doctrine. In the year 1641 he, together with Kaḥ thog Rig 'dzin chen po and Mnga' bdag Sems dpa' chen po, installed the first Buddhist king in Sikkim. The names of the latter two masters allude to the earlier spread of further Rnying ma pa lineages in the country, namely to the Kaḥ thog pa of Eastern Tibet and to the Mnga' bdag pa, who followed in the tradition of the treasure-discoverer Zhig po gling pa (1524–1583) from Central Tibet. The epitome of the hidden valley transformed into a Buddhist kingdom was Brag dkar bkra shis ldings, a sacred site surrounded in the style of a *maṇḍala* by four miraculous caves in the four cardinal directions; these places continue to be pilgrimage destinations for all Sikkimese Buddhists.

During the rule of the next *dharmarāja* or *chos rgyal,* a strong connection was established with the teachers of Smin grol gling, an influential Rnying ma pa monastery in Central Tibet, and this led to the foundation of Padma yang rtse, a monastery which later supervised all the Rnying ma pa institutions in Sikkim. 'Jigs med dpa' bo (b. 1682), the second incarnation of Lha btsun Nam mkha' 'jigs med, received his spiritual training under Rig 'dzin Gter bdag gling pa (1646–1714), the hierarch of Smin grol gling, and following an invitation to Sikkim became the preceptor of the Sikkimese king. His activities at the beginning of the eighteenth century coincided with the suppression of the Rnying ma pa school in Central Tibet due to the Dzungar invasions and an edict of the Manchu ruler Yung chen. In the year 1718 Rje btsun Mi 'gyur dpal sgron (1699–1769), the daughter of Rig 'dzin Gter bdag gling pa, escaped the Dzungar armies and traveled to Sikkim; there she was welcomed by the king and by 'Jigs med dpa' bo. The "Rice Land," too, thus offered refuge in troubled times to the followers of Padmasambhava.

Parts of northern Bhutan, the modern Buddhist monarchy bordering on Assam, were regarded as hidden sanctuaries as well, as can be seen from the writings of Rig 'dzin Padma gling pa (1450–1521). It was Zhabs drung Ngag dbang rnam rgyal (b. 1595) who founded a central government and established the borders of the "Land of the Thunder-Dragon" *('brug yul).* A member of the Rgya family from Rva lung, from which family Rgyal ba'i dbang po (1428–1476), the second 'Brug chen hierarch of the 'Brug pa school, issued, he was forced to flee to the southern Himalaya upon claiming to be the incarnation of the fourth 'Brug chen Padma dkar po (1527–1592). The teaching tradition of the 'Brug pa school had already been introduced earlier to Bhutan, one of its representatives before the unification of the country being Kun dga' legs pa (1455–1529), the famous "Madman from Bhutan" (*'brug smyon*). Later on the country was ruled by a nominal head of state, an incarnate lama, while the secular administration was entrusted to a regent; these persons were known respectively as the Zhabs drung Rin po che and the Sde srid.

The fourth regent, Bstan 'dzin rab rgyas (1638–1696) was one key figure in the early phase of the 'Brug pa state, which lasted more than two hundred years before being replaced in 1907 by a modern monarchy. It was this regent who created a religious edifice at the famous cliff-side meditation cave of the great adept Padmasambhava at Stag tshang to the north of the Paro Valley (the site had earlier been in the hands of the Kaḥ thog pa), and he was also responsible for popularizing such religious practices as the display of massive appliqué hangings draped from monastery courtyard walls and the seasonal dance festivals dedicated to Padmasambhava. The forty-ninth regent, 'Jigs med rnam rgyal (1825–1881), is generally remembered for being the father of O rgyan dbang phyug (1862–1926), the founder of the modern monarchy. The latter's rise to political power was largely due to the encouragement shown and the rituals conferred upon him by his teacher Byang chub brtson 'grus (1817–1856). This lama from Central Tibet had traveled widely in Kashmir, Western Tibet, and Nepal, and he had conceived a special crown for his disciple: a magical battle helmet, which later became a symbol of royalty. Imbued with the essence of two forms of the great protector Mahākala, it was a conscious allusion to the role played by the raven-headed Mahākala in the first unification of Bhutan by Zhabs drung Ngag dbang rnam rgyal.

CRAFTSMEN AND ARTISTS. The legends concerning the enlightened activity of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara as the spiritual protector of the Himalayan region and the Buddhist king as his incarnation formed the ideological basis for monarchies like Sikkim and Bhutan from the very beginning. It is known, for example, that the first ruler of Sikkim held the teaching transmission of the "Hundred Thousand Proclamations of the Maṇi [Mantra]" (*maṇi bka' 'bum*), a heterogeneous collection of teachings ascribed to Srong btsan sgam po, and that in the seventeenth century prints of this collection were executed in the newly founded state of Bhutan.

This particular version can be traced back to an earlier edition, which is the oldest xylograph of this work after its dissemination in the form of manuscripts for a period of about four hundred years. It was in Mang yul Gung thang that a first block print of the collection had been produced, and the person responsible for this and other large-scale printing projects in that region was a monk of the Bo dong pa school by the name of "The Incomparable" (*mnyam med*) Chos dbang rgyal mtshan (1484–1549). An expert in the field of Buddhist art and craftsmanship, he oversaw the first carved edition of the teachings associated with Srong btsan sgam po at the royal court of Mang yul Gung thang upon the death of his teacher Btsun pa Chos legs (1437–1521), another influential member of the Bo dong pa community. The workshop of Chos dbang rgyal mtshan produced further xylographs of writings of the 'Brug pa and 'Ba' ra ba Bka' brgyud pa schools, and also carved on wood blocks the oldest edition of the *Theg mchog mdzod* (a classic of the Great Perfection doctrine) and of the *bKa' gdams glegs bam* (a collection of texts comprising hagiographical material and the esoteric teachings of the Bka' gdams pa school). Chos dbang rgyal mtshan's legacy to the monastic institutions of the Bo dong pa was a printed edition of a "stages of the path" (*lam rim*) manual by Bo dong Paṇ chen Phyogs las rnam rgyal (1375–1451), the founder of the school. This project, which occupied sixteen carvers for a period of over six months, was completed in Btsum, a hidden valley located in present-day Nepal. Chos dbang rgyal mtshan became involved in the popularization of this cultural phenomenon by virtue of being a disciple of such treasure-discoverers of the Rnying ma pa school as Rig 'dzin Mchog ldan mgon po (1497–1531) and Rig 'dzin bstan gnyis gling pa (1480–1553), both of whose collected writings he executed as block prints. This increased production of xylograph editions of Buddhist classics in southwestern Tibet, including the famous biography and spiritual songs of the great yogin Mi la ras pa, greatly enhanced the spread of these different literary traditions in the Himalayan valleys. It is possible to identify the individual carvers of such block print editions along with the artists who beautifully depicted the deities on their front and back pages.

One main seat of the Bo dong pa school was located in Porong, a nomadic region in the northern part of Mang yul Gung thang ruled by a local whose ancient capital was a place called "Big Tent" (*sbra chen*). In the 1960s, after the end of the rule of this family, the Porong area underwent dramatic change, but today the community has reorganized itself, its main monastery has been rebuilt, and the old block xylograph of Bo dong Paṇ chen has been reprinted.

FEMALE INCARNATIONS. Incarnate religious teachers have played an important role in the Himalaya, as hierarchs of Buddhist schools, as preceptors to royal families, or as "representatives" (*tshab*) of the great adept Padmasambhava in troubled times. In contrast to the great number of male "reincarnations" (*sprul sku*), the principle of female incarnate lineages seems to have been not very widely accepted. As *ḍākinīs,* or "sky-goers" (*mkha' 'gro ma*), women are nevertheless held in high esteem, both as symbols of divinity and as religious practitioners, especially among followers of the Rnying ma pa school. Once they achieve the status of holy women, they can thus become the legitimating source of male incarnate lineages; this can be seen, for example, in the cases of Rig 'dzin Padma gling pa, Rig 'dzin Bstan gnyis gling pa, and Rig 'dzin Jigs med gling pa (1730–1798), all of whom are regarded as reincarnations of female disciples of Padmasambhava (of the princesses Padma gsal, Nu 'byin sa le, and Ye shes mtsho rgyal respectively).

Although the number of female reincarnations has been relatively small, a few cases are still remembered among Himalayan Buddhists. The most well-known one is the so-called Rdo rje phag mo incarnation of Bsam sdings monastery near the lake Yar brog mtsho in Central Tibet. This divine lady is viewed as an emanation of Tārā, who for protective purposes assumed the appearance of a menacing animal, the "Diamond Sow" (*rdo rje phag mo*). The first member of this lineage was the youngest daughter of King Lha dbang rgyal mtshan (1401–1464) from Mang yul Gung thang, who later became the spiritual partner of Bo dong Paṇ chen Phyogs las rnam rgyal. In 1440 this princess, named Chos kyi sgron me, founded the monastery of Bsam sdings, a convent of the Bo dong pa school, with the support of the local ruler of Sna dkar rtse. The ruling family of this principality also cared for the next incarnation, the "Noble One" (*rje btsun ma*) Kun dga' bzang mo (b. 1459). The translator Bsod nams rgya mtsho met her in Sna dkar rtse not long after his return from Nepal. In the following years this female incarnation is known to have actively promoted teaching traditions of the Bo dong Paṇ chen across the Himalayan region. Her role as a charismatic religious teacher was accepted by the great Buddhist masters of her time, including the second 'Brug chen Rgyal ba'i dbang po and Lha btsun Kun dga' Chos kyi rgya mtsho (1432–1505), the teacher of Kun dga' legs pa, the Madman from Bhutan. The lineage of the Rdo rje phag mo incarnation continues down to the present time, with its twelfth member still residing at its place of origin.

Another female incarnate lineage is that of the Gung ru mkha' 'gro ma from Eastern Tibet, which is known from literary sources but has not survived as a living institution. The reason for this may be sought in unflattering political prophecies that Gung ru mkha' 'gro ma (also known as Lha rtse dpon mo) uttered with regard to the newly founded government of the fifth Dalai Bla ma Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617–1682); as a result, the Dalai Bla ma expressed doubts about her spiritual authority, as stated in his autobiography. The divine lady was nevertheless credited with all signs of authenticity by Rong po Skal ldan rgya mtsho (1607–1677), a great master from Amdo. These events should not be interpreted as signs of misogynous behavior on the part of the religious and political head of seventeenth-century Tibet (he spoke without bitterness of the fourth incarnation of the Bsam sdings rDo rje phag mo). In any case, they are suggestive of an atmosphere of religious tolerance prevailing in Eastern Tibet (Khams and Amdo), the border regions of Lho kha and the Himalayan valleys in the south.

Pilgrimages and Stupas. Schools of Himalayan Buddhism developed following the spread of the Buddha's teaching to the mountainous region, and reflected the monastic lineages and tantric transmissions associated with places like Kashmir, Magadha, and Nepal. This process of religious transmission was completed by the fifteenth century, after which a reversed movement can be observed, with the now established religious traditions crossing back over the cultural boundaries to the south. One can trace this transition in the journeys of individual Buddhist travelers and in the practice of large-scale pilgrimages to sacred sites located in the Himalayan valleys. A conspicuous example of the latter is the migration of the Sherpa people from Eastern Tibet to the land south of Mount Everest in the sixteenth century, their search for a hidden valley leading to a permanent resettlement after they were displaced from their home country.

Sherpa Buddhism is characterized, like most local Buddhist cultures in the Himalaya, by foundings of temples and monasteries, the last major ones being under the inspiration of Ngag dbang bstan 'dzin nor bu (1867–1940), the great abbot of Rdza rong phu. Both this monastery, located on the northern side of the Everest massif, and the well-known Steng po che monastery (founded in the years 1915 to 1919) follow the teaching tradition of Smin grol gling. The rituals of this Rnying ma pa monastery in Central Tibet are kept alive in the Sherpa country through village festivals and the construction of stupas, which latter are recognized by the people as the containers of relics and as commemorative monuments.

Buddhist stupas like the ones of Svayaṃbhūnāth and Bodhnāth in the Kathmandu Valley of Nepal have been popular destinations of pilgrims for centuries. In the course of time, the upkeep of these religious shrines came into the hands of Tibetan priests. This led in turn to the construction of administrative buildings near the pilgrimage sites; in the case of Svayaṃbhūnāth and Bodhnāth, these buildings date from the eighteenth century. The exodus of the Tibetan people from their homeland after the revolt in Lhasa in 1959 was one main reason for the subsequent increased construction of monasteries near the stupas. In these places one can witness a revival of the cultural and religious traditions of Himalayan Buddhism. This holds true as well for regions like Ladakh, Sikkim, and Bhutan, where the Tibetan diaspora has found refuge and is able to maintain its religious and cultural identity.

Pilgrimages to sacred sites associated with the life of the historical Buddha Śākyamuni have a long tradition in India, and this cultural practice was also taken up by Himalayan Buddhists. One interesting example is the pilgrimage to a spurious Kuśinagara (the place of Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*) in Assam, as advocated by followers of the 'Brug pa school in the sixteenth century. The archaeological site of Lumbinī, the birthplace of Śākyamuni Buddha, was discovered only in 1896; modern pilgrimages to this spot are a quite recent phenomenon. A stupa of impressive height has just been completed there by the 'Bri gung pa school—a sign of the continuing definition and maintenance of Himalayan Buddhism in the place where its founder was born.

See Also Buddhism, overview article.

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BUDDHISM, SCHOOLS OF: CHINESE BUDDHISM

Chinese Buddhism is typically described in terms of *schools*, a word used variously to refer to lineages of exegetical interpretation, styles of devotional or cultivational practice, or combinations of both. The earliest schools to emerge, from the fifth century onward, were exegetical lineages devoted to the interpretation of individual scriptures or groups of scriptures. Early examples include traditions based on Chinese translations of Mādhyamika or Yogācāra treatises, as well as on individual scriptures such as the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra.* A tendency to greater conceptual inclusiveness culminated in the development of the systematic schools, often referred to as Sui-Tang schools because of the timing of their emergence during those dynasties (sixth to eighth centuries); primary examples are the Tiantai and Huayan (Flower Garland) traditions. At about the same time or slightly later there also developed identifiable modes of practice or modal traditions, so named because of the centrality of different forms of religious praxis to their identities; this refers to Pure Land devotionalism, Chan (Zen) meditation and dialogue practices, and esoteric Buddhist ritual endeavor.

TERMINOLOGY. The English term *school* evokes the philosophical traditions of ancient Greece, in which individual teachers guided small assemblies of (predominately male) students in different styles of intellectual discourse. This usage privileges individual founders and doctrinal content over social features and religious praxis, and it implies a historical model that is of limited application to the exegetical schools and individual monastic communities of Chinese Buddhism, and is at best unwieldy when used for other types of Buddhist schools.

Japanese scholarship and the Japanese denominational model have had a significant and often unrecognized influence on Western-language interpretations of Chinese Buddhism since the late nineteenth century. Japanese scholars such as Nanjō Bun'yū (1849–1927) and Takakusu Junjirō (1866–1945) worked as students and research assistants with major scholars such as Max Müller (1823–1900) and Sylvain Lévi (1863–1935), respectively, during the formative years of European Buddhist studies and religious studies. Adopting their mentors' perspective on the importance of the Buddha as founder and of doctrine as his primary contribution, these Japanese authors and their later colleagues described Chinese Buddhism in terms of the founders, doctrines, and characteristic practices of the separate denominational entities that had crystallized in Japan during the Tokugawa period (1600–1868), when the Japanese government had imposed a fixed administrative structure on the religion there. Although this was an understandable projection of early Japanese Buddhology, it is important to remember that nothing like a Japanese "school," as an integrated denominational organization with prescribed doctrines and practices and clearly defined institutional assets, priestly specialists, and lay membership, ever existed in Chinese Buddhism.

There are also profound differences between the "schools" of Chinese Buddhism and those of the parent Indian tradition, where the various *nikāyas* (e.g., Dharmaguptaka, Sarvāstivāda) functioned as ordination lineages and only secondarily as exponents of particular doctrinal stances. It is somewhat more appropriate to use the philosophical identifiers Mādhyamika, Yogācāra, and so on to identify pan-Asian styles of interpretation, although there were no institutional links between Indian and Chinese adherents of such philosophical "schools," and participants in these philosophical traditions in the two cultures worked from very different sets of texts.

In contrast, ordination lineage was rarely if ever used as a sectarian identifier in China. Only a few different sets of Vinaya regulations were ever in use there, and from at least the seventh century on all Chinese Buddhist monks and nuns were ordained under the same set of monastic regulations translated from those of the Indian Dharmaguptaka ordination lineage. In addition, as far as we can tell, virtually all Chinese Buddhists, even those who specialized in the study of treatises labeled *Hīnayānist* in the East Asian tradition (such as the widely read *Abhidharmakośa* of the Sautrāntika-Sarvāstivāda authority Vasubandhu, for example), identified themselves with the Mahāyāna. In addition, the number of foreign missionaries who identified strongly with the non-Mahāyāna was extremely small. Thus, using the terminology commonly applied to Indian Buddhism, all Chinese Buddhists belong to a single "school"—not a particularly helpful usage.

Finally, the rhetoric of *sect*, which is used in the literatures of sociology and religious studies to refer either to nonmainstream movements that challenge the status quo or to highly organized entities that prescribe totalistic programs of religious involvement for their members, is entirely inappropriate for the description of Chinese Buddhism prior to the emergence of the White Lotus Teaching and other popular movements of the fourteenth century and after.

EXEGETICAL LINEAGES. During the first four centuries of the common era, there was a gradually increasing number of Buddhist adherents and communities in China, but nothing that achieved the continuity or impact to be recognized as a distinctive school. This is true even of the highly esteemed Huiyuan (334–416), whose community on Mount Lu represented the ideal of early monastic life but did not continue to function as a coherent group after the master's death. Thus, even though Huiyuan is famous for having led a group of 123 clergy and laypeople in meditative devotions to the Buddha Amitābha of the Pure Land, this was but one event within a broader fabric of activities. Although important as a historical precedent to the later Pure Land tradition, which dogmatically claims him as a founding "patriarch," this cannot be considered the beginning of a Chinese Pure Land "school."

Given the foundation of those first four centuries, the early fifth-century output of the great translator and exegete Kumārajīva (d. 409) provided Chinese Buddhists with the textual resources for the sophisticated understanding of their chosen tradition. In addition, Kumārajīva attracted a number of gifted monks, who studied with him and assisted with the editing and explanation of the newly translated texts. Many of his texts thus became the foci of significant exegetical activity, with his own students writing widely read interpretive essays and commentaries. Such lineages of study constitute the earliest hints of sectarian differentiation in Chinese Buddhism.

As Stanley Weinstein (1987) has observed, of the ten texts most commonly studied in south China during the fifth century, seven had been translated by Kumārajīva. Four of these were sūtras: the *Lotus of the Wondrous Dharma* (*Miaofa lianhua jing, Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*); *Teaching of Vimalakīrti* (*Weimojie jing, Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra*); *Perfection of Wisdom* (in two versions: *Bore jing, Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*); and *Ten Stages* [*of the Bodhisattva*] (*Shizhu jing, Daśabhūmika-sūtra*). In addition, Kumārajīva produced a recension of the Vinaya known in Chinese as the *Ten-Recitation Vinaya* (*Shisong lü*), which derived from that of his own Sarvāstivāda ordination lineage. He also translated scholastic discourses, including an exposition of Buddhist analytical philosophy called *Treatise on the Perfection of Truth* (*Chengshi lun, Satyasiddhi-śāstra*), which later came to be viewed as anomalous because of its simplistic explanation of *śūnyatā* or "emptiness," and three Mādhyamika texts that came to be known collectively as *San lun* or *Three Treatises.* Kumārajīva's translation of the *Commentary on the Great Perfection of Wisdom* (*Da zhidu lun*, popularly called *Da lun*, **Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*), although completed in 405, was largely ignored until the second half of the sixth century, when its study was taken up by scholars in the San lun tradition. The three other major texts studied in fifth-century south China were the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* (*Niepan jing*), translated by Dharmakṣema in 421 and revised slightly by southern scholars shortly thereafter; the *Treatise on the Essence of the Abhidharma* (*Za apitan xin lun*, popularly referred to as *Pitan*, **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdaya-[śāstra]*), translated by Saṃghavarman around 435; and the *Sūtra of the Lion's Roar of Queen Śrīmālā* (*Shengman jing, Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanāda-sūtra*), translated by Guṇabhadra in 436.

In the north, dynastic wars in the 420s and 430s and a persecution of Buddhism in the 440s made continued scholarly activity difficult. When lecturing on the scriptures and commentarial writing resumed in the last decades of the fifth century, monks there focused primarily on texts that had been ignored in the south or which had only recently been translated. The most prominent exception was the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, which was the subject of massive commentarial attention both in the north and at the court of Liang Emperor Wu (r. 501–549) in southern China. Texts studied in the north but largely ignored in the south include the *Flower Garland Sūtra* (*Huayan jing, Avataṃsaka*) translated by Buddhabhadra in 420; the *Sūtra on the Bodhisattva Stages* (*Pusadichi jing, Bodhisattvabhūmi Sūtra*), translated by Dharmakṣema in 418; and the *Four-Part Disciplinary Code* (*Sifen lü*), the Vinaya recension deriving from the Dharmaguptaka ordination lineage and translated by Buddhayaśas and Zhu Fonian in 405 or 408. Of the texts appearing for the first time in translation in the first half of the sixth century, the one that attracted the greatest attention in north China was the *Commentary on the Sūtra of the Ten Stages* (*Shidi jing lun*, commonly called *Di lun*), translated by Bodhiruci and others in 511. Learned monks in south China in the second half of the sixth century were similarly attracted by the *Compendium of the Mahāyāna* (*She dasheng lun, Mahāyānasaṃgraha*, commonly called *She lun*) and the *Treasury of the Abhidharma* (*Apidamo jushe shi lun, Abhidharmakośa*), both translated by Paramārtha in 563.

The exegetical lineages devoted to each of these texts (or sets of texts, in the case of the San lun) constituted "schools" only in the most minimal sense. In the first place, although individual monks were known as specialists in particular scriptures, most seem to have worked on multiple texts of various types. Second, although the lineage of study of any text might be traceable from one generation to the next, even when a student's interpretation borrowed heavily from his teachers such connections were overwhelmed by the fluctuations in popularity of different scriptures over the decades. Third, monks often studied with multiple teachers, so that exegetical lineages often "cross-pollinated" each other. Fourth, far from attempting to keep scriptural traditions distinct and independent, the interpretations of individual scriptures were played against each other, with the understanding of one scripture used as a guide for the analysis of totally different texts, and the understanding of Buddhism as a whole applied to the line-by-line interpretation of specific scriptures.

Weinstein concludes that for fifth- and sixth-century China there were five principle exegetical traditions based on Indian treatise literature: Chengshi lun, Di lun, San lun (including study of the *Commentary on the Great Perfection of Wisdom*), Pitan (Abhidharma), and She lun. To this we might add the exegetical traditions based on sūtra and Vinaya literature—Lü (Vinaya), Nirvāṇa, and Huayan—the result being the set most often referred to as "schools" in modern writings.

The term sometimes used in contemporaneous Chinese writings to describe these traditions of monkish learning, *zong* (which in Chinese originally referred to a clan temple, or the clan's primal ancestor or ancestral deity, and by extension the clan as a whole), referred not to any kind of sectarian identity but to the "underlying theme" or "essential doctrine" of the text in question. Indeed, at the very end of the sixth century several "[study] group leaders" (*zhongzhu*) specializing in particular texts were accorded formal recognition by the Sui dynasty (589–618) government, with Emperor Wen (r. 581–605) assigning eminent monks residence at different major temples in Chang'an as leaders of the Di lun, Vinaya, Da lun (i.e., Da zhidu lun), and Niepan study groups, respectively. Based in part on this precedent, the teachings of all these exegetical traditions were transmitted to Japan before or during the Nara period (710–784), where their use as sectarian labels became institutionalized within Japanese Buddhism. However, as Abé Ryūichi has shown, even the study groups of Nara Buddhism were very small assemblies with overlapping memberships and entirely without administrative authority or institutional identity, so that the rhetoric of "school" is problematic in this case as well.

SYSTEMATIC SCHOOLS. A qualitative change in the nature of Chinese Buddhist schools occurred through the efforts of Tiantai Zhiyi (538–597). Zhiyi's wide-ranging discussion of a number of major Chinese scriptures, integrated interpretation of Buddhism from the perspective of the very popular *Lotus Sūtra*, and intimate connections with the founders of the Sui dynasty led to the establishment of one of the most influential and long-lasting schools of East Asian Buddhism. The tradition he established came to be known as the Tiantai school, based on the name of the mountain in southeastern China (Zhejiang province) chosen as his major center; it also flourished in Korea (as the Ch'ŏnt'ae school) and Japan (as the Tendai school). Although the Tiantai school fell out of favor during the early years of the Tang dynasty (618–906), it was "revived" by Zhiyi's fifth-generation successor Zhanran, who was in fact the first to refer to his tradition as "Tiantai school." Later, Tiantai flourished to the extent of becoming effectively synonymous with all "teaching" monasteries (roughly 5 percent of all major public institutions) from the Song dynasty (960–1279) onward.

Zhiyi's innovation was to combine (1) a set of interpretative schema intended to govern all Buddhist doctrine (as available in the East Asian subcontinent at the time); (2) a similarly comprehensive system of meditation practice; and (3) a specific institutional center and teaching lineage. One of the core elements of his teachings was the philosophy of emptiness (*śūnyatā*) derived from Nāgārjuna's writings, particularly the *Mūla-madhyamaka-kārikā*, represented in Chinese as the *Zhong lun* (*Treatise on the Middle*), one of the San lun or "three treatises," and the *Commentary on the Great Perfection of Wisdom*, also attributed to Nāgārjuna but more likely a compilation by the translator Kumārajīva. This was combined with a multifaceted use of the *Lotus Sūtra*, both for its doctrinal implications and as inspiration for repentance ritual and meditation practice. From this scripture Zhiyi adopted the position that the various teachings of the Buddha were directed at sentient beings at different levels of spiritual capacity, using "skillful means" (*upāya, fangbian*) to adapt his message to the listener. Given this theoretical basis, and drawing extensively on the work of earlier Chinese commentators, Zhiyi outlined the "five times"—five separate periods of the Buddha's teaching career—as well as different types of doctrine and methods of teaching used by the Buddha in different contexts. Although the details of this formulation cannot be included here, its implications were immense: Zhiyi provided a comprehensive explanation for the sometimes jarring differences between Buddhist scriptures, claiming that each different doctrinal message was intended to lead diverse congregations of followers upward to the single goal of buddhahood. In generating this schema Zhiyi built on earlier interpretations to signal the importance of such widely used texts as the *Flower Garland*, *Perfection of Wisdom*, *Vimalakīrti*, and *Nirvāṇa* sūtras, even while according his favored *Lotus Sūtra* pride of place as the very pinnacle of the Buddha's teachings. Zhiyi was similarly inclusive and systematic in the realm of meditation practice, defining four categories of *samādhi* that covered virtually all possible approaches: constantly seated, constantly walking, mixed seated and walking, and neither seated nor walking. Indeed, his concrete prescriptions for so many different types of meditation practice became the standard set of guidelines for all Chinese Buddhists for the next several centuries.

In terms of lineage identity, Zhiyi considered himself to represent, not one of multiple sectarian units within Buddhism, but the most profound teachings of Buddhism itself, as transmitted from Śākyamuni through the Indian Mādhyamika philosopher Nāgārjuna (fl. 2nd c. CE) to his own Chinese teachers and then himself. Zhiyi's fifth-generation successor, Zhanran, was the first to use the term "Tiantai school" (Tiantai *zong*), defending its superiority over other emergent schools of his day, and here the word *zong* takes on a new connotation of the essential teaching of Buddhism as transmitted through a specific lineage from the Buddha Śākyamuni. The sense of transmission from one "golden-mouthed" master to another in this system was notably abstract, and it was only with the development of the Chan school (see below) that a much more concrete and straightforward succession of patriarchs emerged. Later developments in Chinese Tiantai include the emergence of "home-mountain" and "off-mountain" factions in the Song dynasty, with monks based either on Mount Tiantai or elsewhere generating different interpretations of Zhiyi's teachings. Korean scholar-monks in the eleventh and twelfth centuries combined Zhiyi's various formulations into a neatly organized doctrinal system, and this system came to be widely accepted in medieval Japan and later Chinese Buddhism.

Inspired by Zhiyi's example, Chinese representatives of the Yogācāra and Huayan (Flower Garland) traditions sought to attract imperial support through similarly comprehensive interpretations of Buddhist doctrine. The great pilgrim and translator Xuanzang (600?–664) and his disciple Ci'en (Dasheng Ji, often referred to, probably inaccurately, as Kuiji; 632–682) introduced a substantial body of new texts as the basis of the so-called Faxiang school, while Fazang (643–712) built upon a tradition of scholarly and inspirational writing based on the *Huayan* or *Flower Garland Sūtra* to attract the support of Empress Wu (r. 690–705). The Faxiang (a widely used label in modern times, although it actually derives from the Japanese name Hossō) and Huayan (Jpn. Kegon) schools were extremely important in Nara-period Japan, and they remained important in different ways on the continent as well. Yogācāra was recognized for its doctrinal innovations regarding the nature of human consciousness and phenomenal reality, even though its specific positions never achieved widespread currency (in part through their philosophical complexity and in part through their contrast with Chinese preferences for more inclusive, even universalistic, doctrines). The Huayan school was similarly recognized for its elaboration of the mutual interpenetration of all phenomena (often using lists of mind-numbingly abstruse distinctions), but unlike Chinese Yogācāra it had a continuing legacy of visionary meditation and ritual practice that was accessible to accomplished scholars and ordinary people alike.

The systematic schools that appeared in the sixth to eighth centuries had enduring presences throughout the balance of Chinese (and, indeed, East Asian) Buddhist history. What sets these schools apart from the earlier exegetical lineages, as well as from other contemporaneous movements, was their particular combination of imperial support, religious breadth, and position within the textual tradition. In the first place, the founders of these schools all received unique levels of attention from the imperial rulers of their day. Zhiyi, for example, received special attention from the Sui dynasts as part of their campaign to conquer south China, while Xuanzang merited extraordinary acclaim because of his knowledge of the "western regions" and prodigious output as a translator. Fazang, for his part, was recognized as a precocious young monk and actively promoted by Empress Wu.

Second, although the Tiantai, Faxiang, and Huayan systems all had their distinctive emphases, each possessed a certain capaciousness that allowed for participation in different ways. The primary example of this is Zhiyi, whose encyclopedic attentions to the grand variety of Buddhist doctrine and meditation practice seemed to make a place for everyone and every approach. With his mastery of the latest trends in Indian Yogācāra, Xuanzang (and Ci'en) felt empowered to generate a comprehensive interpretation of Buddhist doctrine, which specified different alternatives available for those at different stages on the spiritual path. For his part, Fazang's presentations of abstract tenets proved highly attractive to Chinese Buddhists at the time and in subsequent generations, allowing both highly intellectual philosophical responses and strongly visionary approaches to meditation practice.

Third, the capacious quality just described was made possible in each case by magisterial control of a given body of Buddhist scripture. The *Lotus* and *Flower Garland* sūtras were arguably the most popular large scriptures in China during the preceding several centuries, and the various texts of the Yogācāra made it one of the most important modes of intellectual interpretation. Although Zhiyi was not directly involved with the enterprise of translation, and Fazang only to a limited degree, the connection of all three men with the imperially sponsored domain of Buddhist scriptural production should not be overlooked.

Thus each of the systematic Sui-Tang schools represented a comprehensive doctrinal system, complete with a lineage-based justification of its transmission from the Buddha, and a characteristic set of positions regarding spiritual cultivation. We should remember, though, that the elite monks identified with these systematic schools were but a tiny fraction of the Chinese monastic community.

MODAL TRADITIONS. In the seventh and eighth centuries, three modes of religious practice emerged that were to become enduring features of Chinese Buddhism: Pure Land devotionalism, Chan (better known by the Japanese pronunciation "Zen") meditation, and esoteric Buddhist (*mijiao*) visualization ritual. While very different from each other in terms of soteriological goals, devotional procedures, and ritual styles, these three modal traditions all (1) emphasized selected approaches to religious practice rather than attempting to be theoretically comprehensive; (2) allowed for great practical variation and participation by a wide range of individuals, from ordinary laypeople to sophisticated monks; and (3) had much more limited, and sometimes even antagonistic, relationships with Buddhist scriptural traditions.

The Chinese Pure Land tradition is based on a set of translated scriptures describing the Buddha Amitābha

("Infinite Light," also given as Amitāyus, "Infinite Lifespan") and his paradise, the "pure land" (*jingtu*) or "land of bliss" (reflecting the Sanskrit *sukhāvatī*). Through his aeons of religious cultivation as the Bodhisattva Dharmākara, Amitābha created a realm totally unlike the ordinary world-systems of Buddhist cosmology, including their heavens, in making it easy for those reborn there to achieve enlightenment. Amitābha promised that those who were "mindful" (*nian*, "remember, think," from the Sanskrit *anusmṛti*) of him for a mere ten moments of thought were guaranteed rebirth in his Pure Land. This was initially understood as an easy form of meditative visualization, in which one was aided by the graphic concreteness of the Buddha's image. As mentioned above, this type of visualization was practiced at one time at Huiyuan's community on Mount Lu.

During the sixth and seventh centuries, at Xuanzhongsi in north China (Shanxi province), there appeared a succession of monks who transformed the understanding of Pure Land practice, expanding it from the original visualization meditation just described to include ever greater emphasis on the oral recitation of the Buddha Amitābha's name. Tanluan (c. 488–c. 554) emphasized that Pure Land practice was an easy path suitable for people living in a corrupt world, while Daochuo (562–645) argued that this practice was particularly appropriate for the final period of the Buddhist teachings (*mofa*; Jpn. *mappō*), since it would result in a face-to-face meeting with Amitābha at death. Since he also held that it was impossible to know when one achieved the requisite ten moments of pure sincerity in performing the *nianfo* (literally, "mindfulness of the Buddha," almost always indicating Amitābha), Daochuo also directed his followers to perform as many oral repetitions as possible. Although Shandao (613–682) recommended the combined practice of sūtra recitation, visualization of Amitābha, and worshiping Buddha images, his primary emphases were that Pure Land practice was intended precisely for the ignorant and sinful, rather than the spiritually gifted or advanced, and that it consisted primarily of oral recitation. He also provided detailed instructions for how *nianfo* retreats were to be undertaken, either as ordinary religious practice aimed at liberation or as deathbed observations aimed at ensuring immediate rebirth.

Although these and other Chinese Pure Land masters were accomplished scholars, their commentaries and treatises argued that devotion to Amitābha could substitute for, rather than encompass and incorporate, other forms of Buddhist religiosity. Shandao in particular also promoted this style of devotionalism by the widespread distribution of painted images of Pure Land scenes and the sponsorship of sculpted images of Amitābha and his attendant *bodhisattvas.* Nor were these the only Tang-dynasty proponents of Pure Land Buddhism. Meditation on Amitābha was included within Zhiyi's "constantly walking" *samādhi,* which thus became the most widely practiced of the four categories in his system, and the increasing popularity of the recitation of Amitābha's name led to the development of musical styles of recitation. This occurred most notably on Mount Wutai in Shanxi, from which the melodic recitation of Amitābha's name was transmitted to Japan by the famous pilgrim Ennin (794–864) and others. Since the Pure Land represented a paradise that could be reached after death, this practice became a key ingredient of deathbed observances, and there soon developed stories depicting devoted individuals who had achieved rebirth in Amitābha's land of bliss. Since there was no clear-cut distinction between meditative and recitative *nianfo*, ordained and lay Buddhists of widely different social and educational backgrounds could all take part in the practice.

The word *Chan* transcribes the Sanskrit *dhyāna*, meaning "concentration meditation." Chan has its roots in the meditation traditions of fifth-century Kashmir, but it first emerged as a discernable religious movement in the sixth and early seventh centuries as a north China group of ascetic practitioners who recognized the south Indian monk Bodhidharma (d. circa 530) as their progenitor. Then, after three-quarters of a century of incubation at various locations in central China, in 701 the movement emerged on the national scene at the court of Empress Wu. Many of the basic doctrines now associated with Chan were formulated in the early years of the eighth century, and the most famous of the school's masters were active in central and south China in the late eighth and ninth centuries. It was not until after the fall of the Tang, however, in the Min regime of the far southeast (in what is now Fujian province), that the most distinctive features of the school—chiefly, its devotion to spontaneous repartée between masters and students, known as "encounter dialogue"—became public. Then, with the founding of the Song dynasty in 960, Chan became one of the dominant voices of Chinese Buddhism, its teachers monopolizing the position of abbot in nine-tenths of the largest monasteries throughout the country and its genealogically based style of self-understanding becoming the default mode of religious discourse.

The key to understanding Chinese Chan is its lineage schema, which proved to be far more compelling than the Tiantai school's abstract and discontinuous list of sages introduced above. Based in part on Indian notions of master-student succession, Chan held that the true teaching of Buddhism was passed down from the Buddha Śākyamuni through a succession of Indian patriarchs to Bodhidharma, and then by a succession of Chinese patriarchs to the teachers of the present day. Since the doctrinal elaborations of the scriptures were unable to capture the true essence of this teaching, Chan rejected the textual tradition that had been so important in Chinese Buddhism for all previous schools, defining itself instead as a "separate transmission outside the scriptures" (*jiaowai bie zhuan*; Jpn. *kyōge betsuden*). This genealogical model is also the key to understanding Chan religious praxis, which was undertaken largely according to two different models. In the Caodong (Jpn. Sōtō) tradition, one was to nourish the buddha-mind within one (i.e., one's buddha-nature, or the quality of originary or fundamental enlightenment in all sentient beings) to illuminate with its full potential, unhampered by the illusions of ordinary existence, a process known sometimes as "silent illumination" (*mozhao*; Jpn. *mokushō*). In the Linji (Jpn. Rinzai) tradition one was to demonstrate the active functioning of that buddha-mind in spontaneous interaction between enlightened master and aspiring student or, in later years, to interrogate famous examples of such interaction in one's meditation practice. The type of spontaneous and often nonverbal interaction depicted in Chan texts is known as "encounter dialogue," and the contemplation of pithy examples of encounter dialogue is known as "viewing the critical phrase" (*kanhua*; Jpn. *kanna*) Chan (often referred to, using the Japanese pronunciation, as *kōan* Zen), where the "critical phrase" is the climactic line of an anecdote that can only be understood by transcending ordinary thinking.

As an ideology of self-cultivation by religious professionals, Chan (unlike Pure Land) always remained centered within monastic institutions. Nevertheless, it attracted substantial literati interest, and its unique style of repartée was celebrated in diverse contexts of art and poetry, so that the image of the iconoclastic Chan master entered the shared repertoire of Chinese culture. Its genealogical model and iconoclastic tropes placed it in contrast with traditional forms of Buddhism, and Chan was able to flourish in part because it filled a vacuum left by the collapse of the state-supported translation enterprise after the end of the eighth century.

Esoteric Buddhism (*mijiao*) was introduced to China by three foreign missionaries in the eighth century: Śubhākarasiṃha (637–735), who arrived in Chang'an in 716; Vajrabodhi (671–741), who arrived in Guangzhou (Canton) in 720; and Amoghavajra (705–774), who became a disciple of Vajrabodhi's at age fifteen in China, traveled to India after his master's death, and returned to China in 746. Whereas magic-like techniques of recitation, visualization, and ritual had long been known from Indian sources, it was only from this period onward that there was introduced a comprehensive system of these techniques organized by the spatial metaphor of the *maṇḍala* (literally "circle," here referring to concentric configurations of buddhas, *bodhisattvas,* and other deities). Promising both speedy achievement of enlightenment and the empowerment for ritual action by the most profound and awesome forces of the universe, esoteric Buddhism overwhelmed the imaginations of eighth-century Chinese and received lavish support from the imperial court.

Although the texts and ritual procedures introduced by these three masters, with the assistance of their gifted Chinese disciple Yixing (683–727), made a massive contribution to the ritual vocabulary of Chinese Buddhism that permeated the entire tradition, esoteric Buddhism gained only a limited acceptance in China as a distinct and separate school. Its advocates never produced intellectually substantial doctrinal statements, either of Indian or native Chinese origin (although there was a brief flurry of new texts introduced in the last two decades of the tenth century), and even its two separate initiation lineages seem not to have been transmitted after the ninth century. Where Chan effectively benefited from the collapse of the translation enterprise, as an incipient systematic school (which it became in Japan, through the creative efforts of Kūkai) esoteric Buddhism floundered in China.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS. From the Song dynasty (960–1279) onward new subschools emerged in Chinese Buddhism, and some of the major schools took on each other's characteristics. First, various "houses" and other sublineages developed with Chan, which retained its dominance in monastic institutions throughout the country. Second, Pure Land Buddhism began to describe itself by means of a lineage succession, a style of presentation adopted from Chan. Third, the Tiantai school witnessed competition between "home-mountain" (*shanjia*) and "off-mountain" (*shanwai*) factions, identified by their residence on Mount Tiantai or elsewhere and characterized by different understandings of Zhiyi's teachings. Fourth, Tibetan Buddhism flourished for a time during the Yuan dynasty (1206–1368) and again during the Qing (1644–1911), especially at court, though anti-Mongol sentiments limited its more widespread dissemination. Fifth, there were numerous vectors of religious activity in Chinese Buddhism not normally considered discrete sectarian entities but which might usefully be considered in the same context; a primary example is the diffuse but extremely popular cult devoted to the salvific Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (known as Guanyin, Guanshiyin, Guanzizai, and other names in Chinese). Even granting these features, however, the sectarian labels that emerged during the Tang dynasty have remained in widespread use throughout the rest of Chinese history.

SEE ALSO Bodhidharma; Buddhism, article on Buddhism in China; Fazang; Huayan; Kuiji; Kumārajīva; Mādhyamika; Tiantai; Yogācāra; Zhiyi.

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BUDDHISM, SCHOOLS OF: JAPANESE BUDDHISM

Prior to its official introduction into the court in 552 CE, Buddhism had been brought to Japan by Chinese and Korean immigrants and was presumably practiced widely among their descendants. According to the *Nihongi*, an envoy of the king of Paekche presented Buddhist statues, sūtras, and other artifacts to the Japanese court in 552 (other sources give 538). The official introduction of Buddhism exacerbated the antagonism that had been developing between the internationalist Soga clan, which supported the court's recognition of Buddhism, and the more parochial clans, which considered the Buddha a *banshin* (foreign deity). To avoid further dissension, the court entrusted the administration of Buddhism to the Soga clan. The Buddhism promulgated by the Soga was primarily magical. However, aristocrats and court nobles were initially attracted to Buddhism as an intrinsic part of the highly advanced continental (i.e., Chinese and Korean) culture and civilization, which also encompassed Confucianism, Daoism, medicine, astronomy, and various technological skills. As it developed on the continent, Buddhism was not exclusively a religion, for it was also associated with a new, esoteric culture that included colorful paintings, statues, buildings, dance, and music.

Although Japanese understanding of Buddhism was superficial and fragmented in the early stages of assimilation, it gained religious depth through the course of history. The rise of Japanese Buddhism and the growth of schools or sects were closely related to and influenced by the structure of the state bureaucracy, which was itself in the initial stages of development. Yōmei (r. 585–587) was the first emperor officially to accept Buddhism, but it was his son, the prince regent Shōtoku (574–622), who was responsible for creating Japan's first great age of Buddhism. Although the sources provide very little precise information about his activities, Shōtoku is said to have been a great patron of Buddhism. In addition to building many Buddhist temples and sending students and monks to study in China, he wrote commentaries on three texts—the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka (Lotus Sūtra),* the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra*, and the *Śrīmala Sūtra*—and is supposed to have promulgated the famous "Seventeen-Article Constitution" based on Buddhist and Confucian ideas. Later, Shōtoku was worshiped as the incarnation of the *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara. His promotion of Buddhism fell strictly within the bounds of the existing religio-political framework of Japanese sacral kingship: he upheld the imperial throne as the central authority and envisioned a "multireligious system" in which Shintō, Confucianism, and Buddhism would maintain a proper balance under the divine authority of the emperor as the "son of Heaven." Shōtoku's religious policies, his indifference to the doctrinal and ecclesiastical divisions of Buddhism, his dependence on the universalistic soteriology of the *Lotus Sūtra*, and his emphasis on the path of the lay devotee significantly influenced the later development of Japanese Buddhism.

BUDDHISM IN THE NARA PERIOD. During the Nara period (710–784) the Ritsuryō state, based upon the principle of the mutual dependence of imperial law (*ōbō*) and Buddhist law (*buppō*), recognized Buddhism as a state religion and incorporated it into the bureaucratic system of the central government. Under these conditions Buddhism enjoyed royal favor, and temples and monks became wealthy. However, the state's sponsorship of Buddhism was not entirely altruistic. Throughout the Nara period the government was concerned with the political power held by the Buddhists. The state promoted Buddhism as a religion that could civilize, solidify, and protect the nation. Monks were encouraged to engage in the academic study of Buddhist texts, probably in the hope that they would settle in the government-controlled temples. These temples were presumably subordinate to the state and functioned as an intrinsic part of the state bureaucracy: priests were expected to perform rites and ceremonies to ensure the peace and order of the state, and monks and nuns were ordained under the state authority and thus were considered bureaucrats. The Ritsuryō government prohibited monks from concerning themselves with the needs and activities of the masses. However, those who were not granted official status as monks became associated with folk Buddhist activities. Movements of *ubasoku* (Skt., *upāsaka*; laymen), *hijiri* (holy men), and *yamabushi* (mountain ascetics) emerged spontaneously, integrating indigenous Shintō, Buddhist, and other religious and cultural elements. At the center of these movements were unordained magician-priests who lived in mountainous regions and who had acquired, through ascetic practices, shamanistic techniques and the art of healing. Later, these groups were to inspire powerful popular movements and would influence the development of Japanese Buddhism.

Prior to the Nara period Buddhism had remained nonsectarian. However, as the study of texts and commentaries on the sūtras became more intense and sophisticated, groups of scholar-monks organized themselves into schools or sects. Here, the term *sect* (*shū*) does not refer to an organized school but, rather, to a philosophical position based on the various sūtras. Differences between the sects were based solely on the particular text chosen as the focus of study: the ecclesiastical, doctrinal, or religious orientations of the individual sects were not mutually exclusive. Often, these sects were housed in a single temple and, under the restrictions imposed by the Ritsuryō government, they remained dependent on both the state and each other.

Of the six most noteworthy sects of Nara Buddhism, two were affiliated with the Hīnayāna tradition and four with the Mahāyāna tradition. In the first category were the Kusha, based on Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* (Jpn., *Kusharon*; Treasury of Higher Law), and the Jōjitsu, based on Harivarman's *Satyasiddhi* (Jpn., *Jōjitsuron*; Completion of truth). The Mahāyāna-affiliated sects included Sanron (Chin., *San-lun*), based on the *Mādhyamika Śāstra* (Jpn., *Chūron*; Treatise on the middle way) and on the *Dvādaśadvāra* (Jpn., *Jūnimon*; Treatise on twelve gates), both of which were written by Nāgārjūna, as well as on the *Śataśāstra* (Jpn., *Hyakuron*; One hundred verse treatise), written by Āryadeva; the Hossō sect (Skt., Yogācāra), principally based on the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* (Jpn., *Jōyushikiron*; Completion of mere ideation) by Dharmapāla; the Kegon sect, based on the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* (Jpn., *Kegongyō; Flower Garland Sūtra);* and the Ritsu sect (Vinaya), based on the so-called Southern Mountain tradition of Chinese Vinaya studies, represented chiefly by the work of Daoxuan (596–667). In the early years of the Nara, the most prominent and prestigious of these sects was the Hossō, which was transmitted by Dōshō, a Japanese monk who had studied in China. The prestige of the Hossō gradually waned, to be replaced by the Kegon sect under the leadership of Roben. The Ritsu sect provided the codes and external formalities of monastic discipline. The remaining three sects represented, for the most part, academic and political alternatives to the more powerful temples.

SCHOOLS OF THE HEIAN: TENDAI AND SHINGON. The government's decision to move the capital from Nara to Kyoto was motivated in part by the need to regain the power held by the large, wealthy Buddhist temples. Toward the end of the Nara period, the effort to integrate Buddhism and temporal politics resulted in the accumulation of wealth and the acquisition of large tracts of private land by the Buddhist temples and the involvement in state politics by the more ambitious monks. This trend culminated in the so-called Dōkyō incident, which was, in effect, an attempt to make the religious authority of Buddhism supreme. Under the sponsorship of Empress Kōken (later, Shōtoku), Dōkyō, a monk in the Hossō sect, was promoted rapidly through the ranks of the state bureaucracy. In 766 Dōkyō was appointed "king of the Law" (*hō-ō*), and several years later he attempted to usurp the throne, an action that was quickly crushed by the court aristocracy. The government responded to this affair by once again affirming Buddhism's subordination to the state and enforcing traditional Buddhist discipline. Throughout the Heian period (794–1185), Buddhism continued to be promoted as the religion that would ensure the safety of the state (*chingo kokka*). The sects that arose in the Heian, however, were considerably different from the six Nara sects. Like their predecessors, the Heian sects depended on teachings recently brought back from China as a source of their religious authority. But rather than relying on Japanese and Chinese commentaries, as had their Nara counterparts, Heian-period monks began to focus their study on the actual sūtras, allegedly the words of the Buddha himself. In addition, the schools of the Heian were established by individuals who were considered de facto "founders" of sectarian lineages. They also tended to be centered in the mountains, that is, at a symbolic distance from political authority, and had their own systems of ordination. The two most important schools of this period were Tendai and Shingon (Chin., Zhenyan). Both stressed the importance of learning, meditation, and esoteric cults and mysteries. Most significantly, however, both schools attempted to establish a united center for Buddhism that would encompass all sects and unite Buddhism and the state.

Tendaishu. The founder of this sect, Saichō (767–822, also known by his posthumous title, Dengyō daishi), was a descendant of Chinese immigrants. In his youth, Saichō was trained in the Hossō, Kegon, and Sanron traditions; at the age of nineteen he was ordained at Tōdaiji in Nara. Thereafter, he withdrew from the capital city and opened a hermitage on Mount Hiei. Here, he began to study the writings of Zhiyi, the systemaizer of Chinese Tiantai. During his travels in China, Saichō received the *bodhisattva* ordination (*bosatsukai*) from Daosui, was initiated into *mantra* practices (*mikkyō*) by Shunxiao, studied Zen (Chin., Chan) meditation under Xiaoran, and trained in the Chinese Vinaya traditions. Upon his return to Japan, Saichō established a Tendai school that synthesized these four traditions within the framework of the *Lotus Sūtra.* Saichō adhered to the Tʿien-tʿai doctrine that recognized universal salvation, that is, the existence of the absolute nature of Buddhahood in all beings, and stressed the meaning and value of the phenomenal world. These teachings stood in opposition to the standard philosophical position of the Nara schools, best represented by the Hossō doctrine that claimed that buddhahood was accessible only to the religious elite.

Saichō's ecumenical approach won the approval of the court. With the death of his patron, Emperor Kammu, and the rise of Kūkai and the Shingon sect, Saichō's influence at court diminished. One of his dreams—that the court approve the establishment of an independent center for Tendai ordination—was granted only after Saichō's death. The Tendai sect continued to exercise a profound influence on Japanese Buddhist life for centuries after the death of its founder. Under Ennin (794–864), a disciple of Saichō, the full flowering of Tendai Esotericism (Taimitsu) took place. Ennin was also responsible for the transmission of the Nembutsu cult (i.e., the practice of invoking the name of Amida Buddha) from China. Enchin (814–891), another prominent Tendai monk, also propagated the Taimitsu tradition and was responsible for the formation of the so-called Jimon subsect of Tendai, a group that vied for ecclesiastical power with Ennin's Sanmon subsect. Additionally, many of the most prominent Buddhist figures of the Kamakura period studied at the Tendai monastic center on Mount Hiei, including Hōnen of the Pure Land sect, Shinran of True Pure Land, Eisai of Rinzai, Dōgen of Sōtō Zen, and Nichiren, whose school bears his name. Through them the Tendai legacy was firmly, if subtly, maintained in Japanese Buddhism.

Shingonshū. Kūkai (774–835, also known by his posthumous title, Kōbō daishi), the founder of the Shingon school, was originally a student of Confucianism and hoped to enter government service. According to various legends, he experienced a compelling desire to leave the capital and live in the mountains, where, it is said, he trained with shamanistic Buddhist priests. He was inspired by the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (Jpn., *Dainichikyō*; Sūtra of the great sun buddha), which eventually led him to the tradition of Esoteric Buddhism (Vajrayāna). Between 804 and 806 he traveled in China, where he studied under Huiguo, the direct disciple of the Tantric master Amoghavajra. On his return to Japan he began to promote Shingon (i.e., Tantric) doctrine. At this time he wrote the *Jūjūshinron* (Ten stages of religious consciousness), in which he systematized the doctrines of Esoteric Buddhism and critically appraised the existing Buddhist teachings and literature. Under the patronage of Emperor Saga, Kūkai established a monastic center of Mount Kōya and was appointed abbot of Tōji (Eastern Temple) in Kyoto, which was granted the title Kyōō Gokokuji (Temple for the Protection of the Nation). In return for these favors, Kūkai performed various rites for the court and aristocracy.

According to the Shingon teachings, all the doctrines of Śākyamuni, the historical, manifested Buddha, are temporal and relative. Absolute truth is personified in the figure of Mahāvairocana (Jpn., Dainichi), the Great Sun Buddha, through the "three secrets"—the body, speech, and thought—of the Buddha. To become a Buddha—that is, to bring one's own activities of body, speech, and thought into accord with those of Mahāvairocana—one depends on *mudrās* (devotional gestures), *dhāraṇī* (mystical verse), and yoga (concentration). The Shingon school developed a system rich in symbolism and ritual, employing *maṇḍalas* and icons to meet the needs of people on all levels of society. Like the Tendai sect, Shingon produced many outstanding monks in subsequent generations.

Owing to the support of the court and aristocracy, the Esoteric Buddhism of Tendai (Taimitsu) and Shingon (also called Tōmitsu; "Eastern Esotericism," after its chief monastery, Tōji) prospered. While each school had its own principle of organization and its own doctrinal position, both sought the official authorization and support of the court. Therefore, as the power of the state declined, Tendai and Shingon evolved into religions associated solely with the elite, for whom they offered various magico-religious rites.

BUDDHIST SCHOOLS IN THE KAMAKURA PERIOD. The decline of the Ritsuryō system and the rise of military feudalism brought many changes to the organization and practice of Buddhism, although the basic ideology of the Ritsuryō persisted until the Ōnin War (1467–1477). It has been argued that the new Buddhist schools that emerged in the Kamakura period (1185–1333) transformed Buddhism in Japan into Japanese Buddhism. Unlike the schools of the Nara and Heian, which identified the religious sphere with the national community, the schools of the Kamakura attempted to establish specifically religious societies. The earlier schools had never seriously questioned the soteriological dualism that divided the path of monks from that of the laity, nor had they developed an independent community governed by normative principles other than the precepts. In spite of its otherworldly beliefs, Buddhism, as practiced in Nara and Heian Japan, was a religion grounded firmly in this world. The founders of the new schools in the Kamakura period had all studied at the Tendai center on Mount Hiei but had become dissatisfied with the emphasis on ceremonies and dogma, the perceived corruption of monastic life, and the rigid transmission of ecclesiastical office. In their stead, these religious leaders stressed personal religious experience, simple piety, spiritual exercise, intuition, and charisma. In many respects the practices and doctrines of the new schools reflect the eschatological atmosphere that had emerged toward the end of the Heian, when the country had experienced a series of crises, including famine, epidemics, war, and a deadlock of economy and politics. This sense of apocalypse found its expression in the widespread belief in *mappō*, the notion that Buddhism and society as a whole had entered an era of irreversible decline, and in the resultant popularity of the cult of Amida, which offered a religious path expressly intended to provide for beings living during *mappō*. In one way or another, these popular beliefs were incorporated into the most representative schools of the Kamakura period—Jōdoshū (Pure Land school), Jōdo Shinshū (True Prue Land school), Nichirenshū, and the Rinzai and Sōtō schools of Zen.

Jōdoshū. Prior to Hōnen (1133–1212), the founder of the Jōdo sect, most Buddhist schools incorporated the belief in the Pure Land and the practice of Nembutsu as adjuncts to their other practices. It was only with Hōnen, however, that absolute faith in Amida (Skt., Amitābha) Buddha became a criterion for sectarian affiliation. Like many of his contemporaries, Hōnen had become disillusioned with his early training in the Nara and Tendai schools. He turned to the charismatic teachings of such masters as Eiku, who promoted the belief in *mappō* and the efficacy of the cult of Amida. Under their tutelage, Hōnen came to realize the impossibility of attaining salvation and sanctification through the practice of precepts, meditation, and knowledge. Instead, Hōnen held that one must seek the path to salvation in the Pure Land and the saving grace of Amida. In this, Hōnen was much influenced by Genshin's *Ojoyoshu* (The essentials of rebirth, tenth century), a work that provides the theoretical basis for faith in the Pure Land. However, in his own work *Senchaku hongan nembutsushu* (Collection of passages on the original vow in which Nembutsu is chosen above all), Hōnen clearly departs from earlier forms of the cult of Amida. Here, Hōnen claims that one's salvation depends exclusively on one's "choice" (i.e., one's willingness) to place absolute faith in the salvific power of Amida Buddha. The community Hōnen established in the capital city was structured on the notions of egalitarianism and faith and, thus, was able to transcend the social distinctions of kinship and class. Such organizing principles made Hōnen's school a paradigm for the later development of Buddhism.

Jōdo Shinshū. Little is known of the formative influences in the life of Shinran (1173–1263), the founder of the Jōdo Shin school, except that he entered the Tendai monastery on Mount Hiei at the age of eight. When he was twenty-nine, Shinran met Hōnen, with whom he studied for six years. Shinran's notion of Amida Buddha's salvific power went far beyond that of his master. In holding that one's faith in Amida must be absolute, Shinran denied the efficacy of relying on one's own capacity to bring about redemption. His teachings went to the extreme of claiming that the recitation of the Nembutsu was an expression of gratitude to Amida rather than a cause of one's salvation. Shinran further stated that it is not man who "chooses" to have faith in Amida, but that it is Amida's Original Vow that "chooses" all beings to be saved. Therefore, even those who lead lives of crime and sin are saved.

Shinran's teachings represent a radical departure from traditional Buddhist doctrine. He reduced the Three Treasures (i.e., Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha) to one (i.e., Amida's Original Vow) and rejected the accepted methods of spiritual exercises and meditation as paths to enlightenment. He was critical of the government's persecution of Hōnen and argued that the secular authority of the state was subordinate to the eternal law of the Dharma. In the religious communities that surrounded Shinran, distinctions between the clergy and laity were eliminated; Shinran himself was married and had children. Although Shinran never formally established an independent sect, his daughter began to build a True Pure Land sectarian organization. This was the first time in the history of Buddhism in Japan that the continuity of a school was based on heredity.

Nichirenshū. Nichiren (1222–1282), eponymous founder of the sect, is perhaps one of the most charismatic and prophetic personalities in Japanese history. In the time he spent on Mount Hiei between 1242 and 1253, Nichiren came to believe that the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika Sūtra (Lotus Sūtra)* contained the ultimate and complete teaching of the Buddha. In many respects, Nichiren's thought is based on Tendai doctrine: he upheld the notion of *ichinen sanzen* (all three thousand spheres of reality are embraced in a single moment of consciousness) and advocated universal salvation, urging the nation to return to the teachings of the *Lotus Sūtra.* However, Nichiren was also a reformer. Rather than accept the traditional concept of the transmission of the *Lotus Sūtra* through ecclesiastical offices, Nichiren argued that it was transmitted through "spiritual succession." Thus, he saw himself as the successor to the transmission that began with Śākyamuni and passed to Zhiyi and Saichō. He also identified himself as the incarnation of Viśiṣṭacāritra (Jpn., Jōgyō), the *bodhisattva* to whom the Buddha is said to have entrusted the *Lotus Sūtra.* Other of his reforms included the attempt to discredit the established Buddhist sects, in particular, Pure Land and Zen. At the same time, however, Nichiren incorporated many of their key notions and practices. With Shingon he shared the use of the *maṇḍala* and the concept of *sokushin jōbutsu* ("becoming a Buddha in this very body"), and with Pure Land he shared the practice of chanting (in this case, the title of the *Lotus Sūtra*) and the concept of the salvation of women and people whose natures are evil. Although Nichiren promoted the doctrine of universal salvation, his school developed into the most exclusivist and often militant group in Japanese religious history. Several modern Japanese movements trace their inspiration to Nichiren.

Zen Buddhism. In the Nara and Heian periods, Zen (Chin., Chan) meditation was a spiritual and mental discipline practiced in conjunction with other disciplines by all Buddhist sects. It was not until the Kamakura period, when the Linji (Jpn., Rinzai) and Caodong (Jpn., Sōtō) schools of Chan were brought from Song-dynasty China, that Zen emerged as a distinct movement.

Rinzaishū. The establishment of Rinzai Zen in Japan is associated with Eisai (1141–1215). Discouraged by the corruption of Buddhism in the late Heian, Eisai was initially concerned with the restoration of the Tendai tradition. He traveled to China, first in 1168 and again between 1187 and 1191, hoping to study the true Tendai tradition. In China, Eisai was introduced to the Linji school of Chinese Chan. At that time Chan was noted for its purist approach—its emphasis on a transmission that stood outside the classical Buddhist scriptures and what is termed the "direct pointing to the mind and perceiving one's own nature." In addition, the Chan monks in Song China refused to pay obeisance to the secular authorities. Eisai, however, was more conciliatory. He studied the practices, ceremonies, and texts of other schools and willingly paid obeisance to the Kamakura regime, which in return favored him with its patronage. Eisai strongly believed that one of the central tasks of Buddhism was to protect the nation and that Zen was a state religion. Far from approaching the common people, Eisai's form of Zen was elitist. Rinzai was established by Eisai's followers as an independent school, and while it remained an elitist group throughout the Kamakura period, its contributions to the cultural life of Japan were significant.

Sōtōshū. Dōgen (1200–1253), the transmitter of the Caodong school of Chinese Chan to Japan, entered the Tendai monastery on Mount Hiei when he was thirteen years old. His intense search for the certainty of attaining buddhahood drove him from Mount Hiei, first to a Pure Land teacher and later to Myōzen, a disciple of Eisai. Finally, in 1223, Dōgen traveled to China, where he attained enlightenment under the guidance of Rujing, a Chan master of the Caodong school. In 1227 Dōgen returned to Japan and began to expound Sōtō doctrine, eventually establishing an independent sect. As a student of the Caodong sect, Dōgen emphasized the gradual attainment of enlightenment through the practice of *zazen* (sitting in meditation), a meditative discipline that entailed sitting without any thought or any effort to achieve enlightenment. Dōgen's notion of *zazen* (also called *shikantaza*) stood in marked contrast to Eisai's use of the *kōan* as a means to attaining sudden enlightenment.

In spite of his adherence to Caodong tradition, Dōgen is known for his independence and self-reliance. He was convinced that the truth of Buddhism is applicable to everyone—regardless of sex, intelligence, or social status—and that enlightenment could be attained even in secular life. This doctrine is best expressed in Dōgen's dictum that all beings *are* the buddha-nature. Dōgen also rejected the theory of *mappō* popular among other Kamakura Buddhists. He held that the "perfect law" of the Buddha was always present and could be attained by a true practitioner at any time. Dōgen's emphasis on faith in the Buddha represents yet another departure from traditional Zen teachings that stress self-realization. Because he claimed that the Zen practitioner must have faith not only in the Buddha but also in scriptures and one's masters, Dōgen's school is often characterized as sacerdotal and authoritarian. However, after his death, Dōgen's school was institutionalized and grew to be one of the most politically and socially powerful movements in later periods.

BUDDHISM IN THE MODERN ERA. As a result of the Ōnin War and the Sengoku period (a period of incessant wars among feudal lords), the political system was destined to undergo formal changes. Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582), Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598), and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616), the three men who unified the nation, rejected the Ritsuryō system's principle of the mutual dependence of imperial and Buddhist law. The Tokugawa regime (1600–1868) instead adopted neo-Confucianism as the guiding principle of the nation, manipulating Buddhist institutions to strengthen its systems and policies. It maintained strict control over the development, organization, and activities of religious sects. The Tokugawa government continued to recognize and support all the Buddhist schools including those that the Muromachi government had deemed official religions. However, many of its policies toward Buddhism were stimulated by its persecutions of Christianity and its adoption of Confucianism as the state ideology. New sects and doctrinal developments were prohibited, forcing new movements, such as folk Nembutsu to go underground or suffer suppression. Existing schools forfeited their autonomy, and temples, monks, and nuns were institutionalized and routinized within the political structure. In many temples and local temple schools, particularly those associated with Zen, monks studied and taught the Confucian classics.

Along with political and economic modernizations, the Meiji restoration of 1868 brought significant changes to religious institutions. The Meiji government (1868–1912), which attempted to restore the actual rule of the emperor in a modern context, rejected some aspects of the religious policies of the feudal Tokugawa. It rejected the religious institution of Buddhism as a state religion and devised the hitherto nonexistent State Shintō as a "nonreligious" national cult. The loss of government patronage and the decline in prestige, power, and security experienced by institutionalized sects of Buddhism forced them to cooperate with the government. The various sects worked within the structure of the imperial regime by performing ancestral and life-cycle rituals. However, the absence of government favor also brought about a spiritual awakening within Buddhism. Buddhist intellectuals attempted to integrate Buddhist thought and tradition into the newly acquired Western culture and technology. Throughout the Meiji and into the Shōwa period (1912–), popular Buddhism continued to thrive. Such movements as Kokuchūkai (Nation's Pillar Society), led by the ex-Nichiren priest Tanaka Chigaku, gained popularity in the nationalist fervor of the 1890s. Another folk movement to grow out of Nichiren was the Honmon Butsuryūkō (Association to Exalt the Buddha), founded by the former monk Ōji Nissen and concerned primarily with faith healing. The increased popularity of new religions and lay Buddhist associations such as Sōka Gakkai, Reiyūkai, and Risshō Kōseikai continues in post–World War II Japan.

SEE ALSO Amitābha; Amoghavajra; Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Japan; Dōgen; Enchin; Ennin; Genshin; Hijiri; Hōnen; Huayan; Japanese Religions, overview article; Jōdo Shinshū; Jōdoshū; Mādhyamika; Mappō; New Religious Movements, article on New Religious Movements in Japan; Nianfo; Nichiren; Nichirenshū; Saichō; Shingonshū; Shinran; Shōtoku Taishi; Tendaishū; Tiantai; Yogācāra; Zen; Zhenyan; Zhiyi.

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MICHIO ARAKI (1987)
Revised Bibliography

BUDDHISM, SCHOOLS OF: EAST ASIAN BUDDHISM

The Japanese monk Gyōnen (1240–1321 CE) is well-known for his detailed work describing the origins of Buddhist schools and their transmission from India to East Asia. Because Gyōnen's understanding of these schools is clearly defined and is representative, in key respects, of other premodern East Asian sources, it will serve as a useful starting point from which to develop an understanding of the category "school" in the context of East Asian Buddhism. It will also serve as a basis for examining basic questions and relationships modern scholars face when trying to understand the development and transmission of these schools. Gyōnen's definition of "school" is also useful because modern Japanese Buddhist scholarship—a dominant intellectual force in the study of East Asian Buddhism—developed out of the sectarian tradition and institutions of scholar-monks like Gyōnen, and a number of Japanese universities are affiliated with modern Buddhist schools. His work also draws attention to relationships among East Asian schools of Buddhism, as well as to their collective relationship to Indian Buddhist schools, particularly their perceived fidelity to a "pure" or "original" Indian Buddhism.

TRANSMISSION OF BUDDHIST SCHOOLS IN THE "THREE LANDS." Among Gyōnen's collected works are general historical overviews of Buddhist schools and their lineages, including the *Sangoku buppō denzū engi* (Transmission of Buddhism in the Three Lands) and the *Hasshū kōyō* (Essentials of the Eight Schools). The former describes the transmission of Buddhist schools in the "three lands," or *sangoku,* of India, China, and Japan, and the latter details the eight "schools," or *shū,* of Japanese Buddhism. In these and other general works, Gyōnen understands "school" to be a lineage of masters and disciples united by their study of particular texts and doctrines. As such, both works contain detailed lists recounting these texts and doctrines, and describing the central figures from individual schools who have interpreted, lectured on, and propagated them.

In the *Sangoku buppō denzū engi,* Gyōnen identifies thirteen principal schools of Chinese Buddhism, including the Tiantai, Sanlun, and Chan, and traces their "uninterrupted transmission" through the "three lands," beginning with founding Indian figures and patriarchs such as Śākyamuni Buddha and Nāgārjuna, continuing through a line of Indian and Chinese masters, and eventually ending with Japanese teachers. Of these thirteen Chinese schools, he classifies eight as the traditional schools of Japanese Buddhism, which developed in Japan's Nara (710–794 CE) and Heian periods (794–1185 CE).

In these texts, Gyōnen generally uses *shū* (Chin. *zong,* Kor. *chong*) to refer to a school, but Mark Blum notes that he also refers to them as *ryū* ("stream") and *ke* ("house") (2002). Although *shū* is commonly used among premodern East Asian authors, other Chinese terms, often associated with particular schools or groups of schools, can be found: the Chinese character *bu,* "group" or "division," is generally used to refer to the schools of Hīnayāna Buddhism, whereas multiple words including *zong* appear in premodern East Asian sources to indicate the Mahāyāna schools that have predominated in the region. "Gate," "house," and "mountain," for example, are common designations for Chinese Chan, Korean *Son,* and Japanese Zen.

DEFINING "FULL-FLEDGED" CHINESE BUDDHIST SCHOOLS. These semantic problems have been compounded, moreover, not only because these individual words can have multiple meanings, but also because there is a lack of standardization in translation and usage in modern scholarly works. Even a cursory reading of the academic literature reveals scholars generally do not distinguish carefully among a number of terms used to translate *zong* and these other terms, including "school," "sect," "lineage," and "tradition," among others. Leo Pruden, for example, translates the term *shū,* appearing in the title of Gyōnen's *Hasshū kōyō,* as "tradition" (1994), whereas Mark Blum opts instead for "school" (2002). This ambiguity leads Blum to leave *shū* untranslated in some sections of his work, *The Origins and Development of Pure Land Buddhism: A Study and Translation of Gyōnen's Jōdo Hōmon Genrushō,* whereas John McRae adopts "school" in *Seeing through Zen: Encounter, Transformation, and Genealogy in Chinese Chan Buddhism* precisely because its ambiguity fits his interpretive framework.

In his description of Chinese schools of Buddhism in the first edition of *The Encyclopedia of Religion,* Stanley Weinstein seeks to clarify some of these ambiguities by distinguishing among three principal meanings of *zong* in premodern Chinese Buddhist sources: a doctrine, the teaching of a text, and a school. He writes that the tendency of scholars to automatically translate *zong* as "school" has produced "persistent misconceptions about what actually constitutes a school in Chinese Buddhism" (p. 257).

As a doctrine, *zong* appears in statements such as "the doctrine of emptiness," or in the *panjiao* systems devised by Chinese Buddhists to rank the large number of sometimes contradictory doctrines they received from South Asia. The second meaning of *zong,* the teaching of a text, is tied to the work of Kumārajīva (344–413 CE), a central figure in the translation of Buddhist texts from Sanskrit into Chinese. The translations of Kumarajiiva and later scholar-monks from the fifth and sixth centuries led to the development in China of "exegetical traditions" focusing on particular texts such as the *Dilun, Shelun,* and *Dalun,* whose members studied, lectured on, and commented on these works. Weinstein notes that monks of these traditions specialized in the interpretation of a particular text, and thus explicated its *zong,* which he describes as the "essential doctrine" or "underlying theme."

From among these exegetical traditions, Weinstein claims that only the Sanlun of Jizang (549–623 CE), which studies the *Dalun* and other texts, approaches what he defines as a "full-fledged school": "a tradition that traces its origin back to a founder, usually designated 'first patriarch,' who is believed to have provided the basic spiritual insights that were then transmitted through an unbroken line of successors or '*dharma* heirs'" (p. 260). Because Jizang's line ended only two generations after his death, however, Weinstein argues that it is only with the emergence of the Tiantai, Huayan, and Chan in the second half of the Tang dynasty (618–907 CE) that such schools could be found.

From among this group, Chan, for example, describes itself as an unbroken lineage of *dharma* heirs that can be traced from the figure of Bodhidharma—considered to be the twenty-eighth Indian patriarch and first figure to teach Chan in China—back to Śākyamuni Buddha. From the figure of Bodhidharma, moreover, Chan genealogical charts trace the development of these schools forward in time through a series of Chinese *dharma* heirs, whose lines were eventually transmitted to Korea and Japan. During Japan's Kamakura period (1185–1333 CE), Gyōnen's contemporaries Eisai (1145–1215 CE) and Dōgen (1200–1253 CE) traveled to China where they received certificates attesting their enlightenment and authorizing them to propagate the Linji (J. Rinzai) and Caodong (J. Sōto) Chan lineages. After returning to Japan, they transmitted these teachings to disciples who thus continued the tradition as an uninterrupted lineage of Japanese *dharma* heirs.

But even if the definition of school is restricted as Weinstein suggests, he and other scholars point out that the independent identities of Chan and these other schools were often after the fact creations of the disciples of their purported founders, sometimes a number of generations removed from the "first patriarch." Thus, although they may be described as discrete lineages by later members, and often accepted as such by scholar-monks like Gyōnen, these schools were not necessarily seen in this way during the lifetime of the founder and possibly not even for generations thereafter. Despite these and other issues taken up below, critics claim that modern scholars have often accepted the descriptions of these schools in the work of Gyōnen and other premodern sources at face value, and have thus understood them to be self-contained entities that have been "transmitted without interruption" and that can be clearly distinguished from the doctrines and practices of other schools of Buddhism, other religious traditions, and society at large.

"TEXTUALITY OVERRIDES ACTUALITY." Gregory Schopen asserts that the tendency to confuse such accounts in premodern sources like those of Gyōnen for actual conditions and practices has led to a situation in which "textuality overrides actuality" (p. 7). Schopen claims that texts serve as unreliable witnesses to the actual behavior of Buddhist monastics because they often reflect sectarian commitments and polemical agendas, and are thus likely to present idealized accounts of particular schools, as well as the Buddhist community more generally. In response to these perceived deficiencies, Schopen has turned to the study of epigraphic data, and has produced results that challenge widely accepted images of monastic behavior. He asserts, for example, that this evidence proves that Buddhist monks and nuns in India held money, transferred merit, and engaged in other activities that contravene the rules of monastic conduct or that do not accord with basic tenets of Buddhism.

Although Schopen's work centers on South Asia, other studies of East Asian schools of Buddhism reveal a similar disjuncture between idealized accounts of monastic behavior and actual practices. This body of scholarship covers a broad range of topics, including Bernard Faure's research on Buddhism and sexuality, as well as Brian Victoria's work on the connection between Zen and war. In *Zen at War,* Victoria argues that Zen Buddhist institutions and intellectuals helped create the ideological justification for the Japanese military's aggression on the East Asian continent from the early to mid-1900s. He asserts that D.T. Suzuki and other such figures forged a close connection between the principles of Zen and the "warrior spirit," or *bushidō,* and that these ideas were incorporated into the military's rhetoric portraying its aggression as a "just war" meant to liberate East Asians from Western colonial domination, and unite them as "Asian brethren" within the Greater East Asian Coprosperity Sphere. In *Pruning the Bodhi Tree: The Storm over Critical Buddhism* (1997), Hakamaya Noriaki and Matsumoto Shirō make a similar argument of a close connection among Zen, Japanese nationalism, and the military, and also assert that Sōtō Zen institutions and leaders have contributed to social discrimination in Japan against the *burakumin,* Koreans, and women, among other minority groups.

THE "CLASSICAL PARADIGM" OF BUDDHIST STUDIES. Other studies seek to reveal the processes by which commonly accepted images of Buddhist schools have been shaped by the assumptions, methods, and frames of reference of traditional Buddhist studies, often described as its "classical paradigm." Frank Reynolds states that this paradigm generally adopts "a positivistic view of historical methods and historical facts" (1999, p. 462), and, like Gyōnen, takes lineages, doctrines, and texts, which are often abstracted from their historical and social contexts, to be the central defining elements of Buddhist schools. Reynolds adds that this approach focuses on "origins," and thus privileges Sanskrit and Pali texts, as well as Indian schools and doctrines, as the chief arbiters for judging the legitimacy of non-Indian texts and forms of Buddhism, including those of East Asia. Much like Gyōnen's focus on "lands" in the *sangoku* paradigm, moreover, modern scholars often rely on "nation" as a key frame of reference for understanding the transmission and development of these schools, and are thus concerned with distinguishing among "national" varieties of East Asian Buddhism, or with judging the legitimacy of East Asian Buddhist schools, texts, and doctrines as a group based on their perceived fidelity to Indian "originals."

Robert Buswell asserts that the institutional history of North American Buddhist studies, an outgrowth of "area studies," and other factors have contributed to the former tendency, and that this focus on the distinctiveness of modern, national varieties of East Asian Buddhism inhibits a fuller understanding of premodern East Asian Buddhist schools and their members. By viewing these schools anachronistically through the lens of the modern notion of nation, observers may fail to recognize the complex of factors through which premodern East Asian Buddhists would have "imagined" their individual identities, identities which Buswell notes were connected simultaneously to both translocal Sino-Indian Buddhist "macroculture" and to local relationships and commitments. He claims that these tendencies have also reinforced what have been historically uncertain geographic borders and precluded academic "cross-fertilization," thereby preventing observers from viewing the development of these East Asian schools as part of broader processes of intercultural interaction. Buswell adds that this "national" approach has become so thoroughly ingrained in the academic training of Buddhist studies that it has rarely been questioned, and scholars thus "continue to hypostatize into inviolate traditions complex religious phenomena that involved multivalent levels of cultural interaction and symbiosis and intricate series of personal identities" (p. 73).

***NIHONJINRON* AND JAPANESE SECTARIAN SCHOLARSHIP.** The structure of the *sangoku* paradigm also draws attention to the relations among the schools of these East Asian nations, particularly the differential treatment accorded Chinese Buddhist schools relative to those of the Korean peninsula. Whereas Gyōnen ascribes a central position to China as the bridge between Japanese and Indian Buddhism, he does not describe Korean schools of Buddhism in any detail. Although he does note that Buddhism was transmitted to Japan from the Korean peninsula in the sixth century CE, and that it was propagated by Shōtoku Taishi (574–622 CE) whose Buddhist tutors were peninsular monks, these schools were not seen to be of sufficient value to be included in the *sangoku* paradigm. And, whereas Blum makes a reasoned argument that Gyōnen's omission in this regard was linguistic—that is, Chinese, but not Korean, was a sacred, canonical language of Buddhism—rather than racial, this omission is complicated by the history of modern relations that exists between Japan and its East Asian neighbors, particularly the events described by Victoria.

Some critics contend that common images of these "national" East Asian Buddhist schools have been shaped in fundamental ways by Japan's racial attitudes and theories and by the intellectual paradigms and social structures of Japanese Buddhist scholarship. This body of work examines, for example, the ways in which the notion of a unified and unchanging Japanese "essence," often referred to as *nihonjinron* ("discourse on Japaneseness"), informs studies in a broad spectrum of Japanese cultural areas, including the works of National Learning (J. *kokugaku*), the Kyoto school of philosophy, and Zen and other schools of Buddhism.

A number of such studies also question how the institutional affiliations and agendas of Japanese Buddhist scholars, as well as the requirements for progressing within their scholarly communities, have delimited the range of acceptable topics and interpretive methods. T. Griffith Foulk writes that whereas Western scholars of Japanese Buddhism are deeply indebted to the research, guidance, and methods of their Japanese counterparts or mentors, there is a growing awareness that the latter's scholarship often reflects the interests of sectarian institutions that developed out of those of Gyōnen and other such premodern monk-scholars, and which he describes as normative traditions. These observers claim that such interests have led scholars to focus on the history of particular Japanese Buddhist schools and lineages, as well as on the thought and lives and of their central figures, and thereby limited the breadth of scholarly inquiry by isolating scholars of Buddhism from other academic disciplines. The influence of these theories and methods extends, moreover, to the study of Chinese and Korean Buddhist schools. In the case of the former, for example, McRae, Sharf, and others point out that understanding of Chan and other Chinese Buddhist schools has been deeply influenced by these Japanese methods and attitudes.

KOREAN BUDDHIST IDENTITY AND "CULTURAL SELF-SUFFICIENCY." To overcome the limits of these received methods, and to thereby bring the study of Buddhism into a broader-based discourse in the humanities, a number of scholars have applied the methods and theories of outside disciplines such as archaeology, anthropology, cultural studies, and literary criticism. These efforts include studies that investigate the interests and processes by which these premodern narratives have been created and transmitted, and identify the ideological and other functions they have played in the process of inventing schools as part of tradition.

One such example is Buswell's study, "Imagining 'Korean Buddhism': The Invention of a National Religious Tradition," which offers an alternative angle of vision for understanding the development of Korean Buddhist tradition by incorporating a number of these methods and theories, including Benedict Anderson's "imagined communities." In so doing, he reveals the limits of the traditional paradigm's focus on "nation" by showing the complexity of Buddhist identity, particularly, the ways in which premodern Buddhist monastics of the Korean peninsula imagined themselves as actors within a number of translocal and local relationships and commitments.

Buswell claims that for much of the history of Buddhism on the Korean peninsula, it would have been "patently absurd" for monastics to view themselves in national terms as there was "no independent sense of a 'Korean' national tradition of Buddhism distinct from the broader Sino-Indian tradition during the premodern era" (p. 85). Rather, their identities would have been defined by sectarian commitments, ordination lineages, functional positions (disciples of A, teachers of B, or as proselytists, doctrinal specialists, meditators, and so on), or local tribal or clan membership. Just as important, however, is that these monastics would also have imagined themselves to be participants in a pan-Asian Buddhist "macroculture." Buswell notes that these groups tried to integrate peninsular Buddhism into this macroculture by forging connections to India's King Aśoka, the Dragon King, and other translocal Buddhist models and authorizing mechanisms.

At the same time, however, these monastics actively sought to create a sense of their own "cultural self-sufficiency" by "inventing" legitimate local practices, figures, and texts, including the *Vajrasamādhi-sūtra.* Buswell asserts that the narrative describing the discovery of this text by a Silla envoy in the palace of the Dragon King was meant to establish the self-sufficiency and legitimacy of peninsular Buddhism relative to China by proving it was no longer in need of a constant influx of their texts and teachers. The *Vajrasamādhi-sūtra* also became a basic text in the development of Chinese Chan, and thus offers an important example of reversing the established direction of the flow of religious and cultural products from China eastward.

JAPANESE "CULTURAL SELF-SUFFICIENCY." Even in Japan where governmental authorities have often exerted greater control over Buddhist schools compared to China and Korea, the identities of individual monastics have not always been clearly defined along either strict national or sectarian lines. Although state control created greater institutional separation and sectarian awareness—evident in the harsh and sometimes violent sectarian debates of Gyōnen's Kamakura period—Buswell's approach is still instructive. Gyōnen, for example, is known primarily for his affiliation with the Kegon and Vinaya schools, but also "imagined" himself as a Brahmā, or Buddhist "striver," associated with teachers from the Pure Land and other schools. And much like the identities of premodern Korean monks described by Buswell, Gyōnen defined himself in both translocal and local terms. According to Blum, Gyōnen saw himself recording the transmission of transhistorical Buddhist truth embedded in "homogeneous time," but that manifested in particular times and places—which Blum describes as the "particularity of the Japanese experience" (2002, p. 90). Within this "particularity," Gyōnen imagined his identity in terms of his sectarian commitments to the Kegon school and position at Tōdaiji temple, as well as in functional terms—particularly as a commentator on the *Sangyō-gisho,* a collection of three Buddhist commentaries attributed to Japan's Shōtoku Taishi.

This process described by Buswell of establishing and bolstering local "cultural self-sufficiency" is evident in the valorization and transmission of these commentaries, and in the evolution of the figure of Shōtoku as father of Japanese Buddhism and Buddhist exegete. Shōtoku is depicted in accounts from the eighth century as a devout practitioner and generous patron of Buddhism, who later was linked to important Japanese Buddhist figures such as Kūkai (774–835 CE), Saichō (767–822 CE), and Shinran (1173–1263 CE), and was identified as the "first patriarch" or central figure in a number of Japanese Buddhist schools. These accounts relate that his keen intellectual interest and understanding of Buddhist doctrine, honed under the instruction of continental tutors, led to lectures at court on the *Śrīmālādevī Sūtra* and the *Lotus Sūtra.* These lectures are thought to constitute the basis for the composition of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* and the *Hokke-gisho,* two of the three commentaries attributed to him.

As Shōtoku's image evolved and religious authority expanded, his human ties to continental teachers were downplayed, whereas his synchronic ties to translocal Buddhist figures increased. Over time, Shōtoku came to be seen as the reincarnation of a number of central Buddhist figures such as Śākyamuni Buddha, Queen Śrīmālā, Avalokiteśvara, and the Chinese Tiantai monk Huisi (515–577 CE). Among these previous births, Shōtoku's former life as Queen Śrīmālā of India naturally authorized him to compose the *Shōmangyō-gisho* as it was an exegesis on the very text that she had proclaimed in Ayodhyā through the eloquence granted her by the Buddha himself.

The Japanese historian Tsuda Sōkichi argues that the compilers of these early Japanese texts sought to remake Yamato, or early Japan, in the image of China as described in its dynastic histories, and that accounts of Shōtoku's lectures were fabricated as part of this greater effort. Tsuda believes that Shōtoku's lectures, as well as other aspects of his Buddhist identity, were modeled on those given by Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty (r. 502–549 CE) and other Chinese sovereigns. Although Shōtoku's authorship of the *Sangyō-gisho* is contested by Tsuda and a small number of other modern Japanese scholars, it has been seen by most observers as a crucial event in Japanese Buddhist history that served to create the "cultural self-sufficiency" of local Japanese schools and traditions. Regardless of the authenticity of their attribution to Shōtoku, they were accepted as genuine and were studied and transmitted by Gyōnen and other eminent Japanese Buddhist figures. Although Shōtoku's Buddhist teachers from the Korean peninsula were not written out of the historical record, there was a gradual diminution in their influence on his development as a Buddhist practitioner and exegete. Over time, a body of myths emerged that portrayed Shōtoku in an equal, and sometimes superior, position to his teachers.

Two of the three commentaries begin with a declaration stating that the text is the work of King Jōgū (Shōtoku Taishi) "of the Great Land of Yamato," and that it was not composed by anyone from across the sea. In 772 CE, a group of Buddhist monks accompanied a diplomatic mission to Tang China, where they presented copies of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* and *Hokke-gisho* to their Chinese hosts as proof of Shōtoku's profound understanding of Buddhist doctrine and the high standard of the traditions they represented. Based on this copy of the *Shōmangyō-gisho,* moreover, the Tang dynasty monk Mingkong (dates unknown) composed the *Shengmanjing shuyi sichao,* which was later copied and brought back to Japan by the Tendai school's Ennin (794–864 CE) and cited as proof of the value of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* and Shootoku's greatness as a Buddhist exegete. In a postscript to a copy of Mingkong's commentary presented by the Japanese monk Eizon (1201–1290 CE) to Hōryūji in March 1256, he wrote that the text was by "an eminent monk from the Great [Land of] Tang" and that it added prestige to the "sublime text" of Japan's Shōtoku Taishi.

THE "ENCOUNTER PARADIGM." Sharf asserts that Chinese Buddhism has often been viewed by modern scholars through the lens of the "encounter paradigm," in which its schools, texts, and doctrines have been understood as the product of a protracted "encounter" between "Indian Buddhism" and "Chinese civilization." He traces the formalization of this paradigm to the work of Arthur Wright, whose study, *Buddhism in Chinese History,* divides this process into four distinctive periods: preparation, domestication, independent growth, and appropriation. Although subsequent scholarship has argued over the details, Sharf contends that this view still prevails, and cites the influential work of Richard Robinson, which compares the Chinese Sanlun school of Jizang to its Indian "original" and finds the former to be, in some ways, "wanting" (p. 288, n. 15). Sharf believes that this paradigm, with its emphasis on "domestication and transformation," has often led scholars to compare Chinese Buddhism to an imagined sense of "original" Indian Buddhism, and thus to question whether the Chinese "got it right" (pp. 7–11). This attitude has led in turn to suspicions of Chinese "apocryphal" texts, like the influential *Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith,* and the consequent devaluation of the schools and doctrines of East Asian Buddhism that developed in reliance on them.

These attitudes are evident in the arguments of the Japanese scholars Hakamaya Noriaki and Matsumoto Shirō, the central figures of "Critical Buddhism," who harshly criticize a group of related Buddhist doctrines, including Buddha nature, *tathāgatagarbha,* and original enlightenment. These doctrines have been particularly popular in East Asian schools and have served as central topics in a number of Chinese Buddhist texts, including the *Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith.* In his article, "The Doctrine of *Tathāgata-garbha* Is Not Buddhist," Matsumoto rejects these doctrines because, he claims, they posit an essential, underlying substratum to reality, which contravenes basic Buddhist tenets such as dependent origination, emptiness, and no-self.

In "Critical Buddhism and Returning to the Sources," Dan Lusthaus states that this intellectual movement was an inevitable development that emerged, in part, because Japanese scholars of Buddhism like Hakamaya and Matsumoto have begun paying greater attention to Tibetan and Sanskrit materials, and reevaluating East Asian Buddhist schools and teachings in light of these efforts. Lusthaus contends that Chinese Buddhists of the Tang dynasty deliberately attempted to separate Chinese Buddhism from Indian interpretations and methodologies. He identifies the choice by the Chinese of Paramārtha's (499–569 CE) sixth-century translations of Buddhist texts from Sanskrit into Chinese over those of Xuanzang's (600–664 CE) in the following century as a key moment in Chinese Buddhist history, a moment in which "East Asian Buddhism returned with deliberateness and passion to its own earlier misconceptions instead of returning to the trajectory of Indian Buddhism from which it believed it had been spawned" (p. 35). As such, Chinese Buddhism paid little attention to Indian Buddhist philosophers and logicians, and turned instead to a "Chinese hierarchical system and a crypto-Taoist dialectical reasoning" (p. 38).

This debate over the possible deviation of East Asian schools from "original" or "pure" Buddhism represents a basic division in the field over how to view the processes of the transmission and assimilation of Buddhism in local conditions. Whereas the Critical Buddhists and others focus on the perceived deviation or degeneration of Buddhism as it has been transmitted over time and space, others contend that such attempts to reconstruct "original" Indian Buddhism face not only insurmountable hermeneutical obstacles but also replicate the very "essentialization" that they decry. Peter Gregory responds to the arguments of Hakamaya and Matsumoto in his essay, "Is Critical Buddhism Really Critical," by invoking the logic of Buddhist tenets, writing, "Only when we acknowledge that Buddhism lacks any defining, unalterable essence (an *ātman,* so to speak) and is itself the product of a complex set of interdependent and ever-changing conditions (*pratītyasamutpāda*), will we have a proper framework for understanding the process of its historical and cultural transformation and recognizing our own location in that stream we would call the 'tradition'" (1997, p. 297).

Gregory and others argue that determining "true Buddhism" is a normative, theological issue, and scholars should not simply ignore or dismiss the beliefs of East Asian Buddhist figures, like Gyōnen, who were convinced of the authenticity of the teachings and texts they engaged and transmitted. In a similar way, Sharf writes that his study is "an argument for treating Chinese Buddhism as the legitimate, if misunderstood scion of sinitic culture. Whatever else it may be, Buddhism is the product of Buddhists, and the Buddhists in the case at hand were Chinese" (p. 2). He argues that instead of trying to establish fixed or normative definitions of basic categories of Buddhism, scholars are better served by trying to understand their shifting and often hazy borders as well as their "rhetorical deployments." Sharf suggests that the Chinese schools of Buddhism detailed by Gyōnen are better understood as "organizational categories applied after the fact by medieval Buddhist historians and bibliographers" (p. 7). And the term "Buddhism," he writes, functions as a "placeholder," and pure Buddhism is "an analytic abstraction posited by Buddhist polemicists, apologists, reformers, and now scholars" (p. 16).

SEE ALSO Buddhism, overview article and articles on Buddhism in China, Buddhism in Japan, and Buddhism in Korea; Buddhist Meditation, article on East Asian Buddhist Meditation.

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MARK DENNIS (2005)

BUDDHIST BOOKS AND TEXTS

This entry consists of the following articles:

CANON AND CANONIZATION
CANON AND CANONIZATION—VINAYA
RITUAL USES OF BOOKS
TRANSLATION
EXEGESIS AND HERMENEUTICS

BUDDHIST BOOKS AND TEXTS: CANON AND CANONIZATION

The canonical literature of Buddhism has a number of characteristics that make it unique among the religious scriptures of the world. First, the literature is not contained within a single canon: various regional, linguistic, and sectarian divisions have brought about the compilation of a number of separate canons. The scriptural collections that can be identified by language (e.g., Chinese, Tibetan, and Pali) vary from one another in significant ways, with few texts that found across all traditions. In addition to the multiplicity of canons, the various versions are marked by their sizes. Each canon contains a large number of texts, some of which are of great length. The Chinese canon alone covers nearly 100,000 pages in its printed form, whereas Buddhist sacred texts might be more adequately described as libraries, for these collections bear little resemblance to the single volumes that make up the canons of the religions of western Asia.

The function of these canons within the different traditions indicates that they were not just used for reading and study. The process of preservation of hundreds of texts required sizable resources that could only be secured by large groups of cooperating believers or by the governments. For many Buddhists, the canons were seen a source of merit making through donations for the process of printing, copying, and housing the texts. In most areas a few texts were then selected for use in ritual. The chanting of these chosen works was another way to acquire merit and was also a spiritual practice performed as part of the central activities of the public halls of monasteries. Monastics studied the content of the texts and taught both lay and ordained followers by using passages from the books as a structural element of the discourses.

INTRODUCTION. While it is possible to witness the widespread uses of the Buddhist canons, the more difficult matter is the way in which such a massive amount of information was assembled and codified. The sophistication of the content indicates that the canons were produced as part of an intensive training and study environment. The complexity of the content has led scholars to conclude that only a small percentage of Buddhists ever read and assimilated the whole of the intellectual and religious issues within the canons. These texts are often seen as "elite" documents that cannot be used to adequately describe the "popular" practices and beliefs of the majority of Buddhists. However, it is impossible to describe the practices of beliefs of Buddhists without taking into account the importance they placed on the canonic collections as objects of veneration. Over the centuries the communities have copied and preserved the texts as an integral part of their heritage and have put forward enormous efforts in the construction, writing, printing, and digitizing of their canons—indications of the canons' importance in a variety of popular as well as elite arenas.

In order to study the history of the Buddhist canons and to interpret the actions of those who contributed to that story, it is necessary to have a picture of the ways in which the appearance and preservation of the canons occurred in the different cultural spheres of Asia. For example, Buddhism in India was diversified by its expansion into regions far separated from one another. Because there was never any proscription against the use of local languages for transmitting the discourses of the Buddha, the identification of the list of texts to be included in a canon remained unfixed. In the beginning the texts were preserved orally and were recited for the followers by monks called *bhanakas.* These recitations were probably of two types. The first was the recitation of the *dharma*—the remembered words of the Buddha—identified by the preamble, "Thus have I heard." The hearer referred to in this case was the disciple Ananda. Tradition holds that he was asked to give the first recitation of the remembered teachings at an assembly known as the First Council of arhats immediately following the *parinirvāṇa,* or death of the Buddha. In addition to these types of teachings, later to be codified as the sūtra literature, there was a second division that related to the rules of conduct (Vinaya) for those who lived by monastic rule.

Eventually the canon was expanded to include a third category called *abhidharma,* a special exegetic literature that organized the teachings found in the sūtras into numerical categories. These lists were originally referred to as *matrka* (mother). It may be that the list of the topics taught by the Buddha was one way of guarding against the later introduction of items that did not belong to the earlier versions of the texts. Given this tripartite division, the Buddhists referred to the canon as a whole as the *Tripiṭaka* (Three baskets).

While the division of the texts into three types is the most common way of referring to the Buddhist canon structure, there were alternate groupings, such as the twelve textual genres: sūtra, *geya, vyakarana, gatha, udana, nidana, itivrttaka, jātaka, vaipulya, Adbutadharma, avadana,* and *upadesa.* In some cases these groupings were used as part of the titles of texts. It is no longer possible, however, to have a complete definition for how each of these types was differentiated from others.

As Buddhism grew, it developed a number of sectarian groups, recognized in the histories as the "Eighteen Schools." These schools contended with one another for support and argued over which texts were canonical. Because most of these groups have disappeared as distinct communities, leaving behind no full description of lists of accepted texts, it is also not possible to have a full inventory of the variety of Buddhist canons in India.

WRITING IT DOWN. It was some centuries before the canon was preserved in written form. In the Theravāda tradition of South and Southeast Asia, it is alleged that the canon was kept in its oral form until 29 BCE, when the Fourth Council was held in Sri Lanka under the aegis of King Vattagamani. At the council—similar to the story of the First Council—a single monk was called to recite the entire teaching of the Buddha; in this case it was a monk called Mahendra, who had been sent to Sri Lanka by King Aśoka (r. c. 270–230 BCE). King Vattagamani had five hundred scribes and reciters set to commit the canon to written form. (Whereas this is the traditional view, it should be noted that it was not until the fifth century CE that the final list of texts for the Theravāda canon could be agreed upon, and even then the material to be included in the *Khuddaka Nikaya* remained unsettled.)

The Pali language canon of the Theravāda tradition has been preserved and maintained in areas such as Burma, Sri

Lanka, Thailand, and Cambodia. These areas faithfully preserved the Indic form and did not attempt to put the texts into vernacular translations. Instead, the Pali was rendered in local script for the representation of the sounds. A similar pattern was followed in Korea and Japan, where the Chinese-character version was accepted as the standard; translations into Korean and Japanese language formats have only taken place in modern times. The maintenance of the Pali and Chinese as international canonic languages is tied to the history of literacy in Asia, where Indian and Chinese sources were often the first examples of written texts.

The Pali canon has been preserved in several forms. In Burma the so-called Fifth Council was held in 1871 under the patronage of King Mindon Min. During that council, the canon was reedited by comparison of text variants and at the end of the process was engraved on 729 stones that have been placed in a monastery near Mandalay. A Sixth Council was opened in Rangoon in 1954, and the canon was chanted by an assembly of twenty-five hundred monks. After two years the council was concluded, and a printed version of the Pali canon, approved by the gathering, appeared in Burmese script.

While Theravāda Buddhists have held that Pali is the official canonical language, they have been willing to transcribe the canon into various local scripts, reproducing the Pali sounds without translating. In Cambodia the royal court ordered that the Khmer edition of the canon be published; work on it began in 1929 and was completed in 1969. In this case the Cambodians broke with the older tradition and not only put the Pali into Khmer script but added a vernacular translation that paralleled it. In Europe a major effort, mounted under the direction of the Pali Text Society, sought to preserve and translate the Pali canon. The preparation of a modern critical edition began in 1882; by the early twenty-first century eighty-nine volumes had been edited and printed in roman transliteration. While this version had no official support from the *sangha* (Sanskrit, *saṃgha*; the Buddhist religious community)—as did the Burmese and the Khmer editions—it is a major contribution to the study of the Pali canon.

The Thai Buddhists have also been active in the work of editing and preserving the canon. In the eighteenth century King Rāma I (1737–1809 CE) convened a council of several hundred monks to restore the canon that was destroyed when the Burmese pillaged the capital at Ayutthaya. The Thai Buddhists then prepared a palm-leaf edition and presented it to King Rāma in 1788. His grandson, Rāma III (1788–1851 CE), had several additional copies of the leaves made. Much later their descendant King Chulalongkorn Rāma V (1868–1910) set in motion the project of having the canon printed in Thai script, an activity completed in 1893.

MAHĀYĀNA TEXTS. The emergence of the Mahāyāna tradition around the beginning of the common era brought about a burst of creative literary energy within Buddhism. Based on the premise that "whatever is well-spoken is the word of the Buddha" (A. iv 164; Sn 450, 454), Mahāyāna communities began to produce new works they called sūtra, to which they affixed the preamble, "Thus have I heard," indicating that these texts, like their counterparts in the Eighteen Schools, were originally spoken by the Buddha. The Mahāyāna texts severely attacked the other schools and called them the "Lesser Vehicle" (Hīnayāna), thereby claiming that they understood only a portion of the higher teaching.

The Mahāyāna, along with the other schools, added to the canon commentaries on the sūtras called *śastra, vyakhya,* and *tika.* Such commentaries kept the canon open and made it possible for the incorporation of later teachings over the centuries.

In modern times the extant Sanskrit manuscripts are few in number compared to other Buddhist canonical collections. Some palm-leaf manuscripts still survive in India, several from the ninth-century Pala dynasty. The Nepalese manuscripts exist in greater number than those in India; through the centuries an active scribal tradition continued to ensure the preservation of materials. The Nepalese copies date mostly from the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries and show all the marks of many scribes, including a large number of errors that have accumulated. Some Sanskrit documents are kept in Tibet, and the Potala Palace in Lhasa still houses thousands of palm leaves in its archives.

TRANSLATION. As Buddhism began to spread outside of the Indian cultural sphere, canonical texts were carried along in both written form and in the memories of the missionary monks. Because there was no restriction regarding the language to be used for the texts, many were eventually translated. The most important development in this regard took place in China, where the task of translating was indeed a formidable one. The Sanskrit and other Indic texts presented the Chinese with a complex grammatical configuration of nouns in three numbers and three genders, verbs in three persons and numbers, and the designations for such inflections as present, imperfect, imperative, and optative. This was difficult for the Chinese, who had to render these texts into their own language using characters rather than a syllabary, with a written language that lacked inflections for case, number, tense, mood, or voice, and where the relationship between characters—by position, stress, or particles—established the nature of syntax. Notwithstanding these problems, for over a thousand years the Chinese continued translating the canon, in the process preserving hundreds of texts that have disappeared in other areas. Ironically some of these Chinese versions of the texts (a number of which were translated as early as the second century CE) may be closer in content to the ur-text than the extant Sanskrit manuscripts of India and Nepal, which date from a late period in Buddhist history. The translated canons played a major role in the promulgation of Buddhism. From Sanskrit came the Chinese as well as a major portion of the Tibetan canon, and from the Chinese came the Manchu and Tangut canons. The

Tibetan would in turn be used as the source for the Mongolian canon.

The preservation of the Chinese canon followed a different course than that of India or Southeast Asia. Whereas the Buddhist canon was one of the first collections to use the new technology of printing in China in the tenth century, the rest of the Buddhist world maintained the palm or birch-bark manuscript formats until modern printed versions were completed and published. (At first the Chinese also made manuscripts using manufactured surfaces of silk or paper with strips pasted together to form long scrolls.)

Canonic lists were established by the fourth century in China, largely through the compilation of catalogs of the holdings of various monastic libraries. In one sense the Chinese canonic list was started as a library shelf list. Biographies of eminent Chinese monks, travelogues, histories, and apologetic literature were also included in these. As the canon—now literally a library—continued to grow, the problem of recopying the whole collection became severe and expensive. Unlike the Pali canon (which, although large, was still of a size that could be copied with support from devoted laity), the Chinese canon, with its more than five thousand scrolls, was too massive to be copied without great effort.

The Fang Shan stones. One of the early attempts to preserve the growing number of translations in Chinese was the project of having the texts inscribed on stone. The largest assemblage of these engraved stones is in the caves of the Fang Shan district, which houses over fifteen thousand milled stone slabs, incised on both sides with the Buddhist texts.

The Fang Shan stones were produced in two distinct fashions over a six-century period. The first stones, from the Sui (581–618 CE) and Tang (618–907 CE) dynasties, were prepared as donations from lay groups. There was some attempt to fashion a sequential group of texts in the order found in ancient library catalogs. However, the donors often chose to reproduce multiple copies of popular texts rather than follow a set order. Initially begun by a local monk named Jing-wan—just before the founding of the Tang dynasty—the project continued until the last days of the Jin dynasty (1115–1234).

Because many of the Fang Shan stones carry inscriptions regarding the donors and the dates, it has been possible to reconstruct the process by which the carvings were accomplished. Hundreds of believers from that region formed associations to raise money for the carving of single or multiple blocks each year. On Buddha's birthday celebration the laity gathered at the site and carried the stones up the mountainside, placing them in caves for safekeeping. The first type of stones, some weighing hundreds of pounds, are dated 631 to 863 CE, the largest extant collection of manuscripts from the Tang dynasty. The rituals and the support given to the Fang Shan stones is a striking example of how important the Buddhist canon was for ordinary groups of people.

The nature of the stones at Fang Shan changed when the Khitan people established their reign over the area. In 1042 CE the court of the Liao dynasty (916–1125) took over the stone engraving process, and until 1110 it was a royal project. Few stones from laypeople were permitted in the caves. As the Liao dynasty lost power to the growing might of the Jurchen, people who called their dynasty Jin picked up the project that had come to a halt because of the political upheavals. For fifty years (1132–1182 CE) new stones were produced as part of the Jin dynasty's support of Buddhism. Because the project was under the control of officials, all stones were of standard size, and the sequence of the canonic list was followed in making new stones. Not much is mentioned about these stones in the histories outside of that particular region. In 1957 the Chinese Buddhist Association undertook the task of removing all stones from the caves to make rubbings of them and publish a full catalog. In the process they found that the Jin stones had been buried underneath the pagoda in a nearby monastery rather than in the caves cut from the stone cliff on the mountain.

The importance of the Fang Shan stones to the study of Chinese Buddhist canon is twofold: as the source for a study of the ancient manuscripts and as an example of the practices followed by the community of believers in those centuries. In many cases these stones are the oldest dated textual witness for Chinese manuscript study of the canon. Although the Fang Shan stones contain a large number of texts, it is not a complete set of the Chinese Buddhist canon. The canon was not produced in its entirety until the Song dynasty (960–1279 CE) undertook the revolutionary project of using the new technology of printing. In the year 972 a commission was given by the court to carve the entire canon onto wooden printing blocks in the city of Cheng du (in Sichuan), the wood carving center for China. This work went forward until 983, during which time 130,000 blocks were carved, containing the material of more than 5,000 rolls of manuscripts, each one 15 pages in length.

DISTRIBUTING THE CANON. When the printed edition of the Chinese canon was made available, it became the standard for official manuscript copying centers. This ensured a more fixed canon because identical xylographic copies could be made and distributed throughout China. The making of manuscripts continued, but now they had a printed version for reference. It would be some centuries before the Chinese began to think of printing as a way of making hundreds of copies for wide distribution rather than as a special copy that stood as a standard for the older method of manual reproduction.

One set of the prints made from the Northern Song blocks was sent to Korea. The court saw the printed technology as a sign of national development and recognized it as a powerful tool for merit-making. The king initiated a project for the Buddhist canon that transferred the tracings of the outlines of the Chinese volumes onto wooden blocks. The stated purpose of this project was to secure help and good fortune for the nation. This first Koryŏ dynasty (Korean dynasty, 918–1392 CE) xylograph collection, constructed during the period 1010 to 1030 CE, remained in use and continued to expand as new texts arrived from China until the invasion of the Mongols in the thirteenth century. The occupying troops saw the wooden plates as a potential powerful talisman for the Koreans and burned the Hungwang Monastery where the plates were stored. During this difficult period, the court was exiled to the island of Kanghwa, and although his kingdom faced the rule of Mongols, King Kojong (r. 1213–1259) ordered that a second set of blocks be made. He saw the act of preparing wooden blocks for the Buddhist canon as a defensive measure against the invaders.

The work of creating the second set of Koryŏ printing blocks took place from 1236 to 1251 CE under the direction of Sugi, an ordained monk and scholar. Fortunately Sugi did not content himself with merely reproducing a facsimile of the first set of blocks. He wrote an account of the process, titled *Koryo-kuk sinjo taejang kyogjon pyollok,* and had it included in the set of plates. His descriptions indicate that he used a number of sources to check the readings of the Northern Song edition and made many editorial changes. At the conclusion of the second set, more than eighty-one thousand blocks had been carved with the new Sugi edition.

The new Sugi edition relied heavily on another national project of the Khitan people of the Liao dynasty. The Khitan canon has long been a mystery because so little of it has been preserved for study. But when twelve rolls from this version were discovered in Shanxi province and removed to Beijing in the 1980s, scholars had material with which to judge the readings and the approach used by the Khitan redactors. These two versions of the blocks provide proof that the scholars of China and Korea were not merely scribal copiers; they felt free to make corrections and to pick alternate readings when the text witness appeared to be in error.

A second canon was produced outside Chinese borders by the Jurchen people, who were for a time in a confederation with the Khitan. When the Jurchen defeated the Liao dynasty of the Khitans, they followed the practice of having a xylograph set made for the Buddhist canon. Fortunately a sizable portion of rubbings from this set were found in Shaanxi province and were published in a facsimile edition in Beijing. It appears this version was made in the same way as the first Koryŏ by transferring traced characters to the new blocks.

PRESERVING THE CANON. Preserving the largest Buddhist canon was not left to the royal courts alone. As with the Fang Shan rock-cut canon, private resources were also used with printing. Local monasteries began producing sets of blocks that could be used to make large numbers of prints for distribution, and new xylograph copies are still being discovered. From the remaining prints scholars now have a better idea of the enormity of the task undertaken to preserve and disseminate the canon. The private editions are usually identified by the location of the blocks. In some cases, the blocks received royal support from the Ming court (1368–1644) and the Qing dynasty (1644–1911).

1. Chong ning edition (eleventh to twelfth centuries): Dong-chan Monastery in Fu-zhou.
2. Pi-lu edition (twelfth century): Kai-yuan Monastery in Fu-zhou.
3. Sixi edition (1126–1132 CE): Yuan-jue chueh Monastery in Hu-zhou. This is the so-called Song edition.
4. Zi-fu edition (1237–1252 CE): from Hu-zhou; thought to be a copy of the Sixi edition.
5. Ji-sha edition (thirteenth to fourteenth centuries): prepared in Ping-jiang chiang-fu in Jiangsu. A copy of the major portions of this edition was discovered in Shanxi province in 1929 and was published in facsimile in 1932 in Shanghai using the Yong-lo edition to supply the missing portions.
6. Pu-ning edition (thirteenth century): Pu-ning Monastery in Hang-zhou. This is the so-called Yuan edition. There are a handful of volumes from a fourteenth-century Yuan version discovered in Yunnan in 1979.
7. Hong-wu edition (1368–1398 CE): the first version of the canon done in Southern Ming in Nanjing. The blocks were destroyed in 1408.
8. Yong-lo edition (completed 1419 CE):): the second version prepared in Nanjing, usually referred to as the Southern Ming edition.
9. Yong-lo edition (fifteenth century; supplement in 1584 CE): prepared in Beijing and called the Northern Ming edition.
10. Wu-lin edition (fifteenth century): portions recoved in 1982 of this Hang-zhou edition.
11. Wan-li edition (sixteenth century): recovered in 1983. This is a recarving of number 8 above.
12. Jia-xing/Jing-shan edition (sixteenth to eighteenth century): notable for its format of sewn volumes rather than folded ones.
13. Qing edition (1733–1738 CE): a court project, often referred to as the Dragon edition.
14. Pin-jia edition (1909–1914 CE): a movable type edition done in Shanghai. Based on the Shukusatsu edition of Japan, this version is sometimes called the Hardoon canon because of the support of the Hardoon family.

Whereas a large part of the Chinese Buddhist canon was translated, it in turn was also rendered into other language forms. For example, among the Tangut people and the Hsih-sia Kingdom, the ruler Yuan Hao started the process of moving the Chinese over to the Tangut script in the eleventh century. By the twelfth century the Chinese technology of printing blocks was used to make reproductions of the Tangut version.

When the Mongols took control of the central government of China, they turned attention away from the Chinese canon and supported efforts to make the scripture available to non-Chinese. Because of their support of the Tibetan form of Buddhism, they paid attention to the preservation and dissemination of the Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit and Chinese texts rather than relying solely on the Chinese canon.

THE TIBETAN CANON. The Tibetans had several problems to overcome in the construction of a canon in their own language. When Buddhism was introduced, no written form of the language could be easily used for the work of translation. In the seventh century King Sron bstan sgam po (d. 649 CE) set in motion the creation of a Tibetan alphabet. Tradition says that the work of translation began by the eighth century with help of such Indian masters as Śāntarakṣita (c. 725–790) and Padmasambhava. Studies show, however, that it was not until the thirteenth century that the translations were collected together and classified into a set that could be called a canon. The monastery at Snar than undertook this task and made the first catalog, dividing the texts into the Bka' 'gyur (*Kanjur*), which included all of the sūtras (the words attributed to the Buddha), and the Bstan 'gyur (*Tanjur*), or commentaries. The Yuan court undertook to make a printing block set for the Tibetan translations. In 1410 in Beijing the Bka' 'gyur was put on blocks shaped in the long, narrow format used by the Tibetans, which copied the style of the palm-leaf manuscripts of India. A second set of blocks, added as a supplement to the earlier ones, was produced in the seventeenth century. In the latter part of the same century another carving was done, followed in 1724 by a set of Bstan 'gyur blocks.

The set of rubbings taken from the blocks made during the reign of the Kangxi emperor and from the 1724 set are known collectively as the "Beijing edition." In the eighteenth century blocks were carved in areas occupied by Tibetan-speaking peoples. Sets were made at Snar than, Co ne, and Sde dge. Of these the Sde dge (Derge) is the favorite among scholars because of its careful editing. The last major editing task, commissioned by the thirteenth Dalai Lama, resulted in the production of the "Lhasa edition" of the Bka' 'gyur in 1931. This later edition is a comparison of the Sde dge and Snar than editions.

The translation of the Tibetan into Mongolian was started in the Yuan dynasty by imperial command. Lidgam Khan (1604–1634) supported this project, resulting in the translation of the Bstan 'gyur in 113 volumes. These volumes containing the Mongolian language version were written in gold and silver ink. The Kangxi emperor decided to have the translation revised and edited and engraved on printing blocks. The first rubbings of the Mongolian blocks were made in 1720, and because red ink was used, the 108 volumes of the printed set became known as the "Imperial Red edition." The complex story of how the ruling court of China used the Buddhist canon for political and religious purposes is further indication that the canon had many functions in societies.

THE CANON IN JAPANESE. Japanese versions of the Chinese canon have come to play an important role in Buddhist scholarship. By the early twenty-first century most scholars used printed editions from Japan made from movable metal type. Prior to the modern versions, however, woodblock editions were also made in Japan, which reportedly received a copy of the rubbings from the North Song edition in the eleventh century. However, the Japanese did not immediately produce their own woodblocks. It was not until the monk Tenkai made the first set of blocks in the seventeenth century that the Japanese obtained their own local print edition.

In 1681 Tetsugen produced a second set of blocks based on the Ming editions. In the nineteenth century the "Tokyo canon" was printed (1800–1885), and punctuation was introduced. The second Koryŏ edition was the basis for this Tokyo version. A "Kyoto canon" appeared between 1902 and 1905 based on the Koryŏ prints as well as some of the Ming readings from the Tetsugen edition. A critically edited version of the Chinese Buddhist canon printed from 1922 to 1933 is known as the "Taisho canon." This edition is used by most scholars when making footnote references to the Chinese canon. The basic text of the Taisho canon is from the Tokyo canon, which in turn copied the Koryŏ edition.

THE CANON IN THE COMPUTER AGE. In addition to these "received" versions of the canons, there are still occasionally some important archaeological finds, especially in regions of Central Asia. The discoveries of documents in cave 17 at Dunhuang, the cache of birch-bark manuscripts found in the stupa at Gilgit, and the texts written on wood in the ruins of the Tarim Basin have all contributed to knowledge of the way in which the Buddhist canon spread throughout Asia.

The translation of the canons is an ongoing process. The twentieth century saw an increase in the efforts to have vernacular versions available in printed form. Continued interest in the Buddhist scripture is indicated by the 1969 Cambodian translation of the Pali canon, the two modern Korean translations of the Chinese into the *hangul* script in both North Korea and South Korea, and the translation of much of the Chinese into a form of classical Japanese. Active translation projects have involved the English language. The Pali Text Society completed a major portion of the Pali canon into English, along with critical editions and aids, such as dictionaries and studies, and with funding from the Yehan Numata Foundation, a translation bureau has been established for the purpose of translating the Chinese canon into English (plans call for the translation and publication of 139 texts in the first phase of the project).

Buddhist communities that wish to move the canon from printed form to computerized versions have taken advantage of the digital age. In the late 1980s Mahidol University began the process of digitizing the Thai edition completed in the nineteenth century—the first full canon to appear in the new technology. Other groups followed the strategy, producing full digital versions of the Burmese "Sixth Council" edition, the Singhalese edition, and the Pali Text Society edition. The work of digitizing the Chinese Buddhist canon was more difficult, however; it required software development for the input of the ancient characters. The first complete digital version, the Koryŏ canon, is based on the printing blocks at Haein Monastery, followed by the input of the Japanese "Taisho" edition, the first internet-accessible form of the Chinese canon. In the early twenty-first century work began on the Tibetan canon as well with the intention of creating a database that contains many of the extant Sanskrit texts. The acceptance of the computer as a method for dissemination has been universal among the major Buddhist communities, and the willingness to expend funds for the creation of these databases indicates the esteem and value that the canon still possesses.

THE FUTURE OF THE CANON. From this survey of the history of the Buddhist canon it should be clear that, long before such activities were prevalent in the West, the Buddhists were editing, translating, and printing their scriptures. Because the canons remained open for such a long period (in a sense, the Chinese canon is still open), the size and nature of the collections of texts were unique among the religions of the world. No one group has ever controlled the development of the canons or exercised dominion over the decision about the inventory of texts to be included. In China especially the canon was lengthened because of a willingness to accept a great variety of texts into it. Scholars of popular religions point out that the texts most often used in East Asia are mainly written and compiled in China. These texts purport to be translations from Sanskrit, when in fact they originate from East Asia. Because the texts are supposedly from India, they have been described in ancient Chinese catalogs as "spurious" or in modern times as "apocryphal."

In some cases the East Asian texts have been readily assimilated into the canonic lists, but in others they have been rejected. It is understandable that the Chinese religious heritage would find an avenue of expression in new texts. The canonic listing was important for such works because the preservation of texts required the copy centers and the distribution network of the monasteries and government agencies. Whereas the East Asian texts deserve closer study, it is also the case that the canonic texts from Indic sources were continually cited by commentators and teachers over the centuries. These citations have yet to be fully documented, but they are important for the study of the canon because they will provide an insight into what texts were read by the scholar-monks in their writings and oral teachings.

As the Chinese Buddhist monastics achieved a degree of assurance about their understanding of the teachings, by the Tang dynasty they were less fixed on the translations from India. A shift occurred, and monastics moved away from reliance on the older canonic texts—although they did not fully reject them. Among the Chan schools, new literature appeared as the teachings of great masters, whose insights were taken to be the equal of any Indian exegete. Much of this literature used the translated canon as the authority for the masters, who did not claim to be dependent on the texts; rather, they acquired their understanding from meditation. The use of the older canon indicated that what the masters had experienced was in no way distant from the insights of the Buddha himself.

Later in the Chan movement the growing influence and popularity of certain great teachers, such as Mazu, helped create a situation in which the texts central to the school came from the records of these Chinese masters. They no longer felt the need to claim Indian origin for the teachings; it was now seen as coming directly from the Chinese culture and the Buddhist community. Instead of the "apocryphal" text of the past, the Chinese volumes were prized beyond all others and were seen as originating within the Chinese environment.

One can see that the use of the canon was multifaceted. At a time when the Chan school was distancing itself from the Chinese Buddhist canon, the large monasteries in China continued to make hundreds of thousands of printing blocks. The canon could thus be revered as an object and used for merit-making, whereas in other cases it served as a source of authority for the teachings of the Chinese masters.

CONCLUSION. Buddhist texts offer the scholarly world excellent examples of material that can be used to study the ways a text can change and be reformatted over time. A major problem for the editor or translator of a Buddhist text is that of making decisions based on a multiplicity of versions, sometimes in several languages and dating from different periods. The usual object of the editor is to achieve a reading that is as close as possible to the ur-text. However, this search is nearly impossible because the texts have been in a fluid state for centuries, and the received versions may have come from a stemma that includes multiple contending versions. Indeed some of the sūtras are compilations of set formulas that can be put together in any number of arrangements, altering from one time or place to another. Thus the collating of various codices from a number of stemmas does not lead to an autograph from which all witnesses have emerged.

If one could reconstruct the edition in such a fashion as to remove all the conflations, additions, and expansions of the doctrine, the resulting text would lose much of its value. Buddhist texts exhibit the changing modes of the tradition. Just as literary criticism focuses on the reader as much as it does on the author's intent, so too does Buddhist canonic literature represent the changes made by readers who left behind small traces of their contributions to the modern text.

The modern interest in canon is based primarily on European and North American literature. The Buddhist canon offers another pattern for exploration. It is a canon that has shifted and changed over time, a canon that has included contemporary work—even when it masquerades as the work of another time and place, a canon with texts that expand and contract and translations that preserve one or another version as well as the possibility of adding new texts in the future. Thus the potential has existed and often been realized for the addition of whole new sets of texts in the canon of Buddhism—such as the later Tantric tradition, the Mahāyāna writings, a variety of commentarial approaches, versions of texts appearing in new translations, and finally, an acceptance of East Asian texts as equal if not superior to the Indian ones.

Because the Buddhist canons represent the written part of a religion that teaches the constant availability of the insights of enlightenment and holds that the teaching of its founder, Śākyamuni, need not be the only expression of the highest teaching, it is not surprising to find canons of large size. The Buddhist canons provide a valid source for the study of the religion. The hundreds of texts represent all levels of the ideas and concepts. Even though maintained by the "elite" monastic community, the canons are filled with expressions of "popular" practices over the centuries. The Chinese canon's inclusion of works created in East Asia is an example of the complexity of the sources and the history of the world's largest scriptural collection.

SEE ALSO Councils, article on Buddhist Councils.

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BUDDHIST BOOKS AND TEXTS: CANON AND CANONIZATION—VINAYA

The earliest Buddhist literature is divided into the doctrinal teachings, the *dharma*, and the rules for ethical behavior, the Vinaya. The Vinaya is divided into the *Sūtravibhaṅga*, case studies of each individual rule, and the *Skandhaka*, essays on important topics, for example ordination, monastic clothing, medicine, adjudication of disputes, the conduct of community meetings, and so on. The Vinaya rules are collected in a separate list called the *Prātimokṣa*, and there is a summary of the *Skandhaka* called the *Karmavācanā*. Taken together, the Vinaya literature outlines the core Buddhist ethical teachings, ordination procedures, and community ritual guidelines. While the ethical and social behavior models have been consistent, the expression and structure of the Vinaya literature have been reformulated, expanded and interpreted. The pressures of rapid growth and social involvement brought about changes in Vinaya literature. These changes mark significant differences in Buddhist intellectual and social history in different cultures, times, and places.

From its beginning and through its history the Vinaya rules and the entire corpus of literature have been established in response to monks' and nuns' encounters with the ordained and the lay communities. The four fundamental rules (*pārājika*) of the Buddhist monastic code prohibit engaging in sexual activity, killing living beings, stealing, and lying (given in this order in the texts). The details of these prohibitions in the Vinaya literature show that they were actively discussed and applied; the four transgressions are demonstrated in a broad spectrum of case studies used to establish moral and legal precedents. The Vinaya literature covers a wide range of possible violations of each rule, classifies transgressions according to severity, and designates specific penalties for each type of violation.

The detailed nature of Buddhist ethical and legal codes is made clear in the descriptions of the first major transgression in the Vinaya, the prohibition of sexual activity for ordained monks and nuns. Along with the prohibitions against taking life, stealing, and lying, the attention given to sexuality shows that preserving the integrity of the celibate community was a top priority. Eighteen Vinaya rules of varying importance are concerned with sexuality, and intentional sexual relations is the first in the list of the most serious offenses, resulting in expulsion from the community. The related rules for monks and nuns prohibit sexual activity with men, women, hermaphrodites, eunuchs, any living being, and the dead and dying and whether intoxicated or sober. All varieties of intentional sexual activity are described and prohibited for monks and nuns and are grounds for expulsion from the community. The Pali Vinaya goes on to prohibit sexual relations while "awake, asleep, intoxicated, mad, drunk, [or with] dead . . . and decomposed partners" (Horner, 1938–1952, vol. 1, p. 49). Sexual relations are prohibited whether one is sleeping, awake, a novice monk or nun, or in any way compliant. All further varieties of sexual activity are explicitly described and prohibited, including incest, masturbation, or activity with any artificial device. Verbal allusions to sex acts and related abusive language are prohibited. In contrast to these descriptions of violations and penalties and in a demonstration of the extensive nature of this legal literature, the Vinaya does not hold female or male victims of sex abuse guilty of any violation, nor are such victims to be penalized. The penalties for each kind of transgression are included, beginning with dismissal from the community for intentional acts and confinement to quarters, suspension of privileges, and restrictions on interaction with the community for lesser violations.

The Vinaya literature is rich with descriptions of all varieties of each kind of transgression, their contexts, and their penalties. The rules against taking life include detailed case studies and legal precedents. The Vinaya literature prohibits intentionally killing any living being and specifies that human life is of greater value than animal life. Inciting anyone to injure any living being is a violation, and there are strict prohibitions against the slaughter of any living being on behalf of a monk or a nun. Intentional and unintentional activities that result in death are presented in detail, and penalties are assigned according to the severity of the transgression. Other rules prohibit physical violence motivated by anger or displeasure, and threats of violence are classified as violations.

For monks and nuns, taking anything not given is explained as stealing. Lying, especially about one's spiritual attainment or status, is particularly weighty for ordained monks and nuns. Infractions even remotely related to all four cardinal rules are illustrated in anecdotes and case studies, and the penalties for each type of transgression are specified. This literature is a rich source of Buddhist canonical law, and in addition to monastic rules, it served as a guideline for lay law in many cultures.

In addition to the four cardinal rules, six other community rules were included in an early list of ten. Monks and nuns were not to take alcoholic beverages, they were not to take meals after midday, and they were not to engage in dancing, music, or such entertainment. They were not to use ornamental jewelry or perfumes, they were not to sleep in luxurious bedding, and they were prohibited from handling gold and silver.

THE RULES. The Pali Vinaya, the oldest extant Vinaya, contains 227 rules for monks and 311 for nuns. The core list of rules is called the *Pātimokkha* (*Prātimokṣa*), and the list is memorized and recited by Buddhist monks during their monthly meetings into the early twenty-first century. Most scholars agree that this list of rules was compiled before the canonical versions with the stories and commentaries in the *Sūtravibhaṅga.* The separate list of rules, the *Prātimokṣa,* is, however, not included in any early version of the Vinaya Piṭaka.

The Vinaya rules are attributed to the historical Buddha, who is said to have made the rules as his group of followers grew. The gradual development of the lists of Vinaya rules shows that Buddhist monastic law was not conceived of as a predetermined or revealed moral agenda given in total to the ordained community. The rules were rather practical measures designed gradually to preserve what were thought to be mental and physical conditions appropriate to the practice of Buddhism. The historical Buddha made rules for the community as the occasions presented themselves, and it is likely that rules were collected and added after the Buddha's lifetime. The variations in size of the extant Vinaya collections show the dynamism of the community and the tension between preservation of the inherited rules and the need to adapt to unprecedented new conditions.

The original list of rules formulated in the Buddha's lifetime for his original community expanded as the Buddhist monastic community grew and spread to different places. Soon different Vinayas were collected and regarded as authoritative scripture. As far as is known, these were collected and transmitted orally. Fragments of written Vinaya documents dating to the first century BCE survive in several languages, but the first complete written Vinaya is in Pali language, dating to the fifth century CE. From text fragments and inscriptions, it is known that after the third century BCE at least six collections of Vinaya rules were produced in different cultural contexts. These Vinaya collections are generally associated with geographic regions and sect affiliation. They are the Sarvāstivādin, Dharmaguptaka, Mahīśāsaka, Mūlasarvāstivādin (the largest Vinaya), Pali, and Mahāsaṃghika. Of these the Vinayas of the Sarvāstivādin, Dharmaguptaka, Mahīśāsaka, and Mahāsaṃghika exist in Chinese translations, the Pali Vinaya in its language of composition, and the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin in Chinese and Tibetan translations.

The literal meaning of the word *Prātimokṣa* is a rule or rules that lead one to liberation. The *Prātimokṣa* is the core of the *Sūtravibhaṅga*, which contains the explanatory stories or contexts for each rule. The rules are divided into eight sections, expulsion (*pārājika*)—four; community meeting (*saṅghādisesa*)—thirteen; undetermined (*aniyata*)—two; forfeiture (*niḥsargika*)—thirty; expiation (*pātayantika*)—ninety-two; confession (*pratideśanīya*)—four; and civility (*śaikṣa*)—seventy-five; adjudication (*adhikaraṇaśamatha*)—seven, adding up to a total, in the Pali version, of 227 rules. Eighty-four more rules dealing with sexual propriety and community behavior are added for nuns.

SKANDHAKA. The second part of the Vinaya is the *Skandhaka.* This section, like the rules (*Sūtravibhaṅga*) section, has an abbreviated summary called the *Karmavācanā*, which, like the *Prātimokṣa* list of rules, is not included in the Pali Vinaya. The *Skandhaka* section of the Vinaya is largely concerned with community issues, giving descriptions of rituals, procedures, monastic life, and materials. Instead of setting out rules and penalties, this section of the Vinaya deals with ordination procedures, monastic authority, community ritual observances, clothing styles, cosmetic styles, healthcare, adjudication of disputes, and so on.

There are two sections in the *Skandhaka*, the Main Section (*Mahāvagga*) and the Lesser Section (*Cullavagga*). The entire *Skandhaka* is set in the context of stories from the life and teachings of the Buddha, first including major components of monastic life in the Main Section and minor points in the Lesser Section. The Main Section begins with a brief account of the Buddha's enlightenment experience, the theory of the twelve links of causal interdependent origination, the eightfold path, the four noble truths and the theory of the nonexistence of the self. The first major section is on ordination. The Buddha's original procedure is described, then the specifics of the evolution of the ceremony and the requirements for ordination are set out. These descriptions of receiving monastic robes, having one's head shaved, and taking vows are preserved in all versions of the Vinaya.

The next two sections of the *Skandhaka* deal with feeding, housing, and occupying thousands of Buddhist monks and nuns during the Indian monsoon season. The Vinaya records that monks and nuns used to wander from place to place even through the rainy season. Farmers began to complain about crops destroyed by Buddhists wandering in the monsoon, undernourished and weaker monks and nuns began to develop illnesses, and travel became difficult. The Buddha and monastic authorities therefore instructed the communities to set up shelters and temporary residences for the duration of the monsoon season. With so many monks and nuns living together, the community was soon faced with the problems of retreat conduct and an effective method to propagate the teachings during the monsoon retreat time.

These sections of the Vinaya literature contain a rich collection of sociological, economic, and anthropological data. Mundane matters under the heading of "Leather Accessories" describe health and hygiene problems in ancient India, and the descriptions of the commodities in common use give information about the regional economy, including the use of wooden products, palm, bamboo, wool, gold, silver, gems, bronze, glass, tin, lead, and copper. Ethical and community definition issues follow in the section prohibiting the slaughter of cattle and animals and the problems that arise from use of their skins. Monks and nuns are not to kill animals, in particular cattle, which in addition to being living beings were considered sacred by many of the Buddhists' Indian brethren.

The section on medicine contains allowances to treat illness and provide hospice care. The foundations of Indian medicine were located in Buddhist monasteries, and these are evident here, for example, in the descriptions of acceptable medicines and their administration. The *Skandhaka* includes medical diagnostic information, food warnings, hygiene information, and information on medical procedures. It goes on to detail information about monks' and nuns' robes, the acceptable material for making monastic clothing, and the rituals for acquiring and distributing new robes. Again, the *Skandhaka* provides much information about ancient India's commodities economy. Here there are descriptions of the use of linen, cotton, silk, wool, hemp and canvas.

The *Skandhaka* continues with sections about the Campā and Kośāmbī communities and general descriptions of community interaction with the Buddhist legal system. Violations of Buddhist monastic rules, for example, the case of quarreling among the Kośāmbīs, are judged and sentences specified. These two sections mark the end of the Main Section of the *Skandhaka.* The remainder of the *Skandhaka* is the Lesser Section and it is packed with applications of Buddhists rules. The basic rules are stated in the texts, always with the Buddha present or on his authority, and the rules used are summarized at the end of each section. These long case histories describe the interface of the Buddhist worldview with everyday human life. The extensive deliberations in the Lesser Section show monks and nuns confronting and coping with basic human needs and shortcomings in accord with Buddhist guidelines.

LATER VINAYA LITERATURE. The Pali Vinaya and other Vinaya collections are preserved in the Buddhist canonical collections and are regarded as sacred and inviolable. However, as described here, the canonical collections were themselves products of processes of disputation and retrospective compilation. A good example of this process is the controversy between the Sthavira and Mahāsaṃghika sects, which likely produced slightly different versions of the Vinaya rules. Similarly the processes that produced and caused the revisions of the ancient collections continued, and the Vinaya was recast in later cultural and religious contexts.

There are good examples, particularly in Sri Lanka, India, and China, of the ongoing process of preserving the ancient rules and community rituals and at the same time building new text collections around them. In twelfth-century Sri Lanka, the Vinaya literary canon was recanonized in the *Katikāvata* (Regulations of the order) literature, which addressed new conditions and concerns of the monastic community. In India in about the seventh-century, after the end of the Gupta dynasty, the scholar Guṇaprabha composed the *Vinaya Sūtra* and commentary, based on the ancient *Skandhaka* literature. These texts were commented on extensively in India and became core documents for later Tibetan Buddhists, who produced a large corpus of Tibetan commentaries on Guṇaprabha's Indian texts. Similarly in China the Vinaya was recast in Chan monasteries to accommodate Chinese Confucian traditions in the *Chanyuan Qinggui* (Rules for purity in Chan monasteries). These and other compositions are careful to preserve inherited canonical rules and regulations, but they include innovations designed for each respective environment. The Vinaya canonical literature is thus preserved and at the same time carefully recast.

In addition to these well-known and widely circulated compositions, major Buddhist monasteries composed manuals that addressed their communities' special concerns, setting out ritual schedules and etiquette for their local communities. The ancient Vinaya rules were again preserved and rituals observed; ordination, monthly meetings, recitation of rules, and ethical parameters were kept intact. In sum, though definitely preserved intact, canonization of the Vinaya literature was not a procedure that set up lists of rules to be mechanically and literally followed in all circumstances. Canonization was rather a dynamic creative process that functioned to meet the needs of a growing and changing community and did not preclude later addition and reformulation.

SEE ALSO Law and Religion, article on Law and Religion in Buddhism; Monasticism, article on Buddhist Monasticism.

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BUDDHIST BOOKS AND TEXTS: RITUAL USES OF BOOKS

A written text can be a vehicle for the conveyance of meaning, but it is always also a material object with a physical presence in the world. In many Buddhist communities, the material presence of texts has been viewed as a crucial aspect of their nature and function. Buddhist texts are powerful, and their power is thought to reside not only in their message, but also (and sometimes especially) in the physical embodiment of that message.

THE BUDDHA'S TEXTUAL BODY. The texts that are conceived of as having the greatest potential power and ritual efficacy are those that contain the word of the Buddha (*buddhavacana*), primarily sūtras or excerpts therefrom. Whereas the profundity of the Buddha's teachings provides one reason for the reverence accorded to such works, their ritual functions rely perhaps more heavily on the notion that they are embodiments of the Buddha himself, relics of his physical presence in which are invested the miraculous powers that he possessed. The origins of this notion remain unclear, but, following the work of Gregory Schopen (1975), most scholars have agreed that many ritual practices involving texts were developed by analogy with (and possibly in tension with) practices involving the bodily relics of the Buddha. Passages equating the Buddha with his teachings are not uncommon in Buddhist literature; among the most often cited is the Buddha's statement that "one who sees the dhamma, Vakkali, sees me; one who sees me, sees the dhamma" (*Samyutta Nikāya* III, 120). Whereas this passage has often been read as deemphasizing the importance of the Buddha's physical presence in favor of the teachings, it also offers precedent for the identification of the Buddha's body with the body of the teachings. Buddhist texts preserve not only the Buddha's wisdom, but also his powerful physical presence.

Numerous Mahāyāna sūtras make the equation explicit: the teachings of the Buddha (especially the sūtras in question) are his *dharma* body (*dharmakāya*) made present through recitation or inscription and worthy of the highest veneration. According to such sūtras, reading, writing, reciting, and worshiping them generates even greater merit than worshiping the bodily relics of the Buddha. Schopen and others see in such passages an attempt to establish the superiority of this "cult of the book" to the worship of physical relics. Moreover, as Schopen points out, bodily relics are (at least theoretically) limited in number, and are housed in specific shrines; they resist replication and transportation, whereas *dharma* relics can be reproduced endlessly and enshrined anywhere. As the Buddhist tradition spread to new communities, this portability ensured that the Buddha could be made physically present anywhere.

Several practices involving texts stem from the notion that the Buddha is embodied in the teachings. Throughout the Buddhist world, texts are enshrined, like the physical remains of the Buddha, in stupas (reliquary structures) and in images of the Buddha, objects of veneration that are vivified and rendered powerful in part by the texts and other varieties of relics that they contain. Whereas complete texts have often been interred, particular verses or formulae have been favored to serve this function in particular times and places, such as the well-known verse on interdependent origination (*pratītyasamutpādagāthā*), which encapsulates the Buddha's teaching on arising and cessation. Small clay tablets and miniature stupas stamped with this verse have been found in great number interred in stupas across Central, South, East, and Southeast Asia. Images inscribed with the verse are also ubiquitous. As Daniel Boucher's study indicates, from roughly the seventh to the thirteenth centuries, the *pratītyasamutpādagāthā* was perhaps the *dharma* relic par excellence. It made the Buddha physically present—not through its meaning so much as through its material embodiment of the *dharma.* A relic, whether of the Buddha's body or his speech, is not an inert object, but the potent presence of the Buddha himself. Together with other textual relics, the tablets marked with this verse suggest a conception of Buddha-speech (and perhaps language in general) as having an active, transformative presence in the world that is connected with—but by no means subordinate to—its capacity to convey meaning.

The textual embodiment of the Buddha is not exclusively a Mahāyāna phenomenon, although perhaps the phenomenon is most fully elaborated in that context. Some Theravāda systematizations of the bodies of the Buddha include the *dharma* body; some classifications of relics include *dharma* relics together with bodily relics, associative relics (objects he used, his footprints, or the bodhi tree), and relics by convention (images of the Buddha or of the places and things associated with him). It seems that Theravāda communities have placed greater emphasis on other varieties of relics than on *dharma* relics, but this conclusion may be reflective of different emphases in scholarship on the Theravāda as much as different emphases within Theravādin practice. Texts play a crucial role in the rituals through which images and other objects are imbued with the presence of the Buddha. In the Thai ceremony for consecrating Buddha images, for instance, the image is vivified through "hearing" the recitation of the life story and core teachings of the Buddha. In such rituals, the creation and transfer of power is achieved in no small part by the recitation of texts.

TEXT PRODUCTION AS RITUAL PRACTICE. Perhaps the most fundamental ritual practice associated with texts is text production itself, for this practice ensures the preservation and further use of a text—no small matter, especially in a manuscript culture, where access to texts is by no means assured. It would appear, however, that the impetus for having texts copied (or printed) in many Buddhist communities was not only preservation and dissemination of the teachings; the act of production is also an end in and of itself, for it is claimed to be a potent practice for generating merit. Such claims are sometimes made in the very texts to be copied. Several Mahāyāna sūtras, such as the *Prajñapāramitā* (Perfection of Wisdom) sūtras, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (*Lotus Sūtra*), and the *Suvarṇa(pra)bhāsottamasūtra* (*Sūtra of Golden Light*), explicitly and strongly encourage their own reproduction. Whereas Theravāda writings tend to be less overt and self-referential in this regard, stories exist that similarly recommend the production and worship of texts. One story in the *Paññasajātaka* (an "apocryphal" Thai collection of stories of the Buddha's previous lives), for instance, tells of a previous life in which the Buddha was a wise man who lived during the life of a former Buddha; because he wrote down and encouraged others to write down the teachings of that Buddha, he received plentiful worldly gifts from the deities, as well as a prediction from the former Buddha that he would himself become the Buddha Gautama.

These textual affirmations of the material rewards and great merit to be gained from the production of texts were clearly taken to heart in Buddhist communities. Among the manuscripts found at Dunhuang, for instance, numerous dedicatory colophons are preserved that specify the personal motivations of the Buddhists who copied, or sponsored the copying of, Buddhist texts. These motivations are commonly related to death and rebirth; copying a sūtra could generate the merit necessary to ensure that a recently deceased loved one would gain a good rebirth, or to mitigate against wrongdoings committed by oneself. Other motivations are attested as well, and almost all manuscripts include the dedication of merit to all beings. Similar dedications of merit are found in manuscripts throughout the Buddhist world.

The production of Buddhist texts could generate not only merit, but also political authority, as is especially evident in the periodic editing and reproduction of the Pali canon. As Stanley Tambiah has demonstrated, revising and "purifying" the canon established a ruler as a protector of the *dharma*—a role with significant political as well as religious capital. The Fifth Buddhist Council, held in 1871 in Burma, provides a striking example: the canon, revised under the direction of King Mindon, was inscribed not only on palm leaves, but also on 729 marble slabs—an undertaking that established the king's authority as well as the text of the *Tipiṭaka.*

Whereas producing a Buddhist text in any form would be meritorious, manuscript remains suggest that the material qualities of the text were of great significance in Buddhist communities. Formats vary according to cultural context and the function of the text. Texts produced primarily for the merit gained thereby reflect their status as objects of devotion: some are richly illustrated, or written in gold on beautifully dyed papers. One Japanese manuscript of the *Lotus Sūtra*, for instance, enshrines each character of the text in a small stupa, whereas another is embroidered in silk thread of different colors. Manuscripts are often enclosed in elaborately carved and painted manuscript covers, sūtra cases, or cloth wrappings. Texts inscribed in stone (including not only the Burmese Pali canon described above, but also most of the Chinese canon, carved between the seventh and the twelfth centuries and stored in caves at Fang Shan) promise to preserve the *dharma* beyond its predicted decline in the world. Texts meant to function in ritual contexts were produced in more practical formats, such as booklets containing what appear to be collections of liturgical texts found at

Dunhuang. Whereas manuscripts would frequently be produced by professional scribes paid by donors, there also exist numerous texts inscribed personally by the devotee. A few extant manuscripts are written in ink mixed with the blood of the writer, forging a bodily connection with the powerful physical text, and thus with the Buddha.

Since the more frequently a text was produced, the greater was the merit obtained. Thus, various technologies of text production developed, the most central of which is block printing. The earliest dated printed text (868 CE), found at Dunhuang, is the *Diamond Sūtra* (*Vajracchedika*), a text that explicitly exhorts its readers to reproduce it (its colophon indicates that copies were intended for free distribution). Indeed, it is likely that Buddhist practices of producing texts for merit were a central impetus in the development of print technology in China. Several Mahāyāna sūtras, including the *Diamond Sūtra*, are not only found in written form at Dunhuang, but are also depicted in wall murals—most not primarily as narratives, but as icons, in which the Buddha, preaching the sūtra, gazes directly at the viewer. Such representations again suggest a conception of sūtras as physical embodiments of the speech of the Buddha—and this physical embodiment takes precedence over the denotative content of the sūtras in their depiction. The sūtras are icons of the Buddha that, in the case of the paintings, literally make his body manifest.

Other practices that similarly aim to make a text "present" can also be understood as technologies of text production. The Tibetan prayer wheel, for instance, contains paper on which a *mantra* is written thousands of times. With each turning of the wheel, every one of the written *mantra*s is made manifest, thereby generating tremendous merit for the practitioner. Some contemporary practitioners have adapted this practice to digital technology, saving numerous copies of a *mantra* to a computer hard drive that spins hundreds of thousands of times per hour. Prayer flags function similarly, the efficacy of the words written upon them being released with each breeze.

Such examples suggest a way to understand yet another mode of text production: recitation. Both in Theravāda and in Mahāyāna textual traditions, exhortations to recite or hear Buddhist literature are ubiquitous, often eclipsing exhortations to write. In manuscript cultures, especially—cultures in which access to the written text was often extremely limited—most Buddhists were likely to encounter the text in the context of recitation. Whereas recitation seldom leaves material traces for historians, some sūtras describe the effects of recitation on audiences and their worlds in distinctly physical terms. The oral/aural text is represented as a potent substance that enters and transforms its listeners and their environments. It is clear in such descriptions that preaching the sūtra indeed makes it manifest in the world in a manner strongly reminiscent of other, more obviously material, practices of text production. Take, for instance, the Tibetan practice of reciting the entire canon with great rapidity, a practice that might be understood as something like an oral prayer wheel: a large number of monks are given different sections of the canon, and each recites his portion simultaneously. Oral recitation makes the transformative power of the text present in the world, like the flapping of a prayer flag in the wind.

TEXTS AS AGENTS OF TRANSFORMATION. As is evident in the different technologies of text production, Buddhist texts are not only instruments of communication, but also agents of transformation; as manifestations of the Buddha, they have the capacity to radically transform the lives of devotees who interact with them in prescribed ways. In the ritual practices through which devotees access this power, the meaning-bearing aspects of a text—while surely related to its transformative capacity—recede, whereas the material qualities of language—whether oral or written—come to the fore. The language of Buddhist texts becomes a tangible, fully present force that can change the conditions of persons and their environments.

Rituals that provide access to the power of texts involve oral performance and/or the manipulation of written texts. In Theravādin communities, one of the principal rituals employed is the chanting of *paritta*, collections of Pali sūtras and other texts thought to have particularly potent protective powers or the capacity to render circumstances auspicious. These texts may be chanted by devotees or by monks in a formal ceremony that can last up to several days. The ceremonies are held to provide protection from hardship and malignant forces, and to promote beneficial conditions for specific ventures—from weddings to business deals.

In more formal ceremonies, the potency of the chanted texts is rendered materially accessible through substances that are themselves imbued with power through the recitation. A thread that connects all who are present during the chanting is later broken into pieces and distributed to devotees, who then wear the strands on their wrists or arms. Devotees wet their faces and heads with—and drink water blessed through—the ceremony. The Pali texts are comprehensible only to a few laypeople and to some monks, but the protective and beneficial power of chanting them or hearing them chanted depends not on comprehension, but on texts' materialization and on the ability of devotees to interact with the texts in material ways.

The relationship between meaning and transformative agency is most tenuous in practices involving *mantra* and *dhāraḥī*. These strings of Sanskrit (or Pali) syllables are employed in a wide variety of practices, from chanting to turning prayer wheels to meditation, but also recited at key points within numerous ceremonies that are not primarily focused on the texts—such as rites for the dying or the consecration of images in order to bless or empower a person or object. Many of these formulae are given in sūtras, bestowed by particular deities with the promise of protection, benefit, or awakening for the devotee who employs them. Some explicitly invoke a celestial being, but most barely gesture towards meaning. Instead, the power of the formulae resides in their materialization in sound or writing. Indeed, the elusiveness of meaning in these formulae is a crucial component of their transformative capacity, whether they are used for worldly ends or as meditative aids. Beyond conceptualization, formulae evoke a mysterious power to transform the mundane world or to lead the meditator beyond concepts.

Those Mahāyāna sūtras that proclaim their own transformative agency might be said to function in an analogous manner: the content of such texts is fundamentally concerned with articulating repeatedly the power of the form of the text itself when it is made manifest through writing or recitation. Rather than locating their potency in a conceptually graspable core revelation, these Mahāyāna sūtras draw attention to their own materiality, instructing their audiences on how to interact with them in physical, material, and ritualized ways. The literal interpretation of these instructions is indicated by traces of sandalwood powder and other ritual substances found on wooden manuscript covers from Northern India and Central Asia dating from the ninth century and later; several of the sūtras specifically encourage the devotee to offer such substances. And, as enjoined by the texts themselves, such texts were (and are) widely recited for the benefit and protection of individuals, communities, nations, and the world.

The amuletic function of texts perhaps best epitomizes the material manifestation of transformative agency. Tiny scrolls enclosed in ornaments, miniature texts, or amulets stamped with potent words are carried on the body of the devotee. Such textual objects—relics of the Buddha—both remind the practitioner of Buddhist teachings and offer wearable, tangible protection and benefit in daily life. The Southeast Asian practice of tattooing *yantra* (powerful diagrams in which *mantra*s and Buddhist verses figure prominently) on the body to protect against weapons and malevolent forces, or to generate good will in others, provides a striking instance of making the power of language physically manifest; the human body itself becomes the powerful material text. Like manuscripts written in blood, tattoos forge a strong physical connection between the body of the devotee and the textual body of the Buddha.

THE RITUAL CONTEXT OF TEXTUAL PRACTICES. Rituals involving texts have in turn engendered further practices of text production. Throughout the Buddhist world, anthologies of texts or parts of texts employed in particular rituals—such as *paritta* ceremonies—have been produced. These anthologies are not merely functional; they are venerated bodies of literature in their own right. In China and Japan, the worship of Mahāyāna sūtras gave rise to a popular genre of secondary literature: miracle tales about the sûtras. These stories describe the miraculous intercession of the texts (and the celestial buddhas, *bodhisattvas,* and deities brought to life in their pages) in the lives of their devotees, as well as the dire consequences of treating the sūtras with disrespect. They model appropriate ritual behavior with regard to the sūtras, and serve as testimonials to the transformative powers that the texts themselves claim. Finally, given the conception of Buddhist texts as the embodiment of the Buddha and his power, the production of scholarly commentaries and translations cannot be neatly separated from more overtly devotional or apotropaic practices. The sophisticated theories and uses of language developed by thinkers across the Buddhist world emerged from contexts in which texts were materializations of tremendous, transformative power.

SEE ALSO Buddha; Buddhism, overview article.

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BUDDHIST BOOKS AND TEXTS: TRANSLATION

Translation practices have been central to the ongoing reinterpretation and transformation of the Buddhist tradition. Translation ensures both continuity—through the transmission of the vast sacred literature of the tradition—and change, as different ways of interpreting Buddhist thought and practice are opened up or closed off in the process of translation. As an interpretive practice, translation depends upon and illuminates historical conceptions of Buddhist literature and of the process of translation itself, neither of which necessarily coincide with contemporary English conceptions. The translation of Buddhist literature reveals the different ways in which various Buddhist communities have located and recreated the value and power of their textual traditions in light of their individual cultural and historical contexts.

A frequently cited passage in the Pali canon (Vinaya 2.139) both prescribes and exemplifies the complex and crucial role that translation has played in the transmission of the Buddhist tradition. In this passage, two monks of the Brāhmaṇ class report to the Buddha that the teachings are being disseminated by monks of widely varying backgrounds *sakāya niruttiyā*, "in own language," and suggest to him that his words be rendered in *chandaso* (usually interpreted to mean "Sanskrit meter"). No, he replies to them, they should be disseminated "in own language." Numerous interpreters, ancient and modern, have viewed this passage as clearly defining the normative stance on the question of whether or not to translate texts, but they have not agreed on just what stance is being prescribed.

How one interprets this passage determines and is determined by one's opinion on whether to translate the word of the Buddha. Does the phrase "in own language" refer to the language of the preaching monk, or to the language of the Buddha himself? The passage admits multiple interpretations (not all of which have been summarized here). Thus, whereas many interpreters see here the Buddha's stamp of approval for translation practices, others, including the highly influential fifth century commentator Buddhaghosa—thought to be responsible for the translation of Theravādin commentarial literature from Sinhalese into Pali—view "in own language" as referring to the Buddha's own language. According to Buddhaghosa, that language was Pali.

The different historical interpretations of this putatively normative passage mirror the multiple approaches to and conceptions of translation taken in different times and places. The preservation of the Theravādin *tipiṭaka* in Pali, as compared to the translation of the *tripiṭaka* into Chinese and Tibetan, for instance, would appear to demarcate one of the most significant distinctions among Buddhist conceptions of translation. If one looks beyond general preferences regarding canonical language, however, the situation becomes considerably more complicated: Theravādin Buddhist communities have translated numerous texts into local languages, and have produced bilingual versions of canonical texts in which Pali is interspersed with local languages. Conversely, certain texts or parts of texts (like *mantra* and *dhāraṇī*) have been preserved in Buddhist Sanskrit by the same communities that chose, for the most part, to translate the canon. Buddhist conceptions of translation are reflected not simply in the question of whether to translate, but what—and how, and why—to translate.

The practices of premodern Buddhist translators clearly indicate that the answers to these questions were multiple. One stands a better chance of understanding the multiplicity of Buddhist conceptions of translation if one begins with the premise that the practice of translation in the vast majority of premodern Buddhist communities was a religious practice. Much of Buddhist literature is thought to embody not only meaning, but also tremendous efficacy and transformative power—the power to heal, bring prosperity, or even enlighten audiences. The production of translations is thus closely related to other religious—and even devotional—practices. Situating the questions of whether, how, and why Buddhists translated their sacred literature within this context of religious practice illuminates possible motivations and explanations that might otherwise remain obscure.

TECHNIQUES OF TRANSLATION. Whereas the conceptions of translation that inform Buddhist translation practices are only rarely examined explicitly by translators, the techniques used in translation can shed considerable light on diverse answers not only to the question of how to translate, but also to the question of why. The approach taken by a translator or community of translators is not arbitrary; it is shaped by the conception of Buddhist literature and its translation that is held by the translator. On the other hand, interpreting techniques of translation with the aim of understanding conceptions of translation is by no means straightforward. For instance, the late-eighth-century Tibetan king Khri Srong-lde'u-bstan (742–c. 800 CE) is credited with normalizing previously idiosyncratic translation practices, prescribing methods for rendering Sanskrit syntax and dictating precise one-to-one correspondences between Sanskrit and Tibetan terms. The result is a highly artificial style, a kind of "translationese," that had been adopted by Tibetan translators to such an extent that some modern scholars of Buddhism have thought that Tibetan translations could be used to produce "back-translations," reconstructions of Sanskrit texts that are no longer extant.

One can attempt to derive from this translation technique, employed in all editions of the Tibetan canon, the conception of translation that informs it. Any such attempt is itself, however, a kind of back-translation: an interpretive reconstruction that is necessarily flawed even though potentially illuminating. Does the deep concern for establishing equivalence between the two languages indicate that, despite the practice of translation, the power of the text was still thought to reside in the Sanskrit forms of the language, or does it suggest an extreme skepticism regarding a translator's ability to correctly grasp and render the meaning and transformative power of a text? Techniques of translation can indeed suggest the concerns and conceptions of the translator(s), but the techniques themselves are open to interpretation.

In contrast to the regularization of translation techniques in Tibet, Chinese translations exhibit a wide range of approaches. Early Chinese translators, such as An Shigao (second century CE), tended to borrow Daoist vocabulary for the rendering of Buddhist ideas. Many texts were produced by translation teams, in which different members assumed specific roles in the interpretive and editorial processes under the leadership of an illustrious translator. Particular translators cultivated distinctive techniques. Some, such as the monk Hsüan-tsang (602–664 CE), actively preserved the foreign flavor of a text through literal renderings. Others, most famously Kumārajīva (344–413 CE), attempted to convey the core significance of a text through free translations in elegant literary Chinese. Foreignness and familiarity both breed their own kinds of power, and these different techniques of translation can be interpreted as indicators of where different translators located the power of the religious texts they were translating.

Moreover, several different translations of the "same" text are frequently preserved side-by-side in the Chinese canon, a practice which itself invites interpretation. Perhaps Chinese Buddhist scholars conceived of different translations as illuminating different aspects or functions of a given text, or simply as representing part of a textual history worthy of preservation. This multiplicity provides an important contrast to the Tibetan practice of attempting to determine a single definitive translation, one that suggests a strikingly different conception of Buddhist literature and its translation.

LANGUAGE CHOICE. The translation of Buddhist literature is not simply a matter of rendering texts from one vernacular into another. Many of the languages in which Buddhist literature is preserved are literary languages distinct from those spoken by people who produced and used Buddhist literature. These literary languages have their own complex histories of transformation and codification. Thus, "Buddhist Sanskrit" describes a literary language (or, better, a range of language use) closely related to, but not identical with, classical Sanskrit in the normative sense. Indeed, some scholars maintain that the form of Sanskrit in which some Buddhist literature is preserved is itself a kind of translation, an amalgam of *prakritic* literary languages and Sanskrit, where the former is thought to be the original language of composition. Other scholars counter that Buddhists chose to compose and preserve texts in these "hybrid" literary forms. Likewise, the Pali in which Theravādan canonical texts are preserved was never a vernacular language; whatever its progenitors might have been, it has distinct features that indicate its deliberate construction as a literary language.

As noted above, Tibetan translations employ a highly artificial form of "translationese" that would be abstruse for the uninitiated reader. It is difficult to make generalizations about the language of the Chinese translations, which varies considerably in terms of its conformity with the norms of literary Chinese, itself a form of language very distinct from vernaculars. It is safe to say, however, that even the most colloquially inflected translations became, in the course of a few hundred years, distant from vernacular usage (as, for instance, the language of Shakespeare is for most contemporary English speakers).

Buddhist Sanskrit, Pali, Tibetan, and Chinese all functioned not only as literary languages, but also as translocal languages—languages in which Buddhist literature was preserved and studied by communities whose spoken language was different. Thus Pali functioned as a translocal language in South and Southeast Asia, Sanskrit in South and Central Asia, Chinese in East Asia and parts of Southeast Asia, and Tibetan in the Himalayas and in Mongolian communities. In this respect, these languages are distinct from local languages that, whether literary or vernacular, did not function beyond the borders of their linguistic communities. Note, however, that "local" and "translocal" are shifting categories. When Tibetan translations were made of Sanskrit Buddhist texts, they were rendered in a local literary language; when Mongolian Buddhists chose to use the Tibetan Buddhist canon, Tibetan was being used as a translocal language.

In addition to the distinctions between literary and vernacular and between local and translocal, a third distinction, between languages from which and languages into which translations were made, is relevant to an examination of Buddhist translation practices. Sanskrit, Pali, Tibetan, and Chinese all functioned as sources for translations into local languages. Sogdians, for instance, chose to translate Buddhist texts from the Chinese, whether due to access or to presumed authority. Once again, however, these categories are flexible and overlapping. Sinhalese commentaries on the *tipiṭaka* were translated into Pali, in part to make them accessible to a translocal audience.

Like the techniques of translation employed in different times and places, language choice admits various interpretations. The preservation of the canon in a foreign language does not suggest that translation did not take place. For example, the entire Tibetan canon was translated into Mongolian in the first half of the seventeenth century, but the Tibetan version came to be preferred for liturgical purposes. Preserving canonical texts in a translocal language like Pali can be understood in terms of the reverence for and power invested in what was thought to be the language of the Buddha, but it can also be understood as an element in the construction of a shared translocal culture, or as an attempt to restrict access to canonical texts to a powerful monastic elite. The translation of a massive corpus of texts into Chinese or Tibetan might be interpreted as a sign of the populist nature of the Buddhist movement in a particular time and place, but, since the variety of language employed in the translation is, in most cases, far from the vernacular, the charge of elitism might just as easily be applied. Regardless, it is safe to say that in the vast majority of Buddhist communities both local and translocal languages were employed, the choice between one or the other in the case of a given text being dictated by a complex and fluctuating conjunction of social, literary, and soteriological factors.

Take, for instance, the Thai ceremony for imbuing life in a Buddha image, in which monks chant the biography of the Buddha to the image in Pali. Translations of the text in local languages exist and are used in preaching, but only the Pali version is deemed to have the potency to enliven an image. A similar linguistic "division of labor" might well inform language choice in Khotanese Buddhism. While manuscript evidence suggests that Sanskrit sutras were produced in Khotan, Khotanese translations or summaries of the same texts are also attested. One possible explanation might be derived from the Thai case: perhaps Sanskrit texts served a different function from translated texts. Another explanation, provided by Jan Nattier (1990), suggests that, through the influence of Chinese Buddhist textual practices, a shift in language choice towards a preference for the vernacular took place in Central Asia after the sixth century, prior to which only Buddhist Sanskrit texts were produced. Both the functional and the temporal explanation have merit, and are not mutually exclusive options.

TRANSLATION AND ACCULTURATION. The complex choices regarding language use outlined above—whether, what, and how to translate—have profound implications for understanding the acculturation of Buddhism in particular places and times. Translation is a crucial moment in the life of a text; a translator (or team of translators) functions as both reader and author, shaping the text through the interpretive process of translation for all its future readers. This complex intercultural moment, which embodies the paradox of translation—the simultaneous sameness and difference of the translated text from the original—is both a central factor in and a powerful metaphor for processes of acculturation. Particularly in a tradition with so strong a textual orientation as Buddhism, translators' interpretations of key texts can have profound effects on the development of the tradition in its new locales. Central concepts and practices are shaped by the terminology employed to describe them; the influence of a particular text is dependent upon the poetic and rhetorical devices through which its message is rendered. Translation closes certain avenues of interpretation and development, while opening up others that may not have been fully present in the original. These dynamics can be seen not only in textual translation practices, but also in broader processes of adaptation, such as the "translation" of an Indic ritual employing cow dung as a sacred substance into a different cultural context where the substance is viewed as unclean excrement.

The choice to preserve a text in a translocal language, rather than translating it, by no means suggests a refusal of acculturating processes, although a desire to maintain the original purity of the teachings might be part of the motivation. Instead, preserving a body of religious literature in a translocal language forges particular ties to the context of origin. The acculturation of the tradition to a particular locale occurs through the production of new literature—in the translocal as well as in the local language—rather than through rendering a preexistent literary corpus in the local language. The preexistent literature itself can take on a somewhat esoteric (and potentially powerful) quality as a result of its incomprehensibility to the vast majority of practitioners. Preserving a canon in a translocal language also provides the conditions for the maintenance of a clerical elite, as well as for the creation of a translocal community connected by the bonds of religious language and practice. The Theravādan Buddhist world, for all the highly distinctive local variations it encompasses, shares deep relationships born in part from the shared preservation of Pali Buddhist literature and ritual and the maintenance of a monastic elite educated in that language.

This is not to suggest that contexts where translation into local languages was preferred were lacking in translocal relationships, esotericism, or institutional elites, but rather that such factors of acculturation were generated by means other than the preservation of religious literature in a translocal language. In China, translations themselves, with their distinctive locutions, became powerful markers of the context of origin and of the legitimation it imparted to texts. Indeed, the names of illustrious translators alone could lend the stamp of authority; the Chinese canon ascribes to Kumārajīva more texts than he could possibly have translated. By adopting the style and phrasings characteristic of a translation in the composition of a new work, and attributing it to a respected translator, one could create the legitimizing aura of Indic origin, thereby introducing new literature into a corpus whose boundaries were defined by the ostensible origin of texts. Indigenous "transcreations" of this sort occur in the Chinese canon; literature that was later excised from the canon due to its questionable authenticity has been preserved among the manuscripts found at Dunhuang. Transcreations were produced in other Buddhist communities, as well, although the legitimating strategies employed vary. Translations established new genres of literature that could subsequently be employed in the creation and legitimation of indigenous compositions, enabling Buddhist literature to address more directly the pressing questions of particular cultural and historical communities. In this way, translations have provided not only a means of preservation, but also a pretext for innovation within the tradition.

CONCLUSION. The conceptions of translation that underlie the practices outlined above are multiple, and clearly do not always coincide with the concept invoked by the English term. "Translation" tends to be used narrowly, such that only a text that attempts to render "faithfully" the meaning of another in a different language is usually deemed to be a translation. This contemporary conception of translation has generally guided scholarly studies of Buddhist translation practices. Did premodern Buddhist translators conceive of translation in such a manner, or were some Buddhist conceptions of translation more fluid? For instance, two Sanskrit terms for translation, *anuvāda* and *vivaraṇa*, both refer to exegetical as well as translation practices; how clear is the distinction between what English designates as two separate practices? Might some Buddhist translators have conceived of processes of summarization, excerption and anthologizing as processes of "translation"? Both because these questions depend on conceptions of textuality more broadly, and because they have so seldom been asked, no clear answers are yet possible.

It is clear, however, that translation is an interpretive practice. Any translation will privilege the aspects of a text that the translator perceives to be of central importance. Much of Buddhist literature is conceived of as not only conveying meaning, but also possessing transformative potential. The translation of such texts in Buddhist communities, then, involves rendering those qualities of a text that a particular translator or tradition of translation deems to be powerful. In this sense, translation practices have played and continue to play a central role in the ongoing transmission and transformation of the Buddhist tradition, not only in making texts accessible to different cultural and linguistic communities, but also in recreating the interpretive possibilities for Buddhist thought and practice.

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NATALIE GUMMER (2005)

BUDDHIST BOOKS AND TEXTS: EXEGESIS AND HERMENEUTICS

In the Buddhist tradition the practice and theory of scriptural interpretation faced conflicting sources and concepts of authority, a voluminous canon of relatively late compilation, and a complex history of interpretations that may be described as "hermeneutic pluralism." Furthermore, for some Buddhist traditions an emphasis on *dharma* (the eternal truths discovered by the Buddha) rather than on *buddhavacana* (the literal content of his message) reduces the significance of textual and historical constraints as part of a method of interpretation.

According to tradition, the Buddha was not the sole preacher of *dharma.* Even during the Buddha's life his disciples acted as missionaries, and their words were considered part of the "original" message of Buddhism. The texts affirm that at the Buddha's own behest the disciples began each sermon with the words "Evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye" ("Thus have I heard on one occasion"). This formula presumably served as a guarantee of authenticity, or rather, of faithfulness to the teaching of the Master. Yet, the same introductory formula came to be used indistinctly for sermons attributed to the Master, to his disciples, or to mythical sages and deities.

It was also believed that there had also been previous buddhas, who had their own disciples, all of whom could have preached the *dharma.* These "Buddhists" from the mythical past could speak to human beings. Their words, as well as the "inspired speech" (*pratibhāṇa*) of ancient and contemporary *ṛṣis*, gods, and spirits, could be regarded as *dharma*, and thus be prefaced by the famous formula.

Even traditions that believe that the canon was redacted and closed during the First Council at Rājagṛha, shortly after the Buddha's death (c. 483 BCE), concede that not all Buddhist elders were present at that gathering, and that at least one group of "five hundred monks" insisted on keeping their own version of the teachings as they remembered them. All available evidence indicates that most of the canons were never closed. The Theravāda school, proud of its conservatism in scriptural matters, was still debating the content of its canon at least as late as the fifth century CE. Even today there is no complete agreement among Theravādins regarding the *Khuddaka Nikāya* section of their canon. Thus, it is not always possible to distinguish clearly between canonical, postcanonical, and paracanonical Buddhist literature.

All schools believe that at least some texts have been lost, truncated, or altered, and that a number of false or late texts have been incorporated into the canons of various schools. Even if occasionally these statements are used to bolster the position of one school over another, they probably represent an accurate description of the general state of things by the time the first scriptural collections were formally constituted. It is not difficult to see the impact that such a perception, combined with the mythology of revelation outlined above, would have on the tradition's view of the meaning of the scriptures and on the principles that should guide their interpretation.

BUDDHIST EXEGESIS: METHODS OF INTERPRETATION. The Buddhist canons were the result of a long process of compilation and redaction that we can no longer reconstruct. For many centuries the task of interpretation was complicated by a shifting definition of canonicity. The first steps in understanding scriptural traditions—identifying the limits and forms of scripture—were slow and hesitant.

It took roughly three centuries before the oral texts of specialized schools of reciters (*bhāṇakas*) were brought together into collections (*piṭakas*). Another century went by before the first canons were committed to writing (an early Theravāda canon was written down under King Vaṭṭagāmaṇī of Sri Lanka, c. 32 BCE). Even then the canons were not closed; some of the extant collections (i.e., the Tibetan and Chinese "canons"), were not compiled until more than a millennium had passed since the life of the founder, and they have remained open to the introduction of new literature until recent times.

The canon. Most Buddhists came to accept the theoretical division of scripture into three sections, metaphorically called "baskets" (*piṭaka*)—Sūtra (Pali, Sutta); Vinaya; and Abhidharma (Pali, Abhidhamma)—hence the name *tripiṭaka* (Pali, *tipiṭaka*), or "three baskets." But in practice the corpus of authoritative Buddhist texts is not always divided into these three categories. This division is in itself of secondary importance for the history of Buddhist exegesis, whereas the variety of canons that seem to have existed in ancient India, and their flexibility, are important factors in the development of Buddhist attitudes toward canonical authority and interpretation.

The earliest system of this type was the classification of Buddhist teachings (and texts) into two main divisions: *dharma* (instruction on doctrine and meditation) and Vinaya (monastic rules and discipline). This early classification of genres probably was followed closely in time by the introduction of a third type of sacred text—the *mātṛkā,* or numerical list.

Also ancient, and obviously precanonical, is a system of "genres" (*aṅga*). The Theravāda tradition distinguishes nine such genres, whereas the Sanskrit tradition counts twelve (sūtra, *geya, vyākaraṇa, gāthā, udāna, nidāna, ityukta, jātaka, vaipulya, adbhutadharma, avadāna,* and *upadeśa*). Although some of these terms are well known as words for literary genres or forms of canonical literature, the exact meaning of the items in these lists is not always transparent. The list clearly shows, however, an early interest in analyzing scripture by literary forms, themes, and, presumably, speaker and audience.

By the time Buddhists began compiling their "canons," several forms of exegesis had developed within the body of literature transmitted as sacred scripture. Beyond the implicit exegetical work of the redactors, which is more obvious in Buddhist scripture than it is in the Judeo-Christian Bible, important sections of the canons are composed of exegetical material. Some works considered to derive directly from the Master's mouth are, in structure and reference, major acts of interpretation or statements on the nature of interpretation. Such, for instance, are the *Mahāpadesa Suttanta*, on forms of appealing to authority; the *Kālāma Sutta,* a critique of authority and an affirmation of the hermeneutical value of meditation; the *Alagaddūpama Sutta,* on the instrumental value of doctrine; and the *Pratisaraṇa Sūtra,* on the criteria of interpretation. These texts reflect an early concern with the problems of transmission and interpretation. Other texts included in the *tripiṭakas* are frankly exegetical in character (although they may be of more recent vintage); these include two commentaries (the *Niddesas*) incorporated into the Sutta Piṭaka of the Theravādins, two works of theoretical hermeneutics included in the Sutta sections of the Burmese *tipiṭaka*, the *Sūtravibhaṅga* section of the Vinaya Piṭaka (an exegesis of the *prātimokṣa*), and of course the totality of the Abhidharma Piṭaka.

The *abhidharma* as exegesis. The *abhidharma* played a central role in the development of the practice and theory of exegesis in all schools of Indian Buddhism. The hermeneutical strategy of the *abhidharma* was itself derived from a practice attested frequently by the sūtras: dogmatic lists known as "matrices" (*mātṛkā*). These may appear to be mere catechistic or numerical lists; but more than topical indices or lists defining the limits of canonicity they are digests or exegetical guides. Some, evidently the oldest, are preserved in the Sūtra Piṭaka (e.g., *Saṅgīti Suttanta, Daśottara Sūtra*), and were the object of commentaries (e.g., Mahākauṣṭhila's *Saṅgītiparyāya*).

The role of *mātṛkās* as early canons of orthodoxy and interpretation is revealed by a legend, according to which the Buddha's disciple Śāriputra composed the *Saṅgīti Suttanta* in order to prevent a division in the Buddhist order similar to the one he had seen in the Jain community. The basic list, however, is not only a model for a definition of orthodoxy, it is also a pattern for exegetical coherence. The *mātṛkās* provide the structure for abhidharmic exegesis; each text must fit one or more of the categories contained in a traditional "matrix" or sets thereof. The "matrices" provided a simple logic of classification; all items of doctrine can be understood by opposites (the *duka*s of Pali *abhidhamma*: anything is *a* or not *a*) or by contraries (the *ṭīkā: x* is *a,* or *x* is *b,* or *x* is neither *a* nor *b*). Some of the earliest works of *abhidharma*, organized on this model (for instance, the Pali *Dhammasaṅganī*), purport to reveal the underlying logic and structure of the *sutta*s.

Non-Mahāyāna exegetical literature. The *abhidharma* can be understood as a series of attempts at an exegesis of the whole body of Buddhist teachings (texts and practices). Some books, therefore, tried to preserve an explicit connection with the sūtras. But the *abhidharma* was more a work of philosophical hermeneutics than of exegesis. Accordingly, a different genre of literature was developed to carry out the difficult task of preserving, recovering, or eliciting the meaning of individual texts.

Two of the earliest Buddhist works of conscious exegesis have been incorporated into the canon in the Sutta Piṭaka. These are the *Mahāniddesa* and the *Cullaniddesa*, commentaries on the fourth and fifth books of the *Suttanipāta.* They date from approximately the third century CE. However, two other works of early but uncertain date occupy a much more important position in the development of Buddhist exegetical theories: the *Nettippakaraṇa* and the *Peṭakopadesa,* both attributed to a (Mahā) Kaccāyana (of uncertain date). These works may have been composed in South India or Sri Lanka. The *Nettippakaraṇa* formulates the principles of interpretation (*netti*) common to both works on the basis of twelve techniques classified under the headings of "interpretation as to sense" (*byañjana*) and "interpretation as to meaning" (*attha*).

Earlier, at the beginning of the Common Era, the compilation of canonical collections and the explosion of *abhidharma* literature had created great works of synthesis on the Indian Peninsula. The most famous and influential of these was the *Mahāvibhāṣā* (c. 150–200 CE), a work of collective scholarship that attempted to make sense of the complex *abhidharma* literature of the Sarvāstivādins, in particular the *Jñānaprasthāna* of Kātyāyanīputra (or Kātyāyana; c. first century CE). Although it resulted in an equally abstruse work of doctrinal systematics, the *Mahāvibhāṣā* became an important source for doctrinal and interpretive categories, even for those who criticized it—especially the Mahāyāna.

Mahāyāna exegetical literature. In addition to playing the more obvious roles of criticism, reform, and systematic construction, the Mahāyāna sūtras fulfilled an exegetical role as well. It is common for a Mahāyāna sūtra to attempt a redefinition or reinterpretation of a classical formula from pre-Mahāyāna literature. The *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā,* for instance, presents the Mahāyāna reinterpretation of the "Parable of the Raft." The same text, in fact, the entire body of *prajñāpāramitā* literature, is devoted to what amounts to an all-out criticism of pre-Mahāyāna *abhidharma.* The traditional order established by orthodox exegesis is deconstructed in a search for the "ultimate meaning" behind the words of the older doctrines. The *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* and the *Tathāgataguhya Sūtra*—to quote another example—radically change the meaning of a classical passage by identifying truth with "holy silence." The earlier, canonical passage stated that "from the night of his enlightenment to the night of his *parinirvāṇa*. . .every word uttered by the Buddha was true." The two Mahāyāna sūtras changed the phrase to read "from the night of his enlightenment, to the night of his *nirvāṇa,* the Blessed One did not utter a single word."

These new departures, however, are not wholly the creation of Mahāyāna, for some of them are found in the literature of the Mahāsāṃghikas, one of the early *nikāya* schools. Some members of this school or community held that buddhas never pronounce a single word, yet living beings hear them preach. It was also claimed by some Mahāsāṃghikas that the Buddha can preach all things with a single word.

Another form of continuity within innovation occurs in Mahāyāna texts that follow the pattern of the *abhidharma mātṛkā*s as a way of redefining or expanding on earlier doctrine. Some of these sūtras may be rightly called "abhidharmic" Mahāyāna sūtras. Such are, for instance, the *Dharmasaṇgīti* and the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa.*

Some texts make explicit pronouncements on the principles of interpretation or evaluation of Buddhist scripture in general. For instance, the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*'s statement on the silence of the Buddha is extended to mean that all words of the Buddha have only a provisional value. They are pronounced only in response to the needs of living beings who cannot penetrate directly into the mystery of the Tathāgata's silence. The *Mahāyāna-mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* offers a model for a hierarchy in scriptural study and understanding. At the first level, one becomes "learned" in scriptural study by studying all of the twelve genres (*aṅga*) of scripture. Subsequently, one may study only one *aṅga*—the *vaipulya* (here equivalent to Mahāyāna) sūtras. Then one may study only the most subtle passages of the *vaipulya* section. But one may also study only one stanza of two lines from these sūtras and still be learned. Last, one becomes learned in scripture by understanding "that the Buddha never taught anything." The last of these is clearly, by implication, the most "learned."

Other statements with obvious implications for the interpretation of texts are those dealing with the relative value of various transmissions. Perhaps the best known of these formulations are those of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* (*Lotus Sūtra*), which asserts that the Buddha has been in *nirvāṇa* eternally and denies that the Buddha ever "entered *nirvāṇa*," as claimed by earlier scriptural tradition. The *Lotus* also reduces the meaning of the human lives of the Buddha to a mere teaching device, developing the theory of "skillful means" (*upāya*) as an explanation for the competing claims of its own brand of Mahāyāna and those of non-Mahāyāna Buddhists. Other texts establish criteria for authenticity that open doors to the new creative efforts of the Mahāyāna. The *Adhyāśayasaṃcodana Sūtra,* for example, establishes the well-known principle that "whatever has been well said has been said by the Buddha." Such statements are evident signs of a break with tradition and became seeds for further, perhaps dangerously limitless, innovation.

***Śāstras* and commentaries.** In India the methodology used in the composition of technical treatises (*śāstras*) was modeled on the commentarial tradition of Indian linguistics, heavily influenced by Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya.* But the disciplines of poetics and logic also played an important role in the creation of standards for the composition of commentaries.

As Indian technical literature evolved through commentaries, continuity was preserved by reference to a common "root" text, which could be a scriptural text (sūtra) or the conscious work of an individual (*śāstra*). A certain latitude for variation was allowed in the commentaries of each school of thought, but the root text was authoritative. That is, the commentary had to be verbally faithful to the root text and had to recognize its authoritative status. But the *śāstra*s themselves required commentaries, and some of the *śāstra*s that became the object of commentaries acquired quasi-canonical status almost equivalent to that of the sūtras.

The system of authoritative texts followed by authoritative commentaries also produced a plethora of subcommentaries. The hierarchy was not always well-defined and the terminology not always consistent, but it was normally assumed that a sūtra would be the object of a commentary called a *bhāṣya,* or a more detailed gloss known as *vyākhyā* or *ṭīkā.* The root text of a *śāstra,* on the other hand, was often a versified treatise written in *kārikā*s or mnemonic verses (functionally parallel to the Hindu sūtras or prose aphorisms), and explicated in a *bhāṣya* or *vṛtti* (sometimes by the author of the root text).

The beginnings of the Mahāyāna commentarial literature seem to be coterminous with the development of independent philosophical or dogmatic treatises (*śāstra*s). But the exact dates of these events cannot be fixed with any certainty because an exact chronology depends in part on establishing the authorship of what may be the earliest major work in the genre, the commentary on the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (Perfection of wisdom in twenty-five thousand lines), traditionally attributed to Nāgārjuna, whose dates are equally uncertain. This work, the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-upadeśa Śāstra* (preserved only in Chinese translation under the title *Ta-chih-tu lun*), set the tone for Chinese exegesis, and defined some of the most important issues of Buddhist exegetical and hermeneutical theory for East Asia.

The genres of commentary and treatise flourished in India beginning (approximately) in the fourth century of the Common Era with Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. Although the tendency was to force the text into established scholastic molds, or to use it as a pretext for the formulation of independent philosophical dogmatics, commentators sometimes showed unusual sensitivity to the forms and structures of the text (e.g., Kamalaśīla's commentary on the *Avikalpapraveśa*). There was also room for the development of independent criteria and exegetical guides. A valuable example of this type of work is Vasubandhu's extensive treatise on the mechanics of the commentary, *Vyākhyayukti* (preserved only in Tibetan translation).

Exegetical categories. Outside of India the exegetical issue perhaps became more critical as communities lost some of the sense of continuity with the authoritative tradition of the land of origins. The need for exegetical and hermeneutical principles was especially acute in China. An exegetical schema attributed to an early scholar of Chinese Buddhism, Dao'an (312–385), was based on three categories that supposedly reflected accurately the structure of all sūtras: the setting (*nidāna*), the doctrinal and narrative core, and the transmission (*parīndāna*). This basic schema was widely used in China (where it was known as the *san-fen k'e-ching* and was adopted by Zhiyi (538–597) in his classical analysis of the *Lotus Sūtra,* the *Miaofa lianhua jing su.* The schema is not attested in India until later, as, for example, in Bandhuprabha's (sixth century CE) *Buddhabhūmi Śāstra,* a commentary on the *Buddhabhūmi Sūtra.* In practice, each of the three parts was itself subdivided to account for obvious and important elements of style, narrative development, and so forth, but also to signal those passages considered core or defining statements. The text was expected to satisfy the traditional requirements for a definition of the audience (in the *nidāna* section) and for a positive assessment of the value of the faith and practice inspired by it (usually in the transmission section). Other schemas, some evidently inspired by a similar conception, developed one or more of the three parts. For instance, the sixfold division of the introductory formula of the sūtras (*evaṃ mayā śrutam. . .*) according to the manner proposed in the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-upadeśa Śāstra* was extremely popular among East Asian exegetes. This led to multiple variations in the division of the text of the sūtras, such as Shandao's (613–682) threefold introduction and Zhiyi's five parts of the introduction.

The most fruitful and innovative, though perhaps less rigorous, strategies were those that tried to discover metaphysical meanings in the structure of texts. Such was Zhiyi's "twofold approach"—by way of the deep structure and by way of the surface structure (*pen-chi erh men*) —to a text. This doctrine was part of a more complex exegetical plan, the four exegetical methods of the Tiantai tradition (*T'ien-t'ai ta-ssu-shih*), which brings us closer to broader hermeneutical issues. According to this doctrine, any scriptural passage can be treated from four perspectives: (1) the passage as expression of a particular relationship between the audience and the Buddha (the circumstances determining the intention); (2) the passage as embodying one of four methods of teaching; (3) classification of the passage into one of the categories of absolute or relative statement; and (4) the introspective readings of the passage (*guanxin*). In this methodological schema one can see in outline some of the salient features of Mahāyāna hermeneutics: contextual meaning, levels of meaning, and meditation as a tool of understanding.

BUDDHIST HERMENEUTICS: THEORIES OF INTERPRETATION AND CANONICITY. In traditional terms the fundamental questions of Buddhist hermeneutics can be classified into three broad categories:

1. If enlightenment (*bodhi*) is at least theoretically open to all (or most) sentient beings, what is the role of sacred words and authoritative texts? How does one distinguish the exegesis of sacred texts from the actual transmission or realization of the *dharma*?
2. Since the Buddha preached in so many different ways, adapting his language, style, and even doctrine to the spiritual disposition and maturity of his audience, did he have a plurality of messages or did he have a single truth to offer? If the latter, what was it, and, if the former, how is one to choose among his many teachings?
3. If Buddhism rejects conventional concepts of substance, self, possession, property, and referentiality, so fundamental to our conception of the world, is there a "higher language" that can be used to describe accurately reality as seen from the point of view of enlightenment?

From a modern perspective, one could characterize these three problems as defining the main subfields of Buddhist hermeneutics: the first statement addresses issues of Buddhist soteriology—the conflict between the ascetic-contemplative ideal and the institutional realities of Buddhism, between orthopraxy and orthodoxy. The second problem is that of Buddhist exegetical hermeneutics. Awareness of the late date and the diversity of "canonical" sources generates a "hermeneutical pluralism" that compounds the problem of determining the meaning of diversity and unity in tradition. The third item summarizes the problems of Buddhist philosophical hermeneutics: what are the relative positions and meanings of conventional language, its Buddhist critique, and "the silence of the sages"?

A better perception of the tone underlying the discussion of these issues can be derived from representative traditional responses to the problems:

1. The Buddhist *dharma* is not dependent on the historical event of Śākyamuni's enlightenment, ministry, and *nirvāṇa*. Whether a Tathāgata arises in the world or not, the basic teachings of Buddhism—impermanence, suffering, no-self, and liberation—remain facts of existence. Although the tradition initiated by Śākyamuni is a necessary aid to enlightenment, it is (in the metaphor of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*) only a finger pointing at the moon. The moon is always there, waiting to be seen (whether there is a finger to point at it or not); the finger is not the moon. Nevertheless, some Buddhists, the Theravādins, for instance, would insist on the historical significance of Śākyamuni's life and ministry, and on the close connection between exact literal meaning of doctrinal statements and effective practice.
2. The diversity of teachings is not due to confusion or weakness in the transmission. On the contrary, it is proof of Śākyamuni's wisdom and compassion, of his ability to adapt to the needs, capacities, and dispositions of living beings. According to the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-upadeśa Śāstra,* his teachings were of four types, according to their definite purport (*siddhānta*): worldly (*laukika*), or surface meaning; therapeutic (*prātipakṣika*), or meaning intended as an antidote to mental afflictions and passion; personal (*prātipauruṣika*), or meaning intended for particular individuals; and absolute (*pāramārthika*), or ultimate meaning. This second point is further complicated by the Mahāyāna belief in multiple buddhas and in the timeless *saṃbhogakāya* ("body of bliss") of the buddhas, which eternally preaches in the heavens, and beyond, and is seen and heard in the visions of *bodhisattva*s and sages. Other Buddhists, however, (the Theravādins, for instance) emphasize canonical integrity, rejecting both the doctrine of multiple meanings and the doctrine of multiple buddhas. The Mahāsāṃghikas seem to have wanted to forestall exegetical pluralism and protect the integrity of scripture by claiming that all sūtras have only one explicit meaning.
3. The above attitudes toward the sacred word are inseparable from Buddhist views on levels of meaning, whatever the historical or causal connections between these three problems may have been. The creation of abhidharmic technical language was the first step in separating two orders of truth and expression. Speculation about the nature of the path and the state of perfect freedom of buddhas further contributed to a theory of levels of meaning, since a progression in spiritual insight was

taken to imply an increased capacity to penetrate behind the words of the doctrine.

The Mahāyāna insists that the higher sphere is only embodied in the silence of the *āryas.* The highest stage in the path, and, therefore, the highest order of meaning, can only be expressed in apophatic statements such as "appeasing all discursive thinking" (*sarvaprapañcopaśama*) and "cutting out all doctrines and practices" (*sarvavādacaryoccheda*). Still, all traditions, including the Mahāyāna, develop a language of the sacred (whether or not it is directly inspired by abhidharmic path theories), for it is necessary to explain holy silence in order to lead living beings to it. Thus, the culmination of this sort of speculation comes with the recognition that language, with all its limitations, is an important vehicle for salvation: language is *upāya* (e.g., in the Mādhyamika treatises, the *Laṅkāvatāra,* and the Tantras).

Criteria of authenticity. Early concepts of orthodoxy were based on doctrines of confirmation or inspiration, rather than on a literal definition of "the word of Buddha" (*buddhavacana*). A disciple could preach, then receive the Buddha's approval, or the authority of his words could be implicit in the Buddha's request or inspiration. Although it may seem difficult to have maintained this fiction when the Buddha was no longer living among his followers, Buddhists did not always see things this way. Since the *dharma* is, after all, the Buddha's true body, and since it exists whether or not there is a human Buddha to preach it, one could assume that the preaching of *dharma* would continue after his death. This justification formed part of the context for the proliferation of texts and the elasticity of concepts of canonical authenticity. It may also explain in part why the *abhidharma* and, later, the commentarial literature achieved such a prominent role in the development of Buddhist doctrine.

Such flexibility does not mean, however, that no attempt was made to establish criteria or rules for determining the genuineness of any particular statement of doctrine. The *Mahāpadesa Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (and its parallel in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and in the Āgamas) recognizes four possible ways of appealing to or arguing on the basis of authority: one may appeal to the authority of the Buddha, a community of monks, several elders, or a single elder. The validity of these appeals and their potential sources of authority, however, must be confirmed by comparing the doctrinal statements attributed to these persons against the "sūtra" and the "Vinaya."

The Sanskrit recensions of the *Mahāpadeśa Sūtra* add a third criterion: statements of doctrine must conform "to the reality or nature of things" (*dharmatā*). The same expansion is found in Pali literature in the *Nettippakaraṇa,* where the principles are actually applied to the analysis and evaluation of particular texts, and the three criteria are summarized in very suggestive language: "Which is the sūtra with whose approach [phrases and words] must agree? The four noble truths. Which is the Vinaya in which they must be seen? The Vinaya restraining covetousness, aversion, and delusion. Which is the *dharma* with which they must conform? The *dharma* of conditioned arising" (paras. 122–124).

The principle implies, of course, that whatever agrees with sūtra, Vinaya, and *dharma* (i.e., conditioned arising) carries authority for the Buddhist. If applied to texts this could mean that any new creation that is perceived as a continuation of the tradition (*secundum evangelium*, as it were) could have canonical authority. Indeed, the Mahāyāna used it in just this way to justify the development and expansion of earlier teachings. Theravādins, on the other hand, would understand the broad definitions of the *Nettippakaraṇa* as references to the letter of the canon, not to its spirit. Ultimately, then, the issue remained one of setting the limits of the interpretability of scriptural tradition.

What then is *buddhavacana*? The *Nettippakaraṇa* passage epitomizes the Buddhist tendency to use philosophical rather than historical arguments for authority. But the three tests do not form a complete system of criteria for textual authenticity. In the canonical versions they seem to refer to statements of doctrine and appeals to authority, not to texts. Most certainly if they were meant to constitute a system for establishing canonical authenticity their value would be limited, if not totally inexistent, for as tests of canonical authority the first (and original) two criteria would be tautological. One must accept that the teaching on the "four appeals to authority" was originally a method for determining orthodoxy, not a criterion of authenticity. Still, since Buddhist notions of the "word of Buddha" were elastic, the principle must have been ambiguous. That is to say, the circularity of the argument that "a genuine sūtra is one that agrees with the sūtra" may not be so obvious in the context of Buddhist notions of canonicity—at least in the early stages in the formation of the corpus of scriptures.

Some Buddhists, the Mahāyānists in particular, came to consider "agreement with the sūtras," rather than "inclusion in the Sūtra Piṭaka," the ultimate test of authority. Thus, in China a distinction is made between, on the one hand, pseudepigrapha, or "spurious sūtras" (*weijing*) that are nevertheless "canonical" (that is, in agreement with the spirit of the *dharma* and therefore to be accepted in the canon) and, on the other, those sūtras that are "false" (that is, in conflict with established Buddhist teaching) and therefore to be excluded from the canon. Both types of sūtra are not "genuine" only when contrasted to the "original" sūtras composed in India (which were themselves obviously much later than the time of the Buddha). Thus, given the history of the canon and the broad definition of "authoritative sūtra" current among all Buddhists, it must have been difficult to find any good reason for excluding a text only on historical grounds—to say nothing of establishing those grounds.

Interpretation. Three major sets of principles become central to the latter development of Buddhist hermeneutics. These are the "four reliances" or strategies for understanding a text; the "four types of intentional and metaphoric language;" and the "four modes of reasoning." Since the last of these three doctrines falls more under the rubric of philosophy, we shall omit it from this discussion.

Authority and interpretation. The problem of establishing criteria of interpretation cannot be completely separated from that of the hierarchy of authority. The interaction of both spheres of hermeneutics is seen clearly in the doctrine of the four "points of reliance" (*pratisaraṇa*). This doctrine is found in several Mahāyāna versions, the most popular of which is the *Pratisaraṇa Sūtra,* a text no longer preserved in the original Sanskrit except in quotations. According to this text there are four criteria of interpretation: (1) relying on the nature of things (*dharma*), not on the opinion of a person; (2) relying on the meaning or purport (*artha*) of a text, not its letter; (3) relying on those passages that explicitly express the higher doctrine (*nītārtha*), not on those that do not express it explicitly; and (4) understanding by intuitive realization (*jñāna*), not by conceptual thought (*vijñāna*).

Some of these principles are restatements of the Buddhist tendency to emphasize personal realization as the ultimate source of understanding. But this tendency is not without significant implications for a theory of shared or communicable meaning. A sūtra now lost in the original Sanskrit but preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translations, the *Adhyāśayasaṃcodana Sūtra,* says, "whatever is well spoken [*subhāṣita*], has been spoken by the Buddha." This is perhaps the most extreme formulation of the Mahāyāna's view of the historical roots of its traditions. The system, nevertheless, is not totally open, for implicit in it are the earlier notions of the meaningfulness and appropriateness of the words of the Buddha (and by extension, of scripture). Conversely, then, "whatever is spoken by the Buddha has been well spoken" (as stated, for instance, by King Aśoka in his Bhābrā Rock Edict). Therefore, all passages of scripture must be meaningful—as well as agreeing with the *dharma* and leading to liberation. But it is not always apparent that scripture meets these standards. It is not evident that scripture speaks with one voice. The interpreter must therefore explain the hidden meanings that reveal the underlying unity of intention in scripture, whatever may be the grounds for its authenticity.

Types of intention. In his major works, Asaṅga mentions several methods of understanding that can be applied to scripture. Among these, the four types of explicit intention and the four types of implicit intention suggest the outlines of a hermeneutical theory. Implicit or contextual meanings (*abhiprāya*) appear to be alternatives for decoding a passage—words intending an analogy, words intending another time frame, words intending a shift in referent, and words intended only for a specific individual. The four types of hidden intention (*abhisaṃdhi*) show another aspect of the process of decoding the sacred text: introductory hidden intention (where the meaning is relevant only for the beginner), metaphysical hidden intention (where the meaning is a statement on the nature of reality), therapeutic hidden intention (where the meaning is realized by following the instructions in combating unhealthy actions or states of mind), and metaphorical intention (where the meaning is not the literal meaning, and often is paradoxical in character; e.g., referring to a virtue as a vice).

The concept of intentional speech brings to mind the third of the four points of reliance and the third principle of Tiantai exegesis. The common problem in these doctrines is best expressed by the classical theory of the two levels of meaning: the implicit or interpretable meaning (*neyārtha*) and the explicit or self-evident meaning (*nītārtha*). This is perhaps the most important doctrine of Buddhist hermeneutics. Under this doctrine, passages or complete texts can be taken at face value as statements of the "ultimate" teaching of the Buddha or they can be understood as teachings preached in response to provisional or individual needs, and hiding the core teacher under the textual surface, which then requires interpretation or clarification. If a passage is considered to be of the first type, then it is in no need of further elucidation. Its meaning (*artha*) has already been brought out (*nīta*) by the text itself. If a passage belongs to the second group, then the higher meaning can be found only through interpretation. It must be brought out (*neya*) from underneath the surface meaning, so to speak.

Only the Mahāsāṃghikas seem to have rejected this distinction, claiming that all words of the Buddha mean what they literally mean, and therefore need no interpretation. But this extreme position was rejected by other schools, including the more conservative Sthaviras (Theravādins, Sarvāstivādins, etc.).

This hermeneutical schema is closely related to the doctrine of the two levels of truth, the relative or conventional *saṃvṛtti* and the absolute or ultimate *paramārtha,* arguably first developed in the Mādhyamika school. But the fundamental distinction in the case of implicit and explicit meaning is between modes of intention and meaning, rather than between levels of reality. The point at issue is not whether the words of the text are the ultimate truth (they are not), but whether or not they point directly and unambiguously to it.

Upāya. Also central to Mahāyāna understanding of the religious text is the concept that all forms of discourse are ultimately *saṃvṛtti-satya* (or at best a lower level of *paramārtha*). This is based on both a radical critique of language (as in the Mādhyamika doctrine of "emptiness") and a revaluation of language as a means to an end. In the case of religious language, the end is liberation—the ultimate purpose and the ultimate meaning of all religious discourse. On the lips of the enlightened speaker, language becomes a "skillful means" (*upāya*), pointing at or eliciting (*udbhāvanā*) realization of the goal. The doctrine finds mythological expression when it is stated that the Buddha's preaching always conforms to the aspirations and maturity of his audience and that his pronouncements are instruments to guide sentient beings, not propositions expressing absolute truth. The religious text is *upāya* in at least three ways: it is a compassionate concession to the diversity, aspirations, and faculties of sentient beings; it is an instrument to be used in attaining the goal; and it is the expression of the liberating techniques of the Buddha.

Hermeneutics in the Tantras. Tantric hermeneutics presupposes Mahāyāna hermeneutics. Among other Mahāyāna principles, it accepts the four reliances and Asaṅga's eight types of intention. Of course, Tantric theories of interpretation also retain the fundamental distinction between implicit and explicit meaning. However, the intention is now clearly determined by the context of Esoteric practices. Thus we find again the close connection between interpretation and religious practice that characterizes much of Buddhist hermeneutics and that is also evident in scholastic speculations on the path (as in the *abhidharma*); but here orthopraxy becomes central to textual interpretation. Here too, the traditions consider that the "root" text (*mūlatantra*) requires an explanation (*ākhyānatantra*), but as each text and school has specific practical contexts it is never assumed that a given hermeneutical scheme can be applied to all texts.

The Tantric Candrakīrti (c. 650 CE) explains in his *Pradīpoddyotanā* the basic principles of his school's hermeneutical system as applied to the *Guhyasamāja Tantra.* He explains this "root" text by means of seven analytic procedures called "ornaments" or "preparations" (*saptaalaṃkāra*). All seven are used directly or indirectly to bring out the meaning of the text in interpretation or practice, but only two sets appear to bear directly on the issue of interpretation, being at the same time exegetical topics, hermeneutical tools, and levels of meaning. These are the six alternative interpretations of the meaning of words in a passage (*ṣaṭkoṭikaṃ vyākhyānam*; Tib., *mtha' drug* or *rgyas bshad mtha' rnam pa drug*), and the "fourfold explanation" (*caturvidham ākhyānam*; Tib., *tshul bzhi* or *bshad pa rnam pa bzhi*).

The six alternatives (with slight alterations to the order of the original) are: (1) standard terms used in a literal sense (*yathāruta*); (2) nonstandard or nonnatural terms (*aruta* or *na yathāruta*; i.e. esoteric jargon); (3) implicit meaning requiring interpretation (*neyārtha*); (4) explicit or evident meaning (*nītārtha*); (5) intentional or metaphoric language (*saṃdhyāya bhāṣitam, saṃdhyā bhāṣā*); and (6) nonintentional language (*no saṃdhyā*). Western scholars are not in agreement as to the hermeneutical function of this "ornament," but the Tibetan tradition considers the six alternatives an integral part of the interpretation theory unique to Tantra.

The "fourfold explanation," on the other hand, is generally accepted as a hermeneutical schema. In this case Candrakīrti makes an explicit connection between levels of meaning and the stages of spiritual growth (particularly according to the schema of *utpattikrama* and *sampannakrama,* the latter being divided into five stages or *pañcakrama*). The four explanations are: (1) literal, surface, or natural meaning (*akṣarārtha*); (2) shared meaning (*samastāṅgam*); (3) hidden (*garbhī*) meaning; and (4) ultimate (*kolikam*) meaning. The first type of meaning is shared by those on the path and those who have not entered it. The second type is shared by the Mahāyāna and the Tantra (specifically those in the "initial" or *utpatti* stage). The third type is open only to those in the first three stages of the fivefold higher path. The last level of meaning is open only to those who have advanced to the fourth and fifth stages.

This schema is a subtle application of the basic principle of the explicit and the interpretable meanings. One must note, however, that in Tantric exegesis a single text or passage can be both *nīta* and *neya*, depending on the receptor of the message. This entails not only a complex hermeneutics, but also the possibility that the so-called direct meaning (*nīta*) of one level requires interpretation (i.e., is *neyārtha*) for those who are at another level of the path.

Progressive revelation. The Tantric hermeneutical schema manifests, even more transparently than earlier theories, one of the basic assumptions of Buddhist views of meaning: meanings (and "truths") are a function of the audience as much as, or more than, a function of the intention of the author. If this principle is extended into the cosmic or historical dimension, then new hermeneutical concepts can be derived from the doctrine that the Buddha can preach simultaneously to various assemblies of celestial *bodhisattva*s, adapt his teaching to the needs and faculties of diverse living beings, or preach only one message (in words or silence) yet be understood in different ways. This doctrine, applied to the historical reality of the conflict of authorities, transmissions, and interpretations, provides reasons, albeit ex post facto, for choosing and justifying any particular version of the many "teachings of the Buddha."

The turnings of the wheel. In context, statements about relative teaching and ultimate teaching are more sectarian and polemical in spirit than their mere abstract formulations suggest. When a text states that all teachings of the Buddha are only skillful means or empty sounds there is always a conflicting claim to the ultimate validity of the text's own interpretation of the "one true teaching" underlying the "provisional teachings." This is evident in all the classical statements—the *Lotus Sūtra,* the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra,* the *Saṃdhinirmocana Sūtra,* and others. In some of these texts we see attempts to formulate a historical argument in favor of doctrinal claims. The Buddha, the argument goes, preached in two (or three) major periods that divide his ministry as to location, audience, and depth of the teaching. These major divisions in the Buddha's ministry are called "turnings of the wheel of *dharma.*" According to the most widely accepted doctrine (as presented in the *Saṃdhinirmocana Sūtra*), there were three "turnings": the Buddha first preached the Hīnayāna teachings in Deer Park in Banaras. Then he preached the doctrine of "emptiness" (i.e., the Mādhyamika teachings) at Vulture Peak in Rājagṛha. Last, he preached, in the same place but when his disciples were more mature, the doctrine of "mind-only" (i.e., the Yogācāra doctrines).

There is, of course, a Mādhyamika version of this story in which the third turning is in fact that of emptiness and the second the "idealistic" doctrine of the *Saṃdhinirmocana Sūtra*. There is also a late Tantric version that adds a fourth turning: the revelation of Mantrayāna at Dhānyakaṭaka. Nevertheless, the scriptural weight of the *Saṃdhinirmocana* was such that the scholastics could not ignore its clear statement. Thus, Tsong kha pa (1357–1419), in his *Legs bshad snying po,* goes through the most subtle arguments to show that the sūtra's ordering of the turnings does not imply a privileged position for the doctrine of mind-only.

The formulation of pseudohistorical apologetics and hermeneutical strategies became popular in China. The Indian schema of the Three Turnings was adopted in the schools of Sanlun and Faxiang, while others developed autonomous systems: Huayan and Niepan (The Teachings of the Five Periods) and Tiantai (The Eight Teachings in Five Periods). The last of these, a synthesis created by the Tiantai monk Zhanran (711–782), divided and interpreted the scriptures according to the four types of doctrine used in the Buddha's preaching (*huafa*: the doctrines of the *tripiṭaka*, the common doctrines, the special doctrines, and the perfect or complete doctrine) and his four teaching styles (*huayi*: direct, gradual, secret, and indeterminate or variable). These eight forms of teaching were used in different proportions and combinations during five periods (*wushi*) in the Buddha's ministry: the Buddhāvataṃsaka cycle, the Deer Park cycle, the Vaipulya cycle, the Prajñāpāramitā cycle, and the cycle of the *Lotus* and *Nirvāṇa* sūtras.

This is traditionally taken to imply that a given passage or statement can have multiple levels of meaning. But the function of these "classifications of the teachings" (*jiaopan*) was apologetic as well as hermeneutic. The method served as much to establish the preeminence of a particular school as to make sense of the diversity of teachings.

The ages of the dharma. A parallel development, based on Indian scriptures but characteristic of East Asian Buddhism, is the doctrine of the "Latter Age of the *Dharma*" (Chin., *mofa*; Jpn., *mappō*). The use of this doctrine as a hermeneutical device consists in proposing that changes in historical circumstances require a different interpretation of the tradition or a new definition of orthopraxy. This doctrine developed in China during the turbulent sixth century CE, which culminated in the persecutions of 574 and 578 and led many Buddhists to believe they were living in the last days of the Buddhist *dharma*.

Daochuo (562–645), for instance, believed that the "difficult" practices that were at the heart of traditional Buddhist ascetic and contemplative discipline had become meaningless in the "Latter Age." He therefore proposed that the scriptures prophesying this age justified a new dispensation that would only require the "easier" practices of Pure Land devotion. Matching Indian prophecies on the future of the Buddhist religion with his historical circumstances, he felt he could derive the authority for doctrinal change from the canonical prophecies on the decline of the *dharma*, and indirectly from changing historical circumstances themselves.

Zen demythologization. A different form of adaptation, responding nevertheless occasionally to the issue of the "decay" of *dharma*, was the Chan (Zen) emphasis on a "return" to orthopraxy. Here the general four principles of the *Adhyāśayasaṃcodana* are used in their most extreme forms. Partially inspired by Chinese interpretations of the Mādhyamika critique of language, partially moved by Daoist rhetoric, this was a movement that emphasized "ultimate meaning," "direct experience," and "freedom from words" to the point of appearing—if not becoming—iconoclastic. One can understand the movement as a process of adaptation of foreign ideas by demythologization (or, arguably, remythologization), assisted by the deconstructive tendencies built into Buddhist hermeneutical doctrines.

The basic object of meditation, the *gong'an* (Jpn., *kōan*), stands for the sacred utterance of enlightened beings, an *upāya*, a finger pointing at the moon, and the embodiment of different aspects of the putatively single realization common to all buddhas. This is, after all, a tradition that claims "a transmission outside the scriptures, not relying on words." Nevertheless, the Chan (Zen) tradition continues, in its *kōan* collections, the Buddhist predilection for the classification and collection of words "well spoken." Furthermore, these collections, like the ancient sūtras, require commentaries, and in them Chan also revives, albeit in a new form, the tendency to develop numerical frames of reference. The *Jen-t'ien yen-mu* (compiled by Zhizhao, 1188 CE) contains a number of classificatory systems that can be understood as either guides to meditation or hermeneutical grids to interpret the student's progress in practice. Many of these "matrices" remain in use today. For instance, the elusive teachings of Linji Yixuan (d. 867 CE) are presented in formulas such as "Linji's Three Phrases," extrapolated from his *Linji lu* (Recorded sayings). Modern Zen masters still study the "Eighteen Questions of Fenyang" (*Fengyang shih-pa wen*), a terse guide to the various ways one can "handle" (treat, investigate, and answer) a *kōan*, devised by the Song dynasty master Fenyang Shanzhao (947–1024). Also central to modern-day practice, and outlined in the *Jen-t'ien yen-mu,* are the "Five Ranks" (*wuwei*) of Dongshan (910–990) and Caoshan (840–901). One can see in these schemas a certain parallel to the techniques of *abhidharma*.

However, Zen also preserves the opposite Buddhist tendency, best represented by the teachings of the Japanese master Dōgen Kigen (1200–1253). Dōgen echoes a particularly novel interpretation of the doctrine of "whatever is well spoken" in his writings on sūtra (*Shōbōgenzō*; "Okyō" and "Dōtoku"): all things are sūtras, in all things is manifested the enlightenment of the buddhas of all times. This vision, inspired by the *Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra*, also raises the question of how this "sūtra," which is found in all things, can be opened, read, and understood. The Zen tradition of Dōgen has tended to find the answer in silent meditation.

Dōgen also summarizes much of what is characteristic of the Zen view on interpreting the tradition in a few terse lines in his *Gakudōyōshinshū*: reliance on scripture only leads to confusion, to projecting one's own preferences on the text. The only way to correct understanding is by divesting oneself of the self.

Other approaches to Zen practice are not necessarily as distant as they seem from Dogen's deceptively simple recommendation. Traditional Chinese and Japanese classifications and methods of "handling" or "studying" *kōan* were systematized by Hakuin Ekaku (1686–1768) and his disciples. The resulting system of *kōans* (five levels of miscellaneous *kōans*, plus the five *goi kōans*, and the Ten Precepts) has all the marks of Buddhist catechistic instincts; Hakuin himself, in his essay "Goi kōketsu" in the *Keisō dokuzui*, established exact correlations between some of these stages and Indian scholastic categories. Still, the system also emphasizes the quest for meaning in practice and a gradual detachment from doctrinal conceptions, as well as from meditation experiences. The crowning piece of the system, the last *kōan* (*matsugo no rōkan*) asks the disciple to reflect on the meaning of "completing" a system of *kōans*—that is, what should be the last question, once the adept has answered all questions?

Hermeneutics and apologetics. All Buddhists tend, even today, to claim a certain immunity from history, partly justified by the emphasis on the presence of *dharma* in all things and all times, by the plurality of buddhas, and by the obvious diversity and plasticity of the tradition. When first faced with historical criticism, coming from non-Buddhists such as Tominaga Nakamoto (1715–1746) in his *Shutsujō kōgo* (1745), some Japanese Buddhists (e.g., Murakami Senshō [1851–1929] in *Bukkyō tōitsu ron*) readily admitted that the Mahāyāna scriptures could not be the *ipsissima verba* of the Master. They based the orthodoxy of their tradition on concepts outlined above: the unity of the spirit, consistency in the goal, and the development of "skillful means." Some, for instance, Maeda Eun (1855–1930), also appealed to the doctrine that all teachings are implicit in the one, original, and ineffable teaching. The concept of levels of meaning is also used to preserve some form of religious discourse while claiming that the ultimate is beyond language and history. Mahāyāna Buddhists continue to appeal to these principles, relying fundamentally on the ancient apologetic and hermeneutic strategies outlined in this article. The Theravāda tradition, on the other hand, tends to build its hermeneutics on the reaffirmation of its conviction that its canon contains the words of the Buddha.

Buddhist hermeneutics and Western thought. At present, Buddhists in Asia tend to argue for their interpretations of traditional doctrines and texts using one or another of the above strategies. Attempts to develop or adapt more contemporary notions of hermeneutic theory or practice are generally rare. An interesting exception to this generalization is the adoption of positivistic notions of textual integrity and authenticity in a movement known as the "critical Buddhism" doctrine (*Hihan Bukkyō*). Developed by a small group of Japanese scholars in the last decades of the twentieth century, the movement appeared at times to hide an apologetic favoring a philosophical and scholastic reading of the tradition based on Madhyamaka principles. The movement has remained primarily an intellectual curiosity. Some Western scholars, on the other hand, have made a few faint incursions into a postmodern reading of Buddhist thought; but, again, without persuading most of their colleagues, and certainly with, so far, a very limited impact, or no influence, on their Asian colleagues. It is too early to predict in which direction living Buddhist interpretive practices will move in the near future.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, Schools of, article on Mahāyāna Philosophical Schools of Buddhism; Buddhist Philosophy; Hermeneutics; Language, article on Buddhist Views of Language; Treasure Tradition.

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BUDDHIST ETHICS. *Buddhist ethics* is a term of convenience that we may use here to describe systems of morality as well as styles of moral reasoning that have emerged in Buddhist traditions. Moral reflection has taken various forms in Buddhist civilizations, beginning with Buddhism's origins in South Asia two and a half millennia ago to its gradual spread across most of Asia through very diverse cultural contexts. While several patterns in moral thinking broadly shared by most or all forms of Buddhism may be suggested at the outset, deeper investigation must attend to particular expressions of Buddhist ethics in their historical and contextual diversity.

Enduring Patterns across Buddhist Traditions. From one perspective, Buddhist moral theorists are concerned with actions (*karma*), which are deemed to determine one's future experiences in this and future lives in the round of rebirths (*saṃsāra*). Actions that are prompted by virtuous and discerning intentions yield beneficial results both in this life and in the next. Conversely, actions that are rooted in bad states of mind—in particular, greed, hatred, and delusion—are harmful to self and others and thus result in unfortunate rebirths for those who commit them. This concern with action and its consequences is reflected in a list of basic norms known as the "five precepts" (*śīla*), to which Buddhists often commit formally in religious ceremonies; these prohibit taking life, theft, sexual misconduct, false speech, and the consumption of intoxicants. More positively, Buddhists have looked for moral guidance to the noble eightfold path, which, in addition to describing key elements of wisdom and contemplation crucial for the soteriological path, also articulates a positive description of ideal moral conduct in terms of right action, right speech, and right livelihood. Such descriptions enjoin truthfulness and nonviolence as defining "right" practice.

The emphasis on actions, however, should not obscure the intensive interest Buddhist thinkers have taken in the virtues and dispositions that produce them. Since Buddhists locate moral culpability in intention and volition rather than solely in the action itself, the operations of moral choice are central to ethical reflection. Buddhism offers a close analysis of mind, investigating the emotions, dispositions, and tendencies that drive our action and shape the world. Early Buddhism produced a very sophisticated moral psychology called *abhidharma*, which articulated an analysis of the constituents of the mind and their relationships that are crucial for the development of virtuous dispositions. This moral psychology, as well as other discourses on the mind, assert that the key to developing moral character is to replace negative and harmful mental states and emotions with positive and other-regarding mental states.

In many traditions of Buddhism, meditation practices are deployed to generate beneficial emotions and dispositions, providing practitioners with techniques that allow them to "abide" in particularly morally efficacious states, in particular, compassion (trembling at and allaying the distress of others), loving kindness (seeking the happiness of others), sympathetic joy (celebrating others' success), and equanimity (acquiring impartiality). By developing through introspection and contemplation one's mental culture one becomes sensitive to one's emotional life and can then change habitual and harmful states of mind. Thus one cultivates a developed moral subjectivity, a new awareness of oneself as a moral agent.

For example, a meditation practice widely attested in diverse Buddhist traditions aims to cultivate loving kindness towards others (including enemies) through the"mother contemplation." This meditation involves reflecting upon the nature of the endless chain of rebirths, wherein we have all, given the vast infinity of time in *saṃsāra*, been related to one another in previous lives. In beginning the contemplation, one should consider the tender ministrations of one's mother when one was an infant in this life. Tsong kha pa (1357–1419), an important Tibetan authority on meditation and morality, describes this recollection:

> The first thing I did was take a long period in her womb. Thereafter, in the time of my rearing, my downy baby hair pressed against her warm flesh. Her ten fingers gave me recreation. She suckled me with the milk from her breast. With her mouth she fed me. My snivel she wiped from my mouth. Wiping away with her hand my filth, she succored me wearilessly by diverse means. Moreover, my own capacity falling short, she gave me food and drink in the time of hunger and thirst; clothes when I shivered; money when I was "broke." (Wayman, 1991, p. 47)

In the practice one considers one's incapacity and vulnerability as an infant and the crucial acts of care that one's mother (or other caregiver) rendered. Such reflections create a subjectivity of gratitude and loving appreciation for one's parent. From these contemplations, the practice is extended to consider that all beings have at one time been one's mother and have partaken in this role of caregiving and generosity. Thus, it would be unbecoming to harbor angry or hostile thoughts against so-called enemies now, and instead one comes to be suffused with gratitude and loving kindness towards them.

The facts of our interconnected relationships with other beings often provide the resources from which moral disposition and character are seen to develop. Of great concern for Buddhists is the importance of seeking out wise and good friends and teachers for guidance. The Buddha once asserted that "in fact the whole of the holy life is friendship, closeness, and association with good people" (*Saṃyutta Nikāya,* vol. 2), and an essential ingredient in the development of character is seeking out a "good friend" (*kalyāna-mitra*), a wise counselor who can direct one in one's moral and religious progress. The supreme "good friend" of course is the Buddha himself, and we find in his story Buddhism's attentiveness to matters of character through studies of moral heroism. The Buddha's life story provides a locus for investigation into the development of moral agency. In traditional accounts his life story begins many eons ago when he first makes the aspiration to become a buddha, and then embarks upon a long and arduous spiritual journey across many lives as a *bodhisattva* in which he masters ten "perfections"—generosity, the precepts of morality (*śīla*), renunciation, wisdom, effort, patience, truth, resolution, loving-kindness, and equanimity. The dénouement of this moral and religious quest culminates in his "awakening" (*bodhi*, or *nirvāṇa*) in his life as Siddhārtha Gautama and his establishing of the *dharma* in our era. Buddhists admire this image of human perfection and hold it up as a model for contemplation on the Buddha's qualities and the narrative contexts in which his character was forged. Morality here is envisioned not as a matter of simply adhering to duties and obligations to avoid wrong action, but as aiming ever upwards in developing one's character and virtue.

Since the Buddha, as fully awakened, is no longer accessible as a living guide, one may turn to other resources for community support of one's moral development. In many forms of Buddhism, the best place to find a good friend is the monastic community (*saṃgha*), a group of men and women dedicating their lives to the religious quest in cooperation with others. They are governed by the monastic code *(vinaya),* which functions as a normative guide for an ideal community. The monastic discipline and its commentaries comprise critical ethical reflection in considering how this community works together harmoniously, how it garners through its exemplary behavior the support of lay Buddhists, and how it deals with breaches in its code of conduct. In its scholastic exegesis on discerning the criteria for determining culpability in violations of the monastic rules, the *vinaya* literature produces a legalistic style of ethical reasoning that carefully parses the nuances of action and intention.

Philosophical doctrines about the nature of personhood are also crucial to Buddhist moral thought. Buddhists deny any notion of a permanent, autonomous selfhood or soul that withstands the changes to which all things in *saṃsāra* are subject; a person is nothing more than a collection of constantly changing, but causally connected physical and mental phenomena comprised of five "aggregates": physical form, perception, feeling, mental activities, and consciousness. The refusal to grant any notion of a permanent, unchanging personal identity or selfhood has important ethical implications. First, the no-self (*anātman*) doctrine can undermine the selfishness and false sense of individual autonomy that is at the root of much wrongdoing and harmful action. Secondly, this view of personhood affirms one's interconnected dependence on the world, the conditionality and contingency of one's identity, and the pliability of personhood and capacity for change that are vital for a strong sense of moral agency.

This view of the person is accompanied by an understanding of reality that emphasizes the interrelatedness and mutual dependence of all life (*pratītya-samutpāda*), which is both the cause of our suffering and yet reveals the opportunities for emancipation. As part of an intricate web of relationships with other beings (including nonhuman animals and beings beyond those whom we know in this life alone) we find ourselves in networks of reciprocal obligations. Buddhist thinkers also argue that our interconnectedness with all beings reveals a basic sympathy natural to our condition, in which our fate is intimately tied up with that of others. This doctrine is thus a key resource for decentering self-interest and nurturing compassion.

With these shared patterns briefly sketched we turn now to particular expressions of Buddhist moral thinking as they have developed historically in specific Buddhist traditions.

THERAVĀDA ETHICS. Theravāda, the dominant form of Buddhism present today in Sri Lanka, Thailand, Burma (Myanmar), Cambodia, and Laos, is one of the earliest traditions of Buddhism and has an ancient canonical literature associated with it in the Pali language. As a great intellectual civilization centered in Sri Lanka for well over two thousand years, Theravāda has much to contribute to questions of ethics. One schema of the moral life that achieved sustained scholarly reflection among both ancient and modern commentators is the framework of the eightfold path, which articulates moral and spiritual progress through three stages: moral precepts (*sīla*), concentration (*samādhi*), and wisdom (*paññā*). The great fifth-century commentator Buddhaghosa framed his vision of the ideal Buddhist life in these terms, depicting morality as the basis and foundation of all religious progress, even while it continues to find fuller expression as one advances into the highest reaches of spiritual awakening and becomes an *arhat*, an awakened one. The *arhat* is entirely free of the three "defilements" (greed, hatred, and delusion), and is thus considered morally perfect.

While Buddhaghosa intends his model to apply principally to monastics—those who have dedicated their lives to this pursuit—Theravāda offers other resources for describing and reflecting on lay morality and the features of a broad social ethic. One text, very well-known throughout the Theravāda world, that speaks to a range of moral goods is the *Maṅgala Sutta.* The text records thirty-eight diverse prima facie values ranging from avoiding fools and associating with the wise, caring for one's mother and father, and practicing a blameless livelihood, to moral and ascetic practices associated with the monastic life. No single person would be capable of practicing all of these in a single life, as some of them mutually conflict (such as engaging in a blameless livelihood and being a monastic), yet the text and its extensive commentarial tradition refuse to rank these values and insist that each is "the highest auspiciousness." The text thus affirms different human social roles and moral capacities, sketching the contours of a model human society. The commentaries engage a "particularist" mode of moral reasoning, refusing to proceed from general principles or criteria, but instead treating a range of diverse moral values on their own distinct terms and in a manner highly sensitive to context (see Hallisey, 1996).

An important element of both personal and social morality is gift giving (*dāna*). Generosity to monks and nuns, as well as to the poor and needy, is a key Buddhist value, as it simultaneously sustains the community and dislodges greed and attachment to material things. Scholastic reflections on gift giving provide sophisticated ethical treatment of the motivations and intentions prompting gifts, the face-to-face relationships gifts forge, and the proper use of material wealth. Theravadins have also considered moral values associated with the just administration of state power. The ideal of the righteous king (*dhammarāja, cakkavatti*), promotes practices of governance that adhere to the precepts, prohibit onerous taxation, limit state violence, establish a viable justice system, and secure protection, prosperity, and peace for the people. When such a righteous king sits in power, order and harmony will naturally prevail at every level of society.

MAHĀYĀNA AND VAJRAYĀNA ETHICS. The emergence of Mahāyāna in India and Central Asia in the second century CE created a paradigm shift in Buddhist approaches to morality. Moreover, when Chinese pilgrims came to India to explore Buddhism and bring it back to China, they were drawn primarily to Mahāyāna teachings, and thus it was predominantly Mahāyāna that spread to China, and thence to Korea, Japan, and Vietnam, where it took diverse forms as it developed and adapted to East Asian civilizations. As Mahāyāna eventually gained ascendancy in India, it gave rise to yet another reformulation of the Buddhist path, known as Vajrayāna, traditions of which took root predominantly in Tibet, Nepal, and their neighboring Himalayan kingdoms.

The early Indian Mahāyāna thinkers were not satisfied with what they interpreted as the narrow ideal of the *arhat*, that is, the pursuit of one's own spiritual awakening and perfection through following the Buddha's teaching as a *śrāvaka*, a "hearer" or mere follower. Mahāyāna critics preferred instead the model of the Buddha himself, who, through countless eons from the moment of his aspiration for buddhahood, strove for a height of perfection that entailed not only his own release from *saṃsāra*, but also the teaching and saving of countless others. Thus the ideal of the *bodhisattva* came to be regarded as the pinnacle of Buddhist practice and teaching. Laypeople and monastics alike could strive to become *bodhisattvas*, taking a vow not to rest until they had secured the salvation of all beings as they practiced perfections over innumerable lifetimes.

This exalted ethic was advanced through a critique of non-Mahāyāna traditions, which were construed as providing a morality limited in both scope and conception. Mahāyāna theorists posited three tiers of morality that demonstrated the supposed shortcomings of non-Mahāyāna ethics: (1) The ethics of restraint, which includes the precepts and the monastic code; (2) the ethics of cultivating good states, through the practice of the perfections; and (3) the ethics of altruism, the tireless effort of striving for all beings (Keown, 1992, pp. 137–142). In the Mahāyāna view, the path of the *śrāvaka*, the follower, does not advance beyond the first tier, the mere refraining from harmful actions through rules of constraint. The *bodhisattva*, in contrast, strives to master the perfections and embrace a self-abnegating generosity toward all beings. The altruism described in Mahāyāna texts knows no limits. The eighth-century philosopher Śāntideva, for example, describes this practice as a willingness to offer oneself up entirely for the benefit of others: "I make over this body to all embodied beings to do with as they please. . . . May I be sustenance of many kinds for the realm of beings throughout space, until all have attained release" (Crosby and Skilton, 1995, p. 21). Upon taking the vow for awakening, the aspiring *bodhisattva* is committed to working unceasingly for the benefit of others through renunciation of his or her own interests; indeed awakening itself is conceived as renunciation of self through love of others.

While the overarching moral value associated with this vision is compassion, the *bodhisattva* works gradually—across many lives—to master ten distinct perfections. The list of perfections differs to some degree from the standard list of the Buddha's perfections, and includes the stages of the *bodhisattva* path: generosity, moral precepts, patience, vigor, meditation, wisdom, skillful means, vows, power, and omniscient knowledge. According to some formulations, the first six may be perfected in human states, but the last four require the supernatural range of a celestial being; in stage seven, one is reborn as a celestial *bodhisattva* endowed with superior powers of skillful means and knowledge that expand one's sphere of influence.

The perfection of skillful means (*upāya*) is particularly interesting from the ethical point of view. This virtue involves the mastery of a kind of situational intelligence and beneficial expedience whereby a *bodhisattva* is sometimes authorized, or even obliged, to violate the precepts in order to bring about a greater good. A classic example is a *bodhisattva* who kills a murderous thief on board a ship who designs to kill the passengers and rob them. The *bodhisattva* reasons that it would be heinous to allow the robber to carry out his design, but if he were to alert the passengers they would kill the robber, effecting their own bad karmic results. Thus the *bodhisattva* kills the robber himself, saving all present from the effects of their own murderous intentions. Of course, the *bodhisattva* is prepared to suffer in hell for countless eons as a result of breaking the precept that prohibits taking life; this is regarded as the price of his altruistic and self-denying impulse to take on the sufferings of others through prevent ing them from committing any harmful deeds. Discussions of skillful means thus demonstrate not only the far reaches of a *bodhisattva*'s compassion, but also a principled resistance to an absolutist moral code, perceiving instead moral demands that take in the complexities of circumstances in such a way that may require subverting normally universal moral rules. Of course, only advanced *bodhisattvas*, well established in insight and compassion, are enjoined to practice skillful means, and breaching the precepts willy-nilly is not sanctioned.

In addition to the *bodhisattva* ideal, developments in philosophy undergirded new approaches to morality in Mahāyāna traditions. Mahāyāna wisdom literature and philosophical discourses expounded the doctrines of "emptiness" (*śūnyatā*), the awareness that all factors of existence are interdependent and empty of their own, independent reality, and "suchness" (*tathatā*), the experience of things as they truly are, without any conceptual superimposition on them. *Nirvāṇa* comes to be seen as not so much as an independent state apart from *saṃsāra*, but as true awareness that embraces all things in their emptiness and suchness. Since true insight into reality transcends ordinary conceptions of good and bad, these religious teachings sometimes relativized conventional ethical distinctions.

As Buddhism spread eastward, many of these ideas were institutionalized in the tradition of Chan, or Zen as it was known in Japan. In addition, Zen embraced a doctrine that had first appeared in the Indian sūtras of the *tathāgata-garbha*, the seed or potentiality (or, in some formulations, the actuality) of awakening that is said to reside in all beings. Awakening is then not a matter of gradual ascent, but rather becoming aware of one's already awakened buddha-nature. Morality is thus conceived not as a disciplined path to spiritual progress, but rather as a manifestation of one's true awakened state.

The lofty Mahāyāna ideal of the *bodhisattva* followed two contrasting trajectories as it spread eastward. On the one hand, we see in this ideal a tremendous and perhaps unequaled exaltation of human possibility and agency. On the other hand, with the emergence of celestial *bodhisattvas*, certain traditions within Mahāyāna take on the flavor of savior religions. One might come to perceive oneself not as an aspiring *bodhisattva*, but conversely, as the beneficiary of the exertions of powerful *bodhisattvas*. The Mahāyāna sūtras depict a new pantheon of savior beings in an expanded cosmology that includes not only celestial *bodhisattvas*, but also multiple buddhas residing in other realms in the cosmos. The historical Buddha Gautama was reconceived to be one of many, indeed, infinite buddhas, many of whom preside in Pure Lands. These Pure Lands come to be objects of wonder and hope, with Buddhists in East Asia sometimes aspiring not so much to become *bodhisattvas*, but to be reborn, often through the intercession of *bodhisattvas* and buddhas, in these bliss realms wherein awakening is easily attained through direct access to the compassion and wisdom of a buddha.

These alternative visions of human agency spawned by the early Mahāyāna teachings come to be articulated and fully crystallized in sharp contrast to one another in Japanese sectarian traditions. Zen offers what has been described as a "self-power" practice, wherein moral and spiritual agency is found through one's own resources. In contrast, the Pure Land tradition initiated by Hōnen (1133–1212) and his disciple Shinran (1173–1262), advocates a religiosity devoid entirely of self-power and human agency, instead requiring only that one embrace one's incapacity and look for salvation to the agency of an "other-power," in this case that of the Buddha Amida. For Shinran, humans are helpless and depraved, too deeply mired in passion, hatred, and delusion to effect their own salvation, at least not in our age in which the *dharma* is in decline. One's only hope is to say the *nembutsu*, that is, evoke Amida Buddha's saving grace and compassion, whereby one may be reborn in Amida's Pure Land. Salvation is thus not a matter of morality and good works, and in fact it has particular relevance to the "sinner." In the *Tannisho*, Shinran is said to assert: "Even a good person can attain birth in the Pure Land, so it goes without saying that an evil person will" (Hirota, 1982, p. 23). Shinran is here exalting the faith of the depraved evil person who has no pretence of good works and thus must rely solely on faith in the grace of other-power.

Perhaps not surprisingly, this religiosity based on other-power came to have widespread appeal and has come to be one of the most popular forms of Buddhism in Japan, as it opens salvation to those who are unable or unwilling to embrace the arduous practices of monastic life, meditation, ritual, and so on that have often been the privilege of the elite. Perhaps also not surprisingly, the teachings of Hōnen and Shinran sometimes gave rise to those who embraced "licensed evil," since good works are irrelevant to salvation and the wicked are saved through merely saying the *nembutsu*. Very subtle and sophisticated scholastic traditions of ethical reflection and religious doctrine grew out of these developments in which Pure Land thinkers sought to respond to antinomian challenges and construe morality not as a means of salvation to be sure, but nevertheless as a valuable expression of gratitude for it.

Another important Japanese sectarian tradition is Nichiren Buddhism, named after its thirteenth-century founder. Like the other traditions of his day, Nichiren (1222–1282) adopted a view of history based on a notion of the "degeneration of the *dharma*" (*mappō*). This view of history provides a pessimistic account of human capacity with regard to following the precepts. But Nichiren's response differs from the Pure Land's in that he advocates active devotion to the *Lotus Sūtra*, an important Mahāyāna text. This devotion to the *Lotus Sūtra*, expressed in chanting "*Namu Myōhō-renge-kyō*," aligns oneself with the essence of Buddhist truth and awakening, and thus is thought to bring peace, justice, and spiritual renewal to the world.

Vajrayāna is sometimes conceived as being contiguous with Mahāyāna, and other times to transcend it as the fulfillment and highest level of Buddhism. It accepts Mahāyāna's philosophical ideas and its pantheon of savior deities (and indeed adds to them), but evinces some impatience with the long and arduous path of the *bodhisattva*. Instead Vajrayāna offers, sometimes through dramatic ritual and meditative techniques under the tutelage of a trusted teacher, a "fast path" to awakening. The fast path involves transcending dualities and conventional distinctions, including that between good and evil, thus exhibiting certain Mahāyāna impulses to downplay the value of renunciation and preceptive discipline in favor of seeking direct realization.

In Tibet, Vajrayāna Buddhism became a central, if not the central, element of the political culture, bringing to bear ethical questions of how Buddhist power should be configured. Buddhism in Tibet developed among sectarian traditions that often vied with one another over matters of ethical concern, particularly over the matter of whether, and in what ways, monastic and ethical discipline contributes to the advancement of mystical insight. The establishment of vast monastic universities, which Tibet inherited from India, contributed to an advanced intellectual climate conducive for debating these and other matters of religious import.

BUDDHIST ETHICS IN MODERN CONTEXTS. Buddhism's encounters with modernity provide occasion for examining applied ethics, as Buddhist values and principles come to be applied to situations that traditional authorities may not have fully anticipated. We might think of modernity's impact in Asia as generating several distinct but related transformations: the rise and preeminence of a scientific rationality and the fruits of scientific and technological inquiry (in medicine, warfare, and industry); new alignments of power, beginning with colonialism through much of Asia and yielding eventually to nationalism and independent nation-states; the advent of new political and economic ideologies and sometimes bloody experimentation with communism, socialism, and totalitarianism; the rise of Western hegemony through global capitalism and consumerism, with their often exploitative relationship to human labor and ecosystems; and new ideas from the West about gender equality, human rights, and democracy. These challenges and opportunities have given rise to much creative work in recent Buddhist ethical thought.

Efforts to modernize Buddhism arose as reformist movements in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, primarily in Theravāda countries. Modernizing Buddhism was taken to mean excising its supernatural and mythical elements and downplaying the importance of devotional worship, while emphasizing Buddhism's rational, rule-oriented practices for monastics, and the purity of its ethical norms for all Buddhists. In the decades following Indian independence in 1947, Buddhism was configured in almost entirely social-ethical terms by the leader of India's untouchables, B. R. Ambedkar (1891–1956), who turned to Buddhism as an ideology of social liberation for his people. Another example of such a modernizing effort that shaped Buddhism into primarily a social ethic was promulgated by the Sinhala reformer Anagārika Dharmapāla (1864–1933) as part of his vision of a purified Sinhala Buddhist nationalism. He emphasized new pastoral roles for monks as caretakers of their communities, and new roles for the laity that entailed a bourgeois "this-worldly asceticism." These developments bore the imprint of the colonial government and Christian missionary influences they were seeking to displace. Other expressions of Buddhist modernism arose through the new literary genre of the novel, wherein multiple and conflicting perspectives may be explored simultaneously, new senses of national, ethnic, and religious communities may be developed, and new forms of social critique and prospects for social change may be voiced.

Today Buddhists from across the Buddhist world (which now includes the West as Buddhism spreads across the globe) are retooling traditional Buddhist thought and practice to address contemporary problems through social activism. This movement has been termed *engaged Buddhism* by one its foremost proponents, Thich Nhat Hanh (b. 1926), an activist monk promoting peace and nonviolence both in his country during the Vietnam War and globally. The various expressions of engaged Buddhism share the view that Buddhism requires a moral engagement with the world rather than a retreat from it; moreover, Buddhism's deep sensitivity to suffering properly yields political, economic, and social activism to bring Buddhist contributions to rectifying the major ills of our time. In addition to Thich Nhat Hanh, prominent engaged Buddhists include Buddhadāsa Bhikkhu (1906–1993), a Thai reformist monk whose social teachings critique materialism, advocate a Buddhist socialism, and promote harmonious relationships with nature; Sulak Sivaraksa (b. 1933), a Thai lay intellectual who challenges the structures and ideologies of international capitalism and consumerism that exploit people and resources particularly in developing countries like Thailand; and A. T. Ariyaratna (b. 1931), whose Sarvodaya Shramadana movement in Sri Lanka promotes social regeneration in rural and village contexts through active lay Buddhist commitments to service. In addition, there are a number of activists working to redress the role of women in contemporary Buddhism by organizing to reestablish the Theravāda order of fully ordained nuns (*bhikkhunīs*) and confronting traditional patriarchal structures and institutions that limit or devalue the roles and contributions of women in Buddhist societies.

The conferring of the Nobel Peace Prize on two Buddhist figures—in 1989 to the Dalai Lama (b. 1935), the spiritual and political head of the Tibetan people in exile since the Chinese invasion of Tibet in the 1950s, and in 1991 to Aung San Suu Kyi (b. 1945), the leader of the nonviolent democratic movement against the repressive military regime in Burma—has brought international attention and respect to these exemplars of Buddhist leadership and their causes. In addition, contemporary Buddhist scholars are engaging the political and social discourses of our time in Buddhist terms, in ways that challenge and critique existing paradigms for democracy, economics, and scientific and technological development. The work of Venerable P. A. Payutto (b. 1939), in particular, expresses very sophisticated ideals of liberty, democracy, and economic activity informed by Buddhist ethical principles.

Another promising avenue of research in Buddhist ethics that has gained considerable momentum in the last few years involves a collaboration of Buddhist scholars and cognitive scientists, under the leadership of the Dalai Lama. The collaboration brings to the international and scientific community insights from Buddhist contemplative practice, as well as the intellectual resources Buddhism offers in how it parses mental and affective phenomena. Of particular pertinence for ethics is the collaborators' conviction that Buddhism can contribute to understanding and better management of mental states and emotions, which in the Buddhist view, lie at the root of action. The collaboration is intended to yield practical advances in moral psychology, human development, prisoner rehabilitation, and education.

SEE ALSO Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, article on Ethical Practices Associated with Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

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and Western neuroscientists, see the Mind and Life Institute website at www.mindandlife.org for further resources.

Maria Heim (2005)

BUDDHIST MEDITATION

This entry consists of the following articles:

TIBETAN BUDDHIST MEDITATION
EAST ASIAN BUDDHIST MEDITATION

BUDDHIST MEDITATION: TIBETAN BUDDHIST MEDITATION

Buddhist contemplative traditions have thrived in Tibet since at least the seventh century CE, and have taken an astonishing variety of forms ranging over the entire spectrum of Indian and Central Asian Buddhist traditions. This diversity is usually organized under the rubric of "three vehicles" in Buddhism—the Lesser (Hīnayāna), Great (Mahāyāna), and Adamantine (Vajrayāna) vehicles. The historical challenge was to integrate this diversity into cogent systems of practice, and especially how to integrate exoteric Buddhist contemplation based on canonical sūtras, and esoteric forms of Buddhist meditation derived from canonical Tantras. Most Tibetan traditions came to see the Tantric methods as intrinsically superior in their capacity to generate more rapid realization due to their directness. By the thirteenth century, Tibet had established itself as the international center of esoteric Buddhism, and alone developed the full spectrum of Buddhist esoteric contemplative practices. We have thus structured the present survey of Tibetan Buddhist contemplative traditions in terms of traditional categories that proceed through the three vehicles from "lower" to "higher" in terms of the traditional explicit ranking of Tibetan sectarian traditions. The demarcation between "contemplation" and "ritual" is artificial and often of limited use, but we have still relied upon it based on similar distinctions in Tibetan literature.

Sūtra. Our survey begins with the exoteric traditions of contemplation, the canonical basis of which is Sūtras believed to have been spoken by buddhas. In the present context, Sūtra is short hand for the entire array of literature, institutions and practices that marked exoteric Buddhism in India and Tibet.

Analytical meditation and stabilizing meditation. Meditation in Tibetan traditions is usually presented as being part of a therapeutic impulse to resolve the dissatisfactory nature of embodied existence for oneself and others. This enterprise has three main phases: listening (*thos*), which includes all forms of study and learning pertaining to normative Buddhist doctrine; reflection or contemplation (*bsam*), the phase in which the meditator processes those teachings in order to arrive at an understanding of their import; and finally meditation (*sgom*), the process by which these concepts become integrated into one's experience.

The third stage of meditation (bhāvana) is thus focused on deepening the individual's experience of the insights gained through the first two stages. In traditional presentations, meditation in this context is often described as being either "analytical meditation" (*dpyad sgom*) or "stabilizing meditation" (*'jog sgom*). Initially, the practitioner performs analytical meditation on some doctrinal aspect of the teachings, for example, impermanence, emptiness (*stong pa nyid;* Skt., *śūnyatā*), or compassion (*snying rje;* Skt., *karuṇā*), carefully scrutinizing the different explanations, and finally arriving at an inferential understanding of the topic. These "analytical" meditations often involve formal processes of reasoning that are carried out in reliance upon scriptural or oral guidance. Having arrived at such a clear understanding, one then employs the techniques of stabilizing meditation to reach a firm conviction and nondiscursive intuition of the validity of the teaching or doctrine under investigation. Alternatively, initially it is necessary to settle the mind so that it can remain calm and focused in its pursuit of knowledge and realization. This "calming" practice may in fact be the first form of meditation in which the beginning practitioner engages.

Calm abiding and insight meditation. A related presentation of the general meditative process is that of "calming" (*zhi gnas;* Skt., *śamatha;* literally, "calm abiding"), and "insight" (*lhag mthong;* Skt., *vipaśyanā;* literally, "higher seeing"). This is not unique to Tibetan Buddhism, but is frequently invoked within Tibet to explain basic Buddhist meditation. The practice of calming is designed to build the mind's capacity for concentration to such a degree that it can remain single-pointed (*rtse gcig*) and undistracted for long periods of time. Such techniques proliferated in Tibet, with the main variance being the object of focus, which could be a candle flame, one's breathing, a statue of a buddha, a song, a visualized syllable, or a waterfall. Most accounts of calming practices thus outline the object of focus, and then provide detailed accounts of the deepening levels of concentration, as well as pitfalls to avoid. In this way, contemplative calming serves as the meditative basis for the attainment of incisive insight into the nature of reality, specifically into the selflessness of persons and the selflessness of phenomena, realization of which are said to result ultimately in liberation or enlightenment. The practice of calming thus clears a mental space for the acquisition of the ability to see the world in accordance with Buddhist doctrinal analysis of its final reality, while the practice of insight cultivates and deepens that perception with an incisiveness based upon the newly acquired capacity for concentration. The practice of calm abiding is thus roughly equivalent to "stabilizing meditation," while the practice of insight meditation is roughly equivalent to "analytical meditation."

Meditation on emptiness. While earlier forms of Buddhism stressed the ultimate object of contemplation as "no-self," namely the lack of any permanent identity in people or things, the Great Vehicle instead stressed the notion of universal "emptiness," which came to be a dominant motif in Tibet. In a sense, all forms of analytical and insight meditation have "emptiness" as their ultimate object. Meditation on emptiness is highly valued in Tibetan Buddhist traditions since a nonconceptual realization of emptiness is considered to be the antidote to the ignorance that is the root cause of suffering. In general, emptiness is said to be absence of inherent existence, and is equivalent to the selflessness of persons and selflessness of phenomena discussed above. It is a fundamental Buddhist tenet that suffering arises in dependence on the misapprehension of the true nature and identity of persons and phenomena, mistaking them for independent, permanent, autonomous entities rather than the concatenation of various factors, events, and conditions they truly are. In reality, these entities are empty of this mistaken imputed identity, and need to be recognized as such in order to attain liberation or enlightenment (*byang chub;* Skt., *bodhi*).

There are many forms of emptiness meditation in the various Tibetan traditions. One such typical meditation associated with the "sūtra" stream of Tibetan Buddhism is the so-called "sevenfold reasoning" drawn from Candrakīrti's (c. 600–650) *Guide to the Middle Way (dbu ma la 'jug pa;* Skt., *Madhyamakāvatāra*). The gist of the reasoning concerns itself with the analysis of a chariot and its parts, and recalls the famous dialogue between Nāgasena and Milinda in the *Questions of King Milinda (milindapanha).* The seven analyses are: (1) there is no chariot other than its parts; (2) there is no chariot that is the same as its parts; (3) there is no chariot that inherently possesses its parts; (4) there is no chariot that inherently depends on its parts; (5) there is no chariot upon which its parts inherently depend; (6) there is no chariot that is the mere collection of its parts; and (7) there is no chariot that is the shape of its parts. These same reasonings may be applied to the existence of the "self" (*bdag;* Skt., *ātman*), whether it is of a person or a phenomenon (e.g., a chariot), and its relation to their aggregates (*phung po;* Skt., *skandha*).

Although emptiness meditation often has this rational character such that it resembles deconstructive analysis rehearsed according to scripts, it is also possible to meditate on emptiness in a less formal, systematic way. For instance, practitioners might employ images, symbols, and language such as the eight similes of illusion to induce an intuitive understanding of the nature of emptiness. In such a loosely structured meditation, one might reflect on phenomena being like a dream, an optical illusion, a mirage, a reflection of the moon in water, an echo, a castle in the sky, or a phantom. Having thus established a sense of emptiness on the basis of what is essentially an aesthetic mood, one rests in that state for a time. Regardless of the technique employed, immersion in emptiness during the formal meditative session is usually contrasted to the practice of maintaining that awareness after the session as one reengages with the social world of appearances and activities. The relationship between these two phases of "meditative equanimity" (*mnyam gzhag*) and "post-contemplative awareness" (*rjes thob*), a duality that ultimately must be dissolved, is an important topic within emptiness yoga.

Meditation on compassion. Tibetan Buddhism also possesses many meditation practices specifically concerned with the cultivation of compassion for living beings in accordance with the Great Vehicle's primary contemplative and ideological motif of the integration of emptiness and compassion. If emptiness deconstructs the world, compassion is what pulls us back into engagement within its illusory appearances. One of the most famous forms of compassion meditation found in Tibetan Buddhism is the "giving and taking" meditation (*gtong len*). This is done in conjunction with the meditator's breathing and in relation to all beings, including family members, friends, enemies, and strangers, all of whom are visualized seated around the meditator. As the meditator breathes out, the meditator imagines that all of his or her personal happiness, comfort, wealth, and resources transform into white light and go out to all the beings seated there. When the light strikes the beings that are visualized surrounding the meditator, he or she imagines that the light fulfills all their wishes, heals all illnesses, and bestows all happiness. With the inhalation of the breath, the meditator is directed to visualize all the suffering and causes for suffering present within the beings' mental continua being drawn back into the meditator in the form of black smoky light rays. These beams then merge with the meditator, who imagines that he or she has taken on all the sufferings and misery of all others. Most compassion contemplative techniques involve such guided reveries including scripted liturgy and visualizations.

Such meditation helps the meditator adopt an attitude that inverts the normal pattern of viewing oneself and one's own concerns as preeminent, and it instills the habit of seeing others as being more important. The significance of this in Buddhist terms is easy to discern. First, it inculcates in the practitioner compassion toward others, and slowly habituates one to sacrifice one's own interest in order to benefit others. Second, on the ultimate level, one is undermining and dismantling the structures of ego that are the underlying cause for all of one's suffering through exchanging one's own interests and happiness for those of others. In this way compassion both inculcates a realization of emptiness through dissolving boundaries, but also offers an essential complement to realization of emptiness by instilling a sense of the value of others, as illusory as their identity may ultimately be.

Stages of the Path and ordinary preliminaries. One of the most distinctive contributions to Buddhist meditation practice made by Tibetans is the category or genre of "Stages of the Path" (Lam rim). There have been countless practice-oriented texts written in this genre in all major traditions of Tibetan Buddhism. The precursor to most of these texts was a short work written by the Indian scholar Atīśa (982–1054) called *The Lamp for the Path (byang chub gyi sgron ma* (Skt., *bodhipathapradīpa*). This text is noted for its reference to the three spiritual levels of beings, as well as the notion that a solid foundation in the sūtra practices is essential to the practice of Tantra. Inspired by this brief text, later Tibetan scholars and meditators composed their own elaborations on the themes introduced in it. Among the most famous of these texts is Tsongkhappa's (tsong kha pa, 1357–1419) *Great Exposition of the Stages of the Path (lam rim chen mo),* and Gampopa's (sgam po pa, 1079–1153) *Jewel Ornament of Liberation (thar rgyan).* The type of meditation practice described in texts of this genre is what is usually referred to as "mind training" or "mental development" (*blo sbyong*).

Such meditation is, in a sense, intended to "reprogram" the practitioner, guiding him or her to new attitudes or views through the force of constant habituation. The core practices associated with this genre are sometimes referred to as "the four thoughts that turn the mind." These are thinking about the value of human rebirth, death and impermanence, the law of *karma* and cause and effect, and the disadvantages of living in cyclic existence. These four practices are designed to encourage the practitioner to recognize the unique opportunity for spiritual progress inherent in human existence, while realizing that the body is fragile and transient, and hence that the opportunity will not last forever. By recognizing that if one does not take advantage of this chance by engaging in virtuous actions one will be compelled to experience the resultant suffering, the practitioner is motivated to practice only *dharma* (virtue) henceforward. These practices comprise what are referred to as the four "ordinary preliminary practices" (*sngon 'gro*), which are considered prerequisites to the higher practices associated with Tantra. They essentially use guided imagination and analysis to rehearse and habituate the basic worldview of exoteric Buddhism—life is impermanent, selves are not what they seem to be, ordinary life will not fulfill us, and the moral consequences of our actions shape all.

TANTRA. Buddhist Tantra is marked throughout by a rhetorical focus on practice over intellectual studies. Its origins are defined by ritual practice, including complex ritual consecrations initiating one into ideal communities known as *maṇḍalas* and the self-transfiguration of the individual practitioner into a divine buddha. Subsequently, the rise of *yoginī* Tantras involved antinomian behavioral practices deconstructing social codes, as well as new contemplative practices focused on the body's interior with the goal of reproducing and transforming extreme experiences such as death and orgasm. A strong rhetorical tradition developed stressing the absolute centrality of personal contemplative experience, and there was a profusion of yogic techniques ranging over sleep, diet, death, sacrifice, and physical movements. This led to the phenomenon of large anthologies of integrated practices, such that many innovations lay as much in the packaging as in new techniques. The radicalization of Tantric practice led to tensions with exoteric forms of practice, such that their integration in overarching systems came to be a dominant theme of Tibetan Buddhist contemplation. The means of classification of the main Tantric contemplations are numerous and varied, but the most common includes two "phases": generation phase (*bskyed rim*) and perfection phase (*rdzogs rim*). Generation phase signifies deity yoga practices involving the visualization of one's self as a Buddhist deity, whereas perfection phase signifies both practices of radical nonconceptuality and somatic yogas involving the visualization, sensation, and manipulation of subtle currents of bodily energy.

Extraordinary preliminary practices. Most sects of Tibetan Buddhism embraced a packaged integration of exoteric and basic esoteric practices under the header of "preliminaries" (*sngon 'gro*) to serve as an introduction to advanced Tantric contemplation. As discussed above, their "ordinary" forms rehearsed basic Buddhist doctrine, while their "extraordinary" practices introduced basic Tantric contemplation: going for refuge, generating the altruistic aspiration for enlightenment, Vajrasattva purification, *maṇḍala* offerings, and Guru Yoga.

"Going for refuge" is done by reciting a short prayer while prostrating to a visualized "assembly tree" (*tshogs shing*), a *maṇḍala*-like vertical array of one's lineage. The refuge prayers themselves often encode specifically Tantric versions of the three jewels of Buddhism—the Buddha, his community, and his teachings. "Generating the altruistic aspiration for enlightenment" (*sems bskyed*) is the core Great Vehicle practice integrating compassion and emptiness, and here involves the recitation of a short prayer while visualizing the assembly tree. "Vajrasattva purification" is the visualization of the Buddha Adamantine Hero (Skt., Vajrasattva) above the crown of one's head, while reciting his hundred-syllable *mantra* revolving around his heart. The practitioner confesses downfalls, and visualizes that luminous ambrosia flows from Vajrasattva's heart to transform the practitioner's negativity into sustenance for suffering beings. "*Maṇḍala* offerings" is a practice of repeatedly creating small *maṇḍalas* using heaps of rice and three concentric discs placed on top of the other, and then offering these with visualized enhancements to the buddhas. "Guru Yoga" contemplation requires the visualization of one's guru as a divine buddha. Practitioners perform each 100,000 times, and thus rehearse the basic Tantric elements of visualization, *mantra* repetition, somatic sensations, constructions of *maṇḍalas,* the divinity and primacy of the guru, transformation, offerings, and the importance of divinities.

Generation phase practices: Deity yoga and *maṇḍala* meditation. The most famous, and often defining, Tantric practice is deity yoga (*lha'i rnal 'byor*), the ritual evocation of oneself as a Buddhist deity. The practice is often described as involving three principal factors—vivid visualization, divine pride in identifying oneself with the deity, and "recollection of purity" (*dag dran*) signifying the need to cognitively understand the symbolic import of each visualized element. The deities evoked are varied in character, and include buddhas, *bodhisattvas,* and others, male and female, different colors, different numbers of heads, arms, and legs, and different types of apparel or ritual objects. These practices can involve single deities or the visualization of symmetrically arrayed configurations of multiple deities known as *maṇḍalas. Maṇḍalas* are typically organized around a central deity or deity pair known as the *primary ones(s),* with whom a practitioner identifies in visualizing the *maṇḍala.* Visualized deities can be either serene in demeanor and appearance, or wrathful, in which case their visage is scowling, their appearance demonic, and their apparel and backdrop often drawn from a chaotic charnel ground.

These evocations are done according to handbooks termed "techniques for evocation" (*grub thabs;* Skt., *sādhana*), which provide visual detail for visualization, the verbal formula or *mantra* for recitation, the symbolic gestures known as "seals" (*phyag rgya;* Skt., *mudrā*) for performance with one's hands, and liturgy. Thus the eyes are trained to see the divinity in visual form as one's own body; the speech is conditioned to recite the sonic form of the divinity; and the hands form gestures embodying the deity and its activities. These practices can be done with variable locus for the visualization, namely, in front, as self, or in an object such as a ritual vase. Self-visualization is the primary form that has soteriological force, whereas visualization-in-front is for the purpose of making offerings and petitions, and visualization-in-an-object is utilized for various ritual purposes. It is thought that by imaginatively imitating all physical, verbal, and mental activities of a buddha, one creates powerful momentum for the rapid attainment of actual buddhahood. This process is termed "taking the result as the cause," and is one of the key distinguishing features of Tantra.

Retreats involve massive accumulations of *mantra* recitation by an individual practitioner. However, these practices of deity visualization, *mantra* repetition, and *maṇḍala* construction can also be done in communal practices as well. Deity yoga is closely related to "empowerment" rituals (*dbang;* Skt., *abhiṣeka*), which ritually introduce a practitioner into the *maṇḍala* or community of a specific deity. These empowerment rituals are a necessary precursor to doing yoga for a given deity, while deity yoga practices often repeat empowerment ritual processes within their own contemplative structure.

Perfection phase practices: Somatic yogas and other techniques. Perfection phase practices involve three distinct bodies of practices. The most important category involves somatic yogas in which subtle bodies are contemplatively manipulated to recreate extreme experiences, especially sexual and death-related experiences. This is consonant with the late Tantric emphasis on liminal and intense experiences—sexuality, dying, violence, transgression, sleep—and the transformation of these potent experiences into yogic processes. Secondly, it includes practices of nonconceptuality, and thirdly, the perfection phase came to be a catch-all term to embrace a variety of practices, including physical exercises, dietary prescriptions, and other topics. These are typically transmitted in Tibet in anthologies, the most famous example being perhaps *The Six Yogas of Nāropa.* Visceral experience is strongly stressed, and is often summarized in terms of bliss (*bde ba*), clarity and radiance (*gsal ba*), and nonconceptuality (*mi rtog*).

The most central is the "fierce woman" (*gtum mo;* Skt., Caṇḍali) practice based upon the "adamantine body", a subtle body of channels, winds, and nuclei forming an experiential configuration within the coarse physical body. The core sequence of contemplative events mimics sexual experience, but harnesses it for the sake of enlightenment. Three subtle channels run up the torso's center from the head to the genitals, branching out to pervade the body with "wheels" (*cakra*) at the crown, throat, heart, navel, and genitals. One visualizes a triangle of solar fire at the navel that causes a white lunar *haṃ* syllable at the crown to drip. The resultant flow downwards of ambrosial nuclei causes experiences of increasing joy known as "four joys," clearly modeled upon male sexual arousal. The emphasis on bliss is integrated with the Mahayana focus on emptiness, such that the yoga rightly pursued involves a potent realization of emptiness enhanced by the intensity of experience engendered by the bliss. It is famous for its testing procedure, in which an initiate is expected to utilize contemplatively generated heat to dry wet clothes while sitting naked on a glacier at night. Such public displays could be utilized to mobilize human and financial capital in support of their own social and religious agendas.

This is closely linked to sexual yoga, which involves a similar process in partnership with a visualized or real consort. The white nuclei descends into the genitals, but then is reversed without ejaculation and raised upwards back through the torso. The lunar nuclei are then distributed through the body, and finally one's whole body is deconstructed into luminous emptiness. Practitioners thus use this exceptionally powerful state of blissful consciousness to realize emptiness, with the intensity of experience magnifying the consequences of this realization. In the context of discussing this practice as sexual, there are many additional particulars relating to male and female genitalia, positions, herbs, and the like.

The yoga of "radiant light" (*'od gsal;* Skt., *prabhāsvara*) is based upon the human body and mind possessing an innate luminous buddha-nature occluded by karmic sedimentations and emotional distortions. The mind is interdependent with "winds," that is, the breath as well as other currents of energy flowing through the body on the model of a rider and horse. Subtle body praxis deconstructs conditioning and knots of emotional distortion, thereby enabling more subtle layers of consciousness and luminosity to emerge. The yogic technique of "vase breathing" confines the breath and internal winds in the area around the navel, thereby helping facilitate the dissolution of ordinary conceptuality by penning up its mounts. The goal is to bring all the winds into the body's central channel, where they become transformed into winds of primordial gnosis (*ye shes;* Skt., *jñāna*). This is described as a phased dissolution of the psychophysical winds, thereby causing their associated cognitive activities to collapse, and rehearsing the process of dying. A practitioner experiences various flashes of light, the subjective correlate of more subtle levels of consciousness, that gradually proceed to an immersion in the radiant light at the heart. Phenomenologies of such experiences include the eight or ten "signs" (*rtags*) and "four appearances" (*snang ba bzhi*), which are described as resembling smoke, mirages, moonlight, and the like, and culminate in an experience of radiant light.

Sleep and dream yogas are closely related to the esoteric meditations upon light, and exoteric contemplations on emptiness and illusion. Falling asleep involves the intertwined dissolution of winds, conceptuality, and consciousness similar to dying, and likewise culminating in an experience of radiant light and deep unconsciousness; dreaming involves the reversal of this process as manifestation, conceptuality, and experience revive out of the emptiness of radiant light. The goal is to preserve reflexive self-awareness throughout so as to bypass unconsciousness and instead fully experience the ultimate radiant light of consciousness. One visualizes an inner luminosity or syllable representing one's consciousness moving up and down the central axis of the body's interior, until finally with sleep it settles into a lotus flower at the heart. The practice facilitates lucid dreaming, namely the retention of a sense of awareness that one is dreaming even as one dreams. Such awareness—and the consequent sense of the malleability and fluidity of appearances—precisely parallels the Great Vehicle contemplation of emptiness and its focus on the illusory nature of appearances. Specific dreaming practices tend to be grouped into three principles—recognizing dreams as dreams, experimenting with the transformation of dream appearances, and enabling this awareness of recognized dreams to permeate daytime experience as well.

Magical devices (*phrul ʿkhor;* Skt., *yantra*) constitute a type of yogic practice focused on bodily postures and movements, and often named evocatively after animals, birds, types of people, ritual implements, and the like. Different traditions stress physical movement and static postures to different degrees, though usually they remain within a fairly small space of movement rather than involving broad movements across a large area. The magical-devices practices can also involve specific breathing practices and visualizations conjoined with bodily postures and movements, as well as exercises in the cultivation of awareness.

"Transference" of consciousness (*pho ba*) involves learning to shoot one's consciousness out of the body toward rebirth in a Pure Land. One visualizes one's consciousness as a luminous sphere or syllable moving up and down the central channel of one's subtle body in conjunction with respiration and the enunciation of the mantric syllables *hrik* and *pheṭ*. Often the Buddha Immeasurable Light ('Od dpag med [Öpakme]; Skt., Amitābha), who presides over the most popular Pure Land of choice, is visualized blocking off the top of one's skull. This practice is usually done during specialized retreats (often large lay gatherings) in which practitioners aim to create a small hole in their scalp where the consciousness is being targeted. In addition to enabling a practitioner to instinctively shoot his or her consciousness into a Pure Land in the case of accidental death, the same technique can be deployed in funerary ceremonies by the presiding lama to forcibly shoot the deceased person's consciousness out of the body into a Pure Land by force of his or her own visualization. The "intermediate process" (*bar do*) is the famous Tibetan religious conception of life, death, and rebirth as a never-ending series of transitions, including a period of tumultuous visions experienced between death and rebirth. The actual practices, however, are generally practices derived from elsewhere rather than constituting an entirely new set of practices.

The "extraction of essences" (*bcud len*) involves alchemical techniques for contemplatively generating dietary nourishment without relying on ordinary sources, and engendering and deepening realization. One set of practices involves ingesting specially prepared juices, meats, stones, herbs, precious substances (mercury, gold, etc.), or excrement, which may also be accompanied by special yogic recitations, breathing, visualization, and postures. It is believed that such special pills can help a retreatant sustain himself or herself for months during solitary retreat in isolated wilderness, as well as engender long life, physical vitality, and facilitation of special contemplative experiences. Other such practices include "eating winds," where sustenance is ingested from space via breath, and utilizing visualization-enhanced inhalation, which imagines waves of blue space, or red and white nuclei, flowing into one's body.

Post-Tantra Practices and Beyond. One of the most distinctive attributes of Tibetan Buddhist contemplation was the evolution of independent traditions out of perfection-phase praxis that embraced a radical rhetoric of the transcendence of practice along with a proclivity for naturalism, spontaneity, and nonconceptuality rather than the esoteric motifs of transgression, sexuality, and power. *Post-Tantra* is not an indigenous label, but expresses their simultaneous grounding in Tantra and the rejection of many of its fundamental paradigms. The most famous are the Great Perfection (*dzokchen, rdzogs chen*) in Nyingma (Rnying ma) and Bon lineages, and the Great Seal (*chakchen, phyag chen;* Skt., *mahāmudrā*), found in the Kagyü, Sakya, and Geluk schools. Their texts decline to specify contemplative procedures such as breathing, posture, concentration, visualization, or guided reveries, and consist of philosophical and poetic meditations on the nature of enlightenment. Such rhetoric left many wondering as to whether they formed contemplative paths, or instead were merely descriptions of realization. They are often characterized by a rhetoric of supremacy beyond sūtra and Tantra, while at times they are self-characterized as belonging to sūtra or Tantra. However, these traditions can be viewed as symbiotic with other contemplative traditions both in terms of being deconstructions of preoccupation with technique, and a type of aesthetic gazing and poetics of contemplative experiences. The recitation and reading of such texts offered subtle guides to contextualize the various meditative experiences to which other practices had given rise. Thus they came to have a strong association with the somatic body yogas, including sexual forms, but focused on the experiences unfolding from those practices toward final enlightenment rather than their techniques per se.

Many such texts and lineages however did set forth contemplative techniques, even if such prescriptive passages were still accompanied by a transcendentalist rhetoric that negated all practice. These techniques tend to be recognizable variations of exoteric practices of calming, insight, and emptiness yogas, but they focus on cultivating deconstruction of such states of concentration to foster an open and free-flowing awareness without negating appearances, emotions, and thoughts. The techniques themselves are often distinctive in terms of modifications in line with the rhetoric of simplicity, spontaneity, naturalness, and innate divinity. In this context the Great Seal tradition discusses four yogas—the one pointed (*rtse gcig*), the non-elaborate *(spros bral),* the single flavor (*ro gcig*), and nonmeditation *(sgom med).* The emphasis throughout is on contemplation of the nature of one's mind, the realization of which is blocked by contemplations that are too bound up with the mind's discursive operations.

The Great Perfection also underwent a series of transformations in which a variety of late Tantric contemplative practices were explicitly assimilated in accordance with the traditional focus on simplicity, spontaneity, release, and naturalness. The most influential of these was the Seminal Heart (Snying thig [Nyingthik]), which created anthologies of Tantric and non-Tantric Buddhist contemplations. The most distinctive innovations were the two principal practices of "breakthrough" *(khregs chod)* and "direct transcendence" (*thod rgal*). The former represents a cultivation of one's own naked self-awareness as directed by intensely poetic guided reveries, whereas the latter is a transmutation of perfection-phase techniques contemplating a spontaneous flow of light imagery. The flashes of light appear through staring at the light of the sun or moon or gazing within complete darkness, and then slowly increase in intensity, extent, and complexity of form to become vast arrays of *maṇḍalas* of buddhas.

These traditions are often grouped with other yogic traditions that share a tendency to blur the boundaries between sūtra and Tantra, embrace a rhetoric of transcendental superiority, and focus on nondual contemplative experiences. The Great Middle Way (Dbu ma chen po; [Uma chenpo]; Skt., Mahāmadhyamaka) appropriates the prestigious rubric of Mādhyamaka to disseminate traditional contemplative practices of calming, insight, and emptiness yoga in association with an emphasis on yoga rather than study, and luminous rather than austere conceptions of emptiness. The Path and the Fruit (Lam 'bras [Lamdré]), the supreme contemplative system of the Sakya school, involves tummo and sexual yoga with an innovative third practice named the "adamantine wave" (*rdo rje rba labs*). Peace-making (*zhi byed*) and "cutting" (*gcod*) stem from the eleventh-century Indian Phadampa Sangyé (Pha dam pa sangs rgyas, d. 1117). Cutting involves going to a remote and frightening location, such as a charnel grounds at night, and visualizing that the Adamantine Yoginī (Rdo rje rnal 'byor ma; Vajrayoginī), one of the main esoteric goddesses, cuts one's body into small pieces for offering to surrounding demons and spirits. The motif of disintegration evokes the exoteric realization of emptiness, while the sacrificial gift of one's body to others blends that realization with radical compassion.

COMMUNAL CONCLUSIONS. There are at least two major communal contexts for specialized practice of Buddhist contemplation: the monastery or temple, and retreat centers in isolated networks of sacred sites. While it is impossible to classify practices in any strict fashion based upon these communal centers, it is clear that exoteric techniques and deity yoga/*maṇḍala* meditation thrived in the monastic institutions with their deep doctrinal content, highly structured character, and institutional messages. Likewise, esoteric techniques focused on body yogas and post-Tantra contemplative systems particularly thrived in yogic circles outside such institutions. This is not surprising, given their strong experiential focus, relative resistance to doctrinal conditioning, and commitment to internal, solitary realization and transgressive experiences. In addition, yogic circles tend to be critical of intellectual pursuits as interfering with contemplative practice, while monastic institutions on the whole stress their integration and in actuality tend to stress far more the intellectual, ritual, and social sides of religion rather than solitary contemplation. However, such lines were only tendencies, not sedimented differences. In both contexts, extended retreats—including durations of years—were common in all sectors of Tibetan religion, though by no means widely practiced as such even within monasteries. The rhetoric of the centrality of sustained contemplative practice is pervasive, and both historical and ethnographic evidence point to this being far more than simple rhetoric, even within ordinary lay members of society. Tibetan Buddhist hagiographies frequently portray in narrative form a strong tension between solitary contemplation and social responsibilities, with retreatants feeling pulled back, often against their will, toward the communal responsibilities of life in the monastery or village.

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BUDDHIST MEDITATION: EAST ASIAN BUDDHIST MEDITATION

Meditation was of ultimate importance in early Buddhism, and has remained so in East Asian Buddhism. Although not all Buddhists in East Asia have meditated on a daily basis, they have always recognized meditation as one of the three trainings (*śīla, samādhi,* and *prajñā*) leading to buddhahood. *Śīla* (morality), *samādhi* (concentration), and *prajñā* (wisdom) are mutually supportive and indispensable, though achieving buddhahood ultimately depends more on *prajñā.*

In theory, the importance of meditation became less certain in East Asian Buddhist intellectual positions emphasizing inherent buddhahood (Chan/Zen or Tiantai/Tendai Buddhism) or utter reliance on Amitābha's grace (Pure Land Buddhism). In practice, however, meditation retained its central place in monastic life. Laypeople were not expected to meditate in early Buddhism, but in East Asian Buddhism there have always been male and female laypersons seeking buddhahood through meditation.

The distinction between *śamatha* (calming meditation) and *vipaśyanā* (insight meditation), or between *samādhi* and *prajñā,* can be helpful for analyzing the various forms of meditation, but most East Asian forms of meditation combine both aspects. Even theorists such as Zhiyi (538–597) who explicitly mention the distinction between *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā*, say that the two aspects are inseparable.

Meditation in the Formative Period. Chinese Buddhism has been Mahāyānist for nearly all of its history, but the earliest Buddhist teachings brought to China included both Nikāya and Mahāyāna Buddhist teachings, which the Chinese did not initially distinguish as separate vehicles. (The term Nikāya Buddhism is preferred to the term Hīnayāna Buddhism.)

One of the earliest translators, the Parthian An Shigao (active from 148), translated texts from the Sarvāstivāda tradition of Nikāya Buddhism. An Shigao translated materials on *dhyāna* (concentration) meditation, including the *Scripture of Mindfulness of Breathing* (T 602), which teaches counting the breaths as a preparation for entering concentration. This was an important text in Chinese Buddhism for the next several hundred years, and mindfulness of breathing was one of the main forms of meditation in early Chinese Buddhism.

Another early translator, the Kushan Lokakṣema (fl. 166–180s), translated the *Pratyutpanna samādhi sūtra* (T 418), a sūtra containing both Pure Land and *prajñāpāramitā* ideas (see Harrison, 1988). This sūtra teaches a form of *samādhi* called the "meditation of direct encounter with the buddhas of the present age," a form of *buddhānusmṛti* (keeping a buddha in mind, Ch. *nianfo*). In this practice, the meditator concentrates on a cosmic buddha such as Amitābha Buddha for a whole day and night, or a whole week, day and night, until the buddha appears to the meditator and preaches the *dharma* to him or her, and establishes the meditator as a nonreturning *bodhisattva*, a buddha-to-be. While this appearance is a sacred revelation and not a mere hallucination, it is at the same time "empty" of ultimate reality. This practice is recommended for monks, nuns, and laypeople. Other figures important for the development of Buddhist meditation in China during this period include Dao'an (312–385) and his disciple Huiyuan (334–416), who taught mindfulness of breathing and *buddhānusmṛti;* and Kumārajīva (350–409), who translated texts on meditation important in the Tiantai tradition and other traditions.

Because many of the earliest Buddhist translations were related to meditation, Henri Maspero (1971/1981) has argued that the translators were meeting the needs of a Chinese audience with an especial interest in meditation, perhaps an audience already familiar with Daoist meditation (pp. 400–412).

MEDITATION IN TIANTAI/TENDAI TRADITION. Tiantai Buddhism, founded by Zhiyi of Mt. Tiantai (in present-day Zhejiang province, southeast China), synthesizes the earlier theory-oriented Buddhism of south China with the practice-oriented Buddhism of north China. Zhiyi's greatest work on meditation is the *Mohe zhiguan* (Great calming and contemplation, T 1911; see Donner and Stevenson, 1993). The *Mohe zhiguan* discusses four kinds of *samādhi,* and ten modes and ten spheres of discernment. The four kinds of *samādhi* provided the ritual structure for all later Tiantai meditative practice in East Asia, whereas the ten modes and ten spheres of discernment involve mental exercises to be carried out within that structure. Tiantai Buddhism attempts to find a place for all Buddhist teachings within its systems (in contrast to the single-minded and exclusivist perspective of traditions such as Chan), and the framework of the four kinds of *samādhi* could encompass any form of Buddhist meditation. Even so, in the *Mohe zhiguan* the four categories are identified with six specific ritual meditation regimens. Tiantai monasteries were built with halls especially for these meditation regimens.

In the ninety-day constantly-sitting *samādhi,* the meditator contemplates the visionary body of the Buddha in emptiness, or indeed any other *dharma* (any thing), in order to identify the mind with the *dharmadhātu,* and realize the interpenetration of all dharmas.

The constantly walking *samādhi* is the "meditation of direct encounter with the buddhas of the present age" of the *Pratyutpanna samādhi sūtra* (see Harrison, 1988). The meditator circumambulates an altar to Amitābha for ninety days, chanting Amitābha's name and visualizing his form. The meditator will gain enough merit to be reborn in Amitābha's realm, or he or she may receive a personal visitation from Amitābha during the meditation period.

The category of part-walking and part-sitting includes the *vaipulya* repentance and the lotus *samādhi.* In the *vaipulya* repentance, the meditator installs a set of twenty-four deities in the meditation chamber, confesses his or her transgressions "with utmost sincerity and tears of lament" (Donner and Stevenson, 1993, p. 254), and then alternates between circumambulating while chanting *dhāraṇīs* and doing seated meditation. This regimen lasts only seven days, and laypersons may participate. The lotus *samādhi* involves confession before an altar to the *bodhisattva* Samantabhadra, circumambulation while reciting the *Lotus Sūtra,* and seated meditation.

For the category of neither walking nor sitting, Zhiyi offers the example of a repentance focused on the *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara (Guanyin), involving ritual offerings, confession, chanting *dhāraṇīs,* sitting, and sūtra recitation. This category also includes the "*samādhi* of freely following one's thoughts" (*sui ziyi sanmei*), which became especially important for some later Tiantai Buddhists who wished to rid Tiantai practice of its ritual aspect and pursue formless practices. In this approach, the meditator can use any form of physical activity or sense-perception as a basis for cultivating *samādhi,* including "evil" activities or sense-perceptions.

These practices have a double salvific effect. In each of these practices (except the last one) the meditator invokes the blessing of buddhas or *bodhisattvas* who may aid the meditator along the path to buddhahood with teachings and support. However, each practice is also an exercise in cultivating a buddha's vision of reality. In this vision, all ten *dharma*-realms, from the realm of hell-beings to the realm of perfect buddhahood, are mutually coextensive in all of their aspects, resulting in a "middle" state that synthesizes both existence and emptiness. This is what is meant by Zhiyi's famous phrase "three-thousand realms in an instant of thought" (*yinian sanqian*). For Zhiyi, *nirvāṇa* is not different from the world of common experience: it is this world seen through a refined pair of eyes. While the four kinds of *samādhi* are practiced in order to invoke the blessings of holy beings, they also are used to cultivate this *prajñā* (wisdom). The ten modes and ten spheres of discernment also discussed in the *Mohe zhiguan* make up a system of mental exercises that may be carried out within the four kinds of *samādhi.*

Later developments. Tiantai subitism, as it developed in Japanese Tendai Buddhism from the twelfth century on, has been termed *hongaku shisō* (original enlightenment thought). *Hongaku* texts emphasized that all people are perfect buddhas already—in fact, all things possess perfect buddhahood, even insentients such as plants or trees. Some *hongaku* texts rejected the idea of "attaining" buddhahood at all, and argued that buddhahood is none other than worldly experience. *Hongaku* thought has been criticized as rejecting religious practice, but some *hongaku* texts did give instructions for contemplative practice, and Habito has argued that *hongaku* texts were studied in a context of meditative practice.

MEDITATION IN CHAN/ZEN TRADITION. The name "Chan" comes from the word *dhyāna,* known in China as *channa.* Chan is the "meditation" school of Buddhism, yet Chan Buddhists have sometimes been critical of meditation. After the eighth century, the sudden approach to enlightenment became dominant, and the idea of gradually cultivating the mind over time through meditation became problematic. Seated meditation—known in China as *zuochan* and in Japan as *zazen*—itself became a problem. However, it is unlikely that those who criticized seated meditation ceased doing it.

Early Chan. The first record of Chan meditation comes from the end of the sixth century, where monastics and laypeople in north China compiled the *Erru sixing lun* (Treatise on the two entrances and four practices), recording teachings on mental cultivation attributed to Bodhidharma and his student Huike. This text teaches that one must discover the buddha-nature, which is within oneself but is obscured by false sense-impressions. The text teaches a form of meditation called "wall contemplation" (*biguan*) that dispenses with all stages of progress and aims at pacifying the mind and achieving a state in which all things are one and the same. The term "wall contemplation" is not explained in the text, but may refer to *śamatha* (McRae, 2003, p. 31). Some of the teachings of the *Erru sixing lun,* such as striving to realize one's inherent buddhahood through seated meditation, dispensing with stages of progress, and turning everyday activity into an exercise in mental cultivation, also are characteristic of later Chan/Zen meditation.

Shenxiu and Shenhui. In the seventh century, Chan Buddhism came to the public eye in the persons of Shenxiu (606–706) and Shenhui (684–758). Shenxiu's teachings relentlessly emphasized contemplation of the mind in seated meditation and throughout daily life. He taught his many students to contemplate their minds with perfect equanimity, make their minds penetrate all realms of the cosmos, realize nonbeing, and achieve the consciousness of a buddha in this lifetime. After Shenxiu's death, Shenhui attacked Shenxiu's students' legitimacy and teachings on meditation. Shenhui criticized seated meditation as an obstruction to enlightenment, and exhorted students to achieve enlightenment immediately, as opposed to becoming distracted by a gradualistic regimen of meditation. Shenhui did not invent the teaching of sudden enlightenment or the critique of seated meditation: his innovation was the critique of purifying and concentrating the mind. Shenhui probably did not intend for meditation to become taboo, and meditation continued to be taught by Shenhui's students. However, after Shenhui, Chan Buddhists could no longer admit to a concern for purifying the mind or speak of meditation as a gradualistic process. Chan/Zen Buddhists hardly dared to commit instructions on seated meditation to writing until the twelfth century.

Kōans. *Kōans,* perhaps the most distinctive aspect of Chan/Zen Buddhism, were first composed in the ninth or tenth centuries. *Kōan* practice involving meditation was systematized in China during the Song dynasty (960–1279), and further systematized in Japan thereafter.

Steven Heine (2002) defines a *kōan,* known in China as *gong'an,* as "a brief, enigmatic anecdote or dialogue between two contesting parties" (p. 1), usually recording an encounter between Chan master and student. *Kōan* literally means "public case," and the underlying image is of a legal case: the master interrogates the student like a magistrate interrogating the accused. Scholars such as D. T. Suzuki have presented *kōans* as authentic records of the irrational, spontaneous behavior of enlightened masters, ultimately incomprehensible to Western readers. Rather than viewed as authentic records of the ancient masters, however, *kōans* should be recognized as literary products with their own literary patterns, cultural themes, and social functions. Although *kōans* are intentionally enigmatic and have special uses within the context of Chan/Zen training, they need not be regarded as fundamentally impenetrable to a reader standing outside the tradition.

Kōans sometimes appear to reject meditation *per se,* but they are actually only warning against attachment to meditation, or criticizing a particular approach to meditation. In a famous eleventh-century *kōan* about an encounter between Nanyue Huairang (677–744) and Mazu Daoyi (709–788), Huairang chides Mazu for his attachment to seated meditation, telling Mazu that achieving buddhahood by practicing seated meditation would be as impossible as grinding a tile to make a mirror.

> Mazu said, "How does one do it right?" Huairang said, "Are you training in seated meditation, or training in sitting as the Buddha? If you are training in seated meditation, then meditation is neither seated nor lying down. . . . Your sitting as the Buddha is to kill the Buddha; if you are attached to the characteristic of sitting, you have not penetrated the principle involved." When Mazu heard this teaching he felt ecstatic. (*Jingde chuandeng lu,* T 2076, 51:240c; translation from McRae, p. 87, with alterations)

This anecdote, more likely a legend than the record of an actual event, was composed and reworked not to deny that meditation has a place in Chan training, but to warn the meditator against a subtle attachment to meditation. In a typical Chan move, "meditation" is redefined as a way of being, rather than a formal practice. Here, encountering a master, rather than meditation, is presented as the primary means to enlightenment.

***Kōan* meditation.** *Kōans* themselves were used as a focus of meditation. Dahui Zonggao (1089–1163), from the Linji Chan lineage, developed a training method called *kan-*

hua, "contemplating the [critical] phrase," which he taught to monastics and laypersons alike. According to this method, the student zeroes in on the *huatou,* the punch line of a *kōan*, which may be only a single word. The student concentrates upon the *huatou,* both in seated meditation and throughout all daily activities. Abstracted from its original context, the *huatou* is inscrutable, and the student becomes sorely troubled by doubt and frustration. Eventually, the student is consumed by doubt, "becoming" the doubt, and his or her dualistic thinking is replaced by one-pointedness of mind. Finally this great doubt shatters, bringing great enlightenment and recapturing the enlightened state of mind of the master in the *kōan*. Although *kanhua* meditation is a distinctively Chan form of meditation with its use of *kōans* and doubt, it also can be understood as a combination of *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā*.

Chan has often been described as a form of Buddhism uniquely influenced by Daoism, but this is difficult to substantiate historically. It would be more accurate to say that Chan Buddhists drew upon a common literati culture already imbued with ideas from Daoist classics such as *Laozi* (*Dao de jing*), *Zhuangzi,* and *Liezi*. Chan Buddhists over the past millennium also have come to include Daoist *qi*-circulation (*qigong*) techniques among their meditation practices, as these techniques have become more widely practiced in Chinese society in general.

Japanese Zen. The two main schools of Zen in Japan are Rinzai, known in China as Linji, and Sōtō, known in China as Caodong. While Buddhists of each school have always both practiced *zazen* (seated meditation) and studied *kōans*, the Rinzai school is known for *kōan* training, and the Sōtō school for *zazen*.

Kōan training was first brought to Japan in the twelfth century. The language of Chinese Chan presented difficulties for many Japanese monks, who coped by developing *kōan* training systems. Students studied *kōans* in standard sequences and drew their answers to *kōans* from lists of approved capping-phrases (*jakugo*). The *kōan* training systems of the Rinzai school, as practiced today, were established by Hakuin Ekaku (1686–1769) and his disciples. A student in a Rinzai training monastery today practices *kanna* meditation, working on his *kōan* during *zazen* and other activities, and using *jakugo* to express his understanding to his teacher (*rōshi*) during daily interviews (*dokusan*). Women and laymen do not usually have access to this training. In China, *kanna* meditation (*kanhua* in Japan and Korea) is practiced in Chan monasteries. This approach also is practiced in contemporary Korean Sŏn monasteries.

The Sōtō school was brought to Japan by Dōgen Kigen (1200–1253). Although he also was a brilliant master of *kōan* literature, Dōgen emphasized *zazen* over *kōan* training and wrote one of the first manuals on *zazen*. In Dōgen's *zazen,* one sits fixedly and practices "nonthinking." Dōgen taught that *zazen* is not merely a method by which one reaches enlightenment, *zazen* is itself enlightenment. The monk must not practice *zazen* for the sake of becoming a buddha, because all beings are buddhas already. Instead, the monk must practice *zazen* without any thought of attaining enlightenment experience, "just sitting," merely expressing his inherent buddhahood. This is a creative resolution to Chan/Zen's perennial problem of harmonizing the doctrine of sudden enlightenment with the real need for meditation practice.

MEDITATION IN PURE LAND TRADITION. Pure Land Buddhism involves devotion to Amitābha Buddha (Amitāyus)—known in China as Amituo Fo and in Japan as Amida Butsu, or other buddhas or *bodhisattvas* such as Avalokiteśvara (Guanyin, Kannon). Most practitioners strive for rebirth in Sukhāvatī, Amitābha's paradisiacal world-system far to the west of our own world, though some practitioners believe that the Pure Land is an effect of enlightened consciousness rather than a place. A practitioner's rebirth in Sukhāvatī is made possible through Amitābha's infinite store of merit. Pure Land Buddhism in East Asia is based on four main texts, the *Longer* and *Shorter Sukhāvatī-vyūha sūtras*, *Amitāyur-dhyāna sūtra,* and *Sukhāvatī-vyūhopadeśa*, all known in China by the sixth century.

With the exception of Japanese Pure Land denominations, Pure Land Buddhism in the East Asian cultural sphere has been more a style of religiosity than an independent school. Although there have been masters who taught Pure Land exclusively, monastics usually have practiced Pure Land together with other forms of Buddhism, such as Tiantai or even Chan. Pure Land has also been one of the most practiced forms of Buddhism among laypeople.

Pure Land practice may involve recitation, visualization, and ritual. The main Pure Land practice is *nianfo* (Jp. *nembutsu,* Skt. *buddhānusmṛti*), which means "keeping (Amitābha) Buddha in mind" or "reciting (Amitābha) Buddha's name." In China, Pure Land devotees began to claim that ten recitations of the phrase "Honor to Amitābha Buddha," or even one recitation, are enough to bring about rebirth in the Pure Land, though most devotees recite Amitābha's name millions of times throughout their lives. Devotees hope to be rewarded with a vision or visitation from Amitābha, a sign that their rebirth in the Pure Land is assured. Even as simple recitation, *nianfo* can become a form of meditation.

Nianfo practice may also include visualizing and contemplating Amitābha's physical body (*rūpakāya*) with its major and minor marks, or his abstract cosmic body (*dharmakāya*) as the ground of reality. One text, the *Amitāyur-dhyāna sūtra,* teaches a series of sixteen *dhyāna* meditations. In these meditations, the meditator develops an impossibly complex and detailed vision of Amitābha and his Pure Land, with its lotus throne, jewel-trees, and so on. Whereas practitioners reciting Amitābha's name hoped to be rewarded with a vision of the Pure Land, the meditator here builds this vision for him- or herself. Because the meditator gains insight into Amitābha as the ground of reality, this *dhyāna* meditation has the aspect of *vipaśyanā* as well as *śamatha.*

Nianfo is often practiced in a ritual context. In everyday lay practice, this may involve incense offerings, prostration, and circumambulation of an image of Amitābha or another deity. One example of a Pure Land ritual meditation historically practiced by monastics is the constantly walking *samādhi* described in the above section on Tiantai Buddhism. Monastics and laypeople alike also may take part in Pure Land repentance rites. In these rites, Amitābha and other buddhas are invited to the ritual space to receive the worshipers' veneration and hear their confession of sins. Following this, the worshipers dedicate the merit gained from the rite to all beings, and vow their intent to be reborn in the Pure Land.

Hōnen and Shinran. In Pure Land Buddhism, as in Chan, meditation became problematic in light of doctrinal developments. Pure Land masters in medieval China taught that a single sincere recitation of Amitābha's name was sufficient to guarantee rebirth in his Pure Land. However, for many practitioners they still recommended meditation; that is, formal visualization practices. The situation changed in Japan, where the two most influential Pure Land masters, Hōnen (1133–1212) and Shinran (1173–1263), taught that the difficult meditation practices were not only not necessary, but could even threaten a practitioner's salvation. Japanese Pure Land Buddhism teaches that the practitioner must rely completely on the "other-power" (*tariki*) of Amitābha, but that a meditator might develop the false belief that he or she could achieve salvation based on the "self-power" (*jiriki*) of meditation.

MEDITATION IN ESOTERIC TRADITION. Esoteric Buddhism, also called Tantric or Vajrayāna Buddhism, was a relatively late form of Indian Buddhism transmitted to China in the Tang (618–907) and Southern Song (1127–1279) dynasties. Although Esoteric Buddhism as an institution flourished only briefly in China, Esoteric rituals and symbols can still be found in Chinese Buddhism and Daoism. Esoteric Buddhism was first established in Japan by Kūkai (774–835) and Saichō (767–822). Kūkai founded the esoteric Shingon school, and Saichō incorporated Esoteric Buddhism in his Tendai school. Although the following account describes Shingon meditation, the same general description also would apply to Tendai esoteric practice.

In Shingon practice, the three human activities of body, speech, and mind manifest the three sacred "secrets" of *mudrā, mantra,* and visualization *samādhi*. Shingon practices involve physical actions, chanting, and visualization, and thus straddle the categories of ritual and meditation. While Shingon practices cannot be pigeonholed into two exclusive categories of ritual and meditation, some practices are relatively more communal and ritual, and some are more individual and meditative. *Ajikan,* contemplation of the syllable *A,* is one such meditative practice, set within a ritual framework.

Today, *Ajikan* is practiced by monks, as well as male and female laypeople. In one version of *Ajikan*, as described by Zōei in the seventeenth century, the practitioner begins with prostrations, protective mantras, the Five Great Vows (such as to save all sentient beings), and a *mantra* to invite the cosmic buddha Mahāvairocana, known in Japan as Dainichi, to attend the ritual. He or she then visualizes the Sanskrit letter *A* resting on a white lotus flower, within a full moon, within the heart. The letter *A* is then visualized alternatively within the heart and before the eyes, and finally as expanding to fill the whole cosmos before contracting back into the heart. The syllable *A* represents the cosmos in its many aspects: *A* is the primary seed syllable, the origin of all existence, and the "ungraspable void" (as the negative prefix "a-"). After practicing these visualizations for between ten minutes and one hour, the practitioner bids Mahāvairocana return to his Pure Land and performs closing rites to finish the practice. If the practitioner is able to dwell in the thought of Great Compassion, visualize the syllable *A* in his or her heart at all times, and understand what is represented or manifested by this, he or she can achieve buddhahood in the present body. This practice combines aspects of both *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā,* and the practitioner appropriately forms a hand-position symbolizing the union of *dhyāna* and *prajñā* during the practice.

MODERN TENDENCIES. Over the past millennium, Chan has become the dominant monastic Buddhist institution in the East Asian cultural sphere (as Chan in China, Zen in Japan, Sŏn in Korea, and Thiền in Vietnam), and Pure Land has remained the dominant form of lay Buddhist practice. Chan and Pure Land meditation as described above are now practiced equally by laypeople and monastics, and Chan and Pure Land are often combined. Chan/Zen meditation is now practiced worldwide, but so is Pure Land. The greater involvement of laypeople has led to an overall simplification of meditative techniques. In some cases, such as in Taiwan, monastics may now freely choose which form of meditation they wish to practice. Buddhists have more international contacts now, and laypeople and monastics alike may choose to practice Theravāda or Tibetan forms of meditation in addition to or instead of traditional East Asian forms.

SEE ALSO Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, article on Ethical Practices associated with Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; Buddhism, overview article; Buddhism, Schools of, article on East Asian Buddhism; Chan; Daoism, overview article; Dharma, article on Buddhist Dharma and Dharmas; Sūtra Literature.

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BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY. When Buddhism first became known in the West, many historians of philosophy were reluctant to call it "philosophy." Philosophy in the strict sense was viewed as a legacy of the Greeks, who learned to cultivate a critical and theoretical attitude that was free from the limitations of tradition, mythology, and dogma. By the end of the twentieth century, this restrictive approach has begun to change. We now know much more about the critical precision of Buddhist philosophy, and Western philosophers are more favorably inclined toward the practical concerns that inspired Greek philosophy. As theoretical as Greek speculation may have been, it was never far from the practical challenge of living a good or happy life. The same is true of Buddhist philosophy. Even the most rarefied and theoretical analysis is related to a process of moral discipline and liberation from suffering.

In India the word most often translated as "philosophy" is *darśana*, whose root meaning is simply "to see." As a metaphor, *darśana* is close to the Greek word *theoria*, which is the source of our word *theoretical* and also means "to see." *Darśana* can be used to name a system or school of Indian philosophy, as in the title of Mādhava's famous *Sarvadarśanasamuccaya* (Compendium of all systems), or it can be used to name philosophy itself. Some Indian philosophers play on the metaphorical associations of the word to picture philosophy as way of ascending a mountain to get a clear vision of the world. Bhāvaviveka (also known as Bhavya or Bhāviveka) described the practitioner of philosophy as someone "who climbs the mountain peak of wisdom and is free from grief, but looks with compassion on people who are burned by grief." This verse echoes an earlier Buddhist verse about a wise person who ascends the "palace of wisdom" and, without grief or sorrow, sees the suffering of life spread out below. Hans Jonas has pointed out that the metaphor of vision plays a crucial role in Western philosophy, because it suggests distance, detachment, and the ability to perceive all of reality in a single, inclusive act of understanding. Jonas's point applies equally well to Buddhist philosophy. Whether it involves an Indian scholar climbing a mountain, a Chinese master polishing the mirror of the mind, or a Japanese philosopher gazing at the moon reflected in a dewdrop, Buddhist philosophy functions metaphorically as a form of vision.

The idea of vision suggests another important metaphor for the practice of Buddhist philosophy. To get to the top of the mountain, a philosopher has to follow a path. At a crucial moment in his life, Siddhārtha Gautama, the man who became the Buddha, realized that fasting and self-denial were not leading him where he wanted to go. He accepted a gift of food and took up a mode of discipline that is known in Buddhist tradition as a Middle Way, avoiding the extremes of self-denial and self-indulgence. Once he had found the Middle Way, he began to make progress toward the awakening (*bodhi*) that made him a buddha. For Buddhist philosophers, the Middle Way is more an intellectual discipline than a discipline of desire, but it is equally fundamental to their practice: their philosophical practice charts a Middle Way between the extremes of affirmation (in which things are treated as permanent entities) and negation (in which they are treated as utterly nonexistent).

The most fundamental way of understanding Buddhist philosophy, however, is simply as a pursuit of knowledge. From the earliest stages of Buddhist tradition, wisdom (*prajñā*) played a central role in Buddhist practice. Wisdom involved an ability to see through appearances of things and understand them correctly. By a grammatical accident that had enormous influence on the development of Buddhist thought, it also involved a certain way of "going." The word *way* (*pratipad*), in one of its forms, functions as a verbal noun that means "to go." For the philosophers of classical India, "to go" can always mean "to know." This means that the philosophy of the Middle Way is a way of knowing the world without illusion, grief, or suffering. While the metaphors of vision and the path have become attenuated in the long history of Western philosophy, the Buddhist view of the philosopher's path is not far from Plato's parable of the cave, where the challenge is to ascend from the dark world of mere appearances to the bright light of truth.

EARLY BUDDHIST THOUGHT. It is difficult to separate the teachings of the historical Buddha from the complex layers of oral tradition about his life, but several fundamental themes seem to have been established early in Buddhist history and have given decisive shape to the rest of Buddhist thought.

Early canonical literature tells a story about an encounter between the Buddha and a man named Mālunkyaputta. According to the story, Mālunkyaputta asked the Buddha a series of questions: Is the universe eternal or not? Is it finite or infinite? Is the soul identical to the body or not? Does the Buddha exist after death or not? Does he both exist and not exist after death? Does he neither exist nor not exist? Mālunkyaputta said that, if he did not get answers to these questions, he would leave the order. The Buddha responded with a story about a man who was wounded by a poisoned arrow. When someone tried to take out the arrow, the man said: "Wait! Until you tell me who shot the arrow, what kind of person he was, what the bow and arrow were made of, and so forth, I will not let you remove the arrow." The Buddha said that Mālunkyaputta was like the man shot by the arrow. His speculative questions did not have anything to do with the practical challenge of removing suffering. Buddhists interpret this story as meaning that the Buddha's teaching has a practical goal. Buddhist philosophy is not averse to questions about the nature of reality, even questions that are quite abstruse, but in the end their purpose is to remove suffering.

Another story compares the Buddha's teaching to a raft. The Buddha explains that his teaching should help people cross the river of suffering and should not be treated as a source of attachment. Someone who becomes attached to the words of the teaching is like a man who builds a raft to cross a river, gets to the other side, and is so fond of the raft that he puts it on his back and carries it wherever he goes. The right attitude toward the raft is to use it to cross a river then let it go. Once again, the teaching has a practical function, but out if its practicality grows a critical principle. This story challenges anyone who reveres tradition for its own sake, even when that tradition is the teaching of the Buddha. When the Buddha's teaching is no longer useful, or when it is not effective in removing suffering, it should be left behind. If "philosophy," in the strict sense of term, requires a critical spirit toward dogma, myth, and other forms of tradition, as it often does in the Western tradition, then a distinguishable Buddhist "philosophy" is beginning to stir in these early stories.

One of the most important systematic accounts of early Buddhist thought is found in the *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta* (Discourse on the turning of the wheel of the teaching). According to Buddhist tradition, this discourse contains the Buddha's first sermon and summarizes the content of his awakening. It begins with the Middle Path, then presents a teaching about four noble truths: the truths of suffering (Skt., *duḥkha*; Pali, *dukkha*), the arising of suffering (*samudaya*), the cessation of suffering (*nirodha*), and the path to the cessation of suffering (Skt. *mārga*; Pali, *magga*). Although these truths need to be elaborated before their significance can become clear, they contain an outline of the major topics of Buddhist thought.

The truth of suffering is related to two other important aspects of Buddhist thought: the doctrines of impermanence (Skt., *anitya*; Pali, *anicca*) and no-self (Skt., *nairātmyam*; Pali, *anattā*). Buddhists argue that, while some things are painful in an obvious sense, other things become painful when they change and pass away, and eventually everything changes and passes away. Someone who holds onto changeable things will eventually experience them as suffering. Buddhists carry this point further and argue that, because things change, they lack the permanent identity or "self" that we normally attribute to them. They are nothing but a series of "aggregates" (Skt., *skandha*; Pali, *khandha*) or momentary phenomena that give the illusion of continuity, like momentary flickers in a flame or moments in the flow of a river. The doctrine of impermanence became a major point of controversy between Buddhist and Hindu philosophers, and the doctrine of no-self produced some of the most important debates within the Buddhist tradition itself.

According to the second noble truth, suffering comes from desire, and desire comes from ignorance through a causal sequence known as "dependent co-arising" (Skt., *pratītya-samutpāda*; Pali, *paṭicca-samuppāda*). The most fundamental form of ignorance is the misconception that there is a self. When someone realizes that nothing has any permanent identity, the chain of dependent co-arising unravels, and suffering begins to cease. The third noble truth, the cessation of suffering, is also known as *nirvāṇa* (Pali, *nibbāna*), a word that means simply to "blow out" the fire of ignorance and craving. In its traditional form, the concept of *nirvāṇa* has a negative flavor that sometimes puzzles Western interpreters, but it is not difficult to understand if it is read against the background of Indian views of reincarnation. Like their Hindu and Jain counterparts, Buddhists assume that a person's life follows a cycle of death and rebirth, known in Indian tradition as *saṃsāra* (literally, "wandering"). The goal of the Buddhist path is to bring this cycle to an end. *Nirvāṇa* is not merely the cessation of desire and ignorance; it is liberation from the cycle of reincarnation.

Traditional outlines of the path to *nirvāṇa*, the fourth noble truth, divide it into eight parts, beginning with "right understanding" and ending with "right concentration." In a formula attributed to the nun Dhammadinnā, the eight parts of the eightfold path can be grouped into three: moral conduct (Skt., *śīla*; Pali, *sīla*), concentration (*samādhi*), and wisdom (Skt., *prajñā*; Pali, *paññā*). Moral precepts for laypeople include no killing, no stealing, no lying, no abusing sex, and no taking of intoxicants. The practice of concentration involves a variety of disciplines that often are referred to in the general category of "meditation." Of these the most basic is to sit in a stable posture and concentrate on the movement of the breath. This practice is meant to let the negative tendencies of the mind pass away so that the mind can be clearly aware of the flow of experience. Finally this clear mind should be infused with the wisdom, or the understanding of no-self, that unravels the chain of suffering. It is here, in the cultivation and practice of wisdom, that philosophy finds its place in the path to *nirvāṇa.*

BUDDHIST SECTARIANISM. According to Buddhist literature, the leaders of the early community convened a council about a hundred years after the Buddha's death. While the sources do not agree about the exact nature of the disputes that led to this council, they do show that the community began to divide into different sects or schools (*nikāya*) at a relatively early date. A close study of the sources shows that these divisions initially involved questions of discipline in the Vinaya Piṭaka or "Basket of Discipline" in the Buddhist canon. Later disputes focused on doctrinal questions found in the Sutta Piṭaka and the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. Eventually these disputes produced eighteen separate schools.

The disputes that separated the eighteen schools are too complex and often too obscure to summarize, but one particular dispute had wide influence in later Buddhist thought. This is the "Personalist Controversy." Some of the early schools, such as the Vātsīputrīyas and Sammitīyas, affirmed the existence of a "person" (*pudgala*) that continued from one moment to the next and gave continuity to the personality. These schools said that the "person" was neither identical to nor different from the "aggregates" (*skandha*) that constitute the personality as it was understood by other Buddhist schools. The doctrine of the person (*pudgala-vāda*) was eventually rejected by the majority of Buddhist schools, but not without considerable controversy.

Judging from an account of the personalist doctrine in Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* (Treasury of the *abhidharma*), there were two reasons for the personalists' position. One was a scriptural text (the *Burden Sūtra*) that spoke of a "person" who took up and laid down the burden of *karma.* The other was that the personalists felt that a "person" was necessary to guarantee moral accountability. They seem to have understood the "person" as the shape or configuration (*saṃsthāna*) of the aggregates. While the shape of the aggregates is not different from the aggregates themselves, it continues while the aggregates themselves come and go. Vasubandhu's criticism of this position takes the form of a dilemma. If the "person" is just a conventional way of speaking about the aggregates, then it is not ultimately real. If it is ultimately real, then it cannot change and cannot be related to the aggregates. This dilemma is common in Buddhist philosophy and plays a crucial role in the Madhyamaka view of the two truths to be discussed below.

THE *ABHIDHARMA*. The systematic elaboration of Buddhist thought took a major step forward with the development of the *abhidharma* (Pali, *abidhamma*). The *abhidharma* tradition began as lists, known as *mātṛkās* ("matrices"), of the fundamental constituents (*dharmas*) of reality. As Vasubandhu explained in his *Abhidharmakośa*, *abhidharma* has to do with cultivating pure wisdom through the discrimination of these fundamental constituents. Eventually these lists of fundamental constituents were developed into a third "basket" of scripture. The *abhidharma* schools attributed these lists to the Buddha himself, although their attribution was not universally shared. An important early school known as the Sautrāntikas ("those who follow the discourses") challenged the claim that the *abhidharma* could be traced to the Buddha. This school based its doctrine solely on the Buddha's discourses (*sūtrānta*).

A good way to become acquainted with the questions that occupied the *abhidharma*, without having to deal with the complexity of the matrices, is to read the *Milindapañha* (The questions of King Milinda). This text presents a discussion between the monk Nāgasena and King Milinda, who is identified as Menander, an Indo-Greek king who ruled in northern India around 150–130 BCE. In one of its best known chapters, Milinda asks Nāgasena about the idea of "no-self." Does it mean that Nāgasena himself does not exist? Nāgasena responds by asking the king about his chariot. Does the word *chariot* refer to the wheel, the axle, the pole, or some other part of the chariot? The king says: No, the word *chariot* is just a conventional designation that depends for its meaning on these separate parts. Nāgasena then says that the word *Nāgasena* functions in the same way. It is just a conventional designation that depends on the momentary constituents of the personality. This comparison shows what Vasubandhu meant when he said that *abhidharma* is "the discrimination of fundamental constituents." The process of discrimination implies not only a theory of language but an epistemology: the knowledge of reality has to penetrate beneath the level of conventional designations to the momentary constituents in the flow of experience.

The most influential of the *abhidharma* schools belonged to the Sarvāstivādins ("who hold the doctrine that everything exists"), also known as the Vaibhāṣikas after the title of their greatest work, the *Mahāvibhāṣā* (Great commentary). The school began in the central region of the Ganges basin and eventually migrated to Kashmir where it flourished for several centuries and had wide impact on the transmission of Buddhism to Central and East Asia. Its influence was so great in China that the *Mahāvibhāṣā* has been preserved in several different recensions in the Chinese canon, including a translation made in 659 by the renowned Chinese scholar Xuanzang.

The most distinctive Sarvāstivādin theory, and the one from which the school gets its name, is the idea that "everything exists" not merely in the present, but in the past and future. This position was first developed in the first century CE in a text known as the *Vijñānakāya* (The body of consciousness) and seems to have responded to two problems associated with the concept of impermanence: How can an act of cognition "know" something in the past or future if that object does not exist, and how can past actions have any effect in the present, if the actions have ceased to exist? In the *Mahāvibhāṣā* there is an elaborate discussion of the mental factors that lead to awakening, along with the factors that hold a person back. As is often the case throughout Buddhist philosophy, epistemology plays a key part in the process of liberation.

THE MAHĀYĀNA. The appearance of the Mahāyāna (Great Vehicle), near the beginning of the Common Era, led to a reinterpretation of many of the basic values of Buddhist thought. Mahāyāna texts refer to the teachings of earlier schools as Hīnayāna (Lesser Vehicle) and claim that the Mahāyāna represents a transmission of the Buddha's most profound teaching. For modern scholars, the origins of the Mahāyāna are quite obscure. What is certain is that by the second century of the Common Era, when the first Buddhist translations appeared in China, Mahāyāna texts were actively circulating through the Indian Buddhist community. As the Mahāyāna movement gathered momentum, it transformed the Buddhism of India and became the dominant tradition in China, Korea, Japan, Tibet, and Vietnam.

Early Mahāyāna literature, particularly the *Prajñāpāramitā* (Perfection of Wisdom) *Sūtras*, introduced two key new ideas into the tradition of Buddhist thought. The first of these, the doctrine of emptiness, presented a bold and radical application of the traditional doctrine of no-self. The second, the ideal of the *bodhisattva*, placed this view of reality in a distinctive system of ethical practice and reflection. Neither of these two ideas was unprecedented in Buddhist tradition, but they were presented in such new ways that they precipitated a major reconsideration of the fundamental concepts of Buddhist thought.

According to the *bodhisattva* ideal, the goal of Buddhist life is not to achieve *nirvāṇa* in this life, as it had been in earlier tradition; it is to return in the cycle of reincarnation to help others on the path. While the *bodhisattva* ideal does not exclude monks and nuns, Mahāyāna texts like the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (The teaching of Vimalakīrti) *Sūtra* speak positively about the lay life and draw lay people into the center of the teaching. *Bodhisattvas* are encouraged to practice the active virtue of compassion (*karuṇā*), along with the traditional virtue of wisdom (*prajñā*). This practice involves the cultivation of six "perfections" (*pāramitā*)—generosity, moral conduct, patience, fortitude, concentration, and wisdom (a list that was later expanded to ten)—and proceeds through a process of ten stages (*bhūmi*). In the last stages of this process, *bodhisattvas* acquire such extraordinary powers from their practice of merit and wisdom that they function almost like the Hindu gods.

While the *abhidharma* focused on the discrimination of *dharma*s as the momentary but real constituents of reality, the early Mahāyāna sūtras called the reality of these *dharma*s into question. In the first chapter of *The Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines*, for example, Śāriputra poses a question: "What *dharma* does the word *bodhisattva* refer to?" The answer is that he cannot "find, apprehend, or see" any *dharma* corresponding to the word *bodhisattva.* The sūtra extends the same analysis to all of the categories of Buddhist thought: no matter what the word, no *dharma* can be "apprehended" that corresponds to it. This view of reality can be distilled into the claim that all *dharma*s are "empty" of identity. In other words, the nature of all things is their emptiness.

While the Mahāyāna doctrine of emptiness is easy to state, its implications are complex. One obvious consequence is the concept of nonduality: no matter how different two things may seem, in the end there is no distinction between them. There is no difference between one moment and the next, between one person and another, and between *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra*. To the critics of the Mahāyāna, this view often seems to be a form of nihilism, but it has important positive implications. The *bodhisattva* ideal, for example, is not based merely on a sense of altruism or compassion. While the *bodhisattva* may wish to help others, and this desire may be an important motivation for starting out on the *bodhisattva* path, the *bodhisattva* also realizes that there is no way to separate his or her fate from the fate of others, and there is no way to escape into *nirvāṇa* apart from *saṃsāra* itself. The doctrine of emptiness leads inevitably to the *bodhisattva* practice. Emptiness may seem negative, but it leads to an expansive and affirmative philosophy of Buddhist practice.

THE MADHYAMAKA. The first systematic attempt to organize Mahāyāna thought is associated with the philosopher Nāgārjuna. Reliable historical information about Indian philosophers is rare, and the figure of Nāgārjuna is even more elusive than most. Scholars generally agree that he lived in south-central India sometime in the second or third century of the Common Era. Otherwise what we know of him comes only through his works. Of these, the most important is the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* (Root verses on the Middle Way), the text that served as the source of the Madhyamaka ("Middle Way") school. Nāgārjuna also was the author of a number of independent treatises on problems in logic and the philosophy of language, including the *Vigrahavyāvartanī* (Avoidance of disputes), a work on the *bodhisattva* path (the *Ratnāvalī* [Jewel garland]), and several well-known hymns.

Nāgārjuna makes the direction of his argument clear in the first verse of the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā*: "Nothing ever arises anywhere from itself, from something else, from both, or from nothing at all." To say that nothing arises by any possible causal mechanism depends on a particular assumption about the nature of identity: if something has an "own-being" or "identity of its own" (*svabhāva*), then it cannot be produced by anything else and cannot give rise to itself. The only way something can "arise" is to be empty of any identity. In other words, for Nāgārjuna, the Buddhist view of impermanence expressed in the doctrine of dependent co-arising required that everything be empty of identity. Nāgārjuna expressed this point in two key verses in the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā*: "We call dependent co-arising emptiness; it is a metaphorical designation, and it is the Middle Path"; and "Everything is possible for someone for whom emptiness is possible, and nothing is possible for someone for whom emptiness is not possible."

How can something be possible, if it has no identity? Is the doctrine of emptiness any different from saying that nothing exists at all? The answer to these questions requires another key Madhyamaka concept: the distinction between the two truths. Nāgārjuna said: "When buddhas teach the *dharma*, they depend on two truths: ordinary relative truth and ultimate truth. . . . It is impossible to teach the ultimate without depending on the conventional, and it is impossible to understand *nirvāṇa* without understanding the ultimate." The distinction between the two truths begins with a particular truth about language: a person has to depend on the distinctions of ordinary language in order to show that ordinary language does not apply. But the distinction has important metaphysical and epistemological implications: a person has to depend on an ordinary understanding of things in order to seek *nirvāṇa.* From the ultimate point of view distinctions fall away, but any action or thought that is directed toward ultimate truth gains its meaning by its dependence on relative (*samvṛti*) or conventional (*vyavahāra*) truth. The combination of the two truths—a conventional affirmation and an ultimate negation—constitutes the "middle way" that gives the school its name. It also allows Nāgārjuna to appropriate the basic categories of Buddhist life in a positive way without treating them as ultimately real.

The distinction between the two truths was fundamental to Madhyamaka thought, but it posed troubling philosophical problems for Nāgārjuna's followers. These problems emerged in a series of commentaries on the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā*, written two or three centuries after the time of Nāgārjuna and focused on a disagreement about the logical form of Nāgārjuna's arguments. The commentator Buddhapālita (c. 470–540) interpreted Nāgārjuna's arguments as a *prasaṅga* or reductio ad absurdum in which the opponent's position is shown to lead to absurd conclusions. Buddhapālita formulated the argument against arising from self and other as two separate claims: If someone says that things cannot arise from themselves, this is impossible, because their arising would be useless, and if someone says that things cannot arise from something else, this too is impossible, because then anything could be produced by anything else. This interpretation of Nāgārjuna is known as *Prāsaṅgika* from its style of reasoning. Bhāvaviveka (c. 500–570) argued that the rules of Indian logic require Mādhyamikas not merely to defeat their opponent's position but to establish a position of their own. He restated the first part of Nāgārjuna's argument as an "independent syllogism" (*svatantra anumāna*) with his own independent assertion and reason: "Things do not arise from themselves, because they already exist." Because of his fondness for independent (*svatantra*) arguments, Bhāvaviveka's position is known as *Svātantrika.* Candrakīrti (c. 600–650) came to Buddhapālita's defense and provided the classic statement of the Prāsaṅgika approach. For Tibetan tradition and for modern scholars, Bhāvaviveka's Svātantrika and Candrakīrti's Prāsaṅgika represent the two major, competing options in the interpretation of Madhyamaka thought.

This dispute about logical procedure gives a glimpse of the problems that occupied Buddhist philosophers in what might be called the classical period of Buddhist philosophy in India. By the fourth and fifth centuries Buddhist monasteries had become sophisticated centers of learning and were drawn into debate not only with other Buddhists but with competing schools of Hindus and Jains. Bhāvaviveka himself played a crucial role in this inter-traditional dialogue by producing the *Tarkajvālā* (Flame of reason), the first systematic chapter-by-chapter account of the doctrines of competing Indian schools. It was natural for him to insist that Buddhists play by the accepted rules of debate and defend their own positions. It fell to Candrakīrti to reassert the austerity and simplicity of Nāgārjuna's vision of ultimate truth. Behind the argument about the procedure for debate, however, lay an argument about the nature of conventional truth. Bhāvaviveka felt that it was necessary to "accept" (*siddha*) conventional things before analyzing them from the ultimate perspective; Candrakīrti refused to attribute such independent reality to the subject of his arguments.

In addition to commentaries on Nāgārjuna, Bhāvaviveka and Candrakīrti wrote major works on the *bodhisattva* path. Both works, Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvatāra* (Introduction to the Middle Way) and the first three chapters of Bhāvaviveka's *Tarkajvālā*, present their analysis of Madhyamaka philosophy as part of the path to buddhahood. The same is true of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (Introduction to the practice of awakening) by Śāntideva (eighth century). In a widely-quoted scriptural text, wisdom (*prajñā*) is pictured as a way of giving sight to the other perfections and leading them to the city of *nirvāṇa*. While the practice of Buddhist philosophy became more and more concerned with issues of logic and epistemology, it did not lose its intimate relationship to the discipline of Buddhist life.

Madhyamaka continued to develop after the dispute between Candrakīrti and Bhāvaviveka. Bhāvaviveka's Svātantrika approach was taken up and extended by the eighth-century scholars Jñānagarbha, Śāntarakṣita, and Kamalaśīla, who shared the definition of conventional truth as "arising dependently, capable of effective action, and satisfying only when it is not analyzed." The concept of "effective action" (*artha-kriyā*) in this definition shows the influence of the Buddhist logician Dharmakīrti (seventh century). Both Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla played important roles in the introduction of Buddhism to Tibet. On the Prāsaṅgika side, the philosopher Atīśa (eleventh century) helped reestablish the Buddhist intellectual tradition in Tibet after a period of persecution. His Prāsaṅgika convictions, along with his well-known work on the *bodhisattva* path, *Bodhipathapradīpa* (Lamp for the path to awakening), had immense influence on the shape of philosophy in Tibet. One of the least known areas of Madhyamaka thought in the last period of Indian Buddhist history has to do with the relationship between Madhyamaka and Tantra. Two works by the Tantric saint Vimalamitra are included in the Madhyamaka section of the Tibetan canon, and it is clear from later Tibetan history, as well as from the lives of Tantric saints, that Madhyamaka played an important role in developing the radical concept of nonduality on which Tantra was based.

THE YOGĀCĀRA. A century or two after the time of Nāgārjuna, a second school emerged to challenge its interpretation of the Mahāyāna. This school is known by the name Yogācāra or "Practice of Discipline." The origin of the Yogācāra is obscured by an old tradition that attributes several of the school's fundamental texts to the celestial *bodhisattva* Maitreya. The school's most important early exponents, if not its actual founders, were Asaṅga and Vasubandhu (fourth or fifth century), two philosophers who were possibly brothers. Like the Madhyamaka, the Yogācāra grew from the interpretation of a distinctive body of Mahāyāna sūtras. These included not merely the *Perfection of Wisdom Sūtras*, but sūtras that spoke of a "third turning of the wheel of the teaching" intended to interpret and move beyond the teaching of the Perfection of Wisdom. The *Sandhinirmocana* (Releasing the hidden meaning) *Sūtra* describes the *Perfection of Wisdom Sūtras* as *neyārtha* (requiring further interpretation) as opposed to the *Sandhinirmocana* itself, which *is nītārtha* (its meaning is definitive and does not need further interpretation).

Instead of two truths, the Yogācāra tradition developed a doctrine of three natures (*svabhāva*): imagined (*parikalpita*) nature, dependent (*paratantra*) nature, and perfected (*pariniṣpanna*) nature. The first of these natures has to do with distinctions between subject and object and between one object and another. When the mind distinguishes things and gives them names, the nature it attributes to them is "imagined": it is as unreal as a magic trick or a dream. The mind itself, in its imaginative capacity, constitutes "dependent nature." When it creates imaginative fantasies about the nature of the world, it is like the mind that creates a dream: its concepts are not real, but the mind itself is real. Perfected nature is defined as the absence of imagined nature in dependent nature. In this sense it is identical to emptiness itself, but it also can be equated with the mind when all its illusory concepts have been removed.

This Yogācāra picture of reality appears in different forms in different texts, including the *Madhyāntavibhāga* (Distinction between the middle and the extremes), the *Viṃśatikā* (Twenty verses) and the *Triṃśikā* (Thirty verses), but the basic picture remains the same. In all these texts, the three natures function not only as an ontology, to distinguish real from unreal, but as an epistemology and a roadmap for meditation. The first step in the meditative process is to grasp the concept of "mind-only" (*citta-mātra*) in order to eliminate attachment to external objects. Once a person has understood that there is nothing but mind, it is possible to free the mind from the idea that it is a separate subject, different from its objects. The goal of this process is to develop the nondual awareness that constitutes the Buddha's awakening. The concept of "mind-only" is widely understood to mean that the Yogācāra is a form of Indian idealism. There is much in Yogācāra literature to support this view, particularly the sophisticated Yogācāra analysis of the transformations (*pariṇāma*) of consciousness. But it is important to note that the concept of "mind-only" is used to remove attachment not only to objects but also to the mind as a separate subject.

After the time of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, the Yogācāra school developed a complex commentarial tradition like the tradition of the Madhyamaka. Philosophers like Sthiramati (510–570) and Dharmapāla (c. 530–561) developed distinctive and influential interpretations of the school in the monasteries of North India. This was the intellectual milieu that Xuanzang (c. 600–664) encountered when he traveled from China in the early decades of the seventh century. After studying in Yogācāra circles for several years, he returned to China and introduced the Yogācāra tradition to Chinese Buddhism. While the school did not maintain a separate identity in China long after the death of Xuanzang, its influence was felt throughout the history of Chinese Buddhist thought.

BUDDHIST LOGIC. One of the most important legacies of the Yogācāra in India was the epistemological tradition known as Buddhist logic. Beginning in the sixth century in the works of Dignāga (c. 480–540), the tradition produced some of the greatest philosophers in the Indian tradition. There is a legend that the Hindu logician Udayana went to a temple one day and found the door locked. In frustration, he addressed God in the following words: "Drunk with the wine of your own divinity, you ignore me; but when the Buddhists are here, your existence depends on me." The Buddhists he was referring to were not the Mādhyamikas or the early Yogācāras, but the philosophical heirs of Dignāga who kept up their controversies with their Hindu opponents until the Buddhist monasteries were destroyed at the end of the twelfth century.

In his major work, the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* (A compendium of the means of knowledge), Dignāga argued that there are only two acceptable ways to know: perception (*pratyakṣa*) and inference (*anumāna*). Perception gives access to momentary particulars (*svalakṣaṇa*), which are ultimately real, while inference gives access to universals (*sāmānya-lakṣaṇa*), which are only conventionally real. Absent from this list is knowledge based on scripture or verbal testimony. Verbal testimony played a crucial epistemic role in Hindu exegesis of the Vedas, but Dignāga cast verbal testimony aside in favor of perception and the logical analysis of experience based on perception. In this respect, he represented a more sophisticated version of the critical approach that animated the teaching of the Buddha himself.

With Dignāga's austere two-part epistemology came not only a complex analysis of the types of perception but also a thorough study of the forms of inference and, with the theory of inference, a view of language as *anyāpoha* ("exclusion of the other"). Dignāga recognized that it was impossible for a word like *cow* to refer directly to the universal "cowness," since such an entity was nothing more than an intellectual construct. Instead, he argued that the word gained its meaning by excluding particulars that did not belong to a cow, such as the distinguishing characteristics of a horse.

Dignāga's successors included Dharmakīrti, who wrote the *Pramāṇavārttika*, the authoritative commentary on Dignāga's major work, and two philosophers, Ratnakīrti and Jñānaśrīmitra, who carried the Buddhist-Hindu controversy into the tenth and eleventh centuries on such topics as the existence of God and the self and the doctrine of momentariness.

BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY OUTSIDE INDIA. The history of Buddhist philosophy outside India is a complex topic in its own right and cannot be treated simply as an extension of controversies and schools borrowed from India. In the earliest stages of Buddhist philosophical activity in Tibet and East Asia, the challenge was to interpret and absorb the Indian traditions, but it was not long before scholars in both areas generated distinctive traditions of philosophical reasoning.

In Tibet, the Indian Buddhist philosophical tradition became part of the standard monastic curriculum in all the Tibetan schools. Students received the texts from their teachers, memorized them, and then debated their meaning with their peers. In the Dge lugs (Geluk) pa tradition that is represented by the lineage of the Dalai Lamas, the curriculum included Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvatāra*, Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika*, a summary of the *Perfection of Wisdom Sūtras*, and a text on the monastic discipline. While Tibetan philosophers had a traditional focus, they were capable of impressive originality and creative insight, as anyone who has encountered the work of a scholar like Tsong kha pa (1357–1419) can attest. The study of Indian Buddhist philosophy today would not be the same without the insights generated by the Tibetan exegetical tradition.

The earliest attempts to formulate Buddhist thought in China began in the second and third centuries CE and were strongly influenced by indigenous Chinese traditions, particularly Daoism. The neo-Daoist concept of "original nonbeing" came tantalizingly close to the Mahāyāna concept of emptiness and helped give Chinese Buddhist philosophy a Daoist flavor that never entirely disappeared. One of the finest examples of the Daoist turn in early Chinese Buddhism was the brilliant fifth-century commentator Sengzhao. As a pupil of the influential translator Kumārajīva (c. 350–409/413), Sengzhao had access to the text of Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* and understood its Indian characteristics, but he transformed its argument in a distinctively Chinese way, depicting the Buddhist sage in a way that would have been very much at home in Daoist circles in the same period.

In the sixth and seventh centuries, as Chinese thinkers became more adept at interpreting Indian texts in their original languages, Madhyamaka and Yogācāra went through a brief period of efflorescence. Jizang (549–623) made a bold attempt to articulate the Madhyamaka, while Xuandang (600–664) did the same for the Yogācāra. With the arrival of the Tang dynasty (618–907), however, Chinese Buddhism developed its own distinctive, indigenous philosophical schools. One of the most influential was the Tiantai, founded by Zhiyi (538–597) on Mount Tiantai ("Heavenly Terrace"). Zhiyi's thought can be summarized in three key doctrines: the nature of all *dharma*s, the harmony of three levels of truth, and the three thousand worlds immanent in an instant of thought. Tiantai had an inclusive, eirenic character that gave it great influence, not only in China but also in Japan where, as the Tendai school, it gave rise to the three major Buddhist movements of the Kamakura period (1185–1333): Pure Land Buddhism, the tradition of Nichiren, and Zen. Another key school associated with the Tang dynasty was the Huayan, founded by Fazang (643–712). The Huayan was based on the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, an Indian Mahāyāna text that compared the world to a network of jewels, with every individual jewel reflecting the light of every other jewel. This vision of the interconnectedness of the cosmos had important influence in Chinese philosophy, including neo-Confucianism, and in the philosophical literature of Japan.

Whether the Chan ("Meditation") school (referred to in Japan as *Zen*) should be called "philosophical" in the strict sense of the word might be debated. It could just as well be called "anti-philosophical," in the sense that it challenges discursive logic and favors direct experience over "words and letters," but it had so much influence on the development of Buddhist thought that it cannot be excluded. One of the key documents in the history of Chan is *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch* by Huineng (638–713). In this text the master Hongren (601–674) asks his disciples to write verses expressing the basic point of the Buddha's teaching. The master then uses the verses to decide who should carry on the mantle of his authority. One student writes a verse saying that the body is the tree of wisdom and the mind is the stand of a mirror: the purpose of meditation is to wipe the mirror and not allow it to become dusty. Huineng responds with a strict application of the concept of emptiness: "The mirror of the mind is always clear and pure. How can it be defiled by dust?" Out of Huineng's teaching grew the Southern school of Chan, with an emphasis on sudden awakening. The Northern school, which traced its origin to Huineng's rival, Shenxiu (c. 606–706), stressed a view of gradual awakening.

The intellectual strength of the Chan tradition shows itself vividly in the work of the Japanese Zen master and philosopher Dōgen (1200–1253). Dōgen was born in the family of an influential courtier but lost his family at an early age and entered the Tendai monastery on Mount Hiei in Kyoto to become a monk. Not satisfied with his studies, he traveled to China and received what he later called "the *dharma*-gate of face-to-face transmission." Returning to Japan, he founded the Sōtō school of Japanese Zen, a school that is known for its practice of "just sitting." Dōgen's major work, the *Shōbōgenzō* (Treasury of the true *dharma* eye), crosses the line between poetry and philosophy with its eloquent and paradoxical explorations of the concept of emptiness. It is relentlessly analytical, while it constantly subverts the linear process of logical analysis; it also is intensely intellectual, while it dissolves the intellect in a quest for pure experience.

RECENT BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY. The history of Buddhist philosophy since the mid-nineteenth century has been dominated in one form or another by the encounter with the West. The Theravāda tradition felt Western influence as early as the end of the nineteenth century, when the Theosophists Henry Steel Olcott (1832–1907) and H. P. Blavatsky (1831–1891) arrived in Sri Lanka, converted to Buddhism, and attempted to create a modern, rational Buddhism. They criticized practices that they considered corrupt or superstitious, like the worship of local deities, and they argued that Buddhists should return to the tradition's pragmatic, down-to-earth, experiential roots. This interpretation of the Buddhist tradition continues to have enormous influence in contemporary accounts of the Buddha's teaching.

One of the most influential attempts to bring Buddhism into dialogue with Western philosophy took place in the Kyoto school in Japan. The Kyoto school began in the departments of philosophy and religion at Kyoto State University under the influence of Nishida Kitarō (1870–1945). Nishida attempted to be loyal to Japanese traditions, especially Buddhism, and to synthesize Japanese traditions with the philosophical tradition of the West. Nishida's project was taken up by his successor in Kyoto, Tanabe Hajime (1885–1962), and by his student Nishitani Keiji (1900–1990). Nishida felt a deep affinity between Japanese thought and certain currents of German idealism, especially its use of dialectical logic and its openness toward mysticism. His concept of absolute nothingness involved a dialectical relationship of being and nonbeing and yielded a view of the self in which the self is "made nothing" so that it can open up to its true identity. In *Religion and Nothingness* (English translation 1982), Nishitani related this process to the history of Western philosophy and argued that Western thought had to pass through a stage of nihility to achieve a state of absolute nothingness, where it could embrace both being and nothingness. After the death of Nishitani, the Kyoto school has been less of a force in Japanese philosophy, but it remains one of the boldest attempts to cross the boundaries between philosophy and religion and between Buddhism and the tradition of Western philosophy.

SEE ALSO Dharma, article on Buddhist Dharma and Dharmas; Eightfold Path; Four Noble Truths; Mādhyamika; Nirvāṇa; Prajña; Pratītya-samutpāda; Soteriology; Soul, article on Buddhist Concepts; Tathāgata-garbha; Yogācāra.

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MALCOLM DAVID ECKEL (2005)

BUDDHIST RELIGIOUS YEAR. The Buddhist religious year celebrates seminal events in the life of the founder and the early religious community and sanctifies the annual changes of the seasons and the cyclical passage of time in which the life of the community is embedded. Particular cultural traditions adjust and amplify both dimensions of the Buddhist calendar according to their own histories and circumstances.

Each Buddhist culture developed its own religious calendar punctuated by particular ceremonies, rituals, and festivals. Chinese Buddhists, for example, celebrated the life of the Buddha and various *bodhisattvas*, the death anniversaries of certain figures in Chinese Buddhist history, various celestial beings (*tian gong*), the emperor's birthday, and such seasonal events as the celebration of the new year and the end of summer. In Tibet, the religious year included not only celebrations for the Buddha and major religious figures such as Padmasambhava, but also monthly commemorations of a wide variety of deities and saints and the celebration of the new year. Within any given cultural tradition the specifically Buddhist events of the year—the life of the Buddha, the observance of the rains retreat (*vassa*), and so forth—are likely to be articulated with the agricultural cycle. Thus, in much of Southeast Asia, Buddha's Day occurs at the onset of the monsoon rains in May; the *kaṭhina* ceremonies, in which gifts are presented to the monks, comes at the end of *vassa*, the end of the planting season; and the merit-making ceremony in honor of the Buddha's appearance as Prince Vessantara comes in February–March, after the rice harvest. In short, the Buddhist religious year is closely integrated with the cycle of rice cultivation and its accompanying economic activities.

For the purposes of this article we shall not divide the Buddhist religious year chronologically, in part because of the variance among Buddhist calendars from culture to culture. Rather, we shall first examine the major observances of the Buddhist year as defined by the events in the life of the Buddha and the founding of his religion (*sāsana*), and then seasonal celebrations, in particular, the New Year. Although these two dimensions of the Buddhist religious year are separable for analytical purposes, within the lives of Chinese, Tibetan, Japanese, Thai, Sri Lankan and Burmese Buddhists the distinction is, at best, moot. From the perspective of the individual, furthermore, the religious year is also marked by life-transition ceremonies of an annual (e.g., birth and death anniversaries) or occasional nature, for instance, house consecrations. In traditional Buddhist societies, then, the religion essentially sanctified and made meaningful all aspects of life, whether cosmic, communal, or individual.

In short, the experience of the tradition calibrates the religious year, its founding, the major events within its early history, its most significant turning points. The major annual observances of the Buddhist year include, but are not limited to, the life of the Buddha, the proclamation of the Buddha's teaching, or *dharma*, the founding of the monastic order, the beginning and end of the monsoon rains retreat (*vassa*), founder's celebrations, and saint's anniversaries. Observances celebrated more frequently, monthly or bimonthly, weekly or daily, include sabbath ceremonies, the fortnightly monastic confessional, or Prātimokṣa, and daily monastic rituals.

CELEBRATING THE BUDDHA. Buddhist doctrine traditionally divides the Buddha's life into eight or twelve acts, many of which are commemorated in various ways in particular Buddhist cultures. These acts include the Buddha's birth, enlightenment, first discourse, entry into *nirvāṇa*, descent from Trāyastriṃśa Heaven, where he had instructed his mother in the Abhidharma, the simultaneous appearance of the 1,250 arhats at Veḷuvana monastery in Rājagṛha, and the miracle of Śrāvastī, where the Buddha miraculously multiplied himself into an infinite number of flaming manifestations, thereby vanquishing the heretics who had challenged him to a magical competition.

Buddha's Day. Buddha's Day, or Visākhā Pūjā in the Theravāda tradition, is considered by many to be the most holy day in the Buddhist year, as it commemorates the birth, enlightenment, and death (i.e., *parinirvāṇa*) of the Buddha, believed by Theravāda Buddhists to have occurred miraculously on the same day of the week. In Theravāda countries this celebration, known as Vesak in Sri Lanka, occurs on the full-moon day of Visākhā (Skt., Vaiśākha; April–May). Vesak celebrations in Southeast Asia focus on the monastery. Devotees observe the precepts and listen to sermons on the life of the Buddha. In Thailand, the traditional Vesak sermon, the *pathama-sambodhi*, continues throughout the entire night. It begins with the wedding of Suddhodana and Mahāmāyā, the Buddha's parents, and concludes with the distribution of the Buddha's relics and an accounting of the reasons for the decline of Buddhism in India. The text is a composite of scripture and popular commentary in which the Buddha is depicted as a teacher and miracle worker. In addition to attendance at monastery services, other common Vesak practices include watering bodhi trees within monastery compounds, circumambulation of the *cetiya* reliquary at night with incense and candles, acts of social service such as feeding the poor and treating the sick in hospitals, pilgrimage to sacred sites, and the bathing of Buddha images.

The celebration of Buddha's Day is both ancient and widespread. The seminal events of the Buddha's career coalesced into Vesak by the Theravādins are acknowledged independently in other Buddhist cultures. In Tibet, for example, the traditional religious year included celebration of the Buddha's conception or incarnation on the fifteenth day of the first lunar month, the attainment of Buddhahood on the eighth day of the fourth month, the Buddha's death, or *parinirvāṇa*, on the fifteenth day of the fourth month, and the Buddha's birth on the fourth day of the sixth month of the Tibetan year. The first of these events, the Buddha's incarnation, occupied a preeminent place in the Tibetan religious year, in part because of its assimilation into the New Year carnival. It was a day when special respects were paid to the Dalai Lāma, and the Buddha's mother, Mahādevī, was solicited for special boons. In China, Korea, and Japan, the Buddha's birthday has been marked, in particular, by a procession of Buddha images and the bathing of these images. These traditions associated with Buddha's Day or Buddha's Birthday appear to be of early origin.

The Mahāvaṃsa mentions a procession of Buddha images during the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (Sinhala, Duṭugämunu; r. 101–77 BCE), for which the prototype may well have been a ceremony described in Aśoka's Fourth Rock Edict. Faxian observed a similar procession in India during his visit in the fifth century of the common era. The tradition of bathing Buddha images appears to be symbolized by the *Lalitavistara* episode of the two *nāga* serpents, Nanda and Upananda, bathing the *bodhisattva* after his birth, an episode depicted at such far-flung sites as Tun-huang and Borobudur. The *Mahāsattva Sūtra* describes a similar event where the Buddha is bathed by Indra and the four *deva* kings. It designates the eighth day of the fourth lunar month as the time when all devotees should wash his images in respect of the Buddha's power to grant boons.

Buddha's Day ceremonies and festivities embody both normative and popular dimensions of the Buddhist tradition, as do other celebrations marking the Buddhist religious year. Although relatively free of non-Buddhist elements, the focus on the Buddha image—whether through consecration, procession, or lustration—has primarily a mythic and/or magical significance. The Buddha is honored as a being greater than any other deity, and as a granter of boons. On the popular level, this aspect of Buddha's Day has assumed a greater importance than remembrance of the Buddha as the Enlightened One and great teacher.

The commemoration of Buddha relics. According to the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, after the Buddha's death his relics were divided among the eight *cakkavatti* (Skt., *cakravartin*) rulers of India, who enshrined them in *cetiya* (Skt., *caitya*, reliquary mounds) at eight locations throughout India. While the obvious symbolic nature of this story belies its historicity, by the Mauryan period in India (fourth to second century BCE) *caitya* the likes of Sāñcī and Bhārhut had become important centers of pilgrimage and popular piety. The early association of Buddha relics with kingship in India points to a pattern perpetuated throughout much of Buddhist Asia: the enshrinement of a major Buddha relic as a monarch's attempt to legitimate his rule through the appropriation of the *buddhasāsana* (the Buddhist religion), and, even more importantly, to base his realm around a center of magical, sacred power. Buddhist chronicles often make no clear distinction between the sacred boundary of a Buddhist sanctuary housing a major Buddhist relic and jurisdictional limits of towns or larger political units. Both temple and kingdom, in one sense, derive their identity from the Buddha relic. Consequently, ceremonies commemorating the enshrinement of a Buddha relic are often major annual celebrations honoring the person of the Buddha that empower both the religion and the state. An outstanding example of such an annual celebration is found in Sri Lanka.

In Sri Lanka, the most elaborate national festival celebrates the arrival of the eyetooth relic of the Buddha, which is enshrined as the palladium of the kingdom in the Daladā Māligāwa (Temple of the Tooth) in Kandy. The *Dhātuvaṃsa* (Chronicle of the tooth relic) states that the relic was brought to Sri Lanka from Kaliṅga in India during the reign of King Kitsirimeghavaṇṇa (352–377). The king enshrined the relic in the capital, Anurādhapura, ordered that a grand festival celebrate its arrival, and dedicated the whole of Sri Lanka to it. Faxian, who visited Sri Lanka in the ninth century, gives us a record of the annual festival celebrating the tooth relic, reputed to have been brought to Sri Lanka only ten days after the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa.* He reports that the procession of the relic around the precincts of the capital occurred in the middle of the third lunar month. The procession he witnessed passed between five hundred people costumed to represent the five hundred lives (*jātaka*) of the *bodhisattva* according to the Theravāda tradition. The *Daladāsirita* (History of the tooth relic), written in the fourteenth century, describes in great detail the annual circumambulation of the tooth relic around the capital. The procession was marked by the sprinkling of holy water throughout the city sanctified by the chanting of the *paritta.* Today, the festival takes place during the month of Āsāḷha (Skt., Āṣādha; the lunar month of July–August) in the town of Kandy. The festival, which has taken on a carnival atmosphere, goes on for eleven nights, culminating in the twelfth day with a water cutting ceremony.

Similar festivals occurred in East Asia, as well. During the Tang dynasty (618–907) the festival that attracted the largest crowds in the capital, Xiʾan, centered around Buddha relics. During the second or third lunar month, tooth relics from four temples and a fingerbone relic from the Famen Si were put on display for a week. The Famen Si relic was, on occasion, put on public view inside the royal palace. A ninth-century memorial by Han Yu claimed that the display of the relic produced such a frenzy on the part of the viewers that they burned their heads, roasted their fingers, and threw away their clothes and money. Such annual festivals honoring Buddha relics calibrate the religious year not so much in terms of the life of the Buddha but in terms of the magical power of his bodily presence, a presence fraught with political as well as religious significance.

Honoring the Buddha's dharma. The Buddha's teaching, or more narrowly conceived, particular Buddhist texts, are often honored in annual ceremonies and ritual celebrations. In Tibet, the feast of the First Discourse was traditionally held on the fourth day of the sixth lunar month. In modern Thailand, the commemoration of the *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta* occurs on the full moon of Āsāḷha, the eighth lunar month, at the beginning of the monsoon rains retreat (*vassa*). In addition to the first discourse, the tradition also celebrates the Buddha's preaching of the Abhidharma to his mother and the teaching of the Prātimokṣa, the core of the monastic discipline (Vinaya), which the tradition holds took place three months before the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa.* These celebrations may be assimilated into other parts of the Buddhist year, as, for example, in Tibet, where the Buddha's descent from Trāyastriṃśa Heaven marks the end of the monsoon rains retreat.

As an example of an annual popular ceremony celebrating a particular text we look to the preaching of the *Vessan-*

tara Jātaka in the Theravāda countries of Southeast Asia. This ceremony is known in Thailand as Thet Mahāchāt. To be sure, the occasion focuses on the Buddha's perfection of the virtue of *dāna* (generosity) and on the efficacy of *puñña* (religious merit), but it also clearly demonstrates the power of the *dharma* as a text, not only as a teaching or narrative, but as something with special potency in both its written and oral form. Thus, as with the annual celebrations focusing on the Buddha, which remember not only the seminal events of his life but also the magical power of his physical presence, annual celebrations remembering the *dharma* refer not simply to the Buddha's teaching of Dharma, Abhidharma, and Vinaya but to the power of the text, especially as chanted.

In northeastern Thailand the preaching of the *Vessantara Jātaka*, which recounts a former life of the Buddha as Prince Vessantara, occurs in February–March after the rice harvest. While the ceremony includes various animistic and Brahmanic elements, the celebration focuses on the preaching of the thirteen chapters of the Thai version of the story. Monks famed for preaching particular chapters may be invited by sponsors whose donations to the *sangha* (Skt., *saṃgha;* the monastic order) are thought to be particularly meritorious. Prior to the recitation of the text the laity may enact the journey of Vessantara from the kingdom of Sivi and back again, having passed the tests to his generosity arranged by the god Indra. When the entire story is preached the ceremony, which begins in the morning, lasts well into the night.

In China, Korea, and Japan texts such as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* (Lotus sūtra) were the objects of major ceremonies. In Japan the *Ninnōkyō*, or *Sūtra of the Benevolent Kings*, was from the seventh to the thirteenth century one of the most important scriptures in Japanese Buddhism. It became the object of a public cult (*ninnō-e*), and ceremonies celebrating it were frequent at the Japanese court in order to ensure the maintenance of the dynasty and the welfare of the state. In Tibet, the fifteenth day of the third lunar month commemorated the preaching of the *Kālacakra Tantra;* each monastery also annually celebrated the particular Tantra to which its school ascribed special importance.

Thus, while the Buddhist year celebrated the Tripiṭaka in terms of three events in the Buddha's legendary life, other texts, which often dealt with such popular topics as the *bodhisattva*, miracles, and, more specifically, magical protection of the state, were often the occasion of annual ceremonies. In short, on the level at which the *dharma* enters into the popular perception of sacred time, it too, like the figure of the Buddha, takes on magical significance that protects the individual and guarantees social and political wellbeing.

CELEBRATING THE RELIGION. The religious year not only celebrates the person and life of the Buddha and his teaching, but the founding of the Buddha's community or monastic order, the establishment of the Buddha's religion in various parts of Asia, the monastic year as focused on the period of the monsoon rains retreat, and particularly important religious figures such as holy founders and reformers of the tradition.

The founding of the Saṃgha. The founding of the *saṃgha* is tied to the miraculous event of the Buddha's appearance before the 1,250 arhats at Veḷuvana Mahāvihāra in Rājagṛha. All had received ordination from the Buddha with the words "Ehi bhikkhu" ("Come, O monk"); according to tradition, the Buddha used this occasion to hand down the Prātimokṣa to his assembled followers. In short, the unannounced, miraculously simultaneous gathering of over a thousand monks ordained by the Buddha himself became the occasion for establishing the rule of order for the Buddhist monastic life.

In Thailand this event in the religious year is celebrated on the full moon sabbath of the third lunar month (Māgha) and is known as Māgha Pūjā. The celebration follows a relatively simple pattern. At about dusk crowds of laity gather in temple compounds to circumambulate the temple *cetiya* before entering the preaching hall for an evening of chanting and a sermon. The traditional text used for the occasion is a *gāthā* on the Prātimokṣa composed in the early nineteenth century by King Rama IV when he was a monk. It encourages the *sangha* to be a field of merit through constant attention and heedfulness, a teaching similar to the Buddha's instructions to the monks at Veḷuvana to do no evil of any kind, be established in the good, and to maintain a clear mind.

Establishing the tradition. Various types of annual events celebrate the establishment of Buddhism in a particular location or cultural area. These events range from commemorations of the arrival of Buddhist missionaries to the founding of particular temples or monasteries, often with royal support, for instance, the Shōmusai festival of the Tōdaiji in Nara held in May in commemoration of the death of the Japanese emperor Shōmu (701–756) and his patronage of Buddhism.

Temple or pagoda festivals and holy days commemorating events in the life of the Buddha are the most often observed Buddhist ceremonies in Myanmar. Nearly every Myanmari will attend at least one pagoda festival annually. Unlike observances connected with the life of the Buddha, Myanmar temple and pagoda anniversaries are much more in the nature of a country fair. At larger temples the event may last a week with a temporary bazaar featuring commercial goods for sale, games of chance, and of course, numerous makeshift restaurants. Evenings will be filled with various kinds of dramatic performances, including traditional plays and dances and the showing of films. Temple anniversary celebrations also provide an opportunity to solicit donations, often as part of merit-making ceremonies. As in the case of the annual festival at Wat Cedi Luang in Chiangmai, northern Thailand, ceremonies may also include significant non-Buddhist elements such as propitiation of the guardian spirits of the area or region. In the case of Wat Cedi Luang, the anniversary celebration in May includes propitiation of the foundation pillar of the city (identified with the Hindu god Indra) as well as offerings to the autochonous guardian spirits of Chiangmai, a ceremony performed somewhat surreptitiously outside of the city.

In Sri Lanka the establishment of Buddhism on the island is celebrated about a month after Vesak with the Poson festival. The major activities take place at Anurādhapura and Mahintale, where thousands of people come to honor Mahinda, the patron saint of Sri Lanka, who is reputed to have brought the *dharma* to the island at the request of his father, King Aśoka. Later, Mahinda's sister, Sanghamittā, came to the island to establish a Buddhist order of nuns. She brought a branch of the sacred bodhi tree with her, which was planted in the capital. Paying homage to the sacred bodhi tree is an important part of the festivities that take place.

The rains retreat. The earliest form of Buddhist monastic organization seems to have been mendicancy. In the *Mahāvagga* of the Vinaya Piṭaka monks are encouraged to adopt a peripatetic existence. During the monsoon rains, however, the Buddha's disciples gathered in more stable communities. Indeed, assuming that mendicancy characterized the earliest Buddhist monastic practice, cenobitism may well have grown out of the tradition of rains-retreat residence (*vassāvasa*).

Practical explanations for the origin of the observance of a rains retreat fail to take account of its more archaic, magical nature, which is associated with ascetic practice. Various aspects of early Buddhist monastic life and discipline can be interpreted as contrasting the sexual continence of the monk with its polar opposite, the feminine principle of life, gestation, and generation. This principle is embodied not only by women, whose contact with celibate monks is highly circumscribed, but by mother earth, who gives birth to life-sustaining crops. Monastic confinement during the monsoon rains-retreat period might be interpreted as protecting the life-generating power of the earth from the ascetic power of the monk and, correspondingly, defending the monk from the potencies of the earth during the most crucial gestation period of the cycle of plant life. Such an interpretation of the symbolic-magical significance of the origin of the rains-retreat period provides insight into one of the most important annual calendric rituals in Theravāda Buddhist countries, celebrations at the onset and, in particular, at the conclusion of the rains retreat, or Buddhist lenten period.

Both the beginning and end of the rains-retreat period are marked by auspicious rituals held on the full-moon sabbaths of July and October. The onset of *vassa* often witnesses many ordination ceremonies, for in Myanmar, Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos many young men observed the custom of accepting ordination for one lenten period only. On the July full-moon sabbath the laity will process to the monastery bearing gifts (*dāna*) for the monks. During the sabbath service monks and laity will be exhorted to observe an austere lent, thereby emphasizing the primary theme of the rains-retreat period. Especially for monks, the lenten period is a religiously observant time. More time is spent inside the monastery in study, meditation, and monastic devotions. In short, *vassa* epitomizes the lifestyle of the monk as an ascetic, *nirvāṇa*-seeking follower of the Buddha. On a magical level, his more rigorous practice during this period charges the monk with power, to which the laity gain access through the rituals marking the end of the rains retreat.

In Theravāda countries the end of the Buddhist lenten period provides the occasion for the most significant merit-making ceremonies. In Myanmar, the full-moon day of October marks the reemergence of the Buddha himself from Trāyastriṃśa Heaven. Oil lamps ringing monastery pagodas represent the mythic heavenly torches that lit his descent to earth. During the ceremonies that take place over the month following the October full-moon sabbath the laity give generously to the *sangha*, especially gifts of new robes (*kaṭhina*). In Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia *kaṭhina* ceremonies were and are often marked by processions to the monastery compound highlighted by the gift of a "wishing tree" (*padesa*) reminiscent of the trees in the Southern Island of the Buddhist cosmology that supplied the populace with all their needs simply for the asking. Symbolically, this annual celebration provides a ritual mechanism whereby the laity can gain access to the magical-spiritual power of the monks generated during the rains retreat. Thus, even this most exemplary period of the monastic life has a parochialized, magical significance that serves the immediate needs of the laity.

Celebrating the saints. The Buddhist year not only commemorates the Buddha and his teaching, the monastic order and its institutionalization at various times and in various places, but also the lives of saints. In Mahāyāna and Tantrayāna cultures *bodhisattva* days honor popular mythic savior figures, for instance, Guanyin (Avalokiteśvara), as well as legendary patriarchs (e.g., Bodhidharma) and historic reformers such as Hakuin. Some Buddhist figures are celebrated at the national level (e.g., Padmasambhava in Tibet) while others are of regional or more local significance.

Traditionally, the Chinese celebrated Guanyin's birthday on the nineteenth day of the second lunar month. In addition, her enlightenment and entry into *nirvāṇa* were also celebrated on the nineteenth day of the sixth month, and nineteenth day of the ninth month, respectively. Guanyin is celebrated as a merciful savior, the granter of intelligent sons and virtuous daughters, and the dispeller of natural catastrophies. In popular Chinese accounts of Guanyin's origins she is depicted as having been a royal princess from Sichuan Province by the name of Miao-shan who, as a consequence of her ascetic piety, was reborn as a *bodhisattva* destined to return to the human realm as the merciful Guanyin.

Bodhidharma is looked upon as the founder of the Chan (Jpn., Zen) school of Buddhism in China and the first of six traditional Chan patriarchs. His death anniversary is celebrated on the fifth day of the tenth lunar month. Other annual celebrations commemorating founders of Buddhist schools honor, among others, Baijiang, a noted Chan master of the Tang dynasty (nineteenth day of the first month) and Zhiyi, founder of the Tiantai school (the twenty-fourth day of the eleventh lunar month).

In Tibet saint-founders were the object of annual celebrations. The Rnying ma pa school, for instance, established a sequence of monthly ceremonies commemorating various aspects of Padmasambhava's life; the tenth day of the first month celebrates his flight from the world; the tenth day of the second month, his taking religious vows; the tenth day of the third month, his changing fire into water having been consigned to the flames by the king of Zahor, taking the name Padmasambhava, and so on.

In short, the lives of saints, founders, patriarchs, and reformers, whether deified in myth or valorized in legend, provide a special definition to the year in various Buddhist cultures. In the case of Padmasambhava episodes from the guru's biography provide a narrative structure of sacred time to the religious year. In other Buddhist traditions, death anniversaries commemorating key figures in patriarchial lineages integrate the year into a sacral continuum that includes the Buddha, the originator of the sect or school, the father of the subtradition, and so on down to the founder of the local monastery.

SEASONAL CELEBRATIONS. The Buddhist religious year celebrates the seasonal changes, the agricultural calendar, and the seasons of human life and death. In Japan, for example, seasonal celebrations include New Year's Eve Day (Joya-e) and New Year's Day (Oshōgatsu), December 31 and January 1; the heralding of spring (Setsubun-e), February 3; spring and fall equinox (Higan-e), March 21 and September 21; Festival of the Dead (Obon), July 15; and Buddhist Thanksgiving Day (Segaki-e), sometime in the summer. Seasonal celebrations tend to be highly syncretic, with the Buddhist dimension competing with various non-Buddhist elements.

In Tibet, the New Year festival (Lo gsar) incorporated a Buddhist element, the great miracle of Śrāvastī, but its fundamental meaning is the exorcism of evil influences from the old year and the calling up of good fortune for the year to come. The elaborate ritual performances held during the New Year festival aimed not only at the welfare of the individual, but, even more so, at the good of the community. In Japan, New Year may be celebrated by visiting well-known Buddhist temples and shrines, but the traditional custom of eating pounded rice cakes (*mochi*) and drinking sweetened wine (*toso*) symbolized the hope for good health and longevity.

In Thailand, the New Year celebration (Songkrān) falls in the middle of April at the end of the dry season just prior to the coming of the monsoon rains. Although Buddhist temples and monasteries are the site of many New Year ceremonies, the New Year festival, as in Tibet and Japan, seems to have more to do with good luck and a healthy life in the year to come than with specifically Buddhist concerns. In the Thai case, elements of the New Year celebration are obviously intended as acts of sympathetic magic to abet the onset of the monsoon rains, necessary for the planting of the rice crop.

Seasons in the agricultural year are demarcated in various ways in the Buddhist religious calendar. In some cases, agricultural transition may be subsumed into specifically Buddhist events, such as the close relationship between Buddha's Day in monsoon, Theravāda countries, and the planting of rice. In other instances, however, these transitions may simply be made more meaningful by the Buddhist dimension of the culture in which they are embedded. For example, in Sri Lanka the seed-sowing festival (Vap Magula) traditionally held for the prosperity of the nation, is given Buddhist legitimation through the legend of Siddhārtha's presence at the plowing ceremony held by the future Buddha's father, King Suddhodana. In the modern period, all-night *pirit* (Pali, *paritta*) ceremonies will be held before the festival, attended by ministers of state who play the role of traditional Buddhist kings. The harvest festival in Sri Lanka (Aluth Sahal Maṅgalya) and Theravāda Southeast Asia focuses on the offering of first fruits in gratitude to the Buddha and the gods. In Sri Lanka, the contemporary harvest ceremony is held in Anurādhapura under the leadership of the minister of agriculture and development. Both the seed festival and the harvest festival undoubtedly represent Buddhist transformations of Brahmanic ceremonies.

Although individual life-transitions ordinarily do not define a community's religious year unless the person occupies a position of signal importance in China, Korea, and Japan, annual festivals for the deceased achieved national significance. While the festival represents the pervasive significance of the propitiation of ancestral spirits in these cultures, the Buddhist tradition provided its own distinctive validation. According to legend, the Buddha's disciple Maudgalyāyana descended to the deepest hell to rescue his mother from its torments. The Buddha advised Maudgalyāyana that by making offerings of food, clothing, and other necessities to the monks on behalf of the denizens of hell they would be relieved of their suffering. In China it became the custom that offerings made at the Ullambana All Soul's Feast held during the seventh lunar month were believed to rescue ancestors for seven preceding generations. In Japan the Obon festival takes place over three days, July 13–15. Activities will include special services at the home altar, visits to temple graveyards in order to welcome the ancestral spirits back to their home, and special vegetarian feasts. On the last day of the celebration the spirits will be sent off in miniature boats (*shōryōbune*) filled with food and lighted lanterns.

CONCLUDING REMARK. The Buddhist religious year sanctifies the life of the individual and the community in all of its aspects. Through annual ritual ceremonials and festivals mundane life is transfigured and the seemingly chaotic nature of existence finds meaning in an ordered sequence of paradigmatic events. While the life of the founder and the events of the early Buddhist community provide the central focus of the Buddhist religious year, its comprehensive scope incorporates all aspects of life from the beginning (the New Year festival) to the end (the All Souls' Feast).

SEE ALSO Avalokiteśvara; Kingship, article on Kingship in East Asia; Stupa Worship; Worship and Devotional Life, articles on Buddhist Devotional Life in East Asia, Buddhist Devotional Life in Southeast Asia, Buddhist Devotional Life in Tibet.

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BUDDHIST STUDIES. Buddhism is considered to be a historical religion, that is, a religion with a founder who appeared at a specific moment in human history. This founder is, of course, the Buddha, who lived for some eighty years in what is today northern India and southern Nepal, sometime between the sixth and fourth centuries BCE. Buddhist texts would reject any claim that Buddhism originated at that time; Śākyamuni was only the most recent of a series of buddhas who have appeared in the past and will appear in the future. Yet, Buddhists across the centuries of Buddhist history would agree that he was the buddha for the present age, and that his life and teachings constitute an epochal event in the history of the universe. The study of Buddhism, whether by Buddhist monks in the monasteries of Asia or by scholars in the European and American academy, has therefore consistently looked back to the Buddha and to the teachings attributed to him as the defining point of origin.

TRADITIONAL STUDY OF BUDDHISM. If by "Buddhism," one means the teachings of the Buddha, then a history of the study of Buddhism would begin in India, almost 2,500 years ago. According to traditional accounts, shortly after the Buddha's passage into *nirvāṇa,* a council of monks was convened in order to recite, remember, and thereby retain his teachings for the future. Regardless of whether this first council was a historical event, its description in a variety of texts points to persistent concerns with issues of canon throughout the history of Buddhism. What should be judged as the word of the Buddha? What did the Buddha teach? And among the many things he must have taught over his long career, which represented his own view and which were an accommodation to suit the needs of a given audience? Such questions are not merely the concern of the modern secular scholar. They have been asked, and answered, over the course of more than two millennia by Buddhist monks and scholars from across Asia, who developed sophisticated methods—some historical, some textual—for determining what is to be accepted as the authentic teaching of the Buddha.

Thus, the writings of the sixth-century Indian monk Bhāvaviveka, for example, include a detailed list of arguments made by non-Mahāyāna Buddhist scholastics in support of their claim that the Mahāyāna sūtras are spurious, that is, that they are not the word of the Buddha. In Tibet, in the fourteenth century, the Buddhist monk Bu ston (1290–1364) compiled what is known as the *bka' 'gyur,* "the translation of the word" [of the Buddha], and explained the principles according to which he included some texts and excluded others. In Tokugawa Japan, where the Mahāyāna sūtras were regarded as the word of the Buddha, Tominaga Nakamoto (1715–1746) used historical analysis to identify numerous discrepancies among these texts; he argued that the Mahāyāna sūtras were not various manifestations of the Buddha's skillful means, but rather were composed long after his death during struggles for scholastic superiority. The Thai king Mongkut (Rāma IV, 1804–1868) made a detailed study of Buddhist literature in an effort to establish the authentic Pali canon, excluding what he deemed legendary elements such as the well-known stories of the Buddha's previous lives.

As Buddhism spread across Asia, the texts, whether they were judged canonical or non-canonical, required translation from various Indic languages (notably Sanskrit and Pali) into a wide variety of vernaculars. Translation has therefore long been central to the study of Buddhism and has been a preoccupation of Buddhist scholars, who have consistently sought the most complete and accurate editions of Indian texts, who have developed and debated the principles for producing the most accurate translations, and who have compiled glossaries and other translation tools that continue to be used by modern scholars.

The energies of Buddhist scholars have not, however, been directed solely to textual exegesis; they have been directed toward other domains of the study of their tradition. For example, the famous Chinese Buddhist pilgrims to India, Faxian (c. 337–422) and Xuanzang (602–664), wrote detailed accounts of their travels, attempting to link the places that they visited with the legendary and historical sites mentioned in Buddhist scriptures, while also describing the Buddhist doctrines and practices they encountered; Xuanzang provided information on both the size and the sectarian affiliation of a large number of Buddhist monasteries in India and Central Asia.

Buddhism is a religion in which primary importance is given to lineage—the ability to trace a teaching from one's teacher back to India and to the Buddha himself. It is from lineage, as much as from texts, that authority and authenticity derive. A great deal of historical investigation has traditionally been devoted, therefore, to establishing lines of transmission. Buddhist scholars have often gone to great lengths, spanning the historical and the mythological, in an effort to chart the passage of specific doctrines back across centuries in time and across mountains and oceans in space in order to claim authority and legitimation for their particular sect.

To note some of the concerns of Asian scholars of Buddhism, over the course of two millennia, is meant to suggest that any history of the study of Buddhism must take into full account the developments in the modes of analysis of their religion by scholars who were also adherents of that religion. These scholars, in most cases Buddhist monks, produced editions of texts, dictionaries, digests of philosophical tenets, catalogues of scriptures, as well as numerous chronicles and histories—both local and global—all products of a sustained tradition of historical reflection. The relationship between their concerns and methods and those of academic scholars of Buddhism is one of continuity rather than sharp disjunction, and the network of relations between the "traditional" and the "modern" remains a fruitful subject for analysis. It is nonetheless the case that the terms "the study of Buddhism" or "Buddhist studies," most commonly evoke the "academic" or "scientific" study of Buddhism that began in Europe in the nineteenth century.

EARLY EUROPEAN ENCOUNTERS. Prior to the thirteenth century, European contact with Buddhist societies was limited. Reports of Buddhism in classical antiquity appear as early as Clement of Alexandria (200 CE), who mentions the Buddha as one of the deities of India. Some two centuries later, Hieronymus (fourth–fifth century) stated that the Buddha was born from the side of a virgin. Elements of a biography of the Buddha became the basis for the lives of two Christian saints, Barlaam and Josaphat, although the Buddhist source of the narrative was not noted until the mid-nineteenth century.

The study of Buddhism by professional scholars in Europe was preceded by a number of encounters with Buddhist peoples by a wide variety of European travelers, missionaries, and diplomats, and European knowledge of Buddhism into the early nineteenth century derived largely from their reports. These include, among others, the accounts of Marco Polo (1254–1324), who reported on the religions of the Mongol Empire as well as Sri Lanka, the Flemish Franciscan friar Willem van Ruysbroek (c. 1215–c. 1295; also known as William of Rubruck), who visited the Mongol court in 1253 and 1255, and the Czech Franciscan friar Odoric (c. 1286–1331), who traveled extensively in China and Mongolia in the early fourteenth century. The travels of Roman Catholic priests during this period were motivated, at least in part, by the search for the kingdom of Prester John, a legendary Christian realm believed to exist somewhere in Asia. Simon de la Loubère (1642–1729), envoy of Louis XIV to the court of Siam, provided a detailed description of Thai Buddhism, including the monastic code, in his 1691 *Du Royaume de Siam,* published in English in 1693 as *New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam.* The Jesuit missionary Ippolito Desideri (1684–1733) spent five years in Tibet beginning in 1716. He lived in a monastery in Lhasa and learned to read and write Tibetan well, producing refutations of Buddhist doctrines written in classical Tibetan. He also wrote an extensive description of Tibetan religion and culture, entitled *Notizie Istoriche del Thibet.*

These figures are just a few of many Europeans to describe their encounters with Buddhists—in China, in Japan, in Tibet, in Mongolia, in Sri Lanka, in Thailand, in Burma—prior to the nineteenth century. It is important to note, however, that none of these figures, regardless of the extent of the knowledge they gained, described the tradition they encountered with the term *Buddhism.* Prior to the eighteenth century, Europeans recognized only four religions in the world: Christianity, Judaism, Islam, and Idolatry (or Paganism). What is identified today as "Buddhism" was regarded then as so many local versions of idolatry. It is only at the end of the eighteenth century that Europeans began to conclude that the various images of the Buddha, with various local names, encountered across Asia in fact represented the same figure and that his followers were thus widely dispersed across the continent. One of the first to make this observation was Dr. Francis Buchanan (1762–1829) in his 1799 article "On the Religion and Literature of the Burmas" published in *Asiatick Researches.* According to the *Oxford English Dictionary,* the term *Buddhism* (or *Boudhism*) is first attested in 1801.

EUROPEAN STUDIES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. It can therefore be said that the history of the study of Buddhism, understood as a single tradition that began with the Buddha in India and subsequently spread across Asia, does not begin in Europe until the nineteenth century. The development of this knowledge in the nineteenth century was the result of a number of factors, including the rise of the science of philology and the study of Asian languages in the academies of Europe, and of particular importance, European colonial projects in Asia. Articles on a wide variety of topics related to Buddhism appeared in scholarly journals such as *Asiatick Researches* and *Journal Asiatique.* In 1823, the German scholar Julius von Klaproth (1783–1835) published a life of the Buddha from Mongol sources. In 1833 and 1834, George Turnour (1799–1843), a British civil servant, published in Ceylon *Epitome of the History of Ceylon, and the Historical Inscriptions.* This contained a translation of "the first twenty chapters of the Mahawanso [the *Mahāvaṅsa,* a famous Sinhalese chronicle] and a prefatory essay on Pali Buddhistical literature." In 1837, Isaak Jakob Schmidt (1779–1847) published the first complete translation of a Buddhist sūtra into a European language with his translation of the *Diamond Sūtra,* from Tibetan into German. The Transylvanian scholar Alexander Csoma de Kőrös (1784–1842) published a series of articles on the Tibetan canon, based on his studies in Ladakh. One of the most important works of this period was that of the great French sinologist Jean Pierre Abel-Rémusat (1788–1832). His unfinished translation of the account of the Chinese monk Faxian's fifth-century pilgrimage to India was completed and heavily annotated by Klaproth and Charles Landresse and published in 1836 as *Foé Koué Ki, ou Relation des royaumes bouddhiques.*

It is notable that none of this important scholarship dealt directly with the land of Buddhism's birth, India. Buddhism had essentially disappeared from India by the fourteenth century CE. When the officials of the British East India Company undertook their various research projects in India, all that was found of Buddhism were various monuments and ruins, and the presence of the Buddha in the Hindu pantheon, where he had become the ninth incarnation of the god Viṣṇu. There were no Buddhist institutions, nor any Buddhists, to be found. This absence of Buddhism in India during the period of European colonialism, and its survival only in the form of archaeological and textual remains, proved an important factor in the European construction of Buddhism.

An official of the East India Company, Brian Houghton Hodgson (1800–1894), was stationed in Nepal, where he found Buddhism to be thriving. Hodgson published a number of widely read articles on Buddhism, but he is remembered for another reason: Beginning in 1824, with the assistance of a Nepalese Buddhist pundit, Hodgson accumulated a large number of Buddhist Indian Sanskrit (and some Tibetan) manuscripts that had been preserved in Nepal. Between 1827 and 1845, he dispatched more than four hundred works to libraries in Calcutta, London, Oxford, and Paris. They included many of the most important sūtras and Tantras of Sanskrit Buddhism. The manuscripts attracted little attention initially, except in Paris, where Eugène Burnouf (1801–1852) held the chair of Sanskrit at the Collège de France. Burnouf immediately recognized their importance, and after reading through scores of manuscripts, selected one, the *Lotus Sūtra,* for translation. He planned a three-volume study of Buddhist literature (a volume on Sanskrit texts, a volume on Pali texts, and a volume on the history of Indian Buddhism) to precede its publication, and in 1844 published the first volume, *Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme indien.* This massive work (647 pages in the original edition) was the first scholarly book-length study of Buddhism in a European language. For the depth and breadth of its analysis and for the quality of its translations from numerous Buddhist texts (he consulted Sanskrit, Pali, Chinese, and Tibetan sources), it is regarded by many as the foundational text for the European study of Buddhism. Burnouf died before he was able to complete the remaining volumes of his study, and his translation of the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Le Lotus de la bonne loi*) was published after his death. Burnouf was also the first scholar to make a detailed study of the rock edicts of the emperor Aśoka. The study of Buddhist epigraphy has remained an important source for the social history of Buddhism.

For the remainder of the nineteenth century, India became the primary focus of Buddhist studies in Europe, and Sanskrit (together with Pali) became the lingua franca of the field. A great deal of attention was focused on the life of the Buddha and on the early history of Buddhism in India, prior to its demise there. There was particular interest, parallel to the quest for the historical Jesus, in a quest for the historical Buddha and his teachings, which was referred to by such terms as "original Buddhism," "primitive Buddhism," sometimes "pure Buddhism." This Buddhism was regarded by many as a complete philosophical and psychological system, based on reason and restraint, opposed to ritual, superstition, and the priest-craft and caste prejudice of the *brahmans.* Standing in sharp contrast to what was perceived as the spiritual and sensuous exoticism of colonial India where Buddhism was long dead, this ancient Buddhism, derived from the textual studies of scholars in the libraries of Europe, could be regarded as the authentic form of this great world religion, against which the various Buddhisms of the modern Orient could be judged, and generally found to be lacking. Buddhism thus came to regarded as a tradition that resided most authentically in its texts, such that it could be effectively studied from the libraries of Europe; many of the most important scholars of the nineteenth century never traveled to Asia.

THE LIFE OF THE BUDDHA. As might be expected, the life and teachings of the Buddha have remained a persistent topic of scholarly investigation. Sir William Jones of the East India Company knew of the Buddha only as one of the incarnations of the Hindu deity Viṣṇu, and speculated on his origin, considering both Scandinavia and Ethiopia as possible sites. By the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, a sufficient number of texts had become available to allow scholars to analyze a wide variety of sources on the life of the Buddha. Émile Senart (1847–1928) sought to understand the events of the life of the Buddha within the context of Indian mythology. Hermann Oldenberg (1854–1920) used text critical methods in an attempt to identify the oldest stratum of Buddhist literature and to derive from that the historical (as opposed to mythological) elements of the Buddha's life and original teachings. During the late nineteenth century, scholars also sought to determine the relationship of Buddhist concepts to those found in other contemporary Indian philosophical systems, such as Sāṃkhya and Yoga. Work on the life of the Buddha continued in the twentieth century with the publication of E. J. Thomas's 1927 *Life of the Buddha as Legend and History,* which examined the structural and doctrinal relationships among various biographical fragments. Since then, scholars have identified a number of biographical cycles of the Buddha and connected them to specific discourses in the sutra and vinaya literature. Important biographical studies have been produced by Erich Frauwallner (1898–1974), Étienne Lamotte (1903–1983), and André Bareau (1921–1993). Albert Foucher (1865–1952) made extensive use of art historical and archaeological evidence to link the development of the Buddha's biography to pilgrimage sites in India. Even the dates of the Buddha's birth and death remained a topic of scholarly inquiry in the late twentieth century, with Heinz Bechert arguing that the Buddha may have lived as much as a century later than the once widely accepted dates of 563–483 BCE.

THE ROLE OF COLONIALISM. The history of the study of Buddhism in the nineteenth century is closely linked to the history of European (and later, Japanese) colonialism, with the domains of scholarly investigation often directly related to domains of colonial possession. Thus, the British provided much of the early archaeological and art historical scholarship on Indian Buddhism. The island of Sri Lanka was at that time the British colony of Ceylon, and much of the work of the translation of the Pali canon was carried out under the direction of Thomas W. Rhys Davids (1843–1922), a former colonial official in Ceylon. In 1881, he founded the Pali Text Society, currently based in Oxford, which, over the subsequent century, published scholarly editions and translations of a large number of important works of the Theravāda tradition of Southeast Asia. The French scholar Paul Mus (1902–1969), based in Vietnam (at that time the French colony of Indochina), produced a groundbreaking study of Borobudur, the monumental stone complex located in Java. Tibetan Buddhism was the dominant form of Buddhism in Mongolia and the Kalmykia. The authority of the Russian Empire and, later, the Soviet Union, in these regions gave Russian scholars easy access to a large corpus of Tibetan Buddhist materials.

This is not to suggest that European scholars limited their studies to the traditions of their nation's colonies. As more and more Buddhist texts became available in the libraries of Europe, access was provided to those who learned the necessary languages. The tradition of Sanskrit studies begun in Paris by Burnouf was continued by his scholarly descendents. This lineage included Sylvain Lévi (1863–1935), who produced new editions, translations, and studies on a wide range of subjects. In his travels in Nepal, Lévi found a number of important Mahāyāna texts that had not been previously available in Europe, including central texts of the Yogācāra school. Lévi's most prominent student was the Belgian scholar, Louis de la Vallée Poussin (1869–1938), perhaps the most important European scholar of Buddhism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He translated key texts from a number of genres and Buddhist languages. Perhaps his greatest work was his translation from Chinese of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* (relying, it should be noted, on an annotated Japanese edition), but he also published editions, translations, and studies of central Yogācāra, Madhyamaka, and tantric texts, in addition to a number of significant topical studies. Another of Lévi's pupils, Jean Przyluski (1885–1944), joined Marcelle Lalou (1890–1967) in founding the *Bibliographie bouddhique* (1930–1967), which provided an annotated reference to all important scholarship on Buddhism published between 1928 and 1958. The Belgian Roman Catholic priest Étienne Lamotte, a student of la Vallée Poussin, provided translations of important Mahāyāna sūtras, including the *Vimalakırti.* He also wrote an influential *History of Indian Buddhism.* His copiously annotated five-volume translation from Chinese of the *Dazhi dulun,* Kumārajīva's translation of a massive commentary on the *Perfection of Wisdom in 25,000 Stanzas,* was published between 1944 and 1980 under the title *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse.* Lamotte's student, Hubert Durt for many years directed the *Hōbōgirin* encyclopedia project of the École Française d'Extrême Orient, located in Kyoto.

Although Buddhist studies have been a predominantly text-centered enterprise since its inception, this is not to suggest that there have not been important anthropological studies, especially in the postwar period. For reasons that are not entirely clear (apart from the early translation of many of its canonical texts), much of the most important anthropological work has focused on the Theravāda traditions of Sri Lanka and Thailand. Here, the studies of Richard Gombrich, Gananath Obeyesekere, and Stanley Tambiah have been influential. Important contributions to Pali textual studies have continued through the twentieth century, including those made by K. R. Norman and by the team of scholars in the ongoing Critical Pali Dictionary project in Denmark, begun in 1924.

TRANSLATIONS FOR THE PUBLIC. As is clear, Buddhist studies in the west is very much a descendant of Indology, in the sense that prior to the Second World War, the study of Buddhism in the western academy was carried out largely by Sanskritists (or sometimes Sinologists) who also read Buddhist texts. However, the translations and studies produced by these scholars did not circulate only within a closed academic circle. The gradual accumulation of knowledge of a wide variety of Buddhist texts led to publication of translations and anthologies that played a significant role in bringing Buddhism to a wide audience of readers around the world, including in Asian societies. Some of these translations were made or overseen by scholars of Buddhism. In 1894, the Sacred Books of the East series was published, edited by Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900), a student of Burnouf. Ten of the forty-nine volumes of the series were devoted to Buddhist works. Reflecting the opinion of the day that Pali texts of the Theravāda tradition represented the most accurate record of what the Buddha taught, seven of these volumes were devoted to Pali works. Among other Indian works, Aśvaghoṣa's famous life of the Buddha appeared twice, translated in one volume from Sanskrit and in another from Chinese. The *Lotus Sūtra* was included in another volume. The final volume of the series is entitled *Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts* and contains such famous works as the *Diamond Sūtra,* the *Heart Sūtra,* and the three Pure Land sūtras, all Indian works (or at least so regarded at the time) but included because of their importance for Japanese Buddhism. In 1895, Thomas W. Rhys Davids initiated the Sacred Books of the Buddhists series, which provided English translations of dozens of texts. Some of the most widely read translations and anthologies were produced by enthusiasts of Buddhism who were not trained in Asian languages. Thus, in 1894, Paul Carus (1852–1919) published *The Gospel of Buddha According to Old Records.* The American Theosophist Walter Y. Evans-Wentz (1878–1965) published his study of a translation of a Tibetan text in 1927 as *The Tibetan Book of the Dead.* In 1938, Dwight Goddard (1861–1939) published an anthology of mostly Chinese Buddhist texts as *A Buddhist Bible.*

Such works played an important role in a phenomenon that scholars have retrospectively dubbed "Buddhist modernism." Beginning in the late nineteenth century, through the efforts of Asian Buddhists (including such figures as Anagarika Dharmapala in Sri Lanka, Taixu in China, and Shaku Sōen in Japan) as well as European and American enthusiasts (including early members of the Theosophical Society), Buddhist modernists sought to defend Buddhism against the attacks of secularists and Christian missionaries by portraying Buddhism as an ancient system of rational and ethical philosophy that was at the same time entirely modern, in that it dispensed with the ritualistic trappings of religion, was compatible with science, and promoted an egalitarian society. Buddhist modernism has had a significant influence on the development of the study of Buddhism, especially in the case of those figures who have been both scholars of Buddhism and Buddhist modernists. Perhaps the most influential of these figures was D. T. Suzuki (1870–1966), who sought to portray the Zen tradition as above all concerned with an "experience" that is unbound by time or culture. This interaction of the "academic" and the "popular" has remained a constant component in the modern study of Buddhism.

EXPEDITIONS TO ASIA. At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, a large number of Buddhist manuscripts were discovered by European and Japanese expeditions at sites along the former Silk Road in Central

Asia. An important cache of Sanskrit texts, some of the most ancient yet identified, were found at Gilgit in modern Pakistan. Beginning with Aurel Stein (1862–1943) in 1907, a series of European and Japanese scholars visited the huge cave temple complex at Dunhuang in the desert of western China. Over the course of a decade, they removed tens of thousands of bamboo slips, scrolls, and manuscripts in a wide range of languages and deposited them in libraries in London, Paris, Saint Petersburg, Kyoto, and New Delhi. These texts remain the subject of detailed study and continue to provide insights into the practices of Central Asian, Chinese, and Tibetan Buddhism. The caves at Dunhuang, a site of Buddhist activity from the fourth to the fourteenth centuries, have been identified as a World Heritage site, and their remarkable paintings are being digitally photographed and catalogued. Manuscripts continued to be discovered throughout the twentieth century at sites across Asia, from Afghanistan to Tibet to Japan.

THE STUDY OF BUDDHISM IN JAPAN. The fact that Japanese expeditions were dispatched in search of ancient Buddhist manuscripts suggests that the academic study of Buddhism was not limited to Europe and North America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Japan has played a central role in the history of the study of Buddhism. Japan is perhaps unique in the Buddhist world as a society possessing a long heritage of traditional Buddhist studies, which moved to a European style "scientific study" of Buddhist traditions (both its own and others) beginning in the late nineteenth century, with Japanese scholars eventually making significant contributions to all fields of study. Among the reasons for Japanese eminence in the field of Buddhist studies is the fact that Japan never came under European or American colonial domination and became a colonial power in its own right. During the Tokugawa period, Japanese scholars participated in a tradition of critical scholarship that produced excellent editions of a number of canonical Buddhist texts central to the major sects of Japanese Buddhism. During the Meiji period, students in a wide range of academic disciplines were encouraged to study abroad. Among these students was Nanjō Bun' yū (1849–1927), who traveled to Oxford to study Sanskrit with Max Müller. He produced a catalogue of the Chinese Buddhist canon that made reference to Sanskrit and Tibet editions and was instrumental in establishing Sanskrit studies in Japan. Another Japanese student at Oxford, Takakusu Junjirō (1866–1945), provided Müller with a translation from the Chinese of a Pure Land sūtra for inclusion in Sacred Books of the East. Fujishima Ryōon (1853–1918) studied with French scholars and wrote the first history of Japanese Buddhism to appear in a European language. The Taisho edition of the Chinese Buddhism canon, published in Japan between 1924 and 1935, has provided the standard version of thousands of texts. Japanese scholars also produced a large number of invaluable reference works, including Mochizuki Shinkō's encyclopedia of Buddhism, the *Bukkyō daijiten,* published between 1932 and 1936. In the period following the Second World War, Japanese Buddhist scholars produced influential studies on a wide range of topics in Indian, Chinese, Tibetan, and Japanese Buddhism. Among the many scholars who might be mentioned are Ui Hakuju, Kamata Shigeo, Sekiguchi Shindai, Nakamura Hajime, Nagao Gadjin, Takasaki Jikidō, Yanagida Seizan, and Hirakawa Akira. Buddhist studies remain a vibrant academic discipline in Japan, with most scholars drawn from the families of Japanese Buddhist priests.

THE STUDY OF CHINESE BUDDHISM. The study of Chinese Buddhism has differed from the study of Buddhism in India (from which Buddhists were absent after the fourteenth century) or Tibet (where the possibility of European travel was restricted in the nineteenth and much of the twentieth centuries). By the end of the nineteenth century, China was the object of intensive missionary activity from both Europe and North America, and much of the early study of the Chinese Buddhist community was undertaken by missionaries such as Samuel Beal (1825–1899). The importance of Chinese translations of Indian Buddhist texts had been recognized by Burnouf, but texts composed in Chinese, apart from the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims to India, attracted little scholarly attention until the twentieth century. The institutional practice of Chinese Buddhism became the subject of a number of important studies in the decades prior to the Communist Revolution. Notable among these are the work of Jan J. M. de Groot (1854–1921), the Danish architectural historian Johannes Prip-Møller (1889–1943), and Holmes Welch, who documented the Buddhist revival in China in the early twentieth century, as well as Buddhism under Mao. Buddhist texts and doctrines have been the object of important studies by scholars such as Paul Demiéville (1894–1979), but also within the context of social and institutional history, where the studies of Jacques Gernet have been highly influential. Erik Zürcher wrote a detailed study of early Chinese Buddhism and explored some of the relations between Daoist and Buddhist terminology. This is not to suggest that there has not been a strong and influential tradition of Chinese Buddhist studies among Chinese scholars. Beginning in the early twentieth century and continuing until the Cultural Revolution, important historical studies were produced by such scholars as Tang Yongtong (1893–1964), Chen Yinke (1890–1969), and Hu Shi (1891–1962). The philosopher Feng Youlan (1895–1990) also wrote extensively on Buddhism. Since the end of the Cultural Revolution, both the practice and study of Buddhism have begun to reemerge in China.

Crucial scholarship on Chinese Buddhist texts has been carried out by Japanese scholars. In part because of the historical links between the Japanese sects of Buddhism and China, in part because of the Japanese colonial presence in Taiwan, China, and Korea in the first half of the twentieth century, Japanese scholars have produced a range of important studies on all aspects of Chinese Buddhism, focusing especially on the key texts and lineages of the Chinese traditions that became established in Japan. With the growth of

Buddhist studies in North America in the last half of the twentieth century, knowledge of Japanese scholarship has been deemed essential for all work in East Asian Buddhism, and provided the focus for much graduate training. Stanley Weinstein at Yale was one of a number of scholars to insist on the importance of Japanese scholarship for the study of Chinese Buddhism. The study of Korean Buddhism has also become a distinct area of Buddhist studies (rather than a branch of Chinese Buddhism) through the efforts of a number of scholars, including Robert Buswell.

THE STUDY OF TIBETAN BUDDHISM. Prior to the Second World War, Tibetan Buddhism was valued above all for its preservation, in accurate translation, of a large canon of Indian Mahāyāna texts that had been lost in the original Sanskrit. With the notable exception of the work of such scholars as Eugene Obermiller (1901–1935) and Giuseppe Tucci (1894–1984), the vast corpus of autochthonous Tibetan Buddhist literature remained largely unexamined by European scholars. This situation changed dramatically as a result of the invasion of Tibet by the Peoples Republic of China and the subsequent flight into exile of the Dalai Lama in 1959. Over the course of the next decade, he was followed into exile by tens of thousands of Tibetan refugees, many of whom were highly educated monks and lamas. These refugees settled in India and Nepal, and later in Europe and North America. European and American scholars soon began to study Tibetan Buddhist texts in collaboration with refugee Tibetan scholars, thereby bringing the doctrines and practices of Tibetan Buddhism to a large audience in the West. Among the first scholars in this regard were David Snellgrove, Herbert Guenther, and David Seyfort Ruegg, who demonstrated the important contributions made by Tibetan Buddhist scholars to many of the key philosophical debates and concepts of Indian Buddhism. Beginning in 1961, under Public Law 480, the Government of India provided the U.S. Library of Congress with copies of all books published in India. The head of the Library of Congress in New Delhi from 1968–1985 was the eminent Tibetologist E. Gene Smith, who arranged for thousands of Tibetan texts, brought out of Tibet by refugees, to be published in India and sent to depository libraries across the United States. As a consequence, during the last decades of the twentieth century, Tibetan Buddhism became a major area of Buddhist studies, not only for the insight it can provide on the development of Indian Buddhism, but also, for the first time, as an important domain of investigation in its own right, with academic research in the Tibetan cultural regions of the PRC also becoming possible. The extensive Tibetan literature on Buddhist Tantra has also become a growing area of scholarly investigation. The close collaboration of European, American, and Japanese academics with traditionally trained Tibetan scholars has not only borne fruit in terms of the translation of texts; it has also raised important questions about the relation between the academic and the popular and between Buddhist scholarship and Buddhist practice.

THE STUDY OF BUDDHISM IN THE UNITED STATES. The first academic lecture on Buddhism to be delivered in the United States was “Memoir on the History of Buddhism,” presented by Edward Eldridge Salisbury (1814–1901)—instructor of Sanskrit at Yale and recently returned from study with Burnouf in Paris—at the first annual meeting of the American Oriental Society on May 28, 1844. Buddhist studies did not become well established in the United States, however, until more than a century later. Two distinguished Pali scholars of the early period were Henry Clarke Warren (1854–1899) and Eugene W. Burlingame (1876–1932). Franklin Edgerton (1885–1963) coined the term “Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit” to describe the deviations from classical Sanskrit that occur in many Indian Buddhist texts and in 1953 published a two-volume grammar and dictionary of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.

The American academy saw enormous changes during the decades after the Second World War, especially in the 1960s and 1970s, with the explosion of two fields: area studies devoted to Asia and religious studies. Area studies provided federal funds (through the National Defense Education Act) for training in a wide range of Asian languages. At the same time, the study of religion moved from the seminary to the college and university, where departments of religion were formed, often on the model of the Christian seminary, with faculty in such areas as Old Testament, New Testament, Church History, Modern Religious Thought, Ethics, and perhaps, World Religions. Because of the pan-Asian scope of Buddhism, college and university positions in World Religions were often occupied by scholars of Buddhism.

In 1961, Richard Robinson (1926–1970) instituted the first doctoral program in Buddhist studies in the United States at the University of Wisconsin. Over the subsequent decades, other programs, some led by Robinson’s students, were established in a range of area studies departments (at Berkeley, Michigan, British Columbia, and UCLA) and religious studies departments (Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Chicago, and Virginia). In Europe, Buddhist studies were pursued at Oxford, the University of London, Hamburg, Lausanne, and Vienna. By 1976 and the founding of the International Association of Buddhist Studies, the study of Buddhism was taking place in Europe, North America, South America, Australia, and New Zealand, and across Asia.

Although broad trends can only be identified with a certain caution, it is probably accurate to say that in the decades following the Second World War, there was a strong interest in the study of what has been called Buddhist philosophy. In part because of the strong philological and philosophical training of the early European scholars in the field, in part because of the perceived need to justify the sophistication of Buddhist thought in American departments of religious studies, scholars tended to focus their attention on the elite scholastic traditions of Buddhism, especially the Abhidharma of the Theravāda, the Madhyamaka and logical traditions of India (with their Tibetan commentaries), and the Chan and Zen traditions of East Asia. In some cases, Buddhist texts and figures have been brought into the realm of comparative philosophy, where Nāgārjuna could be seen as Kantian at the beginning of the twentieth century, as Wittgensteinian in the middle, and as Derridian at its end. In the last decades of the twentieth century, as the humanities in general turned toward social history, there has been a turn away from scholastic Buddhist philosophy and toward institutional histories, employing a wide range of sources in an attempt to discern how Buddhism was practiced in the various cultures of Asia and among all levels of society, both monastic and lay. The more recent manifestations of Buddhism outside Asia are also beginning to be examined.

SEE ALSO Chinese Religion, article on History of Study; Tibetan Religions, article on History of Study.

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BUGIS RELIGION.

The Bugis, sometimes referred to as the Buginese, are an Indonesian people numbering about three million, most of whom live in their homeland of Celebes (South Sulawesi). *Bugis* is an archaic form of their name retained by the Malay/Indonesian language; in fact they call themselves Ugi' or ToUgi'. Bugis emigrants have also established significant, mostly coastal, settlements throughout the Indonesian archipelago. They speak a language of the Western Austronesian family, the same family as their national language (Malay or Indonesian).

After a long period of contact with Muslim, mainly Malay, traders who had settled in their main trading harbors, and after some spontaneous but aborted attempts to adopt Christianity during the middle of the sixteenth century, the Bugis officially became Muslims between 1605 and 1610 under the initiative and pressure of the neighboring kingdom of Goa. But although they soon came to be considered among the most devout Muslims in the archipelago, they have retained in their traditions many pre-Islamic elements. These include the *bissu,* transvestite priests in charge of the regalia of the ruling house and of princely rituals; popular practitioners called *sanro;* sacred places, to which offerings are regularly brought; and the psalmody, on certain ceremonial occasions, of the sacred epic *La galigo,* which provides an interesting if incomplete view of pre-Islamic Bugis culture.

THE MYTH OF ORIGIN. The Bugis creation myth has been somewhat mixed with Islamic mysticism, but as far as it can be reconstituted, the early Bugis believed in a supreme deity called To Papunna ("the owner of everything") or Déwata

Sisiné, later Déwata Séuwaé ("the one God"). From this deity emanated a male and a female being, linked to some extent to the sun and the moon. From their separated seed were born a number of beings who were not clearly identified; then from their sexual union were born the main gods of the upper-world and the underworld, said to number either seven, fourteen, or nineteen, according to various versions of the myth. Of these gods, six married couples are described in *La galigo* as playing a significant role, and two couples are mentioned as being more important than the others: one at the depths of the Abyss, whose male partner was known as Guri ri Selleʾ; and the other at the summit of Heaven, whose male entity, Datu Patotoʾ ("the prince who fixes destinies") or Datu Palanro ("the princely smith"), was considered the highest god of all. These two couples had nine children each, seven of whom reigned over various strata of Heaven or the Abyss. The eldest son of Datu Patotoʾ, La Togeʾlangiʾ (also known as Batara Guru), and Guru ri Selle's daughter were sent to the Middle World to establish there, in Luwu', the first human settlement. However, they are not the primeval ancestors of humankind, which rather descends from the servants who followed them from Heaven and the Abyss, as well as from the servants of other divine rulers, the children of the secondary heavenly and abyssal couples, who came later to establish other kingdoms in and around Sulawesi (Celebes).

The Political Myths. The *La galigo* epic tells of the life and deeds of six generations of earthly descendants to these first divine rulers, and especially of Sawérigading, the Bugis cultural hero, a grandson of Batara Guru. Still considered sacred by a small group of non-Muslim Bugis, *La galigo* is a repository of princely rituals, performed by the *bissu*, and of princely conduct. The epic tells that after the sixth generation of rulers descended from Batara Guru and other children of the gods, all princes of divine origin had to leave this world to go back to Heaven or the Abyss, except for the princely couple in Luwu'. All Bugis nobility is said to be descended either from that Luwuʾ couple, or from other divine princes sent either from Heaven (Tomanurung) or from the Abyss (Totompoʾ). Most of the Bugis lordships and kingdoms claim to have been founded by a divine couple, and they keep as regalia various articles such as swords, banners, and ploughs, which are said to have been brought by these ancestors of their rulers.

The Cult and Its Objects. Two kinds of closely related Bugis rituals can be distinguished. One was performed by the *bissu* at princely courts; now, however, the number of *bissu* is rapidly declining and their activity is becoming more and more limited. The other ritual is enacted by the popular practitioners called *sanro*, who are still very active in Bugis country. Both kinds of rituals include sacrifices (of buffalo, goats, or chickens) and offerings of glutinous rice, usually presented in four (or, sometimes, two, seven, or eight) colors. The rituals are performed during rites of passage, house or boat building, first-use rites, anniversaries, and during certain phases of the rice cycle, as well as at community celebrations in order to obtain the welfare or protection of the people, of the lordship, or of the state, especially in case of bad crops, epidemics, or wars.

In *La galigo*, the objects of the cult are expressly said to be the gods of Heaven and the Abyss; they decided, in turn, to people the Middle World just because "one is no god when there is no one to pay homage to you." Nowadays, the average Bugis knows very little of pre-Islamic theology, which, moreover, was never recorded systematically but was only implicit in the tradition. Still, many Bugis continue to believe that besides Allāh, whom they call Puang Allataala or Déwata Séuwaé, there are many spiritual beings to whom one must pay homage and who, in turn, act as intercessors between humans and the supreme being, who is too far above humankind to be contacted directly. Sawérigading is sometimes named as one such intervening figure, but he seems to have been the object of a cult maintained more by the *bissu* than by laity. Likewise, a deity named Déwata Mattanru' Kati ("the god with golden horns"), to whom a special cult is rendered by the *bissu*, may be one of the heavenly gods of *La galigo*. Other divine beings who are, still today, the object of a general cult among all categories of Bugis include the rice goddess, Sangiang Serri. According to *La galigo* she was the first child born on earth to Bataru Guru, but she died after seven days, whereupon her body, once buried, transformed itself into the rice plant. Another revered being is Taddampali, an aquatic being who may be the same as La Punna Liung, the messenger of the Abyss in *La galigo*. Included here also are the local *tomanurung* ("descended [from heaven] beings"). Many Bugis still keep in their homes wooden tabernacles or miniature beds where the divine beings are said to descend during ceremonies.

Other kinds of spiritual or invisible beings (*totenrita*) also appear as divine-human intercessors. Among these are house and boat spirit guardians and local spirits dwelling in large stones, trees, or springs. Other spirits may be dangerous, as for example the *paddengngeng* ("hunters"), invisible horsemen who capture people's souls with their lassos, thereby provoking unexpected illness and death. Their kingdom, described in some of the oral traditions, seems to recall the Land of the Dead as described in *La galigo*.

The Afterworld. In *La galigo*, the afterworld is described as a distant island somewhere in the western seas. The dead come first to a land where they must wait until all the funerary rituals and required offerings have been accomplished by their living relatives; otherwise they cannot proceed further. In that place, sinners must also undergo various punishments. The dead must then take a ritual bath, pay their entrance to the keeper of the heartland, and cross a golden bridge. In the inner Land of the Dead, everything is the reverse of life among the living.

With Islamicization, most of these observances have been obliterated, and Muslim funerals have now replaced traditional ones. However, an ancestor cult still exists that features pilgrimages to sacred, non-Islamic graves and offerings brought to family ancestors in a special place in the home.

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CHRISTIAN PELRAS (1987)
Revised Bibliography

BUKHĀRĪ, AL- Abū ʿAbd Allah Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī (810–870) was a Muslim scholar of *ḥadīth.* Born in the central Asian city of Bukhāra, al-Bukhārī compiled one of the most authoritative collections on the words and deeds of the Prophet Muḥammad. According to the biographical accounts, he began the study of *ḥadīth* at the age of 10, and was soon correcting his own teachers. At age 16 he made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and from there he traveled throughout Iraq, Syria, Egypt, and Iran in the search for *ḥadīth* that was traditional among many scholars of the day. It is claimed that he heard or collected 600,000 reports and that he spent sixteen years reducing these to around 3,000 “sound” reports for his most renowned work, *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ* (The Sound and Comprehensive Exposition).

Al-Bukhārī lived during a time in which many collections of information regarding the Prophet were being collected and evaluated and an intellectual struggle obtained, especially in Iraq and lands to the east, between those who favored *ḥadīth* over and against individual reasoning (*ra’y*) as the main source of Islamic law. Anecdotes about Muḥammad were found in accounts of his military expeditions and life in general (*maghāzī, sīra*), as well as in books of jurisprudence that also contained legal discussions and nonprophetic material, but al-Bukhārī made his contribution to the collection of *ḥadīth* proper. In this venture, the most important aspect of the *ḥadīth* was not the content but rather the *isnād*, the list of names of informants who (preferably orally) passed on the saying. Many of the earliest works were *musnad*s, that is, organized according to the transmitter. Al-Bukhārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* was one of the first *muṣannaf*s, in which materials were organized according to topic. Sunnī Muslims eventually recognized six canonical *ḥadīth* collections, of which the most authoritative are the two *Ṣaḥīḥ* books of al-Bukhārī and his fellow Iranian contemporary al-Hajjāj (d. 853). (The remaining four are known as *sunan*, and are more restricted to legal and everyday issues.)

Although al-Bukhārī did not provide any explanatory introduction to his collection, he divided the material into approximately one hundred chapters treating matters of law, ritual, and theology, with numerous subheadings for individual topics or questions, often drawn from phrases in the Qurʾān or the *ḥadīth* corpus itself. In some cases, subheadings appear without any corresponding *ḥadīth*, presumably to indicate that no sound *ḥadīth* existed on that topic. In many cases, al-Bukhārī inserted his own comments and opinions on the matters at hand, and frequently cited the same report (or a part thereof) under different subheadings as he saw fit. The ensemble was similar to a work of jurisprudence in aiming to provide a guide to all recognized aspects of Muslim dogma and praxis.

Al-Bukhārī’s major work is not only vast but also meticulous. Although the work is arranged according to the content of the reports, the criteria for inclusion in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was nevertheless squarely based on soundness of the *isnād*, the chain of names indicating the source of the anecdote. A typical *isnād* will be something like “I heard from A that B informed him that C said. . . .” *Ṣaḥīḥ*, or “sound,” refers to a *ḥadīth* whose chain of transmitters extends uninterrupted back to the Prophet Muḥammad himself, and is composed entirely of men of well-established reliability and honesty. Opinions could differ significantly on the question of whether a transmitter was reliable or not, and even the two canonical *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim works contain different material. The compiler's efforts extended then not only to the collection of prophetic reports but to the evaluation of their transmitters and their links. In addition to judging the character and reliability of the transmitters, it had to be ascertained that they lived in the appropriate era, and al-Bukhārī is said to have insisted that there be evidence not only that the chronology was correct but that successive informants had actually met each other at some point. Muslim, compiler of the other great *Ṣaḥīḥ*, held that chronology sufficed.

According to an anecdote in the biographical accounts, a group of Baghdad scholars attempted to trick al-Bukhari into public error by changing the *isnāds* and contents of one hundred *ḥadīth*. He listened, admitted he had not heard of these particular reports, then recited the correct versions back to his interrogators and suggested they had been confused. Apocryphal or not, these and similar stories indicate the nature of al-Bukhārī's talent: the mastery and memorization of countless *ḥadīth,* with the precise wording of their contents and the details of their *isnād*s.

Like many classical Islamic works, the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was the object of numerous commentaries, and subsequent scholarship dealt with every aspect of al-Bukhārī's compilation. Commentary was one of the ways in which the community continued to engage with its canonical works, and the process served both to preserve and to renew the work for subsequent generations. It also served as a tool in various disputes, as an authoritative work could be shown to support a particular sectarian viewpoint. Commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* has continued into the modern age.

However, his *Ṣaḥīḥ* was not above criticism. Some of his inclusions are said to be less "sound" than he claimed, and he included a large number of *ḥadīth* reports that did not meet his own standards, presenting them in part or without *isnād* in order to illustrate a point or support an argument. In the views of some commentators, these inclusions weakened the book's rigor and were even said to have helped contribute to the decline of rigorous *isnād* scholarship.

Whatever the comments on individual reports or on the details, the consensus of the Sunnī Muslim community has been that al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* is the most authoritative text in Islam after the Qurʾān. Like the scripture, there are even premodern accounts of the veneration of the physical copy of the book, that it protects its owner against hardship, that oaths were sworn on it, or that no ship with a copy on board will sink, and so on.

He also compiled a number of other books, most notably a biographical dictionary of *ḥadīth* transmitters, but his renown rests mainly on his *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

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BRUCE FUDGE (2005)

BULGAKOV, SERGEI (1871-1944), Russian economist, philosopher, theologian, and Russian Orthodox priest. Sergei Nikolaevich was born in Livny, province of Orel, less than fifty years before the revolutions of 1917. The son of a Russian Orthodox priest, Bulgakov was raised in a pious Orthodox home. Following his early formal education, he was enrolled in the theological seminary in Orel Province, which he left shortly thereafter for secular studies. A convinced atheist, at age nineteen he enrolled in the law school of the University of Moscow. By the time of his graduation in 1894 he was a committed and enthusiastic Marxist, with a special interest in political economy. His master's thesis on the relationship of capitalism and agriculture was published in 1900.

In 1901 Bulgakov was appointed to the faculty of the Polytechnic Institute of Kiev as a political economist. During his tenure there he began to have doubts about Marxism both as a philosophy and as an economic theory. The publication in 1903 of his *Ot Marksizma k idealizmu* (From Marxism to Idealism) signaled his definitive break with Marxism. In 1906 he was elected to the Second Duma and appointed to the faculty of the Institute of Commerce of Moscow. At this time, along with other members of the Russian intelligentsia, he began to turn from economics to philosophy, theology, and religion. He joined with thinkers such as Pavel Florenskii, Nikolai Berdiaev, and Vladimir Solov'ev in founding and writing for such periodicals as *Novyi put'* (New path) and *Voprosy zhizni* (Problems of life). Their movement, which developed in the direction of Eastern Orthodox Christianity, began as an angry attack on the radical intelligentsia through the journal *Vekhi.* Later, the movement took on a more positive orientation. Bulgakov expressed these emerging views in his works *Filosofiia khoziaistva* (Philosophy of economics; 1912); *Svet nevechernii* (The unending light; 1917); and *Tikhie dumy* (Quiet meditations; 1918).

Bulgakov became fully identified with the Russian Orthodox church after 1917 and was ordained a priest on June 11, 1918. He was elected to the newly formed Supreme Ecclesiastical Council, under the reconstituted patriarchate of Moscow. Because he was a clergyman, he lost the position that he held at the University of Simferopol. In 1922 he was expelled from the Soviet Union.

After a short stay in Prague, Bulgakov moved to Paris, where he spent the rest of his life as dean and professor of dogmatics at the Saint Sergius Theological Institute. He proved a creative and prolific author of theological works, many of which have a controversial and polemical character. Between 1926 and 1938 he produced seventeen major works. Six additional works were published posthumously, including *Die Tragödie der Philosophie* (The tragedy of philosophy; 1927), *The Social Teaching of Modern Russian Orthodox Theology* (1934), *Agnets Bozhii* (The lamb of God; 1933), and *Nevesta Agntsa* (The bride of the lamb; 1945). There remains a significant corpus of unpublished writings. In striving to present the basic doctrines of Eastern Orthodox Christianity in a contemporary light, Bulgakov provoked more conventional thinkers and became the center of theological controversy.

Bulgakov is remembered particularly for his controversial sophiological teachings, for which *Svet nevechernii* is a major early source. In 1936 and 1937 he published additional works on sophiology, which was the theological vehicle for his cosmology. In his formulation, Wisdom (*sophia*) is the all-inclusive concept of creation. It is the eternal female reality, the maternal womb of being, the "fourth hypostasis," the "world of ideas, the idealist basis of the created world." In Bulgakov's analysis, Wisdom is the pattern for divine creation. His sophiological teachings, which attempt to bring together the cosmological understandings of modern science and traditional theological understandings of creation, were accepted neither by the patriarchate of Moscow nor by the Karlovskii Synod, which represented Russian Orthodoxy outside the Soviet Union. The official Orthodox church condemned Bulgakov's sophiology, especially its conceptualization of the "fourth hypostasis," which was seen as a distortion of the received doctrine of the Holy Trinity. However, he was never excommunicated for this teaching. One of the most powerful and creative theological minds of his era, at his death Bulgakov was buried with full ecclesiastical honors.

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STANLEY SAMUEL HARAKAS (1987)

BULL-ROARERS

BULL-ROARERS have been used as cult objects by various peoples from ancient times to the present day, usually in the context of male initiation ceremonies. They are generally made of wood (or ceramics, as in ancient Greece) and are generally flat, most commonly measuring sixty centimeters long and eight centimeters wide. Either through the whirring sound they make when swung or through the carved or painted marks they bear, they symbolize generalized powers of fertility, in particular those of male generative powers, of wind, and of rain.

In the mythology of ancient Greece, a bull-roarer was one of the toys with which the Titans distracted the child Dionysos before they slew him. As a cult object, the bull-roarer was used in rainmaking ceremonies, symbolizing Kronos as rainmaker, and in the Eleusinian mysteries, where the connection between Dionysos and Demeter as fertility deities was emphasized (Frazer, vol. 7, 1912). In present-day Europe the bull-roarer is still used among the Basques by boys to frighten women and girls during and after the Mass on Good Friday.

Through comparison with South American myths and rituals, where the bull-roarer's sound is associated with a giant snake, with the generative power of the phallus, and also with the period of food depletion and hunger, Lévi-Strauss (relying on the work of Otto Zerries and Geneviève Massignon) develops the following correlation: as the instrument is used during the absence of food and of fire (connected to European customs of extinguishing the fire before Easter), and thus with fasting, it indicates symbolically a time when man and nature are in close contact, a primordial time before the invention of fire, when food had to be consumed raw or warmed by the sun. The use of the bull-roarer's sound to separate women (nature-bound) from men (culture-bearers) seems to be corroborated by Australian Aboriginal usage of bull-roarers for fertility rituals or "increase-ceremonies" with secret-sacred character (Lévi-Strauss, 1966, pp. 354–357). However, there are also exceptions, as the Ungarinyin know of "female" bull-roarers. In general, Aboriginal devices of this sort are described under the Aranda term *tjurunga,* and in all tribal regions they embody the spirit, the essence, and the vital forces of the heroes and creator-spirits of the Dreaming. The spiritual power of these beings can be activated through ritual use of bull-roarers to affect procreation. Some tribal groups maintain that bull-roarers already exist in specific trees and have only to be "set free" through the ritual act of carving. Certain specific acts, such as shaving particles from a *tjurunga* and blowing them over the landscape or reciting and singing stories of the Dreaming featuring the totemic ancestors represented in and through a *tjurunga,* have the effect of continuing procreation of all nature (Petri and Worms, 1968).

Relying on New Guinean materials wherein bull-roarers symbolize phallic power, van Baal (1963) suggests that the secrecy surrounding the bull-roarer rituals in Australia points to the sacredness of the meaning of the sexual act. Without such rituals, sexual intercourse is too sacred to be practiced. As bull-roarer rituals take over the sacred meaning, intercourse can be performed as a profane act of pleasure.

SEE ALSO Tjurungas; Ungarinyin Religion.

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KLAUS-PETER KÖPPING (1987)
Revised Bibliography

BULTMANN, RUDOLF (1884–1976), Christian theologian and New Testament scholar. Born in Wiefelstede, in what was then the grand duchy of Oldenburg, Bultmann was the son of a Lutheran pastor, himself the son of a missionary to Africa, and also the grandson on the maternal side of a pastor in Baden. He attended the humanistic *Gymnasium* in Oldenburg before studying theology in Tübingen, Berlin, and Marburg. After receiving a scholarship to Marburg in 1907, he took his doctoral degree there in 1910 and qualified as university lecturer in 1912. He taught as instructor in Marburg until 1916, when he was appointed assistant professor in Breslau. In 1920 he was called to Giessen as full professor, only to return after one year to Marburg, where he taught as full professor until becoming professor emeritus in 1951, and where he continued to live until his death.

Bultmann's special field of competence as a theologian was the New Testament, and it is quite possible that he is the most influential scholar in this field in the twentieth century. His first major work, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (1921; *The History of the Synoptic Tradition,* 1963), established him as one of the cofounders of form criticism of the synoptic Gospels. Together with his book *Jesus* (1926; *Jesus and the Word,* 1934), it has been decisive for the ongoing quest of the historical Jesus as well as for subsequent critical study of the tradition redacted in the Gospels. Hardly less significant for research in the field are his studies of the Fourth Gospel, epitomized by the commentary that is perhaps his masterwork, *Das Evangelium des Johannes* (1941; *The Gospel of John: A Commentary,* 1971), and his interpretation of the theology of Paul, especially in his other major work, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (1948–1953; *Theology of the New Testament,* 1951, 1955). In any number of other respects as well, from the general problem of biblical hermeneutics to the special question of gnosticism and the New Testament, his work and the critical discussion of it continue to be determinative for serious study of the New Testament.

Yet it is not only or even primarily as a New Testament scholar that Bultmann is significant for theology and religious studies. In his own mind, certainly, he was, first and last, a Christian theologian, who did all of his historical work in service of the church and its witness, and it is in this capacity that he is now also widely regarded as one of the two or three Protestant theologians of the twentieth century whose impact on theology promises to be lasting. The warrants for this promise in his case are many, but two features of his thought in particular are basic to its significance.

First of all, Bultmann was distinctive among his contemporaries in clearly distinguishing and resourcefully addressing both of the essential tasks of Christian theology.

Thus, as much as he agreed with Karl Barth that theology's first task is to interpret the Christian witness appropriately, in accordance with the normative witness to Jesus Christ attested by scripture, he differed from Barth in insisting that theology also has the task of interpreting this witness understandably, in terms that men and women today can understand and find credible. On the other hand, if his efforts to deal with this second, apologetic task brought him into close proximity to Paul Tillich, his deep concern with the first, dogmatic task gave his thought a very different character from the more speculative, unhistorical cast of Tillich's kind of philosophical theology.

The other equally fundamental feature of Bultmann's thought was his thoroughgoing interpretation of Christian faith, as of religion generally, in existentialist terms. In this respect, there is no question of the formative influence on his theology of the existentialist philosophy of the early Martin Heidegger, who was his close colleague in Marburg from 1923 to 1928. But if Heidegger provided the conceptuality for Bultmann's existentialist theology, he had already learned from the Lutheran pietism out of which he came and, above all, from his teacher Wilhelm Herrmann, that faith can be understood only as an existential phenomenon. Consequently, while he never doubted that faith does indeed have to do with the strictly ultimate reality called God, he was convinced that faith always has to do with this reality, not in its being in itself, but in its meaning for us, and hence as authorizing our own authentic existence.

The first of the four volumes of Bultmann's collected essays, *Glauben und Verstehen* (1933; *Faith and Understanding*, 1969), shows that the theology defined by these two basic features had already taken shape during the 1920s. But it is also clear from the three later volumes (1952, 1960, 1965; Eng. trans. of vol. 2, 1955) as well as from his other writings during the so-called demythologizing debate, all of which appeared in the series edited by H. W. Bartsch, *Kerygma und Mythos* (1948–1955; *Kerygma and Myth*, partial Eng. trans., 1953, 1962), that the same theology found its classic expression in 1941 in his programmatic essay "New Testament and Mythology," which provoked this famous debate. If Bultmann was insistent in this essay that theology has no alternative but to demythologize the New Testament, he was also clear that the demand for demythologizing is not merely apologetic but, as he later formulated it, is also "a demand of faith itself." And when he explained the demythologizing he called for positively, as a procedure for interpreting rather than for eliminating myth, it proved to be nothing other than thoroughgoing existentialist interpretation now applied to the mythological formulations of the New Testament.

Even today, Bultmann's theology remains the most controversial of the twentieth century, and it is still uncertain whether he will be reckoned among the fathers of the modern church or among its arch heretics. But there seems little question now that this is the level at which his work must be judged, and its impact already confirms that the history of theology, no less than the history of philosophy, is never quite the same after the shock of a great thinker.

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SCHUBERT M. OGDEN (1987)

BUNYAN, JOHN (1628–1688), English Nonconformist and author of *The Pilgrim's Progress.* The son of a brazier, John Bunyan was born in the village of Elstow, near Bedford, and may have attended a local grammar school. During the Civil War he served with the parliamentary forces at Newport Pagnell, Buckinghamshire, where he came into contact with various religious sects. In the early 1650s he underwent prolonged spiritual turmoil, at the nadir of which he was convinced that he had betrayed Christ by allying himself with the devil. About 1655 Bunyan joined the open-communion Baptist church at Bedford, whose pastor was John Gifford, a former royalist officer. Some members of the congregation were sympathetic to the tenets of the Fifth Monarchists, a radical millenarian group to which Bunyan himself was apparently attracted for a time.

Bunyan launched his career as a preacher and prolific author before the monarchy and the Church of England were restored in 1660. For preaching illegally, he was arrested in November 1660 and imprisoned for twelve years in the county jail at Bedford. While imprisoned, he spent much of his time making laces to support his family and writing new books, but near the end of his incarceration he also worked closely with representatives of four other churches to organize a network of preachers and teachers in northern Bedfordshire and contiguous areas in order to resist the uniformity imposed by the Church of England and thus help to ensure the survival of Nonconformity during future periods of persecution. In January 1672 Bunyan was chosen pastor of the Bedford church, although he was not released from prison until the following September. The period of intense ministerial activity that ensued was threatened when a warrant for his arrest was issued in March 1675. Although Bunyan eluded this warrant by temporarily fleeing Bedford, he was rearrested late in 1676, only to be freed the following June. The last dozen years of his life were devoted to preaching in the Midlands and London, as well as to further writing. When the Roman Catholic monarch, James II, tried to win support by granting toleration to Nonconformists. Bunyan was cautious, although some members of his congregation accepted positions in the reorganized Bedford Corporation. Bunyan did not live to see James deposed in the Glorious Revolution, for he died in London on August 31, 1688.

Of Bunyan's approximately sixty works, the most popular is *The Pilgrim's Progress*, the first part of which was composed during his long imprisonment but not published until 1678. A virtual epic of the Christian life couched in Puritan ideals, the story of Christian's struggles from the Slough of Despond to the Eternal City draws heavily on Bunyan's own religious experience. The dramatic power of the narrative is enhanced by vivid symbolism, homely colloquialisms, and myriad human touches. The same ground is traversed in more quiescent fashion by Christiana and her children in the second part, published in 1684, in which Bunyan paid more attention to women. Both parts depend extensively on Bunyan's spiritual autobiography, *Grade Abounding to the Chief of Sinners* (1666), a sine qua non for understanding all his works. In its pages such psychologists as William James and Josiah Royce have sought the key to Bunyan's personality. Whether he was in fact troubled by psychotic disorders is difficult to ascertain, for *Grace Abounding*, like other works of this genre, follows a rather commonplace thematic pattern: the path to sainthood commences with denunciations of one's utter depravity.

Bunyan's attempt to repeat the success of *The Pilgrim's Progress* with *The Holy War* (1682), a ponderous albeit technically superior allegory, produced a sophisticated but less personal work. Its complex allegorical levels embrace world history, recent English events, the experience of the individual soul, and probably an apocalyptic vision. Bunyan abandoned allegory to depict the wayward reprobate in *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman* (1680), which, although it lacks the emotional intensity and dramatic tension of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, has captured the interest of both literary specialists, as a possible forerunner of the novel, and historians, for its incisive comments on English society.

Bunyan's theological views were substantially shaped by the Bible, John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, Martin Luther's commentary on *Galatians*, and works of two early seventeenth-century Puritans, Arthur Dent's *The Plaine Mans Pathway to Heaven* (1601) and Lewis Bayly's *The Practice of Piety* (1612). Bunyan's views were essentially compatible with those of other strict Calvinists of his period, such as the Nonconformists John Owen and Thomas Goodwin. This is notably manifest in his exposition of the key concept of the covenants, particularly as expounded in his major theological treatise, *The Doctrine of the Law and Grace Unfolded* (1659). Bunyan's emphasis on God's role in establishing the covenant of grace set him apart from such moderate Calvinists as Richard Baxter, who gave greater prominence to human responsibility, but Bunyan stopped short of the antinomians by insisting that the moral law has a valid and significant place in the covenant of grace. Unlike most strict Calvinists, however, Bunyan repudiated the idea of a baptismal covenant, for in his judgment water baptism was necessary neither for admission to the Lord's Supper nor for church membership. Bunyan hotly debated this subject with such traditional Baptists as Henry Danvers, Thomas Paul, and John Denne. As a controversialist he also engaged in literary debates with the Quakers Edward Burrough and William Penn and with the latitudinarian Edward Fowler. Another prominent theme in Bunyan's theology was millenarianism, the *loci classici* of which are *The Holy City* (1665) and *Of Antichrist and His Ruin* (1692, posthumous).

Although Bunyan achieved virtually instantaneous recognition with the publication of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, especially in lay Protestant religious circles, critical acclaim was slow to follow. Alexander Pope and Jonathan Swift referred kindly to his masterpiece, but Edmund Burke and David Hume sneered. With the onset of romanticism and the evangelical revivals, interest in Bunyan soared, and by the Victorian period he was commonly referred to in evangelical circles as a genius. Copies of *The Pilgrim's Progress* poured from the press—more than thirteen hundred editions by 1938—accompanied by numerous popular commentaries, nearly all from evangelicals. Predictions at the turn of the twentieth century of Bunyan's theological and literary obsolescence proved premature when the atrocities of World War I brought new relevance to his works. Although religious interest in him waned in the late twentieth century, his reputation is now firmly established among students of religion, history, literature, and psychology.

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BURCKHARDT, TITUS. Titus Burckhardt (1908–1984) was born in Florence, Italy into a Protestant patrician family from Basle in the German-speaking part of Switzerland, the son of the sculptor Carl Burckhardt, and great-nephew of the famous art historian Jacob Burckhardt. A school friendship with Fritjhof Schuon (1907–1998), who had been one of the first expositors of the perennial philosophy in the second half of the 20th century, in Basle was to become a long spiritual and intellectual friendship, with both of them being interested in Eastern art from an early age. Burckhardt had intended to be a sculptor—following in his father's footsteps—and he attended several art schools in Switzerland and Italy. A stay in Morocco in the 1930s changed the course of his life. He studied Arabic literature and jurisprudence and followed the teachings of the Sufic masters Sidi Mohammed Bouchara at Salé and Moulay Ali ad-Darqāwī at Fez. The latter town of Fez had retained a great deal of its intellectual and spiritual luster and it is at the heart of the tradition that the young Westerner joined, under the name ʿIbrahīm, Abraham ʾIz al-Din, in the Shādhiliyya, a link in the great chain of Islamic esoteric mystic brotherhoods. He translated the principal texts of Sufism, the *Fusūs al-Hikam* ("pearls of wisdom from the prophets"), by Ibn Arabī, and the *Rasāʾil* ("letters"), by his master ad-Darqāwī. Schuon once again met him at Fez, in 1935. For his part, Schuon had been initiated in 1933 he had been initiated by Shaykh al-ʿAlawī in the Alawyia brotherhood of Mostaganem in Algeria, and their spiritual paths were never again to part. They had a common belief in the idea of a universal, perennial tradition, a *philosophia perennis*, which had been handed down unbroken from the beginning, just like the principles René Guénon (1886–1951) had set out from 1921 in a series of works published in Paris. *L'introduction générale à l'étude des doctrines hindoues* (1921), then *L'homme et son devenir selon le Vēdānta* (1925), set out the "non-dual" metaphysics of the Vedanta as the perfect expression of "traditional science"; Islam, Daoism, and ancient Christianity all shared in this great tradition. This science alone could oppose the modern decline denounced in *Orient et Occident* (1924) or *La crise du monde moderne* (1927), both edited by Réne Guénon, and the need to break away and reject this was an opinion shared by Burckhardt, Schuon, and the circle established around the neo-Traditionalist or Perennial movement. A westernized Indian put back in touch with his own tradition by reading Guénon, A. K. Coomaraswamy (1877–1947), who was in charge of the department of Asiatic art at the Museum of Fine Art in Boston, would also play an important part in the workings of this circle. They all sought harmony between their lives and their philosophy, but the question was posed differently for Easterners and for those from the West who lacked a regular initiation in the Christian tradition. Sufism, with its implication of conversion to Islam, was considered by Guénon to be the natural outcome of his writings, and he had taken that route himself. He therefore encouraged Schuon to found his own branch of a Ṣūfī brotherhood, or *ṭarīqah.* In 1935 Schuon became *moqqadem* (lieutenant) of the Master, the *shaykh* of Mostaganem. The following year Schuon, after a dream, claimed for himself the role of *shaykh.* Three centers were established, in Amiens, Lausanne, and Basle, and Burckhardt took particular charge of the last of these. Difficulties arose between Guénon and Schuon on doctrinal questions, especially regarding Christianity, and were made worse by different approaches—more cold and intellectual by the former, in the splendor of the truth of creation (according to Plato's famous expression) by the latter. Burckhardt was clearly inclined to Schuon's side of the debate. During the 1950s and 1960s he held the post of artistic director at the publisher Urs Graf at Olten, near Basle, working on the publication of beautiful illuminated mediaeval manuscripts such as the *Book of Durrow* and the *Book of Kells*, ancient Celtic gospels housed at Trinity College, Dublin. He was also in charge of a spiritual historical collection entitled *Stätten des Geistes*, which illustrated the multiple expressions behind the fundamental unity of the various traditions. He was personally responsible for three of the works: on the Gothic cathedral at Chartres; on Siena, the pride and joy of the Italian Renaissance; and his masterpiece, on the Islamic city of Fez. This global overview via a single town allowed him to link urbanism, architecture, and drawing and decorative arts to the class of artisans as they lived in the daily life of traditional societies and in modern Morocco. In this way Burckhardt developed a new concept of Islamic art, free from local influence and historical legacies, Andalusian or Persian art, thus revealing an expression of a spiritual feeling, of a search for truth. By rejecting the use of images, Islamic art dispensed with emotion, enhancing harmony and inner peace; the continuous presence of degrees of light led from the created world to its origin. The result of this investigation, carried out in parallel with his research into the fundamental tenets of Christian, Hindu, and Buddhist art, was published in *Principes et méthodes de l'art sacré* (1958), a work collecting many German, French, and English articles, and particularly those published in the journal inspired by Guénon, *Etudes traditionnelles.* In the same vein Burckhardt tackled the astrology of Ibn Arabī together with alchemy: the earthly symbolism of metals, the object of alchemy, corresponded to the heaven of the zodiac and the planets; the planets reflected "cosmic intelligence," metals "the first intelligent form of earthly matter" or *materia prima.* Cosmic harmony came about as a result of their connection, opening the way for the transformation of the person who was aware of them.

Burckhardt's talents were recognized, and between 1972 and 1977 the Moroccan government and UNESCO entrusted him with a mission to safeguard the architectural and cultural heritage, including the traditional arts and crafts, of the medina, the old town of Fez. He was formally honored by an international conference at Marrakesh in 1999.

SEE ALSO Coomaraswamy, Ananda; Guénon, René.

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BURIAL SEE FUNERAL RITES

BURIAT RELIGION. The Buriats, northern Mongols, are the most significant minority native to eastern Siberia. They are not a homogeneous body; there are two cultural extremes, between which exists a range of intermediate groups.

The western or Cisbaikalian extreme is represented by the Ekhirit-Bulagat tribe, forest dwellers who are engaged in hunting and fishing. Although they were isolated from the Mongolian empire, they had begun to practice livestock breeding through the influence of Mongolian émigrés at the time of the arrival of Russian cossacks in the mid-seventeenth century. After colonization and sedentarization, their segmentary clan structure survived more ideologically than practically. Shamanism has remained strong there up to the present, successfully resisting the assaults of lamaist propaganda and affected only superficially by Orthodox Christianity.

The eastern or Transbaikalian extreme is represented by the Khori, who, as a result of Mongolian civil wars during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, settled with their herds in the steppes. They were treated favorably by the rulers of the Russian empire because of their strategic position in relation to the Chinese empire. Beginning in the eighteenth century, lamaism, which had come from Mongolia, spread rapidly. While lamaism favored the ideals of nomadic pastoralism and developed the tendency toward a centralizing hierarchy, it was forced to adapt its practice to traditional shamanic forms and to fight the power of the shamans themselves.

Shamanism is a constituent element of traditional Buriat society. Within the framework of the clan institution, due to its control of the spirits (which originate from souls), it assures a mediation between man and the supernatural concerning access to natural resources, thereby assuring a general regulation of societal life, transcending by far the individual shaman and his activity. Many authors have tended to exaggerate the role of the shaman's personality and to construct an independent and rigid pantheon of spirits fundamentally linked with daily tribal life. The shamanic institution and its practice varies according to the modes of subsistence and society and associated exterior influences. Three kinds can be distinguished, the second being the only well-documented one.

THE HUNTER'S SHAMANISM. The first type of shamanism is associated with hunting. Animals, conceived as being organized in exogamic clans maintain relations of alliance and vengeance that are analogous to those that obtain between humans. Hunter and shaman are each in his own way similar to the son-in-law who takes a wife and gives a sister: in return for the game meat taken from the forest spirits, the hunter feeds the animal spirits (*ongon*s); in return for the living human and animal souls obtained from the corresponding spirits, the shaman restores the souls of the deceased to their world, whence his role in birth and death.

Any misbehavior or infraction entails sanctions that always affect biological life, resulting in such occurrences as intemperate weather, absence of game, sickness, and death. Because the soul is indispensable to bodily life, it is the shaman's lot to conduct preventative and restorative mediations. With the help of the personal allies he has made among human and animal spirits, he symbolically travels and meets the troublemaking spirits in order to negotiate a return to order. Invested to serve his clan, the shaman may be led to act against other clans (by diverting game away from them, afflicting them with sickness) and become the symbolic architect of wars.

THE CATTLE BREEDER'S SHAMANISM. The second and best-documented type of shamanism is found among those of the Ekhirit-Bulagat tribe who breed cattle. The essential part of relations between the human and spirit worlds consists of relations between the living and the dead. Subsistence is dependent upon one's ancestors *(übged),* who are "masters" *(ezen)* of the mountains dominating the clan territory. These ancestors legitimize and protect the economic life of their descendants and punish them with biological harm for every breach of clan ethics. In the *tailghan* sacrifices (of mares or sheep) offered by each clan to its ancestors, the shaman participates as a member of the clan.

The principal causes for recourse to shamanic mediation are accidents in the realm of filiation ties and rules, that is, anything that affects patrilineal continuity: sterility, difficult childbirth, childhood illness, and even conjugal disputes and women's flights or escapades that entail the risk, for a man, not to have any descendants. (According to legend, shamanism originated from a wife who ran off.) Those involved must both be cured during their lifetime and spared frustration that would incite them to inflict harm after their death. Private sacrifices *(khereg)* are offered to their souls after death, first to neutralize and soothe them and then to transform them into *zayaan.* These spirits are the exceptional dead (of which the positive examples are the great shamans, warriors, or hunters), who govern the fate of men and are of prime importance in the religious practice. The ordinary dead support their descendants in wars against other clans; a clan without a shaman to intervene by mediating with its dead takes recourse to flight rather than expose itself to combat. In the pastoral setting, however, the restorative activities of the shaman generally prevail over the offensive ones.

The shaman. Among the Ekhirit-Bulagats, in order to become a shaman *(böö)* one must have a shaman "essence" *(udkha),* that is, a genetically transmitted right, which is evidenced by the existence of shamans among one's ancestors. It is imperative for one of the descendants of a shamanic line to become a shaman so that the ancestor shamans can have a representative on earth. Equally important is that the candidate demonstrate his capability in order to be supported and invested by his people. Finally, although gender is proclaimed irrelevant, male shamans are much more numerous than female shamans (*udaghan*s); patrilineal rule is compulsory.

A shaman's career generally is decided at adolescence, under a certain amount of pressure from the boy's relatives. Fainting fits, visions, flights or escapades, and anorexia called *khüdkhe* ("disordered state") are interpreted as signs that the shaman is familiarizing himself with the spirits under the aegis of his ancestors. He trains in the shamanic manner of singing and gesticulating (in a lugubrious voice with animal-like cries, sighs and gasping fits, leaping, swaying, etc., representing the voyage to the spirit world) and imitates or assists experienced shamans for several years. At the end of this apprenticeship, he is invested by his community through a rite (called *ughaalgha*) in which he receives his accoutrements (costume, drum, etc). This rite consists of symbolically "reanimating" the shaman, making him both spirit and human, dead and alive. It is this amalgamation of the two modes of being that permits him to ensure mediation. He then takes an oath to serve his people, who will monitor him closely in this work and who will not hesitate to replace or do away with him should they become dissatisfied.

Without an "essence" one still can become a shaman if one has numerous deceased relatives, particularly if one relative was struck dead by lightning, a process that energizes a new essence. His ability would then have to be demonstrated. Should the obligation to become a shaman be perceived as unbearable by the sole descendant of a line, the shamanic role nevertheless provides an excellent opportunity for an individual to emerge, especially for women. Female shamans whose vocations are thwarted become the most formidable "fates" *(zayaan)* upon death. In addition, those who are not shamans occasionally shamanize, either for their own psychic needs or within the framework of collective peregrinations *(böölöošen* or *naĭguur)* while trying to face natural disasters or pressures of acculturation.

The principal moments of the shamanic séance are (1) the censing of the area with the smoke of burning spruce bark (the spruce, known to the Buriats as *žodoo,* is the symbol of the shaman's function) in order to effect the shaman's entrance into sacred space-time; (2) the incorporation of auxiliary spirits; (3) the transcendent vision, in which the shaman identifies the spirit responsible for the disturbance; (4) the journey of the soul to the realm of the spirit in question in order to negotiate with him; (5) a sacrifice in accordance with his wishes; and (6) general divination. Following the séance, the shaman resumes his normal life.

The sky creators and their founding sons. If the spirits of the deceased rule over daily life, the *tengeri*s (or *tengri*s; "skies," a class of supernatural beings) creators and predestinators of humans, appear in the background. They are divided into opposite camps, the fifty-five White Tengeris of the West (or Right), whose leader is considered older, and the forty-four Black Tengeris of the East (or Left), whose leader is considered younger. This division, which illustrates the conflict between the Elder and the Younger, on the one hand denotes the principle of clan segmentation (and perhaps an ancient organization by moieties); on the other hand, it denotes the principle of dualistic power, viewed as a conflict between the established authority (symbolized by the elder) and the challenge to that authority (symbolized by the younger). The elder represents the clan institution, which has inherited legitimate authority but no real power; the younger represents the shamanic institution, which has real power but must subordinate the exercise of its function to the interests of the clan and which has a social position, resting on ability, that is always susceptible to being challenged (whence the fact that the shaman is both indispensable to the clan and feared by it at the same time on account of his ability to manipulate the powers of the spirits).

The first legendary shaman carried the adjective *khara* ("black") in his name. It seems that the notion of a white shaman is an artificial creation that resulted from religious acculturation or was a reaction against it: an examination of the facts reveals the nonexistence of white shamans as such. While the *tengeri*s remain in the sky, expressing themselves through atmospheric phenomena, their sons descend to the earth, as did Buxa Noyon the Bull Lord, founder of the Ekhirit-Bulagat tribe; the epic hero Geser, founder of the rules of marriage; and the various "kings" *(khad)* of mountains and waters.

MARGINALIZED SHAMANISM. The third kind of Buriat shamanism is that which survived in the lamaist regions in spite of persecution (which occurred at the beginning of the nineteenth century, primarily in the regions of Barguzin and Tunka). There the shaman is no longer a sort of "clan property." His role and status is marginalized; personal desire is the key motivator for becoming a shaman, and the door is open to women. Occasionally a family may have both a son who is a lama and a daughter who is a shaman. It is not unusual for one to contact a shaman to "call back the soul" *(hünehe kharyuulkha)* robbed from a sick person by a spirit after a lama's attempt has failed, for the shaman is still considered the more capable of succeeding.

The biggest changes affect the conception of the supernatural world (which continues to expand and develop as a hierarchy) and the social significance of rituals. The faces of the celestial *tengeri*s are becoming more individualistic, borrowing traits from lamaist deities and occasionally becoming merged with them. It is to them and no longer to ancestral spirits that milk offerings and prayers are directed in order to obtain an increase in offspring and livestock. Some new faces appear, such as that of Erlik, master of the world of the dead. Some are transformed, like the spirit of the hearth fire, represented west of Lake Baikal by a couple worshiped by all hearths of the same clan; in the east this couple becomes an independent woman, *tengeri* or khan of the fire, worshiped separately by each family.

To compete with the clan sacrifices *(tailghan),* the lamas organize great bloodless rituals *(oboo),* which are open to a large parochial community and are held on a mountain summit. The lamaist practice threatens to eliminate or at least to overtake the shamanic practice on all levels (through control over pastoral space and daily life, divination, medicine, and magical demonstrations). Judging from the actual relics, it is clear that the lamas have succeeded only superficially. The establishment of an actual Buriat Lamaist church in Transbaikalia was encouraged by the Russian Empire in order to avoid dependence on Mongolia and hence on China; in fact, lamaism obtained a strong sociopolitical position but was nearly emptied of all Buddhist content. Comparatively, in the agricultural regions of Cisbaikalia, Orthodox Christianity has had only a superficial influence over the ritual seasons (for example, the cults of Saint Nicholas and other saints). Along with the official existence of the lamaist monastery at Ivolga, the cult of Maydar (Maitreya), the future Buddha, seems to be the only living practice today; it is supported by a kind of nationalistic prophesying, but it is very limited geographically.

THE ADAPTATION OF SHAMANISM. Organically linked with a noncentralized type of society, pragmatic in its own principle, deriving its power from simple spirits, turning each shaman into a rival of others, shamanism is vulnerable to every centralizing influence and to the penetration of any dogma that implies transcendental entities and is represented by a constituent clerical body. This weakness is at the same time a strength: shamanism can adapt. The spirits are brought into line with current tastes (for example, the souls of revolutionaries who died tragically, victims of the Second World War), whereas in the sky, such a figure as Lenin deliberates with the *tengeri*s concerning world affairs. Despite these innovations, illness, especially children's illness, remains the principal occasion for true shamanic intervention. Free from all liturgy and cultural servitude, based on flexibility and individual innovation, the shaman's practice is all but formalist and may take place in secrecy. Communication with the dead plays a role in the awareness of ethnic identity; certain ritualistic details, like the drops of alcohol poured at the inauguration of all feasts, or like the ribbons hung on trees growing through a hill or near a thermal spring, have become true cultural traits of the Buriats.

SEE ALSO Erlik; Ongon; Shamanism; Southern Siberian Religions; Tengri.

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Revised Bibliography

BURMESE RELIGION.

BURMESE RELIGION. The Burmese people, for the purpose of this article, are the majority population of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma, the westernmost country of mainland Southeast Asia. The language they speak is Burmese (or Arakanese, its most important dialect variant), and they are often called Burmans. The word *Burmese* is reserved for the total population of this country, including "tribal" minority peoples (chiefly residing in the mountains and practicing religions other than those of the Burmans), the Tai-speaking Shan of the eastern plateau (the Shan State), and the Austroasiatic-speaking Mon of southern Burma. The traditional religion of the Shan and Mon is the same Theravāda Buddhism as that of the Burmans, although with some variation peculiar to themselves. The Burmese made their first appearance in history about the tenth century of the common era.

Any Burman will tell you that the traditional religion is Theravāda Buddhism, although a small minority of Burmese are not Buddhists. It is sometimes alleged that to be Burmese is to be a Buddhist. What is really at issue is the fact that the traditional social and cultural institutions of the Burmese, now and historically, are found in large measure in the social, political, and ideological fabric of Buddhist doctrine, so that even non-Buddhist Burmese recognize the centrality of Buddhism to their social cultural identity.

There is a good deal about Burmese Buddhism that is distinctive. In the first place, there is a specifically Burmese tradition in the way Buddhism is interpreted and practiced. Burmese Buddhism is no more deviant from a supposed pristine scriptural norm than any past or present form of the religion. In addition, the Burmese also practice a cult of service to various spirits (Spiro, 1967). This cult exists both at the national level as a formal institution of the former Burmese monarchy (the cult of the Thirty-seven Lords [*nat*s], the spirit guardians of the kingdom) and locally with regard to spirits associated with features of the landscape and with family lines and administrative jurisdictions as their proper domains (*nat*), as well as homeless ghosts, demons, and so on. Not only are the details of belief and practice of these cults (sometimes including the serving of killed animals and alcoholic spirits to these beings) not to be found in the Buddhist scriptures or commentaries, but it is also the case that the practices of this cult are often at odds with the Buddhist behavioral precepts. Burmese themselves, while insisting that they are committed Buddhists, see a contradiction between what some authors have therefore called these two different religions. It will be a major task of this article to try to resolve this issue.

Such facts have led many to speak of a syncretic Burmese religion rather than of Buddhism, some of them purporting to see Buddhism as a mere veneer. However, while Burmese religion consists of the two "cults," careful consideration of the full range of canonical Buddhism shows that the religion of the Burmese is simply Buddhism, and that the conflict between the two cults has a basis in paradoxes within canonical Buddhism itself. Nor is it sufficient to say that Buddhism, being ultimately concerned with longterm, transcendental goals, provides no means of immediately quelling one's fears and anxieties about wordly suffering, which the cult of spirits serves specifically to alleviate.

There is ample scriptural basis for the idea that it is the positive duty of authority, in particular of a proper Buddhist monarch, to subdue, by conversion, subversion, or other means, whatever spirit forces may be thought to exist as a threat to the conditions in which Buddhism, its doctrine, practice, and monastic order (Skt., *saṃgha*; Pali, *sangha*) may flourish in society. It is therefore the king's duty, and, by extension of his authority, that of all secular persons in his jurisdiction, to protect religion by dealing with potentially harmful spirit agencies. Buddhism presupposes the existence of various classes of spiritural beings, including, of course, gods (*deva*s, *devata*s), in its brahmanically derived cosmology, so that it has no need to specify completely either their natures or how to deal with them. That is left to local tradition, and it is unsurprising that, consequently—since beliefs have to come from somewhere—there is in Burma a close relationship between the leading ideas of the spirit cult within Buddhism and the leading ideas of pre-Buddhist animism as evidenced in the traditional religions of neighboring non-Buddhist tribal peoples. Syncretism that may well be, but it is nevertheless canonically motivated, even positively enjoined. Here arises the first paradox.

The means for dealing with whatever spirit agencies may exist are to be arrived at according to what local tradition says of these various spirits. In fact, these demands often require one to act contrary to Buddhist precepts of Right Action. This is no more problematical than the inherent tension (Tambiah, 1976, pp. 22–23) in the role of a Buddhist monarch, who, creating and maintaining the conditions wherein religion can flourish, must be responsible for acts of violence, as in war and the punishment of crime. The consequence, in both cases, is ambivalence, defining Buddhism as the Middle Way.

In traditional Burma the king was expected ideally to conform to the Theravāda version of the *bodhisattva* idea. Yet the king was also one of the "five evils," along with war, pestilence, spirit *nat*s, and the like; indeed, as a peremptory, if not arbitrary, "lord," a king was himself, not altogether metaphorically, a *nat*. Although he had to have earned enormous previous merit in order to now have the entire order as his field of merit (a field so productive that he might look forward to future Buddhahood), it was also incumbent upon him, as the *bodhisattva* (*hpaya:laun*) ideal might suggest, to take on a burden of demerit in the course of carrying out his obligations. This is so for the *cakravartin* (Pali, *cak-kavatti*), the Wheel-turning World Conqueror, that ideal *min:laung* (immanent king) or *hpaya:laung*, who serves as the model not so much for the general run of Buddhist kings as for what may be called a major Buddhist throne or monarchical lineage and for the *ekarāja*, the "sovereign king" who rules righteously, the actual model for the ordinary Buddhist monarch depicted in such Burmese court manuals as *Hywei Nan: Thoun: Wohara Abhidān* (Maung Maung Tin, 1979).

The cult of spirits is also at once enjoined and disparaged by Buddhism. On the one hand there are the aforementioned canonical precedents and injunctions. On the other hand, just as regional *nat* cults and messianic forms of Buddhism tend to be suppressed by the state because they imply the need to redress social disorder and constitute a challenge to a state and its moral legitimacy, so also from the point of view of an orthodox *sangha*, the need for extracanonical cult practices addressed to spirits is held to imply that religion is not flourishing, so that the world of spirits is not properly under control and religion is not, of itself, adequate for protection against them. This is not canonically unthinkable, but the order quite reasonably wishes to see itself as pure and vigorous, just as, indeed, government desires its own legitimacy to be upheld by the view that religion is in good order.

Then too, there is the positive injunction, fully canonical, to bring about the end of wrong action. Since much of what constitutes wrong action has to do with causing suffering to other beings (and the spirits are often cast in such a role), it is not only proper to try to get agents of suffering to desist, it is positively enjoined to do so. Thus, both the existence of spirit cults and the ambivalence with which Burmese Buddhists view these cults is well within the scope of canonical Buddhist motivation and rationalization.

THE NATS. The chief object of the cult of spirits in Burma are the *nat*s, of which there are numerous kinds. The first distinction is that between the *upapāti nat* and the *meiˀhsa nat*, that is, between the *deva* and *devata*: respectively, denizens of the heavens atop Mount Meru, essentially of Brahmanic origin, and the many kinds of local spirits. The words *upapāti* and *meiˀhsa* derive from Pali terms meaning "well born" and "[born owing to] evildoing." This distinction does not indicate that all of the second kind are of purely indigenous origin. In fact, many of the *meiˀhsa nat*s belong to Indian-derived categories of tree spirits (*youˀhka-zou*; from Pali, *rukkha*, "tree," and Burmese *sou:*, "to rule or govern," equivalent to Indian *yakkhas*) and demons (e.g., Burmese *goun-ban*, from Pali, *kumbhaṇḍa*), although technically, demons and ogres, being without fixed abodes or at least without proper domains, are not *nat*s. Nor should it be thought that all *meiˀhsa nat*s are inherently malevolent, in the sense of being anti-Buddhist. The potential malevolence of proper *nat*s comes from two facts: the manner of their creation and/or the fact that they are lords of their perspective domains, either by nature or by royal appointment (*amein. do*). Indeed, most of the appointed *nat*s, at least, are guardian spirits of the whole country, of regions, villages, families, households, and individuals. As such, they are expected to protect these various levels of jurisdiction of the nation as a Buddhist (originally monarchical) entity, and so they serve as guardians of religion. This is so to the extent that some *nat*s, speaking through mediums, will take their "subjects" to task for not living according to Buddhist precepts.

The *nat*s that are above all the objects of a formally organized cult are the Thirty-seven Lords. There are more than thirty-seven of these, but the number thirty-seven is dictated by the consideration that ideally a Buddhist kingdom should be organized as a microcosm of a proper portion of the Buddhist view of the universe as a whole in order that the proportion between merit and status-power characteristic of the universe as a whole be mirrored in the political and social hierarchies of a Buddhist kingdom. The reason for this organization appears to be that only thus will the economy of merit-seeking necessary to an orderly Buddhist society be effected. Viewed secularly, the king is to his domain as the god Indra (Pali, Sakka; Skt., Śakra; from which Burm. Thagya: [Min:]) is to his heaven, Tāvatiṃsa (Tawadeintha). Moreover, as Indra is ultimate secular ruler in the world at large, so a king aspiring to the state of *cakkavatti*, the ideal occupant of a Buddhist throne, should have kingdoms under him, on the same galactic principle of merit hierarchy. Hence, the hypothetical ideal organization of the kingdom, in the Burmese (and Mon) view, is a center surrounded by thirty-two subordinate realms, just as Indra at his ultimate cosmic center has thirty-two *devata*s and their realms as his subordinates. This makes thirty-three; to these are added the Four Kings (*cātummahārājā*, or *lokapāla*, Quarter Guardians) of the heaven immediately between Indra's and the world of men, yielding thirty-seven.

However, from the reign of Kyanzittha (fl. 1084–1113) the kings of Burma were *dhammarājika* monarchs. That is, while not entirely eschewing various sorts of symbolic identification with one or other Brahmanic god (Kyanzittha himself with Viṣṇu), as Buddhist kings they took as their ideal symbolic model a *cakkavatti* not after the fashion of a conquering king who (re)turns to the center of the cosmic wheel having reached to its rim (*cakkavāla*), but rather after the fashion of the Buddha, who, in preaching his doctrine to men, is said to have turned, or set in motion, the "Wheel of Dhamma" (ultimate principle or law). Nevertheless, the god-centered model for kingship had somehow to be realized. This was done by having a sort of spirit kingship of royally appointed guardians in parallel, so to speak, with human kingship, the system of Thirty-seven Lords.

It is Sakka himself who is chief among these thirty-seven, but, as he is in his paradise atop Mount Meru (Burm., Myin:mou Taun), the more immediate head of this group is Min: Maha-giri, the king or lord of the great mountain, who resides atop Mount Poppa, a prominent and sacred hill in the neighborhood of Pagan, the first Burmese capital (tenth to thirteenth century). Mount Poppa served as the local analog of Meru and its placement relative to the capital/center of the kingdom was in the sacred southeastern direction, the directional corner most proper, for instance, to Buddhist and *nat* shrines in a house. In spite of a great deal of literature suggesting that in the indianized kingdoms of Southeast Asia the symbolic sacred mountain was located in the center of the capitals, in Burma at least, the mountain's symbolic effectiveness required that it be outside, at the center of some even larger domain properly containing the kingdom. Min: Maha-giri serves as guardian of the kingdom as a whole, more particularly as the guardian of the palace, and, by extension, of every house in the kingdom, where, as Einhte: Min: Maha-giri ("lord of the great mountain within the house"), he is represented at a shrine in the form of a coconut (representing a head) bound with a red scarf.

The Maha-giri *nat* seems to have had an indigenous origin, perhaps overlain by brahmanic (specifically, Saiva) influences during the time of the Pyu, the people whose kingdom preceded that of the Burmans in central and upper Burma. All thirty-seven, save Thagya: min:, are filled by a set of royal appointees, mostly male. Each of these was given a fief, each has an elaborate mythological history recording his or her origin, characteristics, and manner of being served. These *nat*s have various functions as guardian spirits, and most serve several of these. One at least has jurisdiction over certain fields in connection with her primary jurisdiction (shared with another) over Aungpinlei, the great artificial lake and former irrigation tank in the vicinity of present-day Mandalay, although generally, nature *nat*s, including *nat*s owning fields, local hills, trees, and the like, are not among the Thirty-seven Lords. Each town and its administrative jurisdiction (*myou.* refers to both without distinguishing between them) and each village has its official guardian *nat*, and every person has what is called a *mizainhpa-zain nat*, that is, a guardian inherited from parents (*mihpa*, "mother-father"). This should not be interpreted as one from the "side" of each parent; there ought to be only one for each person. Indeed, the parental *nat*s derive their jurisdiction, as such, from their primary township charges.

In the time of the Burmese kingdom (until the final British conquest of 1885), virtually all persons belonged to one or other of three sumptuary classes: *kyun* (slaves, or rather, persons fully bound and without civil status), *athi* (persons whose duty of service to the king was essentially commutable by a head tax), and *ahmu. dan:* (persons hereditarily bound to specific civil or military state services—the so-called service classes, organized into "regiments"). *Athi* were generally under the civil jurisdiction of the place where they happened to live, hence under the jurisdiction of that place's guardian *nat*. *Ahmu. dan:* were supposed to be under the civil jurisdiction of the place where their regimental headquarters was located, a place where the lands assigned for their maintenance was also to be found. For the latter in particular, intermarriage with persons from different service groups was discouraged because it resulted in mixed civil and spirit jurisdictions, and of course, created difficulties in the proper keeping of the rolls of the service groups. For these reasons, for service people and even for *athi*, who were also subject to some service requirements, taxes, and census controls, there was a strong tendency toward local endogamy supported by numerous royal orders. These orders made it clear that part of what was intended was clear jurisdiction, and that unambiguous *nat* jurisdiction was included in this. The system of *mizainhpa-zain nat*s has its origins in this set of considerations. Many people also have a wholly individual guardian *nat* (and in fact six *deva*s and six other guardians who may or may not be of the Thirty-seven), but almost nothing is known about these *kou-zaun.* (self-protection) *nat*s.

In order to understand how the Thirty-seven Lords were created, it is necessary to explain the concept of *asein-thei*, a "green" (i.e., unprepared) death, a widespread concept throughout both literate and tribal Southeast Asia. In ordinary circumstances, when someone is about to die he or she is expected to fix the mind upon his or her accumulated store of merit and demerit, and upon the teachings of religion. Friends, relatives and neighbors will, especially right after the funeral, read religious sermons aloud both to fix the minds of the bereaved so that their spirits will not wander from the body out of grief and shock, and so that the spirit of the deceased, if still about, may listen to *dhamma* (Skt., *dharma*) and so pass to a new birth according to his or her *kamma* (Skt., *karman*). When, however, someone dies violently, the spirit of the deceased will fly off in shock and anger and will be so unprepared that attention to merit, demerit, and *dhamma* will not be likely. In such a case, the deceased becomes a ghost, indeed a lost dissatisfied one, preying upon the living in its frustration (the most virulent perhaps are the women dying in childbirth).

When the person killed has been a person of great physical and/or charismatic power, and especially when he or she has been killed because of someone's deliberate treachery, the ghost created is especially dangerous. This type of ghost can, however, be dealt with if the king, who is in any event often the cause of the killing, issues a royal order (*amein. do*) appointing the spirit to an official position (in particular, one among the Thirty-seven Lords). The idea is no doubt related to the tribal notion that the virulent ghost created by the taking of an enemy's head can be converted to a servant of great power by the rites celebrating the head so taken. In any event, such was the origin of the Thirty-seven Lords; they were powerful guardian spirits of the kingdom and of religion, converted or subverted to the latter interests by royal appointment. They remain, however, a potential danger to the community, especially as lords, so that it remains necessary to placate them. It is to this end that the formal *nat* cult exists.

An additional function of this system of Thirty-seven Lords is that it replaces strictly local spirits that have regional jurisdiction with centrally appointed ones, thus replacing symbolic motivations to divisive regional loyalties with symbolic motivations to a sense of nationality for all Burmans. This is true not only because the lords are royal appointees, but also because the cult organization of all these *nat*s is nationwide and because it replaces strictly local cults (understood as going back to pacts made with local spirits by the ancestors of the local inhabitants, hereditarily binding upon these descendents and open to no one else).

The cult consists essentially of a system of mediums, *nat kado* (wives—but see Lehman, 1984, for male *nat*-wives), who, for various reasons, psychological for the most part, enjoy a relationship with one or more of the lords that obligates the mediums to serve them by dancing for them periodically in offering rituals. Such behavior occurs especially at one of the several annual *nat* celebrations of national importance (e.g., the Taunbyoun festival devoted to the two Taunbyoun brothers among the Thirty-seven—they were Muslims, so even Buddhists who have them as their *mizainhpazain nat* must abstain from pork), pilgrimage to which tends to create a sense of Burmese national self-identification. This sense parallels that resulting from pilgrimage to such nationally important Buddhist shrines as the Shwei Dagon pagoda at Rangoon and the Maha Muni shrine, the shrine of the palladial Buddha image of the last several kings of Burma. These occasions, which, the great fairs aside, are often local and locally sponsored on an unscheduled basis, are known as *nat pwe:* (where *pwe:* refers to any show, display, or demonstration) or, especially in upper Burma, *nat kana:* (*kana:* refers to the temporary openwork bamboo shed in which these rites are held—*nat sin* in other places). The rituals consist of dances symbolic of the mythology of the lord in question, and of obeisances and offerings of fruits and other things at the altars upon which the figurines of various lords are ranged. It is common to speak of "worshiping" *nat* (*nat puzo*, from Pali, *pūjā*; *nat hyi. hkou:*, to bow down in adoration or homage). Technically, such terms are supposed to be reserved for the veneration of the Buddha, his order, and his relics, and obeisance to those persons (parents, elders, monks, teachers, and king and government as patron of religion) from whom one gets merit by example and by the act of merit sharing that follows all Buddhist rituals. This veneration is undertaken in order to validate their greater merit and apologize for possible offences (*gado*). But the act is also performed (at least in its modified form of salutation by raising hands, palms together, to the forehead) toward any powerful or exalted persons (*nat*s included). The veneration is undertaken sometimes in flattery and out of fear of their power, but sometimes because all officials can be looked upon as extensions of government and because of the implicit correlation between charisma (*hpoun:*, from Pali, *puñña*, "merit-quality"), distinction (*goun*), and influence and authority (*o-za a-na*), on the one hand, and merit (*kuthou;* Pali, *kusala*), on the other. Properly speaking, *nat* are said to be "served" (*pa. tha.*) or "offered to" (*tin*). No Burmese Buddhist will ever talk of his involvement in *nat* service as *nat ba-tha* (from Pali, *bhāsa*, "doctrine").

MILLENARIANISM. Yet another strand in Burmese religion is millenarian Buddhism. It combines magical-alchemical practices with meditational exercises and has a strong association with the aforementioned notion of the *min:laun-hpaya:laun* as a messianic Buddhist figure heralding the coming of the future Buddha (Skt., Maitraya; Pali, Metteya). Devotees of one or other of these millenarian figures (sometimes appearing as royal pretenders replete with imitation royal courts and retinues, more often held to exist in some mystical state or realms) are frequently organized into *gain:* (*Pali*, *gaṇa*). *Gain:* is often rendered in the literature as "sect," but means "congregation" in this usage. (Within the *sangha*, Burmese usage maintains a blurred distinction between *gain:*, with their separate monasteries, ordination traditions, and Vinaya interpretations, and *nikāya*, sects, which may, in addition, refuse commensality and monastic coresidence with other groups of monks.

These *gain:* are semisecret congregations, no doubt partly owing to their millenarianism being perceived as defiance of constituted government, but also because of the nature of their practices. These practices, including the attempt to compound alchemical substances (*datloun:*, "lumps of power"—the essential ingredient is mercury) that are expected to make one invincible and to prolong one's existence indefinitely, are intended to ensure that the devotees will attain what amount to the fruits of the higher absorptions or meditation stages (Pali, *jhāna;* Burm., *zān*, colloquially understood as the possession of supernormal powers). In this way, the practitioners expect to be preserved until the arrival of Metteya, in order that they may hear him preach his dispensation and so be able "at once" to attain *nibbāna* (Skt., *nirvāṇa;* Burm., *neiʔpan*). The importance of the idea of congregation here is that the conjoint practice of these acts and rites will generate conjoint powers (rather on the analogy of a battery), a notion also employed in the chanting of the protective *paritta* (Burm. *payeiʔ*) *texts.*

The supreme adept in *gain:* practices is said to obtain *weiʔza* (Pali, *vijjā*, "wisdom"), or to be, more correctly *weiʔzadou* (Pali, *vijjādhara;* a knower of charms, a sorcerer). Technically, the point of becoming a *weiʔzadou* is to attain the highest *zān*, in which case one is said to exist in a sort of suspended state. This state, condition, or realm is known to the Burmese as *htweˀ yaˀ pauˀ*, which may be translated perhaps as "the point of going out." It seems not unlikely that there are connections here with the idea of "going beyond" in wisdom characteristic of the *prajñāpāramitā* view in Mahāyāna Buddhism. This is not impossible in view of the long history of mutual influences between the various schools of Buddhism and the complex history of pre-Pagan Mon Buddhism. It was from this latter that the Burmese supposedly got their Theravāda and earliest Pagan Buddhism in Burma, which, far from being pure Theravāda, was largely Sanskritic, partly Tantric, partly Sarvāstivada, and partly other, less clearly known things.

Another reason for the semiclandestine nature of millenarian Buddhism and the *gain:* is the profound ambivalence that in Theravāda countries has always attended emphasis on meditation practices and the associated study of *Abhidhamma*, owing to the suspicion that such adepts and students may be chiefly interested not in salvation but rather in securing and using the supernormal powers attendant upon such practices. The deliberate pursuit of such powers as an end in itself, and the overt claim to such powers, is prohibited by the Buddha for monks, and by implication at least, for Buddhists in general. Furthermore, the rise in popularity of both monastic and lay-oriented meditation movements and centers, and perhaps even the prominence in Burma of Abhidhamma *pariyatti* (scholarship), given the close canonical relationship between the two, may reflect a sort of domestication of millenarian tendencies in a country, and nowadays in an age, marked by a considerable amount of political instability, social change, and cultural malaise. Its popularity among Burma's westernized classes as part of an attempt to make it compatible with their notion of a modern worldview makes this likely. In particular, it may be significant that, as in most aspects of millenarian Buddhism, the organizations are lay only, so there also exists a considerable proliferation of purely lay meditation organizations; the absence of monks in these cases seems to represent a development distinct from traditional notions of Theravāda orthodoxy.

It would be a mistake to equate all aspects of magical Buddhism, however, with millenarian Buddhism. For, as ambivalent as orthodoxy, represented in particular by the Vinaya, is toward the practice by monks of the apotropaic use of Buddhist symbols in astrology, the casting of horoscopes, the provision of amulets, and the preparation of charms, and as common as it is for practitioners of these arts to be laymen, there are plenty of otherwise perfectly orthodox monks who practice them, too. Furthermore, those laymen who possess ability in this area tend overwhelmingly to learn their craft during periods of relatively prolonged monastic residence as monks or novices, presumably from monks.

One final matter requires an account, and that is the question why it is that millenarian movements, the intense and pervasive concern with acquiring merit, and all other attempts to be reborn as a male human being with wealth and status characterize so much of Burmese Buddhism. Is this an indication of a failure of the capacity to believe in the goal of *nibbāna*, of a noncanonical (if not positively unorthodox) tendency in Burmese religion? Is the fact, common in many Theravāda countries, that merit-making activities are occasions of public display of one's giving (*dāna*) unambiguously contrary to the scriptural adjuration that unpublicized giving is the most, if not the only, meritorious form? It seems not.

Consider some ambiguities connected with merit. First, there is the economic principle that it takes the fruits of previously earned merit to make greater merit, and that merit is to some extent proportional to the fruits of previous merit—because only then does one have the good fortune to be born into the position from which the greater merit may be made. Translated into practical action, this principle leads to the notion that the meritoriousness of any act is arguable. In particular, a person in a position of social or personal obligation with respect to any act of giving earns little merit from it, since only free, unobligated acts really earn merit for the actor. Consider also the principle that one rarely if ever knows where one stands in one's samsaric trajectory; one does not know, for instance, how much demerit may still have to be expiated or how much merit must still be made in order that one may be in the position to make a serious attempt towards transcendental goals, *nibbāna* above all.

Since the merit from an act is relative to the act's being done freely, and since a consequence of the uncertainty about one's overall store of merit and demerit is a pervasive uncertainty about relative social status and one's sumptuary obligations toward others, the only way one can be reasonably certain about one's *dāna* is to have its meritoriousness publicly acknowledged, hence publicly displayed. In the same vein, it must often seem canonically justifiable that one finds oneself psychologically incapable of giving serious positive commitment to purely religious goals. In such cases, it may seem perhaps wiser to aspire to a future human birth in which one's store of merit will be sufficient to motivate one toward transcendental objectives, or even to have such objectives taught to one by Metteya. The devotee hopes for greater personal, social, and economic stability at some future time as a better basis for ultimate accomplishments, and invests one's present resources in merit making accordingly. The measure of the practitioner's commitment to nibbanic soteriology is clearly the embarrassment people admit to when they shy away from trying for nibbanic extinction and the fervency with which they pray that they may in a better future life be able to try and attain *nibbāna*.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Southeast Asia; Buddhist Religious Year; Cakravartin; Folk Religion, article on Folk Buddhism; Merit, article on Buddhist Concepts; Nats; Saṃgha, article on Saṃgha and Society in South and Southeast Asia; Theravāda; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Buddhist Devotional Life in Southeast Asia.

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FREDERIC K. LEHMAN (CHIT HLAING) (1987)
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BURNOUF, EUGÈNE (1801–1852), French Sanskritist, Buddhologist, and Indologist. Son of the classicist Jean-Louis Burnouf, Eugène Burnouf was born in Paris on April 8, 1801. After distinguishing himself at the Lycée Louis-le-Grand and the École de Chartes, Eugène began the study of Sanskrit with his father and Leonard de Chézy in 1824, only one year after de Chézy's appointment to Europe's first Sanskrit chair. Just two years later, Burnouf, together with Christian Lassen, published *Essai sur le Pali* (1826), which identified and analyzed the sacred language of Theravāda Buddhism of Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) and mainland Southeast Asia.

If a single person can be credited with inaugurating the West's serious study of Buddhism according to primary sources, he is Eugène Burnouf. In less than three decades prior to the middle of the nineteenth century, Burnouf succeeded in establishing European Buddhist studies on solid footing through his own research and preparation of young scholars, and also in contributing significantly to the foundation of studies in the Veda and the Purāṇas, and to Avestan studies as well.

In 1833, a year that also saw publication of *Commentaire sur le Yaçna*, a landmark in modern Avestan studies, Eugène succeeded de Chézy as professor of Sanskrit at the Collège de France. About the same time, he began work on the Buddhist texts sent by Brian H. Hodgson, an East India Company resident in Katmandu, to the French Asiatic Society in Paris. By 1837, Burnouf had resolved to translate the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* (Lotus Sūtra of the True Dharma), a text that he felt was most representative of the materials sent by Hodgson.

About 1840, Burnouf decided that the annotations needed to make a translation of the *Lotus Sūtra* intelligible to European audiences threatened to overwhelm the text. He thus set as a preliminary task the writing of an "introduction to Buddhism" that would provide the necessary context. His *Introduction à l'histoire du bouddhisme indien* was published in 1844. His *Lotus de la bonne loi*, the translation of the *Lotus Sūtra*, appeared posthumously in 1852.

Although Burnouf is deservedly celebrated for his own pathbreaking scholarship on Buddhism and the Avestan tradition, his importance to the history of religions does not end there. Among his students in Paris in the 1840s was the young Sanskritist F. Max Müller. "Went to Burnouf, [who is] spiritual, amiable, thoroughly French," Müller wrote in his journal in 1845, and continued,

> He received me in the most friendly way, talked a great deal, and all that he said was valuable, not on ordinary topics but on special [ones]. 'I am a Brahman, a Buddhist, a Zoroastrian; I hate the Jesuits' – that is the sort of man [he is]. His lectures were on the *Rigveda,* and they opened a new world to me. He explained to us his own research, he showed us new manuscripts that he had received from India, in fact he did all he could to make us his fellow-workers.

It was at Burnouf's urging that Müller undertook his own critical edition of the *Ṛgveda Saṃhita* (1849–1873).

In addition to Burnouf's teaching and his continuing research in Buddhist, Sanskrit, and Tibetan sources, he also worked on materials directly significant for the study of Hinduism, seeing a translation of the first nine books (in three volumes) of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (1840–1847) into print before his death.

To his pioneering Buddhist studies Burnouf brought a calm and imperturbable attitude generally unruffled by the new and often puzzling ideas his research disclosed. Patient and thorough, this scholar, whose genius effectively introduced in Europe the scientific study of Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhist traditions, remained open throughout his lamentably brief career to information from all Buddhist sources. He set standards for Buddhist studies that few of his successors would match.

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Appreciations of Burnouf's life and work are numerous. Among the more helpful are Sylvain Lévi's preface to the 1925 edition of *Le Lotus*; Raymond Schwab's *La renaissance orientale* (Paris, 1950), esp. pp. 309–316; and *Ernst Windisch's Geschichte der Sanskrit-Philologie und indischen Altertumskunde*, 2 vols. (Strasbourg, 1917–1920), pp. 123–140.

G. R. WELBON (1987 AND 2005)

BUSHIDŌ, the Japanese warrior's code, cannot be defined by a single neat formula. Every age can be said to have had notions of acceptable warrior behavior, but apart from certain core values—of which the most obvious were skill at arms, courage, hardihood, and a serious demeanor—the criteria varied substantially. It was until recent times an unwritten code, in the sense that no one document contained a complete formulation; rather, the code was reflected in literature, regulations, and decrees. Even when it was committed to writing, it was subject to periodic change.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT. The *bushi* emerged as a class during the tenth century, when a militia system controlled by the central government broke down in the provinces. Local bands brought together by blood ties and geographic propinquity were formed under the leadership of a provincial governor or large holder of land rights, with few exceptions sprung from the lower echelons of the aristocracy. A bond of mutual loyalty, heavily weighted in the leader's favor, emerged: unspecified protection in exchange for unlimited military service.

It has been plausibly suggested that these warriors inherited their fighting spirit from the continental immigrants who had established themselves as the dominant racial strain centuries earlier. These had been mounted fighting men, whose ethos may well have survived on the frontier during the Sinicization of the Japanese heartland. Certainly, the indomitable warrior spirit is portrayed in Japan's earliest surviving literature, which dates from the eighth century. During the eleventh century, however, although the silken aristocrats of the capital used them to settle their power contests, they looked down on them as inferior relations, rebels, or uneducated rustics. But by the end of the twelfth century, the *bushi* had become indispensable in keeping order in the capital. Eventually they took over the effective administration of the whole country, with a consequent enhancement of status.

Thenceforth, terms attesting the existence of a concept of Bushidō began to appear, although the word itself is not noted in literature until 1604. Phrases signifying "the warrior's charisma" and emphasizing the special fighting qualities of the warriors of the eastern provinces proliferated. These extolled their physical strength, superb skill at arms and daring horsemanship, resourcefulness, fearlessness, ferocity, readiness to die, and generosity of mind.

Not all *bushi* could have equaled the paragons depicted in the medieval war tales, but they all shared a clearly defined ideal. Most prominent was their obsession with the honor of the family name. This gave rise to the pre-battle ritual of self-identification, recital of ancestors' exploits, and boasts of personal valor. Expectation of personal reward earned in individual combat, attested by eyewitnesses or by trophies of severed enemy heads, was a concomitant phenomenon. Bestowal of rewards nurtured the notion of loyalty between lord and vassal that became the essence of Bushidō. But an attempt was made to separate the ethic of loyalty from material considerations by generous recognition of high-minded conduct, whether displayed by friend or by foe.

Inevitably, the age of civil war (1467–1568) led to an eclipse of the loyalty central to the unwritten code. A morally and financially bankrupt central government changed gradually to a system of decentralized administration, dangerously lacking in check or balance, and accompanied by gross disorder. The military prestige (*iegara*) of a family—its ability to afford protection—rather than possession of an ancient name became all-important. Traitors and turncoats abounded, for some *bushi* did not scruple to desert or oust an incompetent or unfortunate lord. The hereditary military classes were also diluted by the recruitment of peasants as infantry and by the rise of men of low birth to the ranks of feudal lords. Within a century most of the old leadership had been replaced by new blood.

To survive, a warlord had to mold his followers into an efficient, reliable fighting force. Discipline was upgraded and regulations issued enjoining frugality, vigilance, conscientiousness, and other useful virtues. An ideal of unremitting and self-sacrificing service was created, and the bond between lord and vassal was formalized by oaths of allegiance. New weapons and defense measures leading to the building of fortresses and castles made it necessary for the feudal lord to keep his vassals near at hand rather than domiciled on scattered holdings. The process of the separation of the *bushi* from the soil and his development into a full-time fighting man was under way.

This new spirit had been generally discernible from about 1500. From then on, the struggle for the acquisition of land gradually came to be motivated more by considerations of power politics than mere greed. National hegemony became a general dream.

THE TOKUGAWA BUSHI: NEW FUNCTIONS, NEW IDEALS. When unification was finally attained and peace firmly established, the function of the *bushi* changed. The Confucian scholar Yamaga Sokō (1622–1685) set out specifically to define an appropriate role for the *bushi* in peacetime. Concerned that they should earn their keep not only as a standing army and police force but as administrators, he urged the raising of their educational standard. Additionally, he saw them as eminently qualified to fulfill the function of political and intellectual leaders. Ingeniously, Yamaga grafted onto the traditional feudal virtues of self-sacrifice and readiness to die a selection of Confucian qualities: moral and intellectual superiority, prudence and good judgment, a cultivated mind and a humane heart. He thus produced a blend of the Confucian "superior man" with the traditional Japanese warrior temperament—what has been called "the heroic man." He did not merely codify hitherto unwritten notions of chivalrous conduct; he created a new ideal.

Of a more hectic temper was the thinking of Yamamoto Tsunetomo's manual for *bushi*, *Hagakure* (1716), which emphasized total self-dedication and constant preparedness. Because it was written during an age of peace, this work has been inappropriately labeled "escapist"; it was, in fact, essentially revivalist. Yamamoto's aim was the moral rearmament of the *bushi* by the cultivation of a resolute will to right action regardless of the consequences. The dangers inherent in such a fundamentalist attitude are obvious, but clearly it supplies a powerful stimulus to purposeful conduct.

An important aspect of Bushidō that now received special emphasis was its elitism. This had early emerged. During the twelfth century, the warrior's obsession with protecting the honor of his name had distinguished him sharply from the court nobles who hankered after high rank and title. Further, that canny general Minamoto Yoritomo (1147–1199) sought to burnish the warrior image by setting up criteria for the recruitment of vassals. Very early also, the *bushi* attempted to distance themselves from the populace by acquiring refinement. Devotion to aesthetic pursuits was particularly prominent during the period of the civil wars. A sword hunt in 1588, by disarming the populace, greatly strengthened the self-image of the "two-sworded" *bushi* as a superior caste. Similarly, the codification of Bushidō during the Tokugawa period (1600–1868) gave the warrior a sense of separation from the emerging commercial classes. The combination of the concept of *bun* (learning) with that of *bu* (martial arts) as the new Tokugawa ideal emphasized Confucian education as the monopoly of the military classes, and reinforced the cachet of elitism. Inevitably, arrogance was nurtured along with self-pride.

The central government and local lords employed Confucian scholars to lecture to the *bushi* on the ethic, and subsidized popular preachers to carry the same message to other classes in a form suitable to their station. *Bushi* values were thus widely disseminated throughout the whole Japanese people, so that the *bushi* ideal drew strength from its congruence with the core values of society.

Through such constant exhortation, the *bushi* were in some measure preserved from becoming parasites. They did not produce, but they provided essential services with a high degree of efficiency. For two and a half centuries they supplied administrators, magistrates, judges, police, firechiefs, supervisors of public works, and so on—functions they had been trained to perform since at least the thirteenth century. They also became doctors, teachers, researchers, advisers, theorists, and advocates of new ideas.

The recent wholesale denigration of the Tokugawa *bushi* as urbanized and emasculated, mere hirelings, is not supported by fact: they engineered the Meiji restoration and the dismantling of feudalism, and, as the bulk of the educated class, they contributed substantially to the modernization of the state. That a class comprising 6 percent of the population provided 23 percent of the Meiji entrepreneurs is significant.

MODERN BUSHIDŌ: AN ENDURING IDEAL. Debate on the relative positions of emperor and shogun in the body politic has been aroused by the application to the Japanese situation of the Confucian tenet that function should fit title. Also, Tokugawa encouragement of learning revived the study of ancient emperor-centered literature. The result was a movement honoring the emperor as the ultimate focus of loyalty. The amalgamation of this idea with the newly formulated bureaucratic *bushi* ethic penetrated the Japanese mind and prepared the way for Meiji Bushidō (after 1868).

This "new" Bushidō was created by the deliberate utilization of traditional values to strengthen the modern state. Though the *bushi* as a class were abolished, a Meiji statesman, Itō Hirobumi, described Bushidō as "our ancient feudal chivalry," which defined the conduct of "man as he ought to be" and constituted "moral education of the highest type." The discarding of the identification of Bushidō with the warrior made clear the intention to transform it into a mass religion.

By 1937 *Kokutai no hongi* (Fundamentals of our national polity), published by the Ministry of Education as the bible of nationalism, apotheosized Bushidō as the central tenet of morality and the mainstay of society, transcending Confucianism and Buddhism. This form of Bushidō enjoined total suppression of self-interest, with death as its supreme expression. It implied the shift of unquestioning loyalty from an immediate superior to the sovereign, substituting unconditional service to the state for a bond depending on personal gratitude, and Shinto mythology for Confucian rationalism. There were available exemplars of devotion to the legitimate imperial court in exile during its unsuccessful struggle (1336–1390) against a puppet court supported by the presiding military power. Of these, the general Kusunoki Masashige (1294–1336) was the most illustrious. Inevitably, he became the focus of a new cult.

Although loyalty to a superior had always been central to Bushidō, it had never been blind loyalty. Confucianism emphasized the necessity of thinking things out for oneself. This implied the duty of remonstrance if the conduct of superiors was considered culpable. Earlier ages had provided notable illustrations, but when this obligation was democratized during Meiji, it led to admonitory assassinations anticipating the horrors of modern terrorism.

The *bushi*'s contempt for death, strongly reinforced by his predilection for Zen, had been constant throughout. Trained to kill or be killed, he made indifference to it a point of honor, giving the attitude its most succinct expression in the saying "Bushidō lies in dying." Translated into practical peacetime terms, this simply meant total and selfless dedication. Coincidentally, since death was always regarded as the final proof of sincerity, it gave rise to a cult of suicide. This could take the form of self-disembowelment to accompany one's lord in death or, when faced with defeat, the throwing away of life by a feat of reckless daring. Modern extreme extensions of this view were the hopeless charges of the so-called human bullets in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) and the kamikaze pilots in World War II.

World War II imparted a sinister meaning to the idea of Bushidō. The code was identified with war atrocities, many of which arose from a fanatically held conviction that death was preferable to surrender. This engendered contempt for, and hence ill treatment of, prisoners of war. On the other hand, it also triggered gruesome mass suicides by captured Japanese soldiers.

Some say Bushidō expired with Japan's defeat in 1945. Yet not long after the war, historical novels elucidating the viewpoint of the *bushi* of the civil war period became best-sellers among businessmen. They saw the magnates of that competitive age as excellent models for successful leadership in the world of modern international commerce. The stage-managed suicide of the modern novelist Mishima Yukio (1925–1970) was a lurid example of how susceptible even a modern Japanese mind is to Bushidō's perennial glamour.

From the seventeenth century to modern times, Bushidō has come under sharp criticism as illogical, irrelevant, and morbid. It is true that excesses have been committed in its name through adherence to its anachronistic aspects. Yet it has by and large been a dynamic concept. To the original core values, others were added from time to time in a continuous process of merging and synthesizing. But always Bushidō carried the implication of some kind of sinewy superiority, of effort beyond the capabilities of the ordinary man. And the durability of its appeal surely furnishes some justification for the Meiji scholar Inazo Nitobe's claim in his famous essay of 1905: "Bushidō is the soul of Japan."

SEE ALSO War and Warriors, overview article; Yamaga Sokō.

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BUSHMEN SEE KHOI AND SAN RELIGION

BUSHNELL, HORACE

BUSHNELL, HORACE (1802–1876), Congregational minister and theologian. Born in Bantam, Connecticut, and reared in nearby New Preston, Bushnell attended Yale College and the Law School in New Haven. Stirred by a revival that swept the college in 1831, he decided to enter Yale Divinity School. In 1833 he was ordained pastor of the North Church of Hartford. He experienced an extraordinary spiritual illumination in 1848, a year in which he was also invited to lecture at Harvard, Andover, and Yale. The books resulting from these lectures and from Bushnell's attempts to clarify and refine their content in the face of criticism (*God in Christ,* 1849, and *Christ in Theology,* 1851) stirred up a hornet's nest of controversy and brought charges of heresy from conservative churchmen. In 1858 Bushnell's *Nature and the Supernatural* was published, and *Christian Nurture,* probably his best-known work, appeared in 1861 (an earlier version had been published in 1847). Persistent health problems forced him to resign his North Church pastorate in April 1861, but he continued to be active during the last fifteen years of his life, preaching, lecturing, and producing such additional books as *Work and Play* (1864), *Christ and His Salvation* (1864), *The Vicarious Sacrifice* (1866), *Moral Uses of Dark Things* (1868), *Forgiveness and Law* (1874), and *Building Eras in Religion* (published posthumously in 1881).

Four traits of Bushnell's theological thought suggest something of the distinctive contribution he made to his times. The first is its high degree of originality. Bushnell did not prize originality for its own sake; he saw it as necessary for penetrating to the enduring heart of Christian teaching and rediscovering its relevance to the needs and concerns of human beings in a time of rapid change. Second, his theology was intended to be a mediating theology, one seeking grounds of consensus that could allay the spirit of divisiveness and contumely that marked so much of the theological debate of his day. Third, Bushnell held that religious doctrines are not meant to satisfy speculative curiosity. The decisive test of any doctrine is an experiential one, that is, the contributions it can make to the transformation of life and character. He insisted that divine revelation itself has this "instrumental" function (as he termed it), and that its import can be grasped only when it is approached with its practical end clearly in mind. Fourth, Bushnell tried to put theological discourse and method on a new footing by arguing that the language of religion, including that of the Bible, is the language of analogy, metaphor, and symbol, and that its function is to suggest and evoke truths and modes of awareness that cannot be literally expressed. Hence, its proper use and interpretation requires the imaginative skill of the poet or orator, not that of the abstract speculative reasoner. These ideas about theological language and method went much against the grain of the prevailing concept of theology in Bushnell's time, which was that theology should be an exact rational science, with precise definitions, finely drawn distinctions, and strict logical deductions.

Bushnell was one of the two most creative Protestant theologians in America prior to the twentieth century; the other was Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758). Bushnell's book on Christian nurture has exerted more influence on theories of Christian education among Protestants than any other work of recent times. His ideas on religious language anticipated much that is now being said about the crucial role of myth, symbol, story, and paradox in the discourse of the religions of the world. His fresh approaches sounded the death knell of the Edwardian Calvinism that was dominant in his day and had been so since the time of Jonathan Edwards, and they provided the point of departure for what came to be called the "new theology" of American Protestant liberalism. His critique of biblical literalism helped to pave the way for theological acceptance of the results of biblical criticism and for easier rapprochement between religion and science.

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BU STON (1290–1364), also known as Bu ston Rin poche and Bu Lo tsā ba; properly, Rin chen grub pa; Tibetan Buddhist monk-scholar, translator, redactor, historian, and architect. In the annals of Tibetan Buddhism, Bu ston holds a singular position. He is renowned as the codifier of the Tibetan Buddhist canon and as the last great translator and systematizer prior to the fourteenth-century reformer Tsong kha pa. Considered to have been an incarnation of the Kashmiri saint Śākyaśrī bhadra (Tib., Kha che pang chen), Bu ston showed a precocious and prodigious talent for translation. Furthermore, he mastered certain aspects of the Tantras and became known as a chief authority on the Yoga Tantra cycles and on the Kālacakra system in particular.

Bu ston wrote one of the earliest authoritative histories of Buddhism, covering its development both in India and Tibet up to the fourteenth century. He also compiled and produced detailed catalogs of all Buddhist scriptures translated into Tibetan up until his time, retranslating many and editing out of the official canon texts deemed spurious. It was Bu ston who first organized the Tibetan canon into the now famed subdivisions of "Sūtra translations" (Tib., Bka' 'gyur) and "Śāstra translations" (Tib., Bstan 'gyur). Although the texts constituting the Bka' 'gyur were fairly well established by his time, it was due exclusively to Bu ston's incredible zeal and effort that the Bstan 'gyur came to assume its present shape.

Bu ston was born into an illustrious line of Tantric practitioners. From age seven onward, he studied the Tantras under the guidance of both his grandfather and the renowned Bka' brgyud pa master Khro phu ba. (Bu ston's biography claims that he came to possess such mastery of Tantric ritual that even as a child people sought him out in preference to his grandfather.)

At the age of eighteen Bu ston left home and became a novice monk. For the next several years he studied under learned masters from all traditions; his teachers are said to have numbered some twenty-eight. In 1312 he took full ordination. Thereafter, he devoted himself to mastering Candragomin's works on grammar, and subsequently, the various languages of east and west India, including Kashmiri and Sanskrit. Henceforth, he became famed as an unparalleled translator of Indian Buddhist scripture. During this period he also made an intensive study of the Kālacakra, later earning the reputation of being a master of this particular Tantric cycle.

At age thirty Bu ston was invited to assume the see of the Źwa lu Monastery of the Sa skya order. This monastery remained his main seat throughout the rest of his life. From it he expounded the Kālacakra and other Tantric cycles along with numerous exoteric scriptures; he gave innumerable initiations and composed commentaries on the Sūtras and Tantras. It was during his tenure at Źwa lu that Bu ston wrote his famous *Chos 'byung* (*History of Buddhism*), completed about 1322. It was also at Źwa lu that Bu ston began to organize the first definitive Tibetan Buddhist canon. Applying his genius to systematizing the canon, Bu ston established a new method of classifying the scriptures. With regard to the Sūtra collection he introduced a threefold schema. He divided the collection philosophically and historically into what he called the "three *dharmacakras*," or "turnings of the wheel of the Law." Above all, he is revered for having given to the Tantra collection a fourfold schema, classifying these works into four distinct *rgyuds*, or classes: Kriya, Carya, Yoga, and Anuttarayoga. This method of treating the Tantra literature was later adopted and preserved by Tsong kha pa and his disciple Mkhas grub rje.

In addition to writing and teaching, Bu ston was an accomplished architect. In 1352 he composed a classic work on the construction of Buddhist stupas (reliquary mounds) called the *Shape and Dimensions of the Mahābodhi Stūpa*, and at the age of sixty-three he oversaw the construction at Źwa lu Ri phug of a stupa measuring almost thirty meters in height. This Ri phug stupa later served as the primary model for the great stupa raised at Rgyal rtse.

On reaching his sixty-seventh year, Bu ston handed on the see of Źwa lu. Still, for the next seven years he zealously continued to carry out the three chief activities performed by a true *bla ma* ("superior teacher")—namely, to study, to teach, and to write. He died peacefully in 1364.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Tibet; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism; Tibetan Religions, overview article.

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BUTLER, JOSEPH (1692–1752), English theologian and moral philosopher. Butler was born into a Presbyterian family in Berkshire. He began his studies at a dissenting academy, but changed his allegiance to the Church of England and entered Oriel College, Oxford University. After ordination, he held a succession of charges, including clerk of the closet to Queen Caroline, clerk of the closet to King George II, bishop of Bristol, and bishop of Durham. He died at Bath and is buried in the cathedral at Bristol.

The first part of Butler's only systematic work, *Analogy of Religion* (1736), argued against those deists of his day who, although rejecting the Christian scriptures, believed that God had created the universe and that a rational religion could be found in nature. These deists denied special revelation on the grounds of alleged rational difficulties. Butler attempted to show that the difficulties found in special revelation, rejected by deists, were analogous to the difficulties found in natural revelation, which deists accepted. To be consistent, deists should accept special revelation. Butler was aware—but did not think it probable—that one who accepts this analogy may reject both revelations. The second part of his *Analogy* is one of the classic defenses of Christian theism.

Butler's ethical theory is based on an analysis of the component parts of human nature. There are three levels operating harmoniously: the several passions, each directed at a particular desire; the rational principles of self-love and benevolence, concerned with the individual's general welfare; and conscience, the moral standard and decision maker. Butler considered ethics to be a subdivision of theology, presenting his theories in *Fifteen Sermons* (1726). Philosophers, however, generally treat his ethics independently of his theology. Butler is also known for his refutation of psychological egoism, based on his analysis of benevolence, a natural component of human nature.

SEE ALSO Deism.

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There have been many editions of Butler's two books: *Fifteen Sermons Preached at the Rolls Chapel* (1726) and *The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature* (1736). The most readily available complete editions of his works (which also include a few additional sermons) are *The Works of Joseph Butler, D. C. L.*, 2 vols., edited by W. E. Gladstone (Oxford, 1896–1897), and *The Works of Bishop Butler*, 2 vols., edited by J. H. Bernard (London, 1900). Both texts have informative introductions.

The best general work on Butler is Ernest C. Mossner's *Bishop Butler and the Age of Reason* (New York, 1936), while the most penetrating analysis of Butler's ethics is Austin Duncan-Jones's *Butler's Moral Philosophy* (Harmondsworth, 1952). Recommended as a work integrating his natural theology and ethics is my own *Butler's Ethics* (The Hague, 1964).

P. ALLAN CARLSSON (1987)

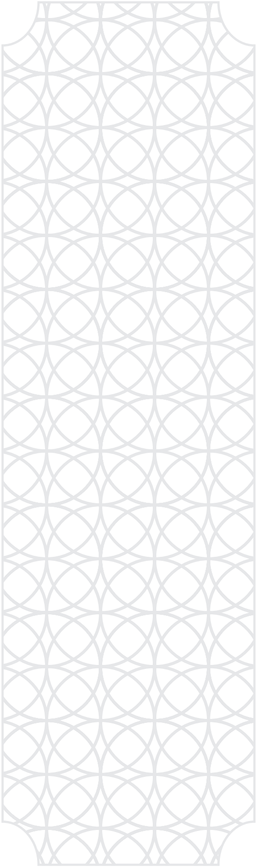

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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF
RELIGION
SECOND EDITION

LINDSAY JONES
EDITOR IN CHIEF

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Encyclopedia of Religion, Second Edition

Lindsay Jones, Editor in Chief

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED IN THIS WORK

abbr. abbreviated; abbreviation
abr. abridged; abridgment
AD *anno Domini,* in the year of the (our) Lord
Afrik. Afrikaans
AH *anno Hegirae,* in the year of the Hijrah
Akk. Akkadian
Ala. Alabama
Alb. Albanian
Am. *Amos*
AM *ante meridiem,* before noon
amend. amended; amendment
annot. annotated; annotation
Ap. *Apocalypse*
Apn. *Apocryphon*
app. appendix
Arab. Arabic
ʿArakh. *ʿArakhin*
Aram. Aramaic
Ariz. Arizona
Ark. Arkansas
Arm. Armenian
art. article (pl., arts.)
AS Anglo-Saxon
Asm. Mos. *Assumption of Moses*
Assyr. Assyrian
A.S.S.R. Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
Av. Avestan
ʿA.Z. *ʿAvodah zarah*
b. born
Bab. Babylonian
Ban. Bantu
1 Bar. *1 Baruch*
2 Bar. *2 Baruch*
3 Bar. *3 Baruch*
4 Bar. *4 Baruch*
B.B. *Bavaʾ batraʾ*
BBC British Broadcasting Corporation
BC before Christ
BCE before the common era
B.D. Bachelor of Divinity
Beits. *Beitsah*
Bekh. *Bekhorot*
Beng. Bengali
Ber. *Berakhot*
Berb. Berber
Bik. *Bikkurim*
bk. book (pl., bks.)
B.M. *Bavaʾ metsiʿaʾ*
BP before the present
B.Q. *Bavaʾ qammaʾ*
Brāh. *Brāhmaṇa*
Bret. Breton
B.T. Babylonian Talmud
Bulg. Bulgarian
Burm. Burmese
c. *circa,* about, approximately
Calif. California
Can. Canaanite
Catal. Catalan
CE of the common era
Celt. Celtic
cf. *confer,* compare
Chald. Chaldean
chap. chapter (pl., chaps.)
Chin. Chinese
C.H.M. Community of the Holy Myrrhbearers
1 Chr. *1 Chronicles*
2 Chr. *2 Chronicles*
Ch. Slav. Church Slavic
cm centimeters
col. column (pl., cols.)
Col. *Colossians*
Colo. Colorado
comp. compiler (pl., comps.)
Conn. Connecticut
cont. continued
Copt. Coptic
1 Cor. *1 Corinthians*
2 Cor. *2 Corinthians*
corr. corrected
C.S.P. Congregatio Sancti Pauli, Congregation of Saint Paul (Paulists)
d. died
D Deuteronomic (source of the Pentateuch)
Dan. Danish
D.B. Divinitatis Baccalaureus, Bachelor of Divinity
D.C. District of Columbia
D.D. Divinitatis Doctor, Doctor of Divinity
Del. Delaware
Dem. *Demaʾi*
dim. diminutive
diss. dissertation
Dn. *Daniel*
D.Phil. Doctor of Philosophy
Dt. *Deuteronomy*
Du. Dutch
E Elohist (source of the Pentateuch)
Eccl. *Ecclesiastes*
ed. editor (pl., eds.); edition; edited by

ʿEduy. *ʿEduyyot*
e.g. *exempli gratia,* for example
Egyp. Egyptian
1 En. *1 Enoch*
2 En. *2 Enoch*
3 En. *3 Enoch*
Eng. English
enl. enlarged
Eph. *Ephesians*
ʿEruv. *ʿEruvin*
1 Esd. *1 Esdras*
2 Esd. *2 Esdras*
3 Esd. *3 Esdras*
4 Esd. *4 Esdras*
esp. especially
Est. Estonian
Est. *Esther*
et al. *et alii,* and others
etc. *et cetera,* and so forth
Eth. Ethiopic
EV English version
Ex. *Exodus*
exp. expanded
Ez. *Ezekiel*
Ezr. *Ezra*
2 Ezr. *2 Ezra*
4 Ezr. *4 Ezra*
f. feminine; and following (pl., ff.)
fasc. fascicle (pl., fascs.)
fig. figure (pl., figs.)
Finn. Finnish
fl. *floruit,* flourished
Fla. Florida
Fr. French
frag. fragment
ft. feet
Ga. Georgia
Gal. *Galatians*
Gaul. Gaulish
Ger. German
Giṭ. *Giṭṭin*
Gn. *Genesis*
Gr. Greek
Ḥag. *Ḥagigah*
Ḥal. *Ḥallah*
Hau. Hausa
Hb. *Habakkuk*
Heb. Hebrew
Heb. *Hebrews*
Hg. *Haggai*
Hitt. Hittite
Hor. *Horayot*
Hos. *Hosea*
Ḥul. *Ḥullin*
Hung. Hungarian
ibid. *ibidem,* in the same place (as the one immediately preceding)
Icel. Icelandic
i.e. *id est,* that is
IE Indo-European
Ill. Illinois
Ind. Indiana
intro. introduction
Ir. Gael. Irish Gaelic
Iran. Iranian
Is. *Isaiah*
Ital. Italian
J Yahvist (source of the Pentateuch)
Jas. *James*
Jav. Javanese
Jb. *Job*
Jdt. *Judith*
Jer. *Jeremiah*
Jgs. *Judges*
Jl. *Joel*
Jn. *John*
1 Jn. *1 John*
2 Jn. *2 John*
3 Jn. *3 John*
Jon. *Jonah*
Jos. *Joshua*
Jpn. Japanese
JPS Jewish Publication Society translation (1985) of the Hebrew Bible
J.T. Jerusalem Talmud
Jub. *Jubilees*
Kans. Kansas
Kel. *Kelim*
Ker. *Keritot*
Ket. *Ketubbot*
1 Kgs. *1 Kings*
2 Kgs. *2 Kings*
Khois. Khoisan
Kil. *Kilʾayim*
km kilometers
Kor. Korean
Ky. Kentucky
l. line (pl., ll.)
La. Louisiana
Lam. *Lamentations*
Lat. Latin
Latv. Latvian
L. en Th. Licencié en Théologie, Licentiate in Theology
L. ès L. Licencié ès Lettres, Licentiate in Literature
Let. Jer. *Letter of Jeremiah*
lit. literally
Lith. Lithuanian
Lk. *Luke*
LL Late Latin
LL.D. Legum Doctor, Doctor of Laws
Lv. *Leviticus*
m meters
m. masculine
M.A. Master of Arts
Ma ʿas. *Maʿaserot*
Ma ʿas. Sh. *Maʿ aser sheni*
Mak. *Makkot*
Makh. *Makhshirin*
Mal. *Malachi*
Mar. Marathi
Mass. Massachusetts
1 Mc. *1 Maccabees*
2 Mc. *2 Maccabees*
3 Mc. *3 Maccabees*
4 Mc. *4 Maccabees*
Md. Maryland
M.D. Medicinae Doctor, Doctor of Medicine
ME Middle English
Meg. *Megillah*
Me ʿil. *Meʿilah*
Men. *Menaḥot*
MHG Middle High German
mi. miles
Mi. *Micah*
Mich. Michigan
Mid. *Middot*
Minn. Minnesota
Miq. *Miqvaʾot*
MIran. Middle Iranian
Miss. Mississippi
Mk. *Mark*
Mo. Missouri
Moʿed Q. *Moʿed qaṭan*
Mont. Montana
MPers. Middle Persian
MS. *manuscriptum,* manuscript (pl., MSS)
Mt. *Matthew*
MT Masoretic text
n. note
Na. *Nahum*
Nah. Nahuatl
Naz. *Nazir*
N.B. *nota bene,* take careful note
N.C. North Carolina
n.d. no date
N.Dak. North Dakota
NEB New English Bible
Nebr. Nebraska

Ned. *Nedarim*
Neg. *Negaʿim*
Neh. *Nehemiah*
Nev. Nevada
N.H. New Hampshire
Nid. *Niddah*
N.J. New Jersey
Nm. *Numbers*
N.Mex. New Mexico
no. number (pl., nos.)
Nor. Norwegian
n.p. no place
n.s. new series
N.Y. New York
Ob. *Obadiah*
O.Cist. Ordo Cisterciencium, Order of Cîteaux (Cistercians)
OCS Old Church Slavonic
OE Old English
O.F.M. Ordo Fratrum Minorum, Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)
OFr. Old French
Ohal. *Ohalot*
OHG Old High German
OIr. Old Irish
OIran. Old Iranian
Okla. Oklahoma
ON Old Norse
O.P. Ordo Praedicatorum, Order of Preachers (Dominicans)
OPers. Old Persian
op. cit. *opere citato,* in the work cited
OPrus. Old Prussian
Oreg. Oregon
ʿOrl. *ʿOrlah*
O.S.B. Ordo Sancti Benedicti, Order of Saint Benedict (Benedictines)
p. page (pl., pp.)
P Priestly (source of the Pentateuch)
Pa. Pennsylvania
Pahl. Pahlavi
Par. *Parah*
para. paragraph (pl., paras.)
Pers. Persian
Pes. *Pesahim*
Ph.D. Philosophiae Doctor, Doctor of Philosophy
Phil. *Philippians*
Phlm. *Philemon*
Phoen. Phoenician
pl. plural; plate (pl., pls.)
PM *post meridiem,* after noon
Pol. Polish
pop. population
Port. Portuguese
Prv. *Proverbs*
Ps. *Psalms*
Ps. 151 *Psalm 151*
Ps. Sol. *Psalms of Solomon*
pt. part (pl., pts.)
1Pt. *1 Peter*
2 Pt. *2 Peter*
Pth. Parthian
Q hypothetical source of the synoptic Gospels
Qid. *Qiddushin*
Qin. *Qinnim*
r. reigned; ruled
Rab. *Rabbah*
rev. revised
R. ha-Sh. *Roʾsh ha-shanah*
R.I. Rhode Island
Rom. Romanian
Rom. *Romans*
R.S.C.J. Societas Sacratissimi Cordis Jesu, Religious of the Sacred Heart
RSV Revised Standard Version of the Bible
Ru. *Ruth*
Rus. Russian
Rv. *Revelation*
Rv. Ezr. *Revelation of Ezra*
San. *Sanhedrin*
S.C. South Carolina
Scot. Gael. Scottish Gaelic
S.Dak. South Dakota
sec. section (pl., secs.)
Sem. Semitic
ser. series
sg. singular
Sg. *Song of Songs*
Sg. of 3 *Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men*
Shab. *Shabbat*
Shav. *Shavuʿot*
Sheq. *Sheqalim*
Sib. Or. *Sibylline Oracles*
Sind. Sindhi
Sinh. Sinhala
Sir. *Ben Sira*
S.J. Societas Jesu, Society of Jesus (Jesuits)
Skt. Sanskrit
1 Sm. *1 Samuel*
2 Sm. *2 Samuel*
Sogd. Sogdian
Soṭ. *Soṭah*
sp. species (pl., spp.)
Span. Spanish
sq. square
S.S.R. Soviet Socialist Republic
st. stanza (pl., ss.)
S.T.M. Sacrae Theologiae Magister, Master of Sacred Theology
Suk. *Sukkah*
Sum. Sumerian
supp. supplement; supplementary
Sus. *Susanna*
s.v. *sub verbo,* under the word (pl., s.v.v.)
Swed. Swedish
Syr. Syriac
Syr. Men. *Syriac Menander*
Taʿ an. *Taʿanit*
Tam. Tamil
Tam. *Tamid*
Tb. *Tobit*
T.D. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō,* edited by Takakusu Junjirō et al. (Tokyo,1922–1934)
Tem. *Temurah*
Tenn. Tennessee
Ter. Terumot
Ṭev. Y. *Ṭevul yom*
Tex. Texas
Th.D. Theologicae Doctor, Doctor of Theology
1 Thes. *1 Thessalonians*
2 Thes. *2 Thessalonians*
Thrac. Thracian
Ti. *Titus*
Tib. Tibetan
1 Tm. *1 Timothy*
2 Tm. *2 Timothy*
T. of 12 *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*
Ṭoh. *ṭohorot*
Tong. Tongan
trans. translator, translators; translated by; translation
Turk. Turkish
Ukr. Ukrainian
Upan. *Upaniṣad*
U.S. United States
U.S.S.R. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Uqts. *Uqtsin*
v. verse (pl., vv.)
Va. Virginia
var. variant; variation
Viet. Vietnamese

viz. *videlicet,* namely
vol. volume (pl., vols.)
Vt. Vermont
Wash. Washington
Wel. Welsh
Wis. Wisconsin
Wis. *Wisdom of Solomon*
W.Va. West Virginia
Wyo. Wyoming
Yad. *Yadayim*
Yev. *Yevamot*
Yi. Yiddish
Yor. Yoruba
Zav. *Zavim*
Zec. *Zechariah*
Zep. *Zephaniah*
Zev. *Zevaḥim*

* hypothetical
? uncertain; possibly; perhaps
° degrees
+ plus
– minus
= equals; is equivalent to
× by; multiplied by
→ yields

COSMIC VISIONS

Images offer viewers a special advantage: not only can they compact and transmit information with great economy, they offer a commanding perch from which to survey vast transits of time and expanses of space. Schematic images serve as maps of the cosmos, of history, of the night sky, and of the wanderings and pilgrimages of the soul. Visual imagery can also present to a single view, for purposes of meditation or memorization, extensive bodies of thought and teaching. Such images are often diagrams or charts that serve as mnemonic devices, teaching aids, or prompts for visualization in meditation. This manner of imagery is able to condense a complex array of information into a single visual field and to serve as a graphic shorthand for referring to or recalling teachings.

Itinerant Buddhist teachers in Tibet and other Himalayan regions make use of diagrams like the Wheel of Existence **(a)**, in which are encoded in symbolic imagery and scenes the fundamental teachings of Buddhism as practiced by Tibetan followers. Nearly one meter high, the image serves as a teaching aid for explaining the cycle of life, the structure of the Buddhist cosmos, the forces of evil and good, and such essential doctrines as karma, rebirth and its causes, and the levels of rebirth.

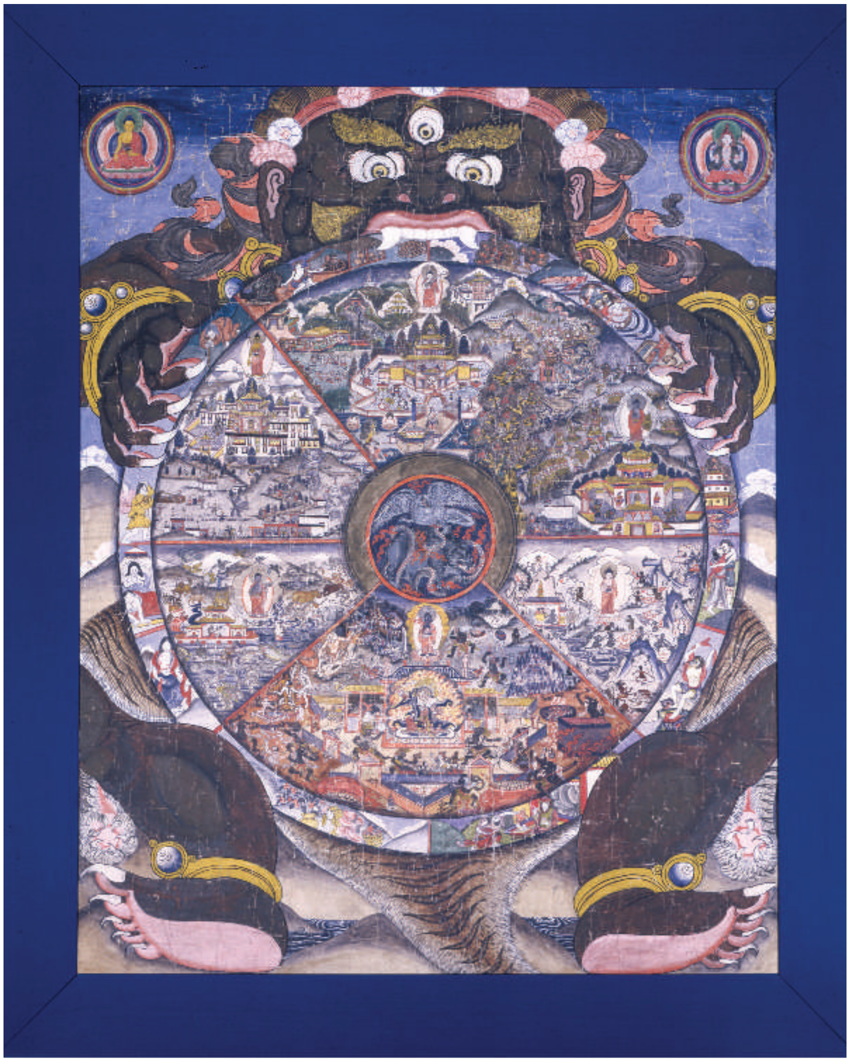

(a) A Tibetan cloth diagram of the Buddhist Wheel of Existence, from the eighteenth or early nineteenth century. *[©The Newark Museum/ Art Resource, N.Y.]*

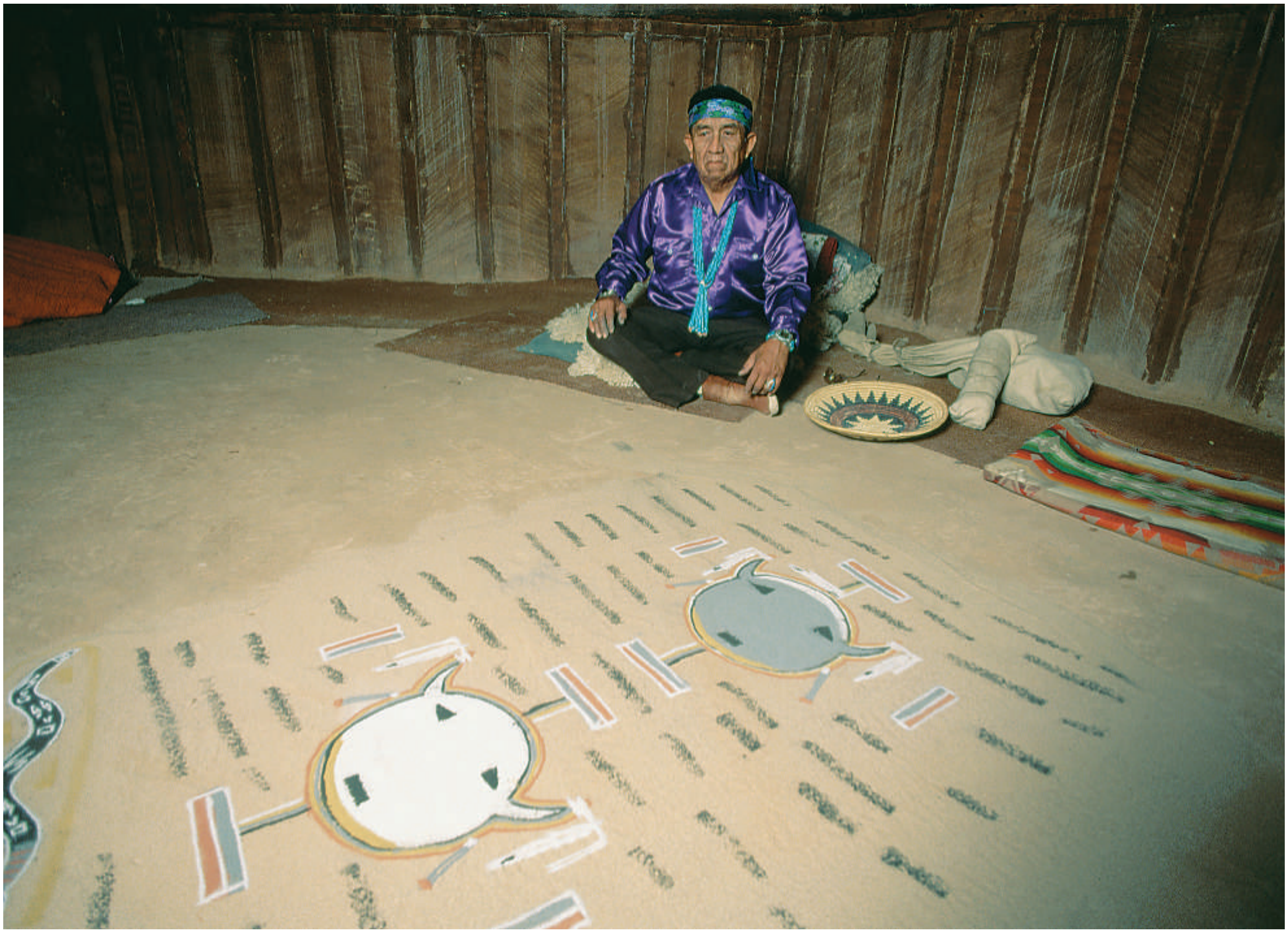

(b) Navajo medicine man Victor Begay with a sand painting he created for a healing ritual. *[©Arne Hodalic/Corbis]*

Other images reproduced here are cosmic maps created for various purposes. The Navajo sand painting **(b)** is a temporary device produced for the purpose of healing, fecundity, and the restoration of order. The diagram configures the ideal, balanced relations among natural forces and divine beings, which, when they slip into imbalance by human action, cause evil and ill health. The creation of the sand painting and its quick and ritual destruction bring about the resumption of cosmic balance and human well-being. A Daoist hanging scroll from China **(c)** also signifies the search for well-being conceived as balance and protection from evil. Zhenwu, the perfected warrior, is a savior figure who confronts evil on behalf of all souls by achieving the Dao's ideal balance of yin and yang, symbolized in the eight trigrams above the central figure. The rest of the image consists of seventy-two talismans, each of which is a star diagram with script that explains the particular protection against malevolence provided by each configuration.

Diagrams are an especially effective way of mapping a relationship between the scale of the human form and the corresponding macrocosm. The human body is transformed into a microcosm of larger forces. Robert Fludd's hermetic diagram **(d)** is an example of this graphic way of discerning occult relationships between the human form and the cosmic. The image conveys a prevailing sense of harmony among spiritual and material domains, described as a continuum that stretches from the divine (the Hebrew tetragramaton at the top) to the human body centered in the genitals. A different kind of diagram that represents in abstract linear form the embodied connection of different levels of the cosmos appears on many Olmec *celts* or stone axe heads that were illustrated and

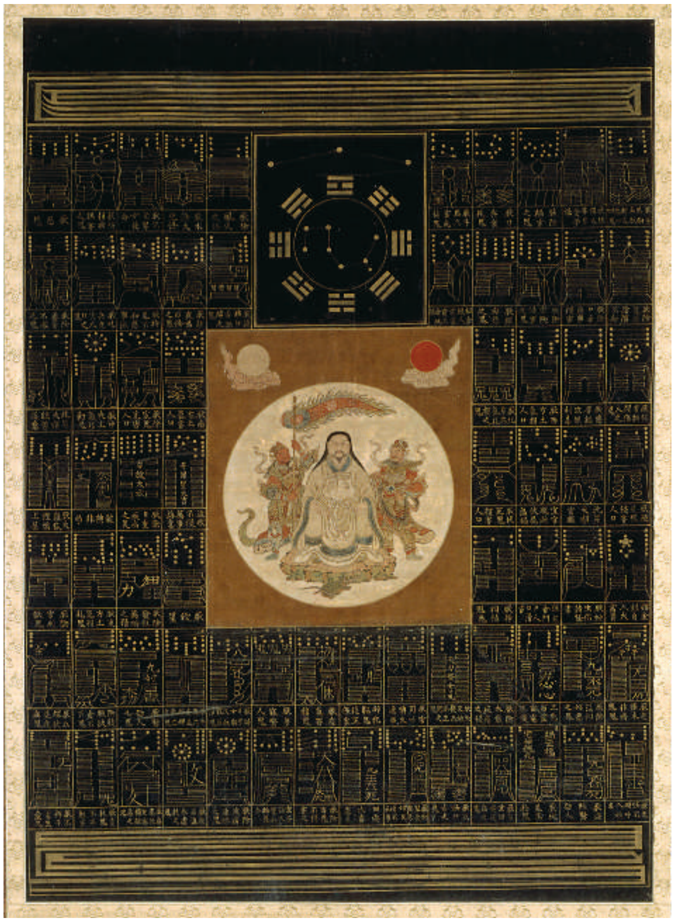

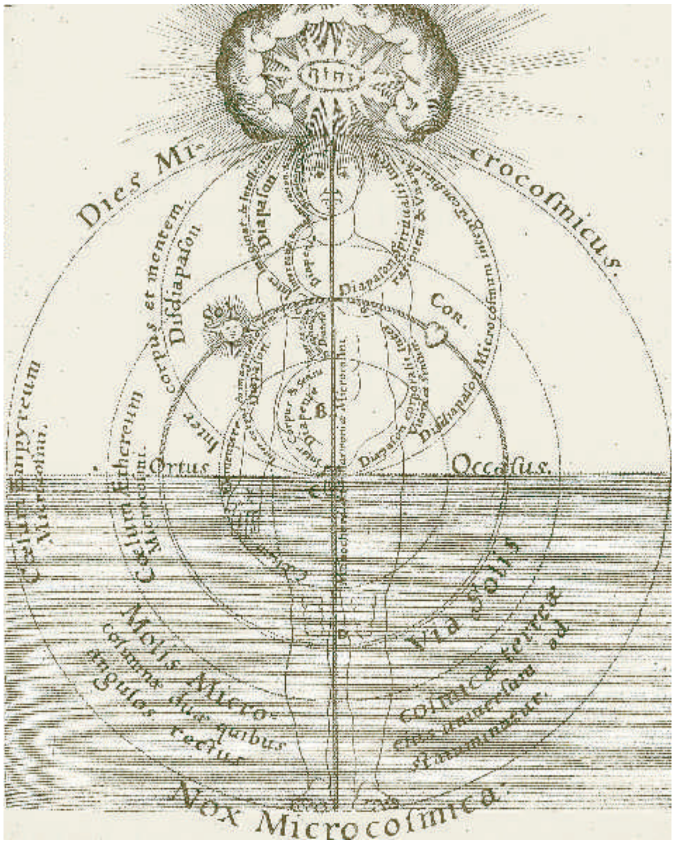

(c) ABOVE. Chinese hanging scroll depicting Zhenwu with the Eight Trigrams, the northern dipper, and talismans, Qing dynasty, seventeenth or early eighteenth century. ***[Russell Tyson Endowment, 1999.566; reproduction, The Art Institute of Chicago]*** **(d) LEFT.** *The Diapason Closing Full in Man*, an illustration from Robert Fludd's *The Macrocosm*, volume 1: *Metaphysics and Cosmic Origins* (1617). ***[The Granger Collection, New York]***

vertically displayed as the *axis mundi*, or vertical alignment of earth, sky, and underworld. *Celts* mounted on wooden handles were used to prepare land for crops. The figure on some *celts* represents a shaman applying the tools of his trade to effect travel to the different levels of the cosmos for the benefit of the *celt's* owner.

Diagrams are often thought to possess power of their own. Several examples appear here. The investment of arcane diagrams with power and hermetic significance clearly informs the Jewish mystical or qabbalistic symbols assembled on a single folio and portrayed with Hebrew script **(e)**, presumably to avoid the Bible's injunction against graven images, but also to charge the images with greater spiritual potency. The hand-shaped form, for instance, called *hamsa*, provides protection against the evil eye. The elaborate printed page dedicated to the rosary **(f)** offers 230 years off from the soul's time in purgatory (note

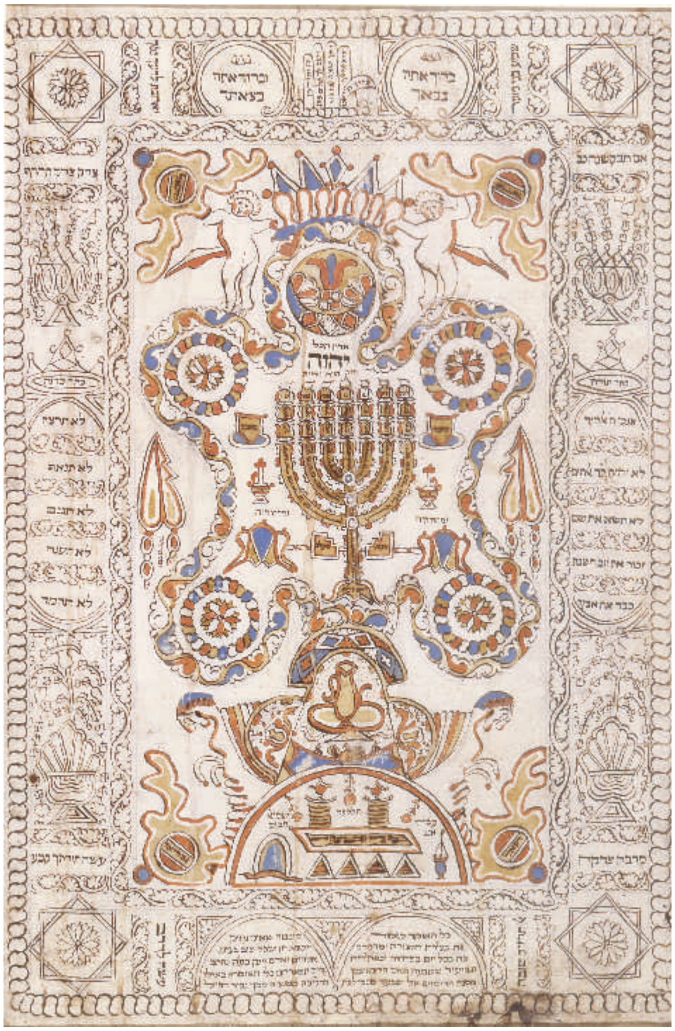

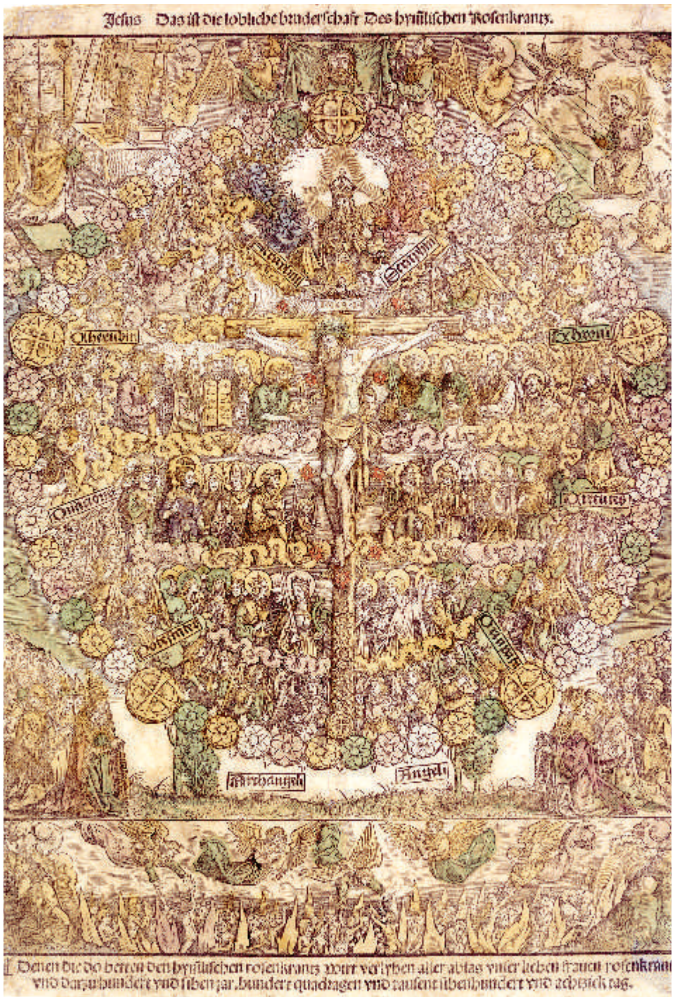

(e) ABOVE. A qabbalist print by Samuel Habib, used as a *mizrach*, an indicator of the direction toward Jerusalem, 1828. *[©The Jewish Museum, N.Y./Art Resource, N.Y.]* **(f) RIGHT.** Erhard Schön, *The Great Rosary*, hand colored woodcut. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920. (20.34.1) *[Photograph ©1997 The Metropolitan Museum of Art]* the angels snatching souls from flames at the bottom) for those who pray the rosary, prescribed and guided by the print's compacted gathering of heavenly hierarchies who form the "brotherhood of the rosary," that is, those celestial worthies to whom one joins one's devotion. The circle of colored roses signifies the different kinds of prayer and the number of repetitions to ensure the rosary's promised efficacy. A Hindu practice of combining a diagram or *yantra* with supplication is shown here **(g)**, where a woman is creating the image of a lotus bloom from rice flour on the floor of a temple, while she invokes a goddess to assist her search for a good husband. The elaborate diagram is understood to attract divine energy and enable beneficial contact. A similar linear intricacy characterizes the Native American dream catcher **(h)**, a delicate mesh of fiber stretched on a willow frame and hung above sleeping children to attract the ephemeral stuff of good dreams and filter out bad dreams.

Diagrams are perhaps most widely used as maps. Eighteenth-century Muslims could envision the organiza-

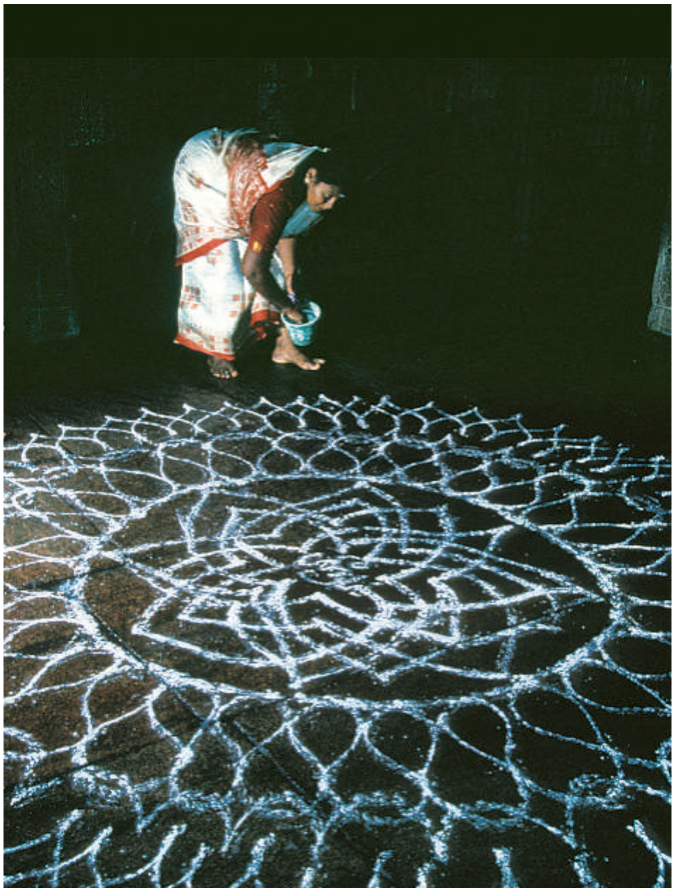

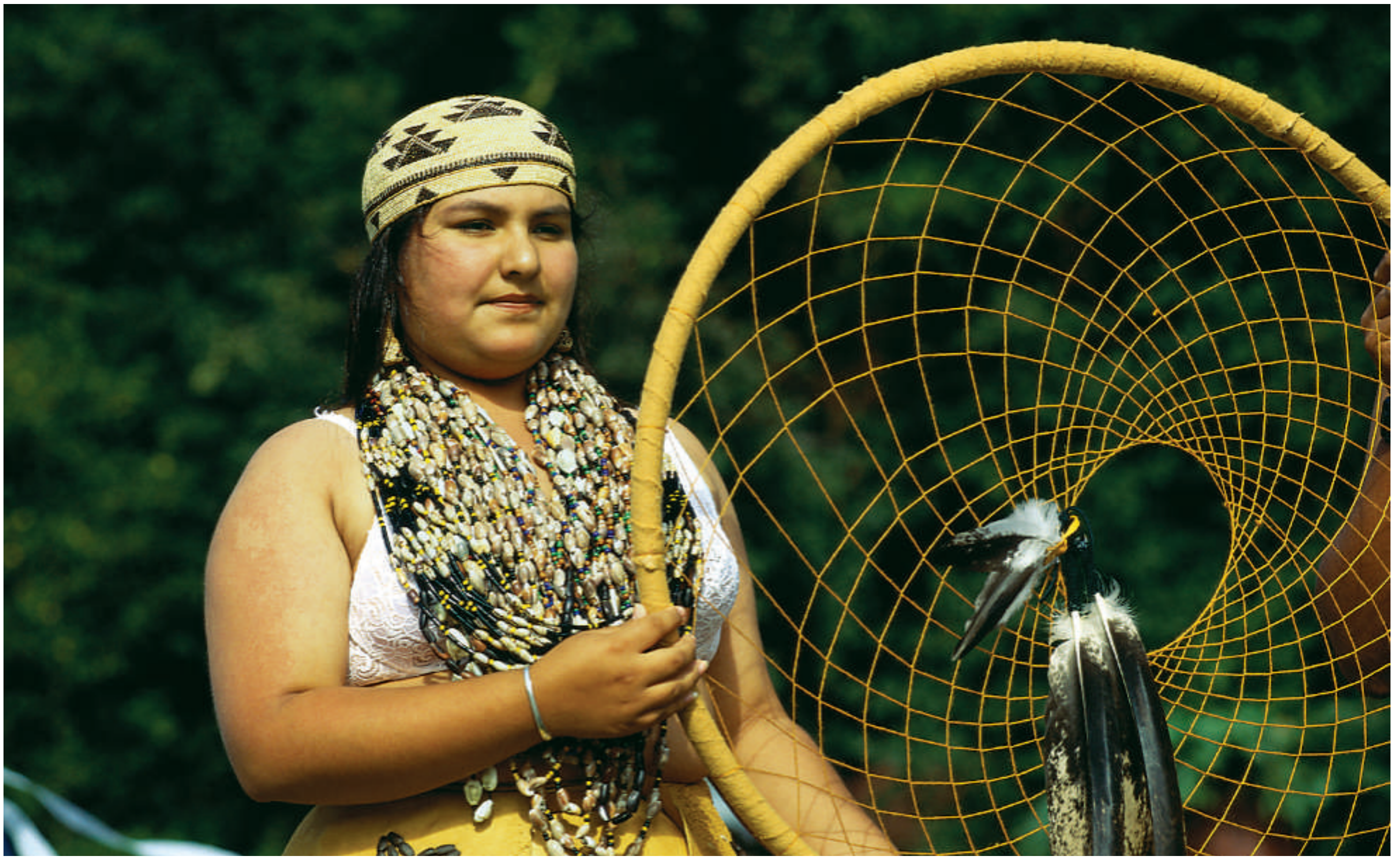

(g) RIGHT. An Indian woman creates a *yantra* of a lotus for aid in finding a good husband, Samayapuram, Tirchirappalli district, Tamil Nadu, India. *[©Photograph by Stephen P. Huyler]* **(h) BELOW.** A Yurok woman holds a dream catcher during the 1994 Salmon Festival in Klamath, California. *[©Catherine Karnow/Corbis]*

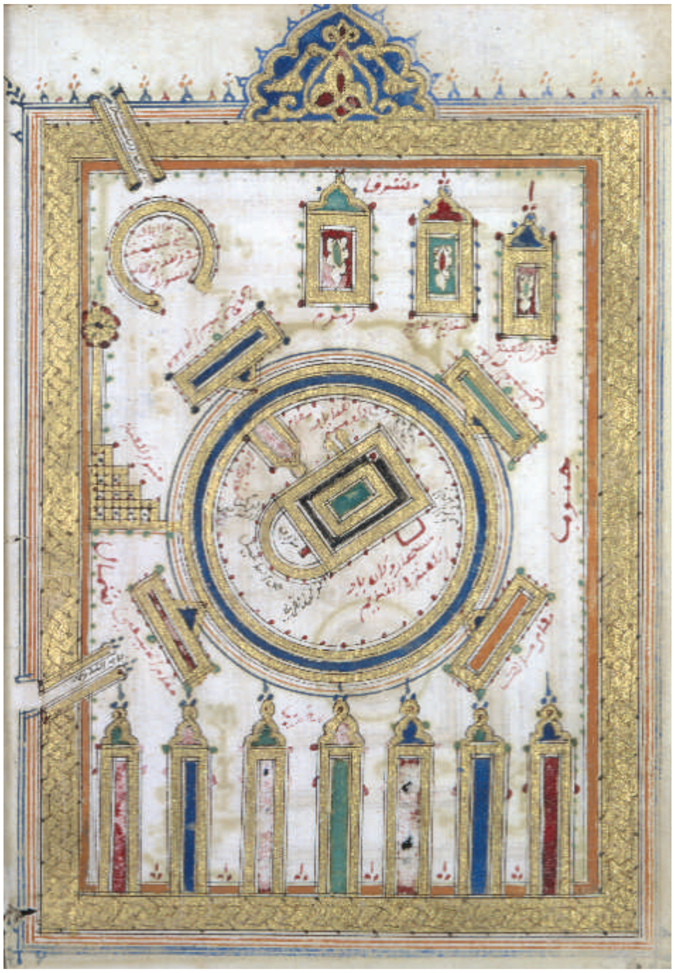

tion of the mosque in Mecca by the map **(i)** provided in manuscripts, showing the location of the Kaʿbah at the center and the entrances to the inner court of the mosque. Jains frequently used another kind of map found in stone relief in temples or painted portrayals. These structures present in highly symmetrical, concentric form the hall (*samavasaraṇa*) that is built by the gods for the delivery of a sermon by a Jina, one of twenty-four teachers who have achieved liberation from rebirth and gather monks and laity alike about them in order to teach the way to salvation. The image maps out the key ideas of Jainism, in particular tranquility (*santarasa*) and nonviolence (*ahiṃsā*), symbolized by the peaceful pairing of natural antagonists, such as the deer and tiger or the snake and mongoose.

Mapping the astral realm and the passage of time is perhaps one of the most universal uses for diagrammatic structures. Stonehenge **(j)** is a Neolithic structure whose functions included a precise coordination of astronomical events with human ritual. Tibetan lamas rely on astrological charts, such as the one reproduced here **(k)**, to consult

(i) **LEFT.** An eighteenth-century map of the Ḥaram Mosque in Mecca. *[©Giraudon/Art Resource, N.Y.]* **(j)** **BELOW.** Stonehenge, on Salisbury Plain in Wiltshire, England, constructed of sandstone and bluestone c. 2000 BCE. *[©Jason Hawkes/Corbis]* **(k)** **OPPOSITE.** Srid pa ho (Divination Chart), Tibet, late twentieth century, paint on cloth. Tibetan Collection, Asian Division (82). *[Library of Congress]*

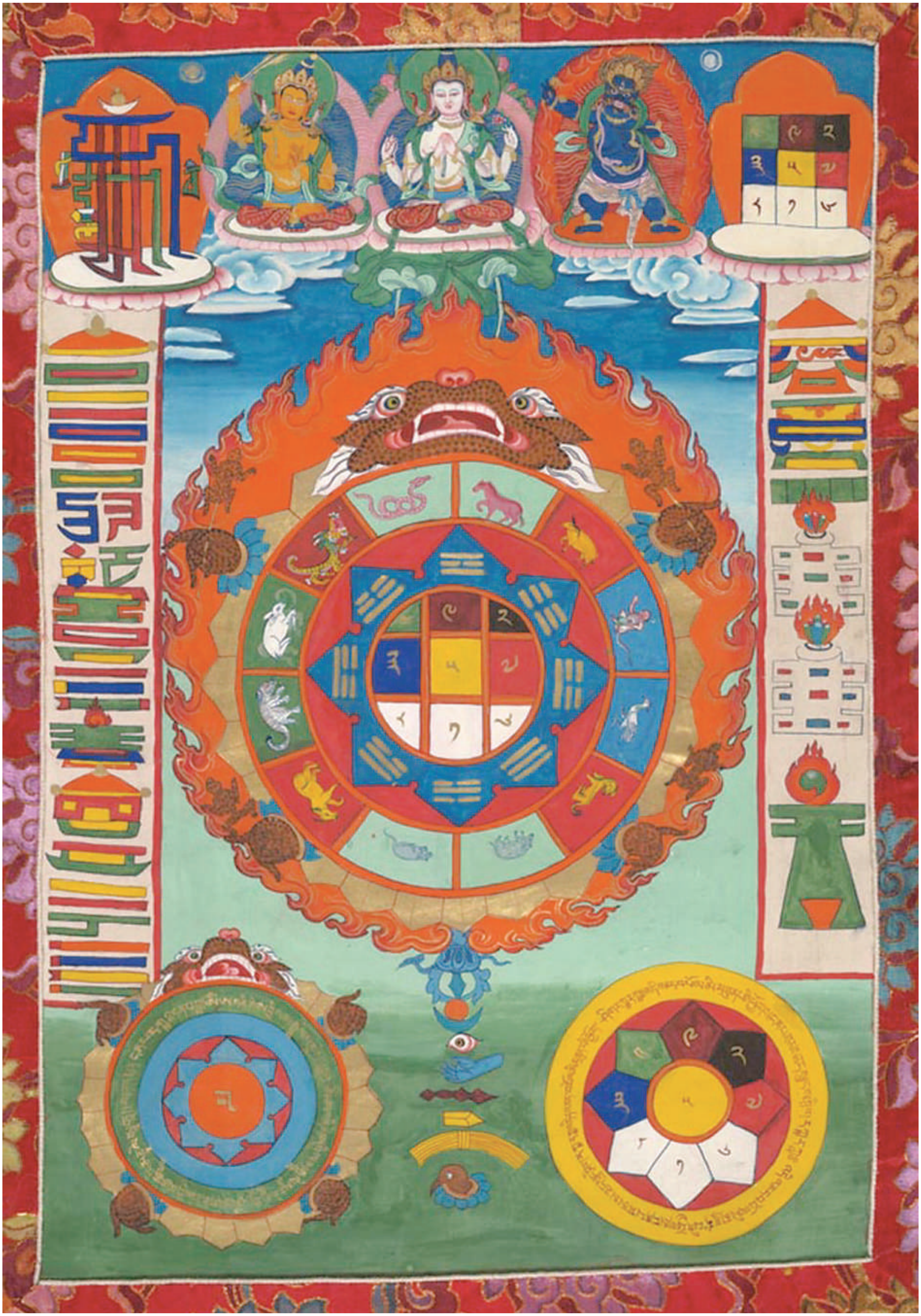

the horoscope of those undertaking a journey in order to determine an auspicious day for departure. The large Aztec stone diagram **(l)**, uncovered in Mexico City in 1790, is, according to recent study, a portrayal of an earth deity surrounded by depictions of the major periods of cosmic history. Outer circles represent cardinal directions and a calendrical system of notating recent Aztec history that affirmed the cosmic centrality of the Aztec empire and appears to have declared the importance of combat and human sacrifice as the destiny of the empire.

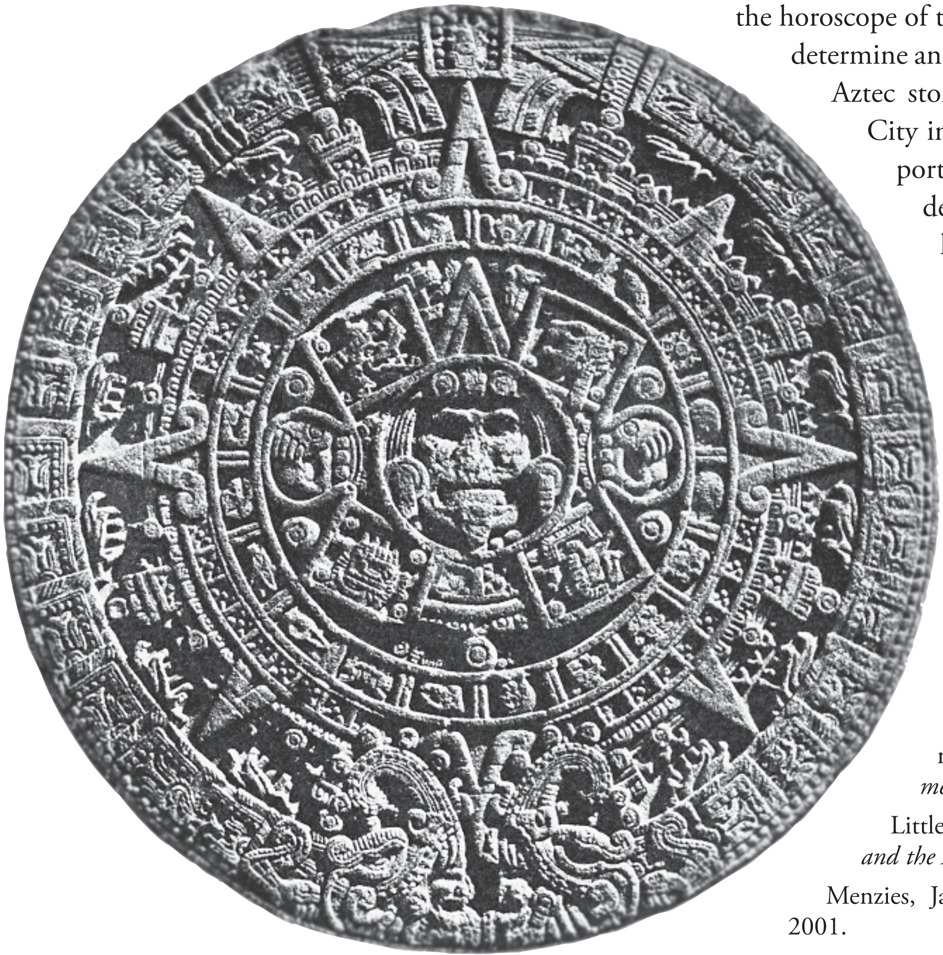

(l) Late-fifteenth-century Aztec sun or calendar stone depicting the Five Eras, Tenochtitlan, Mexico. ***[©Bettmann/Corbis]***

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DAVID MORGAN (2005)

C

CABALA See QABBALAH

CABASILAS, NICHOLAS

CABASILAS, NICHOLAS (c. 1322–1395), born Nicolaos Chamaetos Cabasilas; Greek Orthodox theologian and saint. A native of Thessalonica, Cabasilas studied there and in Constantinople. One of his teachers was his uncle Nilos Cabasilas, an adherent and successor of Gregory Palamas in the see of Thessalonica. Cabasilas served for ten years as counselor to the emperor John VI Cantacuzenos (1341–1354). In 1353 his name was put forward as a candidate for the patriarchal chair, although he was a layman. During the second half of his life, he resided in Constantinople, mostly in the monastery of Mangana, as a layman or as a monk, devoting himself to theological studies.

Gennadios Scholarios, the first patriarch after the fall of Constantinople, characterized Cabasilas's writings as "an ornament to the church of Christ." With an imposing style, apophthegmatic, prophetic, and poetical, he expresses genuine religious feeling and deep faith.

One of Cabasilas's most important works is *Interpretation of the Holy Liturgy*, a spiritual explanation of what is said and done during the Divine Liturgy, which he considers a real image of divine worship in heaven as well as of the earthly life of the incarnated God. In his thought the participation of the church in the sacraments (*mustēria*) is not symbolic, but real, as is the participation of the members of the body in the heart. By participating in the mysteries (i.e., the Body and Blood of Christ), the faithful do not incorporate these elements into the human body as they do other food; rather, the faithful themselves are incorporated into these elements. Human's union with Christ, soul with soul and body with body, brings complete peace, which makes the many one; disturbance makes the one many.

Cabasilas's second great work, *On the Life in Christ*, presents an anatomy of the spiritual life in the framework of the incarnation, repeated and continued in the sacraments of the church. Cabasilas's thought revolves around the fact of salvation through union

Clockwise from top left corner. Bronze of the Egyptian goddess Bastet, patron of Bubastis, as a cat, 713–332 BCE. Louvre, Paris. *[©Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Ninth-century Qurʾān written in Kufic script. Abbasid dynasty, Iraq. *[©Werner Forman/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; *Le Christ de l'Abbé Menasprov.* Louvre, Paris. *[©Giraudon/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Aztec calendar stone. *[©Bettmann/Corbis]*; Fifth-century CE silver Roman shield depicting Cybele in a chariot with Attis. Archaeological Museum, Milan. *[The Art Archive/Archaeological Museum Milan/Dagli Orti]* .

with God. The destination of humankind from the moment of its creation to the end of its history is this: union with God.

For Cabasilas, the distinguishing property of God is goodness. God is good in an excelling way, and the nature of good is to pour itself out and be distributed. Thus humankind is created good from the beginning, both Godlike and Christ-like, with the purpose of being united with God in the future. The incarnate Word of God encounters a Godlike kernel in each human being and from this encounter a new life springs, which leads to perfection in life in Christ. Perfection is the supreme and complete gift of God. All things have been made for perfection.

The present world is in the process of giving birth to the inner person, who is molded and formed in the present life, but who is born only in the future world. The moment of transition is the most delightful of visions. "Christ descends from heaven to earth brilliantly, the earth raises up other suns toward the sun of justice. All is full of light" (*Life in Christ* 6.16).

In 1983 Cabasilas was canonized a saint of the Greek Orthodox church and his feast fixed on June 20. His writings are widely read in many languages.

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Panagiotis C. Christou (1987)
Translated from Greek by Philip M. McGhee

CABTILLATION See CHANTING

CAIN AND ABEL, the first two sons of Adam and Eve, the progenitors of the race according to the Bible, after their banishment from the garden of Eden (*Gn.* 4). Cain (Heb., Qayin), the elder, was a farmer; Abel (Heb., Hevel) was a shepherd. The biblical text jumps from their birth to a later episode when both made (apparently votary) offerings to the Lord: Cain presented a meal offering of his fruits and grains, while Abel offered up the firstlings of his sheep. The offering of Cain was rejected by the Lord, and that of Abel was accepted. No reason for this is given, and generations of pious attempts to justify this event have been made by contrasting the intentions of the donors and the nature and quality of their donations. Cain's despondency led to a divine caution to resist the temptation to sin (*Gn.* 4: 6–7); presumably this refers to the jealous urges and hostile resentments Cain felt. But the elder brother was overwrought and killed his brother in the field. This led to the punishment of Cain: like his father, he would not farm a fertile earth; and, like him, he would be banished "eastward of Eden." Fearing further retribution, Cain was given a protective "sign," whose aspect delighted the fancy in later legends and art. There is a deliberate reuse of the language of the temptation and punishment of Adam and Eve (*Gn.* 3) in the ensuing account of the temptation and punishment of Cain (*Gn.* 4: 1–17).

The murder of Abel by Cain in *Genesis* 4: 1–17 is the first social crime recorded in the Bible, and it complements on the external level the inner temptation and misuse of will depicted in similar language in *Genesis* 3. The tradition of Cain's act of murder and his subsequent punishment is followed by a genealogical list that presents him as the progenitor of several culture heroes. His son, Enoch, founded the first city (*Gn.* 4: 18); and two other descendants, Jubal and Tubalcain, were respectively named the cultural ancestors of "all who play the lyre and the pipe" (*Gn.* 4: 21) and those "who forged all implements of copper and iron" (*Gn.* 4: 22). There is thus an anachronistic blending of Cain, whose name means "smith," with an ancient agricultural forebear. In so presenting Cain as the ancestor of technology and culture, the tradition displays a pessimistic attitude toward such achievements (complementing the attitude taken in the tower of Babel episode, in *Genesis* 10: 1–9) and shows a profound psychological insight into the energies and drives that underlie civilization. The episode of *Genesis* 4: 1–17 may reflect an old literary motif of debates between farmers and herdsmen as well as the fairly universal theme of fraternal pairs who represent contrasting psychological and cultural types.

Early rabbinic interpretation drew forth various elements of the story for moral and theological emphasis. The Midrash elaborates the psychology of fraternal strife (*Genesis Rabbah* 22.7), depicts Cain's impious rejection of divine justice when his offering is rejected but also notes his act of repentance in the end (*Gn. Rab.* 11.13), and shows the cycle of violence that was unleashed by Cain's act, since this deed led to his accidental death at the hands of his descendant Lamech who, in grief, accidentally killed his own son as well (*Gn.* 4: 23–24). Early Christian tradition focused on Abel as the head of a line of prophets who were killed (*Mt.* 23: 25) and emphasized his innocent blood (cf. *Heb.* 12: 24); thus they set the framework for the typology that related Abel's innocent death to that of Jesus and saw Cain as representing the children of the devil (*1 Jn.* 3: 12). For Augustine, Cain was furthermore identified with the Jews. The topos of Cain and Abel recurs in the medieval mystery plays, and the murder of Abel was a common iconographic motif in Christian and Jewish art.

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CAITANYA. For half a millennium, Caitanya has been revered by millions of Hindus, especially in eastern India, as a unique human manifestation of the divine Kṛṣṇa. He is understood to be Kṛṣṇa come to bestow devotion *(bhakti)* and salvation *(uddhāra/nistāra)* upon even the lowliest of persons, while combining in himself the fair complexion and devotional sentiments of Rādhā, his divine mistress. *Caitanya* is a popular shortened form of *Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya* (whose consciousness is of Kṛṣṇa), the religious name taken at his ascetic initiation *(saṃnyāsa)* by Viśvambhara Miśra (1486–1533), an ecstatic devotee and Vaiṣṇava revivalist. To his devotees, Caitanya is the paradigm of an emotionally intense, loving devotion *(prema-bhakti)* to Kṛṣṇa—which humans may aspire to emulate while never reaching the perfection of their divine/human exemplar. He is also the object of their devout adoration, affirmed to be God, Kṛṣṇa, appearing within recent human history to establish loving devotion as the religious norm *(yuga-dharma)* of the current degenerate era, the *kaliyuga* (Kali age).

LIFE. Viśvambhara (i.e., Caitanya) was born/appeared at the onset of a lunar eclipse on the full moon day of Phālgun month, February 27, 1486, at Navadvip town, the center of Sanskrit learning in then Muslim-ruled Bengal. The second son of a Vaiṣṇava Brāhmaṇ, Jagannātha Miśra, and his wife Śacī, he became a Sanskrit *paṇḍit,* married Lakṣmī, and, after her untimely death, wed Viṣṇupriyā. At the age of twenty-two, he journeyed to Gaya to perform post-funeral rites *(śrāddha)* for his late father and first wife. While there, he was overwhelmed by devotion to Kṛṣṇa and promptly took initiation *(dīkṣā)* from a Vaiṣṇava gurū, Īśvara Purī. He returned to Navadvip overflowing with eagerness to spread devotion to Kṛṣṇa.

Viśvambhara's charismatic proselytizing led him to be readily hailed by the Vaiṣṇavas of Navadvip as their leader. For about a year, he led devotional singing, acted in devotional dramas, and even challenged the Muslim authorities by leading *saṃkīrtana* (collective religious chanting) processions through Navadvip. His behavior, both when in normal consciousness and when in ecstatic states, suggested to his followers that he was in some way God, Hari (i.e., Kṛṣṇa), manifesting himself in human guise. His engrossing passion for *bhakti* to Kṛṣṇa brought an end to his career as *paṇḍit* and soon culminated in renunciation of domestic life while still childless. He received ascetic initiation from Keśava Bhāratī in February 1510, when he took the name Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya.

Soon after taking *saṃnyāsa,* Caitanya went to the Jagannāth (Kṛṣṇa) deity (i.e., sacred image) in his great temple at Puri in Orissa. For several years, he traveled intermittently throughout India meeting adherents of diverse religious orientations—appealing all the while for devotion to Kṛṣṇa. His longest journey was through South India, toward the beginning of which he met Rāmānanda Rāya, whose spiritual sensibilities were remarkably akin to his own. It was Rāmānanda who first declared Caitanya to be not simply Kṛṣṇa, but Kṛṣṇa combined with Rādhā. A subsequent journey toward the Vraja region—locale of Mathura and Vrindavan—via Bengal was cut short after Caitanya began attracting large crowds. Caitanya subsequently did make the much-desired journey to Vraja via wooded tracts of Orissa, where he spread devotion to Kṛṣṇa among tribal peoples. While in Vraja, he visited traditional sites of Kṛṣṇa's birth, childhood, and youthful pastimes *(līlās),* and is said to have discovered still other sites.

From 1516 Caitanya remained at Puri, where he worshiped Jagannātha, engaged in his private devotions, and counseled disciples. The latter included prominent devotees from Bengal who would make an annual pilgrimage for the Jagannātha Chariot Festival *(ratha yātrā)* in June and remain with Caitanya for the duration of the rainy season. In his later years, Caitanya underwent intense and prolonged devotional states, often turbulent and ecstatic, pained by the sense of separation *(viraha)* from Kṛṣṇa. Among those who cared for him during these tormented years was Svarūpa Dāmodara, whose "notes" *(kaḍacā),* based on his intimate observations of and communication with Caitanya, had a crucial role in shaping the Vaiṣṇava theology being developed by the Gosvāmins (pastors) whom Caitanya had earlier directed to settle in and around Vrindavan. There is no confirmed report of the circumstances of his death/disappearance at Puri in the month of Āṣāṛh (possibly July 9) in 1533. But one early biographer, Jayānanda, mentions an injury that became septic. Vaiṣṇava tradition affirms his merging with the Jagannātha deity.

There are several extant accounts in Sanskrit and in Bengali of Caitanya's life and mission composed within eighty years of his passing. The earliest is the Sanskrit *Kṛṣṇa-caitanya-caritāmṛta* by a childhood friend and adult disciple, Murāri Gupta. The most informative are Vṛndāvanadāsa's *Caitanya-bhāgavata* (c. 1548; in Bengali) and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (c. 1612; also in Bengali but containing many Sanskrit verses). As remarked by Edward C. Dimock Jr. and Tony K. Stewart in their introduction to the former's definitive translation of this masterpiece of Caitanya Vaiṣṇava literature, "it is far more than a simple biography; it is a compendium of historical fact, religious legend, and abstruse theology so complete and blended in such proportions that it is the definitive work of the religious group called Vaiṣṇava, since the time of Caitanya the most significant single religious group in all of eastern India" (1999, p. 3).

Caitanya himself, though he inspired men of great learning and piety to compose a massive corpus of Sanskrit texts, may have left at most eight Sanskrit stanzas, including the following (in Dimock's translation):

> He who knows himself as humbler than the grass, who is more forbearing than a tree, who feels no pride but gives honor to other men, he should practice always the Hari-*kīrtana.* (3:20:Sl. 5) He may crush my breasts in embracing me, a slave to his feet, he may destroy my heart by not appearing to me, he may be a libertine wherever he wants, but still he is the lord of my heart, and there is no other. (3:20:Sl. 10)

THEOLOGY. Caitanya's conception of God and humankind—as elaborated by the theologians he inspired and guided—is grounded in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa.* The divine is understood to have three modes, in order of ascending ultimacy: *brahman* (conscious, but undifferentiated ground of being), *paramātman* (conscious divine soul indwelling all individual souls), and *bhagavān* (ultimate conscious reality, personal and possessed of all auspicious forms and qualities, encompassing and surpassing *brahman* and *paramātman*). Kṛṣṇa is understood to be the quintessential *bhagavān (*"*Kṛṣṇas tu svayam Bhagavān*"*; Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1:3:28).

Human souls *(jīvas)* are minute emanations, paradoxically different and yet not different *(acintyabhedābheda)* from their divine source. A soul undergoes rebirth unless and until by divine mercy *(kṛpā)* it realizes its true nature as devoted servant of Kṛṣṇa. In the present degenerate age, Kṛṣṇa appears in the merciful guise of Caitanya to promulgate a simpler, universally accessible religious norm for the age, namely loving devotion to himself, evoked and expressed best through chanting his names *(nāmakīrtana).* In principle, all persons, and especially such disfavored classes as women, *śūdras,* and sinners, are eligible for *bhakti,* by which they may be delivered from bondage to spiritual ignorance *(avidyā),* sin *(pāpa),* and rebirth *(saṃsāra).* Devout souls may imitate the roles and sentiments displayed by Kṛṣṇa's eternal companions: his servants, parents, friends, and lovers, who are depicted in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and other Vaiṣṇava texts. The goal of human life is to enter into eternal communion with Kṛṣṇa and his divine and human companions, to participate with them in his transcendent pastimes, expressive of loving devotion.

The myriad theological works in Sanskrit by the Gosvāmins whom Caitanya dispatched to Vrindavan include commentaries on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* by Sanātana (tenth canto) and Jīva (entire text); the *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* and *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi,* two reference anthologies by Rūpa Gosvāmin illustrating devotional dramatic theory *(bhakti-rasa-śāstra);* inspirational dramas and poems by Rūpa Gosvāmin, Raghunāthadāsa, and others; a liturgical-cum-disciplinary manual, *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa,* by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa and Sanātana; Sanātana's *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta,* a "pilgrim's progress" of a devout soul in search of ever more favored modes of devotion and ever more intimate self-disclosures of the divine; and the *Ṣaṭ-sandarbha* (or *Bhāgavata-sandarbha*), a *summa* of Vaiṣṇava theology and philosophy by Jīva (based on a prior outline by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa).

INFLUENCE. Caitanya and the movement (often called Gauḍīya or Bengali Vaiṣṇava) of which he was the fervent catalyst spread devotion to Kṛṣṇa throughout Bengal, Orissa, and Vraja and to a lesser extent Assam, with scattered circles of devotees elsewhere in India. Restoration and popularization of sites sacred to Kṛṣṇa in the Vraja region owed much to the zeal of Caitanya and his disciples. Vernaculars of eastern India, especially Bengali, are far the richer for a host of original sacred biographies and hagiographies plus songs, poems, and other Vaiṣṇava compositions; and for numerous vernacular translations and adaptations based on Sanskrit texts treating Kṛṣṇa, Caitanya, or Vaiṣṇava *bhakti.* Bengali culture as a whole, including its non-Vaiṣṇava Hindu and even Muslim sectors and as refracted through modern creative figures such a Rabindranath Tagore, has been influenced profoundly by the symbolism, ethos, values, and sensibilities of Caitanya's humane and emotionally and aesthetically refined devotion to God as Kṛṣṇa. Even practitioners of transgressive Tantric yoga—the hybrid Vaiṣṇava-Sahajiyās, many of whom sang Vaiṣṇava lyrics—have claimed to share in the heritage of Caitanya.

Through the ministering of certain of Caitanya's married associates (also called Gosvāmins), notably the egalitarian Nityānanda and the more elitist Advaita Ācārya and their descendants, as well as Vaiṣṇava ascetics, the majority of Bengali Hindus in the middle castes and considerable numbers in the upper and lower castes had come to identify themselves religiously as Vaiṣṇava in the tradition of Caitanya by the time of British Indian ethnographic and census reports. Even so, Caitanya Vaiṣṇava prestige was on the wane in urban Bengal by the late nineteenth century, despite the efforts of many to revitalize, reform, and modernize the tradition. Notable among these modernizers was Kedarnath Datta (Bhaktivinode Thakur, 1838–1914), a deputy magistrate of *kāyastha* caste. He wrote numerous Vaiṣṇava texts, launched a vigorous revitalization campaign, and sought to make traditional Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya *bhakti* comprehensible to his rationalist contemporaries in Calcutta and elsewhere. His son, Bimalprasad Datta (Bhaktisiddhanta Sarasvati, 1874–1937), founded the Gauḍīya Maṭh, a pan-Indian network of monastic communities and temples centered in Calcutta and Sri Mayapur (adjacent to modern Navadvip) and dedicated to preaching and publishing about Caitanya Vaiṣṇava *bhakti.* One of Bhaktisiddhanta's disciples, Abhaycaran De (A. C. Bhaktivedanta, 1896–1977), inaugurated the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) in New York in 1966. Its several thousand devotees, mostly non-Indians, currently propagate devotion to Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya worldwide using modern means of communication combined with traditional chanting of the "great prayer" *(mahā-mantra):* "Hare Krishna, Hare Krishna, Krishna, Krishna, Hare, Hare; Hare Rāma, Hare Rāma, Rāma, Rāma, Hare, Hare."

SEE ALSO Bengali Religions; International Society for Krishna Consciousness; Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇaism; Rādhā.

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CAKRAS. Literally meaning a circle, wheel, or discus, the Sanskrit term *cakra* plays a key role in both Hindu and Buddhist traditions, particularly in their more esoteric Tantric forms. The term has several uses in various forms of yogic and Tantric practice. Thus cakra may refer to the circle of worship in which a particular ritual is conducted—for example, the highly esoteric *cakra pūjā* of Hindu Tantric rituals, usually performed in the dead of night in a cremation ground, involving practices that deliberately violate traditional laws of class distinctions and purity. Cakras may also refer to circular diagrams used in meditation and the worship of such specific deities as the famous Śri Cakras or Śri Yantra images associated with the goddess Tripurāsundarī.

In Hindu and Buddhist yogic practice, however, cakra has a more specific meaning. In these traditions it refers to the spiritual energy centers believed to lie within the human subtle body (*sukṣma śarīra*). The subtle body in the yogic tradition is the immaterial aspect of the living being that lies between its gross physical form and its divine spiritual essence. This subtle organism is comprised of a complex network of arteries (*nāḍīs*, usually numbered at seventy-two thousand), knots (*granthis*), and energy centers (cakras), which correspond only roughly to the arteries and organs of the physical body. The cakras are often imagined not just as wheels but also as lotus blossoms with varying numbers of petals and even in some traditions as ponds connected by an internal network of rivers.

The most widely known list of cakras in the early twenty-first century is the sixfold system, which identifies six energy centers located along the spinal column from the base of the spine to the eyebrows, with a seventh supreme cakra at the crown of the head. This sixfold list, however, is by no means the only or oldest one; it became standardized only after the publication of a translation of one relatively late text, the *Ṣaṭ-cakra-nirūpaṇa*, by Sir John George Woodroffe in 1919. The historical origin of the cakras as inner centers of subtle energy is not entirely clear. Some scholars believe that the cakras are derived from circular arrays of powerful goddesses who were originally represented externally in temples and ritual diagrams but were then gradually internalized and identified with energy centers within the body (White, 2003, p. 222). The earliest-known accounts of cakras as inner circles of energy actually come from an eighth-century Buddhist text, the *Hevajra Tantra*, which identifies four cakras in the body at the navel, heart, throat, and head respectively. These cakras are in turn identified with four geographical sites (*pīṭhas*) in India regarded as sacred to the Great Goddess, Devi or Śakti. The classic group of six cakras emerged slowly; not until the ninth or tenth century, in works like the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, does one find an identifiable system of six energy centers called cakras. Other yogic traditions, however, added a variety of other cakras, some listing as many as twelve.

According to the well-known sixfold system, the name and location of the cakras is as follows:

1. the *mūlādhāra*, located between the anus and the genitals, imagined as a lotus with four petals;
2. the *svādhiṣṭhānā* at the root of the genitals, with six petals;
3. the *maṇipūra* at the navel, with ten petals;
4. the *anāhata* at the heart, with twelve petals;
5. the *viśuddha* at the throat, with sixteen petals;
6. the *ājñā* between the eyebrows, with two petals.

Above these six lies a seventh and ultimate cakra, the *sahasrāra*, imagined as a thousand-petaled lotus that serves as the divine seat of Lord Śiva. Each of the cakras is also in turn enmeshed in a complex network of correspondences and is identified with a particular color, shape, element, cosmic principle, sacred syllable, and deity.

The aim of yogic practice is to awaken the divine creative energy believed to lie within every human body. This energy is imagined in the form of a coiled serpent or *kuṇḍalinī*, which represents the microcosmic presence of the divine power (*śakti*) of the goddess within each of us. When this energy is awakened through meditation, it can be made to rise upward through the body, where it successively penetrates the six cakras and awakens the various powers associated with each one. Finally, when it reaches the *sahasrāra* cakra at the crown of the head, the yogi experiences the supreme union of the divine male and female principles—Lord Śiva and the Goddess Śakti —within his or her own body.

Although the cakras do not exist as physically measurable entities in the material body, they do correspond to particular psychological states and levels of consciousness. Their opening in turn leads to "mental transformation and the opening of the psyche to hitherto inaccessible levels of consciousness" (Kakar, 1988, p. 187). On the other hand, the malfunctioning of the cakras may also lead to a variety of mental and physical problems. For example, a disorder in the *svādhiṣṭhāna* cakra at the base of the genitals can produce delusion, infatuations, and sexual disturbances among other ills (Kakar, 1998, p. 188).

One of the more remarkable figures in modern history to describe his experience of the cakras was the great Bengali holy man Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa (1836–1886). According to Ramakrishna, the lower three cakras associated with the anus, the sexual organs, and the navel correspond primarily to the instinctual levels of consciousness, namely greed and desire. The higher cakras, however, relate to the transcendent states of consciousness found in the heart, in mystical experience, and finally in "complete absorption in the mystic-erotic union of Śiva and Śakti" (Kripal, 1988, p. 44). As Ramakrishna described the awakening of the highest cakra, it is a state of pure ecstatic annihilation in union with the divine: "When the *kuṇḍalinī* comes here there is *Samādhi* [meditative absorption]. In this *sahasrāra,* Śiva, full of *sat* [Being] *cit* [Consciousness] and *ānanda* [Bliss], resides in union with Śakti . . . . In *Samādhi* nothing external remains. One cannot even take care of his body any more; if milk is put into his mouth, he does not swallow. If he remains for twenty-one days in this condition, he is dead" (Dimock, 1966, p. 178). For Ramakrishna then, the awakening of the seven cakras suggests that there is no rigid separation of the physical and spiritual or the sexual and transcendent dimensions of consciousness. Rather, the higher and lower cakras lie on a continuum in which "mystical union and sexual experience are different wavelengths of the same energetic spectrum" (Kripal, 1998, pp. 45–46). Through the techniques of yoga and meditation, sexual energy itself can be transformed into mystical experience, greed and desire into spiritual ecstasy.

In the early twenty-first century the cakras and techniques of awakening them are found not only in esoteric Tantric traditions but are also more widely dispersed throughout other Indian yogic practices. They have also made their way to the West and are now a regular feature in much of New Age and other alternative forms of spirituality across Europe and the United States.

SEE ALSO Kuṇḍalinī; Maṇḍalas, article on Hindu Maṇḍalas; New Age Movement; Ramakrishna; Tantrism, overview article; Yantra; Yoga.

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CAKRASAMVARA. The term *Cakrasamvara,* "the binding of the wheels," designates both a Buddhist scripture and also the *maṇḍala* that it describes, which is the abode of a host of deities centering around the divine couple Śrīheruka and Vajravārāhi. The text, the *Cakrasamvara Tantra,* is also known as the *Śriheruka-abhidhāna* (The discourse of Śrīheruka) and the *Laghusamvara (Samvara* light), a name it earned because it is a short text of approximately seven hundred Sanskrit stanzas. It was composed in India during the mid-to-late eighth century, and it quickly became one of the most important Indian Buddhist Tantras, as evidenced by the large number of commentaries and associated ritual literature that it inspired. Like most Tantras, it is primarily a ritual text, dedicating most of its fifty-one chapters to the description of rites such as the production of the *maṇḍala* and the consecration ceremonies performed within it, as well as various other ritual actions such as *homa* fire sacrifices, enchantment with *mantras,* and so forth. It is a rather cryptic text, one which never gives sufficient information for the performance of these rituals and that often obscures crucial elements, particularly the *mantras,* which the text typically present in reverse order or in codes via an elaborate scheme in which both the vowels and consonants are coded by number.

The *Cakrasamvara Tantra* is classified by Buddhists as a Yoginī or Mother Tantra, a designation that reflects the focus of the text upon female deities, who constitute a significant majority of the deities in the tradition's main *maṇḍala.* It also reflects a focus on practices that, in a Buddhist monastic context at least, were deemed transgressive, such as sexual yogic practices as well as animal sacrifice and apparently even anthropophagy. Another characteristic of texts of this genre is an influence from non-Buddhist, particularly Śaiva, sources, as is most notable in the appearances of the deities themselves, who are quite similar to fierce Hindu deities such as Bhairava and Kālī. This reflects the complex origins of the text, which probably was inspired by teachings and practices of the loosely organized groups of "accomplished ones" (*siddha*), male and female practitioners of yoga who, generally speaking, do not seem to have had strongly defined religious identities. Their teachings, and the texts derived from them, seem to have been an important influence on the development of both Buddhist and Hindu Tantric traditions. The *Cakrasamvara Tantra* was particularly influenced by quasi-heretical Śaiva groups such as the Kāpālikas, who were infamous for their transgressive practices, that is, their employment of violence, meat eating, intoxicants, and sexuality as key elements of their spiritual practice.

According to the myths constructed to account for the origin of the Cakrasamvara tradition, the undeniable similarity between the Cakrasamvara deities and practices and those of their Śaiva competitors is not accidental, but a direct result of the "historical" revelation of the tradition. While there are several versions of the myth, all agree that this revelation was triggered by the takeover by Śaiva deities of twenty-four sacred sites scattered across the Indian subcontinent. There, they engaged in transgressive practices such as wanton sexuality and sacrifice of living beings. In order to put an end to their "misbehavior," the cosmic Buddha Mahāvajradhara, along with his retinue, assumed the appearance of these Śaiva deities and then subdued them, in the process transforming the Indian subcontinent into the Cakrasamvara *maṇḍala.* This myth reflects the mixed origins of the tradition and expresses a Buddhist awareness that one of their more important textual and ritual traditions shared more than superficial similarity with those upheld by rival Hindu groups.

By far the most important ritual element of the Cakrasamvara tradition is its *maṇḍala.* It is called the Three Wheeled, or *tricakra,* because its primary structural element is three wheels or concentric circles that are correlated both to the Triple World, or *trailokya,* of ancient Indian cosmology (that is, the heavens, earth, and underworlds) and to the three Buddhist psychophysical realms of body, speech, and mind. At the center of *maṇḍala,* in a palace atop the cosmic mountain, is Śrīheruka and Vajravārāhī in sexual embrace, surrounded by the Four Essence Yoginīs, Dākinī, Lāmā, Khaṇḍarohā and Rūpiṇī. They are in turn surrounded by the Three Wheels, three concentric Mind, Speech, and Body wheels, each of which has eight pairs of deities in sexual embrace, for a total of twenty-four couples, corresponding to the sacred sites. At the periphery of the wheels are eight fierce goddesses, who guard the *maṇḍala*'s gates and corners. This brings the total number of deities to sixty-two, thirty-seven of which are female. Lastly, artistic depictions of the maṇḍala usually show it as surrounded by the "eight great charnel grounds," inhabited by fearsome beasts and evil spirits.

This *maṇḍala* has been deployed in several important ways. It has been remapped across the Kathmandu Valley and Tibet, where many of the sites associated with the *maṇḍala* continue to be important pilgrimage places. Additionally, it is also mapped onto the human body, with the pilgrimage sites and associated deities linked to various parts of of the body. In the contemplative "body *maṇḍala*" practice, the adept visualizes the *maṇḍala* within her or his body, which is seen as a microcosmic version of the universe in its ideal form, as the pure abode of the *maṇḍala* deities. These practices helped ensure the successful transmission of the Cakrasamvara tradition to Nepal, Tibet, and Mongolia, where it is still practiced today.

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CAKRAVARTIN is a Sanskrit noun referring to an ideal universal king who rules ethically and benevolently over the entire world. Derived from the Sanskrit *cakra,* "wheel," and *vartin,* "one who turns," the term *cakravartin* (Pali, *cakkavatti*) in classical Hindu texts signifies that all-powerful monarch "whose chariot wheels turn freely" or "whose travels are unobstructed." Such a ruler's unsurpassed and virtuous rule is described as *sarvabhauma*; it pertains to all creatures everywhere. Buddhist and Jain literatures describe their enlightened founders (the Buddha or Buddhas and the *tīrthaṅkara*s, respectively) in similar terms, the notion being that religious truth transcends local or national limitations and applies to all people everywhere. This idea is particularly evident in Buddhist oral and scriptural traditions, which frequently refer to Gautama as a *cakravāla cakravartin*, an illuminator of *dharma* (life in adherence to compassionate truth) in all regions of the world. From the symbol of the turning wheel, a sign of universal sovereignty, comes the description of the Buddha as *dharmacakrapravartayati*, "he who sets the wheel of law in motion," and thus the name of his first sermon, *Dharmacakrapravartana Sūtra* (Pali, *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta*; The sūtra on the turning forth of the wheel of dharma), in which the Buddha presents his insights into the Four Noble Truths. After his death in 480 BCE, Gautama's followers cremated his body and enshrined his relics in a stupa, just as they would have done with a universal monarch.

HISTORY OF THE CAKRAVARTIN AS AN IMPERIAL IDEAL. The general South Asian notion that the king was to have extensive rule dates at least as far back as the high Vedic era (1200–800 BCE) and possibly to the centuries preceding. The Vedic ritual coronation of the king (Rājasūya), for example, was preceded by a ceremony in which a wild stallion was left to wander at will throughout the land for an entire year, at which time it was sacrificed in the important rite known as the Aśvamedha, and all of the territory it had covered in that year was held to be the king's domain. The actual term *cakra-*

vartin was known in the late fifth and early fourth centuries BCE by the compilers of the *Maitri Upaniṣad*, who used the noun when listing the names of several kings who had renounced their royal prerogatives in favor of the life of ascetic contemplation (*Maitri Upaniṣad* 1.4).

Direct discussions of the *cakravartin* as an imperial ideal appear as early as Kauṭilya's *Artha Śāstra* (c. 300 BCE), a court manual of polity, diplomacy, economy, and social behavior. In his descriptions of the range of an emperor's influence (*cakravarti-kśetra*), Kauṭilya notes that the king should undertake any task he feels will bring him and his people prosperity and that he should have power "from the Himalayas to the ocean." Kauṭilya may have had in mind the prestige and hopes of the first Mauryan king, Candragupta, who reigned from about 321 to 297 BCE and whom Kauṭilya reportedly served as chief minister. Candragupta was perhaps the first ruler to unify all of the lands from the shores of the southern tip of India to the Himalayas in the north and the Kabul Valley in the northwest. Edicts and other lessons inscribed on pillars and cliffs describe the last Mauryan king, Aśoka (d. 238 BCE?) as a *cakravartin* under whose patronage the Buddhist Dharma spread throughout South and Southeast Asia. Chroniclers in the courts of the Śātavāhana emperors (first to second centuries CE) similarly defined their kingdoms as that world extending from the eastern, southern, and western oceans to the mountains. The Guptas, too, viewed themselves as the rulers of empires. Skandha Gupta I, who reigned from 455 to 467 CE, for example, is depicted in the Janagadh inscriptions (dated mid-fifth century CE) as a leader whose rule was the entire earth bounded by the four oceans and within which thrive several smaller countries. The Western Cāḷlukyas (sixth to eighth and tenth to twelfth centuries) described themselves as the emperors of the lands between the three seas, while the Vijayanagara rulers (fourteenth to seventeenth centuries) labeled themselves the masters of the eastern, western, southern, and northern seas.

Thus the South Asian political imagination up to the seventeenth century generally included the ideal of a unified rule, and various kings have identified themselves as universal monarchs: hence the common royal titles *samrāj* ("supreme monarch," i.e., the one who rules over all princes and principalities), *rājādhirāja* ("king above kings"), *ekarāja* ("the only king"), *parama-bhaṭṭārka* ("most venerable lord"), *disampati* ("lord of the lands"), and *digvijayin* ("conqueror of the regions").

Buddhist and Jain literatures have distinguished three types of *cakravartin.* A *pradeśa cakravartin* is a monarch who leads the people of a specific region and may be thought of as a local king. A *dvīipa cakravartin* governs all of the people of any one of the four continents (*dvīipas*, literally "islands") posited by ancient Indian cosmologies and is, accordingly, more powerful in the secular realm than the *pradeśa cakravartin.* Superior even to a *dvīipa cakravartin*, however, is the *cakravāla cakravartin*, the monarch who rules over all of the continents of the world. It is the political paramountcy of the *cakravāla cakravartin* with which the Buddha's religious supremacy is compared.

Religious Dimensions of the Cakravartin Ideal. The source of the image of the king as a *cakravartin* is not to be found, however, in its political history. Rather, it is the powerful and evocative South Asian mythic and religious themes regarding the *cakravartin* with which various kings identified. According to South Asian sovereign myths (many of which suggest a solar origin), the *cakravartin*—here, a paradigmatic figure—while deep in meditation sees a peaceful and pleasantly glowing wheel (*cakra*) turning slowly in the sky above him. Knowing this wheel to be a call to unify all peoples, the king leads his armies out in all directions to the farthest horizons, all the way to the universal ring of mountains (*cakravāla*) that lie beyond the oceans and that mark the final edge of the concentric world. Guided by the celestial wheel, and borne upon the atmosphere by flying white elephants and horses, he ends all strife and suffering as he brings all people everywhere under his virtuous rule. Thus, *cakravālacakravartī cakram vartayati:* the universal monarch turns the wheel of righteousness throughout the whole world.

The mythic *cakravartin*, therefore, was a ruler in whose virtue and strength all people, regardless of their homeland, could find guidance. He was a pacifying leader whose power was embodied in his unifying skills. Hence it may be no coincidence that the religious traditions in which the *cakravartin* is given the most prestige revolve around the ideologies and aspirations of the *kṣatriya* class of Indian society, that group who were to protect society, serve as its soldiers, rule its courts, and sit on its thrones. For some *kṣatriya* communities, as, for example, those represented by the epics *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyāṇa* (c. 300 CE), the most appropriate person to become a universal monarch was somebody who already was a king, someone who could extend his rule through martial and diplomatic skill.

Even for some *kṣatriya* traditions, however, the true *cakravartin* renounces the political life of the secular king and guides the people through the power of his spiritual virtue. Such is the case for the early Jain and, particularly, Buddhist communities, whose histories of their founders suggest the notion that to them religious truth is more powerful and universal than political prestige. According to both Jain and Buddhist literatures, both Vardhamāna Mahāvīra (the most recent of the twenty-four Jain *tīrthaṃkaras*) and Siddhārtha Gautama (the Buddha) were born into powerful royal families, both displayed the characteristic physical signs of a *mahāpuruṣa* ("great man"), and thus were certain to become secular *cakravartins*. Both traditions further maintain that their founders, however, chose not to enjoy the political power and privileges incumbent on the universal monarch but, rather, to seek understanding of the deepest dimensions of existence itself and—especially in the case of the Buddha—to teach that understanding to all.

See Also Kingship, article on Kingship in East Asia.

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Revised Bibliography

CALENDARS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
MESOAMERICAN CALENDARS
SOUTH AMERICAN CALENDARS

CALENDARS: AN OVERVIEW

The absence of a historical dimension and the scant attention paid to the religious aspect of the question are the most notable limitations of the specialized literature on calendars during the nineteenth century and into the first decade of the twentieth century. Thus, such monumental works as L. Ideler's *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie* (Berlin, 1825–1826), F. Ginzel's work of the same title (Leipzig, 1906–1911), and even the entry "Calendars" in James Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* vol. 3 (Edinburgh, 1910), although they provide indispensable information, amount to little more than unconnected descriptions of various calendars. These descriptions are not satisfactorily situated against the background of the cultures in question, but are treated as if they are solely concerned with chronology and astronomy.

The sacral aspect of the question has, however, been discussed in the subsequent scientific literature, in which the specialists are divided into two opposing camps: those who believe the calendar originated as a secular phenomenon purely utilitarian in its purposes (a view accepted by the majority of scholars), and those who believe it was originally a religious institution (Ernst Cassirer, Martin P. Nilsson, Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss, Gerardus van der Leeuw, Mircea Eliade, and others). Less common are harmonizing positions such as that of Bronislaw Malinowski, who in an article on the calendar of the Trobriand Islanders (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 57, 1927, pp. 203ff.), viewed systems for computing time as meeting both practical and sacral demands.

Disagreement on the subject has been largely overcome since the publication of such works as Eliade's *Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return* (New York, 1954) and Angelo Brelich's *Introduzione allo studio dei calendari festivi* (Rome, 1955). The reality of periodicity in the world; the religious importance of this periodicity in helping to overcome the crisis that is coextensive with human existence (the duration of which is irreversible) by establishing frequent contact with the sacred time proper to the feast or festival (which is outside of ongoing duration); the parallelism between natural and sacral periodicity, both of which have as a constant a continual renewal in the same forms, so that in even the most diverse civilizations the sacral periodicity provides an effective means of keeping a timely eye on the natural periodicity—all these ideas are now well established in our discipline. As a result, any modern work on any aspect of the vast complex of problems raised by calendars must nowadays start with the acceptance of a concept that proves to be constant across the most varied cultural contexts and the most diverse calendrical forms and manifestations, namely, that time is of interest not in and of itself and as a simple fact of nature, but only as a dimension of life that can be submitted to cultural control.

Such control is very difficult to exercise over something abstract, especially in social contexts still far from possessing even rudimentary astronomical knowledge. Nevertheless, by making use of a procedure now familiar to historians of religion, the various civilizations managed to gain this kind of control. They did so especially by *concretizing* time, whether this be understood in absolute terms or in relation to the various measurements (hours, days, months, years, etc.) that were gradually imposed on time, depending on the culture in question.

Mythology makes clear how the chronological dimension (especially if limited to the distinction and alternation of the light and dark times of the day, or to the lunar phases, which are harmoniously ordered within the arc of the month) can acquire such a material form in the minds of the peoples under study that it becomes the subject of stories without causing the least disturbance in the civilizations involved. It is told, for instance, that time was wrapped in leaves (the Sulka of New Britain); enclosed in a bag (the Micmac of Nova Scotia); kept in a box (the Tlingit of the U.S. Northwest Coast) or a trunk (the Hausa of the Sudan) and later taken out; extracted from the wattles of a fowl (the Nandi of northeastern Africa); hidden and found (the Pomo of California); hung up (the northern Paiute of Nevada); hoisted up to heaven (the Pomo; the Aleut of Alaska); pierced by arrows (the Caddo of eastern Texas); or cut up with an obsidian knife (natives of Mota in Melanesia). In each case, time is looked upon not only as something very concrete but also and especially as something capable of being handled at will.

Meanwhile the concrete treatment of time was strengthening this tendency toward materialization of the chronological sphere, for the latter was being treated in such a way as to acquire an ideal spatial coherence. As a macroscopic example, one can cite the persistent attempts to identify time with space, both in language and in the calendar, by the primitive cultures of North America—a tendency also found at a higher cultural level in the Aztec calendar, and in the Indo-European area as well (Müller, 1967). In addition, a real spatiotemporal dimension is found in Roman religion, where close, complex, and functional relations are discernible in the mythological tradition and in cult, as well as in the calendrical linking of the two, between time and Terminus (the symbol of boundaries and, at the same time, a divinity in charge of the juridical, political, and sacral aspect of territory). Moreover, the projection of a cosmic framework on the layout of the circus, and this in such a detailed form (with the aid of a rich set of symbols) as to make the circus a universe in miniature, automatically transformed the chariot races in the arena into the course of the sun through the arc of the year.

Thus, it can be a rather short step from the concretization of time to its material embodiment. The example just given shows how, while the spectator at the circus (which is assimilated to the vault of heaven) feels himself to be witnessing the calendrical rotation of the sun, the charioteer is a direct protagonist in this drama as he drives his chariot.

Yet the title "protagonist of time" belongs with greater justice to those who, through actions in which it is not easy to distinguish the sacred and profane dimensions, do not limit themselves to concretizing and materializing time but also embody it in a true calendrical system. Thus the native who in certain cultures uses knotted cords for computing time does not simply concretize this dimension by pinning it down to so many firmly fixed points of its otherwise limitless and therefore uncontrollable extension but also defines it in a calendrical manner that, though rudimentary, proves functional in relation to the needs of his society. The astronomer in ancient Peru, who used stone columns called "tools for knotting the sun" *(inti-huatana)* as a position for observing the stars, did not merely give material form to that which in and of itself would be simply the calculation of solstices and equinoxes; he also carried this materialization to a higher level by developing a calendar that was primarily a means of binding the heavenly corps in its otherwise incoherent and unusable movements. (But note, too, among the Aztecs, the "knot of years," or *xiuhmolpilli,* a great cycle of fifty-two solar revolutions subdivided into four periods of thirteen years that were described as "knotted together," *thalpilli.*) The magistrate in ancient Rome who was in charge of the ritual hammering in of the *clavus annalis* ("nail of the year") on the Ides of September (which was New Year's Day in one of the many Roman calendrical systems) thereby not only turned time from an abstraction into something that could be pinned down but also compelled it to remain, from one September to the next, within the limits of the solar year.

It is possible to view in a similar perspective those who, in civilizations already familiar with writing, either ideally or in actual fact superintended the compilation of calendars, and this specifically in the form of inscriptions. In this case the concretization of time was accomplished either by binding the dimension of time to stones and/or metals, which were moved about or incised to this end, or by imprisoning it in the no less constraining nets of the various graphic forms. Evidence here is the widespread use in the ancient Near East of the alphabet as a calendrical memorandum as early as the second millennium BCE (Bausani, 1978), as well as the example, cited above, of the *clavus annalis,* which in early Rome was regarded both as a palpable sign of the year and as a functional "writing" of a chronologico-juridical kind at a time when few people could read the symbols of the alphabet.

The key role played by human beings in these operations whereby time is concretized and straitjacketed (especially within the compass of, and for the purposes of drafting, calendrical systems that are more or less developed according to cultural level and social demands) is such that, in case of need, the materialization of time can be further specified by giving it human traits in the true and proper sense. This specification may be limited to introducing into the calendar the physiological rhythms of those who are the protagonists of time. This is seen in the assimilation, widespread and found in the most diverse cultures, of the lunar month of twenty-eight days to the menstrual cycle of the same duration; or in the projection of the period of human gestation (260 days) onto the identical time period of nine lunar revolutions, as in the Aztec *tonalamatl* or the Numan calendar at Rome.

But this process of specification can also lead to a more or less concealed identification of a segment of time (located within the calendar and thus describable in precise terms) with a part or belonging of a person who usually enjoyed an important sociocultural and, in particular, religious status. Thus, as a result of Islamic influence on the Cham of Cambodia, to give but one example, the first three days of every lunar cycle are assimilated to the three favorite wives of

Muḥammad, and every year of the twelve-year cycle is equated with one of the Prophet's members.

Finally, this process can even find expression in a personification of time in its various parts. Thus in Achaemenid Iran the retinue of the magi seems to have usually comprised 365 young men dressed in red, one for each day of the year, with the color symbolizing the lighted period of the day. At Rome, on the Ides of March (New Year's Day, according to one of the many Roman calendrical systems), all the negative aspects of the old year were eliminated through the ritual expulsion from the city of the mythical carpenter Mamurius Veturius.

This kind of progressive, and in some cases even paroxysmic, personification of time seems on closer examination to be simply an expression of the persistent tendency to *recreate,* on several distinct but complementary levels, the temporal dimension that is so important at the human level, thus asserting the priority of the unqualifiedly cultural essence of time over the mere natural fact of time.

If, on the one hand, this cultural point of reference is indispensable because it is linked to any latent or open calendrical system, on the other hand such a system, whatever its character (heliacal rising of a constellation; blooming of a species of plant; period of sowing and/or harvesting; migration of animals; etc.), becomes by this very fact a field of action for the cultural process, which immediately begins to act therein in the form of well-defined and often massive interventions. In the case, widespread in both higher and primitive civilizations, of a discrepancy between the lunar and solar years, for example, the intervention takes the form of an intercalation that makes up for the difference; in other words, a portion of human, cultural time is inserted into the living body of natural time, which is computed on the basis of the revolution of the heavenly bodies.

The awareness that the intercalated period is the work of man, and the conviction that, as such, it merits a privileged position are made manifest at various levels. This is seen in the view that the year, having been thus manipulated, is now complete as compared with nature's presumably defective version of it, whence the designation—prevalent among various primitive peoples, but also found in Mesopotamia, Rome, and China—of the year or month as "full" or "empty." It is seen too in the systematic insertion of such intercalated periods immediately after moments in the calendar that sanctioned human control over the world of nature: at Rome, for example, the intercalation came immediately after the celebration of Terminalia, a festival that appealed to mythical time in order to give sacral confirmation to the cultural definition of space. Further evidence is found in the tendency to locate during the intercalated period those events that were of capital importance for the particular civilization and that evidently could not be left to the blind and irrational course of nature's time, precisely because these events were due in the maximum degree to the human will and creativity. A prime example: the definitive liquidation of monarchic rule, which was constantly assimilated to the negativity of the period of origins, in order to make way for a republic was traditionally dated by the Romans on the very day, February 24, on which the intercalation usually began.

A negative proof pointing in the same direction is the resistance to and even rejection of intercalation in those civilizations that most clearly show the assimilation of natural time to sacred time. Such rejection was preferred despite the inevitable practical nuisances it entailed—above all, discrepancy with the rhythm of the seasons. Two examples among many can be cited. First, in ancient Egypt (which adopted the practice of intercalation only in the Alexandrian period, and then not without hindrances) an oath not to intercalate was taken by the pharaoh, who, in his capacity as the future Osiris and, therefore, an important participant in the field of action proper to the sun god Re, was probably reluctant to intervene in a dimension of reality that was projected in its ideal form onto the sacral level. Second, Muḥammad categorically prohibited changing the number of the months, which "Allāh ordained . . . when he created the heavens and the earth" (*sūrah* 9:36 of the Qur'ān), and which "Allāh has sanctified" (*sūrah* 9:37). Thus the Islamic lunar year, though without any correspondence to the seasons, has proved surprisingly functional for a religion now practiced in varying latitudes. Such interventions in the course of time became even more drastic in the great calendrical reforms of Julius Caesar (46 BCE) and Pope Gregory XIII (1582 CE).

This kind of attempt to reduce time to a cultural creation is even more pronounced in those widespread cases in which the most varied means are used to emancipate time from natural phenomena on which calendrical computation is usually based and to replace these phenomena with others. Thus, the Aztecs chose the duration of human gestation, and not the Venusian year to which astronomy bears witness, as the basis of the *tonalamatl;* the Egyptians based their calendar on the rising of Sirius (Sothis), "the second sun in the heavens," and not on the true sun; while, in the most diverse primitive cultures, it is the periodic return of the ancestors, regarded as dispensers of foodstuffs, and not the particular seasonal moment that gives a specific economic meaning to the great New Year festival. Comparable motivations probably explain the otherwise incomprehensible perseverance, on the part of the most varied types of civilization, in adopting lunisolar calendars and continuing to use them right down to the present day, despite such problems as the discrepancy between festive complex and seasonal moment, the consequent necessity of intercalating, and so on. It is as though this very difference of a few days or parts of a day represents a kind of margin of security for man, who thus has leeway to act on natural time instead of passively enduring it.

This desire to be actors rather than spectators in the development of calendrical time is even more evident in those systems in which, by highly artificial means, months are established whose duration is identical with or superior to the lunar month, and in which a short period is set apart and defined in a special way, independent of the features this period may assume from time to time in any other culture. By way of example, we may think of the five "supernumerary" *(nemontemi)* days that the Aztecs set apart at the end of the 360-day year, considering them to be *nefasti* (taboo) and unsuited for work of any kind; or, in the Egyptian calendar, of the *epagomenai* ("superadded") days that did not conclude the old year, as might have been expected, but were a prelude to the new year, a kind of "little month" directly linked to the mythical time in which the gods were born. Similarly, in the Zoroastrian religion the "days of the *Gāthās*" were added to the end of the year; on these days, the celebrants, assuming the title of Saoshyant ("rescuers"), participated ritually as protagonists in the renewal of the world. Along the same line, but at a more advanced level, is the creation of units of time comprising several or more days, months, years, centuries, or even millennia, which apparently, at least, are independent of the rhythms of nature. Examples include the very widespread seven-day week (already used in Mesopotamia); the cycles of three days and three, seven, and thirty years among the Celts; the seven-year period, the jubilee, and the groups of seven-year periods among the Hebrews; the *octaetēris* or eight-year period of the Greeks; the Aztec *xiuhmolpilli;* and the Indian *kalpa.*

But perhaps the most radical humanization of the chronological dimension (the one in which the cultural intervention into nature is the most extensive, and the dependence on nature for the computation of time is reduced to a minimum that is obscured and even deliberately ignored) is found in cases in which the historical situation determines and defines the calendar. We may pass over those restructurings that are promoted or imposed on time by important politicians (i.e., the aforementioned Julian reform). In some civilizations, the personal name of the ruler was given to the current year (eponymy among the Assyrians and in the classical world, the "regnal name" in prerevolutionary China), or events of capital importance led to a complete resystematization of the calendrical pattern, the beginning, rhythm, and shape of which, though in substance inevitably following traditional lines, had to be at least formally determined by the new order of things. The prime example here is the French revolutionary calendar, which, though it started at a particular equinox, numbered 365 days, needed periodic intercalation, and linked the new names of the months with seasonal motifs, nonetheless presented new features: a beginning (September 22) that officially coincided not with the autumn equinox but with the inauguration of the republic (September 22, 1792); the abolition of the seven-day week in favor of the decade or ten-day week; the elimination of feasts; and the nonetheless festive solemnization of five or six days (significantly called *sans-culottides*) added at the end of the year as a definitive break with Christian worship.

In connection with the historicization of time, one may also consider such phenomena as the adoption of calendrical systems belonging to other civilizations, as, for instance, the entrusting of calendar reform in China in 1629 to the Jesuits, and the adoption of the Gregorian calendar as the only valid one for civil purposes by the republican government of China in 1930; the acceptance by Japan in 1684 of the Chinese calendar as reformed by the Jesuits and then in 1873 of the Gregorian calendar; and the adoption of the Gregorian calendar by Russia after the October Revolution in 1917 and by various primitive peoples as they gradually accepted the lifestyles of the Western civilizations. Finally, there is the tendency, which practical considerations and economic reasons have made stronger than ever in our day, to create a universal and perpetual calendar that is binding on all. Such a calendar would be supremely artificial, since it seeks to be as independent as possible of natural rhythms, but for that very reason would transcend the various cultures.

SEE ALSO Chronology; Sacred Time.

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Translated from Italian by Matthew J. O'Connell

CALENDARS: MESOAMERICAN CALENDARS

In 1555 Bishop Diego de Landa wrote:

> The natives of Yucatan were as attentive to the matters of religion as to those of government and they had a

> high priest whom they called Ah Kin (Daykeeper) Mai . . . . He was very much respected by the lords . . . and his sons or nearest relatives succeeded him in office. In him was the key of their learning . . . . They provided priests for the towns when they were needed, examining them in the sciences . . . and they employed themselves in the duties of the temples and in teaching them their sciences as well as in writing books about them . . . . The sciences which they taught were the computation of the years, months and days, the festivals and ceremonies, the administration of the sacraments, the fateful days and seasons, their methods of devotion and their prophecies. (Tozzer, 1941, p. 27)

When he wrote those words, Bishop Diego de Landa correctly perceived the extraordinary attention paid time and calendar by the Maya of Yucatán even several centuries after their classical heyday. It is likely that these Ah Kin were among the elite of Maya culture. One eighth-century scribe from the city of Copán received a royal burial. His remains were found elaborately laid out, ink pots, brushes, and all, next to the ruler he served. Though his trappings seem far more modest in comparison to those of his precontact predecessor, the modern Maya day keeper is still one of the most important and highly regarded members of society. Seated at a cardinally oriented table adorned with bowls of incense and lighted candles, he arranges piles of seeds and crystals drawn from his divining bag in an attempt to "borrow from the days" the answers to questions posed by his clients: Will I be cured of the disease that plagues me? Will my daughter's marriage be successfully consummated? Will my crop tide the family over this year?

Basic Calendrical Units. For the Maya a single word, *kin*, signified time, day, and sun. In both meaning and glyphic form it suggests that the art of timekeeping was intimately connected with the practice of astronomy. The directions of the petals of the floral design that makes up the *kin* glyph likely correspond to the extreme positions of the sun along the horizon. Cosmograms also exemplify the space-related time system employed by most ancient Mesoamerican cultures. Found on both pre-Columbian and colonial documents, these diagrams can be thought of as exercises in temporal completion. For example, page one of the Féjérvary-Mayer Codex from highland Mexico consists of a quadripartite glyph in the shape of a Maltese cross. Carefully positioned within the symmetric floral design are all the things that belong to each of the four sides of space: gods, plants, trees, birds, even parts of the body; moreover the four directions are color coded. But time is also spatially divided, each region of the world being assigned its share of the twenty days of the Aztec week. The so-called year bearers, the names of successive New Year's Days, are placed one at each of the tips of the cross. Circumscribing the world is the ultimate Mesoamerican number for time: 260 dots, one to each day, arrayed in 20 units of 13. These 260 days make up the Maya *tzolkin* (called by the Aztecs *tonalpohualli*), a ritual calendar known as the "count of the days."

Unique in the world, the number 260 served as the base of practically every Mesoamerican calendar that has survived. Its origin is debatable, but there can be no question that one of its factors, the number twenty, was derived from the number of fingers and toes on the body. The other factor, the number thirteen, represents the number of layers in the Maya heaven. Beyond this, however, it seems that the human body can be further implicated in the origin of the *tzolkin*. The average duration between human conception and birth is close to 260 days (on average 266). Modern Maya women in highland Guatemala still associate this sacred count with the term of pregnancy. The *tzolkin* also turns out to be a convenient approximation to the length of the basic agricultural season in many areas of southern Mexico, where it probably originated.

Celestial phenomena are also implicated in establishing Mesoamerica's fundamental time pillar. Nine moons (about 265 days) represent the 9 "bloods" taken away by the moon from pregnant women to give lives to their newborn. Lunar and solar eclipses occur at seasonal intervals commensurate with the *tzolkin* in the ratio of 2 to 3 (3 times the "eclipse year" of 173.5 days nearly equals 2 times 260 days). Thus the ancient astrologer could easily warn of certain days vulnerable to the occurrence of an eclipse. The planet Venus, the patron star of war in Teotihuacán (the ancient city of highland Mexico built around 100 BCE), was also revered by the Maya at a time when the New World's most precise calendar was being developed. The duration of its appearance as morning star averages 263 days—again close to a *tzolkin*. And if all these harmonies were not enough, in southernmost Mesoamerican latitudes the year is divisible into periods of 260 and 105 days by the (2) days in the annual calendar when the sun passes overhead.

Mesoamerican people were further cognizant of the seasonal year. Abhorring fractions, the Maya measured their year, or *haab* (Aztec, *xiuhmolpilli*), at 365 days. They divided the year into eighteen months, each of which was twenty days in length, with a concluding five-day month (an unlucky period thought to reside outside the year). Eschewing leap years, ancient Mesoamericans easily kept track of the anniversary of the tropical year within the *haab*.

Cycle building emerges as a central theme of Mesoamerican calendrics. The strategy seems to have accumulated small cycles to make bigger and bigger ones. One of the larger cycles was the calendar round, a period of 52 years consisting of 18,980 days, the lowest common multiple of the *tzolkin* and the *haab* (52 x 365 = 73 x 260). This time loop thus records the interval over which name and number combinations in both cycles repeat themselves. Perhaps not coincidentally, it is also about equal to the length of a full human life. The completion of a calendar round was quite a momentous occasion. Spanish chronicles record that Aztec priests timed this "year binding" event by proceeding to a special place outside ancient Mexico City called the Hill of the Star. There they carefully watched the Pleiades to see whether they would pass the zenith. If they did, it would be a sign from the gods that time would not come to an end. Instead, a new era would be granted to humanity.

To judge by the archaeological and epigraphic evidence, Maya mathematics was almost exclusively devoted to day keeping. About half a millennium before the beginning of the common era a system of numeration developed in southern Mesoamerica. It probably emanated about 600 BCE from the region of Monte Albán, Oaxaca, but was not without Olmec antecedents from the Gulf Coast. The Maya employed only three symbols to produce numbers written in the hundreds of millions: a dot was equivalent to one, and a horizontal bar (uniquely Maya) was equivalent to five, whereas a variety of symbols represented zero. Each of these symbols likely derived from hand gestures.

Unlike its Western counterpart, the Maya zero represented completeness rather than emptiness. Temporally it was regarded as the moment of completion of a cycle, as in the turning of a chain of nines to zeroes on the odometer of an automobile at the conclusion of a large-distance unit traveled. A seashell often represented the Maya zero, perhaps because its roundness was intended to depict the closed, cyclic nature of time. The grasping hand, which like a knot ties up or bundles the days and years together into completed packages, also serves as a zero in many of the inscriptions. The dot and bar numerals probably derived from the tips of the fingers and the extended hand respectively. The Maya expressed large time intervals in a notational system utilizing place values, quite like the Arabic system, which was developed independently in the Middle East after the fall of the Roman Empire.

STRUCTURING DEEP TIME. Just as it is part of human nature to cling to life, many societies attempt to extend their power, lineage, and legacy. Hierarchically organized societies are in the best position to do this. Often they bureaucratize time, giving it a deep structure that goes beyond the immediate confines of remembered generational experience. The Maya utilized their mathematical system to create history. They accumulated years to make scores of years. Heaping score upon score was a logical extension of their vigesimal (base twenty) system. The "long count" is a five-digit tally that marks an event in lapsed time from the most recent creation. One finds most long counts carved on stelae dating from 100 BCE to 900 CE. These display the effigy of a ruler, usually in full regalia, accompanied by a hieroglyphic text that details his or her ancestral history, described in terms of the intervals between seminal events (birth, accession, conquests, marriage, death). To add depth and historical permanence, the dating of these events often seems to have been contrived to fit with repeatable cosmic time markers, such as the reappearance of Venus as morning star, eclipses, and solstices.

To obtain the equivalent in the Gregorian calendar of any long count date appearing in the Maya inscriptions, one must be able to match with certainty at least one long count date with a date in the Gregorian calendar. Until the late twentieth century there had been considerable disagreement about just how to do this. According to the most widely accepted scheme, the so-called Goodman-Martinez-Thompson correlation, the zero point of the most recent starting position of the long count was August 12, 3114 BCE, a date on which astronomers have found no momentous celestial event to have occurred. The next cyclic overturn will take place on December 8, 2012.

CALENDARS AND CREATION. The concept of successive creation-destruction cycles is central to understanding Mesoamerican timekeeping. For example, despite the terrifying effigy at its center, the famous Aztec Sun Stone provides a pictorial narrative of a cyclic cosmogony in which people play an active role. Tonatiuh, the sun god, a flint knife depicting his lolling tongue, grips the firmament with his claws. He cries out for the blood of human sacrificial hearts that he may keep the world in motion. The four panels that surround Tonatiuh represent previous ages, or "suns," as the Aztecs called them. The first cosmogonic epoch (upper right) was the "Sun of Jaguar," named after the day "4 Jaguar" in the 260-day cycle on which it terminated (the head of the jaguar is surrounded by 4 dots within the panel). During this epoch the inhabitants of the earth, the result of the gods' first try at a creation, were giants who dwelled in caves. But they did not till the soil as expected, and so the gods sent jaguars to eat them. In the second sun, the "Sun of Wind," symbolized by the day "4 Wind" (upper left), another less than perfect human race was blown away by the wind. The gods transformed these creatures into apes that they might better cling to the world, an act said to account for the similarity between apes and people. In the third creation, the "Sun of Fire-rain" (the symbol of "4 Rain" is at the lower left), some people were permitted to survive by being transformed into birds to escape from the destruction of the world by volcanic eruptions. The fourth creation, the "Sun of Water," depicted at the lower right, ended with a flood that followed torrential downpours. But this time a transformation from people into fish kept the people from perishing entirely. The symbol "4 Water" marks this epoch. The Aztecs believed they existed in the "fifth sun," of which the symbolic date "4 Movement" houses the effigy of Tonatiuh and the other four ages. (The four large dots of this day sign's coefficient are easily recognizable on the periphery of the four panels that denote the previous suns.) According to most Mesoamerican cosmogonies, the universe was destroyed and re-created anew, each age providing an explanatory temporal framework in which to categorize different forms of life and to relate them to the present human condition.

Two distinct points about Mesoamerican concepts of time emerge in such creation stories. First is the oscillating, repetitive nature of the events taking place. Previous suns were thought to have been creative ventures that failed to achieve the necessary delicate balance between gods and people. Creation time repeats itself, but it is punctuated by periods of destruction. Second, each present contains a piece of the past. Each attempt at creation tries to account for the present state of humankind by referring to what remains in the world. Fish and birds are really human kin, the failed children from archaic creations. People were not destined to dominate them, as Old Testament *Genesis* requires. Rather, people must revere them, for nature is part of people.

According to the Aztec chronicles, the gods made sacrifices in order to bring about the world in its present condition. They performed these sacrifices at the ancient pyramids of Teotihuacán when, in the aftermath of a struggle among themselves, one of their number sacrificed himself to the ceremonial fire, thus promising to become the first rising sun. Such stories have a Darwinian ring to them: life is a struggle filled with key transitory moments. But unlike the Western view, theirs was a cosmology with a purpose. Human action, in this case blood sacrifice to the gods, was necessary to extend the fifth or present epoch. It mediated the balance of violent forces that might erupt as they still do in the fragile highland environment. After all since the gods sacrificed themselves for people, it is only reasonable that people should offer sacrifice as payment of the debt to them.

Carrying the Burden of Time. Perhaps no monumental imagery better expresses the essence of Maya time than Stela D of Copán. This larger than human-size monolith is dedicated to rituals conducted at the juncture of a series of important time cycles. Eight squared-off images carved in high relief confront the eye at the top of the monument. Each depicts a humanoid figure carrying an animal that represents a bundle of time. They employ tump lines, common devices used by modern Maya peasants to carry a load of wood or a sack of citrus by tying one's pack to a band that presses tightly about the forehead, thus leaving the arms to swing free and perform other tasks. Each porter is a full-figure glyph that represents a number. Thus the uppermost figure in the left block, number nine, is distinguishable by the markings on his youthful chin. He carries a heavy load of *baktuns* of time, 144,000-day periods consisting of 20 x 20 x 360 days. The old god of number 15, shown in the uppermost right block, hauls *katuns* (scores of 360-day periods). Fully transliterated, the numbered portion of Stela D reads: It was after the completion of nine *baktuns*, fifteen *katuns*, five *tuns* (360 days), zero *uinals* (20 days), and zero *kin*, reckoned since creation day, that such-and-such an event took place. Thus Stela D becomes the resting place of the numbers at the end of their long journey (*lubay* in Kekchi Maya), who finally let their burden fall 1,405,800 days (3,849 of our Gregorian years) after the last creation. Likewise *katun* prophecies from postconquest texts repeatedly refer to time as a burden: "This is the removal of his burden . . . fire is his burden . . . (In reference to the fifth katun)"; "On the day of the binding of the burden of Lord 5 Ahau." Writes one chronicler, "According to what [the Indians] say [these four first days] are those which take the road and bear the load of the month, changing in time" (Thompson, 1950, pp. 59–61). Time then appears as some sort of essence to be carried or borne along the roadway of eternity, finally seated or brought to rest at various stopping points.

Monuments such as Stela D attribute the completed cycle of time to the ruler and his dynasty. Stela D gives time a name and proclaims it to belong to the ruler, who is assigned various other titles that connect him to his otherworld ancestors. The side opposite the numbers leaves no doubt that it is the ruler who is being exalted. Dates of his accession, marriage, and victories in battle adorn the glyphic text. So high is the relief on the monument that the ruler seems almost to emerge from the cut stone, appearing larger than life, fully garbed with ritual paraphernalia in hand. He wears an enormous headdress and facial mask, his bloodletting instruments draped from his loincloth. Perhaps the ruler himself once stood before the citizenry in front of his monument performing the rite of genital bloodletting with the spine of a stingray to seal his bond with his ancestors. Here was a demonstration of the continuity of dynastic rulership that also guaranteed the continuity of time.

Two seminal qualities of the Maya concept of time from the dynastic histories comprise these time capsules wrought in stone. First, one has the sense that, whereas the arrow of time points toward the future, it is pushed from behind rather than tugged forward, a stark contrast to the teleological or purposive forward pull of time embedded in the Judeo-Christian tradition. Circumstances in the past, even before the creation of the world, had set the number gods on their journey. It was those four events, enacted in the realm of the ancestor gods, that determined the future course of human history, the creation of the lineage, the journey of the four founders of modern Maya culture to the right place to build the city. Their journey parallels in space the long arduous track along the road of time undertaken by the number gods who bear their ponderous freight. The *Popol Vuh,* the sacred book of creation of the Quiché Maya, states that the ancient word is the potential and the source for all that is done in the present world. "How should it be sown, how should it dawn?" the gods ask themselves as they contemplate the creative act (D. Tedlock, 1985, p. 73). Events that took place then, by the creators, the founders, the so-called mother-fathers, are responsible for setting time on its course toward the present.

A second seminal quality of Maya time inherent in the monumental inscriptions is more difficult to grasp, especially when contrasting it with the Western historical view of time, which clearly separates human history (arrived at via the testimony of people) from natural history determined from the testimony of things, such as events in the sky, in the landscape, signs in plants and animals. Thus events in the history of the dynasty are directly linked with cosmic events. For example, many of the paramount happenings in the life of 18 Rabbit (called Waxaklahun-Ubah-K'awil in modern orthographies), the name of the ruler depicted on Stela D, are tied directly to the appearance of the planet Venus at key positions in the sky. This habit of creating a single frame for natural and human history is quite common across Mesoamerica. It is reflected especially vividly in the Aztec year annals in which depictions of volcanic eruptions, eclipses, comets, and shooting stars appear linked to victories in battle and the deaths of emperors. Aztec history consists of like-in-kind events, both natural and civic-social, matched up repeatedly over multiple fifty-two-year cycles of time.

In many instances these astronomical events were registered in preferentially aligned calendrical, ceremonial architecture. For example, Temple 22 at Copán possesses a slotlike viewing chamber on its western facade that marks the appearance of Venus at the beginning of the rainy season. Buildings that deviate from the prevailing grid structure and buildings of unusual shape at Uxmal, Chichén Itzá, and other sites also contain Venus alignments. Classic Maya sites in the Petén rain forest include a number of solar "observatories." These specialized architectural assemblages consist of a pyramid on the west side of an open plaza that overlooks three smaller structures on the east. Viewed from the top of the former, the sun rises over each of the latter on seminal dates of the year, for example, the solstices, the equinoxes, and especially dates measured at multiples of twenty days from the passage of the sun across the zenith. In the highlands of Mexico the largest building in the Aztec capital, the Templo Mayor, was deliberately aligned with the sun at the equinox. Such structures might better be conceived as "theaters" than "observatories." They are sacred places that offer the appropriate setting for cosmically timed ritual.

CALENDARS AND CODICES. In addition to the monuments, the books (misnamed "codices") constitute a second major medium of information concerning Mesoamerican time and calendars. But here the message is quite different. If the monumental inscriptions, related to a program of public display, were intended to exalt the rulers and legitimize their descent from the gods, the content of the codices seems relatively esoteric and private, consisting of omen-bearing texts to be read only by high-status priests. Only four pre-Columbian codices have survived. Their content, expressed in what have come to be called almanacs, is almost exclusively concerned with divinatory rituals cyclically timed in remarkable detail. In a minority of cases the timings are based on astronomical phenomena encoded in tables that might properly be called ephemerides, even though their content is largely astrological.

The manifold ways the almanacs are laid out, challenging the eye of the reader to dance about the page in order to pursue a temporal journey, bespeak a playful intercourse between time and the Ah Kin. Time's arithmetic flows vertically or zigzaggedly; in some cases the black and red numbers that comprise, respectively, the intervals and resting points in a text are scattered about a single prognostic or divinatory picture like so many loose tokens dropped randomly upon it from above. In many instances the numbers seem to take on an irrational, almost mystical quality akin to the Pythagorean way of dealing with numbers.

One thinks of an almanac in the West as a compilation of useful information, most of it adapted to local space-time. One usually finds in an almanac a calendar for each month that gives all the holidays. There is also astronomical information, such as sunrise, sunset, moon phase tables, and eclipses for the year, coupled with meteorological information and tide tables for major local harbors. Information concerning weather predictions and the positions of the planetary bodies in the signs of the zodiac is also provided. Add to these data nonquantitative information on food recipes and proverbs and the modern almanac, updated and altered slightly from year to year, becomes a handy compendium that both amuses and instructs in practical matters and perhaps offers advice regarding personal behavior.

Maya almanacs feature many of these same aspects. They contain both invocations and divinations that deal with the weather, agriculture, drilling fire with sticks, and disease and medicine in addition to the fates and ceremonies. Their purpose seems to have been to bring all celestial and human activities into the realm of the sacred almanac of 260 days. As is the case in the monumental inscriptions, duration emerges as the support beam in the framework of Maya calendrics in the codices. Each phase seems to be based on a perceived forward movement of time from an event located at the start of the text, to which "distance number" intervals are added. Every round of time in a Maya almanac begins with a starting day name and number in the *tzolkin.* One then proceeds via black distance numbers to red dates, each accompanied by a picture and glyphic block that convey the appropriate debt payment and (usually) an accompanying omen. The participatory role of the Maya worshiper is also reflected in the content of the codices. The business of laying out the calendar that prescribes Maya ritual behavior must have been complex. A multitude of offerings needed to be made to the gods at the proper places and times when the gods of number dropped their loads, and the periods between ritual events surely were not arbitrary. Long thought to be endlessly cyclical in nature, many almanacs, studies suggest, may have been fixed in real time. And like modern almanacs, they may have undergone repeated revision and recopying.

The most exquisitely complex and esoteric almanacs, termed ephemerides, deal with precise astronomical prediction. Known since its rudimentary elements were deciphered early in the twentieth century, the Venus table in the Dresden Codex chronicles the appearance and disappearance dates of that planet over several centuries. Accompanying pictorials at the middle of each frame show the Venus deity Kukulcan flinging daggers of omen-bearing light on victims who lie impaled below them. A correction table enables the Venus calendar to stay on track for five hundred years with scarcely a day error. Maya astronomers seem to have been attracted by the perfect 8 to 5 commensuration between the Venus cycle of 584 days and the seasonal year of 365 days as well as by the larger commensuration between 65 Venus cycles and two 52-year calendar rounds. Adjacent ephemerides in the Dresden Codex were used to predict eclipses and to chart the movement of Mars, whose 780-day cycle commensurates with the *tzolkin* in the exact ratio of 3 to 1.

Studies suggest that other pages of the Dresden Codex as well as certain pages of the Madrid Codex also mark astronomical events. Venus deities, looking much like those in the Dresden, also appear in the Borgia group of codices from highland Mexico. In the *Anales de Quauhtitlan*, a colonial document from the Mexican highlands, are specific statements about which class of people shall suffer wounds from the piercing rays of Venus, called Quetzalcoatl in the central Mexican pantheon:

> And as they (the ancients, the forefathers) learned. When it appears (rises). According to the sign, in which it (rises). It strikes different classes of people with its rays. Shoots them, casts its light upon them. When it appears in the (first) sign, "1 alligator." It shoots the old men and women. Also in the (second) sign, "1 jaguar." In the (third) sign, "1 stag." In the (fourth) sign, "1 flower." It shoots the little children. And in the (fifth) sign, "1 reed." It shoots the kings. Also in the (sixth) sign, "1 death." And in the (seventh) sign, "1 rain." It shoots the rain. It will not rain. And in the (thirteenth) sign, "1 movement." It shoots the youths and maidens. And in the (seventeenth) sign, "1 water." There is universal drought. (Seler, 1904, pp. 384–385)

In stark contrast with the Maya texts, the so-called picture books of highland Mexico, which also include ritual ceremonial prescriptions, have generally been regarded as devoid of real-time astronomical events; that is, the Mexican codices have been characterized as celebrating time cycles, whereas the Maya books were thought to be more event specific. However, this traditional picture has been challenged by studies that offer evidence, specifically in the Codex Borgia, that real-time astronomical events were recorded in the middle of the fifteenth century. Scholars now regard Mesoamerican (especially Maya) mathematical, astronomical, and calendrical achievements to have been rather more like those of the ancient Middle East; that is, closer to the sort of quantitative science that led to modern astronomy.

SEE ALSO Aztec Religion; Maya Religion.

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CALENDARS: SOUTH AMERICAN CALENDARS

At the time of the Spanish conquest of the New World in the early sixteenth century, the peoples of Mesoamerica and the Andes were living in highly developed civilizations supported by well-integrated political and religious organizations. The Aztec, Mixtec, and Maya of Mesoamerica produced codices in which are described their gods, priests, religious paraphernalia, and so on. Their knowledge was organized by way of an elaborate calendar that bore no relationship to any kind of calendrical system known to the Spanish. The chroniclers soon realized, however, that an important aspect of these Mesoamerican calendars was the repeating succession of 260 days. The 260-day "year" was divided into thirteen "months," each comprising twenty days irrespective of observations of the sun, moon, and other celestial bodies.

Unlike the Mesoamericans, the Andean peoples did not leave codices or a hieroglyphic script (as was used, for instance, by the Maya from their early history onward). They apparently had no tradition of a historical chronology and left no dated monuments. However, a recent analysis of Peruvian *quipus*—knotted strings that were used for various administrative purposes—demonstrates that Andean peoples were capable of highly abstract, mathematical thought. Accordingly, we may assume that the conclusion reached by certain Spanish chroniclers that the *quipus* were used for calendrical purposes is valid. Indeed, José de Acosta, an early chronicler who thoroughly studied the cultures in both parts of what we now call nuclear America and who compared the Andean and Mesoamerican calendars, favored the Andean system because of its technical accomplishments. Thus it may be reasonable to assume that the political and religious needs of the Andean states crystallized into a common calendrical tradition of a complexity comparable with that of Mesoamerica; but its organizing principles may have been as different from those of the Mesoamerican tradition as these differed from the European.

ACCOUNTS BY EARLY CHRONICLERS. When the Spanish conquistadors entered Cuzco, the capital of the Inca Empire, the Inca territory stretched from what is now northern Ecuador south to Chile and Argentina. Spanish chroniclers have left us some data on the astronomical and calendrical ideas of the people living on the north coast of Peru, a rich description of myths and rituals of Quechua-speaking peoples in central and southern Peru, and some bits and pieces of astronomical and calendrical lore from the Aymara-speaking peoples living around Lake Titicaca. But it was only in Cuzco that the chroniclers became aware of the rich tradition of the Inca's history, myths, and rituals, as well as of their seasonal activities (e.g., agriculture and llama husbandry) and astronomical observations and beliefs about the sun, moon, and stars. Many scattered data of critical importance in the reconstruction of the Inca calendar have survived. Nonetheless, although some chroniclers may have been aware of the importance of some of these data for the reconstruction of the calendar, they themselves recorded little more than the names of the months. They assumed that the Inca calendar comprised twelve months but barely analyzed what kinds of "months" they were in fact dealing with. The actual reconstruction of the Inca calendar—going well beyond the chroniclers' list of twelve names—enables us to realize the magnitude of the debt owed by the Inca to the states and cultures that preceded them: those of Huari, Tiahuanaco, and Chavín in the Andean highlands and those of Nazca, Mochica, and Paracas on the coast. The Spaniards' interpretations of the Inca data provide only a faint idea of what a pre-Conquest calendar might have looked like.

Some seventeen years after the Conquest, Juan de Betanzos became the first chronicler in Cuzco to attempt an account of the months. His description, however, is inextricably interwoven with a recording of Inca history, especially with those events that concern the legendary reorganization of Cuzco after the city had successfully rejected a foreign attack. He intimates the close relationship between Cuzco's calendar and its political organization, an aspect with which he was probably more familiar than any later chronicler. But he leaves the technical problem of the calendrical count unresolved. In 1574, the priest Cristóbal de Molina wrote the first detailed account of calendrical rituals in Cuzco. Juan de Polo de Ondegardo, a lawyer, had probably written a similar report some years earlier, but it was lost. In 1584, the third Council of the Peruvian Church published a shorter version of Polo's calendar; it is this version, or the knowledge of the existence of a longer report, that heavily influenced all later accounts given by the major chroniclers (e.g., Cavello de Balboa, Murua). Only the later indigenous chronicler Felipe Poma de Ayala provides substantial new information on the economic use of the calendar; and yet another indigenous chronicler, Juan de Santa Cruz, refers to the mythological data pertaining to it. The description given in 1653 by Bernabé Cobo, the last chronicler, is probably the most faithful to those of Polo and Molina.

POLO AND MOLINA'S INTERPRETATIONS. Although they themselves do not seem to have grasped the calendrical problem completely, Polo and Molina give us the best evidence with which to evaluate the character of the months. Polo, for example, tells us, "[The Inca] divided the year into twelve months by the moons, and the other days that remained were added to the [different] moons themselves." Polo claims to be speaking of synodical months, that is, those that mark the period between new moons in a sequence independent from the solar year; nonetheless, he says that the eleven days that these twelve months are short of a year were added to the individual months. If he is right on this last point, we can assume that the Inca calendar had solar months, each thirty or thirty-one days long, bearing no connection to the phases of the moon. Polo refers to certain monthly observations of sunrises and sunsets that reinforce this claim. When considered together with important information from Molina, Polo's critical data underscores the fact that the Inca calendar included synodical, as well as solar, months.

According to Molina (1574), the Inca year began with the lunar month marked by the June solstice; this month started with the first new moon after the middle of May. Molina, however, was still using the Julian calendar; his "middle of May" is thus equivalent to May 25 in the Gregorian calendar, which was not introduced to Cuzco until ten years after Molina wrote his account. Accordingly, any month beginning with a new moon after May 25 would include the date of the June solstice, June 21 (Zuidema, 1982a).

Molina then describes the subsequent lunar months, stressing in particular the observations of a new moon and full moon in the fourth month. This was the month in which crops were planted and all women, including the queen, celebrated the moon. Molina then comes to the seventh month, Capac Raymi ("royal feast"), during which noble boys were initiated into manhood. During the eighth month, Capac Raymi Camay Quilla ("royal feast, moon of Camay"), rituals were dedicated to the rains, which would subside in the months to come. Molina's section on the seventh month has a day-to-day account of its ritual events but makes no reference to the moon; the eighth month, however, is described solely in terms of the lunar cycle.

Polo says that Capac Raymi originally began in January but was later moved back to December, the month "when the Sun reaches the last point on its road towards the South pole." Whatever historical information he thought could be derived from this statement, the most satisfactory reading in calendrical terms would be that Capac Raymi ended on the December solstice itself and that Camay Quilla began thereafter. Molina's description of ritual held at the end of Capac Raymi also seems to imply the same conclusion. But if both Polo and Molina were right about the lunar character of the months, then it is possible that a given Capac Raymi may not have included the December solstice at all, for the month of Inti Raymi could have begun just after May 25 (there are 211 days from May 25 to December 22; seven synodical months have only 206). From these data alone we cannot determine exactly how the Inca solved this calendrical discrepancy but we can conclude that they were aware of it and had probably devised a solution.

Later chroniclers, including modern writers, did not take into account Molina and Polo's critical data, although they sometimes opted for either lunar or solar months. Thus Clements R. Markharm (1910) interprets the calendar as consisting of solar months; the first month, he says, starts on the June solstice. John Howland Rowe, on the other hand, in his influential article "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest" (1946) chooses—on the authority of Polo, he claims—lunar months. Later studies on Inca culture generally follow Rowe's example. These accounts differ by as much as two months in their assessment of the location in the calendar of a particular month, making the relationship between specific ritual and seasonal activities difficult to understand.

ARCHAEOASTRONOMY AT CORICANCHA. The calendrical problem cannot be resolved on the basis of Molina and Polo's data alone. Fortunately, research on the alignment of certain Inca buildings (Zuidema, 1982a; Aveni, 1981; Urton and Aveni, 1983; Urton, 1981; Ziolkowski and Sadowski, 1984) enables us to evaluate additional types of calendrical and astronomical data. I will mention here the data based on the architecture of the Coricancha ("golden enclosure")—properly known as the Temple of the Sun—and on the rituals and myths associated with it. Located in the center of Cuzco, the Coricancha included four one-room buildings that served as temples, each facing the other two by two. The more important buildings were said to face the rising sun during the June solstice. But exact measurements by Anthony F. Aveni and myself revealed that the temples face the point on the horizon at which the sun rises on May 25. This alignment not only supports the validity of Molina's data regarding when the Inca year began but also helps us interpret other significant information. For example, in exactly the same direction of the sunrise, but just beyond the horizon, is a legendary place called Susurpuquio, well known for its important role in Inca mythology. It was here that Pachacuti Inca, the king who set the Inca on the road to conquest, had met his father, the sun god, who predicted that he and his people would share a future filled with military success. The direction toward Susurpuquio coincides closely with that of the rise of the Pleiades, the "mother" of all stars. The reappearance of the Pleiades in early June, after they had disappeared from the southern sky for some fifty days, generally marked the beginning of the year for people in central and northern Peru. In Cuzco, the full moon of the month that included the June solstice would have occurred after the Pleiades first rose in the morning sky. The Inca data on the Pleiades, the sun, and the moon replicate in detail the more general Andean concepts of celestial, calendrical, and social order established in relation to the Pleiades; we see here the Inca debt to the Andean cultures that preceded them.

CALENDRICAL SOCIAL DIVISION. Another way to further our understanding of the Inca calendar is to analyze the integration that obtained between the calendar and the empire's political hierarchy and its territorial organization. Betanzos cites this integration but gives no technical details on it. An anonymous, but rather early and well-informed, chronicler mentions how Pachacuti Inca, the king who reorganized Cuzco, divided the population of the Cuzco Valley into twelve groups. His purpose was to make each group take "account of its own month, adopting the name and surname of that lunar month, and of what it had to carry out in its month; and it was obliged to come out to the plaza on the first day of its month by playing trumpets and by shouting, so that it was known to everybody" (my translation, from Maúrtua, vol. 8, 1908). Whereas his father had brought order to the observance of lunar months, Pachacuti Inca erected pillars on the horizon from which the sun could be observed. This was an attempt to integrate the months into an account of the solar year.

THE CEQUE CALENDAR. Based on original information from Polo, Cobo describes a similar problem with the calendar and establishes the close link between customs of each Cuzco group and astronomical observations. His description is based on an important Andean political concept, which expresses the visual and directional relationship between the political divisions and their political and ritual center. For this purpose the Inca employed a system of forty-two "directions" called *ceques* ("lines").

The *ceques* were imaginary lines that radiated from Coricancha to points on the horizon. They were distributed in groups of three over four quarters of the territory; in one quarter, however, fifteen directions, that is, fourteen *ceques* (in this case, two *ceques* were taken together as one), were used. The twelve political divisions of Cuzco were individually associated not only with a different group of three *ceques* but also with one particular *ceque* in each group. Each *ceque* linked the division with the location of the land in the valley that it had been given by Pachacuti Inca. Lands in the fourth quarter were also divided between only three divisions; we notice that in this quarter the fourteen *ceques* were also rebundled into three groups of *ceques* (which had four, four, and six *ceques*, respectively).

Each of the twelve political divisions had an important ritual obligation to bring offerings to a cultic place on the horizon. The sun would then arrive at this place, either at sunset or sunrise, sometime during its annual journey. These twelve places on the horizon were called *sayhuas*; two extra ones, called *sucancas,* were necessary to comply with astronomical observations. The *ceque* system used the whole horizon, although the sun rises and sets in only part of it. Therefore a *sayhua* or *sucanca* was not necessarily located along a *ceque* that stretched between the horizon and the land of the political division that was in charge of its cult. People first worshiped a series of cultic places, called *huacas*, that were located along the three *ceques* associated with their division. They would then turn to the corresponding *sayhuas*, located in another direction, and offer the remains of whatever had been served to the *huacas*.

Cobo lists the *huacas* that were served before the *sayhuas* and *sucancas*. If this list is complete (328 *huacas*), as it indeed appears to be, then it allows us to suggest various calendrical consequences. Although it would not be appropriate here to carry out a technical analysis of Cobo's list, certain general characteristics of such a *ceque* calendar can be proposed.

One observation of the sun was made along a *ceque* radiating from the Temple of the Sun: the one toward sunrise on May 25. Perhaps one other solar observation was made along a *ceque* in the opposite direction. But all other solar observations were done from higher places just outside town. Based on our data on stars and certain *huacas* in the *ceque* system, we believe that all risings and settings of stars were observed from the Temple of the Sun. In contrast to the *sayhuas*—upright, manmade stone pillars that were used for observing the sun—the *huacas* were mostly natural topographical features whose worship was part of a cult to the earth. The rather irregular numerical distribution of the *huacas* over the *ceques* and groups of three *ceques* seems to be conditioned by their calendrical use. The number of *huacas*—on *ceques*, on groups of *ceques*, and in each of the quarters—reveals that the Inca were concerned with bringing in line the worship of the moon during its full and new phases (these phases occur every twenty-nine and one-half days) with a cult of the sun (the sun is the cause of the moon's phases), as well as with a cult of the stars (against which the moon shifts its position every night). The year can thus be divided into twelve solar months of thirty or thirty-one days each, while the moon will reach the same position among the stars every twenty-seven and one-third nights. Rituals during full and new moons carried out a balancing act between these two cycles related to the sun and the stars; one cycle occurred during the day and the other at night, while the moon can be observed both day and night.

MYTHS AND LEGENDS. Irrespective, however, of where a technical analysis of the *ceque* calendar leads us, the data given by the anonymous chronicler and by Polo and Cobo allow us to integrate Inca ideas of time and space with their calendrical rituals, legendary history, and myths. Each political division carried out rituals during the particular month after which it was named; we can assume, therefore, that each group's ideas about its function in society, its past, and its origin myths are relevant for an understanding of its rituals. Each group worshiped its own mythical ancestor (in the form of a mummy). Influenced by certain ideas of hierarchical order, the Inca integrated these ancestors into the legendary history of their royal dynasty. This line of thought explains why ten of the twelve political divisions were linked genealogically to the dynasty and were called *panacas* (collateral lines of descent from the royal family). The remaining two divisions represented the autochthonous population of the valley of Cuzco, which had been conquered by the Inca.

Specific myths about *panacas* and former kings should help us interpret calendrical rituals. The anonymous chronicler gives us one clue on how to proceed. He claims that each division—that is, each *panaca*—took its name from its particular month. Thus we can argue that the highest-ranked *panaca*, called *capac ayllu*, was in charge of the initiation rituals of noble youths, who were also called *capac churi* ("royal sons"). These rituals occurred during the month of Capac Raymi, which ended on the December solstice. Another *panaca*, called *aucailli* (the "victory song" that was chanted at harvest time), implying that its rituals were conducted in April. But these examples seem to be more exceptions to than confirmations of the rule, and only one chronicler (Murua) relates a myth explicitly linking two political divisions to certain months of the year and their rituals (Zuidema, 1982b).

What makes the following myth interesting is the relationship it establishes between dynastic legends and myths in Inca culture. Pachacuti Inca—who appears in the myth as the son of the first mythical founder of the royal dynasty—establishes a pact with a giant. During a month of heavy rains, the giant comes down on the rushing waters of a river some thirty kilometers from Cuzco. As the rains threaten to destroy the city, Pachacuti, who is characterized in this myth as a brash young warrior, persuades the giant to retreat, and he himself turns to stone. According to the myth, it is because of this pact with the giant that the Inca celebrated Capac Raymi in December. A sequel to the myth deals with the heroic feats of a son of Pachacuti Inca, whose conquests and marriage explain why the Inca celebrated their feast of planting (normally assigned to the month of September, but here to October 1).

Other, more legendary versions of the first myth convert Pachacuti Inca into the ninth king of the dynasty and the giant into his father, Viracocha Inca; it is these conversions that allow us to relate their *panacas* to specific months. These versions present Pachacuti Inca as the reorganizer of the city, its political system, and its calendar. Both kings are seen as historical persons, but their mythical aspects crystallize them into deities in their own right: they become the thunder god, worshiped by Pachacuti Inca as his personal god, and Viracocha, the god whom the Spanish misinterpreted as the Inca creator god. Viracocha Inca, the king, was thought to be the ancestor of the high priests of Cuzco. It may be suggested here that the giant in the myth should be associated with the society's concerns during the month of March. This was the month in which the priests of the Sun carried out rituals intended to curtail the rains and to prepare for the forthcoming dry season and harvest; they also directed the building of dams in mountain lakes to store irrigation water for use during the dry season.

No dynastic legends like those found at Cuzco were recorded for central Peru by the Spanish chroniclers, who do, however, relate stories of battles, similar to that between Pachacuti and the giant, that were fought between the thunder god and a primordial deity in the times before a great flood.

The story of Pachacuti Inca functioned on two different temporal levels in Cuzco: as a myth that was related to the yearly calendar and as a dynastic legend. It should be observed, therefore, that the temporal sequence was not the same in both cases. In the myth, the giant is associated with a calendrical concern (in March) that followed the one associated with Pachacuti Inca (in December). In the dynasty, Viracocha Inca is the father of Pachacuti Inca. Dynastic interest established a kind of causal link between the legendary versions of the stories told about succeeding kings. But the myths, as seasonal versions of the same stories, did not follow the same temporal sequence.

Here it is probably more the calendrical rituals that, in terms of a closed annual cycle, can bring unity into Inca thought, integrating the cosmological and political aspects of their society. On the basis of the data on Inca months in the chronicles, Henrique Urbano has evaluated the dialectical relationships between the gods Viracocha and Inti (Sun), who symbolize the opposing values of water and fire, respectively. Both are associated with animal symbols: Viracocha with the *amaru* ("serpent"), which is related to farming and the fertility of the earth, and Inti with the *guaman* ("falcon") and *puma* ("mountain lion"), which both represent warfare. In this occurrence, Inti is emblematic of society and of the inside, while Viracocha symbolizes nature and the outside.

RITUAL AND THE INCA CALENDAR. The analytical value of the data available allows us to study various other aspects of the Andean calendar. One aspect, that of human sacrifice, was of capital importance in the Inca state, establishing political alliances and hierarchical relationships between peoples brought under imperial rule. Victims from all parts of the empire were brought to Cuzco, either to be sacrificed there or to be sent elsewhere to be sacrificed. In journeying to and from Cuzco, they traveled along routes that were as straight as possible and that, like the lines radiating from Cuzco, were called *ceques*. The data suggest that the system of human sacrifices was integrated into the calendar. Various kinds of animals were sacrificed according to the particular occasion; they were eaten or burned, and their blood was also used. Furthermore, ashes, including those of textiles and other products, were saved so that they could be thrown into rivers at appropriate times of the year.

The most important sacrifices of all, however, were those of llamas. These animals were used for various ritual purposes according to their variety (alpaca, llama, guanaco, vicuña), color, age, and sex. The system of llama sacrifice can be reconstructed (Zuidema and Urton, 1976). Iconographic evidence from the Huari and Tiahuanaco (1–1000 CE) cultures demonstrates how deeply rooted llama sacrifices were in Andean society.

Another important aspect of Andean culture is that of divination, studied by E.-J. de Durand (1968). However, the numerous data relating to its importance for the calendar have yet to be coordinated.

CONCLUSION. The Andean calendar as an exact numerical system for computing days in the year did not survive the onslaught of Western civilization. Many rituals and calendrical customs were integrated, however, into the Catholic calendar; many scholars have reported on this syncretism (Urbano, 1974; Poole, 1984). Their studies, as well as the data from numerous monographs on present-day Andean societies, are extremely valuable in helping us to understand the symbolic values of pre-Conquest rituals. Also, the knowledge of astronomy found among present-day Andean peoples has its principal roots in pre-Conquest culture, notwithstanding the fact that their ancestors were able to integrate Spanish learned and popular notions about the sky and weather into their own systems (Urton, 1981).

The amount of ethnohistorical data that is available for reconstruction of the Inca and other Andean calendars is broader and deeper than had previously been assumed. In Peru, indigenous calendrical notions did not have the overwhelming impact on the Spaniards as they had in Mexico. Interestingly, it is those data that did not seem important to the Spaniards—that did not threaten their missionary and political interests and that lost their significance in colonial society, although they nevertheless happened to be reported—that are the most helpful in understanding pre-Conquest Andean culture and its calendar.

SEE ALSO Ethnoastronomy.

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R. TOM ZUIDEMA (1987)

CALIPHATE. The office of “successor” to the prophet Muḥammad as the leader of the Muslim community is a uniquely Islamic institution. Hence the anglicization *caliphate* is preferable to inadequate translations of the term *khilāfah.* (This article will not address the concept of *khilāfah* in Islamic mysticism.)

Upon Muḥammad’s death in AH 11/632 CE there was in existence a self-governing, powerful Islamic community, or *ummah.* It had been shaped by the Prophet in conformity with the revelations he had received, and by the end of his life, his temporal as well as his spiritual authority was unassailable: he was the governor of the *ummah*, an arbitrator of disputes within it, the commander of its military forces, and its principal strategist. He had deputized others as his representatives to distant tribes and regions. The term *khilāfah* in the pre-Islamic sense of “deputy” was apparently used in reference to these assignees.

To the *ummah* the Prophet’s death was a shocking, even inconceivable event. The Muslims were suddenly bereft of divine guidance, the source of Muḥammad’s charismatic authority. Yet they were sufficiently imbued with the Islamic vision to persevere in efforts to shape the ideal society embodied in that moral imperative.

But who was to lead this society? What was to be his authority? The caliphate, the expression of the temporal leadership of all Muslims conceived as a single community, was the institutional answer. It had emerged *ad hoc*, however, in response to a crisis. Evolving practice framed theoretical constructions, especially in the absence of any agreed Qurʾānic foundation. Hence the conduct of those holding the office, the caliphs, elicited sharp and continuing controversy over not only individual moral qualitites but also the character of the institution itself.

The forces at work in this controversy may be divided for the purposes of analysis into Islamic theories of the caliphate and historical influences on the institution.

CLASSICAL THEORIES OF THE CALIPHATE. The majoritarian, Sunnī view of the origins of the caliphate is that Muḥammad left no instructions for the future leadership of the *ummah.* Yet on his death the community desperately required an acknowledged leader, since all the latent rivalries that the prophetic message had overwhelmed reemerged in tribal factionalism. The innermost core of the Muslims responded by acclaiming as their leader one of the earliest of their number and certainly among the most prestigious, Abū Bakr (r. 632–634). Whether he was actually proclaimed *khalīfāt rasūl Allāh* (“caliph of the messenger of God”) is unclear, but all Sunnīs regard him as the first caliph. His role was to lead the *ummah* in peace and in war as the Prophet had done, and to lead the ritual prayers and conduct the pilgrimage, both of which duties he had previously performed on Muḥammad’s behalf. Absent from this formulation was the prophetic role that had clothed Muḥammad’s acts with nigh impeccable authority. Theoretically, a divinely guided community of Muslims selected the early Sunnī caliphs, while its act of acclamation, the *bayʿah*, constituted an elective ideal that deprecated all subsequent dynasticism.

Evolved Sunnī theory required that a caliph be an adult male from the Quraysh, the leading tribe of Mecca. Soundness of mind and body, knowledge of the religion, piety, and probity are frequently listed among Sunnī criteria. Caliphal preogatives were to lead the prayer, to be recognized in the Friday sermon as the leader of all Muslims, to coin money, to command the army, and to receive on behalf of the *ummah* a fifth of all booty. Later, the Abbasid caliphs (750–1258) arrogated to themselves the right to wear the presumed mantle of the Prophet, a sacred relic in their possession.

Sunnis generally describe the caliph’s duties as follows: to defend the domain of Islam and to extend it if possible, to uphold the *sharīʿah*, the prescribed conduct for a Muslim, to ensure law and order so that Muslims might observe the *sharīʿah* in peace and security, to collect canonical taxes, and generally to administer the *ummah* in consultation with selected counselors.

The Shīʾī conception of the caliphate differs from the Sunni in the manner of origination and the consequences flowing therefrom. Out of certain verses of the Qurʾān and from selected *ḥadīth* (reports of the Prophet's words or deeds), the Shīʿah adduce that Muḥammad had indeed chosen a successor: his first cousin, son-in-law, and early convert, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭalib. According to the Shīʿah, a conspiracy among the companions of the Prophet denied ʿAlī his rightful position, plunging the community into error the instant Muḥammad died. That the prophet had himself selected ʿAlī establishes to Shīʾī satisfaction a leadership of far greater charismatic authority than the Sunnī version, a leadership that for most of the Shīʾī grew to incorporate impeccability and infallible interpretation of scripture.

ʿAlī did become the fourth caliph, the last of the so-called Rāshidūn or "rightly guided" caliphs, but his designation by the assassins of his predecessor, ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān (644–656) of the clan of Umayyah, precipitated a civil war that rent forever the fabric of the community. When ʿAlī was killed in 661, the caliphate passed to the Umayyads (661–750). The Shīʿah would thereafter cleave to the view that only the ʿAlids, ʿAlī's progeny, could claim the caliphate; their claim alone was divinely sanctioned. Yet the inability of the Shīʿah never to agree on a particular candidate among ʿAlī's descendants condemned their movement to martyrdom, factionalism, and futility.

The conflict between ʿAlī and the Umayyads spawned a third interpretation of the caliphate, that of the Khārijīs. In the view of these numerically few but very active dissidents, hostile to both parties following the civil war, the caliph was liable for deposition should he deviate an iota from Muḥammad's practice. The Kharijis thus depreciated the office to no better than a tribal chieftainship. Arab nomadic groups were, in fact, the milieu from which they drew their support.

HISTORICAL INFLUENCES ON THE CALIPHATE. The evolution of the caliphate reflects in microcosm the forces molding Islamic civilization. Foremost of these was the Islamic moral imperative, expressed in the Qurʾān and the *sunnah*, or custom, of the Prophet. However visionary and inspirational these Islamic teachings were, they offered little specific guidance on the shape of Islamic leadership, principally the prophetic model and a framework of moral principles. But various non-Islamic influences heavily warped these Islamic precepts.

In the first Islamic century Arab tribalism was a continuing challenge to the developing caliphate. Inherited and/or acquired prestige, directly linked to lineage, constituted the basis of Arab leadership concepts. Traditionally power was closely associated with the numerical strength and past reputation of the lineage. Early Muslim caliphs lacked such esteem; only ʿUthmān had both tribal and Islamic prestige. His well-intentioned effort to use tribalism as well as Islamic prestige to enhance the caliph's authority was a major cause of his downfall. Mutual hostilities among the tribes plagued the early Muslim community: the Umayyads were constrained to form tribal marriage alliances to solidify their authority, but rising criticism of their reliance on Arab social custom was a crucial element in the dynasty's overthrow.

The later Umayyads and the early Abbasid dynasty were deeply affected by the tradition of imperial authority in the lands they had conquered. Its advocates, usually newly converted scribes, envisaged a rigidly hierarchical society of privileged rulers and taxpaying ruled, with the caliph as supreme arbiter in all matters. The Abbasid caliphs, therefore, withdrew within a royal city, appeared in public only on ceremonial occasions, ruled despotically and pursued a lifestyle greatly at variance with the Islamic values expressed in the Qurʾān and *sunnah.*

The Abbasids never exclusively adopted their imperial tradition inherited largely from the Sasanid Persians. They were acutely conscious of having acquired power by criticizing the alleged impiety of the Umayyads, so they patronized the *ʿulamāʾ* (religious scholars) as well as poets, musicians, and wine merchants. Even the Islamic aspects of the caliphate, however, succumbed to imperial majesty. Assuming charismatic throne-names, the Abbasids, following the later Umayyads, asserted that their authority derived directly from God, not from Muḥammad and certainly not from the *ummah.* If most of the pious shunned their patronage, still it was during the early Abbasid caliphate that Islamic civilization attained its full grandeur.

By the middle of the tenth century, however, the caliph was a virtual prisoner in his palace, his authority and his majesty evaporated. Between 945 and 1055 the Buyids, tribesmen from Iran professing Shiism, ruled the caliphal capital of Baghdad yet retained the Sunnī caliphate, perhaps recognizing that a pliant puppet symbolizing the unity of Islam was politically more useful to them than a Shīʿī caliph demanding at least their respect. Furthermore, the Buyids refused to recognize the Shīʿī Fatimid caliphate that had emerged in North Africa in 909 and was preparing to advance eastward to establish itself in Cairo (969) with the hegemony of the Muslim world as its manifest goal. As an extremist Shīʿī dynasty, the Fatimids were a menace to both Sunnī and moderate Shīʿī Muslims.

Such a threatening Shīʿī presence in North Africa evoked a response from the remnant of the Umayyad dynasty in Spain (755–1031). Heretofore content with lesser titles despite nonrecognition of their Abbasid successors, the Spanish Umayyads now claimed the caliphate in 929 as a rallying point for nearby Sunnīs. The simultaneous existence of two Sunnī caliphs presented a challenge to those religious scholars bent on accommodating their political theory to the actual historical process. Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī (d. 1027), for example, argued that if an ocean should separate the *ummah* into two distant parts, a second caliph was unfortunately justifiable. This view was firmly rejected, however, by the jurist Abū al-Ḥasan al-Māwardī (d. 1058), who would condone no attenuation of the caliphal prerogatives.

Rescue, if it can be so characterized, came in the form of the Seljuk Turks, tribesmen from Central Asia who styled themselves champions of Sunnism while continuing to dominate the caliph. In the eleventh century they reversed the tide of political Shiism, yet in their train came a new influence damaging to the concept of the caliphate: visions of world domination nurtured among pastoralists of the broad Asian steppes. Incipient with the Seljuks, the view reached full force among the pagan Mongols, who would suffer no rival, however moribund, to a Mongol khanate destined to rule the earth. Their assault on Baghdad in 1258 extinguished the classical caliphate.

Although they soon became Muslim, those Mongols who ruled in Islamic lands and the Turco-Mongol dynasties that succeeded them gave little heed to the caliphate. They claimed to rule by divine right and garnished their own tradition with the Persian concepts of a functionally hierarchical society. Islamic scholarship adjusted, however reluctantly, to this new reality: henceforth the *ʿulamāʾ*, claiming to be the guardians of the *sharīʿah*, conferred the title of *khalīfat Allāh* ("deputy of God") upon any ruler who upheld that body of sacred law and ruled righteously. The once-exalted title became one of many with which Muslim rulers of succeeding centuries adorned their chancery documents.

The Mamluk sultans of Egypt, however, adopted an alleged scion of the Abbasid house as legitimator of their oligarchic rule, seemingly a residual authority during the tension-laden interlude between the death of one ruler and the consolidation of his successor. Until 1500, Indian kings used to seek investiture documents from this "shadow caliph" to bolster their tenuous legitimacy. The Ottoman conqueror of Egypt, Yavuz Sultan Selim, then took this putative Abbasid caliph to Istanbul in 1517, an event subsequently exploited by Ottoman sultans of the nineteenth century to substantiate their own caliphal claims.

By the late nineteenth century the force of European imperialism had sparked a revival of the caliphate in a new form that engendered as much controversy among Muslims as had the classical version. The Ottoman sultan, ruling a sprawling empire threatened by European powers, sought to elevate his prestige and retain a link to his lost Muslim subjects by recasting the caliphate into a spiritual office. This device appealed to Muslims under colonial rule, such as in India, tsarist Russia, the Malay Peninsula, and the Indonesian archipelago. Even in British-occupied Egypt it elicited a favorable response. But within the Ottoman empire, non-Muslim nationalists struggling for independence regarded the revived concept of the caliphate as an instrument to marshal Muslim support for their suppression. By the eve of the First World War this view was shared even by some Muslim Arabs who decried the Ottoman caliphate was a sham lacking the slightest trace of a Quraysh pedigree. Both Islamic reformers and Muslim nationalists reviled the Ottoman sultan/caliph and, citing classical scholars to support their contention, characterized the Rāshidūn as the only true caliphs.

In retrospect, it is not surprising that the most secular of the nationalist movements in Muslim countries, the Turkish, should have abolished the Ottoman caliphate in 1924; at the time it came as a shock to the entire Muslim world. The Indian Khilafat Conference (1919–1933), advocating self-rule for Indian Muslims because they owed spiritual allegiance to the caliph, found its cause hopelessly undercut. Muslims elsewhere demanding independence from colonialism had to revise their strategy once they overcame their disappointment.

In the newly independent Arab world a contest for the caliphate emerged, but the effort to revive the "true" caliphate was short-lived. Three conferences over a brief span (1926–1931) broke up in disarray. It was soon apparent that new nation-states opposed the restoration of such a vaguely defined but potentially influential institution unless their own governments could control it.

The quickened religious pulse in the Islamic world today has evoked no noticeable inclination to revive the concept of the caliphate. It would seem that however much Muslims may desire a greater sense of unity, any expression of such sentiment is unlikely to assume the caliphal form.

SEE ALSO Imamate; Modernism, article on Islamic Modernism; Ummah.

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CALLIGRAPHY

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
CHINESE AND JAPANESE CALLIGRAPHY
HEBREW MICROGRAPHY
ISLAMIC CALLIGRAPHY

CALLIGRAPHY: AN OVERVIEW

The term calligraphy derives from the Greek word *graphein* (to write) and *kallos* (beautiful); it has therefore often been identified with "beautiful writing." But calligraphy is more than that. It arises out of a combination of several important elements: the attitude of society to writing; the religious concepts involved; the importance and function of the text; definite, often mathematically based rules about the correct interaction between lines and space and their relationship to each other; and a mastery and understanding of the script, the writing material, and the tools used for writing. Writing and script store information essential to the political, social, and economic survival of a particular group; they are as such part of the infrastructure of society. Calligraphy makes a statement about the sum total of its cultural and historical heritage. As such it can become subject to political and nationalistic/religious expressions and pressures. In addition, calligraphy united the pictorial with the scriptorial. A calligraphic passage, or even a single Chinese character, not only provides information through its scriptorial meaning but also communicates on a more direct and archetypal level through its inherent pictorial powers. Unlike writing, calligraphy cannot be acquired simply by learning; it demands insight and individuality, but individuality expressed within strictly prescribed boundaries.

Calligraphy needs enabling tools: a smooth writing surface such as paper, parchment, or silk and instruments like a quill pen and brush to produce the variation of lines so essential for true calligraphy. The sharply yielding point of a metal stylus on wax (as used in Rome and Greece), wet clay in Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean, or palm leaves on which the script is incised in South and Southeast Asia can produce pleasing results but not calligraphy. The material and the instruments used for writing simply do not allow the production of free-flowing lines. Though stone is not the best medium, it served well to receive and preserve calligraphic copies; indeed, Western calligraphy can trace its roots to the stone inscription found on Trajan's (r. 98–117 CE) column.

The other important factor is motivation. According to the above definition, only three civilizations have produced true calligraphy: the Chinese (and those who use the Chinese script, namely Japanese and Koreans), the Arabs (and those who use the Arabic script), and Western civilization based on Roman letters, Roman laws, and the Christian church. In the case of Arabic calligraphy, it was the revelation of the Qurʾān and Islamic conquest; in the Far East artistic sensibility and political hegemony; and in the West the discipline of Roman letters and Christianity.

Calligraphy flourishes within a definite discipline. Scribal authorities such as the ones established in medieval monasteries of Europe; Ibn Muqlah's (866–940 CE) reforms of the Arabic script based on the interaction between the rhombic dot, the standard alif, and the standard cycle; and the original definition of a Chinese character based within a square. There is also a connection with dynastic elements. For example, after the fall of Rome in the fifth century, a number of "national hands" developed in the various states carved from the disintegrating empire: the Merovingian style, the Visigothic script, Carolingian minuscule, Gothic, and so on.

THE POSITION OF THE CALLIGRAPHER IN SOCIETY AND RELIGION. The position of calligrapher in society and religion reflects the attitude to his craft and the level on which it is practiced. In Europe and the Arab world calligraphy has always been first and foremost in the service of God and the divine Revelation. In the West the calligrapher was "in service" too, first to a human master (Rome), then to the monastic order to which he had given his life, and eventually simply to the customer who paid him. Only in the Far East did the calligrapher exist in its own right. He did not propagate any secular or religious order; his calligraphy was, with definite restrictions, an expression of his inner self.

Though mainly practiced by men, none of the three great civilizations actively forbade women to become calligraphers. The first Chinese treatise on calligraphy, published in 320 CE, that established definite criteria, still valid today, was written by the Lady Wei Shao. It is thought that even the great Wang Xizhi (321–379 CE) was one of her students. In China and Japan calligraphy was an accomplishment practiced by the elite for the elite; a good calligraphic hand ensured success in the civil service examinations (enforced during the Tang period, 618 to 907 CE). During the Japanese Heian period (794–1185 CE) it almost took the place of an aphrodisiac in courtly circles. If the first note from a prospective lover proved indifferently written, the affair could not proceed. A special form of women's calligraphy, written in the hiragana style, developed. The Islamic world, too, knew famous women calligraphers. Some Muslim ladies achieved a high competence in calligraphy; the emperor Aurangzeb's daughter Zebunnisa (1639–1702), for example, a great patroness of art and learning, was proficient in at least three calligraphic styles. In the Maghrib (the western part of the Islamic world) women were told that they had to write at least one Qurʾān to make a good marriage. Calligraphy written by eighteenth-century Turkish women is still kept in the mosques at Istanbul. Christianity had always favored literacy in women, hoping that a good education would make them more suitable for the monastic life, should their parents decide to dedicate them. Nuns often collaborated with monks in the production of calligraphic manuscripts, but unlike in China and in the Islamic world they worked, as did the monks, anonymously. Western calligraphy, which arose simply from copying texts that were often brought back after difficult journeys from Rome or neighboring monasteries, was part of the life to which they had dedicated themselves, and, like their male colleagues, they were strictly forbidden from boasting. This was different in the Islamic countries and in China/Japan, where a long list of famous calligraphers and their biographical data were freely provided.

"BEAUTIFUL WRITING." Although outside the strict discipline of calligraphy, beautiful writing is mostly based on pictorial expressions. Writing itself began mostly with pictures: in Egypt, among the Sumerians, in the Indus Valley, and in the pre-Columbian world of Central America. In the case of the Chinese this pictorial element is often still clearly visible. Though not rooted in the knowledge of traditional science and religious conviction, beautiful writing could sometimes—as, for example, in the case of the originally Indian *siddham* script—become calligraphy in the hands of Japanese masters.

But the absence of chancelleries and scribal authority had its restrictions. Judaism, for example, has produced many fine manuscripts and beautiful micrography but no calligraphy in the strict sense. During the many years of the Diaspora there were no courts or chancelleries that could establish and control definite styles. Except for the Sefer Torah, used in the synagogue, the meaning of the text has always been more important than its visual execution.

Another concept consists of writing a picture that relates to the meaning of the text. The calligrams (text pictures) of the French poet Guillaume Apollinaire (1880–1918) go however back through history to the Greek poet Simias, who, in the fourth century BCE, wrote poems in the shape of an egg or the wings of a bird. The tradition continued and was eventually introduced into Christian Europe in the sixth century by the bishop of Poitiers, who wrote a poem in the form of a cross. Text pictures remained popular right through the Middle Ages and the baroque period and surfaced again among groups like the Dadaists and some individual modern poets. Though Islam is strictly averse to visual representation, calligraphers have been skillful in writing at least the *basmalah* ("In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful") in a variety of shapes. Such text pictures were also known in India and China and other parts of the world. Indeed the whole text of the Qurʾān, numbering some 77,934 words, has been written on the shell of a single egg.

CONTEMPORARY CALLIGRAPHY. In the West printing has generally been considered a move toward the end of calligraphy. But the twentieth century has seen a remarkable renewal of interest, both in Europe and, perhaps even more so, in America: exhibitions, the foundation of professional societies, teaching at art schools and colleges, and a growing circle of gifted amateurs and fine professional scribes. The roots go back to the Arts and Crafts movement of the 1880s and the work of William Morris (1834–1896) and, most of all, Edward Johnson (1872–1944). In Islamic countries and in the Far East the situation has always been different. Calligraphy has never been a disinherited art form, and printing (with wood block on which the hand of the writer could be incised) has never meant an end of calligraphic traditions. Letters, always the main basis of Western calligraphic traditions, began to appear in paintings (such as those of the cubists, surrealists, Picasso, and Joan Miró) and on newspapers (characters written by Mao Zedong on the masthead of the *Peoples Daily*) and posters. Most important, however, was a certain kind of symbiosis between the three main styles that began to appear from the middle of the last century. Western calligraphers began to take an interest in Eastern conceptions of art and calligraphy; a definite example is Mark Tobey (1890–1976). Islamic calligraphers, many educated at Western universities, have begun to look for new interpretations, which could be incorporated within the core of their own traditions. But it is mainly in Japan that calligraphy is still deeply respected. Prices for a good piece of calligraphy may start at four thousand pounds and can go up as far as one million. There, "well written" still implies calligraphic aspirations, not just textual excellence.

SEE ALSO Alphabets.

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CALLIGRAPHY: CHINESE AND JAPANESE CALLIGRAPHY

Four thousand years ago, it is alleged, the Chinese sage Cang Jian, whose pastime was to observe birds' footprints in the sand and trace their patterns, conceived China's first writing. These were pictographs or stenographic sketches of familiar objects, animals, or birds, still more or less easily recognized. They formed no sentences or concepts, merely incomplete ideas and phrases. In the pre-Confucian, pre-Buddhist China of the Shang dynasty (1500–1050 BCE) such scripts were used to inscribe the shells and bones used for divination. Early writing is next encountered in China during the Zhou dynasty (1122–221 BCE) in the stiff, cold, classic, formal ideograms of the "great seal" style (*da zhuan*) that covered ceremonial bronzes with messages of felicity in the afterlife. These vessels, suitable for cooking or wine, were entombed with their masters, who might need such comforts as they journeyed to join their ancestors. "Great seal" was the writing Confucius read and wrote, and it is still used in China and Japan for signature seals (chops) or ornamental inscriptions of a particularly exalted sort.

Following the unification of China in 221 BCE, the first emperor of the Qin dynasty simplified and regularized the written language into the "small seal" style (*xiao zhuan*). Writing continued in use as ceremony and religious observances, but its importance increased enormously in response to the central authority's demand for records, accounts, and the issuance of edicts and orders throughout the provinces. Within a century the "regular" style (z*hen shu*) developed and became the standard form still employed today.

Wang Xizhi (321–379 CE), China's greatest calligrapher, created a cursive or "running" script (*xing shu*). He arrived at this elegant form of speed writing, which reduces the rigid formality and clarity of "regular" style to impressionistic essentials instantly comprehensible to the expert, after studying geese. He saw in their graceful, turning, supple necks precisely the strength and flexibility required of the calligrapher's brush strokes. The result was that another convenience, and yet another level of artful beauty entered writing.

Many Chinese characters are in a sense pictures (pictographs) representing "things" such as sun, moon, tree, or house; others (ideographs) represent "ideas." But by far the majority of all Chinese characters are now recognized as "logographs," that is, as graphs that represent, strictly, neither pictorial image nor brute idea but words, through a complex system of semantic and phonemic constituents that long ago escaped from a purely visual medium of representation. By combining these graphs in an endless variety of ways to make new words and then compounding them with still others, any word or idea can be expressed. For *thunder and lightning*, for example, combine *rain* and *paddy field*. For *cash money*, put the word for *gold* next to that for a guardian *spear*. Modern notions can be incorporated into the language by the same process. For *electricity*, write *thunder and lightning*, add a tail, and make a compound with the word for *feeling*. The system suits China's monosyllabic language perfectly and adapts into Japanese most conveniently. When the Chinese or Japanese regard a character, they at once see a picture, hear a sound, and perceive a meaning.

Unabridged Chinese and Japanese dictionaries list upward of forty thousand characters today. A knowledge of five thousand is sufficient for reading a newspaper. The number of strokes within a single character ranges from one (meaning "one") to thirty-three (composed of three deer, meaning "rough," "rude," or "wild"). Each stroke is either thick or thin, strong or soft, curved or straight, heavy with ink or dry and faint, pushed against the paper or lightly withdrawn from it. A character, regardless of its number of strokes, must occupy the same amount of space within an invisible square, and must be equidistant from all others on the page. Each stroke composing the ideogram must be written in correct order—from top to bottom, left to right, vertical strokes before horizontal ones.

In 405 CE, Wani, a Korean scribe well versed in Chinese classics, was hired by the imperial court of Japan as tutor to the crown prince. Japan had no written language of its own, and it had become increasingly necessary to communicate with its powerful neighbor, the "center of the universe." Within a century China began sending presents to Japan's emperor—images of Lord Buddha, sūtras translated into Chinese from the Sanskrit and Pali, and the teachings of Confucius. Scholars arrived from China bringing with them books, music, medicines (tea among them), the craft of calendar making, and the art of divination. And with them also came the "four perfections of calligraphy"—the brush, paper, ink stick, and ink stone.

Calligraphy in Japan is called *shodō*, "way of writing," and is a way of life, a path or pursuit, like *bushidō*, the path of the warrior, *sadō*, the cult of tea, or Shintō, the way of the gods. In the Nara period (710–784 CE) priests began the practice of *shakyō*, the copying over and over of sūtras, the Buddha's teachings and commentaries thereon, a custom that continues to this day. A Chinese priest had said, "If you do not understand, write the sūtra. Then you will see its inner meaning." Obediently, priests spent lifetimes at this labor in search of enlightenment (which sometimes came in the middle of an ideographic stroke), as penance, and as a means of raising temple funds. Spiritual merit accrued not only to the writer but to the beholder and to anyone who purchased the manuscript.

Japan's earliest poems were in Chinese, but gradually the Japanese broke free and began adapting monosyllabic, short, concise, and tonal Chinese to their own spoken language, which is polysyllabic, highly inflected, and periphrastic with affixes for adjectives and prefixes for nouns. In the ninth century the women of the Heian court devised brief cursive signs called *hiragana*, a syllabary that derived from Chinese and, remotely, was probably inspired by the Sanskrit alphabet known in Chinese translation.

At present, calligraphy is held in highest esteem in Japan. Scholars practice *hitsudan*, or communicating with each other by exchanging notes across a table. (They can also communicate with modern Chinese this way without knowing the pronunciation of a single spoken word.) Great calligraphers are paid as much as fifty thousand dollars a word, and specimens of fine writing adorn shopping bags, cigarette boxes, or signs outside a shop window. *Kabuki* actors are applauded for their calligraphy, and an *onnagata* (a player of female roles) will mix a touch of lipstick in his ink to add eroticism to an autograph. *Kakizome*, the first brush writing of the new year, occurs annually on January 2, and at "calligraphy meets" more than a thousand participants ranging in age from five to sixty gather in the Great Martial Arts Hall of Tokyo to compete for prizes.

Although the typewriter and the fountain pen have removed calligraphy from the daily life of the average Japanese, many men and women practice it as a form of spiritual discipline. As Aoyama San'u, one of the greatest living calligraphers, expresses it, "In calligraphy you see the reality of the person. When you write you cannot lie, retouch, ornament. You are naked before God."

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FAUBION BOWERS (1987)
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CALLIGRAPHY: HEBREW MICROGRAPHY

The patterning of Hebrew texts into ornamental motifs is a medieval art form that bears the modern name of micrography, "minute writing." Within an artistic tradition almost universally consigned to dependency on one dominant culture or another because of its minority status, this distinctive calligraphic device represents one of the most original aspects of Jewish art.

EMERGENCE OF THE ART. Micrographic decoration can be found on manuscripts from Yemen to Germany, but its historical origins lie in the eastern Mediterranean, during the first few centuries of Muslim rule. The earliest dated example is the Cairo Codex of the Prophets written in Tiberius in 894/5 CE by the renowned scholar Moshe ben Asher. In the manner of near-contemporary Qur'āns, the manuscript contains five "carpet pages" of geometric and floral motifs, but six other full-page compositions are made up of elaborate micrographic patterns; simpler lettered designs are scattered throughout the margins of the text itself, and at the end, the patron's colophon is similarly framed with writing.

In addition to the Cairo Codex of the Prophets, patterned texts appear on at least fifteen other manuscripts and fragments dating from the tenth or eleventh century, all of which are associated with Egypt, although the scribes frequently come from elsewhere in the Muslim empire. Taken together, these early examples reflect quite clearly the dual Judeo-Muslim context that literally shaped the micrographic art. The meeting ground of the two, of course, was the veneration of the word of God, but while the Muslim scribes gave visual expression to this religious stance through the refinement of the letters that made up the divine words, their Jewish counterparts opted instead to fashion words into patterns. And here, the basic conservatism of the micrographic script, which is never regularized or embellished like the Arabic letters of the Qurʾān, may well reflect a reluctance to alter the alphabet that had been used for centuries in the writing of the Torah scroll (a practice carefully regulated in the Talmud).

The words chosen for patterning were drawn from the Bible itself and the *masorah*, the critical apparatus aimed at keeping the biblical text intact through an elaborate system of word counts. Significantly, the Cairo Codex of the Prophets is also the earliest dated Bible with *masorah*—the activities of Masoretes and scribes alike (and Moshe ben Asher was both) were devoted in their respective ways to the preservation of the sacred scripture. On the popular level, these efforts were endowed with mystical and magical significance as well, through deeply rooted notions of letter symbolism and the power of the word.

In fact, it is this last dimension that suggests a concrete source for the convention of micrographic decoration, namely the amulets and charms that were commonly inscribed, in minuscule letters, with the names of God and biblical verses often patterned around magical figures. In the early micrographic Bibles, this amuletic inspiration—and intent—is apparent throughout, from arcane marginal decorations made up of in-text *masorah* to elaborate geometric carpet pages incorporating propitious biblical verses.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS. Within the Muslim world, micrography spread from the eastern Mediterranean to Yemen, where it became a highly developed art in the fifteenth century and continued into the seventeenth. The most striking example is a 1469 Pentateuch (British Museum, MS Or. 2348), with a double-page design that fashions Psalm 119 into a Mamluk metalwork pattern of mountains and fish.

Through the Iberian Peninsula the technique reached Europe by the the thirteenth century. Spanish variants on the Near Eastern repertoire include the addition of a framing text in large letters around carpet pages and the outlining of solid decorations with micrographic borders, as well as a few representational images in micrography illustrating the adjacent Bible text. The most elaborate Spanish Bible (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS Hébreu 1314–1315) opens with eight carpet pages containing the entire biblical text in micrographic interlace.

In Germany and France, Gothic marginalia—grotesques and heraldic motifs—make their way into the micrographic tradition alongside the Near Eastern interlace, while the carpet pages at the beginning and end of the manuscript give way to full-page designs inserted between individual books of the Bible, including floral and animal motifs around the initial word of the biblical text. Full-page illustrations are also formed from micrographic text, as in the representations of Aaron found at the end of the *Book of Exodus* in a 1294/5 Pentateuch (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS Hébreu 5).

Apart from a revival of decorated marriage contracts (*ketubot*) in seventeenth-century Italy, micrography, like other manuscript arts, declined in the wake of the printed book. But the technique soon reemerged throughout eastern and western Europe in popular engravings and then lithographs, with subjects ranging from *mizraḥ* and *shiviti* designs to indicate the direction of prayer toward Jerusalem to Bible illustrations, rabbi portraits, and postcard views from Palestine, all of which were often executed in an incongruously realistic style. Renewed interest in Jewish art has drawn some modern artists back to traditional micrography techniques.

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CALLIGRAPHY: ISLAMIC CALLIGRAPHY

Calligraphy occupies the highest rank among the arts of Islam: according to the tradition of the Prophet, the calligrapher, who knows how to pen in beautiful letters the word of God or even a fragment of the Qurʾān, will certainly go to Paradise. The art of calligraphy developed at an early stage of Islamic history, and soon the ungainly characters of the Semitic alphabet were transformed into decorative letters. An angular, hieratic script developed for the preservation of the Qurʾān; although several early styles existed, it is generally called Kūfī or Kufic (from the city of Kufa in Iraq), and in pious tradition certain features of it are ascribed to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, considered the patron of calligraphers. Early Kufic lacks the diacritical marks that were added after 685, as were the signs for vocalization (both in color). A cursive hand was also used, as numerous papyri show. This was developed into several styles for chancelery and copying purposes when the use of paper (introduced from China) became common in the Islamic world after 751. Early Kufic Qurʾāns are written on vellum with a reed pen; the format of the books is oblong, and only from about the tenth century was the normal book format adapted for Qurʾāns, apparently first in the eastern Islamic world. With this change of format, the lettering too changed: the broad, very impressive early Kufic assumed a taller, more graceful stature, and its developed forms are still used for decorative purposes.

The cursive hand was transformed into true calligraphy by the Abbasid vizier Ibn Muqlah (d. 940), who invented the system of measuring the letters by circles and semicircles, with the first letter, alif, becoming the measure for the other twenty-seven letters. As alif is basically a straight vertical line with the numerical value 1 and is used in mystical speculation as a symbol for Allāh (God), the formation of the letters "in the shape of alif" corresponds in a mystical way to the shaping of Adam "in his, God's, form." The rules of Ibn Muqlah were refined by Ibn al-Bawwab (d. 1032). Along with the circles, the square dots produced by the tip of the reed pen served as measuring units: an alif could be five, seven, or nine points high, and all the other letters had to be formed accordingly. Sūfī interpretation saw here the primordial dot from which everything created developed. Cursive writing replaced Kufic first in books and documents (in early days usually written as scroll), then, in the thirteenth century, also in epigraphy, where the angular letters had grown, between 800 and 1250, into multiple forms of floriated, foliated, and plaited Kufic, which became barely legible but formed exquisite geometrical ornaments. In Iran, a "hanging," slanted cursive developed from grammatical exigencies; it was refined according to Ibn Muqlah's rules to become the "bride of Islamic writings," *nastaʿlīq*, the ideal vehicle for copying Persian, Turkish, and Urdu poetry.

Calligraphy can be exercised on every material: vellum, papyrus, and paper (paper mills are found from Spain to India); it is woven into silk and linen, embroidered on velvet, used in metalwork and wood, on glass and ceramics, on stones and tiles. Brick and tile compositions result in "square" Kufic, where the names of God and the Prophet (and in Iran, ʿAlī) or religious formulas can cover whole walls in geometrical design. Calligraphy on paper (which includes the patterns for the other types of writing) is written with a reed pen; only very rarely—in early days in Central Asia and India—a brush may have been used. The trimming of the pen in distinct angles and the preparation of the various types of ink belong to the arts the calligrapher has to learn, as he has to study the shape of each and every letter for years before becoming a master who is allowed to sign works with his *katabahu*, "has written." Only in North Africa did pupils write whole words immediately, which accounts for the less "calligraphic" quality of the so-called Maghribi style.

Later calligraphers liked to form *tughrās*—originally the elaborate signature or handsign of a ruler at the beginning of a document. Subsequently the word is applied to all kinds of artistic shapes: mirrored sentences, pious formulas in the shape of birds, lions, or other creatures, faces made of sacred names, or harmonically elaborated calligrams of invocations, prayers, or divine names. The imagery of calligraphy permeates Islamic poetry, and the interpretation of letters according to their numerical value and their "mystical" qualities was, and still is, widespread.

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ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL (1987)

CALVERT, GEORGE (1580?–1632), secretary of state and privy councillor under King James I of England; the first Lord Baltimore, principally known for his efforts in advancing religious toleration in an age that regarded pluralism as dangerous.

Calvert's commitment to religious toleration was a reflection of his unsettled religious life. Born into a Roman Catholic family that was troubled periodically for its allegiance to a proscribed church, he lived as a Catholic during the first twelve years of his life. In 1592 his father succumbed to the harassment of the Yorkshire High Commission and certified his conformity to the rites of the Church of England. George Calvert soon conformed and for the next thirty-two years lived as a Protestant.

At about the age of fourteen Calvert matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford, where he studied foreign languages. After earning his bachelor's degree, he spent three years studying municipal law at the Inns of Court. In 1603, while on a continental tour, he came to the attention of secretary of state Robert Cecil, who was in Paris. Employed as one of his many secretaries, Calvert used Cecil's influence to begin a slow but steady climb in the government of James I. He traveled overseas on a number of diplomatic missions. In Ireland he served as a member of a commission investigating the complaints of Irish Roman Catholics. In 1610 Calvert was named one of the clerks of the Privy Council. Later he assisted James in writing a tract refuting the Dutch theologian Conrad Vorstius. Two years after knighting him in 1617, James appointed Calvert as one of the secretaries of state and made him a member of the Privy Council.

During the negotiations to marry heir apparent Prince Charles to the Spanish Infanta, and to cement an alliance between Spain and England, Calvert, as secretary of state, became closely identified with both the Spanish and Roman Catholic causes. Laboring diligently to achieve the king's goal, Calvert reached the pinnacle of his power in 1621 and 1622. However, when the government scuttled the marriage treaties in 1624, Calvert lost favor at court and came under intense pressure to resign his office. During this crisis, he resolved his religious commitments, declaring his intention to live and die a Catholic. He resigned his office, selling it for three thousand pounds. James elevated him to the Irish peerage by creating him baron of Baltimore.

Out of office, Lord Baltimore turned his attention to his Irish estates and to the supervision of his Newfoundland colony, for which he had received a charter in 1621. In 1628 he returned to Newfoundland intending to colonize the region with a religiously diverse population. However, the forbidding climate and the hostility of the French convinced him to abandon his plans of permanent residency in Newfoundland. Baltimore subsequently journeyed to Virginia and, impressed by what he saw there, returned to England in 1630 to secure a charter for a colony along Chesapeake Bay.

Despite the opposition encountered from some of the Protestant settlers in Newfoundland to his policy of religious toleration, the Catholic Baltimore drew upon his own experiences in government and rejected the dominant concept of *cuius regio eius religio,* namely that the local ruler's religion must be the religion of the region. Rather, he sought to found a colony where Catholics and Protestants could work together to achieve an economically viable enterprise. He died in April 1632, shortly before the Maryland Charter passed its final seals. The founding of the colony in 1634 was left to his son Cecil, the second Lord Baltimore.

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JOHN D. KRUGLER (1987)

CALVIN, JOHN (1509–1564), primary Protestant reformer, biblical scholar, church organizer, and theologian. Also a humanist and linguist, Calvin helped to shape and standardize French language and literary style.

Calvin was reclusive and reticent; hence the only Calvin we know is the public figure. Of his first twenty-five years we know comparatively little. He was born at Noyon (province of Picardy), France, on July 10, 1509, the fourth of six children born to Gérard Cauvin and Jeanne Lefranc. Christened Jean Cauvin, from his university days he used the name Calvin, the latinized form of Cauvin. He spent his first thirteen years in Noyon, benefiting from the rich traditions of this historic episcopal city where his father served as attorney for the cathedral and secretary to the bishop, Charles de Hangest.

Intimately associated as a youth with the de Hangest household, Calvin developed aristocratic tastes and demeanor. Church benefices permitted him to further his education at the University of Paris; he spent nearly eleven years in Paris, participating in the intellectual life both of the university and the large circle of humanist scholars at the court of the king, Francis I.

At the university, preparing for a career in theology, Calvin had completed the master of arts degree when his father had a falling-out with the bishop. The father ordered his son to change to a career in law. Obediently Calvin moved to Orléans, where the best law faculty in France, under the leadership of Pierre de l'Étoile, was located. Though more interested in humanist studies, he completely immersed himself in the law (at Orléans, Bourges, and Paris) and took his doctorate and his licentiate in three years.

In 1531 Calvin's father died excommunicate. The struggle to secure a Christian burial for his father doubtless soured Calvin's relations with the Roman church. But for the moment the effect of his father's death was to permit him to commit himself to the uninterrupted pursuit of humanist studies.

In 1532 Calvin published his first book, a commentary on Seneca's *On Clemency.* Though distinguished for its learning, the book did not win him any acclaim. His days of humanist study in Paris were cut short when, in 1533, his close friend Nicholas Cop, rector of the University of Paris, delivered an address that incorporated ideas of the Lutheran Reformation. Reaction by the theologians at the Sorbonne was strong, and because Calvin had a hand in the composition of the address, he, along with Cop, was forced to flee for his life. Although scholarly opinion differs, it appears that shortly thereafter he underwent the "sudden conversion" he speaks about later. A marked man in France, Calvin spent the rest of his life in exile.

Having turned his considerable talents to the support of the Reformation, in early 1536 Calvin published at Basel the first edition of his epochal *Institutes of the Christian Religion.* Intended as a defense of the French Protestants to the king of France, it marked Calvin as the foremost mind of Protestantism. The desired life of solitude and study that permitted its composition could never again be Calvin's. In late July of 1536, he happened to stop in the small city of Geneva; there God "thrust him into the fray," as he was to say. Geneva had recently declared for the Protestant faith under the urging of the fiery evangelist Guillaume Farel, one of Calvin's colleagues from his Paris days. Farel, learning of Calvin's presence in the city, sought him out and urged him to join in the work of reform at Geneva. When Calvin refused, Farel thundered that God would punish him for turning his back on that work. The shaken Calvin heard it as the summons of God and agreed to stay. Except for a three-year period of peaceful study and ministry in Strasbourg (1538–1541), Calvin was henceforth associated with the city and republic of Geneva in a stormy ministry designed to bring the city into conformity with the biblical model as he understood it.

Calvin's ideal for Geneva was that church and state work hand in hand to create and govern a utopian society in which the biblical worldview was enforced. But the Genevan state was determined to keep the church under its control. A man of courage and indomitable will, Calvin took up the battle. Armed only with the power of the pulpit and of the church institutions, through persistence, adherence to biblical principles, organizational talents, and moral conviction, he managed to overcome massive resistance and to see most of his ideals realized. Geneva was transformed from a city of ill repute to one in which a strict moral code regulated the lives of all, regardless of rank or class. In spite of the radical harshness of his policies, by the end of his life Calvin was widely respected, even admired, by the Genevans. From an international perspective, Geneva became the model for the emerging Protestant states, a city of refuge for persecuted Protestants, and the so-called "Rome" of Protestantism. Of perhaps capital importance, Calvin's program—alone among the Protestant groups—included both a training center (in the University of Geneva, which he established) and an acceptance of a missionary mandate to export Calvinism throughout the world. Hence Calvinism, or Reformed Protestantism, was the only Protestant group with universalistic designs.

Unquestionably, Calvin was first and foremost a man of ideas, although he effectively blended thought and action. True to his Renaissance humanist orientation, he was interested only in what was useful. All of his ideas are designed for practical application, whether to an individual religious experience or to a specific activity of the church. Further, the rhetorical and pedagogical program of the humanists formed the basis of his thought, and their devotion to original sources determined his methodology. As a theologian he intended only to set forth scriptural teaching. He accommodated ambiguity and contradiction in his theology, for people are both limited in mental capacity and debilitated by sin, hence totally reliant upon the revelation of God in scripture.

For Calvin, the word of God in scripture is generated by the Holy Spirit and, therefore, properly interpreted only by the Holy Spirit. It is, thus, a spiritual message. Hence Calvin should not be viewed as an academic theologian, or as a theologian writing for intellectual purposes. He wrote for the church, for believers; his purpose was to edify, to form the pious mind that would emerge in reverential, grateful worship and adoration of God. He constantly warned his readers not to indulge in idle speculation, not to seek to know anything except what is revealed in the scripture, not to forget that theology is more of the heart than of the head. Consequently, being biblical, practical, and spiritual, his theology was of a different type from that of most of the later Calvinists who wrote for the university audience, for those who regarded theology as the "queen of the sciences" in the world of ideas.

The principal source for Calvin's thought is, of course, the *Institutes.* This book is best understood as a manual on spirituality. And, although the corpus of his writings is great, Calvin's ideas, whether found in sermons, biblical commentaries, or polemical literature, are consistent with what is presented in the *Institutes.*

In general Calvin had fully accepted Luther's idea that salvation is by grace alone through faith. Beyond this, scholars have been unable to establish that any one specific doctrine is central to his thought. The basic and fundamental development of his thought was not according to the traditional topics of theology, sequentially and logically developed. Formally he organized his material according to the topical format, suggesting that the key to its analysis be sought from the perspective of one or several discrete topics. Yet this approach has only led to an impasse—even to the conclusion that he was in logic and purpose inexact and ambiguous. The often-discussed doctrines of providence and predestination, for example, are presented by Calvin as the response or affirmation of a man of faith, affirming the control of God in his life, not as an epistemological program. To approach his theology from specific topics such as these has not been fruitful. There are, however, larger, general ideas or themes that run through the *Institutes* from the first page to the last like so many threads in an intricate tapestry and that point to what is essential in his thought. He understood the redemptive message to be the same in both the Old and the New Testament; hence his theology can be seen as all of a piece, permitting the dominance of the thematic approach rather than the topical.

Calvin's theological program is based on the dictum of Augustine that man is created for communion with God and that he will be unfulfilled until he rests in God. Calvin usually expresses this idea in terms of a union with the Maker and Redeemer, which is presented as essential to man's spiritual life. Thus the relationship between God and man is made the basis of all theological discourse, and this union or communion is established and maintained through what Calvin calls knowledge, a theme or idea that becomes an ordering principle of his theology. Knowledge of God the creator and knowledge of God the redeemer are the two divisions of his thought. He uses the term *knowledge* practically synonymously with the term *faith.* It comprises both the elements of objective information and its subjective appropriation, but essentially it consists of a reverential and worshipful trust in the goodness and bounty of God. As with all of his theological ideas, two poles or foci must be kept in balance: the knowledge of God and the knowledge of self. God is always—in the context of every theological discussion—at once the great, infinite, and incomprehensible being who calls all things out of nothing, as well as the loving, condescending, and revealing being who calls men and women to commune with him. God is always hidden and revealed, both beyond our comprehension and revealed to us at our level. Humans, albeit the greatest of God's creations, are always dependent creatures, both because we are created to be so and because our sin renders us totally helpless in spiritual things. Consequently God must always be the initiator of any communication with us. And hence humility, sobriety, and teachableness are our principal virtues.

Although he always keeps in mind the perfect condition in which all things were created, because of the cataclysmic event of the Fall, all of Calvin's theology is concerned with redemption, with the restoration of the state that God originally created. Christ alone is the mediator who both reveals and effects this redemption, or restoration. Human beings are in bondage to sinful nature, so anything relating to this restoration must be initiated by God through Christ. Restoration occurs when the person is united to Christ by responding in faith to the provision made through Christ's death and resurrection, but this mystical union occurs only if and when the hidden or secret work of the Holy Spirit engenders that faith. The faithful person is called to obedience, to be a servant of righteousness, to model his or her life after the incarnate Christ. In this sense Calvin's theology is Christocentric. But he did not focus attention only in the area of Christology, for all that Christ does and is, is made real to man only through the work of the Holy Spirit. Indeed, all of his soteriology is presented in the context of the work of the Holy Spirit, "the bond by which Christ effectually unites us to himself." The work of restoration, by the power of the Holy Spirit, is done in the context of the church, God's gracious provision for the activity of preaching and teaching, for the administration of the sacraments, and for the communion (and reproof) of the saints.

Calvinists were the most vital of the Protestant groups, spreading throughout Europe and the New World, triumphing in Switzerland, the Netherlands, and Scotland, and for a time in England and America. Scholarly opinion is divided over whether this success is due mainly to Calvin's theological teaching, to his training and educational program (the complete revamping of the elementary schools and the creation of the University of Geneva), or to his organizational talent. Probably all of these are contributory factors, and perhaps others, but it does seem that the vitality of the Reformed or Calvinist movement, and therefore Calvin's most enduring legacy, is due principally to the nature of his church, to its unique, adaptable, and efficient organization. Although its unique blend of theory and practicality meant that Calvin's theology could be drawn upon by a variety of different interests, it can also be shown that his theology was revised almost beyond recognition very shortly after his death and that the *Institutes* were not widely read in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Moreover, while the educational system produced an informed and well-trained church membership that was designed to be educationally self-perpetuating, it seems undeniable that the unique organizational structure of the Calvinist church was required for the growth and development of the educational program. Calvin appears to have recognized as much, for on his return to Geneva in 1541, his first major undertaking was to secure approval of his *Ecclesiastical Ordinances,* which set forth the organization of the church.

Calvin developed a representative form of church government with the fundamental activity based in the local church. The leadership was elected from the local membership, and the power, which ultimately resided in the local membership as a whole, was vested in these elected officials, not in the clergy. While there are three higher levels of authority above the local church, established in ascending representative bodies and culminating in the national or general assembly, part of the genius of this organization lies in the ability of the local church, in times of emergency, to function without the meeting of the upper-level bodies. As a result these Calvinist churches were nearly impossible to eradicate. Silencing the minister and arresting the leadership only temporarily disrupted the church, for the minister was not an essential element in the church's continuance, and in a short time new leaders would be elected. So the church could survive, even flourish, under conditions of severe persecution. Beyond the necessary capacity to continue to exist in times when religious persecution and wars were the order of the day, the representative nature of the church responded to the psychological and political reality that humankind is more likely to be committed to a cause when participation in the decision-making process is involved. The impact of the representative nature of the Calvinist church has been significant in the development of the democratic political structures of the Western world.

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BRIAN G. ARMSTRONG (1987)

CAMPBELL, ALEXANDER (1788–1866), one of the founders and the foremost early leader of the Disciples of Christ. Campbell was born in County Antrim, Northern Ireland, the son of a Presbyterian minister, Thomas Campbell. He immigrated to America in 1809, joining his father, who had come two years earlier. When he arrived, Campbell discovered that his father had broken with the Presbyterian church and had begun a small, nonsectarian "Christian association." Having been exposed to similar New Testament primitivist ideas in Scotland, young Campbell embraced his father's reform and quickly became the most prominent leader of the new movement. For a time the Campbells were Baptists, and from 1823 to 1830 Alexander edited the *Christian Baptist*, a periodical that attracted many supporters in the West and South. Beginning in the 1830s Campbell and his "Reforming Baptist" supporters separated into independent churches. Campbell preferred the name Disciples of Christ, but local churches frequently were called Christian Church or Church of Christ. In 1832 the church nearly doubled in size through a union with the Christian movement led by Barton Stone of Kentucky; Campbell quickly became the dominant figure in the united denomination.

From 1830 until 1864 Campbell edited a journal called the *Millennial Harbinger*, which became a mirror of his maturing thought. The heart of Campbell's plea was an appeal for Christian union through the "restoration of the ancient order of things," that is, by restoring New Testament Christianity. Prior to 1830 Campbell was extremely iconoclastic in his attacks on the popular churches, ridiculing the clergy and seeming to attack all cooperative societies. After 1830 he became a more constructive builder and seemed confident that the millennium was about to begin, initiated by the restoration movement. In 1849 a group of Disciples leaders established the young church's first national organization, the American Christian Missionary Society, and, although he was not present at the meeting, Campbell accepted the presidency of the society.

Campbell's formal college training consisted of less than one year at Glasgow University, but he was a man of considerable erudition. He established a national reputation as a debater, especially as a result of widely publicized debates with the renowned Scottish socialist and atheist Robert Owen, in 1829, and with the Roman Catholic archbishop of Cincinnati, John B. Purcell, in 1837. Campbell became financially independent as a result of his marriage to Margaret Brown in 1811, and he spent the remainder of his life living near his wife's home in Brooke County in western Virginia. He became a moderately wealthy man, and in 1829, in his only venture into politics, he was elected a delegate to the Virginia Constitutional Convention. In 1841, Campbell established Bethany College near his home. Until his death he served as president and professor of moral sciences at the college and trained a generation of leaders for Disciples churches. Campbell traveled and preached widely throughout the United States, as well as in England and Scotland. The aging reformer was discouraged by the sectional tension caused by the slavery debate and the Civil War. He counseled moderation and believed that the restoration movement could survive the tragedy, but by the time of his death his millennial hopes had given way to pessimism.

SEE ALSO Disciples of Christ.

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DAVID EDWIN HARRELL, JR. (1987)

CAMPBELL, JOSEPH (1904–1987). Joseph Campbell was perhaps the best-known mythologist of the twentieth century. His fame was largely due to his highly acclaimed public television interviews with Bill Moyers in 1985–1986 and his posthumously published best-selling book, *The Power of Myth* (1988), based on that series, and in no small part to movie director George Lucas, who gave Campbell credit for inspiring his movie *Star Wars* (1977). Campbell's books on myth had many admirers, from literary critics who found his analysis of hero myths interpretatively rich, to the general public, who loved Campbell's retellings of his "myths to live by." Campbell believed that the world's great myths symbolized the ultimate human spiritual goal of living joyfully and mystically, at one with one's true self and the cosmos, and generations of fans took his advice to "follow your own bliss."

EARLY YEARS. Campbell was born in New York City in 1904 to a prosperous Irish-American family who gave their gifted child every advantage. He was trained in Roman Catholicism at parochial school, but became fascinated by non-Western traditions after seeing American Indians at Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show. Campbell read widely, including many Indian myths that, he noticed, shared common motifs with stories from the Bible. After entering Columbia University in 1921, Campbell continued his studies in languages and literature, and studied anthropology with Franz Boas and philosophy with John Dewey. Campbell was introduced to Eastern religions on a trip to Europe before his college graduation. There he met Jiddu Krishnamurti and read Edwin Arnold's *The Light of Asia,* with its translations of Asian religious classics like the Upaniṣads and the life of the Buddha. Both Hinduism and Buddhism were to have a major impact on Campbell's interpretation of myths.

After graduating in 1926 with a master's degree in medieval literature, Campbell lived abroad in Paris and Munich on a two-year traveling fellowship, studying Romance philology and Sanskrit. He was deeply influenced by the contemporary European intellectual scene, and particularly intrigued by the fictional heroes of novelists James Joyce and Thomas Mann, cultural morphologist Adolf Bastian's notion of elementary ideas, ethnologist Leo Frobenius's idea of culture circles, and Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung's theories of dreaming and the unconscious. Jung's theory of collective archetypes and their role in the psychic process of self-integration had a lasting impact on Campbell's thinking.

SCHOLARLY WORK. In 1934, Campbell began his teaching career at Sarah Lawrence College, where he was a popular instructor until his retirement in 1972. His first major publication, *A Skeleton Key to Finnegans Wake* (1944, with Henry Morton Robinson), was in the field of literature, but Campbell's broad scholarly interests soon shifted to mythology. He was influenced by his friendship with the German Indologist Heinrich Zimmer, whose positive views of Indian myths as repositories of timeless spiritual truths greatly impressed him. After Zimmer's untimely death in 1943, Campbell edited his manuscripts, publishing Zimmer's *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization* (1946) and other important books on Indian philosophy and art, along with several volumes from the Eranos conferences in Ascona, Switzerland, for the Bollingen series.

Campbell's fascination with myth, Eastern religion, and Jungian psychology finally led to his own famous study of hero myths, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (1949). Several other notable studies on comparative mythology followed. *The Masks of God* (1959–1968), written after an eye-opening trip to India in 1954, was a monumental four-volume survey of "primitive," "oriental," "occidental," and modern literary "creative" mythology. His goal was to write a "natural history" of myths that traced "the fundamental unity of the spiritual history of mankind" by revealing themes with a worldwide distribution, such as "fire-theft, deluge, land of the dead, virgin birth, and resurrected hero" (vol. 1, p. 3). This was followed by *The Flight of the Wild Gander* (1969), a collection of Campbell's important essays on the biological, metaphysical, and historical-cultural origins of myth as well as his own positive essay on the "secularization of the sacred" in the modern world.

After retiring from Sarah Lawrence in 1972, Campbell moved to Honolulu, where he continued writing. Books from this period include *Myths to Live By* (1972), his argument that the modern world has a desperate need for new myths; *The Mythic Image* (1974), his exploration of the intimate connection between dreams, myths, and art; *The Inner Reaches of Outer Space: Metaphor as Myth and as Religion* (1986), a collection of lectures arguing that the true meaning of myth is symbolic, universal, and mystical; *The Historical Atlas of World Mythology* (1983, 1989), a two-volume attempt to trace the historical origin and diffusion of myths; and *The Power of Myth.* Campbell died of cancer in Honolulu in 1987.

CONCEPTS OF MYTH. Campbell was hostile to organized religion. Intellectually, his antipathy owes much to John Dewey's critique of organized religion in his *A Common Faith* (1934). Dewey dismissed religion as a set of fossilized doctrines and institutions based upon a now scientifically discredited belief in the supernatural and physical immortality, weighted with historical doctrines and rituals that obscured the powerful personal experiences underlying it, and mistakenly believed to be literally rather than symbolically true. While institutional religion had little value for Dewey, however, its symbols did. They expressed the "religious moral faith" of the individual who conscientiously harmonized the self to the world through a pragmatic "adjustment" of human ethical ideals in response to an experience of the "imaginative totality" of the Universe (Dewey, 1934, pp. 18–19).

Campbell agreed with Dewey that taking such stories as the virgin birth, heaven, and resurrection as literal truths was absurd, and argued that they must be understood symbolically rather than doctrinally. In other respects, however, Campbell abandoned Dewey's self-conscious pragmatism for a Jungian perspective. Campbell saw parallels between religious and dream symbolism and followed Jung's view that dreams symbolized the collective patterns, or archetypes, of the unconscious psyche. Campbell considered dreams to be personalized myths, and myths to be depersonalized dreams. He believed that myth's symbols expressed a psychic-spiritual wisdom that could free ordinary people from the debilitating anxieties and social chaos of modern secular society.

Campbell believed that religious doctrines were nothing more than misunderstood mythology. In *The Hero with a Thousand Faces,* which he considered his most important work, Campbell drew on Freudian and Jungian psychology to argue that hero myths worldwide use a universal narrative formula to describe rites of passage, each one a local example of what James Joyce called the mono-myth, a narrative magnification of a basic three-part structure: separation, initiation, and return. Despite their various historical and cultural particularities, the stories of Jesus, Buddha, Gilgamesh, and other mythological heroes ultimately shared an underlying archetypal unity of common motifs, symbols, and themes. They also had a shared meaning—a common psychological and metaphysical reality was at work in these tales. This universality explains why ancient myths, even those of other people, are still powerful today.

Campbell believed that myth functioned as a kind of comforting second womb. He focused his work on the latter half of human life, where dealing with despair and anxiety, and especially old age, sickness, and death, is unavoidable. Myths responded to the reality of suffering and mortality by revealing a spiritual way to transcend the universal tragedies of humanity. Campbell supplemented Jung's theory of psycho-developmental integration of the unconscious and conscious with the mysticism of Hinduism and Buddhism. He believed world myths pointed to the possibility of apotheosis, of discarding personal ego and realizing an enduring oneness with the cosmos. The power of myth was its ability to shatter "forms and our attachment to the forms" and through "comedy, the wild and careless, inexhaustible joy," to evoke an ecstatic feeling of being alive (Campbell, 1949, pp. 28–29).

Campbell modified his views after his trip to India in 1954. In the latter volumes of *The Masks of God, Occidental Mythology,* and *Creative Mythology,* he rejected what he came to consider a dehumanizing monism in Eastern theology and instead embraced a Western spiritual individualism that did not dissolve the ego into a larger social and cosmic mystical whole. In *Creative Mythology,* Campbell claimed that this ideal, with origins in pre-Christian European paganism, was classically formulated in the twelfth-century Romantic literature of courtly love. Stories like those of Tristan and Isolde, in which the heroic lovers achieve an ecstatic spiritual and physical union while preserving their separate identities, exemplified the ideal of individualism. He found parallels in contemporary Western literature in the novels of James Joyce and Thomas Mann. The male heroes of Mann's *Magic Mountain* (1924) and Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* (1939) personify a kind of spiritually radical monism that is not self-sacrificing but rather a self-fulfilling realization of the "soul in the body, heaven on earth, and god in humanity" (Segal, 1990, p. 138).

CRITICAL VIEWS. Several criticisms have been lodged against Campbell's comparative mythology. Folklorist Alan Dundes argues that, like many other universalists, Campbell is prone to sweeping generalizations. To show the universality of his Belly of the Whale motif, for example, Campbell often cited stories in which a hero is swallowed. Dundes, however, points out that Campbell's motif of a fish swallowing a person is not actually found worldwide; it is not found in sub-Saharan Africa, for one, so how can it be a universal structure? He further argues that Campbell's examples include both Jonah being swallowed by a whale and Little Red Riding Hood being swallowed by a wolf. But Little Red Riding Hood is a heroine, not a hero; her story is a fairy tale, not a myth; and a wolf, not a whale, swallows her. Campbell does not explain to what level of generality an analysis can go to find the mythic pattern in myths.

Other critics, including Wallace Martin, fault Campbell for emphasizing what stories have in common, an approach that inevitably blurs distinctions "and thus makes it impossible, within the theory, to show how and why stories are different" (Martin, 1986, p. 103). Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty dismisses this as Campbell's "TV dinner approach" to myth, boiling it down to its bloodless archetypes. She sees this reductionism in *The Historical Atlas of World Mythology,* where Campbell abandoned Jungian theory for a supposedly historical analysis tracing the origin of his mythic motifs through diffusion. What Campbell forgot, O'Flaherty notes, is that a phallus, for example, may be archetypal, but it is "always someone's phallus." It is in the "banal details" of myths, their variants, and their culturally specific forms that meaning resides (O'Flaherty, 1988, pp. 34–35). Because of his decontextualizing approach, she argues, Campbell ignored indigenous interpretations and trivialized the many and often contested meanings of myths within their cultures of origin.

Although he recognized different functions of myth, his critics claim that Campbell ignored the social, political, and ethical to focus exclusively on the mystical. In *The Hero with a Thousand Faces,* Campbell left Jung behind with a metaphysical, spiritual perspective that envisaged the role of myth "not to cure the individual back again to the general delusion, but to detach him from delusion altogether and this not by readjusting the desire (*eors*) and hostility (*thanatos*)—for that would only originate a new context of delusion—but by *extinguishing* the impulses to the very root, according to the method of the celebrated Buddhist Eightfold path." (Campbell, 1949, pp. 164–165). Thus Campbell argued that the Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh told the same story as the *Dao de jing* and Indian Tantrism: that physical immortality was impossible and that the only eternity was in the realization that all was one here and now (p. 189). Hindu mysticism and the eightfold path of Buddhism provided the key for Campbell's understanding of hero myths, and he later relied upon Kuṇḍalinī Yoga and European paganism as well. This one-meaning-fits-all approach, critics claim, reveals more about Campbell's own brand of philosophy than anything else.

Several critics, including Brendan Gill and Robert Segal, have also accused Campbell of being anti-Semitic. Campbell was hostile to organized religion generally, but his critics argue that he singled out Judaism especially, using what Segal calls "the crudest of stock epithets" for his vitriolic attacks on it as chauvinistic, fossilized, tribal, patriarchal, and literalistic (Segal, 1999, p. 462). Campbell's biographers Stephen and Robin Larsen sympathetically portray him as, at most, anti-Zionist, but other critics believe Campbell's prejudices left him indifferent to the Holocaust and blind to the dangers of what the philosopher Paul Tillich describes as the "mythical powers of origin of the soil and blood" that culminated in the Nazi worship of a German paganism that lay at the heart of its terror (Tillich, 1977, pp. 13–18). Campbell's limited focus only allowed him to see this paganism nostalgically, as the source of a Western romantic individualism buried under the historical encumbrances of Christianity and Judaism.

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CANAANITE RELIGION

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
THE LITERATURE

CANAANITE RELIGION: AN OVERVIEW

The term *Canaanite* is variously used in both ancient and modern sources. Most popularly, it refers to the indigenous population of the southwestern Levant, which, according to biblical traditions, was displaced by Israelite conquerors late in the second millennium before the common era. This popular usage is, however, both too narrow geographically and fraught with sociohistorical difficulties. In this article, the term *Canaanite religion* will refer mainly to the one Northwest Semitic religion of the second millennium that is presently well attested, the Ugaritic. It should be borne in mind, however, that ancient sources do not necessarily support the often-asserted equation of "Ugaritic" with "Canaanite," if the terms of the equation are linguistic, ethnic, or political. And in any case, the undoubtedly idiosyncratic Ugaritic data do not facilitate a generally applicable description of "Canaanite" (or, more accurately, "Northwest Semitic") religion.

Before the late nineteenth century, there were only two sources for the study of the Canaanite religion. The first, the Hebrew scriptures, contains numerous references to the Canaanites and their practices, which are generally condemned as abominable (e.g., *Lv.* 18:3, 27–28). As early as the first century BCE, the biblical commentator Philo of Alexandria recognized that Canaan was the biblical symbol of "vice," which the Israelites were naturally bidden to despise (*De cong.* 83–85). It is generally agreed that the biblical witness to Canaanite religion is highly polemical and, therefore, unreliable; biblical evidence must at the least be used with extreme caution, and in conjunction with extrabiblical sources.

The second source for knowledge of Canaanite religion was those classical texts that preserve descriptions of aspects of it. The best known of these are the *Phoenician History* of

Philo Byblius, of which portions are preserved in Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica*, and *The Syrian Goddess*, attributed (perhaps falsely) to Lucian of Samothrace. The reliability of Philo Byblius, however, has been the subject of scholarly debate, and the present consensus is that the comparability of the *Phoenician History* with authentic Canaanite data should not be overstressed. At best, Philo's information probably sheds light on the religion of late Hellenized Phoenicians, and offers no direct evidence for second-millennium Canaanite religion. The same generalization applies to (Pseudo-) Lucian, despite a few scholarly claims to the contrary.

Firsthand evidence for Canaanite culture in the second millennium BCE (or, in archaeological terms, the Middle Bronze and Late Bronze periods) comes from artifactual evidence found at many archaeological sites (more than sixty for the first part of the Middle Bronze period alone—mostly tombs) and from textual evidence stemming mainly from three great discoveries: (1) the eighteenth-century royal archives of "Amorite" Mari (Tell Hariri, on the Euphrates River near the present border between Syria and Iraq); (2) the diplomatic correspondence between several Levantine vassal princes and the pharoahs Amenophis III and IV (first half of the fourteenth century), found at Tell al-ʿAmarna (about 330 km south of Cairo on the east bank of the Nile); and (3) the mainly fourteenth- and thirteenth-century texts found at Ras Shamra (ancient Ugarit) and nearby Ras Ibn Hani, both within the present-day administrative district of Latakia, on the Mediterranean coast of Syria. The artifactual evidence is crucial for understanding material culture, socioeconomic developments, population movements, and the like, and provides considerable data about funerary practices. Most significant for the study of religion are the figurines, thought to represent gods and goddesses, that have been recovered in virtually every archaeological context. These will be discussed below with other manifestations of popular religion.

The ancient city of Mari was peripheral to both the Mesopotamian and the Levantine spheres of influence. Culturally and linguistically, it was clearly West Semitic, but to label it "Canaanite" goes beyond the evidence (the designation Amorite represents, to some extent, a scholarly compromise). The Mari texts are virtually all concerned with economic, juridical, and administrative matters. One text in particular testifies to the eclecticism and heterogeneity of Mari's religious cult in the eighteenth century. It lists the sacrificial sheep distributed among the various gods and temples of Mari, and the list of gods is a mixture of Semitic and non-Semitic deities from east and west, along with some gods perhaps unique to Mari. This list of diverse gods may be supplemented by the more than one hundred forty divine names (at least two dozen of which are West Semitic) attested as components of personal names in the Mari archives.

The most striking group of Mari texts is the small collection of so-called prophetic texts. These twenty-odd letters attest to a type of oracular speaking that shows significant affinities with biblical prophecies of a millennium later. Some of this oracular speaking seems to have been done by cultic personnel, and some apparently consisted of messages transmitted by the gods through ordinary people. In either case, it clearly deviated from the normal (and presumably normative) mode of divine intermediation, which was, as generally in the ancient Near East, divination in its various forms. Local temple officials probably felt that the extraordinary behavior, and the messages transmitted by it, had to be reported to higher authorities. It may be suggested, on the basis of these Mari texts and related evidence, that the phenomenon broadly termed *prophecy* represented a peculiar and peripheral kind of divine intermediation among the West Semites generally.

Most of the Amarna letters report on Levantine military, economic, and political matters to the Egyptian court. The letters were written in Babylonian, the diplomatic language of the period, but they regularly reveal the Canaanite character of their authors—in personal names, peculiar scribal practices, and, especially, the use of characteristic Canaanite vocabulary and turns of phrase. While none of the Amarna letters is directly concerned with religion, important information can be derived from the divine names and epithets mentioned in passing (and as components of personal names), and from Canaanite religious and liturgical clichés that have been incorporated into the epistolary style. For example, the son of Aziru, prince of Amurru, writes as follows to the Egyptian court: "You give me life, and you give me death. I look upon your face; you are indeed my lord. So let my lord hearken to his servant." Such expressions, which are frequent in the correspondence, are probably borrowed liturgical formulas, perhaps from lost Canaanite prayers that were probably comparable to the biblical psalms. A systematic study of all such formulas might shed considerable light on Canaanite religious conceptions of the mid-second millennium.

Without slighting the importance of the Mari and Amarna material, by far the most significant evidence for Canaanite religion in the second millennium is found at Ugarit. From the beginning of the millennium until the city's destruction at the hands of the Sea Peoples (c. 1180–1175 BCE), Ugarit was a thriving cosmopolitan trading center. In the Middle Bronze period (2000–1600; Level II of the Ras Shamra excavations), Ugarit underwent considerable expansion. During this period, two large temples (dedicated to the gods Baal and Dagan respectively; see below) were erected on top of older ruins, forming, in effect, an acropolis in the city. The pottery of the period is predominantly Canaanite, and other material evidence demonstrates that Ugarit was in contact with Egypt, the Aegean, and Mesopotamia. At the same time, Ugarit's population was augmented by an influx of Indo-European-speaking Hurrians from the northeast.

The best-attested period at Ugarit is the last two centuries of its existence (Late Bronze III, c. 1365–1180 BCE; Level I.3 of the Ras Shamra excavations). The Ugaritic texts date from this period, although some of the religious texts are undoubtedly older, and were merely written down at this time. One of the most important developments in human history was the invention, during the reign of Niqmad II (c. 1360–1330 BCE), of a cuneiform alphabetic script (the world's oldest alphabet) adapted to the Ugaritic language. It seems likely that this invention was specifically for the purpose of setting ancient religious documents in writing, since diplomatic and administrative texts could be, and often were, written in Akkadian. At the instigation of Niqmad II, the great mythological texts that are at the heart of the Ugaritic religion were incised on clay tablets. They were preserved in the library of the high priest, which was located on the acropolis near the two temples.

In addition to the mythological texts from the high priest's library, the excavations of this and several other archives of Ugarit and Ras Ibn Hani have turned up related mythological material, descriptive ritual texts, lists of sacrificial offerings, god-lists, prayers and liturgies, incantations, divinatory texts, and dedicatory inscriptions. These may be used, with due caution, as the basis of a description of Ugaritic religion.

DEITIES. The essential information about Ugarit's deities comes from what appears to be a canonical god-list. Two nearly identical copies of the basic list have been published, along with an Akkadian "translation." In addition, the list is incorporated, with minor variations, into a list of sacrificial offerings. This list shows that the basic cultic pantheon of Ugarit numbered thirty-three or thirty-four gods. One of the most controversial problems confronting Ugaritic scholarship is the imperfect correspondence between the god-list and the gods who are prominent in the mythological texts. The myths probably represent an older stratum of Ugaritic religion, and were undoubtedly "reinterpreted" in the light of subsequent developments in the cult.

Two reasons are generally given for the order of the gods in the list: either it reflects their relative importance, or else it gives the order in which their symbols were paraded in a cultic procession. The list begins with two or three Ils (El)—the sources are evenly split on the number. *Il* is the common Semitic word for "god"; it is the proper name of the head of the Ugaritic pantheon in the mythological texts. The first Il in the god-list is associated with Mount Sapan (Tsafon), the Canaanite Olympus, which was traditionally identified with Jebel al-Aqra, about fifty kilometers north of Ugarit at the mouth of the Orontes River. (The mountain was itself deified, and appears in the god-list in place 14/15.) In all likelihood, the term *sapan*, which means "north," was taken to be a metaphor for the god's temple (as in the Bible, Psalm 48:3), and not as a simple geographical designation. Thus the *Il* of *sapan* is the numen manifest in the sanctuary, which is the earthly representation of the divine abode. Sapan, it should be noted, is not the abode of Il in the mythological texts, but of Baal.

The second Il is called *Ilib*. The Akkadian and Hurrian parallels show that this name is a portmanteau composed of the elements *il* ("god") and *ab* ("father"), but the precise significance of the combination is uncertain. Most likely the name denotes an ancestral spirit, the numen manifest in the Ugaritic cult of the dead. In the Ugaritic epic of Aqhat, the ancient worthy Danil, whose epithets mark him as one of the deified dead, seeks a son who will "erect a stela for his *ilib*"—that is, for the divine spirit of his dead father. The affinity of Il with the Ugaritic cult of the dead is shown in a mythological fragment in which the god participates in a *marzih* feast (an orgiastic revel comparable to the Greek *thiasos*), the ritual banquet of the funerary cult. Il drinks himself into a stupor (as is customary at such affairs), and has to be carried off by his faithful son. (This, too, is one of the duties of the son enumerated in the epic of Aqhat.)

The third Il is presumably to be identified with the head of the pantheon in the mythological texts. His epithets and activities in those, and in the cultic texts, provide a fair picture of his character. He is the father of the gods, who are called his "family" or "sons," and he is styled "father of humankind" and "builder of built ones." He may have been regarded as the creator of the world, but the Ugaritic evidence is inconclusive on this point. He bears the epithet "bull," a symbol of virility and power (although one mythological text casts some doubt on his sexual prowess). He is serene in his supremacy, a source of "eternal wisdom," "beneficent and benign"; a unique and problematic text that may be a prayer to Il seems even to hypostatize his "graciousness."

The three Ils comprise the three principal aspects of Ugaritic "godship," or numinous power, that are denoted by the term *il:* (1) it is the wise and sovereign power that brought gods and humans into being; (2) it abides in any sacred place; and (3) it is the tangible presence of the spirits of the dead.

The next deity on the list is Dagan. The Mari texts attest to his great importance in the Middle Euphrates region (especially Terqa). The most common explanation of his name relates it to the West Semitic word for "grain," but this is by no means certain; other (even non-Semitic) etymologies are possible. One of the two temples on the acropolis of Ugarit was evidently consecrated to Dagan. During excavations carried out in 1934, two inscribed stone slabs were found just outside the temple. The inscriptions, the only known examples of Ugaritic carved in stone, commemorate *pgr* sacrifices of a sheep and an ox offered to Dagan. Since so little is known of Dagan's character at Ugarit, and since the term *pgr* is controversial (perhaps "mortuary offering" is the best interpretation), it is not possible to say anything definitive about these stelae.

Despite his obvious prominence in the cult, Dagan plays no role in Ugaritic mythology. The god Baal bears the epithet "son of Dagan," but that is itself problematic, since Il was supposedly the father of the gods. Three explanations are possible: (1) Dagan was in some sense identified with or assimilated to Il; (2) the epithet represents a variant tradition of Baal's paternity; or (3) the epithet "son" is not to be taken literally but as an indication that Baal belongs to some class of gods exemplified by Dagan.

Following Dagan come seven Baals. The first is the Baal of Mount Sapan, who dwells in the same place as the Baal in the mythological texts (the "heights" or "recesses" of Sapan); the term *sapan* surely refers to the Baal temple of Ugarit as well. The Akkadian rendition of *Baal* is *Adad*, which is the name of the most prominent West Semitic mountain and weather god. The same Ugaritic "prayer" that mentions the graciousness of El also establishes the threefold identification of Adad (the variant Hadd occurs in the mythological texts) with Baal of Mount Sapan and Baal of Ugarit.

The significance of the other six Baals (none qualified by epithets and all identified with Adad) is uncertain, although sevenfold lists of all sorts, including divine heptads, are common throughout the ancient Near East: the number seven evidently denotes completeness or perfection. If the extra six Baals have some specific function, they might represent local manifestations or sanctuaries of Baal, separate cult symbols, or hypostatized attributes.

The name *Baal* is derived from the common Semitic noun meaning "lord, master, husband." The god's full title in the mythological texts is "prince, lord (*baal*) of the earth," and his principal epithet is "most powerful one" (*aliyan*). He is also called "high one" (*aliy*) and "rider of the clouds," both names clearly illustrating his character as a weather god.

In contrast to the numinous Il, Baal represents the divine power that is immanent in the world, activating and effectuating things or phenomena. Given the paucity of rainfall in most of the Levant, it is not surprising that the lord of the storm is the most prominent god of this type (cf. the ubiquitous Phoenician Baal Shamem, "lord of the heavens," and his famous encounter with the Israelite god in *1 Kings* 18). On his shoulders rests the burden of bringing fertility and fecundity to the land, and as such he is venerated by the rest of the gods and declared their "king."

But the kind of god who is immanent in the natural world is also subject to its flux. Thus, in the mythological texts, Baal has three enemies. The first two, Yamm ("sea") and the desert gods who are called "devourers," represent the destructive potential inherent in nature. Baal succeeds in subduing Yamm (and undoubtedly also the "devourers"), but he is in turn defeated by his third and greatest adversary, Mot ("death"; never mentioned by this name in the cultic texts). Nothing that is in the world, gods included, can escape death.

Following the seven Baals, the god-list continues with Ars wa-Shamem ("earth and heaven"). Binomial deities are common in Ugaritic; they represent either a hendiadys (as in this case) or a composite of two related gods who have been assimilated to one another. This god's function is unknown; perhaps the domain over which Baal holds sway is deified. There are also two other geographical deities: Sapan (discussed above) and "Mountain and Valley" (significance unknown, unless it defines the domain of Athtar, the god occupying the preceding place on the god-list).

The remaining divine names on the list may be grouped in four categories: individual goddesses and gods who are known or at least mentioned in the mythological texts; collective terms that designate groups of lesser deities; Hurrian deities; and otherwise unknown or poorly attested gods.

The two most prominent goddesses in the mythological texts are Athirat (Asherah) and Anat. Athirat is the consort of Il, and as such she is the highest-ranking goddess in the pantheon. Her full title is "Lady Athirat of the sea" (or perhaps "the lady who treads the sea"). She is the mother of the gods, bearing the epithet "progenitress of the gods." She is also called Ilat ("goddess"), the feminine form of Il. Athirat's activities in the mythological texts are not always clear, but she seems to specialize in zealous intervention on behalf of her divine offspring.

In contrast to the maternal goddess Athirat, Anat is a violent goddess of sexual love and war, "sister" (perhaps consort) of Baal and vanquisher of Baal's enemy Mot. Her principal epithet is "maiden," a tribute to her youth, beauty, and desirability, but pugnacity is her primary trait in the mythological texts, as well as in the epic of Aqhat; there, she secures the magic bow of the title character by arranging his death.

Iconographic evidence from Ugarit and elsewhere may be associated with both of the principal divine pairs, Il/Athirat and Baal/Anat. The first two are represented as a royal pair, either standing or enthroned. Baal is typically depicted with his arm upraised in smiting position, and Anat is naked and voluptuous, sometimes standing on a lion's back, an Egyptian Hathor wig on her head, with arms upraised and plants or animals grasped in her hands. Only the Anat figures can be identified with any certainty, because of an Egyptian exemplar that bears the inscription "Qudshu-Ashtart-Anat."

Although the precise significance of Qudshu is uncertain (perhaps she is the same as Athirat?), the Egyptian inscription seems to demonstrate the fusion of the West Semitic Anat with the great Mesopotamian goddess Ishtar (Ugaritic Athtart; the biblical Ashtoret). This fusion is apparent in the binomial Athtart wa-Anat, which occurs in two Ugaritic incantation texts and is the ultimate source of the name of the first-millennium "Syrian goddess" Atargatis. In some mythological and cultic texts, as in the god-list, Athtart still has some independent status. (Paradoxically, in Israel it is Anat who has disappeared, evidently assimilated to Ashtoret.) Her beauty is proverbial, but her principal trait is pugnacity; like Anat, she is a divine huntress.

The textual and iconographic evidence suggests that a central feature of Ugaritic religion was the veneration of two divine pairs. One pair apparently symbolized kingly and queenly sovereignty over the world—Il and Athirat; the other represented brother and sister, caught in the flux and turmoil of the world, engaged in constant struggle for survival and supremacy—Baal and Anat.

There are three other Canaanite goddesses on the god-list. Shapash is the all-seeing sun (male in Mesopotamia, but female at Ugarit), "luminary of the gods." Pid-ray ("fat"?) and Arsay ("earth," perhaps, on the basis of the Akkadian parallel, having some connection with the netherworld) are two of the daughters of Baal; the third, Talay ("dew"), does not appear on the god-list. Two other non-Canaanite goddesses are on the list, undoubtedly via the Hurrians, although the deities themselves are not necessarily Hurrian in origin: Ushharay (Ishhara), the scorpion goddess, who appears in several cultic texts but never in the myths, and Dadmish, probably a warrior goddess but very poorly attested. The one remaining goddess on the list is Uthht (pronunciation uncertain; the sex of the deity is, in fact, only surmised from the feminine ending); possibly Mesopotamian in origin, and most likely signifying a deified incense burner.

Seven male deities remain on the god-list, all but one of whom are at least mentioned in the mythological texts. Yarikh is the moon god, and he figures prominently in a poem that describes his marriage to the moon goddess, Nikkal. This text is undoubtedly a Hurrian myth in Ugaritic guise. The other clearly astral god is Shalim (the divine element in the name of the city Jeru*salem* and of King *Solo*-*mo*n), who represents the evening twilight or Venus as evening star. Since the root *sh-l-m* can signify "conclusion, completion," it is appropriate that Shalim is the last name on the list. Elsewhere, he is often paired with his sibling Shahr, who is the dawn or the planet Venus as morning star. The birth of the pair is described and celebrated in a Ugaritic poem.

Three of the gods play important roles in the mythological texts about Baal. Yamm is one of Baal's principal adversaries; he is identified with or accompanied by two fearsome sea monsters, Litan (the biblical Leviathan) and Tunnan (the biblical Tannin). The god Athtar (the masculine form of Athtart) is often associated with a prominent South Arabian astral deity, but the Akkadian translation of his name identifies him with the Hurrian warrior god Ashtabi. When Baal is killed by Mot, Athtar, styled "tyrant," is appointed king in his stead.

The god Kothar ("skilled one"; also known as Kothar wa-Hasis, "skilled and wise one") is the divine craftsman. In various sources he is a master builder, weapon maker, seaman, and magician. It has been suggested that he is the genius of technology.

The god Rashap (the biblical *Reshef*, which means both "pestilence" and "flame") is blamed in the epic of Kirta for the demise of part of the title character's family. But Rashap's real importance at Ugarit and Ras Ibn Hani emerges from the cultic texts, where he is the recipient of numerous offerings. In the late third millennium, he was one of the patron gods of the kings of Ebla. He also found his way to Egypt, where he was patron god of Amenophis II and one of the most popular gods in the cults of the nineteenth dynasty.

The Akkadian version of the Ugaritic god-list identifies Rashap with Nergal, the Mesopotamian king of the netherworld. That identification, along with other Canaanite and Egyptian evidence, leads me to suggest that Rashap is the god who, in one mythological text, is called Rapiu, the "healer," the eponymous patron of the deified dead, the *rapium* (the biblical *refaʿim*). Most scholars, however, consider "Rapiu" to be an epithet of Il.

The remaining god on the list is Kinar, who is perhaps the deified lyre. Nothing is known about him, but he has been identified with the Cypriot hero Kinyras, father of Adonis.

Finally, the god-list includes four collective terms. The first, *kotharat*, designates a band of female divine singers and wet-nurses who appear on sad and joyful occasions in the Aqhat epic and the Nikkal poem, respectively (also, perhaps, in Psalm 68:7). Although their name suggests an affinity with the god Kothar, nothing further can be said about this. They bear an epithet that is problematic: the two most plausible translations are "daughters of joyous song, the swallows" and "shining daughters of the morning star [or the new moon]."

The next collective term apparently designates the "two allies of Baal," perhaps his messengers, Gapn ("vine") and Ugar ("field"). The third collective term is *puhr ilim*, the "assembly of the gods," which designates the host of lesser deities—unmentioned by name in the god-list—who constitute the progeny of Il and Athirat. In other texts, this assemblage bears other epithets, including "sons of Il" and "the family of the sons of Il"; the precise significance of these terms is much debated, but they all seem to pertain to the general Near Eastern notion of a "divine assembly" over which one god reigned supreme.

The last collective term is *malikum*, which literally means "kings." It designates the deified dead kings of Ugarit, the most important members of the larger assemblage of deified dead ancestors (*rapium*, mentioned above). The *malikum* are invoked by name in an extraordinary Ugaritic liturgy entitled the *Document of the Feast of the Protective Ancestral Spirits*. It may be inferred that the patron of the *malikum* was the ubiquitous Malik (biblical Molech), who is almost certainly to be equated with Death himself.

Many other deities who do not figure in the standard god-list are mentioned in various texts and as components of personal names. Huge, malleable pantheons characterized every major urban center of the ancient Near East, and Ugarit was no exception (see Johannes C. de Moor, "The Semitic Pantheon of Ugarit," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 2, 1970, pp. 185–228).

RITUALS AND CULTIC PERSONNEL. Most older descriptions of Canaanite religion explain it in terms of the seasonal cycle and concomitant fertility rites. The evidence for this characterization comes from first-millennium sources, especially the anti-"Canaanite" polemics of the Hebrew scriptures, and from the *a priori* claims of the "myth-and-ritual" approach to religion. When the mythic texts about the Ugaritic Baal were deciphered and pieced together, the tendency was naturally to make them conform to the older theories about Canaanite religion. Those texts were thus described as a mythic representation of the seasonal cycle, which was either recited as the accompaniment to fertility rites or served as the libretto of a fertility-cult drama.

Assuming that the biblical and related data are reliable, they evidently refer to local manifestations of first-millennium Phoenician cults (such as that of northern Israel). The simple assumption of continuity between second-millennium Canaan and first-millennium Phoenicia is unjustified—as is, more generally, the facile identification of "Canaanites" with "Phoenicians."

As for the myth-and-ritual claim, the seasonal interpretation of the Baal texts is by no means certain. There is no evidence that the Baal texts were ever used in conjunction with cultic activity. In fact, there is only one Ugaritic mythological text containing rubrics for ritual performance (discussed below); it apparently entails some sort of fertility rite, but one not necessarily connected with the seasonal cycle. Knowledge of the Ugaritic calendar and its fixed festivals is too scanty to permit the claim that Ugaritic religion was organized with respect to the agricultural year.

The Ugaritic ritual texts describe a highly organized sacrificial cult under the patronage of the king. The sacrifices seem to be of the gift or tribute type; that is, they were performed to curry favor with the gods, to secure their aid and protection. It is undeniable that offerings might have been made to deities (particularly chthonic ones) to promote the fertility of the land and the fecundity of the flocks. But the one mass public ritual that has survived, and the one attested prayer to Baal as well, both seem more concerned with protection from Ugarit's potential military opponents. In view of the shifting alliances and political instability that marked Ugarit's last two centuries, this concern seems only natural.

Most of the known Ugaritic rituals were performed by or on behalf of the king. The best-attested type of ritual is found in seven different texts. In it the king of Ugarit performs, at specified times, a ritual lustration to purify himself, and then offers a series of sacrifices to various deities. At sundown, the king "desacralizes" himself in a way that is not clear. The most interesting of these texts is evidently a prescriptive ritual to which is appended a prayer to Baal, perhaps recited by the queen, that seems to specify the occasion on which the rites were to be performed.

This text begins with a date formula and a list of offerings: "On the seventh day of the month of Ibalat [otherwise unknown]" sheep are offered to several gods, notable Baal and "the house of Baal of Ugarit." Then "the sun sets and the king performs the rite of desacralization." On the seventeenth day of the month, the king (re)purifies himself and makes another series of sacrifices, perhaps accompanied by a festal banquet (if this is the correct sense of the technical term *dbh*). (Another of the main sacrificial terms, *th*, which seems to denote "gift offering," also occurs here.) The king remains in his purified state and continues the series of offerings on the eighteenth day. Then the text breaks off. The reverse of the tablet begins with broken references to rites performed on the second day (of what, is unspecified). On the fourth, birds are offered; on the fifth the king offers a *shlmm* sacrifice to Baal of Ugarit in the temple, along with the liver of an unspecified animal (which has presumably been used for divination) and an offering of precious metal. The *shlmm* offering, well attested in biblical Hebrew and Punic cultic texts, was probably the most common type of sacrifice at Ugarit. The term is traditionally translated "peace offering," but it seems actually to have been a "gift" or "tribute" to the god. In some texts (but not this one), the *shlmm* is described as a *shrp*, which probably signifies that it was wholly consumed by fire.

On the seventh day, at sundown, the king performs the ritual desacralization, evidently aided in this case by cultic functionaries called "desacralizers." Then the queen is anointed with a libation of "a *hin* [liquid measure] of oil of pacification for Baal"; the text concludes with the following prayer, perhaps recited by the queen:

> When a strong enemy assails your gates,
> A mighty foe attacks your walls,
> Raise your eyes unto Baal:
> "O Baal, chase the strong enemy from our gates,
> The mighty foe from our walls.
> A bull, O Baal, we consecrate;
> A vow, O Baal, we dedicate;
> A firstborn [?], O Baal, we consecrate;
> A *htp* sacrifice, O Baal, we dedicate;
> A tithe, O Baal, we tithe.
> To the sanctuary of Baal let us ascend,
> On the paths to the House of Baal let us walk."
> Then Baal will hear your prayer,
> He will chase the strong enemy from your gates,
> The mighty foe from your walls.

A second type of ritual is preserved in three texts that describe the transfer of cult statues from one place to another. The clearest of these begins "When Athtart of *hr* [meaning uncertain] enters into the sanctuary [?] of the king's house. . . ." It is not clear whether the term *king* refers to Ugarit's king or to a god (perhaps both?); the "house" could be a royal palace or temple. A group of offerings is then made in the "house of the stellar gods" (meaning uncertain), including oblations, vestments, gold, and sacrificial animals. The rites are repeated seven times. The remainder of the text describes essentially the same rituals as those performed for a different collection of gods (on a different occasion?), the poorly attested *gthrm.*

One substantial ritual text is unique in the corpus, and has been the subject of many studies. It is unique in its poetic/hymnic quality and in the acts it describes. It seems to depict a great public assembly in which the entire population of Ugarit, male and female, king and commoner alike, participated. The ritual appears to have been a mass expiation or purgation of sins, or some sort of mass purification rite, designed to protect Ugarit against its threatening neighbors. A parallel has been drawn between it and the Jewish Yom Kippur, the "day of purgation [of sin]." In the Ugaritic text, the men and women of the community are alternately summoned to offer sacrifices, which they do. While the sacrifices are performed the people sing, praying that their offerings will ascend to "the father of the sons of Il" (that is, to Il himself), to the "family of the sons of Il," to the "assembly of the sons of Il," and to *Thkmn wa-Shnm*, Il's son and attendant (the one who cares for him when he is drunk; in one of his epithets, Il is called "father of *Shnm*").

Only one mythological text, the poem about the birth of Shahr and Shalim (the *ilima naimima*, "gracious gods"), includes rubrics for ritual performance. These rubrics, interspersed throughout the poem, describe the activities of the king and queen, and of cultic functionaries called *aribuma* (some kind of priests?) and *tha-nanuma* (members of the king's guard?). They offer sacrifices, participate in a banquet, and sing responsively to musical accompaniment. It seems almost certain that the poem itself was acted out as a type of ritual drama. It describes the subjugation of Death by some sort of pruning rite, followed by Il's sexual relations with Athirat and Rahmay ("womb" = Anat?). The poem concludes with the birth of Shahr and Shalim, and their youthful activities. The text and its accompanying ritual may commemorate (or attempt to foster) the birth of a royal heir to the reigning king and queen of Ugarit; they bear some relation to Mesopotamian sacred marriage rites and to Hittite rituals designed to protect the life and vigor of the king and queen.

Most difficult to reconstruct, but obviously of great importance, was the Ugaritic cult of the dead. The dead were summoned, by a liturgy accompanied by offerings, to participate in a banquet. The banquet, which was apparently a drunken orgy, was intended to propitiate the dead and to solicit the aid and protection provided by their numinous power. The most important group of the deified dead was comprised of Ugarit's kings (*malikum*). The larger assemblage, variously called "healers" (*rpim*), "healers of the netherworld" (*rpi ars*), "ancient healers" (*rpim qdmyn*), "divine spirits" (*ilnym*), and "assembly of Ditan/Didan" (*qbs dtn/ddn*), included two men who are prominent in the epic texts, Danil and Kirta, as well as several other spirits who are identified by name in a liturgical invocation of the dead.

The funerary feast itself was called a *marzih* (or *marzi*), a feast. It was held at a special location: one text describes problems concerning the rental of a *marzih* hall; a poorly preserved fragment of the Aqhat epic suggests that the *marzih* was held at a sacred "threshing floor" or "plantation," perhaps within the royal palace.

Another important text invokes the god Rapiu, "king of eternity" (that is, of the netherworld). Rapiu is clearly the patron of the deified dead; at first he is invited to drink, and at the end of the text he is asked to exert his "strength, power, might, rule, and goodness" for the benefit of Ugarit. If Rapiu is indeed to be identified with Il, this text comports well with the mythological fragment that depicts Il getting drunk at a *marzih.*

Alongside the cult of the dead must be placed the texts that apparently describe the ritual offerings to the gods of the netherworld (*ilm ars*). The clearest of these begins with an offering to Rashap and mentions several other chthonic deities. There is also a strange god-list that appears to include a collection of netherworld demons. Finally, an inscribed clay model of a liver may record a sacrifice offered to a person (or deity?) who is "in the tomb."

The considerable activity that took place in the Ugaritic cult demanded an extensive array of cultic personnel. Unfortunately, while the names of many cultic officials are known, their precise function is not. It can be assumed, of course, that "priests" participated in the royal rituals described above, but the ritual texts do not specify how. Apart from the "desacralizers," the *tha-nanuma* and *aribuma* already mentioned, several other kinds of personnel figure prominently. Except for the queen, who participated in some rituals (one broken text from Ras Ibn Hani describes a "*dbh* [sacrifical rite] of the queen"), all the important cultic functionaries attested by name or title are male.

After the king, the highest-ranking religious official was probably the *rb khnm*, the "chief of the priests." Under him were orders or guilds of *khnm* ("priests"); the term corresponds to the Hebrew *kohanim*, but there is no necessary similarity of function. The priests either were connected with the palace or they earned their living at the many shrines in Ugarite and its environs. They appear on administrative lists of personnel and on a military payroll. Other administrative texts detail allotments of oil and wine to various shrines. One of the high priests is also designated *rb nqdm*, "chief of herdsmen." In all likelihood, there was a consecrated group of herdsmen whose task was to maintain the royal flocks to be used in the cult.

The second major category of priests is called *qdshm*, "devotees" (comparison with Hebrew *qedeshim*, "cult prostitutes," is almost certainly misleading). They appear only on administrative lists, in all but one case in conjunction with *khnm.* Nothing can be said about their function at Ugarit.

Two categories of cult functionaries are attested in Akkadian texts from Ugarit, but they have no certain Ugaritic equivalents. One is the *awilu baru*, which is either an omen priest or some sort of oracular seer; one of these men is also called "priest of Adad [i.e., of Baal]." The other, aptly characterized by Anson F. Rainey (1967) as "a sort of religious brotherhood" (p. 71), is "men of the *marzi/marzih.*" Their activity was almost certainly related to the ritual feasts of the Ugaritic cult of the dead. Several other terms probably designated groups associated with the cult. There were singers, instrumentalists, and libation pourers who served as temple attendants, along with a group of uncertain function called *ytnm*, who may be compared with the problematic biblical *netinim.*

Finally, there is the well-attested and much-debated term *insh ilm.* Some scholars think that it is a divine name; others argue that it denotes cultic personnel. If the latter, then these people performed some function in the sacrificial rites, and seem to have been rewarded for their labor with "birds."

POPULAR RELIGION. As is generally the case in the ancient Near East, little can be said with any certainty about popular religion at Ugarit, since only kings, priests, and members of the elite are represented in the texts. The Ugaritic texts were apparently only a part of the larger cosmopolitan scribal tradition of Ugarit, which was modeled on the Babylonian scribal schools. The same scribes who produced the Baal texts were also trained to write in Babylonian cuneiform, and they copied Sumerian and Akkadian texts in almost every genre. Surviving evidence demonstrates that Ugarit's educated elite was conversant with the Mesopotamian Gilgamesh traditions, wisdom and proverbial literature, and legal formulas, although little of this material is reflected in texts in the Ugaritic language.

It is not at all certain, then, how much of the literary tradition might have filtered down to the commoners of Ugarit. Still, speculation about popular religion may be made in four areas: conceptions of gods reflected in personal names; the evidence of votive figurines; evidence for magic and divination; and possible religious, ethical, or "wisdom" teachings derived from the texts.

Popular conceptions of the gods may emerge from a consideration of personal names, since a great number of names are composites of divine names (or surrogates) and nominal or verbal elements. The standard collection of Ugaritic personal names, Frauke Gröndahl's *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit* (Rome, 1967), lists over fifty divine elements that appear in them. The most popular are Il, Baal, Ammu ("uncle," a surrogate for a divine name), Anat and her "masculine" equivalent Anu, Athtar, Yamm, Kothar, Malik, Pidr (masculine equivalent of Pidray?), Rapiu, Rashap, and Shapash. In some names, a god is described as father, mother, brother, sister, or uncle (e.g., *Rashapabi*, "Rashap is my father"). In others, the bearer of the name is the god's son, daughter, servant, or devotee (e.g., *Abdi-Rashap*, "servant of Rashap"). A large class of names describes characteristics of the gods; those composed with Il, for example, emphasize his kingship (*Ilimilku*, "Il is king") and justice (*Danil*, "Il judges"; *Ilsdq*, "Il is just"), his creativity (*Yakunilu*, "Il establishes"; *Yabniilu*, "Il builds") and his love (*Hnnil*, "Il is gracious").

The second class of evidence for popular religion comes from metal figurines that are generally thought to represent gods and goddesses. A comprehensive catalog of these figurines, compiled by Ora Negbi (1976), describes over seventeen hundred of them. They are considered to have been miniature copies of now-lost wooden cult statues, and were probably used as votive idols. The fact that so many have been found at cultic sites suggests that they had some ceremonial function. Negbi notes that these idols "may have been used as amulets for magic purposes in domestic and funerary cults as well" (p. 2).

As mentioned above, the figurines at Ugarit attest to the popularity of two distinct types of divine pairs, a kingly and queenly figure (Il and Athirat) and a smiting god and voluptuous goddess (Baal and Anat, with Anat occasionally portrayed as a war goddess). The latter pair is the better attested in Late Bronze Ugarit; figurines have been found in deposits from this period in and around both of the temples on the acropolis.

Some textual evidence has been recovered for magic and divination at Ugarit. There are two versions of a long and impressive incantation against the bite of a venomous serpent; several important deities are summoned from their mythical abodes during the course of the incantations.

Inscribed clay models of lungs and livers show that extispicy (divination by the examination of animal viscera) was practiced at Ugarit. The practice was undoubtedly borrowed from Babylonia, but it was given a distinctive Canaanite cast by the incorporation of West Semitic sacrificial rites. Another borrowing from the Babylonians is attested in three omen texts that describe the predictive value of unusual human and animal births. These texts clearly parallel the famous Babylonian *shumma izbu* omen series; unfortunately, they are all quite fragmentary.

Finally, one very difficult text reports a divine oracle. It begins: "When the lord of the great/many gods [Il?] approached Ditan, the latter sought an oracle concerning the child." Some individual presumably wishes to inquire of Il about his (sick?) child. (A comparable episode occurs in the Kirta epic.) Il can be reached through an intermediary, Ditan, the eponymous patron of those deified dead known as the "assembly of Ditan." The text continues with a series of instructions (broken and unclear) that will enable the inquirer to obtain the desired oracular response. The text seems to conclude with several instructions, "and afterward there will be no suffering [?]."

Taken together, these texts indicate a lively interest in the mantic arts at Ugarit. There is practically no evidence, however, about the specialists who practiced those arts; perhaps that is because they operated on the periphery of the official cultic institutions.

The most problematic aspect of popular religion is the interpretation of the Ugaritic religious texts. Assuming that they were in some way normative and that they were diffused orally, they would embody the religious "teachings" of Ugarit. There are, however, no surviving interpretations of the texts or expositions of religious doctrine that explain what those teachings might have been or what impact they had on the life of a community of believers. The Ugaritic mythic and epic texts (as opposed to the descriptive ritual texts) can be read as homilies on the nature of the world in which people live. Ancient readers or hearers of these texts would have sought their own place in the "cosmos" they describe. Ugaritic believers, like modern believers, would presumably have formulated a special application of sacred texts to their own lives.

The Baal texts punctualize eternal truths in a symbolic realm that is only superficially remote from human experience. The gods experience joy and mourning, battle and tranquillity, life and death, power and impotence. The mightiest of the gods confronts the world's challenges and surmounts them all, until he encounters Death, the one enemy to whom gods and humans alike succumb. Baal's triumphs and trials, furthermore, illustrate the contiguity and interrelationship of everything in the world: the gods, nature, the political order, and human life are all part of the same order. When Baal is vanquished, political order collapses and the earth turns infertile—not because Baal "symbolizes" order and fertility in some simplistic way, but because the intricate balance of the world has been subverted. The same upset of the natural order occurs when Kirta, a human king, becomes mortally ill.

Overarching the flux of the world, and apparently not subject to it, is the wise and beneficent Il. At critical moments in the Baal texts, the gods journey (or send emissaries) to him in order to obtain his favor and advice. After Kirta's family is annihilated by malevolent forces, Il comforts the king in a dream; later on, Il provides the cure for Kirta's terrible illness. And in the Aqhat epic, Baal implores Il to grant a son to the childless Danil. Il consents, and appears to Danil in a dream with the good news. In every case, Il manifests transcendent power that is wielded justly, in response to urgent pleas.

The epic texts (perhaps "historico-mythic" would be a better designation for them) Aqhat and Kirta parallel and supplement the mythic texts. They narrate the existential encounter of humans with the gods. Historical (or pseudohistorical) figures become exemplary or admonitory paradigms of human behavior.

The crises that move the plot of the Aqhat text demonstrate the conjunction and contiguity of the human and divine realms. Danil, who is, like Kirta, a man become god (one of the deified *rapium*—from the point of view of the reader, that is), is an embodiment of that contiguity. Danil is clearly an ideal type, pious and just; he brings his plea for a son before the gods in humble obeisance, and he is rewarded. The incubation rite performed by Danil at the beginning of the story seems to be a model of personal piety.

Other aspects of the Aqhat text suggest ethical teachings as well. The long-sought son, Aqhat, is presented as the archetypical huntsman, recipient of a magic bow fashioned by the craftsman god Kothar. But the bow is not an unequivocal blessing: it arouses the envy of Anat, and makes Aqhat so secure in his own power that he rudely dismisses the goddess. Aqhat's folly parallels Baal's when, secure in his new palace (also the work of Kothar), he presumptuously challenges Death. Even the cleverest invention affords no protection for one who oversteps his bounds and incurs divine wrath. Aqhat's death is avenged by his sister Pughat, a model of love and devotion, just as Baal's sister Anat acts on the god's behalf in the mythic texts.

The Kirta epic, like that of Aqhat, begins with its hero childless, this time because of catastrophe instead of impotence. Dramatic tension arises from the situation of a king without an heir, which could result in disruption of both the political and the natural order. The story conveys the fragility of power and the delicate relationship between humans and deities.

Kirta enjoys the favor of Il, "father of humankind," who calls the king "gracious one, lad of Il." Kirta is instructed to perform a series of rituals in order to secure victory in battle and a new wife. He does so faithfully, but he also stops to make a vow in the sanctuary of "Athirat of Tyre, goddess of the Sidonians." This act of personal piety leads to disaster: Kirta achieves his victory and builds a new family, but he is stricken with a mortal illness for his failure to fulfill the vow. His beneficent "father" Il intervenes once again in his behalf, but the story concludes with Kirta's son attempting to usurp the throne, accusing Kirta of unrighteousness (reason enough, evidently, to depose a king). The vicissitudes of kingship continue.

The texts are all firmly on the side of reward for virtue and piety, and punishment for wickedness, blasphemy, and folly. Yet even someone who is justly suffering the wrath of the gods may appeal to the gracious Il and be heard.

SURVIVALS. Survivals of Canaanite religion are observable in two first-millennium cultural spheres, the Levant and the Aegean. Phoenician religion, both in the Levant and in its wider Mediterranean sphere of influence, represents, to some extent, a continuation of Canaanite traditions. Northern Israel's official cult was among the Levantine successors of Canaanite religion. It has often been noted that biblical polemics against that cult (for example, in the *Book of Hosea*) are directed against a characteristically Canaanite feature—the idea that the god (in this case Yahveh = Baal) was immanent in nature and subject to its flux. The Israelite god was, on the other hand, comfortably assimilated to the transcendent Il.

In the Aegean area, the nature of Canaanite influence is more controversial. But there is compelling evidence for the existence of direct West Semitic contact with Mycenaean Greece, creating a legacy of Semitic names, literary motifs, and religious practices that became part of the Hellenic cultural heritage.

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On the study of Canaanite religion before the discovery of Ugarit, there is a fine survey by M. J. Mulder, "Von Seldon bis Schaeffer: Die Erforschung der kanaanäischen Götterwelt," in the leading scholarly journal devoted to Ugaritic studies, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 11 (1979): 655–671. The best general introduction to Canaanite religion is Hartmut Gese's "Die Religionen Altsyriens," in *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer* (Stuttgart, 1970), pp. 3–181. On the Canaanite gods, the standard work is still Marvin H. Pope and Wolfgang Röllig's "Syrien," in *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, edited by H. W. Haussig, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, 1965), pp. 219–312. On the rituals and cultic personnel, an excellent presentation of the data is Jean-Michel de Tarragon's *Le culte à Ugarit* (Paris, 1980), which should be consulted alongside Paolo Xella's *I testi rituali di Ugarit* (Rome, 1981). There is an exceptionally interesting theoretical discussion of Canaanite religion by David L. Petersen and Mark Woodward in "Northwest Semitic Religion: A Study of Relational Structures," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 9 (1977): 232–248. The outstanding representative of the myth-and-ritual approach is Theodor H. Gaster's *Thespis*, 2d ed. (1961; New York, 1977).

There is not yet an adequately introduced and annotated English translation of the Ugaritic texts. The best English translations are those of H. L. Ginsberg, in J. B. Pritchard's *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*, 3d ed. (Princeton, 1969), pp. 129–155, and those in J. C. L. Gibson's revision of G. R. Driver's *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, 2d ed. (Edinburgh, 1978). The serious student should consult *Textes ougaritiques*, translated and edited by André Caquot and others (Paris, 1974), and the even more comprehensive Spanish work by Gregorio del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y leyendas de Canaán según la tradición de Ugarit* (Madrid, 1981), complemented by the same author's *Interpretación de la mitología cananea* (Valencia, 1984). A more popular introduction and translation that is both readable and of high quality is Paolo Xella's *Gli antenati di Dio* (Verona, 1982). A comparable but inferior volume in English is *Stories from Ancient Canaan*, edited and translated by Michael D. Coogan (Philadelphia, 1978).

Works on Ugarit and the Bible are legion. The serious student is directed to *Ras Shamra Parallels*, edited by Loren R. Fischer, 2 vols. (Rome, 1972–1975). The contributions are uneven in quality, but the many proposed parallels are presented with full bibliographic information. A convenient survey of comparative studies is Peter C. Craigie's "Ugarit and the Bible," in *Ugarit in Retrospect*, edited by Gordon Douglas Young (Winona Lake, Ind., 1981), pp. 99–111. John Gray's *The Legacy of Canaan*, 2d ed. (Leiden, 1965), has become a standard work in this area; its great learning and originality are marred by eccentricity, especially in the translation of the Ugaritic texts. On the most important classical account of "Canaanite" religion, see the definitive work by Albert I. Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos* (Leiden, 1981). Semitic influence on the Aegean world is one of the main topics of Cyrus H. Gordon's stimulating book *Before the Bible: The Common Background of Greek and Hebrew Civilizations* (London, 1962); a more technical work on the subject is Michael C. Astour's brilliant *Hellenosemitica* (Leiden, 1967).

New Sources

The period 1985–2004 has produced a wealth of new information and scholarly analysis concerning Ugaritic religion. Important new reference works include the *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, edited by Wilfred G. E. Watson and Nicolas Wyatt (Leiden, 1999), and the revised edition of the *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible,* edited by Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst (Leiden, 1999). These books provide extensive bibliographic references to previous studies of Ugaritic religion and deities.

Excellent English translations of the mythological texts are conveniently gathered in Simon Parker's edited volume, *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry* (Atlanta, 1997), and in Nick Wyatt's *Religious Texts from Ugarit* (2d ed., Sheffield, 2002). Scholarly advances in the study of religious iconography are represented by the landmark book by Othmar Keel and Christoph Uehlinger, *Gods, Goddesses, and Images of God in Ancient Israel* (Minneapolis, 1998). The cultic and ritual texts from Ugarit have also received renewed attention, culminating in

Dennis Pardee's massive study, *Les textes rituels* (Paris, 2000). Non-specialists may find Pardee's shorter presentation, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit* (Atlanta, 2002), more accessible yet equally authoritative. Gregorio del Olmo Lete's useful book, *Canaanite Religion: According to the Liturgical Texts of Ugarit* (Bethesda, Md., 1999), offers a comprehensive analysis of Ugaritic religion, while Mark S. Smith's survey, *The Early History of God: Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel* (2d ed., Grand Rapids, 2002), explores the relationship between Ugaritic religion and the biblical record. Important studies of aspects of Ugaritic religion can also be found in the following books:

Day, John. *Yahweh and the Gods and Goddesses of Canaan.* Sheffield, 2000.

Dietrich, Manfried, and Oswald Loretz. *Studien zu den ugaritischen Texten.* Münster, 2000.

Hadley, Judith M. *The Cult of Asherah in Ancient Israel and Judah.* Cambridge, 2001.

Lipiński, Edward. *Dieux et déesses de l'univers phénicien et punique.* Leuven, 1995.

Mettinger, Tryggve N. D. *The Riddle of Resurrection: "Dying and Rising Gods" in the Ancient Near East.* Stockholm, 2001.

Niehr, Herbert. *Religionen in Israels Umwelt: Einführung in die nordwestsemitischen Religionen Syrien-Palästinas.* Würzburg, 1998.

del Olmo Lete, Gregorio. *El continuum cultural cananeo. Pervivencias cananeas en el mundo fenicio-púnico.* Sabadell, 1996.

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Pardee, Dennis. *Les textes para-mythologiques de la 24e compagne (1961).* Paris, 1988.

Schmidt, Brian B. *Israel's Beneficent Dead.* Tübingen, 1994.

Smith, Mark S. *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle, I.* Leiden, 1994.

Smith, Mark S. *The Origins of Biblical Monotheism: Israel's Polytheistic Background and the Ugaritic Texts.* Oxford, 2001.

Wyatt, N., W. G. E. Watson, and J. Lloyd, eds. *Ugarit, Religion, and Culture.* Münster, 1996.

Yon, Marguerite. *La cite d'Ougarit sur le tell de Ras Shamra.* Paris, 1997.

ALAN M. COOPER (1987)
Revised Bibliography

CANAANITE RELIGION: THE LITERATURE

The scope of this article needs definition. The term *Canaanite* designates the culture of the region often known as the Levant, roughly comprising the modern entities of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, and Palestine, beginning with the earliest extensive written records in the third millennium BCE and ending with the start of the Hellenistic period in the fourth century BCE. "Canaanite" did not have such a broad definition in antiquity; generally, and especially in the Bible, Canaan is the southwestern part of this region. The sources are not consistent in this usage, however, and many modern scholars apply it to the regions that in the first half of the first millennium BCE were divided into the political units of Phoenicia, Israel (later Israel and Judah), Ammon, Moab, Edom, and not infrequently, Aram, especially Aram-Damascus.

The term *literature* is used here to mean extended works composed in poetic style, specifically several dozen clay tablets, inscribed with an alphabetic cuneiform script, that have been found at ancient Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra) on the Syrian coast in excavations since 1929. The much larger body of material found there, and at nearby Ras Ibn Hani, apparently a royal palace, includes a variety of documents not germane to the topic of this article, such as diplomatic correspondence, lists of ritual offerings, economic texts, and notes for the care and treatment of horses. But even these contain valuable evidence for religious practice, especially in the names of the gods listed as recipients of offerings, names that were also used as components of personal names.

Most of the literary texts were found in the temple precinct of ancient Ugarit, on the city's acropolis. This is not merely a result of scribal activity in the sacred quarter, because the secular archives were found in the royal palace area and other libraries existed elsewhere in the city; rather, the presence of these texts in a religious context indicates that they had a religious function. Unhappily, few of them have any rubrics, and other, specifically ritual texts, such as the lists of offerings and the inscriptions on clay models of livers and lungs used for divination, provide no clue to the cultic setting in which the literary texts were used. Presumably, at least some of them were read or recited periodically at festivals, as were the Homeric poems in ancient Greece; others may have been actual librettos for ritual activities.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TEXTS. The major mythological and epic texts were written on clay tablets that were fired after having been inscribed on both sides in from one to four columns. The lines are written continuously, with divisions between the words but without other spacing except for occasional dividing lines between sense units and episodes; these, however, are not used systematically. Not infrequently, the tablets have a title at the beginning; thus, two of the three parts of the Kirta cycle are marked "Concerning Kirta," and one tablet of each of the Baal and Aqhat cycles has a similar heading. Such a cataloging device may have been used more regularly, but because a significant number of the tablets are broken at the edges, one cannot be sure. The incomplete preservation of many of the tablets also makes it more difficult to follow the sequence of the narratives and hence to interpret them; this explains the conjectural analyses below.

Five tablets have concluding notations; the most complete reads: "The scribe was Ilimilku from Shubanu, the apprentice of Attanu-Purlianni, the chief priest, the chief herdsman; the sponsor was Niqmaddu, king of Ugarit, master of Yargub, lord of Tharumani." As this colophon indicates, the texts were written under royal patronage, illustrating the close connection between palace and temple. The king in question was Niqmaddu III, the second-last ruler of Ugarit, who lived in the late thirteenth century BCE. Ilimilku may have been more than just a scribe to whom the contents of the tablets were dictated. Although the texts show signs of having originally been oral compositions, Ilimilku may have been a writer in the modern sense, one who, like Homer in Greece a few centuries later, took an oral tradition and creatively revised it for a written medium.

Among the characteristics that Canaanite literature shares with other oral literatures is the use of stock epithets for human and divine characters, a technique most familiar from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey.* Thus, El, the head of the pantheon, is variously called "the bull," "the creator of creatures," "the father of years," "the kind, the compassionate," and "the king"; the storm god Baal is "the prince," "the conqueror (of warriors)," and "the lord of the earth"; Kirta, the hero of the epic called by his name, is "the gracious one," "the noble," and "the servant of El"; and Danel, the father of the title character of *Aqhat,* is "the hero" and "the Healer's man." The poets apparently chose the epithet that was most appropriate for the context and that best fit the meter.

Another device familiar from the Homeric poems is the use of formulaic units to narrate standard scenes: the offering of a sacrifice; the harnessing of a donkey; the preparation of a banquet; the journey of a god or goddess to El's abode. Thus, with appropriate changes of number and gender, the following lines occur some half dozen times in the extant corpus:

> Then she headed toward El, at the source of the two rivers, in the midst of the two seas' pools; she opened El's tent and entered the shrine of the King, the Father of Years. At El's feet she bowed down and adored; she prostrated herself and worshiped him.

Also characteristic of Ugaritic literature is the almost verbatim repetition of large blocks of lines; this is found in the giving of a command and its execution, the occurrence of a dream and its telling, and in various specific narratives.

Finally, like other ancient eastern Mediterranean literatures, this originally oral Canaanite literature was poetic. Because the texts were written almost entirely without vowels, it has so far not been possible to establish the metrical principles underlying the poetry, and rhyme was not used. But one formal characteristic can be identified, traditionally called parallelism and fortunately not obscured by translation. In Canaanite poetry the basic element is a unit of two or three lines in which one thought is extended by repetition, paraphrase, or contrast. Thus, in a speech by the craftsman god Kothar-wa-Hasis, the lines

> "Let me tell you, Prince Baal, let me repeat, Rider on the Clouds: behold, your enemy, Baal, behold, you will kill your enemy, behold, you will annihilate your foes; you will take your eternal kingdom, your dominion forever and ever"

consist of three units, each of which expresses a complete thought. This stylistic feature is familiar from the other major source of Canaanite literature, the Hebrew scriptures, for the same building blocks of Canaanite verse—parallel pairs—are used there as well:

> Behold, your enemies, Yahweh, behold, your enemies have perished, all evildoers have been scattered. (*Ps.* 92:9)
>
> Your kingdom is an eternal kingdom, your rule is forever and ever. (*Ps.* 145:13)

The reason for this similarity of form and content is cultural: notwithstanding the significant geographical and temporal differences between Ugarit and Israel, they were part of a larger cultural entity that shared a common poetic and religious vocabulary.

This commonality is significant, for the literature of ancient Israel preserved in the Bible is able to shed much light on obscurities and gaps in the Canaanite literature from Ugarit. Conversely, the Ugaritic texts enable us to understand the Canaanites better on their own terms instead of through the often virulent polemics of the biblical writers. Each body of literature thus illumines the other, as will be seen below.

MYTHOLOGICAL TEXTS. The texts in this category make no reference to human persons or actual societies. The protagonists are divine and there is no historical time frame.

The Baal cycle. The major cycle of preserved Canaanite literature from Ugarit has to do with the deity Baal, the most important god in the Ugaritic pantheon. Although the high god El was worshiped at Ugarit, as throughout the Semitic world, and figures in a number of texts, Baal seems to have supplanted him as the major deity by the late second millennium BCE; this is confirmed both by nonliterary sources, such as ritual lists and personal names, and by the Baal cycle, whose theme in brief is the affirmation "Baal the Conqueror is our king!"

More than a dozen tablets contain various episodes or variants of the Baal cycle, indicating the god's importance at Ugarit, but many of them are fragmentary, and so any sustained development of the plot of the cycle is difficult to determine. What is clear is the main plot of three episodes: Baal's battle with Sea; the construction and dedication of Baal's house; and Baal's encounter with Death.

Baal and Sea. El, the head of the pantheon, had apparently shown preference to his son Sea (Yamm)—called "El's beloved" and also by the parallel titles Prince Sea and Judge River—over Baal, the son of Dagan (whose name means "grain"). Initially, Sea seems to have gained the upper hand, with El's support. He sends the council of the gods, over which El presides, an ultimatum:

> "Message of Sea, your master, your Lord, Judge River: 'Give up, O gods, the one you are hiding, the one you are hiding, O multitude; give up Baal and his powers, the son of Dagan: I will acquire his gold.'"

Although El and the divine assembly are willing to capitulate to Sea's demand, Baal is not, and he proceeds to engage Sea in battle. With the help of magical clubs fashioned for him by Kothar wa-Hasis ("skillful and wise"; the divine craftsman, the Canaanite equivalent of the Greek Hephaistos), Baal defeats his adversary:

> The club danced in Baal's hands, like a vulture from his fingers; it struck Prince Sea on the skull, Judge River between the eyes; Sea stumbled; he fell to the ground; his joints shook; his frame collapsed. Baal captured and drank Sea; he finished off Judge River.

This brief episode cannot be fully understood without reference to similar and more detailed Near Eastern myths, especially that preserved in the Babylonian *Enuma elish.* There the council of the gods is threatened by Tiamat (Deep), the primeval goddess of saltwater. The only deity able to rescue the gods is the young storm god, Marduk, who agrees to do so only if he is given complete authority over gods and human beings. Following their battle, described in lavish detail, Marduk forms the elements of the cosmos from the corpses of his defeated adversaries and is proclaimed supreme ruler. Despite differences between the Babylonian and Ugaritic texts, there seem here to be two versions of a single story that tells how a younger god comes to assume leadership over his fellows; similar myths are found in ancient Anatolia, Greece, and India. Like Marduk, Baal is a storm god: he is called the "rider on the clouds" (compare the Homeric epithet of Zeus, "the cloud-gatherer"); his weapon is the lightning bolt; and he is responsible for the rains in their season.

Many of these aspects of Baal are also attributed to the Israelite Yahweh. Thus, he too is the "rider on the clouds" (*Ps.* 68:4); he

> makes the clouds his chariot, walks on the wings of the wind, makes the winds his messengers, fire [and] flame his ministers. (*Pss.* 104:3–4)

There are also allusions in various biblical passages to a primeval conflict between Yahweh and the sea; especially noteworthy is *Job* 26:12–13:

> With his power he stilled the sea, with his skill he smote Rahab, with his wind he put Sea in a net, his hand pierced the fleeing serpent.

(Compare *Psalms* 89:9–10 and *Isaiah* 27:1.)

The Bible does not, however, present a completely developed version of this primeval struggle, for in ancient Israelite tradition the normative event was not mythical but historical: the defeat of the Egyptian army at the Red Sea. But frequently the language used to celebrate this event was derived from Canaanite myth. Thus, *Psalms* 77:15–20 incorporates into a remembrance of God's ancient deeds the following:

> With your arm you redeemed your people, the sons of Jacob and Joseph. The waters saw you, God, the waters saw you and writhed, indeed, the deeps trembled; the clouds poured out water, the thunderheads sounded their voice, your arrows were in constant motion. . . . Through the sea was your way, and your path through the mighty waters. . . . You led your people like a flock, by the hand of Moses and Aaron.

(Compare *Isaiah* 51:9–10.)

Furthermore, the same parallel terms used of Baal's adversary are put into service by biblical poets, as in *Habakkuk* 3:8:

> Were you not angry at the river, Yahweh, was your rage not against the river, was your wrath not against the sea?

And in *Psalms* 114:1–3 the formulaic pair "sea/river" is partially historicized:

> When Israel came out of Egypt, the house of Jacob from people of a different language . . . the sea saw and fled, the Jordan turned back.

In the more fully elaborated prose accounts of the story of Israel's deliverance, the splitting of the Red Sea is repeated at the crossing of the Jordan, again reflecting the ancient parallelism.

The ancient Israelites thus made frequent use of the broader ancient Near Eastern myth of the defeat of the primeval sea by the storm god. In the Bible, as in Ugaritic, the watery adversary of the deity is also called Leviathan, the multiheaded monster (*Pss.* 78:13–14; cf. *Jb.* 41). Behemoth and Rahab, other biblical names for the sea, have not yet turned up elsewhere. This myth is transformed in the apocalyptic visions of Jewish and Christian writers: in the end of time, the sea will finally be defeated (see *Is.* 27:1; *Rv.* 21:1).

Baal's house. After a considerable gap, the Baal cycle continues with a description of Baal's victory banquet. One of Baal's servants prepares an appropriate spread for "Baal the Conqueror, the Prince, the Lord of the Earth":

> He put a cup in his hand, a goblet in both his hands, a large beaker, manifestly great, a jar to astound a mortal, a holy cup that women should not see, a goblet that Asherah must not set her eye on; he took a thousand jugs of wine, he mixed ten thousand in his mixing bowl.

Another break in the text occurs here, and there follows a lengthy account of a battle waged by Anat, the most vividly described of the three major goddesses in the Ugaritic texts. The other two, Asherah (Athiratu in Ugaritic) and Astarte (Athtartu), appear only infrequently and generally in formulaic passages that shed little light on their characters. Anat, on the other hand, is a major figure in the Baal cycle, a position that is appropriate in view of her relationship to Baal: she is his sister and his wife. As this description of her martial style indicates, Anat is a violent deity:

> Heads rolled under her like balls, hands flew over her like locusts, the warriors' hands like swarms of grasshoppers. She fastened the heads to her back, she tied the hands to her belt. She plunged knee-deep in the soldiers' blood, up to her hands in the warriors' gore; with a staff she drove off her enemies, with the string of her bow, her opponents.

After this gory battle Anat purifies herself:

> She drew water and washed, the heavens' dew, the earth's oil, the rain of the Rider on the Clouds, dew that the heavens pour on her, rain that the stars pour on her.

In the next scene, Baal sends messengers to summon Anat; this invitation, which includes one of those extended formulae that recur in the texts, is lyrical in tone:

> "Message of Baal the Conqueror, the word of the Conqueror of Warriors: 'Remove war from the earth, set love in the ground, pour peace into the heart of the earth, rain down love on the heart of the fields. Hasten! hurry! rush! Run to me with your feet, race to me with your legs; for I have a word to tell you, a story to recount to you: the word of the tree and the charm of the stone, the whisper of the heavens to the earth, of the deeps to the stars. I understand the lightning that the heavens do not know, the word that human beings do not know, and earth's masses cannot understand. Come, and I will reveal it: in the midst of my mountain, the divine Zaphon, in the sanctuary, in the mountain of my inheritance, in the pleasant place, in the hill I have conquered.'"

When Anat sees Baal's messengers approaching, she is overcome with fear that another enemy threatens Baal. She lists the various enemies of Baal who have been defeated; first among them is Sea, who is given a full range of epithets, including "the dragon," "the twisting serpent," and "the seven-headed monster." Curiously, Anat herself claims credit for Sea's defeat, as for that of the other enemies named. Clearly, there was more than one version of Baal's defeat of Sea, for the one discussed above does not depict Anat as a participant in the battle; similarly, there is no account of combat between Baal and such adversaries as "the divine calf, the Rebel" or "El's bitch, Fire." These gaps in knowledge are salutary reminders of the limited nature of the sample of Ugaritic literature as yet discovered, and of the difficulty of combining the several tablets of the Baal cycle into a continuous narrative.

When Baal's messengers assure Anat that there is no danger and issue Baal's invitation, Anat proceeds to visit Baal. Again a section is missing, and as the text resumes, the main plot line of this tablet is developed: the construction of a permanent abode for Baal. In the gap he apparently complains to Anat that despite his victory over Sea, he has no house like the other gods. The word *house* in Ugaritic, as in Hebrew, has several senses; here it means not just a dwelling but a permanent abode for the god, hence a temple. The construction of a temple for the god who has been victorious over the forces of chaos is a typical motif; in *Enuma elish* in particular, after Marduk establishes cosmic order and creates human beings from the blood of Tiamat's spouse, the gods themselves build a temple for Marduk, and after its completion they are his guests at an inaugural banquet. Baal's elevation to kingship over the gods and human beings is therefore incomplete as long as he has no house like the other gods.

Anat goes to El to obtain his approval for the erection of a temple for Baal; her request includes a characteristic threat of violence if she is refused:

> "I'll smash your head; I'll make your gray hair run with blood, your gray beard with gore."

Before El can give his assent, however, his consort Asherah has to agree; mollified by a bribe of marvelous gifts specially fashioned by Kothar, the divine craftsman, she intercedes for Baal:

> "You are great, El, you are truly wise; your gray beard truly instructs you. . . . Now Baal will begin the rainy season, the season of wadis in flood; and he will sound his voice in the clouds, flash his lightning to the earth. Let him complete his house of cedar! let him construct his house of bricks!"

Anat brings the news of El's approval to her brother; Baal then gathers appropriate building materials—silver, gold, lapis lazuli—and commissions Kothar to begin work. As they discuss the plans, Kothar recommends that a window be included; despite his repeated urgings, however, Baal refuses. The house is built, and with the other gods Baal celebrates its completion at a banquet, after which he goes on a triumphal tour of his domain. When he returns, he has apparently changed his mind about the window, and at his request Kothar makes one; from this window, appropriately described as a slit in the clouds, Baal thunders, the earth quakes, and his enemies flee. Baal's enthronement as king is complete.

Baal and Death. Near the end of the tablet on which the above episode occurs, Baal proclaims:

> "No other king or non-king shall set his power over the earth. I will send no tribute to El's son Death, no homage to El's Beloved, the Hero. Let Death cry to himself, let the Beloved grumble in his heart; for I alone will rule over the gods; I alone will fatten gods and human beings; I alone will satisfy earth's masses."

This challenge to Death is best explained by the incomplete nature of Baal's triumph: while he has defeated Sea and has been proclaimed king by the divine assembly, the major force of Death is still not subdued.

Like Sea, Death is El's son; apparently, Baal's accession to kingship over the gods requires the elimination of this rival as well. The enigmatic dispute between Baal and Kothar about whether Baal's house is to have a window may be an indication of Baal's awareness of this requirement. Baal's initial reluctance can be better understood by reference to *Jeremiah* 9:21:

> Death has come up through our windows, he has entered our fortresses, cutting down the children in the street and the young men in the squares.

Since the decipherment of Ugaritic it has become clear that in many biblical passages that mention death, there is at least indirect reference to the Canaanite deity representing death (Hebrew and Ugaritic, *mot*) and not merely a designation of the cessation of life. The verse in *Jeremiah* is one such passage, and may reflect a popular belief that the god Death entered a house through the window. Seen in this light, Baal is at first unwilling to include a window in his house because he fears giving Death access; later, after his inaugural banquet and triumphal march, his grasp of power is, he thinks, more secure.

In any event, having proclaimed his supremacy, Baal sends messengers to Death; their names are Gapn and Ugar ("vine" and "field," appropriately reflecting Baal's aspect as god of the storm that brings fertility and thus anticipating the coming contest with its antithesis). Baal directs them:

> "Head toward the midst of his city, the Swamp, Muck, the throne where he sits, Phlegm, the land of his inheritance."

Death's underworld domain is, like the grave, a damp, dark, unpleasant place; it is reached from his earthly territory, the barren, hot desert, where (Baal continues)

> "Sun, the gods' lamp, burns, the heavens shimmer under the sway of El's Beloved, Death."

Suitably warned and instructed, Baal's two messengers leave. Because the text is broken here and even an entire tablet may be missing, it is not wholly clear what the gist of Baal's message is; a plausible guess is that Baal wishes to invite Death to his new palace. But Death will have none of such niceties; Baal is condemned for his destruction of Sea and its cosmic consequences, and the sentence is death at Death's hands. Gapn and Ugar return with Death's reply:

> "One lip to the earth, one lip to the heavens; he stretches his tongue to the stars. Baal must enter inside him; he must go down into his mouth, like an olive cake, the earth's produce, the fruit of the trees."

Without any sign of resistance, Baal agrees:

> "Hail, El's son Death!"
>
> "I am your servant; I am yours forever."

The tablet is very fragmentary here, leaving only the skeleton of a plot. Baal is to take with him all his companions and accoutrements—cloud, winds, lightning bolts, rain—and to proceed to the underworld; then "the gods will know that you have died." Apparently he does so, for when a readable text resumes, two messengers are reporting to El:

> "We arrived at the pleasant place, the desert pasture, at the lovely fields on Death's shore. We came upon Baal: he had fallen to the ground. Baal the Conqueror has died; the Prince, the Lord of the Earth, has perished."

El's reaction is, initially, one of grief:

> He poured earth on his head as a sign of mourning, on his skull the dust in which he rolled; he covered his loins with sackcloth. He gashed his skin with a knife, he made incisions with a razor; he cut his cheeks and chin, he raked his arms with a reed, he plowed his chest like a garden, he raked his back like a valley. He raised his voice and shouted: "Baal is dead: what will happen to the peoples? Dagan's son: what will happen to the masses?"

Meanwhile, Anat independently discovers Baal's corpse, and she too mourns in the same formulaic fashion. Afterward, with the help of Sun, she brings Baal's body back to Mount Zaphon, where she buries him and offers the appropriate funerary sacrifice. Then she heads toward El's abode, where her announcement of Baal's death occasions El's suggestion to Asherah that one of her sons replace Baal as king; at least two try and are found wanting.

After a considerable gap in the text, Anat is described as she is about to encounter Death:

> Like the heart of a cow for her calf, like the heart of a ewe for her lamb, so was Anat's heart for Baal.

Anat grabs Death's clothes and insists that he give up her brother; Death refuses, or at least is unable to grant her request. Time passes; in Baal's absence the forces of drought and sterility are dominant; "the heavens shimmered under the sway of El's son, Death." Again Anat approaches Death; no words are exchanged, but this time Baal's sister is as violent in grief as she is in battle:

> She seized El's son, Death: with a sword she split him; with a sieve she winnowed him; with a fire she burned him; with a hand-mill she ground him; in the field she sowed him.

This agricultural imagery is striking: for Baal, the dead god of fertility, to be restored to life and for Death, the living god of sterility, to be destroyed, the mysterious processes of the natural cycle have to be ritually repeated. It is important to note that this is not the ordinary annual cycle but rather the periodic disaster that a prolonged drought can cause; if the life-giving winter rains are to fail, there will be no crops, no food for animals or humans. In myth this is represented by the struggle between Baal and Death; with Baal dead, the forces of sterility prevail, and Baal can be revivified only by Death's death. Only if Death, whose appetite is insatiable, whose gaping jaws have swallowed up Baal like a lamb or a kid, is himself swallowed up, can Baal's power return.

In the next scene, El has a prophetic dream in which he foresees Baal's restoration and its effects:

> In a dream of El, the Kind, the Compassionate, in a vision of the Creator of Creatures, the heavens rained down oil, the wadis ran with honey.

Baal is restored to power, and as a later heir of Canaanite tradition would put it (*1 Cor.* 15:54–55):

> Death is swallowed up in victory. Where, O Death, is your victory? Where, O Death, is your sting?

(Compare *Isaiah* 25:8 and *Hosea* 13:14.)

The Baal cycle does not quite end here; there remain his revenge on his rivals and yet another successful struggle with Death after a seven-year interval. The latter confirms the analysis of this last episode as the mythical representation of an occasional rather than an annual event.

The relationship between El and Baal is complex. On a narrative level, it is difficult not to sense El's less than enthusiastic acceptance of Baal's dominion. In the first episode he is willing to hand Baal over to Sea, "El's Beloved"; in the second, both he and Asherah are scornful of Baal's position, for "he has no house like the other gods"; and in the third, despite his real (although stylized) grief at Baal's death, he is quick to suggest replacements from his own family. Furthermore, throughout the cycle El remains the head of the pantheon and presides over the council of the gods. Yet this very cycle, the most extensive among the surviving texts from Ugarit, tells of Baal's rise to some kind of preeminence. At the very least it can be suggested that Canaanite ideology was not static, and the mythological literature reflects this fluidity. While Baal had become the patron god of Ugarit, this did not mean that its citizens rejected either the worship of El or the traditional understanding of his role in the world of the gods.

Other mythological texts. In other texts from the same archaeological context as the Baal cycle, El has a dominant, sometimes even an exclusive, role. There follows a discussion of some of the better-preserved texts that also have to do with the Canaanite gods.

Birth of the beautiful and gracious gods. Unlike the other texts treated here, this tablet (of which some seventy-six lines survive) combines mythological material with ritual rubrics; the former is apparently the accompanying libretto for the action prescribed by the latter.

The central portion of the tablet describes the conception and birth of the deities Dawn (Shahar, probably the morning star) and Dusk (Shalim, the evening star). As it opens, El is at the seashore, where two women became aroused as they observe his virility:

> El's hand [a euphemism] grew as long as the Sea, El's hand as long as the Ocean.

In language full of double entendre, the text relates how El shoots and cooks a bird, and then seduces the women:

> The two women became El's wives, El's wives forever and ever. He bowed low, he kissed their lips; behold, their lips were sweet, as sweet as pomegranates. When they kissed, they conceived, when they embraced, they became pregnant; they began labor and gave birth to Dawn and Dusk.

Two divine sons are thus sired by El, who is in full possession of his vigor and virility. As his offspring, they "suck nipples of the Lady's breasts"; "the Lady" is El's principal consort, the goddess Asherah. But the two young gods have insatiable appetites, comparable (because the same formula is used) to that of Death himself:

> One lip to the earth, one lip to the heavens: into their mouths entered the birds of the heavens and the fish in the sea.

So, at El's command, they are banished to the desert; after seven years they are finally allowed to reenter the land by "the guard of the sown." Here the text breaks off.

This summary does not begin to deal with the many problems of interpretation posed by the laconic text, nor is it clear how the first portion of the tablet is related to the material just recounted. The tablet begins with a first-person invocation to "the beautiful and gracious gods," almost certainly Dawn and Dusk, who are minor but established figures in the Ugaritic pantheon; Dawn also occurs in biblical tradition (*Is.* 14:12). Their exile in the desert may be a mythical explanation of their perceived origin: in the ancient view both day and night rose in the east, and from the Canaanites' perspective the eastern limit of their territory was the great Syrian desert.

The details of the ritual, in which particular words and actions are to be repeated seven times and performed in the presence of the king, queen, and royal court, are highly obscure. Various deities are mentioned, various sacrifices are to be offered, and while there are some verbal connections with the mythic section, it is difficult to interpret the whole with coherence; yet it is improbable that the two parts are not somehow related. What is clear is that the myth depicts El with full enjoyment of his generative powers, and it is likely that the concern underlying both the ritual and the narrative parts is the maintenance of fertility.

Marriage of Nikkal and the moon god. This relatively brief text is a kind of epithalamium, or wedding hymn, celebrating the marriage of the moon god (Yarih), "the heavens' lamp," to Nikkal wa-Ib. The first part of the latter's composite name is ultimately derived from the Sumerian title of the moon goddess Ningal, "great lady," and its second half is connected with the word for "fruit." The tablet opens with an invocation of Nikkal and Hirhib, an otherwise unknown deity called "the king of summer," and then tells of the Moon's passion for Nikkal. To obtain his intended bride he uses the services of Hirhib, the divine marriage broker, offering to pay her father as bride-price a thousand silver pieces, ten thousand gold pieces, and gems of lapis lazuli.

Hirhib suggests that Moon marry instead Baal's daughter Pidray ("misty") or someone else, but Moon is adamant; the marriage with Nikkal is arranged, and the bride-price is paid:

> Her father set the beam of the scales; her mother the trays of the scales; her brothers arranged the standards; her sisters took care of the weights.

This portion of the tablet ends with another invocation: "Let me sing of Nikkal wa-Ib, the light of Moon; may Moon give you light."

The brief second part of the tablet consists of another hymnic invocation of the goddesses of childbirth, the Wise Women (Kotharatu). Their presence, as in the account of the birth of Aqhat (see below), guarantees the conception and safe delivery of babies.

El's banquet. This short tablet provides a candid glimpse of the gods, and especially El, as they participate in a ritual symposium. El invites the gods to his house, where he has prepared a feast; among those present are Moon, Astarte, and Anat.

> The gods ate and drank; they drank wine until they were full, new wine until they were drunk.

At this point the party becomes rowdy, and El's gatekeeper rebukes the guests; El too is chided, apparently for allowing the unruly behavior. Then, however, El himself becomes intoxicated and decides to retire; en route he has an alcoholic hallucination of a figure with two horns and a tail (a possible satanic prototype). Despite the support of two attendants,

> He fell in his excrement and urine, El fell like a dead man, El, like those who go down into the earth.

In other words, he is dead drunk. The reverse side of the tablet is extremely fragmentary, but, appropriately, it seems to contain a remedy for hangovers.

In the middle of the text, El is described as seated, or enthroned, in his *mrzḥ* ("symposium"). The *mrzḥ* (Hebrew *marzeaḥ*) was a chronologically and geographically widespread ritual institution, mentioned several times in texts from Ugarit (including once in the fragmentary Rephaim texts, discussed below), twice in the Bible *(Jer.* 16:5, *Am.* 6:7), and in Phoenician/Punic texts from Sidon and Marseilles. It is also mentioned in Aramaic texts from Elephantine in Egypt, from Petra in Jordan, and from Palmyra in Syria. Scholars disagree as to the precise character of this institution, especially its possible connection with funereal practices and memorials; there is no doubt that this text contains at least part of its mythological background.

EPIC TEXTS. The two major Canaanite literary cycles with human protagonists are *Aqhat* and *Kirta.* As in more familiar classical heroic epics, however, and as in other ancient Near Eastern sources, such as the Mesopotamian Gilgamesh epic, the gods play a significant role in the narrative; from a temporal point of view, actions in both the divine and human realms occur on a single continuum. Thus, while a specific time is not indicated in either of these two texts, the time frame in which the narrative takes place is historical at least in the sense that the cosmic order has been established.

Aqhat. This title is an ancient one, appearing as a cataloging device at the beginning of the third major tablet of the cycle that is preserved. Nevertheless, the story is part of a larger one about Aqhat's father, Danel, a royal figure whose righteousness and wisdom were legendary (see *Ez.* 14:14, 20; 28:2). The surviving remnants of the cycle deal with the relationship of Danel and his son, and as the extant story begins, Danel is described performing a seven-day incubation ritual, occasioned by his lack of progeny.

A period of seven days or seven years occurs some five times in *Aqhat,* and elsewhere in the Ugaritic corpus as well: Baal's initial defeat of Death lasted seven years, and in the Aqhat text (see below), Danel cursed the land by calling for an absence of Baal's generative powers:

> "For seven years let Baal fail, eight, the Rider on the Clouds: no dew, no showers, no surging of the double deep, no benefit of Baal's voice."

This is reminiscent of the alternation of seven years of plenty and seven of famine in the biblical story of Joseph. The frequent use of the number seven applies to days as well; in both the Ugaritic texts and the Bible, seven days is the conventional length of a journey, and the revelation about to be made to Danel recalls God's call to Moses on the seventh day *(Ex.* 24:16). Other biblical examples include the seven days of creation at the beginning of *Genesis* and the literal tour de force of the collapse of Jericho, which occurred on the seventh day after seven priests blowing on seven trumpets had marched seven times around the city. It is unlikely that this repeated use of seven is much more than literary convention, but its frequent occurrence in Ugaritic and biblical literatures underscores the close relationship between them.

On the seventh and final day of Danel's ritual, Baal, Danel's patron, addresses the assembly of the gods on Danel's behalf:

> "Unlike his brothers, he has no son; no heir, like his cousins; yet he has made an offering for the gods to eat, an offering for the holy ones to drink."

In response, El blesses Danel and then catalogs the benefits that a son will provide:

> "When he kisses his wife she will become pregnant; when he embraces her she will conceive: she will become pregnant, she will give birth, she will conceive; and there will be a son in his house, an heir inside his palace, to set up a stela for his divine ancestor, a family shrine in the sanctuary; to free his spirit from the earth, guard his footsteps from the Slime; to crush those who rebel against him, drive off his oppressors; to eat his offering in the temple of Baal, his portion in the temple of El; to hold his hand when he is drunk, support him when he is full of wine; to patch his roof when it leaks, wash his clothes when they are dirty."

Heartened by the divine promise, Danel returns to his palace, where with the assistance of the Wise Women, the goddesses of marriage and childbirth, conception occurs after seven days.

This list of ritual and personal filial duties suggests that one of the epic's purposes was didactic: to school its audience in proper social behavior, which included not only the responsibilities of a son to his father but the model conduct of kings, of daughters and sisters, and in fact, of all humans in their complex relationships with one another and with the gods.

The picture of the childless patriarch is a commonplace in Canaanite literature. In the Ugaritic texts, the opening of *Kirta* (see below) is remarkably similar to that of the Danel cycle, and in *Genesis,* Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob each are initially either childless or lacking descendants from their favorite or principal wives. In each case, offspring are promised by their patron deity: in Abraham's case, in the context of a nocturnal revelation, like Danel's (*Gn.* 15), and in Isaac's, in response to a prayer by the patriarch (*Gn.* 25:21). In the more extensive Jacob cycle, the promise of numerous descendants is made at night (*Gn.* 28:11–17) and is granted in response to Jacob's favorite wife Rachel's specific prayer (*Gn.* 30:22). The stories of Hannah (Samuel's mother), of Samson's parents, and to some extent of Job are further variations of this motif. In the biblical narratives of Israel's ancestors as preserved in *Genesis* it is further significant that the patron deity who pronounces the blessing on each patriarch, although called Yahweh in the present sources, is elsewhere unequivocally identified as El (see *Ex.* 6:3; cf. *Gn.* 14:19–20; 49:25). As his epithets in biblical literature and especially in Genesis make clear, this is none other than the head of the Canaanite pantheon. It is noteworthy that in *Aqhat,* even though Baal is Danel's patron (as his epithet, "the Healer's man," indicates), the blessing is given by El; Baal acts only as mediator between the childless king and "El, the Bull, the Creator of Creatures."

The middle third of this first of the cycle's three tablets is missing; in this section the birth of Danel's son Aqhat must have been related. The story then resumes. As Danel is engaged in typical royal judicial activity at the city gate, judging the cases of widows and orphans, he sees Kothar approaching with a bow and arrows. The divine craftsman gives this weapon to Danel as a gift for his son; after a suitable feast, prepared by Danel's wife for their divine guest, the god departs.

In the next episode Anat, having seen the wonderfully crafted weapon, offers to buy it from Aqhat; the latter refuses, proposing instead that he will supply the raw materials necessary for the construction of another one by Kothar. Anat goes further:

> "If you want life, Aqhat the Hero, if you want life, I'll give it to you, immortality—I'll make it yours. You'll be able to match years with Baal, months with the sons of El."

Again Aqhat refuses, and this time his response goes beyond the proper limits:

> "Don't lie to me, Virgin, for to a hero your lies are trash. A mortal—what does he get in the end? what does a mortal finally get? Plaster poured on his head, lime on top of his skull. As every man dies, I will die; yes, I too will surely die. And I have something else to tell you: bows are for men! Do women ever hunt?"

The first part of Aqhat's response, while realistic, is bad enough: he implicitly denies Anat's ability to provide what she had promised, because from his perspective, old age and death are inescapable. But in insulting her prowess with such weapons, Aqhat is challenging the goddess's very essence. Anat replies with a characteristically furious threat, and goes to report the matter to El.

The second and shortest tablet of the cycle retains only two of its original four columns. In the first column El accedes, apparently with reluctance, to Anat's insistence on revenge, and in the last Anat carries out her threat:

> When Aqhat sat down to eat, the son of Danel to his meal, vultures swooped over him, a flock of birds soared above. Among the vultures swooped Anat; she set him [Yatpan, Anat's henchman] over Aqhat. He struck him twice on the skull, three times over the ear; like a slaughterer he made his blood run, like a butcher, run to his knees. His breath left him like wind, his spirit like a breeze, like smoke from his nostrils.

The end of this tablet and the beginning of the next are badly broken; apparently Anat regrets her action, at least in part because while Aqhat was being killed his bow dropped into the sea.

When the text becomes legible, Danel is again sitting at the gate presiding over legal matters. His daughter Pughat notices that the vegetation has withered and that vultures are swooping over her father's house; both are clear signs of violent, unnatural death. With his clothes torn in mourning, Danel

> cursed the clouds in the still heat, the rain of the clouds that falls in summer, the dew that drops on the grapes.

Thus, Danel invokes a seven-year drought (see above), the absence of Baal's pluvial benefits. Then, at her father's instructions, Pughat,

> who got up early to draw water, who brushed the dew from the barley, who knew the course of the stars, in tears she harnessed the ass, in tears she roped up the donkey, in tears she lifted her father, she put him on the ass's back, on the splendid back of the donkey.

At this point neither Danel nor Pughat is aware of Aqhat's death; together they set out on a tour of the blasted fields. There, Danel poignantly wishes that they could be restored, so that

> "the hand of Aqhat the Hero would harvest you, place you in the granary."

While they are still in the fields, messengers appear and relate the facts of Aqhat's death. Danel is stricken:

> His feet shook, his face broke out in sweat, his back was as though shattered, his joints trembled, his vertebrae weakened.

Finally, Danel lifts up his eyes, sees the vultures overhead, and curses them:

> "May Baal shatter the vultures' wings, may Baal shatter their pinions; let them fall at my feet. I will split their gizzards and look: if there is fat, if there is bone, I will weep and I will bury him, I will put him into the hole of the gods of the earth."

Three times Danel examines the innards of various vultures for remains of Aqhat; they are found at last inside Samal, the mother of vultures, and presumably are given proper burial. Danel then curses the three cities near the scene of the crime and returns to his palace to begin the mourning period. For seven years the mourning goes on, and at its conclusion Danel dismisses the mourners and offers the appropriate sacrifice.

In the last surviving brief episode, Pughat asks her father's benediction:

> "Bless me, that I may go with your blessing; favor me, that I may go with your favor: I will kill my brother's

> killer, put an end to whoever put an end to my mother's son."

The blessing having been given, Pughat, like the Jewish heroine Judith, applies cosmetics and puts on her finery, under which she hides a sword. She reaches Yatpan's tent at sundown, and he welcomes her, boasting:

> "The hand that killed Aqhat the Hero can kill a thousand enemies."

Our text ends tantalizingly:

> Twice she gave him wine to drink, she gave him wine to drink.

Interpretation of this epic is difficult because of the gaps in the narrative and the abrupt break at the end of the preserved portion, but some light is shed on the main lines of the story by other ancient sources. The encounter between Anat and Aqhat is reminiscent of similar episodes in classical literatures, and especially of a portion of the Gilgamesh epic. There, the goddess Ishtar (Inanna) tries to seduce Gilgamesh; he repudiates her advances and reminds her in arrogant, insulting detail how she had behaved toward other mortals she had loved after she had finished with them. Ishtar is naturally furious and complains bitterly to her father, Anu, the head of the pantheon. At first he resists her desire to take revenge on Gilgamesh by setting against him a powerful animal adversary, the Bull of Heaven, telling her that if her request is granted there will be seven years of drought. Finally, however, Anu relents, when Ishtar tells him that she has stored up sufficient grain and fodder.

The parallels between this episode and *Aqhat* are numerous and striking, but there are also significant differences. While Ishtar is the Mesopotamian counterpart of Anat, a goddess of love and of war, Gilgamesh and Aqhat are not simply literary cultural variants. In particular, it seems unlikely that the bow in the Ugaritic epic is a symbolic substitute for Aqhat's sexual organ: because it had been manufactured by Kothar, a substitute could be made for it, and after Aqhat's death it dropped into the sea.

The Egyptian myth of Osiris offers another avenue of comparison. In that tale Isis, the sister (and wife) of the dead Osiris, retrieves the murdered corpse of her brother, gives it a proper burial, and then encourages their son Horus to avenge his father's death; Osiris is, significantly, the god of the regenerating vegetation.

It seems, then, that the Gilgamesh, Osiris, and Aqhat cycles have a common thread, the threat to continued fertility. Extrapolating from these links, it is likely first that Pughat does avenge her brother's death, probably by destroying Anat's henchman Yatpan—it turns out that women hunt after all! Second, given the importance assigned to Danel's lack of an heir and the positive recollection of him in *Ezekiel,* it is difficult not to assume that he, like Job, is granted rehabilitation, that the land is restored to production, and that a substitute son is born, all in other episodes of the Danel cycle not yet discovered.

The Rephaim texts. Three other tablets, extremely fragmentary ones, give some hint of the outcome of the story. Like most of the texts treated in this article, they were written down by Ilimilku, and because one of them mentions Danel by name, they are part of the larger Danel tradition. Most scholars refer to them as the Rephaim texts, after the Hebrew pronunciation of the name of their principal figures, the Rephaim; this title is probably to be translated (despite the Hebrew vocalization) as "the Healers," although some scholars prefer "the Healthy (or Healed) Ones." These "Healers" seem to have been minor deities of the underworld. (See *Job* 26:5; in other biblical passages the term *Rephaim* is used for the legendary pre-Israelite inhabitants of the land of Canaan, probably by extension from the sense of the deified dead.) They also seem to have been connected with Baal; recall Danel's epithet, "the Healer's man."

In these texts the Healers visit Danel's threshing floor and plantation, presumably to restore them. Four broken lines read as follows:

> "Behold your son, behold . . . your grandson . . . the small one will kiss your lips."

It is tempting to see here the promise, if not the fact, of a new heir for Danel. It has even been conjectured that Aqhat himself was restored to life, somewhat analogously to Baal's resurrection, but this is unlikely because Aqhat was human, not divine, and he himself had stated the Canaanite view of mortality: "As every man dies, I will die."

Kirta. This epic, consisting of three tablets, is incomplete: at least one additional tablet is missing, for the third ends abruptly in mid-sentence. Its eponymous hero, Kirta (a name also vocalized as Keret), was, like Danel, a king, and as the story begins he too has no heir. As he laments his lot, he has a revelatory dream in which El appears to him; parallels in *Aqhat* and in the ancestral stories of *Genesis* indicate that his sleep may have been part of a formal incubation ritual. El's instructions to Kirta amount to more than ninety lines of text, and they are immediately repeated, with only minor variations, as the childless ruler carries out the divine commands.

First, Kirta offers a sacrifice to the gods, and then he prepares an army for his campaign against King Pabil of Udm, whose daughter, the Lady Hurraya, is to be given to Kirta as his wife. There is almost universal conscription:

> The bachelor closed his house; the widow hired a substitute; the sick man carried his bed; the blind man was assigned a station; even the new husband came out: he led his wife to another, his love to a stranger.

This army proceeds like a swarm of locusts for three days, after which it arrives at the sanctuary of Asherah of Tyre. There Kirta vows that if his suit is successful, he will donate double the bride-price to the goddess. On the evening of the seventh day he reaches Udm and lays siege to the city:

> They attacked the cities, they raided the towns; they drove the woodcutters from the fields, and the gatherers

> of straw from the threshing floors; they drove the water carriers from the well, and the women filling their jars from the spring.

After seven days of siege Pabil begins to negotiate, offering Kirta silver, gold, slaves, and chariots. But Kirta rejects these, insisting that there is only one thing he wants:

> "Give me rather what is not in my house: give me the Lady Hurraya, the fairest of your firstborn: her fairness is like Anat's, her beauty is like Astarte's, her eyebrows are lapis lazuli, her eyes are jeweled bowls."

This is the end of the narrative of Kirta's fulfillment of El's command, and also the conclusion of the first tablet. The beginning of the second tablet is damaged; as the text resumes, Pabil accedes to Kirta's suit, with regret:

> "As a cow lows for her calf, as recruits long for their mothers, so will the Udmites sigh."

After some missing lines, the council of the gods assembles in procession. Some of them are listed: the Bull (El), Baal the Conqueror, Prince Moon, Kothar-wa-Hasis, the Maiden (Anat), and Prince Resheph. This assembly gathers to witness El's blessing, at Baal's behest, of Kirta's marriage:

> "Kirta, you have taken a wife, you have taken a wife into your house, you have brought a maiden into your court. She will bear seven sons for you, she will produce eight for you; she will bear Yassib the Lad, who will drink the milk of Asherah, suck the breasts of the Virgin Anat, the two wet nurses of the gods."

The close association with the gods of the offspring of royal but human parents is a feature of the Canaanite ideology of kingship.

Seven years passed, and El's blessing proves effective, but Asherah is angry because Kirta has forgotten his vow. Meanwhile, Kirta plans a feast for his nobles, but during its preparation he is stricken with a mortal disease, apparently as a punishment from Asherah.

As the third tablet opens, Kirta's son Ilha'u is expressing consternation at his father's illness:

> "How can it be said that Kirta is El's son, an offspring of the Kind and Holy One? Or do the gods die? Do the Kind One's offspring not live on?"

Ilha'u shares his dismay with his sister Thitmanit ("the eighth," or Octavia), who repeats her brother's words of confusion. After another gap the text tells of the disastrous consequences of Kirta's illness:

> The plowmen lifted their heads, the sowers of grain their backs: gone was the food from their bins, gone was the wine from their skins, gone was the oil from their vats.

Again there is a break in the text, and then El intervenes personally; he asks the divine council seven times if any of their number can cure Kirta, "but none of the gods answered him." Finally he takes the task upon himself:

> "I will work magic, I will bring relief; I will expel the sickness, I will drive out the disease."

To do so he takes clay and creates the goddess Shataqat (whose name means "she causes [disease] to pass away"), then sends her to Kirta. She succeeds; "Death was broken," and Kirta's appetite returns.

In the final scene, after Kirta has been restored to his throne, his rule is challenged by one of his sons on the ground that because of his weakness, he has ceased to perform the expected functions of a king:

> "You do not judge the cases of widows; you do not preside over the hearings of the oppressed; you do not drive out those who plunder the poor; you do not feed the orphan before you, the widow behind your back."

Kirta's response is to curse his son, praying that Horon, an underworld deity, and Astarte, "the name of Baal," will smash his son's skull.

The plot of the *Kirta* cycle is relatively straightforward (at least where the text is continuous). *Kirta* also provides a perspective on the Canaanite ideology of kingship. Among the duties of the king was to maintain the social order; he did so by his effective support of the powerless in society—the poor, widows, orphans—all groups who are mentioned in innumerable ancient Near Eastern sources as the special responsibility of kings, both divine and human. Thus, his son's attempted coup to seize Kirta's throne was motivated by the alleged lack of justice for the powerless; Absalom's revolt against his father, King David, in *2 Samuel* 15 was initially successful because Absalom was able to appeal to a similar failure in the royal administration of justice. Another aspect of the maintenance of the social order was the provision for an orderly succession; Kirta's (and Danel's) desire for male descendants was prompted by the recognition of this royal responsibility.

The most complex feature of Canaanite royal ideology, however, was the quasi-divine status of the king; as the repeated question of Kirta's children—"Do the Kind One's offspring not live on?"—shows, it was puzzling to the Canaanites as well. The *Kirta* cycle probably recounts the legendary tale of the founder of a Canaanite dynasty. While there is evidence that the kings of Ugarit, like those of the Hittites, were deified after their death, there is no suggestion of actual divine parentage for them. Kirta's epithet "El's son" must therefore have a nonbiological sense, expressing in mythological language the close connection between human and divine rule. Thus, just as Baal was responsible for the continuing fertility of the earth, which failed during the period of his subjugation to Death, so the king shared in this responsibility; when Kirta was ill, the natural order was upset. (Psalm 72, one of the Israelite royal hymns, is an extended elaboration of the positive connection of natural prosperity with the king.)

The evidence of a number of biblical passages that speak of the king as the son of Yahweh is instructive here. The language of divine sonship is not just a literary device but seems to have been part of the actual coronation ceremony, in which the newly anointed king would proclaim:

> "I will tell of Yahweh's decree. He said to me, 'You are my son; this day I have given birth to you.'" (*Ps.* 2:7)

Similar language is found in *2 Samuel* 7:14 and in *Isaiah* 9:2–7, a prophetic coronation oracle, the divine council itself proclaims:

> "To us a child has been born, to us a son has been given."

The language of sonship also occurs in *Psalms* 89:26, immediately after a passage that expresses in the clearest way the close relationship between deity and king. Earlier in the psalm Yahweh is praised as the one who (like Baal) rules the raging of the sea, scattering his enemies with his mighty arms (vv. 9–10); in verse 23, using the traditional parallel formula for the storm god's enemy, the deity states that he will share his cosmic powers with the Davidic king:

> "I will set his hand on the sea, and on the rivers his right hand."

CONCLUSION. This article has dealt primarily with the corpus of Canaanite literature from Ugarit and has not discussed in detail the many other Canaanite sources extant. Most prominent among these are hundreds of inscriptions from the first millennium BCE in the Phoenician, Aramaic, Hebrew, Moabite, Ammonite, and Edomite languages; references to Canaanite religion in various Greek and Roman writers; and, more remotely, scattered material in Mesopotamian sources. It should be realized, however, that with rare exceptions, this material is not literature in the sense in which the term has been interpreted above.

Throughout this article there has also been an effort to adumbrate the significance of the Ugaritic texts for the interpretation of the other great corpus of literature that may be subsumed in the designation *Canaanite*—the Bible. Much more could be added on this topic, including discussion of the council of the gods; the enthronement festival of the deity as represented in *Psalms*; and, in general, the pervasive use of Canaanite imagery, formulas, and ideology by biblical writers, especially when describing the character and activity of Yahweh. The writers were themselves aware of this relationship and the problems it raised; this partially explains the consistent portrayal of ancient Israel as—at least in the ideal—a people set apart from their historical context, their hostility toward their non-Yahwistic neighbors, and the insistence on the uniqueness of Yahweh. Yet biblical tradition can, on occasion, be remarkably candid about the origins of Israel and its culture. In the light of Canaanite religious and mythological literature, the declaration of the prophet Ezekiel to Jerusalem is strikingly apposite: "Your origin and your birth are of the land of the Canaanites" (*Ez.* 16:3).

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Several accessible translations for the general reader exist. The translations in this article are the author's own, revised from those first published in Michael David Coogan, *Stories from Ancient Canaan* (Philadelphia, 1978) and used by permission of Westminster John Knox Press. That work also includes helpful introductions to each of the four cycles that are translated, as well as to the Canaanite material from Ugarit in general. The best recent translation of the Ugaritic texts into English is Simon B. Parker, ed., *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry* (Atlanta, 1997), in which translations by a number of scholars are juxtaposed to transcriptions of the original Ugaritic; unfortunately there is no consistency in this volume, so that the same Ugaritic words and phrases are translated differently by different scholars. Also important are Gregorio del Olmo Lete, *Mitos, leyendas y rituales de los semitas occidentales,* 2d ed. (Madrid, 1998), and the translations, mostly by Dennis Pardee, found in William W. Hallo, ed., *The Context of Scripture,* vol. 1, *Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World* (Leiden, 1997), pp. 237–375. Nicolas Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit: The Words of Ilimilku and His Colleagues,* 2d ed. (London and New York, 2002), which includes a number of ritual texts as well as the myths and epics considered here, is often idiosyncratic. Among older versions, especially valuable are *Textes ougaritiques,* vol. 1 of *Mythes et légendes,* by André Caquot, Maurice Sznycer, and Andrée Herdner (Paris, 1974), and *Canaanite Myths and Legends,* by John C. L. Gibson, 2d ed (Edinburgh, 1978).

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Grammars and dictionaries are also important resources. Among the most comprehensive are Gregorio del Olmo Lete and Joaquín Sanmartín, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition* (Leiden, 2003), translated by Wilfred G. E. Watson, and Josef Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik* (Munster, Germany, 2000).

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Michael D. Coogan (1987 and 2005)

CANDOMBLÉ See AFRO-BRAZILIAN RELIGIONS

CANDRAKĪRTI (Tib., Zla ba grags pa; Chin., Yuecheng; Jpn., Gesshō), Indian Buddhist dialectician. Scholars have identified at least three Candrakīrtis. The first, who will be referred to as "Candrakīrti I," was a renowned Madhyamaka (Mādhyamika) philosopher who lived around 600–650 CE; the second, "Candrakīrti II," was a Tantric master assumed to have lived slightly later than the former; and the third, "Candrakīrti III," was a Buddhist thinker of the eleventh century. Biographies are available only in Tibetan sources such as the histories of Bu ston, Tāranātha, and Sumpa mkhan po. These sources are not particularly helpful to the historian, for they tend to confuse history and legend and freely interchange the lives of the three Candrakīrtis. This did not pose a great problem in Tibet, however, for the Tibetan tradition acknowledges only one Candrakīrti, who lived for three or four hundred years.

Candrakīrti I wrote several important commentaries on the works of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva: (1) the *Prasannapadā* (available in Sanskrit in Bibliotheca Buddhica 4, hereafter cited as Bibl. Bud.), a commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*; (2) the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikāvṛtti* (Derge edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka 3864, hereafter cited as D.; Beijing edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka 5265, hereafter cited as B.); (3) the *Śūnyatā-saptativṛtti* (D. 3867, B. 5268); and (4) the *Catuḥśatakaṭīkā* (D. 3865, B. 5266, partially available in Sanskrit), a commentary on Āryadeva's *Catuḥśataka*. He also composed works of his own inspiration: (1) the *Madhyamakāvatāra*, with its autocommentary, the *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* (Tib. edition in Bibl. Bud. 9), an introduction to the basic Madhyamaka treatise of Nāgārjuna; and (2) the *Pañcaskañdhaprakaraṇa* (Tib. edition, Lindtner, 1979), a treatise on Abhidharma topics (five aggregates, twelve bases, and eighteen elements) from the Madhyamaka point of view. Opinions differ concerning the authorship of the work titled *Triśaraṇa[gamana]saptati* (D. 3971, 4564; B. 5366, 5478). According to Lindtner it was composed by Candrakīrti I, but according to Ruegg (1981), by Candrakīrti II. As to the chronological order of these treatises, one can only state with certainty that the *Madhyamakāvatāra* (probably with the autocommentary) was composed before the two large commentaries, the *Prasannapadā* and the *Catuḥśatakaṭīkā*, since both of the latter refer to the former.

Candrakīrti I expounded the Madhyamaka philosophy of Nāgārjuna and defended the position of Buddhapālita (c. 470–540) against the criticism of Bhāvaviveka (c. 500–570), who had wanted to adopt independent inferences. Candrakīrti I thus tried to reestablish the *prasaṅga* method of reasoning. Tibetan doxographers accordingly classified him with Buddhapālita as representative of the Prāsaṅgika school. He also lodged criticism against the doctrines of the Buddhist logico-epistemological school and the metaphysical and gnoseological theories of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāddins.

Candrakīrti II composed a few Tantric works, the most important of which is the *Pradīpoddyotana* (D. 1785, B. 2650), a commentary on the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*. Candrakīrti III composed the *Madhyamakāvatāraprajñā* or *Madhyamakaprajñāvatāra* (D. 3865, B. 5264) and together with the translator 'Gos khug pa lhas btsas translated it into Tibetan. If the identification of Dpal ldan zla ba with Candrakīrti III is correct, this same pair of translators also translated Kṛṣṇapāda's commentary on the *Hevajra Tantra* (D. 1187, B. 2317). 'Gos khug pa lhas btsas also translated the *Pradīpoddyotana* with Rin chen bzang po (958–1055) and others. We can thus fix the date of Candrakīrti III within the eleventh century.

Although Candrakīrti I and III are certainly two different people, it may be possible that Candrakīrti II is identical with either Candrakīrti I or III. Research on this point remains open.

See Also Mādhyamika.

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CANISIUS, PETER (1521–1597), doctor of the church, Jesuit priest, educator, theologian, and saint. Born at Nijmegen, Peter Canisius was educated at the University of Cologne. Sent by his father, Jakob Kanijs, to study law at Louvain in 1539, Peter, determined to be a priest, returned to Cologne and in 1541 became the first German Jesuit. He helped to found the first German Jesuit house at Cologne and in 1546 was ordained a priest. In 1547, Cardinal Truchsess of Augsburg appointed Canisius as his theologian at the Council of Trent. Between the first and second sessions of the council, Canisius went to Rome for further spiritual training with Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesus. From 1548 to 1580 Canisius worked out of Germany, traveling to Austria and Poland as Jesuit provincial, counselor to princes, and founder of Jesuit schools. Three times Emperor Ferdinand I (1556–1564) asked Canisius to become bishop of Vienna, but each time he refused. From 1556 to 1569 Canisius served as the first Jesuit provincial of upper Germany. In 1580 he was sent to Fribourg in Switzerland to help found a Jesuit college; it was his last assignment.

Canisius's primary work was reestablishing Roman Catholicism or strengthening it where it was threatened by Protestantism, especially in Germany, Austria, and Poland. His means were manifold, but chief among them was education through the establishment of twenty Jesuit colleges between 1549 and 1580. From these colleges came staunchly Roman Catholic political and spiritual leaders.

Frequently, Canisius had to deal directly with Protestants, as at Worms in 1557 and at Augsburg in 1566, or indirectly through his advice to Catholic princes to whom he was appointed secret nuncio by the pope. While he dealt severely with heretical books and what he deemed overly lenient policies on the part of princes, he distinguished between obdurate heresy and that of people who had been led astray. These latter should not be coerced, he argued, but persuaded. To prepare Catholics to meet Protestant arguments, Canisius drew up catechisms that, while not attacking Protestants frontally, gave Catholics a thorough grounding in the Catholic side of controversial issues such as justification and the Lord's Supper. Canisius also answered Protestant controversialists, especially the Centuriators, Flacius Illyricus and Johann Wigand, who had prepared the *Magdeburg Centuries*, a century-by-century history interpreted from a Lutheran perspective.

Toward his flock, Canisius was a kindly and practical superior and pastor. He served as cathedral preacher at Augsburg, Innsbruck, and Fribourg, and through his direct and pious sermons won back thousands to the Roman Catholic sacraments. Pope Leo XIII (1898–1903) dubbed Canisius "the second apostle of Germany after Boniface." He was canonized on May 21, 1925 and declared a doctor of the Catholic church by Pope Pius XI.

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JILL RAITT (1987)

CANNIBALISM is both a concept and a practice that may involve diverse themes of death, food, sacrifice, revenge, aggression, love, and destruction or transformation of human others. The many and varied examples of cannibalism are difficult to summarize, except in terms of the widespread idea of the human body as a powerful symbolic site for defining relations between oneself and others and marking the boundaries of a moral community. In violating the bodily integrity that prevails in ordinary social life, cannibalism signifies an extraordinary transformation or dramatization of relations between those who eat and those who are eaten. When it occurs in religious contexts, the act of consuming human substance commonly represents an exchange between people and cosmic powers, promoting union with the divine or renewing life-sustaining spiritual relations. Such religious meanings may overlap with the social and political significance of consuming enemies to mark one's dominance and superiority—or consuming kin to express love, to distance the spirit of the deceased from the world of the living, or to acquire physical or spiritual qualities contained in the corpse. Thus sacrifice, the aggressive destruction of enemies, and the devoted incorporation or anxious destruction of a loved one's body are all facets of cannibalism that may be present in different cultural contexts.

CANNIBALISM AND ITS COMPLEXITY OF FORM. Anthropologists distinguish between endocannibalism, eating a member of one's own social group, and exocannibalism, eating a member of some other group, frequently an enemy. Endocannibalism is most often associated with funerals or other mortuary rites and with themes of sacrifice, familial devotion, reincarnation, and regeneration, as well as group welfare, reproduction, and continuity. Exocannibalism commonly signifies domination, revenge, or destruction of enemies. The distinction between exo- and endocannibalism has limited value in describing the complex forms in which people have ingested human body substances.

The symbolism of the sacrifice and consumption of human offerings pervades religious thought in European and Middle Eastern traditions; this symbolism is explored by Walter Burkert in *Homo Necans* (1983). Cannibalism is a common theme in mythology and folk tales (see Lévi-Strauss, 1969) and, as a practice, it has been reported in Europe, Polynesia, Melanesia, North and South America, and Africa (see Tannahill, 1975; Sanday, 1986; Gordon-Grube, 1988). The occurrences have no simple correlation with patterns of subsistence, ecology, food supply, or other cultural conditions.

In popular imagination and in psychoanalytic analyses such as that of Eli Sagan (1974), cannibalism has commonly been seen as characteristic of primitive communities and magical thought rather than civilization and religion. Such assumptions ignore the variety of cannibalistic practices in complex societies, such as the western European tradition of using human body parts as medicines and the Aztec practice of human sacrifice. As William Arens (1979) has emphasized, exaggerated or unfounded reports of cannibalism are widespread and often have been used as racist propaganda and justification for colonial domination of native peoples. Arguments persist about when and where cannibalism really has existed as an institutionalized, socially accepted practice. Some of the most heated of these debates have focused on Fiji and the circumstances surrounding the death of Captain James Cook in Hawai'i, and on the interpretation of archaeological remains of the ancient Anasazi culture of the southwestern United States. Anthropological scholarship on some of the better-described ethnographic and historical cases has focused on elucidating the cultural beliefs reflected in the diverse historical practices of consuming human body substances.

CANNIBALISM AND THE AZTEC RELIGION. Perhaps the most widely known large-scale practice of human sacrifice and cannibalism is that of the ancient Aztec, as recorded by many early reports. The Aztec religion involved many kinds of offerings, but the Sun, patron of warriors, required human hearts and human blood for nourishment; human sacrifice was therefore essential. The victims were usually prisoners or purchased slaves; during the rituals, their hearts were removed and placed in vessels, and their heads were placed in skull racks. The limbs, and sometimes other portions of the victims' bodies, might be cooked and eaten by the nobles, priests, and wealthy elite, as well as by successful warriors and guests invited to celebratory feasts. Aztec priests also practiced autosacrifice, drawing their own blood as an offering.

Michael Harner (1977) and Marvin Harris (1977) argue that Aztec cannibalism had a nutritional purpose, because the Aztecs of the late prehistoric and early historic period had depleted their game supply and lacked domestic herbivores. Harner and Harris suggest that cannibalism was a response to the pressure of overpopulation and meat shortage, disguised as propitiation of the gods. Their reasoning and claims about the scale of both human sacrifice and food shortages have been disputed by other scholars who emphasize that the public ritual of blood sacrifice was vital in the Aztec religion.

CANNIBALISM IN SYMBOLISM AND MYTH. Among the Kwakiutl of the northwest coast of North America, a major feature of the winter ceremonies was the Hamatsa dancer, who symbolized hunger, craving for human flesh, the fire that transforms, and regurgitation (rebirth), and who was later tamed so as to become a member of society. Here the cannibalistic image is the key to the relation between man and supernatural forces. In the Great Lakes region of Canada and the United States, northern Algonkian legends describe a cannibalistic Windigo monster. Under conditions of winter isolation and the threat of starvation, individuals sometimes developed delusions of being transformed into such a monster (Marano, 1985). The idiom of cannibalism in myth is worldwide and has an extensive range of context and meaning. Claude Lévi-Strauss (1969) points to the universe of oppositions, associations, and transformations of humans and animals: death and rebirth, cooked and raw food, death and rotting, cannibal and ogre. South America is one of the areas where these themes have been elaborated in myths and, in the past, were expressed by a number of native societies through practices of endocannibalism and exocannibalism.

ENDOCANNIBALISM AND EXOCANNIBALISM IN SOUTH AMERICA. For some native peoples in lowland South America, endocannibalism was a ritual act that honored the deceased by sparing the corpse from the horror of burial and decay. Eradicating the body by consuming it was thought to protect against the negative effects of death and the twin dangers associated with the corpse: the danger that the body's presence would attract the dead person's soul to attack living people, and the danger of excessive grief among mourners for whom the body is a constant reminder of their loss (Conklin, 2001). South American endocannibalism took several forms, from eating the flesh (among the Guayaquí of Paraguay and the Wari' of Brazil) to cremating the flesh and grinding the roasted bones into a powder to be mixed with food or beverage and consumed (Clastres, 1974; Conklin, 2001; Dole, 1962; McCallum, 1999; Vilaça, 2000). Among the Wari' of Brazil, who believed that ancestors' spirits become game animals that offer their flesh to feed their living relatives, the act of consuming the corpse at the funeral evoked religious beliefs about life-supporting reciprocity between the living and the dead, and between people and animal spirits.

For the Tupinamba and other native peoples of lowland South America, exocannibalism was traditionally associated with intertribal and intercommunity warfare. War was highly ritualized, being preceded by dreams and magical rites, and victory was celebrated with further rites, cannibal feasts, and a display of head trophies by the victors. Prisoners might be kept for a long time, adopted or married into a local family, and then tortured before being killed and eaten. Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (1992) has shown how the Tupinamba treatment of war captives embodied cultural ideas about self and other, nature and culture, marriage and alliance. Carlos Fausto (1999) sees cannibalism as a key mechanism and metaphor through which Amazonian peoples transformed enemies into kin, or mortals into immortals, by taming, socializing, or perfecting that which is wild or culturally inferior.

CANNIBALISM IN THE PACIFIC ISLANDS. The raiding of enemy villages and consumption of enemy dead—or the taking of captives who were later killed and eaten—also has been documented in Melanesia and Polynesia. The discovery and control of Pacific islanders from the eighteenth century onward brought exploratory expeditions, missionaries, administrators, magistrates, and, later, anthropologists into contact with local informants who described and explained their beliefs and practices related to consuming human substances. Ross Bowden (1984) reports that in New Zealand, Maori cannibalism in warfare not only provided contributions to the warriors' diet but also had a profound symbolic significance: to degrade the slain enemy, whose flesh was converted into food and whose bones were turned into objects of common use. The victors especially relished desecrating the corpse of a chief.

In Fiji, myth and historical practices together provide an understanding of the interconnections between the Fijians' surrender of their sisters to foreign husbands in exchange for marriage payment of valuable whale teeth and their capture of foreign war prisoners for cannibalism. Human sacrifice accompanied the building of sacred houses and canoes and the ceremonial visits of allied chiefs. A Fijian chief oversaw an exchange cycle that included the symbolic transfer of valued objects—women (as wives) and men (as cannibal victims); by this process, political alliances were confirmed. The cannibal victims were consecrated to the major war god, who was represented by the chief.

In parts of Melanesia, anthropologists have documented native informants' accounts of cannibalistic practices that continued into the mid-twentieth century. In the northern Fore region of the New Guinea highlands, dead enemies were eaten by men and women, and in the southern region women and children ate kin and members of the residential group who had died. Similarly, Gimi women cooked and ate the dead of the local group. The Fore people reportedly valued enemy flesh as food, but cannibalism carried ritual meanings as well. When Gimi women ate human flesh they prevented the ravages of decomposition and alleviated the hunger they believed to be caused by intense sorrow. Gimi practices were structured by kinship relations, ideas about exchange transactions between men and women, and myths that associate cannibalism with wildness and uncontrolled or rapacious female sexuality.

Elsewhere in the New Guinea highlands, warfare cannibalism reflected concerns with fertility and gender. The Bimin-Kuskusmin (see Poole, 1983) and the neighboring Miyanmin reportedly ate enemies killed in war. The latter ate the whole body, whereas the former group dismembered bodies, buried heads, and ate to defile the enemy. The Bimin-Kuskusmin distinguished between hard body parts that were considered male and were eaten by men, and those parts, flesh and fat, that were considered female and were eaten by women. The Great Pandanus Tree Rite was an occasion for feasting upon game and human victims obtained by raiding a nearby group. Fitz John Porter Poole's interpretation of this ritual emphasizes the cultural meaning of male and female substances, ritual expression of myth, relations between the sexes, fertility, and death.

CANNIBALISM AND THE OCCULT. Among the Asmat, the consumption of enemies was associated with the construction of masculinity through head-hunting and initiation rituals. In West Africa, among the Sherbro, for example, certain secret societies, such as the Human Leopard and Alligator, reportedly required head-hunting and cannibalism as a qualification for membership (see MacCormack, in Brown and Tuzin, 1983). Witches and sorcerers acquired and renewed their powers by consuming human flesh and thereby absorbing the powers of the deceased. Accusations of cannibalism are a political weapon still powerful among the contemporary Sherbro of Sierra Leone.

Witchcraft is in various ways commonly associated with cannibalism. In the Strickland/Bosavi region of the New Guinea highlands, among a number of groups, including the Onabasulu (see Ernst, in Goldman, 1999), witches who were executed were cooked and consumed in a symbolic denial of the individual's humanity and status as a moral person. Elsewhere, witches themselves are often thought to be cannibals who obtain personal mana (power) by consuming a victim. The notion that witches feed upon the blood and body of their victims and that death results from this loss of body substance is noted in many areas among unrelated peoples. In some places a cult group of witches is believed to teach and share techniques and cannibalistic acts, real or symbolic, but a belief in a solitary cannibal-witch also exists. Neil Whitehead (2002) describes how sorcerers in the highlands of Guyana extract and sip fluids from decomposing corpses. The act is the sorcerer's gift to divine beings of the cosmos, given to ensure the fertility of plants, fish, and animals.

CONCLUSION. The theme of cannibalism as an exchange that feeds and renews sources of life and fertility appears in a wide range of contexts, from the hostile relations of Guyanese sorcery and Aztec warfare and human sacrifice to the loving and honorable funerary rites of native peoples in Melanesia and lowland South America. Although Eli Sagan (1974), I. M. Lewis (1986), and other psychological theorists see in aggression and interpersonal conflict the source and meaning of cannibalism, the trend among most anthropologists and historians has been to demonstrate the diversity of cultural meanings. In both practice and imagination, cannibalism is clearly an emotionally charged and culturally significant act, but it has no single meaning. Cannibalism's multifaceted symbolism and its connections with mythic themes of sacrifice, destruction, regeneration, and social reproduction are understood best within a specific cultural context.

SEE ALSO Aztec Religion; Human Sacrifice, overview article.

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CANON. Because employment of the term *canon* (usually as a synonym for *scripture*) in comparative religious studies is both commonplace and subject to a growing scholarly debate, the classic usage will be considered at the outset. Subsequently, a consideration of contemporary applications of the term within the study of world religions will follow in order to illustrate its usefulness and to show some of the hermeneutical issues implicit in such usage. Since the use of *canon* to mean both a norm and an attribute of scripture arose first within Christianity, some special attention must necessarily be given to present debates in the study of that religion. However, the focus of this treatment is on the wider implications concerning the value of this term in a comparativist description of world religions.

ETYMOLOGY AND EARLIEST HISTORICAL USAGES. The Greek word *kanōn*, which gave rise to its later European and English equivalents, is a Semitic loanword basically signifying a reed, as seen in biblical passages such as *1 Kings* 14:15 and *Job* 40:21. The semantic usage that occurs in Hebrew (*qaneh*), Assyrian (*qanu*), Ugaritic (*qn*), and similarly in Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, and modern Hebrew, derives in turn from the even more ancient non-Semitic Sumerian (*gi*, *gi-na*), with the same import. In the above Semitic languages, the basic conception of a reed generated a semantic field that included in Hebrew, for example, the description of either a standard of length or a straight or upright object. Images of a standard of length that occur in biblical passages are the measuring rod (*qeneh ha-middah*) in *Ezekiel* 40:3 and 40:5 and a full reed of similar length in *Ezekiel* 41:8. The straight or upright object is exemplified as the shaft of a lampstand in *Exodus* 25:31, the branches of a lampstand in *Exodus* 25:32, and a shoulder blade in *Job* 31:22.

The Greek usage of this common Semitic term extended these derivations to include a great variety of figurative applications. Besides associating this term with various instruments of measure and design, Greeks came to regard lists, catalogs, or tables in the sciences as "canons." Likewise, the humanities and anthropology sought to describe "the norm" (*ho kanōn*), for example, in grammar, aesthetics, music, physical beauty, ethics, the perfection of form in sculpture, and so forth. Epicurus wrote a book, now lost, entitled *Peri kritēriou hē kanōn*, focused on the "canonics" of logic and method. Epictetus, and the Epicurians similarly, sought to find a formal basis (*kanōn*) for distinguishing truth from falsehood, the desirable from the undesirable.

In the area of religion, Christianity drew heavily from this Hellenistic milieu and came to assign a new and unique role to the term *canon.* In the New Testament itself, the Greek term is used only by the apostle Paul as a standard of true Christianity in *Philippians* 3:16 and in a late text, *Galatians* 6:16, and as a divinely delimited mandate or authorization in *2 Corinthians* 10:13–16. Nonetheless, in the Roman church during the first three centuries, the term occurs frequently and can signify almost any binding norm of true Christianity, expressed with a variety of technical nuances. For instance, Irenaeus, in the second century, could already speak of various familiar canons: "the canon of truth" (in preaching), "the canon (rule) of faith" (Lat., *regula fidei*, or the essential truth of the gospel), and "the ecclesiastical canon" (Lat., *regula veritatis*, expressing both true confession and correct ritual participation in the church). Likewise, the term could characterize any authorized list or collection of decisions or persons. Thus one could speak of a "canonical" set of laws, a list or collection of "canonized" saints, papal decretals (ninth century), church leaders, monks, nuns, and so on. Hence, early in the history of Christianity, the Greek *kanōn* was carried over as *canon* or *regula* in the Latin used in churches of the East and the West. By the Middle Ages, the whole collection of binding decisions by the Roman church came to be regarded as the *ius canonicum* (canonical laws), either touching on secular matters (Lat., *lex;* or Gr., *nomos*) or belonging to the juridical, religious, and ethical canons of the church. Gratian's *Decretum* (1139–1142 CE) provided the foundation for canon law in Roman Catholicism.

The relationship between "canon" and "scripture" in Christianity is more complicated. The earliest Christian scripture was either the Hebrew Bible of Judaism or the old Greek version of it (the so-called Septuagint). Within Judaism, neither prerabbinic nor rabbinic literature ever chose to refer to this scripture as a "canon." At about the same time as the flowering of rabbinic Judaism in the second century, Irenaeus—probably borrowing the use of the term from Marcion, his gnostic competitor—began to speak of a "New Testament" as a group of "inspired" Christian traditions distinct from the "Old Testament" inherited as scripture from Judaism. The Christian terminology of "inspiration," although grounded in Jewish understanding, occurs first in the later Pauline traditions and undoubtedly reflects influence from related Hellenistic conceptions that had previously been applied to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey.* However, not until shortly after 450 CE did the term *canon* begin to be used by Christians, apparently first by Athanasius, to designate the biblical books of scripture.

Within rabbinic Judaism, the Hebrew scripture began to be called Miqra' ("that which is read"), and the entire collection came to be referred to as Tanakh, an acronym of the names of the three major divisions of the Hebrew scriptures: Torah (Pentateuch), Nevi'im (Prophets), and Ketuvim (Writings). Instead of speaking about "canonization," as was typical later in Christianity, Jewish sources describe an endeavor to determine which books "defile the hands" and, therefore, constitute sacred scripture, as distinguished from other normative traditions. The extrabiblical traditions in the Mishnah and Talmud were, consequently, authoritative (arguably "canonical" in that sense) but considered to be "oral law," which did not defile the hands, in contrast to the scripture or "written law." Prior to these designations within Judaism and Christianity, the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament) was denoted by a variety of diverse expressions, such as "the law and the prophets and the other books of our fathers" (Prologue to *Ben Sira*); "the law and the prophets" (e.g., *Mt.* 5:17); "the law of Moses, the prophets, and the psalms" (*Lk.* 24:44); the "oracles of God" (*Rom.* 3:2); "the scripture" (e.g., *Mk.* 12:24); "the holy scriptures" (Philo Judaeus, *On Flight and Finding* 1.4); "the book"; "the sacred book"; and others. In view of this evidence scholars continue to disagree whether the weight of the later Christian references to the term *canon* for scripture turns primarily on the term's denotation of either a binding "norm" or an ecclesiastically approved "list" of inspired books.

In Islam, another "religion of the Book" associated with the children of Abraham, the Qurʾān replaces the imperfect rendering of revelation in Judaism and Christianity. While Muslim interpreters never traditionally identified the Qurʾān as a "canon," they did employ the term to designate the law, in a manner reminiscent of some early Christian understandings of the biblical law of God.

CONTEMPORARY USAGE. Certainly, the use of the term *canon*, despite its association with Christianity, can prove to be an illuminating heuristic device in describing other world religions and their principal texts. The analogies with the formation of Western religious canons provides an attractive, yet to be fully explored, way of thinking about religion in general. For example, such terminology can be helpful in understanding aspects of Eastern religions. Although Confucius (Kongzi), who died in the fifth century BCE, claimed of his teaching, "I have transmitted what was taught to me without making up anything of my own" (*Lun-Yü* 7.1), the "Five Classics" as we now know them only became a scripturelike guide to Confucianism from the first century CE onward. Obviously innovations entered into this work long after the death of Confucius. Moreover, competing views within Confucianism led to some groups' diminishing the importance of this work or adding to it new canons that were viewed as complementary (e.g., Ssu Shu, or "Four Books," and still later in the Chʿing era, the "Thirteen Classics"), almost in the same manner as Christianity added the New Testament to the "Old."

Just as Christians debated whether the Old Testament "canon" should be the Hebrew version, with Judaism, or the expanded old Greek version, language and culture influenced the formation of "canonical" distinctions in many religions. Centuries after the death of the Buddha, ancient traditions were combined in South Asia to form what is presently called the "Pali canon" (c. 29–17 BCE). A century or so later, a different "canonical" literature developed in India, written in Sanskrit and eventually translated into Chinese and Tibetan, which became foundational for Mahāyāna Buddhism. In contrast to adherents of the Pali canon, these Buddhists regarded the sūtras of the Mahāyāna ("great vehicle") as an alternative canon, the only true authority regarding what the Buddha himself taught. Even within later Zen Buddhism, where the idea of a canon seems antithetical, one may consider the lists of *kōan*s, questions and answers developed in regional monasteries for training and testing students, as attaining "canonical" status as a constant feature of the instructions given by particular Zen masters.

Just as some "Christian" gnostics dismissed the Hebrew Bible in favor of a "New Testament," one may find an analogy with the development of Hinduism as a reaction against certain aspects of Vedic religion. Similar to the Jewish distinction between written and oral law was the distinction made by brahmans between two kinds of "canonical" literature. *Śruti* ("heard") generally refers to the ritualistic literature found in the Upaniṣads and is believed to be revealed directly from divinity, while *smṛti* ("remembered") designates the epics, the later Purāṇas and other legal and philosophical writings touching on practical matters of personal, social, and domestic conduct. Even if *śruti* has a higher status, it can be viewed as a lower kind of ritualistic knowledge in comparison with the immediate moral implications of *smṛti.* So, too, even if the oral law does not defile the hands, it may provide a more explicit and pragmatically significant register of the demands of a holy life in Judaism than one can find by simply reading the written law.

HERMENEUTICAL IMPLICATIONS. The above descriptions adumbrate some of the possibilities and problems in the use of *canon* as a technical term in the study of religion. The term inherently vacillates between two distinct poles, in both secular and religious usage. On the one hand, it can be used to refer to a rule, standard, ideal, norm, or authoritative office or literature, whether oral or written. On the other hand, it can signify a temporary or perpetual fixation, standardization, enumeration, listing, chronology, register, or catalog of exemplary or normative persons, places, or things. The former dimension emphasizes internal signs of an elevated status. The latter puts stress on the precise boundary, limits, or measure of what, from some preunderstood standard, belongs within or falls outside of a specific "canon." For the purpose of illustrating these significant differences, I shall call the former "canon 1" and the latter "canon 2." This "ideal" distinction only demarcates poles in a continuum of options, since the essential nature and status of a normative tradition or a "scripture" within a religion inevitably emerges through its own unique, dialectical interplay between these polarities. The interplay itself engenders a systemic ambiguity in any discussion of religious canons and helps account for the variety of ways, sometimes conflicting, in which the term *canon* has been employed in recent scholarship.

Canon 1. In its first usage as rule, standard, ideal, or norm, the term *canon* in the secular domain may apply to a wide range of fields in which a standard of excellence or authority governs the proper exercise of a discipline. For example, it can reflect criteria by which one makes decisions within a field of inquiry, whether these choices conform to grammatical and mathematical principles or indices of aesthetic excellence in rhetoric, art, or music. Implicit in such canons is some political and social theory of intellectual consensus about the quality, worth or preservation, and validity of that which is being judged and remembered. Likewise, religious iconography, Buddhist organization of a city, and church architecture reflect implicit canonical assumptions. The success of "pop art" in the 1960s may have resided partly in its ability to make our implicit canons explicit. The Campbell's Soup can we had accepted in some unconsciously canonical sense suddenly appears before us in an explicitly canonical form through the medium of art. The dynamism possible within such canons becomes evident when, for instance, one surveys the changing collections of art museums and contrasts their content with the work being done in artists' studios.

In examining religious scriptures as "canons," one may generalize that the founding leaders of religions almost never compose for their disciples a complete scripture. The one obvious exception is that of the third-century Mani, founder of Manichaeism. There are usually substantial periods after the death of a leader or founder when oral and/or written traditions function authoritatively as canonical, in the sense of representing a scripture without specific dimension. This dynamic process may be influenced greatly by later disciples, and the scriptures may for long periods of time, if not indefinitely, lack the public form of a fixed list of books or a standardized "text." At the same time, canonical criteria, such as "inspiration," incarnation of the Dharma, and so on, are sufficient for them to sustain their scriptural status. The initial recognition of some traditions as being crucially foundational or scriptural sets in motion political and economic pressures within the religion that usually lead to the formation of a scripture in the latter sense of *canon* (canon 2).

From the standpoint of Christian history, one may argue that the term *canon* has been and may continue to be useful in the designation of extrabiblical oral or written decisions that are binding in matters of faith and practice, as part of a church's teaching magisteria. Certainly, prior to the fourth century, some Christian traditions were explicitly canonical (canon 1) in the sense that they provided normative religious guidance outside of the Hebrew Bible. Justin Martyr cites from the "Sayings of the Lord" source as authoritative alongside the Hebrew Bible and arguably refuses to do the same with the Gospel narratives or Paul's letters. It is unlikely that these "sayings" belong to a fixed list. Therefore, one can say that Christian scripture had a canonical status (canon 1) long before the church decisions of the fourth century delimited a fixed list of books (canon 2). More precisely, the canonization (canon 2) is by degree, since even in the fourth and fifth centuries the standardization of the actual text had not taken place.

Despite the silence of the rabbinic tradition on the subject, recent studies of Judaism commonly refer to "canon(s)" and "canonization." In a provocative study, Sid Leiman regards a religious book as "canonical" if it is "accepted by Jews as authoritative for religious practice and/or doctrine . . . binding for all generations . . . and studied and expounded in private and in public" (Leiman, 1976, p. 14). Because this definition conforms to criteria of canon 1, Leiman can claim that the oral law is "canonical," although it both is "uninspired" and does not defile the hands as scripture. Relying on this principle of normativeness, Leiman can distinguish between different kinds of books: "outside" or banned books; secular or "Homeric" books that deserve reading; inspired canonical books (scripture); and uninspired canonical books (oral law, i.e., Mishnah/Talmud). Consequently, the Jewish discussion at the end of the first century CE at Yavneh over the status of the *Book of Ecclesiastes* concerned only its "inspiration," not its canonicity, for it could continue to be cited as normative even if not as "scripture."

Conversely, other scholars, (see, for example, Jacob Neusner, 1983, pp. 11–37) argue that the ritual difference, "defiling the hands," did not produce any clear levels of canonical authority between the Hebrew Bible, the Mishnah/Talmud, other religious books, and the "inspired" commentary of a rabbi. If canonicity (canon 1) is determined by the norm of revelation itself, then distinctions either among levels of canonicity or between canonical and noncanonical literature begin to blur. If, as Neusner suggests, the rabbis themselves embodied the *torah* (law), then for students of religion there is only limited value in a descriptive appeal to certain texts as "canonical." If the meaning of these texts resides in a spiritual or "Midrashic" sense held by consensus among "inspired" rabbis rather than in a "plain" literary, or *peshaṭ*, sense, then the semantic import is not publicly available through a reading of the scripture per se. Similarly, some Catholic scholars currently locate the canonical sense of Christian scripture in the teaching magisterium (canon 1) of the church hierarchy rather than in either a literary or historical-critical assessment of biblical texts themselves. In such an approach, a scripture may be viewed as the deposit of a variety of historical traditions, any of which may or may not be "canonical" (canon 1) according to an "inspired" norm or standard inherent within the leadership of the religion itself. In this case, identifying a scripture may shed only modest light on the beliefs of a religion.

From a historical perspective, the final formation of a scripture (canon 2) usually results from an earlier, often obscured process of redaction, expansion, and selection of texts (canon 1), whether one thinks of the *Dao de jing* of Daoism, the various Buddhist canons, the extensive collection of Jain "canonical" literature, or the Hindu *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhagavadgītā* along with the older Vedas.

Often some underlying traditions of a scripture were considered normative or "canonical" for the earliest disciples, while other traditions gain an elevated status as scripture not anticipated by their celebrated founders, as, for example, through the posthumous deification of Lao-tzu. Repeatedly one finds evidence of how earlier oral or written traditions or writings, whose normativeness depended originally on more modest criteria, gradually gain greater authority, in terms of a later perception of religious genius, inspiration, revelation of the law (e.g., *dharma*), or the presence of ultimate reality, perfection, or some other transcendent value. This adjustment in the believers' vision of canonical traditions within a religion often entails a radical shift in the perception, understanding, and significance of older traditions when they are caught up into the new context of a scripture.

Most often, canon and community are related dialectically in a process of semantic transformation. The steps taken by editors in this process may go unrecognized by the believers or may be seen as essential elements in the orchestration of the traditions in order to protect them from heretical misinterpretation. In sum, the recognition of canon 1 materials, defined as traditions offering a normative vehicle or an ideal standard, occurs in most world religions and usually contributes momentum to an impulse within the history of a religion to totalize, to circumscribe, and to standardize these same normative traditions into fixed, literary forms typical of canon 2.

Canon 2. The second usage of the term *canon* will be in the sense of a list, chronology, catalog, fixed collection, and/or standardized text. Scholars of comparative religion such as Mircea Eliade and Wilfred Cantwell Smith have placed emphasis on the full appearance of a religion complete with its "scripture," reflecting whatever norms of excellence, truth, goodness, beauty, or revelation may be affirmed by the respective religious adherents. In religious studies, the foundational religious documents are most easily approached at this more developed stage, when they constitute a publicly available, delimited canon (canon 2) in the maturity of particular religious movements. Of course, only the most presumptuous type of "protestant" interpretation of other religions would presume that the ideas and beliefs of a religion can be grasped solely by a literary study of such religious canons. Smith has amply illustrated the problems that arise in the study of Islam because of this naïveté.

As already noted, the normativeness of religious traditions is usually acknowledged long before these same traditions attain a fixed dimension and textual standardization, the elements of canon 2. So, for example, after the death of the Buddha the disciples sought, although not without controversy, to envision the diverse sermons (canon 1) of the Blessed One as part of a larger collection (canon 2), a larger normative and publicly recognized canon.

Conversely, Mani claimed to write by inspiration "my scriptures," which combined the essence of older books or scriptures into one "great wisdom" (*Kephalaia* 154). His work remains exceptional in part because he is perhaps the only founder of a major religion who was self-consciously "inspired" to compose a complete "scripture." His work represents the best-known example of a canon that attained both normative authority and distinct literary boundaries at the same time. Even so, other generations of believers expanded and modified the canon. Mani's use of the Judeo-Christian concept of scripture corresponds to his hope of absorbing these two religions into his own, much as Islam aspired in its early development to bring Jews and Christians into its more universal fold.

Unlike most other religious canons, completed centuries after their founders had died, Islam settled most dimensions of the Qurʾān within only twenty-three years after the death of Muḥammad. One of the significant differences in the comparison of Islam with Judaism, Christianity, and Manichaeism is that the Qurʾān is not a "scripture" in the sense of an inspired, historically accommodated writing. The Qurʾān is the actual word of God, representing an eternal archetype of revelation cast in heavenly language. Unlike Christianity's scripture of "books" (*ta biblia*), the Qurʾān is more simply "the Book." Nevertheless, during the lifetime of the Prophet, his disciples did not have the book of the Qurʾān as we now know it. The order of the chapters and other significant editorial influence belongs to the hands of the disciples who succeeded the Prophet. Moreover, the later collections of the *sunnah* (customary practice of the Prophet), now found in the *ḥadīth*, provided a normative and, therefore, "canonical" (canon 1) guide to Muslim exegesis. As with the Jewish Karaites and the Antiochene Christian exegetes, many "spiritualists" within Islam could lay claim to their own direct insight upon scripture in a manner that diminished the significance of the *ḥadīth* and could appear to assign normative, and in that sense, "canonical" status to the Qurʾān alone.

Regarding the final delimitation of the Hebrew scriptures, most scholars agree that the promulgation by Ezra of a five-book Torah in the early postexilic period constituted a decisive moment in the formation of Judaism. Unlike the later case of the Christian Gospels, the Pentateuch comprised a single, allegedly Mosaic "book of the Torah" (*Jos.* 1:7–8). From a traditional-historical standpoint, this Mosaic Torah appears to combine multiple older, normative *torot*, or laws, in the sense of canon 1 and/or canon 2 (e.g., *Proto-Deuteronomy*) into a fixed and integrated collection of books (canon 2). This combination of traditions most likely reflects the legislation preserved and venerated by two different groups from the Babylonian exile—bearers of Jerusalemite priestly tradition (e.g., the laws in *Exodus* 22ff.) and deuteronomistic interpreters (e.g., the Decalogue in *Deuteronomy* 5 and the subsequent laws). The effect would be to make much private tradition public and to set all of the laws forward to be interpreted together as parts of the same revelation of law delivered by God to Moses prior to the conquest of Palestine.

Similar to the codification by the Egyptians of the Fifth Pharaonic Law early in the same period, the promulgation of the Mosaic Torah probably occurred in response to a benevolent policy under Persian sovereignty. As a reward for this codification and public promulgation of the private or secret religious law, the Persians sanctioned the right of Jewish leaders to make juridical decisions according to it in exchange for obedience to Persian civil and international law. In any case, these events undoubtedly helped to accelerate the forces behind the formation of a part of a religious canon.

The compilation of the exact list of books that make up the completed Hebrew Bible could not be completed until late in the first century, perhaps not until the second. Furthermore, the textual standardization of the Bible continued up to the end of the first millennium, culminating in a relatively uniform consensus regarding the orthography, punctuation, and vocalization of the so-called Masoretic text of the Tanakh, the Hebrew scriptures. Here, as in the case of Christianity and many other religions, the process of canonization in the sense of canon 2 entails a resolution of the limits of the collection before a full standardization of the text can take place. Centuries might elapse during this process of full canonization (canon 2), and it may be much easier for believers to debate the authority of the latest stages in the process of the text's stabilization than it is for them to reopen the question of whether a book really belongs in the scripture at all. The length of the process of full canonization may often affect the believer's assessment of what represents the final text.

The semantic import of the formation of a canon 2 should not be underestimated. Christianity and Judaism amply illustrate this feature. Unlike the above-mentioned instance of the Pentateuch, the individual Christian Gospels retained their independence from one another despite the assumption that they collectively convey the same "one" gospel of Jesus Christ. Perhaps the late ending of Mark attests to an effort at bringing that work into greater harmony within the canonical collections of gospels. Paul's letters illustrate a different feature, for they include in a single collection some original letters in edited and unedited form, for example, *Galatians*, *Romans*, *1* and *2 Corinthians*, together with deutero-Pauline traditions reflective of a later generation, for example, *2 Thessalonians*. The original Pauline letters, which were written before the composition of the Gospels, were, through canonization, subordinated to the Gospels as commentary upon them. Similarly, the *Gospel of John* is read contextually within scripture in connection with the so-called Johannine letters (*1*, *2*, and *3 Jn.*), even though the historic evidence of common authorship is extremely weak. Again, this type of canonization alters the religious vision of the preceding authoritative traditions (canon 1) as being part of a larger "inspired" New Testament. The terms *New Testament* and *Old Testament* likewise signal a change in the perceived significance of the Hebrew Bible when read as part of a Christian text in the context of a purportedly new revelation. The difference in religious visions of the "shared" scripture implies profound distinctions between the import of the Tanakh within Judaism and that of an "Old Testament" within Christian interpretation.

SCRIPTURE AND CANON. These ideal distinctions between canon as a norm and canon as a list or standardization of text usually overlap in the actual assessment of a particular religion. For example, in the Tanakh and the New Testament one can detect evidence of "canon-conscious redactions," whereby assumptions about the normativeness (canon 1) of the traditions and of their being read together in a specific collection (canon 2) coincide.

Historicized titles added to the psalms assigned to David link these prayers contextually to the narrative about David in *1* and *2 Samuel*. The epilogue to *Ecclesiastes* summarizes the essence of the book in a manner that puts the "wisdom," or Solomonic, books in full continuity with the Torah. The addition of titles to some of the Christian Gospels makes their character and common witness together as Gospels more explicit than their original authors could have envisioned. The *Gospel of Luke* in the Western tradition has now been separated from its original sequel, *Acts of the Apostles*, by the *Gospel of John*. In this way, the Gospels were read collectively and *Acts* came to mark a transition from the teachings of Jesus to that of the apostle Paul. This type of organization of highly diverse traditions into partially harmonized canons of literature is also common to the canons of other world religions.

As has already been shown, considerable differences of opinion exist among scholars over the appropriate relationship between the terms *scripture* and *canon*. At a minimum, these terms both gain and lose some of their historical significance when they are taken away from the specific religious vocabulary of Judaism and Christianity for the purpose of an etic assessment of world religions. Frequently scholars have used *scripture* and *canon* synonymously, although ambiguity in both terms, particularly in the latter, suggests the need for more careful definitions and historical finesse. In the application of both terms to a religion, the interpreter stands within a hermeneutical circle. Only by some prior judgment regarding the identity of the believers of a given religion can any description be proffered regarding their "canons" and their modes of interpreting the same. Moreover, this judgment is hindered by the ethnocentrism of the outside observer, as well as by the difficulty in taking a term indigenous to one religion and assigning to it a technical usage appropriate for describing features of other religions.

Nevertheless, contemporary efforts to understand how canons achieve formation and exercise significance within a religion has already proved unusually illuminating as a way to describe and to compare religions generally. The interpretation of religion must inevitably assume some operational certitude regarding the identity, the economic character, and the literary sources of revelation or truth to which religions lay claim in the world. It must be carried out with an acute awareness that the heretics and noncanonical sayings of some will likely be viewed as the saints and scripture of others.

SEE ALSO Authority; Scripture.

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GERALD T. SHEPPARD (1987)
Revised Bibliography

CAO DAI is a syncretistic modern Vietnamese religious movement founded in 1926 by Ngo Van Chieu (1878–1932; also known as Ngo Minh Chieu). An official of the French colonial administration, Chieu was widely read in both Eastern and Western religion, and had a particular interest in spiritism. The movement began during séances conducted by Chieu and a group of friends of similar background as Vietnamese intellectuals. An entity called Cao Dai (literally, "high tower," a Daoist epithet for the supreme god) appeared and delivered to the group the fundamental features of the religion: universalism, vegetarianism, the image of an eye in a circle (which became its central symbol), and various details of worship. On November 18, 1926 the movement was inaugurated in a dramatic ceremony that drew some fifty thousand people. Though resisted by Buddhists and French officials, who perceived its nationalistic potential, Cao Dai grew phenomenally. By 1930 it numbered a half million by conservative estimate, and soon had garnered over one million followers, embracing at least one-eighth of the population in what was to become South Vietnam. The remarkable appeal of the eclectic, spiritist faith undoubtedly reflected the yearning of an oppressed Vietnamese population for something new, immediate, indigenous, and idealistic in a situation in which Catholicism was the religion of the alien colonizers, Buddhism was moribund, and Confucianism was linked to a social order clearly passing away.

Cao Dai met those criteria. The substantial Chinese cultural influence in Vietnam is evidenced in the fundamental similarity of Cao Dai to religious Daoist sectarianism in its spiritism, political overtones, and colorful liturgy. Furthermore, like most Chinese religious movements of recent centuries, it also sought to unify the "three faiths," and so it incorporated Confucian morality, Buddhist doctrines such as *karman* and reincarnation, and Daoist occultism. Also like some of its Chinese counterparts, it further sought to unify the religions of the world, seeing them all as coming from the same source, and heralding a new age of world harmony. Its elaborate organizational structure, headed by a pope, cardinals, and archbishops, was patently inspired by Roman Catholicism. Besides the supreme god, Cao Dai, the faith also honored a great company of spirits, not only Eastern figures like the Buddha, Lao-tzu, Confucius, and Sun Yat-sen, but also such Westerners as Jesus, Muḥammad, Joan of Arc, and Victor Hugo.

Cao Dai worship centers on rituals performed in temples four times daily and celebrated with even greater elaborateness on festivals. The rituals consist of prayer, chants, and such simple offerings as incense, tea, and wine presented with highly stylized ceremony. Séances are held separately and are restricted to set occasions and to mediums appointed by the hierarchy. Despite these rules, Cao Dai has generated a number of sizable subsects, frequently inspired by fresh mediumistic communications.

Cao Dai is headquartered in a sacred city, Tay Ninh, northwest of Saigon. Here it boasts a large main temple and many administrative and ritual offices. Before the unification of Vietnam under the communist Hanoi regime in 1975, the "Holy See" was responsible not only for spiritual and ecclesiastical matters, but also for managing the sect's considerable agricultural and business holdings. During the several decades of strife before 1975, Cao Dai exercised effective control of its headquarters province and, until its forces were disbanded by President Ngo Dinh Diem in 1955, fielded its own army. Although its alliances shifted among the contending groups, Cao Dai basically labored for an unaligned nationalism.

Accused by the new communist state of being both politically oriented and "superstitious," after 1975 Cao Dai was severely repressed A high proportion of its churches were confiscated, and clergy arrested or laicized. The Holy See became virtually inactive. However, a gradual liberalization of policy toward religion commenced in the late 1980s. In 1997, in a grand ceremony at Tay Ninh, the regime officially made Cao Dai a recognized religion, though its governance was placed firmly under state control; many believers resisted recognition at that price. Outside Vietnam, Cao Dai temples and worship centers flourish in Vietnamese immigrant communities. Estimates put the faith's worldwide numbers at between two and four million.

SEE ALSO Vietnamese Religion.

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ROBERT S. ELLWOOD (1987 AND 2005)

CAPPS, WALTER. Born in Omaha, Nebraska, of Swedish-American background, Walter Holden Capps (1934–1997) was a professor in the Department of Religious Studies, University of California, Santa Barbara, from 1963 to 1996. Beginning with his academic training and intellectual interests in European Christian theology and philosophy of religion, Capps proceeded to develop innovative research and teaching on the intersections of religion with American culture, society, and political life. He emerged as a public intellectual through his academic and administrative leadership of the Council on the Study of Religion (1977–1984), the California Council for the Humanities (1983–1985), and the National Federation of State Humanities Councils (1985–1987). Elected in California to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1996, Walter Capps served in the Congress for ten months before his untimely death of a heart attack in October 1997. The Walter H. Capps Center at the University of California, Santa Barbara, was established in 2002 to continue his legacy by advancing the study of religion and public life.

From the philosophy of religion developed in Uppsala, Sweden, by Anders Nygren (1890–1978), Capps distilled an intellectual program for the study of religion, based on a Kantian framework, that remained remarkably consistent throughout his life. Immanuel Kant's three critiques represented for Capps three different but complementary entry points into the study of religion: with echoes of the ancient Greek trinity of the true, the good, and the beautiful, as Capps often observed, Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781) raised the problem of theoretical knowledge; his *Critique of Practical Reason* (1788) focused on ethics; and his *Critique of Judgment* (1790) engaged the world of aesthetics. Adopting this multidimensional Kantian mandate, Capps pursued these three threads—theoretical, practical, and aesthetic—through his publications and teaching in the study of religion.

Although his earliest books were on contemporary developments in Christian theology, Capps had a consistent interest in theory and method in the study of religion and religions. In part, this interest was informed by Nygren's philosophy of religion, which sought general, formal, and even scientific terms in which "to identify and examine the content of religion" (Capps, 2000, p. 21). But Capps was also convinced that the academic study of religion was a collective, cumulative, intellectual enterprise in asking certain basic questions about the essence, origin, structure, function, and language of religion. From *Ways of Understanding Reli-*

gion (1972), his edited collection of theoretical approaches to these questions, to his landmark history of the study of religion, *Religious Studies: The Making of a Disciple* (1995), Capps rigorously and perceptively examined the diversity of theoretical approaches to the study of religion.

Moving from the theoretical to the practical, Capps developed work on religion and politics, first through his interest in the impact of the Vietnam War on American society, which produced a groundbreaking book, *The Unfinished War: Vietnam and the American Conscience* (1982), and an extraordinary university course, "Religion and the Impact of the Vietnam War," which received national attention in the United States by being featured on the popular television show *60 Minutes.* Subsequently, in his research on right-wing, conservative Christian politics, which resulted in the book *The New Religious Right: Piety, Patriotism, and Politics* (1990), Capps emerged as an acute analyst of religious and political tensions in American society. Although his work on the practical implications of religion primarily focused on the United States, Capps's interest in the political, social, and ethical implications of religion was never parochial, as witnessed by his skill in surveying global, cross-cultural, and multireligious relations between religion and society.

Alongside theory and practice, Capps was consistently interested in aesthetics, structures of feeling, and varieties of experience. From 1968 to 1969, as a visiting scholar at one of the world's preeminent centers for art history, the University of London's Warburg Institute, Capps was able to develop his enduring interest in aesthetics. In his studies of religion, this aesthetic sensibility was clearly evident in his abiding theoretical concern that most accounts of religion failed because they were frozen in time—like still photographs—instead of providing moving pictures that might track the dynamic, experiential character of religion. In thinking about religious experience, Capps was more interested in processes of change, as explored by the psychoanalyst Erik Erikson (1902–1994), who tracked the psychological transitions in the human life cycle, than in establishing deep psychological structures. At the same time, however, Capps's interest in aesthetics, feeling, and religious experience informed his research on the stillness of religious contemplation and religious solitude, as evident in his edited volume on Christian mysticism and his explorations of Christian monasticism.

For the study of religion, these three strands—theoretical, practical, and aesthetic—represent a research program, as Capps argued, that fits the multidimensional character of religion. In a 1997 article on the Czech philosopher, political activist, and creative artist Václav Havel, Capps demonstrated that these three strands could be woven together in a single life. His own life, as academic, politician, and person, was similarly woven.

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DAVID CHIDESTER (2005)

CARDS function in the religious context both as instruments for performing divination rituals and as repositories of esoteric sacred teaching. Current historical evidence suggests that cards originated in China and that their sacred usage developed from shamanistic or Taoist divinatory rituals that predated cards themselves. The oldest extant card, found in Chinese Turkistan, dates from no later than the eleventh century. The design of Chinese cards was copied from paper money first used in the Tang dynasty (618–908 CE). The design of an arrow on the back of the oldest Korean cards suggests that those cards developed from a divination technique for interpreting the pattern of arrows randomly cast onto a circle divided into quadrants.

Number and pattern, and their orderly transformations, are in sacred mathematics symbolic expressions, or hierophanies, of the eternal divine essences and processes that manifest themselves to us in time as the visible cosmos. The pack of divination cards is a homologue of the set of divine mathematical potentialities that can manifest itself in the time and space of the cosmos. The spontaneous play of the cards, like in any other particular act of divination, reveals a meaningful structure homologous to the divine creative process, which manifests itself within worldly events. The interpretation, or reading, of any particular play of cards is essentially a matter of intuiting from the sacred mathematical symbolism of the cards the worldly events whose structure corresponds to that symbolism.

It is not certain when and where cards first appeared in Europe. One hypothesis is that they were brought into southern Europe by the Moors as early as the eighth century. The earliest mention of numbered cards is in Covelluzzo's

Istoria della città di Viterbo (1480). Covelluzzo says that they were brought to the city of Viterbo by the Saracens in 1379. In her extensive study *A History of Playing Cards* (New York, 1966), Catherine P. Hargrave says that these early numbered cards were probably European copies of Chinese cards that arrived through Venice. The oldest extant European cards are several tarot cards from a pack designed for Charles VI of France in 1392.

The two most prominent packs of cards used in Europe for divination are the ordinary pack, consisting of fifty-two cards, and the tarot pack, consisting of seventy-eight cards. The ordinary pack is divided into four suits—diamonds, clubs, hearts, and spades. Joseph Campbell (in Campbell and Roberts, 1979) has suggested that the four suits represent the four estates, or classes, of the medieval social order: clergy (hearts), knights (spades), merchants (diamonds), and peasants (clubs). The four suits of the ordinary pack possibly developed under Protestant influence from the earlier tarot suits of chalices, swords, coins, and staves. The fact that the four suits of the ordinary pack culminate in the figures of knave, queen, and king leads Campbell to suppose that the pictorial symbolism of the cards expresses a medieval esoteric initiatory tradition wherein ascent along any of the four lines represented by the suits leads to spiritual realizations of equivalent value and importance.

The tarot pack falls into two sections: the "minor arcana" of fifty-six cards, divided equally into four suits, and the "major arcana" of twenty-one numbered picture cards and one unnumbered card, the Fool. The origin of the tarot deck is not known. The first history of the tarot, *Le jeu des tarots* (Paris, 1781), was written by Court de Gebelin. Gebelin claims that the deck originated in ancient Egypt and represents the esoteric teaching of the god Thoth, recorded and expressed in a hieroglyphic alphabet, in which all the gods are symbolized by pictorial signs and numbers. While Gebelin's theory of Egyptian origins is clearly itself of a mythic nature (the Rosetta Stone, which made translation of hieroglyphics possible, was not discovered until 1790), the evidence of recent research on the history of symbols indicates that the deck is indeed, as Gebelin supposed, a repository of sacred teaching and esoteric knowledge. The pictorial symbolism of the deck is known to have much in common with the symbolism of spiritual initiation rites and instruction in Hellenistic mystery cults, ancient astrology, and medieval alchemy, wherein the processes of manifesting divine energies are represented in the progression of visual and numerical symbols.

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RICHARD W. THURN (1987)
Revised Bibliography

CARGO CULTS [FIRST EDITION].

In 1980, a motorcade drove into Madang, a provincial capital in Papua New Guinea (independent since 1975), and stopped outside the local branch of the national bank. The drivers and passengers came from a Catholic village sixty kilometers to the west. Their spokeswoman, Josephine Bahu (about twenty-eight at the time), asked the bank manager, a European, to give her the keys to his vaults, for God had revealed to her the truth about money—its true source and its proper use as a road to economic development.

This incident was a recent example of cargoism, the most common form of millenarianism in Melanesia since the nineteenth century, when colonial rule reduced its inhabitants to the status of cheap labor for European employers. The millennium, as it has inevitably come to be manifested in this context, is the anticipated arrival of bulk supplies of European goods (cargo)—civilian stock, such as tinned meat, cotton cloth, steel tools, and motor vehicles; and military equipment, especially rifles and ammunition—which many of the people believe to be made not by human beings but by a deity or deities aided by the spirits of the dead. This conception of the millennium may give rise to a cargo cult or movement whose devotees perform ritual to induce the cargo god(s) to send the ancestors with supplies of the new wealth (and nowadays, as the initial example suggests, money) for immediate distribution. I begin by describing overt cargo phenomena and then discuss some of the best-known approaches to their study by Western scholars.

OVERT CARGO PHENOMENA. Western scholars first learned about cargo phenomena in 1857 through the publication of the Mansren myth of the Koreri in the Biak-Numfoor area of Irian Jaya, probably the oldest cargo movement in the whole region, although there were manifestations in Samoa in the 1830s and in Fiji in the 1880s. In Papua New Guinea the first known cults were the Baigona, reported in 1912, and the Vailala Madness, reported in 1919, although one movement, centered on Madang, can be dated from 1871 and continues to the present day. Cargoism began to proliferate just before World War II. In Papua New Guinea there has been a plethora of cults; in the Solomon Islands, Marching Rule; and in Vanuatu, the John Frum movement. In recent times the region has seen the rise of various alternatives to cargoism, specifically Pentecostalism and other Christian cults that are independent of the established European missions and that lay stress on healing and salvation. Although it is hard to draw a firm line between cargoism and other modern religious developments in Melanesia, I concentrate on cargo cults as such.

The many forms that cargo cults take depend on a number of variables: (1) a people's socioeconomic structure, basic personality, and traditional religion, which factors together determine the strength of their desire for the new wealth and the extent to which they are prepared to test or reject theological experiments; (2) the nature of the introduced religion, which they may or may not readily interpret as cargo doctrine; and (3) the pattern of initial contact and subsequent relations with Europeans (the actual purveyors of cargo), which underlie the political aspects of the people's responses. Thus, as we learn from the early ethnographic accounts of the Papua New Guinea Highlands—which were brought under administration only after 1933, when Europeans had gained some experience in Melanesian affairs—for some years it seemed likely that strong social structures, hardheadedness, and the predilection for secularism rather than religion, together with good race relations, accounted for the general paucity of cargo cults in the area. On the seaboard, incorporated within colonial administrations soon after 1884, a contrary situation obtained. Relatively weak social structures, an induced inferiority complex, an intellectual system dominated by theology, and often traumatic race relations had created the conditions in which cargoism was bound to flourish. Yet, although differences of this kind do exist, the neat geographical distinction suggested is probably overdrawn. In recent years cargoism, like Pentecostalism, has made inroads into the Highlands, forcing a reappraisal of previous interpretations.

The most obvious signs of a cargo cult's emergence are generally its devotees' preparations for the arrival of the goods they expect. Especially early on, when all cargo came by ship, they built wharves and storehouses in coastal villages. During and after the Pacific war, when the importance of aircraft became apparent, they cleared airstrips. Cargo may also be expected to appear in local cemeteries, which devotees assiduously keep clean and tidy, on altars in churches, which they regard as particularly holy, or at other places the leaders designate. In addition, there have been "flagstaffs," "radio masts," and even "telephones," by means of which the leaders could make contact with the deity and ancestors for news of the goods' arrival. Sometimes both leaders and followers have "demonstrated" the reality of this contact by simulating spirit possession, including shaking fits and other forms of violent seizure.

Yet cargo cannot come by itself: its arrival has to be ensured by means of religious ritual. A cult normally begins when, after a dream, waking vision, or some other extraordinary experience, its leader announces that he has been in touch with the deity, who has revealed to him the source of the desired wealth, the methods by which those who have so far monopolized it (generally Europeans) have defrauded the people of their rights, and the new ritual procedures necessary to redress the balance. Most leaders have been men, but there have been some outstanding women: Josephine Bahu in the 1980s, Philo of Inawai'a village (of the Mekeo language group, Papua) in 1941, and Polelesi of Igurue village (of the Garia language group, New Guinea) in 1947.

In this context, it is essential to distinguish between cults based on paganism, Christianity, and syncretic Christian-pagan doctrine. In a purely pagan cult, the leader has the difficult task of persuading the followers that traditional myths have a meaning which was not mentioned in the past but which has now been revealed to him alone. In quasi-Christian cults the problem is not so great. Christianity is not enshrined in tradition and can be interpreted with greater flexibility. The leader may claim to have visited God in heaven and returned as the Black Jesus. Again, in the course of some such experience, he may have learned that the secret of the cargo is the identification of an indigenous deity with God or Jesus Christ.

These basic differences, which are generally the result of the degree of administrative and more particularly mission influence, determine the nature of the ritual instructions the leader invariably claims to have received from the deity. In a pagan cult, where cultural change is minimal, the leader is likely to do no more than order the performance of mainly traditional rituals in honor of deities and the dead (possibly with a few foreign embellishments), albeit in an intensified form, as happened in the eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea. But where there has been acculturation, ritual incorporates new forms and becomes more elaborate. Cults based on Christianity may have mass village assemblies with marathon church services and prayers to God, "the Cargo Giver." Disbelievers are threatened with hellfire, and the Second Coming of Our Lord is prophesied as imminent, with all the wealth of Europe going to the faithful. There are mass conversions and baptisms. Polygyny and sexual promiscuity are forbidden, although in some villages in the southern Madang Province in the 1940s cult leaders experimented with wife exchange on the ground that this eliminated the quarrels over adultery that so displeased God. The sanctuaries of traditional deities are often desecrated or destroyed, and all forms of indigenous dancing and exchange outlawed. Christian fervor may go to extremes: in the early 1960s, in a village north of Madang, a man acquiesced in having his throat slit in front of a completely unsuspecting Catholic archbishop. It eventuated that this was a ritual reenactment of the Crucifixion: the victim was the Black Jesus, who was to intercede with God for the economic advantage of his people just as the White Jesus had done for Europeans.

In Christian-pagan syncretic cults, ritual, like doctrine, tends to borrow from both religions. Cults of this degree of sophistication often have two interesting features. First, devotees may root out their crops, cut down their palms and fruit trees, and slaughter their livestock. No ubiquitously satisfactory explanation for this behavior has been found, but in one area, the southern Madang Province, the reason given is that the people want to stress their poverty to the cargo deity and ancestors, thereby hastening the arrival of the new goods. Second, especially in communities which value money as a means of access to cargo, leaders may persuade their followers to place spare cash in a case or chest on the promise that their ritual will increase the sum deposited many times over. Finally, in some areas the people have totally rejected Christianity and its syncretic modifications in favor of paganism for cargoist ends. This heralds the reintroduction of traditional ritual with modern borrowings.

WESTERN ANALYSES OF CARGO PHENOMENA. The extensive literature on cargoism primarily consists of accounts of single cults, although there are several important comparative analyses. Space precludes detailed consideration of these general works, so I have selected for discussion the approaches of several Western scholars since World War I to indicate the trends in our thinking about the problem.

It took many years to complete detailed studies of cargo cults in which the participants could speak for themselves. Inevitably, therefore, the first European interpretations were ethnocentric. Francis E. Williams, who was from 1922 until 1943 the government anthropologist in Papua, wrote essays in 1922 and 1934 that examined the facts of cargo phenomena in light of the assumptions of his own society. He wrote only about the disturbances in the Gulf Province, the so-called Vailala Madness, a title which, significantly, he never challenged. Although a meticulous field-worker, he never comprehended Melanesian values and epistemology. He made careful notes about the external features of the cult: the people's imitation of European dress, eating habits, and house decoration; their use of Christian beliefs as part of their doctrine; their make-believe Western technology; and their periodic hysteria. But the meaning of it all eluded him: nothing in his personal or academic experience had prepared him for this kind of behavior. He concluded that the people were temporarily insane as a result of misunderstood Christianity and boredom caused by the loss of traditional activities, such as warfare and religious ceremonies. The cure he advocated was the Anglo-Australian boarding-school nostrum: some form of intervillage sport like football.

Peter Worsley, writing in the 1950s, had at his disposal a far larger body of cargoist literature, which he presented with great thoroughness. Yet much of the material was of doubtful value, based as it was on superficial accounts by untrained onlookers during and after World War II. Many of the observations were made when, after a period of optimistic but unproductive cooperation with Europeans (which the authors never appreciated), the people were finally hostile to whites. Hence it was easy for Worsley to offer a Marxist explanation: the cults were an embryonic form of class struggle against economic and political oppression, that is, the people's protest against their colonial overlords.

There are two objections to this kind of analysis. First, although one aspect of cargoism is undeniably its political statement, we have no evidence that cargoism is invariably anti-European. After a bad period, mainly in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, colonial rule—certainly as it was known in Papua New Guinea—was relatively benign. Many villagers have adopted cargoism as a means of explaining and manipulating the new order long before unfulfilled hopes have made them antagonistic. As indicated, cargoism can express the desire to fraternize with white men. Second, the Marxist approach to issues raised by cargoism is basically secular and so barely touches on the question of why the people have used religion, virtually on its own, to explain and try to cope with the colonial and postcolonial situations. Many cults are based on intricate philosophies, which cannot legitimately be ignored.

Between 1960 and 1972 three other scholars—Ian Jarvie, Freerk Kamma, and Kenelm Burridge—did much to offset this imbalance. Jarvie, a philosopher with a deep interest in social anthropology and an appreciation of Melanesian religion, approaches cargoism from an uncompromisingly intellectualist point of view. Although he does not deny the importance of the political issues raised by Worsley, he makes it quite plain that his interest lies in the structure of cargo doctrines as means of "teaching" the people the source of European wealth and giving them the prescription for getting it. In the sense that they are based on traditional assumptions and modes of thought, cargo cults are completely logical.

Kamma, a missionary who studied the Koreri movement in the northwestern sector of Irian Jaya, argues that it is a direct continuation of religious traditions aimed at maintaining and improving the people's way of life. With the arrival of European missionaries in the nineteenth century, the people wove Christianity into these traditions and treated cargo as the symbol of the improved way of life. His argument is echoed by John Strelan, another missionary, who reasons that for Melanesians cargo is salvation, an idea akin to Calvin's dictum that worldly success is the basis of *certitudo salutis.*

Burridge, who studied the Tangu in the northern Madang Province, sees cargo cults as the Melanesians' attempt to achieve full human dignity through attainment of economic and sociopolitical equality with Europeans. Their purpose is to create the "new society" and the "new man" able to maintain this principle of equivalence with whites. He stresses the importance of the "myth-dream," in both traditional religions and quasi-Christian cults, as the revelation of the origin of cargo and the secret of the ritual that will make it available.

A COMPOSITE APPROACH TO CARGO PHENOMENA. I have developed a composite approach based on my own research in the southern Madang Province after 1949. I regard it as essential to take all the issues raised by the foregoing scholars and combine them in a way that keeps each one in proper perspective. Broadly, cargoists try to recreate in the modern situation the same kind of predictable cosmic order they knew in the past: an order the gods ordained and human beings maintain by fulfilling social obligations among themselves and ritual obligations toward deities and ancestors. This recreation will give them the key to the new wealth and ensure its fair distribution. In a word, they retain their old cosmic values of anthropocentrism and materialism: man is the center of the cosmos, which exists for his benefit. Cargoism, thus conceived, is a dialogue between the old sociocultural system and the economic, political, and religious policies introduced by colonial administrations. A most important factor is that, although they enabled the people to acquire limited supplies of the new goods, these policies actually achieved few changes in village life. Despite a century of European control, the pattern of economic and sociopolitical life has remained very much intact. The people still have minimal knowledge of the European world, so that their reactions to, and interpretations of, cargo are based primarily on tradition. To this extent, cargoism is conservative.

My "composite approach" to cargoism raises three questions relating to *motivation*, *conceived means*, and *effects* in cargo cult. Why do the people desire European goods so much that they waste decades in trying to acquire them by obviously futile procedures? Why do they rely on religious ritual rather than secular activity? What have cargo cults done to indigenous society?

MOTIVATION. In absolute terms, Melanesians have never been poor. They have rarely known hunger. Hence cargoism is an expression of relative deprivation. The people want Western goods for two reasons: their obvious utility and technical superiority over indigenous products; and their sociopolitical significance. They quickly saw the practical value of European artifacts, especially steel axes and knives, nails, and cloth. In the nineteenth century European traders took great pains to provide the kinds of goods the people wanted. These traders were always on guard against theft, for the demand for their goods was great, and Melanesians were skillful fighters. By 1900, most Melanesians under colonial administration had adopted steel tools, some Western clothing, and such luxuries as glass beads and mirrors.

This pragmatic incentive has its sociopolitical counterpart, which can be understood only by considering the role of wealth in traditional society. Beyond its usefulness, wealth is a vital content of all social relationships. Bonds between local descent groups, kinsmen, and affines—the prime constituents of social structure—are strengthened by the periodic exchange of goods and services, particularly pigs and valuables. For one party to fail in its commitments is cause for tremendous shame, which nothing can alleviate. The people desire exactly this kind of egalitarian relationship with Europeans, and cargo is the most important part of the goods and services to be exchanged. One cargo leader put it to an Australian officer thus: "We are doing no harm. All we want is to live well—like white men!" Yet the structure of the modern economy necessitates marked inequalities between foreign employers and indigenous employees. European monopoly of the new wealth has become the symbol of this imbalance and hence a primary cause of political unrest.

Although the pragmatic incentive to acquire cargo is a constant, sociopolitical motivation correlates with the climate of race relations, which in its turn determines the kinds of goods the people desire and the political significance of cult activity. This has been documented for one area of Papua New Guinea. In the southern Madang Province, which comprises a large number of separate language groups or virtually autonomous societies, the cargo movement has since 1871 passed through five broad stages that have expressed varying attitudes toward Europeans (ranging from friendship to hostility) and shifting preferences for specific types of goods, civilian or military.

The first stage (1871–c. 1900) began with the arrival of the first European settler, the Russian scientist Baron Miklouho-Maclay, who won the people's friendship by establishing a fair trading partnership with them. He introduced Western civilian goods and new food plants, all of which were enthusiastically received. In 1884 he was followed by German settlers, whose behavior was a complete antithesis: they were arrogant; they alienated a disproportionate amount of coastal land for plantations; and they paid badly for labor. Friendship gave way to hostility, which was the leitmotif also of the second stage (c. 1900–c. 1914). The people now wanted to acquire rifles and ammunition with which to expel the foreigners. In 1904 the administration put down a serious uprising in Madang and in 1912, fearing another emergency, exiled a large part of the local population.

The third stage (c. 1914–c. 1933) saw a *volte-face*. The new Australian administration permitted the exiles to return home, and the people sought an accommodation with the whites, hoping to live in peace with them and acquire civilian goods. Certainly the last expectation was unreal, so that the fourth stage (c. 1933–c. 1945) witnessed a return to enmity toward Europeans and a desire for military equipment. Some cultists collaborated with the Japanese (who occupied the area between 1942 and 1944), armed themselves with discarded Japanese weapons, and set up a quasi-military camp. For a brief time after 1945 the people, under the leadership of Yali Singina, who had served in the Australian army, once again expressed goodwill toward Europeans. Because of a misunderstanding, Yali believed, and so had persuaded his people, that in return for the loyalty of native troops the Europeans would reward the people with bulk cargo. These hopes were dashed in 1947, when it transpired that the "bulk reward" was to be development in the form of hospitals and schools—benefits that ordinary villagers could not then appreciate. This inaugurated the fifth stage (1948–1950), which expressed renewed hostility and, for some of the regional population at least, the hope of getting modern weapons with which to fight the Europeans.

Regrettably, there is no comparable account of this alternating pattern of friendly and hostile race relations elsewhere in Melanesia. Yet the Madang evidence stresses the falsity of the view that cargoism always expresses hostility toward Europeans. Another recent incident supports this argument. In a major cargo cult in the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea in 1971, some six thousand people formed a chain gang to remove from the summit of Mount Hurun some military concrete markers, which were believed to be demons impeding the cargo millennium. Before the event local Europeans widely predicted that they would be the target of popular animosity. Yet there was no evidence of this. Cult devotees brought the markers to the station of the local European patrol officer and then peacefully dispersed. Significantly, a year later a similar operation was planned near Madang: the destruction of the monument erected in honor of the German governor von Hagen after his death in 1897 and said to be preventing the arrival of the cargo deity. The sponsors stressed their desire for racial harmony by inviting Europeans and Chinese to take part. They tried to get a message to this effect broadcast over Radio Mandang.

Conceived means. As attacks on trading vessels and uprisings around Madang suggest, Melanesians are prepared to use physical force to gain their economic and political ends. Hence it is perhaps puzzling that at the same time they consistently rely on religious ritual as a means of getting cargo in the face of recurrent failure. It can be said, of course, that once they appreciate the power of colonial administrations they are afraid to take direct action. But this does not explain why they are convinced that religion will provide a solution or why, in some cases, they combine it with secular economic activity. For instance, the people of Karkar Island and Mount Hagen, now rich from cash crops, either believe in or actually practice cargo ritual.

The only possible answer is that Western contact has not destroyed the people's traditional intellectual assumptions: that religion is the source of "true knowledge" and that ritual is a pragmatic technology with no mystical attributes. The forces that governed the old cosmic order should govern the new one. This idea was expressed to me early in my research by a highly intelligent informant: "Everything that we have was invented by a deity: taro, yams, livestock, artifacts. If we want taro to grow, we invoke the taro goddess, and so forth. Well, then, you people come to us with all your goods, and we ask, 'Where is the god of the cargo and how do we contact him?'" The continuing search for the divine source of Western goods after each negative result is consistent with this statement.

Here again the southern Madang Province is illustrative, as the area saw a succession of five cargo beliefs or doctrines that correlated more or less with the sociopolitical stages already summarized. The first of these beliefs (1871–c. 1900) expressed the people's conclusion that the early European visitors were indigenous gods suddenly appearing in their midst. Miklouho-Maclay was either Kilibob or Manup, the two deity brothers who between them were said to have created all the sociocultural systems of the region's seaboard. He had invented the new goods he brought especially for them, and as a measure of their friendship they had to reciprocate with gifts of food. They do not appear to have honored him with ritual while he was living in their midst. Ordinary social behavior sufficed. Although they at first expected to establish comparable exchange ties with the Germans, ultimately they came to regard them, because of their haughtiness, as hostile gods whose purpose was to enslave them with their rifles. But, as the second cargo belief (c. 1900–c. 1914) indicated, they decided that the Germans were human beings who, because of a cosmic accident, had acquired sole access to the cargo deity, Kilibob or Manup, and so misappropriated the wealth properly destined for Madang.

The third cargo belief (c. 1914–c. 1933) expressed the people's renewed goodwill toward Europeans because the missionaries had consistently shown concern during their exile and the new administration had brought them home, which they interpreted as signs that the cargo secret would be revealed to them. To this end, they adopted Christianity and revised it as a cargo religion. God, Jesus Christ, and the ancestors lived in Heaven (a suburb of Sydney, Australia), where they made cargo. Baptism and assiduous worship of the kind already described would induce God to send the ancestors with cargo to the ships (and later aircraft) that would deliver it to the Madangs. But after twenty years the people were no better off. Thus the fourth cargo belief (c. 1933–c. 1945) spelled out their distrust of, and enmity to, Europeans, especially the missionaries, who had hidden the truth from them. The new doctrine and ritual were syncretic. Kilibob and Manup were equated with God and Jesus Christ, the cargo deities kept prisoner by the whites in Australia. The aim was to honor them in such a way as to ensure their return: through church services, dancing, feasting, and food offerings. The Japanese soldiers, of course, were either spirits of the dead or emissaries of the cargo god sent to punish the Europeans for their duplicity. The fifth cargo belief (1948–1950) marked the end of dependence on a foreign religion. All the traditional gods of the southern Madang Province were now proclaimed cargo deities. The missionaries had hidden them in Australia, but Manup (alias Jesus Christ) had found them and taught them to make cargo. It was now the people's duty and interest to get them back to Madang to establish the millennium. To do this, they had to reject all Christian teaching and worship, and return to traditional ritual, especially dancing, feasting, initiatory ceremonies, and food offerings to gods and ancestors set out on specially prepared tables.

Effects. Until recently a main interest of Anglo-Australian social anthropology has been the study of political structure and function, and it is not surprising that the effect of cargoism on traditional society has been evaluated predominantly in that field. Early suggestions were that cargoism might help lay the foundations of future nationalism in two ways: by uniting the populations of whole regions and thereby breaking down sectionalism based on clan, village, and language group; and by preparing the people to accept genuine development when it was presented to them in realistic administrative projects. We should be careful on both these counts.

In the first context, although cargo cults have at times brought together social aggregations far larger than was possible before contact, it is doubtful whether this process has been universal and automatic or whether the leaders have deliberately fostered it. The evidence suggests rather that these aggregations occur only when their members have a single doctrine to unite them. When this is lost, the aggregations disperse. I consider again the southern Madang Province. In the second stage of the cargo movement, although the people of the whole coast under administration may have been hostile to the Germans and may have hoped for a return of Kilibob or Manup, they did not form a grand alliance. The politico-military groups in the revolts of 1904 and 1912 appear to have been based on old rather than new alignments: traditional clan alliances and marriage or kinship ties. In the third stage, widespread conversion to Christianity gave the people of the whole region a sense of common consciousness: together with Europeans, they were all descended from Adam, Eve, and Noah. Yet there was no attempt to create a wide political organization to exploit the new attitude. In the fourth stage, this widespread common consciousness was considerably attenuated because the new syncretic doctrines based on the amalgam of the Kilibob-Manup myth and Christianity were restricted entirely to the littoral. The quasi-Christian cargoists of the inland, who had no rights to the traditional myth, were at once excluded. Nevertheless, the coastal villagers following the new doctrine did evince a degree of solidarity never known in the past. Finally, in the fifth stage, Yali Singina agreed to become the movement's leader only when he was satisfied that Jesus-Manup had transferred the power to make cargo to all the indigenous deities so that he, as an inland dweller, could not be accused of theft for meddling with a coastal myth. The new doctrine had the potential to unite the people of the whole region in a mass anti-European cult. Yet, although antagonism was rife, Yali's organization was too inefficient and parochial to turn it into an effective political force. In short, the process of expanding political cohesion is probably unconscious and haphazard rather than deliberately planned.

In the second context, there appears to be even less evidence to support the view that cargoism arouses among the people such energy and enthusiasm for modernization that it helps facilitate the change to indigenous government and administration. Indeed, the facts suggest that cargoism is—and that its devotees see it as—ontologically quite different from the national structure established and bequeathed by the former colonial power, and that cargoism cannot easily be assimilated to that structure, which, moreover, it may deliberately impede. By presenting itself as a seemingly logical alternative system, the movement offers those unwilling to experiment with new ideas the opportunity to engage in activities which may be consistent with tradition but are bound to be sterile—an argument relevant not only to the political field but to the economic and educational fields as well.

In the field of politics, it is necessary to consider the behavior of cargoists in two situations; in the electorate at large; and within parliament and local government councils. During election campaigns cargoists have indeed made extravagent claims. In 1967–1968 Yali Singina, who now prefixed his name with the title god-king, campaigned for a seat in the national parliament in Port Moresby on the following platform. He would go to the House, where he would discover the indigenous deities, whom the administration had now placed there in a secret room. He would occupy the Speaker's Chair, take control of the Mace, and liberate the gods, with whom he would return to Madang, where he would usher in the cargo millennium and proclaim self-government, administering the country with the aid of those European officers of whom he approved. He was not elected. Again, in 1971, he rejected an offer of an electoral alliance from the Madang representatives of Pangu Pati (the senior government party) on the grounds that as "king" of Papua New Guinea he could not share power. Yet, in 1972, he belatedly but unsuccessfully tried to take up the offer because he believed that Pangu was a cult organization like his own. Matias Yaliwan, the chief cargo prophet in the East Sepik Province, claimed to have been told in a dream that he had been appointed leader of the country. He was elected to parliament in 1972 and subsequently told his followers that it was through his special aura that self-government was achieved. By the same token, in the 1980s Josephine Bahu's senior followers wrote to the prime minister that she should be made head of state.

Apart from Matias Yaliwan, a number of known cargoists have been elected to parliament and local government councils, where their behavior has generally been far more circumspect. Real politics does not provide an arena in which they can operate with success. Matias resigned his seat when he realized that his claim to personal leadership was being quietly ignored. Other cargoists have remained largely quiescent, making few speeches and little contribution to proceedings beyond voting. In the same way, Yali Singina and his "deputy" Dui Yangsai sat for many years on the Rai Coast Council but, despite their flamboyant pronouncements elsewhere, never advocated cargoist policy in the chamber.

A comparable conflict of interest and interpretation obtains in the fields of economic development and education. Although on Karkar and at Mount Hagen the people have succeeded in cash cropping while at the same time engaging in cargoism, there are many other cases in which cargoists and developers are continually at loggerheads. The cargoists assert that the developers prevent the millennium by paying all their attention to their plantations and denying the cargo god the ritual honor due to him. Also, it is questionable how genuine economic success on Karkar and at Mount Hagen can be when many people still appear to regard purely secular activity as a poor second best. Cargoism could well hold them back from innovations that might lead to expansion, so that they may remain always the satellites of European businessmen, who still provide all the initiatives. Finally, many people misunderstand and are disenchanted with modern education. In the past, parents have taken their children away from mission schools when they discovered that the cargo secret was not in the curriculum. Some have even denied the value of mission schools, which are attended by children of both sexes: genuine education—that is, powerful religious secrets—is given only to males during and after initiation. In cargoist areas secular education has been equally badly received. Many children see no point in it, and the dropout rate for secondary schools is very high. Unsuccessful pupils have been drawn into cargo organizations as "secretaries" and "clerks." With their smattering of Western knowledge, these young members give the cults an appearance of increased sophistication and provide explanatory systems so persuasive that the ordinary villager finds it hard to fault them. It is no wonder that both national and provincial politicians and public servants, concerned for the future of their country, view these counterintellectuals with disquiet, as a fifth column that can vitiate genuine achievement.

SEE ALSO New Guinea Religions.

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Peter Lawrence (1987)

CARGO CULTS [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS].

Since Peter Lawrence wrote his confident, empirically rich discussion of the cargo cult for the first edition of this encyclopedia in 1987, the terrain of Pacific religion and politics has changed, as has the terrain of scholarly analysis. It is no longer so clear that "cargo cults" ever existed, or at least whether the analytic category is valuable.

Over the past fifty years in the Pacific, the post–World War II decolonization imperative has proceeded apace. New nation-states, multinational corporations, nongovernmental organizations, proliferating evangelical groups, and other postcolonial institutions and agents populate the islands. The imperial world system entanglements of the era of European capitalist and colonial expansion are replaced by global interconnections of the post–World War II United Nations world, including regional nation-state alliances, aid and development programs, migration, tourism, multinational corporate penetration, consumption, and media flows. Yet, Pacific people have not ceased to innovate politically and religiously. How are we to understand these innovations? What particular issues of religion, power, and sovereignty are raised by the nation-state and how might this implicate the concept of the cargo cult?

In scholarship, the "cargo cult" is now treated far more skeptically by many scholars than in Lawrence's account. In the mid-twentieth century, scholars unproblematically wrote books and articles defining cargo cults, giving examples of cargo cults, arguing over their nature and causes, and proposing explanations of their causes. While many important studies still use the category (and while Pacific peoples themselves may use the term—positively, neutrally, or pejoratively), many of the analytic issues have turned from ontology to epistemology, from questions about what cargo cults are, to questions about the knower, and to the effects of claiming that cargo cults do exist or the effects of seeking to specify their characteristics. For example, some anthropologists now argue that "cargo cults do not exist," finding the so-named phenomena better understood instead in terms of ongoing trajectories of Pacific history-making (including that long predating the colonial encounter), while others find their origin not in Pacific sociology or cosmology but in the Western imagination. Finally, serious scholarly thinking about the nature of states and cults that finds the state as enchanted as any millenarian movement has made the melding of politics and religion in these Pacific movements less surprising and all the more useful to study of general issues of present and future religious life.

This entry reviews three analyses that exemplify some of these trends in interesting ways, beginning with a summary of Martha Kaplan's chronicle of the Fijian Tuka movement, *Neither Cargo nor Cult: Ritual Politics and the Colonial Imagination in Fiji* (1995). The work is fully committed to understanding an ongoing, dynamic ritual-political history making of Fijians, and it is also highly skeptical of the analytic utility of the concept of the cargo cult, finding its origins in British colonial discourse of order and disorder. It thus takes a Bakhtinean, dialogical approach to this colonial and postcolonial history. Dialogical does not mean a friendly or consensus-seeking interchange, but rather explores the semiotic and cultural consequences of interactions of sharply opposed agents, parties, and classes. Thus, a dialogical history is a history in which none of the agents is unaffected by the interaction (see Kelly and Kaplan, 1990).

Next is a summary of Lamont Lindstrom's important *Cargo Cult: Strange Stories of Desire from Melanesia and Beyond* (1993), which argues that cargo cults do exist (or at least that there is a cross-cultural unity among certain events of collective action in which people seek to fulfill rational desires through irrational means). But Lindstrom does not seek to elaborate the characteristics of this category. Rather, Lindstrom's poststructuralist psychoanalytic approach draws our attention to what he calls the Western discourse of cargoism, in which, he argues, non-Melanesians map onto Melanesians their own fantasies concerning love, longing, and unrequited desire.

Finally, a brief summary is presented of an article in which discourse about cargo cults figures in decolonization history. Robert J. Foster's "Your Money, Our Money, the Government's Money" (2002) is an evocative historical ethnography of money and the state in decolonizing and independent Papua New Guinea (PNG), in which the enchantments of a national monetary system emerge in a complex and dialogical postcolonial history.

This description of the current field is, by design, selective. The examples have been chosen to contrast with Lawrence's approach. Readers interested in a wider spectrum of important turn-of-the-millennium writing on cargo cults in the Pacific, and on cargo cults and revitalization movements more generally, will find the collections by Holger Jebens, *Cargo, Cult, and Culture Critique* (2004), and Michael E. Harkin, *Reassessing Revitalization Movements: Perspectives from North America and the Pacific Islands* (2004), most useful.

Problematizing the Analytic Concept. Important scholars have seen the Fijian Tuka of the 1880s as the flagship example of a cargo cult (Worsley, 1957, 1968) or millenarian movement (Burridge, 1969). Tuka would seem to have features similar to those Lawrence describes. Led by a hereditary oracle priest called Navosavakadua or Mosese Dukumoi (d. 1897) oriented in opposition to eastern coastal Fijian kingdoms and colonial rulers, 1880s colonial accounts of the movement described anticipation of the return of Fijian gods (notably the twin gods Nacirikaumoli and Nakausabaria, newly understood as Jesus and Jehovah) and a transformed political and material order. One could then, following Lawrence, see Tuka as one of his syncretic rather than pagan or Christian movements. One could also, with Peter Worsley and later Fiji scholars Simione Durutalo (1985) or ʿAtu Emberson-Bain (1994), see Tuka as protonationalist, prefiguring twentieth-century incipient union movements or Labour Party politics. Or, with Kenelm Burridge (1969), one could see the movement as a strategy to obtain moral recognition in an oppressive colonial context. However, chronicling Tuka via field research in Fiji (with descendants of the leader and his followers) and via examination of the colonial records at the National Archives of Fiji and beyond, Kaplan has argued instead that there was neither a cargo nor a cult at issue. The very attempt to define and explicate a general category of "cargo cult" seems to reify and occlude the complexities of this dialogical history.

On the one hand, theorists of "cargo cults" or "millenarian movements" were among the first scholars to have acknowledged and politically engaged the issue of the agency of "Others" in cultural change in colonial contexts. Such studies initiated basic discussions about agency and history in colonial societies that have inflected most later anthropological considerations, including this one. (Indeed, over the years since Lawrence's entry for this encyclopedia was written, Worsley's approach, downplayed by Lawrence, seems to have been prescient of the strong political voice that emerged in the anthropology of the 1980s, an anthropology much focused on Gramscian questions [via Raymond Williams] of hegemony and resistance or Foucaultian questions of knowledge/power.) Problematic, however, is the way that these studies drew boundaries around the phenomenon to be studied and the way they reified the category of cult, lumping together ostensibly similar events throughout Fiji and the Pacific, identifying and abstracting "cults" as a general phenomenon, or treating cults as a transitional stage between tradition and inevitable modernity (see Kelly, 2002; Pletsch, 1981).

DISSOLVING THE CARGO CULT INTO THE FABRIC OF PACIFIC HISTORY-MAKING. The analytic concept of cult itself has been called into question in a range of ways. For example, quite pointedly, Nancy McDowell argues with reference to Claude Lévi-Strauss's famous argument on totemism that "cargo cults do not exist or at least their symptoms vanish when we start to doubt that we can arbitrarily extract a few features from context and label them an institution" for "just as totemism did not exist, being merely an example of how people classify the world around them, cargo cults too do not exist, being merely an example of how people conceptualise and experience change in the world" (1988, pp. 121–122). For example, concerning Navosavakadua and Tuka in Fiji, why in seeking to study millenarianism did scholars such as Burridge problematize "Tuka" for study, rather than the massive Fijian Christian conversion of the 1830s and 1850s? Indeed, Marshall Sahlins (1985) chronicles this conversion as part of a ritual-political kingship politics in Fiji without finding any need to refer to "cults." Reconsidered in these ways, "cults" dissolve into far more complex histories of indigenous history making of colonial encounter and of the making of new cultural-political systems. For some scholars, this becomes an opportunity to reconsider cargo cults as examples of a culturally Melanesian form of history making, whereby external intrusions are encompassed and remade culturally. Such an approach can run the risk of presenting Pacific people as unchangingly culturally separate, but the argument that there are plural ways of making history can also serve as a strong, politically inflected argument for the autonomy and power of non-Western peoples, even in the face of hegemonizing discourses. Indeed, as Sahlins (1988) and others point out, globalization itself can impel or support diversification and difference.

And indeed, in the events called "Tuka," Fijians mobilized a Fijian grammar for history making, invoking a longstanding ritual political opposition of "People of the Land" against eastern coastal chiefs and other culturally constructed foreigners, as well as against labor recruiters, missionaries, and colonial administration Yet, it is not enough simply to see Navosavakadua and Tuka as encompassed in an essentially Fijian form of local history making. For, reconsidering cargo cults in the context of local histories entails attention to a dialogical history, in which the local and the colonial, the local and the global are never unaffected by each other.

CULTS AND MOVEMENTS IN THE COLONIAL IMAGINATION. While *Neither Cargo nor Cult* (1995) argues that the analytic categories of "cargo cults" or "millenarian movements" are scholarly reifications, it also argues that (despite McDowell's elegant borrowing of Lévi-Strauss) cults and movements *do* exist. They exist, not necessarily as Pacific or non-Western phenomena, but rather as a category in Western culture and colonial practice. "Tuka" was a thing to colonial officers and has come down to us as such. In the colonial imagination it incited the drafting of ordinances for its criminal prosecution and the deportation of its practitioners, gaining its own sites in colonial archival files and indexes and in local responses to colonial criminalization.

When Tuka as cult—separate, irrational, and nonorthodox—came into being via British colonial discourse and practice, a coalition of eastern coastal Fijian chiefs and colonial officials simultaneously brought into being another entity: a colonial state founded on a system that would (with self-proclaimed humanity and cost-effectiveness) rule Fijians through their traditional chiefs, institutions, and customs. An understanding of the dependence of states (from kingdoms to colonies to nation-states) on ritual or magical constitution of cosmology and authority shifts our attention from the enchantments of the marginalized to the enchantments required to routinize the major and central power (e.g., see Abrams, 1988; Kelly and Kaplan, 1990; Sahlins, 1985; Tambiah, 1985; Taussig, 1992). Certainly, neither colonial state nor cult was real before the dialogical history of Fiji of the late 1800s. Both were founded and routinized in ritual politics.

Thus, in *Neither Cargo nor Cult* (1995) Kaplan presents a composite analytic approach, but the analytic components are quite different from Lawrence's empirical, causal conditions. This view is one that is confident of the reality of Fijian and colonial historical agencies, in dialogical relation, though it is skeptical that separating out inquiry about cults in particular will tell us enough about this complex history and the enchantments of both the colonially routinized state and the criminalized resistant counterpolity that Navosavakadua envisioned and tried to make real. It does, however, attend to the pull, the feeling of obviousness, to find cults real, since, ethnographically, they were very real to colonial agents. Still, it is important to recognize that that reality was generated initially not in Fijian practice or intent, but rather in the colonial imagination.

CARGOISM: WESTERN DISCOURSE ABOUT "CARGO CULTS." It is this Western certainty that cargo cults do exist that Lindstrom explores, taking us from the twentieth-century arenas of colonial discourse and practice in which they coalesced for scholars of Melanesia to an American and global popular imagination. In *Cargo Cult: Strange Stories of Desire from Melanesia and Beyond*, Lindstrom, invoking post-structuralist theory and literary deconstructionism (1993, p. 10), focuses attention on the literal term *cargo cult*. Tracing the term, Lindstrom cagily proclaims that he will not say anything about Melanesian ethnographic realities. "Cargo cult—or something like this under another name—may actually exist on Melanesian islands—or it may not" (p. 12). On the other hand, Lindstrom later asks, looking at discourse about "cargo cults," what common denominator is to be found in the phenomena to which the term is applied? If there is a general phenomenon, it is a "variety of desires for collective benefit coupled with apparently irrational strategies to attain those desires," he concludes (p. 189). Yet, it is not so much the quest for an essence of cargo cult, a common denominator in the events and actions of different peoples in Melanesia and beyond, but rather a common denominator in what Westerners perceive in these events and the implications of naming something a cargo cult that fascinates Lindstrom. He borrows the term *cargoism,* coined initially to denote "real" Melanesian activities, to instead denote discourse about cargo cults, especially Western discourse. Lindstrom's interest is, adamantly, in the uses of the term, which he considers to be a Western projection of unfulfilled desire. The term had, and still has, a complex life: it was at first a Western term projected onto Melanesians, but more recently it has been used by Melanesians about themselves and by Westerners about Melanesians, about the Third World, and about themselves.

The term *cargo cult*, Lindstrom tells us, first appeared in 1945 in the pages of the colonial news magazine *Pacific Islands Monthly* (1993, pp. 15–16) and was used as an epithet, interchangeably with "madness." Soon, Lindstrom notes, missionaries, planters, and administrators traded accusations as to who was responsible for cargo cults. Soon, too, the term entered anthropological usage, from missionary-anthropologists in New Guinea to Australia-based anthropologists, and by the 1950s the literature was copious enough that a bibliography was compiled by a South Pacific Commission librarian (p. 38). He argues that the term is then projected back, anachronistically, as when Lawrence wrote of early nineteenth-century movements as cargo cults (p. 38), though, one might argue that more could be said of the reifications already extant in British colonial discourse.

Lindstrom goes on to chronicle the history of uses of the term in anthropological analysis (up to and including the argument that "cargo cults do not exist"). He suggests that anthropologists extended the features of the ostensible cults to all of Melanesian society, seeking to show that care for cargo and use of cultic, religious means was itself a general Melanesian characteristic. To sympathetically explain cults, Lindstrom says, anthropology claims that the colonial's exceptional and fearful cult is in fact normal Melanesian culture. Thus, he says, for anthropologists, "Cults are not—or not just—aberrant ritualized reaction to a powerful European presence. Anthropology instructs us, rather, that cults are normal, creative Melanesian institutions of cultural dynamism and change" (1993, p. 61). Other anthropologists would argue that in fact the anthropological problematic of valuables, exchange, and cosmology in the Pacific, made famous by Bronislaw Malinowski in 1922 and Marcel Mauss in 1925, predates "cargo cult" discussions and that Lindstrom homogenizes and simplifies anthropological scholarship of the Pacific, in his quest to delineate a single, general Western obsession with cargo cults.

Lindstrom also discusses political uses of the term in independent Papua New Guinea, where it is used in political discourse, sometimes to signify positive kastam, or tradition, other times as a negative epithet to disparage political opponents. But he reserves special interest for the term's wider spread in popular discourse (film, tabloids, and news media) in the United States and globally. Most interesting to Lindstrom are the consequences of calling phenomena "at home" in the West cargo cults. He concludes, "The cargo cult is an allegory of desire" (1993, p. 184). He finds this desire, projected onto "others," but really about the self, in the Western psyche and in love of commodities, an unfulfillable desire, an unrequitable love.

"Cargo Cult is fascinatingly trivial," Lindstrom wrote provocatively on page three of his 246-page book. His fascination draws us to chronicle a world of talking about cargo cults. The work's focus on cargo cults, even when the focus is on discourse about cargo cults, may once again reify its object, now risking solipsism. What more, beyond unrequited love, might animate the projects and events that are folded into this way of narrating unrequited love? What of desires and successes for freedom, for self-determination, for Burridge's "moral redemption," for . . .? It is Lindstrom's intention to produce a Foucaultian genealogy of a term's contextual origins and the consequences of its use. However, diagnosing Western unrequited longing may not lead us into greater insights into anything else.

DIALOGICAL HISTORIES FOR A DECOLONIZING AND GLOBALLY INTERCONNECTED WORLD. The big story of the twentieth century for places like the Pacific is the end of the era of empires and the coming into being of the nation-state as the normal polity form. Not just the former colonies, but also the former colonizers were reconstituted as nation-states. Massive new secular rituals, state myths, and authorizing accounts have been mobilized to routinize and to make real these new polity forms. Familiars for the state and nation are born: flags that seem the living body of the state and anthems and pledges of and for the nation that serve as charms binding members to national citizenship (on state familiars, see Kaplan, 2003). What is the place of matters once called cargo cult in this history?

The most intriguing of more recent studies of cargo cults are those that are not about cargo cults at all, but rather about complex local and global histories in which the term figures historically. In this category would fall, for example, studies like Foster's "Your Money, Our Money, the Government's Money: Finance and Fetishism in Melanesia" (2002). This is an analysis, not of a cargo cult, but of the enchantments found in the putatively modern, Western, disenchanted, and practical world of nation-states, nation-building, development agencies, financial institutions, and national economy. Foster's overall point is that by assuming that Melanesians were confused about the real and true origins and value of material things, colonizers were also able to assume that they themselves lived in a Western world in which the real and true value of material things was self-evident and irrefutable, a world without fetishes (pp. 36–37). Foster's analysis shows that the New Guinea state, and indeed all states, depends on the workings of state familiars like money; that is, on the public belief that only the state-issued tokens are appropriate tender for all debts, public and private.

In the mid-twentieth century, colonizers in New Guinea began distributing educational material about money, seeking to counter cargo-cult thinking, the perceived "native" misunderstanding of the origin of goods. In the 1960s the Administration and the Reserve Bank of Australia produced booklets and films to provide people with "an understanding of the management of money." Addressing individuals with advice about "your money," they presupposed and naturalized "modern" individuals who would relate to money and define themselves via work and monetary wealth, rather than in relation to other people. Ironically, urging people to abandon the materiality of traditional wealth items, colonial advice nonetheless proffered a material form for the wealth of the people of Papua New Guinea: the bank book. At the lead up to independence in 1975, colonial education about money turned to "our money" and the national wealth, with money serving as a token of the nation-state that was just coming into being.

Where Lindstrom was critical of approaches that lent reality to cargo cult beliefs and practices, believing that they implied a diagnosis that the "natives" were mad, not rational, Foster follows William Pietz (1985, 1987, 1988), not Lindstrom, in seeing the cardinal fantasy endorsed by cargo-cult theory (and all imputations of fetishism to "others") as the idea that "We" have or can have a society without fetishes, a purely rational society of enlightenment. Foster's argument can be carried further, thinking about alleged "cargo cults'" in particular. Something becomes known as a "cargo cult" precisely when it is objectified, criminalized, and subject to scrutiny, criticism, and counterargument; when its premises do not seem natural and inevitable; and when its modes do not readily persuade official observers. But, as Foster argues, we all live with tokens of the state (we might call them state familiars), including our money, that for others have not successfully routinized into obvious utility. Foster cites U.S. survivalists who question U.S. government legitimacy and question the legitimacy of U.S. paper money. And, in Papua New Guinea, Foster shows, questions about money question the state as well, whether debating the figures portrayed on notes, maintaining shell money and using it to pay taxes, or using bills and notes as ceremonial exchange valuables. These kinds of usages bring together what colonial and postcolonial administrators "hell bent on modernization" (Foster 2002, p. 60) tried so hard to keep apart. One could propose that this is an example of Melanesian confusion, or, preferably, that it is an example of the very potential that all powerful systems (states, finance systems, and cosmologies) must trade in reliance on modes of routinzation, on tokens of existence, and on familiars that render them subject to being recognized as constructs, challenged and sometimes remade. That is, one could take the point to be that nations, states, and religions rely on the same kinds of enchantment of symbols and institutions that get undermined in criticism of cults.

GODS AND NATION-STATES. Whether or not cargo cults and the cargo cult literature is adduced, much of the scholarship since the 1980s in the Pacific has focused on postcolonial histories of nation and state as locally understood and lived in the Pacific Islands, describing predicaments and novel local solutions in ritual, economics, kinship, and religious life that connect to matters of sovereignty and its infringements, and the reconfiguration of old and new institutional forms. The literature that explicitly continues the study of cargo cults also connects new cosmologies to postcolonial as well as colonial history and sees millenarian movements growing in entwined response to increasingly diverse Christian evangelizing and/or to development discourse, electoral politics, and political crises.

Commonly, conflicts over power begun in precolonial and colonial eras are of continuing import. This is especially clear in the example of Tuka in Fiji's history. Tuka was about questions of local sovereignty (though not nation-state sovereignty) and it was also, for Navosavakadua, about identifying one's own gods. For Navosavakadua, the twin gods Nacirikaumoli and Nakausabaria had been misunderstood as Jesus and Jehovah. For some of his descendants, Navosavakadua was himself Jesus, returned. For some Fijians, more generally, Fiji and Fiji Christianity are special and traditional and entitle Fiji's indigenes to special political privilege in the island's nation-state (Kelly and Kaplan, 2001). What we learn from Tuka, we can bring to the study of the United Nations and the nation-state. These putatively disenchanted institutions have, in fact, their own rituals and even their own familiars.

For Lawrence, the variables for considering cargo cults were the characteristics of local society, the nature of introduced religion, and the character of contact with Europeans. But the world-system entanglements of the era of European capitalist and colonial expansion are replaced by global interconnections of the post–World War II, United Nations, nation-state world. People everywhere in this world face dilemmas of belief over the question of how nation-states or other political entities are to be authorized. On what basis is legitimate sovereignty made? Does it come from "we the people"? From a god or gods? From previous or external powerful political forms, like empires or the United Nations? People in nation-states are confronting these questions. Monotheism and the idea of a universal god is not always congruent with bounding the local nation-state. The relations of church and state, and of God and the nation are often in tension.

CONCLUSION. Earlier scholarship that defined *cargo cults* (including the work of Peter Lawrence), addressed matters of subjectivity and the imagination, and of emotional life entwined with reason and social institutions, mostly as matters located in local, non-Western institutions in transition toward a generalized modern life. Those studies neglected the degree to which colonials, and then scholars, imposed their own subjectivity, images, categories, and desires into their frameworks of description and analysis. Later, so-called postmodern scholars demonstrated the powers and limits of intrinsically political discourse everywhere. They tended to refocus attention from the people studied to the people studying. But scholars of the cargo cult and beyond now ponder both scholarly (and other) imaginings and the actual fabric of the world's interconnected histories—that is, they can ponder both the elements of actually complex and variegated Western imaginaries (religious, political and scholarly, local and global, colonial and postcolonial, Western and not) and the careers of those ideas everywhere.

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MARTHA KAPLAN (2005)

CARIBBEAN RELIGIONS

This entry consists of the following articles:

PRE-COLUMBIAN RELIGIONS
AFRO-CARIBBEAN RELIGIONS

CARIBBEAN RELIGIONS: PRE-COLUMBIAN RELIGIONS

European explorers noted three major aboriginal groups in the Caribbean at the time of contact (1492 and the years immediately following): Island Arawak, Island Carib, and Ciboney. There is an abundance of information concerning the religious practices of the Island Arawak and Island Carib, but very little is known of Ciboney religion. Our knowledge of the Ciboney has increased somewhat, especially through the work of Cuban archaeologists such as Osvaldo Morales Patiño, but there remain many gaps in the archaeological and ethnohistorical records.

This essay will focus on the Island Arawak and the Island Carib. The Island Arawak were concentrated in the Greater Antilles, a group of large, mainly sedimentary islands. The principal islands of the Greater Antilles are, moving from east to west, Puerto Rico, Hispaniola (now divided between Haiti and the Dominican Republic), Jamaica, and Cuba. The Island Carib inhabited the small, mainly volcanic islands of the Lesser Antilles (Saint Christopher-Nevis, Antigua, Guadeloupe, Dominica, Martinique, Saint Lucia, Barbados, Grenada, Saint Vincent, and Tobago). Trinidad, Margarita, Cubagua, and Coche are usually considered a part of the Caribbean region, but culturally these islands have much in common with the South American mainland (Glazier, 1980b; Figueredo and Glazier, 1982).

Earlier scholars, such as Hartley B. Alexander (1920), emphasized differences between Island Arawak and Island Carib religions. This tradition continued in the work of scholars such as Fred Olsen (1974) and Charles A. Hoffman (1980), for example, who postulated strong Maya influence on the religious systems of the Greater Antilles. Later, scholars paid greater attention to the similarities in Arawak and Carib belief systems—for example, the many parallels in Arawak and Carib shamanism—than to their differences.

Both the Island Arawak and the Island Carib originally migrated from the South American mainland (Rouse, 1964). The Island Arawak settled in the Greater Antilles at about the beginning of the common era and were followed several hundred years later by the Carib, who claimed to have begun their migrations into the Lesser Antilles only a few generations before the arrival of Columbus. The Island Carib asserted that they conquered the Arawak of the Lesser Antilles, killing the men and marrying the women. Douglas M. Taylor (1951) suggests that the women's language prevailed, because the language spoken by the descendants of the Island Carib belongs to the Arawakan family of languages. Of course, another possible explanation is that all the peoples of the Lesser Antilles were of Arawak origin.

It should not be assumed that the Island Arawak of the Greater Antilles and the Arawak of the South American mainland are members of the same ethnic group. The Island Arawak and Arawak proper did not speak the same language. Irving Rouse points out that their two languages were "no more alike than, say, French and English" (Rouse, 1974). Moreover, inhabitants of the Greater Antilles thought of themselves not as "Arawak" but as members of local chiefdoms, each of which had its own name. Since each chiefdom was totally independent of all others, the group we know as the Island Arawak had no need for an overall tribal name.

In 1920, Hartley Alexander suggested that the sea must have been a tremendous barrier to cultural transmission in the Caribbean. Contemporary archaeologists, however, recognize that water did not constitute a barrier for these peoples. Therefore, archaeologists no longer study individual islands in isolation. This has many implications for the study of aboriginal Caribbean religions as it becomes increasingly apparent that religious developments on one island were likely to have affected religious developments elsewhere in the region. Various island groups seem to have been in constant contact with one another.

Archaeologists have since established a firmer and more comprehensive chronology for the Caribbean region (Rouse and Allaire, 1978). They also have discovered much greater variation in religious artifacts than was previously thought to exist, which in turn hints at a greater variation within the religious traditions of the Island Arawak and the Island Carib than was previously supposed. Arawak and Carib traditions, for example, may have differed from settlement to settlement on the same island.

DEITIES. Both the Island Arawak and the Island Carib possessed a notion of a high god, though, as the chroniclers' reports make clear, their high god differed conceptually from the God of Christianity. We know, too, that aboriginal high gods were thought to exert very little direct influence on the workings of the universe. Many of the early chroniclers, including Fray Ramón Pané, Gonzalo F. de Oviedo, and Raymond Breton, refer to Arawak and Carib high gods as kinds of *deus otiosus;* that is, they are inactive gods far removed from human affairs and concerns. Neither the Island Arawak nor the Island Carib conceived of their high god as creator of the universe, and it is unclear how powerful the high god was thought to be. Was it that their high god was able to interfere directly in world affairs but chose not to do so, or was he thought to be totally ineffectual? Chroniclers differ somewhat on this. Pané suggests that the high god was a powerful deity who chooses to be inactive. Other chroniclers stress the inactivity of the high god and the lack of attention accorded him. The bulk of the evidence, including what we know of other American Indian religions (Hultkrantz, 1979), supports the latter interpretation.

Island Arawak. The identification of Island Arawak deities is often a problem. Their high god was known by two names: Iocauna and Guamaonocon (spellings differ from chronicler to chronicler). Peter Martyr reports that the Arawak supreme being was not self-created but was himself brought forth by a mother who has five names or identities: Attabeira, Mamona, Guacarapita, Iella, and Guimazoa. He also reports other appellations for the high god, including Jocakuvaque, Yocahu, Vaque, Maorocon, and Macrocoti. Pané provides an equally complex list of male and female deities, and it is apparent that most deities in the Arawak pantheon were recognized by a number of appellations. Henri Pettitjean-Roget (1983) has suggested that the various names be interpreted as different incarnations of the same deity, as in the Hindu tradition. Another possible explanation is that different names simply represent local variants.

A number of interpreters (Joyce, 1916; Alexander, 1920) have posited that the Island Arawak possessed a conception of an earth mother and a sky father similar to that of other American Indian groups. This has been called into question. While there are many similarities between the goddess Attabeira and the earth mother of American Indian mythology, there are also many differences. Attabeira does seem to have been associated with fertility, and as Fred Olsen (1974) suggests, her many Arawakan names describe her various functions: mother of moving waters (the sea, the tides, and the springs), goddess of the moon, and goddess of childbirth Representations of Attabeira frequently show her squatting in the act of parturition, and archaeologists have been greatly impressed with the vividness of these portrayals. Her hands are holding her chin while her legs press into her sides as she struggles in childbirth. In several representations her open mouth and heavy eyebrows ridging over wide-open eyes convey successfully the intensity of her efforts. But there are other characteristics of Attabeira that are not at all like those of an earth mother. Sven Lovén (1935) concludes that Attabeira cannot be identified as a goddess of the earth because she seems to have dwelt permanently in the heavens. He concedes that Attabeira may have been an all-mother, but this does not necessarily imply that she was an earth goddess.

Lovén (1935) also points out that Iocauna was not an all-father. As noted previously, native conceptions of Iocauna would have precluded procreative activities. It is possible that one of Iocauna's names, Yocahu, is related to the yuca (cassava) plant (Fewkes, 1907). Yocahu may have been the giver of yuca or the discoverer of yuca, but he was not believed to be the creator of yuca (Olsen, 1974). It is clear from all accounts that after yuca was given to the Island Arawak, it was cultivated through the cooperation of *zemi* spirits and was not at all dependent on the cooperation of Yocahu.

Other prominent Island Arawak deities include: Guabancex, goddess of wind and water, who had two subordinates: Guatauva, her messenger, and Coatrischio, the tempest-raiser; Yobanua-Borna, a rain deity; Baidrama (or Vaybruma), a twinned deity associated with strength and healing; Opigielguoviran, a doglike being said to have plunged into the morass with the coming of the Spanish; and Faraguvaol, a tree trunk able to wander at will. One difficulty with the various listings provided by the chroniclers is that they do not distinguish mythical beings and deities. This is unfortunate because the Island Arawak themselves seem to have made such a distinction.

As Alexander (1920) has pointed out, there is some evidence that nature worship and/or a vegetation cult existed among the Island Arawak. This remains, however, a much neglected aspect of Island Arawak religion. Pané's elaborate description of the manufacture of wooden religious objects suggests some similarities between the production of these objects and the construction of wooden fetishes in West Africa. While the analogy is not complete, it has been noted that many aspects of Caribbean religions seem to derive from similar attitudes toward material objects (Alexander, 1920).

One of the most important differences between Arawak and Carib religions is that among the Island Arawak nature worship seems to have been closely associated with ancestor worship. The bones of the Island Arawak dead, especially the bones of their leaders and great men, were thought to have power in and of themselves. This notion also existed among the Island Carib, but their ceremonies and representations were not so elaborate. In addition, most chroniclers mention that the Island Arawak painted their bodies and faces, especially in preparation for war. The chroniclers are in agreement that the painted figures were horrible and hideous, but there is little agreement as to what the figures were supposed to represent. Jesse W. Fewkes (1907) has suggested that body paintings had religious importance; most other sources suggest that markings served to distinguish members of the same clan. The practice may have been a form of ancestor worship.

Island Carib. Like the Island Arawak, the island Carib recognized a multitude of spirit beings as well as a high god whose name varies according to text. Sieur de La Borde (1704) refers to their high god as Akamboüe. According to Raymond Breton (1665), however, Akamboüe means "carrier of the king," and the highest deity in the Island Carib pantheon was the moon, Nonu-ma. Breton argues that the moon was central in Island Carib religion because the Carib reckoned time according to lunar cycles. The sun, Huoiou, also occupied an important place in the Island Carib pantheon. Although the sun was said to be more powerful than the moon, Huoiou was also said to be more remote from human affairs and therefore less significant.

Of the spirits directly involved in human affairs, Icheiri and Mabouia are the most frequently mentioned. Icheiri, whose name comes from the verb *ichéem*, meaning "what I like" (Breton, 1665, p. 287), has been interpreted as a spirit of good, while Mabouia, from the same root as the word *boyé*, or "sorcerer," has been interpreted as a spirit of evil. The Carib informed Breton that it was Mabouia who brought about eclipses of the sun and caused the stars to disappear suddenly.

The terms *icheiri* and *mabouia* have been widely discussed in the secondary literature. I believe that these were not names of spirits, but were general categories within the spirit world, and that spirits were classified primarily according to their relation to the individual. One man's *icheira* (helper) could be another man's *mabouia* (evil spirit) and vice versa (Glazier, 1980a). The most important consideration, as far as the Carib were concerned, was to get a particular spirit on one's side.

Another major category in the Island Carib spirit world was that of the *zemiis. Zemi*, too, appears to have been a very general term; the word is of Arawak origin and indicates the strong influence of Island Arawak language and culture on the Island Carib. Among the Carib, to get drunk, *chemerocae*, literally meant "to see *zemiis.*" *Zemiis* were thought to live in a paradise far removed from the world of the living, but every so often, according to La Borde (1704), Coualina, chief of the *zemiis*, would become angry about the wickedness of some *zemiis* and drive them from paradise to earth, where they became animals. This is but one example of the constant transformations from deity to animal in Island Carib mythology.

Zemiis were frequently represented by, and in many cases were identical with, conical objects that have been found at both Island Arawak and Island Carib sites. The most common types are triangular (the so-called three-pointers) and/or humpback in shape. Some are elaborately carved, but a majority of *zemiis* are plain. Archaeologists have discovered *zemiis* made of wood, conch shell, and stone, but stone *zemiis* are the most prevalent.

Fewkes (1907) was among the first to suggest the religious import of these objects. He posited that they may have had a magical function, especially in reducing pains associated with childbirth. Olsen (1974) offers a more materialistic explanation. He suggests that the conical shapes of these stones represented the Caribbean islands themselves dramatically rising out of the sea with their pronounced volcanic peaks. Pettitjean-Roget (1983) provides a broader interpretation than Fewkes or Olsen. He postulates that these conical objects were nothing less than an encapsulation of the entire cosmos.

AFTERLIFE. Both the Island Arawak and the Island Carib had a notion of the afterlife. The Island Arawak conceived of spirits of the dead, called *opias* or *hubias*, who were said to wander about the bush after dark. Occasionally *opias* joined the company of the living and were said to be indistinguishable from the living, except for the spirits' lack of navels. In both Arawak and Carib religions, the activities of the dead were thought to resemble the activities of the living. *Opias*, for example, passed their time feasting and dancing in the forest. Their behaviors were similar to native ceremonies.

Pané reports that the Arawak of Haiti believed in a kingdom of death, Coaibai, which was situated on their own island. Every leader of importance had his own kingdom of death, usually located within his own dominion. In addition, there were uninhabited places where the spirits of evil people were said to roam.

The Island Carib, on the other hand, had a much more diffuse notion of the afterlife. All spirits of the body, *omicou*, went to the seashore or became *mabouias* in the forest. There was no concept of an underworld, nor were spirits associated with specific locations, as among the Island Arawak. Each individual was said to possess three souls: one in the heart, one in the head, and one in the shoulders. It is only the heart-soul that ascends to the sky, while the other two souls wander the earth for eternity. The Island Carib asserted that only valiant heart-souls ascended; the implication here is that even the heart-souls of the less valiant sometimes became *mabouias* and roamed the earth.

Elaborate burial ceremonies were noted among both the Island Arawak and the Island Carib. Archaeological evidence indicates that the Island Arawak performed several types of burials: (1) direct interment, with the skeleton in a sitting or flexed position; (2) interment within a raised mound, with the body in a crouched position; (3) interment within a grave covered with an arch of branches topped with earth; and (4) burial in caves, with skeletons in a flexed position. Secondary burials were also prevalent (Lovén, 1935).

Christopher Columbus summarized the different burial customs on Hispaniola as follows: "They open the body and dry it by the fire in order that it may be preserved whole. Often, depending on rank, they take only the head. Others are buried in caves. Others they burn in their houses. Others they drive out of the house; and others they put in a hammock and leave them to rot" (Lovén, 1935). It is apparent that Arawak burial customs differed markedly and that burials for leaders were much more elaborate than burials for the masses. From the archaeological record, it is also apparent that the Island Arawak buried a majority of their dead in crouching or flexed positions. In this they differed from the Ciboney, who buried their dead lying straight (Lovén, 1935).

Burial customs among the Island Carib were not so varied. Breton (1665) noted that the Island Carib dreaded death, and that it was forbidden to utter the name of the deceased. The Island Carib referred to the dead indirectly (e.g., "the husband of so-and-so") because to do otherwise would cause the deceased to come back to earth.

When an Island Carib male died, the women painted his cheeks and lips red and placed him in a hammock. After some time the decomposed body was brought inside a hut, where it was then lowered into a shallow grave. Burial was in the flexed position, with the body sitting on its heels, and with the elbows resting on the knees and hands folded to the breast. Important men were buried with cooking pots and utensils, their dogs, and slaves who were killed so they might continue to serve their masters in the next life. La Borde (1704) notes that the Island Carib frequently burned the bodies of their leaders and mixed the ashes with their drinks. This may not be accurate, for there is little archaeological evidence for cremation among the Island Carib.

ORIGIN MYTHS. We possess no creation myths for Caribbean peoples. Both Island Arawak and Island Carib seem to have assumed that the universe had always been in existence. They did, however, have many stories concerning the earliest peoples of their respective groups.

Island Arawak. According to the aborigines of Haiti, the earliest people appeared out of two caves. A majority of the people emerged from a cave known as Cicibagiagua, while another, smaller group emerged from the cave Amaiacuva. Alexander (1920) suggests that these two caves represent two different races or tribes. Lovén (1935) argues to the contrary: there is, he says, but one tribal group. Since most of the people emerged from Cicibagiagua, those who emerged from Amaiacuva constituted an elite, the Taino. I find Lovén's interpretation the more plausible. These caves, situated on the mountain of Cauta in the region of Caunana, were believed to actually exist and may have been located in the area of present-day Sierra de Coonao. Where caves did not exist, Island Arawak stress appearance out of the ground.

Island Arawak legends also account for the first appearance of the sun and the moon from a grotto known as Giovaua, and for the origin of fish and the ocean. According to the legend:

> There was a certain man, Giaia, whose son, Giaiael, undertook to kill his father, but was himself slain by the parent, who put the bones into a calabash, which he hung on top of his hut. One day he took the calabash down, looked into it, and an abundance of fishes came forth. The bones had changed into fish. Later, when Giaia the parent was absent, his four sons took the calabash and ate some of the fish. Giaia returned suddenly and in their haste the sons replaced the calabash badly. As a result, so much water ran from it that it overflowed all of the country, and with the water came an abundance of fish. (Fernández Méndez, 1979; my trans.)

Other stories tell how the four brothers obtained manioc and tobacco from people whom they visited (see Fernández Méndez, 1979). Rouse (1948) suggests that these stories may have been put to song.

The stories of the emergence from caves and the origin of fish are, in Pané's account, followed by stories concerning the adventures of Guaguigiana, a culture hero, and his comrade. Giadruvava. Guaguigiana appears to have been something of a trickster figure, and his adventures resemble those of trickster-fixers associated with other American Indian groups. It is to Pané's credit that he attempted to present stories in the order in which the Island Arawak themselves presented them, even when that order made little intuitive sense to him (Deive, 1976).

Island Carib. Among the Island Carib the first man, Louguo, was said to have descended from the sky. Other men came out of his navel and his thighs. Louguo created fish by throwing cassava scrapings into the sea, and according to La Borde (1704), many of the first men were later transformed into stars.

The constellations were accorded great importance in Island Carib thought: Chiric (the Pleiades) was used to number their years; Sauacou, who changed into a great blue heron, was sent to heaven where he forms a constellation announcing hurricanes; the Great Bear is the heron's canoe; the constellation Achinaou announces gentle rains and high winds; the constellation Cauroumon is associated with heavy waves; the constellation Racumon was changed into a snake; and Baccamon (Scorpio) foretells high winds (Breton, 1665). It is clear that the various constellations were used to divine the future, but it is unclear whether or not the constellations were actually believed to cause earthly events.

RITES AND CEREMONIES. The most important ceremonies among the Island Arawak pertained to rain and the growth of crops, but there were also important ceremonies for success in war, burial of the dead, curing of the sick, canoe building, cutting hair, the births of children, marriage, and initiation. In most instances these rites took the form of elaborate dances known as *areitos*. Fewkes (1907) notes that dramatization played a part in all ceremonies. For example, in their war dances the entire war sequence was portrayed: the departure of the warriors, surprise of the enemy, combat, celebration of victory, and return of the war party. Singing also played a part in all ceremonies, and some of the early chroniclers incorrectly restricted their use of the term *areitos* to funeral chants or elegies in praise of heroes.

The island Carib conducted ceremonies on many of the same occasions as did the Island Arawak. According to La Borde, the Island Carib held rites whenever a council was held concerning their wars, when they returned from their expeditions, when a first male child was born, when they cut their children's hair, when their boys became old enough to go to war, when they cut down trees, and when they launched a vessel. Some authorities mention other ritual occasions: when a child reached puberty, when a parent or spouse died, when the Island Carib were made captives, and when they killed one of their enemies.

Island Carib rites met individual as well as societal needs. Each individual had his own personal deity or *zemi.* These personal deities were thought to reveal things to the individual, and it is reported that individuals customarily withdrew from society for six or seven days, without taking any sustenance save tobacco and the juice of herbs. During this period, the individual experienced visions of whatever he or she desired (victory over enemies, wealth, and so on).

Much has been written on alleged cannibalism among the Island Carib (the word *cannibal* is a corruption of *Caribal*, the Spanish word for "Carib"). The Island Arawak told Columbus that they were subject to raids by man-eating Indians known as Carib, and Columbus directed his second voyage to the Lesser Antilles, where he had been told the Carib lived, in order to confirm Arawak reports. Rouse (1964) credits Columbus with confirming that the Carib practiced ritual cannibalism, that is, they ate captives in order to absorb their fighting ability. Recently the anthropologist William Arens (1979) has suggested that Columbus had no direct evidence for this assertion, and in fact did not really believe that the Carib were cannibals, but he perpetuated the myth of Carib cannibalism for political reasons. The early chroniclers provide some support for this position. In his *Historia general de las Indias, 1527–61,* Bartolomé de Las Casas flatly denies that the Carib were cannibals. Whatever the status of Carib cannibalism, there is agreement that it was not an everyday practice and was largely confined to ritual occasions.

One other Island Carib rite attracted considerable attention in the early literature, and that was the practice of the *couvade*. At the birth of a child, Jean-Baptiste Dutertre reports, Carib fathers would rest as if it were they who were suffering labor pains. For forty days and nights fathers remained isolated from society, fasting or consuming a meager diet. At the end of this period there was a great feast at which the invited guests lacerated the father's skin with their fingernails and washed his wounds with a solution of red pepper. For an additional six months the father was expected to observe special dietary taboos (e.g., it was believed that if the father ate turtle, the child would become deaf). Dutertre records a number of other taboos involving birds and fish.

DRUGS. Tobacco, narcotics, and stimulants played an important part in both Island Arawak and Island Carib rites. Tobacco, called *cohiba*, was used in a number of different forms in all ceremonies. Among the Island Arawak, tobacco smoke was used as an incense to summon the gods. Tobacco was sprinkled on the heads of idols as an offering. Religious leaders among the Island Arawak and Island Carib "stupefied" themselves with tobacco when they consulted their oracles; they also used tobacco in curing rituals.

As Breton (1665) reports, the Island Carib "know tobacco but do not smoke it." They would dry it by a fire, pound it into a powder, add a little seawater to it, and then place a pinch of the snuff between their lips and gums. The Island Arawak, on the other hand, sometimes did inhale tobacco smoke through their nostrils. But its use was limited. Generally there is no evidence that tobacco was burned during ceremonies.

Throwing *aji* (pepper) onto live coals was part of Island Arawak and Island Carib preparations for warfare. Ricardo E. Alegría (1979) contends that the pepper caused irritation of the mucous membrane, a racking cough, and other discomforts that were thought to induce the proper psychological state for war.

SHAMANISM. The distinction between shamans, who are said to obtain their power directly from the supernatural, and priests, who must learn a body of ritual knowledge from established practitioners, is not useful in distinguishing Island Arawak religious leaders (variously known as *piaies*, *behutios*, *buhitihus*, *behiques*) from Island Carib leaders known as *boyés*. Although the role of the *piaie* appears to have been more priestlike than that of the *boyé*, similarities among *piaies* and *boyés* far exceed their differences.

Island Arawak. Major duties of the Arawak *piaie* were to divine the future by consulting their personal *zemiis* and to direct offering to *zemiis* during public ceremonies. In both of these duties, they served as intermediaries between the Island Arawak and their gods (Deive, 1978).

Accounts of Arawak shamanism provide very little detail concerning the *piaie's* role in public ceremonies, and it is unclear whether or not all *piaies* were able to conduct public ritual. It is possible that some *piaies* functioned solely as curers or diviners and could not perform other rites.

Pané provides a lengthy account of Arawak healing practices. The curer, he notes, began his treatment of the patient by prescribing a special diet and was himself expected to observe the same diet as his patient. Herrera gives a condensed description of curing procedures:

> When any leading man is sick, he calls a medicine man, who is obliged to observe the same dietary rules as the patient. It is customary for the medicine man to purge himself with an herb that he takes by inhaling until he believes himself inspired. In this condition he says many things, giving the sick to understand that he is talking with an idol. Then the Indians anoint their faces with oil and purge the sick who stand by in silence. The medicine man first makes two circuits about the patient and, pulling him by the legs, goes to the door of the house, which he shuts, saying: "Return to the mountain or whither you wish; blow and join hands and tremble, and close the mouth." Breathing on his hands, he then sucks the neck, the shoulders, the stomach, and other parts of the body of the sick man, coughing and grimacing; he spits into his hands what he had previously placed in his mouth and tells the sick man that he has taken from the body that which is bad. He also says that the patient's *zemi* had given it to him because he had not obeyed him. The objects that the doctors take from their mouths are for the most part stones, which they often use for childbirth or other special purposes, and which they also preserve as relics. (Herrera, 1937, p. 69; my trans.)

If a patient died, it was thought to be because the *piaie* had not observed the proper diet. The Island Arawak were not very tolerant of unsuccessful healers, and it was not uncommon for a healer to be seized by a deceased person's relatives who would strike him with a stick until his arms and legs were broken, gouge out his eyes, and lacerate his private parts.

Alfred Métraux (1949), in his overview of shamanism in South America, states that in most instances the role of the religious leader was distinct from that of the political leader, but this distinction between political and religious authority does not seem to have been as pronounced among the Island Arawak. For example, Rouse (1948) points out that it is unclear whether the chief and his attendants (the principal men of the village) were also shamans. The attendants, he notes, had a special name, *bohuti*, and were of such high status that they customarily refused to accept commoners as patients.

Island Carib. The Island Carib maintained a rigid distinction between political and religious authority. There are no reports of healers becoming chiefs or chiefs becoming healers. But even in the Lesser Antilles, a certain complicity between religious and political leaders is apparent. For example, a political leader needed a *boyé's* support in order to wage war, and *boyés* derived direct economic benefits through their association with chiefs.

The Carib never went to war without first consulting the spirit world to find out if conditions were favorable for victory. Since chiefs were unable to make direct contact with spirits, they required the services of a *boyé* whose predictions had tremendous impact on public opinion. It would be difficult for a war chief to override a *boyé's* predictions and carry out expeditions believed to be inauspicious. Shamans never gained an upper hand, however, for if a chief was dissatisfied with one *boyé's* prediction, he was free to consult others. Often, several *boyés* were consulted at once, and the old war chief chose the most "correct" prediction. Given the circumstances, it was advantageous for both parties when a chief developed a working relationship with a particular shaman who could be counted on to support his war policies. These relationships often followed kinship lines.

Boyés also needed to develop working relationships with chiefs to defray the high costs of apprenticeship. We have no clear notion of the actual length of apprenticeship for shamans among the Island Carib, though in some tribes of the Guianas apprenticeship is said to have lasted from ten to twenty years (Métraux, 1949). This period of training was probably considerably shorter among the Carib, but we lack details for all but the final months of preparation:

> After a fast of five months, the candidate is brought into the *carbet* (a place in which things have been set aside) before a table on which manioc bread, *ouicou* (sweet potato and manioc beer), and the first fruits of the season are placed. An older shaman chants and blows tobacco smoke to summon his familiar spirit who descends and sits on a hammock to receive offerings (*anaeri*). The elder shaman asks for another spirit to descend and become his apprentice's familiar. (Dutertre, 1667–1671, vol. 2, pp. 365–366; my trans.)

From this passage, it is clear that five months of training (and possibly more) was required of the would-be shaman. This would constitute a hardship for the apprentices family, for others had to assume his workload and provide for him while he was in training. Also, they had to provide offerings for sacrifice and make payments to senior *boyés*.

Boyés were a professional class in Island Carib society. They charged for all services, and I contend that they did not train new shamans without demanding something in return. War chiefs and their families, as wealthier members of their society, were in the best position to take on obligations to senior *boyés* (Glazier, 1980).

Island Carib shamanism was not flexible. It was not possible to go off on one's own and become a *boyé*. A would-be shaman had to do an apprenticeship under an established *boyé* and had to undergo formal rites of initiation in order to receive a spirit familiar. Shamans who claimed that their knowledge derived solely from their relationship with spirits probably glossed over their arduous training, wanting instead to stress mystical aspects of their careers. The picture they present of shamanism in the Lesser Antilles is inaccurate.

There is, however, no ambiguity concerning the *boyé's* authority. While the authority of the war chief may have been that of a charismatic leader, the authority of the *boyé* was clearly that of formal investiture. Breton (1665) put it succinctly: "The *boyés* make other people *boyés*."

Boyés were perhaps the wealthiest members of their society. While war chiefs and families had considerable control over the distribution of some resources and war booty, *boyés* had control over the distribution of goods outside kinship obligations. A *boyé's* clientele was not restricted to his kin group, and his reputation could well transcend his own island. The *boyé* Iris's reputation, for example, extended beyond his native Dominica (Du Puis, 1972).

The *boyés* had great potential for wealth, for there was always demand for their services. In times of trouble, they were called upon to dispel evil spirits; in times of prosperity, they were called upon to insure its continuance; and when there was doubt, they gave assurances for the future. Major religious activities were sacrifice and offerings, both of which were ultimately appropriated by the *boyés* (Rochefort, 1665). Offerings consisted of foodstuffs and some durable goods, a portion of which went directly to the shaman in return for his services; the remainder, ostensibly for the gods, was appropriated later for the shaman's use. Thus shamans had numerous occasions to accumulate wealth, and in some cases a shaman may have gotten too wealthy and would be forced by public opinion to redistribute part of his property.

Under certain conditions, senior war chiefs were allowed to join with the *boyés* in appropriating offerings intended for the gods. This further differentiates the roles of *boyé* and chief. Only the most senior war chief had the right to do what any *boyé* could do from the moment of his initiation.

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STEPHEN D. GLAZIER (1987)

CARIBBEAN RELIGIONS: AFRO-CARIBBEAN RELIGIONS

Most West Indians of African descent are affiliated, at least nominally, with a historic Christian denomination or with one of the newer sects. In many areas of the West Indies, however, a number of hybrid religions have attracted large numbers of followers. In Haiti, virtually the entire population is in some way involved in vodou. In Jamaica, the Revivalist, Kumina, and Convince cults continuously attract a small number of adherents. Wherever such cults are found, some persons participate more or less regularly in both a Christian church and a cult, and in times of crisis many who ordinarily ignore the cults become involved in their healing or magical rituals.

This essay will concentrate on four types of syncretic religious cults found in the Caribbean region, which will be called the *neo-African cults*, the *ancestral cults*, the *revivalist cults*, and the *religio-political cults*. The experience of Caribbean blacks under the political, economic, and domestic conditions of slavery modified character in a stressful direction, and those who were most sensitive to the stress advanced innovative religious and secular systems to deal with their anxiety. The new religious institutions consisted of elements of African and European beliefs and practices, and, in some cases, parts of American Indian and South Asian religious traditions. A number of new religions arose from the interaction of three major variables: socioeconomic, psychological, and cultural. Contingent factors in the development of these hybrid religions include such ecological and demographic variables as the degree to which a group of people had been isolated physically and socially from other segments of the population and the proportion of the total population constituted by various ethnic and racial groups (Simpson, 1978). Successful religions spread, adapt, and persist after the conditions that gave rise to them have changed (or changed to some extent), and individuals are socialized into accepting the revised beliefs and procedures. When this happens, a religion acquires new meanings for its members, and it takes on new functions, the most universal of which is the satisfaction that comes from group activities.

NEO-AFRICAN CULTS. These cults developed during the early stages of cultural contact between persons of European and African origin, because members of the subordinate group could neither acquire the religion of the dominant group nor participate as comembers in the historic Christian denominations. The major cults of this type are Haitian vodou, Cuban Santería, and Trinidadian Shango. From the viewpoint of cultural content, these religions represent the most extensive blend of African and European traditions and rituals in the Caribbean region.

Haitian vodou. The African dances that were performed in the seventeenth century by slaves in the western part of the island of Hispaniola and the religious beliefs of the Fon, Siniga, Lemba, Yoruba, and other African peoples who had been brought to Hispaniola were combined with certain beliefs of European folk origin about Roman Catholic saints, and, as a result, the neo-African religion of vodou developed. As James G. Leyburn (1966) has noted, the period from 1780 to 1790, when the importation of slaves to Hispaniola was increasing, saw the emergence of vodou, with a gradual ascendancy of Fon ideas. Finding the rites useful for their cause, revolutionary leaders in the last decades of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth century brought about further syntheses.

The supernatural phenomena of greatest importance in vodou are the *lwa*, also known as *zanj*, *mistè*, and other names. Many of these have names derived from old African gods, but other deities have names derived from African tribal or place names, names of Haitian origin, or names of Catholic saints; others have names of uncertain origin. The confusions and contradictions in the beliefs about these beings are due in part to contradictions in the Fon religious system that the Haitians adopted, and in part to the merging of the Fon system with that of the Yoruba (Courlander, 1960). But the endless variations in these and other beliefs concerning the ultimate reality are also the result of the absence of a hierarchy in the cult and of written documents. Erika Bourguignon (1980) suggests that variety and inconsistency in Haitian vodou have developed, and continue to develop, in part through the mechanism of altered states of consciousness, particularly in the forms of possession-trance and dreams. In Haiti, possession-trance is not highly stereotyped and prescribed. During possession-trance, cult leaders and members speak and act in the names of the spirits, behaving in ways that may modify the future performance of the ritual or the adherents' perception of the spirits.

The grand *lwa* comprise both nature spirits and functional spirits that are of African origin. Prominent among the nature spirits are Dambala, the serpent spirit identified with the rainbow and associated with floods; Bade, spirit of the winds; Sogbo, a Fon spirit of thunder; Shango (Yor., Ṣango), the Yoruba spirit of thunder and lightning; and Agwé, spirit of the sea. The functional *lwa* include Legba, the Fon guardian of crossroads and all barriers; the Ogou (Yor., Ogun) family, spirits associated with war; Zaka, associated with crops and agriculture; Ezili, a sea goddess among the Fon, but transformed in Haiti into the personification of feminine grace and beauty; the members of the Gèdè family, the spirits of death; Adja, skilled in the fields of herbs and pharmacy; and Obatala (Yor., Ọbatala), the Yoruba divinity responsible for forming children in the womb (Herskovits, 1937b; Courlander, 1939; Simpson, 1945, 1978; M. Rigaud, 1953; Métraux, 1959).

The *lwa* are also identified with Catholic saints. Thus, Legba is often believed to be the same as Anthony the Hermit, but some say that he is Saint Peter, the keeper of the keys. Dambala is identified with Saint Patrick, on whose image serpents are depicted. Ogou Ferraille is equated with Saint James; while Ogou Balanjo, the healer, is associated with Saint Joseph, who is pictured holding a child whom he blesses with an upraised hand. Obatala becomes Saint Anne; and Ezili, who is believed to be the richest of all the spirits, is identified with Mater Dolorosa and is represented as richly clothed and bejeweled. The *marassa*, spirits of dead twins, are believed to be the twin saints Cosmas and Damian (Price-Mars, 1928; Herskovits, 1937a).

The relationship between vodou adherents and the *lwa* is thought to be a contractual one; if one is punctilious about offerings and ceremonies, the *lwa* will be generous with their aid. The *lwa* must be paid once or twice a year with an impressive ceremony, and small gifts must be presented frequently. It is thought that the *lwa* like blood and that animal sacrifices are the means by which favors may be obtained. It is believed also that neglect of one's *lwa* will result in sickness, the death of relatives, crop failure, and other misfortunes (Simpson, 1980).

In West Africa, concepts of the "soul" are highly elaborated. In traditional Fon belief, all persons have at least three souls, and adult males have four (Herskovits, 1938). In Haitian vodou, every man has two souls: the *gro bonanj*, which animates the body and is similar to the soul in the Christian sense, and the *ti bonanj*, which protects a person against dangers by day and by night (Métraux, 1946). "Bad" souls are said to become "bad" *lwa* who divide their time between suffering in hell and doing evil deeds on earth (Simpson, 1945).

Adherents fear the power of the dead and observe funerary and postfunerary rites meticulously. A wake is held on the night of death; the funeral itself follows and, if possible, is held in accordance with the rites of the Catholic Church. On the ninth night after death is the "last prayer," and on the tenth night a ritual is held in which sacrifices are offered to all the family dead (Métraux, 1959; Herskovits, 1937b). Also, a family must honor its dead by mentioning their names at subsequent ceremonies and, if family finances permit, by holding memorial services for them annually. In vodou belief, the dead rank second only to the *lwa*, and to neglect or anger them is to invite disaster. (For accounts of vodou cermonies, see Herskovits, 1937b, pp. 155–176; Simpson, 1940; Simpson, 1946; Rigaud, 1946; Métraux, 1959, pp. 157–212; Courlander, 1960, pp. 41–74.)

François Duvalier, the dictatorial president of Haiti from 1957 to 1971, successfully exploited vodou for political purposes (Rotberg, 1976). Nevertheless, most observers agree that the cult has been weakened in recent years. An important factor in its decline has been the decay of the large extended family in the rural areas. Many of the large cult centers have split up into minor sects under priests whose training has been inadequate. A deepening economic poverty in the countryside has brought about the impoverishment of ritual there, and with the expansion of urbanization there have emerged innovative cult leaders who deal with the problems of a heterogeneous clientele rather than with the traditional concerns of farming or the demands of ancestral spirits (Bastide, 1971; Métraux, 1959; Bourguignon, 1980).

Cuban Santería. Most of the non-European elements in the Afro-Cuban syncretic religion known as Santería are derived from Yoruba beliefs and rituals. Animals are sacrificed to Yoruba deities, Yoruba music is played on African-type drums, songs with Yoruba words and music are sung, and dancers are possessed by the *orisha* (Yor., *oriṣa*, "spirit"). Yoruba foods are cooked for the gods and for devotees, beads of the proper color are worn, and leaves with Yoruba names are used in preparing medicines and in washing the stones of the *ori-sha* and the heads of cult members. In Santería, Elegba (Yor., Eṣu or Ẹlẹgba) is identified with Saint Peter, and Shango (Yor., Ṣango), god of thunder, is identified with Saint Barbara. Shakpana (also Babaluaiye; Yor., Ṣọ-pọna) is equated with Saint Lazarus. Oya (Yor., Ọya), one of Shango's wives, is the equivalent of Saint Teresita. Obatala (Yor., Ọbatala) is Our Lady of Mercy, and Yemaja (Yor., Yemọja) is identified with the Virgin of Regla (a suburb of Havana). Osun (Yor., Ọṣun) is associated with the Virgin of Cobre (a town in eastern Cuba), and Osanyin (Yor., Ọsanyin) known for his skill in healing, is identified with Saint Raphael. Ifa, or Orunmila (Yor., Ọrunmila), the god of divination, is linked with Saint Francis of Assisi. The Ibeji (Yor., "twins"), who behave like young children, are the counterparts of the twin saints Cosmas and Damian. Ogun, the Yoruba god of war and iron, is equated with John the Baptist (Bascom, 1951, 1972).

During a Santería ceremony, the blood of animals sacrificed to the gods is allowed to flow onto the sacred stones of the *santero* (Santería priest). Many instances of spirit possession during a given cermony indicate that the *orishas* have been well fed and are satisfied with the ritual offerings. The herbs serve to cleanse, refresh, and prepare the devotees and ritual objects for contact with the *orisha*. The blood is the food of the deities, and the stones are the objects through which they are fed and in which their power resides (Bascom, 1950). The *lucumis* (Afro-Cubans of Yoruba extraction) honor each of the gods with choral dances and pantomime in accordance with authentic Yoruba tradition (see Ortiz, 1951, for a detailed and vivid account of *lucumi* dances; and Simpson, 1978).

The regime of Fidel Castro has not assisted the Afro-Cuban cults and has taken some measures to control their expansion (Barrett, 1982). Although in recent years Santería has declined in Cuba, the presence of Cuban refugees has stimulated the worship of Shango and the other Yoruba *orisha* in the United States. Today many priests and priestesses officiate in Miami, New York City, Newark, Detroit, Chicago, Savannah, Gary, and other cities (Bascom, 1972).

The Shango cult in Trinidad. In southwestern Nigeria, each Yoruba deity, including Ṣango, god of thunder and lightning, has his or her own priests, followers, and cult centers. In the Shango cult in Trinidad, Shango is only one of several dozen "powers," which include twenty or more Yoruba deities (Lewis, 1978). Several non-Yoruba powers—especially Gabriel and Mama Latay—are popular in Trinidad. Ancient African gods are identified with certain Catholic saints, as occurs in Haiti, Grenada, parts of Brazil, Cuba, and other countries in the New World. Among these pairings in Trinidad are Obatala and Saint Benedict; Shango and Saint John; Shakpana and, variously, Moses or Saint Francis or Saint Jerome; Oshun and Saint Philomena or Saint Anne; Béji (Ibeji) and Saint Peter; Emanja and Saint Catherine or Saint Anne; Oya and Saint Philomena or Saint Catherine. Each god has his or her favorite colors, foods, and drinks; each is thought to have certain physical traits and to possess certain powers. In Shango, as in vodou and Santería, participants can recognize the major spirits who are well known throughout the country, or the principal spirits known in a given locality, by the stylized behavior of devotees possessed by them (Bourguignon, 1980). For example, Ogun, the god of iron and war, is believed to prefer the colors red and white (also the favorite colors of Shango), and rams and roosters are his preferred offerings. When possessed by Ogun, a Shangoist brandishes a sword and behaves in a violent way (Simpson, 1978).

Each Shango cult center holds an annual ceremony in honor of the *orisha* known to its worshipers. The four-day ritual begins with the recitation of original prayers, followed by several repetitions of the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, and the Apostle's Creed. The leader then recites in succession prayers such as Saint Francis's prayer, Saint George's prayer, and Blessed Martin's prayer; he recites each prayer line-by-line, and the worshipers repeat each line after him. Next, in an act of dismissal, food for the deity Eshu is placed outside the ceremonial area. (The Yoruba deity Eṣu is thought both to serve as a messenger among the gods and to be a trickster.) After Eshu's ejection, the worshipers invite other powers to the ceremony by drumming the powers' favorite rhythms. Ogun's rhythm is the first to be played. Drumming, dancing, singing, and spirit possession continue through the night; the climax comes at dawn with the sacrificing of pigeons, doves, chickens, agoutis, land turtles, goats, and sheep. Similar rites are performed on the following three nights, and often a bull is sacrificed. Aspects of Trinidadian cult life that are closely related to African religious behavior include divination, conjuring, and folk medicine, which are often strikingly similar to West African procedures (Simpson, 1978).

In recent decades, traditional religious, magical, and medical beliefs have been undermined to some extent by the expansion of education, the growth of medical and social services, and the influence of mass communication. Trinidadian Shango has also been modified by the intermixture of some of its aspects with the Spiritual Baptist (Shouters) complex (Simpson, 1978). There are many similarities between the Shango cult of Trinidad and that of Grenada (Pollak-Eltz, 1968; Simpson, 1978).

ANCESTRAL CULTS. The second type of hybrid religious cult in the Caribbean, called the *ancestral cult*, has fewer African and more European components than does the neo-African-type religion. The Kumina and Convince cults and the Kromanti Dance in Jamaica, the Big Drum Dance of Grenada and Carriacou, Kele in Saint Lucia, and the religion of the Black Carib of Belize exemplify this kind of syncretic religion.

Kumina. According to Monica Schuler (1980), Kumina did not originate among plantation slaves of the eighteenth century but was brought to Jamaica by post-emancipation immigrants from central Africa who chiefly settled in the eastern parish of Saint Thomas. Kumina is primarily a family religion, and each group honors a number of family spirits in addition to other divinities. The three ranks of Kumina spirits (known as zombies) are the sky gods, the earthbound gods, and ancestral zombies. Among the thirty-nine sky gods listed by Joseph G. Moore (1953), only one (Shango) clearly has the name of a West African deity, but some Kumina gods appear to serve tribes or "nations" that are African. Of the sixty-two earthbound gods given by Moore, at least seven have biblical names (e.g., Moses, Ezekiel). The twenty-one ancestral zombies are the spirits of men and women who, in their lifetimes, were dancing zombies (persons who experienced possession by a god and who danced while possessed), *obeah* men (sorcerers), and drummers (Moore and Simpson, 1957). Most Kumina dances are memorial services held to pay respects to the dead ancestors of the participants, but ceremonies are performed on other occasions, such as betrothal, marriage, burial, the naming of a baby, the anniversary of emancipation, and Independence Day (Moore, 1953; Schuler, 1980).

All zombies are invoked through drumming and singing. Songs are of two types: *bilah* songs, which are sung in a dialect of English; and country songs, which are sung in a language referred to as *African* (accent on the last syllable). Kumina ritual ends with the sacrifice of a goat and the dance of the Queen of the Kumina and her attendants. In performing ritual, the living members of a family convey their wishes to the ancestors (Moore and Simpson, 1957, 1958).

Convince. The Convince ritual practiced in the Jamaican parishes of Saint Thomas and Portland has a number of Christian elements, but its principal powers are the spirits of persons who belonged to the cult during their lifetime. The most powerful *bongo* ghosts come from Africa, but the spirits of ancient Jamaican slaves and the Maroons (descendants of runaway slaves), who perpetuated the cult until recent times, are also of importance. The spirits of Jamaicans more recently departed are less powerful than the other ghosts, but those who practiced *obeah* ("conjuration") in their lifetime are used by *bongo* men (i.e., Convince devotees) as partners in divination and conjuring. Each *bongo* man operates independently, and each has one or more assistants called apprentices or grooms. In addition, a number of lesser followers are attached to each cult group, including some persons who are devout Christians (Hogg, 1960).

Each *bongo* man holds a sacrificial ceremony annually and conducts Convince rites as the need for them arises. Christian prayers, the reading of Bible passages, and hymn singing precede the main ceremony. Special *bongo* songs, hand clapping, and dances performed by *bongo* men call the spirits to the ceremony. Later, the spirits of the ancestors (that is, devotees possessed by the ghosts) dance.

According to Donald Hogg (1960), such traits as blood sacrifice, vigorous possession-trance behavior, the materialistic purposes of ceremonies, the involvement with divination and conjuring, religious dancing, the worship of ancestral spirits, and the propitiation of potentially malevolent beings almost certainly have African antecedents. In these respects Convince, like Kumina, shows greater African influence than do the Revival Zion, Pocomania, and Rastafarian cults in Jamaica. Once a nativistic movement, Convince has so declined since the 1950s that it now provides mainly jollification and catharsis.

The Kromanti Dance. The traditional religion of the descendants of "Maroons," escaped slaves of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Jamaica, is known as the Kromanti Dance. One supreme deity, Yankipong, is believed to be remote from human affairs. The spirits of the dead, called *duppies*, *jumbies*, or *bigi-man*, have the power to work good or evil in the daily lives of their descendants, and this power is referred to by the term *obeah* or by the more modern term *science*. No Kromanti Dance can be successful without one or more of the participants becoming possessed by the spirit of an ancestor. Most Kromanti Dance ceremonies require the sacrifice of an animal to the *pakit* (ancestral spirit) of the *fete-man* (ritual specialist). Although the Kromanti Dance is a separate tradition, it bears some similarity to both Kumina and Convince (Bilby, 1981, pp. 52–101).

The Big Drum Dance in Grenada and Carriacou. For numerous residents of Grenada and Carriacou, performing the Big Drum Dance (also known as the Nation Dance, or Saraca—"sacrifice") is a show of respect to their ancestors. In Carriacou, many persons can still recount the African "nations," traced patrilineally, to which they belong. Usually this ceremony is a family occasion, but it may be put on by members of an occupational group—for example, fishermen. Various reasons are given for organizing a festival: to counter the ill health or misfortune of a friend or relative, to dedicate a tombstone for a deceased family member, to start a critically important undertaking, or to launch the marriage preparations of a son or daughter. Offerings of food are prepared for the ancestors and the guests, a space is provided where the spirits of the ancestors can dance, the ancestors are summoned, and the "beg pardon" dance is performed, during which family members kneel and sing, asking the ancestors to pardon them for any wrongdoing (Pearse, 1956). In Carriacou, as M. G. Smith (1971) has noted, Christianity and the ancestral cult are complementary, each supplying what the other lacks.

The Kele cult in Saint Lucia. The Kele ceremony in Saint Lucia resembles, in attenuated form, the Shango ritual in Trinidad. The ritual is performed to ask the ancestors of devotees for health, protection against misfortune in agriculture, and success in important undertakings, as well as to thank the forebears for past favors. The paraphernalia essential for the Kele rite consists mainly of Amerindian polished stone axes (which are called *pièrres tonnerres*, "thunderstones," by devotees, who believe them to have fallen from the sky), drums, and agricultural implements such as machetes, axes, hoes, and forks. Several of the stone axes are placed on the ground to form a cross, with additional axes arranged around the central grouping (Simpson, 1973; Simmons, 1963).

The stone axes, addressed as "Shango," symbolize the African ancestors of the Saint Lucians who participate in Kele. Thunderstones constitute one of the principal symbols of Shango in West Africa, Haiti, Cuba, Trinidad, Grenada, and urban areas of the United States that are heavily populated by immigrants from the Caribbean. Present-day devotees in Saint Lucia seem to be unaware that Shango (Ṣango) is the deity of thunder and lightning in traditional West African belief. To these believers, Shango is simply the name of the thunderstones that enable the living to get in touch with their African ancestors.

Following some preliminary drumming, singing, and dancing, the leader of a Kele ceremony asks the ancestors to intercede with God on behalf of the sponsor of the occasion. A ram is then sacrificed to the ancestors. Communication with God is achieved through possession; the ancestors enter the bodies of some of the men participating in the ceremony. After the ram has been cooked, morsels of the meat, as well as portions of yams, rice, and other foods, are thrown on the ground as offerings to Shango—that is, to the African ancestors. Saint Lucia is a predominantly Catholic country, and some devotees of the cult are active Catholics.

Ancestral cult of the Black Carib of Belize. The Black Carib of Belize are descendants of African slaves who escaped from other parts of the West Indies and settled first among the Island Carib in Saint Vincent. At the end of the eighteenth century, they were deported by the English to Roatan, an island in the Gulf of Honduras, and later they spread out along the coast of the mainland. The Black Carib of Belize speak a South American Indian language, and, as Douglas MacRae Taylor has noted, their "outward cultural manifestations differ but little, in the main, from their neighbors" (Taylor, 1951, p. 37; Stone, 1953, pp. 1–3).

The supernatural beliefs, rites, and practices of the Black Carib are a mixture of African and non-African elements. Singing, drumming, and dancing are intended to placate the ancestors of the family giving the ceremony, and some participants become possessed by the spirits of their deceased ancestors, as occurs in Kumina and Convince in Jamaica, the Big Drum in Grenada and Carriacou, and Kele in Saint Lucia. Sacrifices of food and drink are offered periodically to the spirits of the ancestors; some offerings are taken out to sea and thrown into the water.

Most of the Black Carib are professed Christians and, in the main, Catholics. They see no inconsistency between their Christian faith and non-Christian beliefs. The ancestral spirits are regarded as subordinate to the Christian God, and the evil forces of the universe are manifestations of Satan (Taylor, 1951).

REVIVALIST CULTS. The third type of Afro-Caribbean religious syncretism, the *revivalist cult*, descends from the Afro-Protestant cults of the late eighteenth century and, in the case of Jamaica, from the Great Revival of 1861–1862. Revival Zion in Jamaica, the Spiritual Baptists (Shouters) of Trinidad, and the Shakers of Saint Vincent typify this kind of cult.

Revival Zion. For nearly a hundred years after England acquired Jamaica in 1655, no missionary work was carried on on the island. The official missionary movement did not begin until the 1820s. A religious movement known as

Myalism emerged in the 1760s to protect slaves against European sorcery. This "native" Baptist movement was without serious competition during the forty-year period (1780–1820) when a reinterpretation of Christianity spread across Jamaica. Rent and wage disputes between planters and workers were common after the abolition of apprenticeship in 1838. In 1841–1842, Myalists preached the millenarian message that they were God's angels, appointed to do the work of the Lord, and their wrath was directed against both planters and missionaries. The authorities took severe measures against the movement. Popular interest in separatist churches, as well as in regular missions, was stimulated by the Great Revival which swept over the island in 1861–1862, but the enthusiasm dwindled within a short time. The hybrid religion of the Myalists, or Black Baptists, which included dancing, drumming, and spirit possession, resurfaced in 1866. Subsequently, the vitality of this movement was seen in the multiplication and flourishing of black revivalist cults (Curtin, 1955; Schuler, 1979).

Adherents of Revival Zion and the related sects of Revival and Pocomania do not identify old African gods with Christian saints as do participants in vodou (Haiti), Santería (Cuba), and Shango (Brazil, Trinidad, Grenada). The Holy Spirit possesses followers during revivalist ceremonies, as do the spirits of Old Testament figures such as Jeremiah, Isaiah, Joshua, Moses, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego; New Testament apostles and evangelists such as Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Peter, and James; the archangels Michael, Gabriel and Raphael; Satan and his chief assistant, Rutibel; beings from Hebrew magical tradition, such as Uriel, Ariel, Seraph, Nathaniel, and Tharsis; Constantine, Melshezdek, and the Royal Angel; and the dead, especially prominent revivalist leaders of the past (Moore and Simpson, 1957; Simpson, 1978).

Drumming, hymn singing, hand clapping, praying, Bible reading, spirit possession, and intermittent commentary by the leader are main features of the weekly services, as is "spiritual" dancing, in which leading participants circle the altar counterclockwise, stamping first with their right feet and then with their left, bending their bodies forward and then straightening up, hyperventilating, and groaning rhythmically. Special revivalist rituals include baptismal ceremonies, death rites (wake, funeral, "ninth night," "forty days," and memorial services held after one or more years have passed since the death), and the dedication of a meeting place. "Tables" (feasts) are given to thank the spirits for assistance or to seek deliverance from trouble (Simpson, 1956).

Spiritual Baptists (Shouters) of Trinidad. In many ways, the Spiritual Baptist cult (Shouters) in Trinidad is similar to Revival Zion in Jamaica, but there are several noteworthy differences. Among the Shouters, no drums or rattles accompany hymn singing. Spiritual Baptists do not become possessed by the wide variety of spirits that possess Revivalists in Jamaica; as a rule, devotees are possessed only by the Holy Spirit. Certain groups among the Shouters do, however, make ritual offerings to the spirits "of the sea, the land, and the river," and occasionally a Shango "power" may enter a person who is taking part in a ritual. In Trinidad, important relationships exist between Spiritual Baptists and Shango groups. (The Shango cult is not found in Jamaica). Shangoists as well as Shouters need to be baptized, and only a Shouters pastor of some standing can perform this service. In addition, "mourning" and "building"—optional rites taken by some members of both cults—are conducted by Spiritual Baptist leaders. Many Shouters attend the annual ceremonies staged by different Shango cult groups, and like their counterparts in syncretic cults elsewhere in the Caribbean, some adherents participate at times in the services of more orthodox religions (Simpson, 1978; Glazier, 1983).

Spiritual Baptists are often men and women of the lower classes. Most are of African descent, but a few East Indians do participate in the cult. Throughout the Caribbean in recent decades, most of the neo-African cults, the ancestral cults, and the revivalist cults, as well as many of the historical churches, have lost membership, while the Pentecostal, Holiness, and Adventist sects and the Rastafarian movement have made impressive gains (Simpson, 1978).

The Shakers of Saint Vincent. English rule of the island of Saint Vincent began in 1783, and the first direct religious influence intended for the slave population was brought to the island by a Methodist missionary in 1787. The Shaker cult, which goes back to at least the early part of the twentieth century, has a Methodist base, with an admixture of elements of other Christian denominational traditions (Anglicanism, Roman Catholicism, Pentecostalism), modified African religious traits, and elements developed locally. An important feature of this religion is the mild state of dissociation, attributed to possession by the Holy Ghost, that some of its adherents experience. The range of Shaker services and the rituals themselves are similar to those of the Spiritual Baptists of Trinidad (Henney, 1974).

RELIGIO-POLITICAL CULTS. The fourth cult type appears when a society is undergoing severe reorganization, as was the case in Jamaica with the unrest that accompanied the Great Depression of the 1930s. The Rastafarian movement, which appeared in the island during this period, is a mixture of social protest and religious doctrine and so may be called a *religio-political cult.*

Rastafarianism. An important factor underlying the rise of Rastafarianism is that, since at least the beginning of the twentieth century, Jamaican blacks have identified with Ethiopia on account of its biblical symbolism. The verse most often cited is *Psalms* 68:31: "Princes come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God." Between 1904 and 1927, Ethiopianism came to the attention of Jamaicans through several essays, articles, and books published in Jamaica and in the United States. The early 1930s saw the founding of a number of associations for black people and the emegence of the Rastafarian movement, named after Ras ("prince") Tafari, who was crowned emperor Haile

Selassie of Ethiopia (Abyssinia) in November 1930. Marcus Garvey had formed the Universal Negro Improvement Association in Jamaica in 1914, and his doctrine of racial redemption, together with the coronation of Haile Selassie, furthered interest in the Ethiopian tradition (Hill, 1980).

Since emancipation, persons on the lower rungs of Jamaican society have struggled continuously against exploitation. Higher wages, the granting of civil and political rights, and other gains have come slowly, and often against bitter opposition. In the early 1930s, the basic issues for rural Jamaicans were land, rent, and taxation, and their struggles over these questions gave rise to the millenarian visions of the Rastafarian movement. In that period, Rastafarians were subjected to intense police pressure in Saint Thomas and neighboring parishes. It is likely that the Rastafarian millenarianism, with its vision of black domination, served as a catalyst in bringing about the labor uprisings of 1938 (Hill, 1981).

In 1953, Rastafarianism bore strong resemblance to revivalism in organizational and ritual patterns. The small, independent groups of both movements had similar sets of officers, festivals, and ritual procedures, including the reading of passages from the Bible and the singing of hymns (modified in the case of the Rastafarians to fit the doctrines of the cult), but important differences existed. Drumming, dancing, and spirit possession were prominent features of revivalism, but they never occurred in a Rastafarian gathering (Simpson, 1955). Beards and dreadlocks were present among Rastafarians but were not important aspects of the movement in the early fifties, nor was the place given to *ganja* (marijuana). Rastafarianism was, however, antiestablishment and bitter on the racial question (Chevannes, 1977). Revivalism had no political significance in 1953; its adherents were mainly concerned about personal salvation (Simpson, 1956).

According to Rastafarian doctrines in 1953, (1) black people were exiled to the West Indies because of their transgressions; (2) the white man is inferior to the black man; (3) the Jamaican situation is hopeless; (4) Ethiopia is heaven; (5) Haile Selassie is the living God; (6) the emperor of Abyssinia will arrange for expatriated persons of African descent to return to the homeland; and (7) black men will soon get their revenge by compelling white men to serve them (Simpson, 1955). These remain the basic beliefs of the movement, but not all adherents subscribe to all of them, nor do they give them equal emphasis. Rastafarians reinterpret the Old Testament in claiming that they are true present-day prophets, the "reincarnated Moseses, Joshuas, Isaiahs, and Jeremiahs." They also believe that they are "destined to free the scattered Ethiopians who are black men" (Nettleford, 1970, pp. 108–109).

As revivalism began to decline in the mid-1950s, many of its followers were attracted to Rastafarianism and became active participants in the movement, or sympathizers (Smith, Augier, and Nettleford, 1960). Between 1953 and 1960, the Rastafarian movement grew rapidly and became more complex doctrinally. This growth continued through the 1970s and the early 1980s. Membership—both the fully committed and partially committed—came to be drawn from all levels of the society. The more militant Rastafarians insisted that deliverance from poverty, unemployment, and humiliation must come from forces within Jamaica and not from Haile Selassie or Haile Selassie's spirit. Repatriation to Africa received less emphasis as some bands began to stress black power and "the africanization of Jamaica" (employment, education, and use of the country's resources are to benefit persons of African descent; see Nettleford, 1970; Barrett, 1974; Simpson, 1978).

The militancy of present-day Rastafarianism is seen clearly in its concept of a modern Babylon that includes Britain, the former colonial power; the United States, the present major industrial power; the bourgeois state of Jamaica; and the church. Babylon is said to be the source of Jamaica's misfortunes (Chevannes, 1977). A recent theme of the movement has to do with its concept of nature. In Rastafarian thought nature is nonindustrial society; and this underlies certain aspects of Rastafarian lifestyle—for example, dietary rules, uncombed locks and beards, and the importance of *ganja* (Chevannes, 1977).

Since the early 1960s, Rastafarianism has played an important role in the evolution of Jamaican popular music. The rhythm of the Rastafarians' *akete* drums influenced the development of the fast rhythm called *ska*, and the ska form has developed into reggae. Most reggae songs contain caustic social comments, but they also praise Ras Tafari, Jamaican heroes, freedom, and *ganja* (Barrett, 1977; Chevannes, 1977). In the poetry and prose written by contemporary Rastafarians awareness of an African identity and of Africa itself is a main theme (Johnson, 1980).

Rastafarianism is not a unified movement (Campbell, 1980). Many of the brethren gather in small, informal bodies and are not affiliated with organized groups. Many Rastafarians refuse to take part in elections on the grounds that neither of Jamaica's two political parties represents them. In recent times, however, some Rastafarians have played an increasingly active role in politics (Smith, Augier, and Nettleford, 1960; Chevannes, 1977).

Rastafarian culture has spread to other parts of the Caribbean, and Rastafarian art, poetry, music, and philosophy are well known in London, Paris, and other cities in Western Europe and the United States. Rastafarian music has been diffused to a number of African countries (Campbell, 1980).

The dethronement of Haile Selassie in 1974 and his death the following year have not resulted in a decline of the movement. Rastafarianism arose out of certain conditions in Jamaica and in other countries of the Caribbean and has continued because those conditions, as well as the international situation, have not changed appreciably (Barrett, 1977).

SEE ALSO Christianity, article on Christianity in the Caribbean Region; Fon and Ewe Religion; Santería; Vodou; West African Religions; Yoruba Religion.

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CARMATHIANS SEE QARĀMIṬAH

CARNIVAL. The Christian festival called Carnival takes place on Shrove Tuesday, the eve of Ash Wednesday. In its widest sense, however, the Carnival period is of much longer duration, beginning right after Christmas, the New Year, or the Feast of Epiphany, depending on the region.

The etymological roots of the name *Carnival* may be the Latin *caro* ("meat") and *levara* ("to remove, to take away"), which in vulgar Latin became *carne levamen,* and afterward *carne vale.* Some etymologists also link it to *carnis levamen,* "the pleasure of meat," the farewell to which is celebrated in the festivities that come immediately before the prohibitions of Lent. Another hypothesis links it etymologically to the *carrus navalis,* the horse-drawn, boat-shaped carriage that was paraded in Roman festivals in honor of Saturn, carrying men and women who, in fancy dress and wearing masks, sang obscene songs.

If it is problematic to identify the etymological roots of *Carnival,* it becomes even more difficult to determine the historical origins of the celebration itself. However, the Roman feasts of Saturn, the Saturnalias, are generally recognized as the ancient forerunner of Carnival festivities. They embodied the essential carnival spirit, strongly characterized by the transgression of daily conventions and excesses of behavior. In these feasts, which took place in the midst of great licentiousness, slaves banqueted together with their masters, whom they insulted and admonished. From among them was elected a King of Chaos who, for the period of Saturnalia only, enjoyed full rights to his master's concubines, and gave ridiculous orders that had to be obeyed by everyone. At the end of the festivities, however, he was unthroned and, in the earliest form of the rite, sacrificed to signal a return to order.

Although far in meaning from the Christian Carnival, these Roman rituals contained some elements that would come to define the later and more universal concept of the feast. The inversion of prevailing norms—as when servants rule masters—is of particular importance; the burlesque parodies of power and order, as seen in the dramatization of the Jester King, and the element of exaggeration, both in terms of libidinous excesses and in the inordinate consumption of food and drink, have also become prominent characteristics of Carnival. This unruliness that temporarily suspends the recognized world order has the corollary of introducing a contrast to the parameters of daily life. In other words, these cyclical rituals of disorder and rebellion show themselves incapable of administering real life because they foster the confusion of roles, licentiousness, and the mockery of power; they thus serve as a reminder of the necessity for order, which is reestablished at their conclusion.

In *Rabelais and His World* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968) the Russian essayist Mikhail Bakhtin presents an interesting interpretation of the meaning of Carnival in the context of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. He treats Carnival as the most evident expression of a joking popular culture with its roots in the Roman Saturnalias, which reflected the playful, irreverent side of human nature and the indestructible festive element in all human civilizations. During the whole of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, this culture of laughter resisted the official, serious culture. In opposition to the mysticism and dogmatism of the ecclesiastical culture and rigidity of the prevailing political structures, the joking popular culture revealed a world in which a playful mutability was possible and provided an experience, at once symbolic and concrete, of the suspension of social barriers. By dramatizing the comic and relative side of absolute truths and supreme authorities, it highlighted the ambivalence of reality, coming to represent the power of both absolute liberty and farce.

Using these distinctions, Bakhtin contrasts the official and ecclesiastical ceremonies of ordered society with the festivities of carnivalesque culture. He characterizes the former as rituals of inequality because they reinforce the dominant order and seek justification of the present in the past. The latter he regards as rituals of equality because they parody the stratification of power and the cult of religion, as well as provide a symbolic suspension of norms and privileges, harboring a seed of social reaction in satire.

Thus, inversion is universally at the root of Carnival symbolism, and explains the presence of such customs as transvestite costume, or clothes worn inside out, the poor playing the role of the rich, and the weak that of the powerful. This interpretive perspective also makes sense of the symbolism of death, common in Carnival celebrations; here it implies revitalization. Similarly, the dethroning and burning in effigy of the Jester King marks the end of a cycle and suggests the commencement of another, and the scatological aggressions with bodily materials like urine are a symbolic component implying fertilization. From this point of view, one can also amplify the concept of "carnivalization" to include all the symbolic processes that bring about transformations in the representation of social reality.

The most notable carnivalization of late medieval European society was to be found in the Feast of Fools, also called the Feast of Innocents. Although it took place in churches between Christmas and Epiphany, this festival was both an extreme satire of the mannerisms and mores of the court and the high church and a radical mockery of ecclesiastical structure and religious doctrine. The low church and the lower orders played an important part in it, while the high church and the nobility were its principal targets.

For the festival, a King of the Fools or a Boy Bishop, chosen from among the local choir boys, was elected to act out a parody of episcopal functions, including the distribution of blessings to the crowd from a balcony. A comic version of the holy mass was enacted, in which obscene parodies such as "The Liturgy of the Drunkards," "The Liturgy of the Gamblers," and "The Will of the Ass" were substituted for the canticles and prayers. Masked and painted, wearing the garb of the high church or dressed up as women, the revelers danced freely in the cathedrals and banqueted on the altars. The burning of old shoes and excrement replaced incense. Meanwhile, riotous processions of other revelers, wearing goat and horse masks, paraded dancing and singing through the streets.

Dances in churches are not totally unheard of in the history of Christianity; so-called shrine dances, for example, were frequent in the first centuries of its development. However, with the consolidation and institutionalization of the church, these dances were gradually abolished. In any case, the Feast of Fools had an entirely different sense. Its most striking characteristic was that of grotesque buffoonery, and in it the carnivalesque inversion was carried to its ultimate extreme. Focusing on the ecclesiastical hierarchy and religious ethics, the Feast of Fools pointed out the critical relations of medieval society and demonstrated that such a society was capable of self-criticism.

The Feast of the Ass, which took place principally in France, was a variation within the same category of rituals of carnivalesque inversion. Also part of the Christmas cycle, it theoretically commemorated Mary's flight to Egypt. The central character was, however, the ass, or rather the Ass Prince, who was richly adorned and brought in procession under a luxurious canopy to the church, where a mass was celebrated in its honor, punctuated with braying noises to which the celebrants responded by also braying.

For almost a millennium, the Roman Catholic church attempted, with perceptible difficulty, to control or ban the Feast of Fools. One of the first recorded proscriptions dates from the seventh century in Toledo, Spain. That this had little success can be measured by the numerous subsequent proscriptive edicts up to the sixteenth century, like that of Dijon, France, in 1552. The Feast of Fools died out only with the advent of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Until then, just as it had come under severe attack, it had also produced its enthusiastic apologists, such as those who wrote the circular of the Theology School of Paris in 1444. This circular maintained that just as fermenting barrels of wine sometimes need ventilation to prevent them from exploding, the wine of human madness must have an outlet at least once a year in order to transform itself into the good wine of pious devotion.

The Feast of Fools continued for a long time in France. It was still a solidly institutionalized event in Nice in the seventeenth century, when various secular laws were passed to regulate the structuring of the profane "Abbeys of the Fools" and to formalize the powers of the "Abbots of the Fools." At the same time, ecclesiastical decrees attempted to prevent the previously uncontrolled participation of the low church in the carnivalesque festivities and dances and bind them to their liturgical duties on the relevant days.

As a result of the Nice ordinance in 1539, the carnivalesque balls were subdivided into four categories, namely, those of the nobles, the merchants, the artisans, and the laborers. Each was the responsibility of one Abbot of the Fools, aided by a certain number of "monks," who policed the ball. The "abbots" were responsible for maintaining order, for making sure that only those suitably dressed, unarmed, and wearing masks, entered, and for preventing members of a different category from attending the wrong ball. The ruling of 1612 increased the number of Abbeys of the Fools to ten and gave the Abbots of the Fools the artistic function of directing the musicians as well as the right to dance at the balls.

The Abbots of the Fools also had the right to collect *charavilh,* a tax paid by betrothed widows upon remarriage. *Charavilh* itself sometimes brought about a sort of carnival, whenever the bridegroom was reluctant to pay it. In such an instance, the "abbot" would barricade the entrance to his house and orchestrate a deafening racket with trumpets and various improvised percussion instruments, such as saucepans and frying pans, until the recalcitrant newlyweds agreed to pay. Although *charavilh* was prohibited in Nice in 1721, it was so deeply rooted in the popular customs of the region that there are records of its occurrence until the end of the nineteenth century.

Nevertheless, by the end of the Middle Ages, the trend everywhere was to discipline Carnival, restricting the extremes of its licentiousness and violence, while encouraging its artistic aspects. To control carnivalesque rebelliousness was, however, the work of centuries. The introduction of masked balls in the sixteenth century in Italy was the first step on the festival's path to a predominantly poetic character. Parades of floats began to compete for a place in the disorderly street processions. From the combination of these two new currents flowered the fusion of carnival with art.

The rise of the Italian *commedia dell'arte* played an important role in the consolidation of the use of masks, lending them an artistic character and codifying human types. Previously, a wide variety of masks had already been featured in Carnival, so that they were easily assimilated into the *commedia dell'arte,* a theatrical genre with a close popular affinity to the festival, imbued with a similar spirit of social satire. The *commedia dell'arte* selected several types of masks from the carnivalesque repertory and reduced these to a certain number of character types, translating regional and psychological characteristics which, as they evolved, became more abstract and universal. It drew strongly on regional inspiration and referred to events in the day-to-day Italian life of the time, as is the nature of improvised theater. From these traditions emerged its famous characters, who, in a stylized form, dominated the three subsequent centuries of the carnivalesque scenario in Europe. The characters of the *commedia dell'arte* embodied various satirical social types of the Italy of that period: Pantaloon, for example, was the rich, greedy, and libidinous merchant; the Doctor represented the pedantic drunkard and charlatan; and the Captain was boastful and full of bravado, but a complete coward. Harlequin, Colombine, and Pulcinella are the most famous of these figures. With time, all modified their characteristics. Initially, Harlequin represented the ignorant rustic who thought himself intelligent and whose poverty was evident in the patches, later sophisticated into lozenges, on his clothes. Pulcinella belonged to the same category of clowns and buffoons, though he was also crafty, as did Colombine, who evolved from a simple peasant girl to a calculating and extremely cunning maidservant. From the fusion of the *commedia dell'arte* with the masquerades of other cultures came a number of other characters, such as Pierrot, from France, who became an eternally present and central character in Carnival.

The *commedia dell'arte* and the Italian Carnival had much in common, as a result of their shared spirit of buffoonery and improvisation, each making the other more colorful and fertile. In Renaissance Florence, Carnival songs made fun of the private lives of certain social groups, with themes like "the goldsmith's song," "the song of the poor who accept charity," and "the song of the young wives and the old husbands"; by means of their festive ambivalence, they revealed the ridiculous—and usually censored—side of social conventions. Under the patronage of the Medici family, the Florentine Carnival was typified by the singing of these songs on flower-covered, ornamented triumphal carts, which were the models for the later Carnival floats of the Baroque and Romantic periods. In Turin, too, there were parades of flower-covered carts and floats as well as tournaments and cavalcades. In Venice, as throughout the Italian Peninsula, masks were the distinguishing feature of Carnival. Celebrated with the great solemnity afforded by the presence of the doge and Signoria and accompanied by a fireworks display, it contrasted with what happened in the streets, where there were battles between rival groups and a bull was sacrificed. Another element of Venetian Carnival was the flight of a man on ropes to the top of the campanile of Saint Mark's, since Carnival was also a time to challenge and exorcise the forces of nature.

Carnival in Rome was typified by a complex symbolism of violence, death, and resurrection. In Pope Paul II's time, in the fifteenth century, it was transferred to the Via Latta, which became the traditional setting for the carnivalesque parades called Corso. The Roman Carnival was essentially a series of masquerades and horse parades—these abolished only in 1833—culminating on Shrove Tuesday with an impressive candlelight procession, in which the participants, shouting "Death to him who has no candle," tried in whatever ways they could to put out one another's candles. In the carnivalesque revelry, the literal meaning of the threat of death was tempered, blending into the essential ambivalence of Carnival imagery. The procession ended with a Pantagruelian feast in the early morning of Ash Wednesday, during which immense quantities of meat were consumed in anticipation of the Lenten fast to follow.

As a result of the Romantic movement, the following centuries saw a growing beautification of Carnival. Flowered carriages, parades, allegorical floats that grew ever more majestic and complex, and fancy-dress balls became permanent features of the celebration, wherever it still existed. The elements of violence lessened: fighting, verbal abuse, and the various forms of mock aggression—water jets, the hurling of oranges, plaster confetti—gradually gave way to battles of flowers and colored paper confetti that were the new and prominent aspect of nineteenth-century street Carnival. In this way, the masses of revelers were gradually transformed from participants to spectators, to the detriment of the heterogeneous character of the festival, which had been for everyone and everywhere, unfocused and without privileged actors. In proportion as the crowds grew more controlled, the festival became spatially more limited, subordinated to rational organization, diminishing the spirit of carnivalesque improvisation and burlesque satire. In Nice, for example, where Carnival still preserved its rich tradition, a festival committee was set up in 1873. The functions of this committee were to organize the festivities, parades, and flower battles and to award prizes for the allegorical floats, functions that still exist today.

These artistic and commercial innovations passed by the Carnival in Portugal. The typical form of Portuguese Carnival, like that of the whole Iberian Peninsula, was the Entrudo, a rowdy celebration in which flour, eggs, lupines, mud, oranges, and lemons were thrown on passersby. Dirty water, glue, and various other liquids were also poured onto the crowd, and gloves heavy with sand were dropped from windows. Repeating a common New Year custom, pots and pans and all sorts of useless kitchen utensils were also thrown out of the windows, perhaps symbolizing the discarding of the old, or perhaps heralding the Lenten fast. Fierce battles were waged with plaster eggs, wax lemons, corncobs, and beans blown fiercely through glass or cardboard straws. Blows with brooms and wooden spoons were dealt out liberally. Apart from the violence and filth, the Entrudo was also a Carnival of gluttony: in the better stocked houses—from whose windows cakes and pastries were pitched—guests feasted sumptuously. Even in the convents cakes were widely distributed.

The apogee of the Portuguese Entrudo was in the eighteenth century. This coincided with the period of the greatest popularity and prestige of masked balls in the European courts; in 1715, the Royal Music Academy of Paris transformed its opera hall into a ballroom, in use three times a week throughout the year. Masks had been prohibited in Portugal since 1689, exactly when they were at the height of fashion in the rest of Europe. The first masked ball in Lisbon took place only in 1785, offered by the Spanish ambassador in commemoration of the marriage of Princess Carlota Joaquiná with Prince João, but further masques were prohibited again immediately afterward. So the Entrudo continued to reign largely without rivals.

In Galicia, Spain, the Carnival of flour, eggs, and water was similar. It began with a chariot attack by one neighboring village on another and ended with the burial of Señhor Antroido, for whom a eulogy was written, satirizing the most notable local people and the most notorious events of the previous year.

In nineteenth-century Portugal, there were flower battles in Oporto and Lisbon. Nevertheless, the form of Carnival introduced into the American colonies by Portugal and Spain was, in substance, the Entrudo.

In Europe, it was a weakened Carnival that greeted the contemporary age. In the scientific dogmatists of the end of the nineteenth century, Carnival inspired suspicion and contempt and was viewed as an irrational, primitive, and inexplicable rite. Lacking spontaneous popular support in Europe, Carnival has, with rare exceptions, gradually lost its force in the twentieth century, until it has become a subject of interest chiefly for academics and those who have a strong affection for the past.

In Brazil, meanwhile, Carnival assumed the proportions of a national festival. Because of Brazil's multiethnic population and nearly continental proportions, its Carnival drew on many different cultural and folkloric sources, becoming the melting pot of indigenous, African, and European influences. Instead of surviving merely as a curious anachronism, it is today a living, dynamic phenomenon, modifying itself even in conjunction with the modern resources of mass communications. The Brazilian Carnival, like those of all Hispanic America, stems from the Iberian Entrudo. Begun with the Portuguese colonization in the sixteenth century, the Entrudo lasted more than three centuries before collapsing in the first years of the Brazilian republic. Prohibitions against it, however, date from its very introduction. The first recorded one is a decree of 1604, the first of many that produced no result, despite the stipulated punishments. A decree of 1853 imposed fines and detention for free men and caning and prison sentences for slaves participating in the Entrudo; nevertheless, another with identical content had to be issued in 1857.

The Brazilian Entrudo was very close to its Portuguese source: it involved the throwing of a lot of water and various small projectiles, later substituted by wax lemons. During the Entrudo, so much water was used in Rio de Janeiro that the newspapers invariably warned about risks to the city's water supply. The Entrudo was played even in the imperial palace, and whole families with their slaves dedicated weeks on end to the fabrication of wax lemons. Daniel Kidder, an American missionary who visited Brazil in the nineteenth century, advised in his *Sketches of Residence and Travel in Brazil* (Philadelphia, 1845) that people leaving their houses on these days should take their umbrellas with them to protect themselves against missiles and water.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the Brazilian Carnival showed clear signs of transformation. Masked balls were held, though the use of masks had been prohibited during the whole of the colonial period, just as in Portugal. Processions of allegorical carriages made their first appearance in 1855, in a pompous parade sponsored by competing groups known collectively as the Great Carnivalesque Societies, and this contrasted so strongly with the disorder of the Entrudo that from then on the characteristics of the street Carnival began to change. Originally, among these societies there were a considerable number of intellectuals; one of the relevant features of the parade each year was the presence of a "Float of Criticism," satirizing some important recent political event, about which satirical poems were also distributed.

With the abolition of slavery at the end of the nineteenth century, massive rural contingents migrated to the larger urban centers, bringing with them a great variety of regional folkloric contributions. In the first decades of the twentieth century, the activities involved in Carnival expanded, and a multiplicity of organizations, structured to a greater or lesser extent, began to make their presence felt in the street Carnival.

The Congo, a popular festivity with African roots alluding to the coronation of the "Congolese kings," began to make its contribution at this time. It was made up of several elements, among which were processions and warlike dances. From these came the majestic Maracatus, making their appearance in the Carnival of northeastern Brazil; these are choreographed processions derived from the Congo, with king, queen, and a court of princes, ladies, ambassadors, and standard- and sunshade-bearers, along with a percussion section of rhythmic drums and triangles. There was also an increase in the number of *cordões*—loose groupings of people with masks depicting old people, the Devil, kings, queens, clowns, Bahian women, Indians, bats, Death, and so forth, who sang and danced frenetically to the accompaniment of percussion instruments.

An innovation in the Carnival of the south of Brazil were the *ranchos de reis,* which were taken from devotional Christmas dramatizations performed in procession, reproducing the journey of the Three Kings to Bethlehem to visit the infant Jesus. They were, however, stripped of their religious allusions, carnivalized, and took the form of *rancho carnavalesco*—a slow-march procession accompanied by brass and string instruments, during which costumed male and female choruses, carrying small allegorical images, narrate lyrical stories while singing and dancing.

The most complete expression of the contemporary Brazilian Carnival is the samba school. These schools, which are actually associations, present a kind of mobile popular opera, each year worked around a different theme. This theme is narrated through the music and words of the Carnival samba song *(samba-enredo),* and the characters are represented collectively by groups of dancers and singers in costume, with the scenery mounted on allegorical floats. A samba school is divided into three basic sections: first comes the drum section *(bateria),* which has between two hundred and four hundred instrumentalists, who play big bass drums *(surdos),* side drums, tambourines, triangles, *cuícas,* and bells, among other percussive instruments; second is the group *(ala)* of composers; and last is the main body of dancer-singers and other performers of the school. Schools compete with one another during the festival. The increasing complexity of the parade, and its internal regulation, have brought about the creation of a great number of both financial-administrative and technical-artistic posts, organzing the samba schools to meet certain commercial norms. There are more than a hundred samba schools, concentrated principally in Rio de Janeiro, where they originated, each one with between two thousand and four thousand members.

The rapid rise of the samba schools is an interesting sociological phenomenon. They sprang up in Rio de Janeiro in the 1930s, from the lowest social strata. At that time, the Carnival in Rio de Janeiro was visibly stratified: the upper classes amused themselves with costumed saloon-car processions, tossing confetti and paper ribbons; working-class districts celebrated with *ranchos;* while the samba schools, which were still embryonic associations, attracted the remaining peripheral elements.

At first these associations suffered great persecution. Their participants, the *sambistas,* sometimes had to hide themselves in the centers of Afro-Brazilian cults recognized by the police, where they held clandestine samba parties. There was still a lot of violence and disorder in the Brazilian Carnival; on the one hand, fights and shoot-outs and, on the other, strong police repression, particularly against the lowest social elements.

The samba schools came from the carnival blocks *(blocos carnavalescos),* which were conglomerations of barely organized masked dancers, modelled on the *ranchos* but with rather more limited financial resources. From the *ranchos* they adopted the processional form, the thematic structure, the master of ceremonies and flag-bearer, and the allegories, but the brass instruments were eliminated and the rhythm section increased to correspond to the beat of the samba.

The samba schools soon caught the attention of the governing authorities because of their populist potential, and when Carnival was made official in 1935, it became obligatory to enact national and historic themes. In the 1960s, the intellectuals and the urban middle class became involved in the samba schools, recognizing them as a genuine focus of popular national character. Their complete acceptance by the higher social classes coincided with the aspiration of the poorer element to be accepted and, as a result, the samba schools received a fresh and definitive impulse on the road of growth and social valuation.

The samba schools have now developed into extraordinarily complex institutions, in both their actual parades and their daily organization. They continue to function throughout the year as modest community clubs, always, however, with an eye to raising money for their Carnival expenses. As Carnival draws closer, they open up to allow the participation of the upper classes, until the parade at the climax festival, which is itself a rite of total social integration. Afterward, they retract again to their more modest dimensions. The themes of the parade refer to folkloric tales and events from Brazil's history, which, in the language of Carnival, are translated into an idealized vision of Brazil, depicted as a rich and generous mother country in which the contributions of the three races—white, black, and indigenous—join them in harmony, and where there is always room for hope and optimism. In reality, Brazil is a country marked by deep inequalities, still struggling in its uphill battle for development.

In its historical and contemporary manifestations, the common denominator of Carnival is still the process of the inversion of reality. This inversion is of a symbolic and temporary nature, which classifies as a process of ritual transformation. As a ritual, Carnival allows a glimpse of the axiomatic values of a given culture, as well as its underlying contradictions. The language that relates these contradictions to one another is principally that of satire. But the carnivalesque inversion can equally be expressed through violence and exaggeration. In the Carnival context, violence symbolizes an attack on order, classifying the festival, in this case, as a ritual of rebellion, of which the Entrudo is the clearest example. Carnival retains a close correlation with daily life, though during its celebration the normal and quotidian are inverted and lived as a festival. In this way, carnivalesque rebellion and provocation become a parody of true rebellion and provocation. In any case, ambivalence is inherent in Carnival symbolism, since Carnival itself is on the threshold between order and disorder, hierarchy and equality, real and ideal, sacred and profane. Essentially, Carnival represents confrontation of the antistructure with the structure of society, constituting a channel through which utopian ideals of social organization find expression and suppressed forms of human behavior are released from the restrictions of daily life.

The inversion of the social order inherent in Carnival, when amplified to a larger scale, represents the inverted, profane extreme of the sacred religious festival that Carnival immediately precedes. The two are inextricably interwoven and find their opposites in each other.

See Also Masks.

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CARO, JOSEPH See KARO, YOSEF

CARROLL, JOHN (1735–1815), first Roman Catholic bishop of the United States (1789). Carroll attended Saint Omer College in French Flanders in 1748 and a few years later joined the Jesuits. By 1771 he had been ordained a priest and made his final vows in the order. When Pope Clement XIV suppressed the Jesuits in 1773, Carroll was briefly under arrest. The next year he returned to his family estate in Maryland, ministering as best he could under the uncertain jurisdiction ex-Jesuits then faced. He joined his cousin, Charles Carroll, and Benjamin Franklin in an attempt at winning Canadian support for political independence, which would open the way for an American Catholic church.

Carroll's church leadership emerged in 1782–1783, inspired by concepts of church-state separation drawn from the writings of Roberto Bellarmino, Francisco Suárez, and English Catholic commentators on the subject. Carroll viewed the relationship between the pope and Roman Catholic congregations as principally spiritual rather than administrative; thus his plan for the American Catholic church placed church property in the United States in its own corporations, both clerical and lay, in this way guarding against foreign intrusion. Carroll also emphasized the spiritual nature of the office of bishop, a view he would explain in a disciplinary decree published in 1797.

In order to ensure against a nonresident appointee by Rome, Carroll advocated electing the first American bishop by vote of the clergy. Thereafter, he expected, the American hierarchy could follow more common ecclesial practices. However, the first American see, Baltimore, remained under the administrative control of the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, a body administered by Rome, thus weakening American control over episcopal appointees. Later, as first archbishop of Baltimore (1808–1815), Carroll was to acknowledge the lack of suitable American candidates to fill offices created by four new dioceses.

Consistent with Maryland Catholic tradition, Carroll held that no one should be molested in the free exercise of his religion. He believed that the Maryland constitution honored this principle. He wrote against states with laws that favored Protestantism (1789), arguing that such laws went beyond what was just in interpreting the role of religion in the state's promotion of public morality. In *An Address to the Roman Catholics* (1784), Carroll responded to what he considered distortions of Catholic teachings in these and other areas. His arguments were effective in the era before the rise of Nativism—a movement characterized by hostility toward immigrants, particularly Irish Catholics.

John Carroll was also eminent as a builder of the church in visible form. Emerging into the world of public worship after 1776, the Catholic community under his leadership determinedly built parishes and institutions. Among the lasting legacies of his episcopacy were the establishment of Saint Mary's Seminary, the recruitment of priests from Europe, and the founding of Georgetown College for the laity of all faiths. He placed high value on the ministry and education of women, as seen in his sponsorship of Elizabeth Ann Seton's founding of the Daughters of Charity and of parochial schools. He also sponsored establishments of the Carmelite and Visitation orders. Carroll also contributed his services to Saint John's and Washington colleges and to what became the University of Maryland.

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THOMAS O'BRIEN HANLEY (1987)

CĀRVĀKA. A school of "materialists" thought to have been contemporary with early Buddhism, the Cārvāka school, or Cārvākas, has only scant evidence to attest to its existence. Writing in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Louis de La Vallée Poussin noted that "a materialistic school, a system in the exact sense of the term" did not exist in India. Such an opinion was based not upon the failure of scholars to recognize such terms as *lokāyata* ("world-extended"?) or *cārvāka*, or the schools known by these names, but upon the ambiguity and obscurity that certainly surround their origin and exact connotation. In earlier literature the term *lokāyata* did not stand for a doctrine that is necessarily materialistic. In the Buddhist collection *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, two *brahman*s are described as followers of the Lokāyata view, proponents of which are credited with holding one or more of the following four propositions: everything exists; nothing exists; everything is a unity; and everything is a plurality. Buddhaghosa's commentary identifies the first and third propositions as "eternalist views" (*sassata-ditthiyo*) and the second and fourth as "annihilationist views" (*uccheda-ditthiyo*). Later, the Annihilationist views were regarded as consonant with materialism.

The use of the word *cārvāka* was also initially obscure. Some say that *cārvāka* was a name. Others propose a fanciful etymology, joining *caru* ("beautiful") with *vāk* ("speech") to render a compound connoting "attractive discourse"; thus understood, the doctrines of this school, which denounce religion and religiously founded morality as useless, would have been found attractive by the common man, himself a materialist at heart. In later writings, the name *Lokāyata* came to refer to the Cārvāka school, which was traced to a mythical founder Bṛhaspati. In the latter part of the twentieth century, a number of Lokāyata *Bārhaspatya sūtra*s were collated from various sources, but their authenticity is open to question.

According to the available sources, the Cārvāka taught that the world is as we see it, that is, as perceived by our sensory organs, and is devoid of all but a purely mechanical order or principle that can be confirmed by recourse to sense evidence alone. A moral or ethical order, admitted in one form or another by all other Indian schools (as in, for instance, their use of the paired terms *dharma* and *adharma*), is thus denied as incompatible with empirical evidence. So too, an omniscient being, God, life after death, and ultimate reward or punishment for one's actions are all denied. It is for this reason, and for the fact that it denies the authority of the Vedas, that the school is termed *nāstika*, or negativist.

Cārvāka ethics, as might be expected, do recognize the claims of superior force and authority. Obedience to the king and to the state are recommended as a practical means of self-preservation; otherwise, a life given to the pursuit of pleasure and wealth is considered the ideal. Political power was deemed by the materialists to derive from the approval of the governed (*lokasiddha bhavet rājā*); as a consequence, the ruler's mandate to govern was regarded as without divine or transcendental sanction. Cārvāka cosmology recognized four elements—earth, water, fire, and air—as fundamental constituents of all things; when called on to explain the appearance of life or consciousness in material things when the elements themselves are devoid of any such powers or properties, the Cārvāka had recourse to a theory whereby the conjunction of certain elements is accidentally invested with properties missing in the original constituents. As evidence of this, they pointed to the power in the fermented drink to intoxicate, which is missing in the unfermented constituents. This empirical methodology might have been the precursor of scientific thought in India.

Cārvāka epistemology regards perception as the only valid source of knowledge and explicitly rejects inference. Eventually, the school produced a very sophisticated philosophical critique of the inductive premise in each act of inference. Sometimes the Cārvāka view is represented as a skeptical critique of knowledge, for, according to Jayarāśi, probably a proponent of Cārvāka doctrines, even sense evidence can mislead.

It is doubtful whether there was ever a well-entrenched traditional "school" called Cārvāka or Lokāyata, for we do not have available to us any independent texts of the classical period that are expressly affiliated with this school. The notable exception is the text of Jayarāśi called *Tattvopaplavasiṃha*, discovered and edited in 1940. In it, the author is revealed as a gifted dialectician. The work itself is a highly sophisticated critique of all the *pramāṇa*s, or valid sources of knowledge, criticizing both Vedic and non-Vedic schools. Theories of perception and inference of the Nyāyā, Buddhist, Sāṃkhya, Mīmāṃsā, and Jain traditions are all faulted. If this text belongs to the Cārvāka-Lokāyata school, then we have to admit that this tradition consists not only of materialism, but combines elements of skepticism and agnosticism as well. In this light, it would be incorrect to credit the Cārvākas with advocacy of pure license and hedonism, charges that, after all, are found only in the writings of their opponents (as, for instance, Haribhadra and Mādhava). All told, the Cārvākas probably represent an anti-religious tradition that rejected religious and spiritual pursuits and sought the basis of moral and social order in human rationality.

SEE ALSO Materialism.

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Summary accounts of this school can be found in such compendia of Indian philosophy as Haribhadra's *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya* (seventh century) and Madhava's *Sarvadarśanasaṃ-graha* (fourteenth century). Haribhadra was a Jain and hence belonged to a non-Vedic school; Mādhava was a Vaidika, probably a Vedāntin.

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BIMAL KRISHNA MATILAL (1987)

CASSIAN, JOHN (c. 365–c. 435), monastic leader, founder of ascetic theology in the Latin church. According to Gennadius of Marseilles, John Cassian came from Scythia Minor (modern-day Dobruja), a province of the early Byzantine empire. Born of a rich Scythian family, Cassian received a good education. After he moved to Palestine, he entered a monastery in Bethlehem, together with his friend Germanos. Receiving permission for a temporary absence, the two men left the monastery for a short visit to the monastic colonies of Egypt. After they met the first prominent elders there, they were so fascinated that they forgot their promise to return to their monastery in Bethlehem. They continued on their travels as far as the region of Scetis, where they settled. From time to time they made visits to other monastic areas, but they do not seem to have realized their original intention of visiting the Pachomian monasteries at Thebais. Cassian and Germanos stayed in Egypt for over thirteen years, with only a short break to settle the matter of their permission to leave Bethlehem.

During the anti-Origenist persecution of 399 the two men were forced to abandon Egypt because of their association with Origenist monks, whose theological exponent was Evagrios of Pontus. They fled to Constantinople, where they were well received by the archbishop John Chrysostom. There Germanos was ordained a priest and Cassian a deacon. At the beginning of 405, they went to Rome on behalf of Chrysostom to deliver a letter to Pope Innocent I.

After 415 Cassian, now a priest, moved to Marseilles, where he established two monasteries, one for men and one for women. The last record of him is Prosper of Acquitaine's theological attack on him, in about 433. A short time after the attack Cassian died; his last words, reported in *Sayings of the Fathers*, were "I have never done my own will, nor taught anyone something which I had not previously carried out."

Cassian came very late to writing, and he wrote only when requested to do so by important persons. Generally he used the same material as did Evagrios, but he gave it his own personal imprint. More synthetical than Evagrios, he arranged his sources in extensive collections. He was a brilliant Latin stylist, distinguished for his clarity and elegance. Three of his works are still read today with great interest.

1. *Institutes of the Cenoby and the Remedies for the Eight Principal Vices*, written around 420 at the request of Castor, bishop of Apt in Provence, consists of two distinct sections. Books 1–4 discuss clothing, prayer, psalmody, and rules of monastic life; books 5–12 are a moral exposition of the eight evil thoughts, or vices—gluttony, luxury, avarice, wrath, sloth, *acedia* (negligence), vainglory, and pride—and their remedies.
2. *Conferences of the Fathers* has three sections. Conferences 1–10, written around 422 and dedicated to Leo, bishop of Fréjus, and the monk Helladius, recount Cassian's conversations with famous elders from Scetis on the fundamental principles of the ascetic and spiritual life. Conferences 11–17, written around 424 at the request of Honoratus, founder of Lérins monastery, and the monk Eucherius, recount Cassian's conversations with elders of the Nile delta on problems of spiritual theology. Conferences 18–24, written around 426 and dedicated to a group of Gallican monks, present conversations with elders of the Nile delta and Scetis on particular problems of the ascetic life.
3. *On the Incarnation against Nestorius*, written in 430 at the request of the future pope Leo, constitutes the single Western refutation of Nestorian teachings, which Cassian considered a result of Pelagian influence.

Cassian is the first monastic leader in the West to have set forth the theological principles of monastic life. Although his works encompass not only the anchoritic but also the cenobitic form of monasticism, his real interest lay in anchoritism. On questions of monastic organization, his sources are the institutions of the monastic centers in the East, chiefly Egypt and Palestine. In the theoretical area, he has as his guide the great teacher of ascetical theology, Evagrios, although, because Evagrios had been condemned as a heretic, Cassian avoided citing his name.

Cassian's thought revolves around the spiritual perfection of ascetics, following the classical twofold distinction of the stages of the spiritual life, the active and the contemplative way, for which he used the Greek terms *praktikē* and *theoretikē*. Complete renunciation leads to the active way: "We have two fathers, one to abandon, the other to follow" (*Conf.* 3.6). In the preliminary stage a fierce struggle develops against the passions caused in us by demons and evil thoughts. *Praktikē* becomes the way through which the cleansing of the passions and the establishment of the virtues are effected. *Theoretikē* is the higher stage, in which the contemplation of the divine realities and the acknowledgment of the most secret signs are acquired (*Conf.* 14.1).

Like all ascetic writers, Cassian demands from Christians a hard struggle for the attainment of perfection. This struggle, in turn, requires a strong and free will. Cassian rejected two important theories of his day. He regarded the volitionism of Pelagius as heretical, and the absolute predestination of Augustine of Hippo as sacrilegious. According to Cassian, humankind preserved even after the Fall the ability to turn toward the good and to accept or reject the salvation offered by God.

In the West, Cassian's teaching was criticized by Prosper of Aquitaine, a disciple of Augustine, and later it was condemned by the Council of Orange (529). It is still regarded today as semi-Pelagian. Cassian, however, was an Eastern theologian in the Latin West, and his teaching must be judged by Greek theological criteria. From this point of view, he was in agreement with the entire Eastern tradition and especially with the views of John Chrysostom.

In his last years, Cassian was regarded as one of the leading theologians of the West. Even though his opposition to Augustine kept him out of the mainstream of the Western church, his authority was unofficially accepted. Abridged redactions of his writings were made in both Latin and Greek, while eight of his sayings were preserved in *Sayings of the Fathers.* Through Benedict of Nursia his influence was spread throughout the West.

Gennadius of Marseilles calls Cassian a saint, but in the West he is not venerated, except in Marseilles, where his feast is celebrated on July 23. In the East the feast is generally celebrated on February 29.

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PANAGIOTIS C. CHRISTOU (1987)
Translated from Greek by Philip M. McGhee

CASSIRER, ERNST (1874–1945), German philosopher of culture. Cassirer was born in Breslau, Silesia. He studied at the universities of Berlin, Leipzig, Heidelberg, and Marburg and completed his inaugural dissertation under the direction of the Neo-Kantian Hermann Cohen at Marburg in 1899. Between 1903 and 1919 Cassirer taught as privatdocent at the University of Berlin, and in 1919 he assumed the chair of philosophy at the newly founded University of Hamburg. Cassirer left Germany in 1933 with the rise of Nazism; he taught for two years at Oxford before accepting a professorship at the University of Göteborg in Sweden in 1935. Cassirer left Sweden for the United States in the summer of 1941, teaching first at Yale and then at Columbia.

Cassirer's published writings comprise nearly 125 items, ranging from short articles to books of eight hundred pages. They treat a wide range of subjects in history, linguistics, mythology, aesthetics, literary studies, and science. Because he wrote continuously on so many subjects it is difficult to form a sense of Cassirer's thought as a whole. The largest division within his writings is between his works on the history of philosophy and those that state his own philosophical position. In addition to these are subcategories of works on literary figures, especially Goethe, and on the philosophy of science.

The center of Cassirer's work in the history of philosophy is his four-volume study *Das Erkenntnisproblem in der Philosophie und Wissenschaft der neuern Zeit* (The Problem of Knowledge in Philosophy and Science in the Modern Age). The first two volumes (1906–1907) trace the problem of knowledge from Nicholas of Cusa to Kant. The third (1920) and fourth (first published in English translation in 1950) continue the theme through Hegel and into the first decades of the twentieth century. In addition to this large study, Cassirer's works on the Enlightenment, the Renaissance, Descartes, and Leibniz have become classics in their areas. The central work of Cassirer's original philosophy is his three-volume *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen* (The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms; 1923–1929), the groundwork of which was laid in his theory of scientific concept formation in *Substanzbegriff und Funktionsbegriff* (Substance and Function) in 1910. He extended his theory of concept formation to humanistic thought in *Zur Logik der Kulturwissenschaften* (The Logic of the Humanities; 1942). Cassirer recast his conception of symbolic forms in *An Essay on Man* (1944). This was followed by *The Myth of the State* (1946); both works were written in English.

Cassirer regards religion as part of the symbolic form of myth. In *An Essay on Man* he labels this as the symbolic form of "myth and religion" within a series of symbolic forms that includes also language, art, history, and science. Each of these areas of human culture represents a way in which people form their experience through symbols. Cassirer defines the human as an "animal symbolicum." Consciousness forms its object in many different ways. No one mode of formation offers a "literal" presentation of the real; all human activities are equally "symbolic." The symbol is the medium of all people's cultural activity, whether mythic-religious, linguistic, artistic, historical, or scientific. The interrelationships of all these manners of symbolizing form the system of human culture.

Religion arises as a stage within the mythical mode of symbolizing. In the second volume of *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen* (see part 4) Cassirer says that the break between religious consciousness and the mythical symbol occurs when consciousness begins to regard the images and signs of myth as pointing to meanings beyond immediate existence. Like true linguistic signs, Cassirer says, religious signs are understood as referring to an order of reality beyond the plane of immediate sensuous existence. In mythical consciousness the dancer who wears the mask of the god *is* the god; he does not signify the god who exists in another realm of being. Religion introduces a distinction between a finite and an infinite realm, a distinction that is beyond the power of the mythic symbol. For mythical consciousness, symbol and symbolized occupy a single plane of reality. In religious consciousness the sensuous and the spiritual divide, but they remain in this division as continuously pointing to each other in a relationship of analogy.

In *An Essay on Man* Cassirer approaches the relationship between myth and religion less in terms of the epistemology of the symbol and more in sociocultural and moral terms: "In the development of human culture we cannot fix a point where myth ends or religion begins. In the whole course of its history religion remains indissolubly connected and penetrated with mythical elements" (p. 87). Cassirer says that myth and religion originate in the "feeling of the indestructible unity of life" and in the fear of death as a break in this unity. In his phenomenology of the third volume of *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen,* Cassirer connects myth with the *Ausdrucksfunktion* of consciousness, with the primordial phenomenon of "expression." Religion never loses its roots as an expression of the unity of life and the fear of death.

Religion also has roots in the "sympathy of the Whole" that underlies magical practices in primitive societies. But religion arises, Cassirer says in *An Essay on Man,* when the totem and taboo system of society based on magical practices begins to break down. In the taboo system the individual has no responsibility for his own actions. Religion gives scope to a new feeling, that of individuality. Cassirer regards the prophetic books of the Old Testament as an example of the rise of the new ideal of individual moral responsibility that marks the appearance of religious consciousness out of the taboo system. In religion there develops this first sense of the moral self.

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DONALD PHILLIP VERENE (1987)
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CASTE SYSTEM SEE VARṆA AND JĀTI

CASTRATION.

Castration is a custom found both in mythological tales and in ritual practices of peoples of various origins, cultural levels, and geographical locations. Because there is a preponderance of documentation of the custom in the ancient Near East and Mediterranean cultures, the origin and propagating center of this custom has often been ascribed to ancient Semitic culture. But evidence of castration has also been found in other, different cultures that were never influenced by Semitic culture, which seems to rule out a hypothesis of diffusion. Besides, the act of castration, both mythological and ritual, is naturally connected with other practices, beliefs, and doctrines that are all related in some way to sex and sexuality. Their connections (with circumcision, bisexuality, virginity, and celibacy) constitute a kind of compact but multivariegated "symbolic universe."

MYTHS. Many of the cosmogonic myths are based on two cosmic entities, Sky and Earth, who are originally united in a sexual embrace from which violent action alone can separate them. A tale of the Maori in New Zealand says that offspring born of the endless mating of Rangi ("sky") and Papa ("earth") are held in darkness and spacelessness. Finally the offspring decide to separate their parents, cutting the father's "tendons" (probably a euphemism) and pushing him up to achieve the present separation of sky and earth. The cosmogonic motif of the primordial couple is found in almost all Oceanic civilizations and widely in Africa and the Americas. But the act of violent separation of the two cosmic entities is seldom clearly described as a real act of castration, even if its symbolic verisimilitude leads one to think of it in this way. An example of castration presented in a straightforward manner is in the Greek cosmogonic myth, Hesiod's *Theogony.* The god Ouranos ("sky") and the goddess Gaia ("earth") conceive a breed of divine beings, but the god exhausts his paternal role in procreation and keeps his children from any kind of activity, thrusting them again into their mother's womb. At last one of them, Kronos, makes an ambush and cuts off his father's sexual organ, throwing it behind his own back. The goddess Gaia is fertilized by the blood of Ouranos, while from his sexual organ, which falls into the sea, is born the goddess of love, Aphrodite. Thus the only way to eliminate Ouranos, whose existence consisted of mere sexual and procreative activity, was to castrate him: this is the only opportunity to "murder," in some sense, an immortal god. This castration is a positive event because it breaks the cycle of endless and useless reproduction and gives Ouranos's offspring a living space between sky and earth. It represents moreover a fundamental moment in the establishment of the real and ordered world. From the morphological point of view, the myth of Ouranos's castration is typical of the image of the heavenly divine being who, after his initial performance, leaves the stage, becoming a *deus otiosus.*

Comparative analysis has pointed out important resemblances to the myth of the impotence of Varuṇa, an Indo-Iranian god, and also to the investiture ritual of the king in India (Dumézil, 1948). Analogies exist also with the Navajo creation myth (*Dine Bahane*), in which the First Woman gives birth to twins with her husband. These twins, who are *nadleeh* (intersexed, neither male nor female), ordered the world, slayed the dragons, and invented pottery and all sort of tools. Historical analysis, on the other hand, has indicated some parallel cases in cosmogonic myths of the ancient Near East. The Mesopotamian creation epic, *Enuma elish*, tells of the god Enki, who defeats and annihilates his enemy Mummu, taking off his crown, smashing his head, and finally cutting off his penis. The Hittite myth of Kumarbi contains even more similarities to Ouranos's story. This cosmogony, combining one of the earliest Hurrian stories with some elements of Assyro-Babylonian mythology, deals with a succession of children's rebellions against their fathers. In this myth Kumarbi pursues his father, Anu, who seeks safety by flying toward the sky, but the son grabs his father's feet, dragging him to the ground. Then, seized by excitement, Kumarbi bites his father's penis, tears it off, and swallows it, laughing and boasting of his bravado. But the swallowed sexual organ makes him pregnant with terrifying gods who will soon defeat him in turn.

Scholars are in agreement that the similarity between Greek and Hittite myths can be explained as an indication of direct historical derivation on the grounds of similar general structure and the common presence of castration. Nevertheless there are significant differences between these myths, and there remains a notable uncertainty about how the motif spread. A recurrence of Ouranos's castration can be found in the cosmogony of Philo of Byblos, a late Phoenician author who claims a reference to Sanchuniathon, an ancient Phoenician author. Mixing local information with Greek conceptions in a syncretic and euhemeristic way, Philo ascribes to the god El-Kronos an act of castration against his father. The Hellenic pattern is clearly apparent, but archaeological discoveries at Ugarit (Ras Shamra) in Phoenicia, dating from the second millennium BCE, seem to confirm to some extent the authenticity and antiquity of the myth. In a different case in the Prose Edda, an ancient Germanic cosmogony, the "father of everything," a personal entity with creative power, is also called "the castrated" with no further explanation. Scholars agree that many features of this divine being are not original but derived from Christian influences, and they think also that the castration element can be dated back to the earliest Greek tradition of Ouranos.

Besides these cosmogonic myths other kinds of myths in which castration constitutes a pattern of ritual action deserve mention. The close connection between myth and rite in these cases arouses the rightful suspicion that the myth may have been constructed in order to provide a motivation for the ritual practice. The most famous myth is the Greco-Roman story of the goddess Cybele and the god Attis. Cybele, venerated in Rome and in the Roman Empire under the name of Great Mother (Magna Mater), was an ancient goddess of fertility known in Anatolia since the second millennium BCE under the name of Kubaba. Some iconographic and onomastic evidence suggests an even more remote origin going back to the Anatolian Neolithic and perhaps Mesopotamian civilization. The young servant-lover Attis, on the other hand, seems to have been introduced along with his mate only after the arrival in Anatolia of the Phrygians (c. eighth century BCE). There are several mythical versions of Attis's castration (Hepding, 1903/1967). It is easy to follow a constant line of development from more ancient tales—much more intricate and grotesque—to the embellished and romantic later versions. The original stories take place in an environment of unnatural primitiveness, monstrous procreations, violent loves, and bloody punishments. All these versions culminate in the story of Attis, who castrates himself in a fit of madness or out of a desire for absolute chastity. Sometimes Attis's castration is attributed to a wild boar or to a jealous entity who wants to punish him for his amorous exploits.

Similar is the Egyptian myth of the mystical couple Isis and Osiris, but here the mythical castration apparently does not constitute a pattern of ritual action. The god Osiris was dismembered, and fourteen pieces of his body were strewn all over Egypt. His wife, the goddess Isis, found the body. But Osiris's penis was thrown into the Nile and eaten by a fish, so Isis is forced to construct with sycamore wood a facsimile of his phallus. The Phoenician and Cypriot and in any case Semitic Adonis that lives out his short season seducing and being seduced by Aphrodite, whose vitality is overpowering, bled to death in a boar hunt. But his castration is only hypothetical, and above all there is no evidence that his priests practiced ritual castration. Two basic events, emasculation and death, therefore mark the mythical personalities of these young gods (but only problematically the concrete ritual castration of their followers) and signify the depotentiation of divine life and its inevitable repercussions on the life of the cosmos, which seems to imitate the vicissitude of the divine body (Casadio, 2003).

RITUALS. The documentation related to ritual practices records, first of all, that the act of castration can sometimes be the result of temporary exaltation or religious fanaticism. The religio-historical as well as ethnographic literature cites some examples, but their rarity and especially their complete isolation from myths, doctrines, and institutionalized interpretations make them subjects for studies in psychology (or psychopathology). The history of religions, on the other hand, is concerned with institutionalized acts of castration, for instance, within the so-called pubertal cults. All these practices belong to a broader category of ritual mutilations, like the custom of removal of one testicle, which is practiced almost exclusively among Camitic populations in Africa, where it seems to serve as a substitute for circumcision, a practice completely unknown to them. In the initiation rites of primitive peoples different practices involving male genitalia are frequent (circumcision, subincision), as are those involving female genitalia (clitoridectomy, infibulation), and their origin and significance seem rather difficult to establish. According to some scholars, these practices constitute symbolic equivalents of castration.

Another category of castration is the custom, widespread in the ancient Near East and in Semitic cultures, of castrated priests. The *kurgarru,* for instance, is a eunuch priest of Ishtar who officiates at the orgiastical rites in honor of the god Marduk. Many of the clergy of Hekate in Stratonicea, Caria, and in Laginas and the clergy of Artemis in Ephesus and of Atargatis in Hierapolis, Syria, were castrated. Some sporadic cases of analogous priestly castration have been reported in Brahmanic India, particularly in the northern mountains, and also in Nepal and Tibet. Usually the castrated priests are connected with a powerful and fertile goddess, sometimes with astral characteristics, and at other times with the features of a goddess of animals, who is conventionally called Mother Goddess.

Finally, there is a series of examples in which the ritual of castration appears entirely institutionalized, justified according to the myths of foundation or in accordance with precise beliefs and doctrines. Within the Cybele and Attis cult, the mythical castration of Attis is the foundation of the practice of castration of his priests (and perhaps of believers too), which is a kind of sacrament of consecration, a sacrifice recalling the god's passion, and sometimes a votive offering. The Galli—as these priests are most commonly called—dedicated themselves to the goddess Cybele after willingly castrating themselves during ritual performances in which, in a frenzy of dances, obsessive beating of drums, and self-flagellation, they reached paroxysms of exaltation. The Galli wore female clothing and heavy makeup, their hair was long and loose, and they lived in a wandering missionary community, supporting themselves with alms they received for offering predictions and prognostications. At Pessinus in Asia Minor they ruled sacerdotal city-states in which temples and royal palaces were unified. In Greece they were generally despised and driven away because of their mutilation and their appearance; they were never fully assimilated into official religion. In Rome, where the cult of Cybele was introduced in 204 BCE, and in the Roman Empire they were at first strictly regulated and controlled by the state; then they acquired, little by little, more importance and autonomy. The Roman distaste for eunuchism slowly faded away because of the approval of some emperors of the practice and because of a certain lessening of bloodier and crueler aspects of the cult.

Thus the cult of Cybele and Attis had its temples and its brotherhood in Rome, and its feasts included in the sacral calendar. Little by little, under the influence of a certain spiritualism and new symbolic interpretations, the cult assumed a mystic character and became a kind of mystery cult like other cults of Oriental origin. The castration of believers was easily explained as a sign of the search for perfection, a voluntary renunciation of the pleasures of the flesh, and the Attis figure became more and more spiritualized. During the later Roman Empire the self-castration of believers was probably replaced or integrated into the bloody and spectacular rite called the Taurobolium. A bull was slain and (probably) castrated, and its blood was shed over the believer as a lavation of intensified achievement, regenerative and purifying. Important mystical interpretations of relevant myths also were given in late antiquity by Naassene Gnostics, for example, by which "the mutilation of Attis means that he was separated from the low earthly regions of creation" (Cosi, 1986, pp. 111–113). For Julian the Apostate the castration of Attis means "a pause in the rush towards the infinite" (Cosi, 1986, pp. 111–113).

Castration appears sporadically in practices of groups, sects, and isolated thinkers that link it to doctrines preaching asceticism and sexual abstinence and regard it as an escape from the temptations of the flesh. Such doctrines—which have remarkable precedents and parallels within the pagan as well as the Judaic world—developed during the first centuries of the Christian era and were inclined to radicalize the pronouncement by Matthew on eunuchs (*Mt.* 19:12) as well as the orthodox position (of Paul, for instance) on the prestige of virginity. Strongly connected with sexual and marital morality, bound to the theme of ecclesiastical celibacy, and intertwined with the rise of monasticism, this topic is evinced in some authors as a preaching of the *enkrateia* (continence), understood as the complete rejection of any kind of sexual intercourse. If within the ecclesiastical and orthodox line virginity and chastity are recommended solely on the basis of motivations, such as the imitation of Christ or in anticipation of the kingdom of heaven, according to these doctrines sexual abstinence becomes a necessary condition of salvation and is based on ontological and protological motivations of the dualistic and Platonic mold. According to some writers, the Greek father Origen (third century CE) and other ecclesiastic authorities castrated themselves in order to extinguish definitively any desire for sexual intercourse. At the same time, in the mysterious sect of the Valesians (from Valesius, the founder), castration was a normal practice. Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis, refuted the sect and accused it of heresy. It also seems that among the Manichaeans the current obligation of chastity was transformed in some cases into the practice of self-castration. The phenomenon must have been rather widespread, because it was addressed by the Council of Nicaea (325 CE) and a bull of Pope Leo I (c. 395 CE).

A renewal of the practice of castration for the sake of proselytism and asceticism (a call to remove the "organs of sin") is found among the Skoptsy (the castrated), a Russian sectarian community that developed from the complex movement of the Raskol schism during the mid-eighteenth century. The Skoptsy were long persecuted, but they spread throughout Russia during the next century and survived in some Romanian peasant communities until 1950.

ORIGINS. From this brief review of facts relative to castration in some myths and ritual practices, it becomes clear that even if the ancient Semitic (and Mediterranean) world offers the majority of the documentation and shows some cases of dependence and evolution, it cannot be considered the unique source of the diffusion of this practice. In the same way it is impossible to decide on a univocal interpretation of the practice of castration that can explain in all cases its causes and motivations. Sometimes the connection with themes of fertility and procreation is primary, so that castration of a "vegetation spirit" ("Dying and rising god," in the words of James George Frazer [1890, I, pp. 278–279]) constitutes a dramatic event stopping the flow of life or containing it within more orderly boundaries. "Functional" is otherwise the explanation provided by Walter Burkert (1979): the act of castration, producing neither man nor woman but "nothing," puts a man outside archaic society and makes apostasy impossible. At other times, on the basis of doctrinary principles, castration is instead related to a search for asexuality understood as a privileged condition. In some cases this asexuality resolves into a kind of symbolic bisexuality that aims to reproduce in the believer the powerful joint presence of both sexes that is found in certain androgynous primordial figures. Interpretations influenced by psychoanalysis have often been offered to explain these themes. Finally, in many cases castration is clearly demanded as an extreme form of mystical practice in currents of thought that celebrate abstention as a choice in life and as a condition of salvation.

SEE ALSO Androgynes; Clitoridectomy; Cybele; Dying and Rising Gods; Hierodouleia; Virginity.

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CASTRÉN, MATTHIAS ALEXANDER

CASTRÉN, MATTHIAS ALEXANDER (1813–1852) was a scholar of Finno-Ugric languages and the founder of the Finnish School of Ethnography of Religion. His studies of remote north Eurasian peoples helped establish a discipline that he named Altaic in accordance with his theory of their *urheimat* (point of common origin) in the Altai Mountains. Now called Finno-Ugrics or Uralics, the discipline, in Castrén's broad definition, embraces comparative studies of Finnish and Finno-Ugric languages, literature, ethnology, folklore, and religion.

Castrén began his studies at the University of Helsingfors (now Helsinki) as a student of Greek and Hebrew. Before long, however, this was subsumed by an interest in Finnish and other regional languages. He traveled twice throughout Eurasia, including a journey through Siberia proposed by his Finnish colleague A. J. Sjögren (1794–1855), an academician in Saint Petersburg. During his visits among the small populations in the huge, sparsely populated territory between the Ural Mountains and the southwestern Chinese border, Castrén recorded local folk songs, proverbs, legends, and other traditions. These were published by Anton Schiefner (1817–1879), another linguist from Saint Petersburg, in the twelve-volume series *Nordische Reisen und Forschungen*, between 1853 and 1862.

Castrén collected folklore mainly among the Samoyed peoples of Siberia; most of this work was published in 1960 by Toivo Lehtisalo (1887–1962) as *Samojedische Sprachmaterialien: Gesammelt von M. A. Castrén und T. Lehtisalo.* Publications on Castrén's voyages by Aulis J. Joki (1913–1989) show how Castrén carried out his fieldwork, collecting such linguistic artifacts as Turkish epics among the Tatars of Minusinsk steppe at Akaban (Schiefner, 1853–1862, vol. 2, pp. 305–306).

Castrén had a rare ability to learn to communicate in foreign languages in a short time, and he spent three to six months at each key station. Although he was criticized by later philologists for both his Altaic *urheimat* theory and his overeagerness to find new languages, both of these can be understood in the context of the nationalistic Pan-Finno-Ugric trend of his time, which sought new relatives on the family tree of the recently established Finnish nation.

The study of Finno-Ugric religion, particularly shamanism, was central to Castrén's fieldwork between 1841 and 1849. He wrote:

> All the religion proper of the Altaic peoples has been called shamanism. Unfortunately this far attention has more been paid on the naming and outer features of the phenomenon, not on the inner disposition, the essential nature of it. . . . I would not consider shamanism as a form of religion of its own, but rather as a moment of the folk religious divine doctrine. (Castrén, 1853, p. 1)

A professor at the University of Helsingfors in the last years of his life, Castrén was appointed chair of Finnish language and literature studies. As a professor Castrén devoted most of his lectures to the folklore and mythology of northern peoples. In one of his last lectures he defined ethnography as:

> a new name for an old thing. It means the scientific study of the religion, society, customs, way of life, habitations of different peoples, in a word: everything that belongs to their inner and outer life. Ethnography could be regarded as a part of cultural history, but not all nations possess a history in the higher sense; instead their history consists of ethnography. (Castrén, 1857, p. 8)

Castrén's untimely death at the age of thirty-nine left much of his work unfinished. He is remembered most for his linguistic studies that identified the Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic languages as members of the larger Uralic family.

SEE ALSO Finnish Religions; Finno-Ugric Religions.

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CASUISTRY.

Moral knowledge comprises general principles and propositions: for example, "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you," "Honest persons do not lie or steal," and so forth. However, moral knowledge also bears on choices to act in specific ways in unique situations. Thus, general principles must be transformed into particular choices: "I should not make this offensive remark about him because I would not want him to say such a thing about me in the hearing of those people," "I could not consider myself honest if I told her she was capable enough to deserve promotion," and so forth. Casuistry is concerned with the transition from general moral knowledge to particular moral choices. It can be defined as "the technique of reasoning whereby expert opinion is formulated concerning the existence and stringency of particular obligations in light of general moral maxims and under typical conditions of the agent and circumstances of the action."

Religious moralities that rest upon strong divine commands and prohibitions are fertile ground for a casuistry. Unless a divine imperative is couched in terms that direct a particular person to perform or refrain from a particular act at a particular time (e.g., "Moses, you must proclaim the Commandments to the people when you descend the mountain"), interpretation of the general statement of a divine command is necessary. Does, for example, the command "Thou shalt not kill" apply to David facing Goliath? However, it is not only divine commands and prohibitions that generate the need for casuistry. All statements of moral principle are expressed in universal terms; thus, any ethical system, if it is to take effect in the lives and actions of its adherents, must have its universal principles fitted to the various situations in which decisions are to be taken.

CASUISTRY IN NON-CHRISTIAN CONTEXTS. In the three major ethical monotheisms, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, certain persons have assumed the role of interpreting to the faithful the overarching moral injunctions of the Lord God. In Judaism, the written law, collected in the five books of the Torah, and the oral law, taught by Moses to the Israelites, were expounded by the scribes. These detailed interpretations of the law, collected in the two Talmuds, were themselves commented upon by the learned teachers of the people. This immense body of literature, as well as the intellectual tradition enshrined in it and continued by the rabbis in the life of the people of Israel, is called *halakhah* ("the way"). Concerned with fidelity to the law in every aspect of daily life, it is the casuistry of Judaism. However, within this tradition, a special form of reasoning, employing very sharp distinctions and clever logic, came to be called *pilpul* ("pepper"). Flourishing in the late Middle Ages, it was criticized by the great rabbi Eliyyahu ben Shelomoh Zalman (1720–1797) and others for twisting the plain truth "like shaping a wax nose." In this respect, *pilpul* resembles the Roman Catholic casuistry of the seventeenth century that gave rise to the pejorative connotation of the word.

Sharīʿah (lit., "the path toward water") designates the holy law of Islam revealed in the Qurʾān. More particularly, the word refers to forms of ritual and social behavior to be observed by the faithful. In the eighth and ninth centuries, schools of interpretation coalesced: they attempted to define precisely the exact content and stringency of the law. The teachers of Islam, *muftīs*, issued *fatwās*, considered opinions for the guidance of the faithful, distinguishing moral acts as obligatory, recommended, permitted, reprehensible, or forbidden. Since God's will is inscrutable, it is permitted to find *hiyal* ("stratagems") to avoid the letter of the law in favor of the spirit. Again, it is this aspect of Muslim casuistry that recalls the reprehensible approach that gave casuistry its bad name.

In the Western philosophical and theological tradition, two sources of casuistry are manifest. Socrates suggested cases to test whether the general definitions of virtue proposed by his interlocutors were adequate (e.g., in *Euthyphro, Laches*). Aristotle noted, as the premier methodological point of his *Nicomachean Ethics* that, while the nature of the human good and of virtue can be stated in general, "fine and just *actions* exhibit much variety and fluctuation" (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1.3). The Stoics proposed the most general precepts (e.g., "Follow nature"), and their opponents, particularly the Cynics, retorted with cases to show that rules of such generality could lead to no definite conclusions for action, or even to contradictory ones. Certain questions that become perennial first appear in this debate: for example, "Which of two shipwrecked men clinging to a spar has a right to it?" and "Should a merchant reveal defects of his merchandise?" Cicero recalls these questions and employs them to illustrate his theses regarding the priority of virtue over expedience. The third book of his *On Duties* is, in effect, the first book of casuistry in Western moral philosophy, even though it contains much material from authors of the Late Stoa.

CASUISTRY IN THE CHRISTIAN ERA. The teachings of Christ contain many "hard and impossible" commands: "If you will follow me, leave father and mother," "Turn the other cheek," "It is as hard for a rich man to enter heaven as for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle." Those dedicated to following his ideals of love and mercy had to discern how these difficult and paradoxical commands were to be carried out in daily life. They also faced the problem of whether they and all converts from Judaism and paganism were bound by the law of the Jews. There is therefore some casuistry in the Gospels, in the *Acts of the Apostles,* and in the epistles of Paul, all of it employing reasoning of the type familiar to the rabbinical schools. In the early centuries of the church, many Christian writers faced the problem of how the Christian should live. In *Can a Rich Man Be Saved?* Clement of Alexandria advises that the severe words of Jesus do not condemn those who, while rich in goods, are poor in spirit. Augustine's *On Lying* is a premier work of casuistry in which appears the question analyzed centuries later by Kant: "Should a person lie to conceal an innocent person from persecutors?"

In the history of Christianity, casuistry was given its greatest impetus by the practice of confession of sins and absolution by a priest. When private confession first appeared, in the sixth to the eighth centuries, books of direction were written for priests advising them what penances to impose. These "penitential books," while lacking precise analysis of moral acts, show an incipient sense of discrimination regarding the moral seriousness of certain acts and the circumstances that modify or excuse. In the twelfth century the canon law of the church, working with the large corpus of ecclesiastical case law, as well as with rediscovered Roman law, provided distinctions and categories for a more refined casuistry, as did the speculative theology of the thirteenth century. The books for confessors published from the late thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries manifest this influence in careful but succinct delineations of the nature of conscience, of law, and of imputability. These later volumes were stimulated by a universal law of the church requiring that all confess at least yearly and that the confessor deal with penitents "as a prudent physician of the spirit" (Fourth Lateran Council, 1215). These books present innumerable cases involving marriage, commerce, feudal obligations, and justice. In each example the purpose is to assist the confessor in judging whether a particular act that appeared to violate a moral commandment of church law did in fact do so in the particular circumstances of its commission. Raymond Pennafort, Peter the Cantor, Alain of Lille, William of Chobham, and Peter of Poitiers were the principal authors of this genre. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, certain *summae* that presented material in alphabetical order (e.g., from *Absolution* to *Uxoricide*) became immensely popular: the *Summa Astesana,* the *Summa Sylvestrina,* and the *Summa Angelica.*

During the Reformation, casuistry was stimulated by several circumstances. The Council of Trent (1551) required Roman Catholics to confess sins by kind and number, a reaction to Protestant rejection of confession to a priest. The Society of Jesus, founded in 1540, dedicated itself to propagating the proper use of the sacrament of penance and to the education of the Catholic laity and clergy. In the religious turmoil of the last half of the sixteenth century, many settled moral positions were upset. Catholics faced novel problems of personal relationship (e.g., how to deal with non-Catholics) and of public moment (e.g., how to continue to observe traditional prohibitions regarding money lending in the new mercantile economy, how to govern newly discovered lands, whether to give allegiance to rulers of newly formed national states). The Jesuits and other theologians undertook to analyze these problems, both in speculative treatises and in more practical case presentation. They produced a vast literature, known collectively as "cases of conscience." In the century between 1565 and 1665, over six hundred titles appeared, many of them in multiple editions.

In 1663 Blaise Pascal, the great mathematician and physicist who had taken the side of the Jansenists (a Catholic sect of extreme piety and rigor) against the Jesuits, published the *Provincial Letters.* In this brilliant satire, he attacked the Jesuit casuists, citing case after case in which ingenious analysis led to outrageous moral conclusions. The casuists, with their clever distinctions, seemed able and willing to dispense with all moral probity, allowing killing, adultery, and lying, if only the circumstances were right. The criticism, justified to some extent, was too far-reaching: it condemned the entire enterprise of casuistry for the faults of some of its authors and the weakness of some aspects of its methodology. From that time onward, casuistry has carried the opprobrious sense of moral sophistry.

Casuistry continued to be an integral part of Catholic moral theology. Alfonso Liguori (1696–1787), a most revered Catholic moralist, was a master casuist. By the mid-nineteenth century, however, casuistry had become sterile and was much criticized, within and without the church, for its failure to promote moral ideals and its dwelling on minimal obligation. Nevertheless, some fine casuistic analyses continued to appear: about the just war, the just wage, abortion, and so forth.

Protestant theology showed little interest in casuistry—indeed showed early antipathy. (Luther cast the *Summa Angelica* into the flames, calling it the "Summa Diabolica.") Anglican theologians engaged in a vigorous casuistry in the seventeenth century, with Jeremy Taylor and William Perkins being the leading authors. In the twentieth century, *Conscience and Its Problems* (1927), one of the very few modern English works on casuistry, was written by an Anglican theologian, Kenneth E. Kirk.

In the 1970s, interest in medical ethics led to the revival of a sort of casuistry both within and without the theological context. The occurrence of many cases of note, such as that of Karen Ann Quinlan, brought theological and philosophical moralists to analyze the ethical issues. The National

Commission for Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research (1974–1978) employed a method of case analysis to develop the ethics of research. In the 1980s, concern about nuclear armaments further stimulated casuistry, and a case analysis of various "scenarios" of defense was developed. *The Church and the Bomb* (1983), a publication of the Church of England, and the pastoral letter on nuclear warfare (1984) of the American Catholic bishops are both examples of sound casuistry.

METHODOLOGY OF CASUISTRY. Casuistry differs from moral philosophy in a number of ways. The work of the casuist is discrimination; that of the moral philosopher, generalization. Casuists discuss moral problems; moral philosophers discuss moral reasoning. Casuists analyze the morality of choice in circumstances; moral philosophers analyze the meaning of moral principle in general. While the work of moral philosophers has been richly described and many methodologies have been proposed, the work of casuists—although we are all, in a sense, casuists in our personal moral deliberations—is hardly understood, and it has no accepted methodology. Even the casuists of the seventeenth century developed no overall method of resolution of moral problems. Inspection of their work, however, reveals the outline of their method.

Casuists developed positions by first stating a case in which the moral obligations entailed by a rule were most clear and then moving, step by step, to more complex cases. These steps were taken by adding various circumstances and weighing their relevance to the stringency of the rule. They assessed the degree of credence that various options deserved and the consequent weight of moral obligation. They aimed at resolving the case not by settling theoretical problems but by practical advice concerning how seriously a person involved in certain sorts of circumstances should consider himself bound by or excused from the moral principles generally incumbent. The strength of the casuists' method lay in an appreciation of exceptions and excuses generated by different circumstances; the weakness lay in the absence of any theoretically established boundaries of this appreciation. Casuistry at its best is vigorous moral common sense; at its worst, it is moral sleight of hand.

SEE ALSO Christian Ethics.

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CATHARI. Catharism (from *cathari,* "the pure") was distinguished from the other heresies of the Middle Ages by its rejection of basic Christian beliefs, although its adherents claimed that in their pursuit of a pure life they were the only true Christians. In contrast to the Waldensians and other gospel-inspired movements of the twelfth century, the basis of Catharism was a non-Christian dualism deriving ultimately from Gnosticism. In place of the Christian conception of an inherently good universe that was wholly God's creation and embraced all existence, spiritual and material alike, this dualism posited two principles: one good, governing all that was spiritual, the other evil, responsible for the material world, including man's body. The consequence was the denial of the central Christian doctrines of the incarnation, Christ's two natures and the virgin birth, bodily resurrection, and the sacraments, all of which involve the acceptance of matter as part of God's design, as well as nullifying the doctrine of the Trinity and the very idea of God's omnipotence.

By the time it reached the West from Byzantium, Catharism had taken two forms, a mitigated and a radical dualism. Mitigated dualism originated with the Bogomils in Bulgaria in the tenth century, spreading to the Byzantine empire, whence it was carried to western Europe. It was closer to Christianity in recognizing only one God, the good God who had created everything good, including Satan, who had been his eldest son Lucifer before he had rebelled against his father. Satan had therefore corrupted himself by his own free will, and that freedom was held, somewhat inconsistently, to belong also to the souls that Satan subsequently imprisoned in bodies. Adapting the Old Testament account of creation in *Genesis,* the Bogomils, and later the Cathari, substituted Satan for God as creator of the firmament and the visible world, although Satan made it from preexisting matter created by God from nothing.

The world was therefore Satan's domain, and the Old Testament was the witness to his tyrannical rule. Hence the Cathari rejected the Old Testament as God's word—one of their distinguishing traits. Although they accepted the New Testament, its meaning was transformed as part of a syncretism of Christian and non-Christian beliefs, expressed as allegories and fables that were the preserve of the initiated—the perfect. Catharism thus not only had its own tenets and practices but also its own canonical literature.

The only thing that Satan had been unable to make was the human soul; it came from the angels and was variously described in the different Cathar fables as having been captured or stolen from heaven and then put in a body. The first two imprisoned souls were Adam and Eve, who by succumbing to Satan's temptations, depicted in strongly sexual imagery, became the progenitors of the human race. The penalty for their fall, which for the Cathari was identified particularly with sexuality, was the procreation of individual souls with their bodies, so that all men were born as souls imprisoned in a body. The whole of Cathar religious practice was directed toward releasing the soul from the body, thereby liberating it from Satan's rule and enabling it to return to its place in heaven. That was also the reason why God, taking pity on the fallen angels, represented by mankind suffering for Adam and Eve's sin, had sent not only Christ, his second son, but also the Holy Spirit into the world to help redeem them. Although they, too, according to some mitigated dualists, were part of God's nature, they were inferior to God. Moreover, as a spirit, Christ in his human form did not have a real body: it was either, according to some, a phantom, or, according to others, some kind of angelic covering. Whatever the case, though, the human Christ of the Cathari was not the word made flesh. He had not been born of Mary but had entered through her ear. Nor did he suffer on the cross, another of the material objects, together with images and the material properties of the Christian sacraments, rejected by the Cathari. The true Christ suffered for mankind in heaven. In this world his role was to show the way and reestablish the truth of God's word. In that sense there was, in keeping with their docetic belief, only one Christ, in heaven; he was not to be found in churches, which were not his house: one more Cathar trait, shared with the Waldensians, although by the late twelfth century in Languedoc, the Cathari did use churches as meeting places for their ceremonies. The struggle of the soul with Satan would finally end not as in the orthodox Christian belief, in the body's resurrection with the soul, but in the body's destruction with all of Satan's handiwork and the soul's ascent into heaven.

The main divergence of radical dualism from the mitigated form lay in its making the opposition between the principles of good and evil absolute and eternal. Good and evil and their creations had always coexisted. And as the good God's creation was heaven, so the visible world created by Satan was hell. Hence to live in this world was to be in hell, in man's case through having a body in which, as with the mitigated dualists, Satan had initially imprisoned the souls of angels taken from heaven. Free will thus played no part in Satan's original fall; and the power of God was correspondingly restricted in never having had control over evil, which was completely autonomous. Nor did individuals have the means of directly returning to God. Although Christ taught the way of salvation, individuals had first to undergo a series of reincarnations until they came to recognize evil by becoming perfect, thereby freeing their souls from the devil. Christ himself, and generally Mary, were regarded as angels, neither having a real body. For both absolute and mitigated dualists, as indeed for orthodox Christians, all souls would at the end be saved or damned. But for the absolute dualists free will seems to have played no part in salvation. At the end the visible world would fall into material chaos from which all souls would have departed, whereas for the mitigated dualists Satan would be captured and all things would return to order.

Accordingly the Cathari shunned all contact with the material, beyond that which was unavoidable to their existence as human beings. That meant the rejection of marriage, of all foods that were the product of sexual generation, of all material elements in worship, and of all involvement in things of this world, whether love of material goods or worldly behavior, including any kind of violence or taking of life, the exercise of jurisdiction, or the swearing of oaths. The result was an extreme asceticism and austerity, which in their moral and practical expression had close affinities with the Christian ideal of evangelical perfection. The Cathari exhibited the same sense of material renunciation and spiritual devotion, and that probably more than anything else accounted for the hold that the Cathari were able to gain in southern France and northern Italy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Because the demands of Catharism were exceptional, strict practice was confined to a small minority of adepts, the perfect. They represented the Cathar hierarchy; unlike the Christian hierarchy, however, they were a very small elite who had to prove themselves all the time. The mass of ordinary Cathar believers were able to live ordinary lives while accepting the spiritual ministrations and authority of the perfect.

The great dividing line between the perfect and the believers was the reception of the *consolamentum:* the initiation rite of spiritual baptism by the laying on of hands that admitted the recipient into the ranks of the perfect. It was usually performed after a year's probation and the full revelation of Cathar teaching, which was not accessible to the ordinary adherents. Once received, the *consolamentum* remitted the consoled's sins and the consequences of the soul's imprisonment in a body, reuniting his soul with his spirit in heaven and releasing him from Satan's rule. It was then that his testing really began. Any lapse into forbidden sins—and for the Cathari they were all equal—meant the loss of the *consolamentum* both for the sinner and for those who had been consoled by him. He could be reconsoled only after severe penance. But so long as he remained firm to his obedience, he was effectively among the saved, one of the perfect, and revered as such by ordinary believers. For the latter a special *consolamentum* was administered before death to remit their sins and bring salvation; should they recover, a further *consolamentum* was needed. The *consolamentum* thus conferred a Gnostic-like certainty of salvation which challenged orthodox Christian revelation.

The precise date of the appearance of Catharism in western Europe has been keenly debated; there is no universal agreement even now. The generally accepted view is that the first firm evidence of Cathari appears at Cologne in 1143 or 1144. That opinion could well be modified in the future. What can be said is that by the 1150s they were in southern France and northern Italy; by the 1160s they were firmly established in both regions. These became their two chief areas, especially Languedoc in the lands of the count of Toulouse. In 1176 a great council of Cathari is reported to have been held at Saint-Félix-de-Caraman where, in addition to an already existing Cathar bishopric at Albi, three more bishoprics were established for Cathar territories. It was from Albi that the southern French Cathari received their name of Albigensians (Albigenses). By 1170 they had become the main heresy to be combated. The papacy sent a succession of preaching missions, including Waldensians, Cistercians, and the founder of the Dominican order, Dominic. As early as 1181 Alexander III's cardinal legate, Henry, abbot of Clairvaux (before whom Valdès also appeared), besieged a castle at Lavaux sheltering two heretics. Alexander's successor, Innocent III, intensified the pressure, using both sanctions and persuasion. Matters came to a head in January 1208, when one of Innocent's legates, Peter Castelnau, was assassinated. Innocent, who had already called upon the king of France to make war against the Cathari, then launched his own crusade under the abbot of Cîteaux. That marked the beginning of the Albigensian crusade, in which the lands of the count of Toulouse were overrun. Although the crusade severely weakened the Cathari, they survived and regrouped. It was not until 1243 that they were effectively destroyed as an organized church with the capture of over 200 perfect at Montségur. Their strength had lain in the widespread support they had received in both town and countryside from the nobles as well as from artisans and members of the professions. For a time before the Albigensian crusade they had overshadowed the Roman Catholic church in southern France.

In Italy, the Cathari never enjoyed the same cohesion as those in Languedoc. They were driven by the conflicts that began early in the 1160s between adherents of the two forms of dualism. They were also mainly located in the cities, where they owed their survival to the opposition of the cities to both imperial and papal authority. It was only in the second half of the thirteenth century, after the ending of the wars between the popes and Frederick II, the German emperor, that the way was cleared for papal action against the Cathari. A series of trials in the larger Italian cities had largely extirpated them by the beginning of the fourteenth century, at which time they also disappeared from Languedoc.

SEE ALSO Dominic; Waldensians.

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CATHARSIS. The Greek *katharsis* is an action noun corresponding to a verb that literally means "to prune, to clean, to remove dirt or a blemish [*katharma*] for the purpose of rendering some thing, place, or animate being pure [*katharos*]." As denoting the general process of purification, *catharsis* could of course be applied to a very broad range of phenomena in the history of religions. In this article, however, the focus will be specifically on the Greek conception. Although the meaning of *catharsis* and the exact techniques or modalities of purification (*katharmoi*) differ according to context, the sense of *catharsis* always remains negative: it refers to separating, evacuating, or releasing. Whether performed in a strictly ritual setting or understood as a spiritual concept, catharsis maintains this negative meaning of ridding either oneself or an object of something impure or unclean.

Catharsis originally appears as a ritualized process of quasi-material purification that makes use of a variety of substances as purifying agents. Chief among these are the elements water, fire, and sulfur, followed by oil, clay, and bran. Certain other vegetable substances, such as laurel, myrtle, and olive are also used, especially as prophylactics (coronets of leaves) or as supports of cleansing waters (aspersions). Since ceremonial purifications are usually conducted out in the open, the element of air also plays a role.

In the selection and use of such purifying agents, the symbolism of numbers sometimes comes into play, especially of the numbers three, seven, and nine. The gestures involved in aspersions, ablutions, fumigations, and the like, may be repeated a set number of times; a definite number of sacrificial victims may be required; and even the source of the water used in the rite may be determined on the basis of numbers (water coming from a river that arises from three springs was preferred).

When a sacrificial victim was required for purification, the pig was the most frequently sacrificed animal. However, once a year, the Athenians purified their city with the sacrifice of two human victims, *pharmakoi*, one bearing the guilt of all the Athenian men, the other bearing the guilt of all the Athenian women. As a general rule whatever served for the purification had to be completely destroyed. Human victims were burned.

The idea of defilement is closely linked to the perception of a disturbance of the natural order or a breach of the day-to-day routine. Contacts or experiences that call into question the physical integrity of the individual or of the general environment require a catharsis. Since health is understood to be normal, illness is seen as something abnormal, as a physical or mental stain requiring purification. Madness, too, and breaches of morality are seen as illnesses and therefore as defilements; thus an army in violation of the law or in revolt can be called back to order, cured of its illness, through purifications. Examples of this "psychosomatic" use of purification are numerous. The Proetides were purified of their madness by the magus Melampus. To cure the Lacedaemonian women struck with nymphomania required the intervention of a *kathartēs* Bakis, delegated by Apollo, the god of healing and purification. The women of Samos were liberated from their sexual exaltation thanks to the *katharmos* of Dexikreon.

The Bacchants were liberated from their maladies quite differently, however—in the orgy, which temporarily identified them with Dionysos, the god of *mania.* The Dionysian orgy is cathartic to the extent that it releases the urges repressed by social and moral constraints. The ritual release of the Dionysian rite is a purification: "Blessed are the dancers and those who are purified, who dance on the hill in the holy dance of god" (Euripides, *The Bacchae* 75ff.). Intoxication from wine or from dance purges the individual of irrational impulses which, if repressed, would be noxious. Ritual madness can also cure internal madness. Music, too, can have a cathartic function (Quintilianus Aristides, *Peri mousikēs* 3.23). The Aristotelian theory of tragedy—initially Dionysiac—defined catharsis from this same perspective: The satiation of the passions by the spectacle of the theater is a therapeutic based, like the Bacchic *ekstasis*, on purgative and liberating homeopathy.

Contact with death requires purification, whether it is a death one has caused, the death of a family member, or any other contact with the dead. The murderer, whether the act was voluntary or involuntary, is defiled. Herakles had to be purified of the deaths of Iphitos, the Meropes, the sons of Proteus, and the centaurs; Achilles of the murder of Thersites (according to Arctinos of Miletus); Jason and Medea of the murder of Apsyrtos; and Theseus of the murder of the Pallantides. In certain cases, only the gods can cleanse the criminal of his wrongdoing. Ixion was apparently the first murderer purified by Zeus. Patricide constituted a particularly grave case, whether of Oedipus or Orestes; the latter was purified by Apollo himself. The stain of death may also be collective, as in the case of the Athenians after the deaths of Androgeus or the Cylonians. In this case a collective purification may be necessary. Even the quelling of malefic creatures such as the brigands killed by Theseus, the dragon killed by Cadmus, or the serpent Python killed by Apollo demands purification.

However, Homer presents us with a somewhat different picture. Odysseus, after having executed the suitors of Penelope, asks that sulfur and fire be brought "to disperse the bad air" (*Odyssey*, 22.481). This is meant to purify the house but not particularly those who have been killed or have done the killing. It is as if the cadaver that defiles a house takes precedence over the idea of moral responsibility for homicide.

Throughout antiquity the sentiment prevails that the contact with death, the presence of the dead under the family roof, demands purification. Iamblichus writes around 300 CE: "It is impious to touch human bodies from which the soul has departed," since "the nonliving mark the living with a stain." Thus the domicile of the deceased should be ritually disinfected. In the morning, vases of lustral water that had to be borrowed from another house were placed at the door of the deceased's home. These were then interred with the dead. The funeral and the subsequent rites had the ultimate purpose of purifying the family and consecrating the boundary that would henceforth separate the dead from the living; any dead person deprived of a tomb thus remained a *katharma.*

Certain sacred places prohibit the presence of tombs. Pisistratus, instructed by the oracles, purified the island of Delos by having the dead disinterred "anywhere in the region within visual range of the sanctuary" (Herodotus, 1.64). Later, in 426, all of the dead found on the island were disposed of (Thucydides, 1.8, 3.104, 5.1). The authorities of Eleusis had the body of a dead man found on the plain of Rharos removed and had the entire plain purified by a *kathartēs.* Contact with the world of the dead was not permissible without prior lustrations (Homer, *Odyssey* 11.25ff.; Lucian, *Nekuomanteia* 7). Conversely, one who was resuscitated had to be washed and nursed like a newborn (Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae* 5). Even encountering the dead in a dream requires purification (Aristophanes, *Ranae* 1340). Finally, contact with and, particularly, the eating of dead animals were impure in the eyes of the Orphics, the Pythagoreans, the initiates of the cult of Zagreus (Euripides, *The Cretans* 472), as well as for candidates for certain initiations (Porphyry, *De abstinentia* 4.16; Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11.23.2). There was also a blood taboo, which legitimated excluding criminals from the Eleusinian mysteries, but the Lesser Mysteries of Agra prepared them for initiation into the Greater.

The blood taboo explains the relationship of menstruation, generation, and parturition to catharsis. Hippocrates gives the menstrual periods the name *katharsis* because they relieve women of their menstrual blood. The houses of women giving birth also require purification. Miscarriages require forty days of lustrations. When Delos was purified in 426 all lying-in on the island was forbidden. To approach a woman in labor was, for the superstitious character in Theophrastus (*Characteres* 16.9), as serious as walking on a grave or touching the dead (the two injunctions are often in tandem). The initiates of Ida whom Euripides places on stage in *The Cretans* avoid "assisting at birth or approaching a coffin." The newborn, too, must be purified. By means of several lustrations the Amphidromies of the Greeks and the rites of the *dies lustricus* of the Romans integrate the newborn into the community and preserve him from evil spirits attracted by the blood present at birth.

Sexual contacts demand catharsis just as those with death or the dead. Anyone wishing to approach the chapel of Men-Lunus had to be purified if he had eaten pork or garlic or touched a woman or corpses. Matrimonial rites derive from concerns connected with the taboos of blood, sex, or life. They consist of preliminary lustrations (baths, aspersions, circulating fumigations, the wearing of white vestments and of crowns), which were to safeguard the couple (Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis* 1111; Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica* 8.245f.).

More radically, life itself can appear impure, inasmuch as life comes from a mixture of body and soul, Dionysiac and Titanic elements which, according to Orphism, are implicit in the human makeup. Life is also impure when compared to that of the gods. Contact with the gods thus requires certain lustrations. Access to sacred enclosures (and especially to the *aduton*, the inner sanctum) is forbidden to those who have not undergone the ritual catharsis. Pools of water for this purpose are located at the entrances to sanctuaries, reminiscent of the holy water fonts of Christian churches. The sacrificial ceremony itself includes purifications of the officiates, of the participants, the victim, the liturgical vessel, the instruments of immolations, and the altar near which the animal is to be slaughtered.

The initiations, which permit man to establish a closer bond with the world of the gods, indeed, to be assimilated to the gods in certain cases, impose on the candidate a rigorous catharsis. Examples include the rituals of Andania and Agra, various types of abstinences, baths in the sea with a sacrificial pig for the candidates for the mysteries of Eleusis, and the continences, abstinences, and ablutions for the initiates of Isis, Mithra, and Dionysos. The Bacchic mysteries could even be regarded as being essentially cathartic. These rites suppose that man himself is too unclean to enter into relationship with the gods. Moreover, he cannot himself proceed with his own purification; he needs to have recourse to the techniques of a priest or of a *kathartēs.*

The philosophers, however, shifted emphasis in the understanding of catharsis, viewing it more in terms of spiritual purification. An inscription at Epidaurus recommends that one approach the gods with a pure spirit (Porphyry, *De abstinentia* 2.19; cf. Cicero, *De legibus* 2.24: "The law bids one approach the gods purely, with a spirit that is in which all things are"). The speculations of the Orphics were particularly important to this change of emphasis. Orphic mythology places a hereditary taint on humanity that has been compared to a sort of original sin. It is said that Zeus, hurling a bolt of lightning, reduced the race of Titans to cinders for having eaten Dionysos Zagreus. The human race is then born from these cinders. Consequently, human beings must be delivered from this Titanic contamination in order to recover their true Bacchic essence. Toward this end, Orphic catharsis serves to actually reinstate the divine life through the practice of continual asceticism. Similarly, Plato (*Phaedo,* 67c) refers to an "ancient tradition" for the purification *par excellence:* the separation of the soul from the body. The *kathartēs* whom Plato ridicules in *The Republic* (364e) and the Orpheotelestes of Theophrastus (*Characteres* 16.11) offer ritual recipes. The "Orphic life" implies a *spiritual* discipline, a kind of personal sacrifice. Similarly, the Platonists and, later, the Neoplatonists, were to preach the liberation of the spirit. This catharsis is reserved, however, for the elite sages, and with the last of the Neoplatonists the techniques of theurgy tended to overshadow intellectual purification.

After physical death (which the philosopher can anticipate while still in the body), the soul must be stripped of the garments that it has donned in its descent through the planetary spheres (Cumont, 1949, pp. 358, 364; Festugière, 1953, pp. 128ff.). Posthumous catharsis, as understood by the Orphics and Neoplatonists, consists in separating the soul from all heterogeneous elements. Vergil's hell (*Aeneid,* 6.740ff.), which tries the souls by wind, water, and fire, reminds us of the *katharmoi* of Empedocles (frag. 115). Seneca (*Ad Marciam de consolatione* 25.1), by contrast, gives a moral explanation for posthumous purification. The funeral pyre is thought by some to purify the soul from the body. Lightning is also thought to confer apotheosis (Cumont, 1949, p. 330). For others, the universe as a whole is subject to periodic purifications, which in Stoic cosmology consist of deluges and conflagrations (Origen, *Against Celsus* 4.12, 4.21, 4.64, 4.69).

From birth to death, through marriage and initiations, catharsis thus sanctioned the major steps of life. From its therapeutic, magic, or prophylactic functions, catharsis tended to shift in time to a moral and mystical exercise, especially in stipulating the conditions for salvation or apotheosis through radical ablation or liberation.

SEE ALSO Blood; Fire; Purification; Water.

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CATHEDRAL SEE BASILICA, CATHEDRAL, AND CHURCH

CATHERINE OF SIENA (1347–1380), Caterina da Siena; Italian mystic and Christian saint. The particular genius of the spirituality of Catherine of Siena had its earliest beginnings in a visionary experience of Christ when she was six years old, and her subsequent childish yet serious vow of virginity. She persisted in her purpose in spite of family opposition until she was accepted as one of the Mantellate, a Dominican third-order group comprising, up to then, only widows. For about three years thereafter she gave herself to prayer and asceticism in almost complete seclusion, until her very prayer (which had become deeply mystical) led her out, first to serve the poor and the sick in her own city, and gradually into wider and wider spheres.

She had learned in her solitude to read, and now she became an enthusiastic conversationalist, feeding insatiably on the theological knowledge of friends she attracted among Dominicans, Augustinians, Franciscans, and Jesuits. She began, too, to draw as disciples people from every walk of life, a circle she would call her *famiglia.* She found an ideal mentor in the Dominican friar Raymond of Capua. Raymond was an astute theologian and diplomat, under whose guidance and in whose company Catherine's scope broadened to include the ecclesiastical and the political—in her mind always of one piece with the spiritual, and all ultimately oriented to the same spiritual ends.

Unlike her contemporary Birgitta of Sweden, Catherine was an ardent promoter and recruiter for the crusade projected by Pope Gregory XI and his successor, Urban VI. A holy war seemed to her a perfect means of uniting in a common cause Christians now at odds among themselves and with the papacy. She saw Palestine as a Christian trust, and she believed with many that the advance of the Turks toward Europe must be halted. A main object of the crusade would be the conversion of the Muslims, who would in their new faith be a leaven to reinvigorate a sick church. And it would provide her and others (she apparently intended to go along) the opportunity to pay Christ "blood for blood."

It was the dissension between Florence and Gregory XI that brought Catherine to that city in 1376 to attempt to mediate a reconciliation. On the mandate, probably, of only certain Guelphs she traveled to Avignon (where the popes had resided since 1309) with no official credentials, only to be ignored by Florentine ambassadors who came later. In subsequent efforts, also, she failed to influence the Florentines significantly in this dispute, which was to her essentially religious but was to them a matter of political survival.

Once rebuffed by Florence, Catherine turned her energy toward the two issues she considered the root of the dissension: the continuing absence of the popes from Rome and clerical corruption. If the pope would return to Rome, she reasoned, Christians would have no more cause for rebellion, and reform could begin. Gregory XI had in fact so resolved but had repeatedly, in fear, put off taking action. Catherine can surely be credited with finally moving him. In fact, when dissent deepened after his return to Rome, many including the pope blamed Catherine's advice.

Gregory XI died on March 27, 1378, and within months his successor, Urban VI, was being denounced by a growing number of the cardinals, who in September of that year elected Clement VII as antipope, thus effectively splitting the church. At Urban's invitation Catherine came to Rome to support his cause. Though her health was by this time failing under her fierce asceticism and exertion, she continued to pray and work tirelessly for unity and reform, both of which seemed to her ever more elusive. The weight of this sense of failure surely contributed to her early death on April 29, 1380. She was canonized in 1461 and proclaimed a doctor of the church in 1970; she and Teresa of Ávila were the first women to receive that title.

Catherine used letters prodigiously as a favored vehicle of influence. The nearly four hundred letters that have been collected and edited date mostly from 1375 to 1380. They are addressed to persons as diverse as popes, high-ranking clergy, nobles, relatives, disciples, prisoners, and prostitutes. Unfortunately, the early compilers' purposes of simple edification led them to delete much that was personal from the letters, but still they open a revealing window on Catherine's evolving thought and on her warm and spontaneous personality.

In 1377 and 1378, in addition to all her other activities, Catherine composed the work since known as *The Dialogue* (because she cast it as an exchange between God and herself). Her intent in writing it was to share with her disciples and others the insights she had gained in prayer and in her own experience. In it she approaches the way of holiness from several vantage points, and develops at length the themes of God's providence, the role of Christ as redeemer and mediator, and the church. Finally, during the last three and a half years of Catherine's life, her secretaries sometimes recorded her prayers when she spoke in ecstasy. Twenty-six such prayers have been preserved.

Through her reading and her associations, Catherine gained a knowledge of the Christian tradition remarkable in an otherwise unschooled person. In her works she draws freely not only from scripture but from Augustine, Gregory the Great, Bernard, and Thomas Aquinas (to name only those most frequently reflected), as well as from contemporaries such as Ubertino of Casale, Domenico Cavalca, Iacopo Passavanti, and Giovanni Colombini. Her own writing, however, is not speculative or systematic or analytical. Rather, she synthesizes into an integrated whole all of the various aspects of Christian faith on which she dwells. Her purposes are eminently practical, her tone warm and personal. She resorts for clarification not to conceptual argumentation but to literary images, developing the meaning of each as she goes and interweaving them one with another.

The central principles around which Catherine's teaching revolves are everywhere evident in her writings: God alone is absolute being, and God's being is at once love and truth—love that is truth and truth that is love. When humankind cut itself off from God by sin, God's endlessly creative and re-creative being took flesh in Jesus Christ, who in himself repaired the breach. The foundation of all spiritual life is knowledge of oneself in God and of God in oneself. Human nature is God's creation and as such is essentially good, and Catherine is therefore understanding and compassionate of human weakness even as she denounces sin. Desire for the truth and love that is God puts all in order, and what God asks of the human heart is infinite desire.

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SUZANNE NOFFKE (1987)

CATHOLIC CHURCH SEE ROMAN CATHOLICISM

CATS seem to be surrounded by a special power. Their graceful movements, their liveliness at night, and their inaudible steps as well as their independent spirit have enchanted poets and painters and storytellers in many cultures, but these very traits account also for the aversion many people have had to them. Throughout history, cats have rarely been regarded with indifference; they have generally been considered either sacred or demonic. The earliest known center of their veneration, and probably also of their domestication, was ancient Egypt, where they are documented from 1600 BCE onward. Bast, a popular goddess of pleasure, was represented with a cat's head. Numerous sacred cats lived around her sanctuary in Bubastis, and thousands of mummified cats have been found in that area.

Other goddesses with feline attributes have also been connected with cats. In a Roman myth, Diana assumes the form of a cat, and in Germanic mythology, Freyja's carriage is drawn by cats. In Bengali Hinduism, Ṣaṣṭi rides or stands on a (usually black) cat. Should a mother be disrespectful to the goddess, a cat will kill her children; such revenge can be averted by pouring sour milk over a black cat and licking it off.

Cats are frequently perceived as malevolent creatures. The idea that a cat can "suck the breath" of sleeping children (i.e., suffocate them) is widely prevalent, and in some myths the cat is represented even as a bloodsucking ogre. Some people think that to swallow a cat's hair will result in tuberculosis. But a cat's tooth can serve as a talisman, for cats have not only "nine lives" but supernatural powers. In Ireland, for example, it is thought that the devil can assume the form of a cat; in China, it is believed that cats can see spirits at night and that a dead cat can turn into a demon. In many places it is thought that cats can sense the presence of death, that they can smell the guiding spirit come to conduct away the departing soul. Because of their supernatural abilities, cats are connected with witches and sorcerers; in fact, they are—especially black ones—typical familiars of witches. In medieval Europe, every owner of such an animal was therefore suspect.

As an agent of the supernatural, the cat became a sacrificial animal in some cultures. In medieval Europe, cats were killed as an expiation in times of plague or were thrown into the Saint John's fire at the summer solstice. As late as the mid-seventeenth century, in the ceremony of the Taigheirm in the West Highlands of Scotland, black cats were roasted on spits to raise the infernal spirits. In Japan, however, as in ancient Egypt and other cultures, it has been thought inadvisable to kill a cat, owing to its special power. Such an act would bring misfortune, or would have to be atoned for (in Muslim Bengal, with five pounds of salt).

In European lore, cats can function as house goblins and are also counted among the shapeshifters; they can assume enormous proportions in case of danger or in order to rescue their benefactor from equally enormous rats. Thus their role can be beneficial as well: friendly cat demons can produce gold and treasures for those who have been kind to them, and cats—especially tricolored cats (which are believed to be always female)—can protect a house from fire and guarantee marital happiness.

In many cultures it is considered a bad omen to see a cat, especially a black one, when leaving a house; likewise, to dream of a black cat, or to cross its path, means misfortune. But the black cat's body serves both medical and magical purposes; a meal of cat's brains may arouse love in someone, or strengthen a man's sexual power, or restore sight. Pulverized cat's gall rubbed into the eyes enables one to see at night, or to see *jinn.* Certain parts of a black cat, prepared with other ingredients, can make a person invisible.

The behavior of cats is also often regarded as an omen. In Germany, if a cat washes itself, a guest will come. In China, the arrival of a strange cat in a house portends poverty, because that cat is believed to have a premonition that many mice will come to live in that house. The cat's sensitivity to atmospheric changes has led, in many places, to belief that it can predict—or, indeed, is responsible for—the weather. In Turkey, if a cat purrs loudly, a severe winter is impending; in England, if a cat sits with its back to the fire, there will be frost. In Java and Sumatra, bathing two cats or throwing one into a river can bring rain.

Folklore often talks about the hypocritical cat. "The cat weeps at the mouse's death," according to a Chinese proverb. The story of the "repentant" cat that appears as a pious ascetic in order to cheat the mice has been told from ancient Egypt to modern Mongolia, and it occurs frequently in Persian literature (see ʿUbayd-i Za-kānī's little epic *Mouse and Cat* from the fourteenth century). Hence, in Persian and Ottoman Turkish urban poetry, the term *cat* is sometimes used to characterize a sly person of high rank. The friendship of a cat with a mouse or other weaker animal, or with its arch-enemy the dog, lasts only so long as both are in danger, as *Ka-līlah wa-Dimnah* (The fables of Bidpai) tells us; once safe, the cat usually eats the mouse. This "hypocrisy" has been expressed in many proverbs that warn against trusting the cat, which may first lick one's hand and then scratch it. The motto of the Mackintosh clan of Scotland is "Touch not a cat but [i.e., without] a glove."

Nevertheless, the cat has many positive aspects. In ancient Rome, the cat was a symbol of liberty, for no animal has so independent a spirit or is so resistant to restraint as a cat. In China, the association of the sign for cat, *mao,* with that for the number eighty has made the cat a symbol of long life.

In Islamic tradition, the cat is born in Noah's ark from the lioness's sneeze, or else she is the lion's, or tiger's, aunt who teaches him various tricks but withholds the last one, that is, how to climb a tree. The positive evaluation of cats in the Islamic world is due to the prophet Muḥammad's fondness for cats. Because he stroked the back of a cat that saved him from a snake's wiliness, cats never fall on their backs, and the trace of his fingers is visible in the dark stripes that appear on the foreheads of most cats. The cat is clean and does not spoil man's purity for prayer (as does the dog), and its drinking water can be used for ritual ablutions. Many Ṣūfīs have had cats as companions, animals that have sometimes performed wonderful feats of clairvoyance or self-sacrifice to save others from danger or death. The most remarkable cult of cats is connected with the North African beggars' order of the Heddawa, in which cats are treated like humans; however, once in a while a cat is ritually killed by the brethren. Cats can assume the shape of saints or helpers, as in pre-Islamic Arabia, where desert demons, *ghūl,* were visualized with cats' heads. Even the Sakīnah, God's presence, appeared to the Prophet in the shape of a white cat.

Caterwauling, not always appreciated by most people, has sometimes been interpreted as mysterious music. An early Arabian musician learned some superb songs from a black cat in his dreams. Nursery rhymes sing of the cat's fiddling, and the cat's purr has sometimes been interpreted as its prayer.

Benevolent cats occur frequently in folk tales. The Dick Whittington motif of the cat that proves useful in a country without cats is known in the East and the West. The friendly, clever tomcat, manifested in *Puss in Boots*, is a common topic of folk tradition. It is always the youngest of three sons who inherits the resourceful cat. Thus, the cat often uses its magic properties for positive ends and appears as a mediator between the hero and the supernatural world. This expresses best the good side of the cat's ambivalent character and of its role as an animal that is powerful in the three realms of activity: demonic, human, and divine.

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ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL (1987)
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CATTLE. By *cattle* is here meant those bovines that have been brought under domestication (*Bos taurus*, *Bos longifrons*, *Bos brachyceros*, *Bos indicus*) and not merely bovines or domesticated livestock in general. The first datum that must thus concern anyone interested in the religio-historic importance of cattle is the very fact of the domestication of wild bovines, which was one of the central cultural accomplishments of the "Neolithic revolution," now dated in the period roughly between the tenth and sixth millennium BCE. Since the nineteenth century, a debate has continued between those who have argued in favor of a religious motivation for the domestication of this species and those who have stressed material and economic factors. The former position, initially formulated by Eduard Hahn, emphasized the common use of cattle as sacrificial victims throughout ancient Mesopotamia, arguing from this datum that cattle were tamed in order to ensure a regular and adequate supply of victims for the sacrificial cult. While some still maintain this theory, more generally accepted is the opposing point of view, which holds that obtaining reliable sources of milk, meat, and traction power for nonreligious purposes was the primary motive for the initial domestication.

Once tamed, cattle quickly came to occupy a highly important place within both the agricultural and the pastoral economies of Neolithic societies. In those areas where sufficient rainfall and a long growing season made the production of crops feasible, cattle were harnessed to the yoke and used for plowing, a process that greatly increased the agricultural yield. This combination of cereal agriculture and cattle-drawn plows was an extremely dynamic one: increased agricultural production made it possible to feed ever larger herds of cattle (as well as ever more people), which in turn made it possible to bring ever larger areas of land under the plow. As irrigation techniques were mastered, still greater production resulted, ultimately making possible the emergence of urban civilization.

Elsewhere, in terrains less conducive to agricultural production, with perhaps an inadequate water supply and/or a short growing season, pastoral economies proper developed. Here, herds of cattle were exploited more as a source of food and raw materials than for their labor. Milk, butter, cheese, and sometimes the blood of cattle served as chief items of diet, although agricultural products might also be obtained by way of trade. Meat, for pastoralists as for those who practiced mixed herding and agriculture, remained always a highly specialized and prestigious item of diet, the consumption of which was surrounded by religious attitudes and ritual procedures.

Beyond food, cattle provided numerous other necessities of life for such pastoral peoples as the Nilotic tribes of East Africa, the Israelites of the patriarchal period, and the early Indo-Europeans. Among the products derived from cattle were leather hides, used for clothing, shelter, defensive armament, thongs, and the like; bone tools; dung, which served as fuel for slow-burning fires in areas where wood was scarce; and urine, often used as an all-purpose disinfectant. It is thus no overstatement to say that for cattle-herding pastoralists, cattle formed the very means of production, being in effect machines for the conversion of grass into multiple usable forms.

Equally important, however, is the fact that cattle served as the standard measure of wealth and means of exchange. Nor is exchange to be understood as simply trade: rather, the transfer of cattle from one person or group to another establishes a continuing relation between them, the exchange having social, ritual, and sentimental dimensions as well as economic. Convenient examples of this are found in the institutions of bridewealth and wergild, whereby one social group that has caused another group to lose a valued member compensates the latter by bestowing a prescribed number of cattle upon them. These cattle not only restore the economically productive value of the lost individual, but also replace him or her in the affections of the group that receives them. As a result of this exchange, the two groups—one of which would otherwise benefit at the expense of the other—remain in balance and harmony.

Cattle are thus a crucially important part of any pastoral society, for in truth they make social life possible. All moments of passage—births, deaths, marriages, initiations—are marked by an exchange of cattle. And, in addition to horizontal exchanges of cattle (i.e., those between humans, all of whom occupy the same level of the cosmos), vertical exchanges are also frequent, sacrifice being in part an exchange between humans and gods—as for instance in sacrifices performed on behalf of those suffering from disease, in which cattle are given to deities, who in return restore the afflicted person to his or her social group.

One can thus readily see that there exists a constant demand for cattle within pastoral societies, given their enormous importance as means of production, means of exchange, measures of wealth, and signs of prestige. New supplies are obtained through normal reproduction and breeding, of course, but also through violence, for the raiding of neighboring people's herds is an extremely common practice among pastoralists. Such raids stand in marked opposition to the types of exchange discussed above. Involving no reciprocity, they create or perpetuate imbalance and disharmony between the raiding and raided groups, reciprocity and balance (but never harmony) appearing only when the tables are turned and the previously raided group turns raider itself. To ensure success in raids, warrior values and patterns of organization—militarized age-sets, *Männerbünde*, and the like—are particularly cultivated. Specialized training, initiatory rituals, and magical apparatuses prepare young men to go forth on raids, these being not simply expeditions born of socioeconomic utility, but also—from the point of veiw of those who participate, at any rate—sacred, ritual ventures.

The chief means whereby raids are elevated to ritual status is through the propagation of myths that offer a divine precedent for the deeds of warriors. Such myths, in which the exploits of a deity, hero, or primordial ancestor are celebrated, serve to charter and legitimate similar raiding activity, as warriors come to identify with, and pattern themselves after, the mythic models. A case in point is a celebrated Nuer myth, which tells of the first cattle raid launched by the first Nuer against the first Dinka, at the command of God himself:

> There were still no cattle on the earth. Then God collared Nuer and gave him a cow and a calf with the instructions to share them with Dinka—to give the cow to Dinka and to keep the calf himself. Then, he secretly gave Nuer the direction to come to him early in the morning in order to receive his calf. But, unobserved, Dinka had overheard this speech. Very early—still by night—Nuer came to God's dwelling and said, "Gwah, my Father, I have come; give me my calf." "Who are you?" asked God. Whereupon the Nuer said, "I am Nuer." "But now, who was it who came to me a little while ago and said he was Nuer, and to whom I consequently gave the calf?" God now asked. The astonished Nuer replied, "I did not come. That must have been Dinka. This was Dinka cunning; he has out-witted me." Then God said to Nuer, "Good, now you take the cow for the present; then follow Dinka. When you have overtaken him, you may kill him and take the calf from him." Since that time date the struggles of the Nuer against the Dinka to gain possession of their cattle. (Crazzolara, 1953, pp. 68–69; my trans.)

As the last sentence of this highly significant text indicates, the Nuer—who are militarily superior to their Dinka neighbors—make use of this myth to justify their raiding activity, for the myth permits them to claim that such aggression (1) sets right an ancient wrong, in which Dinka initially cheated Nuer of his calf, and (2) fulfills a commandment spoken by God. Such an ideology permits the Nuer to make use of their superior force with a sense of perfect self-righteousness; it seems probable that the Dinka herds would be thoroughly depleted by Nuer attacks, were it not for the fact that the Dinka tell more or less the same myth, interpreting it, however, as establishing a sacred charter and precedent for their own continuing theft of Nuer cattle through stealth and guile, qualities in which they exceed their Nuer enemy.

Similar stories are found among many other peoples for whom cattle are a mainstay of the society and economy. Sometimes these circulate in secular versions, as in Ireland, where numerous tales, including the great national epic *Táin Bó Cuailnge* (The Cattle Raid of Cuailnge) celebrate the raiding exploits of human, if prodigious, warriors. Elsewhere, demigods appear as the prototypical heroes of cattle raids, as with the Greek tale of Herakles and Geryon, or its Roman counterpart, in which Hercules vanquishes Cacus. Both of these are quite similar to the pattern of the Nuer myth, telling how a foreigner stole cattle, which the national or ethnic hero then recovered in a fully justified raid. Yet again, the central figure of raiding myths may himself be a deity, as in numerous myths of Vedic India, in which the warrior god Indra recovers stolen cattle from such enemies as the *paṇi*s, Vṛtra, and Vala. In these myths, the cattle raid is lifted to cosmogonic significance, for it is regularly told that in recovering lost cattle, Indra also set free imprisoned waters and light, rescuing the cosmos from possible disaster. Here the rains and the sun's rays are homologized to cattle; they are the cows of the atmosphere and of the heavens respectively, these having been penned up by drought and night but set free by the god's successful cattle raid—a raid that makes all life and prosperity possible and on which human raiding is patterned.

A certain moral ambiguity frequently surrounded raiding, however, in myth as in actual practice. Thus, for instance, the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* tells how the god Hermes, while still an infant, stole cattle from his brother Apollo. Yet for all that the exploit is celebrated and helped Hermes win elevation to full divine stature (the common initiatory value of raiding is here evident), Hermes' action is also called into question. According to the hymn, he was hunted down by Apollo, forced to stand trial, and ultimately had to make restitution to his brother before peace could be established between them.

Part of the problem was that Hermes had killed some of the cattle that he stole, and the unrightful slaughter of cattle is always a most serious crime among cattle-herding peoples. Thus, for instance, Enkidu was condemned to death for his part in slaying the Bull of Heaven, according to the *Epic* *of Gilgamesh,* and the men of Odysseus's last ship were all destroyed by a thunderbolt for having killed and eaten the cattle of the sun god Helios, which were pastured on the island of Thrinacia. Again, among Nuer and Dinka alike, any cattle killed for food outside of sacrifice are said to be slain "just for nothing" (*bang lora*), and it is expected that they will return to haunt their slayer.

The same point is made in this Nuer-Dinka belief as in the story of Odysseus's men: however much hunger may drive one to desire meat, lethal violence directed against cattle constitutes a sacrilege unless it is set within a ritual context—that is to say, carried out with a certain etiquette, solemnity, and decorum (often by specialists), and legitimated by reference to some set of sacred precedents, symbolic constructs, or transcendent principles. These conditions being met, the slaughter of cattle and subsequent distribution of meat is considered sacrifice; these lacking, it is wanton butchery.

Cattle sacrifice is ideologically the most prestigious and significant ritual performed among pastoral peoples, although in practice offerings of lesser economic value (sheep, goats, milk products, cakes, etc.) are often substituted. In part, as has been discussed above, sacrifice always includes among its significances and functions the consecration of meat and the legitimation of the violence requisite for the procurement of meat. Sacrifice is no more a straightforwardly utilitarian procedure, however, than it is a simple or univocal one. Rather, complex symbolisms and multiple dimensions are always present, however much these may differ from one culture area, historical period, or sacrificial performance to another.

Cattle sacrifice in ancient Babylon, for example, while clearly part of the general "care and feeding of the gods" enjoined upon mankind, was also in part a remembrance or repetition of the cosmogony. For as tablet 5 of the creation account *Enuma elish* makes clear, the deity Tiamat—whose death marks the beginning of the cosmos as we know it—was understood to take the form of a cow, although other passages of the text present her as a monstrous, chaotic being. (A similar account of a being simultaneously monstrous and bovine, which must be put to death in order for a proper cosmos and society to emerge, is the golden calf of *Exodus* 32.) Moreover, the sacrifice of cattle was cast as a divine act, as is clear in the declaration of the Babylonian priest who offers an ox, the skin of which will be made into the covering for a temple drum: "These acts—it is the totality of the gods who have performed them, it is not really I who performed them."

Again, the cattle sacrifice of the Greek *polis* (city-state) was informed by myths of the first sacrifice, particularly that performed by Prometheus, as described by Hesiod, which—as Marcel Detienne and Jean-Pierre Vernant (1980) have demonstrated—served to define the essential human position in the universe as that intermediate to those of beasts and gods. Of particular interest in myth and practice alike is the precise definition of portions allocated to the gods—the victim's bones, wrapped in a single layer of fat—and those reserved for humans—the rest of the meat, wrapped within the animal's stomach. In this, some scholars have seen a reminiscence of archaic hunters' rites, the bones being preserved so that the dead animal might be resurrected. Detienne and Vernant have argued, however, for a different line of interpretation, in which bones are contrasted to meat as the undecaying (or immortal) portion of the victim to the decaying (or mortal) portion. The contrast of meat and bones thus replicates and comments upon the contrast of gods and men; the inclusion of the stomach in the human portion further stresses man's need to eat, which spurs him on to kill.

Social processes also figure prominently in the logic and structure of cattle sacrifice, for the distribution of meat tends to be differential and hierarchic, either in the nature of the portions assigned to individuals or in the order in which portions are presented, or both. A clear case in point is the Roman Feriae Latinae, an annual ceremonial to which all members of the Latin League sent representatives and contributions. The central act was the sacrifice and dismemberment of a white bull, pieces of meat from which were assigned to the representatives according to the relative importance of their cities. Change over time was also reflected in the proceedings of the Feriae Latinae, for as a city grew or shrank in size and stature, its portion of meat seems to have been adjusted accordingly. Other societies also possessed mechanisms whereby social hierarchy could not only be signified within a sacrificial context, but could also be contested, as seen in the accounts of brawls and duels fought over the "champion's portion" among the Greeks and Celts.

Cattle sacrifice was also a highly important part of Indo-Iranian religion, reflecting the prominent position of cattle within the society and economy of India and Iran alike. Certainly, cattle figure almost obsessively in the earliest religious texts from India and Iran (the *Ṛgveda* and the *Gāthās* of the Avesta respectively), although some scholars have maintained that most references to cattle should be taken metaphorically or allegorically, while granting that the stimulus for bovine imagery would still come from the real possession of cattle. Controversy also exists as to whether Zarathushtra (Zoroaster) condemned cattle sacrifice in Iran—as some of the Gathic texts seem to indicate—or if it remained always a part of the Zoroastrian cultus.

The rejection of cattle sacrifice is attested elsewhere in history, particularly in cases where a previously pastoral population has abandoned its earlier mode of production and consequent way of life. Thus, for instance, within the Athenian *polis,* details of the foremost cattle sacrifice—the Bouphonia ("ox-slaying")—reveal a profound uneasiness over the violence and bloodshed inherent in the rite. Toward the end of each Bouphonia, a trial was thus held to assess the guilt of those responsible for the victim's death, such guilt ultimately being assigned to the sacrificial knife with which it was killed, the knife then being punished (and purified) by being thrown into the sea.

However much the ritual slaughter of cattle prompted a certain moral disquietude, the practice continued unabated throughout the history of ancient Greece, insofar as sacrifice was a central mechanism for the periodic renewal of social hierarchy and integration within the *polis.* The criticism of sacrifice implicit in the Bouphonia, however, was given a more articulate and aggressive formulation by certain philosophers and mystics possessed of a radically different vision of what the *polis* ought to be and of the guilt incurred through sacrificial violence. Chief among these were Pythagoras and Empedocles, the latter of whom condemned sacrifice in the following terms, contrasting it with an imagined paradisal sort of offering that took place in the distant past and—given his theories of cyclical time—would once again replace the bloody rituals:

> Ares was not a god for them, nor was Battle-din,
> Nor was Zeus the king, nor Kronos, nor Poseidon,
> But Aphrodite was queen.
> They appeased her with pious gifts:
> With painted animal figurines, with perfumes,
> With sacrifices of unmixed myrrh and fragrant frankincense,
> Pouring libations of golden honey to the ground.
> The altar was not smeared with the unmixed gore of bulls.
> Rather, that was the greatest defilement for men:
> Taking away the life-force in order to eat the noble limbs.

Although these Greek opponents of sacrificial ritual remained always in a minority—often, what is more, a suspect minority—others were more successful in India, where the doctrine of *ahiṃsā,* "noninjury" to all living creatures, gradually displaced older sacrificial ideology, particularly in the wake of Buddhist and Jain challenges to Brahmanic doctrines and practice. Thus, the Sanskrit legal texts—as Ludwig Alsdorf (1962) first demonstrated—show a clear process of development, in which the eating of meat obtained from sacrifices was first freely permitted, but later came to be condemned.

Although the privileged status of the "sacred cow" in India is in some measure related to the emergence of the *ahiṃsā* ethic, its sources are considerably older. For already in the *Ṛgveda* and also in the Avesta, cows are referred to as "beings not to be killed" (Skt., *aghnya;* Av., *agenya*), a correspondence that indicates that this was already an item of Indo-Iranian belief at the beginning of the second millennium BCE. One must stress, however, that it is only cows—that is, female bovines—that are so designated, and not cattle in general, and it appears likely that the symbolic, sentimental, and socioeconomic importance of the cow as the source of both milk and new bovine life led to the formulation of religious principles protecting it against slaughter, even slaughter within the context of sacrifice.

Within modern Hinduism, however, the "sacred cow" has been treated as the foremost example of the more general principle of *ahiṃsā,* as for instance in a celebrated treatise by Mohandas K. Gandhi entitled "How to Serve the Cow." Vast numbers of cattle roam the Indian subcontinent free from any threat to their well-being (urban riots have been provoked by attempts to drive cattle from busy streets or markets), and numerous homes have been founded for the care of old and sick cattle.

Western technocrats, colonial authorities, and others have generally viewed the "sacred cow" of India as a classic example of the ways in which religious principles can lead large populations into modes of habitual behavior and social organization that are irrational and counterproductive in strictly economic terms. Yet this view has been challenged, largely by the research of Marvin Harris, and a lively debate has resulted, which is still to be resolved. For it is Harris's contention that when one considers the full range of ways in which cattle resources are exploited within India (traction, dung for fuel, milk and milk products, etc.) and the ways in which cattle are fed (scavenging, use of stubble from the fields, etc.), as well as other important seasonal and ecological factors, one is forced to conclude that the prohibition on killing cattle is both rational and productive, even in the most narrow economic sense. Debate still rages over many details of Harris's argument, as well as on his general conclusion, but his writings have been a valuable corrective to studies that emphasize the divergence between religious and socioeconomic considerations. Rather than being contradictory, even in the case of the "sacred cow," these matters are intimately correlated, in ways far richer and more complex than is generally understood.

SEE ALSO Bones; Neolithic Religion; Sacrifice.

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CAUSATION SEE FREE WILL AND DETERMINISM; OCCASIONALISM

CAVES.

In all cultures and in almost all epochs the cave has been the symbol of creation, the place of emergence of celestial bodies, of ethnic groups and individuals. It is the great womb of earth and sky, a symbol of life, but also of death. It is a sacred place that constitutes a break in the homogeneity of space, an opening that is a passage from one cosmic region to another, from heaven to earth or, vice versa, from earth to the underworld (Eliade, 1959, p. 37).

All caves are sacred. Some, like cosmic mountains or important sanctuaries, are considered the center of the universe. Where the sacred manifests itself, the world comes into existence (Eliade, 1959, p. 63). Every religious person places himself at the center of the world, "as close as possible to the opening that ensures him communication with the gods" (ibid., p. 65). Earth gods live in caves, which are often called "the earth's navel." As the world center, the *axis mundi*, the cave at times blends in religious symbolism with the mountain. Of the elements in Asian geomancy that determine the quality of a place for a settlement, a home, or a tomb, mountains are considered the most important. Their vital energy gives them the name of "dragon." This magical energy flows into a cave, which is not always a real opening but represents an auspicious site. Geomantic caves are those surrounded by mountains, where wind is stored and where water, which maintains the spiritual energy, is close by. The mountains are believed to have been created in order to form geomantic caves (Yoon, 1976, pp. 28–34). This mountain-cave-water-energy tradition is similar to the ancient Mexican belief that water was contained within mountains, the womb of the water goddess Chalchiuhtlicue, whence it flowed in the form of the rivers and lakes necessary to human settlement.

THE CAVE AS *AXIS MUNDI*. The cave as a sacred spot that marks the place for a major religious structure and even for a great city, the *axis mundi* of its time, is well illustrated at Teotihuacán, Mexico. The most impressive monument here (built c. 100 BCE, destroyed c. 750 CE) is the Pyramid of the Sun, built shortly before the beginning of the common era over a primitive shrine, which was itself built over a subterranean cave. The cave has the form of a four-petaled flower, one of Teotihuacán's most popular art motifs, possibly symbolizing the four world quarters. The great Sun Pyramid was constructed in such a way that the four-petaled cave lies almost directly beneath its center. Although the cave was ransacked in ancient times, the few remains within suggest that it may have been a cult center for water gods. Or, inasmuch as a sixteenth-century document labels the place in front of the pyramid "Moctezuma's oracle," an oracle may well have dwelt here. Whatever the answer, the sacredness of this cave was such that it had to be preserved by building a shrine over it, then by constructing the immense pyramid over this. Sacred space was thus preserved for all time.

BIRTH AND CREATION. Because of its volcanic formation, Mesoamerica is honeycombed with caves. Each is revered, and many are associated with the emergence myth. Chicomoztoc ("seven caves") was the place of creation of many ethnic groups, particularly the Aztec. Its seven caves are represented in ancient pictorial manuscripts and in oral tradition. But before the creation of people, the sun and the moon were made in a grotto. In the myth of the creation of the Fifth Sun (the name given the present era by the Aztec), some chronicles state that after one god threw himself into a fire and became transformed into the sun, another god went into a cave and came out of it as the moon. In a legend of Española (Hispaniola), all men were created in one cave, all women in another (Fray Ramon Pané, in Heyden, 1975). Sustenance, also, originated in caves, according to popular belief. Some caves were called *cincalco*, "house of maize"; in them corn was kept by the gods. A sixteenth-century Mexican chronicle, *Historia de México*, relates that Centeotl, a maize god, was born in a cavern; from different parts of his body cotton and many edible plants grew. According to another early chronicler, Fray Geronimo de Mendieta, a flint knife fell from heaven and landed in Chicomoztoc, where it broke into sixteen hundred pieces, from which that number of gods was created. The cave, then, is a symbol of the womb. According to Fray Bernardino de Sahagún's *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España* (the so-called Florentine Codex), a saying is ascribed to Aztec women of the sixteenth century: "Within us is a cave, a gorge . . . whose only function is to receive."

THE EMERGENCE PLACE. The cave as the center of the world and place of emergence is found in many traditions. Hopi mythology tells of three worlds under the earth where the Hopi lived with the Ant People before they found their way up to the fourth, or present, world. The Zuni, with the same traditions, call the place of emergence *hepatina* ("the middle place") and the last world (which they classify as still underground) the "fourth womb." The modern kiva of these and other Pueblo Indian groups is an artificial cave, the ceremonial center of the village, in which there is also a small hole in the ground, symbolic of the place of emergence. Kiva ritual follows a man from life to death. As soon as he is born a boy is symbolically initiated into the ritual life and pledged to his father's kiva. Zuni society has six divisions, associated with the four world directions, the zenith, and the nadir. Each division has its own kiva, around which religion revolves (Leighton and Adair, 1966). The kiva evidently has been basic to ritual for many centuries. During the Pueblo Classic period (1050–1300) the underground kivas were of tremendous size, as can be seen in the ruins of Mesa Verde and Chaco Canyon. They were caves within caves, partially natural grottoes and partially hacked out of the rocks. A maze design carved on rocks in Arizona—much like the Minoan maze—represents the myth of emergence. It is the Mother Earth symbol, according to the modern Hopi; the maze represents the paths a person will follow on the road of life (Campbell Grant, 1967, p. 65).

CAVE GODS AND RITES. Since the rites and deities of different parts of the world, many of them associated with caves, are dealt with in numerous articles of this encyclopedia, this brief section is focused on Mesoamerica, which, in general, is less well known than Europe or the Orient.

Tlaloc, the Aztec rain and earth deity, was also called Path under the Earth, or Long Cave, according to the sixteenth-century chronicler Fray Diego Durán. This name refers to the god's character as fertilizer of the earth with gentle rain, and also to rites in caves where water deities were propitiated. Rain, lightning, and thunder were thought to be controlled in caves and on mountain tops. Toribio Motolinía, another colonial chronicler, describes ceremonies to Tlaloc each year during which four children were sacrificed and their bodies placed in a cave; this was then sealed until the following year, when the rite was repeated. Children were considered special messengers to the water gods.

Oztoteotl literally means "god of caves"; this was the name of a god venerated in a sacred cave at Chalma, a site about two days' march from Mexico City that was the scene of important pilgrimages. Oztoteotl has been supplanted by the Christian Lord of Chalma (a representation of Christ), who is no less venerated, both in the cave and in a church erected here. One rite in Chalma is the leaving of umbilical cords in two caves, one at the top of the hill, one at the bottom, in order to ensure the infants of good fortune in life.

Vegetation gods frequently had rites performed in their honor in caves. For example, the skins of flayed victims (symbolizing corn husks or those of other plants) were stored in an artificial cave at the foot of the Yopico pyramid in Tenochtitlán, the Aztec capital, and bodies of young women sacrificed to Xochiquetzal, the vegetation goddess, were placed in a cave called a "mist house." These instances may constitute a ritual metaphor for seed germination, which takes place in a dark area, comparable to the cave-womb.

Regarding ceremonies, the fabulous grotto of Balankanché, immediately southeast of the ancient Maya city of Chichén Itzá in Yucatán, has revealed a wealth of offerings to the rain god Tlaloc (Chac, among the Maya) and chamber after chamber of ceremonial settings for rites. These date mainly from the ninth century CE, when highland Mexican influence was strong (hence the presence of the god Tlaloc rather than Chac), although the grotto was used for ritual purposes mainly by the Maya, through 3,000 years. Six offertory foci are directly associated with either underground pools or stalagmitic formations, caused by the action of the water (Andrews, 1970, p. 9). These natural formations have the appearance of altars and were used as such. In the major chamber, floor and ceiling are united by a stalactite-stalagmite "tree" that suggests the ceiba (silk-cotton), the sacred Maya tree that unites earth, sky, and underworld. This structure is called by the modern—and undoubtedly by the ancient—Maya the "throne of the *balam,*" that is, of the Jaguar Priest. When the inner chambers were discovered in 1959, this altar-throne was found to be covered with effigy censers, most of them in the form of Tlaloc, some wearing flayed skins and some suggestive of the Aztec vegetation deity Xipe Totec. Other offerings here and in various chambers include miniature vessels, grinding stones, and spindle whorls, perhaps symbolic offerings for use in the otherworld. Enigmatic handprints in red ocher (as suggested below, perhaps evidence of a rite of passage) are on the central, treelike column and on the ceiling of low tunnels. Other chambers with stalagmitic altars yielded many more Tlaloc effigy censers, quantities of shells, jade beads, fragments of a wooden drum, and charcoal from burnt offerings. Numerous fire pits and the charcoal in the censers seem to be evidence of both illumination and ritual hearth use. Inasmuch as smoke was one of the messengers to the gods, the fires may have been intended solely for communication. That this was a major ritual center is indicated by the insistence of the *H-men* (the practitioner of native folk religion) from a village near Balankanché that, because of the cave's sacred nature, when the sealed chambers were discovered, it was necessary to propitiate the deities within in order to ward off supernatural retribution for the profanation. Rites were held involving the ritual drinking of honey-based *balché,* the sacrifice of chickens, and, among other things, the imitation of frogs by two small boys: the entrance to the cave home of the rain god was traditionally guarded by a frog (Andrews, 1970, pp. 70–164).

This type of ceremony is not unique to the cenotes of Yucatán. Marion Oettinger (in a personal communication) records a cave rite in the state of Guerrero dedicated to the water god; in it, stalactites and stalagmites are revered as deities. Corn is believed to come from hollows on the cave floor made by dripping water. Rites dedicated to supernatural beings who control water and vegetation are still held within the cave.

RITES OF PASSAGE. Since Paleolithic times caves have been preferred places for many rites of passage. Symbols of passage into another world, of a descent to the underworld, they are the scene of initiation rites for shamans—among the Australian medicine men, among the Araucanian of Chile, among the Inuit (Eskimo), and among peoples of North America, to mention but a few (Eliade, 1964, p. 51). The *iruntarinia* ("spirits") of central Australia create a medicine man when an Aranda (Arunta) candidate goes to sleep at the mouth of a cave; he is dragged into it by one of the spirits and dismembered, and his internal organs are exchanged for others. For example, a fragment of rock crystal, important to shamanic power (a detail reported in Oceania and the Americas also), is placed in his body, which is then returned to his village (Eliade, 1964, pp. 46, 139). Eliade tells also of the initiatory dream-journey of a Nenets (Yurak Samoyed) in his transition from candidate to shaman. In one important episode, the initiate was led into a cave covered with mirrors; there he received a hair from each of two women, mothers of reindeer, with which to shamanize for the animal (p. 41).

In British Columbia, as each Salish adolescent concluded a puberty rite, he or she imprinted a red hand on a cave wall. Furthermore, these and other images painted in red on rock walls recorded remarkable dreams. A spirit quest by a Salish boy led him into the hills, usually to a cave, where, through praying and fasting, he would dream of a supernatural being who would be his guardian in later life (Grant, 1967, p. 29). Among the Dogon in Africa, circumcision rites are recorded by ritual signs and paintings on the rocks; these are also related to ceremonies for the renewal of the cosmos every sixty years. In Mexico's Malinalco rock temple, carved altarlike felines and eagles stand against the walls; the military orders of the Jaguar and the Eagle must have held ceremonies here, such as the initiation of new members into their select ranks.

A rite of passage from illness to health is performed at the grotto at Lourdes, France. The healing waters of Lourdes's spring and the story of the apparition of the Virgin Mary to Bernadette have made this an important pilgrimage center since 1858.

In Mexico, until early this century, a boy child born in the vicinity of the Teotihuacán pyramids was placed in a cave. An animal, it was said, came out from the dark interior and licked his face; if the baby did not cry, he automatically acquired the right to be a *granicero. Graniceros* perform curing ceremonies and control rain from within caves. Thus the child experienced two rites of passage, a kind of baptism and initiation into this special group. In a part of Chiapas, as soon as a child moves within his mother's womb, he is said to possess a spirit, and this dwells in caves (Esther Hermitte, cited by Heyden, 1976). At times a cave steals this spirit or that of an adult, whereupon a *curandero,* a healer, must perform a rite in the cave. In one case he captures the lost spirit in a piece of the spirit-owner's clothing and manages to pull it out of the cave (Guido Münch, personal communication, referring to Oaxaca). In these cases of soul loss and recuperation, the rite of passage is a hazardous one between life and death. People also become ill from cave "winds," and *graniceros* can cure them by making offerings to the owners of the caves. A rite associated with these ceremonies is that of dying and resuscitating; the usual way to become a *granicero* is to be struck by lightning, be pronounced dead, and then come to life again. In some regions the healer must "die" twice a year; then his spirit goes to a special cave, where he receives instructions (William Madsen, cited by Heyden, 1976). Exorcism is yet another rite practiced in caves, frequently by saying a mass in the interior, in the presence of the affected person.

RELIGIOUS CAVE ART. Paintings on the walls of ancient caves, or sculptures hewn out of rock within caverns, have been called "invisible art" and likened to "silent music" (Carpenter, 1978, pp. 90–99). That is, such art was created for the initiated few and did not need to be public. Esoteric it is, and it has generally been conceived to possess sympathetic magic. For example, depicting a speared deer would ensure success in the hunt. Undoubtedly this is one meaning, but it is not the only one. Some cave images may be a way of keeping a record of rites. They may also relate to the animal double that each person possesses. Among the North American Indians, a young man, as part of a spirit quest, often gave thanks to his spirit guardian by painting or carving figures on cliff walls or in dark caves. These were addressed to his spirit guardian and were not meant to be seen by living humans; exposure would diminish their powers. Carpenter suggests that many anthropomorphic figures, depicted at times in coitus, in caves or in earth sculpture on mountaintops or desert floors, probably represent the original tribal ancestors and, by extension, the beginning of the world.

European cave paintings dating from the Upper Paleolithic period (c. 35,000–19,000 years ago), among them those at Altamira in Spain and at Lascaux, Cap Blanc, Les Trois Frères, Cougnac, and Rouffignac in France, portray mainly animals. Although Henri Breuil had interpreted these as belonging to hunting-gathering magic, recent studies propose that such art is part of Paleolithic cosmology. Leroi-Gourhan (1965) sees this worldview as based on a male-female division, with sections of the caves, as well as the animals and symbols, divided according to gender. Alexander Marshack interprets certain forms in cave art as calendrical and incisions on bones and antlers as notational; he also claims that some representations have seasonal and ecological significance, symbolized, for example, by flora and fauna typical of certain seasons and regions (cited by Conkey, 1981, p. 23). Ritual art, then, is often a key to the daily life and economy of a people, as well as to their religion.

At El Castillo in Cantabrian Spain, about fifty negative handprints were painted on a wall by blowing red ocher around a hand held there. Although this symbol has not been clearly interpreted by students of the period, it is reminiscent of red handprints on walls in the Maya region of Mexico, prints that according to popular tradition were placed there by slaves who were to be sacrificed. This interpretation may be fantasy, however, for in Pueblo belief (where Mexican influence is often found) the handprint is a "signature" that attracts supernatural blessings or marks the completion of a rite. Some animal representations, evidently men dressed in skins and antlers, have been thought to depict sorcerers. Clusters of bison on the ceiling at Altamira could symbolize different human groups that went to the cave for various reasons and rites. Thus the cave could have been a seasonal aggregation site for people who were dispersed throughout the region (Conkey, 1981, p. 24). Could Altamira have been an early Magdalenian pilgrimage center?

René Huyghe, in discussing Paleolithic cave art, points out that the facsimile is effective in the beliefs of the people who create these magic images. He further explores the function of the facsimile, citing paintings on the walls of Egyptian tombs, where representations of foodstuffs and furniture sometimes substituted for the actual articles needed for life after death. Huyghe has stated that the accomplished technique with which the cave paintings were executed indicates probable teaching by sorcerer-priests (1962, pp. 16, 18). With the transition to the Mesolithic and Neolithic periods, cave art became more realistic and depicted human beings in communal activities. Paintings of this sort are found at the entrance to caves, accessible to the larger group, instead of in dark interiors, where formerly esoteric rites must have been held. This different religio-social art is characteristic of the Iberian coast facing Africa, and its tradition has continued to the present time among the African San. The paintings convey great action, expressed by few, almost abstract lines (running warriors at Teruel, for example), side by side with incipient architecture (the menhir, probably intended as a receptacle for the soul of the deceased). Both reflect more settled activities of Neolithic peoples: flock keeping and agriculture, which spurred new ideas and customs (Huyghe, 1962, pp. 21–24).

America holds a wealth of cave and rock art, from Alaska to South America. Most of it dates from about 1000 CE to the late 1800s. Its subjects are animals, humans, supernatural beings, and abstract designs. Although some scenes are historical or narrative (depicting Spanish horsemen, for example), much of this art is religious. Hunting magic is represented by a heart line drawn within an animal and sometimes pierced by an arrow. The mythical Thunderbird, thought to control thunderstorms but also a clan symbol and sacred ancestor guardian among the Hopi, is often represented. The plumed serpent, known as the god Quetzalcoatl in Mexico, was the guardian of springs and streams in the Southwest, and is seen on kiva wall paintings or in rock carvings. In the San Francisco Mountains of Baja California a sixteen-foot-long plumed serpent is the object of a ceremony involving red and black men and deer. However, Uriarte sees this great figure as a serpent-deer, joining the natural forces of both creatures (1981, p. 151). The men surrounding it wear serpent-deer headdresses and therefore must be members of a cult group. Uriarte suggests also that the two-in-one animal may represent a male-female creation myth. Hundreds of handprints found in Arizona, Utah, and northern California must have had ceremonial significance. The Chumash of California painted supernatural figures, believed to be related to dreams and visions, in remote mountainous areas. A ceremonial liquor used by the Chumash and other groups was made of the hallucinogenic jimsonweed, which could have spurred such ritual art. Rock paintings by the Navajo marked sacred places where mythological events occurred; these paintings often depicted the *yei,* equivalent to the Pueblo kachina, a divine creature usually associated with maize agriculture. Campbell Grant (1967) suggests an important reason for some of the rock art symbols: they were mnemonic devices for rites, and records of certain events. Among present-day Ojibwa, tobacco, prayer sticks, and cloth are placed on rocks below paintings as offerings to the supernatural beings depicted there. The Ojibwa believe that a shaman can enter the rock and trade tobacco with the spirit there for special medicine (Grant, 1967, pp. 32, 147).

In central Baja California, Uriarte (1981) records 72 caves painted with 488 figures or sets of figures, many with the bodies adorned in body paint of various colors. Similar colors are also typical of cave paintings in northwestern Australia. Among the Kulin there, Bunjil was the supreme mythological being, who with all his people turned into stars and whose son was the rainbow. Bunjil's favorite place was Angel Cave; he created it when he spoke to rocks, which then opened up (Aldo Massola, 1968, pp. 59, 106).

ARTIFICIAL CAVES. Some of the world's most renowned painted caves are in India. At Ajantā the Gupta style of the fifth and sixth centuries was the peak of a golden age, although the caves themselves existed by the second century BCE, and painting continued through the eighth century CE. Portrayed on the walls are scenes from the lives of Gautama Buddha, the *bodhisattvas,* and other divine beings conceived in the manner of the palace life of the time. The jātaka tales painted here illustrate the Buddha's previous earthly experiences. That some of the people are engaged in religious conversation is apparent from the occasional *mudrās* (hand positions). But perhaps the most extraordinary thing about these caves, as well as at Ellora and elsewhere, is that they were carved out of sandstone rock. Entire mountains were turned into sanctuaries by devoted and anonymous sculptor-architects to be used as monastic retreats. The thirty Ajantā caves, excavated in the semicircular face of a mountain in the Deccan region near Aurangabad, are either *caitya*s (chapels) or *vihāra*s (monasteries). The *caitya*s consist of an apse, side aisles, and a central nave in the center of which is a stupa, all hewn out of living rock. In the *vihāra*s there are a congregation hall and monks' cells. In the early caves, the Buddha was represented not in his bodily form but with symbols, such as the bodhi tree or a set of footprints. Sculpture in relief and in the round later filled the caves and covered the doorways with large figures of the Buddha and the *bodhisattvas* as well as an exuberance of elephants, buffalo, men and women in different positions, lotus medallions, and other floral motifs. The happy marriage at Ajantā of architecture, painting, and sculpture produced an insuperable monument to the Buddhist faith.

Also hewn out of a mountain (sometime between the fourth and ninth centuries CE), the caves at Ellora are a miracle of carving. Unlike the Buddhist caves at Ajantā, these are dedicated to three faiths: the early caves, before 800, are Buddhist; the Hindu caves overlap (600–900), and the Jain caves cover the period from 800 to 1000. At Ellora the great Hindu Kailash temple dedicated to Śiva represents Mount Kailash, where the gods dwell. In the early Buddhist caves, the vast number of Buddhas, *bodhisattvas*, and *śaktis* express the Vajrayāna philosophy, wherein Buddhahood was obtained through self-discipline and meditation. The Hindu caves are dedicated to Śiva, who is worshiped symbolically in the phallic symbol called the lingam, found always in the shrine. Sculptures of Śiva also represent him in many of his manifestations, as the personification of death and time, as Creator, Destroyer, Divine Lover, and Lord of the Dance. Śiva's wife Pārvatī, goddess of love and beauty, accompanies him, as does his son Gaṇeśa, the elephant-headed god of wisdom. Śiva is sometimes represented in his half-male, half-female form. Brahmā and Viṣṇu are also portrayed in various forms. The composition of Ajantā paintings is at times reminiscent of the *maṇḍala* (or cosmic diagram), while Jain sculpture at Ellora borrowed freely from Hinduism and depicts Hindu deities.

Undoubtedly the most spectacular of the many caves carved out of solid rock in China is the complex known as Longmen Grottoes at Luoyang, in Honan Province. Begun in the fifth century CE, the grottoes continued to be carved over a period of four hundred years. Twenty-one hundred caves and niches and more than forty pagodas house more than one hundred thousand sculptures, the largest 17.4 meters, the smallest only 12 centimeters high. Statues in these grottoes mainly portray the Buddha. Also represented are attendant figures, warriors, the Buddha's disciples, *bodhisattvas*, and a giant lotus—symbol of divine birth, purity, creative force, and Buddha's footsteps—on a ceiling. The walls of one cave, that of the Ten Thousand Buddhas, are covered with a myriad of tiny relief-carved figures of the divinity, which envelop the viewer with an awesome sense of the sacred.

ROCK TEMPLES AND TOMBS. The hypogea, rock-cut tombs of Egypt, attest to the use of natural materials available for building. Stone, abundant in Egypt, was used for the great monuments. From the Middle Kingdom on, tombs were hollowed out of cliffs alongside the Nile for high officials of Upper Egypt. By the time of New Kingdom, the Valley of the Kings, on the Nile's west side facing Luxor, had become the necropolis of pharaohs, who lay in rock-cut tombs on both sides of the valley. The funerary temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir al-Bahri was carved out of the mountain on different levels. Under Ramses II, in the nineteenth dynasty, the spectacular rock temple at Abu Simbel was hewn out of a mountain in Upper Egypt.

In Persia, royal rock tombs at Naksh-i-Rustam, near Persepolis, date from the sixth to the fourth centuries BCE. Here the king is represented before a fire altar, above which is the god Ahura Mazdā, whose face is surrounded by a circle, symbol of eternity. At Petra, in modern Jordan, the Nabateans more than two thousand years ago carved their capital city out of rock. Along with temples and civil buildings, some of these artificial caves are tombs for the kings.

In Mexico, shaft tombs—the shaft hollowed out of the earth, ending in a side chamber for the cadaver—were definitely cave representations, the deceased returning to the earth that gave him life. The *temazcal,* the purifying sweat bath, used for millennia in this region, was "the house of flowers" in pre-Columbian times, the flower symbolizing both the womb and the cave.

An outstanding example of funerary caves, albeit in this case artificial, is that of Rome's catacombs. These were Christian cemeteries begun in the first century CE. They were twice confiscated, during the third century and at the beginning of the fourth; after a bloody persecution by Diocletian, peace was finally granted by Constantine in 313. From then on, catacomb excavations were enlarged and embellished with paintings and inscriptions referring to Christian martyrs; they became the goal of pilgrims.

In the sub-Saharan region of Mali, the Tellem people, who flourished from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries, buried their dead, accompanied by grave furniture and clothing for the otherworld, in special caves. Objects were ritually destroyed, as they are in other parts of the world, in order to release the spirit. One cave contained three thousand skeletons. Among the offerings left in these high cliff caves were skeletal remains of a crowned crane and of a turtle, both figures in the mythology of the Dogon, who came to the region after the Tellem (Bedaux, 1982, pp. 28–34).

In the lowland Maya region of Mexico and Central America, the limestone floor is honeycombed with cenotes. Perhaps because these are the main sources of water in the largely riverless Yucatán Peninsula, they were highly venerated as sacred sites; one of their functions was that of funeral chamber. The great cenote at Chichén Itzá is well known, as are tales of fair maidens thrown into the water at this cave-well. It actually was a place of sacrifice to aquatic deities, but adolescents of both sexes were the victims. A sixteenth-century account by Fray Diego de Landa tells of young boys whose hearts were extracted before their bodies were deposited in the cenote; propitiation of water gods by child sacrifice was a common rite. The victims were accompanied by incense balls, gold jewels, and the even more highly prized jade, symbol of water and of all that is precious. These sacrificial rites were related to maize agriculture, but also had divinatory and prophetic purposes. Before the rainy season, or during times of drought, child sacrifices increased. Some accounts relate that the victims were lowered alive into the cave-well so that they could communicate with the god, then left to drown. A procession went from the main temple to a shrine next to the cenote; there the priests instructed the victim as to the message to be given to the gods; then they consummated the sacrifice. The walls of Guatemala's spectacular Naj Tunich cavern are covered with eighth-century paintings of the ritual ball-game (with celestial and life-death significance), ritual bloodletting, dwarfs (associated with both heavens and the underworld), shells (symbols of birth and of death), and long columns of hieroglyphs, mainly calendrical. George Stuart (1981, pp. 220–235) points out that the Classic Maya considered the numbers and days in their calendar as a procession of gods who marched along an eternal and endless trail. The Maya believed that caves, like the roots of the sacred ceiba tree that held earth and sky together, reached far down into the underworld. Caves were the entrance to this place, called Xibalba, where underworld gods dwelt. Stuart suggests that the great cavern of Naj Tunich was the embodiment of Xibalba, place of death.

SEE ALSO Labyrinth; Mountains; Neolithic Religion; Paleolithic Religion.

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DORIS HEYDEN (1987)
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CAYCE, EDGAR. Edgar Cayce (1877–1945) was an American spiritual healer and teacher. Celebrated for trance readings, diagnosing illnesses, and for prescribing unorthodox but reputedly effective treatments, Cayce (pronounced "Casey") was a seminal figure for the mid- to late twentieth-century revival of interest in psychic phenomena and the New Age movement. In addition to Cayce's healing work, the New Age movement was inspired particularly by trance teachings offered by the "sleeping prophet," as Cayce was called. These included "life readings," interpreting the lives of individuals in light of previous incarnations, and discourses involving future history and "earth changes." Cayce was relatively little known until the appearance late in his life of a best-selling biography by Thomas Sugrue, *There Is a River* (1942); Cayce's life and work thereafter became the subject of many publications.

Cayce was born in Hopkinsville, Kentucky, in modest circumstances, the son of a farmer and sometime small shopkeeper. Edgar Cayce's formal education did not extend beyond grammar school. He and his family were faithful members of the (Campbellite) Christian Church. Deeply religious, Edgar read the Bible regularly and taught Sunday school for many years. He married Gertrude Evans in 1903 and was the father of three sons: Hugh Lynn, Milton Porter (who died in infancy), and Edgar Evans. As a young adult, Cayce was employed as a salesman in a bookstore and in other enterprises. After moving to Bowling Green, Kentucky, in 1903, he worked as a photographer. He lived in Alabama, chiefly in Selma, from 1909 to 1923, then moved to Dayton, Ohio, and finally in 1925 to Virginia Beach, Virginia, where he spent the remainder of his life engaged in his psychic work.

The trances began around 1901, when Cayce was hypnotized in Hopkinsville by Al C. Layne, an osteopath and amateur hypnotist, in connection with treatment for a throat disorder. Reportedly, the entranced patient diagnosed his own condition and prescribed an effective cure by suggestion. As news of this occurrence spread, Cayce was persuaded by Layne to work with him in treating other patients in a similar way. Layne would put Cayce into a hypnotic state, during which the latter would characteristically say, "We have the body," and proceed to describe the ailment in specific anatomical terms. The healing methods he recommended varied greatly from individual to individual and included unique combinations of osteopathy, chiropractic, electrotherapy, vibrations, massage, foods and diets, and herbal treatments. Experience showed that the work was equally effective whether the patient was in the same room with Cayce, in an adjoining room, or miles away. For some years, however, Cayce's trance readings were only occasional. During his years in Alabama, he also attempted to use his psychic powers to find oil in Texas, but without success.

In 1923 Cayce met Arthur Lammers of Dayton, Ohio, a prosperous printer and student of theosophy. Deeply impressed by his conversations with Lammers, Cayce moved to Dayton, and soon afterwards his readings began to include references to reincarnation, Atlantis, Gnostic Christianity, and other features of the theosophical and occult worldview. He began to give "life readings," relating physical and other problems of clients to their past lives.

In 1925, following what he believed were psychic leadings, Cayce moved to Virginia Beach where, with the support of wealthy backers, he was able to devote himself exclusively to his spiritual calling and to establish complementary works. Chief among his supporters was Morton Harry Blumenthal, a young Jewish stockbroker from New York. They founded a Cayce Hospital in 1928 and Atlantic University in 1930, but both failed during the Great Depression. On the other hand, the Association for Research and Enlightenment (ARE), a membership organization incorporated in 1932, has remained a major pillar of Cayce's work and legacy. It provided for continuing stenographic recordings of Cayce's readings (begun in 1923), for the dissemination of a newsletter and other literature, and, in time, for the establishment of Cayce study groups around the nation and the world. Some fifteen thousand transcripts of readings are kept in the ARE library in Virginia Beach, a collection available to researchers and unique in the annals of mediumship. A study by Edgar Cayce's sons based on this material, *The Outer Limits of Edgar Cayce's Power* (1971), presents a remarkably candid assessment of their father's successes and failures.

Edgar Cayce's older son, Hugh Lynn Cayce (1907–1982), a gifted organizer, did much to develop the ARE, heading it in the postwar years following his father's death. It was largely through Hugh Lynn's books, lectures, and energetic promotional activities that Cayce and the ARE acquired a central position in the new spiritual consciousness of the 1960s and the New Age movement. The association regained control of the hospital building in 1956 and converted it into office spaces for the ARE. Atlantic University was reopened in 1985 as a distance learning institution, offering courses and degree programs in New Age topics. By 2004 the extensive headquarters campus of the movement in Virginia Beach included a library, a bookstore, a conference center, alternative healing facilities, and a day spa. Hugh Lynn Cayce was succeeded in the leadership of the movement by his son, Charles Cayce (b. 1942).

Edgar Cayce is a figure unique in American spirituality. He represents a link between the biblical and folk Christianity of the middle South out of which he came and which was always a part of his world, and the theosophical ideas he also espoused. Reincarnation and other such concepts seemed much less alien to many Americans when expressed by a seer of Cayce's background and earthy character. Cayce also was a living link between the Spiritualism of the nineteenth century, with its trance mediumship, and the New Age era of the late twentieth century. Because of him, ideas from all these quarters came together to form the groundwork of a distinctive American esotericism.

SEE ALSO Association for Research and Enlightenment.

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ROBERT S. ELLWOOD (2005)

CELIBACY, the deliberate abstinence from sexual activity, derives its religious value from the vital human significance of sex itself. The different roles played by celibacy in the world's religions then reflect different attitudes toward procreation and earthly existence. Thus, traditions oriented toward fecundity and wordly success, like those of most nonliterate peoples, rarely if ever enjoin permanent celibacy for anyone; only periods of temporary celibacy preceding and following childbirth and at crucial communal rituals are prescribed. The great traditions of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Christianity, on the other hand, all oriented toward otherwordly goals, have firmly established roles for celibate monks working out their salvation. And smaller, extreme groups with radically negative views of life in the world may prescribe celibacy as an ideal for all. The reasons offered for celibacy consequently range from concerns for personal physical health to a total rejection of the physical body. Religious institutions, moreover, differ both in the ways of life that they prescribe for the celibate and in the image of the celibate that they present to laypersons.

TRADITIONAL PERCEPTIONS. The placement of deliberate religious restraints on physical behavior, celibacy is often explained within tradition through physiological as well as metaphysical concepts. Asian esoteric texts, moreover, can be most explicit about the spiritual potentials of reproductive energies. Traditional understandings of celibacy, then, present a continuity that spans ideas about marriage and procreation, spiritual powers, spiritual purity, and chaste marriage to the divine.

Temporary concentration of reproductive energies. The perception that sexual intercourse during pregnancy and lactation will harm an infant is found in many cultures, including some contemporary Western folk traditions. The larger worldviews in which this perception is embedded may thus vary immensely. For the Arapesh of New Guinea, the practice of temporary celibacy has a positive religious significance for procreation. According to Arapesh ideas, the fetus is shaped and nurtured by both parents through several weeks of frequent and purposeful intercourse after the mother's menstruation stops. Yet once the mother's breasts enlarge in the first obvious sign of pregnancy, the child is considered fully formed and all intercourse must cease. After the child is born, the parents are supposed to sleep together with it, devote their energies to it, and give it special attention. If either parent indulges in sexual activity—even with other partners—before the child can walk, they say that it will become weak and perhaps die. With infanticide common among the Arapesh, choosing to keep a child is a deliberate decision, and this extended celibacy surrounding childbirth, once chosen, is normally kept. Celibacy then appears to represent here a conscious channeling and concentration of the reproductive power of both parents for the good of the child, lineage, and community.

The power of holy persons. Adepts in the esoteric traditions of Asia are often aware of transmuting their reproductive power into spiritual power and channeling it within. This perception lies behind certain occult meditation techniques found in both India and Daoist China that draw on a tension between continence, in a strict sense, and sexual intercourse. Through entering a woman and still remaining continent, the male adept arouses sexual energy in both partners, which can then be absorbed inwardly for spiritual transformation. More often, however, adepts practice techniques that entail only physiological imagery: Daoist spiritual alchemy may lead to the generation of an immortal fetus; Hindu yogins speak of channeling the seed upward through higher centers of the body. For most adepts, then, total celibacy is crucial in order to preserve the spiritual potencies of their own seed, a point also affirmed in popular tradition: Hindu mythological texts are full of stories of ascetics who succumbed to lust and lost their powers.

Thus, the power of holy persons also depends in good part on their self-control. The word *yoga,* in fact, deriving from a root meaning "to yoke," can often be best understood in a very concrete sense: a willful harnessing of the vital energies, which are considered prone to rage like beasts. So even in traditions like Christianity that do not explicitly posit a direct continuity between sexual and spiritual energies, celibacy still appears as a measure of powerful mastery over the senses. Latin Catholicism gives us stories of triumphant (and faltering) ascetics struggling with incubi or succubi, attractive male or female spirits bent on seducing them. Among the American Shakers, a struggle with sexual desire became the distinctive focal point through which an active Protestant sect sought to reform human existence. For the Shakers, the world of sensual experience itself was so overwhelming that a break with it required radical means: absolute abstention. In this instance, perfect celibacy expresses an attempt at total self-mastery.

Separation from the impure. Ascetics who aim to subjugate the flesh usually have no high opinion of the gross physical matter that constitutes it. The eventual aim of controlling the sexual nature for many can then become the achievement of distance from a fundamentally impure, degenerate, and transient world. The perception of the physical body itself as disgusting and ultimately worthless may be actively cultivated in monastic traditions, sometimes through deliberate meditation practice. In the near-canonical *Visuddhimagga,* Theravāda Buddhist monks are enjoined to detach themselves from sensual desire by contemplating the dead body in various stages of decomposition (swollen, bluish, gnawed, worm-eaten) and the live body as filled, among other things, with intestines, excrement, bile, pus, fat, mucus, and urine (chaps. 6, 8). Sexual activity in this context can easily be seen as another disgusting physical function from which all wise people should abstain.

In nonliterate cultures, which usually have fewer qualms about the physical body, the impurity attributed to sex may stem in part from its potential danger to the social fabric. Built up out of kinship bonds, tribal societies may splinter over family tensions and conflicts about women. Temporary celibacy is thus often enjoined at crucial public rituals that highlight communal solidarity—initiations, hunting expeditions, the start of a group journey.

The image of chaste asexuality encompassing the common good is also found in Western religious institutions. Roman state religion, which is often, in fact, understood to derive from the religion of family and clan, exalted the Vestal Virgins. The keepers of Rome's communal hearth, the Vestal Virgins were legally neither men nor women. Buried alive if they violated their chastity, their most crucial obligation was celibacy itself. People in literate as well as nonliterate cultures, then, may believe that sacred institutions maintaining the welfare of humanity as a whole should depend on individuals in an extraordinary state, beyond human sexuality.

Ideas about the impurity of sex known both to the Roman world's ascetics and in its politico-religious institutions were assimilated and transformed by early Christians, who by the fourth century had recognized the source of their own religious institution in the virgin son of a virgin mother. For Christians, then, maintaining virginity can be an imitation of divine models and the purity of permanent celibacy can offer a constant tie to what is realized as primal in religious experience. Appearing as the original state of man born of the spirit, celibacy in Christianity, as in other traditions, promises innocence—eternal childhood in the Lord.

Exclusive attachment to the divine. Being an eternal child in God can free the celibate from many worldly responsibilities. Luke's reference to chaste persons as "equal to angels" (20:35–36) suggests not only the innocence of celibates, but also their roles as agents of God, in no way beholden to man. Certainly, the ability to devote all of one's efforts to spiritual matters without the burden of family obligations is a very frequently voiced justification for celibacy in the East as well as in the West. In India, the practical implications of celibacy for a life devoted to religious pursuits has explicit expression in the semantic range of the Sanskrit word *brahmacarya,* which occurs very frequently in religious writings. Used most often to refer to sexual abstention, *brahmacarya* literally means "walking with *brahman,*" the primal divine essence; at the same time, *brahmacarya* may be used to refer specifically to the first stage in the traditional Hindu life cycle, which is supposed to be devoted to religious study. Thus, a word suggesting adherence to first divine principles explicitly links the concept of celibacy to distinctly religious pursuits and the absence of worldly, adult responsibilities.

In a highly dualistic theology, strict adherence to first principles can demand an absolute withdrawal from involvement in earthly endeavors. Abstinence from sex is required less to follow active religious pursuits freely than to desist from physical procreation. For a gnostic like Marcion (d. 160?), the physical world is the creation of a false god, not the true one; trapped in physical bodies, souls cannot return to their real, original home. From this perspective, making more physical bodies only means making more prisons for human souls, and keeping celibate represents a refusal to further the false, earthly creation.

By inhibiting fruitful physical unions, celibacy may also strengthen the devotee's spiritual union with the Lord. Indeed, in devotional traditions, physical sexual abstinence is often a sign of faithful attachment to the divine beloved. Hindu devotional poetry idealizes the stalwart devotee as the Lord's faithful wife, a concept institutionalized in Catholic orders that identify nuns as brides of Christ. Moreover, Christian as well as Hindu mystics sometimes express themselves in terms of nuptial ecstasy. Though the patriarchal heritages of East and West usually present the aspiring soul in feminine guise, dependent on the will of her Lord, men too can adopt a passionate devotional attitude. In India, both male and female devotees of Kṛṣṇa understand the highest spiritual state in terms of romantic love, and make much of Kṛṣṇa's amorous dalliance with the adoring milkmaids of his pastoral childhood home. Some theologians of Kṛṣṇa worship have further pointed out that the milkmaids were in fact married women, and that the most intense desire between men and women actually takes place outside routinized marriage, between clandestine lovers. So, paradoxically, the milkmaids' passionate attachment to Kṛṣṇa —an important ideal for a large tradition of Indian celibates—is frequently represented as wives' unchaste betrayal of their husbands. Thus, as radical departures from ordinary convention, both celibacy and sexual abandon become religious parallels to one another.

THE PLACE OF CELIBACY IN SOCIETY. Like total sexual abandon, moreover, total abstinence is not a generally recommended practice in most traditions, and the social regulation of sexual behavior may entail curbs on celibacy as well as on indulgence. Indeed, traditional cultures often present celibacy and procreation in a complementary relationship, which can be ordered according to the calendrical cycle, the life cycle, or divisions in the society as a whole. At the same time, separate communities of celibates have their own norms of sexual propriety, and the maintenance of these norms is often crucial for the image of the celibate in the eyes of laypersons.

Procreation and abstinence in traditional societies. Clearly, no civilization can survive for long without some provision for procreation, and religious traditions with strong ethnic roots, like Confucianism and Judaism, may have no place at all for the permanent celibate. Although traditional Judaism proscribes sexual relations outside marriage, all Jews are expected to marry and engage regularly in conjugal relations. Indeed, the Sabbath itself is thought of as a bride, and to celebrate its arrival Jewish husbands are enjoined to have intercourse with their wives joyously on Sabbath eve. In Judaism, then, controlled religious pursuits should also embrace sanctified procreation throughout a mature person's life.

The most highly structured relationships between abstinence and procreation are found in traditional India, where classical Hindu tradition sees these relationships ordered not, as in Judaism, in a lifelong weekly cycle, but in the cycle of each individual life. The life stages of classical Hinduism are fourfold: (1) *brahmacarya,* a period of celibate study; (2) *gṛhastha,* the householder stage, in which traditional Hindus were expected to marry and have many children, particularly sons who would perform their death rites; (3) *vanaprastha* ("forest dwelling"), the later stage of marriage, after the children were fully raised and had received most of their inheritance, and when abstinence was prescribed; and finally (4) *saṃnyāsa,* the stage of total renunciation of settled life as well as sex. The classical Hindu life cycle, then, begins and ends in celibacy, but prescribes a sexually fruitful period of life as a householder in between.

Giving celibacy an explicit place in the individual life cycle, Hindu tradition also gives celibate individuals an explicit place in society. Hindus recognize that exceptional individuals will want to live all their lives as celibate ascetics, either prolonging their studies indefinitely as *brahmacārins* or bypassing the householder stage by making early formal renunciation. Today, Hindus tend to collapse the first and last stages of the cycle and ignore the third, thus resolving the four stages of the life cycle into two social states: householders fruitfully participating in society, nurturing new souls, and supporting ascetics; and solitary celibates outside society, working out their own salvation. In most Indian cosmologies, the participation of householders as well as celibates is required in the proper economy of salvation in the cosmos.

Sexual norms in celibate groups. In Theravāda Buddhism, the complementary roles of the householder and celibate were institutionalized and given a distinctive religious valuation. The community of monks—the *saṃgha*—should be supported by the laity, but the proper ordering of the cosmos (and so the welfare of the laity) depends on the *saṃgha*'s purity, conceived in good part as its sexual purity. Thus, in the Vinaya Piṭaka, the monastic disciplinary code, specific rules governed everyday practices that had even the most subtle sexual implications, from propriety in dress to contact with women. Atonement for even minor sexual infractions required not only confessions but also a formal legal decision handed down in a meeting of the community. Sexual intercourse with a woman was one of the few grounds for immediate expulsion from the *saṃgha.*

Perhaps more crucial than the rules regulating the contact between members of a celibate community and potential sexual partners outside it are those controlling the relationships among the community members themselves. These rules can be especially complex in celibate communities of mixed sex. The Shakers, a mixed celibate community founded by a woman, maintained strict segregation between the sexes; men and women were even to avoid passing each other on stairways. Taking in children and youths to raise, they kept them under tight control. Children were not allowed out at night except for some specific reason (and not for any reason on Saturday evenings); lest they be tempted, children even of the same sex were not to be left unattended at their weekly bath. In whole communities of the same sex, too, provisions are often made to inhibit physical contact among members. Though the *Rule of Saint Benedict,* which stands behind much of Western monastic life, has little explicit to say about celibacy itself, it does include provisions apparently aimed at the prevention of homosexuality. Monks should sleep in separate beds, clothed and with a light burning; though inmates of monasteries should sleep in groups, young monks should not sleep alone as a group but should be together with older ones (chap. 22). The abbots seemed to recognize that ideals of spiritual love among members of their communities could stand in practical tension with vows of celibacy.

Yet more often than not, the physical chastity of cloistered monks is rarely tested; the crucial spiritual role of sexual restrictions on celibates is less the prevention of sexual activity than of sexual thoughts. For celibates living outside the cloister, continually interacting with laypersons, temptation and desire can become particularly problematic. Necessary celibacy for diocesan priests has been frequently questioned, both inside and outside the Roman Catholic church. In pre-Reformation Europe, many priests openly took concubines, and the last half of the twentieth century has heard continuing discussion of the value of requiring celibacy for all priests. The tensions facing the modern priest are understandable: living in a sexually open society and as a confessor hearing detailed accounts of the intimate lives of individuals, he is nevertheless expected to exercise the same sexual discipline—both mentally and physically—of the cloistered monk.

The image for the layperson. The persistence of sacerdotal celibacy in Roman Catholic tradition may lie, in part, in the image that the priest holds for the laity. As an administrator of divine office, the priest is seen to function within the holy mother church and should reflect her virginal purity. The ideal of virginal purity for its officiants is maintained even in the Eastern Orthodox church: though married men are allowed to become priests, they are not allowed to rise to the highest episcopal office, and once a man has become a priest he may not take a wife. As representatives of a sacred institution regarded as pure, Buddhist monks project a similar image of chaste holiness in Theravāda society. Like priests, monks are formal participants in Theravāda ritual, much of which involves the feeding of monks by laypersons. The religious power of the rite for laypersons depends in part on the monks' perceived purity.

A vow of celibacy, moreover, can make individuals appear remarkable beyond the confines of sanctified ritual. No longer appearing as ordinary mortals, celibates can be relaxed in their socioreligious roles. The Roman Catholic priest can joke and gossip with parishioners and not have to worry too much about a decorous image. A Theravāda monk, even if he is not particularly charismatic, at least withstands the rigors of chastity—an experience familiar to many male Theravadins who have temporarily taken the robe. Among Hindu gurus, the married ones may feel constrained to appear particularly scrupulous in financial matters; celibate gurus, on the other hand, not burdened by family responsibilities, are said to be more easily trusted. And in all traditions, celibate hermits who do not interact readily with laypersons may, through their renunciation of society, seem awesome and powerful.

CONCLUSION. In setting individuals apart from normal life, deliberate celibacy can render them extraordinary both to themselves and to others. In crucial situations, temporary abstinence is undertaken by members of many cultures, either to achieve distance from impurity during rituals or to channel reproductive energy at the birth of a child. In religions oriented toward salvation, more permanent vows of celibacy affirm the links of individuals to powers higher than this world, often as members of sanctified institutions. In these ways, celibacy makes people seem less grossly, physically human, and thus, sometimes, more divine.

SEE ALSO Asceticism; Desire; Kuṇḍalinī; Saṃnyāsa; Tantrism; Virginity.

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DANIEL GOLD (1987 AND 2005)

CELTIC RELIGION

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
HISTORY OF STUDY

CELTIC RELIGION: AN OVERVIEW

Historical references to the Celts begin in the fifth century BCE. Herodotus and Hecataeus of Miletus are the forerunners of a long series of Greek and Latin writers whose reports and comments, both well- and ill-informed, reflect the changing fortunes of the Celtic peoples during the pre-Christian era and their impact on the Greco-Roman world. Herodotus and Hecataeus confirm that by about 500 BCE the Celts were already widely dispersed over central and western Europe, including perhaps Gaul and the Iberian Peninsula, and evidence from the fifth century testifies to further territorial expansion. About 400 BCE this process quickened as tribal bands invaded northern Italy and established settlements that, in due course, became the Roman province of Gallia Cisalpina. Some Celtic bands raided farther south, as far as Rome and Apulia and even Sicily, and around 387 they captured and sacked the city of Rome, an event of traumatic importance in Roman history.

To the east, other Celtic tribes penetrated into the Carpathians and the Balkans during the fourth century BCE. In 279 some of them entered Greece and plundered the shrine at Delphi, and in the following year three Celtic tribes, known collectively to the Greeks as Galatae, crossed into Asia Minor and eventually settled in the region that still bears the name Galatia. In Britain, the final phase of Celtic settlement came with the arrival of the Belgae in the first century BCE, although there is archaeological evidence of earlier immigrations dating back as far as the fifth century BCE. For Ireland, the evidence is complicated, and one cannot confidently infer a Celtic presence before the third century BCE.

By the early third century BCE the Celts extended across the length of Europe from Britain to Asia Minor, and they were considered one of the three or four most important barbarian peoples in the known world. Thereafter, however, their history is one of decline. Harried by Germans in the north, Dacians in the east, and Romans in the south, the continental Celts saw their widespread dominion disintegrate and contract until their realm came to be associated solely with Gaul, where they maintained their independence until their conquest by Caesar (100–44 BCE) in the mid–first century BCE (58–51 BCE).

In Britain and Ireland the process was longer drawn out, but there too Celtic society was gradually eroded and submerged by foreign domination. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, Celtic languages were being spoken only on the western periphery, in restricted areas of Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Brittany. The insular languages belong to two distinct branches of Celtic and perhaps reflect an older dialectal division among the Celtic-speaking peoples of Europe: Goidelic, which comprises Irish and Scottish Gaelic (and formerly Manx), and British or Brythonic, comprising Welsh and Breton (and formerly Cornish). However, Breton, which is largely the product of immigration to Brittany from southwest Britain from around the fourth to the seventh century CE, may also have absorbed surviving elements of Gaulish speech.

The entry of the Celts into the written record coincides with the first evidences of the Second Iron Age, also known as La Tène culture, which refers broadly to those areas of Europe historically associated with the Celts. However, the further back beyond the fifth century BCE one goes, the more difficult it becomes to use the term Celts with reasonable confidence, because the correlatives of language and written reference are lacking. The cultural phase which preceded La Tène, known as Hallstatt, dates from the ninth century BCE and covers an expanse of territory extending at least from Burgundy to Bohemia. Hallstatt culture is characterized by elaborate chariot burials and by the use of iron rather than bronze for arms and utensils. It is the product of a warrior aristocracy that is generally recognized as Celtic, or at least as the direct ancestor of the Celts of the following period. Obviously, the definition of a Celtic identity was the product of a long period of linguistic and cultural evolution, and some archaeologists have ventured to identify as proto-Celtic the peoples of the Urnfield culture and of the Tumulus culture that preceded it in the second millennium BCE, or even the peoples of the Beaker and Battle-Axe cultures of the third millennium BCE. However, this is mere speculation; the point in the archaeological record at which the Indo-Europeans made their appearance in central and western Europe cannot be known with certainty. And yet most scholars discern in the culture of the Tumulus peoples features that are echoed in that of La Tène.

SOURCES. The sources for Celtic religion fall broadly into two categories. The first category comprises the various monuments relating to the Celts on the continent, particularly in Gaul and in Roman Britain, and the second category comprises the insular Celtic literatures that have been preserved in writing. The two types pose problems that are very different in character. Most dedicatory inscriptions, images of Celtic deities, and commentaries by classical authors belong to the Roman period and probably reflect in varying degrees the effect of Roman influence on Gaulish institutions. For example, because Gaulish sculpture is based for the most part on Greco-Roman models, it is often difficult to assess and interpret its relevance to native belief. Even cases in which motifs and figures seem clearly to derive from pre-Roman religious tradition, as in some of the Celtic coins of the third and second centuries BCE, they are not easily related to what is known of insular Celtic myth and ritual.

The difficulty lies in the lack of the literature that would provide a context for the iconography as well as a key to its understanding. The druids, as Caesar records, accorded primacy to the spoken word and refused to commit their teaching to writing. Consequently, the whole of the traditional literature, including the mythology that gave the iconography its meaning, was confined to oral transmission and perished with the extinction of the Gaulish language. The total loss of this vernacular literature, which was doubtless comparable in volume and variety with that of early Ireland, renders all the more significant the testimony of those classical authors who recorded their own or others' observations on the Celts. Probably the most important was Posidonius (c. 135–c. 50 BCE), who had firsthand knowledge of diverse cultures, including the Celtic in southern Gaul, and who devoted the twenty-third chapter of his lost *Histories* to Celtic ethnography. Much of his account of the Celts survives in the work of later writers who borrowed from him, such as the historian Diodorus Siculus (died after 21 BCE,), the geographer Strabo (c. 63 BCE–24 CE), and, most notably of all, Julius Caesar, whose account is crucial for the study of Gaulish religion.

The limitations of the classical sources are obvious. Most of the reports come at second- or third-hand and are subject to the prejudices and preconceptions born of classical civilization—or even, as in the case of Caesar, of internal Roman politics—but they are not without substance, as on many points they harmonize remarkably with the later insular sources. For example, classical sources note that in Gaul there were three classes associated with literature and learning: the druids, the bards, and, between them, an order that seems to have been best known by the Gaulish term **vātis* (cognate with Latin *vatis*; * denotes a form not appearing in epigraphs and reconstructed from the quotations of Greek and Latin authors), which is not clearly distinguishable from the druids. Far removed in time and space, the same threefold arrangement occurs in medieval Ireland, comprising here druids (*druïdh*), *filidh*, and bards (*baird*). The term *fáith* (prophet) is the Irish cognate of Gaulish **vātis* and appears frequently as a near synonym of *fili* (plural, *filidh*).

Manuscripts. The second main body of evidence, the insular Celtic literatures, is at first glance far removed from the pre-Roman world of the continental Celts. The great historian of Gaul, Camille Jullian (1859–1933), questioned whether it was valid to use Irish and Welsh literary sources to interpret Latin and Greek references to Gaulish institutions and concluded that one could not rely on documents written so long after the Celtic migration to Ireland. In fact, the gap is much narrower than the twelve centuries that he supposed, because much of the relevant material is linguistically older than the period of the manuscript collections in which it is now preserved. Further, there is no evidence that Christianity was introduced to any part of Ireland before the second half of the fourth century CE, or that it impinged much on the traditional culture of the country before the sixth century. Moreover, one must reckon with the highly conservative character of Irish learned tradition, which, thanks to the assiduousness of the hereditary *filidh*, survived far into the Christian period and transmitted innumerable elements of form and content, particularly in the area of social institutions, which find their closest detailed analogues in the sacred texts of Vedic and classical Sanskrit.

Written literature in Irish dates from the second half of the sixth century CE, when monastic scholars adapted the Latin alphabet for that purpose, and it gradually increases in volume during the following centuries. In addition to a good deal of typically monastic learning, both religious and secular, the literature comprises a vast amount of varied material recorded or adapted from oral tradition. However, only fragments of this literature survive in contemporary manuscripts, mostly in the form of annals or notes and glosses accompanying Latin texts; all the vernacular manuscripts written before the end of the eleventh century, some of them known by name, have perished through usage or spoilage caused by warfare. Then around 1100 came *Lebhor na hUidhre* (The book of the dun cow), probably written in the monastery of Clonmacnois and the first of a series of great vellum manuscript compilations that were part of a conscious endeavor in the face of ominous political and social change to conserve the monuments of native tradition. It was followed around 1130 by an untitled collection now at the Bodleian Library at Oxford University and around 1150–1200 by *Lebhor na Nuachongbála* (known commonly as the Book of Leinster), probably compiled in the monasteries of Glendalough and Terryglass, respectively. Over the next couple of centuries a number of major manuscripts appeared, of which the most important are the Great Book of Lecan, Yellow Book of Lecan, Book of Ballymote, Book of Lismore, and Book of Fermoy. These capacious *bibliothecae* embrace all the various genres of traditional literature: hero and king tales, mythological tales, origin legends, genealogies, onomastic (the study of proper names) and etymological lore, gnomic texts, legal tracts, eulogy and elegy, battle tales, birth tales, death tales, tales of the otherworld, and so on. It is important to remember that, although the surviving manuscripts date from a relatively late period, the matter they contain has generally been copied more or less faithfully from earlier manuscripts. The result is that the initial redaction of the individual texts can be dated with a fair degree of accuracy on the basis of linguistic criteria. Thus the texts are often demonstrably centuries older than the extant manuscripts.

Along with these manuscript collections, several specialized compilations, including *Leabhar Gabhála Éireann* (The book of the taking of Ireland), commonly known as the Book of Invasions, an amalgam of myth and pseudohistory, which purports to recount the coming of the Gaels to Ireland as well as the several immigrations that preceded it; the *Cóir Anmann* (Fitness of names), a catalog of names of "historical" personages with many imaginative etymologies and references to traditional legends; and the *Dinnshenchas* (Lore of famous places), which provides a much fuller and more elaborate examination of place names than the *Cóir Anmann* provides for personal names. The features of the Irish landscape and their names, if properly construed, were thought to reveal the history of the country and its peoples from their beginnings. From the first shaping and definition of the land—the clearing of plains, the creation of rivers and lakes, and the assigning of names (as related in *Leabhar Gabhála*)—each place was linked indissolubly to momentous events by an association that conferred on it an enduring psychic resonance. The onomastic element is pervasive in Irish (and Welsh) literature, and in poetic tracts dating from around the tenth century, the history of *dinnshenchas* is included in the course of study prescribed for apprentice *filidh*. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, a period of intensive compilation, a comprehensive volume of these onomastic legends was assembled. This mythological gazetteer of Irish place names exists in several recensions (critically revised texts that use varying sources), both prose and verse. Among the many other miscellaneous sources are the lives of the saints, particularly those later ones compiled or redacted from the eleventh century onward (of which it is sometimes said that they contain more pagan mythology than Christianity).

Evidence indicates that the early oral literature of Wales was comparable in volume and variety with that of Ireland. Unfortunately, because of a weaker scribal tradition, Welsh literature is less well documented for the pre-Norman period, prior to the eleventh century. This applies particularly to prose, which in the Celtic languages is the standard medium for narrative and hence for most heroic and mythological literature. Of the compositions ascribed to the fathers of Welsh poetry, Taliesin and Aneirin, who belonged to the second half of the sixth century, only a modest proportion is likely to be authentic, and all of that consists of eulogy and heroic elegy. However, from the ninth or tenth century onward Taliesin became the focus of poems and stories (extant only in much later versions) that represent him as a wonder child, seer, and prophet; some of these motifs clearly derive from native mythological tradition. There is no evidence of written Welsh narrative prose before the eleventh century, the period to which most scholars assign the first redaction of the earliest of the group of tales known as the *Mabinogi* or *Mabinogion.* However, the earliest manuscripts containing this prose material date from considerably later. Apart from two manuscript fragments from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the main texts are the "White Book of Rhydderch" from the mid–fourteenth century and the "Red Book of Hergest" from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. Another important source is the *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* (The triads of the island of Britain), which contains numerous references to mythological as well as historical characters and events; it may have been compiled in the twelfth century, but much of the contents must have existed in oral tradition before then. Also of mythological interest are the poems compiled as part of the "Black Book of Carmarthen" in the mid-thirteenth century, some of the contents of which may be dated on linguistic grounds to the ninth or tenth century.

Given the diversity of these sources, it is unrealistic to expect from them a clear image of religious and mythological unity. On one hand, Gaulish epigraphy and iconography belong preponderantly to the period of Roman domination when native religion was being progressively modified by Roman influence. On the other hand, the insular literatures, although exceedingly conservative in many respects, were recorded and redacted by monastic scribes and scholars who, however well disposed toward their own vernacular tradition, were nonetheless educated Christians, who on matters of crucial importance doubtless gave priority to Christian teaching over pagan tradition. In short, the integral tradition as it would have been transmitted and commented on by the druids in an independent Celtic society does not exist. Even among the insular Celts, history created important disparities. For instance, Ireland escaped the immediate physical presence of Rome, which left its imprint so clearly on medieval language and thought in Britain and Wales. One must also acknowledge the imponderable but obviously considerable survival of pre-Celtic religion in Celtic belief and practice in the several areas of Celtic settlement. Yet, despite these sources of dissimilation, the underlying structural and thematic unity of British and Irish ideology is more striking than the superficial differences.

Artifacts. The plastic art of the Celto-Roman period is so evidently based on that of Rome that it might appear at first glance to have been borrowed whole and unchanged, but on closer scrutiny it reveals many elements that derive from the Celtic rather than from the Roman tradition. On one hand, there are forms quite foreign to classical art, such as the tricephalic (three-headed) god, the god with stag's antlers, and the god depicted in the Buddha-like cross-legged position. On the other hand, there are images more or less in the classical mode but with features not associated with the corresponding deities of Greco-Latin religion: the wheel, for instance, or the mallet. The wheel is seen by some as representing the thunderbolt, by others as representing the sun, and in some cases it may also be the emblem of the god of the underworld. Similarly, the mallet or hammer is thought to have several connotations: it symbolizes thunder and the sky from which it emanates, but it also functions as an apotropaic (able to prevent evil or bad luck) symbol and as the emblem of an underworld god of fecundity. The cornucopia, or horn of abundance, is not particularly Celtic, but it appears as a common attribute of the Celtic mother goddess, perhaps the most important divinity of the primitive Celtic pantheon. Animal horns are commonly regarded as signs of fertility, and the antlers that the Celtic deity wears on the Gundestrup Caldron, a first-century BCE vessel found in Denmark, and elsewhere are taken to symbolize his power and fecundity. Another frequent emblem of divinity is the ornamented torque, which is interpreted to denote a powerful god who is able to provide protection from evil spirits. Although it is usually worn around the neck as a metal collar, the torque is sometimes held in the hand, and, on the relief of the Celtic god Cernunnos in the Musée de Cluny in Paris, the deity carries two torques suspended on his horns.

Probably the most notable element in the religious symbolism of the Celts is the number three; the mystic significance of the concept of threeness is attested in most parts of the world, but it seems to have had a particularly strong significance for the Celts. This is confirmed both by Celto-Roman iconography, which has its three-headed and three-faced deities (and even a triphallic Mercury) and its triads of mother goddesses, and by the insular literary tradition, which has an endless variety of ternary groups in which the triad is an expressive restatement of an underlying unity. Examples include goddesses such as the three Brighids and inseparable brothers such as the three companions of the tragic heroine Deirdre. It is commonly accepted that ternary repetition has an intensifying force, expressing totality or omnipotence, although its symbolism may be even more complex and subtle.

Continental Deities and Insular Equivalents. Given that the bulk of the relevant evidence belongs to the Roman period, the Gaulish religion is for the most part as seen through Roman eyes, which means that it is perceived and presented in terms of Roman religion. A classical example is the passage in Caesar's *Gallic Wars* in which he lists and defines the principal gods of the Gauls:

> Of the gods they worship Mercury most of all. He has the greatest number of images; they hold that he is the inventor of all the arts and a guide on the roads and on journeys, and they believe him the most influential for money-making and commerce. After him they honor Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva. Of these deities they have almost the same idea as other peoples: Apollo drives away diseases, Minerva teaches the first principles of the arts and crafts, Jupiter rules the heavens, and Mars controls the issue of war. (*Gallic Wars,* 6.17)

What Caesar offers us here is a thumbnail sketch of the Gaulish pantheon modeled on that of Rome. As part of this glaringly Roman interpretation, he refers to each deity not by his proper Celtic name but by that of a Roman deity to which it is most easily equated. At the same time he introduces a neat schematism, which is quite foreign to all that is otherwise known of Celtic religion. In thus equating gods and divine functions that are not really equal, he has posed many problems for modern scholars who seek to identify Caesar's Roman gods in continental Celtic iconography and insular Celtic mythology.

To confound matters further, modern scholars have tended to depreciate Caesar's testimony on the Gauls; first, on the grounds that he distorted the facts to enhance his own achievements, and second, on the grounds that he took his information from Posidonius, but used it inaccurately. It has been argued, for example, that Caesar—and even Posidonius—exaggerated the social and political importance of the druids, assigning them a dominant role that they never in fact possessed. Yet in this regard, as in others, Caesar's version of things is largely confirmed by the independent evidence of the insular literatures. Once allowance is made for the synoptic nature of his comment, his inevitable professional bias, and the limitations of his interest in Gaul, there is no reason to assume that his account is not largely authentic. By the time he wrote his account, he had had eight years' experience of the country, and most likely he derived much of his information from personal observation and from the reports of colleagues and acquaintances; certainly there is little basis for the common assumption that he was totally indebted to Posidonius for his knowledge of the land and its people.

The concise precision of Caesar's testimony makes it difficult to correlate with other evidence. Georges Dumézil (1898–1986) remarked that one of the many traits the early Irish shared with the Indians is that they were both fond of classification and careless of order. The result is that Irish literature is often a curious mixture of meticulous detail and incoherence that finds its closest parallel in some of the Indian epics. One must therefore adjust one's mental perspective considerably as one moves from Caesar to the vernacular literatures. It may be that something of this prodigal disorder is reflected in the continental Celtic iconography, which may help to explain why identifications with Caesar's deities are often more a matter of speculation than of demonstration. But perhaps a more important consideration is that Caesar's account and the iconography refer to quite different stages in the history of Gaulish religion. Periods of profound cultural and political change often bring into prominence popular forms of belief and practice that have hitherto been concealed by the dominant orthodoxy. It seems probable that the religion represented in Gallo-Roman plastic art was less clearly structured and delimited than that maintained by the druids in the days of independence before Caesar's conquest.

Modern scholars have often noted, and sometimes exaggerated, a discrepancy between Caesar's account and the Gallo-Roman evidence, claiming that the evidence does not substantiate Caesar's account of a pantheon of major deities who were worshiped throughout Gaul. In Gallo-Roman dedications, deities may be assigned a Roman name, a native Gaulish name, or a Roman name accompanied by a native epithet. The last two cases clearly have to do with indigenous gods, and even the first group may also. For example, the numerous statues and reliefs of Mercury in the guise of the Greco-Roman god might have been intended to honor that god, but equally they might have been intended to honor a native god by borrowing the classical form together with the classical name. Indeed, many of these images have certain features that betray their essential non-Roman character. It has been observed that the great majority of the several hundred names containing a Gaulish element occur only once. Those that occur more frequently tend to do so in regional or tribal groupings, and many of them have a clear local reference (e.g., Mars Vesontius pointing to Vesontio and Dea Tricoria referring to a goddess of the Tricorii). The inference drawn by some scholars, including Joseph Vendryes and Marie-Louise Sjoestedt, is that, although the Celts had a multiplicity of gods, their cults were local and tribal rather than national. Scholars also cite Lucan's (39–65 CE) mention of the deity name Teutates, which they interpret as "God of the Tribe" based on the etymologies of Celtic word **teutā* (tribe) and an oath formula from Irish hero tales, *Tongu do dia toinges mo thuath* (I swear to the god to whom my tribe swears).

But this evidence is susceptible of a different interpretation. A large proportion of the Gaulish forms attested in dedications are mere epithets or bynames; even of those that may be taken to be proper names, it would be quite erroneous to suppose that each indicates a separate deity. As Dumézil remarked in *Dieux des Indo-Européens* (1952), the names of deities are easily reinvented, and the insular literatures offer examples of major gods known by several different names. As for the form *Teutates*, it may be a title linking the god to the tribe but does not necessarily confine him to it. By the same token, in early Irish law the small tribal kingdom, the *tuath* (from **teutā*), was the unit of jurisdiction, and rules of law were explicitly stated to apply *i tuaith* (within a *tuath*). Presumably, then, laws originally applied with equal validity only between members of the same tribe; however, substantially the same law—formulated by the same learned class of jurists related to the druids and *filidh*—was common to all the tribal kingdoms. Similarly, in primitive Ireland the vital ritual of inauguration was founded in the first place on the small tribal kingdom (*tuath*), as is enunciated in the law tracts, but it is also replicated at different levels throughout the wider cultural community. And as for the alleged lack of great divinities common to all the Celtic peoples, this is gainsaid even in terms of nomenclature by such insular gods as Lugh and Brighid and their continental equivalents. In short, there is a growing awareness that, despite its all too obvious complexities, the seeming throng of Celtic gods is both less amorphous and more universal than was formerly believed.

Another criticism levelled at Caesar is that he assigned separate functions to the several Gaulish deities in contradiction of the evidence. Some scholars hold that the deities were polyvalent (they can be understood in more than one way) tribal gods, and that to seek to restrict them to distinct spheres of activity is pointless. Others hold that all the various attested gods may be reduced ultimately to a single deity who is both polyvalent and polymorphic (i.e., taking more than one form). Thomas F. O'Rahilly, one of the two principal exponents of this view, believed that the core of Irish and Celtic mythology was the conflict in which this universal deity was slain by a youthful hero using the god's own sacred weapon, the thunderbolt. Pierre Lambrechts, the other principal exponent of this view, believed that originally Celtic religion was bound up with one great deity, possibly a ternary (three-formed) deity endowed with multiple and comprehensive attributes and that during the Roman period this largely undefined and impersonal deity was fragmented into a number of smaller, specialized deities through contact with the Greco-Roman world.

This notion of a single all-encompassing god, endlessly varied in form and function, has perhaps a certain plausibility. Because the Celtic gods were not clearly departmentalized, it is difficult to pair them off neatly with their Roman counterparts, and so one finds such evident anomalies as the occasional use of the same Gaulish byname (e.g., Iovantucarus and Vellaunus) with different Roman deity names (e.g., Mars and Mercurius). However, although the functional roles of the several deities are not clearly defined and delimited and frequently overlap with one another, it does not follow that they may be reduced to a single, all-purpose divine overlord. It has often been remarked that in polytheistic systems each god tends to move beyond his or her normal functional field toward a kind of universalism. Yet, despite this tendency toward the assimilation of roles, the insular Celtic gods are far removed from functional indifferentism, and there are some, like Goibhniu (The Smith) and Dian Cecht (The Leech) whose central responsibilities are defined very precisely. The assumption of undifferentiated polyvalence that underlies the conflicting interpretations of Vendryes and O'Rahilly (i.e., tribal and polytheistic) or Lambrechts (i.e., vaguely monotheistic) has not been substantiated. In fact, more recent scholars, notably Françoise Le Roux and Anne Ross, have moved in the direction of a typological classification of the gods based on criteria of function. The scheme put forward by Le Roux is in close conformity with the principles established in Dumézil's functional theory of Indo-European mythology. Indeed, it could be argued that this typological approach had already been anticipated by Caesar in his brief account of the characteristic activities of the major Gaulish deities.

Mercury or Lugh. Caesar's observation that Mercury was the deity with the greatest number of images in Gaul is confirmed by the surviving evidence of inscriptions, stone statues and reliefs, bronze statuettes, and terra-cotta figures. His image often appears in the mode of the classical Mercury: youthful, naked, and beardless; equipped with caduceus (rod entwined with a pair of snakes), petasos (wide-brimmed hat), and purse; and accompanied by cock, ram, or tortoise. But his image is also found in Gallo-Roman guise: mature, bearded, and dressed in a heavy cloak. Sometimes, as in the east and the north of Gaul, he has three heads. Unlike his Roman counterpart, he has a frequent consort named Maia or Rosmerta (The Provider) and includes the art of war in his range of competence.

One cannot assume that Caesar's Mercury coincides with a single native deity throughout the Celtic areas, but there is quite strong evidence for identifying him substantially with the Irish god Lugh (although some doubts have been expressed in this regard by Bernhard Maier). First, Lugh's name and cult were pan-Celtic. Further, Caesar speaks of Mercury as *omnium inventorem artium* (inventor of all the arts), a close paraphrase of Lugh's sobriquet in Irish, (*sam)ildánach* (skilled in many arts together). In fact, an episode in the tale of the mythological Battle of Magh Tuiredh dramatically sets forth Lugh's claim as the only god who was master of all the arts and crafts. At Osma in Spain an inscription was found with a dedication on behalf of a guild of shoemakers to the Lugoves, whose name is the plural of Lugus, an older form of Lugh. Most likely these divinities, who recur in an inscription from Avenches in Switzerland, are simply the pan-Celtic Lugus in plural, perhaps triple, form. The Middle Welsh tale *Math vab Mathonwy* may well echo this connection with shoemaking, for Lleu, the Welsh cognate of Lugh, operates briefly as a high-class practitioner of the craft.

In Ireland, Lugh was the youthful victor over malevolent demonic figures, and his great achievement was to kill the cyclopean Balar with a slingshot. Lughnasadh, his feast, was a harvest festival, and at least two of its principal sites, Carmun and Tailtiu, were the burial places of goddesses by the same names, who were associated with the fertility of the earth (as was, apparently, the Gaulish Mercury's consort Rosmerta). Lugh was the divine exemplar of sacred kingship, and in the tale *Baile in Scáil* (The Phantom's Vision) he appears seated in state as king of the otherworld and attended by a woman identified as the sovereignty of Ireland, reminiscent of Rosmerta. His usual epithet, *lámhfhada* (of the long arm), relates to his divine kingship. In the Christian period Lugh survived in the guise of several saints known by variants of his name—Lughaidh, Molua, and others—and the motif of the arm is reflected in these Christian traditions as well.

Gaulish Mars. A famous passage in Lucan's (39–65 CE) *Civil War* refers to the bloody sacrifices offered the three Celtic gods: Teutates, Esus, and Taranis. A later commentator on Lucan clearly illustrates the difficulty of identifying individual Gaulish and Roman gods, for one of his two main sources equated Teutates with Mercury, the other with Mars. But if, as seems likely, *teutates* is primarily a title ("god of the tribe") rather than a name, then such confusion is explainable: the god of sovereignty and the arts, Mercurius, will also function as a warrior, whereas the god of war, Mars, will often function as the protector of the tribe. Consequently, their functions will sometimes overlap, and it may be a matter of chance or circumstance which is given preeminence in a given time or place. A further complication is that many of the Gallo-Roman dedications to Mars present him not only as a god of war but also as god of healing and guardian of the fields, but this may reflect an extension of his role in the Roman period and does not necessarily discredit Caesar's description of him as god of war. So far as the insular tradition is concerned, a god of war does not come into clear focus, perhaps because fighting is a more or less universal rather than a differentiating feature in the heroic context. Thus one cannot easily define the role of Mars, and one cannot so easily assign him a pan-Celtic identity as one can Lugh.

Gaulish Apollo. The classical form of Apollo in Romano-Celtic monuments only partly conceals the several native deities who have been assimilated to him. The use of the plural is probably justifiable, because several of the fifteen or more epithets attached to Apollo's name have a wide distribution, which might suggest that they were independent gods. Yet some of these epithets may have referred to a single deity. Belenus was especially honored in the old Celtic kingdom of Noricum in the eastern Alps, as well as in northern Italy, southern Gaul, and Britain. The solar connotations of the stem *bel-* (shining, brilliant) would have confirmed the identification with the Greco-Roman Apollo. Grannus, whose name is of uncertain etymology, has a widespread cult with one of its principal centers at Aachen. He is sometimes accompanied by a goddess named Sirona. Borvo, or Bormo, whose name denotes boiling or seething water, is associated with thermal springs, as at Bourbonne-les-Bains and other sites named after him. His consort is Damona (Divine Cow) or Bormana.

This association of healing with springs and wells, which was subsequently taken over into Christian or sub-Christian usage throughout the Celtic countries, tended to encourage localized cults, and it is all the more remarkable that these early names had such an extensive currency. Unlike those already mentioned, Maponos (Divine Son/Youth) occurs mainly in northern Britain, although it is also attested in Gaul near healing springs. Maponos appears in medieval Welsh literature as Mabon, son of Modron, that is, of Matrona (Divine Mother), eponymous goddess of the river Marne in France. A brief but significant episode in the tale of *Culhwch and Olwen* casts him in the role of hunter and alludes to a myth attested elsewhere in insular literature of the youthful god carried off from his mother when three nights old. That his legend was once more extensive in oral tradition than appears from the extant literature is borne out by the survival of his name into Arthurian romance under the forms Mabon, Mabuz, and Mabonagrain.

His Irish equivalent was Mac ind Óg (Young Lad/Son), otherwise known as Oenghus, who was believed to dwell in Bruigh na Bóinne, the great Neolithic and therefore pre-Celtic, passage grave of Newgrange. He was the son of Daghdha, chief god of the Irish, and of Boann, eponym of the sacred river of Irish tradition (Boyne, in English). As his name and relationship suggest, he is a youthful god, and, perhaps in keeping with this, he is often treated with a certain affection in the literature, particularly in his familiar roles of trickster and lover. But he is nowhere presented as a god of healing, which merely underlines the impossibility of exactly equating Celtic and Roman gods in terms of their functional range.

Gaulish Minerva: Irish Brighid. The goddesses of insular Celtic tradition are involved in a wide range of activities that are only partly reflected in Caesar's succinct comment that Minerva concerned herself with teaching "the first principles of the arts and crafts" (*Minervam operum atque artificiorum initia tradere*), even though expertise in arts and crafts enjoyed high status in Celtic society and covered a broad swathe of competences. It is very probable that Caesar chose a single widely revered deity to represent the whole category of goddesses, national and regional. Dedications to Minerva are found throughout the Celtic areas of the continent and in Britain. At Bath she was identified with the goddess Sulis who was worshiped there in connection with the thermal springs and has been identified as a solar deity. The name Minerva is frequently accompanied by the epithet *belisama* (very brilliant), which suggests a rapport with the Gallo-Roman Apollo, who is sometimes named Belenus (The Shining One). The related plural *suleviae* is applied to triads of mother-goddesses at sites on the Continent and in Britain. Sulis Minerva is also related to the widespread and important category of mother-goddesses: Matres Suleviae and Suleviae Iunones.

In the Irish context the single goddess who answers best to Caesar's Minerva by virtue of her functional repertoire and wide-ranging cult is the goddess Brighid (from earlier **Brigentī).* According to the *Glossary of Cormac mac Cuilennáin* (c. 900) she was the daughter of the father-god, the Daghdha (literally, Good God), and was worshiped by the *filid*, the exclusive fraternity of learned seer-poets. In keeping with the Celtic penchant for triadic repetition, she had two sisters, also called Brighid—the one associated with healing, the other with the smith's craft—and their combined fame was such that among all the Irish a goddess used to be called Brighid (a statement that invites comparison with Caesar's use of Minerva as an inclusive term for the goddesses of Gaul). Thus, Brighid was patroness of the artistic inspiration of the poets as well as of healing and craftsmanship. Minerva, for her part, is associated with healing, as at the shrine of Bath, and she is also combined on reliefs with Mercury, the master of all the arts, and Vulcan, more specifically connected with the craftsmanship of the smith. It seems clear that Brighid is merely the Irish reflex of a pan-Celtic deity. Her name, which meant originally "The Exalted One," has its close linguistic correspondent in **Brigantî*, latinized as *Brigantia*, the name of the tutelary goddess of the Brigantes, who formed an important federation in northern Britain. She has also a remarkable Christian (or Christianized) double in the person of her namesake Brighid, the great sixth-century abbess of the monastery of Kildare. The legend of the saint is inextricably fused with that of her pagan alter ego, and as she is inevitably accorded a much fuller documentation by monastic redactors, there is the curious irony that the richest source for the mythology of the goddess is the hagiography of the saint together with the prolific folklore that commemorates her in popular tradition. Both the saint's *Lives* and her folklore suggest a close connection with livestock and the produce of the soil, and, appropriately, her feastday, February 1, coincides with Imbolg, the pagan festival of spring. In a passage of the *Topographia Hiberniae* that evidently draws on this conflate tradition, the twelfth-century Norman cleric Gerald of Wales (c.1146–c.1223; also known Giraldus Cambrensis) reports that Brighid and nineteen of her nuns at Kildare took turns in maintaining a perpetual fire surrounded by a hedge within which no male might enter. Also, it is a significant coincidence that already in the third century Iulius Solinus, associating Minerva with the healing springs of Sulis, mentions in *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium* that perpetual fires burned in her sancuary also. In secular texts Brighid is sometimes made to aid and encourage the men of Leinster when they were engaged in crucial conflicts, a reflection perhaps of her pristine role as territorial goddess like those other Celtic deities indicated by such nicknames as Dea Tricoria of the Tricorii in the Narbonnaise, Dea Nemetona of the Nemetes in the Rhine region, or even Dea Brigantia of the British federation.

Celtic Vulcan. Although Caesar does not mention a Gaulish Vulcan, his cult was evidently known to all the Celtic peoples; indeed, the evidence suggests that he enjoyed a higher status than his Roman counterpart. Because he functioned as a very specialized deity, there is a strong probability that his native name among the continental Celts made reference to his craft, as it did in Ireland and Wales, where he was known as Goibhniu and Gofannon, both names derived from the word for *smith.* The weapons Goibhniu forged with his fellow craft gods, Luchta the Wright and Creidhne the Metalworker, were unerring in aim and fatal in their effect. Further, those who attended the Feast of Goibhniu and partook of the god's sacred drink were thereby rendered immune to age and decay. He was known for his healing powers, and he is invoked in an Old Irish charm for the removal of a thorn. Until the nineteenth century, and in some areas even into the twentieth century, the country smith was still believed to retain something of his ancient preternatural faculty, and he was constantly called on for the healing effects of his charms and spells. In the early tradition, Gobbán Saer (Gobbán the Wright; Gobbán is a hypocoristic form of Goibhniu) was renowned as a wondrous builder, and under the modern form, Gobán Saor, he is the skillful and resourceful mason who outwits his rivals and enemies by his clever stratagems.

Gaulish Hercules or Irish Oghma. Hercules is well represented in Celto-Roman iconography and has a number of regional epithets assigned to him. Doubtless his popularity derives largely from his identification with native Celtic gods who correspond approximately to his classical character. One of these is mentioned in a curious passage by the Greek writer Lucian in the second century CE, who, when describing a Gaulish picture of Hercules, notes that the Celts call him Ogmios. It showed him armed with his familiar club and bow but pictured him uncharacteristically as an old man, bald and gray with his skin darkened and wrinkled by the sun. He pulled behind him a willing band of men attached by slender chains that linked their ears to the tip of his tongue. The explanation, according to Lucian's Gaulish informant, was that eloquence reaches its apogee in old age: the Celts did not identify eloquence with Hermes, as did the Greeks, but with Hercules, because he was by far the stronger.

A question much debated is whether this hoary champion can be identified with the Irish god Oghma, despite the fact that the phonological correspondence is not exact. The functional parallel is adequate: Not merely is Oghma known as a *trénfher* (strong man, champion), but he is also credited with the invention of the Ogham letters. This system of writing was based on the Latin alphabet and can hardly be older than the fourth century CE, but it probably replaced an older system of magical symbols of the same name.

Gaulish Dis Pater or Irish Donn. Caesar mentions Dis Pater separately from the other gods and states that all the Gauls believed with their druids that they were descended from him. The reference is brief but is sufficient to indicate at least an analogy between the Gaulish god of the dead and his Irish counterpart Donn (Brown/Dark One), whose dwelling place was a small rocky island off the southwest coast of Ireland known as Tech nDuinn (House of Donn). Its English name, the Bull, echoes its other name in early Irish, Inis Tarbhnai (Island of Tarbnae). *Tarbhnae* derives from *tarbh* (bull), which perhaps suggests a connection between the god Donn and the great brown bull (the Donn) of Cuailnge, which provides the central motivation for the saga *Táin Bó Cuailnge* (The cattle raid of Cuailnge).

In his role as god of death, Donn is a rather retiring figure in the early literature. Like Dis Pater, he seems to stand apart from the other deities, but his importance is confirmed by his status in modern folk tradition, in which he is represented as the underworld god who creates storms and shipwrecks but also protects cattle and crops. Both early and late sources record the belief that the dead made their way or were ferried to his island after death. As one early text makes clear, these travelers were regarded as Donn's descendants returning to their divine ancestor. The parallel with Dis Pater is evident and is a further argument for the general authenticity of Caesar's account of the Gaulish deities. Donn's importance in indigenous religious tradition is implicitly recognized in the fact that he is included in the pseudo-history of *Leabhar Gabhála Éireann* as chief of the Gaels, the Sons of Míl, last of the several peoples to settle in Ireland, but his religious significance presented a problem of how to accommodate him within what was essentially a project of Christianizing native mythic history. The solution the redactors opted for was to dispose of him by having him drown in the sea off the southwest coast and be subsequently brought for burial to a rocky islet nearby that has been known ever since as the Island of Donn.

Sucellus and Nantosvelta. Some two hundred monuments, mostly in Gaul, show a deity holding a hammer, and a number name him as Sucellus (The Good Striker). Besides the characteristic hammer or mallet, he is often depicted with a cask or drinking jar and accompanied by a dog. He is sometimes paired with the goddess, Nantosvelta, whose name suggests an association with water (cf. Welsh *nant,* meaning *brook*). Particularly in the Narbonnaise, Sucellus is frequently assimilated to the Roman Silvanus, guardian of forests and patron of agriculture. Because of these associations and attributes, he has been seen as controlling fecundity, not an unusual function for an underworld deity. He has also been equated with the Celtic Cernunnos and the Irish Daghdha, but although there are certain broad similarities between them, the evidence does not suffice to prove a closer connection.

Goddesses and divine consorts. In continental iconography, the frequent pairing of god and consort represents the goddesses as complementary to the male deities, and this image may overlap with the ideal coupling of king and territorial goddess so widely portrayed in medieval Irish literature.

It seems impossible to draw any clear distinction between specific named goddesses and the *matres* or *matronae* who appear so frequently in Celtic iconography, often in triadic form like the goddesses of Irish tradition. Both goddesses and *matres* are concerned with fertility and with the seasonal cycle of the earth, and the insular goddesses are sometimes identified with the land and cast in the role of its protective deities. This intimate connection with the land and its physical features is reflected in the exceptional importance of the feminine element in the *dinnshenchas*, the vast accumulation of prose and verse, which constitutes a virtual mythological topography of Ireland. A goddess's concern for the land in general also becomes a responsibility for the particular region or kingdom with which she is especially associated. Each goddess ensures the material well-being, sovereignty, and physical security of her particular domain, just as Brighid, in the guise of her saintly namesake, protects Leinster both as goddess of war and as goddess of peace. The mother-god specifically titled as such, Mâtrona, gave her name to the river that is now the Marne in France. She was the mother of Maponos (The Youthful/Son God) known in Welsh as Mabon, son of Modron. In Irish tradition the corresponding role belonged to Boann, eponym of the river Boann (anglicized Boyne); she was the mother of the Irish divine youth par excellence, Mac ind Óc, whose name is the semantic equivalent of the Welsh and Celtic Mabon/Maponos. As mother, the goddess is sometimes represented in Irish texts as ancestress of a distinguished line of descent, and this is presumably what is intended by the author of the medieval Welsh tale "Branwen Daughter of Llŷr" in which he describes Branwen as one of the three great ancestresses of the island of Britain.

In keeping with their title—Matres, Matrae, Matronae—the mother-goddesses attested throughout the Romano-Celtic world are characteristically represented with the various symbols of their maternal and creative function: carrying or caring for infants or bearing such familiar symbols of prosperity as the cornucopia or the basket of fruits. They were also thought of as nourishing and watching over specific peoples and regions and were named accordingly the Matres Glanicae at Glanum (Saint-Rémy-de-Provence), for example, or the Matres Treverae among the Treveri. They would seem to have survived cultural and religious change in the guise of the *mamau* (mothers) and the formidable *cailleacha* (old women) of Welsh and Irish-Scottish popular tradition respectively.

Nature associations. Underlying the tradition of *dinnshenchas* is the belief that prominent places and geological features throughout Ireland were the scene of mythic events or the abode, even the embodiment, of mythic personages. Many of the numerous women who populate this world of onomastic legend are clear reflexes of the multifaceted goddess whose origins are bound up with the physical landscape—figures like Tailtiu and Carmun whose burial places were named after them—were the sites of great royal assemblies. In most of the Celto-Roman world the early onomastic lore disappeared with the indigenous languages, but something of it remained in the divine nomenclature of these areas.

Apart from the general cult of the earth goddess, an extensive repertory of deity names attached to individual places or topographical features also exists. Hilltops and mountain tops are considered particularly appropriate settings for the sacred, as evidenced by dedications to Garra and Baeserta in the Pyrenees and to Vosegus in the Vosges. There was a god of the clearing or cultivated field (Ialonus), of the rock (Alisanos), of the confluence (Condatis), of the ford (Ritena), and of the fortified place (Dunatis). Water, particularly the moving water of rivers and springs, had its special deities, which were generally female in the case of the rivers. One can perhaps glimpse the lost mythology of such rivers as the Seine (Sequana), the Marne (Matrona), and the Saone (Souconna) through the legends of insular equivalents like the Boyne (Boann). The names of many rivers throughout the Celtic lands, such as the French Dives or the Welsh Dyfrdwy, are derived from the stem *dev-* and mean simply "the divine one." Sacred springs are deified as, for example, Aventia (Avenches), Vesunna (Périgeux), and Divona (Cahors). Further, there were many divine patrons of thermal waters, such as the god Borvo, and this particularly widespread cult is reflected in the countless holy and healing wells (some twelve hundred in Wales alone, and no one has yet added up the Irish instances) that made the transition from paganism to Christianity with little essential change. However, the abundant material evidence for this pan-Celtic phenomenon is not matched by the early insular literary evidence: many Irish tales mention wells with preternatural powers and associations, but there is hardly anything about healing wells as such. Unless this is due to suppression by the monastic redactors of the literature, the only explanation would seem to be that the frequenting of healing wells had always been regarded, even in pagan times, as a popular practice to be distinguished from the more official tribal cults, or simply that it was so familiar as to be unremarkable.

In many instances the holy wells of the Christian period stand close to a specific tree that shares their supernatural aura. Obviously, this is one aspect of the widespread cult of sacred trees. In the Pyrenees there are dedications to the beech (Deo Fago) and to the Six Trees (Sexarbori deo, Sexarboribus) and at Angoulême to the oak (Deo Robori). The Romano-Celtic name of the town of Embron, *Eburodunum*, contains the name of the deified yew tree. Such continental forms are supplemented by a vast dossier of insular evidence. There were, for example, scores of Christian foundations in Ireland evidently located on the sites of pagan cult centers, each with its sacred tree nearby. The literature frequently mentions several great trees that were particularly honored in tradition: the Tree of Tortu (an ash), the Oak of Mughna, the Yew of Ross, the Bough of Dathí (an ash), the Ash of Uisnech, among others. There was even a special term for such trees, *bile*, and this term was sometimes used for the great tree that marked each of the inauguration sites of tribal and provincial kings. Standing theoretically at the center of its kingdom like the *axis mundi* in its greater cosmos, the *bile* symbolized the integrity and independence of the kingdom. When it happened, as it did occasionally, that it was attacked and felled by a hostile neighbor, this doubtless dealt a severe blow to communal pride and self-respect.

Zoomorphic gods. Celto-Roman iconography contains a rich abundance of animal imagery, frequently presenting the deities in combinations of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic forms. Already noted is the probable connection between Donn, the Irish Dis Pater, and the bull of the same name in the epic *Táin Bó Cuailnge.* Neither of the two bulls whose conflict forms the climax of the tale is of natural origin. According to other texts, they had previously undergone many metamorphoses—as ravens, stags, champions, water beasts, demons, and water worms—and in the beginning they had been the swineherds of the lords of the otherworld. This kind of shape shifting, a continuing expression of the unity of the living world of creation, is commonplace in insular Celtic tradition and serves to invest a given deity or heroic demigod with the attributes traditionally ascribed to certain birds and animals. For instance, the bond between animal and human is implicit in the archetype of the divine swineherds, who are doubtless avatars of the great herdsman god. Further, the Brown Bull of Cuailnge cannot be wholly dissociated from the Tarvos Trigaranus (The Bull of the Three Cranes), pictured on reliefs from Trèves and Notre-Dame-de-Paris and presumably the subject of a lost Gaulish narrative. Among the Celts, as among many other cattle-rearing peoples, the bull was a vivid symbol of power and fertility and appears frequently as a trope in the eulogy of the medieval Irish court poet. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that a god representative of royal and heroic functions should have been represented by this image. Donnotarvos (Brown Bull), the king of the Helvetii mentioned by Caesar, bore a name of great mythic resonance among the Celts, most probably derived from the same deity who appears in the Irish saga as the Brown Bull of Cuailnge.

The animal connections of the Celtic gods are extensive and varied. The iconography shows Cernunnos (The Horned One) associated with the stag, the ram-headed serpent, the bull, and, by implication, with the whole animal world. The iconography also includes boars, horses, dogs, and bears, as well as fish and various kinds of birds—all connected more or less closely with certain deities. This rich diversity is reproduced in even greater abundance in the insular tradition, creating a complex web of connotations and relationships that defy any neat classification. For example, the boar is quite well represented in Celto-Roman sculpture, as in the figure from Euffigneix, Haute-Marne, of a god carrying a boar before him. In insular literature it appears almost ubiquitous. It sometimes leads its pursuers into the otherworld, and often it is in fact a human who was transformed through some mischance or misdeed. Pork was the choice food of the Celts, and, appropriately, in Irish tales the unfailing food of the otherworld is a pig, which, although cooked each night, remains alive and whole each morning.

The horse, index and instrument of the great Indo-European expansion, has always had a special place in the affections of the Celtic peoples. Sometimes in insular tradition, particularly in folk tales, he is the bearer of the dead to the otherworld, a role probably reflected in some monuments in southern Gaul, such as the frieze of horses' heads on a lintel from the Celto-Ligurian sanctuary of Roquepertuse, Bouches-du-Rhone. Epona (from **epos*, meaning *horse*) was an important Celtic deity and was particularly favored as patron of the cavalry of the Roman army. She has insular analogues in the Welsh Rhiannon and in the Irish Edaín Echraidhe (*echraidhe*, meaning *horse riding*) and Macha, who outran the fastest steeds. There was also a Dea Artio (as well as a Mercurius Artaios), whose name connects her with the bear (Irish, *art*, meaning *bear*); a little bronze group from Bern shows her seated before a large bear with a basket of fruit by her side. Dea Arduinna, who appears seated on a wild boar, may be compared with the Irish goddess Flidhais, who ruled over the beasts of the forest and whose cattle were the wild deer.

Gaulish monuments that show a god or goddess with two or more birds seated on their shoulders call to mind the supernatural birds that are a familiar feature of insular tradition, in which some deities assume bird form occasionally; others, like the war goddesses, do so constantly. The insular catalog of bird imagery is endless. King Conaire's supernatural father came to his mother in bird form, Fann and Lí Ban came to Cú Chulainn as two birds joined by a golden chain, emissaries from the otherworld. Indeed, such wondrous birds are a recognized symbol of the supernatural world. Examples include the three birds of the Irish goddess Cliodhna with their magic song and the three birds of the Welsh Rhiannon who "wake the dead and lull the living to sleep." They all form part of that rich imaginative intuition that envisaged animals, birds, and the whole domain of nature as a mediating element between gods and men and that underlies Celtic literary tradition as well as the fluid discipline of early Irish art.

INVASIONS OF GODS AND MEN. When Irish monastic scholars began recording native mytho-historical tradition, probably in the second half of the sixth century, they experienced the same difficulty that Christian historiographers have encountered elsewhere in dealing with traditional sources: how to resolve the conflict between Christian and native versions of cosmic origins. Their solution was the familiar one of substituting the biblical doctrine for the earlier part of the native legend, so that it would seem that the legend derived from the doctrine. The fact that the scholars controlled the art of writing invested their new composite history—incrementally elaborated under the influence of the chronicles of Orosius (c. 385–420) and Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 260–c. 330 CE) and Isidore of Seville's (c. 560–636) *Etymologiae*—with an authority it might not otherwise have acquired so quickly.

As Christian scholars developed an increasingly close accommodation over the next few centuries with the custodians of native learning, the *filidh*, their revised version gradually won universal acceptance. Although it did not erase all trace of the earlier tradition, it cancelled out the substance of the original cosmogonic myth. For instance, although the primary ancestral role of Donn, Nuadhu, and others was not forgotten, Adam was accepted as the progenitor of mankind.

The Book of Invasions. The formulation of this revised teaching is attested in poems of the seventh century or earlier, but it was in the twelfth century that it reached its culmination in the pseudohistory entitled *Leabhar Gabhála Éireann* (The Book of the Taking of Ireland), commonly known as the "Book of Invasions," a cumulative enterprise that carried the tale of Ireland's history from Noah to the Norman conquest. The "taking" in question evidently refers to the coming of the Gaels (or Goidels), but in the extant compilation this is preceded by five other immigrations. The first came before the Flood and was led by either Cesair, a daughter of Bith, who was a son of Noah, or by Banbha, one of the eponyms of Ireland. But the only one to survive the Flood was Fintan (The White Ancient One), who outlived innumerable generations until finally in the Christian period he bore witness to the events of the distant past. The next two settlements were led by Partholón and Nemhedh, respectively. During both, various crafts and social practices were introduced, many lakes were formed, and plains were cleared. These advances indicate in the familiar manner of myths of beginnings how Ireland attained the reality of permanent morphological definition in those times. Both peoples had to withstand the attacks of the Fomhoire, a race of demonic beings who from their haunts beyond the sea posed a perpetual threat to the existence of ordered society.

The main innovations credited to the fourth settlement, comprising the Fir Bholg, the Gailióin, and the Fir Dhomhnann, were sociopolitical in character. By dividing the country into five they instituted the provinces (literally, *fifths* in Irish), and they introduced the concept of sacred kingship and the relationship between the justice of the king and the fertility of the land. They were followed by the Tuatha Dé Danann (The Tribes/Peoples of the Goddess Danu), who came skilled in the arts of druidry and magic. They brought with them four talismans: the Stone of Fál, which shrieked under the true pretender to kingship; the spear of Lugh, which ensured victory; the sword of Nuadhu, which none escaped; and the caldron of the Daghdha, from which none went unsatisfied. They defeated the Fir Bholg in the First Battle of Magh Tuiredh, but soon they had to take up arms against the Fomhoire.

The Second Battle of Magh Tuiredh. There is also an independent account of the Second Battle of Magh Tuiredh in a text that is perhaps the single most important source for Irish mythology. In it the genesis of the conflict is traced to the First Battle of Magh Tuiredh, in which Nuadhu, king of the Tuatha Dé Danann, lost his arm. Because a personal defect, physical or moral was incompatible with the notion of true kingship, he was obliged to abdicate and was succeeded by Bres (The Beautiful), who had been fathered by Elatha, a king of the Fomhoire, with a woman of the Tuatha Dé, among whom he was reared. But his rule brought only hardship and oppression for the Tuatha Dé, and there was an end to the generosity and hospitality that characterized a true king. Finally he was lampooned by the poet Coirbre in the first satire composed in Irish, and he was asked to give up the kingship. His response was to go to the Fomhoire to seek their support.

Meanwhile, Nuadhu was fitted with a silver arm by Dian Cécht (The Leech) and restored to sovereignty, and from that time forth he was known as Nuadhu Airgedlámh (Nuadhu of the Silver Arm). But when Lugh came to the royal court of Tara and gave proof of his mastery of all the arts, Nuadhu immediately gave way so that Lugh might lead the Tuatha Dé to victory. In the battle itself Lugh called on all the preternatural powers of the craftsmen and magicians of the Tuatha Dé, while Dian Cécht used his own healing magic to revive the slain. The dreaded Balar of the Fomhoire had a "baleful eye" which could destroy armies, but Lugh struck it with his slingstone and killed him. The Fomhoire were then expelled from Ireland forever, and Bres himself was captured, but his life was spared on condition that he divulge to the Tuatha Dé the proper times for plowing, sowing, and reaping.

The Gaels and the Tuatha Dé. The primary subject of the "Book of Invasions" was perhaps the final settlement of prehistoric Ireland, that of the Gaels, or Irish Celts. Because its underlying purpose was to biblicize the origins of the Gaels, it began, as it were, at the beginning, following them in their long journey from Scythia to Egypt and to Spain, whence they finally came to Ireland under the leadership of Míl Espáine (Míl of Spain). The account of this early odyssey is a learned fiction modeled on the story of the wandering of the Israelites in the book of Exodus. But as the narrative approaches Ireland, it undergoes a sea change and begins to draw more overtly on native tradition. The crucial role in the landing is assigned to the poet-seer and judge Amhairghin. By virtue of his wisdom and his mantic power he overcomes the opposition of the Tuatha Dé and becomes the first Gael to set foot on Irish soil. As he does so—on the Feast of Beltene (May Day)—he sings a song of cosmic affirmation in which he subsumes within himself the various elements of the created universe: "I am an estuary into the sea / I am a wave of the ocean / I am the sound of the sea / . . . I am a salmon in a pool / I am a lake in a plain / I am the strength of art." Like Kṛṣṇa in the Indian tradition and Taliesin in the Welsh, he embodies the potential of all creation, and the timing of his song is particularly appropriate and decisive. Sung as he arrives at the land's edge from the ocean of nonexistence, his words are the prelude to the creation of a new order of which he is the shaper and the source. Through them and through the judgments he pronounces in the succeeding narrative, the Ireland of history is summoned into being.

Having defeated the Tuatha Dé, the Sons of Míl go to the royal center of Tara and on the way meet the three divine eponyms of Ireland—Banbha, Fódla, and Ériu. At Tara the three kings of the Tuatha Dé—Mac Cuill, Mac Cécht, and Mac Gréine—ask for a respite before surrendering sovereignty. Significantly, they refer the conditions to the judgment of Amhairghin. He decides that the Sons of Míl should reembark and retire beyond the ninth wave, which for the Celts constituted a magic boundary. But when they try to land again, the Tuatha Dé create a magical wind that carries them out to sea. Then Amhairghin invokes directly the land of Ireland, and immediately the wind abates. The Sons of Míl come ashore and defeat the Tuatha Dé at Tailtiu, site of the annual festival instituted by Lugh.

Although defeated, the Tuatha Dé still use their magic powers to extract a reasonable settlement from the Gaels. They agree to divide the country into two parts, the lower half going to the Tuatha Dé and the upper half to the Gaels. Thus is explained the traditional belief that the ancient gods—the *sídheóga* (fairies)—lived underground in *sídhe*, or fairy mounds. That this belief was traditional already in the seventh century is evidenced by Bishop Tírechán, biographer of Saint Patrick, who noted that the *sídh*, or gods, dwell in the earth.

GODS OF BRITAIN. Early Welsh literary tradition, like the medieval Welsh language, seems further evolved from its archaic roots than its Irish counterpart. This is probably due partly to the cultural effects of the Roman colonization of Britain from the first to the fifth century and partly to the late redaction of the extant material, particularly the prose. But whatever the causes, the result is that Welsh mythological narrative, although preserving some remarkably archaic elements, nonetheless lacks the extensive context found in Irish narrative and betrays the hand of a later redactor or redactors not wholly familiar with the mythological framework from which their materials derived.

Family of Dôn. The main source for Welsh mythological tradition is the collection of tales known as the *Mabinogi* or *Mabinogion*, especially the group known as the "Four Branches." These four tales, which were probably redacted toward the end of the eleventh century, take the gods of Britain as their dramatis personae. The last of the four, "Math Son of Mathonwy," deals in particular with the group of gods sometimes referred to as the family of Dôn. The Math of the title is lord of Gwynedd in north Wales. His peculiarity is that he must keep his feet in a virgin's lap except in time of war. When his virginal foot-holder is violated by his sister's son—Gilfaethwy, son of Dôn—with the connivance of his brother Gwydion, son of Dôn, Math turns the two brothers into male and female animals—stags, boars, and wolves—for three years, during which time they give birth to three sons.

Subsequently, Math seeks a new foot-holder, and Gwydion suggests his sister, Aranrhod, daughter of Dôn. Math asks her to step over his magic wand as a test of her virginity, and as she does so, she drops a yellow-haired boy and something else, which Gwydion promptly conceals in a chest. The boy is baptized Dylan and immediately makes for the sea and takes on its nature, for which reason he is henceforth called Dylan Eil Don (Dylan son of Wave). The object concealed by Gwydion turns out to be another male child, who in due course is given the name Lleu Llaw Gyffes (Lleu of the Skillful Hand). The rest of the tale is taken up with Lleu's relations with his mother, Aranrhod, and with his beautiful but treacherous wife, Blodeuwedd (Flower-aspect), who had been created for him by Gwydion from the flowers of the oak, the broom, and the meadow sweet. The name Lleu is, of course, the cognate of the Irish Lugh and the Gaulish *Lugus.

The same tale refers incidentally to Gofannon, son of Dôn (Divine Smith), whose name is cognate with the Irish Goibhniu. There is mention elsewhere of Amaethon, son of Dôn, the divine plowman, and there are various references in medieval poetry that indicate the existence of extensive oral tradition about the family of Dôn. Their communal association with magic is reminiscent of the Irish Tuatha Dé Danann, and it has been suggested that Dôn is the equivalent of Irish Donu (Mother of the Gods), the original form of the name Danann.

Family of Llŷr. The three members of the family of Llŷr—Branwen, Bendigeidvran (Bran the Blessed), and Manawydan—appear in the "Second Branch" of the *Mabinogi,* although it is only in the "Third Branch" that Manawydan assumes an independent role. The tale is dominated by the enormous figure of Bendigeidvran. When his sister Branwen is ill treated in Ireland, where she has gone as the wife of Matholwch, king of Ireland, he goes with an army to exact vengeance. The British gain victory in a fierce battle with the Irish, but only seven of them survive beside Bendigeidvran, who is wounded in the foot by a poisonous spear. He commands his companions to cut off his head and to bury it at the White Mount in London as a safeguard against invasions. They set out for London and on the way enjoy two periods of otherworldly peace and joy in the presence of his uncorrupted head, at Harlech and on the isle of Gwales.

Clearly, the children of Llŷr are not comparable with those of Dôn: in no sense do they form a pantheon of deities; indeed, Branwen's antiquity is not beyond question. But the association of Bran (as Bendigeidvran was known earlier) and Manawydan is old, and there is an early verse reference to them presiding together over the otherworld and its feast. Manawydan's Irish counterpart is Manannán mac Lir (Son of the Sea), and it is a curious and perhaps significant coincidence that Manannán figures with an Irish Bran in an early lyric tale, which tells of a journey made by Bran to the otherworld. But Manannán is represented as god of the sea, probably replacing the god Nechtan in this role, whereas Manawydan has no such function in Welsh in the extant Welsh texts.

Pwyll, Rhiannon, and Pryderi. In the "First Branch" of the *Mabinogi*, Pwyll, Lord of Dyfed in southwest Wales, comes to the aid of Arawn, king of Annwn, by slaying his otherworld enemy Hafgan in a single combat that is, in fact, an ordeal by battle of the kind known in early Irish as *fír fer* (truth of men or heroes). As a result he is henceforth known as Pwyll the Head of Annwn. The *Mabinogi* represents him here as a mortal, but because his name literally means *wisdom* and because he is designated Lord of Annwn (the Otherworld), it is probable that he was originally a deity. The latter part of the tale is concerned with the death of the hero Pryderi. Pwyll marries the lady Rhiannon, who first appears to him riding a white horse, and from their union Pryderi is born. But the newborn child is mysteriously abducted, to be discovered later by Teyrnon, Lord of Gwent Is-coed, and reared by him and his wife for several years until they realize the child's true origins and restore him to Pwyll and Rhiannon. After Pwyll's death Pryderi succeeds to the lordship of Dyfed. Later, in the "Third Branch," Rhiannon becomes the wife of Manawydan.

The above merely sketches a complicated narrative whose reference to the underlying mythology is extremely difficult to decipher with any confidence. Teyrnon's name (from **Tigernonos*; Great/Divine Lord) implies a more important role than the one he plays in the tale and, in fact, is a more appropriate title for the lord of the otherworld. Rhiannon (whose name derives from **Rīgantona*; Great/Divine Queen) may be an equivalent of Epona, the Celtic horse goddess, whereas Rhiannon and Pryderi seem to offer a parallel to the pairing of Modron (Great/Divine Mother) and Mabon (Great/Divine Son). The problem is similar to that posed by much of the Welsh mythological evidence in the medieval poetry and the collections of triads: There are numerous references to mythological persons, objects, and events, but these appear without sufficient accompanying matter to set them in context.

GODDESSES OF THE INSULAR CELTS. In *The Aran Islands* (1907) John M. Synge said of the Aran islanders of the beginning of the twentieth century that they were interested in fertility rather than eroticism, and on the evidence of the extant monuments and literature, his observation could apply to those people who created the mythology of the Celtic goddesses. The Celts had no goddess of love, and so far as one can judge from insular tradition, the numerous sexual liaisons of the goddesses were generally motivated by ritual or social causes, not by erotic ones. Their sexuality was merely the instrument of their fertility, whether in terms of progeny or of the fruitfulness of the land with which they were so often identified.

The cult of the mother goddess, attested in Gaul from prehistoric times, underlies a great deal of Irish and Welsh tradition. The "Second Branch" of the *Mabinogi* describes Branwen daughter of Llŷr as "one of the three great ancestresses of Britain." The other two presumably are Rhiannon and Aranrhod, and it is clear from Irish literature that the typical goddess figure was often esteemed as the genetrix of peoples. Her personification of the earth tended to be defined and delimited by cultural and political boundaries: The eponymous triad of Ériu, Fódla, and Banbha represent both the reality and the concept of Ireland in its totality, but a multitude of analogous characters also exist that are connected with lesser areas—a province, a district, or a particular locale. Some of the latter, such as Áine, Aoibheall, and Cliodhna, have retained their niche in popular tradition and in place names to the present day. In this domain the supernatural female often becomes a dominant figure overshadowing her male counterpart.

One of the most enduring myths of the Celts was that of the solemn union between a ruler and his kingdom, in which the kingdom is conceived in the form of a divine woman. It appears, slightly veiled, in the Arthurian romances and may be reflected at times in the frequent pairing of god and goddess in Celto-Roman sculpture, but its influence is most profound and most widely documented in Irish tradition. The normal way of reporting the inauguration of a king was to say that he was married to (literally, "slept with") his kingdom. From the hundreds if not thousands of references and allusions to this theme, one gains some idea of the ritual union of king and consort as it must have been performed before the effective Christianization of the political establishment in the sixth century. The ritual union had two main elements: first, a libation offered by the bride to her partner, and second, the sex act. The divine nature of Queen Medhbh of Connacht is evidenced by her name as well as by her actions: She who was famed for the number of her successive husbands was called Medhbh (The Intoxicating One), and, under the slightly variant name Medhbh Lethdherg, it was said of her that "she would not permit a king in Tara unless he had her for his wife." The central element was the sexual meeting, and its profound significance is brought out in countless poems and narratives in which the woman is transformed from repulsive age and ugliness to radiant youth and beauty by the act of intercourse with her ordained mate.

As leader of the Connacht armies, Medhbh is associated with war as well as with sovereignty, but, in general, the warlike aspect of the goddess is manifested indirectly: she influences the fortunes of war rather than actually participating. Other goddesses teach the art of fighting, including Buanann (The Lasting One); Scáthach (The Shadowy One), from whom Cú Chulainn acquired his heroic skills; and the formidable trio of Morríghan (Phantom Queen), Bodhbh (Scald-Crow), and Nemhain (Frenzy) or Macha, who haunt the battlefield to incite the fighters or to hinder them by their magic. These had their equivalents throughout the Celtic world: The name Bodhbh Chatha (Crow/Raven of Battle) is the exact cognate of Cathubodua, attested in Haute-Savoie, and the trio of war goddesses recurs in Britain at Benwell in the inscription "*Lamiis tribus*" (to the three Lamiae).

In direct contrast to these ruthless furies are those charming women who inhabit the happy otherworld in such numbers that it came to be called Tír inna mBan (The Land of Women) in some contexts. Sometimes they come as emissaries from the land of primeval innocence where the pleasures of love are untainted by guilt and where sickness and disease are unknown. Conla son of Conn is induced to go there by "a young and beautiful woman of noble race whom neither death awaits nor old age," and Bran son of Febhal is similarly persuaded by a woman bearing a silvery branch from the wondrous apple tree, which is a characteristic feature of the Celtic otherworld. The multiforms of the insular Celtic goddesses are endless, and sometimes the named figure changes her role from one context to another. For example, in *Mythe et épopée* (1968), Georges Dumézil has sought to demonstrate from three separate tales that the goddess Macha, eponym of the old pagan center of Emhain Mhacha and of the Christian metropolis of Ard Macha (modern Armagh), reflects in her several roles the Indo-European trifunctional system of religion, warrior prowess, and fertility. Although his argument is open to question, it is nonetheless true that several of the prominent goddesses have widely varying epiphanies.

MYTHIC SPACE AND TIME. In a tradition in which the natural and the supernatural realms frequently converge, it is not surprising that there is a constant awareness of the relativities of time and space. This is particularly true of texts relating explicitly to the otherworld, but it is common throughout Irish and much of Welsh literature. The land of Ireland itself, with its place names and physical features, seems to shift with enigmatic ease between the two levels of perception. The early redactors of the written texts were fascinated by the contrasting effects of changing perspective, as when the god Manannán describes the sea as a flowery plain or the monks of Clonmacnois observe a boat sail in the sky over their head and drop its anchor by their church door.

But certain places are permanently set apart from their secular environment: cult sites, the precincts of sacred festivals, and, above all, the notional center of the ethnic world of native tradition. This concept of the center is one of the constants of Celtic ideology, and it retained a good deal of its ancient symbolism in Irish learned literature as late as the seventeenth century. Caesar reports that the Gaulish druids assembled each year at a holy place in the lands of the Carnutes, which was regarded as the center of Gaul. His term *locus consecratus* may well translate the word *nemeton* (sacred place),which is found in place-names throughout the Celtic world. According to Strabo (c. 63 BCE–24 CE), the Council of the Galatians met at a place known as Drunemeton (Oak Sanctuary). In Ireland the druids were closely associated with Uisnech, the "navel" of Ireland, the location of the primal fire, and reputedly the site of a great festival. The focus of sacral kingship was at Tara in the central province of Midhe (Middle) and it was entirely fitting that St Patrick's late seventh-century biographer, Muirchú maccu Machtheni, who describes Tara as *caput Scotorum* (the capital of Ireland), should have him travel there to demonstrate his superiority over the druids of Loegaire mac Néill, *imperator barbarorum* and "ancestor of the royal stock of almost the whole of this island."

The great social assemblies of ancient Ireland were generally held at one of the seasonal festivals. The Irish year, like the Indo-European year, was divided into two halves, *samh* (summer) and *gamh* (winter). The summer half began at Beltene or Cédshamhain, the first of May, and the winter half at Samhain, the first of November. These halves were further subdivided by the quarter days of Imbolg, the first of February and the beginning of spring, and Lughnasadh, the first of August and the start of the harvest festival associated with the god Lugh. The old binary division is found also in the famous bronze calendar discovered at Coligny, near Bourg, which probably dates from the early first century CE or late first century BCE. Judging from the calendar, the Gaulish druids divided the year into two halves beginning with the months Samon(i-) and Giamon(i-). Of the two names for the beginning of summer, Beltene may have referred originally to the fire ritual traditionally held at that time: *bel-* probably means *shining* or *bright*, and *tene* may be related to the Irish word for *fire*. In the course of time, however, Beltene displaced the older term Cédshamhain or Cédamhuin (cf. the Welsh cognate Cyntefin) as the name for the festival season itself.

KINGSHIP. In Caesar's time the institution of kingship was already on the way to dissolution in Gaul, having been widely displaced by the secular office of *vergobret* (chief magistrate), although it is clear from the extant evidence that all the tribal territories, the *civitates* of Caesar's time, had earlier been ruled by kings in the mold of those of early Britain and Ireland. The medieval Irish king tales inevitably share in some degree the values of the general heroic literature, but these are not their main preoccupation. They are concerned rather with the affirmation of political and social realities and with the safeguarding of traditional institutions: the status and functions of the king and the sacred ritual of inauguration that set the seal on his accession to power, the origins of tribes and dynasties and exemplary tales of their internecine conflicts, the deeds and judgements of famous rulers of the past, and so on. The sacral kingship was both the pivot and the foundation of the social order, and the king was its personification. If his conduct or even his person were blemished in any way, the effect of his blemish would be visited on his kingdom, diminishing its integrity and prosperity; conversely, fortune favored the righteous ruler and his people flourished and his territory became rich and fertile. As the instrument of justice, the king must be seen to be fair and flawless in his decisions and several of the famous kings of legend are frequently presented as models of regal wisdom and justice. Thus, Cormac mac Airt is pictured as a paragon of kingship and as an Irish Solomon. His accession came about when he proposed a just judgement after his predecessor Lughaidh mac Con had been deposed for delivering an unjust one. Conaire Mór is likewise an exemplary king whose reign brings peace and well-being to the land until he tempers justice with excessive mercy in the case of his three marauding foster brothers. Immediately a train of events is set in motion that leads inexorably to his death in a welter of violence.

As the central pillar of his kingdom the sacral king was its primary point of contact with the world of the supernatural in pre-Christian time, and as such it was necessary to insulate him from harmful intervention from whatever source. Thus each of the five provincial kings was subject to a set of *gessa* (taboos), which made manifest the transcendent nature of his role and were presumably intended to hedge him from unnecessary danger. When, however, as in the case of Conaire Mór, he unavoidably or unwittingly violates his *gessa*, he is already doomed to disaster and death. The crucial touchstone of a king's reign was the *fír flathemon* (the ruler's truth/righteousness) with which he discharged the responsibilities of his office. The analogy between the *fír flathemon* and the Indic "act of truth" has long been recognized and there is acceptance that together they represent an Indo-European institution. The concept of the Ruler's Truth is referred to frequently in Irish literature, most notably in *Audacht Morainn* (The Testament of Morann, a legendary law-giver), an early example of the literary genre of the *speculum principum* (literary, "mirror of princes"), which was designed to give counsel and guidance to a king. The *Audacht* was probably written toward the end of the seventh century CE, but the genre was already long established in oral tradition, and it is widely accepted that the European *speculum principum* derives partly from the Irish model and that the *Audacht* itself contains much that is referable to Irish kingship in the pre-Christian period.

As a genre the *speculum* was evidently associated with the rite of royal inauguration and was probably recited publicly by a druid or *fili* in the course of the ritual ceremony. In the pre-Christian and early Christian period, as reflected in the classical law tracts, there were three grades of kingship: the *rí tuaithe* (king of a *tuath;* literally, "*people*" or "*tribe*"), the smallest political entity; the *ruiri* (great king or overking), who, as well as ruling over his own petty kingdom, received tribute from several other *tuatha;* and finally the *rí ruirech* (king of overkings), who is equated to the *rí cóicid* (king of a province). Despite the wide disparity of these kingships in range and importance, each of them had its own sacred king and its own inauguration site. However, it is clear that Tara—as the ideological focus of sacral kingship and at the heart of the Irish cosmographic system—enjoyed a special prestige as a kind of *primus inter pares* (first among equals) among royal sites and thus became the goal, real or notional, of ambitious kings throughout the early Middle Ages. Feis Temhra (The Feast/Wedding Feast of Tara) was the great festival held in pagan times to confirm a new king and to celebrate his ritual marriage to his kingdom. At Tara stood the Lia Fáil (Stone of Fál), the "stone penis" that cried out when it came in contact with the man destined to be king. *Feis*, verbal noun of the verb *foaid*, means literally "to sleep, spend the night," and, in the context of the royal confirmation, it refers to the ritual marriage of the king and his kingdom, as underlined in the alternative expression *banais rígi* (wedding feast of kingship), in which *banais* is compounded of *ben* (woman) and *feis*. This terminology continues to be used of various royal inaugurations in annalistic and other texts, even in the Anglo-Norman period. One can only speculate as to the precise form the marriage ritual may have assumed in pre-Christian times—actual union with a surrogate bride or a simulated union that included the proffering of the drink of sovereignty. The earliest list of reigning kings for the kingship of Tara is furnished by the seventh-century text *Baile Chuind* (The vision of [King] Conn [Cétchathach]), which purports to prophesy the individual kings who were to reign in Tara from the time of his son Art onward. Its literal formula for "*X* shall reign" is "*X* shall drink it," in which the formal potion presented to the ordinand is employed as a synonym for the combined ceremony of sacral investiture and the exercise of kingship. The text is devoid of explanatory introduction and is presumably to be understood as spoken by Conn himself, but when it was reworked and expanded in a more narrative and iconically stylized context in the ninth century in the tale *Baile in Scáil* (The phantom's vision), the prophecy is spoken by the god Lugh, the Irish (and Celtic) divinity traditionally regarded as personifying the ideal of kingship. It tells how Conn went on a circuit of the rampart of Tara accompanied by his three druids to guard against hostile incursions by forces from the otherworld, perhaps a reference to the familiar taboo that forbade the king to let the sun rise on him in Tara. One recalls, for example, the story of Aillén mac Midgna from the otherworld mound of Síd Finnachaid who came regularly to Tara at Samain (Hallowe'en), lulled its people to sleep with his supernatural music (*ceol sídhi*) and burned it down with a pillar of fire, until finally he was slain by the leader of the Fiana, Fionn mac Cumaill. So, when Conn mounts the rampart of Tara in *Baile in Scáil*, he comes into direct contact with the otherworld, although, in this instance, under one of its more benign aspects. A magic mist enveloped the king and his companions and a horseman (the *scál* or phantom) approached and asked them to accompany him to his dwelling. Within they found a girl seated on a chair of crystal and wearing a golden crown. Beside her stood a vessel of gold with a golden cup nearby. The phantom, seated on his throne, identified himself as the god Lugh and declared that he had come to announce to them the names of Conn's successors and the duration of their reigns. The young woman was the sovereignty of Ireland and when she asked to whom she should offer the cup of red ale (*dergfhlaith*), the phantom enumerated his catalog of the kings who would follow Conn.

The terminology used in reference to the *hieros gamos* (sacred marriage) of king and goddess points to some sort of sexual union taking place in pre-Christian times, as do the several tales of the loathsome hag who is transformed to youth and beauty by intercourse with the rightful candidate for kingship, a theme that is exploited for political dynastic ends in extant medieval versions. But accounts of the actual inauguration ceremony are of later date and betray some degree of ecclesiastical influence. Inevitably the Christian Church, conscious of the pivotal significance of the sacral kingship to native society, sought to arrogate to itself a central role in "ordaining" the ruler, and thus to sanitize the most incompatible elements of the traditional ritual. But tradition was tenacious. According to a quite late prose account (fourteen to sixteenth century) of the ceremonial inauguration of the Ó Conchubhar kings of Connacht, many clerics and all the subkings of the province were present, yet it was Ó Maoil Chonaire, the *fili*, modern proxy of the ancient druid, who installed him as king (*aga ríghadh*) by presenting him with the rod of sovereignty, and, the text adds, none but Ó Maoil Chonaire had the right to be with the king on the inauguration mound apart from the keeper of the mound.

Moreover, the gradual revision of the inauguration ceremony during the pre-Norman centuries may not have proceeded as regularly and universally as most later accounts might suggest. In a well-known passage of his *Topographia Hiberniae*, which is based on information garnered during his stay in Ireland in the late twelfth century, Gerald of Wales describes a "barbarous and abominable" rite of inauguration practiced in what is now County Donegal. A white mare is brought to the midst of the assembled people, the future chief has sexual union with the mare, which is then killed, cut in pieces, and boiled. The chief then sits in this bath, eats of the mare's meat and drinks of the broth, and thus kingship and power is conferred on him. Despite the lack of supporting native testimonies, it is difficult to discount the striking analogy this bizarre ritual presents to the Indic *asvamedha* (horse sacrifice), one that is accepted by most comparatists. The main disparity is that in the Irish version the sex act involves the king and a mare instead of the queen and a stallion, as in India, but some scholars would, in fact, argue that the Indo-European inauguration was primarily between king and mare. However, even if the essential authenticity of Gerald's account is accepted, it does not follow, as some have assumed, that such a rite was practiced in or close to his time. Elsewhere he draws on reports—some fabulous, others more factual—gathered from a variety of sources, oral as well as written. In this particular instance, it is a piece of *seanchas* (oral history), referring to an already more or less obsolete era. Nonetheless, it is a useful reminder that the version of native belief and ideology mediated to modern readers by the redactors of the medieval monasteries is less than comprehensive.

Another archaic institution associated with royal inauguration was the *crech ríg* (royal foray), which is still attested in the post-twelfth century Anglo-Norman period. As in ancient India, such a cross-border raid was a recognized occasion for the new king to demonstrate his fitness for office and at the same time to acquire the means to make appropriate show of his largesse.

The heroic ideal: The Ulster Cycle. Like the sacral king of prehistoric tradition, the hero occupied an ambiguous status between god and men. Typically, he has a divine as well as a human father, and his trials and achievements bring him into contact with supernatural powers more frequently than other mortals. He has many incarnations in insular Celtic literature, but it is above all the Ulster Cycle that represents him in the quintessential heroic setting.

The cycle is set in the province of Ulster when it was dominated by the Ulaidh, the people from whom the province derived its name, at a time somewhere between the coming of the Celts, perhaps as late as the third century BCE, and the conquest of the Ulaidh, which may have taken place in the early fifth century CE. The cycle portrays an aristocratic warrior society with a La Tène (Second Iron Age) type material culture, and in many respects the society shows striking correspondences with what is reported of independent Gaul. The king of the Ulaidh at this time was Conchobhar mac Nessa, who had his royal court at Emhain Mhacha near the present city of Armagh. He presided over a numerous company, which included the youthful Cú Chulainn, the senior heroes Conall Cernach and Ferghus mac Roich, and such others as the druid Cathbhadh, the wise peacemaker Sencha mac Ailella, and the inveterate mischief-maker Bricriu, known as Nemhthenga (Poison-tongue). These characters constitute the cast of an extensive literature of which the centrepiece is the great saga *Táin Bó Cuailnge* (The cattle raid of Cuailnge). It tells of Queen Medhbh of Connacht's incursion into Ulster with the object of seizing the great Brown Bull of Cuailnge, which was of divine origin. As a result of a curse by the goddess Macha, the Ulstermen are unable to resist the attack, and it falls to the young Cú Chulainn to defend the province single-handedly. By engaging in a series of single combats with heroes of the Connacht army, he hinders their advance until the Ulstermen recover their strength and rout their enemies. The climax and finale of the tale is the tremendous encounter in which the bull of Cuailnge slays the Finnbhennach, the white-horned bull of Connacht.

As the heroic milieu par excellence, the court of Conchobhar at Emhain became the focus for a wide variety of tales reflecting the different facets of the heroic ethos, and as the quintessential hero Cú Chulainn became the subject of many narratives exploring the nature of the hero's mediating role between gods and men and his singular relationship with his own community. Cú Chulainn experiences the perennial dilemma of the supreme hero caught in the insoluble contradictions of his ambiguous status. Neither divine nor merely human, Cú Chulainn lives within the tribe and yet does not wholly belong; a member of a heroic confraternity, he characteristically stands alone. His initiation to the heroic circle is recounted in a section of *Táin Bó Cuailnge* that narrates his boyhood deeds (*macghnímhartha*), which, linguistically, is not part of the oldest stratum of the text (it may belong to the ninth century), although its content is part of an archaic tradition. For his first exploit, Cú Chulainn slays the three fearsome sons of Nechta Scéne who have been a scourge on the Ulstermen. Here the narrative appears to reproduce an old Indo-European motif of the hero's victory over a trio of adversaries or a three-headed monster. He also, for the first time, experiences the *riastradh* (grotesque distortion) and the phenomenal body heat that are the external manifestations of his battle fury and that mark him in Irish tradition as a hero above heroes. These traits also have old and widespread analogues.

Cú Chulainn's career is a short one, but because it constitutes a paradigm of the hero, the mythmakers and storytellers have taken the critical stages of his life and woven a web of narrative around each: his threefold birth distinguished by incest and divine paternity, familiar marks of the sacred conception of the hero; his martial training with the otherworldly Scáthach; his wooing of Emher and his marriage; and finally his death, which, because he was invincible by merely human means, could only be effected through trickery and sorcery. This framework has also accommodated a number of other more occasional tales, such as those of his adventures in the otherworld or the tragic *Aided Aenfhir Aífe* (The death of Aífe's only son), which brings Cú Chulainn to slay his own son through a combination of moral compulsion and mistaken identity.

But Cú Chulainn and his life cycle are only a part of the larger cycle of the Ulster tales and in many he plays a relatively small role or none at all. His singular importance is that he epitomizes the heroic virtues and values. By the seventh century CE he had become a focus in the written literature for archaic traditions pertaining to what Dumézil defined as the second of the Indo-European social functions—that of the warrior.

The Fionn Cycle. In early Irish, the Fionn Cycle was also known as the *Fianaighecht*. It comprises a complex of stories and traditions about the Fian, the band of hunter-warriors led by Fionn mac Cumhaill. The cycle is commonly called the Fenian Cycle, a modern Anglicization, or the Ossianic Cycle, after Fionn's son Oisin (or Ossian). Etymologically, the term *fian* (plural, *fiana*) embodies the notion of living by the hunt or by force of arms, and this notion corresponds exactly with the role of the Fiana in Irish tradition. Originally there were several groups of Fiana, but the fame of Fionn's company relegated the others to obscurity. Each *féinnidh* (individual member of the Fian) was required to undergo initiatory trials of his skill and endurance before admittance, and once accepted he had to sever his legal and social connections with his kin and his tribe and abandon the associated rights and responsibilities. Yet although he placed himself outside the tribal community, he did not place himself outside the law, for the Fiana were recognized by law and tradition as fulfilling a legitimate function. Many legends picture the Fiana as the defenders of Ireland against the incursions of foreign—that is, in effect, supernatural—enemies. From the eleventh or twelfth century onward, and perhaps even earlier, these enemies are often identified in an ambiguous, mythopoeic (relating to mythmaking) fashion with the Viking raiders of the ninth century.

Some have recognized the Celtic form **vindos* (white, fair)—the source of Irish Fionn and Welsh Gwynn—in the Celtic deity name/epithet Vindonnus, and thus concluded that Fionn himself was originally divine, although this is questionable. **Vindos* is related to the Indo-European stem **ui-n-d* (finds out, knows). It also has been suggested that Fionn's name means "he who finds out, he who knows." This accords with his role in tradition, which represents him as poet and seer as well as warrior-hunter, perhaps like his Welsh counterpart Gwynn ap Nudd, who appears fleetingly in Welsh tradition as a "magic warrior-huntsman." Fionn is sometimes said to have acquired his supernatural knowledge by tasting the otherworldly liquor. His normal means of divination was simply to chew his thumb, with which he had once touched the Salmon of Knowledge, which he was cooking for his master in poetry and magic. Moreover, poetry and preternatural vision have always been characteristic attributes of the Fionn cycle as a whole.

Like Cú Chulainn, Fionn is also the subject of a narrative recounting his boyhood deeds. His birth followed soon after his father's death at the hands of the rival band of the Sons of Morna. He was reared secretly in the forest by two female warriors until he was ready to assert his precocious claim to the leadership of the Fian. He killed a malevolent being called Aillén mac Midgna, who came each year to burn down the royal court of Tara (one of several variants of a myth in which Fionn figured as conqueror of a supernatural one-eyed arsonist). Even within the Fian his archrival was Goll (one-eyed) mac Morna, also known as Aodh (Fire). There is an obvious analogy here with the myth of Lugh's defeat of Balar, and it has, in fact, been argued that Fionn was simply another name and persona for that deity. However, although Lugh is represented as being closely associated with the sacred function of kingship, Fionn's relationship to kingship is, at the very least, ambiguous. It is true that he and his followers became closely associated with the king of Tara as a kind of standing army, but it has been suggested that this is a fairly late development. Earlier their role as mercenaries appears to have been more marginal and ambivalent.

This marginal status may partly explain why the *Fianaighecht* was accorded little space in the written texts before the eleventh and twelfth centuries, although it is attested as early as the Ulster Cycle. By and large the literature of prestige such as the Ulster Cycle reinforced the structures and usages of organized aristocratic society within its clearly defined political boundaries. But the Fian's environment was outside and beyond this cultivated domain in the forest and the wilderness. Here they roamed at will, on foot or on horseback, unlike the Ulster heroes, who traveled in chariots. Intimately connected with nature, both animate and inanimate, their world blurred and often dissolved the boundaries of social and natural categories. For example, several of the *feinnidi* were born of mothers in animal form, and the Fian's great hounds, Bran and Sgeolang, had a human mother. It is hardly surprising that Fian mythology has always had a firm hold on the popular imagination and that it only gained prominence in the written tradition when the learned class began to react to the pressure of sociopolitical change in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The ambiguous nature of the region inhabited by the Fian emerges clearly in their relations with the otherworld. Whereas in the Ulster tales the association of the two worlds tends to happen at specific times—at the great calendar festivals, for instance, or during initiation rituals—among the Fian these associations are casual and continual. The Fian's liminal status ensures that they can participate freely in both the natural and the supernatural world as they are able to easily cross the threshold between worlds. In this as in much else they correspond to the heroes of Arthur's court and there can be little doubt that the cycles of Fionn and Arthur, whatever their later vicissitudes, derive from the same sector of insular mythology.

The "Elopement of Diarmaid and Gráinne," one of the most popular tales in the *Fianaigheacht*, tells how the mature Fionn loses the beautiful Gráinne to Diarmaid ua Duibhne (The Master and Charmer of Women), just as Arthur loses Gwenhwyfar (Guinevere) to Medrawd (Melwas). The tale is one of several Irish analogues of the romance of Tristan and Iseult, and it also ends in tragedy, when Diarmaid is killed by the magic boar of Beann Ghulban with Fionn's connivance. It has been suggested that Gráinne's name, which can mean literally *ugliness*, obliquely identifies her with the version of the sovereignty goddess who appears as a repulsive hag until she is transformed to youthful beauty by union with her rightful and royal mate. Diarmaid Donn (Brown, Dark) may originally have been the god Donn who ruled the otherworld of the dead.

The most comprehensive source for the *Fianaigheacht* is a long frame story entitled *Agallamh na Senórach* (The converse of the old men), which was probably compiled near the end of the twelfth century. The title indicates the convenient device on which the massive narrative rests: Caoilte mac Rónáin, one of the principal members of the Fian, long outlives his contemporaries and eventually meets with St. Patrick, who is on his mission of Christianization. Caoilte accompanies Patrick on his journey throughout the Irish countryside and, at the saint's request, tells him the stories associated with its hills, rivers, plains, and other natural features. The result is a vast thesaurus of place-name lore (*dinnshenchas*), which brings together the several streams of learned and popular tradition that went into the making of the Fionn Cycle.

SYSTEM OR CHAOS. Matthew Arnold admired the Celts for their lyric gifts, but he claimed, perhaps not without some reason, that they lacked the sense of architecture in their literary compositions. It is a sentiment that has been echoed by many students of Celtic religion and mythology when confronted with the frustratingly formless and unfinished character of the rich corpus of evidence. This feeling has been aptly expressed by Marie-Louise Sjoestedt in her *Gods and Heroes of the Celts* (1949):

> In travelling through the dense forest of the insular legends, and stirring the ashes of the continental Celtic world, we did not hope to uncover the plan of a vast edifice, a temple of the Celtic gods, partly overrun by the luxuriant wilderness and partly ruined by invaders. The indications are that this edifice never existed. Other people raised temples to their gods, and their very mythologies are temples whose architecture reproduces the symmetry of a cosmic or social order—an order both cosmic and social. It is in the wild solitude of the nemeton and sacred woodland, that the Celtic tribe meets its gods, and its mythical world is a sacred forest, pathless and unbounded, which is inhabited by mysterious powers. . . . We seek for a cosmos and find chaos. . . . The investigation of the insular tradition leaves one with a sense of something missing. One searches in vain for traces of those vast conceptions of the origin and final destiny of the world which dominate other Indo-European mythologies. Was there a Celtic cosmogony or eschatology? Must we suppose from the few allusions, vague and banal as they are, which Caesar or Pomponius Mela have made to the teaching of the druids, that a whole aspect, and an essential aspect, of this mythical world is hidden from us and will remain hidden? Should we explain the silence of our texts by the censorship of Christian monks, who were nevertheless liberal enough to allow the preservation of episodes much stained with paganism, and features most shocking to the Christian mentality? (p. 92)

Sjoestedt's own reply to this last rhetorical question would have been a clear negative, but some more recent studies suggest a qualified affirmative. In fact, there are grounds for believing that the early monastic redactors, for all their undoubted empathy and tolerance, did censor pagan learned tradition by omission as well as by critical editing, and that their omission most seriously affected those areas in which conflict of doctrines was least acceptable to Christian orthodoxy: ritual, cosmogony, and eschatology.

In 1918 Joseph Vendryes demonstrated in an important article that the Celtic languages, and particularly early Irish, preserve the remnants of an old Indo-European religious vocabulary originating with the hieratic ancestors of *brahmans*, pontifs, and druids. Since then it has become increasingly clear that these particularities of terminology are not to be seen as isolated fossils but rather as reflecting interrelated elements of a system of socioreligious thought and practice, which must have persisted substantially unchanged until a relatively late date, perhaps—in Ireland at least—until the establishment of Christianity. The numerous survivals of archaisms from Indo-European ideology, ritual, and liturgy in early Irish recorded tradition strongly support this conclusion. So also does the "deep structure" of early Irish narrative that is gradually being uncovered by the close analysis of individual texts. In the context of such fundamental and constantly recurring themes as the sacral kingship, the king as mediator between the secular and the supernatural world, the antinomy of ideological unity and political fragmentation, and the concept of social or cosmic order, these early texts often reveal a complex weave of structured allusion that presupposes in the not too distant past a coherent and authoritative system of politico-religious and juridico-religious belief and speculation.

However, it would be wrong to assume that the texts offer a complete and consistent record of that system, not merely because monastic redactors practiced conscious censorship and selectivity but also because the texts were recorded long after druidic paganism had ceased to be the official and uncontested religion of the country. By reason of this remove in time and motivation, the early Irish documentation belongs largely to the category to which Georges Dumézil has applied the term *mythologie littérarisée* It is the concern of contemporary scholars to analyze and interpret this rich documentation and to restate it in mythico-religious rather than literary terms.

SEE ALSO Druids; Fomhoire; Mabinogion; Matres; Sídh; Táin Bó Cuailnge; Tuatha Dé Danann.

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PROINSIAS MAC CANA (1987 AND 2005)

CELTIC RELIGION: HISTORY OF STUDY

The terms *Celt* and *Celtic* were originally used by ancient Greek and Roman writers to refer to an extensive network of tribes located primarily in Gaul (roughly modern-day France, Belgium, and northern Italy) who claimed, or were thought by their neighbors, to share a common descent. These terms, however, were never used in reference to the peoples of Britain and Ireland, even though it is now known that they did (and some still do) speak Celtic languages. Some classical writers did note traits common to both the Celts and the Britons, such as the institution of druids and druidism, which, according to Caesar, originated in Britain. The use of the ethnonym Celtic to refer to related languages both modern and ancient (that in turn constitute a subset of the Indo-European family of languages) dates back to the eighteenth century, arising in the wake of the scholarly discovery of the family resemblance among the still-living Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Manx, Welsh, Cornish, and Breton languages and the long-dead languages of the continental Celts.

EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF CELTIC RELIGION STUDIES. Soon after the discovery of the common descent of ancient and living Celtic languages circa 1700, ambitious attempts were launched to expand the “Celtic connection” beyond the realm of linguistics and specifically to establish Celtic common denominators in the areas of religion, worldview, and myth. Central to these attempts to understand what the pagan Celts believed, who their gods were, and how they worshiped them was the figure of the druid, famously described in classical sources as a barbarian philosopher and also as a presider over sometimes grisly sacrifices, pointedly conducted in the realm of nature as opposed to the cultural confines of temples. John Toland (1670–1722), the English pantheist and biographer of John Milton, wrote admiringly of the druids of ancient Britain and of the enlightened religion they promulgated. Later on in the mysticism of the poet William Blake (1757–1827) the not-really-pagan British priests played an important role in Blake’s vision of the salvific link between “Albion” and Jerusalem.

In time druids (including those who occasionally appeared in medieval Irish literature) merged in the scholarly and popular imagination with the figure of the Celtic bard, the practitioner of the verbal and musical arts toward which, according to popular notions that linger into the early twenty-first century, the Celts are naturally inclined. The impression of an artistic as well as a “druidic” (philosophical, mystical, and perhaps even savage) bent to pre-Christian Celtic religion, and even to Christianity as it developed among the Celts, gained strength from the popularity of the works of the Scottish writer James Macpherson (1736–1796), who fabricated an ancient Celtic poet “Ossian” to evoke a dramatic world of ancient Highland heroes and heroines prone to romantic melancholy and pronouncements worthy of the Enlightenment’s noble savage.

Even in the early twenty-first century most of the popular, Neopagan, and some academic treatments of the topic of Celtic religion are fueled by a druidocentric desire to recapture a mystical wisdom that supposedly informs Celtic culture and art. This popular tendency to view the religion along with the art of the Celts as sources of atavistic truth for modern seekers to rediscover can also be traced to the widely influential literary characterizations of Celts and their worldview developed by the Breton scholar of religion Ernest Renan (1823–1892), the English critic Matthew Arnold (1822–1888), and the Irish poet William Butler Yeats (1865–1939). The romantic image of the Celts and their religious traditions has now been compounded by the widespread impression (based on ambiguous evidence) that the Celts privileged women and honored their goddesses to an extent that set them apart from other ancient peoples.

It is important to note that most of the serious Celtic scholarship from the mid–nineteenth century on has been devoted to locating and organizing the available data on the Celts—their languages, histories, cultures, literatures, and the physical record they left behind—and not to tackling broad, harder-to-define, and controversial concepts such as "Celtic religion" and "mythology." Larger questions such as these have in fact been ignored or even treated with scorn by many if not most scholars in the field. Undeniably this neglect in part reflects the difficulty of accurately describing Celtic religious beliefs, practices, and myths, given that the pre-Christian Celts left relatively little in the way of a written record and the agenda of medieval Christian Celts often overruled the ethnographic impulse in what they wrote about their pre-Christian past. And yet the relative dearth of serious study of Celtic religion, by definition an interdisciplinary venture, also points to the rather sparse communication among Celticists working in different languages and literary traditions (such as Irish and Welsh) and between those who work on Celtic languages, literatures, and history and those who work on Celtic archaeology and prehistory.

The earliest attempts to discover what the pagan Celts believed, who their gods were, and how they worshiped them that are still worth consulting in the early twenty-first century, though cautiously, were authored by the first Oxford professor of Celtic, Sir John Rhŷs (1840–1915), and the enterprising Englishman Alfred Nutt (1856–1910). The attention of these scholars was directed primarily toward the texts produced by the medieval Welsh and Irish, and their primary working assumption was that the "waifs and strays" of pre-Christian beliefs, myths, and rituals were embedded in this literature and to some extent were reconstructible. There was also considerable interest (especially on the part of Rhŷs) in the folklore of contemporary Celts—their superstitions, stories, and customs—as reflecting many of these same vestiges. Rhŷs and Nutt, like their scholarly coevals, were profoundly affected by a nineteenth-century view of premodern religion (particularly of the polytheistic Indo-European kind) as a prescientific system for explaining natural phenomena—a system that, the theory went, was prone to misinterpretation and breakdown as it was passed down through the generations. These early pioneers of the study of Celtic religion freely compared their data with the pre-Christian religious traditions of other Indo-European peoples and employed many of the terms and concepts developed in the nineteenth century by Jacob Grimm (1785–1863) and Wilhelm Grimm (1786–1859), Johann Georg von Hahn (1811–1869), and Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900).

These nineteenth-century tendencies, both stimulating and confining, were still in evidence in early twentieth-century scholarship on Celtic religion. Also influencing these works—including Georges Dottin's *La religion des Celtes* (1904), John Arnott MacCulloch's *The Religion of the Ancient Celts* (1911), and Joseph Vendryes's *La religion des Celtes* (1948)—was the inclination, derived from classical authors writing on their Celtic neighbors, to interpret Celtic religious traditions in terms borrowed from Greek and Roman religion (e.g., the search for a Celtic "pantheon"). Some Irish and British scholars of the first half of the twentieth century attempted, sometimes to the point of obsession, to reconstruct insular Celtic divinities consonant with their continental cousins from what they considered to be the garbled medieval record produced by Christians no longer in touch with pre-Christian religious sensibilities. The philologist Thomas O'Rahilly's never completed *Early Irish History and Mythology* (1946) cast a spell on a whole generation of scholars as it looked relentlessly for solar deities and heroes, although, as the title suggests, historical peoples and forces were also discernible behind some members of O'Rahilly's mythological cast of characters. William John Gruffydd (1881–1954), in his still influential reconstructions of narratives about gods and goddesses underlying the Four Branches of the Welsh Mabinogi, applied some of Frazer's formulations of "primitive" magical and religious thought (Nagy, 2001) and recycled the "heroic biography" paradigm of mythic narrative previously used by Nutt. Later studies that still employ but fine-tune the biographic-mythic paradigm include Tomás Ó Cathasaigh's *Heroic Biography of Cormac mac Airt* (1977) and Joseph Falaky Nagy's *The Wisdom of the Outlaw: The Boyhood Deeds of Finn in Gaelic Narrative Tradition* (1985), both studies of Irish narrative characters whose story cycles have religious implications.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY DEVELOPMENTS. As the twentieth century unfolded, Celtic scholars, pursuing questions raised by earlier scholars and their particular approaches to religion, had access to new resources and tools. Major strides in the uncovering and cataloging of the remains of ancient Celtic peoples made it much more feasible and productive to compare and contrast ancient images with medieval tales and narrative characters, for example, in the work of Marie-Louise Sjoestedt (1900–1940) and Anne Ross's *Pagan Celtic Britain: Studies in Iconography and Tradition* (1967). Meanwhile the tireless collecting activities of the Irish Folklore Commission made it possible to study the diachronic development of Irish narratives, beliefs, and customs that arguably derive from the pre-Christian religious tradition and that, by adapting to changing cultural circumstances, have survived or even flourished down to modern times. Máire MacNeill's 1962 study of the Irish harvest festival of Lughnasa and the stories and rituals associated with it through the centuries and Patricia Lysaght's 1986 monograph on the enduring figure of the banshee demonstrate the chronological span over which studies of the pre-Christian religious tradition and its protean afterlife can now range.

The profound twentieth-century shift in the scholarly paradigm of religion, sparked by the contributions of Max Weber (1864–1920) and Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) to religious studies, and the structuralist approach to the study of symbolic aspects of human culture (deriving from linguistics and semiotics) slowly but surely penetrated Celtic studies in the twentieth century. When Celtic scholars began to view society rather than nature as the primary focus of religion and negotiation among cultural values rather than explanation of natural phenomena as the basic task of religion, solar deities gave way to ideological concepts, especially under the influence of the linguist Émile Benveniste (1902–1976), who pioneered the techniques of a lexically based search for shared Indo-European institutions and elements of worldview, and of the scholar of religion Georges Dumézil (1898–1986), who compellingly excavated a model of society consisting of three "functions" out of the religious data available from various ancient and medieval Indo-European cultures (including Celtic).

Heralding these new approaches, *Celtic Heritage* by Alwyn Rees and Brinley Rees (1961) presented an ambitiously comprehensive and fundamentally religious interpretation of medieval Celtic literature. As argued by Rees and Rees, who were inspired by the work of Mircea Eliade (1907–1986) as well as by Dumézil, the Christian milieu of medieval Celtic literary composition hardly deterred the rich body of story preserved thereby from refining and applying the inherited sacred model of the Indo-European "tripartite" society, mapped onto the landscape by way of place names and local associations and traced in the contours of a historicized but still fundamentally mythic past. The reflections and refractions of social structure and thought on display in religious symbolism as expressed through story and image also loom large in Jan de Vries's *Keltische Religion*, also published in 1961, which focuses primarily on the available evidence concerning the continental Celts and their modes and objects of worship. Druids staged a dramatic comeback on the scholarly scene, this time viewed from a more archaeologically and sociologically informed perspective, in Stuart Piggott's *The Druids* (1968) and Françoise Le Roux's *Les druides* (1961).

Proinsias Mac Cana's perennial *Celtic Mythology* (1970) inaugurated a golden age of scholarship informed by a confidence that key themes and motifs in Celtic religion and mythology could be securely identified and interpreted (Gray, 1981–1983; Sayers, 1985; Sterckx, 1981). Such studies judiciously combined an openness to the nuances of the linguistic, literary, and archaeological evidence with those elements of Dumézil's and Sjoestedt's approaches that served the Celtic materials best—such as viewing sovereignty myths and rituals as fundamentally religious, making a distinction between culture heroes who operate within the social realm and those who ambivalently dwell on its borders, and appreciating the "multitasking" that characterizes the careers of goddesses and other mythological females. Busying themselves more with the details than with the big picture, scholars of the latter half of the twentieth century prudently shied away from perpetuating a monolithic concept of Celtic "religion" or "mythology" and grew more sensitive to the diversity of religions and mythologies that historically developed among the Celts, who themselves were never a single people.

A major contribution of the second half of the twentieth century to the evolving understanding of Celtic religious traditions has been a heightened awareness of the delicate artifice underlying both the modern scholarly concept of Celtic and the reports of pre-Christian belief, practice, and myth conveyed in early medieval texts. Careful probings of "Celticity" punctuate Patrick Sims-Williams's (1990) salutary sorting-out of concepts of the otherworld as they were supposedly shared among the insular Celts. Bernhard Maier's *Die Religion der Kelten* (2001) similarly displays a healthy skepticism concerning the literary evidence that, on religious matters especially, can be as intentionally misleading as it is enlightening about the preliterary past.

The boldness behind the medieval Irish project to construct a picture of pre-Christian Ireland and its religion that would appear consistent with biblical history and early medieval, not exclusively Celtic, notions of how pagans worshiped and what they believed in was the focus of Kim McCone's revisionist *Pagan Past and Christian Present in Early Irish Literature* (1990). In light of what is now known both about continental Celtic religious belief and practice (particularly as these engaged in cultural dialogue with those of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans) and about medieval Irish and Welsh cultures engaged in lively cross-cultural communication on the northwestern edge of Christendom, it is no longer scholarly wisdom, as it once was, to view the Celtic peoples as having been compulsively conservative in regard to their religious traditions. Indeed the tendency is now to highlight the syncretistic trends that have produced what were once thought to be characteristically Celtic religious concepts of either the pre-Christian or Christian era or concepts that seem to straddle both (Borsje, 1996; Mackey, 1989; Sjöblom, 2000). Stemming in part from hyperrevisionist critiques of Celtic and Indo-European as cultural categories, an even more radical scholarly approach to the study of Celtic religious traditions emerged in 1999, spearheaded by Simon James. Receiving considerable attention but not immediately widely embraced, James's approach highlights the impact of the geographic contiguity or proximity of peoples over linguistic and cultural inheritance as a factor in determining the outcome of cultural development, including religion.

A controversy over a familiar and formulaic phrase from medieval Irish literature serves as a demonstration of some of the key shifts in perspective and agenda that have shaped scholarship on Celtic religions. A recurring preface to heroic boast or assertion in a body of late Old Irish and early Middle Irish tales constituting what is called the Ulster Cycle, having to do with heroes and situations pertaining to a period well before the coming of Christianity, is, to the effect, "I swear by the god(s) my people swear by." This expression was considered an example of what much in the Ulster Cycle seems to offer, namely, "a window on the Iron Age" (Jackson, 1964), replete with a pre-Christian worldview, tribal gods for one's people to swear by (parallel perhaps to the continental Celtic deity Teutates "God of the People"), and other elements of belief and practice that seemed more reflective of pre-Romanized Gaul than of early Christian Ireland. In the late twentieth century this attractive reading of the Ulster Cycle as a portal into the Celtic past was challenged, and the argument made that the "I swear" expression is a Christian-era invention meant to evoke the flavor of an imagined pre-Christian past (Ó hUiginn, 1989). A scholarly battle ensued, with the original interpretation of the phrase stoutly defended by Calvert Watkins (1990).

Whatever the outcome of this controversy and whether or not the expression is authentically pre-Christian, there is still much to be learned about the religious traditions of the continental and insular Celtic peoples. Surprisingly, or perhaps not so, the increasing availability of different types of data (textual, archaeological, and folkloric) and the increasing confidence in understanding and using them has made Celtic scholars more hesitant to treat sources as unambiguous time capsules and more leery of blanket statements of the sort that used to characterize the study of Celtic religion and that still, alas, bedevil the seemingly endless stream of popular published treatments of the subject. At this stage of knowledge of Celtic religion, those who truly know their Celtic archaeology or their Celtic literatures are hardly ready to swear to anything, by any god.

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CENTER OF THE WORLD.

The importance of the symbolism of the center of the world can hardly be overstated, for it establishes the order of the universe, drawing together the spiritual destiny of collective humankind and that of the individual human being. The term *center of the world* refers to that place where all essential modes of being come together; where communication and even passage among them is possible. The center of the world is the heart of reality, where the real is fully manifest. The nature of this manifestation may vary greatly from one culture to another, taking the form of a vague, undefined power or of the direct appearance of a divinity. Since this center stands apart as the extraordinary place where the real is integral, it is always a sacred place, qualitatively different from mundane space. In the religious world view, every ordered and habitable area possesses such a center, a space that is sacred above all others. For this reason, the center of the world should not be portrayed in purely geometric terms or forms. It is because the center of the world is defined by its special relationship to the sacred that there can be multiple centers in any cosmos or microcosm. Cultures in Mesopotamia, India, and China, for example, saw no inconsistency in recognizing a large number of sacred places, each one called "the center of the world." The center of the world is a locus in mythic geography, a symbolic portrayal of the real, known, and essential aspects of the world, rather than a detached and objective reckoning of abstract space.

In cultures that conceive of the universe as multiple realms of heavens, hells, and strata for various kinds of beings, the center of the world is that point where all realms intersect and where the most direct contact with the sacred is obtained. Existence of a sacred center allows for the establishment of a world system, a body of imaged realities that are related to one another: a sacred point that stands apart from the homogeneity of general space; symbolic openings from one level of reality to another; an *axis mundi* (tree, mountain, ladder, vine, or pillar) that symbolizes the communication between cosmic regions; and the extension of an organized and habitable world that exists around the center. This cosmos constructed around a sacred center lies in opposition to the chaotic space beyond it, which has neither been ordered by the gods nor consecrated in rituals imitating the divine creative acts. That indeterminate space beyond the cosmos remains uninhabitable by human beings because it is a place where communication with the supernatural world is impossible. In the "other world" dwell demonic beings, ghosts, monsters, souls of the dead, or foreigners.

SYMBOLIC FORMS. In order to illustrate how widespread is the concept of the center of the world and how constant is its basic meaning, some of its most common symbolic forms may be noted. Amond these are the sacred mountain; the cosmic tree; the bridge or ladder connecting cosmic realms; sanctuaries, temples, tombs; sacred cities; domestic space; personal space; and sacred sound.

In Asia one finds the elaborate religious symbolism of Mount Meru, the cosmic mountain whose complex symbolic meanings are put forth especially in the post-Vedic literature of India, particularly in the Purāṇas of Hinduism, and in certain Buddhist texts. On its peak lie the cities of the gods. It has existed since the beginning of time. Upon its slopes the waters of immortality are stored in Lake Anavatapta. The sacred river Ganges flows from Mount Meru. It is the fixed point about which revolve the sun and the stars. Around it are gathered other sacred mountains. In ascending the slopes of Mount Meru, one passes through all possible spiritual states of being until, arriving at the summit, one transcends the particularities of any of them. Similarly, in early Daoism, Kunlun is a cosmic mountain paradise connecting heaven and earth. In some accounts concerning the primordial human being named Pangu, Kunlun makes its appearance from out of the chaotic flood waters that deluged the earth. It was here at the center of the universe that human life was created and the world regenerated.

In the *Zhuangzi* and *Liezi*, Kunlun is the place where the Yellow Emperor "dies" to the mundane world and flies to heaven in the immortal form of a bird-man. Also in the *Liezi* is a description of the mountain Hu-ling, which forms the center of a paradise whose inhabitants are rejuvenated by the water bubbling forth from the sacred spring on its summit. The spirit is the only vehicle that can transport one on a journey across the slopes of this cosmic mountain. To find one's way to this mountain is to return to the beginning of time, where one's adult body becomes once again virginal, and one's mind attains undifferentiated knowledge, limitless as a bottomless spring. The ascent transcends all particular states and attains the mode of preexistence, the condition of the "spirit man"*(shen-jen),* spoken of as the Daoist ideal of the holy man in the *Liezi, Huainanzi,* and the *Zhuangzi.*

Examples of cosmic mountains that stand at the center of the world make up a very long list. The central mountain of Uralo-Altaic cosmology, Sumbur, Sumur, or Semeru, lay directly under the North Star, which fixed the central point of the heavens. In Norse mythology, Hininbjörg, the "heavenly mountain," lies at the center of the earth, where the rainbow touches the celestial vault. In the Hebrew Bible (*Jgs.* 9:37) Mount Gerizim is referred to as *ṭabur ha-arets,* "the navel of the earth." Indeed, there are traditions that report that the land of Palestine is so high, located as it is near the heights of the cosmic mountain, that it alone remained unflooded during the Deluge. Mount Tabor, in its very name, may share associations with the navel, *ṭabur,* of the earth. A ninth-century Islamic tradition argued by al-Kisāʾī of Kufa holds the sacred Kaʿbah to be the highest place on earth, located directly beneath the North Star (i.e., at the center of the world). In a Christian tradition from the Syrian *Book of the Cave of Treasures,* Golgotha was the center of the world, the summit of the cosmic mountain, and the culmination of salvation history. It was there that Adam was created and buried, in the same place in which the blood of Christ was shed to redeem the world. The image of the cosmic mountain immediately introduces us to the concept of *axis mundi,* the "hub of the world," which symbolizes the communication between cosmic realms. It likewise brings up the symbolism of ascension, since one may transcend the planes of existence along a vertical axis.

Another widely known symbol of the center of the world is the cosmic tree, which transfixes the levels of the world, making communication and passage among them possible. At the center of the world in the Baltic religious traditions stood the Saules Koks, the "tree of the sun." It grew out of the top of the mountain of heaven, the farmland of the heavenly supreme being Dievs. It is the source of life. Although earthly species of tree may represent the tree of the sun, it is unique and inaccessible, it may be described as made of precious metal, gold, or silver. A supernatural orb descends through its branches, perhaps associated with Saule, the sun herself, who is the mother of all life. Likewise, among the Maya of Mesoamerica during the Classic period (300–900 CE) the universe was centered on Yaxche, the "first, or green, tree," extending upward to the zenith (the white interval between east and west) and downward to the nadir (the yellow interval between west and east).

Certain Babylonian inscriptions refer to the black tree named Kiskanu that grows at Eridu, a place at the center of the world. This sacred tree is described in cosmic terms: it shines with the lapis-lazuli radiance of the starry night and spreads its boughs out toward the cosmic ocean that encompasses the world. It is the place where Ea (Enki), the god of fertility and of cultural skills, is present, and the resting place of Bau, Ea's mother, the goddess of abundant flocks and agriculture. The *Vǫluspá,* the Scandinavian creation story, tells of Yggdrasill, the cosmic tree whose roots penetrate the center of the earth. Óðinn (Odin) leaves his eye in the Spring of Mmir ("memory" or "meditation"), located near Yggdrasill, in exchange for the privilege of refreshing his wisdom there whenever he returns. Near the foot of Yggdrasill, at the spring of Urðr (Urd) located there, the divinities pronounce judgments. Water is drawn from the spring of Urðr by three Norns, maidens who govern the fate of humans. In the branches of Yggdrasill, which spread out across heaven and earth, live supernatural animals. At the foot of the tree lies the enormous cosmic serpent, Niðhǫggr (Nidhogg), who threatens the very existence of the tree by gnawing continually upon it. At the very top of the tree perches an eagle who does daily battle with the destructive serpent. The *Vǫluspá* describes not only the creation of the world but its demise when it gives way to a paradisal epoch. Even at that time, Yggdrasill will endure.

The symbolism of the center of the world may be expressed through a range of other symbols—a ladder, a vine, a rope, a bridge—all of which serve as an *axis mundi* connecting heaven and earth or various cosmic realms of being. For example, for the Desana, a Tucano-speaking group of the Vaupés River area of southern Colombia, the center of the world is occupied by the Go'a-mëe, which transfixes all zones of the universe through their center. Go'a-mëe is likened to the penis of the creator Sun Father. In the image of a tubular bone *(ve'e go'á),* it joins all the cosmic levels together in an act of continuous intercourse. This immense phallus at the center of the world is a fundamental part of the creation, since it carries the "yellow intention," the solar semen of the creator, into the cosmic uterus, Ahpikondía ("river of milk"), from which all life comes.

The image of the center as the locus of all powers and passage makes clear the religious significance of a range of holy sites, from informal sanctuaries to temples, cathedrals, or even whole cities. The Mandan, a Plains Indian group now living in North Dakota, placed a circular shrine in the center of each of their villages. It was constructed of wood panels nearly two meters in height. In the center of the shrine stood a cedar post, the image of the supernatural being named One Man, who lived in the times spoken of in myth. One Man was the brother of the first human being. The Achilpa, an Aranda (Arunta) tribe in Australia, install Kauwa-auwa, a sacred pole fashioned from the trunk of a gum tree, in their settlements. It is the pillar that their legendary ancestor Numbakula constructed, anointed with blood, and used to ascend into the sky during the mythic period. It is the means of communication between this world and the world above; between this period of time and the mythical time of the ancestor. Whenever the Achilpa wander as a group, they carry Kauwa-auwa with them and head in the direction toward which the sacred pole inclines. In this way communication with the supernatural will always be possible.

Standing at the center of the world, the temple too spans all levels of reality. The Rock of Jerusalem reaches down into the waters below the earth (Heb., *tehom*). Directly over this watery chaos, the Mishnah locates the Temple. The Rock of the Temple of Jerusalem thus closes "the mouth of the *tehom.*" The Babylonian sanctuaries of Nippur and Larsa were given the title *duranki,* "link between heaven and earth." In ancient Babylon the temple also served to connect heaven and earth: it was built upon *babapsu,* "gate of *apsu,*" the watery chaos that existed before creation. The stupa of Borobudur in Java was built in the form of a mountain occupying the center of the cosmos. It is here at the center of the universe that one may have the most direct contact with Buddhahood. By ascending the stages of the stupa, the pilgrim passes through all realms of reality.

In some cases, a city becomes the sacred place where heaven and earth come together. Architects designing sacred capitals oriented the sites to the cosmic powers that filled them with their sacred force and rendered them habitable.

Ritual actions focused the supernatural power of a kingdom within the city confines. In Thailand a new monarch performed a ceremonial tour *(liap mo'aṅ)* around his capital. In Egypt, a ceremony called the Circuit of the White Wall was celebrated when a new pharaoh came to Memphis. The practice was modeled on the actions of Menes, who had designed the sacred city. When Romulus determined the circumference of Rome, he plowed a furrow in such a way as to form the city on the model of the cosmos as a whole. This line, the *pomerium,* was marked then by stones and considered holy. Not only was the capital city made habitable by its consecration as a sacred place, the capital itself became the center for diffusion of sacred forces throughout the wider kingdom. Through the city gates, sacred power, generated at the center of the capital during its ceremonies, passed out to the extended world. In this way, the city, often built on a heavenly model, becomes a source of resanctification and sacred renewal for a world corrupted over time. Such was the function of the sacred cities of Cuzco, the Inca capital in the Andes of South America, and Tenochtitlán, the Aztec capital and center of life forces throughout Mesoamerica in the early sixteenth century CE. Tenochtitlán was called "the root," "the navel," and "the heart" of the earthly layer in the cosmos. It was the "supreme" place in which the world of humans was joined with the Giver of Life, for it supported the multiple layers of the celestial realm and communicated with the underworld. As the Aztec adage says: "Who would conquer Tenochtitlán? Who could shake the foundation of heaven?" (cited in Miguel León-Portilla, *Pre-Colombian Literatures of Mexico,* Norman, Okla., 1968, p. 87).

The symbolism of the center of the world is by no means limited to extravagant cases. The house often contains the center of the world. The Barasana of the northwest Amazon conceive of their *maloca,* the longhouse in which an extended family lives, in the image of the universe, especially at the time of the Yurupary festival. During the rites known as He, the longhouse becomes the center of the universe, where life began when a mythic ancestor anaconda swam there and disintegrated into the many separate parts which formed the separate lineages of the tribe. From his long bones came the sacred flutes and long trumpets played during the festival. These instruments are laid end to end to reconstruct—literally to remember—the ancestor as he was, whole and entire, at the beginning of time at the center of the house-universe. In the Barasana tradition the whole house is "cosmicized" for the cermonial occasion. In other cultures, some structure in the house serves as an image of the center of the world; a central beam, center post, or chimney, the smoke hole or hearth, and so on.

The tendency to find the center of the universe in multiple locations may be carried as far as the discovery of it within one's own body. Such is the case in certain Tantric schools that rejected the validity of an external *maṇḍala* but insisted rather on locating the center of the *maṇḍala* within the yogin. The interior *maṇḍala,* an image of the universe, enabled the yogin to identify his "mystical body" as a whole microcosm. As each internal *cakra,* the "wheel" where cosmic life and psychic life intersect, is activated, the practitioner progressively penetrates into the center of an interior *maṇḍala,* an image of the universe.

There is an impulse to replicate the image of the center of the universe in multiple forms. At one stage in the creation of the universe, according to the Dogon of Mali, a supernatural being connected the heavenly and earthly realms with thread fibers into which he wove symbols of the creative word spoken by Amma, the supreme being. The symbolism of fibers passing back and forth from heaven to earth is repeated in the image of a special drum, whose two heads are bound together in an intricate pattern of thread fibers. The same meaning is continued in children's games in which the child's hands are identified with the hands of the supernatural being, and the "cat's cradle" of thread drawn between the child's fingers imitates the creative word-threads communicated between heaven and earth. Weaving itself, and the loom, are invested with the same symbolic value. Rains are imagined to be moist breath-threads rewound into the heavens along the sun's rays by the copper spirals of moisture that entwine the sun. This sort of replication of the image of the *axis mundi* in village sites, house plans, ritual furnishings, personal ornaments, games, and cooking utensils tends to identify the fullness of being characteristic of the center of the world with the universe as a whole.

Although emphasis falls on the center of the world as a point of contact with the heavenly world and, therefore, associated with the symbolism of ascent, it should be made clear that, at the center of the world, one also communicates with underground realms of being. Insofar as these underground realms may be connected with death and the descent of the soul at death, rituals that employ symbolic death (such as initiations) often take place at the center of the world. Death requires passage from one state of being to another. On the Northwest Coast of North America the Kwakiutl candidate, undergoing a symbolic death during his initiation into a dancing society, declares "I am at the center of the world!" He stands at the foot of a cedar "cannibal pole" wrapped in red bark, which imbues it with supernatural power, *nawalak.* On the other hand, the kind of death associated with the center of the world may be more literally conceived. In these cases, the tomb comes to be the center of the world.

Intriguing also is the suggestion that at the center of the world is found a sound or set of sounds, usually sacred music of some sort, which effects the transition between world levels. Already mentioned is the image of the Dogon drum, the percussive instrument that effects transition and embodies the image of the *axis mundi* in its own construction. In the universe of the Warao Indians of the Orinoco Delta of Venezuela, transition from one realm of the cosmos to another is made by crossing a snake-bridge. The snake has musical bells on its horns. The shaman learns how to pass from one cosmic zone to another by singing the sounds he hears (sung by flowers, insects, supernatural beings) when he first makes the journey. The Chiripá shamans of eastern Paraguay sing a sacred song that is said to be "like a bridge" that permits communication between the heavenly and earthly worlds. Especially in religious worldviews wherein every kind of being possesses sounds unique to it, ritually controlled combinations of sound in sacred music "convocalize," or convoke, different realms of being by bringing them together at one time. The spatial images discussed earlier bring multiple realms of being together in the same place; sacred music and sound may bring together multiple realms of being in the same time.

ASSOCIATED ACTIONS AND ATTITUDES. Even these few illustrations demonstrate a number of actions consistently appropriate to the range of ideas and symbols associated with the center of the world. To begin with, the sacred place, the locus of the center of the world, is set apart, deliberately made sacred; that is, in spite of its ordinary and profane aspects it is a place where communication with extraordinary beings is possible. The place may be made sacred by the arbitrary and unprovoked appearance of a supernatural power (kratophany), or the sacralizing event may be the appearance of a god (theophany). Generally speaking, we may say that a place may be set apart by an appearance of the sacred (hierophany). A second means of setting a place apart from profane space is through acts of deliberate consecration carried on by human beings in ritual. The examples cited show how closely the center of the world is associated with creation. This makes it easier to understand why the ritual construction of sacred spaces repeats, in stylized and symbolic form, the actions of the cosmogony. Just as the primordial moment of creation underlies all creative instances, so too does the place of origin become the point toward which all other life-filled space is oriented.

In the rites of Vedic sacrifice, for example, "the sacrificer makes himself a ladder and a bridge to reach the celestial world" (*Taittirīya Saṃhitā* 6.6.4.2). Before he (sometimes in company with his wife) can ascend to the upper world, the sacrificer must first prepare and consecrate the sacrificial stake, the *yūpa.* This is fashioned from a tree likened to the cosmic tree. After the *yūpa* is made, it is installed as a cosmic pillar, upholding and connecting all realms of being: "Lift thyself up, O Lord of the Forest, unto the summit of the earth!" (*Ṛgveda* 3.8.3.) The idea is made explicit in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (3.7.1.4): "With thy summit thou dost hold up the heavens, with thy branches thou fillest the air, with thy foot thou steadiest the earth." While ascending the stake, he may extend his arms, just as a bird stretches out its wings, and exclaim, "I have attained to heaven, to the gods: I have become immortal!" (*Taittirīya Saṃhitā,* 1.7.9.)

The consecration of sacred space undertakes to create the world, in symbolic terms, and thus make it habitable; that is, make communication possible with powerful beings who are the source of creativity. Consecration, then, involves installation of the structures of the cosmos. The sacred lodge of the Algonquin people of North America embodies the essential structures of the universe. The construction itself is the cosmogony: the doors and windows are the four cardinal directions, each with its own color. The roof is the vault of heaven, the floor the earth. Human beings situate their cultic life at the center of this microcosm. The rites of the center include not only constructions reenacting the cosmogony but also rites of ascent, descent, and transition between states of being. Rites of sacrifice are properly celebrated at this point, where the spirit of the victim may pass from one plane to another. Construction sacrifices consecrate foundations and give life to the forms of buildings and bridges by using the cosmogony as their model. Curing rituals are often performed at the center, where life can be regenerated, powerful and fresh, just as it was once generated for the first time at the moment of creation.

All of these symbolisms of the center reflect the spiritual need for orientation to what is sacred. It is this proximity to the sacred that makes human life possible, for it satisfies the mature spiritual need for what is real and has meaning.

The examples depict an ambivalence inherent in the symbolism of the center. The spatial images themselves suggest two things at the same time: communication and distant separation. The very cosmic tree and mountain that join heaven and earth together also hold them apart from one another. This ambivalence of the center describes well a primary quality of religious experience. On the one hand, the journey to the center may be arduous and dangerous. No one may have access to the center, to different states of being, without careful preparation and spiritual strength. The journey to the center may require a complete transformation of one's spiritual being. On the other hand, the image of the center of the world is replicated in multiple forms. This ensures that communication with the fullness of reality is everywhere possible. Easy access to other modes of being is reminiscent of the paradisiacal state of the universe when it first came into being. The difficulty of passage to the center appears to be founded on the experience that communication with or acquisition of new states of being means a cessation, or "death," of one's profane state of being. Nevertheless, the ease with which one may enter the center of the world draws upon a profound knowledge of the nature of religious symbolism, in this case, the symbolism of the center: its multivalent character makes it capable of extending its significance to multiple levels of meaning and planes of reference. For example, the symbolism of the center, with great consistency of meaning, applies to the center of the universe, the center of the residential unit, the center of the village, the home, the ritual space, the human physiology mystically conceived, and the act of spiritual concentration. On every plane, the significance of the symbolism of the center of the world underlines the fact that at the heart of existence lies an experience and a mode of being entirely different from the ordinary world centered on it. Paradoxically, it is from this conjunction of beings that the reality of this world derives.

SEE ALSO Axis Mundi; Bridges; Cities; Consecration; Home; Mountains; Orientation; Temple; Trees.

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CENTRAL ASIAN RELIGIONS SEE

BUDDHISM, *ARTICLE ON* BUDDHISM IN CENTRAL ASIA; INNER ASIAN RELIGIONS; ISLAM, *ARTICLE ON* ISLAM IN CENTRAL ASIA

CENTRAL BANTU RELIGIONS.

The term *central Bantu*, as used here, refers to speakers of languages belonging to the Bantu branch of Niger-Congo who live in the Congo Basin. They are spread over thousands of square miles stretching from the mouth of the Congo River on the Atlantic to Lake Malawi and the Shire Basin in the east, lying between 4° and 17° south latitude. They occupy much of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (formerly Zaire), Angola, Zambia, and Malawi, spilling over into the Congo Republic, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe. Much of the region is forested savanna interspersed with grasslands, except where the great equatorial forest thrusts southward into Kuba and Lele territory in the northern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

In 1980 the central Bantu peoples were estimated to number around ten million, divided among many groups varying in size from half a million to a few hundred. The best known are the Bakongo, Basuku, Bakuba (including the Bushong), Basilele, Baluba, Basongye, Balunda, Bachokwe, Bandembu, Balubale, Balozi, Baila, Batonga, Balamba, Babemba, Babisa, Bachewa, and Bafipa. The nominal prefex *ba* is frequently dropped and the groups are referred to simply as Kongo, Suku, and so on. Lele and Ndembu religions, through the writings of Mary Douglas and Victor Turner, have done much to shape current thought on religious symbols and the nature of ritual.

The Luba and Lunda stress patrilineal descent. The Lozi have a bilateral system. The other central Bantu are matrilineal, but residence upon marriage varies: in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Angola, and south and west Zambia, the rule was that a wife moved to her husband's residence, and her sons returned to her brothers at maturity. In northern Zambia and Malawi, on the other hand, men joined their wives, and the long-lasting links were those between women. During the twentieth century, residence became more flexible. Prior to the late nineteenth century (before the colonial period) political organization varied. The Bushong, Luba, Lunda, and Kongo (Democratic Republic of the Congo), Lozi and Bemba (Zambia), and Chewa (Zambia and Malawi) had created centralized states dominated by royal courts. Others, such as the Tonga of Zambia, lived in small communities whose leaders depended on personal influence. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Angola, and western Zambia, religious systems emphasized the central importance of charms in both public and private rituals and made the spiritual realm manifest with carved figurines and masked dances. Elsewhere charms were used primarily in the private search for power, while public rituals centered on prayer and offering. Despite the differences, the social and religious systems of the savanna region had a common base.

COMMON BASE. A comparison of the myths and ritual symbols of the Kuba, Luba, and Lunda of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Bemba of Zambia led Luc de Heusch to the conclusion that the savanna peoples share a common symbolic vocabulary. He attributes this to their common ideological heritage from proto-Bantu ancestors. This common heritage was reinforced with the expansion of centralized states, which tended to imitate each other, and the growth of trading networks, which by the seventeenth century linked much of the region into one great system. Myths, he suggests, moved along the trade routes like merchandise (de Heusch, pp. 245–247). In fact, given the importance of charms or fetishes, which could be bought or sold, much ritual material was merchandise, encouraging the spread of cultic objects and organizations.

These materials could be accepted more easily because before the period of colonial rule the religious systems of the region shared common values and beliefs about the nature of the cosmos and the role of humans, spirits, and impersonal powers in the cosmic order. All were based on the assumption that a good human life is part of the natural order laid down at creation. The supreme being, or creator, was seen as beneficent but remote. Spirits active in relation to human interests, whether ancestral spirits or spirits of nature, were beneficent in principle. Power also existed throughout the cosmos and was inherent in all phenomena—in plants, animals, rocks, streams, and pools. It lay ready to be tapped and used by those who learned the correct techniques, and when it was converted into magic or a charm it could then be used to enhance human felicity or to destroy it.

Another common feature of central Bantu religions was the belief that human disorder disturbed the cosmic order. Drought, other natural disorders, infertility, and illness occurred because of human failure or evil. Malevolent and ambitious men and women who harnessed power for their own ends brought about suffering, death, and social and natural chaos. Evil, then, was due to human intervention and was seen as a perversion of the natural order. This was witchcraft. The natural order could be preserved or restored only by controlling the human disorder. When deaths or illnesses mounted, drought persisted, or general malaise afflicted a community, people first appealed to known spirits in rituals that cast out anger and demonstrated solidarity while in turn, the spirits were asked to cool their wrath. In case of failure, people tried extraordinary measures, replacing charms and rituals that had lost power with new, vigorous ones or summoning those who claimed to be able to identify and strip witches of their magic. As the community was purified and revitalized, the natural order was restored. De Craemer, Vansina, and Fox believe that the religious history of the Congo Basin has been marked by a sequence of revitalization cults conforming to the same pattern.

Central Bantu religions were also pragmatic, emphasizing ritual and practice rather than doctrine. Heresy could not exist. Rituals, moreover, were a means to immediate practical ends and were not intended to merge the human with the divine. They were performed to obtain rain, fertility of crops and women, success in hunting, protection from misfortune, recovery from illness, and to regulate the transition of community members from one life phase to another (especially from death to protecting ancestor status). Researchers in the region have not reported the existence of highly developed mythologies, and theories about the nature, origin, or history of spiritual beings appear not to have been elaborated. What spirits did—not what they were—was important. Spirits were identified by effect, and when in doubt a diviner was consulted. In the area that has become the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Angola, and western Zambia, Bantu-speaking peoples who used images and masks were concerned with symbolic statement about action rather than with a representation of substance. The majority of peoples who lived in the area that is now Zambia and Malawi made no images. They agreed with the Tonga, who said, "We call all spirits wind. Like wind we cannot see them. We only know what they are by what they do."

A further common characteristic has been isolated by MacGaffey (1980), but he concludes that it was common to all Bantu speakers with the exception of the Nyakyusa. According to MacGaffey, all religions of the Bantu-speaking peoples distinguished between good and evil in terms of effects rather than means, and thus had a similar structure. An act was good or bad depending upon the consequences. Diviners, herbalists, rulers, and great hunters were akin to witches in that they sought and use extraordinary power. If evil resulted, then they were witches. All use of power for purely private ends were assumed to be at the expense of others and therefore evil.

These values and the view of a cosmos pervaded with power continue to hold, although today many central Bantu are Christians and a few are Muslims, and many beliefs and rituals reported in the early ethnographies disappeared during the radical political and economic changes of the twentieth century. What follows, therefore, is a reconstruction based on what we know of nineteenth-century practices.

SOCIAL SETTING. By the beginning of the twentieth century, most central Bantu were subsistence cultivators, and their religions echoed their concerns. In general the countryside was well watered, but during the long dry season people depended upon springs and pools, especially in the more arid southeast. Rainfall was problematic, again especially in the southeast where droughts are frequent. It is no accident that so much communal ritual was associated with appeals for rains, while spirits linked to territorial cults were thought to dwell in pools and springs or moist caverns.

Because they are subject to leaching, tropical soils lose fertility rapidly. Most soils of the Congo Basin, except for river alluvials, are poor in nutrients and require long-term fallow. Tsetse flies inhibited the keeping of cattle and sometimes small stock except in a few grassland areas. The Lozi, Ila, Tonga, and a few others had herds of cattle, but most central Bantu depended on hunting and fishing for animal protein. As a result population densities were low, averaging about 6.9 to the square mile in the 1960s after considerable population increase.

Cultivators lived in small villages, ranging in size from forty to five hundred inhabitants, a size that left them highly vulnerable to natural disasters and demographic failure. High value was placed on fecundity and protection against accidents or epidemics. Villages moved to new sites every few years as soils became exhausted and game depleted. Those individuals dissatisfied with village morale or leadership moved away to join kin elsewhere. Since neither permanent buildings nor ownership of land tied people to a single place, communities were fragile, easily disrupted by quarrels or by events that aroused the fear that witches were at work.

Archaeological evidence for agriculture dates back to the early years of the first millennium. Most crops were annuals, although the Kongo had stands of palm oil and kola nut while the Kuba and Lele grew raffia palm. Staple crops were the millets and sorghums first domesticated in Africa, and many agricultural rituals centered on these. By the end of the nineteenth century they were being displaced by maize and cassava, which were first introduced from America to the Atlantic coast in the sixteenth century.

The village and its associated fields were viewed as domestic space subject to human control under the protection of the spirits of the dead. The surrounding bush was untamed space, controlled by nature spirits with whom humans had to come to an understanding since they depended upon the bush even more than upon their fields. The bush provided fuel, building materials, medicines, materials for crafts, and a substantial amount of food. Until the twentieth century game was usually abundant and hunting important. The contrasts between village and bush, domestic and wild, farming and hunting, and birth and death were common ritual motifs.

CULTS AND SPIRITS. Secret cults associated with initiation schools and masked performances existed in the area that has become the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Angola and among Luvale, Chokwe, and Ndembu immigrants near the upper reaches of the Zambezi River. Their theme was access to power. The Chewa near Lake Malawi also used masks in the Nyau cult, which mimed the invasion of domestic space by the spirits of the wild and the reign of disorder. Many central Bantu religions lacked such cults, but there were other cults that existed throughout the region. These have been classified into four cult types: domestic or kinship, territorial, professional, and healing. Each was the expression of a particular community of interest—kinship, residence, occupation, and common suffering—and might have its own set of shrines and mediators. Appeals were addressed to ancestors, dead heroes and rulers, and the spirits of nature through these cults.

Absence of a cult of the creator. The creator—known as Nzambe in much of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Lesa over much of present-day Zambia, and Mulungu among those in contact with Swahili speakers—was the ultimate source of life and the initiator of universal order. Oaths used the creator's name, and the will of the creator provided the ultimate explanation when other explanations had failed. Rain, thunder, and lightning were manifestations of the creator; the falling rain was greeted with "The creator falls." But there was no expectation that the creator was concerned with human affairs, and a cult with shrines, priests, and offerings was not provided. J. Matthew Schoffeleers believes that the Mbona cult of the southern Chewa was initially a cult of the creator. If so, this would be a unique instance; by historical times Mbona conformed to the pattern common among central Bantu-speaking peoples of offering devotion to a spirit believed to be a former ruler or spirit medium.

Because central Bantu peoples did not personify the creative force, they had no need to attribute gender to the creator. Bantu languages, which all lack grammatical gender, do not force the speaker to make such distinctions. When the creator became identified with the Christian God through the teaching of missionaries, many came to think of the creator as male and father, but for the most part, the sex of the creator is seen as a matter unknowable to humans.

Spirits that dealt directly with humans might be given sexual attributes, even if it was never believed that they were once human beings. They could be thought to have a definite form, even if it was invisible, and diviners, mediums, and witches were sometimes said to be able to see them. They were given names and sometimes linked through genealogies or arranged in hierarchical ranks of power.

Ancestral spirits and domestic cults. The Kuba and Lele were unique in having no ancestral cults. According to Vansina, this is a recent development among the Kuba, one that is tied to the disappearance of lineage organization. Their dead were thought to be reincarnated after only a brief existence as ghosts.

Other central African peoples who believed in reincarnation thought of the reincarnated spirits as free to come and go in the homesteads of their kin. These spirits were invoked in domestic rituals of households and lineages and also in the professional cults of specialists. It was believed that such spirits affected the welfare of their descendants and members of their descent groups. Whatever the system of descent, children owed service to the spirits of their dead parents, grandparents, and siblings. These spirits were installed as guardians of their households, and they protected their dependents against intruding spirits and against charms sent by human malice. Periodically they were given offerings to assure them that they were remembered and cared for.

Illness or personal misfortune, while it might be attributed to witchcraft, also signified a breach between the dead and the living caused by a living person's neglect or wrongdoing. Divination discovered which ancestor or ancestors harbored anger and why. The offender then made an offering with a prayer for renewed favor. Divination usually named those who had died recently, but the recent dead were asked to bring with them to share in the offering all those they knew who were no longer known to the living. Beyond that range the dead had lost all community with the living and existed only as malevolent wandering shades who could be enlisted by witches.

Since the spirits had the same tastes as the living, the Kongo offered them palm wine and kola nuts, a common provision for honored guests among the Kongo. Elsewhere the offering was of meal and water or beer or kaolin powder. The Tonga first offered meal and water, and if conditions improved (meaning that the right spirit had been identified), they offered beer. The beer had to be brewed from grain grown by the members of the household for which the appeal was being made. Because it was won with their sweat, it was endowed with their life force. Offering, therefore, had an element of sacrifice.

The common place of offering in domestic cults was the doorway of the dwelling, which was associated with the coming and going of the spirits. Most offerings took place in early morning before spirits and people had dispersed for the day. The dwelling itself was a shrine to domesticity, for those who lived within were continuing the domestic life laid down by the ancestors. The sexual activity of the married couple, which created new life, was therefore made sacred, as was the cooking fire that helped to sustain life.

Lineages, where they existed, were ritual communities focused on common ancestors, led by elders who themselves had known many of those whose spirits they now summoned. The elder's dwelling could serve as a lineage shrine as well as his household shrine, but special shrines also existed. They took the form of a simple post, a tree planted when the homestead was built, a miniature dwelling, or a gateway formed of two posts with a crossbar. Like all central Bantu shrines they were simple, impermanent, and could be built again when need arose. First fruits were laid at the shrine. At harvest or before sowing, lineage members gathered to make offerings. This might include the ritual killing of a chicken, which then provided a communion meal. But residential patterns led to the dispersal of lineage members and only those who lived nearby came to the shrine. As a result, most lineages had few members and a shallow time depth.

Individuals who had special skills bestowed upon them by an ancestor dedicated shrines to their spirit sponsor. Here the spirit was invoked before the person embarked on the hunt or other activity, and it was thanked for success in the enterprise. Such shrines also served as reminders that the living followed a way of life created by those now dead and that they could depend upon the knowledge the dead had acquired.

Territorial cults, heroes, and nature spirits. Because villages had populations of diverse origin owing service to different sets of ancestors, lineage cults based on devotion to common ancestors could not serve village or neighborhood interests. Their common interests were the basis of territorial cults whose rituals dealt with rain, the ensurance of a harvest, the communal hunt, and vulnerability to epidemic.

Some territorial cults had no permanent shrines but rather centered on spirit mediums who spoke under possession as the embodiment of nature spirits, of those who had first settled the land, or of ancient heroes or former rulers who had once had some interest in the territory. Other cults used natural shrines that were seen as places where spirits manifested themselves. These were usually deep pools, waterfalls, caves, and high places. Here offerings of black cloth, black beads, beer, domestic stock, meal, and water were made. Hoes and spears, the essential tools of cultivation and the hunt, were also appropriate offerings. Some communities supplemented the natural shrines with miniature dwellings or shelters, set apart from the village, where they appealed to spirits thought to have once lived as members of their social group. Often these were identified as the first couple who had settled in the area and had first come to terms with the spirits of the land, making them proper intermediaries.

Officiants in the territorial cults were priests, priestesses, and mediums. The former, if representative of first settlement, are usually called earth priests. They were of particular importance among acephalous peoples, but even in the centralized kingdoms where royal shrines catered to public concerns, earth priests led local communities.

The earth priest was chosen from the lineage associated either with settlement or with some later community leader. He had a ritual wife who represented the first wife, and together they followed the routine believed to have been established with the foundation of the community. They carried out the rites that organized the agricultural year, initiating clearing of fields, planting, weeding, bird scaring, eating of first fruits, and harvest. Often wild spinach and fruits were brought to them as they came into season, as well as the first cut of thatching grass. When the community moved, their house was the first to be built, and it was from their rekindled fire that fire was taken by others. Since they were associated with fertility, their ritual intercourse gave validity to the promise of reward for hard agricultural labor. Seeds placed beneath their bed were imbued with vitality and were distributed for planting.

The permission of the earth priest and his wife might also be sought for the felling of large trees associated with spirits or regarded as the embodiment of power or for any disturbance of the earth. They gave permission to hunters to use the bush. Adherents of the local cult would make the first appeal for rain before their house, asking them in turn to appeal to the spirits of the first couple to intervene with the natural spirits to preserve the community that they had founded. Carrying drums and singing, the petitioners subsequently went to the shrine at the gravesite of the first settler or to one of the natural shrines to renew the appeal.

Priests and priestesses gave continuity, but mediums provided for communication and innovation. At regular offerings, men and women told the spirits what they desired; the spirits, in turn, made their own demands and gave warnings through mediums. The spirits chided earth priests and priestesses for ritual neglect or abandonment of ancestral ways. They called for new shrines to be built, instigated changes in routines, and demanded offerings for themselves and their mediums. Sometimes they announced the arrival of previously unknown spirits or threatened to abandon the community. When rain was at stake, black beads and black cloth were appropriate offerings to the mediums, for black symbolized the rain clouds. White was offered when they were asked to stop overly abundant downpours. When the spirits demanded sacrifices, black animals were provided.

Although some of the most powerful mediums lived separately and could be approached only through their attendants, the majority lived as ordinary men and women except when they were possessed. During possession, people clapped before them as they did before the shrines or in the presence of a ruler.

Just as first settlers continued to watch over their communities, so dead kings and queens continued to oversee their realms. These royal spirits were often associated with regional shrines. While Bemba kings were buried in one royal cemetery, rulers elsewhere were buried at their capitals. Since each ruler built a new capital, royal shrines were widely scattered. Initially the royal shrine was cared for by retired officers of the dead king and by royal widows; the office then became hereditary to their descent lines. The dead ruler might also speak through a medium attached to the shrine, a medium whose post was not usually hereditary. Periodically the living king or queen sent offerings to all the royal shrines throughout the kingdom to invoke the protection of the new ruler. Their anger at his bodily failure or neglect could bring disaster upon the realm.

Some territorial shrines served only a neighborhood, while others served a large region as places of last appeal. Shrines might be interlinked because they were associated with the same spirit, or because mediums in many places claimed possession by the same spirit. The most famous spirits had many mediums. When nearby shrines and mediums failed to give satisfaction, communities sent delegations to distant shrines and mediums, crossing linguistic and political boundaries. This gave witness that in the last analysis all shared the same human interests. Homogenization of belief and rituals was inevitable.

Professional cults. Many types of professional guilds existed in what is now the Democratic Republic of the Congo, each with its own cult. Elsewhere we have good evidence only for hunting cults and sometimes cults of diviners and smiths. Individual cult members could count upon assistance from a sponsoring ancestor, but the guild also had a variety of guild rituals, including those for the initiation of new members. They were taught medicines and spells needed to handle the power inherent in the earth, water, large trees, and big game. Because they dealt with power, guild members were regarded as dangerously close to the temptation of witchcraft. A breaking of the normal rules was attributed to hunters, who in the reckless search for power engaged in incest and sacrificed kin to obtain spirit companions in the hunt. The very presence of the hunter, linked as he was with blood and death as well as with extraordinary power, was dangerous to small children and pregnant women.

Many central Bantu thought that witches, too, had professional guilds. It was a common belief that witches offered human flesh as a feast and delighted in the evil that they had orchestrated.

Cults of suffering. Cults of suffering, or of affliction as Victor Turner called them, may have been of minor importance prior to the twentieth century. During that century, however, these cults proliferated. They are based on the belief that various kinds of spirits seize upon or enter human victims, who then must come to terms with them. Treatment requires identification of the spirit and instruction in how to meet its demands. Thereafter the sufferer becomes an adept able to treat new victims. All adepts in the locality are expected to help their fellow sufferers, and this joins them in a ritual community. As the people of surrounding areas become suspicious that the new spirit has begun work in their community, adepts are summoned to diagnose and treat, and so the cults spread rapidly.

In the west, in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Angola, and western Zambia, cults of suffering are associated with spirits known as *mahamba.* Elsewhere in Zambia and in Malawi they are more likely to be referred to as *masabe. Mahamba* and *masabe* spirits may be identified as former members of alien ethnic groups who ask those possessed to speak in their own tongue and don their costume. *Mahamba* cults may also invoke the spirits of the sufferer's own ancestors.

Early cults of affliction were concerned with the incursion of animal spirits and spirits of the bush and may have developed out of hunting cults. More recent ones are linked to the uncertainties of alien modern experiences; cults centered on such things as the airplane, railroad, city life, warfare, angels, and on those people taken away as slaves to Europe and America have appeared in the last few decades. Each spirit is identified with its own drum rhythms, songs, medicines, and sometimes costume. Cults are most elaborate, and seem to have greater permanence, in the area inhabited by the west-central Bantu peoples. Elsewhere they came and went with great rapidity until the 1970s and 1980s, when some of the cults of affliction began to take on the semblance of a church and to make claims about their ability to go beyond the control of invading spirits. Some cult leaders now claim that they have the power to heal, provide protection against witches, and control the rains. They often have many spirits, which are seen as helpers.

Although men and women of all ages may be initiated into cults of suffering, the majority of initiates are women. Lewis attributes this to the peripheral role women have in the public sphere. But among the central Bantu peoples, only the Lele barred women from participation in public religious actions. In general, central Bantu religions provided women with important ritual and political roles. Women were sometimes political rulers and held offices in both territorial and kinship cults. On death they became ancestral spirits, and living women could make offerings to the ancestors. Lineage offerings usually required the collaboration of a man and woman elder. Women became diviners and herbalists, and some of the most famous mediums were women. The Luba are reported as saying that no man had a body strong enough to support possession by the greatest spirits—only the women were strong enough to withstand such power.

Central Bantu peoples differed in their judgment concerning the association of women with the possibility of evil. Some are reported to have connected maleness with power and death, femaleness with fertility and life. Yet some attributed witchcraft to women. Among the Luba those accused of witchcraft were usually women. The Lamba thought men and women were equally likely to be witches. The Bemba, Tonga, and Chewa usually accused men because men were thought to compete with one another through ambition, and so it was through them that evil disrupted the world.

RELIGIOUS TRANSFORMATION. De Craemer, Vansina, and Fox believe the basic elements and symbols of central African religions have been stable over the centuries (perhaps for millennia), although specific religious movements have come and gone. Nevertheless the last four centuries have been marked by religious questioning and transformation, paralleling the turmoil and transformation in political and economic regimes. The Kongo on the Atlantic coast first encountered the Portuguese and Christianity at the end of the fifteenth century. Many Kongo people were baptized, and the cross was adopted as a powerful charm. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese also began pushing up the Zambezi River from the Indian Ocean. By that time central Africa had long had trade links with Islamic settlements on the East African coast. Exchange of ideas was inevitable. By the early nineteenth century trading caravans in search of slaves and ivory were disturbing even the most remote areas.

The slave trade brought about the destruction of many of the ancient kingdoms. The Kongo kingdom disintegrated in the sixteenth century in the turmoil provoked by Portuguese slavers. In the mid-nineteenth century Chokwe slave raiders from Angola overran the Lunda and Luba empires. The weakened Chewa kingdoms had already fallen easily to nineteenth-century Ngoni invaders from the south. Royal cults associated with the old kingdoms either disappeared in the chaos or persisted by transforming themselves into other forms of territorial cults.

The dispersal of fleeing populations and the caravan movements led to a spread of epidemic disease on an unprecedented scale and to a questioning of the efficacy of existing religion. At the end of the nineteenth century central Africa was carved up among European powers, and formerly independent rulers became suspect as ritual leaders when they were transformed into bureaucrats in colonial governments. Between 1950 and 1980, independence movements brought African governments into power, but these were no more willing to accept claims to authority based on religious inspiration or cultic position than were the colonial governments.

In the twentieth century people came to depend on the cash economy and world trade. Market conditions are now as important as rainfall in determining well-being. New crops and agricultural techniques dominate the scene; consequently, territorial cults associated with agriculture have become less important. Hunting had little importance by the late 1980s since game had been largely depleted except in a few refuge areas. Hunting cults, not surprisingly, have largely vanished. And as cheap imported goods have spread and undercut local products, rituals associated with other crafts have also faded.

Many adults have been trained in mission schools or otherwise influenced by Christianity. Their children attend government schools where dependence upon ancestors or territorial cults is derided, although the power of charms and witches continues to be admitted.

Religious life has had to adjust to the fact that the central Bantu-speaking peoples are no longer primarily based in rural areas supported by agriculture and the produce of the bush. Many are now wage earners. Most men and women have spent some years in the cities that grew up around mines and trading and administrative centers. A substantial portion of the population is now permanently urbanized. Cities are becoming arbiters of the good life. The twentieth century saw a loss of faith, and people no longer even know about many of the beliefs that were an important part of their forebears' lives in 1900. It also saw the rise and rapid spread of new religious movements that promise to free people from the threat of witchcraft and to provide an understanding of the human experience.

Religious systems are not direct reflections of the social order, nor are they compelled solely by economic considerations. Yet they relate to the concerns of those who live in a given time and place. A viable religion must reflect people's desires, fears, and visions of what life ought to be like; provide rituals that speak to these concerns; and somehow link the transitory human experience with some enduring guarantee of order.

It is not surprising that many new religious movements have arisen among migrants in ethnically diverse cities or that these movements center upon the individual's search for a community of the purified rather than on the community of kinship or the common interests of a rural neighborhood. Many people today find religious community through conversion linked with healing and purification, and it is among those who share this experience that they find help to face illness and death and a shield against fears of loneliness, joblessness, and the envy of others.

Many of the new religions have their roots in Christianity, but their founders adapt Christian elements to what they see as African needs and wisdom. Unlike the mission churches, they accept the efficacy of charms and the power of witches and arm their adherents against these dangers. They recognize the continuing existence of the dead and the possibility of possession. They identify the creator with the Christian God but announce that the creator now cares about humanity and is actively at work in the world. Many of these new religions base themselves upon a visionary experience in which the creator appeared to be the founder and seek to provide either a new explication of the Bible or to replace it with a new message for Africans. Such was the Antonine movement founded in 1704 by Dona Béatrice, a Kongo woman, as a response to the disintegration of the Kongo world (Balandier, pp. 257ff.). The churches of Simon Kimbangu (Kimbanguist Church), Alice Lenshina (Lumpa Church), John Maranke (Apostolic Church of John Maranke), and John Masowe (Apostolic Church of John Masowe) were comparable responses in the twentieth century. Fernandez describes their theology as "lived, sung, and pictured in images, not formulated" (p. 222).

Cults of suffering and witch-finding movements also proliferated in the twentieth century as the old religious foundations crumbled, but they are more likely to operate in rural areas. Witch-finding movements aim at purification of existing communities to restore them to working order and usually vanish, to be replaced by a successor, when pain and suffering are again found to be the human portion. The Muchapi movement, which swept Malawi and Zambia in the 1920s, was short-lived, as was the Mikom iyool current among Luba, Bushong, and Lele in the 1940s (Douglas, pp. 245ff.). Their successors have also not lasted long. But they attest to a continued belief that the world is basically good and that all will be well if humans can be induced to discard malice and control ambition.

SEE ALSO Affliction, article on African Cults of Affliction; African Religions, article on New Religious Movements; Bemba Religion; Kimbangu, Simon; Kongo Religion; Lenshina, Alice; Luba Religion; Maranke, John; Ndembu Religion; Witchcraft, article on African Witchcraft.

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CERAMESE RELIGION See SOUTHEAST ASIAN RELIGIONS, *ARTICLE ON* INSULAR CULTURES

CEREMONY is conventionally defined as a highly formalized observance or practice prescribed by custom and undertaken by a collective, or as customary observances and practices considered as a whole. In contrast to conventional usage, in which the term *ceremony* is interchanged indiscriminately with *ritual,* in theoretical discussion, the terms are increasingly distinguished; *ceremony* is identified as a genre or type of ritual that is distinguished from other genres by its object. A prevalent trend identifies ceremony with secular interests, that is, the symbolic representation of sociocultural arrangements as opposed to religious or sacred ones. In addition, ceremony is differentiated by its essentially conservative social role: the maintenance of existing sociocultural arrangements over against their transformation. Presidential inaugurations in the United States, for example, transfer power from one political party to another in order that the democratic political system remains intact. Key to transferal of power is legitimation of the new regime. This is achieved both by election and by securing God's blessing at the swearing in of the new president.

The question has been raised whether it is not more proper and useful to approach ceremony as a ritual attitude as opposed to a distinct ritual type. Ronald L. Grimes argues that standard analytic or classificatory distinctions among types of ritual—differentiation between "sacred" and "profane" activity, and so on—are insufficient in the analysis of ritual, since they fail to take into account a variety of "embodied attitudes" that emerge during the course of a ritual, such as ceremony, decorum, and ritualization. Ceremony is not so much an analytic type as it is a layer, attitude, sensibility, or "mode" of ritual, contends Grimes. He suggests that when one or another mode becomes dominant, it is proper to speak of a ritual of ceremony, and so forth (Grimes, 1982, pp. 223, 235, 241).

This entry gives an overview of the theoretical discussion, devoting special attention to the relationship between ceremony and political power, and that between ceremony and religion, both central concerns in the theories. In contrast to theorists who identify ceremony as a strictly secular ritual, this entry suggests that inasmuch as sociopolitical (or secular) and religious (or sacred) interests overlap and even converge, the relationship between ceremony and religion is problematic; they are not always distinct.

THEORIES OF CEREMONY. Theorists call attention to features of ceremony that are characteristic of such rituals. Formalization and stylization (i.e., specification of time and place, formulaic speech and gesture, etc.) are indicative of ceremony's scripted character as "intentional" (Grimes, 1982, p. 41) or self-conscious behavior. Ceremony is fundamentally self-reflective performance. As such, ceremony is essentially "self-symbolizing" (Goffman, 1974, p. 58); it has representational intent. Like all symbolic behavior, ceremony points to a larger framework of action. The public character of ceremony is an indication that its more general context is social and cultural life. According to Erving Goffman, ceremony provides a symbolic means whereby participants represent themselves in one of their central social roles (1974, p. 58). Through dramatization and other representational means ceremony presents those ideologies, values, and the social institutions to which they are bound, as well as other sociocultural constructs that constitute social and cultural life or group life, in the case of ceremonies undertaken on a smaller scale.

The underlying motivation in the ceremonial representation of the various social and cultural constructs is said to be the confirmation and reinforcement of those organizing frameworks that order sociocultural life in a normative way. Steven Lukes explains that:

> the symbolism of political ritual *represents* . . . particular models or political paradigms of society and how it functions. In this sense, such ritual plays, as Durkheim argued, a cognitive role, rendering intelligible society and social relationships. . . . In other words, it helps to define as authoritative certain ways of seeing society: it serves to specify what in society is of special significance, it draws people's attention to certain forms of relationships and activity—and at the same time, therefore, it deflects their attention from other forms, since every way of seeing [is] also a way of not seeing. (Lukes, 1975, p. 301)

"Ceremony," writes Victor Turner, "constitutes an impressive institutionalized performance of indicative, normatively structured social reality" (1982, p. 83). In his view, ceremony's indicative role gives it a conservative character that distinguishes it from ritual. "Ceremony *indicates*, ritual *transforms*," Turner emphasizes (1982, p. 80). Ritual is "a transformative self-immolation of order as presently constituted, even sometimes a voluntary *sparagmos* or self-dismemberment of order, in the subjunctive depths of liminality" (1982, p. 83). "Without taking liminality into account ritual becomes indistinguishable from 'ceremon'" (1982, p. 80). Ritual derives its liminal quality from separating participants from their everyday social-structural identity and, consequently, from creating an ambiguous social status as the ritual prepares participants to undergo a transition to a new social identity (1982, pp. 80–85). Turner contends that ritual exists in dialectical relation to everyday social structure; ritual is fundamentally "anti-structure" (Turner, 1974). By relaxing social structural requirements, ritual liminality makes possible experimentation with social structure, and with it, structural and cultural innovation. Thus, ritual enables sociocultural systems to change and grow as new demands, particularly for egalitarian and direct (or "communitarian") social interchange, challenge existing social-structural arrangements. Turner's conceptualization of ritual liminality helps explain why spontaneity and disorder seldom emerge during the course of ceremony, and then only during prescribed times or in established places: the intent to conserve the social-structural status quo requires that ceremony's liminal aspects be narrowly circumscribed or kept in check.

Ceremony's confirmatory or conservative role makes it especially suited to exploitation in times of social conflict or potential crisis, when existing norms are challenged or under threat. Since formalization conveys legitimacy, ceremony lends itself to portraying as indisputable and fixed those ideologies and social institutions that are most in doubt during times of social crisis. Sally F. Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff note that ceremony's authoritative presentation of its material as axiomatic is paradoxical, since it is the most obviously contrived and hence arbitrary social interaction. They note that preoccupation with order by implication points to the possibility of disorder, chaos, and most importantly, open choice of other cultural configurations. While ceremony may be intended to mask contradiction, on a more subtle, less conscious level, it may give it expression (Moore and Myerhoff, 1977, pp. 16, 18; cf. Lukes, 1975, pp. 296–302).

A more fundamental motivation in the ceremonial representation of social and cultural constructs identified by Moore and Myerhoff is the cultural declaration of order over against indeterminacy. Ceremony is intended to proclaim "cultural order as against a cultural void," which exist in dialectical tension. It "banishes from consideration the basic questions raised by the made-upness of culture, its malleability and alterability." As formalized behavior, ceremony is essentially an attempt to assert order: "Through order, formality, and repetition it seeks to state that the cosmos and social world, or some particular small part of them are orderly and explicable and for the moment fixed" (Moore and Myerhoff, 1977, pp. 16–17). Formality thus allows ceremony to authenticate its message, conferring permanence and legitimacy on what is in fact a social construction. "Its medium is part of its message" (1977, p. 8).

While ceremony symbolizes or reflects the socially and culturally normative, it is not a mere mirror image. Ceremonies, notes Moore, are not simply dramatizations of social and moral norms: they are "performative acts." Ceremonies do not simply communicate information, nor are they merely analogies; "they *do* something," putting into action what they symbolize (Moore, 1977). Clifford Geertz explains that by presenting an ontology, a demonstration of being or existence, ceremony serves "to make it happen—make it actual" (1980).

Ceremony models or shapes sociocultural life in a twofold sense, Geertz observes. It offers idealized representations of normative social arrangements that are to be emulated; it also encourages participants to conform their behavior to these arrangements by showing that the way of life that is presented is adapted to the world as it actually exists. Hence ceremony is paradigmatic in a dual sense: it is both a model of and a model for social and cultural life (Geertz, 1980 and 1973).

Inextricably linked to ceremony's corroborative and legitimating functions is the assertion and securing of power. As Grimes observes, "ceremony consists of power negotiations in ritual form. . . . Ceremonial gestures are bids for authority, prestige, recognition, and control" (1982, p. 224). The underlying interest in asserting and securing power gives ceremony a serious tone, which remains dominant even when ceremony manifests festive aspects. Grimes observes that because ceremony implies a distinction between the group that is symbolically asserting its power and the "other side, it is manifestly competitive, sometimes conflict-laden" (1982, p. 42). The successful symbolization of power requires that the social contradiction inherent in the arbitrary assertion of power be masked and only righteous or legitimate properties be exposed. The potential for power to be a source of conflict and not solely a means of conflict resolution must also be concealed. Other theorists point out that ceremony is not simply a disguise for power; it is the assertion of power, or power in action. The fact that ceremony is imbued with the authority of groups that are already in a position of power or that are emerging as a dominant power explains in part why it is one of the predominant frames, or principles of organization, by which social arrangements are ordered (Goffman, 1974, pp. 10–11, 48).

CEREMONY AND POLITICAL POWER. Political rituals are the most obvious examples of ceremony as it relates to power. Catherine Bell defines "political rites" as "ceremonial practices that specifically construct, display and promote the power of political institutions (such as king, state, the village elders) or the political interests of distinct constituencies and subgroups" (1997, p. 128). Bell draws from Geertz in her observation that political rituals create power by establishing a ruler or political institution's "iconicity" with the order of the cosmos (Bell, 1997, pp. 128–130; Geertz, 1980). Geertz observes that ceremony demonstrates that a political regime is an image of the cosmic order itself, and thus is congruent with the cosmic order. Showing the ruling political power to be part of the cosmic order, and hence part of the natural order of things, establishes its legitimacy.

Congruence between political power and cosmic order is demonstrated by way of an elaborate argument communicated in symbolic performance or display. Geertz offers the example of the display of vast wealth by the "theater state" of ancient Java or Bali, to which kings devoted most of their time. The continual display of the ruler's wealth through a variety of state rituals demonstrated that his rule was "a microcosm of the supernatural order . . . and the material embodiment of the political order" (Bell, 1997, p. 129, citing Geertz, 1980, p. 13). In his classic essay on religion as a cultural symbol system, Geertz (1973) observes that ritual performance goes beyond giving ideational veracity, via argument, to a particular view of the world and ethos or style of life. Ritual provides further validation by evoking specific emotions that give firsthand, experiential evidence that the world is actually constituted as claimed by intellectual argument, and consequently that the lifestyle the argument shows to be ideally fitted to the world is in fact suited to it. Intellectual argument and emotional experience are mutually reinforcing.

Geertz argues that ceremony as practiced by the Balinese kingship is more than a symbolic disguise of "real" power residing in physical force or the threat of violence; it is more than artifice (Bell, 1992, pp. 192–193; Geertz, 1980, pp. 122–136 passim). Bell issues the caveat that some political rituals, as in the case of China, do disguise the source and exercise of power while also serving overt political purposes (Bell, 1992, p. 194). Geertz's insight runs counter to the once prevailing view of sacred kingship developed by James G. Frazer and A. M. Hocart, namely, that ritual legitimates real political power (Bell, 1992, p. 193). In Geertz's view, ritual legitimation is not distinct from political power, but is itself an expression of power that is used to achieve political ends. For Geertz, the ability to perceive that the ritual performances of the Balinese state are real political power depends upon not opposing the symbolic and the real or aesthetic performance to action. Power must be seen as not existing outside the mechanisms through which it works (i.e., ritual). Bell notes that Michel Foucault makes the same observation regarding the mechanisms and dynamics through which ritual works (Bell, 1997, p. 132; and 1992, chap. 9). David Cannadine's and Maurice Bloch's analyses of ritual develop Geertz's understanding of ritual as legitimation of power and, hence, as real and efficacious power (Bell, 1992, pp. 194–195; Cannadine, 1987; Bloch, 1987).

"In other words," Bell writes, "political rituals do not refer to politics, as Geertz has strained to express, they *are* politics. Ritual is the thing itself. It *is* power; it acts and it actuates" (Bell, 1992, p. 195). "In sum, it is a major reversal of traditional theory [for Geertz and others] to hypothesize that ritual activity is not the 'instrument' of more basic purposes, such as power, politics, or social control, which are usually seen as existing before or outside the activities of the rite. It puts interpretive analysis on a new footing to suggest that ritual practices are themselves the very production and negotiation of power relations" (1992, p. 196). Viewing ritual legitimation as an expression of power that is more efficacious than "brute force," as Geertz, Cannadine, Bloch, and others have done, makes ritual an important tool in the analysis of politics (Bell, 1992, p. 195).

Drawing on Foucault, Bell argues more specifically that political rituals construct power by creating a "power relationship" of domination and submission (Bell, 1997, p. 132; 1992, chap. 9). Political rituals are not simply "secondary reflections" of relationships of domination and submission that guide exchanges between ruler and subject; "They create these relations [dominance and submission]; they create power in the very tangible exercise of it" (1997, p. 136). According to Bell, ritual's effectiveness as a form of power lies in its capacity to create nuanced relationships of power in which those who dominate and those who submit negotiate power (1992, pp. 196–218). Nuanced relationships involve both acceptance of and opposition or resistance to those whom ritual empowers.

Bell notes that Foucault argues that power does not exist in a simplistic dominant-dominated relationship (Bell, 1992, chap. 9). Power, of necessity, requires choice. Distinct from force or coercion, power depends upon freedom or resistance, which provokes it and legitimates its use. Those who submit are free to act in contrary ways. Thus, those who dominate only indirectly shape the field of actions of others. Bell points out that Geertz's rejection of the distinction between ritual (or symbol) and real power dismisses the simplistic view of power as the assertion of the ruler's or political power's will upon the dominated (Bell, 1992, p. 194). Power depends upon the dominant and the dominated choosing various courses of action to maintain the relationship as one of power. Individuals submit to political domination while recognizing that they are still free to create their own personal path of freedom, especially in the form of dissenting private thoughts, as in the case of mental dissent from a totalitarian regime. Calling attention to the fact that Foucault has been criticized for eliminating coercion, Bell argues that his analysis of power discloses an important aspect of power that has been minimized—reciprocity (Bell, 1992, p. 204).

Elaborating on the process by which ritual allows society to create itself in the image of power relations, Bell adds that ritual participants project, and thereby objectify, relationships of power that are drawn from society (Bell, 1992, 204–218). Participants do not view themselves as projecting these relationships; they view themselves as responding instinctively to the natural social order instead. Participants then reembody these projected or objectified schemes. Through objectification and embodiment, ritual creates a society that actually consists of these relationships of power. The process of objectification, embodiment, and resistance empowers those who submit, even as it empowers those who dominate. Thus, negotiating and giving nuance to power relations actually empowers those who appear to be controlled by them.

Bell offers the example of the Japanese enthronement ceremony (1997, pp. 130–133). Overseen by the imperial state and supported by state Shintō, the enthronement ceremony heightens the relationship between the emperor and the cosmic order by giving him semidivine status. Through a series of elaborate associated rituals, enthronement appeals to "a sense of cosmological fit" between the emperor and divine beings (Bell, 1997, p. 132). The rituals include food offerings to Amaterasu, the sun goddess, who is ancestor of the royal clan, according to tradition. The emperor is considered to be her "grandson." The offerings symbolize sexual relations between the emperor as "bridegroom" and Amaterasu that result in his ritual rebirth prior to the swearing in. Thus, the goddess's divine grandson is reborn in the form of a human emperor. Hirohito, who was emperor of Japan from 1926 to 1989, undertook symbolic sexual relations with the sun goddess during his formal enthronement in 1928, when Japan was ruled by the imperial government, which gained support from state Shintō, the national religion. (Hirohito was forced to renounce his divine status under the post–World War II constitutional government.) According to Bell, the ritual decorum or etiquette governing the behavior of those granted a royal audience creates relationships that empower the emperor. Etiquette and ceremony are not merely symbolic or "empty"; rather they create relationships of power involving political dominance and submission. Political rituals "create political reality." Furthermore, the symbolic action that constitutes such rituals makes political forces visible, and makes it possible for participants to identify with and to understand these forces, which are otherwise too complex to comprehend (Bell, 1997, p. 133; Kertzer, 1988, pp. 1–2). Bell points out that although political leaders in modern societies are elected, ceremonial display nevertheless makes an appeal to the cosmic order. She notes that an important function of the inaugural address of a newly elected American president is establishing the president's moral leadership, whereby his election is transmuted into an event that is not an accident of history.

The link between the ceremonial confirmation and maintenance of social and cultural norms and the negotiation of power is clearly evident in national or civic ceremonies, as well as in mass political rallies. Illustrative examples are found in the parades, processions, pageants, theatrical performances, and other ceremonious events that are associated with independence day celebrations in the United States (Bellah, 1967), Mexico (Vogt and Abel, 1977), and Indonesia (Peacock, 1968). Other examples are May Day, the anniversary of the October Revolution, and Victory Day in the former Soviet Union (Lane, 1981). On a smaller scale, examples are found in "political ceremonials," such as ritualized town or public meetings among the Indians and mestizos of Mexico (Hunt, 1977) and the villagers of Kilimanjaro in Tanzania (Moore, 1977). The Native American powwow has been interpreted as a public arena of power and politics in which participants negotiate conflicts regarding the participation of women and girls in the powwow, spiritual versus secular uses of powwow (e.g., turning the powwow into political protest), and relations with non-Indian participants (Mattern, 1996).

Other political rituals challenge the political status quo (Bell, 1997, p. 134). Bell points out that "rites of rebellion," as analyzed by Max Gluckman, and other rituals engage symbolic interaction in a different way; they must mobilize people as a political movement or force in opposition to the ruling regime. Bell gives as examples the cargo cults of New Guinea and Melanesia, which fused religious and political interests, and the Mau-Mau rebellion against British colonial power in Kenya. Another example is the reconstructed May Day demonstrations in Hungary under Soviet domination (Kurti, 1990). Originally observing the Soviet revolution, May Day in Hungary acquired new nationalist meaning in the hands of opponents of Soviet rule in the late 1980s, when opposition leaders incorporated images of leaders of the October 23, 1956, uprising against Soviet occupation.

On a much smaller scale, institutional ceremonies offer constituents an opportunity to resist official state ideology, as well as forms of authoritative ideology at the local level. An example was the awards ceremony at a girls' public primary school in Mombasa, Kenya (Porter, 1998). The ceremony had unintended consequences regarding the enactment of power and cultural identity as different participants used it simultaneously to produce cultural meanings that sustain the state as well as local authorities, and to produce alternative interpretations of national and local culture that challenged power at both levels. The postcolonial state has used the secular public schools, their curricula, and their ceremonies to develop a homogeneous national identity and national unity to advance its nation-building efforts. The awards ceremony offered the school's Muslim female students, who are Swahili, an opportunity to resist state efforts as representatives of an ethnic minority who lost political and economic power to the postcolonial state. At the ceremony, the girls performed Swahili poems and expressed their devotion to their religion. Public expressions of religion, performances of poetry, and pursuit of education are typically activities of Swahili men, and not women. By reciting poetry in this public and educational setting, the schoolgirls challenged the traditional gender expectations for adolescent Swahili girls. This in itself was a challenge to the normative relationship between adolescent Swahili females and their male elders. The girls presented an additional challenge to their traditional Muslim culture and the state when the headmistress declared the new school uniform to be the old cotton dress uniform refitted to wear more loosely, with the addition of the traditional Muslim *ḥijāb*, a large headscarf, and *suruali*, long pants. While the adolescent girls proclaimed their devotion to their religion by wearing the traditional dress, about which they sang in their performance, they reinterpreted the meaning of wearing it. In their performance, the girls declared wearing the dress to be a sign of their being modern girls. For these Swahili adolescents, the wearing of traditional dress and experimentation with colors and textured or beaded fabrics were efforts to be fashionable in their youth culture.

The novel *Ceremony* by the Native American author Leslie Marmon Silko (1977) has been viewed as a kind of rite of rebellion against the dominant white social and political order that reconstructs power relations between Native Americans and whites. James Ruppert characterizes *Ceremo-*

ny as "a protest novel" that calls attention to the oppression of Laguna peoples by "an indifferent and often hostile dominant culture" (Ruppert, 2002, p. 177). Silko's novel presents the healing of an interracial Native American war veteran who despairs over his treatment by white society and the loss of meaning that has resulted from his loss of connection to his Native American community and its traditional ways. Allan Chavkin notes that the novel's protagonist is restored by a traditional curing ritual, which is based on the Navajo Antway, a purification ritual performed for returning veterans; the ritual uses chant to reenact myth and through it impart meaning or a spiritual understanding of events (Chavkin, 2002). The novel concludes with the protagonist's vision quest. He undergoes a visionary experience that restores meaning by reaffirming the Native American view that the spiritual world that is disclosed in myth is reality.

Drawing on Elaine Jahner, Ruppert views the structure of Silko's novel as a ritual chant or prayer that engages Native American and white implied readers as ritual performers who become part of the telling of the mythic story at the center of the novel through the act of reading. Readers assume the position of priests who sing and pray. Reading the novel "becomes a new ceremony in itself" as readers undergo new experiences that alter their perspectives (Ruppert, 2002, p. 184). The novel engages Native American and white readers in learning about the other's worldview as the text translates each group's discourse. In the process, the text mediates each group's experiences of the other. Mediation validates each group's perspective while calling attention to its strengths and limitations. In addition, mediation encourages each group to fuse both perspectives, thus creating a new point of view. White readers learn the mythic view of Native Americans, and Native American readers learn the sociological view of white Americans. The mythic outlook of Native Americans encourages white readers to adopt a spiritual vision of reality in order to restore meaning and avoid self-destruction through unbridled power, particularly war and atomic weapons. In this view, all living things, including the earth, are connected and shown to be part of a larger, inclusive reality. White society's sociological analysis may give Native Americans insight into how they have internalized the view that Native Americans are inferior. In Ruppert's view, Silko attempts to join Native Americans and whites in fighting against common enemies—Silko's "Destroyers," or forces of evil—who threaten to annihilate both. Silko does so by creating a new ceremony that erases all boundaries between peoples by fusing the perspectives and experiences of Native Americans and whites.

As a group, scholars of Native American religions have traditionally used the term *ceremony* to refer to Native American ritual. They do not make the distinction between ceremony and ritual found in the theoretical literature; hence they use the terms *ceremony* and *ritual* interchangeably.

CEREMONY AND RELIGION. Two distinct tendencies in identifying the object of ceremony can be found in the theoretical literature. Ceremony is either identified with secular interests exclusively, or it is associated with both secular and religious concerns, which sometimes converge. Jack Goody and Max Gluckman represent the first trend. They contend that although conventionalized nonreligious and religious activities are the same analytic type of behavior (i.e., formalization that has nonrational ends or is of a nontechnical nature) and play similar roles, they entail disparate beliefs and therefore should be differentiated. Conventional action that is addressed to spiritual beings or concerned with the ultimate is designated "religious." Objecting to the tendency to identify formalized collective activity with religious ritual, established as a precedent by Durkheim, Goody distinguishes activity of an "exclusively secular significance." He identifies conventional activity of a nonreligious nature, such as the anniversary of the October Revolution, as "ceremonial." Goody treats *ceremony*, like formalized "religious" activity, as a subcategory of *ritual*, the term by which he designates the most general category of conventional behavior (1961, p. 159). Gluckman prefers *ceremony* as the inclusive term for conventional and stylized, or "ceremonial," behavior. He uses the term c*eremonious* to distinguish nonreligious formal activity, and reserves the term *ritual* for the subcategory of ceremonial activity referring to "mystical notions" (1962, pp. 22–23).

Goody avoids the terms *sacred* and *profane* in his distinction between religious and ceremonial rituals. Because the dichotomy they represent is a foreign concept within many cultures, he believes these terms have limited application as rubrics for analytic categories. The fact that the sacred-profane polarity is not universally recognized suggests, as Goody notes, that these are external categories, imposed by an outside observer, rather than categories held by participants themselves.

As recognized by ceremony theorists who associate ceremony with both secular and religious interests, a strict distinction between secular and religious activity is problematic. Historical phenomena do not exhibit the discrete boundaries that are found in precise theoretical categories. Although they are not sponsored by institutionalized religion, many secular ceremonies make reference to and even depend upon religious belief or religious symbols. The appeal to religious belief and the use of religious symbols in such ceremonies is an indication and expression of the convergence of religious and political interests, even when religion and the state are legally separated. Their convergence is critical when the political order seeks to legitimate its authority through divine sanction, thus giving religion a central place within the public sphere, even where church and state are separate.

Ceremonies associated with civil religion are noteworthy examples. *Civil religion* is Robert Bellah's term designating a form of religion that is characteristic of highly secularized and technologically oriented modern nation states; civil religion is said to exist independently of institutionalized religion, although it is dependent on organized religion for many of its symbols (Bellah, 1967). Invoking God in presidential inaugurations in the United States, and swearing to uphold the Constitution on the Bible (Bellah, 1967; Wilson, 1979), and in Memorial Day observances (Warner, 1959), for example, is intended to secure the continuation of divine blessing on the social and political order (Bellah, 1967; Cherry, 1970; Warner, 1959; and Wilson, 1979). Appealing to God and scripture during coronations in Great Britain is intended to accomplish the same effect (Bocock, 1974).

The convergence of religious and political interests in ceremony is most evident in religio-political systems. There ceremony occupies a central public place by virtue of its legitimating role. State ceremonies that are associated with divine kingship, long established as a state cult in Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and elsewhere, are illustrative. The "state ceremonials" of nineteenth-century Bali (royal dedications of palace temples, royal ordinations, royal cremations, and other "state ritual") appropriated Hindu cosmology in order to depict the king as a manifestation of divine power and thereby secure power by the state (Geertz, 1980). Ceremonies drawing attention to "divine election" and divinization in imperial Rome provide instructive premodern examples of securing state power by ritually cosmologizing a political office (MacCormack, 1981).

The blurring of boundaries between religious and political interests is found on a smaller scale in numerous civic ceremonies. Fiesta, a citywide celebration of the establishment of Santa Fe, New Mexico, as a Spanish city, is an illustrative example (Grimes, 1976). Religious symbols play a central role in the ceremonial negotiation of power among Native American, Hispanic-American, and other Euro-American members of the community not simply because they help to establish group identity, but because they help to legitimate sociopolitical interests. Links between Roman Catholicism and the historic domination of Native Americans by the Spanish are exploited in the Fiesta Mass, the procession of *La Conquistadora* (the Virgin), and other church-sponsored events, as Hispanic Americans assert their power over Native Americans.

It has been suggested that if societies do in fact tend to look to the cosmic order as their ideal for the social order, then secular ritual would always manifest sacred aspects. "If this is the case it may not be possible to speak of purely religious ritual or of purely secular ceremonial," argues Eva Hunt. Furthermore, if the secular and religious orders are interdependent, so that the secular models and shapes the religious, which in turn models secular behavior, then "secular and sacred may not be different behaviors but different analytic aspects of the same behaviors" (Hunt, 1977, p. 143).

Moore and Myerhoff define the sacred in broader terms by which they distinguish it from religion. By *sacred* they mean unquestionability or being inviolable and traditionalizing. According to their definition, secular rituals exhibit a sacred dimension when they present ideology, doctrine, and so on as authoritative and incontrovertible, and in so doing secular rituals serve as a tradition-making force. Moore and Myerhoff distinguish ceremony from religious ritual by the absence of otherworldly or ultimate explanations, which are said to be the distinct province and function of religious ritual. The scope of ceremony is restricted to specialized aspects of social and cultural life and to its immediate concerns. In their view, ceremony, unlike religious ritual, does not act on the other world in order to influence this world; it acts solely on this world. Ceremony is distinguished by its "meaning and effect," which are sacred but not religious (Moore and Myerhoff, 1977, p. 8).

Moore and Myerhoff propose and oppose the analytic categories *religious* and *nonreligious*, *sacred* and *nonsacred* in order to take account of secular rituals that manifest a sacred dimension and those that do not, rituals that make use of religious symbols, and other possible combinations, including the presence of secular concerns within religious life (Moore and Myerhoff, 1977, pp. 3, 10–15, 20–22). Insofar as religious and sociopolitical interests intersect and even converge, distinguishing ceremony from religion will remain problematic, however.

Returning to Grimes' argument, if ceremony is treated as a mode of ritual rather than a type of ritual, then distinguishing ceremony from religion becomes even more problematic. He argues that rituals that are explicitly religious can demonstrate ceremonious aspects and do so when they are placed in the service of social and political interests (Grimes, 1982, p. 42). Timely examples are found in the rituals associated with the convergence of theology and political ideology in contemporary fundamentalist Christianity in the United States and fundamentalist Islam in the Middle East and elsewhere. Use of the pulpit by fundamentalist Christians to promote rightist interests during national and state elections in the United States has received much attention in political and scholarly circles as well as in the media. Although the role of fundamentalist Islam in the revitalization of conservative and even extremist Muslim and Arab ideology has received equal attention, less attention has been given the role of religious ritual. An example is the use of ʿĀshūrāʾ, the ritual dramatization and commemoration of the martyrdom of Muḥammad's grandson, Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, to legitimate Shīʿī ideology and rule in Iran (Hegland, 1983). Reinterpreting Ḥusayn's death as the final outcome in the struggle of a righteous man against the corruption of true religion by political rulers, the Shīʿah found in ʿĀshūrāʾ a powerful symbol in the service of the revolution of 1979. By giving the ritual new ideological content, identifying the monarchy and allied power structures as forces hostile to Islam and themselves as preservers of true faith, the Shīʿah in Iran made use of ʿĀshūrāʾ in their ascendancy to power.

The 1993 state funeral of Turkey's President Turgut Ozal offered an example of three competing versions of the convergence of religious and political interests in ceremony. Gunter Seufert and Petra Weyland (1994) report that three rival groups symbolically expressed three divergent views of the sacred cosmic order and of the place and power of religion within the state. President Ozal's funeral was the first high-level state ceremony in which secular and official religious representatives of the secular state and representatives of nonstate-sponsored religion appeared together since the founding of the Republic of Turkey in 1923 by President Mustafa Kemal. Representatives of the state, both secularists and those representing the official version of Islam, gave Islam an ambiguous place within the cosmos, a modified version of the Kemalist secular cosmos. They had appropriated Islamic symbolism increasingly in order to regain support of average Muslims and had tolerated the existence of the Islamic brotherhoods and their participation in state institutions. The state representatives allowed the brotherhoods, especially the Naksibendiyye, to take part in the state funeral and even to perform some of the rituals associated with it, in spite of an official ban against public appearances by members of the brotherhoods. The brotherhoods had been banned under President Kemal's regime, which reconstructed Turkey as a secular state in which the state government tightly regulated religion. President Ozal, a pious Muslim who had found Islam and the secular state compatible, restored Islam to public life. The Naksibendiyye gave Islam a central place within the cosmos but accommodated it to the state. Hostile political factions opposing the state, who were not permitted an official role in President Ozal's funeral but who demonstrated outside the mosque where his funeral was held, gave Islam a supreme place.

Seufert and Weyland interpret the inclusion of the Naksibendiyye by the state as an effort by the state to co-opt, within certain limits, this particular religious group and its traditional version of Islam in order to give the state legitimacy in the eyes of Muslims as part of the state's effort to maintain its version of the sacred cosmos and its power within it. Historically, the Naksibendiyye had alternately supported or opposed the state, and had won popular support for the ruling power. More important, Seufert and Weyland view the inclusion of the Naksibendiyye as an effort by the state to use this group's popularity among the masses to control popular Islam, especially fundamentalist male youths. Their sympathies lay with opponents of the state, especially Kurdish and fundamentalist parties, and their alternative versions of Islam. Seufert and Weyland also interpret the inclusion of the Naksibendiyye as an attempt by the state to gain greater acceptance within the wider Muslim world. The authors argue that the Naksibendiyye were willing to cooperate with the state in order to regain influence, to promote internationalism among Muslims, and to strengthen religious orthodoxy in response to alternative religious views. The authors conclude that while the political elite used President Ozal's funeral to retain their legitimacy and power by enacting the official version of the sacred cosmos, they could not control how the Naksibendiyye Muslims or Muslim opponents would promote their own versions, or how average Muslims would consume the various versions that were available to them. Thus Ozal's state funeral reflected the existence of multiple views of the cosmic order among members of the Turkish state.

CONCLUSION. Any attempt to define ceremony must take into account the interpenetration of traditional ritual categories: sacred and secular, religious and political, and the like. As demonstrated in the examples presented above, historical phenomena cannot be compartmentalized as neatly as a number of theoretical treatments of ceremony suggest. Any effort to analyze ceremony also must take note that formalization, corroborative tendencies, and other aspects of ceremoniousness are inherent to ritual. As suggested in the examples offered above, the ceremonious mode can be expected to dominate when ritual has been placed in the service of tradition or the legitimation of power. In this instance, as Turner observes, ritual's liminal features have been circumscribed in order to contain the threat to the established social order.

SEE ALSO Ritual.

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BOBBY C. ALEXANDER (1987 AND 2005)

CERULARIOS, MICHAEL (c. 1000–1058), patriarch of Constantinople. Cerularios typified the Byzantine prelate in that he was characterized by experience in imperial and ecclesiastical matters, intellectual inclinations (which included an interest in occultism), and private monastic devotion. But he had one flaw: he was arrogant and relentless in increasing his see’s ecclesiastical prerogatives.

Born in Constantinople of a senatorial family, Cerularios rose to power as a civil servant. His tenure was marked by his direct involvement in the conspiracy to depose Emperor Michael IV (1040) in favor of Constantine IX Monomachus. To avoid political banishment, he became a monk. Elected to the patriarchate in 1043, Cerularios held this position until 1058 through the reigns of four emperors.

The events of 1054 caused Cerularios to be viewed as one of the most controversial of patriarchs. His critics do not agree as to the extent of his responsibility for the schism between Rome and Constantinople. The patriarch’s relations with Rome, however, must be seen in the greater context of the growing ideological rift that existed between Eastern and Western Christendom and that was manifest in the political, cultural, and theological misunderstandings of the eleventh century. An assessment of Cerularios solely in the light of this dispute unduly minimizes his role as a patriarch who attempted to extend his powers over the state.

The legacy of Cerularios, then, remains a mixed one. Admired by his flock as a champion of orthodoxy and celebrated as a confessor of the faith, Cerularios’s aura reminded the faithful, especially during the Fourth Crusade (1204), that compromise with the West was inadmissible. Yet he is not commemorated as a saint. Moreover, he was able, unlike his predecessors, to elevate himself to a position of supraimperial authority, as evidenced by his wearing of the purple buckskins reserved for the emperor. Ironically, Cerularios was forced to abdicate in 1058 at the height of his glory by the very Isaac I Commenus whose position as emperor he had secured.

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CEYLONESE RELIGION SEE SINHALA RELIGION

CHAITANYA SEE CAITANYA

CHALCEDON, COUNCIL OF SEE COUNCILS, *ARTICLE ON* CHRISTIAN COUNCILS

CHAN. The Chan school of Buddhism developed in China beginning in the sixth century CE, spread to Korea, Japan, and Vietnam beginning in the ninth century, and has moved to Europe, the United States, and other parts of the world in modern times. The name Chan (Sŏn in Korean, Thiền in Vietnamese, and Zen in Japanese) is the Chinese transliteration of the Indian word for concentration meditation, dhyāna in Sanskrit and jhāna in Pali (and similar forms in other *prakrits* or vernacular Indian languages).

Although Chan is thus named after a type of Buddhist meditation, it does not by any means have a monopoly on the practice of meditation in East Asia, nor is its own identity as a school limited to meditation alone. The best key to understanding Chinese Chan is actually the genealogical quality of its historical identity and style of spiritual cultivation. Like other Buddhist schools, Chan defines itself not as one among many schools or interpretations of Buddhism but as the authentic teaching of Śākyamuni Buddha. In the case of Chan, this teaching is understood as having been transmitted from Śākyamuni through an unbroken sequence of Indian and Chinese patriarchs and down to the masters of the present age. This transmission took place, advocates of the school assert, without words and from mind to mind, entirely apart from the translation and exposition of written scriptures. And, just as each recognized member of the Chan lineage thus identifies himself (or, much less commonly, herself) according to a specific genealogy of masters and disciples, so is the religious practice of Chan framed within a patriarchal structure resembling a father-son succession. Chan teachers and students are often depicted as engaging in "encounter dialogue," conceived of as a spontaneous oral interchange in which masters use a variety of verbal and physical strategies to provoke their followers out of limited, patterned thinking and propel them into a direct realization of the truth. From the twelfth century onward it became common to use such anecdotes as foci of meditative concentration, called *gongan* (public cases, or precedents; Jpn., kōan). Since the anecdotes chosen for such instruction were often derived from the teacher's own lineage, students were thus encouraged to examine and in some ways emulate the enlightened behavior of their own genealogical predecessors.

The historical development of Chinese Chan may be divided into six overlapping stages: (1) proto-Chan, referring to the activities of the founding patriarch Bodhidharma (d. c. 530) and the loosely connected group of wandering ascetics who venerated him; (2) early Chan, from the mid-seventh through the end of the eighth century, when a number of stable community groups and competing factions emerged and the basic terms of the school's teachings and historical self-identity were first elaborated in writing; (3) middle Chan, from the latter part of the eighth through the tenth century, when encounter dialogue emerged as the primary mode of Chan religious expression; (4) Song-dynasty Chan, the pinnacle of Chan activity in the tenth to thirteenth centuries, when the school dominated Chinese monastic institutions and created its most characteristic ideals (including the "classical" image of middle-period masters as enlightened sages); (5) later imperial Chan, from the end of the thirteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century, when there occurred a number of variations on earlier themes and new combinations with other forms of Buddhist activity, in particular Pure Land Buddhism; and (6) modern Chan in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, when various individuals and groups worked to identify with or capitalize upon the reputation Chan achieved through its encounter with the modern, and in particular the Western, world.

Knowledge about the first two phases of Chan has been aided immeasurably by the discovery of Chan-related manuscripts at Dunhuang, China, which have provided insight into the tradition unfiltered by perspectives from the Song dynasty and later. The middle period, in contrast, which is inevitably described by anecdotes concerning some of the most famous sages of the Chan tradition, is known almost exclusively through Song-dynasty materials and thus represents the most difficult challenge to historical scholarship. And, although there are massive quantities of primary-source material for the Song dynasty and later, these have not yet been thoroughly studied, especially in Western languages. In spite of an abundance of source material, including publications by Chinese Buddhist teachers identifying themselves as Chan monks, there is as yet relatively little scholarly analysis of how Chan might function as a coherent set of themes and practices in the contemporary world, especially given the complex interrelationships between Chinese Chan, Japanese Zen, Korean Sŏn, Vietnamese Thiền, and their offspring traditions in Western countries.

PROTO-CHAN. Bodhidharma is universally revered as the founding patriarch of Chan, but very little is known about him. Traditionally, he is identified as the son of a *brahman* king of southern India, who arrived in southern China during the reign of the pro-Buddhist sovereign, Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty (r. 501–549). Asked by Emperor Wu about the religious value of his support for Buddhism, Bodhidharma is supposed to have replied, "No merit whatsoever." Following this, Bodhidharma crossed the Yangzi River and took up meditation in a cave at Shaolinsi on Mount Song (Henan province). His most famous student and eventual successor, Huike (c. 485–555/574), is supposed to have cut off his own arm in his zeal to persuade Bodhidharma to convey the Buddhist teachings.

It is important to recognize that Chan stories such as the preceding are generally without historical basis, and simultaneously to appreciate the profoundly important role such creations played within the growth of the Chan tradition. Rather than undercutting their importance, the fictive quality of such anecdotes actually enhances their significance as imaginative scriptings of enlightened behavior. That is, rather than events involving one or two historical figures, they were molded by mythopoeic processes that involved thousands upon thousands of people, and which served to mold the basic conceptual patterns by which the school developed. This relationship between the triviality of journalistically accurate history and the profound importance of mythological and legendary themes is not restricted to Bodhidharma or proto-Chan, but actually applies to all of Chinese Chan Buddhism: what is not "true" is often demonstrably more important. With regard to Bodhidharma, we know that his role within the Chan movement was essentially legendary, that is, the school was built as much on the idea of him as a foreign meditation master as on the basis of any specific teachings or accomplishments.

There exists a text attributed to Bodhidharma known as the *Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices* (Erru sixing lun), which establishes the basic configuration of Chan religious thought. The "entrance of principle" *(liru)* is explained using the concept of the buddha-nature, the fully enlightened mind that all sentient beings harbor within the recesses of their own identities, obscured by deluded thinking and dualistic conceptualization. The text's explanation of how to undertake this approach is vague, especially in its use of the term *wall-contemplation (biguan),* which initially seems to have referred to a state of being firmly closed off from outside sensory influence. (In later years this term was understood simplistically as "sitting facing a wall.") The "entrance of practice" *(xingru)* is described as a set of attitudes of nonattachment to one's states of suffering and happiness, so that one eventually acts fully in accord with the *dharma* in all situations. This text's use of the buddha-nature concept and the pairing of the two entrances, one meditative and focused inwardly, and the other active and focused on outward behavior, represented the building blocks from which Chan discourse developed.

Little is known about the early followers of Bodhidharma; they consisted of individuals and small groups of wandering ascetics associated with various sites in north China. They were apparently devoted to the *Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices,* and the Dunhuang manuscript of this text includes a number of letters and dialogues they appended to it. In later years (after about the end of the eighth century), however, this text came to be de-emphasized, since it was no longer compatible with the hagiographic image of Bodhidharma as an inspired raconteur.

EARLY CHAN. This phase of Chan includes a number of distinct communities and factions, to be dealt with here in succession.

East Mountain teaching. The meditation instructors Daoxin (580–651) and Hongren (601–674) spent exactly half a century (624–674) in the same monastic complex in Huangmei (Hubei province). To this may be added another quarter century of residence (675–701) by Hongren's student Shenxiu (c. 606–706) at Yuquansi in Jingzhou (also Hubei). Thus the East Mountain community developed for fully seventy-five years in provincial locations. At Huangmei, Daoxin and Hongren taught meditation to an increasing number of Buddhist monks and nuns of various backgrounds; there is no evidence that they engaged in any Buddhist activity other than this. In contrast to the handful of names associated with Bodhidharma and Huike, there are about a dozen associated with Daoxin and twice the number associated with Hongren.

Northern school. In 701 Shenxiu traveled to Luoyang (Henan province), one of the two capitals of medieval China, where he had been invited to teach in the palace by the only woman to rule China in her own name, Empress Wu (r. 684–705). Here Shenxiu proclaimed himself a successor to Hongren's "pure teaching of East Mountain," explaining that the essence of Buddhism was "contemplation of the mind" and interpreting any and all Buddhist doctrines as metaphors for this practice. For example, he wrote metaphorically, "those who seek emancipation always consider the body as the lamp's stand, the mind as the lamp's dish, and faith as the lamp's wick. . .If one constantly burns such a lamp of truly suchlike true enlightenment, its illumination will destroy all the darkness of ignorance and stupidity." Shenxiu thus emphasized that one should constantly remain in meditation while constantly working to aid sentient beings—an explanation of the *bodhisattva* ideal of Mahāyāna Buddhism. His teachings were spectacularly popular in the sophisticated society of the Chinese imperial capitals (at both Luoyang and Chang'an), and after his death the most prominent of his more than seventy students continued as instructors to court society throughout the 730s, as did their students and later successors (with somewhat lesser prominence) after that.

Shenxiu and his students carried with them a written explanation of their master Hongren's teachings known as the *Treatise on the Essentials of Cultivating the Mind* (Xiuxin yao lun), which they edited after Hongren's death in memory of his legacy. Here the buddha-nature concept introduced in the *Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices* was clarified by means of a metaphor of sun and clouds: Just as the sun is constantly shining even when obstructed by clouds, so the practitioner should maintain awareness of the existence of the buddha-nature within, even if it is obscured by human ignorance. The *Treatise on the Essentials of Cultivating the Mind* includes two different specific practices of meditation, framed within a combination of seemingly contradictory exhortations to make an effort in spiritual cultivation, on the one hand, and to avoid positing enlightenment as an objectified goal, on the other.

The text attributed retrospectively to Hongren was only the first of several to be composed after his students began moving into the two capitals. The most important of these texts, the earliest of the "transmission of the lamp" genre, narrated the transmission of Buddhism by a sequence of meditation masters. Although these works discussed only teachers active in China (and not their Indian predecessors) and differed among themselves in the specifics of the transmission, they contained the first written expressions of the Chan lineage theory. The individual described as the "third patriarch" in traditional Chan sources, Sengcan, is only mentioned for the first time in a text from 689 CE; the justifiably famous *Inscription on Believing in Mind* (Xinxin ming) attributed to him was composed sometime in the middle of the eighth century.

Southern school. Beginning in 730 a monk named Shenhui (684–758) attacked Shenxiu's students as belonging to a nonmainstream lineage and advocating an inferior teaching. He asserted boldly that his own teacher, the hitherto obscure Huineng (638–713) of Caoqi in the far south (Guangdong province), was Hongren's only fully authorized successor and was the "sixth patriarch" of Chan Buddhism, and that only this single lineage was legitimate. It was Shenhui who labeled Shenxiu and his successors the "Northern school" and Huineng's teaching the "Southern school," based on the geographical locations where the two masters taught. (Shenxiu's successors did not refer to themselves in this fashion until decades later.)

Shenhui himself was not a meditation instructor, but an evangelist; he had no long-term relationships with students, and for him religious wisdom was something to be achieved immediately, in an instantaneous flash of insight, rather than requiring nurturing over lengthy periods of self-cultivation. A gifted storyteller, Shenhui inspired his students and listeners with a message of nondualistic wisdom that he described as the teaching of sudden enlightenment. Although his doctrinal innovations and entertaining public presentations were very appealing, the factionalist and even ad hominem quality of his campaign against the alleged gradualism of the Northern school created a crisis in early Chan.

Oxhead school and Platform Sūtra. The factionalist crisis fomented by Shenhui was resolved by the Oxhead school and the capstone text of early Chan, the *Platform Sūtra* of the Sixth Patriarch (Liuzu tan jing). Although the Oxhead school had its own fictive lineage, tracing itself back to a student of Daoxin's, its members adopted the legendary image of Huineng as sixth patriarch. Oxhead school figures tended to downplay any differences between the Northern and Southern schools, making statements such as "the mind is the central principle" (using the term *zong,* which is also used with the meaning "school"). The most representative Oxhead text is the *Treatise on the Transcendence of Cognition* (Jueguan lun), which presents a dialogue between a fictional student and teacher proceeding in three stages: (1) questions and answers about the *dharma,* (2) the student's perception of the nonexistence of all things, and (3) the student's final realization of the ultimate truth.

This threefold structure is also apparent in the famous *Platform Sūtra,* the earliest version of which appeared about 780. This text draws on Shenhui's acceptance of Huineng as Hongren's only successor but effectively writes Shenhui out of the story, saying nothing of his famous campaign and belittling him as a foolish young monk. The *Platform Sūtra* story is, like the anecdotes about Bodhidharma, demonstrably ahistorical: Shenxiu studied with Hongren in the 650s, not toward the end of the master's life, and the very notion of selecting a single successor was only conceivable after Shenhui's campaign. However, the text has been widely influential as a religious scripture, known especially for its inspired depiction of Huineng as an unlettered sage.

MIDDLE CHAN. In south-central China in the latter half of the eighth century there emerged two lineages of Chan practitioners that came to embody a new approach to Buddhist spiritual cultivation based on lively interaction between teachers and students and often iconoclastic behavior, a style of discourse known as encounter dialogue. The chief figures in this new development were Shitou Xiqian (710–790) in Hubei and Mazu Daoyi (709–788) in Jiangxi, who are remembered as progenitors of the Caodong (Jpn., Sōtō) and Linji (Jpn., Rinzai) lineages, respectively. Many of the most memorable anecdotes of Chinese Chan derive from Mazu's so-called Hongzhou school (a name based on his residence in what is now Jiangxi province), which includes Zhaozhou Congshen (c. 778–897), Baizhang Huaihai (749–814), and Nanquan Puyuan (748–834). Virtually all accounts of Chinese Chan include references to Zhaozhou's negative response to the question of whether dogs have the buddha-nature (he replied, "No!"); Baizhang's supposed maxim, "A day without work is a day without food"; and Nanquan's outrageous killing of a cat as a challenge to other trainees. The most famous representative of this style of Chan was Linji Yixuan (d. 867; Jpn., Rinzai Gigen), whose recorded sayings contain memorable phrases such as "the true man of no rank" and shocking lines such as "if you meet the Buddha, kill him!"

There would appear, at first glance, to be a close correspondence between the "encounter dialogue" style of such

Hongzhou-school figures and the religious doctrines of the school. Mazu's teachings are described as holding that "the arising of mental activity, the movement of thought, even snapping the fingers or moving the eyes—all actions and activities are the functioning of the entire essence of the buddha-nature." Thus Mazu and his students are supposed to have emphasized dynamic interaction using lively repartee, physical gestures, and even loud shouts and physical blows. The problem, however, is that such events—which are supposed to have taken place a few decades before or after the year 800—are not recorded in any written text until 952. This is the date of the very important *Anthology of the Patriarchal Hall* (Zutang ji), which is the first text to contain any written transcription of oral Chan dialogue. Preserved only in Korea, this anthology established the basic pattern of all later "transmission of the lamp" texts by providing entries for the entire lineage from the seven Buddhas of the Past (i.e., from its ancient predecessors in India) to the present.

Although there are substantial materials concerning the Hongzhou school that date from its own time, none of these texts (nor any of the manuscripts from Dunhuang) contain transcriptions of encounter dialogue. It does appear that the lineages of Shitou and Mazu represented a new spirit of Chan that arose in the latter half of the eighth century in south-central China. However, it is also clear that the "traditional" image of Shitou, Mazu, and their immediate generations of disciples was not generated until the Song dynasty. The questions that confront scholars now are: When and how did encounter dialogue actually develop? What were the contemporaneous historical identities of Shitou, Mazu, and others?

SONG-DYNASTY CHAN. The Song dynasty witnessed the Chan school's greatest efflorescence in China, and it was during this period that there emerged the school's mature configuration, not a fixed pattern but a dynamic interplay of elements, rather like the "climax paradigm" of complex biological systems. This success should be understood against the background of larger political and social changes that allowed Chan to flourish even as they set the stage for a fundamental transformation in Chinese Buddhism as a whole.

The Northern Song (960–1127) reestablished the centralized imperial state, and its rulers did their best to emulate their illustrious Tang-dynasty predecessors. However, the world had changed, and the Song court was forced to pay deference to the competing Liao (916–1125) and Jin (1115–1234) regimes. (The Song even paid material tribute to the Jin.) After the Jin conquest of north China, the Southern Song (1127–1279) was wracked by abortive social and political reforms and a never-ending debate about military action to retake the north. Although the Jin and the Southern Song collaborated to eliminate the Liao, they were swallowed up in turn by the Mongolian Yuan dynasty (1206–1368). Where earlier generations of scholars focused on the An Lushan rebellion of 755 to 763 as an important watershed in the transition from medieval aristocratic centralism to premodern regionalism, in recent years historians have begun to pay attention to the twelfth-century emergence of elites focused not on national political service but on building power and wealth for their respective clans in local and regional settings.

At the beginning of the Northern Song the Chan school found itself in a surprisingly dominant position. As a movement that only began to achieve national prominence in the eighth century and which remained subordinate throughout the Tang, by the end of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh the category of "Chan master" (or "meditation master") accounted for some three-quarters of the most prominent members of the *saṃgha.* One reason for this popularity was the effective collapse of the translation enterprise, which had been the primary focus of imperial support for Buddhism ever since the end of the fourth century. Although there was a flurry of effort in the late tenth century setting up the necessary government offices and collecting all the available Indic manuscripts, after a mere two decades of work (980–1000) there simply were no more texts arriving from the "western regions" for translation. In effect, the translation enterprise had ended at the beginning of the ninth century, and the brief period of Song activity was only an exceptional final gasp. The increasing prominence of Chan texts over this period, and especially their imperial recognition and circulation in woodblock editions, should be understood against this background.

From the beginning of the Song dynasty, Chan monks played a role very different from the rustic ideal associated with Huineng, Mazu, and other Tang figures: they served as abbots of some 90 percent of the largest monastic institutions ("monasteries of the ten directions," *shifang conglin,* often referred to as "public monasteries") in China, directing practice in meditation and functioning as fund-raisers for their temples. In previous scholarship this has been interpreted as evidence of the degeneration of Chan, but it now seems more reasonable to view this period as the high point of the school's efflorescence in China. Indeed, the romantic image of the Tang-dynasty sages is now understood to be a Song-dynasty creation, and the quest for "pure Chan" a function of Japanese sectarian interests.

Song-dynasty writers used various labels in reference to different lineage-based styles of Chan from the late Tang onward, and there are observable shifts in the relative vitality of different factions over time. Thus we read of the so-called five houses (*wujia;* Jpn., *goke*), the Fayan, Guiyang, Yunmen, Caodong, and Linji lineages, which never coexisted except in written summaries of Chan teachings. The Caodong lineage was tenuous for a time and was always overshadowed by the Linji school, which itself spawned the Huanglong and Yangchi sublineages. Linji, or Rinzai, predominated among lineages transmitted to Japan from the end of the twelfth century onward, although one of the two Caodong, or Sōtō, lineages (that associated with Dōgen Kigen [1200–1253]) eventually became widespread there as well.

The most important Chan figure during the Song dynasty was Dahui Zonggao (1089–1163), who as abbot in successive appointments at some of the largest monasteries in China taught hundreds, sometimes even thousands, of students at a time. Dahui is known for an energetic and personal style, addressing much of his attention to literate laymen and accepting as his students nuns as well as monks. In fact, it was in teaching a nun, Miaodao (fl. c. 1134–1155), that he developed his most characteristic teaching style: the use of intense contemplation of the "critical phrase" *(huatou)* of what came to be called *gongan.*

Dahui had Miaodao consider a phrase attributed to Mazu: "It is not mind, it is not Buddha, it is not a thing." In his instructions Dahui said, "You must not take it as a statement of truth. You must not take it to be something you do not need to do anything about. Do not take it as a flint-struck spark or a lightning flash. Do not try to divine the meaning of it. Do not try to figure it out from the context in which I brought it up. 'It is not the mind, it is not the Buddha, it is not a thing; after all, what is it?'" Dahui thus prohibited all potentially rational approaches to solving the problem, and he rejected Miaodao's first attempts to demonstrate her understanding, sometimes with loud shouts. Eventually she understood, and from that point on Dahui began teaching all his students using the *huatou* method. Dahui was also an outspoken advocate of vigorous effort in meditation practice, and he railed publicly against contemporary Chan teachers of the Caodong lineage who taught "silent illumination" *(mozhao).* This was anathematic for Dahui whenever it was taken to mean merely sitting like dead wood, waiting for enlightenment to happen someday.

The extensive literature of the Song-dynasty Chan school may be approached in terms of several different genres. First, "recorded sayings" *(yulu,* also referred to as "discourse records"; Jpn., *goroku)* were published for individual Chan teachers, initially after their demise (as with the *Treatise on the Essentials of Cultivating the Mind)* but eventually during the masters' lifetimes and with their active collaboration. (There is a famous rant in the *Record of Linji* against students who take notes during sermons, transforming the teacher's "live words" into dead ones, but this injunction came to be ignored.)

Second, "transmission of the lamp" histories *(chuandeng shi,* or simply *dengshi;* Jpn., dentōshi or tōshi) are texts that organize information about Chan teachers and their teachings into generational hierarchies. The earliest texts of this genre appeared in the early eighth century; the best-known examples are the *Anthology of the Patriarchal Hall* of 952 and the *Record of the Transmission of the Lamp [compiled during the] Jingde [era]* (Jingde chuandeng lu; Jpn., Keitoku dentōroku) of 1004. A handful of texts published in the twelfth to the thirteenth centuries effectively supplemented and extended the *Record of the Transmission of the Lamp;* that these texts were presented to the imperial court and officially included in the Buddhist canon indicates their status as public documents describing the lineage identities used in negotiating appointments as abbots to public monasteries.

Third, given the great proliferation of Chan anecdotes transcribed in the preceding genres, there developed shorter collections of favorite examples, known as "precedent anthologies" *(gongan ji;* Jpn., kōan shū). The most important of these are the *Emerald Cliff Record (Biyan lu;* Jpn., *Hekigan roku),* which contains several layers of teachers' commentaries on a hundred different anecdotes drawn primarily from the *Record of the Transmission of the Lamp of* 1004 compiled by Yuanwu Keqin (1063–1135) and the *Gateless Barrier (Wumen guan;* Jpn. *Mumonkan)* by Wumen Huikai (1183–1260; the title is a pun on his name). The latter text contains forty-eight anecdotes (some of them identical to those of the *Emerald Cliff Record)* presented with less structural complexity but perhaps greater religious eloquence.

Fourth, there is a wide variety of other Chan texts, including poems, essays, monastic regulations, and historical documents.

LATER IMPERIAL CHAN. The founding emperor of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) supported a revitalization of Chinese Buddhism (along with strict government control of the religion), promoting what were thought to be the most important scriptures and supporting basic forms of Buddhist education. In this context Chan masters wrote commentaries on scriptures such as the *Heart Sūtra* and *Diamond Sūtra,* explaining their doctrines using Chan rhetoric. Toward the end of the dynasty a number of prominent Chan teachers appeared who worked to "revive" the fortunes of the school, sometimes in combination with Pure Land devotional practices oriented to laypeople. In the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) members of the Huangbo lineage struggled to reinvent Chan, bypassing the Song synthesis and reaching back to Linji Yixuan. The Huangbo school figure Yinyuan Longqi (1592–1673; Jpn., Ingen Ryūki) and some of his followers emigrated to Japan in 1654, stimulating a reconfiguration of Zen there through his combined use of Pure Land practices.

MODERN CHAN. This era includes a wide range of different phenomena. In the pre-1949 period there remained a small number of strong meditation centers at Chinese monasteries, many of them perpetuating Chan styles of practice, but the specifics of their religious identities are still unclear. Xuyun (1840–1959) is famous for having initiated himself into several long-defunct lineages, while the monk Zhang Shengyan (b. 1930) established centers for Chan meditation and Buddhist study in New York in self-conscious preparation for the extension of his teaching activities to Taiwan. Although there are numerous Chinese (as well as Korean and Vietnamese) teachers active in Taiwan, Hong Kong, mainland China, and abroad who identify themselves as representing the Chan school and its teachings, many of whom adopt Chan-style rhetoric and meditation practices, they often adopt characteristics of Japanese Zen in the West.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, Schools of, article on Chinese Buddhism; Buddhist Philosophy; Jingtu; Nirvāṇa; Prajñā; Zen.

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CHANCE, in the most general sense of the word, is the negation of necessity and the opposite of determinism. The word "chance," derived from the Latin *cadere* ("to fall"), has a wide spectrum of meanings encompassing randomness, probability, coincidence, contingence, fluke, accident, incident, fortuity, serendipity, hazard, risk, opportunity, luck, fortune, and fate. Many words related to chance, such as *coincidence*, *contingence*, or the German *Zufall*, indicate a binary structure, the coming together of two causally independent series of events. Something happens, or a certain situation or person is encountered by chance. (The word "incident" derives from Latin *incidere*, "to befall, to fall out.")

The awareness of chance is an integral part of worldviews, both indeterministic and deterministic. Chance may be regarded positively as "an essential aspect of any real process" (Bohm, p. 141); negatively as the lack of causality or knowledge of such; and neutrally as the law of probability.

To some, chance denotes human freedom, but to others, fate. Chance can be haphazard; it can be fortunate or unfortunate. It is a highly equivocal, bifacial term, in that one meaning can easily turn into its opposite. This ambivalence may be traced back to the essential unpredictability and unknowability of any happening. The insurance business, for instance, rests on its customers' belief in chance (in the sense of unpredictability), but itself uses the theory of chance—that is, probability—to calculate its risks and price its policies (see Knight).

Although in the early twenty-first century the theory of probability predicts the course of class events to a great extent, the ultimate unknowability and uncertainty of individual events can never vanish from the realm of human experience (see Von Mises). This persistent presence of chance elements can be argued from the contingent nature of one's existence or from free will. Again, the uncertainty and indeterminateness of reality can be the source of inspiration for art or enterprise. The spirit of gambling, for instance, deliberately creates uncertain situations for the enjoyment of the risks themselves (see Rothbard, p. 500).

CHANCE, GREEK VIEWS. Dante noted that Democritus "ascribes the world to chance" (*Inferno* 4.136; cf. Cioffari, chap. 1). Aristotle also observed that for Democritus the cosmos was ordered by chance (*automaton*), that is, out of itself (*auto*) without any reason or purpose (*maton*). (For the etymology of *automaton*, see *Physics* 197b.) In opposition to this view of chance as a spontaneous event, or as "a cause that is inscrutable to human intelligence, as being a divine thing and full of mystery" (*Physics* 196b), Aristotle considered chance (*tuchē* and *automaton*) as an accidental cause of the "efficient order" and what happens "by accident" (*kata sumbebēkos*). Chance is indeterminate, changeful, and unstable. It is whatever comes about, neither always nor usually, but rarely (*Metaphysics* 1026b–1027a, 1065a; *Physics* 196b–198a).

Aristotle moreover distinguished two types of chance events, *tuchē* and *automaton*. Illustrating this distinction, Alexander of Aphrodisias, a third-century commentator, gave the example of a lost horse recovered by chance by his former owner. For the owner, the event is fortunate (*tuchē*), but for the horse it is simply fortuitous (*automaton*). *Automaton* has a broader range of meanings than *tuchē*, as it is applicable both to the natural and human worlds, whereas *tuchē* applies only to the latter (see Kuki, pp. 63–67).

Regarding luck and chance, Aristotle observed: "We speak of 'good luck' when luck brings us something good, and 'bad luck' in the opposite event, or, in serious cases, of 'good fortune' [*eutuchia*] or 'misfortune' [*dustuchia*]" (*Physics* 197a). Good fortune or chance for Aristotle comprised such qualities as noble birth, good children, wealth, political power, friends, and beauty (cf. *Rhetoric* 1389a). Fortune or chance is the cause of these external goods (*Politics* 1322b). The ethical virtues of justice, courage, temperance, and wisdom, however, lie outside the realm of chance, that is, within human control (cf. *Politics* 1323a).

The Greek word for chance, *tuchē*, contains the long history of poets' and writers' reflections on the subjects of luck, fate, the vicissitudes of life, and the gods' share in such human events. For Pindar, Soteira Tyche (Fortune the Savior) is "heaven-sent good fortune," the "kindly power who may crown the efforts of man" (Greene, pp. 72–73). Plato talked about a *theia tuchē*, a divine chance (*Timaeus* 25e), who comes to save human beings from their folly. Many Greeks worshipped Agathe Tyche, the goddess of good fortune (*Timaeus* 26e; Greene, p. 299). Aristotle admitted that chance has a religio-ethical significance in that fortune and happiness (*eudaimonia*) are often synonymous, that "happiness is a divine gift" (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1099b; Greene, p. 325), and that "the lucky seem to succeed owing to God" (*Ethica Eudemia* 1248b; Cioffari, p. 27).

But Goddess Tyche is not always benevolent or dependable. Archilochus (c. 700–650 BCE) is said to have introduced the idea of *tuchē* into the discourse, along with the already familiar Homeric notion of *moira* (fate), to account for what controlled human destiny. According to Orphic doctrines, fate was the law that controlled the conditions of human beings' birth, death, and reincarnation, but by the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, goddess Tyche became increasingly important. An anonymous poet wrote: "Fortune [Tyche], beginning and end of human beings. Thou sittest in the seats of wisdom, and grantest honor to human deeds . . . thou most excellent of gods" (Loeb ed., *Lyra Graeca*, vol. 3, p. 477). In Greek tragedies, the role of *tuchē* was considerable. Euripides's Ion exclaims: "O Tyche, thou who hast brought change to myriads of human beings, causing them now to suffer misfortune, and now to fare well, by what a narrow margin have I escaped slaying my mother!" (Euripides, *Ion* 1512–1515). Tyche, as the goddess of chance, was associated with Lachesis, one of the Moirai (Fates) and the "dispenser of human lots" (Hesiod), and took on a fickle, unpredictable character.

CHANCE, THE ROMAN VIEW. The cult of the native Italian goddess Fortuna was revived when she was identified with Tyche. Pliny the Elder noted:

> Everywhere in the whole world, at every hour by everyone's voices Fortuna alone is invoked and named, alone accused, alone impeached, alone pondered, alone applauded, alone rebuked and visited with reproaches; deemed volatile and indeed by most people blind as well, wayward, inconstant, uncertain, fickle in her favors and favoring the unworthy. . . . We are so much at the mercy of chance that Chance herself takes the place of god. (*Natural History* 2.22)

The belief in Fortuna persisted well into Renaissance Europe; she was often depicted with wings, bearing a rudder and wheel, symbolizing swiftly changing fortune.

CHANCE IN CHRISTIANITY AND RATIONALIST PHILOSOPHY. Christian views on chance vary somewhat. Whereas Augustine denied any possibility of chance or fortune in view of all-controlling providence (*City of God* 5.1), Aquinas admitted chance (*contingens*) within the providential scheme. Things "happen necessarily or contingently according to God's will" (*Summa theologiae* 1.19.8).

Spinoza spoke of chance "with reference to a deficiency in our knowledge [of the cause]" (*Ethics* 1.33.1); likewise, Laplace took it as the expression of "our ignorance as to the causes of phenomena." Hume declared that "there is no such thing as chance," but "our ignorance of the real cause of any event begets this sort of belief or opinion" (*Concerning Human Understanding* 6). Chance thus understood has merely a subjective reality. Leibniz, on the other hand, considered the world as "the whole assemblage of *contingent* things" that has its necessary and eternal substance (i.e., God) for its existence ("Essays on the Justice of God and the Freedom of Man in the Origin of Evil," 1.7); also he distinguished two kinds of truths and held that "truths of fact are contingent," while "truths of reasoning are necessary" (*Monadology* 33).

CHANCE AS SERENDIPITY. In opposition to the mechanical necessitarianists of the late nineteenth century, C. S. Peirce developed a philosophical position that he called "tychism." It preserves the necessary presence of chance (Gr., *tuchē)*, "a spontaneity which is to some degree regular," in the evolutionary process of the world, and this accounts for the individual specification (1923, pp. 200–201). Max Born, from the standpoint of quantum mechanics, likewise took chance to be mixed with "certain regularities," and nature to be "ruled by laws of cause and laws of chance." Distinguishing causality from determinism, Born incorporated chance into the consideration of causality, and thereby gave quantum mechanics indeterministic foundations (cf. Heisenberg's "principle of indeterminacy" or Niels Bohr's "principle of complementarity"). This indeterministic position was rejected by Einstein, who was convinced that God was not a "dice-playing God" (Born, pp. 3, 109, 122–123). The Nobel laureate biologist Jacques Monod declared that "chance alone is at the source of every innovation, of all creation in the biosphere" (p. 112). Objectors to this view hold that Monod's equation of "chance and man's freedom to choose his own ethical value" is erroneous (see MacKay, p. 31), or that "physico-chemical determinism" is not synonymous with the "absence of choice and freedom" (Schoffeniels, p. xix).

Not only the old question of divine providence, human freedom and chance, but the question of scientific discoveries and their philosophical implications occupy the contemporary mind. The current trend is in agreement with the worldview that is fast moving towards indeterminism, and chance, understood as serendipity, is considered instrumental in biological and other scientific discoveries and breakthroughs (see works by J. H. Austin and A. Kantorovich, for instance).

RADICAL CONTINGENCY: A BUDDHIST VIEW. The Buddhist doctrine of dependent co-origination (*pratītya-samutpāda*) may be interpreted as a theory of radical contingency. It holds that there are "no accidental occurrences" and that everything in the world is produced "causally conditioned." Buddhists deny any theory of creation by a transcendental agent or anything such as fate. Moreover, things, causally produced in this fashion, have no "self-nature" (*svabhāva*). This view diametrically opposed the determinism of the Indian materialists, the Ājīvikas, as well as the syncretic view of the theory of inner and outer causation held by Jains (see Kalupahana).

From a certain perspective, this Buddhist doctrine appears to be a deterministic view in that it asserts that everything is subject to the law of causation. But from a reverse perspective, the convergence of causal factors is thoroughly indeterminate; it rests on a radical contingence of various factors, both of the spatio-temporal and psycho-mental nature. Innumerable conditioning elements come together in the arising of a single event at each moment.

JUNG'S VIEW ON SYNCHRONICITY. C. G. Jung coined the term "synchronicity" to designate the phenomenon of the coincidence of events and subjective psychic states. It "takes the coincidence of events in space and time as meaning something more than mere chance, namely, a peculiar interdependence of objective events among themselves as well as with the subjective (psychic) states of the observer or observers" (1967, p. xxiv). Jung was inclined to value the "practical result of chance" more highly than the "theoretical considerations of cause and effect" (p. xxiii), and hence, "we must admit that there is something to be said for the immense importance of chance" (*ibid.*, p. xxiv).

DIVINATION. Belief in fortune opens the way for divination. Throughout the history of humankind, recourse to divination has been practiced in times of trouble or uncertainty. Divination was originally a means to obtain answers to questions that are insoluble by rational reasoning. A story is recorded in Plutarch of the successor to the throne of the Thessalian kingdom being chosen by casting lots at Delphi. In Shang China, divination originated in a human attempt to fathom the mind of the deity; during the Zhou period the art of divination was given philosophical foundation (see *The Book of Changes* or *Yijing*). In Japan well into the thirteenth century, shrine virgins known as *saigū*, who served at the most auspicious shrine of all, the Ise Shrine, were chosen from among eligible princesses by divination.

It appears that only later did divination come to be interpreted as dealing with chance or randomness. It is noteworthy in this connection that Apollo, the Greek god of knowledge, despised the uncertainty of the lot and handed over the divination dealing with the chances of the dice to Hermes, who thus became the gambler's god.

Belief in chance has a double role to play in the practice of divination—in the method (as the principle of randomness) and in the interpretation (as the principle of coincidence). A deterministic worldview that negates chance can nevertheless employ divination. For example, an African system of divination, Ifa, is based on the assumption that individuals basically cannot change their own destiny, but just as they can spoil it to a degree, so can the practice of Ifa improve it. Even Stoics, who were thoroughgoing determinists, eagerly sought knowledge of the future that fell outside the prediction of scientists, physicians, and other experts. The harmony between the human soul and the divine soul provided them with the basis for divination as a means of communication with God in order that human beings "might know the divine will in advance and obey it" (William A. Falconer, introduction to Cicero's *De divinatione*, Loeb ed., 1923, p. 216).

Like the widely practiced throwing of pebbles or stones for divinatory purposes, the method of the Chinese *yijing* divination consists in casting yarrow stalks (or coins) to yield randomly determined odd or even numbers. The philosophers of the later Song period maintained that this randomness was essential, for "some truths could only be sought by means of the random cast of the stalks and the evolution of the all-informing hexagram; this was achieved by means that were anything but systematic or responsive to reason" (Loewe, in Loewe and Blacker, p. 52).

Be it bibliomancy, a random opening of books such as the Bible, the Qurʾān, or Vergil's *Aeneid;* rhapsodomancy, which consists in writing out passages from books on separate slips and drawing one of them at random; or kledonomancy, appealing to a chance word overheard—all rest on randomness as the vehicle. (Incidentally, the Latin word for fate, *fatum*, comes from *for*, "to speak," "to say." *Fatum* is "what is said.") As chance is unknowable in essence, so does randomness, a form of chance, appear as an appropriate means to grasp the unknown. The mathematical doctrine of chance can be applied to calculating the outcome of random throwing of dice, for instance, but it does not replace the purpose of divination, which is to provide an answer to a question brought to it.

A skilled interpretation of such signs as those mentioned above is of central importance for divination and may be said to rely on the principle of coincidence or correspondence, according to which signs are somehow related to the human situation under consideration. It is assumed not only that there is a certain correspondence between the method of divination and the meaning obtained through it but that there is a correspondence between human affairs and the larger cosmic movement (as in, for example, *The Book of Changes*) or the divine will. "The casting of lots is familiar in the Old and New Testaments as a method of ascertaining divine will" (Halliday, p. 206; cf. *Jos.* 6:14, *Jon.* 1:17, *Acts* 1:26, *Prv.* 16:33), and a divinatory message was regarded as sacred and mysterious (*Prv.* 16:10).

MIRACLE. An extremely rare or unusual occurrence may be considered a miracle. Aquinas summarized the traditional Christian understanding of miracle as: "When anything is done outside the order of created nature by a power unknown to us, it is called a miracle as regards ourselves" (*Summa theologiae* 1.110.4.2). He argued that just as ignorance of the cause is the source of amazement, so also when the cause is completely hidden, as God is, a thing is wondrous in an unqualified way, and this is a miracle—"what is of itself filled with admirable wonder" (*Summa contra gentiles* 3.101; cf. Augustine, *City of God* 21.8). For Hume, who denied chance, a miracle is "a violation of the laws of nature" supported by human testimony and sustained by belief (*Concerning Human Understanding* 10). Over against the Humean interpretation, Peirce found Butler's position that "the order of nature is a law to the doctrine of miracles" to affirm miracles and to be "in consonance with the higher teachings of modern science" ("Hume on Miracles," *Collected Papers* 6.546–547). Contemporary theists argue that a "dynamically stable world," which embraces chance, affords the possibility of miracles.

CHANCE AND THE UNKNOWN. Chance events, beyond human ratiocination and calculations, disclose the radical uncertainty present at the heart of reality. The interpretation of chance depends on whether one's worldview is religious or nonreligious. The fundamental unknowability of events—their mystery—can inspire awe. The religious mind has perceived in chance something sacred or a manifestation of the divine will. Some have placed chance within the governance of divine providence. Others reject it in deference to the same divine providence, arguing that what happens has already been determined by the transcendent scheme. Hence a seemingly chance occurrence, either fortunate or unfortunate, takes on the meaning of fate. In contrast, chance seen as pointing out the utter indeterminateness of things would signify the presence of free will. From a strictly fatalistic point of view, of course, there is no room for chance, for everything is already predetermined prior to the occurrence of events, and everything is already fated. Chance and fate—these initially contradictory notions are but two counter-interpretations of the experience of unexpected coincidence or happenings that seem arbitrary but nevertheless have a decisive impact on one's life and in some cases totally change it.

SEE ALSO Divination; Fate; Gambling; Miracles; Pratītya-samutpāda.

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CHANG CHÜEG SEE ZHANG JUE

CHANG HSÜEH-CH'ENG SEE ZHANG XUECHENG

CHANG LU SEE ZHANG LU

CHANG TAO-LING SEE ZHANG DAOLING

CHANG TSA SEE ZHANG ZAI

CHANNING, WILLIAM ELLERY, American Unitarian minister. Channing was born on April 7, 1780 in Newport, Rhode Island, of a distinguished family. He entered Harvard College in 1794, graduated in 1798, and was elected a regent of Harvard in 1801. He began his lifelong ministry at Boston's Federal Street Congregational Church in 1803. Channing defended the liberal Congregationalist ministers in 1815 against an attack in *The Panoplist* by Jedidiah Morse, who accused them of covertly holding the views of the English Unitarian Thomas Belsham, who held that Christ was strictly human in nature, with human imperfections. Channing replied that the liberals were Arians and hence believed that Christ's character included intellectual, ethical, and emotional perfection. Thrust into prominence by this defense, Channing was asked to prepare a manifesto for the liberals, which he did in "Unitarian Christianity," his 1819 ordination sermon for Jared Sparks in Baltimore. This sermon unified the liberals around Channing's leadership; yet when the American Unitarian Association was organized in 1825, he refused the office of president, because he did not want Unitarianism to become a sect.

Channing was the outstanding representative of early American Unitarian theology in the period prior to the Transcendentalist controversy. He emphasized the authority of reason and revelation, the unique and infallible authority of Jesus, human educability to a Christlike perfection, and human essential similarity to God. His thought includes a modified Lockean philosophy, an Arian Christology, and an optimistic view of human nature.

John Locke's influence is present in Channing's arguments for the rational character of revealed religion and his emphases on miracles and fulfilled prophecies as evidences for the truth of Christianity. In his 1819 sermon "Unitarian Christianity," he called for a careful use of reason in interpreting scripture. Channing held that reason judges even the claim of a revelation to authority. Reason approves the claim of the Christian scriptures to authority. Rationally interpreted, these scriptures yield the doctrines of the unipersonality and moral perfection of God.

Channing modified his Lockean epistemology when he became acquainted with the Scottish common-sense philosophy of Thomas Reid, Adam Ferguson, and Francis Hutcheson. In his opinion, Richard Price corrected Hutcheson's thought in a way that more effectively met the arguments of David Hume, thus making room for new ideas other than those derived from sensation and reflection. Disagreements exist, however, about the extent to which Channing's later thought became more akin to that of the Transcendentalists.

Channing's Arian Christology and his optimistic view of human nature were closely related. He viewed Christ as morally perfect. He based his Christology on scriptural evidences of Christ's perfection and his own belief in the freedom of the will. Christ exemplified the perfection to which others can attain. In order to account for Christ's flawless moral perfection, Channing inferred from it Christ's preexistence; yet he maintained that others should aspire to, and can achieve, a similar perfection.

Channing advocated prison reform and opposed alcoholism and other social evils, but he was reluctant to speak out openly against slavery. He acknowledged the fairness of rebukes for his silence. In 1835 he published *Slavery*, which had a marked effect in arousing public opinion against the slave system; thereafter his outspoken opposition to slavery cost him friends and support. His writings during this period show that his optimism and his rejection of the doctrine of depravity in no way blinded him to the reality of sin.

Channing's essays made him famous on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. These, along with his sermons, lectures, and *Slavery*, were translated into German, French, Hungarian, and other languages. Channing became ill on a vacation trip and died at Bennington, Vermont, on October 2, 1842.

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JOHN C. GODBEY (1987)

CHANTEPIE DE LA SAUSSAYE, P. D. (1848–1920), Dutch theologian, philosopher, and historian of religions. Pierre Daniël Chantepie de la Saussaye, who was of Huguenot descent, studied theology at the University of Utrecht, where he obtained his doctorate in 1871. After a short stay in Bonn and Tübingen, where he worked with J. T. Beck, he served as a minister in the Dutch Reformed church (1872–1878). In 1878 he was appointed to the new Chair of the History of Religions in the faculty of theology at the University of Amsterdam. There he stayed until 1899, when he was appointed to the Chair of Theological Encyclopaedia, Doctrine of God, and Ethics in the faculty of theology at the University of Leiden, a post that he held until his retirement in 1916. Chantepie de la Saussaye was one of the representatives of the movement in Dutch Protestantism called "ethical theology," which stressed the value of religion both as a reality of the heart and as an existential datum with ethical implications.

Chantepie de la Saussaye defended the autonomy of the new science of religion, but he was always sensitive to its presuppositions and limitations. He had no knowledge of Asian languages; his own historical research concentrated on Old Germanic religion. After his appointment in Leiden, he practically left the field of history of religions and paid attention thereafter primarily to questions of faith and ethics. Among his students in Leiden, Gerardus van der Leeuw seems to have been the most sensitive to what Chantepie de la Saussaye saw as the direction that science of religion in a theological faculty should take.

Chantepie de la Saussaye's major work, the two-volume *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* (1887–1889; translated as *Manual of the Science of Religion,* 1891), is a handbook of the science of religion in a broad sense. As one of the first of such works, it is one of the discipline's great historical documents, and it deserves close attention. In its first edition the *Lehrbuch* was divided into four sections: an introduction followed by phenomenological, ethnographical, and historical parts. In the introductory section Chantepie de la Saussaye, distancing himself from the philosophical systems and general reductive theories of religion current at the time, discusses the new science of religion. He ascribes its rise to the discovery of many new source materials for ancient religions; to the fact that world history can now be described as an entity; and in particular to the modern philosophical view of religion as one whole. Over against theological distinctions, he asserts, modern philosophy recognizes "the unity of religion in the variety of its forms" and considers religion as a single phenomenon subject to "philosophical knowledge." Significantly, he pays tribute here to G. W. F. Hegel, who distinguished "the various modes for studying religion (metaphysical, psychological and historical) and made us see the harmony between the idea and the realization of religion." For Chantepie de la Saussaye the empirical science of religion is distilled, so to speak, from philosophy of religion as Hegel conceived it.

Chantepie de la Saussaye distinguishes more sharply than Hegel, however, between philosophy and history of religion, and between the "essence" and "manifestations" of religion: whereas philosophy of religion is concerned with the "essence" of religion, history of religion as an empirical discipline studies its "manifestations." History of religion is subdivided into an ethnographical section treating peoples "without history," and a much larger section treating the religions of peoples with written documents.

As for philosophy of religion, it treats religion in both its subjective and its objective aspects, and consequently consists of what Chantepie de la Saussaye calls a "psychological" and a "metaphysical" part. Metaphysical philosophy of religion stresses God's objective speaking in nature and life, whereas psychological philosophy of religion stresses the human's subjective reaching out to God. For Chantepie de la Saussaye, as for C. P. Tiele and van der Leeuw, "psychological" denotes not so much an empirical, verifiable reality as a philosophical category indicating the subjective side of human experience. It is important to see how large Hegel still looms in the background of Chantepie de la Saussaye's thinking on religion and consequently his phenomenology.

The *Lehrbuch* was an important contribution to the new science of religion in another respect, too. The phenomenology of religion contained in its second section was the first of its kind and drew largely on Hegel; it was published in 1887 before the work of Franz Brentano and Edmund Husserl, who were to conceive of phenomenology in a totally different way. Appropriately, given the clear distinction that Chantepie de la Saussaye made between philosophy and history of religion—he viewed the latter as an empirical discipline—he conceived of phenomenology as a discipline mediating between history on one hand and philosophy on the other. Its task was to collect and classify the various religious phenomena, and to establish the meaning of the different classes of phenomena.

At the very beginning of the phenomenological section of the *Lehrbuch,* Chantepie de la Saussaye points out that a phenomenology of religious forms deals with facts of human consciousness; that these outward forms of religion can be understood only on the basis of "inward processes"; and that it is their particular "inward relation" that distinguishes religious from nonreligious acts, ideas, and sentiments. Consequently, phenomenology of religion was in principle closely connected with psychology. This was the line taken by his pupil Gerardus van der Leeuw, who was to develop explicitly this psychological-phenomenological research of religion.

Chantepie de la Saussaye himself does not go so far, treating only the forms and not the contents of religious consciousness. Already in his dissertation of 1871 he had considered religion as a kind of species comprising a number of different forms. To develop a classification of these forms, he distinguishes three sectors in religion—cult, doctrine, and religious feeling, of which the first is the most stable sector and the last is practically limited to the present. The *Lehrbuch*'s phenomenological section describes (1) objects of worship, religious acting, sacred persons, religious communities, and sacred writings and (2) religious thinking (myth and doctrine). Religious feeling does not receive separate treatment.

It has often been noted that this phenomenological section was entirely dropped in the second edition of the *Manual.* Chantepie de la Saussaye explained that in his view this section had to be either considerably enlarged or omitted. He chose to omit it for reasons of space, and also because phenomenology constituted a border discipline between history and philosophy requiring separate treatment in a new book. Unfortunately—and significantly—this book never appeared. It was his pupil van der Leeuw who worked in this direction and developed phenomenology of religion as a special branch of the study of religion.

In point of fact, Chantepie de la Saussaye's wish to develop a phenomenology of religion as a special field between history and philosophy—between empirical facts and systematic thought—did not achieve much more than an outward classification and systematization of religious forms. This he did on the basis of the Hegelian legacy, with its distinction between the essence and the manifestations of religion. His phenomenology—which was quite independent of the phenomenological movement started by Franz Brentano, Edmund Husserl, and others—was a very formal discipline relegating the problem of religious meaning mainly to philosophy or to the scholar's intuition, or, worse, to the scholar's personal religious views and convictions.

SEE ALSO Leeuw, Gerardus van der; Phenomenology of Religion.

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CHANTING. Many scholars trace chanting to the earliest stages of human development, a time when speech was presumably not differentiated from chant. Even today Saami (Lapp) women in Finland, Jewish women in Morocco, and Santali women in Bihar, India, unconsciously replace sobbing with chanting while lamenting their dead. Australian Aborigines, when excited, break into a torrent of words governed by rhythms and cadences resembling chant. Hungarian dirges and some Khanty (Ostiak) and Mansi (Vogul) tribal melodies of Siberia consist of sung declamations, while the Zulu, Yoruba, Igbo, and Bantu-speaking peoples possess real "melody languages." Contemporary shamans and medicine men on several continents are known to chant sacred rites in a secret language, often invented by themselves. Furthermore, not only American Indian Navajos, African Khoi, and Liberian Jabos use tone levels in their speech: contemporary Burmese, Siamese, Annamese (Vietnam), and Chinese recognize two to nine different tone levels in their languages. The ancient Chinese even distinguished whole families and clans by musical signs conferred upon them by tradition.

Close observation of ordinary conversation in any culture shows that musical intervals recur in the simplest of sentences. A middle pitch is usually maintained, and emphatic words, clauses, and conclusions are indicated by change of pitch. When a speaker addresses an audience, the pitches become more pronounced, and a "melody of speech" emerges. It is reported that the Greek orator Demosthenes (fourth to third century BCE) employed an assistant to blow a whistle (*tonorion*) during his speeches to remind him of certain pitch levels. Cicero and Gellius (author of *Noctes Atticae*) wrote that some classical authors memorized and performed their speeches with the aid of a flute player to insure the right intonation of the melodic line. Isocrates (436–338 BCE), the Athenian orator and teacher, insisted that the perfect oration was really a musical composition. It is therefore entirely possible that formalized chanting and cantillation of holy scriptures were derived from "singing to speech."

The modern definitions of chant (from Latin *cantare,* "to sing, to intone") and cantillation (from Latin *cantillare,* "to sing low, to hum") apply to the recitation of sacred writings with musical tones, usually improvised, as in synagogues, churches, mosques, and Asian temples. Chant in all these liturgies is usually monophonic, unaccompanied, and in so-called free rhythm, which results from the recitation of prose texts. The term *chant* applies in particular to the liturgical melodies of the Jewish and Samaritan synagogues, and to the Byzantine, Russian, Armenian, Syrian, Ambrosian, Gallican, Mozarabic, and Roman churches. The latter is better known as Gregorian chant and plainsong. *Chant* also refers to the traditional method of singing psalms and canticles in the daily offices of the Roman and Anglican churches. Chanted also are the Islamic Qurʾān, the Indian Vedas, and Buddhist scriptures.

HEBREW CHANT. The term *cantillation* applies primarily to the recitation of the Hebrew Bible by Jews and Samaritans. Cantillation of the Bible on special occasions is already attested to in *Deuteronomy* 31:12, *2 Kings* 22:1–13, and *Nehemiah* 8:1–8. But regular biblical readings were established only in the fifth century BCE, when Ezra the Scribe chanted from the Law in the Jerusalem Temple twice a week on market days to all the people assembled there. This is the earliest evidence of regular biblical recitation in public. Since the reader had to amplify his voice in order to be heard, his unconscious chanting established the first biblical cantillation.

Cantillation gave particular expression to word meaning (accent) and phrasing (syntax). The importance of melody was prescribed in no uncertain terms by the Talmud (*Meg.* 32a), where Yoḥanan (second century) says, "He who reads [the Bible] without a melody and studies without a tune is referred to by the verse 'Wherefore I gave him statutes that are not good . . .' (*Ez.* 20:35)." The melody was logogenic, or word-bound; in other words, the interpolation of extraneous syllables or words into the text was forbidden. Cantillation was not a prominent practice in the Jerusalem Temple but in the course of time became the most important part of the synagogue service. The Jews preserved biblical cantillation in oral tradition for at least one thousand years (fifth century BCE to fifth century CE).

Melodic patterns or motifs were indicated by a system of finger and hand movements called cheironomy (from Greek *cheir*, "hand"), a practice depicted by Sumerians and Egyptians on bas-reliefs and in tombs in the fourth and third millennium BCE. These gestures were intended to refresh the memory of those who had previously learned the melodies by ear. Cheironomy remained in use until the seventeenth century in Greek monasteries, although modern musical notation was available. Hindus and Jews employ cheironomic signs even today, and various systems have been developed by different groups.

The first cheironomic signs were simple: the rise of the melody was signaled by an upward stroke of the hand (/), the fall by a downward stroke of the hand (\), and the rise and the fall on a single syllable by the junction of the two signs (/\). Various combinations of these basic symbols followed. It was musical notation written on the air.

When Hebrew ceased to be a living language, the Masoretes, transmitters of the biblical tradition, devised written symbols to safeguard the proper pronunciation, phrasing, and melodies of biblical Hebrew. The task took five centuries to complete (fifth to tenth century CE). The Masoretes transferred the cheironomic signs from the air to parchment and paper. It must be noted that other cultures employed similar symbols for similar purposes; indeed, scholars disagree as to which culture was the first to transfer hand movements form the air to parchment. Greece, India, the Middle East, and Europe have all been suggested. But the symbols are so elementary that any culture could have invented them independently without outside influence.

These first ekphonetic signs (from Greek *ekphōnēsis*, "pronunciation") were later refined, became more complicated, and gave way to neumes (from Greek *neuma*, "nod, sign"). By combining and recombining ekphonetic signs a variety of melodic motifs were created and became neumes. The major difference between ekphonetic signs and neumes is that ekphonetic signs indicate not a freely invented melody but a succession of fixed melodic formulas. Sometimes ekphonetic signs occurred only in the beginning and end of a phrase, as in Samaritan biblical changing or psalmtones of Gregorian chant.

The *ṭaʿamei ha-miqraʾ*, the Hebrew accents, were invented by grammarians, and many scholars believed in the past that their sole purpose was grammatical. Jews call the oral renditions, the vocal utterances of the biblical text, "cantillation," while the written symbols are called "accentuation." Three different systems of accentuation were developed by the Masoretes. The Palestinian system consisted almost entirely of dots and numbered only ten basic accents. The Babylonian system consisted predominantly of letters positioned above the word (supralinear). Each letter represented the initial of a musical term, such as *z* for *zarqaʾ* or *t* for *tibra* (*yetib*). This system became very popular in the Middle East and was employed, for example, by the Yemenite Jews until they emigrated to Israel in 1948. The Tiberian system of twenty-eight accents, universally in use today, consists of a combination of dots and other symbols.

The accents were provided for the books of the Bible that were read in public, namely: the Pentateuch, the Prophets, *Esther*, *Lamentations*, *Ruth*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Song of Songs*, *Psalms*, and in some communities *Job* and *Proverbs*. While the Hebrew accents are identical in all the Jewish Bibles of the world, their musical interpretation differs from place to place. The reason for this phenomenon is the indefinite nature of nondiastematic ekphonetic signs, which do not indicate musical intervals or pitches. Hebrew accents never developed an exact pitch notation, unlike the neumes of medieval European churches, which employed signs for single notes as well as for groups of notes.

Four accents in the oral traditions of Babylonian and Yemenite Jews can be compared. Neither interval structures nor directions of the melodies agree. This extreme divergence in cantillation motifs was caused by the total isolation of Yemenite Jews. Whereas written communication with Babylonia or Egypt existed, personal encounters were extremely rare. Thus an exchange or transmission of oral musical tradition was curtailed. By contrast, large areas of North Africa, northern Arabia, Persia, and Central Asia (Bukhara) as well as the Mediterranean show similarities in biblical cantillation. Furthermore, these cantillations seem closely related to the Babylonian type discussed previously.

The eastern European types of cantillation practiced by Polish, Lithuanian, Hungarian, and Russian Jews are related. These are, however, unrelated to German, Italian, French, or Sephardic (Spanish-Portuguese) cantillations: the latter four are also not related to one another. How is it, then, that Hebrew cantillation is instantly recognizable anywhere in the world? The reasons are unvarying text (Hebrew) and the ekphonetic symbols that are prescribed for every word of the sentence and have a syntactical as well as a musical function. They provide a solid structural basis for cantillation.

In addition to biblical cantillation, Jews recognize formalized chanting without ekphonetic symbols, namely that employed in blessings, certain prayers in the synagogue and at home, the study of Mishnah, the study of the *gemaraʾ*, and the study of the Zohar. In addition, Yemenite Jews recite from the Aramaic translation of the Bible on the Sabbath and on holidays in the synagogue. It is worth nothing that the Yemenite Jews are the only ones to perpetuate this Second Temple tradition and translate every Hebrew sentence into the Aramaic vernacular of the time.

Chanting in all these cases is based on a melody that consists of an opening motif (*initium*), followed by an undifferentiated two-tone motif (*tenor*) and a final cadence (*finalis*). The melody varies in length according to the number of words in the sentence, but the melodic motifs do not vary.

A. Z. Idelsohn (1921–1922) demonstrates the similarity of Yemenite Jewish cantillation and Gregorian chant, showing their common origins, perhaps from Temple times. In Eastern melodies the formulas are less rigid than those of Gregorian psalmody. In Byzantine melodies the same formulas can be used at the beginning, the middle, or the end of a chant.

The Samaritans cantillate the Hebrew Bible according to *sidraʾ miqrataʾ* (the Aramaic form of the Hebrew *seder ha-miqraʾ*), nondiastematic ekphonetic symbols. There are ten in number, but only three basic ones are remembered (see Spector, 1965, pp. 146–147): *arkenu-enged* (has the function of a colon), *afsaq* (full stop), and *anau* (pause, with the function of a semicolon). The Samaritan high priest Amran ben Ishaq still practiced the dynamic interpretations of *shayalaʾ* (question), *zʿiqa* (shouting), and *baʿu* (suppliation) and sang them into a tape recorder for posterity (recorded 1951–1953).

Of ten extant cantillation styles, two are most prominent. The *logogenic*, or word-bound style, does not permit the inclusion of extraneous syllables or words. It was originally practiced by priests only and forbidden to the laity. It was intervallically stepwise, syllabic, and without ornamentation of the melody. The *pathogenic-melogenic* style, derived from passionate emotion and melody, permits the interpolation of extraneous nonsense syllables into the text if the text is shorter than the melody. It is particularly effective in the public reading of the Decalogue on the Festival of Shavuʿot. In this recitation the melody often overshadows the text. The nonsense syllables are "*ee-no-a*."

BYZANTIUM. Scholars apply the term *Byzantine music* to Eastern ecclesiastical chant sung in Greek. In spite of the language it is maintained that this music was not a continuation of ancient Greek music but contained Near Eastern musical elements. (The Hellenized Near East was part of the Byzantine empire.)

Byzantine ecclesiastical music, like Near Eastern music, was entirely vocal, monophonic, unaccompanied, and devoid of meter. The use of organs and other musical instruments was forbidden inside the churches, similar to the prohibition in synagogues and (later) mosques. The liturgical books intended for chanting of lessons were performed in ekphonetic style, midway between recitation and singing. On solemn occasions actual singing replaced the cantillation. For training Christian congregations in singing, Jewish readers and precentors from synagogues were chosen who had previously converted to Christianity. Especially trained for the office, they made it possible to introduce into Christian worship not only chanting but also antiphonal singing, particularly psalms for solo voice with congregational responses. Performances varied from simple recitation to elaborate cantillation. The musical structure of the psalm melody consisted of (1) an initial clausula (*initium*), leading to the note on which the verse is chanted, (2) a repeated or slightly changed note of the recitation (*tenor*), (3) an occasional *mediant*, or half clause, and (4) the *finalis*, a cadence marking the end of the verse. In Eastern melodies the formulas are less rigid than those of Gregorian psalmody. In Byzantine melodies the same formulas can be used at the beginning, the middle, or the end of a chant.

The rise of the Kontakion is closely associated with the name of Romanus, who was a Jew by birth (d. 555 CE). Born in Syria, he became deacon of the Christian church in Phoenicia and went to Constantinople. He was culturally a Near Eastern musician-priest. It is reported that Romanus composed more than one thousand Kontakia. The first part of a monostrophic hymn in his honor has been preserved; it was sung on the first day of October, when the Byzantine church celebrates the Feast of Saint Romanus.

GREGORIAN CHANT. Gregorian chant is the traditional music of the Roman Catholic Church. Scholars maintain that it is rooted, like the music of the Byzantine church, in the pre-Christian service of the Jews. It acquired distinctive characteristics in the third and fourth centuries and was fully developed by the seventh century. It deteriorated in the sixteenth century and was revived in the nineteenth.

Many Gregorian practices were taken from the synagogue. The hours of the daily office are modeled after the prayers of the Jews, beginning with the evening prayer after sunset. The *Book of Psalms*, already used in the Jerusalem Temple, was made even more prominent by the church. The terms *Alleluya* and *Amen* are Hebrew. The Sanctus of the Mass was derived from the Qiddush of the Jews, as demonstrated by Eric Werner (1946, p. 292). The melodies show stepwise movement. Melodic rises or falls of the intervals of a second and a third are common, but those of a fifth are rare. The melodies can be classified as syllabic (one note to a syllable), neumatic (two to five notes to a syllable), and melismatic (long, highly ornamented phrases). The chant consists of one melodic line with neither harmony nor polyphony to support it.

Similarities between Yemenite Jewish psalmody and the first Gregorian psalmtone can be shown. A. Z. Idelsohn (1921–1922) shows parallels between Babylonian, Persian, Yemenite, and Oriental Sephardic melodies of the Jews and Gregorian chant. Not only are the same motifs employed but similar modes as well. The mode, the Greek Dorian, an E-mode, is the Pentateuch mode of the Jews, and is in widespread use in Middle Eastern and Mediterranean countries.

ARMENIA. The Armenian ekphonetic signs and neumes called *khaz* have never been deciphered, although rich source materials from the ninth to the twelfth centuries exist in Armenian, European, and Israeli libraries and museums. Contemporary scholars (e.g., Robert Atajan, 1978) believe in an independent origin of the *khaz* and reject an earlier theory (see, for example, Fleischer, 1895–1904) that the Armenian *khaz* were derived from Greek neumes. The Armenian *khaz* consist of two independent systems, a prosodic system for recitation and a musical system for singing according to *khaz*. The Hebrew and Samaritan ekphonetic signs discussed previously have no such division: one system governs both prosody and melody.

The Armenian *khaz* numbers ten symbols, five prosodic (*thaw*, *sosk*, *aibatatz*, *entamna*, and *storat*) and five musical (*erkar*, *ssuch*, *shesht*, *olorak*, and *buth*). According to Robert Atajan, the prosodic *khaz* relate to the peculiarities of Armenian phonetic pronunciation and have no bearing on the music. Syntactic symbols in the prosodic system, however, are of particular significance in the musical structure of the sentence: *storaket* ("deep point") is a comma, *mitshaket* ("middle point") is a semicolon or colon, and *vertchaket* ("final point") is a period. The musical signs *erkar* and *ssuch* indicate a lengthening or shortening of tone duration. The other three, *shesht*, *olorak*, and *buth*, represent tone pitches or rather melodic formulas based on Armenian folk tunes.

Armenian musical notation was already mentioned in the fifth century CE by Kasar Parbezi in his *History of Armenia*, but no musical symbols were preserved. From the tenth to the twelfth centuries art and music flourished, and twenty-five neumes were developed to indicate pitch, volume, duration, tone color, ornamentation, syntax, and prosody. From 1400 to 1600, *khaz* notation went into decline; it was revived only in the nineteenth century by the music theorist Baba ("father") Hamparzum (born Hamparzum Limonjian) in Constantinople. In this new and simplified *khaz* notation a great number of liturgical chants and folksongs were written down by the musicologist Komitas and are thus preserved for future generations.

The Qurʾān. The chanting of the Qurʾān is regulated not by ekphonetic signs or neumes but by oral tradition, which varies from place to place. The word is paramount, and no ornamentation is permitted. Sudden stops within the Qurʾānic sentence are a special feature. The call to prayer varies from country to country. Syllabic, elaborate melismas are often incorporated.

INDIA. The Vedas (from Sanskrit *vid*, "to know, to understand"), the sacred texts of the Hindus, were probably composed by Aryan tribes who invaded India from the northwest around 1500 BCE. The sacred texts had been handed down in oral tradition with accents at least since the fourth century BCE, as reported by the grammarian Pāṇini, who presumably knew the living practice. The interpretation of the accents is by no means uniform. Pāṇini wrote: "A vowel pronounced in a high register is called *udātta*, a vowel pronounced in a low register is called *anudātta*, and the connection of both is called *svarita*." Some modern scholars maintain that *udātta* is a middle tone, higher than *anudātta*, and that *svarita* is higher than *udātta*. Only male members of the priestly *brahman* caste are eligible to recite the Vedas.

The Vedas were for hundreds of years handed down orally and not committed to writing, unlike the sacred books of the Jews, Christians, and Muslims. The Hindus relied on the spoken word for three thousand years, and even today the Vedas are recited from memory; every precaution is observed to avoid the smallest error, which, it is believed, may produce disaster. This belief is similar to the one held by the Jews of Yemen, who maintain that a mistake in the public reading of the Bible in the synagogue can cause the death of little children. To avoid catastrophe the precentor who commits an error has to repeat the entire verse in the synagogue.

As the Vedic language evolved into classical Sanskrit, the priests feared that the archaic language of the Vedas might become corrupt and the meaning of the texts forgotten. Consequently the Vedas were written down. The earliest surviving manuscripts date from the eleventh century.

Four compilations of the Vedas exist: (1) the *Ṛgveda*, the Veda of verses, contains more than 1,000 hymns; (2) the *Yajurveda*, the Veda of sacrificial sayings (*yajus*), contains verses and formulas dealing with sacrifices; (3) the *Sāmaveda*, the Veda of songs (*sāman*), contains verses of the *Ṛgveda* set to notated melodies for singer-priests; (4) the *Atharvaveda* is a collection of magical formulas and spells, little known today. The Vedas occur in two forms: the form in which they are recited for the purpose of preservation and transmission to students, and the form in which they are recited at sacrifice. Since large-scale sacrifices are infrequent today, little is known about the sacrificial form.

The *Ṛgveda* is recited to three tones: the "raised" (*udātta*), the not raised (*anudātta*), and the "sounded" (*svarita*). The *svarita* is marked with a perpendicular line over the syllable, the *anudātta* with a horizontal line beneath; the *udātta* and *pracaya* ("accumulated tone" following *svarita*) are unmarked. The *Yajurveda* is recited on the notes D, E, F or F.

The *Sāmaveda* is the most musical of all. It alters and expands the words of the *Ṛgveda* to make them suitable for chanting. The original text was often distorted by the insertion of meaningless words and syllables. The grammatical and prosodic specifications of the *Ṛgveda* have been given a musical meaning. The practitioners of the *Sāmaveda* believe that the *sāman* is a melody to which words were found, not the other way around. The three-tone nucleus (C–E) of the *Ṛgveda* and *Yajurveda* was extended both upward and downward by approximately semitone in each direction (B–F). The *Atharvaveda* does not seem to be recited according to set rules.

TIBET. Tibetan Buddhist chants are divided into *ʾdon*, recitation chants; *rta*, melodic chants; and *dbyaṅs*, tone contour chants. The general designation for the monastic chant repertoire is *ʾdon cha*. The recitation chants are stylized recitations that employ reiterating pitch and rhythmic patterns according to the words in the sentences.

Rta are melodic chants with distinctly patterned melodies. Unlike *ʾdon*, they are relatively independent of their texts; unlike *'don* they are considered melodic and musical. However, their performance is called "speaking." They are similar to melodies in Western and non-Tibetan performance traditions.

Dbyaṅs are tone contour chants and are considered the most beautiful chants used in Tibetan music. They are very slow, low-pitched, and most complex. In contradistinction to *'don* and *rta*, which are "spoken," the *dbyaṅs* are "intoned." They include changes in intonation, pitch, loudness, and (most remarkably) overtone mixtures, which are perceived as two or more pitches produced simultaneously by one singer. Unlike the simpler *'don* and *rta*, they are notated. The melodic contour is defined by thickening lines that indicate increasing loudness; rising lines indicate rising pitch, falling lines falling pitch; sharp angles indicate interruptions, breath pauses, and so forth. (All Western notations are by Ter Ellingson.)

SECULAR CHANT. Secular chanting is prominent in the epic poetry of many countries; thus it is used for the most dignified and elaborate form of narrative poetry dealing with heroic, legendary, and historical events as well as with the drama and romance of love. Epics are usually chanted by a single performer, but in some Asian countries contests between two rival performers are customary and may last several days. In ancient times the narrator of epics chanted without instrumental accompaniment. This custom survives in certain areas, for example Tibet and Kurdistan. (The Jews of Kurdistan have epics of their own, such as *David and Goliath* and the *Crossing of the Red Sea*, whose narratives are distinct from the biblical texts.) Contemporary performers, however, accompany themselves on a stringed instrument, preferably a violin (Persian, *kemanje*; Turkmen, *ghyjjak*) or a lute (Kirghiz, *kobuz*; Turkmen, *dutar*; Tajik and Uzbek, *dumbura*). Melodies are word-bound (logogenic), and the musical structure admits of little improvisation. The melodies tend to be predictable and repetitious.

Chant is usually defined as an intermediate stage between speaking and singing. Some writers call chant "elevated speech." Chant, however, can take many forms—from speaking on one tone (*Sprechgesang*) to singing in full voice, as in some churches. The melody is always word-bound and moves usually stepwise within intervals of fourths or fifths. Notation for chant developed from hand movements (cheironomy) to ekphonetic notation and neumes. Today, chant is written in contemporary musical notation.

SEE ALSO Music, article on Music and Religion in Japan; Tilawah.

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JOHANNA SPECTOR (1987)
Revised Bibliography

CHAOS, in the history of religions, refers primarily to the primordial condition, precosmic period, or personified being found in many oral and literary mythologies. It is commonly, although not always legitimately, taken to mean the horribly confused state, muddled matrix, vacuous condition, or monstrous creature preceding the foundation of an organized world system. By extension, the idea of chaos in myth and ritual may also apply to any anomalous condition, event, or entity outside conventionally sanctioned codes of order. The meaning and significance of chaos in world mythology has, moreover, a special thematic relationship with the idea of the beginnings of the world, or of any structured condition. The word *beginning* is, in fact, etymologically connected with the Old English *on-ginnan* and the Old Norse *gina*, in both of which lurks the mythological image of the cosmogonic Ginnungagap, the primordial void that spawned the giant Ymir (the Primordial Man) in ancient Norse tradition. From a cross-cultural perspective, the image of chaos is therefore especially prominent in cosmogonic and anthropogonic myths, as well as in many types of origin myths and passage rituals concerned with some transitional situation in human life or with some significantly altered state of affairs, whether for well or ill. Chaos appears, for example, within the context of the condition of death or the dream time of sleep, flood mythology, apocalyptic imagery in general, or foundational legends and rites pertaining to a new sociopolitical tradition.

The English word *chaos* derives directly from the Greek *chaos*, which in Hesiod's *Theogony* (c. eighth century BCE) denoted a cosmogonic "yawning gap, chasm, or void," from which generated the successive worlds of the gods and mankind. Hesiod, who drew upon earlier mythological sources, rather neutrally depicted the original chaos as merely the empty, dark space that allowed for the penetrating movement of erotic desire and for the appearance of Earth (Gaia) as the secure home for all subsequent created forms and beings. But the *Theogony* also displays the mythological premise for a more negative evaluation of chaos, since the earliest generations of Titanic gods, most closely identified with the untrammeled passion and anarachy of the primitive chaos condition, must be violently defeated by Zeus to insure the permanence and universality of the Olympian order. The primal chaos is itself only the blind abyss necessary for the creation of the physical world, but *chaos* here also refers to the mythic period—and, by implication, to a kind of "chaos-order" or condition—of the pre-Olympian gods who struggle against the imposition of Zeus's all-encompassing rule.

Because of their general impact on the colorations of meaning popularly conjured up by the modern use of the term *chaos*, it is worth citing two other ancient Western documents. In the priestly tale of *Genesis* (c. fourth century BCE) found in the Hebrew scriptures, chaos is reduplicatively called *tohu va-vohu*, a dark, watery, formless waste or "limbo-akimbo" that must be wrested into order by the willful fiat of a god completely separate from the stuff of creation. In a somewhat similiar vein, although more somberly stressing a hostile jumble of primal matter over blank vacuity, Ovid (43 BCE–18 CE), in his poetic compendium of mythology known as the *Metamorphosis*, describes chaos as "all ruse and lumpy matter . . . in whose confusion discordant atoms warred." As in the biblical version, Ovid's creation requires a nameless god, or "Kindlier Nature," who brings order out of the formless chaos.

The above-mentioned accounts serve to exemplify the commonplace tendency to dichotomize the meaning of existence into the negative-positive polarities of chaos and cosmos, confusion and order, death and life, evil and good, or, more theologically, into some dualistic distinction between the absolutely sacred and creative being of a transcendent "kindlier" God, on the one hand, and the utterly profane nothingness and nonbeing of a passively neutral or actively belligerent chaos. Clearly, these distinctions have both ontological and moral implications, so that it may also be said that the polarized evaluation of the mythic chaos is the backdrop for the theological and philosophical elaborations on such problems as *creatio ex nihilo* and theodicy. Indeed, the overall issue here directly affects the modern academic understanding of religion, since a whole tradition of Western scholarship defines religion as the contrast between the sacred and the profane, or, to use Peter Berger's more straightforward sociological formulation, as the "establishment through human activity of . . . a sacred cosmos that will be capable of maintaining itself in the ever-present face of chaos" (*The Sacred Canopy*, New York, 1967, p. 51).

A comparative assessment of world mythology shows, however, that such pat divisions are not always warranted, so that, for instance, the apparently fundamental contrast between chaos and cosmos may reveal more of a dialectical relationship. This ambivalence is at least suggested by the observation that the Greek root of the term *kosmos* does not so much refer to the creation of an absolute, universal, and final world order (although with Pythagoras in the sixth century BCE it will take on this sense as its basic meaning) as to the more relative and transitive idea of the "cosmetic" alteration of some more natural, plain, and primitive condition. *Cosmos* in this sense is the differentiated, deferential, and ornamental order; it is the painted and tattooed body of chaos—pretty and pleasing primarily to the eye of the beholder. One tradition's chaos, in other words, is another's cosmos, and vice versa. It depends on the vantage point, or, at least, on whether the original cosmogonic chaos is conceived advantageously. In the broadest sense, chaos stands for the root "otherness" and "strangeness" of existence and the ironic indeterminacy of all human constructs.

"Creation out of chaos," in like manner, may not just refer to the appearance of order and reality out of the void, but the creative possibility of many different orders and worlds. As the hidden sum of all potential *kosmoi*, chaos is intrinsically linked to the transformative nature of phenomenal and cultural existence. The tensed relationship of "chaos and cosmos," then, usually has sociopolitical as well as metaphysical implications, and this, it would seem, has much to do with the interpretation of chaos seen in particular myths and cultural traditions. This, of course, begs the question as to the ultimate premise of world construction, but it is exactly the fundamental existential puzzles of "something from nothing" and the interrelationship of unity and multiplicity, plenitude and limitation, that give rise to a moot diversity of possible answers and that are always addressed to some extent in chaos mythology.

IMAGES OF CHAOS. Any excessive or transitional aspect of the natural world (e.g., the untamed vegetation of a jungle, the blurring of light and dark at twilight, the frenzied winds of a storm, and so on) may be taken as a cipher for the mythological chaos; but, as already suggested by the biblical allusions, the most prevalent natural metaphor for chaos is water. Given water's infinite fluidity, its protoplasmic vitality, as well as its lethal and regenerative potencies, it is hardly surprising that images of a vast ocean, a turbulent sea, or some other murky, cloudy, frothy, and misty mixture of air and water is used in many myths to depict the original broth of creation.

Common also are references to the moist darkness and foggy gloom of the precosmic condition, along with various depictions of a swirling vortex or whirlpool that links the water imagery with the more abstract ideas of the abysmal void. Other traditions speak of a primal muddle of earth and water, as in the "earth diver" myths that tell of a fragment of muddy soil (often imagined as a central hillock or mountain) rescued from the depths by some animal god or sky deity. Both in tribal cultures and in ancient civilizations there are descriptions of a watery, labyrinthine underworld of the dead, and accounts of limitless seas and rivers surrounding and penetrating the inhabited world; these imply that the dark waters of creation continue to flow around, through, and beneath the hollows of the established cosmos. Finally, there are the worldwide myths of a great flood (or of excessive heat and drought) in the distant past or apocalyptic future that are clearly charged with the cosmogonic idea of a regression to an initial state of total solvency. In these myths, the twin potency of chaos comes to the fore, since the deluge is devastating to the existing world yet simultaneously establishes the necessary precondition for a new creation.

Another important category of chaos symbolism concerns the universal imagery of an embryonic condition or womblike form. This is especially exemplified in the so-called cosmic egg myths (along with the analogous myths involving a bloody lump of flesh or a creatively fertile yet "empty" vessel, such as a pot, sack, gourd, cocoon, or drum), that stress the preexistence of some ovarian matrix within which is mysteriously harbored the structured multiplicity of all cosmic forms. While they sometimes involve an external agent of creation responsible for the production and development of the cosmic zygote, these myths often emphasize the organic conjunction of cosmogonic unity and phenomenal duality as well as the spontaneous self-sufficiency of the creation. It is in this way that the undifferentiated unity and implicate order of the cosmic egg can be said to come before any divine chicken, or, in the words of Samuel Butler, "a hen is only an egg's way of making another egg."

Theriomorphic and anthropomorphic personifications of chaos are often imagined as the gigantic and misshapen offspring of the primal waters, embryonic condition, or dark void. Recalling Hesiod's portrait, such creatures represent the individualized embodiments of chaos within the differentiated world. The actions of these creatures, moreover, show that chaos has a "history" that continuously impinges upon human history. The primary denizens of the chaos time can be categorized as: (1) dragon-serpent figures, often having composite avian-aquatic features (e.g., Vṛtra in Vedic mythology); (2) animal or hybrid man-animal trickster figures (e.g., Raven and Crow in North American Indian tradition); (3) a female demoness, a terrible mother, or chaos hag who has associations with the primal waters and "mother earth" imagery (e.g., Tiamat in Babylonian myth); (4) cosmic giant figures who, while theoretically androgynous, are often more male than female (e.g., Pangu in Chinese tradition); and (5) an incestuous brother and sister couple or a set of divine twins of ambiguous sexuality (e.g., Izanagi and Izanami in Japanese mythology). All of these chaos creatures are particularly related to cosmogonic and other origin myths, are often combined within a single mythic tradition, and are frequently portrayed in rituals concerned with significant seasonal and social transitions (e.g., worldwide celebrations of the New Year). While they may be suppressed, hidden, and transformed in various ways, all of them have popular folkloric surrogates (e.g., the revenant, demon, witch, and fool) and continue their ambivalent careers at the margins of the human world.

The underlying logic that emerges from this rapid cross-cultural survey suggests that chaos is both prior to the world as its cosmogonic source and existentially interstitial to the world as its transformative ground. Because it lies before and between any single order, or always "in relation" to any explicit world, the religious meaning of chaos remains profoundly ambiguous. By its very nature, then, chaos can be variously imagined as simply before and other than, as negatively destructive of, or as creatively challenging to, some ordered world system. Given this queasy multivalence, it is also possible to see why in cultural history any single cosmological tradition will most often seek to deny the relativity of its own vision of order by officially upholding a predominantly negative image of chaos.

NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE EVALUATIONS. The negative evaluation of chaos commonly takes the form of a mythic and ritual scenario of combat, which was first delineated in relation to ancient Near Eastern and biblical materials. But this pattern is not restricted to the ancient Near East; it is clearly found in many diverse oral and literate traditions. While the combat pattern of myth displays many permutations depending on the particular cultural context, the basic plot is typified by the Babylonian *Enuma elish* (dating back, in part, to the second millennium BCE), which tells of the struggle between a chaos monster associated with the primal waters (i.e., the demoness Tiamat and her forces) and a triumphant sky deity responsible for some significant cultural innovation (the warrior god Marduk, who slays Tiamat, divides her carcass to form the world, and establishes the central temple and righteous rule of the city-state of Babylon).

In the *Enuma elish*, Tiamat and her monstrous cohorts represent the older, otiose generation of gods that resist the noisy, rambunctious creative activity of the younger gods championed by Marduk. From this perspective—and it is an interpretive judgment found in many other versions of the combat myth—chaos and its first generation of creatures refer to the impotency of a form that, in time, is drained of its initial creative energy. Tiamat, in other words, stands for the dangerous principle of entropy, the negative, polluting force that seeks to dissolve all new life forms back into the silent slumber and amniotic inertia of death.

The law of cosmic life in this sense is the organic rule of chaotic disintegration that is necessary for new life. Such a cyclic return to chaos may be delayed, but even the younger gods, as part of a cosmos connected by origins with the principle of chaos, are still ultimately subject to the cosmic weariness and senility first displayed by Tiamat. One way to resolve this dilemma, which is seen prominently in monotheistic traditions, is to discover the reality of a dualistic separation between chaos and an absolutely transcendent, wholly spiritual or divine order impervious to the inevitable temporal change and collapse of all cosmic forms. Monistic theories asserting the fundamental unreality or illusory nature of chaos/cosmos represent another strategy.

The combat pattern is also witnessed in many tribal traditions, although the intensity of the antagonistic relationship between chaos and the human order (and consequently the dualistic translation of this as the polarity between death and life, evil and good, demon and god) is ordinarily heightened within the context of the classical or historical religions. Thus, such traditions often suggest that ritual remembrances of the mythic skirmish primarily function to celebrate the victory over chaos and the heroic finality of some authoritarian order. There is an emphasis here on the permanent suppression of chaos, or at least a denial that the primordial enemy possesses any positive attributes. The problem, as previously indicated, is that chaos is never completely overcome in ordinary cosmic life, although for some religions a postmortem heavenly existence (as well as a climactic apocalyptic purification of the cosmos) can be interpreted as a final and total victory over chaos.

While it is true that festivals of licensed folly are found in both tribal and classical traditions, the former tend to accept more readily the instrinsic value and positive ambiguity of a periodic ritual return to a chaotic or "liminal" condition. The danger perceived by such peoples is not so much chaos in the sense of the end of order and life but rather the social entropy and tension of too much deadening order. Chaos in this "primitive" sense is the pivot of cosmic and social equilibrium, and refers to the ritual reappearance of unstructured freedom and sheer potentiality. To refresh life, chaos must be disciplined and periodically embraced, not simply defeated.

The contemporary American satirist Peter De Vries has perversely suggested that if "in de beginning was de void, and de void was vit God," then it is probably the case that one "mustn't say de naughty void" (*Blood of the Lamb*, Boston, 1962, p. 181). In like manner, even when an implacably vile and naughty chaos is portrayed—as in some versions of the combat myth—there is often the contradictory implication that the divine champions are finally congenerous with their primordial foes. The forces of chaos and the watery void are always, it seems, the enemies of righteous order yet originally and simultaneously "vit God."

Chaos, it must be said, is both naughty and nice, or to borrow appropriately enough from Rudolf Otto's classic definition of the sacred (*The Idea of the Holy*, [1917] 1958), chaos is both repulsive and attractive in its awful appeal to the religious imagination. Its repugnant aspects are clearly seen in the many worldwide adumbrations of the combat scenario, but it remains to indicate the somewhat more muted allure of chaos as a positive and beneficial religious principle. Thus, there are what might be called "pro-chaos" religious traditions that in different ways espouse chaos as a goal. Of these there are, in general, three—sometimes overlapping—possibilities: (1) chaos may symbolize the final attainment of, and fusion with, some perfectly unconditioned unity and bliss totally beyond cosmic existence—a "nothingness that glistens with plentitude" (E. M. Cioran, *The Temptation to Exist*, Chicago, 1968, p. 155); (2) chaos may be experienced as a stage, threshold, or "dark night of the soul" at the ultimate edge of cosmic reality that leads to a distinct and higher vision of the absolutely transcendent Divine; and (3) chaos may represent the experience of a more paradoxical state, or *coincidentia oppositorum*, merging transcendent unity and cosmic multiplicity and functioning not as an end, but as a healing way station for a more harmonious inner and social life.

Such options obviously relate to "mystical" forms of world religions, but it should be recalled that a positive attitude toward chaos was already forecast by tribal rituals that periodically welcomed a twilight zone back into the human fold. Because of this sympathy, mystical forms of religion (along with other types of shamanistic-ecstatic, individualistic, and revolutionary religious movements) often manifest a kind of "primitive" sentiment toward chaos that contrasts and challenges the more one-sidedly negative evaluations seen in institutionalized religion.

One instance of these contrasting interpretations within a single tradition is found in India, where some radical forms of Upanisadic, Buddhist, and *bhakti* mysticism seek a supreme integration with the sacred "emptiness" of chaos. These forms can, in turn, be distinguished from the dharmic system of rigidly differentiated castes seen in Vedic and Puranic Hinduism. Within Western tradition—and frequently in tension with mainstream Christian, Jewish, and Islamic institutions—there are also movements that stress the mystical conjugation of the divine and chaos. Conceptions arising from such movements include, in Christianity, the *Ungrund* (the "unground" or abyss that gives rise to God's self-consciousness), described by Jakob Boehme (1575–1624); the qabbalistic idea of *tsimtsum*, the creative "gap" within God, in sixteenth-century Judaism; and the alchemical *massa confusa* (the prime matter, often imagined as an egg or coiled snake) in both Christian and Islamic esoteric circles after the Renaissance. All allude in some degree to the mythological chaos as a strangely positive image.

There are other cases of this pro-chaos persuasion, but one of the more striking examples is found in Chinese tradition. In ancient China during the Eastern Zhou period (c. eighth through second centuries BCE) the mythological chaos was called *hundun*, which connoted the image of a Humpty-Dumpty-like, closed, embryonic condition or creature. Confucian thought and the ancient classics stressed the role of a succession of semidivine Sage-Kings who disciplined the chaotic forces of the natural world and carved the hierarchical order of the Middle Kingdom out of the carcass of the primitive condition of *hundun*. As a counterpoint to this point of view, the early Daoist texts suggest the existence of a veritable cult of chaos, since for these works the attainment of an authentically spontaneous and harmonious life required the rejection of conventional standards of propriety and recommended a return to an experience of primitive unity by means of the mystical "arts of *hundun*." Thus, in early Daoist texts (as distinct from the later institutionalized Daoist religion), the mythical *hundun* can be identified with the ultimate principle of the Dao as the rhythmic source and ground of life. Because of his periodic journeys in mind and heart back to the time of chaos, the Daoist mimics the seasonal regeneration of nature and the ritual regeneration of primitive cultural life and is able, therefore, to remain fresh and whole in the world.

Affirmations of the saving power of chaos have had a significant, although largely unorthodox, role to play in the history of religions; and, as broadly protesting all conventionalized truth, the cult and cultivation of chaos can be said to have inspired a whole spectrum of countercultural irruptions, "interstitial events," or "liminoid phenomena" throughout history. Because it rubs against the customary order of things, the religious, philosophical, artistic, and political "art of chaos" is always a risky enterprise, as indicated by the checkered careers of assorted Daoist mystics, Zen monks, holy fools, clownish alchemists, utopian Ranters, Romantic poets, Nietzschian nihilists, frenzied surrealists, neo-pagan anarchists, the Maoist "Gang of Four," and deconstructionist critics.

CONCLUSION. Perhaps the most responsible way to end an investigation of chaos is to refuse the temptation to parse a subject so hopelessly ironic. It is, after all, the principle of chaos that opens the abyss of indeterminacy and undecidability in all interpretive endeavors. Suffice it to say that, despite its decidedly negative public reputation, the image of chaos may be found in fact to have positive religious value. Even more important is the recognition that the idea of chaos represents one of the honored ways religions have tried to imagine the ambiguous origins and equivocal nature of existence. For this very reason the meaning of chaos in the history of religions maintains its imaginative integrity by remaining chaotic. Respecting the root topsy-turviness of chaos should not, however, prevent careful reflection on its imaginative history since, even in its most negative guise, the phantomlike shapes of chaos are directly related to the way particular religions have envisioned reality. The nature and significance of chaos, therefore, touches upon a number of issues that are central to the overall interpretive understanding and definition of religion.

SEE ALSO Cosmogony; Dragons; Egg; Water.

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For studies that examine the more positive and ambiguous dimensions of chaos symbolism, along with related imagery, see, for India, Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty's *Women, Androgynes, and Other Mythical Beasts* (Chicago and London, 1980) and, for the ancient Chinese theme of *hundun*, my own *Myth and Meaning in Early Taoism: The Theme of Chaos* (Berkeley and London, 1983). In addition to their primary subject areas, both of these works comparatively cite a broad range of cross-cultural materials. Finally it is worth noting, among other possibilities, William Willeford's *The Fool and His Scepter* (London, 1969) and Mircea Eliade's *Mephistopheles and the Androgyne: Studies in Religious Myth and Symbol* (New York, 1965). The former is a fascinating literary study of the folkloric and popular embodiments of chaos in the Western tradition of the fool or jester, and the latter is a rich comparative study of different symbolic themes touching on the religious ideas of duality and the "coincidence of opposites."

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CHAOS THEORY.

In the *Principia* (1687), Isaac Newton gave an account of mechanics formulated in terms of precise equations of motion. Given the initial conditions of a system, it was possible to predict completely its future behavior and to retrodict its past. Newton himself did not take a purely mechanical view of the world. There was the mysterious force of gravity, concerning whose origin and nature he declined to frame a hypothesis, and he also believed that the maintenance of the stability of the solar system would require occasional angelic intervention. Newton's eighteenth-century successors, however, had different opinions, and they celebrated the triumph of mechanical thinking. Julien de La Mettrie (1709–1751) wrote his book *Man the Machine* (1748), and Pierre-Simon de Laplace (1749–1827), in his great work on celestial mechanics, believed that he had established the natural stability of the solar system, so that appeal to the hypothesis of divine assistance in its preservation was no longer necessary.

The nineteenth-century development of field theories, inspired by the insights of Michael Faraday (1791–1867) and James Clerk Maxwell (1831–1879), did not essentially change the picture. The partial differential equations of a field theory are as deterministic in consequence as are the ordinary differential equations of Newtonian mechanics. Classical physics, as this whole body of theory is called, appeared to present the image of a clockwork universe, whose Creator could be no more than the Cosmic Clockmaker.

UNPREDICTABILITIES. Twentieth-century physics, however, saw the death of a merely mechanical understanding of the world. This came about through the discovery of widespread intrinsic unpredictabilities present in physical process, of a kind resulting from the way things actually are and not simply from deficiencies in experimental or calculational techniques. These unpredictabilities first manifested themselves in quantum theory's account of atomic and subatomic phenomena. In considering, for instance, the decay of a radioactive nucleus, scientists could do no more than assign a certain probability that such decay might occur in a given period of time. Newton's predictive style of reasoning had to be replaced by a purely probabilistic approach. Quantum effects, however, were only directly observable at the level of microscopic process, remote from the macroscopic experience of everyday reality. The latter was still the realm of classical physics.

In the 1960s many scientists began to realize that even classical physics was not as tame and controllable as had been supposed. There are certainly many systems that behave as if they were reliably predictable "clocks," but there are also other systems that behave like "clouds," that is to say their behavior is so sensitive to the fine detail of their circumstances that the slightest disturbance will radically alter their future behavior. One of the pioneers in making this discovery was the theoretical meteorologist Edward Lorenz (1917–). Lorenz had been studying certain equations that corresponded to a highly simplified model of a weather system. He determined that very slight changes in the input of initial conditions into his equations would totally change the character of their output predictions. This exquisite sensitivity to detail has come to be expressed through a serious scientific joke, the *butterfly effect*: the Earth's weather systems can be in so sensitive a state that a butterfly, stirring the air with its wings in the Amazonian jungle today, could produce effects that escalate until they result in a storm over New York City in about three weeks time! Obviously, according to this model, long-term weather forecasting is never going to work; future storms are intrinsically unpredictable because no one can know about all those butterflies.

Lorenz's surprising discovery had been anticipated by the French mathematician, Jules-Henri Poincaré (1854–1912). In 1889 he published a study of the gravitational three-body problem in which he showed that it did not always possess smoothly predictable solutions of the kind that Laplace had assumed.

CHAOS THEORY. The analysis of the sensitive and unpredictable behavior of various systems has been called chaos theory. Typically its occurrence is found to arise from equations that have the properties of reflexivity (they turn back upon themselves) and nonlinearity (doubling the input does not double the output, but it changes it in a much more radical way). In principle, the equations are exactly deterministic, in the sense that an absolutely precise input will yield an absolutely precise output, but in practice, because in the real world no initial conditions can be known with arbitrary accuracy, unpredictability results from the uncontrollable effects of residual ignorance. *Deterministic chaos*, as it is often called, gives rise to apparently random behavior.

In fact, the term *chaos* was somewhat ill chosen. Systems of this kind exhibit a kind of interlacing of order and disorder, which can best be illustrated by the case of dissipative systems that feature a degree of friction acting in the process. In this case, the future behavior is not totally haphazard; rather, its possibilities are contained within an extensive though limited portfolio of options called a *strange attractor*. The word "attractor" expresses the system's rapid convergence onto this range of possibilities, and "strange" refers to the mathematically intricate shape of this form of possibility. It turns out that the latter is characterized by fractal geometry, a "jagged" range of possibilities in striking contrast to the smoothly varying expectations of conventional classical physics. A fractal presents a pattern that appears essentially the same on whatever scale it is sampled—one might think of them as saw-teeth, themselves saw-toothed; the pattern continues to infinity. The interlacing of order and disorder in chaos theory connects with an important scientific insight. It has come to be recognized that the emergence of novelty requires a state of affairs that can be characterized as being "at the edge of chaos." To be too much on the orderly side of that border would correspond to a situation possessing a degree of rigidity that permitted only rearrangements to occur but did not allow the emergence of genuine novelty. On the other hand, to be too far on the haphazard side of the border would correspond to a situation so unstable that no novelty could persist. Fruitfulness requires a subtle balance between order and openness.

METAPHYSICS. The unpredictability in chaos theory is an epistemological property, telling us that we cannot know beforehand what the future behavior of a chaotic system will prove to be. There is no inescapable connection between epistemology (what we know) and ontology (what is the case). No logical entailment links the two together. Instead, the relationship is a matter for metaphysical decision (and so, for philosophical argument).

Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) maintained that the appearances of phenomena are no guide to the nature of noumena, or the character of things in themselves. On the other hand, most scientists, either consciously or unconsciously, assume a realist position, believing that scientific knowledge gives access to the nature of the physical world.

In the case of the intrinsic unpredictabilities of quantum theory, almost all physicists have adopted a realistic interpretation of phenomena. Werner Heisenberg's uncertainty principle is not regarded simply as an epistemological principle of ignorance, but it is taken to be an ontological principle of actual indeterminacy. The fact that the work of quantum physicist David Bohm (1917–1992) has provided an alternative option, of equal empirical adequacy, which offers a deterministic interpretation of quantum phenomena, shows that the majority position is indeed a matter of metaphysical choice rather than physical necessity.

In the case of the intrinsic unpredictabilities of chaos theory, however, the majority decision has gone the other way. Most physicists disconnect epistemology and ontology, concluding that the theory shows that deterministic equations are consistent with the appearance of random behavior. "Deterministic chaos" is indeed the way they think about the theory. This absence of any willingness to question the assumption of underlying determinism seems to have been influenced by the feeling of deep respect accorded to the historic equations of classical physics.

Yet a different strategy is metaphysically possible. This would involve interpreting the unpredictabilities as signs of ontological openness. In turn, this strategy would necessitate a reinterpretation of the equations of "deterministic chaos." The sensitivity of chaotic systems to the details of their circumstances provides a way in which such a reinterpretation can be accomplished. Because of such sensitivity, chaotic systems can never properly be treated in isolation. Their vulnerability to the slightest disturbance means that they are intimately linked to their environment. Yet the experimental support that "verifies" the laws of classical physics has all been obtained through investigations of situations in which the assumption of isolatability is an acceptable idealization. Otherwise, analysis of what was going on would have been too complex to be feasible. It is perfectly possible, therefore, to make the metaphysical conjecture that the supposed laws of classical physics are actually no more than approximations of the behavior of what may be conceived actually to be a more subtle and supple physical reality. The approximation involved could be called *downward emergence,* because it would relate to behavior observable only in the idealized circumstance of an isolated system.

In this metaphysical scheme, epistemological unpredictability is the sign of an ontological openness. Such openness is not meant to imply that the future is some sort of random lottery, but rather that the causal principles involved are more than those described simply by the conventional physical picture of the exchange of energy between constituents. The unisolatibility of chaotic systems means that though such systems may be made up of components, they also must be considered holistically, in the context of their totality. The variety of the different possible patterns of their future behavior, represented by the different ways in which a chaotic system might traverse its strange attractor, are not discriminated from each other by energy differences, but by differing patterns of dynamical behavior, characterized by different expressions of "information." These considerations led to the metaphysical conjecture that chaos theory should be interpreted as affording scope for a new kind of causal agency, having the character of being top-down (influence of the whole upon the parts) and corresponding to an input of information (specification of patterned dynamical behavior). One might summarize the proposal as suggesting the concept of holistic causality through *active information.*

Two general considerations may be offered in support of such a metaphysical project. One is that the stance taken accords with the realist strategy followed by almost all physicists in the case of quantum theory. There is no apparent reason to treat quantum theory and chaos theory differently in this respect. Second, human experience of agency, of the willed execution of the intentions of the whole person, encourages the belief that an account of the causal nexus of the world is needed, an account that goes beyond simple constituent notions. The concept of top-down causality, operating through the input of information, offers the glimmer of a prospect of how one might begin the task of reconciling the scientific account of process with the human experience of agency.

The theologian may also find these ideas to be of use in thinking about divine providential interaction with creation. If the causal grain of nature is open in the way suggested, there seems to be no difficulty in believing that the Creator also interacts with the unfolding history of creation through the input of active information.

QUANTUM CHAOLOGY. At first sight it might seem that the metaphysical problems discussed above might readily be solved by combining the insights of quantum physics and chaos theory.

The behavior of chaotic systems quite rapidly comes to depend upon the details of circumstances lying at the level of Heisenberg uncertainty or below. It might seem attractive, therefore, to appeal to the generally accepted indeterministic character of quantum process to induce openness in the behavior of chaotic systems. Yet this approach faces serious difficulties, resulting from a lack of understanding of how one might consistently combine quantum theory and chaos theory. Indeed, these theories appear to be mutually incompatible.

Quantum theory possesses an intrinsic scale, set by Max Planck's fundamental constant. As a result, in quantum thinking it is possible to give a meaning to terms such as *large* or *small*. We have seen that chaos theory, on the contrary, is scale-free because of its fractal character, implying that everything looks roughly the same on whatever scale it is surveyed. Clearly some significant modification of thinking would be required to bring the two theories together. Modern physics has only a rather patchy picture of the causal nature of reality, and is far from being able to offer an integrated account, applicable at all levels.

The complexity of the considerations involved can be illustrated by the behavior of Hyperion, one of the moons of Saturn. It is an irregularly shaped piece of rock about the size of New York City, which is observed to be tumbling chaotically. Quantum effects, with their imposition of scale, would be expected to suppress this chaotic motion very effectively for so large an object. Calculations made on this basis indicate that tumbling should last for only about thirty-seven years. However another effect, called decoherence, due to the environmental influence of the radiation that bathes Hyperion, in its turn suppresses the quantum effects and explains why the moon's chaotic behavior can be expected to continue almost indefinitely. The causal nexus of the world is very complex, with a variety of effects interlacing.

SEE ALSO Physics and Religion.

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CHARDIN, PIERRE TEILHARD DE SEE TEILHARD DE CHARDIN, PIERRE

CHARISMA. The word *charisma* [plural *charismata*], originally used by St. Paul in the New Testament—to describe "spiritual gift[s]," has expanded its definition in the past hundred years. Academics, journalists, and the general public now use the term and its adjective, *charismatic*, to refer to any extraordinary leadership or authority. German sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920) deliberately began using the term this way in his scientific articles that were published in the early twentieth century. Weber did not foresee, however, the subsequent broad application of the word; charisma has since been attributed to religious and political leaders, dictators, cult leaders, CEOs, salespeople, popular entertainers, athletes—even race horses. Weber laments that the "attempt to explain charisma is clearly hampered by variation in the range of meaning attached to the term."

The following entry discusses the sociological applications of charisma, reviews charisma and analogous concepts that express spiritual virtuosity in world religions, and identifies the specific meanings of *charisma* and *charismata* in the New Testament and in subsequent Christian theology and ecclesiology.

Charisma as a Sociological Concept. Max Weber, the German social thinker perhaps best known for his book *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904–5), introduced the term charisma as a descriptive concept throughout his writings. He seems to assume that the reader already understands the idea; therefore, rather than defining it or explaining it, he devotes his energies to analyzing the consequences and outcomes of charismatic authority. His most frequently quoted passage comes from the posthumously published compilation *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, translated by Roth and Wittich as *Economy and Society*:

> The term *charisma* will be applied to a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is considered extraordinary and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a "leader."

Some critics have felt that Weber's definition essentially perpetuates the "great man" approach to history as developed by his predecessors, Scottish historian Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881) and German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900). Yet Weber also noted, "What is alone important is how the individual is actually regarded by those subject to charismatic authority, by his 'followers' or 'disciples'." With this caveat, he emphasizes the influence, or perhaps the susceptibility, of the great person's followers.

Weber introduces charisma as one of the three basic sources of legitimate societal authority; the other two are tradition and rationalized or codified law. Weber believes charisma is the most vital, but is also inherently unstable; consequently, he places special emphasis on the question of how a charismatically-based authority can preserve continuity, especially during modern times, an era of rationalization, or an age of disenchantment (*Entzauberung*). Weber proposed *Veralltäglichung* as the mechanism to maintain charismatic authority. The term is usually translated as "routinization," although that conveys a more bureaucratic tenor than Weber intended. One type of routinization would be a direct transfer of charisma from one person to a successor, the sort of lineage charisma used to determine the succession of Dalai Lamas. The method also applies to the general idea of "sacral kingship," found in peoples of the ancient Near East, ancient China, and medieval Europe. The other, more modern form of routinization, according to Weber, took the form of depersonalization (*Versachlichung*), producing the charisma of office. In this instance, charismatic authority is more or less independent of the personal qualities of the person holding the office.

Charisma, according to Weber, tends by its very nature to be non-rationalized and upsetting to an established order. One example of this instability would be the violence inspired by the French revolutionary Maximilian-François Marie-Isidore de Robespierre (1758–1794). Yet a charismatic challenge can also be made in the name of restoring an older or more traditional order, as in the recent case of the Muslim fundamentalist and Iranian revolutionary leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (1902–1989).

Weber's analysis, while secular, grew from his fundamentally Protestant perspective; according to this outlook, personal charisma would always hold more vitality and authenticity than a routinized charisma of office, such as that claimed by priests and bishops in the Catholic Church. In fact, Weber's immediate source for his studies of charisma was the German Protestant theologian Rudolph Sohm (1841–1917). German sociologist Werner Stark published a four-volume critique of Weber's theories; he argues that Weber, because of this Protestant orientation, was unable to appreciate the dynamics of vitally charismatic communities, whether they were composed of Catholics, Asians, or indigenous people.

A few commentators have argued that, for the sake of clarity, the concept of charisma should remain in the context of religious discourse. Most, however, have followed Weber's lead into extended usage. Most notably, Edward Shils connects the concept of charisma to a seemingly inherent responsiveness in human nature to the idea of order, whether cosmological or social. Shils argues:

> The generator or author of order arouses the charismatic responsiveness. Whether it be God's law or natural law or scientific law or positive law or the society as a whole, or even a particular corporate body or institution like an army, whatever embodies, expresses or symbolizes the essence of an ordered cosmos or any significant sector thereof awakens the disposition of awe and reverence, the charismatic disposition.

In a careful critique, his colleagues Bensman and Givant argue that Shils's analysis is so broad and all-encompassing (especially because he applies charisma both to reverence for order and to challenge to order) that the concept becomes too diffuse to be useful. On the other hand, scholars such as Tambiah have extended the concept even more broadly applying it to fetish objects such as the amulets of Theravādan Buddhist saints in Thailand and Burma.

Another approach, carefully articulated by Bryan Wilson and widely accepted, corrects the implication that charisma is something that resides in a person; rather, it emphasizes that charisma is something inherently relational or, as Downton puts it, "transactional." Someone who has no followers cannot be called charismatic. As Constantin has put it, the ecology of charisma involves the social production of sainthood. Other scholars, including Downton, Jacobs, and Post, have developed a psychoanalytic reading of the charismatic relationship, building upon the Freudian concepts of the idealized self, identity diffusion, and narcissism. These researchers see the weak ego boundaries of the charismatic leader and his or her submissive followers as perfect and dangerous complements to each other.

Considering this relationship between leader and followers caused Wilson to analyze the social construction of charisma. He hypothesized that certain types of communitarian cultures were peculiarly susceptible to charismatic relationships. In his provocatively titled monograph *The Noble Savages: The Primitive Origins of Charisma*, he refers to these cultures as tribal, or "primitive." Many other scholars, however, have investigated charisma in modern political contexts, developing case studies of leaders such Cuba's Fidel Castro, Germany's Adolf Hitler, Italy's Benito Mussolini, the United States' Franklin Roosevelt, and Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini. As these studies show, the motif of charismatic political leadership tends to be invoked as a value-neutral concept, although some writers selectively invoke such terms as pseudo-charisma or manufactured charisma.

Beyond politics, the use of the term charisma has become quite entrenched in organizational and leadership research. Some scholars in the New Leadership movement view charisma as a component of a specific leadership style. Rather than management-focused or transactional, this mode is described as transformational and visionary. Other researchers, however, question whether a vision that encompasses company and personnel management, bottom-line profits, and market strategies—no matter how creative it may be—can relate to charisma. Nevertheless, from the first appearance of the word "charismatic" in American journalism (in a 1949 *Fortune* magazine reference to John L. Lewis, head of the United Mine Workers), through references to CEOs such as Lee Iacocca of Chrysler and Steve Jobs of Apple Computer, the term has become entrenched in discourse about the corporate world.

CHARISMA AND ITS ANALOGUES IN WORLD RELIGIONS. Weber drew his use of charisma as a sociological concept from its preexisting use in biblical studies. In the Bible, the Greek term *charisma* (spiritual gift), and the root word from which it is derived, *charis* (grace or favor), are confined to the Greek translation of the Old Testament (the Septuagint) and to the New Testament. The *idea* of charismatic leadership, however, is archetypal in the Old Testament. This idea is generally signaled in the Hebrew text by the use of the noun *hen* (favor) or the verb *hanan* (to show favor). Thus, the paradigmatic image of the charismatic hero is the unlikely, apparently unqualified, figure who has received God's favor. Hebrew scripture contains many charismatic figures, such as Moses, Samson, Saul, David, Elijah, and Elisha. These chosen ones experience the visitation of *ruah*, the divine spirit; they may also become, as did Saul and David, "the anointed of the Lord." These charismatic figures overcome all odds and obstacles and achieve spectacular triumphs in the name of the Lord, as did Moses over Pharaoh (*Exod.* 14), David over Goliath (1 *Sam.* 17) or Elijah over the priests of Baal (1 *Kings* 18). David's many triumphs over Saul exemplify the dynamics of the transfer of charisma from one personage to another. The medieval and Renaissance city-state of Florence adopted David as its charismatic icon par excellence, immortalizing his image in sculptures by Donatello, Verocchio, and, of course, Michelangelo.

In terms of religious rather than political leadership, the prototypical charismatic hero in Hebrew scripture is Moses, called by God despite his own infirmities to lead the children of Israel out of Egypt (*Exod.* 1–4). After Moses returned from his theophanies on Mount Sinai (*Exod.* 19 and 32–33), so numinous was his presence and so transfigured was his face by glory that he had to wear a veil among the people (*Exod.* 34:33–35). Extraordinary as is the scriptural account of Moses, Jewish legend and folklore magnify it even further, enhancing his miraculous birth story, the signs and wonders of his commission, the events of the Exodus, and the mystery of his death.

The New Testament contains direct typological parallels to the charismatic initiations of the Hebrew scripture, in the gospel accounts of the Jesus' baptism (*Matt.* 3) and his transfiguration, in which Peter, James, and John see Jesus as radiant with light, appearing together with Moses and Elijah (*Matt.* 17:1–8). On both occasions, a voice from heaven proclaims that Jesus is "my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." Another parallel to the Old Testament messages indicating that someone has found great favor with the Lord is found in the angel Gabriel's well-known greeting to Mary as "full of grace" (*kecharitomene*, or exceedingly favored; *Luke* 1:28). This term marks her as a charismatic figure in her own right. It should also be noted, however, that the word *charis*, "grace," also became part of a standard early Christian salutation of "grace and peace of our Lord Jesus Christ be unto you," throughout New Testament epistolary literature (*Rom.* 1:7 and *I Thess.* 5:28). The descent of the Holy Spirit and the gift of speaking in tongues at Pentecost, as described in *Acts* 2:1–4, is the paradigm for all subsequent Christian discourse on *charismata*, or spiritual gifts.

Charisma, in the general sense of inspired religious leadership or virtuosity, is a lens through which any and all religious traditions can be viewed. In biblical tradition, the chain of charismatic leaders continues in the Hebrew scripture with the prophets, followed later by such religio-nationalistic figures as Judas Maccabaeus and Simeon bar Kokba. Bar Kokba illustrated the dark side of ultra-nationalistic and messianic charismatic leadership, since his leadership resulted in the final devastation of Jerusalem and Israel by the Roman emperor Hadrian's legions. Charismatic Judaism is a modern term given to that putative type of Second Temple Judaism, which has been led by latter-day prophets, such as Honi the Circle Maker and Hanina ben Dosa, who claim to emulate Elijah and Elisha. As Neusner describes, they "were known for miracles, primarily healing and control over the weather. . . . [This] Charismatic Judaism is judged to stand in contrast to the *halakhic* Judaism of the Pharisees and other levitical [sic] groups and to derive from Galilee." Some scholars have proposed including Jesus of Nazareth in this circle, but Neusner notes, "Though still in use, the category charismatic Judaism has lost most of its analytic force."

For the most part, rabbinic Judaism has been wary of charismatic religious leadership, especially given outbreaks of messianism such as in the unfortunate case of the Jewish mystic Shabbetai Tsevi (1626–1676), who claimed to be the savior of his people. An exception to the general rabbinic avoidance, however, is the Hasidic movement, a Jewish tradition which embraces charismatic expression. Hasidic Judaism offers a constructive response to world disenchantment, defends personal inner freedom, welcomes a collective, experiential, and experimental approach to religiosity, and accepts its *tsaddiqim* as charismatic leaders.

The nineteenth-century *tsaddiq* Menachem Mendl of Kotske, also called the Kotsker, lost his disciples when he violated Sabbath traditions, however. Although Hasidic followers are very loyal to their *tsaddiq*, they remain bound by strict orthodoxy. Hence, the *tsaddiq* is what Berger terms a "chained charismatic." Contemporary neo-Hasidim, as embodied in the *rebbe* Menachem Mendl Schneersonn, *tsaddiq* of the Lubavitch sect, combines a dedication to intense personal religious experience with "the most fervent and animated observ[ance] of Judaic rituals and *halakhic* standards."

Closer to mainstream Judaism is the elevation of scholarly study of Torah to a charisma of reason, exemplified by the *maskil*, or the religious scholar. In a Weberian analysis of the charismatic aspects of the religious kibbutz movement in modern Israel, Fishman illustrates what he calls the "charismatic power of Torah." Appropriating the idea that charisma is "anti-establishment," kibbutz leaders speak of "the holy rebellion" of following Torah, as "With a quiver of holiness, the tractor opened the new land." Fishman shows how the "primeval charisma" of the early Bund stage of the kibbutz movement was transformed under increasingly rationalized organization into an abated form of "routinized charisma" in the Commune stage.

Christian tradition, once it entered the multicultural gentile world, experienced a more common but equally conflicted tradition of charismatic religious leadership. Beginning with St. Paul's attempt to settle disputes over charismatic expression within the Christian community at Corinth, and continuing through the era of controversy between different strains of Christianity, or as some scholars would now prefer to put it between different or "alternative" Christianities, each led by competing charismatic figures, the story of Christianity can be seen as an ongoing cycle of conflicts between charismatic personages, variously labeled as heretics, prophets, mystics, reformers and cult leaders, on the one hand, and the institutional church (whether Catholic, Orthodox, or Protestant) with its proclaimed *magisterium* or teaching authority on the other. Sainthood itself, from the age of the apostles through the era of martyrdom and the Catholic Church after the Roman emperor Constantine, continuing into the age of asceticism, monasticism, and other forms of extreme religious virtuosity, became a charismatic phenomenon.

Medieval Catholics believed that the shrines and relics of saints could transfer their charisma to pilgrims and devotees. Charismatic sainthood in the early modern and modern eras has been associated with founders and reformers of religious orders (Francis of Assisi and Teresa of Ávila), apocalyptic New Age visionaries (Joachim of Flora), spellbinding preachers (Savonarola), cult leaders (Jim Jones and David Koresh), prophetic ministers and witnesses for peace (Martin Luther King Jr., Dorothy Day, Oscar Romero, and Philip Berrigan), as well as the "official" or canonized saints who were honored for their piety, good works, and attributed miracles, and church leaders, such as Pope John XXIII and Pope John Paul II, who aptly exemplify what Weber called "charisma of office."

As with Judaism, Sunnī Islamic tradition is wary of charismatic religious leadership; in fact, the religion Sunnī recognizes no formal hierarchy. As Lindholm explains, Sunnī Islam, like Judaism, is an "emissary" rather than an "exemplary" religious tradition: the religious teacher is a conveyor of the word of God, not an awe-inspiring religious virtuoso. The closest analogue to the Greek *charisma* in Islamic Arabic is the term *baraka*, for "a benign force, of divine origin, which bestows physical superabundance and prosperity, and psychological happiness." In mainstream Sunnī tradition, charisma or *baraka* was concentrated in the Qurʾān itself, and in the person of the prophet Muḥammad. As Lindholm notes, a "felt charismatic bond with the Prophet drew Muslims into the community of believers and simultaneously gave them a sense of personal spiritual expansion that is the hallmark of charismatic discipleship. At the same time. . . the actual message carried by Muḥammad modestly downplayed and even denied his own charismatic role." Nevertheless, the Prophet's life became progressively mythologized over time: Padwick comments, "increasingly, he was portrayed as pure, infallible, capable of foreseeing the future, of cursing his enemies, of splitting the moon in the sky, of ascending to heaven while still alive, and, above all, of interceding for the frightened faithful on the terrible day of judgment." This mystical life of Muḥammad became rich source material for the flowering of Islamic schools of mysticism in the Middle Ages, including the Ṣūfī traditions discussed below.

In the meantime, the great competing sect of Islam, the Shīʿah, has always been much more open to charismatic religious expression. Emphasizing the religious lineage of the Prophet's family, through the martyrs Ali and Hussein, and many subsequent saints and martyrs (*sheikhs*, or *pirs*), Shīʿahs venerate saints, travel on pilgrimages to their tombs, and participate in ecstatic "passion dramas" or commemorations. Moreover, unlike the Sunnī tradition, Shīʿahs exalt charismatic religious leaders, *mullahs* and *ayatollahs*, the most familiar of whom are the late Ayatollah Khomeini of Iran and the present Ayatollah al-Sistani of Iraq.

The other, ostensibly non-political or non-sectarian outlet for abundant expression of charismatic religious experience in Islam has been the Ṣūfī movement, originating in the late eighth century. These "friends of God," or *walī*, "did not just recite the traditions, but believed they could achieve spiritual transformation" through controlling the passions and emulating the Prophet. By the twelfth century, Ṣūfī saints (*sheikhs*, or *pirs*) began to found lodges (*tariqas*, or pathways) for students. These wayfarers, or spiritual seekers, would follow the Ṣūfī quest of seeking to know God intuitively, the potential solipsism countered by a deep-seated and self-abnegating communalism. According to Ṣūfī mysticism, Muḥammad was not only the Prophet, but the perfect man, a cosmic pivot (*qutb*) who serves to bring the world to perfection. Moreover, Lindholm notes that an invisible *qutb* "must exist for every generation, even though, as 'God's bride' he was veiled from ordinary men, and discerned only by the purified elite. . . . The only problem was that the members of the secret sanctified order could only be recognized by their charismatic aura, since they had no objective credentials."

While best known in the West through medieval poets such as Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (1207–1273) and New Age neo-Ṣūfī teachings, Sufism is virtually non-existent in the Middle East in the early twenty-first century. Ṣūfī lodges continue to be prominent, however, in South Asia and North Africa, in socio-cultural contexts that are more conducive to charismatic devotional practice. Werbner and Basu's 1998 anthology, *Embodying Charisma: Modernity, Locality, and the Performance of Emotion in Sufi Cults* contains essays on charismatic Ṣūfī religious practices in Pakistan, Bangladesh, Tamil Nadu, Gujarat, and elsewhere in South Asia, while the 1988 anthology edited by Donal Cruise O'Brien and Christian Coulon, *Charisma and Brotherhood in African Islam*, contains case studies of charismatic Ṣūfī lodges in East and West Africa. As O'Brien and Coulon explain in their introduction, in African Ṣūfī lodges such as the *Qadiriyya* of Nigeria, *baraka* designates "a power relation of the charismatic type" in which piety, spirituality, moral fiber, and therapeutic powers can be transmitted or inherited from person to person. Moreover, in the context of colonialism, the Ṣūfī lodges sometimes used charisma as a political instrument. Ironically, European colonial involvement had the unintended effect of enhancing the role of charismatic Islam in Africa. Coulon's essay focuses on the case study of a Senegalese woman *sheikh*, Sokhna Magat Diop, who inherited her *baraka* from her parents and who, while she has no standing in and does not even attend the local mosque, exercises religious authority over both male and female disciples through the power she gains from her mystic religious retreats (*khalwas*).

The association of Ṣūfī saints in Africa with medicine and healing naturally suggests the survival and incorporation of pre-Islamic African cultural traditions. Kramer's *The Red Fez: Art and Spirit Possession in Africa* discusses examples of charismatic spirit possession in North and Central Africa, and their occasional connection with anti-colonial movements, although it is also true that these possession cults caused "difficulties for the politically conscious because of their anarchic character." Other religio-political movements in Africa were led by figures who claimed an Afro-Christian charisma, such as Simon Kimbangu in the Belgian Congo and, in his wake, André Matswa in the French Congo.

Indigenous African cultural traditions contain analogues to charisma in the art and ceremonies of secret societies, as well as in the role of diviners, healers, and sorcerers. Among the spirit-possessed Nuer prophets of the Sudan, Ngundeng of the Lou tribe became widely famous for his healing, cursing, trickery, and extreme feats of asceticism by which he accessed the power of the bush, and who after his death in 1906 passed on his spirit power to his son. Evans-Pritchard's classic *Nuer Religion* (1956) remains a standard source, although Beidelman has countered his view that the tradition of charismatic Nuer prophecy is a recent development. The story of African spirit possession and charismatic religious authority can also be pursued through the African diaspora, in syncretistic traditions such as Shango in Brazil, vodou in Haiti, and Santeriá in Cuba.

Analogous traditions of trance, ecstasy, divination, and other aspects of charismatic religious authority can be documented from Australia and Oceania, such as the Aborigine *karadji, wiri:nan, or bug:nja*—different tribal names for a "clever man" or spirit-man—or the concept of *mana* in Melanesia, a very overworked term that encompasses aspects of what we could call charismatic power. Malinowski argued that the cosmological vision implied by the concept of *mana* had nothing to do with the manipulations of magic, because, quoting Codrington, *mana* "acts in all ways for good and evil. . . [and] shows itself in physical force or in any kind of power and excellence which a man possesses."

Power naturally includes social leadership, authority, and mobilization. In Polynesia, people approved their rulers by appealing to their *mana*, or 'spirit-authority'. . . . *Mana* accompanied the totality of power, victory, and continued security because a mandate of an individual's rule would be confirmed by the spirit-world.

An analogous concept in Native North American vocabulary would be the Dakota term *wakan*. Malinowski quotes, "all life is *wakan*. So also is everything which exhibits power, whether in action, as the winds and drifting clouds, or in passive endurance, as the boulder by the wayside. . . . It embraces all mystery, all secret power, all divinity." Wilson illustrates Native American charismatic leadership in essays on the Ottawa chief Pontiac, the Shawnee chiefs Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa. On the other hand, Wilson argues that military leaders such as the Lakota chief Sitting Bull "were not charismatic figures: their status did not depend on some claim to supernatural legitimation."

In the context of world religion, I. M. Lewis offers perhaps the most broadly framed and all-encompassing definition of charisma, in the preface to his *Religion in Context: Cults and Charisma*:

> The beliefs and behavior conventionally distinguished as "witchcraft," "spirit-possession," "cannibalism," and "shamanism" seem at first sight to have little in common. Anthropologists and other students of comparative religion regularly treat these phenomena as totally unrelated and even mutually exclusive, objectified "things" characteristic of different cults and of distinct types and stages) of culture and society. This book takes a different view. It argues that, on the contrary, these are actually closely related expressions of mystical power, or "charisma."

This interpretation suggests a much broader use of the term than appears in most of the literature on the subject, but Carrasco has expanded it even further. He invokes charisma as a rubric for understanding and interpreting some of the most gruesome rituals of Aztec ceremonialism. Carrasco reads the bloodiest of all Aztec rituals, *Tlacaxipeualiztli*, the Feast of the Flaying of Men, as a ritual of the transfer and "redistribution of the charisma of the [ritually sacrificed] warrior throughout the ceremonial landscape of Aztec Mexico." During the ritual, the captive is slain within the ritually controlled environment of the gladiatorial stone (*temalacatl*). The priests extract from the victim's chest his still-pulsating heart (the "precious-eagle-cactus-fruit"), place it in a ceremonial bowl (*cuauhxicalli*, or "eagle-vessel"), flay and dismember the victim, and distribute his body parts to be ritually eaten. A "deity impersonator" wears the flayed skin in the name of the captor. The progress, or "career," as Carrasco calls it, of the flayed skins as they are paraded through the center and peripheries of the Aztec capital "are motivated by the Aztec need for charisma–living, pulsating gifts of gods," and the transferences and exchanges of this charisma spread the "gifts" throughout the community in a "public accumulation of charisma. "

Carrasco's interpretation draws upon López Austin's analysis of the "body as charisma" in Aztec ideology, Johanna Broda's insights into Aztec ceremonial rites, and Stanley Tambiah's analysis of the transfer of charisma in Thai Buddhism through the medium of charismatic amulets, or sacra, which radiate and impart embodied charisma to their wearers. Similarly, "in Aztec society the charisma, or the objectification of power so that it can be perceived, was expressed in a fecund variety of sacred objects, one of the most powerful being the sacrificed human body and in particular the skin and body parts of the sacrificed warrior," while the ritual cannibalism amounts to "the eating of charisma," in "a ritual of complete absorption and incorporation."

In the early twenty-first century, applying the concept of charisma to the Aztec Feast of Flaying or to Melanesian head-hunting remains controversial. Most scholars agree, however, that charisma can be ascribed to any figure who is accepted by the community to have accessed supernatural power—whether through trance, vision quest, intense prayer, heroic asceticism, or any other means—and who manifests those powers to such a degree that followers accept his or her religious authority or leadership with submissive awe or unquestioning loyalty. Such a definition encompasses the whole array of traditions of "shamanism," as the term is now globally applied. Vast literature on shamanism has accumulated in recent decades, but the indispensable starting point for research (even though it has been roundly criticized by contemporary scholars for being a-historical) is Mircea Eliade's (1907–1986) magisterial volume *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*. Grounding his survey in the cultural worlds of Central and North Asia—the presumed diffusion area for the global spread of shamanism to North and South America, Oceania, Tibet, Southeast Asia, and the Far East—Eliade discusses shamanic vocation and initiation, shamanic dream-visions, flights to the celestial worlds and underworlds, spirit combats, and healing rituals.

This virtually global context could attach charisma to a Tibetan or Navajo sand-painting ritual, or to an Inuit *tunghalik* (shaman), or to an *ajk'ij* (Quiché Maya daykeeper), or to the companion-spirits called *wayob* by the Maya and *nahualli* by the Aztec. Pre-Buddhist shamanistic traditions have survived in Korea and Japan (including *miko*, the female shamans of Japan who practice trance and spirit-possession), and have syncretically combined with popular forms of Buddhist devotion as enduring expressions of the "little tradition." Initially despised or treated as a curiosity in modern times by Japanese and Korean intellectuals, whether from the stance of modernism or Marxism, the shamanic traditions have come to be courted in Korea as vehicles of counter-hegemonic popular expression (as in *madang kut*, street protest performance), or as nationalist symbols of folk patriotism. The popular superstar Korean shaman Nami was even declared to be a national cultural treasure.

In addition to Asiatic shamanism, the so-called higher religions, or great traditions, of Asia, such as Hinduism and Buddhism, also have traditions of religious virtuosity and leadership that can be analyzed in terms of charisma. In fact, Max Weber himself devoted treatises specifically to these two great traditions, although his understanding of them has been greatly contested. The tradition of the guru in Hinduism, as a charismatic alternative to the entrenched Brahmanic priesthood, is the major case in point, beginning in the era of the Upaniṣads and continuing into the early twenty-first century. Many Hindu gurus relocated to Europe and America beginning in the nineteenth century.

The best starting point for research on charismatic religious leadership in India is the anthology *Charisma and Canon: Essays on the Religious History of the Indian Subcontinent* (2001). This work contains a theoretical essay by Heinrich von Stietencron, to whom the volume is dedicated, and case studies on medieval, premodern, and modern gurus and prophets. Among the latter are essays on such early figures as Sankara (c. 788–820), and on the transfer and institutionalization of charisma in medieval traditions derived from founding gurus, as well as case studies of more recent charismatic religious figures such as the Sikh guru Nanak, Mahatma Gandhi, and Sathya Sai Baba. Other, more theoretical essays include studies of the intersections of the charismas of texts, rituals, and performances, and the crossings between Hinduism, Ṣūfīsm, and other Islamic charismas on the Indian subcontinent.

A particularly interesting case of the failure to routinize the charisma of a guru is provided by Śrī Aurobindo. Aurobindo himself personally passed on his charisma to his associate Mirra Richard, whom he called the Spirit Mother. Not all of his followers recognized her authority, however; some of these dissidents founded an idealized anarchic community called Auroville, recognized by the Indian government. Auroville ultimately foundered in divisive legal quarrels between the Śrī Aurobindo Society and the Aurovillians over the matter of who had received the guru's charisma. In another well-known instance, that of Krishnamurti, the guru himself renounced the charisma attributed to him by his "handlers" and subsequently embarked on a "non-charismatic" career as a spiritual teacher. Other gurus who projected their charismatic leadership onto a global stage and often became embroiled in controversies and legal issues have included Maharishi Mahesh Yogi (b. 1911) and the Transcendental Meditation movement; Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh (1931–1990) and the Rajneeshpuram community; and the Rev. Sun Myung Moon (b. 1920) and the Unification Church.

Buddhism presents a very different picture of charisma compared to Hinduism. In its origins, despite the obviously charismatic personality of Siddhārtha Gautama (c. 563–c. 483 BCE), or the Buddha, the basic Theravādan teachings of the Pali canon emphasized the necessity of individual realization—as the Buddha urged in his farewell sermon, "be ye lamps unto yourselves!" The Mahāyāna and Vajrayana versions of Buddhism, however, as they spread to Tibet, China, Korea, and Japan, transformed the severe "agnostic" Theravādan teachings into the richly pietistic venerations of the buddhas and *bodhisattvas* as gods and god-like saints. In relics, statues, and *tankas* (painted Tibetan meditation cosmograms) these Mahāyāna spirit-beings freely offered access to their limitless charisma by virtue of their infinite compassion. Ironically, however, the Theravādan traditions of Southeast Asia developed the most powerful traditions of human charismatic spirituality, despite—indeed, because of—the severity of monastic dedication to the original four noble truths and noble eightfold path. Tambiah has shown that the spiritual virtuosity of the forest-dwelling monks of Thailand, Malaysia, and Myanmar (Burma), and their emblems and artifacts, became sought-after sources of charisma by the lay communities. The suggestive sociological comparisons between Theravādan monasticism and medieval Catholic monasticism, especially with regard to charismatic leadership, have been fully explored in Silber's *Virtuosity, Charisma, and Social Order: A Comparative Sociological Study of Monasticism in Theravāda Buddhism and Medieval Catholicism.*

Charisma also appears in the traditional religions of China. The early biography of Confucius (Kongzi, 551–479 BCE) by Szema Ch'ien, for example, describes the sage as having had a wondrous birth and an almost inexplicable impact on all those who met him. Confucius also attracted a dedicated band of followers in life who gathered at his grave after his death. Even more miraculous tales are told about the legendary Laozi (fl. sixth century BCE), the reputed author of the *Dao de jing*; his Daoist disciple Chuangzi composed fictional conversations in which Confucius lauded Laozi as a spiritual master. The two sages are frequently featured in Chinese landscape painting.

Scholars frequently emphasize the basically secular nature of Confucian tradition, although in practice, the Confucian shrine or temple has all the earmarks of a religious space. Interestingly, then, Feuchtwang and Mingming's recent study of four modern Chinese charismatic leaders—Wansheng, Wumu, Lin Qingbiao, and Gao Bineng—operating variously under colonial, nationalist and communist regimes, emphasizes the intersection of modern grassroots politics with traditional religious worldview. The editors point out that the word for "charisma" used on mainland China and in Taiwan is not the one in the official dictionaries; rather, it is a term that conveys "the religious aspect of being able to get things done. . . . It would be *lingyan*—said of the efficiency and responsiveness of gods who have been human, and also of the images in whom that efficacy and responsiveness has been injected by means of a ritual of initiation and insertion. If *lingyan* were transliterated back into secular English, it would be 'proven efficacy of an uncanny intelligence.'" An archaic Chinese analogue to the concept of charismatic leadership is the concept of the Mandate of Heaven: the manifest legitimation of authority, apparent to all, which passes inexorably from one leader to another.

CHARISMA AND CHARISMATA IN PAULINE AND CHRISTIAN CHURCH TRADITION. Earlier sections of this article have reviewed charisma and charismatic figures in the Bible using the generalized Weberian sense of the term. But the New Testament, and specifically the Pauline corpus, introduced a much more specific use of the Greek words *charisma* and *charismata.* These terms were employed as derivatives of the root word *charis* (grace), or "spiritual gift(s)" that were bestowed by the Holy Spirit upon individuals or groups. When used in this highly specific way, the two terms are not translated but merely transliterated into English (or other modern languages) as "charism" and "charismata."

Acts 2 contains the prototypical New Testament account of the bestowal of gifts by the Holy Spirit. On Pentecost, amid a rushing sound as of a violent wind, tongues of fire come to rest upon the head of each apostle. After this event, when the apostles speak, each listener hears the words in his or her own language. Evidently, the idea that the Holy Spirit endows Christians with miraculous abilities took powerful hold among the early Christian congregations, and nowhere more so than at Corinth, where apparently there was a Christian congregation with Gnostic tendencies and also with a powerful antinomian sense of living out a new liberated Christian life. Among the hallmarks of this liberated Christian practice were women who chose to appear in church without their heads veiled and a congregation that was open to the spiritual leadership of individuals who had received that particular gift of the Holy Spirit (the gift of "speaking in tongues"). These roles would be filled spontaneously, by inspiration, rather than by the careful passing on of the charisma of office customary in the apostolic laying-on of hands or the selection of deacons.

The challenge this posed to the evolving organizational church would become evident. Paul addressed this challenge, as he had done in relation to the Judaic character of the early church. He entered decisively into the Corinthian controversy over what would be called in modern parlance a "charismatic community of worship." The key passage occurs in *1 Corinthians* 12–14, in a passage concerning spiritual gifts. Paul, trying to bring order out of creative anarchy, acknowledges the variety of spiritual gifts (speaking wisdom and knowledge, healing, working miracles, prophesying, discerning spirits, speaking in tongues, and interpreting tongues), but he emphasizes that the bestowing Spirit is one, and that such gifts are given "for the common good" (12:7) and for "edification and encouragement and consolation" of others (14:3). Paul interjects his famous hymn to love (*agape*): "If I speak in the tongues of mortals and of angels, but do not have love, I am a noisy gong or a clanging cymbal." (13:1). In this way, Paul answers those who might have exulted in their particular spiritual gift; he especially rebukes those who may have exulted in their ability to speak in tongues, now no longer meaning other languages, but rather glossolalia. He places that particular charism at the bottom of the list, as having the least benefit of edification of others, and follows it with the gift of interpretation of tongues in order to emphasize the priority of catechesis over ecstatic enthusiasm. Other passages addressing the same issue of spiritual gifts occur at *Romans* 12, *Ephesians* 4, and 1 *Peter* 4.

The contentious subject of charismatic gifts continued to trouble the Catholic Church from the Patristic through the medieval periods. It also caused concern among the Protestant reformers, who were just as concerned as the Catholic hierarchy with maintaining faith and order in their churches. German Catholic theologian Karl Rahner (1904–1984), both looking back to Patristic and Scholastic sources and at modern Church documents, outlines a more harmonious history: in the earliest period, he says, "there was no sign of hostility between ecclesiastical authority and charisms," until the second century challenge of Montanism, named for Montanus, a claimant of independent charismatic authority. Thomas Aquinas' codification of Pauline teaching was that charisms, although bestowed as a God-given grace, do not partake of the fullness of perfection of "sanctifying grace." In a sense, the Catholic church co-opted charisma by recognizing, alongside the official charisms of the priesthood and sacraments, the independent charisms of martyrdom, virginity, asceticism, monasticism, and wonder-working sainthood, although, as Rahner notes, the comprehensive history of Christian charisma has yet to be written.

For contemporary Catholic teaching, Rahner and others cite Pope Pius XII's encyclical *Mystici corporis*, which develops the Pauline metaphor of the church as the body of Christ and the people of God as a "holy people" who contribute in an "orderly" way to the teaching *magisterium* of the Church. The role of the laity and their charisms was of course further enhanced by the documents of Vatican II, subsequently scaled back in practice by the relatively conservative mood of the Catholic Church from the 1980s through the early twenty-first century. Meanwhile, however, both the Catholic and Protestant churches witnessed a worldwide phenomenon of religious renewal in the form of the charismatic movement. Based on the ecstatic practices of earlier Pentecostal and "Holiness" religious sects in the United States in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the neo-Pentecostal movement arose within the mainstream denominations of Protestantism and Catholicism in the 1960s. The movement, based on an emotional style of worship, sometimes including glossolalia (speaking in tongues), spread rapidly during the 1980s, when it peaked in the United States and Europe. It continued to expand in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, however, where it sometimes combined syncretically with indigenous religious traditions in independent congregations, some of whom identified themselves as Christian and others who did not. A vast scholarly literature on the charismatic church movement has accumulated, including individual case histories of sects and congregations. A particularly important theoretical contribution is Csordas's *Language, Charisma, and Creativity*, a sociological analysis of the Catholic charismatic movement.

When invoked as a global concept, charisma has many different meanings. Many scholars agree with Tambiah, who asserts that there is no identifiable original charisma; rather, there are social constructions and cultural traditions of charismas, each with their distinctive worldviews, psychologies, and sociopolitical implications.

SEE ALSO Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity; Rahner, Karl.

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CHARISMATIC CHRISTIANITY See PENTECOSTAL AND CHARISMATIC CHRISTIANITY

CHARITY. The word *charity* derives from the Latin *caritas* and can be traced to the Greek *charis*. In the Western religious tradition, *charity* has become synonymous with the Greek terms *agape*, *philanthopia*, *eleemosune* (or *eleos*), and even *philia* and *eros*; with the Hebrew words *zedakah*, *gemilut hesed*, and *aheb*; and with the Latin *amor*, *amicitia*, *beneficia*, and *caritas* (or *carus*). Thus, as a theoretical conception, charity has meant both possessive and selfless love, as well as favor, grace, mercy, kindness, righteousness, and liberality. In its practical application charity denotes the distribution of goods to the poor and the establishment and endowment of such social-welfare institutions as hospitals, homes for the aged, orphanages, and reformatory institutions.

Documents of ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt indicate that charity in the sense of social justice was considered a divinely decreed principle. The reforms of King Urukagina (c. 2400 BCE) were praised because "he freed the inhabitants of Lagash from usury. . .hunger. . . . The widow and the orphan were no longer at the mercy of the powerful." But ideals of charity and social justice and the principle of social consciousness developed not only because the divinity had so ordained but also because social circumstances, human oppression, and suffering demanded them. The goddess Nanshe and later the god Utu (or Shamash), the orphan's mother and father, were the guarantors of justice, cared for the widow, sought out justice for the poorest, and brought refugees shelter. King Hammurabi (d. circa 1750 BCE) sought through legislation to eliminate the social inequity that had been created by the malpractices of businessmen or other members of the enterprising Babylonian society. In ancient Egypt charity was perceived as an inner disposition toward fellow human beings and as a way to propitiate the gods for the purpose of achieving immortality, but it also meant, as *The Book of Going Forth by Day* indicates, "giving bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothes to the naked and even a boat to the one who had none."

There is little doubt that early Hebrew thought was greatly influenced by the Babylonian, Egyptian, and other peoples of the ancient Near East. But the Hebrews molded what they inherited and added their own religious and social thought as set forth in their scriptures, particularly the Hebrew Bible. The Hebrew root *aheb* refers primarily to love between man and woman, but in its theological use it denotes God's love for humankind, humankind's love for God, and love among human beings. God's love for humankind is caused by its need but also by God's innate qualities (*Deut.* 10:17–18; *Ps.* 145:15–16). A person's love for God is a response to God's love, a gratitude that is also expressed through one's love for other people.

As an applied virtue, charity is expected of everyone, for whoever gives charity will be blessed by the Lord (*Deut.* 15:7–10). In medieval Judaism, almsgiving to the needy poor was considered essential. For Moses Maimonides the highest form of charity was to help the poor Israelites rehabilitate themselves by lending them money, taking them into partnership, or employing them, for in this way the desired end is achieved without any loss of self-respect for the recipient. Lending money "to the poor man so as to alleviate his poverty and afford him generous support" was considered an obligatory mode of charity. Notwithstanding occasional references to liberality toward the Gentiles, as we find in the Babylonian Talmud (Gittin 61a), in Jewish tradition "charity begins at home," and for many centuries the object of charity was the fellow Jew. Almsgiving was advocated by the Torah, but it was directed toward fellow Jews, "the descendants of the seed of Abraham. . .of pure Israelite descent." "Hard-heartedness is only found among the gentiles," as it is said that "they are cruel and have no compassion," in the words of Maimonides, who cites several passages from the Hebrew Bible in support of his views, such as Deuteronomy 15:3, Deuteronomy 15:11, Deuteronomy 14:1, and Jeremiah 6:23. The behavior of the Israelite toward the Gentile is different because Israelites are "the children of the Lord." Thus, Israelites must be generous to fellow Israelites.

In ancient Greek society charity was synonymous with love (*agape*), *philanthropia*, *eleos*, and *philoxenia*, and it was manifested through benevolent deeds on behalf of those in need. In a variety of forms charity is present in the earliest Greek poetry, drama, and philosophy. Compassion for the afflicted and loving hospitality were greatly emphasized in Mycenaean and archaic Greek society (1400–700 BCE). The care of strangers and suppliants was an ethical imperative because such people had been placed under the direct aegis of the divinity. Zeus became known as Xenios, "protector of strangers." This imperative is expressed in Homer's *Odyssey*: "Receive strangers regardless of who they may be; that man is sacred who welcomes a wayfaring stranger."

It was believed that when a poor person was expelled form the table of the rich or even rudely handled, the vengeance of the "gods and Furies would be visited upon the heartless miscreant," for "gods and Furies exist for beggars." To be merciful and to act out of love were common ethical admonitions. Hesiod (c. 700 BCE) was even more pronounced in his concern for the poor, though he lauded hard work and stressed moderation in the practice of charity while advocating philanthropy, righteous deeds, and reverence for the stranger and the poor. Hesiod writes that in offering hospitality one should "be neither too lavish nor too parsimonious" and that one should not "taunt anyone for his poverty which eats out the heart—even cursed poverty is sent by the immortal gods."

The most important characteristic of Greek thought as early as the Homeric age is ethical in nature. In the classical Greek city-states, whether in Athens, Thebes, or remote Acragas, charity in the sense of selfless love, almsgiving, pity, and concern for the orphan, the widow, and the elderly was widely and generously practiced. The Greek *charis* originally denoted a gift of favor inspired by the Charites (the three Graces), goddesses who personified not only physical attributes such as charm, grace, and beauty but also kindness, goodwill, and gratitude.

Under the influence of the great philosophers Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, and of the Stoics, charity was perceived as a duty toward all "broken and destitute humanity wherever found." It was a normal and religious obligation, a social and economic need. The pre-Socratic philosophers had held that justice and equality were principles of divine origin. Pythagoras, in particular, emphasized equality and harmony in social relationships. "All human laws are nourished by one, which is divine," adds Heraclitus. There are no political or economic laws, only moral laws.

For the great thinkers of the fifth and the fourth centuries BCE, doing good for the sake of goodness was the only moral ground for charity. A cardinal principle of Greek religion and social thought was that the divinity is good and the cause of good. Plato writes that for "the cause of evil we must look in other things and not in God" (*Republic* 2.18). Neither God nor man can be really good without in some way communicating his goodness to others. Aristotle adds, "If all men vied with each other in moral nobility and strove to perform the noblest deeds, the common welfare would be fully realized, while individuals also could enjoy the greatest of goods, inasmuch as a virtue is the greatest good" (*Nicomachean Ethics* 9.8.7). Thus, "the conferring of a benefit where a return is not sought is morally acceptable, and the value of the gift is not to be judged by its intrinsic worth but by the spirit of one giver." Aristotle insisted on the idea of "the cheerful giver." Being good meant doing good.

Poverty should not be tolerated, for, according to Aristotle, it leads to the erosion of a democratic state and constitutes the basis of social revolts (*Politics* 6.3.4). Professional beggars were banned by Homeric society and Solon's and Plato's Athens as well as by Sparta. Nevertheless, poverty was accepted as a fact of life, and charity a means for its relief. The Greeks invoked curses upon men "who failed to provide water for the thirsty, fire for anyone in need of it, burial. . . , [hospitality, or] directions for a lost stranger."

Much of Greek religious and social thought was adopted by such Roman thinkers as Cicero and Seneca, who in their exposition of *caritas* and *beneficia* echo Aristotle's teachings and the Greek understanding of *philanthropia.* Whether for the sake of honor or other motives, much charity was practiced in the Roman Empire, especially in the *alimenta,* measures introduced to assist orphans and poor children. Initiated by private philanthropists, the system was adopted by the imperial government after the reign of Nerva (CE 96–98).

Charity in Christianity is synonymous with *agape*, or love. Whether it was a new commandment, as Christ had taught (*John* 13:34), is controversial. One thing is certain: Christianity proved more ecumenical and proclaimed that "there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female. . .but all [are] one in Christ Jesus" (*Gal.* 3:28). In its practical application charity went beyond Jews, Greeks, and Romans. It stressed that "love is of God, and he who loves is born of God and knows God. He who does not love does not know God; for God is love" (*1 John* 4:7–8). God's love requires that human beings love one another (*1 John* 4:11). There is no better account of the nature and the fruits of Christian charity than the thirteenth chapter of Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians. Charity is defined as the love of God expressed through the God-made-man event in Christ and as humans' love of neighbor, the solvent of hatred of the enemy.

In postapostolic and medieval Christian thought, charity was the will of God, an act of propitiation to a means of eternal reward, a social obligation, and an act of righteousness. The motives might be selfless altruism, desire for fame, inner satisfaction, or a desire to imitate the divinity. Byzantine society, its government and church, monastic communities and individuals, made charity a major concern and established numerous institutions for the sick, orphans, widows, indigent, and others in need of rehabilitation and assistance. The Greek Christian tradition of charity, as selfless love and as acts of alms deeds, was established by the great Church fathers of the fourth century. To possess and practice charity is to imitate God, who is absolute and who has manifested love. Thus, Gregory the Theologian's admonition: "Prove yourself a god. . .imitating the mercy of God. There is nothing more godly in man than to imitate God's beneficent acts" (Homily 14).

Charity was also a cardinal feature of medieval Western European society, which was guided by the Church there. Augustine of Hippo, who exerted a major influence on the ethics of Latin and Western Christianity, writes that charity must be an inward quality of a person before it can be expressed outwardly as love and alms deeds. One cannot love others if one does not love oneself. Selfless charity works no evil. Eleemosynary deeds without selfless charity are not a guarantee of divine favor. God considers not the person to whom the gift is given, but the spirit in which it is made (*The City of God*, Book 21, 27). And Caesarius of Arles, nearly a century of later, added that "if you possess charity [in the sense of selfless love], you have God; and if you have no God, what do you possess?" (Homily 22).

Charity as a synonym for love, either as God's love for man or man's reciprocal love for God expressed in acts of love for fellow men, a conception central to the Western tradition, is not explicitly stated in Buddhism, Hinduism, or Islam. Nor do we find definitions of charity similar to conceptions of *philanthropia* (Plato, Plutarch) or *agape* (New Testament). The Buddha's four noble truths *(catvāri-ārya-satyāni)* inherently include love and compassion toward fellow human beings. Buddhism sees suffering as a universal reality, but a reality with a cause. Suffering may be relieved through application of three principles: *metta* or *maitri*, loving kindness actively pursued; *karuna*, compassion or mercy, which does not repay evil with evil; and *mudita*, a feeling of approval of other people's good deeds. These principles find their expression in works of social welfare, including public works projects and the maintenance of hospitals and shelters or hospices.

The meaning of charity in Hinduism depends upon the interpretation of *dharma*, "the primary virtue of the active life of the Hindu." *Dharma* is the inner disposition and the conserving Idā, while the action by which it is realized is known as *karman*, which is expressed in physical, verbal, and mental forms. The physical forms consist of good deeds such as hospitality, duties to wife and children, and assistance to those in need. Verbal charity is identified with proper or gentle speech and courteous behavior. Mental charity is synonymous with piety.

Hinduism had given a primary position to personal ethics. And the Upaniṣads clearly indicate that each person is responsible for his economic or social condition. If individuals are moral and perfect and economically safe, society will ultimately be perfect. Thus, personal charity is enjoined to a degree that makes organized charity unnecessary.

If a human is a creature good by nature, then humans can develop ethics of benevolence, justice, or righteousness. Jainism, in particular, which stresses self-cultivation more than social involvement, sees self-perfection as the best means of alleviating social misery. The value of charity as an act of benevolence is judged by the degree of personal cultivation and sacrifice involved. It is a spontaneous and personal virtue, instinctive rather than acquired. "To love your neighbor as yourself" is inherent in the Vedic formula of unity with the absolute self, "That art thou" *(tat tvam asi)*. Because one loves oneself, one is bound to love one's neighbor, who is not different from oneself.

Charity in Islam depends on the belief in an omnipotent God, master of humankind, which not only receives God's mercy but is always in danger of incurring his wrath. Thus, mankind needs to serve God by means of good works, including almsgiving, both voluntary offerings (*sadaqat*) and legally proscribed ones (*zakāt*), kindness, and good treatment of parents, orphans, and the elderly. A summary of Islam's moral code bearing on charity is found in the Qur'ān's seventeenth *sūrah*, lines 23–30. "The Lord has decreed . . . kindness to parents. . . . Give the kinsman his due, and the needy, and the wayfarer. . . . Come not near the wealth of the orphan. . . ." These and other similar admonitions constitute the outward signs of piety, the means of expiating offenses, and the path to ultimate salvation. The specific forms of charity in Islam were also given institutional expression through endowments known as a *waqf.*

Whether or not influenced by religious traditions or humanistic motives inherent in natural law, there are in today's world hundreds of national and international organizations dedicated to some forms of charitable activity. A few of the better known charitable agencies would include CARE, Oxfam, UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund), and Civil Society International.

CARE, an international consortium of member states, is devoted to distribution of food and clothes to the needy but also dedicated to the reduction of poverty among the world's poorest countries. Like CARE, Oxfam, in addition to practical daily charities, tries to find solutions to overcome poverty and improve health. It responds to needs of countries that have suffered from earthquakes, floods, and epidemics.

UNICEF, under the aegis of the United Nations, is committed to charity affecting poor and destitute children. Health care, improved nutrition, clean water, education are some of UNICEF's priorities.

Among its various missions, the works of Civil Society International includes aid to the poor, the orphaned, the elderly, the sick, and the disabled.

SEE ALSO Almsgiving; Grace; Hospitality; Zakāt.

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CHARLEMAGNE (c. 742–814), also known as Charles the Great and Carolus Magnus; king of the Franks (768–800) and first emperor of a revived Empire in the West (800–814). For three years after the death in 768 of Pépin III (the Short), the *regnum Francorum* was divided between his two sons, but in 771 the elder, Charlemagne, became sole ruler, although not without opposition. His unusually long reign was of major importance in the history of western Europe and the Christian church and the Latin culture associated with it. In 773–774, responding to papal appeal, Charlemagne invaded the Lombard kingdom, annexed it to his own and then visited Rome, where he was ceremonially received and given an "authoritative" text of church law. On a second visit (781) his two sons were baptized by the pope and given subordinate kingdoms.

Involuntary conversions and the establishment of an organized church followed Charlemagne's military victories over the Saxons (beginning in 772), but Saxony was for years beset by bloody and destructive rebellions. Nevertheless, the monastery of Fulda, the bishopric of Würzburg, and new settlements such as Paderborn became centers of organized missionary activity. In 785 the leaders of Saxon resistance accepted baptism, although it may be doubted whether many Saxons followed their example until further pressures, including severe punishment for "pagan" practices, had been employed. The conversion of the Frisians was simultaneously being achieved, although with less violence.

A succession of campaigns (led first by the king himself and then by subordinate commanders) against the Asiatic Avars west of the middle Danube and against Slav tribes to their south ended Avar independence and opened up the region to missionary activity from Salzburg and Aquileia. Campaigns were also conducted intermittently against northern Slav peoples, who then received clergy from the new Saxon bishoprics, and late in the reign the Franks were also in both military and peaceful contact with the Danes. In the southwest, a campaign into Muslim Spain in 778 ended disastrously, supposedly at Roncevalles in the Pyrenees. Subsequently, however, local commanders gradually extended Frankish authority over the predominantly Christian lands as far south as the Ebro (the region of Navarre and the later Catalonia).

Charlemagne inherited a concept of kingship that emphasized the obligation and legitimacy of extending the Christian faith by force of arms while also securing it at home. To these ends came also the utilization of the church hierarchy as well as lay officials as a means of social control; both groups were expected to give effect to the legal rules and pious exhortations expressed in capitularies promulgated in Latin by the assemblies that brought together bishops, abbots, and leading laymen in 779, 789, and frequently in later years. The king's personal devotion to *religio Christiana*, with which he is credited by his biographer Einhard (writing c. 829), was essentially expressed in observance of the externals of worship as provided by the court chaplains, with little regard for spirituality or personal morality. Even before 779, however, church authorities were making the king aware that among his responsibilities should be the encouragement of learning (*eruditio*) as a basis for more effective government and the more correct understanding of the texts on which the Christian faith was grounded.

Peter of Pisa, remembered as the person who taught Charlemagne "Latin grammar," and other learned Italians joined the still-itinerant court. Around 780 Charlemagne seems to have invited churches and monasteries to supply copies of books in their possession; this was the beginning of a court library that by 790 included a range of patristic writings as well as a remarkable collection of pre-Christian classical texts. A small number of manuscripts, mostly liturgical, were decorated in a distinctive and eventually influential style by resident artists. The circle of scholars was notably enlarged by the arrival of Alcuin and other Englishmen and of the Visigothic Theodulf (later bishop of Orléans). Theodulf is generally accepted as the principal author of the remarkable first example of court scholarship, the so-called *Libri Carolini*, composed and revised (792–793) to counter the current Byzantine and papal concept of images and the adoration due them.

The heterodox views of Spanish ecclesiastics on Christ's relationship with God the Father (adoptionism) were condemned in Frankish councils and challenged in detail by Alcuin, apparently with ultimate success. An increasing concern also with unity of practice in the church was expressed in the provision of standard service texts. However, the "Gregorian" sacramentary sent from Rome was in fact ill suited to the needs of churches in Francia and had to be supplemented; in practice, mixed and divergent books were in use for private and public devotion and study for many decades.

In the 790s the court was providing adolescents (including laymen, e.g., Einhard) who had received a basic education elsewhere with more advanced instruction based on the antique tradition of the "liberal arts" and especially the trivium of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic. The importance to church and kingdom of correct Latin was emphasized in a royal circular letter, but since this Latin was to be pronounced as spelled, a gap was opened between the language of scholarship and worship on the one hand and everyday speech in Romance (as well as Germanic) regions on the other. Serious attempts were nonetheless made to communicate the elements of the faith to the laity in their vernacular.

Charlemagne and his court increasingly remained at Aachen, where an impressive group of palace buildings including an octagonal chapel was built. This was accompanied by speculation on the nature of the Frankish king's authority over an *imperium Christianum.* In 799 Pope Leo III was the victim of a violent attack in Rome, and he appealed to Charlemagne; the latter's representatives cleared the pope of unspecified charges leveled against him, but final judgment on his attackers was reserved for the king. In the summer of 800 Charlemagne visited Saint-Martin's, Tours, and its abbot, Alcuin, and then journeyed via Ravenna to Rome. On December 23 he presided over an assembly at which the participating bishops declared that they could not pass judgment on the pope. The latter took an oath of innocence, and the Roman rebels were dealt with. On December 25 at mass in Saint Peter's the pope crowned Charlemagne, as he prayed and those present acclaimed him, "Augustus, great and powerful emperor of the Romans."

The ceremonies had obviously been carefully planned to recognize Charlemagne's unique authority and achievements, but he may well have been unprepared for the precise way in which he was made "emperor in the West." Even if he was worried about the reactions of the imperial court at Constantinople, however, his new title was very soon used in official documents and was subsequently carried on a distinctive new coin. Moreover, the almost annual promulgation of capitularies after 802 and his complaints that many were regularly ignored suggest that the emperor felt that he had assumed new responsibilities toward his Christian subjects.

The resident scholars and advisers were now predominantly younger men; the older generation had left the court for bishoprics and abbeys, and offered their views on doctrinal matters, in writing or at special assemblies. In 806 Charlemagne planned to divide his territorial empire, probably without passing on the title. The death of two of his sons left him with a single heir, Louis, and in 813 he was personally crowned by his father at Aachen. In the same year councils were held simultaneously in different parts of Francia to make more detailed regulations for church organization and practice. When Charlemagne died on January 28, 814, he was buried at Aachen in a tomb whose form and simple inscription are known only from Einhard. His death did not constitute the sharp break often supposed: some of the old courtiers remained and there was continuity of artistic activity at the new emperor's court. Louis did, however, have a deeper concern for Christian spirituality, and the fullest flowering of Carolingian learning took place when the territorial and political unity of the empire was already past history.

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DONALD A. BULLOUGH (1987)

CHASTITY. A central virtue in the Greek, Roman, and Christian traditions, chastity (Gk. *sōphrosunē*, Lat. *castitas*) reflects the values of purity, blamelessness, and order. The term is sometimes misunderstood as referring to asceticism or sexual abstinence, but the relationship between chastity and renunciation is one of tension and in many cases opposition. In its original context in the ancient Mediterranean, chastity is marked by a connotation of fertility and reproduction, and this has persisted in Christianity across its history, though with important and complicating developments described below.

GREEK *SŌPHROSUNĒ* AND ROMAN *CASTITAS*. From archaic times, the Greek poets had celebrated the virtue of mental balance and self-mastery, *sōphrosunē*. *Sōphrosunē* stood for the moderation and good sense of an Odysseus, in contrast both to *megalopsychia*, the high-minded boldness and honor of a warrior hero such as Ajax or Achilles, and to *hybris*, the unwary pride that could only lead to *nemesis*, destruction. Where men are concerned, it is not until fifth-century Athens that this idea of balance begins to include emphasis on moderation (though by no means rejection) of the sexual appetites. For women, however, the sexual loyalty and self-control implicit in the male version of *sōphrosunē* is explicit in the earliest sources. The *Odyssey*'s description of Penelope—in her faithful rejection of suitors when her husband Odysseus was believed dead, and her initial caution on being told that he had been seen alive—was accepted by all later writers as the classic example of the virtue.

In their origin, the values of sound-mindedness, moderation, and balance denoted by *sōphrosunē* bear no relation to Greek ideas of ritual purity (*hagnotēs*) and pollution, but by the early fifth century BCE purity had come to have a moral connotation, and this had repercussions for *sōphrosunē*. Plato (d. 347 BCE) developed this further, according a role to *sōphrosunē* in his idea of *katharsis* (purification). In later antiquity, Neoplatonists such as Plotinus (d. 269/70 CE) and the Christian Gregory of Nazianzus (d. 389 CE) would redefine *sōphrosunē* as a means of purifying the soul and elevating it towards union with the One. But for the orators of the classical and Hellenistic periods, masculine *sōphrosunē* was essentially a civic virtue, the quality allowing the good citizen to cooperate with his peers and rivals on behalf of the common good. At the same time, *sōphrosunē* is the most common virtue attributed on memorial reliefs and tombstones for Greek women, both married and unmarried.

Different aspects of *sōphrosunē* correspond to distinct Latin equivalents. The male civic virtue of self-control corresponds to *temperantia* and *moderatio*, virtues which are commended by the Latin orators in terms similar to Greek praise for *sōphrosunē*. But chastity (*castitas*), the domestic or sexual aspect, comes from the Latin vocabulary of ritual purity. Corresponding to the Sanskrit Ṣ́iṣ́ţah (instructed) and originally denoting conformity to religious law or rite, the adjective *castus* (from which *castitas* is derived) acquired, in classical Latin, an ethical dimension through its similarity with the participial form of *careō* (to lack). In writers such as Cicero (d. 43 BCE) *castus* could be taken to mean "without fault," attested alongside the earlier meaning of ritual conformity or expertise. The range of meanings of *castus* is reflected in its antonym *incestus*, which denotes both ritual and moral impurity. For Roman women, *castitas*, like *sōphrosunē*, was the virtue of wisdom and fidelity in marriage, with a strong connotation of fertility (and specifically of producing children whose paternity was not in doubt). The chaste, fertile wife was a prized figure in Roman society, a cherished icon of *romanitas*.

CHRISTIANITY. It is through Latin Christianity that *castitas* exerted its greatest influence in the European tradition, and developments in late antiquity reflect an emerging tension over how to define the virtue. From earliest times, both *sōphrosunē* and *castitas* had been applicable to both the married and the unmarried. To the degree that restraint of sexuality was an important dimension, this was in service of the civic values of monogamy and fertility. A virgin's chastity foretold its own fulfilment at the next, married, stage of life in harmonious domesticity and the production of legitimate offspring. Earliest Christianity did not challenge the ancient definitions of *sōphrosunē* and *castitas*. Although many New Testament and early Christian writers perceived an eschatological value in sexual continence (*enkrateia*), the second-century author of the Pastoral Epistles of the New Testament embraces a traditional Greek idea of *sōphrosunē* as a civic virtue, and even the proponents of *enkrateia* do not define it as a synonym of *sōphrosunē*. But in the fourth and fifth centuries Christian ascetic writers sought to redefine *sōphrosunē* and *castitas* in ascetic terms. In the case of Latin Christianity this would have significant repercussions up to and beyond the Reformation.

A minority of Latin Christian writers, among them the brilliant but famously intemperate biblical scholar Jerome (d. 420 CE), argued that it was the ascetic, not the legitimately married householder, who best exemplified the virtue of *castitas*. The more traditionally-minded Ambrose of Milan (d. 397 CE) found the winning formula, reasserting the ancient compatibility between premarital and marital aspects of *castitas*, yet describing *castitas* as taking three forms. Conjugal, widowed, and virginal *castitas* were, however, ranked according to an ascending order of virtue, in terms which evoked the New Testament hierarchy of the thirty-fold, sixty-fold, and hundred-fold fruits. This definition would endure through the Latin Middle Ages, and the Benedictine monastic commitment to poverty, chastity, and obedience draws on this "inclusive" definition. Perhaps the most important medieval contribution is that of Thomas Aquinas (d. 1273 CE), who defined *castitas* as an aspect of the cardinal virtue of temperance, moderating the sense appetite of both body and soul. (While the less perfect virtue of continence strengthens the soul against the assaults of passion, *castitas* operates at a deeper level, tranquilizing the impulse itself. *Castitas* thus sanctifies both the married couple in legitimate sexual union, and the ascetic in sexual renunciation.)

Since the early Modern period, the Protestant Reformed Churches have returned to a more ancient emphasis on the chastity of the married in their refusal to endorse clerical and monastic sexual renunciation. Catholic theology up to the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) followed Aquinas in defining virginity as the highest form of chastity, while post-Vatican II theologians have asserted the moral value of sexual union in marriage as a sign and expression of conjugal and procreative charity.

JUDAISM AND ISLAM. Biblical, Hellenistic, and Rabbinic Judaism do not have a concept precisely analogous to *sōphrosunē* and *castitas,* though sexual virtue is understood as a matter both of ritual purity and of ethics. Although ancient Israelite warriors had been required to practice sexual abstinence in preparation for battle, throughout Jewish history the procreative union of legitimate marriage has been prized as a response to the biblical dictum, "Be fruitful and multiply." In early Israel, the high priest was a married householder, and his family's behavior was scrutinized along with his own for sexual and ethical purity. Up to and including the Rabbinic period, polygyny meant that sexual fidelity to a single partner was required in women rather than in men; adultery, for example, was defined as extra-marital union involving a married woman. (A married man was not legally an adulterer unless his partner was another man's wife.) Fertility and secure paternity seem to have been the object. Though a wife's sexual virtue was highly valued, this aspect is not persistently singled out for praise in Biblical literature. The good wife of *Proverbs* 31, for example, whose price is celebrated as having been above that of jewels, was in fact praised for her shrewd business sense rather than for sexual virtue, though the latter is likely to have been taken as a given.

Islamic ideas surrounding sexual virtue are broadly compatible with those of Biblical Judaism. This is reflected in the idea that marriage, householding, and reproduction are a central ethical duty for men as well as women, and in the acceptance of polygyny, with the corresponding asymmetry in the definition of male and female sexual virtue. Legitimate conjugal sexuality includes periods of abstinence such as the fasting days of Ramaḍān or the pilgrimage to Mecca, but permanent sexual continence is not favored.

Most literature on chastity in Islam deals with its legal aspect, the regulation of sexual activity for both men and women in conformity with notions of ritual purity or *ṭahārah.* Female seclusion, *haram* (Eng., "harem"), along with specific forms of dress designed to signal married and particularly wifely chastity, are practiced in culturally diverse forms (and in varying degrees) in many Islamic communities, underlining the cultural centrality of sexual virtue. (*Haram,* the area wherein things prohibited to immortality are present, is a term also used to describe the sanctuary area around mosques and religious sites such as the Kaʿbah in Mecca.)

According to the Qurʾān *iḥtīsham,* modesty in personal appearance, is required of both men and women. For women, the adoption of severe forms of self-covering such as facial veiling, particularly by groups living in proximity to Muslim or non-Muslim communities whose female dress is comparatively relaxed, can serve as a means of marking a community's boundary, and even of broadcasting its dissent from a dominant culture in politically charged terms. By contrast, in South Asia seclusion of women, commonly referred to in English as "purdah" (*pardā* in Hindi and Urdu, from the Persian *parde,* "curtain") occurs in both Muslim and non-Muslim contexts, including Christian communities.

HINDUISM. The broad array of South Asian traditions, sects, and religious-philosophical schools which are referred to under the umbrella term 'Hinduism' share no single defining feature. In general it can be said that their mode of defining the relationship between sexual and ritual purity is decidedly different from that of the religious traditions springing from the ancient Mediterranean empires. However, in the case of Islam a millennium of proximity between Islam and indigenous traditions in South Asia has not been without effect (so, for example, South Asian Muslim and Hindu approaches to purdah often reflect mutual influence).

While European writers such as Max Weber have tended to emphasize the traditions of the world-renouncing ascetic in South Asia in terms which highlight its superficial commonalities with European asceticism, these tradition are neither so dominant in South Asian religious practice, nor so similar to their European counterparts, as has been implied. Important in this respect is the fact that in South Asian traditions the purity/impurity binary coexists with the binary of auspiciousness and inauspiciousness. Despite their structural similarity, these binaries often work across each other rather than in parallel. Thus sexuality is generally defined as impure rather than pure, but as auspicious rather than inauspicious. The identification of *śakti,* the generative and vital principle, with women means that maternity, like sexuality, is seen as powerfully auspicious, and as a positively valued arena of female agency, at the same time as childbirth and the sexual act are ritually impure. Though householdership is perceived as normative for women in most South Asian traditions, with devotion to the health, longevity, and prosperity of husband and sons the core duty (*dharma*), it is generally held that for both men and women *dharma* may be defined according to life-stage. Post-reproductive asceticism for women is widely valued, with the rejection altogether of the householder *dharma* for women a minority position. Since antiquity, a strand of tradition has venerated the Hindu widow as an exemplar of perfect wifely loyalty and devotion if on the death of her husband she became *satī* by throwing herself on her husband's funeral pyre. The practice, never widely attested, nonetheless is intermittently attested as having elicited considerable religious devotion. It continues sporadically to the present, and has been the subject of international concern and controversy in the aftermath of the death of Roop Kanwar, a young Rajasthani widow, in 1987.

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KATE COOPER (2005)

CHENG HAO (1032–1085) and his younger brother Cheng Yi were two of the most important thinkers of Song dynasty (960–1279) China, and their writings in such fields as cosmology, philosophy, self-cultivation, ethics, ritual, governance, and classical studies influenced the course of East Asian thought for centuries. Much of their work was transmitted orally and compiled by their students, who did not always attribute a particular saying to either of the brothers but simply credited it to "Master Cheng." Hence one cannot always distinguish between the thought of Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi, who nonetheless shared many ideas in common.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT. The Chengs spent much of their lives near the capitals of Luoyang and Kaifeng and were personally acquainted with other important thinkers from that region of central China, such as Shao Yong (1011–1077), Zhou Dunyi (1017–1073), and Zhang Zai (1020–1077). The Chengs hailed from a family that had served as scholar-officials for the Song rulers since the beginning of the dynasty. Their first teacher was their mother, nee Hou, who was herself highly educated, and they were later influenced by her attitudes toward folk religious beliefs. One of the official residences the Cheng family occupied was initially believed by the household staff to be inhabited by monstrous apparitions. When Ms. Hou calmly dismissed such notions, the "hauntings" ceased.

In their teens, the Cheng brothers studied for a year with Zhou Dunyi. Zhou understood the universe as a living entity that is always in motion, producing and reproducing creatures endlessly, and he apprehended its energies so intimately that he refused to cut down the weeds that grew outside his window. The Chengs displayed a similar affinity for living things: Cheng Hao, like Zhou, did not clear the weeds outside his window, and Cheng Yi in his early twenties wrote an essay describing his efforts to save small fish from the predations of hungry cats and human beings. (Later in life, however, Cheng Yi deemed his youthful writings overwrought.)

As a young man, Cheng Hao attended the Imperial Academy in Kaifeng. In that city he met the scholar Zhang Zai (who was also his relative) and impressed Zhang with his understanding of the *Book of Changes*, an ancient and arcane divinatory text that had inspired many layers of philosophical commentaries. In his early twenties Cheng Hao attained the "presented scholar" *(jinshi)* degree, a mark of scholarly achievement that also facilitated his entry into government service. He served in various official capacities in Shaanxi, Jiangsu, Sichuan, and Henan and earned a reputation as an effective practitioner of good governance who educated the people and promoted their welfare.

Like his mother, he tried to disabuse the common people of folk beliefs he perceived as harmful to their well being. When he first took up his post in Huxian in Shaanxi, for example, rumors abounded of a statue of a stone Buddha whose head emitted rays of light. This at once fascinated and frightened the local populace. But after Cheng Hao ordered a monk to cut off the Buddha's head and bring it to his office so that he, too, could witness it the next time it glowed, the radiance stopped. The Chengs were also critical of some forms of contemporary Buddhism, which they decried as false teachings that intimidated the common people with fears of death. Moreover, they claimed, Buddhists were either too wanton or too rigid, tended to be selfish, were afraid of life and death, and were disconnected from reality.

Cheng Hao served at court in the capital of Kaifeng for a time in his thirties, but his promotion of idealistic models of good governance—sage rulers who embodied humaneness, righteousness, and integrity—eventually clashed with those of reformist political rivals such as Wang Anshi (1021–1086). He was again stationed in various postings outside the capital, and during a sojourn in Luoyang he spent considerable time with his neighbor Shao Yong, who was known for his prognosticatory writings on the *Book of Changes.* In the later years of their careers, the Chengs focused more on teaching and developed a following of disciples, among them the scholars Lü Dalin (1040–1092), Xie Liangzuo (c. 1050–c. 1120), You Zuo (1053–1123), and Yang Shi (1053–1135). Cheng Hao became known as Master Mingdao, or "The Master who Illuminates the Way."

COSMOLOGY. Cheng Hao's cosmology was greatly influenced by Zhang Zai's *Western Inscription (Ximing),* a short text that describes the universe as a large family wherein a human being is a child of heaven and earth, all people are one's siblings, and all creatures are one's companions. One's own body is coextensive with the powers of the universe, and one's nature is at one with its operations. Cheng Hao was inspired by this vision but particularly emphasized the role of human values in sustaining the subtle consubstantiality of the individual and the cosmos. In his discussion of humaneness (*ren,* also translated as benevolence), Cheng Hao asserted that people who could understand this integral virtue of humaneness could do nothing less than form one body with all things and participate fully in the operations of the universe. Following the classical thinker Mengzi, he believed that human beings were also responsible for adhering to the cardinal virtues of righteousness *(yi),* ritual propriety *(li),* wisdom *(zhi),* and trustworthiness *(xin)* and implementing them with integrity (*cheng,* or sincerity) and reverence (*jing,* or seriousness). A profound pattern of an underlying commonality that Cheng understood as "principle" (*li,* or pattern) permeated human nature (*xing*), heaven and earth, the Way (*dao*), and, in fact, all things. Principle was one, but it manifested itself in the world in multiple ways.

Human nature was bestowed by heaven, and being in accord with that nature was the Way, an ineffable path beyond the realm of physical form. Human nature was essentially good, but Cheng Hao (unlike his brother) did not disallow that evil (*o*) was not part of principle or the nature. Humans were also susceptible to negative deficiencies in their *qi* (the vital energy, vital force, or material force that suffuses all living things), flaws that were metaphorically described as muddied, turbid, or clouded conditions within what otherwise would be clear water. Desires led one astray, but they could be readily overcome with reverence and humaneness. The Chengs spoke often of Confucius's idea of "controlling the self and returning to ritual" (*Analects* 12:1), a program that itself constituted humaneness. All solutions to the problem of excessive desires were already complete within one, provided one only made the effort to eliminate selfishness.

The Chengs understood ritual at one level as an innate sense of propriety and decorum that guided daily human interactions; it was also the body of institutionalized, regularized rituals and ceremonies performed at occasions that required communication between human beings and the numinous powers that suffused their world. Cheng Hao warned that one should not become too involved in the external particulars of rites; it was more important that one turn inward and understand their principle. Rites would then channel human emotions in appropriate directions and provide direction for the nature. But Cheng Hao was nonetheless noted for his superb grasp of ritual institutions, and the Chengs were sought out for their expert advice on such matters. They were versed both in historical minutiae and contemporary ritual usages and were consulted on such matters as sacrificial offerings, rites of passage, burial practices, geomancy, monstrosities and prodigies, and the construction of altars and temples to various kinds of spirits.

The Chengs' views on ghosts *(gui)* and spirits *(shen)* derived especially from classical texts such as the *Book of Changes,* the *Book of Odes* (*Shijing*), and the *Book of Rites (Liji),* particularly the chapter of the *Rites* that became known independently as the *Centrality and Equilibrium* (*Zhongyong,* or *Doctrine of the Mean*). They understood spirits as manifestations of the operations of heaven and the transformative powers of creation, which is not to say that spirits were merely depersonalized forces. The Chengs implicitly understood ancestral spirits as individual entities that should be fed and given places to rest during sacrificial offerings. When presenting sacrificial offerings, for example, food must be divided into individual portions, for the spirits cannot merge into one to enjoy them. These two perspectives—that spirits are cosmic powers and particularized entities—are not necessarily contradictory, given Cheng's larger vision that principle is one but its manifestations are many.

Although Cheng Hao's teachings were proscribed for a number of years after his death, his spirit was posthumously elevated in rank in the thirteenth century and was given offerings thereafter in Confucian temples throughout East Asia.

SEE ALSO Cheng Yi; Li.

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DEBORAH SOMMER (1987 AND 2005)

CHENG YI (1033–1107), like his older brother Cheng Hao, was one of the most important figures in the history of Chinese thought. He spent most of his life accompanying his father or brother in their official postings, establishing academies and teaching disciples.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT. His early years followed the same direction as those of his brother. An essay he composed while still a student at the Imperial Academy in Kaifeng received accolades from examiner Hu Yuan (993–1059), who offered him a position there. Cheng soon became noted for his scholarship, and he attained the "presented scholar" (*jinshi*) degree in his twenties. This achievement provided him entry into government service, but for most of his life he showed little interest in official rank or the remuneration it offered.

But in his fifties his fame as a learned scholar and person of character earned him for two years the position of lecturer on the classics to the twelve-year-old Emperor Zhezong (r. 1086–1100)—or more accurately, to the boy's regent, Empress Dowager Xuanren (d. 1093). Cheng admonished them to model themselves after the sage rulers of antiquity and adhere to moral values. His uncompromising nature gained him enemies, whereas his writings and lectures attracted many followers from high office and distant places. He spent much of his life in the Luoyang region, but in 1097 he was banished to Sichuan for several years, and his teachings were prohibited. There he completed a commentary on the *Book of Changes* around 1099 (the only major work he compiled himself), and according to local folk tradition he wrote it while living in a cave in Fuling (near modern Chongqing). He was pardoned a year before his death, but the political situation was still such that only a handful of his followers ventured to attend his funeral.

INFLUENCES AND COSMOLOGY. Like his brother Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi was much influenced by the classical thought of such texts as the *Analects* of Confucius, the *Mengzi,* the *Book of Rites* (of which the *Great Learning* and *Centrality and Equilibrium,* or *Doctrine of the Mean,* are two chapters), and the *Book of Changes.* The brothers shared many ideas about cosmology and human nature, but Cheng Yi did not allow that negative tendencies, or evil (*o,* a term that means "not good" but that does not necessarily carry the sense of moral turpitude or depravity present in some Christian notions of evil), were originally present in human nature. They might nonetheless be present in the *qi,* or vital energy, that suffused all things. The human mind or heart (*xin*) was originally good, and human beings were endowed with moral virtues that allowed them, with effort, to overcome the potential selfishness of human desires that might arise as they interacted with the external world. Through reverent attentiveness (*jing*), integrity (*cheng*), and adherence to ritual, they could realize their true natures, abide in the Way (*dao*), and become sages. Underlying all the multiple phenomena of the universe in its myriad fluctuations was a oneness or common pattern called principle *(li)* or heavenly principle (*tian li*). Principle was a notion present even in early classical texts, but the Chengs made it integral to a system of thought that emphasized an essential commonality between the human realm and the operations of the cosmos.

Sagehood was accessible to all and need not be reached through book learning. In his early essay "On What Master Yan Loved to Learn," Cheng Yi emphasized that thousands of Confucius's disciples had mastered texts, but only Master Yan, or Yan Hui, was lauded for his love of learning—learning to become a sage. For Cheng Yi, learning to be a sage meant looking inward and developing one's own inherent moral potential (which was informed by the same principle that directed the natural growth and fruitfulness of the cosmos) to the point where the process became spontaneous and joyful. One learned by following the *Great Learning*'s program of attentively "investigating things" (*ge wu;* "things" meaning material things, living things, and events) to elucidate their principles.

The greatest numinous power in the Chengs' cosmological system was heaven (*tian*), which they understood as a life-giving, impartial, and generous source that bestowed on human beings their nature. The human mind was moreover one with the mind of heaven; human principle, one with the principle of all things. *Heaven* was one term given to a range of ineffable powers that existed in various valences. When once asked about the meaning of the ancient expression "August Heaven, the Lord on High *(haotian shangdi),*" Cheng Yi replied that when one spoke of such things in terms of form and substance, one called it "heaven"; in terms of a master, "Lord"; in terms of function, "ghosts and spirits"; in terms of subtlety, "spirit"; and in terms of nature and emotion, *"qian,"* the first hexagram of the *Book of Changes,* which denoted primal forces of the cosmos.

Cheng Yi was consulted on many matters that in the West would be called religious: people looked to him for answers to their questions about divining with tortoiseshells, selecting burial sites, performing mortuary rites, constructing ancestral temples and sacrificial halls, conducting sacrificial offerings and other rites, avoiding wanton sacrifices and spectral monstrosities, understanding the nature of spiritual beings and souls, and interpreting ancient ritual texts. He was consulted not only for his understanding of archaic rituals but also for his views on how one might interpret ancient models for contemporary needs. Cheng Yi determined a particular usage's appropriateness by the criteria of rightness or righteousness *(yi),* principle *(li),* and ritual propriety (*li,* a character different from the *li* of principle). He allowed that most, but not all, ancient usages were informed by principle.

Cheng Yi believed that commemorative votive offerings *(ji si)* presented to spiritual beings were not merely a product of human endeavor but were ultimately rooted in heavenly principle, the heavenly nature, and the human mind. Even otters, wolves, and eagles made sacrificial offerings, he asserted, following long-held beliefs about animal behavior described in the *Book of Rites,* so how much more should one expect humans to show respect to their ancestors and recompense their kindness with food offerings. Votive rites were patterned on the processes of the cosmos itself as manifested in the hexagrams "Dispersion" (*huan*) and "Congregation" *(cui)* in the *Book of Changes.* Offerings presented at ancestral temples countered the centrifugal forces of dispersion and congregated the minds of human beings into a unified direction. Whereas Cheng Yi acknowledged that the principles of votive offerings were difficult to fathom, he criticized his wealthy contemporaries for enjoying this-worldly pleasures at the expense of properly maintaining ancestral temples. Such people were no better than birds and beasts.

Cheng Yi was often queried about ghosts (*gui,* a term that in antiquity usually referred to ghosts of deceased human beings) and spirits (*shen,* which in ancient times might refer to human spirits but could also refer to numinous powers of all kinds). He was well known for stating that they are "creative transformations" (*zao hua*), a notion taken from the *Book of Changes.* This is not to say that for Cheng Yi spiritual beings did not exist, but that they were very subtle. When asked whether one could resonate with and invoke the spiritual and luminous realm (*shen ming*), Cheng Yi replied that it was possible; filial piety (*xiao*) and sibling amity *(di)* allowed one to communicate with ancestral spirits. Filiality and amity were precisely the "principle" of the spiritual realm.

Reverence was the proper attitude toward spirits with which one had no kin relationship, such as the spirits of mountains and rivers, which were thought to produce rain. Cheng Yi found irreverent the folk practice of worshipping sculpted anthropomorphic images believed to represent those powers; it was not the wood or clay images that produced rain, he said, but the mountains themselves, and it was they, not the images, that deserved reverence. Cheng Yi criticized other folk, Buddhist, and Daoist practices and beliefs that he believed were far removed from classical antecedents. He derided the Buddhists for "hating things" and attempting to remove themselves from the matrix of continuous creation and found laughable, for example, the Daoist (*Daojia*) notion that each sense faculty of the human body has its own spirit.

Cheng Yi's views on matters religious were influential throughout Asia for centuries. By the thirteenth century, both he and his brother were themselves venerated as sages, and they received commemorative offerings in Confucian temples throughout China and East Asia until modern times. Cheng Yi outlived Cheng Hao by over twenty years and left behind a much larger body of work, mostly in the form of oral teachings recorded by his followers.

SEE ALSO Cheng Hao; Li.

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DEBORAH SOMMER (1987 AND 2005)

CHEN-JEN SEE ZHENREN

CHEN-YEN SEE ZHENYAN

CHEROKEE RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS.

The Cherokee, an Iroquoian-speaking people, refer to themselves as *Aniyvwiya,* "the Real People," or as *Anitsalagi,* their traditional name. Today, they comprise the largest Native American group in the United States. According to the 2000 U.S. Census, approximately 281,060 people identify as being of Cherokee descent, and 260,000 of those are federally recognized tribal members. Over 230,000 Cherokee are citizens of the Cherokee Nation, located in Oklahoma. The Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, in North Carolina, has approximately 12,000 members and the United Keetoowah Band has about 16,000. Cherokee citizens can be found living throughout the United States as well as within the jurisdictional boundaries of the Cherokee Nation and the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians.

The Cherokee originally occupied territory now comprising Tennessee and parts of Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia. In response to American expansionism, groups of Cherokee began emigrating to Arkansas Territory as early as 1810. In 1817 the U.S. government finalized the first treaty that called for cessions of Cherokee land in exchange for a tract of land in Arkansas for those who voluntarily emigrated west. Nineteen years later, in 1836, the U.S. Senate ratified the Treaty of New Echota, which authorized the removal of the Cherokee. Beginning in 1838, the United States sent troops, militia, and volunteers to forcibly remove the Cherokee to Indian Territory, which later became the state of Oklahoma. Those Cherokee who marched west endured hunger, extreme cold, inadequate clothing and shelter, and sickness. One-quarter of those removed, or approximately 4,000 Cherokee, died on what became known as the Trail of Tears. Only a few remnant groups, totaling approximately 1,400, avoided the removal west.

Prior to removal, the Cherokee had an agriculturally based society. They followed a ceremonial cycle linked to agricultural seasons, such as the first green grass and the first harvest of green corn. The Cherokee grew two types of corn as well as beans and squash, peas, potatoes, and pumpkins. They also gathered wild foods such as fruits and nuts, and they collected honey. The women, in the matrilineal and matrilocal world of the Cherokee, had primary responsibility for the fields and wild plant foods. Men hunted deer and other game during the fall months and assisted the women at planting and harvesting time. Husbands moved into the homes of their wives, who held proprietary responsibility for the houses, fields, and children. Such control afforded women an important place in the economic, political, and religious life of the Cherokee, which depended, in great part, upon the production of corn.

The Green Corn ceremony, the most important ceremony among the Cherokee, celebrated the harvesting of corn in late July or August. Everyone abstained from eating the new corn until they had performed the ceremony. The Green Corn ceremony marked a time of purification and renewal of individuals and society. Women swept out their homes, cleaned their fireplaces, and discarded old food and clothing. The men swept out the council house and removed the old ashes from the central hearth, whitewashed the buildings, and brought in new dirt for the ceremonial square ground. Purification rituals included fasting, scratching the body, vomiting induced through the use of emetics, and a type of bathing referred to as "going to water." Renewal involved restoration of harmony through forgiveness of wrongs and reconciliation of differences. The council also met during the Green Corn ceremony to consider national interests for the coming year.

Rituals and observances during the Green Corn ceremony reinforced the beliefs and values of the Cherokee and insured the continued well-being of the community. The ceremony recognized Selu or Corn Woman who, through the sacrifice of her body, gave the gift of corn to the Cherokee. Selu and Kanati ("The Lucky Hunter") symbolized the interdependent and complementary aspects of Cherokee society, including female and male roles, agriculture and hunting, and birth and death. They provided models for human behavior.

Cherokee regularly engaged in purification rituals before and during major events including the Green Corn ceremony, in order to restore balance and harmony to society. Scratching involved drawing a comb-like instrument across the arms, legs, and torso of the body until the blood flowed, thus purifying the body of impure or bad blood. Scratching was followed by "going to water," or submerging oneself four times in a moving stream to reinforce health and strength and to ensure long life. The men also purified themselves with White Drink, commonly referred to as Black Drink by Euro-Americans because of its dark color. Beloved women typically prepared this emetic, which the men consumed in great quantities and then vomited up, thus cleansing themselves.

During the Green Corn ceremony and other ceremonials the Cherokee drew upon elements from the Above and Below World to purify and renew themselves and This World. Fire, the symbol of purity, is understood by the Cherokee to be the messenger between human beings and the Provider. The smoke of the fire carries prayers upward. The Cherokee also use tobacco in their rituals to disseminate the power of their thoughts. According to Cherokee belief, the power to create resides in thought, and tobacco that has been made efficacious through thoughts that have been spoken or sung is, in turn, burned during rituals for protection or curing.

APPROACHES TO ETHICS AND DAILY CONDUCT. The Cherokee emphasis on maintaining harmonious or peaceful relations between human beings and between humans beings and animals or supernatural beings is reflected in Cherokee social conventions. The Cherokee reinforce amiable relations by sharing their time and material goods with each other. They reinforce harmony among themselves through acts of reciprocity and redistribution, of giving to others. The idea is that if everyone gives, everyone will receive according to their needs. Thus, one who has been fortunate in obtaining goods would share those goods with others less fortunate.

The structures of Cherokee society also serve to maintain balance between individuals, towns, and outsiders. Historically, their clan system, which consists of the Wolf, Deer, Bird, Paint, Blue, Wild Potato, and Long Hair clans, determined social, political, and religious responsibilities. Cherokee society was also organized on the basis of either the White or the Red Path. The White Path is the path of peace and the Red Path is the path of victory or war. In historical times the state of affairs (peace or the disruption of it) determined the leadership of Cherokee towns. During times of peace, White leaders oversaw the daily concerns of Cherokee society. However, during times of conflict, Red leaders became prominent in the decision making. Certain highly respected men and women, referred to as Beloveds, were charged with mediating for peace and mitigating bloodshed. They were expected to extend hospitality to all who came to their homes or their Mother Towns, beloved sacred places. The most well-known beloved Cherokee woman is Nancy Ward, a Supreme Beloved Woman, who protected American captives and military personnel as well as Cherokee during the American Revolution. Balance was maintained during wartime through a division of responsibility based on council status, gender, and age. War councils declared war and the women's council decided how war was to be conducted. Red leaders (young warriors) and White leaders (elders) sat opposite each other during council meetings, and Beloved women had special seats within the council chamber.

RELIGIOUS RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS. In response to changes brought about by contact with Europeans and, later, Americans, Cherokee people struggled with issues surrounding acculturation to Euro-American ways and retention of indigenous cultural characteristics. Various ceremonial practices reflected the changes that the Cherokee underwent. A number of winter dances, for example, featured masked dancers symbolizing visitors from distance places. They danced to protect themselves from malevolent people and to prevent disease. By the late nineteenth century the repertoire of masked winter dances had expanded to include masked caricatures of Europeans called "Boogers." The Booger Dance developed in response to devastating diseases introduced by Europeans and the disrespectful treatment of Cherokee women by white males.

The eighteenth century, an era of tumultuous change for the Cherokee, witnessed the rise of several religious movements. In February 1811, three Cherokee—a man and two women—had a vision in which the Provider, the Supreme Being, warned the Cherokee to return to their former way of life and to rid themselves of the trappings of white society. Ten months later another Cherokee man told of receiving a vision in which the Provider expressed displeasure that whites had built a house on a sacred hill and that the Cherokee people were no longer expressing thanks for the fruits of the land. By February 1812, stories of apocalyptic visions were spreading among the Cherokee. These prophecies arose at a time when Tenskwatawa, the Shawnee Prophet, and his brother, Tecumseh, were urging native people throughout the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys to join a confederacy of tribal nations to resist American encroachments. Some Cherokee responded to both Cherokee and Shawnee prophecies; however, the outbreak of the War of 1812 diverted attention away from the prophecies.

The concern of the Cherokee continued to increase as land cessions and emigrations to the west signaled major disruptions in their way of life. A movement that became known as White Path's Rebellion arose in 1827 when a group of traditionalists again tried to halt rapid acculturation by advocating the abolishment of the newly formed Cherokee constitutional government and a return to the practice of traditional dances and rituals. The traditionalists agreed to discontinue holding meetings in opposition to the Cherokee council's actions in order to present a united front against the United States' efforts to remove them from their homelands.

Those Cherokee who survived the forced removal to Indian Territory faced the uncertainties of living in an unfamiliar region. They no longer had access to their sacred places, and many of their elders, the carriers and purveyors of ritual knowledge, had died on the march. Many turned to missionaries for spiritual comfort, and Cherokee leaders advocated Western education as a means to survival. Over time the clan system declined, and ceremonies like the Green Corn ceased to be practiced among the Western Cherokee, although remnants of the ceremony remained among the Eastern Cherokee. For many rural fullbloods, Baptist churches replaced ceremonial grounds as social and religious centers. In 1859 Evan Jones, a Baptist missionary among the Western Cherokee, organized the Keetoowah Society among the fullbloods, many of whom became resistance fighters in the period before and after the Civil War. Many fullbloods did not like the political focus of the society, however, and in 1879 an amendment was drawn up to make it a religious group as well.

Shortly after the Civil War ended a number of medicine people told of a prophecy they had received through which they had learned that the son of Pig Smith would lead the Cherokee through difficult times. As a result, Pig Smith arranged for his son, Redbird, to be taught in the ways of the Keetoowah. Redbird Smith and his followers formed their own organization, known as the Nighthawk Keetoowahs. Redbird Smith turned to medicine people and their sacred formulas (ritual prayers) to access traditional Cherokee knowledge. The invention of the Cherokee syllabary in 1821 by Sequoyah (George Guess) enabled the medicine people to record their formulas, which they carried with them to Indian Territory. Through use of medical knowledge, seven sacred wampum belts, and the clan system, Redbird Smith taught the Cherokee the way of the White Path. In 1902 he built the first stomp ground of the Nighthawk Keetoowah. Soon the Cherokee had twenty-two ceremonial stomp grounds.

CONTEMPORARY CONTEXTS. Today, the stomp dance remains the major Cherokee traditional ceremonial. Stomp dances are held primarily during the summer season. Each year Cherokee from all over the country gather in the southern part of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma for a major stomp dance held on the anniversary of Redbird Smith's birthday. Another major stomp dance is held each year during the Cherokee National Holiday on Labor Day weekend.

Stickball games, once a means for resolving disputes between towns, are now a way of reinforcing harmony and community among the Cherokee. Communal feasts reflective of the Green Corn Dances of earlier times promote ideals of sharing and reciprocity. Wampum belts, White Drink, tobacco, fire, and doctoring remain strong elements of Cherokee ceremonial life.

Protestant churches, especially Baptist churches, also continue to be an important part of Cherokee religious life. Missionization among the Cherokee began as early as 1736, when Christian Priber, a Jesuit, went to Cherokee country. In 1801 the Moravians, or United Brethren, established a mission at Springplace, Georgia. Two years later Gideon Blackburn, a Presbyterian, arrived among the Cherokee, followed by the Baptists of Georgia in 1815. By 1817 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had established its first mission among the Cherokee at Brainerd, in Tennessee. The Cherokee syllabary also enabled translations of the New Testament, hymnbooks, and other religious works in the Cherokee language, thus facilitating missionary work. By 1832, 5 to 6 percent of the 5,000 or 6,000 Cherokee in Evan Jones's mission region were Baptists and a slightly greater number were Methodists.

Today, Baptist and Methodist churches flourish among the Cherokee people. Cherokee gospel-singing is popular, and large tents filled to overflowing with audiences gathered to hear Cherokee gospel songs can be seen at the annual Oklahoma Cherokee festival held on Labor Day weekend. In 1985, Eastern and Western Cherokee reunited at Red Clay in Tennessee. The reunion emphasized traditional ritual symbolism, including the use of sacred fire in a Ceremony of Flame held in Cherokee, North Carolina. The following year the two groups met in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, again reuniting relatives who had been separated since the removal of 1838.

Revivals and gospel-singing are popular events in Cherokee country, East and West. For some Cherokee, Christian churches provide the structure for maintenance of Cherokee identity and culture that the Green Corn ceremony and stomp grounds once did. The church is the place where Cherokee can gather for communal feasts, share stories, and hear the language spoken and sung. However, it is not unusual to find Cherokee who are participants in both Christian churches and traditional stomp grounds. Cherokee healers are valued as much as Western doctors by many Christian and traditional Cherokee. For both groups, relationships to the land in Northeastern Oklahoma or in North Carolina remain integral to their identity as Cherokee.

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MICHELENE E. PESANTUBBEE (2005)

CH'I SEE QI

CHIAO SEE JIAO

CHIBCHA RELIGION SEE MUISCA RELIGION

CHIH-I SEE ZHIYI

CHIH-YEN SEE ZHIYAN

CHILD. The child is a universal symbol of future potentiality as well as the carrier of the heritage of the past. The child is symbolic of the past, coming into being from generative forces that preceded it, yet for it the future is an open possibility. In *Essays on a Science of Mythology* (1949), Károly Kerényi states that the image of the primordial child represents the childhood of the world itself, even the origin of life. There is a mystery about the child, for what it will be as an adult is not yet and cannot be known. The child represents innocence, purity, wonder, receptivity, freshness, noncalculation, the absence of narrow ambition and purpose. As yet innocent of life, the child portrays the beginning, the origin of all. It symbolizes a primordial unity, before differentiation has taken place. Gender differences are mainly in potentiality; consciousness has not been separated out from the unconscious; choice has yet to become a burden and a responsibility.

In the alchemical tradition of medieval Europe, a child wearing a crown or regal garments was a symbol of the philosopher's stone, that is, of a wholeness realizing the mystical union of the inner spirit with the eternal spirit. Something of this feeling may sustain the devotion to the Infant Jesus of Prague, whose statue, preserved since 1628 in the Church of Our Lady of Victory in Prague, portrays the infant Jesus as Christ the King, with his left hand encircling a miniature globe surmounted by a cross and his right hand bestowing a blessing.

Because the child requires care and nurture, it represents the needs and demands of utter dependency. The child's closeness to nature is indicated in numerous stories telling of a special child being cared for by animals. Children are further associated with the Great Mother, and thus with maternal elements such as water; in legend, then, one finds children brought by fishers such as the stork, or by water dwellers such as the frog, or born from Mother Earth under a bush or in a cave. Children are often used to personify the seasons: Spring, amid leaves and flowers; Summer, holding ears of corn; Autumn, with fruit; Winter, wrapped in a cloak. Growth and development are implicit, for childhood is a temporary state. The child represents incredible power, vitality, and persistence toward growth; one grows up physically, whether one wishes to or not. Furthermore, there is rejoicing at growth, no matter how charming a child may be. There is grief at the death of a child but not at the loss of a child to adulthood.

Children and old people have something in common and usually get along well with one another; both must accept dependency. The child also symbolizes that stage of life in which the old person, transformed, acquires a new simplicity. Together, they represent the continuity and flow of life. The child symbolizes a higher transformation of individuality, the self transmuted and reborn into perfection. Thus, not surprisingly, the motif of the child is found in religions and mythologies from earliest times and all around the world. In Christianity, for example, the baby in the crèche and the adult on the cross are the two poles between which the liturgical year moves, each in different ways pointing to the tasks of human life for spiritual development.

THE CHILD IN MYTHOLOGY. The symbolism of the child implies a connection with the mythology of the hero. The potential of the child is indicated in many myths depicting heroic nature as predestined rather than simply achieved. Almost invariably, the hero is described as endowed with extraordinary powers from the moment of birth, if not of conception.

In *The Myth of the Birth of the Hero* (1959), Otto Rank identifies many of the principal motifs associated with the divine child. Typically, the child has parents of royal or noble lineage. In many stories the father is a god and the mother a human, or some other miraculous quality characterizes the birth. Since extraordinary difficulties attend the birth of a hero, the child is endangered. Often the father is the source of danger, or a ruler who has been warned that the child will kill or supplant him. The infant is abandoned, exposed, or sent away. In every myth of sanctified childhood, the world assumes the care of the child. However rejected, the child is rescued by a providential act of nature or by rural people close to nature. Upon maturity the child discovers his or her true identity and sets up a new order, rectifying previous wrongs.

Not all hero myths have birth stories, but most of them do, and the same motifs are found throughout the world, as Joseph Campbell demonstrates in *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (1968). In a story from the Hindu epic *Mahābhārata*, the hero, Karṇa, is born of a virgin and the sun god, Sūrya. According to one account, the bodhisattva who later became Gautama Buddha entered his mother's womb from the right side, and at the end of ten months left the right side of his mother again in full consciousness. The North American Algonquin tell a story of the miraculous birth of Michabo, who, in one form of the myth, is said to be the grandson of the Moon and the son of the West Wind and a maiden who had been miraculously fecundated by the passing breeze. His mother died in giving birth, but he did not need the fostering care of a parent, for he was born "mighty of limb and with all the knowledge that it is possible to attain." The mother of the Aztec hero Quetzalcoatl also died at his birth, but the newborn at once possessed speech, reason, and wisdom.

A rather common incident in the stories of American Indian heroes is their immediate growth from early childhood to manhood, as in the case of Young Rabbit of the Sioux, Bloodclot Boy of the Blackfeet, and the Divine Twins of the Pueblo Indians. In Roman mythology, Romulus and Remus were born of a king's daughter and the war god, Mars. In Greek mythology, King Acrisius of Argos, having been warned by an oracle against male descendents, locked his daughter in an iron chamber; but Zeus penetrated the roof in the guise of a golden rain, and Danaë became the mother of Perseus. In Christian tradition, Jesus was born of the Virgin Mary by the power of the Holy Spirit.

The extraordinary difficulties at the hero's birth take a variety of forms. Sometimes the father is the child's enemy, as was Kronos, who devoured his children to prevent his predicted demise by a child of his; or the father may be merely absent, as Zeus was when Dionysos was being torn to pieces by the Titans. Jesus was threatened by the edict of Herod, who, having heard of the birth of a king, ordered all male children under two years of age put to death. The infant Moses, being in similar danger from the Egyptian pharaoh, was placed in a basket to float down the Nile. In the Hindu story, Karṇa was likewise placed in a basket on a river, while in an Old Norse saga, Siegfried was put in a glass vessel to float down a stream to the sea. Romulus and Remus, when condemned by the king, were set afloat in a tub on the river Tiber. The delivery of the hero from danger is frequently effected by the waters of a river or sea. In Oceanic mythology, the hero Māui was cast into the sea by his mother, because he was so small and scrawny that she thought he was dead. The father of Oedipus ordered him exposed to die, because an oracle had advised him that he would be killed by his own son.

Typically, the rejected child is rescued either by animals or by simple, rural folk. In a Greek story about a hero of the Medes, Cyrus, the baby, upon being ordered exposed by his royal grandfather, was raised by a herder who did not carry out the order but substituted his own still-born child. In another Greek story, Paris, the son of Priam of Troy, was ordered exposed by his father and was left on a mountaintop; a she-bear nursed the child for five days, and when he was found still alive, the servant who had left him there took him home to raise him himself. Kṛṣṇa, an incarnation of the Hindu god Viṣṇu, grew up among cowherders and is famed for his sport with the *gopīs*, or cowherdesses. A child that is abandoned to nature, then saved and brought up by her, no longer shares the common experience of humankind, for as Mircea Eliade points out in *Patterns of Comparative Religion* (1958), the abandoned child has reenacted the cosmological instant of beginning and grows up not in the midst of a family but in the midst of the elements. He is dedicated to a destiny that no ordinary person could attain.

These stories commonly present the exile or the despised one as handicapped, or make the hero an abused son or daughter, orphan or stepchild. The child of destiny has to face a long period of obscurity. This is a time of extreme danger, with many obstacles. The myths agree that an extraordinary capacity is required to face and survive such experience: heroic infancies abound in anecdotes of precocious strength, cleverness, and wisdom.

In time, the hero, now a youth, returns to his proper home, often to overthrow his father and set himself in his place, as did Oedipus and Perseus. Jesus said that he did not come to abolish the Law but rather to fulfill it; however, his followers understood his teaching to be a new covenant as the basis of relationship with God. Gautama Buddha, rejecting the scriptures and the caste system of traditional Hinduism, offered a new way, the Eightfold Path, for dealing with the problems of life.

PSYCHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION. Many students of mythology, such as Károly Kerényi and Joseph Campbell, have made use of C. G. Jung's concept of archetypes to interpret the worldwide occurrence of motifs like that of the child. In Jung's view, an archetype is a pattern through which human nature has repeatedly expressed itself, employing different imagery in different cultures but reflecting in each case a recognizable form common to all humankind. In his essay "The Psychology of the Child Archetype" (1949), Jung suggests that one function of the child motif in the adult psyche is to compensate or correct, in a meaningful manner, the one-sidedness and extravagances of the conscious mind, by revealing the possibility for future development.

The symbolism of the child has no one meaning but on the other hand it is not unlimited. Most personality theories assume that the psyche, like the body, has a built-in mechanism for healing itself. Just as the body produces antibodies to ward off attack from foreign invaders, so the psyche produces images that are suggestive or corrective for its health. The motif of the child, when occurring in the unconscious of an individual (as in a dream, an obsession, or a fascination) or in the mythologies and fables of a culture, may suggest a future potential development for the individual or the culture.

The child symbolizes movement toward maturity. Being itself the product of the union of two opposites, male and female, it is a symbol of wholeness. In the mythologies of the divine child, there is a union of the divine and human; spirit and body have become one, which is the essence of the human experience. The miraculous element in the stories indicates that a special manifestation of the immanent divine principle has become incarnate in the world. The child is a symbol, then, of the wholeness toward which life moves. The mythologies of the child hero or divine child illustrate the problems encountered in psychological growth and development toward wholeness. As a "miraculous" conception the future potential is a given element, yet it is also precarious: the child as future possibility is abandoned daily. Many difficulties and obstacles have to be overcome in any movement of the psyche toward wholeness.

The motif of the child may also occur as a corrective to a conscious attitude that has become too rigid, too fixed, or stagnated. The child suggests something evolving toward independence, which necessitates detachment from its origins. In this sense, abandonment, though painful, is necessary for the future potential.

The child has a naive view of life, is typically interested in learning more about life, and has a lot of energy for that task. It represents one of the strongest urges in every being, namely, the urge to realize itself. There is an invincibility and uncomplicated vitality about the child that the stories describe in various ways. The obscurity in which the child is typically raised points to the psychological state of nonrecognition, the naive condition of the beginning, before consciousness has become differentiated from the unconscious. As such, the child symbolizes the goal of human development, when there has been a reintegration of consciousness with the unconscious or nature. The wisdom of old age is a state in which the opposites and tensions of life and growth have become reconciled and are more or less at peace. "You must become as little children," Jesus taught. Maturity can be seen as the unclouded joy of the child at play who takes it for granted that he or she is at one, not only with playmates, but with all of life.

The symbol of the child is a source of energy for a new development. In "Reveries toward Childhood" in his *Poetics of Reverie* (1969), Gaston Bachelard says, "The great archetype of life beginning brings to every beginning the psychic energy which Jung has recognized in every archetype, . . . for the archetypes are reserves of enthusiasm which help us believe in the world, love the world, create the world" (p. 124).

SEE ALSO Jesus; Kṛṣṇa; Heroes.

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WALLACE B. CLIFT (1987)

CHILD, LYDIA MARIA. Lydia Maria Child (1802–1880) was a prolific author and a founder of the American abolitionist movement. Child wrote two books on religion: *The Progress of Religious Ideas* (1855), which offered a history of the world's religions and sought to put Christianity on a level footing with other religions; and *Aspirations of the World: A Chain of Opals* (1878), which collected what Child considered the most valuable religious texts, including many more excerpts from Greco-Roman, Buddhist, Persian, and Hindu sources than from the Bible. Child's radically universalist religious sensibility informed her life-long quest to eradicate racial prejudice.

Child did not fit easily into religious categories. She was born in Medford, Massachusetts, the daughter of a baker, and she rejected her parents' Calvinism as an adolescent. The older brother who educated her, Convers Francis, became a Unitarian minister, but she found Unitarianism cold and intellectual. She was attracted to Swedenborgian mysticism, but felt that it fed her imagination more than her heart or her intellect.

Child published her first novel, *Hobomok: A Tale of Early Times* (1824), a controversial story about an Indian-white romance and marriage, when she was twenty-two, and was soon feted as a promising young author. She wrote a book or two per year while editing the first successful children's magazine, and she married David Lee Child, an idealistic and debt-prone political activist.

In 1833 Child published *An Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans*, the first significant study of slavery, emancipation, and American racism. This ardent yet well-researched plea for the eradication of slavery established her as a leader of the abolitionist movement. She went on to edit the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, thus becoming the first female editor of a national political newspaper. During this time, Child concluded that Swedenborgianism was not a true religion because so many of its followers accepted slavery. She attended numerous religious institutions, including a Catholic cathedral and a Jewish synagogue, but felt they were all too narrow-minded.

Child took seven years to write her three-volume *Progress of Religious Ideas,* in which she argued that all religions are revelations of the divine spirit. People throughout history have asked the same questions and expressed the same hopes, and the divine spirit has spoken to them using whatever forms they were best able to receive. Symbols that may seem odd to an outsider—the Egyptians' golden scarab, the Christians' cross—feel quite different when viewed from inside a tradition. People should therefore respect all the world's religions, acknowledging their weaknesses but cherishing the ways in which they partake of truth and goodness. True religion is a matter of faith and hope, not theological arguments or sectarian divisions.

Christianity, Child suggested, has no privileged status. Each religion builds upon the spiritual insights of earlier eras, and Christianity is rooted in Jewish, Greek, and Persian thought. It may, furthermore, eventually be superseded by new, more true, beliefs that cannot yet be imagined. Child warned against holding too tightly to old revelations. Each revelation is designed to be comprehensible in a specific time and place, and once people move too far past that state of society a written revelation may hinder, not help, further spiritual growth.

Child conceded that Christianity can have unusually good practical results. All religions have an iniquitous tendency to divide humanity into competing sects, but Christianity alone sometimes preaches universal sympathy and benevolence. Christians often fall into divisiveness, bigotry, and war, but Christianity can encourage them to see all people, even non-Christians, as one family. Christian sympathy, for example, led England to abolish slavery. Christianity is thus desirable not because it is more truthful than other religions, but because it is potentially more moral.

Many reviewers protested Child's refusal to give Christianity any preferential divine origin, but two of the abolitionist ministers whom Child most respected—Theodore Parker and Samuel May—enthusiastically praised her work. Forty years later, Elizabeth Cady Stanton echoed Child's views in her *Woman's Bible* (1895–1898). Child's readership was not large, but she gave courage to some of the nineteenth century's most rebellious religious thinkers.

When Child was in her seventies, she finally found a compatible religious community. The Free Religious Association was founded by a group of progressive Unitarians who wanted a place for people of all religions, including agnostics, to come together in an unconstrained pursuit of truth. Child found its gatherings inspiring and thought-provoking.

She had become particularly interested in Buddhism, and avidly read new translations of Asian texts. In two *Atlantic Monthly* articles, written at a time of rising anti-Asian racism, she portrayed Buddha and Jesus as almost identical figures. Both, she explained, identified with the poor and outcast and sought to open "the road to holiness" to everyone. No longer did Child claim that only Christianity teaches universal sympathy.

Child's last book was *Aspirations of the World: A Chain of Opals*. Its goal, she explained, was to illuminate the soul's universal aspirations and intuitions. Most of the book consists of selections from the world's sacred scriptures, grouped into subject headings such as "Ideas of the Supreme Being," "Moral Courage," and "Fraternity of Religions," and arranged in chronological order under each heading. Child included only the passages that she found most wise, beautiful, and intellectually and imaginatively satisfying. This "Eclectic Bible," she suggested, offered guidance and inspiration from the best aspects of all the world's religions. In this work, as in all her religious and political writings, Child sought to eradicate divisions within the human race and help readers see everyone as equal parts of one humanity.

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LORI KENSCHAFT (2005)

CHINESE PHILOSOPHY.

The major developments in Chinese philosophy during the past three thousand years will be outlined here; ideas that are essentially religious, treated elsewhere, will be noted only as may be necessary to show the religious relevance and historical context of philosophical themes. This overview will be at once chronological and topical, as follows:

1. The pre-Classical background (to the sixth century BCE)
2. Classical philosophy (late sixth to late third century BCE)
3. The first imperial era (to the third century CE)
4. The development of Buddhism in China (to the ninth century)
5. The Confucian revival (Tang and Song periods)
6. The later empire (since the fourteenth century)

THE PRE-CLASSICAL BACKGROUND. China circa 550 BCE consisted only of what is now North China; even the states of the Yangtze River valley did not speak the language of what was recognized as the civilized heartland to the north. This known "world" had been in anarchy for more than two centuries, since the overthrow of the last Western Zhou king (in present-day Xi'an) in 771 BCE. By about the sixth century BCE there was a nominal quasi-feudal hierarchy under a powerless successor Zhou "king" in Luoyang, but in fact, the political landscape was dotted with a patchwork of small quarreling states under local lordlings who themselves often had no real power. China was still emerging from the Bronze Age (iron casting had begun circa 700 to 600), but its civilization was old, stretching back in time beyond memory or reliable record. The Zhou dynasty had begun about five hundred years earlier with a conquest by a western Chinese state. Archaeology has now validated the tradition of a Shang dynasty before that, centered in Henan, which may have lasted another five hundred years. The tradition of a still earlier Xia dynasty, again of almost five hundred years, continues to be debated; it was supposed to have started with three marvelously wise rulers, Yao, who chose his own successor, Shun, who in turn selected Yu, the first ruler of the Xia.

Speculative philosophy was soon to fill the third millennium BCE with still more (timeless) civilization-creating emperors. The Chinese venerated their past, cherished what they had, and invented what they needed. In the sixth century BCE there existed a modest ancient literature, in large part anonymous: the earliest philosophers often quote the "Odes" *(Shi)* or the "Documents" *(Shu)* to make a moral point; some of these still exist. The earliest known writing, discovered on pieces of shell and bone used by Shang royal diviners, dates from about 1200 BCE, and a few traditional texts surviving even now may date to the eleventh century BCE. There was a wealth of learning for learned men to know. Such persons were among the well born, if not so well born that all their time was taken in ruling or fighting. Most people, then as now, were farmers, and it is said that only the aristocrats kept family records and sacrificed to ancestors.

In the Shang, sacrifices to royal ancestors were often of human beings, and in the Zhou it still was common to bury a lord with attendant sacrifices and to sacrifice war captives at one's local altar to the soil. The earliest philosophers denounced these practices. A high god, called Tian (Heaven), or (earlier) Shangdi, was worshiped by the king who in theory held from Tian his "mandate" *(ming)* to rule as long as he maintained the "virtue" *(de)* of the founder of the dynastic line. Increasing population and the growth of urban centers, combined with constant war, eliminated smaller domains, producing a class of unattached petty "gentlemen" *(shi)* who in an earlier age would have been knights or minor hereditary court officers and who had or aspired to some education. The first philosophers and their disciples are from this group. Dissatisfied with present conditions, they looked back to an imagined better past in which they would have had secure roles, and were critical of the higher aristocrats whose power came from their connections rather than from real ability or character.

THE AGE OF CLASSIC PHILOSOPHY: THE FIRST PHASE. The first philosophers were moralists, motivated by perceived political and social ills. For them the basic ill was disorder, brought about by the greed of local lords or heads of powerful families and by their attempts to seek status to which they had no right. These philosophers were not revolutionary; they accepted the existing authorities, and if they looked for remedies they sought positions for themselves or their students as advisers and ministers. We can distinguish three positions. (1) Confucius (Kong Qiu; traditional dates 551?–479 BCE) would have real political power in the hands of men of cultivated moral character and sought to train his students (and himself) in traditional morals and etiquette to make them employable in court positions. (2) Mozi (c. 450–c. 380 BCE), in training his students for office, worked out a specific political program with a supporting philosophical argument that ignores the problem of moral character; for him, an official was "worthy" of his job if he discharged his duties effectively. (3) Yang Zhu (fl. c. 400–350 BCE) concluded that the times could not be remedied. For him, the only reasonable course was withdrawal and the choice of an optimally satisfactory style of personal life.

Confucius. Confucius (the Latinized form of Kong Fuzi, or Master Kong) stressed the importance of developing traditional virtues, such as filial piety *(xiao),* courage, honesty, loyalty, kindliness *(ren),* and familiarity with the rules of traditional polite behavior and ceremonial *(li).* In politics he was a legitimist, supporting the Zhou king and the rightful authority of the duke of Lu (his native state), which had slipped into the hands of three collateral ducal families, and deploring any behavior in powerful persons that implied an improper claim to status. The good society of the past was to be restored by making traditional standards and values real again. This was Confucius's concept of "rectifying names" *(zheng ming),* that is, making the referents of such terms as *father* and *ruler* really correspond to their meaning. Accordingly, traditional religious rituals had great value for him and he held *tian* (Heaven) in genuine awe; but he usually turned aside substantive religious queries. His moral philosophy is self-cultivationist: a good life, he held, is one of constant self-improvement. And it is deontological: the world would be better if we were good and always did what is right but that is not what determines what is good and right. Confucius had devoted disciples, but how to teach virtue was a problem for him. He admitted that he taught only eager students and evinced exasperation when a student grasped his teaching but remained unmoved.

Mozi. In sharp contrast to Confucius, Mozi (who may have been originally a wheelwright) is utterly "practical." The earliest strata of the *Mozi* text show him unconcerned with the cultivation of character. He wrote, for example, that officials will be loyal if they are well paid; music—prized by the Confucians for its harmonizing effect on the emotions and the self—he dismissed as a useless expense. An idea or policy is approvable, according to Mozi, if it promotes one of three basic social goods: order, wealth, and population growth. He devotes a whole chapter to ghosts and spirits and another to "the will of Heaven." These entities must be obeyed and sacrificed to lest they punish or withhold gifts such as long life—contrast Confucius, who is willing to "die in the evening" if he can "hear the Way" in the morning—but there is no tone of awe in what we read. The fundamental good is order, its antithesis is offensive war (defensive war is approved; the Moists became experts in its techniques). But each human naturally pursues his or her own interest and takes as "right" *(yi)* that which serves it, fighting with his or her neighbors. It is the function of the state, by meting out rewards and praise or punishments and censure, to impose one standard of right, which is to be the "will of Heaven." And Heaven's will is that people "love one another impartially" *(jian ai).* If you love your neighbor's family, city, and state as you love your own, then all fighting will cease. Shown the cool advantages of adopting this attitude toward others, it is inconceivable that an intelligent human will not do so; and rulers know well how to get their subjects to comply with their wishes and favor their ends. Condemning fatalism—a doctrine that, he says, deceives men into thinking human effort is useless—Mozi implies that one can adopt an attitude at will. But his stark logic has at least one flaw: although he demanded absolute obedience and dedication from his followers, nothing in Mozi's system shows them why they should make this sacrifice. Nonetheless, there are accounts of followers giving up their lives for his cause. The Moists were tightly organized and were a force in the world of thought for two centuries, before eventually disappearing by the time of the Qin unification of 221 BCE.

Yang Zhu. Although none of Yang Zhu's writings has survived, his views can be gleaned from other books. He was among the many in this period who concluded that nothing could be done to right the world and that no interest of one's own was served by seeking to advance oneself in it. The best course, therefore, was to keep out of harm's way and "nourish one's life," avoiding office. Although some who shared these views with Yang Zhu were hedonists, Yang himself probably was not; he believed that a measured asceticism might well be the wisest way to conserve life and optimize satisfactions. In one account of this type of thought the greatest satisfaction to be enjoyed is *yi.* It is probably "honor," rather than "righteousness," that is meant here, and to the extent that others' *yi* meant social dutifulness, it would have to be deemed by the follower of Yang as incompatible with life or nature. But such persons who withdraw from society can be seen as engaging in a kind of self-cultivation; their stance is not far from that of the Confucian-minded person who judges that the Way *(dao)* does not prevail in his time and so withdraws into private life to cultivate a personal "purity" uncorrupted by the world's temptations. Yang appears in the pages of the *Zhuangzi,* and there is reason to think that Zhuangzi may have at first been a follower. It is plausibly argued that recluses of this kind were the first Daoists.

THE AGE OF CLASSICAL PHILOSOPHY: THE HUNDRED SCHOOLS. By 350 BCE no one took the feeble Zhou king seriously. Sometimes tentatively, in the wake of a military victory, and sometimes by mutual agreement, the stronger of the local "dukes" declared themselves "kings" *(wang),* each thus implying an intention to succeed the Zhou. By 320 there were at least eight such "kings." One of the most ambitious was the ruler of Qi (modern Shandong Province). Of course, such ambition could only be realized in the end by military action. In the meantime, however, a "king" had to build his prestige by a display of his royal "virtue" *(de),* and the ruler of Qi ostentatiously opened his ears to the advice of all the wise men he could entice into his court. Hundreds of wandering philosophers and their disciples were housed in a suburb of Jixia, the Qi capital. (An early philosophical encyclopedia, the *Guanzi,* may be a residue of their work.) Other new "kings" and lesser lords, especially the king of Wei in Daliang (Kaifeng), tried to keep pace. Philosophy thrived in great variety. By the third century BCE the main body of Moists had split into three sects, each with its own text of the doctrine. One specialized group developed the science of military defense and had its own texts. Others were experts in the theory of argument; their canons and explanations are, in effect, treatises on logic and epistemology.

Other philosophers, perhaps following the lead of the Moist logicians, made reputations for their ability to baffle audiences with clever arguments for impossible theses. The most famous are Hui Shi ("The sun at noon is the sun setting" and other paradoxes) and Gongsun Long ("A white horse is not a horse"). Proto-Daoists such as Shen Dao argued that a conceptual knowledge impedes real understanding. The Confucians had their schools, which stressed ritual, filial piety, or moral psychology and derived from one or another prominent disciple of Confucius. A school of social primitivists, led by one Xu Xing, held that market prices should be standardized to prevent cheating and that a good ruler must not be supported by his people but should work in the fields with them. Zou Yan amazed his lavish royal hosts with grand speculations about the patterns of history and the geography of the world, based on the theories of yin and yang and the "five powers" *(wu de* or w*u xing).* Perhaps for the first time, an old manual of divination was caught up in philosophy, with a (now lost) commentary based on yin-yang *wu xing* theory. This same manual later acquired a moral commentary attributed to Confucius and, as the *Yi jing,* became the ranking book in the Confucian classics. In this combination of divination and metaphysics we see a perennial Chinese concept of "resonant causality," one thing in the universe causing something else "like" it—a celestial object or an *Yi jing* hexagram—to be activated in response.

Mengzi. This is the setting of the career of Mengzi (Mencius), the ancient philosopher with probably the greatest influence on later Chinese philosophical thought. Mengzi belongs to the moral-psychological line of philosophical descent from Confucius. The *Mengzi* opens with him, an old man, in conversation with the kings of Wei (known also as Liang) in the year 320, and Qi in the year 319, urging them to desist from warfare and to lighten the burdens on their people. He boldly argues that a bad ruler may be justly deposed or killed, but he is in no way egalitarian, arguing (against Xu Xing's followers) that rulers and educated men deserve their privileged place in society because they "work with their minds," having the duty of caring for the mass of humanity through a government of foreseeing benevolence. Mengzi is best known for his theory of the innate goodness of people: we are all born with psychological "sprouts" implanted in us by Heaven, that if encouraged to grow naturally develop into the virtuous dispositions *(xin)* of benevolence *(ren),* dutifulness *(yi),* sense of propriety *(li),* and moral "knowledge" (*zhi,* sense of right and wrong). (Thus, Mengzi solves the problem of the teachability of virtue.) Human evil results from the stunting of our originally good "nature" *(xing)* owing to harsh conditions. Thus, a good government would restore humanity to goodness by improving the people's lot and educating them.

Mengzi attacked both the Moists—their "universal love," he argued, denies the special duties we have to parents—and the Yangists, whose "egoism" denies our duties to rulers. He nonetheless draws from both. A life of virtue he held, would be in accord with our nature and would be what we would naturally most enjoy. As for the Moists, by Mengzi's time they were coming to see that their doctrinaire program of universal love required a concession to self-cultivation ethics. One must first develop a capacity for loving, which has a natural "root" in affection for parents; at the bidding of doctrine, one can then apply it impartially. It is to this that Mengzi objects: the "root" of benevolence, he says, is indeed innate, but it has a deep structure and can be developed and "extended" in only one way, diminished in due degree at removes from the self. Against Gaozi, he argues that not only our affective nature but also our sense of duty and respect is "internal" (innate). We can encourage our virtues to grow because we enjoy them; they develop and thrive with practice without being forced.

Zhuangzi. The *Zhuangzi* is now recognized to be composite, the later syncretic parts perhaps actually dating to early Han, and other parts, such as a primitivist stratum, dating to the end of the third century BCE. It is usually held that the first seven chapters are by a man named Zhuang Zhou, about whom almost nothing is known. In any case, these chapters seem to be the earliest. It is necessary to date them after Mengzi (the opening of chapter 4 contains an obvious parody of the opening of book 2 of *Mengzi)*; they were probably written in the early third century BCE (chapter 2 satirizes Gongsun Long without naming him; he was a client of a prince of Zhao active as late as c. 250 BCE). The *Zhuangzi* uses a novel medium in philosophy. Whereas the *Lunyu* (Analects) and *Mengzi* are collections, over time, of conversations and sayings, and the *Mozi* a series of reasoned treatises (a mode shortly to be copied by Xunzi and Han Feizi), the *Zhuangzi* makes its points through the use of fiction, sometimes fantastic and often quite funny. Confucius himself is often stolen as a fictional character. It is reasonably argued (by A. C. Graham) that Zhuang Zhou began as a follower of Yang Zhu's school of egoist withdrawal but then had a traumatic "conversion experience." This seems to have shown him that literal withdrawal from the world is merely another posture of involvement; genuine withdrawal must have the form of detachment while one plays the game of life, "walking without touching the ground." In this spirit one may even accept political, social, and familial commitments.

Zhuangzi carries this attitude to the deepest philosophical level. According to him, we must use language, but we must not suppose that our words really fit, for there is nothing absolutely right about them. This is true of all of our evaluative concepts that we articulate in words; the moral concepts of the Confucians are prejudices, time determined. This applies even to such distinctions as dreams versus reality or life versus death (which may be better than life, for all we know). The favorite word of the moral philosophers, *dao,* or "way," becomes for Zhuangzi the Way of all nature, of which the wise man sees himself a part in both life and death. He accepts both joyfully, using his mind as a mirror to reflect reality just as it is, without any distorting preconceptions or preferences and "without injury to himself." The book has been perennially popular; the most important philosophical commentary (by Guo Xiang or Xiang Xiu) dates to circa 300 CE. Zhuangzi's epistemological-metaphysical outlook anticipates that of the Mādhyamika Buddhist philosophy, which was transmitted to China in the early fifth century CE. Later still, Chan Buddhism inherited his provocative blend of humor and paradox.

Xunzi. The active life of Xunzi extends from the early third century BCE to 238, when he was forced to retire from a magistracy in Chu. A native of Zhao, he twice spent time in the philosophical center of Jixia in Qi, where he was recognized as a successor to and rival of Mengzi. Explicitly Confucian, Xunzi was actually eclectic. One probably early essay ("Dispelling Obsessions") describes the mind as a mirror, but unlike Zhuangzi, Xunzi believed that the mind not only reflects but also stores and, if properly used, leads one not to an uncommitted attitude but to the truth, which is the Confucian Way. As in *Mengzi* (6A.15), one can be "obsessed" *(bi)* if one does not reflect carefully; but unlike Mengzi, Xunzi held that such obsession is likely to be an unwise intellectual commitment rather than an unevaluated sense appetite. Accordingly, Xunzi is authoritarian; he believed that one must be protected from wrong ideas. This, he maintains, is the business of the state. The moral order itself (*li yi,* "rites and right," for Xunzi) was created by the sage-kings, on whose teachings we therefore depend if we are to be moral.

Xunzi directly opposes Mengzi not only in this but also in his related view that "human nature is evil": we are composed, according to Xunzi, of an appetitive "nature" *(xing)* that if uncontrolled causes men to quarrel for satisfactions (as in Mozi), as well as a capacity for intelligent action *(wei),* which enabled the wisest (the sage-kings) to see that rules must be ordained if a tolerable social life is to be possible for humankind. Mengzi has the problem of explaining convincingly how evil is possible given the goodness of human nature; Xunzi has the converse problem of explaining how morality is possible at all. The sages' *li yi* are justified by their utility, but to be moral we, and they, have to accept them as right. Mozi solves this problem (perhaps he did not recognize it) by requiring that the state-imposed *yi* shall be what Heaven wills; Xunzi's Heaven, however, is merely the sky above and the order of Nature, and only the uneducated believe it has divine power. What Xunzi says is that humans differ from animals in having *yi* not, it seems, in the Mencian sense of an innate disposition to particular duties, but in an innate capacity to be socialized. The wise person will calculate, at a metamoral level, that only a life according to the Confucian Way can give optimum satisfaction; seeing this, the individual will necessarily choose it, and will choose to be educated so as to become the sort of person who can live it. At the same time, one sees that it really is right that there should be such standards: given the order of all nature, they are the only solution to the human predicament. Thus the "rites" can be seen as the continuation in the human realm of the natural order of the heavens, and Xunzi writes fervent passages to this effect, religious in tone if not in content. In this way the problem implicit in (and ignored by) Mozi—how we can make a calculated choice of our own attitudes—is avoided without recourse to Mengzi's solution to the paradox of virtue (that virtue cannot be taught unless one is virtuous already, as Mencian man is).

Xunzi can be called the first Chinese academic philosopher—reviewing his predecessors, criticizing, picking and choosing, solving problems. He was much appreciated in the ensuing Han era, but by the time Han Yu read him and wrote about him in the ninth century, Xunzi had almost become a curiosity. Still, the more authoritarian of the Neo-Confucians in following centuries are often closer to him than they realized.

Han Feizi. Two of Xunzi's students were Li Si, later prime minister to the First Emperor of Qin, and Han Fei, a prince of the Han state and last of the major preimperial philosophers. The last two Zhou kings had been deposed by Qin in 256 and 249 BCE, and after three more decades the last of the resisting states were absorbed. The political philosophy that guided the new order was what Chinese bibliographers call Legalism (Fa jia), the doctrine that the function of the state is to maximize its strength in agricultural production and in military power by eliminating useless classes (including philosophers) and regimenting the population with a rigidly enforced code of law, using rewards for desired behavior and severe punishments (mutilation or worse) for violations. This would benefit the people and give them order: standing in fear of the state they would behave so that its terrors need never be used. The power of the ruler was to be exalted, but at the same time the ruler was advised to avoid action, keeping his officials in doubt about his intentions lest they combine against him. Thus a curious, quasi-Daoist philosophy of inaction, what H. G. Creel, in his *What Is Taoism?* (Chicago, 1970), calls "purposive Taoism," was the basis of a philosophy of power.

Han Feizi and Li Si were both Legalists. The one recommended philosophically, and the other eventually carried out, the infamous "burning of the books" of proscribed philosophical schools, including especially Confucian texts, in 213 BCE. Legalism strongly influenced the development of Chinese law, but as a philosophy it was usually condemned by the Confucians, who became dominant a century later. Han Feizi continued to be read and was esteemed highly for his literary style.

Laozi. The Daoist bent in Han Feizi is genuine. The book that collects his writings includes a Legalist commentary to selections from a short text that stands first among the Daoist classics: the *Dao de jing.* It is ascribed to a certain Laozi, alias Li Er or Li Dan, supposed to have been an elder contemporary of Confucius and an archivist in the royal Zhou court. In fact, a myth was invented sometime in the third century BCE that Confucius had made a trip to Luoyang to consult him. Although these things are still believed by some scholars, many now take the book to be a third-century work, probably later than the earlier parts of the *Zhuangzi.* The most radical view, that of D. C. Lau (*Tao-te Ching,* Hong Kong, 1982), sees it as a collage of short fragments of Daoist "hymns" and other lore that got assembled in an editorial tradition into the present booklet of brief, sometimes rhymed sections. According to this view, Laozi is a complete fiction, yet he has become the patron saint of Daoism, even a god. The *Dao de jing* has become incredibly popular in the West—there are more translations of it than of almost any other book in the world—but no two interpretations are alike. Although Han Feizi saw Legalism in it, Arthur Waley (*The Way and Its Power,* London, 1935) sees it as the work of a late Warring States "quietist" who was opposed to Legalism. The dominant view is that it is filled with the profoundest wisdom concerning life and being. It is conventionally ordered in two parts, the first opening with a meditation on Dao, the second, with one on *de,* hence the title; however, archaeology has now yielded Han texts that reverse the order.

In the *Dao de jing* we find again Zhuangzi's conceptual relativism: the Dao itself is nameless; contrasting concepts generate each other. Many of the sections recommend inaction, nonstriving, not reaching for too much (lest from success one fall back to nothing: "reversion is the order of the Dao"), and adopting a "female," seemingly nonresisting, posture in life and in state policy. The desirable society is one in which the people are kept ignorant and simple. Often the book deals explicitly with the way a ruler should govern his state, suggesting that the way to effective power is inaction. A theme echoing Shen Dao condemns cleverness and "knowledge": "He who speaks does not know; he who knows does not speak." The first virtue is simplicity, like that of a newborn baby or of an "uncarved block" of wood. "The highest virtue *(de)* does not 'virtue' [*de*—i.e., display itself as virtue]; therefore it has virtue" (cf. *Zhuangzi,* chap. 5). The book teems with such simply stated teasing paradoxes.

THE FIRST IMPERIAL ERA. The late Zhou era of contending states was terminated by the Qin conquest, complete by 221 BCE; Qin disintegrated after the death of its first emperor. The succeeding Han dynasty, from 206 BCE to 220 CE (interrupted by Wang Mang, 9–22) but ineffective after about 190, was followed by a division into Three Kingdoms (221–279). An unstable reunification was ended in 317, when defeats by non-Chinese northern "barbarians" drove the Jin court south to the Yangtze River valley, then still a border area with only a tenth of China's people. At the beginning of the Han dynasty, Legalist political ideas were defended, sometimes vigorously, by some court officials into the first century BCE. Daoism as a personal and political philosophy continued in favor and is represented by the *Huainanzi* (c. 130 BCE), an encyclopedic book assembled under the support of Liu An, one of the Han princes. A syncretic Daoism, drawing from all of late Zhou thought, is represented by chapter 33 of the *Zhuangzi* (second century BCE). Prominent early Han Confucians include Jia Yi (200–168 BCE) and, especially, Dong Zhongshu (179–104 BCE). With the latter, Confucianism gained imperial favor under the emperor Wudi. A system of recruiting scholars for official service was decreed, and court scholars on the Confucian classics were established.

The New Text school. The Qin burning of the books left Confucians with the task of recovering their revered texts. This produced a rich scholarship of commentary (much of it now gone) on various textual traditions of this or that classic. It also, more significantly, led to a lasting division between the so-called New Text schools, which used texts existing only in the "new" reformed Qin-Han script, and the Old Text traditions, which were based on manuscripts in antique script that (allegedly) had survived the Qin suppression. The two sides had opposed philosophical orientations, as well as their own favored texts. The New Text partisans favored the *Gongyang Commentary* on the *Chun qiu*

(Spring and autumn annals of Lu, ascribed to Confucius). They held that Confucius had been a "throneless king," founder of a theoretical "dynasty" intervening between Zhou and Han. In his *Chun qiu,* New Text thinkers claimed, Confucius had actually used "subtle" language to lay down the moral and ritual rules of an ideal world order and had predicted the rise of Han. This theory was fitted into a speculative philosophy of history in Dong's *Chun qiu fanlu,* further developed by the later Han writer He Xiu (129–182), according to whom history goes through three great stages, culminating in an era of "great peace" *(tai ping).* A similar idea occurs in the classic called the *Li ji,* composed of short prose pieces probably by Han court ritualists; as a millenarian concept, it has repeatedly surfaced in philosophy, religion, and popular rebel ideology during the past two thousand years.

The New Text persuasion saw Heaven as a personal deity. Any unusual celestial phenomenon—such as a comet or unpredicted eclipse—was Heaven's sign of displeasure with the behavior of the ruler. Heaven and human affairs were intimately linked by way of yin-yang and Five Elements *(wu xing)* metaphysics, which grouped all aspects of the world in groups of fives (into which fours were forced); thus, water, black, winter, north, anger, and storing are in the same interacting category. The middle and late Han "apocrypha" *(wei shu),* representing Confucius as quasidivine, are also the result of this type of thought, which was markedly numerological; for example, the Shiqu and Bohu imperial conferences on the classics, 51 BCE and 79 CE, were convoked on the five hundredth anniversary of Confucius's supposed birthdate (and probably the one thousandth anniversary of the supposed date of the beginning of the Zhou) and on the eight hundredth anniversary of the first year of the *Chun qiu* chronicle, respectively. Divination was in great vogue; this was the age when the *Yi jing* became the foremost classic. In moral philosophy and moral psychology, Dong Zhongshu and his persuasion were more or less in accord with Mengzi, holding that we are at least potentially "good" by nature.

The Old Text school. The Old Text faction in scholarship includes Liu Xin, court librarian in the Wang Mang era, who was later charged with forging some of these texts (notably the *Zuo zhuan* commentary to the *Chun qiu*). A type of philosophy contrasting with the Dong and He Xiu sort is usually typed Old Text. Naturalistic and skeptical, its major writers were Yang Xiong, who held that human nature is a mixture of good and bad, and, especially, Wang Chong (27–c. 100), who thought that Mengzi, Xunzi, and Yang were each right about the natures of some people. Like Xunzi, these thinkers take Heaven to be a natural entity, not a being with intentions intervening in human affairs. Wang's *Lun heng* admits that portents foretell important historical changes but holds that they are the spontaneous effect of *qi* (matter-energy); Heaven's Way is "nonactivity." Wang holds a bleak fatalism: to him, nothing we do can alter what will happen in our individual lives or in history (here he is unlike Xunzi). He does not hesitate to criticize Confucian doctrines and texts, and explicitly approves the naturalism of philosophical Daoism.

Daoism. Daoism in this age and later was of two sorts. One, which became a religion, shared with New Text Confucianism the correspondence metaphysics of yin-yang and *wu xing* but was aimed at individual survival. For the person who could afford it, this Daoism meant adopting a regimen of life, breathing exercises, diet, and alchemy designed to make one's physical body immortal. For others, there was the possibility of getting one's life prolonged as a reward for good deeds—an idea found in early Zhou bronze inscriptions, in the *Shang shu,* and in Mozi but not in the work of other Zhou philosophers—or of getting reborn as an immortal after death. In time, this cult developed a system of gods, rituals, heavens, and hells.

A second, quite different type of Daoist thought continues or revives the Daoism as personal philosophy found in early Han texts and in the *Zhuangzi.* The naturalistic skepticism of Wang Chong moves in this direction, but whereas Wang's thought was a fatalism of despair, the revived interest in Zhuangzi and Laozi of the end of Han and following centuries was a naturalism of detachment. Wang Bi (226–249) is the author of the standard commentary to *Laozi* and of a commentary to the *Yi jing (Zhou yi yueli).* An important philosophical commentary to the *Zhuangzi* is attributed to both Xiang Xiu (late third century) and Guo Xiang (d. 312). These and others who applied themselves to "the study of the Mysterious" *(xuan xue)* actually continued to take Confucius as the greatest sage, but he became for them a Daoist in fact (in the *Zhuangzi* he had been a Daoist in humorous fiction). He surpassed even Laozi in his attainment of "nothing" *(wu),* that is, "nonattachment" and "desirelessness," since he had passed beyond the desire even for these things.

The interest in semantics and metaphysical paradoxes of the early third century BCE was also revived; most of the extant text attributed to Gongsun Long was fabricated at this time. These interests were expressed in a fashion of precious philosophical conversation that came to be called "pure talk" *(qing tan).* Other important additions to philosophical literature, probably from the third century CE, are the *Liezi,* another Daoist classic similar to *Zhuangzi* and pretending to be a Zhou work, and the forged Old Text chapters of the *Shang shu.* The *Liezi,* like the Xiang-Guo commentary, praises an ethic of following one's nature, which, when practiced among the aristocracy, led from aestheticism to eccentric hedonism. Ge Hong (c. 250–330) criticized this ethic—from a Confucian point of view—as well as the Daoist philosophical anarchism of his contemporary Bao Jingyan. Ge, however, was eclectic, and his own book *Baopuzi* is, among other things, an important work on alchemy as a method of attaining immortality.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BUDDHISM IN CHINA. There is evidence of a Buddhist presence in China from as early as the late Western Han dynasty. In the Eastern Han period there were centers of Buddhism in a few cities, including Luoyang, where a Parthian, An Shigao, arrived circa 148 and began translating texts in meditation in the Hīnayāna tradition of escape from psychic causation *(karman)*. More popular among philosophically minded Chinese Buddhists and their Daoist friends were "wisdom" *(prajñā)* treatises, and later texts, in the Mādhyamika tradition of Nāgārjuna (second century CE), which teach that the elements of phenomenal existence and our concepts of them are conditioned, relative, and impermanent and thus "empty" *(śūnya)*. Realization of this concept leads to a saving mental detachment; thus this kind of thought converged with philosophical Daoism. Early Chinese philosophical Buddhists of this kind include Zhi Dun (314–366) in the South and Sengzhao (384?–414) in the North.

Six Dynasties period. Sengzhao was a disciple of Kumārajīva (344–413), a Central Asian who was brought to Xi'an in 401 and is famous as a translator, especially of Mādhyamika texts. Another important northerner was Dao'an (312–385), who was learned in all aspects of Buddhism and philosophical Daoism and the author of an early catalog of translations. Among Dao'an's many disciples was Huiyuan (334–416) in the South, a believer in Amitābha and his Pure Land *(jingtu)* paradise and the author of a treatise on immortality.

By the sixth century, cults of salvation by faith came to assume a "three ages" theory of history, in which the present epoch was regarded as a final, degenerate age in which men can no longer save themselves by adhering to the pristine Buddhist message as taught by Śākyamuni Buddha. This idea combined with the Mādhyamika concept of multiple truth (see, for example, Jizang, 549–623), which holds that the mind must move through stages of ordinary thought before it can grasp emptiness, greatly increasing the speculative range of Buddhist philosophy. Huiyuan's most famous disciple was Daosheng (c. 360–434), another southerner, whose theories anticipate important ideas in the Tiantai and Chan schools of the Tang era and prefigure central issues in Neo-Confucianism. Drawing on the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra,* Daosheng argued that all beings have the "Buddha nature," which he identified with "emptiness" *(śūnyatā)* and with the "true self" *(zhen wo)*. Enlightenment has to be "sudden" (but after gradual training), since ultimate wisdom cannot be analyzed. Another major translator was Paramārtha (499–569, arriving at the southern court of Liang in 548), who rendered important Yogācāra (idealistic) texts of fully developed Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Since Buddhist thought in China of this period flows in large part from the introduction and translation of texts, texts themselves rather than great teachers are often the focus of schools. These schools did not endure as distinct ideological traditions but represented a major intellectual development toward the sort of "systematic theology" found in the great schools of the Tang era. Mādhyamika thought is the focus of the San-lun (Three Treatises) school, based on three treatises translated by Kumārajīva, and noteworthy for its concept of three levels of truth at successively more complete stages of negation. The Niepan, or Nirvāṇa, school, based on the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra,* developed out of the interests of Daosheng, until it was absorbed later into Tiantai. The so-called Dilun school was based on the *Shidi jinglun,* a translation, popular in the North, of a treatise by Vasubandhu on a sūtra describing the ten stages of a *bodhisattva.* The Dilun school merged in the Tang with Huayan. The Shelun school was based on Asaṅga's *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* through Paramārtha's translation in 563, and was later superseded by the Faxiang, or "mere ideation," school. Another well-known philosophical text in this tradition, widely read even by non-Buddhists, is the *Dasheng qixin lun* (Treatise on awakening of faith in the Mahāyāna), which was important both for Faxiang and Huayan adherents.

During the long period of North-South division (317–588), Buddhism became the dominant religion in China, but it developed differently in the two areas. In the North, Buddhist institutions were wholly under the control of the state and were even used as a means of control of the populace. In the South, temples were lavishly patronized by emperors (especially Wudi), but monks maintained much independence, and there was a more active climate of debate between Confucians and Daoists; of special interest is the debate over the immortality of the soul. A Confucian, one Fan Zhen, wrote *Shenmie lun* (On the mortality of the soul, c. 500), an essay attacking the Buddhist view (for example, that of Huiyuan) and arguing that the soul is to the body as function *(yong)* is to essence/structure *(ti)* or as sharpness is to a knife. (Buddhists continued to deny the permanence of the phenomenal self, regarding it as mere appearance or "function" *[yong],* as distinct from the real self which is "essence" *[ti],* or Buddha nature; popular faith, however, ignored the distinction. Here, Fan provocatively alters the categories *ti* and *yong.*) Many vigorous replies to Fan are preserved. In the South, critics of the new religion warred with words; in the North, however, there were episodes of state repression, instigated by Confucian and religious Daoist advisers to the emperor, in 446 and between 574 and 577. The most severe of these came later, in 845, under a Daoist Tang emperor.

Sui-Tang period. It was under the reunified empire of the Sui (589–618) and Tang (618–907) that Buddhism reached its greatest strength. The Sui emperors used Buddhism as an official ideology to support the throne, while the Tang emperors claimed descent from Laozi and favors to Buddhism were made more cautiously. But it is in the philosophical schools that flourished in the Tang that fully developed Chinese Buddhism is seen best. The Sanjie jiao, a sect based on the concept of the three ages, started in the Sui by Xinxing (540–594), was suppressed in 713. One of the most important schools of doctrine was Tiantai, systematized by the monk Zhiyi (538–597). Tiantai synthesizes the great variety of Buddhist *sūtra*s and doctrines by holding there are different levels of truth and that the Buddha went through different stages of teaching offering different means to salvation. For followers of Tiantai, the *Lotus Sutra (Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra)* is said to represent the final and most complete teaching of the Buddha. The school is often characterized as holding that the world is universal mind, comprising both a universal, pure (Buddha) nature (compare Daosheng) and an impure nature that produces ordinary phenomena, attachment, and evil. Zhiyi himself, however, was much more a Mādhyamika than an idealist. He emphasized that mind and object are both "ungraspable" (i.e., empty), and that delusion is not ultimately different from enlightenment; perhaps the most famous metaphysical dictum of Tiantai is that "all phenomena are (ultimately) real" *(zhu fa shi xiang).* A later master, Zhanran (711–782) held that even inanimate things have the Buddha nature.

Another master, Xuanzang (596–664), was the most famous of the Chinese who went to India, brought back texts, and recorded their travels (others were Faxian, who left in 399, and Yijing, who traveled in the seventh century). With his translations, Xuanzang and his disciple Kuiji (632–682) started the Faxiang ("dharma-appearance"), or Weishi ("mere ideation"), school, based on the views of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu that the external world is illusory. There has been a recent revival of this idealist philosophy in China led by Ouyang Jingwu (1871–1943) and the monk Taixu (1889–1947.)

The important masters of another prominent Tang school, the Huayan (Avataṃsaka), were Fashun, or Dushun (557–640), Zhiyan (602–668), Fazang (643–712), and Chengguan (738?–820?). Huayan thinkers held all reality to be a blend of a "world of principle *(li)*" and a "world of things *(shi)*," all phenomena being manifestations of one ultimate principle. Even more than the Tiantai scheme, this suggests the dominant metaphysics of the Neo-Confucianism of the following dynasties. The usually dominant Cheng-Zhu school of Neo-Confucianism, however, tended toward a metaphysical dualism; monistic varieties of Neo-Confucianism are, perhaps, closer to Huayan, which appeals to the fundamental "non-obstruction" of *li* and *shi (lishi wuai).* The last master of Huayan was Zongmi (780–841). Another tradition of dualistic monism that leaves its mark on Buddhist art, if not on wider philosophy, is the Zhenyan (Tantric) school, whose maṇḍalas and sexual imagery represented wisdom and compassion in a female-male (yin-yang?) relation.

The most important schools, after the persecution of 845, were the Pure Land (Jingtu) and Chan. The former, preaching that one can be reborn in paradise by reciting the name of Amitābha, had as its early master (after Huiyuan) the northern monk Tanluan (476–542); important Tang masters were Daochuo (562–645) and Shandao (613–681). The Chan school represents itself as deriving from an Indian monk, Bodhidharma, said to have come to China about 520, who was a master of meditation (*dhyāna*, hence the name Chan); the school also sees itself as preserving a "mental transmission" of true insight from the Buddha himself. The school recognized a series of "patriarchs," the sixth, according to some northern texts, being Shenxiu (seventh century); his status was challenged by a southern monk, Shenhui (670–762), who claimed that the actual sixth patriarch was a certain Huineng (638–713). The *Platform Sūtra* attributed to Huineng is one of the most widely read and influential texts in and beyond Buddhism. All of the major Neo-Confucian masters from the Song dynasty onward were probably familiar with it, and many had experimented with Chan early in their careers. The Chan religious goal is enlightenment rather than rebirth in a ("Pure Land") paradise, and the Huineng episode marks a division between "northern" and "southern" Chan, the alternatives being final insight reached gradually through meditation and a direct and sudden insight into the real nature of the self and phenomena in the midst of ordinary activity. Two schools have been prominent since 845, the Caodong and the Linji. (Of three others, the Yunmen was active in the Northern Song dynasty.) Linji makes use of physical shocks and baffling, often humorous puzzles to break the mind loose from ordinary thinking; while iconoclastic, it actually owes much to Mādhyamika and to the Daoism of Zhuangzi.

THE CONFUCIAN REVIVAL. Han Yü (768–824) strongly criticized Buddhism as socially parasitic, and in eloquent essays and letters regarded as models of style he represented himself as reviving the pre-Buddhist Confucianism of Zhou times. Confucians of the Song dynasty (960–1279) regarded him and Li Ao (d. 844) as their precursors. A revival of Confucian thought, as the primary philosophy of social and political participation, was stimulated by the reconstitution of the imperial state in Sui-Tang and the development of the modern civil service examination system, which from the Song onward required a thorough knowledge of the Confucian classics. Other factors contributed: the growth of cities, the invention of printing, and especially the development of the Confucian "academies" (*shuyuan,* perhaps on the model of Buddhist temple schools), which began to appear in the Five Dynasties period (906–959) and multiplied in Song and later. Funded both by the state and by private donors, the Confucian academies were the primary forums of philosophical discussion, and in the late Ming (1368–1644) they became partly political, with famous lecturers drawing huge audiences from distant parts. In the Song the new Confucianism took two forms: One was political, social, and reformist; the other, speculative and metaphysical.

Since the new Confucian thought identified itself as a revival of very ancient ideals, in its reformist aspect it was simultaneously both antiquarian and radical. Fan Zhongyan (989–1052) is known for his adaptation of the *bodhisattva*'s vow—to be the first to suffer hardship and the last to be "saved"—to social service. Ouyang Xiu (1007–1072), best known as a historian, criticized Buddhism as a foreign intrusion and a sickness in society that must be cured by the revival, by the state, of ancient customs, communal spirit, and "rites." In this way "government and doctrine" would once again proceed from the same source: state and society would revitalize each other by recombining. This vision of a benevolent and selfless, albeit totalitarian, utopia has bewitched major Confucian philosophers—among them Zhu Xi, Wang Yangming, Zhang Xuecheng, and Kang Youwei—to the present. Wang Anshi (1021–1086), when directing the government, was the center of a storm of controversy over his reform program. Zhu Xi (1130–1200) too had his reformist side (neglected in later attention to his thought), arguing for a complete revision of the examination and education system.

The other aspect of Song thought was its speculative metaphysics and moral psychology. The fertile eleventh century has three who can be called cosmologists. Zhou Dunyi (1017–1073) offered the *Taiji tu* (Diagram of the supreme ultimate), showing all things as evolved from a first principle that differentiates itself into the yin and yang, then into the "five elements," and so on. Zhang Zai (1020–1077) saw all things as continually condensing out of and dissolving back into a primordial *qi* and drew the moral conclusion that we and all things are one family. Finally, Shao Yong (1011–1077) tried to explain the universe through *Yi jing* binary numerology. Moral psychology includes monists Cheng Hao (1032–1085) and Lu Jiuyuan (Xiangshan) and dualists Cheng Yi (Hao's brother, 1033–1108) and Zhu Xi. The latter tried to synthesize the work of his precursors, and his system became orthodox for the imperial civil service examinations in the Yuan and later dynasties.

The preeminence of Zhu's thought was confirmed by the imperial publication of the encyclopedia *Xingli daquan* in 1415. Zhu's idea resembles Huayan metaphysics: there is a realm of "principle" *(li)* and a realm of "embodiment" *(qi,* literally, "vessel," but in effect "matter," as in the homophonous graph *qi).* In the human individual, our moral "nature" *(xing)* is our principle, identified with Dao, so that (with Mengzi) we are by "nature" good; evil and selfish tendencies in us are the consequence of "impure" *qi,* different in different individuals, which must be purified by moral cultivation. Long study, for example, of the classics, increases the sum of principle in the mind until a moment of synthetic moral illumination is attained (here is the Cheng-Zhu adaptation of the Buddhist "gradual attainment—sudden enlightenment" problem). Later philosophers debated endlessly on the relation between these entities and their relation to the mind, which Lu and later Wang Yangming identified with principle. Whatever their metaphysics, such thinkers were moral self-cultivationists who saw the primary moral-religious "task" *(gongfu)* as the "correcting of the mind," following the *Li ji* chapter *Da xue* (Great learning). This became for them the foremost of the classic texts. The usual program was to "watch oneself" and to scotch each "selfish thought" *(si yi)* as it arose, recalling the Buddhist anxiety about thoughts of "attachment" being the source of (bad) *karman.* Noteworthy after Zhu are his student Zhen Dexiu (1178–1235) and the Yuan moralist Xu Heng (1209–1281). This "mind learning" was pursued in some form by all the leading moralists of the ensuing Ming dynasty.

THE LATER EMPIRE. The most important Ming philosopher was Wang Yangming (1472–1529, personal name, Shouren). His most arresting ideas, simple but puzzling enough to provoke a century and a half of controversy, are as follows. (1) We all have, or share, a mental faculty of moral intuition *(liang zhi),* and there are no "principles" *(li)* other than the renditions of this faculty, if we only learn to let it operate without "obscuration" *(bi),* which is the source of evil. Thus, "mind" *(xin)* is "principle" *(li),* and ethics is situational. (2) Complete experience and fully engaged practice involve the operation of this faculty. We do not first apprehend something and then (perhaps consulting a set of rules) decide how to judge it; thus, there is a "unity of knowledge and practice" *(zhi xing heyi).* (3) A "four-sentence teaching" (based on the *Da xue*) explains that the mind in "essence" *(ti)* is uninvolved in good and evil and that these predicates apply only to its activities of thought and judgment.

Was Wang really a Buddhist? No, but his *liang zhi* was the "sun," and "obscuration" was the "clouds" (the images are Huineng's). For Wang mind is Mind, universal, as in Tiantai. And it is in the context of ordinary activity that *liang zhi* reveals to itself a "principle" that eludes abstraction; but the context, and the revelation, are moral. Indeed, as Feng Youlan suggests, if the Chan Buddhist could have accepted family and social relationships as the ordinary activity that is the locus of his Dao, he would have become a Neo-Confucian. But the problematic of Buddhism continues to be played out within Wang's Confucianism. Moralists after Wang were split, some calling for a moral cultivation of strict discipline and others holding that intuition must be allowed to function without forcing or intervention, "here and now" *(dangxia).* Among the latter were Wang Ji (1498–1583), and also Wang Gen (1483–1540) and his followers of the Taizhou school, including He Xinyin (1517–1579) and Li Zhi (1527–1602), both of whom were so boldly individualistic that they died in prison.

China concurrently was experiencing one last intellectual revival of Buddhism, prominent teachers being Zhuhong (1535–1615) and Deqing (1546–1643). There was a marked syncretist tendency everywhere, and experiments in combining the Three Teachings (Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism) were thought interesting. (It was perhaps for this reason that Matteo Ricci, himself a friend of Li Zhi, was easily accepted in Chinese intellectual circles.) Some, on the far "left" among post-Wang Confucians, whose *dangxia* ethics tended to be antinomian, were known as "mad Chanists." Li himself actually donned monk's garb and played with Legalist ideas. The last decades of the Ming were scarred by factional strife, especially involving the Confucians of the Donglin Academy group, many of whom lost their lives in their conflict with court eunuchs.

After the Manchu conquest and establishment of the Qing dynasty in 1644, the freewheeling Ming style of philosophy ceased. The academies were absorbed into the government school structure, and at first the outstanding thinkers were men who avoided government service. Such were Huang Zongxi (1610–1695), noted historian of Song, Yuan, and Ming philosophy and advocate of limitations on imperial power; Gu Yanwu (1613–1682), a philologist who accepted Zhu Xi's views but favored "search for evidence" ("the study of *li* is the study of the classics"); Wang Fuzhi (1619–1692), recluse and anti-Manchu philosopher of history; and Yan Yuan (1635–1704), a "pragmatist" who rejected Song-Ming metaphysics as impractical and meaningless. Gu set the intellectual tone for the next two centuries, which prized philological scholarship (often patronized by the imperial court or by wealthy officials who financed expensive projects of compilation, drawing many scholars together) and tended to disparage mere "empty words," that is, speculative philosophy. But the Qing emperors vigorously promoted Cheng-Zhu moral philosophy for its disciplinary value, and they were assured by flatterers that at last, as in the golden age of antiquity, "government" *(zhi)* and true "doctrine" *(jiao)* were again one.

This echo of Ouyang Xiu stirred the imagination of a genuinely independent thinker of the next century, Zhang Xuecheng (1738–1801), a local historian whose philosophy of history pictured antiquity as a concrete "unity of knowledge and practice" ("the Six Classics are all history") or of Dao and *qi.* Zhang much admired the experiments in Mencian ethics of his contemporary Dai Zhen (1724–1777), but he censured Dai for his impatience with Zhu Xi. Intellectualist and not at all self-cultivationist, the famous philological scholar Dai held that principles and human desires are not antithetical and that to become a sage one must feed the mind with knowledge, testing candidate principles by applying the Confucian golden rule *(shu)* until what is only "natural" *(ziran)* is seen to be "necessary" *(biran).* For Dai, the prime form of evil is to mistake one's own mere "opinions" *(yijian)* for true principles and to force them on others.

What had happened in the Qing dynasty turn in thought was both a reaction against the speculative and introspective temper of earlier Neo-Confucianism and, at the same time, a further development of its implications. Wang Yangming had insisted that principles cannot be grasped abstractly apart from concrete moral experience; the Qing intellectualist translation of this idea was that philosophical insight cannot be separated from historical and philological "solid learning."

Neither Zhang nor Dai received philosophical recognition until the twentieth century. Meanwhile, another intellectual movement was gathering force: Qing philology. Leading many to reject "Song studies" *(Song xue)* for "Han studies" *(Han xue),* Qing philology in time led to a reassessment of the Han era New Text philosophy of history of Dong Zhongshu and He Xiu. Their ideas were taken up by Kang Youwei (1858–1927) and others among the group of Confucian intellectuals pushing radical political reforms at the end of the nineteenth century. Kang urged a revisionist view of the classics (in which the Han court librarian Liu Xin figured as villain, forging half of them) that portrayed Confucius as a reformer, holding a historical, Western-style theory of progress. Confucianism was to be a religion, since the model of the West showed that a lively religious faith was necessary for progress and national strength. This idea lingered into the twentieth century, naturally enough among the Chinese, for whom the West for generations had been represented by missionaries, and who failed to see that the Western faith that sent the missionaries to China was already waning.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. The 1920s saw the first real impact of American and European contemporary academic philosophy, notably in the lively controversy on "science and philosophy of life" in 1923. A primary problem for twentieth-century thinkers was how to reconcile their commitments to historical Chinese values with Western intellectual temptations. Thus, Hu Shi (1891–1962), a student of John Dewey, hunted through Chinese philosophy for examples of pragmatism and logical method. Thus also, Marxists of the Liberation period (c. 1949) wrote one another little essays on "how to study" *(xuexi),* and on how to reform "individual nature" *(ge xing)* into "party nature" *(dang xing),* picking into ancient Confucian (and even Buddhist) self-cultivationist literature. Those who saw Communism as a new religion, and the hallmark of religion as the desire for self-change, should not have been surprised. Twentieth-century thought sometimes continued the past and sometimes merely used it, but it seldom ignored it. There have been the non-Marxists (Xiong Shili, Confucian-Buddhist; Feng Youlan and He Lin, Neo-Confucian; Hu Shi, pragmatist; Zhang Dongsun, Neo-Kantian), the Marxists (Li Dazhao, Chen Boda, Liu Shaoqi, Mao Zedong himself), both at once (perhaps, Liang Shuming), and both by turns (Feng again). Such deeply thoughtful men as Xu Fuguan and Mou Zongsan (students of Xiong) and the late Tang Junyi can genuinely be called contemporary religious philosophers within the Confucian mold.

SEE ALSO Afterlife, article on Chinese Concepts; Alchemy, article on Chinese Alchemy; Buddhism, article on Buddhism in China; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Chinese Buddhism; Buddhist Books and Texts, article on Exegesis and Hermeneutics; Cheng Hao; Cheng Yi Chinese Religion, overview article; Confucianism, overview article; Confucius; Dai Zhen; Dao and De; Daoism; Dong Zhongshu; Ge Hong; Guo Xiang; Gu Yanwu; Han Fei Zi; Kang Youwei; Laozi; Legalism; Li; Liu An; Mappō; Mengzi; Mozi; Nāgārjuna; Qi; Shangdi; Taiji; Taiping; Tian; Wang Bi; Wang Chong; Wang Fuzhi; Wang Yangming; Xian; Xiao; Xunzi; Yao and Shun; Yinyang Wuxing; Yu; Zhang Xuecheng; Zhang Zai; Zhou Dunyi; Zhu Xi; Zhuangzi; Zhuhong.

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DAVID S. NIVISON (1987 AND 2005)

CHINESE RELIGION

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
POPULAR RELIGION
MYTHIC THEMES
HISTORY OF STUDY

CHINESE RELIGION: AN OVERVIEW

This article provides an introduction to the rise and development of various religious movements, themes, and motifs over time. Its emphasis is on historical continuities and on the interaction of diverse currents of Chinese religious thought and practice from the prehistoric era to the present.

The study of Chinese religion presents both problems and opportunities for the general theory of religion. It is therefore instructive, before embarking on a historical survey, to outline a theoretical approach that will accommodate the wide variety of beliefs and practices that have traditionally been studied under the rubric of religion in China.

One indicator of the problematic nature of the category "religion" in Chinese history is the absence of any premodern word that unambiguously denotes the category. The modern Chinese word *zongjiao* was first employed to mean "religion" by late-nineteenth-century Japanese translators of European texts. *Zongjiao* (or *shūkyō* in Japanese) is a compound consisting of *zong (shū)*, which is derived from a pictogram of an ancestral altar and most commonly denotes a "sect," and *jiao (kyō)*, meaning "teaching." (The compound had originally been a Chinese Buddhist term meaning simply the teachings of a particular sect.) *Zongjiao*/*shūkyō* thus carries the connotation of "ancestral" or sectarian teachings. The primary reference of this newly coined usage for *shūkyō* in the European texts being translated was, of course, Christianity. And since Christianity does in fact demand exclusive allegiance and does emphasize doctrinal orthodoxy (as in the various creeds), *zongjiao*/*shūkyō* is an apt translation for the concept of religion that takes Christianity as its standard or model.

Part of the problem arising from this situation is that Chinese (and Japanese) religions in general do not place as much emphasis as Christianity does on exclusivity and doctrine. And so Chinese, when asked to identify what counts as *zongjiao* in their culture, are often reluctant to include phenomena that westerners would be willing to count as religion, because the word *religion*—while notoriously difficult to define—does not carry the same connotations as *zongjiao.*

Before the adoption of *zongjiao, jiao* itself ("teaching") came closest in usage to the meaning of "religion." Since at least the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), the standard rubric for discussing the religions of China was *san jiao,* or the "three teachings," referring to Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism. Yet this is problematic too, as it excludes what today is usually called "popular religion" (or "folk religion"), which throughout Chinese history has probably accounted for more religious behavior than the "three teachings" combined. This exclusion is more than a matter of usage: *jiao* does not apply well to popular religion because popular religion is strongly oriented toward religious action or practice; it has very little doctrine and, apart from independent sects, no institutionally recognized canonical texts in which doctrines would be presented.

Confucianism also presents problems. Although constituting a standard chapter in modern Western surveys of Chinese religion, Confucianism is very often described as something other than a religion in the strict (yet poorly defined) sense. There was a time in Western scholarship when Buddhism was occasionally described in similar fashion, although outside the most conservative theological frameworks that is no longer the case. But the status of Confucianism, even in academic circles focused on Chinese religion, is still disputed.

The problematic nature of Confucianism vis-à-vis religion is the most compelling reason to suggest at the outset a conceptual framework in which all the varieties of Chinese religion can be understood. In effect this is a "definition" of religion, although it should not be considered an exclusive definition. It is, instead, one way of conceptualizing religion that is well suited to its subject—that is, that makes particularly good sense of *Chinese* religion—and that sheds light not only on the noncontroversial forms of Chinese religion but also on those forms that might be excluded by some definitions. But it should be acknowledged that, since religion is a multidimensional set of complex human phenomena, no single definition (short of a laundry list of common characteristics) should be expected to capture its essence. Indeed, perhaps religion has no essence.

The concept of religion that will be presumed here is that *religion is a means of ultimate transformation and/or ultimate orientation.* This is an elaboration of a definition proposed by the Buddhologist Frederick Streng, who suggested that religion is "a means to ultimate transformation" (Streng, 1985, p. 2). "Ultimate transformation" implies (1) a given human condition that is in some way flawed, unsatisfactory, or caught in a dilemma; (2) a goal that posits a resolution of that problem or dilemma; and (3) a process leading toward the achievement of the goal. This formula is well suited to Chinese religions because the concept of transformation (*hua*) is in fact a highly significant element in Confucian, Daoist, and Chinese Buddhist thought and practice. The qualifier "ultimate" means that the starting point, process, and goal are defined in relation to whatever the tradition in question believes to be absolute or unconditioned. "Ultimate orientation" introduces an aspect of Mircea Eliade's theory of sacred space and sacred time: spatial orientation to an *axis mundi,* a symbolic connection between heaven and earth; or temporal orientation marked in reference to periods of sacred ritual time, such as annual festivals. This addition to Streng's definition accounts for certain popular practices that are not conceived in terms of ultimate transformation. Much of the contemporary practice of Chinese popular religion—such as worship and sacrifice for such mundane ends as success in school or business—can be explained in terms of ultimate orientation. And Confucianism, the most problematic strand of Chinese religion, can clearly be seen as a "means of ultimate transformation" toward the religious goal of "sagehood" (*sheng*), a term whose religious connotations are suggested, for example, by the use of the same word to translate the Jewish and Christian "Holy Scriptures" (*shengjing*).

The geographic scope of Chinese religions extends from mainland China to Taiwan, Singapore, Southeast Asia, and scattered Chinese communities throughout the world. Although religion in the People's Republic of China on the mainland was harshly suppressed from the 1950s through the 1970s, and indeed almost disappeared during that period, there has been considerable (although not untroubled) revitalization since the early 1980s. Our discussion of religion in Chinese history will focus on mainland China and, after the nineteenth century, Taiwan.

Contemporary Chinese religion is the product of continuous historical development from prehistoric times. In that period the area of present-day China was inhabited by a large number of tribal groups. In around 5000 BCE several of these tribes developed agriculture and began to live in small villages surrounded by their fields. Domesticated plants and animals included millet, rice, dogs, pigs, goats, sheep, cattle, and silkworms. The physical characteristics of these early agriculturalists were similar to those of modern Chinese. The archaeological record indicates gradual development toward more complex technology and social stratification. By the late Neolithic period (beginning around 3200 BCE) there were well-developed local cultures in several areas that were to become centers of Chinese civilization later, including the southeast coast, the southwest, the Yangzi River valley, the northeast, and the northern plains. The interaction of these cultures eventually led to the rise of literate, bronze-working civilizations in the north, the Xia (before 1500 BCE) and Shang (c. 1500–1050 BCE). The existence of the Xia kingdom is attested in early historical sources that have otherwise been shown to accord with archaeological discoveries. However, archaeologists are still debating whether the Xia period constituted a state-level "dynasty," as it has traditionally been described. The Shang has been archaeologically verified, beginning with the excavation of one of its capitals in 1928.

There is some evidence for prehistoric religious activities, particularly for a cult of the dead, who were often buried in segregated cemeteries, supine, with heads toward a single cardinal direction. In some sites houses and circles of white stones are associated with clusters of graves, while in others wine goblets and pig jaws are scattered on ledges near the top of the pit, perhaps indicating a farewell feast. There seems to have been a concern for the precise ordering of ritual acts, perhaps an early version of the importance of universal order or pattern in later Chinese cosmology. In the Wei River area, secondary burial was practiced, with bones from single graves collected and reburied with those of from twenty to eighty others. Grave offerings are found in almost all primary burials, with quantity and variety depending on the status of the deceased: tools, pottery vessels, objects of jade and turquoise, dogs, and, in some cases, human beings. Jade, in particular—a substance that does not break down and requires extraordinary skill and effort to carve with the simplest of tools—was associated with high-status burials and perhaps symbolized the eternity of the afterlife. The *bi* (a flat disk with a central hole) and *cong* (a tube, square on the outside and circular inside) were jade mortuary objects—apparently not used in life—whose meanings have not been determined. The bodies and faces of the dead were often painted with red ochre, a symbol of life. All of these practices constitute the prehistoric beginnings of Chinese ancestor worship. Other evidence for prehistoric religion includes deer buried in fields and divination through reading cracks in the dried shoulder bones of sheep or deer. This form of divination, attested in what is now northeast China by 3560–3240 BCE, is the direct antecedent of similar practices in historical times. Buried deer suggest offerings to the power of the soil, a common practice in later periods.

EARLY HISTORICAL PERIOD. The early historical period (Shang and Zhou kingdoms) saw the development of many of the social and religious beliefs and practices that continue to this day to be associated with the Chinese. Although obvious links with the earlier period persist, it is with the emergence of these kingdoms that the religious history of the Chinese properly begins.

The Shang. The formation of the Shang kingdom was the result of technological innovation such as bronze casting and to the development of new forms of social and administrative control. Extant evidence provides information about the religion of the Shang aristocracy, characterized in the first place by elaborate graves and ceremonial objects for the dead. Grave offerings include decapitated human beings, horses, dogs, large numbers of bronze vessels, and objects of jade, stone, and shell. Some tombs were equipped with chariots hitched to horses. These tomb offerings indicate a belief that afterlife for members of the royal clan was similar to that of their present existence but in a heavenly realm presided over by the Shang high god Di ("Lord") or Shangdi ("Lord on High").

The major sources for our understanding of Shang religion are inscriptions on oracle bones and in bronze sacrificial vessels. From these we learn that the most common recipients of petition and inquiry were the ancestors of the royal clan. These deified ancestors were believed to have powers of healing and fertility in their own right, but they also could serve as intermediaries between their living descendants and more powerful gods of natural forces and Shangdi. Ancestors were ranked by title and seniority, with those longest dead having the widest authority. Since they could bring harm as well as aid to their descendants, it was necessary to propitiate the ancestors to ward off their anger as well as to bring their blessing. Nature deities named in the inscriptions personify the powers of rivers, mountains, rain, wind, and other natural phenomena. Shangdi, whose authority exceeded that of the most exalted royal ancestor, served as a source of unity and order.

To contact these sacred powers the Shang practiced divination and sacrificial rituals, usually closely related to each other. In divination, small pits were bored in the backs of turtle plastrons or the shoulder blades of oxen or sheep. Heated bronze or wooden rods were placed in these impressions, causing the bones to crack with a popping sound. Diviners then interpreted the pattern of the cracks on the face of the bone, perhaps combined with the sound of the popping, to determine yes or no answers to petitions. The subjects of divination include weather, warfare, illness, administrative decisions, harvests, royal births (with the preference for sons that was to continue throughout Chinese history already present), and other practical issues, but the most frequent type of inquiry was in reference to sacrifices to ancestors and deities. Sacrifices to ancestors and spirits residing above consisted mainly of burning meat and grain on open-air altars; gods of the earth were offered libations of fermented liquors, and those of bodies of water given precious objects such as jade. Sacrificial animals included cattle, dogs, and sheep. Human beings were sacrificed during the funeral rituals of kings, presumably to serve them in the afterlife. At least one powerful woman was also buried with human sacrifices, in addition to thousands of precious objects (bronze and jade objects, cowrie shells). This was Fu Hao (Lady Hao), the wife of King Wuding, around 1200 BCE, who apparently commanded an army during her lifetime and was given sacrifices after her death.

The Shang had a ten-day week, and the titles of the deified royal ancestors corresponded to the day on which sacrifice was made to them. Thus, their personal characteristics were less significant than their seniority and their place in the ritual cycle. In the sacrifices themselves what was most important was the proper procedure; the correct objects offered in the right way were believed to obligate the spirits to respond. Thus, in Shang sacrifice we already see the principle of reciprocity, which has remained a fundamental pattern of interaction throughout the history of Chinese religions. In Shang theology the king played the role of intermediary between the human and heavenly realms. He was responsible for maintaining harmonious relations with his ancestors, Di, and the other deities, and so ensuring their blessings on the realm. The considerable expenditures of time and resources devoted to sacrifice and divination in the Shang court suggest that the authority of the king depended in part on his role as the pivot between heaven and earth.

The Zhou. There are many references in Shang oracle bone texts to a people called Zhou who lived west of the Shang center, in the area of modern Shanxi province. The Zhou, who were considered to be an important tributary state, were at first culturally and technologically inferior to the Shang, but they learned rapidly and by the eleventh century BCE challenged the Shang for political supremacy. The final Zhou conquest took place in about 1050 BCE. Remnants of the Shang royal line were allowed to continue their ancestral practices in the small state of Song, in exchange for pledging loyalty to the Zhou.

The Zhou system of government has been loosely called "feudal," but it differed from European feudalism in that the peasants were not bound to the land, and the local lords (*gong,* or "dukes") owed allegiance to the central king (*wang*) based not on law but on bonds of kinship. The king directly ruled only a small territory around the capital city, Chang'an, which was located in the Wei River valley near present-day Xian. He controlled an army, which frequently was joined by armies of the various dukes. The Zhou kings were the first to call themselves "Son of Heaven" (*tianzi*), a term that continued to be applied to the later emperors of China up to the early twentieth century. Corollary to their identity as Son of Heaven, they alone had the right and responsibility to make annual sacrifices to heaven. This too was a practice that lasted until the twentieth century.

The Zhou dynasty lasted nominally almost eight hundred years, making it the longest-lasting dynasty in world history. But in fact their power and their territory remained intact only until 771 BCE, when the king was assassinated and the capital was moved eastward to the more easily defended Luoyang. The periods corresponding to these two capitals are called Western Zhou (1150–770 BCE) and Eastern Zhou (771–221 BCE). The Eastern Zhou was a period of increasing fragmentation and is further divided into the Spring and Autumn period (722–403 BCE) and the Warring States period (403–221 BCE). The former is named after a chronicle of the state of Lu, in contemporary Shandong province, covering these years and traditionally attributed to Confucius (Lu was Confucius's home state). The latter period, as the name implies, saw almost constant warfare, as the last seven major states (formerly Zhou fiefdoms) battled it out until only one was left standing, the Qin.

The Western Zhou period, especially the periods of the earliest kings, was regarded by later Chinese thinkers as a golden age of enlightened, benevolent rule by sage-kings. They especially revered the first two kings, Wen and Wu (whose names mean "culture" and "military," respectively), and King Wu's brother, the duke of Zhou, whose "fief" was the state of Lu. But it was the Eastern Zhou, the period of political disintegration, that witnessed the origins of classical Chinese civilization. It was during this era—sometimes called the Period of the Hundred Philosophers—that Confucianism, Daoism, and many other schools of thought began.

Unlike the sources available to us regarding Shang religion, which are limited to oracle bones and inscriptions on bronze ritual vessels, there are enough Zhou sources to allow us say something about the religion of common people as well that of the aristocracy. Both commoners and elite believed in gods, ghosts, ancestors, and omens (the significance to human beings of unusual phenomena in nature) and practiced divination, sacrifice, and exorcism. The common ground shared by the elite and the common people was much more extensive than their differences, which for the most part were differences in emphasis and interpretation. These distinctions begin to emerge in the Western Zhou and become clearer in the Eastern Zhou, or Classical, period.

The early Zhou elite, as might be expected, were chiefly concerned with their aristocratic ancestors, the powerful ruling gods, and political matters, while the common people had more interaction with lower gods, demons, and ghosts that inhabited the world and generally made trouble for people. The Zhou ancestors were believed to reside in a celestial court presided over by Tian, "Heaven," the Zhou high god, similar to Shangdi in scope and function although less personalized. The ancestors had power to influence the prosperity of their descendants, their fertility, health, and longevity. Through ritual equation of natural forces with deities, the ancestors could also influence the productivity of clan lands. In addition, royal ancestors served as intermediaries between their descendants and Tian.

Ancestral rituals took the form of great feasts in which the deceased was represented by an impersonator, usually a grandson or nephew. In these feasts the sharing of food and drink confirmed vows of mutual fidelity and aid. The most important ancestor worshiped was Houji, who was both legendary founder of the ruling house and the patron of agriculture. As was true for the Shang, Zhou rituals were also directed toward symbols of natural power such as mountains and rivers; most significant natural phenomena were deified and worshiped. The proper time and mode of such rituals were determined in part by divination, which in the Zhou involved both cracking bones and turtle plastrons and the manipulation of dried stalks of the yarrow or milfoil plant. Divination was also employed in military campaigns, the interpretation of dreams, the siting of cities, and in many other situations involving important decisions.

Milfoil divination became the method at the core of the *Zhouyi,* or *Changes of Zhou,* a divination manual that acquired philosophical commentaries and became known as the *Yijing,* or *Scripture of Change,* part of the earliest Confucian canon. The *Yijing* classifies human and natural situations by means of sixty-four sets of six horizontal lines (hexagrams), each of which is either broken or solid. The solid lines represent *qian,* or Heaven, the creative or initiating force of nature, while the broken lines represent *kun,* or earth, which receives and completes. The permutations of these fundamental principles, according to early Chinese cosmology, constitute the patterns or principles of all possible circumstances and experiences. Through ritual manipulation involving chance divisions, the milfoil stalks are arranged in sets with numerical values corresponding to lines in the hexagrams. One thereby obtains a hexagram that reflects one's present situation; additional line changes indicate the direction of change, and thus a potential outcome. Contemplation of these hexagrams clarifies decisions and provides warning or encouragement.

The *Yijing* is essentially a book of wisdom for personal and administrative guidance, used since at least the seventh century BCE. However, from the sixth century BCE on commentaries were written to amplify the earliest level of the text, and by the first century CE there were seven such levels of exposition, some quite philosophical in tone. The *Scripture of Change* was believed to reflect the structure of the cosmic order and its transformations, and hence became an object of reverent contemplation in itself. Its earliest levels antedated all the philosophical schools, so it belonged to none, though the Confucians later claimed it as sacred scripture. The polarity of *qian* and *kun* provided a model for that of yang and yin, first discussed in the fourth century BCE. The *Yijing*'s sometimes obscure formulations gave impetus to philosophical speculations throughout the later history of Chinese thought.

A third focus of Zhou worship, in addition to ancestors and nature gods, was the *she,* a sacred earth mound located in the capital of each state and in at least some villages. The state *she* represented the sacred powers of the earth available to a particular domain and so was offered libations upon such important occasions in the life of the state as the birth of a prince, ascension to rule, and military campaigns. Beside the earth mound stood a sacred tree, a symbol of its connection to the powers of the sky. The *she* was an early form of the shrine to the earth-god, or *tudi gong,* which is a prominent part of Chinese popular religion today.

The early Zhou aristocracy carried out sacrificial rituals to mark the seasons of the year and promote the success of farming. These sacrifices, performed in ancestral temples, were offered both to the high god Tian and to ancestors. These and other Zhou rituals were elaborate dramatic performances involving music, dancing, and archery, concluding with feasts in which much wine was consumed.

The most distinctive early Zhou contribution to the history of Chinese religions was the theory of *tianming,* the "Mandate of Heaven," first employed to justify the Zhou conquest of the Shang and attributed to the duke of Zhou. According to this theory, Heaven as a high god wills order and peace for human society. This divine order is to be administered by virtuous kings who care for their subjects on Heaven's behalf. These kings are granted divine authority to rule, but only so long as they rule well. If they become indolent, corrupt, and cruel, the Mandate of Heaven can be transferred to another line. This process can take a long time and involve many warnings to the ruler in the form of natural calamities and popular unrest. Those who heed such warnings can repent and rehabilitate their rule; otherwise, the mandate can be claimed by one who promises to restore righteous administration. In practice it is the victors who claim the mandate, as did the founding Zhou kings, on the grounds of the alleged indolence and impiety of the last Shang ruler. The idea of the Mandate of Heaven has gripped the Chinese political imagination ever since. It became the basis for the legitimacy of dynasties, the judgment of autocracy, and the moral right of rebellion. This status it owed in part to its support by Confucius and his school, who saw the Mandate of Heaven as the foundation of political morality. The corollary notion that Heaven has a moral will was the first formulation of what later became a foundation principle of Confucian thought: that human moral values are grounded in the natural world.

Commoners during the Zhou period had less reason to trust in the moral will of Heaven, as the lives they led were more subject to hardships imposed by capricious natural phenomena than those of the ruling elite. The *Scripture of Odes* (*Shijing*), for example, contains the following verse that probably reflects the feelings of common people:

> Great Heaven, unjust, Is sending down these exhausting disorders. Great Heaven, unkind, Is sending down these great miseries. (Translated by Poo, 1998, p. 37)

While such sentiments were undoubtedly not limited entirely to the common people, they are strikingly at odds with the concept of a moral, just Heaven. Commoners' beliefs were closely tied to the agricultural cycle and the negative or dangerous spiritual forces inhabiting the world. In contrast to the more abstract Heaven, these forces took the form of an astonishing variety of gods, demons, and spirits. These included the gods of particular mountains, rivers, and seas (usually depicted in hybrid animal or animal-human forms), earth gods (*tu shen*), a sacred serpent, a thorn demon, a water-bug god, hungry ghosts, and the high god, called Shangdi (High Lord, the same term used during the Shang dynasty), Shang Huang (High Sovereign), or Shang Shen (High God). With the possible exception of the high god, these deities were not immortal. Nor were they concerned with human morality; unlike Tian, they responded only to properly performed sacrifices. Sacrifice by commoners was generally performed for personal and familial welfare, unlike the predominant concerns among the elite for affairs of state.

When the early Zhou political and social synthesis began to deteriorate in the eighth century and competing local states moved toward political, military, and ritual independence, rulers from clans originally enfeoffed by Zhou kings also lost their power, which reverted to competing local families. This breakdown of hereditary authority led to new social mobility, with status increasingly awarded for military valor and administrative ability, regardless of aristocratic background. There is some evidence that even peasants could move about in search of more just rulers. These political and social changes were accompanied by an increase in the number and size of cities and in the circulation of goods between states. But as warfare increased throughout this period, commoners were repeatedly conscripted into various armies, playing havoc with local agricultural economies (not to mention social morale and family life) as able-bodied men were forcibly taken away from their fields. There were numerous shifting alliances among the powerful states (as the former fiefdoms could now be called), and gradually their number decreased as the most powerful gobbled up the weaker ones.

During the final century or so of the Warring States period, some of the dukes began calling themselves kings (*wang*), usurping the title reserved for the central monarch under the Zhou system.

This time of social mobility and political chaos was a fertile period in the history of Chinese religion and philosophy. There began to appear a new class of intellectual elite, who would eventually produce the texts that formed the foundations of the Classical tradition. The intellectuals, like the ruling elite, were interested in the abstract notion of a moral Heaven, although they understood it less as a doctrine of political legitimation and more as a religious basis for a system of ethical thought and practice. The ruling elite, on the other hand—finding that the need for legitimation of their military takeover of the Shang (now over two hundred years in the past) was not as pressing as it once had been—seem to have lost interest in the idea and concentrated more on the older systems of worship of royal ancestors and spirits of nature. These older rituals became more elaborate and were focused on the ancestors of the rulers of the states rather than on those of the Zhou kings.

Some intellectuals in this era were led to question the power of the gods. In theory, the loss of a state was ultimately the result of ritual negligence by the ruler, while the victors were supposed to provide for sacrifices to the ancestors of the vanquished. But in practice, many gods charged with protection were deemed to have failed while their desecrators flourished. The worldviews of the elite and the commoners were not radically distinct: the panoply of spiritual beings was known to all, and to the extent that members of the elite had family roots in the agricultural tradition, they too engaged in the ritual forms of propitiation of and communication with the various gods, ghosts, and spirits. The religious worldview was a continuous whole, in which differences in emphasis corresponded to differences in the immediate concerns and interests of its participants.

By the sixth century many intellectuals had developed a more rationalistic perspective, accompanied by a turning away from gods and spirits to the problems of human society and governance. The collapse of the Zhou system persuaded the majority of intellectuals that there was a critical need for a new political and ideological foundation for the state. There were, essentially, two aspects to the intellectual problem posed by the Zhou breakdown: theoretical and practical. The theoretical problem stemmed from the doctrine of the Mandate of Heaven: if Heaven indeed has (or is) a moral will, and if Heaven has the power to influence human events by replacing evil rulers with good ones, how can such violence and suffering continue? This question and the question of the nature and origin of evil, usually posed as the question of human nature, became central to the Confucian tradition by the end of the Zhou period. The practical problem, which on the whole received more attention than the theoretical one, was simply, how are social and political order and harmony to be restored? What is the proper role of government in human life, and how should society and government be organized and run? How can rulers discharge their moral responsibilities to their people and to Heaven? How can they maintain their legitimacy in light of the Mandate of Heaven?

Confucius. It was in this context that we find the beginnings of Chinese philosophy. Confucius (c. 551–479 BCE) was born in the small state of Lu, near the present city of Qufu, in present-day Shandong province. His given name was Kong Qiu; as an adult he was commonly known as Kong Zhongni, although many called him by the honorific name Kongzi, or Master Kong. "Confucius" is a latinized name invented by seventeenth-century Jesuit missionaries in China, based on a very rarely used honorific name, Kongfuzi. Lu was a state in which the old Zhou cultural traditions were strong but that was buffeted both by repeated invasions and by local power struggles. Confucius's goal was the restoration of the ethical standards, just rule, and legitimate government—the *dao,* or "Way"—of the early Zhou period as he understood them. The models for the restoration of the *dao* were the founding kings of the Zhou dynasty, who had ruled with reverence toward their ancestors and kindness toward their people, ever fearful of losing Heaven's approval. These models had mythic force for Confucius, who saw himself as their embodiment in his own age.

The sources from which the Way of the ancient kings could be learned were ritual, historical, literary, and oracular texts, some of which later came to be known as the Five Scriptures (*wujing*). ("Five Classics" is the usual translation, but they certainly were regarded by Confucius and his followers as sacred texts, so "scriptures" is more accurate.) In addition to the *Yijing,* the divination text discussed above, they included the *Shijing* (Scripture of Odes), a collection of folk and aristocratic songs allegedly collected by Confucius; the *Shujing* (Scripture of Documents), purporting to consist of official documents from the ancient Xia dynasty (still historically undocumented) up through the Shang and early Zhou dynasties; the *Chunqiu* (Spring and Autumn), the terse history of Confucius's home state of Lu; and the *Liji* (Record of Ritual), which describes not only the formal rituals of the early Zhou but also the modes of behavior, customs, dress, and other aspects of the lives of the early kings. A sixth one, the *Yuejing* (Scripture of Music), is no longer extant but sections of it survive in the *Liji.*

Although several parts of the Five Scriptures were later attributed to Confucius, it is not likely that he wrote anything that survives. The best source of his teachings is the *Lunyu* (*Analects*), a collection of his sayings recorded by his disciples after his death. Since the compilation of this text continued for over a century, much of it is not historically reliable. Nevertheless, throughout Chinese history until recent times it has been regarded as the definitive teachings of Confucius, so in terms of its influence on Chinese culture it can be read as a whole.

Confucius believed that society could be transformed by the moral cultivation of those in power, because virtue (*de*) has a natural transformative effect on others. This inner moral power or potential was "given birth to" in the individual by Heaven, and it was this that Heaven responded to, not merely the outward show of ritual or the exercise of force. Thus, government by virtue—that is, by setting a moral example—was actually more effective in the long run than government by force or the strict application of law and punishment. *De* had earlier referred simply to the power of a ruler to attract and influence subjects—his charisma, in the Weberian sense—so in this and several other respects Confucius's innovation was to moralize a concept that hitherto had been ethically neutral. The moral perfection of the individual and the perfection of society were coordinate goals, for the moral perfection of the self *required* a morally supportive social environment, in the form of stable and loving families, opportunities for education, and good rulers to serve as models. Society as a whole could best be perfected from the top down, and in terms of the political situation it was most important to establish a government staffed by virtuous men (women did not serve in government). For these reasons Confucius directed his teaching toward local rulers and men whose goal was to serve in government. Literacy was a prerequisite of the moral cultivation that he taught, and so he did not bring his message to the masses, the great majority of whom at that time were illiterate.

He gathered a small group of disciples whom he taught to become *junzi* (superior men), men of ethical sensitivity and historical wisdom who were devoted to moral self-cultivation in preparation to become humane and able government officials. The term *junzi* had originally referred to hereditary nobility, but Confucius used it to mean a kind of moral nobility. Likewise, he expanded the meaning of *li,* or "ritual," to mean proper behavior and a kind of reverent seriousness in one's every action. The highest virtue was *ren,* "humanity" or "humaneness," which Confucius understood to be the perfection of being human. *Ren* described the inner moral character that was necessary in order for one's outward behavior, or *li,* to be authentic and meaningful. Confucius regarded *ren* as a nearly transcendental quality that only the mythic sages of the past had actually attained, although later Confucians claimed it was attainable by anyone.

Thus, Confucius initiated a new level of ethical awareness in Chinese culture and a new form of education, education in what he believed were universal principles for mature humanity and civilization. He assumed that the criteria for holding office were intelligence and high moral principles, not hereditary status, and so further undermined the Zhou feudal system that was crumbling around him. His ethical teachings were intended to describe the Way (*dao*) of the superior or morally noble person, a way that originated in the will of Heaven for its people. Although this Way had been put into practice by the glorious founders of the Zhou dynasty, it was not presently being practiced. The absence of the Way was manifested by widespread conflict and a breakdown of ritual and propriety (*li*), indicating a breach not only in the social order but also in the cosmic order. Ritual or ritual propriety, therefore, was not merely a means of enforcing social order, nor was Confucius's innovation a turn from religion to philosophy; rather, it was a philosophical deepening of a fundamentally religious worldview. Despite the fact that he urged his followers to pay more attention to human affairs than to worshiping the variety of traditional spiritual beings, he denied neither their existence nor the importance of worshiping ancestors. He redirected the religious sense of awe and reverence that had traditionally been focused on the realm of gods and spirits to the human social and political sphere.

The followers of Confucius came to be known as *ru,* or "scholars," signifying their relationship with the literary tradition. They were in a sense custodians of and experts in the literate cultural tradition (*wen*), especially in the areas of court ritual, official protocol, and history. By the fourth and third centuries BCE other schools of thought were developing. They included a school of natural philosophy based on the concept of the *yin* (dark, quiescent) and *yang* (light, active) phases of *qi* (psycho-physical substance); an early form of Daoism (Taoism); a school of Legalism that taught the strict application of law and punishment as the solution to the era's disorder; a school based on the investigation of names and their meanings; and several others. In the culture at large religious beliefs and activities continued unabated; divination and rituals accompanied every significant activity, and a quest for personal immortality was gaining momentum. One of the new schools of thought that reflected these religious concerns was that of Mozi.

Mozi. Mozi (Master Mo, fifth century BCE), a thinker from an artisan background, was a thoroughgoing utilitarian who taught that the fundamental criterion of value was practical benefit to all. He was from Confucius's home state of Lu and was educated in the emerging Confucian tradition, but he turned against what he perceived to be its elitism and wasteful concern with elaborate rituals. In his ethical teaching Mozi reinterpreted along utilitarian lines such Confucian principles as righteousness and filial reverence, focusing on the theme of universal love without familial and social distinctions. He also attracted a group of disciples whom he sent out to serve in various states in an attempt to implement his teachings.

For the history of Chinese religions the most significant aspect of Mozi's thought is his concern to provide theological sanctions for his views. For Mozi Tian, or Heaven, is an active creator god whose will or mandate extends to everyone; what Heaven wills is love, prosperity, and peace for all. Heaven is the ultimate ruler of the whole world; Tian sees all, rewards the good, and punishes the evil. In this task it is aided by a multitude of lesser spirits who are also intelligent and vital and who serve as messengers between Tian and human beings. Mozi advocated that since this is the nature of divine reality, religious reverence should be encouraged by the state as a sanction for moral order.

To protect himself from intellectual skeptics Mozi at one point allowed that even if deities and spirits do not exist, communal worship still has social value. Although his whole attempt to argue for belief in Heaven on utilitarian grounds could be understood as a last stand for traditional religion within a changing philosophical world, there is no reason to doubt that Mozi himself believed in the gods.

The fourth century BCE was a period of incessant civil war on the one hand and great philosophical diversity on the other. A variety of thinkers arose, each propounding a cure for the ills of the age, most seeking to establish their views by training disciples and attaining office. Some advocated moral reform through education, others through authoritarian government, laissez-faire administration, rationalized bureaucracy, agricultural communes, rule in accord with the powers of nature, or individual self-fulfillment. Religious concerns were not paramount for these thinkers; indeed, for some they do not appear at all. The two traditions of this period that do warrant discussion here are the Confucian, represented by Mengzi (Mencius, c. 391–308 BCE) and that of the mystically inclined individualists, traditionally known as the school of Dao (*daojia*).

Mengzi. Master Meng, whose given name was Meng Ke, was a teacher and would-be administrator from the small state of Zou who developed Confucius's teachings and placed them on a much firmer philosophical and literary base. Mengzi was concerned to prepare his disciples for enlightened and compassionate public service, beginning with provision for the physical needs of the people. He believed that only when their material livelihood is secure can the people be guided to higher moral awareness. This hope for moral transformation is grounded in Mengzi's conviction that human nature contains the potential for goodness. What is needed are rulers who nourish this potential as "fathers and mothers of the people." These teachings Mengzi expounded courageously before despotic kings whose inclinations were quite otherwise.

Tian, or Heaven, for Mengzi is an expression of the underlying moral structure of the world, so that in the long run "those who accord with Heaven are preserved, and those who oppose Heaven are destroyed." Heaven's will is known through the assent or disapproval of the people—a proto-democratic aspect of Mengzi's thought. The human mind possesses an innate potential for moral awareness, a potential bestowed by Heaven at birth, so that "to understand human nature is to understand Heaven" and "to preserve one's mind and nourish one's nature is to serve Heaven." This potential is more than mere possibility; it comprises innate and concrete emotional dispositions that, when nourished or developed, become the core virtues of humanity *(ren)*, rightness or appropriateness *(yi)*, propriety *(li)*, and moral wisdom *(zhi)*. This natural course of human development, rather than a static essence, is what constitutes human nature for Mengzi. In cultivating our moral capacities we become fully human and actualize the moral potential of the cosmos. But this process requires a supportive, nourishing environment: a loving and supportive family, opportunities for education, and a humane government.

As had Confucius, Mengzi assumed that ancestor worship was a basic requirement of civilized life, but neither thinker emphasized such worship as much as did later texts like the *Xiaojing,* the *Scripture of Filiality* (third century BCE). And while Confucius had relied largely upon the power of the cultural tradition—in particular the words and examples of the ancient sages preserved in the Five Scriptures—to serve as agents of individual and social transformation, Mengzi's theory could be characterized as a developmental moral psychology. Mengzi represents both a further humanization and a further spiritualization of the Confucian tradition, and his emphasis on the powers of human nature did much to shape the religious sensibilities of Chinese philosophy. In a third century BCE text closely associated with the Mencian school, the *Zhongyong* (The mean in practice or Centrality and commonality), these tendencies were developed to a point not seen again until the eleventh- and twelfth-century revival of Confucianism:

> Only that one in the world who is most perfectly authentic is able to give full development to his nature. Being able to give full development to his nature, he is able to give full development to the nature of other human beings and, being able to give full development to the nature of other human beings, he is able to give full development to the natures of other living things. Being able to give full development to the natures of other living things, he can assist in the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth; being able to assist in the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth, he can form a triad with Heaven and Earth.

Xunzi. The third most important Confucian philosopher before the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) was Xunzi (Xun Qing, c. 310 to c. 220 BCE), a scholar from the state of Zhao who held offices for a time in the larger states of Qi and Chu. Xunzi's thought was influenced by several of the traditions that had developed before his time, including those of the Logicians, Daoists, and Legalists. Xunzi agreed with the Legalist emphasis on the need for strong centralized rule and a strict penal code. He also shared their low estimate of human nature, which in his view tended toward selfishness and competition. Nonetheless, Xunzi believed that human attitudes and behavior are perfectible by dint of much discipline and effort, so his differences with Mengzi on this point are those of degree. Both thinkers claimed that the ordinary person can become a "sage" (*shengren*), one who fully exemplifies the virtue of humanity (*ren*). But for Mengzi this was a developmental process, while for Xunzi it was a transformation (*hua*) requiring the external leverage, so to speak, of past sages.

Xunzi's chief contribution was his reinterpretation of Tian as the order of nature, an order that has no consciousness and is not directly related to human concerns. This interpretation is parallel to the views of the *Laozi (Daodejing)* and *Zhuangzi* texts concerning the cosmic "Way" (*dao*). Xunzi was concerned to separate the roles of heaven, earth, and man, with human attention directed toward ethics, administration, and culture. In this context rituals such as funeral rites are valuable channels for emotions but have no objective referent; their role is social and psychological, not theological. Ignorant "petty people" who believe in the literal efficacy of rain dances and divination are to be pitied; for the gentleman such activities are "cultural adornment."

Xunzi thus gave impetus to the skeptical tradition in Chinese thought that began before Confucius and was reinforced by later thinkers such as Wang Chong (c. 27–100 CE). Xunzi's teachings at this point provided a theoretical basis for a rough bifurcation between elite and popular attitudes toward religion and for sporadic attempts to suppress "excessive cults." Xunzi's epistemology also set up the intellectual framework for a critique of heresy, conceived as inventing words and titles beyond those employed by general consensus and sanctioned by the state. These themes had important implications for the remainder of Chinese history, including official attitudes toward religion today.

Early Daoist thought. The earliest extant writings focused on the mysterious cosmic "Way" (*dao*) that underlies all things are the first seven chapters of the extant *Zhuangzi,* a text attributed to a philosopher named Zhuang Zhou of the fourth century BCE, and a few sections of the *Guanzi,* another fourth-century text. Zhuang Zhou, or Zhuangzi (Master Zhuang), was convinced that the world in its natural state is peaceful and harmonious, a state exemplified by the growth of plants and the activities of animals. Disorder is the result of human aggression and manipulation, a tendency that finds as much expression in Confucian and Moist moralizing as in cruel punishments and warfare. Such moralizing in turn is rooted in a false confidence in words, words that debators use to express their own limited points of view and thus to dichotomize our understanding of the world. Indeed, all perspectives are limited and relative, conditioned by the interests and anxieties of species, social positions, and individuals. The answer to this problem is to understand and affirm the relativity of views, and thus harmonize them all. This the sage does by perceiving the constant rhythms of change within all life and identifying with them. In his view all dichotomies are unified; hence, there is no need for struggle and competition. The sage intuits the *dao* within and behind all things and takes its all-embracing perspective as his own. This perspective allows him to achieve a state of emotional equanimity, which even a serious illness or the death of a loved one cannot disturb. Indeed, such events illustrate the ultimate truth of the Way—change and transformation—and can therefore provide opportunities to rejoice in one's participation in what is fundamentally real.

The *Guanzi* is a long, composite text attributed to a famous statesman of the seventh century BCE, but it was probably written or compiled from the fourth to the second centuries BCE, and its actual authors are unknown. Its earliest sections focus on the cosmological and physiological bases of self-transformation according to the Way, using such concepts as *qi* (the psycho-physical substance of all things), *jing* (life-giving essence), and *shen* (spirit), all of which remained central to the Daoist religion in its later development.

The best-known book devoted to discussing the *dao* behind all things is the early third-century BCE *Daodejing* (The Way and Its Power), also known as the *Laozi,* after its reputed author, a mythical sage known simply as the "Old Master," said to have been an older contemporary of Confucius. The *Laozi* discusses the Way in more direct, metaphysical terms than does the *Zhuangzi,* all the while protesting that such discussion is ultimately futile. Here we are told that the *dao* is the source of all things, "the mother of the universe," the ineffable cosmic womb out of which all emerges. The *dao* also "works in the world," guiding all things in harmonious development and interaction. As both source and order of the world the *dao* serves as a model for enlightened rulers who gain power by staying in the background and letting their people live spontaneously in response to their own needs. The *dao* is the vital force of life perceived at its utmost depth; it works mysteriously and imperceptibly, and yet there is nothing it does not accomplish. Its symbols are water rather than rock, valleys rather than hills, the female rather than the male. Although its perspective is profound, its author intended this book to be a handbook of wise and successful living, living characterized by a natural, spontaneous action that does not prematurely wear itself out.

These texts were the sources of a persistent tradition of naturalistic mysticism in the history of Chinese religions. They were the inspiration for much poetry, romantic philosophy, and meditation, all intended as a corrective for the bustle and competition of life, a means to peace of mind, and a clarification and broadening of perspective. They describe the enlightened person as living peacefully and long because he does not waste his vital powers on needless contention and aggression. In the *Laozi,* for example, we are told that "He who knows when to stop is free from danger; therefore he can long endure" (chapter 44), and that one who is "a good preserver of his life" cannot be harmed, "because in him there is no room for death" (chapter 50). Although in some passages of the *Zhuangzi* an enlightened perspective leads to acceptance of death, a few others provide poetic visions of immortals, those who have transcended death by merging with the *dao.* One of the terms Zhuangzi uses for these individuals is *zhenren,* "perfected people," a term that later became important in the fully developed Daoist religion that took shape after the second century CE. These indications of immortality in the earliest Daoist texts provided the chief point of contact between the Classical tradition and those who sought immortality by more direct means, including later practitioners of Daoist religion.

The quest for immortality. An explicit concern for long life (*shou*) had already appeared on early Zhou bronzes and in poems in the *Scripture of Odes.* Beginning in the eighth century BCE we find terms expressing a hope for immortality, such as "no death," "transcending the world," and "becoming an immortal." By the fourth century BCE there is evidence of an active quest for immortality through a variety of means, including exercises imitating the movements of long-lived animals, diets enforcing abstinence from grains, the use of food vessels inscribed with characters indicating longevity, the ingestion of herbs and chemicals, and petitions for the aid of immortals residing in mountains or distant paradises. It was in this context that Chinese alchemy began. The alchemical quest became the most dramatic form of the quest to transcend death, growing in popularity during the Qin (221–206 BCE) and Western Han (206 BCE–9 CE) dynasties.

The goal of all these practices was to return the body to its original state of purity and power with its *yin* and *yang* forces vital and in proper balance. The fact that some of the compounds used were poisonous did not deter the experimenters; those who died were believed by devotees to have transferred themselves to another plane of existence, that of the immortals (*xian*). All this effort and expense were considered necessary because in ancient China the person was understood to be a psycho-physical whole, composed throughout of one vital substance, *qi,* in different modes and densities. Corresponding to the *yin* and *yang* phases of *qi* there were thought to be two "souls," the *po* and *hun,* respectively. The *po,* associated with the gross physical body, would ideally remain with the body after death, or would descend to a murky underworld, the Yellow Springs. The *hun,* associated with the more intelligent and spiritual aspect of the person, would rise up to heaven and would retain its integrity only as long as it was ritually acknowledged and "nourished" through ancestor worship.

These forms of continuation after death were perceived by some to be tenuous and limited, so they attempted to make the entire person/body immortal by transforming its substance. There was no doctrine of an eternal, immaterial soul to fall back on as in India or the Hellenistic world, so the only alternative was physical immortality. In China this tradition continued to develop through the Eastern (Latter) Han dynasty (25–220 CE) and produced texts of its own full of recipes, techniques, and moral exhortations. As such, it became one of the major sources of the Daoist religion that emerged in the second century CE.

Spirit mediums. The other important expression of Chinese religious consciousness before the Han dynasty was shamanism, which most commonly took the form of deities and spirits possessing receptive human beings. Spirit mediums both female and male are mentioned in discussions of early Zhou religion as participants in court rituals, responsible for invoking the descent of the gods, praying and dancing for rain, and for ceremonial sweeping to exorcise harmful forces. They were a subordinate level of officially accepted ritual performers, mostly women, who spoke on behalf of the gods to arrange for sacrifices. In conditions of extreme drought they could be exposed to the sun as an inducement to rain. Female mediums were called *wu,* a word etymologically related to that for dancing; male mediums were called *xi.* In the state of Chu, south of the center of Zhou culture, there were shamans believed able to practice "spiritual flight," that is, to send their souls on journeys to distant realms of deities and immortals.

Han historical sources indicate that by the third century BCE there were shamans all over China, many of whom were invited by emperors to set up shrines in the capital. This was done in part to consolidate imperial control but also to make available fresh sources of sacred power to support the state and heal illness. Sporadic attempts were also made by officials to suppress shamanism. These began as early as 99 BCE and continued in efforts to reform court rituals in 31–30 BCE and to change local practices involving human sacrifice in 25 CE. However, it is clear that shamanism was well established among the people and continued to have formal influence at court until the fifth century CE. Shamans were occasionally employed by rulers to call up the spirits of royal ancestors and consorts, and incidents of court support continued into the eleventh century. Owing in part to the revival of Confucianism in that period, in 1023 a sweeping edict was issued that all shamans be returned to agricultural life and their shrines be destroyed. Thus, the gradual Confucianization of the Chinese elite led to the suppression of shamanism at that level, but it continued to flourish among the people, where its activities can still be observed in China, Taiwan, and other Chinese communities.

THE BEGINNINGS OF EMPIRE. In the fifth century BCE the disintegration of the Zhou feudal and social order quickened under the pressure of incessant civil wars. The larger states formed alliances and maneuvered for power, seeking hegemony over the others, aiming to reunify the area of Zhou culture by force alone. In 256 BCE the state of Qin, under the influence of a ruthlessly applied ideology of laws and punishments suggested in the fourth century BCE by Shang Yang, one of the founders of the Legalist school, eliminated the last Zhou king and then finished off its remaining rivals. Finally, in 221 the state of Qin became the empire of Qin (221–206 BCE), and its ruler took a new title, "First Emperor of Qin" (*Qin shi huangdi*). With this step China as a semicontinental state was born. There were many periods of division and strife later, but the new level of unification achieved by the Qin was never forgotten and became the goal of all later dynasties.

The Qin emperors attempted to rule all of China by the standards long developed in their own area; laws, measurements, written characters, wheel tracks, thought, and so forth were all to be unified. Local traditions and loyalties were still strong, however, and Qin rule remained precarious. After the emperor died in 209, he was replaced by a son who proved unequal to the task. Rebellions that broke out in that year severely undermined Qin authority, and by 206 one of the rebel leaders, a village head named Liu Bang, had assumed de facto control of state administration. In 202 Liu Bang was proclaimed emperor of a new dynasty, the Han (202 BCE–220 CE), built upon Qin foundations but destined to last, with one interregnum, for over four hundred years.

The Qin. The Qin was noteworthy both for its suppression of philosophy and its encouragement of religion. The Legalist tradition dominant in the state of Qin had long been hostile to the Confucians and Moists, with their emphasis on ethical sanctions for rule. For the Legalists the only proper standard of conduct was the law, applied by officials concerned with nothing else, whose personal views were irrelevant as long as they performed their task. The only sanctions the state needed were power and effective organization. Not long after Qin became an empire, it attempted to silence all criticism based on the assumption of inner standards of righteousness that were deemed to transcend political power and circumstance. In 213 BCE the court made it a capital offence to discuss Confucian books and principles and ordered that all books in private collections be burned, save those dealing with medicine, divination, and agriculture, as well as texts of the Legalist school. In this campaign, several scores of scholars were executed, and a number of philosophical schools were eliminated as coherent traditions, including the Moists and the Dialecticians. In the early Han dynasty both Daoist philosophy and Confucianism revived, and Legalism continued to be in evidence in practice if not in theory. But a unified empire demanded unified thought, a dominant orthodoxy enforced by the state. From this perspective variety was a threat to the Qin, and furthermore, there were no independent states left to serve as sanctuaries for different schools.

Qin policy toward religion, by contrast, encouraged a variety of practices to support the state. To pay homage to the sacred powers of the realm and to consolidate his control, the First Emperor included worship at local shrines in his extensive tours. Representatives of regional cults, many of them spirit mediums, were brought to the court, there to perform rituals at altars set up for their respective deities. The Qin expanded the late Zhou tendency to exalt deities of natural forces; over one hundred temples to such nature deities were established in the capital alone, devoted to the sun, moon, planets, several constellations, and stars associated with wind, rain, and long life. The nation was divided into sacred regions presided over by twelve mountains and four major rivers, with many lesser holy places to be worshiped both by the people and the emperor. Elaborate sacrifices of horses, rams, bulls, and a variety of foodstuffs were regularly offered at the major sites, presided over by officials with titles such as Grand Sacrificer and Grand Diviner. Important deities were correlated with the Five Phases (*wuxing*), the modes of interaction of natural forces, the better to personify and control these powers.

A distinctive feature of Qin religion was sacrifices to four "Supreme Emperors" responsible for natural powers in each of the four quarters. Only the emperor could worship these deities, a limitation as well for two new rites he developed in 219, the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices. These were performed on sacred Mount Tai, in modern Shandong province, to symbolize that the ruler had been invested with power by Heaven itself. Another driving force behind Qin encouragement of religious activities was the First Emperor's personal quest for immortality. We are told that in this quest he sent groups of young people across the China Sea to look for such islands of the immortals as Penglai.

The Han. The defeat of Qin forces in the civil wars leading up to the founding of the Han dynasty deposed Legalist political thought along with the second and last Qin emperor. It took several decades for the new Han dynasty to consolidate its power. Since the Legalists had developed the most detailed policies for administering an empire, many of these policies were followed in practice in modified form.

Some early Han scholars and emperors attempted to ameliorate royal power with a revival of Confucian concern for the people and Daoist principles of noninterference (*wuwei*). For example, a palace counselor named Jia Yi (200–168 BCE) echoed Mengzi in his emphasis that the people are the basis of the state, the purpose of which should be to make them prosperous and happy so as to gain their approval. A similar point of view is presented in more Daoist form in the *Huainanzi,* a book presented to the throne in 139 BCE by a prince of the Liu clan who had convened a variety of scholars in his court. This book discusses the world as a fundamentally harmonious system of resonating roles and influences. The ruler's job is to guide it, as an experienced charioteer guides his team.

Both Jia Yi and the *Huainanzi* assume that the rhythms that order society and government emanate from the cosmic *dao.* The ruler's task is to discover and reinforce these rhythms for the benefit of all. This understanding of a Daoist "art of rulership" is rooted in the teachings of the early Daoist texts discussed above *(Zhuangzi, Guanzi,* and *Laozi),* which in the early Han were called the Huang-Lao school, the tradition of the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi) and Laozi. Four other Huang-Lao texts were rediscovered in 1973 at Mawangdui, in a tomb sealed in 168 BCE. This early form of Daoism, which was adopted by the early Han emperors, is concerned with the *dao* as the creative source of both nature and humanity, their patterns of order, and the ontological basis of law and administration. Here we see an attempt to apply Daoist philosophical principles to the ordering of society by blending them with Legalist ideas.

Some Confucian books had escaped the flames of 213 BCE, and those that did not were reconstructed or written anew, with little but the old titles intact. By this time scholars such as Xunzi had already incorporated the best thought of their day into fundamentally Confucian expositions that advocated a strong centralized state and an ethical teaching enforced by law. This expanded interpretation of Confucius's teachings served his followers well in the early Han. They occupied the middle ground between Legalism and Daoist laissez-faire. There was room in their perspective for political power, criminal law, advocacy of benevolent rule, moral suasion, religious rituals, and personal ethical development, all supported by a three-century tradition of training disciples to study sacred texts and emulate the models they provided. In addition, the philosopher Dong Zhongshu (c. 179–104 BCE) incorporated into Confucianism the theories of Zou Yan and the "Naturalists," who in the fourth century BCE had taught that the world is an interrelated organic whole that operates according to the cosmic principles of *yinyang* and *wuxing* (Five Phases). The *Huainanzi* had already given this material a Daoist interpretation, stressing the natural resonance between all aspects of the universe. In the hands of Dong Zhongshu this understanding became an elaborate statement of the relationship of society and nature, with an emphasis on natural justification for hierarchical social roles, focused on that of the ruler.

Dong Zhongshu provided a more detailed cosmological basis for Confucian ethical and social teachings and made it clear that only a unified state could serve as a channel for cosmic forces and sanctions. Dong was recognized as the leading scholar of the realm and became spokesman for the official class. At his urging, the sixth Han emperor, Wudi (r. 140–87 BCE), shifted his allegiance from Huang-Lao Daoism to Confucianism. In 136 BCE the Confucian classics were made the prescribed texts studied at the imperial academy. Texts of other schools, including the Daoist theories of administration noted above, were excluded. This meant in effect that Dong Zhongshu's version of Confucianism became the official state teaching, a status it retained throughout the Han dynasty. So it was that the humble scholar of Lu, dead for over three hundred years, was exalted as patron saint of the imperial system, a position he retained until 1911. State-supported temples were established in Confucius's name in cities all over the land, and his home at Qufu became a national shrine. In these temples, spirit tablets of the master and his disciples (replaced by images from 720 to 1530) were venerated in elaborate and formal rituals. As the generations passed, the tablets of the most influential scholars of the age came to be placed in these temples as well, by imperial decree, and so the cult of Confucius became the ritual focus of the scholar-official class.

Dong Zhongshu's incorporation of *yinyang* thought into Confucian philosophy had the unfortunate effect of legitimating and accentuating what was already a patriarchal social system. The root meanings of *yin* (dark) and *yang* (light) were not gendered, but neither did they necessarily imply a complementarity of equals. The predominant interpretation of the *yin-yang* polarity throughout Chinese history (with a few texts like the *Laozi* as prominent exceptions) understood the relationship as a *hierarchical* complementarity, with *yin* as quiescent and sinking and *yang* as active and rising. The general preference for *yang* over *yin,* combined with the patriarchal association of women with *yin* and men with *yang,* provided philosophical justification for the subservience of women to men. Educated women as well as men accepted this as a fact of nature. Ban Zhao (45–114 CE), the most famous female intellectual in Chinese history, wrote an influential book called *Lessons for Women* (*Nujie*), which emphasized the propriety of women's humility and subservience, although her support of education for girls could, in its context, be considered a "feminist" position. In general, Confucians believed that women could become sages, but only by perfecting the virtues of the "woman's Way" as wives and mothers.

Han state rituals were based upon those of Qin but were greatly expanded and more elaborate. The first Han emperor, Gaozu, instituted the worship of a star god believed to be associated with Houji, the legendary founder of the Zhou royal line. Temples for this deity were built in administrative centers around the realm, where officials were also instructed to worship gods of local mountains and rivers. Gaozu brought shamans to the palace and set up shrines for sacrifices to their regional deities. He also promoted the worship of his own ancestors; at his death temples in his honor were built in commanderies throughout the empire.

These efforts to institute an imperial religious system supported by officials at all levels were energetically continued by Emperor Wu, during whose fifty-four-year reign the foundations of imperial state religion were established for Chinese history into the twentieth century. The emperor's religious activities were in turn supported by the philosophy of Dong Zhongshu, with its emphasis on the central cosmic role of the ruler. Emperor Wu revived the *jiao* or suburban sacrifice at the winter solstice to express imperial support for the revival of life forces. He also began to worship Taiyi, the "Supreme One," a star deity most noble in the heavens, an exalted version of a Zhou god. Taiyi was coequal with Heaven and earth, a symbol of both cosmic power and the emperor's status. In the period 112–110 BCE Emperor Wu renewed the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices at Mount Tai, the sacred mountain of the east, a key place of direct communication with Heaven for the sake of the whole realm. In 109 BCE he ordered that a *ming tang* (hall of light) be built at the foot of Mount Tai as a temple where all the major deities of China could assemble and be worshiped. Emperor Wu also toured the realm, sacrificing at important shrines along the way, all to express his religious convictions and assert his authority.

Detailed instructions for these Han rituals were provided by handbooks of ritual and etiquette such as the *Liji* (Record of Ritual), the present version of which was compiled in the second century BCE but includes earlier material as well. Here we find descriptions of royal rituals to be performed at the solstices and the equinoxes, as well as instructions for such matters as the initiation ("capping") of young men and the worship of ancestors. The emphasis throughout is on the intimate correlations of nature and society, so that social custom is given cosmic justification. The *Liji* complements Dong Zhongshu's philosophy by extending similar understandings to the social life of the literate elite. In this context periodic rituals served as concentrated reminders of the cosmic basis of the whole cultural and political order. Thus did the imperial ruling class express its piety and solidify its position.

It should be noted, however, that the old Zhou concept of the "Mandate of Heaven" continued to influence Han political thought in a form elaborated and attenuated at the same time. Particularly in the writings of Dong Zhongshu, evidence for divine approval or disapproval of the ruler was discerned in natural phenomena, such as comets or earthquakes, interpreted as portents and omens. In accord with this belief, officials were appointed to record and interpret portents and to suggest appropriate responses, such as changes in ritual procedure and the proclamation of amnesties. The developing tradition of political portents recognized the importance of divine sanctions but provided a range of calibrated responses that enabled rulers to adjust their policies rather than face the prospect of rejection by Heaven. The Mandate of Heaven in its earlier and starker form was evoked chiefly as justification for rebellion in periods of dynastic decay. Nonetheless, portent theory in the hands of a conscientious official could be used in attempts to check or ameliorate royal despotism, and hence was an aspect of the state religious system that could challenge political power as well as support it.

The Han emperor Wu devoted much effort to attaining immortality, as had his Qin predecessor. As before, shamans and specialists in immortality potions were brought to court, and expeditions were sent off to look for the dwelling places of those who had defeated death. The search for immortality became quite popular among those who had the money and literacy to engage in it. In part this was the result of the transformation of the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi) into the patron deity of immortality, the earliest popular saving deity of this type in China. This transformation, fostered by magicians or "technique specialists" *(fangshi)* at Emperor Wu's court, included stories that the Yellow Emperor had ascended to Heaven with his whole retinue, including a harem of over seventy.

A more common expression of hope for some sort of continuity after death may be seen in tombs of Han aristocrats and officials, many of which were built as sturdy brick replicas of houses or offices, complete with wooden and ceramic utensils, attendants, and animals, as well as food, drugs, clothing, jade, bamboo books, and other precious objects. To a large extent this was a modification of Shang and Zhou traditions. However, in a few Han tombs were tightly sealed coffins filled with an embalming fluid in which even the skin and flesh of the bodies have been preserved. On top of one of these coffins has been found an elaborate silk banner from the southern state of Chu, painted with a design evidently intended to guide the occupant to a paradise of the immortals, perhaps that of the Queen Mother of the West, Xi Wang Mu.

Another destination for the dead was an underworld that was a Han elaboration of the old myth of the Yellow Springs, a shadowy place beneath the earth referred to as early as the eighth century BCE. From the Han period, there are tomb documents by which living officials transferred the dead in their jurisdiction to those of their counterparts in the underworld. There are also references to a realm of the dead inside Mount Tai. The god of this mountain keeps registers of the life spans of all, and death may be referred to as "to return to the Eastern Peak." By the third and fourth centuries CE it was believed that there was a subterranean kingdom within Mount Tai, where judges decided the fate of the dead. These alternative beliefs represent the state of Chinese understandings of afterlife before Buddhist impact.

What came to be called the Former Han dynasty ended in 8 CE when the throne was occupied by a prime minister named Wang Mang (r. 9–23 CE), who established a Xin ("new") dynasty that was to last for fourteen years. Wang's chief contribution to the history of Chinese religions was his active promotion of prognostication as a way of understanding the intimate relationship between Heaven and the court. In 25 CE Liu Xiu (r. 25–57), a member of the Han royal line, led a successful attack on Wang Mang and reestablished the (Latter) Han dynasty. Like Wang Mang, he actively supported prognostication at court, despite the criticism of rationalist scholars such as Huan Tan (43 BCE–28 CE), who argued that strange phenomena were a matter of coincidence and natural causes rather than messages from Heaven.

A related development was controversy between two movements within Confucian scholarly circles, the so-called New Text school of the Former Han and a later rationalistic reaction against it, the Old Text school. The New Text school developed out of Dong Zhongshu's concern with portents. Its followers wrote new commentaries on the classics that praised Confucius as a superhuman being who predicted the future hundreds of years beyond his time. By the end of the first century BCE this interpretation of the sage in mythological terms was vigorously resisted by an Old Text school that advocated a more restrained and historical approach. These two traditions coexisted throughout the remainder of the Han dynasty, with the New Text scholars receiving the most imperial support through the first century CE. After Huan Tan, the best known rationalist was Wang Chong, whose *Lunheng* (Balanced Essays) fiercely criticizes religious opinions of his day, including prognostication and belief in spirits of the dead. Although Wang Chong was not well known by his contemporaries, his thought was rediscovered in the third century and established as a key contribution to the skeptical tradition in Chinese philosophy. An important religious legacy of the New Text school was the exalted interpretation of Confucius as a semidivine being, which was echoed in later popular religion. Its concern with portents and numerology also influenced Daoism.

We have noted the appearance of the Yellow Emperor as a divine patron of immortality and as a representative of a new type of personified saving deity with power over a whole area of activity. In the latter half of the Han dynasty the number and popularity of such deities increased, beginning with the cult of the Queen Mother of the West (Xi Wang Mu). She was associated with the Kunlun Mountains in the northwest, where she presided over a palace and received a royal visitor, King Mu of the Zhou dynasty, who she predicted would be able to avoid death. In 3 BCE Xi Wang Mu's promise of immortality to all became the central belief of an ecstatic popular cult in her name that swept across North China. Although this movement abated in a few months, the Queen Mother herself is commonly portrayed in Latter Han iconography. Kunlun is described as the center pillar of the world, from where she controls cosmic powers and the gift of immortality. This goddess has continued to have an important role in Chinese religion until the present day.

Mountain-dwelling immortals constituted another source of personal deities in this period. These beings were believed to descend to aid the ruler in times of crisis, sometimes with instructions from the Celestial Emperor (Tiandi), sometimes themselves identified with the "perfect ruler" who would restore peace to the world. By the second century CE the most important of these figures was Laozi, the legendary author of the *Daodejing,* who appears as a deity called Huang Laojun (Yellow Lord Lao) or Taishang Laojun (Most High Lord Lao). By this time Laozi had been portrayed for centuries in popular legend as a mysterious wise man who disappeared without a trace. We have seen that the book in his name contains passages that could be interpreted as support for the immortality cult, and by the first century he was referred to as an immortal himself. In an inscription of 165 CE Laozi is described as a creator deity, equal in status to the sun, moon, and stars. A contemporary text assures his devotees that he has manifested himself many times in order to save humankind, that he will select those who believe in him to escape the troubles of the age, and that he will "shake the Han reign." It is this messianic theme that provided the religious impetus for two large popular religious movements in the late second century CE that were important sources of later Daoist religion and the popular sectarian tradition. These movements were the *Tianshi dao* (Way of the Celestial Masters) in the west and the *Taiping dao* (Way of Great Peace) in the north.

The Way of the Celestial Masters began with a new revelation from the Most High Lord Lao to a man named Zhang Daoling in 142 CE. In this revelation Zhang was designated as the first "Celestial Master" and was empowered to perform rituals and write talismans that distributed this new manifestation of the *dao* for the salvation of humankind. Salvation was available to those who repented of their sins, believed in the *dao,* and pledged allegiance to their Daoist master. The master in turn established an alliance between the gods and the devotee, who then wore at the waist a list or "register" of the names of the gods to be called on for protection. The register also served as a passport to heaven at death. Daoist ritual consists essentially of the periodic renewal of these alliances by meditative visualization, ritual confession and petition, and sacrificial offering of incense and sacred documents. Daoist texts are concerned throughout with moral discipline and orderly ritual and organization.

Under Zhang Daoling's grandson, Zhang Lu, the Way of the Celestial Masters established a theocratic state in the area of modern Sichuan province with an organization modeled in part on Han local administration. The administrative units or "parishes" were headed by "libationers," some of whom were women, whose duties included both religious and administrative functions. Their rituals included reciting the *Laozi,* doing penance to heal illness, and constructing huts in which free food was offered to passersby. Converts were required to contribute five pecks of rice, from which the movement gained the popular name of "the Way of Five Pecks of Rice" (*Wudoumi dao*). In 215 Zhang Lu pledged allegiance to a Han warlord (Cao Cao), whose son founded the new state of Wei in 220. The members of the sect were required to disperse their self-governing community in Sichuan, but they were allowed to continue their activities and taught that Wei had simply inherited divine authority from the Celestial Master Zhang and his line. By the fourth century the Celestial Masters developed more elaborate collective rituals of repentance, retrospective salvation of ancestors, and the strengthening of vital forces through sexual intercourse. Eventually all branches of Daoism traced their origins to the Way of the Celestial Masters.

We know less about the practices of the Way of Great Peace because it was destroyed as a coherent tradition in the aftermath of a massive uprising in 184 CE. Its leader, also named Zhang (Zhang Jue, d. 184 CE), proclaimed that the divine mandate for the Han rule, here symbolized by the wood (green) phase (of the Five Phases), had expired, to be replaced by the earth phase, whose color is yellow. Zhang Jue's forces thus wore yellow cloths on their heads as symbols of their destiny, and hence the movement came to be called the Yellow Scarves (often misleadingly translated as Yellow Turbans). The Han court commissioned local governors to put down the uprising, which was soon suppressed with much bloodshed, although remnants of the Yellow Scarves continued to exist until the end of the century.

The Yellow Scarves are better understood as a parallel to the Celestial Master sect rather than as connected to it, although the two movements shared some beliefs and practices, particularly healing through confession of sins. The Way of Great Peace employed a scripture known as the *Taipingjing* (Scripture of Great Peace), which emphasizes the cyclical renewal of life in the *jiazi* year, the beginning of the sixty-year calendrical cycle. Both sects were utopian, but the Yellow Scarves represent a more eschatological orientation. In retrospect, both of these groups appear as attempts to reconstruct at a local level the Han cosmic and political synthesis that was collapsing around them, with priests taking the place of imperial officials.

The most important legacy of the late Han popular religious movements was their belief in personified divine beings concerned to aid humankind, a belief supported by new texts, rituals, and forms of leadership and organization. This belief was given impetus by the expectation that a bearer of collective salvation was about to appear in order to initiate a new time of peace, prosperity, and long life. From the third century on this hope was focused on a figure called Li Hong, in whose name several local movements appeared, some involving armed uprisings. This eschatological orientation was an important dimension of early Daoism, which at first understood itself as a new revelation, intended to supplant popular cults with their bloody sacrifices and spirit mediums.

In addition to such organized movements as the Yellow Scarves, Han popular religion included the worship of local sacred objects such as trees, rocks, and streams, the worship of dragons (thought to inhabit bodies of water), the belief that spirits of the dead have consciousness and can roam about, and a lively sense of the power of omens and fate. By the third century there are references to propitiation of the spirits of persons who died violent deaths, with offerings of animal flesh presided over by spirit mediums.

Feng-shui (wind and water), or geomancy, also developed during the Han as a ritual expression of the *yin-yang* and five-phases worldview. It is the art of locating graves, buildings, and cities in auspicious places where there is a concentration of the vital energies *(qi)* of earth and atmosphere. Spirits of the dead in graves so located, by virtue of being part of the natural flow of *qi* through the earth, are less likely to roam the world as ghosts and harm their descendants. Likewise, homes and cities harmoniously oriented with the flow of *qi* benefit the living directly; to be in harmony with the natural order is "auspicious." The earliest extant *feng-shui* texts are attributed to famous diviners of the third and fourth centuries. Chinese religion was thus developed at a number of levels by the time Buddhism arrived, although Buddhism offered several fresh interpretations of morality, personal destiny, and the fate of the dead.

THE PERIOD OF DISUNION. By the time the first Buddhist monks and texts appeared in China around the first century CE, the Han dynasty was already in decline. At court rival factions competed for imperial favor, and in the provinces restless governors moved toward independence. Political and military fragmentation was hastened by the campaigns against the Yellow Scarves uprising, after which a whole series of adventurers arose to attack each other and take over territory. In the first decade of the third century three major power centers emerged in the north, southeast, and southwest, with that in the north controlling the last Han emperor and ruling in his name. By 222 these three centers each had declared themselves states (the "Three Kingdoms" of the famous fourteenth-century historical novel by Luo Guanzhong), and China entered a period of political division that was to last until late in the sixth century. This is known as the Six Dynasties period, or alternatively, the Wei-Jin and Northern-Southern Dynasties periods. In this time of relatively weak central government control, powerful local clans emerged to claim hereditary power over their areas.

The beginnings of Buddhism in China. With the gradual expansion of Buddhism under the patronage of the Kushan rulers (in present-day northwest India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan) into the oasis states of Central Asia, and with the corresponding expansion of Chinese influence into this same region, it became inevitable that Buddhism would be introduced into East Asia. Over a thousand-year period from the beginning of the common era until the close of the first millennium, the opportunities for cultural exchange with South and West Asia afforded by the so-called Silk Road—actually a whole network of trade routes throughout Asia and connecting it with Europe—nourished vibrant East Asian Buddhist traditions. These began with earnest imitation of their Indian antecedents and culminated in the great independent systems of thought that characterize the fully developed tradition: Huayan, Tiantai, Jingtu, and Chan.

From about 100 BCE on it would have been relatively easy for Buddhist ideas and practices to come to China with foreign merchants, but the first reliable notice of it in Chinese sources is dated 65 CE. In a royal edict of that year we are told that a prince administering a city in what is now northern Jiangsu province "recites the subtle words of Huang-Lao, and respectfully performs the gentle sacrifices to the Buddha." He was encouraged to "entertain *upāsakas* and *sramanas,*" Buddhist lay devotees and initiates. In 148 CE the first of several foreign monks, An Shigao, settled in Luoyang, the capital of the Latter Han. Over the next forty years he and other scholars translated about thirty Buddhist scriptures into Chinese, most of them from pre-Mahāyāna traditions, emphasizing meditation and moral principles. However, by about 185 three Mahāyāna *prajñāpāramitā* (Perfection of Wisdom) texts were translated as well.

A memorial dated 166, approving Buddhist "purity," "emptiness," nonviolence, and control of sensual desires, further informs us that in that year the emperor performed a joint sacrifice to Laozi and the Buddha. In 193–194 a local warlord in what is now Jiangsu erected a Buddhist temple that could hold more than three thousand people. It contained a bronze Buddha image before which offerings were made and scriptures were read. During ceremonies in honor of the Buddha's birthday, thousands came to participate, watch, and enjoy free food and wine. Thus, by the end of the second century there were at least two centers of Buddhist activity, Luoyang in the north and an area in the southeast. At court Buddhist symbols were used in essentially Daoist rituals, but in the scriptures the novelty and differences of Buddhism were made clear in crude vernacular translations. Injunctions to eliminate desires, to love all beings equally, without special preference for one's family, and to regard the body as transitory and doomed to decay rather than an arena for seeking immortality were not without precedent in Chinese thought, but they did challenge the Han Confucian orthodoxy.

Although early sources mention terms for various clerical ranks, rules for monastic life were transmitted in a haphazard and incomplete fashion. Monks and nuns lived in cloisters that cannot properly be called monasteries until a few centuries later. Meanwhile, leadership of the Chinese clergy was provided first by Central Asian monks, then by naturalized Chinese of foreign descent, and by the fourth century, by Chinese themselves. Nuns are first mentioned in that century as well.

The movement of Buddhism to China, one of the great cultural interactions of history, was slow and fortuitous, carried out almost entirely at a private level. The basic reason for its eventual acceptance throughout Chinese society was that it offered several religious and social advantages unavailable to the same extent in China before. These included a full-time religious vocation for both men and women in an organization largely independent of family and state, a clear promise of life after death at various levels, and developed conceptions of paradise and purgatory, connected to life through the results of intentional actions (*karma*). Many women found Buddhism an attractive alternative to the "woman's Way" supported by Confucianism, with its limited options for fulfillment as wives and mothers. Buddhism also offered the worship of heroic saviors in image form, supported by scriptures that told of their wisdom and compassion. For ordinary folk there were egalitarian moral principles, promises of healing and protection from harmful forces, and simple means of devotion; for intellectuals there were sophisticated philosophy and the challenge of attaining new states of consciousness in meditation, all of this expounded by a relatively educated clergy who recruited, organized, translated, and preached.

In the early fourth century North China was invaded by the nomadic Xiongnu, who sacked Luoyang in 311 and Chang'an in 316. Thousands of elite families fled south below the Yangzi River, where a series of short-lived Chinese dynasties held off further invasions. In the north a succession of kingdoms of Inner Asian background rose and fell, most of which supported Buddhism because of its religious appeal and its non-Chinese origins. The forms of Buddhism that developed here emphasized ritual, ideological support for the state, magic protection, and meditation.

It was in the south, however, that Buddhism first became a part of Chinese intellectual history. The Han imperial Confucian synthesis had collapsed with the dynasty, a collapse that encouraged a quest for new philosophical alternatives. Representatives of these alternatives found support in aristocratic clans, which competed with each other in part through philosophical debates. These debates, called *qingtan,* or "pure conversation," revived and refined a tradition that had been widespread in the period of the so-called Hundred Philosophers (sixth and fifth centuries BCE), a tradition with precise rules of definition and criteria for victory. By the mid-third century these debates revolved around two basic perspectives, that of rather conservative moralists called the "school of names" (*mingjiao*) and that of those advocating "spontaneous naturalism" (*ziran*). By the early fourth century Buddhist monks were involved in these debates, supported by sympathetic clans, advocating a middle ground between the conservatives and libertarians, spiritual freedom based on ethical discipline. Although Buddhism was still imperfectly understood, it had gained a vital foothold.

Chinese intellectuals first attempted to understand Buddhism through its apparent similarities to certain beliefs and practices of Daoism and immortality cults. Thus, *bodhisattvas* and buddhas were correlated with sages and immortals, meditation with circulation of the vital fluids, and *nirvāṇa* with *wuwei,* spontaneous, nonintentional action. However, Indian Buddhism and traditional Chinese thought have very different understandings of life and the world. Buddhist thought is primarily psychological and epistemological, concerned with liberation from *saṃsāra,* the world perceived as a realm of suffering, impermanence, and death. For the Chinese, on the other hand, nature and society are fundamentally good; our task is to harmonize with the positive forces of nature, and enlightenment consists in identifying with these forces rather than in being freed from them. The interaction of these worldviews led Chinese Buddhists to interpret psychological concepts in cosmological directions. For example, the key Mahāyāna term "emptiness" (*śūnyatā* in Sanskrit, *kong* in Chinese) refers primarily to the interdependence of all things—that is, their lack of any independent nature or being—and to the radically objective and neutral mode of perception that accepts the impermanence and interdependence of things without trying to control them or project onto them human concepts and values. Indeed, the first discussions of this term used it as a logical tool to destroy false confidence in philosophical and religious concepts, particularly earlier Buddhist ones. All concepts, according to this doctrine, are mutually contradictory and refer to nothing substantial; hence they are "empty." In China, however, "emptiness" immediately evoked discussion about the origin and nature of the phenomenal world. "Emptiness" was equated with "nonbeing" (*wu*), the fecund source of existence, and "vacuity" (*xu*), the absence of concrete existence or cognitive preconception, both of which are prominent concepts in the *Laozi.* As their understanding of Buddhism deepened, Chinese thinkers became more aware of the epistemological force of the term "emptiness" but continued to see it primarily as a problem in interpreting the world itself. In that respect it was somewhat consistent with certain Confucian and Daoist ideas, such as the notion that persons and things are defined by their relationships with others or their positions in the overall pattern of things—the *dao.*

Buddhist thought was already well developed and complexly differentiated before it reached China. Likewise, Chinese culture, religion, and philosophy were mature and highly developed when Buddhism entered China. So the story of Buddhism in China was a case of two mature cultural systems, with some rather fundamental linguistic and social differences, interacting and transforming each other. But at first the Chinese knew of Buddhism only through scriptures haphazardly collected in translations of varying accuracy, for very few Chinese learned Sanskrit. Since all the sūtras claimed to be preached by the Buddha himself, they were accepted as such, with discrepancies among them explained as deriving from the different situations and capacities of listeners prevailing when a particular text was preached. In practice, this meant that the Chinese had to select from a vast range of data those themes that made the most sense in their preexisting worldview. For example, as the tradition develops we find emphases on simplicity and directness, the universal potential for enlightenment, and the Buddha mind as source of the cosmos, all of them prepared for by similar ideas in indigenous thought and practice.

The most important early Chinese Buddhist philosophers, organizers, and translators were Dao'an (312–385), Huiyuan (334–417), and Kumārajīva (334–413), each of whom contributed substantially to the growth of the young "church." Dao'an was known principally for his organizational and exegetical skills and for the catalog of Buddhist scriptures he compiled. His disciple Huiyuan, one of the most learned clerics in South China, gathered a large community of monks around him and inaugurated a cult to Amitābha, a popular Buddha. Kumārajīva, the most important and prolific of the early translators, was responsible for the transmission of the Mādhyamika (*Sanlun*) tradition to China. His lectures on Buddhist scripture in Chang'an established a sound doctrinal basis for Mahāyāna thought in the Middle Kingdom. Another formative early figure was Daosheng (d. 434 CE), a student of Kumārajīva. He is known for his emphasis on the positive nature of *nirvāṇa,* his conviction that even nonbelievers have the potential for salvation, and his teaching of instantaneous enlightenment. Like the concept of emptiness, these ideas resonated well with certain Confucian and Daoist concepts, such as the goodness of human nature in Mengzi and the Daoist notion of spontaneity. Such themes helped lay the foundation for Chan (Japanese, Zen) Buddhism in the seventh and eighth centuries.

The history of monastic Buddhism was closely tied to state attitudes and policies, which ranged from outright suppression to complete support, as in the case of Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty (r. 501–549), who abolished Daoist temples and built Buddhist ones, and three times entered a monastery himself as a lay servitor. However, by the fifth century Buddhism was becoming well established among people of all classes, who, to gain karmic merit, donated land and goods, took lay vows, served in monasteries, and established a variety of voluntary associations to copy scriptures, provide vegetarian food for monks and nuns, and carve Buddha images. The most important image-carving projects were at Yungang in Shanxi and Longmen in Henan, where huge figures, chiefly those of Śākyamuni, Amitābha, and Maitreya, were cut into cliffs and caves. Such major projects of course also involved large-scale official and clerical support.

It was in the fifth century as well that Chinese Buddhist eschatology developed, based in part on predictions attributed to the Buddha that a few hundred years after his entry into *nirvāṇa* the *dharma* (the Buddha's teachings) would lose its vigor, morals would decline, and ignorant, corrupt monks and nuns would appear. In addition, from its inception as a full-fledged religion in the second century, Daoism had proclaimed itself to be the manifestation of a new age of cosmic vitality, supported by pious devotees, "seed people." A combination of these motifs led to the composition in China of Buddhist scriptures saying that since the end of the age had come, more intense morality and piety were required of those who wished to be saved. These texts also promised aid from saving *bodhisattvas* such as Maitreya, the next buddha-to-be. In some cases the apocalyptic vision of these texts inspired militant utopian movements, led by monks but with lay membership. By the early seventh century a few of these groups were involved in armed uprisings in the name of Maitreya, which led eventually to a decline in official support for his cult, although he remained important in popular sectarian eschatology.

The first important school of Buddhist thought developed in China was the Tiantai, founded by the monk Zhiyi (538–597). This school is noted for its synthesis of earlier Buddhist traditions into one system, divided into five periods of development according to stages in the Buddha's teaching. According to Tiantai, the Buddha's teachings culminated in his exposition of the *Lotus Sūtra,* in which all approaches are unified. Zhiyi also systematized the theory and practice of Mahāyāna meditation. His most important philosophical contribution was his affirmation of the absolute buddha mind as the source and substance of all phenomena. In Zhiyi's teaching the old Mādhyamika logical destruction of dualities is replaced by a positive emphasis on their identity in a common source. So, in impeccably Buddhist language, he was able to justify the phenomenal world, and thus to provide an intellectual foundation for much of the later development of Buddhism in China.

In 581 China was reunified by the Sui dynasty (581–618) after three and a half centuries of political fragmentation. The Sui founder supported Buddhism, particularly the Tiantai school, as a unifying ideology shared by many of his subjects in both north and south. After four decades of rule the Sui was overthrown in a series of rebellions, to be replaced by the Tang (618–907). Although the new dynasty tended to give more official support to Confucianism and Daoism, Buddhism continued to grow at every level of society.

The rise of Daoist religion. By the fourth century Daoism was characterized by a literate and self-perpetuating priesthood, a pantheon of celestial deities, complex rituals, and revealed scriptures in classical (literary) Chinese. Although the first elements of this tradition appeared in the second-century popular movements discussed above, the tradition underwent further development at the hands of gentry scholars versed in philosophy, ethical teachings, and alchemy. These scholars saw themselves as formulators of a new, more refined religion superior to the popular cults around them. This new system was led by priests who, though not officials, claimed celestial prerogatives.

Daoism is fundamentally rooted in the concept of *qi,* the psycho-physical-spiritual substance out of which nature, gods, and humans evolve. The source and order of this vital substance is the *dao,* the ultimate basis of life in the universe. The gods are personified manifestations of *qi,* symbolizing astral powers of the cosmos and organs of the human body with which they are correlated. Under the conditions of ordinary existence *qi* becomes stale and dissipated, so it must be renewed through ritual and meditative processes that restore its primal vitality. Some of these practices consist of visualizing and calling down the cosmic gods to reestablish their contact with their bodily correlates. In this way the adept ingests divine power and so recharges his or her bodily forces for healing, rejuvenation, and long life. In others, the substances of the human body—*jing* (life-giving "essences," such as sexual fluids), *qi* ("vital breath," in a more specific sense than the general *qi* of which all things are composed), and *shen* (spirit)—are manipulated and purified through visualization and meditation. Physical exercises and dietary practices (such as abstinence from grains, which are thought to contain the dark *yin* power of the earth) are also parts of the Daoist regimen. The general aim of these practices is to enhance spiritual and physical health. Accomplished practice results in the purification of the psycho-physical being into the embryo of a new, immortal self. Rituals are also performed for an entire community; Daoist masters can release their cosmic power through ritual actions that revive the life forces of the community around them.

When the Celestial Master sect was officially recognized by the state of Wei (220–265) in the early third century, its leadership was established in the capital, Luoyang, north and east of the old sect base area in modern Sichuan. In the north remnants of the Yellow Scarves still survived, and before long the teachings and rituals of these two similar traditions blended together. A tension remained, however, between those who saw secular authority as a manifestation of the Way and those determined to bring in a new era of peace and prosperity by militant activity. Uprisings led by charismatic figures who claimed long life and healing powers occurred in different areas throughout the fourth century and later.

Meanwhile, in the southeast another tradition emerged that was to contribute to Daoism, a tradition concerned with alchemy, the use of herbs and minerals to attain immortality. Its chief literary expression was the *Baopuzi* (The Master Who Embraces Simplicity) written by Ge Hong in about 320. Ge Hong collected a large number of alchemical formulas and legends of the immortals, intended to show how the body can be transformed by the ingestion of gold and other chemicals and by the inner circulation of the vital *qi,* special diets, and sexual techniques, all reinforced by moral dedication. Ge Hong's concerns were supported by members of the old aristocracy of the state of Wu (222–280) whose families had moved south during the Latter Han period.

When the northern state of Jin was conquered by the Xiongnu in 316, thousands of Jin gentry and officials moved south, bringing the Celestial Master sect with them. The eventual result was a blending of Celestial Master concern for priestly administration and collective rituals with the more individualistic and esoteric alchemical traditions of the southeast. Between the years 364 and 370 a young man named Yang Xi claimed to receive revelations from "perfected ones" *(zhenren,* a term from the *Zhuangzi)* or exalted immortals from the Heaven of Supreme Purity (Shangqing). These deities directed Yang to make transcripts and deliver them to Xu Mi (303–373), an official of the Eastern Jin state (317–420) with whom he was associated. Yang Xi believed his new revelations to be from celestial regions more exalted than those evoked by the Celestial Master sect and Ge Hong. The Perfected Ones rewrote and corrected earlier texts in poetic language, reformulated sexual rites as symbols of spiritual union, and taught new methods of inner cultivation and alchemy. These teachings were all presented in an eschatological context, as the salvation of an elect people in a time of chaos. They prophesied that a "lord of the Way, [a] sage who is to come" would descend in 392. Then the wicked would be eliminated and a purified terrestrial kingdom established, ruled over by such pious devotees as Xu Mi, now perceived as a priest and future celestial official. It is perhaps not accidental that these promises were made to members of the old southern aristocracy whose status had recently been threatened by the newcomers from the north.

Xu Mi and one of his sons had retired to Maoshan, a mountain near the Eastern Jin capital (modern Nanjing); hence, the texts they received and transcribed came to be called those of a Maoshan "school." In the next century another southern scholar, Tao Hongjing (456–536), collected all the remaining manuscripts from Yang Xi and the Xu family and edited them as the *Zhengao* (Declarations of the Perfected). With this the Maoshan/Shangqing scriptures were established as a foundation stone of the emerging Daoist canon.

In the meantime another member of Ge Hong's clan had written a scripture in about 397, the *Lingbaojing* (Scripture of the Sacred Jewel), which he claimed had been revealed to him by the spirit of an early third-century ancestor. This text exalted "celestial worthies" (*tianzun*), who were worshiped in elaborate collective rituals directed by priests in outdoor arenas. The *Lingbaojing* established another strand of Daoist mythology and practice that was also codified in the south during the fifth century. Its rituals replaced those of the Celestial Master tradition while remaining indebted to them. Lingbao texts were collected and edited by Lu Xiujing (406–477), who wrote on Daoist history and ritual.

Daoism was active in the north as well, in the Northern Wei kingdom (386–534), which established Daoist offices at court in 400. In 415 and 423 a scholar named Kou Qianzhi (365–448) claimed to have received direct revelations from Lord Lao while he was living on a sacred mountain. The resulting scriptures directed Kou to reform the Celestial Master tradition; renounce popular cults, messianic uprisings, and sexual rituals; and support the court as a Daoist kingdom on earth. Kou was introduced to the Wei ruler by a sympathetic official named Cui Hao (d. 450) in 424 and was promptly appointed to the office of "Erudite of Transcendent Beings." The next year he was proclaimed Celestial Master, and his teachings "promulgated throughout the realm." For the next two decades Kou and Cui cooperated to promote Daoism at the court. As a result, in 440 the king accepted the title Perfect Ruler of Great Peace, and during the period 444 to 446 proscribed Buddhism and local "excessive cults." Although Cui Hao was eventually discredited and Buddhism established as the state religion by a new ruler in 452, the years of official support for Daoism clarified its legitimacy and political potential as an alternative to Confucianism and Buddhism.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF EMPIRE: SEVENTH TO FOURTEENTH CENTURIES. The Chinese religious traditions that were to continue throughout the rest of imperial history all reached maturity during the Tang (618–907) and Song (960–1279) periods. These traditions included Buddhism, Daoism, neo-Confucianism, Islam, and popular religion in both its village and sectarian forms. It was in these centuries as well that other foreign religions were practiced for a time in China, particularly Manichaeism, Nestorian Christianity, and Judaism (one Jewish community continued to flourish until the nineteenth century). Rituals performed by the emperor and his officials continued to be elaborated, with many debates over the proper form and location of altars and types of sacrifices to be offered. During the Tang dynasty, cults devoted to the spirits of local founders and protectors were established in many cities. These city gods (*chenghuang shen*) were eventually brought into the ranks of deities to whom official worship was due.

Manichaeism, Nestorian Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. The area of the Tang dynasty rivaled that of the Han, with western boundaries extending far into Central Asia. This expansion encouraged a revival of foreign trade and cultural contacts. Among the new foreign influences were not only Buddhist monks and scriptures but also the representatives of other religions. There is evidence for Zoroastrianism in China by the early sixth century, a result of contacts between China and Persia that originated in the second century BCE and were renewed in an exchange of envoys with the Northern Wei court in 455 and around 470.

A foreign tradition with more important influence on the history of Chinese religions was Manichaeism, a dynamic missionary religion teaching ultimate cosmic dualism founded by a Persian named Mani (216–277?). The first certain reference to Manichaeism in a Chinese source is dated 694, although it may have been present about two decades earlier. As was true with Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism in its early centuries in China was primarily practiced by foreigners, although its leaders soon composed catechisms and texts in Chinese stressing the congruence of their teachings with Buddhism and Daoism. In 755 a Chinese military commander named An Lushan led a powerful rebellion that the Tang court was able to put down only with the help of foreign support. One of these allies was the Uighur, from a kingdom based in what is now northern Mongolia. In 762 a Uighur army liberated Luoyang from rebel forces, and there a Uighur *kaghan* (king) was converted to Manichaeism. The result was new prestige and more temples for the religion in China.

However, in 840 the Uighurs were defeated by the Kirghiz, with the result that the Chinese turned on the religion of their former allies, destroyed its temples, and expelled or executed its priests. Nonetheless, at least one Manichaean leader managed to escape to Quanzhou in Fujian province on the southeast coast. In Fujian the Manichaeans flourished as a popular sect, characterized by their distinctive teachings, communal living, vegetarian diet, and nonviolence, until the fourteenth century. They were called the Mingjiao ("religion of light"). They disappeared as a coherent tradition as a result of renewed persecutions during the early Ming dynasty (1368–1644). Several Manichaean texts were incorporated into the Daoist and Buddhist canons, and it is likely that Manichaean lay sects provided models for similar organizations that evolved out of Buddhism later. Manichaean dualism and demon exorcism may have reinforced similar themes in Daoism and Buddhism as they were understood at the popular level.

According to a stone inscription erected in Chang'an (present-day Xian) in 781, the first Nestorian missionary reached China in 635 and taught about the creation of the world, the fall of humankind, and the birth and teaching of the Messiah. The ethics and rituals described are recognizably Christian. Chinese edicts of 638 and 745 refer to Nestorianism, which appears to have been confined to foreign communities in large cities on major trade routes. In 845 Nestorianism was proscribed along with Buddhism and other religions of non-Chinese origin, but it revived in China during the period of Mongol rule in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In 1289 the court established an office to supervise Christians, and a 1330 source claims that there were more than thirty thousand Nestorians in China, some of them wealthy and in high positions, no doubt a result of the Mongol policy of ruling China in part with officials of foreign origin. In this period the church was most active in eastern cities such as Hangzhou and Yangzhou. The Nestorians were expelled from China with the defeat of the Mongols in the mid-fourteenth century, and no active practitioners were found by the Jesuits when they arrived about two hundred years later. So the first Christian contact with China expired, leaving no demonstrable influence on Chinese religion and culture.

There is no certainty regarding the date of Judaism's entrance into China. Two of the four surviving commemorative stelae from the synagogue in Kaifeng trace it to the Han dynasty, suggesting that the emigration might have followed the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 CE But most scholars agree that it was more likely during the Tang that Jewish merchants from Persia or Bukhara first settled in Kaifeng, on the Yellow River in Henan province. Other premodern Jewish communities existed in Ningbo, Hangzhou, Yangzhou, and Guangzhou, all probably established by merchants arriving by sea, but the Kaifeng community was the most successful. Kaifeng was the capital of the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127), and at some point during that period the emperor received representatives of the Jewish community at court and bestowed upon them Chinese surnames, one of which was his own (Zhao). In 1163, under the Jurchen Jin dynasty that had conquered northern China, the Jews built their first synagogue, with approval from the government. Over the ensuing centuries the synagogue was destroyed by floods, rebuilt, and expanded several times.

The Chinese first learned of Islam in 638 from an emissary of the last Sassanid king of Persia, who was seeking their aid against invading Arab armies. This the Chinese refused, but a number of Persian refugees were admitted a few years later after the Sassanid defeat and allowed to practice their Zoroastrian faith. In the early eighth century Arab armies moved into Central Asia, and in 713 ambassadors of Caliph Walid ibn Yazīd were received at court in Chang'an, even though they refused to prostrate themselves before the emperor. However, in 751 a Chinese army far to the west was defeated in the Battle of Talas by a combination of Central Asian states with Arab support. This defeat led to the replacement of Chinese influence in Central Asia with that of the Arabs and the decline of Buddhism in that area in favor of Islam. In 756 another caliph sent Arab mercenaries to aid the Chinese court against An Lushan; when the war ended many of these mercenaries remained, forming the beginning of Islamic presence in China, which by the late twentieth century totaled about thirty million people, one of the five main constituencies of the People's Republic. The eighth-century Arab population was augmented by Muslim merchants who settled in Chinese coastal cities, for a time dominating the sea trade with India and Southeast Asia.

The major influx of Muslim peoples occurred during the Yuan dynasty (1206–1368) when the land routes across Central Asia were secure and the Mongols brought in large numbers of their non-Chinese subjects to help administer China. It was in this period that Islam spread all over China and established major population bases in the western provinces of Yunnan and Gansu. Here their numbers increased through marriage with Chinese women and adoption of non-Muslim children, all converted to Islam. Although the result was a dilution of Arab physical characteristics, the use of the Chinese language, and the adoption of some Chinese social customs, for most the Islamic core remained. Muslims did not accept such dominant Chinese traditions as ancestor worship and pork eating, and they kept their own festival calendar. This resistance was the result in part of the tenacity of their beliefs, in part of the fact that their numbers, mosques, and essentially lay organization permitted mutual support.

Muslims in China have always been predominantly Sunnī, but in the sixteenth century Sufism reached China through Central Asia. By the late seventeenth century Ṣūfī brotherhoods began a reform movement that advocated increased use of Arabic and a rejection of certain Chinese practices that had infiltrated Islam, such as burning incense at funerals. Sufism also emphasized ecstatic personal experience of Allāh, the veneration of saints, and the imminent return of the *mahdī,* who would bring a new age, this last theme due to Shīʿī influence as well.

These reformist beliefs, coupled with increased Chinese pressure on Islam as a whole, led eventually to a powerful uprising in Yunnan between 1855 and 1873, an uprising allowed to develop momentum because of old ethnic tensions in the area and the distraction of the Chinese court with the contemporary Taiping rebellion (1851–1864). The Yunnan rebellion was eventually put down by a combination of Chinese and loyalist Muslim forces, and the Muslims resumed their role as a powerful minority in China, called the Hui people.

The chief role of Islam in China was as the religion of this minority group, although in some twentieth-century popular texts it was recognized as one of the "five religions" whose teachings were blended into a new synthetic revelation, along with Confucianism, Daoism, Buddhism, and Christianity. Another aspect of Islam's historical impact was to sharply reduce Chinese contact with India and Central Asia after the eighth century, and thus to cut off the vital flow of new texts and ideas to Chinese Buddhism. And since the 1980s, mostly in the Uighur Autonomous Region of Xinjiang, there has been increasing pressure, fueled by Islamic militancy, for independence from the People's Republic of China.

Tang Buddhism. The first Tang emperor, Gaozu (r. 618–626), approved of a plan to limit both Daoist and Buddhist temples. His son Taizong (r. 626–649) agreed with the Daoist contention that the imperial family was descended from Laozi, whose legendary surname was also Li; however, Taizong also erected Buddhist shrines on battlefields and ordered monks to recite scriptures for the stability of the empire. Buddhist philosophical schools in this period were matters of both belief and imperial adornment, so, to replace the Tiantai school, now discredited on account of its association with the Sui dynasty, the Tang court turned first to the Faxiang or Weishi ("consciousness only") school, an idealist teaching known in Sanskrit as Yogācāra or Vijñanavada. Some texts of this tradition had been translated earlier by

Paramartha (499–569), but it came to be thoroughly understood in China only after the return of the pilgrim Xuanzang in 645 from his sixteen-year-long overland journey to India. Xuanzang was welcomed at court and provided with twenty-three scholar-monks from all over China to assist in translating the books he had brought back. The emperor wrote a preface for the translation of one major Vijñanavada text, and his policy of imperial support was continued by his son Gaozong (r. 650–683).

However, the complex psychological analysis of the Vijñanavada school, coupled with its emphasis that some beings are doomed by their nature to eternal rebirth, were not in harmony with the Chinese worldview, which had been better represented by Tiantai. Hence, when imperial support declined at Gaozong's death in 683, the fortunes of the Faxiang school declined as well, despite the excellent scholarship of Xuanzang's disciple Kuiji (632–682). At the intellectual level it was replaced in popularity by the Huayan ("flower garland") school as formulated by the monk Fazang (643–712). This school, based on a sūtra of the same name (Sanskrit, *Avataṃsaka*), taught the emptiness and interpenetration of all phenomena in a way consonant with old Chinese assumptions. Furthermore, in Huayan teaching the unity and integration of all things is symbolized by a Buddha called Vairocana who presides over his Pure Land in the center of an infinite universe. However dialectically such a symbol might be understood by Buddhist scholars, at a political and popular level it was appropriated more literally as a Buddhist creator deity.

It is no accident that the Huayan school was first actively supported by Empress Wu Zhao (Wu Zetian, r. 684–704) who took over the throne from her sons to set up her own dynasty, the Zhou. Since Confucianism did not sanction for female rulers, Empress Wu, being a devout Buddhist, sought for supporting ideologies in that tradition, including not only Huayan but also predictions in obscure texts that the Buddha had prophesied that several hundred years after his death a woman would rule over a world empire. Monks in Wu Zetian's entourage equated her with this empress and further asserted that she was a manifestation of the future Buddha Maitreya.

When Empress Wu abdicated in 704, her son continued to support the Huayan school, continuing the tradition of close relationship between the court and Buddhist philosophical schools. However, during this period Buddhism continued to grow in popularity among all classes of people. Thousands of monasteries and shrines, supported by donations of land, grain, cloth, and precious metals, were built by convict workers, the poor, and serfs bound to donated lands. Tens of thousands of persons became monks or nuns, elaborate rituals were performed, feasts provided, and sermons preached in both monastery and marketplace. Buddhist observances such as the Lantern Festival, the Buddha's birthday, and the Ghost Festival became widely practiced, while pious lay societies multiplied for carving images and inscriptions and disseminating scriptures. Wealthy monasteries became centers of money lending, milling, and medical care, as well as hostels for travelers and retreats for scholars and officials. In high literature the purity of monks and monasteries was admired, while in popular stories *karma,* rebirth, and purgatory became unquestioned truths. The state made sporadic attempts to control this exuberance by licensing monasteries, instituting examinations for monks, and issuing ordination certificates, but state control was limited and "unofficial" Buddhist practices continued to flourish.

An important factor in this popularity was the rise of two more simple and direct forms of Chinese Buddhism, much less complex than the exegetical and philosophical schools that were dominant earlier. These were the Pure Land (Jingtu) school, devoted to rebirth in Amitābha's paradise, and the Chan ("meditation") school, which promised enlightenment in this life to those with sufficient dedication. These traditions were universalist and nonhierarchical in principle yet came to have coherent teachings and organizations of their own appealing to a wide range of people. Both should be understood as products of gradual evolution in the seventh and eighth centuries, as a positive selection from earlier teachings, particularly Tiantai, and as a reformist reaction against the secularization of the Tang monastic establishment.

By the third century CE texts describing various "pure realms" or "Buddha lands" had been translated into Chinese, and some monks began to meditate on the best known of these "lands," the Western Paradise of the Buddha Amitābha. In the fourth century Zhi Dun (314–366) made an image of Amitābha and vowed to be reborn in his paradise, as did Huiyuan in 402. These early efforts concentrated on visualization of buddha realms in states of meditative trance. However, in two Pure Land sūtras describing Amitābha and his realm, devotees are assured that through a combination of ethical living and concentration on this buddha they will be reborn at death in his realm, owing to a vow he had made eons ago to create out of the boundless merit he had accumulated on the long path to Buddhahood a haven for sentient beings. This promise eventually led some monks to preach devotion to Amitābha as an easier way to salvation, available to all, through a combination of sincere thinking on the Buddha and the invocation of his name in faith. To strengthen their proclamation, these monks argued that in fact Amitābha's Pure Land was at a high level, beyond *saṃsāra* (the cycle of rebirth), and thus functionally equivalent to *nirvāṇa* for those less philosophically inclined.

Philosophers of the fifth and sixth centuries such as Sengzhao and Zhiyi discussed the Pure Land concept as part of larger systems of thought, but the first monk to devote his life to proclaiming devotion to Amitābha as the chief means of salvation for the whole of society was Tanluan (476–542), a monk from North China where there had long been an emphasis on the practical implementation of Buddhism. Tanluan organized devotional associations whose members both contemplated the Buddha and orally recited his name. It was in the fifth and sixth centuries as well that many Chinese Buddhist thinkers became convinced that the final period of Buddhist teaching for this world cycle was about to begin, a period (called in Chinese *mofa,* the Latter Days of the Law) in which the capacity for understanding Buddhism had so declined that only simple and direct means of communication would suffice.

The next important preacher to base his teachings solely on Amitābha and his Pure Land was Daochuo (562–645). It was he and his disciple Shandao (613–681) who firmly established the Pure Land movement and came to be looked upon as founding patriarchs of the tradition. Although both of these men advocated oral recitation of Amitābha's name as the chief means to deliverance, such recitation was to be done in a concentrated and devout state of mind and was to be accompanied by confession of sins and the chanting of sūtras. They and their followers also organized recitation assemblies and composed manuals for congregational worship. Owing to their efforts, Pure Land devotion became the most popular form of Buddhism in China, from whence it was taken to Japan in the ninth century. Pure Land teachings supported the validity of lay piety as no Buddhist school had before, and hence both made possible the spread of Buddhism throughout the population and furthered the development of independent societies and sects outside the monasteries.

The last movement within orthodox Buddhism in China to emerge as an independent tradition was Chan (Japanese, Zen), characterized by its concentration on direct means of individual enlightenment, chiefly meditation. Such enlightenment had always been the primary goal of Buddhism, so in a sense Chan began as a reform movement seeking to recover the experiential origins of its tradition. Such a reform appeared all the more necessary in the face of the material success of Tang Buddhism, with its ornate rituals, complex philosophies, and close relationships with the state. Chan evolved out of the resonances of Mahāyāna Buddhism with the individualist, mystical, and iconoclastic strand of Chinese culture, represented chiefly by the philosophy of the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi,* especially the latter. This philosophy had long advocated individual identification with the ineffable foundations of being, which cannot be grasped in words or limited by the perspectives of traditional practice and morality. Such identification brings a new sense of spiritual freedom, affirmation of life, and acceptance of death. The importance of meditation had long been emphasized in Chinese Buddhism, beginning with Han translations of sūtras describing the process. The Tiantai master Zhiyi discussed the stages and positions of meditation in great detail in the sixth century. Thus, it is not surprising that by the seventh century some monks appeared who advocated meditation above all, a simplification parallel to that of the Pure Land tradition.

The first references to a "Chan school" appeared in the late eighth century. By that time several branches of this emerging tradition were constructing genealogies going back to Śākyamuni himself; these were intended to establish the priority and authority of their teachings. The genealogy that came to be accepted later claimed a lineage of twenty-eight Indian and seven Chinese patriarchs, the latter beginning with Bodhidharma (c. 461–534), a Central Asian meditation master active in the Northern Wei kingdom. Legends concerning these patriarchs were increasingly elaborated as time passed, but the details of most cannot be verified. The first Chinese monk involved whose teachings have survived is Daoxin (580–651), who was later claimed to be the fourth patriarch. Daoxin specialized in meditation and monastic discipline and studied for ten years with a disciple of the Tiantai founder, Zhiyi. He is also noted for his concern with image worship and reciting the Buddha's name to calm the mind.

One of Daoxin's disciples was Hongren (601–674), who also concentrated on meditation and on maintaining "awareness of the mind." His successor was Faru (d. 689), whose spiritual heir in turn was Shenxiu (d. 706), who had also studied with Hongren. Shenxiu was active in North China, where he was invited to court by the Empress Wu and became a famous teacher. In the earliest and most reliable sources Hongren, Faru, and Shenxiu are described as the fifth, sixth, and seventh Chan patriarchs, with Faru eventually omitted and replaced in sixth position by Shenxiu. However, in the early eighth century this succession, based in the capitals of Luoyang and Chang'an in the North (and hence retrospectively referred to as the "Northern school"), was challenged by a monk named Shenhui (670–762), who had studied for several years with a teacher named Huineng (638–713) in a monastery in Guangdong province in the south. Shenhui labored for years to establish a new form of Chan, a "Southern school," centered on recognizing the buddha nature within the self, and thus less concerned with worship, scripture study, and prescribed forms of meditation.

Shenhui's most lasting achievement was the elevation of his teacher Huineng to the status of "sixth patriarch," displacing Shenxiu. This achievement was textually established through the composition of a book entitled *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch* (*platform* here means the high chair on which the abbot sits while giving *dharma* talks) in about 820 by members of Shenhui's school. Portions of this book are very similar to the teachings of Shenhui, who did not cite any writings by Huineng, although he was no doubt influenced by his study with him. In the *Platform Sūtra* Huineng is portrayed as a brilliant young layman of rustic background who, although he is only a kitchen helper in the monastery, confounds Shenxiu and is secretly given charge of the transmission by Hongren, the fifth patriarch. This book teaches instantaneous enlightenment through realization of inner potential while criticizing gradualist approaches that rely on outer forms such as images and scriptures. As such it is an important source of the Chan individualism and iconoclasm well known (and often exaggerated) in the West.

Although Buddhism flourished at all levels of Chinese society in the Tang period, an undercurrent of resentment and hostility toward it by Confucians, Daoists, and the state always remained. Han Yu (768–824), one of China's great writers, campaigned against Buddhist influence and argued for a revival of the teachings of Confucius and Mengzi. This hostility came to a head in the mid-ninth century, strongly reinforced by the fact that Buddhist monasteries had accumulated large amounts of precious metals and tax-exempt land. From 843 to 845 Emperor Wuzong (r. 840–846), an ardent Daoist, issued decrees that led to the destruction of 4,600 monasteries and 40,000 temples and shrines, and the return of 260,500 monks and nuns to lay life. Although this suppression was ended in 846 by Wuzong's successor, monastic Buddhism never fully regained its momentum. Nonetheless, Buddhist ideas, values, and rituals continued to permeate Chinese society through the influence of the Chan and Pure Land schools, which survived the 845 persecution because of widespread support throughout the country.

Tang Daoism. Daoism continued to develop during the Tang period, in part because it received more support from some emperors than it had under the Sui. As noted earlier, Taizong claimed Laozi as a royal ancestor, and in 667 the emperor Gaozong (r. 650–683) conferred on Laozi the title of emperor, thus confirming his status. Empress Wu, Gaozong's wife, swung the pendulum of support back to Buddhism, but Daoism was favored in later reigns as well and reached the high point of its political influence in the Tang with the suppression of Buddhism and other non-Chinese religions in the 840s.

The most important Daoist order during the Tang was that based on Maoshan in Jiangsu, where temples were built and reconstructed, disciples trained, and scriptures edited. Devotees on Maoshan studied Shangqing scriptures, meditated, practiced alchemy, and carried out complex rituals of purgation and cosmic renewal, calling down astral spirits and preparing for immortality among the stars. These activities were presided over by a hierarchical priesthood, led by *fashi,* "masters of doctrine," the most prominent of whom came to be considered patriarchs of the school.

Daoism in the Song and Yuan periods. The old Tang aristocracy had begun to lose its power after the An Lushan rebellion in the eighth century. The turmoil of the ninth and tenth centuries sealed its fate and helped prepare the way for a more centralized state in the Song, administered by bureaucrats who were selected through civil service examinations. This in turn contributed to increased social mobility, which was also enhanced by economic growth and diversification, the spread of printing, and a larger number of schools. These factors, combined with innovations in literature, art, philosophy, religion, science, and technology, have led historians to describe the Song period as the beginning of early modern China. It was in this period that the basic patterns of life and thought were established for the remainder of imperial history.

During the tenth through thirteenth centuries Daoism developed new schools and texts and became more closely allied with the state. The Song emperor Chenzong (r. 990–1023) bestowed gifts and titles on a number of prominent Daoists, including one named Zhang from the old Way of the Celestial Masters, based on Mount Longhu in Jiangxi province. This led to the consolidation of the Zhengyi (Orthodox Unity) sect led by hereditary Celestial Masters. The other official Daoist ordination centers in this period were those at Maoshan and the Lingbao center in Jiangsu.

A century later, during the reign of Emperor Huizong (r. 1101–1125), the most famous imperial patron of Daoism, three new Daoist orders appeared, one with a popular base in southeastern Jiangxi, another a revival of Maoshan teachings, and the third the Shenxiao Fa (Rites of the Divine Empyrean), initiated by Lin Lingsu, who was active at court from 1116 to 1119. Lin's teachings were presented in a new, expanded edition of a fourth-century Lingbao text, the *Durenjing* (Scripture of Salvation). The scripture proclaimed that a new divine emperor would descend to rule in 1112, thus bestowing additional sacred status on Huizong. This liturgical text in sixty-one chapters promises salvation to all in the name of a supreme celestial realm, a theme welcome at a court beset with corruption within and foreign invaders without. The Jiangxi movement, called Tianxin (Heart of Heaven) after a star in Ursa Major, was most concerned with the ritual evocation of astral power to exorcise disease-causing demons, particularly those associated with mental illness. The first edition of its texts was also presented to Huizong in 1116.

In 1126 the Song capital Kaifeng was captured by the Jurchen, a people from northeastern Manchuria who, with other northern peoples, had long threatened the Song. As a result the Chinese court moved south across the Yangzi River to establish a new capital in Hangzhou, thus initiating the Southern Song period (1127–1279). During this period China was once again divided north and south, with the Jurchen ruling the Jin kingdom (1115–1234). It was here in the north that three new Daoist sects appeared, the Taiyi (Grand Unity), the Dadao (Great Way), and the Quanzhen (Complete Perfection). The Taiyi sect gained favor for a time at the Jin court because of its promise of divine healing. Dadao disciples worked in the fields, prayed for healing rather than using charms, and did not practice techniques of immortality. Both groups were led by a succession of patriarchs for about two hundred years but failed to survive the end of the Yuan dynasty. Both included Confucian and Buddhist elements in a Daoist framework.

The Quanzhen sect was founded in similar circumstances by a scholar named Wang Zhe (1113–1170) but continues to exist. Wang claimed to have received revelations from two superhuman beings, whereupon he gathered disciples and founded five congregations in northern Shandong. After his death seven of his leading disciples continued to proclaim his teachings across North China. One of them was received at the Jin court in 1187, thus beginning a period of imperial support for the sect that continued into the time of Mongol rule, particularly after another of the founding disciples visited Chinggis Khan at his Central Asian court in 1222.

In its early development the Daoist quest for personal immortality employed a combination of positive ritual techniques: visualization of astral gods and ingestion of their essence, internal circulation and refinement of *qi,* massage, ingesting elixirs of cinnabar, mica, or gold in suspension, all accompanied by taboos and ethical injunctions. During the Song and Yuan periods, the ingestion of elixirs, called *waidan* (external alchemy), was replaced by forms of meditation and visualization in which the bodily substances and meditative exercises were expressed in alchemical terms. This new form of practice, called *neidan* (internal alchemy), is well expressed in the writings of Zhang Boduan (983–1082). Under Confucian and Chan influence the Quanzhen school further "spiritualized" the terminology of the older practices, turning their physiological referents into abstract polarities within the mind, to be unified through meditation. Perhaps in part because of this withdrawal into the mind, Quanzhen was the first Daoist school to base itself in monasteries, although celibacy to maintain and purify one's powers had been practiced by some adepts earlier, and some Daoist monasteries had been established in the sixth century under pressure from the state and the Buddhist example.

The Quanzhen sect reached the height of its influence in the first decades of the thirteenth century, and for a time it was favored over Chinese Buddhism by Mongol rulers. Buddhist leaders protested Daoist occupation of their monasteries and eventually regained official support after a series of debates between Daoists and Buddhists at court between 1255 and 1281. After Buddhists were judged the winners, Kublai Khan ordered that the Daoist canon be burned and Daoist priests returned to lay life or converted to Buddhism. In the fourteenth century the Quanzhen sect merged with a similar tradition from South China, the Jindandao (Golden Elixir Way) also devoted to attaining immortality through cultivating powers or "elixirs" within the self. The name Quanzhen was retained for the monastic side of this combined tradition, whereas the Jindandao continued as a popular movement that has produced new scriptures and sects since at least the sixteenth century. The older Daoist schools continued to produce new bodies of texts from the eleventh century on, all claiming divine origin, powers of healing, exorcism, and support for the state.

The revival of Confucianism. Confucianism had remained a powerful tradition of morality, social custom, and hierarchical status since the fall of the Han, but after the third century it no longer generated fresh philosophical perspectives. There were a few Confucian philosophers such as Wang Tong (584?–617), Han Yu, and Li Ao (fl. 798), but from the fourth through the tenth centuries Buddhism and Daoism attracted a great many intellectuals; the best philosophical minds, in particular, were devoted to Buddhism. However, in the eleventh century there appeared a series of thinkers determined to revive Confucianism. In this task they were inevitably influenced by Buddhist theories of mind, enlightenment, and ethics; indeed, most of these men went through Buddhist and Daoist phases in their early years and were "converted" to Confucianism later. Nonetheless, at a conscious level they rejected Buddhist "emptiness," asceticism, and monastic life in favor of a positive metaphysics, ordered family life, and concern for social and governmental reform. With a few exceptions the leaders of this movement, known in the West as neo-Confucianism, went through the civil service examination system and held civil or military offices.

Early neo-Confucianism had both rationalistic and idealistic tendencies; the aim of both was to actualize the inherent sagehood of every human being by realizing and acting upon the ultimate principle *(li)* of the natural/moral order. The more rationalist school believed that this order or principle was present in humans as their fundamental, metaphysical nature (*xing*), but that the physical nature of the mind (*xin*) obscured the metaphysical nature and hindered our awareness of it. This line of thinking was developed by Cheng Yi (1033–1107) and Zhu Xi (1130–1200) and became known as the Cheng-Zhu school. The idealistic approach, which later became known as the Lu-Wang school after Lu Jiuyuan (1139–1193) and Wang Yangming (1472–1529), said that the fundamental natural/moral order was fully present to awareness in the active, functioning mind and so did not require intellectual learning to be known. Thus, both schools focused on the mind; their differences concerned whether *li* was already present in the mind and needed only to be acted upon, or whether it first had to be intellectually induced through the rational investigation of human nature and the natural world. Interaction between these poles provided the impetus for new syntheses until the seventeenth century. But Zhu Xi's version—synthesizing the teachings of not only Cheng Yi but also his brother Cheng Hao (1032–1085), their former teacher Zhou Dunyi (1017–1073), their uncle Zhang Zai (1020–1077), and their friend Shao Yong (1011–1077)—was made the basis of the civil service examinations in 1313 and hence came to have a powerful influence throughout literate society that lasted until the examination system was abolished in 1905.

In the history of Chinese religions, the impact of neo-Confucianism is evident at different levels. The intellectual and institutional success of this movement among the Chinese elite led many of them away from Buddhism and Daoism toward a reaffirmation of the values of family, clan, and state. While the elite were still involved in such popular traditions as annual festivals, geomancy, and funeral rituals, the rational and nontheistic orientation of neo-Confucianism tended to inhibit their participation in ecstatic processions and shamanism. These tendencies meant that after the eleventh century, sectarian and popular forms of religion were increasingly denied high-level intellectual stimulation and articulation. Indeed, state support for a new Confucian orthodoxy gave fresh impetus to criticism or suppression of other traditions. Another long-term impact of neo-Confucianism was the Confucianization of popular values, supported by schools, examinations, distribution of tracts, and lectures in villages. This meant that from the Song dynasty on the operative ethical principles in society were a combination of Confucian virtues with Buddhist *karma* and compassion, a tendency that became more widespread as the centuries passed.

All of these developments were rooted in the religious dimensions of the neo-Confucian tradition, which from the beginning was most concerned with the moral transformation of self and society. This transformation was to be carried out through intensive study and discussion, self-examination, and meditation, often in the social context of public and private schools and academies, where prayers and sacrificial offerings to former Confucian "sages and worthies" accompanied study and discussion. Through the process of self-cultivation one could become aware of the patterns of moral order within the mind and in the cosmos, an insight that itself became a means of clarifying and establishing this cosmic order within society. So Confucianism became a more active and self-conscious movement than it ever had been before.

Song Buddhism. Song Buddhist activities were based on the twin foundations of Chan and Pure Land, with an increasing emphasis on the compatibility of the two. Although the joint practice of meditation and invocation of the Buddha's name had been taught by Zhiyi and the Chan patriarch Daoxin in the sixth and seventh centuries, the first Chan master to openly advocate it after Chan was well established was Yanshou (904–975). This emphasis was continued in the Yuan (1279–1368) and Ming (1368–1644) dynasties, so that by the late traditional period meditation and recitation were commonly employed together in monasteries as two means to the same end of emptying the mind of self-centered thought.

During the Song dynasty Buddhism physically recovered from the suppression of the ninth century, with tens of thousands of monasteries, large amounts of land, and active support throughout society. By the tenth century the Chan school was divided into two main branches, both of which had first appeared earlier, the Linji (in Japanese, Rinzai), emphasizing *gongan* practice and dramatic, spontaneous breakthroughs to enlightenment in the midst of everyday activities, and the Caodong (in Japanese, Sōtō), known for a more gradual approach through seated meditation, or *zuochan* (in Japanese, *zazen*). The most prominent Song representative of the Linji lineage was Dahui Zonggao (1089–1163), a popular preacher to laypeople as well as a meditation master. In the Caodong lineage the most prominent teacher was Hongzhi Zhengjue (1091–1157), who taught meditation as "silent illumination" (*mozhao*).

Although the Tang dynasty has traditionally been called the Golden Age of Chan Buddhism, it was actually during the Song that Chan became firmly established and developed the styles today associated with it. Notwithstanding its often colorful and iconoclastic teaching methods, Chan has always been characterized by disciplined communal living in monasteries, centered on group meditation but with a strong emphasis on traditional Buddhist ethics. The hallmarks of Chan monasticism have traditionally been ascribed to Baizhang Huaihai (749–814). These include the rejection of a central Buddha hall containing images in favor of a *dharma* hall, where the abbot would lecture and conduct services; a *saṃgha* or monks' hall, with platforms along the sides for sleeping and meditation; private consultations with the abbot; and shared responsibility for manual labor, including agricultural work to reduce dependence on outside donations with the reciprocal obligations they involved. Evaluating this traditional view, historians have noted that the earliest extant text containing Baizhang's rules dates from the late tenth century, and the earliest extant detailed code of monastic conduct is dated 1103 or 1104; thus, we have Song dynasty texts purporting to describe Tang dynasty monasteries. Research has also found that the allegedly unique features of Chan monasteries were also found in Tiantai monasteries and that the claim of a distinct style dating back to the Tang, a style actually common to the majority of monasteries, served as support for the Song policy by which all publicly supported monasteries were designated as Chan and their abbacies restricted to monks in a Chan lineage. This policy took effect during the Northern Song. After Chan thus became the "established" sect, agricultural labor was reduced as Chan monasteries received donations of land and goods from wealthy patrons.

During the Song Chan produced new genres of Buddhist literature that eventually became more central to its teaching than the older Mahāyāna sūtras. The "recorded sayings" (*yulu*) of patriarchs and abbots with their disciples were an adaptation of an older Chinese form whose most notable example was the *Analects* (*Lunyu*) of Confucius. From these were extracted shorter sayings and conversations demonstrating the struggle to attain enlightenment. These records, codified as "public cases" (Chinese, *gongan;* Japanese, *kōan*), were meditated upon by novices as they sought to experience reality directly. And "Lamp Records" (*denglu*) were compilations of the saying of various lineages, demonstrating what Chan teachers called the "mind-to-mind transmission" that connected them with Śākyamuni Buddha. This doctrine also supported the Chan claim to represent a more authentic form of Buddhism than the other major Chinese schools (Tiantai, Huayan, and Pure Land), each of which focused on a particular sūtra (the *Lotus,* the *Avataṃsaka* or Huayan, and the three Pure Land sūtras, respectively). Thus, Chan Buddhism constructed what we might call a mythic history of itself that had important "political" ramifications.

One of the most important developments in Song Buddhism was the spread of lay societies devoted to good works and recitation of the Buddha's name. These groups, usually supported by monks and monasteries, ranged in membership from a few score to several thousand, including both men and women, gentry and commoners. In the twelfth century these societies, with their egalitarian outreach and congregational rituals, provided the immediate context for the rise of independent popular sects, which in turn spread throughout China in succeeding centuries. The Song associations were an organized and doctrinally aware means of spreading Buddhist ideas of salvation, paradise and purgatory, *karma,* and moral values to the population at large, and so they contributed to the integration of Buddhism with Chinese culture.

Popular religion. The other major tradition that took its early modern shape during the Song period was popular religion, the religion of the whole population other than orthodox Daoist priests, Buddhist monks, Confucian scholars, and state officials in their public roles (although elements of popular religion overlapped with these more specialized vocations). Zhou and Han sources note a variety of religious practices current throughout the population, including ancestor worship, sacrifices to spirits of sacred objects and places, belief in ghosts, exorcism, divination, and the activities of spirit mediums. Many of these practices began in prehistoric times and formed the sea out of which more structured and focused traditions gradually emerged, traditions such as the state cult, Confucian philosophy, and Daoist religion. Each of these emerging traditions was associated with social elites who had to define themselves as different from their peasant and artisan surroundings. In the process they often came to criticize or even suppress cults active among common folk devoted to local spirits and concerned primarily with efficacious response to immediate needs. Since the Chinese state had always claimed religious prerogatives, the most important factor was official authorization by some level of government. Unauthorized cults were considered "excessive," beyond what elite custom and propriety admitted. Nonetheless, such distinctions were of importance primarily to the more self-conscious supporters of literate alternatives; to their less theologically inclined peers, "popular religion" was a varied set of customs that reflected the way the world was.

Popular religious practices were diffused throughout the social system, based in family, clan, and village, at first devoted only to spirits with limited and local powers. By the Han dynasty personified deities of higher status appeared, along with organized sects such as the Way of the Celestial Masters, with ethical teachings and new myths of creation and world renewal, all reinforced by collective rituals. These developments were produced by literate commoners and minor officials at an intermediate level of education and status, and show remarkable resemblance to the first records of such middle-class thought in the writings of Mozi, six hundred years earlier. This level of Chinese religious consciousness was strongly reinforced by Mahāyāna *bodhisattvas,* images, offering rituals, myths of purgatory, and understandings of moral causation. By the fourth century, Daoist writers were developing elaborate mythologies of personified deities and immortals and their roles in a celestial hierarchy.

During the Song period all these various strands came together to reformulate popular religion as a tradition in its own right, defined by its location in the midst of ordinary social life, its pantheon of personified deities, views of afterlife, demonology, and characteristic specialists and rituals. Its values were still founded on pragmatic reciprocity, but some assurances about life after death were added to promises for aid now.

This popular tradition is based on the worship or propitiation of gods, ghosts, and ancestors. The boundaries between these categories are somewhat fluid. Under ideal circumstances, when a person dies the *hun,* or *yang* soul, rises to heaven and becomes an ancestor (*zu* or *zuxian*) and the *po,* or *yin* soul, remains with the body in the earth—provided that the death was normal, the body was buried in a proper funeral, and subsequent memorial services or ancestral sacrifices are properly made by blood or ritually adopted descendants. If these conditions are not met, either the *hun* or the *po* (depending on local beliefs) can become a ghost *(gui).* Ghosts can be ritually adopted or—in the case of unmarried women—posthumously married, thereby becoming ancestors; they can even be enshrined and worshiped as minor gods. Although scholars differ on whether the propitiation of ancestors should be called worship or veneration (since they are not gods), the basic ritual actions performed for gods and ancestors (burning incense, praying, offering food or "spirit money") are virtually identical. The status of the particular recipient is indicated by certain variations, such as offering uncooked food for a god but cooked food for an ancestor; cooked food implies a meal being shared, and ordinary people do not presume to invite gods into their homes for meals. Phenomenologically, the difference between a god and an ancestor is that the former has more numinous power (*ling*) and can therefore exert influence on a circle of the living wider than his or her own family.

Beyond the household popular religion is practiced at shrines for local earth-gods and at village or city neighborhood temples. Temples are residences of the gods, where they are most easily available and ready to accept petitions and offerings of food and incense. Here, too, the gods convey messages through simple means of divination, dreams, spirit mediums, and spirit writing. The most common forms of divination are the use of "moon-blocks" *(shengbei)* and divinationslips (*quia*). Divination usually accompanies sacrificial offerings to ascertain whether they are pleasing. Great bronze incense burners in temple courtyards are the focal points of ritual communication, and it is common for local households to fill their own incense burners with ashes from the temple. All families residing in the area of the village or the city neighborhood are considered members of the temple community.

Most of the deities characteristic of this tradition are human beings deified over time by increasing recognition of their efficacy and status. Having once been human they owe their positions to veneration by the living and hence are constrained by reciprocal relationships with their devotees. Many of the deities of popular religion are responsible for specific functions such as providing rain or healing diseases, while others are propitiated for a wide variety of reasons—sometimes simply for general good fortune, or to maintain a harmonious relationship with the unseen world (an example of "ultimate orientation"). Under Daoist influence the pantheon came to be organized in a celestial hierarchy presided over by the Jade Emperor, a deity first officially recognized as such by the Song emperor Zhenzong in the beginning of the eleventh century. The Jade Emperor is called Yuhuang dadi (Jade Emperor Great Lord) or Yuhuang shangdi (Jade Emperor High Lord)—the latter incorporating the name of the high god of the Shang dynasty.

Gods are symbols of order, and many of the gods of Daoism and popular religion are equipped with weapons and troops. Such force is necessary because beneath the gods is a vast array of demons, hostile influences that bring disorder, disease, suffering, and death. Although ultimately subject to divine command, and in some cases sent by the gods to punish sinners, these demons are most unruly and often can be subdued only through repeated invocation and strenuous ritual action. It is in such ritual exorcism that the struggle between gods and demons is most starkly presented. Some demons are ghosts *(gui)*, or the spirits of the restless dead who died unjustly or whose bodies are not properly cared for; they cause disruption to draw attention to their plight. Other demons represent natural forces that can be perceived as hostile, such as mountains and wild animals. Much effort in popular religion is devoted to dealing with these harmful influences.

There are three different types of leadership in this popular tradition—hereditary, selected, and charismatic—although of course in any given situation these types can be mixed. Hereditary leaders include the fathers and mothers of families, who carry out ancestor worship in the clan temple and household, and sect leaders, who inherit their positions. Hereditary Daoist priests also perform rituals for the community. Village temples, on the other hand, tend to be led by a village elder selected by lot on a rotating basis. Charismatic leaders include spirit mediums, spirit writers, magicians, and healers, all of whom are defined by the recognition of their ability to bring divine power and wisdom directly to bear on human problems.

Popular religion is also associated with a cycle of annual festivals, funeral rituals, and geomancy *(feng-shui)*. Popular values are sanctioned by revelations from the gods and by belief in purgatory, where the soul goes after death, there to be punished for its sins according to the principle of karmic retribution. There are ten courts in purgatory, each presided over by a judge who fits the suffering to the crime. Passage through purgatory can be ameliorated through the transfer of spirit money by Buddhist or Daoist rituals. When its guilt has been purged, the soul advances to the tenth court, where the form of its next existence is decided. This mythology is a modification of Buddhist beliefs described in detail in texts first translated in the sixth century.

The period of Mongol rule. The Mongols under Chinggis Khan (1162–1227) captured the Jin capital of Yanjing (modern Beijing) in 1215 and established the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368).

From China they ruled their vast domain, which extended all the way to central Europe. For the next several decades the "Middle Kingdom" was the eastern end of a world empire, open as never before to foreign influences. In the realm of religion these influences included the Nestorians, a few Franciscan missionaries in the early fourteenth century, the growth of the Jewish community in Kaifeng, and a large number of Tibetan Buddhist monks.

The first Mongol contact with Chinese Buddhism was with Chan monks, a few of whom attained influence at court. In the meantime, however, the Mongols were increasingly attracted by the exorcistic and healing rituals of Tantric Buddhism in Tibet, the borders of which they also controlled. In 1260 a Tibetan monk, 'Phags-pa (1235–1280), was named imperial preceptor and soon after chief of Buddhist affairs. Tibetan monks were appointed as leaders of the *saṃgha* all over China, to some extent reviving the Tantric (Zhenyan) school that had flourished briefly in the Tang.

By the early fourteenth century another form of popular religion appeared, the voluntary association or sect that could be joined by individuals from different families and villages. These sects developed out of lay Buddhist societies in the twelfth century, but their structure owed much to late Han religious associations and their popular Daoist successors, Buddhist eschatological movements from the fifth century on, and Manichaeism. By the Yuan period the sects were characterized by predominantly lay membership and leadership, hierarachical organization, active proselytism, congregational rituals, possession of their own scriptures in the vernacular, and mutual economic support. Their best known antecedent was the White Lotus sect, an independent group founded by a monk named Mao Ziyuan (1086–1166). Mao combined simplified Tiantai teaching with Pure Land practice, invoking Amitābha's saving power with just five recitations of his name. After Mao's death the sect, led by laymen who married, spread across south and east China. In the process it incorporated charms and prognostication texts, and by the fourteenth century branches in Guangxi and Henan were strongly influenced by Daoist methods of cultivating the internal elixirs. This led to protests from more orthodox leaders of the Pure Land tradition, monks in the east who appealed to the throne that they not be proscribed along with the "heretics." This appeal succeeded, and the monastic branch went on to be considered part of the tradition of the Pure Land school, with Mao Ziyuan as a revered patriarch.

The more rustic side of the White Lotus tradition was prohibited three times in the Yuan but flourished nonetheless, with its own communal organizations and scriptures and a growing emphasis on the presence within it of the future buddha Maitreya. During the civil wars of the mid-fourteenth century this belief encouraged full-scale uprisings in the name of the new world Maitreya was expected to bring. The Ming founder Zhu Yuanzhang (1328–1398) had for a time been an officer in one of the White Lotus armies, but after his victory he tried to suppress the sect. It continued to multiply nonetheless under a variety of names.

The first extant sectarian scriptures, produced in the early sixteenth century, indicate that by that time there were two streams of mythology and belief, one more influenced by Daoism, the other by Buddhism. The Daoist stream incorporated much terminology from the Golden Elixir school (Jindandao) and was based on the myth of a saving mother goddess, the Eternal Venerable Mother, who is a modified form of the old Han-dynasty Queen Mother of the West, a figure mentioned in Quanzhen teachings as well. The Buddhist stream was initiated by a sectarian reformer named Luo Qing (1443–1527), whose teachings were based on the Chan theme of "attaining Buddhahood through seeing one's own nature." Luo criticized the White Lotus and Maitreya sects as being too concerned with outward ritual forms, but later writers in his school incorporated some themes from the Eternal Mother mythology, while other sectarian founders espousing this mythology imitated Luo Qing's example of writing vernacular scriptures to put forth their own views. These scriptures, together with their successors, the popular spirit-writing texts of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, constitute a fourth major body of Chinese sacred texts, after those of the Confucians, Buddhists, and Daoists.

The number of popular religious sects increased rapidly during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, all part of the same general tradition but with different founders, lines of transmission, texts, and ritual variations. Such groups had been illegal since the Yuan, and some resisted prosecution with armed force or attempted to establish their own safe areas. In a few cases sect leaders organized major attempts to overthrow the government and put their own emperor on the throne, to rule over a utopian world in which time and society would be renewed. However, for the most part the sects simply provided a congregational alternative to village popular religion, an alternative that offered mutual support and assurance and promised means of going directly to paradise at death without passing through purgatory.

Popular religious sects were active on the China mainland until the start of the Cultural Revolution in 1966, and they continue to multiply in Taiwan, where they can be legally registered as branches of Daoism. Since the late nineteenth century most sectarian scriptures have been composed by spirit writing, direct revelation from a variety of gods and culture heroes.

MING AND QING RELIGION. Mongol rule began to deteriorate in the early fourteenth century because of struggles between tribal factions at court, the decline of military power, and the devolution of central authority to local warlords, bandit groups, and sectarian movements. After twenty years of civil war Zhu Yuanzhang, from a poor peasant family, defeated all his rivals and reestablished a Chinese imperial house, the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). Zhu (Ming Taizu, r. 1368–1398) was an energetic ruler of strong personal religious beliefs who revised imperial rituals, promulgated strict laws against a variety of popular practices and sects, and recruited Daoist priests to direct court ceremonies. For him the Mandate of Heaven was a living force that had established him in a long line of sacred emperors; his ancestors were deemed powerful intermediaries with Shangdi. He elaborated and reinforced the responsibility of government officials to offer regular sacrifices to deities of fertility, natural forces, and cities, and to the spirits of heroes and abandoned ghosts.

Ming dynasty. Under the Ming, such factors as the diversification of the agricultural base and the monetization of the economy had an impact on religious life; there were more excess funds for building temples and printing scriptures, and more rich peasants, merchants, and artisans with energy to invest in popular religion, both village and sectarian. Sectarian scriptures appeared as part of the same movement that produced new vernacular literature of all types, morality books to inculcate neo-Confucian values, and new forms and audiences for popular operas. More than ever before the late Ming was a time of economic and cultural initiatives from the population at large, as one might expect in a period of increasing competition for resources by small entrepreneurs. These tendencies continued to gain momentum in the Qing period.

Ming Buddhism showed the impact of these economic and cultural factors, particularly in eastern China, where during the sixteenth century reforming monks such as Yunqi Zhuhong (1535–1615) organized lay societies, wrote morality books that quantified the merit points for good deeds, and affirmed Confucian values within a Buddhist framework. Zhuhong combined Pure Land and Chan practice and preached spiritual progress through sparing animals from slaughter and captivity. The integration of Buddhism into Chinese society was furthered as well by government approval of a class of teaching monks, ordained with official certificates, whose role was to perform rituals for the people.

Buddhism also had a synergetic relationship with the form of neo-Confucianism dominant in the late Ming, Wang Yangming's "learning of the mind." On the one hand, Chan individualism and seeking enlightenment within influenced Wang and his disciples; on the other hand, official acceptance of Wang's school gave indirect support to the forms of Buddhism associated with it, such as the teachings of Zhuhong and Hanshan Deqing (1546–1623).

Daoism was supported by emperors throughout the Ming, with Daoist priests appointed as officials in charge of rituals and composing hymns and messages to the gods. The Quanzhen sect continued to do well, with its monastic base and emphasis on attaining immortality through "internal alchemy." Its meditation methods also influenced those of some of Wang Yangming's followers, such as Wang Ji (1497–1582). However, it was the Zhengyi sect led by hereditary Celestial Masters that had the most official support during the Ming and hence was able to consolidate its position as the standard of orthodox Daoism. Zhengyi influence is evident in scriptures composed during this period, many of which trace their lineage back to the first Celestial Master and bear imprimaturs from his successors. The forty-third-generation master was given charge of compiling a new Daoist canon in 1406, a task completed between 1444 and 1445. It is this edition that is still in use today.

By the seventeenth century, Confucian philosophy entered a more nationalistic and materialist phase, but the scholar-official class as a whole remained involved in a variety of private religious practices beyond their official ritual responsibilities. These included not only the study of Daoism and Buddhism but also the use of spirit-writing séances and prayers to Wenchang, the god of scholars and literature, for help in passing examinations. Ming Taizu had proclaimed that each of the "three teachings" of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism had an important role to play, which encouraged synthetic tendencies present since the beginnings of Buddhism in China. In the sixteenth century a Confucian scholar named Lin Zhao'en (1517–1598) from Fujian took these tendencies a step further by building a middle-class religious sect in which Confucian teachings were explicitly supported by those of Buddhism and Daoism. Lin was known as "Master of the Three Teachings," the patron saint of what became a popular movement with temples still extant in Singapore and Malaysia in the mid-twentieth century. This tendency to incorporate Confucianism into a sectarian religion was echoed by Zhang Jizong (d. 1866) who established a fortified community in Shandong, and by Kang Youwei (1858–1927) at the end of imperial history. Confucian-oriented spirit-writing cults also flourished in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, supported by middle-level military and civil officials and producing produced tracts and scriptures of their own. These "Phoenix Halls" (*luantan*) spread to Taiwan in the second half of the nineteenth century and continue to exist in the twenty-first.

During the sixteenth century Christian missionaries tried for the third time to establish their faith in China, this time a more successful effort by Italian Jesuits. In 1583 two Italian Jesuits, Michael Ruggerius and Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), were allowed to stay in Zhaoqing in Guangdong province. By their knowledge of science, mathematics, and geography they impressed some of the local scholars and officials; Ricci eventually became court astronomer in Beijing. He also made converts of several high officials, so that by 1605 there were two hundred Chinese Christians. For the next several decades the Jesuit mission prospered, led by priests given responsibility for the sensitive task of establishing the imperial calendar. In 1663 the number of converts had grown to about one hundred thousand. The high point of this early Roman Catholic mission effort came during the reign of the Kangxi emperor (r. 1662–1722), who, while not a convert, had a lively curiosity about European knowledge.

Nonetheless, Chinese suspicions remained, and the mission was threatened from within by rivalries between orders and European nations. In particular, there was contention over Jesuit acceptance of the worship of ancestors and Confucius by Chinese Christian converts. In 1645 a Franciscan obtained a papal prohibition of such "accommodation," and this "rites controversy" intensified in the ensuing decades. The Inquisition forbade the Jesuit approach in 1704, but the Jesuits kept on resisting until papal bulls were issued against them in 1715 and 1742. Kangxi had sided with the Jesuits, but in the end their influence was weakened and their ministry made less adaptable to Chinese traditions. There were anti-Christian persecutions in several places throughout the mid-eighteenth century; however, some Christian communities remained, as did a few European astronomers at court. There were several more attempts at suppression in the early nineteenth century, with the result that by 1810 only thirty-one European missionaries and eighty Chinese priests were left, but church membership remained at about two hundred thousand.

The first Protestant missionary to reach China was Robert Morrison, sent by the London Missionary Society to Guangzhou in 1807. He and another missionary made their first Chinese convert in 1814 and completed translating the Bible in 1819. From then on increasing numbers of Protestant missionaries arrived from other European countries and the United States.

Christian impact on the wider world of Chinese religions has traditionally been negligible, although there is some indication that scholars such as Fang Yizhi (1611–1671) were influenced by European learning and thus helped prepare the way for the practical emphases of Qing Confucianism. Zhuhong and Ricci had engaged in written debate over theories of God and rebirth, and even the Kangxi emperor was involved in such discussions later, but there was no acceptance of Christian ideas and practices by Chinese who did not convert. This is true at the popular level as well, where in some areas Chinese sectarians responded positively to both Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries. Christians and the sectarians were often persecuted together and shared concerns for congregational ritual, vernacular scriptures, and a compassionate creator deity. Yet nineteenth-century sectarian texts betray few traces of Christian influence, and even when Jesus speaks in later spirit-writing books, it is as a supporter of Chinese values.

Chinese Judaism thrived, at least in Kaifeng, through the Ming and part of the Qing dynasties. The Ming, in fact, has been called a "Golden Age" of Judaism in Kaifeng. Many members of the community achieved success in the civil service examinations and were appointed to relatively high government positions; good relations with Chinese officials helped the community to rebuild its synagogue after floods six times during the Ming.

In 1605, a Kaifeng Jew named Ai Tian visited the capital at Beijing and, having heard that there were westerners there who worshiped one god but were not Muslims, paid Matteo Ricci a visit, thinking that these westerners might be fellow Jews. After some awkward conversation, in which Ai thought Ricci was a Jew and Ricci thought Ai was a Christian, the truth emerged and the Chinese Jews came to the attention of the Western world for the first time. During the Rites Controversy the Jesuits consulted with the Kaifeng Jews on their practice of honoring ancestors in the synagogue and used that as part of their argument for toleration of the custom.

There were unsuccessful missionary efforts to convert the Jews to Christianity, but the Jews suffered neither discrimination from Chinese society nor repression from the Chinese government, except for a few slightly restrictive decrees concerning kosher slaughter during the Yuan dynasty. Nonetheless, the high level of involvement of Kaifeng Jews in the civil service examination system, which required a heavy investment of time in the study of Chinese classics, history, and literature, resulted in fewer educated Jews studying Hebrew. This eventually contributed to their complete assimilation in Chinese society and the disappearance of Jewish practice in China. Another factor was the expulsion of the Christian missionaries after the Rites Controversy, as they had been the Chinese Jews' major link to the world outside China.

Qing dynasty. The Manchus, a tribal confederation related to the Jurchen, had established their own state in the northeast in 1616 and named it Qing in 1636. As their power grew, they sporadically attacked North China and absorbed much Chinese political and cultural influence. In 1644 a Qing army was invited into China by the Ming court to save Beijing from Chinese rebels. The Manchus not only conquered Beijing but stayed to rule for the next 268 years. In public policy the Manchus were strong supporters of Confucianism and relied heavily on the support of Chinese officials, but in their private lives the Qing rulers were devoted to Tibetan Buddhism. Most religious developments during the Qing were continuations of Ming traditions, with the exception of Protestant Christianity and the Taiping movement it helped stimulate.

Before their conquest of China the Manchus had learned of Tibetan Buddhism through the Mongols and had a special sense of relationship to a *bodhisattva* much venerated in Tibet, Mañjuśrī. Nurhachi (1559–1626), the founder of the Manchu kingdom, was considered an incarnation of Mañjuśrī. After 1644 the Manchus continued to patronize Tibetan Buddhism, which had been supported to some extent in the Ming as well, in part to stay in touch with the dominant religion of Tibet and the Mongols. In 1652 the Dalai Lama was invited to visit Beijing, and in the early eighteenth century his successors were put under a Qing protectorate. In 1780 the Panchen Lama paid a visit to the Qianlong emperor (r. 1736–1795) on his seventieth birthday at the imperial retreat of Rehe (formerly written Jehol, now called Chengde), northeast of Beijing. At Rehe the earlier Qing emperors had built a dozen Tibetan Buddhist temples (in addition to a Confucian temple and school), including a smaller replica of the Potala Palace in Lhasa.

Early Qing emperors were interested in Chan Buddhism as well. The Yongzheng emperor (r. 1723–1735) published a book on Chan in 1732 and ordered the reprinting of the Buddhist canon, a task completed in 1738. He also supported the printing of a Tibetan edition of the canon, and his successor, Qianlong, sponsored the translation of this voluminous body of texts into Manchu. The Pure Land tradition continued to be the form of Buddhism most supported by the people. The most active Daoist schools were the monastic Quanzhen and the Zhengyi, more concerned with public rituals of exorcism and renewal, conducted by a married priesthood. However, Daoism no longer received court support. Despite repeated cycles of rebellions and persecutions, popular sects continued to thrive, although after the Eight Trigrams uprising in 1813 repression was so severe that production of sectarian scripture texts declined in favor of oral transmission, a tendency operative among some earlier groups as well.

The most significant innovation in Qing religion was the teachings of the Taiping Tianguo (Celestial Kingdom of Great Peace), which combined motifs from Christianity, shamanism, and popular sectarian beliefs. The Taiping movement was begun by Hong Xiuquan (1814–1864), a would-be Confucian scholar who first was given Christian tracts in 1836. After failing civil service examinations several times, Hong claimed to have had a vision in which it was revealed that he was the younger brother of Jesus Christ, commissioned to be a new messiah. Hong proclaimed a new kingdom upon earth, to be characterized by theocratic rule, enforcement of the Ten Commandments, the brotherhood of all, equality of the sexes, and redistribution of land. Hong and other Taiping leaders were effective preachers who wrote books, edicts, and tracts proclaiming their teachings and regulations and providing prayers and hymns for congregational worship. They forbade the worship of ancestors, Buddhas, and Daoist and popular deities. Wherever the Taipings went they destroyed images and temples. They rejected geomancy and divination and established a new calendar free of the old festivals and concerns for inauspicious days.

In the late 1840s Hong Xiuquan organized a group called the God Worshipers Society with many poor and disaffected among its members. They moved to active military rebellion in 1851, with Hong taking the title "Celestial King" of the new utopian regime. Within two years they captured Nanjing. Here they established their capital and sent armies north and west, involving all of China in civil war as they went. Although the Qing government was slow to respond, in 1864 Nanjing was retaken by imperial forces and the remaining Taiping forces slaughtered or dispersed. For all of the power of this movement, Taiping teachings and practices had no positive effect on the history of Chinese religions after this time, while all the indigenous traditions resumed and rebuilt.

The Qing also witnessed the decline of Chinese Jewish religious life. By the mid-nineteenth century in Kaifeng there were no Jews left who could read Hebrew. Without a rabbi there was little reason to keep the Kaifeng synagogue in repair, so the community sold the property to the Canadian Anglican mission. Today on the site is a hospital, behind which is "South Teaching the Torah Lane" (*Nan jiaojing hutong*), formerly the heart of Kaifeng's Jewish quarter. Two or three hundred Jews still live in Kaifeng, and others are spread throughout the country, but aside from the their ethnic self-identification they have little knowledge of or contact with Judaism. Since the 1980s there has been a revival of interest in this tradition, both among Chinese Jews themselves and in the academic world. Since the 1990s several institutional centers of Judaic studies have been established at major universities in China.

THE END OF EMPIRE AND POSTIMPERIAL CHINA. In the late nineteenth century some Chinese intellectuals began to incorporate into their thought new ideas from Western science, philosophy, and literature, but the trend in religion was toward reaffirmation of Chinese values. Even the reforming philosopher Kang Youwei tried to build a new cult of Confucius, while at the popular level spirit-writing sects proliferated. In 1899 a vast antiforeign movement began in North China, loosely called the Boxer Rebellion because of its martial arts practices. The ideology of this movement was based on popular religion and spirit mediumship, and many Boxer groups attacked Christian missions in the name of Chinese gods. This uprising was put down in 1900 by a combination of Chinese and foreign armies after the latter had captured Beijing.

The Qing government attempted a number of belated reforms, but in 1911 it collapsed from internal decay, foreign pressure, and military uprisings. Some Chinese intellectuals, free to invest their energies in new ideas and political forms, avidly studied and translated Western writings, including those of Marxism. One result of this westernization and secularization was attacks on Confucianism and other Chinese traditions, a situation exacerbated by recurrent civil wars that led to the destruction or occupation of thousands of temples. However, these new ideas were most influential in the larger cities; the majority of Chinese continued popular religious practices as before. Many temples and monasteries survived, and there were attempts to revive Buddhist thought and monastic discipline, particularly by the monks Yinguang (1861–1940) and Taixu (1890–1947).

Since 1949 Chinese religions have increasingly prospered in Taiwan, particularly at the popular level, where the people have more surplus funds and freedom of belief than ever before. Many new temples have been built, sects established, and scriptures and periodicals published. The same can be said for Chinese popular religion in Hong Kong, Macao, and Singapore. The Daoist priesthood is active in Taiwan, supported by the presence of hereditary Celestial Masters from the mainland who provide ordinations and legitimacy. There are also several large and prosperous Chan organizations with branches all over the world. Another rapidly growing Buddhist sect in Taiwan is the Buddhist Compassion Relief (Ciji) Foundation, founded by the nun Cheng Yan in 1966 to mobilize social work and education from a Mahāyāna Buddhist perspective.

The constitution of the People's Republic establishes the freedom both to support and oppose religion, although proselytization is illegal. In practice religious activities of all types declined drastically there after 1949 and virtually disappeared during the Cultural Revolution of 1966 to 1976. In official documents and state-controlled media religion was depicted along Marxist lines as "feudal superstition" that must be rejected by those seeking to build a new China. Nonetheless, many religious activities continued until the Cultural Revolution, even those of the long-proscribed popular sects. The Cultural Revolution, encouraged by Mao Zedong and his teachings, was a massive attack on old traditions, including not only religion but also education, art, and established bureaucracies. In the process thousands of religious images were destroyed, temples and churches confiscated, leaders returned to lay life, and books burned. At the same time a new national cult arose, that of Chairman Mao and his thought, involving ecstatic processions, group recitation from Mao's writings, and a variety of quasi-religious ceremonials. These included confessions of sins against the revolution, vows of obedience before portraits of the chairman, and meals of wild vegetables to recall the bitter days before liberation. Although the frenzy abated, the impetus of the Cultural Revolution continued until Mao's death in 1976, led by a small group, later called "the Gang of Four," centered around his wife, Jiang Qing (1914–1991).

This group was soon deposed, a move followed by liberalization of policy in several areas, including religion. Since 1980 many churches, monasteries, and mosques have reopened and religious leaders reinstated, in part to establish better relationships with Buddhist, Christian, and Muslim communities in other countries. There has been an accelerating revival of popular religion as well, spurred in part by the return of market capitalism under Deng Xiaoping (1905–1997). This occurred primarily in the southeast at first; since the early 1990s Taiwanese have been allowed to travel to the mainland, and many have financially supported the reconstruction of local temples, especially in Fujian province, from which most mainland Taiwanese emigrated. But the revival of popular religion is occurring throughout China, most notably in rural areas.

The official line on religion has moderated, the government now acknowledging that some aspects of China's traditional culture are worth preserving; also that religion will eventually disappear on its own when the perfect socialist state is realized, so it is unnecessary to forcefully hasten the process. Along with the booming capitalist economy that developed in the 1990s and into the twenty-first century, "socialism with Chinese characteristics"—a popular slogan of Deng Xiaoping—allows the state to tolerate and support religion, within limits.

The religious revival includes many groups devoted to various forms of *qigong,* the "manipulation of *qi,*" which has roots in Daoist self-cultivation. In 1999 the government began a severe crackdown on one such cult, Falun Dafa (Great Law of the Dharma Wheel), commonly referred to in the West as Falun Gong (Exercise of the Dharma Wheel), which more accurately denotes their Buddho-Daoist-inspired form of mental and physical cultivation. Founded in 1992 by Li Hongzhi (b. 1951), Falun Dafa attracted practitioners in the tens of millions in part because of its claims to improve health and lengthen life in the context of the aging of the Chinese population and the collapse of state-supported cradle-to-grave health care. In April 1999 the organization, largely through the medium of e-mail, secretly organized a silent demonstration by more than ten thousand practitioners outside the residence compound of China's top leaders in Beijing to protest what they said was a slanderous magazine article and the refusal of the authorities to let them register as a voluntary association, as required by law. The group's ability to mobilize such large numbers and the fact that Li Hongzhi had emigrated to the United States in 1998 apparently motivated the repression.

Other sensitive areas of religious life in China include illegal Christian "house churches," Buddhists in Tibet (an "autonomous province" of China), and Muslims in the far-western autonomous province of Xinjiang. The latter two cases are related to the government's fear of forces that could support independence movements. The Christian churches, given the long and problematic history of missionary activity and colonialism in China, are suspect for their potential ties to the West. Although Catholicism is one of the five officially recognized religions (Buddhism, Daoism, Islam, Protestant Christianity, and Catholic Christianity), the Roman Catholic Church is outlawed because of its allegiance to the Vatican; only the Chinese Patriotic Catholic Association is recognized. The other four religions likewise have government-supported associations as the means of government control. Popular religion and Confucianism are not officially designated as religious in China: popular religion is considered "superstition" (*mixin*), and Confucianism is considered an "ideology," although not necessarily (any longer) a "feudal" ideology. There is in fact renewed interest in Confucianism among intellectuals, many of whom sense a moral vacuum in China since Marxist/Maoist thought ceased to exert any influence outside government. A modernized, less patriarchal form of Confucianism, they believe, might provide a set of moral principles better suited to Chinese culture than one imported from the West. Although China was once thought by westerners to be a "timeless" realm in which nothing changed, the story of religion in China, as far back as we can see, has been one of constant change.

SEE ALSO Afterlife, article on Chinese Concepts; Alchemy, article on Chinese Alchemy; Amitābha; Ancestors, article on Ancestor Worship; Bodhidharma; Buddhism, articles on Buddhism in Central Asia and Buddhism in China; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Chinese Buddhism; Chan; Chinese Philosophy; Chinese Religious Year; Christianity, article on Christianity in Asia; Confucianism, overview article; Confucius; Dao and De; Daochuo; Daoism, overview article; Daosheng; Domestic Observances, article on Chinese Practices; Dong Zhongshu; Fangshi; Fazang; Flight; Ge Hong; Han Fei Zi; Huangdi; Huayan; Huineng; Huiyuan; Inner Asian Religions; Islam, article on Islam in China; Jesuits; Jiao; Jingtu; Judaism, article on Judaism in Asia; Kang Youwei; Kou Qianzhi; Kuiji; Kumārajīva; Legalism; Li; Liang Wudi; Linji; Liu An; Lu Xiujing; Mahāvairocana; Maitreya; Manichaeism; Mañjuśrī; Mappo; Mengzi; Millenarianism, article on Chinese Millenarian Movements; Mongol Religions; Morrison, Robert; Mozi; Nestorianism; Nianfo; Pure and Impure Lands; Qi; Ricci, Matteo; Sacrifice; Sengzhao; Shamanism, overview articles; Shandao; Shangdi; Soul, article on Chinese Concepts; Taiping; Taixu; Tanluan; Tao Hongjing; Theodicy; Tian; Tiantai; Wang Chong; Wang Zhe; Xian; Xi Wang Mu; Xunzi; Yinyang Wuxing; Yogācāra; Yuhuang; Zhang Daoling; Zhang Lu; Zhang Zai; Zhenren; Zhenyan; Zhiyi; Zhou Dunyi; Zhuangzi; Zhu Xi; Zoroastrianism.

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CHINESE RELIGION: POPULAR RELIGION

Chinese popular religion is a scholarly construct which does not correspond to any traditional Chinese notion or institution. Scholars in China, in Japan, and in the West give it different meanings; while several historians or anthropologists have tried to define it, most authors use the phrase loosely to refer to whatever religious idea or practice does not fall clearly within the purview of China's three institutionalized religions, Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism. The fundamentally ambiguous word "popular" sometimes refers to any widespread or commonly held idea or practice, and is sometimes used more narrowly in contrast to "elite" religion. This ambiguity is both creative and confusing; the confusion is further compounded by the very frequent use of phrases such as "popular Buddhism," "popular Daoism," and "popular Confucianism." Whether these are similar or different from "popular religion" is a matter of opinion.

As a consequence of such loose and varied usage, words such as "popular religion" or "folk religion," although often used in a similar way, might arguably be totally eliminated. Yet scholars and observers need hermeneutical tools to understand the religious field in Chinese history, and "popular" should be useful if defined properly. This essay considers the elements of popular religion in the context of Chinese religion, and it attempts to delineate what "popular" implies by looking at the roles of clerical institutionalized religions, local lay communities, and individual specialists and devotees.

DEFINITIONS. With the exception of religions, notably Islam and Christianity, that arrived in China from elsewhere and could not become fully integrated because of exclusive claims of truth, most religious practices, beliefs, and organizations in China can be described as belonging to a single system, best termed "Chinese religion" (sometimes called "Chinese traditional religion"). This organic, non-hierarchical system integrates traditions of individual salvation (self-cultivation through meditation and body techniques, morality, and spirit-possession techniques, including spirit-writing), communal celebration (cults to local saints and ancestors), and death rituals together with the three institutionalized religions, Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism.

The three institutionalized religions are precisely defined, each with a distinctive clergy, a canon (scriptures that define orthodoxy), a liturgy, and training centers (monasteries and academies where the canon is kept and the clergy is trained and ordained). The institutions defined by these four characteristics can be referred to as "Buddhism," "Daoism," and "Confucianism" *stricto sensu.* Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism within Chinese religion do not function as separate institutions that provide their members an exclusive way to salvation, as in the nineteenth-century Western concept of religion; rather, their purpose is to transmit their tradition of practice and make it available to all, either as individual spiritual techniques or liturgical services to whole communities. In late imperial times and well into the twentieth century, only clerics and a small number of retired laymen *(jushi)* would declare themselves as Buddhists or Daoists, but very few Chinese indeed have never engaged in Buddhist or Daoist practices. The wide acceptance and official status of the doctrine of the three religions' coexistence has made them complementary to one another.

The three institutionalized religions serve the whole of Chinese religion, which is not "syncretism" as it is too often described (the word syncretism should be reserved to certain sectarian traditions): they are expected to coexist but not mingle, and people do not confuse them. The many independent communities that form the social structure of Chinese religion choose from among the shared repertoire of beliefs and practices those services offered by the three religions that give them relevant meaning, and their choices hinge on socio-economic, ideological, and theological considerations much more complex than an elite/popular dichotomy can suggest. Therefore, the large majority of communities that are not Confucian, Buddhist, or Daoist can be labeled as Chinese popular religion, but this term does not necessarily imply any social class, lack of intellectual sophistication, or heterodoxy. On the other hand, while the three religions have nationwide institutions, cult communities are fundamentally local in nature, and they have been therefore aptly described as "local religion. "

HISTORICAL CONSTRUCTION. Most of the fundamental elements of Chinese religion began to be observed during antiquity, that is, in the period before the unification of the Chinese world under the Qin empire (221 BCE). Religious beliefs and practices of the ancient royalty and nobility have been documented through partly transmitted liturgical manuals and archaeological evidence, but local cults and commoners' practices have also been reconstructed through fragmentary evidence, notably recently excavated manuscripts. Shared practices among various social classes and regions have led scholars to speak of a "common religion" for the late antiquity and the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE). The major features of this common religion include care for the dead, addressing both the corpse (hence the importance of grave maintenance, and in later times geomancy) and souls that go through a netherworld administration and can either be installed as ancestors, or, if not given proper rituals, suffer as ghosts or demons. A bureaucratic vision of the universe, and particularly of the netherworld, had already been formed by the Han, and it would be further developed by Daoism. It informs the contracts and formal demands to netherworld officials concerning the fate of the dead, the prolongation of the living person's life-span, and the cure of illnesses caused by ghosts or demons. Ancestors as well as gods can be requited through sacrifices of alcohol, grains, and most importantly, meats; the offerings differ by type of sacrificial animal or cooking methods according to the relationship between the person and the ancestor or god. Sacrifices are preceded by ritual purification (*zhaijie*), including abstinence from alcohol, meat, sex, and unclean activities. Incense, first used as a purificatory fumigant, would later gradually become the most basic and common offering (in ancient time as powder, and later as sticks). Gods or ancestors can possess the living so as to participate in the sacrificial banquet or speak to humans; spirit-mediums (*wu*), or shamans as they are sometimes called (somewhat problematically) in Western languages, were recognized intermediaries, but it also happened that non-specialists, and indeed children, could be possessed. Possession played a major role in exorcisms from ghosts or demons; the exorcising deities are themselves usually former ghosts or demons. All of these features of the common religion of late antiquity still comprise the basic elements of Chinese religion in the twenty-first century.

Confucianism formed during the Han dynasty as the self-proclaimed heir of the elite sacrificial religion of antiquity, became the state religion during the Han, and would remain so until the end of the empire in 1911. Meanwhile, during the second century BCE, Daoism gradually organized into communities and a distinctive liturgy, and Buddhism began to flow into China from Central Asia. These three religions often conflicted with one another until a doctrine of their equal orthodoxy and coexistence was formulated during the Tang era (618–907). At the same time, all three attempted to control the pre-existing local cults by integrating them into their clerical structures and reforming their practices, but with limited success; for example, Buddhism and Daoism notably attempted, but failed, to suppress animal sacrifices. From the third to the tenth centuries, Buddhist and Daoist monasteries were the largest religious institutions, and clergy-led pious associations were omnipresent in rural and urban China, but local cults continued to practice as well.

The modern religious organization of Chinese society, still existing despite twentieth-century upheavals, gradually took shape between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries. This process included the growth of the cult of local saints which superseded clerical institutions (monasteries) as the religious centers of society; the appearance of the large temple festivals and opera performances; the adoption of local saints within the liturgical pantheons of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism (through the process of state and Daoist canonization of local gods); the growth of lineages and corporations as powerful religious and economic institutions; the employment of Buddhist and Daoist clerics in temples of local saints, lineages, and corporations as contractual managers; the democratization of salvation techniques (meditation, inner alchemy); the phenomenal growth of spirit-writing (*fuji*, *fuluan*) and the formation of a common ethics shared by the whole of Chinese religion based on spirit-writing revelations and expressed in morality books, *shanshu*. Spirit-writing is fairly uniform as a technique, but it is used by many different kinds of groups, including immortality cults, gentry morality cults, and sectarian movements.

The early modern religious organization of Chinese society was dramatically upset by twentieth-century political revolutions. As early as the 1898 reforms, an edict called for the seizure of all local temples to be turned into schools, and although promptly revoked, this measure was again adopted after 1901. Political reformists considered temple cults as the center of local identities and autonomy, and an obstacle to nation-building: they wanted to destroy temples and associations in order to seize their material and symbolical resources and build a modern nation-state. At the same time, the introduction around 1901 of the Western notions of religion and superstition caused a complete reformulation of the imperial religious policies: now, major world religions (with a church structure, a canon, and a philosophy) were tolerated, but superstitions were targeted for destruction. This became the official stance of the Republic of China (1912–) and the People's Republic (1949–) that gave relative recognition to five religions (Buddhism, Daoism, Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, with the first two defined in a narrow, monastic sense) but actively suppressed all local cults, temples, and festivals. Because of destructions and financial ruin, local cults gradually declined, which opened the way for many sectarian movements to flourish. Such movements offered conventional services (healing, morality teachings, and liturgical services such as death rituals) but at the same time fully embraced the modern discourse of religion against superstition. This was notably the case with movements that practiced spirit-writing and proselytized on a very large scale, such as Tongshan she, Daoyuan, or Yiguandao. The Qigong movement of self-healing, first supported by the Communist authorities, also occupied the vacant space. Progressive liberalization on the mainland since the 1980s, however, has allowed a remarkable renewal of local cults on a scale unexpected by most scholars, and the Chinese religious field is gradually recovering its erstwhile diversity.

SOCIAL STRUCTURES. Western descriptions of Chinese religious life have long tended to emphasize its motley, disorganized nature. Closer examination, however, reveals that it is based on well-defined social structures, some of which are coterminous with local society (village, clans) and others which are more purely religious: thus, even though religious groups are strongly linked to secular social organizations, the former do not merely reflect the latter, and religious communities have their own logic and agency. What best characterizes the social organization of Chinese religion is the communities' fundamental autonomy. While they can, and often do, negotiate alliances and build networks, for both religious (large-scale celebrations) and secular purposes (order-maintenance, infrastructure building, arbitrating local tensions, and conflicts), all temples, communities, and other religious groups are independent, refusing to take any order from any external authority, secular or spiritual. Some scholars have described the networks of cult communities as China's civil society.

The typology and relative importance of the social structures of Chinese religion vary among different regions of the Chinese world, between rural and urban areas, and between Chinese residents and the diaspora; it is possible, however, to distinguish basic types. The most fundamental distinction opposes ascriptive communities, where adhesion is compulsory and by household relative to social status, and congregations characterized by free, individual participation. Three main types of ascriptive communities exist: the territorial communities, the clans, and the corporations.

Of the three, the territorial communities are the most prevalent and also the most ancient direct descendants of the earth god cults, *she*, of antiquity. According to one of the oldest and most fundamental principles of Chinese religion, all persons living within a given area must take part in the cult of the territorial god of that region, or domain (*jing*). In many places, the generic impersonal *she*, or *tudi gong* in modern parlance, evolved during the Song (960–1279) into local saints, each of which was given its own individual name, birthday, and history, and *she* altars became elaborate temples with statues. The imperial state, notably under the first emperor (r. 1368–1398) of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), tried to revert the territorial cults to canonical *she* altars, but with limited success. During the modern period, territorial communities exist at different levels: while streets, or small neighborhoods maintain modest shrines to an anonymous generic *tudi gong*, many larger villages and urban neighborhoods have one communal temple for the cult of a saint embodying local identity and history. Walled cities have a temple for the territorial cult of the whole city, the Chenghuang (god of the moat and walls, or, more commonly, city god), a cult that appeared during the Tang period and became fully institutionalized and universal during the early Ming. In all cases, the territorial temple is built and owned in common, and all households have a duty to contribute to it, often through a poll tax (*dingkou qian*).

The clans or lineages are of more recent origin. Even though the ancestral cult has been a fundamental element of Chinese religion throughout recorded history, it was organized at the family level (*jia*, or household) only. The advent of very large kin groups based on common descent (proved or supposed) from a common ancestor, and pooling resources for cults to this ancestor, seems to be a twelfth-century innovation. Although not canonical institutions, these clans shared the neo-Confucianism ideology, and rose to prominence between the Song and the Ming to become influential on the economic, social, and religious scenes. Modern worship focuses on the ancestral cults using Confucian liturgy, but many clans also sustain cults to local saints and employ a variety of religious specialists.

The emergence of corporations is also a Song phenomenon, but one that reached maturity only by the late Ming, since it was strongly linked to the commercial and urban development that characterized these two periods. Professional and commercial guilds, called *hui* or *zuo*, managed relations with the state; regulated competition, prices, and wages; supervised training and confirmation of apprentices, and were organized as cults to patron saints (*zushiye*). A related type of organization, not well attested before the Ming, is the common-origin association, usually called *huiguan* or *gongsuo*. Most of the time, *huiguan* were also trade guilds, since numerous trades were comprised of monopolies of people from certain districts. Larger cities, however, also contained larger provincial *huiguan* that welcomed people from different trades. Both guilds and common-origin associations established halls in which members could meet and unite in ritual celebration. The most affluent groups built their own place, with a temple and facilities (such as a hotel, meeting rooms, and an opera stage). The poorer guilds constructed a hall or chapel within a larger temple.

These three kinds of ascriptive communities are quite different from congregations characterized by free adhesion. In the former, one, or rather one's household, had to join a particular clan, trade guild, and territorial community whether one liked it or not; on the other hand, in the latter, joining a devotional group was an extra, an individual option. Those who chose to join one of these groups received social approval; their participation was seen as a mark of piety and moral dedication. On the other hand, the imperial state did not approve of such congregations. The religious policy of the late imperial state drew a line between ascriptive communities, which respected the natural patriarchal structures of local society and recognized them as orthodox, and devotional congregations, which were outlawed. In practice, however, most congregations were left to themselves and operated openly, since it proved impossible for the authorities to clearly separate the two kinds of groups.

The congregations were extremely varied. Many originated in medieval Buddhist and Daoist pious societies (*yi* or *she*). The societies financed, within or without monasteries, activities such as rituals, the making of scriptures or icons, or and mutual aid between members. They were often under clerical leadership. In the early twenty-first century, such societies continue to exist; after the tenth century, however, they became less numerous than other congregations—often called *xianghui*, or incense communities—that worshiped local saints and were housed in temples. These devotional groups may organize rituals to celebrate the birthday of their saint or contribute to the upkeep of a temple by making specific offerings or by maintaining and cleaning chapels; the best-endowed congregations built their own temples. Pilgrimage associations also developed on a major scale, as pilgrimages to holy mountains (such as Taishan, Wudang shan, Xishan, and Miaofeng shan near Beijing) drew hundreds of thousands of pilgrims a year during the period between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Amateur troupes also perform during temple festivals, processions, or pilgrimages. Many congregations run charitable programs (offering tea or food to pilgrims or beggars, and providing medicine, clothes, or coffins to the needy). Devotional groups focused on charitable acts developed and institutionalized themselves between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries; they eventually became large philanthropic foundations, *shantang*, but never lost their devotional dimension.

Finally, many congregations were oriented towards individual salvation and spiritual practice. This category includes groups that were led by clergy and geared towards lectures and meditation practice. In addition, increasingly after the sixteenth century, the category added spirit-writing cults formed of laypersons, with one or several spirit-mediums receiving direct revelations from gods and saints and publishing these revealed communications in book form. Many such texts were morality books; consequently, these cults also engaged in charity, and their roles largely overlapped with philanthropic foundations. Another sub-category was the sectarian tradition, also geared towards revelation, study of sacred texts, and meditation, but with a distinctive theology and body of scriptures, called *baojuan*.

Sectarian groups are often called *minjian zongjiao*, literally "popular religions", in scholarly Chinese publications. This label is confusing, because the Western-language term "popular religions" encompasses much more than just the sectarian tradition. Some scholars, considering the distinctiveness of the theology and scriptures of the sectarian tradition, have considered it to be China's fourth religion. On the other hand, fieldwork observation shows that most sectarian groups are not marginalized or exclusive communities. Rather, they are devotional associations whose leaders provide—to members and outsiders alike—services such as healing, teachings on morality, death rituals, and local leadership in village affairs. These social services are very similar to those offered by other groups.

Although ascriptive communities and voluntary congregations, including sectarian groups, are clearly different, they share much in common in terms of organization, such as the nomination processes for leaders, modes of financing, rules, and ritual celebrations. Through these groups, individuals receive access to a large range of religious services, to specialists, and to salvation. All sorts of them can be found throughout the Chinese world, but their relative importance varies by region (for instance, clans are much more prevalent in South China), and even from village to village. In places where some types of organizations are rare or weak, others tend to take over their role, and there have been instances of sectarian groups acting as a village's territorial community.

TEMPLES AND SPECIALISTS. Most religious communities build a temple, but this is not absolutely necessary for the purpose of the cult. Many groups, either because they cannot afford it, or because they are illegal and cannot have highly visible meeting places, have no shrine of their own. Each religious group, however, must have an incense burner (*xianglu*) and a material support for their deity (a statue, a name tablet, or a painting that has to be consecrated, *kaiguang*, a ritual normally done by a Daoist or a Buddhist cleric). Families also have a domestic altar in the house's main room, which contains statues or tablets of ancestors as well as some protective deities. Most faith communities build their own temple, or a chapel or hall within an existing temple. Many such temples were constructed (probably over one million as of 1900), most of which had many different cults beside the main deity that gave the temple its name; separate chapels and icons were erected by sub-groups or individuals within the community. All Chinese temples conformed to a single general model in terms of architecture, layout, and symbolic vocabulary. A temple belongs either to the clerical, or more often, the lay community that built it, so most temples can not be deemed Daoist, Buddhist, or Confucian—or even "syncretic"—rather, they are the meeting place for communities constituted in their alliance with their saints. Only temples built by clerical communities—that is, Buddhist and Daoist monasteries, and Confucian academies—can be said to belong to a definite religion. Temple community leaders are chosen, usually every year, by a combination of bids (leaders are usually wealthy locals who pay dearly for the symbolic capital of religious leadership), rotation, and election by the god (divination, drawing by lots); they preside over the rituals and manage temple assets and regulations.

Temples can hire religious specialists, and many of the larger temples who can afford it do so. Among specialists, Buddhists or Daoists are hired as temple managers (*zhuchi*) on a contractual basis: they are financially supported (by temple land endowments and community taxes) and can adopt and train the disciples of their choice; they have to manage the temple's day-to-day liturgical life, under the supervision of temple community leaders. They might lose their positions if they appropriate temple property or gravely misbehave. Occasionally, Buddhist managers are replaced with Daoist ones and vice versa, so the confessional affiliation of the resident cleric and that of the temple are two clearly separate questions. Male or female clerics can be temple managers; in the early twenty-first century, estimates of the proportion of women in these roles range between 25 and 30 percent. Buddhists and Daoists not living in the temple can be contracted to perform scheduled rituals; they are also available to families and individuals for death rituals and other services (such as exorcisms or consecrations). Parish systems are rare, and families are free to hire the cleric of their choice if they can afford it. Confucian clerics (*lisheng*, males only) almost never work as temple managers, but they may be invited to preside over sacrifices or family rites (notably funerals).

Other non-clerical specialists also work full-time or by invitation in temples and for families. Diviners help laypersons to interpret oracles, notably those communications obtained through divination sticks (*lingqian*, sets of oracular poems; some sets are devoted specifically to medical queries, *yaoqian*). Some Buddhists and Daoists double as diviners, but this service is often provided by professional diviners, *yinyang xiansheng*, sometimes doubling as geomancers. Spirit-mediums, trained and ordained by Daoists, are important temple specialists, acting either during festivals or on a regular schedule (for example, holding sessions once a week). Laypersons can come and ask questions (such as advice on upcoming decisions or requests for cures) to the god through the medium; the latter answers either verbally (with an interpreter at hand) or writes a talisman (sometimes with his or her own blood) that can protect or heal. In the village world, many spirit-mediums and healers work at home, independently from temples: they maintain an altar with their own favorite deities, and can heal petitioners' illnesses through a combination of divination, propitiations, and exorcism. Both men and women can become spirit-mediums or healers; they need only to be called by the gods (a vocation which is often resisted), and to develop charisma; in modern times, women healers seem to have become more numerous. Spirit-mediums and healers' own deities are extremely varied, but fox spirits are very common throughout Northern China, and groups of five exorcistic deities (Wutong, Wuchang) predominate in southern China.

Yet another category of specialist is the spiritual master who teaches self-development techniques, from *yangsheng*, cultivation of health to achieve long life (through breathing techniques, dietetics, gymnastics, and sexual techniques) to more elaborate and demanding body-and-mind practices designed to produce supra-normal powers and eventually salvation (as an immortal). Among these masters, Daoists and Buddhists compete with sectarian leaders, martial artists, and doctors of Chinese medicine.

Popular religion, State and Society. Popular religion and the state have a long history of complicated relationships. Until the twentieth century, anti-superstition campaigns, Chinese religion, and local cults in particular had never been completely banned: territorial, clan, and corporation cults were mostly recognized as orthodox, and their liturgy, notably sacrifices, was Confucian, that is, the same as that practiced by the state cults. On the other hand, the imperial state has always tried to curtail the number and the size of temple cults, for a host of theological, economic, and socio-political reasons. Most often, the state has limited the number of cults in which commoners were allowed to participate, even though such laws seem to have been consistently ignored throughout history. The state has recognized certain local cults by integrating them into its own register of sacrifices(*sidian*); all other cults were deemed *yinsi*, a complex notion meaning "profligate," "immoral," or "wanton," that is, causing financial and emotional excesses and eventually bearing no graces but only harm. Such immoral cults were forbidden but nonetheless remained extremely common; usually, state toleration and accommodation alternated with occasional repression, and stories of officials destroying "immoral" temples are common from the Han dynasty to the modern period. Officials also attempted to distinguish orthodox local territorial gods from forbidden devotional congregations, notably those involving women. Late imperial law forbade women to visit temples (Confucian orthodoxy aspired to confining them at home), which they nonetheless did in great numbers; large-scale women-only pilgrimage associations also were formed. Nighttime celebrations and participation of mediums were also targeted by officials, with equally little success.

Attempts at curtailing the celebrations of local temple cults were linked to a growing Confucian fundamentalism during the Ming and Qing periods. At the same time, sectarian movements were banned outright because of rebellions. For this reason, some scholars have looked at Chinese popular religion as a field of resistance to state power. For the most part, local cults do not develop an ideology of opposition and resistance; the vast majority of communities align themselves with law and order, but because religious groups were the only natural and tolerated form of social organization in imperial China, and as the individual temple communities incarnated local identity and autonomy, it is only natural that resistance movements came to be religiously organized. The twentieth-century anti-superstition destructions had much more effect on popular religion than did imperial policies, and also caused more resistance among the people.

Theology. As Chinese religion does not have a common canon and spiritual authorities, there is no unified formal theology. All cults and specialists, however, share a common cosmology. This cosmology, formed during late antiquity and the Han period, dictates that the material and spiritual realms are not separate. The universe is a whole organic system, constantly evolving according to known rules, described through operative symbols (including *yin* and *yang*, five phases, and trigrams). All beings are in constant interaction (*ganying*), even at long distances. Due to their different inherent qualities and histories, beings are more or less pure and endowed with spiritual power, *ling*, meaning efficacy and charisma. All beings—humans, animals and even plants—can purify themselves (through morality and self-cultivation) before and after death, and thereby ascend the ladders of the spiritual hierarchy and increase their *ling*. Miracles and the answering of prayers are manifestations of *ling*. Beside these basic principles, the formulation of cosmological and theological thinking is entrusted to clerical specialists (Buddhists, Daoists, Confucians, and sometimes sectarian leaders): that is why these specialists are invited by cult communities to write texts (such as stele inscriptions, scriptures, hagiographies, and liturgical hymns) to justify their cults and practices and place them in a larger orthodox framework. These sources, in particular the stele inscriptions which are the records of temple communities, mix the external discourse of literate clerical specialists and the internal discourse of the community.

Communities and individuals by and large share similar values, especially since the Song period, which included the advent of a common ethics (integrating elements of Confucian, Daoist and Buddhist origins) that was expressed in morality books. All practitioners agree that actions carry retribution (conceived either as automatic *karma* accounting, or, more often, as a post-mortem judicial process administered in courts of hell), and this concept determines the fate of each human (and animal) being after death. The theological exegesis provided by specialists is supplemented by an abundance of "popular theology," mostly in accord with clerical formulations, that expresses itself in genres such as the novel or the opera. Vernacular novels such as *Fengshen yanyi*, *Xiyou ji*, or *Shuihu zhuan*, have played a major role in transmitting lore on gods and ritual; moreover, their authors have even been accused by some officials of encouraging heterodoxy and inspiring rebellions.

Who are the deities? Anthropologists have found that most Chinese divide the realm of other-worldly beings into three categories—gods, ghosts and ancestors—and indeed, similar distinctions already existed before the Han period. These are not strictly separate categories, however, as the ancestors of one group are the ghosts of another, and as both ghosts and ancestors can become gods. Ancestors are those who, having gone through a good death, and being subsequently fed by their patrilineal descendants, stay with them at a carefully maintained distance. Ghosts and demons are those who have suffered a bad death (early death, suicide, dismemberment, and other unnatural circumstances—the demonology is very rich) and who could not be ritually installed as ancestors. They roam around, seeking vengeance, and they can cause illnesses and accidents. Ghosts and demons have to be kept at bay, which includes being bribed by sacrifices (notably during their seventh-month propitiation ceremony) and disempowered by exorcisms. Gods (*shen*) are also dead human beings endowed with exceptional *ling* (due to morality and fortitude). Although many gods are, like ghosts, victims of bad death, unlike ancestors, they are thought to work mostly for the good of humans, especially those orthodox gods (*zhengshen*) who have a privileged position in the spiritual bureaucracy. Nearly all gods, ghosts, and ancestors are dead humans, with a history, birthdays and death days to be celebrated, and traces left on earth (places where they committed such and such acts of prowess; however, there is little cult worship of relics outside of the Buddhist context). For this reason, local gods, notably those who were canonized by the state or by the Daoists, can also be referred to as saints. In addition, there are a few nature gods and pure Daoist stellar deities that are not dead humans.

All cults are reciprocal, contractual relations between a human community and a deity. The community nourishes (through sacrifices) and houses (in temples) the deity in exchange for the god's support. If support and miracles fail to happen, the cult dies out, and new cults arise. Since each community contracts its own relationship with its deity and freely elaborates its hagiography and iconography, there is no cohesive pantheon structuring all of the deities. There are many concurrent pantheons: the liturgical pantheons of the Daoists, Buddhists, and Confucians, which are more or less unified throughout China, as well as those of the innumerable communities; there are also regional pantheons integrating local gods in the framework of common rituals, myths, and temple cult alliances within one area. Although they only overlap partially, these various pantheons do not really contradict one another. Many gods are known nationwide, whereas most local saints are unheard of outside of their home county. Nationwide gods usually have been canonized by both the state and Daoism, and most of them rose to regional and national status during the pivotal Song-Yuan period. The most common ones include emperor Guan (Guandi, full name Guan Yu, a martial and upright hero, known as the god of war), Zhenwu (a Daoist saint, also a martial deity), Mazu (a fisherwoman patron saint of boatmen), Eastern Peak (Mount Taishan, head of the netherworld courts), Lü Dongbin (an alchemist saint, healer, and instructor through spirit-writing), Wenchang (a Daoist patron saint of scholars and spirit-writing morality books). Some gods are specialized in certain services (such as healing or granting rain) but most local saints will answer any prayer. It is, moreover, difficult to associate a god with definite values or beliefs, as a god can mean very different things in different communities.

One fundamental structure of Chinese pantheons is the bureaucratic metaphor, that is, the idea that gods fill positions in a bureaucracy, are promoted or demoted, and have to answer to higher authorities. The head of this pantheon is Yuhuang, the Jade emperor god, commonly called Heaven. Yet, whereas many authors have taken this bureaucratic metaphor as a way to project human society and the imperial political system onto the other world (a thesis followed by scholars who think that religion merely reflects sociopolitical realities without any autonomous agency), there are many differences between the human world, even in idealized form, and the way the Chinese say the other world works. First, many deities, notably territorial gods (Chenghuang and *tudi gong*), are mostly officials within a hierarchical system (the Chinese often say "our gods are our officials"), but many others work from outside the spiritual bureaucracy, either as benevolent mediators (Guanyin and the Daoist immortals) or as outsiders, helping their devotees in an exclusive relationship that is not validated by inclusion in larger symbolical schemes. The bureaucratic metaphor accommodates both integration with larger, pan-Chinese political and symbolical systems and of the need for autonomy and self-defense from the intrusions of such systems. At the same time, there is a gendered aspect of such oppositions: male deities tend to be territorial and bureaucratic, and ascriptive communities are often managed by male worthies; while female deities tend to operate from outside hierarchical pantheons, and voluntary congregations are the main venues for the activities of women. Both men and women, however, share the same goal: salvation through becoming ancestors or gods.

LITURGY. The Chinese religion's economy of salvation offers several channels for both individual and communal interaction with deities, thereby fulfilling worldly needs and providing ultimate salvation. Temples are not open at all times to individuals. People tend to visit on certain occasions: the temple festival, New Year's Day, and on the first and fifteenth day of each month in the lunar calendar—the official suppression of which during the late 1920s was meant to eradicate superstitions. People usually visit temples when they have a prayer to address to deities, as there is no compulsory attendance in Chinese religion (however, all must pay taxes to the local territorial temple and clan shrine). Beside burning incense, devotees bring offerings (foodstuffs, candles, flowers, and cash donations) and formulate their prayer, either orally or, if there is a clerical specialist present, in a formal written request (*shu*), prepared by the cleric and burnt (all messages and offerings to gods are sent to them through fire). Written petitions to deities existed as early as late antiquity and have been developed by Daoism; they are used particularly when the devotee feels he or she has been the victim of wrongdoing and seeks justice through the gods; ordeals may also be staged. The objects of prayers are naturally those of most common concern to Chinese people: health, prosperity, children and continuation of lineages, favorable weather and agriculture, and business success.

Prayers are normally accompanied by a vow (*yuan*). When praying, the devotee promises (*xuyuan*) to do something (give a donation, build a new temple, engage in charity, make a pilgrimage, or become a vegetarian); if the prayer is answered, she or he returns to the temple to make good on the promise (*huanyuan*). Temples, as well as home altars of spirit-mediums and other specialists are full of votive offerings (such as wooden boards, furniture, banners, and other decorative elements) carrying the name and words of thanks of those who did *huanyuan* and bear witness to the god's efficacy. People who have been cured by a religious specialist or a god often become the adopted son or daughter of the specialist or god through ritual adoption. Healing seems to have always been the most common cause for an individual converting to a community or a cult.

The communal liturgy of Chinese local cults is the temple festival, *miaohui* or *saihui*, usually held to commemorate the birthday of the main god. A festival combines several elements: clerical liturgy, sacrifice, performing arts and processions, as well as socio-economic functions (a temple fair or market is organized, and allied communities are invited). Daoists or Buddhists are often contracted to perform grand classical liturgy, which is fundamental for integrating the cult in the larger scheme of Chinese civilization, notably the Daoist *jiao* ritual that places the community and its gods into a cosmic alliance and its economy of universal salvation. For this reason, scholars have described Daoism as the liturgical framework of local cults. Local saints, except for some Buddhist and Daoist vegetarian saints, are also honored with animal sacrifices. Since the Song period, after the formation of the beef taboo (which reserved sacrifices of oxen or buffalo and consumption of beef to certain imperial and purely Confucian cults), sacrificial victims are pigs, sheep or goats, and smaller animals (such as poultry or fish). As in sacrificial traditions worldwide, the meat is first tasted by the deities, thereby sanctified, and eventually shared by the community during a banquet. Buddhists and Daoists usually take little part in this sacrifice, however, that often follows a Confucian liturgy. The ostentatious and competitive aspect of festivals is apparent; different families or congregations compete to see who can provide the largest and most spectacular offerings.

At the same time, local vernacular liturgy is performed outside the temple. Processions are an important part of temple festivals, particularly for territorial cults; these processions precisely follow the boundaries of the territory or jurisdiction of the god; they have also an exorcistic value (expelling ghosts and demons and all pestilence from the community) and spirit-mediums play a major role. Processions also include voluntary devotional associations that perform martial art, farces, stilt walking, lion dances, and other kinds of popular shows. In front of the temple, operas are performed for the gods and community members. One particularly important opera, found throughout China, is the Mulian cycle, which tells the story of the monk who visited the hells looking for her sinful mother and managed to save her, as well as all the other suffering souls. Mulian plays are staged during the seventh month at the same time as the large-scale celebrations (which are colloquially known as ghost festivals) that try to save all suffering (and potentially malefic) ghosts and demons of the community, thus serving as communal exorcism, remembrance, and expiation of bad conscience. Mulian plays are dramatic, entertaining, and highly didactic, as the travel through the hells allows the actors to dramatize their values and beliefs regarding morality and retribution.

SCHOLARSHIP AND HISTORIOGRAPHY. Because Chinese official historiography documents poorly and in a very biased way all local, non-clerical religious institutions and practices (in fact, most of them document repression and conflict), historians have long underestimated the extent, variety, and vitality of local religion. Only a few historians and folklorists (such as Sawada Mizuho), who study anecdotes and other narrative sources, have been able to address the complexity of past religious culture. The study of popular religion has been conducted mostly by anthropologists, first in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and overseas communities, and since the 1980s in mainland China. Among the pioneers were K. Schipper, S. Feuchtwang, D. Jordan, and S. Sangren, all of whom worked in Taiwan, following up on late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century observers, often missionaries (J. de Groot, C. Day, J. Shryock, W. Grootaers). Since the 1970s, historians have supplemented the theories of anthropologists with written material, notably regarding sectarian movements (S. Naquin, D. Overmyer, B. ter Haar) or local cults (P. Katz). One very influential paradigm, formulated mostly from a sociological perspective by C.K. Yang, was that Chinese popular religion was "diffuse" (transmitted by families and through shared values, rather than through institutions). With the renewal of temple cults and other large-scale organizations on the mainland since the 1980s, however, and the discovery of huge amounts of written material produced by these cults and found in the field, social scientists have had to reconsider the importance, not only of the religious beliefs and values, but also of the social structures of local religion in premodern and modern Chinese society. During the 1990s, researchers led important efforts to collect and publish written material found in the context of local cults; these studies have greatly expanded knowledge of the field, notably the Taiwanese-led projects around the journal *Minsu quyi* and related collections. Materials include scripts of rituals (performed by local Daoist lineages or other specialists) and operas, hagiographies, stele inscriptions, and records of pious associations.

At the same time, theories elaborated on the basis of early fieldwork in Taiwan and Hong Kong are beginning to be challenged or refined, thanks to observations in inland provinces; some of these provinces, although inhabited by tens of millions of people, are still poorly documented. Much research on Chinese popular religion has dealt with the question of diversity: Are popular and elite religious ideas and practices different enough to justify the notion of two different religions, or are they just varying expressions of a fundamentally unique religious tradition? This debate has been brought to more subtle levels by discussing ways in which attempts, mostly by late imperial and modern elite, to bring unity (hegemony) to religious representations and practices partially succeeded, shaping the discourse of the villagers in a Confucian framework, and partially failed, as villagers are able to maintain their cults and rituals under the appearance of Confucian orthodoxy. Another topic of Chinese religion with questions of unity or diversity is the liturgical calendar. The basic structure of the calendar is the same throughout the Chinese world, with the new year event (a family celebration of renewal and settling accounts with both humans and Heaven), rites for ancestors, propitiation of ghosts and demons during the seventh month; yet at the same time, much variety exists among regional and local yearly events.

SEE ALSO Afterlife, article on Chinese Concepts; Ancestors, article on Ancestor Worship; Divination; Domestic Observances, article on Chinese Practices; Millenarianism, article on Chinese Millenarian Movements; Soul, article on Chinese Concepts.

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VINCENT GOOSSAERT (2005)

CHINESE RELIGION: MYTHIC THEMES

"Who was there to pass down the story of the beginning of things in the remote past? What means are there to examine what it was like before heaven above and earth below had taken shape?" (Hawkes, 1959, p. 46). These cryptic queries, the very first of the "Heavenly Questions" found in the *Chuci* anthology of the early third century BCE, simultaneously suggest the significant presence and problematic nature of ancient Chinese mythology. The fact that myths—stories of the beginning of things—were an important subject in the life and literature of ancient China is indicated by the tantalizing diversity of mythic episodes and personnel so familiarly alluded to in the *Chuci* and in other early Chinese literary and artistic works. At the same time, the interrogative format and enigmatic terseness of the "Heavenly Questions" aptly dramatize the overall riddle posed by ancient Chinese mythology.

THE PROBLEM OF CHINESE MYTH. There are allusive mythological references in archaic Chinese literature but they are almost always fragmented and disguised in ways that make it very difficult to determine the character and import of specific myths. Moreover, while the rich zoomorphic iconography found on the Shang and Zhou dynasty bronze ritual vessels suggests a dualistic system of shamanistic symbolism, the highly stylized and formulaic nature of the evidence (e.g., the bipartite animal mask design known as the *taotie*) and the lack of any consistent correlation between artistic and literary evidence allow for only very tentative conclusions as to the prevailing mythological universe of meaning. Instead of coherent stories of the gods, animal ancestors, and semi-divine sage-kings of the sacred time of the beginnings, there are only bits and pieces of various myths that pointedly raise the difficult methodological question of knowing what means there are to examine such an apparently unmythical deposit of myth.

This situation is compounded by the fact that, while China is not wholly unusual in possessing only fragmented and composite mythological materials from the ancient period, early sinological scholarship tended to portray China as uniquely deficient in mythology. Indeed, assumptions concerning the special poverty of Chinese mythology, especially in relation to creation myths, were generally used to support scholarly judgments concerning the essentially philosophical, humanistic, or historical nature of the ancient tradition. Such opinions about the largely nonmythological and nonreligious character of early China have a long pedigree in the history of scholarship that was reinforced by both orthodox Chinese scholiasts and enlightened Western academicians who equated ancient Chinese culture with the great tradition of the Confucian classics and agreed on the irrational and degenerate role of religion and myth in human culture.

This discussion will be limited to mythic materials and themes specifically related to the ancient origins, early cultural development, and ultimate political coalescence of Chinese tradition—that is, the formative historical period that extends from the Xia (tentatively identified with the preliterate Erlitou culture) and Shang dynasties of the late third and second millennia, down through the feudal conditions and intellectual ferment in the Zhou period (tenth through third centuries), and to the rise of the early Qin and Han imperial traditions during the last few centuries before the common era. In contrast to notions of a monolithic classical tradition going back to the prehistoric beginnings of sinitic civilization and as indicated by the southern provenance of the *Chuci,* cultural development during the foundational period is best viewed as a dynamic amalgamative process that gradually incorporated various local and barbarian cultures.

BROKEN STORIES AND THEMATIC FUNCTION. It may be possible to find a culture or religion without myths, or with very weakly developed mythological traditions, and it is true that ancient China did have a special preoccupation with ritual behavior. Be this as it may, the pioneering work of Henri Maspero, Marcel Granet, Gu Jiegang, Carl Hentze, and Edouard Erkes in the 1920s and 1930s—along with the corroborating efforts of Bernhard Karlgren and Wolfram Eberhard in the 1940s—showed that the supposed absence or special poverty of Chinese mythic fabulation was a view that could not be sustained. As is seen in the clash between Karlgren's historicist perspective and the various comparative methods of some of the other scholars, there was no final agreement as to what could actually be known of the ancient myths, but it is demonstrably certain that mythological traditions played an important role in early Chinese culture.

The increased interdisciplinary study and appreciation of the early Chinese religion and mythology in contemporary scholarship (especially noteworthy is the work of Kwang-chih Chang, Sarah Allan, Rémi Mathieu, Jean Levi, Michael Loewe, and John Major) confirm the conclusions from the first part of this century. This work, together with the unavoidable judgment that recent archaeological discoveries (including epigraphical, textual, and extraliterary evidence) clearly document the centrality of cosmological and religious ideas in ancient China, collectively underscore the vital significance of mythic themes not only for nonorthodox materials like the *Chuci, Shanhai jing,* or *Zhuangzi,* but also for the classically standardized works espoused by Confucian and imperial tradition. In addition to this, and despite the caution that must be employed when analyzing ancient Chinese documents, there is a growing consensus that Karlgren's strictures against using the systematized Han dynasty materials for reconstructing ancient mythology, and his idea that much of Han mythology was an *ad hoc* product of that period, need to be amended. Thus, it is unreasonable to suppose that mythological materials found primarily in Han sources were a fabrication disconnected from earlier traditions. Furthermore, the very fact of a cosmological system of thought in the Han dynasty often indicates something important about the nature and function of earlier myths.

Ancient Chinese culture is not an example of an ancient religious or ritual tradition without mythology. The question one must ask is how and why the myths—or the particular recurrent and overlapping constellations of mythic themes, figures, and images from various local cultures—were preserved, combined, and transformed in certain patterned ways within different textual traditions. Given the compelling assumption that there were active oral traditions of myth-telling in both aristocratic and folk circles, it is probably the case that myths in a coherent storied form were present in ancient China. But the more addressable and interesting question is why the broken shards of mythic narratives were so often used in particular thematic ways in different written documents. The very fact that myths were written down in a fractured and composite way most likely indicates that individual mythic traditions were losing some of their original sacred, cultic, or religiously functional character. It still must be asked, however, whether or not the thematic glosses on myth, or the skeletal remains of mythic narratives, found in written sources may still function mythically—even when they appear in the profanized guise of history or philosophy.

In this sense, also, it may be questioned whether the oft-repeated claim that Chinese texts represent a curious instance of the reverse euhemerization of earlier mythic stories has any real significance. If reverse euhemerization refers to the false historicization of myth, making myths appear real, rather than the making of myths from actual historical events as the standard definition of euhemerization would have it, then it nevertheless seems that the intellectual and imaginative process involved was still primarily mythical in nature. In both cases history was fit to the demands of mythic form. Both types of euhemerization are made up yet are to some degree historically factual.

Ancient Chinese literature is basically nonnarrative in any extended sense and is not informed by myth in the overarching, dramatic, and epic way of some other ancient literatures. From a structural point of view, however, mythological thought may be seen primarily as an intellectual and imaginative strategy of bricolage that constantly juggles, rearranges, and transforms assorted mythological signs—bits and pieces—according to a deeper code of relational contrast and dynamic synthesis. The cultural function and communicative power of myth is to be found at the structural level that perdures beneath the shifting surface dimension of particular mythic images or narrative plot development. What is preserved, and what continues to function mythically in early Chinese literature, therefore, are the thematic structures of different myths that most generally stress formulas of order and disorder, qualities, relations, and states of being as opposed to an interconnected narrative flow of motivations, action, and consequences. It is this basic emphasis on mythic structure over mythic narrative in Chinese literature that may be related, as Andrew Plaks suggests, to the distinctive Chinese concern with ritual issues of correlative spatial relationship.

Thus understood, the bits and pieces of myth found in ancient Chinese texts betray a kind of slated thematic pattern, or repetitive static structure, that functions as an exemplary frame for determining the significance of the past for the present and future. In this way, the constantly changing reality of nature and social life only demonstrated to the ancient Chinese that history, like the Dao as the first principle of mythic transformation, always stays relatively and structurally the same. Aside from the different manipulations of selected mythical themes seen in particular textual traditions, the underlying abstract logic of mythical thought—stressing binary structural opposition, tertiary synthesis, and numerically coded relational permutation—dwells at the heart of the *yinyang wuxing* cosmological system that became universal in the Han dynasty.

These considerations concerning the thematic presence and structural function of myth in China are helpful in providing some means of answering the *Chuci*'s "Heavenly Questions," but they do not obviate the fact that formidable problems of content and method still complicate the study of ancient Chinese mythology. Suffice it to say that the basic thematic contours of archaic mythology may be known with reasonable confidence for periods as early as the Western and Eastern Zhou dynasties and that it is possible, and desirable, to work with this material inasmuch as it reflects on, and informs, the overall history of archaic Chinese religion; the differing visions of life seen among the various philosophical movements emerging during the Eastern Zhou period; the development of a shared tradition of correlative thought; and, most generally, the organismic Chinese worldview.

THEMATIC REPERTORY: BEGINNINGS AND RETURN. Working with the remnants of myths, or more accurately, with composite mythic units found variously in the earliest texts, makes it possible to reconstruct what may be called a typological sacred history of the beginning of things in the remote past. It must be stressed that this typology is only a partial digest of some of the more representative and recurrent mythic themes and that the sequential movement from cosmic to civilizational origins is an artificial construct of a generalized structural logic or mythic grammar inherent in much of early Chinese thought.

By the time of the Han dynasty all of the basic typological themes were shared as a common inheritance of mythic lore, but it is never the case that the different units were fully articulated in the manner presented here—although the eclectically Daoist compendium known as the *Huainanzi* (c. 100 BCE) comes close to being a comprehensive synthetic handbook of Chinese mythic history. It is also important to note that the use or exclusion of particular mythic units is a salient factor for distinguishing different textual and ideological traditions. Myth to some extent always refers to the issue of beginnings or world foundation. Where the archetypal beginnings are located in the remote past with respect to a particular conception of world and order will, therefore, have a significant relation to the different understandings of human nature and social life seen in various ideological movements emerging in the Eastern Zhou period.

The typology developed here also does not suggest any actual historical priority in the sequential arrangement of thematic units since, for example, it seems from the documentary evidence that full-fledged cosmogonic themes only coincided with the rise of philosophical speculation during the Eastern Zhou period, whereas various clan origin myths and cosmic disaster themes can be reliably traced to the much earlier Western Zhou dynasty, or perhaps even to the Shang period. In fact, in relation to the datable appearance of individual mythic units and images in extant literary and extra-literary sources, and as a counterpoint to the typological sequence, there was an apparent movement from the earliest myths of clan origin, animal ancestors, and the closeness of heaven and earth to the later myths of the Eastern Zhou period, where an antagonistic relationship among humans, animals, and the gods was often emphasized. It was in this later period (roughly after the eighth century BCE) that a diminished faith in an active sky or high god (Shangdi, Tian) and the appearance of nontheistic cosmogonic themes, hybrid human-animal mythological imagery, myths of the combat of cultural saviors with chaotic forces, and the accounts of sage-kings and model emperors as civilizational transformers came to the fore. There is an evident relation here with changes in the aristocratic religious tradition, social-political life, and kinship practices that may be linked with the emergence of philosophical and humanistic thought. It is, however, not so much a matter of philosophical or rational thought replacing mythic irrationality as a question of differing conceptualizations, still modeled on mythic structures and themes, as to what constitutes the fundamental principles of existential order.

With these various qualifications in mind, it is feasible to consider the overall typological repertory of mythic themes arranged under the four general headings of (1) cosmic and human beginnings, (2) cosmic disasters, beginning again, and cultural saviors, (3) civilizational beginnings, sage-kings, and model emperors, and (4) returning to the beginning as the cultivated renewal of individual and social life. This scheme of four phases of beginning has interrelated diachronic and synchronic implications. Diachronically, there is a progressive movement from the cosmic, natural, early cultural, and later civilizational orders or worlds, but structurally each stage represents a new beginning that recapitulates an earlier cosmic situation. The sacred history of the various human worlds as a series of new beginnings presupposes a constant return to some first condition of cosmic unity as the precondition for a new creation or renewal of life. In this way there is a kind of cosmogonic intentionality and cosmological methodology that, while not always stated, implicitly informs the ancient Chinese understanding of existence. While the literary use of myths may be broken from specific earlier cultic traditions, there is very much of a religiously salvational vision here that is designed to establish and maintain contact between humans and the cosmos. The idea of the sacred, as Mircea Eliade says, "does not necessarily imply belief in God or gods and spirits" (*Ordeal by Labyrinth,* Chicago, 1982, p. 154); rather, it is primarily the experience of existing in a world made meaningful and real by its connections with a greater cosmic order.

Cosmic and human beginnings. There are several clusters of mythic images and themes that are concerned with the question of existential origins and a kind of fall from the formative first order of things. From the standpoint of the mythic logic suggested by most of these materials, the primary structural category refers to the primordial, or very first, issue of world creation.

Cosmogonic origins. Contrary to claims that ancient China was devoid of any kind of authentic creation mythology, there was certainly a genre of explicit cosmogonic speculation during the Eastern Zhou period that was thematically rooted in the mythic image of a primal chaotic monad or raviolo known as *hundun* (variously imagined as a cosmic egg, gourd, rock, sac, dumpling, etc.; also personified as a strangely faceless and Humpty-Dumpty-like emperor of the center in the *Zhuangzi* or as a divine bird in the *Shanhai jing*). *Hundun* was that primordial condition or ancestral figure that gave rise to the multiplicity of the phenomenal world through a spontaneous process of separation (i.e., the splitting of the chaotic one into the dual cosmic structure of heaven and earth) or transformation (i.e., the metamorphosis of the one body of the primal animal ancestor into the multiple parts of the cosmos). The *hundun* theme also seems to have incorporated other mythic variants that told of the creative activites of world parents or some consanguineous male and female pair of deities (e.g., Fu Xi and Nügua) who generate the world through their incestuous sexual union. These themes, moreover, clearly represent the archaic prototype for the later (c. third to sixth century) depictions of Pangu as the primal man or chaos giant who was born from the embryonic *hundun.*

The theme of the primal unity and precivilizational innocence of the chaotic *hundun* is most prominent in the ancient Daoist texts as a metaphor for the chaotic order, untrammeled freedom, and wholeness of human nature and primitive society, which can be reattained by means of a kind of internalized mystical reversal of the cosmogony. In the guise of Pangu, the *hundun* theme is associated with the incarnate cosmic body of Laojun, the revealed savior in later sectarian Daoism. In the classics and other Confucian-inspired texts of the ancient period, on the other hand, the image of *hundun* is never presented in a cosmogonic context and is only rarely mentioned as a personified barbarian rebel (Hundun) who dangerously challenged the proper ritual order of civilizational life. The underlying structure and logic of the *hundun* creation scenario also may be related to the shared cosmological system of *yinyang* dualism and to the idea of a third term or mediating principle (i.e., the cosmological ether known as *qi* or the principle of man/shaman/emperor/priest) between the two things of heaven and earth. Most generally, the *hundun* theme of a self-generated creational process without a creator is most explicit in the early

Daoist texts, but may be said to inform the cosmological metaphysics associated with the ubiquitous ultimate principle of the Dao.

Lay of the land. Themes associated with the creative fashioning, cosmetic arranging, or cartographic determining of the cosmos are found more often than actual cosmogonic accounts; they most often imply that a world inhabited by humankind already existed. Despite this overt fixation on a preexisting human world, it seems that a prior world populated by gods and animal spirits is often intended. Whatever the case may be, the major thematic emphasis is placed on the sacred patterns of space and time that are common to gods or humankind and, in this sense, many different mythic units may be grouped together as cosmographical accounts of the first order of material existence.

Throughout most of the earliest texts, and as displayed by iconographical symbolism, there are a number of basic recurrent images that collectively describe the original divine form of things—for example, the image of the heavens as round and the earth as square and the tripartite division of a lower, middle, and upper realm together with the idea of an axis or pillar(s) that connects what is above and below. Various other themes link patterns of space and time so that the solar cycle is said to involve the sequential daily passage of one of ten suns from a sacred mulberry tree in the east to another tree in the extreme west. In general, themes of the sun and moon, as well as those of other celestial bodies, were important in classical sources as indications of the regular cycles of cosmic life as related to the ritual calendar and social order.

Although specific ancient myths of an earth deity are hard to identify (Yu and Huangdi betray some traces of this kind of figure), the cosmic structure of the natural landscape of the earth is suggested by the prominence given to sacred mountains such as Tai or Kunlun (and certain gourd-shaped islands in the eastern sea) that may be taken as the Chinese equivalent to the universal idea of an *axis mundi* connecting the heaven and earth. This emphasis on what is above and below the human landscape and on the sacred lay of the land, especially on those distant and hidden places on the earth that give access to the heavens or otherworld of the ancestors, is also thematically connected with the common motif of a shamanic and initiatory journey between the heaven and earth, or to the mountains, paradise islands, and chaos regions beyond the conventional order of the middle kingdom. Traveling in space in this way symbolically represents a journey back in time to the pristine conditions of the freshly created cosmos.

Human origins. Aside from a few minor references to Nügua, who was said to have created humankind by dragging a string in some mud, most of the accounts that deal with human origins recall clan origin myths that tell of the divine creation of the founding ancestor or first man of the ruling families of the early dynasties. Most of this material has been reworked and retrospectively systematized, but a general pattern that has some affinity with a kind of virgin birth motif related to the cosmogonic image of a primal egg, rock, or gourd can be detected (e.g., the fragmented origin accounts of the Si clan of the Xia dynasty and the Zi clan of the Shang dynasty). The most elaborate mythic remnants, as recounted in the *Shi jing,* tell of the descent of the Zhou dynasty from the "abandoned one" known as Hou Ji (Lord Millet) whose mother gave birth after she had stepped into the footprint left on earth by the heavenly supreme god (Tian, Shangdi?). Fragments of this nature thematically hint at very ancient totemic beliefs. As an assertion of the divine origins and chosen status of a particular ancestral grouping of humankind they were used to support the exclusivist political claims of aristocratic privilege. In this way they represent the contextual mythic prototype for the classical theory of the *tianming* ("mandate of Heaven") that from the Zhou period on was used by the *tianzi* ("son of Heaven") to sanction the legitimacy of dynastic authority.

Rupture and fall. In Chinese tradition there is no theme of the sinful fall of humankind or the intrinsic corruption of human nature comparable to what is seen in Western monotheistic traditions, but it is recognized that humans somehow do not enjoy the kind of regular harmony and spontaneous virtue that existed in some distantly past period. There is, therefore, a typical Chinese idea of a series of falls, some of which were not as inevitable, necessary, and permanent as others. Within a cosmic context there was the necessary separation of Heaven and earth that created the space that made both natural and human life possible. However, in the course of mythic time there was also a second separation, or rupture, of the ongoing communication between the divine world of the gods and ancestors and the earthly world of humankind. The best known example of this is seen in the two ancient accounts of Zhongli (or Zhong and Li as separate figures), who cut the cord binding Heaven and earth after Shangdi's displeasure over the disruption on earth caused by troublesome barbarian peoples. The issue here seems to be a clash between two rival ritual systems associated with different clan traditions, but the underlying implication is that a separation and distinction between two different orders, divine and human or civilized and barbarian, is inevitable and necessary. Aside from the passing reference to some divine unhappiness over the licentious practice of one rebellious group of humankind, the important point is that the incident was not interpreted as an act of wrathful divine retribution.

Another expression of the idea of a ruptured linkage between heaven and earth concerns the breaking of one of the cosmic pillars (Mount Buzhou to the northwest) by the chaos monster known as Gonggong (also associated with the deluge theme, and like Hundun often identified with rebels and barbarians that threaten the virtuous order of dynastic civilization). This rupture caused the tilt of the ecliptic (i.e., the orbital plane of the moving heavenly bodies—suggesting some affinity with pan-Eurasian astronomical origin myths) and required that rivers flow to the southeast. In one extant account Nügua is presented as a female fashioning deity who repairs the earth (after the disruption caused by Gonggong?) by smelting together multicolored stones and creating new heavenly props from a turtle's legs. Again, there is an acceptance of the necessarily flawed nature of things but no real suggestion that Gonggong's blundering actions were sinful in a way that utterly precludes any human access to the divine. It is always implied that in time there are ways to repair the breach, at least temporarily.

Philosophical expressions of this theme tend to describe humankind's alienation from the Dao as an almost inevitable process of losing an original innocence or faceless spontaneity (as in the face-giving operation on emperor Hundun in the *Zhuangzi* that is equated with death); as a matter of giving up primitive social life for the artificial ways of civilization (as in the *Laozi*); or, in contrast to the Daoist position, as a forgetting of the proper rituals and virtue of civilized human intercourse (as in Confucian literature). For both Daoists and Confucians there are different salvational methods (ways of mystical, ritual, and moral wisdom that emulate the cosmic knowledge of the mythic ancestors) for returning to the conditions that originally linked humans to the Dao.

Cosmic disasters, beginning again, and cultural saviors. Worldwide mythologies concerning some great natural disaster or combat between the forces of chaos and order often allude to a kind of permanent structural tension between the divinely created world of nature that cyclically requires regenerative periods of chaotic regression and the world of human culture that is threatened by the fickleness and chaotic ambiguity of nature and the gods. Combat mythology in this sense refers to the theme of the establishment of a human cultural order after the creation of some previous natural and divine world. The secondary creation, or recreation, of the cultural order, moreover, often implies a challenge to, or usurpation of, the cosmic powers of the chthonic gods and ancestors. The agent responsible for fixing the permanent cultural order is, however, frequently depicted as an ambiguous figure: someone who is partially related to the gods and has beastly characteristics, yet at the same time, a semihuman savior who insures the renewal and continuation of the human order.

In ancient China there are muted indications of this kind of combat mythology seen in the fragmented tales of Yu and Yi, but they are never accentuated in the epically dramatic, or heroic, fashion seen in Indo-European traditions. As with the Zhongli fragments and the clan origin myths, Yu and Yi were most commonly associated with the systematized sage-king and model emperor lore that recounted the establishment and progressive manifestation of the aristocratic order of dynastic civilization. Regardless of these transformations, the overall thematic pattern of the Yu and Yi fragments strongly suggest a more universal scenario of creation and cultural genesis that is not necessarily identified with a particular civilizational order.

The deluge and Yu the Great. The references to Yu, his taming of a great flood and the definitive organization of the human world, are attested in the earliest written sources (i.e., in the oldest sections of the classical *Shu jing* and *Shi jing,* as well as in the *Mengzi* and numerous other Eastern Zhou and Han dynasty documents). In extant sources the deluge is set in the predynastic time of Yao and tells of the diluvian labors of the semi-beastial figures known as Gun and Yu (both names etymologically reveal traces of their totemic status as aquatic, reptilian, or avian animal ancestors). The unexplained occasion of the flood causes the sage emperor Yao (or the sky deity Shangdi) to charge his minister Gun with the task of controlling the wanton waters that were "swelling up to heaven." After laboring unsuccessfully for nine years, Gun was summarily executed and Shun replaced him with Yu, miraculously born after three years from the split open body of Gun (in some accounts the body had been transformed into a rock). Yu wisely did not try to employ his father's method of damming up the waters, but sought out the hidden channels in the earth and allowed the waters to drain away naturally. Yu then erected mountains, adjusted the flow of the rivers, made the earth suitable for agriculture, conquered various barbarian rebels, and divided up the landscape according to a ninefold plan. In recognition of these accomplishments, Shun established Yu as the founder of the Xia dynasty, traditionally the first civilized state in ancient China.

There are other random details that can be culled from various sources, but in general terms the story of Yu stresses not the actual flood, or its causes, but the necessary methods of ordering the human world in a way that maintains a harmonious relationship with the secret structure of the cosmos. It is said that Yu assumed the form of an animal, limped from his titanic labors (the so-called step or dance of Yu), received the sacred *Luoshu* (Luo River Writing) and *Hetu* (Yellow River Chart) cosmic diagrams, and cast the nine *ding* cauldrons; these are all symbolic details that suggest Yu's shamanic function and his use of an esoteric methodology. In this way, the theme of Yu's mastery of the techniques of the creative reordering of the world may be associated with the sacred duties of the king and emperor who was responsible for insuring the continuation of the human order. In later liturgical Daoism this same mythic theme, with its emphasis on the hidden methods of recreating the world, was assimilated into the figure and ritual of the Daoist priest.

The method of Yu, his way or *dao,* was taken as a model for the fundamental moral principle that human nature *(xing)* can only be effectively cultivated by following the inborn channels of humans' natural, or original, dispositions. In fact, the theme of Yu's cosmological methods and cosmogonic power constitutes a paradigmatic reference point for political, religious, and moral techniques designed to renew corporate social life and the human body. From this perspective, then, it may be said that the theme of Yu the Great is not just the classical mythos of the origins of dynastic civilization; rather, it most basically tells of the semidivine technological prowess of human culture. By reading the blueprint of the world correctly as a kind of cosmic engineer, and by going with the flow of things, a meaningful cultural and personal order can be created out of the experience of chaos.

The ten suns and the archer Yi. The extremely meager plot of the sun theme tells of the unexplained simultaneous appearance of ten suns during the reign of Yao, and of the resulting conditions of a life-destroying drought. Nine of the suns were shot out of the sky with arrows by the ambivalent salvational figure known as Yi (or Hou Yi; there is some confusion between a good and evil Yi). Further details given in the *Huainanzi* relate that Yi, besides shooting the suns, killed and tamed various wild beasts that were disrupting the world. In a manner akin to the labors of Yu, Yi therefore established the conditions that allowed for the flourishing of human civilization.

The theme of the ten suns and the archer Yi has, like the deluge theme, many worldwide parallels. In the context of the standarized dynastic tradition, the deluge and sun themes can be linked respectively with the Xia and Shang cultural orders in a way that suggests a fundamental antagonistic pairing, or cyclic contrast, between the primal forces of water, flood, earth, west, aquatic ancestors (Xia associations) and the forces of fire, sun, drought, heaven, east, and avian ancestors (Shang associations). There is a hint of the standardized *wuxing* cosmological system here (the five phases that were aspects of the dual cycle of *yinyang*), but this kind of emblematic symbolism also points at more archaic traditions of totemic classification related to different clan origin mythologies. Thus, there is some possibility that the ten suns theme represents a dim remnant of early clan mythology connected with the founding ancestors and ritual calendar of the Shang tradition. This kind of analysis is most appealing, but the broader structural implications of the ten suns and deluge theme should not be overlooked: that dynasties, like nature and human nature, follow a dualistic cyclic pattern, and that moments of the overaccentuated presence of any one duality must be combated to ensure the continuation and harmony of the total cycle.

Civilizational beginnings, sage-kings, and model emperors. The sun and flood myths were incorporated into the sequence of civilizational development classically associated with the sage-kings and model emperors of antiquity. There is an important thematic difference, however, between the more demiurgic salvational struggles of Yi and Yu and the relatively placid unfolding of the civilizational order. Even though they are artificially presented as bureaucrats under Yao and Shun, Yu and Yi may be said to represent cultural creators. The sage-kings and model emperors, on the other hand (and despite their original mythological identities), are more prosaic examples of what might be called civilizational transformers whose accomplishments depend to some degree on the prior establishment of a foundational cosmic landscape and cultural methodology.

In the evolving classical interpretation of the beginnings there is a tendency to incorporate increasingly remote periods of mythical time into a single process of civilizational development. Thus Confucius especially honors the foundational figures of the early Zhou period (the kings Wen and Wu, and the sage-minister Zhou Gong), but by the Han period the semistandard grouping included three sage-kings (the San Huang) and five model emperors (the Wu Di) who were held to be the direct predynastic precursors of the founders of the Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties. Different figures, all revealing animal traits and other mythic characteristics, were included in these cosmologically coded groupings of three and five, but one fairly typical list would designate Fu Xi, Suiren/Zhurong, and Shen Nong (the inventor of agriculture) as the San Huang; and Huangdi (the Yellow Emperor), Zhuanxu, Ku, Yao, and Shun as the Wu Di.

These figures were used to trace out a pseudo-historical pattern of cultural development and genealogical inheritance that can be said to have run from the Mesolithic (especially Fu Xi, Nügua, and Suiren, who domesticated animals, established marriage ritual, invented fire, and contributed other basic cultural technologies), to the neolithic (Shen Nong, who as the Divine Farmer invented the plow and cleared the land), down to the late Neolithic threshold of city-state civilization (the Wu Di, who are responsible for creating the ritual principles of state governance). Thus the Yellow Emperor, among his other achievements, is said to have arranged the sixty-year cycle of the calendar and to have instituted the cult of state sacrifice. It should be noted that the Yellow Emperor, as the first of the Wu Di, often assumes a paradigmatic, though ambivalent, role similar to Yu's function as a primordial cultural creator and, like Yu, the Yellow Emperor became a model for salvational techniques found in both Daoist and Confucian tradition.

The scheme of the San Huang and Wu Di is largely the result of the confucianized attempt to charter a particular vision of the cosmic regularity of the dynastic cycle and the sacral implications of aristocratic rule (the Confucian implications are especially seen in the role given to founding ministers; both Shun and Yu were said to have started their careers as virtuous bureaucrats). One of the basic structural applications of the predynastic cycle (and its dynastic extension to the rise and fall of Xia, Shang, and Zhou) is to mediate the tension surrounding the problem of political succession. The crucial issue, therefore, often concerns the conflict between a hereditary principle of rule (associated with dynastic continuity) and rule by meritorious virtue (associated with dynastic change). This structural pattern and the use of model kings and emperors as a transformative set of myths is, however, not limited to Confucian tradition. The fundamental question of the meaning of virtue *(de)* as a principle of creativity could, for example, be evaluated in different ways based on which aspects of the mythic cycle were emphasized. In this way, references to the sage-kings and model emperors are found throughout both classical and nonclassical literature of the Eastern Zhou and Han dynasties and, depending on how certain figures were treated or ignored, can be used to characterize a particular ideological position.

Returning to the beginning. The sacred history of the beginnings traced above has already indicated that in ancient China (making some exception for the Fa jia, or Legalists) the ways of cultivating human life in the present depend on the different cosmic methods of remembering and emulating the mythic models from the remote past. This refers especially to the ways or methods of returning to the Dao that are modeled on cosmogonic and cosmological notions concerning the *creatio continua* of natural and human life, and the cyclic waxing and waning of dynasties. The inner structure of all forms of existence, it seems, is mythic in nature since change is fundamentally understood as a constant series of new beginnings or sets of structural permutations, that return to the recapitulate the first processes of creation. The problem of living after the mythic age is from this perspective primarily a problem of forgetting one's mythical ancestry and continuing linkages with cosmic life. The possibility of living a creatively virtuous life, one that is in tune with the rhythm of regeneration, depends therefore on humankind's interpretive ability to detect the cosmic signs left in the world by the mythic ancestors. Living a meaningful life, it may be said, hinges on the imaginative perception of the traces of cosmic structure hidden amidst the flux of experience.

Connected with the general principle of return are various golden age or paradise themes that serve as both individual and social ideals. In the Han dynasty utopian visions of the time of the Datong (great unity) and Taiping (great peace) were common phenomena that, upon the collapse of the dynasty, became associated with a messianic and apocalyptic future. In the ancient period, however, such utopian realms were firmly located in the past and early Confucian and Daoist longings can be differentiated in terms of where the golden age is located in mythic time and how it is characterized in relation to the prevailing social order. Thus, in contrast to the Confucian nostalgia for the perfect ritual propriety of the earliest dynastic states, the early Daoists tended to stress the sacredness of an egalitarian rural society.

Another expression of the theme of return is seen in the ancient ideas of the afterlife and the destiny of the dead. By the Han dynasty, one basic aristocratic view imagined death as a kind of journey back into mythic space and time. This is most impressively and graphically illustrated by the Mawangdui funerary banners dating to the second century BCE. The iconography of this silk painting generally shows that death was understood as a kind of voyage of the dead through a mediating cosmic realm shaped like a vase (or, perhaps calabash; a possible allusion to the paradise of Kunlun Mountain or Penglai Island), accompanied by a host of mythical animal spirits and servants. The dead person's final destination was reached by entering gates that led to the celestial regions associated with the mythical imagery of the ten suns and other mythical creatures and heavenly deities. Death was seen, in other words, as a navigation of a sacred landscape that led back to the heavenly bliss of mythic time when humans, animals, and gods lived in total harmony. Finally, it may simply be noted here that the salvational possibility of "no-death" or "long life," as related to the development of immortality cults in the Han period (such as those associated with the goddess Xi Wang Mu) most often implied the use of methods that would allow for this kind of mythic journey before one's natural death.

MYTH AS THE DIVINATION OF STRUCTURE. To return to the beginning of this essay, it would appear that the *Chuci*'s "Heavenly Questions" can only be answered in the spirit that they were asked: as a puzzling out of an underlying code of meaning known only through the relative shape and fit of individual bits and pieces of myths. Although most of the pieces have been lost, it can still be said that much of the fascination and significance associated with the enigma of Chinese myth is exactly that, as more of the facts of the Chinese past are accumulated and comparatively analyzed, the more it seems that the cultural configuration of those very facts depends on the forms of life imagined mythically and enacted ritually.

At the very outset of Chinese civilization, the Shang dynasty oracle bones suggest that human life was fundamentally perceived as a riddle that could only be deciphered by a method that attended to the pattern of cracks, the divine signs of hidden structure in existence, made manifest on the skeletal remains of animals. In relation to the inscribed form of both the human question and heavenly answer, emphasis was placed on a structural methodology that allowed the technically proficient to divine the holy writ that was secretly traced in the bare bones of animals from the very beginning. In ancient China, it seems, knowing the past or future was not a matter of telling a story; rather, it involved a divination of the mythical structure of meaning. If China does not offer us a heady narrative broth to feast on, it certainly provides us with bones and marrow to gnaw.

SEE ALSO Afterlife, article on Chinese Concepts; Axis Mundi; Chaos; Confucianism; Dao and De; Historiography, overview article; Huangdi; Liu An; Myth, article on Myth and History; Shangdi; Structuralism; Taiping; Tian; Xi Wang Mu; Yao and Shun; Yinyang Wuxing; Yu.

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CHINESE RELIGION: HISTORY OF STUDY

The study of Chinese religion is connected intimately with the overall history of Western fascination with Chinese tradition. In the most obvious sense, the important historical role of Christian missionaries in China testifies to a pronounced and not always strictly apologetic interest in the subject of non-Christian forms of belief and practice. The question of the nature and significance of Chinese religion has also had a special (and at times contradictory) prominence in the rise of Western secular scholarship. Thus the early awareness of and debate over the meaning of Chinese and Asian traditions—especially concerning the comparative similitude of “other” cultural manifestations of religion—can be associated with both missionary sentiment and the intellectual revolution in Western thought during the Enlightenment.

In the case of China, these developments took a unique turn. The eighteenth-century skeptical spirit toward “superstitious” and “idolatrous” forms of religion found distinct comfort in the image (conveyed by the Jesuits) of a Confucian China politically ministered to by a special class of moral philosophers who condemned the “degeneracy” and “superstition” of Buddhism, Daoism, and popular religion. China was often seen by Voltaire and other Enlightenment thinkers as a special exception to the principle that religious irrationality and priestcraft ruled the history of all major civilizations. This imaginary vision of the classical purity of China is strongly reflected in the history of Sinology and is responsible for traditional difficulties in fully appreciating the rich history of Chinese religious experience.

Although the study of Chinese religion has been broadly intertwined with Western intellectual and cultural history since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this discussion will focus only on the history of certain key figures and movements that have specifically contributed to the scholarly study of Chinese religions. In this regard Chinese religions will be taken to mean the three literate traditions known as Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism (and their interactions); the common body of beliefs and practices that characterize Chinese communities and are sometimes referred to as popular religion; the syncretic sectarian movements of late imperial China, the ancestral cult, and various associated thematic issues, such as archaic religion, ritual, myth, and cosmological symbolism, and related topics of comparative method and interpretation. But this straightforward listing of topics must be tempered with the understanding that the history of the study of Chinese religions has always involved the definitional ambiguities associated with the categories of religion, salvation, and the sacred (for example, the significance of such terms as Dao, Tian, and Shangdi). Further difficulties concern the porous interrelationships of different literate traditions (thus the problematic nature of the common "three religions" rubric) and the diffuse functional relation between Chinese religions and social and familial life. These considerations have often resulted in overly facile assertions about the syncretic and eclectic nature of Chinese religions or about the fundamental hierarchical dichotomy between "great" traditions (that is, aristocratic, civic, literate, orthodox, and those that are usually equated with state Confucianism) and "little" rituals (folk, popular, oral, nonorthodox, and those practices associated with regional sectarian religions).

The history of the study of Chinese religions has therefore contributed to Western and East Asian intellectual history, Christian missionary tradition, and the emergence of comparative religion and Sinology as distinct academic disciplines. Given this complex historical and intellectual legacy, it will be necessary to condense and organize the following discussion under three general phases of development: (1) seventeenth- and eighteenth-century contributions by Jesuit missionaries and the French Enlightenment roots of academic Sinology, (2) European Orientalism and Protestant missionary scholarship in the nineteenth century, and (3) the emergence of the interdisciplinary study of Chinese religions as an academic area in the twentieth century.

By way of setting the stage for the coming of the Jesuit mission at the end of the sixteenth century, it is sufficient to recognize that the medieval European image of China was mythically associated with legends telling of its fantastic, monstrous, or paradisiacal nature. Such a vision of the "marvels of the East" is most characteristically observed in the semifictitious fourteenth-century work known as the *Travels of Sir John Mandeville.* At about this same time more realistic firsthand accounts of religions in Mongolian-ruled Cathay appeared in the travel reports of early Franciscan missionaries and most notably in Marco Polo's *Description of the World.* But it was not until the great Portuguese trade efforts of the sixteenth century that detailed reports about China and Japan became available in Europe. This new wealth of knowledge is especially exemplified by the widely distributed *Historia . . . del gran Reyno de la China* (1585), written and compiled by the Spanish Augustinian Juan González de Mendoza. This work's grudging concern with the hidden similitude of Chinese religion in relation to the "holy, sacred, and Christian religion" typifies a kind of interpretive strategy that was to be reflected in different ways throughout the centuries of Western intercourse with China.

SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES. In the same decade that Mendoza's work was published, Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), an Italian Jesuit priest, arrived in the China of the late Ming dynasty and, drawing upon the tradition of Jesuit missions to Asia (already established by Francis Xavier and Alessandro Valignano), inaugurated a new era in the Western understanding of Chinese civilization. Indeed Ricci may be considered not only the founding father of Sinology as the specialized, linguistically proficient study of China but also the first great interpreter of Chinese religions. The work fostered by Ricci was carried on and enriched by a long line of distinguished Jesuit scholars whose efforts span the early seventeenth century and extend to the second period of the French Jesuit mission at the end of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century. The pioneering translations of the Chinese classics and the detailed observations of Chinese life and religion produced by these indefatigable missionary-scholars gave rise to the European vogue of chinoiserie and, even more profoundly, influenced the intellectual and religious ferment of the Enlightenment, especially in France and Germany.

Ricci's studied openness to Chinese tradition was not as plainly objective as it seemed, however, because the Jesuits tended to adopt the intellectual biases as well as the dress and etiquette of China's lettered class, the Confucian scholars and bureaucrats. These men promulgated a canon of classical writings that expressly excluded Buddhist, Daoist, and other heterodox points of view. To study Chinese tradition therefore meant first and foremost to peruse the classics, modeled upon the neo-Confucian vision of the unity of Chinese civilization and on Zhu Xi's methods of commentarial exegesis. This mandarin perspective meshed with Ricci's own education in a Renaissance and Counter-Reformation tradition of Christian humanism that honored the philosophical and moral worth of classical Greek thought.

In the spirit of Mendoza's concern for similitude, Ricci examined the classics and found that ancient China shared a special sympathy with Christianity because of its apparent reverence for the one God, called Shangdi (ruler, lord on high, supreme ruler) or Tian (heaven). For Ricci, these appellations revealed the remnants of an archaic tradition of monotheistic belief and practice that had been lost, it seemed, under the baleful influence of Buddhist and Daoist idolatry. To be successful in China therefore, Christianity needed only to purify the false pantheistic accretions of latter-day Confucianism and to complete and fulfill the literati's philosophical appreciation of the natural law with the missionaries' gift of divine revelation.

Most of the Jesuit commentators tended to share Ricci's accommodationist methodology, but his sympathetic attitude toward Confucianism, the classics, and ancestral ritual was not universally accepted by all Jesuits (see, for example, Niccolo Longobardo's *Traité sur quelques points de la religion des Chinois,* 1701, which stressed the materialistic atheism of neo-Confucian thought) or by the other, ecclesiastically contentious orders of Catholic missionaries. In fact issues of missionary policy toward Chinese religions, including the "term question"—whether Shangdi (Tian) could be considered authentically theistic—gave rise to the embittered "rites controversy," which led eventually to the papal suppression of the Jesuit order in 1773. The rites controversy can also be associated in many ways with the growing European debate over the definitional or essential nature of religion as reflected, for example, in the theory of deism as a "natural religion" of reason. Thus the whole rites episode and its related intellectual environment can help explain why Sinologists have often found the Chinese to be less intrinsically religious than other traditions.

A second phase in the crystallization of a self-conscious Sinological tradition in the West is seen in the French Jesuit mission sent to China toward the end of the seventeenth century under the royal consent of Louis XIV. This effort continued into the "enlightened" climate of the eighteenth century and was favored by the newly tolerant rule of the Manchu emperor of the Kangxi period during the early Qing dynasty. Like the remarkable clerics of the first part of the seventeenth century, this new wave of missionaries included a roster of truly accomplished scholars who focused on Confucian classical tradition in the broad humanistic spirit of Ricci. These scholar-priests took special care to communicate the fruits of their Sinological labor back to Europe—for example, the impressive translations of the classics by Antoine Glaubil and the still useful compilations of miscellaneous translations and descriptive material about Chinese life and letters known as the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (1703–1776) and the *Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les mœurs, les usages, etc., des chinois* (1776–1814).

The interpretive perspective of the works found in the *Lettres* and *Mémoires* often reflected the old quest for hidden similitude so that, for example, J.-J. Amiot and J.-H. Prémare argued that chapter 14 of the *Laozi* revealed a phonetically encoded reference to Jehovah. More substantial than the occult presence of Jehovah in early Daoist texts, though very much related as an interpretive genre, was the so-called Figurist movement associated with Joachim Bouvet, J.-F. Foucquet, and Prémare. Inspired by the biblical tradition of allegorical interpretation, the Figurist movement took Ricci's approach to the Chinese classics to the extreme; it tried to show how the ancient Chinese texts disclosed not only hidden vestiges of monotheism and Trinitarian belief but also remnants of ancient Hebrew law and, prefiguring the New Testament, allusions to an incarnate future redeemer.

In Paris during this same period academics took the first steps in the direction of a secular tradition of professional Sinological scholarship. Various scholars of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, such as Nicolas Fréret (1688–1749), the Arabist Étienne Fourmont (1683–1745), and the Syriac specialist Joseph de Guignes (1721–1800), turned their attention from the Near East to the Far East. Making use of the communications coming from the Jesuits—and aided by Arcade Hoang, a native Chinese who had been sent to Paris for training as a priest—these academicians sought to catalog, edit, publish, and sometimes plagiarize the rapidly accumulating materials coming from China. Other more original efforts concerning religion include in particular de Guignes's studies on the Indian origins of Buddhism based on his study of Chinese sources. Other works by de Guignes, such as his treatise entitled *Observations sur quelques points concernant la religion et la philosophie des égyptiens et des chinois* (1780), represented only a secularized version of the Jesuit fathers' Figurist view and to some degree anticipated the nineteenth-century pan-Babylonian diffusionists.

NINETEENTH CENTURY. In the face of the West's growing confidence in its imperial destiny, racial superiority, and dynamic progress, the old infatuation with Confucian China gave way to a more negative, and at times contemptuous, conviction that Chinese culture was inherently stagnant. This belief culminated philosophically in the mid- to late nineteenth century with the German philosopher G. W. F. Hegel's idea of the retarded spiritual development of Confucianism in particular and of Chinese civilization in general as well as with Leopold von Ranke's conclusion that China represented a realm of the "eternal standstill." This more negative evaluation of China, however, was only a special instance of a broader, antipodal Orientalist mode of nineteenth-century scholarship that tended to view all Near and Far Eastern cultures as manifestations of monolithic and backward entity: the Orient, the East, or Asia.

The subject of Oriental religions was particularly important in Western scholarship because it seemed to give access to the underlying and essentially desiccated "national spirit," or *Volksgeist,* of other cultures. The study of "other" religions, whether Asian or primitive, became central to many new nineteenth-century humanistic sciences, such as folklore studies, comparative philology, sociology, and anthropology, as well as in other comparative historical pursuits, such as *Religionswissenschaft.* But the specific study of Chinese religions was not as relevant to these endeavors as was the study—influenced by pervasive currents of German romanticism—of the Indo-European traditions that seemed to share a common linguistic heritage with the West. In this way the "mystery" and "perennial philosophy" of Indian and "Aryan" religion (and the resultant stereotype of Eastern mysticism, typically identified with Buddhism and Upaniṣadic Hinduism) were often found more stimulating than what the American philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson called the arid moralism and "doleful monotony" of Confucian China.

French academic scholarship. The rapid establishment of academic Sinology in France came about as the direct inheritance of the Jesuit tradition and the embryonic eighteenth-century Parisian school of Sinological Orientalism. The fruition of these developments took place in 1814 with the installation of Abel Rémusat (1788–1832) in the first European chair of "langues et littératures chinoises et tartares-mandchoues" at the Collège de France and with the founding in 1822 of the Société Asiatique. An autodidact of the Chinese written language, Rémusat (like almost all of the French Sinologists until Chavannes) was wholly dependent on *livresque* scholarship. Within the sanctuary of his library, however, Rémusat displayed multifaceted interests and can take credit for being the first academic Sinologist to pay some serious though misguided attention to the nature and significance of *Laozi* and early Daoism. In addition Rémusat should be remembered for his translation and study of Chinese sources dealing with Buddhist history outside of China.

Rémusat and de Guignes's oblique concern for Chinese sources as they illuminated Buddhist origins became the general approach among French Sinologists and tended to prevent a full analysis of Chinese Buddhism on its own terms. Another factor that contributed to the neglect of East Asian Buddhism was the increasing emphasis later in the nineteenth century on the Pali canon. The Pali scriptures were held to be the original expression of authentic Buddhist tradition and were considered moral and philosophical, in contrast to the idolatrous degeneracy of the sūtra literature and religious practices of the Mahāyāna school. In like manner the philosophical mysticism and moral purity of the classical Daoist texts were generally preferred to what were viewed as the corrupt religious superstition and ritual excess of later Daoism. This kind of overemphasis on the earliest Daoist texts and the almost total neglect of the sectarian religious traditions of later Daoism typified the field of Daoist scholarship until the late twentieth century.

Several other prominent figures in Paris published on Chinese philosophy and religion during the first part of the nineteenth century (e.g., Léon de Rosny, the pioneer Japanologist who also wrote on Chinese religions), but Jean-Pierre Guillaume Pauthier (1801–1873) and Stanislas Julien (1797–1873) may be singled out as having been especially influential in the academic discourse of the period. Pauthier, the less-substantial scholar of the two, commands notice for his voluminous and popular works. His controversial partial "translation" of the *Laozi (Daodejing)* in 1838 led to Julien's more careful translation and commentary in 1841; his publication of *Les livres sacrés de l'orient* (1852) anticipates F. Max Müller's monumental series *Sacred Books of the East*.

Stanislas Julien, the inheritor of Rémusat's chair at the Collège de France, epitomized the best kind of philologically oriented scholarship of the day. He was moreover a tireless and combative promoter of academic Sinology throughout Europe and through the work of his students influenced several generations of European scholarship. Much of Julien's work concerned Chinese religion and philosophy. While maintaining the traditional exegetical interest in classical Confucianism, he also produced the first philogically competent translation of the *Laozi* and a detailed study of the Song dynasty *Taishang ganying pian* (The Most High's text of actions and response), a tract on popular morality. In keeping with the interests of the French tradition, Julien also published important studies on the celebrated seventh-century Buddhist pilgrim Xuanzang and on the philological principles used in the transcription of Sanskrit Buddhist terms from Chinese texts.

Anglo-American missionary scholarship. In comparison with French and continental scholarship (in addition to the French scholars, J. H. Plath, August Pfizmaier, Gustave Schlegel, and Charles-Joseph De Harlez should be noted), English tradition generally emphasized the gifted amateur over the professional pedant and tended to display a singular listlessness with respect to Sinological scholarship. By the mid–nineteenth century, however, the best and most extensive scholarly work was being done along the coast of China by a sedulous group of British and American Protestant missionaries. As a part of their evangelical faith and by taking full advantage of their direct exposure to the living Chinese tradition, the missionary scholars made the careful study of Chinese language and culture a significant and sometimes overriding aspect of their work. To bring the gospel to China—understood as the "land of Sinim" (*Is.* 49:12)—was to them most of all a divine calling that had been recorded prophetically in the Old Testament. The diligence of these missionaries cannot be questioned, but it should be noted that the Protestant evangelical theology was most often premised on a Calvinist view of the essentially depraved nature of pagan nations and religions. This view differed significantly from the accommodationist perspective and humanistic sympathy of the Jesuits.

The dominant passion of the Anglo-American missionaries, from Robert Morrison in 1807 until those at the end of the century, was to make the one and only true classic, the Bible, available in Chinese translation. To this end an incredible amount of missionary scholarship was devoted to producing a definitive interdenominational edition of the Scriptures. These labors had important repercussions because the need to find equivalent Chinese religious terms and concepts for an accurate and intelligible translation of the Scriptures led to broad investigations of Chinese religious tradition. In the most pointed sense such questions led to the heated debate known as the term question.

Like the earlier Jesuit controversy, the term question revolved around the problem of whether the classically sanctioned terms *Shangdi* and *Tian* were appropriate for expressing the true meaning of the creator God in the Bible. Despite the rancor, this controversy did have the virtue of forcing the combatants to argue etymology and semantics on the basis of Chinese sources and, in the case of the more liberal faction, to invoke fashionable nineteenth-century philological and comparative theories linking linguistic and cultural development. Thus a series of curious diffusionist works that argued for the Mesopotamian origins of Chinese civilization—a Babylonian variation on de Guignes's old Egyptian theories—appeared during the last part of the nineteenth century.

More important than these quaint examples of early Orientalist license were the general attitude and work of the liberal faction of missionary scholars, a group whose intellectual breadth was especially manifested in such popular China coast periodicals as the *Chinese Respository,* the *Chinese Recorder,* and the *China Review.* Many of the leading figures in this group (such as Walter Medhurst, S. Wells Williams, W. A. P. Martin, John Chalmers, Ernst Eitel, and Joseph Edkins) produced not only responsible scholarship about general aspects of Chinese tradition but also haphazardly objective appraisals of Chinese religions. Especially noteworthy in this regard are Eitel's studies on Buddhism and the popular geomantic art of *feng-shui* and Edkins's influential accounts of the general nature of Chinese religions, his studies on the *Yi jing,* and his various writings on Chinese Buddhism.

The greatest scholarly figure among the missionaries was the Scottish Congregationalist James Legge (1815–1897). Best known for the *Chinese Classics* (1893–1895), his massive (five volumes) and still-standard translations, with copious notes based on traditional neo-Confucian commentaries, Legge is the Protestant missionary equivalent of Ricci and the scholarly equal of Julien. Starting out as a conventionally pious missionary with a talent for languages and rigorous habits of study, Legge became embroiled in the term question in the 1850s, about the same time he decided to embark on his translation project. It was the combination of these two factors—the bitter recriminations engendered by the term debate and his growing Riccian respect for Confucius and the classics—that progressively alienated Legge from his more parochial colleagues in the mission field and caused him by the 1860s to redefine his vocation primarily in scholarly terms.

After assuming the first British chair of Chinese at Oxford University in 1876 and accepting Max Müller's commission to undertake the Chinese volumes for the *Sacred Books of the East* series (1879–1904), Legge produced translations of various Confucian classics, including a controversial rendition of the *Yi jing.* As a new and surprisingly congenial venture for him, he translated the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi,* together with several short sectarian works. Like the extensive prolegomena to his Confucian translations, Legge's long introduction to the Daoist volumes is a valuable overview of classical Daoist studies up to his time (summarizing the work of Julien, John Chalmers, F. H. Balfour, and Herbert Giles). Legge also wrote a rather desultory popular overview of Chinese religions and, in emulation of French scholarship, produced a translation and study bearing on the travels of the Buddhist Faxian. But Buddhist studies were never even a minor vocation for Legge; in this area one must turn to the influential work of Edkins and Eitel as well as to the relatively more sympathetic studies of Samuel Beal and Timothy Richard.

Jesuit and other amateur scholarship. The nineteenth century is the great age of the Protestant apostolate to China, but after the reconstitution of the Jesuit order in 1814, a renewed Jesuit mission, starting in 1842, again made substantial contributions to the study of Chinese religions. Commendable in this regard are the copious studies found in the *Variétés sinologiques* (established in 1892), which revived the old encyclopedic spirit of the *Mémoires.* Individually important for their emphasis on Chinese philosophy and religion were three outstanding Jesuit scholars: Séraphin Couvreur (1835–1919), Léon Wieger (1856–1933), and Henri Doré (1859–1931). Couvreur and Wieger produced important scholarly translations and studies concerning the classics, Daoism, and Buddhism; Henri Doré is primarily remembered for his eighteen-volume *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine* (1911–1938). This was a copious though not always representative descriptive handbook on multifarious popular "superstitions" current at the end of the Qing dynasty. The good father, it should be noted, seems to have partly cribbed his findings from the work of the Chinese Jesuit priest Pierre Hoang (Huang Bailu).

Doré's work reflects the fact that, toward the end of the nineteenth century, popular religious tradition was at last receiving some extensive if often bemused attention. Representing the earliest ethnographic and folkloric investigation of Qing regional religion, mythology, and ancestral ritual were several outstanding works by Anglo-American and European amateur scholars (Justus Doolittle, N. B. Dennys, J. Dyer Ball, and Arthur H. Smith) who lived in Chinese coastal cities. The most significant figure who can be loosely identified with this scholarly trend is the Dutchman J. J. M. de Groot (1854–1921). After a year in the field preparing for a career as a government interpreter, he published an observant analysis of the seasonal round of popular religious festivals in Amoy (*Les fêtes annuellement célébrées à Emoui: Étude concernant la religion populaire des Chinois,* 1886). De Groot is most famous, however, for his incomplete, six-volume magisterial synthesis titled *The Religious System of China* (1892–1910), which moved away from popular religion to a consideration of classical sources and the ancient substratum of all later forms of Chinese religion. This work was intemperate in tone and essentially sought to debunk what de

Groot had come to regard as the retarded pretensions of the elite tradition (see also his *Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China,* 2 vols., 1903–1904). However, de Groot's idea of the *universismus* (or the underlying archaic unity of elite and popular manifestations of Chinese religion, especially popular Daoism) represented an important yet mostly ignored methodological counterpoint to the artificial "three religions" rubric of classically inspired Sinology.

TWENTIETH CENTURY. The beginning of the twentieth century saw the passing of the old apologetic missionary movement, which, as a reaction to internal disillusionment and external Chinese antagonism, had moved away from an interest in Chinese religion and pure scholarship. Within academic circles French scholarship continued as the premier Western Sinological tradition, although important work was also done by other European, Russian, and American scholars as well as by Japanese and Chinese scholars who, in the modernizing spirit of Western critical analysis, had transformed the conservative traditions of Confucian classical exegesis.

Early twentieth-century French Sinology. Édouard Chavannes (1865–1918) was the first to demonstrate the technical by combining amazingly encyclopedic interests with both philological rigor and humanistic sensitivity. More so than ever before Chavannes made use of native Chinese textual scholarship and emphasized the importance of linguistic and anthropological field experience in Asia (facilitated by the École Française d'Extrême-Orient, founded in Hanoi at the beginning of the century). Chavannes is particularly remembered for *Mémoires historiques de Se Ma Tsien* (1895–1905), his erudite partial translation of Sima Qian's *Shiji.* The elaborate annotations to this five-volume translation often constitute miniature dissertations on multifarious issues concerning ancient Chinese religion and testify to Chavannes's belief in the importance of religion to an understanding of early China. This belief is also seen in his work on the cultic foundations of archaic religion, *Le dieu du sol dans la Chine antique* (1910), and on the popular religious traditions associated with the sacred mountain Tai. Later works on religion included several studies of Buddhism, Buddhist folklore, and during his last years Daoist ritual.

The work of Chavannes's colleague and collaborator Sylvain Lévi (1863–1935) along with the even more impressive contributions of the Belgian scholar Louis de La Vallée Poussin (1869–1938) marked the emergence of a Franco-Belgian school of Buddhology. Concerned with the overall cultural context of Buddhist history, the school demanded philological training in all of the requisite canonical languages (Sanskrit, Pali, Tibetan, and Chinese). Along with its emphasis on the non-Pali Mahāyāna texts and commentaries associated with the East Asian tradition, the Franco-Belgian school distinguished itself from German and English scholarship by characteristically stressing the broad philosophical implications of Buddhist thought.

Cast in the mold of Chavannes but possessing even greater linguistic facility, bibliographical erudition, and breadth of interests was the peripatetic polymath Paul Pelliot (1878–1945). More intently than any of the other scholars of the period, Pelliot took as his mission the social, religious, and intellectual interrelationships of all of the Asian cultures—especially the rich historical interconnections between Central and East Asian traditions. Given this versatility, Pelliot produced a diverse stream of articles and reviews, many of which dealt with aspects of Chinese religious history that often broke with the old classical fixation. One of the most celebrated of Pelliot's accomplishments was his participation in the exploration and appropriation of the Dunhuang manuscripts during the years from 1907 to 1911. In terms of importance for understanding Chinese history and religion, the discovery of a cache of thousands of fragmented Buddhist texts (along with some rare Daoist and Confucian texts) dating from the fifth to the tenth centuries is comparable only to the archaeological recovery of the Shang dynasty in the 1920s and 1930s and the discovery of the Mawangdui burial deposit of early Han dynasty texts and artifacts in the 1970s.

Following in the grand tradition of Chavannes and Pelliot but making more significant methodological contributions to the study of Chinese religions were Marcel Granet (1884–1940) and Henri Maspero (1883–1945). Granet was the more methodologically innovative of the two in that his approach was couched within a broad sociological framework that often lent itself to venturesome speculation. From this perspective Granet, making use of the broadest assortment of textual materials from differing periods, attempted to reconstruct the social and religious life of ancient feudal China. Religious data of the most diverse sort, especially information relating to the archaic folk tradition, was crucial for Granet's understanding of Chinese civilization and resulted in a series of brilliant and sometimes overly intuitive interconnected studies on the cultic and folkloric implications of the *Shi jing* (Book of poetry), on the mythic and ritual structures at the heart of the feudal tradition of the Chou period, and on the overall religious and intellectual system (*La religion des Chinois,* 1922; and *La pensée chinoise,* 1934).

Maspero shared Granet's passion for a synthetic understanding of Chinese history and wrote with great technical mastery about a varied array of topics. Especially noteworthy for its methodological implications is Maspero's long monograph "Légendes mythologiques dans le 'Chou king'" in the *Journal asiatique* (1924). By making use of ethnographic data from Tai tribes to reconstruct ancient Chinese mythology and religion only partially preserved in early Chinese literature, Maspero showed that the classical "history" of the *Shujing* (Book of history) was fundamentally informed by myth and ritual themes. After 1926 Maspero began to explore the largely untapped history and meaning of religious Daoism. Anticipating and to some degree inspiring the broad interest in the overall Daoist tradition that would emerge in the

1960s, Maspero's work surveyed various aspects of sectarian Daoism and generally argued for a continuity between the mysticism of the early Daoist classics and the esoteric practices of the later religious tradition.

Continental and British scholarship before World War II. Besides the French contributions there were significant works by Scandinavian scholars (such as J. G. Andersson, M. W. de Visser, and Bernhard Karlgren) and by German scholars (such as Otto Franke, Adolph Forke, Bruno Schindler, August Conrady, Ernst Boerschmann, Eduard Erkes, and Carl Hentze). By far the greatest of these scholars was Karlgren, who is justly renowned for his work on the phonological development of the Chinese language as well as for his studies of archaic bronze iconography; also important was his long article "Legends and Cults in Ancient China" in the *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* (1946). This article established strict historical criteria for the determination of authentic archaic mythology. In pointed contrast to Karlgren's approach was the work of Erkes and Hentze, which showed the impact of various comparativist schools of German anthropology. The most exaggerated and controversial example of the German influence is found in the work of Hentze. Based on his diffusionist comparisons with primitive cultures and early Mesoamerican civilizations, Hentze found an elaborate religious system of lunar symbolism in the zoomorphic and geometric glyphs on the bronze vessels of the Shang dynasty. Within German circles special mention must also be made of Max Weber and Richard Wilhelm. As a non-Sinologist, Weber admittedly based his work on China (see his *The Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism,* translated by Hans H. Gerth, 1951) on secondhand information and was often ignored by specialists; nevertheless this work demonstrated the relevance of a comparative sociological method for understanding Chinese religions. The Sinologist Richard Wilhelm produced a number of influential studies and translations concerning classical philosophy and religion, but he is best known for his "scriptural" translation of the divinatory *Yi jing.* Through the enthusiastic patronage of Carl Jung, this work achieved a broad cultural following in Europe and North America during the 1960s and 1970s.

In England Legge's classically staid ruminations largely prevailed, although the works of William Soothill, L. C. Hopkins, Perceval Yetts, Herbert A. Giles, and Lionel Giles represent partial exceptions to the rule. It was really not until the maverick genius of Arthur Waley emerged that British scholarship rose above mere academic competence. Early American scholarship also tended to reflect the amateurish character and methodological narrowness of English Sinology. Outstanding, however, was the pioneering work on Daoist alchemy by the historian of science Tenney L. Davis and the anthropological studies of Chinese local culture and religion by Daniel Kulp and David Crockett Graham. Finally, Friedrich Hirth, Berthold Laufer, and Paul Carus should be mentioned as immigrant scholars whose work frequently dealt with religious topics. The most important of these figures was Laufer, whose erudition and synthetic abilities rivaled those of the French masters. His studies on ancient Chinese religion (e.g., *Jade: A Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion,* 1912), which made brilliant use of comparative linguistics, archaeology, and ethnography are still valuable. In more of an ephemeral vein was the work of Paul Carus, who, besides bringing the famous Zen Buddhist scholar D. T. Suzuki to the United States, wrote a number of semipopular books on Daoism and Buddhism.

Prewar Japanese scholarship. In Japan the adoption of Western scholarly methods progressed more rapidly than in China. By the early Meiji period at the end of the nineteenth century the old Kangaku School of neo-Confucian scholarship had given way to various intellectual movements that emphasized a newly critical approach to classical Chinese civilization and its relation to Japanese tradition. A nationalistic cast often colored these fledgling adaptations of Western historiography, often combined with an element of Eastern Orientalism that typically relegated Chinese and Japanese religions to the margins of the historical process. At the same time Japanese philological and bibliographical mastery of Chinese sources and the newly engendered passion for a universal understanding of China independent of orthodox dynastic views established the foundations for a truly critical historiographical and social scientific appraisal of Chinese religions.

During the first few decades of the twentieth century Japanese works devoted to religious issues were generally few in number. Blandly bibliographical and descriptive in approach, they were usually confined to compartmentalized studies of textual filiation or to restricted sectarian aspects of Buddhist and Daoist history (particularly valuable were the descriptive surveys of Chinese and aboriginal religions on Taiwan conducted during the Japanese occupation). But by the 1920s and 1930s Japanese scholarship, while maintaining its superior talent for critical textual analysis, manifested more of a willingness to study the history of religions as an integral aspect of Chinese sociopolitical history. This new interpretive climate was signaled by the founding in 1936 of the Japanese Society for Historical Research on Chinese Buddhism, which brought together scholars interested in the history of Buddhism and Daoism as related to the larger institutional framework of Chinese tradition.

During this period Japanese scholars, especially in the area of Buddhology, started to engage in cooperative research, as is exemplified by the four-volume *Hôbôgirin* (1929–1931), the joint French-Japanese Buddhist encyclopedia project edited by Paul Demiéville under the supervision of Sylvain Lévi and Takakusu Junjiro. Another factor, which paralleled related developments in China, was the rise of the Japanese school of folklore studies under the tutelage of Yanagita Kunio. Concerned with anthropological and sociological methods of comparison that in this period often reflected German *Kulturkreiselehre* diffusionism, it is the Japanese folkloristic tradition of scholarship that constituted the foundation of the important Japanese participation, after World War II, in the history of religions as an international academic discipline of study.

Prewar Chinese scholarship. Given the greater degree of instability in Chinese political life, it is not surprising that a coherent, Western-style scholarship at first flourished more successfully in Japan than in China. The missionary experience had left many Chinese intellectuals acutely antagonistic toward the relevance of religion, whether Christian or traditional, in Chinese history; this attitude, coupled with the classical Confucian aloofness toward the "spirits" and the more modern secular implications of Western scholarly methods, resulted in a situation that was hardly conducive to the dispassionate study of Chinese religions. The eventual triumph of an officially atheistic, Marxist orthodoxy tended only to reinforce this prejudicial approach to the history of native religions.

In addition to such well-known figures as Liang Qichao and Hu Shi, who were imbued with Western notions of social Darwinism, a number of other prominent scholars were influenced by modern methodologies and made lasting, although sometimes rather indirect and polemical, contributions to the academic study of Chinese religions. Perhaps most important in terms of his iconoclastic impact on traditional Chinese historiography was Gu Jiegang. Gu was identified with the so-called Doubting Antiquity movement of the 1920s and 1930s, which produced the seven-volume *Gushi bian* (Critiques of ancient history, 1926–1941). This work signaled the end of the Confucian classical paradigm in historical and textual scholarship and remains in the early twenty-first century a storehouse of miscellaneous materials pertinent to the study of Chinese religion, mythology, and folk tradition. Along with articles and monographs published by the *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies* and other periodicals influenced by Western social science, *Gushi bian* definitively established the relevance of ancient Chinese mythology and religion to an understanding of the foundations of the very classical tradition that denied them. In addition to his concern with ancient history, Gu also became involved in the analysis of modern popular tradition and religion through his relationship with the Folklore Studies movement, which appeared in South China in the late 1920s. Although its motivations were often more political than scholarly in nature, this loose group of scholars produced the first substantial scholarly collections of Chinese folk tales and songs and, drawing upon Arnold van Gennep's Durkheimian *Le Folklore* (1924), established the value of a folkloristic theory of culture for Chinese tradition.

Postwar to the present. The postwar years witnessed the growing dominance of social scientific methodologies and the establishment of specialized academic disciplines, departments, and area studies—especially in American universities. As a result of these developments scholars abandoned the old ideal of Sinology as a holistic pursuit concerned primarily with classical language and literature; instead, the field splintered into particular subdisciplines that were defined in terms of various discrete historical periods and methodological perspectives. These developments moreover tended to reinforce the old devaluation of the history of Chinese religions because, as a part of the growing emphasis on modern and revolutionary China, it seemed self-evident that religion had little importance for understanding Communist China. In the study of Chinese tradition then the rational and secular presuppositions of Western academic scholarship and social scientific methodology were especially strengthened by a whole set of apparent verifications coming from the conflation of the classical Confucian, early-twentieth-century Chinese modernist, and Chinese Communist self-images.

Consequently from the 1940s to the 1950s the focused Sinological study of religion was at a low ebb. Yet these relatively quiescent years laid the foundations for the upsurge of interest in Chinese religions in the decades that followed. During this transition a loose international group of scholars often dealt with selected religious topics while maintaining something of the old notion of Sinology as a comprehensive discipline. These academics included the Americans Derk Bodde, H. G. Creel, Schuyler Cammann, Arthur Wright, Alexander Soper, and Wing-tsit Chan; those continuing the French tradition, such as Paul Demiéville, Rolf Stein, and Étienne Balasz; and other European and Asian scholars such as Arthur Waley, J. J. L. Duyvendak, Werner Eichhorn, R. H. van Gulik, and Fung Yu-lan.

A second category of scholars during this same period more directly inspired the kind of specialized approach to religion in terms of subject area and methodology that characterized the 1970s and 1980s. Thus Buddhist and Daoist scholars included Max Kaltenmark, Michel Soymié, Erwin Rousselle, and Erik Zürcher in Europe; Yanagida Seizan, Kimura Eiichi, Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, Tang Yongtong, and Chen Guofu in Asia; and Kenneth Ch'en, Richard Robinson, Walter Liebenthal, Arthur Link, and Holmes Welch in the United States. Lastly, some researchers studied popular and local tradition from novel social scientific perspectives: Francis L. K. Hsu, who examined village culture and ancestral religion from a social-psychological frame of reference, and Wolfram Eberhard, who studied traditional Chinese religion, mythology, morality, and folklore in relation to the sociocultural history of local cultures.

In the 1960s the overall climate concerning the relevance of religion to modern life and the general academic significance of the study of world religions changed in dramatic ways. For the first time the specialized study of Chinese religions became recognizable as a specific professional focus for scholars working in different academic disciplines. This was a gradual, largely unconscious development throughout most of that decade and the next, but by 1974 public acknowledgment came in the form of the founding of the international Society for the Study of Chinese Religions by three American scholars: Holmes Welch, Daniel Overmyer, and Laurence Thompson.

Although the overt emergence of the study of Chinese religions as a field of concentration occurred in the 1970s, several earlier formative developments deserve note. One of these was the appearance of C. K. Yang's *Religion in Chinese Society* (1961), which applied a neo-Weberian sociological analysis to Chinese tradition and, arguing against prevailing attitudes, showed the intrinsic significance of religion within even the Confucian milieu of the "great tradition." Even more important for its grand compass, international impact, and interdisciplinary implications was the publication of the first few volumes of Joseph Needham's monumental and still appearing *Science and Civilisation in China* (1954–). Volume 2, which discusses Daoism as a part of the "history of Chinese science," was particularly important. First published in 1956, it did not really capture scholarly attention until the 1960s.

The interest in Daoism stimulated by Needham was also complemented by the work being done in the 1960s on the living liturgical traditions of sectarian Daoism in Taiwan by Kristofer Schipper, a Paris-trained scholar and the first Westerner to be initiated as a Daoist priest. Schipper's revolutionary fieldwork—along with the work of Needham, Nathan Sivin, and others who had been working on Daoist tradition—culminated in the first international conference on Daoist studies, held in Italy in 1968. This event was doubly significant. It not only signaled the rapid development of Daoist studies, which continues in the early twenty-first century, but also—as is shown by the presence of the Romanian-born American religious scholar Mircea Eliade at the conference and by the publication of the conference papers in the journal *History of Religions*—marked the emergence of a new spirit of cooperation between scholars of Chinese religions and those working in the comparative history of world religions, a discipline previously preoccupied with primitive and Indo-European traditions. This kind of collaborative approach was ratified by the establishment of the Society for the Study of Chinese Religions and tends to characterize the interdisciplinary range of articles on Chinese religion found currently in older, established journals in Sinology and in comparative religion, folklore, and philosophy as well as in several specialized journals started in the 1970s and 1980s (such as *Journal of Chinese Religions, Journal of Chinese Philosophy, Early China, Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*).

In the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century a veritable flood of outstanding scholarship concerning Chinese religions has led to the rejection of many outdated assumptions about Chinese civilization. Fortunately this scholarly enterprise is also on the verge of becoming fully international in scope. Besides the continuing contributions of Japanese scholarship and the efforts of Chinese scholars in Taiwan, Singapore, and Hong Kong, the mainland Chinese Academy of Sciences and its affiliated Institute for Research on World Religions have been revitalized.

TRENDS IN SINOLOGY. Five areas may be singled out for their prominence in research in the early twenty-first century. The first concerns the archaic religion of ancient China. Continuing work on received texts, including oracle bone and bronze inscriptions, as well as the archaeological discovery of original and in many cases previously unknown texts has revolutionized this field of study. Japanese scholars like Akatsuka Kiyoshi, Ito Michiharu, and Shirakawa Shizuka combined traditional paleographic skills with anthropological and sociological insights to reenvision ancient China as a land where religious concerns were paramount. In an insightful series of studies David Keightley has applied a stricter methodology to reconstruct the mentality of the Shang, finding there the origin of Chinese bureaucracy and much of the later Chinese religious outlook. New bronze inscriptions have also transformed scholars' understanding of the Western Zhou. Jessica Rawson has drawn on inscriptions and material remains to delineate a ritual reform in the mid-Western Zhou, and Lothar von Falkenhausen has combined inscriptional and textual evidence to reassess the shamanic tradition in ancient China and its possible ties to later Daoism.

Turning to excavated manuscripts of the Warring States period, the discovery of Mawangdui in 1973 was followed rapidly by major troves of texts from Shuihudi, Baoshan, and Guodian. The philosophical works in these tombs attracted immediate attention from scholars like Ikeda Tomohisa, Robert Henricks, William Boltz, and Robin Yates. The more surprising element in these tombs was a genre of technical literature, including divinatory and medical texts, that, though common at the time, was not transmitted to later generations. Jao Tsung-I (Rao Zongyi), Li Ling, Mu-chou Poo, Mark Kalinowski, and Donald Harper have done groundbreaking work in this area. Grave goods and other material remains from this period, like jade suits and funereal banners, as well as Han funerary documents, like grave-quelling texts and land contracts, are also important reflections of Warring States religious belief and have been studied by Ikeda On, Anna Seidel, and Michael Loewe.

The second major area of research is China's indigenous organized religion, Daoism. Early scholarship in this field centered on Japan and Paris, with the studies of Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, Ōfuchi Ninji, Miyakawa Hisayuki, and Kubo Noritada leading the way for Rolf A. Stein, Kristofer Schipper, Anna Seidel, Isabelle Robinet, and Michel Strickmann. The primary focus of these scholars, with the exception of Kubo, was the early pre-Tang period of Daoist history. The next generation took these studies further, focusing on the early Celestial Master church (Angelika Cedzich, Stephen Bokenkamp, Terry Kleeman), the *Taipingjing* (Barbara Hendrischke, Jens O. Petersen), the system of precepts and monastic regulations (Benjamin Penny, Livia Kohn), fourth- and fifth-century reformation movements within Daoism (Yamada Toshiaki, Kobayashi Masayoshi, Kamitsuka Yoshiko), Daoism's relationship to popular cults (Peter Nickerson, Lai Chi Tim), and hagiography (Robert Campany). The Tang has still received little attention, with most of that focused on the small coterie of Daoists at court

(T. H. Barrett, Russell Kirkland), but studies of Song Daoism have flourished with important studies of Song scriptural sources (Piet van der Loon, Judith Boltz), the Quanzhen movement (Hachiya Kunio, Mori Yuria, Stephen Eskildsen, Vincent Goossaert), internal alchemy (Fabrizio Pregadio, Lowell Skar), and ecstatic religion (Edward L. Davis). Daoism in late imperial China remains largely unexplored, but the important work of Kenneth Dean seeks to link modern practice to Qing and earlier antecedents, and scholars like Li Fengmao, Maruyama Hiroshi, Shiga Ichiko, and Asano Haruji bring a command of canonical sources to their fieldwork on living practitioners. Important developments in the field include the first major exhibition of Daoist art, organized by Stephen Little; the publication of the *Daoist Handbook,* edited by Livia Kohn; the publication of the *Encyclopedia of Taoism*, edited by Fabrizio Pregadio; and the publication of Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen's annotated catalog of the Daoist canon.

A third major field of inquiry has been Buddhism. Early Western research focused on the transmission of Buddhism to China and the early schools (Erik Zürcher, Leon Hurvitz, Arthur Link, Lewis Lancaster), but a younger generation, raised on Alan Watts and often practicing Buddhists themselves, has given Chan studies pride of place in Western Buddhology. The influence of Yanagida Seizan is felt through students like Peter Gregory, John McRae, and Bernard Faure, but other scholars have questioned the influence of Japanese sectarian scholarship on the early history of Chan (Griffith Foulk) and on the idea of schools as an important element of Chinese Buddhism (Robert Sharf). Philologically based doctrinal scholarship continues, particularly with regard to Yogācāra (Daniel Lusthaus) and Huayan (Robert Gimello, Daniel B. Stevenson), but much interest has shifted to apocryphal scriptures (Robert Buswell, Kyoko Tokuno) and the influence of Tantric texts and practices in China (Michel Strickmann, Iyanaga Nobumi, Charles Orzech). One important trend of research has been to look at Buddhism within Chinese society. Chikusa Masaaki's studies of Song Buddhism and sectarian movements were followed by Stephen Teiser's studies of the Ghost Festival and mortuary ritual, Victor Mair's works on Dunhuang popular literature and the use of images in popular preaching, John Kieschnick's exploration of Buddhism's influence on Chinese material culture, and Timothy Brook's study of Buddhism in late imperial society. Buddhist art and architecture have provided another point of access to lived Buddhism for scholars like Marsha Weidner, Angela Howard, and Nancy Steinhardt. Chinese scholarship on Buddhism since Tang Yongtong has been constrained by political factors, but the late twentieth century saw the emergence of major scholars like Yang Cengwen, Wei Daoru, and Sun Changwu. Finally, Buddhism is also a vibrant living religion, and the work of Charles B. Jones and others has shed light on modern developments like the belief in a "human Pure Land" (*renjian jingtu*).

A fourth area of interest in the field of Chinese religions centers on the sectarian societies of later imperial and modern China. Pioneering work on these groups by Li Shiyu, Sawada Mizuho, and Marjorie Topley was followed by the substantial historical studies of Daniel Overmyer and Susan Naquin, but Barend ter Haar has shown the need for great care in using external accounts of such groups. Song Guangyu and David Jordan deserve special mention for their work on Yiguandao. Although these groups were initially identified as "folk Buddhism," many self-identify as Daoist; Philip Clart has dubbed these movements "maternist" because of their shared focus on the Unborn Venerable Mother (Wusheng laomu) as supreme deity, and he argues forcefully for spirit writing groups as self-cognizant modern Confucians. Whatever nomenclature is ultimately adopted, studies make clear that these are organized religious movements quite distinct from both the community-based common religion and the institutionalized religions of Buddhism and Daoism. Some are comparable in size and history to Protestant Christian denominations, have a distinct theology and canon, and deserve greater recognition and study.

The fifth major area of interest is the mass of traditional beliefs, practices, and observances that is sometimes dismissed as popular superstition; this compendium is now understood to be a distinct religion, the Chinese common religion, and to be an essential element of Chinese society from its earliest times to the present. The primary manifestation of this religion is the worship of deities in periodic and occasional observances involving communal ritual performance. Detailed synchronic and diachronic studies have appeared of specific deities, like Mazu (Li Xianzhang), Guanyin (Chünfang Yu), Guandi (Prasenjit Duara, Barend ter Haar), Wenchang (Terry Kleeman), Xuanwu Zhenwu (Pierre-Henry deBruyn), Lü Dongbin (Isabelle Ang, Paul Katz), Linji (Meir Shahar), Wutong (Angelika Cedzich, Richard von Glahn), and the Stove God (Robert Chard). Anthropology has always been an important source of information on Chinese religious life, and the fieldwork of scholars like Gary Seaman, Stephan Feuchtwang, William Watson, David Jordan, and Stevan Harrell have greatly expanded the understanding of the role of religious observances in daily life. The emergence of a corps of foreign-trained native anthropologists, like Yihyuan Li, Mei-rong Lin, and Hsun Chang, has led to more detailed studies focused specifically on religion and to indigenous analytical concepts like the "sacrificial circle" (*jisiquan*) and "belief circle" (*xinyang quan*).

Modernity has not been kind to Chinese religion, which has suffered persecutions beginning with the Taiping Revolution and carrying through the Republican New Life Movement and the Cultural Revolution. Nonetheless much of traditional practice has survived or been revived, and there is an active program of rescue ethnography trying to document the local Chinese religious world. The *Minsu quyi* (Folklore and performing arts) series edited by C. K. Wang has preserved a large body of local ritual drama. John Lagerway and Tam Wai-lun have mounted a massive project to document religious life in South China villages, concentrating on

Hakka areas of Guangdong and Fujian; Daniel Overmyer is organizing a similar project for North China. Opening up of the mainland has also permitted the first in-depth studies of local religion (Xiaofei Kang, Thomas DuBois). This local material, once accumulated in sufficient detail, will inevitably enrich and transform the understanding of Chinese religions.

Finally, something must be said about the phenomenal rise of the Falun Gong movement. Within the course of a single decade, this organization became the largest and fastest-growing of the world's new religions. The religious character of the Falun Gong is evident to any student of Chinese religions despite the disavowals of its members, but it is a unique organization, drawing institutionally on both the tradition of Chinese secret societies and the organizational principles of the Chinese Communist Party. For several years it has been the object of a sustained program of religious suppression unparalleled in scope since the Inquisition. Although a few Sinologists have published on this topic (notably David Ownby), this new and successful form of Chinese religious organization has to date largely escaped the notice of the field.

SEE ALSO Confucianism, article on History of Study; Daoism, article on History of Study; Granet, Marcel; Jesuits; Ricci, Matteo.

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CHINESE RELIGIOUS YEAR.

The religious year of traditional China may be visualized as a circular base that is the calendar, upon which three overlays are superimposed. The first overlay shows the annual pan-Chinese observances; the second shows the celebrations of local, popular cults centered on the birthdays of particular deities; the third shows the schedule of official state sacrifices. I shall discuss each of these cycles of observances in turn.

THE RELIGIOUS YEAR AND THE CALENDAR. Traditionally, the dates of religious significance in the year were made known through a calendar issued by the Bureau of Astronomy in the Ministry of Rites. This calendar combined lunar and solar calculations, but for the religious year the former were more important. The waxing and waning of the moon was the most conspicuous indicator of change in the heavens, and the new and full moons thus formed focal points in the nexus of natural and human time. Solstices and equinoxes, as determined by the astronomers, were not so obvious, but were nevertheless important moments in the religious year because of their connection with the dominant or recessive phase of yin and yang.

The official calendar also indicated other kinds of time, of which two were most important in the religious year. The first was the marking of hours, days, months, and years by a cycle of two-character designations formed by sixty combinatory permutations of two series of symbols called the ten celestial stems (*tiangan*) and the twelve terrestrial branches *(dizhi).* The second was the division of the year into twenty-four climatic periods. The pairs serve not simply as a method of marking, but, from the correlations of the stems and branches with other factors in the cosmos, they also hint at the many occult forces affecting the fate of humankind. The division of the year into fortnightly climatic periods is intimately connected with the timing and meaning of major events in the ritual year. These fortnightly periods are called nodes (*jie*) or breaths *(qi).* They derive from observations, both celestial (division of the heavens into degrees) and terrestrial (meteorological phenomena), already made in ancient times. Widely applied throughout China, their descriptive names—clear and bright, a little warm, frost descends, a lot of snow—show their origination in the northern regions, where four distinct seasons obtain. The term *jie,* which came to designate the fortnightly periods, has retained its correlative meaning of the celebration of rites at fixed times. Hence, the festivals of the year, particularly those tied to the twenty-four climatic periods, are also called *jie.*

The calendar was not merely a schedule of times and seasons, but was more in the nature of an almanac, spelling out behaviors suitable, and indeed essential, for every season. Eventually it developed into a handbook containing medical lore, moral guidance, and techniques for prognostication and divination. The issuing of the imperial calendar was an act of religious import in itself, in that it was taken as evidence of the divine mandate possessed by the ruling dynasty. In effect, only such a divinely commissioned ruler could reveal the times and influences according to which all people must govern their lives. The concept of a religious year in the Chinese case must thus be understood as a yearlong effort on the part of ruler and people to grasp the complicated processes of the cosmos and make them work for humans. In this overall context the observances of the religious year underline the moments of greatest significance to family, community, occupational group, and state.

PAN-CHINESE OBSERVANCES. Rather than present a schematic overview, the following outline focuses on the island province of Taiwan, where the traditions have been fully preserved amidst the changes of modernization. A Chinese summary of the religious year, the section titled "Suishi yu Shendan" in Ruan Changrui's *Zhuangyandi shijie* (Taibei, 1982), has been relied upon here.

The twelfth and first months: the New Year. By far the most protracted, the busiest, and the most important of the annual festivals, the New Year begins in the middle of the twelfth month with the Weiya (tail end of the year) observance and continues through to the full moon of the first month. In former times all business came to a virtual standstill during most of this period; nowadays the length of the holiday has been considerably curtailed, but many traditional practices are continued. On "tail end of the year," the twelfth day of the twelfth month, sacrifices are made to Tudigong (the local earth god), the all-important tutelary deity of household and community. On this evening the proprietors of businesses hold feasts for their employees to thank them for their hard work and to wish for a successful new year.

On the twenty-fourth day of this month, Zaojun (lord of the cooking stove) leads the various deities assigned to terrestrial duties to the court of Yuhuang Shangdi (supreme emperor of jadelike augustness), ruler of the bureaucratic pantheon in Heaven; there he makes the required annual report. Zaojun is in effect the spirit overseer of the household. Presumably because his report will influence the life span recorded in the heavenly registers, he also is considered one of the *siming fujun* (arbiters of longevity). On this day, the deity's mouth is smeared with something sweet so that he will have only sweet things to report. The paper icon of Zaojun, found above each stove, is then burnt, the smoke conveying the report directly to Heaven. Once the deities have left for the court of Heaven, the house undergoes a thorough cleaning, which also gets rid of any *huiqi* (inauspicious breaths). The next day, celestial deities, deputed by the Supreme Emperor of Jadelike Augustness, arrive to make their inspection during the absence of the terrestrial deities. Everyone is on good behavior during this inspection period.

New Year's Eve is called Guonian (the passing of the old year) or Chuxi (the eve of the passing year). It is observed by seven traditional practices:

1. *Ci nian* (bidding farewell to the old year). Sacrifices are offered to gods and ancestors, to Zaojun, and to Chuangmu, the tutelary mother of the bed. Propitiary sacrifices are also placed at the gate for *haoxiong* (good elder brothers), that is, bereaved spirits, souls denied their rightful sacrifices, whose resentment constitutes a menace to the living. On the family altar in the main hall are set offerings of cooked rice, other foods, and strings of money. After the sacrifices have been made, firecrackers are set off to scare off demons.

2. *Tuanyuanfan yu weilu* (family reunion meal and surrounding the stove). The gathering of the family from far and near for the communal meal is also called *shousuijiu* (wine that safeguards the New Year). A brazier placed under the round table is festooned with coins and described as "warm as spring, the prospering breath of wealth." The family gathering is thus called "surrounding the stove"; should there be a family member who cannot attend the feast, some of his clothing is draped over an empty chair to indicate his symbolic presence and that the family is thinking of him. At this meal the last course is a fish, which must not be eaten, however, for fish is homophonous with having abundance (*yu*).

3. *Yasuiqian* (money of the year that is given away). After the communal feast the elders hand out money to the youngsters. This is also called *fen guonianqian* (dividing the money of the passing year). In the past, one hundred cash were strung together (the old coppers had a square hole in the center), and even though these have now been replaced by paper money, the meaning is still "may you live one hundred years."

4. *Shousui* (safeguarding the year). After the elders give money to the children, the family sits around the stove, chatting, joking, and playing games to see the old year out. Safeguarding the year is said to contribute to the longevity of the parents.

5. *Tiao huopen* (jumping over the fire pan). After the feast, all male members of the family take turns jumping over a pan filled with burning rice straw in front of the family gate. They call out certain auspicious phrases as they do so. The passing over fire signifies purification or making a new beginning.

6. *Tie chunlian* (pasting up spring scrolls). To welcome the new year, spring scrolls bearing auspicious words are pasted on the gateposts. Pieces of lucky red paper with the graph for spring written on them are pasted on such places as the leaves of the gate and the rice barrels. Other felicitous phrases are pasted elsewhere. The pasting up of spring scrolls derives from the ancient practice of hanging apotropaic peachwood amulets at the gate. There are colored paper

scrolls hung over the lintel on blue paper if a male infant has died during the year or on yellow paper if a female infant has died.

7. By ancient custom, on New Year's Eve people attended plays held in front of a temple. If a debtor stayed until dawn of New Year's Day, his creditor would not dare to disturb the gathering by trying to collect the debt. The debt, collectible before the new year, could then be postponed because the new year had arrived. These events were thus called *pizexi* (fleeing-from-debt plays).

The first five days of the new year are called Xinzheng (correct, or fixed, beginning) or Xinchun (beginning of the new spring). They are greeted with the spring scrolls, firecrackers, and music, while people crowd the streets in a happy bustle. On the first day people eat long noodles symbolic of their hope for longevity. Dressed in new clothes and bearing fruits and other offerings, they go to the temples to burn incense and worship the deities. Then they pay a New Year's call on friends and relatives. On this day everyone takes care to avoid saying or doing things of bad omen. No work is done, and everyone enjoys himself. On the second day newly married girls pay a visit to their natal homes. On the fourth day the deities who had been away at their annual audience at the court of Heaven return to this world and are received with offerings and prayers for good fortune during the new year. With day five life returns temporarily to normal, but the season is not yet over. On the evening of the eighth day everyone takes a bath and observes a fast called Shoushou (safeguarding longevity) until midnight. Then, led by the head of the family, all members of the household perform Dali, the great ritual, consisting of three kneelings and nine knockings (*ketou*, or kowtow as it is known in the West) and the presentation of incense. Thus is marked the beginning of the ninth day, the birthday of the Supreme Emperor of Jadelike Augustness, by whose indulgence all beings are born and nurtured.

The fifteenth day marks the close of the New Year festivities. It is called Shangyuan Jie (festival of the First Primordial). The triad Shangyuan, Zhongyuan, and Xiayuan, of whom the first is recognized here, are otherwise known in Daoism as the San Guan (three controllers), supervisors of the realms of Heaven, earth, and the waters. In popular religion they are also identified with the three sage-kings of legendary antiquity: Yao, who attained perfect goodness, is the Celestial Controller; Shun, who reclaimed the land, is the Terrestrial Controller; and Yu, who tamed the floods, is the Controller of the Waters. The birthday of each controller is widely celebrated. Sacrifices to the Celestial Controller are presented at dawn on the fifteenth.

The major event of the day, however, takes place in the evening and is called Yuanxiao Jie (festival of the First Primordial night) or Dengjie (lantern festival). The family again gathers at a communal feast, and special round dumplings of the First Primordial night (*yuanxiao yuanzi*) are eaten. The roundness of the dumplings is like this first full moon of the year and symbolizes the complete family circle as well as completeness or perfection in general. After dark everyone takes to the streets and temples to show and view ingeniously designed lanterns and to enjoy the boisterous dragon and lion dances accompanied by the din of gongs and drums, and the acrobatics of martial arts troupes. With this festival the season comes to an end.

Second month. On the second day of the second month a minor observance balances the tail end of the year, which, as we saw, falls on the twelfth day of the twelfth month. On the occasion of Touya (head of the year), as on the earlier occasion, the main events are sacrifices to Tudigong and the giving of a feast by the shopkeeper for his employees.

Third month. The second major festival of the year, Qingming Jie, takes place at the beginning of the climatic period called Qingming (clear and bright) and is dedicated to the ancestors. On the first of the month, families visit the ancestral tombs to tidy them up. A sacrificial meal including auspicious red-colored rice, called *yimu guo* (saluting-the-tomb rice), is offered. The family head divides up longevity noodles and red-colored rice among all the junior relatives. In general, the services at the tomb, called *peimu* (shoring up the tomb), are quite solemn and impressive. Sacrifices include twelve dishes of edibles in addition to the rice. A peeled egg is left atop the grave to express the idea that the old gives way to the new (*xin chen dai xie*). The children share some of the saluting-the-tomb rice and some money. This is called *yinmu guo* (rice with the seal of the tomb), and shows the abundant virtue of the ancestors, which in turn abides forever among their descendants. When the visit to the grave is ended, a strip of red paper is left on top in commemoration.

Fourth month. The eighth day is the festival of washing the Buddha, whose birthday it is said to be. The image of the Buddha in every temple is ceremonially washed, incense is burned, and scriptures are chanted.

Fifth month. The fifth of this month is called Duanwu (double *wu*) because both month and day contain the fifth celestial stem (*wu*) in their designations. The great event of the day in the South is the dragon boat races. These are popularly said to be a reenactment of the search for the body of Qu Yuan, a loyal statesman and poet of ancient times who drowned himself when his advice was no longer heeded by his lord. For this day people make a special kind of sweet dumpling wrapped in bamboo leaves that was originally supposed to have been thrown into the water for Qu Yuan's spirit to consume. Nowadays, people exchange such dumplings as presents on Duanwu.

Because the fifth month marks the junction of spring and summer and was associated with the onset of epidemic diseases, it has the reputation of being the *duyue* (poisonous month). Precautions are taken against the depredations of disease-causing spirits: strong yellow wine is drunk; a package of calamus, mugwort, and banian branches wrapped in lucky red paper is suspended above the gate; colored threads are tied around the wrists of children and bags of incense are hung by a red string around their necks. The proximity of the double fifth to the summer solstice, the moment when the ascendancy of yang will begin to give way to yin, no doubt has something to do with the prominence of the Duanwu festival.

Sixth month. The first and fifteenth of this month are occasions for celebrating the completion of the first half of the year. The deities and ancestors receive sacrifices and thanks for their help, with wishes for their continued support during the remainder of the year. On the sixth day, clothing, books, and paintings are aired to rid them of mildew from the spring rains. Old people also air their *shouyi* (longevity garments), the special coats, embroidered with the graph for longevity, that they will wear to the grave. On the nineteenth of the month many women go to the temples to offer sacrifices to Guanyin (the *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara), their most venerated protectress, who is said to have attained the Way (*de dao*) and to have ascended to Heaven on this day.

Seventh month. On the seventh day of this month the charming legend of the weaving maid and the cowherd (originally simply the names of two stars) comes alive again. This celestial couple can only meet on this one night each year when magpies form a bridge across the Celestial River (Milky Way). On this day, Qi Niangma (seventh imperial mother, the deity of the weaving-maid star) receives special sacrifices because she is considered an important protector of children. The fifteenth day is Zhongyuan Jie (festival of the Second Primordial). This day is considered the birthday of the Daoist Controller of Earth, or, in popular view, the ancient sage-king Shun. Sacrifices are offered to deities and ancestors at the family altars.

Despite these festivals, the central concern of the seventh month is the problem of bereaved spirits and damned souls. During this month the gates of the dark realm are open, and hungry ghosts (from the Indian concept of *preta*) are free to roam about in that invisible but very real dimension that impinges upon the world of the living. Three times during this month religious rituals are performed to counter this danger. On the first day every household sets out generous offerings of food at the entranceway. Incense sticks are placed in bowls, special burial clothes and silver paper spirit-money are burned to send into the invisible dimension. At the gateway is hung a lamp on which are written auspicious words. At the same time that this hospitable attitude is being exhibited, people take good care not to expose themselves to danger.

On the fifteenth, the second and by far the most important of the rituals to cope with the wandering ghosts takes place. The entire community invites these pitiable (and dangerous) visitors to a great feast at which not only will they be able for once to eat their fill, but also will receive the merits that accrue from the religious services held. *Pudu*, the ritual that assists all souls to cross over to the other shore of salvation, is performed on a large scale both by households and in temples. Altars are erected, sacrifices are offered to the poor souls, and priests, both Buddhist and Daoist, chant their sacred texts. Tall beacon posts are hung with lanterns and pennants to guide the spirits to the ritual places; paper and bamboo rafts take candles or small lamps out on the waters to attract the attention of the souls of the drowned. Finally, on the last day of the month, the spirits must return to their subterranean prisons and the gates are closed for another eleven months. The beacon lanterns are taken down, final sacrifices are presented, and the worlds of the living and the dead return to their normal condition of separation.

Eighth month. This month sees the minor birthday celebrations of two deities, humble in rank, but intimately involved in the daily life of the people. On the third day sacrifices are offered to Zaojun. On the fifteenth day sacrifices are made to Tudigong and also to the ancestors. The offerings include *yue bing* (moon cakes), for the fifteenth is also the night of the birthday of Yin Niangniang (the goddess of the moon). The full moon of this month is one of the most enjoyable festivals of the year, with fine weather contributing to the pleasure of moon-viewing parties. It no doubt originally had specific connections with the harvest, but that connection is no longer apparent.

Ninth month. Despite the promise that the Chongjiu or Chongyang (double-nine) day seems to hold, with its implication of the fullness of yang (nine is the number given to yang lines in the *Yi jing*), nothing seems to remain of any former religious significance of this day. The activities traditionally characterizing double-nine are going for a hike in the hills and flying kites.

Tenth month. Like the ninth month, the tenth is not a time of much religious celebration. On the fifteenth day occurs the Xiayuan Jie (festival of the Third Primordial), and hence the birthday of the Daoist Controller of the Waters or, in popular understanding, the ancient sage-king Yu.

Eleventh month. The important observance of the eleventh month is the Dongjie (winter festival), marking the solstice. Just prior to this day there is another gathering of the family to sacrifice to ancestors, called Qiuji (autumn sacrifice). Then, as winter begins, feasts mark the solstice with special foods such as *butong* (winter supplements). Soups with dumplings again play on the meaning of the word *yuan* (round, hence perfect or complete).

POPULAR CULTS AND THE BIRTHDAYS OF THEIR DEITIES. Practically every day of the year is designated as the birthday of one or more of the deities. These deities are of varied origins and may be classified in different ways. Aside from those actually deriving from popular, local religions, they include supernaturals originally connected with the traditions of Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism. These have largely lost their original significance and are integrated into popular religion where they acquire attributes that suit popular needs. An example of this phenomenon was the identification of the

Daoist San Guan (three officials) as the ancient sage-kings Yao, Shun, and Yu. The most famous case is the transformation of the *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara (Chin., Guanshiyin) into the most popular deity of all, the compassionate mother-figure, Guanyin, whose birthday is celebrated on the nineteenth day of the second month.

A few of the deities that originated in popular cults became so important that they were adopted by the state and became objects of official sacrifices as well. The most outstanding example on Taiwan is Mazu (granny), who was given the highest imperial rank of Tianhou (consort of Heaven). Her most important function is to protect all who must venture upon the waters. (Her birthday is celebrated on the twenty-third day of the third month.) Guan Sheng Da Di (holy great emperor Guan), originally a famous general of the Three Kingdoms period (third century CE), became the greatest of the military gods and protector of the empire; his birthday is celebrated on the thirteenth day of the fifth month. While many popular deities are pan-Chinese, their birthdays celebrated everywhere, there are also many others whose cults are only local, or of importance chiefly to certain groups or occupations.

RELIGIOUS YEAR OF THE STATE. Since ancient times the state has considered the ritual offering of sacrifices to be one of its most basic duties and prerogatives. The calendar issued by the imperial Bureau of Astronomy gave the annual schedule of official sacrifices, which formed a separate system from the universal festivals and from the birthdays of deities celebrated in the popular cults.

In China, as elsewhere, some observances have become more or less drained of religious content and their original significance forgotten by all but scholars or obscured by later rationalizations. In the religious year as a whole a few themes are conspicuous: concern for unity of the family, including filiality to the ancestors and protection of the children; desire for longevity; hopes for blessings in general; and fear of resentful ghosts and attempts to propitiate them. Aside from these hopes and fears, the colorful practices marking the course of the year may be understood as one of the clearest expressions of traditional popular culture.

SEE ALSO Chinese Religion, article on Popular Religion; Confucianism, article on The Imperial Cult; Yuhuang.

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CHINGGIS KHAN (1162–1227), great Mongol leader and founder of a vast empire in Asia. One of the extraordinary personages of world history, Chinggis Khan is a striking example of an emperor who became a god.

Born in Mongolia, northeast of present-day Ulan Bator, and called Temüjin in his youth, he was the eldest son of a chieftain of the Mongol Borjigit clan. Having succeeded in uniting the Mongol and Turkic tribes of the area, he adopted the title of Chinggis Khan and set out to conquer the world. He subdued the Chin empire in North China, the Hsi-hsia kingdom northeast of Tibet, the Turkic states in Turkistan, and the empire of Khorezm, comprising Transoxiana as well as Afghanistan and Eastern Iran. Mongol units even advanced as far as India and the Crimea. When Chinggis Khan died in 1227 near Ning-hsia, capital of Hsi-hsia, he left the broad foundations of an empire that would extend, under his sons and grandsons, from Korea to the Near East and southern Europe and from southern Siberia to Indochina.

The story of Chinggis Khan's life reads like that of an epic hero. Indeed, the thirteenth-century *Secret History of the Mongols,* the first work of Mongolian literature, patterns Chinggis Khan's biography after the model of the hero-king, and thus reflects the indispensable qualities of a ruler and the hopes set upon him. Chinggis Khan possesses the mandate of Heaven and Heaven's support to restore law, order, and peace on earth. He is of noble totemistic descent: his forefather, the ancestor of the Mongol royal family, is a blue-gray wolf whose son is born on the holy mountain Burkhan Qaldun. It is this "good place," the center of the world, where Chinggis Khan's career begins as well. From here he goes forth to conquer nations and peoples in all directions, and to this same place his dead body returns. He has a good wife, a good horse, and good companions, and he finds himself in a situation favorable for his activities.

After Chinggis Khan's death, his character develops in three ways: Chinggis Khan becomes a means of political identification, a figure of political theology, and a deity. Chinggis Khan is used as a means of political identification by the Mongols as well as by the Chinese. To the Mongols, as the founder of their unified state, he is a symbol of Mongol national independence, or at least autonomy. To the Chinese, he is the glorious first emperor of a Chinese dynasty of Mongol nationality, a symbol of the multinational character of Chinese history.

Chinggis Khan's association with political theology is twofold. It was probably during the time of Kublai, grandson of Chinggis, that the concept of a dual Buddhist world government was introduced: the ruler of the state is the king, as represented by Chinggis Khan and his successors, the Mongolian great khans; the head of the religion is the religious teacher, the lama, as represented by Buddha Śākyamuni and his successors, the Tibetan hierarchs. The two orders of state and religion, based on mutual harmony and distribution of functions, guarantee secular and spiritual well-being. This concept, however, has never been fully realized. Kublai became not the ruler of a Tibeto-Mongol Buddhist state, but rather the first Mongol emperor of China.

Another notion of Chinggis Khan that links political and religious images proved to be more successful. In this view, Chinggis Khan, protected by Heaven, becomes the son of Heaven (Tengri) or the son of Khormusta, the lord of the gods *(tengri),* the Indian Indra, whose attribute is the thunderbolt. In Mahāyāna Buddhism, Indra developed into the *bodhisattva* Vajrapāṇi, the "bearer of the thunderbolt," a figure symbolic of power. It is power that is the principal quality of Chinggis Khan and his people, the Mongols. At the same time, however, in ideological or even genealogical terms, Chinggis Khan becomes a successor to the first king of humankind, the Indian Mahasammata.

There are three aspects to the deification of Chinggis Khan. First, he became the ancestral deity of the ruling Borjigit clan, the state, and the whole Mongol people, guarding them against all evil. Sacrifices to Chinggis Khan, his family, and his war genies *(sülde)* seem to be offered even today in his main sanctuary, the Eight White Yurts, in the Ordos district of Inner Mongolia. He is also still officially venerated by Mongolian refugees in Taiwan. Second, Chinggis was incorporated into the Lamaist-Buddhist pantheon as a local guardian deity of comparatively low rank. In the practice of folk religion he became fused with the ancestral deity. Third, traits of an initiatory god were imputed to Chinggis Khan; as this deity, he introduced marriage customs, seasonal festivals connected with the nomadic economy, and certain ritual practices of daily life.

SEE ALSO Inner Asian Religions; Mongol Religions.

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CHING-T'U SEE JINGTU

CHINUL

CHINUL (1158–1210), also known as National Master Puril Pojo; founder of the indigenous Chogye school of Korean Sŏn (Chin., Chan; Jpn., Zen). Chinul was born in 1158 to a gentry family in the Koryŏ capital of Kaesŏng. When seven years old, he was ordained into the Sagul-san lineage of the Nine Mountains school of early Sŏn and soon distinguished himself in both meditation and scriptural study. Chinul became dissatisfied with the quality of practice within the degenerate Sŏn schools of his time, however, and increasingly turned for guidance to the sources that he considered to contain authentic information on Buddhist meditative culture: scriptures and commentaries and the records of early Sŏn and Chan masters. Prompted by his vision of the basic unity of Sŏn and the scriptural teachings (*kyo*; Chin., *jiao*), Chinul developed an approach to Buddhism that combined the theoretical aids of Hwaŏm (Chin., Huayan) doctrine, especially as formulated in works by the Huayan commentator Li Tongxuan (635–730), with the practical concerns of Chan meditation, as typified in the instructions of Dahui Zonggao (1089–1163). This unique synthesis is rightly regarded as one of the most distinctively Korean contributions to Buddhist thought and illustrates the ecumenical penchant that is so characteristic of the Korean church. Chinul's insights provided a modus operandi for consolidating the divided Koryŏ Buddhist church, which remained bifurcated between the Sŏn and scholastic schools despite Ŭich'ŏn's attempts at unification a century before. More important for the future of the tradition, however, Chinul's thought also served as the inspiration for the development of a truly indigenous Korean school of Sŏn, the Chogye school, of which he is considered the founder.

Chinul outlined an approach to Buddhist practice that begins with the intuitive grasp of the significance of the scriptural teaching that an ordinary person (i.e., the practitioner himself) is already identical to the buddhas (enlightened beings). This sudden awakening of understanding (*haeo*; Chin., *jiewu*) brings about the provisional entrance into the Buddhist path of practice (Skt., *mārga*) at the first of the ten levels of faith. Awakening was then to be refined continuously in order to remove defilements and develop salutary qualities of mind. This gradual training finally culminates in the awakening of realization (*chŭngo*; Chin., *zhengwu*), the direct experience of the truths that are originally understood intellectually, which takes place at the first of the ten abidings (*daśavihāra*), the formal entrance into the *bodhisattva* path. This approach of sudden awakening/gradual cultivation (*tono chŏmsu*; Chin., *dunwu jianxiu*) was heavily indebted to the insights of the Chinese Chan/Huayan master Zongmi (780–841), another of the main influences on Chinul's thought.

Three principal meditative techniques were used by Chinul to bring about the consummation of this soteriological process: the dual cultivation of concentration and wisdom, as explained in the *Liuzu tanjing* (Platform scripture of the sixth patriarch); faith and understanding according to the complete and sudden school of Hwaŏm; and the distinctively Sŏn approach of investigating the critical phrase (*hwadu*; Chin., *huatou*). Chinul was the first Korean master to teach the formal *hwadu* technique developed by Dahui Zonggao, which is better known by the synonymous term *kongan* (Chin., *gong'an*; Jpn., *kōan*). In several of his writings Chinul provides an exhaustive outline of the correct approach to investigating the *hwadu,* while emphasizing its affinities with more traditional soteriological schemes. The initial investigation of the meaning of the *hwadu* (*ch'amŭi*; Chin., *canyi*) counteracts the discriminative tendencies of thought by focusing the mind on a single insoluble question. This concentration ultimately removes the obstacle of understanding and catalyzes the awakening of understanding. Continuing to investigate only the word itself devoid of any conceptual content (*ch'amgu*; Chin., *canju*) engenders the state of no-thought (*munyŏm*; Chin., *wunian*), which brings about the awakening of realization and the adept's initiation into the formal *mārga.*

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Korea; Chan; Huayan; Zongmi.

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CHINVAT BRIDGE, the "crossing" or "bridge of the separator" or of the "decision"—the meaning is not certain—is, in the Zoroastrian tradition, a mythical bridge that souls must cross to go to Paradise. They succeed in crossing it only if they are souls of the *asha-van,* that is, faithful followers of *asha,* truth and order (Vedic, *ṛta*), the fundamental principle of Indo-Iranian religion. If they are souls of the *dregvant,* that is, followers of *druj* (falsehood), they will fall off the bridge, which for them will narrow itself to a razor's edge, and they will forever reside in Hell. Indeed, Chinvat Bridge stretches over the infernal abysses. One of its ends is on the peak of Mount Harā, also known as Alburz or Harā Berez ("high Harā")—a mythical mountain that figures importantly in Indo-Iranian cosmological conceptions; the other end reaches Paradise *(garōdman),* which the soul of the *ashavan* will enter after passing through the "Region of the Mixed" *(hamistagān)* and then through the halls of Good Thought, Good Word, and Good Deed.

Awaiting the soul on Chinvat Bridge is a divine tribunal composed of the deities Mithra, Sraosha ("discipline"), and Rashnu ("the judge"), assisted by Arshtāt ("justice"). It is then that the soul confronts its own inner self, its *daēnā,* the sum of its thoughts, words, and deeds. The *daēnā* can take the form of a magnificent maiden or of a horrible witch, according to the individual case. It serves as psychopomp for the rest of the voyage, accompanying the soul of the *ashavan* to paradise, where it is received by Vohu Manah ("good thought"), one of the Amesha Spentas, or beneficent immortals, and comforted for the difficult and painful test it experienced during its separation from the body.

This scenario is very ancient: Chinvat Bridge and the *daēnā* are both mentioned in the *Gāthās.* Many aspects of this belief—in particular, that of the bridge—are reminiscent of conceptions in other religious traditions, above all those of the shamanistic variety.

A passage to the beyond, Chinvat Bridge can also be considered the path of the soul to heaven during an ecstatic experience (Nyberg, 1938). It thus figures not only in conceptions of the afterlife but also in the religious transports that occur during initiations, which are analogous to death.

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CHIPPEWA RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS See ANISHINAABE RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS

CHI-TSANG See JIZANG

CH'ŎNDOGYO (Religion of the Heavenly Way) is an indigenous Korean religion influenced by Confucianism and Daoism. It was founded in 1860 by Ch'oe Suun (Che-u; 1824–1864) in reaction to the traditional religions of Korea and in an attempt to offer a new religious dispensation to the masses. Originally known as Tonghak (Eastern Learning), the movement was also a reaction to Christianity, known as Sohak (Western Learning). The name was changed to Ch'ŏndogyo in 1905.

Suun was born in Kyŏngju, the ancient capital of the kingdom of Silla. According to Ch'ŏndogyo tradition, he received from God a revelation of *ch'ŏndo* (the Heavenly Way), a new universal truth. His teaching attracted a large following, but it was regarded as dangerous by the government, and he was martyred. Nevertheless, the movement continued to grow under the leadership of Suun's successor, Ch'oe Haewŏl (Si-hyŏng; 1827–1898), and under the third leader, Sohn Ŭiam (Pyŏng-hŭi; 1861–1922), Ch'ŏndogyo became one of the major religions of Korea. The writings of these first three leaders form the Ch'ŏndogyo scripture (*Ch'ŏndogyo kyŭngjŭn*). The most important part of this canon is Suun's writings, known as Tonghak Scripture or even Ch'ŏndogyo Scripture.

The antigovernmental Tonghak Revolution of 1894, a popular uprising under Tonghak leadership, helped to modernize Korean society. Ch'ŏndogyo also played a leading role among Korean religions in the Samil (March 1) Independence Movement of 1919 against Japanese colonialism. Since the demise of Sohn Uiam, Ch'ŏndogyo has remained a religion with a democratic system of ecclesiastical government. Currently, Ch'ŏndogyo membership is approximately one million and its headquarters are in Seoul. The church plays no active role in South Korean politics. In North Korea, Ch'ŏndogyo has been persecuted under communism since 1945.

Beliefs and Practices. The common term for God in Ch'ŏndogyo is Hanullim, or Heavenly Lord, although scripture also uses the epithet Ch'ŏnju, a Chinese form of Hanullim. (The latter is related to other Korean names for God, Hanŭnim and Hananim.) Ch'ŏndogyo conceives God as the totality of life or the universe, and his immanence is emphasized more than his transcendence.

The Ch'ŏndogyo view of human nature is expressed in two key phrases, "Si Ch'ŏnju" ("Man bears divinity") and "In nae Ch'on" ("Man is God"). Man is one with God in essence and in potentiality, and realizes this oneness in the practice of sincere faith and morality. These ideas reflect a mystical as well as a humanistic tendency. Since man is essentially divine, one must treat others with the utmost concern, respect, sincerity, dignity, equality, and justice. Thus the injunction "Sain yŏch'ŏn" ("Treat man as God") has been the central ethical teaching of Ch'ŏndogyo. This democratic principle was a revolutionary one in nineteenth-century feudalistic Korean society.

The Ch'ŏndogyo concept of human destiny is basically this-worldly, expressed in terms of a divine life or kingdom of heaven on earth. Ch'ŏndogyo emphasizes a cooperative community of humankind.

In Ch'ŏndogyo, the spiritual life is fostered by observance of the Five Practices (*ogwan*):

1. Incantation (*chumun*). Ch'ŏndogyo devotees seek oneness with God by chanting a formula that translates: "Ultimate Energy being here and now, I yearn for its great descent. Bearing God, I become firm and well. Never forgetting, I become aware of all." It is chanted at 9:00 PM every day and also at other times on special occasions. At the Sunday worship service, the second half of the incantation ("Bearing God . . .") is chanted.
2. Pure Water (*ch'ŏngsu*). In all ceremonies and at 9:00 PM daily, a bowl of pure water is placed on a table and the worshipers meditate on the significance of water as a symbol of spiritual purity.
3. Service Day *(siil).* The Sunday worship service includes prayer, hymns, scripture reading, and a sermon.
4. Sincerity Rice (*sŏngmi*). Believers put aside some rice each day and offer it to the church at the end of the month.
5. Prayer (*kido*). Prayer expresses the worshiper's wishes. A silent meditative prayer called *simgo* (heart address) is also practiced at mealtimes, before and after sleeping, and in all ceremonies.

Finally, Ch'ŏndogyo stresses moral discipline. It requires of its followers that they keep a steadfast mind, avoid materialistic desires, and cultivate sincerity, respect for others, and faith.

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CHŎNG YAGYONG (1762–1836), foremost representative of Korea's Sirhak (Practical Learning) movement and creator of a theistic Confucian philosophy. He is best known by his honorific name, Tasan. The Sirhak movement was characterized by a spirit of seeking evidence to establish fact, as opposed to more speculative modes of thought, and a spirit of practicality as seen in studies concerned with administrative and economic reform. Contemporary Koreans look to Sirhak as a kind of indigenous proto-modernity within their own tradition, although the movement seems to have largely dissolved by the second half of the nineteenth century. Tasan is especially revered as the preeminent intellectual figure of the movement, a polymath who mastered the principles of Western mechanics to build a town wall, wrote insightful treatises on government and social reform, and in his many works passed in critical review some two thousand years of Confucian learning. He was also one of East Asia's most prolific authors: his collected works, written in literary Chinese, come to more than eighteen thousand pages.

In his youth Tasan was a member of the small group of scholars that became interested in the Chinese writings of the Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci (1552–1610). In 1784, while on a tribute mission to Beijing, one of the members of the group, Yi Sŭnghun, visited a European missionary and was baptized; he returned to Korea and baptized a number of other members in the group, including Tasan's two brothers. The movement spread rapidly, and when the first priest arrived in Korea in 1794 there were already some four thousand Korean Catholics.

It is not clear whether Tasan was ever baptized, but his connections to Catholicism were close enough to implicate him in the first large-scale purge of Catholics from government in 1801. The nineteen years of exile that followed these persecutions were a period of enforced seclusion in which Tasan devoted himself completely to study and writing, a style of life he maintained after the ban was lifted. During this long period he occupied himself not only with the practical studies typical of Sirhak but with the whole tradition of Confucian scholarship. In fact more than half of his voluminous collected works is devoted to commentary on the Confucian classics and related matters.

Tasan's reappraisal of the Confucian tradition is unusual, perhaps unique, for he took his viewpoint from the earliest classics, those that preserved an early Chinese theism that was already waning by the time of Confucius. On this basis, he reconstructed not just a primitive theistic Confucianism but a philosophically systematic Confucian theism that matched the sophisticated metaphysical and ascetic systems of the neo-Confucians. His work in this regard is notable especially for the completeness and maturity with which he grasped the ramifications of a theistic perspective.

Tasan's Confucianism had no intellectual heir. In part this is because he spent his last thirty-five years under a cloud of suspicion and in relative isolation, in part because his accomplishments occurred when Korea was on the threshold of a tumultuous change that dislocated the tradition he had accepted as authoritative.

SEE ALSO Confucianism in Korea; Ricci, Matteo.

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Revised Bibliography

CHOSEN PEOPLE SEE ELECTION

CHOU TUN-I SEE ZHOU DUNYI

CHRIST SEE JESUS

CHRISTENSEN, ARTHUR (1875–1945), Danish Orientalist and folklorist. Arthur Emanuel Christensen was born in Copenhagen, where, apart from short periods of study and travel, he spent his life. He studied in Berlin and Göttingen, passing his *Studentereksamen* in 1893 and obtaining his *candidatus magisterii* (master's degree) in French, history, and Latin in 1900. During his university years, Christensen was also a fervent student of Persian, Avestan, Arabic, Sanskrit, and Turkish. He studied under the famous Iranologist F. C. Andreas, and, in 1903, he obtained his Ph.D. He became a teacher and journalist, specializing in foreign politics. In 1919, he was appointed professor extraordinarius of Iranian philology at the University of Copenhagen, an office that he held for the rest of his life.

Christensen was a prolific writer who wrote on many aspects of Iranian cultural history, including language (dialect studies), folklore, general history, history of religions, philosophy, and music. His magnum opus, *L'empire des Sassanides: Le peuple, l'état, la cour* (1907), was written from a religio-historical point of view. Though Christensen elaborated various points in Sassanid history, he was chiefly concerned with chronological and purely historical and legendary elements. Examples of this interest are his *Le règne du roi Kawādh I et le communisme masdakite* (1925), which deals with the fifth-century communalist reformer Mazdak, and "La légende du sage Buzurjmihr" (*Acta Orientalia* 8, 1930), which examines one of the strangest figures of the Sassanid tradition.

Of religious life as such Christensen seems to have had no real sense; in his heart he doubted that it was possible to gain secure knowledge of what had once been a living religion in ancient Iran. His intention was to give a complete representation of the Iranian legendary history, the religious and national heritage that the Sassanids took over and attempted to legitimate as their own. He carried out his plan in a series of works of extraordinary importance for Indo-Iranian research in the areas of legend and religion, and for the understanding of legends and folktales in general. Through his endeavors to provide a theoretical and practical foundation for the study of tradition, legend, and myth, Christensen encountered the works of folklorists such as Axel Olrik and C. W. von Sydow, which led him into studies of general folklore, folk psychology, and philosophy. Christensen's foremost contribution to the study of folklore is his *Trebrødre- og Tobrødre Stamsagn* (1916), which gives a simple and natural psychological explanation of national ancestral legends.

To Avestan studies Christensen brought new understanding and inspiration. Problems concerning the time and environment of Zarathushtra (Zoroaster) and the chronology of the *Gatha* and the *Yasht*s were his main concern. The systematic expression of his thought is given in several works: “Quelques notices sur les plus anciennes périodes du Zoroastrisme” (*Acta Orientalia* 4, 1926, pp. 81–115), *Études sur le Zoroastrisme de la Perse antique* (1928), and *Le premier chapitre du Vendidad et l’histoire primitive des tribus iraniennes* (1943). These works reveal Christensen as a bold interpreter whose theses would both inspire and irritate his contemporaries and future scholars.

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CHRISTIAN ETHICS. The three primary manifestations of Christianity—Eastern Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism, and Protestantism—have recognized that Christian faith involves a particular way of life. The good news of salvation in Jesus Christ calls for a life of discipleship. The scriptures point out that Christian believers are to live and act in certain ways. Conversion to Jesus Christ and membership in the Christian community involve moral exigencies.

CHRISTIAN ETHICS IN GENERAL. The Bible is the book of Christianity, but it does not contain Christian ethics as such. The Bible does include moral teachings and descriptions of the moral life of believers in Yahveh and in Jesus. The distinction between morality and ethics is significant. Morality refers to the actions, dispositions, attitudes, virtues, and ways of life that should characterize the moral person and society, in this case the Christian person and the Christian community. Christian ethics operates on the level of the theoretical and the scientific and tries to explain the Christian moral life in a thematic, systematic, coherent, and consistent manner. It is possible for one to attempt a biblical ethic that makes such an explanation of biblical morality, but that ethic would be based on the moral teaching found in Scripture. Biblical ethics and Christian ethics are not coextensive. The subject matter of Christian ethics is the Christian moral life and teaching, which is much broader than biblical moral life and teaching.

The relationship between Christian ethics and philosophical ethics is important. The significant differences between the two result from the different sources of ethical wisdom and knowledge employed. Philosophical ethics is based on human reason and human experience and does not accept the role of faith and revelation that is central to Christian ethics. However, Christian ethics poses the same basic questions and has the same formal structure as philosophical ethics. All ethics attempts to respond to the same questions: What is the good? What values and goals should be pursued? What attitudes and dispositions should characterize the person? What acts are right? What acts are wrong? How do the individual and society go about making ethical decisions? What are just societal structures?

Contemporary ethicists speak about three generally accepted formal approaches to ethics. The classical forms are teleology and deontology. The teleological approach determines what is the end or the good at which one should aim and then determines the morality of means in relationship to that end. The deontological model understands morality primarily in terms of duty, law, or obligation. Such an approach is primarily interested in what is right. In the twentieth century, some ethicists (e.g., H. Richard Niebuhr) have proposed a third model: the responsibility model, which is primarily interested in what is “fitting.” Within Christian ethics all these different models have been employed. Teleology, for example, sees the end of the moral life as union with and participation in God, which becomes the good and the end of the moral life, thus specifying as good those means that attain that end. Deontological Christian ethics has often seen the moral life in terms of the Ten Commandments or the revealed word of God as the law Christians are to follow.

God's law determines what is right and wrong. The responsibility model understands the moral life on the basis of the Christian's response to the action and working of God in the world and in history.

The vast majority of Christian ethicists would agree that theological ethics is truly a form of ethics, that it asks the same questions and has the same formal structure as philosophical ethics. However, some Christians working out of a more fundamentalistic approach to the scriptures or out of a Barthian perspective might not agree that Christian ethics is a species of ethics as such.

SOURCES. What distinguishes Christian ethics from philosophical ethics and other religious ethics are the sources of wisdom and knowledge that contribute to Christian ethics. All Christian ethics recognizes the Christian scriptures, tradition, and church teaching as the revelatory sources of moral wisdom and knowledge. However, there is much discussion as to how these sources relate to one another and to the nonrevelatory sources of Christian ethics. The three major expressions of Christianity—Eastern Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism, and Protestantism—and their corresponding ethical traditions emphasize different sources of Christian ethics. At least in theory, all these traditions give primary emphasis to sacred scripture, but there is no general agreement about how the scriptures should be used in Christian ethics.

The role accorded scripture in Christian ethics depends heavily on one's understanding of scripture's relationship to other sources of wisdom and knowledge. On such questions as those having to do with conversion or change of heart, the general attitudes a Christian should have, and the goals and dispositions of the Christian life, the scriptures can give much content to Christian ethics. On the question of precise norms and rules of moral action, however, many Christian ethicists are cautious in their attempts to find specific concrete norms that are absolutely binding in all circumstances. Protestantism's emphasis on the primacy of scripture and downplaying of tradition and church teaching distinguishes its ethics from that of the other two major forms of Christianity.

Since the church is a living communion proceeding through different historical and cultural circumstances under the guidance of the continuing presence of the Holy Spirit, God's self-revelation comes also through tradition as the preaching, teaching, celebration, and practice of the Christian faith. Within the general category of tradition, special emphasis is given, especially by the Eastern Orthodox churches, to the teachings of the patristic period and to the councils and legislation of that time. Authoritative or authentic church teaching is a special form of tradition that is found in the councils and synods of the churches, and in Roman Catholicism it is connected with the teaching office of the bishops, especially of the pope as the bishop of Rome and pastor of the universal church.

Christian ethics has always grappled with the question of whether human nature, human reason, and human experience can be sources of ethical wisdom and knowledge. The Roman Catholic tradition has emphasized natural law based on the ability of human reason to arrive at ethical wisdom and knowledge. This emphasis has often been more primary than the influence of revelatory sources. Eastern Orthodox and Protestant ethics have been more suspicious of human reason and experience, although today many ethicists in these traditions give reason and experience an important, though still subordinate, role.

EARLY HISTORY. In the first one thousand years of Christianity, there was no discipline of Christian ethics as such. Moral teaching was primarily pastoral, apologetical, homiletical, and catechetical, although at times there were systematic studies of particular issues. An early problem for the Christian church was the relationship of Christian mores to the culture and mores of the wider society. Pedagogical devices such as "the two ways" (elaborated on in the *Didache* and *Shepherd of Hermas*) and catalogs of virtues and vices were used by the early Christian writers. Often the patristic authors borrowed from Stoic and Neoplatonic philosophies of the times. The apologists of the second century attempted to show that Christian morality was in keeping with the best pagan understandings of morality.

In the third century, Tertullian stressed the differences between pagan and Christian moral teaching and proposed a rigorous and legalistic morality. The early church fathers relied heavily on scriptural teaching and often understood moral life in terms of the imitation of Christ. Exhortation to perseverance in the face of martyrdom, the avoidance of any type of idolatry, and the need for prayer, fasting, almsgiving, chastity, patience, and justice were stressed. Eastern moral thought, as reflected in that of Athanasius and the Alexandrians, stressed the divinization of human beings through the gift of the Holy Spirit. The Antiochian school understood justification in terms of sharing in the suffering, death, and resurrection of Jesus. Throughout the period of persecution great emphasis was put on martyrdom, but afterward substitutions for martyrdom (the word originally meant "witness") were proposed: the monastic life or strict obedience to God's will, sometimes called "the martyrdom of conscience."

In the West after the third century, the most significant figures were Ambrose, Augustine, and Pope Gregory I. Ambrose's *De officiis* is perhaps the most systematic, scientific approach to Christian morality, with its basis in the treatise of Cicero. Gregory, in his homilies and his *Moralia in Job,* often relies on the moral teaching of Augustine but emphasizes the practical and pastoral aspects of Christian morality. Augustine defends a Christian moral understanding against the dualism and pessimism of Manichaeans on the one hand and the optimism of Pelagians on the other. Augustine devoted a number of works to specific moral questions, such as lying, continence, marriage, and concupiscence. His major works, the *Confessions* and the *City of God,* also contain some methodological and substantive considerations in Christian ethics, even though there is no fully systematic treatise on moral theology. Augustine stresses the centrality of the grace of God, which delivers sinners from evil and makes the Christian life possible. The moral life is described in terms of love. The love of God aims at the enjoyment of God for God's own sake and uses everything else for the love of God, whereas desire involves attempts to enjoy self, neighbor, and earthly things without reference to God. These two different loves are the sources of the good life and the bad life, respectively. Augustine's eschatology emphasizes a great difference between the present world and the future reign of God at the end of time, a recognition that grounds his profound realism about life in this world.

In the East, the fathers showed a great interest in contemplation. Obedience to God's commandments, the practice of asceticism, and contemplation were proposed not only for monks but for all Christians. At the end of the patristic era in the East, John of Damascus (d. 749) summarized patristic teachings on the moral life by using Aristotelian concepts.

Before the end of the first millennium an important development occurred in the practice of the sacrament of penance. In the West, the new form of private penance spread from Ireland to the continent, and with the new repeatable private penance the *libri poenitentiales* (penitential books) came into existence. These books assigned a particular penance for a particular sin and were often used in a very mechanistic way. There were also penitentials in the East, such as the *Penitential of John the Faster* and others, which were borrowed from the West. However, the sacrament of penance in the East always emphasized the spiritual direction aspect of the relationship between penitent and monk-confessor, thereby avoiding, at least in theory, the dangers of legalism and ritualism. A scientific and systematic Christian ethic developed only in the second millennium.

The Eastern Orthodox Tradition. Eastern Orthodox theology, in both its Greek and Russian approaches, is distinguished from other Christian ethics by its emphasis on tradition, especially the teachings of the church fathers, as important sources of moral wisdom and knowledge. The most distinctive characteristic of Orthodox ethics is its relationship to spirituality. Pastoral practice has emphasized the role of monks and confessors as spiritual directors who help guide the spiritual life of the faithful. The goal or end of the moral life is to become like God. The way to this full deification (*theosis* in the Greek) is through asceticism and prayer. Contemplation and contemplative prayer as parts of the struggle for deification are stressed. This perfectionist ethic calls for constant deepening of the believer's participation in divine life.

The anthropological basis for this movement toward deification is the creation of human beings in the image and likeness of God. "Image" consists in the human moral capacities of virtue, intellect, ethical judgment, and self-determination. The image of God is darkened and wounded by sin but still remains. "Likeness" refers to the human potential to become like God. In the Orthodox tradition, as in the Roman Catholic tradition, Christian morality is not heteronomous, for Christian morality brings the human to its fullest perfection. In the same way such an ethics stresses both the providence of God and the responsibility of Christians.

Within the Orthodox tradition there is doubt that natural law is a source of ethical wisdom and knowledge. Many affirm such knowledge on the basis of creation and the image of God embodied in human moral capacity, but others strongly deny this knowledge. At times the polemical nature of discussions between the Orthodox and Roman Catholic traditions seems to have influenced the Orthodox denial of natural law.

Law in general has a significant but not exclusive role to play in Orthodox ethics. Law is found in the Ten Commandments, the Beatitudes, the teachings of the New Testament, and the sayings of the church fathers. Although some Orthodox ethicists might have become legalistic or ritualistic, the tradition itself generally guards against legalism, especially by invocation of the principle of "economy." Economy allows exceptions to the law when the law stands in the way of the higher values of human persons and communities.

Orthodox ethics has been accused of lacking a world-transforming aspect and failing to develop an adequate social ethic, but many defenders of the Orthodox tradition deny this charge. In the past, social ethics was colored by recognition of a "symphony" between the church and the state in the single organism of the Christian empire. Today, the diverse settings in which the Orthodox church functions have forced it to try to work out a social ethic and the church's relationship to the state. Russian Orthodoxy in the twentieth century often found itself in relationship to communist governments, but the situation dramatically changed after 1989. In Europe and the United States, Russian and Greek Orthodox churches now also find themselves in a diaspora situation in which they, as a minority, must develop their own approach to social ethics. The Greek Orthodox church and the Russian Orthodox church have joined the World Council of Churches, so that Orthodoxy now participates, though not without tensions, in the current discussions and positions taken on contemporary social questions by the World Council.

Historical Development of Eastern Orthodox Ethics. Christian ethics as a separate discipline emerged comparatively late in the Orthodox tradition. After the Great Schism of the ninth century, the penitentials continued to be an important genre of moral teaching in the East. Despite some legalistic and ritualistic tendencies, Orthodoxy's emphasis on spirituality and striving for perfection served as a safeguard against a minimalistic legalism.

In Russian Orthodoxy the seventeenth-century Kiev school attempted to refute Roman Catholicism and its ethics by developing a theology strongly influenced by scholasticism. The *Orthodox Confession* of Petr Moghila (d. 1646), which was approved with slight modifications by the Greek patriarch at the Synod of Jerusalem (1672), explains Christian moral teaching on the basis of the nine precepts of the church, the seven sacraments, the Beatitudes, and the Ten Commandments. However, even the Kiev school stressed more distinctly Russian and patristic theology in its ascetical and spiritual works.

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Russian Orthodox ethics again saw both dialogue and polemics with Roman Catholic and Protestant ethics in the West. Feofan Prokopovich (d. 1736) ignored the Orthodox tradition, rejected Catholic scholasticism, and turned to Protestant authors for his ethical principles. Some subsequent authors followed the same approach, but F. Fiveiskii (d. 1877) returned to more patristic sources and to a more Catholic methodology in his manual of moral theology, the official textbook in all seminaries until 1867.

The years from 1860 to 1863 saw the publication of P. F. Soliarskii's moral theology, which tried to combine patristic, Roman Catholic, and Protestant approaches to ethics. An abridged edition of this influential work was used in the schools for forty years. In the late nineteenth century the influence of modernism and its stress on the role of the natural moral sense influenced some approaches to moral theology. However, in addition to these manuals of moral theology, there was also a spiritual and mystical literature that drew heavily from patristic sources. In the twentieth century, Nikolai Berdiaev and Sergei Bulgakov appealed to the Russian Orthodox tradition in developing what can be called a communitarian personalism with emphasis on subjectivity, freedom, love, and the need to transform the objective world.

According to Stanley S. Harakas, Christian ethics as a separate theological discipline in Greek Orthodoxy developed in the modern period and emerged as a separate, distinct, scientific discipline only in the nineteenth century. Three different schools or approaches characterize Greek Orthodox moral theology from that time. The Athenian school, strongly influenced by philosophical idealism, sees no vital differences between Christian ethics and philosophical ethics. The Constantinopolitan school is Christocentric and depends heavily on Scripture and the church fathers. The Thessalonian school is apophatic in character, stresses a personalist perspective, and is heavily dependent on the monastic tradition. In his *Toward Transfigured Life,* Harakas tries to bring these three schools together.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC TRADITION. The characteristics of Roman Catholic "moral theology," as Christian ethics has come to be called in the Catholic tradition, are insistence on mediation, acceptance of natural law, and the role of the church. Mediation is perhaps the most characteristic aspect of Roman Catholic theology in general. There is a distinctive Catholic emphasis on conjunctions—of Scripture and tradition, faith and reason, faith and works, grace and nature, the divine and human, Jesus and the church and Mary and the saints, love (as well as the virtues) and the commandments. This approach is an attempt to be universal and to embrace all elements, but it may fall into dichotomy. For example, rather than seeing tradition as a mediation of revelation whose privileged witness is in sacred Scripture, Scripture and tradition were seen as two separate fonts of revelation. Further, faith and works, properly understood, mean that the gift of salvation is mediated in and through the human response; a perennial danger is to absolutize works. Likewise, mediation insists on the importance of love, but love mediated through all the other virtues and commandments, which, however, must not be emphasized only in themselves.

In the Roman Catholic tradition, natural law can best be understood as human reason directing human beings to their end in accord with their nature. In the classic tradition based on Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), human nature has a threefold structure: that which is shared with all substances, that which is common to humans and all the animals, and that which is proper to human beings as such. Human nature has its innate teleology on these three levels, and human reason discovers these ends and directs all human activity to them. In practice, Catholic moral theology often considered life in this world or in the temporal sphere as almost totally governed by natural law and not by the gospel, or by any explicitly Christian considerations. Before Vatican II, Catholic moral theology was dependent on reason and philosophical ethics and downplayed the role of the Scriptures and specific theological understandings.

The third characteristic of Roman Catholic moral theology is its insistence on relationship to the church. Catholic ecclesiology recognizes a special teaching office in matters of faith and morals that is given to the church, specifically the pope and the bishops. Since the seventeenth century there has been a growing intervention of authoritative papal teaching in moral matters. Catholic ecclesiology in accord with the teaching of Vatican I (1870) recognizes an infallible teaching function that is exercised through ecumenical councils and the ex cathedra teaching of the pope, as well as definitive teachings by the pope and the bishops. A noninfallible, authoritative teaching office is also exercised by the councils and especially by the pope through encyclicals, allocutions, and the various offices of the Curia Romana. The vast majority of Catholic moral theologians agree that there has never been an infallible papal teaching on a specific moral matter.

The authoritative church teaching offices have also served to keep the methodology of Catholic ethics somewhat monolithic. In the late nineteenth century, and subsequently, the popes have authoritatively directed that Roman Catholic theology and philosophy be taught according to the principles and the approach of Thomas Aquinas. Until comparatively recently, Catholic theology in general and moral theology in particular followed a Thomistic philosophical approach.

Church rites and practice have also influenced Catholic moral theology. Ever since the seventeenth century the primary purpose of moral theology textbooks has been to train confessors for the sacrament of penance, with emphasis on their role as judges of sinful actions. This narrow orientation resulted in an act-centered approach that was casuistic, based primarily on law, and aimed at determining the existence and gravity of sins.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ROMAN CATHOLIC ETHICS. Roman Catholic moral theology or Christian ethics developed into a scientific discipline earlier than in Eastern Orthodoxy. In the thirteenth century, systematic and scientific theology appeared with the work of the great Scholastic theologians, especially Thomas Aquinas. Moral theology in Thomas's thought is an integrated part of his systematic theology, not a separate discipline. The basic structure of Thomas's moral theology is teleological. The ultimate end of human beings is a happiness attained when the intellect knows perfect truth and the will loves the perfect good. For the Christian, the beatific vision fulfills and perfects human nature. The Franciscan school, represented by Alexander of Hales (d. 1245), Bonaventure (d. 1274), and John Duns Scotus (d. 1308), affirmed the primacy of the will and of charity and emphasized moral theology as wisdom.

The fourteenth century saw a criticism of Thomas from a nominalist perspective that grounded the good not in ontological reality but solely in the will of God and employed a more deontological approach to ethics. After the thirteenth century there appeared the *Summae confessorum,* very practical handbooks without any philosophical basis or analysis, which often arranged in alphabetical order the problems that the confessor would face in practice.

The *Institutiones theologiae moralis* appeared in the seventeenth century. These manuals, which became the standard textbooks of Catholic moral theology until Vatican II, began with a brief description of the ultimate end, which was followed by treatises on human acts, law as the objective norm of morality, and conscience as the subjective norm of morality. The virtues are mentioned, but sinful acts, often described on the basis of the Ten Commandments, remain the central concern. The sacraments are discussed, but almost exclusively from the viewpoint of moral and legal obligations. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a controversy that arose between rigorists and laxists was finally resolved after papal intervention through the moderate approach of Alfonso Liguori (d. 1787), who was later named the patron of Catholic moral theology and of confessors.

Beginning with Leo XIII's encyclical *Rerum novarum* in 1891, a series of official teachings on the social question appeared. Leo and his immediate successors used a natural-law methodology, understood the state as a natural human society, proposed an anthropology that insisted on both the personal and communitarian aspects of human existence (thus avoiding the extremes of capitalism and socialism), recognized the right of workers to organize, and called for the state to intervene when necessary to protect the rights of workers or any particular class that was suffering. The tradition of hierarchical social teaching still exists, but now it stresses some of the newer methodological emphases in Catholic theology and deals with contemporary political and economic problems, especially in a global perspective.

There were attempts at renewal in moral theology, especially from the scriptural and Thomistic perspectives, but Bernhard Häring's *The Law of Christ* (1954) was the most significant single work in the renewal of Catholic moral theology in the pre–Vatican II period. Häring proposed a biblically inspired, Christocentric approach to moral theology based on the divine call to be perfect even as the gracious God is perfect.

The Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) greatly influenced the renewal of moral theology. Now there was greater dialogue with other Christians, non-Christians, and the modern world in general. Contemporary Catholic moral theology, while upholding the goodness of the natural and of the human, has tried to overcome the dichotomy or dualism between the supernatural and the natural. The gospel, grace, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit are related to what happens in daily life in the world. Contemporary moral theology recognizes the need to consider more than acts and lays more emphasis on the person and on the virtues and attitudes of the person. No longer is there a monolithic Catholic moral theology based on a Thomistic natural law; instead, many different philosophical approaches are used. In general, there has been a shift from classicism to historical consciousness, from the objective to the subjective, from nature to person, from order to freedom. In addition to developments in methodology, there are also widespread debates in contemporary Catholic moral theology about the existence of intrinsically evil actions, absolute norms, and the possibility of dissent from noninfallible church teaching. As a result of these differences, some contemporary Catholic moral theologians are calling into question some official Catholic teachings in such areas as sexual and medical ethics, but the official teaching office has not changed on these issues.

THE PROTESTANT TRADITION. Protestant Christian ethics has as its distinctive characteristics an emphasis on freedom, an anticasuistic approach, the primacy of Scripture, and an emphasis on the theological nature of the discipline. Martin Luther (d. 1546) and the reformers in general stressed the freedom of the Christian, and freedom has characterized much of Protestant life and ethics. In Protestantism there is no central church teaching authority to propose authoritative teaching on specific issues or to insist upon a particular approach, as in Roman Catholicism. Consequently, in Protestant ethics there is a great pluralism and a diversity of approaches.

The emphasis on freedom colors the Protestant understanding of God and how God acts in human history. God is free to act and to intervene in history. Generally, Protestant ethics opposes any attempt to claim that God must always act in a particular way. The stress on God's freedom has also influenced a general Protestant unwillingness to base absolute norms on human reason and nature. The freedom of the believer as well as God is safeguarded in Protestant ethics.

The early reformers objected to the Roman Catholic emphasis on merit. They held that salvation comes from faith, not from human works. Protestantism ultimately rejected the Catholic sacrament of penance and thus never developed the casuistry involved in carrying out the role of the confessor as judge. Protestant ethics has been described as an ethics of inspiration, primarily because it does not usually get into a minute philosophical discussion of the morality of particular acts.

The Reformation insistence on the importance of Scripture characterizes much of Protestant ethics, but Scripture has been used in different ways. When God's immanence is stressed, there is a tendency to find in Scripture a moral message that can be lived by Christians in this world. When the transcendence of God is stressed, Scripture tends to be used more dialectically to include a judging and critical role with regard to every human enterprise. Perhaps the greatest change in Protestantism came to the fore in the nineteenth-century dispute over a critical approach to Scripture. Whereas liberal Protestantism—and soon most of mainstream Protestantism—employed literary and historical criticism to understand the Bible, fundamentalist Protestantism has continued to see the Bible primarily in terms of propositional truths or ethical norms and rules that God has revealed for all time and that Christians are called to obey. Such a deontological approach based on God's absolute laws given in Scripture cannot be accepted by Protestants who approach Scripture with the hermeneutical tools of biblical scholarship. Many contemporary Protestants see in Scripture the description of the mighty acts of God in history to which followers of Jesus must respond, and they consequently adopt a responsibility model of Christian ethics rather than a deontological approach.

Protestantism in general gives more significance to the theological aspects of Christian ethics than did traditional Roman Catholic ethics. Catholic ethics tended to see the moral life of all in this world in the light of natural law, whereas Protestantism has generally understood life in this world in relationship to the Bible and to theological concerns. Soteriology, Christology, and eschatology all have some influence on much of Protestant ethics. For example, Protestant ethics tends to see sin primarily in theological categories as a lack of faith, whereas Roman Catholicism understands sin primarily as actions that are morally wrong.

For some Protestants the primacy of grace and of Christ rules out any significant role for the human and the natural in Christian ethics. For others the effects of sin are so strong that human reason and human nature cannot be valid sources of ethical wisdom and knowledge. Even those Protestant ethicists who would be more open to the human on theological grounds shy away from the ontology and metaphysics that undergird Roman Catholic natural-law thinking. Protestants have also tended to give more significance to history than to nature, because history is more compatible with biblical categories and with the insistence on the freedom of God and of human beings.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF PROTESTANT ETHICS. The first systematic, scientific, and independent treatment of Protestant ethics separated from dogmatic theology was produced by Georg Calixtus (d. 1656). Although the early reformers did not write scientific Christian ethics as such, they dealt with significant methodological and substantive issues affecting Christian ethics.

Justification by faith active in love stands at the heart of Lutheran theology and is opposed to merit, justification by works, and legalism. The emphasis on Scripture, even to the point of accepting the axiom "scripture alone," is another characteristic of the Reformation. Luther stressed freedom above all, but the dialectical aspect of his thought is seen in his famous saying "A Christian is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none. A Christian is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all."

Lutheran social ethics is based on the two-realm theory, referring to the realm of creation and the realm of redemption. In the realm of creation, which involves the social life of human beings, there are true vocations for Christians, but the content of these vocations and what one does are not affected by Jesus, faith, or grace. Redemption affects only one's motivations. For this reason, Lutheran social ethics has often been accused of passivism and acceptance of the status quo.

John Calvin (d. 1564) shared much of Luther's theological presuppositions, but he gave greater emphasis to the will, both in God and in human beings. God is primarily sovereign will. Justification does not involve a pietistic response in trust; it means that the will of God becomes active in believers. Calvin came closer to a Roman Catholic understanding, and Calvinists (like Catholics) have tended to become legalists. Calvin was also more open than Luther to a natural-law approach, although not to the Catholic metaphysics of natural law. Like Luther, Calvin stressed the secular vocation of Christians, but he interpreted Christian work in the world in a more active and transforming way. Some later Calvinists have seen in worldly success a sign of God's predestining will for the individual. In the twentieth century, Max Weber proposed the controversial theory that the spirit of capitalism was compatible with and abetted by Calvinist ethics.

The Anabaptist-Mennonite tradition, or the left wing of the Reformation, from its sixteenth-century origins has stressed the radical call of discipleship, believer's baptism, and a committed, inflexible following of the radical ethical demands of the gospel. The believers form a sect that stands in opposition to the existing culture and society and bears witness to the gospel, especially the call to peace and nonviolence.

There has been no dominant figure in Anglican ethics, and thus no established pattern of doing Anglican ethics. However, in the Anglican community there have been important ethical thinkers who have served as a bridge between Roman Catholic ethics and Protestant ethics. Methodism developed a moral theory calling for spiritual growth and moral renewal.

The Enlightenment had a great influence on Protestant theology and ethics. Nineteenth-century Protestantism saw the emergence of liberal theology. Friedrich Schleiermacher (d. 1834), the most outstanding theologian in the nineteenth century, stressed experience and has been called the founder and most famous proponent of Protestant liberalism. Schleiermacher proposed an ethical theory dealing with goods, duties, and virtues, and he saw moral concerns as present and influencing all other areas of life, especially political, intellectual, aesthetic, and religious. Late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century liberal theology stressed the immanence of God working in human experience and history, the possibility of Christians living out the ethics of Jesus, and evolutionary human progress, while it downplayed divine transcendence and the power of sin. Within the context of liberal Protestant theology, the Social Gospel movement came to the fore in the first two decades of the twentieth century in the United States, especially under the leadership of Walter Rauschenbusch (d. 1918). In response to the problems created by the industrial revolution and in response to the privatism and individualism of past Christian ethics, the Social Gospel stressed that the kingdom of God should be made more present on earth and that the social order can and should be Christianized. In England and Germany many Christian thinkers embraced a moderate Christian socialism.

The harsh realities of World War I and the Great Depression occasioned the rise of the neo-orthodoxy of Karl Barth in Europe and the Christian realism of Reinhold Niebuhr in the United States. The reaction stressed the transcendence of God, the dialectical relationship between the existing world and the kingdom of God, the power of sin, and the fact that the fullness of God's kingdom lies outside history. In respect to the contemporary international scene, the World Council of Churches has addressed many contemporary social issues with strong support for liberation movements and has called for just, participative, and sustainable societies.

Even greater diversity characterized Protestant ethics in the latter part of the twentieth century. Methodologically, teleological, deontological, and responsibility models continued to thrive. Some newer methodological approaches have also appeared—an emphasis on praxis, narrative approaches, virtue theory, and on the particularity of Christian ethics as directly addressing only the Christian church and not the world. In terms of content or substance, conservative, liberal, and radical approaches have appeared in both personal and social issues.

CONTEMPORARY SCENE. It is impossible to summarize the developments in Christian ethics since the mid-twentieth century. Paradoxically, greater diversity exists in Christian ethics in general and in each of its three traditions, but at the same time the boundaries separating the three traditions are disappearing and a more ecumenical approach has come to the fore. There are many reasons for this greater diversity. No longer does the European–North American world totally dominate the field of Christian ethics, especially in the Catholic and Protestant traditions. South America, Africa, and Asia have produced an increasing number of Christian ethicists. The emphasis on context and particularity intensifies the diversity as Christian ethicists deal with the realities of their own cultures and ethos. The industrialized world has also witnessed a growing number of women teaching and writing in Christian ethics. Until the latter half of the twentieth century, the seminary was the primary home of Christian ethicists, but now the discipline exists in colleges and universities. As a result, the number of people teaching and writing in the area of Christian ethics has grown considerably. The move to the academy means that Christian ethics now addresses both the church and the academy with different emphases according to different individuals. In this milieu, methodological diversity has flourished. The field of Christian ethics has become so vast and complex that different specializations, such as personal ethics, sexual ethics, bioethics, economic ethics, and political ethics, have come into existence. It is difficult now for any one person to claim to embrace the whole area of Christian ethics.

But the ecumenical aspect of Christian ethics has also increased dramatically, together with shared concerns and approaches even in different cultures and countries. In the United States, Europe, France, and England, ecumenical societies of Christian ethicists exist, hold annual meetings, and encourage greater professionalization in the discipline. These groups both exemplify and facilitate a more ecumenical way of doing Christian ethics. In the diaspora situation, Eastern Orthodox ethicists are a small minority, but they are actively involved in many of these societies.

The important moral issues facing the world in the political, economic, technological, biomedical, and personal areas are the same for all Christians. Addressing issues such as violence, poverty, justice, and bioethical experimentation brings Christian ethicists from diverse traditions closer together. Not only content but also methodological approaches have blurred the lines separating the different traditions and have emphasized common traits. Liberation theology well illustrates a methodological approach that is found today in different religious traditions. Liberation theology began primarily with Catholic theologians in South America in the late 1960s who emphasized the option for the poor, praxis, and the scriptural account of *Exodus* as paradigmatic for understanding salvation and the role of the church today. Various forms of liberation theology now exist in practically all countries of the world, especially in those with a large number of poor, oppressed, and marginalized people. In the United States, black liberation theology began around the same time, originally as a black Protestant approach, though one which has now influenced both black and white, and both Protestant and Catholic, churches in the United States. Feminist liberation theology originally developed primarily in the United States and quickly spread across the globe and across religious traditions and boundaries. Diverse groups of women have occasioned the development of more particular forms of feminist liberation theology, such as womanist (African American women) and *mujerista* theology (Latina and Hispanic women). Thus, on the contemporary scene, Christian ethics has become much more diverse, but, at the same time, communalities and more ecumenical approaches among the three traditions have come to the fore.

SEE ALSO Discipleship; Free Will and Predestination, article on Christian Concepts; Grace; Justification; Merit, article on Christian Concepts; Political Theology.

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In the contemporary era, various authors have dealt with the historical development of Protestant ethics, in addition to earlier works by Troeltsch and H. Richard Niebuhr mentioned above. William H. Lazareth's *Christians in Society: Luther, the Bible, and Social Ethics* (Minneapolis, 2001) explains and defends Lutheran ethics from a contemporary perspective. Eric Fuchs's *La morale selon Calvin* (Paris, 1986) takes a similar perspective with regard to John Calvin. James M. Gustafson's *Christ and the Moral Life* (New York, 1968) explains and criticizes six different approaches taken in Christian ethics to the role of Jesus Christ. Edward LeRoy Long Jr.'s *A Survey of Christian Ethics* (New York, 1967) elucitates the history of Christian ethics in the light of three motifs for formulating the ethical norm and three motifs for implementing ethical decisions. Gary J. Dorrien's *Soul in Society: The Making and Renewal of Social Christianity* (Minneapolis, 1995) provides an overview of the development of Christian social ethics in the twentieth century.

CHARLES E. CURRAN (1987 AND 2005)

CHRISTIAN IDENTITY MOVEMENT is an offshoot of Protestantism found mostly in the United States and other English-speaking countries. The movement is characterized by an anti-Semitic and racist theology. Once the dominant religious orientation on the extreme right in the United States, Christian Identity now appears to be in decline.

HISTORY. Christian Identity developed out of British-Israelism (also known as Anglo-Israelism). British-Israelism emerged in Great Britain during the second half of the nineteenth century. It was neither a church nor a sect but rather an interpretive tendency among Protestants, largely members of the Church of England. Its distinctiveness rested upon its revisionist approach to sacred history. According to Anglo-Israelites, the British Isles had been populated by the Lost Tribes of Israel, who had wandered west from their original place of exile in the Middle East. In many versions of British-Israelism, the tribes were also said to have populated much of northwest Europe. British-Israelites, active at the summit of empire, saw British imperialism as both a divine mission and a demonstration of God's favor.

British-Israelism quickly spread to the United States, where it fitted well with conceptions of manifest destiny. Indeed, as the power of the United States increased, American

Anglo-Israelites began to suggest that the country might be the inheritor of Britain's divine role.

The heyday of British-Israelism came in the 1920s and 1930s, a time when many fringe religious movements gained a hearing. Its chief spokesperson was a Massachusetts lawyer, Howard Rand, whose Anglo-Saxon Federation of America organized chapters throughout the country. Rand's proselytizing was significantly aided by William Cameron, a Ford Motor Company executive. Cameron was the editor of Henry Ford's newspaper, the *Dearborn Independent*, notorious for its anti-Semitic articles in the early 1920s. Cameron's close association with Rand and the Anglo-Saxon Federation anticipated Christian Identity's fusion of British-Israelism and anti-Semitism.

Gradually, the links between British-Israelism in the United States and its English parent weakened. The separation was facilitated by the increasing links between the American extreme right and Anglo-Israelism. This was especially the case in southern California, among individuals associated with Gerald L. K. Smith, the most prominent anti-Semite in the country during the 1940s. Although Smith does not appear to have been a British-Israelite, he and his followers were clearly sympathetic to its rising antipathy toward Jews.

Three individuals in Smith's circle finally created a variation on British-Israelism that definitively marked it off from both its original version and Rand's Americanized form. These three—Wesley Swift, William Potter Gale, and Bertrand Comparet—represent the first leadership cadre of Christian Identity. Their ideas took shape between the end of World War II and the late 1960s, by which time a second generation of leadership was beginning to emerge.

WORLDVIEW AND DOCTRINES. British-Israelism had originally been philo-Semitic, seeing Jews as partners of the Anglo-Saxon peoples in God's plan. Indeed, British-Israelism strongly supported Jewish settlement in Palestine, and saw Britain's administration of Palestine under a League of Nations' mandate as a divine sign that Anglo-Jewish cooperation was predestined. However, the opposition of Zionists to British administration of Palestine after World War II engendered hostility in Anglo-Israelites, who could not understand why Jews did not see them as kin. This feeling of betrayal was notably strong in Rand and his followers.

The shift from philo-Semitism to anti-Semitism presaged the major doctrinal innovation of Christian Identity, the so-called two-seed theory. The two-seed theory, most closely associated with Swift, asserts that two lines of descent emanate from Eve: One consists of the offspring of Eve and Adam, Abel and Seth; the other comes from the child of Eve and Satan, Cain. For most Identity believers, Cain's father was Satan, not Adam, and the sin in the Garden of Eden was the sexual union of Eve with a humanoid "serpent."

The two corollaries drawn from this interpretation are, first, that the primal sin was miscegenation; and, second, that the Jews are Cain's descendants. By claiming Jewish ancestry to be satanic, Identity seeks to completely delegitimize any Jewish claims to God's promises. Instead, divine promises belong to the "true" Israelites, that is, whites of northwestern European heritage. Jews thus come to be seen as literally demonic, and history, both sacred and secular, is recast as a cosmic battle between the white race and its Jewish adversaries. Jews are also seen as counterfeit Israelites, seeking to wrest control of the divine promise from its rightful white bearers.

Nonwhites are said to be the result of separate acts of creation, not involving Adam or Eve. They are considered morally inferior to whites and easily manipulable, and are thought to inhabit some status intermediate between humans and nonhumans. To the extent that they perform any roles in the Identity worldview, they are allies to Jews and sources of racial impurity.

The vision of racial struggle (white "Israelites" versus Jews and nonwhites) supports Identity's version of millennialism. The struggle will reach its climax in an imminent battle between the forces of light and the forces of darkness—Armageddon defined in racial terms. However, Identity rejects the premillennial dispensationalism that dominates Protestant evangelicalism. The rejection is in part based on the prominence dispensationalists give to the fulfillment of prophecies concerning the Jewish people, and their support for the State of Israel. It is also a function of Identity's unwillingness to accept the concept of the Rapture (i.e., the moment at which the saved will be taken up to be with Christ during the chaos of the Tribulation).

Rejection of the Rapture means that Identity believers expect to have to survive the Tribulation, with its seven years of war and persecution. They will, in other words, need to remain on earth through the reign of antichrist until the second coming. Since they must endure the Tribulation, much attention goes to the details of living during a coming period of disorder. That accounts for the frequent overlap of Identity with survivalism, that is, a lifestyle characterized by separation and self-sufficiency, geared to a time when the normal routines of life can no longer be maintained.

PATTERNS OF CONDUCT. Racialism and survivalism have often been reflected in the Identity movement's preference for parts of the country characterized by low population density and very small numbers of Jews and nonwhites. Pockets of believers may thus be found in such areas as the Pacific Northwest east of the coastal cities, and the Missouri-Arkansas Ozarks. At its most extreme, Identity sometimes has been used as a rationale for total withdrawal from the larger society ("going off the grid"). A conspicuous example was the paramilitary Ozark commune, the Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord (also called Zarephath-Horeb), founded in 1976. This group maintained its insularity until a law enforcement raid in 1985.

As self-proclaimed Israelites, Identity groups believe themselves to be governed by the precepts of the Hebrew Bible. They often celebrate such traditionally Jewish holidays as Passover and Sukkot and may observe some biblically-sanctioned dietary laws. They likewise frequently refer to God in biblical terms as Yahweh, YHWH, or YHVH. In other liturgical respects, however, they resemble nondenominational evangelicals.

ORGANIZATION AND AUTHORITY. British-Israelism never became a sect. It always advised adherents to remain members of their accustomed churches. This tendency was maintained in the United States by the Anglo-Saxon Federation. Indeed, Rand never presented himself as other than a layperson. However, the post–World War II development of Identity took a different course.

The key figures in the movement's early development—Swift, Gale, and Comparet—all had ministries of some sort, ranging from Swift's church in Antelope Valley, California, to Comparet's less conventional mail and tape ministry. None had formal seminary training, although Swift appears to have attended a Bible college. Nonetheless, they presented themselves as spiritual leaders and, especially in the cases of Swift and Gale, had congregations.

The pattern set at that time persisted: independent ministries linked only by personal ties and doctrinal similarities. These ministries have included small churches with regular services, Bible study groups, and various types of outreach using printed materials, audio and video recordings, and websites. As a result, power in the movement has always been highly diffused. Given the tendency of individual pastors to resist encroachments on their autonomy, attempts to impose even minimal coordinating mechanisms have failed. Relations among Identity notables have consequently been characterized by a high level of personal rivalry.

The demographic profile of rank-and-file adherents is difficult to determine with any exactness. Identity organizations tend to be secretive and suspicious, since many have attracted the attention of law enforcement agencies. In addition, the size of the body of believers (most estimates have ranged from about five thousand to thirty thousand) makes the movement too small to register in even the largest-sample religious identification surveys.

Anecdotal evidence suggests, however, that the membership (ethnicity and race aside) closely tracks that of the general populations in areas of Identity activity. There seems to be no convincing evidence that believers display unusual levels of social or personal pathology. Some Identity pastors have made significant efforts to recruit particular populations, including Midwestern farmers, unemployed urban youth, and white prison inmates. Only the latter appears to have been productive, as a function of racial polarization in many correctional facilities.

CHRISTIAN IDENTITY AND THE STATE. Although the great majority of Identity believers appear to be entirely law-abiding, a significant minority have been implicated in violent crimes and other law violations. These include many members of the insurgent group known as the Order, active in the West in the early 1980s; Eric Robert Rudolph, charged with the 1996 Centennial Olympic Park bombing in Atlanta; and Richard Wayne Snell, executed in 1995 for murder.

By the mid-1980s, both federal and state law enforcement agencies had become increasingly concerned about threats posed by Identity believers. This fear was exacerbated by dramatic confrontations between the FBI and Identity adherents; notably, the standoff in 1992 with Randy Weaver and his family at Ruby Ridge in Idaho, and the standoff in 1996 with the Montana Freemen, many of whose members were affiliated with Identity.

The rising tempo of surveillance and prosecution appears to have had an impact on Identity in several ways. First, activities have become less visible. Second, growth appears to have either stopped or continued at a much lower rate. Third, believers have sought to destigmatize themselves by rejecting the term *Identity* in favor of more acceptable terms, such as *Israel*, *Kingdom*, and *Covenant*. This has been the case with two of the most prominent clergy, Pastor Dan Gayman of the Church of Israel in Schell, Missouri, and Pastor Pete Peters of the LaPorte Church of Christ in LaPorte, Colorado.

Identity has also faced increasing competition within its own constituency of white racial separatists. It now confronts active recruiting efforts from racist faiths unrelated to either Identity specifically or Christianity in its other manifestations. These rivals include racial forms of Neopaganism, such as Odinism and Ásatrú, which seek to reconstitute pre-Christian northern European religion, and the World Church of the Creator, a nontheistic belief system built around the sacred nature of race.

In one respect, Identity has been able to secure some recognition, in federal and state prisons. Despite resistance by prison administrations, anxious to avoid the intensification of racial animosity, Identity inmates have pushed religious claims based on legislation that expands rights of free exercise, notably the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (1993) and the Religious Land Use and Institutionalized Persons Act (2000).

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MICHAEL BARKUN (2005)

CHRISTIANITY

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
CHRISTIANITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST
CHRISTIANITY IN NORTH AFRICA
CHRISTIANITY IN EASTERN EUROPE
CHRISTIANITY IN WESTERN EUROPE
CHRISTIANITY IN LATIN AMERICA
CHRISTIANITY IN THE CARIBBEAN REGION
CHRISTIANITY IN NORTH AMERICA
CHRISTIANITY IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA [FIRST EDITION]
CHRISTIANITY IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]
CHRISTIANITY IN ASIA
CHRISTIANITY IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND
CHRISTIANITY IN THE PACIFIC ISLANDS [FIRST EDITION]
CHRISTIANITY IN THE PACIFIC ISLANDS [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

CHRISTIANITY: AN OVERVIEW

Christianity is defined by one of its leading modern interpreters, Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834), as "a monotheistic faith . . . essentially distinguished from other such faiths by the fact that in it everything is related to the redemption accomplished by Jesus of Nazareth." While many interpreters of the meaning of Christianity would dispute the content that Schleiermacher gave to each of the crucial terms in that definition, the definition as such would probably stand. It is beyond the scope of this article, or even of this encyclopedia, to present an exhaustive summary of all that Christianity is and has ever been: entire encyclopedias several times the size of this one (some of them listed in the bibliography, below) have been devoted to such a summary, and even they have been far from exhaustive. What this article can do, supported by other articles throughout this work, is to sketch some of the main points in the history of Christianity and then to identify some of the features of Christianity that most students of the movement, whether professing personal allegiance to it or not, would probably recognize as belonging to its "essence." Although both the "history" and the "essence" are, unavoidably, controversial in that not everyone would agree with this (or with any) account of them, such an account as this can claim to represent a majority consensus.

THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY. Christianity is a historical religion. It locates within the events of human history both the redemption it promises and the revelation to which it lays claim: Jesus was born under Caesar Augustus and "suffered under Pontius Pilate," at particular dates in the chronology of the history of Rome (even though the specific dates of those two events may be impossible to determine with absolute precision). In this respect Christianity shows its continuing affinities with the Judaism out of which it came, for there too the historical process becomes the peculiar arena of divine activity. The primal revelation for Judaism—and for Christianity—is the divine declaration to Moses (*Ex.* 3:6): "I am the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." To this primal revelation Christianity adds the assertion (*Heb.* 1:1–2) that the God who in past times had spoken through the prophets and acted through the exodus from Egypt has now spoken definitively and acted decisively in the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus, seen as the "Christ," the anointed and chosen one of God.

Early Christianity. It is, then, with Jesus of Nazareth that the history of Christianity takes its start. Almost everything that is known of him, however, comes from those who responded, in loyalty and obedience, to the events of his life and the content of his teaching. Therefore the history of the earliest Christian communities, to the extent that we are in a position to reconstruct it, is at the same time the history of Jesus as they remembered him. His own immediate followers were all Jews, and it is within that framework that they interpreted the significance of what they had received and perceived: he was the Christ, or Messiah, who had been promised to the patriarchs of Israel. As the record of those promises, the Hebrew scriptures were sacred for early Christians no less than for Jews, enabling them to claim a continuity with the history of the people of God since the creation of the world. The apostle Paul both summarized and reinterpreted the message of the first generation of believers. Together with the written deposit of their memories of Jesus in the Gospels, the writings of Paul and several other documents were circulated widely in Christian communities throughout the Mediterranean world, eventually becoming the Christian addendum (or "New Testament") to the Hebrew scriptures (or "Old Testament").

Paul was also responsible for the transformation of Christianity from a Jewish sect to a Gentile movement by the end of the first century of the common era. The importance of this change for Christian history is impossible to exaggerate. Jesus had been born in an obscure corner of the Roman Empire, but now his followers took upon themselves the assignment of challenging that empire and eventually of conquering it in his name. The opposition between empire and church during the second and third centuries sometimes took the form of persecution and martyrdom, but all that was replaced in the fourth century by the creation of a Christian Roman Empire, when the emperor Constantine (306–337) first made the new faith legal, then made it his own, then made it the official religion of the realm. As part of their political and philosophical defense against their adversaries, the apologists for Christianity in the second and third centuries had also sought to clarify its relation to Greek and Roman thought, but with its official adoption their successors in the fourth and fifth centuries undertook to interpret Christian theology as the perennial philosophy in which the aspirations of all religions were now corrected and fulfilled. Among these later apologists, Augustine of Hippo (354–430) in his *City of God* articulated the Christian case against those who charged that by undermining the traditional values of Roman religion the church had been responsible for the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. On the contrary, he said, Christianity was the support of just rulers and legitimate governments, and by its faith in the God of history, as well as by its moral teachings about work and the family, it promoted the welfare of society; the City of Earth would function best if it acknowledged the transcendent reality of the City of God, which was beyond history but which had made its presence known within this particular history.

The century that began with Constantine and ended with Augustine also saw the stabilization of the internal life and structure of the Christian movement. One by one, alternative ways of thought and belief that were adjudged to be aberrations were sloughed off or excluded as "heresies" or "schisms." Some of these (particularly the various species of apocalyptic or millenarian expectation) were efforts to perpetuate ways of being Christian that no longer suited the needs of the life of the church when the long-expected second coming of Jesus Christ failed to materialize, while others (notably the several Gnostic systems) involved the adaptation to the Christian message of schemes of revelation and salvation that were also manifesting themselves in other religions. In opposition to these alternative ways of thought and belief, Christianity, since before the days during which the books of the New Testament were being written, identified the content of orthodox belief and fixed its form in a succession of creedal statements. The earliest of these, including that eventually formulated as the Apostles' Creed, are put into the mouth of one or another or all twelve of the apostles of Jesus, and the most important creedal statement was adopted (under Constantine's patronage) at the Council of Nicaea in 325 (see "The Pattern of Christian Belief," below).

During those same early centuries, Christianity was also identifying the structures of authority that were thought to guarantee the preservation of "apostolic" faith and order: the Bible and the bishops. As already noted, the Bible of the Christians consisted of two parts (or "testaments"): the books they had inherited from Judaism, and the combination into a "New Testament" of four gospels about the life and teachings of Jesus, epistles attributed to Paul and other apostolic figures, the *Acts of the Apostles*, and (from among the many extant apocalyptic writings) the *Revelation to John*. The bishops through their uninterrupted succession were believed to certify the continuity of the church with its apostolic foundations. As the church that could claim to have been shepherded by all twelve apostles, Jerusalem held a unique place; but as the church that Peter had governed and to which Paul had written (and where both Peter and Paul had been martyred), and as the congregation at the capital of the civilized world, Rome early acquired a special position as "*the* apostolic see," which it would consolidate by the leadership in faith and life that it exercised during the crises of the fourth and fifth centuries. Actually, the criterion of "apostolicity" was a circular one: apostolic foundation of episcopal sees, apostolic authorship of biblical books, and apostolic orthodoxy of creedal belief supported one another, and no one of them was ever sufficient of itself—even in the case of the see of Rome—to serve as such a criterion in isolation from the others.

Official establishment of Christianity. Constantine's acceptance of Christianity and the eventual establishment of it as the official faith of the Roman Empire is rightly seen as the most portentous event—for good or ill or some combination of the two—in all of Christian history; conversely, "the end of the Constantinian era," which is how many thoughtful observers have characterized the twentieth century, has brought about the reshaping and rethinking of all the structures of faith and life that Christianity evolved in the aftermath of its new status from the fourth century on. Both in the Roman West, where Constantine prevailed in 312 "by the power of the cross," as he believed, and in the Byzantine East, where Constantine established the new capital of the Christian Roman Empire two decades later, Christianity undertook to create a new civilization that would be a continuation of ancient Greece and Rome and yet would be a transformation of those cultures through the infusion of the spiritual power of Christ as Lord.

The Christian culture of Byzantium. That pattern of continuation with transformation took a special form in the Christian culture of the Byzantine Empire, whose history persisted for more than a thousand years from the creation of Constantinople as "New Rome" in 330 CE to its fall to the armies of the Turkish sultan Mehmed II (and its change of name to Istanbul) in 1453. Constantine and his successors—and, above all, the emperor Justinian (r. 527–565)—saw themselves in their Roman capacity as the legitimate heirs of the ancient pagan caesars, but at the same time in their Christian capacity as "equal to the apostles" (*isapostolos*). In the exercise of this special authority, they frequently became involved in the administrative, liturgical, and doctrinal affairs of the church, and often without opposition and with great success. Contemporary historians tell us that it was the emperor Constantine who came up with the formula "one in being [*homoousios*] with the Father," which resolved, at the Council of Nicaea in 325, the dispute over the metaphysical relation between Christ and God. Later historians have coined for this special status of the Byzantine emperor the term *Caesaropapism*, implying that what the pope was in the West, the caesar was in the East. While the reign of Constantine, and even more that of Justinian, may have merited such a designation, the patriarch of Constantinople repeatedly asserted the authority of the church to determine its own destiny, above all in the areas of belief and worship. Most notably, in the iconoclastic controversies of the eighth and ninth centuries, which were brought on by the campaign of a series of emperors to remove images from the worship of the church, the defenders of the church's autonomy, who included especially monks and empresses, eventually carried the day, and the authority of the emperor to legislate unilaterally for the church was significantly curtailed.

One reason for this success in the iconoclastic disputes was the special place of icons in Byzantine (and later in Slavic) Orthodoxy, which one scholar has called its "distinctive identity." As interpreted by its defenders, the cult of the icons was anything but the relapse into idolatrous paganism of which it was accused by the iconoclasts; instead it represented the commitment of Orthodoxy to the reality of the full incarnation of the Son of God in the human figure of Jesus: worship of the image of Jesus Christ was in fact addressed to one who was in his single person completely God and completely man. Thus, to a degree unknown in the West even in the high Middle Ages, Greek Christianity defined itself by its liturgy and devotion, not only (perhaps not primarily) by its dogma and life. The very term *orthodoxia* in Greek, and its Slavic counterpart *pravoslavie*, meant in the first instance "correct worship," which also included "correct doctrine." Embodied as it was in the curriculum of Byzantine educational institutions at all levels, the continuing hold that a christianized Neoplatonism exercised over its expositors enabled them to make use of its metaphysics and epistemology in the service of the church's message. The Byzantine icons were only one part of a total Christian culture, in which architecture, poetry, and music also contributed their special part. One feature of this culture was a commitment to preserving the indigenous culture of each people to which the Christian message came: while the Western missionaries, in introducing the Mass, taught each nation Latin when they taught it the gospel (and thus, even without intending to do so, gave it at least some access to pre-Christian Roman culture), Eastern missionaries translated not only the Bible but also the liturgy into the language of the people. It was, above all, in the Byzantine missions to the Slavs (where the two philosophies about the proper language of the liturgy clashed) that this peculiarity of the Eastern church served to create an integrally Slavic Orthodoxy, through which the Ukraine, Bulgaria, Russia, and Serbia came of age as nations.

Christianity in the Middle Ages. In the Latin West, by contrast, the outcome of the Constantinian settlement took a radically divergent form, in which it was not principally the Christian emperor and the Christian empire, but the bishop of Rome and the papacy, that was to set the tone of the historical development of Christianity. With the transfer of the capital to Constantinople, the pope came to symbolize and to embody the continuity with ancient Rome. Within less than a century after that transfer, the bishop of Rome was calling himself "supreme pontiff" (*pontifex maximus*), a title that had belonged to the pagan caesars. When the various Germanic tribes arrived in western Europe, they found the papacy already present as a political and cultural force. Those tribes that chose to ignore that force by clinging too long to Germanic paganism or to forms of Christianity that had been outlawed as heretical also lost the opportunity to shape the future of European history, but the Franks, by allying themselves with the bishop of Rome, were to determine its subsequent course through much of the Middle Ages. The symbolic high point of the alliance came on Christmas Day in the year 800 with the crowning of the Frankish king Charles, known to history as Charlemagne (c. 742–814), as "emperor" at the hands of Pope Leo III in Rome, even though there was still an emperor in Constantinople. With its own emperor—and, above all, its own bishop and supreme pontiff—the West was free to pursue its own destiny. And although the schism between West and East, in a technical and canonical sense, did not take place until several centuries later, and in a spiritual sense may be said to have happened in 1204, the historical intuition that located it as having originated in the ninth century was in many ways sound.

Confrontation with Islam. Each in its own way, both Eastern and Western Christendom were compelled, from the seventh century onward, to come to terms with the reality of Islam. During the one hundred years after the death of the prophet Muḥammad in 632 CE, the geographical spread of Islam was both more rapid and more effective than that of Christianity had been during its first several centuries. Several of the major centers of the Eastern churches—Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem itself—became Muslim in government, although a large Christian population was able to practice its faith under varying degrees of pressure. Eventually, in 1453, Constantinople also became a Muslim city. The Muslim conquest of Palestine was likewise responsible for the most historic confrontation ever between Christianity and another faith, in the Crusades, as successive armies of Western Christians sought to reconquer the "holy places" associated with the life of Jesus—an enterprise that eventually failed.

The monks. Because its administrative structure and intellectual tradition were so different from those of the Byzantine East, the medieval Christianity of the West expressed its relation to society and culture in a distinctive fashion as well. In even greater measure than in the East, the bearers of its civilizing force were monks. The missionaries who brought the gospel to the barbarians—for example, Boniface (673–754), the "apostle of Germany" sent from Rome, and Cyril (c. 826–869) and Methodius (c. 815–c. 884), the "apostles to the Slavs" sent from Constantinople—were monks. So were the scribes who then brought Classical civilization to the same barbarians; thus the Benedictine monk the Venerable Bede (c. 673–735) laid many of the foundations of scholarship in England. Most of the reformers who throughout the Middle Ages recalled the church to its primitive faith and its ancient loyalties came from monasticism, as was evident above all in the work of Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), "the unmitered pope" of the twelfth century, and then in the program of Francis of Assisi (1181/2–1226). The cloisters likewise supplied most of the theologians who systematized and defended the faith: Anselm of Canterbury (c. 1033–1109) was a Benedictine abbot, Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225–1274) was a Dominican friar, and Bonaventure (c. 1217–1274) and Duns Scotus (c. 1266–1308) were both Franciscans.

Repeatedly, of course, the monastic communities themselves needed to be reformed, and in virtually every century of the Middle Ages there arose movements of renewal dedicated to the purification of the monastic ideal and, through it, renewal of the life of the total church. When the leaders of such movements managed to establish themselves as leaders of the total church, the result was often a great conflict. Thus in the eleventh century the reformer Hildebrand became Pope Gregory VII (in 1073) and set about renewing the administration, the morals, and the faith and life of the church. He sought to enforce the law of clerical celibacy, to root out financial and political corruption, to free bishops and prelates from the dominance of secular princes, and to purge the church of heresy and schism. This brought him into collision both with his own ecclesiastical subordinates and with the empire, but it also gave him the opportunity to formulate for all time the special prerogatives of the church and the bishop of Rome (see "The Community of Christian Worship," below).

Reformation Christianity. Such reform movements, it seemed, could always be counted on to rescue the church in times of crisis—until, through Martin Luther (1483–1546) and the Reformation, a crisis arose in which the primary impetus for reform was to express itself not *through* monasticism or the papacy, but *against* both monasticism and the papacy (although it must be remembered that Luther, too, was originally a monk). Already in various late medieval reformations, such as those of the "Spiritual" Franciscans and the Hussites, there was the sense that (to cite the four standard "marks" of the church enumerated in the Nicene Creed) Christendom could be neither one nor holy nor catholic nor apostolic until it had replaced the secularized and corrupt authority of the bishop of Rome with the authenticity of the word of God, for which some looked to a church council while others put their confidence in the recovery of the message of the Bible. That sense finally found its voice in the program of the Protestant reformers. Beginning with the belief that they were merely the loyal children of Mother Church recalling her to her genuine self, they soon found themselves so alienated from the structures and teachings of the church of their time that they were obliged to look for, and if need be to invent, alternative structures and teachings of their own.

The structures and teachings of the several Protestant groups covered an extremely wide spectrum, such that those at one end of the spectrum (Lutherans and Anglicans) were in many ways closer to Roman Catholicism and even to Eastern Orthodoxy, despite the schisms both of the Middle Ages and of the Reformation, than they were to Socinianism or even to Anabaptism or even perhaps to Calvinism. In their ecclesiastical structures, the churches that came out of the Reformation ranged from a retention of the historic episcopate (e.g., in England and Sweden) to a presbyterian form of church government (e.g., in Scotland and in many, though by no means all, of the Calvinist churches on the European continent) to an insistence on the primacy and autonomy of the local congregation (e.g., in various of the dissenters from Anglicanism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including the Congregationalists and Baptists, especially in the New World). While the mainstream of Protestantism has in its doctrine maintained a loyalty to the doctrines of the Trinity, of the person of Christ, of original sin, and of salvation through the death of Christ, as these had been developed in the early and medieval church, it has diverged from earlier development (and thus from Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy) above all in its understanding of the nature of the church and of the meaning (and hence the number) of the sacraments, with only baptism and the Lord's Supper being regarded as authentic sacraments by most Protestants. (See "The Pattern of Christian Belief," below.) The principal difference, at least as seen both by the Protestant reformers and by their Roman Catholic adversaries, lay in the area of religious authority: not the church or its tradition, not the papacy or a church council, but the Bible alone, was to be the norm that determined what Christians were to believe and how they were to live.

The Roman Catholic response to the Protestant Reformation is sometimes called the "Counter-Reformation," although that term has come to be regarded by many scholars as excessively negative in its connotations because it seems to ignore the positive reforms that were not merely a reaction to Protestantism. "The Roman Catholic Reformation" is in many ways a preferable designation. First through a series of responses to the theology and program of the reformers, then above all through the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent (1545–1563), the Catholic Reformation took up the issues addressed by Luther and by his most eminent successor, John Calvin (1509–1564), both in the area of church life and morals and in the area of church teaching and authority. Many of the corruptions that had acted as tinder for the Reformation received the careful attention of the council fathers, with the result that Roman Catholicism and the papacy emerged from the crisis of the Reformation diminished in size but chastened and strengthened in spirit. The creation of the Society of Jesus by Ignatius Loyola (c. 1491–1556) in 1534 provided the church with a powerful instrument for carrying out the program of reform and renewal, and many of the tools employed by the reformers (e.g., the printing press and the catechism) lent themselves to that program just as effectively. A deepening mystical devotion gave new life to medieval spirituality, particularly in sixteenth-century Spain, and the theology of Thomas Aquinas acquired new authority as the defenders of the faith closed ranks against

Protestant thought. The historical coincidence of the discovery of the New World and the Protestant Reformation, which both Protestants and Roman Catholics interpreted as providential, enabled Roman Catholic missionaries to recoup in North and South America the losses in prestige and membership caused by the Reformation. It was above all in Latin America that this recovery became a decisive religious and cultural force. Although divided (by the papal Line of Demarcation of 1493) between Spain and Portugal, Latin America was "united" in the sense that it was colonized and converted by Roman Catholic Christianity; the process of the Christianization of native populations was a gradual one, and many beliefs and practices of their pre-Christian history were carried over into their new faith. The effect of these and other missionary campaigns in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was to make the term *catholic* in *Roman Catholic* begin to mean in fact what it had always meant in principle: present throughout the known world.

The Christian East. Throughout the Middle Ages and the Reformation there were sporadic efforts in the West to establish (or reestablish) contact with the East; these ranged from the dispatch of various legations, to the translation of various classic works in one direction or the other, to marriages between Western monarchs and Byzantine or Russian princesses. The Crusades, which the East sometimes invited and sometimes dreaded, did at least reacquaint many members of the two traditions with one another, although the most unforgettable instance of such reacquaintance was the catastrophe of the sack of Christian Constantinople by the armies of the Fourth Crusade in 1204. Followed as it was two and a half centuries later by the Muslim capture of Constantinople and the end of the Byzantine Empire, the tragedy of 1204 is probably better entitled than any other event to the dubious distinction of being the point at which the Eastern and Western churches came into schism—a schism that, except for repeated but short-lived attempts at reunion (the most notable of which was probably the Union of Florence in 1439), has persisted ever since. Although the loss of Constantinople to the Turks drastically reduced its sphere of influence, the ecumenical patriarchate of Constantinople continued to enjoy a preeminence of honor within Eastern Orthodoxy, as it does to this day. Numerically as well as politically, however, it was Slavic Orthodoxy, above all in Russia, that became the "heir apparent," uniting itself with Russian culture as it had with medieval Greek culture. Plagued though it was by internal schisms, and caught in the political and cultural upheavals of the tsarist empire, the church in Russia went on producing saints and scholars, and through the icons and the liturgy it suffused the faith and life of the common people with the meaning of the Christian faith: the icon painter Andrei Rublev (c. 1360–c. 1430) and, in more modern times, the novelist and spiritual thinker Fyodor Dostoevsky (1821–1881) were among the products of this tradition best known in the West. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries witnessed an upsurge of interest in Eastern Orthodoxy throughout Western Christianity, as a consequence partly of the ecumenical movement and partly of the Russian Revolution, as both Protestants and Roman Catholics looked to Orthodoxy for the correction of what had come to be seen as Western deficiencies and overemphases in the aftermath of the Reformation.

Post-Reformation Christianity. The ecclesiastical map of the West after the Reformation shows a Europe divided between an almost solidly Roman Catholic south and a predominantly Protestant north, with the latter in turn divided between Anglican, Lutheran, and Reformed or Calvinist forms of Christianity. The same competition was exported into Christian missions in Africa and Asia and into the Americas. Among the most influential developments of the centuries following the Reformation was the effort, which took a distinct form in each denomination but nevertheless manifested a similarity of spirit, to encourage a deeper seriousness about the claims of the Christian gospel upon personal faith and life: Jansenism within French (and then North American) Roman Catholicism, Puritanism (and later on Methodism) within English Protestantism, and Pietism within the Lutheran and Reformed churches of the continent and of the New World. Especially during the eighteenth century, these movements had it as one of their primary goals to combat and counteract the influence, both in the church and in public life, of the rationalism, freethinking, and "infidelity" associated with the Enlightenment. Combining as it did the application to Christian history and biblical literature of the methods of historical criticism (particularly in German theological scholarship) with the reexamination or even the rejection of the special claims of Christianity to a privileged place in Western society (particularly in the legislation of the French Revolution), the Enlightenment came to represent the campaign for the secularization of culture. An important feature of that combination of emphases in Enlightenment thought was a fundamental reconsideration of the traditional Christian assertions of finality and uniqueness. As the philosophical and historical basis for such assertions was coming under increasing attack from within such traditionally Christian institutions as the theological faculties of universities, the discovery of other religions both in the historical past and in the distant parts of the present world was bringing such concepts as the uniqueness of the Christian message into serious question. The special privileges that Christianity had enjoyed since the Constantinian era were gradually withdrawn. Separation of church and state, as developed especially in the United States, and the growth of religious toleration and religious liberty were the social and political expressions of the new situation that was beginning to become evident at the end of the eighteenth century.

The nineteenth century. Despite the losses in both influence and numbers that it suffered in the period of the Enlightenment, Christianity entered the nineteenth century with a strong sense of its continuing relevance and special mission. The critical reexamination of the Christian toleration of slavery—long overdue, in the opinion of observers inside and outside the church—came to full realization in the nineteenth century, even though a civil war in the United States was necessary to bring this about. It was likewise in the nineteenth century, surnamed "the great century" in the leading history of Christian missions, that most of the major Christian denominations of the West, Protestant as well as Roman Catholic, set out to evangelize the globe. Although the Christian missionary and the colonialist conqueror often marched arm in arm across that globe, the results for native cultures were quite ambiguous: sometimes a loss of national identity and cultural deracination, but on the other hand no less often a deepening sense of historical particularity and the acquisition of scholarly instruments for understanding it and thus of overcoming both the colonialism and the missions. Significantly, it was from the mission schools founded in the nineteenth century that a disproportionately high number of the revolutionary leaders of the twentieth century in developing nations were to emerge. On the home front, the confrontation between traditional Christian beliefs and the discoveries of modern science engaged the attention of the churches. The most violent such confrontation was brought on by the work of Charles Darwin, whose books *The Origin of Species* (1859) and *The Descent of Man* (1871) called into question the traditional Christian belief in a special creation of the human species in the image of God as based on the biblical accounts of creation in the *Book of Genesis*. Yet as the nineteenth century ended, there was a widespread expectation that the next would truly be "the Christian century." *Christianizing the Social Order* by Walter Rauschenbusch (1861–1918), first published in 1912, was a representative statement of that expectation.

The twentieth century. As things turned out, the twentieth century proved to be the age of two world wars, of the coming to power of Marxist regimes throughout most of historic Eastern Christendom, and of moral and intellectual crises (including the Nazi Holocaust and the issues raised by modern technology) that would shake the traditional beliefs and historical confidence of Christians with unprecedented force. The reaction was, if not an overt loss of faith, then a growing indifference in many traditionally Christian groups. The most influential Christian theologian of the twentieth century, Karl Barth (1886–1968), protested the synthesis of the gospel with human culture and called for a reassertion of that gospel in its native power and uniqueness. At the same time, however, the most influential Christian event of the twentieth century, the Second Vatican Council of 1962–1965, undertook a reform of Christian faith and life that reached out to other Christians and to other religious traditions with a new openness. The council was the manifestation within Roman Catholicism of a new ecumenical consciousness that had its origins in Protestantism; the divisions that had followed in the wake of the Reformation now came under question in the light of the recognition that what separated Christians from one another was less significant than all the things that still held them together. That ecumenical consciousness throughout the Christian movement found expression in the recovery of historic Christian beliefs, in the creation of contemporary forms of worship, and in the reexamination of patterns of Christian life both individual and corporate. It remains to consider these three areas of belief, worship, and life, which, taken together, may be said to constitute the essence of Christianity.

THE ESSENCE OF CHRISTIANITY. Christianity has manifested an almost infinite variety of expressions as it has spread its presence and influence into all the major cultures of the Western world and into most of those of the East as well. With a billion or more adherents throughout the human race, it continues to be heterogeneous and pluralistic in its forms of organization and worship, belief, and life—so much so that it appears difficult or foolhardy or impossible to attempt to identify any characteristics as the distinctive genius or continuing essence of Christianity. A well-known criterion was the one proposed by Vincent of Lérins in the fifth century—what has been accepted "everywhere, always, by all" (*ubique, semper, ab omnibus*)—but the welter of detail about the history of Christianity scattered across the hundreds of articles dealing with the subject in the volumes of this encyclopedia should convince even the most casual reader that if there is an "essence of Christianity" it cannot possibly be everything that Christianity has ever been to everyone in every time and every place. Therefore, to quote again from Schleiermacher, "the only pertinent way of discovering the peculiar essence of any particular faith and reducing it as far as possible to a formula is by showing the element which remains constant throughout the most diverse religious affections within this same communion, while it is absent from analogous affections within other communions."

The search for an essence of Christianity is as old as the primary deposits of Christianity themselves. Already in the Hebrew scriptures, which Christianity took over as its Old Testament, the prophet Micah had declared: "God has told you what is good; and what is it that the Lord asks of you? Only to act justly, to love loyalty, to walk wisely before your God" (NEB *Mi.* 6:8). And an unknown first-century Christian writer, author of what came to be called the letter to the Hebrews in the New Testament, stated that "anyone who comes to God must believe that he exists and that he rewards those who search for him" (*Heb.* 11:6). The most successful formula for the essence of Christianity, however, was that of the apostle Paul: "In a word, there are three things that last for ever: faith, hope, and love; but the greatest of them all is love" (*1 Cor.* 13:13). Already in the second century, Irenaeus (c. 130–c. 200), bishop of Lyons, was invoking this formula as a summary of what "endures unchangeably," and in the fifth century it became the basis and the outline for Augustine's *Enchiridion*, to which Augustine himself usually referred as *On Faith, Hope, and Love.* From Augustine, in turn, the formula went on to provide the table of contents for the early catechisms in the age of Charlemagne and then for the rapid expansion in the number and use of catechisms by all parties in the age of the Reformation. Hence it may serve as a device for organizing this description of the essence of Christianity in its historical sweep, its geographical expansion, and its genius. Considered both in its history and in its contemporary expressions, Christianity has been, and is, a system of faith, of hope, and of love, a pattern of belief (and thought), a community of worship (and culture), and a way of life (and society). Paul's triad of faith, hope, and love may thus be used to correspond to the even more universal schema of the true, the beautiful, and the good.

The pattern of Christian belief. As a system of faith, Christianity manifests "faith" in all the various meanings that this term has acquired in the history of religion: as loyalty to the divine, based on the prior loyalty of the divine to the world and to humanity; as the confidence that God is trustworthy in truth and love; as dependence on the Father of Jesus Christ, who is the source of all good in this life and in the life to come; as the commitment to direct thought and action in accordance with the divine word and will; and as the affirmation that certain events and declarations, as given by divine revelation, are a reliable index to that will and word. It is the last of those meanings that provides a basis for describing in an epitome what it is that Christianity believes, teaches, and confesses.

"Whoever wishes to be saved must, above all, hold to the catholic faith." These opening words of the so-called Athanasian Creed (not in fact written by Athanasius, but a Latin and Western creed, compiled perhaps in the fifth century) would not, as they stand, automatically elicit the assent and support of all Christians; nor, for that matter, would all Christians who do accept such a statement be agreed on the precise content and extent of that "catholic faith." Differ though they do on these questions, however, Christians throughout history have affirmed the importance of the act of believing, as well as of the content of what is believed, as a mark of identification by which believers would be known.

The person of Jesus Christ. Christian belief began with the need to specify the significance of the person of Jesus, seen as the "Christ." The initial stages of that process are visible already in the pages of the New Testament. Its titles for him—in addition to Christ, such titles as Son of man, Son of God, Word of God (Logos), and Savior—were an effort to account for that significance, for within the events of Jesus' human life the God of Israel and the creator of the world had been disclosed. Before the theologians had invented ways of defining the content of these titles in any satisfying detail, the devotion and worship of the church were already identifying Jesus with God. This is evident, for example, from the earliest non-Christian account of the church that we possess, the letter of Pliny the Younger (62–113), governor of Bithynia, to the Roman emperor Trajan (r. c. 98–117), which describes Christians as gathering for worship and "addressing a song to Christ as to God" (*Christo ut deo*). But this devotional practice had yet to be squared both with the monotheism that the church inherited from and shared with Israel and with the concrete events of the life of Jesus as these were described in the Gospels. During the second and third centuries the reality of his human life needed to be defended; during the fourth century the divine dimension of his being demanded attention; during the fifth and sixth centuries the relation between the divine and the human in him required clarification. What emerged from the process of debate and definition—especially in the creeds formulated at the councils of Nicaea in 325, Constantinople in 381, and Chalcedon in 451—was a picture of Jesus Christ as having two "natures," divine and human: he was simultaneously "one in being" with God and "one in being" with humanity, and therefore able to mediate between them. The full content of the two natures and of the relation between them has continued to engage the speculative talents of Christian theologians ever since.

The Trinity. The final creedal statement of the relation between Christ and God was part of a more complete statement of belief, the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, which many theological exponents of Christianity would regard as the central teaching of the Christian faith. Its fundamental outline is already given in the "great commission"—which, according to the Gospels, Jesus entrusted to his disciples before withdrawing his visible presence from them (*Mt.* 28:19)—to baptize "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." Threefold though that single "name" was, it was the relation of the Son to the Father that carried the principal weight in the clarification of the formula. Thus the original creed adopted at Nicaea, after enumerating the various "titles of majesty" belonging to Jesus Christ as the Son of God, simply added "And [we believe] in the Holy Spirit," with no similar elaboration of how and why the Third Person was entitled to stand alongside the Father and the Son. But before the fourth century was over, the status of the Holy Spirit, and thus the complete dogma of God as Trinity, had achieved the form it has held in Christian orthodoxy throughout the history of the church. The dogma presents itself as strictly monotheistic. The opening words of the Nicene Creed are "We believe in one God," and everything that follows about Father, Son, and Holy Spirit is set into that framework. The technical philosophical term for the oneness of God was *ousia* in Greek, *substantia* or *essentia* in Latin. But this single divine *ousia* had its being in three *hupostaseis,* or "persons."

The doctrine of the Trinity has from the beginning been one of the most productive—and one of the most problematic—points of contact between Christian theology and speculative philosophy. Both the Greek Neoplatonist Plotinus (c. 205–270) and the German idealist G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831), with many others between them, taught a philosophical version of the Trinity with which many theologians felt obliged somehow to come to terms. The metaphysical ingenuity of philosophers and theologians—from the first of Latin theologians, Tertullian (160?–225?), and the boldest of Greek theologians, his contemporary Origen (c. 185–c. 254), to philosophical theologians of the twentieth century, such as the Protestant Paul Tillich (1886–1965) and the

Roman Catholic Karl Rahner (1904–1984)—has therefore continually experimented with new ways of accounting for (if not of "explaining") the relation between the One and the Three. Perhaps the most creative of such speculations was that of Augustine's *On the Trinity*, which constructed a series of trinitarian analogies in the universe and in the human mind as "images [or footprints] of the divine Trinity."

Sin and grace. All the councils that formulated these basic doctrines of the Trinity and of the person of Christ were held in the Greek-speaking eastern part of the Christian Roman Empire under the patronage of the Christian emperor, who was from the year 330 onward resident at Constantinople, and the creeds, which are in Greek, bear the marks of that origin. Still it is a mistake to ignore the role of the Latin West in the determination of normative Christian teaching: both at Nicaea and at Chalcedon there were decisive interventions from Western theologians and bishops. Nevertheless, the most distinctive and original Western contributions during the first five centuries came not in the doctrines of God and Christ but in the doctrines of sin and grace. With significant anticipations in various Western thinkers, it was once again Augustine who formulated these latter doctrines in the concepts and terms that were to dominate most of subsequent Christian teaching in the West, that of Roman Catholicism but no less the theology of Protestantism. Many early interpreters of Christian belief—for example, Gregory of Nyssa (c. 335–c. 395) in his treatise *On the Creation of Man*—had articulated the biblical teaching (*Gn.* 1:26–27) that, among all creatures on earth, humans alone possessed the special prerogative of having been created "in the image of God," with the promise of immortal life and of a "participation in the divine nature" (*2 Pt.* 1:4). But in so doing they had often spoken more explicitly about human free will than about human sinfulness. Yet this did not imply, Augustine insisted, that every human being faced the same choice between good and evil that Adam and Eve had faced. On the contrary, humanity had since Adam and Eve been under a curse of what Augustine called "the sin of origin" (*peccatum originis*), which infected every human being except Jesus Christ (and perhaps his mother, the Virgin Mary). Even without committing acts of sin, therefore, each member of the human race was corrupted from birth; the traditional practice of infant baptism (see "The Community of Christian Worship," below) was for Augustine evidence of the universality of this sinful condition.

Redemption. Neither the belief in God as Trinity nor the dogma of Christ as divine and human in nature nor the doctrine of humanity as created in the image of God but fallen into sin is, however, an end in itself for Christian faith. As a religion of redemption, Christianity presents itself as the message of how, through Christ, reconciliation has been achieved between the holiness of God and the sin of a fallen humanity. But while the Trinity, the person of Christ, and (though less universally or explicitly) the doctrine of original sin all have been subjects of a public and ecumenical confession of the church, the manner of this reconciliation has not received such attention. It has been left more to hymnody and preaching than to dogma and metaphysics to supply the metaphors for describing it. One of the most widely distributed such metaphors in early Christian writers, beginning with the sayings of Jesus himself (*Mt.* 20:28), is the description of redemption as "ransom" (which is, of course, what *redemption* means): the death of Christ was paid (to God or to the devil) as the price for setting humanity free. The difficulties that such a notion entailed for the Christian picture of God made a modification of the ransom theory seem imperative: the death of Christ took place in the course of a battle between God-in-Christ and the devil with his allies, a battle in which death triumphed initially by the nailing of Christ to the cross but in which Christ was victorious in the end through his resurrection. It remained once again for the medieval West to provide the most inventive of these theories. According to Anselm in his *Why God Became Man*, the reconciliation of the human race with God was fundamentally the reconciliation between the justice of God, which was committed to upholding "the moral order of the universe" (*rectitudo*) and therefore could not ignore human sin or forgive it by a simple fiat, and the mercy of God, which was bent on restoring humanity to the condition for which God had intended it by its creation. God became man in Christ, because as man he would be able, by his death, to produce the satisfaction demanded by divine justice, but as God he would render a satisfaction of infinite worth that could thus be applied to the entire human race. With some modifications and refinements, Anselm's theory has established itself both within Roman Catholicism and within most of classical Protestantism.

Justification. Classical Protestantism differs from Roman Catholicism in the interpretation of redemption not on the way redemption was achieved by God in Christ, but on the way it is appropriated by the Christian. Luther's doctrine of justification by faith—or, more fully and more precisely, justification by grace through faith—directed itself against what he perceived to be the widespread tendency of medieval Christianity to give human works part of the credit for restoring the right relation between God and man. This he attacked as a denial of the purely gratuitous character of salvation. The role of the human will in salvation was purely passive, accepting the forgiveness of sins as a sheer gift and contributing nothing of its own goodness to the transaction with God. Faith, accordingly, was not (or, at any rate, not primarily) an act of the intellect accepting as true what God has revealed but an act of the will entrusting itself unconditionally to the favor of God as conferred in Christ. Such unconditional trust led to the transformation of human life from the self-centered quest for gratification to the God-centered service of others (see "The Christian Way of Life," below). Partly in response to Luther's doctrine, the Council of Trent at its sixth session affirmed that "faith is the beginning of human salvation, the foundation and the root of all justification," but it condemned anyone who "says that the sinner is justified by faith alone, as though nothing else were required to cooperate."

The community of Christian worship. As a system of hope, Christianity holds forth the promise of eternal life through Jesus Christ. In the words of what has been called "the gospel in a nutshell" (*Jn.* 3:16), "God loved the world so much that he gave his only Son, that everyone who has faith in him may not die but have eternal life." But that promise and hope of life for those who have faith does not stand in isolation from the full range of Christian hope, the expectation of all the gifts of God for time and for eternity, and the acceptance of those gifts in thankfulness and praise. Hope, consequently, expresses itself chiefly in prayer and worship, both the personal prayer of the individual Christian believer and the corporate worship of the Christian community.

The holy catholic church. One integral component of Christianity both as " a pattern of belief" and as "a community of worship" is expressed in the words of the Apostles' Creed: "I believe in the holy catholic church, the communion of saints." According to the accounts of the New Testament, it was the intention of Jesus to found a church (*Mt.* 16:18): "I will build my church." Whether one accepts the literal historicity of those accounts or not, Jesus did, in fact, gather a community of disciples and establish a table fellowship. The earliest Christianity we are able to uncover is already a churchly Christianity, to which in fact we owe the Gospels and all the other books of the New Testament. For Christians of every persuasion and denomination, the church is at the same time the primary context of worship.

There is, however, far less unanimity about the nature of the church or about its organization and its authority. The tripartite complex of authority that emerged from the conflicts of early Christianity (see "The History of Christianity," above) vested in the office of the monarchical bishop the visible governance of the church and defined the church accordingly. Two formulas of Cyprian (d. 258), bishop of Carthage, summarize this definition: "Where the bishop is, there the church is" (*Ubi episcopus, ibi ecclesia*) and "There is no salvation apart from the church" (*Extra ecclesiam nulla salus*). For Cyprian himself, as became evident in his disputes with Stephen I (bishop of Rome from 254 to 257), each bishop carried the authority of the office on his own and was answerable to the authority of Christ and of his brother bishops, but not to any one bishop as monarch of the entire church. But there were already signs of a developing pyramidal structure of authority, with certain centers having clear jurisdiction over others. Among these, the see of Rome had, and has, preeminence. As noted earlier, this understanding of authority led in the Middle Ages to a definition of the church as a visible monarchy, analogous in some ways to other monarchies, of which the pope was the absolute ruler—"judging all, but being judged by none," as the *Dictatus papae* of Gregory VII said. Orthodoxy, by contrast, has resisted the pyramidal model of church authority, preferring to see the entire company of the church's bishops, particularly when they are in council assembled, as a corporate and collegial entity, with the bishop of Rome as "first among equals" (*primus inter pares*) but not as monarch. One of the major accents of the Second Vatican Council was a new emphasis on episcopal collegiality but not at the expense of the primacy of the bishop of Rome within the college. That accent was closely joined in the decrees of the council to a recovery of the definition of the church as principally the community of Christian worship.

Protestant views of the church. The Protestant rejection of the authority of the pope is closely joined to a redefinition of the nature of the church. There had always been the recognition in the medieval doctrine of the church, particularly as this had come down from Augustine, that the organizational, empirical church was not coextensive with the church as it exists in the eyes of God: some who participate in, or even preside over, the church as an institution today will ultimately perish, while others who now persecute the church are destined to become members of the body of Christ. That definition of the true church as "the company of the elect," and hence as invisible in its membership and in its essence, appears in one form or another in the thought of most of the Protestant reformers. It did not imply, except in the polemics of a radical few, that there was no visible church. With differing forms of ecclesiastical administration (see "Reformation Christianity," above), the reformers took over or adapted patterns of organization that would suit the church for its function as the community of Christian worship and the center of Christian instruction. A favorite Protestant term for the church, therefore, is the phrase in the Apostles' Creed, "the communion of saints."

The preaching of the word of God. Although they would agree that the church is the community of Christian worship, the several denominations disagree about the structure of that community—and about the content of that worship. It is characteristic of most Protestant groups that in their liturgies and forms of worship they assign centrality to communication of the Christian message through preaching: "Where the word of God is, there the church is" (*Ubi verbum Dei, ibi ecclesia*) is how they have recast Cyprian's formula. As the leader of the worshiping community, the minister is principally (though never exclusively) the proclaimer of the word of God, a word of God that is found in, or identified and even equated with, the Bible. The emphasis on biblical preaching has sometimes led to a didactic understanding of worship, but this has been counterbalanced in Protestantism by the literally tens of thousands of "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs" (*Col.* 3:16) that the Protestant churches have developed because of their equally great stress on the participation of the congregation and of each individual worshiper in the service. The traditional concern of Protestant Christianity with the authentic faith and experience of the individual—expressed in Luther's axiom "You must do your own believing as you must do your own dying"— is likewise audible in these hymns, many of which, typically, are cast in the language of the first person singular.

The sacraments. It would, however, be a grave distortion (albeit a distortion to which even sympathetic interpreters of Protestant Christianity have sometimes been subject) to interpret Protestantism as a thoroughgoing individualism in its understanding of worship, for the definition of the church as "the community of Christian worship," in Protestantism as well as in Orthodoxy and in Roman Catholicism, is embodied above all in the celebration of the sacraments. Except for certain details (e.g., whether it is the recitation of the words of institution or the invocation of the Holy Spirit in the epiclesis that effects the transformation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist), Eastern Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism stand in basic agreement on the nature of sacramental worship and the meaning of the seven sacraments. Among the many definitions of *sacrament* that have appeared in the Christian tradition, two (one from the East and one from the West) may suffice here: "the mystery of faith," since in Christian Greek *mustērion* means both "mystery" and "sacrament"; and, in a formula based on Augustine, "sacred sign," which by a visible means represents (or represents) an invisible divine grace.

The Eucharist. The primary sacrament and the center of Christian worship is, for both the Eastern and the Western tradition, the Eucharist or Lord's Supper, which is, in one form or another, celebrated by all Christian groups. Although the celebration is also a memorial and an expression of community, what sets the Roman Catholic and Orthodox understanding of the Eucharist apart from that of most other groups is their definition of this sacrament as real presence and as sacrifice. In fulfillment of the words and promise of Jesus, "This is my body" and "This is my blood," the bread and wine presented for the sacrament become the very body and blood of Christ, identical in their substance with the body born of Mary, even though the taste, color, and other attributes or "accidents" of bread and wine remain. The Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 defined this doctrine as "transubstantiation," and it was reaffirmed by the Council of Trent in 1551. As the real presence of the body and blood of the one whose death on the cross and resurrection effected the redemption of the world, the Eucharist is as well a sacrifice—not as though the first sacrifice were inadequate and Christ needed to be sacrificed over and over, but "in union with the sacrifice" of Calvary. The daily offering of that sacrifice for the living and the dead is at the center of Roman Catholic worship, devotion, and doctrine; and although Orthodoxy is, characteristically, less explicit in some of its detailed formulations about the metaphysics of the presence and more content to speak of it as a "mystery," its representatives, when pressed, will come up with language not far removed from that of the West—especially of the West as in the twentieth century it has, thanks to a repossession of the tradition of the Greek fathers, come to speak about the mystery of the Eucharist.

Whatever differences of emphasis there may be between Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy about the Eucharist, they are much smaller than the differences among the several Protestant groups. Luther objected to transubstantiation as an excessively philosophical formula, and above all to the sacrificial understanding of the Eucharist as a diminution of the redemptive work of Christ, but he vigorously defended the real presence against his fellow Protestants. They in turn laid stress on the "true presence" of Christ in his spirit and power rather than on the "real presence" of the actual body and blood. Within Protestantism, consequently, the memorial aspects of the celebration of the Lord's Supper, which Christ according to the Gospels instituted to be eaten in his remembrance, have been prominent and sometimes even central. The other historic accent of Christian eucharistic worship that has found a new emphasis in Protestant practice and devotion is the understanding of the Lord's Supper as a corporate expression of the "communion" of Christian believers with one another. "Body of Christ" in the New Testament refers sometimes to the Eucharist, sometimes to the church, and sometimes (notably in *1 Corinthians*) to both at the same time. Compared with those two themes of memorial and communion, the specification of just how the body and blood of Christ can be present in the sacrament is of lesser significance.

Baptism. The other action of the community of Christian worship on whose "sacramental" character all Christians would agree is baptism. Throughout the *Acts of the Apostles*, baptism functions as the means of initiation into the Christian movement and into the reality of Christ himself, and in the epistles of Paul baptism is the way of appropriating the benefits of the death and resurrection of Christ. Although all the explicit references in the New Testament to the practice of baptism mention only adults as its recipients, and that generally only after a profession of their faith, the custom of administering it also to children began quite early; just how early is a matter of controversy, but by the end of the second century infant baptism was sufficiently widespread to have called forth objections from Tertullian. Except for that difference from subsequent tradition, Tertullian formulated in his treatise *On Baptism* what can be regarded as an all but universal consensus about the effects of baptism: remission of sins, deliverance from death, regeneration, and bestowal of the Holy Spirit. Eastern and Western Church Fathers, all the medieval scholastics, and many of the Protestant reformers would be able to subscribe to that formulation. Because of their misgivings about any view of any of the sacraments that might appear magical, Protestants have tended to avoid describing the conferral of these effects as something automatic. The Anabaptists of the sixteenth century on the continent, and the several bodies of Baptists in England and especially in the United States since the seventeenth century, have carried that position to the conclusion of repudiating the practice of infant baptism and insisting on "believers' baptism" as the only form of administering the sacrament that is consistent both with the original intention of Jesus and with the true nature of the Christian community.

Other sacraments. Although baptism and the Lord's Supper are for most Protestants the only two ordinances that qualify as sacraments, the medieval development in the West led to a system of seven sacraments, which Eastern Christianity, when obliged to become specific, has likewise affirmed. The sacrament of penance (together with the reception of absolution) developed as a way of coping with sins committed after the reception of forgiveness in baptism. As the contrition of the heart, the confession of the mouth, and the satisfaction of a work restoring what had been taken away by the sin, penance became, in the Latin Middle Ages, one of the principal means by which the imperatives and the promises of the Christian gospel were applied to individuals and communities. With the universal acceptance of infant baptism, the individual's assumption of the responsibilities of Christian discipleship, originally associated with adult baptism, came to be the central content of the sacrament of confirmation. As infant baptism attended the beginning of life with sacramental grace, so at death, or in a crisis or illness that might portend death, the anointing of the sick (or the sacrament of "extreme unction") brought that grace to the end of life as well. The only one of the seven "sacraments" to which the name was applied in the New Testament (*mustērion* in Greek, *sacramentum* in Latin) was marriage (*Eph.* 5:32); on that authority, it became part of the sacramental system. And as the ordinance by which all the other sacraments were usually made possible, the ordination of priests itself was defined to be a sacrament. Each of the seven, therefore, combines in a special way what is also the special emphasis of Christian hope and of Christian worship: the sacredness of each person, but in the context of the sacred community.

The Christian way of life. As a system of love—and love is, in the formula of Paul, the "greatest" of the three (*1 Cor.* 13:13)—Christianity presented itself to its hearers as a way of life; especially in *Acts*, "the way" became a standard designation for Christianity itself. In its symbiosis with the societies and cultures in which it has taken root, the Christian way of life has been characterized by even greater heterogeneity than Christian belief or Christian worship. That heterogeneity makes generalizations about it in such a summary as this even more hazardous, and the specifics of the forms of Christian ethics in society must be left for treatment elsewhere in this encyclopedia. It is nevertheless possible to single out briefly certain leitmotifs that run across the varieties of Christian morality, both individual and social.

The imitation of Christ. Ever since the New Testament, the human life of Jesus Christ has served as an example set forth for imitation; it has usually been more than an example, but never less. "Bend your necks to my yoke, and learn from me, for I am gentle and humble-hearted; and your souls will find relief" the New Testament (*Mt.* 11:29) represents him as commanding. Just what that imitation implies concretely for the Christian in the world has been, however, a continuing issue and problem, for the Christ whom the believer is invited to imitate was not married, did not hold public office, and was not supported chiefly from a trade or profession. The imitation of his example has come to mean, therefore, the application to one's own situation of the love and faithfulness that Christ brought to his. Repeatedly, when the demands of society or, for that matter, the requirements of the church have proved to be too complex or abstract, "the imitation of Christ" has become a way of reducing them to their essence. Thus, in what has probably been, except for the Bible itself, the most widely circulated book in Christian history, *Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis (1379/80–1471), the summons of the figure in the Gospels rises above the intervening voices with a clarity and directness that has spoken to followers in every century; and in the twentieth century, *The Cost of Discipleship*, by the young Lutheran theologian and martyr under the Nazis, Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906–1945), has applied that New Testament summons of "Follow me" to a new generation of disciples.

Obedience. The imitation of Christ has also implied obedience to his will, as this was expressed both in his own teachings and in the Mosaic law. In its treatment of that law, the New Testament manifests an ambivalence: Christ is seen as "the end of the law" (*Rom.* 10:4), and yet he himself is represented as warning in the sermon on the mount (*Mt.* 5:17), "Do not suppose that I have come to abolish the law and the prophets." The ambivalence manifests itself likewise in the descriptions of the Christian way of life as obedience. The Christian catechisms that have proliferated especially since the sixteenth century (see "Reformation Christianity," above) have usually incorporated an exposition and application of the Mosaic Decalogue as their description of what it means in practical terms to be a Christian. That has been perhaps even more true of Protestant than of Roman Catholic catechisms, despite the polemic of Protestants against "moralism" and "legalism" in Roman Catholic theology and ethics. But both Roman Catholic and Protestant ethicists and teachers have also repeatedly defined Christian obedience as not the strict observance of a legal code, not even of the legal code in the Ten Commandments, but as the spontaneity of the Spirit. "Love God, and do what you will" was Augustine's characteristically epigrammatic way of describing that spontaneity; but that same Augustine is at the same time one of our earliest authorities for the use of the Ten Commandments in Christian pedagogy. Augustine is as well an early source for the adaptation to Christian purposes of the philosophical consideration of the nature and the number of the "virtues": to the classical (or, as they came to be called in Christian parlance, "cardinal") virtues of prudence, temperance, fortitude, and justice, Christian ethical thought added the three "theological" virtues of faith, hope, and love. Obedience to the will of God and the cultivation of these seven virtues were seen as the content of the Christian way of life.

The transformation of the social order. Each of the "cardinal" and "theological" virtues makes sense only in a social context, and obedience to the will of God has traditionally been seen as pertaining to society as well as to the individual. The petitions of the Lord's Prayer, "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven," have been taken to mean that the reign of God and the will of God have as their object here on earth the creation of a social order that conforms as closely as possible to the reign of God in heaven. That is indeed how both the East (see "The Christian Culture of Byzantium," above) and the West (see "Christianity in the Middle Ages," above) have interpreted their mission through most of Christian history, and that was how they carried out their mission within those societies. Calvinism and Puritanism were especially committed to the creation of social and political institutions that lived up to the will of God, and the pacifism of Anabaptist and Quaker groups during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was inspired by a similar commitment. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, however, such an interpretation of the Christian mission took on new urgency—and occasioned new controversy—in a society where the institutions of Christianity no longer command attention or widespread obedience. The Social Gospel associated with the name of Rauschenbusch (see "The Nineteenth Century," above) was the most ambitious of modern efforts to rethink the fundamentals of the Christian way of life in relation to the situation of an industrial society and to define the very meaning of salvation (as well as of other themes of Christian teaching and devotion) in social terms. Although the Social Gospel has in greater or lesser measure affected the ethical thought of most Protestant groups, Roman Catholicism was, during most of the twentieth century, the major center for the development of new social and political theory. In a series of "social encyclicals" beginning with the *Rerum novarum* of Pope Leo XIII (1810–1903) of May 15, 1891, the papacy itself has often taken the lead in stimulating such development. But the application of the theory to modern society—the phenomenon of "worker priests" in France, and especially the creation of "liberation theology" by Roman Catholic theologians in Latin America—has often produced confusion and provoked controversy. Even those whose political or theological conservatism finds such trends dangerous, however, usually speak in the name of a particular definition of the social order that they regard as conforming, at least in some measure, to the same ideals.

Christian universalism. The Christian way of life as love is conventionally seen as finding its ultimate fulfillment in the church as the loving community of believers set apart from the world. But alongside that strain in the Christian tradition there has always stood a concern and a love for the entire world, a Christian universalism no less pronounced than is Christian particularism. It has sometimes expressed itself in a sense of urgency about Christian missions, to "bring the world to Christ." But a less prominent, yet no less persistent, expression of Christian universalism has sought to probe the implications of the unavoidable statements of the New Testament about the entire world as the object of the love of a God "whose will it is that all men should find salvation and come to know the truth" (*1 Tm.* 2:4). Origen in the third century, Gregory of Nyssa in the fourth century, Nicholas of Cusa in the fifteenth century—these and other theologians, committed though they were to the church and to its orthodoxy, have taken up the exposition of a universal vision in which the love of God revealed in Christ cannot be completely fulfilled until all God's creation has been reconciled.

Faith, hope, and love. The complex, sometimes labyrinthine, interactions of faith, hope, and love with one another throughout Christian history and throughout Christianity as a system suggest the absence of a set of universal principles that could, in the fashion of Euclid's geometry, yield *the* Christian worldview. Christianity is, rather, the product of a continuing and organic history. Its principal institutional expression has been the church in its various organizational forms, but Christianity is more than the church. Although its chief intellectual product has been a theological development that spans twenty centuries, the Christian message is not coextensive with its theology. Its most telling effect on history has been in the faith and life of its celebrated saints and seers, but Christianity has consistently declared that its power and spirit can be found as well among the silent in the land, the meek who shall inherit the earth.

SEE ALSO Apostles; Atonement, article on Christian Concepts; Baptism; Biblical Literature; Christian Ethics; Christian Liturgical Year; Church; Community; Confession of Sins; Constantinianism; Councils, article on Christian Councils; Creeds, article on Christian Creeds; Crusades; Deity; Denominationalism; Discipleship; Dogma; Drama, articles on European Religious Drama, Modern Western Theater; Eastern Christianity; Ecumenical Movement; Enlightenment, The; Eucharist; Evil; Faith; Fall, The; Free Will and Predestination, article on Christian Concepts; Gnosticism, articles on Gnosticism as a Christian Heresy, Gnosticism from Its Origins to the Middle Ages; God, articles on God in Postbiblical Christianity, God in the New Testament; Gospel; Grace; Heresy, article on Christian Concepts; Hope; Hypostasis; Iconoclasm; Iconography, article on Christian Iconography; Icons; Incarnation; Jesus; Justification; Literature, article on Religious Dimensions of Modern Western Literature; Marriage; Merit, article on Christian Concepts; Missions, article on Christian Missions; Monastery; Monasticism, article on Christian Monasticism; Music, article on Religious Music in the West; Ordination; Papacy; Persecution, article on Christian Experience; Poetry, article on Christian Poetry; Political Theology; Prayer; Priesthood, article on Christian Priesthood; Protestantism; Reformation; Religious Communities, article on Christian Religious Orders; Repentance; Roman Catholicism; Sacrament, article on Christian Sacraments; Schism, article on Christian Schism; Sin and Guilt; Soul, article on Christian Concepts; Ten Commandments; Theology, article on Christian Theology; Trent, Council of; Trinity; Vatican Councils, article on Vatican II; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Christian Worship.

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The monographic literature on the history and the theology of Christianity is, quite literally, incomprehensible in its scope and cannot engage our attention here. But among more general works, perhaps the best overall treatment of its history is in *Histoire de l'église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, edited by Augustin Fliche, Victor Martin, and others (Paris, 1934–1964). *The Pelican History of the Church*, 6 vols., edited by Owen Chadwick (Harmondsworth, 1960–1970), is excellent, except for its omission of a volume on the Christian East, and always readable and often incisive. The more ambitious *Oxford History of the Christian Church* may well be a collaborative work destined to match Fliche-Martin in comprehensiveness. *Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte*, edited by Hubert Jedin, Kenneth Scott Latourette, and Jochen Martin (Freiburg, 1970), provides a sense of place for ideas and books that in the theological literature sometimes seem to be suspended in mid-air. The history of those ideas is the concern of my work *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, 5 vols. (Chicago, 1971–), and the books are chronicled with a sureness of touch and with great fairness in Johannes Quasten's *Patrology*, 4 vols. (Utrecht, 1950–1960).

Of the many thousands of attempts at a systematic formulation of Christianity as a religion of faith, hope, and love (and therefore not only of Christian dogmatics, but of the entire Christian message), it may seem presumptuous to select only five: John of Damascus's *On the Orthodox Faith* in the eighth century, which has played a significant part in all three major segments of Christendom, Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Protestant; Peter Lombard's *Sentences* in the twelfth century, which, with the more than one thousand commentaries that have been written on it, shaped Christian teaching for centuries; Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologiae* in the thirteenth century, which many students of Christian thought would regard as the climax of its development; John Calvin's *The Institutes of the Christian Religion* in the sixteenth century, which summarized the principal tenets of the Protestant Reformation more masterfully than any other book of theology; and Friedrich Schleiermacher's *The Christian Faith* in the nineteenth century, which, both by its successes and by its failures, is an eloquent statement of the predicament and the promise of the Christian message.

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CHRISTIANITY: CHRISTIANITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The origins of the Christian communities in the Middle East are rooted in the birth and first development of Christianity in the old cities of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Damascus. Several million Christians continue to live in the Middle East at the beginning of the twenty-first century; most are scattered in Egypt (3.5 million), Jordan (150,000), Israel (105,000), the Palestinian territories (76,000), Syria (950,000), Lebanon (1.35 million), Iraq (615,000), Turkey (115,000), and Iran (150,000). Although their numbers have declined considerably in modern times, these communities represent an autochthonous Christian presence whose origins date further back than the birth and spread of Islam in the Middle East. Most Middle Eastern Christians are Arabs or, to a lesser extent, belong to such long-established groups as the Assyrians or the Armenians.

A PLURAL PRESENCE. Middle Eastern Christianity is characterized by a plurality of churches, bearing witness to the rich cultural and religious life and the historical evolution of the Christian communities of the early centuries. The division into independent churches was the result of doctrinal disputes linked to the Christological debates of the fourth and fifth centuries as well as to relations with the Latin Catholic Church. Beginning in the fifteenth century the latter tried to reunite with the Eastern churches by forming new Catholic churches that would maintain their own hierarchy and oriental liturgy but remain in dogmatic communion with the Church of Rome, recognizing the jurisdictional primacy of the pope (the so-called Uniat churches). In the nineteenth century, due in part to the increasing political and economic presence of the European states in the Middle East, many more Protestant and Latin missionaries arrived. The Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem was restored in 1847, and at the same time Eastern Protestant communities were formed. After twenty centuries of historical evolution, the Eastern churches have been divided into four great families.

The Oriental Orthodox family. The Oriental Orthodox family is the most important in terms of the number of faithful living in the Middle East. It includes the Coptic Orthodox Church (at least 3,200,000 members), the Syrian Orthodox Church (177,000), and the Apostolic Armenian Church (540,000 in the Middle East). These churches separated from other churches of the Roman Empire in the fifth century (the beginning of the sixth century for the Armenian Church) when they refused to accept the diophysite Christological doctrine. This doctrine, as expressed by the Council of Chalcedon in 451, recognized in Christ two natures coexisting in one divine person. The three Oriental Orthodox churches instead remained faithful to the definition given by Cyril of Alexandria (c. 378–444), who spoke of "the one incarnate nature of the Word of God."

The Assyrian Church or Church of the East (120,000 members in the Middle East) also forms part of the Oriental Orthodox family. It separated from the other churches at the time of the Council of Ephesus (431 CE), rejecting the condemnation of the position of Nestorius, who held that in Christ there were two natures closely linked through a moral, not an ontological, bond.

The Oriental Orthodox churches are completely independent of each other and do not have juridical or disciplinary links with either the Roman Catholic Church or the Eastern Orthodox communion represented by the Patriarch of Constantinople.

The Orthodox (Chalcedonian) family. The Orthodox (Chalcedonian) family is represented in the Middle East by four autocephalous churches comprising approximately one million members. These four churches are all members of the Eastern Orthodox communion. They have been divided from the Catholic Church since 1054, the date of the mutual excommunication of the Church of Rome and the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The Orthodox Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria were set up in the fifth century by Christians and clergy who accepted the ruling of the Council of Chalcedon. The Middle Eastern Orthodox family also includes the Patriarchate of Constantinople in Turkey.

The Catholic family. The Catholic family comprises seven churches: Maronite (550,000 members), Chaldean (417,000), Melkite (450,000), Coptic Catholic (150,000), Armenian Catholic (60,000), Syrian Catholic (100,000), and the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem (86,500). These seven churches are fully united with the Church of Rome and recognize the jurisdictional primacy of the pope. In the late 1980s the Council of the Catholic Patriarchs of the Middle East was established to provide a forum for addressing the common problems of the Catholic communities in the region.

The Reformed family. The Reformed family, in existence since the nineteenth century, comprises thirteen different Protestant denominations, all of them modest in size. This family includes Lutheran, Evangelical, and Presbyterian communities as well as the Union of the Armenian Evangelical Churches of the Middle East for a total of about 81,000 members, mainly in Egypt, Lebanon, and Syria.

Council of the Churches of the Middle East. The various churches have their own institutions, including eparchies, community councils, various kinds of pastoral structures, ecclesiastical courts, and schools (in countries where confessional schools are allowed). One church's institutions often extend into the geographical regions of the other churches. The desires of individual churches to maintain their own identities and liturgical traditions has not prevented ecumenical activities, which led to the formation of the Council of the Churches of the Middle East (CCME) in 1974. All Middle Eastern Christian churches participate in the CCME, which helps to promote a more unified approach to the problems and issues facing Middle Eastern Christians. The prospect of ecumenism, even if it is sometimes difficult to achieve in concrete terms, is one of the few remaining sources of renewed energy for the Arab and Eastern churches in the long term.

THE HISTORICAL STATUS OF NON-MUSLIMS IN MUSLIM COUNTRIES. By the end of the seventh century Arab Muslims had conquered every part of the Middle East, and a new period began for the region's Christian communities. From the start Islam had to face the problem of its relations with members of other religions because there were Jews and Christians living in cities where Muslims first organized their own political and social structures. In addition Muslims had taken control of predominantly Christian areas that were previously under Byzantine control as well as Zoroastrian regions that had been part of the Sassanian Empire.

***Dhimma* system.** To accommodate non-Muslims, Islam adopted a system that was already in place in the Byzantine and Sassanian Empires, according to which different groups of people were accepted into society under a special status. Called *dhimma*, which means "protection" in Arabic, this system mandated that Muslims were obliged to protect groups on whom *dhimma* status had been conferred. In turn the *dhimmī* (protected) people had to submit absolutely to Muslim rule, recognizing Islam as the supreme power.

Islamic rulers conferred the status of *dhimmī* on members of the religions of the book, that is, those religions that had a sacred book as the basis of their doctrine, which included Judaism and Christianity as well as Sabaism and Mazdaism. In concrete terms the *dhimma* system aimed to enable Muslims and non-Muslims to live alongside one another within the Muslim state, yet it guaranteed the absolute supremacy of Islam and reduced non-Muslims to a lower legal and social status. Although the *dhimmī* were free to practice their own religion, they were forbidden any role in politics, government, or the military, which were reserved exclusively for Muslims. Furthermore the *dhimmī* were subjected to heavier taxes than those levied on Muslims, including the *jizya*, a special per capita tax, as well as taxes on land and business activities.

To guarantee the supremacy of Islam, non-Muslims were not allowed to engage in any kind of missionary activity, and Muslims were prohibited by law from converting to another religion. Under Islamic law both the missionary and the convert could be punished by death. The imposition of a death penalty for conversion (*ḥadd al-riddah*) guaranteed the integrity and growth of the Islamic community and prevented the expansion of other religious communities within Muslim regions. Islamic law on mixed marriages had a similar function, and the Muslim partner in such a marriage was clearly privileged. The law provided for the conversion to Islam of a non-Muslim man who wanted to marry a Muslim woman; the children were obliged to be Muslim. A non-Muslim woman married to a Muslim man was forbidden to teach her own religion to her children, who had no choice but to follow the creed of their Muslim father.

The provisions governing the *dhimmī* were made even stricter by conditions outlined in a document attributed to Caliph Omar (d. 644). These conditions were probably elaborated in subsequent decades and were eventually absorbed into traditional Islamic law. According to these rules Christians and Jews were forbidden to profess their faith in a manner that was considered excessively public. In addition they were prohibited from wearing crosses or other overtly religious symbols and from openly practicing certain rites, such as processions or the ringing of bells. Churches and synagogues were also expected to be simple in appearance and smaller than nearby Muslim buildings to correspond to the legally and socially inferior status of the religious communities to which they belonged and to express their submission to the dominance of Islam. Tight restrictions were imposed on the construction of new churches and the restoration of old ones.

Such legal provisions, through which Islam regulated the coexistence of Muslims and non-Muslims within the Muslim state, reveal Islam's tolerance toward other religious communities. It is clear, however, that although the *dhimma* system allowed peoples of different faiths to live side by side in the past, such a system could not but clash with modern sensibilities, for the *dhimma* sanctioned a model of legal inequality between Muslims and non-Muslims in which only the former enjoyed full rights, whereas the latter had to accept an inferior status that prohibited them from entering politics or gaining full legal rights.

***Millet* system.** The *millet* (nation) system remained in force throughout the Middle East until the end of the nineteenth century, although an important change in the status of Christians took place with the rise of the Ottoman Empire in the fourteenth century. No radical changes were made to laws governing Christians, but the status of Christians changed as religious communities became increasingly institutionalized within the *millet* system, in which the inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire were grouped on the basis of religion.

Along with the Muslim and Jewish *millet*, two Christian *millet* were recognized: the Greek Orthodox and the Gregorian Armenian. Within each *millet*, the representative authority was made up of members of the religious hierarchy, who had jurisdiction over their community for all matters regarding religion, cult, and family law. Thus the *millet* system identified the religious communities as intermediary bodies between the individual and the state. The *millet* system also allowed religious communities broader financial autonomy, as well as more control over the organization of community life and the management of the community's assets. The *millet* system thus gave greater organizational freedom to Christians and Jews while preserving the political and social dominance of Islam and the Muslim *millet*. Only with the Ottoman *tanzimats* (reforms) of 1839 and 1876 did the supreme political and religious Muslim power, the sultan caliph, decree for the first time in Muslim history the legal equality of all the subjects of the Empire.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DYNAMICS OF CHRISTIANS IN THE MODERN MIDDLE EAST. The situation of Christian communities in the modern Middle East is highly complex. Christians came to exercise an important political and cultural role in the Arab states that were established after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in 1922. Christians were among the leading supporters of the *nahḍa*, a cultural and political renaissance that arose in the Arab world at the end of the nineteenth century. The *nahḍa* promoted the concept of "Arabianness," the common historical identity of both Arab Muslims and Christians. The cultural development that Middle Eastern Christians had enjoyed in the preceding decades, due to their relations with Western societies and their openness to democratic and liberal ideas, allowed them to exercise an indisputable influence within the various movements for national independence. It was a renaissance that involved many fields: economics, politics, philosophy, culture, and art. Modern ideas proliferated throughout Middle Eastern societies largely because Christian Arabs, who founded newspapers and magazines, initiated a new intellectual debate. In politics the majority of the opposition parties were established by or initiated with the help of the Christian Arabs.

The aim of this cultural and political movement was to create modern states in which one's right to full citizenship would depend on nationality, not on religion. Arab Christian elites emphasized their national Arab identity, which they felt united them culturally with all Arabs, regardless of their religious beliefs. This new political culture, which was supported by many Muslim intellectuals and politicians who were open to modernity, was especially favorable to Christians because it enabled them to overcome the traditional sociopolitical arrangement of the Muslim state, in which non-Muslims were treated as second-class citizens and denied a political role.

Starting in the 1930s and especially after World War II, a number of new Arab national states, which were potentially secular, were set up and obtained independence. But the young democratic systems in these states were not stable, and several nations evolved in the direction of nationalistic, authoritarian forms of government. This occurred in Syria and Iraq and to some extent in Egypt. Furthermore the dialectic of conflict grew between supporters of reform and modernization and those who advocated a return to traditional Islamic state institutions and Islamic law (*sharīʿah*), a movement represented by such groups as the Muslim Brotherhood founded in 1928 and the radical Islamic groups of the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century.

These complex political and cultural dynamics have led to a change in the relations between Middle Eastern Christian communities and the states to which they belong. A typology of four main sociopolitical situations reveals the status of Christian communities in the various states of the Middle East, showing how these communities evolved during the twentieth century and where they stand at the beginning of the twenty-first.

The first type is a well-established "national" church. Egypt, for example, is home to the largest Christian community in the Middle East, and the Egyptian Coptic Church, which has existed for much of the country's history, has the appearance of a national church. For this reason the Copts, despite being a minority, identify strongly with the Egyptian state, even though their actual participation in social and political life is restricted.

The second type is a state with a majority Christian population. In Lebanon, for example, which was established with French support as an independent country in 1943, Maronite Christians, along with other Christians, made up the majority. Thus their role in Lebanese politics was dominant for decades. During the 1990s, however, Lebanese Christians lost their demographic majority to Muslims, and the country's 1975 to 1990 civil war weakened the Maronite community. The political power of Lebanese Christians was further weakened by Syrian military intervention in Lebanon in 1989 and by the consequent Syrian political influence on the country.

The third type is characteristic of Syria, Jordan, and Iraq as well as, to some degree, the Palestinian and Israeli area, where there is no single dominant Christian church but rather a mosaic of Christian communities, all of which are in the minority. These churches are closely dependent on the government and the group that holds political power, and the attitudes assumed vary according to the context. In Jordan the Christian community is strongly attached to the monarchy. In Palestine, Christians have joined Muslims in the struggle for national liberation. Syrian Christians, together with other minorities, exercise a modest share of power. It is worth noting that in Syria, as in Iraq until April 2003, the government was ruled by the Baath Party, which holds a secular ideology in which people are involved in politics on the basis of nationalism, not religion. Many Christians are members of the Baath Party, which they consider a bulwark against Islamization.

A fourth type reflects the situation of Middle Eastern Christian communities that were subjected to political and military action by governments aimed at eliminating them. The most striking case is that of Armenian Christians in Turkey, up to one million of whom were massacred or deported on the order of the government of the Young Turks in 1915. When the war between Greece and Turkey ended in 1923, the Turkish government took part in a population exchange in which some 1.344 million Orthodox Christians in Turkey were sent to Greece, whereas 464,000 Muslims entered Turkey from Greece. The Christians who remained in Turkey were further oppressed by the Turkish state during the 1940s and the 1950s. The result was the emigration of almost all of Turkey's remaining Christians. Although in 1915 there were approximately 2.5 million Christians in Turkey, by 2000 there were only about 100,000.

A similar fate lay in store for Assyrian Christians in Iraq, who were massacred in 1933 by Iraqi troops and irregular bands supported by the government. These Assyrian Christians had been allied with the British, who had promised them their own independent state and then failed to support them.

THE CRISIS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY. Declining birthrates, widespread instability and conflict, and the threat of Muslim fundamentalism are the primary causes behind the crisis in the Christian communities of the modern Middle East. In 1915 Christians made up an estimated 20 percent of the population of the area that includes present-day Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, Palestine, and Egypt. By 2000 the most optimistic estimates calculated the number of Christians at 10 percent, whereas the more pessimistic estimates calculated that Christians made up no more than 6 or 7 percent of the population in these regions.

There are many reasons behind this decline. Some of them are sociodemographic, with Christians and Muslims displaying different birth and mortality patterns. The lower demographic growth among the region's Christians, along with the aging of the population, has been a major reason for the decrease in their numbers relative to the Muslim population.

However, the decrease in the number of Christians in the Middle East has been influenced by another important factor closely linked to the region's contemporary political and cultural context: emigration. The scale of Christian emigration from the countries of the Middle East is massive. It has been calculated that, since the middle of the twentieth century, approximately three million Middle Eastern Christians have emigrated to Europe, the Americas, and Australia. That figure accounts for one-quarter to one-third of the total Christian population of the area. The causal factors behind this tide of emigration have mainly been the difficult sociopolitical conditions within many Middle Eastern countries, the authoritarianism of their governments, and the general instability of the area, characterized since the 1950s by a continuous series of conflicts, including the long-standing Arab-Israeli conflict, the war in Lebanon from 1975 to 1990, and the Gulf War from 1990 to 1991, which led to an embargo and ultimately to the difficult postwar situation in Iraq in 2003.

To these factors must be added the long-standing influence of Muslim political and legal tradition and the emergence of new Islamist movements, which have made it difficult for Christians to enjoy full citizenship rights in most Middle Eastern countries. The reemergence of Islam as a political and social solution leading to the formation of Islamic states cannot but increase the fears of Christians, who in this kind of political structure would be reduced to the status of a protected minority, without political freedom and subject to discrimination. The formation of such a state was the reason for the massive emigration of Christians from Iran after the Islamic revolution of 1979.

The impact of the region's wars on Middle Eastern Christians is even more serious and long-lasting. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been responsible for a large-scale emigration of Palestinians, a high percentage of whom are Christian. The Arab-Israeli War of 1948 led to the exodus of approximately 726,000 Palestinians, of whom about 60,000 were Christians. Between 1967 and 2003 more than 20 percent of the total number of Christians living on the West Bank or in the Gaza Strip chose to emigrate.

Just as decisive in causing the emigration of large numbers of Christians was the Lebanese conflict, which began in 1975 and lasted for more than fifteen years. This conflict evolved into a real civil war in which fighting occurred not just between different religious groups but also between different factions within religious groups. Lebanon became the theater of a conflict that was influenced by the various political dynamics of the bordering countries, especially the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians, which caused the emigration to Lebanon of large numbers of Muslim Palestinians. The presence of these immigrants helped destabilize a society and a state that was based on a delicate balance between religious confessions and that was already feeling the pressure of changing social and demographic circumstances.

The long civil war in Lebanon also caused a major wave of emigration from the country. It has been estimated that between 1975 and 1990 approximately one million Lebanese emigrated, among whom were at least 300,000 Maronite Christians. Even the Armenians, who were a flourishing community in Lebanon, emigrated in large numbers. Although the emigration involved the broader Lebanese population and not just Christians, the percentage of Christians who left the country, especially during the first ten years of the war, was higher than that of Lebanese Muslims. Although the emigration of Lebanese Christians has decreased substantially since the beginning of the peace process, the demographic loss has been significant and will have an impact on future developments with repercussions for the political, social, and economic role of Christians in Lebanon.

The experience of Lebanese Christians is particularly serious because not only does it concern life in Lebanon itself, it also has negative symbolic value for all Christians in the Middle East. Lebanon has been the only Middle Eastern nation in which Christians played a determinant political role. This role is evidenced by the fact, unique in the Arab world, that the president of the Lebanese Republic is, according to the constitution, a Maronite Christian (with a Muslim holding the position of prime minister), whereas all other Arab countries require the head of state to be a Muslim. Lebanon was therefore a concrete symbol of freedom from a political system in which Muslims subordinated Christians. Moreover the Lebanese system, despite its limitations, has so far been the only Arab country to guarantee a democratic government.

The long war between Iran and Iraq and the international conflict involving Iraq since 1990 have played a significant role in speeding up the emigration of Iraqi Christians. Statistics confirm that, whereas in 2000 Christians made up only 3.2 percent of the total Iraqi population, over 30 percent of Iraqi emigrants that year were Christian.

The greater propensity of Middle Eastern Christians to emigrate—in comparison with Muslims—is also influenced by the higher educational level of the Christian population, which makes Christians less inclined to bear difficult economic situations and facilitates their integration into Western societies. Their emigration is also encouraged by the existence in many countries of well-organized diaspora communities of Eastern Christians. This emigration of Middle Eastern Christians, which generally involves younger generations, is also a factor in aging and the decrease in the fertility rate among the remaining Christians in the region. In addition emigration of young, well-educated Christians may lead to the impoverishment of the Middle Eastern Christian community's professional and intellectual resources. Such a "brain drain" may have a negative effect on the community's social and political influence.

The future of the Christian communities in the Middle East is linked to the various conflicts in the region and the consequent economic problems as well as the dynamics within Islam in its encounter with modernity. The success of the peace processes in the Middle East and the movement toward democratic and egalitarian forms of government are factors of fundamental importance to the future stability of a meaningful Christian presence in the Middle East.

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CHRISTIANITY: CHRISTIANITY IN NORTH AFRICA

Although we lack written sources, archaeological evidence suggests an early origin for the North African churches. However, we must distinguish between two obvious centers in the first century of the preaching of Christianity on the southern shores of the Mediterranean. One center was in Cyrenaica, within reach of the influence of Alexandria. The other was in Carthage, undoubtedly influenced from neighboring Rome across the sea.

Tradition associates the emergence of Christianity in Cyrenaica with the evangelization of Egypt by the apostle Mark. The existence of a considerable Jewish community in that area even before the birth of Christ surely established continuous communications with Jerusalem during the first century. Participation of Libyans and people from Cyrene in the religious controversies at Jerusalem is confirmed by the *Acts of the Apostles* (2:10, 6:8–9). Moreover, archaeological work has revealed the existence of catacombs in Cyrene that substantiate the development of an organized church with ties to Alexandrian Christianity prior to the third century.

The first mention of the church in Carthage came in the year 180, when Tertullian declared that his native Carthage was directly related to Roman apostolic authority. The church that, during the second century, produced so great a giant in the field of Christian theology as Tertullian must have had deep roots in the first century. Carthaginian Christianity was so strong and foundational that it had great influence on the theological controversies of the next several centuries within Western and Eastern Christendom.

CYRENE. Cyrenaica (the easternmost part of Libya) was known as the Pentapolis, or the five towns: Cyrene (modern-day Shaḥḥāt), Apollonia (Marsa Gona), Ptolemaïs (Tolmeta), Berenice (Benghazi), and Barce (Barka). Geographical location and the patterns of caravan trade tied these five towns more closely to Egypt than to Carthage and the rest of the western states of North Africa.

According to tradition, the evangelist Mark was a native Jew of Cyrene, who came to Alexandria by way of the Pentapolis and, after laying the foundations of the new church in Egypt, returned to Cyrene to evangelize. The First Council of Nicaea (325) decreed that Cyrenaica should be considered an obedientiary of the see of Alexandria. To this day the Coptic patriarch carries the five western towns in his title as a province of the see of Mark. We must assume that there was a continuous flow of ecclesiastical and missionary personnel between the two regions, much like the interaction between Carthage and Rome. The overwhelming Greek element in both Cyrene and Alexandria also facilitated communication between them.

Most clerics of Cyrenaica received their education in Alexandria, formerly in the Museion and later in the catechetical school. Alexandrian culture, both philosophically and theologically, had its representative in the Pentapolis in the person of Synesius of Cyrene (c. 370–413), bishop of Ptolemaïs, whose name has come down in history as one of the fathers of the Eastern church.

Synesius was born of wealthy pagan parents in Cyrene around the year 370. After obtaining all the education available in his country he went to Alexandria, where he attended the classes of Hypatia (c. 370–415), the best of the pagan Neoplatonist professors in the Museion. Synesius was captivated by the spell of her teaching and became one of her Neoplatonist disciples. From Alexandria, Synesius went to Athens but was disappointed by the lack of educational opportunities there. On return, his fellow citizens commissioned him to go to Constantinople to plead with the Byzantine emperor for relief from heavy taxation. The success of his mission increased his popularity and paved the way for his leadership of the Libyan people.

At this point Synesius went back to Alexandria, where he was married by Patriarch Theophilus (385–411). This is sufficient proof that he had become a Christian, though there is no evidence of baptism until 410. At that point, in appreciation for his success in Byzantium and for his organization of military defense against the Berbers, his people unanimously elected him to the episcopate. But Synesius was a married man and a staunch Neoplatonist, and he was unwilling to give up either his marriage or his philosophy for the proffered privilege of elevation to bishop. Finally, both the clergy and the people of Ptolemaïs made a strong appeal to the patriarch to consecrate him as their bishop, and their appeal was granted, an exception to Coptic Church tradition holding celibacy a requirement for the episcopate.

In the latter decades of his life, Synesius built fortified churches to which his people resorted for prayer and for defensive purposes when harassed by Berber marauders from the south. Remains of these buildings are still standing in the area of the Green Mountains in Cyrenaica. He also composed religious hymns and homilies that inspired his congregations. Yet he retained his sense of humor and found time to write a treatise in praise of baldness. In the realm of literature, however, he is better known for a set of 156 letters, addressed to many people, including Hypatia and the patriarch Theophilus, which he wrote between the years 399 and 413. These letters, which have been translated into English, are a rich source of information about the social life of the period, geography, and the economy of the world he knew. They show elements of syncretism in their considerations of Neoplatonist philosophy and Christian theology. Synesius may have been the greatest personality in the history of the Pentapolis.

On the whole, the Pentapolis followed Alexandria in all phases of its development during the Christian period. It was subjected to the same wave of persecutions under Roman rule. Even in heresy, there arose the same divisions in Cyrenaica as in Alexandria. During the Arian controversy, there were followers of Athanasius and supporters of Arius, including two bishops, Theonas of Marmarica and Secundus of Ptolemaïs. The third-century heresy of Sabellianism, or subordinationism, which made a distinction between the Son and the Father, the Logos and the Creator of the Logos, arose from a discussion by Sabellius, bishop of Ptolemaïs, and was opposed by two other bishops from the Pentapolis, Amon and Euphranor.

Cyrenaican Christianity appears to have been concentrated almost entirely among the Greek population, who fought the Berber natives along the southern frontier of the Sahara. The Berbers were considered a race of marauders whom the Greeks wanted to push into the desert. Thus the Berbers lived as foreigners beyond the border of their homeland. Outside the pale of the church, they retained their old practices. Arab conquest forced Greek emigration, and there was greater rapport between Berbers and Arabs than between Berbers and Greeks. This accounts in part for the sudden disappearance of Christianity from the Pentapolis and the spread of Islam after the advent of the Arabs.

CARTHAGE. Carthage was founded in the eighth century BCE by the Phoenicians, accompanied by Jewish traders. After the Roman conquest and the fall of the city in 140 BCE, other European settlers came to stay, but the Berber natives remained on the periphery of the agricultural territories. Archaeological work has revealed the extent of Roman culture in North Africa from Leptis Magna (near present-day Tripoli) in the east to Caesarea (northern Algeria) on the Mediterranean shore. The Romans established series of forts along the southern frontier, and these were strengthened by the Byzantines and in particular by the emperor Justinian for defensive purposes. North African agricultural land supplemented Egypt as the granary of the Roman Empire. The natives spoke what may be described as Libyan Punic, though the Romanized inhabitants and the Roman settlers conversed in Latin, which came to be the official language of the country and the church, in contrast to Greek in Cyrenaica.

Pagan religions of varied character from the Phoenician worship of Baal and Astarte to the animistic beliefs of the natives, later joined by the gods of the Roman pantheon, were in use at the coming of the Christian preachers of the gospel. It is difficult to fix precise dates for the introduction of Christianity into the western section of North Africa, though we may assume that the preaching of the gospel initially came from Rome. This is confirmed by the later demonstrations of close relationship with the see of Rome. The first concrete record of Roman registers revealing the existence of an organized and well-developed church surfaced suddenly just a couple of decades before the end of the second century. Christianity was largely concentrated in Carthage and its adjacent territories. From east to west, these included Tripolitania, Africa Proconsularis, Numidia, Mauretania Caesariensis, and Mauretania Tingitana, covering roughly modern-day Tripolitania, Tunisia, Algeria, and northern Morocco. The spread of Christianity must have taken place rapidly among the Carthaginian population, but it never took root among the Berbers, who remained outside the fold of Roman civilization and were systematically besieged by the church. The position of the church reached a high degree of efflorescence in the following few centuries, thanks to a number of people whose contributions to Christian thought and culture remained a standing monument for Carthaginian Christianity in spite of its sudden disappearance after about five centuries of existence.

In its early days, the church at Carthage was subjected, with the rest of the Roman Empire, to persecutions and contributed its full share in martyrdom. Namphamo of Numidia claimed to be the first martyr for his faith, and he could have been of Punic origin. However, the majority of the martyrs of Carthage were either Romanized natives or Roman settlers. Despite persecution, the church grew. At the death of Tertullian around 225, Carthage already had more than seventy bishoprics. In the year 250, during Cyprian's episcopate, the number increased to about 150. When the Edict of Milan was issued in 313, the number rose to 250 bishops. The country teemed with new churches. Cyprian mentions eighty-eight in his works, and twenty-nine more were added before the year 325.

In spite of its significant progress, the church began to suffer from internal division with the appearance of the Donatist movement. Though the source of the division was theological, Donatism began to assume the shape of nationalism, which was concentrated in Numidia against Carthage. The controversy dragged on until the coming of the Vandals in 429. The Vandals were of Arian confession and would have nothing to do with either catholics or Donatists, who were stifled under Vandal rule until the recovery of the country by the Byzantines in 533 on behalf of Emperor Justinian. In keeping with his imperialist policy, Justinian aimed at a unified church and state and discouraged all schismatic tendencies in his provinces, including North African Donatism. Donatism was weakened, but it flickered until the destruction of the church by the Arabs in the seventh and eighth centuries.

SHAPERS OF CHRISTIAN THOUGHT. The sudden extinction of Carthaginian Christianity could not minimize the glories of the North African church in the first centuries. Foremost among those who gave that church great stature in the annals of Christian civilization are Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine of Hippo.

Tertullian (160?–225?) lived in the age of Roman persecutions, and this is reflected in his writings. He was born a pagan in Carthage, but became a Christian in 193. The first Church Father to write in Latin, Tertullian fought idolatry and heresy in all its forms, whether Gnostic, Manichaean, or Marcionite. A prolific theologian, he used his gift of eloquence to defend Christian martyrs. To him we owe the first use of the word *trinity*, a creation of his lucid logic in the definition of the unity of God. He drew the main basic lines of Western theology, parallel to Origen's efforts in the East at the catechetical school of Alexandria. Subsequent generations of theologians continued to build on Tertullian's illuminating trinitarianism and Christology after his death.

Born a pagan and educated in rhetoric, Cyprian (c. 205–258) ultimately became a Christian some decades after the death of Tertullian, whose work he knew. Like Tertullian, Cyprian became an ascetic. He was elected bishop of Carthage shortly after his conversion (c. 248). Cyprian wrote numerous letters, which are among the best sources of the history of the church in the third century, as well as short treatises dealing with practical theological matters, such as the enforcement of rebaptism on heretics. His real strength lay in his pastoral genius as a man of action and a superb organizer. He led a stormy life within the church as well as without, and he was continuously beset with danger. In the year 258, a new wave of persecutions swept the empire by the order of Emperor Valerian, whose agents pursued the bishop. Cyprian did not flee, and he was martyred in 258.

Approximately a century after Cyprian's martyrdom, the genius of the North African church reached its peak in Augustine of Hippo (354–430), whose life and work became one of the greatest landmarks in the development of Christian theology. A native of North Africa and born of a pagan father and a Christian mother, Augustine was bishop of Hippo from 396 until his death in 430. He wrote against many heresies, including Manichaeism, Donatism, and Pelagianism. The two principal works that made Augustine the foremost writer of his age are his spiritual autobiography, the *Confessions*, and the *City of God*, a work seminal for medieval Christian thought. In the *City of God*, Augustine labors to vindicate Christianity against the attribution that the calamitous fall of Rome to the hordes of Alaric in 410 was due to the advent of the new religion. According to Augustine, the kingdom of God, the celestial Jerusalem, was the eternal kingdom that no earthly ravages or philosophical intellectualism could impair, and its only visible form on earth was the catholic church. In this way Augustine was able to substantiate all the elements of patristic thought in the service of catholic Christianity more effectively than any of his predecessors.

If the North African church had produced no creative writers beyond Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine, it would have more than justified its major importance in Christian antiquity. But North Africa contributed even more in a smaller way through the works of other minor authors. Of these may be cited Arnobius of Sicca (253–327), well-known rhetorician and teacher who was a Christian convert from paganism. Another was Lactantius, also a professor of rhetoric, who lived during the reign of Diocletian (284–304). After Christianity had been declared the state religion, the emperor Constantine in 317 appointed Lactantius to be tutor of his own son Crispus. Lactantius was already advanced in years and died about 320.

ADVENT OF ISLAM. After the conquest of Egypt in 640–642, a further thrust westward into the Pentapolis and the rest of North Africa by the Arabs became inevitable, initially to safeguard the fairest of their acquisitions, the Nile Valley. Cyrenaica surrendered to the Arab conquerors without difficulty and Carthage fell into their hands in 698. As the Arabs came in, the Greek and Roman populations went out, emigrating en masse to Byzantium, Sicily, Italy, and Spain. With their exit, the churches of North Africa vanished with surprising rapidity.

First among the factors that precipitated the disappearance of Christian foundations in North Africa, despite their remarkable development and past glories, was that the church had remained embedded in urban districts. Its congregations never really cared to undertake missionary work amid the Berber tribes. In contrast, the Arabs, who were nomads like the Berbers, offered the Berbers Islam with equality and full brotherhood. The Berbers accepted the offer and even participated with the Arab armies in further conquests. Second, waves of emigration from Arabia to North Africa came to fill the vacuum created by Christian departure from these regions. Instances of the advent of whole tribes settling in North Africa include the accounts of Banū Hilāl and Banū Sālim, whose adventures in these provinces are still the subject of Arabic folklore. A third factor was that most of the heterodox parties among the Arabs took off to the distant west, where they could pursue their doctrines undisturbed and even launch missionary work for their beliefs. The Khariji faction inaugurated the movement, and the Shīʿī followed suit; the latter were eventually able to establish their own caliphate and build an empire of their own. Fourth, the economy of the romanized provinces of North Africa was essentially founded on slavery and slave trade, while Islam offered full enfranchisement to all slaves willing to convert. Finally, there was the burden of Byzantine taxation, which was continually on the ascendance. Though it would be a mistake to contend that total relief accompanied the advent of the Arabs, the Berbers were assured of Arab leniency, and, at any rate, had nothing to lose by the change of masters.

It is therefore no wonder that the Berber population found it more to their advantage to accept the new situation readily and even participate with the conquerors in the extermination of all remaining pockets of Roman settlers, and with them the vestiges of a church that they regarded as the symbol of their past humiliation. These factors account for the precipitous downfall of Carthaginian Christianity and the almost total disappearance of churches from North Africa by the twentieth century.

Even though the door was left ajar for the reappearance of Christian elements from the West during the modern period of European colonization, these do not appear to have had any real impact on the prevalent status of Islam. Although stray Christians mainly of Coptic origin remain, in the present day, all the countries of North Africa, from Libya to Morocco, must be regarded as totally Muslim and without any surviving Christian element.

SEE ALSO Augustine of Hippo; Berber Religion; Cyprian; Donatism; Tertullian.

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AZIZE SURYAL ATIYA (1987)

CHRISTIANITY: CHRISTIANITY IN EASTERN EUROPE

The story of Christianity in eastern Europe and northern Eurasia is complex—a tangled web of changing peoples, nations, and church allegiances; of political, military, and cultural conflicts; and of ideological, social, and spiritual forces in a seemingly perpetual flux. This article traces the course of twenty centuries of Christian history in this region, which is bounded on the south by the tip of the Greek Peninsula, ringed roughly by the Adriatic, Aegean, Black, and Caspian Seas; on the north by the Baltic Sea and the Finnish Peninsula; on the east by the Ural Mountains; and on the west by the eastern slopes of the Alps and the river Elbe.

The history of the Christian Church in eastern Europe and northern Eurasia can be understood through the interplay over the centuries of four major factors: Greek-Byzantine, Latin-Roman, and Frankish-German influences, and the migrations of peoples who eventually settled in eastern Europe and northern Eurasia, primarily the Slavs. These factors represent distinctive religious, cultural, and ethnic traditions that molded the development of the Christian Church over the centuries in this region. There are others, of course, including the Muslim Ottoman Empire in the fifteenth through nineteenth centuries and the Soviet Union in the twentieth century. Nevertheless, the story of how Christianity developed in this area can be told by describing the motives, mind-sets, interests, and policies together with the successes and failures of these four major forces.

Historically, the first actor at work in the molding of Christianity in eastern Europe and northern Eurasia was the Greek-Byzantine tradition. Highlighted by the apostle Paul's mission to the Gentiles and his crossing over into Europe, the Christian church abandoned the exclusivism of its Jewish roots to become a world religion. To be sure, he was not alone in this effort. Many anonymous evangelists and laypersons, including traveling businesspeople, contributed to the spread of the Christian faith from its origins in Palestine to as far as Rome and Spain. Although the Christian faith moved outward in all directions—toward Africa, Asia, and the Indian subcontinent—the church's major growth came as it entered the Greco-Roman world of the Mediterranean basin. As it sought to preach the message of salvation in Jesus Christ, it used not only the lingua franca of its day, the spoken and written Greek of the first century, but also Greek concepts, problematics, and philosophical traditions to communicate, understand, and interpret the faith. Beginning with the New Testament idea of Christ as the Logos (*Jn.* 1), there is an ongoing record of the incarnation of the Christian message into the Greco-Roman cultural milieu. What came out of this process, Orthodox Christianity, certainly could not be identified with any specific Greek philosophical system; it was uniquely Christian, but it formulated its faith and practice with the tools of the Greek heritage. Strongly concerned with clear doctrinal formulation of the teachings regarding the Holy Trinity and the person of Jesus Christ, the Greek tradition emphasized the transcendent dimension of faith, the reverence and awe of worship, the conciliar understanding of church life, and the ascetic spirituality of monasticism. This early tradition of Christianity, formulated in the writings of the Church Fathers primarily within the eastern part of the Roman Empire known as Byzantium, was embodied and essentially preserved in what much later came to be called the Eastern or Greek Orthodox Church, with all its various local expressions.

However, while accepting and defending as Christian orthodoxy the formulations of doctrine described above, Christianity in the western part of the Roman Empire quickly gave to the Christian message and life nuances and emphases that characterized its Latin heritage. Less theologically speculative, the sober Latin tradition focused on the practical and on the sense of order and pattern required in an increasingly unstable cultural, political, and social milieu produced by the inroads of numerous barbarian tribes beginning in the fourth century. While the Greek tradition concerned itself with the subtleties of church doctrine, frequently generating new heresies, Latin Christianity became a stronghold of fundamental Christian orthodoxy while concurrently remolding this orthodoxy according to its own genius. In practice, that meant an understanding of the Christian faith largely colored by legal concepts. For example, while the Greek East generally tended to understand sin in relational terms (sin as the breaking of the appropriate relationship between the Creator and the creature), the Latin West emphasized its legal dimensions (sin as guilt). This difference, and the exigencies of the breakdown of cultural unity and civil authority in the West between the fourth and eighth centuries, favored the development of a monarchical understanding of the church, leading to the rise of the Roman papacy as the single, supreme ecclesiastical (and frequently secular) authority in the West. The combination of an early reputation for careful orthodoxy in doctrine, with the centralization of authority in the Roman see, became the source of what eventually would come to be called the Roman Catholic Church.

The third group of actors in the drama of Christianity in eastern Europe and northern Eurasia were the Frankish and Germanic kingdoms, which while Roman Catholic in faith were primarily concerned with their military, economic, and political expansion in the area of eastern Europe. It is not that these concerns were unique to the Frankish and Germanic kingdoms, but that these interests affected the development of Christianity in significantly different ways from that of the see of Rome or of Byzantine Orthodoxy. The reason for this is that Roman Catholicism in the western European region sought actively to differentiate Western Christianity from Eastern Christianity, especially through espousal and promulgation of the *filioque* clause in the creed, which asserts that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son.

In 691 CE Clovis III (682–695 CE) became king of all Franks, beginning a process of consolidation of political power in the West. With Charles Martel's (c. 688–741 CE) victory over Arab forces at the Battle of Tours (732 CE), the integrity of western Europe was assured. A formal political split between the eastern and western parts of the Roman empire, exemplifying the cultural division of Eastern and Western Christianity, occurred with the crowning of Charlemagne (742–814 CE) by Pope Leo III (r. 795–816 CE) in the year 800 CE as the first emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. From that point on, Frankish and Germanic forces perceived the Byzantine Empire and its Greek church as rival powers opposed to their interests.

With the inclusion of *filioque* in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, at the insistence of the Franks (not originally by the Roman see) the stage was set for a long, drawn-out process of schism between the Western (eventually Roman Catholic) Church and the Eastern (eventually Eastern or Orthodox) Church. (*Filioque* literally means "and the Son," referring to the claim made mainly in the West that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son as well as from the Father; the doctrine was rejected by Eastern Churches.) Much of the conflict between East and West played itself out in eastern Europe and northern Eurasia. From the point of view of the history of the church from the ninth through the sixteenth centuries, Frankish and subsequently Germanic interests in the region translated into efforts to make Roman Catholicism dominant at the expense of Eastern Orthodoxy. In contradistinction, during this and subsequent periods, Eastern Orthodoxy became one of the major forces in the struggle of the peoples in the region to retain their cultural, spiritual, and political identity and autonomy. In the sixteenth century the Germanic influence in eastern Europe was expanded with the rise of the Reformation. From that time on, church history was strongly influenced by Protestant interests in the area.

The final actors in the story of Christianity in eastern Europe and northern Eurasia are the various peoples who historically had lived in the region or who came from elsewhere to settle there. Southeastern European peoples, primarily in Macedonia, Achaia, Crete, the Aegean Islands, and Byzantium, were able to trace the continuity of their ecclesiastical and cultural roots to early Christianity and beyond. In contrast, central and northern Europe was an area repeatedly overrun by peoples from the Asian steppes. As a result, the continuity of Christian history was repeatedly broken and reestablished, formed and reformed, in eastern Europe.

Primarily, though not exclusively, it was Slavic peoples who began the invasion of Europe by attacks on Asia Minor and the Balkans around the year 220 CE. Appeased in part by a Byzantine policy that combined military strength, payment of tribute, and settlement, the waves of invaders moved westward in the third to fifth centuries beyond the effective boundaries of the Byzantine Empire. In eastern Europe the newcomers were displaced by new conquerors, and the groups often mingled. Eventually, a measure of identity with particular geographic areas was achieved by the settlers.

The history of the Christian Church in eastern Europe and northern Eurasia can largely be told in terms of the competition of Greek-Byzantine, Latin-Roman, and Frankish-Germanic efforts to gain the loyalty of these largely Slavic peoples. Or, conversely, the history of the church in this area can be understood as the response of the Slavic and other peoples of the region to what the first three had to offer.

EARLY CHRISTIANITY. Christianity entered eastern Europe through the missionary work of the apostle Paul as well as the influence of countless Christians who shared the good news of the redemption of humankind by God in Christ through the Holy Spirit. They planted the Christian seed primarily in cities. Illustrative is Paul's dramatic entry into Europe as a result of a dream in which a Macedonian begged him to "Come over to Macedonia and help us," as described in *Acts* 16. The Christian Scriptures indicate the first-century establishment of Christianity in cities, such as Philippi in Macedonia; Thessalonica, Veroia, and Nicopolis on the western coast of the Greek Peninsula; Athens in Attica; Patras, Corinth, and Sparta in the Peloponnese; on the Aegean Islands of Chios and Samos; and on the island of Crete.

The northern boundary of the Roman Empire in the last decades of the second century extended to the Danube in Illyricum and beyond in the province of Dacia (present-day Romania). On either coast of the Adriatic Sea and the Black Sea there were small enclaves of Christians, but the vast numbers of Thracians, Moesians, Illyrians, and Dacians in the region had not been Christianized. Nevertheless, conditions existed favorable to their eventual conversion. For example, the northern branch of the Thracians, the Geto-Dacians (considered the ancestors of the Romanian people), although polytheists, believed in a supreme god whom they called Zalmoxis, the god of heaven and light. The Geto-Dacians were known to ancient Greek historians, such as Herodotos (c. 484–between 430 and 420 BCE), who described, in addition to this concept of a supreme god, their strong belief in the immortality of the soul. It is not at all unlikely that during this early period a scattering of Christians existed among the Geto-Dacians as a result of Christian influence in the armies of Trajan (53–117 CE; ruled 98–117 CE), who had subdued them.

A legend recorded by Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 260–c. 330 CE) and attributed to Origen (c. 185–c. 254 CE) holds that the apostle Andrew preached in the land of the Geto-Dacians, then referred to as Scythia. The *Passion of Saint Andrew,* included in the Constantinopolitan *Sunaxarion* (lives of saints for liturgical use), claims that Andrew preached in Pontus, Thrace, and Scythia. Although there is a ninth-century legend that Andrew ordained a certain Apion as bishop of Odessus (present-day Varna, Bulgaria), the first historical record of a bishop of the region was made by the historian Socrates (c. 380–450 CE) regarding Theodore the Thracian at the Synod of Sardica (343–344 CE). A bishop from the area named Terentius participated in the ecumenical council at Constantinople in 381 CE. A Bishop Timothy was recorded in attendance at the ecumenical council held in Ephesus (431 CE).

LEGITIMIZATION AND THE BARBARIAN INROADS. After Constantine (d. 337 CE), together with the coemperor Licinius (d. 325 CE), proclaimed Christianity to be a legal religion in 313 CE with the Edict of Milan, more and more of the population within the boundaries of the Empire began to be Christianized. But the appearance of the barbarians caused the boundaries of the Roman Empire to contract, and whatever earlier Christian presence existed in the area was severely weakened or destroyed. Among the earliest of the barbarian tribes to appear were the Goths.

During the period from 230 to 240 CE the Goths came out of southern Russia to attack the Roman provinces. A succession of Roman emperors fought against them, including Claudius (214–270 CE), Aurelian (c. 215–275 CE), Diocletian (245 or 248–313 or 316 CE), and Constantine. Christianity in its Arian form seems to have been introduced to the Goths through prisoner exchanges in Cappadocia around the year 264 CE, but it was at least a century before Christians were of any great number among them. By the mid-fourth century there seemed to be an adequate Christian population among the Goths to require a bishop. Thus in 341 CE Ulfilas (c. 311–c. 382 CE) was ordained first bishop of the Goths by the patriarch of Constantinople, Eusebius. Ulfilas's work was primarily in Plevna (in modern-day Bulgaria), and he translated the Scriptures and services into the Gothic tongue. It should be noted here that the orientation of these early efforts at Christianization was from the East. Yet over the next few centuries the constant incursions and displacement of tribes in a westward direction meant that little permanency of the Christian presence could be expected.

MISSIONS IN CONFLICT. It was not until the ninth century that Christianity began to gain a permanent foothold in the area. By this time not only had the foundations of Christian doctrinal understanding been formalized through seven ecumenical councils, but the four factors described above had also been clearly defined. As they met on the eastern European stage, they determined the organized forms that Christianity would take there and, in turn, much of its ethnic and political identity as well.

The barbarians, although intent on expansion and the acquisition of land, were also attracted by the quality of the Greco-Roman culture of the Empire, which they respected. The chief ingredient of this attraction was Christianity. In many cases these peoples were seized with a strong desire to embrace the faith because of what they had seen and heard in terms of the quality of life of Christians, the development of a Christian civilization base on Hellenic *Paideia*, and the power and influence of the Church in society as well as through the missionary efforts of the church. Among these in the ninth and tenth centuries were the peoples of Bulgaria to the south, Moravia to the north, and Russia to the east. The spirit of competitive choice among the recipients of the faith, as well as conflict among the transmitters of the faith, became evident during this period.

In the East the dominant power was the Byzantine Empire, whose fortunes had improved sufficiently in this period to permit consideration of missionary efforts; that is, the spreading of the Greek or Eastern form of Orthodox Christianity. In the West the Frankish Empire was divided in 843 CE at the Treaty of Verdun into three parts, the most eastern of which was to become Germany. Louis I (778–840 CE) the German became the founder of the German Carolingian dynasty, which lasted until 911 CE. This dynasty pursued vigorous missionary efforts in eastern Europe and northern Eurasia.

The first area in which the two missionary efforts came into conflict was Bulgaria. Both German and Byzantine missionaries saw the Bulgarian Slavs as ripe targets for missionizing. The Bulgars, however, in their choice between Western and Eastern forms of Christianity, were motivated by their own ethnic, cultural, and political perspectives, with independence as a prime concern. In the year 860 CE the drama began to unfold. Although at first attracted to the German missionaries, Khan Boris (d. 907 CE) accepted baptism from the Greeks. Later, feeling that his church was not independent enough, he turned from Constantinople to the West, admitting German missionaries whose policies even more strongly curtailed the independence of the Bulgarian church. These policies included the imposition of Latin in worship, subjugation of the hierarchy to the pope, celibacy of the clergy, and the *filioque* doctrine, even though it was not current in Rome at the time. By 870 CE Khan Boris had reacted to these restrictions by expelling the German missionaries and inviting back those from Constantinople. Since then Eastern Orthodoxy has been the dominant religion in the Bulgarian nation.

During this same period a somewhat similar drama played itself out to the north, but with opposite results. The major difference here was that Rome and Constantinople supported the same missionary policy in contrast to the rival efforts of the Germans.

Around 860 CE Prince Rostislav (846–c. 870 CE) of Moravia appealed to Patriarch Photios (Photius, c. 820–891 CE) of Constantinople for missionaries who could preach in the language of the people and conduct worship in Slavonic. Constantine, known later as Cyril, (c. 827–869 CE) and Methodius (c. 825–c. 884 CE), two Greek brothers from Thessalonica, were chosen for the task. Before going to the mission field, they created a Slavonic alphabet, into which they translated the Bible and the service books. Their mission policy thus included worship in the language of the people, the preaching of the Eastern form of Christianity (without the *filioque*), and the rapid indigenization of the clergy with its consequent spirit of local autonomy in church government. When they came into inevitable conflict with the German missionaries, Cyril and Methodius appealed to the pope and obtained his approval for their methods in Moravia. The Germans not only ignored this approval but even jailed Methodius for over a year. Following Methodius's death, the Germans expelled the Byzantine missionaries and imposed Western Christianity in the region.

During this same period Patriarch Photios also sent missionaries to Russia, and a short-lived mission survived there until 878 CE. As in the past, Christianity nevertheless continued to infiltrate the populace through ordinary contacts from Byzantium in the south, Bulgaria in the west, and Scandinavia in the north. Thus, when Prince Vladimir (c. 956–1015) was baptized in 988 CE, the Christianization of the land was readily accomplished, at least in the cities and especially in the region around the capital city of Kiev. As Vladimir had married the sister of the Byzantine emperor, Christianity was adopted in its Byzantine form. Originally centered in Kiev, Christianity gradually spread north and east, developing deep and strong roots among the people, and social concern, liturgical piety, and monasticism united with the culture and language of the Russian peoples. Nevertheless, Western influences were also present in Russian Christianity, influences that found resonance many centuries later.

SCHISM AND IMPERIAL CONTENTION. The eleventh century and early twelfth century were marked by the definitive Great Schism between the Eastern and Western Churches. Begun in the ninth century, it is traditionally marked by the mutual excommunications of Patriarch Michael Cerularios (c. 1000–1059) and Cardinal Humbert (c. 1000–1061) in 1054 and considered completed by the capture of Constantinople in 1204 by the Crusaders. The Venetians, at the head of the Fourth Crusade, established a Latin empire with a Latin patriarch in Constantinople. The Byzantines set up their capital in Nicaea and were unable to return to Constantinople until 1261. The result was that the pattern of conflict in the Christianization of the peoples of eastern Europe was intensified over the next few centuries.

On the southwestern shores of the region, the Croatians had long been subjected to efforts at Christianization by Latin missionaries in the sixth through eighth centuries, even though the Eastern empire held nominal control over the area. After 800 CE, however, the Franks brought the Croatians fully within the orbit of the West, completing the task by the tenth century. On their eastern border, however, another people—the Serbs—opened themselves up to the disciples of Cyril and Methodius. On the dividing line between Eastern and Western Christendom, the ninth-century Prince Mutimir (r. 865–891 CE), after some vacillation, looked toward Constantinople for the form of the faith to be practiced by the Serbs. Slavonic worship and Orthodox practices were accepted, and a strong Slavo-Byzantine culture was formed. In 1219 Sava (c. 1176–c. 1236) was consecrated as archbishop of Serbia in Nicaea, then the Byzantine capital. This consecration reflected the strength of the Serbian Empire at the time. In 1375 Constantinople recognized the Serbian patriarchate that had been proclaimed three decades earlier.

To the east of Serbia lay Romania, whose early Christian history has been noted. The Romanians are not Slavs but, as their name indicates, a Latin people. Clearly within the Greek-Byzantine ecclesial tradition, they have maintained much of their orderly Latin heritage. At the same time they have adopted a great deal from their Slavic neighbors, especially in the area of worship. The Romanian church is a fruitful amalgam of these various influences. By the fourteenth century, metropolitanates had been set up in various parts of the Romanian region.

At this same time, the Ottoman (Turkish) Muslim forces began to spread into the region from the southeast. They conquered the Bulgarian center of Taburnovo in 1393, took control of Serbia in 1441, captured Constantinople and destroyed the last vestige of the Byzantine Empire in 1453, subdued Bosnia in 1463, captured the Albanian fortress town of Kruje in 1478, put down the last resistance in Moldavia and Walachia (Romania) by 1490, and conquered Dyrrachium in 1501. The majority of the Christian peoples in this area were Eastern Orthodox in faith. The Muslims governed the conquered peoples in accordance with a system that identified each religion as a "nation." Known as the *millet* system, it required that all Orthodox Christians under Ottoman domination be governed through the patriarchate of Constantinople. This system, over the whole area south of the Danube, lasted for approximately four hundred years, to the mid-nineteenth century.

The major Orthodox nation not conquered by the Muslims was Russia. However, the history of the Russians was not without severe disturbances. The establishment of Kievan Orthodox Christianity in the tenth century was followed by a genuine flowering of church life for the next few centuries in Kiev (present-day Ukraine) and by active missionary work to the north. Notable were the establishments in Novgorod and Pskov. However, Kievan influence was broken in the thirteenth century with the coming of the Mongols. When Kiev fell to them in 1240, a century and a quarter of survival struggle aimed at maintaining Russian life was begun by the church. Gradually, power and strength returned to the Russians, but they then came to be centered in Moscow. The church figured strongly in the rebuilding of the Russian nation, and by the time of the death of Sergii of Radonezh (c. 1314–1392), Moscow was clearly the center of Russian Orthodoxy. In the north, Novgorod and Pskov, while free from the Mongols, were attacked in the mid-thirteenth century by westerners—the Swedes and the Germanic Teutonic Knights—intent upon imposing Western Christianity in the area. The Russians, under Prince Aleksandr Nevskii (c. 1220–1263), maintained the relative independence of the area. With the fall of Constantinople, the Russians began to think of Moscow as the "Third Rome," and the metropolitan of Moscow was honored with the rank of patriarch in 1589. The Russians emerged stronger and more united as an Orthodox nation as a result of their response to the Mongol threat.

To the northwest the power in the region in the fifteenth century was Hungary, which contained the Muslim advance northward. Christianity was introduced into Hungary in the ninth and tenth centuries by Western missionaries; King Stephen I (977–1038) set down a formal constitution for the church in 1001. In 1279 Esztergom (German, Gran) was named the see of the primate of the Hungarian church, and, until the Reformation, Christianity in the area was Western in form with no real influence from the East.

To the northeast of Hungary were the Poles. The history of the Polish people has been turbulent, and this turbulence has had a great impact on the form of Christianity in that land. Scholars once believed that Christianity began in Poland in the tenth century in conjunction with the German see of Magdeburg, but modern scholarship now holds that in all likelihood Christianity came to Poland from Moravia; that is, from the missionary impetus inaugurated by Cyril and Methodius. Situated between northwestern Russia and powerful Roman Catholic neighbors to the west, Poland was subject to influences from both sources. In the eleventh century the civil leaders were allied with the West, although many elements of Eastern Christianity were present in their church. Thus the Gregorian reforms of the Western Church were imposed by civil authorities in the face of stiff episcopal and lower-clergy opposition. The influence of Orthodox Russia was also felt, and there was a significant Eastern Orthodox population in Poland. Nevertheless, until the Reformation, the church of the Poles was generally under control of the West, while at the same time it was marked by significant Eastern influence. Its borders often shifting, Poland sometimes had larger, sometimes smaller populations of Orthodox Christians in its eastern regions.

In a similar fashion the area north of Poland along the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea—known historically as Lithuania, and subsequently as Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia—was from the beginning of its history caught between the rivalry of Western and Eastern forces with all its ecclesiastical consequences. Lithuania came into being at the time of the Mongol conquest of Russia, and its first and only king, Trointen (r. 1259–1282), received Christianity from the

Germans. By 1341, Lithuania had become a large empire as a result of the king's expansionist policies. Russian Orthodoxy and Polish Catholicism vied for Lithuania's loyalty, but in 1385 a political union of Lithuania with Poland led to the baptism of the Lithuanians into Roman Catholicism by Polish clergy. This Polish-Lithuanian relationship continued into the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, a significant Orthodox population to the east remained ecclesiastically under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Kiev. These Orthodox became the occasion for the inception of a new phenomenon in church history—Uniatism, also known as Eastern Rite Catholicism.

Conceived as a means of unifying the religion of the populace, Uniatism subjected the Orthodox population to the primacy of the pope and Western doctrine while allowing the retention of the liturgical forms and customs of Eastern Orthodoxy. The Council of Brest (1596) split into Eastern and Western factions, with the Western faction opting for the Uniate approach and many Orthodox bishops accepting it. The Polish king approved the move and initiated a severe persecution of those Orthodox who refused to join. With Jesuit support, the Polish king, Sigismund III Vasa (1566–1632), took Moscow in 1607, forcing a short-lived union with Rome on the Russian Orthodox. This effort came to an end in 1613 with Czar Mikhail Romanov's (ruled 1613–1645) restoration of Russian sovereignty. Uniatism, or Eastern Rite Roman Catholicism, was henceforth a complicating force in the relations of Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy.

Northernmost of the nations of the region under discussion here is modern-day Finland. Christianity came to this area in the late eleventh century and early twelfth century concurrently from both the East and the West. Roman Catholicism was introduced by the Crusaders and Eastern Orthodoxy by Orthodox monks from Novgorod, who established the famous Monastery of Valamo in 1100. The area was subject to the competition of its Roman Catholic Scandinavian neighbors to the west and its Orthodox Russian neighbors to the east.

In the sixteenth century the whole religious map of Europe was changed by the Protestant Reformation. Although the Reformation was primarily a western European phenomenon, it did have significant impact in eastern Europe, in some areas achieving dominance and in others remaining a minority factor. In the north, Finland became largely Lutheran, with only a minority of Orthodox. Lutheranism was introduced into Estonia and Latvia and soon became dominant, even under Russian control, in the eighteenth century. Protestantism in its Lutheran form entered Poland from Germany but was nearly erased by the Counter-Reformation. When Poland was partitioned in 1795, with Austria and Prussia assuming control of its western regions, Lutheranism returned to favor. It has remained a "remnant" church in this predominantly Roman Catholic nation.

Protestantism in the geographical area of the Czech Republic and Slovakia has deep roots going back to the fourteenth-century work of Jan Hus (1372 or 1373–1415) and the Brethren of the Common Life. In 1609 the Hapsburgs granted the Brethren freedom, but they were soon persecuted anew. Protestantism survived among the Brethren in Reformed and Lutheran forms, albeit among a few, until the establishment of the Czechoslovak state in 1918. Lutheran Protestantism came to Hungary in 1518 but shortly thereafter was supplanted by Reformed Protestantism. Both forms suffered under the Counter-Reformation until their adherents were granted civil rights in 1790 and 1791, and relations with the predominantly Roman Catholic nation were established in 1867.

Protestant churches in small numbers were established in Romania, particularly in Transylvania. Unitarianism began in this area. The Lutheran bodies there have strong German ethnic ties. Although early Reformed Protestantism in Transylvania had Hussite and Lutheran connections, in 1567 it adopted the Second Helvetic Confession of Faith. The small number of both Reformed and Lutheran Protestants in modern-day Yugoslavia were incorporated into the nation from border areas, primarily Hungary. The Reformation did not reach Greece, Bulgaria, or Russia until the nineteenth century, and then with only modest results, primarily in evangelical and Baptist forms.

MODERN NATION-STATES. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the formation of the modern nation-states. The French Revolution set a pattern for self-government along national lines. In Orthodox Russia, czardom reigned, but the influence of the West, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, was strong. Peter the Great (1672–1725) removed the canonical head of the Russian church, the patriarch of Moscow, through his Ecclesiastical Regulation of 1721, substituting a state church patterned after German Protestant models. Scholastic theology, along with Italian Renaissance music, art, and architecture, was incorporated into Russian church life. This anomalous situation lasted until the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, when the patriarchate was restored.

During the early nineteenth century, as the Ottoman Empire began to dissolve, the various Balkan peoples obtained their freedom through revolutions. Each Orthodox Balkan nation as it came into being sought an independent status for the Orthodox Church within its boundaries, and the nations that had patriarchates before the Ottoman conquest sought to reinstate them. In 1833 the patriarchate of Constantinople acknowledged the independence of the church of Greece. Following in quick succession, the Bulgarian church received its independence in 1870, the Serbian in 1879, and the Romanian in 1885. In these nations the Orthodox Church was recognized as the state church.

Of importance for religious life in Hungary was the creation in 1867 of an Austro-Hungarian "dual monarchy" that allowed a measure of religious freedom for Protestants—a pattern of church-state relations that lasted until World War

II. The partition of Poland by Russia, Austria, and Prussia during the second half of the eighteenth century meant the Orthodox in that country came under the jurisdiction of the Russian church, and the Uniates were compelled to return to Orthodoxy. Although the western part of Poland remained subject to Austria and Prussia, Polish Roman Catholics were severely restricted, and Rome was no longer able to exercise control over them. Similarly, Finland was to a large extent occupied by Russia (beginning in 1809), and a strong Russian influence on church life resulted. By the end of the century, however, the Orthodox Finns had asserted their national identity with the institution of services in Finnish.

Eastern Europe and northern Eurasia assumed a definitive national shape in the period just prior to and following World War I. Most notable for church history were the emergence of Finland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Albania as new nations, primarily as a result of the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Finland was over 90 percent Lutheran with a small Orthodox population that was also recognized as a state church. In 1923 the Finnish Orthodox achieved autonomy under the patriarchate of Constantinople. Similarly, in Poland the Roman Catholic Church became totally dominant, but there remained small Lutheran, old Catholic, Polish Catholic (which came into existence in 1897), and Orthodox Churches. The Polish Orthodox Church was recognized by the patriarchate of Constantinople as autonomous, that is, self-governing under supervision of the mother church, in 1924. In 1980, 92 percent of the population of Czechoslovakia was Roman Catholic. Small Hussite and Brethren Churches also existed, along with a small autonomous Orthodox Church recognized by the ecumenical patriarchate in 1922. Albania became an independent nation in 1912 but was always subject to threats of dismemberment by its neighbors. Its population prior to World War II was predominantly Muslim—the only such nation in eastern Europe—with a Roman Catholic minority in the north and an Orthodox minority in the south. The paradigm of the religious situation in eastern Europe at the time was that of Yugoslavia during and up to the end of the communist era. An amalgam of a number of peoples, Yugoslavia included Roman Catholics in its western provinces of Slovenia and Croatia and Orthodox in its eastern provinces of Serbia and Montenegro, thus reflecting the divided status of the church in eastern Europe and northern Eurasia as a whole.

AFTER WORLD WAR II. Although the redrawing of national boundaries as a result of World War II, primarily at the expense of the Soviet Union's western neighbors, had an impact on church order, the geographical demography of Orthodox, Roman Catholics, and Protestants did not change radically. Affecting all churches, however, were the forces of secularism, communism, and ecumenism. For more than two millennia the primary struggles of the various churches were among themselves. In the twentieth century the churches came to share common enemies that discounted the significance of religious faith. Secularism has taken many forms, but the most militant was Marxism. In the Soviet Union and the nations under its influence, Marxism was ideologically antireligious. However, the Communist bloc nations approached the Christian church with varying degrees of opposition. Albania during this period declared itself the first "atheist state," claiming that all vestiges of religion had been eliminated. The Soviet Union constitutionally granted freedom of worship but prohibited all other church activity. The rest of the nations in the bloc followed this policy but made less-restrictive accommodations with the church. For some nations, such as Poland, this took place out of political reality, and for other nations, such as Romania and Serbia, accommodations were worked out as a result of undeniable ethnic and cultural necessity. In these countries the dominant number of believers and the identification of the national culture with religious tradition made necessary a more lenient religious policy by the Marxist governments.

The dissolution of the Soviet empire had powerful influence in changing the political and religious face of Eastern Europe. In Russia the fall of Soviet Marxism was intimately supported by the Russian Orthodox Church, which sought, and in a significant measure obtained, its pre-Soviet role in public life. Though not proclaimed the official religion of the state, it is recognized as the dominant religious force in the nation, whereas a few other religions, among them Roman Catholicism, Lutheranism, and Islam, are also recognized. Perhaps the most striking change has taken place with the disintegration of Yugoslavia. The process began in 1989 with the efforts of Slobodan Milosević to remove the autonomy of the province of Kosovo, in the face of its Albanian Muslim majority, to prevent its secession. This eventually led to military action and efforts to expel its Muslim population. In 1991 the constituent provinces of the nation, Croatia, Slovenia, and Macedonia, declared independence, provoking a widening war among the ethnic groups. The former two developed Roman Catholic identities and the last an independent national Orthodox identity. When Bosnia-Herzegovina voted for independence the same year, an all-out war for control of the former province pitted Roman Catholic Croatians, Serbian Orthodox, and Muslims against each other under their ethnic identities. The conflict ended a year later with North Atlantic Treaty Organization action, forcing an uneasy peace.

In Poland the dominant Roman Catholic Church and the smaller Lutheran and Polish Orthodox Churches sought an ecumenical solution to their national political life in the postcommunist period. In tiny Estonia, rival church groupings of Estonian Orthodox and Russian Orthodox sought to work out relations. This resolution, however, provoked stressful relations between the ecumenical patriarchate of Constantinople (Istanbul) and the Moscow patriarchate.

Of great influence was the establishment of the European Union, to which several of the nations of eastern Europe have been admitted. The essentially "borderless" character of the European Union has challenged old presuppositions of nationhood and, especially for Christianity, the assumption of close church and national identities.

The story of Orthodox, papal, and Franco-German Roman Catholic and Protestant competition in the great expanse of eastern Europe and northern Eurasia may have largely come to an end. The twentieth-century ecumenical movement brought together in previously unimagined ways the disparate Christian churches. In the post–World War II era, Orthodox, Roman Catholics, and Protestants of all kinds struggled to replace confrontation and conflict with dialogue, understanding, and cooperation. It may be that the return to a pre-Constantinian status vis-à-vis the state may contain within it the seeds of a new unity for Christendom. What can be affirmed is that in the twenty-first century the various churches, after twenty centuries of conflict, relate to each other with difficulty but of necessity in an unaccustomed spirit of increased cooperation.

See Also Cyril and Methodius; Eastern Christianity; Ecumenical Movement; Greek Orthodox Church; Marxism; Russian Orthodox Church; Schism, article on Christian Schism; Uniate Churches.

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Stanley Samuel Harakas (1987 and 2005)

CHRISTIANITY: CHRISTIANITY IN WESTERN EUROPE

Although the history of Christianity in each of the regions to which it has spread manifests certain special characteristics that set it apart, the development of Christianity within the history of western Europe has in many decisive ways shaped its development in all other regions. The English man of letters Hilaire Belloc (1870–1953) formulated the significance of that development—as well as a highly idiosyncratic and debatable philosophy of history—in his epigram of 1912: "Europe will return to the [Christian] faith, or she will perish. The faith is Europe. And Europe is the faith." Belloc's pronouncement is partly historical and partly hortatory, and even those who would vigorously reject the first and hortatory half of his formulation would probably acknowledge the historical force of the second half. Through most of its history, what most people, insiders or outsiders, have identified as the Christian faith has been the particular form that the Christian faith has acquired in its European experience. Asia, Africa, and the Americas have imported most of their Christianity from western Europe or Britain, and while Christianity did indeed begin in Asia Minor, most Christians in Asia Minor now practice and believe versions of Christianity that have come there only after having first been filtered through Europe. The history of Christianity in western continental Europe and the British Isles is, therefore, indispensable to the understanding of Christianity wherever it exists today. It is no less indispensable to the understanding of the history of western Europe itself. And in that sense at least, Belloc was right.

In recounting the history of Christianity in western Europe and the British Isles from the time of the apostle Paul to the present, this article is designed to account for the identification of Christianity with Europe and to describe its later significance. Therefore, various incidents and individual details of persons and places are selected as they illustrate the several stages of the process, and much more must be omitted than can be included.

BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY IN EUROPE. The coming of Christianity to Europe may in some ways be read as the leitmotif of the *Acts of the Apostles* in the New Testament. The entire life and ministry of Jesus had taken place in Palestine. He did not speak a European language, and except for a few Romans, such as Pontius Pilate, he did not meet any Europeans. *Acts* also begins within Palestine, in Jerusalem, but the story of the second half of the book is set largely in Europe, one of its high points being the confrontation of the apostle Paul with an audience in Athens (*Acts* 17) and its climactic conclusion coming in the final chapter with his arrival at Rome. It was either to Europe or from Europe that Paul addressed the bulk of his letters, including the three longest ones (*Romans* and *1* and *2 Corinthians*), and he wrote all of them in Greek. From the Gospels it would have been difficult to predict that Christianity would become European, much less that Europe would become Christian, but with the career of Paul that direction had begun to become clear.

For the period of two and a half centuries between the career of Paul and the conversion of the emperor Constantine (r. 306–337) there exist many items of information about the appearance of Christianity in one or another part of Europe. One of the most instructive of these is the account, preserved by Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 260/270–c. 339) in book 5 of his *Church History,* of the persecution of a Christian community at Lyons, in Gaul, in 177–178. The church in Gaul is thought by many scholars to have been the source of the earliest Christian missions to the British Isles, which date from the second or third century, when some of the Celtic inhabitants of Britain were converted (hence the usual designation "Celtic church"). The apostle Paul wrote to the church in Rome, "I hope to see you in passing as I go to Spain" (*Rom.* 15:24). Although the evidence for his having ever actually made such a journey to Spain is tenuous, tradition was quick to attribute one to him.

As that reference indicates, however, the most powerful Christian center in Europe was, from the beginning, at the most powerful city in Europe: Rome. One tradition attributes the founding of that community to the apostle Peter around 42 CE, but critics of the credibility of that tradition have often pointed to the absence of any reference to Peter in the letter that Paul addressed to Rome fifteen years later (even though the final chapter of that letter is a catalog of proper names). But whoever it was that founded it, the Christian church at Rome was prominent enough both for Paul to send it his most important letter and for the emperor Nero to instigate a persecution of it, during which both Peter and Paul were said to have suffered martyrdom. That persecution did not diminish the power and prestige of the Roman church, which became a significant presence in the city and (especially after the capture of Jerusalem in 70 CE and its consequent decline as the mother city of Christianity) first among the Christian centers of Europe—indeed, of the Mediterranean world.

Although many of the most notable leaders of Christian thought during the second, third, and fourth centuries were not located in Europe but either in Alexandria (Clement, Origen, Alexander, Athanasius, Cyril) or in Roman North Africa (Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine) or still in Asia Minor (Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Cyril of Jerusalem, Jerome), most of them had some sort of European connection: Athanasius found asylum in Rome when he was driven out of Alexandria; before Jerome went to Palestine, he had undertaken the translation of the Vulgate at the behest of Pope Damasus, whom he served as secretary; Augustine was brought to Christianity in Europe through the teaching of Ambrose, bishop of Milan. Similarly, although the first seven ecumenical councils of the church were held at such Eastern cities as Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, rather than in Rome or any other European city, it was in fact the power and prestige of Christian Europe that often determined their outcome. The Spanish bishop, Hosius of Cordova, was in many ways the most authoritative of the bishops at Nicaea in 325, and when, according to the contemporary account, the bishops at Chalcedon in 451 declared that "Peter has spoken through the mouth of [Pope] Leo," they were acknowledging once more the special status that European Christianity had achieved as early as the beginning of the fourth century.

The event with the most far-reaching consequences for the history of European Christianity, indeed for the history of Christianity everywhere, was the conversion of the emperor Constantine and the ensuing transformation of the Roman Empire into a Christian empire. That change took place on European soil when, in the Battle of the Milvian Bridge on October 28, 312, Constantine defeated the forces of his rival Maxentius, who was emperor for Italy and Africa, and thus became sole emperor. Attributing his victory to the

Christian God, Constantine identified the cross of Christ as the "sacred sign" by which the Senate and the Roman people had been restored to their ancient glory. Christianity rapidly moved from being persecuted to being tolerated to being preferred to being established. Constantine in 330 transferred the capital of his newly christianized empire from Rome to Byzantium, renamed Constantinople, or "New Rome." For the history of Christianity in Europe, this move away from Europe served, somewhat ironically, to endow Europe with a position of even greater consequence for the future, for much of the aura that had surrounded Rome and the Roman emperor continued to surround Rome, but now descended instead upon the Roman bishop, who from Europe would declare and enforce his position in the collegial company of bishops as "first among equals" (equals who would become less equal in the process).

Simultaneous with the developing establishment of a Christian empire and of a Christianized European society, and in part as a reaction against it, monasticism both Eastern and Western gave institutional form to the ascetic imperatives of primitive Christianity. Now that the sharp line of differentiation between the church and "the world" had been blurred, it was necessary to find a new and more striking way to draw the line by "forsaking the world" and going into a monastery. Above all, it was the work of Benedict of Nursia (c. 480–c. 547), through his *Rule*, that gave European monasticism a settled form. The monks were to become the principal missionaries to the new populations of Europe as well as the principal transmitters of the cultural heritage, classical as well as Christian, and thus the educators of medieval Europe. It was in recognition of this role that Benedict has been designated "patron saint of Europe."

MEDIEVAL EUROPE. In all of these ways European Christianity was developing in the direction of the forms and structures it was to have when it came to deal with the new populations that arrived in Europe. The beginning of the Middle Ages may be defined for our purposes here as the period during which those new populations were becoming Christian.

Some of these, most notably the Goths, had already become Christian before their arrival: Ulfilas, the fourth-century "apostle of the Goths," had worked among them as a missionary, translating the Bible into Gothic. Paradoxically, however, the christianization of the Goths was to work against them when they came to Europe, because the form of Christianity that Ulfilas had brought them was tainted with the Arian heresy and therefore stood in the way of an immediate political alliance between the Goths and the bishop of Rome. The future of Christian Europe belonged to such an alliance, in which all the Germanic, Celtic, and western Slavic tribes would eventually share. Among these tribes it was the Franks who came to assume a position of leadership when, in a reprise of Constantine's conversion, their king, Clovis, became an orthodox Catholic Christian in 496. With the support of the Catholic episcopate, Clovis set about the task of subduing the "heretical" Visigoths, militarily and then ecclesiastically, in the name of the orthodox faith. As a consequence, in the course of the two centuries after Clovis, the Frankish crown became the principal protector of the Roman see, which reciprocated by supporting Frankish political and territorial ambitions. The coronation as Holy Roman Emperor of the Frankish king Charles, known to history as Charlemagne, by the pope in the year 800 was as much the recognition of an already existing status quo as it was the creation of anything new, but it has served ever since as perhaps the primary symbol of the spiritual unity of "Christian Europe" as a cultural entity.

The Christianization of Europe and of the nations that came into Europe was at the same time the conquest of their indigenous religious traditions, sometimes by missionary activity and sometimes by military victory. Formally and externally, the conquest was taken to mean the total obliteration of the old faith. Thus, when in the early 720s Boniface, the Benedictine monk who bears the title "apostle of Germany," chopped down an oak sacred to the worship of the German god Thor at Geismar, this was interpreted to be the replacement of the "false gods" of paganism with the Christian deity. Yet the same Thor or Donar, god of thunder (*Donner*), was to give his name to the Germanic designations for the sixth day of the Christian week ("Thursday" or "Donnerstag"), the very week that began with a Sunday devoted to the weekly commemoration of the resurrection of Jesus Christ. Similarly, Friday's name came from Freyja, Germanic goddess of love and counterpart of Venus, who gave her name to that same day in French. The names of gods were sometimes transformed into the names of saints who often had the same provenance and some of the same functions as the gods. In sending Augustine to Kent, Pope Gregory I (r. 590–604) gave instructions that the new centers of Christian worship should be at the places already revered as holy by the native population; thus, sacred springs and streams became the sites of Christian baptisms. "Conquest," therefore, involved some measure of continuity as well as the more obvious forms of discontinuity.

Conversely, Christianity became European at the cost of increasing discontinuity between itself and Christian churches elsewhere. Such ruptures of continuity took place even within Western Christianity, as the centralized authority of Rome—administrative, liturgical, sometimes also doctrinal—clashed with older regional systems. Much of the *History of the English Church and People* by Bede "the Venerable" (c. 673–735) is devoted to the process by which older "Celtic" practices on such questions as monastic tonsure and the date of Easter had to surrender to customs developed on the continent and enforced by the papacy. Even more dramatic and far-reaching in their implications were the deepening differences between East and West. As "New Rome," Constantinople developed forms of organization and worship that gave to Byzantine Christianity a special character that it was to transmit to its daughter churches in eastern Europe. The dream of a single Christian empire reaching from one end of the Mediterranean to the other, all held together by a Greco-Roman Christian culture, never became a reality for any significant length of time, not even under the emperor Justinian (r. 527–565), who strove to achieve it by every means available, from armies to dogmas to jurisprudence. And as the Christianity of western Europe began to come of age, its family resemblance to Byzantium became less discernible. The rise and rapid expansion of Islam in the seventh and eighth centuries had, among many other consequences, the result of isolating Eastern Christendom and the Christianity of western Europe from each other. Fundamental differences of missionary methodology asserted themselves, most prominently in the Christianization of the Slavs during the ninth and tenth centuries. Byzantium sought to make a nation Christian by translating the Bible and the liturgy into that nation's language, Rome sought to do so by teaching it to pray in Latin and to accept Roman primacy. The collision between these two methodologies on the Slavic mission field coincided with increasing tensions over jurisdictional questions (such as the proper titles for the patriarchs of Old and New Rome) and doctrinal disputes (such as that over the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son). All of these were symptomatic of the growing alienation—or, to put the matter more positively, of the growing self-awareness of western Europe as a Christian civilization in its own right rather than a Byzantine outpost.

One other difference between Byzantine Christianity and the Christianity of western Europe during the Middle Ages was political. Although the Eastern church was not the servile department of state that Western polemics have often described it to have been, its vision of the Christian empire did view the imperial power as having been transmitted directly from God through Christ to the emperor, without the mediation of church and hierarchy. By contrast, as the symbolism of the coronation of Charlemagne by the pope suggested, the mediation of the church was seen in the West as essential to the legitimacy of political power; it was seen that way by a succession of popes, but also by many emperors and kings, who invoked papal authority to validate their political sovereignty. Claiming the right to "bind" and "loose" (cf. *Mt.* 16:18–19) not only the forgiveness of sins but also political office, the papacy repeatedly came into conflict with the civil power, which often made use of the territorial church in its own land as an instrument of power politics. In the conflict between Pope Gregory VII and Emperor Henry IV, climaxing in their encounter at Canossa in 1077, one of the issues was the tension between the particularistic ambitions both of the German emperor and of the German church and the universal claims of the pope, who, as part of his campaign to purify and reform the church, strove to secure its independence from the economic and political entanglements of the feudal system. A century later, Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, defended those universal claims against the king of England, Henry II, and was murdered in 1170.

Combining as they did religious zeal, military ambition, national rivalry, and a yearning for the exotic, the Crusades, beginning at the Council of Clermont in 1095 and ending with the Turkish victory over the Christian forces at Nicopolis in 1396, were, on one level, an expression of the medieval ideal of a united Western Christian Europe: England, France, Germany, and Italy joined forces under the cross of Christ and with the inspiration and blessing of the church to rescue the "holy places" in Palestine. On another level, however, the Crusades are frequently interpreted as a disaster both for Christianity and for Europe, for they not only failed to achieve their goal in Palestine but also proved to be divisive within Christendom itself. The Crusades, as well as the confrontations between "spiritual" and "secular" authority, for which parallels can be found throughout the history of European and British Christianity both in the Middle Ages and since, illustrate the church's paradoxical role as simultaneously the patron of national cultures (whose kings were said to rule "by the grace of God") and the embodiment of a cultural ideal transcending all national boundaries.

That paradox was also at work in other aspects of medieval culture. In the millennium from Boethius (c. 480–c. 525) to Martin Luther (1483–1546), the intellectual history of Europe during the Middle Ages is, to a remarkable extent, the history of Christian thought in its interaction with philosophy, science, and political theory, as these came into medieval Europe both from classical antiquity and from contemporary Islam and Judaism; the Scholasticism of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, whose most influential spokesman was Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225–1274), was an important chapter in the history of philosophy no less than in that of theology. Much of the architecture of the Middle Ages was made possible by the needs of the church for basilicas, abbeys, and cathedrals, and its art by the themes of Christian worship and devotion. Sacred music and secular music not only coexisted but interacted, both in the monastery and in the community. Early monuments of the literatures of Europe, such as *Beowulf* and the Norse sagas, document the blending of Christian and non-Christian elements in western Europe, and so, under more explicitly Christian inspiration, do late monuments such as *Piers Plowman* and Dante's *Commedia.* Here again, the relation between universal and particular—a Latin literature, which is European, versus the several vernacular literatures, which are national—manifests the ambivalence of the Christian role in what the medieval historian Robert S. Lopez has called "the birth of Europe."

EUROPE IN THE REFORMATION. Thus there were in medieval Europe, and in the Christianity of medieval Europe, centrifugal forces far more powerful than could be acknowledged by the political and ecclesiastical rhetoric of the oneness of the *corpus Christianum.* Such oneness as there was had probably reached its zenith in 1215 at the Fourth Lateran Council, when political and ecclesiastical representatives from all over western Europe had hailed the authority of Pope Innocent III. But both before and after that council, this authority and the unity it symbolized were in jeopardy. National churches pledged their allegiance to the pope—and went their own way in polity, liturgy, and religious practice. Kings and emperors craved anointing from the church, but often craved its property and power even more. And theologians opened their treatises with affirmations of their creedal orthodoxy, but manipulated the ambiguities of creedal language to ignore or revise or even undermine the dogmatic tradition.

But whatever cleavages of nations, parties, and schools of thought there may have been in medieval Europe, the principle—and the illusion—of unity-within-diversity remained. All of that was shattered by the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Conditions in the church throughout western Europe during the later Middle Ages had convinced nearly everyone that some sort of reform *in capite et membris* ("in head and members"), as the saying went, was needed; there were widespread complaints about episcopal and clerical negligence, abuses of authority at all levels were perceived to be rampant, ignorance and superstition among the people were being overlooked or even encouraged by the church, and even the most responsible voices in ecclesiastical positions acknowledged that almost every high official (sometimes up to and including the pope) could be suspected of having bought his office and thus of having committed the sin of simony. The spectacle of a schism between two popes, one at Rome and the other at Avignon, seemed to prove that the medieval tradition of reform, as enunciated in the eleventh century by Gregory VII, was inadequate to the crisis of the fifteenth century. During that century, a series of church councils (Pisa, 1409; Constance, 1414–1417; Basel-Ferrara-Florence, 1431–1445) sought to achieve reform by legislating changes in church life, reestablishing (unsuccessfully) ties to the Eastern churches, formulating orthodox doctrine on various issues, such as purgatory, that had not been set down before, and clarifying the relation between the authority of the pope and the authority of the council. This last issue led to new schisms, this time between pope and council. Some advocates of reform, notably Jan Hus in Bohemia, even set into motion forces that would produce separate churches.

In the intellectual and cultural life of Europe, this was at the same time a period of intense activity and of vigorous change. Although it is historically incorrect to interpret the humanism of the Renaissance, whether Italian or Northern, as a rejection of the essential content of Christianity, it did represent an attack on many of its received traditions. Thus the humanists attacked medieval Scholasticism both for its ignorance of classical culture and for its distortion of Christianity. They made the monks the object of ridicule for caricaturing the ethical imperatives of the New Testament, and they pointed to the contradictions between those imperatives and a great deal that was going on in the institutional life of European Christianity. In keeping with the humanistic motto "Back to the sources!" Italian humanists like Lorenzo Valla (1406–1457) and northern humanists like Erasmus (1469?–1536) devoted their scholarly attention to recovering the original text and the authentic message of the New Testament, and in this sense they also belong to the history of late medieval reform. Humanist and churchman at once, Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (1436–1517) demonstrated the possibility of holding together Roman Catholic orthodoxy and a commitment to educational and ecclesiastical reform.

What kind of evolution of Christianity all these various reform movements would have brought about on their own is a subject only for speculation. For it was revolution, not evolution, that swept across Christian Europe during the sixteenth century, transforming both the map of Europe itself and the character of European Christianity in the process. The one church of the Middle Ages became the several churches of the Reformation. Each of these reformations was to shape the history of European Christianity in a distinct way.

The Lutheran Reformation carried out into cultural, political, and ecclesiastical structures the impulses set in motion by Martin Luther's struggle for faith. Although Luther began that struggle on the assumption that he could find salvation only within the institutional forms of the Western church, he ended by repudiating many of them, even denouncing the pope as antichrist. A right relation with God was the consequence not of human moral striving but of the divine gift of forgiving grace. That gift, moreover, was appropriated by faith alone, faith being understood as confidence and trust in the divine promise. And the authority for knowing this promise and being assured of this grace was not the voice of the church, but the word of God in the Bible. To be sure, these three Reformation principles—often cited in their Latin formulations as *sola gratia*, *sola fide*, *sola Scriptura*—became the common property of much of Protestantism, not only of Lutheranism, even though Lutheranism often claimed to be alone in carrying them out consistently. But in the Lutheran churches of Europe, above all in Germany and Scandinavia, these principles, enunciated officially in the Augsburg Confession of 1530, served as the foundation for new developments in many fields of culture. The Lutheran chorale, which began with the hymns of Luther himself, flourished from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, producing not only hundreds of new liturgies and hymnals but also the sacred music of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750). In formulating the implications of the Reformation principles, the theologians of the Lutheran church constructed systems of Christian doctrine that sometimes rivaled those of the medieval Scholastics for comprehensiveness, if not for philosophical sophistication.

The Calvinist tradition—or, as it has often preferred to identify itself, the Reformed tradition—shared many of the central emphases of the Lutheran Reformation, but sought to carry them out with greater consistency. As worked out in the career and thought of John Calvin (1509–1564), it took *sola Scriptura* to mean an elimination of those features in worship and Christian culture that could not claim explicit biblical warrant. The primacy and sovereignty of divine grace implied that not only salvation, but also damnation, was the consequence of the will of God. Perhaps most important of all was the Reformed belief that the social order, no less than the life of the individual believer, must be brought into conformity with the revealed word of God. In the Calvinist lands of Europe, therefore, far more than in the Lutheran ones, the Reformation brought about a concerted effort to reshape politics and economics in accordance with this standard. Whether or not this helped to create a spiritual climate in which modern European capitalism was able to take seed, as Max Weber and other scholars have contended, is still a matter of controversy, but Calvinism certainly did shape attitudes toward work, property, social justice, and public order not only in the Swiss and other non-Lutheran forms of Protestantism on the continent, but far beyond the borders of western Europe (including North America).

One of the regions in which the Calvinist Reformation became a major cultural force was the British Isles. Through the reformatory work of John Knox (c. 1514–1572), it was the Reformed version of Protestantism that prevailed in Scotland. Doctrinally this meant that the Scots Confession of 1560, which Knox composed together with several colleagues, was to be the first official statement of the teaching of the Reformed Church of Scotland, until it was replaced by the Westminster Confession of 1647. Liturgically, the Reformed character of the Church of Scotland was guaranteed by *The Book of Common Order* (1556–1564), in which Knox and his associates set down forms of worship that in their judgment conformed to the scriptures and affirmed the evangelical commitments of Reformation faith.

The relation of England to the Reformed tradition was considerably more equivocal. Although the earliest influences of the continental Reformation came to England through the writings and the disciples of Luther, the terms of the settlement that emerged from the break with Rome occasioned by the divorce of Henry VIII (1491–1547) avoided putting the Church of England unambiguously into any one confessional camp. *The Book of Common Prayer*, the retention of the apostolic succession of ordaining bishops, and the Thirty-nine Articles, taken together despite their deep differences of approach, defined the settlement. It was only with the rise of Puritanism and its protest against such ambiguity that Reformed patterns of churchmanship and theology began to press for control within Anglicanism. The established church of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries left a permanent imprint on English culture through such literary monuments as the Authorized Version of the Bible and (despite profound divergences) the works of John Milton (1608–1674).

Unless the term *Reformation* is understood in a polemical and denominational sense as coextensive with the term *Protestantism*, however, it is necessary to include in it the history of the Roman Catholic reformation as well, and not simply to interpret this as a "counterreformation." The Protestant Reformation did not exhaust the imperative sense of reform within the church. In every country of Europe, therefore, Luther's activity evoked not only a defense of Roman Catholic doctrine and order but also a call for greater dedication to the cause of reform. The most abiding expression of that dedication came at the Council of Trent (1545–1563), which reaffirmed the church's teaching by identifying which positions among the many being espoused by churchmen and theologians lay within the bounds of orthodoxy and which did not. No less urgent an item on the council's agenda was the elimination of the abuses to which its fifteenth-century predecessors had already addressed their attention. Bishops were now obliged to be resident in their dioceses, instead of collecting the income and leaving the duties to surrogates. Preaching and teaching were prominent among those duties, and therefore the professional training of future clergy in seminaries was incumbent on the church everywhere. Implementation of the Catholic reformation was entrusted not only to a revitalized episcopate and clergy and a reformed papacy but also to the renewal of the religious orders and to the development of a new religious order, indeed, a new kind of order, in the Society of Jesus, founded by Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556). In part to compensate for the losses of European territory to Protestantism, the Jesuits and other religious orders undertook an intensification of missionary activity in the New World, as well as in Asia.

Also a part of the Reformation in Europe, despite their exclusion from conventional accounts, were the representatives of the several radical reformations. Anabaptism criticized Lutheranism and Calvinism for not having gone far enough in their rejection of traditional Roman Catholic forms, and it pressed for a "believers' church," in which only those who made a public commitment and confession would be members; since that excluded infants, the practice of infant baptism was repudiated. To be consistent, many of the Anabaptists, notably the Mennonites, likewise disavowed the Constantinian union between church and state, and some of them even repudiated the definition of "just war" and hence the theory that Christians could wield the sword. Although such groups as the Mennonites retained the orthodox doctrines of the Trinity and the divinity of Christ, the radical critique of traditional Christianity led others to question these as well. Despite their relatively small numbers, the churches and sects of the radical Reformation were expressing misgivings about the forms of institutional and orthodox Christianity, misgivings that appear to have been widespread, though unacknowledged, throughout Europe, both Roman Catholic and Protestant. Thus the end result of the Reformation was a Europe balkanized into confessions and denominations that continued to divide among themselves, a Europe in which the assumptions of a thousand years about a common Christian worldview were less and less valid.

EUROPEAN CHRISTIANITY IN THE MODERN PERIOD. If it is correct to characterize the era of the Reformation as a time when revolution began to replace evolution as a means of dealing with the problems of church and state, it is even more appropriate to see the situation of European Christianity in the modern period as one of coping with an age of revolution—or, more accurately, of revolutions in every sphere of human activity. One of the most widely used histories of Christianity in the modern period bears the title *The Church in an Age of Revolution.*

Politically, the Europe that emerged from the conflicts of the Reformation would seem to be the negation of revolution. When history textbooks speak of this as "the age of absolutism," they are referring to the achievement, under such monarchs as Louis XIV of France (r. 1643–1715), of a level of royal authority seldom witnessed before or since, in which the church, though with some reluctance, acted as a buttress of the secular power. Yet before the century that began with Louis XIV on the throne of France had ended, the overthrow of monarchy in France and the proclamation of a new order (even of a new calendar) symbolized the end of secular absolutism, and increasingly the end of Christian hegemony. Many of the leaders of the French Revolution were openly hostile not only to the institutional church but also to the principal teachings of the Christian tradition as a whole; others sought a more positive relation between Christianity and revolution. Both overt opposition and the quest for rapprochement were to play a part in Christian reactions to the successive revolutions of modern Europe, for example in 1848. Christianity was identified, by friend and foe alike, as allied with the ancient regime; and by the time it had come to terms with the revolutionary regime, that was already being overthrown by a new revolution, with which Christianity must once more come to terms. A permanent outcome of those seemingly constant shifts was the creation, in many countries of Europe, of Christian democratic parties, sometimes at the conservative end of the political spectrum but often centrist in their policies, and even of various forms of Christian socialism. The condemnation of socialism and of other modern revolutionary movements in the *Syllabus of Errors* issued by Pope Pius IX in 1864 must be seen in counterpoint with the "social encyclicals," especially those of Pope Leo XIII (r. 1878–1903), which articulated a reconciliation of Christian teachings with the best in the democratic systems; a similar range of political opinion, and thus of response to the revolutions of the time, was present as well in the various branches of European Protestantism during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

What Christians of all denominations found objectionable in much of revolutionary ideology was not only its attack on political regimes with which the institutional church had made its peace, but also its alliance with intellectual and social movements that seemed bent on undermining the Christian faith itself. Thus the theoretical foundations of both the French and the American revolutions contained many elements of the philosophy of the Enlightenment. Against the traditional Christian insistence on the need for revelation, Enlightenment thought defended the capacity of the natural mind to find the truth about the good life, and against the Christian distinction between the capacities of human nature and the superadded gift of divine grace, it ascribed to human nature the ability to live in accordance with that truth. Enlightenment science, and above all the philosophy that both underlay much of the science and was based upon it, seemed increasingly to make the Christian doctrine of creation irrelevant.

Enlightenment thought was the most vigorous expression of the more general attack on traditional European Christianity known as "secularism," which may be defined as the belief that, here in this world (Lat., *saeculum*), religious ideas about revelation and eternal life are not necessary to the development of a good life for the individual or society. Philosophically that belief has expressed itself in the construction of rational systems of thought and of conduct that attacked or simply ignored the claims of supernatural grace and revelation. Politically it took the form of gradually withdrawing from the church the privileged status it had held in the countries of Europe. Public education excluded Christian teaching from its curriculum and Christian ceremonies from its practice. The state would determine the criteria for what made a marriage valid, and the church ritual would at best serve only as a public attestation of a status defined by secular criteria. The clergy, who in medieval Europe had been tried in their own courts even for offenses against the political order (the issue on which Becket had clashed with the English crown) lost their special legal standing. Of the many instances in modern European history when secularism and Christianity clashed, the most renowned was probably the *Kulturkampf* in nineteenth-century Germany, in which the newly united German empire took drastic steps to curb the cultural and political status of the Roman Catholic Church. Although most of those steps were in fact eventually reversed, the *Kulturkampf* has come to symbolize a pattern widespread throughout Europe.

The case of the *Kulturkampf* suggests another closely related phenomenon that has also been a major force in redefining the place of Christianity in modern European culture, the dominance of nationalism. The nineteenth century, the "great century" of Christian missions, was as well the century of nationalist expansion into the European colonial empires. As the custodian of nationality and the patron of the national cultures of Christian Europe, Christianity had long maintained a dual role in fostering and yet restraining the devotion to the nation. Now that such devotion was assuming the proportions of a principal rival to the church for the deepest loyalties of European populations, this dual role meant that Christianity sometimes expressed itself in national terms so exclusive as to obscure its universal significance. One of the most frequent arenas for the clash between Christianity and national aspirations has been the effort of national governments to control the governance of the church within their own territories on such questions as episcopal appointments: Gallicanism was the effort by French ecclesiastics and statesmen to assert what were taken to be the historic rights of the church in France against the centralized ultramontane authority of the papacy. The most notorious expression of national religion came in the program of the German Christians in Nazi Germany, who identified the Christian gospel with Germanic ideology and Aryan purity.

As the supreme expression of nationalistic devotion, modern warfare has also been the ultimate test of Christianity's relation to European culture. From Augustine and Thomas Aquinas had come the definition of just war, which Christianity applied, with greater or lesser appropriateness, to modern European wars from the Thirty Years' War to World War II. Church leaders in European nations on both sides during those wars invoked the blessing of the same Christian God not only on the individuals who fought but also on the nationalist cause for which they fought. The same church leaders, however, often reminded their nations of the moral demands of a humanity beyond the nation, and in the efforts for peace and reconstruction after a war Christianity has often played a constructive role. The archbishop of Uppsala, Nathan Söderblom (1866–1931), received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1930 for his work after World War I. In the aftermath of the invention of nuclear weapons, Christianity in Europe—joined then by both Roman Catholicism and Protestantism elsewhere—took the lead in the task of rethinking the very notion of just war. It was also from Christianity in Europe that there came the reminder of what Pope John Paul II called "the common Christian roots of the nations of Europe" and the summons to find in those roots a vision of the continuing relation between Christianity and European culture. Thus, in a sense quite different from Belloc's own, the thesis that "Europe is the faith, and the faith is Europe" has continued to find support.

SEE ALSO Crusades; Enlightenment, The; Humanism; Modernism, article on Christian Modernism; Monasticism, article on Christian Monasticism; New Religious Movements, article on New Religious Movements in Europe; Papacy; Reformation; Scholasticism.

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CHRISTIANITY: CHRISTIANITY IN LATIN AMERICA

The discovery of Santo Domingo in 1492 marks the beginning of Latin American church history. There were no priests among the one hundred men aboard the *Pinta*, the *Niña*, and the *Santa Maria;* nevertheless, the seamen were Spanish Christians. To be Spanish or Portuguese around the beginning of the sixteenth century meant being impregnated with that particular concept of church and state that had spawned the Crusades, with tragic consequences for the indigenous American peoples. Only ten months before Columbus's landing, Spain had expelled the Moors from Granada and thus concluded its eight-centuries-old war of liberation. Fired by the conviction that the Spanish crown was the divinely chosen instrument for the salvation of the New World, Isabel and Ferdinand, and, later, Philip, promoted the Conquest wholeheartedly. They sent fifteen hundred men in a convoy of seventeen ships on the second expedition in 1493, including civil representatives, an ecclesiastical delegation (headed by the famous Benedictine Bernard Boyl), and a contingent of nobles to garner lands and servants for Christ. The decadent feudal society thus imposed artificially extended Spanish structures and indelibly stamped the organization and future of Latin American society, to the great detriment of both.

The "enemy" to be conquered in the New World bore no resemblance to the evicted Moors. Anthropologists and historians differ widely among themselves as to the nature of the cultural disparity between the Spanish and the higher Indian civilizations. Some estimate that the Indians had reached approximately the level of the first Egyptian dynasty; others reject such cultural comparisons as unilateral. The Aztec, the Maya, and the Inca lived in basically sedentary, agricultural communities, some of which were subject to the higher cultural influence; others were nomadic and tended to be more primitive in culture and religion. The syncretic Indian religions incarnated traditional dualisms: day and night, sun and moon, good and evil, subject to an overarching, implacable fate. The amazing rapidity with which these cultures were destroyed resulted, at least in part, from the superiority of Spanish weaponry, the use of horses (which had disappeared in indigenous prehistory), and the brutal annihilation of ancient beliefs and customs in order to impose a religion and form of life incomprehensible to the Indian peoples.

Agreements between the popes and Iberian Catholic kings go back to the thirteenth century, when Portugal was given ecclesiastical, political, and economic rights over countries discovered and to be discovered. Near the end of the successful reconquest of Granada, two papal bulls were issued, giving the Spanish kings extensive powers over ecclesiastical matters there. In 1493 the Roman pope conceded rights of jurisdiction to the Spanish and Portuguese crowns over discoveries on either side of an imaginary line drawn from north to south 100 leagues (556 km) west of the Azores, moved 370 leagues (2,054 km) farther west in 1494. Although there have been different interpretations as to whether the rights dispensed by the pope were territorial or solely ecclesiastical, the Catholic kings understood both to be included and acted accordingly. The right to the lands was coupled with the duty to evangelize the native peoples. The extension of the kingdom of God was the goal.

The royal rights conferred by the papal concordat included the establishment of bishoprics in the conquered territories, the nomination of bishops, the reception of tithes for the furtherance of evangelical work, the building of convents and churches, the appointment of all clergy, and the sending of missionaries. Thus both civil and ecclesiastical concerns were united under one head, the king, and the pope was effectively excluded from all decision making in the conversion of the Americas. The creation of the Supreme Council of the Indies (1524) facilitated the execution of the king's rights and will through civil authorities: viceroys and their various subordinates were appointed for New Spain (Mexico) in 1535, for Peru (the Andean region) in 1544, for Granada (greater Colombia) in 1717, and for the Plata (River Plate area) in 1776.

COLONIAL CHURCH (1492–1808). The conquistadors were fired by a medieval devotion to the extension of Christendom. The Catholic monarchs, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabel of Castile, supported by the staunch integralist Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros and succeeded by Charles I (as Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V) and Philip II, molded Spain into a unified nation that would be capable of what each believed to be a divine mission—the Christianization of the Americas. Together they directed the political-ecclesiastical enterprise for 124 years.

Foundations of the colonial church. The first twenty-five years following the discovery of Santo Domingo saw the implantation of Spanish colonies in the Caribbean basin. Few priests accompanied the first voyages. In the ten years following, 125 priests (including 89 Franciscans and 32 Dominicans) went to the West Indies to evangelize an estimated 250,000 natives. Their equipment included materials for the building of churches and monasteries, books, trinkets for opening communication with the Indians, and subsistence items. Of particular significance during this initial period were the prophetic denunciations of the abuse of the Indians made by two Dominicans, Antonio de Montesinos (in 1511) and Bartolomé de Las Casas (from 1514 until 1566). The greatest obstacles to the mission were the use of armed force in the subjection of the natives and the *encomienda* system by which the Indians were assigned to the care of those who received lands for the purposes of work and instruction in the Christian faith.

The conquest and Christianization of the mainland began with Hernando Cortés in Mexico (1519) and was extended to Peru by Francisco Pizarro (1531). These men were accompanied by priests, both regular and secular clergy. For the most part the regulars (monastic orders) concentrated on the mission, while the secular clergy served as parish priests of the Spanish, Creole, and, later, much of the mestizo, population.

Church organizations proliferated during the sixteenth century. By the close of the century, some fifteen bishoprics had been established in each of the two then-existing viceroyalties, Mexico and Peru. Soon after the conquest, diocesan and provincial meetings were held to determine polity and practice for institutional and mission work. Of the fifteen provincial councils held during the colonial period, the four of greatest importance were Lima I (1551) and III (1582–1583) and Mexico I (1555) and III (1585).

In Lima I the first forty resolutions established the organization of the Inca Indian Church on the basis of the original tribal and regional divisions of the empire. Also, catechetical instruction in the language of the people was required prior to baptism. The eighty resolutions that followed set forth the colonial ecclesiastical structure, marking clearly the division between Spanish and Indian sectors of society.

The first Mexican council treated with deep concern such matters as the indoctrination of the indigenous peoples, the use of their native languages in evangelization, their need for sacraments, the regulation of their traditional feasts and dances, the establishment of separate villages for them, and their freedom in choosing spouses. The councils of Lima III and Mexico III were influenced by the Council of Trent (1545–1563) and indicated a continuing concern about ecclesiastical and clerical reforms and the welfare of the Indians, whose numbers had dropped substantially during this period.

Civil authorities and churchmen agreed that the separation of the Indians into their own villages was the best policy. For the colonists it assured better control of the native tribes and family groups, and for the missionary priests it made their indoctrination and christianization more effective. As early as 1539 the Franciscan Fray Juan de Almeda established such a village in Huejotzingo, near Puebla in Mexico, for over forty thousand Indians. The Franciscans were soon followed by the Dominicans, Augustinians, and Mercedarians, but many areas in the wide expanses of territory were without spiritual care. Near the end of the sixteenth century, the priest Juan de Mendieta wrote that some priests traveled more than 100 miles to minister to groups of over one hundred thousand Indians.

Quarrels were frequent between the religious orders over jurisdiction in the villages, but were even more frequent between the orders and the secular priests of the church. Schools, trades, civil government, and hospitals were established in the villages. Early attempts were made to prepare indigenous clergy, but after disheartening experiences, most of the church authorities agreed that the natives were not sufficiently dependable. Several early councils and for a time several monastic orders specifically forbade the ordination of non-Spanish priests.

The church in Brazil developed more slowly than in the Spanish colonies. Although six Jesuits arrived as early as 1549, only seven bishoprics existed at the time of independence. As in Spanish America, the religious orders bravely supported royal edicts commanding decent treatment for the Indians, but the practice of royal governors and landholders, who wanted Indians as slaves, won out over theory. The Jesuits, often criticized for amassing economic power, were expelled from Brazil in 1759.

An explosive situation and a significant number of uprisings both in the black and Indian populations resulted from the large numbers of Africans brought as slaves to Brazil. By 1818 more than half the population (excluding the Indians in the interior) was black; 23 percent were white; 17 percent, mestizo; and 7 percent, Indian.

Missions. Real efforts were made by the kings to christianize the indigenous population, as stipulated in the concordat. After the initial discovery of the Americas, the conquistadors were always well accompanied by priests, chiefly Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians. Within fifty years members of these orders numbered over eight hundred in Mexico alone. Thereafter, the Jesuits and other orders added strength to the missionary effort.

The method of the missionaries, in general, was to uproot old rites and most external manifestations of Indian religion (on the principle of *tabula rasa*) in order to teach the true, Catholic religion. After an initial and not too successful attempt to use translators, many of the priests determined to learn the native languages. Evangelization was carried out in two different ways in the sixteenth century: (1) in the *encomienda* a priest was assigned large numbers of natives for pastoral care, indoctrination, and administration of the sacraments; (2) itinerant priests went from village to village, often suffering great hardships, preaching, baptizing, and defending the Indians against abuse. Although force was still used when necessary, many Indians were converted by peaceful means through the direct approach of the priests. Unfortunately, the good done was often subverted by the subsequent incorporation of the new Christians into the forced labor system.

Historians differ as to the culpability of the Spaniards in their Christianization of New Spain (Mexico, which included what is now Texas and the southwest United States) and of Peru (which included parts of Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Chile). That there was unspeakable cruelty and that large sections of the Indian population were decimated are clear historical facts. It is equally clear that many priests, like Las Casas (e.g., Montolinia, Valdieso, Anchieta, Zumárraga, and Juan del Valle) fought for Indian rights against civil leaders, plantation and mine owners, and even other clerics. A body of ordinances called *New Laws for the Indies* was adopted in 1542, papal encyclicals were issued (e.g., that of Paul III in 1537), and royal edicts were emitted by both Spanish and Portuguese kings, all of which required just treatment of the Indians.

A key point at issue is the number of Indians present in the Americas at the time of the Conquest. Estimates vary from six million to nearly a hundred million. The Brazilian J. V. Cesár, a member of the National Indigenist Council, estimates thirty-five million both at the time of the Conquest and in the late twentieth century (*Atualização* 12, Belo Horizonte, 1981, p. 27). Sherburne F. Cook and Woodrow Borah carefully estimated that the nearly seventeen million Indians in central Mexico in 1532 were reduced to just over one million by 1608 (*The Indian Population of Central Mexico, 1531–1610*, Berkeley, 1960, p. 48). The exaggerated claims for baptisms must be viewed critically: Pedro de Gante claimed fourteen thousand in one day; Bishop Zumárraga of Mexico reported that Franciscans alone had baptized more than one million by 1531. Another chronicler claimed that more than ten million had been baptized solely by Franciscans and Dominicans by the mid-seventeenth century.

The Jesuits, admitted to Brazil in 1549, Peru in 1568, and Mexico in 1572, largely displaced the Mercedarians as a missionary agency. They joined the Franciscans, Augustinians, and Dominicans as the chief executives of mission in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. While all the orders served sacrificially and in diverse ways of evangelization, the secular priests tended to the Spanish and mestizo population, and the Jesuits dedicated much of their effort to education and to the establishment of reductions, Indian villages established by the Spanish. They, as well as the other orders, studied the native languages, wrote grammars and dictionaries, and published texts for study. They founded universities to prepare professionals in law and medicine, implant Tridentine theology, and teach arts and languages. The colleges and seminaries founded by the monastic orders paralleled the colonial universities established by royal license, such as the universities of Mexico, Santo Domingo, and Lima. The latter prepared candidates for the secular clergy, while the religious orders each prepared their own candidates. The Jesuits were never really integrated into the episcopal system.

The schools were often developed on land received by royal concession, donated by rich ranchers, given as payment for crimes or as testaments, or contributed by the clergy or members of the order. The efficient operation of these estates covered the cost of the schools and generated capital for further investments and for the respective orders. For example, the landed property of forty-five of the largest Jesuit estates, distributed in diverse regions of Mexico, included a total of 1,100,874 hectares (1 hectare = 2.471 acres) in 1767, less than two centuries after the arrival of the Society of Jesus in Mexico. The greatest concentrations of Indians and mestizo workers were in the smaller plots (500 to 1,000 hectares), while the larger ones (100,000 to 200,000 hectares) were in largely unpopulated areas.

Throughout Latin America the Indian villages organized in the sixteenth century frequently took on the more ordered form called reductions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In particular, the Franciscans, Dominicans, and the Jesuits established reductions in the areas of California and Mexico, Colombia and Venezuela, Ecuador and Peru, and Brazil and Paraguay. Most noted for their organization and extension were those among the Guaraní people of Brazil, Paraguay, and northern Argentina.

The social organization of the reductions reflected the theocratic character of the Jesuit order: a religious communism strictly ordered and based upon absolute obedience to the Jesuit fathers. The more than thirty reductions of Paraguay, with 3,500 or more Indians in each, occupied a total area of 53,904 square kilometers, with an additional zone of influence comprising over 315,000 square kilometers. The total population reached 150,000 in 1743.

The Indians who entered the reductions were like indentured servants: some entered by personal choice or as a penalty for crimes; as prisoners of war; as purchased property; and some were born in the village. They were bound for life to the mission; their life and work were strictly controlled, and their passive obedience tended to result in an attitude of stoical fatalism. Such was their dependence that after the expulsion of the Jesuit order in 1767 by the Portuguese and Spanish kings, the missions fell into decadence. Natives had not been schooled to provide leadership, to ward off the attacks of the encroaching Spanish or Portuguese seeking lands and slave labor, or to adapt to the new social and political context. Within thirty years half the Indians in Paraguay and Brazil had scattered, many to the nearly inaccessible interior. By the early nineteenth century, no missions remained. By the exclusion of the more than 2,200 Jesuits, the empire lost one of its most cohesive forces.

The success of the missions in colonial times remains a highly controversial issue. The positions taken by various scholars disagree with respect to the relative degree of adaptation or change accomplished by the evangelization. Some basic views are the following:

1. Only an external imposition of liturgy and ecclesiastical forms upon the pagan religion was accomplished. (George Kubler, Julio Jiménez Rueda, J. C. Mariátegui)
2. A kind of syncretism was attained, either by a mixture or a juxtaposition of the Christian and pagan religions. (Pedro Borges Morán)
3. An incomplete evangelization was effected, producing a genuine change through progressive catechesis. (Enrique Dussel)
4. The Indians essentially became Christians; the purity of their faith depended much on the methods of evangelism used. (Constantino Bayle, Fernando de Armas Medina)

The missionary strategy of Catholics and Protestants in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was profoundly affected by their views on this question.

Later conflicts and crises. The church in the New World faced seemingly insuperable difficulties. The royal claims to the lands in the Americas and to its peoples were contested by many. The Indians and blacks often revolted; the Inquisition was needed to maintain internal order and loyalty; the Protestant nations, through pirates and colonists, contested Iberian exclusiveness; and, finally, local crises shattered the empire.

In the eighteenth century, a major Indian rebellion erupted under the leadership of Tupac Amarú (1742–1781), a lineal descendant of the great Inca chieftain of the same name. Educated by the Jesuits and accorded royal honors and wealth, he was recognized by his people as the heir of the Inca, but he defended them in vain before the Spanish authorities.

Finally, he organized an army of seventy to eighty thousand poorly equipped men. Bolivia, southern Peru, and the north of Argentina soon were under the control of his forces. He hoped that the Spanish could be conciliated and the two peoples could live side by side in peace, but the Spanish authorities called for reinforcements from Buenos Aires and Lima, and within six months Túpac Amaru was captured, horribly tortured, and torn apart by horses tied to his limbs, which were later displayed on poles in rebellious Indian villages. Thousands had joined the revolt, plundering and destroying everything Spanish they could find. Estimates of the total number of victims on both sides reached eighty thousand. The superior arms and power of the Spanish and the Portuguese proved, as always, to be decisive.

The title of apostolic inquisitor was officially given to Zumárraga, bishop of Mexico, in 1535, although Cisneros had conceded the power of inquisitor to all the bishops of the "Indies" in 1517. Other inquisitors were named and exercised their function later in the sixteenth century. The Holy Office of the Inquisition was established by royal decree in 1569 for Mexico and Lima and in 1610 for Cartagena. Its principle objectives were to combat (1) depraved customs (cursing, immorality, witchcraft, lack of respect for civil or ecclesiastical authorities, etc.); (2) heresy (religious or political); and (3) Jewish beliefs and customs. In the sixteenth century 902 cases were processed, 600 were found guilty, and 17 were executed. Estimates place the total number killed at about a hundred. The Inquisition served as a police court for the church in the reforming of wayward clergy, the censure of objectionable literature and plays, the securing of orthodox doctrine, and the punishment of captured sea pirates from Protestant nations. In all this it was largely successful. Some Indians were executed for idolatry before 1575, but thereafter they were judged to be too new in the faith, too weak, and too much like children to be subject to the judgment of the Inquisition.

Between 1529 and 1550 the Protestant Welser Colony settled in northern Venezuela, having received extensive political territory from Charles V. The plan included colonization and trade, especially of black slaves. Three hundred colonists arrived in 1530 and five hundred in 1535, but a lack of workers, anarchy, misery, and bankruptcy practically ended the project, with revocation of the royal concession occurring in 1550.

A French colony of three hundred, mostly Huguenots, with some Catholics, arrived in Brazil in 1555 and 1558, accompanied by pastors from Geneva. The French vice-admiral in charge of the colony broke the agreement of non-intervention in religious matters, and tried and executed three Calvinists. The remaining colonists were totally defeated by the Portuguese in 1567, and the colony came to an end.

Dutch colonists established plantations and factories in northeastern Brazil around 1630. Two "classes" (presbyteries) were founded, and two missionaries, with the help of seven fellow pastors, established mission posts, translated the Bible into Tupí, and took steps for the evangelization of the blacks. The Protestant governor was too tolerant of diverse religious views for some and was recalled. The project came to an official end in 1654. Two chiefs of Indian tribes converted by Dutch missionaries were severely persecuted by the Portuguese authorities.

The church in Latin America faced a growing crisis toward the end of the colonial period. The decadence of the Spanish Bourbon dynasty and its loss of control of the seas contributed to the weakening of the royalist position in the colonies, and Enlightenment thought challenged the existing social structures. Widespread libertinism and immorality, as well as jealous criticism of the church for its extensive possessions (nearly half of the land in Mexico by 1800), aggravated anticlericalism. Finally, the shift from an economy built on trading precious metals to an agriculturally oriented system created serious difficulties for many businessmen and laborers. The church was to struggle for its place in a new world of independent nations.

CHURCH AND NATIONAL STATES (1808–1960). The liberation of Spanish and Portuguese America from European political control began a radically new period of Latin American church history. No longer did the kings function as the official heads of the church and its mission. The wealthier, educated Creoles (Spanish people born in the Americas) took over the reins of government (both in the church and state) from the Spanish-born elite. The Creoles formed about 20 percent of the population in 1800 and exercised control over the mestizos (mixed Indian and white, 26 percent), Indians (46 percent), and blacks (8 percent).

By the end of the nineteenth century the majority of the population in Guatemala and Bolivia was indigenous; the majority in Mexico, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, and Paraguay was mestizo; that in Costa Rica, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil was white; and that in Panama and the Dominican Republic was mulatto.

A different situation existed in the Protestant lands of British Guiana and Dutch Guiana (Surinam). Both had been governed by the Dutch until Britain took the part that was to bear its name during the Napoleonic wars. Blacks and mulattos formed over half of the population in British Guiana, and over 20 percent in Surinam. However, with the abolition of slavery, Hindus, Javanese, Portuguese, and Chinese were brought in as laborers. Indigenes were few. Most of the population became Christian, except for the Hindus. The majority were Protestants; some were Roman Catholics. In Surinam, the Moravians, who had begun work in 1738, were the largest group. In British Honduras and French Guiana the greater part of the population was Roman Catholic, with Protestant minorities.

Identity crisis. It is clear that the emancipation from Spanish rule in Spanish and Portuguese America was a rebellion of the elite. Scarcely 4 percent of the masculine population could vote. The great mass of the population reacted to the change of "lords" with indifference. At times some fought or served as cannon fodder in the cause of emancipation, but socioeconomic structures remained basically unaltered for the great majority. A liberal facade concealed the awful reality of the misery and slavery of the masses.

The rising spirit of nationalism, stimulated and exploited by foreign interference, destroyed hopes for a confederation of Latin American nations, and, consequently, for a united church. Simon Bolívar's plan to unite Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador failed, as did the attempted union of Bolivia and Peru in 1838 and the confederation of Central America in 1839.

The majority of the episcopacy, which had been named by the king, initially opposed the independence movement, while many (in some countries, most) of the regular and secular clergy actively participated in it. The patriots wanted to foster a national church but had no patience with those who had militated against the revolution. Many of the new states, such as Argentina (1824), Bolivia (1826), Nicaragua (1830), Colombia (1861), and Mexico (1917), confiscated ecclesiastical properties, especially in rural areas.

The leaders of the new nations believed they inherited the rights of the crown, including its authority over the churches. Religious hospitals passed to state control; the state was the administrator of the tithes (in some cases, they were discontinued); the religious and secular priests were declared responsible to their new "lords" and not to any foreigner; and the Inquisition was suspended. Many national constitutions affirmed that "the Catholic Roman Apostolic religion is the religion of the nation," as it was expressed in Argentina (1813). Nine years later Argentine president Bernardino Rivadavia canceled the right of priests to be tried in eccelesiastical courts, abolished tithes, and closed the smaller monasteries. Such actions eventually took place in most of the republics, but they were considered reforms and not a rejection of the church.

Many bishops, priests, and monks voluntarily left the revolutionary situation for reasons of conscience and loyalty to the previously constituted authorities; others were expelled. In many places this occasioned a severe shortage of priests and a lack of bishops. Pope Pius VII first ordered obedience to the restored Spanish king Ferdinand in 1816. This proved to be an impossibility, creating a crisis for the national churches. The process of official recognition of the new republics began with the naming of bishops by Gregory XVI in 1831.

Thus, during the first part of the nineteenth century, the political tendency of the republics was conservative; the church was recognized, but was subject to state control. The second half of the century and the first decades of the twentieth, however, marked a progressive rupture between church and state. The influx of European liberalism and positivism, the Masonic movement, and the increasing spirit of secularization were decisive factors in promoting the crisis. Such reforms as the official adoption of civil jurisdiction over education, the public use of cemeteries, and freedom of worship became realities in different countries at different times (in Colombia as late as 1930). The struggle of the church in this period was to conserve and restore the church of Christendom, what is often called the *corpus Christianum*, or the integralist vision, akin to the medieval model of the union of the (Catholic) church and state. This, however, proved to be a losing battle.

In the revolutionary period, the crisis between church and state demanded primary attention, and mission played a secondary role. The expulsion of priests and religious orders, repeated across the Americas, caused disruption. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, many religious orders returned to engage in traditional missionary activity. As in previous centuries, however, sickness, wars, and poverty caused the Indian population to decline, from 35 percent of the total inhabitants in 1800 to 8.8 percent in 1950.

The arrival of large contingents of immigrants, mostly Catholics, particularly from Italy, Spain, and Portugal, rapidly increased the relative size of the minority group—the whites. From 19 million in 1800 (fewer than 20 percent of the total population), the white population rose to 63 million in 1900 (over 35 percent) and 163 million in 1950 (44.5 percent). This surge of immigration also promoted the colonization of large untapped areas of Latin America.

The history of the Protestant churches in Latin America took a new turn as a result of the wars of independence. The opposition to the hegemony of Spain and Portugal (and control of the seas by the British and Dutch), which opened doors to commerce with and immigration from northern Europe; the surge of anticlericalism because of the negative attitudes of much of the episcopacy toward the revolution; and the new currents of thought favoring secularization, liberty, and tolerance all prepared the way. Progress, however, was slow; estimates place the number of Protestant missionaries in all Latin America by the end of the nineteenth century at less than nine hundred.

Most of the growth of the Protestant church in the twentieth century occurred because of immigration. Though by far the greatest number of immigrants were Latin and Catholic, the majority of the English and German immigrants were Protestant. The English tended to settle in the cities, while the Germans settled in rural areas. The River Plate region in Argentina and Uruguay early received large numbers of Protestants, and worship services were established, in their respective languages, for Anglicans in 1820, for Scottish Presbyterians in 1825, for German Lutherans in 1843, and for Italian Waldensians in 1859. They were followed by Russian-German contingents, Swiss and Dutch Reformed, Scandinavian Lutherans, Armenian Congregationalists, and Slavic Baptists. In general, these immigrant groups ministered pastorally to their own people without any real interest in the evangelization of others.

The first Protestant missionary to arrive in Spanish America was James Thomson of the British and Foreign

Bible Society. He came to Argentina in 1818 and, using the English community as a base, promoted the Lancaster system of education, with the Bible as a study text for reading. The new governments were open to this method, as were some Catholic clergy. Thomson and his associates sold thousands of Bibles in Spanish, made visits to at least nine of the Latin American republics, and established centers for Bible distribution in key cities. Throughout the century representatives and missionaries of the Bible societies frequented many cities across the continent. By 1900 they had distributed two million Bibles, testaments, and scripture portions.

In addition to the work of the Bible societies and the impulse given by immigration groups, missionaries from the various denominations overseas constituted a third factor in evangelization. Reports of the work of the Bible societies had aroused much interest in Protestant lands. The earliest mission boards to begin work were English, followed by missionaries from the United States, Canada, and Sweden.

The methods used included public preaching and personal witnessing directed toward a radical conversion from Catholicism. Methodists and Presbyterians in particular established both primary and secondary schools. With the rise in the level of education, religious publications became more important. Only nine medical institutions were established during the nineteenth century in Latin America, as compared to 94 in Africa and 415 in Asia. Little work was done among the indigenous peoples in this period, except by English Anglicans and, in Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Chile, by the South American Missionary Society. Especially noteworthy was the conversion of the Miskito Indians of Nicaragua through the work of the Moravians and the formation of a Moravian community of fifteen thousand in that country.

A characteristic inclination of the missions, in addition to their strong anti-Catholicism, was to become replicas of the sending agencies with the missionary as the director and teacher; there was only a partial adaptation to the receiving culture. This marked the Protestant church as foreign and exogenous to Latin society.

Conflict and growth. Several new factors profoundly affected the history of the church near the turn of the twentieth century. First, the center of gravity for commercial and political power shifted from Europe and England to the United States. In 1880 Great Britain had four times more investments in Latin America than the United States; in 1920 they were equal; but by 1950 the United States had four times more investments than Britain. The governments of the Latin American nations were controlled by oligarchies and dictators who frequently maintained close relations with their big northern neighbor.

Second, the twentieth century brought a serious confrontation between the Catholic and the Protestant churches. The Catholics accused the Protestants of introducing liberal individualism that disintegrated the family and community, and of serving as an instrument of North American imperialism. The Protestants denounced Catholicism as pagan and unfit to evangelize the Latin American peoples, as well as being responsible in large part for their poverty.

Third, the rapid population growth of Latin America increased the Catholic church membership to nearly half the worldwide total, while the Protestant churches likewise experienced rapid expansion through immigration and the missions.

Fourth, the character of society was changing rapidly from rural to urban. With the industrialization of the large cities, increasing numbers of people migrated toward metropolitan centers in hopes of improving their marginal social situation. This migration created shanty towns called *villas de miseria* or *favellas*. Church ties and loyalties were much weaker in the city than they were in rural areas (Azevedo, 1980, pp. 121, 122).

Catholicism. The nineteenth century had been marked by hostility to the church in most of the republics; frequently modified concordats were signed beginning in 1852. In the twentieth century new constitutions and/or concordats brought increasing liberty for most religious groups, but Catholicism continued to receive official recognition in countries such as Peru, Argentina, and Paraguay. Many of the national Catholic churches received state subsidies and were subject to varying degrees of state control. Other countries (Chile, Uruguay, Brazil) progressively introduced a separation of church and state that permitted freedom of worship as long as this did not oppose Christian morality and public order. Until Vatican II, however, such permission often remained an empty promise because of strong anti-Protestant popular sentiment and controls exercised by the Roman church. State funds supported missions to the Indians in order better to exercise national control and to use the mission as an instrument of civilization and culture, as in the Concordat of Colombia in 1902. Mexico is an exception to this general trend. The revolution of 1917 resulted in the confiscation of all church properties and the termination of the church's role in education and government. Many priests were deported and church buildings damaged. The relation between the churches and the state remains strained.

The conservatism of Latin American Catholicism at the turn of the century is clearly reflected in the first plenary Latin American Council held in Rome in 1899. The 998 articles produced examine the evils of contemporary society—liberalism, superstition, Masonry, paganism, Protestantism, socialism—and the methods of combating them. No new approaches to these problems were defined by the thirteen archbishops and forty-one bishops from Latin America. The agenda did indicate, however, the revival of Rome's interest in the long-neglected continent.

From this point on, the church began to deepen its intellectual and cultural foundations in the republics. Through new agreements made during the first decades of the century, educational rights were restored to the Catholic church. Many church schools were founded on primary and secondary levels, crowned by the establishment of many church universities, as in Bogotá (1937), Lima (1942), Medellín (1945), Río de Janeiro and São Paulo (1947), Quito (1956), Buenos Aires and Córdoba (1960), and Valparaíso and Guatemala (1961).

One result of this intellectual revival was the study of the neo-Thomism propounded by Jacques Maritain (1882–1973), which provided the foundation for a new social consciousness. A broad movement called Catholic Action, born in Europe and promoted by Pius XI (1922–1939), took root in the Latin American republics after 1929, with strong youth participation. Catholic Action was basically a lay movement under clerical control, directed at the raising of the Christian conscience, particularly that of the upper class with respect to the needs of the common people. It was also aimed at gaining political and civic control for the Catholic church, thus restoring by democratic means the power lost during the tumultuous nineteenth century. The way was prepared for this movement by the organization of Catholic labor unions, agricultural cooperatives, and other groups, stimulated by the papal encyclical *Rerum novarum* (1890). The Christian Democratic political parties that emerged in Latin America after 1930 owe their inspiration to this attempt to reinstate Catholic Christendom by the ballot box. The movement has been basically reformist in character and includes many of the conservative sections of the church. Between 1930 and 1950 the church and state sometimes cooperated for the victory of populist movements (for instance, those of Eduardo Frei in Chile and Juan Domingo Perón in Argentina).

Since 1960 new winds have blown across the continent. The century began with compromises and agreements between church and state; next, Catholicism tried to restore its *corpus Christianum* in conformity to the new situation: and then came the meeting of Vatican II, followed by the meeting of the Latin American Council of Bishops at Medellín (1968), where clear steps were taken toward an identification with the poor.

This last change did not occur all at once. Innovating currents had been present since the fifties, particularly in France and northern Europe, with repercussions in Latin America. The Catholic Action groups shifted from the Italian model to that of the French, from a concentration on doctrinal correctness to existential priorities. Additional contributing factors were the formation of community reflection groups, a new openness to biblical studies, liturgical renewal, and catechetical instruction directed toward responsible living. This marked a significant break from the traditional alignment with the elite and powerful.

Those who favored the new options were of two groups: the progressives, who leaned toward a development model of social reform, and the revolutionaries, who believed that radical structural change, with or without violence, was essential. A third group supported by such organizations as Opus Dei and the Cursillos de Cristiandad, was reactionary, striving to restore Tridentine theology and medieval structures. The majority of Catholics, however, may be considered conservative, being disinclined to identify with any of the other three groups. These four groups—the progressives, the revolutionaries, the traditionalists, and the conservatives—characterize the attitudes of the Catholic Church toward society up to the present.

Two types of organization characterize the Catholic churches: the regular dioceses, archdioceses, and congregations, on the one hand, and the mission territories on the other. The number of dioceses and mission territories increased in all of Latin America from about 100 in 1900 (organized during four centuries) to 547 by 1965. In Brazil in particular, the number of ecclesiastical districts increased from 12 in 1889 to 217 in 1975. According to CELAM (Council of Latin American Bishops), the total number of priests in 1967 was 42,589, of whom 15,381, or 36 percent, were foreign, mainly from Spain (54 percent) and the United States (20 percent). The heavy dependence on foreign assistance indicates the more basic problems of the lack of new priests and the abandonment of the office. In 1900 the ratio of priest to population was 1 to 3,829; in 1963 it had dropped to 1 to 4,891. One must remember that only 66.6 percent of the diocesan priests and 31.7 percent of the orders are in congregational service. Thus the number of members under the care of each priest should be doubled to give a true picture.

Since the priests tend to concentrate in the cities, the rural areas feel the shortage more. Prien (1978, p. 1067) gives statistics for Guatemala, from the largest city to the smaller ones: in Guatemala City there is one priest for 5,970 members; in Quetzaltenango, the ratio is 1 to 9,374; in Zacapá, 1 to 16,216; in Jalapa, 1 to 20,556; and in Maturín, 1 to 24,200. The percentages of the monks and nuns working in the capitals of their respective countries in the sixties were as follows: Santiago, 46 percent; Montevideo, 78 percent; San José (Costa Rica), 75 percent; Caracas, 53 percent; and Quito, 45 percent. Estimates vary in placing the number of active Catholics from 10 to 25 percent of the total membership. Papal statistics indicate that in 1970 about 90 percent of the Latin American population was Catholic. David B. Barrett (1982) estimated in mid-1980 over 329 million affiliated Catholics in all Latin America, or 88.6 percent of the population (p. 783).

Some countries, such as Brazil, Peru, Ecuador, and Colombia, have missionary territories. These function directly under the jurisdiction of the papal Sacred Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith. Most of the missionaries have come from the monastic orders; some of them were prepared in the Pontifical Seminary for Foreign Missions established in 1920. The number of Christians in areas considered mission districts (largely Indians) has multiplied rapidly: in 1911, there were 472,000; in 1925, 1,675,000; and in 1938, nearly two million.

As of 1980 the vast majority of the total Latin American Indian population was found in five lands: Bolivia (70 percent of its population), Guatemala (60 percent), Peru (55 percent), Mexico (20 percent), and Ecuador. The largest homogeneous language group is the Aymares in Bolivia (one million) and Peru (a half million). Catholic missionary orders have made significant advances among these populations. During World War II the American Catholic Missionary Society shifted much of its efforts to Latin America, bringing in missionaries with previous experience in Asia and Africa. Many entered unchristianized areas in the Amazon and the Andes, regions of difficult access for white civilization. Others worked in Central America, Colombia, Venezuela, Chile, and Bolivia. On occasion they met with opposition from nationalistic governments, though this was more frequent in the case of Protestant missionaries.

Anthropologists and sociologists have criticized the mission effort severely, claiming the unnecessary destruction of Indian cultural and tribal values and accusing the church of collaborating, albeit inadvertently, with the state. Church authorities are sharply divided over the issue, some placing a higher priority on preserving Indian values and others on a vigorous program of evangelization and catechization.

Protestantism. Protestantism in Latin America may be divided into three groups: the historic churches, which arrived through immigration; the mission churches, which were begun by missionaries and foreign resources; and the popular churches or movements that grew spontaneously, without significant outside assistance. Most of the immigrant groups arrived in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; in 1914 they constituted about one half of the Protestant community. These groups are strongest in Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and Bolivia, where lands and opportunities for a new life had opened in a temperate zone.

The mission groups represented most of the other half of the total Protestant community in 1914, when their membership was estimated at approximately 470,000. They, more than the historic churches, dedicated their efforts to the Latin population, particularly to the Roman Catholics, but also to the Indians. The increase of Protestant missionaries sent to the southern countries was dramatic: there were 1,438 missionaries in 1903; 2,951 in 1938; 4,488 in 1949; and 11,363 in 1969. This meant an increase of 690 percent, compared with 283 percent for Africa and 39 percent for all of Asia in the same period. What was true for personnel was equally true for the efforts expended in money, religious education, Bible institutes, schools, and seminaries.

The third group of Protestants consists almost exclusively of the Pentecostal churches. Their rise coincides with the growth of popular religiosity in the Catholic Church. Those attracted to the Pentecostals tend to be from the lower economic class—the socially segregated, laborers, and the unemployed. There is an emphasis on spontaneous participation in worship, prayers with audible sharing by all, healing, speaking in tongues, opening ministry to everyone qualified by the Holy Spirit, and meetings in homes. The recognition of every member as a bearer of God's Spirit gives a sense of belonging and personal recognition. The growth has been phenomenal. Having begun in 1910, Pentecostalism in 1980 constituted about 70 percent of the estimated eighteen million in the Latin American Protestant community.

The relatively small contingent of evangelicals (the term equivalent to Protestants in Latin America) at the beginning of this century stimulated movements of cooperation among the denominations. The Panama Conference of 1916, with few Latin Americans participating, affirmed what the planners of the 1910 Edinburgh mission conference did not accept, namely, that Latin America was a mission field. The Panama delegates resolved that responsibility for mission in the Latin American countries should be divided among the various mission societies to avoid competition and duplication of efforts. Cooperation was sought in publication of literature, education, regional conferences, missionary meetings, university work, social reform, and preparation of new missionaries. Great efforts were made to approach and convert the elite through education. Three-fourths of the Latin American population could not read in 1900. An effort was made to teach the illiterates in order to give them personal access to the Bible. Other continental meetings were held in Montevideo (1925) and Havana (1929). Later, the Conferencia Evangélica Latinoamericana (CELA) met in Buenos Aires (1949), Lima (1961), and Buenos Aires (1969), with chiefly Latin American participation.

Beginning in 1920, Henry Strachan (later followed by his son, Kenneth) and Juan Varetto launched the mass campaigns that for several decades marked the new approach of the missions. Many of the evangelical churches presented their preaching and teaching in the public arena, some for the first time. This helped to overcome the sense of inferiority and lethargy that had characterized many of the historic churches as well as some of the mission groups.

Reasons given for the increased Protestant activity at this time include the following:

1. the rapid growth of the economic and cultural penetration of the United States into Latin America, which awakened the interest of the churches in mission possibilities there and opened the doors to the coming of the missionaries;
2. the changing social and intellectual situation in Latin America, which made the peoples more accessible to a different presentation of the Christian faith;
3. the active participation of Latin Americans in the promotion and direction of the work, which made Protestantism better adapted to the Latin American situation;
4. the Asian wars, causing large numbers of Asian missionaries from faith missions to come to Latin America and contribute new methods and policies for the work;
5. the growing economic power of the churches in the

> United States, which made possible the large investments in personnel and funds over a sustained period (Azevedo, 1980, p. 133).

These last factors apply more to the first two Protestant groups than to the Pentecostals, for whom the second and third are most relevant.

Like the Catholics, the Protestant churches in general have been divided on social problems. In most countries during the last few decades positions have had to be taken with reference to military dictatorships and the doctrine of the national security state. Often Protestants and Catholics have suffered persecution, torture, and death for their convictions. Protestant attitudes may be divided into three groups: traditional (obedience to the state in all except false worship); progressive (the right to disobey the state on questions of social justice and the duty to struggle for the establishment of a just society); and radical (a recognition of the need to overthrow unjust social structures by violence, if necessary).

It is impossible to state with accuracy the number of Protestants in Latin America. Barrett (1982, p. 783) affirms that in 1980 they constituted 4.9 percent of the population, or approximately eighteen million in the total community. Dussel (1974, p. 192) gives the following percentages of total population for 1961:

>10%	Chile, British Guiana, Surinam, French Guiana
5–10%	Brazil
2–5%	Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama
1–2%	Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, Honduras
1%	Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, Costa Rica

Read, Monterroso, and Johnson estimate the number of Protestant adult communicant members at 4,915,477 in 1967.

Orthodox churches. A variety of Orthodox churches are represented in Latin America. Around 140,000 Arabic-speaking Syrians had come to Argentina and Brazil by 1915. Most were under the spiritual guidance of the patriarch of Antioch, though some priests came from Russia to provide pastoral care. Somewhat less than half a million Orthodox came as refugees in the years following the Russian Revolution and World War II. Many were lost to Orthodoxy, some identifying with spiritism, others with Protestantism. Greek, Russian, and Syrian congregations and dioceses have been organized in Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Peru, Colombia, Ecuador, and Chile, while the Russian Orthodox also have churches in Venezuela and Paraguay. There is a Russian bishop in São Paulo and an archbishop for Latin America in Buenos Aires. A relatively few number of Uniates, Maronites, and Ruthenians (groups that maintain their national liturgy but acknowledge the supremacy of the pope in Rome) are also present, particularly in Brazil, Argentina, and Chile.

THE CHURCH AND SIGNS OF NEW LIFE. Since the mid-twentieth century, signs of new life have begun to appear both in Roman Catholic and Protestant churches. Efforts to identify with the realities of the Latin American situation do not exclude strong currents of traditional conservatism which, on the Catholic side, continue to support elitist power groups and, on the Protestant side, reject responsibility for societal improvement. But the new movements clearly point to significant changes in church attitudes and programs.

Catholicism. The organization of the Latin American Council of Bishops (CELAM) in 1955 gave to the Roman Catholic churches of the region a formal unity and coherence not found on other continents. This time the unity was not buttressed by civil force or restricted by the *patronato* that had given the national states certain rights over the churches. The chief characteristic of CELAM was its concern for the whole of human life and society.

Evidence of the new weight accorded to the Latin American churches was the large representation at Vatican II (1962–1965). The 601 Latin American bishops (22.33 percent of the total) were second in number only to the Europeans, with 31.6 percent. No Latin American priests had been present at Trent (1545–1563), and only 61 bishops had been at Vatican I (1870).

Catholic scholars judge the second general conference of CELAM at Medellín in 1968 to be a watershed in its history. Before Medellín the pastoral task had been conceived as the dispensation of sacramental grace within the contours of a Christian society. Medellín recognized that society was pluralistic, and that in this society a transformation of traditional values was possible and necessary. The popular manifestations of the faith needed to be impregnated by the word of the gospel. Devotional acts to the saints had to be changed from intercessory devices to models for life in imitation of Christ. The fatalism nurtured by the traditional sacramental view was rejected, and in its place an emphasis was placed on the pastoral task of educating people to become active collaborators with God in the fulfillment of their destiny. A call was made for organizing grass-roots community groups for Bible study and joint action in meeting social needs, especially in marginal economic areas.

In the eleven years between Medellín and CELAM III in Puebla (1979), more than two hundred thousand small ecclesiastical communities began to function effectively, particularly in Brazil, but also in other countries across the continent. Lay groups, sometimes with pastoral presence, were questioning the unchangeableness of their social plight in the light of biblical teaching and were becoming active participants for change. The Puebla Conference took up these concerns by first analyzing the Latin American situation, then making its recommendations. Recognition of the dignity of the human person, and particularly of the rights of the poor and oppressed, was declared to be at the heart of the gospel message.

The Puebla bishops were united in their harsh judgment of capitalism, Marxism, and the national security state: capitalism, for increasing the distance between rich and poor people and nations; Marxism, for sacrificing many Christian values and creating false utopias sustained by force; and the national security state, for supporting dictatorships that abuse police power to deprive human beings of their rights. Differences arise among Christians, however, when basic causes of poverty and oppression are defined and concrete programs for change proposed.

The theology of liberation was formulated after 1960 by theologians and social scientists through reflection on Latin American social and political reality and attempts to transform its oppressive structures. The best-known Catholic exponents include Gustavo Gutierrez (Peru), Juan Luis Segundo (Uruguay), Segundo Galilea (Chile), José Miranda (Mexico), Hugo Assman and Leonardo Boff (Brazil), Jon Sobrino (El Salvador), and Enrique Dussel (Argentina). They affirm the necessity of moving toward a social system characterized by priority for the poor, use of the social sciences in the analysis of reality, recognition of the ideological base from which every person develops religious understanding; and importance given to praxis—active and obedient discipleship, supported by theory, with the eventual goal of the transformation of society. This theology has been variously interpreted in Latin American church hierarchy. The fervor with which it is debated, the mutual concern about the large majority of marginalized peoples, and the evangelical zeal for ministry mark a significant renovation in Catholicism.

Protestantism. Protestantism has likewise developed differently from its mother institutions. The dramatic growth of the Pentecostal church bears a resemblance to other moments in church history when the chief advances were made among the poor. In their search for identity, fulfillment, and meaning there is a strong similarity between the small, spontaneous Pentecostal groups and the Catholic grass-roots communities. The Pentecostals lack the structural cohesiveness and the social commitment of the Catholics, but the inner spiritual vitality, the concern for healing in the church's ministry, and the forthright heralding of the word of the gospel that characterize the Pentecostals have awakened responses from sectors of society largely unresponsive to the historic and mission churches.

In addition to the three Protestant consultations for Latin America (CELA) mentioned earlier, other Protestant ecumenical groups that have arisen since 1960 in response to social and spiritual crises and a felt need for cooperation include a Latin American youth organization (ULAJE, founded in 1941), various university student organizations, an educational commission (CELADEC, 1961), and an association of Protestant churches (UNELAM, 1965). This later group was subsumed into the Latin American Church Council (CLAI), officially organized in 1982, with a broad representation from the three sectors of the Protestant churches. A group of churches with less emphasis on social responsibility formed a parallel organization called the Evangelical Confraternity of Latin America (CONELA) the same year.

Theological education slowly became a priority for Protestantism. The movement called Seminary by Extension was born in Guatemala in an effort to further train a large percentage of pastors and laity who already lead churches. This new educational model has spread rapidly throughout Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Economic problems have made more traditional Western methods of theological education difficult. Hundreds of Bible institutes and theological seminaries were established to prepare pastoral leadership. A Latin American Committee for Theological Education (CLAET), composed of three regional groupings of institutions, was established in 1979.

Protestant theology has developed slowly. Most of the publications in Latin America have been translations from European and especially United States sources with more local writing in recent decades. The movement Church and Society in Latin America (ISAL) attempted to provide a theological basis for a Christian attitude toward oppressive social structures. Some of its early efforts formed part of the Protestant contribution to the theology of liberation; among its leading exponents are José Miguez-Bonino (Argentina), Rubem Alves (Brazil), and Sergio Arce (Cuba). Publications featuring reflections on this theme have come chiefly from centers of theological education in Buenos Aires, San José, Mexico City, and Puerto Rico. The Latin American Theological Fraternity (FTL) has stimulated writing by theologians across a wide spectrum of positions. These manifestations of the life of the church confirm the increasing integration of Protestantism into Latin America, the identification of its concerns on many pastoral levels with those of the Catholic Church (as on human rights issues), and the continuing missionary zeal characteristic of its heritage.

SEE ALSO Afro-Brazilian Religions; Afro-Surinamese Religions; Kardecism; Las Casas, Bartolomé de; Mesoamerican Religions, article on Contemporary Cultures; Political Theology.

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CHRISTIANITY: CHRISTIANITY IN THE CARIBBEAN REGION

One of the distinctive characteristics of Caribbean Christianity is the racial and ethnic diversity of its adherents. A high proportion of the people of the region is either black or African American (mixed African and non-African descent). Although a large proportion of the black population was exposed only superficially to Christian teachings during the period of slavery beginning in the sixteenth century and continuing into the nineteenth, and despite extensive disillusionment with the historical churches in the decades immediately after emancipation, Christianity has continued to spread widely in the region. The long and close relationship between religion and sociopolitical doctrine in the societies from which the dominant class in the colonial period came has persisted in many parts of the Caribbean to the present day.

THE EARLY YEARS. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have been called the missionary centuries in the New World. Priests accompanied the explorers, and Catholic and Protestant missionaries were an important part of pioneer settlements. In 1685 the Code Noir prescribed that all slaves in the French islands were to be instructed and baptized in the Roman Catholic religion. The colonists paid little attention to the code, especially the sections dealing with religious obligations that were opposed to their economic interests. Priests varied greatly during the first half of the eighteenth century; some were zealous about their duties, others attended only to the external aspects of religion. In 1764 the Jesuits in Haiti were accused of stirring up the slaves and were expelled from the colony. With the revolt of the slaves in 1791, the Catholic religion in Haiti almost disappeared.

The first Lutheran congregation was established in Saint Thomas, Danish West Indies, in 1666 and for two and one-half centuries the Lutheran church was the state church. In the late 1750s, a Lutheran mission for the slaves was established in the island. In some parts of the West Indies, in Barbados, for example, the early slaves brought from Africa were not permitted to become Christians. In 1700 the Anglicans organized the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts to preach to the heathen, that is, slaves and free men in North America and the West Indies.

Moravian (United Brethren) missionaries arrived in Saint Thomas in December 1732. Count Nikolaus von Zinzendorf, founder of Moravian missions, opposed the emancipation of the slaves and did not favor teaching them to read and write. In addressing the converts at a mass meeting in 1739, he exhorted them to be obedient to their masters, adding that "your conversion will make you free, not from the control of your masters, but simply from your wicked habits and thoughts, and all that makes you dissatisfied with your lot."

The work of Methodist missionaries in the Caribbean began in 1770, but the Methodist Missionary Society was not founded until 1789. Because it was difficult for missionaries to gain permission from the planters to enter many of the estates in the West Indies, both the Methodists and the Baptists used a system of slave leaders to supervise their followers. The black assistants visited the sick, held prayer meetings, and oversaw the conduct of the members in their charge.

One of the first Baptist missionaries to reach the West Indies was a manumitted slave from Virginia, George Liele (Lisle). Liele organized a church in Jamaica in 1783, and by 1791 had enrolled 450 members, all blacks and most of them slaves. In 1813 the Baptist Missionary Society began to send out missionaries from London. Despite the hostility they encountered, regular services were conducted and schools opened at Kingston, Spanish Town, Falmouth, and other places. Three missionaries were sent to Jamaica in 1800 by the Scottish Missionary Society, a nondenominational body. The established Church of Scotland began its work in Kingston in 1819, a program that was carried on later by the United Presbyterian church.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CARIBBEAN CHRISTIANITY. Differences in world view that developed in the Caribbean as religions there changed have been related, by Raymond T. Smith, to social structural factors. In one such relation the main characteristics are hierarchial structure of offices and the solemn quality of religious proceedings. The model in this trend has been the Church of England, but the nonconformist churches also became establishment-oriented after the controversy over emancipation had passed. A second trend, ethical and sectarian individualism, is represented in European Protestantism but also in sects originating in the United States, including the Seventh-day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses. The third trend involves more demonstrative types of worship and includes such neo-African cults as Shango and such ancestral cults as Kumina; revivalist cults such as the Revival Zionists, the Spiritual Baptists, and the Shakers; and such groups as Pentecostalism, the Salvation Army, and the Nazarenes.

Roman Catholic Church. From the beginning of the Republic of Haiti in 1803 until 1858, a schism existed between the state and the Roman Catholic Church. Because the Constitution of 1805 provided for the complete separation of church and state, the Vatican refused to recognize Haiti as a state and forbade priests to enter the country. In 1860 an agreement between the pope and Haitian officials ended the long break. However, Catholicism had not developed deep roots in Haiti, and, during the schism, folk belief was combined with Christianity. Since that time, vodou has continued to maintain its hold on the Haitian mass. After President François Duvalier came to power in 1957, the state increasingly exercised control over the Catholic Church through intimidation and violence, including the expulsion of the archbishop of Port au Prince and dozens of French and Canadian missionaries, the closing of the major Catholic seminary, the banning of the Catholic daily paper, and the dissolution of the Christian trade union.

The Catholic Church has never been as influential in the national life of Cuba as in other Latin American countries. Its decline during the last years of Spanish rule continued after Cuba became independent in 1902. The shortage of priests, the fact that most of the priests and nuns were foreigners, the meager education of the priests, identification of the church with conservatism, its reputation for corruption and antipopular policies alienated it from a large part of the Cuban population.

The situation of the Catholic church in the former British West Indies has been somewhat different. The first Catholic priest to serve in Jamaica came to the island in 1792, but for many years the number of Catholics in the country remained small. Roman Catholics constitute fewer than 10 percent of the population, but the church is influential in Jamaican life. Catholics comprise 36 percent of the population of Trinidad and Tobago, including spiritist Catholics (Catholics who are involved in such cults as Shango).

Anglican Church. Unquestionably the Church of England in Jamaica in the eighteenth century was not a missionary church for the slaves; it was the religion of the white settlers and officials. The twenty Anglican churches in Jamaica in 1800 were small, and probably fewer than three hundred persons attended religious services each Sunday. The Church of England, disestablished in most of the colonies between 1868 and 1870, continues to be an important force in the life of the former British colonies.

Protestant Churches. The United Brethren (Moravian) church in Saint Thomas grew rapidly after 1740, and mission stations established in Saint Johns, Antigua, and in Basseterre, Saint Kitts, became quite successful. Those in Jamaica, Barbados, and Tobago were much less successful. In February 1755 King Frederick V of Denmark ordered that instruction in Christianity be given to the slaves in Saint Thomas, and by 1785 the Lutheran mission in the Virgin Islands was small only by comparison to the Moravian program. Separate services were conducted for the Danish and the black congregations.

In the forty years prior to emancipation, Methodist and Baptist missionaries in the West Indies were harassed for allegedly provoking insubordination among the blacks. Despite this persecution, by the time the Emancipation Act was passed in London in 1833 the Methodist membership in the West Indies had grown to 32,000, two-thirds of whom were slaves. Confusion and suspicion arose in the British West Indies by the time the apprenticeship system came to an end in 1838. Methodism entered a period of decline in membership and enthusiasm when many former slaves became disillusioned by the continuing gulf between whites and blacks. The Methodist church in the West Indies revived somewhat after the excesses of the Great Revival of 1861–1862 had passed. Never among the largest Protestant denominations in the Caribbean, the Methodist church is, nevertheless, an important religion in the region.

The Baptists quickly acquired a following among the slaves, and following emancipation their congregations grew even more rapidly. The Presbyterian church has remained one of the smaller religions in the Caribbean. In the past forty years, Pentecostalism, a part of the fundamentalist movement in American Protestantism, has been the fastest growing religion in the Caribbean. Offering hope of deliverance from unjust social orders, this faith is almost ideally adapted to the needs of the disadvantaged. The Pentecostal style of worship has spread to small supplementary prayer groups within both the Roman Catholic Church and a number of the historical Protestant churches.

DEMOGRAPHICS. The proportions of adherents to various forms of Christianity differ in each of the Caribbean countries. For example, in Cuba the population of professing Catholics dropped from almost nine-tenths at the beginning of the twentieth century to less than three-fourths by the time Fidel Castro came to power in 1959. Two decades later, only one-third of Cubans were professing Catholics; one-fourth of that number were also involved in Santería and other Afro-Cuban cults. Protestants constitute about 1 percent of the Cuban population, the nonreligious and atheists more than half, practicing Christians who keep their religion private approximately one-tenth, and those who are adherents only of Afro-Cuban syncretistic cults less than one-thirtieth.

In Haiti, more than four-fifths of the population is Roman Catholic (nine-tenths of whom are also involved in vodou). Approximately one-seventh are Protestants, and less than one-thirtieth belong to indigenous black sects and other religions.

In Jamaica, seven-tenths of the population is Protestant, while Roman Catholics, black indigenous church members, revivalists and other cultists each constitute approximately one-tenth. Finally, in Trinidad and Tobago, Roman Catholics constitute somewhat more than one-third of the population, Protestants three-tenths, and black indigenous sectarians, Shangoists, and other religionists about one-thirtieth.

SEE ALSO Caribbean Religions, article on Afro-Caribbean Religions; Santería; Vodou.

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CHRISTIANITY: CHRISTIANITY IN NORTH AMERICA

Christianity came to North America with European explorers, colonizers, and settlers, expressing in a New World version enduring continuity but also substantial change. In what became Canada and the United States (the limits of North America for this article), national and political considerations proved important, but smaller, regional forms of Christianity also flourished. North American Christianity struggled with its plurality, perhaps, ironically, achieving its greatest unity in its large-scale dedication to mission.

CHRISTIANS MADE AND BORN. Intrinsic to the Christian vision was a commitment to mission—to the task of bringing all peoples to God through the saving power of his son Jesus Christ. So far did the ideology of mission extend in North America that, even in the case of those reared ostensibly as Christians, the mission to convert became in many instances a major concern.

Conversion of native North Americans. Aims for the conversion of indigenous North American peoples figured large in the rhetoric of the colonizing nations. But the religious impulse was also molded by the political ambitions of European nation-states. Hence, conversion went forward as an arm of the colonial ventures of the Spanish, French, and English governments.

In an often-cited debate between Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda and the Dominican Bartolomé de Las Casas (1550), the Spanish had pondered the question of whether native North Americans were slaves by nature or fit subjects for Christianization. The outcome, supporting Sepúlveda and Aristotle's theory of natural slavery, was not surprising, since the Spanish already considered Aztec religion, with its human sacrifice, worship of the devil. Similarly, both English and French called the Indians "savages," wild men without law or religion. Puritans in the Massachusetts Bay Colony saw them as "minions" of the devil, heathen who practiced nefariously in the forests. French Franciscans argued that until Indians were civilized they were not capable of Christianity. And French Jesuits, in the most positive estimate, saw a natural nobility in the "savage" peoples. These early opinions, if expressed more subtly, continued to inform the ideas and work of missionaries who, after Canada and the United States became political realities, carried on their work among the Indians.

Spanish missions. As early as the 1520s, Roman Catholic priests were in Florida and the Chesapeake, and by 1595 there was serious missionary work in Florida. Meanwhile, in New Mexico, Franciscan friars had accompanied the Spanish conquerors, and in 1598 they began an era of forced mission presence among reluctant Pueblo peoples. In California, efforts to convert the Indians proceeded less violently under the missionary leadership of the fabled Franciscan priest Junípero Serra (1713–1784). At its height, the system of missions established by Serra attracted over 21,000 Indians, who settled around the missions, Christianized and living according to Spanish order in farm communities.

French missions. If the Spanish arrived in the New World as *conquistadores*, the French came, especially, as fur traders. In this context, both Franciscan Recollets and Jesuits evangelized, the Jesuits particularly among the Hurons, living with them and speaking their language. Although for a time Iroquois hostility effectively ended the work of the Jesuits, by 1668 they were preaching among their former Iroquois persecutors. When the French opened the Mississippi to Europeans, Indians in southern New France heard the gospel, while those at the other end of the French empire also knew the mission presence. Still, by the close of the French era in Canada, the missionaries had been more successful in making the Indians loyal to France than in converting them.

English missions. Evangelization of Indian peoples appears clearly among English intentions in colonizing North America. Yet the English were demonstrably slower and feebler in implementing their aims than either the Spanish or the French. The Mayhew family worked successfully among native North Americans at Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, and in seventeenth-century New England John Eliot (1604–1690) preached in the Massachuset tongue and translated the Bible and other works for his converts, settling fourteen villages of "praying Indians." Eliot was in at least one sense representative, for Protestant missions in British North America were tied to a deep sense of the importance of the word. Introducing Indians to Christianity meant, above all, introducing them to a sacred book.

Canadian and American (U.S.) missions. After Canadian confederation, Protestant missionary efforts went forward in the West, encouraged in part by the development of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Meanwhile, Roman Catholics had achieved a solid presence among certain groups in the West as well. In the United States, by 1787 the interdenominational Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians had been established, to be followed in 1810 by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and later, in 1881, by the National Indian Association. As in Canada, Protestants and Roman Catholics alike evangelized, and in both countries the twentieth century saw Christian denominations still at work. Much of the effort continued to be traditional, but there was growing awareness of the problem of cultural imperialism. Christian missionaries learned that cultural contact was a two-way process and that Indians had much to contribute to a renewed Christianity.

Conversion of African North Americans. The Christianization of African North Americans largely occurred in the United States. In Canada, economic conditions did not favor slavery, and only a small free black population struggled along. In the United States, the majority of converted slaves embraced some form of Protestantism.

At first, many slaveholders were reluctant to allow proselytizing among their slaves, fearing that Christian baptism might render slaves materially equal or doubting that blacks had souls to save. For their part, blacks did not readily adopt the Anglican Christianity of the early eighteenth century. In time, however, slaveholders became more convinced of the practical value of converting slaves for social control, while by the end of the eighteenth century, Baptist and Methodist missionaries brought a revivalist Christianity that blacks found more attractive.

In the years that followed, two kinds of Christianity evolved. First, there was the official church Christianity that slaveholders fostered and controlled. Second, there was the so-called invisible institution, a form of unchurched Christianity created and controlled by blacks, blending elements of their African past and their lived experience on the plantations with Christian language. An "instant" (conversion-oriented) Christianity, unlike the gradualism of the Anglicans, it was shared in part by European North Americans in the revivals.

Meanwhile, black churches arose not merely at the initiative of white slaveholders. In the northern United States, free blacks had already begun to form their own churches in the late eighteenth century. In the South, prior to the 1830s, Baptist congregations had also enjoyed a measure of independence and control. However, only after the Civil War did black churches, both North and South, proliferate. By the late nineteenth century, the Holiness movement flourished among blacks, and by the early twentieth century, Pentecostalism had become popular. Beyond these, massive immigration to northern cities helped to spawn a series of small but intense religious movements based in Christianity but including new revelation. Yet for the most part, blacks who counted themselves church members in the twentieth century were Baptists or Methodists, usually belonging to separate black congregations of larger white denominations. As a rough estimate, almost two-thirds were Baptists and nearly one-quarter were Methodists.

In Canada, the situation for blacks had been in many ways different. When the imperial parliament abolished slavery in 1833, British North America had already long been free of the institution. But without the long and oppressive incubation period of slavery, Canadian blacks evolved a perhaps less distinctive religious life than American blacks had. Still, by 1840 racial prejudice meant that black congregations were separated from white ones, and blacks willingly fostered distinct institutions within the larger churches. They joined a range of denominations including the Baptist and Methodist as well as the Presbyterian and Anglican. Often, too, blacks in Canada, as in the United States, left the mainstream denominations to form their own sectarian groups. But overall, Baptist fellowships predominated among blacks in Canada as in the United States.

Conversion of European North Americans. Although the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions worked to an extent among native North Americans, it had been founded for work abroad. Other denominational and nondenominational organizations followed, and by late in the nineteenth century the Student Volunteer Movement was aiming at "the evangelization of the world in this generation." Reflective of the tenor of its times, it joined other missionary societies in mingling evangelical zeal with expansionist political ambitions. Similarly, in British North America the Canada Foreign Missionary Society had been established as a nondenominational agency in 1854, and by the beginning of the twentieth century the major Christian groups in Canada were engaged in serious mission work abroad. From 1893, foreign mission boards from the United States and Canada came together in New York, meeting annually until, in 1911, they formed the Foreign Missions Conference of North America.

Despite the clear commitment these nineteenth- and twentieth-century efforts expressed, the more important missionary focus remained the unconverted at home. Typically raised in a Christian milieu and even holding Christian theological beliefs, the unconverted were those who had not experientially encountered the gospel. For a variety of historical and sociological reasons, this mission to the unconverted was most noticeable in the United States. Here the Puritan and revolutionary heritage intensified a religious situation already volatile in all of North America, separated from European culture and institutions and undergoing other forms of change.

Puritanism. The Puritan movement had arisen in England as various separatist and nonseparatist groups sought to purify the Anglican Church. Imbued with Calvinism and also with elements from the left wing of the continental Reformation, Puritans sought simplicity in worship and in life, and they preached a free, or gathered, church of the elect. In the English Atlantic colonies, Puritan presence was a major factor, with key colonial governments controlled by different Puritan groups. Moreover, Puritanism in the colonies fostered significant developments in the movement's religious teaching and practice. Increasingly, a doctrine of special chosenness and covenantal relationship with God prevailed. Puritans paid greater and greater attention to inner, emotional states, stressing the necessity for an experience of conversion before one could become a full member of the church. From this perspective, Puritans faced a generation of unbelievers not only among peers who were strangers but even among their children. Puritans could not expend resources converting Indians because, in part, they were already too busy converting their own.

Revivalism. Influenced by this understanding and by frontier conditions and economic forces, in the early middle decades of the eighteenth century the Great Awakening spread in the English Atlantic colonies. Under the preaching, especially, of the itinerant Methodist George Whitefield (1714–1770) and the latter-day Massachusetts Puritan Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758), emotional and physical manifestations became outward signs of God's inward work among thousands. Then, by the turn of the century, the Second Great Awakening brought visible signs of conversion to a new generation. In Kentucky and Ohio, lengthy camp meetings attracted massive crowds who fell under the power of the Spirit, experiencing strong physical and emotional manifestations.

Throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, American revivals followed cyclically. Each regeneration brought converts to the churches, but over time enthusiasm waned and there was need for further missionary effort. With Charles G. Finney (1792–1875) and his deliberate use of "new measures," revivalism became a technique for mass evangelism. Later, as more and more people moved to the cities, urban revivalism found its chief organizer and innovator in the lay preacher Dwight L. Moody (1837–1899). The greatest of the twentieth century's preachers, William A. (Billy) Sunday (1862–1935) and Billy Graham (b. 1918), built on Moody's work and adapted it to new technologies and times. And throughout the century a flourishing Holiness-Pentecostal movement institutionalized physical and emotional religion so that even regular worship services became revivals.

In Canada, revivalism never achieved the spectacular presence that it had in the United States. It is significant that the first notable revival in British North America took place in Nova Scotia, the place to which New Englanders in large numbers immigrated before and during the Revolution. At the opening of the nineteenth century, a great revival spread through Upper Canada (Canada West), with many of the same physical and emotional expressions that characterized the American frontier revival. Itinerating Methodists who crossed the border built a rapidly growing denominational connection, especially among the large numbers of American immigrants to the area. Then, from roughly 1885 to 1900, the Holiness movement and the Salvation Army brought their brand of aggressive revivalism to the disinherited and competed effectively in urban settings. In the twentieth century, emotional religion grew with increasing Pentecostal membership. During the Great Depression a religious awakening spread in the West, and during the fifteen years after World War II a revival swept through Canada, paralleling one in the United States.

Evangelicalism and moral crusades. Revivalism provided a condensed version of what evangelicalism worked to achieve in North American culture more broadly. The religious imperative of mission meant commitment to transform both individual and society. Canadians and Americans alike responded energetically, and a common moralism pervaded their cultures. Already in New France, Roman Catholic moral rigorism had blended with harshness of land and climate to produce a quality of asceticism in public life. Later, in the British era, Canadian Protestants displayed even greater rigor. Mid-nineteenth-century ministers denounced alcohol and behavioral impropriety in general, particularly rebuking abuses of the Sabbath. After confederation, the war against alcohol became the great evangelical cause, and sabbatarianism also grew as a public cause. A more collective social concern was evidenced in the nineteenth-century condemnation of slavery—less of an issue in Canada than in the United States—but it was only in the twentieth century that moralism was effectively transmuted into social witness. The new Social Gospel was more subdued on issues like temperance and sabbatarianism and more emphatic on questions of economic organization and social service. By 1907, Canadian Protestants had established a Social Service Council, while Roman Catholics, in the wake of the social teachings of Pope Leo XIII, inaugurated a visibly successful epoch of Catholic trade unionism. In the United States, the Puritan legacy of moralism remained, and in the nineteenth-century atmosphere of nonestablishment, the need for public witness to propriety seemed the stronger. From other quarters, the Arminian teachings of religious liberals emphasized personal responsibility in Christian life, while Enlightenment deism, with its stress on the moral life, fostered the moralistic ethos. Two great public crusades for moral purity, the antislavery and temperance movements, flourished side by side, the former ended by the Civil War, the latter successfully culminating in the Prohibition amendment of 1919. By the second half of the twentieth century, new abolition crusades achieved public prominence, both in conservative struggles to end legal abortion and in liberal challenges to environmental pollution. The Social Gospel, with its calls for the coming of the kingdom of God on earth, was an American movement that spread to Canadian shores. After the Civil War and in the early twentieth century, its concerns were clearly articulated, and in the 1960s it again found a voice in the militant civil rights movement. Meanwhile, from the Roman Catholic side the social teachings of the church had their impact, although in the early century much less prominently than in Canada. Still, the Catholic Worker movement, arising during the depression, offered a telling witness to social concern within Catholicism. In the post–Vatican II era, that concern became a leading feature of the American church.

CHURCHES, DENOMINATIONS, AND INDEPENDENT RELIGIOUS GROUPS. The Christian genius for organization was nowhere more apparent than in North America. Here the old European church establishments became problematic. In the late eighteenth-century United States, the diversity of colonial establishments made a national church impractical. In New France, military defeat ended official church establishment. And in British Canada, the Anglican establishment found it impossible to become the religion of all or most of the people. Hence, denominationalism became the hallmark of North American Christianity: whatever the claims of an Old World church to universality, now the term *church* became simply a label of convenience. Still, the denominations understood themselves as participating in something larger—a universal church to which all Christian groups belonged. Beyond the denominations, other forms of Christianity flourished. There were sectarian movements, which maintained strong barriers against the outer world and held to a more intensive religious regimen than the mainstream. There were other religious groups that claimed sources of revelation in addition to Christian scripture or, at least, offered a major reinterpretation of it. The cultural climate of the United States, more than that of Canada, fostered these groups and, likewise, encouraged the multiplication of denominations.

Roman Catholicism. Roman Catholic spirituality stressed tradition as much as the written word of the Bible. Strongly authoritarian, the Roman Catholic Church had the most to lose in the evolving denominational situation. Yet in some ways it was more compatible with the North American setting than was Protestantism. With its strong sacramental cast, Roman Catholicism could see nature and the material world as the vehicle for spiritual reality. Hence, in its dealings with Indian peoples, Catholicism perhaps expressed less contempt for native ways and more willingness to incorporate aboriginal forms into a native North American Catholicism. Moreover, among the European immigrants, Catholicism provided the highly tangible institutional and ritual structures that could reassure those who were homesick for cultures and countries left behind.

New France. Catholicism in New Spain had been the religion, mostly, of Spanish conquerors and Indian converts. In New France, however, white settlement meant a transplanted European church that learned quickly to adapt to life on the frontier. Religious orders of men and women had come, the nuns making New France a pioneer in social concern and the French clergy forming a dedicated core. Their flock evidently responded. Although the settlers were remembered for their gaiety and enjoyment of life, European travelers were also impressed by their piety. There were, indeed, tensions between various religious orders and problems arising from the absenteeism of a series of bishops in Quebec, but Catholicism was in northern North America to stay.

British North Atlantic colonies. Roman Catholicism came to the British North Atlantic colonies in a far less privileged position. With a royal charter granted to George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore (1580?–1632), the Maryland colony was founded as a refuge for Catholics persecuted in England. Laws passed in 1639 and a decade later guaranteed religious liberty, but Puritans quickly took control of the government and in 1654 repealed Maryland's Act of Toleration. Even in the first days of the colony, Catholics had been a minority, and by the early eighteenth century they were denied voting rights although they were paying taxes to support an Anglican establishment. Likewise, New England proved to be hostile ground for Catholic growth.

Growth and change in North American Catholicism. After Quebec fell to the British in 1760, the Church of England was the official established church, but in practice Roman Catholicism enjoyed the privileges of establishment. Closely bound to the culture and ethos of the French Canadians, it became a badge of ethnic identity, the sign of the French nation still flourishing in the heart of British North America. The Quebec Act of 1774 brought a vast territory of British North America into the French Canadian province, retained much of the old French legal and customary structure, conferred citizenship and ability to hold office on Roman Catholics, and permitted their church to maintain its tithing policy. After the Union Act of 1840 made Upper and Lower Canada (Canada West and East) one governmental unit, Catholics in 1845 obtained a return to denominational schools, a pattern that continued—not without challenge—in the Canadian system. By the end of the nineteenth century, French Canadians considered themselves a sacred, if beleaguered, people, with a special destiny to preserve their faith.

Outside French Canada, Roman Catholicism grew apace, brought in part by other immigrants. In the Maritimes, three distinct traditions—Acadian, Irish, and Scottish—flourished despite the tensions between them and despite the largely Protestant environment. To the west, French missions served the settlers, but English-speaking Catholics were not absent. Although their church continued to be dominated by the French, with time the role of the minorities increased. In the last quarter of the twentieth century, Catholicism was Canada's majority religion, and in 1975 some 52 percent of the population counted themselves Roman Catholic.

To the south, the American Revolution had inaugurated an era of religious toleration. To be sure, there was anti-Catholic feeling and, at times, violence against Catholics in the nineteenth and even the twentieth centuries. But the larger saga of Roman Catholicism was one of increasing integration into national life. Indeed, one of the biggest problems Catholics faced was that of becoming too well-integrated, too much like the Protestant majority. Thus, the trusteeship controversy of the early national period centered around the initiatives of Catholic laymen who attempted to follow the Protestant congregational model, calling and dismissing their pastors at will. And later efforts by liberal bishops led in part to Leo XIII's *Testem benevolentiae* (1899), warning against the heresy of "Americanism."

Not only did American Catholicism encounter the Protestant majority with its denominational plurality, but the church also found an abundant ethnic plurality within its own ranks. By the 1840s, a massive Irish immigration was changing the character of American Catholicism, and over time other groups joined the Irish: Germans, Italians, Poles, and Hispanics (the last through territorial acquisition as well as through immigration). There were marked tensions among these groups, but in the end the Irish form of Catholicism won, dominating the hierarchy and imprinting its character on American Catholic life.

Protestantism. Reformation spirituality had been born in protest against sacramentalism and traditionalism in the medieval church. It preached collective return to biblical sources of revelation and individual reliance on the grace of God in winning salvation. In fact, it was only a matter of time before the centrifugal tendencies implicit in the Reformation came to realization. Thus North America, settled largely by dissenting Protestants, proved fertile ground for a series of separate and at times competing denominations. At the same time, with its emphasis on the priestly vocation of all Christians in whatever worldly station, Reformation spirituality encouraged new sources of linkage between religion and culture. If church and state eventually became separated in North America, unofficially they sustained each other.

American denominationalism. The Virginia colony was settled by nondissenting members of the Church of England, but New England and Pennsylvania were colonized by sectarian groups—nonseparatist Puritans, separatist Pilgrims, and separatist Quakers. These "outsider" groups moved from quasi-sectarian status in England to the religious and political center in the New World. But when church nonestablishment was safeguarded by the new constitution, there were officially no religious "insiders" in the nation. Hence, from two directions there was movement toward homogenization.

For the Puritans of New England, however, something of the sectarian character remained. With their emphasis on congregational autonomy, Puritans quickly became Congregationalists. But their moralism and righteousness, their sense of destiny and chosenness, and their millennialism spread throughout religious and political culture. On the one hand, these attitudes engendered in the early republic a public Protestantism with a heavy ideological tinge. On the other hand, these attitudes encouraged, by their clarity, the self-definition of others and the multiplication of religious groups. Moreover, immigrants continued to bring Old World religions to the United States, further increasing the plurality.

After the Revolution, the American Church of England reconstituted itself as the Protestant Episcopal Church (1789). Meanwhile, Presbyterian and Baptist groups continued the Puritan vision, while Methodists, as new arrivals, achieved a separate American organization. The years of the early republic were times of spectacular Methodist development and growth, but Baptist fellowships, Methodism's closest competitors, also flourished, and restorationism (to the primitive New Testament church) grew with the Disciples of Christ, or "Christians" (1832). Thus, the evangelical character of these and other denominations was heavily imprinted on the culture. Nonetheless, a small but important liberal movement in religion had also arisen from Puritanism, assuming institutional form in 1825 as the American Unitarian Association. Liberalism likewise appeared in the popular religion of rural New England as Universalism, so called because of its teaching of universal salvation.

The Civil War brought serious denominational splits, and the post–Civil War epoch yielded new tensions between liberals and conservatives within denominations. With the new science of the era and the growing prestige of Charles Darwin's evolutionary theory, some preached world acceptance, welcoming "higher criticism" of the Bible and propounding a theology of immanence. Others, deeply troubled by these developments, welded millennial and rationalistic themes to shape a fundamentalism stressing biblical literalism and inerrancy. In this milieu, too, a "gospel of wealth," enjoining material prosperity, and a critique of poverty, preaching the Social Gospel, seemed to pull in opposite directions.

The results, for the twentieth century, included a denominationalism that often concealed within the ranks of the same religious organization individuals and groups of quite different theological and ethical bent. After 1925, fundamentalism for a time seemed less important, but the movement enjoyed a widespread resurgence by the last quarter of the century. At the same time, the twentieth century saw the development of a world ecumenical movement in which American denominations participated, especially through the World Council of Churches (1948) and the National Council of the Churches of Christ (1950).

Canadian denominationalism. In the territory that became the Dominion of Canada, Protestantism first came with Huguenot traders and settlers. Nearly two centuries later, in 1760, the Church of England officially became the established church. Establishment, however, was mostly a legal fiction. Anglican clergy were insufficient in numbers and enthusiasm, the Anglican relationship to government often proved a liability, and the formal character of worship and gradualist model of Christian life were poorly adapted to life on the frontier.

Protestant groups that reaped benefits from Anglican problems were largely Presbyterians, Methodists, and, to a lesser extent, Baptists. With this denominational spectrum, and with the far greater Roman Catholic population (four times as numerous as Anglicans in 1842), resentment flared periodically over government aid to the Church of England through lands set aside as clergy reserves. When, in 1854, legislation proclaimed the desirability of ending any appearance of connection between church and state and commuted parts of the reserves as a permanent endowment, dissatisfaction remained. But the Church of England, the Church of Scotland, and the Wesleyan Methodist Church—along with the Roman Catholic Church—all received a share of the commutation. The voluntary principle, in the end, had won.

Generally, if not officially, the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches supported the Confederation of 1867. By 1881, the four major Protestant denominations could count over half the Canadian population as members. Methodists had established themselves as the largest among these churches, while Presbyterians were a close second. Moreover, both denominations, through a series of unions and reorganizations, successfully brought together nearly all groups in their respective denominational families.

These late-century mergers to form national bodies paved the way for the union, in 1925, between the Methodist and Presbyterian churches and the much smaller Congregational Union to form the United Church of Canada. The new church became, in effect, the "national" Protestant church, the body that, of all Protestant bodies, provided a counterweight for Catholicism. A liberal evangelical communion, it supported the Social Gospel. Likewise, when union sentiment arose anew with the ecumenical organization of the Canadian Council of Churches in 1944, the United Church was part of the undertaking. Since close to four out of five Canadian Protestants were United Church members or Anglicans, the denominational center seemed even stronger.

Eastern Orthodoxy. Wherever it existed in North America, Eastern Orthodox spirituality grew in national churches that enjoined continuity with the past. Formality and ritual splendor in the Divine Liturgy mediated a familial closeness, as the mystical Christianity of traditional Orthodoxy blended with the often intense nationalism of its congregations. Although it never became mission-minded, Orthodoxy did adapt to its new setting, introducing English into the Divine Liturgy, erecting pews in churches (unlike the traditional arrangement), and bringing feasts and holy days into conformance with the Western calendar.

The third major branch of Christianity first came to North America in the eighteenth century: Russian Orthodoxy grew in Alaska until, in the beginning of the twentieth century, some one-sixth of its people were Orthodox. Meanwhile, after Alaska became a possession of the United States, Russian Orthodoxy moved to San Francisco (1872) and then, by the end of the century, to New York. In the twentieth century, Greek Orthodoxy—present even before the turn of the century with immigration—grew larger than its Russian cousin, so that by 1975 there were almost two million Greek Orthodox Christians in the United States. Together with one million Russian Orthodox and still another million or so in separate national Orthodox churches, American Orthodoxy had solid grounds for its claim to be the fourth major faith in the nation (after Protestantism, Roman Catholicism, and Judaism).

Early twentieth-century immigration brought Eastern Orthodoxy to Canada as well, when Russians, Greeks, Serbians, and especially Ukrainians came. In 1918, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada was established, providing a religious center for its adherents in western Canada. Meanwhile, Russian Orthodoxy grew, particularly in Alberta, despite the differences, as in the United States, between various factions. By the late twentieth century, Eastern Orthodox adherents in Canada numbered over 362,000.

Independent religious groups. The spirituality of independent religious groups, in general, stressed intensity of commitment and the transforming power of religion in every aspect of life. Frequently millennial in orientation, these groups often expected the dawn of a new age. Moreover, the line between them and the Protestant denominations is difficult to draw. From one point of view, many of the sectarian movements may be considered Protestant, provided that they are not considered closely related to mainstream Reformation churches and, on the other hand, that any roots in Reformation churches are taken into account. Even more, when such sectarian movements lose their exclusiveness and move in a more denominational direction, their inclusion with other Protestant groups becomes virtually automatic. Beyond the sects, religions like Mormonism and Christian Science fall outside the scope of Protestantism, although for practical purposes these religions are also often lumped together with the Protestant churches.

Sectarian movements. Marking their boundaries with the outside world far more strongly than do denominations, sects form tightly knit groups of committed coreligionists. Yet they are often intensely conversionist, with a powerful missionary urge, a sense of impending end to the present era, and an accompanying doctrine and experience of new birth. In short, what the evangelical denominations in North America in many ways adumbrated, its sectarian movements carried to logical and psychological completion. Moreover, in the United States, where sects appeared in far greater number and variety than in Canada, the national ideology of newness helped to foster the experience of new birth.

Some sects in the two countries were simply European imports, attracted by promises of religious freedom and abundance of land. But because of the isolation of such groups (e.g., the Amish, the Mennonites, and the Hutterites) and their relatively smaller numbers, they did not have nearly so much impact on culture as sectarian movements closer in spirit to mainstream Protestantism. Thus, Adventist movements like the Millerites of the early 1840s attracted wide public notice in the United States and Canada—and a following difficult to number, much of it within the Baptist and other evangelical denominations.

In another example, the American Holiness-Pentecostal movement grew from Methodist perfectionism and other sources until, by the late nineteenth century, the expulsion of Holiness associations or their secession from the Methodist churches came about. In congregations like the Church of the Nazarene, Holiness people were, religiously, relatively conservative, but a more radical expression of perfectionism came early in the twentieth century in Pentecostalism. For Pentecostals, the signs of the Holy Spirit—speaking in tongues and added biblical gifts like prayer, prophecy, and healing—descended in an atmosphere of miracle and millennialism. Their movement, interracial at first but then separated along color lines, spread to Canada and throughout the world. In Canada, Holiness had developed indigenously, but it also migrated northward from the United States just at the time that the Canadian West was experiencing a rapid growth of cities. The Nazarenes quickly rose to prominence among the Holiness sects, even as Pentecostalism entered from both the United States and Great Britain, finding a favorable climate for increase.

New religious movements. Like the sects, new religious movements arose far more often and more prominently in the United States than in Canada. In fact, one such movement, the Mormons, by the late twentieth century had established itself as among the largest religious organizations in the United States. In Canada, the Mormons also achieved a presence, appearing in Ontario and Upper Canada and building a temple in Cardston, Alberta. Eventually they could be found throughout Canada. The major development, though, was in the United States, where Mormon founder Joseph Smith (1805–1844) preached a new revelation transmitted to him on golden plates, a salvation history that centered on early America. Smith's written transcription, the *Book of Mormon*, grounded the movement, which evolved a distinctive theology of materialism, supporting the American venture and pronouncing a final goal of deification.

Similarly, the founder of Christian Science, Mary Baker Eddy (1821–1910), in *Science and Health* gave her followers a book that they ranked beside the Bible. Built on a Congregational heritage of Puritanism and a resurgence of Platonism in the nineteenth century, Eddy's teaching stressed the illusory nature of the material realm and encouraged followers to look to divine Truth, experiencing physical healings and other material goods as signs of their apprehension of spiritual reality.

Eddy's Christian Science church was relatively small in size, but it was the best organized of a series of movements in the United States that preached and practiced mental healing. These metaphysical movements often expressed in more concentrated form a general idealism in American culture, and, in their growing emphasis on themes of prosperity, from their own perspective they too taught a theology of materialism. At the same time, Christian Science and New Thought (the general name for other metaphysical movements such as Unity) traveled across the border into Canada where, in missions and churches, they spread their message.

Numbers of other new religious groups, based at least partially in Christianity, prospered and grew in North America. The typical pattern was foundation in the United States and subsequent migration into Canada, where the movement had a much smaller following. Many of these groups seemed bizarre and exotic to more conventional Christians, but, typically, their members linked themselves to Christianity.

Such disparate groups as the nineteenth-century Oneida community that taught a regulated pluralism of sexual partners in complex marriage, the enduring Spiritualist churches from the second half of the nineteenth century that sought to establish contact with the spirits of the departed, and the apocalyptic Children of God organization from the late 1960s that embraced a totalitarian patriarchalism, all expressed currents in the religious culture of North America. They took religious freedom seemingly as far as it would go—even to a commitment that, paradoxically, sometimes became willing bondage. They announced an alienation from tradition and a yearning for identity and community in a North American society grown perhaps too plural and too large. In short, the spread of new religious movements, from Mormonism to the Unification Church of Sun Myung Moon, must be linked to the history and sociological base of North American Christianity.

NATIONAL AND REGIONAL CHRONICLES. By the late twentieth century, the United States and Canada had long since divided sovereignty over North America between them. Christianity was the predominant religion in both countries, and in both it exhibited characteristics suggesting the political and cultural ambience of North America. At the same time, each country showed marked differences from its neighbor in the forms its Christianity assumed.

Canadian Christianity. Because of their special history, Canadians generally thought of themselves as two nations—groups bound by ties of blood, tradition, and ethnic identity—in one political state. The political balance of power between French Canadians and English Canadians had a religious counterpart in the more or less equal division between Roman Catholic and Protestant Christians (although a large proportion of Catholics were English-speaking and not French at all). Protestant Christians comprised fewer denominations than in the United States, historically most belonging to the three or four biggest churches. Hence, it is fair to say that Canadian Christianity was both more and less plural than Christianity in the United States.

Canadian Christianity was more plural because the concentration of Christians into fewer religious groups fostered greater visibility and leverage for denominations with sufficient power and status in the community to count. But Canadian Christianity was also less plural than its American counterpart, for the obvious reason that there were fewer groups in absolute numbers, but also because of an ecumenism especially apparent in Protestant Christianity. It was less plural, too, because of the subtle Erastianism that encouraged all denominations to uphold a central cultural order. Christianity in Canada tended to be "social" Christianity, more conservative than in the United States and less rigid in its boundary between church and state.

Mission-minded and voluntaryistic like the American Christian churches, the Canadian denominations had worked on a huge geographical scale, and so—perhaps more than and ahead of their country's politicians—they thought in terms of the North American continent as a whole. Moreover, with the imposing strength of Roman Catholicism before them, Canadian Protestants were particularly urged in cooperative directions. Thus, in some sense they provided the public unity that the state could not give because of its divisions between English and French. Much more than Christianity in the United States, Canadian Christianity maintained its ties with the past, favoring continuity and tradition over religious change and novelty.

Finally, Canadians overwhelmingly counted themselves denominational Christians, exceeding even the high American church membership (nearly 70 percent of the people) in the late twentieth century. At the beginning of the twentieth century, 90 percent of Canadians belonged to six major Christian groups (including as the largest the Roman Catholic). By the 1960s, with some substitutions, the figure was higher still, and by the early 1970s over three-quarters of the population were Roman Catholic, United Church, or Anglican Church members.

American Christianity. The Puritan ethos left its mark on American religion, and numerical, political, and cultural balance made the United States distinctly Protestant. Although the nation was far more plural than Canada in the number of its Christian groups (a conservative estimate includes more than two hundred), public Protestantism meant that, with less overt cooperation between church and state, the country could become in some ways far more Christian, far less secular, than its northern neighbor.

Thus, while the Canadian system accommodated itself to the support of denominational schools, in the United States the nineteenth-century public schools openly taught Protestant Christianity. Similarly, even as Puritanism faded into other denominational forms, its spirit remained to transform public and political life. Manifest destiny and political imperialism became the harvest of the Puritan past.

Explicitly present in Puritanism, millennialism resurfaced time and again—in liberal expectations of a new era, in sectarian beliefs that the millennium had already come or was just about to break, in fundamentalist announcements of the signs of the swift return of Christ. Nationally, too, political millennialism suffused foreign and domestic policy, so that wars were generally read as epochal events that would determine the future of the nation and even the world.

Tied to this generalized cultural millennialism, ultraism flourished in American social history. The ultraism was evident in the moralistic crusades—which were more strident in the United States than in Canada—over antislavery, temperance, civil rights, and other social issues. Yet for all the mass emotion, the rhetoric of religious individualism became uppermost in the United States. This rhetoric went hand in hand with the ideology of newness and evangelical mission and hand in hand, too, with a pronounced ahistoricism and, in restorationist sentiment, a willingness to skip over long centuries of Christian history. Linked to a search for religious simplicity and sometimes to anti-intellectualism, restorationist movements expressed in institutional form a general spirit in American Christianity.

Certainly, as early as the mid-nineteenth century, Roman Catholicism was the single largest Christian denomination in the United States, and by 1983 it included some 29 percent of the population. But, with a different history and a lesser size, Catholicism never achieved the impact on American culture that had been its birthright in Canada. Simultaneously more and less established than in Canada, public Christianity continued to be Protestant Christianity.

Finally, this public Christianity assumed explicitly political form in what many scholars have called civil religion. While the Enlightenment ideology present at the time of the American Revolution encouraged a form of religious nationalism that was not specifically Christian, later a public alliance between gospel and flag became commonplace. By the 1970s and 1980s, a new Christian Right was working to shape political events. Conservative Christians were probably the fastest-growing Christian groups in Canada as in the United States, but again, because of the different histories of the two countries, they could not capture the public space in Canada in the same way as in the United States. Hence, in American religion, public Protestantism, civil religion, and cultural religion became aspects of the same center.

Regional Christianity. Living together in one area, Christian peoples may share a common history as well as a common religion. Likewise, they sometimes develop ties that, in effect, constitute them as a new "particular people." European sectarian groups that settled in North America offered striking cases of the growth of such religious regionalism. Rural places and urban centers alike often assumed the character of a religious and ethnic group. Meanwhile, more diffused throughout larger areas, identifiable forms of regional Christianity flourished. This was clearly true in the French Canadian Catholicism of the province of Quebec, but it was also true in, for example, the Eastern Cherokee Christianity of western North Carolina after the Indian Removal of 1838. The pattern could be noticed distinctly in the fundamentalist Protestantism of southern Appalachia, and it was strikingly present in black religion as, in sections of the American South, it joined to its Christianity inherited African thought forms and indigenous folk religion.

The larger North American landscape. In the end, however, North American Christianity should be seen from a continental perspective. With its voluntaryism, activism, and moralism, it has been generally evangelistic in tone. The call to mission clearly gave it a distinct identity: Roman Catholic and, more, Eastern Orthodox strains of mystical piety never made their mark on Christian culture as a whole. Denominational in organization, the essence of North American Christianity has been at once its plurality and its seeking for a genuine pluralism, a state of pleased acceptance of the plural situation. At the same time, North American Christianity modified the plurality to reflect political and national needs for unity.

With the second half of the twentieth century, religion in North America encountered the increasing secularization of culture. Although in both the United States and Canada Christian church membership included the large majority, it also seemed that, except for the fundamentalist political thrust of the New Right, Christianity had a diminished connection with everyday life. In a certain sense, the mission-minded evangelical ethos seemed more a style or habit than a substantive transformer of the world. On the other hand, North American Christianity has perhaps grown more modest, chastened by a new awareness of the danger of cultural imperialism. At the start of the twenty-first century, it has turned inward to find spiritual roots in its biblical heritage and outward to listen to the words and messages of non-Christian others at home and abroad.

SEE ALSO Christian Science; Denominationalism; Mormonism; New Religious Movements, article on New Religious Movements in the United States; North American Indian Religions, article on New Religious Movements.

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As a collection of essays that masterfully explores denominationalism and other central themes in American religious history, the classic work by Sidney E. Mead, *The Lively Experiment: The Shaping of Christianity in America* (New York, 1963), is insightful and rewarding. The *Historical Atlas of Religion in America*, rev. ed. (New York, 1976), by Edwin S. Gaustad, is invaluable as a religious atlas. The book is especially useful for its careful charts and graphics. Another invaluable work of historical craftsmanship, edited by Edwin S. Gaustad, is his two-volume documentary collection, *A Documentary History of Religion in America*, vol. 1, *To the Civil War*, and vol. 2, *Since 1865* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1982–1983). The documents, selected to show a pluralism present in American religious history from the first, contain a wealth of materials for the beginner or the more advanced student. With the possible exception of Mead's essays, all the works above consider American Christianity not exclusively, but as the largest theme in the religious mosaic of the United States, which they seek to describe comprehensively.

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CHRISTIANITY: CHRISTIANITY IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA [FIRST EDITION]

While it is impossible to obtain precise figures of religious allegiance, it is reasonable to state that the number of Christians in Africa in 1985 was not less than 150 million. Christianity is now either the majority religion, or about to become it, in almost all parts of the African continent south of the equator as well as in important parts north of the equator, notably along much of the west coast. Bantu-speaking Africa, in particular, is becoming overwhelmingly Christian. Some 150 years ago, there were only a handful of Christians, and those were mostly in a few European-controlled coastal settlements. A century ago, the missionary advance into the interior was still only just beginning, while Islam was far better established in both the west and east and set to spread further. The most likely religious future for the continent remained a slow but irresistible islamization like that which had been proceeding for centuries in the West African interior as in eastern areas like Somalia. This did continue in some parts, such as the Tanzanian coast, among the Yao of Malawi and still more widely in much of West Africa.

Elsewhere, however, recent African history has witnessed the most extensive mass movement into Christianity anywhere in the world in modern times. Countries like Zaire, Ghana, Togo, Uganda, Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi, Zambia, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, and South Africa have a dominantly Christian sense of identity at the level of culture and popular religion, however mixed this may be with traditional religion—especially in remoter areas. This still inadequately recognized fact has not only profoundly affected the history and future of Africa but also altered the modern worldwide balance of Christianity. Increasingly the Christian churches must appear on the international scene as a racial alliance of white and black to a degree that could hardly have been envisaged in the early decades of the twentieth century.

BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY IN AFRICA. Before the last decades of the nineteenth century, there was nothing to suggest that Christianity would grow so explosively. Africa had time and again proved to be a continent in which Christianity failed to make a lasting breakthrough. The large and impressive early churches of Egypt and the North African coast were overtaken by Muslim conquest. In Egypt the Christian church survived, at times tenuously, as an underprivileged minority, but to the west it did not. Furthermore, it had failed to penetrate across the Sahara, unlike Islam in subsequent centuries. Certainly, it prospered in Ethiopia and also, for several centuries, in Nubia. Nevertheless, any spread southward was limited. Under Muslim pressure Nubian Christianity was extinguished by the fifteenth century while the Ethiopian church only just survived the sixteenth-century *jihād* of Ahmad Grañ.

From the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, under the patronage of the Portuguese empire, there was a considerable amount of evangelistic work undertaken in several parts of the continent—in some places, notably Warri, the Kongo, and the interior of Angola, with some apparent success. In the seventeenth century especially, the Kongo kingdom seemed deeply christianized in the period of the Capuchin missionaries. However, for a variety of reasons, such as the lack of a steady flow of missionaries, colonial politics and slave-trading, and the failure to establish truly indigenous institutions, almost nothing endured. Little by little, Christian practices were absorbed by the tolerant embrace of African traditional religion, until by the early nineteenth century they had simply faded away.

At this point Catholic missionary efforts were for a while taken over by Protestant efforts in the wake of the evangelical movement, the growth of British imperial power, and the campaign to abolish the slave trade. A small crowd of black people returning to Africa in 1787 under the aegis of a London emancipationist committee may be taken as inaugurating the new era. They were settled in Sierra Leone around what is now Freetown. Reinforced by further settlements, they made of Sierra Leone an Anglican and Methodist powerhouse. Fourah Bay College, founded at Freetown by the Church Missionary Society in 1827, developed into the first institution of higher education for black Africa. Sierra Leone became, for the nineteenth century, the source of a network of West African coastal Christian communities, English in speech and often in nomenclature, confident, and urban-based. Its most outstanding representative was the Yoruba-born Samuel Ajayi Crowther (1809?–1891), Anglican bishop on the Niger. This Krio (creole) Christianity proved highly vocal, the protagonist of a distinct African Christian identity, yet it did not mix easily with the rural multitude, and Sierra Leone as a whole remained one of the least christianized of African countries. A comparable black Christianity—though less elitist and vocal, and more rural—was growing up at much the same time in South Africa, especially among the Xhosa. With Crowther, one can here compare the Presbyterian minister Tiyo Soga (1829–1871), hymn writer and Bible translator.

Elsewhere, the institutional initiative would long remain with the white missionaries. The second half of the nineteenth century was their golden age, presided over by the brilliant, restless, and quite untypical spirit of David Livingstone (1813–1873). Henry Venn, secretary of the Church Missionary Society from 1841 to 1872 and the man responsible for Crowther's appointment, brought a new maturity to Protestant missionary thinking. So too did Cardinal Charles Lavigerie, founder of the White Fathers society for Africa missions (1868), and Bishop Melchior de Marion Brésillac, founder of the Society of Missions of Africa (SMA, 1856), for Roman Catholics.

From the 1870s on there was a marked increase in both the number and the educational level of missionaries. Yet for many years the effect of the new missionary wave may well have appeared to be not much greater than that of its predecessors. The new breed of missionaries on the west coast came into an ill-advised and destructive clash with Bishop Crowther and the Sierra Leoneans. The important legacy of this period was a significant start on translation of the Bible into scores of African languages, that would prove to be the true foundation for African Christianity. Missionaries like Robert Moffat (1795–1883) of Kuruman were often unimaginative, quarrelsome among themselves, and far from strikingly successful in terms of "conversions," but enough of them became remarkable linguists to ensure that the most widely available reading matter for the early generations of literate Africans would be the Christian scriptures. The formal preaching of missionaries seldom proved very convincing or even comprehensible (except to a more-or-less captive audience of house servants and ransomed slaves), but the Bible in its range of historic particularity, legal prescription, and deep mystery provided a compelling vision, and one seemingly more at home in traditional Africa than in nineteenth-century Europe.

By the start of the twentieth century there were several peoples, beyond Sierra Leonean Krios and the Xhosa, among whom a wide movement of Christian conversion was clearly under way: the Yoruba, Igbo, and other West Africa coastal peoples; the Kongo (renewing an old allegiance) and the Ngwato in the south; and the Ganda in the east (following the striking martyrdoms of 1886 under King Mwanga). The Ngwato and the Ganda were exceptional in that they lived in the interior. They remained the exceptions. But the circumstances of the continent as a whole were changing greatly.

The Colonial Period. In the 1890s Africa was parceled out among the European powers, and the fortunes of Christianity would, for a while, depend considerably upon its relationship with the colonial order. The latter undoubtedly helped missionary activity in various important ways, just as missionaries both pressed for, and facilitated, the colonial takeover, so that Christianity and colonial conquest could seem at times like two sides of a single coin. Modern anticolonialism has often branded Christianity in Africa, with some justification, as an accomplice of colonialism. But if the link between the two was often unhealthily close, it is also true that colonial conquest in no way required christianization— indeed, many colonialists would have preferred islamization. The British empire, in particular, had been too profoundly shaped by India to want to christianize its subjects, while the French government at the time was generally anticlerical. Missionaries could occasionally speak out against colonial proceedings on behalf of native rights; they did quite a lot to uncover the atrocities committed in the Congo Free State. They also began quite early in a few places (notably the Free Church of Scotland at Lovedale in South Africa and Livingstonia in Malawi) to provide a level of liberal education for Africans which colonists found both unnecessary and dangerous and which in fact served to cradle modern nationalism. Basically, however, missionaries were seldom a decisively influential part of early colonial society. By 1914, even though Africa was covered by a remarkable network of missions—often in intense rivalry with one another (especially Catholic versus Protestant)—there seemed to have been little decisive impact, except in a few places.

Nevertheless, an enormous religious change had begun to take place in thousands of different places. Three principal instruments were at work: the village school, the catechist, and the vernacular Bible. Colonial requirements, the pressures of modernity, and the deep vitality and adaptiveness of African societies combined to produce a sudden, quick-spreading urge for elementary Western education. No one but the missions tried to meet the demand, which they themselves saw as the hand of God. Everywhere, as a consequence, bush schools were opened and passages from the Bible were read. Baptism followed as a natural sequence. But in the face of the new demand, missionaries were few and none too mobile. The person who could cope with the new situation was the catechist—a poorly trained and more poorly paid village-level representative of both Christianity and modernity.

Besides the catechists, who were officially appointed by the churches, there were thousands of other self-appointed evangelists—miners, shopkeepers, migrant laborers—who spread elements of Christian life with enthusiasm: Bible reading, hymn singing, and even such concomitants as playing football. All this occurred in places well beyond the control of any missionary. The school and the catechist were, in secular terms, the agencies of a new economic and social order, but in religious terms they were the agency of a new biblically fed religious consciousness and sense of community.

The institutional structure and official statistics of the main churches were slow to reflect the deep underlying flow. Many churches imposed long periods of catechumenate before baptism, precisely to avoid the degenerating syncretism of an earlier age. This, together with stern rules of behavior (monogamy, abstinence from alcohol, appropriate dress), ensured that a high proportion of the people who were now coming to regard themselves as Christians were not accepted officially as church members. Training for ordination was far more severely circumscribed. The appointment of Bishop Joseph Kiwanuka as Roman Catholic vicar apostolic of Masaka, Uganda, in 1939 was absolutely exceptional. The number of the ordained before 1950 was in most countries and churches extremely small, where ordained clergy existed at all. Almost until the coming of political independence to the greater part of black Africa around 1960, official Christianity remained carefully controlled by white missionaries operating from a small number of complex missions—small denominational cities they had built up and ruled. Mission stations were of real importance because of the secondary schools and hospitals they contained, as well as because they provided the administrative and symbolic centers for the vast network of rural Christianity. Their boarding schools ensured that the new elite, as well as the masses, would be christianized in the very process of coming into existence. To a very large extent, Africa's new ruling class sprang from these schools. Even when most critical of missionaries and churches, African politicians seldom fail to express gratitude for their contribution toward secondary education.

But the effective (rather than symbolic) role of the central mission station and the missionaries (increasingly administrators) who staffed it remain secondary in importance for the understanding of the almost ubiquitous, rapid, yet largely uncharted evolution of modern African Christianity. The two levels could easily come into conflict. The character of popular Christianity inevitably left a great deal to be desired from the viewpoint of missionary orthodoxy. Should a zealous but polygamist catechist be retained? Could God be expected to address and instruct new converts through dreams and visions? Could the illnesses of Christians be explained and combated in terms of bewitchment? The missionary answer to such questions was most often a firm no. For their part, Africans frequently remained unconvinced on these matters, and from the end of the nineteenth century a multitude of independent churches began to arise, first in South Africa and Nigeria, then in many other parts of the continent where there was already a significant missionary presence.

INDEPENDENT CHURCHES. Independent church movements took roughly two chief forms. The first produced what in Nigeria have been called the "African" churches and in South Africa the "Ethiopian" churches. Early examples are the United Native African Church, founded in Lagos in 1891, and the Ethiopian Church, founded in Pretoria in 1892. These are essentially cases of schism, in which full members of an established church, often including some clergy, have divided from the missionary body over issues like the promotion of local leadership, nationalist sympathy and cultural ethos, and acceptance of polygamists in continuing membership. Such new churches sprang mostly from Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, or low church Anglican missions, and very seldom from Lutherans, high church Anglicans, or Roman Catholics. They have almost always retained substantial continuity in doctrine, liturgy, and church order with those from which they seceded. They fit closely enough within a pattern of bifurcation characteristic of nineteenth-century Protestantism in both Britain and the United States.

Churches of this sort, of African origin, are found in many parts of the African continent, and new ones have continued to come into existence in almost every decade of the twentieth century. From about the second decade of the century, however, there began the still more widespread development of prophet and healing churches, generally classed as "Zionist" in southern Africa, and in Nigeria called mostly "Aladura," or praying churches. These bodies generally grew out of the career of a prophet, yet they were also influenced by American or European Zionist and Pentecostal groups (e.g., the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church, with its headquarters at Zion City near Chicago, founded in 1896 by John Alexander Dowie). These links, such as they were, were easily left behind. Adoption of the name "Ethiopian" had no administrative or doctrinal significance. It was merely symbolic and persuasive, with its biblical foundation (Ps.

68:31, *Acts* 8:27) and reference to the one part of black Africa that had both been Christian for centuries and retained its political and ecclesiastical independence (Ethiopia's military victory over Italian invaders at Adwa in 1896 sent a thrill of excitement across the continent). So too the name "Zion" was appealing as a profound symbol of the immediate renewal of God's holy city as celebrated, for example, in Psalms 122–134.

African Zionist and praying churches were much more innovative than Ethiopian ones: their preoccupation was with healing instead of schooling (indeed, they were often opposed to Western education); they grew faster, their membership was poorer. In some places (though this was not true of Nigeria) they could be seen as a fairly typical expression of the religion of the deprived. At the start, they depended mostly upon the personal impact of prophetic founders and often continued to be ruled dynastically by the founders' families, although they were prone to more and more divisions into separate groups. If their prime secular concern was undoubtedly healing, the balance within them between healing, evangelism, and the appeal of a total religious community offering a complex liturgical life centered upon a "sacred city," a Zion of their own, has varied greatly between churches.

The first of the major African prophets of the twentieth century was the native Liberian William Wade Harris, a Grebo schoolteacher of Methodist and Episcopal background. During a period of imprisonment he experienced visions of the angel Gabriel commanding him to become an evangelist like John the Baptist. His subsequent months of peregrinatory preaching during 1914 in southern Ivory Coast and Ghana produced tens of thousands of baptisms and permanently altered the religious character of the area he traversed. The decisive effect was fully recognized both by missionaries and by colonial officials. Harris had abandoned his European ways, his shoes, and his trousers; he had also abandoned any particular church affiliation. He preached a very simple Christian monotheism, expelled devils, carried the Bible wherever he went, and baptized all who rejected and destroyed their pagan "fetishes." Harris insisted upon the observance of the Sabbath and the Ten Commandments, but not upon monogamy. He established no church of his own, and many thousands of his converts became Roman Catholic or Methodist, but he did leave "twelve apostles" in the villages he converted, and out of these communities the Harrist church subsequently grew.

At almost exactly the same time Garrick Braide, an Anglican catechist, carried on a similar mission in the Niger Delta. In the 1920s, the Aladura prophets (Moses Orimolade, Abiodun Akinsowon, Joseph Babalola, and others) were preaching, healing, and destroying "fetishes" up and down Yoruba country in western Nigeria. For a few months in 1921 Simon Kimbangu (1889?–1951), of Baptist background, set an immense prophetic movement afoot in the lower Kongo, west of Kinshasa. At much the same time, Isaiah Shembe was doing the same in Zululand, Ignatius Lekganyane in northern Transvaal, Samuel Mutendi in Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe). In the 1930s, John (Johane) Maranke and Johane Masowe were two striking John-the-Baptist figures in Rhodesia (each took the name of John after his vocation experience). In the 1950s it was the turn of Alice Lenshina (Mulenga) in Zambia. And there were many others.

The major prophets of this sort were frequently surrounded and followed by scores of lesser prophets. No single typology for the prophetic phenomenon in modern Africa can be established, but some general remarks can be made. One should distinguish between the prophet movement itself, especially in its initial outbreak, and the increasingly institutionalized church which usually, though not always, followed it. The latter has a consequential character, deriving from the need for a new community to cater to the prophet's clientele and the inability of existing churches to cope with either the prophet or his clientele, but it does not seem to be a primary intention of the prophet. At least initially, the prophets we have named probably did not see themselves as doing anything very different from many black evangelists working for the mission churches or, indeed, from the early white missionaries themselves. They may have simply taken the Bible more literally than the early white missionaries did, but the prophetic character of many an early missionary, with his long peregrinations, prayers for rain, healing skill, and apparently strange powers of many sorts, should not be overlooked. The prophetic vocation really came from the sheer impact of Bible and missionary upon the more imaginative. For new converts, lacking almost any other literature, the Bible could have an immediacy and an applicability which few of even the most fundamentalist of missionaries could really go along with. Visions, dreams, and miracles of healing seemed to be the staple of this strange book that had been translated into their tongue and presented as having an absolute authority; and these became the staple of early African prophetic Christianity, as they were not of missionary Christianity.

In many places there seemed to be a need for movements of this type regardless of whether any major figure was present or not. Just at the time Harris was making such an impact upon the Ivory Coast, a remarkably similar movement of conversion was developing without any central preacher at all, white or black, in the Usoko district of the Nigerian coast. Such movements, if handled one way, might produce massive new advances for a historic church; if handled another way, they led to an explosion of independency. Significant churches almost always developed from the major prophets: the Harrist church, the Church of Jesus Christ on Earth through the Prophet Simon Kimbangu, the Eternal Sacred Order of the Cherubim and Seraphim of Orimolade, the VaHosanna of Masowe, the Nazareth Baptist Church (Amanazaretha) of Shembe, the Lumpa of Lenshina. Many of these came to be centered upon a holy city—a Zion or

New Jerusalem—in which the founder had lived and was eventually buried, to which the sick came for healing, a center for pilgrimage and liturgy. Kimbangu's Nkamba, Shembe's Ekuphakameni, Lenshina's Kasomo are just a few of many examples. With the passing of time, however, in a second and third generation, many churches which were prophetic and Zionist in origin became increasingly administrative and "Ethiopian": spiritual healing was formalized or almost disappeared, schools became a preoccupation. The Kimbanguist church is one clear example. It is also true that some churches which began as "Ethiopian" and were rather Western in form subsequently developed in a more prophetic and healing direction.

African ecclesiastical independency is, then, an immensely varied response both to the scriptures and to the experience of missionary Christianity. It is also, to a greater or lesser extent, in continuity with traditional patterns of African religion and society. Modern African Christianity is heir to African traditional religions as well as to the nineteenth-century missionary movement, but here again the intricacies and varieties of the relationship must not be underestimated. There was a larger measure of harmony between the common pattern of African traditional religion and traditional Christianity (especially in its more Catholic forms) than missionaries recognized. The high god of African religions—Nzambi, Mulungu, Leza, Mwari, Katonda, or whatever name the god took—had attributes extremely similar to the God of the biblical tradition, even if the cult of ancestors often made him seem, especially to the outside observer, unduly remote. Christian theism came to support itself easily upon traditional theism. Nor was the moral law much of a problem area, although missionaries sometimes thought it was (the practice of polygamy provided a special case).

The main point of conflict was, and still largely is, the veneration of ancestral spirits and the many rites—domestic, agricultural, and communal—which involve the invocation of those spirits. Missionaries condemned participation in all such rites, and most churches continue to do so officially, but the majority of Christians probably return to traditionalism for at least some of these occasions. For the most part, independent churches are as opposed to such practices as the mission churches. Indeed, while the latter (especially the Roman Catholic Church) have tended to become accommodating with time, the former maintain the inflexibility of opposition of the nineteenth-century missionary.

In regard to some other aspects of traditional culture the case is different. On many points the Old Testament and African traditions appear to be somewhat allied against the New Testament and the missionary church: food taboos are a case in point. When these are recognized in an independent church, it is not clear whether it provides an example of the maintenance of traditional culture or a case of excessive Hebraism. Polygamy is another example. Many an independent church has rejected missionary insistence upon monogamy and appealed to the Old Testament for support, though it must be added that others (like the Kimbanguist and the Lumpa churches) have condemned polygamy without reserve.

Perhaps the most difficult area has been that of witchcraft beliefs. Throughout Africa—among some peoples a great deal more than others—sickness, death, and misfortune were and still are explained in terms of bewitchment. The traditional healer (*nganga* in most Bantu languages) then had to be someone who could both detect and counteract witchcraft. Most missionaries did not believe in the possibility of witchcraft (in this they conformed with colonial law) and countered traditional medicine with Western "scientific" practice. While for the missionaries the difference in kind between Western medicine and the *nganga*'s was clear, for Africans it often was not. Some independent churches have rejected both kinds of medicine in favor of faith healing alone, but others tend to interpret sickness in traditional bewitchment terms and the more concerned they are with healing the more they may be assimilable to a typical antiwitchcraft movement. The prophet can appear to be remarkably like the traditional *nganga*, however much the prophet may denounce the latter. The Holy Spirit to which the prophet appeals in the battle against witchcraft may seem no different from the spirit through which the *nganga* works.

If some independent churches do, then, represent some degree of merging of Christianity and African traditional religion, no generalization may be offered as to which eventually controls the symbiosis. In some of the better-known churches Christian orthodoxy prevails increasingly, but in many smaller groups it is African tradition which prevails. Each has proved naturally inclusive, not only in modern times but also down through the centuries, and it is as possible for elements of Christian thought, vocabulary, and ritual practice to be absorbed into an essentially non-Christian pattern of religion as it is for elements of traditional religion to be carried on, sometimes not incongruously, in the lives of believing and committed Christians. In much of this, the independent churches are no special category. We simply see in them, through the many studies conducted recently, processes which are almost equally at work in all the larger churches of Africa, for we must not forget that more than four-fifths of African Christians belong not to independent churches but to mission-founded churches. If the former may constitute as much as one-third of black Christians in South Africa, and are also very numerous in southern Nigeria, southern Ghana, and central Kenya, they are almost completely absent in some countries, such as Uganda and Tanzania, and in many others they are fewer than 10 percent of the Christian body.

TRADITIONAL CHURCHES. As a whole, African Christianity is denominationally a highly complex reality, the field in which a thousand flowers are free to bloom. Beyond the independent churches, all the main European and American traditions are powerfully represented in one country or another. The Anglican communion is present wherever the

British empire used to be present and in Rwanda and Burundi as well, but it is particularly strong in Nigeria, Uganda, Kenya, and South Africa; Methodists are numerous in Nigeria, Ghana, South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Zaire; Presbyterians in Kenya and Malawi; Baptists in Zaire and Liberia; The Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa; Lutherans in Tanzania and Namibia; the Church of the Nazarene in Swaziland. And that is not a complete list. In Zambia the United Church of Zambia was inaugurated in 1965, the year of the country's political independence, with the blessing of President Kenneth Kaunda. It incorporated Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Methodists, but such unions have not been favored. Ecumenical relations are mostly excellent but the desire to maintain an independent ecclesiastical identity—whether originally the church is mission-founded or independent—is extremely strong.

The nineteenth century was preeminently a period of Protestant mission, and the legacy of a multitude of African churches today reflects that fact. In the twentieth century Roman Catholicism has spread with great effectiveness. The systematic and disciplined efforts of the great Roman Catholic mission societies of priests, monks, and nuns cannot quite be paralleled upon the Protestant side. Today, not only is the Roman Catholic Church the church of the majority of all Christians in its older areas of predominance (French- and Portuguese-speaking especially), such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Togo, Rwanda, and Burundi, but it has also become the largest single church in almost every country of Africa (Namibia, with its Lutheran predominance, is perhaps—apart from Ethiopia—the most striking exception).

If almost all the main churches have an almost completely black leadership at the level of the episcopate or presiding ministers, it is equally true that almost all are extremely short of ordained men or women (and when they have them, they often find it difficult to pay them). But for the Roman Catholic Church, with its rigid pattern of celibate priesthood, this is above all the case. There are now some two hundred black Catholic bishops and half a dozen cardinals (the first being Rugambwa of Bukoba and later of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania). In a few areas, such as the Igbo dioceses of Nigeria, southern Uganda, and parts of Tanzania, there are also hundreds of African priests. Elsewhere the shortage is acute.

While the number of Roman Catholic missionaries in Africa is still remarkably large, it is declining steadily in most countries as a result of political pressures and a decline in the sense of missionary calling in the old sending countries of Europe. Meanwhile, the number of African Christians grows inexorably since political independence, still more than in colonial times. The typical Christian community in rural Africa is a priestless one, led today, as mostly in the past, by a catechist or committee of village elders. Baptism, not the Eucharist, is the sacrament of African Christianity.

AFRICAN THEOLOGY. African theology, of a formal kind, remains a long way from this village reality. Written mostly by professors in university departments, like Kinshasa, Yaoundé, Ibadan, Legon, and Makerere, its principal concern has been with the relationship between traditional religion and Christianity. Harry Sawyerr (Sierra Leone), John Mbiti (Kenya), Bolaji Idowu (Nigeria), John S. Pobee (Ghana), and Ngindu Mushete (Democratic Republic of the Congo) are among its leading representatives. Their theological or academic contributions have not been of major world significance. In South Africa, African theology has developed less academically as black theology, with a more political and social orientation, a local version of liberation theology.

Elsewhere African theology has remained apolitical, despite the often anguished condition of contemporary Africa, a condition which has at times deeply affected the life of the church. The murder of Anglican Archbishop Janani Luwum in Idi Amin's Uganda and that of Cardinal Bayenda in Brazzaville, both in 1977, were symbolic of many other comparable events. In South Africa the long tradition of ecclesiastical criticism of racial discrimination, represented notably by Trevor Huddleston's *Naught for Your Comfort* (1956), is carried on by Bishop Desmond Tutu, formerly secretary of the South African Council of Churches and later the Anglican bishop of Johannesburg.

The strength of the African churches, however, does not lie at this formal and clerical level of written discourse and church organization, useful as it can be to have, for example, international links of the sort represented by the All Africa Conference of Churches (founded in 1963 in Kampala, with a general secretariat based in Nairobi and plenary conferences about every six years). In African Christianity, theologians and bishops are of limited importance. The growth of Christianity in Africa has been a popular and lay phenomenon, a shift in the underlying religious consciousness of half a continent in response to the modern missionary movement, the vernacular Bible, the pressures of colonialism, and the village school. The catechist remains its most characteristic figure, and the hymn, whether a European translation or an indigenous creation, is its most appropriate form of expression and vehicle of its theology. African Christianity is pietistic rather than political.

The future of African Christianity is uncertain, despite its vast vitality. Its northern flanks are being pressed increasingly hard by Islam. Elsewhere it is sure to continue to grow numerically for some time, but its intellectual expression, its ability to cope with secularization and Marxism, the competence of its clerical leadership, and the weight of its influence in future councils of world Christianity are all matters upon which it remains difficult to speak with confidence.

SEE ALSO African Religions, article on New Religious Movements; Ethiopian Church; Harris, William Wade; Kimbangu, Simon; Lenshina, Alice; Maranke, John; Political Theology; Shembe, Isaiah.

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ADRIAN HASTINGS (1987)

CHRISTIANITY: CHRISTIANITY IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

African Christianity is a complex topic, and the literature on the subject is voluminous. The historical metamorphosis and transmutation of African Christianity appears on a variety of interrelated levels: missions, conversions, struggles for autonomy, charismatic renewals, and the creative ways Africans have shaped Christianity for themselves and appropriated it within the context of their own worldview and culture. In terms of growth and ecclesiastical representation, African Christianity maintains a robust record. In fact, the ebb and flow of world Christianity in the twenty-first century will be largely determined by the trends and events within African Christianity. The creative genius of African Christianity is manifest in the exciting religious movements and models that have emerged in Africa.

Contemporary paradigms in African spirituality are challenging the traditional ways of studying theology and church history. This reality is a telling testimony to the fact that Africans have confidently claimed Christianity as their own. It is now intellectually moribund to contend that the Christian churches of Africa are alien institutions or that they are relics of colonial domination and control. It is imperative that scholars continue to ponder and probe the dynamic and unfolding experiences of African Christians in all their rich manifestations.

African Christianity evokes a protean image, always changing and persistently in the process of transformation and renewal. In the twenty-first century, African Christianity continues to experience remarkable growth and expansion. Indeed, the churches in Africa are bursting at the seams and exhibit an unprecedented diversity. Africa has become home to all the different denominations within the Christian faith. The Anglican Church in Nigeria has more members than in England, America, and Canada put together. By 1985, there were over 16,500 conversions a day in Africa, resulting in the addition of over 6 million new Christians annually. In 2000, the Christian population in Africa was 360 million. By the year 2025, the number of Christians in Africa will reach around 633 million.

CHRISTIANITY AROUND AFRICA. Christianity in contemporary Africa is a highly variable phenomenon. It continues to be a powerful force in politics, national integration, and the development of civil society. Since the 1980s the Roman Catholic Church has played a remarkable role in instituting constitutional reforms in Francophone Africa. In the case of Cameroon, Catholic theologians such as Jean-Marc Ela, Fabien Eboussi Boulaga, and the late Englebert Mveng have produced remarkable literature on African liberation theology.

In Anglophone African nations, the church has similarly been involved in politics and issues of social justice. For example, the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), which was established in 1986 as an ecumenical body of Protestants, Catholics, and African Initiated Churches (AIC, formerly called African Independent Churches), has been extremely critical of the sociopolitical anomalies in Nigeria. Even in the face of President Abacha's reign of terror (1993 to 1998), CAN remained outspoken and refused to be pummeled into submission. Likewise in Ghana, Mensa Otabil, the leader of Ghana's International Central Gospel Church, has been very critical of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank's policies in Africa. His political theology underscores the importance of political consciousness, black pride, and self-empowerment.

Political leaders in Zambia have a new appreciation of the political clout of Zambian born-again Christians. The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia accused Kenneth Kaunda of flirting with the demonic, and their persistent vitriolic criticisms eventually contributed to his political demise. Kaunda's successor, Frederick Chiluba, did not waste time in proclaiming his own evangelical credentials and had a flamboyant though short-lived romance with Zambia's evangelical and Pentecostal leaders.

In South Africa, the evangelical branch of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) presented a vocal and strident opposition to the odious nationalist agenda of this ecclesiastical body. The never-ending historical and theological justifications for apartheid by the Dutch Reformed Church were completely renounced by many outspoken evangelicals. The most forthright and distinguished representative of the evangelical tradition within the Dutch Reformed Church was David J. Bosch (1929–1992). Before his tragic death, he served as the dean of the theological faculty at the University of South Africa, Pretoria; general secretary of the Southern African Missiological Society (1968–1992); and editor of the renowned journal *Missionalia.* Bosch vigorously articulated the perversity of the obnoxious racial policies of the Dutch Reformed Church from a theological perspective.

African Christians are weary of the Western secular intellectual tradition and its mistrust of religion's crucial social influence. Although African Christians have embraced some of the ideals of democratic pluralism, Western liberal antipathy towards religious sensibilities does not find fertile soil in sub-Saharan Africa. The African experience boldly affirms that Christianity invigorates rather than undermines culture and society.

THE RISE OF PENTECOSTALISM. The last decades of the twentieth century witnessed the veritable explosion of New Pentecostal churches all over Africa. Some of the new paradigms within these churches include American evangelical religious tenets, the gospel of prosperity, healing, deliverance from principalities and powers, and charismatic worship in a technologically stylish setting. These new dimensions underscore Paul Gifford's thesis on the pervasive presence of ecclesiastical externality in Africa Christianity. It is also a confirmation of what has been described as Africa's active engagement with external influences. The new gusto of Pentecostal zeal is especially appealing to urban youths.

The gospel of prosperity also provides a welcome message for the rich, since the accumulation of wealth is not considered anathema. Furthermore, it offers hope for the less financially successful, for whom it opens new vistas and infinite possibilities. This new wave of Pentecostalism arrogantly tends to reject some of the rituals and spiritual practices within the AIC because of their alleged pagan nature. Pentecostal diatribes are also directed at the mainline churches that they often portray as indulging in a form of Christianity that is bereft of power and Holy Ghost fervor.

RELATIONS WITH ISLAM. One of the crucial challenges for African Christianity in the twenty-first century is its relationship with Islam. The interaction between these two Abrahamic religions has fluctuated dramatically over the centuries. It is truly a relationship saturated with both meaningful engagements and baffling ambiguities. It runs the gamut of thoughtful dialogue, lethargic encounters, open conflicts, and internecine violence. The intense politicization of religion in many African countries has continued to aggravate the deepening antagonism between Christians and Muslims.

Islam's persistent demand that religion and state should remain as mutually enforcing agents has likewise generated passionate responses from Christians in sub-Saharan Africa. In recent times, the imposition of full-blown *sharīʿah* (Islamic law) in many states in northern Nigeria has engendered violent religious riots in Nigeria. In fact, the *sharīʿah* issue has reawakened slumbering religious tensions in Nigeria and constitutes the greatest challenge to Nigeria's fledging democracy. One of the dilemmas facing Christians and Muslims in Africa is how to live amicably and in a way that accords respect to each group.

CONCLUSION. Pliny, the Roman historian, once said that there is always something new coming out of Africa. The aphorism is particularly relevant in the context of theology. As the center of Christianity inexorably shifts to the Southern Hemisphere, Africa provides an important venue for Christian development and experience. Among the challenges facing the churches in Africa is how they may become more self-critical and also be more responsive to the plethora of death-dealing problems plaguing Africans in the twenty-first century. These two agendas are quintessentially part of the good news of Jesus Christ.

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AKINTUNDE E. AKINADE (2005)

CHRISTIANITY: CHRISTIANITY IN ASIA

Christianity in Asia consists of a wide range of phenomena. It includes the mission churches, denominations, and related institutions established by Western missionaries, numerous independent and indigenous movements (churches or sects established by Asian Christians, which are organizationally independent of Western churches), as well as the personal beliefs and ritual practices adopted by individuals influenced by Christianity but unaffiliated with any of its organizational forms. In order to understand the significance of this religious tradition in Asia, the study of Christianity must include both the history of transplanted Christian traditions and foreign missionary efforts as well as the diverse "native" responses to and appropriations of Christianity that fall outside the framework of the Western churches. A review of the literature indicates that the history and impact of the Western mission churches has received the overwhelming attention and efforts of scholars, but that in recent decades there has been a broadening of research interests and more serious consideration of what Asians have contributed to the development of Christianity in their own countries and in the region as a whole.

This article will focus on three principal areas of Asia: (1) the Far East (the countries bordering the Pacific Ocean), which have been profoundly influenced by the Confucian worldview and by Buddhism; (2) Southeast Asia, where the dominant influence has been Buddhist, though not without Hindu and Islamic factors; (3) the Indian subcontinent, the home of Hindu culture, though with areas in which Hinduism has been almost completely submerged by Islam.

THE FAR EAST. The history of Christianity in the Far East is not one story. The introduction of Christianity and subsequent patterns of development have differed considerably in China, Taiwan, Japan, and Korea. In some instances there have been repeated introductions in response to the changing political climate of these lands.

China. By the seventh century CE, Nestorian Christians had made their way from Mesopotamia (Iraq) as far as western China. The discovery by the Jesuits in 1623 of the famous "Nestorian monument" in the precincts of the old Tang dynasty (618–907) capital, Chang-an, has made available reliable information as to the origins, arrival (635 CE), and fortunes of those engaged in this tremendous adventure. This church survived for about two centuries.

The second Christian incursion came with the Franciscan attempt to establish a mission in Khanbaliq (Beijing), with the hope of the conversion of Kublai Khan (1216–1294), hopes frustrated by the turning of the peoples of Central Asia to Islam and not to Christianity. John of Monte Corvino (d. around 1330) arrived in Beijing in 1294, gathered around him Christians of the Uighur people (who had been converted to the Nestorian form of Christianity), and secured consecration as archbishop. Other missionaries had joined him; however, distance from the home church made their work difficult, and after about half a century the mission ceased to exist.

The third attempt was made by Jesuits in the sixteenth century. Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) and his colleagues secured the favor of the Chinese by their achievements in astronomy and by introducing striking clocks, learning Chinese, and adopting many Chinese ways. In the opinion of their critics, Ricci and his colleagues were prepared to go too far in their adaptation of the Christian gospel to Chinese custom and tradition. In 1744 the pope forbade all such accommodation to non-Roman ways. The mission maintained itself, with varying fortunes, for a century and a half. It never completely died out, but at the end of the eighteenth century it was hardly more than a shadow of what it had been. The discovery of the diary of Andrew Li, a Chinese priest who had been trained in the seminary of Ayutthaya (Thailand), in which the students, from many lands, were allowed to talk with one another only in Latin, has shed a great deal of light on this period of decline.

The fourth missionary incursion, Roman Catholic and Protestant, followed the infamous Opium Wars of 1840 to 1842, and the unjust Nanjing treaty. Missionaries gradually managed to establish residence in all the provinces of China as far as the borders of Tibet, the Roman Catholics relying on the protection of the emperor Napoleon III and the Protestants for the most part following the advice of Hudson Taylor of the China Inland Mission in making their appeals only to the regularly constituted Chinese authorities. The church grew slowly but steadily through the adhesion of individuals and families. But the Christian mission was always under suspicion as being associated with the hated imperialism of the Western powers.

With the failure of the so-called Boxer Rebellion at the end of the nineteenth century, many Chinese felt driven to seek new moral resources for the restoration of China; they found an answer in the teaching of Jesus Christ, though with more emphasis on the moral and social teaching than on the specifically religious content. An astonishing number of young people accepted baptism; many of them were later to be distinguished in China's national life.

Then, in 1949, the communists overthrew the government of Chiang Kai-shek and took over rule of China. Their attitude was one of hostility to all religions, though some Christians succeeded in making a deal with this hostile government. Churches were closed; the Christians were driven underground. Many observers believed that for the fourth time China had rejected the Christian message and that the church was dead, except perhaps for small house groups. When the government loosened its restrictions on the practice of Christianity in 1979, it became clear that the churches were very much alive and in some areas had even increased their membership. The government's estimate of the Christian population in 1982, in fact, was three million, or three times the membership in 1949.

The Roman Catholics are in a particularly ambiguous position because many Chinese have refused the allegiance to Rome that Rome demands. The Protestants have formed a national council, which has brought them together without eliminating denominational differences and without allaying the anxieties of those who feel that the council has made too many concessions to the Marxist rulers.

Since the 1980s the fortunes of Christianity in China have changed dramatically. The demographic shift of masses from rural to urban areas has been accompanied by the rapid growth of Christian churches, underground house churches, and independent Christian movements. As in India, Christianity has also met with considerable success among minority tribal groups. A study in 1997 discovered that in Fugong County in southwest China, an area where the Lisu minority is concentrated, about seventy percent of the people were Christian. There is considerable disagreement on the actual number of Christians in contemporary China. As of 2003, the government estimated that there were at least sixteen million Christians; the China Christian Council suggests a number of at least twenty-five million, whereas experts from outside of China suggest figures ranging from forty million to one hundred million. Whatever the actual number, it is clear that Chinese Christianity is in a growth phase and its influence is spreading widely throughout society.

Taiwan. The Christian situation on the island is complicated. For a century the main Christian mission on Taiwan was Presbyterian (Canadian in the north, English in the south). When the Presbyterians came to the ninetieth anniversary of the founding of the mission, they asked themselves what they should do to celebrate the centenary and decided that, in the decade leading up to it, they would double their membership and double the number of their places of worship. Strong popular support achieved this goal.

During the period of Japanese colonial occupancy, and in the face of the strongest possible opposition from the Japanese, remarkable Christian movements began to take place among the peoples dwelling in the mountains. These people, who form a comparatively small percentage of the population of the island, speak their own languages and follow ancestral traditions entirely different from those of the lowland Taiwanese. In the twentieth century, entire communities have become Christian.

The whole situation on the island changed with the mass emigration from continental China that followed the collapse of the Kuomintang government. Chiang Kai-shek himself, with many of his leading followers, left their homes to begin a new existence in Taiwan, claiming that they, and not the Marxists, represented the true spirit and succession of China. This was by no means to the liking of the Taiwanese. Under the Japanese they had been compelled to learn the Japanese language; now they were compelled to learn the Mandarin form of Chinese, which is considerably different from the form of the Amoy dialect that the Taiwanese had traditionally spoken. With the continental Chinese came a proliferation of Christian churches and sects. Roughly one-third of the Catholics in Taiwan are Chinese who fled the mainland. In the last several decades of the twentieth century, the Pentecostal and charismatic renewal movements have been particularly influential. Roughly one-third of the 300,000 Taiwanese Protestants would identify themselves as Pentecostals or charismatic Christians.

Japan. Japan was almost wholly unknown to the West until Francis Xavier (1506–1552), with a small group of Jesuit colleagues, managed to land in the country in 1549 and remain for the greater part of three years. The Jesuit enterprise was crowned with astonishing success. Rulers were converted and were followed into the Christian church by their dependents. At the end of the sixteenth century it was reckoned that there were 300,000 Christians in Japan. Then the climate changed. During a period of terrible persecution, many missionaries died agonizing deaths, though a few recanted and denied their Christian faith. Almost all the faithful reverted to their previous religions; in 1638 it was concluded that "the Christian century in Japan" had come to an end with the elimination of the church. For more than two centuries Christianity was a proscribed religion. However, when at last in 1859 missionaries were able again to enter the closed land, they discovered with astonishment that a remnant of believers had maintained the faith in many of its essentials. Some of these so-called hidden Christians (*Kakure Kirishitan*) rejoined the Roman Catholic church once it was reestablished in Japan, whereas many others continued to practice their own version of the faith in small isolated communities on the island of Kyushu.

Never, since the sixteenth-century Jesuit success, has there again been anything like a mass movement of Japanese into the Christian church. Japanese Christians are often marked by three characteristics: intense intellectual activity, with faith depending on thoughtful conviction rather than on emotional decision; a strong spirit of independence, as in the non-church movement of Uchimura Kanzō (1861–1930), which refused to be tied to any kind of denominational organization; and a steady determination not to be subject to Western domination.

During World War II, the government decided that only three Christian bodies, the Roman Catholic, the Eastern Orthodox, and a Protestant amalgam called the United Church of Christ in Japan (Kyōdan), should be recognized. Some Anglicans, some Lutherans, and some Holiness churches refused to join the Kyōdan and lost all legal recognition, enduring varying degrees of official disapproval and even persecution. With the end of the war and establishment of religious freedom with the new constitution in 1947, some of the denominations that had been absorbed into the Kyōdan during the war withdrew and reestablished independent denominational identities. The Kyōdan remains the largest Protestant denomination, but smaller independent, evangelical, and Pentecostal groups tend to be more effective in attracting new members.

The Roman Catholic church in Japan has become an important source of support for many non-Japanese laborers and immigrants from countries such as the Philippines and Brazil, and their involvement in local parishes is creating new church dynamics and posing new challenges for pastoral care. Although church membership in modern Japan has never exceeded one percent of the population, the influence of Christianity remains significant in education, social work, and literature.

Korea. Korea has drawn much from Chinese culture and for a time was forced to endure Japanese rule, but the Korean language and many of the features of Korean life may have originated in Central Asia. After experiencing some rather ineffective attempts at Roman Catholic evangelization, the country remained entirely closed to foreign influences until the second half of the nineteenth century. Christian missionaries during that period were mostly Americans, notably Methodists and Presbyterians. The small Anglican mission distinguished itself by a special concern for the Korean traditions of language and culture.

After initial resistance, many Korean animists, whose adherence to Buddhism was largely formal, responded positively to the Christian message. From the start, the Korean Christians were encouraged to be independent and to serve as evangelists among their own people, the foreigners keeping in the background. In South Korea all churches are independent and self-governing, though many of them are linked to worldwide churches and denominations. The church has grown rapidly since the 1960s and is known for the development of mega-churches. The largest church in the world today, in fact, is the Yoido Full Gospel Church in Seoul, which claims over 700,000 members and a Sunday attendance of more than 200,000. The growth of the Korean church has also been accompanied by the development of numerous mission agencies and overseas missionary work. In the last decade of the twentieth century, the number of Korean missionaries serving overseas grew from 1,645 serving in 87 different countries in 1990 to 10,745 serving in some 162 different countries in 2002.

Little information is available regarding the fate of churches and Christians in North Korea. As far as is known, Christian churches have no visible existence under the Marxist regime. From occasional contacts that are possible between Christians in the south and relations and friends in the north, it seems that, as in China, Christians are maintaining their faith under conditions of extreme difficulty. Many Christians are active in the efforts for the political reunification of North and South Korea.

SOUTHEAST ASIA. The countries which stretch in a wide semicircle from the Philippines to Pakistan represent a great variety of races, languages, religions, and forms of culture. It is extremely difficult to reduce them all to any kind of common denominator. It is true that they all have come, at one time or another, under strong Buddhist influence, and that three of these countries have adopted Buddhism as their national religion. With the single exception of Thailand, all have come under colonial domination and have thus been bound to the West in about equal proportions of adaptation and resentment. Beyond that, generalization is difficult, and it will be best to address each country separately, especially as the degree of Christian influence varies greatly from one country to another.

The Philippine Republic. The Philippine Republic is the only Christian nation in Asia. The Spaniards arrived in 1538 and remained in power for three and a half centuries. In the course of those years, almost the entire population was brought within the Roman Catholic church, though a Muslim minority remained in the southern islands.

With the victory of the Americans in the war with Spain (1889–1902), sovereignty passed from the Spaniards to the Americans. To some Filipinos this change seemed like deliverance, for there had been increasing resentment among Filipinos at the domination of Spaniards in every part of the life of the people, not least in the life of the church.

Roman Catholics constituted the majority of the people, though at times restless and discontented. One sign of this was the uprising within the church, which led to the formation of the Philippine Independent Church, often called the Aglipayan Church after its first leader, Gregorio Aglipay (1860–1940). This church came under strong Unitarian influence, but in later times it restored more orthodox Christian tradition and recovered a regular Episcopal succession through the American Episcopal Church. In the early 1980s the church claimed three million members, though this may be an overestimate.

With the religious freedom brought by the Americans, Protestant missionaries poured in; they converted many discontented Catholics. Almost all the main American Protestant bodies are represented. The first Episcopal bishop, Charles Henry Brent, well known for his creative connection with the Faith and Order movement, told his missionaries to go to the mountain peoples, whom the Roman Catholic church had never succeeded in reaching.

It took time for the Roman Catholic church to adapt itself to the new situation. But gradually the lesson was learned, and an indigenous episcopate was brought into being. The church has produced some fine scholars. Ecumenical relations are far better than they were, and, though a number of tensions still exist, cooperation among Christians has been carried further than in many other countries. The charismatic movement has also had an impact on the Catholic and Protestant churches in the Philippines, with an estimated seven million or more involved in some way.

Vietnam and Cambodia. Roman Catholic missions had notable success in Vietnam in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the twentieth century, the Marxists took over, and many Christians fled from the north to the south. With the fall of the South Vietnamese government in 1975, Christians found themselves faced with the alternatives of accepting communist rule or again becoming refugees. Many died in their search for freedom. Because Cambodia was largely neglected by Christian missionaries, Cambodian Christians are few, and Buddhism has remained the major tradition.

Thailand, Burma, and Sri Lanka. Buddhism, wherever it exists, has proved resistant to Christian evangelism; Christians who are present in Buddhist countries in many cases have come from non-Buddhist peoples or communities. Thailand, squeezed in the nineteenth century between British and French dominions, has managed to preserve throughout history a somewhat precarious independence: its citizens would probably point to the Buddhist faith as the power that has preserved their country in its integrity. A Buddhist country ruled by a monarchy imbued with Buddhist tradition, Thailand is, however, a tolerant country, and the number of Christian missionaries increased greatly with the advance of the twentieth century. Conversions from Buddhism, however, have not been numerous. The majority of Christians in the country have come from the Chinese minority, not from among the Thais, and the total number of Christians represents less than one percent of the population.

Myanmar (known as Burma prior to the name change in 1989), after a century under British rule, obtained its independence in 1947 and declared Buddhism to be the national religion. Actually, large sections of the population are neither Burmese nor Buddhist; it is among these peoples that the Christian churches have made their greatest gains. Baptists are more numerous than any other Christian body in Burma. Their first great missionary, Adoniram Judson (1788–1850), who made himself a Burmese scholar and translated the Bible into that language, was imprisoned by the Burmese authorities and endured terrible sufferings from which he never entirely recovered. It was he who made contact with the Karens, a large non-Burmese group, and discovered among them a tradition concerning a sacred book which they had once possessed, and which one day would be brought back to them by white teachers.

This formed a point of entrance for Christianity, and Karens form a large part of the Christian population of Burma. Work has also been carried on successfully among the Chins, Kachins, and other peoples in the areas stretching up to the frontiers with China and India. Roman Catholic activity has also been vigorous. The best-known figure of the Roman Catholic church in Burma was Bishop Bigandet (vicar apostolic, 1856–1893), an eminent scholar whose works on Buddhism in its Burmese form are still authoritative.

Restrictions on the residence of foreigners in Myanmar have led to the withdrawal of all foreign Christian workers. The churches, forced to rely on their own resources, have suffered from a sense of isolation. But the Anglican Church, much smaller in number than the Baptists, has reported that its numerical progress is considerably more rapid than in the days when it was under the care and supervision of foreign missionaries. Christianity largely remains a religion of ethnic minorities (roughly five percent of the population), whereas the majority (eighty-nine percent) within Myanmar maintains their association with the Theravāda Buddhist tradition.

Sri Lanka is inhabited by adherents of four religions: Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity. But Buddhists prevail. The Buddhist priesthood has been extremely influential in political as well as in religious affairs. Serious attempts have been made to turn Sri Lanka into a Buddhist country and to make Sinhala the only official language. These attempts have led to grave dissensions between those who speak Sinhala and those who speak Tamil, among whom are many Christians.

During the Portuguese period, many inhabitants of the island became members of the Roman Catholic church. Under the Dutch a considerable number became Protestants; but, with the religious toleration introduced by the British at the end of the eighteenth century, a large majority of Protestants reverted to the Roman Catholic church, which embraces about four-fifths of all the Christians on the island. Since the 1980s a number of Pentecostal and charismatic churches and movements have been added to the traditional mix of Catholics and Protestants, and the older denominations have recorded gradual decline. Overall, the Christian population remains a small minority

Buddhism in Sri Lanka is marked by the excellence of its scholars and by the powerful influence of its teachings. A few Christians have become Buddhists, among them a former prime minister of the country. Christians in Sri Lanka have become aware of the vitality of their country's Buddhist tradition. A number of them have studied deeply and have qualified themselves as experts in Buddhism; such interreligious dialogue is perhaps more active in Sri Lanka than in any other part of the world.

Indonesia. Indonesia, a republic three thousand miles long and including about three thousand islands, stands somewhat apart from the rest of Southeast Asia, showing marks of Hindu, Buddhist, and Islamic religions. It has the largest Muslim population of any country in the world.

The Dutch, when they were dominant, carried on missionary work, with a good deal of success especially in Ambon and northern Sulawesi. Indonesia is the only country in the world in which there is a steady drift of Muslims into the Christian church. It seems that one cause has been the sharp reaction of many Muslims against the vengeance taken by Muslims against actual or suspected communists at the time of an attempted communist coup in 1965.

The most notable success has been obtained among the non-Muslim Batak people of northern Sumatra. Missionary Ingwer Nommensen (1834–1918), when he first saw beautiful Lake Toba in 1885, envisioned a time when the church bell in every village would call the faithful to worship. Since that time millions of Bataks have entered the Christian churches and evangelism continues. The skill and energy with which Indonesian Christians have freed themselves from Dutch and German influences is reflected in the sense of independence that marks Christians of that country, an independence which is being modified by an increasing willingness to enter into the life of the wider Christian world and to accept the help offered by other Christians.

THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT. In 1757, at the battle of Plassey, the British established themselves as the strongest power in India. British unification of the subcontinent was complete in 1848. This unity lasted for almost a hundred years. In 1947 Muslims asserted their independence through the formation of Pakistan as an independent state (to be followed by the separation of East Pakistan), and the constitution, under the name Bangladesh, of a third independent state in the subcontinent.

The date at which the Christian faith first appeared in India has been the subject of many debates and still presents itself as a fascinating historical problem. It is certain that a Christian church has existed in Kerala (in southwestern India) for many centuries. The members of the various churches of the Thomas Christians are at one in their conviction that their church, in its original form, was founded by the apostle Thomas himself.

A number of scholars support the view that churches did exist in India not later than the second century; all but the most skeptical accept a date in the fourth century as almost certain. Through the centuries the church maintained its distinctiveness by retaining Syriac as the language of worship and receiving its bishops from Mesopotamia. Information for the medieval period is scanty; but when communication with the West was renewed, with the arrival of the Portuguese by the sea route in 1498, the church was found to be flourishing, Christians forming an accepted and respected element in Indian society. This ancient church remained, however, within the narrow compass of the region between the mountains and the sea, and, so far as is known, made no attempts to evangelize other parts of India. In fact, it made rather few attempts to convert local non-Christians.

When the Portuguese occupied Goa (1510) and made it the base for the establishment of their sea-borne empire, the situation was radically changed. The newcomers made no attempts to conquer extensive tracts of land as they had done in the Americas; but they did regard commerce and conversion to Christianity as intimately related to one another. By the end of the sixteenth century, as a result of special privileges for Christians and special hindrances for Hindus, the great majority of the population in the Portuguese possessions had entered the Roman Catholic church. In 1599, at the Synod of Udiyamperur (Diamper), the archbishop of Goa had persuaded the entire body of Thomas Christians to renounce the patriarch of Baghdad and accept the authority of the patriarch of Rome. Half a century later a third of the Thomas Christians, in rebellion against the autocracy of the Jesuits, reasserted their independence in the formation of the Malankara Syrian Orthodox Church, in which they still have their home.

A new complexion was given to missionary work by the great adventure of the Italian aristocrat Roberto de Nobili (1606–1656 in India), who set to work to turn himself into a brahman in order to win the brahmans. Nobili's considerable knowledge of Sanskrit and extensive literary activity in Tamil left a permanent mark on the Indian church.

With the support of the king of Denmark, the Protestants entered the field in 1706 in the small Danish territory of Tranquebar. Protestant missionary Christian Friedrich Schwartz served in India from 1750 until 1798 and left the indelible impression of a serene and gentle radiance upon Europeans and Indians alike.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, growth both for Roman Catholics and for Protestants was slow. The great period of expansion began in 1858, when the British government took over rule in India from the East India Company. Christians of many nations entered into the work, which in fifty years spread into almost every corner of India except in those areas where independent Indian rulers refused permission for any kind of Christian propaganda in their domains.

Three features of this period deserve special mention. First, the immense educational effort of the missionaries, aided by financial support from the government, produced a large Christian middle class, educated and professional, which prepared the way for the development of independent Indian churches. Second, the underprivileged "outcastes," seeing no hope of a better future under the Hindu system, began to press into the Christian churches. This movement was disapproved of by a great many missionaries and by the majority of educated Indian Christian leaders, but the pressure would not be stayed. These "untouchables" (*dalits*), in fact, represent well over half of all Protestant and Roman

Catholic church members. Third, many among the aboriginal peoples, having no wish to be incorporated into the Hindu caste system, saw in the Christian way a greater freedom than they could hope to enjoy elsewhere. Some whole peoples have become Christian and others greatly Christianized.

In the twentieth century, the great change was the transfer of power from foreign agents to indigenous leaders. The first Indian Anglican bishop, V. S. Azariah, was consecrated in 1912; the first Indian bishop of the Latin rite, Tiburtius Roche, was consecrated for Tuticorin in 1923. Rome showed its recognition of the maturity of the Indian church by the appointment of the first Indian cardinal, Valarian Gracias of Bombay, in 1953. The four fully united and independent churches of South India, North India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh have manifested an independent ecumenical spirit.

In the early 1980s, Christians numbered less than three percent of the population in India, much less in Pakistan and Bangladesh. But it may be argued that Christian teaching has had an impact upon contemporary Indian ethical thought. The government of independent India has abolished by law "untouchability." This righteous action owes much to the passionate advocacy by missionaries of the rights of the underprivileged. The Sarda Act, which raised the age of marriage for both boys and girls, was brought forward by Hindu reformers; these reformers were building on the work of Christians whose opposition to child marriage was well known.

British rule came to an end in 1947. When the change took place, both those who welcomed it with enthusiasm and those who viewed it with considerable alarm accepted it without question; not a single missionary left his or her post for reasons of political change. Nevertheless, political change was bound to affect the lives and prospects of Christians in a number of ways. While the Indian constitution contains a statement in favor of religious freedom, Christians often find life more difficult than it was in earlier days.

Pakistan has from the start been riven by dissensions. In any Muslim state Christians face a number of difficulties; Christians in Pakistan may have to face the possibility of increasing difficulties.

CONCLUSION. In 1948 the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council convened in Manila a meeting of leaders in the East Asian churches. The result of the meeting was the formation of the East Asia Secretariat, without any authority but with the expressed aim of promoting fellowship and mutual understanding. This was the beginning of a process which has proved highly productive. The Asian churches have come to feel that they ought to belong to one another. They have, for instance, held a meeting to discuss the problems of Christian faith and order in an Asian setting.

The missionary movement of the nineteenth and early twentieth century aimed at the development of an indigenous church in Asia defined by the "three selfs": self-control, self-support, and self-propagation, but usually understood as a duplication of the denominational expressions of churches in Europe or North America. There has been an overall decline in the number of missionaries related to the old established mainline churches and denominations of Europe and North America, although evangelical churches in the West maintain a strong missionary presence in Asia where legally permitted. Whereas there remain many examples of dependence on Western church theologies, creeds, and polities, most churches in Asia are under the direction of native rather than foreign leaders, and many new independent and post-denominational forms of Christianity have emerged in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

The transplantation of "normative" theologies from the West has largely been replaced by a serious concern to develop new forms of theological interpretation and Christian practice rooted in local cultures. Catholics refer to these theological developments as "inculturation," whereas Protestants usually use the term "contextualization." Just as Greek philosophy and categories shaped the early development of Western theologies, the Asian religious traditions—Hindu, Buddhist, and Confucian, for example—represent important resources for these new theological initiatives. Heroic and largely successful attempts to nurture a specifically Asian Christianity have been made. The full flowering of Asian theology may be yet to come, just as the full flowering of Christian thought and expression in the Syriac, Greek, and Latin languages did not begin until three centuries after the ministry of Jesus Christ. What has become abundantly clear is that Asians were not passive recipients of transplanted Christianity, but active agents who reinterpreted and reconstructed the Christian faith in terms that made sense to them.

In most of the multi-religious Asian societies considered here, Christians remain a minority group. In this situation, many church leaders have realized the importance of understanding the values and traditions that shape the larger majority with whom Christians must cooperate in order to build and sustain a civil society. Representatives of many churches and Christian institutions have invested considerable effort in dialogue with people of other faiths and established research and study centers that sponsor various activities and publications aimed at interreligious understanding. Inter-Religio, a network of sixteen Christian institutes and centers from eight countries in East Asia, is one example of this important development.

As has been the case in other non-Western contexts, the study of Christianity in Asia was initially burdened by a Eurocentric and North American orientation, and studies tended to focus on transplanted mission churches, missionary leaders, and institutions. A growing number of scholars are now seriously considering some additional ways in which Asians have engaged and reshaped Christianity throughout this region of the world.

SEE ALSO Chinese Religion, overview article; Japanese Religions, overview article; Jesuits; Korean Religion; Ricci, Matteo; Southeast Asian Religions, articles on Insular Cultures, New Religious Movements in Insular Cultures; Syriac Orthodox Church of Antioch; Uchimura Kanzō; Xavier, Francis.

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CHRISTIANITY: CHRISTIANITY IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

Christianity has developed in Australia and New Zealand along broadly similar lines. Such similarities include the occurrence of colonization at about the same time, largely by emigration from the British Isles; the early presence of major Christian denominations, both locally and in extending missionary activity in the South Pacific; periodic sectarian strife; and, by the end of the twentieth century, the clearly evident effect of secularizing influences. Important differences include the much greater geographical extent of Australia, the situation of the respective indigenous inhabitants, and the partly different ethnic background and denominational affiliations of immigrants.

CONTACTS BETWEEN CHRISTIANITY AND INDIGENOUS CULTURES. British penal settlements were established in New South Wales on the east coast of Australia in 1788 and, on a smaller scale, in Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) in 1803. During the nineteenth century, ex-convicts, free settlers, and government-assisted immigrants increased the population and spread it to Western and South Australia, Victoria, and Queensland.

The Aborigines—tribally and linguistically distinct groups scattered throughout Australia, with a population variously estimated between 300,000 and 750,000—were quickly displaced in the eastern colonies and reduced in numbers by disease, loss of hunting grounds, malnutrition, and brutality from settlers. Officials and missionaries found Aborigines to be enigmatic, and provision for religious observances in the settlements took slight account of them. Their seminomadism hindered missions and made it easy for settlers to assert that Aborigines had no substantive territorial claims. Missions, schools, and various measures, which sought simultaneously to isolate Aborigines from their own communities and segregate them from Europeans, had limited success during the nineteenth century.

From the late eighteenth century onward, whalers, sealers, and traders were attracted to New Zealand, inhabited by the Maori, who numbered between 70,000 and 100,000 in 1840. In that year New Zealand was annexed as a British colony, and Governor William Hobson signed the Treaty of Waitangi with northern Maori chiefs; subsequently, signatures were collected widely from other chiefs. The proceedings, the part played by missionaries, the meaning of the treaty's terms, and the treaty's contemporary relevance remain controversial. Disputes over land erupted into violence (at its most intense between 1860 and 1865), followed by extensive and unjust confiscation. Initial criticism of governmental action and settlers' attitudes by some church leaders, such as Octavius Hadfield, an Anglican missionary, became muted as the conflict proceeded. One legacy was widespread alienation of Maori from the British and their churches.

The Church Missionary Society had begun work among Maori in the far north of the North Island in 1814, partly at the behest of Samuel Marsden, a Church of England (Anglican) chaplain to the convict colony in New South Wales. In 1822, Wesleyan Methodists began work among the Maori, initially in the far north; both missions gradually extended southwards. Early Anglican and Methodist missionaries were firmly Protestant and evangelical, and the arrival in 1838 of Bishop Jean Baptiste Pompallier as the head of a Catholic mission generated anti-Catholicism and suspicion of French motives. Catholic missionaries, initially drawn from the Marist order, were, under Pompallier's guidance, more ready to accommodate native customs and often achieved closer identification with the Maori. Their impact was diminished by their relatively late arrival, the itinerant style of their ministry, Pompallier's administrative ineptitude, and, after 1850, the withdrawal of the Marist order from the diocese of Auckland, which comprised the upper half of the North Island and much of the Maori population.

By 1845 about half the Maori population was worshiping in Christian congregations. The general state of Maori society, the nature of the missionaries' impact, and the part played by other factors (e.g., war-weariness among the Maori, the attractions of literacy, improvements in the quality and methods of missionaries, and the role of Maori leadership) are debated by historians. Indigenous evangelists, catechists, and teachers significantly assisted conversions. The wives of missionaries played an important part in caring for their families, but also in having charge of mission stations when husbands were absent and in influencing Maori women and girls. The Maori often combined Christian ideas with their own traditional beliefs and practices, initially informally, but soon in reactive movements that combined secular and religious concerns. One of the earliest such movements, led by Papahurihia, later known as Te Atua Wera, emerged in the 1830s. Other movements followed, including that led by Pai Marire and Ringatu during the 1860s, and the movements associated with Rua Kenana and Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana in the first and second decades of the twentieth century, respectively.

CHURCH DEVELOPMENT. By 1900 all the major denominations, and several minor ones, were represented in Australia. Anglican chaplains to the penal settlements arrived first; mostly evangelicals, they were precursors of the strong presence their version of Christianity has maintained in Australia. Their ministry to convicts, about a fifth of whom were women, was less successful than that offered to free settlers, where clergy initially found more support from laity than from military and civil authorities. An important stage was reached in 1836 when William Grant Broughton became the first and only Anglican bishop of Australia. His diocese was subsequently subdivided, and the dioceses (and later the general synod) were governed by synods of bishops, clergy, and laity.

Initially, no provision was made for Catholics, despite the presence of Irish convicts. In 1820, two Irish priests arrived in Sydney, but their activities were severely restricted. By 1828, Catholics in New South Wales constituted almost a third of the population. In 1833 William Ullathorne was appointed vicar-general; a year later John Bede Polding was designated bishop of Sydney. Dioceses for other Australian colonies were created in the 1840s. Governance remained the prerogative of bishops and clergy, among whom the Irish soon established a long-sustained predominance. Caroline Chisholm (1808–1877), a Catholic laywoman with a humanitarian concern for immigrants, provided a different style of leadership.

By 1803, Presbyterianism was established among Scottish immigrants in Sydney. John Dunmore Lang, who arrived in 1823, was a dominant, and sometimes dominating, figure in public and ecclesiastical life. By 1850, Presbyterianism was strongly represented, especially in Melbourne, but events in both Scotland and Australia made it prey to controversies and divisions, although these were mostly resolved over the next half-century. A national Presbyterian General Assembly first met in 1901 after wary negotiations over the respective functions of state and national assemblies. The initial Methodist class meeting was held in Sydney in 1812; the first minister arrived in 1815. An Australasian Conference first met in 1855; and in 1902 the Methodist Church of Australasia brought together the branches of Methodism, thirty years before Great Britain did so. By the 1830s several smaller denominations, notably Baptists, Congregationalists, and Quakers, were represented; Lutheranism brought by German migrants, was, like Methodism, especially strong in South Australia. By the close of the nineteenth century, Seventh-day Adventists, the Salvation Army, Brethren, and Unitarians added to denominational variety.

In nineteenth-century Australia the overwhelming majority of the population professed adherence to one of the major denominations. Anglicanism embraced many nominal adherents and infrequent worshipers, and it lost its quasi-establishment status to become one denomination among others. Methodism, on the other hand, shed vestiges of sectarianism to gain denominational status. Catholics and Methodists (especially the former), were initially overrepresented among the less affluent, while Anglicans and Presbyterians were slightly overrepresented among the more affluent.

Systematic colonization of New Zealand began in the 1840s. Two major settlements had ecclesiastical associations: Otago (1848) with Presbyterianism, and Canterbury (1850) with the Church of England; neither ended up religiously exclusive. George Augustus Selwyn, from 1841 to 1867 the first Anglican bishop of New Zealand, was a commanding, sometimes autocratic, figure. By 1869 the original diocese had been subdivided into six dioceses. A constitution of 1857, fostered by Selwyn and enacted without consulting the Maori, established the church in New Zealand as an autonomous province with close links to the Church of England and gave synodical representation to clergy and laity. In 1848 the Catholic Church in New Zealand was divided into two dioceses, based in Auckland and Wellington; dioceses in Dunedin and Christchurch followed later. Irish and Catholic identity were mutually reinforcing but were modified by the presence of English and French clergy and religious.

Presbyterianism, which began as a ministry to settlers, not a mission to the Maori, had its New Zealand beginnings in Wellington in 1840 and Auckland in 1842; during the 1850s and 1860s it spread more widely. Initially, Presbyterianism was organized in two separate bodies, one based in the southernmost provinces of Otago and Southland and the other covering the rest of New Zealand. Reunion moves faltered in the 1860s but succeeded in 1901. The early presence of Methodist missionaries, along with an emphasis on lay involvement, ensured that Methodism was active in the earliest years of settlement. The varieties of British Methodism were represented, but had united by 1913 when Methodism in New Zealand became an autonomous conference. The first Baptist church in New Zealand was formed in Nelson in 1851. The New Zealand Baptist Union was inaugurated in 1882. By 1900, other groups—Congregationalists, Churches of Christ, Quakers, Brethren, Seventh-day Adventists, Unitarians, and Lutherans—were represented in smaller numbers.

The social composition of the major churches in New Zealand was broadly similar to that of Australia, but the level of regular church attendance in New Zealand was lower than that in New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia—as well as, for that matter, England and Scotland. The difference between Australia and New Zealand may be related to the slightly different denominational composition, since Methodists and Irish Catholics, more strongly represented in Australia, had higher church attendance figures than Anglicans.

CHURCH, STATE, AND SOCIETY. Debate on church-state relations in Great Britain extended to Australia and New Zealand. The most significant early measure in Australia was the New South Wales Church Act of 1836, which broke the Anglican monopoly of governmental financial aid and did not distinguish between the major denominations in providing funds to build churches and maintain clergy. Similar arrangements were made in other Australian colonies. South Australia began with a voluntary system and flirted briefly with state aid, but it set a precedent in 1851 by terminating such aid, which was phased out in other Australian colonies by 1895. Hobson, the first governor of New Zealand, was directed to guarantee "the most absolute toleration" to all denominations. Once representative government was in place in 1854, the House of Representatives affirmed "the privilege of a perfect political equality in all religious denominations" and declined responsibility for the Anglican bishop's stipend.

Controversy over the control and funding of education was also exported to the colonies. In Australia a pattern of state aid to denominational schools emerged. Erosion of such aid began in New South Wales in 1866 when separate boards for state and church schools were consolidated, existing denominational schools were regulated, and assistance was withheld from new church schools. In Victoria a secular public system was inaugurated in 1872, and in New South Wales state aid to denominational schools was withdrawn in 1880. Eventually all Australian colonies terminated state aid and established free, compulsory, and secular education at the primary level. In New Zealand aid was given to denominational schools during the Crown Colony period and was continued by some provincial governments until their abolition in 1876. The Education Act of 1877 stipulated that primary education should be free, compulsory, and secular; state aid was withdrawn.

While many Protestants in both countries supported state education in principle, Catholics and some Anglicans opposed it and developed schools at their own expense. Catholic schools, able to draw on religious orders for teaching staff, were more numerous and helped to reinforce Catholic community and identity. Especially in Australia, Protestant and Anglican secondary schools gained a long-lasting elite status. Behind the move to secularization in both countries was a dislike of sectarian squabbling, suspicion of Catholic and Anglican designs, fears of social divisiveness, inefficiencies and inequalities in existing systems, and the growing popularity in government circles of theories of secular education.

The secularizing of primary education, along with concerns about the effects of urbanization and falling church attendance, especially among workingmen, may have helped generate the sense of crisis among Christian leaders that arose in the 1870s. Moves to defend "Christian standards" were channeled into opposition to educational changes, evangelistic efforts, and moves to secure legislation on a range of issues including Sunday observance, temperance, gambling, prostitution, the age of consent, and indecent publications. Visions of what constituted a Christian society and how it was to be realized varied. Protestants and Catholics rarely cooperated. Few Catholics were prepared to support Protestant-led moves on gambling, sabbatarianism, and temperance. An economic depression during the 1890s helped generate concern about social justice, some of which was expressed in "Christian socialism." More generally, however, there was an emphasis on personal religion and morality and their outworking in public life. To this period belong the beginnings of church social-service agencies; Methodist "city missions" and the Salvation Army were conspicuous.

Although there were instances of denominational cooperation, which sometimes bridged the Catholic-Protestant divide, sectarian strife surfaced. Anti-Catholicism was evident in colonial New South Wales; in New Zealand suspicion first fastened on early French Catholic missionaries. Subsequent conflict was fed by various causes, including Protestant aversion to Catholicism, Catholic resentment of Protestant social and political ascendancy, the presence of a largely working-class Irish-Catholic subculture, strongly Protestant lodges and friendly societies, and disputes over education. On both sides were public figures with a propensity for inflammatory rhetoric: Daniel Mannix, archbishop of

Melbourne from 1917 to 1963 (and coadjutor from 1913 to 1917), personified militant Catholicism. During World War I, conscription and the 1916 Easter Rising in Ireland fueled sectarian strife, which continued into the postwar years, sustained by anti-Catholic organizations.

Leadership in church and society up to around 1900 and for some time thereafter was predominantly male. In a few smaller denominations—Primitive Methodists, Bible Christians (a branch of Methodism), Salvation Army, and Unitarians—women were allowed to preach; from the 1890s onward, some larger Protestant denominations appointed women as deaconesses. Women were active in many roles, including evangelism, pastoral care, charitable work, overseas missions, and teaching, particularly in Sunday schools, which gained added importance in the wake of the secularization of public education at the primary level. In Catholicism, and on a much smaller scale in Anglicanism, women's religious orders, some led by outstanding women—including Mary McKillop (1842–1909) in Australia and Suzanne Aubert (1835–1926) in New Zealand—worked effectively in education, nursing, and charitable enterprises. In the closing years of the nineteenth century, various women's organizations emerged, some church-based, others in which churchwomen worked alongside other women in matters of common concern, such as temperance and women's suffrage. Measures facilitating female participation in church government did not follow generally or quickly, even after female suffrage was granted, initially in New Zealand in 1893.

WORLD WARS, ECONOMIC DEPRESSION, AND THE CHURCHES. A sense of national identity (among Protestants particularly), combined with imperial loyalty, was evident from around 1900. It became apparent in moves leading to the federation of the Australian colonies in 1901, and in New Zealand in support for the South African War (1899–1902). With few dissentients, mostly from smaller Christian bodies such as Quakers and Brethren, church leaders and representative assemblies strongly supported participation in both world wars, although more soberly during World War II. The disastrous Gallipoli campaign in 1915 to 1916 was speedily memorialized in the annual Anzac (an acronym from Australian and New Zealand Army Corps) Day observance, which blends religious and secular elements and now commemorates the dead in other conflicts also. Australian Lutherans during World War I and conscientious objectors in both countries and conflicts were victims of prejudiced patriotism. For some—chaplains, combatants, and church leaders—World War I was an unsettling experience, strengthening support for pacifism and the League of Nations during the interwar years.

Between the two wars lay the economic depression of the late 1920s and early 1930s. Despite financially restrictive budgets the churches provided relief measures, although as the depression deepened some church members criticized government policies. In New Zealand the Labour Party capitalized on support from the churches, and this was a factor in the party's electoral victory in 1935. In Australia, Ernest Burgmann, the Anglican bishop of Goulburn from 1934, emerged as an outspoken social critic and supporter of working-class aspirations. Some Catholics, influenced by their church's social teachings, envisaged a more just social order, but they also sought to curb Communist influence in trade unions. These efforts, in which B. A. (Bob) Santamaria, a leading and controversial lay intellectual, played a key role, were one cause of a major split in the Australian Labour Party in the 1940s and early 1950s and its political defeat and ineffectiveness until the 1970s. These events strained a longstanding alliance between the Labour Party and Catholicism, which had weakened as Catholics moved up the socioeconomic ladder.

Missionary work among the Maori resumed towards 1900, in some areas competing with Mormons and the Ringatu and Ratana movements. Assimilative policies were only slowly abandoned; measures such as the Anglican appointment of Frederick Augustus Bennett as bishop of Aotearoa in 1928 typically gave the Maori an enhanced but still limited role. Church-related secondary schools contributed towards the emergence of Maori leadership. Aborigines were subjected to drastic assimilative measures, including the removal of Aboriginal children for adoption or institutional care. Protestant and Catholic missions among Aborigines in northern Australia were reestablished beginning around 1900, with varying success. Among Europeans, an understanding of Aboriginal culture remained rare, and protests against the conditions under which many Aborigines lived was rarer. More hopefully, significant indigenous ministry had real beginnings, notably with the evangelist Uraiakurai and with James Noble, the first Aboriginal Anglican deacon.

Women, often in significant educational, medical, and missionary roles, outnumbered men in overseas missions, but the roles that women could take locally changed only slowly. In 1927 Winifred Kiek, a South Australian Congregationalist, was the first woman ordained in either country, although deaconesses increasingly exercised ministry in major Protestant churches after about 1900. In the Catholic and, to some extent, the Anglican Church, laywomen's organizations were supervised by clergy and bishops and confined to devotional, missionary, and charitable activities. Anglican and Catholic leadership, including leading laywomen, remained strongly supportive of traditional patterns of marriage, family, and women's roles, and they were more resistant to changes in divorce law than other denominations.

A higher birth rate, along with immigration after World War II, especially from Italy and other predominantly Catholic countries in Europe, buttressed Catholic numbers in Australia. Migration brought numerical strength, ethnic and ecclesiastical variety, and concomitant tensions with the Orthodox churches. New Zealand was less affected by such immigration because numbers were smaller. There was some leveling off of active membership in Protestant churches in the interwar years, but the majority of children were baptized and attended Sunday school. In both countries about 90 percent of all marriages were performed by a religious celebrant. Liberalizing trends in theology, present from the late nineteenth century, gained added strength in Protestantism, but less so among Anglicans. Conservative evangelicals, edged from influential roles in some theological colleges and leadership positions, established a network of bible colleges, summer conferences, and transdenominational organizations. The diocese of Sydney and its theological college, Moore College, emerged as guardians of conservative, confessional, and firmly Protestant Anglicanism within and beyond Australia.

The years between approximately 1945 and 1960 were comparatively placid and prosperous. During the immediate postwar years there was a strong desire to return to normalcy; rising affluence benefited some, and suburbs mushroomed. Fund-raising schemes financed the construction of church buildings and Catholic schools. Church life was relatively stable: theology, structures, and piety were still largely intact from earlier times. Missions, notably those led in both countries by the Australian Methodist Alan Walker or by Billy Graham, expressed and enhanced Protestant confidence. Traditional Catholic devotionalism was similarly buoyed up by revivalist missions led by local clergy and religious, and by overseas visitors like Father Patrick Peyton, who preached a “rosary crusade” in both countries.

CONTROVERSY, CHANGE, AND CHALLENGE. The 1960s were labeled the “hinge years”—their cultural turbulence generated by longstanding trends and catalytic events, and their legacy compounded during subsequent decades. Technological developments, notably in contraception, television, computing, and electronic media, helped engender far-reaching social consequences. Customary patterns of employment, recreation, censorship, women’s roles, and family life underwent change. Christians were as polarized as their fellow citizens on questions of race, culture, gender, and national identity, and likewise on specific issues like the Vietnam War, abortion, homosexuality, and free-market policies. In addition, Catholics faced the upheaval precipitated by the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), strains on schooling systems, reaction to the birth-control encyclical *Humanae Vitae* (1968), allegations of sexual abuse by clergy and other religious, the dilution of Catholic distinctiveness, and a decline in vocations to the priesthood and religious life—along with a high dropout rate from both. Some laity responded by adopting an autonomous attitude towards belief and practice, others by maintaining a traditionalist stance; one official response has been the appointment of such trusty conservatives as George Pell, archbishop, successively, of Melbourne and Sydney and a cardinal since 2001.

Moves towards organic union, first mooted about 1900 and never entirely shelved, slowed. In Australia the two Lutheran denominations united in 1966, and in 1977 the Uniting Church brought together Methodists, Congregationalists, and about two-thirds of Presbyterians. In New Zealand, moves to achieve organic union between Anglicans, Churches of Christ, Congregationalists, Methodists, and Presbyterians stalled by 1981. National councils of churches, founded in New Zealand in 1941 and Australia in 1946, continue functioning, but with diminished support and vigor. Since the Second Vatican Council, Catholics participated in some joint ventures, including theological education and local, less formalized ecumenical endeavors. At the same time that reunion moves abated, the internal unity of major Protestant denominations became strained over various theological and moral issues, including the ordination of persons in same-sex relationships. Moreover, Pacific Islanders, Indonesians, Chinese, Koreans, and Vietnamese have established church communities in the region that are strongly attached to traditional beliefs and morality.

Pentecostalism, represented from the 1920s by numerically small denominations, the largest being the Assemblies of God, burgeoned from the 1960s, but gains in this sector of Christianity do not outweigh losses elsewhere. Pentecostalism, along with the charismatic movement in major denominations, forms one aspect of a strong resurgence in conservative evangelicalism. The foundation of “Christian schools” and the increase in parental home schooling are important aspects of this revival. From the 1960s and 1970s, large increases in state aid to schools outside the public system have helped increase their number, sustain their viability, and widen educational options. Some denominational schools have rejected integration with the state system on the grounds that it propagates secular values. Despite sniping from teachers’ unions and opposition from organizations such as the Australian Council for the Defence of Government Schools, the provision of governmental assistance to schools outside the public system has continued. Complete reversal of this policy seems unlikely, not least because it would be politically hazardous.

Maori and Aborigines, increasingly urbanized, have become more outspoken about discrimination and land issues. Some in the churches have taken up their cause, especially the Conference of Churches (formerly the National Council of Churches) in Aotearoa, New Zealand, the Uniting Church in Australia, and the National Council of Churches in Australia. Beginning in the 1960s, all major denominations in New Zealand made structural changes to give Maori more determinative roles. In Australia, as governmental and ecclesiastical policies shifted from assimilation to self-determination, some Aborigines have been ordained by major denominations, and more genuinely indigenous expressions of Christianity have emerged. In both countries these changes have helped open the way to the deployment of indigenous art in Christian contexts.

Women have increasingly undertaken theological study and wider roles in church governance and ordained ministry. In New Zealand, women were ordained in the Methodist (1959) and Presbyterian (1965) churches shortly before their Australian counterparts. Among Australian Anglicans, controversy over ordaining women to the priesthood was more divisive and protracted than in New Zealand, where the first such ordinations were held in 1977, compared with 1992 in Australia. Penelope Jamieson became the first woman diocesan bishop in Anglicanism on her appointment to Dunedin in 1990. The Catholic and Orthodox churches and, where priesthood is concerned, some sections of Anglicanism, notably the diocese of Sydney, have resisted this change while utilizing the ministry of women in other ways. Especially in some smaller denominations and independent congregations, traditional views of women's roles find support from the predominantly male leadership and associated women's groups. Conversely, feminism has led some women to various responses, including seeking reform of existing structures, developing feminist theologies and liturgies, or abandoning the churches.

In both countries most major denominations are experiencing a decline in numbers of adherents as a proportion of the total population. Major denominations are also seeing changing patterns of attendance, with fewer people attending services weekly. All such denominations, but some more than others, have an aging population, and as a result Sunday-school enrollments have plummeted. Churches and congregations of an evangelical or charismatic character have a lower age profile. Censuses from 1971 onward show substantial increases in those indicating "no religion" or opting for an increasing number of non-Christian options. Denominational loyalty is less of a concern for younger generations, including some church leaders. Except among relatively recent immigrants, the linkage between ethnic identity and ecclesiastical affiliation has weakened. Rites of passage are less often observed in Christian settings, and the number of people who attend church occasionally is probably falling. In explaining the downturn, some scholars invoke theories of secularization variously interpreted; others stress accelerating cultural and social changes dating back to the 1960s. Some scholars also note the decline in support for voluntary organizations and the alleged corrosiveness of liberal theologies, while others focus on evidence for the survival of religious beliefs—"believing without belonging"—and suggest strategies for church growth accordingly.

CONCLUDING PERSPECTIVES. There was much in nineteenth-century church life in Australia and New Zealand that was derivative. Until about 1900, the churches in Australia and New Zealand were substantially dependent on clerical personnel from abroad. Overseas newspapers, periodicals, and books fuelled local theological debates. While some immigrants were eager to shake off the shackles of their past, real and imagined, others preferred to follow familiar ways in church life. The main sources of influence and personnel for Protestants and Anglicans were England, Scotland, and Wales; for Catholics, Ireland and Italy; and for Australian Lutherans, Germany. The United States, too, played its part with the arrival of Seventh-day Adventists, Mormons, and Jehovah's Witnesses; the visits of American Protestant and Catholic revivalists; and the precedent that the Episcopal Church provided for the constitutional arrangements of colonial Anglicanism. There were local initiatives before 1900, but they did not extend to the creation of new denominations or major sectarian movements, although significant Maori reactive movements emerged. While much local church architecture was imitative, timber was sometimes used effectively for construction, interior enhancement, and furnishings. Some local musicians, while influenced by overseas styles, contributed original compositions to hymnody and church music. Where ministry is concerned, lay preachers and, among Anglicans, lay readers were widely used, and in Australia the Australian Inland Mission (Presbyterian) and Anglo-Catholic Anglicans developed forms of ministry adapted for ministry to settlers in the outback.

Overseas influences remain important and pervasive. Air travel and speedier communication via electronic media, tape cassettes, the internet, and video ensure that this is the case. Liberal, radical, and conservative theologians, feminists and their critics, world leaders in Pentecostalism and the charismatic movement, spiritual guides, and church leaders visit Australia and New Zealand frequently. But the situation has changed in two respects. Australians and New Zealanders, now firmly ensconced in leadership positions, are part of an international interchange. Especially in Australia, which has more substantial financial, institutional, and personnel resources, there are now theologians of international standing, including Charles Birch in Sydney and Elaine Wainwright, an Australian and head of the school of theology at the University of Auckland. Church leaders, clerical and lay, participate in international commissions, conferences, and consultations. Along with much that remains derivative, significant local initiatives in architecture, liturgy, religious dance, church music, theology, and spirituality have emerged, some displaying the influence of indigenous cultures and sensitivity to local natural environments. The transition from colonial dependence has led to interdependence and interaction rather than complete independence.

Estimating the impact and significance of Christianity and the churches on cultural and public life is a complex task. In Australia the poet Francis Webb and the painter Arthur Boyd, and in New Zealand James K. Baxter and Colin McCahon (in the same roles, respectively), are examples of the artists, dramatists, novelists, and poets who have drawn on the Christian heritage in richly varied ways. Among historians, sociologists, and social commentators, some claim too much for the influence of Christianity and the churches, others too little. Some see the influence of Christianity and Christian churches as predominantly conservative, while others highlight the espousal of radical causes by groups and individuals, and yet others stress the historically ambiguous record of the treatment of indigenous peoples, children, and women by religious institutions and some professionals.

Where influence is concerned, there are differences in extent and character over time, between social groupings, and from one region to another, especially in Australia. Statistics of attendance and participation have their uses, especially where they disclose trends, but they hardly touch and test the inner essence of religious faith and practice. All this said, some things are clear. Legislative enactments governing Sunday observance, censorship, abortion, gambling, alcohol, and homosexual behavior, once strongly backed by many Christians, have been progressively eroded, despite the opposition of Christian conservatives. In this respect, and more generally, public life has become more secular. Church leaders no longer have the extent of informal contact with politicians they once had; with fewer members (and therefore fewer potential voters), church leaders have less clout with government. Anglican cathedrals in both countries are often still the setting for important national and civic occasions, but only remnants of quasi-establishment status linger.

Even apart from strictly religious considerations there is more to be said. Church-related institutions—hospitals, schools, university residence halls, city missions and other welfare agencies, and voluntary organizations— have made important contributions in areas where government assistance is sometimes parsimonious. It is difficult to point to any one major reform or protest movement sponsored solely by churches, but some leaders and members have participated in such moves, and, on the basis of local and overseas contacts, have contributed valuable perspectives. Christians involved in such activities have had their values shaped and efforts upheld by the worship and fellowship of church communities. Although the major churches still have substantial financial and personnel resources, as well as a degree of public goodwill, they face an uncertain future. Their current weaknesses mirror their diminished, although still significant, influence in the culture and public life of Australia and New Zealand.

SEE ALSO Australian Indigenous Religions, article on Aboriginal Christianity.

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COLIN BROWN (1987 AND 2005)

CHRISTIANITY: CHRISTIANITY IN THE PACIFIC ISLANDS [FIRST EDITION]

Christianity has become the religion of almost all the original peoples of the Pacific Islands. The Indo-Fijian population in Fiji and various immigrant groups in Hawaii are the only population groups that remain largely outside any Christian church. The following examples illustrate the fact that the indigenous island peoples hold to Christianity firmly and vigorously. Samoa has more ministers in proportion to its size than does any other country, and it is reported that 80 percent of the people of Vanuatu are in church on Sunday. In Tonga, until recently, the most common occupation after gardening and fishing was the Christian ministry. Both Papua New Guinea and Western Samoa refer to the Christian faith in their constitutions. Finally, in the country of Tuvalu, people not in church are presumed to be sick, and teams from the congregations visit them during the time of the church service.

INTRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION. The distribution of the various confessional groups in the Pacific reflects the processes by which Christianity was introduced to the region. Almost invariably the predominant church of any island or country is the church of the first missionaries to reach it. The move from the traditional religion to Christianity was normally made by the people as a whole—a whole island group in Polynesia or a whole village in Melanesia—thus preserving the religious unity that had existed previously and making for considerable religious uniformity within each land.

The first missionaries to work in the islands, the Spaniards who came with Sanvitores to the Mariana Islands in 1668, established Roman Catholicism as the religion of the Mariana peoples. That condition continues to the present time. The Catholicism of the Marianas is similar in many ways to that of the Philippine Islands, because the missionaries came from the Philippines and because in the following years there was much immigration from the Philippines. The Catholic missionaries also tried to penetrate the western Caroline Islands, but their work there was subject to many fluctuations, and as a consequence conformity to Roman Catholicism is not so general there.

The Spanish efforts died down, but a new missionary élan in Europe brought fresh Protestant and Catholic workers to the islands in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Protestant pioneer body was the London Missionary Society, and its first emissaries began work in Tahiti in 1797. After many disappointments the missionaries were surprised by a sudden shift to Christianity by the principal ruler, Pomare II, in 1815, and soon thereafter Pomare made himself the undisputed ruler of Tahiti and Christianity the undisputed religion of the island. The Protestant church begun then has continued as the majority religion of Tahiti and of the islands associated with it. The London Missionary Society missionaries then moved on to the Cook Islands and also to Samoa, where they established their largest and most flourishing church. From Samoa they reached out to Tuvalu and the Loyalty Islands, where again they became the church of the majority, and to Kiribati, where they eventually had to share the land equally with the Roman Catholics, who came from France at the end of the century.

Another Congregational body, patterned on the London Missionary Society, began missions in Hawaii. This was the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. When its first group of missionaries reached Hawaii in 1820, the traditional religion had already been repudiated, the great idols destroyed, and the sacred enclosures desecrated. This resulted from the influence of sailors and merchants from Europe and America who had broken the ancient taboos with impunity and had thus shaken the faith of the people. In the following years, Queen Kaahumanu took the lead in presenting Christianity to the people of Hawaii and gaining their adherence to it.

At about the same time, national movements into Christianity were taking place under the auspices of the English Methodists in Tonga and Fiji. The royal leader who made Methodism the church of Tonga was Taufa'ahau (later known as King George), who was converted in 1831 and thereafter brought the entire kingdom under his control by his military prowess. In Fiji there was a similar pattern. Thakombau, the most rapidly rising chief of the islands, made the decision for Christianity in 1854 and was able to defeat his non-Christian rivals. In both Tonga and Fiji the overwhelming majority of the indigenous people became and remain Methodists.

In the islands north and west of Fiji there are no large political units, so the spread of Christianity was slower—village by village. Vanuatu was the only country where the Presbyterians began the first churches and where they are now the major religious body. The Solomon Islands is the only country in the Pacific Islands where the Anglicans were the first to establish continuing work. Their Melanesian Mission began work not only in the Solomons but also in northern Vanuatu. The Anglican church continues as the largest church in the Solomons, though it divides the country with Methodists in the west, the Seventh-day Adventists in the Morovo Lagoon, the South Sea Evangelical Church on the island of Malaita, and the Roman Catholics on several islands. The South Sea Evangelical Church is unique among the churches thus far considered in that it was begun by a nonchurch mission, inspired and led by an Australian woman, Florence Young, who began her work in the islands in 1904.

After the Spanish decline Roman Catholic missionaries were usually from France. In most lands they came after the Protestants and so had only a minority status. This is true in Tahiti and most of French Polynesia (except the Marquesas), and in the Cook Islands, Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, Vanuatu, and the Solomons. In New Caledonia, however, the Catholics came first. Marist missionaries from France began continuing labors in that island in 1851 and, after many initial difficulties, began what is now the major religious community there. Large French and other Catholic immigrations have swelled this majority, and the church is now fairly evenly divided between the indigenes and the immigrants.

Papua New Guinea does not fit into the usual Pacific pattern of one original and predominant church. It contains as many people as all the other islands put together, and neither its history nor its geography has been conducive to a united Christian development. The London Missionary Society established the first continuing mission in 1871 and soon spread along nearly the whole of the south coast. Methodists, this time from Australia, came in 1875 to the Bismarck Archipelago and later to the islands east of Papua. French Catholics followed shortly in both Papua and the Bismarck Archipelago. After the British and German empires came to rule, the Anglican church established itself on the northeast coast of Papua and strong German-Lutheran and German-Catholic missions developed in German New Guinea. Out of these missions have come the five major church traditions of the country: Congregational, Methodist, Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Lutheran, with the Catholics by far the largest. The number of major religious bodies was reduced by one in 1968, when the Congregationalists and the Methodists combined to form the United Church, but that consolidation did not significantly counterbalance the proliferation of denominations that began in the 1950s, primarily in the New Guinea Highlands. The Highlands had been largely unknown and had been closed to Christian penetration before that time. But in the 1950s and 1960s there came a rush of many church and para-church missions into the area, making it the most variegated part of the Pacific Islands in terms of religion.

INDIGENOUS MISSIONARIES. The missionaries who came to New Guinea and to the other islands of the Pacific were not solely the Europeans who have received most of the attention; there were also Pacific-islanders in abundance. As soon as Tahiti and its neighbors were converted, missionaries radiated out from there to the Cook Islands and Samoa. Usually they were taken to their new posts by European missionaries, but once in place they did the major work of starting the new churches. Tonga sent early missionaries, with royal backing, to start Methodist churches in Samoa and Fiji. The Congregational church in Hawaii in the middle of the nineteenth century launched missions to the Marshall Islands and the eastern Caroline Islands, where they began what are still the principal churches of those islands.

The great challenge and opportunity for islander missionaries came in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when New Guinea and the western Solomons were opening up. The Congregationalists of Samoa and the Cook Islands and the Methodists of Fiji and Tonga proved to be the great mission-senders for these new lands. Some 650 men, often accompanied by wives who were equally dedicated to missionary labors, went to the new areas. Much of the church life in the lands where they labored bears the imprint of their particular styles of Christianity. Within New Guinea itself the missionary tradition was continued by many hundreds of Christians who went from the coastlands and outer islands into the Highlands when they were opened. Notable are the hundreds of Lutheran pioneers, many of whom went even before the Highlands were officially opened. The Solomon Islands showed a similar activity in the work of the Melanesian Brotherhood, an Anglican order of young men begun in 1926 and numbering over one thousand through subsequent years, who were dedicated to bringing Christianity to the most isolated and resistant areas.

FOLK CHRISTIANITY. Most of the churches of the islands may be described as folk churches; that is, they are deeply intertwined with the societies around them and they are not inclined to distinguish themselves from or to stand out against those societies. Although they were originally the product of alien influences, they now believe themselves to be protectors of the island traditions and opponents of the newer alien influences that are pouring in.

Churches play a large role in village life and are often directly linked to village leadership. The church buildings are usually constructed by the village people and are maintained by them. Protestant pastors are selected, trained, and supported by the churches of which they are a part. Catholic priests are at present primarily expatriates, but the situation is changing steadily, so that the day of the indigenous priesthood is not far off in many countries. By the early 1980s it was already a reality in Samoa, Fiji, Tonga, Wallis-Futuna, and some parts of Papua New Guinea. The Roman Catholic church, of course, maintains its ties to Rome, but it also exercises much independence in national and regional structures. The major Protestant churches have all achieved full independence from the missions and handle their own affairs.

INTERCHURCH RELATIONS. During the nineteenth century the different Protestant missions worked, by design, in different territories and enjoyed fairly cordial relationships. Between Roman Catholics and Protestants, however, there was intense rivalry and much ill feeling. With the coming of the twentieth century the sense of hostility began to subside. After there were no more adherents of traditional religion who might be won by either camp, there was little point in further competition. People who were already Catholics or Protestants seldom changed sides.

New ecumenical attitudes in the wider world have begun to have their effect in the Pacific. Regional conferences of the Protestant churches began to be held in 1926, and eventually, in 1966, these led to the creation of the Pacific Conference of Churches, a body that includes nearly all the major Protestant denominations. The Catholic Bishops' Conference for the Pacific was formed in 1968, and a parallel organization for Papua New Guinea was also created. In 1973 this Conference took the unprecedented step of deciding to join the Pacific Conference of Churches. This was the first time Catholics anywhere determined to join Protestants in a regional church structure. Today all the major churches recognize each other and often engage in cooperative efforts.

NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS. The unity evidenced by the major churches does not extend to all the minor churches and sects, many of which have entered the islands in more recent years. The newer churches of the New Guinea Highlands have been brought together in a cooperative structure of their own, the Evangelical Alliance, but elsewhere in the Pacific the newer or smaller churches and sects are vigorously competitive and are growing at the expense of the older, established churches, especially in the urban areas. The largest of the smaller churches is that of the Mormons, which is by no means new and may not long be small. It has been growing rapidly and has become one of the larger minority bodies in most Polynesian countries.

In addition to the influx of new religious movements from outside the Pacific, many new movements have been created by the Pacific peoples themselves. These have usually been short-lived, emotionally intense movements that have combined features of traditional island religion and Christianity. The first of these appeared in Tahiti soon after the conversion of that country and was known as the Mamaia cult. Samoa, during the time of its conversion, saw a similar phenomenon in the cult of Sio Vili. Fiji produced a whole series of such movements that rose and fell in succession. In the years shortly before and after World War II, Papua New Guinea saw a plethora of new movements that drew worldwide attention. They were often called cargo cults, since many of them provided ritual ways of trying to secure the cargo that was seen coming to Europeans. These cults often emerged from the churches and were often led by former church officers. Many tried to enlist entire communities, since the effectiveness of the rituals was believed to require community-wide participation, and thus they damaged and even for a time destroyed church life in certain places. Typically, cult leaders tried to organize and control every aspect of their members' lives in an attempt to establish complete harmony and cooperation. When, however, their own communities developed divisions or the anticipated cargo failed to arrive, members gradually lost interest and the movements died down. In recent years they have largely disappeared, though a few continue in a quieter style and show signs of possible permanence—the Pa-liau movement in Manus, the Christian Fellowship Church in the western Solomons, the John Frum movement on the island of Tanna in Vanuata, and the Modekgnei movement in Belau.

SEE ALSO Cargo Cults.

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CHARLES W. FORMAN (1987)

CHRISTIANITY: CHRISTIANITY IN THE PACIFIC ISLANDS [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

During the 1960s mission organizations of the mainstream Christian churches backed away from "foreign control." This allowed for the formation of national Protestant churches. Among these, to illustrate, were l'Église évangélique in New Caledonia (1960), the Cook Islands Christian Church (1965), and the United Church in Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands (1968), all originating from a London Missionary Society base. The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea is of interest for its stage-by-stage securing of complete autonomy between 1956 and 1976, as is the Pacific Christian Church (a Protestant concern independent in Papua New Guinea by 1966) in setting the goal for its Irian Jaya counterpart to pass beyond "mission status." In the Catholic sphere, Vatican II had the effect of generating a new council of bishops for the Pacific region (1966 for Polynesia and Melanesia; 1984 for Micronesia), localizing territorial control. With all these developments came the indigenization of church leadership. A strong stock of Melanesian bishops became manifest. Anglican George Ambo of Papua, for example, inspired austerity and personal discipline following the tightening of foreign purse strings that affected his church; New Guinea Lutheran Zuruwe Zurenuo and the United Church's Leslie Boseto of the Solomon Islands presented strong visions of postmission solidarity; while the controversial Bougainvillean Catholic Gregory Singkai ministered to different sides in the complex Bougainville crisis with extraordinary bravery (1990–1993). As a great man combining ecumenism and peacemaking across the Pacific (as well as astute pastoral care and engagement in the "democracy movement" in his own country), Tongan Catholic bishop Patelisio Finau (1934–1993) seems to tower above all such leaders in recent times.

Aside from mainline denominations, separatist or independent churches with indigenous leaders and homegrown concerns have also made a showing in the Pacific. In Melanesia, where over twenty such churches have emerged (some reminiscent of fixtures documented by Bengt Sundkler for southern Africa), the history of cargo cult movements provides an important background. Sizable examples of such movements like to appear as churches to enhance their legitimacy, as with the Pomio *kivung* on New Britain, for instance, with its indigenous messiah Koriam Urekit and the use of the Ten Commandments as its platform; and with Niu Apostolik in New Guinea's Sepik region, where local leaders have taken over the paraphernalia of a Canadian sectarian mission to flout the authority of the long-established Catholics. In Polynesia, a more socially conservative zone, a few special ecclesial independencies have manifested. The Cook Islands Christian Church is split down the middle over the place of the remarkable woman healer Apii Piho in the divine scheme of things. Her 1987 announcement that she was Jesus Christ himself created an impetus among her supporters to inject honorific references to her in worship, even while not making major departures from the liturgy.

The most important new trend across the whole Pacific, though, involves local initiatives to so intensify church commitment that they result in breakaway congregations or new worship groups. During the 1980s many small and previously unknown mission groups appeared in the region (or else consolidated after insignificant beginnings). In that decade, to illustrate, Papua New Guinea's Eastern Highlands, especially its capital, Goroka, constituted the most highly missionized place on earth, with over sixty organizations (at least half of them originating in the United States) contending for souls. Many such small missions were conservative Evangelical, if not self-defining Fundamentalist, organizations, with most being ready to join the Evangelical Alliance that had been founded in 1975. Such groups admittedly widened local ranges of religious choice, but they made only a small dent in preexisting structures. The smaller sectaries destined to have the most disturbing effects up until the present time, however, were Pentecostal (or Charismatic), and in Papua New Guinea, in the biggest and most populous part of Oceania, a Pentecostal Council was hastily put together in 1980.

Pentecostal missions—the Assemblies of God and the Four Square Gospel Church the best known and most sizable among them—combine old-style revivalism with a stress on spiritual gifts. The experience of altered states—such as glossolalia, group succumbing to a spirit wind, ecstatic prayer, and prophesying—chimes with islanders' expectations of real and dramatic contact with the spirit world, as in Africa and among African-originated communities of the Americas. Pentecostalism has consequently spread into the mainline churches and been the basis for large Christian gatherings that supplement or even break away from prevenient centers of worship. Manfred Ernst, researcher at Fiji's Pacific Theological College in Suva takes Pentecostalism as the most decisive of the *Winds of Change* in contemporary Pacific religion (as his 1994 book title has it). He takes both Fiji and Western Samoa as important centers of these shifts. One must appreciate, of course, that Pentecostal-type revivalism has had a prior history in the Pacific region, outbursts of fervor affecting the South Sea Evangelical Church on north Malaita (the Solomon Islands) in the 1970s and spreading to the Baptist mission area in the Enga area of the Papua New Guinea Highlands. A Maori and two Solomonese evangelists are prominent in this story, only going to show the attractions of Pentecostalism in drawing out colorful indigenous leadership styles.

A crucial feature of latter-day Pacific Christianity has been the emergence of indigenous theologies. Most of these have been contextual, in efforts either to provide identity for regional Christians (witness Tongan Sione Havea on "Coconut Theology," especially for Polynesians) or to divest introduced religion of its foreignness (the Papuan John Kadiba, for example, asking the islander faithful to consider using sweet potato and coconut juice for Communion rather than bread and wine). In some cases liberationist propensities are felt, with talk of revolution against land theft, paternalism, and demoralization on the lips of the Maori radical Anglican priest Hone Ka'a, or projections of the just society by Catholic (former Father) John Momis, the Bougainvillean activist and first minister for decentralization in an independent Papua New Guinea. A theology both to integrate the gospel and tradition while at the same time forestalling narrow conservatism and celebrating a multiethnic nation marks the achievement of Sevati Tuwere, with his work *Vanua* (2002), surely the most mature and systematic theological treatise by an islander scholar thus far.

SEE ALSO Cargo Cults; Oceanic Religions, article on New Religious Movements.

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CHRISTIAN LITURGICAL YEAR. The Christian liturgical year consists of two cycles, differently defined in Eastern and Western traditions. The Eastern (Byzantine) rite distinguishes between movable and fixed festivals: the former are those whose dates vary each year with the date of Easter but always fall on the same days of the week; the dates of the latter are constant but may fall on any day of the week. Western tradition, on the other hand, includes with the movable festivals certain feasts whose date is fixed (most importantly, Christmas, December 25) and the seasons dependent on those. This whole cycle is known as the *temporale*, or (as in the present Roman Missal) the Proper of Seasons. The second cycle in Western tradition includes festivals of saints and other anniversaries on fixed dates and is called the *sanctorale*, the Proper of Saints.

EASTER, THE CHRISTIAN PASSOVER. The schematizations of the year refer to and are reflected in the organization of liturgical books. The roots of the distinction, however, reach back to the second century, when Easter (Pascha), which had been kept at Jerusalem on the fixed Jewish Passover date, was adjusted to the structure of the week so as to fall always on Sunday, the day of the resurrection. That adjustment renders Easter's date variable and is, therefore, the basis of the Christian cycle of movable feasts. The precise computation of the date of Easter was fixed at the Council of Nicaea (325 CE) as the Sunday following the full moon after the vernal equinox. Several factors, however, have disturbed that agreement, and the dates set for this major Christian festival differ between East and West in most years, yielding differing dates as well for those seasons and festivals dependent upon the Easter date.

The Paschal Fast. When the observance of Pascha was transferred from the Jewish date to Sunday, the original preceding one-day fast was extended to two days, the Friday on which Jesus was crucified and the Saturday on which he lay in the tomb. By the middle of the third century four more days were added in Syria and Egypt; this six-day total seems universal by the end of that century, yielding the Holy Week still observed by Christians. On Thursday of Holy Week the institution of the Eucharist at the last supper of Jesus with his disciples is celebrated, and the celebration often includes a reenactment of Jesus' washing of the feet of his disciples. In the West an anthem accompanying the ceremony had as its text the verse "A new commandment I give unto you, that you love one another as I have loved you" (*Jn.* 13:34). Its Latin incipit, "Mandatum novum," gave the name *Maundy* to the foot washing and to the Thursday on which it occurred.

A Western pilgrim named Egeria described the services at Jerusalem in 383. She noted that on Friday morning the wood of the cross (discovered in the course of excavating the tomb of Christ) was exposed for the veneration of the people who, one by one, passed by and kissed it. Such veneration attached as well to a major fragment of that wood at Rome in the sixth century, and this led to a similar veneration of a symbolic cross on Good Friday throughout the Western church, still encountered today. Egeria also described a service at Calvary during the hours from noon to three during which the passion narratives were read from the four Gospels. An extraliturgical service of preaching during these hours was instituted at Lima, Peru, in 1687, and has since achieved wide popularity in both Roman Catholic and Protestant churches, often consisting of seven sermons on Christ's words from the cross, interspersed with hymns.

The Paschal Vigil. Like Passover, the early Christian Pascha was a nocturnal observance, as testified to by the *Epistle of the Apostles*, a work from Asia Minor of the second half of the second century. The earliest detailed account of that vigil's content, the description coming from liturgical directories of the first half of the fifth century, relates activities in Jerusalem. After an initial lamp lighting, the vigil consisted of a series of twelve Old Testament lessons, each followed by prayer. These lessons recalled themes already traditionally associated with Passover: creation, the sacrifice of Isaac, the Exodus from Egypt, and so on. Similar series of twelve lessons are documented later in Spain and Gaul, retaining many of the Jerusalem readings. Such a series became standard in western Europe and was continued in the Roman Missal following the Council of Trent (1545–1563). That series of lessons is found today in the North American *Lutheran Book of Worship*. Similar but shorter series occur in recent revisions of the Roman Missal (1969) and *The Book of Common Prayer* (1979).

A climactic point in the paschal liturgy since the third century has been the conferral of baptism, that rite of initiation by which, as Paul said, we are buried with Christ and risen in him to new life (*Rom.* 6:4). Baptism was performed in a separate chamber during the Old Testament lessons in the fourth and following centuries, but today it is more likely to be performed after them in the presence of the congregation. Following the conferral of baptism, the first Eucharist of Easter is celebrated with exuberant rejoicing over the resurrection of Christ and for the sacramental realization of resurrection in the newly baptized.

In the West today the paschal vigil opens with the lighting of a new fire in the darkness. From this fire the paschal candle, a large candle representing the risen Christ, is lighted and carried into the church in a procession during which a minister proclaims at three points: "The Light of Christ." The same minister then sings over the paschal candle an ancient poem of praise called *Exultet.* The light ritual just described precedes the vigil readings today in Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Lutheran churches. A somewhat simpler light ritual precedes the readings in Orthodox churches now as it did in Jerusalem sixteen centuries earlier. At Jerusalem today, and since the tenth century, the light ceremony has been transferred to a point following the Old Testament readings. There, the Holy Light produced within the tomb of Christ is passed to the ministers and congregation outside the tomb and is carried by them to the other churches of the city in symbolic proclamation of the resurrection.

Pentecost. Already in the second century the paschal feast initiated a fifty-day period of rejoicing (Pentecost) during which fasting and kneeling were forbidden. But by the final two decades of the fourth century the unified celebration of Christ's resurrection and ascension and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit had given way to distinct festivals: the Pascha of the Resurrection on Easter Sunday, the Ascension on the fortieth day (a Thursday), and the sending of the Holy Spirit upon the church ten days later on Pentecost Sunday. In Gaul not only was fasting resumed after the ascension, but fasts were ordered on the three days preceding the ascension on which processions with rogations (litanies) were held to ask protection from natural disaster. Prior to twentieth-century liturgical reforms it was common to extinguish the paschal candle, symbol of the risen Christ's presence with the church, at the conclusion of the gospel reading on Ascension Day. Since Vatican Council II, however, in an effort to recover the integrity of the fifty-day period, the candle burns at all services through the day of Pentecost, and fasting is suspended throughout the period.

The conclusion of the paschal rejoicing at the end of Pentecost Sunday has been marked by a ceremonial return to fasting and kneeling for prayer. The resumption of fasting is noted by Egeria, and in the fifth century, notice is given of devotions performed (while kneeling) at the end of that Sunday on the Mount of Olives. Such a penitential service, called Gonuklisia ("the bending of the knee"), is still observed in the Eastern churches on the evening of Pentecost, marking the end of paschal festivity. The week following Pentecost Sunday is the occasion for one of four seasonal fasts at Rome called, in English, Ember Days, from the German term *Quatember* (Lat., *quatuor tempora*, "the four seasons"). Other Embertides, largely unobserved in Roman Catholic practice today but maintained in Anglican churches, fall in September, in late December, and in the first week of Lent.

Lent and Palm Sunday. Lent is the major fast season of the Christian year, a period of forty days commemorating the fast of Jesus in the wilderness. It is seen by Christians today as preparation for the celebration of Easter. Considerable variety has characterized this fast, stemming from two factors. First, in the West the last of the six weeks is Holy Week, while in the East Lent is the six weeks preceding Holy Week. Second, from the seventh century on there was a general concern that there be forty days of actual fasting. In the Eastern empire Saturday (Sabbath) was not a fast day, with the single exception of the day before Easter, and Sunday was never a fast day. Therefore, a week of fore-fast was added before the beginning of Lent to yield the desired total. In the West, where Lenten Sabbaths were fast days, the original six weeks yielded thirty-six days, and the beginning of the season was set on Wednesday of the preceding week.

Although the Byzantine Lent took on a penitential quality through monastic influence in the eighth century, that quality has never been so pronounced as in the Western church, where Lent was also the time of formal humiliation for those excluded from the community because of grave sins. Admitted to the order of penitents at the beginning of Lent, these separated sinners were solemnly restored to communion in the latter days of Holy Week. One of the ceremonial dimensions of admission to the order of penitents in Gaul was the sprinkling of ashes on their heads. By the eleventh century that penitential discipline had fallen into disuse, but the old ceremonies continued, now for all the faithful. By the end of the eleventh century the imposition of ashes was virtually universal in the West, giving the name *Ash Wednesday* to the first day of Lent. That ceremony continues to mark the beginning of the great fast. This general penitential tone is also manifested in the Western church by the suppression of the joyous acclamation "Alleluia" in all Lenten liturgical services, while "Alleluia" continues to be sung in the Byzantine liturgy during Lent.

The association of Lent with the forty-day fast of Jesus has been taken generally by scholars to be a secondary symbolic interpretation, unrelated to the origins of the great fast, since this time before Easter has no connection in Jesus' life to the temptation that followed immediately upon his baptism in the Jordan. Studies suggest, however, that the forty-day duration of the fast that we encounter after Nicaea may have originated in an earlier Alexandrian "Lent" that followed immediately after the celebration of the baptism of Jesus on January 6, the Feast of the Epiphany. That six-week period ended with the conferral of baptism in the sixth week and with a "feast of palms" celebrating Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem on the following Sunday, all separated from the paschal fast by several weeks. A similar six-week pattern is still visible in the Byzantine Lent, now prior to Holy Week rather than following Epiphany, hence making Palm Sunday the day before the Holy Week fast.

Egeria describes a procession down the Mount of Olives with palms on the afternoon of this Sunday at Jerusalem in 383, and such a procession was later adopted by other churches, which already called that day the Sunday of the Passion. Palm Sunday is now generally understood to be the beginning of Holy Week. Its focus is a procession with palms or other branches celebrating Christ's entrance into Jerusalem, followed by the Eucharist whose theme is the passion of Christ. In the Byzantine rite, the sixth week of Lent leading into Palm Sunday is called Palm Week, the individual days being similarly characterized, reinforcing the Coptic suggestion that Palm Sunday was originally the conclusion of Lent, rather than the beginning of Holy Week (as it is generally understood in the West today).

Christmas and Epiphany. The principal festivals of fixed date are those associated with the nativity of Jesus. In Rome by 336 such a festival on December 25 marked the beginning of the year. Earlier (perhaps from the beginning of the second century) in the Eastern churches the festival of the nativity known as Epiphania or Theophania, terms associated in classical Greek with the human manifestation of a deity, was set on January 6. In some churches the themes of Christ's baptism in the Jordan and his first miracle at Cana were celebrated on or near that same day.

The coincidence of the Roman date for the Feast of the Nativity, December 25, with the date of Natalis Solis Invicti, a winter solstice festival established by the emperor Aurelian in 274 CE, has encouraged the hypothesis that Christmas represents a Christian appropriation of the solstice festival, and similar pagan backgrounds have been proposed for the Epiphany festival on January 6. Contrary to this prevailing view, Louis Duchesne in his *Christian Worship* (London, 1903) suggests that those dates were computed as nativity dates from the inclusion of the Incarnation (i.e., the conception of Christ) in the themes celebrated at Pascha on known fixed dates, March 25 in Africa and Rome, April 6 in Asia Minor and elsewhere in the East. In modern times, March 25 is celebrated as the Feast of the Annunciation (the conception of Christ) nine months before Christmas, except among the Armenians, who continue to follow the tradition of Jerusalem by observing the Nativity on January 6 and the Annunciation nine months earlier. In the course of the later fourth and fifth centuries other Eastern churches adopted the Roman festival of December 25, thenceforward devoting January 6 only to the celebration of Christ's baptism. In that same period the January festival was adopted at Rome, and its nativity theme was narrowed to the visit of the Magi, from which it came to be considered the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles.

In most Latin cultures, the Epiphany festival remains the occasion for the exchange of gifts, after the example of the Magi, while in northern Europe and English-speaking countries that custom, continued from pre-Christian year-end festivities, attaches rather to Christmas. In the Byzantine and other Eastern churches where Epiphany celebrates Christ's sanctification of water by his baptism, a major feature of the celebration is a blessing of water that is drawn by the faithful and carried to their homes, a custom for which pre-Christian roots are also claimed in modern scholarship.

ADVENT. Analogous to the period of preparation for Easter, a fast before the nativity developed in the West into a preparatory season. In addition to the Roman December Embertide, churches in Gaul observed fasts of six weeks or more; a common form was called Saint Martin's Lent, from its beginning on November 11, the Feast of Saint Martin of Tours. That season, known as Advent, developed themes associated both with the advent of Christ at his nativity and the second advent at the end of this world's history, the two advents having been expressed by the same term (*parousia*) since the Greek theologians of the second century. A forty-day fast is also kept before Christmas in the Eastern churches, but this never received the liturgical articulation of Advent in the West, where Advent today comprises the four weeks (or, in Milan, six weeks) before Christmas.

THE SANCTORAL CYCLE. From the death of Stephen (*Acts* 7), Christianity has honored those whose faith in Christ has brought them to martyrdom. The liturgical expression of this honor is documented as early as the second century, in the case of the martyrdom of Polycarp at Smyrna, and in the following centuries this veneration achieved a high level of local organization as the anniversaries of martyrs' deaths came to be observed by the celebration of the Eucharist at their tombs. A Roman martyrology of 354 includes a few North African martyrs, probably revealing the presence of an African community at Rome. That same document reveals memorial observances of bishops of Rome who were not martyrs. Both the bishops' list (first prepared in 336) and the list of martyrs present the dates of their memorial celebrations in calendrical order (beginning from December 25) and designate in each case the cemetery where the observance was held. A Syriac martyrology of the following century reveals an increasing unification of these local lists, conflating the martyrs' observances of a great many cities. This tendency to veneration over a wider area and the addition of revered Christians other than martyrs to liturgical calendars led in the Middle Ages to central control over the liturgical veneration of saints; this became in time a complex procedure for beatification and canonization. However, a uniform liturgical calendar of saints was never produced, for local interests continued to be selective. Revision of the Roman calendar in 1969 has given a much larger place to optional observances.

Many feasts represent anniversaries of the dedication of churches, and such a dedication festival at fourth-century Jerusalem is continued in modern calendars as the Feast of the Holy Cross. The dedications of churches also lie behind many other feasts (e.g., of various New Testament figures or angels) where there is no question of a known place of burial. Since the later Middle Ages, still other festivals have been instituted simply as an aid to the promulgation of particular theological or devotional concerns, but this approach to festival is less evident since the Second Vatican Council.

THE LITURGICAL YEAR SINCE THE REFORMATION. At the Reformation, churches of the reformed tradition placed a renewed emphasis on the weekly observance of Sunday as the primary liturgical articulation of time, while Lutheran and Anglican traditions continued to observe most of the traditional liturgical year but severely restricted the number of feasts of saints, limiting them to New Testament figures for the most part. Since the Second Vatican Council the reform of the Roman calendar has been widely adopted in the United States and Canada, with the general shape of its temporal cycle and accompanying lectionary followed by Roman Catholics, Episcopalians (Anglicans), Lutherans, Presbyterians, Methodists, and other participants in the Consultation on Church Union. Of these, the Episcopal and Lutheran churches have developed their own calendars of saints, following traditional principles.

LITURGICAL COLORS. In earlier times clergy were garbed in a frequently washed tunic of white linen and an overgarment (worn for warmth) that was usually of a dark colored wool. As these garments became more ceremonial in function, a wider range of colors and materials came to be used. All through the Middle Ages in the West color systems varied from place to place, while reflecting some general principles. The first attempt at standardization of liturgical colors is assigned to Pope Innocent III (d. 1216). He presented a system in which white was assigned to festivals of Christ, the Blessed Virgin, and saints who were not martyrs. Red was for feasts of apostles and martyrs, for feasts of the Cross, and for Pentecost. Black was to be used during Advent and Lent and at masses for the departed, with the option of violet as a substitute for black. For all other occasions, green was the assigned color. While other medieval color systems continue to be followed in some places, the Roman system outlined by Innocent is surely the predominant system in Western churches, except that violet now generally replaces black. The 1969 reform of the Roman Missal, however, assigns red for Palm Sunday and Good Friday, and urges the general principle of the Eastern traditions that on the most festive occasions one should use the richest materials available, without regard to color. While Eastern traditions have never sought to associate feasts and seasons with particular colors, there, too, the natural psychological tendency is to match colors to emotions, to associate, for example, dark with sorrow, bright with joy.

SEE ALSO Christmas; Easter; Epiphany.

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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE is a religious movement emphasizing Christian healing as proof of the supremacy of spiritual over physical power. Founded by Mary Baker Eddy, a New Englander of predominantly Calvinistic background, Christian Science emerged as a distinct phenomenon in American religious life during a period of both social and religious crisis. The dramatic conflict between science and faith, as witnessed in battles over Darwinism and critical biblical scholarship, was only the most obvious aspect of a developing breakdown in a Christian cosmology that pictured experience as split between a natural and a supernatural order. Christian Science, however, rejected traditional cosmology and was therefore free to address religious issues in a way that was limited neither by creedal formulas nor by assumptions based on nineteenth-century natural science.

Eddy from her earliest years showed a deep-seated longing for the divine that was broadly characteristic of the Christian tradition and especially prominent in Puritanism. She found it impossible, however, to reconcile her deepest religious feelings with the theology of a then decadent Calvinism. Yet while other revolts against Calvinism, such as those of Unitarianism and Transcendentalism, led to an attenuation or even an abandonment of Christian convictions, Eddy's Christianity was so deeply ingrained that she found it impossible to think of any ultimate answer to what she called the "problem of being" outside of a theistic, biblical context. In her own words, "From my very childhood, I was impelled, by a hunger and thirst after divine things—a desire for something higher and better than matter, and apart from it—to seek diligently for the knowledge of God as the one great and ever-present relief from human woe."

Running parallel to this search, and contributing heuristically to it, was Eddy's own long quest for health. She had exhausted the healing methods of the time, including homeopathy, and the techniques of the Maine healer Phineas Quimby, to whom she turned in 1862, and although she found useful hints concerning the mental causes of disease, she never found the permanent health for which she was looking. Her growing disenchantment with all curative methods returned her to her spiritual quest, which led to a radically different perception of God and creation from that held by Quimby, namely, that reality is, in truth, wholly spiritual.

Eddy identified the advent of this conviction with her "instantaneous" recovery in 1866 from the effects of a severe accident while reading an account of one of Jesus' healings. She described the event as follows: "That short experience included a glimpse of the great fact that I have since tried to make plain to others, namely, Life in and of Spirit; this Life being the sole reality of existence." This passage is reminiscent of much mystical writing, but Eddy saw the experience as the point at which she discovered a spiritual truth so concrete that it would be "scientifically" provable in the experience of others.

There can be no doubt that this moment of recovery marked an important turning point in Eddy's life, impelling the development of the theology and metaphysics to which she gave expression in her major book, *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, first published in 1875. The primary purpose of the book was not to set forth a new systematic theology, but rather to serve as a textbook for religious practice. The focus throughout was on awakening the capacity of its readers to experience the presence of God directly; the "honest seekers for Truth," to whom the book was dedicated, were invited to explore the saving and physically healing effects of that experience.

A key point of Christian Science is that the understanding of God must include a changed view of reality itself. In effect, *Science and Health* challenged the traditional Christian view of God as the creator of a material world—not on philosophic grounds, even though Eddy's conclusions are partially articulated in philosophic terms—but on the grounds of a radical reinterpretation of the meaning of the gospel. Christian Science takes the works of Jesus, culminating in his resurrection and final ascension above all things material, as pointing to the essential spiritual nature of being. Accordingly, his life exemplifies the possibility of action outside of and contrary to the limits of a finite, material sense of existence. From the standpoint of traditional Christianity, Jesus' works constituted supernatural interruptions of natural process and law; from the standpoint of Christian Science, they resulted from the operation of divine power comprehended as spiritual law. In biblical terms this meant the breaking through of the kingdom of heaven—of the divine order of things—into ordinary sense-bound experience.

Nineteenth-century Protestant orthodoxy associated the kingdom of heaven with a realm in the beyond and the hereafter; Christian Science, however, views it as the spiritual potential of present experience to be actualized once sinning mortals cease to identify their own limited, erring perceptions as reality. Regeneration or spiritual awakening occurs as one sees through sense appearance to what Eddy called "the spiritual fact of whatever the material senses behold." The spiritual fact for her was not an otherworldly phenomenon, but a transforming power—a reality drastically obscured by the misconceived sense of life, substance, and intelligence, apart from God. So great is this error of misconceiving, or fundamental sin, that a revelatory breakthrough from outside material existence is required in order to manifest the true spiritual nature of creation. The advent of Jesus, according to Christian Science, constitutes the decisive spiritual event that makes possible the salvation of humanity from the flesh.

Christian Science does not deify Jesus, a point that its severest critics have sometimes said separates it conclusively from traditional Christianity. Yet Jesus' actual role in the achievement of humanity's salvation is as important to its theology as for traditional Christianity. His life of obedience and sacrifice is understood as the means through which the reality of being for humankind has broken through in the midst of ordinary human experience. This true spiritual selfhood is identified as the eternal Christ, as distinct from Jesus, although uniquely and fully incarnated in him. His mission is viewed as opening up the possibility for all men and women to make actual their own spiritual union with God. He did this by proving practically that neither sin nor suffering is part of authentic spiritual selfhood, or Christ.

While Christian Science holds that evil has no God-derived existence and therefore can be regarded ontologically as not real, it strongly emphasizes the need for healing rather than ignoring the manifold manifestations of the carnal mind, defined by the apostle Paul as "enmity against God," and as operating with hypnotic intensity in human experience. Such healing is to be accomplished not through personal will or effort but through yielding to the action of the divine Mind. Salvation, while seen as the effect of divine grace, requires prayer, self-renunciation, and radical, unremitting warfare against the evils of the mortal condition.

Salvation includes obedience to Jesus' command to heal the sick. Sickness is one expression of the fundamental error of the mortal mind that accepts existence as something separate from God. Healing, therefore, must be predicated on the action of the divine Mind or power outside of human thought. In Eddy's words, ". . . erring, finite, human mind has an absolute need of something beyond itself for its redemption and healing." Healing is regarded not merely as a bodily change, but as a phase of full salvation from the flesh as well. It is the normalization of bodily function and formation through the divine government of the human mentality and of the bodily system that that mentality governs.

The emphasis in Christian Science upon healing—primarily of sin, secondarily disease—is based on the concrete issues of everyday lived experience. The healing emphasis differentiates Christian Science from philosophies of idealism with which it is often carelessly identified, including the Emersonian transcendentalism that was part of its immediate cultural background. Indeed, departures from Eddy's teaching within the Christian Science movement itself have tended generally toward metaphysical abstraction, wherein her statements almost completely lose their bearings on daily experience.

In the context of Eddy's writings, however, such statements almost always point to the demand and possibility of demonstrating in actual experience what she understood as spiritual fact. Her abstract statement that "God is All," for instance, taken by itself could imply a pantheistic identification of humankind and the universe with God. Taken in the full context of her teachings, it indicates that God's infinitude and omnipotence rule out the legitimacy, permanence, and substantiality of anything contrary to God's nature as Principle, Mind, Spirit, Soul, Life, Truth, and Love, an assertion that is taken to be demonstrably practical in concrete situations, to some degree at least.

The radical claim as to the ultimate unreality of matter is to be assessed in these terms. Christian Science asserts that matter is not the objective substance it appears to be, but is rather a concept of substance shaped by the limitations of the human mind. This assertion no more denies the existence of humankind or natural objects than the challenge posed in physics to conventional views of perception and to the substantiality of matter denies the existence of the universe. But it does point to the necessity of bringing the true spiritual nature of humanity and the universe to light through progressive demonstration.

With this emphasis on practical regeneration and healing, one sees the clearest link between Christian Science and the American Puritan tradition. An undue emphasis on the practical aspect of Christian Science by some followers has sometimes led to a secularization of its teaching, with healing regarded as an end in itself rather than as one element of a full salvation. This tendency clearly characterizes the mind-cure and New Thought movements. These movements, in some respects akin to Christian Science, use similar terms, which, however, bear a notably different meaning.

As with any religious movement, the motives of those who call themselves Christian Scientists vary. Of the 350,000–450,000 who might so identify themselves, it is likely that a majority are not formal members of the Christian Science denomination. While many have made Christian Science a way of life and joined, others have sought it, sometimes intermittently, for comfort and support. There may be limited truth, too, to the hypothesis that activity in the Christian Science movement, in which women have been numerically predominant, has provided an outlet for women in a society that has otherwise restricted their role—particularly in the religious world. On the other hand, such an argument may reflect an unconscious male stereotyping that seeks reductionist explanations when women advance or espouse ideas.

Evidence of the religious experiences of long-term, committed adherents of Christian Science suggests that it may have survived for more than a century because it has met a more basic religious need. Disaffected Protestants, particularly, have seen in it a release not just from bodily suffering but also from spiritual malaise—an alternative to the attitude that accepts with Christian resignation the tragedies of present life in hope of compensation either in a life beyond or according to some transcendent scale of eternal values. Christian Science, however, regards the ultimate spiritual victory over evil prophesied in the Bible as requiring confrontation with all aspects of evil and imperfection in present experience.

Although Christian Science is explicitly committed to universal salvation, it focuses initially and primarily on the potential for transformation and healing within the individual. This focus, deviant as it has often seemed to conservative Christians, tends to associate it with the traditional Protestant concern over individual salvation, giving it a conservative cast in the eyes of more liberal Christians who wish to transform the social order. The identification of Christian Science with a conservative, well-to-do, middle-class ideology may be as misleading in a sociological sense as it is theologically. In fact, a greater segment of the movement comes from rural or lower-middle-class backgrounds than most outside accounts would suggest.

On the whole, the church does not share the social activism of many mainstream denominations, but its purpose in publishing the *Christian Science Monitor*—an international newspaper of recognized excellence—indicates a substantial commitment to an interest in the public good. Eddy founded the *Monitor* in 1908 as the most appropriate vehicle for the political and social expression of the practical idealism of her teaching. In addition, it was intended to educate Christian Scientists about the need for the healing of society at large, not just the individual.

The character of the *Monitor*, to a degree, reflects the educational purpose of the church that publishes it. Eddy, surprisingly sensitive to the dangers of institutionalized religion, conceived of the church in instrumental rather than ecclesiastical terms, shaping it to provide practical means for the study, communication, and teaching of Christian Science as a way of life. It was not part of her original purpose to found a separate denomination; rather, she and a group of her students founded the Church of Christ, Scientist, in 1879, when it became clear that other Christian churches were not disposed to accept her teaching. The overall structure of the church was laid out in a document of skeletal simplicity, the *Manual of the Mother Church*, which Eddy first published in 1895 and continued to develop until her death.

The central administrative functions of this "mother" church, the First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, are presided over by a five-member, self-perpetuating board of directors. The Mother Church, with its branches, including some 3,000 congregations in fifty countries, constitute the Church of Christ, Scientist; the congregations are self-governing within the framework provided by the *Manual*.

Taken as a whole, the church's activities can best be understood as vehicles for disciplined spiritual education. These include the Bible "lesson-sermons" consisting of passages from the Bible and the Christian Science textbook studied by members during the week; the religious periodicals published by the church; and Christian Science lectures, Sunday schools, the intensive two-week course of class instruction, and follow-up refresher meetings attended by those seriously committed to the religion.

The absence of an ordained clergy, ritualistically observed sacraments, and all but the most spare symbols point to the almost Quaker-like simplicity of the Christian Science concept of worship, in which silent prayer has an important role and the sacraments are conceived of as a process of continuing purification and quiet communion with God. Spontaneous sharing of experiences of healing and spiritual guidance marks the Wednesday "testimony meetings."

Christian Science practitioners, listed monthly in the *Christian Science Journal*, are members who devote themselves full time to the ministry of spiritual healing, and a significant body of testimonies of healing—amounting to some 50,000 published accounts—has been amassed in Christian Science periodicals over the years. There is good evidence that this sustained commitment of an entire denomination over more than a century to the practice of spiritual healing has been a significant factor in the reawakening of interest in Christian healing among many denominations in the 1960s and 1970s.

By the 1979 centennial of the founding of the church, the Christian Science movement found itself experiencing greater challenges from the currents of secular materialism than it had encountered since the early days of its founding. The increasing secularization of Western society worked against the kind of radical Christian commitment it required, while at the same time its healing practices encountered new challenges in an increasingly medically oriented society.

The history of the church, however, confirms that it is no exception to the general tendency of religious movements to grow or decline according to inner vitality rather than external pressure. Nor are external signs of growth in themselves altogether valid indicators of spiritual strength; indeed, it was because of this that Eddy forbade the publication of church membership statistics at a time when the movement was growing rapidly. The great numerical growth of the movement in the decades after Eddy's death may well have been attributable more to sociocultural factors unrelated to and, in some respects, opposed to the specific religious and redemptive purposes of the church itself.

It is too soon to assess the long-term significance of some signs of decline of the Christian Science movement. Indeed, these signs must be qualified by other factors, among them the erosion of the insularity and complacency evident to some degree in the church's posture in earlier decades, the maturing of the movement, its willingness to position itself in relation to the rest of the Christian world, and the significant growth it has experienced in some developing nations.

SEE ALSO Eddy, Mary Baker.

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CHRISTIAN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS.

The richness of the Christian vision of God's transcendence and presence, the range of constituencies to which it appeals, and the variety of contexts into which it has moved have produced an enormous variety of social movements. Yet some main developments can be traced.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND. In the ancient world, religions were linked to specific groups, primarily ethnic or political. Peoples and cities had their own deities, and religion secured stability and security. The defeat or victory of their warriors or rulers brought about the decline or ascendancy of their religion.

The ancient Hebrews shared many of these views. But specific aspects of that tradition pressed in a different direction. The "Lord" of the Hebrew Bible was understood to be the truly universal sovereign, not limited to any people, political order, or military destiny. Rather, the prophets inspired by this God demanded not only communal loyalty and rightly ordered worship for the well-being of the nation, but also witnesses to principles of justice that were universal in scope and required fair treatment of the stranger. Indeed they pointed to an expected "messianic age" that would bring a great transformation and a fulfilled righteousness for all peoples.

Christianity claimed that it was the true heir of these prophetic directions. In Jesus Christ the one universal and righteous God entered into the concreteness of human personhood and made transcendent reality into an accessible, immanent, and transforming presence. The life, teachings, death, and resurrection of this Son of God inaugurated the new age and manifest a new Spirit as the decisive animating factor in human affairs. The announcement and celebration of this divine immediacy became the good news that opened the door to liberation from sinful self-preoccupations, ritualistic compulsions, and obsessions with wealth and power. Moreover out of the precedents of the Jewish synagogue and the Greco-Roman "mystery cults," the early followers of Christ established a new social institution—a center of loyalty and fellowship outside the usual traditions of social participation, namely the church.

Particular population groups seem to have been most attracted to this new vision and new community of discipleship. The poor and the sick were given hope; widows and orphans found companionship; artisans and traders who were marginalized by aristocratic elites and priestly restrictions discovered new networks for creative interaction; intellectuals who found the old religions, cults, and speculations unsatisfying or sterile discerned a greater wisdom and vitality; and, later, on rulers of the Roman Empire and (still later) the princes of North Europe, who needed a moral and spiritual architecture to give shape to new civilizational developments, sought guidance in this faith's doctrines and legitimation from this church's leadership. This faith itself was a social movement from the start.

It is not that Jesus, Paul, or any other early Christian leader started a movement with specific social, political, or economic objectives in mind. The "kingdom" they sought was not, as Jesus said, "of this world." Nevertheless it was "in the world," and it altered perspectives on social life precisely because its sense of transcendence and its belief that the presence of that transcendent reality made a difference in life.

Wherever Christianity has gone it has brought with it an impulse, sometimes subverted, to form new centers of social existence distinct from ethnicity, any single cultural tradition, any particular political power, or any distinct economic caste or class. Whenever Christian communities have become too closely identified with one or another of these traditional orders of life, dissenting factions, alternative congregations, or paraecclesial movements, claiming to represent the true, prophetic faith, have challenged that accommodation. The relation of these alternative bodies to the majority developments of the tradition and their roles in society are decisive for understanding Christian social movements in the West.

Christianity seems always to have pressed in two directions. One is toward consolidation of the movement's growth by the establishment of a church that would take responsibility for guiding the moral and spiritual lives of the people and institutions in a territory where the movement gained influence. The other is sectarian in the sense that it draws people into an alternative lifestyle and communities of commitment that are self-consciously distinct from the established institutions of a society—including the church. The "sects" may seek to ignore the life of "the world," renouncing sex and the family, politics and power, and economics and wealth, or they may seek to transform "the world" and all of these spheres of life by "aggressive," even militant discipline.

In the medieval period of the West, alternative congregations were, for the most part, channeled into either monastic orders that claimed, with considerable success, to represent the ideal models of faithfulness or into various "confraternities"—guilds or lay orders for devotion and service without abandoning family, power, and wealth. Some orders, such as those founded by Saint Basil and Saint Benedict, were more withdrawing. Orders such as the Dominicans and Franciscans, by contrast, were gently aggressive in their efforts to touch and transform the everyday life of the laity. Some lay orders, meanwhile, such as the Templars and Hospitalers, were more aggressive in the conventional sense. In the late Middle Ages and increasingly during the Reformation, nonmonastic alternatives arose, some inspiring social movements with more intentionally overt sociopolitical overtones, such as those led by John Wyclif (c. 1330–1384), Jan Hus (1372 or 1373–1415), and Thomas Müntzer (1468 or 1489/90–1525), and a few people, such as Jon of Leiden, formed communities that held wives, husbands, and property in common. It is therefore impossible to understand the magisterial reformations of Martin Luther (1483–1546) and John Calvin (1509–1564) without seeing how much their sociopolitical thought continued that of their Roman predecessors.

What these Christian communions had in common was not only the confession of Christ but a social effect that was only partially intended. The formation of new organized bodies of believers, distinct from both political (royal or imperial) and familial (sib, clan, or tribal) authorities, gradually carved out a series of social spaces in which various interests claimed and eventually won the legal right to exist in independent institutions. It revolutionized social history.

That space was often not wide, but networks of scholars, leagues of peasants, and associations of artisans, mystics, traders, and bards found elbow room under the mantle of patrons and patron saints, in the shadow of monasteries or nunneries, or at the feet of the cathedrals in the free cities. These innovative organizations claimed the God-given right to address sociopolitical matters in terms of a Christian vision of righteousness and hope, often without the approval of established hierarchies. The very fact that they introduced new centers of organized conviction into late-feudal social settings brought about a reshaped and pluralistic constellation of moral and social authority into what were otherwise limited, often closed systems—a major change in itself. In this they followed what had already been anticipated in the early church when, as a tiny minority, it formed communities of commitment that differed from both the ethnic identities of Jews and Greeks, the political orders of both the old polis and the Roman imperium, and from the householders and servants in all the regional cultures. It is possible to discern the deepest roots of proto-democratic societies more clearly in these developments than in the polities of the ancient cities or the theories of the modern Enlightenment. Indeed, the latter is dependent on these antecedents.

MODERNIZING MOVEMENTS. Modern Christian social movements are distinguished from their earlier prototypes by their increasing ability to organize freely, by their more overt goals of addressing specific social problems or groups, and by the growth of a kind of historical consciousness that expects human agency, in the service of God's promises of redemption, to help the needy, empower the weak, establish justice, and resist injustice by concerted action. Movements sharing these characteristics have evolved in a variety of directions.

Some movements were organized in order to form institutions of charity, staffed by committed "sisters" or "brothers" who dedicated their lives to service. Christian hospitals, schools, orphanages, and homes for the mentally or physically handicapped were founded in nearly every sizable community in the Western world—as well as increasingly in developing countries, where mission movements have been active. Hospitals often still bear the names of their founding religious groups, even if their twenty-first-century support comes less from church-related sources and more directly from government, insurance companies, or foundations. The number of orphanages and homes for the handicapped has been reduced due to better medical care for mothers and for children with birth defects—and due to the increased options for safe abortion, sharply opposed by Catholics and many evangelicals, yet accepted in some circumstances by most Protestants. Adoption agencies, advocacy groups for and by handicapped persons, and pregnancy counseling services have increased, many under religious sponsorship or with their support Indeed, current advocates of governmental funding for "faith-based" groups as full partners in fighting certain social problems are seeking to extend this history into new channels of care and action.

Until the late nineteenth century most of the colleges and universities of the West were founded by churches, orders, or sects or by those political authorities who wanted to foster a specific religious perspective, improve the image of their city or region, and better prepare their citizens for a growing economy. Dedicated Christian educators extended the range of higher education by founding colleges and universities in nearly every country around the world. Believers also founded community organizations that sought to improve neighborhoods and cities and joined fraternal and service organizations, such as the Freemasons, Eastern Star, Rotary, or the Lions, that played similar roles in local communities.

Several movements on the Continent focused more on social action than on social service and echoed accents that came from the "Radical Reformation" of the sixteenth century (sometimes bloodily persecuted by the Catholic and early Protestant Churches). Later, in the Cromwellian revolution in England, certain parallels to the earlier examples also appeared. The Puritan "Chaplains" of the "New Model Army" and the lay "Diggers" and "Levelers" called for structural reform of authority, landownership, and status systems as well as the reform of the churches and the freedom of religion. More than a century later, after the American and French Revolutions, many Christians saw direct political involvement to support schools, good government, and the taming of the American frontier as duties of faith. Overtly Christian political parties were formed in many countries of Europe, and in the United States parties were formed not only to protect regional interests but to preserve the moral, spiritual, and democratic values of Protestantism as settlers moved west.

The Anglo-American dream of nations of yeoman farmers and village traders was shattered by the industrial revolution. It uprooted families, made traditional skills obsolete, and generated cities full of new classes, factories, immigrants, and misery. Specific churches became identified with particular minorities, and new sects developed special affinities for the new classes that replaced the older, hierarchically ordered status groups of aristocratic landlords, artisans, and peasants. Religious leaders ministered to these emerging class-conscious workers or bosses and became the advocates for their material interests. Comparable dynamics continue in developing nations, as worker or peasant movements protest, in the name of Christ, the identification of Christianity with bourgeois values and as new clusters of political, business, and professional leaders meet, also in the name of Christ, to increase their awareness of moral and spiritual values to guide them as they lead the world toward a new global order.

Many argue that post-Reformation Christianity was the key stimulus to democratic, technological, and economic societies, and also, indirectly, to the Enlightenment and modernity. Others argue that political, social, and technical changes brought about the religious developments. While each surely influenced the other, the weight of evidence seems to fall on the former contention. The religiously legitimated political revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the technological revolutions of the nineteenth and twentieth ushered in new patterns of economic productivity and, ironically, new conceptions of the social order. Some of these conceptions became ideologically driven movements within established churches, new sects, and some denominations, each reflecting a somewhat distinctive understanding of the faith as well as the particular social interests of its constituency. The European history of militant Lutheranism among the Prussian Junkers, Catholic conservatism of the Iberian peoples, or nationalist Anglicanism of the British Tories could find parallels in the chauvinist movements among Protestants in the United States. Other parallels include the Pietistic *ecclesiolae* that developed in the Netherlands, the early Methodist "classes" among the coal miners of England, and later the Innere Mission in Germany, the Salvation Army among the urban poor in England and America, and the civil rights movements led by African American Christians and the (now mostly defunct) Christian labor organizations or "worker priest" movements in all industrializing countries.

In America, the pervasive early influences of the Reformed and the sectarian traditions stamped the structure of religious and civil life in distinctive ways, especially by the idea of "covenant." The notion of covenant, as it was distinguished in Protestant thinking from both voluntaristic "contract" and pre-given static "orders of society," suggested that people can construct or reform their social institutions but that the moral norms that must govern the agreements, reconstructions, and new institutions are established by God and must be discerned in community and implemented by concerted action. It was to fulfill the possibilities of covenantal forms of life that the early Pilgrims and Puritans came to the New World. The experience of leaving behind the old society and seeking to establish a new one in a new land reinforced biblical images of exodus and new covenant. It evoked expectations of historical change and made the quest for the new and better more important than satisfaction with the old and settled. But immigration and religious innovation brought a pluralization of religions that even such theocratic regimes as the one in Massachusetts could not contain. Further, the fact that American developments took place in a context without previous feudal or imperial traditions that had to be overcome produced widespread social experimentation with a priority of local freedom over centralized political order. Such factors interacted to produce a variety of alternative congregations, paraecclesial movements, and voluntary organizations unique in human history. In this context the famous fugitive from Puritan Massachusetts, Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790), started some two hundred associations for social betterment in Pennsylvania; the dissident Puritan, Roger Williams (1603?–1683), founded Providence, Rhode Island, on the principle of religious freedom and became the symbolic hero of the separation of church and state; and James Madison (1751–1836) argued in *The Federalist* that religious and party pluralism, supported by checks and balances in government, could preserve a new kind of freedom and prevent tyranny.

By the 1830s all the state constitutions in the United States were altered so that all churches were disestablished and legally viewed as voluntary associations. Even many who had fought the trend gradually became enthusiastic proponents of the idea that Christian social witness was to be carried out by voluntary, paraecclesial social organizations. That freedom of religion means not only tolerance but also the right and duty of committed people to organize movements for social service and social change outside the government and distinct from the worshiping congregation became the dominant view. It was believed that this was precisely what God had intended from the Exodus, through the prophets and the formation of the Jesus movement (with the calling of the disciples unrelated to the priesthood) to Pentecost in the New Testament, though only now were the fuller social implications of those events becoming actualized.

MISSIONARY MOVEMENTS. A veritable explosion of social movements took place on these foundations during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The United States became a nation of "joiners." "Home mission" societies ministered to the Native Americans who were being pushed ever westward, to the settlers on the semicivilized frontiers, and to the newly arrived immigrants in the growing American cities. Numerous "foreign mission" societies were formed as well to bring the faith and civilization to other lands. Many of the modern churches of Asia, Africa, and the Pacific Islands struggle to bring about open, democratic societies that respect human rights and foster economic development. They find their roots in the missionary efforts, although they often are also critical of those missionaries who cooperated with or were advocates of the imperialist policies of their home countries. Those who supported the missionary movements abroad were usually, however, among those who resisted imperialism and supported antislavery, labor, and child protection movements. They also often supported movements against liquor, gambling, pornography, and prostitution. In fact many "morally uplifting crusades" were soon to arise in the wake of revivalisms, themselves paraecclesial movements that offered the possibility of liberation from personal sin (by decision for Christ) and of the empowerment to transform the social habits and individual vices that sapped the spirits of ordinary people.

The most important social movement of the nineteenth century, however, was the struggle to free the slaves in the West. In the United States a number of slave uprisings, political struggles over the extension of slavery into new states, and humanitarian emancipation movements had raised the question to visibility from the early 1800s, but not until the northern churches began to mobilize at midcentury did the movement gain momentum. Although there were some slaves in the north as well, the rising tide of moral objection converged with sharp debates about how to interpret Scripture on social issues, how to understand apparent racial differences, how to chart the economic future of the nation, and how to understand the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Several Protestant Churches split on these issues, setting the stage for persistent theological tensions. The resulting Civil War freed the slaves, defeated the confederated states, and accelerated the late entry of the United States into the industrial revolution. It also made the attempt by southern plantation owners to replicate a landed aristocracy with a feudal peasantry in a land without peasants obsolete economically as well as morally.

Many of the old practices, however, did not die the day Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865) issued the Emancipation Proclamation, for efforts were made to keep the old quasi-feudal system in revised form, not by chattel slavery but by instituting new patterns of servitude enforced by custom and discriminatory statute. Still, the end of the saddest era in American history was announced. In the wake of these events an enormous number of missionaries, teachers, and nurses went to the South from northern churches to evangelize the former slaves and to build schools, colleges, clinics, and hospitals for (and with) the newly freed black Americans. Newly formed black churches, especially Baptist and Methodist, provided opportunities for the cultivation of a new generation of leaders who not only led worship but also became central figures in community organization and social advocacy.

After the war, Christians organized advocacy and cooperative associations, such as the Farmers' Alliance and the Colored Farmers' National Alliance and Cooperative Union. Less overtly rooted in Christian thought was the Patrons of Husbandry (the "Grange"), which drew some patterns of ritual from the Freemasons. In the northern cities Christian paraecclesial movements attempted to address the new class conflicts arising with rapid industrialization by using evangelism techniques combined with social service and social action strategies. The immigrants to the cities from the farms and from Europe were met with city missionary societies and "settlement houses," the innovative Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and the younger but also growing Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), plus nascent Christian labor unions. Such organizations were subsequently established around the world.

The methods of raising funds to sustain these organizations in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century were innovative. The voluntary associational character of church organization produced a new interpretation of the biblical concept of stewardship, one that called upon church members to not only pledge regular contributions to sustain the church, but also to support mission, outreach, cultural activities, social action work, and benevolence agencies that were thought to serve the wider purposes of the Kingdom of God in society.

Funds to support these missionary and social movements were often raised by women's groups. Victorian women of means and charitable intent were sometimes satirized as "Lady Bountiful," but many struggling families kept body and soul together because of their gifts in an age before welfare. Moreover the wives of workers and farmers organized literary and musical events, bake sales, quilting bees, and knitting parties "for good Christian causes." Informal networks of cooperation to help the poor became more formalized and focused in such organizations as the Women's Rights Convention (1848), the Women's Christian Temperance Union (1873), the Women's Missionary Society, the Christian Women's Action Guild, the Women's Society for Christian Service, and a host of similar bodies. The full effect of these organizations is undocumented, but the existing literature suggests that, besides helping the needy, they provided an opportunity for the development of organizational skills and perspectives on family, political, and social issues. These were the training grounds for those who were to lead the struggles for suffrage and later causes identified as feminist. Some contemporary women's movements have been hostile to Christianity, but such women's organizations have been forceful advocates of social development and equal opportunity in both church and society.

Many concerns of the period began to congeal into a wider theological-social realignment at the end of the nineteenth century under the general rubric the "Social Gospel." This was less a single social movement than a congeries of movements signaled by a social understanding of faith that demanded institutional transformation toward economic democracy. While Washington Gladden (1836–1918), Richard T. Ely (1854–1943), and Walter Rauschenbusch (1861–1918) are among the more memorable apologists for the Social Gospel, the enormous variety of social concerns addressed under this mantle, from the perspective of the meaning of the term for social movements, are well cataloged in W. D. F. Bliss's *New Encyclopedia of Social Reform* (1910). All the mainline churches were deeply stamped by this movement.

World War I and the Great Depression shattered the tendency toward an overheated optimism in parts of the Social Gospel and brought other developments that modified the direction of Christian social movements. Several of the movements generated out of the Social Gospel began to lose their distinctive Christian bases and became little more than groups of liberal civic-minded activists, while others simply became interest groups struggling to get as many material gains for their constituents as possible. Simultaneously, and partly in reaction to these trends, evangelical movements and fundamentalism arose as fresh social and religious forces specifically critical of evolutionary biological, anthropological, social, and ethical theories, which they felt displaced the Gospel and overturned the authority of Scripture.

CATHOLIC DEVELOPMENTS. During this same period two European movements of considerable consequence were also underway. Socialist proletarians of the Marxist left engaged in increasingly sharp criticism of any connection between religion and socially progressive movements, sometimes targeting democratic politics and capitalist economics as the enemies of radical social change and the ideological masks of Protestant, bourgeois self-interest. Simultaneously, a series of aristocratic conservatives, from John Ruskin (1819–1900) in England to Bishop Wilhelm Ketteler (1811–1877) in Germany, Comte de Mun (1841–1914) in France, and Cardinal Gaspard Mermillod (1824–1892) in Switzerland, also undertook the study of emerging social problems and wrote a series of critiques of democracy, which they saw as the legacy of the antireligious French Revolution, taken over by a conspiracy of Jewish bankers and Protestant factory owners to reduce the workers and farmers to industrial servitude. Both democracy and capitalism, they said, were based on nothing more than individualistic and utilitarian "contracts" without any moral or spiritual bases. These Anglo-Catholic and Roman Catholic leaders developed positive proposals on the duties of the "Christian state," the "Christian family," and the "Christian Church" as organic, comprehensive communities based on natural law and revealed dogma by which the lives of all persons were to be sustained and guided and the restoration of a Christian society attained.

One of the great ironies of these two developments was that the actual programs of the antireligious, socialist left and of the "social Catholic" premodernist right converged to produce attitudes and political policies in many European countries that promoted workers' organizations and limited but did not prohibit the development of free markets. When these themes were officially propagated by Pope Leo XIII (reigned 1878–1903), a new course was set for Catholic engagement with modern social issues, one that had great consequence in the post–World War II period with the rise of "political theology" and later "liberation theology" in Latin America. These were adopted by religious leaders in decolonializing nations around the world and by many heirs of the Protestant Social Gospel, who took them as the unofficial standards of faith in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

These developments could not fully erase the memories of earlier hostilities between Catholics and Protestants. The flood of Catholic immigrants into the industrializing cities of the United States, especially from Ireland and, later, Italy, also sparked anti-Catholic movements. For most of the nineteenth century and much of the twentieth, Catholic populations were in a defensive and difficult position, and the energy expended and the sacrifices made to find jobs, to build churches, and to establish Catholic schools as an alternative to the largely Protestantized public schools are a monument to faith. Catholic lay leaders also formed paraecclesial lay fraternal orders, such as the Knights of Columbus, that echoed conservative views on social and religious questions even as their members swelled the ranks of left-leaning unions and political parties.

As these Catholics endeavored to form social movements, some adopted motifs from the essentially Protestant Social Gospel. However, when they became too enthusiastic about the virtues of religious pluralism, lay leadership in both church and society, secular democratic government, or the formation of religiously neutral unions, their efforts were condemned by Rome as "Americanism" and "modernism." Still, papal teachings had opened the door to modern economics, and new patterns of Catholic social thought and activity were stimulated. A new generation of American Catholic scholars and activists fomented social service and social advocacy within a decidedly democratic framework and toward a new form of welfare capitalism in the twentieth century. The Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction (1919) is a landmark of this direction.

Figures such as Fr. John A. Ryan (1867–1945) and Fr. John Courtney Murray (1904–1967) provided intellectual and moral guidance for Catholic involvement in the democratization of economic opportunities and for Catholic participation in democratic political life. The line from these roots to contemporary Catholic social movements in the United States is not difficult to draw. Catholic movements against abortion, for peace and justice, and in support of human rights continued to grow, especially after Vatican II (1962–1965) spoke of the ministry of the laity and Popes John XXIII (reigned 1958–1963) and John Paul II endorsed these motifs. The U.S. Roman Catholic Bishops' Pastoral Letter on War and Peace (1982), issued at the height of the cold war, has been widely adopted as almost a manifesto for numerous Protestant and Catholic antinuclear movements. The U.S. Catholic bishops drafted a Letter on the Economy (1986), which both commends the achievements of capitalism and demands active engagement, in the name of Christ, to redress its negative effects. John Paul II, the Polish pope who was clearly involved in efforts to overthrow communism in Eastern Europe, cautiously but firmly accented the relative benefits of capitalism and democracy, strongly linked these to the defense of human rights, and approved sharp Vatican critiques of liberation theology.

POLITICAL ACTIVISM. Internationally the rise of National Socialism in Germany and Stalinism in the Soviet Union forced Christian social movements at mid-twentieth century to become increasingly and overtly political in defense of democracy. In the United States, extremist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils attributed the ills of the world to blacks, Catholics, Jews, and communists, and they attempted to use Christian symbols to legitimate their hate. Nearly all church bodies preached against such organizations, and many threw their attention instead to a wide variety of religiously based efforts on the other end of the political spectrum, such as the Fellowship of Socialist Christians and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. More notable, however, is the fact that Christian Realism—a tough-minded theological orientation usually associated with Reinhold Niebuhr (1892–1971)—became the reigning mode of articulating the Christian vision for social justice during the Great Depression, World War II, and the cold war.

The building of vast armies to meet international threats and the increased involvement of the government in economic matters increased the size and scope of political, administrative, and regulative bureaucracies in the United States. These developments in government deeply affected Christian theology and church-related social movements. They supported national policies that institutionalized on nonreligious bases many of the programs begun in voluntary, faith-based movements, they modified church and religious organizations as the agencies providing services for the needy in local communities, and they evoked a general turn to political strategies of advocacy for specific public policies in the emerging welfare society.

After World War II these trends continued, but other trends also became prominent. A new generation of leaders arose from the black churches, the most famous of whom was Martin Luther King Jr. (1929–1968). King organized a new Christian social movement—the Southern Christian Leadership Conference—to confront the "betrayal of the American dream" and the racist customs and organizations that had established discriminatory laws after the end of slavery nearly a century before. He initiated a series of nonviolent marches and demonstrations that "called the country to its highest ideals" and "the faith to its first principles of justice." (Lincoln, 1970, p.13). Although the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League had already worked for racial justice for decades and U.S. military forces had been integrated after it was recognized as absurd to fight the racist policies of Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) with segregated forces, King's movement touched the festering conscience of the world more deeply, and his strategies were soon adopted by other minority groups and activists with other agendas.

The U.S. involvement in Vietnam brought about another spate of church and paraecclesial efforts to alter common habits of mind and public policy. The organization Clergy and Laity Concerned about Vietnam was perhaps the most important national organization to protest the Vietnam War, but local organizations seemed to spring from the chaplains' offices on nearly every university campus. Many of the people engaged in the antiwar protests were those who had marched with King. After the war they organized boycotts against growers who employed migrant workers at below-standard pay rates, clothing manufacturers who resisted unionization, and infant-formula manufacturers who utilized questionable marketing techniques in poor countries. Others attempted to pressure stockholders of corporations doing business in, say, the Republic of South Africa in the days of apartheid to change policies or divest entirely, or to influence those operating in Central American or Southeast Asian countries to raise the minimal wages paid to workers there. Such authors as Rachel Carson (1907–1964) brought to public attention potential damage to the environment, and soon a variety of Christian "eco-justice" efforts were under way to protect God's creation. These issues were all taken up by the "mainline churches" as major causes, and concern about them survived, slightly modified, in the handbooks of church bureaucracies and slogans at antiglobalization demonstrations.

More often than not, in those church circles inclined to mount social movements, the source of the world's problems has been identified as "capitalism," usually understood in quasi-Marxist terms. However, the collapse of the Soviet Union, the privatization and deregulation of the economies in most countries, the resurgence of conservative religions as the guide to social development and public policy, and conflicting views of the nature of capitalism have brought frustration to "mainline" Christian social movements. Indeed it is almost a cliché to say that the "mainline" has been "sidelined" by its predictable and passé social analysis. Nowhere is this clearer than in the critiques of globalization as merely the result of Western forms of predatory capitalism. The fact that globalization involves the spread of human rights, the development of international law, the adoption of democracy, increased international cooperation to control disease and hunger, the striking formation of new middle classes, and the spread of technology along with access to education and means of communication is hardly mentioned. Globalization also involves a shift in perspective about sociological existence that is as dramatic as the shift Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) brought to cosmological existence. Ironically, many church leaders are as eager to condemn this shift as vigorously as their predecessors did Galileo. That is not to say that the churches are socially irrelevant, but it is to suggest that what they do on the ground is more effective and more dependent on more globalized perspectives than those that dominate the antiglobal theologies of many mainline national and ecumenical church bodies.

These brief references to political activism should not obscure the fact that liberation theology engendered several social movements, not only in Latin America but also in almost every part of Africa and Asia as the "new countries" sought independence from the colonial powers that previously governed them, and then from the internal hegemonies that emerged in one-party states after the colonialists were deposed. Scholars disagree on whether the views developed in these regions of the world can be considered "theology" in any enduring sense of the word, or whether they are instead a form of baptized ideology combined with local religiosity. But even critics acknowledge liberation theology's social importance in giving a voice to those who were previously only recipients of other people's perspectives.

Still, many wonder if this combination of piety and analysis, having made its witness against colonialism, imperialism, and hegemony, can also provide models for the reconstruction and development of liberated societies. In the Philippines after Ferdinand Marcos (president 1965–1986), in Indonesia after Suharto (president 1967–1998), in central Africa after successive coups, in southern Africa after apartheid, and in much of Latin America after right-wing dictators and guerrilla oppositions, ideas of liberation may engender effective models of democratic order with human rights, economic viability, racial justice, sexual equality, and freedom of religion, but the record has not proven promising.

Nevertheless the liberation movements did give people at the margins of the dominant institutions and traditions the courage to speak up. Two groups the liberationists did not expect to take that challenge have in fact exercised that option with vigor and effect. One is the feminists, and the other is the evangelicals.

Much of feminism traces its origins to the Enlightenment and can take one of two forms: liberal (accenting individual rights and moral autonomy) or radical (accenting social solidarity and the interdependence of sexism with classism, racism, and ecological domination). But not all modes of feminism are liberal or radical in these senses. A large literature has been developed by and about feminist Christians, heirs in a way of the nineteenth-century missionary movements. They join their liberal and radical sisters in that they too are critical of patriarchal religion and the ways in which clergy have subordinated or exploited women's gifts and leadership abilities both in church and society, but they see aspects and dynamics in the classical texts and traditions that are indispensable to both personal identity and community formation. All seek the recognition that women have been subordinated, oppressed, or simply viewed as sexual objects in much of human history, and all want the restructuring of authority and work in household and economy, access to political power and professional opportunity, and more control of reproduction.

The confluence of Enlightenment and Christian ethical norms has had a wide effect in the use of ordinary language, in the use of theological symbols, in expectations of shared duties in the home, and, more widely, in the way in which women are perceived and conduct themselves in the workplace—from the research lab to the battlefield, from the judge's bench to the pulpit. They have made what once were considered "private" issues matters of public awareness and policy, and they have forced those who thought they were doing "objective" analysis of medical, social, and political problems to acknowledge the presence of bias in the presuppositions and perceptions of problems. This movement has had worldwide repercussions, and women from every religious background have followed parallel paths to those already cut through the thickets of exegesis, tradition, debate, and role conflict by feminist Christians.

Parallel to the influence of feminism, evangelical Protestantism, with some wings essentially Pentecostal and others fundamentalist (and often in conversation and ethical agreement with conservative forms of Catholicism) have also had great effects. The interaction of these groups is evident in *Christianity Today* and *First Things,* two of the liveliest and most widely circulated Christian journals in the world. Whereas the views of these groups were obscured by mainline development in the past, they are obscure no more, to the chagrin of many ecumenical and liberal Christians. They have founded a series of academic and research institutions, they have bought a number of radio and television stations, they have become a major force in national politics in North and South America, and they have missionary and human services organizations that reach into most of the countries of the world and into the center of the most difficult urban subcultures.

Evangelical Protestantism's new public activism seems to have come in reaction to a series of public developments—the *Roe vs. Wade* ruling allowing abortion, the removal of public prayer from the public schools, the acceptance of gay relationships as equal in moral value to heterosexual marriage, and the neglect of religious, biblical, and theological influences in social and intellectual history due to a presumption that modernity means secularism. The fact that religious freedom, constitutional democracy, human rights, modern science, and modern technological and economic advances developed in cultures shaped by evangelical forms of Christianity, and only secondarily anywhere else, is not noted. Yet as mainline Christian interpretations of life and social history fall into relativism and missionary zeal erodes, perspectives appreciative of Christianity and new missionary movements are spreading throughout the world at the hands of Catholic, Evangelical, and Pentecostal theologies. They in fact have grown at exponential rates in Africa, Asia, and the many parts of the Americas. For these movements the crucial issues are openness to faith, a positive evaluation of religious freedom, and the theological cultivation of those patterns of life that can form a wholesome civil society, generate social capital, and empower marginalized peoples to participate in the cultural and economic dynamics of globalization.

While these two movements differ in a great number of respects, they share a recognition that the earlier sharp line between personal and public issues and between faith and secular social philosophy is fading, and that lifestyle issues and theology are central to public debates. In addition, many feminists realize that a majority of women are deeply religious, and many evangelical Christians recognize that the patriarchal treatment of women is contrary to the deeper strands of the faith. Both of these movements, like the growing consensus about the importance of human rights, ecological responsibility, and concern for the inequalities of economic opportunity around the world, also supported by feminist and Christian groups, show no sign of fading. It is doubtful that any social movement that does not recognize the vitality and validity of much that these two movements emphasize can flourish.

SEE ALSO Denominationalism; Evangelical and Fundamental Christianity; Freemasons; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Leo XIII; Methodist Churches; Missions, article on Missionary Activity; Modernism, article on Christian Modernism; Niebuhr, Reinhold; Pietism; Political Theology; Rauschenbusch, Walter; Reformation; Religious Broadcasting; Religious Communities, article on Christian Religious Orders; Salvation Army; Troeltsch, Ernst; Williams, Roger.

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MAX L. STACKHOUSE (1987 AND 2005)

CHRISTMAS is the Christian celebration of the birth of Jesus Christ. The name, English in origin, means "Christ's Mass," that is, the mass celebrating the feast of Christ's nativity. Names for Christmas in Romance languages are derived from the Latin *nativitas.* The French *Noël* comes from either *nativitas* or *nowell,* meaning "news." German employs the term *Weihnachten,* meaning "holy (or blessed) night." Another name for the whole season is *Yule.* Originally this name did not have Christian connotations but derived either from the Germanic *jol* ("turning wheel"), with reference to the gain of sunlight after the winter solstice, or from the Anglo-Saxon *geol* ("feast"). The name of this pre-Christian winter feast of the solstice was eventually applied to the whole of the Christmas season.

There is no certain knowledge of the origin of the Christmas feast. It may have been celebrated as early as the beginning of the fourth century in North Africa, but certainly it was observed at Rome by the middle of the same century. Two theories have been advanced for the occurrence of the feast on December 25. One theory argues that Christmas originated in opposition to or competition with the Roman Feast of the Invincible Sun (Sol Invictus) that had been celebrated on the old date of the winter solstice. The computation theory, on the other hand, argues that the birth of Christ was calculated on the basis of the idea that the conception of Christ coincided with his death, which supposedly occurred on March 25.

By the end of the fourth century the observance on December 25 of the feast of Christ's nativity had spread throughout most of the Christian world. At Antioch, Chrysostom regarded it as the actual date of Christ's birth. In the mid-fifth century the Jerusalem church, too, accepted the December 25 date, which then replaced the older celebration of the nativity there on January 6. The Armenians, however, have never accepted December 25 as the Feast of the Nativity.

The Western Christian observance of Christmas was strongly influenced by the celebration of this feast in the city of Rome. Three masses came to be celebrated by the pope on Christmas Day. The original mass was held at Saint

Peter's on Christmas morning. But in the course of the fifth century a second mass was added "in the middle of the night" (first at cockcrow and later at midnight) at the shrine of Christ's crib, which had been erected at the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore as a replica of the crib at Bethlehem. Finally, during the Byzantine period of the sixth century a third mass was added in Rome, this one at dawn at the Church of Sant' Anastasia, a martyr whose feast was celebrated in Constantinople on December 25. Probably for the sake of convenience, in the course of the eleventh century the original mass celebrated at Saint Peter's was transferred to Santa Maria Maggiore, already the site of the second mass. Since the eighth century the Western Christian celebration of Christmas has been provided with an octave, or eight days of liturgical observance, in imitation of the feasts of Easter and Epiphany.

In the early sixth century the emperor Justinian made Christmas a public holiday. The feast was extremely popular in all European countries during the Middle Ages, inspiring the composition of music and liturgical drama. The observance of Christmas received added impetus in the early thirteenth century when Francis of Assisi originated the devotion of the Christmas crib.

After the sixteenth century most of the Reformation churches retained the Christmas feast. Martin Luther, for example, showed great devotion to Christmas in his preaching. However, the English Puritans tried to do away with the celebration of Christmas altogether in the course of the seventeenth century. The feast was revived with the restoration of the English monarchy in 1660, but on a somewhat more secular basis. Under the Puritan influence in early America, especially in New England, Christmas was a regular workday until the middle of the nineteenth century.

The customs of Christmas in the Northern Hemisphere include, in addition to Christian religious practices and midwinter feasting, various celebrations of the returning light of the sun. In northern European folklore, the twelve days between Christmas and Epiphany are a time when the evil spirits are considered to be especially active, combating the coming of spring and the gradual victory of sunlight over darkness that follows the winter solstice; thus Christmas Eve is called there "the devil's funeral." To celebrate the victory of life over winter's death and to combat evil spirits, homes are decorated in this darkest period of the year with lights and evergreens of all kinds. Similarly, the Yule log was kindled on Christmas Eve in northern countries and kept burning until Epiphany, and remains of the log were kept to kindle the next year's Yule fire. The Christmas tree itself seems to be of rather recent origin: it may be as late as the sixteenth century that Germans first decorated a fir tree with lights, fruits, and tinsel. From Germany the custom spread quickly and became universally popular, even in the Southern Hemisphere.

The custom of sending special greeting cards at Christmas originated in nineteenth-century England. Giving gifts at Christmas probably originated with the pagan Roman custom of exchanging gifts (*strenae*) at the New Year. The popular gift bringer, Santa Claus, is an American invention; he combines features of the traditional children's saint, Nicholas of Myra, with some elements of the Germanic fire god, Thor, who fought the giants of ice and snow from his home in the polar regions.

Other customs of the Christmas season include the baking of special foods, the cooking of poultry dinners on Christmas Day, and the singing of special songs, notably carols, a species of simple song that originally had wider application than as Christmas music. The celebration of Christmas thus includes both Christian observances and wider folkloric customs, the latter relating to general festivity at the time of the winter solstice.

SEE ALSO Gift Giving; Sol Invictus; Winter Solstice Songs.

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CHRISTOLOGY SEE JESUS

CHRONOLOGY.

The tendency to describe time in human terms inevitably leaves its mark on the various systems used for signifying time in all its widely varying forms and dimensions: from the identification of the period of light and the period of darkness within a day, to the artificial groupings of several days (seven-day week, ten-day week), the month (lunar or solar), the seasons, the year, cycles of many years, and the era. This tendency is found within the most diverse cultures and in everyday life as well as in the world of mythical traditions.

Scholars have long been gathering and analyzing a superabundant documentation relating to the concrete systems (mathematico-astronomical, economic, sacral) that in specific historical situations have been used to signify time. Unfortunately, scholars have not always asked themselves why such an activity should have been necessary. Rather than continuing to collect data of a phenomenological kind on the various methods of describing time, it seems more important to examine closely the ideology underlying them. Very useful for this purpose are historico-religious studies of the calendar, which have now made clear the decisions made in every type of culture to distinguish, within the otherwise vague, indistinct, and insubstantial temporal dimension of reality, that which is elevated to the rank of sacred from that which is deliberately left as profane.

Sacred time is saved from the anonymity of assimilation either to the perpetual self-renewal of nature or to the motionless stability of the mythical world, and is thereby rendered eternal in its periodic ritual scansions. Unlike profane time, sacred time tends to abstract not only from nature's inexorable rhythms (which it seeks in some way to control) but also from the rarefied and static character of the period of origins (which has now been left behind) and from the atmosphere of the festival (which, being out of the ordinary, is not congenial to it). As a result, sacred time always shows a face that is entirely its own, though in forms that vary according to the cultural environment and the historical situation. The phenomenology of sacred time ranges from the relatively simple impositions of taboos at specified times (which are thereby automatically removed from the everyday), to the prudent development of festive parentheses (inserted into profane existence as a means of linking this to the period of origins), and on to the infinitely more complex restructurings of calendrical rhythms. (The motives behind these rhythms—astronomical, economic, political, and/or social—are redeemed at the religious level, while the beginning and end of these rhythms are linked in the celebration of the New Year.)

History, for its part, presents us with well-defined instances of sacral descriptions of the temporal dimension. These include the dedication, in the true and strict sense, of limited periods of time to supreme beings (the "days of the gods" in ancient Egypt and the "week" of the *bolon ti ku* or "lords of the underworld" among the Maya); the indication of such days and months by name (as in the Zoroastrian religion and in the Roman, in which January was named after the god Janus, and March after the god Mars); and finally, the constant tendency to identify the beginning of linear time (time that is supremely profane by reason of the uniqueness of each instant) with events of exceptional religious importance. Such events included, for the Hebrews, creation and, for a more restricted period of time, the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple; for the Romans, the inauguration of the sanctuary of the supreme god, Jupiter Optimus Maximus; for the Western world, the birth of Christ; for Buddhist India and Indochina, the death of the Buddha and his attainment of *nirvāṇa;* and for the Islamic faithful, the emigration of Muḥammad from Mecca to Medina.

On the other hand, the consecration, and therefore surrender, of a period of time (which is thus removed from the crises of everyday life) brings the redemption, for man and for his existential needs and cultural requirements, of the remaining part of the temporal dimension, which is usually the larger part and which he seems anxious to regain possession of as soon as possible. In this context we may think of the care with which, by means of suitable indications on their epigraphical calendars, the Romans set apart the days that were *fasti* (i. e., on which it was permitted to administer justice), to the point of distinguishing within the twenty-four-hour period the time during which such activity was licit between the two phases of sacrifice. The Japanese set apart the *kannazuki* ("months without gods"), during which they, convinced that during these periods the Shintō *kami* neglect their faithful, consider it a duty not to waste time in cultic practices. Similarly, the civil authorities of various countries have brought mounting pressure to bear on the religious authorities to reduce the number of feast days and thus increase the number of workdays. The time that human beings reserve to themselves can—and by reason of existential difficulties must—be henceforth structured in a well-defined functional relation to productive activity.

It seems almost superfluous in our day to call attention to the important influence of various economic motivations on the progressive establishment and stratification of calendrical systems in the most diverse civilizations. Certain widespread phenomena in this area are obvious: the coincidence of the beginning and end of the year with the period when consumer goods are most available; the strategic location of festive periods in relation to essential work periods; and the close relation established between annual and seasonal rhythms and the needs created by human fatigue. I shall therefore only remind the reader of three considerations. First, the specific character of a calendrical structure is often determined by an agrarian economy (e.g., in ancient Egypt, where the New Year coincided with the flooding of the Nile, which was essential to the grain cycle and with which the three seasons of inundation, emersion, and repair of the irrigation system were likewise closely connected). Second, within one and the same civilization there are often several calendrical systems, each of which, with its different set of characteristics, looks to a different economic component of the society in question (e.g., at Rome, where the spelt harvest became fully available only in February, thus determining an agrarian-type New Year in March, whereas April 21 signaled the beginning of the work year for those engaged in pastoral activities). Finally, the names of the months often echo particular rural occupations (e.g., "The Garlic Harvest" in the Iran of the Achaemenids; "The Heaping of the Harvest" in pre-Columbian Peru; "The Sowing of the Rice" in China).

Our consciousness of the influence exercised by the economic factor on the cultural description of time is, moreover, such that we can see it already reflected in the sacral traditions of primitive cultures. In these cultures, myths abound showing that primitive man's anxiety focused not so much on the need of having time as on a concern that the time available be suited ("long enough" or "with daylight enough") for hunting (the Paiute of Nevada; the Caddo of eastern Texas) or for salmon-fishing (the Tlingit of the Northwest Coast).

But whether sacred or profane, time is essentially a reality that is conceived, planned, and activated in service of human beings and therefore must be adapted to their needs. Humans view as habitual and secure the limits represented by the day (among some peoples, only the period of daylight), the month (in some cultures, only the period of the waxing moon), the year (in some societies, only the seasons, which are defined in economic terms), and, sometimes, the century. Beyond these limits, human beings seem to feel displaced, lost, threatened, and crushed by the unnaturally vast dimensions that time appears to take on whenever it is geared no longer to them but to suprahuman beings who live in a "different" time or, more precisely, are thought of as "outside of time." Thus human beings can make nothing of a "day of Brahma," which in Hinduism is equivalent to an incommensurable *kalpa*, just as they cannot render useful to themselves, except in an ultimately apotropaic way, the vast eras in which, according to certain higher civilizations (Vedic India, the classical world, pre-Columbian America), phases of dissolution usually, and in significant ways, preclude a renewal of cosmic reality or even a termination of human reality. In the final analysis, human beings would even have a struggle appreciating properly the decidedly more restrained yet barely sufficient three millennia that, according to the Zoroastrian religion, the creator Ahura Mazdā needs in order to establish and then annihilate creation, after having imprisoned and destroyed evil within it.

The fact that time should be geared principally to man, tailored to his measure and defined in function of his needs, both existential and cultural, is constantly made clear precisely in those mythical traditions that, from time to time and in one civilization after another, emphasize this point at levels that are diverse but that, in every case, deal with the common necessity of turning absolute time into a human category. To begin with, great importance is attached in myth to the active role played by the human race in the acquisition of time during the period of origins, as compared with the more passive role played by the suprahuman powers. Those who request, take, conquer, or otherwise obtain time may be, according to circumstances, the First Man (natives of Vanuatu; the Sulka of New Britain); the earthly wife of the moon (the Aleut of Alaska); a child (the Micmac of Cape Breton); the carpenter and his sons (the Bambara of the Sudan); the shaman (the Caddo); or mythical kings (Rome and China). Or the social group in its entirety may play this active role by determining to couple peacefully in the dark (the Selk'nam of Tierra del Fuego); by turning in need to Wild Duck against the negative action of Coyote and the ineptitude of Wolf (the Paiute); by paying Bazzagro to keep the sun in the sky, while Coyote appears to play a secondary role in the entire event (the Pomo of California); by crying out their desire for "long days" so that Maikaffo, the master of atmospheric phenomena, cannot but hear and heed (the Hausa of the Sudan); or by claiming and obtaining a certain course of the sun through the sky, while the creator limits himself to granting their desire (the Tsimshian of the Northwest).

In short, individuals or social groups adapt time to their own use, whereas otherwise it would have other proportions, dimensions, and characteristics. There would, for instance, have been as many months of winter as there are hairs in the trickster's fur coat, instead of winters of only seven months (the Assiniboin of Canada); ten cold moons and, for sole nourishment, soup made of refuse, instead of two such moons, with sunflower seeds, roots, and berries to eat (the Atsugewi of California); lunar months of forty days, as Porcupine wanted, instead of months according to rule (the Tsimshian); excessively short days instead of "long days" (the Hausa); periods of either light alone or darkness alone, with either sleeping or fishing excluded, instead of the indispensable alternation of day and night (natives of Mota in Melanesia and the Tlingit).

It is also significant that time is made available in periods that are keyed to specifically human existence. In fact, time alone makes possible the existence of beds and sleep (natives of Mota); fire and the eating of cooked foods (the Sulka of New Britain); the present manner of making love (the Pomo and the Selk'nam); and death (the Luiseño of California and the Bambara). Prior to the acquisition of time, human beings had not yet carved out a special—that is to say, human and cultural—place for themselves that would differentiate them from the suprahuman and subhuman worlds. As long as time did not exist, either absolutely or in its definitive forms and with its definitive characteristics, mythical beings exercised governance (Rome); the gods were not yet born (Egypt); it was possible to marry the moon (the Aleut); men were still like the animals (the Tsimshian); and, finally, it was possible to use the channels of communication between earth and heaven (the Bambara, the Sulka, and natives of Vanuatu).

As for the acquisition or conquest of time as a function of elementary human needs, here, too, there is a widespread and much accentuated mythical motif. Claim was laid to a winter that was not too long and that was mitigated by the summer so that humans might endure the cold (the Assiniboin and the Micmac). There was a desire for daylight in order to obtain food and cook it (the Paiute, Caddo, Tlingit, and Atsugewi), and for the darkness of night in order to safeguard personal privacy (the Selk'nam) and to rest (the Caddo, natives of Mota, and the Sulka). And all manner of efforts were made to divide the year into months in order to have rest from fatigue (the Bambara) and to be able to commemorate the dead (the Luiseño).

Finally, one also finds a marked awareness that the acquisition of this human category of time had immediate and lasting repercussions in relation to the world of nature, which now received its definitive shape. With time, light first appeared (the Tlingit, natives of Vanuatu, Israel), and darkness as well (the Tlingit). With time, the moon rises and begins its successive phases (the Luiseño, Pomo, Aleut, Tlingit, and

Bambara), and plants and animals come into existence (the Tlingit and Sulka, natives of Vanuatu, Iran, Israel) and take on their definitive traits (the Paiute, Tsimshian, Tlingit). The gods can now be born and, in turn, generate the world (Egypt), and death comes upon the earth (the Bambara and Luiseño).

Paradoxically, time marks the real beginning of history and opens the way for nature to exist. Nature would otherwise have been different or would not even have existed at all. This enables us to understand how, among the rich and complex systems used for describing time in both primitive cultures and the higher civilizations, those systems that give material embodiment to time by specifically human and cultural means acquire special prominence. One such means in widespread use is the voice. In its most diverse forms, time can be announced in a loud voice to the collectivity by the qualified sacral personnel, or at least by individuals of exalted religious standing. We may think here of the solemn public proclamation of the new moon (on the basis of which the month now beginning acquired its special structure) by a *pontifex minor* (minor pontiff or subpontiff) in Rome; or of Muḥammad's reestablishment in Mecca in 631 of a lunar year uncontaminated by intercalations of any kind. Actions of this type, usually ritualized in various ways according to the particular cultural environment, seem to be found in a significant degree in those cultural traditions in which time has not yet become an integral part of the order of things. Time may make its first appearance as something announced and proclaimed (the Luiseño, Atsugewi, Paiute), but remember also *Genesis* 1:1–5, where God says: "Let there be light!" Or time may be repeated (the Assiniboin and Atsugewi), discussed (the Assiniboin, Paiute, Atsugewi, Nandi of northeastern Africa, and Tsimshian), or even obtained by shouting (the Maidu, Tlingit, and natives of Mota) on the part of suprahuman beings or primitive humankind.

Another system of circumscribing time is that represented by work and, in particular, the manual labor of craftsmen. In archaic societies such work soon acquired a properly creative value in relation to realities that are in themselves abstract and difficult, if not impossible, to regulate, as witnessed by the well-known Roman saying that the individual is the *faber* (creator) of his own destiny. The labor of a handworker and, more specifically, of a weaver, a carpenter, or an engraver—that is, the labor of individuals who are accustomed to using fibers, nails and hammer, or chisel and burin in order to produce something that is new, different, and, above all, irreversible (cloths; various objects; and marble and/or metals that are shaped and moved from one place to another) in relation to the raw material that human labor has now immobilized in a given form and thus rendered usable—is the kind of labor that seems to show through, even if sublimated to a henceforth symbolic level, in conceptions of time as something knotted, nailed, chiseled, or engraved. One can cite the knotted cords used for measuring time among various primitive peoples, as well as the "binding of the sun" into the arc of the seasons or into cycles of many years in pre-Columbian America; or the ritual hammering in of the *clavus annalis* ("nail of the year") at Rome, and the comparable way of marking the passage of the years in Etruria; or various epigraphic calendars.

Given the well-known fact that the specialization of trades appears with the rise of the higher civilizations, conceptions of the kind cited can be found only sporadically in primitive cultures, whereas other cultures give them a privileged place. In the myths of primitive peoples, the kind of toil by which time in its various forms is acquired is far from being the labor of a craftsman; rather, it is related to the habitual activities of the various sectors of these societies. In these stories time is hunted down and captured with bow and arrow (the Caddo); hoisted up by brute strength and ropes (the Aleut and Sudanese); ferried in a canoe (natives of Mota); given new form by means of an obsidian knife (natives of Mota); or even looked upon as something to be traded—for example, "bought" with a basket of pearls or a little necklace or even a pig (the Pomo, Paiute, and natives of Mota, respectively).

A further method of circumscribing or actuating time is even more human and cultural by comparison with the other systems. This is the system that actualizes time, in forms that vary constantly from civilization to civilization, through the more or less massive display of ludic activity. Scholars have long known and studied rituals in both primitive and higher cultures that focus on spectacle. Less well known, on the other hand, is the fact that such rituals (usually celebrated to highlight the salient moments of human, social, and cosmic existence and to create or recreate them from time to time at the sacral level) often specifically signal the passage of time by materially describing, characterizing, influencing, and even "realizing" its several and diverse forms and modalities. Among the Witóto, for example, the ritual game of soccer, in which the ball is identified with the moon, is played in precise relation to the various phases of this heavenly body. In the same context the Shasta of Oregon, try to "strike the moon" by hitting the ball with twelve vertebrae of a salmon, and thus to help the moon increase so that, month by month, it may travel the entire arc of the year; this action, in their view, even accelerates the moon's course in winter. The Pygmies of Africa annually dance around a fire to bring about the succession of the seasons; at the spring feast of Ysiah, the Yakuts of Siberia stage a combat between winter and the salutary season; and the Delaware of Oklahoma assign a clearly solstitial character, value, and purpose to the game of soccer.

Examples of this kind help us to grasp the ultimate function of the countless elements of spectacle (dances and songs, games and contests of every kind, dramatic representations, etc.) that, as is well known, are a constant component of New Year festivals both in the most widely varying primitive cultures and in the archaic higher civilizations. Even in these last, in fact, ludic activity, though tending to become what in the modern world is now simply sport and theatricals, still to a degree seeks to shape the varied and manifold formulations of time by describing its rhythms in the form of spectacles. To multiply examples here would carry us beyond the limits set for this article; we need only think of the Assyrian determination of the years by means of a game of chance, or the Greek custom of dating time in relation to the Olympiads celebrated every fifth year. Reflect, too, on the wealth and complexity of the elements offered by the inevitable projection of motifs of this kind in the mythic traditions of these civilizations. One can cite the Egyptian story told by Plutarch, according to which the five days added annually to the other 360 were made up by the god Thoth out of the fractions of time he had acquired by playing chess with the moon. Thoth's purpose in thus composing these days was to create a specific chronological space that would at last allow the divinities to enter the world, since the sun god Re would not allow them to be conceived and born during the regular year.

Given the limitations of space, I shall restrict myself to a brief consideration of how all this was verified in Roman society, where there were many rituals of a spectacular kind. If we keep in mind that the rotation and revolution of the heavenly bodies, which regulate the course of time, were assimilated in Roman culture to the special movement proper to *ludus* ("play"), we will readily understand the imposition of a complex astronomical symbolism on the space occupied by the circus, where every chariot race was intended to mime the course of the sun through the heavens. We will also see a more specific meaning in the fact that the periodic *ludi* served to mark in a solemn manner the expiration of fixed periods of time. Thus, the *lustrum*, or purificatory sacrifice, defined a regularly recurring cycle of four years; the *ludi saeculares*, or centennial games celebrated the end of a *saeculum;* and the various New Year festivals—the Saturnalia, Feriae Annae Perennae (festival of the goddess of the year), and Palilia (festival of Pales, the tutelary deity of shepherds and cattle)—abounded in spectacle.

When thus reduced to a mere product of a game, time seems to be rendered completely subordinate to a given culture. This does not mean, however, that time is undervalued in the slightest; on the contrary, there is always the greatest esteem for it, independent of cultural contexts and historical situations. The value assigned to time is extremely high in comparison with other categories, as seen in the widespread conviction that time is something "precious" that "must not be lost." This evaluation is independent of oscillations in value when moving from a merely economic level (in myth, time can be "bought," while in the modern world it becomes "money" pure and simple) to a highly ideological level. Thus time is equated with the uniqueness of existence in some myths (the Assiniboin, Luiseño, Bambara) in which the conquest of time has been made possible only by someone's sacrifice, suffering, and death.

See Also Calendars; History; Sacred Time.

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Giulia Piccaluga (1987)
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CHRYSOSTOM (c. 354–407), bishop of Constantinople (397–404), father of the Eastern church, biblical commentator, and orator. Born John, he was given the name *Chrysostom* ("golden mouth") in the sixth century. Though probably the most popular of the Eastern church fathers, John Chrysostom is not the most accurately documented, and much remains to be elucidated concerning both his life and the number and authenticity of his works.

John was born at Antioch at an unknown date; 354 is the most likely. The only period of his life for which we have reliable information is that of his tenure as bishop of Constantinople and his trial and exile. The currently accepted version of his story is based on a seventh- or eighth-century biography ascribed to the patriarch George of Alexandria (c. 620–c. 630), which largely draws upon two sources: an apologetic dialogue (c. 408) by Palladius, bishop of Helenopolis in Bithynia and a friend of John, and the church history of Socrates Scholasticus of Constantinople (c. 380–c. 440). According to these sources, John was the son of Secundus, an officer in the Syrian army, and a Greek woman, Theousa, left a widow when John still was a child. The boy was sent to the best schools and was a pupil of the Greek rhetorician and sophist Libanius (314–393). At the age of eighteen he abandoned the pursuit of "vain verbosity" and became a Christian. At this time he was continually in the company of the bishop of Antioch, Meletius (360–381). He was baptized and three years later was advanced to the office of reader. After some time he withdrew from the city to lead an ascetic life, first, for four years, in the company of an old hermit, then, for two years, in solitude. Having ruined his health by immoderate austerities, he returned to Antioch, became a deacon in 381, and in 386 was ordained a priest by Meletius's successor, Flavian I (381–404).

John was a zealous priest and soon achieved a reputation as a pulpit orator. In 397, at the death of Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, he was forcibly abducted to Constantinople at the emperor's order and elected a bishop. His early popularity as bishop and orator was soon adversely affected by the simplicity of his life, his endeavors to repress abuses in the clergy, his defense of the poor, and his criticisms of injustices and the display of wealth. He finally drew upon himself the hatred of the empress by accusing her openly of avarice and injustice. In 403, John's enemies joined in a mock synod (the Synod of the Oak), presided over by his worst enemy, Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, who then initiated a trial against John and declared him deposed. Ordered into exile, he was, however, recalled to Constantinople the following day because of a crisis at the palace, probably a miscarriage by the empress Eudoxia. He is said to have reentered the city immediately and been reconciled with the court. These restored relations were, however, soon impaired once more, after bitter complaints by John that the church offices were being disrupted by public festivities that followed the dedication of a statue of the empress. According to Socrates, the opening words of John's sermon, "Again Herodias raves," were interpreted as an insult to the empress and exploited by his enemies. He was subsequently suspended from his functions and finally banished by order of the emperor. For three years he remained in Cucusus, in Lesser Armenia; then, owing to his continued popularity, chiefly in Constantinople, he was sent to a more remote place near the Black Sea. On the road, he died of exhaustion and maltreatment at Comana on September 14, 407.

Beginning in 404 a bitter conflict arose in Constantinople between John's two successors, Arsacius and Atticus, and his followers, who refused to recognize those who had taken an important part in their bishop's eviction. After the death of Atticus (425) a reconciliation occurred. In 437 Chrysostom's relics were brought back to the capital, and he was venerated as a saint and a martyr.

In recent years, the study of a long unexplored source, the so-called *Life of Chrysostom* (attributed to Martyrius of Antioch), composed by an eyewitness and issued in Constantinople a few weeks after John's death, calls into question the previously unchallenged authority of Palladius and Socrates. Thus the commonly accepted accounts of the Synod of the Oak prove to be unreliable. Many other details of the events of John's life are similarly under reexamination.

John was known chiefly as an orator and composer of homilies, many of which are preserved only in the notes of scribes. Many of his sermons are commentaries on books of the Old and New Testaments: *Genesis*, the *Psalms*, the gospels according to Matthew and John, and the letters of Paul. Other sermons are dogmatical (e.g., baptismal catecheses) or practical and moral (*Against the Circus Games, On Almsgiving*). His eight homilies that bear the common title *Against the Jews* were primarily aimed at Christians who frequented the synagogues or indulged in the superstitious practices in which some Jews seem to have dealt at that time. He wrote occasional orations on liturgical feasts, in praise of saints, and on important political events (*On the Disgrace of Eutropius*). Some speeches relating to his difficulties and banishment, such as the famous sermon against the empress, may have been forged in later years by his enemies or his followers. John also left several treatises, for example, *On the Cohabitation of Clerics and Virgins, On Priesthood, On Vainglory and the* Education of Children. Dating from the time of his exile are his 236 extant letters, the most important of which are the seventeen addressed to Olympias, a widow, deaconess, and great benefactress of the poor. John's writings have been widely translated.

Though venerated as one of the four fathers of the Eastern church, John was not primarily a theologian. He was a pastor, concerned with the preservation of faith and morals in his flock. His teaching reflects the orthodox doctrine of the church in the period between the crises of Arianism and Nestorianism. He was successful in restoring unity among the divided Christians of Antioch and avoided in his orations and writings any statement that might endanger their mutual understanding. His popularity as a preacher and as a martyr, however, was such that in later times hundreds of works, even those of his opponents and of heretics, were circulated and preserved under his name.

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F. Van Ommeslaeghe (1987)

CHUANG-TZU See ZHUANGZI

CHU HIS See ZHU XI

CHU-HUNG See ZHUHONG

CHURCH

This entry consists of the following articles:

CHURCH POLITY
ECCLESIOLOGY
CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

CHURCH: CHURCH POLITY

The governance of the Christian churches has assumed a variety of forms based on historical factors as well as on theological positions regarding the origin or root of ministerial functions. In a descending degree of local autonomy, these forms are broadly classified as congregational, presbyterial, or episcopal, but within each category significant modifications exist. After a historical survey of church governance from its beginnings through the Middle Ages, the organization of the major denominations will be considered individually.

One cannot speak with precision or certitude about ministry in the early church because it is difficult to date and evaluate the documentary evidence, including the New Testament writings, and because of differences of organization in the primitive local communities. At the conclusion of an eighty-year evolutionary process there emerged, apparently first at Antioch around 110 CE, a threefold hierarchical leadership that gradually became normative throughout the Christian world. The hierarchy (sacred rule) consisted of three grades: a single bishop charged with the "supervision or oversight" (*episcopē*) of the community; a group of consultors called presbyters (elders); and a subordinate group of deacons, who assisted in the administration of property. Certain functions, such as presiding at the Eucharist, were ordinarily reserved to the bishop. The distinction was thus made between the people and their leaders, soon called "clergy," who were ordained; that is, set apart for the ministry by the imposition of the bishop's hands. The local church presided over by the bishop was in time known as a "diocese" or "eparchy."

Church organization gradually accommodated itself to the political divisions of the Roman Empire. The local churches in a Roman province constituted an ecclesiastical province under the presidency of an archbishop, or metropolitan, who was the bishop of the capital city of the province. By the fourth century the beginnings of a patriarchal system could be detected in the large regional groupings of provinces. Eventually, all the dioceses and provinces of the Empire were subject to one of five patriarchs (father-ruler), namely, the bishops of Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Constantinople. The prominence of these bishoprics may be accounted for on grounds partly theological and partly political.

Among the five patriarchs, the bishop of Rome was accorded a certain primacy that was not clearly defined. The support of the Roman bishop, or pope (father), was particularly crucial in the fifth-century doctrinal disputes over the relation of the divine and human nature of Christ. These controversies were settled at ecumenical (worldwide) councils or synods of bishops held in Asia Minor. The conciliar condemnation of the monophysites and Nestorians greatly weakened the patriarchates of Antioch and Alexandria, in which they were largely concentrated. Constantinople emerged from these crises as the bastion of orthodoxy. After the Muslim conquests of the seventh century, only Rome and Constantinople survived as major churches. The growing estrangement of Eastern and Western Christianity became complete with the sack of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204.

In the West the position of the bishop of Rome, the only see (bishopric) to claim apostolic foundation, remained unchallenged for over thirteen hundred years. From the period of the Gregorian Reform (c. 1050), it embarked on a program of centralization, making effective use of councils, papal legates, and revivified canon law. In the wake of the Great Western Schism (1378–1417), during which there were three simultaneous claimants to the papacy, attempts were made to declare the ecumenical council the supreme authority in the church to which even the pope owed obedience. In the sixteenth century the failure to deal with abuses led to the Reformation and the establishment of a number of separate churches with divergent patterns of government.

Episcopal Form of Government. The Roman Catholic, Orthodox, and Anglican churches, which considered the historical continuity of ministry from the beginning of Christianity to have the highest priority, retained the episcopacy as the key office in the church. The bishops were viewed as the successors of the twelve apostles. Each of these communions, however, has structured its episcopal commitment in a different way.

Roman Catholic. Echoing the Second Vatican Council, the *Code of Canon Law* promulgated by John Paul II (r. 1978–) in 1983 affirms: "Just as, in accordance with the Lord's decree, Saint Peter and the other apostles constitute one college, in like fashion the Roman Pontiff, Peter's successor, and the bishops, the successors of the apostles, are united with each other" (canon 330). The special responsibility of Peter continues in the bishop of Rome, the pope, who is head of the college of bishops, the vicar of Christ, and the shepherd of the universal church here on earth. He obtains full and supreme power in the church once he has accepted legitimate election by the cardinals. The college of bishops, whose head is the pope and whose members are sacramentally ordained bishops and officially recognized (i.e., in hierarchical communion), also possesses full and supreme power. The college exercises its power over the universal church in a solemn manner through an ecumenical council that can be convoked only by the pope.

The Second Vatican Council introduced a new structure known as the Synod of Bishops. Since 1965 this representative body of about two hundred bishops chosen from different regions of the world has met, usually every three years, to aid the pope in promoting faith and morals, in strengthening ecclesiastical discipline, and in directing the church's worldwide activity.

The cardinals of the Roman Catholic Church, who are appointed for life by a reigning pope, constitute a special college whose chief function is to elect the bishop of Rome. From 1586 until 1958 the number was limited to seventy; beginning, however, with the move of Pope John XXIII (r. 1958–1963) to promote representation from all areas in the world, the college of cardinals has expanded to about two hundred. Only those not yet eighty years of age, however, may participate in a papal election. The cardinals also act as a body of advisers when summoned to deal with questions of major importance, and they head the most important departments of the Curia Romana.

The pope usually conducts the business of the church through the Curia, which acts in his name and by his authority. The Curia consists of the Secretariat of State (which also performs a coordinating function), nine congregations (including the Doctrine of the Faith, Divine Worship and the Sacraments, the Causes of Saints, and the Evangelization of Peoples), three tribunals, twelve pontifical councils (e.g., for Promoting Christian Unity, for the Laity, for the Family, for Justice and Peace, and for the Interpretation of Legislative Texts), and a number of offices (especially, Economic Affairs) and institutes (e.g., the Vatican Library).

Furthermore, the papacy maintains a corps of representatives throughout the world. When these legates are only to the local churches, they are known as apostolic delegates. If they are accredited to states and governments, they are ranked nuncio, pronuncio, or internuncio. (Reciprocally, more than 170 governments, including the United States, maintain diplomatic relations with the Vatican.) In addition to serving a liaison function, the papal legates, in cooperation with the bishops, clergy, and laity of the country, transmit to Rome lists of potential candidates for the episcopacy.

The Roman Catholic Church, over which the pope presides, is made up of particular churches—certain portions of the people of God "in which and from which the one and unique Catholic church exists" (*Code of Canon Law*, canon 368). In current canonical terminology, a particular church is a diocese that is entrusted to a bishop assisted by a presbyterate. As a general rule, a diocese is circumscribed by territorial bounds so as to embrace all the faithful within that area.

It is the prerogative of the pope to appoint bishops to take charge of particular churches or to confirm those who have been legitimately elected. (In a few European dioceses and in the Eastern Catholic or Uniate churches, the right to elect a bishop is recognized.) At least every three years, the bishops of an ecclesiastical province are to draw up a list of priests suitable for the episcopacy that is then sent to Rome. A diocesan bishop governs the particular church committed to his care with legislative, executive, and judicial power according to the norms of the law. He exercises legislative power personally, executive power either personally or through vicars, and judicial power either personally or through a judicial vicar. He is aided in his government by the presbyterial council (a body of priests) and by his staff, including vicars, a chancellor, a finance council, a promoter of justice, and a defender of the bond (for suits alleging the nullity of marriage or of holy orders). Every five years the bishop is to send to Rome a report on the state of the diocese. Upon reaching the age of seventy-five, he is asked to submit his resignation to the pope.

Every diocese is divided into parishes, which are established by the bishop after consulting the presbyterial council. Parishes are usually territorial, but they may also be determined on a personal basis, incorporating, for example, all those of Korean nationality or all those belonging to a university community. The parish is to be entrusted to a pastor appointed by the bishop, who is considered an extension of the bishop bringing spiritual care to his people. Every parish must have a financial council in which the laity participates. In many dioceses a pastoral council (with only consultative voice) is organized. If the number of parishioners requires it, the bishop may appoint additional priests as parish assistants or curates. Parishes may also be entrusted to religious communities such as the Dominicans or Franciscans.

While the diocese is the basic administrative unit in the Roman Catholic Church, there is some provision for supradiocesan structures. These include provinces, a grouping of neighboring dioceses presided over by the metropolitan or archbishop, and the episcopal conference, which includes all the bishops of a given nation or territory. While an archbishop has only a general supervisory role in the province, a conference may make deliberative and binding decisions in particular matters, while on other issues the diocesan bishop has freedom regarding implementation.

Of the approximately 1.07 billion Catholics in the world, about 17 million belong to the Eastern churches. Except for the Maronites, these churches represent various groups that have reunited with Rome since the sixteenth century. Almost all of them have larger counterparts that are Eastern Orthodox or non-Chalcedonian Orthodox. The Eastern churches, Catholic as well as non-Catholic, follow different rites, which entail a special liturgy, law, and spiritual tradition. Thus, in addition to the Latin church, to which the vast majority of Catholics belong, there are also twenty-one Catholic Eastern churches. These churches, with considerable autonomy, especially in the choice of bishops, are in six instances headed by patriarchs who acknowledge the primacy of the pope.

Orthodox and other Eastern churches. The Eastern Orthodox and other Eastern churches are firmly committed to apostolic succession and the episcopacy. The Eastern Orthodox churches accept the first seven ecumenical councils (through the Second Council of Nicaea in 787), as do Roman Catholics. The smaller Eastern churches, refusing to recognize the third (Ephesus [432]) and fourth (Chalcedon [451]) ecumenical councils, are divided into two Nestorian churches and four others known collectively as non-Chalcedonian Orthodox.

The Eastern Orthodox Church is not centrally organized but is a federation composed of fifteen autocephalous, or self-governing, churches and four others, which are known as autonomous. "Autocephaly" connotes the right possessed by a group of eparchies (dioceses) to settle all internal matters on their own authority and to elect their own bishops, including the head of the church. The boundaries of autocephalies are usually coterminous with those of a state or nation. Four of these autocephalies (Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem) are based upon ancient Christian tradition, as has already been noted. The remaining eleven have resulted from modern political developments: Russia, Romania, Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria, Georgia, Cyprus, Poland, the Czech lands and Slovakia, Albania, and North America. The autonomous churches—Finland, Japan, and Ukraine—while to a large degree self-governing, have not yet achieved full independence. The head of the monastery of Saint Catherine in the Sinai Peninsula has the rank of archbishop of Sinai; his jurisdiction over the immediate neighborhood constitutes an autonomous church.

From antiquity the heads of the churches of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch have been known as patriarchs. That title is also accorded the heads of the Russian, Romanian, Serbian, and Bulgarian churches. The head of the Georgian church is known as catholicos-patriarch; the heads of the others are metropolitans or archbishops. Ecclesiastical provinces in western Europe, North and South America, and Australia depend upon one of the autocephalous churches or one of the emigrant Russian jurisdictions. There is no bishop among the Orthodox churches who holds a position analogous to that of the pope in the Roman Church, but the patriarch of Constantinople is recognized as the ecumenical or universal patriarch. He holds a place of honor and precedence, and his authority over the Orthodox world is a moral one, the first among equals. Supreme authority belongs only to a pan-Orthodox council.

The Greek Orthodox Church in North and South America, the largest body of Orthodox in the Western Hemisphere with two million communicants, was originally incorporated in 1921 as the Greek Orthodox Diocese in North and South America. It eventually embraced the Archdiocese of New York, nine dioceses in the United States, and one each in Canada and South America. On July 30, 1996, the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate provided separate metropolitanates for Canada, South and Central America, so that the Archdiocese of America subsequently exercised jurisdiction only over the United States. The archdiocese, with its seat in New York City, includes the Direct Archdiocesan District (New York) and eight metropolises (Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Denver, Detroit, New Jersey, Pittsburgh, and San Francisco). It numbers one and a half million members.

According to a new charter approved by the patriarch on January 18, 2003, the archbishop and the metropolitans make up the eparchial synod that governs the archdiocese, subject to the superior authority of the ecumenical patriarchate. The synod ordinarily meets twice a year and has exclusive jurisdiction over all legal issues that affect the archdiocese as a whole and its metropolises.

In each archdiocesan district and in each metropolis, there is a spiritual court of first instances to, as the 2003 charter stipulates, to deal with family problems, as well as with moral and disciplinary charges against clergy and lay persons. The eparchial synod comprises a second instance or appeals court. The ecumenical patriarchate is the final court of appeals. Archdiocesan clergy-laity congresses are convened at least triennially. "Except for dogmatic or canonical matters," says the charter, "they are concerned with all other matters which affect the life, mission, growth and unity of the archdiocese" (Article 10 a). There is also a clergy-laity assembly for the archdiocesan district and each metropolis to treat local matters, "including the uniform governance of the parishes, educational programs, financial programs and philanthropic concerns, as well as with the better organization and effectiveness of the parishes" (Article 11 b). Councils at both the archdiocesan and local levels, comprising representatives of clergy and laity, meet at least twice a year to function in an advisory and consultative capacity. The election of the archbishop is the "exclusive privilege and the canonical right of the Holy Synod" (Article 13 a), though the eparchial synod and the archdiocesan council have an advisory role. For the election of other bishops, three names are submitted to the Holy Synod, which chooses one of them.

The second largest Orthodox body in the New World is the Orthodox Church in America, with approximately one million members. It received independent status from the Patriarchate of Moscow in 1970, against the will of the ecumenical patriarch, who refused to recognize its autocephaly. It adopted a new statute in 1971. The supreme canonical authority is the Holy Synod, which includes as voting members all the diocesan bishops under the presidency of the metropolitan. It meets twice annually and is competent to treat "all matters involving doctrine, canonical order, morals and liturgical practice" (*The Statute of the Orthodox Church in America,* Article 2, Official Text 1974). The synod regulates the election of bishops and the establishment of new dioceses.

The All-American Council is "the highest legislative and administrative authority within the Church" (Statute, Article 3). It is composed of the metropolitan and all bishops (who must approve all resolutions by a majority), the priests of each parish (and an equal number of lay delegates); priests not having parishes; two delegates from each seminary; and one representative from each organization officially accredited by the Holy Synod. It convenes every three years. The metropolitan is elected by the All-American Council with the approval of the Holy Synod. He is assisted by the Metropolitan Council, the permanent executive body of the church. He is the bishop of one of the dioceses.

The diocese, the basic church body, comprising all the parishes of a determined geographical area, is governed by a diocesan bishop with the advice of an assembly and council. The Diocesan Assembly nominates a candidate for an episcopal vacancy. If the candidate is unacceptable to the Holy Synod, it elects its own candidate. The Diocesan Assembly is made up of all the clergy and an equal number of elected lay delegates. For validity, all resolutions of the assembly must be approved by the diocesan bishop. The Diocesan Council, the permanent body of diocesan administration, meets at least twice a year. Its decisions become effective upon approval by the diocesan bishop. The bishop, as head of all parishes within the diocese, appoints the parish clergy. The rector, the head of a parish, is assisted by a parish council elected by a meeting of all the parishioners.

Besides the two main bodies of the Orthodox Church, there are a number of smaller national and language jurisdictions, such as an archdiocese dependent upon the Arab-speaking patriarchate of Antioch and dioceses under the patriarchates of Serbia, Romania, Bulgaria, and Albania. There is also a Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops, which seeks to coordinate the activities of the various jurisdictions throughout the Americas.

Anglican and Episcopalian churches. The episcopal constitution of the church and apostolic succession are also fundamental to the Anglican Communion, which is made up of thirty-eight provinces found mainly in English-speaking countries and former colonies of England. The communion has been described as a federation without a federal government. Usually every ten years, an assemblage of archbishops and bishops of the entire communion, called the Lambeth Conference, convenes in the Lambeth Palace, London, under the presidency of the archbishop of Canterbury. The conference, which does not publish details of its debates, issues resolutions with only morally binding force. At the 1968 conference, a body representing the laity and the clergy as well as the bishops was formed. The Anglican Consultative Council, headquartered in London, meets biennially with about fifty delegates.

The parent body, the Church of England, is an established church with the sovereign of the country as its supreme governor. Acting upon the advice of the prime minister, the sovereign appoints the archbishops and bishops. Since the 1970s, however, procedures that give more weight in the selective process to ecclesiastical authorities have been followed. The church is divided into the province of Canterbury, whose archbishop is styled Primate of All England and Metropolitan, and the province of York, whose archbishop is called Primate of England and Metropolitan. The archbishop oversees all the dioceses within the province, confirms the election of every bishop and is his chief consecrator, and hears appeals in his provincial court. The archbishop of Canterbury, with the approval of the crown, may grant licenses and dispensations that are valid throughout the province of York as well. The jurisdiction of the bishop in his diocese is similar to that of a Roman Catholic bishop. He can promulgate binding rules of discipline, but in the matter of parochial appointments he is limited by extensive rights of patronage held by laity and certain corporate bodies. At the parish level, church councils elected by the lay members cooperate with the incumbent in developing church activities.

Each province, not more than three times a year, holds a convocation that, subject to the supreme authority of Parliament, determines policy with regard to doctrine and practice. The convocation, under the presidency of the archbishop of Canterbury, has an upper house of bishops and a lower house made up of senior archdeacons, representatives from each cathedral chapter, and elected representatives from the clergy. Both provinces together form the General Synod or Church Assembly, composed of a third house of laity in addition to the house of bishops and the house of clergy. The Assembly deals with legal and administrative matters but not with doctrine.

In the United States the church affiliated with the Anglican communion is the Protestant Episcopal Church. It is governed by a bicameral General Convention meeting triennially or at special call. The House of Bishops consists of all bishops; with the approval of the other house, it elects one of its members as presiding bishop, an office held until retirement. The presiding bishop is entrusted with general executive power over the whole Episcopal Church. The House of Deputies comprises not more than four priests and four laypeople elected from each diocese. All legislation must be passed by both houses. Between sessions of the General Convention, the church is governed by the presiding bishop in consultation with the Executive Council, whose members are elected by the General Convention and the Provincial Synods. The council is organized into a number of departments, with staff to coordinate activities at home and abroad.

To establish a diocese there must be at least six parishes and six voting presbyters. The diocese meets in convention annually with all diocesan clergy and representatives from each parish as members. The convention elects clerical and lay delegates to the provincial synod and to the General Convention. Each diocesan convention also elects a standing committee to advise the bishop between sessions. The convention lays down rules and procedures for filling an episcopal vacancy. The person chosen must be confirmed by a majority of the standing committees of all the dioceses as well as of the diocesan bishops in the United States. A bishop must retire at the age of seventy-two.

The diocesan convention is responsible for defining the boundaries of parishes and for establishing new ones. Each parish is governed by a vestry and wardens selected according to diocesan law. The number and qualifications vary from one diocese to another. Similarly, there is no canon specifying their specific duties, term of office, or voting rights. The vestry elects the pastor or rector and notifies the bishop of its choice. The bishop may try to dissuade the vestry but has little option in the matter. The appointment is considered to be for life; the rector cannot be removed unwillingly except with the consent of the bishop.

Methodist churches. The vast majority of the Methodists in the United States recognize the centrality of the episcopacy in their governing structure, although they do not accept it as an order different from the presbyterate. (Churches deriving from British Methodism do not have bishops.) Apostolic succession in the sense of historic continuity in the ministry is not viewed as necessary. The ordained ministry consists of elders (presbyters) and deacons who are "set apart by the Church for the specialized ministry of Word, Sacrament, and Order," as stated in the *Book of Discipline of the United Methodist Church* (par. 302, 1972) It also states that "to be ordained to the ministry of Order is to be authorized to equip the laity for ministry, to exercise pastoral oversight, and to administer the Discipline of the Church" (par. 309.1).

The Annual Conference corresponds to a diocese in the Episcopal and Roman Catholic churches. It consists of all the presbyters in a given geographical area plus an equal number of elected lay representatives. A bishop presides over the conference. He is responsible for appointing ministers to parishes after consultation with the district superintendents as well as with representatives of the local congregations. The appointments do not convey tenure but must be renewed annually. Each parish or local congregation has a Charge Conference, which serves as a liaison with the general church; the Charge Conference elects lay members of the Annual Conference and all local officers.

The Annual Conferences are grouped into Jurisdictional Conferences made up of an equal number of lay and clerical delegates. In the United States there are five regional jurisdictions, which normally meet once every four years. Their chief responsibility is to fill vacancies in the ranks of the bishops, to determine the boundaries of the Annual Conferences, and to provide for the work of the church within the jurisdiction.

The highest legislative authority in the United Methodist Church is the General Conference, composed of from six hundred to one thousand delegates, ministers and lay, chosen by the Annual Conferences based on size of membership. The General Conference also meets quadrennially before the Jurisdictional Conferences. It defines and fixes the powers and duties of all ministers, bishops, and subordinate conferences. It regulates the boundaries of jurisdictional conferences with the concurrence of the Annual Conferences involved. The General Conference initiates and directs all connectional enterprises of the church and provides boards for their implementation.

PRESBYTERIAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT. Presbyterians do not admit as normative a historically validated episcopal succession. They hold that there is no New Testament warrant for a distinct office of bishop; presbyters (elders) and bishops designate the same leadership body in the church (*Acts* 20:17–28, *1 Tm.* 3:1–13). The polity of Presbyterian churches rests on three constitutive principles: (1) "the parity of presbyters" (both clergy and lay); (2) "the right of the people through their representatives or lay elders to take part in the government of the church"; and (3) "the unity of the Church, not simply in faith and order, but in a graduated series of Church Courts [session, presbytery, synod, General Assembly] which express and exercise the common authority of the Church as a divine society" (Moffatt, 1928, p. 2).

The basic governing body is the session, which is made up of the minister or ministers of the local church and a group of ordained laity (ruling elders) elected by the congregation. Administrative authority rests with the representative body, not with the whole congregation. The session is charged with the "spiritual oversight of the congregation." While the minister presides, all elders have equal rights of discussion and vote. All congregations in a given geographical area belong to a presbytery, which is composed of all the ordained ministers in the area and elders from each congregation. The presbytery has several key responsibilities similar to those of a diocesan bishop in Roman Catholicism. The presbytery supervises ministerial candidates, ordains ministers, concurs in a "call" to specific pastorates, and in general oversees the discipline of the local congregations. The presbytery elects a moderator and a stated clerk, who may be either clerical or lay. The stated clerk functions as a chief administrator.

The presbyteries of a region are grouped into a synod. A synod must have at least three presbyteries. Elected representatives, both clerical and lay, from each of the presbyteries constitute a synod, which meets once a year. It serves as a court of appeal from actions taken by the presbyteries and stands in an intermediary position between the presbyteries and the General Assembly. The General Assembly, the highest representative body, meets annually for about one week. Its members are elected directly by the presbyteries, on the basis of one ministerial commissioner and one ruling elder commissioner for a determined number of church members in the presbytery. It is the supreme court of appeal in matters of doctrine and discipline. The General Assembly elects a moderator, a largely honorary official, who acts as titular head of the church for the next year. In fact, however, the stated clerk holds the most powerful leadership position.

In 1983, the two largest Presbyterian bodies in the United States merged to form the Presbyterian Church (USA). Presbyterians are joined with other churches of the Calvinist tradition in an international confessional group, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, with headquarters in Geneva.

Congregational Form of Government. Opposed in principle to any form of control above or outside the local church, a third group of Christian denominations is organized along congregational lines so that each community is independent. The defenders of this ecclesial pattern of government maintain that the New Testament does not recognize any higher structure. Paul, for example, sent a general letter to the several churches in Galatia (*Gal.* 1:1–2). The author of *Revelation* was told to write to the seven churches in Asia Minor (*Rv.* 1:4). The *Acts of the Apostles* indicates that each congregation has the right to choose its own leaders (6:3, 13:2). The congregation can also regulate discipline without reference to any bishop, presbytery, or council (*1 Cor.* 5:12, *Mt.* 18:17).

In the United States, the Baptists have been the most conspicuous advocates of a democratic polity. Although Baptists do not have an official creed, they generally subscribe to two important confessions of faith, the Philadelphia Confession (1742) and the New Hampshire Confession (1833). Each congregation is self-constituting: the members bind themselves together by covenant, accepting as the sole rule of faith the Bible, which the members interpret according to their own lights. The members choose their own leaders—variously called elders, bishops, or pastors—who are set apart for the ministry. The laity retains full control so that all business is determined by majority vote.

Congregational autonomy, however, has had to be accommodated to the needs of fellowship and cooperation with other churches. Historically, the chief impetus leading to the formation of "conventions" was the concern for foreign missions that swept the United States at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Baptist churches are grouped into associations at local, state, and national levels. The five largest of the thirty-one bodies in the United States, embracing about 90 percent of the denomination, are the Southern Baptist Convention; the National Baptist Convention, USA; the National Baptist Convention of America; the American Baptist Churches, USA; and the Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc. In addition there is the Baptist World Alliance, founded in 1905 to discuss matters of common concern; it meets every five years. The delegates, or messengers, who participate in the meetings of the associations have no power to bind the groups they represent. Even with this understanding there have been protests that the Baptists are drifting toward denominational centralism or Presbyterianism. One important function of the associations is to give counsel in the selection of ministers. Ministerial standards are set and recommendations are made to the congregations, who proceed to elect and ordain the ministers.

Congregationalism is also espoused by the United Church of Christ, which was formed by the merger of four denominations in 1957: the Congregational Church, the Christian Church, the Evangelical Synods, and the Reformed Church. Each of the uniting churches has maintained its own theological position and form of worship. The constitution of the United Church of Christ states explicitly that "the autonomy of the local church is inherent and modifiable only by its own action" (Horton, 1962, p. 135) The local congregations, however, are joined together for mutual support.

The organization resembles that of the Presbyterian Church. The churches of an area are grouped into an association that meets annually and that is made up of all the clergy and elected lay delegates. It accepts new churches into membership and is responsible for licensing, ordaining, and installing ministers. Associations within a region are joined in a conference composed of the ministers and elected lay delegates; meeting annually, it serves as a coordinating body. The "minister" of the conference, also called the superintendent or president, acts as the executive officer.

The highest body in the United Church of Christ is the General Synod, which assembles biennially. The conferences elect delegates to the General Synod, which has an equal number of clergy and lay people. The synod chooses a president for a four-year term and a moderator to preside over the synodal sessions. An executive council is elected to transact business between synods.

Contingent Polities. Not all churches fit neatly into one system or another. The Lutheran Church, the third largest body of Christians in the world after the Roman Catholics and the Eastern Orthodox, does not hold that any polity is divinely sanctioned. The sixteenth-century reformers were prepared to continue such existing institutions as the episcopacy, provided that the gospel was preached and the sacraments were administered. Thus, at the start of the twenty-first century there are bishops in the Scandinavian countries where, except for Sweden, Lutheranism is the established church. In general, however, apostolic succession and episcopal ordination are not considered essential to the church.

An early treatise of Martin Luther (1483-1546) suggests that he advocated a congregational type of government (*On the Right and Power of a Christian Congregation or Community to Judge All Doctrine and to Call, Install, and Depose Ministers,* 1523). Although every Christian is a priest (*Rv.* 5:10) and has the same right with respect to Word and sacraments, no one may use this right publicly except by the consent of the community. Otherwise there would be a "shameful confusion," a kind of "Babylon in the Church, as the Apostle teaches" (Luther, *Concerning the Ministry,* 1523, Works 40, pp. 34–35). The congregation retained the right to remove any minister who should preach falsely.

In the United States the three largest denominations, about 95 percent of the nine million Lutherans in the country, acknowledge varying degrees of local autonomy. Parishes are generally grouped into districts, which in turn are organized into territorial synods. The powers exercised by the synod are specified in a constitution. At all levels, pastors and lay representatives participate in the government. Synodal authority is concerned chiefly with the ordination and discipline of the clergy and ownership of property.

ECUMENISM. Despite the diversity of views about the ministry and government in the church, the ecumenical movement in the twentieth century uncovered a certain compatibility and explored the possibility of reconciliation. In the early 1960s nine church bodies in the United States—including Methodist, Disciples of Christ, Presbyterian, Episcopal, and United Church of Christ—formed an association known as the Consultation on Church Union (COCU). On a number of occasions over the next thirty years, representative committees attempted to formulate a detailed plan for union. Though the member churches could subscribe to the theological consensus presented, they were unwilling to ratify the structures or the nature of the ordained ministries, especially the episcopacy, proposed for the new uniting church. Finally, at Memphis, Tennessee, on January 19, 2002, the consultation, COCU, was formally superceded by a simpler relationship, Churches Uniting in Christ (CUIC). As reported by Thomas F. Best, each church retained its own identity and decision-making structures, but with the anticipation that the participating churches will achieve "mutual recognition and reconciliation of ordained ministry by the members of Churches Uniting in Christ by the year 2007" (2002, p. 403).

The status of ministry is central in any discussion of church polity. The most thorough investigation of ministry was undertaken by the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches. In 1982 it submitted to all Christian churches for an official response the document, long in preparation, entitled *Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry.* After receiving and analyzing almost two hundred responses, the commission published a summary report of its consultation *Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry 1982–1990* (Faith and Order Paper no. 149, 1990). According to that report, the vast majority of the responses affirmed that the church, from its earliest existence, has needed ministers, "persons ordained through the invocation of the Spirit and the laying on of hands and holding specific authority and responsibility" (p. 75). While there was "considerable appreciation for the description of the development of the threefold pattern of bishop, presbyter and deacon," many of the Reformation and Free churches "question its normative character" (pp. 80–81) and hold deep differences over episcopal succession.

Despite disparate polities, a number of churches have sought common ground for unity. At a service on October 4, 1998, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America, the Presbyterian Church (USA), the United Church of Christ, and the Reformed Church of America formally entered into full communion. In *A Formula of Agreement,* the four bodies acknowledged, as reported by their committee of theologians, that though the sixteenth-century differences "regarding Eucharist, Christology, and predestination continue to shape and reflect our identities, they cannot claim to be church-dividing today and should not stand in the way of achieving 'full communion' among us. In addition, we affirm that the differences among these churches of the Reformation on questions of confessional commitment, ministry, and ecclesial polity fall within the bounds of allowable evangelical diversity and are therefore not church-dividing" (Nickle and Lull, eds., 1993, p. 65).

On January 6, 2001, after twenty-five years of dialogue, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America and the Episcopal Church entered into full communion. The ecumenical accord, "Called to Common Mission," provided for the recognition of the present clergy of both denominations as equal, but stipulated that in the future all ordinations were to include the laying on of hands of a bishop ordained in a historic line of succession. However, because Lutheran tradition had sanctioned ordination by pastors, some Lutheran synods almost immediately sought an exemption so that "for pastoral reasons in unusual circumstances" a synod president could authorize a pastor to preside at an ordination. The Lutheran position has always been that polity is essentially adiaphoral (something indifferent, neither prescribed nor forbidden by scripture). At the same assembly at which they approved full communion with the Episcopalians, the Lutherans also sanctioned the agreement with the Moravian Church in America. The historian Martin Marty has noted that "it is the first time in U.S. religious history that a church has bridged the gap between churches so diversely governed—congregational, Presbyterian, synodical, conferencial and episcopal" (1999, p. 797). Undoubtedly the major polity issue yet to be resolved among Christians is that of a primatial authority.

SEE ALSO Apostles; Armenian Church; Coptic Church; Denominationalism; Eastern Christianity; Ethiopian Church; Greek Orthodox Church; Nestorian Church; Papacy; Reformation; Russian Orthodox Church; Schism, article on Christian Schism; Syriac Orthodox Church of Antioch; Uniate Churches.

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John E. Lynch (1987 and 2005)

CHURCH: ECCLESIOLOGY

The word *church* refers to the visible community in which Christians come together for worship, prayer, communal sharing, instruction, reflection, and mission. Most Christian bodies, but not all, see this visible community as imperfectly representing on earth an invisible communion of saints called together by God in Jesus Christ. The church can thus be viewed as one social institution among many, but also as a shared form of life shaped by profound theological self-understandings. Seen institutionally, the church has subsisted in a variety of communal forms and structures of governance throughout a long and very complex history. Understood theologically, the church has been the object of many varying images, descriptions, terminologies, and conceptualities interwoven with the circumstances of that history. The systematic study of the church in all these interacting dimensions constitutes the field of ecclesiology. This realm of inquiry relates constructively to most of the other principal themes of Christian thought, among them the doctrine of God, Christology, soteriology, theological anthropology, and theological ethics.

Church in the New Testament. The English word *church* translates the New Testament (NT) Greek *ekklesia* (assembly), the commonest equivalent for the Hebrew *qahal* (assembly, gathering, or congregation) in the Septuagint or Greek translation of the Jewish Scriptures, the Bible of the NT writers. It is possible that *ekklesia* was used of early church gatherings to distinguish them from the Jewish synagogues (Greek *synagoge*, translating the Hebrew term *edah* [assembly, or gathering] as virtually synonymous with *qahal)* to which many early Christians still belonged. The term *ekklesia* in this sense is found among the earliest Christian writings: see for example the phrase *ekklesia tou theou* (assembly of God) in *1 Thessalonians* 2:14.

The NT provides myriad images of this *ekklesia.* Several stand out: "people of God," "body of Christ," "communion of faith, hope, and love," "creation of the spirit," and "new Israel." Another image, the "kingdom (or rule) of God," central to the preaching of Jesus, becomes understood as the eschatological fulfillment of the church's life.

Whether Jesus of Nazareth intended (or could indeed have envisioned) anything like the "church" that in fact followed on his words and work has been a topic of continuing debate. The definitive factor in inaugurating this new community of faith seems not to have been Jesus' intention as such but rather the experience of the living presence of the risen Messiah, an experience variously described by the Gospel writers and by Paul. Jesus' life, death, and resurrection, as interpreted by his followers, gave rise to the movement that rather quickly became the NT *ekklesia.* But how, and by what stages, this band of believers evolved so as to become the church, with all the latter's institutional and doctrinal complexity and eventual multiplicity, is a matter of much controversy.

What can be said with certainty is fairly meager. By the middle of the first century Paul was freely using the term *body of Christ* and other theologically significant expressions to refer to the community of believers. The traditional account of "birthday of the Church" on the Day of Pentecost, as described in *Acts* 2, may certainly contain historical elements. But it came, in its present form, from a much later tradition. The same later tradition also gave us what is sometimes described as the first universal council (*Acts* 15), an event during which Paul's mission to Gentiles was affirmed, along with minimum conditions for their admission to the new community. It is this event that launched the community's transition from being one of many Jewish sects to being a self-standing body, yet one still without obvious signs of becoming what it did in fact become, a "church" for the Roman Empire as a whole.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISPERSION, EPISCOPACY, AND THE FORMATION OF THE CANON. Evidence exists within the NT for the early emergence of a variety of geographically dispersed centers of Christian activity—Damascus, Antioch, Alexandria, and others—whose ecclesiological self-understandings evidently varied. Many of these places are linked by being recipients of Paul's letters, in which they are urged to see themselves as members of "one body in Christ." But a connected ecclesial community across the Empire did not begin to be a reality until diocesan bishops—for example, Irenaeus (c. 130–203) and Cyprian (c. 205–258)—considered as successors to the apostles, took up their tasks of indicting heretical communities (Gnostics, Montanists, Novatians, Marcionites), regulating a common doctrinal patrimony, and taking steps toward defining a single canon of Scripture. By the late second century, nearly the whole of what became the NT was authoritative in the church for practical purposes. Yet the first known list of canonical writings corresponding to the present NT was made by Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria (296–373), in 367. Wholly uniform agreement on the content of the canon was achieved still later.

It has become increasingly clear to modern scholars that this canon-forming process may have excluded more writings than it allowed in. Expressions of the faith existed that were deemed inconsistent with the apostolic tradition handed down in the major dioceses. Some scholars argue that writings approved for inclusion in the canon of Scripture tended to be those that affirmed Jesus Christ, one way or another, as God, leaving aside communities more inclined to see Jesus as only a Gnostic or prophetic teacher.

In sum, by the fourth century the church was beginning to take on a determinate form as to structures of leadership, canonical sources, and the outlines of doctrine. Even so, different ecclesiological tendencies were evident. In Tertullian (c. 160–225) one finds what would today be termed a thoroughly sectarian ecclesiology. In the work of Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 264–340) one finds an ecclesiology suitable for the then new relationship between church and Empire.

It is plain that the Christian community's emerging structure rested substantially upon the theory and practice of episcopacy, from the time when the bishop was, in effect, pastor of the local congregation (the so-called Ignatian pattern) to the period of multicongregational dioceses. The ecclesiological significance of episcopacy had already been clearly expressed in the letters of Cyprian (200–258), third-century bishop of Carthage, who held that the bishop was necessary to the very being (*esse*) of the church, not merely to its well-being (*bene esse*): "The church is in the bishop, and the bishop in the church." Bishops were successors to the apostles. But Cyprian also proclaimed the essential equality of bishops, resisting the already growing power of the bishop of Rome. A century later Eusebius, in support of this emphasis on continuity, made lists of the bishops who had served in several key dioceses.

CONSTANTINE AND CREEDS. By the early fourth century the church was well positioned to take advantage of the emperor Constantine's (c. 274–337) unexpected move in 312 or 313 CE granting toleration and many other legal favors to the church within the Empire. Constantine's personal "conversion," as described by Lactantius (c. 260–340) and Eusebius, was not itself ecclesiologically important. But the new and growing relation of the church to the Roman state was, leading as it did to complex and portentous developments. In 380, for example, the emperor Theodosius (346–395) did what Constantine had not: he made Christianity the only licit religion of the Empire. Roman emperors had previously claimed the title *pontifex maximus;* that is, chief priest of the state-sanctioned pagan cults. It was natural that once they had become Christian, they should claim similar power in the church, not as priests, but as protectors, enforcers, and legitimators. Constantine's calling of the Council of Nicaea and his enforcement of its decrees was a case in point. Above all, the emperors wished to maintain a voice in appointments to high church office.

Still, there had not as yet emerged any authoritative ecclesiology, any doctrinal definition of the church's nature as such. "The church" was not yet what was later called a theological *locus*, a topic of doctrinal reflection. Cyprian's creed (c. 250) named the church not as an object of belief in itself but only as the community "through" which members believe in the forgiveness of sins and eternal life. The earliest versions of the Nicene and Apostles' Creeds made no mention of the "holy catholic church" as such. That reference was added in the Constantinopolitan supplement of 381 to the Creed of the Council of Nicaea of 325, and the church was now to be not only "believed" as a reliable witness to the truth but also "believed in"—a significant further step: "We believe in one holy, catholic and apostolic church. . . ." With these words there emerged for the first time what came to be called the four "marks" of the church, later prominent in Catholic attempts to counter Orthodox and Protestant claims.

AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO. A full theological reflection on the church's nature was to come only in the work of Augustine of Hippo (354–430). This bishop and saint believed deeply in the Catholic Church as a visible, worldwide institution continuous with the church of the apostles. The word *catholic* was henceforth no longer just an adjectival "mark" of the church in the Creed. Now it was part of a proper name: the Catholic Church. Augustine could now say that he believed in the gospel only on the authority of this church, whose character and historical role the saint adumbrated at several points in his writings, notably those arguing (against the Donatists) that ordination, baptism, absolution, and other acts of the church are not dependent on the moral character of the one who administers them but rather on the church's objective being and authority as expressed in these acts. Here was an anticipation of the Council of Trent's declaration that, in the sacraments, grace is conferred *ex opere operato* (by the act performed).

Augustine contributed further to Catholic ecclesiology by locating the church significantly in his world-historical drama *The City of God.* The true membership of that city, he taught, consists of God's chosen and predestined ones and is in principle invisible. The Church on earth visibly represents the heavenly City, although not all church members are actually citizens of the holy commonwealth, for not all belong to the company of the elect. The earthly church, notwithstanding its representative function, is therefore a *corpus permixtum*, a mixed body of the elect and the nonelect, and likewise of sinners and saints. Elect persons may belong in either of the latter categories. The earthly church's sacraments are nevertheless necessary for salvation. In principle, Augustine agreed with Origen (c. 185–c. 254), Cyprian, and the very similar language of the Athanasian Creed, *extra ecclesiam nulla salus* (no salvation [occurs] outside the church).

THE PAPACY. The character of the Catholic Church, early and late, is inseparable from the history of the papacy. According to tradition Peter was the first pope, but the whole early history of the papal institution, and with it the roots of the power and preferment of the See of Rome in relation to other dioceses, is shrouded in obscurity and controversy. By the close of the second century, however, if not earlier, the bishop of Rome had achieved a significant degree of primacy over other bishops. Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons, writing near the year 200, approvingly relates the story of this primacy, holding the See of Rome to have been founded by Peter and Paul, followed by other bishops in an unbroken line to his own day. Even so, at this time and for some centuries afterward, sees such as Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch remain important centers of power and influence.

Political events from the fourth century onward offered opportunities for strengthening the papal institution. This, in turn, accentuated the relative administrative autonomy of the church, as well as its hierarchical character. Constantine's removal of his imperial administration from Rome to Constantinople gave the bishop of Rome added scope for independent action, as did the shift, in 404 CE, of the official imperial residence remaining in the West from Rome to Ravenna. Leo I "the Great" (440–461) took notable advantage of these circumstances to strengthen the Petrine office.

Other developments of ecclesiological importance occurred not long afterward. Among other things, the establishment of monastic and other orders, beginning with the Benedictine order about 528 or 529, protected by papal favor and rapidly proliferating across Europe, added a new and vital dimension to Catholic ecclesiology. Meanwhile, the popes continued their efforts to define and maintain ecclesiastical independence in the civil realm. The reigns of two popes in particular illustrate this point. With Gregory I "the Great" (590–604) the papacy began to take over many of the functions previously lodged in the state. Four hundred years later, Gregory VII (1073–1085), codified his conception of papal power in twenty-seven affirmations—not all of them new, but none before made explicit in this manner. This pope is especially remembered for his encounter with the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry IV, over the authority of secular princes to create bishops, the so-called investiture controversy. Henry made a symbolic submission to the pope but won a tactical political victory. Tensions over this and related church–state issues continued for centuries to shape the Western Church's character and self-understanding.

THE EASTERN CHURCHES. No such centralized and politicized ecclesiology emerged in the East. Circumstances did not demand them. Constantinople's patriarch ruled in the shadow of the emperor and the power of the civil authorities. Furthermore, it appeared that the genius of the Eastern Church was not for wrestling with the contingencies of human events but for reflecting on humanity's relationships with divinity. The ecclesiology of the East was far more tied to the liturgy and to a conception by which the church became a doorway to *theosis*, humanity's spiritual pilgrimage toward unity with God. While the church of the West up to the time of the Reformation maintained its administrative, liturgical, and theological unity, the Eastern Church expanded the variety of its expressions and relationships, each "autocephalous" body representing a different political history and set of cultural traits. "Oriental" Orthodox churches were already well established in Egypt, Syria, Armenia, India, and elsewhere. As early as the fourth or fifth century an Eastern Christianity, with a Latin culture, existed in what is now Romania. By the seventh century Eastern Christianity was spreading into the Slavic territories of Eastern Europe, giving rise to the Bulgarian and other Orthodox churches. By the tenth century orthodoxy was spreading into Russia, where it eventually became the largest of the Orthodox bodies.

As this expansion proceeded, tensions between the Eastern and Western branches of the Church were growing more marked. Specific differences—liturgical, canonical, theological—played their part. Among these, but hardly alone, was the theological question raised by the addition in the West of the word *filioque* (and the Son) to the clause in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed having to do with the "procession" of the Holy Spirit. Such tensions were exacerbated by ecclesio-political pressures, including the presence of unruly crusaders from the West in the eastern territories and competition for ecclesiastical control over southern Italy and Sicily.

Matters came to a head over the claim of Pope Leo IX to supremacy by the See of Peter over the entire Catholic Church, a supremacy the pope deemed incompatible with the autonomy of territorial churches in the East. Despite the desire of the emperor to maintain the religious unity of his realm, successive attempts to negotiate these disputes went nowhere.

In 1054 a papal sentence of excommunication of the patriarch and his followers was followed by an act of excommunication in return. Events were to prove that this was not a final breach. Negotiations went on for nearly four hundred years, to be ended finally by the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453.

Thus was established a separation that has continued to the present day, perpetuating two broad ecclesiological cultures in East and West, with much in common but marked differences owing to historical and cultural experience. The overriding characteristic of the Eastern churches has consistently been their maintenance of continuity with the ecclesiastical forms and teachings of the Church Fathers and of the first seven ecumenical councils, from Nicaea (325) to Second Nicaea (787). These churches, apart from their diaspora communities in the West, including the Americas, have over the years been relatively little influenced by Western cultural phenomena such as the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Enlightenment. This isolation has begun to be overcome by these churches' participation in the modern ecumenical movement.

THE RISE OF PROTESTANTISM. It would be simplistic to claim that significant ecclesiological development in the West halted from the time of the great popes to the coming of the Reformation. Medieval theologians refer from time to time to this subject. But it is only with the Protestant reformers that ecclesiology again became a foreground issue in the church, with markedly varied outcomes in different parts of Europe.

Martin Luther (1483–1546). Early in his career, Luther sought to reform, but not divide, the church of the West. He regarded the division his activities in fact brought about as temporary, pending correction of certain abusive practices in the parent body. Therefore, he did not set out to formulate an alternative ecclesiological position. But Luther soon found himself at the heart of a movement of German princes, merchants, bishops, and priests, all with reasons for wishing to be free of Roman authority. Theological discovery coincided with practical political and economic interests. In 1520 Luther attacked the papal institution in a series of tracts denouncing the alleged superiority and privileges of the clergy over the laity, the pope's claim to have exclusive authority to interpret Scripture, and the claim that only the pope could call a council of the church. Papal doctrine, he said, held the church in a kind of Babylonian captivity, especially where the sacraments were concerned. Luther maintained that in pressing these views he and his followers were simply reasserting historic Christianity as it had been before its corruption by Rome.

Excommunication by the pope followed in 1520, and an imperial ban came in 1521. Faced with the challenge of reconstituting a church for Germany independent of papal authority, Luther turned first to Augustine's distinction between the church as a visible gathering, on the one hand, and an invisible company of those predestined for salvation from before the world's beginning on the other. For Luther, as for Augustine, the visible church contained a mixture of the elect and the nonelect. Yet, being the nominalist that he was, Luther rejected the seeming metaphysical realism of Augustine's notion of the church of the elect. He preferred to see this notion rather as a critical principle for judging the fidelity of all historical expressions of the church. Specific types of ecclesiastical structure and governance were to him *adiaphora*, matters of indifference, so long as the Word was rightly preached and the Eucharist and baptism rightly administered, implying communion with the true Body of Christ. Luther later added to these primary signs several secondary ones: the power of the keys, ministry, public prayer, and Christian life shaped by the cross.

One infers that this reformer would in principle have preferred a church consisting of congregations of committed believers. Yet, for the sake of consistency and order, he held to the principle of the territorial church to which all inhabitants were admitted by baptism. Moreover, with the old ecclesiastical structure dissolving, Luther gave the lay princes of these territories reason to disregard the episcopal and papal courts. The princes, in turn, were not slow to exercise administrative authority over the parish clergy. Hence the system of German *Landeskirchen*, or territorial churches that has persisted to the present day. In the outcome, some *Landes*, especially in the south, remained Catholic, while others in various ways embraced the Reformation, following in each case the religious allegiance of the prince in question.

John Calvin (1509–1564). A generation later, John Calvin found himself in an analogous but yet significantly different situation. He was summoned to the independent city-state of Geneva as a theological mentor in that community's effort to become a self-standing Christian community on Reformation principles. Calvin was therefore preoccupied with the organization of a community that gathered at one moment as church and at another as civic commonwealth. Calvin's ecclesiology and his statecraft therefore interpenetrate. The state was to uphold pure doctrine and the Church's temporal interests. Yet church and state were not to be confused or to interfere with one another.

While he extended, even radicalized, Augustine's notion of predestination, Calvin did not see the visible and invisible churches as two different realms, but rather as two ways of speaking about the one church. For Calvin the church existed where the gospel was properly preached and the sacraments administered according to God's Word. But Calvin was unwilling to lay upon others the specific ecclesiological and political provisions that Geneva had found suitable for regulating its own Christian life. The Calvinist or "Reformed" ecclesiology is therefore open to being expressed in many different outward forms. This is what happened as versions of Calvinism spread across Europe, to North America, and to other parts of the globe.

The "left wing" of the Reformation. Within Europe, the church structures built on the work of Luther and Calvin remained territorial—intended, that is, to embrace the *corpus permixtum* represented by whole populations. But the European continent also saw a proliferation of separatist, "free church," or "believers' church" ecclesiologies. The "radical reformers" behind these movements—Anabaptists, Mennonites, Hutterites, and many others—in effect collapsed the classical distinction between the visible, imperfect church on earth and the invisible church of the true saints, making the demand for visible conformity with Christ's teachings a central tenet of the earthly Christian community. This meant a separation from the territorially conceived Lutheran and Reformed bodies, a rejection of infant baptism, and a policy of withdrawal from the affairs of the state and the practices of warfare and judicial violence. The radical reformers saw precedents for their vision in the life of groups in the early church. Bodies with comparable ecclesiological convictions have continued to exist through the centuries to the present day.

Ecclesiological developments in Britain. The ecclesial expressions that emerged in Britain under the influence of Lutheran, Calvinist, and "free church" conceptions were shaped by the particular histories of those islands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In England, King Henry VIII proclaimed himself "supreme head on earth of the English church," replacing the pope in this role and thereby launching the history of Anglicanism. This body retained the episcopal form of church governance and the claim to apostolic succession, yet it entertained a variety of theological self-understandings from "protestant" or "evangelical" to "catholic" in tendency. Simultaneously, Roman Catholicism continued through changing fortunes in Britain. The rise of "Anglo-Catholicism" in nineteenth-century Anglicanism brought a part of that communion close to Catholicism in virtually every respect but formal allegiance to the pope. Indeed, the rise of this position in Anglicanism may have been responsible for the rise in English of the term *Roman Catholic Church,* as opposed to merely *Catholic Church,* in order to distinguish the latter from its Anglican counterpart.

Meanwhile, a Congregational ecclesiology grew, by a lengthy process, out of sixteenth-century "Puritan" attempts to purify the Church of England. Many leaders of this effort had been in contact with Protestants in centers such as Basel, Strasbourg, and other cities of the Rhine Valley. Some of the former hoped to replace the episcopal governance of the English church with an essentially Presbyterian system. Failing this, some of this opinion joined separatist, or independent, groups of various kinds. Congregationalism as a distinct body was the product of a coalition of these impulses joined in support of the Cromwellian revolution of the seventeenth century and developed institutionally in the wake of that revolution's collapse.

Congregationalists practiced the autonomy of the local congregation within a loosely overarching church structure. The emphasis on decision making by the local gathering was generally shared by the various sorts of English nonconformists; Congregationalism thus came to represent the more conservative wing of nonconformity, while on the left arose such groups as the Society of Friends, the Levellers, the Diggers, and the apocalyptically oriented Fifth Monarchy Men.

A fully Presbyterian ecclesiology, though favored by many sixteenth-century English Puritans, was to become dominant only in Scotland, as articulated in John Knox's *First Book of Discipline* (1561), and achieving its classical shape under an act of 1690 establishing the Church of Scotland as it was to remain for generations in that nation. This polity was characterized by the rule of "presbyteries" (regional governing bodies composed of ministers and elders), held to the principle of "parity" of clergy—recognizing no higher order of ministry in the church than that of presbyter or elder—and to governance by a hierarchy of church "courts" from the "session" of a local congregation to the General Assembly.

The character of Scottish Presbyterian anti-episcopal sentiment was shaped by centuries of highly intricate political conflict between Scotland and England in the course of which episcopacy became associated with rule by the English sovereign. Scottish Presbyterians made common cause with the English Parliamentary Party against King Charles I and with the Puritans of the Cromwellian period, helping to embody their theological and ecclesiological principles in the Westminster Confession of Faith (1646).

Transitions beyond Europe: the "denomination." Virtually all of the European churches—Roman Catholic, classical Protestant, and free church alike—leapt across the Atlantic to North America, and then, at a later date, to mission fields across the globe. Colonial America saw several instances of territorial domination and formal establishment of religious bodies, such as Anglicanism in Virginia and Congregational Puritanism in Massachusetts. But Christian bodies that had previously been territorially established in conception and practice eventually found themselves living alongside many others in the same districts, cities, and towns. This, combined with various understandings of the "separation of church and state," the disappearance of ecclesiastical establishments, and nineteenth-century immigration from the European continent gave birth to a new notion, that of the "denomination." It was now impossible to consider all the inhabitants of a territory to be church members by baptism. Denominations were now competing with one another in open markets as alternative ecclesial possibilities.

Sometimes, of course, certain denominations became numerically dominant in their regions—Baptists or Methodists in the American South, Lutherans in the upper Midwest—leading them to function like European territorial churches. In other cases, they were forced to function as if they were independent or separatist bodies whether or not their original ecclesiologies would have supported such a notion. Even Roman Catholicism came to be looked upon as one "denomination" among others in many parts of America and the rest of the world.

From the notion of "denomination" as an American adaptation of ecclesiastical bodies born elsewhere, it was an easy step to forms of the church, having little or no continuity with European origins, arising to meet local or freshly identified needs. A significant example, among others, would be the emergence of the "black church" in America, going back as far as the seventeenth century to what has been called the "invisible institution" among the transplanted African slaves—a "clearing of freedom" in a world of oppression. After emancipation, the black churches became "denominations" in their own right, with the vitally important social role of being "a nation within a nation," forming a new paradigm of what it meant to be a church.

Likewise, missionary efforts transplanting churches from Europe and the New World to other parts of the globe, beginning with Spanish colonization enterprises in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and being undertaken in earnest, if differently, by American and European Protestants in the later nineteenth century, generated ecclesiastical polities resembling the former ones but with histories of their own. The rise of nineteenth- and twentieth-century American evangelicalism, which gave much impetus to these missionary efforts, produced a new, effectively postdenominational consciousness that paid little attention to ecclesiological matters but in fact represented an ecclesiology in which most of the older categories and barriers simply disappeared. In their place arose a broad evangelical culture in which one could, as it were, reach a direct, institutionally unmediated relationship to God in Jesus Christ. Revivalist enthusiasm for spreading the gospel cut across all ecclesiastical lines and exported this spirit to other parts of the world.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY DEVELOPMENTS. The twentieth century was marked by a new self-consciousness about the importance of ecclesiological issues and the means of pursuing them. It began to be seen that these issues have to do with the visible form of the presentation of the Christian message to the world. The impact of ecclesiastical divisions on this presentation began to be felt particularly by nineteenth-century Protestants in the mission fields, where historical reasons for such divisions meant little and the divisions themselves came to be seen as scandalous.

The rise of the ecumenical movement. Such realizations began to resonate in the sending churches of Europe and North America, coming to expression particularly in World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910 and in the founding of the Life and Work movement (Stockholm, 1925) and the Faith and Order movement (Lausanne, 1927). Further decades of consultation led to the founding of the World Council of Churches (WCC) in Amsterdam in 1948. All this brought about profound changes in ecclesiological attitudes, despite the fact that the WCC never professed to be a churchly body in itself and always made clear that membership in it did not involve any compromise of a church's ecclesiological convictions. A wide range of ecclesiastical bodies joined, including most mainstream Protestant churches in Europe, North America, and the former mission fields, as well as most of the Orthodox communions of the East. Many evangelical groups and the Roman Catholic Church remained formally outside. But Rome has for years been officially represented on the WCC's Commission on Faith and Order, devoted to church unity matters.

The Second Vatican Council. Meanwhile, the Second Vatican Council of the Roman Catholic Church, meeting from 1963 to 1965, not only dealt profoundly and innovatively with ecclesiological issues but also became an event of great ecclesiological importance by demonstrating the significance of the conciliar strand in the structure and governance of that body.

The council's "Dogmatic Constitution on the Church," *Lumen Gentium*, opens with the affirmation that "the church, in Christ, is in the nature of sacrament—a sign and instrument that is—of communion with God and of unity among all men." This church is both the mystical body of Christ and also a visible community. These are not two realities but one, in which a divine and a human element come together, much as do the divine and human natures of Jesus Christ. This church "constituted and organized as a society in the present world, subsists in the Catholic Church, which is governed by the successor of Peter and by the bishops in communion with him. Nevertheless, many elements of sanctification and of truth are found outside its visible confines."

At the same time this church is heir to the whole biblical tradition concerning the "people of God," from God's covenant with Israel to the new people of God inaugurated by Christ. This messianic people, although it does not include all human beings, is the "most sure seed of unity, hope and salvation for the whole human race."

Liberation theology and the "base communities." The rise of "liberation theology," largely a product of Latin American Catholicism but also represented by Protestant writers, has been in many ways a product of the Second Vatican Council's "people of God" ecclesiology. The most important ecclesiological product of this movement has been a "reinvention" of the church in the form of ecclesial "base communities."

Most such communities began as neighborhood gatherings designed to respond to the absence of enough priests to offer the sacraments in the parish churches. In these settings, lay leadership sought to connect the gospel with the practical needs and aspirations of the people. There emerged a view of the church as sacramental and communal as opposed to juridical and hierarchical, an ecclesiology with political implications of a new kind, as recognized by the 1968 Medellín, Colombia, conference of Latin American Catholic bishops, and restated by the 1979 Puebla, Mexico, bishops' gathering as a "preferential option for the poor."

Meanwhile, the ecclesio-genetic notion of the base communities has been borrowed by other groups in other parts of the world. Among the most prominent are gatherings of women determined to "reinvent the church" in their own way. These groups vary widely in style and thought, but are united in the perception that the entire patriarchally dominated development of the church's self-understanding has been fundamentally distorted by a systematic exclusion of women's voices and contributions.

End-of-century ecumenism: ecclesiology and ethics. The impact of liberation themes on ecumenism had the effect, from roughly the 1970s onward, of affirming the intimate connection of ecclesiology with social ethics. Explorers of the meaning of this connection added human-science perspectives to ecumenical insights to portray a church that expressed its being, its *esse,* as an alternative moral community in the world. Here was a vision of the church as disciplined moral community, as opposed to churches largely assimilated to the values of the cultures around them. This vision in turn raised the question whether churches separated by differences with regard to ministry and sacraments might find a kind of moral communion with one another, or at least discover a moral dimension in their search for sacramental communion.

AT THE DAWN OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY. The twenty-first century has begun with considerable convergence in the formal, classical arenas of ecclesiological thinking. The work of the WCC's Commission on Faith and Order, called by some "the most comprehensive theological forum in Christendom," has continued, together with a wide range of bilateral dialogues among the different communions. The WCC document *The Nature and Purpose of the Church: A Stage on the Way to a Common Statement* (1998) comes closest to articulating the "state of the question" in twenty-first-century ecumenical discussions of ecclesiology. There exists a broad convergence in biblical and theological terms about the church's nature and purpose. But seemingly intractable differences remain as to how these insights should shape visible institutional structures and strategies. The discussion of these issues continues, as does work on ecclesiology-and-ethics matters, where common agendas are hard to reach.

Meanwhile, the primary institutional context for ecumenical thinking, the WCC, is coming under increasing ideological and financial pressures. The Orthodox churches are pressing the council for greater recognition of their traditional claims. Other member churches are distracted by internal issues, notably conflict over conservative versus liberal visions and the roles of openly homosexual persons in the leadership of the church.

It is not clear that the twentieth-century achievements of ecumenism and conciliarism can be preserved. At the very least, the whole configuration of organized interchurch relationships is in a process of change. At this writing, it cannot be known how these questions will be resolved. Profound changes are taking place in the world that are bound to have an impact on the global shape of the *ekklesia.* The diminishing influence of traditional churches in Europe and North America contrasts with the rising profile of evangelical movements there and across the globe. The shift of major centers of Christian population toward the southern hemisphere brings traditional ecclesiologies under the pressure of new cultural assumptions.

Churches are questioning the justice, and the consequences, of their traditional alliances with Western power centers. Overcoming violence worldwide has become a priority issue. And finally, the possibility of new, more positive relationships with other world faiths over issues concerning humanity in general opens directions for inquiry and action whose consequences cannot be foreseen.

SEE ALSO Christian Social Movements; Ministry; Missions, article on Christian Missions; Monasticism, article on Christian Monasticism; Nuns, article on Christian Nuns and Sisters; Priesthood, article on Christian Priesthood.

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LEWIS S. MUDGE (2005)

CHURCH: CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

The question of church membership may be approached from various points of view: the theological, the juridical, and the sociological. The theological approach, which will be emphasized here, grows out of the biblical foundations of the Christian faith.

OLD TESTAMENT. The "people of God" are identified with Israel as an ethnic group and a nation in various books of the Old Testament (*Dt.* 7:7–8, *Is.* 41:8, 51:2, etc.). By birth the individual received the call to live up to the religious heritage of the people. Especially in the Judaism of the Diaspora, non-Israelites who believed in the God of Israel were admitted to the ranks of the proselytes and could, through circumcision and immersion, become Israelites in the full sense. A person who was once an Israelite could be put under the ban, or could apostatize, but could not cease to be a member of the people of God.

NEW TESTAMENT. There is no discussion of church membership as such in the New Testament, but certain conditions for membership seem to be implied in metaphors such as the net, the flock, the vine and branches, the olive tree, and the New Israel. In *Romans* 12:4–8 and *1 Corinthians* 12:12–31, Paul compares the members of the church to which he is writing to organs or limbs of a body. His letter to the Ephesians speaks of Christians as members of the body of Christ and of one another (*Eph.* 5:30, 4:25). In the New Testament, baptism is seen as the basic sacrament of incorporation, and it is regularly linked with the profession of Christian faith (*Acts* 2:38, 8:37, etc.). According to Paul, baptism makes one a son of God "through faith" (*Gal.* 3:26–27). The Eucharist further unifies the community insofar as all partake of the one bread (*1 Cor.* 10:17). All members of the community are seen as having an active role in keeping with their personal spiritual gifts (*Rom.* 12:6–18, *1 Cor.* 12:7, *1 Pt.* 4:10).

In various ways the New Testament authors indicate that membership or some of its effects may cease. For certain grave offenses, believers are ostracized (*2 Thes.* 3:14), shunned (*Ti.* 3:10), avoided (*1 Cor.* 5:11), treated as heathen (*Mt.* 18:17), and excluded from the homes of the faithful (*2 Jn.* 10). It is even taught that those who quit the Christian fellowship can never have been true Christians (*1 Jn.* 2:19).

CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITY. As the ancient church wrestled with problems of orthodoxy and discipline, it made provision for the exclusion of heretics, schismatics, and other serious offenders. Once the Roman Empire became officially Christian, membership in the church increasingly became a condition for rights of citizenship.

The fathers of the Greek church connected membership with baptism and the Eucharist—sacraments that they viewed as effecting union with Christ and participation in his divine life through faith and charity. These themes continue to be vital, especially in Eastern Christian churches, which emphasize chrismation as a necessary complement to baptism.

Augustine (d. 430) and the later Western fathers, notably Gregory I (d. 604), distinguished two aspects of the church. On the one hand, it is a communion of grace and spiritual gifts; on the other, a visibly organized society with doctrinal, sacramental, and ministerial structures. For the followers of Augustine the visible structures were a sign of, and a means of entry into, the invisible community, which had primary importance. Against the Donatists, Augustine insisted that sinners were still members of the church, though they belonged to it only in an external way. The church in its visible aspect, Augustine recognized, does not perfectly coincide with the communion of the just or of the predestined, who constitute the church in its deeper dimensions.

MIDDLE AGES. Early medieval theologians such as Bede the Venerable (d. 735), following Augustine, spoke of the universal church as having existed from the time of Abel and as including the angels and the souls of the blessed. But they regarded the visible structures of the church as essential to its present historical phase. Before the reforms of Gregory VII (d. 1085), the church was closely identified with the Christian people, who were held to be under two sets of rulers, temporal and spiritual. After Gregory VII a clearer line was drawn between membership in the church and membership in the state.

In the high Middle Ages the great scholastic theologians, including Thomas Aquinas, saw the church primarily as a communion of grace, and consequently they looked on membership principally as a grace-relationship to Christ. Thomas held that all human beings except those already damned are in one way or another united to Christ as head (*Summa theologiae* 3.8.3c). Those gifted with faith and charity are most perfectly members of the church on earth; those who have faith but not charity are imperfectly members; and infidels are members only in potency. Some scholastic theologians, such as Albertus Magnus, held that although sinners are members of the church, they are not members of Christ's mystical body.

In the late Middle Ages some saw membership as a purely individual relationship to God and as being hidden from human eyes. John Wyclif (d. 1348) and Jan Hus (d. 1415) spoke of the church as the "multitude of the predestined" (*numerus praedestinatorum*) known to God alone. For them, reprobates (i.e., those not predestined to glory) were only putative members.

REFORMATION AND COUNTER-REFORMATION. The sixteenth-century Protestant reformers Martin Luther, Philipp Melanchthon, and John Calvin held that although the church is visible by reason of its functions of proclaiming the word of God and administering the sacraments, membership in the church is hidden. For practical purposes, they held, we must treat as members those who profess to believe in God and Christ, who partake of the sacraments, and who live as Christians. But God alone knows who belongs to him by sincere faith and election. Reformation theologians often stated that no one could be saved without belonging to the church, but by *church* in this context they meant "communion of saints" rather than a given socially organized institution. Repeating a well-known medieval axiom, they denied that God is bound to the means of grace he has instituted.

In reply to the reformers, Roman Catholics accented the visibility of the church and the guarantees of apostolic succession. For Roberto Bellarmino (d. 1621), church membership required three conditions: external profession of the true faith, sacramental communion, and subjection to the legitimate pastors, especially the pope as vicar of Christ. Whoever is unbaptized or excommunicated or guilty of manifest heresy or schism is not a member of the church of Christ (*De controversiis* 4, *De ecclesia,* bk. 3, chap. 2). Bellarmino, however, recognized that non-Catholics and non-Christians, if they were living in the grace of God, could belong to what he called the "soul" of the church.

For Francisco Suárez (d. 1617), the church had existed in some form since Adam. From the time of Christ, however, it was the "political or moral body of those who profess true faith in Christ" (*De fide,* disp. 4, sec. 1, n. 3). Whereas Bellarmino held that occult infidels were members of the church, Suárez denied this—yet the difference was not sharp, because even for Bellarmino such secret unbelievers were not "true" members (*De controv.* 4.3.10).

MODERN PERIOD. Until recently Roman Catholic theologians continued to adhere in substance to the positions of Bellarmino and Suárez. Bellarmino's doctrine was a major influence on Pius XII, who in his encyclical *Mystici corporis Christi* (1943) equated "real" (*reapse*) membership in the mystical body of Christ with being a Roman Catholic. Vatican Council II (1962–1965) modified this stance by avoiding the category of membership and by speaking instead of degrees of relatedness and incorporation. According to the Constitution on the Church (*Lumen gentium*), non-Christians who live by the grace of God are positively related (*ordinantur*) to the people of God (no. 16). All baptized Christians are joined (*conjunguntur*) with Christ and with Catholics (no. 15), as are also catechumens who explicitly intend to become incorporated into the church (no. 14). To be fully incorporated in the church, however, one must accept the visible structures of Roman Catholicism, be in sacramental communion with the pope, and be gifted with the grace of the Holy Spirit (no. 14). In effect, therefore, Vatican II reserved full membership to Roman Catholics who are living up to their professed faith. The council accepted the Augustinian theme that sinners are in the church in a bodily way but not in their hearts (no. 14). Vatican II's Decree on Ecumenism stressed baptism as the fundamental sacrament of incorporation (nos. 3, 22). The 1983 Code of Canon Law returns to Bellarmino's three conditions for full communion in the Catholic Church: the bonds of professed faith, sacraments, and ecclesiastical governance (can. 205).

The concept of church membership in Protestantism has undergone notable changes since the Reformation. The "free churches" that arose in the succeeding centuries were often nonaggressive sects or "denominations"—that is to say, voluntary, nonobligatory associations reflecting certain preferences with regard to doctrine, worship, or organization. Membership in a denomination is seen as implying a willingness to abide by the rules of the organization, even though one might wish to change some of those rules. Denominational membership is not equated with belonging to the community of salvation. In some denominations infant baptism is rejected in favor of a "believers' baptism" administered to adolescents. In such denominations small children are not considered church members.

The World Council of Churches in 1961 referred to the mutual recognition of members as an essential of Christian unity. Various ecumenical organizations have taken up this theme. In the United States, the Consultation on Church Union has been pressing since 1974 for a recognition that baptism in any one of the participating churches effects membership in the universal church. A few Christians have practiced or advocated dual or plural church membership as a means of manifesting that the church is one in spite of the multiplicity of the denominations.

JURIDICAL ASPECTS. The juridical consequences of membership may be inferred by scrutiny of the constitutions of particular ecclesiastical bodies. Some recognize more than one kind of membership, distinguishing, for instance, between communicant and noncommunicant members. To be a communicant (i.e., to be entitled to receive the sacraments), one must have attained a certain minimum age (e.g., thirteen years) and live up to certain requirements, such as church attendance and financial support. Most churches have procedures for excommunication or exclusion from the rights and privileges of membership.

Spelled out to some degree in canon law, the juridical consequences of membership are theologically rooted in the status of being reborn in Christ. Among the duties of members the following are commonly mentioned: professing the true faith, participating in the worship of the church, rendering obedience to pastors, maintaining communion with the church, defending the freedom of the church, supporting its ministers, fostering Christian unity, and promoting peace and justice in the world. Among the rights of church members the following are frequently asserted: to hear the word of God, to receive the sacraments, to exercise the apostolate, to inquire freely into theological questions, to have freedom of expression, association, and assembly, to enjoy personal privacy and a good reputation, and to be protected against arbitrary deprivation of office. Some of these "Christian rights" coincide with human rights recognized in secular society.

SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS. Sociologists commonly recognize various kinds and degrees of membership depending on the extent to which the individual is identified with, committed to, and active in the church. Joseph H. Fichter, for example, distinguishes four categories: the nuclear member, who is exceptionally active and committed; the modal, who is ordinary; the marginal, who is somewhat alienated or disaffected; and the dormant, who does not believe or practice but has not positively defected. Dormancy, as explained by Fichter, is more a matter of religious ignorance or apathy than of active rejection.

These sociological observations could be applied to non-Christian or nonreligious organizations, such as political parties, and they do not focus on what is specific to the church as a mystery or sacrament of the divine. But sociological analysis raises certain questions of a theological character—for example, whether dormant members should be considered members from a theological point of view.

PRESENT PERSPECTIVES. Looking over the history of the theology of membership, one is struck by the correspondence between changes of theory and shifts in the actual situation of the churches. Organic models of membership, developed from such vitalistic metaphors as *body of Christ,* had their strongest appeal when society in general was highly organic and when the individual had little autonomy against the group. Juridical models, which came into vogue in the early modern period, corresponded to the fragmentation of Europe into highly organized competitive groups, such as nation-states and confessional churches, in which the sovereign rulers exercised strong coercive power. Voluntarist theories of membership came to prevail when freedom and individuality were cultivated, especially in the nineteenth century. In a period such as our own, when the social determinants of human existence are keenly felt, such religious individualism may seem inadequate.

Current thinking about membership will presumably be influenced by the contemporary situation of religious pluralism and rapid social change, as well as by the fact that membership in a church and membership in civil society no longer imply each other in most countries. Many Christians, subjected to a variety of influences, seem to be only partially identified with their religious community, yet they are unwilling to leave that community, which they cherish for its positive values. Some suspect that as secularization continues, the church will increasingly consist of a minority who have made an explicit choice, often against the tenor of society.

By forcing new reflection on the idea of membership, the present complex situation makes it evident that the term *membership* does not correspond to any single objective reality. Membership, subjected to analysis, includes various components—for instance, communion with God through grace, faith, hope, and charity; relationship to one's fellow believers; sharing the ideals and doctrines officially professed by the community; eligibility for sacramental life; and active participation. Members who are marginal by some of these criteria may be modal or nuclear by other criteria.

SEE ALSO Community; Denominationalism; Excommunication.

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AVERY DULLES (1987 AND 2005)

CHURCHES OF CHRIST emerged from the Stone-Campbell movement (also called the Disciples, or Restoration, movement) during the half-century following the American Civil War. Opposition to instrumental music in worship, missionary societies, and a professional ministry characterized the views of conservatives who had essentially coalesced by the time of the first U.S. Religious Census in 1906.

The majority of Churches of Christ were then located in the states of the former Confederacy, with a membership of approximately 160,000. By 1926 this number had grown to over 435,000, with estimates of 600,000 in 1941. This growth was largely the result of evangelism by traveling preachers and ordinary members who were convinced Churches of Christ had restored New Testament Christianity. In 2000 the *Atlas of American Religion* listed Churches of Christ as one of seven national denominations, partially based on the group's presence in every part of the nation, a reflection of this early persistent evangelism.

The fiercely congregational Churches of Christ have no official denominational structures or binding creeds. In the twentieth century their identity and uniformity was largely formed around three unofficial loci: religious schools, journals, and influential traveling evangelists.

Five colleges became important centers of learning and identity for Churches of Christ. Lipscomb University, originally Nashville Bible School, was founded by David Lipscomb and James A. Harding in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1891. The school embodied the educational model of Alexander Campbell, who opposed the creation of a clergy class through narrowly focused theological training. Instead, all students studied the Bible in the context of a liberal arts education. This model has prevailed in schools affiliated with Churches of Christ. The other major institutions established in the early twentieth century are Abilene Christian University in Abilene, Texas (1906); Freed-Hardeman University in Henderson, Tennessee (1908); Harding University in Searcy, Arkansas (1924); and Pepperdine University in Malibu, California (1937).

With the absence of official statements of belief, journals functioned as a major locus for creating and maintaining doctrinal consensus. The most influential journals in Churches of Christ in the twentieth century were the *Gospel Advocate,* established in 1855 by Tolbert Fanning in Nashville, Tennessee, and the *Firm Foundation,* established in 1884 by Austin McGary in Austin, Texas. Both continued to shape and reflect mainstream positions for the body until the 1970s.

The most important early thought-shaper was David Lipscomb (1831–1917), editor of the *Gospel Advocate* for nearly half a century. His opposition to the "innovations" introduced by those in what would become the Disciples of Christ and his strict ideas of congregational polity became identifying characteristics of Churches of Christ, though his beliefs on Christian nonparticipation in government were not universally accepted. Other important leaders included N. B. Hardeman (1874–1965), G. C. Brewer (1884–1956), and Foy E. Wallace Jr. (1896–1979). All were widely known evangelists who through their preaching, writing, and teaching exercised a powerful conservative influence on the churches.

A series of controversies and small schisms occurred in the first half of the twentieth century, reflecting the literalistic biblical hermeneutic then characteristic of Churches of Christ. All legitimate beliefs and practices, members believed, were discerned from the New Testament through a three-fold hermeneutic of direct command, apostolic example, and necessary inference. Debates arose over the scripturalness of full-time preachers, Sunday schools, multiple cups in the Lord's Supper, and dispensational premillennialism. The mainstream accepted the first three as expedient, but rejected premillennial eschatology as inimical to its conviction that the restored church is the kingdom of God on earth.

The attitude that Churches of Christ were the only true Christians, coupled with the socioeconomic reality that the membership was largely rural and working class, contributed to its cultural and religious isolation in the first half of the twentieth century, with the exception of a few southern cities like Nashville and Louisville. In the 1940s, however, Churches of Christ began to take on national stature and an international presence.

Members of Churches of Christ who served in World War II returned home promoting evangelism and benevolent assistance to Europe and Asia. In 1946 the Broadway Church of Christ in Lubbock, Texas, called a national meeting to discuss cooperation for these purposes, and some larger congregations took the role of "sponsoring church" for specific nations. The group's colleges grew with the postwar influx of students under the GI Bill, and an increased desire for trained ministers prompted the establishment of new schools. In 1943, Olan Hicks established the *Christian Chronicle* as a communion-wide newspaper, and it eventually became the largest circulated paper in Churches of Christ. A national radio program, the *Herald of Truth,* began in 1952 under the sponsorship of the 5th and Highland Church of Christ in Abilene, Texas.

Some viewed these moves with alarm, seeing them as evidence of growing institutionalism and modernization. A noninstitutional movement, led by individuals like Fanning Yater Tant (1908–1997), editor of the *Gospel Guardian,* attacked church support of colleges, cooperative mission efforts, and orphans homes as unscriptural and indicative of a desire for worldly prestige. By the end of the 1950s, approximately two thousand noninstitutional congregations had formed a separate communion.

Separate black congregations were formed when African Americans who opposed instrumental music and missionary societies withdrew from the Disciples in the early twentieth century. Two leaders symbolized different approaches to segregation in Churches of Christ. Marshall Keeble (1878–

1968), an evangelist who baptized over thirty thousand people, represented an accommodationist stance, acting deferentially to whites and thereby securing their support. G. P. Bowser (1874–1950) consistently attacked white racism as contrary to the gospel. He was known especially for his work as an educator and editor, operating several schools and founding the *Christian Echo* in 1902. In 1945, African American Churches of Christ established an annual National Lectureship, and in 1950 founded Southwestern Christian College in Terrell, Texas. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, these churches numbered over 169,000 members in more than 1,200 congregations.

In the 1960s a growing rift could be detected between conservatives and progressives in mainstream Churches of Christ. In 1966, conservative Ira Y. Rice Jr. (1917–2001) published the first of three volumes titled *Axe on the Root,* in which he attacked leaders he believed were abandoning traditional positions. The next year progressives began *Mission* magazine to challenge the body's biblical hermeneutic and the assumption that Churches of Christ were the only true Christians. *Wineskins* magazine, begun in 1992 and renamed *New Wineskins* in 2001, has become the most important progressive journal. The rift continued to develop so that at the beginning of the twenty-first century a de facto division existed, though nowhere officially recognized.

In 1993, congregations of the International Church of Christ (ICOC), formerly known as the Boston Church of Christ, asked not to be included in church directories. These churches had become a source of controversy for their aggressive evangelism, cultic control of members, and rigid hierarchal structure. In late 2002 a shakeup of the ICOC's leadership resulted in more prerogative for local congregations, most of which are located in major world cities.

Churches of Christ in the United States grew from 915,000 members in 1965 to over 1.24 million in 1980. Growth has been slow in the United States since then, with a count of slightly over 1.26 million in 2000. Growth outside the United States, however, has been dramatic in the same period. By 2003, studies indicated almost one million members of Churches of Christ in Africa alone, with several hundred thousand in India. Missionaries and indigenous evangelists supported directly by individual American congregations was the rule, though many national churches are now self-supporting.

Three major bodies share the Stone-Campbell heritage: Churches of Christ, the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), and the "independent" Christian Churches/Churches of Christ, the last two dividing over issues surrounding the twentieth-century fundamentalist-modernist controversy. In 1984, talks labeled the "Restoration Forum" began between Churches of Christ and independent Christian Churches, and in 1999, leaders from all three groups inaugurated the Stone-Campbell Dialogue to explore ways they might minister together.

SEE ALSO Campbell, Alexander; Disciples of Christ.

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The first major effort at a history of Churches of Christ was undertaken by Earl Irvin West in two volumes titled *The Search for the Ancient Order: A History of the Restoration Movement,* first published by the Gospel Advocate Company in 1949 and 1950. West's treatment, eventually expanded to four volumes, reflected the triumphalistic attitude characteristic of Churches of Christ in the early twentieth century. In the 1990s a new, more self-critical, historiography arose that reflected an identity shift in the mainstream that had begun at least by the 1960s. Among the chief representatives of this new approach are:

Childers, Jeff W., Douglas A. Foster, and Jack R. Reese. *The Crux of the Matter: Crisis, Tradition, and the Future of Churches of Christ.* Abilene, Tex., 2002.

Foster, Douglas A. *Will the Cycle Be Unbroken? Churches of Christ Face the 21st Century.* Abilene, Tex., 1994.

Harrell, David Edwin, Jr. *The Churches of Christ in the Twentieth Century: Homer Hailey's Personal Journey of Faith.* Tuscaloosa, Ala., 2000.

Holloway, Gary, and Douglas A. Foster. *Renewing God's People: A Concise History of Churches of Christ.* Abilene, Tex., 2001.

Hooper, Robert E. *A Distinct People: A History of the Churches of Christ in the Twentieth Century.* West Monroe, La., 1993.

Hughes, Richard T. *Reviving the Ancient Faith: The Story of Churches of Christ in America.* Grand Rapids, Mich., 1996.

Because of the congregational polity of Churches of Christ, accurate statistics have been difficult to obtain. Mac Lynn, working with the Glenmary Institute's efforts to gather extensive national religious data, has produced reliable statistics on the body in his directories *Churches of Christ around the World: Exclusive of the United States and Her Territories.* Nashville, Tenn., 2003; and *Churches of Christ in the United States: Inclusive of Her Commonwealth and Territories.* Nashville, Tenn., 2003.

DOUGLAS A. FOSTER (2005)

CHURCH OF ENGLAND SEE ANGLICANISM

CHURCH UNIVERSAL AND TRIUMPHANT

CHURCH UNIVERSAL AND TRIUMPHANT is a modern movement that has its roots in various New Age predecessor groups, such as Theosophy, New Thought, and the Saint Germain Foundation. The movement started its existence in 1958 as Summit Lighthouse, a Washington, D.C.-based group founded by Mark L. Prophet (1918–1973). Prophet was a follower of the teachings of Guy Ballard (1878–1939) and Edna Ballard (1886–1971), founders of the Saint Germain Foundation, and of two spin-off groups, Bridge to Freedom and Lighthouse of Freedom. The mission of these three groups was to publish hidden spiritual teachings from higher planes of existence to guide the world at a critical moment in human history. The Ballards alone published over three thousand discourses given to them by the "ascended masters," who were seen as disembodied adepts responsible for the spiritual progress of humankind. For the Ballards, the key ascended master was Saint Germain, who was believed to have contacted Guy Ballard on Mount Shasta in northern California in a 1930 vision. Saint Germain designated Ballard the messenger of the ascended masters for the coming Seventh Golden Age of spiritual realization. Following Guy Ballard's death in 1939 and a prolonged prosecution of the Saint Germain Foundation for mail fraud, the Bridge to Freedom was founded by a disgruntled New York member, Geraldine Innocente (d. 1961). Innocente claimed contact with the ascended masters and published her "dictations" under the pseudonym of Thomas Printz. Prophet, a one-time follower of Innocente, became another claimant to messenger status and decided to publish his own "dictations" through Summit Lighthouse. Prophet announced that he had received the mantle of "messenger" from the ascended masters for the dawning Age of Aquarius.

During this early period, Prophet published *Pearls of Wisdom*, small booklets containing his messages from the ascended masters. He also organized the Keepers of the Flame Fraternity for a committed inner core of disciples. The Keepers made a monthly tithe and were sent a graded series of spiritual instructions that laid out Summit Lighthouse's central teachings.

The first of these teachings concerned a practice known as *decreeing*. This practice has its roots in the New Thought movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Emma Curtis Hopkins (1849–1925), a prominent purveyor of New Thought doctrines, taught that verbal affirmations using the biblical name of God, "I Am," connected students with their inner divine nature and assured that what was affirmed would manifest in the material universe. Both the Saint German Foundation and Summit Lighthouse adopted this practice and made it central to their respective ritual repertoire. The attraction of decreeing was the belief it gave students that they could overcome negative conditions in their lives and bring about both physical and psychological healing. A derivation of this teaching would be adopted by modern-day "prosperity gospel" proponents such as Robert Tilton, Kenneth Copeland, and Robert Schuller. In Summit Lighthouse's version of decreeing, the affirmations were vocalized at a rapid pace that sounded like a buzzing with indistinct phrases. To take one example:

> I AM Light, glowing Light, Radiating Light, intensified Light. God consumes my darkness, Transmuting it into Light. This day I AM a focus of the Central Sun. Flowing through me is a crystal river, A living fountain of Light That can never be qualified By human thought and feeling. I AM an outpost of the Divine. Such darkness as has used me is swallowed up By the mighty river of Light which I AM!

A second central teaching detailed the path of ascension. This teaching traces its roots to Christianity and to the writings of New Thought teacher Annie Rix Militz (1856–1924). Militz taught that the goal of human existence was the union of the human soul with the divine being in heaven, an experience she termed *ascension*. This exalted state was the birthright of every human soul and the crowning stage of evolution. Summit Lighthouse adopted this concept and articulated it in a spiritual anthropology that posited a tripartite human nature consisting of the I AM presence (the divine spark or God self), the Christ consciousness (an interior mediator between the human and divine planes of existence), and the human soul (a mortal component that could become immortal if ascension was achieved). Summit Lighthouse (and later Church Universal and Triumphant) taught that the carefully graded path of initiation freed disciples from negative karma, wed them to the Christ consciousness, and led them to final ascension.

A third central teaching of Summit Lighthouse concerned the collective mission of the ascended masters, Summit Lighthouse, and the United States in spearheading a Golden Age of spiritual freedom and illumination for humankind. This mission had its roots in Prophet's Gnostic-inspired version of creation, in which a creator deity had emanated perfect replicas of itself into the universe at the beginning of time. These divine sparks, in turn, had become enmeshed in the material world and had forgotten their true identity and ancestry. It was the mission of the ascended masters and of Summit Lighthouse to reveal the truth of the human condition and to furnish a path whereby humanity could be restored to its spiritual heritage.

The United States played a central role in this mission. According to Summit teachings, America has been sponsored since its beginnings by the ascended master Saint Germain, the Lord of the Seventh Ray of Freedom. Prophet claimed that Saint Germain was the inspiration behind the U.S. Constitution and that he had anointed George Washington as the country's first president. The country's unique role as a "New Atlantis" and forerunner of planetary spiritual illumination, however, was threatened by "fallen ones," who were seeking to weaken the United States through socialism, rock and jazz music, tobacco, alcohol, gambling, and abortion. Summit Lighthouse (and later Church Universal and Triumphant) adopted a nationalistic political outlook that cast the movement as a spiritual army commissioned by the ascended masters to do battle with the "dark forces" threatening the nation's entry into the prophesied Golden Age. The church's elitism, utopianism, and millennialism would result in an increasingly paranoid outlook and a cycle of apocalyptic extremism that threatened its very existence in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

During the early 1960s, Prophet had a small coterie of followers who attended his classes in Washington, D.C., or who belonged to Summit study groups around the country. In 1963, Prophet divorced his first wife and married a young student, Elizabeth Clare Wulf (b. 1939). While Mark Prophet was clearly the public spokesperson and "messenger" for the movement, behind the scenes he began training his new wife as "comessenger." The couple left Washington and moved to Colorado Springs, Colorado, in 1966. As the counterculture emerged during this period, many young people were drawn to Summit's teachings. A select group of these students moved into the Prophets' handsome mansion, La Tourelle, where they lived in spartan simplicity and assisted the Prophets' increasingly ambitious national outreach.

Part of this outreach included four seasonal conclaves, at New Year's, Easter, the Fourth of July, and Columbus Day, which brought together disciples from around the world. In 1970, the Prophets established Montessori International, an alternative educational system based on the teachings of Maria Montessori (1870–1952) and a potpourri of progressive educational theories. They also founded Ascended Master University (later called Summit University) in 1972 to provide new members with an intensive and extended exposure to the group's spiritual teachings. Students lived and ate in common, participated in decreeing and dictation sessions, and enjoyed one-to-one sessions of spiritual counseling with the Prophets. Summit University would undergo myriad refinements in both curriculum and mission over the next thirty years, perhaps reaching its apex in 1977 with Camelot, the movement's New Age mystery school constructed on the 218-acre campus of the former Thomas Aquinas College near Malibu, California.

Following Mark Prophet's sudden death in 1973, Elizabeth Clare Prophet took firm control of the movement, which she renamed Church Universal and Triumphant in 1974. Summit Lighthouse became the movement's increasingly successful publishing subsidiary. The key movement publications of this period were *Climb the Highest Mountain* (1972) by Mark and Elizabeth Clare Prophet, and *The Great White Brotherhood in the Culture, History, and Religion of America* (1976) by Elizabeth Clare Prophet. While acknowledging the movement's roots in Theosophy and the I AM Activity, these books were asserted as crucial new revelations from the Ascended Master El Morya for the Aquarian Age. They also proclaimed Church Universal and Triumphant as the true church of the "ascended masters" Gautama Buddha and Jesus Christ. Elizabeth Clare Prophet moved the church to southern California in 1976 and was successful in establishing study groups and teaching centers across the United States.

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, Elizabeth Clare Prophet was a nationally known purveyor of New Age spirituality who made regular appearances on television and radio. Her national tours, billed as "Stumping for Higher Consciousness," used state-of-the-art audiovisual technology and included dramatic dictations, decreeing, and initiatory blessings. Prophet advocated her conservative positions on such controversial social issues as pornography, abortion, terrorism, and America's need for a strong civil defense. Although nationalistic and nativistic in the tone of its public pronouncements, the church was inclusive in its membership, which reflected a wide spectrum of socioeconomic, ethnic, and national backgrounds.

Following a bitter lawsuit brought by a disgruntled ex-member and a spate of negative publicity, the church moved its international headquarters to southern Montana in 1986. The move was also occasioned by fears of earthquakes in California and of nuclear attack by the Soviet Union, and by zoning battles with the church's Malibu neighbors. Prophet extolled the new Royal Teton Ranch property as a site where members could work together under the ascended masters' protection to neutralize impending negative karma for the earth and thus ensure the safe entry of the planet into the Golden Age of Aquarian illumination.

The church entered a period of increased apocalyptic anxiety during the late 1980s after warnings from the ascended masters about a possible nuclear war with the Soviet Union between 1989 and 1991. Members frantically constructed a network of fallout shelters on ranch property high in the foothills of the Teton mountains and called on its far-flung membership to move to the adjacent Paradise Valley. When a series of prophesied events failed to materialize in early 1990, the group found itself dubbed as a "doomsday cult" by the international media. Prophet tried to calm fears that the group was a "dangerous cult" about to implode by appearing on national television programs such as *The Oprah Winfrey Show*, *Nightline*, and *Larry King Live*, and defending her church as a patriotic group that wished to live in harmony with its neighbors. She also publicly disavowed any specific doomsday prophecies, while maintaining that the Soviet Union still posed dangers to the United States.

This period of intense apocalyptic expectation and subsequent collective exhaustion resulted in a mass exodus of church members and a severe downsizing of the organization's Montana staff. By the mid-1990s, the church was beginning to sell off parcels of its property simply to meet ongoing operational expenses. In 1996, Church Universal and Triumphant's board of directors appointed Gilbert Clairbault, a Belgian management consultant, as its president and began a wholesale reconstitution of the church and its mission. The group has moved away from its prior ideology of apocalyticism and hyper-patriotism and now represents itself as a mainstream church whose mission is to make the Prophets' considerable body of New Age teachings available to an international audience in the form of both print and electronic media. Another aspect of its new mission is to engender the creation of spiritual communities around the world whose members embrace the church's esoteric teachings and alternative healing, educational, and spiritual practices.

A further crisis enveloped the church in 1999 when Prophet disclosed that she was suffering from Alzheimer's disease. This was a severe blow to a movement that had seen its leader as the one true spokesperson for the ascended masters and as a spiritual master who had balanced her karma and was ready for ascension. In July 1999, Prophet turned over both her temporal and spiritual authority to a leadership group consisting of a president, a board of directors, and a 24-member council of elders. The church has embraced entrepreneurial currents found in other New Age religious groups and is actively marketing its myriad products around the world. To keep its worldwide membership in regular communication, the church broadcasts its decreeing rituals and public meetings to subscribers via the internet.

Elizabeth Clare Prophet is now fully retired from church work and resides in Bozeman, Montana. As the movement strives to routinize her considerable charisma in various ministerial and organizational offices, she remains a revered figure in the movement. Groups of disgruntled members maintain contact through various newsletters, chat rooms, and conferences, and there has been an ongoing battle between those who advocate a more corporate culture for the group and those who seek to retain the charismatic atmosphere and governance of the church's founding period.

SEE ALSO Hopkins, Emma Curtis; New Thought Movement; Prophet, Mark and Elizabeth Clare; Theosophical Society.

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PHILLIP CHARLES LUCAS (2005)

CHURINGA SEE TJURUNGAS

CHUVASH RELIGION.

The nearly two million Chuvash-speaking peoples inhabit the Chuvash Republic, Tatarstan, and Bashkortostan, all autonomous republics within the Russian Federation. The Chuvash have had a long history of contact with Islam and Christianity that has in varying degrees affected the traditional indigenous religion.

In the first few centuries BCE the Turkic language family separated into two groups: the first now includes the Turkish spoken in Turkey and the Turkic languages spoken in the Russian Federation, Poland, Iran, Afghanistan, and China. The second group, which included Khazar and Bulgar until they became extinct in the Middle Ages, is now made up solely of Chuvash. Thus the Chuvash language and people play a key role in reconstructing most of what is known today of ancient Turkic religion.

In the eighth century the Chuvash moved from the south to the middle Volga region, where they formed the major part of the Volga Bulgar empire, a state that came under Khazar jurisdiction. A gradual Islamization from the region of Khorezm, however, led to the Volga Bulgar emperor's acceptance in 922 of the religious authority of the caliph in Baghdad. The empire flourished until the Mongol invasion of 1236, when the Chuvash found shelter and a fair degree of autonomy in the forested regions on the right bank of the middle Volga. The Kipchaks of the Kazan region, however, posed a constant threat and tried to spread Islam. By the middle of the sixteenth century Russian colonization reached the Chuvash territory; after their occupation of Kazan, the Russians began attempts to Christianize the Chuvash, who tried to evade conversion by fleeing to the lands between the Volga and the Ural.

The Chuvash joined forces with Muslim Tatars and Bashkirs in several unsuccessful uprisings against the Russians in the eighteenth century. By the 1860s large numbers of Chuvash tried to convert to Islam as a last resort, but these efforts were also thwarted by the Russians, who, in addition to their existing policy of translating the Bible and Russian Orthodox religious books into Chuvash, began to set up schools that featured Chuvash as the medium of instruction and a curriculum that was almost entirely religious. By the end of the nineteenth century more than fifty such schools had been established among the Chuvash. Although many Chuvash finally converted as a result, the indigenous traditions, amalgamated with some Christian and Islamic elements, continued to flourish into the twentieth century.

Chuvash popular religion comprises traditional elements to which have been added significant layers of Islamic influence and a certain, though superficial, stratum of Russian Orthodox Christianity. The core of the traditional religion has preserved elements of the ancient Turkic religion.

The central figure of the Chuvash pantheon is Tura, whose name is a Chuvash derivative of the Old Turkic deity name *Tängri (Tengri).* The name *Tură* is also used for the Muslim and Christian God and was adopted in the Chuvash translations of the Bible. The Old Turkic name *Tängri* denoted both "God" and "sky." The latter meaning is now absent from Chuvash, but its earlier presence can be inferred, and its disappearance can be attributed to a transformation of beliefs through the influence of Islam and Christianity. The concept is still retained to a certain extent; "to thunder," for example, is expressed in Chuvash by *Tură aśatat,* where *aśa-* carries the original meaning of "father, grandfather, God the father, thunder." Tură, like Tängri prior to contact with

Christianity and Islam, is qualified also as the creator, Śuratakan.

The Chuvash medicine man is called *yumśă* and can be either male or female. The *yumśă* s cure various types of disease, perform particular rituals, trace stolen or lost animals, take part in weddings, and assist at childbirth. Some scholars have identified the *yumśă*s with shamans, but this hypothesis is unacceptable, for the *yumśă*s feature none of the salient characteristics of the shaman, for example, trance, journey to the otherworld, and use of a special garment and a sacred drum. Additionally, it has been recognized that if the *yumśă* were indeed a shaman, the term itself would be etymologically identical to the Turkic *qam,* "shaman." Szalontai-Dimitrieva (1982, pp. 171–178) has pointed out the difficulties of this identification and suggests that the term may be a recent loan from a Tatar term that can be traced to the Old Turkic form, *yumči*, which has a corresponding Mongolian form, *domči* ("sorcerer, medicine man"). Another important Chuvash figure is a different type of sorcerer, the *tuxatmăš*. In this case there is no doubt that the concept and role of the *tuxatmăš* is borrowed. The term can ultimately be traced to the Arabic *duʿāʾ* ("prayer"). In Chuvash *tuka tu-* or *tuxat-* denotes "to cast a spell or charm," and thus the *tuxatmăš* is the person who casts the spell; the prayer of the Muslim muezzin came to be identified with the sorcerer's incantation. In its present linguistic form, the term appears to have been a recent loan, perhaps from the southern Bashkirs.

Some traits of the Old Chuvash religion can be reconstructed only with the help of other sources. A certain type of sorcerer (Old Turkic, *bögüči*) is no longer extant among the Chuvash but most likely was a part of old Chuvash culture. The evidence for this comes from the Hungarians, who borrowed and preserved the concept and role of the *bögüči* from the Chuvash during their close contact from the sixth to ninth centuries.

Other influences can be found among the Finno-Ugric Mari (Cheremis) people, whose term for sin (*sulak*) is derived from the Chuvash *śilăx*. The Christian Tatars have borrowed their word for prayer, *keläü*, from the Middle Chuvash. Chuvash also borrowed from contacts with other peoples; their word for human being (*śin*) is a loan from the Middle Persian *jān* ("soul"). Later, the same Iranian term came as a New Persian loan into Chuvash a second time through the Tatar in the form of *cun* and retained the meaning of "soul."

Not only comparative linguistics but also contemporary Chuvash folk practices serve as a source for reconstructing traditional Chuvash religion. One of the incantations spelled by a *yumśă* on a sick person refers to a pillar that stands in the middle of the world and supports the sky with the sun and moon on either side. The sky is said to be like the roof of a nomadic tent whose roof cover is closed with a ring. This fits the description of a yurt, although the Chuvash have not lived in yurts for more than seven hundred years. In contrast, the world beneath is not said to be the steppes of the early Chuvash, who were nomads. Rather, this world is said to consist of four types of forest: the "black forest" of leafy trees, the spruce forest, the poplar forest, and the juniper forest. Thus there is a conjunction of the Inner Asian concept of the four cardinal points with the typical "forested" world image of the Finno-Ugric peoples.

The dominant elements of contemporary Chuvash popular religion, however, do not originate from traditional Chuvash religion but from Islam. In some places Chuvash peasants worshiped a god called Xărpan, to whom they sacrificed a white ram. It is thought that the role of this deity, or at least his name, was influenced by Islamic sacrifice, called *qurbān* in Arabic. The lord of the wolves that protect the sheep is venerated as Pixampar, a name derived from the New Persian *payghamber* ("prophet"). The Chuvash recognize an evil spirit, who is called Šuytan, from the Arabic *shayṭān.*

The most respected of all spirits is the *kiremet*. The *kiremet* is the soul of a deceased person. Some Chuvash groups specify that it is the soul of someone who was wicked or evil or who died a violent death. *Kiremet*s dwell beneath the earth, and all localities have their own *kiremet*s. In many regions, forest clearings, meadows, cemeteries, hills, or brooks may be worshiped as *kiremet*s; in this sense the word bears the closest resemblance to its Arabic cognate, *karāmah* ("miracle"). Usually the area is encircled with a fence and cannot be plowed or used for secular purposes. Periodically, sacrifices are offered within this area. In some regions of northern Chuvashia *kiremet*s inhabit trees and have a special guard, the *kiremet ketüśi* ("herdsman of the *kiremet*"). This designation indicates the influence of the nomadic herdsmen on the nonnomadic forest peoples of northern Chuvashia.

The Chuvash also derived their notion of the angel of death from Islam. He is known both as Esrel (cf. Arab. ʿIzrāʾīl) and Masar Puśĕ ("ruler of the cemetery," cf. Arab. *mazār*). The central orientation in prayer, however, is not toward Mecca, but toward the east, following the Türk tradition. Thus during prayers or sacrifice the Chuvash faces east, and in the grave one's head is positioned on the western side because one must look eastward. The eyes of the dead, and sometimes also the nose, mouth, and ears, are covered with small linen patches. Excavations in the Volga region and in Hungary indicate similar burial customs dating to the ninth century. Until recent times the Chuvash also placed money and food in the grave, and sometimes the saddle, harness, and parts of the horse as well. These practices can be traced to burial customs in southern Russia and Hungary between the eighth and tenth centuries. In some parts of southern Chuvashia the funeral feast is not held until the Friday of the seventh week after death.

In northern Chuvashia the funeral ceremonies include placing a plank between a chair and a table that serves as a "bridge." The soul of the deceased must travel from the chair across the bridge to the table and from there to God. The ceremony is called the Feast of the Grave-post and is derived and transformed from Islam and early Iranian religion. The various elements contributing to Chuvash popular religion are evident in different Chuvash practices; many aspects of this religion, however, remain to be studied systematically by scholars.

SEE ALSO Islam, article on Islam in Central Asia; Tengri; Turkic Religions.

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ANDRÁS RÓNA-TAS (1987)
Revised Bibliography

CICERO (106 BCE–43 BCE) was a lawyer and public figure who undertook the senatorial *cursus honorum*, reaching the consulship in 63 BCE. He was subsequently involved in the civil war between Pompey and Caesar before falling victim to the purge of the Second Triumvirate (Octavian, Lepidus, Mark Antony). In discussions of Cicero and religion one should avoid the temptation to anachronistically confuse what may be defined as the religion of the ancient Romans with the common idea of religion in modern times, and one should be careful to distinguish what might be termed ancient "personal religion" from public and private devotion and cult (*sacra publica, sacra privata*). Personal religion for a man of learning such as Cicero meant philosophical speculation. For him, investigation into the nature of the gods and personal opinion on divinity belonged to the sphere of philosophy, while "religion" indicated an official institution with the purpose of paying homage to the essential values of the *res publica.*

If the diverse interests of Cicero converge upon everything involving public life and the public figure, religion, from his point of view, was an inalienable part of this. The laws on religion that form the opening of his ideal constitution in the work *De legibus* show how far from his mode of thought was the notion of the independence of the clergy from the state. But religion, consisting of *sacra publica*, did not require speculative thought. In *De natura deorum* the pontifex Cotta compares the immutable contents of the mores handed down by their parents with the transient nature of philosophical speculation regarding divinity. Religion signifies an entire collection of customs, festivals, rites, sacrifices, prayers, processions, and feasts, all serving to express the essence of productive, civic human society. For Cicero, religion was an institution, not a creed; it was an institution of protection that permitted and ensured social stability, a safeguard of law and constitutional order. Ethical values, emphasized by Cicero, are independent of religion: gods and human beings have the same rational ability. On the other hand, the problem of transcendence was discussed philosophically and without any particularly personal contribution or involvement. Cicero provides a more or less contemporary bibliography, so to speak, on the subject, and the discussion on divinity is unfolded in minute, scholarly detail.

In *De natura deorum*, the existence of the gods is seen as a social, political, and philosophical problem, but it does not have any bearing upon religious feeling: the problem of the existence of the gods is resolved via a patriotic list of political occurrences. A member of the pontifical college, Cotta, is entrusted with the refutation of the Stoic theory of the *Pronoia.* Religion is the servant of ethics and the patriotic sentiments and institutions created by the empire. But the inherently fragmentary and compartmentalized nature of ancient religion makes it inaccessible to the modern mind, which sees religion as a kind of system complete in itself.

Ancient religion is open and dynamic. The *res divinae* are not a complete self-contained corpus. Four centuries later, Augustine makes fun of the pedantic and muddled account of Varro. The emperor Julian counted 300,000 gods. For the ancients, religion was an uninterrupted and endless discovery of divine powers, which could be in turn individually identified and worshiped. Religion neither concerns itself with nor explains the afterlife. In Seneca, the investigation of the nature of god and the creation of the world is completely devoid of any religious content whatsoever. Again, the gods of Cicero, as simply gods of his own age, are ephemeral in character and they fall short of modern expectations, which have been formed by two millennia of subtle and detailed speculation on divinity. Christian apologists had great sport contrasting the sublime and profound nature of speculation on God with the weak and disorganized nature of the gods. The discussion of the Stoic Balbo in *De natura deorum* ends up as a naturalistic treatise and a doctrinal summary in which the gods are in effect everything that humanity sees and considers admirable. Besides, the ancient names of the gods are closely derived from the power they represent. Jupiter, Neptune, and Minerva are names behind which are hidden powers, made legitimate and institutionalized by *pietas*, via ancestral ceremonies and rites. Thus, syncretism is a defining characteristic of ancient religion. These gods do not possess ideological or philosophical depth; they are not, in effect, the subject of speculation.

The reader is surprised by the Ciceronian passages discussing the numerous and confused nature of the gods and their realms of competence (a catalog of the various spheres of influence of the Catholic saints would be similarly disorganized). Cicero's approach is quantitative because research on divinity is either focused upon the religious principle of "manifestation" (*epiphania*) or else on the popular discussion of the main findings of Greek philosophical knowledge. The theme of destiny and predestination assigns to the gods an instrumental and secondary role. As with every polytheist, so with Cicero: the divine may be broken down into an infinite number of powers and aspects, which are often ascribed by ancient traditions to legendary figures with various names, depending upon time and place.

The mystical note that Cicero introduces in *Somnium Scipionis* is in defense of the civic virtues of a man who goes to heaven because he has behaved on earth not as a saint but as a man of state. Even the philosophical consideration of transcendence is proposed in terms of the well-trodden path of Greek philosophy. It is a handbook on research into the divine. Prayer and interior contemplation to seek the divine within oneself are not properties of Ciceronian thought. Religious discourse is constantly and firmly linked to civic values and the merit of an active public life. Fate, of which the gods are instruments, is the subject of speculation in the light of its reflection and influences on public life. In short, there exists a preordained order or an inaccessible fate that is interested in the political events of the state and of no great relevance per se. Cicero is well aware that the gods must be invoked, not so as to become better, but for the sake of good health and prosperity. As Seneca notes (*Epistulae ad Lucilium* 10, 5), acknowledgment of one's own weakness to a god was not unknown to the religious sensibility of the ancient world. This form of religion was unacceptable to the nobles, however, and they criticized this attitude amongst any in their ranks who endorsed this approach. For example, the frequent attendance of Scipio Africanus to the temple of Zeus Capitolinus was regarded by Valerius Maximus (I, 2, 2) as a case of "fake religion."

SEE ALSO Ambrose; Apocatastasis; Apotheosis; Atheism; Augustine of Hippo; Casuistry; Conscience; Roman Religion; Skeptics and Skepticism; Superstition; Theology.

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There is little recent work concerning religion in Cicero (in the sense of analyzing all his works), although the numerous commentaries on the works of Cicero on this subject may be of use. See, for example, *The Nature of the Gods*, translated with an introduction by P. G. Walsh (Oxford, 1997). The commentary of Arthur Stanley Pease remains essential: *M. T. Ciceronis: De natura deorum, I–II* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955–1958; reprint, 1979). See also Pease's commentary on *De divinatione* (Urbana, Ill., 1923; reprint, Darmstadt, Germany, 1963) and *De fato* (reprint, Darmstadt, 1963). For various aspects of Cicero's concern with religious matters, see:

Auvray-Assayas, Clara. *Modèles anthropologiques romains dans le De natura deorum.* Paris, 1994. See pages 207–219.

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LUCIO TROIANI (2005)
Translated from Italian by Paul Ellis

CIJI, or Tzu Chi (from the Wade-Giles transliteration; in English, Compassion Relief), is a lay Buddhist movement founded in Taiwan under monastic leadership that has a mission of relieving suffering through secular action. Since the 1990s the movement has become one of the largest formal associations in Taiwan; it is also growing internationally, mainly within the Chinese diaspora. The founder and the leader is the Venerable Zhengyan (Cheng Yen) (1937–), a Buddhist nun hailed as "the Mother Teresa of Asia" who has received international awards for "reawakening Taiwan's modern people to the ancient Buddhist teachings of compassion and charity." Her work and influence through Tzu Chi provides disaster relief for victims throughout the world. The movement is commonly known in Chinese as *[Fojiao] Ciji gongde hui* ([Buddhist] Compassion Relief Merits Society, or, as translated by the organization, the Buddhist Compassion Relief Tzu Chi Association), although its official title is *Fojiao ciji jijinhui* (The Buddhist Compassion Relief Tzu Chi Foundation).

FOUNDING. Compassion Relief's origins emerged from the experiences of Zhengyan. Born in 1937 in the town of Chingshui (Qingshui), Taizhong county in west central Taiwan, Zhengyan grew up in a middle-class mercantile family. Compassion Relief literature says that at age sixteen, Zhengyan vowed to Bodhisattva Guanyin (Avalokiteśvara) that she would give up twelve years of her life in exchange for her mother's recovery from a stomach ulcer. Her mother was, ostensibly, cured miraculously without surgery—surgery that was life-threatening at that time—and Zhengyan became a vegetarian, as she had also vowed to do. However, the idea of pursuing the Buddhist priesthood did not occur to her until her father suddenly died of a stroke in 1960, and after she had encountered a local Buddhist nun, the Venerable Xioudao. This nun inspired her to restore the priesthood's economic autonomy and, most importantly, to see Buddhism as the path toward a universal vocation—a vocation that can never be achieved by a woman within the limit of a family.

Zhengyan left home to become a Buddhist nun. After two years of wandering around various temples, she arrived in 1962 at a small temple of Bodhisattva Dizang (Kṣitigarbha) in Hualian, a town located in a backwater section of eastern Taiwan. Following the local practice, she took a learned layperson as her teacher, though she shaved her own head and studied scripture by herself.

At an accidental encounter in 1963 in Taipei, the well-known secularizing and reformist scholar-monk Yinshun (1906–) granted Zhengyan's request that he be her tonsure master. Yinshun gave her a new Dharma-name, "Zhengyan" and the advice that would later guide her immense vocation, telling her, "Be committed to Buddhism and to all living beings!"

Zhengyan completed the precepts, returned to Hualian, and meditated daily on the *Lotus Sūtra* for half a year in solitude and austerity in a humble straw hut behind the Bodhisattva Dizan temple. In 1964 Zhengyan began to lead her few disciples and to lecture on the Four Books, the *Lotus Sūtra,* and the Emperor Liang's Penance. In contrast to the traditional Chinese Buddhist priests who rely on alms, Zhengyan and her disciples supported themselves by subcontracting handicraft work from factories, thus abiding by the Baizhang Huaihai's dictum of "no toil, no meal."

Two events in Hualian in 1966 induced Zhengyan to found Compassion Relief. One day at a hospital, Zhengyan saw a pool of blood in the hallway and inquired about it. She was told that an aboriginal woman had experienced a miscarriage. Although her family spent eight hours carrying her to the hospital, she received no treatment because she could not afford the NT(New Taiwan)$8,000 (about U.S.$200) deposit. The unfortunate woman had died, leaving the blood on the floor. Zhengyan nearly fainted upon learning about such a tragedy and asked herself: "How could humans be so cruel to each other?" (Chen Huijian, 1998, p. 28).

The second trigger occurred when three missionizing Catholic nuns came to convert Zhengyan and "save the betrayal of the God" (Chen Huijian, 1998, p. 29). Instead, Zhengyan convinced them that Buddha's compassion was as great as the universal love of the lord God. But the Catholic nuns then asked why Buddhists, with their concept of universal love, tended to concentrate only on improving themselves rather than build schools or hospitals as the Christians did?

On April 14, 1966, Compassion Relief was founded in Hualian. At that time, it consisted of Zhengyan, her five monastic disciples, and thirty housewives. Their goal was to establish a charity fund to provide relief and defray medical costs for the poor. The housewives each donated NT$0.50 (about U.S.$0.013) every day from their grocery money and proselytized among their families and friends. The nuns made handicrafts whose sale supported the monastic order and added to the relief fund.

DEVELOPMENT. Compassion Relief developed slowly in its first decade. By 1979, the Venerable Zhengyan had resolved that building a general hospital should be the long-term mission of Compassion Relief. The nine-hundred-bed hospital was open in Hualian in 1986, one year before Taiwan lifted martial law. This was followed by Compassion Relief's rapid growth across the island at the start of the 1990s, when Taiwan was emerging as a developed economy and democratic polity. By 2000, Compassion Relief claimed over four million members worldwide (of these, about two million were in Taiwan). Although these numbers may have been exaggerated, Compassion Relief is clearly one of the largest Buddhist organizations in Taiwan, where the total Buddhist population was about 4.9 million as of 2000. In Taiwan at the start of the twenty-first century, Compassion Relief was running two state-of-the-art Western hospitals (the second one in Dalin, in Jiayi county in western Taiwan), a secular educational system ranging from elementary school to a university with a medical school, a television channel and publishing houses, and the largest databank of bone-marrow donations in Asia. The foundation was also giving away NT$5.4 billion (over US$157 million in 1999 dollars) in charity each year, much of it internationally.

Since 1990, Compassion Relief has become increasingly transnational. It has overseas branches among Chinese communities in about thirty countries and has delivered relief to disaster victims in over thirty countries around the world. Compassion Relief runs free clinics in California and Hawai'i and a dialysis center in Penang, Malaysia. Large branches in Western countries such as the United States run weekend schools that teach Mandarin and traditional characters to youngsters of Chinese heritage. Since 1991, Compassion Relief has delivered help to disaster victims in over fifty countries around the world. Such accomplishments have won Zhengyan several international awards, among them the Philippine Magsaysay Award, a nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize, the Noel Foundation Life Award, and an honorary doctorate in the social sciences from the University of Hong Kong.

Zhengyan's mission has expanded to include the Four Great Compassion Relief Missions and the four "footprints." The Four Great Missions (*si da zhiye*) are charity (on-site investigation, evaluation, and long-term care); medical care (e.g., building hospitals); education (e.g., building a university and organizing a Compassion Relief teachers' association and youth corps); and culture (e.g., Compassion Relief publications and television). The additional four footprints (*jiaoyin*) are international disaster relief, bone-marrow drives (collecting bone-marrow samples for an international database and transplantation), environmentalism (e.g., sorting garbage for recycling), and community volunteerism (e.g., cooperating with government social workers to provide local elders with long-term care). In contrast with the often ad hoc nature of Buddhist charity and its emphasis on spiritual rather than material relief in Chinese societies, Compassion Relief has established a reputation for searching out causes and mobilizing for effective implementation of concrete assistance.

The Compassion Relief headquarters remains in Zhengyan's residential monastery in Hualian, called the Still Thoughts Abode (*jinsi jinshe*). A triad configuration depicting Buddha Śākyamuni and the *bodhisattvas* Avalokiteśvara and Kṣitigarbha is enshrined in the main hall, and the monastery consisted of fewer than two hundred nuns in 2003. Under Zhengyan's charismatic leadership, the Compassion Relief umbrella organization has basically two divisions: the foundation and its staff on the one hand; and the volunteers, including the nuns, on the other hand. The foundation consists of six hundred staff members and has the largest endowment of any foundation in Taiwan, controlling about NT$12 billion (U.S.$350 million) in funds, solely from fund-raising. The volunteer organization has about seventeen thousand commissioners (*weiyuan*) worldwide who proselytize for Compassion Relief, seeking to follow its principles of sincerity, integrity, trust, and honesty. About 70 percent of the commissioners are women. Male participation has rapidly increased, however, since around 1990, resulting in the formation of a male auxiliary team, the Faith Corps, in 1992. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the team had about eighteen hundred members. All Compassion Relief core members, including commissioners and members of the Faith Corps and Youth Corps, abide by the Ten Compassion Relief Precepts that consist of the five basic Buddhist precepts and another five precepts, which include such modern disciplines as not smoking, not drinking, not gambling, following traffic regulations, respecting parents, and speaking gently. The disciplines also bar participation in politics or demonstrations.

Compassion Relief followers concentrate on building a "pure land" in this world through secular actions. Their objectives are incorporated in the expression, "May all minds be purified, may society be peaceful, and may there be no disaster in this world." The Buddhist teaching is to be carried out; in Compassion Relief, only action counts, and its followers often say, "Just do it!" They view Zhengyan's mission as providing skillful methods that enable thousands of people to walk on the path of *bodhisattva,* to embody the *bodhisattva*'s ideal of relieving the suffering, that is, to humanize Buddhist teachings and bring the *bodhisattva*s into this world. Compassion Relief collectivity embodies the *bodhisattva*'s thousand eyes and thousand hands that carry out relief projects across political and ethnic borders; as exemplified in the Buddha's words: "Great compassion for those who are known and unknown, boundless mercy for all beings."

Zhengyan teaches classic Buddhist texts, but the most important book in Compassion Relief is her book, *Still Thoughts*. First published in 1989, it had gone through one hundred printings by 1992, with over one million copies having been sold by 2001. *Still Thoughts* is a collection of quotes from Zhengyan's teaching and sermons given at various times throughout her career. The quotes are brief paragraphs and concise sentences of Buddhist teaching, in plain words and set in the context of modern life. It is considered the "bible" upon which Compassion Relief followers model their speeches and conduct. *Still Thoughts* has been translated into English and German.

The significance of Compassion Relief for contemporary Buddhism is many-faceted. It is not only an example of Buddhist women's leadership and secularized Buddhism but also demonstrates a model of contemporary Buddhism's response to globalization: the global vision of its mission was an adaptation to, and a manifestation of, the role of religion in a context of intensified global communications. The result of Compassion Relief's global mission has been to put Buddhism on the world map, crossing borders through international outreach programs. This global mission is made possible by organizing the resources of the Chinese, and especially the Taiwanese, diaspora and channeling it into an active religious diaspora for universal causes.

SEE ALSO Buddhist Ethics; Missions, article on Buddhist Missions; Nuns, article on Buddhist Nuns.

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C. JULIA HUANG (2005)

CINEMA SEE FILM AND RELIGION

ČINGGIS KHAN SEE CHINGGIS KHAN

CINNABAR SEE ALCHEMY, *ARTICLE ON* CHINESE ALCHEMY

ČINVATŌ PERETU SEE CHINVAT BRIDGE

CIRCLE. The circle is used as a polyvalent symbol (commonly representing the cosmos and cosmic movement) as well as a pattern of ritual action (in which macrocosmic realities are transformed into microcosmic space with various meanings). As a symbol and as a ritual pattern, the circle is a cross-cultural form occurring in the round shapes of houses, public buildings, tombs, cult objects (such as altars), and ritual spaces. The circle is used ritually by inscribing circles on the ground, on amulets, or other objects and as a pattern for processions around altars, temples, spaces, and towns for various reasons. Circular shapes are often understood as patterned after the solar and lunar disks, and circular movements are frequently thought to replicate the circular motion of heavenly bodies; both circular shapes and motions are frequently assigned a sacred or religious function. In the past, scholars frequently indulged in the vain pursuit of the origins of the ritual use of circular shapes and motions, falsely assuming that such traditions have a unified origin providing a key to understanding their meaning. However, the meaning of such ritual patterns is probably polyvalent and must be based on contextual analysis, combining the emic explanations found in ancient interpretations and the etic explanations arrived at through cross-cultural comparison by modern theorists.

Neolithic and Bronze Age. The megalithic passage tombs in eastern Ireland, at Newgrange, Knowth, and Dowth (c. 3200 BCE), built by Neolithic farming communities, exhibit a ritualistic architecture. They are laid out in large circular shapes that have clear astronomical alignments, such as the winter solstice sunrise at Newgrange and the equinox sunrise at Loughcrew. According to ancient Roman sources, the Gauls associated the moon with death, and it may well be that the shape of the moon with this symbolic significance is replicated in circular megalithic tomb architecture. The same is true of the megalithic stone circle constructed somewhat later at Stonehenge in the vicinity of Salisbury, Wiltshire, England (constructed in three stages during the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age, c. 1800–1400 BCE). Stonehenge IIIa (c. 1600 BCE) consists of a circle of thirty upright monoliths capped by a continuous ring of carefully dressed stone lintels. The solstitial alignment of the various phases of the construction of Stonehenge suggest that it functioned as a place of worship involving the sun and moon, though little more is known. John North, in *Stonehenge: Neolithic Man and the Cosmos*, argues, "The aim [of the Neolithic builders] was not to discover the patterns of behaviour of the sun, Moon or stars but to *embody* those patterns, already known in broad outline, in a religious architecture" (North, 1996, p. xxxvi).

Unusual evidence for the cults of prehistoric Cyprus is in a clay sanctuary model of polished red earthenware found in a dromos tomb, part of an extensive necropolis dating to the Early Bronze, c. 2000 BCE. Described in detail in "The Excavations at Vounous-Bellapais in Cyprus, 1931–32" (Dikaios, 1938), the model consists of an open-air temenos or sacred precinct enclosed by a circular wall with a large arched entrance. On the floor is a semicircular curb that separates three statues of divinities from the rest of the temenos. Numerous seated and standing figures suggest that a ceremony of some type is depicted, which somehow involves the symbolic significance of the bulls, heads, and snakes that decorate the wall opposite the entrance. The circular temenos wall contrasts with other Early and Middle Bronze domestic architecture in which the rectangle predominates. Since the fundamental architectural principle in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods in Cyprus is the circle, the round temenos of this clay model represents a survival from an earlier period (the circular form also characterizes some Early Bronze age tombs at Vounous).

Ancient Greece and Rome. The Greeks had several words for "circle," including *gyros* (a trench around trees, used for the circle of the heaven or earth in LXX Iob 22.14 and Is 40.22), *kyklos* (the circle of the sky in Herodotos 1.131), and *trochos* (wheel, circular race); the terms *kirkos* and *krikos* both mean circle in the sense of a "ring" or "hoop." The preposition *peri* is prefixed to a number of verbs with variations on the meaning "to encircle," "surround" (e.g., *periechō, periistēmi, perikykloō, peritechizō, peritithēmi, peritrechō*). The primary Latin word for "circle" or "circular course" is *circus* and its diminutive form *circulus,* which describes "a circular figure or form." The preposition *circum* (around, about) is used as a prefix for a large number of verbs to describe various types of circular movement. According to the dominant pre-Hellenistic cosmology, the earth was shaped like a circular disk, encircled by Ocean (Herodotos 4.36), flowing in one direction (clockwise); the river Acheron, further out, flowed in the opposite direction, and Tartarus, the land of the dead, was located below the earth (Plato, *Phaedo* 112e). Concentric circles dominate this cosmology. According to Plato (*Philebus* 62a), Socrates speaks of the person who has knowledge of the divine circle and sphere (*kyklou men kai sphairas*)—based on the Platonic doctrine of ideas—but is ignorant of the human sphere and circle, even when building a circular house. Here Plato's theory of ideas provides a basis for distinguishing between microcosmic imitations of the macrocosmic circle or sphere.

In the lengthy description (*ekphrasis*) of the shield of Achilles in *Iliad* 18.483–608, one design depicts a city at peace where a dispute has arisen between two men. Heralds keep back the crowd from the area where elders sit upon polished stones "in a sacred circle" (*Iliad* 18.504). The scholiast explains that "the law courts are sacred." The reason they are sacred, thus rendering the circle of stone seats as sacred, is the belief that Zeus presides over judicial proceedings (*Iliad* 9.98–99). Eustathius, expanding on the scholiast, comments in *Eustathii Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem Pertinentes*, "A sacred circle is the kind in the agora, where because of local law and custom, such a circle is understood to be sacred" (Eustathius, 1997–1987, p. 4.236). This reflects a link between the "sacred sircle" consisting of "smooth stones," sometimes with a sacred hearth or pit at the center (*Odyssey* 6.266), where the speaking and debating was done, and the "encircling agora" (Euripides, *Orestes* 919), where the assembly was gathered. Speakers within the "sacred circle" customarily held a scepter and enjoyed a limited immunity.

In Plutarch's narrative of the founding of Rome by Romulus (Romulus 9), he relates how a circular trench (*bothros kykloteres*) was dug around what later became the Comitium (a place of public assembly for the Comitia Curiata, which by the third century CE became a circular amphitheatre), into which each participant placed fruits and some earth from his native land. This trench was called *mundus,* reflecting a conscious cosmic symbolism. With this center, the city was marked out in a circle indicating the *pomerium,* leaving unplowed the places for the gates. The wall was thought to be sacred, for the city was the dwelling place of gods and people. The mythical character of this story is underlined by the fact that, although the city was traditionally called Roma Quadrata, the plowed trench is described as circular.

ROUND ALTARS AND TEMPLES. Vitruvius has a brief discussion of circular temples (*aedae rutundae*) in which he focuses exclusively on architectural matters (*On Architecture* 4.8). Servius claims that round temples were usually dedicated to Vesta, Diana, Hercules, and Mercury (*Commentarii in Aeneidem* 4.8.3). While there appears to be a close association between circular spatial and architectural forms and hero cults, there are no hard and fast rules or associations. In the Greek world of the classical period, round temples were commonly found in connection with the cult of Hestia, where the hearth of the polis was located. The hearth of individual homes as well as the hearths of cities clearly symbolized the sacred center of both.

The Greek term *tholos* generally referred to a round building with a conical roof in the archaic and classical periods, but in the Hellenistic period the same term is used for a variety of complex round architectural forms. In Athens, the term *tholos* was used of the rotunda or *prytaneion*, called the "Skias" in inscriptions, in which the magistrates dined (Plato *Apology* 32c; Andocides 1.45; Demosthenes 19.249; Aristotle *Athenian Constitution* 43.3; Pausanias 1.5.1). The *prytaneion* at Epidauros was also called the Thymela in inscriptions and *tholos* by Pausanias (2.27.2–5), constructed in the 380s BCE. Important *tholoi* of the Hellenistic period include the Rotunda of Arsinoe in Samothrake in the sanctuary of the Great Gods, built in the 280s BCE; the *tholos* near Kepoi on the Black Sea; and the round court with three annexed *tholoi* in Pella. The temple of Vesta (*aedes Vestae*) in Rome was a rotunda where the city hearth was located. It contained no image of the goddess and was part of a complex of buildings called the Atrium Vestae. It was circular and thought to have originated as a structure of wattles with a thatched roof, for example, preserving the tradition of a primitive Italic round hut (Ovid *Fasti* 6.261–266).

The most famous round temple in Rome is the Pantheon, actually the third in a succession of three buildings, the last built after 118 CE by Hadrian. Rather than a temple sensu stricto, the Pantheon in its three reincarnations was a dynastic monument (Hadrian reportedly held court there), a *templum mundi* (i.e., a "temple of the world") with Rome and its emperor at the center of the Roman world. The cosmic symbolism of the enormous dome as representing the celestial home of the gods struck Dio Cassius (59.27.2–4). The *oculus* ("eye") at the top of the dome provides all the illumination for the building, which would have spotlighted different parts of the floor and walls with the movement of the sun.

Two round temples of Hercules were erected in Republican Rome, a temple of Hercules Victor ad Forum Boarium (Livy 10.23.3) and a temple of Hercules Victor ad Portam Trigeminam (Macrobius Sat. 3.6.10). Though Augustus did not erect any significant cultic rotundas in Rome, the arch and exedra shapes were used extensively during his principate. In Augustan temples, apses framed cult statues delimiting a divine realm.

Round shapes were closely associated with the graves, shrines, and temples of heroes in Greco-Roman antiquity, though there is little evidence that either a consistent association with heroes or with cosmic symbolism determined the architectural use of circles, apses, and domes. The grave of Aeptytus was reportedly a mound surrounded by a circular base of stone (*Iliad* 2.592; Pausanias 8.16.3); the oracle of Trophonius was a circular construction of white marble (Pausanias 9.39.9), and Osiris reportedly had a circular tomb (Herodotos 2.170). The Maussolleion, the monumental tomb of Maussollos of Caria (d. 353 BCE) and his wife Artemisia was constructed in the vicinity of Halicarnassus (Strabo 14.656; Diodorus 16.45; Pliny hist. nat. 36, 30–31). The Mausoleum Augusti, the first Augustan building on the Campus Martius was begun in 28 BCE but not completed until several years later. The circular marble base measured more than eighty-five meters in diameter and surrounded a mound about forty-five meters high (Suetonius *Aug.* 100.4; Strabo 5.3.8 [236]). A bronze statue of Augustus was located at the summit. Alexander the Great also had a circular tomb. The Mausoleum Hadriani was constructed with a square base eighty-seven meters on each side and ten meters high. Mounted on this base is a drum sixty-four meters in diameter and perhaps twenty-one meters high. The Mausoleum Hadriani had only the circular shape in common with the Mausoleum Augusti.

The ritual of marching around a sacred place, often carrying ritual objects, whether an altar or shrine, as a preliminary means of setting such a sacred place apart for cultic purposes was widespread throughout the ancient world. One aspect of the protocol of classical Hellenic sacrifice involved the ritual encirclement of the sacred space containing the altar, the worshipers, and the victim before the killing of the victim. Two ritual objects which are frequently mentioned as being carried around the altar are a basin containing lustral water and a basket containing barley corns, a fillet, and a knife (Aristophanes *Peace* 948–962, 971, *Birds* 850, 958; *Lysistrata* 1129–1131). In a festival called Laphria in honor of Artemis, logs of green wood were arranged in a circle around the altar (Pausanias 7.18.11).

ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN MAGIC. The ritual circle, when used by individuals for private and antisocial purposes, becomes a magic circle. The *ouroboros*—the figure of a snake "biting" (*bora*) its "tail" (*oura*), thus forming a circle—is a polyvalent ancient Egyptian symbol representing many things, including the sun, the moon, an earth-surrounding boundary, rejuvenation and rebirth, eternity, or a cartouche for the names of kings with claims to be world rulers. Two *ouroboroi* were incised on the walls of a shrine of Tutankhamen (1357–1349 BCE), one encircling his feet and the other his head. The serpent about the head is named Menen the Enveloper. In a papyrus of the twenty-first dynasty, the deceased woman (named Her-Uben) adores the solar disk surrounded by an *ouroboros* representing eternity. The "Book of Overthrowing Apep," from the Ptolemaic period in Egypt, describes one use of the *ouroboros* figure, which is pierced with a knife and thrown to the ground to destroy the evil beings associated with Apep.

While the *ouroboros* is rarely mentioned in classical and Hellenistic Greek texts, Plato relates a cosmology in which he describes certain rivers as coiling around the earth one or more times in a circle like serpents (*Phaedo* 112e7), which seems to reflect the *ouroboros* mythology. The *ouroboros* is commonly found on magical amulets, typically functioning as a border providing sanctity to that which is depicted within it, sometimes functioning as a symbol for the universe, eternity, or the year. Such an amulet is described in *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*: "And engraved on the stone is: Helios as a lion-faced figure, holding in the left hand a celestial globe and a whip, and around him in a circle is a serpent biting its tail [*ouroboros*]" (Betz, 1992, p. 7). Another magical text gives instructions for an amulet on a lamella or papyrus containing a sequence of magical words, magical characters, and an inscription: "Protect my body and the entire soul of me [insert name]," all written inside an *ouroboros* serpent (Betz, 1992, p. 134). This protective charm placed the bearer in the protective cosmic circle framed by the *ouroboros,* symbolizing protective encirclement. The *ouroboros* continued to be popular through the Middle Ages. A fourteenth-century CE Venetian alchemical manuscript is pictured in *Gnosis: The Nature and History of Gnosticism*, depicting the *ouroboros* encircling an inscription in Greek meaning "the All is One" (Rudolf, 1983, p. 70).

Acts of Thomas 32 (a third-century CE Christian document) refers to the *ouroboros* serpent, for the snake speaking to Thomas claims to be related to "the one who is outside the ocean, whose tail is set in his own mouth." A similar *ouroboros* conception is in the Coptic Gnostic *Pistis Sophia* (126): "The outer darkness is a great serpent whose tail is in its mouth, and it is outside the whole world, and it surrounds the whole world." In Christian Coptic magical texts, mention is made of the drawing of a magic circle around a person to prevent demons from entering. The comparative rarity of these references suggests that the ritual and magical use of the circle played only a minor role in early Christian ritual practices.

Rings were often used as magical objects because of the inherent power of the circular shape. *Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (Betz, 1992) contains instructions for preparing a *defixio* in which the inside and outside of an iron ring (*kirkos*) are traced on papyrus with formulas and symbols to be inscribed within the outline of the ring as well as inside and outside the outline. In another text in the *Greek Magical Papyri* (Betz, 1992, XII, pp. 270–350), there are instructions for making a ring, also called a *kyklos* or "circle," on which an *ouroboros* serpent is engraved on heliotrope stone. This ring is said to be useful for opening doors, breaking chains, and performing exorcisms. Some magical procedures are written, like the script on magical bowls, in a tight spiral from inside to outside with a figure in the middle. Magical formulas can also be written in a circle on various materials, including an olivewood table (Betz, 1992, III, p. 292), the hide of an ass (Betz, 1992, IV, p. 2016), a papyrus sheet (Betz, 1992, IV, p. 2070), and a shell (Betz, 1992, VII, pp. 468–470). The one performing a magical procedure can also stand in the center of a protective circle drawn on the ground with chalk (Betz, 1992, VII, p. 858).

ANCIENT ISRAEL AND EARLY JUDAISM. The verb *chûgh* belongs to the semantic field of "circles and circular motion" and is distinguished from other lexemes in this field by its geometrical meaning "to draw a circular line [with a compass]." The term is used in cosmological contexts for describing two concentrical circular boundaries, the earth disk and the heavenly mountain island. The circle of the horizon is described in *Proverbs* 8:27: "When he established the heavens, I was there, when he drew a circle on the face of the deep." *Isaiah* 40:22 refers to God as "he who sits above the circle of the earth," while *Job* 26:10 says that God "has described a circle upon the face of the waters." The heavens also are circular in *Job* 22:14, which describes God as "walking on the circle of heaven." These important texts attest to the Israelite perception of the circle as a cosmological shape, which can serve as a pattern for ritual imitation. There is meager evidence for Israelite ritual circumambulation of the altar prior to sacrifice in *Psalms* 26:6: "I wash my hands in innocence and go about thy altar, O Lord," where the purpose is to enclose a sacred area so that evil influences cannot penetrate. *Joshua* 6:3–4, a fragment of a liturgical or ceremonial text, contains divine instructions to march around Jericho once each day for six days, culminating in seven encirclements on the seventh day. The Septuagint *Joshua* 6:3 is much shorter than the Masoretic text: "And you arrange the fighting men in a circle [*kyklōi*] around it [the city]." This circumambulation ritual, in which the number seven plays an important role, can be interpreted as a ritual means of laying claim to territory or as a ceremony of ritual cursing.

In *Mishnah Taanith* 3:8, the story is told of how Honi ha-Me'aggel ("the Circle-Drawer"), a first century BCE holy man, prayed for rain. When his prayer was not answered, he drew a circle (Hebrew, *me'aggel),* swearing an oath by God's great name that he would not step outside the circle until God sends rain. When a few drops fell, he complained that this was not enough. When it rained torrentially, he complained that it was too much. It then began to rain moderately. This story is summarized in Josephus (*Ant.* 14:22), who calls him Onias, but with the magical features suppressed. The fact that he is addressed in rabbinic sources as "the circle-drawer" suggests that this epithet reflected a fixed feature of his prayer ritual.

Circular and spherical shapes were combined in the magical bowls made and used by Jews, Mandaeans, Christians, and Manichaeans from the fifth to the seventh centuries CE in Mesopotamia for apotropaic and exorcistic purposes. The *ouroboros* is occasionally found in the center of Aramaic incantation bowls, however, in these cases the circle does not circumscribe a place of protection but is rather a place for trapping a demon, specifically depicted within the *ouroboros,* at the bottom center of the bowl. The adjurations are written in a long, tight spiral beginning from the bottom of the bowl and ending up near the rim. These inscriptions are often framed by two circles, one at the bottom of the bowl (sometimes replaced with the *ouroboros*) and near the rim of the bowl.

NATIVE AMERICAN CULTURES. The Adena culture, an Early Woodland culture of eastern North America, consisting of numerous small communities of ancient North American Indians who occupied the middle Ohio River Valley (c. 800 BCE to c. 200 CE), used circular architecture in the construction of houses of poles and bark and ceremonial circles constructed of earth. There are approximately five hundred extant Adena cites, three hundred in the central Ohio Valley and the rest scattered in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Indiana. Some of the larger Adena sites consist of large earthworks in the shapes of circles and other geometric figures. The Grave Creek Mound (Moundsville, West Virginia), the largest Adena burial mound, is 240 feet in diameter and 62 feet high, with an encircling ditch (40–45 feet wide; 4–5 feet deep). The Dominion site (located in present-day Columbus, Ohio) is the oldest Adena circle (dated some time after 500 BCE). Other Adena circles include the Mount Horeb site in Kentucky and the Anderson site in Indiana. These circular structures have no obvious or certain interpretation, though astronomical and cosmological symbolism is highly likely.

The term *medicine wheel* was first applied to the stone circle, cairn, and spoke configuration called the Big Horn Medicine Wheel ten thousand feet above sea level on Medicine Mountain in Wyoming. Medicine wheels were originally small decorative hoops—3 inches to 4 inches in diameter—made by the Cheyenne or Ojibwa with a web in the middle or two or more spokes bridging the circle and with several bird feathers attached to the lower perimeter. The term *medicine* indicates the ritual significance of both the miniature hoops and by extension the stone circle configurations. The Big Horn Medicine Wheel, which is about eighty-five feet in diameter with a central circular cairn thirteen feet in diameter, has twenty-seven stone spokes corresponding to the twenty-seven days of the lunar month. Following the identification of the Big Horn Medicine Wheel, about seventy-five similar artificially constructed stone surface forms were identified (in the northern Plains from Wyoming to South Dakota and north into Canada), characterized by a variety of stone circle, central cairn, and spoke configurations. These medicine wheels have several common features: they are made of unmodified chunks of stone, and they include a central cairn, two or more stone spokes, and one or more concentric stone rings arranged in a symmetrical form. The medicine wheels were frequently added to, making dating difficult. The earliest medicine wheels were constructed by the Oxbow complex in southeastern Saskatchewan (and extending somewhat into Alberta, Manitoba, Montana, and North Dakota), dating from 2750 to 1050 BCE. These were later embellished by subsequent cultures. Some of the medicine wheels clearly had solar and calendrical functions, and all of them were the sites of special ceremonies.

The Lakota and several other Plains tribes depict the sacred cosmic order represented by Wakan-Tanka ("Great Spirit") with the circle, and they understand the circle as a key symbol representing the whole of the universe and their part in it. The centrally important significance of the circle is emphasized in the following statement by Black Elk, in *Black Elk Speaks:*

> You have noticed that everything an Indian does is in a circle, and that is because the Power of the World always works in circles, and everything tried to be round. In the old days when we were a strong and happy people, all our power came to us from the sacred hoop of the nation, and so long as the hoop was unbroken, the people flourished. The flowering tree was the living center of the hoop, and the circles of the four quarters nourished it. (Neihardt, 1979, p. 194)

The largest representation of the circle among a number of Plains tribes (including the Arapaho, Kiowa, Cheyenne, and Sioux) were their encampments, called "the sacred hoop," just as they speak of the "hoop of the world." Everything within the camp circle was Lakota, while outside were enemies, evil spirits, and eventually the white people. Tribal divisions among the Cheyenne were located at the same place in the circular encampment, and the lodge of medicine arrows and the lodge of the buffalo cap were placed within the circle at predetermined locations. According to Black Elk, Buffalo Calf Woman gave the peace pipe (with its round bowl) and prescribed the camp circle, both of which share comparable degrees of sanctity. The pipe bowl was decorated with seven circles, representing the seven major rituals of the Lakota. The centers of the sweat lodges and of the bowls of the sacred pipes, where fires were made, represented the sun at the center of a circular cosmos. When the world is perceived as disordered, it can only be restored to its proper balance by sacred ritual, which the Lakota refer to as "making roundness."

The Teotihuacan civilization of Mesoamerica (c. 400–800 CE) oriented major urban sites using astronomical observations. Evidence for this survives in the form of "pecked" crosses (so-called because cross petroglyphs are "pecked" using a percussive device producing cuplike depressions in stone or plaster floors of important buildings and in rock outcroppings outside of buildings), indicating astronomical orientations. The form of pecked crosses typically consists of a double circle (sometimes single or triple) centered on a pair of orthogonal axes (Aveni, 1980, p. 227). In Teotihuacan (which was the location for such important buildings as the Pyramid of the Sun and the Pyramid of the Moon), the axes of the crosses align with the grid of that ceremonial city (the peculiar clockwise deviation from true north in the axial plan of Teotihuacan is shared by sites all over Mesoamerica), some apparently functioning as architectural benchmarks. The combination of pecked crosses and circles (reminiscent of calendar wheels) seems to unite spatial and calendrical with religious functions, though no single hypothesis can account for their origin.

See Also Circumambulation.

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CIRCUMAMBULATION is a ritual term meaning literally "to walk a circle around" a holy place, person, or object. Such rituals are related to the widespread significance of the sacred circle, which is the architectural ground plan and ideational scheme of such monuments as the stupa, such cities as Banaras and Jerusalem, and such ritual constructions as the medicine lodges and Sun Dance lodges of the North American Plains Indians. Thus, this topic is related to that of the sacred circle or the *maṇḍala* and is its ritual extension. One walks around what is set apart, circumscribed as charged or sacred; one might even say that circumambulation sets something apart by circumscribing it with one's own body. It is also to be noted that circumambulation, as a rite of both centering and bonding, is related in some ways to the many types of circle dancing such as the Ghost Dance of the Plains Indians, the maypole dances of the British Isles, and the circular dances and marches of the Shakers; such dance forms, however, will not be discussed here.

Circumambulation is a fundamental rite of orientation, and is often thought of as a human repetition of the apparent movement of the sun. The Lakota would walk "sunwise" around a fire or a ritual arena. The sense of this direction as the natural order also appears in Hindu ritual texts such as the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the Gṛhyasūtras, which speak of the sunwise movement of ritual performance in rites meant to secure the blessings of the gods. This sunwise circling is known as *pradakṣiṇa*, "going to the right." *Pradakṣiṇa* around the sacred fire or the teacher, and later around the temple, became an act of centering and honoring in the Hindu tradition.

In Native American and Hindu traditions, as in many others, reversing the direction of circling was considered a reversal of the natural order and was associated with catastrophe or death. This circling to the left, contrary to the apparent course of the sun, was called *prasavya* in the Hindu tradition and was associated with the left hand and with rites for the dead, for the ancestors, and for the *nāga*s, or serpents. Anticipating or recovering from disasters, the Lakota circle counterclockwise after the fashion of the "thunder beings," whose movement, unlike that of the sun, is antinatural. In sixteenth-century England this turning in an unnatural direction came to be called *widdershins* and was associated with danger, magic, and witches.

In the Hindu tradition today, *pradakṣiṇa* is simultaneously an act of taking a place, deity, or person as one's center and of honoring that center, keeping it ever on the side of the auspicious right hand. The most concise *pradakṣiṇa* honoring the sacred place on which one stands, is simply to turn all the way around in place, as pilgrims do at the very southern tip of India at Kanyā Kumārī. The most extensive is the *pradakṣiṇa* of the entire subcontinent of India, from the north at Badrināth, to the east at Purī, to the south at Rāmeśvaram, to the west at Dvārakā (Dwarka), and back to the north again. One of India's great rivers, the Narmadā of central India, has a traditional circumambulation in which pilgrims, beginning wherever they wish, walk its entire length of 801 miles from Amarakanṭaka to the Bay of Cambay and back again. Mountains too are circumambulated, as in the well-known routes around Kailāsa in the Himalayan north, Arunācala in the Tamil country of the south, and Kamadgiri and Govardhan in the northern sanctums of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, respectively. Many of India's sacred cities also have *pradakṣiṇa* routes, the best known being the Pañcakrośī *pradakṣiṇa* of the city of Banaras (modern-day Varanasi). This sacred circuit of the city takes pilgrims five days to perform, passing 108 shrines along the way and circumscribing with their footsteps the perimeter of the sacred zone of the city where simply to die is to attain *mokṣa* ("liberation").

More common, however, is simply the *pradakṣiṇa* of the sanctum sanctorum, the *garbhagṛha*, in a Hindu temple. Depending upon the size of the temple, the pilgrim will circumambulate either the entire complex or merely the inner courts before approaching the deity for *darśana*. There may be several circumambulatories, which usually will include their own circuit of ancillary shrines. In some popular temples, especially in the North, this is a very "close" circumambulation, with the devout running their hands along the temple walls, frequently stopping to touch the place at the back of the temple nearest the image of the divine inside. In the South, however, especially in Kerala and Karnātaka, there are often circumambulatory markers, outside of which the honorific circuit must be made, at a respectful distance of several feet from the temple itself.

The circumambulation of a center also formed a strong part of the early Buddhist tradition of worship, especially the circling of the stupa with its hemispherical dome, originally said to house a relic of the Buddha. The dome of the stupa, called the *aṇḍa* ("egg"), was said to have cosmic significance as the dome of heaven: the smaller superstructure on top was Mount Meru, and the surmounting umbrellas signaled the Buddha's world-kingship. The entire stupa was surrounded by a fence, with gates in the four principal directions. Between the fence and the *aṇḍa* was a *pradakṣiṇapatha*, a circumambulatory path. Very often, as in the case of the stupa of Amaravati in the Andhra area of India, there was an upper circumambulatory of the *aṇḍa* itself, with its own enclosing rail. The famous stupa of Borobudur in Java was built in nine levels, with a circumambulatory around each of the lower six levels that took the pilgrim not only around the stupa but also past bas-reliefs depicting the earthly life, the previous lives, and the instructive deeds of the Buddha.

The circling of the stupa, called the *chedi* in modern Thailand, continues as a common part of festival rituals. In the evening during the Thai celebration of Viśākha Pūjā (the day of the Buddha's birth, enlightenment, and death) monks and laity circle the *chedi* three times, holding lighted candles. Other festival days are marked with a similar threefold circumambulation.

The divine also circumambulates, reaffirming the sacred claim upon the territory circumscribed by the route. In Sri Lanka, for example, the annual procession of the relic from the Temple of the Tooth takes a circumambulatory route through the city of Kandy. In South India, such annual circuits of the gods are common. During the Chittarai festival in Madurai, for example, when the goddess Mīnākṣī moves in her giant chariot through the concentric rectangular circumambulatory streets of the city, she reclaims the four directions as her own.

In the ancient Hebrew tradition, the story of Joshua's siege of Jericho displays the power of the Lord in encircling the city. For six days Joshua's army, led by the ark of the covenant and seven priests with seven trumpets of rams' horns, made one circuit a day around the city; on the seventh day they made seven circuits and the city wall fell (*Jos.* 6). In the later tradition, circumambulatory circuits (*haqqafot*) are performed both to mark holy ground and, it would seem, to remember the power of the Lord that was with the children of Israel in the siege of Jericho.

The most festive *haqqafot* take place during the Feast of Booths, Sukkot, when those present make seven ceremonial circuits carrying the festal bouquet of willow branches and lemons around the altar in the synagogue. In the time of Philo Judaeus the procession, like that of Joshua, took place once a day for six days and seven times on the seventh. At Simḥat Torah, *haqqafot* are performed with the scrolls of the Torah being carried around the synagogue.

Christian worship has tended to focus the attention of the worshiper directionally toward the east or vertically toward the vaulting heavens, rather than inward toward an encompassed center. Even so, Christian architecture displays a tension between the center, which can be circumambulated, and the "transcendent" or the "east," which cannot. In the Middle Ages, churches were built with ambulatories to facilitate the movement of pilgrims through the church and around the altar, beneath which or near which a relic was enshrined. Circumambulation is an important part of pilgrimages, such as that of Saint Patrick's Purgatory on an islet in Lough Derg in Ireland, where pilgrims walk around the basilica four times, saying seven decades of the rosary beads. In the Christian tradition, as in others as well, circumambulation is often part of rites of consecration. For instance, when the new basilica of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico City was consecrated in 1976, the consecrating procession circled the building sprinking it with sanctified water, anointing it with holy oil, and fumigating it with incense.

The Muslim *ḥājj* has the circumambulation *(ṭawāf)* of the Kaʿbah as one of its central rites. The original meaning of *ḥājj* is "to describe a circle," and this circling of the Kaʿbah is a pre-Islamic rite, said to have been done naked, a practice that was prohibited by the Prophet. Here the circles are made with the left side, said to be the side of the heart facing toward the sacred Kaʿbah. The *ṭawāf* consists of seven circuits of the Kaʿbah. The full pilgrimage contains three *ṭawāfs:* the initial *ṭawāf* on arrival, which is part of the ordinary *ʾumrah*, or lesser pilgrimages; a *ṭawāf* on return from the journey to Arafat; and a farewell *ṭawāf* before leaving.

The *ṭawāf* is interpreted in a spiritual way by theologians such as al-Ghazālī, who describes *ṭawāf* as a form of prayer. *Ṭawāf* is not merely the circling of the body around the Kaʿbah but the circling of the heart around God. In doing *ṭawāf,* the faithful are like the angels circling the throne of God. Some Sūfīs were believed to have reached such a high peak that the Kaʿbah came to circumambulate them, and not they the Kaʿbah.

In many traditions, circumambulation is associated not only with places of holiness or of worship, but also with life-cycle rites. Marriage rites often involve circling, since a wedding is preeminently a rite of bonding and union. In some traditional Jewish communities, the bride makes either three or seven *haqqafot* around the groom at the wedding. The circling establishes a common world for the couple. Roman weddings, for instance, called for the circling of the bride and groom around the family altar. In the Agni Pradakṣiṇa rite of the Hindu marriage, the bride follows the groom three times around the sacred fire, her sari tied to his dhoti. The rite immediately precedes the "seven steps," the legal culmination of the marriage ceremony. Interestingly, this rite repeats the groom's three circuits around the sacred fire during his initiation rite, the Upanayana, just before he received the sacred Sāvitrī mantra from the *gurū* and thus established the primary bond of his years of education.

In addition to being a rite of honoring, centering, and bonding, circumambulation also can set apart what is circumscribed. This is especially the case for the "dangerous holy," that is, the dead. Both the dead and places associated with the dead are circumambulated, sometimes counterclockwise, as a protective or apotropaic rite to keep the spheres of the living and dead apart.

In the Sephardic and Hasidic traditions of Judaism, seven *haqqafot* are made around a cemetery prior to burial. It has also been the custom in Ireland, Holland, Germany, and elsewhere in northern Europe to carry the casket in procession three times, sunwise, around the cemetery before burial. According to the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, five hundred of the Buddha's disciples circled his body before his cremation pyre was lit. The Hindu cremation rite today begins as the chief mourner, usually the eldest son, circles the pyre four times counterclockwise, carrying the flaming bundle of sacred *kuśa* grass and touching the body symbolically with each round, finally lighting the pyre at the head. In Buddhist Thailand as well the body is circumambulated three times before the cremation. In the case of a king or member of the royal family, a special palace-mountain pavilion called the *phra meru* is built for the cremation. On arrival, the body is borne around the *phra meru* three times, *uttaravatta*, in a "left-hand direction," before being placed upon the elaborate pyre. While the threefold circumambulation in the Buddhist tradition ordinarily marks reverence for the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Samgha, here it is said to remind the living of the three wearisome worlds of *saṃsāra*—that of earth, of heaven, and of hell.

SEE ALSO Circle; Maṇḍalas; Pilgrimage, article on Muslim Pilgrimage.

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CIRCUMCISION is the surgical removal of the foreskin from the penis; sometimes it also refers to less common practices of uncovering the glands of the penis by removing some of the foreskin and leaving the remainder as a flap, as practiced by the Maasai and Ki-kuyu of East Africa, or cutting the foreskin away but retaining it as two flaps, as practiced by the Tikopia of Polynesia. Early social theorists speculated about circumcision's origins, suggesting that it may have (1) marked captives, thereby signifying subjection, (2) attracted the opposite sex, (3) been a tribal or ethnic mark, (4) been hygienic, (5) increased sexual pleasure, (6) removed men from maternal bonds, (7) tested bravery, (8) sacrificed part of the self to ensure future rebirth, (9) been a form of symbolic castration to support the domination of youths by their elders, or (10) even simulated menstruation. None of these theories is accepted today, though various combinations of them may be cited by those groups who circumcise.

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION. Circumcision is commonly associated with Semitic religions (Islam, Judaism, and Coptic Christianity), but, in fact, it predates all of these. It was practiced among ancient Egyptians, although not universally. It is widespread among peoples in Africa, western Asia, and the Pacific, including Australia. Early travelers' records and encyclopedias report circumcision among some New World peoples, but these accounts seem dubious, and, at most, the practice there appears to have been rare. Circumcision was not common in Europe or North America (except among Jews) until the 1870s and became widespread only at the turn of the century. Today about 85 percent of newborn American males undergo the operation, but it is far less common elsewhere in the English-speaking world and in Europe. It is our only form of prophylactic surgery, and currently members of the medical profession are in disagreement as to whether it is scientifically justifiable. Some cite its prevalence in America as an indication of a misconceived preoccupation with medicine and hygiene.

SEMITIC CIRCUMCISION. Muslims, Jews, and Coptic Christians usually circumcise during infancy. Ideally Jews circumcise on the eighth day of life. Among Orthodox Jews circumcision is performed by a professional circumciser (*mohel*) rather than a physician, and blood must be drawn from the wound either by mouth or, today, through a suction pump. In America, Jews have figured significantly in developing surgical devices that facilitate the operation. Circumcision is not strictly necessary to make one a Jew: since 1892, for example, Reform Jews have not required it of converts. Before the Hellenistic period circumcision among Jews took a less radical form than it does today. Because some Jews would "blister" the portion of their foreskin that remained in order to appear uncircumcised to the Greeks and Romans, the rabbinate advocated a fuller circumcision. Some hellenized Jews sought to appear uncircumcised because the Greeks and Romans viewed the practice with revulsion and periodically enacted laws to make the custom difficult for Jews and Egyptians under their rule.

Muslim circumcision usually occurs on what is termed the seventh day (in fact it is the eighth day, since the day of birth is not counted). In practice, the time varies widely. Some Muslims perform circumcision within the first five or six years; others delay it until as late as adolescence. While circumcision is not discussed in the Qurʾān, Muslims agree that it must occur before marriage and is required of male converts. In many cases, it is accompanied by lavish feasts and celebrations. A few Arabs combine circumcision with radical flaying and scarification of the lower abdomen.

Coptic Christians (including Ethiopians) circumcise in imitation of Old Testament Jews, but the time at which circumcision is performed varies from the first week of life to the first few years.

CIRCUMCISION AND ETHNICITY. Besides signifying membership in a religion, circumcision may indicate ethnicity or merely a human condition properly marked by the creativity of culture. Thus the Yoruba and Igbo of Nigeria usually circumcise during infancy; for them the operation signifies no religious or moral commitments nor does it distinguish them from their neighbors, who also circumcise. Even in respect to a single society generalizations about circumcision may be formulated with difficulty, as examples from Africa will illustrate. The western Dinka of the Sudan circumcise while the eastern Dinka do not. Their neighbors, the Nuer, do not ordinarily circumcise, but on rare occasions they may, in order to purify someone who has committed incest. Among the Azande of the Sudan and Zaire circumcision was introduced by neighboring peoples, with the result that within even the same village or extended kin group some will be circumcised while others will not. Among the Amba of Uganda circumcision was unknown until an unexplained interest in the custom, learned from neighbors to the west, led to sporadic waves of circumcision among youths and even adults. Among the Sotho of southern Africa circumcision was once universal, but under government and mission influence many have abandoned the practice while others continue to observe it. Among some migratory pygmies in Zaire circumcision has been interpreted as a mark of cultural subjugation to their sedentary African overlords. Even where circumcision is a traditional practice and remains prevalent it now often takes place in hospitals, despite protests from elders, who advocate the old ways.

CIRCUMCISION AND RITES OF SEXUAL INITIATION. Where circumcision is associated with a world religion, it rarely marks sexual maturity. Such an association is common, however, among preliterates, although even among these many peoples circumcise infants or children rather than adolescents. Early circumcision may be a mark of ethnicity, or it may be considered hygienic or aesthetically attractive, but it does not provide a means by which trauma may be harnessed to the inculcation of moral and metaphysical values, as occurs in many rituals of initiation. Nor can infantile circumcision serve as a test of bravery. These aspects of circumcision, however, are of special interest to the anthropologist of religion.

Among the societies that practice circumcision as a rite of passage to adulthood, those of central Australia and East Africa provide the most complex and dramatic examples.

In central Australia circumcision is the primary operation in defining male adulthood, although it is often accompanied by tooth evulsion, bodily scarification, and, a year or two later, subincision. Much pressure is exerted on the initiate to show no fear or pain. Among those Australian Aborigines who practice circumcision (and not all do), the operation marks the beginning of a youth's indoctrination into the men's secret ceremonial life, the preservation of which is believed to be vital for maintaining social and natural harmony. At this time novices witness complex ceremonies in which the mythical origins of the world are enacted and, thereby, the order of the world is reasserted. The initial rites convey only basic features of this information; only after a man has witnessed many such ceremonies over the years, first as a spectator-novice, then as an actor-participant, and finally as an organizer, does he become truly knowledgeable. Circumcision, therefore, is not only the occasion when a youth passes into the circle of informed adults, but it also provides repeated opportunities for him to continue to acquire deeper knowledge of traditions.

Australian circumcision furthers male solidarity by forever separating youths from their mothers. The initiates receive ritual objects that are forbidden to the sight of women. Admitted to frequent and complex secret male ritual activities, they begin to spend longer periods away from camp at ceremonies that exclude women. It is only after these rituals that a youth is likely to have heterosexual relations and marry. Male solidarity sometimes involves a homosexual experience, since a circumciser may be obliged to have sexual relations with a newly recovered novice to whom he will later give a wife.

Aborigines associate circumcision with marriage not simply to prepare a man to take a wife but to reinforce the bonds the man enjoys with the men of his wife's family. Thus a man's potential father-in-law and brothers-in-law, his own father, and his uncles (his father's affinal ties and members of the group that helped to circumcise his father) often figure in his circumcision. Male solidarity and hierarchy are closely associated with the bestowal of and submission to pain, a prevalent theme in Aboriginal belief and ritual. This in turn relates to the fact that periodically in a society circumcision and subincision involve the shedding of male "genital blood," a blessing with deep mystical value for the reestablishment of social and moral order through altruistic, sacrificial suffering.

Circumcision is widespread in East Africa. Among sedentary speakers of Bantu language it is usually performed annually on groups of youths approaching adolescence. These groups are segregated in the bush (the sphere of disorder) apart from villages and women. Novices are stripped, shaved, bathed, and sometimes marked with ashes or white earth, all to denude them of their previous status and to place them in a liminal state, neither minor nor adult. The actual operation is often performed by an expert who is outside or peripheral to the group. Bravery under pain is usually required. The shedding of blood is viewed as polluting, a "hot" procedure that temporarily creates disorder so as to achieve a greater eventual order. Rituals and medicines are therefore applied to "cool" the wound and allow it to heal.

During their weeks of recovery, novices are hazed by older circumcised youths or by elders. They fast and observe numerous prohibitions, as may also their kin, in order to ensure recovery. In their isolated quarters, the novices—vulnerable and impressionable because of the wounds, fasting, and exposure that they have suffered—are subjected to intensive instructions about sexual behavior, moral attitudes, and proper conduct. Toward the end of their confinement, the novices may don strange garb and tour nearby villages representing their status of being nameless, nonsocial creatures. Upon recovery, they return to their homes and enjoy the company of women at dances and feasts that celebrate their new adulthood. Circumcision marks their ritual death as minors and their rebirth as responsible adults.

In other East African societies, especially Para-Nilotes such as the Maasai, rites of circumcision are not held every year. Instead, they are held for several successive years until a sufficient group is recruited; then the rites are not practiced for some time. Through circumcision men enter named tribal age groups whose members provide mutual aid and hospitality and, when young, form fighting units.

In East Africa and Australia circumcision is understood to remove the vestiges of polluting femininity (the foreskin) from a youth, converting him into an adult male. It provides a powerful measure of commitment to group values in the face of considerable suffering, and it represents a permanent moral and physical transformation. Women are afforded no comparable process, and (despite any physical operation) they remain minors subordinate to men, according to the norms that govern social organization. Where such initiation occurs we find the belief that society improves upon nature by transforming the male body into a more proper vehicle for a moral person to inhabit. The social person and the natural body are brought into closer conjunction. The endurance of pain and the observance of ritual restrictions express both a willingness and a capacity to subject personal appetites and feelings to collective ends. At the same time the powers that shape the cultural process assume a physical reality in the experience of bodily suffering.

SEE ALSO Castration; Clitoridectomy.

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CIRCUMPOLAR RELIGIONS SEE ARCTIC RELIGIONS

CISTERCIANS.

CISTERCIANS. The Cistercians are an order of monks and nuns that arose in the twelfth century to foster the integral observance of the rule of Benedict of Nursia (d. 525). The order takes its name from the first community to adopt the reform, the Abbey of Cïteaux in Burgundy, France. Benedict's *Rule for Monasteries*, written around the year 500, became virtually the exclusive rule for monasteries in western Europe after the time of Charlemagne (d. 814). With the foundation of Cluny in 909, a reform to bring about a more observant monastic practice was effectively forwarded by a succession of great, holy, and long-lived abbots; however, this was achieved at the cost of local autonomy and the balance of liturgy, sacred reading, personal prayer, and manual work that is so characteristic of Benedict's *Rule.* At Cluny and many of its dependent monasteries, the liturgy was celebrated with great splendor and duration, while manual labor became for the monks a nominal exercise.

In the time of the Gregorian reform, many monastic founders arose who drew their inspiration from the Gospels, monastic traditions, and in some cases Benedict's *Rule.* They laid great stress on poverty, solitude, and simplicity of lifestyle. Most notable among these monks was Robert of Molesme (d. 1110), who, after entering the order at Moutier-la-Celle, near Troyes, attempted reforms in various monasteries and finally succeeded in gathering the hermits of Collan into a notable Benedictine community at Molesmes. The community's fervor brought fame and fortune, and then a more relaxed observance of the rule. Again Robert, with the permission of the legate, Hugh of Die, set out to seek the fullness of the Benedictine way of life, establishing the New Monastery at Cîteaux in 1098. He was accompanied by the prior and subprior from Molesmes, and nineteen others.

Within two years Robert was required by papal authority to return to Molesmes, but the reform was carried forward by Alberic, his prior (d. 1109), and then by Stephen Harding (d. 1135), who had been his subprior. Under the latter, an expansion began that accelerated rapidly with the arrival of Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153).

To Stephen is largely attributed the *Charter of Charity,* which bound together Cîteaux and the many monasteries that would spring from it directly or indirectly, forming them into an order. The federated nature of this order respected the autonomy of the local community, while ensuring ongoing regularity of observance by an annual gathering of the college of abbots in a chapter and by a system of annual visitation of all the monasteries. As early as the 1130s these successful elements of the Cistercian reform began to find their way into other Benedictine federations; later, in various forms, chapters and visitation became part of the structure of almost every religious order.

While the concern of the Cistercian reformers to live to the full Benedict's rule too often descended to bickering over observances (see *A Dialogue between a Cluniac and a Cistercian*), its true aim as powerfully expressed by the leading Cistercian fathers—Bernard of Clairvaux, William of Saint-Thierry (d. 1148), Guerric of Igny (d. 1157), and Ælred of

Rievaulx (d. 1169)—was to attain to the experience of God through mystical love, the goal pointed to by Benedict in the prologue and epilogue to his *Rule* and in its central chapter, the seventh, "On Humility."

The Cistercian order experienced very rapid expansion with the founding or affiliation of over three hundred monasteries in all parts of western Europe prior to the death of Bernard of Clairvaux. This expansion continued through the following centuries until there were over seven hundred Cistercian abbeys of monks, as well as innumerable convents of nuns following their observance. The order was slow to incorporate communities of women; only in the wake of the Second Vatican Council have the abbesses emerged as fully equal members of the college of superiors.

In order that monks might have the opportunity to live the Benedictine rule to the full and strive after a truly contemplative life, the lay-brother vocation was promoted; this system provided larger workforces to build the monasteries and care for the order's ever-growing landholdings. The tensions that inevitably arose between the increasingly clericalized choir monks and the hardworking brothers could even erupt at times into violence.

Through the influence of the schools, scholastic scholarship began to replace a contemplative patristic theology. With the great geographical expansion of the order, the reform structure began to break down, and observance declined. The unlettered who had been attracted to the Cistercian lay brotherhood began, in the thirteenth century, to turn to the new fervent mendicant orders. The Cistercians began to fragment into national or regional congregations. The Protestant Reformation wiped out monastic life in many countries. An attempted reform within the order in the seventeenth century led to a "war of observances" and the emergence of the Strict Observance, prior to further losses through the French Revolution and other secularizing movements. The policies of Emperor Franz Josef forced the monks in the Austrian Empire to take up tasks left off by the Jesuits when they were temporarily suppressed.

The Cistercians experienced a renewal in France in the nineteenth century that spilled over to the rest of the world in the next century. In 1892 Leo XIII sought to reunite all the Cistercians, but the pope's efforts resulted instead in the formation of two Cistercian orders, one now known as the Cistercians of the Strict Observance (Trappist), which includes both monks and nuns, and another composed of twelve congregations of monks and over eighty convents of nuns. A number of these congregations suffered extensively at the hands of the Communists in Eastern Europe and Vietnam and found refuge in other countries.

The Strict Observance was brought to new prominence by the writings of one of its members, Thomas Merton (Father Louis of Gethsemani Abbey, Trappist, Kentucky). As the largest order of contemplative men in the church today, it has played an increasingly significant role in the contemporary spiritual renewal of the Roman Catholic Church.

SEE ALSO Benedict of Nursia.

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CITIES. In order to obtain the deepest historical understanding of urban religiosity, one may begin with the Neolithic site of Çatal Hüyük, located on Turkey's Anatolian Plateau. The main mound represents the continuous habitation of a coherent cultural group between about 7000 and 5700 BCE, making this one of the oldest known cities in the world. The earliest excavations exposed residential abodes adjoining structures identified as shrines in a section of the city described by James Mellaart, the principal excavator (1967), as a sacred or priestly quarter. The remarkably preserved shrine rooms reveal a dominant female image, molded on the walls in plaster with arms upraised and legs extended, sometimes portrayed as pregnant and sometimes portrayed with an animal's head emerging from her womb. Other images of animal heads in plaster adorn the walls of the shrines, and short pillars with mounted bulls' horns adorn the edges of raised platforms. Multiple plaster representations of breasts molded around animal skulls, or with animal skulls protruding from them, hang on the walls of some shrines, while stone statuary of a female image associated with leopards coincides with painted plaster images of leopards in other rooms. Detailed paintings in a single shrine portray giant vultures swooping down on decapitated human figures. Burials under the raised platforms of shrines and residences indicate initial exposure of the dead and elimination of flesh through the action of birds, before the final interment of bones, sometimes with red ochre or grave goods.

A different vision of early urban religiosity comes from the ancient site of Jericho, well known from a number of biblical passages and excavated repeatedly since the nineteenth century. Excavations in the 1950s found what may be the oldest monumental architecture in the world: a circular watchtower 28 feet in diameter and surviving to a height of 24.5 feet behind fortification walls. A population of perhaps 3,000 people lived here in the early eighth millennium BCE. Settlers at this site in the following millennium were using small female figurines with hands supporting their breasts, often interpreted as fertility goddesses. They also were burying their dead beneath the floors of houses, but removing their skulls in order to plaster and paint them in a lifelike manner, insert shells in their eye sockets, and exhibit them (Kenyon, 1970, pp. 39–57, 331).

These first cases of population concentration, civic architecture, and occupational specialization introduce several recurring themes in the discussion of religion and its relationship to cities. The first theme concerns the style of religiosity connected with urbanization: death and the invocation of fertility seem to constitute fundamental problems at the origins of town life. The second theme concerns the disposition of sacred and public space, represented in the case of Çatal Hüyük by the presence of buildings apparently dedicated to the performance of rituals. One may ask whether the multiplicity of sites indicates many publics oriented around specific kinship groups or priestly lineages, or whether this multiplicity connotes a concept of the sacred and ritual practice uniting all members of the settlement within an overarching community of citizens. The two examples of burial practices mentioned above suggest ritual practice occurring within more restricted social environments based on kinship or participation within specific rituals.

CITY-GODS AND RULERS: MESOPOTAMIA. The first detailed portrait of urbanization on a regional scale becomes possible during the fourth millennium BCE in Mesopotamia—old Sumer and Akkad, the territories that would become Babylonia. Archaeological work has traced here the transition from village farming communities to cities, and the study of the earliest cuneiform writing from the end of the millennium has allowed a deeper look at belief systems and social organization. Thorkild Jacobsen (1976) describes Sumerian religiosity as being based on an understanding of the entire universe in terms of its "numinous" qualities. The different features of the natural world follow patterns of change and growth that corresponded to the many attributes of sacred power, resulting in thousands of names for spiritual entities linked to natural and artificial phenomena. The attempts to understand these entities through their signs and to manipulate the rules for their manifestation form the background for massive numbers of cuneiform records concerned with divination and correct behavior. The attempts include astronomical observation and various performances in which groups of people invoked or placated sacred forces, including the calendar-based agrarian festivals celebrating the death and rebirth of anthropomorphic images of fertility. Tendencies toward representation of the sacred in human form seem to have become more prominent when larger populations concentrated in central places. As the Mesopotamian plain became dotted with cities, along with places dedicated to subsidiary sacred forces conceived as divine persons, each settlement created the "house" of a god associated with the life of the entire community.

The center of the divine presence was the temple, a quadrilateral roofed structure with an image of a deity, which most sources describe as an anthropomorphic statue made of wood and ornamented with precious substances. When a statue was installed with the correct rituals, the god entered into it and became one with it. As a living presence, the statue/deity enjoyed a daily round of services, including baths, offerings of food and drink, music, incense, and the worship of devotees. The temple household included kitchens for food preparation and habitation quarters for functionaries who prepared offerings, performed worship, and maintained the temple infrastructure. In order to support offerings and the personnel of the gods, temples came to control economic resources in the form of land or investments in commercial undertakings. The earliest written sources from the late fourth and early third millennia mostly describe economic transactions involving temples. This characteristic of the source material has supported the theory that the administration of the earliest cities was theocratic, with temples performing the management and distribution functions that allowed expansion of agriculture and trade (Wiggermann, 1995, pp. 1861–1862).

The perennial scholarly problem is tracing the interactions between the theocratic model of early urbanization and a model based on kingship. The earliest rulers of Sumerian city-states were "lords" *(en)* selected from a restricted body of citizens after rites of divination. The installation of the ruler occurred through a sacred marriage with the deity, at times represented by a priest or priestess of the city god's temple. The preponderance of temple economic transactions, the absence of buildings clearly identifiable as "palaces," and the primarily honorific actions of the lords suggest that their ability to wield independent power initially remained limited. Armed conflict among Sumer's cities in the early third millennium, a time when "city-states" emerged, indicates that war leaders were becoming more important in determining the outcomes of economic or territorial struggles. In the city of Lagash, for example, administrative texts dating between 2500 and 2350 BCE suggest that the king controlled the city's economy through the domains of the city's main temples. The person regarded as the fulfiller of this tendency was Sargon of Akkad (Agade), who in the late twenty-fourth century BCE brought all Mesopotamian city-states under his authority, reputedly campaigning as far as the Mediterranean Sea. Sargon claimed to be an appointee of the supreme god Enlil, and arranged for his daughter's appointment as priestess of the moon-god Sin in the city of Ur, thus posing as a traditionalist who preserved the archaic hegemony of independent cities. His grandson, Naram-Sin, initiated major renovations at Enlil's temple in Nippur, but also appointed governors over cities and appeared as a divine being in his own right (Franke, 1995). Even after the eclipse of Naram-Sin's empire, kings of Sumerian city-states represented themselves with divine attributes, while still claiming that their power derived from the favor of their city's leading deity. The many deities of Mesopotamian sites came to constitute a pantheon governed by the king-like Enlil, who ruled from the temple city of Nippur in conjunction with an assembly of the gods and through Enki, the master of intelligence, whose hometown was Eridu.

By the eighteenth century BCE, when Sumeria came under the hegemony of emperors based in Babylon or Assyria, a radical transformation of urban sacrality had taken place. A ranked hierarchy of personified deities now stood behind the phenomena of nature, dictating the fate of the world within a complex array of laws that required obedience and observation of ritual injunctions (Bottéro, 1992, pp. 208–231). Adjacent to now-expanded temples at the centers of major cities stood massive stepped pyramids or ziggurats, which probably included shrines on their summits accessible by long flights of stairs. Religious institutions, especially in northern Mesopotamia, appeared less like the organic outgrowths of the urban fabric and more like massive interventions of wealth and power located on heights above the population, culminating in massive urban planning projects of the "neo-Babylonian" kings in the seventh and sixth centuries (Van De Mieroop, 1997, pp. 84–86). The Babyonians placed Marduk at the head of the pantheon and the Assyrians placed Assur on top, each representing his capital city as in the older dispensation, but now portrayed as lords of the universe supported by emperors as their divinely appointed representatives on earth, demanding conformity from those below them. Thus, urban religion came to legitimize empire, and the city became a cosmogram constructed by and for political leaderships. Paradoxically, as the imperial motif was coming to dominate the city's sacred center during a period of expanding social and economic complexity, we notice the creation of architecture of privatized worship (Crawford, 1991, pp. 71–73, 101), an increasing attention to the human individual, and a concern with a personal god.

CEREMONIAL CENTERS: CHINA AND THE AMERICAS. Perhaps the most influential body of scholarship concerned with religion and the city has engaged in a comparative study of the cosmographic qualities of the ceremonial center, as originally exemplified in Mesopotamia. Paul Wheatley's classic study of the Chinese Shang and Zhou cities (second–first millennia BCE) propounded the study of the ceremonial center as a program for understanding "traditional" urbanization in Asia and, by extension, throughout the world:

> Whenever, in any of the seven regions of primary urban generation . . . , we trace back the characteristic urban form to its beginnings we arrive not at a settlement that is dominated by commercial relations, a primordial market, or at one that is focused on a citadel, an archetypal fortress, but rather at a ceremonial complex. . . . Beginning as little more than tribal shrines, in what may be regarded as their classic phases these centers were elaborated into complexes of public ceremonial structures, usually massive and often extensive, and including assemblages of such architectural items as pyramids, platform mounds, temples, palaces, terraces, staircases, courts, and stelae. Operationally they were instruments for the creation of political, social, economic, and sacred space, at the same time as they were symbols of cosmic, social, and moral order. (1971, p. 225)

Wheatley's particular interest concerned the change of the Zhou city center from a ceremonial enclave—a walled enclosure for an altar of the god of the soil and a temple of ancestors—toward a multifaceted administrative, military, and economic hub for a "spatially integrated hinterland" (pp. 175–178, 186–187). For this project he built on the centuries-old doctrines of geomancy *(feng-shui),* scholarship linking Chinese city planning to "cosmo-magical" elements already visible in Shang or Zhou divination records, and the orientation of excavated cities toward the cardinal directions. The project, however, had the more ambitious goal of linking Chinese materials to comparative theories of "astrobiology" that aligned earthly prosperity to a cosmic order, manifest in the stars, through orientation of the built environment around a universal axis. Wheatley was interested in constructing an urban progression from village farming community through dispersed ceremonial center to compact city, considering the "ideal-type ceremonial center . . . as a functional and developmental stage in the evolution of city life" (p. 329). The goal of this effort, shared by many in the social sciences of the twentieth century, was an understanding of these "foci of orthogenesis" as characteristic of the premodern, distinct from the "uniqueness of the present-day city" (pp. 478–482).

The framework of the ceremonial center has proven particularly durable in the study of precontact Mesoamerica, where urbanization originated in the early first millennium

BCE in Mexico's Olmec culture and achieved its "classic" form between the second and tenth centuries CE in central Mexico and the Maya world. The heart of the early Mesoamerican city consisted of shrines on raised platforms dedicated to the worship of deities and often associated with burials accompanied by grave goods. The most spectacular city was Teotihuacan in central Mexico, which emerged as a significant site around 100 CE and reached its peak around 500 CE, when its population was between 125,000 and 200,000. A primary road (called by the later Aztecs the Street of the Dead) bisected Teotihuacan beginning in the north at the giant Temple of the Moon, passing by the giant Temple of the Sun, and ending after 1.5 miles at the Great Enclosure and the Citadel housing the Temple of Quetzalcoatl. There were more than one hundred religious structures along the Street of the Dead alone. In addition, the city included over two thousand "apartment compounds" associated with their own platforms, suggesting that every residential unit of sixty to a hundred persons had its own shrine or temple (Marcus, 2000, p. 67; Cowgill, 2003, pp. 41–44).

The hypercentralization of Teotihuacan stands in contrast to settlements in eastern Mexico, Belize, Guatemala, and Honduras, where dozens of states arose, each focused on its own ceremonial complex. One example is Tikal, one of the superpowers of the classic Maya world, where more than 4,000 structures dispersed over an area of 6.2 square miles housed a population of between 50,000 and 90,000 inhabitants in the sixth century CE. The central area known as the Great Plaza, about 100 meters square, included high pyramids with surmounting temples on the west and east sides, and an array of lower pyramids on the north side. The south side of the plaza included an extensive palace complex or "acropolis" and, between the palace and the eastern pyramid, a ball court. Four main causeways linked the plaza to seven more large complexes within a 1.2-mile radius (Escobédo and Valdés, 1998; Grube, 2000, pp. 219–221).

Intensive research on landscapes and the decipherment of Maya hieroglyphic script in the late twentieth century have provided understandings of sacred cosmological concepts and the organization of space in the Mesoamerican city (Arellano Hernández et al., 1999, pp. 34, 108–113, 129–133, 136–139). The universe is tripartite, consisting of a middle world on the surface of the earth, the starry sky of the gods above, and an underworld of death below. It is also quadrilateral, oriented to the four cardinal directions associated with the sun's equinoxes, special colors, and characteristics, and revolving around a central axis where the world tree grows. The gods are natural forces and also superhuman beings connected with specific geometric positions in the universe and controlling different natural phenomena. People pay close attention to their spatial position in order to align themselves most effectively with natural powers and also to enable through their alignments the auspicious aspects of creation. These alignments occur in daily life and in every household, but appear most forcefully in the architecture of the urban center. Major monuments demonstrate orientation to sacred caves or mountains in the surrounding environment, and to the positions on the horizon where celestial bodies rise or set (Šprajc, 2004). Pyramids are mythical mountains, centers of the universe, surmounting caves where deceased ancestors and beings from the underworld reside. The gods presiding over their "places of sleep" in palace temples and on the summits of pyramids, like honored ancestors, are distant beings contacted through rituals of petition and supplication. The ball games played on the ubiquitous courts of the Maya cities seem closely connected to stories of the descent of the hero-twins to the underworld and their triumph over death, known from surviving Maya artwork or literature and from ethnographic study (Grube, 2000, pp. 186–189, 200, 270, 291). The plazas of the ceremonial center are described as oceans, lakes, or standing water, and the city of Izapa in Chiapas demonstrates the cosmological significance: about 2,000 years ago, the citizens diverted water from the nearby river into channels that fed reservoirs surrounding an enormous pyramid, transforming the site into the primordial sea at the world's creation, from which the pyramid-mountain of sustenance rises to support the first maize (Kappelman, 2001, pp. 83–86).

Earlier scholarship on the classic Maya envisioned a theocratic society concerned with the cyclical rhythms of cosmic time and pursuing the peaceful goals of an agrarian economy. More recent research, based on the comparative study of material culture and epigraphy, has portrayed an economically complex world involving long-distance trade, dominated by nobilities and royal families of fifty warring states who supervised the assembly of the ceremonial centers. With the adoption of divine names at their enthronement, rulers took the position of *ajaw* (leader, priest, and king), and after 400 CE they often described themselves as the "divine kings" *(k'uhul ajaw)* of particular territories. Rulers saw themselves as the personification of the world axis, and iconography displays them in the costume of the world tree flanked by serpents' heads representing branches and a headdress of the bird of heaven. The kings enacted public dance dramas in costume, taking the roles of deities such as the god of maize in the stories of creation. Royal men and women, at times under the influence of hallucinatory substances, pierced their bodies in order to collect their blood, aiming simultaneously at visionary experiences. Their blood, dropping on paper, would be burned along with copal, the sweet-smelling "blood" of trees—an activity connected to the idea of the breath-soul, related to aromas and also to sound—that is, to music. There are numerous references to smearing the mouths of gods with blood—in effect, feeding the gods—which involved the public sacrifice of animals and captured enemies. Success in military campaigns correlates closely with construction projects at the end of calendar periods, occasions for the reenactment of the destruction and recreation of the world order (Arellano Hernández et al., 1999, pp. 92–93; Grube, 2000, pp. 149–153, 292). In these ways the geography of the sacred center became entwined with the public rituals and militaristic ambitions of hereditary political elites.

Attempts to understand the ceremonial center through material culture have underlain the study of various preliterate societies of North America, ranging from the Southwestern pueblo cultures of the Anasazi, oriented around sacred subterranean halls (and peaking between the ninth and thirteenth centuries CE), to the Eastern cultures oriented around artificial mounds. Among the latter, the Mississippian complexes (peaking between the ninth and fourteenth centuries) typically include central plazas adjoining earthen mounds, surrounding clusters of family habitation structures, and protective wooden stockades sometimes with defensive ditches. Population estimates for these sites range from 500 at the smallest to perhaps 25,000 at the largest in Cahokia, Illinois. Within the matrix of political, commercial, and environmental factors that could have supported these complexes, making the surviving architecture a "sociogram" providing clues to stratification, these monuments were obviously sacred sites embodying concepts of centrality, symmetry, boundaries, and domains. The largest, flat-topped mounds seem to have supported shrines or the habitations of elites who performed sacerdotal functions. The alignment of wooden post circles at Cahokia suggests orientation with celestial bodies. Many objects of daily or special ritual use (e.g., pipes) provide a rich body of imagery, including animal figurines, cross-in-circle motifs, and a recurring birdman image. Several examples of more spectacular human statuary provide insights into agrarian ritual iconography. Early travelers' accounts and ethnographic studies, along with archaeological evidence from burials within and around mounds, suggest that rituals of death and renewal were important. Religious beliefs among the contemporary Creek Nation provide illuminating, if speculative, links to the monumental landscape through narratives of human origins in the earth beneath mounds, associations with mountains, and ritual alignments of human groups along axes of a central square (Brown, 1997; Wesson, 1998; Dalan et al., 2003, pp. 149, 184).

The concept of the ceremonial center remains an important tool for describing the relationship between cosmological systems and the organization of space, as well as the relationship between ritual performances and the geography of the city, especially for social elites. In general, the study of earlier time periods has relied necessarily on the interpretation of the built environment as an expression of such systems, and thus the landscape of the cosmogram appears more often as an overarching principle of social organization. With access to written records, scholars tend to highlight the interactions of stratified social groups under conditions of political struggle and economic development, within the parameters of varying ecosystems.

TEMPLE URBANISM IN SOUTH ASIA. The study of urbanization in South Asia reveals the varying fate of the cosmogram within a variety of social and environmental variables. In the case of the earliest cities within the Harappan (Indus Valley or Saraswati) Civilization, which reached its mature stage between 2500 and 1900 BCE, there are no indications of temples or other religious monuments. Amid hundreds of sites scattered over the largest geographic expanse of any primary urbanization, only the Great Bath complex at Mohenjo-Daro provides a hint of ritual purpose (Possehl, 2002, pp. 148–152). With the resurgence of urban sites in northern India during the early first millennium BCE, despite strong indications of religiosity provided by the "mother goddess" figurines available from many excavations, sacred centers are not visible in the urban fabric within the concentrated habitation patterns of walled cities (Allchin, 1995, pp. 224–225, 268–272). Truly monumental religious architecture emerges only in the late first millennium BCE in the form of Buddhist monastic institutions, which do display, in the stupa complex associated with Buddhist relics, features of the world axis and orientation to the cardinal directions (Mitra, 1971). Early Buddhist monasteries are not urban centers, however; generally they stand in the suburbs of cities or along commercial routes.

We do not encounter the centrally located sacred center in South Asian cities until the late first millennium, with the transition from monastic to temple architecture. All the features of the cosmogram appear in the temple, beginning with the consecration of the *maṇḍala* at its base, with a sacred axis and deities at the cardinal and intermediate points. The foundation and square "womb room" built above, with the main image of the deity at the center and subsidiary images on the outer walls, combine with quadrilateral pillared halls and the surrounding walls of compounds to create a unified geometry of the gods manifested on earth. The towering spire over the central shrine represents the Himalayan mountain home of the gods; the shrine becomes the *vimāna* or chariot of the deity moving through space (Michell, 1977).

By the eleventh century, with an urban revival in full swing throughout the subcontinent, temples were attracting resources from kings, agrarian leaders, and merchants who were looking for markers of legitimacy. In places like Tanjavur or Bhubaneswar, temple gigantism emerged at the heart of the cities; in other areas, multiple temple nodes with surrounding habitation sites created a distributed urban pattern reminiscent of classic Maya urbanism. A distinctive style of urban planning in southern India produced "temple cities" through the accumulation of additional surrounding walls (resulting in compounds hundreds of yards in width), or through the accumulation of concentric streets, each inhabited by different occupational specialists or castes, surrounding the temple grounds (Kulke, 1995; Champakalakshmi, 1996). Within the temple cities, the experience of sacred space provides clues to history and structure. For example, at the temple of Suchindram near the tip of peninsular India, the east-west axis of the complex creates a haptic experience of moving towards the town, connecting the devotee with the collective memory of the town's foundation. The bathing tank beside the temple creates a polarity between the upper, "male" town located around the temple of Śiva and the lower, "female" town located near the bathing tank and the goddess shrine—part of a configuration including four other goddess shrines on the periphery of the city. Festivals at the temple also preserve these urban memories (Pieper, 1980, pp. 65–80).

Between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, Vijayanagara, the "city of victory," became capital of an empire uniting southern India within a single political formation for the first time. The archaeological remains of the city include dozens of temples and civic structures enclosed in part within massive defensive walls; combined with literary sources, they provide an unparalleled view of the relationship between sacred and administrative geography. The performance of kingship within the capital exemplified concepts of the ruler as upholder of law, agent of material prosperity, and mediator within cycles of good and evil. Annual alternations between a period of rest, when the court, army, and king resided at the capital, and a period of movement (which included war, pilgrimage, or peaceful missions in the empire and beyond), created specific configurations of action within space. The transition between the two periods witnessed the celebration of the Mahānavami festival that commemorated the propitiation of the goddess Durgā by the epic hero-king Rāma before he marched against the evil Rāvaṇa, involving the display of the king's military strength, the wealth of his household, and his marital alliances. Simultaneously, the festival represented the reorganization of an older sacrality and memories of place. During the early phases of their rule, when they operated as little kings, the Vijayanagara kings had obtained the support of Pampā, a local goddess associated with a small shrine. When the kings emerged as a regional power, they adopted a male deity, Virūpākṣa (a manifestation of the pan-Indian deity, Śiva), as their dynastic emblem. They constructed for this god a temple lying west of a newly laid-out administrative zone and south of their old seat of power, and celebrated his "marriage" to the local goddess, Pampā. When Vijayanagara became the capital of an empire, the kings and their city took on cosmic significance associated with Rāma, an incarnation of the pan-Indian god Viṣṇu. A newly constructed Rāma temple in the royal core divided the "zone of performance" to the east from the "zone of residence" to the west, splitting the king's two bodies, as it were. Displays of the king's office and festivals occurred in the former zone, whereas the latter contained the royal quarters and the old temple dedicated to Śiva, now the protector of the household rather than the kingdom. Road construction now oriented the royal core towards a mythic landscape of Rāma, rather than Śiva or the goddess Pampā. Shrines of various members of the court and of other communities allied themselves with this new orientation, many being located on the main road that led out of the Rāma shrine (Fritz et al., 1984, pp. 146–154).

COURTS, MARKETS, AND PERFORMANCE IN SOUTH ASIA. Muslims had long been active within South Asia, mostly as traders, but Turkish military campaigns from the northwest beginning in 1000 resulted in two additional models of sacred space based on Islam, resembling urban developments typical of southwest Asia (Lapidus, 1969; Bianca, 2000). The first model revolves around the royal or administrative court, and places the mosque *(masjid)* at the center of urban life within the fortified center. This model is visible by the fourteenth century in the capital of the Sultanate at Delhi, including the mosque and spectacular Quṭb Minar in Tughluqabad, as well as the provincial capitals of Islamic successor states such as Bidar, Bijapur, and Golconda in peninsular India. Recent research on old Delhi or Shahjahanabad, founded in the mid-seventeenth century, highlights not only the major public monuments established by an imperial master plan but a variety of subsidiary mosques, gardens, and utilities laid out by political subordinates. A hierarchical matrix of neighborhoods *(mahalla)* including semi-public and private spaces revolves around local mosques, temples, Sikh shrines *(gurdwara),* and, later, Christian churches (Ehlers and Krafft, 2003). The second model is based on the Ṣūfī shrine *(dargāh),* where the memory of a saint's holiness leads to a concentration of buildings around his burial place. An early example is the shrine of Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i Shakar in the Punjab town of Pakpattan, where the saint settled down at the site of a river ferry during the thirteenth century. After his death and the passing down of his spiritual power to family successors, his hermitage became the site for monumental architecture, pilgrimage, and a network of social interactions based on economic development or the legitimacy of political leadership within emerging caste formations (Eaton, 2000, pp. 203–246). A similar phenomenon happened in Delhi, where the thirteenth-century hermitage of the saint Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ became the focus for a *kasbah* that eventually became part of the expanding city.

The roles of urban commercial interests in the construction of religious centers have become of greater interest to researchers focusing on recent centuries. A study of Chennai (Madras) between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries identifies three types of dialogue between communities, the marketplace, and sacred sites. The first produced eclectic or generic all-community temples, "a celebration of the common mercantile nature" of the trading communities of the "native" settlement called Georgetown and of the personnel of the British East India Company. The second involved different castes constructing community-only temples, where social rivalry was manifested through processions, flags, or debates over the rights to use certain streets. The third produced temples that served as a "branch offices" of more impressive or older shrines. The three types of temple demonstrate how "foreigners" could find a place in South Asia, and how social difference and similarity could find voice through the vocabulary of religious architecture and community space (Waghorne, 1999a, pp. 654, 682).

Another study of Chennai during colonial and postcolonial times examines the relationship between the more prominent Beeri Chettiar merchants, who were largely

Tamil-speaking worshipers of Śiva, and their rivals, the Komati Chettiars and Balijas, who were Telugu-speaking worshipers of Viṣṇu. Their economic competition led to a number of community conflicts and riots during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and also to the division of Georgetown into a western part occupied by the Komatis and an eastern part occupied by the Beeris. Temples associated with one of these communities, displaying their prestige, wealth, and status, shaped not only the boundaries of "community" but also the forms in which authority functioned. Even today, processions from the Kandasami temple in Park Town, earlier considered a "satellite" area of the Beeri Chettiar community, travel to the older "center" where the community no longer has houses, businesses, or control over the main community temple. Through controversies over the processional route, extensions of it into new areas, and the patronage of the festival, new leaders seek to direct the caste—now a citywide community—from the power base of a new temple that was once spatially peripheral and ritually subordinate (Mines, 1994).

The relayering of spatial and social histories within sacred centers and performances accompanies the growth of cities into manufacturing, technology, and service hubs. For example, the city of Bangalore began as a fort-settlement in the sixteenth century consequent to the decline of Vijayanagara, became a "garden city" in the colonial period, and popularly appears now as "India's Silicon Valley." In the high-tech city, public religious performances remain modes of civic life that attract devotion while preserving urban memories. The Karaga festival, Bangalore's largest religious extravaganza, occurs for nine days in the month of March or April every year. The key moment is the incarnation of the goddess Draupadī, wife of the Pāṇḍava brothers from the epic *Mahābhārata,* who is simultaneously cosmic power *(śakti).* She manifests herself in the form of a sacred icon and within the body of a male priest from the Tigala community who, by carrying the icon, becomes conjoined with her. The annual "birth" of the goddess occurs in Bangalore's Cubbon Park at a small covered well, the remainder of a large lake eliminated by office buildings and sports complexes. Her birth is a reminder of the city's earlier environment—a network of lakes, wells, and ponds—and the processions of the goddess over a nine-day period include visits to the former locations of water bodies, many of which were destroyed through construction activities, pollution, or neglect after 1950. The daily festival processions also visit various Hindu temples and the tomb of the Ṣūfī saint, Haẓrat Tawakkal Mastan, signaling the participation of diverse publics in this "theater of the civic." The festival, which conjures for participants an alternative urban landscape, attracts over 100,000 participants on its final day, and is spreading in smaller versions throughout the suburbs of the metropolis (Srinivas, 2001).

URBAN VIOLENCE AND RELIGION. The focus of this article so far has been on the pacific embedding of the sacred, but religion in the city also seems to cause deadly conflict, providing justification for riots, bombings, and civil war in places such as Beirut, Belfast, or Sarajevo. No single theory can explain all instances of "religious terrorism," but Mark Juergensmeyer (2000) suggests that they are performative and function as "theater." Most of the groups and individuals behind these events work from a "script" of cosmic war, and social struggle is perceived in terms of a spiritual confrontation. They perceive themselves as martyrs and heroes, rather than terrorists, and satanize or depersonify the "enemy." They engineer events for their graphic and emotional impact on witnesses and various audiences through transnational media. The "stage" of theatrical terror is often urban because the events target symbols or hubs of modern societies: embassies, markets, subways, airports. During the 1995 gas attack on the Tokyo subway system by Aum Shinrikyō, for example, bags of poisonous sarin were meant to do the most damage when the train lines converged at Kasumigaseki subway station located close to the main buildings of the government, humiliating national security organizations. The repeated attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City aimed simultaneously at a symbol of global capitalism and at the U. S. government, viewed as an imperialist power.

Perhaps the deepest scholarship on urban religious violence concerns Europe during the Reformation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the Wars of Religion pitted Catholic and Protestant against each other. Cities are crucial to all discussions of the Reformation, for it is mostly in urban centers that the leading reforming figures found ministerial positions, publishers, or followings, even if (as in the case of the Peasants' War of 1524–1525) there were important interactions with the countryside. Some of the most egregious cases of religious violence occurred within urban environments: the Anabaptist kingdom of Münster (1534–1535), which evolved into a totalitarian communism before its extermination, or the Saint Bartholomew Day's Massacre (1572), which began in Paris and spread throughout the major cities of France. Theological tracts and city archives have allowed scholars to investigate the players in religious violence—persons from artisanal or manufacturing trades and the urban proletariat, who interacted with clergy, the urban patriciate, and the nobility. During the late twentieth century, numerous local histories have shed light on these struggles to redefine the City of God and the New Jerusalem.

The scholarship ranges between two approaches, one concentrating on intellectual or theological ideas and the other concentrating on social, political, or economic variables. Some authors who try to blend these approaches use the latter as an envelope for discussing the writings of theologians (whose biographies are important parts of analysis) and the deliberations of ministerial councils (e.g. Williams, 1962, pp. 241–298; Strayer, 1976, pp. 206–207). Analyses informed by political economy remain sensitive to theology but focus on class struggle or the attempts by urban communes to preserve their political freedom and order within an incipient world system (Ozment, 1975; Heller, 1991). Influenced by the French *Annales* school, the "linguistic" and "cultural" turns in historiography, and a new social history crossing disciplinary boundaries, Natalie Davis embeds her work within the concrete conditions of production and class but situates the Reformation in Lyon within a symbolic analysis of "the moment of social interaction." Approaching Protestantism and Catholicism as two languages attempting to grasp the challenges of the city, she presents their alternative visions of sacred space, time, and the body as a prerequisite for understanding the "rites" of violence and a concern with pollution (Davis, 1975, pp. 152–188; Davis, 1981; Benedict, 1981, pp. 63–64). Another classic study of the city of Romans demonstrates that the class struggle in the late sixteenth century achieved public expression and was comprehensible for townspeople only through religious idioms that are amenable to analysis through comparative anthropological discourse (Ladurie, 1979). Finally, as part of a movement back to religion through sociology and poststructuralism, a major study of Reformation violence begins with an examination of cases where children committed atrocities. Violence becomes a ritual performance expressing a code, "prophetic because implicated in a prophetic collective consciousness, in a mental eschatological conjuncture, for which it is necessary to research the constitutive schemas" (Crouzet, 1990, vol. 1, p. 93). A continuing stream of studies on the urban Reformation attempt to blend culture and society, theology, and the built environment, within the context of institutions or communities (e.g., Roberts, 1996; Tittler, 1998).

In more recent times, South Asia has been the scene of the world's most intractable "communal" rioting, peaking in 1947, when approximately one million people died in massive demographic shifts, but continuing at the rate of several hundred recorded incidents annually within India. The roots clearly go deep into doctrinal, theological, and social phenomena of the nineteenth century, the intellectual categories developed under colonialism, and the problematic of "secularism" in the postcolonial nation-state. The major religious confrontations since independence (the civil war between Sinhalese and Tamils in Sri Lanka, the 1984 anti-Sikh riots after Indira Gandhi's assassination, the 1992 Hindu-Muslim riots in India after the demolition of the Babri Masjid) clearly occured as responses to political events. The main scholarly issue concerns the many clashes that occur regularly in cities, constituting a persistent source of religious animosity that may erupt into civil war. A veritable industry of research and analysis has grown around this problem, ranging from the official reports of governments, journalists, and citizens' bodies after each occurrence to scholarship from social scientists aimed at understanding the etiology of individual events, common patterns, and the potential for preventative public policy. Detailed studies by Asghar Ali Engineer and associates (e.g., 1984) have demonstrated a complex interaction of sociocultural and economic variables, and a process by which neighborhood incidents lead to violent action, typically with the instigation of male activists and local politicians. Some scholars have attempted to categorize these variables in order to determine the "riot-proneness" of specific communities (Varshney and Wilkinson, 1996), although Paul R. Brass (1997, 2003) also implicates security forces as major players in the production of the "institutionalized" communal riot. Stanley Tambiah (1996) compares incidents with religious overtones in Sri Lanka and India to riots in Pakistan that feature coreligionists, in an attempt to create a comparative understanding of "ethnic" conflict within sociological categories.

PILGRIMAGES AND RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN THE CITY. If the daily social practices within cities divide, differentiate, or hierarchize the specialized zones frequented by their citizens, then religious pilgrimages, which break down the division between citizens, can work to eliminate class categories and transgress urban boundaries. One could argue, in fact, that the movement through space to participate in collective celebrations is one of the primary manifestations of religiosity and urbanism alike. Many pilgrimage destinations originated as cities or became cities when people clustered around sacred attractions. Mass public transportation has made pilgrimage, this gravitation toward sacred spaces, one of the most significant manifestations of religious localization.

Scholars have been especially interested in the modes through which pilgrimage has altered the understanding of urban space. As Maurice Halbwachs (1992, pp. 193–235) has pointed out in his essay "The Legendary Topography of the Gospels," early Christian embedding of Jerusalem's meaning in the narratives of the Gospels occurred through pilgrims' exercises of spatial localization. A new way of moving through space affirmed the Christian reading of Jerusalem, where places were already commemorated and associated with ancient memories of Jewish history. Christian pilgrimages through Jerusalem, making use of sites already part of collective memorabilia, endowed them with different meanings by situating them within new narratives or actions. In a similar process, the Qurʾān reinscribed an originally pantheistic pilgrimage site, the Kaʿaba, as the activity space of Abraham, linking Islam with Judaism and Christianity, while pilgrimage to Mecca established a series of conceptual categories and somatic experiences that remapped the city and its environs. This process is happening constantly in the contemporary world, as new pilgrimage sites regularly appear alongside the manifestation of charisma by saints and other spiritual figures.

In a phenomenon similar to that which occurred in thirteenth-century India, Sufism is still proving a rich ground for the generation of sacred cities and pilgrimage networks. For instance, Shaykh Aḥmad (Amadou) Bamba (1853–1927) of Senegal rests in a mausoleum in the city of Touba, the early development of which he oversaw. This city and its Great Mosque (inaugurated 1963) is a place of pilgrimage for his disciples, or Mourides. Supported by contributions to its infrastructure from Mourides, in less then a century Touba has become Senegal's second largest city. Devotees have produced a thriving visual culture that includes devotional icons, murals, cosmological architecture, writing, and other forms that grace homes, businesses, vehicles, junkyards, walls, and clothes in the city. This visual culture has also been a crucial part of the social and expressive explosion in the capital, Dakar, since Senegalese independence in 1960, and it features in public debates about identity, memory, and an alternative modernity. Although the saint belongs to the colonial period, he reveals new messages even today for his followers and is a conduit for healing and miracles. The potency of his image works through the transnational chains that link Senegal to other cities through migration, import-export economies, and employment networks (Roberts and Roberts, 2003).

The example of Aḥmad Bamba demonstrates the relevance of pilgrimage phenomena to the study of "religious movements," a branch of scholarship that forms part of a larger "social movements" literature examining intersections between religion and political and cultural processes such as postcolonialism and transnationalism. This scholarship looks at the contemporary proliferation of what are sometimes described as "New Age movements," "new religions," "revitalization movements," and "fundamentalist movements," many of which flourish on urban soil. Some of these movements, such as the Bahāʾīs, propound an avowedly universal message and attempt to create novel, transurban forms of expression. Others, such as the Swaminarayan movement originating in Gujarat (and globalized through Gujarati merchant communities), or evangelical Christian missionary efforts in Asia and Africa, preserve a universal message within an envelope of older "Hindu" or "Christian" traditions.

Japan has been the scene for intensive studies of many "new religions" emerging in the twentieth century under conditions of hyperurbanization. Sōka Gakkai, perhaps the best known, has been most successful at crossing national boundaries and becoming a global organization. It began in the 1930s as a religious organization meant to propagate doctrines of one of the smaller Nichiren Buddhist sects. It grew rapidly as a lay evangelist organization promising meaning and comfort in postwar Japan, becoming a national and global movement with about eight to ten million middle- and upper-class followers (over a million outside Japan) in the 1990s. It sponsors an educational system, art museums, newspapers, and various cultural organizations and is involved in social activism including the fostering of world peace and antiwar activities. It is heavily urban-based (tightly organized into prefectural, city, district, and block groups). Members are encouraged to improve their material conditions and also spend time in daily prayer, meetings of the groups, and proselytizing. The Sōka Gakkai belief is that religion must be the basis of a moral and just society; social institutions need to be purified; and modern, rationalized Buddhist beliefs must fuse with all features of society. Despite the continued embedding of ritual within a Japanese Buddhist format, the envelope of rational peacefulness and acceptance of material success have allowed Sōka Gakkai to attract members from a variety of cultural and national backgrounds (Metraux, 1996).

Some religious movements support distinct "ethnic" identities even when they try to avoid them, contributing to or perpetuating a layer of cultural segmentation within urban environments. The movement dedicated to the Indian guru Sathya Sai Baba (b. 1926) has expanded to include perhaps ten million people worldwide, most of them in urban areas. In a study of this movement in Trinidad, Morton Klass (1991) focused on its roles among urban and suburban Indian (and Hindu) Trinidadians who form the overwhelming majority of devotees. He points out that there are political differences between Indian Trinidadians and Afro-Trinidadians attributable to different notions of their cultural resources and pancultural affiliations; Afro-Trinidadians, therefore, remain a minority in the Sai Baba movement. A separate study of the Malaysian Sai Baba movement in the city of Kuala Lumpur in the mid- to late 1990s explored the way the Indian-dominated leadership attempts to include Chinese devotees. A nonsectarian and multiethnic profile including Chinese devotees "enhances the hope which this neo-Hindu movement offers to members of the marginalized Indian minority to win an audience among the Malay majority and thus achieve recognition as the rightful proprietors of an eternal, all-subsuming and unifying spiritual vision." Nonetheless, ethnic boundaries in Kuala Lumpur tend to be reproduced (Kent, 2000, p. 5).

MODERN IMAGINARIES AND URBAN RELIGIOSITY. Are there religious imaginations and practices distinctive to contemporary cities? In *Gods of the City* (1999) Robert Orsi argues that the dynamic interaction between religious traditions, contemporary cityscapes, and their social conditions results in specific maps, styles, and idioms of "urban religion." In *The Madonna of 115th Street* (1985), Orsi examines street behavior, processions, and festivals, like the *festa* of the Madonna of 115th Street in New York's Italian Harlem, as modes of boundary-making by immigrants, the creation and negotiation of ethnic identities, the production of community, and the theater or social drama of urban lives. Others, looking at recent diasporas in American cities, have examined strategies through which immigrant groups make sense religiously of an urban landscape that differs considerably from the spaces they left. Thus, Mama Lola, a Brooklyn Vodou priestess discussed by Karen McCarthy Brown (1999), travels back and forth between Haiti and Brooklyn and maintains social and spiritual loyalties in two places. She, like others, transposes Haitian places onto New York: Brooklyn's Prospect Park sometimes functions as the sacred forest of Vodou rituals. Such religious identities may retreat into basements, or are practiced behind closed doors, while signs of more acceptable Catholic identity appear publicly. The more affluent South Asian diaspora in the United States, normally with greater social and cultural capital than the Haitians, construct temples as a largely suburban phenomenon located close to freeways rather than within an "ethnic" part of the city (Waghorne, 1999b). Unlike the temple in India where one god or goddess or a sectarian tradition usually predominates, in the United States several deities live in harmony under one roof, in a manner that parallels the multiple religious affiliations of their suburban devotees.

Globalization and economic restructuring, combined with massive shifts of population, have reconfigured "place-based religious identities" in cities throughout the world. For example, in the small town of Dacula in Gwinnett County, Georgia—the fastest-growing county in the United States in the 1980s—one study has explored the relationship of urban deconcentration to the institutional dynamics of Christian congregations. Until the early 1980s, eleven out of twenty-four churches (such as Pleasant Hill Methodist and the black Mt. Zion Methodist) still traced their origins to the time before the town's founding, and five were founded subsequently. Within a period of thirteen years, however, eight new congregations were established, almost "as if locals had placed a sign on Highway 316 designating the area 'Church Growth Parkway'" (Eiesland, 2000, p. 48). As industrial and corporate jobs mushroomed around transportation infrastructure, the new congregations evolved strategies for attracting members, ranging from an exuberant mega-church to specialized ministries. Meanwhile, in Africa, Kano in northern Nigeria changed during the 1970s from a mercantile center into a large industrial metropolis with new suburbs growing around the old walled city. The crash of oil prices in the early 1980s resulted in a recession that produced challenges for local Muslim identity and practice in the face of state-based corruption and capitalist commodification. Michael Watts (1996) describes the rise of a fundamentalist (though not antimodern) Muslim leader in Kano among subaltern classes, such as migrant workers, for whom the state and its elites symbolized moral bankruptcy. The two paths of urban economic development elicit, on the one hand, the marketing of religion, and on the other, the use of religion as a source of revitalization.

Religion plays an important role in the heritage politics of various cities as they wrestle with the rise of the nation-state, socialism, democracy, globalization, and explosive demographic growth. Istanbul, for instance, has been a world city since the fourth century, serving as an imperial capital for the Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman empires and a major commercial node for Afro-Eurasia. Just before World War I, it had about a million people—a majority non-Muslim—including many Italian, Turkish, Greek, or Tartar inhabitants. Muslims, Christians, and Jews coexisted without intermarriage under Ottoman administrators, their religious and cultural lives compartmentalized within corporate entities. When the state adopted the project of modernization, binary constructs (East versus West, Islam versus Christianity, Turk versus non-Turk, local versus global) began to dominate public discourse. During the early twentieth century, anticolonial and nationalist policies took on ethnic content, and religion rationalized ethnic purification of Jews, Armenians, and Greeks. Thus, the vast majority of Istanbul's citizens were Muslims in the 1980s, when the state adopted a strategy aimed at transforming it into a world city. The capture of the city government by an Islamicist party that pushed for changes in public culture (such as dress codes for women) became an embarrassment for an avowedly secularist nation-state, aligned with financial interests in a concern that Islamicist culture could jeopardize Turkey's membership in the European Union. In a city with multiple pasts, the question of historic preservation during urban renewal projects became a deeply contested issue involving the interplay of nationalist and religious tropes. The nationalist discourse pushing for urban renewal viewed the neighborhood of Pera, for example, as a symbol of a non-Turkish "Europe in Istanbul," while Islamicists advocated the destruction of older buildings (some of considerable architectural merit) for the building of a mosque (Keyder, 1999). How the inhabitants of the city appeared and behaved in public and the nature of their buildings remained issues intimately connected with religious conceptions.

Urban planning thus struggles with the reinsertion of sacred spaces by several publics. In her study of Aboriginal claims to space in Perth, Australia, Jane Jacobs (1996, p. 127) provides another viewpoint on political agitations that "reactivated a (pre-) modern knowing of space within the specific conditions of modernity." The contests she describes concerned an area near the Swan River in Perth that had been used previously by the colonial government to establish a depot in 1833 excluding the Aborigines. In the 1980s this area was developed by corporate interests into a brewery and a hotel chain with theaters, office spaces, and a theme park—the quintessential signs of the service economy. Laws concerning Aboriginal land in Australia had tended to designate territory as sacred only when it was far away from urban centers, but Aboriginal claims in this case located the spiritual firmly within the area of the Swan Brewery. Aborigines occupied the area for a while in 1989. While their action ultimately failed and the area was given over to development, Jacobs argues that the Aboriginal occupation not only brought the sacred back to the city but set off an "anxious" politics of occupation by the government and developers. The controversy between "beer, work, tourism and sport" and "urban dreamings," as Jacobs categorizes it, puts into relief the binary imaginings of planners and the unpredictable potential for sacred upsurges within the city.

Rather than a steady decline of religion under conditions of urban anomie, we are witnessing the rise of spiritual leaders and religious movements who claim an authority that rivals the authority of nations, transnational corporations, and secular ideologies. For many believers among a world population that will be mostly urban after 2007 (United Nations, 2002, p. 5), religion provides alternative sources of value, critiques of capitalism, and avenues of cultural modernity.

SEE ALSO Marduk; Maya Religion; Mesopotamian Religions, overview articles; Mosque, article on Architectural Aspects; Olmec Religion; Pilgrimage, overview article; Violence.

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CIVIL RELIGION. The word *religion* is derived from two Latin terms, *religio* and *religare.* The first term designates a quality of prudence, regard, and seriousness as an attitude toward ancestral founders. The second term means to bind, to tie—as a mode that gives a specificity, concreteness, and cohesion—an identity to a human community. The binding is always related to a myth that reveals the nature and meaning of ancestors who were involved in the founding of the city.

This meaning of religion can be seen in ancient foundings of cities and towns. In his book *The Ancient City* (1873) Fustel de Coulanges described religions associated with founding Greek and Roman city-states. This sense of founding took into account the ancestors and gods that existed prior to the organization of the city. Joseph Rykwert's *The Idea of a Town* (1976) provides a similar discussion of sacred symbols, rituals, and meanings that were essential to the foundation of Greek and Roman communities.

The term *civil religion* was first introduced by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in his book *The Social Contract* (1762). Rousseau used the term in the context of the European Enlightenment and the revolutionary movement toward democratic statehood. The concept applied to the ordering and organization of modern democracies preceeding the French Revolution and the overthrowing of religious and political hierarchies as the ordering principles of the state. Rousseau, as did many founders of modern democracy, nevertheless thought that a shared sense of essential moral and religious beliefs must still serve to provide cohesion for the general citizenry of the French nation. Such beliefs were girded in Enlightenment Christianity and consisted of "essential" prescriptive values:

1. the idea of a benevolent deity,
2. the existence of an afterlife,
3. the faith in justice and divine retribution,
4. sacred correspondence of the social contract with the state's laws.

Rousseau was writing before the French Revolution and was attempting to locate a basis for the integrative principle of society that would replace the monarchy and the church. But even after their revolutions democratic European states still possessed the residue of ancient traditions embedded in their histories and institutions. In other words, they were already "a people" prior to the foundation of democratic institutions. The difference between European and American identities was noted by Alexis de Tocqueville when he toured the United States in the 1830s. "Up to the present," he noted, "I don't see a trace of what we generally consider faiths, such as customs, ancient traditions, and the power of memories" (Pierson, 1938, p. 153).

None of these cultural forms of customs, ancient traditions, or the power of memories was present in the American nation; thus the basis for a civil society was always rather tenuous. What was present was a historical style of Protestantism, which was embraced by the majority population. Although the U.S. Constitution denies the meaning of any positive religion as the "religion of the Republic" and all specific religions are entitled to have the right of full expression and freedom, it was assumed by the "majority" of Americans that the proper lens of interpretation for important national issues was through a Protestant point of view.

INTRODUCTION OF "CIVIL RELIGION" IN THE AMERICAN ACADEMY. Will Herberg's 1960 work *Protestant, Catholic, Jew* was an attempt to break through this Protestant sense of America by offering an alternative and plural understanding of the nature of American religiosity. The title of his book is taken from one of the popular identifiers on identification tags of American soldiers in World War II. Along with the soldier's serial number and blood type was one of these religious identifiers. An apocryphal story is told that if a soldier declared himself or herself an atheist, then his or her tag was stamped "p" for Protestant. This story goes to the heart of the matter, for the designation was only a sign of religion and carried with it no serious meaning or commitment. The designation expressed a sentimentality associated with religious rhetoric rather than any efficacious religious meaning.

Robert Bellah's article "Civil Religion in America," published in *Daedalus* in 1967, brought to the surface the problematical nature of the foundational principles of American society. Bellah made clear that his article grew out of a concern occasioned by the public debate that had grown out of the candidacy of Senator John F. Kennedy for president of the United States. Kennedy was a Roman Catholic, and therefore the issue of both his adherence to a hierarchical religious church whose administrative center lay outside of the United States as well as the fact that he was not a member of the Protestant majority raised questions about the de facto meaning of what constitutes an American.

As a sociologist, Bellah focused his meaning of American civil religion in the symbols and rituals that provided a sense of cohesion and continuity for Americans. He drew attention to the founding documents and the rhetoric of the American Republic in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, which he argued made possible the existence of a civil society in the United States. He pointed to Abraham Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address and Gettysburg Address as examples of civil religion. In particular the first few presidents had set the tenor in their words and deeds. Bellah argued that American civil religion, although derived from Christianity, is not to be equated with a positive religion. The "God of the Republic" can be characterized as having more of a concern for "order, law, and right, than to salvation and love" (Demerath and Hammond, p. 172). This God is active in history and shows a "special concern for America." (Demerath and Hammond, p. 172). A higher law and a transcendent force exist by which to judge the political processes of the American people (Demerath and Hammond, p. 172).

In a subsequent discussion, "American Civil Religion in the 1970's," published in the *Anglican Theological Review*, Bellah asserted that he had invented the notion of "civil religion" as a social science category of interpretation, stating, "In a sense, and not in a trivial sense, civil religion in America existed from the moment the winter 1967 issue of *Daedalus* was printed" (Bellah, 1973, p. 8). He admitted that there had been other interpretations on the topic prior to the publication of his article, but he took credit for the specific contextualization of this notion. Prominent in these prior interpretations of an American religion was the American church historian Sidney E. Mead, who referred to the United States as a "nation with the soul of a church," a phrase he took from G. K. Chesterton (Mead, 1975). Mead showed that while there was nothing like a "church" in the Constitution of the first pluralistic and "secular" democracy, there was a strong tradition of voluntary association imbibed through the Puritan Dissenters in the seventeenth century and early eighteenth century that was not to be seen as entirely at odds with the beliefs in popular sovereignty later propounded by the likes of Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin.

In *The Nation with the Soul of a Church* (1975) Mead argues that a principle of religious freedom began with the Lutheran Reformation and continued through a variety of Calvinist sects. The American sects emphasized covenant theology, which resembled social contracts and reflected the idea that voluntary consent of the governed was the basis of all good government. The Puritans were able to wed this democratic formulation to a sense of chosenness, with their Calvinist notions of "election" or sainthood as the condition of the governing bodies or theocracy. Thus voluntary consent to the laws of the Puritan state coalesced with consent to divine laws and "destiny" for a "peculiar people." Mead's formulation is based upon the history of American religion from the Puritans through American denominationalism into the mid–twentieth century. He discerns that through this history Americans have been able at various times to appeal to a meaning of their destiny as it is revealed beyond the empirical historical situations. They have been within these spaces at various moments able to discern unique and qualitative meanings of freedom as they relate to the very constitution of an American self.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND MANIFESTATIONS OF AMERICAN CIVIL RELIGION. Catherine Albanese (1999), following closely upon Mead, has delineated several modes civil religion has taken during American history. She has shown that the Enlightenment and Puritan traditions combined to shape the rhetoric, symbols, and structure of American civil religion. The Puritans laid the groundwork for a national symbology that could be drawn upon by subsequent revolutionaries and later generations of Americans in times of war and crises.

John Winthrop imagined the 1630 Puritan crossing of the Atlantic in terms of a biblical typology—the crossing was a reenactment of the Exodus story of Israelites from Egyptian captivity and the crossing of the Red Sea. He compared the colony to the "chosen" people and a "city set upon a hill"; their duty was to be a light unto Europe so all could follow their example. The American people may inherit what Albanese calls a "melodramatic" edge from the Puritans along with a strong sense of suffering and guilt (Albanese, 1999, p. 439). Perhaps the guilt was occasioned by their departure from Britain; perhaps their sense of failure stemmed from the imminent British Reformation, which as Perry Miller claimed in his famous book *Errand into the Wilderness*, may have left uncertainty as to whether their "errand" was not more similar to that of an errand boy (Miller, 1956, p. 3). In any case, the Puritans developed their chosenness with gravity, guilt, and a sense of the imminence of their own failure and depravity, the latter of which was also grounded in the Calvinist focus on predestination and original sin.

Although the Puritan focus on innate depravity would seem to be at odds with the language of the Declaration of Independence, during the eighteenth century the situation of Puritans had changed. As can be witnessed in the sermons of the Northampton clergyman Jonathan Edwards, the experience of conversion or chosenness gained closer proximity to a language of the senses and nature. According to many critics, the First Great Awakening (1730–1740) that Edwards initiated can be seen as a forerunner to the American Revolution. To be sure, for many itinerant preachers and the general populace involved in mass revivalist democracy, the focus on a sensuous experience of conversion often converged with Puritan millennialism and a sense of imminent natural redemption of the American land as the "Promised Land" and the place in which the new millennium would begin. While Jonathan Edwards maintained a balance between millennialist rhetoric and the ordering of the township space of Northampton into a space for cultural expressions of religious concern, in the hands of those less concerned with local communities the typologies could be adapted to the Enlightenment belief in individual and national rationality, prosperity, and progress.

Benjamin Franklin may be one such figure who recognized the utility of revivalism for the creation of moral and "civil" citizens. Natural law seemed to coincide with God's law. And God, for the Enlightenment founders, was understood within the register of deism as a benevolent and "great governor." Freemasonry, a semisecret society, flourished as a method for the spread of deism and "fifty-two of the fifty-six signers of the Declaration of Independence were Masons" (Albanese, 1999, p. 440). During the Revolutionary War, the Puritan rhetoric of chosenness converged with natural law, and drawing on Puritan symbols, many revolutionaries depicted themselves as involved in a millennial battle with Great Britain. This adaptation of Puritan rhetoric and typologies to "America," or what Ralph Waldo Emerson called "Nature's Nation," increased during the nineteenth century after the Louisiana Purchase and the expansion of the continent. As Giles Gunn pointed out, Sidney Mead claimed that with the Second Great Awakening came a "reactionary evangelical enthusiasm" that "sever[ed] religious life in America from intellectual life" (Gunn, 1992, p. 225). Indeed the varieties of denominations and sects that developed during this period seemed to turn inward and focus on individual purity. Nonetheless in the nineteenth century expansion gave impetus to the continuation of Enlightenment notions of progress adapted to millennialism.

American civil religion finds its most intense expression during periods of crises and wars. The "War of 1812, like the Revolution, was a holy war" (Albanese, 1999, p. 450). Moreover in 1845 John L. O'Sullivan coined the term "manifest destiny" to justify American expansion and the annexation of Texas. The Civil War furthered the attachment of millennial rhetoric associated with New England Puritans to the Civil War between the North and the South. Julia Ward Howe's "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" was sung with its martial rhythms and its casting of the South as the anti-Christ over which the righteous North would prevail (Albanese, 1999, p. 451). During this time there was also a construction of the sacredness of the "founding fathers." Lincoln's Gettysburg Address was, however, one attempt to interrogate the meaning of the American Revolution in terms of the promises for civil religion that attended to the ordering of the nation. In the twentieth century many critics argued that there was a decline in the efficacy of American civil religion. Through ceremonies like Memorial Day, an attempt was made to connect Americans to their foundations, but "as veterans began to die, a bond with the past was broken" (Albanese, 1999, p. 455). Although civil religion may have emerged in times of "trial" through successive generations, and especially during the Vietnam War, Albanese claims that the "many" of the United States were losing faith in the "oneness" that civil religion symbolized.

E PLURIBUS UNUM: FOUNDING A "NOVUS ORDO SECLORUM." At this juncture where the story of American civil religion seems to end, the notion of the many and the one needs to be revisited. In addition to her delineation of the various historical forms of civil religion in the United States, Albanese paid attention to the "religion" and rituals of the founding. She noted the conscious imitation of Rome and Roman rituals in the festivals and early celebrations of the founding of the nation. A mingling of Puritan and Roman elements served in the symbolism and rituals surrounding George Washington. He was both a Moses figure and a Roman hero, who like "Cincinnatus, the Roman general, . . . left his plough to fight for the country and then, when the task was done, had dropped the sword to return to his farm" (Albanese, 1999, p. 443). In Albanese's opinion the Roman allusions, such as the motto *e pluribus unum*, were an attempt to capture the spirit of a republic that would attend to the plurality of creeds and nations united by the oneness of a state.

In another vein Hannah Arendt also analyzed the meaning of the founding of the American Republic. She noted that the language of the founding works almost in a formulaic manner as it determines a structure of meaning and constitution. Arendt undertook a philosophical analysis of the language of the founding as a basis for the civil religion in the United States. Arendt's analysis shows that though the American Republic was the first of the modern democracies, its founding could not totally shed the problem of founding, as Rykwert and de Coulanges set forth in ancient cultures. For in the founding of a modern state the revolutionaries underwent a unique experience of novelty and the issue of beginning anew. "Novus Ordo Seclorum" (a new secular order) is the title of a chapter in Arendt's *On Revolution* (1963); it is the Latin motto on the Great Seal of the United States and on the American dollar bill. Arendt clarified that if the founders' attitude was "religious," that sense of religion was closer to *religare*, which consists of binding "back to a beginning." For the Romans that beginning entailed a binding "to the beginning of Roman history, and the foundation of the eternal city" (Arendt, 1963, p. 198). The modern revolutionaries faced the problem of a free act, which, in their case, did not consist of binding oneself to a "distant past" (as in Rome). Rather, they faced the problem of manifesting the specific novelty of the "American" situation. Their beginning needed to account for the plurality and the aboriginal ordering of the land that immediately surrounded them. This means that if they were to legitimate a foundation premised on revolution, they would have to provide spaces for the voluntary association and public debate to continue.

While the founders did provide a "constitution," they were not as successful in providing spaces for the spirit of revolution and freedom to continue. According to Arendt, even the founders immediately worried that their foundation would encourage apathy. While the ritual of "voting" might serve to activate some of the population in the spirit of political freedom, it was too infrequent an occurrence to maintain the revolutionary spirit of the Republic. Many critics have pointed out that this failure to provide spaces for novelty to continue to appear coincides with the retention of slavery in the founding of the Republic. While slavery was one of the main topics of discussion during the Constitutional Convention, it was not mentioned in the Declaration of Independence, and the mention of it in the Constitution was the basis for the famous three-fifths compromise. This compromise at the founding of the Republic on the meaning of freedom was repeated throughout American history. Thus one might return to the critical debate on the decline in the commitment to American civil religion in the twentieth century, most aptly characterized by Bellah's title of his 1975 book *The Broken Covenant*. From this perspective, that sense of betrayal of not only the authenticity of the words but also the acts of founding a revolutionary democracy has been present for much longer.

CRITICAL UNDERSTANDINGS OF AMERICAN CIVIL RELIGION. In his essay in the *Anglican Theological Review*, Bellah in response to his critics made it clear that it had not been his intent to define civil religion as a good thing. He said, "Like all things human, civil religion is sometimes good and sometimes bad, but in any case, it seems likely to be with us for a very long time" (Bellah, 1973, p. 10). Almost every notion of civil religion or one of its predecessors or derivatives has been established with a positive quality while allowing for ambiguities that move toward a negativity. Arendt has pointed to the fact that this quality of civil religion was present in the founding itself. Mead noted that this negative quality might be found in the emphasis Americans have given to space over time. Given such an emphasis, Americans seem to have had little patience with memories—with the meaning of the actual events that took place in the land. While Herberg's formulation of Protestant-Catholic-Jew attempted to show that an Americanness could be expressed in any of these forms, the formula was always in danger of turning into an innocuous triviality because any of these designations or all of them together might be understood as a kind of religion in general (see Demerath and Hammond, 1969, p. 172).

Ambiguity around the notion of American civil religion persists, and the attempt to connect it to normative or positive religious expressions has been unsatisfactory. The reason for this might be located in the problematic of founding a revolutionary democracy. Arendt argued in subsequent reflections on the American Revolution in her book *Willing* (1978) that the revolution itself created a "hiatus" or a radical break with the past; the hiatus is the revolutionary time of possibility and freedom, a space in between the "no more" of the old order and the "not yet" of the new (Arendt, 1978, p. 204). The problem of the constitution of a civil religion based on a revolutionary spirit that had detached itself from the meaning of ancestors or sacred space may be viewed next to the problems of constituting a religion of the Republic that would also take into account the presence of aboriginal people, Native Americans, and African Americans. In terms of revolutionary beginnings and civil religion, a long and hopeful, while often prophetic and judgmental, tradition has existed with African Americans.

And yet these traditions have for the most part been left out of most formal discussion of American civil religion. Charles H. Long noted this exclusion in his essay "Civil Rights—Civil Religion: Visible People and Invisible Religion" (1974). This essay is included in the collection *American Civil Religion* edited by Russell E. Richey and Donald G. Jones in 1974 with the approaching bicentennial of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Bellah, Mead, and Herberg contributed as well. Here Long noted that the issue of "American" civil religion brought to the fore questions of what it means to be American and in particular what it means to be invisible in the telling of the national story, which has gained a well-nigh "cosmogonic language, a language of beginnings; it structures the American myth of beginnings, and has continued to express the synchronic dimensions of American cultural life since that time" (Long, 1974, p. 214). From this perspective, the issue of American civil religion is one of contestation, "concealment," and exclusion in the telling of a myth of origins.

Myth, as Long notes, is a "true story," and African American versions of American civil religion often used the language of religio-political symbols while defining another space for freedom of expression through music, art, and the cultural redefining of a transnational "America" to emerge. This tradition begins at least as early as the black music of the spirituals and the oral traditions of speaking and preaching, later finding written expression as *Walker's Appeal in Four Articles* (1829), in which David Walker challenged the Jeffersonian natural hierarchies and "Nature's God."

A sense of importance is also brought to Africa in the creation of the United States, while European Christians were challenged on their hypocritical understandings of an "equality" before God. Slave revolts, such as those led by Gabriel Prosser and Denmark Vesey and especially the 1831 revolt led by Nat Turner, often relied on biblical typologies of the Israelites in Egypt, and the leaders became Moses figures for their people. While an eschatological and often violent protest tradition emerged to challenge the white Protestant civil religious tradition in the United States, Frederick Douglass and other black abolitionists seemed to share more closely the Enlightenment values of natural equality and the Protestant work ethic. One might also cite W. E. B. Du Bois's *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) and his later *Black Reconstruction* (1935) as major documents of American civil religion. In the former Du Bois addressed both the issue of ordering American society and the telling of its myth of beginnings. "Your country?" he asked and then inserted a black presence into the sacred story by reminding Americans that "before the Pilgrims landed [Africans] were here" (Du Bois, 1903, p. 275). The stories, music, spirit, and folk traditions of both Africans and aboriginal tribes were present, Du Bois claimed, and were "gifts," added and intermingled in blood, sweat, and wars in the formation of the "Promised Land." Finally, one must mention the last great documents of this tradition as the speeches, events, and works of Martin Luther King Jr.

The African American tradition is a reminder that whatever form civil religion takes, its more hopeful organization includes that enunciated by Edwards in his "awakening" of active and free persons who are provided with a place for public debate over the issues of the day. While it may seem clear that "American civil religion" in its more positive Christian orientations and its faith in national heroes has declined in the twentieth century, the problematic of the nation's religio-political identity and the meaning of its revolutionary founding remains central as the nation further reflects on its powerful status in international affairs and the increasing diversity within its borders.

SEE ALSO Politics and Religion.

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The ideological and intellectual foundations of the new Western democratic states stem from the Reformation and Enlightenment critiques of hierarchical and sacredotal authority as the ordering principle for society and in the drive for a form of freedom defined for and located in the individual person. New democratic governments were brought into being to establish and maintain the rights of the individual. Democratic states, for the most part, did institute new human rights for the individual but this left open the meaning of a binding that would hold together a group of individuals into an abiding bond of unity. The United States of America is a case in point.

In addressing this issue, many revolutionaries had recourse to models from ancient societies, such as those in Fustel de Coulanges, *The Ancient City* (Garden City, N.Y., 1956; originally published 1873); and Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town* (Princeton, N.J., 1976), which show how religious rituals and beliefs created the "common bond" that held societies together. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract* (Baltimore, 1968; originally published 1762), notes that revolutionary democratic societies, like ancient societies, needed some form of religion to guarantee the integration and cohesion of modern democratic societies. Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, translated by Karen Fields (New York, 1995), in his description of Australian Aboriginal religion, alludes to a similar notion about the social integrative meaning of religion. Catherine L. Albanese, *Sons of the Fathers* (Philadelphia, 1976), discusses the imitation of Roman rituals in the ceremonies connected with the inauguration of George Washington as the first president.

The Puritan dimensions of American cultural and religious institutions have been ably set forth in Perry Miller's essays, *Errand into the Wilderness* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), a good introduction to the range of his scholarship on the Puritans. Discussions of the rhetoric of chosenness and New England Covenant theology commonly begin with analyses of John Winthrop's lay sermon preached aboard the *Arabella* in 1630, "A Modell of Christian Charity." *Winthrop Papers: Volume II, 1623–1630.* New York, 1968, 282–295. Stephen A. Marini, *Radical Sects of Revolutionary New England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), indicates the radical and intense fragmentation within the religious and secular parts of society prior to the Revolutionary War. Sidney E. Mead, *The Lively Experiment* (New York, 1963), discusses the "shape of Protestantism" in relation to the expansion in geographical space of the American Republic. Jonathan Edwards is often cited as setting the precedent for an enduring form of Puritanism as the basis for a "secular" religious polity, as seen in his writings on revivalism, especially *The Works of Jonathan Edwards,* vol. 4: *The Great Awakening,* edited by Perry Miller (New Haven, Conn., 1972), in which C. C. Goen provides an introduction that addresses Edwards's often disputed "postmillennialism," pp. 1–94. An analysis of this transition is in Alan Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind, from the Great Awakening to the Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966). Along with Miller, Joseph Haroutunian, *Piety versus Moralism: The Passing of the New England Theology* (New York, 1932), offers an examination of the more "progressive" use of Edwards's theology by his New Divinity followers. Alexis De Tocqueville commented on the importance of the Puritan townships and municipalities to the formation of a democratic spirit in the United States in his two volume work, *Democracy in America* (New York, 1990; Volume I originally published 1835; Volume II originally published 1840). George W. Pierson alludes to De Tocqueville's comments on the disregard of ancient traditions and cultures in the United States in *Tocqueville and Beaumont in America* (New York, 1938).

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H. Richard Niebuhr puts forth theologically critical positions regarding the plurality of religious institutions in the United States in *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York, 1957). Given the constitutional principle of the separation of church and state and the fact that American culture was a Protestant culture in terms of style and history, the many immigrants from other parts of the world, the progeny of the Africans enslaved within the country, and the aboriginal populations, one looked for a meaning of America that could provide the serious binding that is necessary for a functional society. Sidney E. Mead, *The Nation with the Soul of a Church* (New York, 1975), explains the meaning that could provide the serious binding necessary for a functional society within the structures of a form of secular Protestantism. Will Herberg attempts to extend a meaning of America in terms of a pluralistic religious meaning in *Protestant, Catholic, Jew* (Garden City, N.J., 1960).

Within this context one must understand Robert N. Bellah's programmatic "Civil Religion in America," *Daedalus* 96 (Winter 1967): 1–21. Bellah responds to some of his critics in "American Civil Religion in the 1970's," *Anglican Theological Review,* supp. ser., 1 (July 1973): 8–20, and continues his exposition of civil religion in *The Broken Covenant* (New York, 1975) and with Richard Madsen, William M. Sullivan, Ann Swidler, and Steven M. Tipton in *Habits of the Heart* (New York, 1986). Trenchant critiques of American civil religion are in John Murray Cuddihy, *The Ordeal of Civility* (New York, 1974) and *No Offense: Civil Religion and Protestant Taste* (New York, 1978). Another critical examination of Bellah's position is in John F. Wilson, *Public Religion in American Culture* (Philadelphia, 1979). Giles B. Gunn, *Thinking across the American Grain,* chap. 9, pp. 212–236 (Chicago, 1992), is an interrogation of the concept from a literary perspective informed by the tradition of American pragmatism. Hannah Arendt examines the philosophical meaning of the founding documents and rituals of the United States in *On Revolution* (New York, 1963) and in *Willing* (New York, 1978), the latter published posthumously.

Hardly any discussion of civil religion in the United States has emphasized the issue of slavery as an institution or the existence of enslaved Africans in the country at the time of its founding. Though this is a perennial issue of the country, having been one of the major causes of one the greatest wars in human history, it is seldom mentioned in relationship to either a religious or civil ordering of the country. Slavery was discussed almost every day in the constitutional convention and provisions were made to count the number of slaves for representation, but the founding made no change in their status. For the institution of slavery and the enslaved in the Constitutional Convention, see Paul Finkelman, *An Imperfect Union* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1981). Charles H. Long, "Civil Rights—Civil Religion: Visible People, Invisible Religion," pp. 211–221, in *American Civil Religion,* edited by Russell E. Richey and Donald G. Jones (New York, 1974), contributes to this discussion. There is, however, a long tradition of African American thought concerning the civil ordering of the country, including David Walker, *Walker's Appeal in Four Articles* (1829), which has been reprinted as *David Walker's Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World,* edited by Peter P. Hinks (University Park, Pa., 2000); W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Chicago, 1903) and *Black Reconstruction* (New York, 1935); and Martin Luther King Jr., *Strength to Love* (New York, 1963), *Where Do We Go From Here?* (New York, 1967), and *Why We Can't Wait* (New York, 1964). In addition a great deal of the contemporary Black Theology movement can be seen as contributing to the meaning of a civil religion. See especially James H. Cone, *Black Theology and Black Power* (New York, 1969) and *A Black Theology of Liberation* (Philadelphia, 1970). Gayraud S. Wilmore's interpretive discussion of African American Christianity, *Black Religion and Black Radicalism* (Maryknoll, N.Y., 1998) also makes a major contribution to this discussion.

CAROLE LYNN STEWART (2005)

CLASSIFICATION OF RELIGIONS

CLASSIFICATION OF RELIGIONS is necessitated by the diversity, complexity, and greatly increased knowledge of religions and by the development of the scientific study of religion during the past hundred years. The student of religion seeks to find or bring some system of intelligibility to the manifold expressions of religious experience, not only to make the data manageable but to discern common characteristics by which religions and religious phenomena can be grouped together and compared with or distinguished from others. Basically, there are two kinds of classification. One orders historical religions in terms of their similarities and differences; the other orders religious phenomena into categories (e.g., sacrifice, purification, rites of passage).

EARLY MODERN CLASSIFICATION SCHEMES. The work of F. Max Müller (1823–1900), the father of the comparative study of religions, gave impetus to the classification of religion. Primarily a linguist, Müller used his philological method as a model for the comparative study of religions and the classification of religions along racial-genetic lines. In his view, racial, linguistic, and religious "families" (Aryan, Semitic, and Turanian) coincided. Language provided the primary evidence for this coincidence.

The Dutch scholar C. P. Tiele (1830–1902), one of the founders of the scientific study of religion and a contemporary of Müller, also gave particular attention to the classification of religions. Tiele was impressed by the moral and ethical qualities he found in religions. He saw these qualities as expressions of a "religious idea" that had evolved in the course of history. He distinguished between "nature religions" and "ethical religions." The former were those in which ethical elements were either absent or, at most, minimally present. These religions included polyzoic naturalism (a belief that all nature is endowed with life), polydemonistic-magical religions (animism), therianthropic polytheism (gods in the form of animals), and anthropomorphic polytheism (gods in the form of men). The ethical religions ("spiritualistic ethical religions of revelation") were divided into two categories: natural nomistic (legalistic) religious communions (including Daoism, Confucianism, Brahmanism, and Judaism) and universalistic religious communions (Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam). Of the former category Judaism was considered transitional in the direction of universalistic religions. To the latter category only Buddhism and Christianity fully belong, for Islam is thought to retain some particularistic and nomistic elements.

Tiele's emphasis on the ethical as a new and decisive religious element came to be used frequently in distinguishing the "higher" from the "lower" religions. While it is true that the monotheistic religions emphasize ethics and morality, it is not the case that a concern for morality is absent in so-called primitive religions. The judgment of Tiele and others of his time, and the classifications based on it, reflected prejudices concerning "primitive" peoples.

TYPES OF CLASSIFICATION. Some classifications of religions are extraordinarily broad, the broadest being binary or bipartite. Familiar bipartite classifications give such contrasting pairs as true-false, natural-revealed, literate-preliterate, Eastern-Western, and Christian–non-Christian. The most obvious difficulty with such broad classifications is that they do not distinguish sufficiently to do justice to the diversity and complexity of the religious world.

Normative classification. The most common type of classification, historically, has been normative. Religions have been classified according to the norms or standards of the classifiers. Typically, these norms were religiously, culturally, and historically conditioned, if not derived, and tended to be subjective and arbitrary.

A persistent binary normative classification has been the division of religions in relation to "truth," yielding the two categories: "true religion" and "false religion." This division has appeared frequently among the great monotheistic religions (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam) but has not been limited to them. Normative classifications do not increase understanding.

The use of normative classification by Christians goes back at least to the church fathers. It arose in the context of the religious competition of the early centuries, a time of great religious ferment and rivalry, to meet the needs of Christian apologetics. Thus, for example, other religions were said to exist as the result of divine condescension to the needs and weaknesses of humans and no longer had any validity after the appearance of Christianity. Judaism with its Torah, it was said, had been a "schoolmaster" preparing its adherents for the coming of the Gospel, and the other religions were merely imperfect copies of the true religion, plagiarisms at best.

Other Christian classifications of religions originated in the Middle Ages, and received a status that they retained in large measure through the magisterial authority of Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274). Thomas taught a basic distinction between natural religion and revealed religion, the former based on religious truth that can be known through the use of reason itself and the latter on divinely revealed truth. This distinction coincides in part with the distinction between religions based on "general revelation" and those based on "special revelation."

Protestantism has also provided various binary classifications of religions. Examples from the Reformation include Martin Luther's norm of justification by faith and John Calvin's *sola gratia;* a later instance is the distinction between "heathen religions" and the Christian religion, commonly made at the beginnings of the Protestant missionary movement.

Less obviously normative are classifications of religions that are ostensibly scientific, particularly those classifications based on theories about the origin and development of religion that appeared during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The theory that enjoyed the greatest vogue, E. B. Tylor's "animism," argued that the earliest form of religion was based on belief in anima or souls, spiritual entities capable of separation from the body. Tylor theorized that this primitive belief was based on certain real but misinterpreted universal human experiences (sleep, dreams, trances, hallucinations, and death). He admitted, however, that religion as it is found in the world is more than this, for everywhere it has undergone development. It evolves through various stages, which Tylor tried to sketch out, thereby accounting for the various kinds of theism, including polytheism and monotheism.

The theories of Tylor and others who developed evolutionary schemes typically postulated not neutral stages but scales having normative significance. Evolution was seen as a movement from simple, rudimentary, indeed crude, beginnings, through successive stages, each exhibiting increasing complexity, toward completion and perfection. "Earlier" meant lower and inferior; "later" meant higher and superior. Chronology was given valuative meaning. Not surprisingly, monotheism was seen as the highest religious stage yet attained. Each religion could be distinguished and classified in terms of its place on the scale, the several great monotheisms coming at the top. At the same time, one could reveal the "primitive" foundations and beginnings of all religions, including the highest. The evolutionists, like the later Freudians, believed they could disclose the secret that lay at the beginning. Moreover, they assumed that the nature, the essence of religion, is identical with its origin.

Geographical classification. Geography has been a ready means of classification of religions, especially since many religions and types of religion can be observed to belong exclusively or mainly to certain geographical areas. Again, simply binary classifications have appeared, the most common being "Eastern religions" and "Western religions." Often "Western" means Judaism and Christianity (religions of "Near Eastern" origin, actually), with Islam conveniently forgotten by many classifiers. "Eastern" or "Asian" may mean India and China and the lands under their cultural and religious influence. This simple bipartite division not only groups together religions (especially those of the "East") which differ greatly from one another, but omits important areas of the world and their religions.

The actual geographical distribution of some of the major religions renders problematic classification by geographical distribution. Some, for example Christianity, may be found in most regions of the world, although the proportion of adherents to the general population will vary widely. In this regard Islam is a particularly difficult case. Originating in the Near East, it quickly became a religion of wide geographical distribution, generating the "Islamic world," a great band stretching at least from Morocco in the West to Indonesia in the East, with important communities in the North (the Soviet Union and China) and South (sub-Saharan Africa). The fact that some religions have become virtually extinct in the lands of their origins (e.g., Indian Buddhism) also complicates geographical classification.

Further, it is difficult to stay simply with geographical criteria. Many textbooks on "comparative religion" (under such titles as *Religions of the World* and *Religions of Mankind)* combine the geographical and the historical in their outlines, utilizing such headings as "Religions of Middle Eastern Origin," "Religions of Ancient Rome," and "Religion in the Islamic World" as well as headings of purely geographical designation (e.g., "Religions of the Indian Subcontinent"). Such textbooks tend to leave out some important geographical regions. They may present religions of India, the Near East, the Far East, and perhaps religions of Greece and Rome. They are much less likely to include African religions and the religions of the Amerindians and the Pacific islands peoples.

Geography appears at first to afford the possibility of a convenient, intelligible, neutral classification of religions but turns out not to do so. In any case, its value is doubtful, for the significance of geographical considerations, especially on a large scale, is minimal for the understanding of particular religions and groups of religions, recent studies in the ecology of religion notwithstanding.

PHILOSOPHICAL CLASSIFICATION. The philosophical consideration of religions led in the modern period to some attempts in the West to classify religions on a philosophical rather than a theological or geographical basis. Perhaps the most wide-ranging and best-known effort is that of the German philosopher G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831), especially in his *Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion* (1832). Briefly, Hegel saw religions in relation to the dialectical movement of the whole of human history toward the ultimate realization of freedom. He envisioned a vast scheme of evolution in which Spirit progressively realizes itself through the ongoing dialectical process of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis.

Hegel classified religions in terms of the stages they represent in the progressive self-realization of Spirit. Contrasting self and nature, he considered as the lowest level of religion the religions of nature. In these religions humans are completely immersed in nature and have only such consciousness as derives from sense experience. A higher stage of religion is represented, according to Hegel, by those religions in which humans have begun to emerge from nature and become conscious in their individuality. Specifically, this stage is represented by Greek and Roman religions and Judaism. The highest stage of religion is that in which the opposites of nature and individuality are transcended in the realization of what Hegel called Absolute Spirit. This is the level of Absolute Religion, which he did not hesitate to identify with Christianity.

Hegel's general scheme, as well as his classification of religions, has been criticized for its assumption that human history exhibits continuous progress. Further, Hegel's classification of religions is value-laden, most obviously in its claim that the Christian religion is the absolute religion. One sees again that normativeness is not the sole preserve of theologians.

A somewhat different philosophical approach to classification is found in the work of another nineteenth-century German thinker, Otto Pfleiderer (1839–1908), especially in his *Die Religion, ihr Wesen und ihre Geschichte*, 2 vols. (1869). Pfleiderer's approach focused upon the essence (*Wesen*) of religion. In his view, the essence is found in two elements, freedom and dependence, which are variously interrelated in the religious consciousness generally and in specific historical religions. Some religions (e.g., Egyptian and ancient Semitic religions) emphasize the religious sense of dependence, whereas other religions (e.g., the religions of the Aryans, Greeks, and Romans) stress the opposite pole, freedom. Still other religions clearly contain both elements but in unequal proportion (Brahmanism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism). In Pfleiderer's view the highest manifestation of religion is one in which the two elements, freedom and dependence, are in equilibrium, reconciled in an ultimate harmony. This possibility he believed is found only in the monotheistic religions, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The possibility is fully realized, however, only in Christianity, for Islam is still inclined toward dependence and Judaism toward freedom. Here again a Western Christian thinker's classification of religions is used as a means of affirming the religious superiority of Christianity.

Phenomenology of religion. The term *phenomenology* can mean several things. It can refer to the twentieth-century philosophical school initially associated with the German philosopher Edmund Husserl, and later with Martin Heidegger, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Paul Ricoeur, and others. In this sense it is phenomenological philosophy devoted to the study of religion. However, the term *phenomenology of religion* refers to the application of phenomenological methods to the study of the history of religions, as, for example, by W. Brede Kristensen, Gerardus van der Leeuw, C. Jouco Bleeker, and Mircea Eliade. In the hands of these scholars phenomenology is less a philosophy than a method for the study of religions.

The interest of phenomenologists of religion is in the classification of religious phenomena that are not limited or specific to a particular historical religion but cross the religious lines. For example, the phenomenologist of religion is interested in such categories as rites of sacrifice, myths of origin, and fertility deities. Further, phenomenologists seek to discern the "meaning" of religious phenomena in a nonreductionistic and nonnormative manner, believing that the phenomena will disclose their meanings to those who approach them "phenomenologically," that is, in a disciplined but open and nonprejudicial way.

W. Brede Kristensen (1867–1953), a Dutch scholar of Norwegian origin and a pioneer of phenomenology of religion, understood phenomenology as a new method of organizing data in the study of religion. One could, of course, organize the data historically or geographically as had been done in the past. But one could also organize data phenomenologically, in which case one would attempt to discern common themes and to describe the meanings of these themes among religions, regardless of their historical tradition or geographical location. Ultimately, one seeks the *essence* of the religious phenomena. In *The Meaning of Religion* (1960), Kristensen described the task of phenomenology of religion as that of classifying and grouping the divergent data of religion in such a way that one may obtain an overall view of their religious content and the religious values therein. The phenomena should be grouped according to characteristics that correspond to the essential and typical elements of religion. Kristensen classified the subjects of the phenomenology of religion into three broad groups: religious cosmology (the world), religious anthropology (humans), and cultus (acts of worship). Within their scope he was able to treat such specific phenomena as the worship of earth gods, conceptions of the soul, and ritual purifications.

Another Dutch phenomenologist of religion was Gerardus van der Leeuw (1890–1950), whose *Religion in Essence and Manifestation* (*Phänomenologie der Religion*, 1933) is considered a classic. His broadest phenomenological categories were the object of religion (which he analyzed in terms of power and the forms of power), the subject of religion (sacred man and community), and object and subject in reciprocal operation. Using these categories, he was able to classify and interpret an impressive number and variety of specific religious phenomena: sacred stones and trees, demons, priests, saints, sects, souls, sacrifices, taboo, sacred times and spaces, festivals, myth, mysticism, faith, and many others.

Unlike Kristensen, van der Leeuw gave some attention to "religions" (i.e., historical religious wholes), quoting Heinrich Frick's assertion that "religion actually exists only in religions." His classification was twelvefold. It was, however, curious and mixed, for it included not only historical religions but types of religion without specific historical form, and forms of religious dynamic. Specifically, van der Leeuw distinguished eight historical forms of religion: (1) religion of remoteness and flight (Confucianism and eighteenth-century Deism); (2) religion of struggle (Zoroastrian dualism); (3) religion of strain and form (Greek religion); (4) religion of infinity and asceticism (Indian religion, especially Hinduism); (5) religion of nothingness and compassion (Buddhism); (6) religion of will and obedience (Jewish religion); (7) religion of majesty and humility (Islam); and (8) religion of love (Christianity). To these forms he added religion of repose and religion of unrest. The former he associated with mysticism and the latter with theism. Both are elements in historical religions but have no proper historical form of their own. Finally, van der Leeuw distinguished two forms of the "dynamic of religions." One manifests itself by syncretism and mission, the other by revivals and reformations.

The usual criticism of phenomenology of religion, including its classifications, whether of phenomena or historical religions, is that it is not sufficiently historical. While phenomenologists of religion often begin with the historical data and seek to understand the data "historically," at least initially, the tendency is often toward abstraction, and then toward reification of these "forms" of religious dynamic, with the result that the phenomenologist's attention is drawn away from the religions in their historical particularity.

RECENT ATTEMPTS AT CLASSIFICATION. The enterprise of classifying religions is no longer in vogue. It is not often that one finds students of religion devoting their energies to this task. While the need to order data continues, other reasons that encouraged classification have diminished. As intimated above, one reason for classification has been to provide a framework for the assertion of the superiority of Christianity. That motive, whether consciously or unconsciously held, has faded. Another reason was directly connected with the vogue of evolutionism, for it encouraged and facilitated classification in terms of religious stages. That, too, has declined.

Nevertheless, there have been some recent attempts to classify religions. Illustratively, attention may be called to three. The sociologist of religion, Robert N. Bellah, has sought to construct an evolutionary interpretation of religion. In an essay titled *Religious Evolution* (1964) he proposed a sequence of five ideal typical stages of development: primitive, archaic, historic, early modern, and modern. These stages are examined in terms of their religious symbol systems, religious actions, religious organizations, and social implications. He maintains that the symbol systems have evolved from the simple to the complex. Also, religious collectivities have become progressively differentiated from other social structures. Finally, beginning with the historic stage, the consciousness of the self as a religious subject has increasingly developed. Religious evolution is thus seen as a process of differentiation and development that can best be understood historically and sociologically.

The influential and prolific historian of religions Mircea Eliade has delineated two fundamentally different religious orientations: cosmic and historical. The former is the principal topic of *The Myth of the Eternal Return* (1949). It is the type of orientation characteristic of so-called primitive and archaic religions and, in fact, of all "traditional" religion. Cosmic orientation is distinguished by its experience and conception of time (as cyclical and reversible). Sacred time is mythical, not historical. History is deprecated in favor of transcendental models provided by myth. By means of return to the powerfully creative, mythical time of origins, humans are enabled to overcome the deleterious effects of ordinary, profane time. Moreover, the objects and structures of the world ("nature") are means by which the sacred manifests itself ("hierophanies"). In striking contrast to the cosmic religious orientation, with its distinctive ontology, is the historical religious orientation. It, too, involves a conception of time. Time is linear, chronological, historical. It is irreversible, and historical events are unique (not typical, as in cosmic time). History is affirmed, for it is primarily in and through historical events that the sacred manifests itself. Myth is understood as sacred history. In Eliade's view, this second type of religious orientation is characteristic of the monotheisms—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—and is largely confined to them. However, even within these religions the contrasting religious orientation makes itself felt, as, for example, in the "cosmic Christianity" of Eastern Europe.

A third recent attempt to classify religions is found in an essay ("Primitive, Classical, and Modern Religions," 1967) by Joseph M. Kitagawa. It relates to both Eliade's and Bellah's classifications. According to Kitagawa, religions can be distinguished by the kinds of religious experience and apprehension characteristic of them. Primitive religion is characterized by an orientation in which the ultimate purpose of life is participation in the creation of "cosmos" out of "chaos" by imitating mythical models. The classical religions, which include the religions of the ancient Near East, Iran, India, the Far East, and the Greco-Roman world, evidence a significant emancipation of *logos* from *muthos.* These religions are further marked by a change in man's view of himself— no longer is he only a part of nature—and by a sophistication and systematization of the theoretical, practical, and sociological expressions of his religious experience.

A completely satisfactory classification of religions continues to elude scholars. Some general requirements for more adequate classification of religions, however, are the following. First, the classification should be comprehensive, that is, inclusive ideally of all religions. Second, the classification should be objective and descriptive, not subjective and normative. Third, the effort should be made to do justice to particular religions and to avoid misrepresenting or caricaturing them because of prejudice or the desire to make them fit a particular scheme of classification. Fourth, judgments should be made in order to distinguish what is essential or fundamental in religions from what is accidental or incidental. Fifth, one should be alert equally to similarities and differences among religions. Finally, it is imperative to recognize that "living religions" are indeed alive and always changing and that "dead religions" have had a history: both, in short, are categories of dynamic entities. This dynamism is one factor that makes the classification of religion an unending task.

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CLEANLINESS See PURIFICATION

CLEMEN, CARL

CLEMEN, CARL (1865–1940), Protestant theologian and historian of religions. Carl Christian Clemen was one of the founders of research in the science of religion and of its institutionalization in Germany. After qualifying for a lectureship in New Testament studies in Halle, he taught there from 1892 to 1903 and in Bonn from 1903 to 1908. After visiting the United States as a guest lecturer in 1908 and 1909, he became in 1910 associate professor and in 1920 professor of the history of religions in the philosophy department of the University of Bonn. The breadth of his scholarship is indicated by the fact that his publications number approximately six hundred titles, that he lectured on the Old Testament and on systematic and practical theology, and that he taught Avestan.

His publications first concerned the New Testament and its background in the history of religions. His inaugural lecture at Bonn, published as *Die religionsgeschichtliche Methode in der Theologie* (1904), outlined his program, first, of summarizing the different challenges confronting theology from the religio-historical method, especially that of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule,* and second, of tracing the derivation of religious views in the New Testament. For him the religio-historical method is a principle of research that Christian theology simply must apply if it is to be considered a field of knowledge. In this, however, Clemen believed that the comparison of Christianity with other religions (1) does not hinder the researcher, despite a temporary presumption of the equality of religions, from being convinced of the advantage of a certain religion and church; (2) does not promote the relativization of Christianity or, in its historical observation of Christianity, exclude the confirmation of its absoluteness; and (3) will lead, in fact, in its attempt to explain Christianity by means of other religions, to the verification of Christianity's originality and of its possession of content that was already present and only poured into borrowed forms.

Research is indebted to Clemen, in connection with these arguments, for a more precise definition of the idea of "influence" among religions through his application of three criteria. One can speak of "influence" if any one of the following criteria is met: (1) if a special religious view cannot be explained completely from the original ideas of the religions concerned; (2) if any hypothesized influence of one religion is actually demonstrable in another religion, and the precedence of the former is plausible; and (3) if the manner in which a religious view is transmitted is comprehensible (otherwise a correspondence must be shown to be so far-reaching that the former has to be regarded as the model, even if the way of influence is unknown). A broadly conceived exposition of these ideas appeared in his *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des Neuen Testaments: Die Abhängigkeit des ältesten Christentums von nichtjüdischen Religionen und philosophischen Systemen* (1909; translated as *Primitive Christianity and Its Non-Jewish Sources*, 1912). A German revision of *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung* published in 1924 also incorporates his work *Der Einfluss der Mysterienreligionen auf das älteste Christentum* (The influence of mystical religions on primitive Christianity; 1913), while his book *Die Reste der primitiven Religion im ältesten Christentum* (Traces of primitive religion in primitive Christianity; 1916) adds a portrayal of concepts originating in nature religions. A summary view of the opposite relationships is provided by the late work *Der Einfluss des Christentums auf andere Religionen* (The influence of Christianity on other religions; 1933). Clemen's summary work, *Die Religionen der Erde: Ihr Wesen und ihre Geschichte* (1927), was translated into English as *Religions of the World: Their Nature and Their History* (1931). The broad scope of his approach to method is seen in writings such as *Die Anwendung der Psychoanalyse auf Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* (The application of psychology to mythology and the history of religion; 1928) and *Grundriss der Religionsphilosophie* (Outline of the philosophy of religion; 1934). Yet his ideal was strongly source-oriented historical research, and his edition of *Fontes historiae religionum ex auctoribus Graecis et Latinis collecti*, beginning with his collection of sources and published as *Die griechischen und lateinischen Nachrichten über die persische Religion* (Greek and Latin accounts of Persian religion; 1920), has become an aid of lasting importance to religio-historical research.

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Christoph Elsas (1987)
Translated from German by Roger Norton

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (150?–215?), Christian theologian. Little is known about the life of Titus Flavius Clemens. A few details can be gathered from Clement's allusion to his education (*Miscellanies* 1.1, 2.2) and from the report of the fourth-century Christian writer Eusebius of Caesarea (*Ecclesiastical History* 5.10–11, 6.6, 6.11.5–6). Born in the mid-second century to pagan parents, perhaps in Athens, Clement traveled extensively as a young man, seeking an intellectual mentor. This he found in Pantaenus, who, according to Eusebius, served as head of a Christian school in Alexandria. Clement is said to have succeeded Pantaenus as chief of the school in the late second century, probably remaining a layperson after his conversion to Christianity. In 202 or 203, at the time of the emperor Septimius Severus's persecution of Christians, Clement left Alexandria for Asia Minor. Presumably he died before 215.

The following treatises of Clement are extant: *Exhortation to the Greeks* (*Protrepticus*); *The Instructor* (*Paedagogus*); *Miscellanies* (*Stromateis*); *Who Is the Rich Man That Is Saved?* (*Quis dives salvetur?*); a collection of excerpts from Valentinian teachings, with Clement's comments (*Excerpta ex Theodoto*); and a work of exegetical notes on the Old Testament (*Eclogae propheticae*). Only fragments remain of other treatises. Although scholars disagree on the precise dating of Clement's works, the period 195–210 probably encompasses them all. He wrote the *Protrepticus* first, followed by the *Paedagogus,* the *Stromateis,* and the *Quis dives salvetur?* Clement's influence on later theology was largely channeled through the writings of his brilliant successor, Origen.

Clement's works testify to the diversity of Christians in Alexandria around the year 200. There were "simple believers," wary of speculation, who understood Scripture literally and thought ecclesiastical authority enough to direct their lives. Those able to embrace a more advanced theology sought to align the best of classical culture with their faith. (Perhaps this group included those Clement hoped to comfort with his assurance that riches did not automatically debar them from salvation if they practiced inward detachment from their wealth and heeded Christianity's call for charity.) In addition to Alexandrians within the Catholic Christian fold, there were many Gnostics, especially the followers of Valentinus and Basilides, who self-identified as Christians, but whom Clement considered heretics. Clement, following his predecessors, the second-century Apologists, also addressed pagan critics who mocked Christianity as a religion for the uneducated. The pagan writer Celsus's searing attack on Christianity, *The True Word,* had been composed only about fifteen years before Clement began his writing career.

Although Clement did not reject the "simple believers," he advocated higher theological education and an allegorical interpretation of Scripture, conceding that the Bible was stylistically inelegant and was replete with anthropomorphic depictions of God. Responding to more theologically educated Christians and to pagan critics, Clement argued that Christianity was a species of philosophy, far superior to Greek myth or to the mystery religions. (Recent scholars have emphasized Clement's indebtedness to various philosophical traditions, especially Middle Platonism.) Clement attempted to display his erudition by quoting several hundred passages from classical authors in his writings, although he probably derived many of his citations not from the original sources, but from the handbooks popular in his day. Like the Gnostics, Clement valued religious knowledge highly, but he argued, allegedly against them, that God's creation, the material world, was good. He accused Gnostics of holding either overly ascetic or, conversely, libertine positions regarding the use of the body and material things, thus he (somewhat lukewarmly) endorsed the virtues of Christian marriage. Moreover, since Clement understood Gnostic notions of "election" to mean "fatalistic determinism," he championed the freedom of the will and freely chosen good deeds as necessary components of Christian salvation.

Among the more prominent themes in Clement's works are the following: the progressive revelation of truth through the Logos (the Word) from ancient to early Christian times; Greek philosophers' plagiarism of ideas from the Old Testament; humans' creation in the "image of God" that constantly recalled them to more virtuous lives; the incorporeality of God, misrepresented by Scripture's anthropomorphisms (although Clement sometimes engaged feminine images for God); the necessity of allegorical interpretation of Scripture; detailed guidelines provided by the Logos as "Instructor" for daily activities such as eating and sleeping; the benefits that preparatory instruction in philosophy and other secular disciplines provided for Christians; the possibility of advancement in the Christian life from belief to knowledge and from self-control to impassability (although good deeds and love were incumbent upon Christians at all stages); and the claim that the appellation "Gnostic" was more appropriately applied to those advanced in Catholic orthodoxy than to those he deemed heretics.

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CLEMENT OF ROME, supposed author of a letter sent from the church of Rome to the church of Corinth in the last years of the first century CE. The date most commonly given for the letter is 96–97. In the course of the second century the author of this letter came to be identified as Clement and was thought to have been the third bishop of Rome, after Peter and Paul. Although there is no particular reason to doubt that the person who actually penned the letter was so named, there is some doubt as to whether at this time Rome had a bishop in the later sense of the word, that is, a single head of the church.

The letter, known as *1 Clement*, tells us nothing about the person who wrote it. Indeed, the letter is intended to be understood as the expression of a church rather than an individual. In response to disagreements at Corinth, it focuses on the need for harmony and the evils of discord. The author draws upon materials from the Bible (the Hebrew Bible in the Septuagint Greek translation) and from Greco-Roman tradition. He knows several of Paul's letters, perhaps including *Hebrews.* He also uses material similar to what we find in the synoptic Gospels, but it is doubtful whether he knew the Gospels in their present form.

First Clement gives early expression to ideas that would subsequently be very important in the Roman tradition and elsewhere. The leadership of the church is seen as standing in a chain of authority extending from God, through Christ, on through the apostles, and finally to the bishops or presbyters (the terms seem to be used interchangeably), who now stand as a group at the head of the individual churches. To overthrow the established ministers (as apparently had been done at Corinth) when they have been blameless in the performance of their duties is to rebel against God.

Some have interpreted *1 Clement* as the earliest expression of Roman primacy, and Clement of Rome therefore as the first pope on record as having acted papally. This, however, is to exaggerate the authoritarian character of the letter and the individual importance of its author. It is a letter of exhortation from one church to another, both of which shared the tradition of having been evangelized by Peter and Paul.

Clement of Rome was subsequently but erroneously credited with a second "letter" (*2 Clement*), really a sermon, probably written around the middle of the second century, and two third-century letters on virginity. In addition, the fourth-century pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions* feature Clement as the protagonist of their dramatic narratives. There seems to be no reason to suppose that any historically reliable information about the first-century Clement can be derived from these materials. Subsequent to the time of the pseudo-Clementines, Clement of Rome seems not to have played a large role in Christian tradition. He was remembered as the first pope of whom more than the name alone was known, and as the author of the earliest extant piece of Christian literature outside the New Testament.

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JAMES F. MCCUE (1987)

CLITORIDECTOMY. The term *clitoridectomy* covers a range of ritual surgical operations: (1) drawing blood from the clitoral prepuce or removal of the prepuce, (2) excism of the clitoris, (3) excism of the clitoris and labia minora, and (4) infibulation, requiring removal of the clitoris, the labia minora, and the anterior two-thirds of the labia majora, the two sides of which are then joined so that a small posterior opening is left for the passage of urine and menstrual blood. The first type occurs in Islamic countries of the Middle East, Africa, and Asia. The second type occurs in East, West, and central Africa, on the Arabian Peninsula, and in Brazil, eastern Mexico, and Peru. The third type occurs throughout Africa, in Arab countries, and in parts of Aboriginal Australia. Infibulation occurs in Sudan, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Eritrea, southern Egypt, northern Nigeria, Mali, and the Central African Republic.

In countries where clitoridectomy is practiced, the rite may be performed virtually universally or it may have a sparse and patchy distribution. For example, in northern Ghana almost all women in the Kusase ethnic group will have had clitoridectomy, while none in the neighboring Tallensi group will have undergone this ritual. Nor is there a clear relationship between clitoridectomy and religion: in an area of southern Nigeria five contiguous ethnic groups perform the rite, but the Etsako are Muslim, the Esan and Ijan are predominantly Christian, and the Bini and Ukwuani primarily observe their traditional religion.

In Sudan, few women in the south are infibulated, but from 90 to 95 percent of the women in the Arabic north are (Dareer, 1983, p. 41). In neighboring Egypt an estimated 95 percent of women have had some kind of clitoridectomy, but most is of the third type and only relatively few, near the Sudan border, have been infibulated (Aziza, 1983, p. 13). In both countries urban, better-educated women tend to have minimal surgery or no clitoridectomy. Egyptian mummies dated 200 BCE show evidence of clitroidectomy (Dareer, 1983, p. 41), and present-day Coptic Christian as well as Muslim women in Egypt have clitoridectomy, suggesting that it is a pre-Islamic custom. This speculation is further supported by the fact that the Islamic countries of Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan do not practice clitoridectomy.

There is no mention of clitoridectomy in the Qurʾān, but more or less authentic *ḥadīth*s mention its practice in pre-Islamic Arabia. Although texts and dictionaries are not very explicit, evidence suggests minimal excision of the prepuce of the clitoris (Bosworth, 1978, p. 913). In an Islamic tradition preserved by Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 855), circumcision is called *sunnah* for males and honorable for females (Wensinck, 1979, p. 20). *Sunnah* means to follow the traditions of the prophet Muḥammad, who according to tradition was circumcised. The commentaries of al-Nawawī, edited in Cairo in 1283, say, however, that circumcision is equally obligatory for males and females, specifying removal of a small part of the skin in the highest part of the genitals (ibid.). Some contemporary Muslim teachers cite the general Islamic rule that forbids cutting parts of the body unless the benefits exceed the pain and injury, and the Sudanese religious and political leader El Sayed Abdel Rahman El Mahadi explicitly forbade infibulation (Dareer, 1983, p. 44). Thus one can understand the confusion revealed in a Sudanese survey where 60 percent of the women said religion and custom demanded infibulation, but of those who disagreed, 50 percent did so on religious grounds (ibid., p. 43).

Clitoridectomy was not practiced in the ancient Jewish religion, and it is not mentioned in either testament of the Bible.

Clitoridectomy is a rite and in its minimal form is performed on girls individually, accompanied by gifts. Or girls may be initiated in a large class with accompanying rites that involve all the women of a village or indeed a whole chiefdom (MacCormack, 1979). The age at which girls experience clitoridectomy varies, but in all cases it should be done by the time of puberty and marriage. Although some Islamic texts prohibit clitoridectomy before the tenth year (Wensinck, 1979, p. 20), in Sudan it is done between two and eleven years, and in Egypt between three and eleven years of age, although there are cases of it being done before the age of one.

Clitoridectomy is usually performed by a traditional midwife. In Egypt the decision is primarily taken by the girl's mother, then in descending order of importance, by both parents together, an aunt, a sister or grandmother, and the father alone (Aziza, 1983, p. 14). However, fathers usually pay for the ceremony, and in the case of infibulation, husbands pay for re-fibulation following each childbirth.

There is no single meaning of clitoridectomy. In all societies that circumcise females, males are also circumcised. The reasons given for both sexes is that it is a ritual of membership into a religious tradition, an ethnic group with the status of adult, or a prerequisite for legitimate and moral marriage, sexuality, and procreation.

In Mediterranean and Islamic countries clitoridectomy is often explained as an aspect of family honor. The phrase "son of an uncircumcised woman" is considered injurious in the sense that it is synonymous with "son of a whore"—that is, a woman of excessive sexual appetite caused by her not being circumcised. In Egypt, for example, clitoridectomy is thought to protect a girl's chastity by reducing her libido, thus maintaining the family's honor and the girl's suitability for a good marriage. In Muslim Java a mild pricking of the prepuce is associated with ritual filing down of teeth, suggesting a symbolic statement about curbing all appetites.

In countries concerned with female modesty as a sign of family honor, public evidence of defloration is often an important rite following marriage. A woman who cannot demonstrate virginity by blood on the marriage bed may be divorced or even put to death at the hands of her own family to preserve their honor. Infibulation may be associated with an extreme expression of that honor.

Nawal El Saadawi (1980) has suggested a Marxist interpretation, following Engels, whereby in societies with patrilineal inheritance an emphasis on female chastity protects inheritance of private property by ensuring that a man's heirs are his own children. Just as ruling classes impose the moral values of renunciation of pleasure on laborers, while they value extravagance themselves, so men constitute a "ruling class" over women and impose the renunciation of sexual pleasure on them while they enjoy sexual freedom and seduction with impunity. This Marxist interpretation cannot be a universal explanation for clitoridectomy because there are societies with patrilineal inheritance of property where women may be punished or even put to death for an infringement of sexual rules, but which lack rites of clitoridectomy.

In a wider comparative framework, the explanation that genital surgery is universally a by-product of male suppression of women is called into question. For example, in coastal West Africa there are groups that practice clitoridectomy but also allow a considerable amount of premarital freedom to women. In the patrilineal Mende area of Sierra Leone, for example, women may even hold overt political office, and the pain of clitoridectomy, experienced in a group, may serve to bond women together into potentially cohesive chapters of a women's secret society, thus enhancing their political power and control of wealth (MacCormack, 1979). Among some Aboriginal Australian and some Melanesian ethnic groups, men undergo much more extreme and painful ritual genital surgery than women, and this usually occurs in societies with patrilineal descent where men are described as being dominant.

Virtually everywhere, clitoridectomy is described as an act of purification, making women clean. On the Sherbro coast of Sierra Leone, women say that without this puberty rite a girl can achieve womanhood biologically but will remain a girl socially. Using a functional model of analysis, we might say that the ritual scar and body modification are the sign of being brought within an adult moral sphere. The man with whom an initiated woman shares an intimate relationship will know that she has been taught the responsible role of potential procreator.

Using a structuralist model of analysis, "making women clean" removes the clitoris, the small male penis, making women fit unambiguously—purely and "cleanly"—within the female category. Furthermore, the pain of clitoridectomy might be seen as a metaphor for childbirth. In Sierra Leone, the position assumed for clitoridectomy is the same as the position assumed in childbirth. The place is the same, since ideally a woman returns to her natal initiation place to give birth, under the hand of the midwife who initiated her. The social group is similarly constituted of local female kin and other townswomen, all being members of the women's secret society. The pain of clitoridectomy, controlled by time, place, and the technical skill of the midwife, is a metaphor for the pain of childbirth. As the midwife controls bleeding and protects against infection in clitoridectomy, so she does in childbirth. Womanhood is symbolically achieved in clitoridectomy and is confirmed, under the midwife's hand, in childbirth. In Sierra Leone the two events are logically related as part of the same message, although they are separated in time (MacCormack, 1979, 1982; see also Griaule, 1965, p. 158).

SEE ALSO Androgynes; Bodily Marks; Circumcision; Initiation, article on Women's Initiation.

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CAROL P. MACCORMACK (1987)
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CLOTHING

This entry consists of the following articles:

CLOTHING AND RELIGION IN THE EAST
CLOTHING AND RELIGION IN THE WEST
DRESS AND RELIGION IN AMERICA'S SECTARIAN COMMUNITIES

CLOTHING: CLOTHING AND RELIGION IN THE EAST

Clothing in the East communicates a wide range of personal and collective information about religious practice. A Buddhist monk's tonsure and saffron robes or a Hindu *guru*'s choice not to wear any clothing are religiously sanctioned costumes that reinforce the distinctiveness of an observant community as separate from the larger, secular society. Other kinds of clothing also speak to religious affiliation.

IDENTITY. A Jewish male's yarmulke and tallith, a Muslim woman's *hajib*, or a Parsi's white cotton shirt and white lamb's wool cord may be sanctioned for worship, but in daily life they signify a personal covenant with the divine, empowering the individual and at times serving political and cultural ends. By the same token, the traditional use of colored turbans by Islamic societies—white for believers, yellow for Jews, and blue for Christians—have in effect discriminated against ethnic and religious minorities.

The unbleached hemp garments worn by the eldest Chinese son signify his withdrawal from society in order to attend to the duties prescribed for mourning. As chief mourner he leads the ceremonies honoring the memory of the departed and conducts the rites associated with the ancestor cult. As the mourning period passes, the gradual reentry into the world is marked by changing the sack cloth to undyed or white garments of varying degrees of refinement, then to blue-trimmed white garments and eventually blue clothing.

Coiffure and headgear are particularly important symbols. In East Asia, from at least the second millennium BCE, hair dressed in knots on the top or at the back of the head distinguished populations of the urbanized south from the shaved heads or plaited tresses of northern nomads. Letting one's hair hang free or go undressed was a sign of disengagement from Chinese civilized society. For this reason the tonsure and queue that Manchu rulers enforced upon all populations of the Chinese Empire during the seventeenth century through the early twentieth century was an overwhelming symbol of political and cultural domination. Tonsure could also demonstrate commitment to Buddhist monastic practices. In other instances hair styles reflect folk beliefs. Binding hair at the "four corners" of the head into tufts was thought to ward off the danger of Chinese children falling into the hands of demons, as the tufts provided a convenient grip for Buddhist deities or good spirits to retrieve the child.

In western Asia, shaving the head or letting certain parts of the hair grow helped distinguish Muslim and Jewish populations.

Gender. In many Eastern religions, clothing addresses issues of gender. For Buddhist and Muslim societies, clothing de-emphasizes or obscures feminine identity by altering or completely negating notions of beauty or sexuality. In most Muslim cultures some form of head covering or veil is prescribed for women. In Pakistan, for example, a large scarf or shawl called a *dupatta* is worn over the head to cover the hair and affords proper modesty. In contrast, the Afghan veil, called a *burka*, is an all-enveloping garment that a woman is required to wear in public, reducing all women to an anonymous, generic, nonmale presence.

Cross-gender. Within Buddhist practice, nuns and members of female lay groups undergo tonsure and wear plain garments based on those worn by male members of monastic orders. In appearance they become male, yet the transformation also underscores their secondary place as women within the karmic cycle of rebirth through which sentient beings evolve from lower to higher forms on the path to *nirvāṇa.* The message of such cross-gender attire is conspicuously ambiguous, reflecting some of the larger cosmological principles at the core of Indian esoteric beliefs, in which the avatars of deities appear in many forms: some bestial, some feminine, some masculine, some theologically neuter. The artistic transformation of Bodhisattva Avalokitésvara in East Asia during the late eighth century and the ninth century from a neuter but essential masculine form into a female deity initially had less to do with costume than with the emphasis on female physical attributes—sweet face, elaborate hairdo, and female body type—but over time the deity's attire also changed. Such developments affected the appeal of this deity among female Buddhist devotees.

Cross-gender dressing among the *hijras*, a community of male-to-female transgenders in India and among related groups throughout South and Southeast Asia, sets them apart and contributes to their own identity as a third gender, neither female nor male. Traditionally, they conduct ceremonies within the larger community associated with birth.

Shamanism. Cross-gender dressing is also conspicuous among some Tunguz-speaking tribal culture groups of eastern Siberia, where male shamans wear feminine garments. In North Asian cultures shamanic practitioners may be either male or female. Yet for both genders clothing is intended to transform the wearer into an intermediary capable of bridging the gap between the physical world and the world of the spirits. Masks and garments tend to be highly personal, crafted by the shaman after a vision or intervention of the spirit world. In eastern Siberia they often take the form of a bird, bear, or stag. The cut of these garments, whether of animal skin or cloth, is significantly different from normal clothing, in part demonstrating the otherworldliness of shamanic practice. For example, coats may incorporate construction features, such as fringes or gussets, to simulate the animal they represent. Symbols for the sun, moon, and earth may be painted, appliquéd, or made of iron and attached to the upper body garment. Other decorative devices may evoke the sky gate, the goal of the spirit journey of the shaman. In addition, snakes, birds, horses, and other auspicious beasts are often part of the decorative program. A second common shaman garment type is decorated with bonelike forms that create an X-ray impression of the wearer's body.

Dance and performance. Among the dance costumes worn at Chinese folk festivals one can also find garments marked with bone diagrams and garments that imitate the animal protectors of shamanist power. The Cham dances of Tibet arose in pre-Buddhist times and were later incorporated into Tibetan Buddhist ritual. They employ forms of ecstatic dancing that evoke shamanistic practice. Cham costumes include masks, headgear, and garments that evoke birds, stags, horses, and other beasts familiar to the Siberian pantheon. The bone diagram garments were also used in Tibetan Buddhist ceremonial dancing. Although the surviving examples of these costumes are made of imported Chinese and Indian silks, the fluttering scarves and pendant sleeves as well as other construction features differentiate these coats from lay or clerical attire. Similar garments were in use among Mongol populations that converted to Tibetan Buddhism in the fourteenth century.

In contrast, in the secular Hindu world throughout South Asia, dance dramas are the focus of public ceremonies and celebrations associated with religious events, although the dramas themselves are not forms of worship. The colorful costumes, headdresses, and masks used in these performances constitute highly specialized costumes that suggest links between religion and political culture. Many are consciously archaic, evoking the mythic times, which are often the settings for these dramas. Similarly the garments and accessories worn by court dancers in Thailand and Indonesia evoke the bejeweled costumes seen on representations of Buddhist deities.

RITUAL CLOTHING. In those communities where a clergy acts as intermediary between the human and the divine there are often prescribed public rituals or displays. Here special clothes are used to transform the priest into a ritual celebrant.

Throughout Asia, clothing used within religious contexts is often among the most primitive garment types preserved by a culture. At one extreme are the palm-fiber garments worn by medicine men on the island of Buru in eastern Indonesia. The material is used as it comes from the source without further processing. The capes and mantles of green leaves, or their embroidered imitations worn by images of some of the Daoist immortals, reflect similar primitivism. Although made of luxury silk and greatly embellished, the highest-ranking Daoist priests' robes described below are among the most basic East Asian garment constructions. From the point of view of structure, these garments that are simply made of two lengths of fabric folded over the shoulder, seamed up the back and at the sides leaving space for the wearer's hands, contrast sharply with the more complex constructions having sleeves that are worn by second-ranking priests.

At another level this conservativism is reflected in the preservation of ancient textile forms within religious contexts. The tendency is particularly marked in Southeast Asia. Among the Batak tribes in Sumatra the most prestigious fabrics are those called *ragidup.* These large rectangular cloths are composed of three loom lengths joined along their selvages. Often the center panel is wider and is made of lighter-colored fiber. The cloth is produced on a simple loom, despite the presence of more sophisticated weaving equipment within the culture. These cloths are used in ritual gift giving and within religious ceremonies. A similar three-panel cloth with a light-colored central panel called a *khamar* is preserved in Bhutan. It is used by Tibetan Buddhists as a mark of esteem. It parallels the use of the *chaksay pankhep* reserved for royalty that is placed over the lap when the owner sits in audience and that is used as a napkin for wiping the hands.

VESTMENTS. When a priesthood interacts with the larger society, its authority is often tied to issues of status and rank. As is often the case, when clerical authority is set up in opposition to political culture, the attributes of patriarchal power and control are similar. The value system ascribed to secular power—luxury, magnificence, and conspicous consumption—are co-opted to serve the divine.

Shintō. Vestments worn by Shintō clergy—white kimono and white or red trousers (*hakama*) as well as the outer coats (*kariginu*) and black lacquered silk hats—are based on tenth-century Japanese court attire. While color signifies purity, the style of these garments and their political identification coincide with the period of centralization of priestly power in the hands of clan heads and the more structured form of worship that evolved in reaction to Buddhism and Confucianism from China. Shintō worship began to incorporate public ceremonies in which priests and priestesses conducted ritual observances. Other public gatherings were marked by events such as *kagura* dances that utilized specialized costumes and masks.

Daoism. Although it was also transformed into a much more sophisticated state religion as a result of the influence of Buddhism, Daoism as practiced in late imperial China used vestments linked to Siberian shamanism. When officiating at public celebrations, the highest-ranking Daoist priests wear a mantle called *jiang-i* (robe of descent), bearing cosmological symbols similar to those found in Siberian contexts.

This Daoist vestment is a full-length garment formed of two lengths of cloth seamed up the back and the sides and left open at the front. The back of the garment is decorated with astral symbols, ranked by registers from top to bottom and from center to edge. Symbols for the principle luminaries are arranged across the top of the garment. At the right shoulder the sun is represented by a red disk with a three-legged cock symbol; the moon at the left shoulder is depicted as a white disk in which a rabbit pounds the elixir of immortality; and a constellation, conventionally depicted as three balls joined by lines, is placed between. Explanation for these astral symbols can be documented to the first century BCE. Through these symbols, daily, monthly, and annual time could be calculated, and a calendar—one of the prime requirements for agrarian societies—could be fixed.

The decoration of the rest of the garment conveys notions of an unseen heaven. Prominent in this celestial diagram is a central image of paradise, often depicted as a multistoried tower within an ovoid frame of circular disks representing stars. This refers to the Three Isles of the Immortals located in the Eastern Sea. Five abstract forms arranged in a semicircle beneath the tower represent the five mythical peaks of the world. They guard the five principal directions: East, South, West, North, and Center. Below these, four mountain or pavilion structures symbolize the physical directions of the earth gates. Such association with paradise is often enhanced by figural imagery depicting various deities within complex pantheons. The hem may display the universal ocean with dragons, horses, tortoises, serpents, and other mythical beasts. The front of the coat is generally plain except for a dragon symbolizing the East and a tiger symbolizing the West. These figures flank the front opening and act as protective devices. Unlike shamanic garments, which assist the spirit journey of the individual, Daoist vestments function symbolically, transforming the wearer into an animator of political and religious systems that promoted control and stability.

Buddhism. Buddhism appropriated existing secular costume. Like Hinduism, from which it developed, it was initially a religion isolated from the population at large. Buddhist devotees lived within monastic communities and adopted clothing that stressed the rejection of worldly society. Over time the three-part costume based on the common attire of the Indian subcontinent became ritual attire. The lower body was covered with a sarong (*antaravasaka*). A shawl (*uttarasanga*), utilizing a length of loom-woven fabric, was draped in various manners around the upper body. A third garment called *sanghati*, literally "a twelve-fold cloth," was worn over the left shoulder.

The shawl became the most significant garment for Buddhism. It evolved into a rectangle constructed of smaller pieces, thus symbolizing the tattered and patched garments of the mendicant Buddha. The patchwork mantle, also called *kasaya*, was formalized to differentiate and identify its wearer as a member of a religious community and became the subject of monastic regulation.

Originally the name *kasaya* referred to a color distinction, which set the "impure" colored mantles of monks apart from the normal bleached white clothing of Indian laity. In time the "impure" colored clothing of monks of the Hīnayāna sect was enhanced by yellow dye, which still distinguishes the clothing of the Buddhist monks of Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia.

The specialized patchwork form of the garment spread north and east across Asia, accompanying proselytizing Buddhist missionaries. As the faith moved north and east, public worship evolved. In the less temperate regions of Central Asia, China, Korea, and eventually Japan, the simple three-part Buddhist costume was abandoned. The mantle was retained as symbolic apparel and worn over the normal dress typical of each region. The monastic clothing used in Tibet among Buddhist communities is a notable exception. There the sarong and mantle made of red-dyed wool was used. In all the Mahāyāna sects in East Asia a hood offered the tonsured heads of monks protection and conveyed public status. In Tibet the color of the hood distinguished the sect within the larger Buddhist community.

In East Asia, monastic costume continued to be regulated by prescription according to function and rank of the wearer. Most regulations focused on the mantle. In Japan, for example, the meanings of the original names of Buddhist garments were appropriated to describe variations of the pieced mantle. The *antaravasaka* became a five-paneled working outer mantle; the *uttarasanga* (the original shawl) defined a seven-paneled mantle worn at assembly. The *sanghati* was a large mantle used for travel composed of nine panels; two more panels were added for each advance in grade, reserving the twenty-five-panel *kasaya* for the highest-ranking clergy.

In Central Asia, China, and Japan the patchwork mantle acquired a significant secondary feature. Additional patches at the corners and along the longer side worn closest to the head added symbolic protection. The corner patches, usually in contrasting fabric, were associated with the *deva* kings who serve as guardians of the Buddhist law at each of the cardinal points of the compass. The large patches on the long side, a characteristic of the *uttarasanga* type, in China and Japan are named after the *bodhisattvas* Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī, the principal attendants of Śākyamuni, the historical Buddha. These garments, often made of sumptuous secular silks donated to temples by pious devotees, created colorful focus for public ceremonies and demonstrated the power and authority of the Buddhist church. The magnificence of the fabrics used for making these vestments are seemingly in conflict with the principles of renunciation and poverty. However, through the destruction of secular goods by cutting them into pieces and reconstructing them as vestments, the goods metaphorically shed their worldly associations.

PRIVATE WORSHIP. Eastern religious traditions include sects that place a major emphasis on communal ritual and those for which religious practice is of a more private, individual nature. This division affects the manner in which clothing promotes notions of religious belief. Where religious practice is largely self-determined and reclusive, a clergy, if it exists, is less involved with public demonstration; hence clothing plays a less conspicuous role, and the notion of vestment is largely absent.

Islam. Islam has produced no vestments. The central religious leaders, whether mullahs, *mujtahids*, or ayatollahs, are in effect jurists who interpret Islamic law and serve as teachers. Clothing types used by these groups, regardless of ethnic origin, reflect the basic attire of the Arab founders of the faith: a cotton or wool caftan, a wool mantle (*ʾabaʿ*), and a cotton turban. Worship is an obligation of the faith, and when possible worship is practiced communally, but the prayer leader or *imām* does not function as intermediary between God and man. His clothing remains undifferentiated from that of the congregation. Individuals are expected to practice their religion while remaining active participants of society. Those who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca are entitled to wear special clothing, although it plays no liturgical role.

Hinduism. Within the Hindu tradition of India, public worship, although extremely complex, also occurs without the intervention of priests. Hinduism is without founder or prophets. It has no ecclesiastical or institutional structures. As a result there are virtually no specialized Hindu religious garments. Traditionally, the Brahman class was the source of the priesthood, but individual adherents practiced priestly vocation outside society based largely on the study of scriptural sources. For them, ritual was largely private, such as the placing of a sacred cord across the shoulder, both binding the devotee to religion and cutting the individual off from society. The central religious figure for Hinduism is the *guru,* or teacher, who follows a self-determined, often reclusive way of life that aims at purification and extinction from the cycle of rebirth. Clothing worn by *brahmans,* minimal and plain, reflects this distancing.

SECULAR ATTIRE. Until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the attire of political elites often retained vestiges of ritual obligations that had been associated with rulers of antiquity.

South Asia. Court attire within the Hindu-Muslim courts of Java utilized a set of restricted batiked patterns on the sarongs and shawls to distinguish royalty and the higher ranks of the aristocracy. Many of these designs symbolized cosmic principles and underscored the significance of court ceremony and its relationship to religious belief.

China. The link between religion and politics is particularly evident in the court attire of imperial China and in the Chinese-influenced court attire in Korea, Japan, Vietnam, and various Central Asian kingdoms. Motifs symbolizing water, land, and sky were placed on these garments to represent the physical world over which the ruler held sway. In addition, fabulous mythical beasts, of which the dragon was the most common, represented the supernatural power and moral authority of imperial rule. The arrangement of these motifs conveyed a sense of universal order by reflecting notions of geopolitical control with reference to the points of the compass. Wearing the garment also demonstrated cosmic control and underscored the balance of forces in the universe. The wearer's body symbolized the world axis, while the neck of the garment symbolized the gate of heaven, separating the physical world represented by the coat from the spiritual represented by the wearer's head. In effect, the garment was only animate when worn, making each courtier an active participant in imperial rule.

The emperor's sacrificial obligations on behalf of the state were confirmed through clothes decorated with a special set of twelve symbols. These included the sun, moon, stars, earth, elements of the natural world, and symbols of political authority. Their use was reserved exclusively for the emperor.

These official garments had impacts throughout society. Chinese wedding attire in particular imitated court costume and prerogatives. Other types of quasi-official attire were used in conjunction with Buddhist and Daoist festivals and for the special garments made for religious images.

SEE ALSO Calendars; Hair; Masks; Textiles.

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For discussions of South Asian garments and religions see Emma Tarlo, *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India* (Chicago, 1996); and Serena Nanda, *Neither Man nor Woman: The Hijras of India* (Belmont, Calif., 1998). Henk Schulte Nordholt, *Outward Appearances: Dressing, State, and Society in Indonesia* (Leiden, 1997), and Penny Van Esterik, *Materializing Thailand* (Oxford and New York, 2000) include discussions of religious clothing in Southeast Asia. Articles by international scholars documenting clothing and textiles throughout the Indonesian Archipelago, including descriptions of religious usages, are in Mattibelle Gittinger, ed., *Indonesian Textiles: Irene Emery Roundtable on Museum Textiles, 1979 Proceedings* (Washington, D.C., 1980). This volume contains a bibliography and extensive citations to a considerable literature in Dutch, German, French, and English.

JOHN E. VOLLMER (2005)

CLOTHING: CLOTHING AND RELIGION IN THE WEST

Christianity, Judaism, and Islam all have individual forms of dress that visibly identify members of the religion and that help maintain the traditions, customs, and hierarchies of the religion. *Dress* is defined, and will be discussed here in relation to religious clothing, as an assemblage of modifications or supplements to the body (Eicher and Roach-Higgins, 1992). This definition includes a long list of modifications to the body, including hair, body art (piercing and tattooing), scents, and plastic surgery. Jewelry, accessories, and other categories of items added to the body as supplements are also included as dress. When examining religious dress, the cultural, economic, historical, and political context must be understood and analyzed to gain an appreciation of the meaning of dress within each religion. Christianity, Judaism, and Islam have dominant ideologies that guide decisions about dress. For example, beliefs about dress within Christianity are influenced by the biblical account of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden; therefore modesty is a goal, particularly for women. This double standard may reflect the patriarchal nature of the European cultures in which Christianity evolved (Renbourn, 1972). A woman's head or hair was thought to be provocative, and by the third century CE the church required women to cover their heads when attending church (Storm, 1987).

Judaism is based on the philosophy that individuals exist to glorify God; to be appropriately well dressed is therefore a religious duty, not one of personal preference. Ancient Jews divided the "pure" upper body from the "impure" lower body by wearing a girdle (Storm, 1987). Islamic philosophy emphasizes the group over the individual and promotes the separation of the sexes. Women's bodies should be covered and their movements within society restricted in the public sphere. The Islamic fundamentalist movement reflects a concern over the westernization of dress and promotes a return to traditional dress and behavior.

In *Dress, Drinks, and Drums* (1931), Ernest Crawley provides a historical perspective by segregating clothing into two categories: sacred and profane. Profane dress is that which is not related to religion or religious matters, while sacred dress involves religion. Crawley identified four kinds of sacred dress: sanctified, priestly, godly, and sacrificial. In terms of Western religions, sacrificial and godly dress is nonexistent. Priestly dress includes that of Roman Catholic priests or monks whose dress indicates the diminished importance of "maleness" and shows their rejection of worldly desires and goods. For example, most priests wear no facial hair, which symbolizes their voluntary departure from sexual relationships (Storm, 1987). The shaven head of a Roman Catholic nun prior to the dress reforms of Vatican II in 1962 (and of some nuns who are members of cloistered orders) demonstrates her turning away from worldly pleasures for a life of celibacy and spiritual pursuit. Dress can also reflect a priest's or a nun's life of poverty. Ironically, some vestments in high-church status can be highly elaborate rather than humble and can symbolize the priest's divine character.

Dress of sanctity differentiates the wearer from the profane. This is usually accomplished by using different colors or forms that are different from the secular. One of the most familiar dresses of sanctity is that of the worshiper or "churchgoer." In the United States, church dress is frequently a person's newest, and perhaps most elegant, but it otherwise is like secular dress. Until the mid-1960s, women wore hats and gloves to church, but this tradition has vanished. In the West, symbols of dress are consistently worn in the Jewish synagogue. The yarmulke worn by most Jewish men indicates their reverence to God. Muslim worshipers remove shoes before entering a mosque so as to not soil the holy place. Consequently, slipper-type shoes are frequently worn (Storm, 1987). The fez allows the men to cover their heads and touch their heads to the floor in prayer.

SACRED DRESS. There are many examples of articles of dress that are considered sacred by their wearers. For Orthodox Jews, the *halakhah* (traditional Jewish law) governs daily and ritual acts. It separates the sacred from the profane. In terms of *halakhic* law, the Bible contains a prohibition on cross-sex dressing and forbids the mixing of flax and wool (*sha'atnez*) in the construction of fabrics for clothing (Baizerman, 1992). There are specifications about tying tzitzit (corner tassels) on the prayer shawl, or tallith. Women cover their hair and heads based on custom. To some this is an expression of modesty, while to others, "exposed hair equals nudity, and seeing it would therefore be sexually provocative to men" (Schneider, 1984, p. 236).

Within the Roman Catholic Church, vestments of both priests and nuns are considered sacred. For example, the chasuble is the chief garment of a priest celebrating Mass. It is worn outside the other vestments. In the West all who celebrate Mass wear the same chasuble. In France, Ireland, the United States, and frequently England, a cross is marked on the back. Protestant clergy dress more to emphasize their role as pastor (meaning shepherd) or minister (one who serves), so their clothing tends to be similar to that of the congregation. However, among some denominations, such as Lutherans or Presbyterians, the dress of the clergy may be more formal, including a surplice and cassock.

DRESS, HIERARCHY, AND GROUP MEMBERSHIP. Dress is an important way of marking the hierarchy and group membership within religious organizations. The history of the Catholic priesthood shows that religious garb was in opposition to the lay dress. With the vestment the priest establishes a persona of divinity. "The changing of vestments has a powerful psychical appeal. The dress is a material link between his person and the supernatural; it absorbs, as it were, the rays of Deity, and thus at the same time inspires the human wearer" (Crawley, 1931, p. 164).

Clothing of contemporary Hasidic Jews is considered identical to the traditional Jewish garments that were once the apparel of all Jews. The type of Hasidic clothing and the way of looking Hasidic varies from class to class—that is, the extent of affiliation within Hasidism determines the particular type of garments worn, and these garments serve as an identifier of social rank (Poll, 1962). Garments vary from *zehr Hasidish* (extremely Hasidic) to *modernish* (modern). When a person wears clothing symbolizing a higher status, the frequency and intensity of his or her religious behavior should be consistent with the type of garment he or she wears. Wearing a garment symbolizing a higher status creates a chain reaction of more and more intensified religious observance. Items of dress include *shich* and *zocken* (slipper-like shoes and white kneesocks), *shtreimel* and *bekecher* (fur hat and long silk coat), *kapote* (overcoat), *biber* hat (large brimmed hat), and *bord* and *payes* (beard and side locks) (Carrel, 1999, p. 164).

Jewish women who strictly observe *halakhah* (Jewish law) frequently wear wigs to cover their hair, which, according to the Talmud, exudes sensual energy. However, there is nothing to say that these wigs cannot be stylish. In New York the most fashionable hairdressers create wigs for Orthodox women. They work to make them modest, not matronly, and definitely not "wiggy," the word Orthodox women use to describe the heavy appearance of wigs (Hayt, 1997). Covering real hair with a wig (whether the wig is made of the woman's own hair or not) is perfectly modest to these Jewish women who follow the laws of the Torah. As frequently happens in cultures throughout the world, what might seem an illogical contradiction to outsiders is completely sensible to an insider of the religious group.

DRESS AND RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS. Religious dress can be separated from secular dress by using different colors or forms. Dress is frequently associated with the Christian sacraments of baptism, communion, marriage, and ordination, which symbolize the individual's religious development. For a first communion, for example, girls frequently wear an ornate white dress with a white veil or hair covering, and boys wear a blue or white suit. Dress for marriage is designed to symbolize the virtue of the two individuals being "eternally" united (Storm, 1987).

Dress acts as a visible symbol for the precepts of Protestant fundamentalism, including the facts that religious principles govern all aspects of their lives (including dress) and that women's roles are frequently more "traditional," with individual needs and beliefs relinquished to the greater good of the family and religious group. In 1986, Concerned Women of America, a group of female religious advocates drawn from both the fundamentalist and the evangelical movements, wrote of the "supernaturalism" inherent in a woman's beauty and its potential for good or evil in the workplace (Edwards, 1993). However, since the 1980s fundamentalist Protestant women have had to adapt to the new economic realities of entering corporate America. For example, at Bob Jones University, a conservative Protestant college in South Carolina, classes begin with prayer, but young women are also taught to be Christian, competitive, and fashionable. Since the 1980s these women have successfully entered the more competitive business world and have learned how to dress fashionably to both fit in and move ahead. This trend encompasses a broad swath of society and is having an increasingly influential impact on consumer America, including the market for more modest fashions in retail settings.

RELIGIOUS DRESS, SOCIAL CONTROL, AND MORALITY. Religious dress can provide social control and is an important method to structure behavior, particularly as it relates to morality. Christianity has historically handed down a code of morals, including strict rules about clothing. Early Christian teachings stress the link between the outward appearance of the body and the state of the person's soul (Ribeiro, 1986). An important example of this is the process of becoming a nun, in which dress symbolizes the transition from secular life to spiritual. This involves relinquishing the individuality of dress choice by deferring to the uniform appearance of the habit. At each stage before taking final vows, women are encouraged to give up their prior self-images, accompanied by a commitment to learn to conform to the demands of the new religious life. Postulancy is the first stage, where they receive black uniforms and give up personal possessions. The postulant's uniform varies slightly from order to order but mainly consists of a short white veil, blouse, and black skirt.

Upon successful completion of this initial period, the postulant proceeds to become a novitiate, a year spent isolated from everyone except other novices. In a ceremonial rite of passage, a novice receives the habit, a religious name, and a new identity as a "bride of Christ." As stated in the Ceremonial for the Reception of Novices of the Sisters of Providence, each component of the habit is symbolically linked to the vows. The habit symbolizes an enduring state of humility; the cincture is a sign of chastity and temperance; the tunic is a sign of gravity and modesty; and the white veil is a sign of innocence. During the final period the woman takes vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience and retains limited access to the outside world. Heads are shaved prior to making final vows as a symbolic gesture related to the vow of chastity. In the 1960s and 1970s many nuns in noncloistered orders relinquished habits for secular dress as part of larger reforms dictated by Vatican II in 1962. Women religious in non-cloistered orders and their transition to secular clothing provide a model for understanding how religious dress can identify social role as well as personal identity (Michelman, 1998).

Traditional practices for Muslim men making the pilgrimage to Mecca call for the wearing of no other garment other than the *iḥrām*, which consists of two seamless wrappers, one passed around the legs, the other over the shoulder, with the head left uncovered. The ceremony of putting them on at a pilgrims' station is *al-iḥrām*, "the making unlawful" (of ordinary clothing, behavior, and occupations). The ceremony of taking them off is *al-ihlal*, "the making lawful." The pilgrim shaves his head when the pilgrimage is over. The *iḥrām* is the shroud prepared in the event of the pilgrim's death. More likely it is preserved and used as a shroud when he dies (Crawley, 1931).

Some fundamental religious groups believe that female sexuality is dangerous if left uncontrolled. This belief leads to the religious practice of prescribing modest and proper dress for female members. Modesty is generally understood to be the covering of certain parts of the body that, according to the belief system of individuals, have a sexual connotation if exposed in public. J. C. Flugel, in *The Psychology of Clothes* (1930), suggests that dress serves three main purposes—decoration, modesty, and protection. James Laver (1969) contends that until the late twentieth century it was almost universally agreed that the fundamental reason for wearing clothing was modesty. The *Book of Genesis* in the Bible recounts that Adam and Eve, having eaten of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, "knew that they were naked" and made themselves "aprons" of fig leaves.

Modesty is culturally relative. Research on dress of the Kalabari people of Nigeria in West Africa shows that dress for women became much more modest after Christian missionaries from Europe introduced the concept of sin and shame associated with the nude body (Michelman and Erekosima, 1992). Previously, young girls had exposed and drawn attention to their developing breasts and buttocks as part of the cultural norms of dress. Although now done only for ceremonial reenactment, this was a stage of dress that exhibited a girl's ability to move to a higher social status through the process of physical maturation and her potential for bearing children. This example demonstrates that, at least from an anthropological perspective, exposure of body parts is not inherently shameful.

Modesty is also frequently related to the religious beliefs of a group of people and is associated with holiness. For example, many Muslim women cover their heads, necks, arms, legs, and even faces in public, believing that it is proper for a woman to show these "sexual" parts of her body only within the confines of her home. Worldwide attention was focused on the proscribed attire for men and women under the rule of the Taliban in Afghanistan. Since the downfall of the Taliban, these restrictions have lessened. Much of the publicity, particularly regarding Afghani women, who were required to wear a complete covering of the body in public, have raised concerns among non-Muslims of oppression of women, particularly as it regards the political control of their bodies.

Mennonites have many religious proscriptions about women's dress that relate to their belief that clothing is "a mirror of the soul," reflecting their inner attitudes and values. In contrast, there is much immodesty in American movies, television, and music. In the United States there is an increasing "backlash" to immodesty, particularly among the more fundamental religious groups that are developing a wider influence on the broader American culture.

DRESS, SOCIAL CHANGE, AND CLASS DIFFERENCE. Although changes in religious dress occur with much less frequency than changes in the dress of the general population, forces of social, economic, and political change do influence sacred dress. For example, in Iran some Islamic women wear Chanel-style suits (secular dress) under a chador (sacred dress) (Sciolino, 1997). These women are described as the cultural elite, women who have both a Western education and growing political influence in their country. Education and wealth provide social agency to individuals, so limits on movement and role-taking in society may seem more problematic to women in the cultural elite than to poorer women who lack access to political and social power.

Religions have used sumptuary laws to regulate the conduct of members as well as to designate social class. Sumptuary laws include regulations restricting extravagance in food, drink, and dress, usually on religious or moral grounds. Muslim sumptuary rules followed those of Jewish tradition and proscribed against tattooing, nudity, and the potential idolatry of representing the human form in pictures. Dress dictated by religion means the individual does not make complicated decisions over current fashion and can devote time to his or her social identity, in particular his or her religious life.

Christianity, Islam, and Judaism use dress to perpetuate their beliefs and organizations by maintaining their traditions and customs. Dress can be considered sacred by the religion's members and is separated from the profane or secular. Hierarchy and group membership can be expressed within religious organizations through dress. Religious traditions, morality, and modesty are frequently prescribed through dress. "While dress is commonplace, it is not ephemeral, vacuous or meaningless. We wear our identities on our bodies and our bodies are used by religions to visually communicate world views" (Arthur, 1999, p. 6).

SEE ALSO Textiles.

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SUSAN O. MICHELMAN (2005)

CLOTHING: DRESS AND RELIGION IN AMERICA'S SECTARIAN COMMUNITIES

America is home to numerous sectarian religious groups, most of whom immigrated to the United States from their original homes in Europe, the Middle East, and Asia. They are sects, rather than organized religions, as their beliefs focus on separation from the dominant religions, power systems, and culture at large. In spite of their relocation to the United States, many of these groups intentionally avoid assimilation into the larger American culture. Whereas they may be physically located in the United States, they symbolically indicate their uniqueness. Sectarian religious groups use cultural boundary markers such as dress, language, and other customs that focus on maintaining their ethnic and religious heritage; hence they are often referred to as "ethno-religious" groups.

Dress is one of the most interesting cultural boundary markers because it is a visual manifestation of cultural identity. As a window into the social world, dress is bound by a tacit set of rules, customs, conventions, and rituals that guide face-to-face interaction. To many of America's sectarian religious groups, clothing is an important symbol of religious identification. However, for most of these groups the regulation of personal appearance goes beyond clothing. The term *dress,* as it is used here, includes clothing, grooming, and all forms of body adornment. Dress also includes behaviors related to the control of the body, such as dieting, plastic surgery, and cosmetics. Holistically, then, dress functions as an effective means of nonverbal communication. Ideas, concepts, and categories fundamental to a group, such as age, gender, ethnicity, and religion, help define a person's identity that is then expressed outwardly through a person's appearance. Both individual and group identity are projected through dress because self-presentation and self-promotion are used by people to visually present identity that is congruent with their belief systems. Members of religious groups actively construct their own lives and use dress symbolically to express religious beliefs, adaptation to social change, and the conformity to social norms and religious authority.

Many of America's sectarian religious groups fit into the sociological notion of high-context cultures; in such communities, social cues are clearly embedded in expectations having to do with members' daily lives. In high-context cultures, visible symbols provide for a rich coding system that is readily understood by the culture's members. Dress is the most visible symbol for America's sectarian societies—they have developed cultural norms with regard to defining what forms of dress are considered acceptable to their specific groups. Dress codes, both formal and informal, exist as a means of showing identity. In the case of the most stringently enforced dress codes found in America's ethno-religious groups, an individual's own personal identity is subsumed by group identity.

RELIGIOUS IDEOLOGIES. Fundamentally, dress codes are less about clothing than about the control of the body by the more powerful members of a group who enforce ideologies pertinent to that religious culture. America's ethno-religious groups are based on patriarchy that is divinely ordered. They subscribe to the notion that God ordained male power. Where religious dress codes exist, they express group identity and simultaneously function as a means of reinforcing male patriarchal control within the group. Dress codes are related to gendered power; in essence, dress codes within most of America's ethno-religious groups are a reflection of male control over women's bodies.

To examine how dress can be expressive of religious ideologies, it is helpful to understand how each of America's major religions perceives the role of dress as a means of identity expression. These values are based on long-standing beliefs found in each group's history. Judaism is based on the concept that people exist to glorify God, and to be appropriately dressed, then, is a religious duty. Similarly for Christianity, modesty with regard to body exposure is an important value that is a key indicator of religious conservatism. For fundamentalist Christians, such as the Anabaptist groups (Amish, Mennonites, and Hutterites) whose religious precepts include the requirement that they be uniquely separate from the larger society, dress is used to show that separation. In these ethno-religious sectarian groups, dress is often hyper-conservative or may even be a form of fossilized fashion, where the garments look much like those worn by their ancestors hundreds of years ago.

Islamic ideology focuses on male power and requires separation of the sexes in public and private spheres. Among American sectarian religious groups, codes of modesty go beyond the covering of women's bodies to include restriction of women's behavior. America is home to a disparate group of people who fled their original countries seeking more freedom and issues of dress codes in the home country have often been cited as unduly restrictive. For example, when in public, Saudi Arabian women cover everything but the eyes with cloaks (*abbaya*) and veils, referred to as "life's uniform." Throughout the larger cities in Iran, posters announce the specifics of the dress code requiring Iranian women to dress similarly to Saudi women. Iranian women are required to wear chadors that cover all but their faces. In Afghanistan under Taliban control, women were killed if they did not wear the all-enveloping *burka* or *chadaree.* Muslim women who have immigrated to the United States continue to wear clothing that meets standards of modesty acceptable to the woman, her family, and her religious community. It is much more rare to see Muslim women in America who are completely veiled; whereas loose, modest clothing and head veils are common in the United States, face veils are not.

MODESTY AND FEMALE SEXUALITY IN DRESS. Among all of the major ethno-religious groups in America, modesty in women's dress is associated with gender norms; this is a major issue to sectarian societies. Gender issues are paramount in the dress codes of conservative religious groups, because the control of female sexuality is often of great importance in patriarchal societies. The dress codes generally relate to modesty and require clothing to cover the contours of the female body.

As used by religious groups, the issue of modesty goes beyond the covering of women's bodies in order to disguise female curves and secondary sexual characteristics; in the conservative strains of all of the major religions, dress codes also deal with the care and covering of women's hair, as it is associated with women's sexuality. Further complicating matters, dress codes are conflated with gender and power issues in America's ethno-religious groups. At the root of this issue is the control of female sexuality that is perceived to be necessary by some religious groups as a means to maintain social order.

An understanding of how dress works within religious groups calls attention to the complexity of meanings surrounding visible symbols such as dress and sheds light on the ways bodies can communicate social and religious values. The dress of America's sectarian religious groups can be used to facilitate social and ideological agendas. In these societies clothing and personal adornment are used for establishing and maintaining personal and social identities, social hierarchies, definitions of deviance, and patriarchal systems of power, which is evidenced in social control measures, and these are subtly expressed in dress codes. As a consequence, dress within conservative religious groups is a symbol of the individual's commitment to his or her ethno-religious society, while it also symbolizes the group's control over its individual member's lives. For America's fundamentalist Christian groups, and the Anabaptist groups in particular, dress is important with regard to its role as a cultural boundary marker that has an active role in maintaining the social control system and in greatly retarding social change and acculturation.

DRESS AND SOCIAL CONTROL. With many of America's sectarian societies, dress is an immediate and visible indicator of how a person fits into his or her religious sect. As a marker of identity, dress may be used to gauge the person's commitment to the group and to the religious value system. In many of the most conservative groups, suppression of individuality is expected in order to show obedience to the rules of the religious organization. Ethno-religious groups frequently use clothing to simultaneously express ethnicity, gender norms, and level of religious involvement (religiosity). Through conformance to a strict religious value system, the most conservative of the American sectarian groups exert control over their members' spirituality and simultaneously control their bodies. Since strict conformity is often equated with religiosity, compliance to strict codes of behavior is demanded. The internal body is subject to control by the religious culture, especially with regard to food and sex. The external body, however, is much more visibly restrained. Strict dress codes are enforced because dress is considered symbolic of religiosity. Clothing becomes a symbol of social control as it controls the external body. Whereas a person's level of religiosity cannot be objectively perceived, symbols such as clothing are used as evidence that the member of the religious group is on the "right and true path."

Normative social control begins with personal social control through self-regulation, followed by informal social control. The member wants to fit into the group and expresses role commitment by following the social norms, visibly expressed in the group's dress code. When the individual begins to offend, for example, by wearing a garment that is too revealing of body contours, peers may disapprove and use subtle methods of informal control to pressure the individual to conform to the group norms. Finally, the threat an offender introduces to the social order is managed through formal social control measures, such as disciplinary actions and expulsion administered by specialized agents, including ministers, rabbis, and other moral arbiters. Thus, norms are managed through social control to inhibit deviation and insure conformity to social norms at even the most minute level.

Through symbolic devices, the physical body exhibits the normative values of the social body. Symbols such as dress help delineate the social unit and visually define its boundaries because they give nonverbal information about the individual. Unique dress attached to specific religious and cultural groups, then, can function to insulate group members from outsiders while bonding the members to each other. Normative behavior within the culture reaffirms loyalty to the group and can be evidenced by the wearing of a uniform type of attire.

Within American culture there are specific ethno-religious groups that intentionally separate themselves from the rest of society and attempt to reestablish the small, face-to-face community. Many originated in Europe and moved to America when religious freedom was promised to immigrants. Shakers, Mennonites, Hutterites, and Amish are such groups. These groups are often perceived by the outside world as quite unusual, but that derives more from their unique customs and behaviors than from their religious differences from mainstream Christianity. An essential factor in ethno-religious groups, social control is significant in terms of the survival prospects of the group. Among Orthodox Jews in Williamsburg, New York, social control was achieved in ways remarkably similar to those used by the Amish and conservative Mennonites. The most important features included isolation from the external society; emphasis on conformity with status related to religiosity (symbolized by clothing status markers); a powerful clergy; and rigorous sanctions to insure conformity to norms.

Some of America's sectarian ethno-religious groups use fossilized fashion to separate themselves from the outside world. Notable among these are the Shakers, Amish, Hasidic Jews, Hutterites, and several conservative Mennonite groups. Fossilized fashion has been explained as a sudden "freezing" of fashion, whereby a group continues to wear a style long after it has gone out of style for the general population. This phenomenon has been explained as expressing dignity and high social status or the group's religious, old-fashioned, sectarian identity. Within certain ethno-religious groups, fossilized fashion is used in contemporary settings as a visual symbol of traditional gender roles for women; this generally occurs in societies that find change to be a threat.

SECTARIAN DRESS. Some of America's sectarian groups are referred to as "plain people" because they believe that simplicity is a prerequisite for Christian living. Their religious mandate that they live separate from the world is visibly manifest in their use of "plain dress" that identifies them as uniquely different from other Americans. In 1986 there were just under 800,000 people living in these sectarian societies. In spite of assimilation pressures, however, at that time over half of these groups still dressed plain or semiplain.

Among the best known of America's plain people are the Amish, Hutterites, and Mennonites who are descended from the Anabaptists, a radical group that originated during the Protestant Reformation in the 1500s. As the Anabaptists migrated from Europe to America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, schisms occurred, and frequently the concept of how the group was to maintain its separation from the larger American culture was at issue. Cultural boundary markers that are visual, such as dress, figured into many of these schisms. Today there are a wide range of dress standards in the approximately 3,000 communities of Amish, Hutterites, and Mennonites in the United States; 65 percent of these groups use plain dress.

Amish. Among America's sectarian societies is the Old Order Amish, whose dress is used to visually separate them from outsiders. Amish women and girls are known for wearing long, loose dresses made from solid-colored fabric that are pinned rather than buttoned. These dresses are covered with a cape over the bust and apron; in winter a shawl is worn for warmth. Following the perceived biblical mandate of *1 Corinthians* 11:2–6, their hair is not cut but is parted and put in a bun; over that a white prayer covering is worn. Differences between Amish communities are seen in the pleating of the prayer covering. Pants, cosmetics, and jewelry are not allowed.

Amish men and boys are allowed to have buttons on their solid-colored shirts, but they often have hooks and eyes on outerwear such as jackets and vests. They wear dark-colored suits, "plain coats" (straight-cut coats without lapels) and broad-fall trousers with suspenders, like those worn centuries ago. Hats are broad-brimmed. In winter, black felt hats are worn, in summer the hats are of straw. Their hair is worn in a bowl cut, and they are not allowed to wear mustaches. Once married, men grow beards.

Mennonites. Only one-fourth of the Mennonite groups dress plain in the twenty-first century. Like the Quakers and many Brethren groups, many Mennonite groups began to eliminate clothing restrictions in the late nineteenth century as they began to assimilate into the larger American culture. Mennonite ministers had concerns with regard to assimilation and the perception that it might draw Mennonites away from their spiritual roots; as a result these concerns led to a revival of plain dress between the 1920s and 1940s. Nonetheless, by the 1980s most Mennonite groups had nearly abandoned plain dress. Those wishing to maintain plain dress standards frequently joined more conservative Mennonite groups. Plain dress is still used in the most conservative Mennonite communities, such as among the Holdeman Mennonites (Church of God in Christ, Mennonite) and among the Old Order Mennonites.

Modesty and gender segregation are the prevailing features for women's dress in the plain Mennonite groups. Dress styles are regulated by tradition; they are quite similar to those worn by their forebears in the previous centuries. Dresses are loose, high-necked, often long-sleeved, with skirts worn at calf length or longer. The most conservative Mennonite women also wear an apron and cape to disguise the bust and abdomen. A head covering (black for Holdeman women, white for other Mennonites) is required to be worn over uncut hair, which is pinned up in a bun. Fabric for dresses may be of subtle prints or patterns. Slacks and shorts are not allowed. Similarly, jewelry, fancy buttons, and cosmetics are prohibited as worldly.

In the plain Mennonite groups, dress is more restrictive for women than for men; it is the women's responsibility to maintain the tradition of plain dress. Mennonite men in the plain groups are not as distinctly dressed. In some groups a plain suit is worn to church, and men are prohibited from wearing ties and shaving beards, though some may trim their beards. Outside of church, plain Mennonite men often dress much like non-Mennonite neighbor men, in denim pants and plaid shirts. In contrast, Hasidic Jewish men wear more distinctive clothing than their wives.

Hasidic Jews. Among the most visibly orthodox of the Jewish groups, Hasidic Jews are easily distinguishable by their dress: men with beards and long side curls typically wear broad-brimmed black hats, black suits, and even black topcoats. Their dress is sometimes confused with that of Amish men, as both groups wear fossilized fashion that originated from the 1600s. Hasidic Jews wear the same clothes as centuries ago in order to protect themselves against assimilation and to reinforce their respect for the teachings of the Torah.

A Hasidic man's everyday wardrobe consists of a wool suit in a dark color with a long tailored jacket (*bekeshe*), under which he wears a white shirt. He wears a felt hat most days. On the Jewish Sabbath, dress is more formal. The *bekeshe* is black satin or silk, and the hat *(streimel)* is a round hat made of fur. Under the jacket he wears a rectangular prayer shawl.

Hasidic Jewish women take care to dress modestly but have no prescribed garments. Skirts and sleeves are long, and they wear stockings. If they are married, their natural hair must be covered, even in the home. Hair is perceived as a sexual element appropriate only for the husband's view. Prior to immigration to the United States, Hasidic women covered their hair with kerchiefs or wigs that were obviously artificial. However, the use of fine human hair has made the wigs often look as good as or better than women's own hair, and the rabbis have started questioning whether these wigs now meet the religious requirements of modesty.

DRESS AND SOCIAL CHANGE. With changing social, political, and economic environments, even the most sectarian religious group has to contend with the impact of social change. Changes in dress often signal underlying changes in social roles as well as gender roles. Traditional gender roles can be marked by a particular form of dress where the roles are stable for long periods of time; when dress changes suddenly in these groups, one can expect to find a change in gender roles. A good example is that of the change in the dress of Roman Catholic priests and nuns following the changes instituted by Vatican II in the 1960s. The changes were more pronounced for nuns, and as their roles within the church dramatically changed, so too did their dress. Additionally, when roles are restrictive, one can expect to see a restriction in women's dress in the form of either dress codes or physically restrictive clothing.

In conclusion, dress in America's sectarian societies can be used visually to provide distinction between the sacred and the profane, especially in the symbolic separation of the ethno-religious subculture from a dominant culture. As ethno-religious groups encounter social change, dress often symbolically becomes important as certain items of a religious group's clothing may be classified as sacred in contrast to what is considered profane. Due to their symbolic manifestation of religious values, dress codes can be seen as sacred rules. Dress in these groups is used intentionally to visually separate these religious groups from the larger culture.

SEE ALSO Anabaptism; Christianity; Islam; Judaism; Protestantism; Sexuality.

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LINDA B. ARTHUR (2005)

CLOTILDA (c. 470–545), queen consort of Clovis, king of the Franks. Her Christian faith of the Nicene, or catholic, tradition greatly influenced her husband and all of northern Gaul. Clotilda was born a Bergundian, in the Rhone valley in eastern France; her grandfather was Gundioc, king of the Bergundians. Her father, Chilperic, a Christian, was one of four heirs to the king. A violent dispute among the heirs led to Chilperic's death and to Clotilda's having to live with an uncle in Geneva. Commerce between the Bergundians in Geneva and the Salians, a group of Franks living in Paris under King Clovis, led to Clotilda's meeting Clovis and to their eventual marriage.

Clotilda was a Christian devoted to the orthodox faith, as opposed to Arianism. Clovis disdained her faith until the Alemanni, a formidable Germanic people, invaded northern Gaul. He vowed that if he defeated the Alemanni he would accept Clotilda's Christ. His victory in 495 led to his baptism, along with that of three thousand of his warriors, on Christmas Day of 496. The Franks were the first Germanic tribes to convert to the orthodox faith; most of the tribes to the south of them were Arians. With Clotilda's help, Clovis expanded the area of his rule, defended the Catholic faith against Arianism, and became an important link in the spread of Christianity in northwestern Europe.

After the death of her husband in 511, Clotilda's four sons engaged in a bitter feud that led to several deaths. Deeply saddened, Clotilda retired to a convent in Tours, a town where the famous Martin had been bishop in the fourth century. She maintained her keen interest in civic matters and became fabled for her piety and her practical deeds of generosity.

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H. MCKENNIE GOODPASTURE (1987)

CLOWNS.

The term *clown* is used here as a gloss for a cluster of figures that appear in the religious events of various peoples and that have certain attributes in common. It is, therefore, a term of analysis employed in thinking about the place of such figures in religious performance. This usage is not intended to be homologous with the perceptions of any given people, whose culture is likely to connote more particularistic significance to such characters and their cognates. Instead, it is suggested in this article that what ritual-clown figures have in common with one another is a certain logic of composition. Characters of such composition then have crucial functions for the rituals and dramas within which they perform.

The etymology of the word *clown* in the English language suggests the logic of composition for such figures. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary,* the term appeared in English usage in the second half of the sixteenth century: it originally meant "clod," "clot," or "lump." *Clod* and *clot* were long synonymous. *Clod* connotes the coagulation of liquids and a lumpish adhesion of materials. *Clot* connotes a semisolid lump formed by congelation and coagulation. Put together, *clown, clod,* and *clot* connote an entity that is unfinished or incomplete in its internal organization: one that hangs together in a loose and clumsy way. The clown is lumpish in its imperfect—but congealing and adhering—fusion of attributes. It also has a sense of frozen motion, of congealed liquidity, that connotes processuality and dynamism rather than structure and stasis. In the European tradition, the clown had affinities to festival fools, folk fools, and holy fools, all of whom had the tendency to melt the solidity of the world. The word *fool,* according to the *Oxford English Dictionary,* derives from the Latin *follis,* which literally means "bellows" but is also used in the sense of "windbag." The term *buffoon,* with connotations similar to those of *fool,* is cognate with the Italian *buffare,* "to puff." In the derivation of *fool* there is a sense of lightness and motion, and so of processuality. Given the likely affinity between the clown and the fool, there is in the clown a figure that is integrated in a clumsy fashion and that adheres to itself with an incipient sense of internal movement.

Clowns are ambiguous and ambivalent figures. Within their variegated composition they subsume attributes that contradict and invert one another. The clown in ritual is at once a character of solemnity and fun, of gravity and hilarity, of danger and absurdity, of wisdom and idiocy, and of the sacred and the profane. The interior logic of composition of such a figure is not homogeneous. It is neither wholly one attribute of a set nor another. Given this sense of neither/nor, such figures subsume holistically, albeit lumpishly, all of their contradictory sets of attributes.

These contradictions within the ritual clown rarely are resolved. Instead, whichever attribute a clown presents in performance, the projection of its contrary always is imminent. Thus the opposing attributes within the figure continuously oscillate among themselves. Given this attribute of internal oscillation, such clown figures can be said to subsume within themselves a notion of border or boundary that they straddle and across which they move, back and forth, for as long as they remain true to type. The ritual clown is an eminently paradoxical figure: It is neither wise nor foolish, yet it is both without being wholly one or the other. As a paradoxical being, the figure evokes inconsistencies of meaning and referential ambiguities in ritual contexts that otherwise have an appearance of solidity and stability. The clown is a construct with a sense of incompleteness, yet whole (a lump), that is in a condition of transformation (congelation) but that is somehow out of place in context (a clod).

Externally, the ritual clown appears as an ill-formed unity. Pueblo Indian clowns of the American Southwest are lumpish in form or painted in stripes of contrasting colors. Other clowns often are particolored or piecemeal beings that hang together loosely. Internally, the ritual clown manifests qualities of multiplicity and fluidity: it is fluctuating and unstable. This interior organization can be summated as a condition of self-transformation: the figure is continually in motion within itself, and so it remains permanently unfinished. It is a powerful figurative rendition of processuality. This makes it a powerful solvent of contexts and structures within which it is located. These attributes are crucial to the roles it performs within ritual and ceremonial occasions.

Clowns seem to have especial affinities to the boundaries of ritualistic occasions. In European folk rites and dramas that were associated with seasonal transitions, especially those from winter to spring, and so with notions of the regeneration of natural and social orders, folk fools at times played the role of master of ceremony. These characters tended to be killed and revived in these events, and so they bridged and mediated cosmic transitions. Among the Tewa, Hopi, and Zuni Pueblo Indians of the American Southwest, ritual clowns were indisputable masters of the boundary. More generally, where such clown figures are common in ceremonials, they either control the overall organization of sequencing of events or they appear during the interludes between phases of rites. In either instance, they are located in transitional zones that connote the sequential movement or transformation of ritual from one context to another. Given that these figures encompass a notion of boundary within the composition of their being—one through which they endlessly oscillate—their affinity to the external boundaries of ritual events, and to those within ritual, should be clear. They are ambulatory manifestations of boundariness, for their composition resonates with, and so is keyed to, borders of ritual in terms of its spatial and sequential ordering.

This delineation of ritual clowns is quite distinct from those modern clowns of the European tradition of the circus and from stock figures of comedy. Circus clown performances usually consist of at least a pair of clowns who are distinguished categorically from one another. The white-faced clown is an epitome of "culture": he is formal, elegant, authoritative, rigid, and overcivilized. By contrast, the "auguste" clown is thoroughly sloppy, ill kempt, amoral, and chaotic: he inverts the attributes of the white-faced clown and is identified with those of "nature." In performance these two clowns are viable in tandem, so that their respective sets of characteristics complement each other.

These clowns also have an intimate relation to boundaries; but theirs is an exterior one, for a sense of boundary is established by their interplay in performance rather than by their being part of the logic of composition of either or both of them. Thus the boundary between, say, categories of "nature" and "culture" becomes located somewhere between these two figures instead of within one or both of them. Each figure itself has a homogeneous and stable composition, and so the contrast of opposites is evident only when they are together: they manipulate boundaries only as a duo. By way of contrast, the ritual clown dissolves boundaries by itself. Stock comic figures that appear in ritual dramas, and whose ethnographic provenance seems much more extensive than that of ritual clowns, also tend to have homogeneous and internally stable compositions. In general they lack, in and of themselves, the transformative capacities that are integral to clowns in ritual.

Nonetheless, figures that approximate the attributes of ritual clowns, as these are delineated here, do have a fairly widespread distribution among peoples of the world, some of whom are mentioned here, although lack of space prevents adducing these. Clowns in ceremonial and ritual are reported for the Mayo and Yaqui peoples of northern Mexico, for the Pueblo Indian peoples of the American Southwest, and for other native peoples of California, the Great Plains, and the Northwest Coast of North America. In European traditions, festival fools were prominent in various English dramas of springtime and in the Swiss-German *Fastnachtsspiele;* they had affinities to the Italian tradition of *buffo* and perhaps to picaresque literary works. Clownlike figures are reported in the Turkish puppet theater, in some Iranian improvisatory folk theater, and in the traditional Szechwan theater of China. Such figures also are found in modern Javanese *ludruk* performances and in the Javanese puppet theater. They appear quite elaborated in various South Indian traditions: in Carnatic puppet performances, in Kannada *yaksagana* dance dramas, in the *kutiyattam* dramatic tradition of Kerala, and in Tamil *karakam* dances and *terukkuttu* street dramas as well as in the stories of the sixteenth-century Tamil and Telugu court jester Tenali Rama. The provenance of such figures extends south to Sri Lanka and north to the tradition of dance dramas in Tibetan monasteries.

There is a multiplicity and duplicity in clowns, a radical emphasis on the disharmonic that at first sight appears out of place in many of the ceremonies and dramas in which they appear. And a sense of unease pervades many of the explanations of why they are there. The commonest, and the least satisfactory, is that clowns provide comic relief, either from the seriousness and tedium of the ritual medium itself or from the everyday suppression of forbidden themes that clowns raise to overt and conscious scrutiny. There are various versions of this thesis. Thus, such figures are said to enable members of audiences to think or to behave in otherwise repressed ways, or it is said that these clowns exist in order to violate taboo, given the need to evoke themes that must be suppressed in the everyday contexts of life. These approaches readily lend themselves to varieties of psychologistic reductionism, such that clowns are said to concretize and to release unconscious psychic tensions by bringing them to conscious thought. An added explanation is that these figures reduce the tension and anxiety that are generated by awesome and mysterious sacrality, since, through harmless burlesque, the frightening is made familiar and known.

Clowns in ritual and drama do indeed invert, mock, and satirize both taken-for-granted conventions of life and those that are sacralized and venerated, whether through gentle irony, through dramatic allegory, or through scatological burlesque. Yet, within the same occasions, they often are the righteous upholders of morality and propriety. Such groups as the Hopi Indians of the American Southwest explicitly recognize that clowns underline moral precepts by their amoral antics. The Hopi state that clowns show life as it should not be. Others, such as the Tewa, Zuni, and Mayo Indians, accord explicit sacred and moral stature to their clowns. Among the Mayo, these are more figures of fright than of amusement. Still other peoples seem to refrain from exegesis and simply summate clowns in ritual as figures of fun.

There are two signal difficulties with discussions of ritual clowning that rely on one or another version of catharsis or of satirical inversion to explain the existence of these contrary characters. In the first instance, either or both of these functions can be and are performed by figures of much simpler composition. Stock comic characters, who appear in ceremonial and dramatic activities, and whose composition is homogeneous and not transformative, often meet such requirements. These are the quintessential butts, bunglers, and schemers, whose rollicking antics and exaggerated amorality serve onlookers with a license to frolic with the unspeakable, and perhaps with the unthinkable, in the security of knowing or feeling that these are unnatural and temporary versions of order that will revert to their moral counterparts and so will reaffirm righteous values and conduct. Why then should clown figures of such complex and inconstant composition be equated in role and function with these facile and straightforward stock comic characters? The likely answer is that they should not be, and that ritual clowns carry out other tasks more in keeping with their own interior organization.

The second difficulty in discussions of ritual clowning is that these clowns are treated as if they reflect, in unmediated ways, themes of more general cultural and psychological significance. In other words, clowns are torn from the contexts of their appearance and performance without any explanation of their presence there. Yet, first and foremost, and prior to a consideration of their significance for more abstract motifs of psychic balance and cultural values, it is in terms of the occasions of their appearance that the presence of clowns should be explicated.

That clowns in ritual are living studies in vivid contrast and in shades of comparison is indicative of their status in performance. As interlocutors and as commentators, their affinities are to boundaries that separate ceremonial or narrative action from the mundane or that distinguish between different phases or contexts within ritual performance itself. In a sense, they keep one foot within an ongoing context of participation and experience, while the other foot is already leading into another. As such, they are agents of change, mediators who dissolve and transform the fixity of categories of performance and narrative that boundaries organize and integrate.

Ritual and ceremonial occasions have programs or texts, prescribed or inscribed, that are their elementary organization. Occasions in which clowns appear are always composed of more than a single adumbrated context of meaning and experience. That is, these occasions are constituted of a number of phases that contrast with one another in their programmatic purpose and that must be shifted, one into another, in sequence. Written or oral texts and programs often suggest that such transitions are accomplished simply because they are inscribed or prescribed. Yet, in the practice of performance, each phase or context of an occasion has the tendency to adumbrate and to reify itself in stable and seamless ways that wholly engross participants in its experience. This lack of discordance works against the necessary decomposition or deconstruction of context, in order to make way for the next, and so to enable the overall occasion to be shifted in sequence through its constituent phases, as specified by program or text.

The design of the clown is precisely that of a whirligig—one that swirls in counterpoint to the adumbration and concordance of any ritual context in which it is located. As it revolves within itself, the clown gathers up the interwoven strands of the coherence of context, mixes them up, and so contradicts their integration and unravels them. Just as the clown upends any configuration of meaning into which it enters, so it takes apart context and opens the way to the cohering of alternative patterns of meaning.

Such occasions often have a sense of climax that arouses within the participants the recognition of some transcendent reality and seamless truth. Then the inherently reflexive properties of the clown must be stilled. Otherwise, true to its own rhythm and logic, it would continue to raise questions and doubts about such contexts, and so it would signify that even the experience of transcendence is artificial and transitory. This likely would destroy the significance of the truths of transcendence for the participants. Therefore, a common fate of clowns in ritual is their demise as contrary, oscillating, reflexive characters. Either they are tamed and brought to heel, or their internal composition is made homogeneous. Then they no longer arouse reflectiveness among participants, for their presence no longer causes the participants to doubt the validity of transcendent experiences. At this point, clowns simply reinforce the values of such truths or revelations in straightforward ways.

This depiction of the clown in ritual recognizes that the especial properties of this figure are a function of its unusual design, and so, too, of its place during religious and dramatic occasions. If the figure of the clown is apprehended as a complex device that unlocks perception to an awareness of the artifice of textual coherence, then it is comprehended also as a dynamic device that enables certain religious occasions to be enacted and accomplished. It is then incumbent upon further thought to search other ceremonial media, in which clowns have no place, for analogous mechanisms that accomplish transformation of context and transitions between contexts and so enable these occasions to progress in sequence through their programs.

SEE ALSO Drama; Masks; Tricksters.

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DON HANDELMAN (1987 AND 2005)

COATLICUE ("serpent skirt") was one of an array of Aztec earth-mother goddesses, the Teteoinnan, who represented the notion of maternal fertility associated with the earth. Coatlicue's monumental stone image, excavated in 1790 in the heart of Mexico City, is one of the finest and most monstrous achievements of Mesoamerican religious art. It is an eight-foot-tall stone figure consisting of a female form draped with a blouse of severed human hands and hearts, a skirt of intertwined serpents with skull belt buckles in front and back, ferocious rattlesnakes for hands, and a head composed of two giant rattlesnake heads facing one another. According to art historians, these two giant serpent heads emerge from spurts of blood resulting from Coatlicue's decapitation. Her feet are giant jaguar claws. A serpent of blood flows from beneath her skirt of serpents. This masterpiece of Mesoamerican sculpture, located today in the Museo Nacional de Antropología in Mexico City, reflects the combined qualities of terror and destruction associated with some aspects of the goddess cult of the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán (1325–1521).

Coatlicue's primary creative act, told in book 3 of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún's *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España* (compiled 1569–1582; also known as the Florentine Codex), consisted of the dramatic birth of the war god Huitzilopochtli. This *teotuicatl* ("divine song") tells how Coatlicue was sweeping out a temple on Coatepec ("serpent mountain") when a ball of feathers made her pregnant with Huitzilopochtli. Her children, the *centzon huitznahua* ("four hundred southerners"), became outraged at this and prepared for war against their mother. Led by Coatlicue's aggressive daughter, Coyolxauhqui ("she of the golden bells"), the four hundred warriors began their march toward Coatepec. When Coatlicue became frightened, a voice from her womb comforted her, saying, "Do not worry, I know what must be done." When the warriors arrived at Coatepec, Coatlicue gave birth to Huitzilopochtli, fully grown and dressed as a warrior. Using his *xiuhcoatl* ("serpent of lightning"), he dismembered his sister Coyolxauhqui and slaughtered most of the rest of his siblings as well.

Along with the goddess Cihuacoatl ("serpent woman"), Coatlicue represents the aggressive mortuary aspect of Aztec goddesses.

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COCKS. The cock is preeminently a sun symbol. In western Asia the crowing cock is closely associated with solar rituals; in the ancient Near East it became an integral part of the solar iconography during the second millennium BCE, and the mythology of the "fire cock" has spread widely and survived in the folklore of western Asia. The solar cock is also attested among some of the most primitive peoples of Asia; the Nagas of Assam, for example, believe that the sun is lured out of darkness by the cock's crowing. According to the Miao of southern China, the sun, which hides itself behind the mountain and darkens the whole world, shows itself again with the crowing of a cock. Similarly, Japanese myths tell how Amaterasu, the sun goddess, hides in the heavenly cave but comes out again on hearing the crowing of cocks.

The symbolic importance of the cock is well attested in the Greco-Roman world. There, the motif of the crowing cock, the bird of dawning, was enriched by the motif of the cock as fighter. The fighting cock, although associated with warrior divinities (such as Ares and Athena), was especially connected with Dionysos, in whose theater the official fights occurred. Significantly, the pugnacity of the cock was taken as an aspect of its sexual life; representations of the cock with a human phallus as head and neck are quite numerous. Especially interesting are three associations of the cock with Greco-Roman funerary symbolism: (1) it was one of the animals offered to the deities of the underworld in connection with the cult of the dead; (2) as is suggested by its representation together with Persephone and Hades, the cock was viewed as the herald of the dawn of the new world, the future life; as such, it symbolized hope of life after death; and (3) as the victor of a fight, the cock symbolized the soul of the departed; it was commonly associated, especially on tombstones, with Hermes, the psychopomp who escorted the soul to a blessed life after death. In Mithraism, the cock was frequently used in cult meals, where presumably its connection with the rising sun and immortality or future life was significant.

In Judaism the cock has been used in the Kapparah, a practice designed as a means of ritual atonement for sins. The cock has also been regarded as a charm that could exorcise demons; at the dedication of a new house, Jews used to kill a cock on the spot to purge the house of a demonic presence. Moreover, the crowing cock at dawn was a symbol of the redemption of the messianic age.

Christianity has continued this idea, making the cock a symbol of the risen Lord, Jesus Christ, the new light. In announcing the approach of day, the cock reminds Christians not only of Peter's denial but also of their own resurrection in a future life. Even cockfighting has found its Christian representations, which inspire believers to win the struggle with their own lower nature so that they can inherit eternal life.

In Islam, too, the cock is a benevolent bird. Muslims have believed that a cock would crow when it became aware of the presence of jinn, evil spirits. And, as the bird of dawning, the cock still serves to awaken the sleeping faithful for morning prayer.

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Revised Bibliography

CODES AND CODIFICATION. While codes and codification are only rarely discussed in broad studies of religion, there are nevertheless preliminary studies that allow us to outline the subject with some accuracy. Henry Sumner Maine, in his *Ancient Law*, first published in 1861, tried to describe the evolution of human society by comparing all preserved collections of ancient laws. With the discovery and diffusion of the art of writing, laws engraved on tablets took the place of the customary law recollected by privileged aristocracies, and "democratic sentiment" added to their popularity. "Inscribed tablets," Main notes, "were seen to be a better depository of law and a better security for its acccurate preservation than the memory of the aristocracies" (1905, p. 12).

In 1901–1902, when French archaeologists discovered in former Susa the stela with the text of the code of Hummurabi from the eighteenth century BCE, it became clear that Maine's connection of codification with the struggles of plebeians against aristocrats was much too simple. On the other hand, the finding did confirm the existence of the literary genre of the law code. The law code was in widespread use as a means to make legal regulations accessible to the public. We can thus broadly define law codes as collections of laws (in casuistic style) written on stones, papyrus, or parchment and made accessible to the public.

There also existed, however, cultures that did not attach much value to recording their traditions in writing. Among the Celts, for example, the powerful priesthood of the druids considered it fitting that their holy traditions be transmitted only in oral and not in written form, as reported by Caesar in the *Gallic Wars* (4.14). The Zoroastrians handed down their holy texts by word of mouth for centuries until, forced by external circumstances, they wrote them down in the third century CE. In rabbinic Judaism some rabbis advocated that written and oral tradition should be separated. "You are not permitted to recite from writing things that are transmitted orally; those that are written you are not permitted to say orally" (B. T., *Temurah* 14b). And some Islamic *ʿulamāʾ* advanced the view that the *ḥadīth* should not be written down. In these cases oral traditions could become public without being written down.

MEANS OF CODIFICATION: STELA, SCROLL, AND CODEX. The oldest texts of law codes of the ancient Near East were written down on stelae, large stones that were inscribed and publicly displayed. In some cases the texts of these stelae were copied on clay tablets by pupil-scribes. By means of these clay tablets Mesopotamian codes were preserved, even though the original stelae had disappeared. In the Hebrew scriptures (Old Testament) two tables (*luḥot*) are mentioned, on both sides of which the text of the Decalogue has been engraved (*Ex.* 32:15–16). The prophet Isaiah received the order to write the word of the Lord on a tablet (made of wood or ivory with a layer of plaster or wax on it), that it might "become an eternal witness for a day to come" (*Is.* 30:8; cf. *Hab.* 2:2). The *Book of Isaiah* (eighth century BCE) also testifies to the transition to writing on papyrus, the pith of an Egyptian water plant. For in *Isaiah* 8:1 the Lord asked the prophet to take a papyrus leaf (*gillayon*) and write on it. The oldest Hebrew papyrus is a palimpsest found in the Wadi Murabbaʿat that goes back to the eighth century BCE. The sheets of papyrus (*chartes*) were stuck together to form a scroll with the text on the inside. In the second century BCE parchment came into use. It was prepared from the skin of various animals and turned out to be stronger than papyrus. Pergamon exported parchment of particularly fine quality. Sheets of parchment that could be inscribed on both sides were since the first century BCE put in layers and folded as a codex. Christians promoted the use of the codex, while Jews stuck to the scroll.

Scroll and codex, then, were used in addition to the stela to record collections of laws. The Hebrew Book of the Covenant (*sefer ha-berit; Ex.* 24:7) should be imagined as a scroll; the same holds true for the "book of the *torah*" (*sefer ha-torah; 2 Kgs.* 22:8, 23:2) discovered at the time of the Judahite king Josiah (639–609 BCE), which is partly identical with *Deuteronomy.* The Codex Justinianus, on the contrary, was a manuscript in the form of a codex.

There are some differences between these means of codification. Laws written down as edicts could be sent to bureaus throughout the empire. But there was always the problem of authenticity. "A law that has been sent must be accepted and must undoubtedly be valid, and the power to emend and to revoke shall be reserved to our clemency [i.e., that of the Emperor]" (Codex Theodosianus 1.1.5). The scrolls indeed enabled scribes to make emendations. The scribe could add glosses to the text or introduce new authorized regulations at the end of the transmitted ones. Stelae could scarcely be falsified, but they were not easily used for the dissemination of edicts. It is therefore not surprising that laws sometimes were edited in both fashions. The Jewish law of purification, prohibiting foreigners to enter the Temple, was made public by means of slabs, one of them reading: "No alien *[allogenēs]* shall enter the holy place; if he is caught, he shall die" (Gerhard Pfohl, *Griechische Inschriften*, Munich, 2d ed., 1980, no. 135). In the beginning of the second century BCE, a local official ordered stelae to be set up in his villages recording letters of King Antiochos III that protected these villages from molestation. Stelae inscribed and publicly displayed could make such orders respected.

CUSTOM AND LAW, RESTITUTION AND PUNISHMENT. When laws were codified and written down their institutional context was changed. There is a process of assimilation and elimination that is typical of oral transmission in a nonliterate society: what continues to be of social relevance is stored in the memory while the rest is usually forgotten. Literacy puts an end to this process. The tradition becomes a fixed object, and inconsistencies within it become obvious. If systems of writing are complex, as in the ancient civilizations, then a deep gulf may develop between the esoteric literate culture and the popular culture. In the ancient Near East, scribes formed a class of their own, separate from the priesthood and in the service of the king. They became the experts in law and dislodged the elders previously responsible for the transmission of oral tradition (Goody and Watt, 1968).

It is common to discriminate custom from law. We call "custom" any habitual or usual course of action, any established practice. We call "law" a rule of conduct administered by a ruler or his subordinates. Laws are enforced by explicit sanctions while customs are enforced by social control. These are merely logical distinctions. But it is evident that the historical factor of writing worked in favor of laws sanctioned from above. Even if customs remained unchanged, their incorporation in an official code reinforced the power sustaining them. Often the institution of a law code became an opportunity to select from among customary practices. When in 303 BCE Antigonus I granted the citizens of Teos and Lebedos the right to write down their laws, he asked them to draw up only those laws they deemed the best. Sometimes there are clear cases of breaching custom. Solon prohibited in 594–593 BCE loans on the person of the debtor. The regulations concerning debt-slavery in Mesopotamian and Jewish codes show similar attempts to temper severe customs concerning debtors. They reflect efforts to subordinate private power to public control.

We must further discern between two sanctions: restitution and punishment. The law codes are full of examples of this distinction. The codes have the form of a collection of casuistic laws: conditional sentences in the third person. The dependent clause contains the facts supposed and the main clause the sanction. The arrangement of topics conforms to no general logic but seems random and includes homicide, battery, theft, slavery, sexual offenses, property rights, bride-price, inheritance, and so on. The difference between restitution and punishment concerns the sanction. A thief could be forced to restitute what he had stolen. In this case his action was regarded as a civil breach. In other cases theft was regarded as a serious offense, and the thief was made to restitute a multiple value of the thing stolen (as in *Exodus* 21:37–22:3). And finally theft could be judged as a crime to be punished by death or mutilation (as in code of Hammurabi 6f). Stanley Diamond maintains, as previous scholars have, that the customary law followed only the principle of restitution. Only with the rise of the state and legislation did homicide and theft become punishable crimes. The institution of the state was responsible for the severity of sanctions (*In Search of the Primitive*, 1974, chap. 6). Émile Durkheim argued precisely the opposite. He drew a distinction between two types of sanctions: restitutive sanctions and repressive ones. These two types are supposed to correspond to two types of social solidarity: the mechanical and the organic. In societies based on mechanical solidarity there is a predominance of repressive law, whereas restitutive (cooperative) laws prevail in societies based on organic solidarity. Though it holds true that Durkheim vastly overstated the role of repressive law and understated the degree of reciprocity in primitive societies, there remains much testimony that primitive societies are disposed toward penal sanctions. It is therefore improbable that with the creation of the state came repressive sanctions.

On this issue the reflections of Henry Sumner Maine are still valid. He discerned two types of offenses: offenses against one's neighbor and offenses against God (Maine, 1905, pp. 307–309). Offenses against one's neighbor (torts) gave rise to an obligation that was fulfilled by payment. In the Hittite laws, for example, the general sanction for homicide is the handing over of a number of persons. Offenses against God (sins), on the contrary, are punished with severity. Take for example the Jewish laws regarding homicide: "Ye shall take no ransom for the life of a manslayer liable to death, for he shall surely die. . . . So ye shall not pollute the land wherein ye are, for blood polluteth the land and no expiation can be made for the land for the blood which is shed therein but by the blood of him that shed it" (*Nm.* 35:31–33). Durkheim advanced a similar idea: "In primitive societies, criminal law is religious law" (*The Division of Labor in Society*, New York, 1947, p. 92). E. Adamson Hoebel (1954) also subscribed to the view that in primitive society criminal law coincides with certain notions of sin (p. 259).

A. S. Diamond (1935) used this distinction to classify preserved law codes. He arranged them in three groups. In the first group (early codes) the sanctions imposed are only pecuniary, including those for homicide and battery (e.g., the early laws of the peoples of western Europe). The second group ("central" codes) comprises codes in which some civil wrongs are regarded as criminal offenses and others not (e.g., the Hittite laws of the sixteenth century BCE). The last group (late codes) is formed of codes that regard the more serious wrongs—homicide, adultery, rape, and theft—as crimes (e.g., the code of Hammurabi, eighteenth century BCE). Diamond postulated an evolution according to which the field of the law of criminal offenses gradually expanded. Considering the historical dates of the law codes mentioned it seems far more appropriate to speak of logical types of codes.

COMPARISON OF LAW CODES. A review of extant law codes should attempt to address two main scientific problems: Did the codes contribute to public control of private power, as exercised, for example, in the enslavement of others? What are the reasons that law codes differ, principally with regard to sanctions for the same offense?

Mesopotamian codes. The most important Mesopotamian law codes are the following: the laws of the Sumerian king Urnammu (hereafter called LU, 2111–2094 BCE); the laws of King Lipit-Ishtar (LL, 1934–1924 BCE); the code of the city Eshnunna (CE, eighteenth century BCE); the code of the Akkadian king Hammurabi (CH, 1793–1750 BCE); the Hittite laws (HL, c. 1600 BCE); the Assyrian laws (AL, eleventh century BCE). (These texts are collected in Borger, 1982.)

The most famous code is of course the code of Hammurabi. It was written on a diorite stela, topped by a bas-relief showing Hammurabi receiving from Shamash, the sun god and god of justice, the commission to write the law book. The stela was carried off as a trophy of war to the Elamite capital Susa. The code of Hammurabi is particularly valuable because it reveals something of how such a code was intended to function. The epilogue speaks about the motives of the king and the function of the stela. The king set up the stela with the aim of protecting the weak against the strong, procuring justice for the orphan and the widow, and establishing equity in the land (CH 47). The motivations given in the LU (104–116, 162–168) and in the LL (1f., 19.6ff.) are similar. A citizen who has been injured shall read the stela, recognize his legal claims, and thank Hammurabi. If a subsequent king disregards the words of the stela, kingship shall be taken away from him (CH 48f.). The epilogue of LL blesses him who does not damage the stela (19.36–45). It has to be mentioned that among the hundreds of thousands of extant cuneiform tablets the number of copies of these codes is surprisingly small. The codes did not leave clear traces in Mesopotamian jurisdiction. J. J. Finkelstein (1961) concludes that the purpose of these codes was not legislation. Of course a litigant could appeal to the provisions of a code, but such an appeal would have carried moral rather than legal force. The codes must be regarded as political justifications of kingship.

The three codes proclaiming in prologue and epilogue protection of the weak against the strong belong together even in terms of their contents. In the Hittite laws the sanction of killing a free man or woman is the handing over of four persons (HL 1). For theft of cattle the sanction is payment of a stated multiple of the value (HL 45.57ff.). If a man steals from a house, "in former times he restituted for the theft one mine of silver. But now he gives twelve shekels [one-third of a mine] silver" (HL 94). A similar alleviation of punishment is decreed in HL 166–167: here a capital sanction has been replaced by a restitutive one. Only adultery, rape, and sexual offenses are punished with death (HL 187f., 197f.). Herein the code of Hammurabi is in accordance with the Hittite laws (CH 129f; cf. CE 26.28; LU 6f.). But in the other cases the code of Hammurabi inflicts heavy penalties. The following offenses are regarded as crimes punishable by death: an unproved accusation of murder (CH 1), murder (LU 1), false testimony (CH 3), theft of property (CH 6f.; only by night, CE 12f.), kidnapping (CH 14), hiding of a slave (CH 16), burglary (CH 21), robbery (CH 22; LU 2), sorcery (CH 2, AL 47). These severe penalites are imposed only in cases of offenses against citizens. The rape of a female slave, for example, can be requited by a pecuniary payment (LU 8; CE 31, to be compared with 26). The Assyrian laws very often prescribe mutilations—the removal of ears, fingers, eyes, or lips, for example, sanctions quite rare in the code of Hammurabi, which prescribes amputation of a hand only if an overseer steals the seed or fodder of an owner (CH 253).

Did criminal law arise from religion, as Maine, Durkheim, and Hoebel maintain? The codes themselves refer to a more specific concept: The king established justice (*misharum*) on behalf of the gods (LU, prologue; LL, epilogue; CH 5.14ff., 47.84ff.). It is not so much religion in general but the specific idea of a divine, just order that lies behind these codes. We must therefore explain the differences between sanctions (pecuniary versus capital) in terms of different concepts concerning this order. The case of debt slavery can elucidate the essence of these differences. The Hittite laws do not deal at all with enslavement of citizens, though such enslavement did exist. The Assyrian laws, the code of Eshnunna, and the code of Hammurabi, on the other hand, presuppose as a fact that a creditor who has a claim to corn or silver seizes persons of the debtor's family (CH 115; AL 39, 44, 48). This is only illegal if the claim is not substantiated, in which case a fine must be paid (CH 114). The code of Eshnunna gives more details: if the seized person is a female slave, the pledger shall pay silver in full compensation for her; if he doesn't return her and she dies, he shall give two female slaves as replacement; if he distrains the wife or children of a citizen and causes their death, he shall die (CE 22–24). The code of Hammurabi goes beyond these regulations and introduces laws protecting the person legally seized. "If the distress dies in the house of him who has taken him as a distress through blows or ill-treatment, the owner of the distress shall convict his merchant, and if [the distress is] a [free] man's son, his son shall be put to death or, if [he is] a [free] man's slave, he shall pay one-third mine of silver and forfeits anything whatsoever that he has lent" (CH 116). "If a man has become liable to arrest under a bond and has sold his wife, his son or his daughter or gives [them] into servitude, for three years they shall do work in the house of him who has brought them or taken them in servitude; in the fourth year their release shall be granted" (CH 117). These regulations were an effort to establish a public control over the harsh and merciless practice of debt slavery. The customary law of enslaving the debtor's family yields to statute law decreed by the emperor. Some of these emperors ordered at the beginning of their rule a remission of debts. "Whoever has given barley or silver to an Akkadian or an Amorite as an interest-bearing loan . . . because the king has invoked the *misharum* for the land, his document is voided" (Edict of Ammisaduqa 4). "Because the king has instituted *misharum* in the land, he [the enslaved citizen or his wife or his children] is released" (20). The release (*anduraru*) of the debt-slaves is due to justice. As J. J. Finkelstein cogently argued, the *misharum* and the law codes drew from the same concept, a concept of divine, just order that secured the citizen's property (human and otherwise) and reputation from infringement. The code of Hammurabi added to these rights the protection against permanent enslavement.

Jewish codes. The most important Jewish codes were the Book of the Covenant (*sefer ha-berit; Ex.* 24:7) incorporated into *Exodus* (20:22–23:19) and the legal part of *Deuteronomy* (12–26), perhaps identical with the "book of the *torah*" (*sefer ha-torah*), discovered at the time of Josiah (639–609 BCE) in the Temple (*2 Kgs.* 22:8, 23:2). As compared with the Book of the Covenant, the genre of the law code in *Deuteronomy* has lost its genuine form.

The Book of the Covenant contains casuistic law and apodictic law. Albrecht Alt has argued that the Israelites took over from the Canaanites the secular casuistic law, while the sacral apodictic law belonged to their own heritage. But Alt understated the religious background of the casuistic law in the code of the ancient Near East (see Alt, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Munich, 1959, pp. 278–332). The Book of the Covenant starts with a prologue. Yahveh commissions Moses to erect an altar and to give the Israelites laws (*mishpatim; Ex.* 21:1) with regard to slaves (21:2–11); the capital offenses, including intentional homicide, abduction, beating and cursing of one's parents (21:12–17); inflicting bodily injuries (21:18–36); and theft, property delicts, and seduction (21:37–22:16). Thereupon follow apodictic laws on different subjects (22:17–23:19).

The Book of the Covenant belongs to the group of codes that regard private wrongs as capital offenses. A comparison with the code of Hammurabi, however, shows similarities and differences. Murder and abduction are in both codes capital crimes. But not all the capital offenses enumerated in the code of Hammurabi are regarded as such in Israel. In Judaism, the thief caught stealing livestock and selling them shall return fivefold (for oxen) or fourfold (for sheep) the number he stole. If the cattle are found in his possession alive he shall pay double. If he has not the means to do so he himself shall be sold. If the owner kills the thief there is no blood revenge, except if it happened in broad daylight (*Ex.* 21:37–22:3). On the other hand, the code of Hammurabi did not regard offenses against parents as crimes deserving death. In Israel offenses against persons and their status seem to weigh more heavily than offenses against property.

The Book of the Covenant acknowledged loans on the person and enslavement of debtors. But it made an attempt to temper the severe customs regarding the Hebrew debtors. The Hebrew slave shall be released after six years. A female slave that doesn't please her master may not be sold to a foreign people (21:7–8). Assault of a debt slave shall be avenged if he dies immediately. Bodily injuries shall lead to his release (21:20–21, 21:26–27). We recognize efforts similar to those in the Mesopotamian codes to alleviate the harsh fate of debt slaves and to institute a public control over it.

Deuteronomy departs from the genuine form of law codes. But Moshe Weinfeld (1972) has cogently argued that it still reflects this genre, maintaining that the book marks the transition from a narrow casuistic law corpus to a humanistic law code. Laws concerning property are nearly completely lacking. The Deuteronomic legislator aimed at setting forth a code of laws assuring protection for individuals and particularly persons in need. The debt slave is regarded as a citizen, a brother (*aḥ*), who only sells his service—but not his person—to his master. He conducts an independent family life. His master is obliged to manumit him after six years (*Dt.* 15:12–18). A slave who seeks refuge shall not be turned over to his master (23:15f.)—an offense punished by death in the code of Hammurabi (CH 16). The code in *Deuteronomy* still follows the casuistic form, but it introduces a new element unparalleled in the codes of ancient Near East: the motive clause. The release of the debt slaves is not only a command of God. The Deuteronomic legislator adds a further reason to follow the law: "Remember that you were a slave in Egypt and your Lord has released you" (15:15). He does not base the political recognizance of his code on the power of kingship but on the personal conviction of citizens.

Greek and Roman codes. The most important codifications are the laws of Solon, the laws of Gortyn, and the Roman Twelve Tables. The legislation of Solon was preceded by that of Draco (seventh century BCE). The *thesmoi* of Draco addresses the prosecution of homicide. Intentional homicide was avenged by the kin of the victim, manslaughter was compensated by payment of a wergild. The laws of Draco had officially been published on wooden tablets, set up on revolving pillars (*axones*). The laws of Solon were published in the same way.

The legislation of Solon (594/3 BCE) is only transmitted fragmentarily by Greek historians. The archonship of Solon (594 BCE) was preceded by civil strife in which the enslavement of poor Athenians by wealthy ones seems to have been an important issue. Solon at first ordered a cancellation of debts (*seisachtheia*); afterwards he enacted laws. His laws prohibited loans on the person of the debtor, arranged the population according to property qualifications into four classes, and established rules for electing the magistrates. Solon also made the curious law that whoever in a time of political strife did not take an active part on either side of a conflict should be deprived of his civic rights. He prohibited dowries and changed the rule of inheritance. Citizens without children could convey by testament their property to anyone they wished. Previously the heritage had to remain in the *genos* (kin group) of the deceased. He enacted a law saying that a son who had not been given the chance to learn a craft by his father was not obliged to sustain him later. Another law inhibited the export of agricultural products except olive oil.

Aristotle may have committed a historiographical error when he assigned to Solon the setting up of a constitution (*politeia*); only since the fourth century has Solon been regarded as founder of a constitution. But Aristotle referred rightly to the democratic feature of the laws of Solon (*Athenaiōn Politeia*, 9.1). The law that nobody could contract a loan secured on a person was a breach of the custom of debt slavery. This breach didn't occur all over the Greek world, but the view that law that could breach custom seems fairly common. Law was identified with statute law, and this identification remained characteristic of the whole Greek world. "Unwritten law" (*agraphos nomos*) should not be used by the court. The conflicts that could arise between custom and statute law are illustrated by the *Antigone* of Sophocles. This preference for statute law was a natural corollary of democracy. Justice, to which Solon also had appealed, became subject to the political discourse of citizens.

The most important source of pre-Hellenistic legislation is that found in the city of Gortyn (Crete). An inscription from the fifth century BCE begins with an injunction against taking the law into one's own hands: "Gods! He who will institute legal proceedings regarding a freeman or a slave shall not take him away before the judgement." But a condemned man or a debtor (*katakeimenon*) can be taken away without punishment. The inscription gives laws concerning rape and adultery (punished with a fine); conveyance of property in case of divorce, adoption, and death; ransom of compatriots; marriage, especially of an heiress; security and liability; and adoption.

There are some texts elucidating the process of codification of Greek law. After the liberation of Chios from the Persians in 333–332 BCE, Alexander ordered that the expelled democrats should return, that Chios should be a democracy, and that scribes should draw up and systematize the laws. I have already suggested that the *sunoikismos* of Teos and Lebedos in Asia Minor should be recognized as an act of common legislation. After his victory over the Egyptian forces in 200 BCE the Seleucid ruler Antiochos III recognized the Jewish customs and laws as *patrioi nomoi*. It was a privilege of political communities to dispose a written law code. The law code—in the ancient Near East a justification of kingship—had in the Hellenic and Hellenistic culture the function of a constitution.

According to Livy, the Roman law of the Twelve Tables was compiled in 450–449 BCE in an attempt to control the struggle between plebeians and patricians and to secure equal liberty for the two groups (Livy, 3.31.7). His account can hardly be considered satisfactory in view of its inconsistencies and improbabilities. The Twelve Tables are known only from later sources. The law code begins with a number of short rules indicating how to start and pursue legal proceedings (cf. the law of Gortyn). They proceed to debt slavery: "Unless they make a settlement, debtors shall be held in bonds for 60 days. On the third market day they shall suffer capital punishment or be delivered up for sale abroad, across the Tiber" (table three). Tables four to six contain fundamental principles of conveyance and of property law. Table eight deals with criminal law. Intentional homicide is a capital offense. For theft the sanctions vary, from paying double the amount of the stolen object's value to a capital sentence.

SOME FINAL REMARKS. The later codices of the Roman Empire deviated fundamentally from the preceding ones. The Theodosian Code was a compilation of laws issued by the emperors from 313 until 438 CE. In 429 Theodosius ordered such a compilation be made, and nine years later the code was solemnly promulgated. The code contained the legislative enactments issued by the emperors on given dates. These imperial laws (called constitutions) had been *edicta* (official proclamations), *decreta* (decrees in the settlement of lawsuits), *rescripta* (decisions in answer to officials and private persons) and *epistulae* (letters to officials). The emperor was conceived as the sole source of law, and his enactments were considered divine. His orders were called *constitutiones*, since they formed the fundamental law. The contravention of a given statute would be considered a crime, punishable usually be death. The fundamental Greek identification of justice and law was thus fused with monarchy. Again, as in the Mesopotamian codes, there is an emphasis on punishment. And again, not religion in a general sense, but specific notions of justice, had given rise to the code.

Other famous codes are the Syrian lawbooks and the Zoroastrian Madigani Hazar Dadastan. In the Islamic community a law code as such did not develop. The Qurʾān was regarded as the supreme source of Islamic law. Besides this source, the *sunnah*, the *ḥadīth*, the consensus of the Islamic community, and the analogical method were used to develop rules.

SEE ALSO Law and Religion; Revenge and Retribution.

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H. G. KIPPENBERG (1987)

CODRINGTON, R. H. (1830–1922), Christian missionary to Melanesia and scholar of Melanesian languages and cultures. The second son of an Anglican rector, Robert Henry Codrington was educated at Charterhouse and at Wadham College, Oxford, where, as his later high church views suggest, he may have been touched by the Oxford Movement. In 1857, two years after he was ordained, he gave up excellent prospects in England to go to New Zealand with his vicar, Edmund Hobhouse, who had been elevated to the bishopric of Christchurch. In 1863 he accompanied Bishop John Coleridge Patteson on the island voyage of the mission ship *Southern Cross,* and in 1867 he joined the peripatetic Melanesian Mission, which advocated a policy of racial equality and minimal interference in traditional native culture. When Patteson was killed in 1871 by Melanesians previously victimized by Australian "blackbirders" (kidnappers), Codrington declined the bishopric, but he served for some years as acting head of the mission. Despite a propensity to severe sea-sickness, he did on several occasions make the island voyage; he preferred, however, to direct the mission school on Norfolk Island, to which young Melanesians were brought for training as native teachers. There he also took over the linguistic studies Patteson had begun (in part under the stimulus of the German-born Oxford philologist and comparative religionist F. Max Müller). Through the intermediacy of Lorimer Fison, a Wesleyan missionary-anthropologist with whom he had become acquainted during the public furor surrounding Patteson's death, Codrington established contact with the British social evolutionary anthropologist E. B. Tylor. By 1880 he had begun to send ethnographic material to the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute.*

Returning on leave to England in 1883 to complete the translation of the Bible into Mota (the Melanesian lingua franca), Codrington resided for two years in college at Oxford, where he attended lectures by Tylor. While there he published one of his two major works, *The Melanesian Languages* (1885), which long remained a standard reference; the companion study of their culture, *The Melanesians* (1891), was published after a second truncated tour of duty with the mission. After a brief period as rector of a country parish, Codrington served the remainder of his long life as prebendary of the cathedral in Chichester.

As a religious scholar, Codrington is best known for the idea of *mana,* which he saw as the basis of all Melanesian religious belief. Despite his contact with Tylor, Codrington remained closer to the philologically oriented pre-Darwinian "ethnological" tradition to which Müller, too, was tied. Unlike his friend Fison, he was little concerned with evolutionary problems. He remained dubious of the evolutionary socioreligious concept of totemism, and though he did not explicitly reject Tylor's rationalistic doctrine of animism, by implication he called it into question. Suspicious of received anthropological categories, Codrington saw ethnography as a matter of "setting forth what natives say about themselves." It was in this context (as well as in an effort to find a universal substructure for Christian missionizing) that he focused on *mana:* "the persuasion that there is a supernatural power belonging to the region of the unseen"—a power emotionally experienced rather than rationally surmised, which natives could turn to their benefit. Offered originally in a letter to Max Müller, Codrington's definition of *mana* was used by Müller to attack Tylorian intellectualist views in a series of lectures published as *The Origin of Religion* (1878). Subsequently adopted by R. R. Marett as the basis for the concept of "preanimistic" religion, the concept of *mana* played an important role in the critique of social evolution that developed in British anthropology after 1900. It was also manifest in such major critiques of evolutionary rationalism as Durkheim's *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1912) and Freud's *Totem and Taboo* (1912).

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Codrington has not yet found a biographer, and biographical material must be sought in obituaries and standard biographical sources, notably the article by Ernest Beaglehole in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, 1968). A considerable body of his correspondence and relevant printed materials are preserved in Rhodes House, Oxford. A bibliography of his writings is contained in the obituary by Sidney Ray, in *Man* 97 (1922): 169–171. Codrington is also the subject of my article "Robert Henry Codrington: Melanesian Man and Evolutionary Categories," in *After Tylor: British Social Anthropology, 1888–1951* (Madison, Wis., 1995).

GEORGE W. STOCKING, JR. (1987 AND 2005)

COHEN, ARTHUR A.

COHEN, ARTHUR A. Arthur A. Cohen (1928–1986) was an American Jewish theologian, novelist, essayist, editor, and publisher. Born in New York City, Cohen grew up in an affluent, assimilated Jewish home and was educated at the University of Chicago where he studied philosophy and religion. His first year at Chicago, on realizing "that Western culture is a Christian culture" (Stern and Mendes-Flohr, 1998, p. 34) he underwent a spiritual crisis and seriously considered converting to Christianity. To save their son from taking this path, his horrified parents enlisted the help of their rabbi, Milton Steinberg (1903–1950; arguably the most original Jewish American religious thinker of his day), and under Steinberg's tutelage, Cohen began to study Hebrew and Jewish texts. In 1949, after receiving a master of arts degree from the University of Chicago, Cohen spent six months in Jerusalem where he met Martin Buber (1878–1965) whose theology subsequently became the subject of Cohen's first book, published in 1958). He later studied briefly at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York. In 1951, he left academia for good to cofound the Noonday Press, the first of several publishing ventures in which Cohen was involved—the others were Meridian Books (where Cohen pioneered the publication of high-quality paperbacks), World Publishing House, and Holt, Rhinehart, Winston, where he eventually became editor-in-chief and vice-president. At Holt, Cohen commissioned a number of extremely important Jewish books including the English translation of Franz Rosenzweig's (1886–1929) *The Star of Redemption.*

In 1969 he retired from publishing to write theology and fiction full time (although in the 1980s he re-entered business with his wife, the celebrated designer and artist Elaine Lustig Cohen, and became a very successful dealer in rare early twentieth-century art documents and books). Although he occasionally taught a course at universities and participated intensely in New York literary and intellectual circles, Cohen eschewed most institutional, educational, and organizational ties in the Jewish world. In 1986, at the age of fifty-eight, he died of leukemia.

EARLY THEOLOGY. Cohen first won major attention with his second book, *The Natural and Supernatural Jew* (1962), which sets out the basic structure of his religious thinking. The foundation of that structure, intimated in the book's title, is the distinction between the natural and the supernatural Jew. The natural Jew, Cohen wrote, is "a creature situated in nature and activated by history" (Stern and Mendes-Flohr, 1998, p. 44)—that is, one whose fate is essentially defined by his or her cultural and social circumstances and who cannot alone transcend the determinations of nature and history. In contrast, the supernatural Jew is a messianic being, the Jew aware of being called by God to the transhistorical vocation of bringing redemption, who must testify that "there is *no* redemption until *all* history is redeemed" (Stern and Mendes-Flohr, 1998, p. 45). These two types, Cohen emphasized, are not to be understood as opposites or as mutually exclusive: they "are joined in every Jew" (Stern and Mendes-Flohr 1998, p. 48). Although "the supernatural Jew may occasionally forget that he is also flesh and blood"—that is, fated to live in history—such a Jew, Cohen wrote, "is as much in error as is the natural Jew who forgets what links him to eternity" (Stern and Mendes-Flohr, 1998, p. 48). The renewal of the Jewish vocation lies in the reuniting in the Jew of both selves, natural and supernatural, and in turning Judaism toward history and culture in such a way that they will be made into "bearers of ultimate and consummate meaning" (Stern and Mendes-Flohr, 1998, p. 49).

In distinguishing between the natural and the supernatural, the historical and the meta-historical, Cohen's work both drew on the new existentialist philosophy coming out of Europe at the time and represented a rejection of the ideological rationalism that had characterized the Jewish theologians of the previous generation, preeminently Mordecai M. Kaplan (1881–1983), the naturalist Jewish theologian and founder of Reconstructionism. Cohen and his contemporaries—such other Jewish thinkers as Will Herberg (1901–1977), Eugene Borowitz (b. 1924), and Emil Fackenheim (1916–2003)—argued for a renewal of Jewish theology as a prerequisite for the renewing of Judaism itself and reasserted the centrality of supernaturalist categories like faith, revelation, chosenness, and messianism.

More than his contemporaries, however, Cohen emphasized the messianic, eschatological side of Judaism, which for him meant the quintessentially unredeemed condition of the present world. Like Rosenzweig (whose adolescent near-conversion to Christianity clearly anticipated, if not served as the model for Cohen's own early experience), Cohen predicated his understanding of the Jewish vocation on a repudiation of Christianity, indeed on an essential theological enmity between Judaism and Christianity. The latter was always for Cohen a promise and a reality to be denied by the Jew. This theme was the primary subject of his second major early work, a collection of related essays entitled *The Myth of the Judeo-Christian Tradition* (1970).

POST-HOLOCAUST THEOLOGY. Beginning in 1974, Cohen's theology became increasingly concerned with the Holocaust. In a lecture delivered that year to the Leo Baeck Institute in New York, Cohen argued that the Holocaust represented an unprecedented manifestation of absolute evil that fundamentally changed the terms of God's relationship to the Jewish people. Because it defied all the traditional categories of Jewish theodicy (e.g., sin and punishment, divine retribution, and so on) the Holocaust was, in Cohen's terminology, the *Tremendum*, a term Cohen borrowed from the nineteenth-century German theologian Rudolph Otto (1869–1937), who had used it to define God's presence as a *mysterium tremendum*, a terrifying and unfathomable mystery. Cohen analogously identified the Holocaust as a manifestation of sheer terror—although one unaccompanied by the presence of God.

In Cohen's view, for the Jew living after the Holocaust, the *Tremendum* was the defining event of his or her relationship to God, hence of Jewishness itself. Drawing on the Passover Haggadah (as Julian Levinson has pointed out), Cohen wrote that a Jew must feel as though he or she "was really, even if not literally, present in Egypt, and really, if not literally, present at Sinai" (Stern and Mendes-Flohr, 1998, p. 248). As such, the Holocaust represented a challenge to traditional conceptions of the Jewish God. Even so, Cohen was adamant in his belief that Jewish theology could meet that challenge. "The time is now to build again upon the wreckage of previous understandings" of Jewish theology, and particularly its conception of the divinity. Even if "the God who will endure may . . . prove to be less imperious and authoritarian, . . . [He] may gain in credibility and truth what He has lost in unconditional absoluteness" (Stern and Mendes-Flohr 1998, p. 101).

FICTION AND LITERARY ESSAYS. The most remarkable feature of Cohen's theological work was his career as a novelist. In the course of this career, Cohen published five novels and one book of three novellas. Although only one of these books is on an explicitly Jewish and theological theme—*In the Days of Simon Stern* (1973)—Cohen's turn to fiction as a medium for Jewish theology was not entirely surprising. Even his explicitly theological writing possessed the rare eloquence and passion of poetry, what he called "the language of existence—the means by which the paradoxes of theology can be rendered into life" (Cohen, 1962, p. 146), as he wrote about the dedication to language shared by his own literary-theologian models, the German-Jewish theologian Rosenzweig and the medieval Jewish poet and philosopher Judah Halevi (1086–1145). Rosenzweig once remarked that Judaism must be smuggled into life; Cohen used fiction to smuggle Judaism into art.

Although he is often described as a novelist of ideas, it would be more accurate to say that Cohen's fictions are all about characters—poets, artists, intellectuals, messiahs—obsessed with ideas. Thus, *Simon Stern* recounts the history of its protagonist, the Simon Stern of the book's title, a millionaire real estate dealer on the Lower East Side who, in the aftermath of the Holocaust, attempts to save the remnants of European Jewry (a select number of survivors chosen for their capacity to "endure" history) by rescuing them from Europe, bringing them to New York and building for them a temple-like sanctuary in New York City. By the novel's end, however, this project of redemption has failed, and the temple itself has been destroyed in a fire (once again!). Cohen's protagonist, Simon Stern, although certainly a failure, is a genuine, messiah. However, his particular messianic mission in the novel is ultimately not to save humanity but to prove the impossibility of redemption so long as history lasts. In this way, through the novel, Cohen succeeded in recreating a classic Jewish myth that was also a perfect expression of Cohen's own personal theological obsessions.

As a novel, *Simon Stern* is often creaky, heavy-handed, and shapeless, but its enormous intellectual and spiritual energy, epitomized in the book's sprawling, massive shape, encompasses the boundless Jewish yearning for redemption and the equally boundless messianic disappointment. Even if the book fails on purely literary grounds as a novel, it is an extraordinary epic of the theological imagination.

The impossibility of neatly categorizing *Simon Stern* is almost a perfect correlative for Cohen's own exceptionality as an American Jewish thinker. In his numerous essays, Cohen wrote about nearly every conceivable subject—from Franz Kafka (1883–1924) and George Frederick Handel's (1685–1759) *Jephthah* to architecture, art, and the history of modern typographical design (about which he happened to be a world-recognized authority). As a single corpus, all of his writings, although hardly adhering to any conventional generic classification, were inhabited and enlivened by a single literary and intellectual persona.

Perhaps the most unusual example of the deep coherence of Cohen's literary-theological oeuvre is an essay he wrote titled "The Typographic Revolution: Antecedents and Legacy of Dada Graphic Design" (1979). On its surface, this dense and complex study traces the prehistory and influence of Dada typography—those chaotic and inventive arrangements of letters and print familiar to all students of early twentieth-century art. As Cohen argues, however, the Dadaist letters are actually ideograms come alive, and the Dadaist ambition to enliven letter types so that they can be "reapprehended as living voice, speaking volumes, shouting and making love" (Stern and Mendes-Flohr, 1998, p. 475) should be understood in conjunction with the inquiries of such contemporary philosophers and theologians as Ferdinand Ebner, Nicolai Berdyaev, Buber, and Rosenzweig, all of whom, Cohen asserts, sought to reconceive the direct speech between humans and God and thus to reclaim those "realms of intimacy" in which the living voice of the divine once spoke. The brilliance of this essay, with its unexpected connections between avant-garde typography and modern theology, exemplifies the uniqueness of Cohen's own voice as a religious thinker. The writing produced by that voice was like nothing else in American Jewish culture.

SEE ALSO Jewish Thought and Philosophy, article on Modern Thought.

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DAVID STERN (2005)

COHEN, HERMANN (1842–1918) was a Jewish philosopher of religion and founder and exponent of Marburg Neo-Kantian philosophy. Born into a cantor's family in the small-town Jewish community of Coswig/Anhalt, Germany, Cohen received intense religious training from his father in addition to the general education typical of his time and place. The transition from these beginnings to the modern rabbinical seminary of Breslau was natural. Part of the seminary's curriculum was the requirement of university studies, and while at the University of Breslau, Cohen decided that philosophy, rather than the rabbinate, was his vocation.

SCHOLAR. Transferring to the University of Berlin, Cohen first fell under the influence of the folk-psychological epistemologists Heymann Steinthal (1823–1899) and Moritz Lazarus (1824–1903), but he quickly progressed toward the ideas of Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) and a more logistic outlook. His habilitation thesis on Kant's theory of experience was published in 1871, and in the context of the "back to Kant" movement of the day, his ideas had a revolutionary impact. He particularly impressed the radical social reformer and professor of philosophy at Marburg, Friedrich Lange (1828–1875; author of the famous idealistic *History of Materialism*). Through Lange, a committed Protestant, Cohen, a committed Jew, received his first appointment at the University of Marburg in 1873. He stayed there until his voluntary, albeit disgruntled, retirement in 1912. Thereafter he taught at the Liberal rabbinical seminary in Berlin, the Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, where he wrote his last works. Shortly after his arrival in Marburg he married Martha Lewandowski, daughter of the chief cantor of the Berlin Jewish community and liturgical composer, Louis Lewandowski (1821–1894). (She later died in the concentration camp of Theresienstadt.)

During his long incumbency in Marburg, Cohen not only produced the bulk of his own philosophic oeuvre but also gathered around him a group that came to constitute the Marburg School of Neo-Kantianism. Among the many scholars associated with him in this undertaking were his student and subsequent colleague Paul Natorp (1854–1924) and, later, Ernst Cassirer (1874–1945). Cohen attracted many devoted students and disciples, particularly Jews from German-speaking countries, from Eastern Europe, and even America. However, his personal, philosophical, and social relations at the university became increasingly strained down through the years, not least because of growing political reaction during that period against the overtly ethical (i.e., Kantian), anti-Marxist, and antimaterialist socialism of the Marburg school. In the politics of the time the names of Cohen's students Kurt Eisner (1876–1919) and Eduard Bernstein (1850–1932) became quite well known.

Throughout his life Cohen never ceased to be active in Jewish matters. For example, he published his *The Love of Neighbor in the Talmud: Affidavit before the Royal Court of Marburg* in 1888 (in German) in response to the notorious Rohling/Delagarde anti-Semitic episode in which the old "blood libel" and Jewish xenophobism combined with the then nascent German racism. He wrote voluminously on Jewish subjects; in 1924 his writings were collected in three volumes, edited and introduced by Franz Rosenzweig, author of *The Star of Redemption.* Just before the outbreak of World War I Cohen made a triumphal tour of the largest Jewish communities in Russia, a trip that the German government supported for political reasons. Cohen hoped also by means of this tour to advance in the East the enlightened Jewish social and educational values of the Jews of the West.

COHEN'S WRITINGS. Cohen's work can be divided into three parts: his exegetical readings of Kant, his system of philosophy, and his specifically Jewish work.

Exegetical readings of Kant. Several of Cohen's books crystallized and solidified the aprioristic, transcendental, critical foundations of the Kantian system: *Kants Theorie der Erfahrung* (1871), *Kants Begründung der Ethik* (1877, 1910), and *Kants Begründung der Ästhetik* (1889). In 1883 he published *Das Prinzip der Infinitesimalmethode und seine Geschichte: Ein Kapitel in der Begründung der Erkenntniskritik* (The Principle of the Infinitesimal Method and Its History: A

Chapter in the Foundation of the Critique of Cognition), in which he argues that the (sensuous) given, which Kant treated as the separate, empiricist source of knowledge, is also a rational construction, and thus that reality is a totally aprioristic, regulative product.

The system of philosophy. Cohen's radicalized, Neo-Kantian understanding of reality and of ethics that developed directly from his critiques of Kant found expression in his *Logik der reinen Erkenntnis* (Logic of Pure Cognition; 1902, 1914), *Ethik des reinen Willens* (Ethics of the Pure Will; 1904–1907), and *Ästhetik des reinen Gefühls* (Aesthetic of Pure Feeling; 1912). Here the universe is determined by the three "interests" of reason (i.e., cognition, will, and feeling), which strive for the traditional ideals of truth, goodness, and beauty. All three operate under what Kant had called "the primacy of practical (i.e., ethical) reason." The infinite task of the attainment of practical reason produces the unending history of regulative progressive science, progress toward the good society (as in ethical socialism), and the synthesis of the two in a world perfectly true and perfectly good, that is, messianically beautiful.

Cohen's Jewish philosophy. Cohen's work in the area of Jewish studies—intimated in his philosophizing and, increasingly, explicitly identified with it—was systematically elaborated in the final decade of his life and was consummated in the posthumously published *Religion der Vernunft aus den Quellen des Judentums* (Religion of Reason out of the Sources of Judaism; 1919, 1929). Cohen's Jewish philosophical theology (although he did not use this terminology) consists of a translation back into classical Jewish terms of the philosophical position Cohen held he had extracted from Judaism with the help of the progressive line of thought running from Plato (c. 428–348 or 347 BCE) through Moses Maimonides, (1135/8–1204) to Kant. Thus God is the idea (in the Neo-Kantian, regulative sense) of the normative, infinite realization of the good in the world. This realization is known in religion as the establishment by means of the imitation of God of the messianic kingdom on earth. The Law (*halakhah*) is the historical Jewish specifications of the categorical imperative and the foundation of the universal human moral brotherhood of the "Noachide covenant," which is also the religious, prophetic goal of socialism. The last third of *Religion of Reason* leading up to the religious virtues of truthfulness and peacefulness is, together with the cited and appended texts, a Jewish restatement of the last third of *Ethics of the Pure Will.* The role of the Jewish people in history is then to represent "ethical monotheism" physically and to disseminate it morally throughout the world. Therefore, Cohen rejected the Zionism that was nascent at the time: The conflict between the two views is well expressed in the classic debate between Cohen and Martin Buber (1878–1965) in "Answer to the Open Letter of Dr. M. Buber" (1917) and in the writings of Cohen's former student Jakob Klatzkin, who became the leading theoretician of the radical Zionist "negation of the Diaspora."

INFLUENCE OF COHEN'S WORK. Cohen's influence in matters of religion was not limited to Jewry, although here it was magisterial. At the University of Marburg he interacted closely with the Protestant theology faculty, first with Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918), whose Bible criticism he esteemed highly as a good scholarly undergirding to prophetic Judaism, and then especially with the liberal, proto-Social Gospel philosophical theologian Wilhelm Herrmann (1846–1922). Natorp himself became increasingly active in liberal Protestantism. A second generation of Christian thinkers resulted from what might be called this Marburg school of Kantian liberal theology, albeit largely by way of dialectical antitheses: Karl Barth (1886–1968) and Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976) deliberately place primary emphasis on the subjectivity of faith in place of Cohen's argument for the objectivity of ethical and social values.

Cohen's philosophical and Jewish influence is scattered in diverse and embattled manifestations. Around the turn of the century a rebellion emerged against what was perceived as the extreme scientific, rationalistic theoreticism of Marburg Neo-Kantianism. In reaction, there appeared positions that asserted the ultimate power of "reality" over reason in "life-philosophy," re-Hegelianizing historicism, positivism, and nascent existentialist phenomenologism. In German circles the value of historical and even metaphysical Germanism (*Deutschtum*) was apostrophized, and in Jewish circles a parallel affirmation of the peoplehood of Israel and the historical or even metaphysical genius of the Jewish people was pitted against bloodless and lifeless assimilationist universalism. The fact that Franz Rosenzweig (1886–1929), a disciple of Friedrich Meinecke (1862–1954) and author of important studies on G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831), became Cohen's last important, brilliant disciple added another complicating element, for Rosenzweig interpreted the "late Cohen" as the precursor of a total break with systematic rationalism in favor of a form of metahistoricism inspired by Friedrich Schelling (1775–1854).

Politically, religiously, and philosophically very different extrapolations continue to be made from Cohen's fundamental analyses. Leading Jewish Orthodox authorities like Joseph Ber Soloveitchik (1903–1993) and Yitzchok Hutner (1906–1980) never ceased drawing on their Cohenian studies in the 1920s, whereas rationalistic reformers like Benzion Kellermann (1869–1923) and fully acculturated Westerners like Cassirer struck out in their own directions from Cohen. These varied approaches demonstrate how decisive the intellectual experience of Cohen has remained for subsequent Jewish thought. Cohen's Jewish writings have been translated into Hebrew, English, and other languages, but the technical philosopher Cohen has remained within the confines of German-language culture. Even there he has suffered many depredations. The Weimar backlash against rationalism as too cold and intellectual forced a number of Marburg-influenced figures such as Natorp, Nicolai Hartmann (1882–1950), and José Ortega y Gasset (1883–1955) toward the positions of Edmund Husserl (1859–1938), Martin Heidegger (1889–1976), and others. The Nazi period saw the final destruction of the Neo-Kantianism of Marburg. Since World War II, however, a new, qualified appreciation of transcendental philosophy has arisen, through the work of men such as Hans Wagner, Helmut Holzhey, Werner Flach, Wolfgang Marx, and others. But the contributions that Cohen's work can still make toward a fully developed and effective constructionalism in the areas of philosophy of science, ethics, and even of religion have not yet been fully realized.

In the last decades of the twentieth century, interest in Cohen's thought surged. Rosenzweig's misleading yet entrenched interpretation of Cohen's late philosophy of religion as a break with systematic idealism resulted in the bifurcation of Cohen interpretation into a systematic Neo-Kantian and a Jewish religious line. In more recent interpretations, however, scholars such as Michael Zank, Robert Gibbs, Hartwig Wiedebach, and Andrea Poma have built on the post-World War II generation above, overcoming the separation of Cohen's Neo-Kantian system and his specifically Jewish thought. The result is a recognition of the continuities in Cohen: The messianic age, for example, as the ideal future of the peace of humankind, was prefigured in the concept of time postulated in the ethics of the early Cohen.

In the midst of the age of nationalism and of the politics of identity, Cohen's ideal of the state is also receiving renewed attention as an ethical union of citizens that ought to supersede aspirations for the sovereignty of the primordial nation. Nonetheless, despite the resurgence in the study and appreciation of Cohen, it remains an open question whether his thought will serve as a foundation for constructive work in the future outside the sphere of Jewish philosophy.

SEE ALSO Cassirer, Ernst; Jewish Studies, article on Jewish Studies from 1818 to 1919; Jewish Thought and Philosophy, article on Modern Thought; Kant, Immanuel; Maimonides, Moses; Rosenzweig, Franz; Schelling, Friedrich.

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STEVEN S. SCHWARZSCHILD (1987)
ROBERT S. SCHINE (2005)

COKE, THOMAS (1747–1814), chief associate of John Wesley in the organization of worldwide Methodism. Born in Brecon, Wales, Coke attended Jesus College, Oxford, and earned in 1775 the degree of doctor of civil law. Having been ordained a deacon of the Church of England in 1770 and a priest in 1771, he served as curate of South Petherton, Somerset, from 1771 to 1777. In 1776 he fell under the spell of John Wesley and in 1777, largely because of his Methodism, was dismissed from his curacy. Becoming Wesley's colleague, he took over most of the supervision of the Irish societies, served as Wesley's secretary and agent, and employed his legal acumen in 1784 to draw up the deed poll incorporating the British Methodist Conference. In the same year he helped Wesley prepare and publish his revision of *The Book of Common Prayer.*

Wesley conveyed his own ecclesiastical authority to Coke in a form of ordination as "superintendent" for America, and thus transmitted ministerial orders to the Methodists there. Coke ordained Francis Asbury as his episcopal colleague—an act confirmed, at Asbury's insistence, through election by the American preachers—but Coke was the leader in formulating the American preachers' original *Discipline* on the basis of Wesley's "large" *Minutes.* Altogether, Coke spent less than three years in America, so that eventually Asbury took precedence over him, especially after it was discovered that in 1791 Coke had clandestinely sought a union of American Methodism with the Protestant Episcopal Church.

However, Coke had other irons in the fire. Among his many published works were a commentary on the Bible (1801–1807) and a *History of the West Indies* (1808–1811). He formed a tract society in 1782, advocated a missionary society in 1784, began to evangelize the West Indies in 1786, and was traveling to a mission in India at the time of his death. It was he more than any other who kindled Methodism's missionary zeal.

SEE ALSO Methodist Churches.

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Easily the best biography is *Thomas Coke, Apostle of Methodism* (Nashville, 1969) by John Ashley Vickers. Additional insights and information can be found in chapter 9 of my book *From Wesley to Asbury: Studies in Early American Methodism* (Durham, N.C., 1976) and in *The Encyclopedia of World Methodism*, 2 vols., edited by Nolan B. Harmon (Nashville, 1974).

FRANK BAKER (1987)

COLERIDGE, SAMUEL TAYLOR

(1772–1834), English Romantic poet, literary critic, journalist, philosopher, and religious thinker. With William Wordsworth, Coleridge helped inaugurate the Romantic era with the publication of *Lyrical Ballads* (1798). A devoted writer, he later worked sporadically as a journalist and lecturer. His life was shadowed by an unhappy marriage, ill health, and a lifelong drug addiction.

Raised in the Church of England by his minister father, Coleridge became a Unitarian during his student years at Cambridge, but he returned definitively to a trinitarian theology in 1805. Although essentially orthodox in his adherence to Church of England doctrine, Coleridge was often daringly innovative in his theological speculations on such concepts as the Logos, the Trinity, original sin, and the church. *Aids to Reflection* (1825) contains profound insights into the nature of faith and the relationship between faith and reason; *On the Constitution of the Church and State* (1830) offers a conservative view of the nature of the church and its "clerisy"; and *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit* (published 1840) introduces into England the approaches to scripture of the German "higher criticism." His *Notebooks* (published 1957–) and *Marginalia* (published 1980–) also contain perceptive reflections on doctrine, church history, and theological controversy.

Coleridge was one of the most widely read men of his century. Hence, the influences on him were many, including David Hartley, Joseph Priestley, and William Godwin (whose necessitarianism he later rejected); Plato and the seventeenth-century Cambridge Platonists; the medieval Schoolmen; mystics like Jakob Boehme and (to a lesser extent) Emanuel Swedenborg; philosophers in the so-called pantheist tradition like Giordano Bruno and Barukh Spinoza; and the German transcendental philosophers, especially Immanuel Kant and Friedrich Schelling. Each was interpreted, however, according to the needs of Coleridge's own organic philosophy and used to further his own theological speculations.

Coleridge's influence on subsequent religious thought was widespread, both in England and in the United States. He is commonly seen as a forerunner of the Broad Church movement through such disparate thinkers as Thomas Arnold, Julius Hare, and, especially, F. D. Maurice. There are also strong affinities between Coleridge and John Henry Newman, particularly in the two writers' approaches to religious epistemology. Through the writing of George MacDonald, Coleridge had—especially in his views on symbol, which are deeply grounded in his theology—an indirect influence on the imaginative literature of such writers as G. K. Chesterton, Charles Williams, J. R. R. Tolkien, and C. S. Lewis. Among Coleridge's poems, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner,* with its anguished spiritual odyssey, became a paradigm for imaginative and spiritual journeying. In the United States, *Aids to Reflection* was particularly influential, made known especially by James Marsh, by W. G. T. Shedd (who published a seven-volume edition of Coleridge in 1853), and by Ralph Waldo Emerson. Through Emerson, Coleridge's influence on American Transcendentalist thought was considerable.

Coleridge struggled against rationalism—both within the Protestant tradition and in the secular world—and against materialism, and he wrote vigorously of the need for a renewal of the spiritual dimensions of society and culture. His most important contribution to the religious thought of his own time may well be his introduction into England of German idealist thought and of higher criticism of scripture, while his most lasting contribution may be his reflections on the nature of religious language, especially on the role of symbol in religious experience.

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COLONIALISM AND POSTCOLONIALISM.

Religion, as well as the study of religion, can be located in colonial contexts. Colonialism is the use of military and political power to create and maintain a situation in which colonizers gain economic benefits from the raw materials and cheap labor of the colonized. More than merely a matter of military coercion and political economy, however, colonialism represents a complex intercultural encounter between alien intruders and indigenous people in what Mary Louise Pratt calls "contact zones." In analyzing colonial encounters, scholars need to consider both their material and cultural terms and conditions. In the political economy of colonialism, cultural forms of knowledge and power, discourse and practice, techniques and strategies, played an integral role in the formation of colonial situations.

European explorers, traders, conquerors, and colonial administrators operated with an ideology of territorial expansion and intercultural negation that became thoroughly integrated into European modes of thinking about and engaging the larger world. According to the early nineteenth-century German philosopher G. W. F. Hegel, for example, all great nations "press onward to the sea" because "the sea affords the means for the colonizing activity—sporadic or systematic—to which the mature civil society is driven" (Hegel, 1974, pp. 282–283). By taking to the sea, Hegel argued, colonizers solved certain internal problems, such as poverty, overpopulation, and limited markets, that blocked the development of a mature civil society. But they also encountered "barbarians" in strange lands who were allegedly incapable of developing the maturity of civilization. In relation to such permanent children, Hegel insisted, "the civilized nation is conscious that the rights of the barbarians are unequal to its own and treats their autonomy as only a formality" (Hegel, 1967/1821, p. 219). In this formulation, with its thematics of distance and difference, denial and domination, the philosopher only recapitulated the basic ingredients of a European culture of colonialism.

On colonized peripheries, however, indigenous people deployed a range of strategies for engaging these European territorial claims and cultural representations. On the one hand, reversing the alien terms of European religious signification was an option. During the era of sixteenth-century Spanish conquests in the Americas, for example, the conquistadors were armed with a theological formula, the *Requirement,* that was designed to be read before a gathering of natives to enact a ceremony of possession that certified Spanish claims on new land. In a carefully constructed chain of references, the *Requirement* announced to Native Americans that the Spanish conqueror who stood before them represented the authority of the king of Spain in Castile, who represented the authority of the pope in Rome, who represented the authority of the apostle Peter in Jerusalem, who represented the ultimate authority of the supreme God who had created heaven and earth. Although the *Requirement* invited the natives to freely convert to Christianity, the text concluded that those who refused would experience the force of total warfare and that the deaths and damages that resulted would be their fault (Seed, 1995, p. 69).

In response to this colonial ultimatum, indigenous people could submit or resist. But people also found ways to reappropriate and reverse the chain of references that spanned the Atlantic Ocean to link the New World with the Old. For example, the Andean nobleman Guaman Poma, who had lived through the Spanish conquest of the Inca empire, the subjugation of the Andean people, and the dispossession of native lands, published a book in 1621 that reversed the terms of the *Requirement.* Drawing upon the new Christian resources, Guaman Poma argued that under colonial conditions the world was "upside-down." To restore the proper order of the world, he proposed, the chain of references established by Spanish colonization had to be reversed. According to Guaman Poma, the restoration of Inca political sovereignty would reveal the order of a world in which the mineral wealth of Peru supported the Spanish king in Castile, who supported the Catholic pope in Rome, who supported the religion of the God of heaven and earth. In reversing these alien religious terms, therefore, Guaman Poma tried to intervene in a world that had been turned upside down by Spanish colonization (Adorno, 2000).

On the other hand, reworking the familiar terms of indigenous religious signification was also an option. In Africa, for example, indigenous myths of sea and land were recast to make sense out of the strange encounters and violent oppositions of colonial contact. During the seventeenth century, many Africans concluded that white people who came from the sea actually lived under the ocean. Drawing on earlier mythic themes, this identification of Europeans with the sea became a symbolic template for interpreting the colonial encounter. Using this symbolic framework, Africans could reconfigure the encounter in terms of the mythic opposition between sea and land.

Under the impact of British colonization in nineteenth-century southern Africa, myths of the sea were reworked to make sense of the military incursions, dispossession of land, and new relations of power. As the Xhosa chief Ngqika observed, since the Europeans were people of the sea—the "natives of the water"—they had no business on the land and should have stayed in the sea. The Xhosa religious visionary and war-leader Nxele developed this political observation about sea and land into an indigenous theology that identified two gods, Thixo, the god of the white people, who had punished white people for killing his son by casting them into the sea, and Mdalidiphu, the god of the deeps, who dwelled under the ground but had ultimate dominion over the sea. Similarly, during the first half of the nineteenth century, a Zulu emergence myth was reworked in terms of this colonial opposition between land and sea. In the beginning, uNkulunkulu created human beings, male and female, but also black and white. Whereas black human beings were created to be naked, carry spears, and live on the land, white human beings were created to wear clothing, carry guns, and live in the sea.

For these African religious thinkers, therefore, the mythic origin—the primordium—was clearly located in the new era that opened with the colonial opposition between people of the sea and people of the land. By appropriating foreign religious resources and recasting local religious resources, indigenous people all over the world struggled to make sense out of colonial situations.

An important facet of the European colonial project, however, was the assertion of control over not only material but also symbolic, cultural, and religious resources. In nineteenth-century southern India, for example, British colonial interventions in religion on the Malabar coast succeeded in reifying religious differences and separating religious communities of Hindus and Christians that had lived in harmony for centuries. Tracing their traditional origin to the first-century apostle of Jesus and their spiritual power to ongoing connections with Christian holy men of West Asia, the Saint Thomas Christians of the Malabar coast had maintained close relations with the Hindu rulers of the region. Sharing the same military disciplines and upper-class status with the Hindu rajas, the Saint Thomas Christians received patronage, financial support, and royal protection for their churches, shrines, and festivals. In exchange, the Christians supported the shrines and participated in the festivals of the Hindu ruling class.

This interreligious cooperation changed dramatically, however, after the British East India Company established its domination of the region in 1795. Between 1810 and 1819, under the authority of the British resident Colonel John Monro, the network of economic, social, and religious exchange between Christians and Hindus was broken. Directing state funds for the construction and repair of their churches, Monro exempted Saint Thomas Christians from paying taxes and tributes to Hindu officials. Since these funds were also used to support Hindu temples, shrines, and festivals, Saint Thomas Christians were thereby removed from the system of mutual exchange by which high-caste Hindus and Christians had cooperated in supporting religion. Increasingly, Saint Thomas Christians became targets for the animosity of high-caste Hindus. By the 1880s, riots frequently broke out between them, and annual religious festivals, which had been events of interreligious celebration, became occasions for interreligious provocation. During these festivals, Hindus and Saint Thomas Christians marched past each other's shrines, as one observer reported, "howling, screaming, and crying out obscene words" (Bayly, 1989, p. 294).

British colonial interventions, therefore, had succeeded in reifying the boundaries between two religions—Hindu and Christian—that had been part of the same network of social class, martial culture, and religious worship in southern India. As many analysts have observed, the British colonial reification of religious boundaries not only reinforced a certain kind of European Christianity in India but also produced the modern religious classification "Hinduism." Under colonial conditions, the primary categories of the study of religion—"religion" and "religions"—emerged as potent signs of identity and difference.

COLONIAL COMPARATIVE RELIGION. As a sustained reflection on religious difference, the study of religion has its historical roots not only in the European Enlightenment but also in this long history of colonialism. On the frontiers of colonial encounter, European explorers, travelers, missionaries, settlers, and colonial administrators recorded their findings on indigenous religions all over the world. With remarkable consistency over a period of five hundred years, these European observers reported that they had found people in the Americas, Africa, and the Pacific Islands who lacked any trace of religion. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the explorer Amerigo Vespucci observed that the indigenous people of the Caribbean had no religion. In the seventeenth century, the traveler Jacques le Maire insisted that among the inhabitants of the Pacific Islands there was "not the least spark of religion." In the context of expanding trading relations in eighteenth-century West Africa, the trader William Smith reported that Africans "trouble themselves about no religion at all." Well into the nineteenth century, European observers persisted in claiming that the aboriginal people of Australia had "nothing whatever of the character of religion, or of religious observance, to distinguish them from the beasts that perish" (Chidester, 1996, pp. 12–13).

As this global litany of denial accumulated, it developed multiple layers of strategic significance in European colonial encounters with indigenous people. Because they supposedly lacked such a defining human characteristic as religion, indigenous people had no human rights to life, land, livestock, or control over their own labor that had to be respected by European colonizers. In this regard, the denial of the existence of any indigenous religion—this discovery of an absence—reinforced colonial projects of conquest, domination, and dispossession.

Obviously, the discovery of an absence of religion implied that European commentators in colonial situations were operating with an implicit definition of religion, a definition that was certainly informed by Christian assumptions about what counted as religion. More significantly, however, these denials indicated that the term *religion* was used as an oppositional term on colonial frontiers. In its ancient genealogy, of course, *religio* was always a term that derived its meaning in relation to its opposite, *superstitio.* On contested colonial frontiers, however, the conceptual opposition between religion and superstition was often deployed as a strategic denial of indigenous rights to land, livestock, or labor. In the eastern Cape of southern Africa, for example, the beliefs and practices of indigenous Xhosa people were explicitly denied the designation "religion" during the first half of the nineteenth century by European travelers, missionaries, settlers, and colonial magistrates who were trying to establish British military control over the region. Supposedly lacking any trace of religion, the Xhosa allegedly were immersed in superstition. Invoking the defining opposite of religion in this particular colonial situation, the traveler Henry Lichtenstein, for example, reported that the Xhosa's "superstition, their belief in magic or enchantment, and in omens and prognostics, is in proportion to their want of religious feelings" (Lichtenstein, 1928, pp. 301, 311–313). As a recurring motif in European reflections on religious difference in open frontier zones, this opposition between religion and superstition served the colonial project by representing indigenous people as living in a different world.

How did European observers move from the denial to the discovery of indigenous religions in colonial situations? Although that question has to be investigated through detailed attention to historical conditions in specific regions, a general answer can be suggested by the experience of the Xhosa in the eastern Cape of southern Africa. According to the reports of every European commentator, the Xhosa lacked any trace of religion until 1858, when they were placed under a colonial administrative system—the magisterial system—that had been designed by the Cape governor, Sir George Grey, for the military containment, surveillance, and taxation of indigenous people in the eastern Cape. Following his researches on indigenous traditions in Australia and New Zealand, Grey was both a professional colonial administrator and an amateur scholar of religion. It was the new context of colonial containment, however, that inspired the magistrate J. C. Warner to be the first to use the term *religion* for Xhosa beliefs and practices. Insisting that the Xhosa had a religious system, Warner worked out a kind of proto-functionalist analysis by determining that Xhosa religion was a religion because it fulfilled the functional "purposes" of providing psychological security and social stability. Although Warner hoped that the Xhosa religion would ultimately be destroyed by military conquest and Christian conversion, he concluded that in the meantime their indigenous religious system could function to keep them in their place just like the colonial magisterial system.

Throughout southern Africa, the European "discovery" of indigenous religions can be correlated with the colonial containment of indigenous people. While the discovery of a Zulu religious system followed the imposition of the colonial location system in Natal in the 1840s, the recognition of a Sotho-Tswana religious system was delayed until the colonial reserve system was imposed after the destruction of their last independent African polity in the 1890s. By that point, however, when colonial administrators assumed that every African in the region was contained with the urban location system or the rural reserve system, European commentators found that every African in southern Africa had been born into the same "Bantu" religion.

The southern African evidence suggests, therefore, that the "discovery" of indigenous religions under colonial conditions was not necessarily a breakthrough in human recognition. As a corollary of the imposition of a colonial administrative system, the discovery of an indigenous religious system was entangled in the colonial containment of indigenous populations.

Ironically, the colonial project of containment that sought to keep people in place at the same time generated theoretical terms for the displacement of indigenous people. Throughout the colonized world, European observers developed theories of history, genealogy, and descent that traced indigenous people back to cultural centers in the ancient Near East. In the Americas, for example, European travelers, missionaries, and colonizers during the seventeenth century argued that Native Americans were descended from ancient Israel, a claim that was stated succinctly in 1650 in the title of Thomas Thorowgood's book, *Jews in America, or Probabilities That the Americans Are of That Race.* By implication, if they were actually Jews from ancient Israel, then Native Americans did not actually belong in America.

In southern Africa, European commentators also traced the genealogy of indigenous people back to the ancient Near East. Anticipated by the early eighteenth-century findings of the German visitor Peter Kolb, who traced the Khoikhoi or "Hottentot" religious system of the subjugated indigenous people of the Cape back to the Judaism of ancient Israel, nineteenth-century European commentators argued that all Africans in southern Africa came from the north. The Xhosa had been ancient Arabs, the Zulu had been ancient Jews, and the Sotho-Tswana had been ancient Egyptians. Besides transposing the religious differences of the ancient Near East onto the southern African landscape, thereby reifying the ethnic, cultural, and religious differences that had been shaped by colonialism, this fanciful genealogy also implied that indigenous Africans were not actually indigenous to southern Africa because they originally belonged in the Near East. Similarly, a British colonial comparative religion that traced Hinduism back to ancient Indo-European migrations that originated in Siberia or Persia could work not merely as a historical reconstruction but also as a strategy of displacement. Pursuing this contradictory dual mandate of structural containment and historical displacement, colonial comparative religion operated throughout the world to deny, discover, locate, and displace the beliefs and practices of the colonized.

IMPERIAL COMPARATIVE RELIGION. In his inaugural lectures on the science of religion in 1870, F. Max Müller, who has often been regarded as the "founder" of the modern study of religion, demonstrated that the culture of British colonialism and imperialism permeated his understanding of the academic study of religion. First, the study of religion was a science of distance and difference. The distance between the metropolitan center and the colonized periphery was conflated with the difference between the civilized and the barbarian, the savage, or the primitive. In developing a comparative method for the study of religion, Müller and other metropolitan theorists played on this theme of distance and difference in order to infer characteristics of the "primitive" ancestors of humanity from reports about contemporary "savages" living on the colonized periphery of empire. "Though the belief of African and Melanesian savages is more recent in point of time," as Müller observed in his 1870 lectures, "it represents an earlier and far more primitive phase in point of growth" (Müller, 1873, p. 25). In similar terms, E. B. Tylor, the "father of anthropology," asserted that the "hypothetical primitive condition corresponds in a considerable degree to modern savage tribes, who, in spite of their difference and distance. . .seem remains of an early state of the human race at large" (Tylor, 1871, vol. 1, p. 16). Whatever their differences, nineteenth-century metropolitan theorists of religion, such as Müller, Tylor, John Lubbock, Herbert Spencer, Andrew Lang, W. Robertson Smith, and James Frazer, employed a comparative method, which came to be known as *the* comparative method, that used reports about the different, the exotic, and the savage from distant colonized peripheries to draw conclusions about the evolutionary origins of religion.

Second, the study of religion was a science of denial and domination. "Let us take the old saying, *Divide et impera*," Müller proposed, "and translate it somewhat freely by 'Classify and conquer'" (Müller, 1873, pp. 122–123). More than merely a rhetorical flourish, this "old saying" provided legitimation for an imperial comparative religion that aspired to global knowledge over the empire of religion. Classification according to language gave Müller a measure of conceptual control over the library of the sacred texts of the world. But imperial conquest enabled him to develop theories of religion that were anchored in British India and British South Africa. In his last work to be published before his death, the pamphlet *The Question of Right between England and the Transvaal* (1900), which was printed and widely distributed by the Imperial South African Association, Müller asserted that the British Empire "can retire from South Africa as little as from India" (p. 11). These two imperial possessions, he suggested, were essential for maintaining the global power and authority of the British Empire.

But they were also essential for Müller's imperial comparative religion that mediated between "civilized" Great Britain and the "exotic" and "savage" peripheries of empire. While his edition of the *Rig Veda* and his expertise on the religious heritage of India were made possible by the financial support of the East India Company, Müller's imperial comparative religion rested on comparative observations that depended heavily on the British possession of South Africa. Although he observed that in the empire of religion there was "no lack of materials for the student of the Science of Religion" (Müller, 1873, p. 101), Müller knew that those raw materials had to be extracted from the colonies, transported to the metropolitan centers of theory production, and transformed into the manufactured goods of theory that could be used by an imperial comparative religion.

In his relations with South Africa, for example, Müller was engaged in a complex process of intercultural mediation in order to transform raw religious materials into theory. First, Africans on the colonized periphery were drawn into this process as informants—often as collaborators, sometimes as authors—as they reported on religious innovations, arguments, and contradictions in colonial contexts. The Zulu informant Mpengula Mbande, for example, reported arguments about uNkulunkulu, tracking African disagreements about whether he was the first ancestor of a particular political grouping, the first ancestor of all people, or the supreme god who created all human beings.

Second, local European "experts" on the colonized periphery synthesized these religious conflicts and contradictions into a "religious system." Relying heavily on Mbande's local fieldwork, the Anglican missionary Henry Callaway became the leading authority in the world on Zulu religion, and, by extension, on "savage" religion in general, by publishing his classic text, *The Religious System of the Amazulu* (1868–1870). Like other "men on the spot" in colonized peripheries, Callaway corresponded with the metropolitan theorists in London.

However, his exposition of the Zulu "religious system" was dissected by those metropolitan theorists in the service of a third mediation, the mediation between the "primitive" ancestors of humanity, who could supposedly be viewed in the mirror of the Zulu and other "savages" on the colonized peripheries of empire, and the "civilized" European. What was construed as a religious system in the colony, therefore, was taken apart and reassembled in London as religious data that could be used in support of an evolutionary progression from the primitive to the civilized.

The colonial situation, as Jean Paul Sartre observed, "manufactures colonizers as it manufactures colonies" (Sartre, 1965, pp. xxv–xxvi). On colonial peripheries and at imperial centers, nineteenth-century comparative religion played a role in manufacturing European colonial discourse, especially through its representations of "others" in colonized regions such as "exotic" India and "savage" South Africa. As Nicholas Dirks has proposed, these efforts contributed to manufacturing colonizers as "agents of Western reason" (Dirks, 1992, p. 6). In the twenty-first century, we must still wonder about the colonial and imperial legacies that have been inherited by the academic study of religion. In our attention to structure and history, morphology and genealogy, psychological and social functions, and other analytical concerns, do we reproduce the containments and displacements of "others" that were so important to European colonial and imperial projects? However this question might be answered, it is clear that a critical academic study of religion must be self-reflexive and self-critical of the political implications of its theory and practice.

POSTCOLONIAL PROSPECTS. As we find in postcolonial studies generally, postcolonial prospects for the academic study of religion are largely a matter of location. In *Orientalism* (1978), Edward Said used the analytical term *strategic location* to capture the subject position of European authors in relation to the broad discursive formations of European colonialism and imperialism. In more recent developments within postcolonial theory, however, attention has shifted away from the critique of European colonial representations of "others" to a recovery of the subjectivity and agency of the colonized. At the risk of oversimplifying the complex theoretical controversies that have raged in this emergent field, we can identify two extreme positions in postcolonial studies—*indigeneity* and *hybridity*—that are relevant to the future of the academic study of religion.

First, indigeneity represents a range of analytical strategies based on the recovery of place, the authenticity of tradition, and the assertion of self-determination in a project to forge postcolonial meaning and power on indigenous terms. Privileging the self-representation of indigenous people who have passed through the experience of colonization, indigeneity generates analytical terms for recovering the purity of local traditions from the defiling effects of global imperialism. Drawing inspiration from political struggles against colonialism, indigeneity engages the precolonial not merely through a romantic politics of nostalgia but also through the liberation movements of the colonized world.

In this respect, the work of the radical psychiatrist Frantz Fanon, who actively identified with the liberation struggles of colonial Africa, has informed an understanding of indigenous tradition that is both postcolonial and postromantic. "Colonization is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native's brain of all form and content," Fanon observed. "By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures and destroys it" (Fanon, 1963, p. 170). While the recovery of a "pure" tradition from colonial distortions and disfigurements was therefore part of his postcolonial project, Fanon linked that recovery of the past with a present of struggle—armed, violent struggle—against colonialism. Although Fanon's position has been characterized as a type of "nativism," it was an indigeneity that sought to forge a new humanity in the modern world by means of a militant anticolonialism.

Certainly, many examples could be cited of postcolonial religious indigeneity in which religious "traditionalists" have deployed "modern" means to assert their power, place, purity, and authenticity. Insisting that the only indigenous religion of India is Hinduism, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh has actively engaged in electoral politics on the platform of "Hinduness" (*Hindutva*) in ways that have not just recovered but have actually redefined what it means to be a Hindu in contemporary Indian society. Rejecting colonial constructions of African mentality, a variety of African movements have nevertheless promoted visions of African humanity and personality, communalism and socialism, in the interests of a postcolonial African renaissance. Arguing that indigenous land should be regarded as sacred and communal rather than alienable property, Native Americans continue to press cases for the recovery of traditional sacred land in the modern courts of law in the United States. The failure of almost all of these land claims has suggested to many scholars of Native American religion that the long history of colonial occupation, with its denial, containment, and displacement of indigenous religion, has not ended in America.

While some scholars of religion have embraced indigeneity as their own strategic location, they have had to contend with trends in postmodern, post-structural, and other postcolonial analysis that have generally undermined any confidence in the continuity or uniformity of tradition. With respect to historical continuity, influential research on the "invention of tradition" has shown how supposedly timeless traditions—even the primitive, the archaic, or the exotic traditions that fascinated colonial and imperial comparative religion—can turn out to have been recent productions. For example, the Indian caste system, which has supposedly been a perennial feature of Hinduism from time immemorial, has been investigated in recent research as a complex product of indigenous interests and colonial order. In defense of indigeneity, however, as Rosalind O'Hanlon has argued, it is possible to reject the British colonial "notion of an ageless caste-bound social order" while not attributing the entire historical process to a "colonial conjuring" that produces a picture of Indians "who are helpless to do anything but reproduce the structures of their own subordination" (O'Hanlon, 1989, pp. 98, 104, 100). In this respect, indigeneity has made an important contribution by stressing the agency of the colonized as historical actors in the formation of religious, social, and political structures.

The "invention of structures," however, has also been called into question, most effectively in the work of Benedict Anderson on "imagined communities," which analyzed colonial instruments—the census, the archive, the administrative system, and so on—for the production of an imaginary sense of social uniformity, but also in the general distrust of any "essentialism" that has been the result of postmodern theory. However, even anti-essentialist critics can propose that in some situations a "strategic essentialism" might be necessary to intervene on behalf of the marginal, oppressed, or "subaltern" in struggles over representation in colonial relations. For advocates of indigeneity in the academic study of religion, some form of "strategic essentialism" seems to be necessary in order to pursue an authentic recovery of traditions that however much they might be "invented" or "imagined" nevertheless produce real effects in the real world.

Second, hybridity captures a range of analytical strategies that follow a logic not of place but of displacement. As a strategic location, hybridity is dislocated in migration and diaspora, contact and contingency, margins and mixtures. As a theoretical intervention in both colonial situations and the postcolonial horizon, attention to hybridity rejects the binary distinction between the colonist and the colonized. According to the most vigorous proponent of colonial hybridity, the cultural theorist Homi Bhabha, the analysis of colonial situations should focus on neither "the hegemonic command of colonial authority" nor "the silent repression of native traditions." Rather, analysis should be directed toward the cultural space in between, the intercultural space of contacts, relations, and exchanges. According to Bhabha, intercultural relations in colonial situations are based, "not on the exoticism of multiculturalism or the *diversity* of cultures, but on the inscription and articulation of culture's *hybridity*." In the colonial contact zone of intercultural relations, Bhabha insists, "it is the 'inter'—the cutting edge of translation and negotiation, the *in-between* space—that carries the burden of the meaning of culture" (Bhabha, 1994, pp. 38–39).

As Bhabha and other postcolonial theorists have developed this analysis of cultural hybridity, emphasis has shifted from the self-representation of indigenous people in their traditional places to the translations, negotiations, and improvisations of the displaced. Migrants, exiles, and diaspora communities have received special attention. For example, cultural theorist Stuart Hall has adapted the notion of hybridity as a strategic location for analyzing a dispersed Afro-Caribbean identity that was formed out of the New World that was "the beginning of diaspora, of diversity, of hybridity and difference" (Hall, 1990, p. 235). In clarifying the New World origin of this diaspora identity, Hall has insisted that it does not entail a politics of nostalgia that evokes myths of "scattered tribes whose identity can only be secured in relation to some sacred homeland to which they must at all costs return, even if it means pushing other people into the sea. This is the old, the imperializing, the hegemonizing, form of 'ethnicity'" (Hall, 1990, p. 235). By contrast to such an ethnic, dominating, imperializing, or even indigenous sense of place, purity, and essence, which Hall identifies with the hegemonic constructions of colonialism and imperialism, the diaspora identity that he is interested in exploring "is defined, not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of 'identity' which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by hybridity" (Hall, 1990, p. 235).

In the study of religion, this postcolonial notion of hybridity has been anticipated by the term *syncretism*. Although the term has borne the burden of suggesting impure or illicit mixtures of religion, it has more recently been recovered as a medium of religious innovation. For religious studies, as Ella Shohat has noted in postcolonial studies, "'Hybridity' and 'syncretism' allow negotiation of the multiplicity of identities and subject positionings which result from displacements, immigrations and exiles without policing the borders of identity along essentialist and originary lines" (Shohat, 1992, p. 108). Liberated from the "policing of borders" inherent in colonial constructions of genealogical origins and systemic essences, a postcolonial study of religion can engage the complex and contested negotiations over person, place, and power that inevitably arise in intercultural relations.

SEE ALSO Orientalism; Politics and Religion; Primitivism; Transculturation and Religion, overview article.

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David Chidester (2005)

COLORS.

Like other forms of religious symbolism, the symbolism of color emerges from the immediate material experience of human beings. Common elements of life are the basis for reflections on the meaning of color. Various plants (flowers, trees, medicinal herbs, etc.), animals, insects, the human body, celestial and climatological phenomena are just a few things that orient the meanings of color symbolism. This implies that there are universal themes in color symbolism that are involved with local knowledge of particular geographies. The naive and immediate experience of color gives rise to complex speculations about the nature of the cosmos. Beginning with a basic distinction of primary from secondary colors, one is soon led on to such notions as warm and cold colors, for example. There are no set universal characteristics of color symbolism just as there are no completely cultural-specific meanings of color. Nevertheless, exploring color symbolism of religions other than one's own is valuable because it informs commonly held meanings. Indeed, various artists and cultures play with the organic connections between colors and their referents.

For example, in Paul Klee's (1879–1940) work primary colors are associated with different sounds, geometrical forms, and even subjective experiences. According to Klee, blue is associated with the circle and with the experience of stability; yellow, with the triangle and the sensation of speed; and red, with the square and the experience of power. Similarly, Wassily Kandinsky (1866–1944), one of the greatest abstract painters, observed that a yellow circle seemed to develop outward in an expansive movement so that it appears to approach the observer, whereas a blue circle seemed to contract and move away from the viewer. In the world of fashion, it is well known that the colors of black and white have opposing effects on human perceptions: White is experienced as expansive whereas black is contractive. Both Klee and Kandinsky played with associations that were well-grounded in specific phenomena to induce a perceptual experience in the viewer. In other words, they played with human associations between color and its various conceptual meanings. This strategy has been utilized in various cultural contexts as well.

Red, white, and black are the three most used colors in Ndembu ritual. At first glance these colors are representative of blood, milk (or semen), and feces. In different contexts, however, (e.g., in ritual or artistic contexts) these representations expand to other associations. For example, in the context of the circumcision rite, red is a prominent color and could certainly be associated with blood. From its specific and universal association with blood, however, are formed other meanings having to do with lineage, male potency, hunting, and warfare. Likewise, during the Ndembu female initiation rite, red has equally powerful but opposite meanings such as menstruation, childbirth, and matrilineage. From the specific associations of red and blood other meanings of the color have developed that are specific to particular cultural contexts. Over the course of several weeks of seclusion, young boys and girls are formed into adult members of Ndembu society through color symbolism.

MESOAMERICAN COLOR USE.

As is true for many ancient monuments around the world, in Mesoamerican archaeological sites the gray and lifeless stone monuments seen today were originally plastered in white and awash in vibrant colors. The architectural remnants of today are but dim reminders of the vitality of these ceremonial centers. Colors of black, blue, red, and yellow decorated ancient Mesoamerican temples and palaces. Murals of deities, animals, kingly exploits, as well as numerous other topics, were painted with an assortment of colors. Ancient cities such as Tikal, Bonampak, Tula, Teotihuacan, Cholula, Chichén Itzá, and Tenochtitlan were all brightly painted.

Pre-Columbian picture books and texts were composed of a series of images. Often these images depicted the activities of gods, heroes, divinatory calendars, and conquests and tribute. Invariably, artisans who crafted these books used brilliant colors to better communicate their messages. Ceramics, stone carvings, and other art objects were also adorned with an assortment of colors. Pre-Columbian texts often feature body painting, and specific colors and arrangements of colors represented the activities of gods and humans. For example, a red-striped body represented human sacrifice. Black stripes on the face and yellow hair were associated with the fire god Xiuhtecuhtli or Ixcozauhqui (Yellow Face). White was often associated with the bleached bones of the god Mictlanteuchtli, the lord of the dead who resided in the underworld. Painted images in these books indicate that body painting was an important feature of Mesoamerican ritual life. Just as colors adorned the temples that served as the central focus of ceremonial activity, likewise practitioners of the ceremonies used colors to adorn their bodies.

Color was therefore an important feature of Mesoamerican symbolism. At the level of practice, colors could symbolize specific material phenomenon, including yellow for the sun, red for blood, and blue for water. Often certain colors were associated with specific cardinal directions. However, no one-to-one correlation existed between color and a particular aspect of material life. Colors would often be associated with several things at once, thus the meaning of specific colors was multivalent. At the level of ideology colors could be intimately associated, for example, with a deity, a geographical location, or a specific ritual activity.

Blue and red were often directly associated with water and blood. For example, on temples in which human sacrifices took place and on picture books that represented the activities of the gods, blue and red consistently refer to water and blood. Ceremonies dedicated to fertility deities, such as Chac for the Maya and Tlaloc for the Aztec, underscored the relationship between water and blood. Thus, stylized depictions of these deities and adornments on their temples, in particular, prominently utilized blue and red.

The use of colors was part of the total sensual experience of being in the city. One's participation in ceremonial events, as well as everyday activities, meant being surrounded by rich sensory stimuli including music and sound, light and dark, smells and tastes, and colors. The affective use of color, therefore, gave people the sense of being intimately integrated into Mesoamerican social and cosmological realities.

CHRISTIAN SYMBOLISM. In contrast—and yet related—to Hellenistic and Roman traditions, Christian color symbolism was generally based on white, which was associated with purity and innocence. In the Catholic Church color most often symbolized the virtues of purity and spiritual hierarchy. As such, more attention is paid to the universal aspects of color associations. White was the color of the martyrs, the *candidatus exercitus* (white-clad army). Opposed to white was black, considered to be the color of sadness and later introduced into funeral liturgies. Cobalt blue was the color of darkness and the devil, whereas red was the color of the empyrean sky and of the angels. Purple, the imperial color of ancient Rome, became the color of the cardinal's robe. The comparative difficulty in attaining purple led to its associations with social prestige and power, which became connected with the spiritual hierarchy of the Catholic church. In addition to these associations, color is also associated with the yearly passage of time. Use of color in the vestments of officiant, on the altar, and in the attire of the attendants also leads to symbolism that is part of the Christian liturgical year.

From the ninth century on, colors were a constant element of Christian ritual. Despite early attempts to standardize church usage, variations persisted. In Greece, for example, red was the color of mourning (perhaps associated with blood), but in Milan, where the local Ambrosian ritual was celebrated, red was connected with the Holy Sacrament. In France, red was the liturgical color on All Saints Day (November 1; a clear reference to the blood of martyrs) whereas in Rome white, the symbol of triumph, was used for the same feast.

The first codification of the liturgical colors began under Innocent III (1198–1216) and reached its definitive form under Pius V (1566–1572) after the Council of Trent (1545–1563). In the final codification, white is a primary color and is used in the great festivities of the liturgical year to symbolize triumph, innocence, and purity; red is reserved for the feast of the martyrs, symbolizing the blood of sacrifice and eternal life; green is a symbol of hope and is to be regarded between white and red; violet is used during periods of penance (i.e., Lent) and in funeral services; and black has fallen into disuse (except on Good Friday, when it is used to symbolize Christ's descent into death prior to his resurrection) because of its associations with the devil by Church Fathers, particularly during the late Middle Ages. On occasion silver may replace white, and gold may be used instead of white, green, or red. In other words, the symbolism of white, silver, and gold have a preeminent place in the color symbolism of the Catholic Church. Codification of the ceremonial uses of color attempted to reduce the local associations for the sake of maintaining global unanimity.

THE COLOR GOLD. The polyvalence of gold is worth noting. Throughout Christendom, mysticism is often expressed by use of gold. Byzantine mosaics and icons, as well as medieval paintings utilize gold to articulate the high spiritual value of specific individuals In his *Speculation in Colors* (1915), the Russian Orthodox philosopher Evgenii Trubetskoi (1863–1920) noticed the influence of a solar Christological mysticism in the golden backgrounds of the icons, because only the color of gold can reflect the supreme sunlight of the heavenly world. Artists devised the *assist*—the insertion of shining golden lines radiating the dress of divine figures—for this reason. The *assist* is especially common in depictions of Christ and, above all, in depictions of the transfiguration, the resurrection, and the ascension, and the other post-resurrection events. It is clearly intended as a symbol of Christ's superhuman glory. Behind it lies the speculative metaphysics of light exemplified in the golden backgrounds of the Byzantine mosaics in churches in Ravenna and Byzantium (modern Istanbul) aimed at turning the inner space of the Roman basilicas into space-light and lightening the heaviness of the architectural material. The golden background produces an atmosphere pervaded with immaterial light (*phos to aulon*) and draws the believers out of material concerns toward the contemplation of the divine mysteries. Gold symbolism in the development of Christianity associated solar symbolism with the universality of Christ's liberating presence in the world. The promise of Christian salvation was directly associated with the heavens—above and outside earthly confines. Many of the world's great and global religions have utilized solar symbolism to promote the universality of their message. For example, in the Buddhist text, the *Supreme Sūtra of the Golden Brilliance*, the Buddha's immaterial body is presented as shining gold and is identical with the *dharmakāya* (the body of the Law). The essence of the universe is thus compared to a golden light that shines forth like sunlight. In several Gandharan traditions (defined as an area of Afghanistan and Pakistan from the first to fifth centuries CE), they speak of the Buddha's shadow as golden and shining.

The golden backgrounds of mosaics, icons, and paintings on wood were created by applying very thin sheets of gold to a prepared surface. Because this method cannot be used on the larger scale of frescos, some painters, notably Giotto (1267–1337), filled the backgrounds of murals with a blue pigment made by powdering the gemstone lapis lazuli to create the most precious color of that time. In Giotto's frescoes the blue of lapis lazuli can be compared to the golden backgrounds of the Byzantine Siensese tradition, with the resulting orientation toward a heavenly mysticism and away from the fundamental realism of the paintings. Nevertheless, in the ancient Christian tradition, azure and blue had a negative value. The high values of gold, silver, and lapis lazuli over and against other materials are connected with their associations to salvation, resurrection, and heaven. Not only were the materials that were used for making these colors comparatively rare in the West, but their associations with the spiritual values of the church make them seem intrinsically valuable.

Compared with blue, gold is free of the ambiguity associated with other colors, but the blue of lapis lazuli was widely used in the area of Central Asia. Many Buddhist paintings found in the area of Kuqa have this blue appearing alongside green. On one hand, it was used in Tibetan Buddhist art to depict terrifying gods with enormous powers. In the sole surviving wall painting of Tumshuq, and in several others around Kuqa, inauspicious figures either are completely blue or have blue beards. On the other hand, ascetics and monks are also depicted with blue beards.

ALCHEMY AND NATIVE AMERICAN TRADITIONS. Color plays an important role in the Western alchemic tradition. According to this tradition, the alchemic process passes though four stages, each associated with a color: the *nigredo* (black) or initiatory death, the *albedo* (white) or beginning of rebirth, the *rubedo* (red) or sublimation, and the *auredo* (gold), the almost unreachable final stage that represents spiritual perfection. The series seems to coincide with the elementary set of colors that the Greek philosophers Pythagoras (571–497 BCE) and Empedocles (492–432 BCE) regarded as the only ones allowable on a palette, namely, black, white, red, and yellow.

As with the Mesoamericans and alchemy, the Lakota-speaking people of the Great Plains of North American associate colors with different aspects of life. In the Pipe Ceremony, the colors red, yellow, black, and white are associated with the cardinal directions. A variety of ceremonies performed for the fertility of the earth, for healing, human life stages, and so on utilize this color symbolism. The Oglala healer Black Elk's vision emphasized the colors associated with the six grandfathers, which were the deities associated with foundational elements of the universe. During these difficult times of the early reservation, Black Elk's community performed his Great Vision in a ceremony. A tipi was erected in the middle, elaborately painted to reflect his boyhood vision. Horses of specific colors—yellow, red, black, and white—were used in the ceremony. Black Elk's vision was performed by his community and thereby brought out of the realm of the human mind into activity. His Oglala people invested significant resources in reproducing the colors of the vision accurately so as to reestablish proper relationships with deities that controlled their world.

Similarly, for the Haudenosaunee (People of the Longhouse; better known as the Iroquois), of upstate New York and Canada, the colors purple and white have deep significance. These are the colors of wampum, which is a bead carved from the quahog shell found along the New England Atlantic coast. As with ancient people of the Mediterranean basin, purple is regarded as a precious color. The colors of wampum symbolize cosmological attributes—black of night and light of day. The purple and white signify the opposing forces of the universe that come together in the working of creation. Wampum belts and strings, therefore, are items of human manufacture that establish proper relationships with the Creator. Wampum has been used continuously by the Haudenosaunee in Longhouse ceremonies. Because of the religious significance of wampum, it has been used in forming international and intercultural alliances between the Haudenosaunee and the Dutch, English, French and American governments, as well as a number of indigenous nations. Today the purple and white Confederacy Belt, which symbolizes the unity of the original five nations (Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk), can be seen everywhere throughout Haudenosaunee territory and serves as the flag of the Haudenosaunee.

The meaning and use of color is a universal human phenomenon. Yet the orientations that individual human communities have to color symbolism is specific to their local contexts and environments. Color has a powerful effect on human emotions and can unify and divide groups of people. It is an integral part of ceremonial life triggering a range of emotional responses that is often referenced to a sacred reality. There is no color code of religious meanings but rather specific colors can mean a range of things depending on the context of their use. Certainly, without color religion would be a much less urgent and powerful phenomenon in human life.

SEE ALSO Alchemy, overview article; Art and Religion; Christian Liturgical Year.

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COMENIUS, JOHANNES AMOS (1592–1670), the "grandfather of modern education." Born Jan Amos Komenský in Nivnitz, Moravia, he was orphaned early and did not begin school until the age of sixteen. He died in Amsterdam, a lifelong refugee from religious wars, the last bishop of the Moravian and Bohemian Brethren, formerly known as the Old Church.

Said to be unoriginal in philosophy, Comenius's genius lay in teaching. His philosophy and his teaching were forged from personal experience with both religious intolerance and bad schooling. He was convinced that international tensions were grounded in religious differences, which in turn were grounded in lack of knowledge of the order of nature as well as of others' religions.

His grand strategy was "Pansophia," a philosophy of universal knowledge based on a universal language built on a universal education that included women. Invited to England to develop a system of education, he was prevented from carrying out his program by the Civil War. He visited Sweden and planned the reformation of schools there only to flee the outbreak of war in 1648. He returned to Leszno, Poland, whence he had fled from Nivnitz as a young man, and where he had done most of his writing, but was forced by the war between West Prussia and Poland to escape to Amsterdam in 1655, losing in this final move all his manuscripts.

For Comenius, schools as he found them were "the slaughterhouse of the mind," devoted as they were to the dreary and sometimes desperately enforced study of Latin in a world where that language was no longer used. In his schools there was to be no "stuffing and flogging," but, rather, a reasonable following of "the lead of nature." "A rational creature should be led," he wrote, "not by shouts, imprisonment and blows, but by reason." Nothing was to be learned "for its own sake," but "for its usefulness in life." Everything was to be learned by practice: "Let the students learn to write by writing, to talk by talking, to sing by singing, to reason by reasoning." Comenius likened education to nature, where the existence of objects was prior to the development of language. "The principle of succession," he wrote, in which "nature prepares the material before giving it form, develops everything from within, always ending in particulars, makes no leaps [and] advances only from strength." Knowledge, therefore, comes most naturally through the senses: "The sense of hearing should be conjoined with that of sight, and the tongue should be trained in coordination with the hand." Objects were to be brought into the classroom for use in teaching.

His plans for state schools, radical in his century, are now generally accepted. Schools were to open at a uniform date each year and holidays were to be frequent but short. According to his plans, a definite learning task would be assigned to each hour of the day; after each class there was a recess. The length of the day was longer the higher the grade. Comenius proposed that each teacher have a separate room and all learning be done under the teacher's supervision; there was to be no homework. Comenius hoped for the establishment of a central college which was to be provided with facilities for both advanced learning and teacher preparation. From a generation so trained, he believed, a Christian republic might grow. "There is no more certain way under the sun," he wrote, "to raise a sunken humanity."

Comenius's *Dictionary of Tongues and All Sciences* was translated into Arabic and Russian, as well as into other European languages, and the students of three continents thumbed its pages. *Orbis pictus* (The visible world), published in 1658, was his most famous text; it was illustrated, featured parallel passages in Latin and in the student's vernacular, and was intended to be employed by students at a rate commensurate with their individual abilities. These texts were based on earlier works: *Gate of Tongues Unlocked* (1631) and *Labyrinth of the World* (c. 1623). His best-known work is *Didactica magna*, written between 1628 and 1632. It has influenced teaching methods in the Western world more, perhaps, than any other book of educational theory.

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COMMUNION See EUCHARIST

COMMUNITY.

Although groupings or community formations are a regular feature of the phenomenon of religion, it is important to recognize that they are neither necessary nor equally prominent in all religions. There are situations otherwise completely typical of the category "religion" wherein the communal element is lacking, and others wherein it is loosely structured, evanescent, or deemed unimportant. For example, even though monasteries constitute a rigorous and elaborate kind of community, the name for them in Western languages derives from the Greek *monos*, meaning "single, alone." Hermit monks and wandering *saṃnyāsins* take as a major element in their piety and ascetic practice the renunciation of community. Also, many people in modern, industrialized societies consider themselves religious because of certain attitudes, practices, and beliefs but do not take part in a communal structure in which these religious factors are shared or are decisive.

Therefore, in the following paragraphs, as various types of religious communal organization are reviewed and their dynamics analyzed, one must remember that these groups vary in intensity and importance in their respective cultures and traditions, and that they do not exhaust the possibilities for religious life. Nevertheless, it is not too much to say that nearly all religious situations do have a communal dimension and that in many the community is the decisive factor.

It is a prejudice of modern society to speak of "organized religion" as if organization added an extraneous element to what legitimately exists without it. It is possible, of course, to define or to believe in a religion that is a matter of one's aloneness. It should also be recognized, however, that for many other people the social factor—belonging to and having a place in a religious community—may be the dominant aspect of their religious life and that, further, it may be a hidden factor even in the life of the one who rejects its significance.

The following description and typology of religious communities is highly abstract and theoretical. It describes poles, although most groups actually lie somewhere on a continuum between such poles; it speaks of pure types, even though most of life is compromised and blended; it isolates factors and structures that are in actuality mixed with other social patterns as well as influenced and changed by belief, rite, and experience. All this notwithstanding, focusing on these social structures, abstracted from their living contexts, may be helpful in sorting out the communal element from among the many contributing factors in a religious phenomenon and so may lead to a better understanding of the whole.

CHARACTERISTICS OF RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY. Some form of initiation usually marks entrance into a religious community. Entrance rituals may also be duplicated, reinforced, or elaborated on subsequent occasions. Later transition ceremonies often mark the beginning of new status within a group (e.g., ordination or monastic profession). There are also rituals and procedures for leaving a group, by incorporation into a higher status beyond the perimeters of the former group, or by censure and repudiation. Even death, which would seem to end an individual's membership in a community, can be understood as an initiation into a yet higher degree of existence in the group. In such cases, certain ceremonies during the ritual year may celebrate the return of the dead to participate in the life of the community.

Communal ritual activities for other purposes or on other occasions than initiation or ordination are also characteristic marks of religious communities. These rituals may be focused on seasonal change, agricultural processes, famous events of history, and doctrines, usually with all these elements blended together. Gathering as a group for such rites is perhaps the most persistent aspect of religious community, and is arguably its reason for being.

Differentiation of function and of merit or value is often recognized in communal structure. In some cases special functions within the group, especially leadership in ritual activities, are assumed by individuals specially selected and consecrated; in other cases leaders emerge from the group charismatically. That is, some religious traditions are highly sensitive to structural arrangements and carefully delineate lines of command and authority, carefully categorizing all functions and degrees. In other traditions the patterns of authority are quite casual, very much dependent on individual initiative and lacking ritual recognition.

Religious communities often validate, or give religious meaning to, natural or social distinctions. Gender, for example, is often a significant determinant of an individual's role in a religious community. One's role in the family (as mother, son, etc.) or one's lineage (e.g., in a caste system) may also determine religious status, and one's political office or status as a leader in the society at large tends to take on religious significance.

Religious communities are different from other social groups in their concept of the community as a sacred phenomenon. Instead of conceiving of the community in practical or casual terms, the distinctly religious group sees itself as part of a larger structure, plan, or purpose, one that transcends the immediate or basic needs of humanity. Conscious correlation of the community with patterns of symbols that are not social in their primary reference is a signal of the presence of religious rather than secular community.

Where nature and its processes are the focal point of religious attention, the community is conceived and structured with reference to the natural world. The subgroups within a tribe, for example, are linked in the mind with animals, stars, and the like. This totemism does not indicate an obliteration of the distinction between nature and culture in such peoples but rather shows an attempt to correlate one with the other or to use the elements of the natural world as a means of labeling and systematizing society.

Among religious groups for whom nature is not the primary concern, the concept of the community as a sacred entity takes a variety of forms. A special relationship with one or more gods or goddesses may be expressed by seeing the group as the servants, the messengers, or perhaps the coworkers of the divine beings. There is a fine line between metaphors and ontological assertions in theological language, so one often does not know how precisely to take images, such as the church as the "body" of Christ, that seem to give a group a kind of organic participation in the sacred.

A concept of the group as sacred can be linked with the merit or attainments of adepts with various degrees of skill. Those who are most advanced in ascetic practice, meditation, or yoga may constitute a sacred core around or below which those of lesser attainments are ranked. This arrangement leads to a pattern illustrated by Buddhism, according to which the term for the community, *saṃgha*, may refer to the inner circle of monks (*bhikkhus*) or to the larger group, the laity, who subscribe to the doctrine but practice it less exclusively.

It is possible, of course, for a religious community to be structured along lines that are not particularly religious from the point of view of believer or observer, as is so, for example, in the military model of the Salvation Army and the constitutional administrative arrangement of some American Protestant denominations. In such cases, concepts of the group as a sacred entity might become almost entirely separate from its actual structural appearance. Tensions can develop in religious groups when the social structure and the theology become too divergent. It is odd, for example, to have a monastic pattern that is almost inevitably based on merit and attainment existing within a tradition that doctrinally asserts equality before God or some alternate kind of sacred hierarchy.

To summarize, we can assume that we are observing a religious community, whether it is so labeled or not, when most or all of the following characteristics are evident in reference to the sacred: rituals of initiation and incorporation (as well as those of rejection); other communal rituals; and status levels and functional distinctions.

“Natural” Religious Groups. One of the clearest distinctions to be made among religious communities is that between groups specifically and self-consciously organized around religious beliefs and activities and those societies or “natural” groups wherein whatever is religious is part of the whole social structure. This distinction may also be made by noting that the specific religious groups are typically or theoretically voluntary, while one is born into the latter type of community, and there is no choice about joining it. A further way of making the distinction is by observing the relationship between the religious dimension and the political or governmental dimension: specific religious groups are not involved per se in governing, whereas the natural religious group is identical with the social group as a whole, including its political functions.

These broad categories have been labeled in many ways; for example, the terms *differentiated* and *undifferentiated* have been used, based on the degree to which the religious group is differentiated from the society as a whole. Sometimes it seems better to designate the natural, or undifferentiated, type of religious community as “folk” religion and, by contrast, to see the specific religious community as “universal” in character. Folk religion is part of the culture of a particular group of people and is not easily distinguished from all the other patterns and practices that define the culture. A universal religious group, however, tries to cross cultural and ethnic boundaries by assuming that all people everywhere can become members of its community.

The terms *specific* and *natural* are used in this article to name these groups, even though the latter term presents a problem of multiple meanings. Many presuppositions lie behind any use of *nature*, and most of these are irrelevant to their present use. One should not assume, for example, that natural religious groups are sociobiologically based in a way that specific groups are not. In fact, nothing that follows need be understood as affecting theories concerning the biological determination of human social behavior. All that is meant by the use of *natural* in this context is the identity of the religious community with those forms of social organization that are mostly inevitable in human life: family, clan, ethnic group, and nation.

Even though one is born into such social structures, initiation into “real” participation in the community is one of the signs that the social unit is also a religious community. At birth or puberty, or at both of these life passages, a ceremony such as circumcision or some act of consecration marks the official (or ontological) entrance into society. In many places such initiation is more marked for boys than for girls, although there may be rituals connected with the onset of menstruation. It is to be expected that gender, lineage, and comparable identifications will be more significant in natural religious groups than in others.

In natural religious groups the religious leaders or functionaries are generally the leaders of the society as a whole. It is rare, however, to find a community that does not also have its religious specialists, perhaps a shaman or medicine man, whose appearance and role depend on a special recognition that is not determined by “nature” in the sense used here.

It should also be noted that specific religious organizations may exist within natural religious groups. The primitive secret society is an example of such a group: it has its own dynamics as a voluntary group with special religious functions and rites apart from the society as a whole. Similarly, groups based on family, gender, ethnic background, and related natural factors may be found within or alongside specific religious communities or may even seem to merge with them. Men’s fraternities are a common example of a gender-based grouping, and the practical identity (at least in former years) of Spanish background and Roman Catholicism is an example of the apparent merging of the natural with the specific religious community.

Humans face a special situation in the phenomenon of the nation as a religious community—special in that the basis of community is not necessarily “natural” in the way that it is for gender, family, or lineage. In a nation, unrelated peoples can be joined together, slaves or slave populations may be incorporated into the political unit, and foreigners may have a place in the society as merchants or mercenaries. When the nation is also a religious community, however, it typically develops a set of stories (a mythology) to make the diverse groups appear to be a family. It is not at all certain, for example, that the ancient Israelites were all descended from Jacob; but new tribes could be included by having their patriarchs included among Jacob’s sons. Emphasis on the “natural” in this type of religious nation may also be seen in the Israelites’ insistence on the number twelve (the names of the sons of Jacob vary, but they are always twelve in number); this probably reflects a desire to repeat in human society the pattern of the heavens: twelve lunar cycles within a single solar cycle.

To the Israelites and other ancient peoples, political and religious functions were indistinguishable. While in modern times people differentiate between religious and civil law, ancient lawgivers recorded both in the same codes and in the same manner. The king was political, military, and religious functionary in one. Society, nature, and the gods were all seen as part of one interrelated organism. This outlook led to such phenomena as blaming crop failure on the weakness or immorality of the king. The king was characteristically seen as a god, the son of a god, or a representative and link from the heavens to earth and society.

This set of concepts is not entirely limited to the past. Some modern nations take on many of these characteristics (for some of their people) and thus become religious communities of a sort. Nations, both ancient and recent, have been known to cultivate epics of their origin, promote their peculiar concepts of the world, claim special connection with a god or gods, and link their success (or failure) to divine purpose. Not all of these nation-religions are generally recognized as such, but the Shintō tradition of Japan clearly exemplifies this phenomenon.

The religious and political dimensions of human life may be connected in another way as well, one that goes beyond the nation as a political unit. Islam, the most recent of the major religions, exhibits some of the characteristics of the very ancient natural religious community. It is based on the premise that the religious regulation and the civil regulation of life are to be derived from one source and litigated in one way. The international community of Islam thus presumes that a family of nations or peoples can be Muslim in law and belief. Some Muslim nations have begun to reject the notion of a secular government (i.e., one that is determined not by religious belief but by human deliberation) in favor of a religious government based on the Qurʾān. Although Islamic government of this sort does not necessarily have a kinglike figure or a theology of agriculture, in most other ways it is like the ancient nations, a natural religious community.

SPECIFIC RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES. Specific religious communities are sometimes called "founded" religions because they have appeared within the scope of recorded history as the result of efforts of a particular person or small group. As noted above, this category could also be termed "universal," "differentiated," or "voluntary." Contemporary pluralistic societies include religious communities of this type, even though some characteristics of natural religious communities can be observed on occasion.

Sociologists of religion, mainly Westerners interested in Christian groups, have put most of their energies into analyzing specific religious groups. As the examination of the social dimensions of religion became a recognized scholarly discipline, the categories "church" and "sect" were developed to distinguish between religious communities. This terminology applied well to sixteenth-century Europe but was insufficient elsewhere. For America it was necessary to add at least the category "denomination." One widely used typology of religious groups that developed out of the earlier distinctions lists six major types of religious community: cult, sect, established sect (or institutionalized sect), denomination, ecclesia, and universal church. These categories were developed particularly with reference to the ways in which the religious community is integrated into the society as a whole and to a lesser degree with reference to the internal dynamics of each group or its theology. Nevertheless, these six types can provide a framework for understanding Christian communities and can be applied with some adjustments to other religions as well.

The kind of group that is least involved in the rest of society is called a "cult." A cult may comprise barely more than the audience for a charismatic leader or healer. It is loosely organized; often it is small and short-lived. Its religious style is personal and emotional.

A "sect" is a religious community that is more clearly organized than a cult, that provides a great amount of religious value to its members (in terms of social relationships, ritual activities, ethical and doctrinal direction, and so forth), but that plays little role in the society at large. Taken to its extreme, a sect can form a completely separate miniature state either mixed into the society geographically or located in its own separate territory.

It is also possible, however, for a sect to move in a different direction and become more stable within the larger society. A sect so changed would be an "established sect," or an "institutionalized sect." In this situation the wider society's acceptance of the sect can be great even though the sect remains exclusive and self-centered. An established sect has lost its appearance of opposition to the rest of the society and other religious groups, but it remains doctrinally or theoretically exclusive.

At this point the "denomination" assumes its place in the six-type scheme as another type of Western religious community. It is the kind of group that maintains separate and distinct organization despite its acceptance of the legitimacy of other denominations or communities. It may conceive of itself as the best, but hardly the only, community in which adequate religious practice can be found. It is also relatively more involved with and accepted by the larger society.

Students of American religious communities have been struck by the tendency of each Christian sect and denomination to be made up of people from a single socioeconomic class. Furthermore, they note that a sect tends to become an established sect or a denomination and that as it does, the class composition of its members tends to change. Some of the characteristics of the transition from sect to its more established form or to a denomination are an increase in the members' and the institution's wealth; movement toward the center of the surrounding culture and away from criticism of it; less ridicule of other religious communities and more cooperation with them; less exclusion of potential members for being thought potentially unworthy; fewer casually prepared part-time leaders and more professionally trained full-time ministers; more concern for children and education; less emphasis on death and the next world and more attention to life in this world; and less spontaneity and emotion in worship and more use of hymns and texts from the liturgical traditions. The established sect and the denomination might be similar in most of these departures from the patterns of a sect, but the denomination has a different theology, while the established sect, no matter how institutionalized or accepted, retains its exclusive and condemnatory thought and speech.

The next two categories, beyond denomination, represent the most established and, culturally and socially, the most prominent kinds of religious community. One has been called the "ecclesia" and consists of the established national churches, for example, the churches of England and of Sweden. The other is termed "universal church." It is as well established as the ecclesia but exists in many nations and cultures; the classic example is the Roman Catholic church of the thirteenth century.

One of the characteristics of the specific religious community as compared with the natural religious community is its voluntary character. Yet this characteristic is almost completely absent in the ecclesia and universal church and is of little importance in the denomination and the established sect. The sect is noted for its emphasis on conversion, a voluntary, adult decision to join the group. The more established churches, however, incorporate the children of members almost automatically into the community, thus operating somewhat like a natural religious group. Furthermore, kings and other political functionaries tend to become semireligious officials in the ecclesia and the universal church categories.

As noted above, most of the terminology used here has been derived from studies of Western Christian religious communities, but it can be applied to Eastern Christianity and other religions with some limited success. Sunnī Islam can be seen as a universal church; Shīʿī Islam in Iran can be seen as an ecclesia; other Shīʿī groups can be seen as sects or established sects, and so on. Eastern Christian groups are usually of the ecclesia type in their home countries and have had to shift character in order to be denominations in America. In Thailand and Sri Lanka, Buddhism has had ecclesia status; its role in China can be analyzed in various periods as taking the forms of sect, denomination, and so on—all this despite its essentially monastic structure.

It is more important in examining non-Western religious communities to note their patterns of internal relationships and their role in the larger religious tradition than to concentrate on their relationship to the state or society. In non-Western societies, the different mix of natural and specific groups must be considered, as well as the recent and incomplete phenomenon of secularity (the separation of civil from religious jurisdiction). For example, Hinduism is, for the most part, a natural religious community, but some associations within it are of the specific type. These groups (*sampradāyas*) select a certain god or family of gods, a certain style of worship, and certain temples from the whole range of Hinduism, and these elements become the basis for the group's religious life. Thus a community with its own leaders and priests emerges. This phenomenon has many of the characteristics of the denomination in its recognition of other (almost as good) practices and gods in Hinduism, but it is sectarian in its lack of involvement with the society as a whole and in its governmental structures.

The different circumstances of non-Western religious communities can be understood better in terms and categories other than the six reviewed above. The following categories have been developed especially by anthropologists and ethnologists, and they help people to understand the subgroups within larger religious communities or traditions.

COMMUNITIES WITHIN COMMUNITIES. One large distinction that can be made within both natural and specific religious groups is that of "great" and "little" traditions. The professional leadership of a society or a specific religious community promotes a literate, fairly sophisticated, and often transcultural understanding and practice of its religion. The ordinary members of the group, however, may be imperfectly incorporated into this tradition. They may maintain some notions and practices from older religions or participate in the tradition in a way that is based on different media. These two strata do not form clearly separate communities but constitute a pattern in many countries.

On a much smaller scale there are other communal formations that can be found in both natural and specific religious communities. Prominent among these is the master, guru, or teacher with his following. This is the basic format of the cult as defined above, but it is also both a regular phenomenon in almost all religions as well as the point of origin for many new religious communities. The master with his disciples is an evanescent phenomenon. Beyond the first generation it must become something like a sect, pursuing a separate identity; it must institutionalize the master-pupil pattern in a more or less monastic structure; or it may do both (as does, for example, Buddhism). The model of the Hindu ashram or of the Muslim Ṣūfī shaykh with his disciples indicates a recognition of this kind of religious community in their respective traditions but without much regularization or institutionalization.

The monastic community is often to be found within larger religious communities. It may be defined as a group of people drawn from a larger religious community who live together for shorter or longer periods of time in order to cultivate religious techniques and disciplines. This inclusive definition can apply to secret societies or to men's groups within tribal societies as well as to the institutions prominent in Buddhism, Hinduism, and Christianity. Islam displays a variation of this kind of community in the Ṣūfī orders.

Monastic communities may be at the center of their larger traditions, as in Buddhism. Here the monks may be the only leaders of the religious community and thus take on functions characteristic of priests and ministers in other traditions. Within Christianity, however, monasticism has been a supplementary pattern of religious leadership that exists alongside the priestly hierarchy. Often monastic communities as well as other subgroups have originated in a protest against prevailing practices or doctrines in the larger group.

When such a protest becomes estranged, a new religion is formed, but often the protest is institutionalized and becomes another option within the larger community.

Certainly the most common subgroup in any large religious community is the worshiping unit. This can be quite an independent group with little involvement in the larger tradition (such as the Christian "congregationalist" polity), or it can be a casual association of people whose primary communal identity is with the larger group (e.g., those Hindus who happen to be at the same temple at any given time). Pilgrimage to a certain shrine can give a very large community the sense of being essentially one worshiping group even when most religious practice actually takes place in various localities. Islam's concept of the *ummah*, with its *ḥājj* and orientation of prayer toward Mecca, is the most prominent example.

SEE ALSO Church; Cults and Sects; Excommunication; Expulsion; Jewish People; Monasticism; Religious Communities; Saṃgha; Schism; Secret Societies; Society and Religion; Ummah.

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GEORGE WECKMAN (1987)
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COMPARATIVE-HISTORICAL METHOD [FIRST EDITION].

A means of studying religion as a whole, as well as the particularities of each tradition or subtradition, the comparative-historical method draws on historical data in comparing religions. As Wilhelm Schmidt (1868–1954) argued, the method aims to show not only the interplay of the general and the particular elements of religion, but also the interplay of influences between religious phenomena and the secular factors in human culture.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS. The comparative-historical method differs from purely historical approaches because it is cross-cultural. "Pure history" can deal, for example, with the unfolding of European pietism or South Indian *bhakti* without getting involved in comparisons and contrasts between the two phenomena. Obviously the comparative-historical method presupposes "pure history" which, together with ancillary disciplines such as philosophy and archaeology, supplies the facts upon which comparisons depend. It differs from psychology and phenomenology of religion, however, insofar as these disciplines content themselves with exploring timeless patterns or types of religious phenomena. Thus these disciplines may be concerned with patterns of mystical experience, for example, but not with how these patterns arise historically or to what extent they are affected by social and cultural conditions. In the discipline of psychology of religion, religious data are selected in a way that is distinct from the comparative-historical method, but the distinction between phenomenology of religion and the comparative-historical method cannot be put always so clearly. Insofar as phenomenology also deals with various types of changes in religious phenomena over the course of history, the distinctions begin to vanish.

The difference between the comparative-historical method and theology stems less from the selection of data than from the special way that theology approaches data. Theology (a term that usually is shorthand for Christian theology, but that in principle can include other varieties) is essentially the systematic exploration of the truth of a particular religious tradition or subtradition. The comparative-historical method does not begin from the assumption of the truth or falsity of any one religious position. Thus, although the ancillary disciplines of theology (such as church history, the history of ideas, philology, and so on) may overlap with those of the comparative study of religion, their essential aim and ethos are different. The comparative-historical method aims to be as objective as possible about the nature and power of religion; it is not concerned with whether a particular faith is true. Its objective is to relate religion's actual influences and effects within the world of human history.

The comparative study of religion, in the sense indicated, has a forceful rationale: there is an aspect of human culture, namely religion, that calls for interpretation, explanation, and delineation in ways similar to other aspects of human culture, such as politics and economics. This examination is called for whether or not a religion is transcendentally derived—whether, in short, its claims about its origin are true or not. The comparative-historical method considers it important to explore recurrent patterns of religious thought, symbolism, ritual, and experience that can be found cross-culturally. This approach suggests that religions have a relatively independent occurrence—whatever the theory at which we might ultimately arrive regarding their ultimate origin—and so may be used to explain various historical developments. Thus, for example, the occurrence of devotional religion might help to explain certain patterns of social organization.

PROBLEMS IN COMPARATIVE STUDIES. There are at least two major problems, however, with the comparative study of religion. One has to do with objectivity, and the other with the definition of religion. The first problem has a particular as well as a general form. In particular, there was a reaction in the early twentieth century against the use of the term *comparative*, since Western and colonialist assumptions often entered into the making of comparisons. This criticism contributed to the fashionability of the phrase "phenomenology of religion" as an alternative way of labeling the enterprise. In general, some scholars have doubted whether it is possible to be genuinely objective about religion since religion has necessarily to do with subjectivity, and the study of religion is full of value judgments. In response to this criticism, two considerations are important. On the one hand, objectivity may be better defined as "descriptive success," and so the question is, Can we be descriptively successful in describing different forms of subjectivity? On the other hand, though complete neutrality may not be possible, it is possible to be relatively neutral in regard to value judgments. In a qualified manner, therefore, descriptive success and a kind of detachment are feasible. Here the charge of bias can be turned into an advantage: it stimulates us to examine our assumptions, and thus to generate a new level of self-awareness that is necessary for the practice of *epochē*, or phenomenological detachment.

The other main problem with the comparative-historical method concerns definition. This is a complex problem, for if it is not possible to gain a common definition of religion, can we be sure that we are talking about a "religious factor" in human affairs? Perhaps this factor is merely a chimera based on the conventions of European languages. Further, can we be sure that, given that the religious factor exists, we are not excluding phenomena that are of the same kind, though they may not be conventionally labeled "religious"? The two sides of this problem are interrelated. We might, for instance, define religion as relating to a transcendent being or state (e.g., God or *nirvāṇa*). This definition may adequately group some of the "great" traditions, but it leaves doubt about other religions (Stoicism, some religions of small-scale societies in Africa and elsewhere, etc.), and excludes the symbolic and "religiously functioning" aspects of secular ideologies and ways of life. Pragmatically, it seems best to begin with a religious core and draw into our analysis worldviews and elements of symbolism that exhibit analogies with the religious properties of this core. In this way, we use the comparative method to arrive at a field of inquiry. The field in its widest form is worldview analysis, or the delineation and interpretation of worldviews that are both religious (in the traditional, transcendentally oriented sense) and secular. This approach, however, begins with the kinds of analysis that are specially relevant to the exploration of traditional religious worldviews.

Some scholars, because of the invidious implications of the term *comparative*, prefer *cross-cultural*. This term has some drawbacks, but it also has two considerable merits. First, obviously, it avoids the term *comparative*; and, second, it suggests that analogies are drawn from different cultural traditions, and so may make use of terminology and attitudes that are not Western. As greater numbers of scholars from religious traditions other than those of the West make their contributions to worldview analysis, and as we become in general more globally conscious, a new cross-cultural vocabulary will in all probability emerge. Already there are signs of the appearance of this vocabulary: terms such as *taboo*, *totem*, *yoga*, *bhakti*, *Dao*, *nirvāṇa*, and *karma* are in general use in English.

AIMS OF COMPARATIVE-HISTORICAL STUDY. Generally speaking, the comparative-historical method has two preliminary aims: to demonstrate historical connections, and to point out independent occurrences of similar phenomena. The tracing of historical connections indicates the scope of the diffusion of key concepts, rites, institutions, and so on. Often such diffusion is the first hypothesis of many investigators. For example, early investigators who saw the similarities between ideas in the *Bhagavadgītā* and in the New Testament supposed that a single influence, one way or another, informed both. The use of the swastika symbol both in India and among American Indian groups is also suggestive of very ancient diffusion. But the most interesting cases from the theoretical angle are those where a strong degree of independence of cultural origins can be shown and yet the phenomena are similar. It is, for example, striking when the utterances of mystics in apparently independent traditions are similar.

Such similarity is suggestive of at least a perennial phenomenology—that is, the existence of certain recurring, characteristic patterns of human experience—if not of a perennial philosophy. It is partly on this basis that scholars build up their phenomenologies of religion.

But the comparative method is also historical. This introduces two complications into any typology of religious factors or themes. The first complication is particularity. Though it may be that a certain recurrent theme occurs in two traditions, it nevertheless has a different contextual meaning in each. For instance, there may appear to be a similar mystical experience described in Sufism and Mahāyāna Buddhism. But the meaning of the two experiences will diverge: the one involves a close unity with God, the other the attainment of ultimate emptiness. The meaning of each experience affects the way each is perceived, both because the Sufi and the Mahāyāna Buddhist have different expectations leading into their experiences and also because, *ex post facto*, the experiences suggest differing accounts of the ultimate. More generally, it may be said that each tradition or subtradition is organic, in that the meaning of each of the particular elements woven together into a whole is affected by the meanings of all the other elements associated with it within the whole. Thus, because the comparative method is historical, it recognizes the importance not only of general similarities but also of the particularity of each historical context. Comparisons are therefore never quite exact but are analogical in character. Although the method upholds the value of comparisons, it nevertheless recognizes the need for contextual modification.

The other complication is that the traditions or elements of traditions under consideration are examined in time; they are the consequences of change, and they themselves give rise to changes. A religious ideology may indeed retain some "original message" or primordial revelation in an unchanged manner. Nevertheless, any such relatively unchanged revelation is still transmitted by a process that can only be described historically. Indeed, it seems as though an element that has been transmitted from an ancient culture down to modern times, in order to have retained its identity through changing contexts, must have had to change its overt message if it has managed to retain the same meaning. Likewise, an overtly unchanged element that has been transmitted "without change" through differing contexts might well have undergone a change in meaning because of the altered context. In either case the historical method involves the exploration of changes.

It follows then that in addition to relatively time-free typological comparisons there are comparisons of kinds of changes. Such a typology, which can be called a "dynamic phenomenology," blurs the distinction between the comparative-historical and phenomenological methods. It also takes us back to some of the early preoccupations of the comparative study of religion, namely, the delineation of the evolution of religion from animism through monotheism. Although the evolutionary model is less fashionable now than in the latter part of the nineteenth century, which saw the emergence of comparative religion as a discipline, there is still an interest in the dynamic patterns of development in society that are generated by religion—an interest stimulated by the work of Max Weber (1864–1920). An example of a recent evolutionary scheme is found in Robert N. Bellah's paper "Religious Evolution" (*American Sociological Review* 29, 1964, pp. 358–374).

INTRA- AND EXTRARELIGIOUS EXPLANATIONS. Of greater importance, however, are more detailed studies of the modes under which different religious themes interact both within and outside the bounds of religion, strictly defined. It is, for instance, important to see the ways in which doctrines reflect aspects of experience and myth, or ritual reflects aspects of doctrine and ethics, and so on. These interactions within the boundaries of religion can be called *intrareligious*, and explanations that refer to them might be termed *intrareligious explanations*. It is also important to consider how doctrines, myths, and the rest impinge upon or are affected by social and economic factors in society. Such relations are *extrareligious*, and explanations referring to them are *extrareligious explanations*. The most extreme cases of extrareligious explanations are "projection" theories of religion (an example would be Freud's theory of religion), in which religion is understood to be "caused" by deep structures in nonreligious human nature or human society. Cases of intrareligious explanations include the understanding of "negative" theology as a consequence of mystical experience, worship as a consequence of the numinous experience, priesthood as a consequence of sacramental ritual, and humility as an ethical consequence of worship. Extrareligious interactions can be seen in such phenomena as the erosion of the liturgical year by the new, indifferent rhythms of industrial society; the increase of pilgrimage in South Asia due to the development of buses and railways; and the pressure for gender-related changes in ecclesiastical organization due to women's movements. Cases of the reinforcement of religious symbolism by symbolic factors associated with nonreligious worldviews and ideologies (such as nationalism) can be seen in modern Iranian nationalism, the Buddhist revival in Sri Lanka, and so on.

The period from World War II onward, and especially from the mid-1960s until the mid-1980s, saw an immense expansion in both historical and comparative studies in the field of religion, notably in the English-speaking world, and particularly in North America. The consequence of this expansion has been a fine array of monographs and studies on varied aspects of religion. But although there has been intensive work in cross-cultural dialogue between religions, there have been few large-scale comparative studies. The times are clearly ripe for such endeavors, which would build upon excellent foundational studies in particular religious traditions. The most flourishing aspect of recent comparative studies has been in the field of mysticism, which has attracted the interest of scholars involved in hermeneutical and philosophical studies as well as historians and others. The interfaces of comparative study in religion with anthropology and sociology as they relate to ritual process has also proved fruitful, as in the influence and work of Victor Turner (1920–1983). The most influential phenomenological synthesis remains Gerardus van der Leeuw's *Religion in Essence and Manifestation* (1938), an indication that the field awaits a new synthetic overview after a period of intense, but on the whole less broad, activity. Already, however, the comparative-historical method is beginning to be seen as a vital tool not only for the framing of new hypotheses about the patterns of religious developments both in the past and today, but also for the testing of older ways of thinking about the nature and provenance of religion.

SEE ALSO Comparative Religion; Evolution, article on Evolutionism; Hermeneutics; History of Religions; Phenomenology of Religion; Psychology, article on Psychology of Religion; Religionsgeschichtliche Schule; Sociology; Study of Religion; Women's Studies in Religion.

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COMPARATIVE-HISTORICAL METHOD [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS].

The central focus of the comparative-historical method is to develop comparisons between religious formations (comparative) while accounting for their development within particular contexts through time (historical). As such, the method can be distinguished from the following: the phenomenology of religion, which tends toward ahistorical typologies; theology, which operates within single traditions; social scientific (psychological, sociological) approaches, which are usually not as rigorously historical; and from formalist, philosophical approaches to religion. The comparative-historical method converges unavoidably on other articles from the *Encyclopedia of Religion* besides Ninian Smart's, most notably "History of Religions" and "Comparative Religion." It is reasonable to say that Bianchi viewed the comparative-historical method as the dynamic fulcrum of the history of religions.

The comparative-historical method is very much at the heart of the academic discipline of religion. The process of comparative religion proper, taking its place beside traditional biblical theology around 1870, marks the inauguration of the academic study of religion. Theology itself has increasingly become historicized and comparative since that time. As a recent series of articles in the journal *Numen* have argued from a variety of perspectives, comparison is a primary rather than secondary process within analytical inquiry; it is inevitable, marking one of a number of theoretical options. Definitions of particular phenomena are not plausible without reference to, or comparison with, more general categories through which they can be comprehended. Comparison and generalization thus need not be confused with the quest for theoretical infallibility and belief in universal principles. Used properly, comparison simply starts scholars thinking—it need not prevent them from it.

In the years that have passed since Smart's original article was written, the emphasis of religious scholarship has gradually shifted from a preoccupation with religion as a potential object of analytical inquiry to the many subjective processes by which something designated as "religion" has been conceived. As applied to the comparative-historical method, this has resulted in an increased emphasis on the historical half of the equation, while the drawing of comparisons has become theoretically conservative. Increased historicism has resulted in some degree of decline in the production of compelling theoretical work. Generalization within and about particular religious traditions has become difficult; generalization about the nature of religion has become almost impossible.

Solutions to this problem have not been altogether satisfying and have spawned a literature, often languid and unproductive, that questions whether the study of religion is adequately substantive as an academic genre. The highly technical linguistic considerations that permeate scholarship on non-Western religions, the increasingly myopic historical approach, and the recourse to semantics and semiotics in all genres of religious study arose in response to legitimate concerns about the excessive breadth of scholarship in the field. It may be time for the pendulum to swing, however, and for questions to be asked about the limitations of these new trends. As Jonathan Z. Smith has noted, philological expertise has become the standard for achieving professional status in the field, but this direction has come with hidden costs: "Philology is the vocation; generalization the avocation. This has led to the wholesale adoption of a sort of common-sense descriptive discourse as a major rhetoric for work in the field" (Smith, 2001, p. 140). Debate within each unique academic locus can easily become internalized and accessible (or of interest) only to scholars working within fields of close enough proximity.

Little attention has been paid to why this may particularly be a problem within the field of religion. The study of religion has been, especially in terms of the way it originated, one of—if not the—most truly global of all the academic disciplines. It addresses all of the major civilizations of the world, and though its focus on small-scale societies has lamentably decreased, this genre has formed a significant part of the disciplinary history as well. The very breadth of the discipline makes comparative statements of any depth tenuous, and this would appear to be a legacy with which the field is destined to grapple. As a softer discipline whose net is cast wide and which is poised between any number of epistemologies, a willingness to persist in asking the question of what religion is across daunting theoretical chasms may define the heart of its enterprise.

The emergent emphasis on historical context forces the recognition that the concept "religion" at which the comparative-historical method is aimed is not a monolith, and the results of applying the method are diverse because of this. As a new form of intellectual inquiry, religion went through various transformations within the varying European national traditions from its earlier usages. Definitions of religion revolved primarily around its relationship to its cultural settings. While other countries certainly claimed variations on the theme, the reconceiving of religion in Britain and Germany, in particular, makes for an informative case study.

In Germany, *Kultur* indicated a more organic understanding of social organization that located its roots within a particular geographical space. A people's *Kultur* gained its depth, meaning, and potency through historical development in that place. Cultural legitimacy was inherent and internal—a property right, so to speak. Comparison with other peoples was not the principal means of conferring authenticity. So it was with the early German approach to religion as a new cognitive category—at least for those who did not seek to dismiss religion altogether. In the tradition of Kant and Hegel, and eventually Otto, religion and the religious impulse were both primordial and obvious. From the German context, there emerged the notion of *Religionsgeschichte*, roughly "history of religions," and also the more prevalent *Religionswissenschaft*, or "science of religions." The combining of history and science in Germany, following the historiographical vision of von Ranke, involved the art of establishing, through an intuitive synthesis, the pivotal and compelling aspects of a given historical datum. With this background, it is more understandable that the notion of a science of religion, specifically, never was encumbered by the scientific literalism that has predominated in a place like the United States. The concept of religion in Germany was comparative only in a secondary sense. Primarily, it grew out of the collective embrace of *Kultur*, which was grounded in a deep sense of geographical identification that had gained force through time. Where religions were compared, it was more to reinforce or embellish an existing notion of religion that was not primarily comparative.

In Britain the term *civilization*, borrowed from the French, grew in usage as F. Max Mueller began to shape a field of religion through his philological endeavors and implied something very different than *Kultur*. Civilization indicated a broader and more comparative conception of social organization where a society becomes what it is by demonstrating cognizance of how it differs from other societies. The rise of Britain to a position of global eminence corresponded with the colonial phenomenon, and modern British society was built significantly around its perceived position as global organizer. Normative notions of what it meant to be "civilized" were made possible by establishing what was not civilized. Thus comparison, to a much greater extent than geographical identification and history, became the hallmark for cultural orientation. Comparative religious categories mirrored the emerging intercultural hierarchies, a point made clear by the time of the first world's fair, which took place in London in 1851. Evolutionary theory was spawned during this period, and all of the world's cultures became located within a schematic that was at once a spatial *typology* of cultures, descending from civilized to primitive according to the culture's perceived industrial sophistication, and also a temporal *chronology* ascending from primitive to civilized based on perceived degrees of natural evolution. This ubiquitous heuristic device for organizing the world's cultures was known as social evolution. Along with F. Max Muller's forays into comparative philology that focused more precisely on compartive religious understanding emerging out of the larger civilizational context of India, social evolution increasingly became a pivotal theoretical principle around which early comparative religion in Britain was built in a more global sense. It also helped to shape British society as a globally minded "civilization" rather than a more organic *Kultur*.

The early use of the comparative-historical method in Germany and Britain shows that its application can vary widely depending from where and toward what it is being applied. In a context like the history of religions within the Chicago School, a bridge was established to some degree between the British and German approaches to studying religion. Comparing religions in the Americas has proved a virtual necessity in maintaining a constructive social dialogue. Ideally, a pragmatic historical approach to understanding religion in context would combine with a keen conceptual awareness of the problems of comparative-historical categories to produce scholarship that is adequately balanced between the two aspects of the method. Specific studies would then emphasize either the historical or the conceptual, depending on their datum.

Any method results in the need for interpretation, and the comparative-historical method needs to be applied to interpretive strategies as well. Interpretation must itself be located within an intellectual context and confined to some degree so that scholars dealing with obscure historical materials do not argue from some latent form of common sense, as Smith has cautioned. To remain relevant, comparative-historical epistemologies should bear some connection to identifiable hermeneutical systems that comprise the ancestry of the study of religion.

Finally, the comparative-historical method must be able to address the object of religion as well as account for the more subjective processes that have generated the concept in modernity. William Paden and Ferren MacIntyre have made theoretical suggestions in this direction. In a more historical sense, the epistemological basis of the study of religion needs to demonstrate flexibility to accommodate the wide range of historical studies that mark the field. Without some willingness to "imagine religion," potentially informative aspects of the field of religion where historical reconstruction is challenging, such as the exploration of nonliterate cultures or a crucial datum like African American slave religion, run a strong risk of being inadequately represented or tacitly dismissed. In France, for instance, where historical method can perhaps be considered as having reached its apogee with the *Annales* School, there exist in church archives superior historical records extending back to the medieval period. In this circumstance, the notion of moving backward in time with a precision that borders on the scientific appears tenable and attractive. Yet if this kind of standard is made the benchmark for authentic historical work in religion globally, much data will be inassimilable and fruitful opportunities for comparative religious understanding will be lost. Cross-cultural gender studies face similar challenges, where the process of tapping more comprehensive meanings within what is rapidly developing into a global gender revolution is vital. Given the breadth of the field of religion as it has developed, more imaginative approaches to historical work and its interpretation appear crucial if the comparative-historical method is to be put to its full use in moving the study of religion into the future.

SEE ALSO Comparative Mythology; Comparative Religion; History of Religions.

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There has been a proliferation of edited volumes on comparison in the field of religion in recent years, but these volumes, though containing useful articles, are inevitably inconsistent and potentially take readers away from the idea that the comparative-historical method can be identified and used in anything approaching a methodical manner. Recent book-length studies employing or examining the comparative-historical method tend to approach it indirectly and demonstrate it rather than announce it. A look at the new radical historicism can be found in Ivan Strenski's *Four Theories of Myth in the Twentieth-Century History* (Iowa City, Iowa, 1987). Regarding historiography in Germany and America and how much national traditions vary in conducting historical study, see Peter Novick's *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, U.K., 1988). In regard to Asia, see Richard King's *Orientalism and Religion: Post-Colonial Theory, India, and "The Mystic East"* (London and New York, 1999). An interesting study of the comparative-historical method in a colonial context can be found in David Chidester's *Savage Systems: Colonialism and Comparative Religion in Southern Africa* (Charlottesville, Va., 1996). An example of the method applied to the metropole can be found in John P. Burris's *Exhibiting Religion: Colonialism and Spectacle at International Expositions, 1851–1893* (Charlottesville, Va., 2001).

JOHN P. BURRIS (2005)

COMPARATIVE MYTHOLOGY.

An early form of comparative mythology is the so-called *interpretatio Graeca*, that is, the use of Greek names for gods of other peoples. Thus, for instance, Near Eastern storm gods were interpreted by Greek authors as Zeus, who shared essential features with them. Similarly, Roman authors identified Celtic or Germanic gods as Jupiter, Mars, or Mercury. Such identifications, employing *interpretatio Romana*, are readily apparent in the English and French names of the days of the week; the English names are derived from the Germanic gods, the French from the Roman: thus *Tuesday*, Týr's (or Tiu's) day, corresponds to *mardi*, day of Mars; *Wednesday*, Woden's day, corresponds to *mercredi*, day of Mercury; and *Thursday*, Thor's day, corresponds to *jeudi*, day of Jupiter.

As a technical term, *comparative mythology* was introduced in 1856 by the German-born British philologist F. Max Müller. He based his argument on the observation that the Indo-European languages were related to each other and obviously should be derived from one common language. Since, according to Müller, myths originated through literal interpretations of metaphoric expressions leading to a personification of such natural phenomena as the sun and the dawn, it would be useful to compare not only the languages but also the myths of Indo-European peoples. Strangely enough, he made little use of his observation for a comparison of divine names in the various religions; he was more interested in combating evolutionistic interpretations of mythology based on material from "primitive" peoples.

When two or more myths are similar in some respects, there are, roughly speaking, three possible theories. One is that they form part of a common heritage; another is that a myth or mythological motif has spread from one religion to another ("diffusion"); a third is that parallel, independent development has produced similar results in two or more different places. Following the third line of reasoning, we might assume one of two possible explanations: either that similar ecological conditions produce similar myths or that the human mind contains archetypes that are expressed in similar symbols everywhere. However, a combination of these two explanations should not be entirely ruled out.

INDO-EUROPEAN RELIGIONS. A common heritage can be assumed in the various Indo-European religions. Linguistic comparison of divine names reveals several interesting facts. For instance, the Vedic *Dyaus* corresponds to the Greek *Zeus*, the Roman *Jupiter* (*Iovpater*, "father Jove"), the Nordic *Týr*, and perhaps also the Latvian *Dievs*. Parjanya is an Indian rain god; the Baltic peoples have a god of the thunderstorm called Perkūnas or Pērkons, while Fjǫrgynn is a somewhat obscure Nordic god. In India, Yama is the first man, in Iran Yima, while Ymir in Nordic mythology is the giant from whose body the world was created. The relationship is especially close between Indian and Iranian religions. The Indian god Mitra corresponds to the Iranian Mithra, with very similar functions: Vedic mythology uses *Vṛtrahan* in the epithet of Indra as the killer of the dragon Vrtra; in Iran, Verethraghna is a god of war and kingship. The fact that Sanskrit *deva* means "god" but Iranian *daiva* is "demon," while Sanskrit *asura* means "demon" and Iranian *ahura* is the name of the highest god, indicates an early conflict between the two religions. It is worthy of notice that the functions of gods with related names are not always identical.

A different and more promising approach to the comparative mythology of the Indo-European peoples was suggested by the French scholar Georges Dumézil (1898–1986). He started from the observation that most Indo-European religions have a myth about the preparation of a drink of immortality, which was stolen and recovered and then became the object of ritual drinking. Continued researches, however, resulted in the observation that behind the mythology of most of these peoples a tripartite structure could be detected.

As a matter of fact, the gods of the pantheon are organized in such a manner that they reflect the tripartite social structure of Indo-European society. There are the functions of rulership, of warfare, and of fertility and wealth. The first function has two aspects: the mysterious and magical on one side and the orderly and lawful on the other. It is represented by Varuṇa and Mitra in India, by Jupiter and Dius Fidius in Rome, and by Odin and Týr in Scandinavia. The warlike function is represented by Indian Indra, Roman Mars, and Scandinavian Thor. The gods of the third function are admitted to the circle of gods only after a battle, followed by a settlement, which makes the pantheon complete; they are, for instance, the Vedic twin gods Aśvins or Nāsatyas and the Nordic Vanir (Freyr, Freyja, etc.), while in Rome the lesser-known god Quirinus may belong here. Celtic evidence is scanty but can probably be fit into the same pattern. The same structure is reflected in the functions of the Zoroastrian "archangels," the Amesha Spentas, which replace the old gods in Zoroastrian monotheism, and in the characters of the legendary kings of early Rome. Thus Romulus represents the orderly ruler; Numa Pompilius, the priest, is the mysterious one; Tullus Hostilius is the warrior; and Ancus Marcius represents material welfare. It should also be noticed that the Sabinians were admitted into Roman society after a war, just as were the gods of the third function, and only then was the Roman community complete. In other words, mythology has been transformed into legendary history.

An interesting detail is the fact that of two Roman heroes in the wars against the Etruscans, one, Horatius Cocles, is one-eyed, and the other, Gaius Mucius Scaevola, loses his one hand. The Irish war god Nuadha has a silver hand instead of the one he lost in battle, and among the Nordic gods, Odin is one-eyed and Týr has only one arm.

That Greek mythology has only a few traces of this pattern is probably due to influence from pre-Greek Aegean religion. Dumézil's method is not primarily based on philological evidence and is thus not open to criticism based on difficulties in establishing the exact relationship between the Indo-European languages. On the other hand, there is a difficulty in the fact that the names of the gods of one particular function are not always linguistically related, and that related names may appear in different functions.

NEAR EASTERN MYTHOLOGIES. Comparison of Semitic mythologies can also be based in part on linguistic evidence. *Il* or *el* is in all Semitic languages (except Ethiopic) either the common word for "god" or the name of the highest god. But there are also problems. For instance, in South Arabia, Athtar is a god, perhaps connected with the morning star, but Babylonian and Assyrian Ishtar is a goddess, also connected with the morning star, while the early Canaanite texts from Ugarit know both a god Athtar and a goddess Athtart, the latter identical with the Astarte of the Old Testament. It may be assumed that an originally androgynous deity, perhaps a sky god (like Ethiopian Astar), has been differentiated in two directions as male and female. A similar shift of gender is known also in the case of the sun, sometimes worshiped as a male god (Babylonian Shamash), sometimes as a goddess (South Arabia, Ugarit). The male form in Babylonia may be due to Sumerian influence.

Three themes of ancient Near Eastern mythology are of particular interest here: (1) the dying and reviving god, (2) the killing of the dragon, and (3) death and immortality.

The dying and reviving god. The Sumerian god Dumuzi (Akkadian, Tammuz), the god of flocks and grain, is killed and carried to the netherworld, but it is finally decided that he shall spend part of the year on earth to promote fertility. Baal, the Canaanite god of thunder and fertility, is killed by his enemy Mot, and while he is dead, vegetation withers, but his sister Anat defeats Mot, and Baal is finally restored to life. The story of Aqhat seems to reflect the same pattern:

Aqhat is offered immortality by the goddess Anat in exchange for his fine bow but refuses and is killed, which results in the withering of vegetation. His sister seeks him, but here the tablet is broken, and we do not know the outcome. If the point of the story is man's mortality, we should expect him to remain dead; if the vegetation motif is predominant, as in the Baal myth, it is likely that he was revived.

The Egyptian Osiris is somewhat different: he is king and connected with the grain; he is killed by his brother Seth, but his wife Isis finds his dismembered body and restores it to life, and Osiris becomes the ruler of the dead. We know that the god's death and resurrection were celebrated in seasonal festivals. Different again is the Hittite myth of Telepinu: he disappears and vegetation withers and procreation fails; he is found sleeping and brought back, and life returns to normal.

There is a common pattern in these myths, probably reflecting the vicissitudes of vegetation in the seasonal cycle, but the actual form of the myth differs from country to country insofar as the common features have been combined with local elements to form a new unity. The problem is further complicated by the fact that some of the characteristic elements of the pattern reappear in connection with the Nordic god Baldr, who is supposed to be invulnerable but is killed with the only weapon that can hurt him, namely, a twig of mistletoe. Baldr, however, remains dead, though nearly everything weeps for him. Dumézil has found a parallel to this myth among the Ossets, a tribe in the Caucasus, probably descended from the ancient Scythians. Here the willful Syrdon finds out the only way to kill the supposedly invulnerable Soslan (or Sosryko). In both myths Dumézil finds traits that point to some connection with the rites of the summer solstice. It is not clear whether we have here a case of the migration of myths or an example of common Indo-European heritage.

Furthermore, in the Finnish national epic, the *Kalevala*, we are told that the hero Lemminkäinen was killed by means of an inconspicuous plant. His mother found him, reassembled the parts of his body, and brought him back to life. Here is an element that is strongly reminiscent of the Osiris myth. It is also interesting that a bee plays a significant role at the resuscitation of Lemminkäinen, just as a bee wakes up the Hittite Telepinu. It is hard to prove any historical connection among the three myths involved, but it seems that elements from different sources have been combined into a new story.

The killing of the dragon. In the Babylonian epic of creation the god Marduk kills a monster, Tiamat, representing the primeval ocean, and creates the world out of her body. In Canaanite myth where Baal kills Prince Sea, the result is not creation but the establishment of his rulership and the building of a temple. There are also fragments in Canaanite mythology that tell of the killing of a being called Lotan or *tannin* ("dragon"). Reminiscences of the battle motif are also found in the Old Testament in connection with creation. The defeated party is here called either Leviathan (Lotan) and *tannin* or *tehom* ("the deep"; i.e., Tiamat). The elements of the myth recur, but they are combined differently. Since the motif is absent in the Sumerian myths of creation, it may be of West Semitic origin. The enemy slain is the sea, but the results differ.

Death and immortality. The hero of the Gilgamesh epic, seeking eternal life, finds the "plant of life," but it is snatched away by a serpent, and he remains mortal. In another Babylonian myth, Adapa is offered the "food of life" but he refuses to eat it and remains mortal. In the Old Testament, Adam and Eve have access to the "tree of life" but are deprived of it through a serpent and are henceforth mortal. The problem is the same: why is man mortal? The symbols of eternal life differ—plant, food, tree—but the result is the same. In other words, the intention of the myth is the same in all three cases, but the concrete expressions differ.

To sum up: myths intend to answer existential questions; the symbols used are sometimes identical, sometimes differing in details; and mythical motifs can be combined in different ways in different contexts.

MYTHOLOGIES OF OTHER CULTURES. Similar observations can be made in comparative study of mythologies in many other parts of the world. Three mythic themes provide interesting examples: (1) the origin of death, (2) the earth diver, and (3) the flood.

The origin of death. In most parts of Africa there is a myth of the origin of death. Common to most of them is the idea that man was originally intended to live forever. God sent a message to that effect, but the messenger was delayed and overtaken by another messenger, who brought the message of death. Other myths report that the message was distorted so as to imply death instead of life. Other tribes say that man was offered two bundles, one containing life, the other death; by mistake, man chose death. There are also myths that ascribe death to the disobedience of man. In the last case, one might suspect Christian influence, but the other myths, which occur in several versions in several tribes, are certainly indigenous and provide a good example of how the outward form of a myth may vary, though the intention is the same.

The earth diver. Creation myths among many North American Indian tribes tell of a primeval sea: a bird or animal dives into the water and brings up some soil from which the earth is created. This myth of the earth diver is known also from several peoples in Northeast Asia. It has the idea of the primeval sea in common with Babylonian, Israelite, and, to some extent, Egyptian cosmogony; but is any historical relationship possible? Such relationship does exist, however, between North America and Northeast Asia. In some North Asian versions of the earth-diver myth, the motif is combined, rather illogically, with the myth of the great flood. According to one Samoyed myth, seven men who have been saved from the flood send a bird to the bottom of the sea to fetch a turf to form the earth. This is obviously a combination of two elements of different origin.

The flood. The myth of the flood, on the other hand, is a problem in its own right. It is well known from the Bible and from ancient Mesopotamia. A study of the biblical and the three Mesopotamian versions reveals that they have several conspicuous details in common (the god reveals the secret of the coming flood to one righteous man, he builds a ship, he sends out birds to see if the water has receded, and he offers sacrifices after being saved); but it can be shown that the story has been modified in each case to suit the context of a larger narrative complex into which it has been inserted (Gilgamesh epic, Atrahasis epic, the primeval history of *Genesis*). But flood stories are known from many other parts of the world, both in Asia and in North and South America. Have they originated independently in areas where large rivers cause inundations from time to time, or is there any kind of connection? The latter alternative can be proved in the ancient Near East, but the other stories show differences too great to make direct borrowing likely.

CONCLUSION. Thus, comparative study of mythology raises questions that are difficult to answer. Similar myths appearing in different parts of the world seem to have no communication with one another. Neither common heritage nor diffusion seems probable. Myths that are strikingly similar to the Greek myth of Orpheus, who tried to bring his wife, Eurydice, back from the netherworld but failed to do so, appear in several North American Indian tribes, but no historical connection can be shown. Is it possible that such a characteristic myth can develop independently in two distant places? The New Zealand Maori are reported to have a creation myth, according to which there was first darkness and water, but the god Io pronounced a word and there was light, he pronounced a second word and the sky came into being, and a third word and the earth was there. In this case, it seems likely that Christian ideas have influenced either the myth or the one who recorded it. But in other cases we may ask if there is not some truth in Jung's theory of archetypes in the human mind whereby similar existential questions are answered by similar symbols. Or, as Mircea Eliade puts it in a somewhat different terminology, essential aspects of reality appear in the human mind as images and symbols forming certain patterns that meet a need and fulfill a function, that of revealing the hidden modalities of our existence.

A new approach to the study of myth has been suggested by the French structuralist Claude Lévi-Strauss. He breaks down the myth into small units and analyzes their mutual relationships. The units are meaningful only in terms of the positions they occupy in the total structure of the myth and in the context of the culture concerned. Thus there emerges a pattern consisting of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. In the myth of Oedipus, for instance, there is an overvaluation of kinship (e.g., Oedipus marries his mother), an undervaluation of kinship (e.g., Oedipus kills his father), and a synthesis implying that contradictory kinship relations are contradictory in a similar way. In analyzing a specific myth, Lévi-Strauss often explains the significance of a unit by adducing comparative material from the same culture, but only in the third volume of his *Mythologiques* does he bring in a global perspective.

SEE ALSO Comparative Religion; Cosmogony; Death; Dragons; Dying and Rising Gods; Grimm Brothers; Indo-European Religions, article on History of Study; Müller, F. Max; Myth; Myth and Ritual School.

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COMPARATIVE RELIGION.

The term *comparative religion* broadly signifies the study of all traditions and forms of religious life, as distinguished from the study or exposition of just one. Ideally, and more specifically, it is the disciplined, historically informed consideration of commonalities and differences among religions. Indeed, such cross-cultural or global perspective is entailed in the notion of an academic study of religion.

Comparison is a fundamental mental activity: grouping some things together under a common class or pattern, but also noticing how the examples vary in relation to each other. Such connections and relationships are the basis of thought and science. Without them, there are only isolated, contextless facts. It is on the basis of comparison that generalizations, interpretations, and theories are formed. Hence, comparative frames can create new ways of perceiving and organizing the world.

One cannot generalize about religion on the basis of a single case, just as geologists do not construct geological science on the basis of the rocks that simply happen to be in one's backyard. The local rocks, like the local religions, are themselves instances of certain universal chemistries and patterned formations. Accordingly, without identifying these recurring factors it is not possible to know what any particular religious tradition or phenomenon has in common with others and, consequently, how it differs from them.

At the same time, the comparative enterprise has been used for many different purposes. Thus, while cross-cultural perspective has been considered one of the great achievements of religious studies, it has also come under criticism as a source of distortion and cultural bias. Indeed, a whole range of religious and scientific motivations have driven comparative religion, and that has made it an area of controversy. For example, it has been used to demonstrate the superiority of one's own religion; to show that all religions are "the same"; to demonstrate that one can understand each religion from its own point of view; or to simply map a variegated landscape of different traditions. Likewise, it has been used to demonstrate any number of competing theories about the origin and nature of religion. Insofar as it has taken an even-handed approach to all religions, religious conservatives have perceived it as a relativizing of belief, and hence a threat to religious convictions.

While travelers and theologians have always formed views about other peoples' religions, the notion of an academic field of comparative religion emerged in the late nineteenth century in European and American universities, reflecting scholarly goals. It addressed the need to synthesize the enormous amount of information that was accumulating about the religions of the world, past and present, including new knowledge about non-Western traditions. This involved not only analyzing commonalities, differences, and types of religious life, but also postulating stages of historical or evolutionary development. This entry gives an overview of some salient points in the history of comparative religion (see Sharpe's *Comparative Religion: A History*, 1986, for a comprehensive account) and then addresses issues that had surfaced by the beginning of the twenty-first century.

SOME RELIGIOUS VERSIONS OF "COMPARATIVE RELIGION."

The nineteenth-century founders of academic comparative religion faced provincial, heavily biased Euro-Christian maps about "other" religions. For example, until the early nineteenth century, Western culture still divided all religion into four kinds: Christianity, Judaism, Islam, and paganism. In that schema, everything outside the biblical traditions was "idolatry"—the supposed worship of false gods, or idols—and Christianity was given a place of automatic superiority to Judaism and Islam. Likewise, other religious cultures have also conducted the study of religions through the standard of their own faith.

Historically, and to take a Western example, Christian theologians developed specific strategies for explaining the existence of other religions. These ranged from outright negative accounts (other religions were the work of demons) to relatively positive ones (other religions resulted from an innate human capacity to know God, even though the special revelation of Christ was the fulfillment of that capacity). In between were a host of "historical" explanations: polytheistic religions were originally monotheistic, traceable to the sons of Noah, but deteriorated due to human depravity; religions that appeared "like" Christianity must have borrowed or received the ideas through historical contact; other gods were simply deified kings and heroes and hence not really gods at all. Allegorical interpretation was another form of comparison. Here the gods and myths of other religions could be construed as containing "signs" of Christian truths; for example, Athena could be said to stand for God's wisdom.

In the latter third of the twentieth century, the notion of interfaith dialogue gained some currency, featuring a "listening" stance toward other religions, and not merely a prejudging position that stereotypes others. Wilfred Cantwell Smith (1916–2000), an influential Christian comparativist and specialist in Islam, emphasized that the comparative study of religion needed to responsibly describe the living qualities and values of other peoples' faiths in a way that those persons themselves would be able to recognize.

Alongside such views of other religions, another religious approach existed, one that could broadly be called *uni-*

versalism. In that version of comparison, all religions refer to the same underlying spiritual reality, manifest through varying cultural forms—just as water remains water regardless of what it is called in different languages. Even in the world of ancient Greece, there was a well-known doctrine of "the equivalence of the gods." Thus, the fifth-century BCE historian Herodotus could report that the gods of Egypt were basically Egyptian names for Greek divinities. In the Far East, Buddhists commonly interpreted native Chinese and Japanese gods as "manifestations" of cosmic buddhas. Universalism remains a popular form of comparative religion for those interested in sameness and unity rather than difference.

THE RISE OF ACADEMIC COMPARATIVE RELIGION. From the mid-nineteenth century, in contrast to explicitly normative approaches, an academic version of comparative religion emerged. This was made possible by expanding knowledge of non-Western religions and preliterate cultures, and also by evolutionary rather than scriptural views of human history. An influential advocate was F. Max Müller (1823–1900), a German-born and Oxford-based scholar of the Sanskrit language, sometimes regarded as the "father of comparative religion." Müller, who edited a fifty-volume translation series titled *The Sacred Books of the East* (1879–1910), made a particularly strong case that the study of religion should outgrow in-house Western mappings and take into account the great civilizational religions of Asia. He also advocated that comparative religion is to any one religion as comparative philology is to the study of any particular language, and as comparative anatomy is to the anatomy of any one species. He applied to religion what the poet Goethe said of language, that "he who knows one, knows none" (Müller, 1872, p.11). Thus the study of one religion could shed light on the study of another. Müller outlined a broad program that included learning about a religion through its own writings, grouping religions according to regional and linguistic patterns, exercising critical historical methods, understanding the nature of religious and metaphoric language, and avoiding the common tendency to compare positive aspects of one religion with negative aspects of another.

Another of the best known of these premodern comparativists was the Scottish classicist and anthropologist James G. Frazer (1854–1941), particularly through his work *The Golden Bough*, first published in 1890 and later to grow to twelve volumes. The work is a vast compendium of worldwide patterns of ritual and myth—motifs that Frazer interpreted as marking stages of human thinking prior to the age of science. A primary theme of the book is the renewal of the world through ritual or symbolic deaths, deaths that in turn lead to the rebirth of nature or society. Frazer examined the topic through cyclical rites of succession to sacred kingship, but also through the symbolisms of seasonal festivals, mythologies of "dying and rising gods," rites of scapegoating and expulsion, and related themes such as sympathetic magic and taboo. He also held that once some of these patterns are understood as ways that the "archaic" human mind worked, then particular historical practices and beliefs, otherwise obscure, might become intelligible. The field of anthropology, in sharp contrast, went on to focus on field studies of particular cultures and tended to reject the grand, armchair approach to comparison represented by Frazer's encyclopedic lists of parallels.

As students of religion aspired to develop an academic field, they began to map their subject matter not only historically but structurally. From the end of the nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century, so-called phenomenologies of religion tried to catalog and describe every kind of religious phenomenon, including types of objects of veneration (e.g., sky, sun, fire, ancestors) and kinds of ritual practice. What a Linnaeus had done for the botanical world was now to be done for religion: its many species or "classes of phenomena" needed to be named and organized. By the latter part of the twentieth century, after the age of these encyclopedic collections, creative comparative work tended to focus on particular topics, such as origins myths, evil, mysticism, sacrifice, pilgrimage, rites of passage, theology, violence, women's rites, and the body.

Theories of religion, whether of a sociological or psychological kind, all engaged in identifying recurrent patterns and typologies in religion, though not necessarily under the banner of "comparative religion." Examples can be seen in the psychological archetypes of the school of C. G. Jung (e.g., the Great Mother, the Hero, the Trickster); or Max Weber's typologies of ways that religions reflected social values in various cultures; or Claude Lévi-Strauss's "structuralism," which identified patterned binary oppositions in the language of mythology. In the field of religious studies per se, arguably the most influential comparativist of the last generation was the Romanian-born scholar Mircea Eliade.

MIRCEA ELIADE (1907–1986). Eliade's "history of religions" approach at the University of Chicago (he joined the faculty in 1956) produced a notable generation of scholars oriented to cross-cultural, thematic studies and provided an expansive, creative vision about the cultural importance of a global, comparative perspective. Eliade's "new humanism" represented the culmination of the classic tradition, but also an approach that many of the newer generation in the last two decades of the century either contested or tried to modify.

Eliade's work had exceptional range. He was equally interested in the elite and popular forms of religious culture, projecting a fascination with the sheer variety of "modalities of the sacred." He sometimes likened this diversity to the many creative universes constructed by the arts. His view was that religions are not just philosophical beliefs, but inhabited, engaged worlds defined by ways that the sacred is perceived and ritually enacted. Nonreligious worlds lack this dimension of sacrality. Eliade was well known for his descriptions of thematic ways that religious cultures symbolize their worlds through representations of sacred space, sacred time, and natural symbols, and his ideas here may be summarized briefly.

Many religious cultures endow certain spaces or objects with the function of being "the center of the world," an "axis of the world" (*axis mundi*), or an "opening" to the world of the gods. These become sites of orientation and ritual, linking "heaven and earth." The comparison of religions shows innumerable such centers of the world, side by side, each absolute for their respective believers. A grand-scale example would be the great Muslim shrine, the Kaʿbah, in Mecca, the place toward which Muslims face in their daily prayers and toward which they are faced at burial.

As with space, religious cultures ground themselves in their own sacred histories. In the "great" times of origin, the gods or ancestors created all the significant religious institutions and teachings that adherents still live by and that they still rehearse. This is not just chronological time, but a world that can be accessed periodically and continually re-presented through ritual and festival times. In this way, one's present world is reconnected to its origins. To this extent, religious people live out of the archetypes, laws, and narratives of their past, whether in oral or scriptural form.

Eliade also held that sacrality is expressed through and incorporated in various symbolisms of the natural world. These include the transcendence of the sky, the fecundity and periodic renewal of the earth and its vegetation, the power of the sun, the waxing and waning cycle of the moon, the durability of stone, and the solubility and regenerative qualities of water—all described at length in his comprehensive *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (first published in French, 1949). In turn, however, these universal or archetypal values were to become a point of criticism, namely, that they were too ahistorical and "Platonic."

OBJECTIONS TO COMPARATIVISM. Eliade's work, and that of all who drew generalizations from cross-cultural materials, elicited a set of issues about the nature of the comparative enterprise. In a benchmark critical essay published in 1971 in *History of Religions*, Jonathan Z. Smith challenged the lack of methodological foundation and control for what usually passed as comparison. Indeed, in the last two decades of the twentieth century, where an age of specialization was replacing an age of generalization and a postmodern ideological climate challenged Western metalanguages, comparativism came under full suspicion—even though global, multicultural "understanding" was emerging on another, popular front. A number of critical issues surfaced and may be summarized under five points.

The first criticism is that comparison suppresses cultural difference. It can do this in two ways. The first is by imposing a false, superficial homogeneity on all its examples. Universal patterns, with their preestablished meanings, are then allowed to override specific contexts of meaning. In this sense, the distinctiveness of religious cultures would seem to remain elusively off the comparative grid, for the representation of others is reduced to only those points that illustrate and replicate the scholar's own categories, themes, or molds.

An example of the issue of cultural difference is pointed out in Jonathan Z. Smith's critique (*To Take Place*, 1987, pp. 1–23) of Eliade's attribution of the "center of the world" motif to the totemic pole of the Australian Arunta. Eliade had interpreted the pole as a kind of portable "world axis" that could be carried from place to place, allowing the tribe to remain "at the Center." Smith argued that a more careful examination indicated a different contextual orientation. He tried to show that aboriginal Australian notions of space were based on memorialized ancestral "traces" and "tracks" rather than constructed, hierarchic edifices, and thus differed from the kinds of Near Eastern imagery Eliade had based his category on. The latter featured notions of a "Center" based on strong political centralization and significant ritual templates about constructed vertical relations between upper and lower worlds, such as city-state temples. Smith concluded that "the 'Center' is not a secure pattern to which data may be brought as illustrative; it is a dubious notion that will have to be established anew on the basis of detailed comparative endeavors" (p. 17).

Another form of suppressing differences is the kind that has a "colonialist," politically hegemonizing function. Critics here are concerned about a conceptual imperialism exercised by one culture, religion, gender, or class on others. It is charged that the comparativists' maps can subordinate, obliterate, or render invisible the subjectivity and voices of others. Generalizations about initiation rites, for example, might in fact be based entirely on male examples, and descriptions of "origins" mythologies may only draw illustrations from the traditions and interests of the socially elite classes.

A second criticism of comparativism is the argument of incomparability. Religious phenomena, it is claimed, are indelibly embedded in unique sociocultural settings. If removed from those wholes—plucked out, so to speak, and set alongside similar pieces from other cultures—they will lose their original meanings, meanings that are always linked to local and contextual behaviors. An alternative approach would be to build a specialist's knowledge of a particular religious tradition, through its own self-representations and categories. In this sense, area specialists have always been wary of comparativists encroaching on and decontextualizing their subject matter.

A third objection to comparative work stems from the postmodern challenge to the very notions of objectivity and neutrality. Many would deny that there are such things as objective cultural "facts." It would follow that comparativists cannot draw valid generalizations simply by lining up supposed data, because all cultural descriptions and patterns are ultimately invented, or at best imagined, by the scholar.

A fourth kind of criticism is that comparativism has typically been too theological in the way it organizes its material. While it is not surprising that many scholars interested in religion have religious interests themselves, Eliade's work and that of the phenomenology of religion tradition have often assumed that religion is ultimately based on a general divine reality that is then manifest in various forms. Consequently, religious life is represented as a kind of encounter with divine revelation. Critics with a naturalistic view of religion take this to be an unwarranted reference to a metaphysical foundation of all religion. Instead of taking an outsider's analytical viewpoint, the comparativist is thus accused of simply assuming or replicating the language of religious insiders.

Finally, and in contrast, there is the argument that comparative religion is not objective enough: it is merely descriptive and not explanatory, and thus lacks scientific value. In order to contribute to cumulative knowledge, as opposed to just positing individualistic interpretations, comparativism would need to show in a testable way how specific religious ideas and practices recur and vary in relation to specific social and historical conditions. The challenge here is not just to assert commonality or difference, not just to list parallels, but rather to explain them, and the charge is that comparative religion scholarship has yet to incorporate and apply the canons of empirical and analytical methods.

RECONSTRUCTING COMPARATIVISM. Important critiques of comparison meant that the method and rationale of cross-cultural descriptions have had to be defined and controlled more carefully and plausibly. Hence, the post-Eliadean period has seen several emergent articulations that attempted to address, if not remediate, some of the problems just listed.

Aspectual, limited comparative focus. One element of a reconstituted comparativism has been to secure greater definition of the act of comparison itself. Thus, focusing on and controlling the exact, stipulated point of analogy, the comparativist should acknowledge that the objects—the things compared—may be quite incomparable in other respects and for other purposes. As Fitz John Porter Poole put it in the seminal article "Metaphors and Maps" (1986), restrained comparison "does not deal with phenomena *in toto* or in the round, but only with an aspectual characteristic of them. . . . Neither phenomenologically whole entities nor their local meanings are preserved in comparison" (pp. 414–415). Comparisons, like all explanations, maps, and generalizations, are necessarily abstractions, and no comparative pattern covers the complexity of the objects to which it applies. For example, to describe or explain someone as a Canadian does not pretend to assume that the person's individual complexity, special voice, or "difference" is accounted for under that generic trait. Nor is the individual's particularity obliterated by such a trait designation: it is simply not addressed. Apples and oranges may not be "the same," but they *do* share some common aspects—for example, they both are round, edible, and belong to the class "fruit." Canadians, or sacred space, or "the paradigmatic function of myth," are also such classes.

One outcome of this approach is that large-block, essentialized comparisons, such as Asian versus Western religion, can give way to specific, controlled analogies between particular kinds and aspects of religious behavior. For example, research such as that of Barbara Holdrege in *Veda and Torah* (1996) breaks down the otherwise stereotyped difference between Hinduism and Judaism by identifying common aspects of these two traditions. Hence, both are "textual communities" that have codified the norms of orthodoxy in the form of scriptural canons; both are cultural systems concerned with blood lineages and intergenerational transmission of tradition; and both involve regimens with strict regulations concerning purity, impurity, and dietary laws. Again, these traditions are not "the same," but they do have significant patterns and points of resemblance.

Affirmation of differences. Comparison involves not only connecting two or more examples to illustrate a common factor, but also showing how the examples differ in relation to that factor. The differences then reveal the variability of the pattern in cultural contexts. In turn, the many variations enrich understanding of the pattern and can lead to differentiating the pattern into its subtypes. Thus many *kinds* of sacred space or origins myths can be identified.

Using culturally defined topics as a basis of comparison, such as "God," or "Saviors," privileges those religious ideas by making them the standard. But what if the unit of comparison lies at the panhuman rather than cultural level? Are there not common forms of human behavior shared by all societies? New lines of comparativism have therefore looked for species-level continuities of human behavior and cognition. For example, in *The Implied Spider* (1998) Wendy Doniger advocates a "bottom-up" rather than a "top-down" approach, meaning that instead of assuming commonalities regarding broad culturally infused topics such as sacrifice or "high gods," comparativists could find certain shared panhuman factors such as gendered sexuality, body, desire, and procreation and their concomitant story motifs or shared human problems, and then identify individual diversity in relation to them. This variety is endless, even among individuals in given cultures.

Human universals, here, do not refer to preexisting, ahistorical meanings but to shared predispositions and kinds of social behaviors found in all cultures. For example, humans not only sleep, procreate, and eat, they also form societies that fashion laws and moral orders, create "histories," perform periodic rites, and endow objects and persons with special charisma or authority. Cultures will improvise on these common social dispositions in their own manner and with their own contents. Thus religious groups articulate "pasts" and "origins," but each of these histories is different and comprises its own worldview; and every religion has a kind of sacred moral order, but what it is that constitutes order and its violation will differ. Likewise, members of every religion remember their past in periodic rites and festivals, but the content of what is recalled is different in every case, revealing what is of value to that particular group. For example, the content of major annual rites may variously have to do with the sacred authority of a social hierarchy (e.g., kings, emperors, ancestors), or the display of ideal military values, or the prestige of the religious founder. In this sense, cultural difference is not suppressed but showcased.

Debates about the relation of particularity and commonality will continue. Also evolving are more clearly defined protocols of comparison and fresh theoretic frameworks for synthesizing cross-cultural material. The emerging global orientation of the study of religion in higher education will provide a setting for those developments. Just as comparative perspective contains the risks of distortion, it also has the potential to add new contexts of intelligibility to the history of religions, and to foster intercultural understanding.

SEE ALSO Comparative-Historical Method [Further Considerations]; Phenomenology of Religion; World Religions.

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COMPASSION See KARUNĀ

COMTE, AUGUSTE (1798–1857), French philosopher, founder of positivism. Born into a Roman Catholic, royalist family in Montpellier, France, Comte completed his early education by preparing for the École Polytechnique under the direction of Daniel Encontre, from whom Comte learned that philosophy is a complete view of reality. Comte ranked high in the Polytechnique entry competitions, but he studied there only a few years. Republican political opinions, later expressed in his memoirs, moved him to participate in the student rebellions that were instrumental in causing the royalist government to close the school for reorganization.

In 1817 Comte became secretary to Claude-Henri de Rouvroy Saint-Simon, the social philosopher. Comte's writing appeared in numerous publications edited by Saint-Simon. Indeed, Comte's *Sommaire appréciation de l'ensemble du passé moderne* (Summary Evaluation of the Impact of the Recent Past; 1820) came out under Saint-Simon's signature. In this work Comte describes the *ancien régime* as having two poles, or capacities, the theological and the military; these are being superseded by two new poles: the scientific and the industrial.

In *Prospectus des travaux scientifiques nécessaires pour reorganiser la société* (Prospectus of the Scientific Tasks Necessary for the Reorganization of Society; 1822), Comte presented a law of three states through which human history and each of the sciences must pass in their development; he gave one hundred examples. Revised as *Système de politique positive* (System of Positive Polity; 1824), this theory appeared with one thousand examples, unsigned, in a publication of Saint-Simon's. After he left Saint-Simon, Comte gave lessons in mathematics. In 1825 he married Caroline Massin.

Considérations philosophiques sur les sciences et les savants (Philosophical Considerations concerning Sciences and Scientists; 1825) and *Considérations sur le pouvoir spirituel* (Considerations concerning Spiritual Power; 1826) were published while Comte prepared his *Cours de philosophie positive* (Course on Positive Philosophy). He gave the first lesson in this course on April 2, 1826. Among those present were the zoologist Henri-Marie de Blainville, the scientist Louis Poinsot, the economist Charles Barthelemy, and the naturalist Alexander von Humboldt. The course ended with its third meeting because of Comte's mental problems. Melancholic, he attempted to drown himself in the Seine, but was rescued. He took up his work again in the spring of 1828.

The course resumed, and the first volume based on these lectures was published in 1830. In this same year, Comte inaugurated a free public course on astronomy that continued for seventeen years. Beginning in 1832, he served as assistant master at the École Polytechnique, but the minister of instruction offered no reply to Comte's queries about a chair at the Collège de France. In 1842, the sixth and concluding volume of the *Cours* appeared, followed by *Discours sur l'esprit positif*, which appeared as part of his treatise on popular astronomy. Although his request for a chair in the history of positive sciences met with no success, publication of his *Discours sur l'ensemble du positivisme* (Discourse on the Unity of Positivism; 1848), and the creation of a subsidy by Émile Littré through Comte's Société Positiviste (founded 1848), provided financial support for the philosopher.

Comte's four-volume *Système de politique positive* (System of Positive Polity) appeared during 1851–1854. In the preface to his *Catéchisme positiviste* (Positivist Catechism; 1852), Comte presented himself as founder of the religion of humanity. Littré, unable to follow in this new development, broke with him. Also in 1852, the second volume of the *Système* was issued, which contained an important chapter on religion: "General Theory of Religion, or Positive Theory of Human Unity."

The two aims of religion, according to Comte, are regulation of the individual and unification of individuals. For him, the etymology of the Latin *religio* is *religare:* to connect and unite. This unity depends upon both an intellectual and a moral condition; the first determines dogma, the second cult. Beyond individual and social unity lies an external world, here considered as the foundation of faith, as the aim of activity, and as an object of affection. "Faith is but an auxiliary of love" (*Système*, vol. 2, p. 48). Moral unity rests entirely in sociability prevailing over personality (*Catéchisme positiviste*, in the dialogue between the priest and the woman). Positivism is a religion of relation and does not propose a merely individual synthesis. It is rather the great being, or humanity as a whole, that is loved for its perfectibility. Humanity, the positivist God, is behind and before us as the progressive realization of the ideal that reveals itself in realization.

See Also Positivism.

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CONALL CERNACH.

The father of Conall Cernach was Amhairghin, the famous poet and hero of the Ulstermen, and he himself is represented as the most important of the Ulster heroes save Cú Chulainn. He is also sometimes named as a foster brother of Cú Chulainn, though evidently more mature in years: at the time of Cú Chulainn's birth he was already one of the Ulster warriors, and it was he who guarded the southern border of Ulster when the youthful Cú Chulainn came there to perform his first initiatory exploit in the epic *Táin Bó Cuailnge* (The cattle raid of Cuailnge). But whereas Cú Chulainn died without progeny, Conall Cernach appears in the genealogies as the ancestor of the Cruthin or Pictish tribes of Ireland. In *Fledh Bhricrenn* (The feast of Bricriu) he contests the prize of the "champion's portion" with Cú Chulainn but has to give best to the younger hero. It was Conall Cernach who avenged Cú Chulainn's death, beheading his slayer Lughaidh mac Con Roí. When he himself was slain and beheaded by his lifelong foes the Connachtmen, it is said that his head was so large that it could have held four men playing "chess" *(fidhchell)* or a couple lying together.

He is sometimes described as *cloen* ("crooked") because his inveterate enemy, the Connachtman Cet mac Mághach, to whom he was a nephew, had stamped his heel upon his neck after his birth, for it was prophesied that he would kill half the men of Connacht. The name *Conall* derives from a Celtic form, **cuno-valos* ("strong as a wolf"), and, appropriately, his epithet *cernach* may mean "triumphant" and is so understood in early texts. But there was also an alternative interpretation. According to the *Cóir Anmann* (Fitness of names), the word *cern* means "bump, protuberance" as well as "victory," and Conall's epithet is said to refer to the fact that he had "a lump on one side of his head as big as the boss of a shield." Because of this and an episode in the tale of *The Cattle Raid of Fróech*, Anne Ross has suggested that there is an affinity between Conall Cernach and the Gaulish horned god Cernunnos (*Pagan Celtic Britain*, London, 1967, pp. 149ff.). Though she does not advert to it, her argument is supported by the fact that Irish *cern* is etymologically related to Irish *corn*, Latin *cornū*, Old High German *horn*, and so on.

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PROINSIAS MAC CANA (1987 AND 2005)

CONCENTRATION SEE ATTENTION; MEDITATION

CONFESSION OF FAITH SEE CREEDS

CONFESSION OF SINS.

The word *confession* has a twofold meaning that can be partially explained by etymology. The Latin *confiteor*, from which *confession* derives, means specifically "to confess a sin or fault," but also, in a more general sense, "to acknowledge or avow." Thus one may speak both of the sinner who confesses his sins and of the martyr who confesses his faith. Since the confession or witness of a martyr normally took place before a tribunal, it did in fact bear a formal resemblance to the confession of sins. The resemblance should prevent us from separating the two basic meanings of the word *confession* too sharply. Nevertheless, this entry will be concerned solely with an examination of the confession of sins in the strict sense, in other words as utterances concerning sins or offenses that are made in order to escape from these sins and their consequences. Confession in this strict sense normally occurs in a ritualized context that transcends the individuality of the sinner or offender. It must be done before a "recipient" who hears the confession. In many cases, it is performed in the interest not only of the one confessing but also of the community (familial, social, ecclesiastical) to which both the confessing person and the recipient belong.

Two principal approaches to the study of confession can be distinguished. On the one hand, one may view the confession of sins as one of many elements, such as prayer, sacrifice, the priesthood, and so forth, in the phenomenology of religion. These common elements can be recognized within various religions throughout the ages in different cultural areas, though they may have been motivated and shaped quite differently. On the other hand, one may view the partial phenomenological similarities of the different rituals that are conventionally labeled confessions of sins as the products of historical convergences.

In the first approach, the comparative-historical study of confession may transcend the purely phenomenological classification of the different forms and functional interpretations of confession to suggest hypotheses concerning the process of its formation. It may study the relative antiquity of the various subtypes of confession and the particular cultural-historical contexts in which confession originates as a more or less structured institution. This was the approach of Raffaele Pettazzoni (1883–1959), who developed the theory that the confession of sins originated from forms of magic, specifically from the magic of the spoken word. Confession, in this theory, was originally a ritual intended to expel or eliminate a sin by means of its verbal expression. The sin itself could be unconscious and involuntary; it was conceived of as a kind of substance that was charged with destructive or obstructive power. Pettazzoni believed that such rites were well adapted to cultural contexts such as those found in agricultural, matriarchal societies. This theory elicited scholarly objections, particularly from scholars belonging to the Viennese cultural-historical school. They pointed out that Pettazzoni's unilinear reconstruction of the history of confession—leading from the magical to the theistic and assigning an ethical character only to the latter, with its stress on the voluntary character of sin and the value of contrition—could in fact mean a return to a farfetched evolutionism.

Moreover, if one explains the similarities observed among the different forms of confession as being the result not of a unilinear evolution but rather of occasional convergences in the history of religions, as in the second approach, one can avoid appealing to such a general theory. In fact, magical and theistic forms of confession, far from being products of a single unilinear evolution, are sometimes found together within a single cultural-historical milieu. Their relative antiquity cannot be determined merely by citing the frequency with which they are mentioned in extant religious documents. To be sure, it is necessary to distinguish between a sin conceived as the infringement of a moral code, emanating from (or at least guaranteed by) a deity, and a sin resulting from the neglect of a taboo, a law not necessarily motivated by the will of a suprahuman, personal agency. A distinction must also be made between voluntary and involuntary transgression, both of moral codes and of mere taboos. But the coexistence of these alternatives in some religions does not necessarily imply that one is chronologically later than the other. Furthermore, the motivation for apparently identical eliminatory or deprecatory ritual gestures may differ according to the context: magical techniques can be used to reinforce theistic motivations, while theistic beliefs sometimes motivate magical practices.

CONFESSION OF SINS IN NONLITERATE CULTURES. An interpretation of the confession of sins among nonliterate peoples must consider that there is indeed a tension between theistic conceptions of confession, where the goal is divine forgiveness, and nontheistic conceptions, where the efficacy of confession is intrinsic to the act itself. The Sanpoli and Nespelen (Salish Indians), whom Wilhelm Schmidt (1868–1954) ranked among the *Urvölker*, in other words among the people of the greatest possible antiquity, practice a theistic form of confession, accompanied by prayer to the supreme being. The purpose of the confession is the sinner's attainment of heaven and presupposes the positive disposition of the person confessing. By contrast, among the Kikuyu, an agricultural people of East Africa, one finds a nontheistic form of confession. Here the transgression of a taboo or other ceremonial regulation can be eliminated by "vomiting" it, that is, confessing it to the sorcerer.

This distinction between theistic and nontheistic forms of confession should not be overemphasized, however, important though it is in the history of religions. As already noted, fundamentally identical gestures and expressions may be found in both forms, but they receive particular meaning only from the context of their use.

The study of the content of confession is no less important than the study of its general forms. One of the most typical, perhaps the most typical subject of confession, is a woman's confession of adultery, particularly when the confession is occasioned by the act of childbirth. The recipient of the confession may be a priest, a sorcerer, the husband, or perhaps another woman. The woman making the confession must either enumerate her partners or identify them by name. This requirement may be intended to allow the offending partner to redress his wrong by offering a sacrifice or paying a fine (as among the Luo of Dyur and the Nuer of East Sudan respectively). This requirement reflects the belief that the concrete effects of a wrong action can be eliminated only through an equally concrete confession of each act. Unconfessed adultery possesses an inherently obstructive power that must be removed by means of ritual confession. The Luo, the Nuer, and also the Atcholi of Uganda believe that the destructive power of unconfessed adultery may become manifest through the death of the delivered child. These regulations and beliefs presuppose the ethical value of marriage, a standard that influences the understanding of confession. To explain the negative effects of adultery in the case of the child's death as due to sickness deriving from the material effects of libertinage would be clearly reductive. In New Caledonia, young male initiands are questioned by elders concerning any previous sexual behavior. They must confess cases of illicit sexual relations with women; not doing so would cause danger to the society as a whole.

Another typical occasion for making a confession in nonliterate societies is the activity of hunting or fishing. The magical practices associated with these activities are well known. For example, women must observe particular taboos while their husbands are away hunting in order not to compromise the success of the expedition. The husbands themselves, during the days preceding departure, must abstain from various activities, in particular from cohabitation with their wives. Confession is another preparatory practice. Individual members of the hunting or fishing party must confess their sins prior to departure, since the unacknowledged breaking of a taboo or a persistent condition of impurity and culpability would endanger the success of the entire expedition. One who resisted making the required confession would be excluded from participating.

Another peculiarity of confession of sins in nonliterate societies is the fact that the transgression to be confessed need not be voluntary or conscious, particularly a transgression of taboos or of ritual regulations. The same is true of other purificatory rituals. As shall be discussed below in greater detail, the need for confession of sin to be circumstantial and at the same time thorough (i.e., not achieved through generic formulations) led to the construction of long lists of possible sins or offenses. Such lists were to be recited by the one confessing in order to avoid the omission of any committed sin. This clear example of the elaboration of sacral techniques demonstrates how the original need for confession may be eventually overshadowed by the need for completeness. Yet this need to be complete does not essentially contradict the nature of confession, whether theistic or magical. Confession is characterized not by generic utterances of culpability but by the necessity to be concrete and specific, to evoke and destroy the very existence and malignant efficacy of a particular sin.

Characteristic of confession among preliterate peoples is also that it may be associated with the rhythms of the astronomical year as well as with the production cycle. Among the Lotuko of East Sudan, there is a public confession by warriors at the beginning of the great hunting season. Their confessions are made individually with lowered voice and then repeated by the priest serving the rain god. The reason for this procedure cannot be to avoid exposing the warriors to shame; more probably, the custom is meant symbolically to preserve, to the extent that it is possible, the originally individual character of confession. Other instances of confession on the occasion of annual ceremonies of renewal are found among the Bechuana, the Algonquin, and the Ojibwa.

New Year rituals of confession are clearly eliminatory. Faults and their evil efficacy must not be allowed to extend beyond the close of the expiring year; they must be abolished. Other eliminatory rituals or customs may take place on such occasions, such as throwing away or destroying old and damaged implements. In confession, however, elimination concerns things not exterior to humans but interior to them. This remains true whether the interiority of sin is conceived of magically (as a substance, fluid, or influx) or theistically, as a condition of being and a reality reflected in the conscience of the person confessing. Such annual confessions, though remaining fundamentally an act of the individual, also have collective, even cosmic, implications. These are all the more evident when a confession is made by the king as an authorized representative of the collectivity, bound to it by the bonds of "sympathy." This common idea is found in other well-known rites where the very person and life of the king are involved in rituals ensuring the perpetuity of the world and the smooth transition from one season to the next. The king as an individual sinner, as the proper subject of confession, paradoxically becomes the representative of the multitude and acts in the people's interest. Thus, even here, the individual nature of the act of confession is preserved.

Finally, we must note the connection of confession of sins with the ordeal that may be used to test the sincerity of the confessing person. Here two different ritual procedures are intermingled. Evil is not the consequence of a sin that goes unconfessed; it is rather the consequence of a confession that was not sincere. The ethical side of confession becomes paramount; a reference to the elimination of occult sin would be out of place here. This instance makes clear the inadequacy of reducing confession strictly to a material utterance having magic, autonomous effects.

Confession is also found in association with other rituals. Among the Nandi, a solemn form of confession is associated with circumcision. Among the Sulka (New Britain) and the Maya (Yucatan), confession is associated with initiation, and in Chiapas (Mexico) with marriage. In other words, confession may be an element in rites of passage, both individual and seasonal.

Confession is sometimes associated with such ritual and ascetic procedures as fasting, abstinence, and chastity, evidently because of their importance in achieving ritual or ethical purity. Confession has also been associated with the scapegoat ritual, but it is preferable, in this instance, to speak not of confession but of the magical or juridical transfer of sin onto an animal destined to be eliminated from the community. Confession as an explicit acknowledgment of sin is quite different; moreover, it requires a recipient, a more or less qualified "hearer" or counterpart. In confession among primal cultures, there is an efficacy not only in the word that is spoken, but also in the word that is heard. The dialogical context is thus crucial. Both speaker and hearer embody a circle that functions, whether theistically, magically, or both, to consume the sin confessed.

CONFESSION OF SINS IN TRADITIONAL HIGH CULTURES AND WORLD RELIGIONS. We pass now to the significance of confession of sins in traditional high cultures (both past and present), which are mostly polytheistic, and to the world religions. It is worth recalling that the term *confession* is here used not as a univocal, but as an analogical term in accordance with classical logic. This means that the term *confession* overshadows sets of concepts and realities having in common some typical characteristics or aspects, not always the same, sets separated by differences that reach to the same depth as the similarities. Thus there is a kind of "family resemblance" that is different from a strictly definable "universal."

Mexico and Peru. Confession was practiced in old Mexico in connection with Tlacolteótl, the goddess of impurities. She symbolized the sexual offenses (particularly adultery) that were the main object of confession. The priests of the goddess acted as the recipients of confession, and the confession itself was understood as taking place before the great, omniscient god Tezcatlipoca. The confession was secret and was followed by the imposition of a complicated penance, to be performed on the festival day of the goddess. The penance involved drawing blood from the tongue or ear, and it was accompanied by symbolic eliminatory acts, such as casting away wooden sticks that had been in contact with the wound. Extraction of blood was frequent in the religious life of the Mexicans, having an eliminatory and perhaps sacrificial meaning. Another object of confession was intoxication on the sacred drink, *pulque*.

In modern Mexico, confession is practiced by the Huichol at the time of the annual expedition to collect the *hikuli*, a sacred plant. This expedition requires a condition of purity in the participants, which is achieved through confession of sexual offenses. For mnemonic purposes, knots corresponding to sins are tied in a rope that is then burned at the end, a typical symbolic form of elimination.

Confession was also practiced in Peru, where it was associated with the bath (*upacuna*) and with other eliminatory or symbolic acts, such as blowing away powders. The recipient of confession was the *ichuri*, who was not a priest but belonged, rather, to a low class of diviners. The typical occasion for confession was sickness, whether of oneself or one's relatives, and the integrity of the confession could be tested by ordeal. Other occasions included bad weather and times of preparation for festivals. The emperor (the *inca*) and the high priest ordinarily confessed their sins directly to the sun and to the great god Viracocha, respectively. This fact reduces the value of these examples for the study of the typology of confession, since confession normally has a human recipient. Nevertheless, if this irregularity is attributed to the special status of the emperor, the confession of the *inca* may continue to be looked upon as genuine.

The sickness of the *inca* was an occasion for his subjects to practice confession, not only in homage to the emperor's dignity, but to show the sympathetic connection between the emperor and his people. In China the reverse happened. There, the emperor confessed to the people.

The site of confession in Peru was the peninsula that provided access to the shrine of the sun, located on a sacred island in Lake Titicaca. A long and detailed list of sins was employed, and some had to be confessed before the high priest. Generally speaking, the practice of confession in Peru did not involve secrecy.

Japan and China. The biannual Shintō ceremony of Oho-harahi resembles a rite of confession, but it is only a recitation of a complete list of possible sins or impurities by the *nakatomi,* a high dignitary, or by other priests. The ceremony is accompanied by such symbolic eliminatory acts as throwing impure objects into running water. Cases of individual confession are attested.

In China, eliminatory rituals were related to the grand conception of the Dao, the universal, heavenly order. A disturbance of this order, whether caused by the emperor or by his people, had serious consequences. It was the emperor's duty to redress the wrong, often through the vicarious performance of penance and a written confession of sins. Individual confession was also practiced in China, particularly in the context of the Daoist tradition, especially in the case of sickness. Sins were written down, perhaps in imitation of the emperor's confession or as a means of reinforcing their expression, and were then thrown into water.

India. In contrast to the political character it acquires in the Inca, Japanese, and Chinese empires, the confession of sins or dismeritorious deeds in India belongs to the mainstream of religious speculation and practice. In the Vedas there is an insistence on the purifying properties of fire and water together with faith in Varuṇa, a heavenly and omniscient god. Varuṇa punishes sinners by entangling and binding them in his net. He can also liberate the sinner from these bonds. He is connected with ethical laws, especially with the eternal order of *ṛta*, yet his *modus operandi* is clearly magical, and his jurisdiction extends to involuntary offenses. Nevertheless, the Vedas know nothing of confession proper; they know only of generic declarations of fault. It is in the Brāhmaṇas, which exalt the magical omnipotence of sacrifice, that confession is found, with particular reference to adultery; here confession is accompanied by eliminatory rituals. Brahmanic confession occurs at the summer feast of Varuṇapraghāsa; the name of the god may indicate a partial continuity with the ethical sphere of the Vedic Varuṇa. Starting this ceremony without having first confessed adultery is believed to create an insupportable burden for one's conscience, even in the context of an objective or material conception of sin. The confession of adultery must be complete, including the names or the number of lovers, since otherwise it could cause evil to the confessing woman's relatives. Confession is followed by an eliminatory sacrifice. An important feature of this ritual is its mythic motivation: it was created by the god Prajāpati. Similar motivation exists in the case of the Shintō ritual described above, which is connected with the figure of Susano-o.

In the sūtra literature, as in classical antiquity, what is alleged to be a confession of sins is actually an individual's public proclamation that he is a sinner, a proclamation that does not involve a specific recipient. It is more a notification, as Pettazzoni rightly noted when he criticized the theory of Franz Boas (1858–1942) that such a procedure constituted the most ancient form of confession.

Jainism. Confession in Jainism (*alocana* and, more generally, *pratikramana*) is mainly a monastic institution, performed twice daily. The laity make confession before their respective *gurūs.* Jainism combines the elimination of impurities (sin) with the doctrine of the annihilation of *karma*, conceived of as something substantial. Confession before death is considered important, and an insincere confession can perpetuate the cycle of rebirths.

Buddhism. The *prātimokṣa* is a gradated list of possible transgressions (sins) of the monastic rules governing the life of individual Buddhist monks or nuns; it is recited bimonthly at night services called *uposatha.* The participant monks must be in a state of purity; transgressions must be confessed in an individual and reciprocal form. Similar occasion for confession was the *pavāraṇa* ("invitation"), which occurred during the rainy season, when the monks led a sedentary life. Monks would invite their fellows to make statements concerning their (i.e., the inviter's) individual conduct. Both celebrations were originally public confessions, made in response to the reading of the list of transgressions at the *prātimokṣa* and to the threefold interrogation by the presiding monk. In the classical form of the ritual, however, it was presupposed that the monks had achieved the required state of purity through confession prior to the *prātimokṣa* recitation, so that no one was expected actually to accuse himself of transgression during the ritual. The purpose of repeated interrogation was to confirm this state of purity formally. These formal, silent answers, based as they were on previous confessions, were also a kind of negative confession designed to reveal sincerity of conscience: a proclamation of purity.

With Buddhism, the objective conception of transgressions and purification, found in both Jain and Brahmanic conceptions of *karma*, was abolished. *Karma* was now understood to be produced through the subjective element of volition, and there was a corresponding modification of the meaning of confession. With time, however—it would seem—monastic casuistry tended to lower this new moral emphasis in the Buddhist conception of confession.

Western Asia and Greece. It is difficult to assimilate the practices described in some of the epigraphic and literary texts of the religions of antiquity to the category of confession of sins. These texts mention the mere acknowledgment and subsequent public declaration of a sin or other offense by an individual. It is scarcely possible to speak of the confession of sins when the regent of Byblos writes to Amenophis IV that he has confessed his fault to the gods, or when the Hittite king Mursilis confesses a sin before the god of heaven. The same applies to the repeated confessional utterances (*homologein, exomologeisthai*) of the "superstitious man" described by Plutarch, a man continually and scrupulously resorting to purificatory rituals in the sanctuary. Similarly, the Galli of the Magna Mater, when participating in the procession of the goddess, enthusiastically and repeatedly declared the particular misdeeds of their past life, as well as describing the punishment (usually some form of sickness) that the god had inflicted upon them. This repeated evocation of past faults is the exact opposite of a ritual of confession, which is meant to eliminate the dangerous presence of sin once and for all. Nor can the term *confession* be applied to certain texts of Roman poets concerning personal experiences in the context of the cult of Egyptian deities or describing the vicissitudes of mythic or legendary characters: Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 11.129–143 (esp. v. 134, "*peccasse fatentem,*" [confessed his fault] referring to the sinful King Midas) and *Fasti* 4.305–327 (esp. v. 321, "*si tu damnas, meruisse fatebor,*" [if you do condemn me, I will confess my guilt] referring to the falsely accused Roman matron Claudia Quinta, who introduced the sacred stone of the Magna Mater to Rome in 204 BCE).

None of these records mentions the recipient of an oral confession, a necessary element of any penitential structure or institution. The texts present no more than a free initiative by the concerned sinner. The same is true of writings related to the confession of sins in Greek and Roman Orphism. Vergil (*Aeneid* 6.566–569) speaks of a "confession" in the otherworld, imposed by the judge of souls, Rhadamanthys, on those who persisted in enjoying their bad deeds until the end of their lives without having been purified. This does not necessarily imply an allusion to the neglected confession of sins during life. The same situation is found in Dante's *Commedia (Inferno* 5.7–10), where the souls come before Minos, the judge of the dead in the netherworld, and "confess," that is, declare their sins in order to be sent to the appropriate eternal penance. The same holds for Thespesius's episode in Plutarch, where the *homologein* ("acknowledgment of sinfulness") of a sinner in the netherworld is mentioned: a man who had always refused to reveal his sin on earth is condemned to confess it continuously.

The sole testimony of a confession of sins in Greece seems to consist of two anecdotes concerning the mysteries of Samothrace, which are told about two Spartan admirals, Antalkidas and Lysandros, who were requested by the priest in charge of the ritual of initiation (or perhaps purification) to mention the worst deed they committed in their lives. Possibly the so-called confession inscriptions of Phrygia (also of Lydia and Knidos) are evidence of a genuine confession of sins. Here persons of lower estate confess their transgression of some ritual regulation or their violation of some sacral person or property and dedicate a confessional inscription at the sanctuary as a record of the misdeed. According to Pettazzoni, these inscriptions testify to a particular connection of the Anatolian form of confession with the local great goddess. In another instance, an inscription recording a perjury is placed in the Anatolian sanctuary of Zeus Asbamaios. But these inscriptions are, in fact, testimonies to a popular pattern of behavior rather than to a ritual structure. All in all, it is with good reason that Pettazzoni criticized the belief of Richard Reitzenstein (1861–1931) that confession of sins was a phenomenon diffused throughout the Greek world.

Southern Arabia, Babylon, and Egypt. Some confessional inscriptions have been discovered in southern Arabia, although their chronology is uncertain. They seem similar to the confessional inscriptions of Phrygia, but with a peculiar emphasis on sexual sins.

Babylonian religion recognized several theistic and magical means for eliminating ethical and ritual offenses. For instance, lists of sins were written on tablets and were then destroyed. Nevertheless, a ritual of confession properly so called is far from clearly attested. The same holds for the Babylonian penitential psalms, despite their ritual background. Herodotus attributed to the people of Babylon the custom of placing the sick in the public square so that they might confess their sins publicly; this is nearer to the repetitious declarations of the enthusiastic Galli, mentioned above, than to ritually structured confession. Among other things, there is here no appointed recipient of confession.

More akin to present typology is the negative confession of the king at the beginning of the New Year festival in Babylon, the Akitu festival. True, a negative confession in which the king declares his innocence of a series of offenses against the city and the people is in a sense the opposite of a confession of sins. Yet both establish an immediate connection between the evocation of sin and the annihilation of it and its consequences. The most famous example of a negative confession is found in the Egyptian *Book of Going Forth by Day* (no. 125) where two complete lists of possible sins are used for the examination and weighing of the soul in the afterlife. This kind of totalitarian confession encompasses all kinds of possible sin, whether conscious or unconscious, in order to omit none of them. Although this is not confession in the strict sense, it nevertheless achieves its purpose.

Israelite religion and Judaism. The Old Testament texts, including the penitential psalms, are sometimes mistakenly conceived of as evidence of an institutionalized ritual of the confession of sins within the vast array of purification rituals. This also applies to the so-called collective confessions, in which the general wording "we have sinned" (corresponding to the "I have sinned" of the former texts) does not properly fit into our typology. As far as the scapegoat ritual is concerned, it has already been remarked that this is not a proper form of confession, but rather the religiously valorized transfer of sin for the purpose of expelling it. Although the procedure has an oral, declaratory element, it cannot be assigned to the typology of confession.

Israelite religion and Judaism consider sin to be a secondary issue. It is linked to the monotheistic belief in one God and the mythical fall of the first man, Adam, which is described concretely and is pictorially devoid of any theological or theoretical speculation. The most commonly used root for sin-related words in the Old Testament is *ḥaṭṭ*, meaning to miss the mark, to fall short of the goal, especially in maintaining unity between persons. Sin, then, is something very ordinary that is committed in everyday life. The relation to God is envisaged as analogical to relations between humans. Consequently, sin is a personal failing in one's relation to God and his commandments.

Sin, depicted as an inherited consequence of the fall in Judaism (*Gn.* 3), refers (1) to the conduct of being disobedient to God and his commandments, (2) to the turning away from the right path and right way of life, and (3) to failing to fulfill the purpose that God intended when he created the world. In rabbinical literature it refers both to disobedience in the sense of "not doing" what one is supposed to do and to transgression or the "actual doing" of what is forbidden. Sin is conceived of as an attitude of defiance or hatred of, even revolt against, God.

Sin leaves its mark not only on the sinner, but also on nature itself, and on all humankind universally. The sinner encounters a sense of guilt. The deluge, the plagues of Egypt, and the curses on unfaithful Israel are conceived of as marks on nature. As a result of the fall, all human beings were considered sinners. This universality of sin was the cause of the flood and of the inclination in the hearts of men and women towards evil from their youth. The prophets see the whole nation of Israel as sinful. The psalmists and sages also proclaim this universality: "But all are unfaithful, altogether corrupt; no one does good, no, not even one" (*Ps.* 14.3).

Judaic law determines the notion of sin. Every transgression of the law is a rebellion against the will of God and is therefore a sin. A distinction is made between sinning defiantly and sinning through ignorance. There is also a tendency to put the burden of guilt on both the individual and the community. As sin is regarded as having the world in its grip, observing the law is considered to be the only way to overcome the inclination to sin. The consequence of sin is punishment, which may manifest itself as sickness, death, and eternal damnation. But repentence and the return to God is possible at any stage in life, thanks to God's mercy.

Christianity. The mission of the Old Testament prophets was to awaken in the people a sense of sinfulness and a recognition of their personal and collective guilt. Sin, then, was regarded as a deliberate violation of the will of God attributed to human pride, self-centeredness, and disobedience. The New Testament discusses confession in many places, but there is no mention of its having to be specific or detailed, or that it has to be made to a priest. The activity of John the Baptist, who baptized ordinary people and also prepared Jesus for his public ministry by baptizing him, is often referred to as the origin of confession in Christianity: at that time baptism was accompanied by a public confession (*Mt.* 3:6).

Generally sin is portrayed in the context of forgiveness, as in the parable of the prodigal son (*Lk.* 15:11–32), where sin is manifested in the son's leaving his father to enjoy a debauched lifestyle. The forgiveness that the father shows at his son's return is seen as analogical to the heavenly Father's forgiveness. The son's sin was an offence not only against his father, but also against heaven. The miserable servitude the son suffered was the natural consequence of his sin. However, by returning he passed from death to life.

In its first centuries of existence, the Christian church practiced a canonical penance for sins considered *mortal* or *capital*. The penitential act started with the sinner entering the order of penitents through a confession rendered before the bishop, or at least with the acceptance of the assigned penance. With the gradual introduction of the private form of confession, from the seventh century onward, a new form of the celebration of reconciliation came into practice. The private form of confession necessarily emphasized the "accusation" made by the penitent.

Later on, theologians distinguished between *actual* and *original* sin. *Actual* refers to sin in the ordinary sense of the word. It is a category covering evil acts, whether of thought, word, or deed. The somewhat misleading expression *original sin* refers to the morally vitiated condition in which humans find themselves at birth as an inherited consequence of the first human sin.

Actual sin is subdivided into *mortal* and *venial* sin, the gravity of the sin being used as a criterion. A mortal sin, then, is a deliberate turning away from God, an act committed in full knowledge and with full consent of the sinner's will. Until the turning away is repented it cuts the sinner off from God's grace. In contrast, a venial sin is often committed with less awareness of wrongdoing. Although it weakens the sinner's union with God, it is not a deliberate turning away and therefore does not entirely block the inflow of God's grace. Originally anyone who had been baptized was expected to refrain from committing serious sins, but if they did so, expulsion from the Christian community was irrevocable. The practice of readmitting sinners to the community after penance was instituted during the third century CE despite strong protest from the Novatians and others. The excommunicated were received on Maundy Thursday by the bishop after having done penance during Lent.

A new form of penance, which became part of the ascetic life, was adopted in Irish monasteries: monks regularly confessed to a priest and received absolution, and penance appropriate to the sin was prescribed. This monastic practice spread to the continent of Europe in the seventh century and also became popular among the laity. The origin of the practice of the confession of sins that still prevails in the Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches lies in this monastic habit. Penance was made one of the seven sacraments in the fourth Lateran Council of 1215.

The Roman Catholic Church initially considered penance obligatory only for mortal or capital sins, that is, sins committed in full awareness of their being violations of the will of God. It was enough to repent of venial sins and to adopt a penitent attitude. However, over time the church began to encourage the confession of minor sins at least once a year as part of Christian spiritual life.

In principle, valid confession requires complete repentance (*contritio*) out of love of God, although incomplete repentance (*attritio*) may become complete through the sacrament of confession. Before absolution is given, the confessor is ordered to do penance, which was originally quite severe. The practice of easing penance through indulgence arose during the Middle Ages.

The practice of repentance is connected to the sacrament of confession, which has many names: the confession of sins, the remission of sins, and penance. Repentance aptly describes the content and character of the sacrament. It is founded on Christ's promise to his apostles: "If you forgive anyone's sins, they are forgiven. . . ." (*Jn.* 20:22); "If your brother does wrong, reprove him; and if he repents, forgive him" (*Lk.* 17:3–4).

The process of repentance is illustratively described in the parable of the prodigal son: his leaving and turning away from his father and his subsequent return to his father's house, the goal of which was to find God and his kingdom. The sacrament of confession does not imply forgiveness of sins that allows the sinner to go on as before. In true repentance there is an aspiration for a lasting resolve: "Now that you are well, give up your sinful ways, or something worse may happen to you" (*Jn.* 5:14). The sacrament may be regarded as the "medical examination of the soul": it concerns our relation to God, to our neighbors, and to our union with God.

Confession is virtually nonexistent in the Protestant tradition, although there has been a slight revival of the habit in recent years in connection with spiritual retreats and pilgrimages. Nowadays, penance is a Roman Catholic sacrament that is considered to be instituted by Christ. The confession of all serious sins committed after baptism is imperative. In the tradition of Eastern Christianity, private confession is usually made regularly to a personal spiritual father, who thus is able to follow and guide the individual's spiritual struggle and development.

Zoroastrianism, Mandaean religion, and Manichaeism. From Sassanid times on, Zoroastrianism recognizes a form of the confession of sins, the *patet* ("expiation"), made before a priest or, in his absence, before the sun, the moon, and the divine fire. An annual confession is encouraged in the month of Mihr (after Mihr, the god Mithra). According to Pettazzoni, Zoroastrian confession was actually derived from Christian confession, but alternative explanations are possible. It resembles the form of confession found in the Manichaean *Xastvanift*, a book preserved in the Uighur language of Central Asia. The meaning of confession in Manichaeism depended upon the Manichaean concept of sin, which was based on belief in a radical dualism of soul and body. The soul was believed not to be responsible for the actions of the body. Salvation was accordingly attained by means of the soul's complete separation from the body, a separation effected through a knowledge, or gnosis, of the soul's heavenly origin and a series of radical abstentions from bodily activities.

There are three main Manichaean texts used in confession. (1) The *Xastvanift*, mentioned above, consists of a list of sins and is intended for the laity (the "hearers"); it contains the recurrent formula "*Man astar hirza*" ("Forgive my fault"), which was used in the liturgy, read aloud, perhaps, by the priest to the faithful. Also employed were (2) a prayer composed in Chinese and used for communal confession, and (3) a form of confession composed in Sogdian and intended for the elite, bearing the title *Manichaean Book of Prayer and Confession*. Possibly this latter text was read during Bema, the annual festival of the Manichaeans.

The Mandaeans, adherents of a gnostic, ethnic religion that survives still in Iraq, recognize a confession for sins that can be repeated no more than two times before the sinner is excommunicated. The Mandaean confession covers both conscious and unconscious faults. It is similar to the Parsi and Manichaean forms of confession.

SEE ALSO Purification; Repentance.

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CONFUCIANISM

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
THE CLASSICAL CANON
THE IMPERIAL CULT
HISTORY OF STUDY

CONFUCIANISM: AN OVERVIEW

Over the two and a half millennia since the death of Kongzi (trad. 551–479 BCE), the figure whose name was latinized into "Confucius" by Jesuit missionaries in the sixteenth century, diverse groups have identified him as the source of their texts and practices. As a result, a wide variety of phenomena are called "Confucianism," many of which appear to have only a distant connection to one another. The term "Confucian" is applied to religious traditions grounded in the transmission and interpretation of sacred texts and practices, as well as to educational, ethical, and social systems. While some have argued that Kongzi's primary message was philosophical and secular, historians are increasingly questioning the justification for considering the ethical dimension of Confucianism as either more original than, or as separate from, its other aspects. Wing-tsit Chan's entries—"Foundation of the Tradition" and "Neo-Confucianism"—in the first edition of the *Encyclopedia of Religion* are among the most cogent yet nuanced treatments of Confucianism viewed as the legacy of a genealogy of philosophers. Instead of trying to rewrite his classic treatment, this article shifts perspectives to portray Confucianism as a set of plural and diverse strands that different interests have woven together (and occasionally unraveled) over the course of several millennia of East Asian history.

The following description begins with three topics central to the formative period of most strands of Chinese Confucianism: the legacies of the former sages; Kongzi and the disciple traditions; and the attempts to define the link between ethical self-transformation and rulership in the centuries immediately after Kongzi's death. In this period, expertise in a set of practices based in the rites, music, and classics of antiquity became the basis of vocations in advising rulers and teaching potential officials. Through the filter of dialogs transmitted in multiple disciple traditions, Kongzi came to be considered the paragon of these specializations. The second phase saw a redefinition of the relationship between the state and the legacies that Kongzi represented, as the study of the classics bifurcated into official academic positions sponsored by the state and private institutions, where transmissions of the classics gradually were cast as alternatives to very different kinds of Daoist and Buddhist lineages. In the early imperial and medieval period, the authority of Kongzi's representation of antiquity was grafted onto a variety of novel social institutions. In the third phase, as the dynasties of late imperial China alternated between rule by indigenous and foreign powers, and as the spread of monastic institutions transformed society, Kongzi's project was seen as a model for a quest to recover the indigenous traces of the early sages. Under the influence of the redefinition of the tradition sparked by Zhu Xi (also romanized as Chu Hsi, 1130–1200 CE), competing scholastic lineages theorized the connection between practice and politics, and between knowledge and the study of the classics. Confucianism today both receives support and is subject to restrictions in the People's Republic of China, even while its adaptation to modernity has continued in the communities of the East Asian diaspora.

LEGACIES OF THE EARLY SAGES. Even prior to the birth of Kongzi in 551 BCE, many of the elements that are today associated with Confucianism had long been present in Chinese society. Both the textual record of antiquity and the writings associated with Kongzi and his disciples credit the development of principal political and religious ideals and institutions to the great sage kings of antiquity, such as the third millennium BCE rulers Yao, Shun and Yu, and the more recent founders of the Zhou dynasty (trad. 1027–221 BCE). The central political narrative of pre-imperial China was the receipt of the sanction of Heaven (*tian*) by the eleventh century BCE Zhou founders, Kings Wen and Wu, on account of their virtue (*de*). References to this mandate (*ming*) are ubiquitous in both the *Classic of Documents* (*Shujing*) and *Classic of Poetry* (*Shijing*), works that predate Kongzi and were considered authoritative by him. This implicit connection between personal virtue and political legitimacy informs Confucian traditions to the present day, even while the connotations of the term *Heaven* and the nature of the connection have changed over time. Kongzi also credited the Zhou founders with the codification of an archaic ritual system built on a set of normative hierarchical social networks. While early records testify to a developed system of ancestor worship that reinforced the value of intergenerational family loyalty, there is less evidence that many elements of the ritual code preserved in works like the *Zhou Rituals (Zhouli),* the *Ceremonies and Rituals (Yili),* and the *Records of Ritual (Liji)* actually date to the early Zhou period. Regardless of their actual age, the antiquity of the political and ritual order associated with the ancient sages and, in particular, with the reforms of the Zhou, was a central religious assumption of the age into which Kongzi was born.

The identity of religion and politics dates back to the earliest records in China, the "oracle bone" inscriptions (*jiaguwen*). The Shang court (trad. c. 1750–1027 BCE) used inscribed cattle scapulae and tortoise plastrons to record inquiries addressed to the ancestors of the ruling clan. The application of heat produced a crack in the bone or shell that was interpreted as a divine communication, and the political authority of the ruler derived in part from an ability to contact the ancestral spirits. In the oracle bones, the ruler's "shining" virtue correlated with an ability to secure the support of the ancestors, and for this reason the term for virtue has also been translated as "power" and understood as a form of "moral charisma." The practice of carrying out divinations and sacrifice to assure good fortune continued after the Shang, and broadened to address anthropomorphic deities and celestial officials as part of Chinese popular religions.

In the Zhou, Shang reliance on the approval of the "Highest Ancestors" (*Shangdi*) was redirected to a concern with the conditional guidance of Heaven. Bronze inscriptions (*jinwen*) from Western Zhou vessels commemorate honors bestowed in such a way as to reveal an elaborate scheme of sumptuary rituals, records whose location in tombs suggest that they were directed to the ancestors. Records in the *Classic of Documents* in the voice of the Zhou rulers explain how the Shang lost the support of Heaven through immoral and irreverent actions. The Zhou's own usurpation of the Shang is cast as a matter of complying with the mandate, and the Zhou rulers' resulting claim to the title of "Son of Heaven" (*tianzi*) became both the prototype for divinely sanctioned political authority in imperial times and a paradigm for the ideal relationship between the human and nonhuman worlds. Through ritual, the Zhou continued to draw a parallel between state hierarchy and family hierarchy, and to affirm the continuity of loyalty on the part of the inferior and kindness on the part of the superior, even after the death of the superior.

The ritual system of the Zhou encompassed myriad seasonal and occasional rites and defined role-specific behavior both at home and at court. The rites defined a pattern of complementary obligations, while they reinforced social and familial hierarchies. The regularity of ancestral sacrifice and the elaborate and expensive nature of court funeral ceremonies illustrate the importance placed on situating the mourner in a proper relationship with the ancestral spirits, a practice that likely served both a therapeutic and a protective function. The Zhou religious system, at least as it existed in the imagination of early imperial China, was based on an elaborate regimen of sacrificial observances. According to the "Methods of Sacrifice" (*Jifa*) chapter of the *Records of Ritual*, the Zhou state had altars for sacrifice to Heaven and Earth (*tan* and *zhe*), temples for sacrifice to the imperial ancestors (*zongmiao*), and platforms for sacrifice to the spirits of the soil and grain *(she* and *ji).* There were also altars to the seasons, cold and heat, sun and moon, stars, floods and drought, and the four directions. The same chapter records sacrifices to the "hundred spirits," those animating the "mountains and forests, rivers and valleys, rises and hills. They can generate clouds, make the wind and rain, and appear as monstrous beings." In keeping with the need to secure blessings for specific or generalized actions that animated Shang religious practice, the emphasis in Zhou observance emphasized appropriate action toward the spirit world, rather than gathering specific information from it. Texts like the *Zuo Commentary* [*to the Spring and Autumn*] (*Zuozhuan*) contain what are generally accepted to be retellings of ancient records of how rulers conducted divination and sacrifice to eliminate baleful omens such as droughts or illnesses connected with nature deities such as particular mountain and river spirits. Sometimes, in the *Zuo Commentary*, such sacrifices are condemned by an interlocutor who favors action directed at Heaven because the latter's reach is universal rather than local, as in the case of nature deities. Hierarchies in the pluralistic Zhou pantheon influence later religious developments, such as the Confucian veneration of Heaven and an emphasis on ritual purity. The particular henotheism of Zhou sacrificial practices formed the background for attempts at communicating with ancestral or celestial spirits to neutralize dangers from rogue or terrestrial spirits. In addition, elements of the language and form of the ritual purification (*zhaijie*) ceremony, entailing abstinence from certain foods and actions, turn up in later discussions of self-transformation.

Beyond their specific discussions of the sages' reception of the mandate and the necessity of ritual performance, the Zhou worldview also drew a connection between the two. The attitude of reverence (*jing*) in the presence of the ancestral spirits was the same one the *Classic of Documents* says the current ruler should have when listening to the words of the rulers of the past. More generally, proper ritual performance demonstrates reverence in the eyes of the ancestral spirits and of Heaven, in effect a domestication of the way that proper court behavior was evidence that the sages of antiquity were qualified to rule as kings. Historically, the qualities of familial piety (*xiao* and *di*) displayed by the sage king Shun's subjecting himself to harsh abuse at the hands of his father and elder brother was testimony to his virtue and qualities as ruler. The connection between political authority and ancestor worship that derived from the Zhou identity of clan and political authority is also demonstrated by Liu Zehua's observation that in the Zhou period, familial piety was a matter of revering both one's ancestors and parents and one's lineage founder. These elements of early Zhou religion were adapted and preserved by the classical tradition that grew out of the teachings of Kongzi, and they therefore represent a selective prehistory of Confucianism rather than a comprehensive portrayal of the Zhou religious landscape.

The degree to which Kongzi looked to Zhou institutions as a model in his teachings is apparent in the *Analects*. In the eighth century BCE, infighting and incursions on the western border forced the removal of the Zhou capital east from Hao to Luoyang, setting the stage for the two major divisions of the Eastern Zhou period (770–256 BCE): the Spring and Autumn period (722 – 481 BCE) and the Warring States period (403 – 221 BCE). By the sixth century BCE, the old Zhou polity was weakened and shared power with a set of increasingly autonomous states competing for authority, and both ritual forms and moral justifications for authority were often sacrificed in the face of military expediency. In the *Analects* (*Lunyu*), the text that today is identified most closely with the historical Kongzi, he nostalgically argues that the virtue of the rulers of Zhou was the highest of all (*Analects* 8.21), writing: "I follow Zhou" (*Analects* 3.13). In particular, he identified himself with the Duke of Zhou, whom he saw as the epitome of the gifted sage (*Analects* 8.11), and who appeared to him in his dreams (*Analects* 7.5). There is no question that such claims served to confer the authority of a usable past on Kongzi's teachings; at the same time, his re-conceptualization of systems and attitudes inherited from the Zhou was the heart of his project of developing a model for rulership and public service.

EARLY TRADITIONS SURROUNDING KONGZI AND HIS DISCIPLES. While the traditions of Confucianism contain many elements that predate Kongzi, the centrality of his role is illustrated by the fact that many of these components later became identified with his name. Observers outside of China have exaggerated this point by translating as "Confucian" a number of terms that do not reference Kongzi in the original Chinese, such as *Ru* (more accurately, classicists), the derivative terms *Rujia* and *Rujiao* (bibliographical and ceremonial sub-traditions based on classical texts and practices), *jingxue* (the exegesis of the classics), and even *daoxue* (the study of the indigenous Way, which overlaps with the English term neo-Confucianism). Narratives about Kongzi were among the focal points that these traditions used to clarify their own projects, although they were not the only ones used in this way. Defining Kongzi's life and thought was at the heart of the contest over the appropriation of his authority by these burgeoning multifocal traditions.

After Kongzi's death around 479 BCE, works purporting to record dialogs, teachings, and biographical narratives of the sage began to appear. Collections based on material from the early Zhou period, such as the songs of the *Classic of Odes* and the terse chronicles of the state of Lu in the *Spring and Autumn* (*Chunqiu*), were identified as having been edited by him. Recent archaeological discoveries confirm that narratives and chapters concerning Kongzi circulated independently in the fourth and third centuries BCE. The third century BCE collection *Han Feizi* records the existence of eight distinct disciple traditions and notes that what each group "adopted and discarded (from Kongzi) was different and contradictory, but each claimed to represent the authentic Kongzi." The project of taking these diverse sources and assembling a complete picture of Kongzi and his teachings was undertaken in earnest after the early imperial dynasties of Qin (221–206 BCE) and Han (206 BCE–220 CE) unified the Warring States–period patchwork of independent kingdoms that had grown up as Zhou central authority waned. Influential collections of dialogs and narratives organized in the second and first centuries BCE, such as the *Analects* and the *Records of Ritual,* were based on selections from disciple-specific traditions or independently circulating stories, as was the first biographical treatment of Kongzi in the *Records of the Historian* (*Shiji*), compiled around 100 BCE. Portraits of Kongzi transmitted through later history were generally based on principles of selection from this distant vantage point, several centuries after his death and after the transition to an imperial government. This is one reason why, while few call into question the historicity of Kongzi, there is growing scholarly awareness of the ways in which his teachings and biography have been mediated. This also explains an important facet of the emphasis in later Confucian scholarship on textual dating and authenticity. Debates over the provenance and age of individual works of antiquity are secondarily debates about the nature of the biography of Kongzi, and indeed about the very nature of his project and his teachings. The following section introduces how three influential early imperial collections selected and transmitted early materials associated with Kongzi, and then triangulates the views of self-transformation practice, theories of ritual performance, and ethics of government service implicit in these sources.

The earliest biographical arrangement of Kongzi materials, some of which overlap the *Analects*, was made by Sima Qian (c.145–c.86 BCE). Two chapters of his *Records of the Historian* portray Kongzi as an advisor to rulers and as a teacher who trained his disciples to become moral officials, a division that likely reflects two dominant narratives about Kongzi. In the "Hereditary House of Kongzi," Kongzi is portrayed as an advisor who, due to his own integrity and the jealousies that his abilities inspired, was forced to move from state to state in search of patronage. While Sima Qian generally placed treatments of individuals in the "arranged traditions" (*liezhuan*) section of the *Records of the Historian*, he placed Kongzi among the treatments of "hereditary noble lineages" (*shijia*), something that the Tang dynasty commentator Zhang Shoujie explained was because scholars and all those who cultivate themselves through the "six arts" (*liuyi*) revered Kongzi and recognized him as the epitome of sagehood. According to the "Hereditary House of Kongzi," Kongzi was born in the state of Lu and as a small child displayed an unusual interest in and knowledge of the rites, causing at least one member of the Lu nobility to seek his guidance in ritual forms. Kongzi was given the sobriquette Zhong Ni, literally "second-born Hill," because of a rise on his forehead. In Sima Qian's time, these aspects of the biography would have been read as omens of his extraordinary ability. In adulthood, however, Kongzi only rose to occupy technical and clerical offices, directing ceremonies and managing provisions and animals.

Sima Qian arranges Kongzi's advice to rulers about adhering to ritual and self-control in a narrative framework that stresses the way Kongzi was slandered, overlooked, or treated in a ritually improper way. Kongzi journeyed from Lu to Zhou, returned to Lu, and subsequently went through the states of Qi, Wei, Song, Zheng, Chen, Cai, and She in a futile search of a patron who would recognize his extraordinary abilities and heed his advice. The picture of how the age never recognized Kongzi's talents reflects Sima Qian's own self-conception as a victim of mistreatment by Emperor Wu of the Han (r. 140–87 BCE).

A second set of Kongzi narratives is related in the "Arranged Traditions of Zhong Ni's Disciples" chapter of the *Records of the Historian*, mostly instructive conversations arranged under the names and short biographies of each disciple. The names are divided into three categories: "virtuous actions" (*dexing*), "government service" (*zhengshi*), and "learning in cultural forms" (*wenxue*). In these conversations, particular attention is paid to the way Kongzi addressed the particular strengths and concerns of each of his students. The bipartite structure of the *Records of the Historian* reflects the fact that at the end of the second century BCE, Sima Qian was reliant on two kinds of dialogs: pedagogical ones transmitted through the disciple traditions and political anecdotes preserved in diverse Warring States sources.

The *Records of Ritual* mixes these two types of text in a composite collection that reflects the different genres and viewpoints surrounding ritual at the time of its collation in the early empire. The *Records of Ritual* was likely compiled in the first century BCE. Kongzi is cast as a ritual expert in many of its chapters, but there are at least three distinct ways in which he treats the subject. Chapters like "Tan Gong," and "Disciple Zeng asked" (*Zengzi wen*) record questions from disciples about the authenticity of specific funerary and sacrificial practices and Kongzi's definitive answers. These dialogs pay particular attention to issues such as the actions, clothing, gait, and carriages suitable to particular ranks, and relationships to the deceased. By contrast, the "Transformations of the Rites" (*Liyun*) and "Vessels of the Rites" (*Liqi*) chapters tend to historicize ritual practices in the context of the governance of the sage kings, explaining the function and adaptation of ritual. These chapters contain narratives about the proper attitude to ritual as well anthropologies that explain the reason for sacrifice, such as the "Transformations of the Rites" explanation of sacrificial ceremonies as attracting the spirits in order to secure the blessings of Heaven. A third set of chapters locates the rites less historically and more cosmologically. "Duke Ai asked" (*Aigong wen*), "Black Robes" (*Ziyi*), "Records of Dykes" (*Biaoji*), "Great Learning" (*Daxue*) and "Doctrine of the Mean" (*Zhongyong*) contain wide-ranging dialogs and essays stressing the importance of ritual hierarchies for social order, often relating this to notions of cosmic order. Ritual is related to good government by the assumption that proper behavior and correct measures on the part of a ruler create complementary responses on the part of the ruler's subjects. Indeed, the ability of the sage ruler to transform his people is only one aspect of the sage's special relation to Heaven that is explored in some of these chapters. Because it was collated in imperial China, the *Records of Ritual* contains several distinct layers that likely represent either different schools of thought or distinct stages in the development of early views on the nature of Kongzi's teachings on ritual.

Made up of compact statements and dialogs that are often only loosely related from one to the next, the twenty chapters of the *Analects* derive from the records of the disciple traditions. The dating of the *Analects* is controversial. Han dynasty historian Ban Gu (32–92 CE) dates it to the fifth century BCE, writing: "At the time, each disciple kept his own records. After the master died, the second-generation disciples together collated them, then considered and selected from among them." However, references to the title of the *Analects* only appear in works from the second century BCE; the earliest excavated version, the first commentaries, and evidence that it had taken on a fixed form come from the first century BCE. While there is no single theme in the *Analects*, many of its chapters see Kongzi exhort his disciples to pursue the noble ideal (*junzi*, often translated as "gentleman") by cultivating a set of moral dispositions. The description of the noble ideal often turns on the presence of particular ethical dispositions of benevolence (*ren*, a sensitivity to the personhood of others) and ritual propriety (*li*, regulating speech and demeanor as befits one's status). These two dispositions are intimately linked: Kongzi tells his disciple Yan Yuan, "To control one's self and return to ritual propriety is to act with benevolence" (*Analects* 12.1), while elsewhere he asks rhetorically, "Being human but not benevolent, how could this accord with the rites?" (*Analects* 3.3). At other times, the noble ideal of the *Analects* is distrustful of others' words when actions can also be examined, and it possesses a capacity to judge people and circumstances that comes from wisdom (*zhi*, a knowledge of the past that allows one to assess the present). Personally, the noble ideal is loath to speak and scrupulous about trustworthiness (*xin*, being true to one's word). In public life, the *Analects* expects the noble ideal to be steadfast in resisting coercion and preserving righteousness (*yi*, conducting oneself impartially and fairly) even if it imperils the prospects for advancement. Finally, in private life, the noble ideal is reflective about study and practices familial piety, because the constancy of both the self-transformation process and the omniscience of Heaven means that ethical action cannot be compartmentalized. In this way, the noble ideal cultivates the Way (*dao*), a normative path to personal or political perfection. The *Analects* is perhaps most concerned with the application of ritual and ethics in public life, and Kongzi continually examines the motives and conduct of his disciples from their preparation for an official career through their service in that career.

These three early imperial repositories of lore about Kongzi share significant features and derive from a common fund of stories in wide circulation, and are reinforced by more fragmentary accounts in Warring States texts and archaeologically discovered materials. Warring States collections of essays—such as the *Mencius* (*Mengzi* or *Meng Tzu*), *Xunzi* (also romanized as *Hsün Tzu*), and *Zhuangzi* (also romanized as *Chuang Tzu*)—all contain passages that credit Kongzi as the originator of their own perspectives, although sometimes the content of their teachings differ significantly from those in early imperial collections. Materials excavated in the 1990s from tombs sealed at the end of fourth century BCE include material from the *Records of Ritual* (e.g., the "Black Robes" chapter), alternate versions of chapters in the *Analects* (e.g., a text named "Zhong Gong" that appears to have been abridged as *Analects* 13.3), and new works (e.g., "Kongzi discusses the *Odes*," a pedagogical exegesis of selected poems in the *Classic of Odes*). Taken together with the collections described above, these works provide a more robust picture of early approaches to moral self-transformation, ritual performance and public service.

The course of self-transformation that Kongzi advocated is predicated on a model wherein a mastery of the classical arts, rites, and music leads to the development of a set of cultivated moral dispositions. Proficiency in the "six arts" of the rites, music, archery, charioteering, writing and mathematics led one to behave consistently with the noble ideal. Scholars of religious ethics like Philip J. Ivanhoe have treated the cultivation of dispositions like benevolence as an example of classical "virtue ethics" (since *de* is usually translated as "virtue," the term "excellence" will be used where one might apply the category of a virtue like the Greek arête in a comparative context). Characteristically for such a system, evaluation of actions is not based on outcomes but on the presence of authentic moral motivation. That is, Kongzi would criticize seemingly good actions that are really the result of desires for personal gain or fear of punishment. This is the basis for the famous condemnation of punishment in the *Analects*: "Lead them by government and equalize them through punishment, and people will know to avoid it but not to be ashamed. Lead them by virtue and equalize them through ritual, and they will have shame and so regulate themselves" (*Analects* 2.3). A contrast with this virtue ethics model is the radically different ethical system of Kongzi's rough contemporary Mozi (trad. 480–390 BCE, also romanized as Mo Tzu), who counseled rulers in defensive warfare and the frugal use of resources. Mozi's ethic looked only at the consequences and not the motivations of action. Chapter 16 of the posthumous collection *Mozi* rejects traditional norms like familial piety as partial and therefore unjust, arguing for impartial distribution of resources instead: "one must treat one's friend's body as if it were one's own, and one must treat one's friend's parent as if he or she was one's own." Because Mozi's cosmology held that good acts are automatically rewarded by Heaven, he had no patience for programs for the cultivation of excellences, such as chanting the *Classic of Odes* and practicing ritual forms. Conversely, Kongzi's advocacy of gradual training to develop dispositions was precisely because he held that good behavior did not always benefit the actor. The disciple Zixia's statement that "life and death are a matter of the mandate, while wealth and noble rank are a matter of Heaven" (*Analects* 12.5) illustrates Kongzi's redeployment of the Zhou concept of Heaven's mandate to describe the fragility of the moral person's situation in the world, a microcosm of the Zhou view of the contingency of divine support for the ruler.

Beyond the efficacy of ritual in the context of a program of personal self-transformation, Kongzi also justified reinstituting the ritual system of the Zhou on the basis of its social utility. The value of reverence, inherited from the Zhou, is an important facet of Kongzi's treatment of ritual (*Analects* 2.7), and it is applied not only to sacrificial contexts but also to the context of official service (*Analects* 13.19). With its emphasis on self-transformation, the *Analects* draws a distinction between formally proper ritual, and authentic ritual performance with proper feelings: "When one says 'The rites this, the rites that . . .' is it really only a matter of jade and silk?" (*Analects* 17.10). A related facet of Kongzi's discussions of ritual is his criticism of excessive sacrifice, either directed at ritually improper contemporary rulers (*Analects* 3.1, 3.6) or at those who sacrifice to other than their own ancestors (*Analects* 2.21). By contrast, chapters of the *Records of Ritual* that justify the rites based on cosmology argue that the rites replicate an ideal balance between humans and the ancestors and support a natural hierarchy in society that leads to harmony. In the "Duke Ai asked" chapter, Confucius tells the duke: "In order to enact good government one must first attend to ritual, because ritual is the root of good government." While ritual performance is theorized in several different ways, rarely is it justified by simple appeal to tradition.

The political perspective of the early dialogs borrows the notion of rule by virtue from Zhou religion but adapts it to the particular sociological status of Kongzi and his early disciples. No longer genuinely in the service of regional kings, the minor official Kongzi's education of his disciples effected the adoption of an unconventional set of values that rendered them immune to the temptation to take advantage of their official status. In the *Analects*, Kongzi explains: "Wealth and noble rank are what all people desire, but if they are not attained in a way consistent with the Way, then one cannot accept them" (*Analects* 4.4). When one of his disciples in the service of a wealthy clan helps them collect excessive taxes to augment their already exceptional wealth, Kongzi disavows him, and says: "It is now suitable for the younger disciples to shriek at him and play the drums to chastise him" (*Analects* 11.17). Kongzi stressed to his disciples that they not be ashamed of poverty, and that he himself preferred to be paid not in luxury items, but in meat, rejecting standards of conventional economic exchange but accepting an item of value in a sacrificial context. In a similar way, Kongzi observes: "The noble ideal understands righteousness, while the petty person understands profit" (*Analects* 4.15). The cultivation of the excellences is in effect an alternative system of value that renders initiates incorruptible in official contexts. This version of the Zhou notion of Heaven mandating rule by the virtuous was in effect an argument for administration by the benevolent, modified in a context in which kingship was effectively the product of military success.

SELF-TRANSFORMATION AND RULERSHIP IN THE FOURTH AND THIRD CENTURIES BCE. The florescence of diverse perspectives on politics, religion, and philosophy known in Chinese history as the "many masters and hundred experts" (*zhuzi baijia*), and included by Karl Jaspers in his description of the "Axial Age," led to the development of both alternatives to and elaborations of Kongzi's views. In this period, the pivot of disagreements over methods of government and personal self-transformation was a lively debate over the content of human nature (*xing*, the course of development characteristic of all members of a species or kind). Kongzi's defense of Zhou institutions was explicitly challenged by the moral skepticism of the *Zhuangzi* and the political absolutism of the *Han Feizi*, even while the *Mengzi* and *Xunzi* grounded it in distinct theories of human nature. Their adaptations demonstrated a growing attention to human psychology and to the mechanisms by which the inner cultivation of the sage was related to the external authority of the ruler. Because the *Mengzi* and *Xunzi* rhetorically situate themselves in the tradition of Kongzi's advocacy of the cultivation of moral dispositions, they are often seen as the second major stage of Confucian traditions.

The phrase "inside a sage and outside a king" (*neisheng waiwang*) is often invoked to refer to one of the central concerns of later Warring States texts: the need to examine and account for the link between self-transformation and rulership. This phrase is common to both ritual texts and late Warring States works like the *Zhuangzi*. Central to this inquiry were accounts of the sage kings of antiquity and theories about the origin and nature of sagehood. Two works that address this concern by taking related but ultimately different approaches are the excavated "Five Kinds of Action" (*Wuxing*) and the *Mencius*. Both texts locate four of Kongzi's cardinal excellences (benevolence, righteousness, wisdom, and ritual propriety) in cultivated dispositions present at birth in the inner mind (*xin*, the locus of cognition and emotion located in organ of the heart). However, they differ in the way they relate this to the debate over the exceptional characteristics of the sage.

The *Mencius* is attributed to the disciples of the fourth and third century BCE writer Mengzi (Meng Ke or Mencius, c. 380–c. 290 BCE), and both its content and form depict Mengzi as a latter-day Kongzi, an advisor to the rulers of different states and a teacher of various disciples. It embeds the character traits advocated in the *Analects* into a model of the body in which a disposition to morality is part of one's makeup at birth. "Sprouts" (*duan*) of moral reactions are already present in the inner mind, as the *Mencius* notes: "people have these four sprouts just like they have four limbs" (*Mencius* 2A6). Proof of their existence lies in the natural, spontaneous reaction to the sight of another person in danger, such as an infant about to fall in a well (*Mencius* 2A6). Yet the *Mencius* admits that it is possible that a person who is continuously exposed to the depredations of a hostile environment might end up as bereft of their original moral dispositions, like a bare mountainside whose trees and topsoil have been lost to deforestation (*Mencius* 6A8). For this reason, despite its common currency, it is simply not the case that the *Mencius* holds that "human nature is good" (*xing shan*). Instead, the text argues that the inner mind has dispositions to goodness at birth, which need to be cultivated in order to flourish. What the *Mencius* does say that is not a part of Kongzi narratives is that the biological model in which all people are born, with the sprouts of morality in their inner mind, is what makes sagehood a possibility for all people (even members of the border nations) at birth (cf. *Mencius* 4B1). Numerous times the *Mencius* contains statements to the effect that the sage king "Shun was a person, and I, too, am a person," (*Mencius* 3A1, 4B28, 4B32, 6A7, 6B2). Yet the fact that people begin life with the same sprouts of moral reactions does not assure they all end up as sages.

Archaeologists have excavated two manuscript versions of the "Five Kinds of Action," one in Hunan province in 1973 and one in Hubei province in 1993. A complex, and at times obscure treatise on moral psychology, this text adds a fifth term associated with "the Way of the cosmos" (*tiandao*, with *tian* here translated as "cosmos" connoting a naturalistic version of the previously anthropomorphic "Heaven") to the four cardinal excellences listed in chapter two of the *Mencius.* In positioning "sagehood" as the culmination of the human excellences, the "Five Kinds of Action" addresses problems of plural and conflicting values common to virtue ethics systems by arguing that sagehood harmonizes moral actions in a way that eliminates potential quandaries. The Five Kinds of Action also develops a metaphorical vocabulary to describe the way that sagehood is transmitted across generations through "hearing," establishing a model in which cultural forms that express the intentions of the sages of the past can "activate" people in the present similar to the way one instrument can cause another to sound through the phenomenon of resonance. The resultant changes in an activated person's inner mind are observable as changes in the voice, according to section six of the "Five Kinds of Action": "if one is sharp-eared then one can hear the Way of the noble ideal. If one can hear the Way of the noble ideal then one will have a jade tone." This view of sagehood as the result of a special endowment from the cosmos, making a person physically different from others, takes a step away from the universality of the more biologically oriented *Mencius* in explicating its model of self-transformation.

The above descriptions of an intuitive, and at times mystical, approach to self-transformation illustrates the affinities between certain threads of Warring States Confucianism and texts such as the fourth through second century BCE *Zhuangzi,* classified as "Daoist" (*daojia*). The phrase "the Way of the cosmos" is part of the basis of the *Zhuangzi*'s challenge to methods of self-transformation associated with the Zhou founders and with Kongzi. Much of that composite text advocates a return to an innate human nature, one imagined to have existed prior to the forced imposition of the distinctions inculcated by ritual performance. Reading the term for Heaven as something closer to modern conceptions of the cosmos, the *Zhuangzi* advocates that people return to an original, spontaneous, and Heaven-given human nature. By elevating a cosmically endowed disposition to sagacity above the four innate dispositions of the *Mencius*, the "Five Kinds of Action" argues that for the sage, the cultivation of these dispositions may lead to a spontaneous level of action in harmony with the cosmos. While the author of "Five Kinds of Action" is unknown, there are other early texts that associate similar views with Kongzi. The phrase "the Way of the cosmos" only has one controversial appearance in the *Analects*, but it plays a significant part in the chapters of the *Records of Ritual* that explain ritual in cosmological terms. In the "Duke Ai asks" chapter, when the duke asks why the noble ideal is to value the Way of the cosmos, Kongzi's reply points out the ways in which the ideal acts like the sun and moon, including "not acting intentionally yet completing things, as with the Way of the cosmos." This self-negating language recalls a section of another chapter of that text, "Kongzi was at leisure" (*Kongzi xianju*), and a parallel passage in an early-third-century excavated text called "Father and Mother to the People" (*Min zhi fumu*), which record Kongzi's advice that the ruler put into practice "soundless music, disembodied ritual, and sacrifice without offerings." This apophatic mode implies an early stage of cross-fertilization between Confucianism and its erstwhile Daoist critics.

The intuitionist aspects of the *Mencius* may have been similar to the *Zhuangzi*, but they are also the key to the text's disagreements with the *Xunzi.* The contents of the *Xunzi* are diverse, but the chapters thought to be authentically the work of Xunzi (Xun Qing, c.310–c.220 BCE) are chiefly essays that argue that sagehood can only be accomplished by the process of externally oriented habituation through ritual and music. According to the *Records of the Historian*, Xun Qing was patronized by the King of Qi at Jixia from 285 – 275 BCE, where he held a ritual-related post. The "Encouraging Learning" (*Quan xue*) chapter of the *Xunzi* explains that: "In terms of its process, [learning] begins with reciting the classics and ends with reading the rites. In terms of its significance, [learning] begins with being a candidate for office, and it ends with being a sage." Where the *Mencius* locates morality in the inner mind, the *Xunzi* looks to cultural forms. Since human nature has none of the dispositions that *Mencius* thought it did, society is wont to fall into chaos as people compete for resources to sate their unlimited appetites. Only the Zhou solution to this predicament, the rites and music developed by the sage kings, hold the possibility of changing behavior. In addition to ritual and music, a person needs the influence of a teacher to habituate the proper set of reactions to external stimuli, in effect transforming the person's affective dispositions (*qing*). The *Xunzi*'s view of affective dispositions dovetails with that of an early third century excavated text called "A discussion of human nature and affective dispositions" (*Xingqing lun*) which holds that "study and acculturation shift one's intentions" and that the shift is not simply a matter of human nature. By properly training a person in ritual, music, and the classics, one may systematically alter affective responses to external stimuli and in so doing change that person's behavior. Similar to the excavated text's denial that self-transformation is only a matter of human nature, the *Xunzi* directly criticizes the quasi-mystical notion of "hearing" the Way of the noble ideal: "Just because their eyes are clear-sighted and their ears sharp of hearing, does not mean they understand what they are taught." Instead, the text celebrates the effect of ritual and music in both limiting one's appetites and transforming them into an intention to pursue sagehood.

Epistemologically, the two alternatives provided in the *Mencius* and *Xunzi* differ in where they locate morality: in the inner mind versus in the cultural creations of the sage kings. While the *Mencius* enjoyed a renaissance in the Song dynasty (960–1279 CE), the views of the *Xunzi* exerted more influence in the early imperial period. In part, this influence was through the secondary influence of Xunzi's student Prince Fei of the state of Han (c.280–c.233 BCE), associated with the third century "Legalist" (*fajia*) work *Han Feizi*. Like the *Xunzi*, the *Han Feizi* argues that people struggle and compete for their livelihoods because of population growth combined with a scarcity of goods, and that one must adopt the most efficacious system to avoid a state of social chaos. In a way more similar to some sections of the *Zhuangzi*, however, the *Han Feizi* concluded that, "benevolence and righteousness were useful in ancient times, but not in the present." Instead, a ruler should apply a strict code of penal law and a precise set of assignments for officials indexed to a clear set of models of behavior (*fa*, a term also used to refer to law). While this conclusion, giving up as it did on the possibility of self-cultivation for the majority, was diametrically opposed to that of his mentor, Prince Fei shared many of Xunzi's assumptions about the malleability of human behavior and the importance of training. This was a point on which most early imperial writers also agreed.

The *Han Feizi*'s influence on the Qin dynasty (221–206 BCE) may be seen in its detailed legal codes, a large part of which was adopted in the following Han dynasty, to the consternation of some who worried about its effect on people's ability to develop a sense of shame (cf. *Analects* 2.3 above). This is just one of the many ways in which social and economic changes in the early imperial period exerted pressure on the reception of the texts and practices of the Zhou as revitalized by Kongzi, and as grounded in human nature by the *Mencius* and *Xunzi*.

HAN CONFUCIAN TRADITIONS AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE IMPERIAL STATE. The 221 BCE unification under the Qin led to major changes in the system of patronage and in the nature of official service, two major aspects of the social background of the pre-imperial works associated with Kongzi, Mengzi, and Xunzi. Not only would Kongzi's movement from state to state as he fled unprincipled patrons have been impossible in the unified empire, but the rejection of conventional economic exchange within the master-disciple community was undermined by the bureaucratization of the fields in which advisors, teachers, and experts in the classics had once specialized. In addition, the link between self-transformation and sagehood became a sensitive topic, since the imperial clan's reliance on hereditary succession did not fit well with transmitted narratives that celebrated nonhereditary transfers of power based on virtue. In the following treatment of the Qin, Western Han (206 BCE – 9 CE), and Eastern Han (25 CE–220 CE) dynasties, the emphasis will be on the ways that the legacy of Kongzi was appropriated by the imperial state, and on early attempts to transmit the classics through independent channels.

As the state took control of access to the vocations of advising rulers, and to the teaching of potential officials based on expertise in the rites, music, and classics, service as an imperial official was increasingly associated with mastery of the texts and practices that Kongzi had refashioned out of the cultural memory of the Zhou. The Qin and early Han emperors appointed Erudites *(boshi)* as experts in important classical texts, even though Sima Qian's *Records of the Historian* relates the story that the Han founder, Emperor Gao, was not very fond of the scholar-officials of his age. Gao remarked that since he had unified the empire on horseback he had little need for the classics of *Odes* and *Documents*. The major institutionalization of the study of those classics did not happen until two imperial edicts were issued by Emperor Wu (r. 140–87 BCE). A 136 BCE edict added Erudites in the *Classic of Documents*, *Classic of Ritual* (probably a reference to the *Rituals of Zhou*), and *Classic of Changes* (*Yijing*) to the existing ones in Master Gongyang's commentary to the *Spring and Autumn* (*Chunqiu Gongyangzhuan*) and the *Classic of Odes*. In 124 BCE, he established an Imperial Academy (*taixue*) under the supervision of the Master of Rites (*taichang*), modeled on the institutions of the early Zhou. The Imperial Academy functioned to evaluate a candidate's knowledge of these Five Classics (*wujing*) to determine their suitability for service in office. In less than a generation, however, critics like Sima Qian offered veiled criticisms of the way in which the institutionalization of the study of the classics had co-opted the tradition that he traced back to Kongzi. Many of the Western Han writers that are today identified as Confucian were celebrated in their day primarily for their expertise in the classics and their assembly of collections of explanatory material about the classics. Examples are Fu Sheng (fl. 200 BCE), an expert in the *Classic of Documents,* and Han Ying (c. 200–120 BCE), an expert in the *Classic of Odes*, who both served as Erudites.

Two particularly influential Western Han exegetes were Jia Yi (200–168 BCE) and Dong Zhongshu (c.179–c.104 BCE), both of whom adapted thinking about cultivating excellences to the new imperial cosmology of the Han. In the early empire, the epistemological project of synthesizing "many masters and hundred experts" texts and different regional practices, was conceptualized as a search for an overarching "Way" behind the validity and efficacy of what were at one time competing schemes. In his essay titled "Protecting and Tutoring," Jia Yi, the outspoken Erudite and Palace Grandee for Emperor Wen (180–157 BCE), explains the failure of short-lived Qin dynasty as being a matter of failing to value yielding and righteousness, and of abrogating ritual in favor of punishment. At the same time, in his ethical theory Jia Yi accepted the idea that self-transformation is a matter of an externally oriented habituation: "The fate of the people of the world depends upon the crown prince and, in turn, the competence of the crown prince is determined by early instruction and the selection of the prince's attendants." In accepting the *Xunzi*'s understanding of the origins of morality, Jia Yi well represents the Han view that human nature is malleable and self-transformation a matter of practice. In the Han, Dong Zhongshu was most famous for his interpretation and transmission of the Gongyang commentary to the *Spring and Autumn*, but today he is recognized as the person who adapted Kongzi's ethics to the Han belief that "the cosmos and human beings resonate with one another" (*tianren ganying*). In his discussion of the human nature debate in "An in-depth investigation into names" (*Shencha minghao*), Dong Zhongshu used the dualistic model of a balance between the feminine and masculine principles of *yin* and *yang* to effect a compromise in which affective dispositions (which need to be regulated) and human nature (which may be good, but needs to be awoken) together are responsible for moral behavior. The Warring States controversy between the *Mencius* and *Xunzi* was thus bypassed by a cosmologically justified compromise view of self-transformation. Like Jia Yi, Dong Zhongshu was less interested in identifying the content of human nature than describing the correct environment and method for self-transformation.

Following the brief interregnum of the Xin dynasty (9–23 CE), the Eastern Han saw the maturation of trends begun in the first centuries of the early empire, magnifying the stature of Kongzi both in educational and religious contexts. Besides establishing fourteen new Erudites and continuing the practice of basing the official examinations on texts associated with Kongzi, students at regional schools and scholars at the Imperial Academy sacrificed to Kongzi as the founder of the scholarly traditions. Emperor Ming (r. 57–75 CE) combined the sacrifice to Kongzi with sacrifices to the Sage's disciples in 59 CE. Observances at the Master's birthplace were first augmented by official sacrifices at the capital in 241 CE. In the first century BCE, the imperial court began to favor a compilation that included shorter pieces long associated with Kongzi, the *Analects*, in contexts such as the education of the crown prince. The Eastern Han exegete Zheng Xuan (127–200 CE), who is credited with commenting on eighty texts and established an authoritative school of *Analects* interpretation, claimed to have been visited by Kongzi in a dream. Other Han works, such as Yang Xiong's (53 BCE–18 CE) imitation of the *Analects* called the *Model Sayings* (*Fayan*), the partially extant *Records of Kongzi in the Three Courts* (*Kongzi sanchao ji*), a lost eight-chapter work called *Zheng's Treatises* (*Zhengzhi*) devoted to Zheng Xuan's answers to questions about the *Analects*, and the *Sayings of Kongzi's School* (*Kongzi jiayu*) attributed to Wang Su (195–256 CE) show that a connection with Kongzi was of increasing interest to writers and readers, even as Kongzi was increasingly invoked by the imperial state.

At the same time, Kongzi was also a potent symbol for those who questioned the prerogatives of the imperial state. In the Western Han, a number of non-official schools provided alternatives to the official network, beginning with the second-century example of the unjustly punished imperial advisor, Master Shen. Shen was an expert in the *Classic of Odes* who established a school after retiring to his home in Kongzi's old state of Lu and became recognized as a teacher of the major Han exegetes of that classic. By the Eastern Han, the *History of the Latter Han* (*Hou Hanshu*) records that the *Odes* specialist Wei Ying had several thousand registered students. Besides the popularity of private academies for the teaching of the Five Classics, a related phenomenon was the development of a set of prophetic texts ancillary to each of those classics. The reign of the Eastern Han founder, Emperor Guangwu (r. 25–57 CE), began in an atmosphere strongly influenced by a view of Kongzi as the "pure king" (*suwang*) who had encoded his method of rulership between the lines of the classic *Spring and Autumn* chronicle. Not only Guangwu, but other pretenders to the imperial crown sought to ground their claims to authority in prophecies associated with Kongzi from texts with titles like *Kong Qiu's Secret Classic* (*Kong Qiu mijing*). The intellectual historian Feng Youlan observed of the Han view of Kongzi that "if these views had prevailed, Kongzi would have held in China a position similar to that of Jesus Christ." These prophecies became the models for a new genre of writing called "apocrypha" *(chenwei),* actually a combination of two types of work: "charts and proofs" (*tuchen*) or prophecy texts and "weft books" (*weishu*) or texts ancillary to the classics. The many texts in the latter category constitute a shadowy complement to each of the Five Classics, often using numerology and correlations to obliquely comment on the relations of the classic to kingship.

MEDIEVAL CONFUCIAN TRADITIONS AND THE ENCOUNTER WITH BUDDHISM. The secret methods of a prophetic Kongzi must have been especially attractive in an Eastern Han dynasty weakened by a combination of natural disasters, infighting between eunuchs, aristocratic clans and the ruling house, and religious rebellions. Following the gradual demise of central authority in the second century CE, the strands of official and unofficial Confucianism responded in different ways to the initial stages of major changes in the Chinese religious landscape. While sacrifices connected with Kongzi continued in the Imperial Academy in Luoyang, the city was also home to the first translators of Buddhist sūtras from the West, and to refugees fleeing the rebellions in the Southwest and Northeast that eventuated in the community of healers that became the basis for the Celestial Masters (*Tianshi*) tradition of organized Daoism (*daojiao*). As the Han gave way to the Six Dynasties period (222–589 CE), few would have predicted that it would be four centuries until a similarly unified dynasty would emerge. Spurred on by the way in which Buddhism's independent institutional existence allowed it to maintain its integrity without relying on a precarious social organization, the other previously diffuse traditions emerged from this period of disunity having copied those characteristics to become part of the "Three Teachings" (*sanjiao*): Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism.

Records of the early reception of Buddhism in China are limited to brief mentions in official histories, providing only occasional glimpses of the way that it affected culture outside the imperial court. Some of these indicate that Buddhist practice was first received as a method of controlling desires along the lines of early Daoist practices like "preserving the one" (*shouyi*). The response of classical scholars to Buddhism changed during the Six Dynasties, with initial strategies of accommodation to other traditions giving way to criticism. While exegetes like He Yan (190–249 CE) and Wang Bi (226–249 CE) of the Wei (220–265 CE) dynasty developed a hybrid "Study of the Mystery" (*Xuanxue*, also translated as "Abstruse Learning" or "Mysterious Learning") that integrated elements from works like the *Zhuangzi*, scholar officials in the Eastern Jin (317–420 CE) and Southern Dynasties periods (420–529 CE) developed a broad attack on Buddhist cosmology. Study of the Mystery applied classical exegetical principles to the mysteries of the *Classic of Changes*, the *Laozi*, and the *Zhuangzi*. It also applied terms deriving from the latter texts, such as "naturalness" (*ziran*) and "nothingness" (*wu*), to the understanding of classical texts like the *Analects*. Finally, in what some scholars argue is an accommodation to Buddhism, but which also owes much to the interpretations of the *Classic of Changes*, Study of the Mystery drew new ontological distinction such as those between "substance" (*ti*) and "function" (*yong*), with which one may distinguish between the essential featureless substance of a thing, containing all of its potential permutations, and its function in a given situation at a specific time and place. The sage was able to realize the identity of substance and function, and thereby adapt a knowledge of the past to any situation in the future. While Study of the Mystery had a major influence in Six Dynasties period commentaries, it also rather quickly attracted criticism from Confucian scholars in their official capacities. The conservative reaction is seen in writings attributed to Sun Sheng (302–373 CE), a chronicler of the early Six Dynasties period who attacked the Study of the Mystery claim that the Daoist patriarch Laozi was a sage comparable with Kongzi, and who argued against the notion that any aspect of consciousness could survive death (as Buddhist cosmology held). Fan Ning (339–401 CE) specifically criticized Wang Bi for allowing "benevolence and righteousness to sink into darkness," holding that Kongzi's "subtle" or "esoteric" (*wei*) doctrines could be learned from the study of the early commentaries to the *Spring and Autumn*.

Following the division of the former Han state into separate lines of successive kingdoms in the north and south from the fifth and sixth centuries, the continuity of interpretive traditions became even more closely associated with the careers of individual scholars. On the popular level, this period is identified with the growth and consolidation of Buddhism, the accelerated translation of Sanskrit texts, and the increased accuracy of translations by Kumārajīva (344–409 CE) and his disciple Seng Zhao (374–414 CE) led to a sense of its deeper differences from Daoism. The transmission and exegesis of the legacy of the Zhou as synthesized by Kongzi continued in official schools and private academies, but as imperial patronage became increasingly unreliable, more modest goals of consolidation and preservation took precedence. The retrospective concern with preserving the order of the Zhou and Han also contributed to a turn toward bibliography, taxonomy, and the assembly of comprehensive commentaries on the classics. Nevertheless, the Liang Erudite Huang Kan (488–545 CE) surpassed the precedent set by He Yan by not only assembling the glosses of prior commentators on the *Analects*, but also incorporating them into his own synthetic interpretation of the text based in part of the *Xunzi*'s view of human nature and affective dispositions. Individual courts such as the Liang (502–557 CE) continued to establish Erudites and authorize textual lineages in the classics, while others like the Cheng Han (302–347 CE) in the southwest derived their authority from association with Daoist lineages. Famous anti-Buddhist polemics were written by Fan Zhen (450–510 CE) and Xing Shao (496–c. 563 CE), and the competition between the Three Teachings for patronage was institutionalized in a set of debates in the Northern Qi (550–557 CE) about the relative merits of different traditions.

Even while nominal affiliation with one of the three teachings became increasingly important for individuals intent on securing patronage, the pluralistic atmosphere led to cross-fertilization of doctrines and practices between the traditions. Critics of elements of Buddhism like Liu Jun (462–521 CE) enlisted aspects of Daoist cosmology when he refuted the Buddhist notion of karma. Liu Jun argued that natural endowments of pneumas and unpredictable environmental influences determined the outcome of people's lives, reading the Zhou notion of the "mandate of Heaven" in terms of the Study of the Mystery notion of "naturalness." Other scholars consciously sought to bring Buddhist ideas into Confucianism. Examples include Yan Zhitui's (b. 531 CE) integration of the "five precepts" (*wujie*) of Buddhism into discussions of ethical behavior and Wang Tong's (584 – 617 CE) advocacy of a unification of the Three Teachings. In addition, the very terms of debates with Buddhism shifted the Confucian discourse toward issues like cosmology and the social consequences of religious institutions, and away from late Warring States concerns with moral psychology and the nature of self-transformation. It was only after the reunification of China in the sixth century CE and the development of a nativist impulse to revive the pre-Buddhist transmission of Confucianism that the first attempts were made to recover those notions and use them to create "indigenous" alternatives to increasingly popular Buddhist and Daoist practices.

TANG AND SONG CONFUCIAN TRADITIONS AND THE STUDY OF THE INDIGENOUS WAY. While the idea of interpretive lineages had been a part of Confucianism since the institutionalization of the study of the classics in the early empire, the reunification under the Sui (581–618 CE) and Tang dynasties (618–907 CE) saw the rise of more general conceptions of the "transmission of the Way" (*daotong*) and the "transmission of good governance" (*zhengtong*) that had been abandoned during the preceding period of disunity. When Tang writers attempted to rejuvenate classical ideals in an effort to recover a transmission from the sage-kings that had not been corrupted by foreign doctrines, they began to look outside the canon of the Five Classics for records of the early period. Han Yu (768–824) traced the transmission of the Way from the ancient sage kings to the rulers of the Zhou dynasty to Kongzi and then to Mengzi. Later writers such as Pi Rixiu (833–883 CE) and Liu Kai (947–1000 CE) amended the transmission so as to identify the first figure in the revival of the transmission as Wang Tong, but they also identified Han Yu as Wang's successor. In addition to attacking the validity of Buddhist ideas of karma and rebirth, Han Yu's rhetoric also centered on the proper origins of knowledge, holding that Buddhist traditions were invalid because they did not derive from the Way of the ancient sage kings. As a result, Buddhism lacked the proper connection between knowledge and action, and so contradicted Confucian values of ritual propriety and social engagement. Tang writers like Han Yu and Li Ao (d. c. 844 CE) began to reweave disparate strands of the traditions associated with Kongzi in such a way as to emphasize earlier concerns with idealism and human nature.

Complementing this classical revival, the emperors of the Tang established an official network of temples dedicated to Kongzi in all prefectural and county schools, while simultaneously supporting and exercising control over Daoism and Buddhism. Yan Shigu (581–645 CE) was commissioned by Emperor Taizong (626–649 CE) to direct the compilation of an authoritative edition and commentary on the Five Classics, resulting in the "Corrected Meanings of the Five Classics" (*wujing zhengyi*), which took sixteen years to complete. During the Tang, however, the classics began to take second seat to the revival of interest in Warring States "many masters and hundred experts" texts. In an atmosphere that acknowledged a plural approach to the traces of the sage kings, influential figures like Liu Zongyuan (773–819 CE) applied a similar approach to Buddhism when he criticized Han Yu's sole focus on the social effect of monastic institutions. Liu Zongyuan wrote that Chan (in Japan, *Zen*) Buddhism as expressed through Huineng's (638–713) *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch* (*Liuzu tanjing*), with its condemnation of popular practices in favor of reflection in order to remove the desires that obscure self-nature, was in agreement with Confucianism on some key points, such as what he characterized as the *Mencius*'s view that "human nature is good." At the same time, the Tang expanded the corpus of the imperial service examination system to include texts like the *Zhuangzi*, as pre-imperial texts of all kinds were increasingly seen as a means to recover the ancient past.

In the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127 CE) this culminated in an official redefinition of the canon, in part through the efforts of the pivotal figure Zhu Xi (1130–1200 CE). The Five Classics gave way to the "Four Books" (*sishu*), which elevated the *Analects* to canonical status along with the *Mencius* and two chapters of the *Records of Ritual*: the "Great Learning" and the "Doctrine of the Mean." The latter two works had already attracted interest both inside and outside Confucian traditions, in part because the interplay between psychology and cosmology implicit in their use of concepts such as the quality of sincerity (*cheng*) linking the sage to the cosmos, and the strategy of "attending to oneself in solitude" (*shendu*), read by Zhu as a type of enhanced self-scrutiny. Read in this way, these works lent themselves to the concerns and practices of the time. Zhu Xi held that each of the four was written in a different generation, and so each represented a successive stage in the transmission of the Way. The four began with Kongzi's version in the *Analects*, followed by the disciple Zengzi's "Great Learning," the second generation disciple Zisi's "Doctrine of the Mean," and finally Zisi's student Mengzi's *Mencius*. Even though the canon no longer centered on the Zhou classics associated with Kongzi, this reading of the Four Books illustrated the way that the interpretation of the Way changed from one generation to the next, and so shed light on the process of teaching and learning in an inductive fashion. As Song interpretations of the Four Books became the basis of the imperial examination system, the reception of the classics was dramatically changed through the imposition of Zhu Xi's new interpretive orthodoxy.

While Song writers developed a new interpretive paradigm for recovering the meaning of pre-Buddhist texts, the method was only partially developed from the vocabulary of early texts themselves. In particular, the dual concepts of "principle" (*li*, a different character than the *li* for ritual) and "matter" (*qi*, a neutral description of the animating pneumas of the cosmos that came to be especially associated with human desires) were central to Zhu Xi's reading of the Four Books, even though their currency in Confucian traditions largely dates from early imperial times. Zhu Xi was the son of a local official who was exposed to Chan Buddhism, but at twenty he turned his attention to the classical scholarship of the Cheng brothers (Hao, 1032–1085 CE and Yi, 1033–1107 CE) and their new explanation of human nature. Scholars sometimes trace their explanation to Zhou Dunyi (Zhou Lianxi, 1017–1073 CE) and Zhang Zai's (Zhang Zihou, 1020–1077 CE) conception of a "supreme ultimate" (*taiji*). Zhou Dunyi's supreme ultimate imbues all things, both animate and inanimate, but expressed in its purest state it is simply the nature of human beings, as outlined in his "Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate" (*Taijitu shuo*). The Chengs developed and elevated the notion of human nature to subsume related notions of fate, mind, affective dispositions, the Way, and the cosmos. Cheng Yi held that morality inheres in the part of one's nature that is an expression of the natural pattern of principle, but is obscured by material. "Settling one's nature" (*ding xing*) and cultivating an attitude of reverence refines the matter of the inner mind, making it possible to discover the purity of cosmic principle contained therein. Because human nature, once settled, reflects the same cosmic principle that underlies ritual and the

Way, social hierarchies implicit in the rites are then also implicit in the cosmos.

Zhu Xi adopted the Cheng brothers' view of a human nature that contains cosmic principle, and integrated this with a concrete approach to self-transformation. For this reason, Zhu's rereading of Confucian traditions is sometimes called the "Study of Principle" (*lixue*), or the Cheng-Zhu school. Some scholars have applied terms like *rationalist* or *metaphysical* to what has also been called Zhu Xi's "neo-Confucian" position. While these terms fail to capture certain aspects of the cosmological basis for Zhu Xi's readings, it is true that human nature was an expression of a cosmic principle that transcended the category of human beings. Zhu Xi's noble ideal attains benevolence through discovery of the cosmic principle that had been understood by past sages, and so self-transformation was a matter of rediscovering their system of ritual and the study of the classics. To accomplish this, he promoted a program that combined quiet sitting (*qingzuo*) to settle the inner mind and a method of studying the classics that stressed the need to "penetrate things" (*gewu*). "Penetrating things" is a phrase adapted from a description of the way the ancient sages moved from self-transformation to ordering the state in the "Great Learning," and for Zhu Xi it was the method that allows one to "fully comprehend principle" *(qiongli).* In engaging the affairs and things of the past, "penetrating things" depends on fostering a resonance between the principle in the subject's mind and the principle of the object being interpreted. According to Chen Lai, one need not experience actual situations or develop concrete rules, but instead one must develop the capacity to infer such rules from study and ethical practice. A cross between meditation and hermeneutics, this view of learning through mutual activation meant that exegesis was a crucial part of the process of becoming a moral person. Zhu Xi established an academy called "White Deer Hollow" (*Bailu dong*), where moral instruction, commentary, and sacrifice were all part of the curriculum. While Zhu Xi was critical of study undertaken in order to attain office, graduates of his academy went on to take the civil service examination, and in the middle of the thirteenth century his commentaries came to be regarded as the best guarantee of success on the examination.

While a variety of factors, including nativism, led to this emphasis on recovery of an indigenous Way, no scholarly consensus exists on the degree to which Zhu's reconceptualization itself was influenced by Buddhism. In part this is because underlying issues of cultural identity are still being contested. The lack of consensus is also because the possibility of isolating purely "Confucian" and "Buddhist" figures in the whirling dance of translated Sanskrit sūtras, hybrid Chinese Buddhist works, Buddhist commentaries on pre-Buddhist classics, and Daoist-influenced anti-Buddhist polemics, is so remote. It is true that some of the central differences between late imperial Confucianism and what came before it—such as the notion of the recovery of "cosmic principle" or an "original inner mind" prior to its becoming obscured by matter—appear to show a movement in the direction of Chan Buddhism. However, even critics of Zhu Xi, such as the twentieth century "New Confucian" (*xin Ru*) Mou Zongsan (1909–1995), rejected the notion that the Song revival was "equal parts Confucian and Buddhist" (*yang Ru yin Shi*). Mou argued that while the two traditions shared certain generic conceptual schemes and attitudes to practice, these were external to the distinctly Confucian inner essence of Zhu Xi's thought. On one level, Mou is echoing Cheng Hao's Song dynasty critique of Buddhism—that it includes comportment by which to control oneself internally, but not the excellences by which to order oneself externally. On another level, his testimony is itself evidence of how a tradition predicated on the intergenerational transfer of sagely knowledge resists the imposition of models that call into question the integrity of this transfer. What is certain is that in scholastic conflicts throughout the early imperial period, the accusation of Buddhist influence was a partisan charge leveled against most Confucian writers. Zhu Xi himself hesitates in accepting Xie Liangzuo's (1050–c.1121 CE) use of the term "awakening" (*jue*) to explain benevolence because it has too much of a Chan Buddhist flavor. The compilation of his writings compiled by his disciples called *Classified Utterances of Master Zhu* (Zhuzi yulei) contains condemnations of the writings of Zhu Xi's contemporary Lu Jiuyuan (Lu Xiangshan, 1139–1193 CE) along the same lines. Lu Jiuyuan's call for a return to the "inner mind" is ridiculed as revealing a lack of understanding of the *Analects* phrase "control one's self and return to ritual propriety," as well as a neglect of the importance of the records of past sages and worthies. As such, "inner mind" was considered nothing more than Chan Buddhism.

Zhu Xi's "Study of Principle" became the orthodoxy for the study of the classics through the institution of the civil examination system, yet even after the abolition of that system, his commentaries continued to be regarded as authoritative. Imperial edicts in 1415 and 1715 led to the sponsorship of the issue and reissue of versions of *The Great Collection on Human Nature and Principle* (*Xingli daquan*) based on Zhu's writings. In part this was a testament to his own exegetical flair and the clarity of his presentation. Yet despite a major challenge in the Ming dynasty (1368–1644 CE), the dominance of the "Study of Principle" continued well into the Qing dynasty (1644–1911 CE), in part because it provided a model that fused scholarship with practice, and in part because it revived the early goals of moral self-transformation without challenging dynastic authority.

MING AND YUAN CONFUCIAN TRADITIONS AND THE RELATION BETWEEN PRACTICE AND POLITICS. In the Yuan (1206–1368 CE) and Ming dynasties, the gap between official service and the study of the classics was reflected in the critique of a lack of social engagement on the part of "School of Principle" adherents made by Wang Yangming (born Wang Shouren, or Wang Bo'an, 1472–1529 CE), the major figure in the alternative "Study of the Inner Mind" (*Xinxue*) tradition. Although the Yuan Dynasty was ruled by the Mongols, a dual-track civil service examination system was reinstituted in 1314, and the curriculum for both Chinese and non-Chinese tracks included "School of Principle" commentaries on the Four Books, causing it to gain wide currency. Yuan scholar officials, like Jin Lüxiang (Jin Jifu, 1232–1303 CE), a representative of the southern Jinhua school who accentuated the importance of commentary in the study of the classics, with few exceptions saw themselves as continuing in the "School of Principle" tradition.

When Zhu Yuanzhang (1328–1398 CE), the founding emperor of the Ming, replaced the Mongol Yuan with a highly centralized and autocratic state, his xenophobia and anti-intellectualism boded at best a continuation of the conservative Yuan scholarship. Yet even the first generation of Ming scholars showed a greater willingness to innovate within the "Study of Principle" framework than might have been expected. Xue Xuan (Xue Dewen, 1392–1464 CE), associated with the Hedong School of the "Study of Principle," served in office until retiring to teach for the last eight years of his life. He revived the idea of "returning to human nature" (*fuxing*), promoted by Li Ao in the Tang dynasty, in such a way as to deny the notion that principle preceded matter and argue that principle and matter arise simultaneously. This had the effect of moving the "School of Principle" even further from a focus on the discovery of principle in an untouched inner mind as advocated by Lu Jiuyuan, toward Xue Xuan's explicit emphasis on the training of the senses and the body through ritual and daily activities. Chen Xianzheng (Chen Gongfu, 1428–1500 CE) emphasized bodily training though quiet sitting, but connected it to a revival of Lu Jiuyuan's equation of the inner mind and cosmic principle. Chen Xianzheng's success in the civil service examination late in life and his positive message of returning to a natural state to access the cosmic principle in the inner mind made him the first Ming voice in what developed into a genuine alternative to the "School of Principle."

Echoing the criticisms of Lu Jiuyuan and Chen Xianzheng that Zhu Xi artificially divided the inner mind and cosmic principle, the "Study of Inner Mind" (also called the Lu-Wang School) posited a necessary relationship between knowledge *(zhi)* and action *(xing),* and a superiority of experiential knowledge gained through action over ordinary knowledge gained through study. This emphasis on accessing an intuitive level of understanding has led some to label it (somewhat misleadingly) as "idealism." The founder of the school was Wang Yangming (1472–1529), who passed the civil examination at the age of twenty and went on to serve in a variety of official positions. Wang appropriated the phrase "true knowing" *(liangzhi)* from *Mencius* 7A15: "What a person is able to do without having to learn is what he can truly do; what a person knows without having to reflect is what he truly knows." In its original context, true knowing is identified with caring for parents and respect for elders, and Wang Yangming used this to explain the way that knowledge of principle is incipient in the original substance of the inner mind.

This imperative to social engagement coincided with a different approach to classical traditions. In his critique of Zhu Xi's program, Wang Yangming returns to the "Great Learning" in arguing that the "investigation of things" must be in service of "arriving at knowing" *(zhizhi)* of morality and so refers to investigating the principles that were already present in the inner mind. Wang eschewed complex textual exegesis, arguing that classics are but commentaries on the mind. Instead, he focused on character formation through realizing "original substance" *(benti)* by the cultivation practice (*gongfu*) of applying morality by being sincere in daily life. Philip J. Ivanhoe has likened Wang Yangming's view of moral self-transformation to a model of acting on affections, and Wang himself quotes the "Great Learning" when he likens moral action to "loving pretty colors or hating bad stench." Just as with Zhu Xi, modern scholars have compared Wang Yangming's view that moral knowledge depends on clearing away the dust of the desires to reveal the mind's inherent moral principles to Chan Buddhist notions of the "original mind" (*benxin*). Despite his vociferous criticism of Buddhists as living a life of emptiness and silence, lacking any engagement with society, the revisionist "Study of Inner Mind" scholar Liu Zongzhou (Liu Qidong, 1578–1645 CE), acknowledged the mutual influence when he wrote that Wang Yangming "resembled Chan but then condemned Chan." Indeed, criticisms of "Study of Inner Mind" by later Confucians sometimes read like criticisms of Chan by later Buddhists.

Even viewed in the context of the orthodoxy of Zhu Xi's intellectualism, Wang Yangming's reification of intuition was a radical epistemological position, and the later history of the "Study of Inner Mind" school is one of different degrees of accommodation with prior views concerning the legacies of the past sages. While Wang Yangming's early disciples—such as Wang Ji (Wang Longxi, 1498–1583 CE), whose theory of the inner mind led to a version of reincarnation, and Wang Gen (Wang Xinzhai, 1483–1540 CE)—were dedicated to making their teacher's intuitionism more robust, others tried to temper it. Chen Xianzhang's student Zhan Ruoshui (Zhan Yuanming, 1463–1557) argued that there was no correction possible once one has arrived at one's inner mind's true knowing, and so integrated that goal into the more general project of "in every place realizing cosmic principle" *(suichu tiren tianli).* While Zhan Ruoshui agreed that the inner mind was central to the discovery of principle, his understanding of the inner mind was of a nexus between the external world full of the resources that the "Study of Principle" drew on, and the intuitions favored in "Study of Inner Mind." Liu Zongzhou reread the phrase "attend to oneself in solitude" from the "Doctrine of the Mean" to refer to a solitary disposition to goodness in the original mind that must first be made sincere through self-cultivation practice before embarking on external study. That Wang Yangming's viewpoint was developed in numerous directions is shown by Liu Zongzhou's student, Huang Zongxi (Huang Taichong, or Huang Lizhou, 1610–1695 CE), who delineates eight regional "Study of Inner Mind" schools in his chronicle of Ming scholasticism, *Examples of the Studies of Ming Classicists* (*Mingru xue'an*). Huang Zongxi's own rejection of pure intuitionism is illustrated by his description of Wang Ji and Wang Gen as promoters of Chan Buddhism. As Zhu Xi's writings had, Wang Yangming's works also had a major impact on Confucianism, as well as literature and politics in Yi Korea as well as Tokugawa (1600–1868) Japan.

QING CONFUCIAN TRADITIONS AND THE STUDY OF THE CLASSICS. In late imperial China, issues of national identity and academic and political authority were all bound up in the identification of Kongzi as a ritualist and a scholar. When, in 1644, the Manchu Qing dynasty replaced the Ming, the new rulers recognized the legitimacy that might be conferred by continuing patronage of classical scholarship. While discourse on the Chinese past was increasingly limited to a discussion of ritual and exegesis, new trends in interpretation and a valuation of evidence-based scholarship (*kaozheng*) over Song and Ming scholasticism led to a new orientation to classical traditions. While scholars associated with "School of Principle" and "Study of Inner Mind" traditions of self-transformation still taught students and held office, a dissatisfaction with those traditions gave rise to a new kind of exegete who did not aspire to sagehood, but instead to accurately understand the past. Later and more iconoclastic Qing scholars developed new perspectives on the classics that elevated proper engagement with texts to the highest level of experience.

The "Han Studies" (*Hanxue*) movement associated with Gu Yanwu (Gu Yinglin, 1613–1682 CE) was begun in the atmosphere of the anti-Manchu sentiment of the early Qing. Han Studies may be linked to resistance to foreign rule, in that it sought to return to an authentic Chinese worldview, before it was polluted by what many Qing scholars called the Buddhist-inspired "Song Studies" (*Songxue*). Because careful research into the early meanings of the classics had the effect of undermining the anachronistic cosmologies that earlier imperial scholars had used to interpret them, Han Studies was a pragmatic reaction against the academic tendency to focus on abstract concepts like cosmic principle, and a turning away from what was seen as a sterile and failed approach to the past. The earliest Han Studies scholars were iconoclasts who generally rejected affiliation with established lineages and pursued different approaches like historical study, philology, or natural philosophy as pragmatic alternatives to earlier and narrower models of classical scholarship. The Ming loyalist Wang Fuzhi (Wang Chuanshan, 1619–1692 CE) sought to use Zhang Zai's "supreme ultimate" to provide School of Principle cosmology a more materialistic basis, rejecting Zhu Xi's view of the primacy of principle over matter, and arguing, for instance, that desires also contained an expression of principle. An autodidact, Wang Fuzhi criticized the more abstract elements of Daoism and Buddhism, but read the classics alongside historical and literary works and wrote a commentary on the *Zhuangzi*. Gu Yanwu, like Wang Fuzhi, a Ming official who refused to serve under the Qing, developed a number of new approaches to classical studies, making contributions in phonology, textual criticism, and historical geography. While he grounded this approach in Kongzi's imperative to "study widely in literature" (*boxue*, see *Analects* 6.27, 9.1, 12.15, and 19.5), Gu Yanwu's valuation of the work of early imperial commentators like Zheng Xuan signaled a major shift in Confucian hermeneutics toward a more historical approach. Other Ming loyalists broadened the subjects of classical research, with Fu Shan (Fu Qingzhu, 1607–1684 CE) focusing on medical and "many masters and hundred experts" texts, and Lü Liuliang (Lü Zhuangsheng, 1629–1683 CE) making pointed observations about foreign relations in historical texts. The explicit justification for such broad study was its potential application in contemporary society, in spite of the fact that these authors eschewed official service under the Manchus.

The middle period of the Qing was characterized by the further development of independent scholarly fields that each identified itself with the tradition of Kongzi, and it continued the focus on the issue of the social relevance of classical learning. Yan Yuan (Yan Yizhi, 1635–1704 CE) was an early critic of the exegetical emphasis of Han Studies for their neglect of practical knowledge in other fields. Yan Yuan's view of the classics was that they should be seen as an expression of intentions that under different historical circumstances might have been expressed through concrete actions. By contrast, Dai Zhen (Dai Dongyuan, 1723–1777 CE) took the developing Han Studies emphasis on philological method and, in his "Tracing the Origins of Goodness" (*Yuanshan*), argued that it was a necessary antidote to the subjectivity inherent in later imperial readings of the classics. He attacked the differentiation of principle and matter, the hierarchy between which was the cosmological justification for longstanding social hierarchies that he maintained had to end. What the approaches of Yan Yuan and Dai Zhen had in common was a genuine disregard for the dualism that informed the writings of both Zhu Xi and Wang Yangming, and by the eighteenth century the bitter disagreements between their followers had been replaced by a view that they shared common shortcomings. Nonsectarian approaches like that of Peng Dingqiu (Peng Qinzhi, 1645–1719 CE) promoted not only the essential unity of the "Study of Principle" and "Study of Inner Mind," but also a synthesis of the Three Teachings that emphasized conduct and a vegetarian diet. The Qing's dissemination of "morality books" (*shanshu*) that promoted a syncretic moral system that stressed values like loyalty to the state reinforced the idea that the Three Teachings were based on a common moral foundation.

It was in the Qing Dynasty that several tendencies cemented Kongzi's status as the founder of the diverse strands of scholarship, service, and practice with which he had previously been associated. Kongzi was increasingly viewed as the founder of the projects in which both private and official scholars were engaged. In the words of the Qing scholar Pi Xirui (Pi Lumen, 1850–1908 CE), the author of *History of the Study of the Classics* (Jingxue lishi), "The first age of the study of the classics began with Kongzi's editing of the Six Classics." Here the "Six Classics" refer to the Five Classics plus the lost classic of Music (*Yuejing*). When classical scholars like Pi Xirui constructed genealogies from which they claimed authority, Kongzi was always placed at the beginning. What both proponents of evidence-based scholarship and those who tried to reconcile the approaches of Zhu Xi and Wang Yangming had in common was the search for a pure past whose interpretation had been politicized by the disagreements of late imperial scholars. The assumed unity of Kongzi's intentions became the basis for postulating the existence of a common source from which the many strands of Qing Confucianism once derived. The period also saw a renewal of interest in Kongzi as a prophetic figure and religious founder, a renewal tied to late Qing encounters with the west.

The culmination of the emphasis on social relevance of the classics was Kang Youwei's (1858–1927 CE), portrait of Kongzi as a prophetic social reformer. Kang Youwei was classically trained at a time when European, American, and Japanese imperial aspirations convinced most Chinese of the need to promote scientific and military development. In his 1897 *Kongzi as a Reformer* (*Kongzi gaizhi kao*), Kang Youwei turned back to early commentaries on the *Spring and Autumn* and the Confucian apocrypha to construct a view of Kongzi as a religious founder along the lines of Jesus Christ, and to reject the orthodox Study of Principle reading of Kongzi as a teacher and advisor. His direct influence on the young Qing emperor Guangxu (r. 1875–1908) led to a series of explicit measures intended to transform China into a constitutional monarchy, which were ended by what was effectively a coup d'état by the Empress Dowager Cixi in September of 1898. While Kang Youwei fled to Japan, his student Liang Qichao (1873–1929 CE) revived a reformist constitutional movement in the period from 1905 through 1911. Qing intransigence frustrated these reforms up until the success of the Republicanism espoused by Sun Zhongshan (i.e., Sun Yat-sen, 1866–1925 CE) in ending the Qing and most aspects of the imperial system in 1911.

The 1919 May Fourth movement was critical of many aspects of traditional culture, but it was far outdone by the 1949 revolution that established the Communist People's Republic of China. As the locus of Confucian thinking and scholarship moved to Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the Chinese diaspora, the fraying of ties between the state and both the performance of ritual and the mastery of the classics significantly changed the nature of the tradition. Institutionally, the home of some of the most versatile forms of modern Confucianism is the international university, and its voice is identified with that of academics such as Tu Weiming (or Tu Wei-ming, b. 1940). In this context, inter-religious dialog and attempts to accommodate traditional views to the concerns of modernity have come to the fore. At the same time, there is interest in a revival of Confucian ethics as a resource for combating official corruption in the People's Republic of China, while particular Confucian traditions, such as evidence-based scholarship and sacrifice at temples to Kongzi, continue in many traditional venues.

Throughout history, the traditions drawn upon by people who today identify themselves with Confucianism were woven and unwoven in response to outside influences. These traditions have adapted in response to criticisms by Warring States thinkers like Mozi and Zhuangzi, to the popularity of early Buddhist institutions, or to the perception that religion played a role in the technological progress of nineteenth-century imperial powers. While recent scholarship on the historical development of Confucianism has called into question the notion that Kongzi founded the multiple threads of the tradition, there is no question that, for the past several centuries, contests over his biography and teachings have been the dominant common feature of these threads. Going back in time, however, other common features may be found: a theory of history based on a particular model of familial and social relations; an ethic of stewardship; a view of archaic ritual practice; and a set of texts and interpretations that form the curriculum of the civil service examinations. Whether one considers Confucianism a religion or not is ultimately a question of whether one is looking at the "humanistic" thread isolated out by Jesuits looking for natural theology and reformers looking for natural philosophy, or at other threads at other times.

SEE ALSO Chinese Religion, overview article.

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CONFUCIANISM: THE CLASSICAL CANON

A focus on the ritual, music, and texts of a bygone era of social harmony has been a central feature of many of the traditions now identified as Confucian, from classical studies to moral education for government service. In teaching disciples and rulers Kongzi (Confucius, 551–479 BCE) relied on songs preserved in the *Classic of Odes* (Shijing) and myriad forms of ceremony and etiquette believed to date back to the earliest years of the Zhou dynasty (c. 1150 to 256 BCE). Since Kongzi's time the task of preserving the culture of the ancient sages has been understood to require the transmission and interpretation of a normative set of texts and practices. While different eras used different taxonomies for the canon, from the Five Classics (*wujing*) to the Thirteen Classics (*shisanjing*) to the Four Books (*sishu*), a certain attitude and approach to these works was basic to the training that aspiring scholars and officials received. In the *Analects*, Kongzi tells his son, "If you do not study the odes, you will have nothing to use when you speak. . . . If you do not study the rites, you will have nothing to use to establish yourself." On hearing this a disciple remarks that he has learned about three important things: the odes, the rites, and how Kongzi kept the proper distance from his son. Since a "proper distance" exemplified the normative relationship between teacher and student, Kongzi's insistence on it even in the case of teaching his son illustrates the way Kongzi was seen not only as valuing the past, but how he was the paradigm for the right means of teaching the classics and applying the practices of the past.

At the core of debates about canon and orthodoxy in China is the word *jing*, which, although its connotations shift over time, will here be consistently translated as "classic." John B. Henderson borrows Wang Chong's (27–c. 100 CE) distinction between the classics (*jing*) of the "sages" (*shengren*) and the commentaries (*zhuan*) of the "worthies" (*xianren*) and argues that the hierarchical distinction between classic and commentary is made less on the basis of content than "according to their respective sources" (1991, p. 71). Henderson says the resulting one is similar to the Hindu distinction between "revealed scripture" (*sruti)* and "explanations" (*smirti)* of saints and prophets (p. 71). Because the role of the classical canon both within Confucian traditions and Chinese society as a whole changed over time, this treatment of the classical canon is divided into three chronological sections: the Five Classics of the preimperial and early imperial periods (through 220 CE), redefinitions of the canon culminating in the Tang (618–907) and Northern Song (960–1127 CE) dynasty establishment of the Thirteen Classics, and the recognition of the Four Books by Zhu Xi (1130–1200). The reformulations of the canon reflect different assumptions about the relationship of text and tradition, which were translated into new commentarial practices, culminating in a modern situation in which the approach to the Confucian classics is intertwined with that of other traditions to their canons.

The Five Classics. The Five Classics (*wujing*), established as the basis of the imperial curriculum in the second century BCE, were seen as vehicles for the preservation of the norms and practices of the Zhou dynasty, a goal that was seen as a continuation of a project begun by Kongzi. As such, training oneself using these texts was an undertaking that was itself traditional, and the word for a person who had received such training was *classicist (ru).* While the term *ru* is usually translated as "Confucian" based on the traditional view of Kongzi as the first classicist, this article will attempt to distinguish between the several Chinese terms translated as "Confucian" to preserve distinctions made by practitioners themselves. The earliest records of classicists connect them specifically to the teaching and performance of the *Classic of Odes* and the *Classic of Documents* (Shujing), which, with the *Classic of Changes* (Yijing), *Spring and Autumn* (Chunqiu), and the *Records of Rites* (Liji), comprise the Five Classics.

Classic of Odes. The *Classic of Odes* is a collection of 305 songs (excluding six titles transmitted without text), dating from the beginning through the middle of the Zhou dynasty, with the final compilation thought to have taken place in, or slightly before, Kongzi's time. Both the form and content of these songs varies and the classical division of the collection into sections reflect a generic distinction, and perhaps signal that these divisions were once independent texts. Modern scholarship has used particular songs as evidence for Zhou ancestral sacrifice and popular religious festivals. In pedagogical contexts their narration of affective dispositions (*qing*) in particular situations in the past has been seen as a guide for training one's reactions so as to conform with the dispositions of the sage kings.

The earliest references to the *Classic of Odes* mention the sections "Airs" (*feng*), "Elegantiae" (*ya*), and "Hymns" (*song*), with the Elegantiae section further divided into "Lesser" (*xiao*) and "Greater" (*da*) subsections. In the "Prefaces to the *Odes*" (*Shi xu*), associated with early imperial members of the disciple traditions of Zixia (507–400 BCE), this four-part structure is called the "four beginnings" *(sishi).* The folksong-like Airs are divided into subsections associated with different states, and the "Great Preface" (*Da xu*) explains that its songs "take a given country's affairs and tie them to their sources in particular individuals." The Elegantiae sections contain court pieces about the culture heroes of the Zhou dynasty, as well as pieces for special occasions and, occasionally, criticisms and plaints. The "Great Preface" explains that "elegantiae means 'correct'" and explains their function as describing "the origins of the rise and fall of kingly government." The Hymns, many of which likely were performance pieces for sacrificial occasions, are described in the "Great Preface" as "praising the form and appearance of flourishing virtue in order to report completed accomplishments to the luminous spirits." Similarly, discovered in the 1990s, the early third-century BCE "Kongzi's discussion of the *Odes*" (*Kongzi Shilun*) says, "The Hymns are (about) sagely virtue." An example of these last forty songs is the "Great Brightness" song, addressed to the people or soldiers of Zhou, justifying their rule with the phrase "There is a mandate (ming) that comes from Heaven, that mandates [the rule of] our own King Wen."

Classic of Documents. The concept of "Heaven's mandate" (*tianming*) is also at the core of many of the proclamations that make up the fifty-eight-fascicle *Classic of Documents* (Shujing), also known as the Books of the Predecessors (*Shangshu*). Among the core chapters widely accepted as genuine are the "Great Announcement" (*Da gao*), "Announcement of Kang" (*Kang gao*), "Announcement of Shao" (*Shao gao*), "Many Officials" (*Duo shi*), and "Lord Shi" (*Jun shi*), traditionally dated to the reign of King Cheng of Zhou (d. 1006 BCE). While Heaven's mandate was historically the command issued to the Zhou founders to overthrow the last corrupt ruler of the Shang dynasty (c. 1500–1050 BCE), the term is also used more generally for a divine justification for authority claimed by both rulers and rebels alike. The "Great Announcement" records how divination using tortoise shells conveyed Heaven's mandate to the imperial regent, the duke of Zhou (Zhougong). Because the basis of Heaven's endorsement of the dynasty was the personal virtue (*de*) of its founders and rulers, politics was intimately linked to a discussion of character and to the possession of particular traits such as reverence (*jing*). The "Announcement of Kang" argues that since Heaven's mandate may change, the ruler must always keep the possibility of its withdrawal in mind, which causes him to be reverent.

For much of modern Chinese history the authenticity of a large portion of the *Classic of Documents* has been contested. Following the literary purges of the Qin dynasty (221–206 BCE), there were several discoveries of lost portions of the text, beginning with Fu Sheng's (c. 245–c. 180 BCE) claim to have preserved twenty-nine fascicles of the text in the wall of his house. The discovery of other materials transmitted by Kongzi's descendents resulted in an "ancient text" (*guwen*) version of the Fu Sheng materials with twenty-four fascicles of other material. In the first century CE Liu Xiang (79–8 BCE) championed this version of the classic, and in the fourth century CE the Fu Sheng chapters were redivided into thirty-four fascicles, resulting in the fifty-eight-fascicle text transmitted today. Beginning in the late Tang and Northern Song dynasties textual scholars noted discrepancies that caused them to question the authenticity of the "ancient text" chapters. Nevertheless, the archaeological discovery of attributed quotations of "ancient text" chapters dating to the late Warring States period (403–221 BCE) indicates that even sections of the *Classic of Documents* that are not authentic records of the early sage kings may well be forgeries of great antiquity.

Classic of Changes. The use of divination to provide justification for rule is one instance of the use of the divination or omen text the *Classic of Changes* (Yijing). The *Classic of Changes* is a layered text consisting of an early Zhou dynasty omen manual transmitted alongside a set of increasingly abstract commentaries dating to the Warring States and early imperial periods. Its title (and its alternate title *Changes of the Zhou*, or *Zhouyi)* refers to the "change" inherent in the moment of performance of casting and counting out milfoil stalks or, probably in its earliest form, reading cracks produced by heat in cattle scapulae or tortoise plastrons. These media were seen as particularly sensitive membranes between the natural or spirit worlds and that of human beings, and skilled diviners could use them to read incipient patterns. In the context of producing and reading these patterns the *Classic of Changes* is used to interpret the resulting symbols: a hexagram or hexagrams (*gua*) diagnostic for particular questions or concerns. In its history as one of the Five Classics, however, the original practical aspect of the *Classic of Changes* was less important than its status as a description of a natural system that subsumed considerations of change and contingency and so could be applied to analyze history, alchemy, and a host of other areas.

The base text of the *Classic of Changes* consists of sixty-four named hexagrams, each constructed of six solid or broken lines, a brief "hexagram statement" *(guaci),* and a series of "line statements" *(yaoci)* indexed to numbers generated as part of the process of determining each line of the hexagram. The first two hexagrams, *qian* and *kun*, are made up of six solid and six broken lines, respectively, and each is followed by a terse and somewhat opaque hexagram statement, and then six-line statements that apply only if the lines of the hexagram are solid or broken lines of a certain kind. The attached commentaries to the base text are also collectively known as the "Ten Wings" *(Shiyi).* The earliest layers of commentary are devoted to the further elucidation of the symbolic features of the hexagram, such as the *Judgements (Duan)* and *Greater and Lesser Images (Da/Xiao Xiang).* Later layers are essays on the hexagrams and the cosmos, such as the bipartite *Commentary on the Appended Phrases (Xici),* the *Explanations of the Trigrams (Shuogua),* and the *Order of the Hexagrams (Xugua).* The *Words about the Patterns (Wenyan)* commentary contains detailed commentary on the first two hexagrams only, and the *Miscellaneous Hexagrams (Zagua)* provides pithy explanations of the meanings of pairs of hexagrams. While these commentaries have become part of the *Classic of Changes* itself, commentary on the *Yijing* has been a feature of Chinese literature of all types and affiliations. Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) commentaries are classed as "image and number" (*xiangshu*) because they correlated each element of the hexagram to an image and a set of numbers. Wang Bi (226–249 CE) initiated a strategy of reading the text in isolation from the universe of correlations previously employed. This type of commentary, known as "meaning and pattern" *(yili),* became dominant by the Northern Song dynasty.

Spring and Autumn. The *Spring and Autumn (Chunqiu)* is a concise chronicle of diplomatic, political, and other noteworthy happenings in Kongzi's home state of Lu from the period 722 to 481 BCE. The term *annals* is often added as a suffix to the translation to express the sense in which the terms *spring* and *autumn* signify the passage of the year, and the nature of the text as a year-by-year description of events. Although its content appears to have been based on official Lu records, later traditions recount that Kongzi composed it shortly before his death, as a means to preserve his normative vision once he had given up on transforming the society in which he lived. This view, which emphasizes the political import of the *Spring and Autumn* among the Five Classics, is seen in the *Mengzi* (*Mencius*, c. 380–c. 290 BCE), which quotes Kongzi as saying, "Those who understand me will do so on account of the *Spring and Autumn*, and those who berate me will also do so on account of the *Spring and Autumn*." Indeed, for the commentarial schools that developed in the early imperial period, the style of the work was seen to contain subtle clues to moral evaluations of historical figures, and small deviations were read as indications of Kongzi's praise or censure. Zhao Qi (c. 107–201), in commenting on Kongzi's speech in the *Mengzi*, uses the term *unsullied king (suwang)* to express a view that became associated with the "new text" (*jinwen*) school of Confucianism, that Kongzi was the ideal ruler and the *Spring and Autumn* was the key to his method of government.

In the early imperial period three commentaries to the *Spring and Autumn* defined three separate schools of interpretation of the events and of Kongzi's historiography: the Gongyang, Guliang, and Zuo traditions. Each of these schools developed around a particular commentary to the *Spring and Autumn.* The two commentaries most representative of the "praise and censure" approach are the Gongyang and Guliang commentaries, which formally resemble a catechism: simple questions and answers about the judgments behind choices of words made by Kongzi. The Gongyang commentary, supposedly written by the late Warring States period figure Gongyang Gao from the state of Qi, but actually dating to the second century BCE, is allegedly based on centuries of esoteric transmission through the lineages of disciples of Kongzi. The Guliang commentary is associated with Guliang Chi, supposedly an early Warring States period figure from the state of Lu, who Yang Shixun, the Tang dynasty subcommentator, claims received training in the *Spring and Autumn* from Kongzi's disciple Zixia. The most influential commentary, however, is the one associated with the fifth-century BCE state of Lu historian Zuo Qiuming, although it probably is an amalgam of a number of sources, both historical and fictive. The Zuo commentary differs from the other two because of its incorporation of detailed narratives and by the fact that its coverage of the *Spring and Autumn* events extends to 469 BCE, while the Gongyang and the Guliang commentaries both extend to 482 BCE. That the Zuo version covers events that postdate the traditional death of Confucius was explained by Du Yu (222–284), the Jin dynasty (265–420) commentator, as being the result of the master's disciples having completed his work based on the archives of Lu. Modern scholars tend to see these differences as reflecting a more basic difference in the nature of the source material on which the commentaries were based.

Records of Ritual. The "Three Ritual Compendia" *(sanli)* are ostensibly collections of record of the archaic ritual system of the Zhou period, called *Zhou Rituals (Zhouli),* the *Ceremonies and Rituals (Yili),* and the *Records of Ritual (Liji).* The six sections of the *Zhou Rituals* formulaically reconstitute the governmental structure of the Zhou, with each section containing short descriptions of sixty offices under the jurisdiction of a different state bureau. While modern scholars generally do not think the *Zhou Rituals* predates the Han period (206 BCE–220 CE), for much of Chinese history it has been treated as a source, albeit somewhat idealized, for information on predynastic China. The seventeen sections of the *Ceremonies and Rituals* provide a more practical description of ritual protocol in different situations, from capping rites for the children of members of the official class to guidelines for receiving and hosting the impersonator of the deceased during a funeral. While traditionally associated with the eleventh-century BCE figure the duke of Zhou (Zhougong), the actual record of transmission of the *Ceremonies and Rituals* may only be verified as of the Han period. The forty-nine sections of the *Records of Ritual*, by contrast, are acknowledged to have been edited after the beginning of the dynastic period in 221 BCE, although the discovery in the last two decades of exemplars of chapters of the work in preimperial tombs shows that it is constituted of older materials. Dai De (first century BCE) and his nephew Dai Sheng (73–49 BCE) are credited with paring a collection of ritual writings into the current diverse collection of dialogues about ceremony and etiquette between Kongzi and his disciples or the rulers he advised, abstract discussions of the minutiae and origins of particular ritual forms, and cosmological or psychological essays that integrate ritual into the discussion of other themes.

Early discussions of the Five Classics are vague about which of the "Three Ritual Compendia" were included, but the *Records of Ritual* soon gained prominence. While it is a composite text that contains many different views of the function and significance of ritual, its account of the importance of ritual both reflected and informed the central role that ritual plays in many forms of Confucianism. In one dialog between Kongzi and Duke Ai of Lu in chapter 48 of the *Records of Ritual*, Kongzi explains, "Inside, it is the way to govern the rites of the ancestral temple, sufficient to allow one to match the spirit luminances of Heaven and Earth. Outside, it is the way to govern the rites of correcting and instructing, sufficient to establish reverence between superior and inferior." Sun Yirang (1848–1908) explains that "matching the spirit luminances" in this passage refers to copying the movement of the sun and moon in the ancestral temple rites. This quotation reflects how ritual oriented the performer in both a cosmologically and socially optimal way and implies that there is a relationship between correct ritual behavior on the part of the ruler and maintenance of social order in the state.

***The Five Classics* in Chinese history.** While the Five Classics came from diverse origins both generically and chronologically, in the early empire their reception became inextricably bound with the reputation of Kongzi. The establishment of a "Confucian orthodoxy" by the Martial Emperor (Wu, r. 140–87 BCE) beginning in 136 BCE led to the institutionalization of an examination system that made a knowledge of the Five Classics the requirement for an official career. Because of Kongzi's reputation as teacher and advisor, the ethical foundation in the Five Classics with which he came to be associated was seen to be necessary training for officials. As the preparatory system for the examinations became increasingly institutionalized, the commentary on and transmission of the classics became a path to salary and office.

Drawing on the authority of the orthodox classics, a new genre of text often called the "Confucian apocrypha" developed in the first century CE. While the classics were seen as the exoteric transmission of Confucius for use by everyone, and the *Spring and Autumn* was the exoteric transmission encoded for use by future sages, the apocrypha were seen in the Han as part of a genuinely esoteric transmission. The corpus generally referred to as the "apocrypha" *(chenwei)* is actually a combination of two types of work: "charts and proofs" or prophecy texts (*tuchen*) and "weft books" (*weishu*) or texts ancillary to the classics. The distinction between "charts and proof" texts and "weft books" is now made on the basis of whether or not the title includes the title of a companion "classic," but it is unclear whether this formal distinction actually reflects differences between the genesis of the two genres. In the latter part of the Han period many of the prophetic texts that had been used by different factions at the beginning of the dynasty to furnish political omens had the name of one of the Five Classics added as prefixes to their titles. As a result, while these texts came to be associated with particular classics, their origins and content generally have little to do with the classic with which they are associated.

After the decline of the Han the long period of political disunity known as the Six Dynasties period (220–589) saw a variety of administrative structures come and go as short-lived kingdoms established themselves in a land divided for most of the period between north and south. This was also the period in which Buddhism took root in China, and during which organized Daoism became established. It saw the rise of the *Classic of Filial Piety* (Xiaojing) and the *Analects* (Lunyu) to the level of classic, leading to the occasional use of the term *Seven Classics* (Qijing) to refer to the *Classic of Filial Piety* and *Analects* added to the Five Classics. The terse, eighteen-section *Classic of Filial Piety* is likely a Han-period composition, although it is traditionally associated with Kongzi's disciple Zengzi (505–435 BCE) and is largely composed of dialogues between the two. It centers on the importance of the virtue of "familial piety" (*xiao*, also translated as filial piety), both for individual development and for social order. The twenty sections of the *Analects*, while perhaps compiled as late as the early Han, are largely composed of dialogs featuring Kongzi, his disciples, and their patrons that probably date from the time of Kongzi through the Han. The *Analects*'s discussion of the noble ideal (*junzi*, often translated "gentleman") centers on the cultivation of a set of virtues that constitutes the Way (Dao), a means to achieving personal and political ideals. The expansion of the Five Classics attests to the beginning of the redefinition of the canon, one that had much to do with the expansion of the category of sacred texts to include works that were sacred for reasons other than their pedigree as a continuation of the golden age of the Zhou.

The *Analects* became increasingly important as the primary source of Kongzi's ethics and his view of service, and is now perhaps the best known of the Confucian classics. Collected from a body of diverse sayings and anecdotes written on bamboo slips and circulated in the late *Spring and Autumn* and Warring States periods, its aphoristic passages were likely originally intended as a guide to proper ritual behavior for princes and officials charged with maintaining court etiquette. The extant *Analects* was collated by Zheng Xuan (127–200), although one excavated version of the text unearthed in 1973 indicates it circulated in something close to its current form in 55 BCE. The *Analects* discusses development of the character traits such as benevolence (*ren*), which it explains in particular contexts. In chapter twelve Kongzi tells different disciples different things: for example, "If something goes against ritual propriety, do not look at it" (12.1); "When abroad, behave as though you were at home receiving an important guest" (12.2); and "The mark of benevolence is that one is hesitant to speak" (12.3). Traditional commentaries explain this as an example of Kongzi's use of expediencies directed at the strengths and weaknesses of particular disciples. Alternatively, this might represent the compilation of the *Analects* from diverse sources, perhaps transmitted in different disciple traditions.

REDEFINING THE CANON: THE THIRTEEN CLASSICS AND THE FOUR BOOKS. The reunification under the Sui (581–618) and Tang dynasties saw redefinitions but not reconceptualizations of the canon based on the model of the Five Classics. Emperor Wen (r. 179–157 BCE) of the Tang dynasty sponsored the inscription of the Twelve Classics (*shi'erjing*) on stelae at the Imperial Academy in what is today called Xi'an. The only major addition, however, was the *Approaching Elegance* (Erya), a nineteen-section systematic compilation of commentarial glosses that is effectively a dictionary. While the *Approaching Elegance* is thought to date from the third or second centuries BCE, its inclusion among the classics was relatively late. Besides the *Approaching Elegance*, the *Analects*, *Classic of Filial Piety*, and Twelve Classics were either members of the Five Classics or commentaries thereon. Instead of only the *Records of Ritual*, the Twelve Classics also includes the *Zhou Rituals* and the *Ceremonies and Rituals*. Instead of the *Spring and Autumn*, the Twelve Classics includes the Gongyang, Guliang, and Zuo commentaries. These moves may best be seen as an expansion of the Five Classics rather than as a basic change in the canon.

At the same time the Tang imperial house had changed the civil examination system in significant ways. The Tang rulers traced their descent to the mythical sixth- or fifth-century Daoist sage Laozi and elevated several Daoist texts to the status of classics. This happened to both the *Master Zhuang (Zhuangzi),* which was renamed *True Classic of Southern Splendor (Nanhua zhenjing)* and the *Master Lie (Liezi),* renamed the *True Classic of the Ultimate Virtue of the Void (Chongxu zhide zhenjing).* At the same time, views of canon were influenced by the translation of the Buddhist Tripitika (*sanzangjing*). The imperial house sponsored the publication of Buddhist and Daoist works, even as Emperor Taizong (599–649) commissioned Yan Shigu (581–645) to create a definitive annotated edition of the Five Classics. These developments signaled that the traditional rationale for the status of the Five Classics, their connection to the Zhou dynasty, could no longer be considered the sole operant ground for entry into the canon.

The culmination, and perhaps the most influential reformulation of the classics in later imperial China, was the Thirteen Classics (*shisanjing*), which was established during the Northern Song dynasty. The chief change was the addition of the *Mengzi*, a late fourth- or early third-century BCE work in the style of the *Analects* that located the latter work's self-cultivation program in a model of human nature. According to the *Records of the Historian* (*Shiji*, c. 100 BCE) Mengzi (Mencius, 391–308 BCE) "withdrew and together with the followers of [his disciple] Wan Zhang, put in order the [classics of] *Odes* and *Documents* and interpreted the intentions of Kongzi. They wrote the [*Mengzi*] in seven chapters" (73.2343). This description of the composition of the *Mengzi* accurately identifies Mengzi as continuing the "intentions of Kongzi."

At the same time, the elevation of the *Mengzi* reflects the Confucian need for resources to address psychological claims made by Buddhists that the *Analects* did not contain. For example, *Mengzi* 2A2 argues that within each person's mind are incipient bases of the virtues of benevolence, righteousness *(yi),* ritual propriety *(li),* and wisdom *(zhi). Mengzi* 2A6 argues that people have these incipient dispositions to goodness "just like they have four limbs." By grounding morality in the human nature and the body the *Mengzi* was perhaps more consonant with the Buddhist goal of returning to an original "nature" unclouded by desires. The *Mengzi*'s place in the canon may be traced back at least to Han Yu's (768–824) contention that Mengzi was the last classical representative of the Transmission of the Way (Daotong).

A more radically alternative formulation of the canon was created by the Song scholar Zhu Xi. Zhu Xi singled out two chapters of the *Records of Ritual—Great Learning (Daxue)* and *Doctrine of the Mean (Zhongyong)*—along with the *Analects* and the *Mengzi* as members of the Four Books (*Sishu*). The *Great Learning* and *Doctrine of the Mean* had some of the same appeal that the *Mengzi* had in the later imperial post-Buddhist period. Both texts, products of the Han synthetic combination of morality and cosmology, link psychology and ethics using concepts such as the magnetic power of "sincerity" (*cheng*) and a quasi-divine conception of the "sage" (*sheng*). Associating these three texts so closely with the *Analects* allowed Zhu Xi to read the latter text in a new way, one that proved immensely influential even through the present day.

In 1190 Zhu Xi published his commentary on the Four Books, called the *Collected Commentaries on the Sentences and Sections of the Four Books (Sishu zhangju jizhu).* Because of his intellectual stature, Zhu Xi's formulation had immediate influence on his contemporaries, and his *Collected Commentaries on the Sentences and Sections of the Four Books* became orthodox parts of the civil service examination system at the start of the fourteenth century. This happened despite Zhu Xi's criticism of the examination system as leading people to pursue training in the classics out of self-advancement.

Models of Canon Formation in China. The legacy of the Song dynasty today is two alternate Confucian canons. From the viewpoint of the history of Chinese literature the category of the Thirteen Classics is still widely used today. While there was a broadening of the canon as a result of the movement to historicize the classics in the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), the benchmark of "evidentiary scholarship" *(kaozheng)* is the *Commentaries and Subcommentaries to the Thirteen Classics (Shisanjing zhushu),* edited by Ruan Yuan (1764–1849) in 1815. From the viewpoint of the history of Chinese thought Zhu Xi's reformulation of the Four Books is still widely influential, and the Four Books are still the basis of elementary education in many parts of the Chinese diaspora.

At the same time, in contexts where classical scholarship is taught, the category of the Five Classics is often still used. This perhaps best reflects the fact that these three canons were selected and have authority for different reasons: the Five Classics based on the authority of the Zhou-period institutions and later on Kongzi's status as the transmitter of those institutions; the Thirteen Classics based on the authority of the late imperial sponsorship of authoritative and distinctively Confucian texts and commentaries that grew out of the Five Classics; and the Four Books based on the authority of Zhu Xi and his engagement of issues relevant to the post-Buddhist religious climate.

These three models of canon formation indicate the variety of functions that religious and philosophical literature fulfilled in traditional China. The inclusion of the Five Classics as translated by James Legge (1815–1897) in Max Müller's *Sacred Books of the East* (1879–1910) drew attention to their points of similarity to the canons of other religious traditions. In part as a result of such comparisons, the twentieth century saw changes in the reception of Confucianism both inside and outside of China. Imputing aspects of the role of the canon in other traditions led to the de-emphasis of ritual and the ritual classics in Confucianism, as well as an emphasis on Kongzi's role as a religious founder and on the *Analects* as an expression of his founding vision. At the same time, an appreciation of the way that the Confucian canon changed and developed within the tradition has led to a new emphasis on understanding the role of commentary and hermeneutics in the formation of meaning in Confucian traditions.

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CONFUCIANISM: THE IMPERIAL CULT

From early imperial times to the twentieth century, the emperor and officers of the court and civil bureaucracy offered cult sacrifice to the gods that governed the cosmos. The rituals that serviced these gods were based on and authorized by the ritual canons of the Confucian classics, and, as such, were the privileged domain of classically educated men called *Ru*, or "Confucians," who mastered that canon. Sacrifices were performed according to a regular calendar in temples inside the imperial capital, at open altars outside of the capital walls, and at ritual spaces throughout the empire down to the county level. The geographic expanse of these ritual complexes constituted the most visible signs of the extent of the Chinese imperium and provides concrete evidence of interaction between elite and popular religious practices. Successive dynasties drew from the precedents of the ancient canon to define and regulate imperial cults by specifying the amount and type of foods offered to each god, the rank or status of the sacrificer, the music played, hymns sung, and prayers chanted during the ceremony. The aim of sacrifice—or what might be more appropriately understood as ritual feasting—was to satiate the gods to enlist their cooperation in the proper maintenance of the cosmic order in ways favorable to the well-being of the living. In addition to realizing these aims, the effect of proper performance of these rites was the demonstration of the sovereign's virtue and affirmation of the dynasty's legitimacy in ruling the empire.

Formation of the Imperial Cult. Prior to the imperial era, which began with the unification of China under a single emperor in 221 BCE, there were numerous royal cult traditions associated with the courts that ruled various parts of China. These traditions were distinguishable by the language of their practitioners and their liturgical arrangements, as well as by their basic conceptions of the gods and their relationships with the living. Shamanism and trance-induced, intimate commingling between gods and mortals characterized some of these early courtly traditions, whereas studied separation and reverent distance between humans and gods predominated in other traditions, particularly those that eventually formed the basis of Confucian ritual.

Inscriptions on bones and, later, on bronze vessels provide material evidence of an ancient royal cult during the

Shang dynasty (c. 1500–1050 BCE) based on divination, oracular communication with the royal ancestors, and sacrifice to gods and ancestors. While the use of oracles had declined by the Zhou dynasty (c. 1150–256 BCE), inscribed bronze vessels for sacrifices to gods and ancestors were used in a thriving royal cult. Ritual specialists of the late Zhou and early Han (206 BCE–220 CE) dynasties variously selected, coopted, omitted, and redefined elements of these heterogeneous cults to form the imperial cult that thrived until the end of the nineteenth century and then dissolved in the early twentieth century. Detailed elaborations of and critical reflections upon Zhou ritual traditions appear throughout the ritual canons—principally in the *Li ji* (Record of rites) and the *Zhouli* (Rites of Zhou)—of the Five Classics. The most salient characteristic of the royal cult as codified in the classics was the primary role of Heaven as the highest deity ruling the cosmos and the most exalted in the ritual hierarchy to receive sacrifice from the king. Another conspicuous feature of imperial cults was the central role of royal ancestors as crucial mediators between the reigning emperor and the highest gods. The Han conquest of the empire brought about the unification of these royal and regional cults under the authority of a single court, although many inconsistencies, contradictions, and redundancies persisted. The Han dynasty nonetheless probably marks the first period about which one can speak of a single pantheon, understood as a conception of the gods coexisting collectively within a relatively cohesive whole.

During the period of disunity that followed the fall of the Han, ritual specialists debated cult liturgies at the royal courts of regional kingdoms. By the eighth century the Tang court (618–907) systematized these liturgies into a coherent official ritual system that would remain the foundation of the imperial cult until the end of the imperial era, although virtually every aspect of cult practice continued to be subject to frequent debate and reform, especially during the Song (960–1279) and Ming (1368–1644) dynasties.

The most far-reaching changes to the system of imperial cults took place in the sixteenth century, largely precipitated by repercussions of a succession crisis—or complication—that led to Ming Shizong's (r. 1521–1567) coronation as emperor. Although historians are suspicious of his personal motives in provoking a series of important reforms known by his reign name, Jiajing, it is clear that he tapped into controversies over the imperial cult's canonical precedents that had erupted intermittently and with fierce intensity among ritual scholars both in and out of the court for at least five hundred years.The description of the pantheon that follows is largely based on the Jiajing reforms, which were retained with few major changes until the early twentieth century.

The gods of the imperial pantheon governed specific realms of the cosmos. The correlation between gods and mortals was painstakingly regulated through exact prescriptions of the locations and type of ritual space where each god was to receive sacrifice and the person by whom it would be offered. The hierarchical system of cults, ranked into three tiers of great, middle, and miscellaneous, makes clear that the power of the gods and the realms over which they governed at times overlapped, usually because a more ancient god's power was superseded by that of another, more recent, one. By reading the pantheon of the Ming dynasty as a guide, it is possible to gain insight into the cosmic order that enveloped the gods, the stars, the natural forces, and the world of the living.

Cult of Heaven/Shangdi. Heaven occupied the pinnacle of the imperial pantheon. Heaven received Great Sacrifice *(dasi)* on the winter solstice at a round open-air altar (*yuanqiu,* "round mound") south of the city only from the Son of Heaven, the emperor. The spirit seat upon which the god was invited to sit bore the name "Lofty Heaven Lord on High" (Hao Tian Shangdi). The altar was open so that all celestial spirits, such as Heaven, could gain access to the ritual feast at the altar only after it was rendered into smoke and dispersed into the ether. The altar was round because Heaven was itself construed as round. Only the emperor could offer a Great Sacrifice because he was the highest living being and because he had exclusive access to Lofty Heaven Shangdi through the intermediary presence of his own ancestor, the founding emperor of the dynasty, whose spirit tablet faced west next to that of Heaven on the highest platform of the altar. The presence of lesser deities invited to share in this ritual feast as correlates suggests that the cosmic realm over which Heaven reigned was further subdivided into other subordinate realms. The sun received secondary sacrifice as Great Light, and the moon as Evening Light. Gods of the stars occupying the twenty-eight heavenly spheres, the five planets (Venus, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, and Saturn), Lord Wind, and commanders Cloud, Thunder, and Rain received secondary sacrifice at the Great Sacrifice. The power of these gods affected the human world from above as it circulated throughout the heavens, above the world of the living. All of these correlate deities also received Middle Sacrifice from officers of the court as the chief deities at their own altars.

Cult of Earth. Heaven was not omnipotent in the cosmos, it was simply the highest of all gods. As a yang force, it initiated all things and thus required a receptive yin force—the Earth—to bring all things to fruition. Earth received sacrifice as August Earth God (Huangdi chi) on the summer solstice at an open square mound/altar (because Earth was seen as square) north of the city. As in the cult of Lofty Heaven Shangdi, the emperor observed a three-day purification fast, then offered Great Sacrifice to Earth, again with the intermediary presence of his ancestor, the dynastic founder. The presence of lesser gods who received correlate sacrifice at the square altar reveals the properly terrestrial quality of the cosmos governed by Earth. The Five Sacred Peaks and other lesser mountains, the Four Seas and the Four Rivers (Yangzi, Yellow, Huai, and Ji) constituted subservient, more particularized forces subsumed under the power of Earth. Some of these, such as Mount Tai among the Five Sacred Peaks, were historically more ancient objects of cult veneration than Earth, an overtly less particularized cosmic force associated with things terrestrial. These cosmic forces exerted powerful, yet more circumscribed, influence in relation to celestial gods, along Earth's "square" surface.

These separate sacrifices to Heaven and Earth at altars dedicated to each during the Ming and Qing (1644–1911 CE) were based on the precedents established in the *Record of Rites* and the *Rites of Zhou.* During most of the imperial era, however, Earth received joint sacrifice with Heaven at the round altar in the southern suburb. The rationale for joint sacrifices was initially not based on canonical precedent but on the intuitive conviction that as coeval forces in the cosmos they should be combined. The joint rites were vigorously debated in the Song, when opponents appealed to the canonical authority of the *Rites of Zhou*, and proponents to the less lofty, but apparently more compelling, argument of precedents set by long-standing dynastic practice. Joint sacrifices were continued in the Yuan and early Ming dynasties, although vigorous debate began anew in the first year of the Ming and culminated in the ritual reforms of the Jiajing era, when separate liturgies were formulated. Even after these changes, and in spite of the zealousness of the debates, sacrifice to Earth was not, in practice, scrupulously observed, while that to Heaven most certainly was.

Cult of imperial ancestors. The cults of Heaven and Earth shared the status of the highest-ranking Great Sacrifice in the Ming ritual statutes with the imperial ancestors. The ancestors of Ming emperors and their principal consorts received sacrifice five times a year in a walled complex in the southeastern quarters inside the imperial city. The main gate of the Imperial Temple opened from the south into the compound where three enclosed halls were arrayed along a north-south axis that paralleled the layout of the imperial city. The first hall called the Great Shrine (*taimiao*) was the location of combined rites for former emperors (*dixia*). The second building, the Inner Apartments (*qindian*), housed the spirit tablets of no more than seven imperial ancestors, kept in niches housed in seven halls according to the ritual precedents found in the *Record of Rites.* Behind the Inner Apartments was the Hall of Removed Tablets (*tiaomiao*) for the dynastic founder's ancestors, extending back five generations; other former emperors who were removed from among the seven emperors housed in the Inner Apartments as the most recently deceased rulers were also installed there.

The arrangement of the tablets in the Ming Imperial Temple clearly illustrates the intersection of cult practice and court politics. The founding emperor, Ming Taizu (r. 1368–1398), occupied the middle, superior position in the Inner Apartments, followed by his successor, seated to his left, then the five most recent ancestors of the reigning emperor, who led the ceremony. The tablet to Taizu's left was that of Ming Taizong—the Yongle emperor (r. 1402–1424), later canonized as Ming Chengzu—who killed his nephew, the second emperor, burned the palace in Nanjing, and relocated the capital in Beijing. The reign of the second emperor was expunged from the court annals and his name tabooed in the hallowed ancestral halls. The conventions of imperial succession are again interrupted in the sequence of tablets with the presence of an ancestor who never reigned at all. He was posthumously granted the status of emperor, amid tumultuous court controversy, after Ming Shizong succeeded his cousin, who had left no heir, as emperor. Rather than allow himself to be adopted into his cousin's line, Shizong insisted upon retroactively inserting his parents into the line of emperors. Historians have debated his motives for centuries, but at the very least, filial piety, ancestral cult devotion, and political legitimation are inextricably tangled together in this affair.

The official ancestral cult of the imperial court descends from ancient rites that date to as early as the Shang dynasty. Extant oracle-bone inscriptions record sacrifices to the royal ancestors and entreaties by kings for their ancestors to intercede in their requests to the gods to bring rain, bountiful harvests, or military victories. By the Zhou dynasty, the cult of ancestors was widely practiced among the lower hereditary lords, when ritual scholars began to codify these rites. By the Song dynasty, ancestral cult practices were nearly universal among virtually all people throughout China. Even before the Ming—when the court began to regulate cult practices of commoners for the first time—the canonical rites of serving the spirits of the ancestors found in the Confucian classics profoundly influenced the religious consciousness of peasants. Commoners, Confucian literati, and the Son of Heaven all believed that the spirits of departed ancestors required sustenance, which only male descendants could proffer. The ritual feasting of ancestral spirits by the living constituted the primary means of communication with the spirit world. Cult feasting served to sustain the ancestors in the netherworld, which they requited by exercising influence over the fate of their living descendants. In addition to material benefits and emolument, high status among the living brought expanded privileges to offer sacrifices to ever-greater numbers of ancestors.

Notwithstanding Confucian criticisms of popular customs as licentious, it is often difficult to distinguish elite from popular religious practice, particularly on the crucial level of the relationship between the living and the spirits of their ancestors. Licentiousness largely referred to the mixing of sexes across lineage and affinal lines or to noncanonical, usually sexual, relations between gods and shaman priestesses. The religious sensibilities of commoners tended to be more overtly intertwined with local and noncanonical religious ideas—in the specific sense of ideas not found in the Confucian canon—from Daoism and Buddhism than those of the classically educated elite. But the Confucian literati were hardly free from such influences. Were one to distinguish elite from popular religion at all, one would need to do so as a difference of degree of "strict canonical purity" at one end of a spectrum and increasingly dense saturation of regional, local custom or Daoism and Buddhism at the other, rather than as a difference of kind. Although Confucian classical learning and philosophy no doubt influenced commoners, particularly through the examination system, it was largely through the spread of ancestor worship into virtually every household in China that Confucianism had its most profound and permanent impact.

Cult of soils and grains. A fourth cult ranked as Great Sacrifice is that of the gods of soils (*she*) and grains (*ji*), which are among the most ancient of the imperial cults. They are also among the most complex in that they are simultaneously local—grounded in the very soils of the community—and overtly tied to the ruler's sovereignty. In ancient times, the *she* altar was synonymous with the king, the land of his kingdom, and the welfare of his subjects. To destroy the altar once used to honor the soils gods was unthinkable, and to use it was either usurpation or confusion of different polities. The *she* cult of many ancient ritual traditions substituted for, or overlapped with, the cult of Earth as Heaven's counterpart, as seen in the "Single Victim Suburban Sacrifice" (*jiao tesheng*) chapter of the *Record of Rites*, which states, "*She* sacrifice takes the way of Earth as the deity." In the second month of the spring and autumn during Ming times, Great Sacrifice was offered by the emperor to gods of soils and grains on separate altars at a two-tiered open, square altar (thus replicating Earth's square mound in the northern suburbs) within a walled complex inside the imperial city. Rites at the *she* altar, built on an earthen mound with different colored soils from the five cardinal directions (North, South, East, West, and Center), included correlate sacrifices to Lord Soil (Houtu goulong). Rites at the *ji* altar for grains, built on an earthen mound with yellow soil and (at least during the Yuan dynasty) no spirit tablet, included correlate sacrifices to Lord Millet (Houji), ancestor of the Zhou royal family.

The cults of Heaven, Earth, the imperial ancestors, and soils and grains occupied the highest level of the imperial pantheon. As recipients of Great Sacrifice, they are distinguishable from all other cults in at least four interrelated ways: (1) they were the most exalted and powerful gods ruling the cosmos, and thus the emperor alone could offer sacrifice, except under extraordinary circumstances when either the heir apparent or a high-ranking official acted as surrogate; (2) they were most closely tied to the virtue and legitimacy of the ruler who led the rites, and any ruler who was not virtuous was not legitimate; (3) they were all located in the imperial city or outside its walls—their exact location was geographically and cosmically fixed not only by the surrounding terrain as ascertained by geomancy, but also by their proximity to the emperor's throne; and (4) they were all sanctioned by the Confucian canon. Although the canonical sources contain more than one version of some of these cults—which partly explains why controversies about them never ceased—there was no doubt in anyone's mind that they originated in the golden era of the Zhou dynasty.

Middle-level and miscellaneous cults. The second level of the imperial pantheon was occupied by lesser gods that received middle-level sacrifices (*zhongsi*) from officers of the court, and, on some occasions, by the emperor or the heir apparent. Some middle-level cults were regional variations of the higher cults, such as soils and grains, stars, wind and rain, mountains and rivers. Other middle-level cults developed later, with little, or at best a tenuous, canonical foundation. Two agricultural cults began in the Eastern Han (25–220 CE). The First Farmer received sacrifice at a shrine, followed by the principal consecration officer's ceremonious turning of the first three furrows of the planting season. Although court debates questioned if this was not a conflation with the soils god, it continued, with occasional participation by the emperor, until the Qing dynasty, when Manchu rulers performed this rite assiduously. Parallel sericulture rites performed by the empress also date to the Eastern Han period.

Confucius was venerated as the principal deity in a middle-level cult of civil culture. Initially a local cult observed by Confucius's descendants and disciples in Qufu, Shandong, where he lived, the cult of Confucius was patronized by imperial entourages since the early Han. By the Tang dynasty it was integrated into the imperial pantheon, with a temple cult in the capital. From the Tang until the early Ming, Taigong Wang, a general who served the founders of the Zhou dynasty, was the primary deity of a military cult. He was enshrined as a correlate in the cult of past rulers in 1388 and replaced by Guandi, a heroic minister at the end of the Han dynasty to whom miraculous powers were attributed and who had acquired an enormous popular following throughout the empire. The kings and emperors of past dynasties also received cult sacrifice in the Temple of Former Dynasts beginning in the Ming. This consolidated various local rites performed since the Sui (581–618) at tomb sites of past rulers scattered throughout north China, beginning with the legendary sage-kings of high antiquity. The liturgy and temple layout followed that of the Imperial Temple, except that court officials were usually dispatched to perform these rites. The gods of walls and motes (usually referred to as "city gods" in English), and those of the flags and banners of the southern wall and instruction halls of provincial capitals, also received middle-level sacrifice.

Most of these middle cults had counterparts as miscellaneous cults (*qunsi*) and received minor sacrifices (*xiaosi*) from local officials at the district and county levels. Local officials also offered sacrifices to the ghosts of abandoned ancestors and those who died violent deaths at special altars outside the walls of towns and cities. In addition to these official cults, the Ming court also passed sumptuary prescriptions regulating private cults, such as those for the gods of soils and grains of individual plots of land, for ancestors extending back two generations at altars in the homes of commoners or shrines operated by larger clan organizations, and for the spirits that inhabited kitchen stoves. The Ming court was more inclined than its predecessors to prescribe ritual duties to commoners, thereby formally linking the loftiest of imperial cults, which were tended by the emperor at the center, with cult activities of merchants and artisans in towns, as well as cultivators in villages, within a cohesive, overarching pantheon.

RITUAL PURITY. In the Confucian world of cults, the orderly operation of the cosmos required proper performance of the rites of sacrifice to the gods. Proper performance of the rites entailed observing distinctions among the gods, who were divided into a three-tiered hierarchy based on criteria of antiquity, canonicity, and cosmic power. Ritual distinction was marked by a number of indicators: the kind and location of the ritual space where a cult was practiced; the kind and amount of offerings; the music, dance, and prayers of the liturgy; and the position or rank of the person who offered the sacrifice. And what of the living persons who came before the gods offering gifts of supplication at the altar? What qualifications must the sacrificer possess to earn such a privilege? A key to understanding the religious import of the rites of the imperial cult is that the sacrificer did not act for his own benefit but for that of the entire community for which he was responsible. An imperial cult conducted by a formal, governing body, by definition, is public; it is "civil," not private. The sacrificer acts for the well-being of a people and does not seek nor expect personal gain, such as salvation, enlightenment, or inner, spiritual transformation. It is clear from the relationship between the living and the gods that such things were not in the offing, even if the sacrificer sought them.

How are we to understand the inner state of the sacrificer? Surely there was a range of interpretations of cult rites among those who practiced them, but the canonical description of the inner state of the sacrificer found in the *Record of Rites* was repeatedly endorsed in later ritual texts and discussions of the rites, which emphasize ritual efficacy. These sources stress the necessity of undergoing purification rites before the sacrifice in order to realize a state of reverence and single-minded concentration on the spirit that is to receive sacrifice. This state of ritual purity makes it possible to communicate the sacrifices to the gods. Ritual purity is realized in the days before the actual sacrifice through observing regulations and a fast. A ritual specialist explained the process to the first emperor of the Ming by saying:

> The regulations delimit the external and the fast orders the internal. The regulations prescribe a bath and change of clothes. In your comings and goings, do not drink wine, eat meat, inquire about the illness of others, observe mourning, listen to music, or pass judgment on criminals. The fast concentrates the mind on the sacrifice; it is to be strict, cautious, and fearful. Think only of the spirit that is to receive the sacrifice, as if it is there above you or to your left or right. The fast means to be perfectly pure and completely sincere without a moment's lapse. (*Mingshi* 47.1239–1240)

Thus the ritual purity of the sacrifice is not achieved through extirpating defilement or purging sin—a concept that is noticeably absent in writings on imperial cults—but by so concentrating one's consciousness on the spirits that one can "almost certainly see them at the altar." The virtue of one's reverence toward the spirits is a precondition of the rite. Upon completing the rite, what one has accomplished or gained is the success of communicating the feast to the gods.

POLITICAL LEGITIMATION AND THE IMPERIAL CULTS. Some twentieth-century social scientists have argued in a functionalist mode that imperial cult rituals were simply a means employed by the ruling elite to control the populace. As with other religions with direct connections to regimes of political power, successful performance of the rites of the imperial cult brought prestige and enhanced political legitimacy to those who performed them. Not to perform the rites was a clear indication of illegitimacy, and they were apparently rarely if ever abandoned by ruling dynasts, except in times of grave trouble when it was not possible to perform them. As such, these cult rituals were a sine qua non of legitimate rule during imperial times because the gods were believed to possess great power and their assistance was deemed necessary.

SUBURBAN SACRIFICE TO HEAVEN/SHANGDI AT THE ROUND ALTAR. The following description of the sacrifice to Heaven is based on the imperial liturgy of the Ming dynasty after the Jiajing reforms. Understanding a complex ritual such as this depends not only upon grasping its numerous details, but also obtaining a clear sense of the sequence of its parts and of the duration of ritual time involved in performing the liturgy. Although all elements of the rite were necessary, some carried more weight, as demonstrated by, for example, the emperor's repeated visits to the Imperial Shrine to notify his ancestors of his intention to perform this rite and to request the founding emperor's presence at the altar. The materials offered to the god, such as jade and the animals used for the feast, were carefully selected and inspected. Incense was used to attract the gods, who were invited to partake in the feast no less than three times. The fastidious attention to the person of the sacrificer, his clean and proper clothes, pure mental state, and appropriate corporeal demeanor all attest to the singular importance of each.

Preparation for the ceremony began ten days beforehand when the Office of Imperial Sacrifice sent officers to inspect the animals to be used in the sacrifices: nine calves, three sheep, and three pigs. Five days before the ceremony, imperial guards escorted the emperor to the cleansing pen to inspect the victims. Imperial sacrifice focused on presenting food to the gods—not on killing—and thus these animals were not slaughtered at the altar, but were carefully prepared in the temple kitchen in advance as part of a feast for the gods. The night before this the emperor, wearing ordinary dress, went to the Imperial Shrine inside the Forbidden City, where he offered incense to each of the imperial ancestors, beginning with the dynastic founder. He then announced his intention to offer sacrifice to August Heaven Shangdi. Four days before the ceremony, erudite members of the Office of Imperial Sacrifice drafted the prayer that was to be read at the ceremony.

Three days before the ceremony, the emperor, wearing ritual garb, resided in the bedchambers of the Imperial Shrine. Holding a jade scepter tablet that identified him, the emperor formally greeted the ancestral spirits at the main incense table by prostrating himself and offering incense. Before the niche of the founding emperor's spirit tablet he offered libation and read a prayer stating his intention to offer sacrifice to Shangdi, and his request for the founding emperor's presence at the ceremony. On this same day, the emperor and other celebrants began to follow regulations to bathe, wear clean clothes, and refrain from engaging in any activity that might distract them from concentrating on the impending ceremony, such as consoling the bereaved, drinking wine, listening to music, and interacting with their wives. They also observed a purification fast that aimed to bring unified order to their hands, feet, and mind.

On the day before the sacrifice, the emperor went to the Hall for Receiving Heaven in the inner court of the Forbidden City to personally write out the prayer on a new green mulberry-wood board. At this time he also placed green jade and green silk in boxes (shades of blue-green were associated with the color of the heavens). He then offered incense three times and performed one set of three kowtows. Wearing ritual dress, the emperor informed the spirits of his ancestors that he was heading to the Altar of Heaven, then he rode the carriage to the Round Altar. After inspecting the victims, he went to the fasting quarters attached to the altar complex, where he observed a strict fast during which he devoted himself entirely to the pending sacrifice.

Before dawn on the morning of the sacrifice, the minister of rites led the collected officers to the incense altar before the spirits. All knelt to perform three kowtows, then took the spirit tablets out of their niche cupboards, beginning with the lowest-ranking spirit. The officers lined up along the spirit path leading to the Round Altar, and the drums were sounded three times; the emperor left the fasting quarters, entered the altar complex, and assumed his position at the foot of the stairs of the three-tiered Round Altar. A fire was set to stacked wood and the entire victim was cooked so that it was rendered into smoke. The emperor bowed while the minister for ceremonial said, "Having observed a fast and the regulations, sacrifice is offered this morning. With this cleansing, we come before the gods and spirits." The emperor put his jade tablet in his belt, washed and dried his hands, held his tablet and ascended the Round Altar. The minister then said, "The spirits are above us, observe the ceremony carefully!"

The emperor then approached the spirit tablet of Lofty Heaven Shangdi, which faced south on the north side of the highest of the three tiers. Arrayed in front of the tablet was a feast consisting of the single cooked calf, a dark green jade disc, twelve bolts of dark green silk, a bowl of broth, glutinous millets and millet grains, nuts and cakes, sauces and edible grasses, and three tripods for the libation offering (these same foods were offered in lesser amounts to other gods of the pantheon, so it is difficult to read particular symbolic significance into these items). The emperor knelt at the altar, and offered up incense three times; he then bowed, proceeded to the altar of the dynastic founder, and performed the same offerings, then returned to his position on the south side of the third tier. He repeated the same sequence of actions, then presented the first offering (*chuxian*): He washed and dried a tripod, filled it with wine, knelt before the spirit tablet, offered incense, raised the tripod as offering (*dianjue*), poured some of the wine at the base of the altar to guide the spirit to the precise location of the feast, and placed the tripod on the altar in front of the tablet. He performed the same sequence when presenting the first offering to the dynastic founder. The prayer was then read while the emperor prostrated himself, rose, bowed, then returned to his position.

At this point, the secondary consecration officers went to the altars for the other gods on the middle tier and offered incense, silk, and libation. The emperor then presented the second (*yaxian*) and final offerings (*zhongxian*) to Shangdi and the dynastic founder, which was followed each time by the secondary consecration officers' presentation of offerings to the other gods. The emperor drank some of the blessed wine and received a portion of the sacrificial meat; the viands were then cleared away and the spirits escorted away from the Round Altar. The text of the prayer and the silk were finally burned as a means of commuting them to the world of the spirits. Once these had been at least half consumed by fire, the ceremony ended.

SEE ALSO Chinese Religion, overview article, article on Mythic Themes.

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CONFUCIANISM: HISTORY OF STUDY

Any effort to describe Confucianism (*ru,* literally "weakling" but conventionally glossed as "scholar") as an object of study requires one to acknowledge that it is a historically related symbolic complex made from the fateful conjunction of early modern European and Chinese curiosity. The greater weight of the scholarly output of this conjunction has been borne by Western interpreters. The reason for this is obvious: *ru* was never actually a subject of conscious investigation by the Chinese until around 1900, and *Confucianism* is, as Lewis Hodous declared in the 1911 edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, "a misleading general term for the teachings of the Chinese classics upon cosmology, the social order, government, morals and ethics." A celebrated case of metaphor as mistake yielded four centuries of analysis, commentary, and most importantly, translations through which Confucianism and the essential China it metonymically contained were exactingly documented for purposes of admiration or attack. Over this interval the figure of "Confucius" acquired global fame, while the native figure, Kongzi, was revered for millennia as Chinese culture's greatest sage and teacher. In the context of this great encounter, the meaning of which was slowly distilled through Confucianism, the place of China and Confucianism has shifted within Western cultural self-consciousness. China's value for the West has changed, and along with it the significance of Confucianism; however, the one salient constant has been the global character of this complex.

The term *Confucianism* familiar to most early twenty-first century readers is the nominal equivalent of the expressions *ru, rujia, ruxue,* the meanings of which are scholar, classical tradition, and classical teaching, rather than the teaching of Confucius (Kongzi, 551–479 BCE). Confucianism has meant, most notably: (1) a system of thought; (2) a mechanism of social control or state ideology; and (3) China's civil religion or ethos, in this sense being indistinguishable from China itself and thus a very worthy subject of study. Confucianism stands for a great number of things both enabling and disabling of any effort to compile a history of it as an object of study.

Prior to the eighteenth century and the intellectual debates between scholars of the new and old script traditions of Chinese classical scholarship, there was really no effective study of Confucianism. Instead, there were the manifold traditions of textual communities underwritten by exegesis and commentary on any of the *jiujing,* or nine classic works (Book of Documents, Book of Odes, Classic of Change, Spring and Autumn Annals, Record of Rites, Guliang Commentary, Gongyang Commentary, Zuo Commentary, and the Rites of Zhou) all believed to have been edited, inspired, or written by Kongzi. The work on these texts, the form of study about which one might write a history, is best understood as an inspired scholarly practice analogous to biblical hermeneutics in the West. The history of this engagement with texts in the interest of getting at the timeless truths of antiquity has been eloquently retold by John Henderson in *Scripture, Canon and Commentary* (1991) and Benjamin Elman in *From Philosophy to Philology* (1984), but it is not really about Confucianism per se.

***RU:* A CHINESE CONTEXT OF CONFUCIANISM STUDY.** The life Confucianism has lived as a form of study in the West was distinct, and until very recently largely different, from the scholarly history of *ru* in China. The epistemic status of the *ru* as an object of study was registered in the first "history" of China, Sima Tan (d. 110 BCE) and Sima Qian's *Shiji* (Grand Scribe's Records, c. 90 BCE). Here the category *rujia* was explicitly identified as one of the primary traditions of Chinese antiquity. *Ru* was a native tradition self-consciously attested to in the writings of the Warring States (479–256 BCE) and achieved a degree of national prominence in the first two imperial dynasties Qin (221–206 BCE) and Han (206 BCE–221 CE), when scholars (*boshi*) of specific classical works (*Shijing* [Book of Poetry], *Shangshu* or *Shujing* [Book of Documents], and *Yijing* [Book of Changes]) were appointed to government posts, a practice that continued, somewhat fitfully with well-noted interruptions, until the abolition of the official examination system in 1905. With the advent in the Han of an elaborate scholastic enterprise involving the cataloguing of all extant written works and the writing of an official history of civilization, *ru*—the de facto classicists of this time—assumed an official presence disproportional to their numbers among the plural intellectual traditions of the early imperial period.

The Chinese Empire was built upon texts—astronomical, divinatory, legal, medical, philosophical, ritual, and strategic—and was as much a semiotic system as a political entity. With classicists such as *ru* serving as prominent producers and interpreters of texts, they were, as Christopher Connery has argued, drawn into the care of the empire. In the Han capital of Chang'an an imperial academy, the Guozi jian, was founded with a syllabus organized around favored *ru* texts. An imperial sacrifice to Kongzi was initiated at his natal home of Qufu more than 750 miles to the east of the capital (in the second century BCE) along with a panoply of other official celebratory rites, by means of which the emperor sought legitimacy with both man and nature. This particular cultural concatenation of the appointment of *ru* and the formation of the imperial Kongzi cult may be taken as the Chinese foundation of "Confucianism"; it was also a phenomenon that, at a much later period, drew the attention of the Jesuit missionaries and became the focus of scholarly inquiry, as some sought in this confluence evidence of so-called Oriental Despotism or of a distinctive modern conjunction of royal authority and religious tolerance.

The official rise to prominence of the previously undistinguished *ru* fellowship is dated at 136 BCE, a moment that is considered epochal, because it is here that the monolithic myth of a two-thousand-year marriage of "Confucianism" and the Chinese imperium began. Beyond the nascent national prominence of metropolitan *ru* celebrated in the imperial cult to Kongzi, there were a number of other *ru* textual communities—eight according to Han Feizi (c. 280–233 BCE)—all inspired by the memory of the culture hero. On evidence provided by the *Shiji*, it is also known that by the time of the Han dynasty's founding there were myriad autochthonous temple cults to Kongzi. By the dawn of imperial times, the tradition of *ru* meant classical study (*jingxue*).

The earliest uses of *ru* are found just before the formation of the first Chinese imperial state, when it meant "pliable" or "weak" in the sense of disinclined to physical work; yet the term was clearly associated with the story traditions of an honored teacher, Kongzi. An eponymous discourse or a school of thought, *Kongjiao*—"Kong teaching," with perhaps "Confucianity" being better—did not exist until the first years of the twentieth century, when it was an antidote self-consciously administered by the state to combat the effects of foreign religious and social doctrines. This later invention, more literally Confucianism, was conceived as a national ethos distinct from *ru*, which referred to scholars of the *Wujing* (Five Classics—Book of Documents, Book of Changes, Book of Odes, Record of the Rites, Spring and Autumn Annals) and, later in the Yuan and Ming eras, the *Sishu* (Four Books—Selected Sayings [of Kongzi], Book of Mengzi, Doctrine of the Mean, Great Learning).

THE AGONISTIC RELATION OF *RU* AND THE IMPERIUM. This political tradition of administrative dependence on *ru* texts and ethos was noted with admiration by Western observers, but there was even more evidence conducive to their judgment that Confucianism was the *clavis Sinica,* or key to China. In 1313 the Mongols, ruling as the Yuan dynasty, reestablished the metropolitan examination, which promoted the annotations and commentaries on the *Wujing* and the *Sishu* of the southern Song classicist Zhu Xi (1130–1200), founder of a fundamentalist *ru* sect called *daoxue* (learning of the path), as the required texts for preparation for official service. The vernacular quality of Zhu's commentaries made them especially suitable for use by conquest elites, and their particular recensions endured until the twentieth century. This six-century continuity of use, and especially the exclusive reliance on the *Sishu,* ensured the regnancy of *daoxue*—and by association *ru*—as an intellectual orthodoxy indefeasibly linked to the operations of the imperial bureaucracy. Moreover, the formal enshrinement of Zhu Xi and the elevation of *daoxue* and its prominent followers in the hierarchy of the Kongzi temple by the Yuan (1279–1368), Ming (1368–1644), and Qing (1644–1911) dynasties effected the canonization of *ru* as an orthodoxy whose transmission was a concern of the state.

For the most part, self-identified followers of the *ru* tradition filled the ranks of classical scholars, both independent and official; however, there was no systematic study of *ru* until perhaps the *Mingru xue'an* (Cases of Ming Scholars) of Huang Zongxi (1610–1695). Published in 1676, within the same interval as Jesuit translations in Latin of Chinese scriptural texts were first being published in Europe, the *Mingru xue'an* inaugurated a new genre of historical scholarship. The popularity of Huang's critical review of the lives and teachings of an apostolic succession of *ru* exemplars inspired similar compilations on the Song (960–1279) and Yuan periods (*Song-Yuan xue'an*), all construed as records of intellectual descent, providing a historical sketch of the diversity and proliferation of *ru* over imperial time. In Huang's hands *ru* was a prominent object in an historical field, a tradition whose elaboration could be documented through subsequent generations of practitioners. His genealogical reconstruction used the methods of standard philology, not merely to parse obscure classical phrasing but to historicize the present *ru* as active appropriators of the traditions they received. This subtle shift in interpretive agency relocated authority to the reader and away from the government-sanctioned canon, and anticipated the remarkable intellectual developments of eighteenth-century classicism, developments advanced by *ru* but in a manner inconsistent with the honored synarchy of state and scholarship.

Yet just as late Ming *ru*, like Huang, moved to dissolve the heteronomy of research and regime and scholar-official and state, Jesuit missionaries—standing outside the reach of this emergent critical culture—reasserted the identity of *ru* and the empire while insisting that in an era of scholarly disenchantment with inherited tradition, they, too, could engage the texts of antiquity as legitimate readers. And from this point the story of the study of the Confucianism with which we are familiar develops.

CONFUCIANISM: INVENTION AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION. Since the mid-seventeenth century, when transmission of native Chinese texts to Europe became possible, Confucius and Confucianism have been interpreted as the core of the *sapientia sinica*, or the wisdom of the Chinese, a unique object of aesthetic and religious apprehension avidly sought by linguists, missionaries, philosophers, and scientists. Thus, to study Confucianism was to pursue even greater understanding of China itself, and with proper attention, to disclose the implicit theological unity of East and West. This meant that such scholarly attention was equally animated by the prospects of compatibility and dissimilarity on the grounds of reason and faith, entities of great value in a period of cultural crisis and religious conflict.

The study of Confucianism as we know it begins with the work of a handful of missionaries of the Society of Jesus, who between 1582 and 1610 insinuated themselves into southern Chinese life at the invitation of regional Chinese officials. The missionaries sought converts through a process of thorough enculturation (described by modern scholars as "accommodationism") by which they sought to prove the theological compatibility of Christianity and native Chinese faith. Indeed, it can be argued that the apologetic catechisms, letters, and translations generated by these Jesuits represented the origin of Confucianism. The first work demonstrating an awareness of the figure from whom the term *Confucianism* was derived was a Latin draft of the first Jesuit catechism for prospective Chinese converts, *Vera et brevis divinarum rerum expositio* (True and brief explanation of the divine things). The seventh chapter of this primitive xylographic pamphlet—produced between 1579 and 1583 by Michele Ruggieri (1543–1607) and Matteo Ricci (1552–1610)—was organized as a dialogue between a native philosopher and a Christian priest and included a single mention of "Confutius." Over a little more than a decade, missionary awareness of this cultural icon grew in proportion with the Jesuits' deepening interest in the original teaching of Kongzi and his disciples, who they described as the *legge d'letterati* (order of the literati), *i veri letterati* (true literati) and *xianru* (the primordial *ru*). Throughout the second, and authoritative, catechism written and published in Chinese by Ricci in 1596, *Tianzhu shiyi* (The real significance of the Heavenly Master), Kongzi's tradition was assimilated by the missionaries who increasingly identified themselves as defenders of *zhenru* or the "real *ru*."

Their identification was occasioned by a belief that the texts attributed to Confucius—the *Lunyu* (Selected Sayings, or Analects), the *Zhongyong* (Doctrine of the Mean), and the *Daxue* (Great Learning)—bore witness to an ancient belief in the one God, *shangdi* (lord on high), but more commonly referred to by the Jesuits' Chinese neologism, *tianzhu* (Master of Heaven). Between 1596 and 1608, when Ricci was asked to prepare a history of the Jesuit mission in China, *ru*, *legge d'letterati,* and the Jesuits were indistinguishable, so much so that interpretation of Chinese cultural phenomena was inflected with the Jesuit favor for this tradition, which in their eyes was so much like their own. The understanding of Confucianism as a body of texts and a discipline of study founded by Confucius slowly emerged from the Jesuits' Chinese enculturation and was documented in the history of the mission's entrance into China compiled by Matteo Ricci between 1608 and 1610, *Della entrata della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina* (On the Entrance of the Jesuit Company and Christianity into China), but not published until 1615, after Nicolá Trigault (1577–1628) had completed a tendentious Latin translation (*De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas* [On the Christian Expedition among the Chinese]). Here, in an exposition on the *tre leggi diverse* (three different orders) of Chinese religion, readers learned that:

> the greatest philosopher among them is Confutio [Confucius], who was born 551 years before the coming of the Lord to the world and for more than seventy years lived a very good life teaching this people through words, works, and writings. . . . Not only the literati but the kings themselves venerate him through so many centuries measuring backwards in time . . . and they avow that they themselves display a soul grateful for the doctrine received from him.

What the early missionaries welcomed in Kongzi's teaching were those things they esteemed in their own sodality: the importance of undying fraternal affection; the role of rites in molding meaningful life; elected service to the wise in achieving social harmony; and study as a mechanism of moral self-fashioning. Such appreciation of what would later be called Confucianism as the religious *doppelgänger* of Christianity inspired subsequent efforts to illuminate Chinese religious understanding through translation of scriptural texts from Chinese into Latin and French. Indeed, from the first bilingual (Latin and Chinese) translation of the *Sishu* through the publication of the Reverend David Collie's *The Four Books* (1828) and beyond, the bulk of missiological and scholarly work on Confucianism consisted of efforts to translate and interpret these texts, often without the aid of Chinese commentary. This was the principal legacy of the Sino-Jesuit mission, something borne out well in the reliance of James Legge (1815–1897) on Catholic missionary translations in his encyclopedic translation of the *Sishu* and the *Wujing* between 1865 and 1895.

Less than a decade following Ricci's death in 1610, however, the interest in indigenous sources of Chinese Christianity was aggressively contested by a new generation of missionaries who, along with their Vatican patrons, believed that Confucianism had been willfully misrepresented by the first Sino-Jesuit translators and commentators. Consequently, in the early decades of the seventeenth century and continuing through the eighteenth, a theological debate raged over the possibility of regarding Chinese religion as compatible with Christianity, specifically the popular ancestral rites of Chinese families and the established native terms for God: *shangdi*, *tian*, and *tianzhu*. Strictly literal interpreters like Niccolò Longobardo (1565–1655), whose *De Confucio ejusque doctrina tractatus* (1623; A treatise on Confucius and his doctrine) denounced the apologetic tendency of Ricci's followers to accommodate Chinese and Christian conceptions of God in the term *tianzhu*. Longobardo's was the first of a number of texts devoted to the demolition of interpretative sympathy and the reaffirmation of Catholic orthodoxy, but accommodationist views continued to exist.

The favored texts of Confucianism, specifically the *Lunyu*, *Zhongyong*, *Daxue*, *Mengzi*, and *Yijing*, continued to draw the interest of theological and linguistic speculation. Accommodationism underwrote the production of substantial works of annotated translation such as *Sapientia Sinica* (1662; Wisdom from China), *Sinarum scientia politico-moralis* (1687; The politico-moral learning of the Chinese), *Confucius Sinarum philosophus* (1687; Confucius, philosopher of the Chinese), and *Sinensis imperii libri classici sex* (1711; The authoritative six classics of the Chinese).

As the first translations of selected texts from the Chinese canon appeared in seventeenth-century Europe, Confucius—the cherished Jesuit symbol of archaic monotheism—became a favorite figure among the educated. Very technical translations and interpretive works produced by the missionaries in China were hastily republished and even popularized. Many of these texts, translated from Latin to native vernaculars and republished, circulated widely. For example, the *Sinarum scientia politico-moralis* was translated into French as *"La Science des Chinois"* and republished in 1672 by Melchisedec Thévenot in a popular four-volume work of travel literature titled *Relations de divers voyages curieux* (Accounts of various strange journeys).

The increasing popularity of travel literature in the late seventeenth century was a consequence of the rise of something akin to ethnographic authority that was, in turn, part of a larger epistemological shift away from faith and insight to experiment and observation as the basis of reliable knowledge. In this intellectual context the Jesuits and their Chinese texts were construed as scientific authorities providing testimony on behalf of the universality of divinely authored creation. The local, self-constituting character of the Jesuit mission in China ensured that the Jesuits' texts were widely read, because their authority lay in their having been there "among the Chinese," as the message they were believed to convey about intimations of the divine in China transcended the particular.

Upon its publication in 1687 the *Confucius Sinarum philosophus* was met with intellectual excitement from its lay audience, despite its conceptual sophistication and awkward Latin equivalents of Chinese terms. The work was immediately abridged and translated into French, appearing the following year in Amsterdam as *La Morale de Confucius, Philosophe de la Chine.* An English translation of the French abridgement, *The Morals of Confucius, A Chinese Philosopher*, was published in 1691 in London. Both books were reprinted and, like the first editions, were published as leather-bound parchment pocket books. Each was less than 125 pages and offered an abbreviated sampling of the Jesuit translations of the *Daxue*, *Zhongyong*, and *Lunyu,* a shortened biography of Confucius, a preface by the editors, and an introductory essay titled, "On the Antiquity and Philosophy of the Chinese." This abbreviation and publication of significant portions of the *Confucius Sinarum philosophus* occurred alongside the abridgment and republication of the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society, which were translated into national vernaculars. So, in the same way that the multilingual European scientific community was sustained by the rapid circulation of the summary volumes of the Royal Society, an educated lay community was joined through the movements of an information network.

Confucius could offer more than a political vision of reasoned stability and civil order; in fact, Confucius and the written language of which he was the most learned representative were conceived of by some natural philosophers and scientists in Europe as features of a semiotic system analogous to mathematics, a universal system of real characters. As an unmediated reflection of nature or the universe, the cogency of this system was dependent on textual evidence of the very sort provided by Philippe Couplet (1623–1693) and others in the *Confucius Sinarum philosophus.*

CONFUCIANISM, COMPARATIVE THEOLOGY AND THE *CONFUCIUS SINARUM PHILOSOPHUS.* The *Confucius Sinarum philosophus*, or *Scientia Sinensis* (Chinese learning), like Isaac Newton's *Principia Mathematica* that was published in the same year, sought to establish the one-to-one correspondences between God's providential order and other signifying systems. It represented the accumulation of one hundred years of translation and exegesis in its demonstration of China's archaic monotheism and offered the first documented use of the descriptive term *Confucian.* Earlier missionary scholarship had similarly focused on history and geography, cartography, or language and grammar, but this work was different: it was a massive annotated translation in service to a more ambitious ecumenical program of comparative theology. It contained detailed chronological tables of Christian and Chinese history, an incomplete translation of a recension of the *Sishu*, an exhaustive critical introduction including a disquisition on popular religion, and a biography of Confucius.

The Jesuit compilers assembled this heterogeneous fund of plural schools, practices, texts, and interpretations into a system identified as the legacy of the mythic philosopher-hero. It was just this metonymic reduction of the many to the one that was responsible for the political significance of the *Confucius Sinarum philosophus* for new states seeking to articulate, justify, and enforce absolute claims to nationhood. Confucius was, in fact, China, and so too could Louis XIV (r. 1661–1715) be France or William III (r. 1689–1702) be England. The Jesuits could not have foreseen such an interpretation of their work, but they did believe that China could be reduced to Confucius, offering at least two reasons that would justify this equivalence.

First, they argued that because he was the author of the *libri classici* (the classics), which are the literary summation of China's ancient culture, Confucius had been immemorially honored. While he was described by Ricci and Trigault as the Chinese equal of "ethnic philosophers" like Plato or Aristotle, a living icon of a system of thought, the authors of the *Confucius Sinarum philosophus* compared Confucius to the Oracle at Delphi, though in higher regard than the latter because he enjoyed more authority among the Chinese than that attributed to the Oracle by ancient Greeks. In this way they presumed Confucius's teachings were a good propaeduetic to Christianity, suggesting the necessary evolution of one into the other.

Second, like the early accommodationists, they saw Confucius's teaching, *ju kiao* (*rujiao*), as a distillation of the ancient belief in *Xan ti* (*Shangdi*), or what the authors now called *Religionem Sinensium* (The Chinese religion.) Here they exceeded the ground-level ethnographic notations on religious practice made by Ricci, demonstrating a compelling cognate philological link between *Xan ti*, Deus, Elohim, and Jehovah. The authors claimed that these four terms were etymologically derived from the same source. It was just such curious philology in support of ecumenism that especially appealed to Leibniz, whose efforts to create a *characteristica universalis* (universal system of characters) were justified by the testimony of these translations.

Revealing something of the indistinguishability of theology and contemporary politics, the authors remind us that the Chinese monarchy had been in place for more than four thousand years, seventeen hundred of which were continuously under the *Magistratum Confucium* (Magistracy of Confucius). The essential equation of China and Confucianism and Christianity as the inevitable singular belief system of China was reinforced in the European imagination by the testimony of "*Siu* Paulus," or Paul Xu (Guangqi, 1562–1633), that "[Christianity] fulfills what is lacking in our Master Confucius and in the philosophy of the literati; it truly removes and radically extirpates nefarious superstitions and the cult of the demons [Daoism, Buddhism, and neo-Confucianism]." In the instability of Europe after the religious wars of the sixteenth century, a reasoned defense of national faith in a single religion or ideology, such as the Jesuits described for China, was read politically as a justification for the peaceful coexistence of national singularity and religious uniformity.

This same interpretive mechanism of unequal complementarity—Christianity as the "high religion" supplemented by the "lower religions" of ethnic others like the Chinese—would soon be found in a host of works on pagan religion and world chronology written by figures like Isaac Newton and David Hume as the quarrel between the Ancients and the Moderns raged among European *philosophes.* The semiotic taxonomies of the imperial genealogy and the *Tabula Chronologica* (a comparative chronology of Chinese and biblical time) included as appendices of the *Confucius Sinarum philosophus* were readily admitted into the rhetoric of authentic representation of the physical world that occupied the energies of seventeenth-century lay intellectuals. The perplexing chasm they faced between the fallen languages of man and the work of God provoked a search by way of linguistics, experimental science, mathematics, and natural philosophy to invent new semiotic forms capable of representing God's creation while avoiding the sin of hubris.

And, once Chinese scriptural texts of Confucianism were understood as semiotic forms representative of nature, then the Jesuits' translations and interpretive commentaries could serve the same pious function as the strategies of Leibniz and Newton. Moreover, Jesuit translations of the "real characters" of Chinese offered evidence of the reasonableness of the contention of European scientists that real characters, the calculus, or a universal language could be deduced from the "natures of things" as unmediated expressions of God's intention. In so doing, the Jesuits named the Chinese system that some Europeans believed was isomorphic with nature and about which, as Umberto Eco has shown, the Europeans increasingly expounded in a search for "the perfect language." These missionaries called this religious system "Confucian."

In inventing this eponymous term the accommodationist compilers of the *Confucius Sinarum philosophus* achieved the fateful reduction of China to Confucius. The "Dedicatory Letter" addressed to Louis XIV that opens the work asserts that "by the blood of Chinese rulers, he who is called Confucius . . . is the wisest moral philosopher, politician, and orator." Elsewhere, Couplet and his coauthors chronologically document the transmission of the genuine *ru* teachings from the heralded moral philosopher to themselves when they write, "the lineage of this one [Confucius] has been propagated with a not-uninterrupted series in this year 1687." At the close of the *Confucii Vita,* the compilers summarize Chinese dynastic descent from the Han dynasty to the present, taking care to note the millennial tribute to Confucius paid by a succession of imperial families. Further, in obvious deference to the self-conception of *le Roi Soleil* (the Sun King), they report that, although Confucius was symbolic of Chinese religion, the rites performed to him were thoroughly secular—"*civiles sunt honores ac ritus illi Confuciani*" (civil are the honors and those Confucian rites)—and here the authors deliver the inevitable neologism, "Confucian."

A paragraph below this phrase, a similar formulation appears. It reads "*vero magis confirmat ritus illos Confucianos merè esse politicos*" (he confirms those Confucian rites are truly political), which again affirms the secular character of the rites in honor of Confucius. These were assurances that the worship of Confucius was not idolatrous and therefore worthy of comparison with the cultlike adulation rendered to Louis XIV by his people. Consequently, the invocation of Louis XIV, "*MAGNI LUDOVICI* [LOUIS THE GREAT]," in the summary paragraph of *Confucii vita*, was intended as a way for Couplet and colleagues to pay homage to their monarch and benefactor by deliberately drawing a comparison between the undying symbol of the Chinese people and the living icon of the French and their enlightened culture. In this way the Chinese dependency complex of *ru* and imperial government was reproduced by Jesuit missionaries. Confucianism was the key to China and it was the language of God among the Chinese. For this reason, above all, whether one wished to extol or repudiate Chinese civilization, Confucianism and Confucius influenced Europe's intellectual agenda.

CONFUCIANISM: THE WILLFUL DIVERGENCE OF CHINA AND THE WEST. In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century works, Confucianism and China were either lionized as exemplifying the light of reason, as in *Novissima Sinica, Nouveaux mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine* (1696), *Portrait historique de l'empereur de la Chine* (1698), *China Illustrata*, and *Recherches philosophiques sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois* (1773), or denounced for superstitions as in *Lettres Persanes* (1721) and *De L'Esprit des lois* (1748), or extolled for enlightened despotism in "Despotisme de la Chine." Nevertheless, Confucianism remained a touchstone from which Chinese civilization was judged to be enlightened or retrogressive. By the time Leibniz penned his "Remarks on Chinese Rites and Religion" (1707) in which he defended the secular, performative quality of Chinese rituals, the century-long war that had broken out within the church itself over the heretical qualities of Chinese rites and terms (the Rites and Terms Controversy) was resolved with the Nanjing Decree against Chinese practice by papal legate Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1668–1710), coinciding with a decline in European interest in Confucianism as antidote to the poisons of religious war and inchoate linguistic nationalism.

The two views of Confucianism persisted through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the sympathetic one grandly proclaimed in 1758 with the publication of a French edition of Diogenes Laertius's (fl. third century CE) *Lives of the Philosophers,* which included a ninety-page exposition of the life and doctrines of Confucius. Yet, this Enlightenment encomium of Confucius did not easily endure as the changing politics of global contact and of the Vatican caused the less sympathetic view to supersede accommodationism. A rising tide of authoritarianism and the active repression of popular cults and Western religions under the Qing moved in sequence with the insistence of Catholic authorities on the fundamental incompatibility of Christianity and Chinese religion, culminating in Pope Clement XIV's (1705–1774) ruling *Dominus ac Redemptor* (Master and Redeemer) of 1773 that dissolved the Society of Jesus.

When Protestant missionaries made inroads into China's hinterland in the early decades of the nineteenth century, arguments for a global theologico-cultural compatibility were silenced by the gunships of China's colonial trading partners; Confucianism, with its deference to patriarchal authority, was identified as a fundamental cultural weakness. By the first years of the twentieth century, China was no longer the site of exotic imaginings, wanderlust, and curiosity it had been for Jesuit missionaries and European accommodationists. It was "opened" by the Western nations that had established a commanding economic, political, and religious presence along China's coast. The meaning of Confucianism and the nature of its study changed. Confucianism became a symbol of local obstruction of a vast cultural space made continuous through the operation of the market. The Jesuit melding of native Chinese practice and Christianity, which undergirded the seventeenth-century search for the perfect language and drew China and the West closer, was replaced by nineteenth-century ideas of greater currency and scientific weight—nationalism, imperialism, and evolution—making the imaginative space between China and the West as great as their geographic distance.

The history and politics here are quite complex, but they tell us little about Confucianism, that is until Max Weber (1864–1920) turned his attention to the sociology of Chinese religion. The publication in 1915 and 1920 of his two-volume *Konfuzianismus und Taoismus*—more commonly known by the problematic title of its English translation, *The Religion of China* (1951)—drew benefit from the equation of China and Confucianism and from the interpretive predilection to hold Confucianism accountable for China's cultural stagnation. *The Religion of China* marks a turning point in the study of Confucianism. It returned China to meaningful engagement with the West as it cast the specific history of Confucianism's mediation of capitalism against the backdrop of world secularization. Weber's comparative sociology was motivated by an historical interest in determining the specific conditions for the rise of rational capitalism in Europe. His study of China was premised on a negative question—why rationalization did not give rise to capitalism—the answer to which cast light on both Europe's Protestant and China's Confucian spiritualities.

Weber's conclusion that the development of rational entrepreneurial capitalism in China was undermined by Confucianism's distinctive ethos of rational, world accommodation, in contrast with Protestantism, whose impulses toward transcendence displayed a productive, world-renouncing tension, has been contested for a century. And yet by calling attention to Confucianism as a mediating spirituality by means of which the Chinese, especially the literati (*ru* scholar-officials), processed the dramatic changes in consciousness and material life brought by modernization, he provided the analytical tools used in all subsequent study of Confucianism, especially the scholarly work on neo-Confucianism of the 1950s through the 1970s and even the contemporary intellectual movements of *xinrujia,* or New Confucianism.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY REPUDIATION AND RECOVERY. Even though the twentieth century may be considered the most productive period of scholarly work on Confucianism, its scholarship has displayed a certain defensiveness due in part to the collapse of the Chinese dynastic state and its reactionary *ru*-infected ideology, Kongjiao. Nativist, nationalist radicals and student revolutionaries between 1880 and 1919 saw in *ru* the entire sordid history of their civilization's cultural effeteness and political sterility. For these pro-Western, "New Culture" intellectuals, insofar as *ru* and Kongzi were symbolically wedded to the ritual theater of Chinese autocracy, they could not be recuperated. China's humiliating position vis-à-vis the world was attributed by these figures to the inherent weakness of Kongjiao, which they saw as lying at the center of the Chinese imperium, a bulwark against the advance of modernity. Nothing symbolized this national helplessness more than the ceding of Chinese territories to Germany and Japan in the Treaty of Versailles ending the Paris Peace Conference.

On May 4, 1919 the May Fourth Movement was launched with the cries of more than 3000 of Beijing University's students and professors who took to the streets to protest this imperialist compromise of Chinese national sovereignty. Seized by a populist urge to forge a new culture governed by science and democracy, they inveighed against the regressive traditionalism of Confucianism, calling on the nation to "smash the shop of the Kong clan" *(pohuai Kongjia dian).* Still, in the first years after World War II, cultural defenses of Confucianism and *ru* were advanced by Chinese and by Western scholars of Chinese intellectual history. The effort to restore dignity and respect to a once-vital intellectual tradition was aimed at reversing the rueful, dismissive trajectory of May Fourth and to counter the conclusions of Max Weber on Chinese religion.

For the radicals, *ru* symbolized a culture so corrupt it required eradication. Against these impulses of rejection, scholars like Hu Shi (or Shih; 1891–1962) contended that the demonization of *ru,* not *ru* itself, was a pathology. In "Shuoru" (An explication of *Ru*), an essay notable for its courage and insight, Hu advanced a theory that *ru* was a religious force, a fount of world civilization on a par with Christianity in the West. This striking reformulation, based on a creative reading of the Book of Changes, selective interpretation of key Warring States' texts, and a critical exegesis of the Bible, was provocative among a circle of Chinese scholars writing from the late 1930s to the 1950s. However, this inspired reconception of *ru* would not secure wider scholarly favor until the 1980s, when Western scholars of Confucianism appropriated the vestiges of Hu's argument and redefined *ru* as a religion definitive of Chinese and East Asian modernity.

Since the 1950s the study of Confucianism has prospered in the United States in particular. Works in the early 1950s on intellectual history focused on Chinese thought, though sometimes without sufficient context, but always to the greater credit of Confucianism. In 1953 alone, several significant publications appeared. *Studies in Chinese Thought,* edited by Arthur Wright (1913–1976) under the auspices of Robert Redfield (1897–1958) aimed to bring about "intercultural communication" through a thoroughly historical account of the dispositions of the Chinese mind in a broadly comparative context. A complete translation by Derk Bodde (1909–2003) of Feng Youlan's (1895–1990) magisterial history of Chinese philosophy, *Zhongguo zhexue shi* (1934; *A History of Chinese Philosophy*), provided Western readers an organized interpretation of certain key figures and texts in Chinese thought. Also in 1953, *Études sociologiques sur la Chine* (Sociological studies of China), by Marcel Granet (1884–1940), was similarly comparative yet more analytical.

These several volumes succeeded in establishing the fundaments of the Chinese worldview within a larger history of ideas, avoiding the narrow equivalence of Confucianism and Chineseness, thereby advancing scholarship beyond the earnest exploration of religio-cultural common ground by Jesuit missionaries and proto-sinologists. Later conference volumes, beginning with John K. Fairbank's (1907–1991) *Chinese Thought and Institutions* of 1957, were to unfold the elaborate, diverse and interlocking connections of time, space, and community in China. Instead, works such as *Confucianism in Action* (1959), *The Confucian Persuasion* (1960), and *Confucian Personalities* (1962) displayed a striking preponderance of the unitary cultural ideal metonymically encapsulated in Confucianism and its nominal derivative, Confucian. A chrestomathy of the essays from these Confucianism collections was produced under Arthur Wright in 1964, bearing the title *Confucianism and Chinese Civilization,* thus revealing the limits of scholarly imagination to compass a grand territory of Chinese experiences. The reduction of Chinese diversity to ideological unity represented by these anthologies provoked a countermovement to explore the full range of China's unrepresented popular cultures that would not come of age until the new social history of the early 1980s.

CONFUCIANISM RESTORED: INDIGENOUS VALUES AND RELIGION. William Theodore de Bary (1919–) and Wing-tsit Chan (1901–1994) together inveighed prolifically against the notion that Confucianism accounted for China's weakness. They reasserted Confucianism, or more specifically, neo-Confucianism, as definitive of Chinese modernity, a resource of humanitarianism and liberalism denied by the iconoclastic excesses of early twentieth-century radicalism. Their work was challenged by the common twentieth-century revolutionary conclusion that the great tradition of China's ancient civilization was irrelevant and that Confucianism had failed—a failure doubly reinforced by the iconoclastic ideology and politics of the nation's two national parties, the Communists and the Nationalists. Also, the rediscovery of a materialist, scientific Marx and the intellectually creative rage of protesting students in the 1960s and 1970s in Europe and the United States problematized the notion of a broad civic culture of Confucian *shidafu* (scholar-officials) that, through the universality of civilization, overcame the particularity of class.

Furthermore, the trend of postwar area studies scholarship encouraged by the U.S. government was toward social science and contemporary politics, with a focus on the causes and consequences of the Chinese revolution. Chan and de Bary's work bucked all these trends in claiming that the cultural context of twentieth-century China was generated in the Song era with the advent of Zhu Xi's *daoxue*, otherwise known as "neo-Confucianism." The study of Confucianism via neo-Confucianism accelerated in the 1970s and 1980s, with additional conference volumes as the principal vehicle for its development. Politics and cultural struggles drove U.S. scholars to advance a defense of Confucianism and the Chinese civilization through a reappraisal of neo-Confucianism and the compensatory redescription of Chinese philosophy through common western philosophical terms.

Picking up on Hu Shi's early-twentieth-century view, while developing Chan and de Bary's interests in neo-Confucianism, Tu Weiming (1940–) has become one of the principal representatives for the creative reinvention of Confucianism as religion. Tu and other Confucian-values advocates place themselves self-consciously in what he has termed a "Third Wave" of rejuvenation of the *ru* tradition. This contemporary incarnation of the tradition must be recognized, he insists, as a new ethical world religion on par with Islam, Judaism, and Christianity and capable of generating a similar fundamentalism: "Confucianism so conceived is a way of life which demands an existential commitment on the part of Confucians no less intensive and comprehensive than that demanded of the followers of other spiritual traditions such as Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, or Hinduism."

In this particular context Tu's argument for equal theological status with world religions resembles the formalistic equating of Chinese and Western philosophy found in Wing-tsit Chan's *Sourcebook of Chinese Philosophy,* where one learns that "in order to understand the mind of China, it is absolutely necessary to understand Chinese thought, especially Neo-Confucianism." The Tu Wei-ming fundamentalist reading of a "New Confucianism" (*xinruxue*) has been embraced by social scientists as definitive of late-twentieth-century Asian modernity and is fully in evidence in recent essay collections such as Joseph B. Tamney and Linda Hsueh-Ling Chiang's *Modernization, Globalization, and Confucianism in Chinese Societies* (2002) and Daniel A. Bell and Hahm Chaibong's *Confucianism for the Modern World* (2003). Such works regard China's impressive economic transformation as caused by its system of values, that is, "Confucianism," thus using Weber's own conception of mediating spirituality to turn on its head his argument about the lack of capitalism in China.

Consequently, the term *Confucianism,* meaning here traditional values of social hierarchy and familial tranquility, exerts considerable influence over academic commentary on the political and economic reforms that have brought China unforeseen prosperity, as seen in recent works by André Gunder-Frank, Samuel Huntington, and David Landes. This common reading has achieved conceptual assent in the West and elaboration in China, Singapore, Taiwan, and Hong Kong as an ideology of sensible capitalist development under the watchful eye of Kongzi/Confucius and managed by authoritarian governments. An editorial in *Renmin ribao* (*People's Daily*) in 1996 declaimed the harmony of Confucianism and China's market Leninism, asserting that "Confucianism's rule of virtues and code of ethics and authority" were "the soul of the modern enterprise culture and the key to gaining market share and attracting customers." Such is the complex and sometimes contradictory rhetorical context of today's New Confucianism.

NATIVISM AND NEW CONFUCIANISM. The term *xinrujia* (or *xinruxue*), loosely translated as "New Confucianism," refers to an intellectual and cultural phenomenon of the last decades of the twentieth century, coinciding with the Chinese economic reforms begun in the early 1980s. Cited by foreign pundits and Communist Party officials as a significant determining factor in China's rapid and largely successful economic transformation, this postmodern Confucianism has growing numbers of followers and advocates, principally in academic institutions in Beijing, Hong Kong, Taipei, and the United States. The increasingly self-proclaimed existence of these *dangdai xinrujia* (contemporary New Confucians) is evidence of a revolution in cultural politics and emergent global intellectual affinities generated by the search of a deracinated intelligentsia for moral justification and the accidental advent of the Chinese economic miracle. By turns considered a matter of cultural identity, religion, philosophy, and social ethos, "New Confucianism"—in its vast range of contemporary cultural reference— is, not unlike its predecessor, "Confucianism," everything and yet no-thing.

Arguably, any Confucianism put forward with good faith at any time after China's twentieth-century revolution must be "new"; there have certainly been currents of *ru* advocacy running in the broader tumultuous stream of Chinese culture in the twentieth century and indeed in previous centuries. Nevertheless, New Confucianism in China at the turn of the twenty-first century is a distinct product of China's economic reforms, particularly the capitalist triumphalism of the Deng Xiaoping era (1979–1997). It unites the diverse contemporary constituencies of the meta-national entity that is *wenhua Zhongguo* (cultural China), while explaining in a mild chauvinist temper the rapid economic expansion of China and the four "mini-dragons" of Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan.

In the creative convulsion of the 1980s, *Ruxue* or "Confucianism" returned to respectability as China opened *(kaifang)* to the outside world while looking inward in search of cultural resources that might offer moral solace and regenerate indigenous models for community in the wake of a broader spiritual crisis (*jingshen weiji*). *Ru* revivalism first took its place as a discrete movement to reassess cultural identity, quickly thereafter metamorphosing into a state-supported research institute in Beijing, the China Confucius Research Institute (Zhonghua Kongzi yanjiusuo). And, of the manifold cultural exuberances of this anxious era, New Confucianism, perhaps because of its alignment with the party-state, was one of the few that survived the massacre at Tiananmen in 1989 and the subsequent campaign against bourgeois liberalism. It endured and became a discourse with multiple constituencies as scholars in China who had long worked on the subject in isolation or self-censorship learned of a larger academic dialogue in East Asia and the United States over the restitution of Confucian studies.

This late-twentieth-century frenzy of reinvention followed a longer interval of multiple forms of conceptual invention by Chinese scholars. The very term *New Confucianism* may be traced to He Lin (1902–1992), the Chinese idealist who, writing in the early 1940s about *xinrujia*, saw in the unfolding of a "new" Confucianism (that is, the *xin xinxue* [new learning of the mind] of Wang Yangming, 1472–1529), a cultural path for China's reconciliation of subjective and objective spirit in a manner parallel to that sketched out by Hegel's phenomenology for Europe. His vision was blocked by decades of oscillating violence against "revisionism," bourgeois sentiment, and tradition, most spectacularly the prolonged national campaign of the 1970s to criticize Lin Biao (1908–1971) and Kongzi (*piLin piKong*), wherein everything that was wrong with China was placed at the feet of Confucianism.

Owing to the simultaneous emergence of the revival of Confucianism (*fuxing ruxue*) and of Asian regional hypergrowth, many Communist Party officials have concluded that this coincidence indicates causation. This view directly and fiercely confronts Max Weber's argument that late Qing Confucianism exhibited an ethic of accommodation with the world that inhibited the growth of capitalism and its modern rationality. The capitalist Confucians contend that Confucianism, properly understood—that is, New Confucianism—is as world transforming as Puritanism, but without its otherworldly, transcendent yearnings. Capitalist Confucians, then, represent but one of a growing number of *xinruxue* manifestations in the post–Cultural Revolution era, in which the urge for a secure native identity by Chinese both at home and abroad is paramount.

The faith of this form of New Confucianism is likely to remain prominent in explaining the eminence of Asia in the twenty-first century, given the widespread acceptance of the facticity of Confucianism and of its principal explanatory role in the sophisticated accumulation of Asian capital and Chinese modernization. However, China's capitalist Confucian achievement, that some characterize as "harmony above all," or of the "pervasiveness of the Confucian mentality in contemporary East Asia," occludes a broader vision of the nation's definitive religious pluralism. In this way the scholars of New Confucianism, whether in Boston, Hong Kong, Beijing, or Taipei, commit the grievous error of Han-era orthodoxy—namely, aligning themselves and their readers with the official country, as Kristofer Schipper has pointed out, against "the real country, the local structures being expressed in regional and unofficial forms of religion."

This, of course, was the legacy of Matteo Ricci's elevation of *la legge d'letterati* above the sects of Buddhism and Daoism, as it was the logical interpretive consequence of Max Weber's valorization of the Confucian life orientation over that of Daoism. So it is that all turn-of-the-twenty-first-century talk about a "spiritual Confucianism" or of "Confucian humanism" and any of the other manifestations of essentialist cultural self-definition in fact continues the four-century-old tale of intercultural (transnational) communication. The invention of Confucianism is one of the significant moments in the cultural politics of modernity. Our instinctive familiarity with the figure of Confucius and the ethics and social order for which it stands is testament to the conjoined cultural consciousness of the modern era. Confucianism's invention and reinvention at the hands of its many makers, West and East, has occurred in circumstances of crisis or tumultuous change—late-sixteenth-century Europe, seventeenth-century Europe, late-nineteenth-century China, mid-twentieth-century United States, and late-twentieth-century China. Its development as a field of study thus bears the marks of these times and conveys past and present interpretation forward, with the religious lives of authentic China just beyond our representative reach.

SEE ALSO Chinese Religion, article on History of Study; Daoism, article on History of Study.

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CONFUCIANISM IN JAPAN. The earliest Japanese chronicles tell us that Confucianism was introduced to Japan near the end of the third century CE, when Wani of Paekche (Korea) sent the Confucian *Analects* (Chin., *Lun-yü;* Jpn., *Rongo*) to the court of Emperor Ōjin. Although the actual date of this event may have been a century or more later, it is also likely that continental emigrants familiar with Confucian teachings arrived in Japan prior to the formal introduction of Confucianism.

JAPANESE CONFUCIANISM TO 1600. The Confucianism to which the Japanese were first exposed represented more than the humble ethical dicta of Confucius himself. By this time, those doctrines had been overlaid and to some extent obscured by the doctrines of Daoism and Yin-yang dualist speculation, which combined to form a sophisticated cosmology. Prior to the seventh century it is likely that these Confucian teachings remained a virtual monopoly of scribes and literati attached to the Yamato court where they probably assisted with quasi-diplomatic correspondence and record keeping.

Both supporting and being supported by the political forces of centralization in the nascent Japanese state, Confucian teachings first achieved prominence in Japan during the time of Shōtoku Taishi (573–621), who served as regent to his aunt, the empress Suiko (592–628). In 604, Shōtoku Taishi issued the Seventeen-Article Constitution, which was intended to centralize further the administration of Japan by emphasizing administrative efficiency and harmony among contending factions. The constitution reflected the Confucian cosmology that regarded the universe as a triad composed of heaven, earth, and man, with each element having specific and mutual responsibilities. Again under Confucian influence, the cause of centralization and unification was furthered by the Taika Reforms of 646, which asserted the Confucian imperial principle of unified rule, and by the introduction of a complex legal and administrative system patterned after the codes of the Chinese Tang dynasty during the eighth century.

The influence of Confucian principles in government administration declined during the ninth and tenth centuries along with the political power of the imperial court. Confucian advice on how to regulate the state and the affairs of man was secondary to the more superstitious uses to which the Confucian cosmology could be applied. The Korean monk Kwalluk (Jpn., Kanroku) had brought books on geomancy and divination as early as the year 602, and "Confucian" advice on where to build a home or when one might auspiciously marry was more familiar at the popular level than were other Confucian principles. Perhaps disillusioned by this trend, Japanese Confucians of the eleventh and twelfth centuries engaged more in textual analysis and criticism than in original thought or interpretation.

The Neo-Confucian doctrines of Zhu Xi (Jpn., Shuki, more commonly, Shushi; 1130–1200) were introduced to Japan, if the sources are to be believed, soon after Zhu Xi's death. Institutionally, the doctrines were taught in Zen monasteries where such Neo-Confucian practices as "maintaining reverence and sitting quietly" (*jikei seiza*) were regarded as intellectually stimulating variations of what Zen practitioners already knew as "sitting in meditation" (*zazen*). Though Neo-Confucian doctrines were from time to time favorably received at the imperial and shogunal courts, particularly during the reigns of the emperors Hanazono (r. 1308–1318) and Go-Daigo (r. 1318–1339), and despite the attempts of the Ashikaga Academy to propagate Neo-Confucian teachings, Neo-Confucianism would remain largely in the shadow of its Zen patrons through the sixteenth century. Nonetheless, since Neo-Confucianism originally arose in China as a secular and rational alternative to the teachings of Buddhism, it may have been inevitable that a rupture would eventually occur between the two, and it was out of that rupture that Neo-Confucianism achieved independent status in Japan.

TOKUGAWA CONFUCIANISM (1600–1868). Perhaps the only positive result of the abortive Japanese invasions of Korea in the 1590s was the consequent introduction of new texts from the Confucian tradition into Japan. Fujiwara Seika (1561–1619) was made aware of this new tradition during his study in a Zen monastery. He had his first interview with Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616), the future empire builder, in 1593, a decade before Ieyasu would be granted the title of *shōgun.* Regarding Neo-Confucianism as a possible basis for stable international relations, Ieyasu invited the philosophically eclectic Fujiwara Seika to join his government, but Seika declined and recommended in his stead a young student of his, Hayashi Razan (1583–1657).

Like his teacher, Hayashi Razan had studied Zen but was soon drawn to the orthodox teachings of Zhu Xi. With his appointment to Ieyasu's government, a degree of official attention was conferred on these teachings, and his descendants would serve as official Confucian advisers to the Tokugawa government throughout the period. Known for the quality of their scholarship and their initial fidelity to the teachings of Zhu Xi, Hayashi Razan's descendants succeeded in securing further official recognition for their doctrines. Tokugawa Yoshinao (1600–1650) erected the Seidō (Sages' Hall) near the Hayashi residence in Edo (Tokyo), and the fifth Tokugawa shōgun, Tsunayoshi (r. 1690–1709) endowed the Hayashi school, the Shōheikō (School of Prosperous Peace) alongside the Seidō. Nonetheless, after Hayashi Razan the most important Tokugawa Confucians all came from outside the Hayashi family.

The final important champion of fidelity to the teachings of Zhu Xi in Japan was Yamazaki Ansai (1618–1682). His school, the Kimon, had as its goal the popularization of the ethics of Zhu Xi. Like other Neo-Confucians, this school generally took a dim view of human emotions and feelings, regarding them as potentially disruptive to the delicate balance that must lie at the heart of both man and the cosmos.

Another center for seventeenth-century Confucianism was the domain of Mito, where the daimyo, Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628–1701), began a major historiographical enterprise seeking to reinterpret the Japanese polity in terms of Confucian imperial principles. He was assisted in this venture, titled the *Dainihonshi* (History of Great Japan), by the Chinese Ming loyalist and refugee Zhu Shun-shui (Jpn., Shushunsui; 1600–1682).

During the second half of the seventeenth century, Neo-Confucian assumptions and vocabulary penetrated the new popular culture of Japan, but what has been called the "emotionalism" of the Japanese at this time made the puritanical Neo-Confucian stance on emotions and feelings incompatible with the mainstream of Japanese culture. These teachings had dominated long enough, however, to leave a lasting legacy of humanism and rationalism that enriched later Tokugawa thought.

In China, the most compelling Confucian alternative to the orthodox teachings of Zhu Xi were the teachings of the fifteenth-century figure Wang Yang-ming (Jap., Ōyōmei).

His teachings, known in Japan as Yōmeigaku, were first propagated by Nakae Tōju (1608–1648), who emphasized the Wang school's teachings on intuition and action. Kumazawa Banzan (1619–1691), a pupil of Tōju, interpreted these activist teachings in terms of their relevance to the samurai class. These teachings would have their greatest impact in Japan during the nineteenth century when such leaders as Sakuma Shōzan (1811–1864) and his disciple Yoshida Shōin (1830–1859) became ideological leaders of the Meiji restoration. Both tried to stow away on one of Commodore Perry's vessels in 1854 but were caught and imprisoned. Sakuma's advocacy of "Eastern ethics and Western science" inspired generations of later reformers. Yoshida went so far as to plan to assassinate a shogunal emissary to the imperial court who was seeking the emperor's approval of a treaty with the United States. His plot was exposed, and he was beheaded in 1859, but he continued to serve as a model for loyalist activism.

In Japan, however, the most intellectually compelling alternative to Neo-Confucian teachings was presented by a succession of schools known collectively as Ancient Learning (Kogaku). Yamaga Sokō (1622–1685), the first proponent of Ancient Learning, argued that if the goal of Confucian exegesis was to find the true message of the sages, then that end might better be served by reading the works of Confucius and Mencius (Meng-tzu) directly rather than by reading the commentary on those works by Zhu Xi or others. Yamaga was drawn to the relevance of Confucian teachings in a military age, and he is regarded as the modern founder of the teachings of Bushidō, the Way of the Warrior. His publication in 1665 of a frontal attack on the orthodox teachings of Zhu Xi resulted in his banishment from Edo during the years 1666–1675. He insisted that Japan, and not China, was the true "central kingdom" and repository of Asian culture.

Itō Jinsai (1627–1705) and his son Itō Togai (1670–1736) further developed the fundamentalist assumptions of Ancient Learning. In their school, the Kogidō (School of Ancient Meanings), located in Kyoto, Confucius was revered as the supreme sage of the universe, and the school openly showed disdain for the metaphysical explanations of the Sung and Ming Confucians in China.

The most important Ancient Learning figure, however, was Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728), whose methodology was known as Kobunjigaku (School of ancient words and phrases). An ardent Sinophile, Sorai regarded ancient Chinese writings as the repository of intellectual resources for establishing the organization of social institutions, the performance of ancient rituals, and principles of governmental administration. He revolutionized Confucian teachings in East Asia by insisting that the principles of the Confucian way were not a priori principles but were, rather, the products of the sages' own inventive wisdom. Sorai thus insisted that aspiration to sagehood was at the least irrelevant to, and at worst destructive of, the polity.

With the decline of the school of Ogyū Sorai during the mid-eighteenth century, Confucianism as a whole began to decline. After Hayashi Razan, the most influential Confucian adviser to the government was Arai Hakuseki (1657–1725), who served as mentor to the sixth shōgun, Ienobu, and as adviser to the seventh, Ietsugu, during the years 1709–1715. He was instrumental in revising the Laws Governing Military Households and was known as an able administrator who sought to tighten fiscal policy and management. Known for the high degree of rationalism in his thought, he was also a gifted historian.

Aware of and concerned over the decline of fidelity to the Neo-Confucian teachings in the official *bakufu* (military government) college of the Hayashi family, Matsudaira Sadanobu (1758–1829), head of the Council of Elders (*rōjū*), promulgated in 1790 the Prohibition of Heterodox Studies (*Kansei igaku no kin*). This attempt at ideological reform enjoyed some measure of success in the *bakufu* college, the edict had limited effect on the more important regional schools scattered throughout Japan.

CONFUCIANISM IN MODERN JAPAN. During the mid-nineteenth century, the historical, emperor-centered nationalism of the Mito school came to find points of agreement with the xenophobic, Shintō-influenced patriotism of the nativist (Kokugaku) schools. Spurred into action by the philosophy of Yōmeigaku, Confucian activists took the lead in restructuring the Japanese polity in the Meiji restoration of 1868, in which direct rule was returned to the imperial court. Nonetheless, Confucianism as an independent doctrine declined during the decades immediately following the restoration, in part because Confucian teachings had been identified so strongly with the previous Tokugawa government. Further, most prominent Tokugawa Confucians died during the first twenty-five years of the Meiji period, and only a scant handful had satisfactory successors to carry on the teachings. Still, the Confucian ideals of loyalty, duty, filial piety, and harmony persisted well into this period.

Motoda Eifu (1818–1891), Confucian tutor and adviser to the Meiji emperor, was the last important Japanese Confucian. He regarded Confucianism as a remedy for excessive infatuation with Western methods and served as Confucian lecturer in the Imperial Household Ministry from 1871 to 1891. Concerned over the lack of ethical teachings in the new public school curriculum, he was responsible for issuing in 1890 the Imperial Rescript on Education that introduced Confucian teachings on loyalty and filial piety into the standard curriculum.

Confucianism played a relatively passive role through the end of World War I. By this time the originally Confucian notions of loyalty and filial piety had come to be regarded as native Japanese virtues, and in 1937 these virtues were propounded in a work entitled *Kokutai no hongi* (Essentials of the national polity) as the cardinal principles of Japanese national morality. Confucianism served Japanese imperialist aims in Korea after its annexation in 1910, in Manchuria after 1932, and in the Japanese-controlled portions of North China after 1937. Japanese militarist rulers in these territories regarded Confucian teachings as one way to emphasize a common cultural heritage in East Asia. They felt that the survival of such teachings in Japan indicated not only that Confucian civilization was superior to Western civilization but that Japanese civilization was the primary form of civilization in East Asia.

After World War II, Confucian teachings were removed from the Japanese curriculum by the occupation authorities, and Confucianism has not yet recovered from this blow. Nonetheless, to the extent that an abiding emphasis on education and such ideals as harmony and loyalty can be said to belong to Confucianism, these qualities may be fundamental to Japanese culture and society and are likely to survive.

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CONFUCIANISM IN KOREA. While Confucianism did not achieve status as a dominant thought system in Korea until the founding of the Yi dynasty (1392–1910), the introduction of the Confucian classics to the peninsula predates the common era. In the seventh century, the Silla government, at first a tribal federation, turned to Confucianism as a tool of centralization. In 651, the Royal Academy was established, in which officials, drawn from the aristocracy, were exposed to the Confucian classics. Furthermore, Confucian precepts found their way into aristocratic codes of behavior, even becoming incorporated into the rules of conduct for the *hwarang,* a knightly class instrumental in the Silla unification of the Korean Peninsula in 668.

Under the Unified Silla (668–935), Confucianism found a more fertile environment. Government examinations were instituted at the Royal Academy in 788 and close relations with Tang China led late in the dynasty to the rise of a group of scholars who were steeped in Confucian learning there, and who returned to Korea with a Confucian vision of government and a resolve to restore the deteriorating social order. An example is Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn (b. 857), who passed the Tang government examinations but returned hoping to end anarchic conditions in the provinces. Disillusioned, he died a recluse.

From the inception of the Koryŏ dynasty (918–1392) an expanded role for Confucian doctrine was envisioned. In the celebrated "Ten Injunctions" addressed to his descendants by the dynastic founder, Wang Kŏn (r. 918–943), Buddhism was chosen to govern spiritual matters, geomancy was to be used for prophecy and prognostication, and Confucianism was chosen as the guiding principle in the sociopolitical sphere. Two of the injunctions are direct restatements of traditional Confucian precepts. One declares that the people's livelihood and welfare should be the foremost concern of government while another admonishes the occupant of the throne to heed ministerial advice in fulfilling this task.

In the late tenth century the government was reorganized into a centralized bureaucratic structure. Local officials were appointed by the central government. Among the long-term results were the emergence of the civil and military bureaucracy as a social force and the transformation of the Koryŏ polity into an aristocratic-bureaucratic state in which the power of the ruling elite derived from government position rather than an ancestral seat. This change reflected the Confucian rhetoric of government; it conformed to the hierarchical order at whose summit reigned the sovereign as paterfamilias of the state with corresponding responsibilities to and respect from his subject-children.

Under this Confucian system, civil officials served in the capital, where the mode of life included the pursuit of scholarly and literary activities. Educational institutions such as the National Academy, established in 992, and twelve private academies, the first founded by Ch'oe Ch'ung (984–1068) in the eleventh century, arose to serve this group. This early Koryŏ civil elite is often characterized as having been more interested in the literary rather than the philosophical aspect of Confucian studies. This group seems to have accepted the Confucian precepts of civilization with its moral and political implications. The *Samguk sagi* (Historical record of the Three Kingdoms), the first extant dynastic history in Korea, written by the twelfth-century Confucian scholar Kim Pusik, expresses this outlook. The work is an attempt to place Korean history in the context of Confucian civilization.

Moral appraisal is the foremost criterion for evaluating the legitimacy of historical states or depicting events or persons.

The military coup of 1170 disrupted this Confucian social order. The Mongols, who invaded Korea in 1231, were instrumental in bringing about the end of military rule in 1259. Koryŏ kings, married to Mongol princesses and devoid of power, spent a great deal of time prior to their accession and after their retirement in the cosmopolitan Yuan capital. Establishments such as that of the scholar-king Ch'ungsŏn (r. 1289, 1308–1313) served as meeting places for Chinese and Korean scholars, and Korean scholars for the first time had firsthand exposure to Song dynasty (960–1279) neo-Confucian scholarship, particularly that of the Zheng-Zhu school, so-called for its putative founders, Zheng Yi (1033–1108) and Zhu Xi (1130–1200). The result was an impressive array of scholars beginning with An Hyang (1243–1306) and Paek Ijŏng (fl. 1300), commonly regarded as having introduced neo-Confucianism to Korea, and including, by the mid-fourteenth century, such scholars as Yi Saek (1328–1396), Chŏng Mongju (1337–1392), and Yi Sungin (1347–1392). They succeeded in including the neo-Confucian texts—the Four Books and Five Classics—in the civil service examination and in the curriculum at the Royal College and in reinstituting the royal lecture, complete with neo-Confucian texts and teacher-officials who lectured to the king-student.

FOUNDING OF THE YI NEO-CONFUCIAN POLITY. Neo-Confucianism was posited on a holistic vision of the moral universe in which a unifying moral principle operated in the phenomenal as well as the nonphenomenal world, particularly in the human world. Society should be organized to conform to this moral order and an individual should try to live in accordance with its principles. Commitment to neo-Confucianism rendered it impossible for its practitioners to concede the religious realm to Buddhism. The founding of the Yi dynasty was, in this sense, not merely a change in political power. Its founders were all confirmed neo-Confucians and they sought to create a new sociopolitical order based on their moral vision. Chŏng Tojŏn (1342–1398), the leader of this group, campaigned to discredit Buddhism. Motivated by the neo-Confucian belief in the centrality of man, Chŏng challenged the Buddhist view that this world, the phenomenal world, was illusion, terming such a view invalid and harmful. His theoretical attack was accompanied by institutional sanctions against the Buddhist establishment, which undermined its special position. Chŏng articulated the new political ideology in the coronation edict he composed for Yi T'aejo (r. 1392–1398). The *raison d'être* of the government was the attainment and maintenance of a Confucian moral order. Thus, it should be staffed with people who understood Confucian moral principles. The legitimacy of the Yi monarchy was based on the claim that it had received from Heaven a mandate to carry out this task.

Beginning with changes in the political structure, the Yi government launched a massive transformation of Korean society that was not fully realized for several centuries. The most conspicuous changes were the adoption of a new system of education, a restructuring of social organization along patrilineal groups, the adoption of Confucian ritual, and the propagation of Confucian ethics through local associations. In order to disseminate Confucian values more widely to the educated class, the Yi government sought to establish a nationwide public school system. Four schools in the capital and one school in each county supposedly would make primary education widely available, while the Royal College in the capital would provide advanced education for qualified students. This departed from Koryŏ practice, in which education was limited to a small elite. Private schools and academies began to appear in the mid-fifteenth century; although government-supported, they became alternatives to government service for renowned scholars. Thus, the relationship between the private academies and the state became ambivalent—mutually supportive but competitive for influence and the opportunity to define orthodoxy.

The civil service examination became the accepted channel of entry to an official career. Almost all high officials passed the *munkwa*, the final stage of the civil service examinations; of the two preliminary examinations, the one in the exposition of classics became more important than the one in literary composition. Nonetheless, the rigid class structure of Korean society precluded the development of the strict meritocracy envisioned by the Yi founders and power still remained confined to a relatively small elite. But the examinations did have the effect of confucianizing the governing elite; by the mid-sixteenth century, Confucian ideology was no longer just a means by which the governing class ruled but rather the system of values by which they were measured. From the king down to the lowest officials, all had to justify their actions and intentions in the context of Confucian rhetoric and ideals. This Confucianization of the official class was paralleled by an attempt to disseminate Confucian normative values among the peasantry.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CONFUCIAN SCHOLARSHIP. By the sixteenth century, Korean scholars turned to the more purely intellectual and speculative aspects of Confucian learning, looking directly to the Zheng-Zhu school. Despite close ties with Ming dynasty (1368–1644) scholarship, Korean Neo-Confucianism developed independently of contemporary scholarship there. While Korean scholars accepted the authority of the Zheng-Zhu school, they defined issues in their own way, adding insights and interpretations. The scholars Pak Yŏng (1471–1540), Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk (1489–1546), and Yi Ŏnjŏk (1491–1553) reflect the diversity and independence of the Korean school. Pak devoted himself to the question of *ihak* (Chin., *lixue*, "learning of principle"), one of the main themes of Neo-Confucian philosophy. Based on his study of the *Daxue* (Great Learning), he asserted that principle and knowledge should be sought entirely within one's self. Later scholars found in this assertion a resemblance to the works of the Ming-dynasty thinker Wang Yangming (1472–1529) and for this reason found his thinking heterodox. Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk, on the other hand, turned to Zhang Zai's (1020–1077) *t'aehŏ* (Chin., *taixu*, "great void"). Speculating on the cosmology of creation, it was natural that he should grant primacy to the role of *ki* (Chin., *chi*, "material force"). Primarily interested in observing natural phenomena and unconcerned with the moral implications of the role of principle, he parted from Zhu Xi. Unlike So, who lived as a recluse and shunned bookish learning, Yi Ŏnjŏk had a long official career and left copious writings. His erudition, his interests in a broad range of topics, and his laborious textual studies set new standards for scholars of future generations.

It was Yi Hwang (1501–1570), better known by his pen name, T'oegye, who brought Korean neo-Confucianism to maturity. Working at a time when Wang Yangming's thought seemed to be gaining influence in the Korean scholarly community, he devoted himself to defining orthodoxy, to distinguishing "right learning" from deviant thought. The definition of a Korean orthodoxy within the tradition of the Zheng-Zhu school, one that excluded the ideas of the Wang Yangming school, is often attributed to his efforts. T'oegye accepted Zhu Xi's dual theory of principle and material force and the relationship between them. While Zhu Xi acknowledged that principle and material force cannot exist in isolation, he held that principle is prior and material force posterior. The superiority of principle was a defining feature of his philosophy: principle was identified with the Way (*dao*) and the nature (*xing*), which are permanent and unchanging, while material force was identified with physical entities, which constantly change. But Zhu Xi's position proved somewhat ambiguous. One could ask whether the priority of principle was existential or evaluative, that is, did it exist first or did it just have a superior moral value? Further, in what sense did principle exist prior to material force if it could not manifest itself without material force? Much of T'oegye's work was devoted to this question. He concluded that the priority of principle applied in the realm of ethical values, and that principle exerted a positive ethical influence. He wrote, for instance, that "Good occurs if principle manifests itself and material force follows, while evil occurs if material force veils principle and principle recedes."

Like the Song neo-Confucians, Korean scholars including T'oegye were deeply concerned with the problem of human evil. If man's original nature was good, then how can one explain evil? T'oegye again accepted Zhu Xi's concept of human nature based on his dual theory of principle and material force. Principle is immanent in everything in the universe. What individuates one thing from another is material force. Since principle is good, what determines the moral quality of an entity is its material force. Man has an original nature and a physical nature and only when he returns to original nature does he act in accordance with moral principle. What determines the morality of human action is mind. The mind possesses innate knowledge of moral principle and has the cognitive capacity to discern it. Yet, this capacity of mind can be prevented from functioning when it becomes clouded by selfish desire. T'oegye used the terms *tosim* (Chin., *daoxin*, "moral mind") and *insim* (Chin., *renxin*, "human mind") to describe the two aspects of mind. The term *moral mind* described a mind rectified and discerning of moral principle while human mind referred to a mind containing seeds of selfish desire and prone to error. Moral cultivation was necessary to develop mind into a moral state.

Korean scholars seized upon this question of mind and the result was one of the characteristic themes of Korean neo-Confucian thought. The debate centered around the *sadan* (Chin., *siduan*, "four beginnings") and the *ch'ilchŏng* (Chin., *qiqing*, "seven emotions"). The Four Beginnings, which appear in *Mengzi* (*Mencius*), are the moral qualities of man that give rise to the original goodness of human nature. The Seven Emotions, mentioned in the *Zhongyong* (Doctrine of the mean), are human feelings. The questions debated were whether both the Four and the Seven were feelings, how they were related to the moral mind and the human mind, and their relationship to principle and material force. T'oegye took Chŏng Chiun's (1509–1561) position that the Four issued from principle and therefore must be good while the Seven issued from material force and therefore could be either good or evil. The Four were the basis of the moral mind and the Seven the basis of the human mind. Challenged by Ki Taesŭng (1527–1572) in their famous "Four-Seven" debate, T'oegye acknowledged that both involved principle and material force and that both were feelings, but he insisted that their origins were different. The Four are initiated by principle and material force follows them while the Seven are initiated by material force and principle rides on them. In order to posit that the four are initiated by principle, T'oegye had to endow principle with a generative power. Principle does not merely constitute human nature; it guides the mind toward the realization of goodness.

T'oegye later used the same theory to take issue with Wang Yangming's theory of the unity of knowledge and action. In his emphasis on innate knowledge, Wang dismissed the need for acquiring knowledge through examination and inquiry. T'oegye argued that this was applicable to the emotional activity of the mind but not to rational thought.

While Yi T'oegye chose to limit himself to what was explicit in Zhu Xi, Yi I (1536–1584), known by his pen name, Yulgok, preferred a more independent and creative approach to scholarship. Taking the formula "obtain truth through one's own effort" as his credo, he regarded adhering too rigidly to previous masters' positions as contrary to the spirit of neo-Confucian learning. He accepted Zhu Xi's authority, but he was willing to differ with him on specific issues. Yulgok is regarded as having established the school of Material Force in Korea. Yulgok conceded that, at least logically, principle and material force were distinct. What is referred to as the primacy of material force in Yulgok is his theory of the inseparability of principle and material force in both function and manifestation. As principle cannot be expressed without material force and material force has no root without principle, they are interrelated. Thus, to him it was illogical to conceive of them as prior and posterior and he denied that principle has its own generative power. Principle is passive and material force is active and they always manifest themselves together. His belief in their inseparability led him to object to the notion that principle is unchanging and always in a pure state. Departing from Zhu Xi, he held that principle was not a unified entity but that the principle in each thing was distinct, conditioned, and determined by its material force. Hence an individuating principle in a thing is always changing and in varying states of purity.

Yulgok's ideas of the Four Beginnings and the Seven Emotions were also developed along these lines. In a celebrated debate with Sŏng Hon (1535–1598) on the subject, he denied that the Four are associated with principle and the Seven with material force. They both are manifestations of material force that contains principle. The difference is that the Four are "good" manifestations of material force or, more specifically, the Seven themselves manifested as good. Likewise, the "moral mind" and the "human mind" do not rise from different origins but are rather purely descriptive terms referring to different states. In positing that an entity—the Four Beginnings—could be a good manifestation of material force, Yulgok was challenging the dichotomy that made material force the source of evil and principle the source of good.

Yi T'oegye and Yi Yulgok are regarded as the founders respectively of the school of Principle and the school of Material Force. T'oegye's philosophy was developed by the Yŏngnam school while Yulgok's was developed by the Kiho school, which emerged as political as well as scholarly rivals. Continuing refinements in the study of principle and material force and new interpretations of the Four Beginnings and the Seven Emotions constituted the mainstream of Korean neo-Confucian scholarship. The scholars of the school of Principle emphasized the generative power of principle that T'oegye proposed. Yi Hyŏnil (1627–1704), Yi Sangjong (1710–1781), and Yi Chinsang (1811–1878) assigned ever greater roles to principle, endowing it with priority in existential sequence and in function as well. This tendency culminated in Yi Hangno (1792–1868) who identified principle with creative force, divinity, and mind.

The scholars of the school of Material Force correspondingly attributed even greater function to material force. Song Siyŏl (1607–1689), for example, posited that mind, which acts, is material force and the nature, which does not move, is principle. Han Wŏnjin (1682–1750) refined this theory, but Im Sŏngju (1711–1788) went one step further. He declared that since mind and the nature are one then the latter should also be material force. He denied that principle could exist at all without material force. Hence man could not be good because of principle but must be good because his material force is good. This flies in the face of the Zheng-Zhu school dictum that the (original) nature, being perfectly good, is principle.

As T'oegye emphasized the universality of principle and Yulgok spoke of individuating principle, their successors pushed to extremes in developing these opposing views. Ultimately, this led to the eighteenth-century debate concerning man's relationship to the cosmos. If principle is universal and omnipresent then man is connected to other things through principle sharing the nature. If, however, principle is completely determined by material force then man, who possesses different material force than other things, would not share the same nature. The debate, known as the Nak-Ho debate, began between Yi Kan (1677–1727) and Han Wŏnjin. Yi took the position that men share their natures with other things in the universe while Han maintained that man was separated from other things with respect to original nature. This debate generated an intense discussion, which eventually came to involve much of the Korean scholarly community of the time.

Both the school of Principle and that of Material Force, despite their differing interpretations, were viewed both by themselves and by others as firmly within Zheng-Zhu orthodoxy, this, even though both schools had views that sometimes departed from the original Zheng-Zhu teachings. Reinterpreting specific issues within the tradition was one thing, but a direct challenge to orthodoxy was another. Pak Sedang (1629–1703) was termed a heterodox thinker for his work *Sabyŏnnok*, in which he directly opposed Zhu Xi's scholarship and offered his own views. As a result of the fall of the Chinese Ming dynasty to the "barbarian" Qing dynasty (1644–1911), seventeenth century Korean intellectuals became concerned with orthodoxy in an attempt to redefine Korea's role in the Confucian world. Perhaps the conflict between Song Siyŏl and Yun Hyu (1617–1680) indicates this process. Song Siyŏl's position can be characterized by his desire to maintain Zhu Xi orthodoxy intact in Korea. As a follower of Yulgok, his philosophy differed somewhat from that of Zhu Xi, but he maintained an unswerving loyalty and commitment to the supremacy of the Zheng-Zhu school. Yun Hyu, on the other hand, preferred a wider definition of orthodoxy. He regarded Zhu Xi as a great scholar, but felt that measuring one's scholarship by him or, for that matter, even by Confucius, was too confining and harmful. He wrote his own commentaries on several of the Four Books, for which he was ostracized by Song and his followers as heterodox.

The intellectual scene in the eighteenth century was somewhat freer and more diverse. Chŏng Chedu (1649–1736), who received high honors from King Yŏngjo (r. 1724–1776), openly espoused ideas of Wang Yangming which had long been suppressed in Korea. This period also witnessed the flowering of the Sirhak ("practical learning") school. Centuries of factional struggle and growing competition for office had left many scholars outside the mainstream of political power. Practical Learning scholars were disaffected intellectuals who wrote treatises on social and economic reform. They fall largely into two groups. Yu Hyŏng-wŏn

(1622–1673) and Yi Ik (1681–1763) accepted the Confucian vision of an agrarian society presided over by the rule of virtue and urged social improvement through land reform and moral rule. Pak Chi-wŏn (1737–1805), Hong Taeyong (1731–1783), and Pak Chega (b. 1750), on the other hand, searched for alternatives. They addressed themselves to such issues as commerce, trade, and technology. Pak Chi-wŏn's biting satire of the class system, Hong Taeyong's interest in science as it was expressed in his notion of the moving earth, and Pak Chega's belief in technology founded on a startling theory of a consumer economy clearly departed from the conventional mode of thinking. Chŏng Yagyong (1762–1836), often considered the greatest Practical Learning scholar, encompassed both trends in his reform ideas. His attention to the improvement of local government is well known. While these scholars worked within the Confucian political and value system, they are regarded as precursors of modernization for their critique of contemporary society and their innovative proposals for reform.

In the late nineteenth century as Korea came under increasing pressure from the major powers and the Confucian value system itself came under attack, Confucian thinking turned defensive. Confucian scholars committed to preserving the orthodox tradition became conservatives who opposed treaties and modernizing measures. Seeing themselves as the defenders of the only true civilization, they put up real resistance. Ch'oe Ikhyŏn (1833–1906) was a representative scholar of this generation. His fearless memorials objecting to the government's domestic and diplomatic policies resulted in frequent banishment. When Korea became a protectorate of Japan in 1905, he organized what is known as the Righteous Army and fought against Japanese and Korean royal troops. Arrested by the Japanese and imprisoned in Tsushima Island, he died of starvation, considering it unprincipled to accept food from the enemy. The role of Confucianism in Korea's modernization process, however, remains to be examined.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Korea; Cheng Hao; Cheng Yi; Chinese Religion; Chŏng Yagyong; Korean Religion; Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk; Wang Yangming; Yi T'oegye; Yi Yulgok; Zhang Zai; Zhu Xi.

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CONFUCIUS (552?–479 BCE), known in Chinese as Kong Qiu (also styled Zhongni); preeminent Chinese philosopher and teacher. The name *Confucius* is the Latin rendering of *Kong Fuzi* ("Master Kong"). Confucius was born in the small feudal state of Lu, near modern Qufu (Shandong Province). Little can be established about his life, forebears, or family, although legends, some of very early origin, are abundant and colorful. The biography in Sima Qian's *Shi ji* (Historical Annals, second century BCE) is unreliable. The *Lunyu* (*Analects*), a record of Confucius's conversations with his disciples, likely compiled in the third century BCE, is probably the best source, although here, too, apocryphal materials have crept in. The *Analects* may be supplemented by the *Zuo zhuan*, a commentary to the *Chun qiu* (Spring and Autumn Annals; also third century BCE), and by the *Mengzi* (Mencius; second century BCE).

In all these accounts, fact and legend are difficult to separate. The *Zuo zhuan* makes Confucius a direct descendant of the royal house of the Shang dynasty (c. 1766–1123 BCE), whose heirs were given the ducal fief of the state of Song by the succeeding Zhou dynasty (1111–256 BCE). According to this account, three to five generations prior to the sage's birth, his forebears moved to the neighboring state of Lu. His father is said to have been a soldier and a man of great strength; his mother, to have been a woman much younger and not the first wife. Some accounts make Confucius the issue of an illegitimate union. Tradition has it that at his birth dragons appeared in his house, and a unicorn (*lin*) in the village. These may command as much belief as the description of Confucius that endows him with a forehead like that of the sage-king Yao, shoulders like those of the famous statesman Zichan, the eyes of Shun, the neck of Yu, the mouth of Gaoyao, the visage of the Yellow Emperor, and the height of Tang, founder of the Shang dynasty.

Of Confucius's childhood and youth, we hear little even from legends, except for references to the early loss of his father, followed later in his youth by the death of his mother. His favorite childhood game was reportedly the setting up of sacrificial vessels and the imitation of ritual gestures. He married young; some accounts allege that he later divorced his wife, although that cannot be proved and is unlikely to be true. He is also supposed to have visited the capital of the Zhou dynasty (present-day Luoyang) and to have met Laozi, from whom he sought instruction. But this report as well appears to be unfounded.

In the *Analects*, Confucius says that he was of humble status. Perhaps he came from the minor aristocracy, as he received an education—although not from a famous teacher—and also trained in archery and music. He probably belonged to an obscure and impoverished clan. He would say of himself that by age fifteen he had fixed his mind on studying (*Analects* 2.4). As a young man, he held minor offices, first overseeing stores with the task of keeping accounts, and later taking charge of sheep and cattle (*Mengzi* 5B.5). Confucius probably served in a junior post at the Lu court, if the *Zuo zhuan* is correct about his encounter in 525 with the viscount of Tan, a visitor in Lu, of whom he asked instructions regarding the ancient practice of naming offices after birds. At this point Confucius would have been twenty-seven years old.

Confucius lived in an age of great political disorder. The Zhou royal house had lost its authority and the many feudal lords were competing for hegemony. He himself was concerned with the problems of restoring order and harmony to society and of keeping alive the ancient virtues of personal integrity and social justice. For him, a good ruler is one who governs by moral persuasion and who loves the people as a father loves his children. Confucius was especially learned in rites and music, finding in them both the inspiration and the means for the achievement of moral rectitude in society. He reflected deeply on the human situation about him in the light of the wisdom of the ancients. By about the age of thirty he felt himself "standing firm" (*Analects* 2.4) on his insights and convictions.

Like others of his time, Confucius viewed service in the government—the opportunity to exert moral suasion on the king—as the proper goal of a gentleman *(junzi)*. At about thirty-five, he visited the large neighboring state of Qi. He stayed there for about one year and was so enthralled by the *shao* music (attributed to the sage-king Shun) that for three months, he claimed, he did not notice the taste of the meat he ate (*Analects* 7.14). Clearly, he hoped to be of use at the ducal court. The *Analects* (12.11) reports his conversations with Duke Jing of Qi about government, and his emphatic belief that a ruler should be a good ruler, the minister a good minister, the father a good father, and the son a good son. The duke decided not to use him (*Analects* 18.3).

In Lu again, Confucius hesitated some time before accepting public office, perhaps because of the complexity of Lu politics. The Ji family, which had usurped power, was itself dominated by its household minister, Yang Hu (or Yang Huo), and Confucius was reluctant to ingratiate himself with this man (*Analects* 17.1; *Mengzi* 3B.7). Perhaps it was at this point that he determined to develop his ideas and to teach disciples. He said of himself that "at forty, I had no more doubts" (*Analects* 2.4). But some time after 502 (*Mengzi* 5B.4), at about age fifty, he accepted the office of sikou (police commissioner): "At fifty I knew Heaven's decree" (*Analects* 2.4). In 498 he attempted in vain to break the power of the three leading families of Lu and restore power to the duke. Perhaps this failure caused him to leave Lu the following year. The *Analects* (18.4) claims that Confucius left because the head of the Ji family of Lu had been distracted from his duties by dancing girls, while the *Mengzi* (6B.6) gives as the reason the fact that the head of Lu had failed to heed his advice. (The *Shi ji* reports that Confucius became prime minister of Lu, but there is reason to question the authenticity of the account.)

After leaving Lu, Confucius traveled for some thirteen years with a small group of disciples. He first visited the state of Wei (*Analects* 13.9). Although Duke Ding of Wei did not have a good reputation, Confucius took office under him, but left his service when the duke asked his advice on military rather than ritual matters (*Analects* 15.1). To avoid assassins sent by an enemy, he had to disguise himself while passing through the state of Song (*Analects* 7.23; *Mengzi* 5A.8). In Chen he accepted office under the marquis; but his stay in Chen was marred by many difficulties and he was once near starvation (*Analects* 15.2; *Mengzi* 7B.18). In 489 he went on to the state of Cai, where he met the governor of She, a visitor from Chu. When the governor asked Confucius's disciple Zilu about his master, Confucius offered this description of himself: "[Tell him I am] the kind of man who forgets to eat when trying to solve a problem, who is so full of joy as to forget all worries, and who does not notice the onset of old age" (*Analects* 7.19). He was then about sixty-three years old. He also said of himself: "At sixty, my ears were attuned [to truth]" (*Analects* 2.4).

From Cai, Confucius traveled to Wei via Chen and found it in disorder as the deceased duke's son sought to oust the new ruler, his own son, from the ducal throne. Such disputes help us to understand Confucius's insistence on the "rectification of names" (*zheng ming*)—that fathers should be paternal and sons filial. After extensive travel through states that lay within present-day Shandong and Henan, Confucius returned to Lu around 484. He was given an office, perhaps as a low-ranking counselor (*Analects* 14.21). He also occupied himself with music and poetry, especially the *ya* and the *song*, which now make up two of the sections of the *Shi jing* (Book of Poetry). During this period he conversed with Duke Ai of Lu and with the head of the Ji family on questions of government and ritual.

It is known that Confucius had at least one son, Kong Li (Boyu), and one daughter, whom he married to his disciple Gongye Chang. He also married the daughter of his deceased elder brother to another disciple, Nan Rong (*Analects* 5.1, 11.5). Of his son little is known, except that the father urged him to study poetry and rites (*Analects* 16.13). Although he is popularly portrayed as a severe moralist, the *Analects* show Confucius as fond of classical music and rituals, informal and cheerful at home, affable yet firm, commanding but not forbidding, dignified and yet pleasant, with an ability to laugh at himself. In his old age, he devoted more and more time to his disciples. He also knew that he had reached spiritual maturity: "At seventy I could follow my heart's desires without overstepping the line" (*Analects* 2.4). But his last years were saddened by the successive deaths of his son, his favorite disciple, Yan Hui, and the loyal though flamboyant Zilu.

According to the *Zuo zhuan*, Confucius died in 479 at the age of seventy-three. While no description exists concerning his last hours, the account of a previous illness shows how Confucius probably faced death. At that time Zilu wanted the disciples to attire themselves like stewards in attendance upon a high dignitary. Confucius rebuked him, saying, "By making this pretence of having stewards when I have none, whom do you think I shall deceive? Shall I deceive Heaven? Besides, is it not better for me to die in the hands of you, my friends, than in the hands of stewards?" (*Analects* 9.12). When Zilu requested permission to pray for him, Confucius replied, "I have already been praying for a long time" (*Analects* 7.35). The word *praying* here has been understood to mean living the life of a just man.

Confucius's political ambitions remained largely unrealized; he is remembered by posterity above all as a teacher, indeed as the greatest moral teacher of East Asia. He is said to have accepted students without regard to their social status or ability to pay. While the *Shi ji* credits him with three thousand disciples, the more conservative number of seventy (or fewer) is more likely. With two known exceptions, most of the disciples were of humble station and modest means. The majority came from Confucius's own state of Lu, although a few were from the neighboring states of Wei, Chen, and Qi.

The modern scholar Qian Mu divides the disciples into two groups—those who had followed Confucius even before he left Lu for ten years of travel and those who came to him after his return to Lu. The earlier disciples include Zilu, Yan Hui, and Zigong. Zilu was the oldest in age, only some nine years younger than Confucius himself; his valor and rashness stand out in the *Analects*. Yan Hui, the favorite of Confucius, was about thirty years his junior. His early death at about forty caused much sorrow to Confucius. Zigong, about Yan's age, was an enterprising and eloquent diplomat. Zilu perished—in a manner that had been predicted by Confucius—during a rash effort to rescue his master in the state of Wei (480). Zigong served at the Lu court and was leader of the disciples at the time of Confucius's death. He is reported to have stayed on at his master's grave in Qufu for three years longer than the mourning period of twenty-seven months prescribed for the death of one's parents, vivid testimony to the depth of his commitment to his teacher.

The later disciples were mostly much younger, sometimes forty years Confucius's junior. Those mentioned in the *Analects* include Ziyou, Zixia, Zizhang, Youzi, and Zengzi, who was only about twenty-seven at the time of his master's death. All five men played important roles in spreading Confucius's teachings, but Zengzi, exemplary for his filial piety, is remembered as the principal spiritual heir through whom Confucius's essential message reached later generations.

Traditionally, Confucius has been credited with the editing of the Five (or Six) Classics: the *Shi jing* (Book of Poetry); the *Yi jing* (Book of Changes), a divination manual with metaphysical accretions; the *Shu jing* (Book of History), a collection of speeches and documents; the *Li ji* (Book of Rites); the *Chun qiu* (Spring and Autumn Annals), historical records of the state of Lu during the years 722 to 481, said to have been compiled by Confucius; and the now lost *Yue jing* (Book of Music). Modern scholarship does not support these traditional attributions. Although the *Analects* mentions Confucius's knowledge of the *Poetry*, *History*, and *Changes*, there is no evidence that he had a part in editing these texts; nor was it his immediate disciples who, in their study of these texts, started the traditions of transmission for them. Of his relation to antiquity, one can say that Confucius loved the ancients—above all the duke of Zhou, to whom the dynasty allegedly owed its rituals and other institutions—and that he read widely in the ancient texts and passed his understanding on to his disciples.

Confucius's place in history derives from his activities as a teacher and from the teachings that he crystallized and transmitted. In an age when only aristocrats had access to formal education he was the first to accept disciples without regard to status. He instructed them—according to each disciple's ability—not only in the rituals, knowledge of which was expected of all gentlemen, but also in the more difficult art of becoming one who is perfectly humane (*ren*). Although none of his disciples attained high political office, Confucius the teacher wrought a real social change. Because of his teaching, the word *gentlemen* (*junzi*, literally, "ruler's son") came to refer not to social status but to moral character. A new class gradually emerged, that of the *shi* (originally, "officers" or "government counselors"), a class of educated gentry. Those among the *shi* especially distinguished for scholarship and character were known as the *ru* (originally meaning "weaklings"). Hence the Confucian school is known in Chinese as "the Ru school."

Confucius had a clear sense of his mission: he considered himself a transmitter of the wisdom of the ancients (*Analects* 7.1), to which he nonetheless gave new meaning. His focus was on the human, not just the human as given, but as endowed with the potential to become "perfect." His central doctrine concerns the virtue *ren*, translated variously as goodness, benevolence, humanity, and human-heartedness. Originally, *ren* denoted a particular virtue, the kindness that distinguished the gentleman in his behavior toward his inferiors. Confucius transformed it into a universal virtue, that which makes the perfect human being, the sage. He defined it as loving others, as personal integrity, and as altruism.

Confucius's teachings give primary emphasis to the ethical meaning of human relationships, finding and grounding what is moral in human nature and revealing its openness to the divine. Although he was largely silent on God and the afterlife, his silence did not bespeak disbelief (*Analects* 11.11). His philosophy was clearly grounded in religion, the inherited religions of Shangdi ("lord on high") or Tian ("heaven"), the supreme and personal deities of the Shang and Zhou periods, respectively. He made it clear that it was Heaven that protected and inspired him: "Heaven is the author of the virtue that is in me" (*Analects* 7.23). Confucius believed that human beings are accountable to a supreme being, "He who sins against Heaven has no place left where he may pray" (*Analects* 3.13); nevertheless, he showed a certain scepticism regarding ghosts and spirits (*Analects* 6.20). This marked a rationalistic attitude that became characteristic of the Confucian school, which usually sought to resolve problems by active human involvement rather than by hoping or praying for divine intervention.

Confucius himself was devoted to the civilization of the Zhou dynasty, although he might have been a descendant from the more ancient Shang royal house. The reason for this may have derived from the fact that Chinese civilization assumed a definitive shape during the Zhou dynasty, or from the special relationship Confucius's native state of Lu enjoyed as a custodian of Zhou culture. Its rulers were descended from the duke of Zhou, the man who established the institutions of the dynasty and who acted as regent after the death of his brother, the dynasty's founder.

Confucius's emphasis on rituals is significant, as it is ritual that governs human relationships. Rituals have a moral and social function as well as a formal and ceremonial one. The Chinese word *li* refers also to propriety, that is, to proper behavior. Confucius teaches also the importance of having the right inner disposition, without which propriety becomes hypocrisy (*Analects* 15.17).

Confucius's philosophy might appear unstructured to those who cast only a cursory glance at the *Analects*, perhaps because the book was compiled several generations after Confucius's death. But the teachings found in the *Analects*, with all their inner dynamism, assume full coherency only when put into practice. Confucius did not attempt to leave behind a purely rationalistic system of thought. He wanted to help others to live, and by so doing, to improve the quality of their society. In defining as his main concern human society, and in offering moral perfection as the human ideal, Confucius has left behind a legacy that is perennial and universal. On the other hand, his teachings also show certain limitations that derive from his culture, the authoritarian character of government, and the superior social status enjoyed by men, for instance. These limitations do not, however, change the validity of his central insights into human nature and its perfectibility.

SEE ALSO Chinese Religion, article on History of Study; Laozi; Li; Ren and Yi; Shangdi; Tian.

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CONGREGATIONALISM.

Congregational churches arose in England in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In their early days, Congregationalists were also known as Independents. They are most numerous in the United States, England, and Wales, but recently most of them have joined with others to form united churches in several parts of the world.

Among churches, they have stood somewhere between the Presbyterians and the more radical Protestant groups, with a distinctive emphasis on the rights and responsibilities of each properly organized congregation to make its own decisions about its own affairs without recourse to any higher human authority. This, along with an emphasis on freedom of conscience, arose from convictions concerning the sovereignty of God and the priesthood of all believers.

HISTORICAL SURVEY. The "Congregational way" emerged as a major factor in English life during the English Civil War, but its roots lay in Elizabethan Separatism, which produced Congregationalism's first three martyrs, Henry Barrow, John Greenwood, and John Penry. Some of the Separatists settled in Holland, and it was from among these that the *Mayflower* group set out for New England in 1620. During the English Civil War, Congregationalists, then usually called Independents, were particularly prominent in the army, reaching the peak of their influence during the Commonwealth through Oliver Cromwell and such outstanding ministers as John Owen and Hugh Peter. The Restoration of Charles II was a disaster for their cause, and the Act of Uniformity of 1662 was the first of many efforts to suppress them. Most of the two thousand ministers ejected from livings in the Church of England at that time were Presbyterians, but many Independent ministers who did not hold livings also suffered. Persecution was not so severe as to prevent creative work being done, and the major theological works of John Owen, the greatest poems of John Milton, an Independent, and John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (although Bunyan's closest affinities were with the Baptists) all appeared after the Restoration. The works of the latter two, along with some of the hymns of Isaac Watts, have become part of the furniture of the English imagination.

The accession of William and Mary in 1688 made life more tolerable for Congregationalists, and, after a threatened setback in the reign of Queen Anne, they played a significant minor part in eighteenth-century England. They were particularly active in education, where the Dissenting Academies were educational pioneers at a time when Oxford and Cambridge languished. The spiritual influence of such leading ministers as Philip Doddridge and Isaac Watts helped prevent Congregationalists from becoming Unitarians, as most Presbyterians did at that time. Congregationalists received a considerable spiritual quickening toward the end of the century through the influence of the Methodist revival. One result was the founding in 1795 of the London Missionary Society, through whose agency churches were established in Africa, India, Madagascar, China, Papua, and the South Sea Islands.

English Congregationalism shared fully in nineteenth-century ecclesiastical prosperity. As members of the emerging lower middle classes crowded into the churches, they became more politically minded. Voluntarism, opposing state support of denominational education, and the Liberation Society, advocating the disestablishment of the Church of England, were influential. The Congregational Union, linking the churches in a national organization, was formed in 1832, and the Colonial (later Commonwealth) Missionary Society for promoting Congregationalism in English-speaking colonies in 1836. Many large new churches were erected, and some ministers, like R. W. Dale of Birmingham, were well-known public figures. Civic disabilities were steadily removed. Mansfield College was founded at Oxford in 1886. Thriving churches in city centers and residential neighborhoods were hives of social, philanthropic, and educational activities, which anticipated many of the services taken over by the state in the twentieth century. The victory of the Liberal Party in the 1906 election represented the peak of the political and social influence of Congregationalism. After that, numerical and institutional decline began, hastened by the upheaval of World War I and the increased mobility of population. Although churches were losing much of their popular appeal, the emergence of several distinguished theologians and ecumenical leaders in the interwar period provided evidence of continuing vitality. In 1972 the majority of Congregationalists joined with the Presbyterian Church in England to form the United Reformed Church.

In the rest of Britain, Congregationalists have been strongest in Wales, where the Welsh-speaking churches, known as the Union of Welsh Independents, retain their identity. These churches were transplanted successfully from the countryside to industrial Wales during the industrial revolution and became strong centers of distinctively Welsh life, cherishing their traditions of preaching, hymns, and poetry. The numerically smaller Scottish churches acted as a liberalizing influence in Scottish life and gave much to the wider church through such outstanding figures as Robert Moffat, David Livingstone, George McDonald, and P. T. Forsyth.

It is in the United States that Congregationalism achieved its greatest public influence and numerical strength. The New England experiment has been a major factor in determining the character of the nation. The Separatists of the Plymouth Colony were more radical than the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay, but they had enough in common to form a unified community and to repudiate the more radical views of Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson. Their statement of faith, the Cambridge Platform of 1648, accepted the theology of the English Presbyterian Westminster Confession of 1646 but laid down a Congregational rather than a Presbyterian polity. In this, it was followed by the English Savoy Declaration of 1658.

The original New Englanders were not sectarian; they worked out an intellectually powerful and consistent system of theology and church and civil government that they strove, with considerable success, to exemplify. John Cotton's *Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven and the Powers Thereof* (1644) is a classic statement of their view of the church. The very success of the New England settlement made it difficult for succeeding generations to retain the original commitment, and the Half-Way Covenant was devised to find a place for those who were baptized but could not make a strong enough confession of faith—permitting them a form of church membership that did not confer a place at the Lord's Table or in church government. Education was seen as vital from the outset. Harvard College was founded in 1637 to maintain the succession of learned ministers. Yale and others followed later, the precursors of a long succession of distinguished colleges founded under Congregational auspices across the country.

New life came with the Great Awakening, the revival movement begun in 1734, in which Jonathan Edwards, a minister at Northampton, Massachusetts, and one of the greatest American theologians, was prominent. Differences began to emerge at the turn of the century between the two wings of Congregationalism, those who continued to accept the modified Calvinism represented by Edwards and those who were moving toward Unitarianism. Unitarianism became dominant in the Boston area but not in Connecticut, where Congregationalism remained the established church until the early nineteenth century.

Despite the loss to the Unitarians, who took with them many of the most handsome colonial churches, Congregationalism flourished in the nineteenth century and was active in the westward expansion of the nation. It adopted in 1801 a Plan of Union with the Presbyterians, who were concentrated chiefly in the Middle Atlantic states, for joint home missionary activity. One factor in the ultimate breakdown of this agreement was the growing theological liberalism of Congregationalism. Horace Bushnell was a representative theologian who challenged the traditional substitutionary view of the atonement and whose influential book *Christian Nurture* (1847) questioned the need for the classic conversion experience. The so-called Kansas City Creed of 1913 summed up this liberalism, which represented a break with the Calvinist past. This liberalism continues to prevail, although substantially modified after World War II by the influence of neoorthodoxy.

The mainly Congregational American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1810) promoted missions in China and the Near East. A national Congregational organization was founded in 1871, and its boards of Home Missions and Education have done much to start schools and colleges among the black community in the South. Modern Congregationalism has been exceptionally active in the ecumenical movement. Union with the Christian Churches in the United States was achieved between the wars and with the substantial Evangelical and Reformed Church in 1961, to form the United Church of Christ.

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES. The beliefs and practices of most Congregationalists have been broadly similar to those of other mainline evangelical Protestant churches of the more liberal kind. The English historian Bernard Manning described them as "decentralized Calvinists," but this fails to allow for their emphasis on the free movement of the Holy Spirit, which gives them some affinity with the Quakers as well as with Presbyterians. In its origin, their notion of the "gathered church" was not a form of secular voluntarism but an attempt, as against Anglican territorialism, to recognize "the crown rights of the Redeemer" and the primacy of the free Spirit's action in gathering together the covenant people of God. Their strong emphasis on this freedom has not only led them to be reluctant to give binding authority to creeds but also served indirectly to promote the rights of minorities of many kinds, especially in England. The long-faced, repressive Puritan of legend is largely a caricature.

Preaching is important in Congregationalism because the word in scripture is thought of as constitutive of the church. The ministry derives its authority from the word, not vice versa. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are the only recognized sacraments, and infant baptism is customary.

Traditionally, public prayer has been *ex tempore*, but more recently set forms have been widely used. Hymns are important. The English *Congregational Praise* (1952), with many hymns by Isaac Watts, the greatest Congregational writer of hymns, is an outstanding compilation.

Congregational polity is sometimes charged with promoting spiritual individualism, but this is based on a misunderstanding. It is an attempt to give the most concrete expression to the church as a local visible community. It must be properly organized, with Bible, sacraments, a duly called and trained ministry, and deacons and members in good standing. With these, no body can be more fully the church, because all necessary means of grace are available. Congregationalism has never concluded that this has meant spiritual isolation or indifference to "the communion of the churches with each other." This is shown by the fact that no group of churches has shown a greater readiness to enter schemes of reunion.

One of the most distinctive Congregational institutions is that of the church meeting, a regular gathering at which all church members have the right and responsibility to participate in all decisions. This has not always had the vigor that its place in the polity demands, but strong efforts have been made to revive it in recent times. Women have always been active in Congregational churches, which were among the first of the American and British denominations to admit women to the full-time ministry of the word and sacraments.

Until they merged with other bodies, Congregational churches were linked in associations or unions, at local and national levels, and in an International Congregational Council, to which such related bodies as the Swedish Mission Covenant Church and the Dutch Remonstrant Brotherhood also belonged. In the course of the twentieth century, churches in the United States appointed officials called state superintendents, and those in England officials called moderators, to exercise a general ministry to churches over a wide area. When a covenant with the Church of England and the Methodist Church was proposed by the United Reformed Church in England in 1980–1982, it was implied that the moderators should be made into bishops. This was hotly challenged by a substantial minority as a denial of the Reformed understanding of the ministry. The failure of the Church of England to ratify the covenant meant that this particular proposal was abandoned.

Congregational churches have existed chiefly in English-speaking countries and in communities related to them, and they have not been among the larger Christian groups. Their ideas and practices, however, have had a greater influence than their size might suggest. The Congregational tradition continues to exercise influence as one element in the life of larger reunited churches in many lands.

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CONSCIENCE, as commonly understood, is the faculty within us that decides on the moral quality of our thoughts, words, and acts. It makes us conscious of the worth of our deeds and gives rise to a pleasurable feeling if they are good and to a painful one if they are evil.

ORIGIN OF THE NOTION. Three articulations of human experience appear to be at the basis of the Western notion of conscience: the Hebrew scriptures, the writings of Cicero, and the writings of Paul.

Hebrew scriptures. In the Hebrew scriptures God is presented as someone who knows and evaluates our entire being. Psalm 139 develops the theme:

> O Lord, thou has searched me and known me! Thou knowest when I sit down and when I rise up; thou discernest my thoughts from afar. . . . If I take the wings of the morning and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, even there thy hand shall lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me. . . . Search me, O God, and know my heart! Try me and know my thoughts! And see if there be any wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting! (*Ps.* 139:1–2, 9–10, 23–24)

The pious psalmist is confident that the divine scrutiny will vindicate him. Others, the enemies of Israel, are the wicked ones who will be found wanting. (See also *Job* 34:21–23.)

The idea of divine omniscient scrutiny leads, however, to vigorous self-scrutiny: "the spirit of man is the lamp of the Lord, searching all his innermost parts" (*Prv.* 20:27). The prophet Jeremiah is appalled by what he sees when he looks inside himself:

> The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately corrupt; who can understand it? "I the Lord search the mind and try the heart, to give to every man according to his ways, according to the fruit of his doings." (*Jer.* 17:9–10)

But, here again, the prophet is confident that God is his refuge (see vv. 17–18). That God, not the self, judges the self is good news: the Strong One who sees me all (in my interiority as well as my outward acts) is a good protector, and I am safe in his hands.

Writings of Cicero. Cicero uses *conscientia* in another sense, to refer to an internal moral authority on important issues. Most of the time conscience is consciousness of something, agreeable consciousness of one or many good deeds (*Orationes Philippicae* 1.9; *Res publica* 6.8) or disagreeable consciousness of a trespass (*Tusculanae disputationes* 4.45, where he speaks metaphorically of the bite of conscience). He speaks with zeal of the force of this inner testimony: "Great is the power of conscience, great for bliss or for bane" (*Pro Milone* 61; see also *De natura deorum* 3.85, where it is specified that the workings of conscience unfold without our having to assume divine design). Some passages speak of bad conscience as if it were the internalization of a disapproval voiced by others or by public opinion in general (*In Catilinam* 3.25; *Tusculanae* 4.45). Good conscience, however, is presented as independent of public opinion. (Here, he speaks mainly of his own.) Cicero, for instance, has a good conscience about withdrawing from public life and devoting himself to writing (*Epistulae ad Atticum* 12.28.2) and is determined never to stray from the straight path of conscience. In such cases conscience is referred to without stating what it is consciousness of. While one text stresses to the juror that he should follow his conscience alone but that he should also take comfort from the fact that he is not alone in his judging (*Pro Cluentio* 159), most texts make the good conscience a rather isolated self-approval. A stunning metaphor states that no theater, no audience offers an applause that has more authority than that of conscience (*Tusculanae* 2.64). Finally, we should note that Cicero speaks of conscience in a rhetorical context and with moralizing intent; he inveighs against evil men, commends good ones, and voices his assurance of his own worth.

Writings of Paul. In the New Testament, Paul uses the notion of conscience (Gr., *suneidēsis*) as he finds it in everyday speech and common moral reflections. He puts forward his own unshakable good conscience (*Rom.* 9:1, 2 *Cor.* 1:2; see also *Acts* 23:1); he urges respect for the conscience of others, especially when that conscience is weak and judges matters erroneously (*1 Cor.* 8:7, 8:10); he appeals to conscience (*2 Cor.* 4:2); he allows that in evil people conscience is corrupted (*Ti.* 1:15). *Romans* 2:15 launched a momentous new understanding of it: conscience is a witness within all men, including pagans; it states what the law of God requires (it is "the law written in their hearts"), and it accuses all men. So far, Paul speaks of *suneidēsis* very much like Philo (who speaks mainly of *elenchos*, "reproof"). The Jewish philosopher found in all men a "true man" who should be ruler and king, who is a judge and umpire, a silent witness or accuser. Human beings live thus with a court of law inside them, and they should behave in such a way as to keep their internal judge pleased. Philo, like Paul, sees this internal authority as a gift of God, but he also accepts immanent views of it (Wallis, 1975).

But there is in Paul something else that is peculiar to him and was to prove very influential on all subsequent developments. Though he seems to have had a morally rather robust conscience, not haunted by feelings of guilt (Stendahl, 1976), Paul frequently wrote in a manner that revealed a troubled self-consciousness. He feels pain at not being acknowledged for what he is (*Gal.* 1:10); a physical handicap humbles him (*2 Cor.* 12:7). We thus find in his writing a new sort of literary voice: a self-consciousness bruised by despairing self-humiliation. His will is divided; his body does not obey him; his urgent convictions are challenged by adversaries, his life's work nearly overthrown. Under his pen, all this is not trivial autobiographical detail but is made to reflect a cosmic crisis. Paul feels that he and others are caught in the transition between a passing age and a new dispensation. His inner troubles interiorize the death of Christ. Still caught up in the age that is passing, he feels impotent, worthless; but this conviction of despair is considered by him to be a form of suffering through which he—and, he believes, all men—must pass before they can share in new life with the risen Christ (Altizer, 1983). Inner pains are thus inevitable birth pangs. A subtle shift has occurred: the notion that God welcomes a contrite heart (*Ps.* 34:18) is in the process of becoming indistinguishable from the notion that God likes—or requires—a broken heart. In *Romans*, conscience, the accuser, caught up in an eschatological drama, always convicts (3:9, 7:15–20). Good conscience before God means surrender of what men call good conscience. This eschatological turmoil gives to Paul's writings on conscience a ring very different from Philo's serene utterances.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS. The church fathers adopt the notion of conscience as an inner voice of divine origin. The assumption is that all human beings have it, and only Christians obey it and thus please God. The firmness of the Christians' conscience enables them to obey God rather than men, live as people who do not belong to this world, and accept martyrdom with joy. Augustine compares conscience to a tribunal in the mind and speaks of it with a tone of restive introspection. He thus confirms the blending, initiated by Paul, of the three notions of divine judgment, moral self-evaluation, and the troubled forays into the hidden recesses of one's heart. A classic passage links the three realities with the Latin *conscientia:*

> "What O Lord could be hidden from you, even if I wanted not to confess it, since the abyss of human conscience is naked before your eyes? I should only be hiding you to me, not me from you. Now that my tears testify how disgusted I am with myself, you only are my light and please me; you are the object of my love and desire. I am ashamed of myself so that I cast myself aside to choose you and want to please myself or you only through you." (*Confessions* 10.2.2)

That God knows the self is a source of comfort that overcomes the intense discomfort the introspective self feels. The misery of self-rejection seems to be the necessary price to be paid before one reaches divine acceptance.

The Middle Ages use the notion of conscience primarily to elaborate a theory of moral judgment. In their systematic construction, the Scholastics use two terms to designate two functions. *Synderesis* (the word probably appears first as an erroneous reading; medieval ignorance of Greek let it become established) is the faculty that knows the moral law; it remained unaffected by the fall. The Franciscan school makes of it a *potentia affectiva*, namely a disposition of the heart. The Dominicans make of it a sort of cognition; it exists in the reason. *Conscientia* applies the moral law to concrete cases. It is a *habitus* of the practical intellect, say the Franciscans; an act, according to the Dominicans, which applies knowledge to action. To Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225–1274) *synderesis* decides; it always orients us to the good. *Conscientia* controls; we can set it aside. When it functions, *conscientia* is a witness; it says what we have done or not done. It binds or motivates; it says what we should or should not do. Finally, it excuses or accuses; it tells us whether what we have done was well or not well done. While *synderesis* cannot err, *conscientia*, a sort of decree of the mind, is fallible (*Summa theologiae* 1.79.12–13). Conscience now is no longer an occasional voice at important moments, but a concomitant of all morally relevant action.

Medieval theologians also examine whether one is obligated to follow an erroneous conscience. It is allowed that some consciences are invincibly erroneous, that is, their error cannot be overcome by the use of moral diligence or thorough study. Even in these circumstances the self must obey conscience. *Romans* 14:23 is the norm: whatever is not from faith is deemed sinful. One must, however, at all times seek to correct one's conscience by instruction. Thomas Aquinas teaches that to hold in contempt the dictates of an erroneous conscience is a mortal sin and that conscience binds, even when it contradicts the precepts of a superior, if it endures.

This intellectual clarification is accompanied by a system of practical guidance. In 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council made it an obligation for all Christians to confess their sins and receive the sacrament once a year. This came to be known as the tribunal of conscience. A practice was required and an occasion offered: the self had to embark upon intellectual deliberation on its behavior and could obtain expert advice or counsel. Benjamin Nelson (1981) described this system of spiritual direction under a threefold heading: conscience, casuistry, and the cure of souls. The individual, like all men, is obligated by the universal moral law. Like some other men, he has peculiar dilemmas related to his age, his class, his role in life; casuistry studies these cases of conscience and enlightens the individual by drawing upon the experience of those whose lot is comparable. Finally, the individual is unlike everyone else; he has his own sorrows and fears; his soul needs to be ministered to in a therapeutic way and comforted. The system reaped behavioral fruit: the lives of Western Christians were progressively ordered in conformity with Christian moral principles. Consciences were slowly educated. Fear of divine judgment loomed large among the motivational forces. While the theologians' *synderesis* and *conscientia* were purely moral principles, the pastoral tribunal of conscience often functioned in an atmosphere of religious anguish: God would be angry if sins were not confessed and corrected. His searching of the hearts was felt to be a perilous affair; sinners were threatened with outright condemnation.

While canon lawyers instituted the tribunal of conscience and while pastors appealed to or pounded on individual consciences, the national monarchies and the royal law of France and England developed in such a way as to give an increasing social relevance to the notion of moral conscience. Frenchmen in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries began to be aware of themselves as one people, living together civilly in a good land under the rule of a just and Christian king. This emergence of national consciousness came simultaneously with urbanization, with an increased practice of prudence and courtesy in social relations (the arts of peace), and with the rise of an ethics of intention, such as that discussed by Abelard (1079–1142). Now new collective representations give expression to a shared will to live together for the sake of peace and to the happy sense of forming together a good society. The sense of the sacred has begun to shift from a largely supernatural realm to the national Christian society that provides a good, secure life. A sacred bond now unites the righteous king and the loyal people. And a man can now encounter people he has never seen before (and with whom no one in his village has ever had dealings) and still have civil relations: strangers are conscious at the outset of belonging to the same people. In England, the old Aristotelian notion of equity is introduced into the royal law: law is said always to aim at justice and to be corrigible whenever principles of equity are violated, for instance, whenever the helpless are dealt with unfairly, or whenever widows and orphans are oppressed. Correction is said to be introduced "for the sake of conscience." In France and in England, society can henceforth be said to have a collective and civil conscience, to be sensitive to the moral demands of common peace and universal justice, to visualize royal power as not simply heroic but merciful as well. (This Western confidence that human beings can collectively govern themselves well is reflected in Calvin's *Institutes* 2.2.13.)

The stage is now set for the great crises and transformations of the sixteenth century. For the first time conscience has become a culturally central, crucial notion among Christians. The three notions of it we originally identified now merge to define the problem: the man of conscience is "spiritual," he lives "before God"; he is also moral and has obligations to his fellow men; he has a rapport with himself and feels condemned or saved. The Protestant Reformation saw itself as a defender of conscience. The word became one of its most militant terms.

The reformers spoke of conscience as being oppressed by the medieval system. While considering itself obliged to obey "the pope's commandments," conscience saw itself weighed down by the burden of bad and illegitimate laws of human origin, which it was impossible to obey. There was anguish in trying to obey and anguish in disobedience because of the nagging sense of fearsome consequences. Luther articulated his own scrupulous monastic experience of anguish over every action and involuntary impulse by identifying with Paul. He vibrated in unison, he thought, with Paul's and Augustine's autobiographical statements. Conscience and the law jointly accused him and brought him death. (Unlike Paul, Luther was under the yoke of bad law; identifying with Paul, he overlooked the difference in the objective content of the laws.) The monk Luther, however, was not alone. Henry VIII, a Catholic king, was afraid his marriage to Catherine of Aragon was sterile because it had been cursed by God. (Catherine had been engaged to Henry's brother; even though the brother was dead, the marriage was incestuous by canonical if not dynastic rules.) Was his conscience genuinely troubled or was his second marriage expedient or self-indulgent? (It is significant that the issue is still debated.)

In any case, the medieval burden of being trapped by a guilty conscience was thrown off by many who broke their vows or changed their lifestyles. The religious authorities' guiding conscience had ceased to be credible in the eyes of many of the people of God. Most theological reformers also rejected the very principle of trying to please God with deeds (works); no action was conceivable that could give man a joyful conscience before God. Thus the Protestant Reformation also rejected the whole system of the tribunal of conscience. Freed by grace, living in faith, the Christian immediately receives a good conscience from his God. He thus recaptures the sense of the covenant found in the Hebrew scriptures: that God can fathom our hearts and that he alone judges us once again becomes good news. We are not accountable to ecclesiastical authorities, and they should not haunt our consciences and enrich themselves at our expense. Thus with good consciences, redeemed Christians walk straight in the paths of righteousness. Activities of public reform persuade these Christians that they are indeed setting up a more moral order. For its part, the Roman Catholic Church maintains the system of casuistry and cure of souls. But in time, with a more saintly clergy, the authority of the spiritual directors is restored. Consciences are again more guided than tyrannized.

It must be seen that the Protestant Reformation fostered a new Western assurance of conscience. Conscience became safe, certain. The system of casuistry was dealing in probabilities, constantly weighing pros and cons, and every authority was liable to be overthrown by other authorities. The civil conscience was also always open to correction. Reading his Bible, the Protestant Christian gained subjective certainty once and for all: he was God's child and his path was straight. (The sixteenth century began many moves toward certainty: the Protestant Reformation gave subjective assurance and the scientific revolution began to give objective certainty; Galileo did not weigh the relative merits of authorities; he knew for sure. See Nelson, 1981.) Luther's conscience is lyrical: he is ultimately safe in God's arms and above pleasing men or worrying about their opinions. All the reformers agree: he who has faith has good conscience. No human forum can accuse him. Conscience has nothing to do with a man's dealing among his fellow men but only with his reception of divine forgiveness. Paul Tillich (1948) coined the term *transmoral conscience* to refer to this notion of man's innerness as it meets God. Calvin is clear: conscience must not be confused with "police." Its business is not with men but with God (*Institutes* 3.19.15–16; 4.10.3). It must be unhappy at first. "It is necessary that conscience drive our misery home to us before we can have some sense of God" (*Institutes* 1.1.1 and 4.19.15–16). While Calvin as an elect does not let others challenge his own conscience, he openly distrusts the conscience of others: "Nothing is more common, just as nothing is easier than to boast of faith and a good conscience" (Neal, 1972). The notion of conscience as a subjective absolute is reinforced by the practice of religious privatism: sins are remitted by private confession to God, without confession to a fellow human being or reparation to the victim. With Calvin, the assurance of conscience among the elect is coupled with a particularly vigorous moral action in the world. The concept that had been used to detach the individual from the world now presides over the conscientious effort to shape the world according to the Christian's moral aspirations. The stage is set for the polemics in which Protestants blame Catholics for the erroneous precepts they impose on conscience, and Catholics blame Protestants for their unbridled "conscientious" energies.

The sixteenth century witnessed also the rise of a fresh, vigorous articulation of conscience in the civil tradition. Surrounded by wars waged for the sake of conscience, the French moralist Montaigne (1533–1592) inaugurated the art of writing for oneself the story of an observant, rigorously honest conscience (Brunschwicg, 1953). Both moral and introspective, this conscience ponders the actions of the self and of others and looks at the relations and roles the self is involved in. Self-critical, open to instruction and correction from those who have experience of the world, this conscience treasures selected friendships and enjoys a measure of self-acceptance. It holds on to the few truths and rare marks of humanity it believes itself to be capable of. The dramas of acceptance and rejection at the hands of the biblical God recede in the background. Front stage belongs to the dramas of human likes and dislikes. Descartes (1596–1650) puts an analysis of conscience at the center of his philosophy. In his case, conscience is troubled or disturbed by the experience of its fallibility and by the idea of the infinite; the goodness of God provides decisive reassurance on both points. In the ambit of French civilization, conscience will henceforth keep these crucial characteristics: it is autonomous, moral, and social, somewhat skeptical, worldly wise, and it has a modest but firm pride.

The authority of conscience receives its fullest religious legitimacy in the theory of inner light common to many seventeenth-century English sects. Instead of being an act of interpretation of a law, this conscience is an absolute and final insight. It is also British philosophy that gave to moral conscience its most ample philosophical underpinnings. The theory of moral sense identifies the consciousness of right and wrong with the voice of an inner moral law (the unwritten, inborn law of which Cicero spoke in *Pro Milone* 10). Inner voices or feelings are described as edicts of one's conscience. L. Butler (1692–1752; *Sermons*) affirms that it has a natural authority; it is the voice of God within us. Conscience has become a faculty of the mind that judges immediately and finally on moral matters. In the Middle Ages conscience was a function: people had more or less of it, and tried more or less to exercise it. With the reformers it was a fact of spiritual life: people had a troubled or a joyful one; it became an individual organ—you have your conscience and I have mine, just as each of us has his own stomach. This conscience was said to be infallible and generally philanthropic. It was also inviolate. No serious conflicts of conscience were foreseen. The stage was set for the good conscience of the West to be applied in colonial expansion. All human beings have conscience, it was thought. Western Christians liberated what they deemed to be inferior races from the fears to which their idolatrous and superstitious consciences were prone; they established liberty of conscience (freedom of religion) wherever they ruled, and they did all this without violating consciences. Being most developed, the Western consciences helped others develop too. Western expansion was optimistically expected to moralize the world.

MODERN CONFLICT BETWEEN CONSCIENCE AND CONSCIOUSNESS. Theoreticians declare what conscience always says to the inner man. Conscience may in fact behave according to theory; but also it might not. Or, more commonly, the individual realizes that what conscience pronounces clashes with some other inner state he is aware of at a given moment. Distinctions need to be made among the voices in one's inner debate. Luther translated the medieval *conscientia* with *das Gewissen.* Two centuries later, Christian Wolff (1679–1754), the founder of German philosophy, translated the *conscientia* of the Cartesians with *das Bewusstsein.* In sixteenth-century English, *conscience* can denote authoritative, secure moral conscience or simple, trivial consciousness. (The French language still uses *la conscience* to speak both of the moral rationales the self fully accepts and of fleeting mental events.) With the eighteenth century, the sense of a separation between conscience and consciousness became widespread. While moral beings naively went on believing in their stable, good, unerring conscience, literature (the novel especially) increasingly explored the chasm between conscience and the vagaries of consciousness. The semiblind yet massive good conscience of the modern theoreticians of conscience and their followers could now become manifest. Moralists became aware of time, of the necessary distinction between what is abiding and what is transitory in a man's sense of himself. Conscience then came to be seen as a firm statement that the self utters before others or privately, a plea entered in a public or inner forum. Like consciousness, conscience is an event; but unlike it, it is also a moral discourse, a public claim. Hence, the critical question: is this discourse fully aware of the actualities of the case? Is conscience conscious? (Engelberg, 1972).

Nineteenth-century probings ordinarily shared the conviction that human beings should always be as fully conscious as possible, with actions completely lucid and deliberate. Rousseau (1712–1778) believed he could derive norms for political life from the assumption that politics consists of free, conscious, virtuous interaction among autonomous, independent individuals. (He even believed the whole of social life could consist of such interaction.) Kant (1724–1804) pursued the point with theoretical thoroughness. All moral action proceeds from good will and is conscientious. *Das Gewissen* never errs. It is "the moral faculty of judgment, passing judgment upon itself . . . a state of consciousness which is itself a duty" (*Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone* 4.2.4). With each action, the individual should reflect and proceed only if he is sure that this action obeys the dictates of conscience. The consequence does not escape Hegel (1770–1833): consciences will be in conflict, each vibrating with its assurance, each alone in its certainty of obeying the moral law (Despland, 1975). Far from being a reliable guide, conscience now appears to be potentially immoral arrogance.

The nineteenth century is full of denigrations of conscience. The poet William Blake (1757–1827) is sarcastic: "Conscience in those that have it is unequivocal" ("Annotations to Watson"). Goethe (1749–1832) commends an alternative: Faust heals himself, grows by purging himself of conscience (he does not let himself be crippled by the episode with Marguerite) and ever widening his consciousness. Nietzsche (1844–1900) attempts to show that conscience only imitates ready-made values; the hard human task is to embody knowledge in ourselves, to create conscious values; and consciousness is not given gratis.

But the claims of conscience remain tenacious even in the post-Romantic age. Conscience, however, becomes more tragic, more solitary. Rare are those who see in it the workings of an other-regarding instinct. To Kierkegaard (1813–1855), the inwardness of conscience is demonic: more conscience means more consciousness and deeper despair. Such is also the case in Dostoevskii's *Notes from the Underground* (1864): conscience has become an obsessive inner court; the self is the accuser, the accused, the judge, and the executioner. In a bizarre extension of Paul's and Luther's autobiographical pages, self-consciousness merges into compulsive self-humiliation, with no redemption in sight. Conscience is no longer active knowledge immersed in the social flow of life but purely retrospective, solitary self-condemnation, or entirely fearful anticipation.

More balanced statements of this construction are found in the writings of Coleridge (1772–1834) and Conrad (1857–1924). The poet-critic Coleridge stresses that conscience no longer acts "with the ease and uniformity of instinct"; rather, consciousness is the problem. In *Lord Jim*, Conrad shows us his protagonist haunted by a conscience that prevents his awareness of the good new life he has built for himself, while in *Heart of Darkness* we see Kurtz surrendering conscience and letting his consciousness be flooded by instinctual experience. Without conscience, Kurtz is all awareness and lacks an interpreter; he stands thus naked before horror.

APPLICATION OF THE NOTION TO THE STUDY OF RELIGIOUS AND ETHICAL SYSTEMS. Hindu and Buddhist philosophies have very articulate and complex theories of consciousness. All religious traditions have notions of moral law and moral judgment. All encourage reflectivity and offer conceptual tools and practical techniques for self-evaluation. But the notion of conscience as internal organ is not found outside of Christianity. As commonly understood, it is peculiar to the West. The generalization of the tribunal of conscience, the universal legal requirement for annual confession and penance, is a uniquely Western phenomenon. Westerners seem to have taken on a special burden of responsibility. (This was probably not particularly helpful morally.) I must have a vision of myself—of my vocation, for instance—for which I alone will be accountable. Consider, for instance, the notion of conscience found in the writings of the German existentialist philosopher Heidegger (1889–1976): that there is an objectless call of conscience that summons us, not to be in a particular manner, but to choose in what manner we shall be. The wars against guilty thoughts and the self-condemnatory forays into self-consciousness seem also linked to the unique history of Western man (the Gnostic and the celibate monastic episodes being probably particularly influential). Recall that most of the decisive articulations of conscience were autobiographical statements focusing on inner turmoils.

Nineteenth-century founders of the science of religion used the idea of evolution of conscience to bridge the gap between themselves, the Western scholars able and desirous to know all mankind, and the people they studied, whose outlook was perceived as regional, if not primitive. So they wrote about the dawn of conscience in the ancient Near East and about the various stages of conscience reached in non-Christian religions. The moral and religious dignity of man was commonly tied to the functioning of this individual organ. The evolutionary view was self-serving and is now discarded, but it had the merit of affirming a commonality among all humankind.

Articles on conscience in James Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (vol. 4, 1911) illustrate this stage of scholarship. There is a polemic against the nascent sociological reductionist view that sees in conscience an interiorization of social rules. A lengthy article seeks to establish the Jewish view of conscience. The article is not in the least embarrassed by the fact that rabbinic Judaism has no such notion. (For a respected account of Jewish morality, see Neusner, 1981: the will has some power to affect the world, and its intention should be good.) Attempts to find everywhere notions of conscience comparable to the Western one have now largely been abandoned. Current influential works in the discipline of comparative religious ethics have no recourse to it (Little and Twiss, 1978; Bird, 1981). In contrast, the concept is important in current philosophical ethics (Childress, 1979).

ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND THEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS. Etymology may once again be suggestive. Conscience is "knowledge-with," that is, a shared knowledge of something. The foundational experience is the awareness that somebody else is aware of what I have done; I have been seen, and I know that he knows, and I know that he knows that I know that he knows. There is, for a fleeting moment, a shared awareness between us. There is intelligence in the birth of conscience: the other can be a clever accomplice or an articulate critic. But there is also co-feeling: my action is endorsed or disapproved of. The mutual awareness is not just mental. There is also compassion: he knows how it feels to do what I have done, and I know how it feels to observe this being done. Conscience, then, is not just a matter of sight and scrutiny; there is also sensitivity and heart in it. And if conscience makes us potentially morally liable, it makes us also aware of potential moral support.

After this initial point, conscience becomes an interpretive activity. Thus, I own my act and articulate its meaning, serenely, aggressively, or defensively. But while I interpret, others (the initial fellow-feeler or some third party) also interpret. My interpretation will be happy and secure if it agrees in detail or broadly with a wider community of interpretation. It was the merit of the medieval "domestication" of conscience (Lehmann, 1963) that an authoritative, plausible community was always near. Conscience was the court of first instance to adjudicate the worth of my action, and it was the court of last instance. But there was guidance from intermediate courts, which could function in a human manner, with intellectual stability and a measure of understanding. It was the weakness of the Kantian theory that conscience became the only (first and last) tribunal. (Paul had had the good sense to admit that God, not his conscience, judges him. See *1 Corinthians* 4:4.) Kant prepared the "decline and fall" of conscience: solitary conscience is either hostile to self and cruel, or self-righteous and insensitive to others. Freud (1856–1939) could only spell out the irrelevance and uselessness of this conscience (Lehmann, 1963).

The interpretive activity of conscience must therefore always be an account to the other, to others. De Jaucourt (*Encyclopédie*, 1765) emphasized quite soundly that what is important about conscience is the quality of the reasons it can put forward. Hegel saw quite correctly that, to be moral, an action must be owned and expressed: it must be said that it is from conscience. Accountability before somebody else (the one or those affected, or an ideal observer) is intrinsic to morality; the effort of persuasion directed toward others in their otherness is bound with the aspiration to worth. The self needs to be at least symbolically endorsed by others, to be supported at least in words. It is the utmost hypocrisy to claim that conscience can judge itself with skill and authority. Conscience does not produce a private hell or heaven but a public person. When conscience is alive it evaluates the action of the self as part of a continuing moral action (and interaction and further interaction). It is a diseased conscience that carries out nothing but introspective, retrospective self-appraisal. The healthy conscience lives in the present. (In the moment of conscience, consciousness becomes conscious of its past social unconsciousness, and moves on.) And conscience lives in the presence of another human being or beings. It forges an intention, takes an initiative, faces others with a proposal, issues forth in a public act (Jankélévitch, 1933, 1950). Wise and foolish consciences, happy and unhappy ones, are not immobile, self-enclosed realities. They are stages in conscious histories. Healthy consciences share their stories. Each narrates old stories and listens to old stories: in the process, a new story is shared and action shaped. It takes a story to account for one's conscience, and it takes a shared, ongoing story for conscience to form—and enjoy forming—action.

On the interreligious scene today, it is to be wished that dialogue and encounter shall proceed from conscience. And the notion of conscience may well be—or become—part of the account that each will give to the other of his or her own humanity. Such meeting of consciences cannot occur without the labor of consciousness: each trying to communicate over a period of time what he is aware of.

Any attempt in the West to develop a theologically relevant notion of conscience must overcome two traditional tendencies. First of all, religious conscience should be purged of its tendency to reject the fellowship of men and become absorbed in the private dialogue of the soul with God. Conscience, wrote Luther, is the place where we must live with God as man and wife (*Lectures on Psalms* 3.593.28–29). It must also heal itself of the tendency to assume that God will love us if we hate ourselves. From Augustine on, the notion has persisted that to lay bare before God our innermost hearts, admit we find there utter corruption, and profess to feel pain will miraculously turn a bad conscience into a good one. Such self-serving self-humiliation is either an insincere act or an abject one. Self-torture does not make man morally better. A bad conscience may prevent worse sins, but it never brings joy.

A reconstruction might proceed from the biblical sense that conscience and heart are interchangeable. Conscience is then constituted by the hearing of—or sensitivity to—a call, a commandment. The idea of conscience can be built on what happens in an encounter between persons, rather than on the notion of a moral experience. Such a notion mistakenly assumes that a moral subject is already established, before hearing the claims of the other; one might recall here that Paul told the Corinthians not to advance their own (strong) consciences but to heed the (weaker) consciences of others. What is heard in the depths of the encounter with the widows, the orphans, and the poor of the land is the infinite call of vast human need. Within the compass of being, there are persons who are not beings; that is, they are not beings one should simply adapt oneself to or exercise power on. In each person there is also an infinite with which one can and should talk, in lucid awareness of one's own strength. The primal condition of conscious human freedom is to be unfree because claimed by the presence of a weaker other. He who is conscious of the nature of ordinary human relations has just put food in his mouth and a roof over his head: he has time to think. The mere fact of his respite makes him infinitely liable to those who are still hungry. And the infinite that meets us in other concrete human beings is an infinity of demands that cannot be answered by a mere rule of what is right and sufficient; it is also an infinity of stories that cannot be reduced to one plot. Thus there is in every other being an excess of possibilities over the possibilities that are inherent in me; something new should result from our encounter. Scripture affirms that God meets us in the lowest among our brethren. Only in these meetings are found the birthplace of morality and the voice of God. (See the analyses of Lévinas, presented in Smith, 1983.) Kierkegaard praised the faith that clung to the divine promise and readied itself to disobey the law. In contrast, Emmanuel Lévinas urges us to give up the hope of a warm rapport with God and love the law instead, austerely. This is what God requires; what we (both we the strong and we the weak) most need in order to fulfill God's requirement are some firm exterior rules of justice (Lévinas, 1976, pp. 189–193).

SEE ALSO Christian Ethics; Conversion; Morality and Religion; Religious Experience; Sin and Guilt; Theology, article on Christian Theology.

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CONSCIOUSNESS, STATES OF. Consciousness is the great enigma. We experience it in the present moment. Yet when one tries objectively to understand it within oneself, it becomes amorphous and changing. Sometimes changes from one state of consciousness to another are not recognized until the change has occurred, as if these states were separated by a zone of forgetfulness. When one observes changes in consciousness in someone else, the description always seems colored with one's own biases and preconceptions, in spite of attempts to be objective. A physiologist sees only a range from stupor through sleep and from the normal everyday waking state to hyperexcitability. A psychiatrist who subscribes to depth psychology sees waking consciousness as the mere tip of the iceberg, the rest being composed of a vast domain of the unconscious lying below the surface of awareness, all of which is considered more primitive than rational consciousness. The religious adept wants to acknowledge the reality of hellish as well as transcendent states, the former considered lower and darker and more painful, and the latter higher and deeper or more subtle and more highly refined, than that of the normal waking condition. Hence one's model of consciousness depends largely on the scope of one's personal experience and the context of one's worldview.

Most scientists remain firmly committed to a positivist and reductionist epistemology in their approach to the study of consciousness. Traditionally, this view demands adherence to the idea that there is no other state than the normal everyday waking one. All phenomena are merely variations of this one single state. When one is asleep, according to this view, there is no consciousness. Consciousness and awareness are identical. There is nothing else. There is no such thing as an unconscious, nor is there any reality to the idea of states of consciousness, let alone higher or lower ones, as these are all thought to be mere projections of the waking state.

Psychologists and psychiatrists who subscribe to the psychodynamic view at least acknowledge the reality of the unconscious. Thoughts, words, and deeds may be influenced by images held below the surface of consciousness, many of which are representations of past traumatic experiences or other forms of intrapsychic conflict. The prevailing view in the social sciences, however, is that the unconscious is more primitive and undeveloped than the waking rational state. The model only ranges from the normality of the waking state through the maladjustment of the neurotic to the complete disintegration of consciousness in psychopathology. The very acknowledgment of different states of consciousness, perforce, implies a disintegration of the essential continuity of waking consciousness.

Most of the major religions and philosophies of the world, on the other hand, speak, most often in symbolic terms, about higher and lower states of consciousness other than those of ordinary experience. These are the realms of the heavens and hells—the highest ecstatic states of expanded consciousness possible for humans to experience or the lowest states of suffering even beyond imagination. According to these teachings, people have the potential to experience qualitatively different and superior levels of perception, awareness, and orientation toward themselves, others, and the universe. Indeed in such states the ultimate nature of reality may be revealed.

But the problem is always the same with each of these teachings, namely that religious traditions tend to advocate that transformation from a lower state to a higher state of consciousness may result from adherence to the ideas, methods, and prescribed meditations of only one's own authentic spiritual discipline, whereby consciousness is refined, converted, and realigned from "the coarse to the fine." The question still remains, however, about the extent to which such experiences can only be mediated through a specific religious tradition, or whether or not this is a generic transformation toward spiritual consciousness possible in each individual regardless of the tradition or cultural context. Individuals, not institutions, after all, experience states of consciousness. Institutions meanwhile can foster the experience of interior states or either actively or inadvertently repress them.

Most contemporary histories, however, do not delve into the religious literature but look more toward the objective, scientific approach to the study of states of consciousness in the West, which they maintain begins only with Franz Anton Mesmer in the late eighteenth century.

FRANZ ANTON MESMER. A remarkable healer of what are called psychosomatic and hysterical illnesses, Mesmer (1734–1815) was knowledgeable in medicine, psychology, hermeticism, and alchemy. He postulated that people possess two distinct realms of consciousness, the ordinary waking state and an underlying unseen realm. In this invisible realm two related powers seem to be activated. The first is an exchange of rarefied energies or "fluids" between individuals that allows certain sensitive persons to influence others by their presence; that is, to influence them in more subtle ways than are generally believed operative in human exchanges. The second is a faculty of superior intelligence and will. The recognition of these submerged potentials as put forth by Mesmer and the psychologists who succeeded him led to investigation into the powers, scope, and subtleties of the unconscious as opposed to the functioning of normal everyday waking consciousness.

In his healing endeavors, Mesmer found himself capable of affecting other people by his presence. He was able to transmit a mysterious energy that he named "animal magnetism" to his patients. He believed he had the ability to transfer surplus energy from himself to others. While treating a woman who vacillated between episodes of illness and periods of relative calm, he was reminded of the endless oscillations of the tides and the seasons. This gave Mesmer the idea that these bouts, like the ebbs of the tides, might be essential components of a more complete process. That insight generated his strategy of inducing an "artificial tide" in his patient (with the aid of magnets) to evoke a cathartic ebb or "crisis," a therapeutic convulsion to enhance the body's "fluid" circulation and bring about a cure. The cures he effected in this way persuaded him that the cure of illness caused by mental factors was facilitated by circulating this subtle fluid and rebalancing the underlying realm within the patient. Such a realignment seemed to be induced by Mesmer's own magnetism and internal balance, for it was inexplicable by the prevailing theories of the day. The inferences are that one's state of consciousness, balance, or sensitivity may profoundly affect another person, and that this balance corresponds to the fundamental order of the universe itself. He wrote:

> Man's sleep is not a negative state, nor is it simply the absence of wakefulness; modifications of this state have taught me that the faculties of a sleeping man not only are not suspended, but that often they continue to function with more perfection than when he is awake. One can observe that certain persons walk, and conduct their affairs with more planning and with the same reflection, attention, and skill as when they are awake. It is still more surprising to see faculties which are called "intellectual" being used to such an extent that they infinitely surpass those cultivated in the ordinary state. (Mesmer, 1980, p. 112)

GUSTAV THEODOR FECHNER. A German mathematician, physicist, and philosopher, Fechner (1801–1887) is often credited as the founder of modern psychophysics for his expression of the Weber-Fechner Law, in which the just noticeable difference between two weights can be detected. Intensely interested in the mind-body problem, Fechner's true intent, however, was to measure the threshold between any two different states of consciousness, but this idea was lost on later reductionists in experimental psychology who claimed him as their patron saint. Fechner experienced a nervous breakdown in 1839 as an aftereffect from experiments gazing into the sun, and he spent a year in a condition of blindness, during which time he had various Asian scriptures read to him. In 1851 he produced his own text outlining a theory of universal consciousness. Borrowing his main title from the great Zoroastrian scripture by the same name, he called it *Zend Avesta: Oder über die Dinge des Himmels und des Jenseits.*

William James later became enamored with Fechner's writings on the subject. In his Hibbert Lectures at Oxford in 1907, James summarized Fechner's doctrine of the earth soul and of beings intermediary between God and man. James also wrote a preface to the fourth edition of the English translation of Fechner's *Little Book of Life after Death* (1907), in which Fechner outlined the three great spheres of evolutionary consciousness—a womb consciousness characterized by the fetus immersed in amniotic fluid, waking rational consciousness in the physical body, and a higher spiritual consciousness after death. Fechner believed that each stage presaged and was therefore preparation for the next, but that all stages were available simultaneously in human beings while still alive in the body.

WILLIAM JAMES. James (1842–1910) is the most noted modern psychologist to have seriously investigated altered states of consciousness and the influence of states of consciousness on the perception of reality. An avid physiologist, psychologist, philosopher, and psychical researcher, James studied trance states in mediums from an early age. He also experimented throughout his professional life with mind-altering drugs, including ether, chloral hydrate, nitrous oxide, and peyote. He was an expert hypnotist and often encouraged people to try automatic writing. In his monumental *Principles of Psychology* (1890) he defined consciousness as a stream and investigated subconscious conditions at the periphery of awareness, such as fugue states in somnambulism. He also studied the hypnogogic zone—the twilight period between waking and sleeping—in his 1896 Lowell Lectures on exceptional mental states. In *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902) James discussed ultimately transforming mystical states that, although inaccessible to purely rational consciousness, impart exceptional meaning and understanding to experience. The enhanced powers of cognition exhibited in such states suggest that human beings possess faculties beyond those of the ordinary mind for attaining certainty and wisdom:

> One conclusion was forced upon my mind at that time, and my impression of its truth has ever since remained unshaken. It is that our normal waking consciousness, rational consciousness as we call it, is but one special type of consciousness, whilst all about it, parted from it by the filmiest of screens, there lie potential forms of consciousness entirely different. . . . No account of the universe in its totality can be final which leaves these other forms of consciousness quite disregarded. How to regard them is the question—for they are so discontinuous with ordinary consciousness. . . . At any rate, they forbid a premature closing of our accounts with reality. (James, 2002, p. 318)

James defined mystical states by demarcating four of their salient qualities. The first is the "noetic" or cognitive aspect of the mystical state. This is not the rational, discursive, comparative function of thinking, however. It is, rather, visionary understanding or wisdom—a power of heightened intellectual discernment and relational understanding in which positioning, valuation, and function are apprehended and seemingly disparate facts are properly ranked and organized into meaningful entities. The second quality he characterized as "ineffability." Because they are ineffable, these transformations in consciousness cannot be verbalized in a manner that ever does justice to the nuances of the experience. The third quality is "transience." Mystical states usually are short-lived. Having their own distinctive flavor, they appear to be connected and continuous with each other, and those who experience them generally report a new and vivid awareness of being in the present moment. Fourth, mystical states are characterized by a feeling of "passivity," as if one's personal will were suspended and one had opened oneself to a higher or superior force. The experience is of not quite being oneself; there is another force, power, or "person" operating through one.

At the end of this groundbreaking work James postulated the need for a cross-cultural dynamic psychology of mystical states in order to grasp psychology's true contribution to the religious sphere and to understand the experience of higher states of consciousness as central to the evolution of human spirituality in different cultures.

But what is the relationship between altered states of consciousness, the superior intellectual faculties described by James, and the evolution of this power of sustained directed attention toward ultimate reality? On the whole, these questions—so central to the esoteric traditions—were only slightly addressed at the interface between depth psychology and religious studies, and largely ignored by mainstream scientific psychologists, until interest in the neurosciences forced the issue of different states of consciousness on reductionistic theorists. Other scientific and medical men, both around James and since James's time, have also been interested in the reality of different states of consciousness, however.

PIERRE JANET. Phenomena such as dissociation and somnambulism—the waking fugue state—and the study of hysteria and other "neuroses," including multiple personality, brought the French neurologist Pierre Janet (1859–1947) into the international spotlight in the late 1880s through the so-called French experimental psychology of the subconscious. This school of thought flourished between 1880 and 1910 as a driving force behind a larger French, Swiss, English, and American psychotherapeutic axis that dominated developments in scientific psychotherapy in the West long before psychoanalysis came into international prominence. In such works as *L'automatisme psychologique* (1889), *L'état mental des hysteriques* (1894), and *The Major Symptoms of Hysteria* (1907), Janet postulated that human beings are either in control of themselves if they are psychologically strong or operate under the control of the subconscious if they are psychologically weak.

The separation of subconscious from conscious awareness through psychological weakness creates a debilitated person, exemplified by the dissociated personalities and amnesiacs Janet treated. Such a person is compelled to live in a distorted corner of reality. This nonintegrated person becomes enslaved by the impulses and fears buried in the subconscious and succumbs to its cunning power to constrict and obfuscate reality into piecemeal fragments. The subconscious absorbs the very fragments it has manufactured, and these fragments are in turn present for the next event, creating still further splintered replacements for reality. This process condemns its victims to a life of intellectual distortion and neurotic symptoms.

Optimal human functioning, according to Janet, is the rule of the conscious mind over the subconscious. It is the sublimation and integration of the subconscious into ordinary consciousness. He calls the apex of his "hierarchy of the mind" a "grand synthesis," which he counterposes against the automatic actions or motor discharges of "psychological automatism," that which is relegated to the lowest rung of his system. Later in his career, under the influence of James Mark Baldwin, Janet reworked his theories into a developmental model of the normal personality and, turning away from an exclusive focus on pathology, also applied his model to an understanding of religious phenomena.

THÉODORE FLOURNOY. Another figure in the late nineteenth century associated with the so-called French, Swiss, English, and American psychotherapeutic axis, Flournoy (1854–1920) was a professor of experimental psychology at the University of Geneva. He was a close friend of James and an important influence on C. G. Jung and Jean Piaget. His major contribution to the psychology of the subconscious was an investigation of Helene Smith, a case of multiple personality with speaking in tongues (Flournoy, 1899). His final conclusion was that, whereas an experimental psychology of the subconscious had failed to prove the spiritualists' claim for the reality of life after death, there was concrete evidence for the development of exceptional human abilities beyond what seemed normally possible (Flournoy, 1911).

RICHARD MAURICE BUCKE, F. W. H. MYERS, AND ROBERTO ASSAGIOLI. The Canadian psychiatrist Richard Maurice Bucke (1837–1902) took the issue much further by postulating an evolutionary model of consciousness similar to that of Fechner (Bucke, 1901). Humans are emerging from the domain of the primitive and instinctual into the rational and are evolving toward a more cosmic and expanded spiritual state. Possibly the most important theorist of the time in this regard was F. W. H. Myers (1843–1901), the British psychical researcher. Myers postulated a spectrum of states of consciousness ranging from the psychopathic to the transcendent, with waking consciousness appearing merely as one state among many, its primary function being the preservation of the biological vehicle that experiences those other states. Dissolutive states tended toward personality disintegration, while evolutive states showed the higher spiritual possibilities of the race in the future. Myers's work had a major influence on James, Flournoy, Jung, and others, such as the young Italian psychiatrist Roberto Assagioli (1888–1974), who associated himself with this axis and the idea of a growth-oriented dimension of personality as early as 1909.

SIGMUND FREUD. Freud (1856–1939), however, is generally recognized in mainstream Western history as the purveyor of a theory of different states of consciousness in psychology and psychiatry. Fallaciously, he is said to have discovered the unconscious, when in actuality he was the first to succeed in injecting a dynamic language of the unconscious into Western reductionistic science. His task was to establish the conscious, rational functions of the ego as the controlling factor in the growth of civilization. The ego is moderated by two opposing forces, the ethical boundaries of right and wrong set by the superego, and a dynamic tension created by immediate sexual gratification of primitive, instinctual needs of the id, the basic force of the unconscious.

Consciousness, for Freud, was the ego's awareness and mediation of the unconscious in relation to forces in the external world. What was preconscious was what the ego could consciously represent from the unconscious. What was unconscious had never and could never come directly to consciousness. One approached the unconscious, rather, indirectly, through the method of symbolism. Thus, whereas the goal of psychoanalysis was a return to the ability to love and to work, the heart of Freud's method was an exploration of the unconscious through free association, the interpretation of dreams, and analysis of other unconscious behavior, such as humor, slips of the tongue, and recurring symptoms where the unconscious suddenly interposes itself into the field of waking consciousness.

In *Civilization and Its Discontents* (1930) Freud was inclined to identify the mystical experience as merely one more self-deception to which humans, in their desperation and naïveté, fall prey. There Freud wrote of a friend who was opposed to his idea that religion is a crutch allowing psychologically weak people, enfeebled because of their ignorance of scientific truths, to project a father figure in the form of God onto the universe. The solace provided by this wishful thinking assuages their fears in the face of a terrifying and unintelligible world. Freud considered himself a scientist first, and therefore declared himself to one correspondent as "a God-forsaken incredulous Jew." But other interpreters, such as David Bakan (1991), have analyzed Freud's theories in light of an unconscious legacy from the Jewish mystical tradition.

C. G. JUNG. As a younger colleague of Freud from 1906 to 1912, a close correspondent with Freud, and at one point heir apparent to the psychoanalytic throne, Jung (1875–1961) can be considered the twentieth-century exponent of the symbolic hypothesis. He took the method of symbolism much further than Freud, but epistemologically he is more accurately placed within the context of the late-nineteenth-century psychologies of transcendence. This places him more centrally within the psychologies of James, Flournoy, and Myers than as a mere acolyte of Freud. Jung's entire psychology is a commentary on different states of consciousness. He spoke about a dialogue between consciousness and the unconscious, individuation, wholeness, and the development of the "self" rather than the "ego" as the mature center of personality. In "The Spiritual Problem of Modern Man," chapter ten of *Modern Man in Search of a Soul* (1933), he described the modern person as the rare, exceptional human being who, completely conscious and having fully integrated the solutions of the past and faced the problems of the future, is free to break with all constraints and live wholly in the present.

For Jung, consciousness consisted of three realms. The first is the everyday, waking rational state, which includes the functions of the ego, contact with the proverbial objects of one's material identity, and the many masks a person wears in society at large that are the ways he or she wishes to be seen, as opposed to the way he or she really is. The second most accessible layer is the personal unconscious, which contains one's motivations for personal survival and the largely repressed material that violates the self-image he or she can tolerate for himself or herself. It also contains the cultural habits and heritage that condition him or her unawares. The third and fundamental layer is the collective unconscious. This is a transcendent, primordial realm that contains a person's impersonal aspirations, cunning adversaries, and ultimate possibilities. Access to it is mediated by the archetypes, inborn biologically conditioned modes of perceiving and thinking that have to be penetrated and transcended if one is to prevail in confrontation with the unconscious and achieve psychic growth and health, a process Jung called individuation.

The collective unconscious helped Jung account for the plethora of parapsychological phenomena—such as psychokinesis, clairvoyance, and synchronicity—that captivated him. If a person's psychic life is somehow linked to that of all humanity, then reports of apparently inexplicable events such as extrasensory perception are not quite so unintelligible.

EXISTENTIAL-HUMANISTIC AND TRANSPERSONAL PSYCHOLOGIES. In the 1960s, transpersonal psychology emerged from its existential-humanistic and phenomenological roots as a movement devoted in part to the study of meditation and alternative states of consciousness. Though by no means representative of the mainstream of psychological research in the West, transpersonal psychologists are intrigued by the possibility that human beings possess transcendent powers of consciousness. Some speculate about the brain's untapped potential and hold a view of the universe as continuous with oneself, being both conscious and purposive. They are convinced that one can be motivated by broader and less-selfish impulses than physiological needs and egoistic emotions. For these psychologists, the most important motivations spring from a selflessness that revolves around the pondering of ultimate questions—questions about the meaning, purpose, and value of human life. Often influenced by the influx of Eastern psychologies and philosophies into the West, transpersonal psychology seeks to reverse what it considers the disproportionate attention given to psychological afflictions at the expense of great potentialities as human beings. This movement may be understood as an attempt to reconnect the science of psychology with the perennial metaphysical teachings of the spiritual traditions.

ABRAHAM MASLOW. Maslow (1908–1970) was particularly interested in fully developed or "self-actualized" people who frequently undergo "changes in consciousness" that he called "peak experiences." Believing people have an inherent inner core that strives for growth (cf. Carl Rogers, Rollo May), Maslow developed a hierarchy of human motivations that seeks to encompass the entire spectrum of personality. Thus there are not only self-actualizing personalities but a self-actualizing dimension to all personalities.

Maslow designated the lowest and most basic needs as physiological and safety needs; these are fundamentally personal, selfish, and self-serving. The next stages include aesthetic and cognitive impulses. At the top of Maslow's hierarchy are "beta" or "being" needs. These operate in the self-actualized person who surpasses all personal motivations and strives for the good of humanity by acting from feelings of "wholeness," "justice," "self-sufficiency," and "aliveness," strivings capable of affecting all aspects of life. These fortunate people have thoroughly developed the inner self with which all people are born but which is generally squelched, obfuscated, or distorted by societal and parental conditioning. Such conditioning can be overcome, however.

Peak experiences are most often the prerogative of Maslow's self-actualized persons. These experiences are held to be transformations of consciousness and perception wherein life is imbued with a sense of transcendent meaning. In *Toward a Psychology of Being* (1968), Maslow reported that they are states where vision is whole rather than partial, where perception is based upon reality rather than subjective projection, and where life's meaning and goodness are experienced directly and with certainty. Time appears to be suspended, and the experiencer escapes the stress of "becoming." He or she seeks a tension-free life in the calm of "effortless being." Through such self-actualizing development and peak experiences, one is then able to live a completely engaged life.

Fueled by the writings of such thinkers as Aldous Huxley, who was involved with the Vedanta Society in Southern California from the 1940s; Alan Watts, an Episcopal priest and disciple of D. T. Suzuki who became a leading interpreter of Zen; and even the existential Christian theology of Paul Tillich (a major influence on both Rollo May and Carl Rogers); Asian concepts of consciousness, particularly the epistemological idea of states higher than the normal everyday waking condition, entered the scientific lexicon through humanistic and transpersonal psychology. Maslow talked about a Daoistic attitude of noninterference and comfortability with paradox in the self-actualizing personality. Gardener Murphy and Lois B. Murphy published *Asian Psychology* (1968). Elmer Green and Alyce Green at the Menninger Foundation began studying yogic adepts, such as Swami Rama. Indeed, a new dialogue seemed to be emerging at the interface between psychology and comparative religions.

The Hindu Vedantic tradition, for example, speaks of four states of consciousness. The first (*jāgrat*) is the habitual waking consciousness, analogous to that experienced by Plato's shackled prisoner. The second (*svapna*) occurs when one experiences reality as the product of one's subjective projections rather than as random, inexplicable, and either indifferent or cruel in its circumstances. *Svapna* conforms to the experience of the unchained prisoner seeking escape. The third state (*susupti*) is one of "divine wisdom"—clearly the purview of the liberated person. The fourth (*turīya*) is, fittingly, ineffable.

According to the philosophy of Sāṃkhya Yoga, the mind can be found in any one of five habitual states of consciousness: *Ksipta*, or restless; *Mudha*, meaning stupefied; *viksipta*, or distracted; *ekagra*, meaning one-pointed; and *niruddha*, referring to the concentration of *samādhi*. Yoga, relative to attaining the concentration of *samādhi*, pertains only to the last two. One-pointed concentration weakens the afflictions, loosens the bonds of *karma,* and paves the way toward *samādhi* or complete absorption. In the various stages of *samādhi* the mind produces a continuously flowing stream of insights into all objects (*samprajnatasamadhi*), whereas the highest state of consciousness is described as a complete separation of lifeless inert matter (*prakṛti*) from pure consciousness (*puruṣa*); that is, a separation of the illuminating quality (*sattva*) of consciousness from the stream of all objects themselves, a condition called *asamprajnatasamadhi.* This last is *chittavrittiniruddha* or a complete cessation of the fluctuations of all mental activity.

According to the philosophy of Buddhism, which originally borrowed heavily from the Yoga tradition, the perfection of meditative concentration is described. According to the Tibetan teachings of the *Jewel Ornament of Liberation* (Sgam-Po-Pa, 1959), the first stage is overcoming restlessness. The second stage is the promotion of insight coupled with tranquility. The third leads to compassion for all sentient beings. The fourth is to abide in the oneness of thought without swerving between the opposites of being and nonbeing. The fifth is transcendence, which means the arising of discriminative awareness born from wisdom and transmutation. The sixth is that same state but now purified through emptiness and compassion. The seventh is the attainment of unsurpassable enlightenment.

The idea of levels of consciousness is also evident in the work of the Ṣūfī teacher Javad Nurbakhsh Shaykh of the Niʿmatullahīyah order, who delineates four stages of development:

1. self becoming emptied,
2. self becoming illuminated,
3. self becoming adorned,
4. self having passed away (*fanā*).

Through a spiritual training revolving around an exceptional master-pupil relationship, an initiate on the path (*ṭarīqah*) may penetrate the sufferings, confusions, and convolutions inherent in egoism—represented by life in the Platonic cave—and pass beyond them to bliss, truth, and communion with God.

Such interest soon directed attention back to the Western mystical tradition. Jakob Boehme, Meister Eckhart, Hildegard of Bingen, Saint Ignatius, Saint Teresa, Maimonides, and numerous others have all come in for study of their deep contemplative spirituality and its meaning for understanding of profound and transforming states of consciousness. Fueled by the possibility of a dynamic, transcendent psychology of interior experience, humanistic and transpersonal psychologists then delved more deeply into not only their own cultures but the mystical traditions of all world cultures.

The new emphasis on alternate states of consciousness was also influenced through dramatic developments in physiological monitoring. The field of biofeedback, for instance, became one of the primary technologies through which the scientific study of techniques such as Yoga and meditation was conducted. From the 1970s onward, an exponential progression of scientific studies on meditation then appeared in the scientific literature.

The earliest work was conducted at Harvard Medical School by the cardiologist Herbert Benson, who first identified the relaxation response, and at Maharishi International School of Management in Iowa by scientific researchers who were studying the effects of transcendental meditation (TM). Based primarily on data from the study of the electroencephalogram and other physiological differences noted between sleep and meditation, these investigators postulated the existence of a fourth state of consciousness beyond waking, sleeping, and sleep with dreams.

The meditative state, they maintained, was a wakeful hypometabolic state of parasympathetic dominance; that is, a relaxed, wakeful state of sustained attention. Benson maintained that periodic entry into this state could have measurable effects on improving health, especially from stress-related illnesses. Based on almost thirty years of studying advanced meditation practitioners, the TM researchers have gone a step further and claimed that additional experimental evidence they have collected on this fourth state suggests that it is a higher state of consciousness, such as those described in the inner sciences of Asian cultures.

Psychedelic drugs also contributed significantly to the modern revolution in the scientific study of consciousness. Psychedelics were first introduced into the general population in the United States in the late 1950s. This occurred first through physicians and scientists in the military working with various U.S. government intelligence agencies, who disseminated psychoactive substances, such as lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD), among prisoners, soldiers, and test groups of civilians before dispersing such substances throughout the medical establishment. Within a short time, in an unprecedented occurrence within the research community, scientists began to experiment personally with these agents. Psychiatrists, psychologists and nonprofessionals in others countries then followed suit as word spread about the drug and its effects on consciousness throughout popular culture.

Soon a scientific literature developed that was radically split in the interpretation of the empirical evidence defining the physiochemistry and effects of various substances such as the cannabinols, LSD, mescaline, and fungi such as psilocybin. Scientists and physicians associated jointly with the military and medical establishments universally declared that psychedelics were psychotomimetics, suitable only for mind control and the artificial induction of insanity in warfare. An entirely different group of scientists, however, began experimenting with these drugs on themselves and their patients in controlled clinical settings and came to the conclusion that particularly psychedelic compounds were invaluable aids in the treatment of other chemical addictions, such as alcoholism and morphinism, that psychedelics immeasurably deepened the experience of psychotherapy and contributed significantly to accelerating the process of self-knowledge, and moreover that such substances held the promise of opening science up to an entirely new understanding of altered states of consciousness.

Two of the foremost models of consciousness in this vein have been proposed by Charles Tart, now a professor of psychology, emeritus, at the University of California at Davis, and Stanislav Grof, former psychiatrist at the Maryland Psychiatric Institute. Tart, a parapsychologist, psychedelic researcher, and personality theorist, in a series of pioneering works in the 1960s and 1970s proposed that the framework of traditional science was sufficient only for an understanding of the rational waking state. Newer forms of science were required that were internally consistent with and exclusive to the state of consciousness in which they were applied. Tart's call for the development of state-specific sciences was accompanied by the assertion that scientists needed to have experienced the particular conditions they were studying as a necessary prerequisite for objectivity. Grof undertook a variety of different investigations of altered states of consciousness, including the recovery of birth memories, the study of transformative religious visions, and shamanic states of healing, especially in non-Western cultures.

CONTEMPORARY NEUROSCIENCE, NEUROPHILOSOPHY, AND NEUROTHEOLOGY. *Neurotheology* refers specifically to modern attempts to study religious experience using the techniques and theories of the neurosciences, which include neuroimaging of meditative and contemplative states of consciousness. Neurotheology in this sense is an extension of the more recent term *neurophilosophy*, in which cognitive scientists, such as Daniel Dennett, Patricia Churchland, Paul Churchland, and Robert Searl, have dominated the discussion about the philosophical implications of the biology of consciousness. Here again, however, is the paradox that the neuroscience revolution is generating humanistic implications that demand a return to the kind of philosophical discussions long banned from the discourse of reductionistic science. The problem is that the new breed of scientific philosophers are all trained in cognitive behaviorism and Aristotelian and Kantian thought, the very epistemologies that the scientific revolution in consciousness is fast transcending, and if these so-called neurophilosophers know any philosophy at all, it is the analytic philosophers from Alfred North Whitehead and Bertrand Russell through Ludwig Wittgenstein to Rudolf Carnap, Herbert Figel, and Willard van Orman Quine, whose overemphasis on the logical ordering of sense data alone may become the approach in science most vulnerable to extinction.

Meanwhile a surge of interest in neurotheology has come from the work of Andrew Newberg and the late Eugene D'Aquili. Studying Buddhist meditators and Franciscan nuns, D'Aquili and Newberg employed SPECT scans (single photon emission computed tomography, as opposed to positron emission tomography [PET] scans or functional magnetic resonance imaging [fMRI]) to get a picture of the brain's activity during peak meditative states of oneness or union. From a neurophysiological perspective, they have proposed a heightening of the attentional areas in the frontal cortex, which they associate with activities of the will, and a diffuse, quiescent blurring of the boundaries between self and not-self mediated by the posterior superior parietal lobe. Moreover they have proposed that the parietal lobe is a major controlling factor in the experience of a continuum ranging from pleasure of an aesthetic moment, including everyday insights, to the heightened, transforming experience of religious ecstasy. They have also proposed an evolutionary role for such experiences relating the peak experience to ritual and mythmaking that have become wired-in to the nervous system.

THE CORRELATION BETWEEN BRAIN STATES AND MENTAL STATES. As noted, the idea that human beings have access to higher realms of consciousness is prevalent in all esoteric contemplative traditions. To speak in purely Western terms, in Plato's remarkable allegory the ordinary human condition is portrayed as existence in a cave, where shackled prisoners with limited vision—able to look only at the wall in front of them—mistake shadows and echoes for reality. Liberation, the ascent into the real world, is arduous and requires loosening the chains, turning around, overcoming the initial confusion, and persisting in a quest that brings knowledge and freedom. The prisoner must become realigned so that he or she can control his or her dark fears and shadowy thoughts and so escape from the cave. Once he or she is out of the cave, complete vision is possible through the liberation of the higher mind (nous). Higher consciousness evolves in its encounter with reality, thereby apprehending the laws of the universal order—the True, the Beautiful, and the Good.

Modern science has progressively attempted to penetrate into this domain, but to what end? The trend has been to reduce all phenomena to scientific terms, still elevating the objectivist stance and denigrating the experiential. But now engaged in the scientific study of consciousness and the organ that created science in the first place, scientists are confronted with the phenomenology of their own enterprise. One result is that science itself may in the end become transformed.

The quintessential example is the physiological monitoring of advanced meditators. Tibetan monks skilled in the techniques of *G tumo* Yoga are able to raise their body temperature in frigid conditions and sleep on the snow. They also engage in a meditation practice where they compete to see how many wet sheets they can dry on their backs outside in the cold. Advanced physiological monitoring confirms this phenomenon and further shows that their meditations are quite specific in that the internal core body temperatures remain the same but they raise their skin temperatures sometimes as much as 18 degrees centigrade, which accounts for the warming effect. When queried individually, each monk recounts entering a meditative state according to his own idiosyncratic practices, but all achieve the state of *G tumo* by employing the same advanced visualizations. These are described in detail in a classic Tibetan text, Tsong kha pa's *Six Yogas of Naropa* (Zhang, 1963).

How is it then that the monks, without a knowledge of Western science, achieve such drastic alterations of normally unconscious physiological processes? The answer is that the physiological measures demonstrate a correlation of brain states that can be quantified with states of mind described metaphorically. In other words which state is accessed through a particular spiritual practice in a religious tradition is likely dependent on the particular advanced teachings of that specific tradition as far as the voluntary control of internal states is concerned (Taylor, 2003).

The implications for the neurosciences seem clear. Scientists have always presumed in biochemistry that there cannot be a thought without some chemical reaction somewhere. This example offers similar confirmation that thoughts not only are driven by body chemistry, but that they can alter it as well, in ways not normally deemed possible by normative science. The monks obviously did not enter into a lifetime of training just to be able to dry wet sheets on their backs. Their goal was the teachings and their effects on transforming consciousness. One's epistemology therefore, the core of one's belief system, must be tied into the outcome where the problem of consciousness is concerned, a thought altogether new for the way science is normally conducted.

CONCLUSION. Virtually unheard of in the middle of the twentieth century, the expression "states of consciousness" has entered the common vocabulary. How this idea will present itself in the years to come, how a subject so intimately wedded to metaphysical and religious concerns will fare in modern culture, and how religion, philosophy, and psychology may meet in their concern over this subject may prove decisively important to all who seek answers to the larger questions of human life, who one is and why one is here. At the least the struggle to understand what happens to consciousness when it becomes more conscious of itself will contribute to the ongoing dialogue between science and religion.

SEE ALSO Dreams; Ecstasy; Enthusiasm; Frenzy; Inspiration; Sleep; Visions.

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EUGENE TAYLOR (2005)

CONSECRATION. As a cross-cultural concept, consecration refers to the practice of investing particular objects with extraordinary religious significance. The significance of any single instance of consecration depends in good part on the type of object consecrated. Places and buildings are made into habitations for spiritual beings; higher powers enliven icons and food; kings and hierarchs are recognized as maintainers of a higher order on earth. Yet despite the diversity of both consecrated objects and the traditions from which their religious meaning derives, most instances of consecration reveal some basic structural resemblances. First, an act of consecration is at root a creative act. It is a deliberate attempt to alter the environment, to establish in the visible world some definite, concrete means for fruitful interaction with the divine. Second, a consecrated object, now represented as a link to higher reality, is often itself understood to be transformed—purified or empowered, transmuted into divine substance or given over to the divine. And third, as something extraordinary in its environment, a consecrated object is often ritually marked off, delimited from the mundane, everyday

MAKING PLACES HOLY. The power of limits themselves to consecrate holy places is evident in the practical significance of the Theravāda Buddhist concept of *sīmā* ("boundary"). In Theravāda Buddhism monks and laity are represented as two orders in society, each with its own role in the economy of salvation. The monks, through observing their ascetic code, help maintain the cosmic order; the laity should serve the monks. These two roles are played out in different physical spaces, with a boundary between them. Thus, in the villages of modern Thailand, the monastic compound is set clearly apart. Monks may leave the compound for specific monastic duties but not to gossip in the village; villagers should enter the compound to serve the monks. In addition to the definite but sometimes unmarked boundary around the extended monastic compound, the observance hall, where monks are ordained and make group confession, has a marked boundary of its own. This boundary is denoted by stones—called *sīmā* stones—that are installed according to prescribed rites; it is normally respected by laypersons, who must remove their shoes to enter the observance hall. Here, then, ritual consecration expresses a crucial socioreligious division visible in this world.

When interaction with sacred reality is seen to demand traffic between worlds, the consecration of a physical structure on earth may instill in it the presence of an otherworldly being. Sometimes this link between worlds is forged with the help of material traces left by a holy person who has passed beyond the earthly realm. Relics of the Buddha are ideally embedded in the great stupas of ancient India and the pagodas still found in Southeast Asia. In reverencing these structures, built as memorials to the Buddha, devotees revere the Buddha's person. In the consecration of Roman Catholic churches, usually named after saints, installation of the relics of the patron saint plays a part in a larger ceremony through which the building is literally marked out for, and consigned to, the crucified Lord.

Each of the three major parts of the ceremony presents a phase in the building's transformation. The bishop begins by marking off and purifying the church externally, circumambulating it three times and sprinkling its walls with water. He then has the door unlocked and makes the sign of the cross with his staff on the threshold; inside, a cross of ashes is drawn joining the four corners of the church. Through the cross on the door and on the floor during this first phase of the ceremony, Christ the crucified is understood to take possession of the church. The second phase of the ceremony makes the church a suitable dwelling place for the Lord through both negative and positive means: first evil is banished through the sprinkling of specially prepared holy water, and then a solemn prayer for grace and sanctification is offered. The third phase, in which relics are enclosed in the altar, materially links the spiritual focus of the church to the power of a divine intercessor.

PUTTING LIFE INTO THE IMAGE OF A DEITY. In Hindu temples, the central physical repositories of spiritual power are not relics but images. Devotees often see the image as a manifestation of the deity itself. In their ritual worship, devotees interact with the deity as a person with whom they attempt to come into intimate terms. In large temples, long-hallowed images are enthroned and revered as sovereigns. At the temple to Śrīnāthjī in Nāthdwāra, Rajasthan, for example, people are allowed to see the image only at the times of day an important personage would be pleased to grant audience. Śrīnāthjī wears clothes suited to the time of day and season and is treated to lavish banquets. Deities in household shrines, on the other hand, are treated more like guests who may only be visiting for a particular festive occasion. In order to perceive the divinity in these household images, the performance of a consecratory rite may be particularly crucial. Grand images at major temples are sometimes understood to have arisen spontaneously: Śrīnāthjī, they say, emerged from Mount Govardhan, sacred to Kṛṣṇa. But a clay image from the bazaar brought into the house for a temporary period must be visibly transformed in order to be seen to embody the deity's person.

The household consecration ceremony performed for Gaṇeśa, the elephant-headed deity, by Hindus of Maharashtra reveals how human beings can put life into divine images. When the image is brought home it is put on an altar, around which designs of powdered chalk have been drawn and ceremonial implements laid out. Special space has thus been demarcated for the deity to be embodied, but the image itself remains lifeless clay. In the ritual's central act (*prāṇapratiṣṭhā*) the worshiper installs vital breath into the image. But to do this the worshiper himself must first take on the aspects of the divine through preliminary consecrations. To align his microcosmic world with the macrocosm, the worshiper makes brief utterances while touching parts of his body and his ritual implements, identifying himself as the primal cosmic being and the implements as cosmic elements. The breath is installed in the deity when, to the accompaniment of a priest's recitation of particular utterances, the worshiper touches the image with a kind of grass understood to be a potent conduit. At the climax of this rite, the worshiper understands both himself and the deity to have a common identity in the cosmic life force. This identity is then invoked in further ritual worship that includes feeding the deity and sprinkling it with water, both important aspects of consecratory ritual in many Indian traditions.

The installation of the image of Gaṇeśa in Maharashtrian homes takes place on the day of his annual festival, which falls in August or September. The consecration of the day itself is thus marked by the visit of Gaṇeśa, which may be extended for some time longer. As long as the image of the deity continues to remain in the house it is offered daily ceremonial hospitality, with flowers, songs, and incense. Both the image and the time remain sanctified. But when Gaṇeśa's visit is over, usually within ten days, the worshiper symbolically closes the image's eyes by brushing them with the same kind of grass he used to enliven it. The breath is then said to leave the clay image, which is immersed in a nearby source of water and dissolves. In separating from each other, both breath and clay return to a state that is both formless and timeless; but through their interpenetration in the enlivened image, the ritual transformation of a material form has helped consecrate a particular time.

One of the most important media through which Hindus interact with a deity like Gaṇeśa is consecrated food. Devotees offer food to the god in hospitality and later eat what are then seen as the deity's leavings. Through eating the deity's leavings, the devotee partakes of his substance and his power. The idea that something of the deity's person inheres in these leavings derives from pervasive Hindu cultural presuppositions. For traditional Hindus see the world as a hierarchy of interpenetrating substances, and food, ingested in the body, is a potent medium for transmitting psychic substance between individuals. Thus, food prepared by people of low spiritual status is degrading to those above, food offered by brahmans and gurus can offer spiritual benefits, and food left over from the plate of the deity is likely to be the most powerful of all. Through contact with a higher being, food is consecrated naturally in Hindu eyes, sometimes without any special ritual at all. In Hindu tradition, communion with the deity through consecrated food takes place without mystery.

GIVING PERSONS DIVINE AUTHORITY. Communion via the sharing of consecrated food in Roman Catholic tradition is deliberately identified as a mystery and requires a consecrator legitimately ordained in the church to be effective. Although the precise meaning of transubstantiation remains an issue of theological speculation, the rite effecting this transformation of bread and wine into the physical substance of Christ—a daily, worldwide occurrence—is fairly simple. The priest, reenacting the role of Jesus at the last supper, utters over the offerings a formula taken from the Gospels: "Take, eat; for this is my body." During the act of consecration, the priest is understood to represent Jesus, and for his act to be valid, he must be unambiguously acknowledged by hierarchs recognized as true successors to the apostles. Thus the consecrator himself needs to be consecrated.

While the rite conferring priesthood for a long time highlighted the priest's sacramental authority, it has always expressed his spiritual inheritance through apostolic succession. As an essential element of the ordination rite, the tradition of instruments—which distinctly expresses sacramental power—is known only from the twelfth century. In this tradition ordinands touch a chalice filled with wine and a paten containing bread (the "instruments") while the bishop utters a formula that bestows on the applicants the power to celebrate Mass. But the tradition of instruments was always accompanied by that of the laying on of hands, which dates from early Christian times, and is accompanied with prayer by a spiritual elder for the personal religious welfare of the ordinand. Now understood to be the only essential rite of ordination for bishops and deacons as well as for priests, the laying on of hands expresses the continuity of saving grace, from senior to junior, through the generations. From the consecration of a bishop as successor to the apostles of Jesus to the transformation of ordinary foodstuffs into the body of Christ, the rituals of consecration in Roman Catholic tradition make the power of a divine personage of the past present in today's world.

In premodern societies, the religious authority of the priest often exists in tension with that of a monarch, who may claim a divine status of his own. The Christian West has known a series of contests and accommodations between papal and royal power, which led in the early Middle Ages to the celebration of royal consecration as a sacrament of the church. God was understood to empower the king through the bishop, and the king, transformed, was given status in the clergy. In ancient India, on the other hand, though clergy performed the consecration of the king, his religious status was of a different order from theirs. From the beginning, rituals of royal consecration in India have closely resembled rituals performed for divinities. In fact the essential part of the ritual, the anointing—*abhiṣeka* in Sanskrit, literally "sprinkling"—seems to have been preeminently a royal ceremony that was later applied to the consecration of divine images. But more than the consecration of images, royal consecrations were also likely to have a visible social and political import. However deified he might sometimes appear, the king was also very much a man subject to the flux of worldly affairs, and his consecration was usually marked by prayers for his popularity, the prosperity of himself and his people, and the extent and stability of his dominion. To maintain all these potentially fleeting goods, the consecration of early Indian kings was ideally repeated annually, a custom that finds parallels in the royal New Year festivals of ancient Mesopotamia and the Chinese imperial sacrifice performed on the winter solstice. The brilliance of the ancient king's reign was usually in practical fact as well as religious belief closely linked to the welfare of his people, and both could use regular, visible signs of renewal.

PERSONAL CONSECRATIONS AND RENEWAL. The renewal and repetition of consecration becomes increasingly important in tradition to the extent that consecration is understood to be a human act and a personal one. In Indo-Tibetan Tantra, the consecration of a deity—referred to as *abhiṣeka,* like the royal anointing—expressly ties outer ritual to inward contemplation and is performed as a regular spiritual exercise. In some instances, moreover, the outer ritual may be dispensed with and only the inward consecration remain. As in Roman Catholic practice, the power to perform consecrations in most Buddhist traditions requires a legitimate source: initiations into both the powers of deities and the sanctity of monkhood need to come through a recognized lineage. But the established channels of sacramental authority in Catholicism and Buddhism are oriented in different directions. In the Roman rite, the power to consecrate is bestowed largely for the good of others, not for the personal benefit of the recipient, who as consecrator becomes a public instrument for the distribution of grace in the world. Once given, the power is supposed to be permanent; a force of its own working through the individual consecrator, it is not closely dependent on his spiritual state. In Buddhism, on the other hand, sacraments are more inwardly oriented: in Buddhist Tantra people perform regular consecrations largely for their own spiritual benefit; in Theravāda, the value of the monk for the community lies in his inner purity, and if this cannot be maintained it is thought best for all that he leave the order.

For people in ritual and devotional traditions everywhere, consecration in its most general sense can become a way of life. In the orthodoxies of Hinduism and Judaism all vital acts are ideally carried out according to divinely ordained precepts and are usually attended by ritual or prayers. In this way, rising, eating, sex, and even elimination become consecrated, that is, made part of the sacred world. For ardent devotees, consecration can mean surrender, a giving up of one's person and one's goods to the Lord. Through dedication, the Christian religious attempt to consecrate themselves fully to the service of God; Hindus following the path of the *Bhagavadgītā* give up the fruits of their works to Kṛṣṇa. Entailing an infinite succession of individual acts, consecration as a way of life demands perpetual vigilance, an acting out of the tension between divine absolutes and temporary realities that lies at the heart of consecration's religious meaning.

CONCLUSION. Deriving from Latin roots that connote an act of bringing particular things "together with" (*com*) the "sacred" (*sacrum*), the very word *consecration* implies a dichotomy between what is sacred and what is profane. Marking this dichotomy, moreover, is an important aspect of consecratory acts in many religious traditions. But in cross-cultural perspective the concept of consecration also suggests other continuities in the religious thought and practice of diverse peoples. When accompanying the enshrinement of relics of the dead or the initiation of living persons into hallowed spiritual lineages, an act of consecration in the present maintains the efficacy of specific divine sources revealed in the past. The efficacy of the act may also demand a consecration of the consecrators themselves, whose ritual performance presents some of their most exalted religious potentials: while celebrating Mass, the priest already ordained in the church is seen to be most fully representative of Jesus; to enliven an image, the Hindu worshiper is identified with the primordial cosmic person. Finally, the difference between temporary and permanent consecration that emerges from a global perspective highlights the continuing religious problem people face in attempting to establish the divine in the material world: consecrations taken as permanent express the absoluteness of divine presence; those seen as temporary reveal the limits of human effort and the impermanence of material embodiments.

SEE ALSO Blessing; Images; Ordination; Relics.

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DANIEL GOLD (1987 AND 2005)

CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM evolved out of the desire of Eastern European Jewish immigrants to find their way in the United States; it was one of a myriad of syntheses of Jewish identity and modernity invented by acculturating Jews. While its intellectual and institutional origins lie in the nineteenth century, the Conservative Jewish denomination rests on the confluence of modernizing rabbis trained at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York City, Americanizing Eastern European Jewish immigrant masses, and the national organizational infrastructure that emerged to inculcate Conservative Judaism to Jewish men, women, and children.

IDEOLOGICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL ORIGINS. Conservative Judaism considers European rabbi and scholar Zacharias Frankel (1801–1875) to be its ideological founder. In 1845, in Frankfurt am Main, at a conference of rabbis engaged in reforming Judaism, the men agreed to amend the traditional worship service to dispense with the Hebrew language in all but a handful of prayers. Although Frankel was open to adapting Judaism in response to the challenges posed by the encounter of Jews with modernity, such a drastic break with the Jewish past was an anathema. He seceded from the conference, advocating an alternative response to modernity: positive-historical Judaism. The response prioritized reason based on scholarship and a deep appreciation for conserving the traditions of the past, as opposed to the will of the laity, to guide the process of accommodating Judaism to the new realities of the nineteenth century. In 1854 Frankel became the founding president of Breslau's Jüdisch-Theologisches Seminar, a new rabbinical school whose graduates espoused positive-historical Judaism. When, in 1886, the Jewish Theological Seminary of America was established in New York City, its founders not only evoked the Breslau school in choosing a name, they also saw it as a model.

At the same time, nineteenth-century American Jews and their rabbis were engaged in reforming Judaism. Responding to their increasing distance from tradition and their desire to transmit Judaism to the next generation, virtually every synagogue by 1870 had adopted some reforms. But twentieth-century labels do not neatly fit nineteenth-century American Jewish realities. In some synagogues, led by immigrant rabbis whom historian Moshe Davis dubbed "men of the Historical School," English-language prayers and sermons, and Sunday schools that educated girls as well as boys, emerged. Other synagogues went further, ending the practice of separating men and women in worship and abolishing the head covering and ritual garb traditionally worn by Jewish men.

Events in the 1880s suggested that those advocating the most extensive reforms would soon triumph. In July 1883, as the first rabbis ever trained on American soil prepared to be ordained, prominent Jews journeyed for the historic occasion to Cincinnati's Hebrew Union College. Invited to a celebratory banquet, the traditionalists among them were appalled to find clams, shrimp, and frog's legs, all decidedly unkosher or *treyf* foods in violation of Jewish law, on the menu. The traditionalists stormed out of the *treyfah* banquet and were soon calling for a new rabbinical seminary. In January 1886, after Reform rabbis had rejected Jewish law and tradition in the Pittsburgh Platform of 1885, a coalition of traditionalist leaders and moderate reformers founded the Jewish Theological Seminary of America for those Jews who would both uphold Mosaic law and adhere to a historical Judaism resting upon the great interpretations of rabbinic literature codified in works like the Talmud.

THE EARLY SEMINARY. The "early Seminary," as the school in the years between its founding in 1886 and its reorganization in 1902 has since become known, was not intended to be a denominational institution promulgating Conservative Judaism. Although at its opening exercises, Professor Alexander Kohut (1842–1894), a graduate of the Jüdisch-Theologisches Seminar, spoke of Conservative Judaism, and although its founders pledged their allegiance to historical Judaism, this rhetoric cannot camouflage the fact that Conservative Judaism, as such, did not yet exist. In fact, many of the early Seminary's first leaders, including its president Sabato Morais (1823–1897), would, if labels must be assigned, more properly be termed *Orthodox.* And well into the 1920s, when a merger of the Jewish Theological Seminary and Orthodoxy's Yeshiva College was contemplated, the boundaries between Conservative Judaism and a modernizing Orthodox Judaism remained poorly defined.

This early Seminary, which distinguished itself by its embrace of the English language and secular education, graduated seventeen rabbis and cantors between 1894 and 1902. Its first graduates included Mordecai M. Kaplan (1881–1983), who became professor of homiletics at the Seminary and who led an influential wing within the Conservative movement that eventually became a separate denomination called Reconstructionist Judaism. In 1901 these Seminary graduates founded an alumni association, which grew into the Rabbinical Assembly, the union of Conservative rabbis. But, even as they did, their alma mater, the early Seminary, which had long suffered a lack of financial support, was on the verge of collapse.

What saved the Jewish Theological Seminary from extinction was its reorganization in 1902. A group of wealthy New York Jews, most of them personally committed to Reform Judaism and all engaged with other institutions advancing the Americanization of Eastern European Jewish immigrants, were persuaded to endow the Seminary and to bring to the United States the renowned Cambridge University scholar Solomon Schechter (1847–1915) as its president.

THE SCHECHTER YEARS. Although Schechter led the Seminary for only thirteen years, until his death in 1915, he left so clear an imprint on the school that it became known, both in his lifetime and afterwards, as Schechter's Seminary. Envisioning the Seminary as a great Jewish academy, Schechter hired a distinguished faculty, including Louis Ginzberg (1873–1953) as professor of Talmud. He also revamped the rabbinical curriculum to make it a postgraduate school; launched a teachers course, which evolved into the Teachers Institute, to train educators to work alongside Seminary rabbis; transformed the library into one of the largest and most valuable collections of Judaica ever owned by Jews, an indispensable resource for advancing Jewish scholarship in America; and moved the Seminary to its new home in Manhattan's Morningside Heights in the heart of the academic setting bounded by Union Theological Seminary and Columbia University. Schechter's presidency thus charted the Seminary's future by setting the training of rabbis, teachers, and scholars at the heart of its mission.

Schechter had hoped that the Seminary he revisioned would unify the diverse elements of American Jewry. But as Orthodox rabbis prohibited Orthodox synagogues from hiring Seminary graduates—who, they asserted, were tainted by the critical scholarly methodologies of Ginzberg—and as Reform leaders openly expressed criticism, Schechter realized the impossibility of this dream. Moreover, his espousal of Zionism, which he considered a bulwark against assimilation, had alienated many among his own board of directors, who were either neutral towards Zionism or who even opposed it. Needing to extend his base of support, Schechter ultimately did what he had hoped to avoid. Joined by Seminary rabbis who felt isolated in their pulpits out in the field, he launched a new federation of synagogues—the third in the United States, since both Reform and Orthodoxy already had their own synagogal unions—to support the Seminary and advance its vision of Judaism.

In 1913, twenty-two congregations formed the United Synagogue of America (renamed in 1991 the United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism), which embraced Schechter's vision and welcomed any congregations that were not avowedly Reform (that is, those using Reform's *Union Prayer Book* and where men worshiped without covering their heads with skullcaps or hats). The new union would advance Jewish life in the United States, especially the observance of the Sabbath and the dietary laws of *kashrut.* It would foster Jewish education and promote Jewish religious life in the home as well as in the synagogue. Its members would pray in Hebrew, but their synagogues would maintain decorous behavior in worship (in contrast to an unmodernized, immigrant-style prayer). Their rabbis would preach in English, and they would welcome women to assist in their work.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE CONSERVATIVE SYNAGOGUE. By 1929, less than two decades later, the United Synagogue had expanded to 229 member congregations. It had become the central address for American Jewish men and women who, as they left behind immigrant ghettos for the comfort of middle-class apartments in new urban neighborhoods, sought a new expression of Judaism for themselves and especially for their American-born children. United Synagogue leaders deliberately sought out these upwardly-mobile Jewish men and women who were equally distanced from the Yiddish-speaking Orthodoxy of their youth and the dramatic ritual and ideological transformations of Reform Judaism. Conservative rabbis promised moderate reforms—for example, a late Friday evening service with its greater reliance on English for prayer; Sunday schools, Hebrew schools, and adult education classes; and the seating of men and women side-by-side in prayer in contravention of the customary Jewish practice of separating the sexes in worship. But these reforms were balanced by retaining the traditional Hebrew Saturday morning service, albeit with an English-language sermon; mandating intensive preparation for the ceremony of bar mitzvah; and maintaining allegiance to Jewish law and expecting Conservative Jews to continue to usher in the Sabbath in their homes by lighting candles and blessing wine, to walk to synagogue on Sabbath mornings and on holidays, and to adhere to *kashrut.*

In general, concedes Jack Wertheimer, Seminary provost and historian of Conservative Judaism, services in these new synagogues were poorly attended since, in the years between World War I and World War II, most men worked on Saturday mornings. That meant that women filled the pews and assumed from the inception of the Conservative synagogue an active role in its congregational life.

Many of these new synagogues were lavish synagogue-centers—"*shuls* [synagogues] with pools," a unique Jewish-American invention. Synagogue-centers offered sanctuaries and chapels for worship, social halls for fellowship, classrooms for study and meetings, and gymnasiums and swimming pools for recreation. Although the idea of the synagogue-center had its roots in earlier nineteenth-century American Jewish settings, including Reform synagogues and the Young Men's Hebrew Associations (YMHAs), the prototype of the interwar synagogue-center was the Jewish Center, founded in 1917, by Seminary professor Kaplan. As Jewish immigrants and their children flocked to these new institutions, they became ethnic enclaves where American Jews could pray and play together.

ORGANIZATIONAL GROWTH. Even as the United Synagogue reached out to pioneer new congregations, it simultaneously created the umbrella organizations of Conservatism's various lay groups, essentially developing different structures, often, but not always, modeled on those Reform Judaism's Union of American Hebrew Congregations had already organized, for connecting the various segments of the American Jewish community to the synagogue and Conservative Judaism. In 1918 the National Women's League of the United Synagogue of America (now the Women's League for Conservative Judaism) became the umbrella for the sisterhoods that flourished as gendered spaces in these new synagogues. The organization's founding president and guiding spirit was Solomon Schechter's widow and intellectual companion, Mathilde Schechter (1859–1924). In 1929 another deliberately gendered entity emerged, the National Federation of Jewish Men's Clubs. The first of a variety of Conservative Jewish youth organizations dates to 1921, but this early association was abandoned in favor of new models after World War II when a different kind of teen culture emerged in a rapidly suburbanizing United States.

These different entities offered programs geared to their specific constituencies and presented a path to national leadership for Conservative laity. They sponsored conventions and retreats, developed new educational programs, and published an array of movement literature, including institutional magazines, all meant to foster a greater awareness of how it was indeed possible, even in the midst of secular American culture, to live a full Jewish life at home and in the synagogue. All remained dedicated to Conservative Judaism's principles of upholding historic Jewish observances and advancing knowledge of Hebrew and Torah. In so doing they helped shape a specific Conservative Jewish denominational identity.

THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND WORLD WAR II. The promising expansion of Conservative Judaism through the United Synagogue came to a grinding halt with the onset of the Great Depression. The economic crisis affected both Conservative synagogues and the national organizations and institutions. With the world moving towards war, the energies of American Jews focused on an endangered Jewry across the Atlantic and embattled Zionists in British-mandate Palestine. As a result, the era of the depression and the early years of World War II were years of stasis, at best, for much of the Conservative movement.

That began to change, however, with America's entry into the war in December 1941. Helping the war effort occupied Conservative men, women, and youth at home and in their synagogues. But as the war sent tens of thousands of American Jews into the military, many met there, for the first time, Conservative rabbis serving as chaplains in the U.S. armed forces. When these soldiers returned home after the war, they formed the nucleus of a new generation of Conservative Jews, paving the way for a second era of remarkable movement growth.

IDEOLOGICAL AND THEOLOGICAL DIVIDES. A careful look at those Conservative rabbis—on the eve of World War II they numbered just over three hundred, most, but not all, ordained at the Seminary (by 1944, a third were military chaplains)—would have then revealed significant ideological and theological divisions within the Conservative movement. Conservative rabbis were united by their belief in the historic body of Jewish law which, they asserted, must govern a Jew's life from birth to death. But they knew that modernity, secularization, and Americanization had deeply affected Jews' attachment to *halakhah*. (*Halakhah*, literally "the way," refers to the entire corpus of Jewish law and includes laws found in the Bible, the many classics of rabbinic literature, and modern interpretations too.) American Jews, including Conservative Jews, had fashioned their own Jewish tradition, picking and choosing from *halakhah*, observing certain holidays and forgetting others, upholding certain rites and rituals, even inventing new ones, and ignoring others. This *halakhic* anarchy undermined the tradition Conservative rabbis upheld. The solution, they believed, was for them to take charge of shaping *halakhah*. They would be the ones to guide American Jewry to strike the proper balance between the forces of *Tradition and Change* (the title of a significant collection of movement essays, edited by Mordecai Waxman and published in 1958). If they succeeded, then Conservative Jews could and would volunteer to adhere to Jewish law and praxis.

Conservative rabbis all agreed that *halakhah* must be adjusted, adapted to meet modern realities and changing circumstances. They also shared an opposition to Reform Judaism's deliberate abrogation of Jewish law, even as they claimed that the Orthodox had erred in maintaining a rigid, unadjusted *halakhah*. But if these stances united Conservative rabbis they were nevertheless deeply divided over the extent to which Jewish law could and should be properly accommodated to contemporary realities, over the best way to forge a synthesis of modernity with *halakhah*.

Almost from its inception, Conservative Judaism was wracked by different visions of the acceptable methods of adjusting tradition to the modern world. For many rabbis *halakhah* could be adapted only through time-honored processes of reinterpretation of classic texts to prove that innovations remained within the basic spirit of Jewish law, and that they would, therefore, be acceptable to all of Jewry, which Schechter had considered the will of "Catholic Israel." But others asserted that Conservative rabbis had the right to enact new legislation and must abrogate old laws that had become irrelevant and were, moreover, ignored by most Conservative Jews.

Behind Conservatism's disputes over interpreting *halakhah* were diametrically opposed theological understandings of God and revelation. They are perhaps best understood as emanating from the two polestars of the Seminary faculty at midcentury, Kaplan and Abraham Joshua Heschel.

In his magnum opus *Judaism as a Civilization* (1934), Kaplan proposed a total revolution in Jewish theology, demanding that it be "reconstructed" to naturalism. He rejected the notion of a supernatural God, redefining God as the Power in the universe that makes for salvation, the sum of the forces that enable men and women to make the most of their lives. For Judaism to survive the challenges of modernity, there could be no miracles, no supernatural revelation. Since no authoritarian God could have revealed the commandments to the nation at Sinai, Kaplan revisioned the commandments as folkways, understanding Judaism's sacred seasons, rites, and rituals as existing to answer human needs. Consequently, they must be adapted to meet the changed circumstances of contemporary life. Concomitantly, he also rejected the historic concept that the Jews were God's chosen people.

To many Conservative leaders, in the decades when those embracing Kaplan's Reconstructionism remained within the movement, this theology was utterly anathema. They understood belief in a supernatural God and his revelation as fundamental theological concepts, though they also understood the difficulties these beliefs posed for moderns. Many of these rabbis were deeply influenced by the spiritual pietism and personal traditionalism of the charismatic Seminary professor of Jewish ethics and mysticism Heschel.

Heschel's philosophical and theological writings related directly to the moral dilemmas of the moment. His Depth Theology went below the surface phenomena of modern doubt and rootlessness to illumine the Living God, not as a philosophical abstraction or psychological projection but as the Most Moved Mover, the God of pathos who stands in a dynamic and reciprocal relationship to creation, who is overwhelmingly real and shatteringly present. Depth Theology explored the ongoing encounter between man and God, showing it to be an arduously difficult dialogue in which God remained a constant partner in man's work in the world.

ADJUSTING JEWISH LAW. These differences over theology and ideology were reflected in the three wings of the Conservative movement. By 1927, when the Rabbinical Assembly formed its first Committee on Jewish Law to answer for the movement the myriad of *halakhic* questions congregants and rabbis raised, the divisions had crystallized among the movement's elites—its rabbis and Seminary professors—into a religious and ideological right, center, and left. Those on the right, which included most of the Seminary faculty, favored the maintenance of tradition over any but the most essential changes. Those on the left, represented by the Reconstructionists who followed Kaplan's philosophy, considered major adaptations essential to meet the radically changed world inhabited by a modernizing Jewry. In the middle stood a large center trying valiantly to balance the sometimes shaky coalition.

As Conservative leaders established a series of committees on Jewish law to answer the enormous number of questions raised—in some years they exceeded 170—the rabbis were careful to balance committee members from among the conservative and liberal wings of the Rabbinical Assembly. The committees answered a host of questions about dietary laws, synagogue customs, architecture, Shabbat and holiday observance, funeral practices, conversion, circumcision, and intermarriage. Could unfermented wine be used for ritual purposes in order to comply with Prohibition? Was it permissible to withhold a *get*, the Jewish bill of divorcement, until a civil court had dissolved the marriage? Could intermarried Jews join a synagogue? Was eating broiled fish in restaurants and hotels permissible? What could the rabbis do about the plight of a wife chained to a husband who no longer lived with her but who refused or was unable to grant her a divorce, which, under Jewish law, only he could do? Was it permissible to drive to synagogue services on the Sabbath? What could be done, within the confines of Jewish law, to adjust the unequal status of women?

If the committee on Jewish law ruled unanimously on a question, then all Conservative rabbis, and presumably all Conservative Jews, must abide by the ruling (note the rabbis had little coercive power over the laity). But if the law committee published a majority and minority report, then the rabbis were free, according to Jewish custom and tradition, to follow either opinion. Thus all Conservative rabbis were prohibited from officiating at intermarriages. But Conservative synagogues have the option of abrogating the second day of observance of certain holidays and of completing the reading of the Torah, the Five Books of Moses chanted on Sabbath morning, over either one or three years.

As World War II was ending, the Conservative movement's coalition of the right, center, and left continued to hold, and it would hold throughout the first postwar decades when a new era of remarkable expansion required the energies of all in the movement.

POSTWAR EXPANSION. By the late 1930s, Seminary leaders, notably Louis Finkelstein (1895–1992), who became its president in 1940 and retired as its chancellor in 1972, recognized that the hegemony of world Jewry was shifting from Europe to the United States. Determined that Conservatism must become *a*, if not *the*, leading force guiding American and even world Jewry, Finkelstein set a course to raise funds and develop new initiatives to extend Conservative Judaism's reach.

As the war broke out, the Seminary began admitting larger classes to train the increasing number of rabbis needed to serve at home and at the front. As the war ended, the need for Conservative rabbis became so acute that the Rabbinical Assembly began admitting more and more rabbis trained in Reform and Orthodox settings who preferred to be Conservative rabbis.

As Jewish servicemen returning home joined the urban exodus, they organized new synagogues for their growing families in the burgeoning suburbs. Many decided that middle-of-the-road Conservative Judaism, whose chaplains they had first encountered during the war, would attract the widest swathe of suburbanizing Jews. While the number of Reform synagogues grew in these years, the growth in the Conservative movement was greater. By 1949 the United Synagogue had 365 congregations, nearly a 100 percent increase in just four years. By 1971, with the era of remarkable growth over, the United Synagogue counted 832 congregations, comprising some 350,000 families with an estimated 1.5 million members.

A NATIONAL IDENTITY. The explosion of synagogues was accompanied by a simultaneous expansion of movement activities and new initiatives designed to solidify Conservatism's presence as a national movement among American Jewry. The United Synagogue advised emerging congregations on synagogue management, budget, personnel, youth work, and successful synagogue programs. By the end of the 1940s, Conservative cantors, synagogue administrators, and Jewish educators had formed new professional associations. In 1947 the Seminary established a West Coast branch, the University of Judaism, in Los Angeles. Moreover, after many years of false starts, a prayer book for the movement, *The Sabbath and Festival Prayer Book*, was at last published in 1946. As it became almost universally accepted in Conservative synagogues, it contributed to a clearer sense of national movement identity among the laity.

Conservative leaders already had ambitions beyond the United States, and in 1957 they established a World Council of Synagogues (now the World Council of Conservative Synagogues) to extend their unique vision of Judaism around the globe. In 1962 they launched a rabbinical seminary in Argentina to train modern Spanish-speaking rabbis. As increasing numbers of Conservative rabbis made their homes in Israel, the movement grew there too. In 2003 the Masorti movement, as Conservative Judaism is known in Israel (*masorti* means "traditional"), numbered fifty congregations and included a kibbutz and educational institutions. This is a significant achievement, given that early in the history of the new state full jurisdiction over marriage, divorce, and burial for all Israeli Jews was handed over to the Orthodox, and its rabbinate has yet to recognize the authority of rabbis ordained outside Orthodox settings.

EDUCATION AND CONSERVATIVE YOUTH. Perhaps the greatest of Conservative Judaism's successes in these first postwar decades lay in the field of Jewish education. Abiding by the dictum, “And you shall teach them diligently unto your children” (*Dt.* 6:7), the movement invested extraordinary resources in an array of formal and informal programs of Jewish education at a time when American women were giving birth to the demographic bulge known as the baby boom. The Conservative synagogue became a central site for educating young Jews as nursery schools and Sunday schools were held on its premises. At the same time, Conservative leaders and laity created their first Jewish parochial schools, known as day schools; by 1958, there were fourteen Conservative day schools. In these settings children and teens spend approximately 40 percent of every day immersed in Jewish studies, including Hebrew language and classical Jewish texts. In 2003 over seventy schools in twenty states and Canada were affiliated with the movement’s Solomon Schechter Day School Association.

New youth programs in these first postwar decades provided informal Jewish education. They included not only United Synagogue Youth, founded in 1951 for high school students, but also programs for teens seeking advanced Jewish education and other programs for the increasing numbers of Jewish youth attending college. The first of what would become a network of movement camps, Camp Ramah, opened in Wisconsin in 1947. Designed as Hebrew-speaking camps where campers would pray daily and live Judaism during the long, hot summers, they were expected to propel the next generation of Conservative Jews to lives filled with Judaism, observance, and study. United Synagogue Youth and especially Camp Ramah (both included Israel travel experiences) became training grounds for those who would go on to become lay leaders and for the next generations of Conservative rabbis.

Yet, in terms of its reach to the greatest number of Conservative youth, surely the pinnacle of Conservatism’s educational achievements was the three-day-a-week afternoon congregational school, the Hebrew school. Prior to its emergence, most boys learned what they needed to know for bar mitzvah (the rite of passage to adult status in the synagogue, which occurs at age thirteen) in community Hebrew schools. The shift from the community school to the congregational Hebrew school began in the 1920s during the Conservative synagogue’s first period of expansion, but the three-day-a-week congregational Hebrew school, which eventually absorbed the Sunday school for all but the youngest children, became the pillar of the new Conservative suburban synagogue. It became the medium by which Conservative children, and in the educationally egalitarian suburbs they included girls as well as boys, acquired the knowledge and skills necessary to fit into congregational life. Here children learned Hebrew prayers, studied the Bible, and were introduced to Jewish history, literature, and culture. They came to understand the centrality of Israel to the Jewish people and to comprehend Jewish values and ethics. By moving the Hebrew school to the synagogue and requiring attendance three times a week for five years before bar mitzvah, the Hebrew school became the nucleus of the family-centered suburban congregation, drawing parents and children together to the synagogue.

BAT MITZVAH. It also had unintended and unanticipated consequences, for not only was Hebrew school the path to bar mitzvah, it also became the path to bat mitzvah. Bat mitzvah was a new Jewish rite marking the transition from childhood to adolescence among American girls. In 1922, Kaplan created the first bat mitzvah in the United States for his daughter Judith. In the decades that followed, bat mitzvah won limited acceptance on an individual basis in Conservative synagogues. Its form—whether it took place at the Friday evening or Saturday morning Sabbath service, and which portions of the service the bat mitzvah girl read—differed from synagogue to synagogue. By 1948 a third of Conservative synagogues had adopted bat mitzvah, and by 1960 almost all celebrated both bar and bat mitzvah, even though it would take another decade or two for bat mitzvah to parallel exactly the bar mitzvah rite in most Conservative congregations.

Yet, even as bat mitzvah was becoming the norm for Conservative synagogues, it nevertheless signaled the end of a girl’s public participation and leadership of the service. Boys could continue, if they wished, to use what they had learned in Hebrew school. They could, as teens and adults, bless the Torah scroll and read from it. They could even continue their Jewish learning and become rabbis. In these years no one expected that the bat mitzvah girl would ever again ascend to the pulpit, and surely she would never think of becoming a rabbi. Thus, Conservatism’s educational triumphs, the creation of strong institutions for youth education, unwittingly helped set the stage for its most significant public crisis.

YEARS OF UNEASE. By 1968, with the war in Vietnam raging, the youth rebellion in full swing, and the end of the demographic baby boom that had caused the suburban synagogue explosion, the era of enormous movement growth was at an end. As the 1960s have come to stand for years of turmoil in American society, when Americans launched a war on poverty, struggled to bring civil rights to all, and began a remarkable revisioning of gender roles, the Conservative movement too experienced its own years of unease.

In 1968 the Reconstructionists, long the most ardent champions of Conservatism’s liberal wing, defected. As long as Kaplan remained a professor at the Seminary—and he taught rabbinical students there for more than five decades (from 1909 to 1963)—he refrained from creating the structures that would proclaim Reconstructionism’s independence. Gradually, over the course of the 1960s, they had emerged. The final step was the establishment of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College in Philadelphia in 1968. Its founding meant that those who would have become the standard bearers of Conservatism’s liberal wing in the next generation could now become Reconstructionist, rather than Conservative, rabbis.

At the same time Conservative leaders experienced another defection, that of their best and brightest youth. In 1968 in Boston, Jews in their twenties, mostly graduate students and many, perhaps most, raised in elite Conservative institutions, founded the first *havurah* (plural, *havurot*), a small intimate group for prayer, celebration, and study. Creating a Jewish expression of the wider American counterculture, by the mid-1970s *havurot* flourished in all major Jewish communities. The young men and women of the *havurot*, and they included at least one former national president of United Synagogue Youth, rejected the grand suburban synagogues in which they had come of age, depicting them as spiritually arid temples to the hollowness of affluence.

Many Conservative leaders perceived the rebellion of their youth as indicative of the movement's weaknesses. They charged that their congregational schools had, despite their best efforts, failed. With the exception of the climactic experience of bar and bat mitzvah, they had not won over the youth who must become the next generation of Conservative Jews. Yet, Rabbi Wolfe Kelman (1923–1990), known as "the rabbi of the rabbis" for his long tenure as executive director of the Rabbinical Assembly, argued that the Conservative youth who were the chief architects of the Jewish counterculture were actually a sign of the movement's success. They had learned enough in Conservative settings to criticize the institutions in which they were raised and were so committed to Judaism that they demanded more from it.

Nevertheless, as the size of the movement stabilized, as the Reconstructionists seceded, and as the youth who should have become the next generation of Conservative synagogue members seemed to defect, the late 1960s and early 1970s became years of unease within Conservatism. This unease was compounded in the 1970s as many of the grand old synagogue-centers built in the 1920s, which had survived the early migrations to the suburbs, declined, and as the first suburban congregations built in the 1950s and early 1960s faced hard choices about refurbishing aging buildings in the hopes of attracting new members. But these concerns would pale before the conflict that was about to emerge—the demand to ordain women as Conservative rabbis.

THE CRISIS OVER WOMEN'S ORDINATION. Conservative Judaism had already responded to several questions about the status of women. Mixed seating, the sitting of men and women together in worship, which had become characteristic of the Conservative synagogue as it emerged, also became the denominational boundary distinguishing Conservative from modern Orthodox congregations. Conservative rabbis, long uncomfortable with praying each morning "Blessed be He who did not make me a woman," emended this prayer in the 1946 *Sabbath and Festival Prayer Book.* Bat mitzvah and a 1955 ruling permitting females to have an *aliyah*, the honor of blessing the Torah scroll, gave Conservative girls and women new, albeit limited, roles in the synagogue service. Finally, Conservative elites had wrestled for decades over the *agunah*, which chained the wife to an untenable marriage that only her husband could end. Even when American courts had issued a civil divorce, if a husband refused to grant a Jewish divorce the wife remained unable, as Conservative rabbis understood Jewish law, to remarry. In the late 1960s the Rabbinical Assembly took steps to resolve this *halakhic* impasse.

Marshall Sklare (1921–1992), who wrote the definitive sociological study of the Conservative movement, understood well that the inferior position of women in Jewish law transgressed Western norms. But, as he wrote at midcentury, he observed that Conservative women were not agitating for full equality. They seemed then, to Sklare, quite satisfied with the changes in women's status already made in Conservative Judaism.

By the early 1970s, however, that was no longer true. In March 1972, three months before the first American woman was ordained by Reform Judaism's Hebrew Union College, a group of women in New York, riding the crest of the new wave of American feminism and deeply committed to Conservative Judaism, appeared at the annual meeting of the Rabbinical Assembly. As girls, they had received the same educations as their brothers in Conservative schools and camps. As women, they were denied the opportunity to use that knowledge. As feminists, they deemed this a gross affront to their intelligence and sensibilities. They called for an end to the second-class status of women in Jewish life, demanded that women be allowed to participate fully in all religious observances, and launched an agonizing public debate over whether or not the Conservative movement would ordain women rabbis.

From 1972 to 1983, Conservative leaders found themselves inextricably engaged in an intricate political dance of shifting alliances, studies undertaken, commissions formed, hearings held, motions tabled, and votes counted. Each twist and turn of the question of women's ordination in these years, as the ball was thrown from one arena of Conservative Judaism to another, reflected just how divisive and painful the prospect of women rabbis was for those enmeshed in the debate.

For example, the movement convened the Commission for the Study of the Ordination of Women as Rabbis, and it held public hearings in five cities to gather the opinions of Conservative Jews. In December 1978 its members divided. Eleven believed that Jewish law did not prohibit women's ordination, and they recommended their admission to the rabbinical school the following September. Three commission members dissented, arguing ominously that women's ordination would disrupt the unity of the movement. A year later, the Seminary faculty, fearing schism within their ranks, tabled the question of admitting women to the rabbinical school for the foreseeable future.

But by the fall of 1983, when it was evident that the Rabbinical Assembly would soon admit a woman ordained at Hebrew Union College (she would have been a Conservative rabbi if she could have been), the Seminary faculty convened again. This time they voted to admit women to the rabbinical school. The vote propelled some from the right wing of the movement to break off. Decrying Conservatism's selective loyalty to *halakhah*, they established the Union for Traditional Judaism. In May 1985, Amy Eilberg, who had accumulated advanced standing through prior coursework as she waited patiently for Conservative leaders to allow women's ordination, was ordained a rabbi.

JUDAISM IN THE CENTER. The bitter debate over women's ordination was "a struggle for the soul of the movement" (Wertheimer, 1993, p. 348). Indeed, in the wake of women's ordination, the Conservative movement was transformed. By the 1990s it had at last moved firmly to the center. The secessions, first of the Reconstructionists on the left and then of the opponents of women's ordination on the right, explain the shift, but only partially. The successful suburbanization of Orthodox Judaism, which occurred later than that of Conservative Judaism and which Conservative leaders had not anticipated during the heyday of suburban synagogue expansion in the 1950s and 1960s, also contributed significantly to moving Conservatism to the center. New suburban Orthodox synagogues allowed traditional Jews to create strong Sabbath-observant communities of like-minded families who once would have become the more traditional elements in Conservative congregations. The result was a shift to the center in the movement, which in the past had to balance its coalition so carefully that the presidents of the Rabbinical Assembly rotated among the right, center, and left.

Now egalitarianism won the day in Conservative worship. By 1981, less than a decade after the 1973 decision to count women in the quorum necessary for prayer—an early concession to the demand for women's ritual equality, only 47 percent of Conservative congregations had done so. By 1995 to 1996, 83 percent counted women in the prayer quorum, and in more than three-quarters of congregations women led services and read from the Torah. Rather than egalitarianism muting Conservatism's loyalty to *halakhah*, it likely increased overall levels of observance and knowledge in every synagogue community.

Even as Conservatism's new commitment to women's full and equal participation paralleled that of Reform and Reconstructionist Judaism, its adherence to tradition and loyalty to *halakhah* continued to parallel Orthodoxy. Nevertheless, Conservative Judaism has long been characterized by a striking gap in observance. In public movement settings, in its synagogues, schools, and camps, loyalty to Jewish tradition, to Sabbath observance, and to *kashrut* was and is the norm. But Conservative Jews, with the exception of the elites (the Seminary professors and rabbis), by and large violate these norms personally and in their homes. For example, of all those who identified as Conservative in the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey, only 23 percent report lighting Sabbath candles regularly and less than 15 percent keep kosher.

To close the gap in observance, Conservative leaders have repeatedly tried to convey to the laity the movement's position on loyalty to Jewish tradition. In 1979 Isaac Klein (1905–1979), one of Conservatism's most important legal experts and long a leader of its right wing, published *A Guide to Jewish Religious Practice*, a modern code for Jewish living that incorporated many of the movement's decisions on Jewish law. In 1988 the movement published *Emet Ve-Emunah: Statement of Principles of Conservative Judaism.* Earlier attempts to reach consensus on such a statement had always failed. This one succeeded largely because *Emet ve-Emunah* (truth and faith) conveyed its centrist stance by presenting the divergent theological views on God, revelation, Jewish law, and the election of Israel that had evolved among Conservative thinkers. For example, it reported that "Conservative Judaism affirms the critical importance of belief in God, but does not specify all the particulars of that belief" (p. 18).

As the twentieth century gave way to the twenty-first, thorny *halakhic* issues emerging from the new sociological and behavioral patterns of American Jews continued to challenge Conservative leaders. As the intermarriage rate soared in the late twentieth century, it forced Conservative rabbis to think ever more carefully about the position of the intermarried family in the synagogue. Could the non-Jewish spouse become a member and vote and eventually hold synagogue office? What roles would the non-Jewish parent play in the children's bar mitzvah? in their weddings? Could the non-Jewish spouse be buried in the synagogue cemetery? Even as Conservative leaders grappled with these specific questions, they continued to uphold the historic Jewish principle of matrilineal descent, recognizing any child of a Jewish mother as a Jew, and refusing to embrace patrilineality, according to which the child of a Jewish father and a non-Jewish mother is recognized as a Jew.

The shift to the center and the stances on intermarriage may help explain changes in the position of Conservatism within the spectrum of American Jewry and the decline in the size of the movement. At one time Conservative Judaism was the largest denomination in American Jewry. In 1971, 42 percent of Jews choosing a denominational label identified themselves as Conservative. By the time of the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey, 35 percent identified themselves as Conservative, whereas 38 percent described themselves as Reform. Only slightly more than half of Conservative Jews actually belong to a Conservative synagogue. (American Jews affiliate voluntarily with a synagogue and must pay annual dues and synagogue fees, which, in 2003, typically exceeded $2,000 a year for a family with children). In 2003 the United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism numbered 760 synagogues, a decline from the nearly 850 congregations at its peak.

These synagogues differed in another significant way from those of the 1950s and 1960s. The Conservative synagogue of the 1990s had come to reflect the Jewish sensibilities of its generation of congregants, many of whom came to their synagogues with more intensive Jewish educations than their parents had. Not only had they studied in Jewish schools as children, celebrated bar and bat mitzvah as teens, and attended Jewish youth groups and summer camps, but many had also taken Jewish studies courses in college and had visited Israel at some point in their lives. This new generation of Conservative synagogue members was the generation of the postwar baby boom, and they had, at last, turned to the synagogue as they became parents and needed its structures and settings for their own children. Yet, like the children of their peers who had founded the Jewish counterculture in their youth, they expected greater spontaneity and informality in the synagogues they would join, as they did elsewhere in their lives.

Consequently, many late-twentieth-century Conservative synagogues tried to respond to their different constituencies and their needs. One answer was to institute a variety of worship services designed to bring greater intimacy to the synagogue. Depending on the congregation, these might include a traditional service for those who remained uncomfortable with egalitarianism, a main egalitarian service where bar and bat mitzvah were celebrated, various *havurot* meeting within the congregation, different children's services, and a learners' service to give those who wished to do so a chance to discuss the liturgy and weekly biblical readings.

Moreover, the late Friday evening service, which had characterized the Conservative synagogue in its founding era, was starting to fade. By 1995 fewer than two-thirds of Conservative congregations still regularly held this service. The circumstances which had brought about its creation in American Jewish life had changed, and Conservative Judaism was, once again, adapting to new sociological realities, this time that of the two-career family and a desire by many, especially Conservative rabbis, to turn back to the customary early service on the eve of the Sabbath followed by the traditional meal with family at home. This process of adaptation had long been and will likely remain a hallmark of this centrist religious movement of American Judaism.

SEE ALSO Jewish Thought and Philosophy, article on Modern Thought; Orthodox Judaism; Reconstructionist Judaism; Reform Judaism; Zionism.

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Pamela S. Nadell (2005)

CONSTANTINE (272/273–337), known as Constantine the Great, Roman emperor and agent of the Christianization of the Roman Empire. Born at Naissus, the only son of Helena and Flavius Constantius, Constantine was assured a prominent role in Roman politics when Diocletian, the senior emperor in the Tetrarchy, appointed his father Caesar in 293. Educated in the imperial court at Nicomedia, and permitted to accompany the eastern emperors on provincial tours and military campaigns, he doubtless expected to succeed to his father's position when Diocletian and Maximian abdicated in 305. But Galerius, who may have contrived the abdication and as the new eastern emperor controlled the succession, ignored Constantine—and Maxentius, the son of Maximian—and instead nominated as Caesars his own nephew and the praetorian prefect Severus. Constantine could not challenge this decision immediately, but when his father died at York in July 306, he reasserted the claim, this time backed by the British and Gallic armies, and requested confirmation from the eastern emperor. Galerius resisted, preferring Severus as Constantius's successor, but to avoid a confrontation offered Constantine the lesser rank of Caesar. When Maxentius rebelled at Rome in October 306, however, he refused to grant a similar concession, and for the next seven years civil war disrupted the western half of the empire.

In the end it was Constantine who dislodged the resilient Maxentius from Rome, defeating his army at the Milvian Bridge on October 28, 312. For Lactantius and Eusebius of Caesarea, Christian observers who produced accounts of the event a few years later, this was more than a political triumph. On the eve of the battle, they insisted, Constantine had experienced the vision (or visions) that inspired his conversion to Christianity. Constantine's motives are beyond reconstruction, but it is clear that he believed the victory had been won with divine assistance. Even the inscription on the triumphal arch in Rome erected by the Senate in 315 to mark the event attributed his success to the "prompting of a deity." If the language is ambiguous, perhaps in deference to the sentiments of the pagan majority, Constantine's legislation and activities after 312 attest the evolution of his Christian sympathies.

Whether the "conversion" represented a dramatic break with the pagan past is more problematic. Constantine had never been a persecutor; indeed, in 306 he had ordered the restoration of property in Britain and Gaul that had been confiscated from Christians during the Great Persecution (303–305). Unlike Galerius, who had vigorously persecuted Christians in the East, Constantine was a tolerant pagan, content with the accumulation of heavenly patrons (Sol Invictus, Apollo). In 312 he may well have considered the God of the Christians simply another heavenly patron, demonstrably more powerful than others but not necessarily incompatible. Though he refused to participate after 312 in distinctly pagan ceremonies, Constantine retained the title *pontifex maximus* and evidently did not find the demands of government and religion irreconcilable. Exclusive commitment and a sense of mission, however, would develop over time. Early on he expressed his gratitude and allegiance through special exemptions and benefactions; after 324 he did not hesitate to use his office to condemn pagan beliefs and practices and to promote the christianization of the empire.

Politics accounts in large measure for Constantine's transformation from benefactor to advocate. The conversion did not alienate pagans, for religion had not been an issue in the civil war, and nothing indicates that Licinius, whom Galerius had chosen as co-emperor in 308, objected to Constantine's evident Christian sympathies in 312. At Milan the following year, in fact, the two survivors joined in the publication of Galerius's edict of toleration, drafted just before his death in 311, and ordered the restoration of Christian property in the East. As political rivalry developed over the next few years, however, the religious policies of the emperors diverged, especially after the inconclusive civil war of 316/7. Politics and religion became so entangled that Constantine, using attacks on Christians in the East as pretext, could declare his campaign against Licinius in 324 a crusade against paganism. His victory at Chrysopolis (September 18) simultaneously removed the last challenge to his authority and legitimized his emerging sense of mission.

Denunciations of pagan practices followed immediately, coupled with lavish grants for the construction of churches and preferential treatment of Christian candidates for administrative posts. Constantine also took the lead in efforts to restore order in an increasingly divided church. The Council of Nicaea (325), which three hundred bishops attended, was not his first attempt at ecclesiastical arbitration. A decade earlier he had summoned fractious North African bishops to a council at Arles (314) to decide a disputed election in Carthage and to rule on the orthodoxy of the Numidian bishop Donatus. The latter was condemned, but his partisans (Donatists) continued for the remainder of Constantine's reign to resist the council's decision. The prospects for settlement in 325 were bleaker still. The nature of Christ, not simply a disputed election or the propriety of rebaptism, was the question at issue. Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria in Egypt, had repeatedly argued that Christ was a created being, a view that seemed to deny his divinity. The bishops assembled in Nicaea (Bithynia), responding to the counterarguments of Alexander (bishop of Alexandria) and others, condemned Arianism and adopted a creed (the Nicene Creed) that declared the Father and Son to be of the same essence. This language satisfied the majority in attendance, but it did not silence Arians. By midcentury, in fact, the Arian position, not the Nicene, had been accepted by most of the eastern churches represented at Nicaea and by the successors of Constantine.

Pagans, of course, would not have found much to applaud in all this; their prosperity was determined by Constantine's handling of everyday affairs, not by his performance in church councils. Victories over the northern barbarians, reform of the coinage, rationalization of the bureaucracy—these were the issues that shaped their sense of well-being. That the emperor, especially during the last decade of his reign, was attentive to these concerns is clear, so much so that he can be credited with the refinement and implementation of the reforms introduced by his pagan predecessors. And yet, it is his Christianity that sets him apart. His reputation rests on his skillful manipulation of Christian symbols—the Milvian Bridge, the Council of Nicaea, the foundation of Constantinople (the "second Rome" that served as the principal capital after its dedication in 330). He was both the new Augustus and the thirteenth apostle, the pagan emperor who, after his encounter with the God of the Christians, adopted as his personal mission the Christianization of the empire. In pursuit of this objective, he had created by his death in 337 a Christian Roman empire that would endure for a thousand years.

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CONSTANTINIANISM is a policy establishing a particular Christian church as the religion of the state, also known as Caesaropapism. Formulated originally by the Roman emperor Constantine I, the Great (d. 337), it was continued in the Byzantine Empire (until 1453), the Frankish kingdom, the Holy Roman Empire (962–1806), and numerous states of Europe, being modified in most states since the Protestant Reformation but persisting in some even today. According to this policy, state and church should form a close alliance so as to achieve mutual objectives.

CONSTANTINIANISM CONCEIVED. Following his "conversion" in 312, Constantine proceeded by stages to establish Christianity as the sole religion of the empire. From 312 to 320 he tolerated paganism but he elevated the standing of Christianity with increasing vigor. From 320 to 330 he thrust the organization of the church into the foreground and directed a frontal attack on polytheism. From 330 to 337, after moving the capital from Rome to Byzantium, he waged an open war on the old religion.

Constantine, whatever the exact nature of his conversion, believed that the supreme God whom Christians worshiped had given him the victory at the Milvian Bridge and dominion over the empire. He hoped that by doing God's will he would obtain further prosperity for himself and his subjects and feared that if he offended God he would be cast down from power and pull the empire down with him. In a letter to an official charged with responsibility for healing the Donatist schism, the emperor confessed he would feel secure "only when I see all venerating the most holy God in the proper cult of the catholic religion with harmonious brotherhood of worship." This concern for right worship prompted him to seek not merely the establishment of Christianity but the conservation of a united and orthodox Christianity. Bitterly offended by division among Christians, he felt duty-bound to impose unity, first in the Donatist controversy and then in the Arian. To resolve the latter, he summoned a universal council representing the whole church to meet at Nicaea, and presided over it himself. In an opening address he deplored the internecine strife in the church as a disaster greater than war or invasion. During the crucial part of the debate, he himself chaired and took an active part in guiding the proceedings. He used his imperial presence to secure an inclusive formula with which all except ardent Arians could agree, proposing the phrase "of one essence" *(homoousios)* to express the Son's relation to the Father.

Though Constantine's peacemaking efforts within the church turned out rather badly both for his and later generations, he put in motion a program that would eventually secure the triumph of Christianity over its competitors. When his co-emperor Licinius turned sour toward Christianity and backed away from the tolerance guaranteed by the Edict of Milan (313), Constantine initiated against him a virtual crusade culminating in his defeat and death in 324. Thenceforth, as Constantine once remarked in a speech to bishops he was entertaining, he considered himself "a bishop established by God of those outside [the church]." He thought of himself, too, as a "thirteenth apostle." If he did not undertake to promote missionary work outside the empire, he did so within its boundaries. He grew increasingly impatient with the unwillingness of his subjects to accept the Christian faith until finally, in 330, exasperated with the tenacious grip of paganism on old Rome, he established a new Christian capital at Byzantium. Thereafter he held back nothing, razing and looting temples and lavishing public monies on the churches, forcing pagans to return property confiscated from

Christians under Licinius, building churches of great splendor in important cities, and enticing soldiers and public officials with lavish favors. His successors, Julian (361–363) excepted, followed suit, and by the time of Justinian (527–565), intolerance toward non-Christians had become a public virtue.

CONSTANTINIANISM CONTROVERTED. Constantinianism was never seriously contested in the Byzantine Empire, but it has been in other nations, especially in the West. The so-called Donation of Constantine, a spurious document composed between 752 and 778 in the Carolingian (Frankish) kingdom, inaugurated a long history of debate over relations between church and state with strong advocacy of the superiority of popes to princes by grant of Constantine himself. Charlemagne, king of the Franks from 778 to 814, and his successors operated on the Constantinian model, aiding the church in its evangelism but using it to achieve royal aims and freely interfering in ecclesiastical affairs. Their practice of lay investiture, secular rulers handing symbols of office to the clergy at their installation, however, touched off a fierce battle with the papacy on which compromise was not achieved until 1122. Subsequently, Innocent III during his years as pope (1198–1216) stood Constantinianism on its head by liberal interference in matters of state in the Holy Roman Empire and virtually every nation in Europe.

The strongest objections to Constantinianism, however, have been voiced by sects that have suffered from its emphasis on uniformity. The ancient Donatists, ruing their request for imperial involvement in ecclesiastical disputes, soon advocated separation of church and state. So too did some medieval sects. The most persistent and consistent voice against Constantinianism, however, has come from the so-called free churches that emerged at the time of the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century and after. Many of these, especially Anabaptists and Baptists, have denounced the alliance of church and state that Constantine effected as a "fall" of the church, resulting not only in religious intolerance and persecution but also in an adulteration of Christianity. According to a Hutterite chronicle, this well-intended alliance is how "the disease of craftiness, which creeps about in darkness, and the corruption which perverted at high noon, [was] introduced by violence" and "the Cross was conquered and forged to the sword." In opposition to Constantinianism, the free churches espoused voluntary association in congregations and separation of church and state. "Gathered churches" composed of "regenerate members," and not the state or its magistrates, would, by this plan, exercise discipline in doctrine and behavior over their constituents. Although government has a legitimate role to play, the free churches further stated, it should restrict its activities to the civil realm and leave religion to the churches. God alone is Lord over the human conscience in religious matters.

SEE ALSO Anabaptism; Arianism; Constantine; Donatism; Heresy, article on Christian Concepts; Innocent III; Reformation.

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CONTARINI, GASPARO (1483–1542), Venetian statesman, author of philosophical and theological works, proponent of Roman Catholic church reform, and cardinal. Born in Venice on October 16, 1483, he died in Bologna on August 24, 1542. Belonging to an ancient patrician clan, Contarini received a solid education first in Venice and then, from 1501 to 1509, at the University of Padua, where he studied philosophy, mathematics, and theology. In 1511, during a period of inner turmoil and search for personal vocation, he arrived at the conviction that humankind is justified before God by faith, not works. This belief, similar to Martin Luther's, later enabled him to deal sympathetically with Protestantism.

His career in the service of Venice began in 1518. Among its highlights were embassies to Emperor Charles V from 1521 to 1525, and to Pope Clement VII from 1528 to 1530. Dispatches from both missions show the development of Contarini's considerable diplomatic skill. Between 1530 and 1535 he was a member of the Venetian government's inner circle, holding high office almost continuously, including that of the head of the Council of Ten. This period also saw the completion of his best-known work, *De magistratibus et respublica Venetorum,* which contributed to the widespread diffusion of the idea of Venice as a perfectly ordered state.

On May 21, 1535, Pope Paul III appointed Contarini cardinal. He became the center of a group of reformers at the papal court, heading a commission to propose reforms in the church before the calling of a general council. As a member of subsequent commissions for the reform of various curial offices, he was an insistent spokesman for the necessity of removing abuses and clashed with his conservative colleagues. In January 1541, he was chosen as papal legate to the religious colloquy between Catholics and Protestants in Regensburg. In an unsuccessful effort to break down the differences between the two confessions, Contarini proposed a theory of double justification. It was eventually rejected by both sides. He spent the last months of his life as papal legate in Bologna, suspected by intransigents in Rome of having been too accommodating to Protestants and of leaning toward their ideas. Contarini remains perhaps the most attractive personality among Catholic reform thinkers before the Council of Trent.

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CONTEMPLATION SEE ATTENTION; MEDITATION; PRAYER

CONTRITION SEE CONFESSION OF SINS; REPENTANCE

CONVERSION. The nature and definition of conversion elicits enormous controversy. Given the complexity, and to some, the transcendent mystery of conversion, it is no surprise that scholarly consensus has yet to be achieved. For some, conversion is a form of pathology. For others, it is an example of human manipulation and coercive power. It is important at the outset of this article to note that Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam have been traditionally identified as conversionist (or missionary) movements. However, conversion studies necessarily deals with a much broader array of religions and topics than those confined to any of these three religions. The subject of conversion, once the exclusive franchise of evangelical Protestants and psychologists of religion, is now investigated by scholars in anthropology, history, missiology, religious studies, theology, and sociology.

Fundamentally, conversion is religious change. Since the 1980s, however, the very definition of conversion erupted as a zone of contention. What changes? Who changes? How does one change? How much change is necessary for the change to be considered conversion? What is authentic conversion? These debates permeate the extensive and growing literature on the nature of conversion. The word *conversion* itself is a source of debate. Especially in areas where missionaries from a variety of religious traditions have been active, the specter of forced, or at the very least, manipulated conversions, elicit a desire to reject the word *conversion* as a symbol of the colonial missionary enterprise.

Two common English definitions of conversion originated from the Greek terms *epistrophe,* which can mean "conversion" or "turning around," and *metanoia,* which can mean "repentance" or "to turn around," with an emphasis on the inner transformation of the convert. The term *conversion* was employed initially within Judeo-Christian circles to describe a believer's self-identification with a religious tradition either through faith in God and/or through commitment to new beliefs, rituals, and a religious community. Comparatively, converts to Buddhism, especially in its earliest Indian environs hundreds of years before the emergence of Christianity, described their own experience not as "converting" but as "enlightenment." To the faithful within monotheistic religious traditions, conversion was seen positively as testimony to the truth of the religion as well as guarantor of salvation. Pejoratively, conversion often meant sacrificing personal or social identity, a rejection of local lifeways and customs, through the "turning to" another religious tradition that may have been associated with a dominant political, social, or religious power.

Constructing theories and interpretations of conversion can be an arduous enterprise. "Insiders" assume that people convert to the insider's religion because the religion is, of course, true. "Outsiders" to a particular religion will not assert that a person converts to another religion because it is true. Moreover, the secular person may use explanations that are related to psychological needs, sociological factors, cultural forces, economic incentives or deprivations, and/or political constraints or inducements to make sense of the phenomena, thereby reducing the concept of conversion to a monocausal force rather than recognizing its pluriform nature. Facile definitions of such robust and dynamic phenomena fail to account for the multifaceted process that affects social, psychological, religious, and political life. Definitions of conversion abound, yet the use of theory helps human beings to begin to intellectually grasp its meaning. Given the inherent complexity of conversion, there exists no single comprehensive theory that successfully disentangles the numerous threads that together give rise to religious change. For instance, not all conversions entail inner transformation—some require adherence to divine laws revealed to human beings. Furthermore, some scholars suggest that conversion entails an abrupt and radical religious reorientation or intensification, while others assert that conversion processes are gradual, with the convert progressively entering a new religious tradition or deepening their commitment to their present tradition.

The study of conversion has dramatically expanded. In addition to numerous articles and monographs, the most common format is the edited book with articles addressing various dimensions of the phenomenon. In some cases the books are organized according to disciplines, in other cases they are focused on a particular religion or a region of the world. Recent contributors to this genre include Robert W. Hefner, Andrew Buckser, and Stephen D. Glazier in anthropology; Christopher Lamb, M. Darrol Bryant, and Peter van der Veer in religious studies; and Rowena Robinson and Sathianathan Clarke in the study of conversion in India. Others have added to the extensive literature in historical studies, including Steve Kaplan, Kenneth Mills, Anthony Graftson, and James Muldoon, while Kenneth J. Collins and John Tyson have written about Wesleyan studies. These studies are valuable in providing rich detail and texture to descriptions of conversion processes. There is a need for students of conversion to work more systematically in interdisciplinary studies in order to build a more coherent, cumulative approach to theory and research.

This article on conversion focuses on a number of theoretical orientations currently deployed in the study of conversion. Various theories elucidate different dimensions and processes involved in the phenomenon of conversion, and each theory grows out of different sets of assumptions and methods of research. No single theory currently dominates the field of conversion studies. By exploring a wide array of conversion theories, the diversity and complexity of conversion will be illumined. The theories are organized according to broad categories that focus on the person, social and cultural approaches, religious and theological approaches, and convergent models; the latter are theoretical approaches that seek to be interdisciplinary and inclusive.

PERSONALISTIC THEORIES. Personalistic theories include:

Psychoanalytic theory. According to the psychoanalytically oriented scholar, the phenomena of conversion is driven and shaped by the primal forces within the personality. Sigmund Freud suggested that the id, ego, and superego engage in constant conflict, giving rise to the human urgency to seek gratification of powerful desires, where culture, religion, and conscience (superego) serve to constrain. In Freud's view, conversion processes are fragile compromises in the ongoing conflict of the life and death instinct, where the drama of infant, mother, and father are mirrored in the dynamics of conversion. Religious rituals, beliefs, and relationships are motivated by such powerful emotions as guilt, grief, terror, emotional deprivations, and all kinds of suffering that propels the person into religion. Adherents of psychoanalytic theory interpret conversion as inherently pathological, interpreting it as a means to overcome childhood fears and conflicts rooted deep within the personality.

Archetypical theory. Carl G. Jung developed the archetypical theory that asserts that there are fundamental, universal patterns within the human psyche that give form to human experience. Based upon his work, scholars of archetypical theory postulate that conversion takes place when a person is captivated by a powerful religious symbol or experience that meets profound needs within that person's psyche. Scholars following archetypical theories take seriously the symbol systems of religion in order to understand the attraction and impact upon a convert.

Attachment theory. Some scholars of conversion assert that human beings form emotional ties reflecting the connection of an individual with their original primary caregiver. Building on some of the foundational notions of Freud and evolutionary theory, John Bowlby's work asserts that conversion in part compensates for severely deprived and distorted parenting patterns or it can be congruent with parental modes of relating to the dependent child. Attachment theory emphasizes the primacy of affective and emotional relationships as formative.

Attribution theory. Attribution theory is based on the universal human need to create and/or find meaning in life, including meaning for inexplicable daily events as well as more profound issues of the human predicament, such as undeserved suffering and death. Adopting a new system of attributions about the nature of self, others, and God is a significant aspect of what happens for many converts. Attribution theory asserts that religion or a religious perspective provides meaning and a sense of purpose to those issues that haunt human consciousness. This theory stresses the cognitive and intellectual spheres of conversion processes.

SOCIAL/CULTURAL THEORIES. Social and cultural theories include:

Multicultural theory. Increasingly, scholars of conversion recognize the importance of the cultural dimensions of the conversion process. Previously the bulk of theoretical work on conversion was derived from people of European racial and cultural heritage. Unquestioned assumptions about patterns of family life, modes of selfhood, and norms of mental health were either ignored or were assumed to be superior to people of other racial, ethnic, and national origins. While most Euro-American scholars previously tended to universalize their perceptions of self, personality, and motivation, more recently there has been growing interest in researching non-Western settings or people with Asian, Latin American, African, or Pacific Island backgrounds.

Alan Roland's self theory postulates variable dimensions of self that are virtually universal but have different valence or importance in various cultures. Roland suggests that the five dimensions constituting the whole self are the individual self, the family self, the spiritual self, the developing self, and the private self. For instance, in India and Japan, the family self is more developed and most people in those countries tend to be focused on the family aspect of selfhood. Multicultural theories of conversion take into account, for instance, the norms of individual self and family self in their assessment of conversion dynamics. Whereas in the West, where the norm is the isolated, autonomous convert, people from some non-Western cultures may convert "en masse," as a group mirrors their contours of selfhood. A viable theory of conversion requires recognition of different forms of selfhood in the person and group and the contours of selfhood subsequent to conversion. Likewise, other social scientific theories of conversion, namely those from anthropological and sociological perspectives, require sensitivity to the perspective of the Western or non-Western assumptions regarding the role of culture and society in the motivations to convert. Conversion theories will be enhanced significantly when people from various parts of the world develop theories reflective of and relevant to indigenous cultures and religions.

Postcolonial theory. This approach seeks to investigate the experience of Africans, Asians, and Latin Americans with imperialism and colonialization. Scholars working in postcolonial theory examine the processes by which the presence of military, economic, and cultural power have shaped the infrastructures and superstructures of societies, cultures, economies, and subjectivities of people in post-colonial nation states. Conversion to a world religion, such as Islam or Christianity, is interpreted as a part of the "colonization of the mind and spirits" of the dominated peoples. Submission and resistance of the colonized in the conversion process are important themes for postcolonial theorists. Furthermore, the blending of the local religious tradition with the world religion, sometimes understood as syncretism, often creates a robust and creative religious experience. That is to say, understanding conversion in a postcolonial context involves recognizing human actors as actively engaged in negotiating strategies and tactics of submission as well as resistance and innovation.

Identity theory. With increased urbanization and modernization, along with ethnic and religious pluralism, old notions of self, communities, relationships, and convictions are changing. In social psychology and sociology, identity theory suggests that conversion is a process of gaining convictions and values that consolidate understandings of the self to structure the relationships with others and to provide a sense of continuity in a fragmented world. In this sense, conversion consolidates identity and helps to maintain it through time, providing a sense of meaning in a world characterized by social mobility and anomie.

Intellectualist theory. According to Robin Horton, human actors seek to understand, predict, and control space-time events. Horton proffered a theory of microcosm and macrocosm based on his work in Africa. In the African context, the microcosm consisted of the quotidian world occupying most of a community's daily activities. Their religious life concerned the explanation, prediction, and control of their concrete world. However, virtually all groups, according to Horton, had a macrocosm—the wider world—that was only minimally developed because their daily energy was focused on the microcosm. With increasing social mobility small-scale African communities interacted with people from a wider social world, which expanded the myths, rituals, and symbols of the small-scale societies to include the macrocosm—a broader world of a high god, rationalized religion, and often a formal scripture. Horton's theory reflects evolutionary motifs, since the theory assumes that conversion entails a movement from microcosm to macrocosm based on active cognitive decision-making.

Narrative theory. Some scholars assert that conversion involves, among other things, learning a new narrative that reconstructs a person's biography in light of a new allegiance, a new theology, and a new set of rituals. Biographical reconstruction and the resulting narrative provides new meaning to a person's self, God (or other transcendent reality of a particular tradition), relationships, community, and world. Conversion in this sense means adopting a new story that resonates with the convert, finding connections between "my" story and "the" story, and incorporating the story into one's own life narrative. Conversion stories among evangelical Christian traditions frequently present themselves as personal testimonies, often weaving biblical stories and themes into the convert's own narrative, and thus making past biblical truths contemporaneous with the current believer's own experience. Likewise, a convert to Buddhism can speak of a personal experience of awakening along the lines as prescribed in the Buddhist scriptures.

Globalization theory. The increasing interconnectedness and ease of global communication systems, such as television, radio, and the Internet, and ease of mobility through airlines, automobiles, and trains have invigorated and, in some cases, made possible the growth of new religious movements, the spread and intensification of world religions, and the global revitalization of such movements. Globalization has enabled unprecedented mass communication, through which the yearnings for spiritual renewal and transformation are contacted and cultivated. For example, through globalized media even hinterland villages may have access to religious programming and watch images of the Muslim pilgrimage *(ḥājj),* Christian televangelists healing the sick, or Hindu devotees chanting sacred text, all beamed in from distant locations. Scholars of the globalization theory of conversion stress not only the content of the message but the form of the communication.

RELIGIOUS/SPIRITUAL THEORIES. Religious and spiritual theories include:

Theological theories. Whenever scholars employ theory to illuminate their data, it is important to keep in mind that all attempts at understanding complex phenomena are inherently reductionist. Theoretical biases and perspectives come into play in all theory construction. As such, some scholars of conversion note the normative issues within each religion. Historically, earlier discussions of the theologies of conversion were dominated by evangelical Christians, whereas liberal Christians emphasized social concerns. The Roman Catholic Church, following the reforms of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), also began to reexamine the phenomena of conversion. Historically, Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam have been the "missionary religions" aimed explicitly at converting others. Newer religious movements, such as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the Unification Church, each have their own set of normative guidelines for what constitutes authentic conversions. For one, conversion may entail accepting a God as revealed by a prophet (e.g., Joseph Smith and Mormonism), but for others, conversion may consist in accepting the prophetic insight of a founder that may be focused less on a transcendent being than on an immediate experience of belonging and community.

Whether scholars write from within a particular religious tradition or from a variety of theoretical perspectives, many recognize the crucial role of religious experience, divine intervention, and transcendence. They apply descriptions and definitions of the process of conversion according to their theological anthropology, their doctrine of human nature. These normative theologies disclose their assumptions regarding the deep structures of the human being and focus on the way in which human beings were created, their desires and aspirations, the human predicament, and, in some traditions, the urgent need for a relationship with a transcendent being or law that gives meaning, orientation, and, indeed, even their salvation.

Translation. Another feature of the phenomenon of conversion is the relationship between sacred texts and the convert. Some religions affirm the sacred quality of a particular language as it is used for prayer, worship, and reading, while others emphasize the inherent translatability of scriptures, with the assumption that the Divine endorses mother-tongue communication. Islam, which affirms the distinctively sacred role of Arabic, exemplifies the former and Christianity and Buddhism, which has since their beginnings emphasized translation into vernacular languages, the latter. The translatability and untranslatability of sacred texts plays a significant role in understanding the conversion process as lives of converts are shaped and guided in part by sacred texts and the cultural and revelatory traditions that in part gave rise to them.

Convergence Models. Convergence models include:

Process theory. Lewis R. Rambo developed a stage model of conversion as a heuristic device that attempts to illuminate the phenomena by highlighting crucial dynamics and elements of religious change. It is important to note that while Rambo's theory is neither unilinear nor universal, the usefulness of his model lies in its ability to systematically organize the complex phenomena of religious change as well as some of the technical issues emerging in conversion scholarship. It should be noted that this stage model does not assume a discrete, unidirectional movement through the stages, but rather a dynamic process of interplay between the stages.

Rambo lays out seven stages of the converting process. Stage one identifies the context in which converting takes place, which functions as the matrix of conversion. Stage two is crisis, where disordering and disrupting experiences call into question a person's or group's taken-for-granted world. This crisis is often triggered by the interaction of external or internal forces, exemplified by colonial contact in the former case and the words of a charismatic religious leader in the latter. Stage three is quest, which encompasses different ways people actively respond to crises. Stage four is encounter, which describes the contact between the potential convert and the advocate of a new religious option. Stage five is interaction, in which the converting person or group learns more about the teachings, lifestyle, and expectations of the group, and is required to begin making alterations in beliefs, rituals, and relationships that are consistent with the prescriptions and proscriptions of a new religious community. Stage six is commitment, where a decision is required and, in many cases, a public demonstration of the status change is expected. Stage seven is consequences. Given the fact that converts are in the process of changing many different aspects of their life, discernment of the nature of these changes is important. Indeed, some religious traditions seek to assess the authenticity of a conversion based on these changes. The criteria are based on the expectations of specific religious communities, including such dimensions of affective, intellectual, ethical, religious, and social/political domains. Scholars of conversion assess the consequences based on criteria derived from their own disciplines, whether from history, social sciences, religious studies, or otherwise. Many scholars of conversion believe that authentic conversion is a continuous process of transformation.

Feminist theory. Feminist theory elucidates the influence of gender inequality in all aspects of life. In Western society, patriarchy has generally dominated society, culture, and religion, giving priority to male perspectives in religious, social, cultural, and economic domains. As a result, feminist studies of conversion have only recently emerged. Feminist theory points to issues that need to be addressed in the study of religious change. For instance, do women experience conversion differently from men, and, if so, in what ways? Do religious models of conversion constrict and distort women's motivations, needs, and desires? Is religious conversion healing and helpful to women, or just another mode of domination? Preliminary studies indicate that, indeed, women do experience conversion differently than men, have significantly different motivations for conversion, and often approach the process of religious change in different ways. Future conversion studies must incorporate feminists' concerns in research and writing.

Christianization and Islamization theory. In the conversion studies literature there is a growing body of work that falls under the broad headings of Christianization and Islamization theories. These studies explore the religious, historical, cultural, social, political, economic, and ideological factors and forces that create and sustain comprehensive processes by which religions, in these cases Christianity and Islam, are disseminated, cultivated, consolidated, and sustained by a wide range of forces that create an environment in which individual religious change takes place. These processes have parallels in discussions of other inclusive processes called Sankritization, Buddhization, Confucianization, Hellenization, modernization, and secularization. Some scholars of conversion would reject this all-embracing process as being called conversion. It is, however, accurate to say that in many studies of conversion and in the ordinary use of the term, it is common to speak of the conversion of Armenia, the Roman Empire, the Philippines, Syria, and so forth. Conversion must be seen as more than merely individual religious change because it usually entails the transformation of political, social, and cultural environments that create what might be described as an ecology of conversion that makes individual conversion possible.

All-inclusive studies often focus on geographical areas in which Christianity or Islam gain ascendancy. In the case of Christianity, these include explorations of the Christianization of the Roman Empire, British Isles, Europe, Russia, Latin America, the Philippines, and Korea. Studies of conversion to Islam include such geographical areas as Arabia, Iran, Egypt, Africa, Southeast Asia, India, the Malay Archipelago, Britain, Europe, and so forth. Few of these studies emphasize individual experience but rather the roles persons might play as missionaries, emissaries, leaders (charismatic or otherwise), or traders. Most focus on Christianization or Islamization, in other words, the creation of social, cultural, religious, and political environments in which individuals, families, communities, and societies flourish as Christian or Muslim zones of influence and power. Many such studies are, of course, historical, but there are also examinations of the processes of Christian or Islamic conversion using various interpretative models such as the diffusion of innovation theory by Richard W. Bulliet.

In the study of Islamization, other theoretical explanations for Islamic conversion include the use of force, attractiveness of Islam as a movement for the liberation of slaves and soldiers, compliance with new political regimes, desire for the privileges of Islamic political power (e.g. tax relief), influence of traders (through intermarriage and patronage relationships), attractiveness of monotheism (especially for those from "pagan" and "primal" religions), and the provision of mystical and transcendent experiences through such things as Ṣūfī modes of spirituality. In the case of Christianization, explanations for conversion, in addition to some of the same interpretations as those used for Islam, include experiences of healing, the attraction of communities of grace and fellowship, the appeal to women of new understandings of the role of women, and the deployment of various forms of persuasion, coercion, and force.

BRIEF ILLUSTRATIONS. Conversion to Christianity in the archipelagic nation of Indonesia, the largest Muslim country in the world, during the mid-1960s illustrates the complexity of the phenomena, combining elements of globalization, postcolonial, and identity theories. Since its independence on August 17, 1945, Indonesia, with more than 13,000 islands, has experienced a series of social, political, and economic crises that threaten to pull the country apart. September 30, 1965, marks the failed coup attempt on President Sukarno by left-wing officers. The Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) was held responsible for the coup attempt, and military and Muslim organizations responded by purging the communist threat in the nation. Most reports estimate that about 500,000 people were killed. Some converted to Hinduism. More striking is the fact that roughly two million Javanists and Chinese converted to Christianity to quickly unite themselves with a government-recognized religion and thereby distance themselves from any association with the PKI. Social and political realities, along with personal concerns, play an important role in understanding conversion. Conversion patterns in Indonesia during the unstable period of 1965–1966 suggest that sometimes conversion may be appealing because it distances the convert from the larger population. For instance, in the Indonesian case, Javanist and Chinese converts became Christians rather than Muslims, who were part of the punishing forces.

Throughout the history of conversion worldwide there have been moments where conversions were imposed by force or, at least, strongly encouraged in order for people to prosper in a newly established social order. The use of military force, social pressure, and economic incentives has been employed by followers of world religions at least at some point in their histories to bring people into the fold. These external forces of conversion can be potent motivators for religious change, and sometimes the fundamentalist interpretation of a religion can in part provide legitimation for such aggression. The history of colonialism is replete with instances of forcible conversions, where external forces played a significant role in conversion patterns.

While it is true that all conversions are both contextual and personal, scholars can also discern whether a conversion is caused and experienced primarily within in the personal sphere and which are influenced primarily by contextual dynamics. Another way to state this issue is to what degree is a conversion primarily internal and which is fundamentally contextual? Moreover, many theistic traditions would simply suggest that conversion is the result of a god who calls people to join the community of faithful followers of truth, thus recognizing a force (i.e., God) that is beyond both personal and contextual domains. It must be expressed, however, that all personal conversions are influenced by the context and all contextual conversions are experienced personally.

The contemporary social and political world is shaped in part by the pervasive influence of conversion. Buddhism pervades Thailand, Burma, Cambodia, Vietnam, and continues to have an important impact on China, Korea, Japan, and much of Asia. Islam is the dominant religion of the Middle East, Indonesia, parts of south Asia, and in many areas of Africa. Christianity is predominant in Europe, the Americas, Australia, and the Philippines, and has experienced significant resurgence in the non-Western world. The presence of world religions on all six continents represents members from diaspora communities but also converts to those religions. Latin America exemplifies a region where conversion within a religion, that is, from Roman Catholicism to Pentecostalism, has given way to significant social change, with about half of Latin America's Pentecostals living in Brazil. The religious world is a dynamic force field of dissemination, conflict, establishment, decline, renewal, and reversals of various religious movements, institutions, and ideologies. Conversion is integral to these transformations. The cultural geography of the world continues to be shaped by the dynamics of religious change.

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COOMARASWAMY, ANANDA

(1877–1947), Sinhala art historian and religious thinker who spent the last three decades of his life in the United States.

Coomaraswamy's work falls into three periods, distinguished less by topic than by purpose and sensibility. From 1903 to 1916, as a young scholar and idealistic author, Coomaraswamy was a well-known proponent of traditional Indian and Sinhala culture and a stirring essayist on behalf of cultural and political independence in both countries, then under British rule. He was also an extraordinarily perspicacious art historian who discovered and restored in historical perspective one of the great schools of Indian painting. In his middle years, from 1917 to 1931, when he was curator of Indian and Muslim art at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, he applied his erudition to the production of a series of scholarly books and articles on Asian art; many of these works are still consulted for both fact and interpretation. Unlike the publications of his youth, which show more than a trace of late romantic idealism and a concern for literary finesse, the works of his middle period are scientific in the best sense: directed toward factual knowledge and coolly analytical in approach. In 1932 Coomaraswamy began to combine his early, value-oriented scholarship with the factuality of his middle period; this synthesis led to the masterful works of his old age. In book after book, essay after essay—he was once described as "New England's most prolific author"—Coomaraswamy undertook a scholarly and yet visionary exploration of traditional religious art and culture, primarily of India and medieval Europe. These works, his final contribution, have an eloquence, a force of conviction, and a stunning erudition that make them still, and perhaps classically, a literature to which both scholars and seekers may turn for guidance and inspiration.

Born in Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka) to a distinguished Hindu legislator and his English wife, Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy was educated in England. He earned the degree of doctor of science in geology from London University and in 1902 returned to Ceylon as a geologist. There he combined professional work with a growing interest in the indigenous, precolonial culture of the island, which had been weakened by nearly a century of British rule. Deeply influenced by William Morris (1834–1896), the British craftsman, author, and humanitarian socialist, Coomaraswamy toured the island, making observations and taking photographs that became the substance of his first major nongeological publication, *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art* (1908). The book was a pioneering effort to inventory and interpret a traditional and inherently religious art.

Coomaraswamy's geological career gave way to his authentic vocation. Shifting his interest and residence to the larger world of India, where he became an intimate of the family of the poet Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941) and an active polemicist on behalf of *swadeshi* ("home rule"), Coomaraswamy also engaged in studies of art history that gradually drew near a major discovery. His *Indian Drawings* (1910) and its companion *Indian Drawings, Second Series, Chiefly Rajput* (1912) are primarily portfolios of illustrations and are of limited textual interest, but they mark the beginning of a reversal in British (and Western) opinion of Indian art that was largely due to the efforts of Coomaraswamy and his colleagues, such as the British critic Roger Fry, in the newly founded India Society.

Coomaraswamy's next major publication in the field of art history, *Rajput Painting* (1916; reprint, 1975), formally disclosed to the world the Hindu painting of Rajasthan and the Punjab, now universally admired and widely studied but essentially unknown until Coomaraswamy's research. Confused with contemporaneous Muslim painting, the masterworks of this art lay unrecognized in obscure collections throughout India and had hardly been valued until Coomaraswamy traveled far and wide, built a splendid collection, and for the first time interpreted them in historical and aesthetic terms.

During these predominantly Indian years, broken by sojourns in England, where he maintained a home, Coomaraswamy also published *Myths of the Hindus and Buddhists* (1913) and *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism* (1916). The latter is an early and graceful summary of Buddhism for general readers, published in an era that had seen few if any studies of its quality. Essays from this period were collected a few years later for his first American publication, *The Dance of Shiva* (1918; reprint, 1957). Coomaraswamy had recently moved to the United States, and this widely read book established his popular reputation there as an authority on Indian culture.

Accepting a curatorial post at the Boston Museum, which acquired his unique collection of Indian painting, Coomaraswamy now entered his period of rigorous scholarly effort. His work in the 1920s is epitomized by two publications, the multivolume *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (1923ff) and his *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (1927; reprint, 1972). Both works of exact scholarship in art history were written as a much-needed service to the field he had helped to found.

As noted above, Coomaraswamy's work—and undoubtedly his person—underwent a major transformation in about 1932. While he continued to write art history at nearly his customary pace, he also began to publish studies of the religions, myths, aesthetics, and traditional cultures of India and medieval Europe—indeed, of tradition wherever he encountered it. The art historian ceded some ground to the religious thinker and philosopher; the scientist ceded to the man of conviction, who contrasted the secular, industrialized way of life in the modern world with the traditional order of life in which knowledge is primarily religious and art is visible religion. Although the books and essays of this period were born of a powerful conviction that modern man must remember and allow himself to be moved by the depth and light of tradition, Coomaraswamy's writings were not predominantly polemic in character; for the most part they are encyclopedic works that explore the metaphysics and theology, the iconography and symbols, and the artistic and social forms of the East and West, often on a comparative basis.

Coomaraswamy was one of the first erudite practitioners of cross-cultural study and interpretation to be biased—if he was at all—toward the East. His later works initiate the reader unforgettably into both the general structure and the countless details that constitute traditional religious culture in the premodern world. Occasional polemic essays drive home, with wit and passion, the importance that this lesson in ancient things holds for modern man. No brief summary can do justice to his works in this period. It must suffice to say that they blend remarkable scholarship with the dispassionate quality of religious passion known in Indian tradition as jñana. As he once asked in an essay, "Can we imagine a perfected ardor apart from understanding, or a perfected understanding without ardor?"

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Revised Bibliography

COPERNICUS, NICOLAUS (1473–1543), Polish cleric and astronomer, was born Mikołaj Kopernik in Torún, Poland, on February 19, 1473. He was raised in the comfortable circumstances of a wealthy burgher family and was educated at the cathedral school. Upon the death of his father in 1583, Copernicus and his younger brother Andreas were taken under the guardianship of their maternal uncle, Canon Lucas Watzenrode, who had been trained in the cosmopolitan humanist atmosphere of Bologna and later was made prince bishop of the Diocese of Warmia. Copernicus matriculated in the Collegium Maius of the renowned Jagiellonian University of Kraków, which at that time was strong in mathematics and had an endowed chair of astronomy dating from 1410. Copernicus's study of the theories of such luminaries as Ptolemy, Euclid, Sacrobosco, and Regiomontanus was complemented by his own observation in Kraków of the comets of 1491 and 1492 and of four lunar and solar eclipses during the next two years.

In 1496 Copernicus and his brother were sent to Bologna by their uncle to further their educations. During his decade in Italy, Copernicus studied medicine at Padua, continued his observations of the heavens, and became well enough versed in philosophy and classical literature to translate the letters of a Byzantine poet into Latin. In 1503 Copernicus took his degree in canon law from the University of Ferrara. Watzenrode had arranged for Copernicus's election to a benefice in the Diocese of Warmia to ensure his nephew's financial independence, and Copernicus returned to Poland to embark upon his duties as a canon of Frombork Cathedral. For the next four decades he was engaged in ecclesiastical administration and other service to the diocese. He wrote an important treatise on coinage, painted a self-portrait, and conscientiously practiced medicine. Astronomy remained his passion, however, and in 1510 he built a modest observatory in a tower near the cathedral.

COPERNICUS AND ASTRONOMY. In order to evaluate Copernicus's significance in relation to religion, one must first understand how he transformed astronomy. His enduring legacy was the rehabilitation of the long-neglected heliocentric hypothesis. The concept of a moving earth was not new of course, having been proposed in the third century BCE by Aristarchus of Samos and discussed by Archimedes, although Philolaus and Ecphantus the Pythagoreans are the ancients whom Copernicus mentions in connection with the idea. But the ancient arguments against heliocentrism, both from common sense and from lack of observed stellar parallax, had been so overwhelming that the alternative geocentric cosmology prevailed from antiquity through the late Middle Ages.

Aristotle (384–322 BCE) envisioned a set of nested concentric spheres bearing the planets, the sun, the moon, and the stars around a spherical, stationary earth. This system was enlarged and codified by the second-century Egyptian astronomer Ptolemy in the *Almagest*, which became the basic astronomical text of the scholastic canon. In order to preserve uniform circular motion while accounting for the periodic retrograde motion of the planets against the backdrop of the fixed stars, the system invoked a scheme of epicycles and eccentrics that revolved on the deferent circle about the equant point. Ptolemaic astronomy was integrated with Aristotelian physics in scholastic science, in which circular motion was proper to the heavens and rectilinear motion to the earth and in which the four terrestrial elements (earth, water, fire, and air) were disposed appropriately according to their degrees of levity or gravity. The pre-Copernican cosmology was in turn integrated with theology to form an orderly scholastic synthesis of physics, astronomy, and theology. Each science in this hierarchy of disciplines operated from its own set of principles, and together they governed everything from the nature of matter and planetary motion to the geographic location of heaven and hell.

By the sixteenth century Ptolemaic astronomy had begun to encounter difficulties in accurately predicting celestial phenomena. The system of eccentrics and epicycles revolving about the equant point "saved the appearances" in accounting for retrograde planetary movements without sacrificing uniform circular motion. But the minute inaccuracies of this system when compounded annually over more than a millennium had pushed astronomical reckoning off by ten days. This cumulative error posed serious calendrical problems, including the difficulty of correctly calculating the date of Easter, the central Christian feast on which much of the church year was based.

As Copernicus continued his quest for improving predictive accuracy in astronomy, he gradually turned his attention to the possibility of a moving earth, sketching his system in the *Commentariolus.* This unpublished outline circulated widely in draft form among his students before 1514 and challenged established tradition by proposing three kinds of terrestrial motion: (1) real diurnal rotation of the earth to account for the apparent diurnal rotation of the heavens; (2) annual revolution about the stationary sun to account for the solar year; and (3) motion in declination to account for the precession of the equinoxes.

Copernicus continued to elaborate his planetary theory during the next quarter century. In 1539 a Lutheran scholar from Wittenberg named Georg Joachim Rheticus (1514–1574) learned of Copernicus's theory and traveled to Frombork to study it in detail with the Catholic astronomer. He became Copernicus's first disciple, published his own sketch of the system, *Narratio Prima*, in 1540, and finally persuaded Copernicus to offer his theory to the world. The latter in 1541 authorized Rheticus to carry a copy of the manuscript to Nuremberg, where it was published by Johannes Petreius under the title *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium libri sex* (1543). As circumstances did not permit Rheticus to remain in Nuremberg to oversee publication, that duty was entrusted to the Lutheran theologian Andreas Osiander (1498–1552), who added an unauthorized preface stating, "These hypotheses need not be true nor even probable; if they provide a calculus consistent with the observations, that alone is sufficient." Osiander emphasized the hypothetical nature of astronomy used as a calculating device, apparently for the purpose of protecting the work from overzealous censors. But whether or not Copernicus was aware of this preface when *De revolutionibus* was presented to him in 1543 as he lay dying, he almost certainly would not have agreed with Osiander's disclaimer that heliocentrism should be treated as a mathematical convenience rather than as a genuine claim about the true physical nature of the cosmos.

De revolutionibus sits in the paradoxical position of being on the one hand essentially a conservative work in the classical tradition of astronomy and on the other hand a book that sparked a major revolution in scientific thought. With the exception of an engaging broad exposition of the system in the first of its six books, *De revolutionibus* is a highly mathematical treatise that made few initial converts. Although it was widely read in astronomical circles, fewer than a dozen committed Copernicans before 1600 can be identified.

As a conservative reformer, Copernicus preserved the assumption of uniform circular motion and continued to employ Ptolemy's epicycles and eccentrics. Indeed he has been referred to as the last great Ptolemaic astronomer. Where he departed from the tradition of Ptolemy was in pursuing the insight that shifting the reference frame from the earth to the sun not only increased observational accuracy but for the first time made logical sense out of the order of the planets. Rather than viewing the sun, moon, and planets with their varying dimensions as arbitrarily assigned to widely divergent periods and orbital angles, a heliocentric system generated an intrinsic order. The planets farthest from the sun had the longest orbital periods and the widest orbital angles, while those closest to the center revolved most tightly and rapidly around the sun. Likewise the Copernican model also made coherent sense of retrograde motion. Instead of interpreting the looping paths of the planets against the sidereal backdrop as actual celestial occurrences, Copernicus understood these motions to be mere optical illusions resulting from the annual revolution of the terrestrial observatory inside or outside the orbits of its fellow planets. Copernicus offered a remarkably prescient rebuttal to Ptolemy's objection that a moving earth would leave any loose objects drifting westward. He suggested two possible explanations, one based on an Aristotelian mingling of qualities and another on the idea of momentum: "The reason may be either that the nearby air, mingling with earthy or watery matter, conforms to the same nature as the earth, or that [this] air's motion, acquired from the earth by proximity, shares without resistance in its unceasing rotation" (*DR* I.8).

Astronomers appreciated the increased predictive accuracy of Copernicus's system, although initial reaction to his revolutionary postulate was guarded. More significantly the fruitfulness of his effort may better be measured by the range and diversity of theories he stimulated. *De revolutionibus* gave free rein to an incremental rethinking of astronomy and physics that challenged the existing hierarchy of disciplines and that within a century blossomed into a full-scale scientific revolution. Ptolemaic astronomy no longer offered a satisfactory architectonic vision of the cosmos, and Copernicus was not the only thinker prepared to suggest an alternative model. The Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe (1546–1601) proposed a "geo-heliocentric" model in which the five planets revolve around the sun, which in turn revolves with the moon around the earth. Brahe appreciated Copernicus's success in circumventing the most discordant aspects of the Ptolemaic system, but he personally could not overcome a revulsion of ascribing to the sluggish earth the quick motion shared by the "ethereal torches." But Brahe did initiate a break with the Aristotelian assumption of celestial immutability when he claimed that the nova of 1572 was in fact a new star and when he concluded that, because the comet of 1577 looped around the sun in an orbit closer than that of Venus, there could be no crystalline spheres.

Copernicus and Brahe inhabited a pre-Newtonian, predynamical age, and their respective modifications of geocentrism remained committed to uniform circular motion as a perfection proper to the heavens. A more remarkable departure from classical astronomy was initiated by Brahe's student Johannes Kepler (1571–1630), whose close observation of Mars led him to postulate elliptical planetary orbits with the sun occupying one focus of the ellipse. The psychological impact of this "breaking of the circle" was arguably a challenge greater even than the shift to heliocentrism, and the introduction of a dynamic element was a significant step on the path to the eventual Newtonian synthesis.

Further challenges unfolded with the telescopic observations of Galileo Galilei (1564–1642). Galileo's publication of *Sidereus nuncius* (1610) provided physical evidence that seemed to confirm the mathematical theory of heliocentrism, although genuine empirical proof of the earth's annual orbital motion only arrived with Friedrich Wilhelm Bessel's (1784–1846) establishment of stellar parallax in the 1830s and the confirmation of diurnal axial rotation awaited Jean-Bernard-Léon Foucault's (1819–1868) pendulum in 1851. Nevertheless Galileo's charting of the revolutions of the moons of Jupiter and the phases of Venus suggested, by analogy, the plausibility of the heliocentric cosmological model. Likewise his observation of lunar craters implied the similarity of the moon to the earth, and his discovery of sunspots furthered the argument that mutability is not confined only to the terrestrial realm.

REACTIONS TO COPERNICUS'S THEORY. The fortunes of the Copernican hypothesis were shaped not only by its incremental scientific acceptance but also by factors such as the flexibility of intellectual culture and the circumstances of ecclesiastical politics. Since the Condemnations of 1277 the church had wisely refrained from committing itself to a single cosmological model, and Nicole d'Oresme (c. 1325–1382), bishop of Lisieux, had felt free to consider a number of arguments for diurnal rotation in his 1377 commentary on Aristotle's *De caelo.* Copernicus himself dedicated *De revolutionibus* to Pope Paul III, and the immediate response on the part of the post-Tridentine church was such that no particular restrictions were imposed on Catholic astronomers. However, whereas the Counter-Reformation was not in itself antiscientific, it was certainly not about to embrace innovations that would undermine its dogmas. One consequence of this was the papal mandate to carry out policies of the Council of Trent (1545–1563), including reinforcing exegesis that emphasized wherever possible the literal interpretation of the Bible.

Moreover astronomical speculation could also carry heterodox implications, as in the case of Giordano Bruno (1548–1600), who postulated a plurality of worlds and the infinity of the universe. Although Bruno was executed for theological heresy rather than for his scientific views, he was a vehemently anti-Aristotelian admirer of Copernicus, and from the 1590s astronomical innovation became associated with heterodoxy. In the decades after the Council of Trent the Catholic Church entered what William Shea has referred to as a period of restrictive orthodoxies in which Aristotelianism became applied as a mechanical criterion of the truth. In such an atmosphere it is not surprising that the initially favorable reception of Galileo's telescopic discoveries should have been accompanied by suspicion of his Copernicanism and ultimately by the suspension of *De revolutionibus,* "until corrected," by the Congregation of the Index in 1616. This suspension was honored mostly in the breach, and Owen Gingerich has shown that only about 8 percent of the five hundred extant copies of the first edition were censored by their owners in full compliance with the index.

Copernicus's deceptively simple insight in *De revolutionibus* carried with it enormous implications for a wide range of disciplines and questions. In physics and astronomy it played an important role in initiating the process of scientific discovery that has led from Kepler and Galileo through Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727) and Pierre-Simon de Laplace (1749–1827) to the twenty-first century. In epistemology the Copernican revolution upset the established order of the scholastic curriculum by daring to use mathematics, a lower science, to correct astronomy, a science of higher dignity. An extension of this epistemological challenge was Galileo's elevation of sense experience—in the form of experiment and observation—into a more important role than it had enjoyed under Scholastic Aristotelianism.

Copernicus and his successors also contributed to the secularization of modernity through the disenchantment of cosmology, the removal of the earth from its central location, and the relativization of human concerns by contrast with the infinity of time and space. Copernicus contended that the size of the universe was "similar to the infinite." Theologically an intriguing swing occurred from the church's relative neutrality on cosmology before Copernicus to its rigid adherence to the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic worldview during the Galileo affair and back again to a relative independence from cosmological commitment. Although theology cannot remain wholly apophatic about the world in which it is embedded, too close an adherence to a particular worldview will leave the believer high and dry when the paradigm changes, as inevitably it will. From a modest and relatively self-contained pre-Copernican cosmos focused on the human drama of salvation, scholars have moved to a vast and much less obviously anthropocentric universe. In Copernicus's prophetic words, "So vast, without any question, is the divine handiwork of the most excellent almighty" (*DR* I.10).

SEE ALSO Galileo Galilei; Kepler, Johannes; Newton, Isaac; Ptolemy.

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PETER M. J. HESS (2005)

COPTIC CHURCH.

The Coptic church is the ancient church of Egypt; the name *Copt* derives from the Greek *Aiguptioi* ("Egyptians"). According to tradition within the church, its founder and first patriarch was Mark the Evangelist, who first preached Christianity in Alexandria in the forties of the first century CE. For several centuries the new faith interacted in various ways with Judaism, traditional Egyptian religion, Hellenistic philosophy, and Gnosticism, amid sporadic waves of Roman persecution. The consummation of the persecutions came under Diocletian, from the beginning of whose reign in 284 CE the Copts began their own calendar "of the martyrs" (1 *Anno Martyrum*). This church calendar remains in use to the present day.

Biblical and other Christian texts preserved in second- and third-century papyrus manuscripts are testimonies to the penetration of the new faith into Egypt long before the end of the age of persecutions. With the Edict of Milan (313), whereby the emperor Constantine guaranteed freedom of worship to Christians, Alexandria gained in prestige as a major Christian ecclesial and theological center.

THE CATECHETICAL SCHOOL OF ALEXANDRIA. The catechetical school of Alexandria, which appears to have taken shape late in the second century, became a center of Christian scholarship under the leadership of some of the greatest church fathers. Pantaenus, credited with being its first head, is reported to have traveled as an evangelist as far east as India. Clement of Alexandria, who succeeded him, advocated the reconciliation of Christian doctrine and the Bible with Greek philosophy.

The school of Alexandria came of age under Origen, one of the most prolific authors of all time, whose exegetical, philosophical, and theological writings had broad influence on the early church, including such pillars of orthodoxy as his pupils Heraclas (patriarch 230–246, and the first in the annals of the Coptic church to bear the title "pope") and Gregory Thaumatourgos, as well as Antony, Athanasius, the Cappadocian Fathers, and Jerome. The school of Alexandria proved to be an arena of free scholastic endeavor, defending the "catholic" faith in a "pagan" environment, offering the first attempts at a Christian systematic theology, and paving the way for ecumenical developments in the early church.

ECUMENICAL COUNCILS. An ecumenical movement intended to unify the church and combat heresy was inaugurated by Constantine with the Council of Nicaea (325). At this and subsequent councils, "orthodox" teaching was defined for theological questions concerning the (triune) identity of God and the (divine and human) person of Christ. Alexandria played a major role in the early councils, in which the teachings that the Son is *homoousios* ("of one being") with the Father (championed by Athanasius, patriarch 326–373), that the incarnate Word is one Lord and one Son, and that Mary is therefore the *theotokos* or "God bearer" (championed by Cyril, patriarch 412–444) were upheld.

Alexandrian authority appeared to have been cemented at the Second Council of Ephesus (449)—dismissed as a "Robber Council" by Rome—which was dominated by Cyril's nephew, Dioscorus (patriarch 444–454). However, a change of emperors and an alliance of the sees of Rome and Constantinople challenged the Alexandrian ecclesiastical hegemony. The new, pro-Western emperor Marcion called a council in Chalcedon in 451, which promptly condemned Dioscorus (although not on doctrinal grounds), who was consequently deposed and exiled.

Henceforth, the place of the Coptic church in the Christian world was curtailed. Two parallel lines of succession to Mark the Evangelist gradually came into existence. One, allied to the Byzantines (and eventually labeled *melkite*), accepted the "two nature" formula of the Council of Chalcedon for describing the divine and human Christ; the other, which gained strong local support, held to Cyril's "one nature of the incarnate Word" formula, a position called *monophysite* by its opponents.

MONASTICISM. Though several social and economic factors must have played a role in accelerating the withdrawal of Egyptian Christians to the desert, it remains true that early monasticism was principally a movement of piety that, in its earliest stages, was practiced close to home by "village anchorites." Early Christian imagination was captured, however, by the figure of Antony (c. 250–356), who fled to the solitude of the eastern desert from his native village on the Nile after hearing *Matthew* 19:21 ("Jesus said to him, 'If you would be perfect, go, sell what you possess and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me.'"). Others followed Antony's example and a monastic colony arose around his cave in the Red Sea mountains. There they practiced a life of austerity, prayer, and meditation on scripture. Although committed to solitude, they found it spiritually profitable to be within sight of their great mentor for guidance, and advantageous in a variety of ways to be within reach of other brothers. These circumstances led to the development of a form of monastic life that may be called communal eremiticism. This form of monastic life is familiar from many of the sayings of the Desert Fathers (including such giants as Macarius the Great), many of whom inhabited the monastic centers of Nitria, Cellia, and Scetis (present-day Wādī al-Naṭrūn), to the west of the Nile Delta.

Another form of monastic life, the cenobitic, is associated with the name of Pachomius (d. 346). Originally a pagan legionary, he was inspired by the goodness of Christian villagers who ministered to the needs of the soldiers and was baptized a Christian. After spiritual training by a desert ascetic, Pachomius developed a community and subsequently an original rule. The rule prescribed a carefully regulated communal life and stressed productive labor in addition to the study of scripture, prayer, meditation, and discussion. Pachomian monasteries multiplied rapidly during their founder's life, including foundations for women as well as men, and attracting persons from afar.

The holy men and women of Egypt came to be a source of inspiration throughout the Christian world. Athanasius wrote the *Life of Antony*, which provided a new model of holiness for the world. Visitors to the monks in the late fourth century included Rufinus of Aquileia, who made a Latin translation of the *History of the Monks in Egypt*; Melania the Elder, a great monastic leader and "female man of God;" Palladius, who compiled the lives of the Desert Fathers in *The Lausiac History*; Cassian, who wrote the *Institutes* and the *Conferences* in order to bring Egyptian monasticism to Gaul; and Jerome, who translated the rule of Pachomius into Latin.

MISSIONARY ENDEAVOR. Those who brought the way of life of the Egyptian monks to their homelands may be regarded as unchartered ambassadors of early Egyptian Christianity, but, further, Egyptian Christians themselves were active in an extensive missionary enterprise. The sphere of influence of the patriarch of Alexandria came to include the easternmost part of Libya (the Pentapolis), Nubia, and Ethiopia. The influence of Egyptian Christianity on Nubia, in the upper reaches of the Nile, is confirmed by archaeological excavations. While the Byzantine emperor Justinian (r. 527–565) aimed at winning the northern Nubian kingdom of Nobatia to the Chalcedonian cause, Egyptian anti-Chalcedonians, with the support of the empress Theodora, were able to arrive in the Nobatian capital before the Chalcedonian delegation, and won the Nobatian king for the "one nature" Christian confession.

The conversion of the kingdom of Ethiopia took place in the fourth century. Two Syrian Christian brothers, shipwrecked on their way to India, were taken into the household of the Ethiopian monarch. One of them, Frumentius, was eventually ordained bishop by Athanasius himself, beginning a long association of the Ethiopian church with the See of Saint Mark.

Isolated cases provide instances of Egyptian missionary work in Asia. As mentioned earlier, Pantaenus is said to have preached the gospel in India. Eugenius of Clysma, according to legend, had been a Pachomian monk before he became the founder of monasticism in Mesopotamia.

In Europe, the ideals of the Egyptian desert ruled in the monasteries of southern Gaul and elsewhere, and spread widely: sea, forest, and swampland often played the role of "desert." A popular story concerning Egyptian Christians in present-day Switzerland is that of the Theban Legion, a group of Christian legionaries from Egypt led by Mauritius. They were martyred by Maximian (286–305) for refusing to sacrifice to Roman deities and for refusing to kill Christian converts. Verena, a saintly woman who had accompanied the legion, is commemorated for healing the sick and baptizing new converts in the region of Zurzach. Three martyred saints who were baptized in defiance of imperial command are the subject of the coat of arms of the city of Zurich.

In late antiquity Egypt boasted one of the great Christian pilgrimage centers of the Mediterranean world, the shrine of the Egyptian martyr Menas (southeast of Alexandria). Terra-cotta ampullae bearing the image of the saint have been discovered throughout Europe, bearing witness to the great number of European visitors who flocked to his shrine, especially in the fifth and sixth centuries.

FROM CHALCEDON TO THE ARAB CONQUEST. The Council of Chalcedon in 451, with its condemnation of the Alexandrian patriarch Dioscorus and with its dyophysite ("two nature") interpretation of Cyril's Christological legacy contrary to the miaphysite ("one nature") interpretation of many of Cyril's most ardent supporters, led to the cleavage of Christendom into two divergent camps. To this day, Chalcedon is bitterly remembered by the Copts of Egypt, as well as by others (the Syrian, Ethiopian, and Armenian Orthodox). The outcome of Chalcedon was immediately felt in Egypt: the Byzantine emperors who aimed at unity within the church as the primary bearer of cohesion in the empire attempted to impose that unity through imperial sanction and military support of pro-Chalcedonian patriarchs. In opposition to this, the majority of Egyptian bishops remained faithful to the anti-Chalcedonian position of Dioscorus and elected patriarchs accordingly, although these patriarchs seldom led an untroubled existence: Timothy Aelurus ("the Cat") spent much of his tenure (457–477) in exile, while his successor Peter Mongus (477–490) spent years in hiding until an imperially promulgated doctrinal compromise (the *Henoticon* of Zeno, 482) allowed him to surface. In the next century, under the pro-Chalcedonian emperor Justinian, the anti-Chalcedonian patriarch Theodosius spent long years (537–566) in exile in Constantinople. On the other hand, Coptic tradition recalls that his contemporary, the pro-Chalcedonian patriarch Apollinaris (551–570), began his patriarchate by revealing the priestly robes under his military uniform.

The early seventh century was a period of great disruption in the life of the Egyptian church: a period of Persian occupation (616–629) was followed by Byzantine recovery and the reassertion of coercive pro-Chalcedonian policies in Egypt by the emperor Heraclius, who appointed Cyrus, a bishop from the Caucasus, as Chalcedonian patriarch (631–642). For ten years his anti-Chalcedonian rival Benjamin (patriarch 622–662) was a fugitive within Egypt, moving from monastery to monastery. With the Arab conquest of Egypt in the early 640s, however, a new era began for Egyptian Christians (who were called *al-Qibṭ* by the Arabs). The Arab Muslims promised significant religious freedoms to the "People of the Book," that is, to Christians and Jews, in exchange for acceptance of Arab Muslim rule and the payment of the poll tax or *jizyah*. In fact, after the fall of Alexandria, the conquerors offered the fugitive Coptic patriarch Benjamin honorable safe-conduct and possession of churches hitherto held by the Chalcedonians: the frequently retold story of the friendly meeting between Benjamin and the Muslim general and governor ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ is foundational to the modern Egyptian discourse of *al-waḥdah al-waṭaniyyah*, "national unity" or good relations between Muslims and Copts.

LIFE IN A "NEW WORLD ORDER." Muslim rule created a new barrier between the Christians of the "East" and those of the "West": for Byzantine Christians, or those of the Latin West, the Coptic church (and its Christological teachings) now fell on the other side of the border and largely out of mind. Within the Islamic empire or *Dār al-Islām*, Christians had to adjust to what turned out to be not a temporary incursion like that of the Persians, but a new Islamic world order. Coptic civil servants carried on in their work for new superiors, while church leaders learned new forms of interaction with Muslim governors (and their demands for revenue). The monasteries became more important than ever as centers of Coptic identity and spiritual power, even as Christianity in Alexandria and in the Delta, in particular, began a long period of decline. Periodic Coptic revolts in the Delta (between 725 and 831) failed, and with their failure the Islamization of the region accelerated. In the mid-ninth century, pilgrimage to the shrine of Saint Menas effectively came to an end (as did the revenues it brought the bishop in Alexandria). In the tenth century, the patriarchal residence was displaced from the city of Alexandria to the Delta.

The Shīʿī Fāṭimid dynasty (969–1171 CE) appears to have ushered in a period of stabilization and recovery for the Copts. Coptic civil servants enjoyed high positions in the Fāṭimid administration and Coptic craftsmen flourished. The patriarchal residence was eventually established in churches near the Fāṭimids' new city of *al-Qāhirah* (Cairo). At the end of the tenth century, bishop (and former civil servant) Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ became the first Coptic theologian to write extensively in the Arabic language, while in the late eleventh century both clergy (including patriarchs Christodoulos and Cyril II) and leading laymen (such as Mawhūb ibn Manṣūr ibn Mufarrij) contributed to a project of translation of fundamental documents, including the accounts that became the *History of the Patriarchs* (a primary source for Egyptian church history), from Coptic into Arabic.

The process of Arabization of the Copts (and their literature) continued through the eleventh and twelfth centuries, a period marked with difficulties from the chaos at the end of Fāṭimid rule, periodic drought and famine, and Crusader incursions. At the beginning of the thirteenth century there was a nearly twenty-year vacancy in the patriarchate (1216–1235). These factors make all the more remarkable the cultural flowering that took place within the Coptic community at that time, in which the patronage of wealthy Copts, a revival of patristic tradition, cross-fertilization by outside Christian traditions available in Arabic, and the extraordinary theological, artistic, and scientific talents of clergy (such as Bishop Paul of al-Būsh) and laity (such as the renowned Ibn al-ʿAssāl brothers) came together to usher in a golden age of Copto-Arabic theology, history, and philology, as well as a period of great accomplishment in art (gloriously on display in the recently restored wall paintings in the Monastery of Saint Antony, in the eastern desert near the Red Sea).

The Mamlūk era (1250–1517 CE) was difficult for the Copts. Coptic administrators were indispensable but resented, and Copts were frequently the victims of excessive taxation, discriminatory legislation, or even mob violence (especially in 1321 and 1354) in which churches and monasteries were destroyed. Many Copts converted to Islam. In terms of literature, the brilliant creativity of the early thirteenth century gave way to compilations and encyclopedias, and then to only the very occasional original work. We have but short notices about the patriarchs of this era, with the exception of the saintly Matthew the Poor (1378–1409), a burst of holiness in the midst of a precarious and sometimes chaotic existence.

The Mamlūk era came to an end with the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517. Egypt became something of a political and cultural backwater under Ottoman administration. However, the Coptic nobility (*arākhinah*) gained influential administrative and financial positions close to the local decision-makers, and by the eighteenth century were able to provide patronage to numerous activities within the community including the building and restoration of churches, the copying of manuscripts, and the painting of icons, with results that can be seen throughout the churches and monasteries of Egypt today.

THE MODERN PERIOD. The French expedition of 1798 to 1802 marks the beginning of intensive Egyptian contacts with the West. Under the modernizing policies of Muḥammad ʿAlī (r. 1805–1848) and his successors, Copts came to be treated as full Egyptian citizens: in 1855 the *jizyah* was abolished (and soon Copts were for the first time conscripted into the Egyptian army), and in 1879 the full equality of all Egyptians was declared. Pope Cyril IV (1854–1861), known as "the father of reform," provided impetus to a Coptic "awakening"—one in which the Coptic laity played a major role—that led to the establishment of schools and a theological college, benevolent societies, and book production. Competition from Protestants and Catholics (who established Coptic Evangelical and Coptic Catholic communities, with schools, hospitals, development agencies, and theological institutions) also challenged the Coptic Orthodox community to effective organization, teaching, and literary endeavor.

In the early twentieth century, Copts could aspire to full participation in Egyptian social and political life. Buṭrus Ghālī Pasha served as prime minister from 1908 to 1910, and the Copts openly aired their grievances at a Coptic Congress in 1911. Copts participated with Muslims in the nationalist movement, and (after World War I) the struggle for independence and the development of democratic politics: two Copts were in the cabinet that nationalist hero and Wafd Party leader Saʿd Zaghlūl formed in 1924.

The liberal experiment, with its hope of "the nation for all," did not live up to its early promise. Following the revolution of 1952 the position of the Copts was affected by reforms that cut into the Coptic elite's landholdings, wealth, and dominance in certain professions. The Copts' sometimes precarious sense of national belonging was challenged by a revival of the politics of specifically Islamic identity in Egypt, beginning with the remarkable growth of the Muslim Brotherhood (founded in 1928) and continuing throughout the century with demands for the implementation of the Islamic *sharīʿah* and the development of specifically Islamic institutions and forms of life. Incidents of intercommunal violence increased in frequency in the 1970s and still flare up from time to time, while in the 1990s a militant Islamist insurrection in Middle Egypt sometimes claimed Coptic lives and property.

If the political road beyond the heady accomplishments of the nationalist movement was strewn with disappointments for the Copts, the community was energized by other developments. A Coptic "Sunday School Movement" begun in the mid-1930s led to the rise of a cadre of remarkable leaders, many of whom (including Pope Shenouda III, who become pope in 1971) became monks and contributed to a monastic revival. Pope Cyril VI (1959–1971) was a charismatic monk who has come to be revered as a saint and miracle worker. Since the 1960s the number of monastic professions has soared, monasteries have been greatly expanded, deserted ones have been repopulated, and new ones—including convents for nuns—have been established. Throughout the country, Coptic sacramental life, catechesis, artistic production, and charitable work have been enlivened. New bishoprics have been established, and totaled around eighty in Egypt and the Coptic diaspora in 2004 (up from thirty-two in 1977). Bible studies (such as those regularly led by the pope) and other educational opportunities draw great crowds, while centers of scholarship and publication (such as the Orthodox Centre for Patristic Studies and the Saint Mark Foundation) are admired for their work both at home and abroad.

The role of the Egyptian church in the ecumenical movement has been resumed, with active Coptic Orthodox membership in the World Council of Churches and the Middle East Council of Churches. Beginning in 1973, joint Christological statements have been arranged with Chalcedonian Christians of Orthodox, Catholic, and Reformation backgrounds. A very significant development of the late twentieth century is the internationalization of the Coptic church: while Coptic emigration has posed the challenges of brain drain to the community in Egypt, the church has moved vigorously to establish bishoprics and scores of congregations in Europe, the Americas, and Australia, while continuing missionary activity in sub-Saharan Africa. In many cities around the globe, the Coptic Orthodox have become part of the local Christian mosaic.

The re-invigoration of Coptic identity in the twentieth century in many ways reflects phenomena in the Muslim community. As Christians and Muslims in Egypt increasingly find their identity in their specific religious traditions rather than in a sense of shared Egyptianness, the possibility of conflict remains; a challenge for the twenty-first century will be the discovery of renewed content for the old slogan of *al-waḥdah al-waṭaniyyah*. Egyptian Christians look to the future, however, with a remarkable record of survival, aided by several factors. They have developed a profound spirituality, rooted in scripture and tradition, nourished by the stories of saints and martyrs, and given concreteness by sacred geography—the network of ancient churches and monasteries blessed by the saints and, indeed, by the holy family itself. As the largest Christian community in the Middle East (with an estimated seven million adherents), Copts are bearers of a torch that they are determined to hand on to posterity.

SEE ALSO Monasticism, article on Christian Monasticism; Pachomius.

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AZIZ SURYAL ATIYA (1987)
MARK N. SWANSON (2005)

CORBIN, HENRY (1903–1978), French writer, philosopher, and Iranologist. After early training in music and philosophy, Corbin eventually attained the *diplôme des études supérieures de philosophie* of the University of Paris in 1927. From 1925 he began the study of Near Eastern languages and received the diploma in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish in 1929 when he was already employed as a librarian working with oriental manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale. In 1930 he made the first of several journeys to Germany and established contacts there with leading thinkers. For almost a year (1935–1936) he was attached to the French Institute in Berlin. Much of Corbin's early publication consisted of translations from German or reviews of German works. In 1931 he met Martin Heidegger and became the first to translate Heidegger into French. The translation appeared in 1939 as *Qu'est-ce que la métaphysique?* The early writings also evidenced other interests, ranging from the spiritual tradition of the Reformation to contemporary Protestant theology and the hermeneutics of Martin Luther.

The determinative event for Corbin's career was his meeting Louis Massignon in the Bibliothèque Nationale in the autumn of 1929, for it was Massignon's presentation of a lithographed edition of *Ḥikmat-al Ishrāq* of Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā Suhrawardī that first made Corbin acquainted with the work of this great Iranian philosopher. Corbin saw the presentation as a symbolic act, the transmission of wisdom from master to disciple. He followed Massignon's courses in the university and in 1954 was appointed as his replacement in the chair of Islam and the religions of Arabia at the École Pratique des Hautes Études. Corbin published the first of his numerous works on Suhrawardī in 1933 and in the same year married Stella Leenhardt, who was his helper as well as companion through the succeeding years.

In 1939 Corbin was seconded from the Bibliothèque Nationale to the French Institute in Istanbul where he intended to spend six months. Because of World War II, however, six years were to elapse before he returned to France. During this long period Corbin explored the numerous and rich libraries of Turkey and laid the foundation for his later studies in Iranian philosophy. The most basic development of these years was his discovery of the corpus of Suhrawardī's works. The first volume of the first of his editions of Suhrawardī, *Opera metaphysica et mystica* (1945), containing three treatises of the master, was prepared in Istanbul and published there.

Corbin paid his first visit to Iran in the autumn of 1945, even before returning to France. The visit brought him into contact with Iranian scholars who became his collaborators in later years, but, more important, it planted the seeds from which sprang the department of Iranology of the new Institut Franco-Iranien in Tehran. In 1946 he was appointed head of the department of Iranology, a post that he held until retirement in 1973. The enduring fruit of Corbin's work in Tehran is the monumental "Bibliothèque iranienne," founded in 1949, a series of text editions, translations, and studies offering unparalleled resources for the analysis of Iranian and Islamic philosophy. From his appointment as professor in Paris in 1954 onward, it was Corbin's custom to pass each autumn in Iran and to return to Paris for his teaching in the winter and spring. From 1949 also began his association with the annual Eranos conferences, which he attended faithfully; many of Corbin's more important writings were contributions to the Eranos meetings and first appeared in the pages of the *Eranos Jahrbuch.*

Corbin's scholarly work may be classified into five principal categories: first is his contribution to knowledge of the philosophy of Suhrawardī. Not only did he publish and study the long-neglected works of the Iranian thinker, but he adopted the latter's philosophy of light as his own. Suhrawardī had professed his purpose to be the resurrection of the ancient Iranian philosophy of light, and Corbin shared that purpose. He was most interested in Suhrawardī's angelology, which presented the gradations of reality in the cosmos in terms of hierarchies of angels. The angelology provided a link between the thought of ancient Iran and Twelver Shiʿi gnosis, enabling Corbin to hold there to be a distinct Irano-Islamic philosophy. The scholarly attention that Suhrawardī receives today is largely due to Corbin's influence.

The second focus of Corbin's work was Shiism. He did important studies on the Ismāʿīlīyah, but greater attention went to the Twelvers, whose mystical and philosophical aspects in particular he explored. Here also he was a pioneer in his work on imamology, studying the *ahadith* of the Twelver imams, and in his work on such groups as the Shaykhīyah. He was the first to describe the so-called School of Isfahan, a group of thinkers responsible for the revival of Iranian philosophy in Safavid times and whose principal thinker was Mulla Ṣadra (Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Shīrāī). Corbin believed Twelver Shiism to be the complete or integral Islam since it was concerned with the esoteric as well as the esoteric aspect of the prophetic revelations, as other branches of Islam were not.

Corbin is also responsible for redirecting the study of Islamic philosophy as a whole. In his *Histoire de la philosophie islamique* (1964), he disputed the common view that philosophy among the Muslims came to an end after Ibn Rushd, demonstrating rather that a lively philosophical activity persisted in Iran and, indeed, continues to our own day.

Sufism also attracted Corbin's interest, his principal contribution being the study of *L'imagination créatrice dans la soufisme d'ibn ʿArabī* (1958). Again rejecting the common opinion, Corbin did not believe Sufism to be the unique vehicle of spirituality in Islam. He found an even more significant spirituality among the Twelver Shiʿah, one that refused the approach of the Ṣūfī orders but was, nonetheless, deeply and genuinely mystical. In genetic terms he thought Shiism to be the origin of all other mysticism in Islam. In this light Sufism appears as a kind of truncated Shiism, possessed of Shiism's spirituality but lacking its essential basis, the doctrine of the imams.

Finally, Corbin was concerned with a broad spiritual philosophy of contemporary relevance. He was primarily a philosopher, and his Iranian and Ṣūfī studies, though they have a historical aspect, were attempts to answer questions that he thought to have been raised for all men at all times. His purpose was not merely to describe a spiritual philosophy but to advocate it. The central concept of this philosophy was the *mundus imaginalis* or imaginal world, where the soul has its life, and which is known through visions and dreams. He discerned a strong bond and parallelism between the spirituality of the West exemplified in such as Jakob Boehme, the stories of the Grail, or Emanuel Swedenborg, and that of Iran, and he called for a universal spiritual chivalry *(javānmardī)* that would preserve mankind's ancient spiritual heritage, its inner life, against the corrosion of modernity, secularism, and historicism.

SEE ALSO Images.

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CORDOVERO, MOSHEH (1522–1570), Jewish mystic of Safad. Mosheh Cordovero is among the most prominent individuals in the history of Qabbalah, or Jewish mysticism. The likelihood is that Cordovero was born in Safad, a small Galilean city north of Tiberias in Israel where an important renaissance of Jewish mysticism occurred in the sixteenth century. From his name it appears that his family was Spanish in origin.

Cordovero studied rabbinic law with the outstanding legal authority Yosef Karo (1488–1575), but it is in the sphere of Qabbalah that he attained widespread fame as a teacher and author. His master in qabbalistic studies was his brother-in-law Solomon Alkabetz. It appears, however, that a reversal of roles took place and pupil became teacher. Cordovero quickly succeeded in becoming the principal master of esoteric studies in Safad. His disciples included most of the great mystics of that city: Eliyyahu de Vidas, Avraham Galante, Hayyim Vital, Avraham ben Eliʿezer ha-Levi Berukhim, Elʿazar Azikri, Shemuʾel Gallico, and, for a short while, Isaac Luria.

Cordovero was a highly prolific writer; his most important works include *Pardes rimmonim*, *Ellimah rabbati*, and *Or yaqar*, a massive commentary on the classic text of thirteenth-century Qabbalah, the *Zohar*. Cordovero's major literary contribution was his construction of a highly systematic synthesis of qabbalistic ideas: he may be considered the foremost systematizer of qabbalistic thinking.

At the same time, however, Cordovero addressed creatively the theoretical problems raised by qabbalistic theology and speculation. For example, one central theoretical issue in the qabbalistic system concerns the nature of the relationship between the aspect of the godhead that is utterly concealed and beyond human comprehension. Ein Sof ("the infinite"), and the ten qualities of divine being that emanate from within the depths of Ein Sof, known as the *sefirot* ("divine radiances"). Are the *sefirot* of the same "substance" as Ein Sof, which is, after all, the source of their existence, or are they separate and differentiated from Ein Sof? Cordovero offered a compromise: the *sefirot* should be conceived as both separate from Ein Sof as well as possessing substantive identification with it. Whereas from the divine point of view Ein Sof embraces all reality, from the human perspective the *sefirot* are perceived as lower stages, constituting a secondary reality that has an existence separate from Ein Sof.

Besides being a subtle and master theoretician of Qabbalah, Cordovero was a spiritual mentor, as evidenced by the rules of piety that he established for his disciples. Testimony is also preserved concerning his experiences of automatic speech, which he had when he and Alkabets would wander among the gravesites of departed teachers. It was on these occasions that he and Alkabetz would, in the manner of sudden motor automatism, utter qabbalistic mysteries and words of esoteric knowledge.

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COSMOGONY. The word *cosmogony* is derived from the combination of two Greek terms, *kosmos* and *genesis. Kosmos* refers to the order of the universe and/or the universe as an order. *Genesis* means the coming into being or the process or substantial change in the process, a birth. Cosmogony thus has to do with myths, stories, or theories regarding the birth or creation of the universe as an order or the description of the original order of the universe. One type of narrative portraying meanings and description of the creation of the universe is the cosmogonic myth. These myths, which are present in almost all traditional cultures, usually depict an imaginative religious space and time that exist prior to the universe as a normal habitation for human beings. The beings who are the actors in this primordial time are divine, superhuman, and supernatural, for they exist prior to the order of the universe as known by the present generation of human beings.

Cosmogonic myths in their narrative form give a rhetorical, stylistic, and imaginative portrayal of the meaning of the creation of the world. These myths set forth a tonality and stylistics for the modes of perception, the organizing principles, and provide the basis for all creative activities in the cultural life. While these myths are always specific to the cultures in which they are found, it is possible to classify them in various ways. One may classify them according to the cultural-historical strata in which they appear; thus, one might place together myths from hunter-gatherer cultures, or from early Neolithic cultures, agricultural societies, and so on. Myths may also be classified in terms of specific religions or cultural-geographical areas (e.g., ancient Near Eastern myths, Hindu myths, etc.), or in terms of linguistic groups (e.g., Indo-European myths).

Myths may be classified further according to the symbolic structures and relationships portrayed and narrated in the myths. In the cosmogonic myth the symbols give expression to the religious imagination of the creation of the world. As the prototypical story of founding and creation, the cosmogonic myth provides a model that is recapitulated in the creation and founding of all other human modes of existence. In this sense, it expresses, to use Bronislaw Malinowski's phrase, a charter for conduct for other aspects of the culture. As such some creation myths find extended expression in ritual actions that dramatize certain symbolic meanings expressed in the myth. Myths should not, however, be thought of simply as the theoretical or theological dimension of a ritual. Even when analogous meanings are portrayed in myth and ritual, these meanings may arise from different modes of human consciousness. There are mythic meanings that may arise from ritual activity. R. R. Marett, the English anthropologist, surmised that myths might have arisen as attempts to give order to the dynamic rhythms and experiences of life that first found expression as ritual activities. Pierre Bourdieu, the French ethnologist, has refined interpretations of this kind by making a distinction between two types of theories. There is a theory that is the result of speculative human thought and there is another kind of theory that arises out of practical activity. Myth as theory may be of either type, but in each case the myth is a distinctive expression of a narrative that states a paradigmatic truth; this is especially true in the cosmogonic myth.

Creation myths are etiological insofar as they tell how the world came into existence, but what is important in the etiology of the creation myth is the basis for the explanation, that is, the basis of the explanation is in the founding or creation of the world itself. In other etiological stories the ultimate cause is not of primary importance.

TYPES OF COSMOGONIC MYTHS. Cosmogonic myths may be classified into the following types according to their symbolic structures: (1) creation from nothing; (2) from chaos; (3) from a cosmic egg; (4) from world parents; (5) through a process of emergence; and (6) through the agency of an earth diver. Cosmogonic myths are seldom limited to any one of these classifications; several symbolic typological forms may be present in one myth. For example, in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, the creation myth shows how Viṣṇu evolves from the primordial reality of *prakṛti;* how Viṣṇu as a boar dives into the waters to bring up earth for the creation (earth diver); how the creation is produced from austerities and meditation; how creation results from the churning of the primordial ocean. There is in addition the symbolism of the cosmic egg as a meaning of the creation. The classification of myths into these types is thus meant not to be a stricture of limitations but rather to emphasize a dominant motif in the myth.

Creation from nothing. Though the type of cosmogonic myth recounting creation from nothing is usually identified with the monotheistic religions of the Semitic traditions, it is a more pervasive structure. However, its identification with these religions opens up a fruitful line of study. It is clear that the monotheistic religions—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—presuppose a religious history prior to their coming into being: for Judaism, the western Semitic tradition as expressed in Mesopotamia; for Christianity, the Hebrew tradition; and, finally, for Islam, the traditions of Hebrews and Christians.

Given this history, it is legitimate to raise the issue of the relationship of prior empirical cultural history as a background to the religious imagination of creation *de novo*, or creation from nothing, in these traditions. The facticity of the Near Eastern religions enables us to more easily recognize the issue of the prehistory of those cultures in which this kind of myth appears. As a matter of fact, the very powerful symbolism of a deity who creates from nothing is a symbolic *tour de force* against the impacted empirical cultural histories as the basis for a new founding and ordering of the world and the human community. The power of the deity in myths of this type establishes the cosmos as unrelated to, and discontinuous from, all other structures prior to the statement of the creation of the cosmos and the human condition as enunciated in the myth. To the extent that older structures are present they are reintegrated within the new mode of creation.

Thus in the Egyptian myth of Khepri, it is stated, "I spat out what was Shu, and I sputtered out what was Tefnut." In the Hebrew myth the action is just as direct: "And God said, 'Let there be light'; and there was light" (*Gn.* 1:3). In the Polynesian myth, one of the names of the creator god is Io-matua-te-kora, which means "Io, the parentless"; this deity has no parents, brothers, or sisters. The deity exists in the void in himself and by himself; the autonomous and self-created nature of the deity appears out of the void or out of nothingness, which are understood to be potent realities. Thus in a Tuomotuan myth it is stated that "Kiho mused all potential things whatever, and caused his thought to be evoked." The notion of nothingness as a creative potency is related to the mode of creation as a conscious, deliberate act; it is either stated explicitly or defined by the style of the narrative. The deliberate process of the creation signifies willful volition and the fact that the creation is brought forth as a form of perfection from a supreme being.

The creator deity in myths of this kind is often symbolized by the sky or sky deities. In such cases the sky symbolism shows that the deity who creates from nothing is not contingent to the world although the created order is contingent to the deity. Ultimately, the creation from nothing emphasizes that the creation is not a mere ordering or even founding but has come forth as a powerful religio-magical evocation from a powerful supreme being.

Creation from chaos. Some creation myths describe how the creation arises out of a prior matter or stuff that is either negative or confused. The chaotic condition may be variously depicted as water, a monster, or as the qualities of coldness, sterility, quiescence, repression, and restraint. In any case, the situation of chaos inhibits creation.

In a number of Near Eastern and Indian myths, chaos is in the form of a serpentlike monster. Mary Wakeman has classified such myths into two types, a space model and a time model. In the space model the monster is a withholder of water, sun, and fertility. The monster is repressive and acts as a tyrant in relation to its subjects. The monster prevents vital forces and energies from finding expression in a created order. The restraint and repressive nature of the monster does not allow the place and space for a created order to come forth. Chaos is thus defined as a holding back of the orders and energies of creation; this is a situation of primordial confusion and indeterminacy. It is clear, however, that there is power and potency in this confused situation. The repressive and restraining nature of chaos is equally the expression of an inertia in the face of a definitive order; chaos in this sense defines a stasis.

In the time model all the potencies are similarly contained within a primordial chaos. There is no change, no movement, and no differentiation. Conversely, some myths portray the chaos as a constant state of flux in which everything changes so fast that no distinguishable ordered form is possible. In the time model of myths of chaos, the drama shows how the forces and potencies of creation are energized to move and also how the constant flux is reduced to a measured movement in which the tendency to dissipation is balanced by a force of cohesion and integration, and this tendency is complemented by the deployment and expansion of the order. Human existence is seen as a mean between these extremes; thus the meaning of ordered human time appears from the regulation of this original chaos.

In some myths of this type the chaos is never completely overcome. While order may emerge from the chaos in the forms of space and time, vestiges of the chaos remain and the created order is always in danger of slipping back into chaos or chaos appears as the destiny of the cosmos when it has exhausted the meaning of its time and space.

Creation from a cosmic egg. In many myths involving creation from chaos there is also the symbolism of a cosmic egg or an ovoid shape out of which creation or the first created being emerges. Myths of this kind are found in Polynesia, Africa, India, Japan, and Greece. The egg is obviously a symbol of fertility. In egg myths the potency for creation is contained within the form of the egg. The incubation of the egg implies a time-ordered creation and a specific determination regarding the created order.

Hermann Baumann has suggested that one motif of the egg symbolism has to do with the statement and resolution of the problem of sexual antagonism, and has its origin in megalithic cultural circles. For Baumann there is, first of all, an early stage in megalithic cultures in which the meaning of creation is expressed in the form of a sky father and earth mother as sexually differentiated deities; there is another stage in which the parents are separated and may reside within the egg as twins. A third stage portrays the meaning of sexuality as abstract principles such as *yin* and *yang* in China. In this stage the gods possess these abstract principles as attributes. In the final stage there is the attempt to recover the antagonism of sexual differentiation and to resolve it. This is the myth of androgyny.

The symbolism of the egg also connotes a state of primordial perfection out of which the created order proceeds. In a Dogon myth from West Africa, the god Amma created a world egg as the first order of creation. Within the egg twins were incubating. In time these twins were supposed to come forth as androgynous beings, indicating perfection on the level of sexuality. Other aspects of the created order were correlated with this mode of perfection. For example, instead of the dualism of day/night, the world was to be in perpetual twilight, and instead of either wet or dry, the world was supposed to be damp, and the twins were supposed to be amphibious. Due to a mishap this perfection was not attained and thus the created order as we know it is a compromise alternating between the dualism of day and night, wet and dry, land beings and water beings, male and female sexes. A philosophical statement of this myth of dualism stated in terms of androgyny is found in Plato's *Symposium* (190–192).

World-parent myths. In some myths creation is the result of the reproductive powers of primordial world parents. The birth of offspring from the world parents is often portrayed as an indifferent or unconscious activity. Even the sexual embrace of the world parents is without passion or intent. The sexual embrace does not appear as the result of a desire or an intention; it is simply the way things are. In this way the sexual embrace of the world parents is like the twins contained within the world egg, and the embrace itself recapitulates an original androgyny. As a matter of fact, the Dogon myth states that the male and female in sexual embrace is an imitation of the original androgynous archetype. In myths of this kind there is a reluctance on the part of the primordial couple to separate from this embrace. The embrace has no beginning or climax; it is perpetual and the world parents are indifferent or unaware of the offspring produced from this embrace.

In world-parent myths the world parents are, in most cases, the second phase of the primordial ordering. Prior to the appearance of the world parents there is a chaotic or indeterminate phase. For example, in *Enuma elish*, the Babylonian creation myth, it is stated that waters commingled as a single body in a state of indeterminacy; the Polynesian myth of Rangi and Papa speaks of a darkness resting over everything. In a similar fashion, in the Egyptian myth of Seb and Nut primeval chaotic waters precede the coming into being of the world parents. From this point of view, the world parents are part of the ordering of the cosmos, a specific stage of its coming into being as a habitat for the human community.

The offspring of the world parents tend to be aliens to their parents. The close embrace of the parents allows no space and thus no reality for their mode of being. The world parents are for the most part indifferent to the needs and desires of their offspring. A tension comes about because of this alienation and the offspring become the agents of the separation of the world parents. In some cases the agent of separation is another deity or one of the offspring, but in most cases the separation marks the beginning of a community and a discourse among the offspring. In *Enuma elish* this community and discourse have to do with a battle between the offspring and the world parents. The same sequence takes place in the Polynesian myth of "the children of heaven and earth." In cases of this sort the community of offspring are the archetypal models for the human community.

The separation of the world parents is a rupture in the order of creation. In *Enuma elish* the mother's body is made into the earth that human beings now inhabit. This is similar to a theme in the Dogon world-egg myth, where one of the twins leaves the egg before maturity, tearing the yolk of the egg off with him; this yolk becomes the earth. Amma must then sacrifice the other twin to make the earth habitable for human beings. In other versions of this type of myth the separation comes about when a woman who is pounding grain needs more room for her pestle and pushes the world parents apart so that she can have more room for her work.

The agents of separation in the world-parent myths are the cultural heroes who make space for the specific tasks of the human community. They bring light where there was darkness, and they set forth a certain meaning and destiny for the human community. The symbolism of light in the form of the sun is prominent in these myths, for it refers to human knowledge and the destiny of the human community. The separation of the world parents presages the human community as a distinct mode of being, but the price of this separation is the remembrance of the tragic rupture between the parents and the offspring as a necessary condition for the human mode of being.

Emergence myths. The emergence myths describe the creation of the cosmos in the symbolism of gestation and birth. The most prominent symbol in myths of this kind is that of the earth as a mother. The earth is depicted as the source of all powers and potencies. Within this womb of the earth are all the seeds and eggs of the world; they exist in embryonic form within the earth. The emergence of the forms of the world from the womb describes a process whereby the maturation of the forms within the earth take place before appearing on the face of the earth. The movement through the layers and strata of the earth is a gradual and cumulative one; at each stage some new forms are added to the growing embryos. The process is also one of integration and harmony, which has an ethical and logical meaning, for the meaning of the ethical is understood in terms of the harmonious relationship among all the forms of the created order. The capacity for the ethical is acquired during the process of the emergence upward through the strata of the earth.

In emergence myths hardly any prominence is given to the meaning of the male principle as father. The myths of this kind emphasize the earth as womb and mother, the container of all powers and potential realities. When the maturation is complete and humans emerge from the earth they are exposed to the light for the first time. The light at the last emergence is the symbol of the sun, which is the male ordering principle, but the basic formation of humans has taken place within the bowels of the earth.

Earth-diver myths. In earth-diver myths water constitutes the primordial stuff of the beginning. Water, in its undifferentiated indeterminacy, covers everything in the manner of a chaos. A culture hero, usually an animal, dives into the primordial waters in an attempt to bring up a particle of sand, mud, or earth, any substantial form of matter out of which a more stable mode of order might be established. Several animals make the attempt and fail; finally, one of the animals succeeds in bringing up a piece of earth, mud, or sand. Upon coming to the surface of the water the bit of matter, which is usually so minuscule that it is lodged under the animal's fingernails, expands to great proportions, thus constituting the landmass of the world on which all beings reside.

Some myths of this kind tell the story of the antagonism between two creative primordial beings. In some of the myths, which bear certain Christian elements, God and Satan have created the primordial waters. God sends Satan to dive into the waters to bring back a piece of earth. After several attempts Satan brings back a small portion of earth, which expands into the world. But after this landmass is created, God does not know how to make further determinations of directions, valleys, mountains, and so on. Satan seems to have this knowledge and muses to himself how stupid God is, for he does not know how to order the landmass. God sends a bee over to eavesdrop on Satan's musings. The bee overhears Satan giving the proper knowledge as he muses to himself; he flies back and gives this knowledge to God, who then orders the world in its proper proportions. In another version, it is a human being who dives into the waters to bring up earth. He brings up earth and gives it to God, but he secretly hides a piece of earth in his mouth, thinking that he will make a world on his own. When God orders the earth to expand, the hidden earth in the mouth of the human also begins to expand and the human must expose his secret. God then orders him to give him that piece of earth, and out of it God makes the swamps and boggy places of the earth.

Earth-diver myths are widespread, but there is a preponderance of them in the aboriginal cultures of North America. In these cultures the myths are part of the trickster-transformer-culture hero cycle of myths. This type of cultural figure is somewhat unique to myths of this kind. In these myths the antagonism and tensions between the creator deity and a culture hero in the form of an animal or a human being is made clear. The antagonism is not a direct one of confrontation as in the separation motif in the world-parent myths; it is subtle, indirect, and subdued, but nevertheless intense. There is obviously a desire on the part of the culture hero to create a different world in a different mode from that of the creator deity.

The American folklorist Alan Dundes interprets this meaning in a psychoanalytical manner. He interprets the diving into the waters to bring up a piece of substantial matter according to Freud's suggestion that what is ejected from the body as waste is at the same time experienced as a source of value and the basis for a new creative order. Insofar as the trickster-transformer-hero exhibits male characteristics, Dundes speculates that this is an expression of birth envy on the part of the male. The waters, which can be seen as a symbol of the primordial womb, are potent but cannot give birth; it is only through the earth diver that the necessary form of matter is brought to the surface as a basis for the creation. But once brought to the surface there is still an antagonism or a distrust between the creator deity and the earth diver.

Mac Linscott Ricketts, a historian of religions, interprets these motifs as a new and paradoxical meaning of sacrality. The trickster-transformer-hero is for him the religious symbol of the human being who is independent of the gods and their power. It expresses the desire to know on the part of the human, and this desire for knowledge does not follow the pattern of archetypal participation in the sacredness of that which has been created in primordial times by the gods. The trickster-transformer-hero figure represents for Ricketts the rejection of the ways of the gods as a mode of life and knowledge; his way is a kind of "primitive humanism," wherein knowledge is sought through experiments that reveal the foolishness and the humorous, even comical nature of the human being who attempts to know apart from the sacred power and forms of the creator deities.

IDEOGRAMS, THEMES, AND STRUCTURES. Rudolf Otto, in his classic work *The Idea of the Holy*, speaks of ideograms as modes of expression that lie somewhere between experience and concept. It is possible to discern from the cosmogonic myths such orderings of meaning that will color more systematic thought concerning the meaning of the creation of the world.

Primordiality. The primordial has to do with the problem of the basic stuff out of which the creation has emerged. In one sense what is before the creation may always be understood as chaos, for the only modes of order are those that are forthcoming in the created order itself. However, the meaning of this primordial order expresses in symbolic terms the intention of the creation. The primordial order may be spoken of in neutral terms or as alien and inimical or it may, as in the emergence myths, connote a nurturing womb.

Mircea Eliade has spoken of two meanings of primordiality; one is the original primordiality, which may be seen in the symbols of water, earth, darkness, or nothingness. The other mode of primordiality is the first mode of ordering in the creation; this may be through a world egg, world parents, a creator deity, and so forth. It is at this stage that a specific meaning and direction is given to the creation of a world for human habitation, for this is the stage at which cultural heroes appear.

Ruptures. Ruptures and discontinuities are present at several points in cosmogonic myths. There is first of all the rupture between the primordial stuff and the first mode of ordering. In some cases this discontinuity is stated as the word of power of a powerful deity whose very power breaks through the inertia of the first primordiality. In other cases a new form simply appears, as in a world egg that appears upon the waters. The other stage of rupture is occasioned by the desire of the embryonic and prehuman forms, which are the result of this first stage of ordering, to exist. These are the offspring of the world parents, or the twins who are maturing in the egg, or the earth diver who does not wish to be subject to the imitation of deities and divine models for existence.

In the world-parent and egg myths the impatience of the offspring and the twins leads to tragic results, for in both cases there is a tearing, killing, and violation of the primordial order for the sake of existence. This tragic element explains the finitude of the human community and introduces death as a cosmogonic structure of human existence. It furthermore qualifies the perfection of the primordial order, for with the coming of human existence the meaning of the primordial order itself is changed.

This is turn raises the issue of the mutual contingency of the human order and the primordial order. While a case for mutual contingency and dependence could be made for a myth such as *Enuma elish*, the Egyptian myth of Khepri with its powerful evocation of creation from the power of the deity does not lend itself to any mode of dependence of the creator upon the creation. The aseity of the deity and the relationship of the deity to the created order thus becomes a meaning that receives theoretical and practical forms in most communities.

Dualisms. What is the meaning of the distinction between the two modes of primordiality, and which possesses the greater qualitative power? Is the first ordered form of the primordial time an absolute victory and advance over the primordial chaos? This is an initial issue of dualism in cosmogonic myths. There is also the dualism of the structure of the first order and the offspring of that order. There is the dualism of partners in the creation. In the Dogon myth there is ostensibly a good twin and a malevolent one, and the human condition is constituted by a mixture of both of them.

The human condition is thus riddled with ordinary and qualitative dualisms—that of night and day, wet and dry, male and female, and so on. Are these the marks of finitude of lesser beings or does the human condition represent the original intention of creation? These dualism are also between the nonhuman creators, as in the case of God and Satan in the earth-diver myths. How can these dualisms be handled on the human level? Are they to be harmonized and alternated, or do they represent fundamental differences and orientations in the cosmos?

ETHICS. The ethical has to do with the proper, appropriate, and right conduct of a community. It is obvious that such behavior must be based upon some principles, and those principles in one way or another presuppose an explicit or implicit understanding of the nature of the world in which one lives. Cosmogonic myths are narrative statements of the origin of the various worlds of humankind. The origin of the world is often the basis for the principles that define the resources, possibilities, limitations, and validities of the meaning of human existence for the human community. There is not, however, a one-to-one relationship between the structures and themes of cosmogonic myths and the ethics of a community.

The cosmogonic myths, more often than not, serve as background and context for thinking about the issue of ethics. It is not only those elements of the cosmogonic myth that may lead to explicit philosophical and ethical principles that are important. Equally important are the style and rhythms of these stories of the ordering of the world that are a basis for reflection and creative thinking in a community. There may be similar structures in the cosmogonic myths of different communities, but these similar structures may very well lead to quite different ethical reflections and modes of behavior. The philosopher of religion Paul Ricoeur has put forth the notion that the "symbol gives itself to thought." By this he means to set forth a basis for religious and ethical thought within a religious community. Thought can arise as a reflection upon a tradition of thought within a community, but thought may also arise out of that which is not understood as simply a part of the traditional thought of the community. The symbol and the myth define a more archaic mode of presentation, expression, and style that engenders thought within a community. There may be some cosmogonic myths that are inimical to ethical reflection or that set forth ethical options that are to be rejected by the community, as well as cosmogonic symbols that appear to be neutral or indifferent as far as ethical reflection is concerned. This does not mean that such myths and symbols cannot constitute part of the ethical reflection of the community, for the myths do not simply present principles that are to be carried out in behavior. The relationship between symbol and myth on the one hand, and modes of thought, behavior, and conduct, on the other, is a much more problematic one.

Cosmogonic myths form the horizons of meaning in cultures where they still have their original power and efficacy. In this way the meaning of thought and behavior is shaped by them. It is instructive to understand the term *shaped* in an aesthetic sense, as something being created within the context of certain resources of materials that are suggested by the cosmogonic myth, for it is necessary for ethical thought and moral conduct not only to be right but to be appropriate, to fulfill aesthetic concerns, and to fulfill some of the possibilities adumbrated as possible orders for the world.

SEE ALSO Androgynes; Chaos; Culture Heroes; Dragons; Egg.

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COSMOLOGY

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
AFRICAN COSMOLOGIES
AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS COSMOLOGY
OCEANIC COSMOLOGIES
INDIGENOUS NORTH AND MESOAMERICAN COSMOLOGIES
SOUTH AMERICAN COSMOLOGIES
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JAIN COSMOLOGY
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SCIENTIFIC COSMOLOGIES

COSMOLOGY: AN OVERVIEW

Cosmology is the term for the study of cosmic views in general and also for the specific view or collection of images concerning the universe held in a religion or cultural tradition. The twofold meaning of the term is reminiscent of the double meaning of mythology, which is at the same time the study of myths and the dominant or representative assemblage of myths in a given tradition. However, the double usage of the term *cosmology* is still wider in one respect: Quite explicitly, it also relates to inquiries in the natural sciences. The natural sciences customarily associate the term with the study of cosmic views; more specifically, these sciences reserve cosmology for the scientific study of the universe considered as a whole. Thus, it is the most encompassing task of astronomy and is distinct from, even if presupposed by, sciences with a comparatively more limited object, such as physics or geology.

Images of the World as Subjects for Historians. For historians, including historians of religions, the study of cosmology surveys and tries to classify and understand the significance of mythical images and religious conceptions concerning the cosmos and the origin and structure of the universe. The variety of images held, historically and globally, leads to one central question: What is the relation between human views of the world and the validity and authority of the tradition in which these views are held? Invariably, the two are related—despite the contemporary uncritically held views concerning a separation between the sciences and the humanities. Hence the two meanings of cosmology noted previously do not present an ambiguity: The study of the structure of the universe and the history of cosmological imagery are interrelated and inseparable. In their study of cosmology, natural scientists do not usually need to concern themselves with images of the world held in past civilizations and in regions distant from the centers of modern scientific learning. For the historian of religions, however, the opposite is true: The cosmic views held by modern scientists cannot be ignored for they are but the latest in a long series of views and are thus as worthy of consideration as those, for instance, of the tribes of central Australia or the Hindus of India. Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464) was an early student of the world's structure, but also a theologian and cardinal. It remains important to keep in mind that the separation between the sciences and the humanities is a recent (nineteenth century) academic idea, which epistemologically is still under debate.

The history of religions is the only discipline seeking to relate two branches of learning that have been kept apart for a considerable time, that is, the humanities (including history) and the natural sciences. With respect to images and theories of the universe, the borderline between science and myth has fluctuated throughout history. The significance of religious and historical studies in cosmology is largely due to this fluctuation, because the investigations of the historian of religion must overstep the boundaries that normally divide basic disciplines of study (i.e., specialized disciplines precisely delineated and separated from each other in objective and method) and can thereby illuminate features and themes or provide insights that in any given specialization can hardly be surmised.

In most instances, every aspect of a culture or religion presupposes a view of the cosmos. Nevertheless, even this generalization should be made with some caution. In the case of the modern natural sciences, there is no doubt about the pervasiveness of an implicit worldview, even though many of the details of this view may be open to debate. However, in the study of religious images of the world, the presupposition of a cosmic view does not necessarily apply. The sacred and the phenomenal world are related, but they are by no means identical. Certainly, notions of what is sacred vary widely from one tradition to another, yet in every tradition one notion or configuration of the sacred is prominent and forms the *sine qua non* of that particular religion and constitutes the vantage point for understanding it. The same is not true for images of the cosmos, for in certain traditions cosmic imageries are of mere secondary importance (as in Christianity and Buddhism). In the case of the biblical texts alone, images of the cosmos change several times without affecting the religious tradition. A hierophany (a manifestation of the sacred) can lead to an image of the cosmos, but images of the cosmos do not necessarily take on a sacred significance.

COSMOLOGY AND WORLDVIEW. According to this explanation of cosmology, the terms *cosmology* and *worldview*, although related, cannot often be used interchangeably. Worldview is the term for a more general, less precisely delineated but commonly accepted set of ideas (i.e., an ideology) concerning life and world. Cosmology refers to more consciously entertained images, doctrines, and scientific views concerning the universe. In religious traditions, the natural place to look for cosmology is the myths of creation or birth of the world (cosmogony), whereas questionnaires might be the best means to arrive at a dominant worldview. The philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) introduced the term *Weltanschauung* (worldview), but he used it as a synonym for cosmology or image of the world. The more nebulous term (especially as used by English-speakers) *Weltanschauung* is to a large extent the result of philosophical discussions and disagreements that have taken place for the most part outside of theological circles. The meaning of the term *worldview* in common use at the beginning of twenty-first century is a generally sensed answer to a question concerning the meaning of life that is felt rather than expressed. Its lack of articulation distinguishes it from cosmology. No wonder that so much discord has continued to exist among philosophers on the meaning and definition of worldview, although it has been accepted as a philosophical concept (e.g., by Karl Jaspers, 1883–1969). It is easy to see that a worldview, precisely to the extent that it is held uncritically, can be a remnant of an earlier cosmology.

The relation between scientific views of the universe and worldview—and the influence of the former on the latter—are strikingly exemplified in developments of the twentieth century and, if anything, increasingly so in the twenty-first century. Discoveries in astronomy, the popularization of unimaginable distances in space, and the beginning of space travel have contributed to a new anxiety.

Human beings have become conspicuously lonesome creatures in the universe. Typically, in science fiction literature, space travelers risk the danger of literally getting lost in space. This anxiety is part of a widespread worldview, which is tied to a new cosmology produced by scientific discoveries. A relation to traditional religious systems might seem completely absent, if it were not for the accompanying fully conscious realization that the central place of humans in the cosmos has faded. Thus, the anxiety concerns precisely the cardinal point in all traditional religious imageries: In more than one manner the world seems to have become less human, if not inhuman. It is, however, not correct to assume that all the cosmologies held on to by people in ancient and distant cultures were stories of perfect peace. It should be remembered that the biblical creation account ends with the entrance of evil and the expulsion of the first people from paradise, and, according to many African myths, an accidental forgetfulness in the conveyance of a message causes the mortality of people.

CLASSIFICATION OF COSMOLOGIES. Cosmic worldviews may be examined from two distinct perspectives: geographical location and culturally evolved themes.

Geography. The most obvious grouping of cosmic views is given according to the continents of the earth, the various regions within them, and their ethnic and linguistic divisions. Although a necessary first step that appeals to the quest for empirical knowledge, this method is most valuable in showing the extreme difficulty of making generalizations and is useful in demonstrating the impossibility of finding helpful answers to a number of elementary questions. The greatest problem for the longest period of time has been the self-overestimation of Westerners who regarded themselves as very well-educated indeed—never having had a primitive thought in their minds and the natural inheritors of the classical Greeks. It took Europeans and Americans a long time to pay proper attention, intellectually, to Africa, which was so often maltreated and exploited, especially during colonization—worse than any other continent.

At the same time, however, one cannot help but observe in Africa a variety of traditions and a great dissimilarity in historical influences and levels of culture. Although there may seem to be in African traditions few pure cosmologies in the sense of myths explicitly dealing with the origin and structure of the universe when compared with, for instance, traditions in the Pacific or the sheer beauty of Indonesian myths, this deficiency is more than made up for by a pronounced significance given to human acts in the world from its inception. In particular, the discovery and presentation of Dogon myths have opened Western eyes to the philosophical profundity of African thought. The choices made by people as reflected in their acts obviously concern the world, even when the cosmos itself is not described in its origin and structure with the poetic beauty characteristic of, for example, many Indonesian myths. Marcel Griaule's *Conversations with Ogotemmêli, an Introduction to Dogon Religious Ideas* (1965) opened Western eyes for the profundity and philosophical depth of the Dogon myths in the West.

A geographic compilation of cosmic views leads to a very natural and necessary first conclusion: Humanity is an important theme in traditional cosmologies. Whether poetic visions of primordial mountains and oceans or a preoccupation with the risks or failures in human acts prevail, the world of human beings is the theme of all traditional mythology, including the narratives and the symbolism that refer expressly to nature, the universe, the cosmos, and the earth. This basic conclusion must indeed be drawn; it eliminates much unnecessary confusion on cosmological and cosmogonic myths as supposed steps toward satisfying innate human scientific curiosity or cravings for establishing causes.

Cultural themes. Any worldwide survey of cosmological views must consider as a crucial factor the variety of cultural levels on which views of the cosmos have developed. At first glance, this variety may seem only to increase the almost overwhelming abundance and complexity of the material to be studied; however, in the end it provides the only sturdy vantage point for a thematic classification on which some scholarly agreement might exist. This is not to say that the various livelihoods (hunting–gathering, tilling the soil, livestock raising) are presented as ironclad systems in myths. Yet to quite an extent, views of the cosmos are in harmony with the social order in a tribe or tradition and, as a rule, reflect the prevailing mode of production (and may shed light on the legal customs of the society as well).

The generating earth. Even though no unambiguous examples of matriarchy have been found, many examples of female cosmic principles and deities do exist. In certain very early agricultural societies, as in prehistoric Eastern Europe, it is likely that supreme goddesses to some extent mirrored the importance of women in society. However, much more is at stake than a mere projection of society. There are indications that a mother deity functioned at one time as the sole generative principle, giving birth without the participation of a male counterpart. It is not necessary to think of the peoples holding such ideas as ignorant concerning impregnation; obviously, such ignorance, wherever it existed, could not be the point of the cosmogony.

Evidence of the imageries of a sole maternal figure comes from well-developed early and classical cultures, including those of the Greeks, Egyptians, Hittites, and Japanese. The earth—constituting "the whole place" in which humans found themselves—evidently was conceived as the center or foundation of the cosmos. A Sanskrit word for earth, *prthivi,* is feminine and literally means "the one who is wide." Taking all evidence together, caution is advised in speaking without further qualification of motherhood as the cause of all these imageries. Less socio-psychologically but not less concretely, the preoccupation with the fact and act of generating seems central in all examples of the generatrix (she who brings forth). In the settled, archaic society of the Zuni, but also among many other Indians of the New World, myths speak of people emerging from the earth in very early, mythical times. Here the subject of originating is much more emphatically presented in the tradition than is the principle of motherhood.

The predominant significance of the earth in a number of traditions is commonly referred to with the adjective *chthonic*. Derived from the Greek word *chthon* (earth), it was first used by classicists to describe the quality of many deities in Greece, whether female (such as Gaia and Semele) or male (such as Ploutos, identified with Hades). Gaia (from *earth*) is the equivalent of Tellus in Roman mythology, and Ploutos, called Pluto by the Romans, is the provider of wealth that comes from the earth. Gaia is regarded as the oldest of the deities in Greek tradition, arising by her own power out of chaos. In many cosmogonic myths in the ancient Mediterranean world, the theme of the spontaneity of life and life arising from death is repeated and elaborated. Its variations are not limited to the classical civilizations in the Mediterranean but occur wherever agricultural life exists.

Divine male fashioner. Many nonliterate traditions know of a primordial celestial god who created the world and then withdrew after having accomplished that act (*deus otiosus*, lit., god without work). The great monotheistic systems (those of ancient Israel, Judaism, Christianity, Islam, as well as Zoroastrianism) that also speak of a supreme creator are very different because they brought into existence an understanding of monotheism proper that extends beyond the idea of a god who merely creates. Their monotheism is the result of their fight against polytheism of one type or another and is a matter of a revolution in the development of religion. Not by chance are they historically rooted in pastoral traditions and in civilizations far more extensive than those of early hunters and gatherers. Here, the father is the undisputed head of the family. The world is governed strictly by the creator, Yahweh, the biblical god who sets the course for the celestial bodies. However, societies of a pronounced patriarchal type with a monotheistic religion are relative latecomers in history, and their diversity is striking. One would hesitate to emphasize similarities between them beyond a few general lines linking cosmic structure, social structure, and their type of deity.

The *pater familias* (father as head of the household) in Roman religion may focus the attention on a striking feature yet brings to mind the complexity of an ideologically pastoral, agriculturally based, and advanced urban society. Also, it is a reminder that the most typical examples of monotheism (as in Israel and Islam) are not an inevitable product of one homogeneous socio-cultural development. After all, Rome did not itself yield to monotheism until Christianity's gradual conquest in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries CE.

World parents. Enlarging on the themes of the earth's generative power and a supreme fashioner is the theme of the world parents. The primordial union out of which all there is was born is often that of sky and earth, that is, the primal pair of parents. Iconographically, the pair is often depicted as if in shorthand form through a square or rectangle (the earth) and a circle (the sky). Here also, an inadequate scientific knowledge and fanciful illusions concerning the structure of the universe is not under question but rather the fundamental issues in a lasting religious quest. In addition to the immediate world of humans, there exists the sky, at the same time undeniably there and yet unreachable. The sky is the first image of what in philosophy will come to be called *transcendence.* Out of the opposites of earth and sky, the world (perhaps more precisely called "the human world") is born.

Pointing to the theme of the world parents as an expression of the mystery of all creation is far from exhausting the subject. This theme occurs with infinite variations. In ancient Egypt, for example, the earth and the sky are male and female, respectively, unlike the vast majority of traditions. In the ancient Near East, in their relationship the primordial pair, Tiamat and Apsu, exist distinct from and prior to the establishment of sky and earth; they are portrayed as a series of opposites, one of which is the opposition of the primeval salt water and fresh water oceans that were crucial to Babylonian existence. The two form the beginning of the god's life and the beginning of organization necessary for the world that is yet to come. Hence, the pair of deities is both theogonic (related to the study of the origins of gods) and cosmogonic.

OTHER MOTIFS. Traditionally, especially since the nineteenth century, anthropologists and historians of religions have been interested in social structures and cultural structures and generally were neither trained for nor interested in typically exact science questions. In recent decades however, more scientists have begun to look at ancient cultures and at societies that not long ago were generally understood to be primitive. In so doing, they have found evidence of much greater interest in the skies in early ages than anthropologists and historians of religions had previously realized. Moreover, in the science of astronomy more and more voices are speaking of mysteries.

Several other themes that deal with the origin of the world and its structure may be related with certainty to the specific cultural environments in which they are narrated. Nevertheless, they cross-cultural boundaries or occur with modifications that can be expected by cultural anthropologists and historians. However, with chthonic creativity and the world parents, it is not necessary here to think in terms of diffusion from one point of the globe to another. On the basis of observation and experience, one may conclude that independent origins are not uncommon and in fact are often more likely. Among the notable exceptions are the variations within the cosmos of conflicting dualisms that are observable in many areas of the world and that are attributable directly or indirectly to Iranian or Manichaean influences.

A number of archaic hunters' traditions know of an earth diver, a creature that descends to the bottom of the primordial ocean to pick up the earth from which the dry land is to be fashioned on the surface of the water (for example, the theme occurs in North America among the Huron). In some regions, the motif appears with the addition of a character, often divine, who orders the earth diver to descend and fetch the required particles of earth. Finally—and herein lies the striking example of a historically traceable influence—the theme recurs with an earth diver who attempts to keep the earth to himself or who sets himself up in opposition to the divine creator. There is little doubt that a dualism of Iranian (Zoroastrian) or Manichaean origin is making itself felt here. In the new versions, the earth, in the end, is the product of both the good maker and the helper, who turns out to be a satanic figure. Thus the existence of evil is acknowledged, but the (good) god is not held responsible for it. Such a dualistic cosmogonic procedure is described in various ways in Eastern European and Siberian traditions.

Again, caution is in order in making generalizations, for the opposition of good and evil is not alien to any human society, even though in some cases specific historical influences can be inferred. Of general importance is the realization, first, that all myths are subject to historical changes, even if these changes have not been traced in detail and, second, that a cosmogonic myth of any thematic type is not necessarily wiped out or replaced but can be merely modified when a great religious system is superimposed on a civilization. For example, in the myth of the earth diver, first a dualistic change came about (no doubt from outside) and yet the new, dualistic version continued its life after Christianity had gained ascendancy in Eastern Europe.

Themes that in all probability were created independently in various traditions include the world egg, the cosmic tree, creation ex nihilo (out of nothing), creation from chaos, and creation from sacrifice. Each of these usually occurs in conjunction with other themes. The tree of the world and of life occurs in one form or another from the ancient Germanic and Celtic peoples to ancient Babylonia and to classical and modern Java. Perhaps even more than the others, this symbolism allows for interpretations of the cosmos at large (the macrocosm) and the "world" of a person's body and existence (the microcosm). Many traditions elaborate on such double application. Chapter 15 of the ancient text the *Bhagavadgītā* (c. 200 BCE) is an excellent example.

The imagery of the world egg occurs also in many places (e.g., Africa, Polynesia, Japan, and India) that are far apart and cannot be expected to have been in contact in such a way as to explain the similarity. The power of the imagery must be sought in the imagery itself. Just as water is always and everywhere given as a basic ingredient expressive of perfect potentiality because it takes on any form given to it, having no form of its own (hence symbolically interchangeable with chaos) and plays an essential role at birth, the egg is given as a cosmogonic image precisely because it represents a form that contains all there is "in principle" and produces life. The creation out of nothing, well known from the traditional Christian interpretation of *Genesis* 1, occurs unambiguously and articulately in a Tuamotuan tradition (Polynesia). Sacrifice as an act resulting in the creation of the world is especially well developed in early India (Vedism and Brahmanism).

COMMON CHARACTERISTICS OF RELIGIOUS COSMOLOGIES. When symbolism and mythology depict cosmogony and cosmology, the view is confirmed that the cosmos is always the world of humanity and is not an external object of inquiry. Additionally, an ethical concern, which by itself has no evident part in the study of nature or of astronomy, is very much in evidence in religious views of the world. The behavior required of human beings is often described and always implied in the account of the world's structure.

Even if certain features do not make an obvious ethical impression on many modern and Western readers, they nevertheless may illuminate something concerning the rules that govern human behavior. Sacrificial or headhunting techniques are given within the structure of the cosmos. The renewal of the world celebrated in the Babylonian New Year festival is a cosmological event that has little, if anything, in common with modern scientific researches, most obviously so because it implies a renewal that must be observed in human existence. Another example is the teachings concerning many births and rebirths in Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism; they fit in traditions that speak of world cycles, successions of worlds, and multiple worlds. Finally, the intimate relationship of the macrocosm and the microcosm, which is widely attested, is a striking formal link between various views of the cosmos.

DO SCIENCE AND RELIGION VIEW THE COSMOS DIFFERENTLY? Contrary to popular opinion, pondering the conflicts between science and religion is not often necessary. It is more to the point to think of differences in questions asked and in subject matter. Pre-Islamic Indian literary sources are almost unanimous with respect to the conception of the continents of the earth. They depict the continents geometrically rather than empirically, and India itself occurs in the center of the world's map. The idea of many long ages and periods with truly astronomical numbers and the concept of many worlds existing both in succession and simultaneously are pan-Indian. As indicated, the center is and remains the human world and the human quest for liberation. This does not mean that the large figures of years given in the Purāṇas are figments of the imagination or betray a disregard for science. Quite the reverse is true, despite earlier fashions in scholarship that disparaged India's talent for science (a tradition fostered by some eminent Sanskritists). On this score scholarship has been set right by recent investigations in the history of science, with David Pingree in the forefront of this work.

On a wider scale, a comparable correction has been made with respect to the generally held opinion that prehistoric people and, in their wake, members of every nonliterate tradition were wanting in intellectual power capable of raising scientific questions. This correction has been made through the work of Alexander Marshack, who persuasively interpreted prehistoric data as records of precise astronomic observations. None of this suggests oppositions between religion and science; such oppositions are in fact a very recent phenomenon in history and are restricted to very few sciences and only to specific religious traditions. Only in recent times have antiscientific, fundamentalist religious movements occurred. It is certainly impossible on the basis of the cumulative evidence to regard religious and mythical views of the cosmos merely as precursors to science or as preliminary or inadequate endeavors that are discarded with the development of science. Moreover, not only from the point of view of the historian of religions but also from that of the historian of science, no single moment in history can ever be established to pinpoint the supposed fundamental change from myth to science. In fact, no such moment exists. The relation between clearly recognizable religious views and scientific views is complex, but much clarity can be gained by looking critically at the sort of questions that are asked, the nature of the assumptions questioners make under the influence of their own culture, or the intellectual habits of their age.

One tradition, fundamentalism, although largely limited to the history of American Protestantism, illuminates the study of the problem of science and religion with regard to cosmology. Fundamentalism is rooted in America's frontier experience and in rural life, yet ideologically it has had an emotional impact on urban communities and educational institutions. The public evil of religious illiteracy is the root cause of most questionable ideas concerning religion and science. Taking biblical statements about the cosmos literally, fundamentalists build up a supernaturalism that does not replace naturalism so much as it is superimposed on it, while the religious character of religious accounts is obscured in the process. In a legal procedure in 1981 and 1982, a group of fundamentalists known as creationists tried to provide educational institutions with the right to spend equal time on creation science (i.e., based on biblical statements about the physical universe) alongside the teaching of generally accepted modern scientific inquiries. The assumption was that religious accounts can be viewed for their factual, that is, verifiable and inferential accuracy. The question of the religious intention is not raised, because the creation scientist postulates a factuality that is positivistic in nature—in the sense of the French philosopher, Auguste Comte (1798–1857) and after the manner of the English social philosopher, Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) for whom religion covered everything not yet figured out by science.

Rather than holding up ideas of this sort for ridicule, scholars have used them to show more clearly the weakness of ideas shared in the widest intellectual circles. The modern intellectual problem of creating a dichotomy in which documents show a unity or seem to indicate no more than aspects of the same thing cannot be ignored. The contrast between modern science and traditional religious ideas concerning the world and cosmogony has occupied the minds of many Westerners, especially since the eighteenth century. This contrast has blurred the intention of world images given in religious traditions.

It would not be appropriate to allow a conflict generated by the French Enlightenment and repeated and modified since then in Western intellectual history to distort perception of all religious symbolism concerning the world, its nature, and origin. Instead, religion and science should be viewed together in their development, with the understanding that every attempt to view religious cosmologies side by side with modern scientific cosmologies fails if the cardinal point mentioned before is missed: The former are human-centered, whereas the latter is only human-observed and human-calculated. However, this distinction, with which modernity should be familiar, is not a division, and few ages and communities have found it necessary to make the distinction into a special subject for discourse or emphasis.

The ancient Babylonians thought of the earth as the center of the universe and conceived of it as a mountain, hollow underneath and supported by the ocean, whereas the vault of heaven kept the waters above from those below; the waters above explained the phenomenon of rain. Roughly the same cosmic scheme occurs throughout the entire ancient Near East and returns in the creation account in the *Book of Genesis.* Another example is Thales of Miletus (c. 600 BCE), the Ionian natural philosopher, who is famous for positing water as the primal substance of the universe. Although this schematization may appear scientifically primitive, such a scheme was, in fact, never presented in any tradition and is only the summary that the modern mind draws from far more complex mythologies.

Although the study the development of the natural sciences can (mistakenly) take place in isolation, the documents of the exact sciences, available from the ancient Babylonians (the period of the Hammurabi dynasty, 1800–1600 BCE) and the ancient Egyptians on are recorded not only in mathematical signs, as one might expect, but are also surrounded by mythological images. Mythological images simultaneously absorb and appropriate scientific discoveries, calendrical calculations, and established views of the world, stars, and planets as their symbols. Although a distinction must be drawn between the two sciences, the documents make no such separation and establish no contrast. Various scholars (e.g., Mircea Eliade and Werner Müller) have stressed the cosmic character of all archaic religious traditions. It is of great importance, however, to add that the history of science points to the interwovenness of science (notably astronomy and physics) and religion.

Epistemological considerations are not separable from socio-religious traditions and cannot be kept for long from the work of a modern scientist. Basic definitions functioning in scientific research are not central in scientific education, yet typically normal, consensus-bound research ultimately results in revolution. The process of change in religion is quite analogous. As a rule, renowned mystics, prophets, and great reformers have followed their tradition so persistently as to arrive willy-nilly at a change that in some cases amounted to a rebirth or total overhaul of a tradition (e.g., the great reformers in Christianity; Nāgārjuna, second century CE, in Buddhism; the great *bhakti* philosophers, especially Rāmānuja, traditionally dated to 1017–1137 CE, in Hinduism; and Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, twelfth century, in Islam). Any such great change is reflected in the image of the world.

The breakdown of the classical, Aristotelian world image, shaken by Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543), Tycho Brahe (1546–1601), Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), Johannes Kepler (1571–1630), and Isaac Newton (1642–1727), is principally due to René Descartes (1596–1650), the initiator of philosophy in modern Western history. Instead of being a human environment and accessible through the senses, the world now becomes a definite object of rational inquiry of a new, truly objective character of which humans are no longer the unquestionable center. The conflict between Galileo and the church is well known and has been given so much attention as to obscure the structures of both science and religion. This conflict is limited to only one science (astronomy) and only one religion (Christianity) in a particular phase of each. Other sciences, such as the science of music or the science of crystals, have never found themselves in a comparable predicament with Christianity. It stands to reason that a religion such as Buddhism, in which the subject of the world's creation and the earth's central position in it has no significant part at all, could not be expected to provoke comparable polemics between astronomers and defenders of the religious tradition.

Two final points must be made to complete the subject of the distinctive place of religion with respect to cosmology. First, an absolute break between religion and the sciences after Copernicus and Descartes is not a meaningful division. From Gottfried Leibniz (1646–1716) to Pierre Teilhard De Chardin (1881–1955), Carl F. von Weizsäcker (b. 1912), Stephen Hawking (b. 1942; widely known through his *A Brief History of Time*), and Karl Jaspers, writers, scientists, and theologians have dealt with the unity and meaning of the world, a world designed to be religiously and scientifically comprehensible. Second, significantly (and complementary to the first one point), in considering the cosmos under two aspects in the religious documents that exist, the religious view—wherever it does come to the fore—tends to show a certain priority. This is not only true in the temporal sense that the historical development shows religious assumptions concerning the world before the first recognizable scientific strides are taken, but also in terms of relative importance. Karl Barth (1886–1968) rightly emphasized (in part in opposition to theories by the New Testament theologian Rudolf Bultmann, 1884–1976) that the histories of Israel and of the church have unfolded under the impact of various dominant views of the cosmos without being disturbed by them. Characteristically, in the entire history of the church, no creed ever made the structure of the universe an item worthy of concern. The same holds true for other religious traditions as well. Even though in archaic traditions the sacred can be expressed primarily through cosmic forms, the sacred supersedes the cosmic in all religions.

SEE ALSO Ages of the World; Cosmogony; Deus Otiosus; Dualism; Earth; Egg; Eschatology, overview article; Evangelical and Fundamental Christianity; Goddess Worship, overview article and article on Theoretical Perspectives; Hieros Gamos; Metaphysics; Monotheism; Science and Religion.

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COSMOLOGY: AFRICAN COSMOLOGIES

An account of African cosmologies must first come to terms with a set of issues likely to generate controversy. Foremost has been the scholastic predisposition to regard them as of less interest because of their supposed comparative simplicity and lack of theoretical sophistication in articulating visions of a cosmos generally, even in mythical terms. This is linked to a view of indigenous religions in the African context as anachronisms that are the vestigial remains of cultures whose precolonial authenticity has been in a state of decline for several centuries. Christianity and Islam, on the other hand, are often portrayed as dynamic missionary enterprises, almost inevitably destined to prevail and thereby bring Africa and Africans into the domain of respectably articulated "world" religions—and cosmologies.

To counter these questionable yet still all too common stereotypes it is helpful to begin by pointing out that there are in the early twenty-first century at least eight hundred distinct language cultures in sub-Saharan Africa alone. The time is long past when scholars of these cultures could feel comfortable with cosmological and religious generalizations, supposedly common to all, on the basis of detailed studies of a few. Texts that were for too long taken as definitive accounts of African "traditional" religion are therefore challenged by new generations of scholars who reject the negative value judgments implicitly justified by cosmological paradigms derived from predominantly non-African sources. There is a growing consensus that Africa and Africans must finally speak for themselves, from the standpoints of indigenous believers, rather than defer to the potentially methodologically distorted interpretations of purely academic fieldworkers.

This means that a substantial body of established scholarly texts is now directly challenged. Cosmological paradigms patched together from such disparate sources as the accounts of explorers, missionaries, colonial administrators, traders, folklorists, anthropologists, historians, and art historians increasingly are deconstructed by scholars of religion with a social scientific predisposition and by philosophers in the African context. This can mean that there are more than ideological motives involved when Africa reclaims Egyptian civilization (cosmology included) as part of its intellectual heritage. This can also mean that pioneering portrayals of African cosmologies, such as Placide Tempels's *Bantu Philosophy* (a hierarchical, pantheistic, vital force ontology extending from a Supreme Being downward to the lowliest forms of matter) or Marcel Griaule's *Conversations with Ogotemmêli: An Introduction to Dogon Religious Ideas* (an elaborate symbolist rendering of a Dogon cosmology and cosmogony that includes and interrelates everything from stellar constellations to the patterns of plowed fields), are coming to be treated as the systematized, empathic renderings of Western devotees and the elaborated images of idiosyncratic sources whose ideas were thereafter presented as if representative of an entire culture.

Consequently noncontroversial accounts of authentically African cosmologies—past or present—are not easy to identify. Nevertheless in what follows attempts will be made to represent contemporary, even if not entirely methodologically compatible, viewpoints on the cosmologies of three African ethnic groups: the Yoruba of West Africa (principally Nigeria), the Maasai of East Africa (principally of Kenya), and the Kongo of Central Africa (principally as located in the Democratic Republic of Congo, formerly known as Zaire).

YORUBA COSMOLOGY. It has become a truism that more has been written about the Yoruba and their culture than any other in sub-Saharan Africa. Nevertheless this should not be taken to imply that a consensus has been reached about how best to represent Yoruba cosmological beliefs, even if the many accounts of a Yoruba cosmology that have been published might lead one to believe otherwise.

Most of these standardized accounts represent the cosmology as a pantheon. At its head or top is the "sky" god, Olodumare. He "reigns" over the spiritual (*orun*) and material (*aye*) worlds he ultimately is responsible for creating through many lesser (a step down the pantheon) divinities (*orisha*). Olodumare is portrayed as distant from both these lesser divinities and the created world with which they principally interact. The Yoruba have any number of splendid, elaborate myths detailing the story of creation and various encounters between these lesser divinities and between the divinities and the material world, human beings included of course (Courlander, 1973). A step further down the pantheon is reserved for the ancestors (*ara orun*), an exceptional few of whom may have been elevated to *orisha* status, whereas most are in between lifetimes in the physical world. The Yoruba traditionally believe that the individual human "life" consists of an indefinite series of reincarnations within the same family line.

Taking yet another step down the pantheon, one enters the physical world, where human beings as well may be rated or ranked on one of seven different levels, depending on their talents and abilities (Hallen, 2000). Events within that world are frequently attributed to the activities of the lesser divinities, and therefore it is of critical importance that there be an avenue or pathway of communication between the spiritual and physical worlds, which is provided by the agency of the diviner (*babalawo*). The underlying system of divination is known as *Ifa* and consists of an intricate and extensive body of oral literature to which diviners refer when providing information to their clients (Abimbola, 1976). In this Yoruba pantheon there is no personified force of evil, especially one comparable to the Christian or Muslim Satan or devil. Therefore on the level of humanity, individuals usually bear the ultimate responsibility for their immoral (not "evil") behavior, especially when such behavior manifests a publicly identifiable pattern (Hallen, 2000; Olupona, 2000, p. xix).

Beginning in the latter part of the twentieth century, this model of a Yoruba cosmology was challenged by a number of scholars who saw it as a distorted overview—though it may contain many accurate elements—of a still vital cultural tradition. The distortion is due primarily to the imposition of something like a Greek or Roman spiritual and physical pantheon on a cultural context, where it is out of place because it misrepresents the ways in which people in that context relate to and act out their views of the cosmos. These scholars pointed out that religion and its component cosmological beliefs in Yoruba culture are not the product of a "received" body of doctrine, as is the case with Christianity and the Bible or Islam and the Qurʾān (Olupona, 1991). There is also no prophetic figure corresponding to Christ or Muḥammad. In addition the qualitative distancing between the spiritual and the physical introduced by such a hierarchical model does not do justice to Yoruba sensitivities about such relationships. In fact the spiritual is not somehow "up there." It too is "here," constantly intermixed with the so-called physical realm, even if from a different dimension that involves having recourse to specialized techniques (ritual ceremonies, divination, dreams, and offerings—a more interculturally neutral term than the implicitly pejorative "sacrifices") to communicate and interact with it (Soyinka, 1976).

Doctrine or Ritual? Jacob K. Olupona's 1991 *Kingship, Religion, and Rituals in a Nigerian Community*, a study of religion in the Yoruba cultural context, stands out as designed specifically to accommodate a religion and view of the cosmos that does not arise from a body of received doctrine. This shift in the religious substratum is more revolutionary than it might at first seem. In received religions a body of religious doctrine forms the bedrock, whereas rituals and ceremonies are treated as comparatively peripheral and therefore of secondary importance. Now the converse becomes the case, and what was peripheral becomes the bedrock. This also serves to redeem the intellectual character of Yoruba indigenous religion by suggesting that it has never been done justice in conventional fieldwork studies, because again the basis on which it was approached was skewed so as to favor doctrinal-based religions as paradigmatic. Therefore a religion that expressed itself principally via ritual ceremonies did not receive the methodologically specialized treatment it deserved. This could also help to explain the persistent concerns of academic field-workers to construct a systematized pantheon of Yoruba spiritual and physical elements, because the cosmology then could be reconstituted (even if misleadingly) in a discursive format that imitated the architectonics of doctrinal-based religions.

Yet another negative consequence of the pantheon approach is that it gives the impression that the same religious and cosmological views are shared by all Yoruba. But as Olupona points out, it is the Yoruba themselves who acknowledge that they are divided into different cultural groups, and each of these groups can in turn be subdivided into its constituent elements (e.g., individual cities and towns). Therefore one sensible way to reestablish a basis for a systematic approach to assessing the possible universality as well as the potentially culturally relative meanings of myths, ritual ceremonies and their cosmological portents would be to begin on a microcosmic level—what myths are told and how rituals are enacted in a particular city or town—before proceeding to hazard generalizations about some sort of Pan-Yoruba religion or cosmos.

Another stereotype of Africa's indigenous societies that must be challenged is the idea that they are static, oriented exclusively toward "traditions" inherited from the past and therefore resistant to change. For what Olupona finds in present-day Ondo is indeed a "traditional" culture but one that is changing to adapt to and come to terms with present-day realities. In religious and cosmological terms, the introduction of Christianity and Islam has had the most profound consequences. But the institutions of indigenous Ondo religion, most importantly as personified by the town's traditional ruler or king (*Oshemawe*), have recast the annual cycle of public ritual ceremonies involving the king so that they serve a civic as well as a religious function. In other words, indigenous religion in the Ondo Yoruba context is now sustained and perpetuated by the wider social and cultural contexts with which its rituals, ceremonies, and myths have become intimately associated. Indeed Olupona goes so far as to speak of a civic dimension to these public ritual ceremonies that complement the viewpoints of those (Christians, Muslims, and so on) who have no reason to view them in more conventionally religious terms.

What this means is that the annual cycle of religious ceremonies can now also be regarded as occasions in which the entire town—indigenous practitioners, Christians, and Muslims—can all actively participate in some form or other because they serve to renew and to energize the Ondo cosmos in the most general terms (Olupona, 1991, p. 21). Effectively the king has supplanted the Supreme Being as the principal agent of that cosmos. Yet his status as an *orisha* or divinity as well as a temporal ruler instills these proceedings with a spiritual force that attracts the participation of other, purely spiritual *orishas*: the ancestors, the chiefs who rule under him, and the body of the townspeople. Rather than the townspeople factionalizing along religious lines, this localized, revisionist role of the king and the ritual ceremonies with which he is involved have enabled the town to retain a robust sense of unity. Olupona suggests that this might not have happened were it not for the fact that Yoruba religion can be so eclectic and that this eclecticism can in large part again be attributed to the fact that the religion is not based on a fixed body of doctrine or dogma, cosmology included.

MAASAI COSMOLOGY. The solitary Maasai warrior (*moran*) fashionably festooned with ochre and a red tunic, standing on one or two legs with spear or staff upright while guarding a grazing herd of cattle, has become one of the Western icons of sub-Saharan Africa. The once mighty Maasai military confederation, thanks to colonialism and the rise of independent African nation-states, has been compelled to recast itself as a nomadic, pastoralist society devoted primarily to raising the cattle their myths tell them were originally a gift from God (Nkai).

There is considerable controversy as to what their religious and cosmological beliefs may have been in the past. But Paul Spencer's 2003 study, *Time, Space, and the Unknown: Maasai Configurations of Power and Providence*, written essentially from a structuralist viewpoint, sets out to document them in the present. This contemporary Maasai cosmology effectively reflects their current lifeworld, a term that is understood in phenomenological-hermeneutical circles to refer to a socially constituted, everyday, cultural universe. This means that the views attributed to them about space and time and the cosmology of which they are constituent elements are said to arise from the world the Maasai inhabit as empirically firsthand.

Although the Maasai are nomadic, they are said to have a refined sense of spatial order—within certain empirical limits. This extends from the precisely detailed layouts of their huts and homesteads to the uninhabited grazing lands for their herds—still sometimes referred to by those who write about Africa's cultures as the "bush." By day the bush may constitute an environment that offers obvious benefits and usually identifiable dangers, but by night it becomes a place where many natural and supernatural hazards (sorcery among them) may victimize the unwary, so that it is primarily groups of *moran* who may on occasion undertake ritual ceremonies there in relative safety.

By the early twenty-first century the pastoral Maasai consisted of sixteen separate but federated territorial groups. Although there must obviously be a sense of spatial identity arising from the territory of the federation as a whole, the individual Maasai is said to more or less view the space that is within his or her ethnic domain as the one that is truly privileged to him or her. What lies beyond is the relatively unfamiliar, though there is acknowledgment of an other, hidden dimension to a space of indefinite, also supernatural, extension that cannot be known in straightforward empirical terms.

Time in the Maasai cosmos is said to be most importantly determined by the cycle of ritual ceremonies that take place every fourteen to fifteen years and govern groups of males' progression through childhood to *moran* status and finally to that of elders who are entitled to marry and settle down (nomadically) in an individual homestead, raising families and building up herds of cattle. The model of time is said to be lived by the individual Maasai, so it is not so much cyclical in nature as it is spiral. This is because the individual lifetime progresses through the cycle of ritual ceremonies only once as it advances from childhood to elder status, even if the ceremonies continue to be performed for other individuals and groups. Consequently the Maasai are said to be a "very age-conscious people" (Spencer, 2003, p. 15). Although the *moran* may be more vigorous physically, the elders govern and determine the ritual cycle. Therefore their status in the community is, in the end, supreme—as a source of both political stability and morality.

The elders, as those who control the timing and organization of the ritual ceremonies, are also looked to as those best qualified to deal with the wider, spiritual dimensions to the Maasai cosmos (Spencer, 2003, p. 65). They determine when the offerings are to be made to Nkai to ensure his continued providence, because he is said to be ultimately responsible for everything that happens in the Maasai world. But although Nkai may have once been in close contact with the Maasai, for example, when he first provided them with cattle, he has since withdrawn in a manner that makes it difficult to determine whether and why fortune or misfortune will affect a particular individual's lifetime. And that lifetime constitutes everything that the individual has to look forward to, because the Maasai are said not to believe in an afterlife and therefore in any forms of ancestral spirits.

When the Maasai feel the need to turn to a higher authority than the elders for guidance or counsel, they turn to diviners (*il-oibonok*). The oracles used by qualified diviners are said never to lie, but it can also prove difficult to get them to give a clear and unambiguous diagnosis of the underlying problem. The most prominent lineage among families who claim to have special powers in this regard are the Loonkidongi, who trace their origin back to Kidongoi, a boy with extraordinary powers who is said to have come down from the sky. Within the ranks of diviners, the most powerful—communally announced and acknowledged—are said to be analogous to prophets in that their powers to "see" the truth about any situation are held in awe and are believed by many to be infallible. These are the specialized professionals to whom even the elders turn when faced with a delicate or difficult situation.

Spencer's (2003) account of Maasai cosmology contains several recurrent themes that suggest it may have more in common with that of the Yoruba than originally thought. He remarks repeatedly on the Maasai inability or unwillingness to elaborate many of their most important cosmological beliefs. With reference to any subject beyond the immediately empirical, words or phrases such as "reticence," "beyond human comprehension," "dimly perceived," "unknowable," "avoid the topic," "enigmatic," and "reluctant to elaborate" pepper his text. Yet when it comes to descriptions of the ritual ceremonies in Maasai culture, they are said to be elaborate and even "flamboyant." Therefore one cannot help wondering whether this is another example of a religion and cosmology that is based on and expressed by its ritual ceremonies rather than a body of received doctrine. If this is the case, it would explain the Maasai inability to elaborate on their religion and cosmology in discursive fashion and therefore make efforts to get them to do so of indeterminate value.

KONGO COSMOLOGY. The traditional cultures of Zaire were subjected to one of the most disruptive forms of colonialism when that nation was part of the Belgian Congo. Therefore what is truly remarkable about modern-day Kongo cosmology is how many of its precolonial elements have survived, even if the institutions and agents through which they are expressed have been dramatically transformed. Even though colonialism did not directly suppress Kongo cosmology at the local, village level, what this perhaps testifies to is the passion, the depth of feeling and commitment on the part of the Kongo to their indigenous religion and cosmology.

As Wyatt MacGaffey (1983, 1986) states, it is the abstracted academic study of select behavior and beliefs that transforms things that are lived realities, that are literally worth living and dying for, into "subjects" like "African cosmology" or "African traditional religion." Therefore to reinvent them it is necessary to put them back into the wider social and cultural contexts of which they are intrinsically and dynamically constituent. Kongo cosmology and religion are also said to be expressed primarily via myths and ritual ceremonies, and the two combined create a distinctive cosmology. In Kongo cosmology the universe consists of the land of the living (*nza yayi*, "this earth") and the land of the dead (*nsi a bafwa*), which are separated by a body of water. Interaction between these two realms is vigorous and constant. Unlike the Yoruba, the Kongo do not believe in reincarnation or, like the Maasai, that there is no afterlife. The individual dead (*bafwa*) remain in the world of spirits, of whom the most powerful is Nzambi Mpungu, not a prominent figure or causal agent in the indigenous Kongo cosmology but later conscripted by missionaries to serve as the Christian "God." Yet it is the land of the dead that is regarded as the primary source of power (*kindoki*), so ritual interaction with it is assigned a high priority for maintaining order in both their land and that of living human beings. Other inhabitants of the land of the dead that are important as sources of power are the "nature spirits" (*bisimbi*), who are attended to by priests (*banganga*) on behalf of local communities.

Although this basic model has been somewhat degraded by the hostile onslaughts of colonialism, missionary Christianity, and even the bureaucratic institutions of an independent Zaire—which all recast it as pagan superstition—it has managed to survive in revitalized form in that country's African Christian churches. In Kongo cosmology myth and ritual correspond to the words and actions used to maintain order and to control and to exercise power in and between the lands of the living and the dead. Because the land of the dead is regarded as the major source of such power, it is the human agents who interact with it via rituals that play the most prominent role in the cosmology. Before colonialism these were said to have been the chiefs (*mfumu*), priests (*banganga*), witches (*ndoki*), and magicians (*nganga*). The former two were associated with those who exercise their powers in a socially benevolent manner, whereas the latter two were thought susceptible to a degree of individualized self-interest that might result in the victimization of their fellow human beings.

The onset of colonialism, missionary Christianity, and then the nation-state led to the abolition of chieftaincies as independent political agencies and of diviners as independent spiritual agents, for reasons that should be obvious in an arena where power itself was being contested. Although missionary Christianity sought to fill the resultant spiritual vacuum, it was the rise of independent African Christian churches, most notably that of the self-announced prophet Simon Kimbangu in 1921, that provided a politically correct institutional home and outlet for the framework of a Kongo cosmology that had endured in the hearts and minds of the people. In this contemporary adaptation the church-based prophet (*ngunza*) assumes the role of the priest-diviner, and the various rituals as modified (principally by the removal of traditional ritual objects) now provide the same high-priority services—mediation with the dead, protection against witchcraft and sorcery, explanations of past misfortune or fortune, and projections of the same with regard to the future—as before. For example, it is noteworthy that interactions between the Kongo and Europeans, such as the slave trade and colonialism, are now regarded as periods during which the Congolese people generally were victimized by European witchcraft. Therefore one point of MacGaffey's (1983, 1986) texts is that the phenomenon of Kimbanguism is indisputable evidence that an indigenous cosmology, expressed principally by myth and ritual ceremony rather than by doctrine, can survive sustained, deliberate attempts to extinguish it and can reemerge and refashion itself, so as to structure and inform a new social institution that will provide it with the public forum it fully deserves, in fact demands.

CONCLUSION. Africa's indigenous religions and cosmologies are neither dying, nor are they operating as anachronisms. They have proved themselves capable of adapting to changing circumstances over which they may have little or no control. Furthermore African cosmologies are diverse, and therefore it is best to avoid unwarranted generalizations about their common characteristics or attributes. This also means that cosmologies expressed via myth and ritual ceremonies have their own integrity and should not be regarded as the products of cultures that are somehow less sophisticated. The religions with which they are associated, Africa's indigenous religions, should therefore be accorded the same respect and integrity as the so-called, self-designated world religions. Last but far from least, there is the as yet unresolved issue of whether African-inspired Christian churches are best regarded as a further manifestation of Africa's indigenous religions.

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BARRY HALLEN (2005)

COSMOLOGY: AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS COSMOLOGY

In 1788, when Captain Arthur Phillip raised the Union Jack on the eastern coast of Australia, he did not know that he had just entered a land that had at least 250 distinct languages. Potentially this meant that there were 250 unique ways to view the land and sea that indigenous Australians called home. Sadly many of these languages are now extinct, and many are in perilous condition with only a few speakers. Each language reflects its own cosmology, its own way of understanding the land to which it belongs. It is, therefore, dangerous to generalize about anything in indigenous Australia. Thus, in this description of indigenous Australian cosmology I will draw on two regional examples, one from the Yolngu-speaking people of northeast Arnhem Land and the other from the Yanyuwa people of the southwest Gulf of Carpentaria.

Indigenous people in many parts of Australia all use the term *dreaming* to refer to the relationship between people and their environment and the laws that set out the realm of Aboriginal experience; the same term can also be used to describe cosmological processes. It is the law that embodies their beliefs, and the law is said to be derived from "the dreamtime" or "the dreaming." The term is misleading because it carries connotations of an imaginary or unreal time. Despite its popular currency among both indigenous and nonindigenous people, the terms *dreaming* and *dreamtime* carry a series of ideological and political connotations stemming from colonial discourses of conquest and dispossession. These issues are discussed and highlighted by Wolfe (1991).

While indigenous people still continue to use the word *dreaming,* it is important, while we need to keep the word, to move beyond the word and explore what is really meant by it. In a more detailed rendering the dreaming and its law refer to a body of moral, jural, and social rules and correct practices that are believed to derive from the cosmogonic actions by which ancestral beings—with the ability to change from animal and phenomenal forms into humans—shaped and named the land, sea, and waterways, transforming parts of their bodies into landscape features, natural phenomena, and plants. Along their journeys they also gave life to people at particular places, bestowed these places upon them, and taught each group the correct manner of doing things: from hunting and foraging, processing of food, and the making of tools to the performance of paintings, songs, and dances. These actions thus constitute the knowledge associated with a place, a knowledge that is respected and observed by being followed in everyday practices as well as reenacted in ritual.

The life worlds of indigenous people in Australia are replete with images of relatedness that are used in many idiomatic expressions; the sea, for example is used as a powerful symbol for establishing identity and notions of strength and in some instances of separateness from the mainland. For example, the Yanyuwa people of the southwest Gulf of Carpentaria call themselves li-Anthawirriyarra, "a people whose spiritual origins are derived from the sea" (Bradley, 1997), while for the Yolngu people of the Galiwin'ku area the Arafua Sea itself is seen to provide ways for the Dhuwa and Yirritja moieties to relate to each other. The Yolngu of this area speak of two distinct bodies of salt water: *gapu dhulway,* a body of shallow inshore water that belongs to the Yirritja moiety and associated clans, and *gapu marmaba,* a body of open sea water belonging to the Dhuwa moiety and associated clans. These two distinct bodies of salt water are known by the terms *Mambuynga* and *Rulyapa;* they "play" with one another as they join together, become separate, and then come together again (Sharp, 2002; see also Bagshaw, 1998).

The actions of creator beings demand a different way of doing things; in some communities they demand a different way of speaking, cooking, or eating (Memmot, 1982; Bradley, 1997). The law of the sea, for example, while similar to that of the mainland, is not the same as that of the mainland. However, despite cultural differences and languages and differing nuances about the law of the land and sea for indigenous people, they all provide an overpowering sense of connectedness and images of the "journey" and "transformation." Ancestral beings first traveled the land and sea, some in the image of species such as kangaroos, eagles, snakes, sharks, marine turtles, dugong, and sea birds, for example. Others are humanlike in form, such as the *Djang'kawu* sisters of northeast Arnhem Land, the *Kilyiring-kilyiring* women in the Numbulawar and Roper Rivers areas, and the *li-Maramaranja,* dugong hunters of the southwest Gulf of Carpentaria. These are among the numerous beings that made journeys, all of which founded groups of people who are their direct descendants today. As these beings traveled, they transformed their bodies, or moved their bodies in certain ways, creating hills, trees, sand ridges, rivers, reefs, sandbars, the tides, and tidal currents. It is images such as these that dominate the cosmogonies and cosmologies of indigenous people throughout Australia. These images are in fact central in illustrating how relatedness is at the basis of the law. A critical aspect of this law is that it provides an understanding of how names and naming are crucial to its activation, transference, and negotiation. People carry names from their country, they know the names of the different parts of their land and sea, they know the names of the hills, ridges, creeks, rivers, sand dunes, reefs and sandbars, the channels and beaches, and they have names for the winds, rain, the waves, and the calm sea. It is an environment full of a particular vocabulary and other ways of thinking and knowing.

Each cosmogonic action of the ancestral beings establishes a relationship among an ancestral being, a place, and a group of people who identify with the land and own it. The image of the journey is held to be the mechanism that orders, distributes, and differentiates groups' rights to and ownership of particular tracts of land or countries. These are important issues; the images of journey cross many hundreds of kilometers. For example, the Groper Ancestor, who began her travels in northwest Queensland at a place called Ngurdurri in Ganggalida country, close to the old Dommadgee mission, traveled looking for country and found it on South West Island in Yanyuwa country. She then traveled northwest and came to a place near Numbulwar before going south and traveling up the Roper River and finishing her travels among the Marra and Wandarrang people at a place called Nyamarranguru. Thus, while there may be no known links of blood kinship among these people, the people who share the Groper as an ancestral being are seen to share a substance derived from the common ancestor. They are kin; there is a regional network established by such actions that daily transform themselves into duties of regional obligation and sharing of ritual.

Similarly, in northeast Arnhem Land the Shark Ancestor is said to have come from Umbukamba on Groote Island and then traveled to Dhurrputjpi and Wandawuy of the Djapu clans; from there to Rorruwuy of the Datiwuy clan; then to Garratha of the Djambarrpuyngu clan; and then to Ngangalala of the Djinang Murrungun clan (Tamisari, 1995, 1998). Thus, all of these clans share in the common essence of the shark, and because of this they are kin; they share in the wealth of the shark, and they come together to celebrate and demonstrate this during times of ritual. What is important in both of the above examples is the ways in which ancestral actions of transformations and of the journey are pervasive images that convey different levels of relatedness among ancestral events, a group owning a given place, and the places that constitute the trajectory of any ancestral journey.

The law that Shark or Groper, for example, put down establishes a series of overlapping local and spatio-temporal connections: first of all between places that they shaped and named along their journeys—a stretch of sea, an area of the coast shaped by hitting the ground with their heads, and further on, a depression they imprinted with their tails. Second, these bodily transformations at each place also connect the plants, animals, and phenomena with which they have interacted. The plants that grow there, like the place itself, are imbued with their power. Third, by bestowing these places upon different groups of people, they related the groups that are positioned at different stages of the journey. These groups identify with Shark and Groper; they are Shark and Groper people, yet they are associated with and are responsible for different aspects of the practical teaching and esoteric knowledge given to them.

These journeys do more than establish kinship links between humans; they also provide a basis by which kinship is established to place for land living and "nonliving" things.

In this way a place or an animal is one's mother because it belongs to one's mother's group. Similarly, a dugong is kin to the particular sea grass species, and sea birds are kin to fish. In other words, animals and plants are considered to be kin and to be related to their environment and other animals rather than having a particular behavior and inhabiting a biological habitat. It is indicative that, as coastal indigenous people would say, the law of an animal refers not only to its biological and behavioral characteristics such as diet, size, coloring, and habitat but also to what is perceived to be its temperament, moral orientation, and intentionality or "cleverness." The nature of relatedness established between place, ancestral events, and people goes beyond what is usually characterized as observable biological phenomena. Because of contemporary issues associated with maritime and coastal management, it needs to be stressed that "putting down the law" encompasses the classification of animals according to both their biological characteristics and their potential to be cultural, moral, and social beings who indeed created humanity. We are dealing here with a non-human-centered moral ecology premised on attributions of intentionality, obligation, responsibility, and reciprocity (cf. Rose, 1992; Bradley, 2001; Yanyuwa families et al., 2003). It is only by understanding this that it is possible to even come close to understanding how indigenous people may frame their concerns. These are issues, as stated above, of cross-cultural communication that cannot be taken for granted. Thus, land and sea are ancestors in themselves; they are sentient, they watch, and if provoked by wrongful action by indigenous kin or nonindigenous people they will release their wrath, hold back desired food, and create tempestuous seas that no boat can cross. Entities living on the land will cause people to become blind so that they will not find the place they are looking for.

All indigenous people see the land and sea they call home as being distinctive, as having a specialness rooted in the actions of ancestral beings and in the actions of their human ancestors. Different groups of indigenous people see themselves as distinctive; their own perception and other people's perceptions of them are as a people apart. Sea people are people who hunt dugong, sea turtle, and fish and who are ecologically, economically, technologically, and ancestrally distinct, while for land-based people it will be the particular species that inhabit their country. There are still great contrasts between the life of people who call the sea home and those that do not.

Amid all of the important discussion that people have had, and continue to have, about their land, there are also the less intimate but no less important relationships of people, creatures, and environment. As senior Yanyuwa woman Annie Karrakayn has commented concerning sea birds, in particular the white-bellied sea eagle, "They make me think about my country, my island, my sea, my mother, poor things." What is being demonstrated in such a statement is the deep and enduring emotional links between people and their country, highlighting an evocative and emotional attachment of "things" to people. The indigenous people of Australia stand within an ecological system dominated by thoughts of their country, their land, and the sea, which has as a part of its integral components human and nonhuman kin, ancestral beings, special knowledge, and power.

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JOHN J. BRADLEY (2005)

COSMOLOGY: OCEANIC COSMOLOGIES

Since over a quarter of the world's discrete religions are found in Oceania or on the islands of the Pacific Ocean, generalizations about their worldviews do not come easily. Because the languages of Polynesia, and virtually all Micronesia, belong to the Austronesian (formerly Malayo-Polynesian) phylum, it is easier to detect a certain culturo-religious homogeneity across these regions, astoundingly scattered though their isolated protrusions of land may be. In the southwest Pacific, on the other hand, Melanesia harbors the most complex mix of languages on earth, concentrated in larger islands, and reflecting a great variety of small-scale traditional pictures of the cosmos. One may safely concede a common social structure pertains in Polynesia and Micronesia; their peoples are governed by chiefs, with chiefly seniority usually being established through tracing one's ancestry to the leader of the first canoe arriving on a given island. Distinctly hierarchical societies have arisen from this arrangement, with Hawai'i, Tahiti, New Zealand, and especially Tonga, being known for their monarchs ruling over nobles (including priests) and commoners. In Melanesia, by comparison, chieftain societies are in the minority (albeit a significant one), and more common is a competition between skillful "managers" of exchanges and war, one among the other contenders rising to the top as a clan leader or "bigman." In this more characteristically Melanesian situation no one ever secures supreme power over a whole culturo-linguistic complex, which therefore remains acephalous and unstable. Only rarely in Melanesian chiefly societies, moreover, as in Viti Levu, Fiji, and in the Trobriand Islands, did one chief achieve virtual paramountcy over various others.

As a rule of thumb (while also being wary of sociological reductionism), Oceanic cosmologies tend to reflect this relative contrast in social structure. The Austronesian world pictures of the wider Pacific tend to be more "vertical," tending more to differentiate the upper from the lower world and often distinguishing the land inhabited by humans from an underworld. In southwest Pacific Melanesia the outlook is more "horizontal," with most of the nonhuman powers that matter seen to surround settlements in the visible and proximate environment. Starting from two extreme points will help our orientation. In Tonga one finds two kinds of grave, one for commoners known as *fonua,* with burials under plain mounds of coral sand, and the other *langi,* for royals and nobles, more impressive for being hedged about by blocks of rock. Significantly, *fonua* denotes land and the earth, which commoners have served and to which they return, becoming vermin under the ground. *Langi,* in contrast, means heaven (and its great beings), to which sovereigns and those of noble blood are destined, a vertical cosmic picturing and a hierarchical power structure thus reinforcing each other. Taking a well-known Papua New Guinea Highlands case, in stark contrast, the Wahgi recognize no major deities like the Tongans—though the powers behind prehistorically polished round stones were taken as war gods—and their cosmology is defined exclusively by the ancestors. The dead were deposited high in the mountains, and it is the departed who were thought to push the clouds backwards and forwards across the sides of the great Wahgi Valley, allowing for the sun and moon to be seen, or not. The spirit powers, in any case, including harmful place spirits (Tok Pisin: *masalai)* were basically environal, or largely horizontal in relation to humans, being "out there" rather than above or below.

In the Austronesian *Weltanschauungen* of Polynesia and Micronesia, therefore, one may expect cosmogonic narratives in which levels of the universe are given their places. In Maori myth (of Aotearoa/New Zealand), to illustrate, Rangi (heaven) and Papa (earth) were in an inextricable embrace until Tanemahuta, god of forests, birds, and insects, and one of the primal pair's six children, raised up his father to the skies with his strong back and limbs, his feet firmly grounded in his mother the earth. Here we find a cosmic *Trennung,* a common motif of cosmogenesis around the globe, one underscored by recognition of an underworld, supervised by the formidable Hine-nui-te-po, Goddess of the Dead. On Rarotonga (Cook Islands), the cosmos was conceived as arising out of an enormous coconut shell. It grew up from "Ancient Dirt" (that betokened the netherworld and the ancestral base of humanity, as well as earth) and reached its completion in the heavens. In the Micronesian Gilbertese (now Kiribati) genesis, the young hero Naareau Riiki snares the cosmic eel so as to uproot the sky, propping it up as separate from the sinking land and sea below.

Common in the wider (non-Melanesian) Pacific is the sense of the surface of both earth and sea lying between two major spirit realms of sky and the undersea depths. This imaging pertains rather naturally to an island context, in which upthrusts of land sit under a vast sky that reaches down to distant watery horizons like a huge upturned bowl. The most vital sources of positive power typically lay above; the middle arena usually contained spirit powers along with humans, and strategies were taught as to the best means of interaction because forces were a mixture of the well disposed and the difficult; while the netherworld was most often a domain of uncertainty, if not anxiety. The sky realm could be conceived as having compartments (of the four directions), as well as layers, with the lowest "brow of heaven" (as the Micronesian Chuukese of the Caroline Islands put it) peopled by deities connected to everyday activities—fishing, weaving, lovemaking, and the like. Debate surrounds the authenticity of Maori traditions of a deity called Io, who sits above all the layers of heavens like the removed ultimate mystery of the ancient Gnostics; but the picturing remains consistent with Austronesian vertical orientations and is commensurate with the insistence that chiefs become stars after death and still influence earthly affairs from afar.

In Melanesia such socio-cosmological correlations are more uneven. The mixture of Austronesian and many non-Austronesian groups, and the greater number of inland-based cultures, make it hard to spot patterns. Most typical is the preconceptual "feel" of an environment that decreases in security the further one is away from a home base. What Peter Lawrence (1984) has described as the "security circle" usually consists of a cluster of hamlets, or lineages dwelling close enough to constitute a clan. Each clan worked inherited land available for gardening, in proximity to blood-related clans that made up an acephalous tribal complex. The jural group and the political executive were at the clan level, and religious ceremonies were put on by clans, albeit sometimes simultaneously, even together with others. Security diminished as one passed into bushland that separated tribes, into tribal areas that were neighboring and often hostile to one's own, and then on into swamps, deep forests, and across rivers and mountains where powerful spirits dwelt or where one became a truly vulnerable stranger. The spirit world generally manifested at "ground level," and encounters with problematic *masalai* and ghosts were expected if wild areas were traversed. Fears of such encounters often relate to assumptions about defensible territory. Ghosts connected to other tribal areas would be presumed to be highly inimical to outsiders. In the case of the Papuan Highland Fuyughe, notions of any roundabout raids on enemy hamlets were forestalled by beliefs that each tribe was protected by *sila* (place spirits in the form of huge serpents), beings who dwelt in the mountain overshadowing each tribal territory and who were ready to destroy any trespassers.

It is not that the sense of transcendence was completely absent from Melanesian traditional religions. Among the Enga, for instance, to the west of the New Guinea Highland Wahgi and in a society comparably preoccupied with the aid of the ancestors, one finds talk of an apparent "high god" Aitawe. While Aitawe sustains all things, however, he receives barely any ritual attention and does not figure in the religious foreground—in the *Tee* festival (for the ceremonial prestation of pigs), initiations, even rites to avert crises. This relative inattention to "overarching" deities is typical of Melanesia. If there are creator gods, they often put the basic environment in place and let other beings—often "culture heroes"—show creativity thereon (as with Anut of the Sor, Sengam, and related coastal Madang peoples), or, like the bisexual sky deity Ugatame of the Irian Jayan Kapauka, they set a "predetermining scheme of things" (*ebijata*) but do nothing to police it. On the other hand, creative deities' original acts can be forgotten so that instead what comes to the fore is their role of bringing succor in war or their close-to-hand sanctions against delicts—as with Yabowahine for Goodenough and Bonarua Islanders respectively (in the East Papuan Massim cultural complex).

Powers that are high above are likely to be "brought down" in Melanesia to have special connections to a people's very ground, and any conceived high planes of existence were made quite comparable to the human one. Thus, among the Southern (Papua New Guinea) Highland Huli, the sun is Ni, one of two cosmic brothers, but it is more important that he looks over Huli territory (from the Huli point of view not staying long to watch anywhere else) and that he laid his "eggs," shiny smooth black stones revealed in ritual and signifying the protection of tribes. At the same time the most powerful spirits for the Huli dwelt in caves, and certain sacred cave sites (*gebeanda*) became the focus of more than one tribe. Whereas in the wider Pacific places of worship suggest "open spaces," with stone platforms and fenced arenas more than impressive temples being the key architectural feature, Melanesia is famous for preoccupation with eerie "natural" shrines (such as caves and crevices), to which offerings will be brought with the utmost caution, or with temples that bear darkened interiors and contain hidden, awesome paraphernalia of a cult deity or else the trophies (oftentimes skulls) of the ancestors' previous victories.

What of planes of existence? In a strange, broken line from mountainous Enga country down to the swamplands of the Fly River Delta, there are notions of the sky people and sky villages. Among the Enga a special class of beings (the *yalyakali)* are thought to occupy the sky realm, yet their appearance in the lives of humans is almost always connected to a change in material existence—a special opportunity in hunting, for instance. In the Roku (western Trans-Fly) area, the dead are supposed to live in the sky, yet again their capacity to act as conduits of material blessing on earth is the paramount point. Rocks, for example, are not found in Roku terrain, yet the Roku dead are imagined to create them and then send them to the beginning of those trade routes in the West, whence they arrive to fulfil a material need.

In Melanesia, indeed, one even finds such concrete interactions with spirit beings that some of them can only be brought into being by human actions and others are discarded when their purpose has been served. The war god called Kakar among the Murik Lakes tribes (at the mouth of the Sepik), for example, is only brought to life when the carved war clubs that "constitute" him are put in a line. The accoutrements signifying the ancestral being known as the Sir Ghost among the Manus (New Guinea Islands) are taken from rafters and thrown into the sea once the head of a household dies and takes on the role of a new Sir. Whereas in the wider Pacific, spiritual presences tend to be more confined to worship areas or open-faced meeting houses (such as the elaborately carved *whare whakairo* among the Maori), in Melanesia such presences extend to the poles and rafters of houses' interiors (whether communal or familial). The spiritual energy in these poles is in various cultures conceived as a protective shield against sorcery, the fear of which is more prevalent in Melanesia than elsewhere in Oceania. Moreover, whereas in Austronesian languages terms for spirits are more indicative than symbolic, many non-Austronesian languages nuance the natural environment in highly subtle ways. The Southern Highland Foi, for example, "feel" damp places and valleys as feminine, while dry spots and high, airy terrain intimate masculinity (a dichotomy familiar in Chinese sensibilities).

Cosmological differences can be expected to bear implications for pictures of afterlife states. In the main, admittedly, the other world is expected to be an extension of the living community and to hold all of those who are deceased, whether good or bad, so long as their "soul" or "spirit" is released in funerary rites or their journey to the place of the dead made without mishap. Thus, for the coastal Papuan Roro those whose spirits reach the eastern horizon have been individuals escaping some traumatic, sudden death. A surprise attack from behind by an enemy, or being taken to one's death by a crocodile, prevented this blessing, condemning the deceased to the state of an angry wandering ghost near the place of the sad incident. In the belief of the Raiateans of Tahiti, for a Polynesian case, whether the dead went to the realm of Light (*Ao*) or Darkness (*Po*) simply depended on whether the soul perched itself on the right rock of final departure or not. Culturally between, on the (Austronesian) Papuan Muju Island, admission to "the Isle of the Blest" (Tum) came only through precariously balancing on the great serpent Motetutau who took one there and by showing two special lines of tattooing to get around the hag guarding this (horizontally placed) "heaven."

Only occasionally do ethical dimensions show up in visions of post-mortem conditions. The Micronesian Wuvulu hold that each hamlet is guarded by *puala*-spirits whose reactions to human behavior are interpreted by priests. The *puala* send bad people down to Mani Pino Pino directly below each settlement, where waste drips down and evildoers live in agony eating snakes and lizards, until the *puala* grant mercy and bring them up to the wonderful villages of the dead. If cases like this in Melanesia have horizontally placed purgatories—the Papua coastal Motu naming two islands where malefactors have to work off the punishments they deserve—a few of them project more vertical images. The Southern Highland Erave, for instance, speak of a red place in the sky—a kind of Valhalla—receiving those who die on the field of battle (and those women supporting them), while a brown place of estrangement on earth level awaits the rest.

The general cosmological polarity suggested in the above survey can be accepted only as a useful heuristic devise, certainly not as a watertight generalization. The honoring of the (sculptured) ancestor chiefs of Polynesia's Easter Island, or Rapanui, for example, and the Orongo bird cult that developed more recently in the island's history, did not intimate transcendental or vertical conceptions; while some groups of Melanesia's north Papuan Orokaiva conceived of Asisi as a God high above humans, with the ancestors mediating in between. On the balance of the evidence, moreover, the smaller the scale of the culture in the Pacific, the less likely social hierarchy and a tiering of the cosmos will appear reinforcing each other, and the more special features of the landscape will call for sacralization or beckon ritual attention. One litmus test here would be caves, which are not uniformly doors to the underworld in Polynesia and Austronesian cultures. In Melanesia, however, whether on land or under water, they are most likely to be entrances to mysterious treasure or material blessing. Famous stories in this latter connection concern Manamakeri, of the Biak-Numfor cultural complex (Irian Jaya), a hero who reveals that the access to eternal life and permanent material blessing *(koreri)* is under the ground; and also Edai Siabo, who found the secrets to generate the Hiri trade expeditions (of coastal Papua) when diving into the depths of the sea.

Islander movements in response to outside intrusions and colonialism have reflected the tendencies here being plotted. Among the most famous new religious movements in the colonized world are the Melanesian cargo cults. In these, the followers of "prophet-visionaries" are convinced that European-style commodities—from tinned meat to automobiles—will arrive in abundance at the hands of returning ancestors, even Jesus in his Second Coming (as inferred from mission teaching). The stress in such cults is on material prosperity and tangible riches, reflecting Melanesian horizontal cosmologies. Prophets (*konoors*) among the Biakese, to illustrate, proclaimed access to Koreri, and in the context of the Second World War members of a makeshift army protesting against the Japanese believed that the magical touch of eternity made them invulnerable to foreigners' bullets. Other, comparable protest actions in Melanesian occurred in the hope that guns would be included in the cargo to drive colonial intruders from their land.

In new religious movements of the wider Pacific, by comparison, we find prophets presenting themselves as mediators between heaven and earth, even if the same Protestant and cargoist themes can also be found. In the context of the second Maori War (1864–1865), for example, with so-called Hauhau "extremists" also taking themselves to be impervious to British firepower, the prophet Marire reassured his followers of Gabriel's message that fallen fighters would be "glorified" and "stand on the roof of clouds." The message of the freelance missionary Siovili of Eva on Samoa (1840s) was that he had direct access to the "Great Spirit" above and that a cargo ship would arrive, not over an ordinary horizon, but from "the King of the Skies." In the following century, when a new sect sprang up on Onotoa in the southern Gilberts (Kiribati), the leader Ten Naewa promised that God himself would descend directly to the island, and later announced himself to be "father of God" and his close protectors, "Swords of Gabriel." The contrasting cosmological tendencies detectable in such movements now continue behind different ecclesiastical and theological styles as Christianity consolidates in the region.

SEE ALSO Caves.

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COSMOLOGY: INDIGENOUS NORTH AND MESOAMERICAN COSMOLOGIES

There are relatively few generalizations that can legitimately be made about Native American cosmology as a whole. Perhaps the most important, if apparently contradictory generalization, is that all cosmologies are local. In other words, each people, each nation, each pueblo, each city maintains its own cosmos. On some level, then, to understand Native American cosmology as a whole one must comprehend a multiplicity of individual Native American cosmologies. There are scholarly works that provide an overview of Native American cosmology through broad surveys of the various traditions. Some of these books are mentioned at the end of this essay, but no such endeavor is attempted here. Instead, the intent here is to blend conventional scholarly methods with indigenous methods of communicating cosmological knowledge in order to give the reader a substantive yet concise sense of the character of Native American cosmology.

Rather than selecting traditional narratives that are intended to symbolize all Native American cosmologies, we turn to two specific indigenous histories. In both cases, we will see how calendric and astronomical practices reflect cosmological views. The first story comes from a late-nineteenth-century Zuni pueblo; the second from the Late Classic Maya city of Copán. Although separated by over a thousand miles and a thousand years, these two events provide insight into the means by which Native American cosmologies might be conceptualized as representing a single Native American cosmology.

For Native Americans, the universe is generally considered to consist of three realms. The region below the surface of the earth comprised the lower world. The region above the reach of the highest trees constitutes the upper world. The region in between is, approximately, the middle world. There is a further "division" of the cosmos based on the movements of the upper realm's inhabitants, the most important of which is the sun. Frequently this division is correlated to the concept of the four cardinal directions. Native American conceptualizations, however, explicitly tie these directions to the reference frame of the sun's motion: east is associated with the sun's entry into the sky; west with the sun's entry into the Underworld; north is the right hand of the sun; and south the left hand of the sun.

All three levels of the cosmos are inhabited by different entities. Most entities make a single realm their permanent home, but some entities have the ability to move between realms, or at least communicate across "boundaries." Within this cosmography, time is controlled by the members of the upper realm. Generalizations about the role of the Underworld in Native American cosmologies are more difficult to make, although it is most frequently considered to be the abode of deceased human beings. The deceased, or ancestors, often play active roles in the lives of the "living," but the precise roles vary according to the tradition and the era. In each tradition, however, there is some ritually maintained center that allows a people to communicate with the different realms. Because each form of communication is specific to a people, many different cosmic centers—and accordingly, cosmologies—must coexist.

It is in this general cosmographic context that we may consider two indigenous histories. For the Zuni case, we turn to the year 1896 and the newly initiated state of New Mexico. At this time, the Zuni pueblo in question consisted of a few thousand people occupying multi-room adobe houses and dependent on rainfall irrigation of agricultural crops. Social life was organized by clans, each of which had specific roles in Zuni ritual life. From among these clans, a council of A'shiwanni, or rain priests, would select a *pe'kwin,* or sun priest, charged with maintaining the ritual calendar for all Zunis. Although a religious leader of his people, the *pe'kwin* was elected and so was subject to removal from office should he not fulfill his duties.

Such a case transpired shortly before the appointment of a new *pe'kwin* in 1896. A severe drought had brought suffering to the Zuni pueblo, and the Shi'wano'kia ("Priestess of fecundity") placed the blame for the failed crops on the incumbent *pe'kwin* (Stevenson, 1970, p. 108). A trial of sorts was held, accusations of sorcery were leveled, and the *pe'kwin* was removed from office. Matilda Coxe Stevenson described the succeeding events as follows:

> He was impeached and removed and, after much discussion, a young man of the Raven division of the Dogwood clan was selected to fill the place. The Kia'kwemosi dispatched the elder and younger brother Bow priests to make the announcement to the chosen party. The mother, who was present, wept bitterly and begged her son not to accept the position, saying to the elder brother Bow priest: "He is so young, and he might make some mistake, and then perhaps he would be condemned as a sorcerer." The mother's grief touched the heart of the son, and he declined the honor which he most earnestly desired to attain. Another meeting of the A'shiwanni was held, when a man of the Macaw division of the Dogwood clan was chosen, and in due time he was installed in his high office. (Stevenson, 1970, p. 166)

This new *pe'kwin* did find himself in a predicament shortly after being installed. The Shi'wano'kia questioned whether he had correctly set the ritual calendar, which required an accurate identification of the summer solstice. Fortunately for the young *pe'kwin,* the council of rain priests discussed the case and came down in favor of his calculations.

The above story provides an entry into Zuni cosmology, for it tells us that "natural" phenomena were ultimately subject to "social" determination. From the "modern," "scientific" point of view the date of the summer solstice is in the realm of observable fact; there is really no discussion required: either the sun was at astronomical solstice, or it was not.

But there is obviously more to it in the Zuni case. For one thing, Zuni astronomy itself is of necessity partly based on interpretation given the inaccuracy of naked-eye observation, and their mathematical model of the sun's course. Determining when the summer solstice has arrived by observing the sunrise is difficult, given that the sun appears to rise over the same geographical feature along the horizon for a period of approximately four days (Zeilik, 1985, p. S17). It is up to the priest to determine on which of these four days the sun "changed its course," a determination based in turn on computation and other solar observations. An element of arbitrariness is thus inherent in the setting of the calendar.

Moreover, the process of setting the date of summer solstice had direct impact on the ceremonial life of the pueblo. Namely, harvests and ceremonies were set by the solar calendar, and that calendar was initiated with the observation of the summer solstice by the *pe'kwin.* Zuni ceremonial life, then, was intimately tied to the agricultural cycle and to agricultural productivity, and thus, in turn, to the survival of the pueblo. A poor agricultural yield was thought to result from problems in the relationship between the gods and the populace. The *pe'kwin* was the mediator, so in the end, he was held accountable.

The Zuni gods were neither entirely benevolent nor entirely malicious. Some, in fact, seemed to randomly switch back and forth between reasonableness and juvenile mischief. The *pe'kwin* had the difficult job of navigating these mood swings to obtain the best possible results for his people. It was his job to read the clues wherever he might find them, and to lay a course accordingly. The setting of the ritual calendar comprised an assessment on the *pe'kwin's* part of both the capriciousness of the gods and the needs of his community. The ambiguity inherent in the setting of the date of the summer solstice allowed for flexibility and adjustments to compensate for whatever set of circumstances the *pe'kwin* perceived.

Furthermore, when the Shi'wano'kia in the story above suggested that sorcery might have been the source of the *pe'kwin's* poor guidance, numerous allegations from the populace supported this claim. This tells us that there was a concurrent social negotiation underlying the *pe'kwin's* responsibilities. When the Shi'wano'kia relieves the old *pe'kwin* of his duties and suggests a replacement, she is setting up a social dynamic that affects her people. Namely, if the drought that had begun in the time of the former *pe'kwin* were to continue, the people could still blame it on his ill practices. If, on the other hand, agricultural yield increased, then the new *pe'kwin* could be hailed as the reason for the renewed agricultural production. Either way, the psychological health of the community is maintained, either through a release of grievances—with the old *pe'kwin* as the scapegoat—or through the creation of a new focus for community optimism—the new *pe'kwin* who is seen as righting the course.

We must be careful, however, to note that this does not imply that the job of the *pe'kwin* was strictly political. If his calculations of the sun's movements were significantly in error, for example, the rain priests, who were also observing the sun's course, would not have supported his case. The point is that the *pe'kwin* was forced to intimately know his environment—physical, ecological, religious, and social—in order to maintain the livelihood of the pueblo.

A similar set of negotiations can be observed in the history of another indigenous polity—although this consisted of some 30,000 people and thrived some one thousand years earlier. At the Classic Maya city of Copán, during the seventh century CE, the twelfth ruler of the dynasty, or *ajaw,* found himself and his city at a moment of opportunity. Through alliances with its nearest neighbors, and likely profiting greatly from trade goods that passed from the south into the Mayan region, this city experienced a boom in prosperity. Undoubtedly this caused tensions among the local nobility, and the archaeological record provides us with a demonstration of Ruler 12's efforts to ameliorate the conflicts and generate a cohesion that would maintain the health of the polity in the face of rapid change. A quick review of these efforts demonstrates an overlap in cosmological conceptions between the Copánec and Zuni cases that will aid us in characterizing indigenous views of the universe.

During the middle of the Classic period, the twelfth *ajaw* had begun building up the monumental architecture of Copán systematically. He did not restrict his focus to the civic-ceremonial center, however, but also built monuments among the foothills framing the Copán Valley. These outlying monuments (known as stelae) were critical to maintaining order among the local nobility and populace.

The stelae themselves are unremarkable artistically relative to the far more elaborate monuments raised in the city center. They were carved with long hieroglyphic texts, but did not bear mythological iconography, or a royal portrait as did their counterparts. In fact, their placement was far more important than the textual message they carried. That is, the stelae had been raised in locations that would allow for a marking of the sun's transit along the horizon. In Copán the reasons for observing the sun's movements were different than they were in the Zuni pueblo mentioned above. The stelae did not mark the summer solstice; instead, stelae alignments pointed toward a more detailed integration of sky, earth, and Underworld mediated by Mayan calendrics (Aldana, 2002, pp. S29–S39).

To understand this point, we must first recall that each of the Mayan calendric components—the Long Count, the 365-day count, and the 260-day count—shared a basis in the number twenty. The Long Count tallied days according to accumulations of twenty-day periods; the 365-day year was comprised of 18 months of 20 days each (with one final period of 5 days); and the 260-day count was based on the relationship of 13 numbers to 20 day signs. Not surprisingly, then, the stelae at Copán were set up to observationally and mathematically partition the year into 20-day periods (Aldana, 2002, pp. S29–S39; Aveni, 1980, p. 243).

What made this more than a simple astronomical curiosity was that these monuments were set up in the foothills framing the Copán Valley, among the lands occupied by the commoners in Copánec society. Furthermore, the specific hillocks on which the stelae were placed appear to have held sacred associations for the various lineages that comprised Copán nobility (Proskouirakoff, 1973; Aldana and Fash, 2001). Given the explicit records of Ruler 12's forged alliances with nearby polities, and his need to manage a rapidly growing city, we may see a parallel between his position and that of the Zuni *pe'kwin*: both sought to meet the social and economic needs of their people through observing the activities of celestial deities and by mediating between these deities and the human world. Namely, the twelfth *ajaw* drew together the various noble clans of Copán by ritually connecting socially affiliated geographic regions through the movements of the sun. Because the sun was itself rhetorically tied to the legitimacy of Classic Mayan rulership, Ruler 12 was creating a cosmic metaphor: just as the sun set the order of the celestial realm, so would Ruler 12 set the order in the social realm.

Furthermore, the stelae were public and outside of the city center, making the observation of this celestial order available to all members of the polity. Here, then, the Copán *ajaw* was using astronomy to present a model of order to his polity in order to ameliorate the tensions that arose from economic change. The recurrent rise of the sun behind the stelae on prescribed days exemplified the order that ideally should govern the city of Copán.

In the case of the ancient Mayan city, we see the elaboration possible in a large polity, whereas the Zuni case shows us the intimacy of life in a smaller pueblo. Each case, however, reflects a specific example of a number of concurrent negotiations taking place in indigenous cosmological spaces. An orientalizing view of these native cultures might divide the Native American cosmos into realms whose separation had some physical meaning. We have seen here, however, that an indigenous view of the universe requires a different type of categorization. Rather than think of the sky, the earth, and the Underworld as three physical realms, we may now see them as three social realms, or three polities that require the same types of negotiations within and across them as do human polities. In the above cases, the sun played a particularly important role in the negotiation of what modern society would characterize as political and economic issues. In indigenous terms, we might better conceptualize the negotiation as one between the sky clan and the human clan, with the ruler/*pe'kwin* as the mediator. Cosmology thus becomes the description of personalities and of the relationships among them. In this context, the "laws of nature" can be seen as contracts among clans or lineages—contracts the leaders of communities are charged with maintaining under varying conditions.

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COSMOLOGY: SOUTH AMERICAN COSMOLOGIES

The complex spatial and temporal constructions of South American cosmologies, and the values associated with them, allow only the broadest of generalizations. Vertical structures of the universe vary widely in composition from three-layer arrangements to massive twenty-five layer compositions inhabited by a great variety of beings. In general, the upper worlds are associated with the creative and life-renewing forces of light, lightness, and liquids (river, lakes); the underworlds, associated with places of darkness, the netherworlds of the dead, and animal spirits; and this world, the center of the universe, associated with human life. Different kinds of space and places of being in the universe are systematically associated with one another so as to constitute a whole. Horizontal space highlights the center (or centers), associated with a wide variety of images (cosmic trees, mountains, waterfalls, ladders, vines) symbolizing communication between spatial planes; the periphery, or outer margin, which often expresses in inverted form key values of the center; and a variety of mediating elements, openings, and penetrations connecting inner and outer realms. The places where sacred beings first appear often become models for innumerable spatial constructs.

Such spatial constructions are intrinsically dynamic. For example, the Kogi (contemporary descendants of the ancient Chibchan-speaking Tairona of the Sierra Nevada area of Colombia) universe consists of nine different levels, from zenith to nadir, and is shaped like a spindle, centered on the all-important vertical axis. Like an immense whirling spindle, the universe weaves life from its male (central shaft) and female (whorl) elements, spinning the thread from which the universe's fabric is woven. The beam of sunlight which, during the year, is cast onto the floor of the Kogi temples is considered to be the pattern of life woven by the sun in the universe. A highly respected class of priests, the *mama*, during some eighteen years of training, learn the lore and practice necessary to maintaining *yuluka* (harmony or balance) in the universe as the "law of the mother." The essence of their task is to turn back the sun when it threatens to burn the world, or to avert rain when it threatens to flood it. The cardinal directions of the universe are associated with colors, emotions, animals, mythical beings, the ideal village-plan, the structure of the temple with its four ceremonial hearths, the four principal clans, and so on. The center of space is where the *mama* communicate with divinity.

South American cultures recognize multiple types and units of time independently of chronological history. Cosmic, meteorological, and sonic cycles, the seasonal ripening of fruits, the appearance of animal species, and so on, all represent different modes of time. Festival rounds, ordered in calendric cycles, maintain the order of the universe, reenacting the mythic events that created temporal order in the first place. In these rounds, distinct cycles of time are interwoven—solar and lunar, seasonal, flowering cycles, cycles of song and sounds, the human life cycle, and periodic manifestations of emotions and colors. Ritual music, above all, is the symbol of cosmic time, transforming spaces (dwellings, bodies, etc.) into dynamic containers of changing life. Ritual drunkenness, combat and noise, all prominent aspects in religious festivities, refer to temporal constructs rooted in the primordium and its demise.

One of the central motifs of cosmology among the indigenous peoples of the Upper Xingu of central Brazil is the difference between the original models of beings, present in the myths, and their later renewals. For example, it is customarily said that the original pequi tree produced much larger fruits, with abundant pulp and small seeds; and that the first flutes were aquatic spirits, but the one who discovered them hid them, making wooden imitations, which never could reproduce the potent voice of the original. The first human beings were carved out of wood by the demiurge, who also tried to bring them back to life; because he failed, irreversible death was then commemorated in the ceremony of the Kwarup, in which trunks of the same wood serve as symbols for the dead. The twins Sun and Moon, beyond being the modelers of the Indians of the upper Xingu, are also models for them, since the majority of their mythic adventures consists of the inaugural realization of practices that were later adopted by humans: wrestling, scarification, and shamanism.

Thus, myth is not only a collection of founding events that were lost in the dawn of time; myth constantly guides and justifies the present. The geography of the region is dotted with sites where mythic actions unfolded; the ceremonies are explained by the initiative of mythic beings; the world is peopled by immortal beings that go back to the origin of the world; and the creators of humanity still live in a specific place in the region. In short, myth exists as a temporal—but, above all, a conceptual—reference.

The primordial making of humans, according to upper Xingu mythology, was the work of a demiurge who gave life to wooden logs placed in a seclusion compartment by blowing tobacco smoke over them. Thus were created the first women, among whom was the mother of the twins, Sun and Moon, archetypes and authors of present-day humanity. In homage to this woman, the first festival of the dead was celebrated, which is the most important festival of the Upper Xingu and which thus consists of a reenactment of the primordial creation, at the same time it is the privileged moment for public presentation of the young women who have recently come out of puberty seclusion. Thus, it is a ritual that ties together death and life—the girls who come out of seclusion are like the first humans, mothers of men.

The first humans were thus made in a seclusion chamber. The wooden girls were transformed into people after being closed up in straw compartments similar to those that shelter adolescents in their parents' house. Echoing this myth of origin, the making of the person in the upper Xingu involves various periods of seclusion, all of which are conceived of as moments for making the body: the *couvade* (restrictions imposed on married couples with newborn children), puberty, sickness, shamanic initiation, and mourning. This making of the person is also a process of modeling the ideal personality, above all in the case of puberty seclusion, the most important of all seclusions.

A Transformational Universe. Two key notions for understanding South American cosmologies are transformation and perspective. Various ethnologists of Lowland South America, and also historians of religion, have noted the central importance of the notion of transformation for indigenous traditions. Peter Rivière, for example, in his article "AAE na Amazônia" (1995), discusses the notions of transformation as found in mythic narratives, cosmologies, and social practices. Human nature is seen as varied and complex, which is symbolically expressed through clothing, masks, and body ornaments, which are understood, in turn, as ways of domesticating an "animal" component, which is essential to human nature. Clothing and body decoration mediate between the interior self, society, and the cosmos. "The native peoples of Amazônia live in a highly transformational world, where appearances deceive" (p. 192).

In many creation myths—for example, those of the Mbyá-Guarani, Desána, Xavante—creation blooms from the thought, dream, or intention of the original divinity, but the very notion of "blooming" implies a transformation of something that already exists. Thus, creation is more of a self-transformation than a creation, as in the Christian tradition.

For example, in the Xavante traditions, the primordial beings, through their powers, transform themselves into the sun, moon, animals, and plants. They are able to do this because they possess the principles of manifestation of certain cosmological possibilities, which are contained in their ontological nature. The primordial beings conjugate in their own nature the duality of being and becoming, for they manifest phenomenal beings (the sun, moon, animals, etc.) from their own beings, but without losing their original nature.

Transformations were also critical for the introduction of periodicity, cyclicity, and differentiation in the universe. Many creation myths begin with the description of a prior condition of stasis, which, due to the actions of the primordial beings, comes to an abrupt end, a watershed moment that initiates change in the cosmos. In traditions of the Northwest Amazon, for example, night did not exist in the beginning; it was always day, and the routine of the creator was always the same until, one day, his wife advised him that her father was the owner of night and that night was a good thing. The creator sought night and ended up introducing night into the world. From that moment of rupture, two cycles were initiated, diurnal and nocturnal, each with its own order.

Native views of the world are also defined by what Viveiros de Castro (1996) has called *perspectivism.* According to this theory, the way in which humans see animals and other subjective entities that populate the universe—gods, spirits, the dead, inhabitants of other levels of the cosmos, meteorological phenomena, and at times even objects and artifacts—is profoundly different from the way in which these beings see them and see themselves. "Typically, humans see humans as humans, animals as animals and spirits as spirits; the animals (predators), however, and spirits see humans as animals (game), while game animals see humans as spirits or as predatory animals. Further, the animals and spirits see themselves as humans" (p. 117). This perspectivism has profound implications for the way in which indigenous peoples understand relatedness among the beings of the universe and its dynamics.

TRANSFORMATION AND METAMORPHOSIS IN THE LIFE CYCLE: THE KULINA. The Kulina are an Arawá-speaking people of the Amazon region in Brazil. Their cosmography defines spaces for the spirit beings, plants, human beings, and animals. This cosmography presupposes the existence of layers and, in each layer, places. The layers are basically: *meme* (sky), *nami* (earth), and *nami budi* (below the earth). There is also *dsamarini* (the place of the water) and two other differentiations of the sky that are infrequently mentioned.

Human beings, animals, and plants live on *nami*, the earth, while the spirits occupy the underworld, *nami budi.* The animals and game animals also live in *nami budi*, coming up to the earth to be hunted by the men. The shaman, when he drinks *rami* (ayahuasca) or through his dreams, makes contact with the world of *nami budi*, visiting the great subterranean villages where the spirits live or bringing the animals up to the surface, near the village. To do this, he transforms himself into an animal, given that the animals of *nami budi* are metamorphosed spirits.

For the Kulina, transformation refers to the process of modification of an animal into a person, while metamorphosis is the process of modification of a spirit into an animal. This cycle of transformations is based on a system of oppositions that can be synthesized in the following manner: spirit/metamorphosis; shaman/death; body/transformation; and newborn/game animal. According to the cycle, an undomesticated being, the newborn *nono*, represented by the forest (nature, male), is domesticated through the ingestion of foods produced in the gardens through female substances (maternal milk and saliva), and through learning and understanding the myths and music, until it becomes a social being. After passing through adult life, this social being—*maqquideje* or *jadahi*—has two ways in which he may return to nature, his origin: after death, when his spirit will go to *nami budi*, to the villages of his ancestors, being transformed into a game animal, or through the metamorphosis of the shaman into a wild animal (normally a peccary).

The shaman, assisted by his *tokorimé* (spirit, double, image, normally the peccary), goes to *nami budi*, the place of the dead, and, by identifying his animal *tokorimé* with that of the other spirits of the dead metamorphosed into peccaries, succeeds in bringing them to the surface, near the village, where they then will be, by indication of the shaman, hunted and later devoured. In the final cycle of transformations, the spirits are hunted and eaten by the living, which suggests a kind of endocannibalism, but this is necessary in order for the spirit of the dead to be incorporated once again into the system of reciprocity, which it abandoned abruptly upon dying. During this cycle, the physical undomesticated body goes in the direction of the village, the world of sociability. The other part, the spiritual domesticated part, goes in the direction of the forest, the savage undomesticated world. There is a relation between the physical body and the social world, as well as between the spiritual body and the world of nature, where the world of sociability is that of the living, while the wild world of the forest is related to the spirits, the dead. In this way, the spiritual domesticated body, in its highest degree, goes in the direction of the world of nature and returns as a physical wild body, through shamanic practices or death—the transformations of each occurring in the extremities of each place.

RITUAL RELATEDNESS AND TRANSFORMATION: THE ENAWENÊ NAWÊ. For the Enawenê Nawê, Arawak-speaking peoples of southwestern Brazil, rituals are associated with two categories of spirits: the Enore, spirits of the sky, and the Yakairiti, spirits that live underground, in the hills, and in generally inhospitable places. When an Enawenê Nawê gets sick, he attributes his misfortune to the Yakairiti spirits, whom he believes are upset with something and are threatening to take him to the other world. In the Yãkwa ritual, there is a generalized exchange between humans and the Yakairiti spirits, enacted by ritual groups involving all the village inhabitants. Everything is done with the intent of satisfying the desires of the Yakairiti, so that, on the one hand, they will have no reason to threaten life in the village and, on the other, to maintain the harmony of the world.

The Enawenê Nawê perform several rituals during the year: from January to July, the Yãkwa, and from July to September, the Lerohi (both dedicated to the Yakairiti); in October, the Salumã; and in November and December, every other year, the Kateokõ (dedicated to the Enore). The Yãkwa is the longest and most important of the Enawenê Nawê rituals. It begins with the harvest of the new corn and ends with the planting of the collective manioc (cassava) garden. Each of the nine Enawenê Nawê ritual groups—collectively known as Yãkwa (and which, in reality, are the Enawenê Nawê clans)—is associated with a specific group of Yakairiti spirits. The Enawenê Nawê believe that the Yakairiti spirits are likewise organized in groups and inhabit a specific part of their traditional territory.

To perform the Yãkwa, the groups divide into the Harikare (hosts) and the Yãkwa (clans). The Harikare (or hosts) are responsible for the organization of the ritual and have to fetch firewood, light the fires, and offer the food, while the others (the Yãkwa) sing and dance on the plaza together with the Yakairiti. For a two-year period, one of the ritual groups is the main host and is in charge of the garden, making vegetal salt (an offering to the Yakairiti), and organizing the ritual. At the beginning of the ritual, following mythical traditions, a group of men and boys leave the village for a two-month fishing expedition, during which they construct a dam and set fish traps. The Enawenê Nawê believe that large quantities of fish are provided by the Yakairiti in exchange for the vegetal salt they receive in the course of the ritual. On returning to the village, the men and boys dress and adorn themselves to represent (that is, transform into) the Yakairiti and, carrying the large quantities of fish, they enter the village, at which time there occurs a mock battle between the Harikare and the Yakairiti. After that, the Yãkwa and Yakairiti dance and play the flutes together. Each of the nine ritual groups plays instruments specific to the group. During the course of the ritual, it is as though the Yakairiti become humanized, thus dramatizing the relation of ambivalence and symbiosis that characterizes their coexistence with humans in the cosmos.

A VIOLENT UNIVERSE. In many native South American cosmologies, there exists a dialectical tension between dark and light consciousness, manifest as two historically opposed forces: witches, or predatory spirits that kill; and shaman prophets, or priests, with direct access to the sources of creation. Both are represented symbolically in mythical consciousness and both are necessary, the traditions seem to say, to the dynamics of cosmological and historical existence, illustrating the point that dark and light, predatory killing and curing, are complementary opposites rather than antagonistic possibilities of the cosmos. Thus, among the Carib-speaking peoples of the region of the Guianas and Orinoco, we find myth cycles that recount the story of creation as the struggle between two brothers whose deeds set the framework and conditions for human society and individual destiny. One is associated with darkness, evil, and the creation of plants and animals; the other with light, shamanism, and patronage to humanity. These mythic struggles set the stage for the unceasing warfare between *kanaimà* sorcerers ("dark shamans" who specialize in violent killings) and *piai* (light) shamans. Similar sorts of dialectical tensions between the benevolent and malevolent forces of the cosmos may be seen among the Warao of the Orinoco delta, the Baniwa of the Northwest Amazon, and among many Tupian groups.

For the Tupian Cinta Larga of the Juruena River region in Brazil, for example, the universe is seen through the prism of unity. The creation myth is a detailed account of how Gorá created human beings, members of different tribes who populate the region, and conferred on them specific identities and characteristics. Animals, birds, and other living beings were created through the transformation of human beings—some became jaguars, others tapirs, and so on, all through the work of Gorá. Gorá and other minor heroes of Cinta Larga mythology are responsible for all that is positive in the social and cultural universe. The counterpart of these beneficial acts of creation is a spirit called Pavu that inhabits the forest and incarnates the dark side of existence. Pavu wanders through the forest in search of victims and, as soon as it comes upon a solitary hunter or anyone passing through, it launches its mortal attack. No one can resist its power, and, from this encounter, victims get fever that is inevitably followed by death.

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ROBIN M. WRIGHT (2005)

COSMOLOGY: HINDU COSMOLOGY

Hindu tradition possesses one of the richest and most continually evolving cosmologies in the global culture. From the most ancient Indian religious compositions, the Vedas, to contemporary twenty-first-century Indian theories combining science and religion, time and space have been lavishly narrated and meticulously calculated. Moreover moral, social, and philosophical meanings underlie these cosmologies in compelling ways.

This article will focus on six major frames for Hindu cosmology: the Vedic, Upaniṣadic, epic, Purāṇic, non-Sanskritic, and contemporary scientific-philosophical. Although through the millennia Hindu thinkers have dramatically redrawn notions of time, space, and person, they also share a wealth of common imagery: the reciprocal effects between natural and human affairs, the central idea of a cycle, and the divisions of space into particular realms and spheres. Each new cosmology does not completely replace the old but stands alongside of it as yet another cosmological option.

VEDIC COSMOLOGY. The Vedas and Brāhmaṇas are texts that existed before the idea of "Hinduism" per se emerged as a world religion. Present scholarly consensus puts the earliest date of the Vedas at 1500 BCE, but there remains debate on the topic that might place the Vedas earlier. The Brāhmaṇas are placed around 900 BCE. These texts were almost entirely oral, guarded by the priestly Brahmanic tradition as the basic supporting texts of the sacrifice. The cosmology of the Vedas speaks of the cosmos as Father Sky (Dyaus Pitṛ) and Earth (Pṛthivī). In other texts the cosmos is divided into three realms: *bhūr* (earth), *bhuvaḥ* (air), and *svaḥ* (heaven). The sacrifice and not the gods is considered the source of time, space, and all things that make up the universe. The Agnicayana, or the building of the fire altar, as well as many other forms of sacrifice are viewed in the Brāhmaṇa texts as symbolic reconstructions of the cosmos. Moreover the right placement of sacrificial implements and correct chanting of *mantras* allows the unimpeded turning of the year, the months, and the seasons as well as the correct placement of the three realms. At times cosmological thinking is so present and deeply assumed in Vedic texts that the "earthly realm" (as opposed to the other realms) is simply referred to as *iha,* "here."

VEDIC SPACE. Following from above, the basic form of cosmological space is the sacrificial arena. However, many of the Vedic gods, such as Agni, the fire god, have three different forms corresponding to the three Vedic realms. These "realms" are not only spatial but can also be described as mental states of mind: *loka,* or world, in its earliest meanings, can mean the "freedom to exist unimpeded" or "expansiveness" as much as it can mean a physical location. Yet these three realms are not the only form of imagined space: at death, the Vedic funeral hymns assert, the various elements within a person are scattered to various parts of the natural world. Alternatively the person can go to the realm of Yama, the overlord of the dead.

VEDIC TIME. The sacrificial world understood time as a kind of simple cycle in which the year, the months, and the day are products of the work of the sacrifice. The passing of time is also homologized with death, and in later periods both death and the year were created by Prajāpati, the "Lord of Creatures," who also gave instructions about the correct procedures of the sacrifice. If one sacrificed well and long enough, one attained status oneself as an ancestor deity to be propitiated by other living sacrificers on earth. Therefore once one attained this status, the Vedic texts express a wish to avoid a "re-death." In addition Vedic texts show a high awareness of the motion and rhythm of the sun, moon, and stars and imagine them in a variety of colorful ways: the sun as a horse crossing the sky in a chariot, night and the dawn as rivalrous sisters, and so on. There is evidence that astronomical knowledge, such as the marking of the lunar asterisms, might well have been fairly advanced, even at this early stage of known religious history.

VEDIC PERSON AND MORALITY. In one famous Vedic hymn (*Ṛgveda* 10:90), which proved to be influential in a number of later Hindu schools of thought, the universe itself is understood as a cosmic person (Puruṣa). This Puruṣa is sacrificed in a primordial ritual procedure, and from parts of his body emerge the various creatures of the earth, elements of time and space, elements of the sacrifice, and most importantly categories of the social world, called *varṇa.* These four *varṇa*s (brahmin priest; *kṣatriya* warrior; *vaiśya* agriculturalist or trader; and *śūdra* servant) become the basis of social organization expressed in later legal and religious texts. The model earthly Vedic person is one who studies the Vedas, sacrifices, and tends to the sacrificial fires and therefore becomes ritually and morally responsible for the cosmos.

And yet such a person is also a seeker. *Ṛgveda* 10:90 ends with a philosophical paradox: "with the sacrifice the gods sacrificed to the sacrifice." This enigma also sets the tone for much of Vedic cosmology: acceptance of multiple versions of creation; Vedic cosmology is questioning and searching, not doctrinal or creedal in nature. One of the most famous cosmological hymns, the Nasadīya hymn (*Ṛgveda* 10:129), speaks of the world beginning from nothingness, where "the One breathed, windless," and then coming into existence through the power of heat. Desire is the primal seed, and the sages create by stretching a cord across the void. Yet even this spare, poetic cosmology ends with a query:

> Who really knows? Who will here proclaim it? Whence was it produced? Whence is this creation? The gods came afterwards, with the creation of the universe. Who then knows whence it has arisen? . . . perhaps it formed itself, or perhaps it did not—the one who looks down on it, in the highest heaven, only he knows perhaps he does not know. (O'Flaherty, 1981, pp. 25–26)

UPANIṢADIC COSMOLOGY. While the activity of sacrifice is still presumed in the period of composition of the Upaniṣadic texts, the object of sacrificial knowledge is no longer the actual procedures of the sacrifice or the gods per se but a new force called *brahman. Brahman* is thought of as the power behind the sacrifice, and as the Upaniṣadic thought developed, it was described as the power behind every living thing and every element in the universe. *Brahman* is "the Whole" (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 2:5) and transcends even the gods. It also exists beyond all known things in this world, and yet is also present within them as well. It is set apart from beings and yet dwelling within beings at the same time. This basic identification between the selves of beings and *brahman* leads to the famous Upaniṣadic equation that the self *(ātman)* is the same as the power behind the universe *(brahman).* As the sage Yājñavalkya puts it, "The self within all is this self of yours." The larger *brahman* is also spoken of as the *ātman* or "self" of the universe, thus giving rise to the poetic nineteenth-century translation "the World-Soul."

The earliest Upaniṣads probably originated around 600 to 500 BCE and were composed in prose. They shared a common focus on many topics, such as the nature of *brahman,* the nature of sacrificial speech and the verses, the various forms of breath, and the homologization of parts of the body to the powers in the universe. The teaching of the five fires as the essence of the major parts of the cosmos (e.g., fire as man, woman, and the three worlds) is especially distinctive in these early prose compositions. The later Upaniṣads are composed in verse and develop the theme of *brahman* into a theistic rather than monistic conception. They also focus on the idea of liberation through meditation. Both are themes common in later Purāṇic cosmologies.

UPANIṢADIC SPACE. Many of the Upaniṣads continue the idea of the three worlds in the Vedas but add to this cosmology an inner, more existential meaning. When the student Aśvala asks how many oblations there will be, the sage Yājñavalkya responds that each oblation has its own modality and is therefore connected to the specific world that shares that modality. The oblations that flare will win the world of the gods, for the world shines that way. The oblations that overflow *(atinedante)* will go to the world of the ancestors, for that world is "over above" *(ati).* The oblations that lie down *(adhiśerate)* will go to this human world, for that world is here below *(adha).*

This imagery continues a basic cosmology that one sees in earlier Vedic texts of the worlds of the gods, the fathers, and the ancestors. However, it attributes, through etymologies, different modes of being to each of the offerings and each of worlds. In other passages the three-fold world is described in a progression of size from one to sixty-four, a numerology that is recurrent in many later cosmological texts. Finally, in other passages the three levels *(bhūr, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ)* of the Vedic world are expanded into seven realms, many of the additional realms again connoting "modes of being": *mahas, janas, tapas* (meditative heat), and *satyam* (truth).

The second kind of Upaniṣadic space is the body itself. Each of the basic sacrificial procedures, present from the earliest Vedic ritual texts, becomes homologized with the individual breathing body as well as the world itself. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and other Upaniṣads the sacrificial fires are seen as part of the inner workings of the body; the role of the Adhvaryu priest is identified with their eyes and the process of sight itself, and this sight can see the nature of the whole world (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 3:1:5). In other passages it is not only the cosmology of the sacrifice that is given to the body but also the cosmology of the entire world and its topography. For instance, rivers of the world are identified as the rivers contained within the body (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 1:1:1; *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* 1:4:5), the eye of the world is also the sight of the body (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 1:7:4), and so on.

The third kind of Upaniṣadic space is that of *brahman* itself. *Brahman* is also spoken of as a formulation of truth—a truth that is to be attained by wise men and women who have practiced meditation and focused on the forest teachings for a long time. *Brahman* is the highest object of the teachings on hidden connections—an object rooted in austerity and the knowledge of the self (*Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* 1:9). The imagery here is not simply that of a truth to be attained but of an abode in its own right, where the sun never sets nor rises (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 3:11). Similarly other Upaniṣads also describe *brahman* as a stainless realm (*Praśna Upaniṣad* 1.16) in its own right—a world of unending peace, an ancient formulation that is heard in the heavenly abodes.

UPANIṢADIC TIME: THE CYCLE OF BIRTH AND DEATH. One sees emerging in the Upaniṣads a theory of death and birth that is strikingly different than the Vedic sacrificial fear of "re-death" *(punarmṛtyu).* The Upaniṣads contain the earliest records of what has been called *saṃsāra,* or the endless cycle of birth and death, as well as *mokṣa,* or the path that leads away from *saṃsāra.* The story of Jabālā is instructive on this point (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 3:4:1–4). Jabālā is ashamed that his native learning, gleaned at his father's knee, is not sufficient in the court to which he travels. He must learn an entirely new set of metaphors, in which each aspect of life (man, woman, semen, food) is said to be identical with the sacrificial fire. While such matters are not unusual for many sections of the Upaniṣads, the subsequent section is startlingly new. Those whose conduct is good but who choose to offer sacrifices in the village will go on the path of the moon and be reborn accordingly. Those who choose the path of the forest and the knowledge of *brahman* will go on the path of the sun and leave this life altogether. And those whose conduct is reprehensible will be reborn into a lesser, probably repugnant womb. In other accounts the two paths are described as the path of the gods *(devayāna)* and the path of the father *(pitryāna).*

Upaniṣadic Person and Morality. Despite their variations, the Upaniṣads all share the concept of a cycle of infinitely recurring births and deaths in which the nature of a rebirth depends upon a person's actions in life. The only way to escape this cycle of time is through knowledge of *brahman,* the infinite, which can be gained through slow and painstaking mastery of meditation under the guidance of a teacher. Each Upaniṣad had a different method for teaching this knowledge, but all used the basic imageries of the sacrifice to show the ways in which bodily processes and processes of awareness allowed the student to conceive of the sacrifice as going on inside his body. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 3:1:8–10, Aśvala the *hotṛ* (a priest trained in sacrifice and sacrificial recitation), asks Yājñavalkya the teacher about how many deities will be used by the Brāhmaṇ priest to protect the sacrifice that day. He answers, "One, the mind." Yajñavalkya argues that this is possible because the mind is without limit, the all-gods are without limit, and the world one gains by it is also limitless. Thus the deities become identified with mind itself—and by implication the Brāhmaṇ priest, the controller of the sacrifice, can earn his authority through the machinations of his own mind. Finally, in discussing the hymns that are used in the sacrifice, Aśvala asks what these hymns are with respect to the "self-body" *(ātman).* Yājñavalkya replies that the hymn recited before the sacrifice is the out-breath, the hymn that accompanies the sacrifice the in-breath, and the hymn of praise the inter-breath.

The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* puts the relationship between self, body, and cosmos eloquently: "This self is the honey of all beings, and all beings are the honey of this self. The radiant and immortal person in the self and the radiant and immortal person connected with the body [here, also referred to as *ātman*]—they are both one's self. It is the immortal; it is Brahman, it is the Whole" (2:5:9).

Epic Cosmology. The two great Indian epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata,* were probably composed between 200 BCE and 200 CE. Both of these narratives act as a kind of bridge between the worlds of the Vedas and the Upaniṣads and that of classical, Purāṇic Hinduism. This same period saw the development of the early Śāstras or legal texts, which also contain cosmological information. The cosmology of the epics and the early Śāstras incorporates an increasing systematization of the idea of samsaric time for the individual and expands the idea of the universe into one that dissolves and regenerates. Epic cosmology also incorporates the ideas of Sāṃkhya and Yoga philosophy, such as the "qualities," or *guṇa*s, that are inherent in all beings and elements in the universe. Such a cosmology involves an entirely new pantheon of gods, the triad of Viṣṇu, Śiva, and Brahmā, and the Devī, or goddess. These gods were probably part of the popular religious worlds of North India, even during the period of Vedic sacrificial practice. However, as sacrificial practice waned and the patronage of temples increased, these gods emerged as the larger, cosmological deities in their own right. Devotion *(bhakti)* toward these deities is also an emerging theme in the epics, in which the deity is seen as the creator and sustainer of the universe. The body of the deity is the frame of the cosmos, and time (also an agent of the deity) moves beings toward their final state.

At the basis of these ideas is an early Hindu philosophy called Sāṃkhya, which means "counting." In the sense that its aim is to enumerate everything in the universe, it could also be called a cosmology. According to Sāṃkhya, the universe evolves from a feminine "natural matter" and becomes entangled with the masculine *puruṣa,* which is an individual soul (and not to be confused with the earlier "cosmic person"). Thus in these entanglements twenty-four "evolutes" emerge, including the senses and the elements. Sāṃkhya is the basis of the practice of Yoga, whereby the yogin gradually extricates the soul from the evolutes of *prakṛti.* After eight stages, the soul realizes its eternal nature and is no longer subject to the laws of action *(karma)* or transmigration *(saṃsāra).* Time, however, is not an agent in itself. Sāṃkhya's ordering of the universe of *prakṛti* is generally not hierarchical, although one text—the *Yoga Bhāṣya*—sees the lower evolutes of *prakṛti* as the hells and the higher ones as the heavens. The extrication of the soul from *prakṛti* in the practice of Yoga is seen as the soul's movement toward the higher realms, and when it leaves the world altogether, it also dissolves it. On a smaller cosmological scale, Sāṃkhya Yoga philosophy contributes the basic idea that there are universal qualities or *"guṇas"* inherent in every element on earth. These *guṇas* are *sattva* (truth, light); *rajas* (passion, force) and *tamas* (weight, darkness) are inherent in every particle of the universe.

Epic Space. The epics and Dharmaśāstras and related texts of this period give an idea of how those heavens and netherworlds might be inhabited. In the *Mahābhārata,* Arjuna visits Śiva and obtains a weapon from him in one of his heavenly abodes; so too the gods dwelling in heaven remind Rāma of his duty toward his wife at the end of the *Rāmāyaṇa.* The great *Mahābhārata* heroes, the Paṇḍava brothers, also make ascents and descents to heaven and hell at the end of the great battle. Most importantly it is during this transitional period that one sees the intimation that the land of Bhārata is to be identified with Indian civilization and the entirety of the earth.

Epic Time. The *Bhiṣmaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (4–12) contains an entire depiction of the cosmos, which involves the beginnings of the devotional, or *bhakti,* tradition. So too the *Śantiparvan* introduces the idea of the division of time into *kalpas* and *yugas,* as does the *Manu Smṛti,* one of the more well-known legal Dharmaśāstric texts developed during this time. The epic texts also introduce explicit teachings on the doctrine of the *avatāras,* or "descents" of god. These *avatāras* appear at various points when time has lost its power to fight the demons and to restore the *dharma,* or moral order, of the universe. As early as the great *Bhagavadgītā,* or "Song of the Lord," contained in the *Mahābhārata,* Kṛṣṇa apparently refers to the notion of time and to the integration of the idea of the *avatāra* with that of the descending ages, or *yugas.* As Kṛṣṇa puts it:

> Son of Bhārata, whenever there is a decline in *dharma,* and the absence of *dharma* increases, I create Myself. I come into being from age to age with the purpose of fixing *dharma*—as a refuge for those who do good and as a doom for those who do wrong. (4:7–8; in Patton, 2005)

EPIC PERSON AND MORALITY. Kṛṣṇa's words lead directly to a new understanding of the relationship between cosmology and the morality of the human world. That relationship is conceived of in terms of *dharma* (sacred role or duty). Kṛṣṇa is beyond time and space and yet at the same time incarnates himself in order to make sure that *dharma* is in the correct order and format. The cosmos is perceived as directly responsive to any change in the correct pattern of *dharma.* So too the reverse is the case: as one of the Dharmaśāstras argues, if one follows the *dharma* of hospitality toward a brahmin guest, one can gain various heavens depending upon the number of days the guest stays in one's home. Entertaining a brahmin guest forever allows one to attain *svargaloka.*

PURĀṆIC COSMOLOGY. The medieval Hindu texts called Purāṇas ("of the ancient times") contain Hindu cosmology at its most exuberant and efflorescent. Emerging during the early first millennium CE as a genre in their own right, Purāṇas were sponsored by each temple or kingdom and usually focused on a particular deity, which gave its own account of the world and its destruction. In the Purāṇas, the basic themes introduced in the epics and the Śāstras are elaborated upon imagistically, poetically, and mathematically. Moreover the theme of *bhakti,* or devotion, which was dramatically introduced in the epics and Yoga texts, becomes paramount.

PURĀṆIC SPACE. Many Purāṇas, including the relatively early *Viṣṇu Purāṇa,* describe a flat disk of earth, which is itself composed of a series of circles. These are in fact seven concentric islands that keep doubling in size as one moves outward. (The first is an actual circle, and the concentric islands are ring-shaped.) The islands are separated from each other by a series of oceans, each of which has the width of the island it encircles. The center-most island is the most well known and is called Jambudvīpa (Rose Apple Island). And at the center of the world, the golden mountain called Meru anchors the entire arrangement. Meru is unusual in that it is an inversion of the usual mountains and points downward. Jambudvīpa is further divided into nine *varṣa*s, or regions, that consist of mountain ranges. The lines are latitudinal, running from east to west.

The region of Jambudvīpa that is the farthest north is called Uttarakuru and may well be Kurukṣetra, where the central battle of the *Mahābhārata* took place. Moving southward, one encounters the other *varṣas:* Hiranmaya, Ramyaka, Ketumāla, Ilavṛta, Bhadrāśya, Harivarṣa, Kiṃpuruṣa, and Bhārata. The final region, Bhārata, is assumed by many scholars to be India, as this is the same name for India in the twenty-first century. In the Purāṇic cosmograph, however, it is a *karmabhūmi,* or realm where the laws of *karma* apply. As such one can only attain *mokṣa*, or liberation from these laws, in this region. Bhārata is also the only place on earth where rain falls. Bhārata itself is divided into nine sections. Moreover the celestial river Ganges also divides into seven branches—the traditional seven rivers found in ancient Vedic texts.

The full series of seven islands then begins with Jambudvīpa, whose diameter is 100,000 *yojana*s. Jambudvīpa forms an actual circle with a radius of fifty thousand *yojana*s. (A *yojana* is a word that occurs as early as the *Ṛgveda;* it has been variously measured as two, four, five, or nine English miles, although it also has an etymological link to Yoga and *yuga* that makes its connotations metaphysical.) The rest of the ring-shaped islands are named as follows: Plakṣadvīpa, Sālmaladvīpa, Kuśadvīpa, Krauṇcadvīpa, Śākadvīpa, and Puṣkaradvīpa. All the islands are named after some species of the trees and plants that grow on them. Each concentric ring island is double the width of the previous one, so that the outermost, Puṣkaradvīpa, ends up with a width of 6.4 million *yojana*s. Finally, just as Jambudvīpa is divided into nine *varṣa*s, or regions, of mountain ranges, so too each of the five inner ring-shaped islands also is divided into seven mountain-range *varṣa*s. The outer most island, Puṣkaradvīpa, is delineated by a ring of mountains called Mānassottara.

The oceans that separate the ring islands from one another have the same width as the diameter they surround, with the same expansion of measurement up to 6.4 million for the last ocean. Their names are drawn from the substance of the oceans themselves: Lavaṇoda (Salt Ocean), Ikṣura (Molasses Ocean), Suroda (Wine Ocean), Ghṛtoda (Ghee Ocean), Dadhyoda (Curd Ocean), Kṣīroda (Milk Ocean), and Svādūdaka (Freshwater Ocean). The Freshwater Ocean flows beyond the last ring island, Puṣkaradvīpa, and separates it from the end of the universe *(lokasaṃsthiti).* The realm at the end of the universe is a golden realm that divides the world from the nonworld, similarly to the way in which being and nonbeing are distinguished even in the earliest Vedic cosmologies. The golden realm also has a mountain, Lokakāloka (World and non-World). After this mountain is a region of perpetual darkness, where, the texts seem to suggest, only the elements of earth, wind, air, and fire exist. After that realm is the shell of the egg of Brahmā, which envelopes the universe in its entirety. The entire diameter of this universe is said to be 500 million *yojana*s.

What of the stars and other heavenly bodies? The stars move around Mount Meru in a circular direction, with the

North Star *(dhruva)* as their pivot. Below them lies the flat disk of the earth. The sun, moon, and planets move about in chariots drawn by horses, as was the case even in the earliest Vedic texts. They are attached to the North Star by bands of air that allow them to travel in their proper orbits.

The Hindu cosmograph, with its conical center, Mount Meru, and the chariot of the sun and disk of stars circulating above the disk of concentric islands and oceans may be based on a projection of the celestial sphere onto a flat surface. In such an analysis the circle of the sun is the mythographic expression of the circle of the ecliptic. Mount Meru represents the projection of the celestial Tropic of Cancer, while the Mānassottara Mountain represents the projection of the Tropic of Capricorn. The prominence of the North Star, the conspicuous absence of the south polar star, and the stories about the exile of Agastya (Canopus) to the Southern Hemisphere to preserve the cosmograph all support the idea that the Hindu cosmograph is a northern, planispheric projection of the sort used to construct such instruments as the astrolabe.

As for a vertical cosmology, there are seven worlds with the same names as those of the Upaniṣads, although the Purāṇas make considerable elaboration on these. The *bhūrloka* contains the cosmograph of the seven islands outlined above, with Bhārata as the only land where the law of *karma* applies and liberation is possible. Most significantly, there are seven Pātalas, or netherworlds: Atala, Vitala, Nitala, Gabhastimat, Mahātala, Sutala, and Pātala. Below these are twenty-eight hell realms.

The *bhuvaṣḥ,* or intermediate realm, is the realm of the sun, which moves through its annual course in its chariot. Above this is the *svarloka,* which contains, in ascending order, the moon; its twenty-seven or twenty-eight Nakṣatras, or houses of the moon; Mercury (Buddha); Venus (Śukra); Mars (Angārika); Jupiter (Bṛhaspati); Saturn (Śani); and the Seven Ṛṣis (the Great Bear) and Dhruva (the North star, mentioned above).

The three basic realms of *bhur, bhuvaḥ,* and *svaḥ* are described as *kṛtika*—meaning they are "created" worlds and therefore transitory. They are the regions where consequences are experienced and renewed with every *kalpa.* In these three realms the fruits of *karma* that are acquired in Bhārata manifest themselves, and souls are reborn to enjoy these fruits. These are the enjoyment realms *(bhogabhūmi)* as opposed to the *karmabhūmi* of Bhārata. Above the *svarloka* is the realm of *mahas,* which is considered a mixed realm because it is a deserted by beings at the end of *kalpa* but is not destroyed. Finally, the three highest realms—*janas, tapas,* and *satyam*—are described as *akṛittika:* that which is uncreated. They perish only at the end of the life of Brahmā.

PURĀṆIC TIME. The Purāṇas divide time into such components as *yugas,* as four age cycles, and *kalpa*s, which are a day and a night of Brahmā. The Purāṇas provide a very thorough analysis of these components. Together with doctrines concerning the various destructions *(pralayas),* they are the glue that holds this cosmology together and provides it with a coherent drama of salvation. Indeed *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* asserts it is not space but time that constitutes the body of the deity.

Hindu divisions of time are as follows. Fifteen "twinklings of the eye" make a *kāṣṭhās,* or one *kalā;* and thirty *kalās* equal one *muhūrtta.* Thirty *muhūrttas* constitute a day and a night of mortals; thirty such days make a month, which is divided into two halves (waxing and waning). Six months form an *ayana,* and two *ayanas* compose a year.

The southern *ayana* is a night and the northern a day of the gods. Twelve thousand divine years, each comprising 360 such days, constitute the period of the *yugas (caturyuga).* The *kṛtayuga* consists of four thousand divine years, the *tretāyuga* of three thousand, the *dvāparayuga* of two thousand, and the *kaliyuga* of one thousand. The period that precedes a *yuga* is called a *sandhyā;* it lasts for as many hundred years as there are thousands in the *yuga.* The *sandhyānsa,* at the end of the *yuga,* is of similar duration. Together the four *yugas* constitute a *kalpa.* A thousand *kalpas* is a day of Brahmā, and fourteen Manus, or descendants of man, reign during that time period, which is known as Manvantara. At the end of a day of Brahmā, the universe is consumed by fire, and its dissolution occurs. Brahmā then sleeps for a night of equal duration. Three hundred and sixty such days and nights constitute a year of Brahmā, and one hundred such years equal his entire life *(mahākalpa).* One *parārddha,* or half his life, has expired.

The various *pralayas* epitomize the agency of time by moving the soul—and the universe—from its current state to its eventual salvation. The Purāṇas distinguish four types of dissolution, or *pralaya,* each reversing the process of creation at different levels. These include:

1. *Nitya pralaya,* or physical death of the individual caught in the cycle of transmigration;
2. *Ātyantika pralaya,* or spiritual liberation *(mokṣa)*;
3. *Prākṛta pralaya,* or dissolution of the elements at the end of the life of Brahmā;
4. *Naimittika pralaya,* or occasional dissolution associated with the cycles of *yugas* and descents of *avatāras.*

Yet calculations of time also had a meditative quality: the contemplation of infinity, or the largest number next to infinity, was meant to be close to a vision of God. The *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* tells the well-known story of the dialogue between Viṣṇu and Indra. In the form of a young boy, Viṣṇu tells Indra that a parade of ants crawling on the earth have all had lives as Indras—each ruling over their own solar systems in different ages.

PURĀṆIC PERSON AND MORALITY. In the Purāṇic texts, the four *yugas* progress as a kind of inevitable decay in the moral quality of the universe. The *Kūrma Purāṇa* (1:27, 16–57; 28:1–7) states it elaborately. The text describes the meditational bliss, lack of self interest, and natural habitat of human beings in the first *yuga, kṛtayuga;* the arising of pleasure and greed in the *tretāyuga;* the lack of firm resolve and the introduction of war, death, and suffering in the *dvāparayuga;* and the rampant hunger, fear, and inversion of social order in the final present age of the *kaliyuga.* Happiness, beauty, homes in the forest, and food dropping from trees gradually give way to the moral decay of the world and then to the development of practices aimed at liberation from such decay.

The *kaliyuga* is considered the worst of the four *yugas*—the moment right before the final destruction and renewal of the universe. The Purāṇas and many contemporary Hindu thinkers understand the present to be the *kaliyuga.* The decadence, greed, and confusion of social categories is both inevitable and part of the turning of the cycles of time, and yet the Purāṇas and other Hindu texts exhort each individual to be the moral exception in this period of decay.

NON-SANSKRITIC COSMOLOGIES. It is important to note, however, that the extended discussion of cosmology above is based mainly on the Sanskrit textual tradition and that there are many important cosmologies within Hinduism that may depart from these basic ideas in significant ways. In South India, for example, Tamil, Telugu, and Karnatak traditions have developed complex and sophisticated classical cosmologies of their own. Such texts focus on the meaning of the temple and the city surrounding it as a center and origin of the world and on a regional deity as its creator. The temple spires and surrounding tanks frequently function in ways similar to, and are sometimes even compared with, Mount Meru and its surrounding islands in the Sanskrit texts. So too South Indian texts describe deities like Murukaṉ (Murugan) residing in these temples as if they were a kind of paradise created at the beginning of the world. At a village level, guardian deities of ponds, wells, and the intersections of roads are also credited with cosmological powers and roles in creation.

Finally, the *ādivasis,* or "tribal" communities of India, such as the Muṇḍa, Santal, and others, also possess unique cosmologies, some of which incorporate Hindu deities such as Rāma, others of which involve completely separate deities who have created and preside over the natural world and look after the welfare of human beings. Many tribal cosmologies incorporate narratives of the victory of good over evil. The Muṇḍa, for example, tell the story of Singbonga, who tried to stop the iron smelters from working as it was causing pollution in the universe. When they refused, he had to destroy them in order to keep the world safe. So too the Kokna, Bhil, and Varli peoples understand that before humans the world was filled with *rakṣasas,* or demons; Rāma and Sītā then passed through the area, killed the demons, and gave birth to humans.

SCIENCE AND COSMOLOGY. Any discussion of Hindu cosmology would be empty without a discussion of astronomy and related sciences. As mentioned previously, the astronomical sciences appear as early as the Vedic period in the form of Jyotiṣḥśāstra, or "the science of light." Though there is considerable debate as to the range and nature of astronomical knowledge, it is known that the lunar mansions are mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas and that the Hindu science of calculation began with the cosmological Vedic altars and developed into the elaborate calculations of the *yugas, kalpas,* and *mahākalpas* in the Purāṇas. Jyotiṣḥśāstra encouraged thinkers to assign dates to the grand conjunctions of the middle planets at Aries, and the date February 18 (or 19) of 3101 (or 3102) BCE is frequently cited as marking the beginning of the *kaliyuga.* One astronomical text, in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (2:166–174), is the earliest of this genre and is the basis of the *Brahmāpakṣa.* Together with the *Aryapakṣa* and the *Ardharatrikapakṣa,* these three texts form the canonical schools of Hindu astronomy.

The great astronomer-sage Āryabhaṭa (fifth–sixth centuries CE) calculated the rotations of the earth and the sun in terms of the *yugas.* His treatises *(siddhantas)* sketch his mathematical, planetary, and cosmic theories and include a sine table, astronomical computations, divisions of time, and rules for computation for eclipses as well as the longitude of planets. Among the other theorists, Varāhamihira (sixth century CE), Brahmagupta (seventh century CE), Bhāskara (twelfth century CE), and Mādhava (fourteenth century CE) all gave calculational and astronomical theories that contributed to overall ideas about the universe, such as the rotational powers of the planets and the centrality of the sun.

Indeed by the time of Bhāskara (c. twelfth century CE) the old Purāṇic cosmology was being questioned with the construction of a different model of the solar system. In the debates one can detect a conflict between the Purāṇic cosmology and the cosmology of the Jyotiṣas. There are some discussions that remind one of the contemporary cosmological debate between creationism and the Big Bang. For instance, the astronomical writers asked: If, as some of the Purāṇas state, a tortoise is holding up the earth, then what being or substance might be supporting that tortoise? Or if one is assuming the gigantic height of Mount Meru and a flat, disk-like earth, then would not one be able to see Mount Meru from every point on the disk of the earth?

Around 1200 CE al-Bīrūnī, an Arab astronomer and translator, noted the debates and problems of Purāṇic cosmology that were present in the discussions of Indian astronomers. Relatedly it is clear that there was a great deal of scientific collaboration between Hindus and Muslims in Mughal India, especially in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Jaipur, where the appropriate description of the cosmos was argued out at great length.

Finally, in the contemporary period various more and less controversial attempts have been made to correlate scientific advances with Hindu cosmology. In the more controversial cases textual exegetes argue about whether it is appropriate to view certain descriptions of "vehicles" in the epics as referring to space travelers or whether the ancient word *yojana,* mentioned above, refers to the speed of light. In a more speculative and less controversial vein Yoga theorists draw parallels between the theory of the three *guṇas* and James C. Maxwell's theories of electromagnetism; between the relation of space and time in Sāṃkhya theory and the theory of relativity; between the idea of the cosmic egg and the theory of curved space in the general theory of relativity; and so on.

Many contemporary philosophers and historians, such as S. Radhakrishnan, B. K. Motilal, A. N. Balslev, and W. R. Kloetzli, have written of the parallels (not equivalencies) between scientific and Hindu philosophical thinking. The Hindu philosophical school of Nyāya Vaiśeṣika and its views on the atom's role in the universe is one particularly salient example. Finally, the cosmological writings of astrophysicist Jayant Viṣṇu Narlikar land more squarely in the world of physical science and cosmology. Considered a leading expert and defender of the steady state cosmology against the more popular Big Bang cosmology, Narlikar has also drawn some intriguing parallels with Hindu mythology—not in order to "prove" the existence of scientific knowledge in ancient texts but rather to show the power of the cosmological imagination in both science and mythology. Many of the cosmological myths referred to above, involving expansion and contraction, the in-breathing and out-breathing of Brahmā, and so on, seem to involve metaphors of a "steady state" similar to Narlikar's physical and mathematical arguments in scientific cosmology.

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Epic and Purāṇic Cosmologies

John E. Michiner's *Traditions of the Seven Ṛṣis* (Delhi, 1981) gives an excellent overview of the various cycles of time in the Vedas, the epics, and the Purāṇas, especially the Ages of Manu and the role of the Vedic sages in creating and maintaining the cosmos. Also addressing both epic and Purāṇic understandings of time is R. K. Dwivedi's "A Critical Study of the Changing Social Order at Yuganta; or, the End of the Kali Age," in *D. D. Kosambi Commemoration Volume,* edited by Lallanji Gopal, Jai Prakash Singh, and Nisar Ahmad (Varanasi, India, 1977), pp. 276–297. Wendell C. Beane's "Cosmological Structure of Mythical Time: Kālī-Sakti," *History of Religions* 13 (1973): 54–83, connects these time cycles with the goddess concept of *shakti*. Tracy Pintchman builds on these insights in "Gender Complementarity and Gender Hierarchy in Purānic Accounts of Creation," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 66 (1998): 257–282. For conceptions of place, Ian W. Mabbett's "The Symbolism of Mount Meru," *History of Religions* 23 (1983): 64–83, is a good introduction to the issues at stake, as is Adalbert J. Gail's "Die neun Abschnitte Bhāratavarsas: Eine textgeschichtliche Untersuchung," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde südasiens und Archiv für indische Philosophie* 17 (1973): 5–20. To see all of these cosmological traditions tied together into a philosophical point of view, one might read Alfred Collins's "From Brahma to a Blade of Grass: Towards an Indian Self Psychology," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 19 (1991): 143–189. For more local Purāṇas and their cosmologies, see Don Handelman's "Myths of Murugan: Asymmetry and Hierarchy in a South Indian Puranic Cosmology," *History of Religions* 27 (1987): 133–170; William L. Smith's "The Celestial Village: The Divine Order in Bengali Myth," *Temenos* 18 (1982): 69–81; and David C. Scott's "Radha in the Erotic Play of the Universe," *Asia Journal of Theology* 12, no. 2 (1998): 338–357.

No discussion of Purāṇic cosmology would be complete without a discussion of the related medieval tradition of Tantric cosmology. Most scholarly works concentrate on Śaivite (Shaivite) traditions, as do S. Arulsamy's "Spiritual Journey in Shaiva Siddhanta," *Journal of Dharma* 11, no. 1 (1986): 37–61; Gavin D. Flood's "Shared Realities and Symbolic Forms in Kashmir Shaivism," *Numen* 36 (1989): 225–247; and Paul E. Muller-Ortega's "Aspects of Jīvanmukti in the Tantric Shaivism of Kashmir," in *Living Liberation in Hindu Thought,* edited by Andrew O. Fort and Patricia Y. Mumme (Albany, N.Y., 1996), pp. 187–217. Glen Alexander Hayes turns to cosmological Tantra in Bengal in his "Cosmic Substance in the Vaisnava Sahajiyā Traditions of Medieval Bengal," *Journal of Vaisnava Studies* 5 (1996): 183–196.

Non-Classical Cosmologies

The field of "folk" cosmology in Hindu traditions is just beginning to emerge. Earlier works include Stuart H. Blackburn's

“Domesticating the Cosmos: History and Structure in a Folktale from India,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 45, no. 3 (1986): 527–543; and Dieter B. Kapp’s “The Concept of Yama in the Religion of a South Indian Tribe,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 102, no. 3 (1982): 517–521. The familiar theme of body and cosmos comes up in Lise F. Vail’s “Founders, Swamis, and Devotees: Becoming Divine in North Karnataka,” in *Gods of Flesh, Gods of Stone: The Embodiment of Divinity in India,* edited by Norman Cutler, Vasudha Narayanan, and Joanne Punzo Waghorne (Chambersburg, Pa., 1985), pp. 123–140; this is also one of the concerns in Hilde Link’s “Das Unbegreifbare begreifbar machen: Südindische Baumeister gestalten einen sakralen Platz,” *Anthropos* 88, nos. 1–3 (1993): 194–201.

Science and Cosmology

For more general treatments of science and cosmology, see Anindita Niyogi Balsley’s “Cosmology and Hindu Thought,” *Zygon* 25, no. 1 (1990): 47–58. For specific connections between Purāṇic and medieval scientific discourse there are two excellent resources: W. Randolph Kloetzli’s “Maps of Time—Mythologies of Descent: Scientific Instruments and the Puranic Cosmograph,” *History of Religions* 25 (1985): 116–147; and David Pingree’s “The Purāṇas and Jyotihshāstra: Astronomy,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 110 (1990): 274–280. Rory Fonseca’s “Constructive Geometry and the Shrī-Cakra Diagram,” *Religion* 16, no. 1 (1986): 33–49, is helpful with mathematical treatments of the cosmos. Also see Chris Minkowski’s recent “Astronomers and their Reasons: Working Paper on Jyotishastra,” *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 30, no. 5 (2002): 495–514; and his “The Pandit as Public Intellectual: The Controversy of Virodha or Inconsistency in the Astronomical Sciences,” in Axel Michaels, ed., *The Pandit: Proceedings of the Conference in Honour of Dr. K. P. Aithal.* Heidelberg, 2001, pp. 79-96.

For more contemporary philosophical treatments, see Anindita Niyogi Balsley’s “Cosmos and Consciousness: Indian Perspectives,” in *Science and Religion in Search of Cosmic Purpose,* edited by John F. Haught (Washington, D.C., 2000), pp. 58–68; and Karl E. Peters’s “Cosmology and the Meaning of Human Existence: Options from Contemporary Physics and Eastern Religions,” *Zygon* 25, no. 1 (1990): 7–122. Jayant Viṣṇu Narlikar’s basic scientific writings include *The Primeval Universe* (Oxford, 1988) and *Seven Wonders of the Cosmos* (Cambridge, U.K., 1999).

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COSMOLOGY: JAIN COSMOLOGY

Jainism, a renunciatory tradition that emerged in the Ganges basin of India around the seventh and sixth centuries BCE, produced a model of the universe virtually unrivalled in complexity among ancient cosmologies. Without beginning or end, this vast system is not controlled by any overseeing deity and is one in which human beings are restricted to an extremely delimited location. As such, it serves to remind Jains of the rarity of human birth, which alone can bring about liberation.

The rich textual sources for Jain cosmology span almost two millennia. It is possible to trace the early development of Jain cosmological ideas in scriptural texts like the *Vyākhyāprajñapti* and *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* (c. first century BCE–third century CE) and detailed descriptions are found in the various subsidiary (*upāṅga*) scriptures of the canon such as the *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti Sūtra* which date from around the fourth century CE. Umāsvāti”s *Tattvārtha Sūtra* (c. fourth century CE) provides an authoritative systematization of ancient trends. Since medieval times knowledge of traditional cosmology has been mediated to ascetic and lay Śvetāmbara Jains through a genre of texts called Saṃgrahaṇī. The earliest recension is the *Bṛhatsaṃgrahanī* of Jinabhadra Ganin (sixth century CE), while the *Laghusaṃgrahaṇī,* compiled by Candra Sūri in 1136, proved the most influential throughout the late medieval period and after. Manuscripts of these texts are usually lavishly illustrated.

BEGINNINGS. The Jain term for the universe, *loka,* is a Sanskrit word found in the *Ṛgveda* (c. twelfth to tenth centuries BCE), where it has the sense of “open space” (cf. Latin *lucus,* “sacred space”). However, descriptions of the *loka* in the form of a detailed cosmology developed only gradually in the course of the Jain canonical period (between c. 400 BCE and 400 CE) and it is uncertain to what extent Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth *tīrthaṅkara* (or teacher), was responsible for communicating anything beyond the bare rudiments of the system. Early Jain texts simply contrast the *loka* with the non-*loka* without any explanation, and unquestionably there are aspects of developed Jain cosmology, such as the structure of the continents of the Middle World, which derive from Hindu models that emerged near the beginning of the common era.

The Vyākhyāprajñapti Sūtra contains a passage (5:9) in which Mahāvīra concedes that the basic structure of the *loka* had been taught by the twenty-third *tīrthaṅkara,* Pārśva, who supposedly flourished around the seventh century BCE. Since the *Vyākhyāprajñapti* most likely does not antedate the first century BCE, this may be an anachronistic attempt to confirm the existence of a linkage between Pārśva and Mahāvīra. Nonetheless, the description given of the *loka* as broad at the top and bottom like a bed and an upturned drum respectively and narrow in the middle like the god Indra’s thunderbolt weapon is one that was not substantially altered thereafter. Only after the beginning of the second millennium CE did Jain artists start to represent the loka in the form of a (male or female) cosmic giant.

The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga Sūtra* (1:5) and the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* (chapter 19), ancient texts of the Śvetāmbara canon, describe a variety of hells that were probably essential to early Jain teachings about the perils of violence and the consequent fall from human state, although there is no attempt to provide either the elaborate systematization found at a later date or any linkage of them to a larger cosmic structure. These hells are presented as places of torment of various kinds, encompassed simultaneously by darkness, blazing fire, and cold, where demonic torturers and tortured alike experience the consequences of their previous violent actions.

Mention is made of a hellish river called Vaitaraṇī, whose waves are like razor blades, and also of a huge mountain that looms over the suffering.

The Structure of the Loka. What follows represents the standardized picture of the Jain universe, although there are many differences concerning detail between the Śvetāmbara and Digambara sects. To pious Jains the vast complexity and detail recorded by monastic cosmologists reflect the omniscient and all-encompassing perception of the *tīrthaṅkaras,* the saving teachers.

The *loka* is envisaged as being a finite tripartite structure set in the non-*loka,* like a boat in water, consisting of an upper tier of heavens, at the summit of which lies the realm of the liberated souls, a lower tier of hells, and, in between, a narrow band wherein is located a system of island-continents and oceans. Immediately outside the *loka* are atmospheric layers of various types of air. Beyond these is nothing, empty space in which no entity exists.

The basic unit of cosmological measurement given in the scriptural texts is the yojana, loosely speaking, "a league." Later Jain cosmologists employ the *rajju,* or "rope," to measure the dimensions of the *loka.* This represents the distance traversed by a god flying in a straight line for six months at a speed of 2,057,152 *yojanas* an instant. Overall, the loka is estimated as being fourteen *rajjus* in height from top to bottom, seven *rajjus* wide at top and bottom, in its middle section a mere one *rajju* wide, and seven *rajjus* thick throughout.

Connecting the three realms of the *loka* is a vertical channel called the trasanāḍī, in which all moving creatures are located.

In recent years, noteworthy large-scale models of the *loka* and the central island-continent of Jambūdvīpa (see below) have been erected at Pālitānā and Hāstinapur respectively.

The Middle World. The configuration of the Middle World (madhyaloka) takes the form of a horizontal disk containing a system of circular oceans, each of which abuts onto a circular island-continent *(dvīpa).* The water of all the oceans is not uniformly salty; some taste of wine, milk, or sugarcane. Although the constituents of this system are technically regarded as being beyond normal calculation *(asaṅkhyātanā),* in actuality Jain cosmology is concerned only with the central sixteen oceans and sixteen island-continents.

At the center of the Middle World are the "Two-and-a-Half Island-continents" (Aḍhāīdvīpa) that constitute the world of human beings, namely the island-continent of Jambūdvīpa, spatially a disc of 100,000 *yojanas* in width (as opposed to the ring shape of the other continents), the island-continent of Dhātakīkhaṇḍa, which is 400,000 *yojanas* in width, and half of the island-continent of Puṣkara, which is 800,000 *yojanas* in width. Jambūdvīpa, which is located at the very center of the Middle World, is separated from Dhātakīkhaṇḍa by the Salt Ocean (Lavaṇasamudra), while Dhātakīkhaṇḍa is separated from Puṣkara by the Black Water (Kālodadhi) Ocean. At the center of Puṣkara is a range of mountains beyond which, that is to say as far as the outermost island-continent of the Middle World called Svayambhūramaṇa, no human beings live, only animals which are reborn in the heavenly realms after death. Furthermore, the normal operations of time cease at Puṣkara's central mountain range.

Jambūdvīpa, "The Island of the Rose-apple Tree," is the most precisely described area of the *loka.* It is named after the rose-apple *(jambū)* tree that stands beside Mount Meru, which is 100,000 *yojanas* in height and constitutes the central axis of the island-continent. On the perimeter of Jambūdvīpa is an encircling adamantine wall of eight *yojanas* height in which four huge doors are set at the cardinal direction points and through which the rivers of the island-continent flow into the Salt Ocean.

Jambūdvīpa is divided into seven regions *(varṣa),* separated from each other by six mountain ranges that extend outwards from Mount Meru from east to west. These regions are called Bhārata, Haimavata, Ramyaka, Videha (sometimes Mahāvideha), Hari, Hairaṇyaka, and Airāvata. Of these regions, Bhārata, Airāvata, and half of Videha are *karmabhūmis,* where religious actions are fully efficacious in terms of possible rebirth and ultimate salvation, whereas the remaining regions are *bhogabhūmis,* where human beings can flourish in worldly comfort but cannot advance seriously on the path to liberation. Five *karmabhūmis* are also found on both the island-continents of Dhātakīkhaṇḍa and Puṣkara.

The region of Bhārata is located at the south of Jambūdvīpa and is effectively the equivalent of the contemporary geographical entity called South Asia, as can be seen by its two rivers, the Sindhu (Indus) and the Gaṅgā (Ganges), both of which flow in the west and east into the Salt Ocean, and the presence to the north of the Himavat range, or the Himalayas. The influence of terrestrial geography can also be seen from the fact that the capital city of Bhārata called Ayodhyā, the name of the hero-god Rāma's capital and from the third century CE the capital of the Gupta Empire that dominated north India.

To the south of the Himavat range is a further range of mountains called Vaitāḍhya, which contains cities inhabited by *vidyādharas,* semi-divine beings with the power of flight who can traverse the whole continent, but lack the ability to gain deliverance. The Vaitāḍhya mountains, in conjunction with the Sindhu and Gaṅgā, divide Bhārata into six parts. Five of these are barbarian *(mleccha)* regions where inclination to follow Jain teachings is weak and the possibility of deliverance absent, while only one is "aryan," inhabited by people who are naturally susceptible to Jainism and the birthplace of all twenty-four *tīrthaṅkaras* of this age. The region of Airāvata in the north of Jambūdvīpa evinces exactly the same structure and constituents as Bhārata, with its two rivers being called the Raktodā and the Raktā. More broadly, the continents of Dhātakīkhaṇḍa and Puṣkara mirror the geographical structure of Jambūdvīpa.

The largest region of Jambūdvīpa is the central strip called Videha (sometimes Mahāvideha, "Great Videha," because of its importance), which divides the island-continent and at whose center is Mount Meru, while two rivers, the Sitā and Sitodā, flow through it to the east and west. Videha, which is divided into thirty-two parts mirroring Bhārata and Airāvata, is immune from any sort of disaster and its inhabitants, Jain laypeople and ascetics, live morally responsible lives. Cycles of time do not hold sway there as elsewhere and *tīrthaṅkaras* appear continually, from four to thirty-two simultaneously. Of the four currently preaching in Videha at present, Sīmandhara is a significant object of devotion to Jains in India. Videha and its *tīrthaṅkaras* are not directly accessible to human beings in other regions of Jambūdvīpa. One must either be reborn there or, exceptionally, be transported there by supernatural means, as in the case of the Digambara teacher Kundakunda (early common era), whose hagiographies claim that he was able to visit Sīmandhara and hear the doctrine being preached by him.

Highly significant in Jain cosmology is the eighth island-continent from Jambūdvīpa, which is known as Nandīśvara. Inaccessible to human beings, this island-continent contains fifty-two mountains, each of which has on its peak a Jina temple of great magnificence. The gods visit Nandīśvara on regular festival days to worship the images in these temples. It is common for Jain temples today to contain representations of the shrines at Nandīśvara.

Around nine hundred *yojanas* above Jambūdvīpa are the celestial bodies: the planets and stars and their stations, conceived of as the chariots of the gods of light *(jyotiṣa).* In keeping with the mirroring structure of the north and south parts of Jambūdvīpa, the Jain cosmologists assert that two moons and two suns hold sway over the periods of darkness and light.

THE LOWER WORLD. Around one thousand *yojanas* beneath the Middle World is the Lower World *(adholoka),* seven *rajjus* high, which consists of seven tiers *(bhūmi)* constructed of an earth-like material substance. Each tier has within it a number of hells, with the highest containing three million and the lowest only five. These seven realms are called Ratnaprabhā ("Jewel-colored"), Śarkaraprabhā ("Gravel-colored"), Vālukāprabhā ("Sand-colored"), Paṅkaprabhā ("Mud-colored"), Dhūmaprabhā ("Smoke-colored"), Tamaḥprabhā ("Darkness-colored"), and Tamastamaḥprabhā ("Most Intense Darkness-colored"). The bottom of each tier of the Lower World fits into the top of the one below, with the whole structure being supported upon space.

Ratnaprabhā, the highest tier of the Lower World, is relatively bright, but darkness increases at each successively lower level, as does the amount of suffering endured by those who are spontaneously born and live there. Such beings are commensurately greater physically and more long-lived the further they descend. Animals can be reborn in most of the hells. Female human beings cannot be reborn below the sixth hell, while only male human beings and species of water-dwelling creatures can be reborn in the seventh hell.

The hells of the Lower World represent a terrifying extension of the basic Jain principle that negative *karma,* the result of evildoing in previous existences, has to be eliminated by the practice of austerities. In Jainism the Lower World has no central ruler equivalent to the Hindu god Yama. Rather, a superficial chaos seems to prevail, though in actuality the suffering inflicted by hell-beings on themselves and each other is in precise accord with evil previously committed, so that when the karmic penalty has run its course, the hell being dies and is then reborn in the Middle World as animal or human. While Jainism does posit the possibility of eternal rebirth for some unfortunate predestined beings, unceasing residence in any one of the hells is not a possibility.

In the space between the Middle World and Ratnaprabhā, the first hellish realm of the Lower World, live varieties of (sometimes) antinomian deities. The "Palace-dwelling" (Bhavanavāsin) gods experience lives of princely luxury similar to their terrestrial counterparts. The "Interstitial" (Vyantara) gods are often found in rock clefts or within trees. Both categories of god frequently visit the world of humans and they might best be classified as demiurges, similar to the tutelary deities who form part of the Jain pantheon.

THE UPPER WORLD. Above the Middle World and the gods of light is located the Upper World *(ūrdhvaloka),* which is seven *rajjus* high (including the negligible height of the Middle World). This consists of a series of tiered heavens *(kalpa)* inhabited by the Vaimānika gods, so called because of the celestial chariots *(vimāna),* effectively palaces, in which they ride. According to the Śvetāmbara sect, the first, second, seventh, and eighth heavens are divided into northern and southern halves, thus constituting separate heavenly regions, while for the Digambaras the first eight heavens are divided in this way. Further divisions are also found within the higher heavenly tiers. Thus for the Śvetāmbaras there are twenty-six heavens in total, for the Digambaras thirty-nine.

The Vaimānika gods, whose period of existence and mental attainments are governed by *karma,* are divided into two main categories. The lower category does not invariably possess correct faith *(samyagdṛṣṭi)* in Jain principles and inhabit the twelve lower heavens. The higher category lives above the lower heavens and possesses the necessary faith that will eventually lead to the attainment of deliverance. The higher the level a god inhabits, the greater his psychic and spiritual attainments. The lower heavens are variously colored (black, blue, red, yellow, and white), but the higher heavenly realms are increasingly white in token of their purity and distance from the passions. This reflects a doctrine of Jain *karma* theory that holds that the life-monad *(jīva)* assumes colors *(leśyā)* according to the influence of the types of *karma* it has accrued.

The Vaimānika gods live in conformity to a hierarchical structure replicating that of the cities, courts, and kingdoms of the human world. Many of their heavens are ruled by a category of gods called Indra, whose name derives from that of the Vedic warrior-god. Another category of god called *kilbiṣaka* functions in a serving capacity, effectively the equivalent of human untouchables. Jain narratives frequently refer to Vaimānika gods who are able to travel to the Middle and Lower Worlds to visit and counsel former relatives and acquaintances living there.

The goddesses of the Upper World cannot inhabit a heaven beyond the second level, although they are capable of reaching as high as the eighth level on a temporary basis. The gods and goddesses conduct sexual relations in the two lowest heavenly levels in the same manner as human beings. However, sexual activity becomes progressively more refined amongst the higher Vaimānika deities and passion plays no part in the upper heavenly levels where the deities are very close to that final human birth which will bring about deliverance.

A noteworthy feature of the Upper World is the Black Fields (Kṛṣṇarājī). Located within the fifth heaven, they constitute a dark heavenly region consisting of eight masses of water and coagulated vegetable matter, portrayed in Jain cosmological art as triangular, oblong, hexagonal and circular in shape, which flow up from the Aruṇavara ocean of the Middle World. Rain and thunder are produced in the Black Fields and they serve as an inevitable and repeated staging post for all living beings in the beginningless rebirth process.

The Realm of the Liberated. Twelve leagues above Pañcānuttara, the highest heavenly level of the Upper World, is Īṣatprāgbhāra, the "Slightly Curving Place," so called because it has the shape of a parasol. This is the permanent abode of those who have achieved liberation *(siddha)* and freedom from rebirth.

Jain cosmology depicts Īṣatprāgbhāra in concrete terms, although its inhabitants are without physicality. The whole of this realm is made of white gold. It is eight *yojanas* high at its middle point and (according to Śvetāmbara cosmology) 4,500,000 *yojanas* wide. In the middle of Īṣatprāgbhāra there is a circular rock, eight *yojanas* in height and width. One *yojana* above this rock is the very edge and end of the *loka* and it is in this area that the liberated dwell, in number beyond calculation.

Time. For Jainism, the universe has no beginning or end. As a consequence, the tradition evinces a major preoccupation with time. Although Jainism subscribes to the basic system of time-units found in Brahmanic tradition and on occasion utilizes the model of time as divided into epochs *(yuga)* elaborated in Purāṇic Hinduism, it evolved its own system of cosmic reckoning in which huge periods of duration were enumerated.

The central unit of time for Jainism is envisaged as being equivalent to the turning of a wheel continually repeated throughout eternity and providing a totalizing explanation of human progress and decline. This is divided into two half-motions, a "down-moving" *(avasarpiṇī)* succeeded by an "up-moving" *(utsarpiṇī)* to be followed by a "down-moving" and an "up-moving," and so on *ad perpetuum.* These movements of time, sometimes also defined as six "spokes of a wheel" *(ara)* hold sway in the various *karmabhūmi,* but not in the five Videha regions of the innermost two-and-a half continents of the Middle World.

Each downward motion commences with an "extremely happy" *(suṣamā-suṣamā)* period that lasts 4 x 10^{14} *sāgaropama* years (one *sāgaropama,* literally "ocean-like" period of time, is equal to 8,400,000 x 10^{19} years). This is succeeded by the "happy" *(suṣamā)* period that lasts for 3 x 10^{14} *sāgaropama* years. During this period human beings, who are of massive physical dimensions and live for vast periods of time, exist in a sexually undifferentiated state and have all their physical needs satisfied by wishing trees.

The third stage of a downward movement, the "more happy than unhappy" *(suṣamā-duḥṣamā),* lasts for 2 x 10^{14} *sāgaropama* years. The fourth stage, "more unhappy than happy" *(duḥṣamā-suṣamā),* lasts 1 x 10^{14} *sāgaropama* years, less 42,000 calendrical years. During these stages, decline sets in and human beings progressively diminish in size, lifespan, and intellectual attainment, becoming sexually differentiated and without any practical abilities. The first of twenty-four *tīrthaṅkaras* appears, who preaches the eternal Jain doctrine and teaches human beings cultural skills. It is only during the third and fourth stages, in which there is neither an extremity of knowledge nor of ignorance, that human beings can obtain liberation. During these periods there also appear the various universal emperors *(cakravartin),* nonviolent heroes *(baladeva),* warlike heroes *(vāsudeva),* and their enemies *(prativāsudeva)* whose careers mesh with those of the first twenty-two *tīrthaṅkaras* and provide the substance of an extensive Jain legendary history.

The fifth stage, called "unhappy" *(duḥṣamā),* is the one in which those inhabitants of the Middle World subject to the influence of time are located at present. It lasts for 21,000 calendrical years. During this time human beings assume "normal" physical dimension and longevity, no *tīrthaṅkaras* are born, the Jain community goes into decline, and receptivity to Jain teachings diminishes, until at the end, with the almost complete disappearance of knowledge of the scriptures, there remain only a single monk, nun, layman, and laywoman.

The sixth stage, the "very unhappy" *(duḥṣamā-duḥṣamā),* lasts for 21,000 calendrical years. During this stage, human beings degenerate completely and are reduced to the status of short-lived dwarves without any social skills who exist as troglodytes. Eventually, the sixth stage ends in a conflagration and the succeeding upward movement of time starts, with its six stages in reverse order to those of the downward motion.

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COSMOLOGY: BUDDHIST COSMOLOGY

There is no single system of Buddhist cosmology. Virtually every theological tendency within the Buddhist tradition addressed the cosmological sciences from its special perspective—seeing the universe as the stage for a drama of salvation cast in terms of its own particular philosophical and theological predilections. Buddhist systems are related not only to other Indian systems, for example, Hindu, Jain, Ājīvika, and so forth, but to Hellenistic speculations as well.

The single-world system that is particularly prominent in the oldest Buddhist texts pictures the cosmos as a flat disk with heavens and meditation realms above and hells below. Although the oldest tradition apparently limited its interest to a single-world system, a grandiose cosmic structure developed on the perimeter of this single universe. Traces of themes associated with multiple-world systems appear in texts of the Pali canon. A ten-thousand-world system is mentioned in the Jātakas, though with little elaboration, and in a more systematic way in Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* (sec. 414ff.). These and other similar cosmologies are variants of the *sāhasra* cosmology, or "cosmology of thousands." They focus on themes of cosmic time and belong to the Hīnayāna schools of Buddhism.

The cosmology of the Mahāyāna, characterized by innumerable world systems distributed throughout the ten regions of space, can be characterized as an *asaṃkhyeya* cosmology, or "cosmology of innumerables." Although certain of these world systems lack the presence of a Buddha, most are buddha fields (*buddhakṣetras*) where a fully and perfectly enlightened Tathāgata resides and teaches the law for the benefit of countless beings. Generally speaking, there are three types of *buddhakṣetras*: "pure" (*viśuddha*), "impure" (*aviśuddha*), and "mixed" (*miśraka*). Sukhāvatī is the best known among the Pure Lands, although in some texts it is clearly subordinated to others. Sahā is the most important of the Impure Lands—although from another perspective, Sahā may be considered a "mixed" land, alternately ornamented (pure) and unornamented (impure). Located in the region of the south, Sahā is our universe and is the field of the Buddha Śākyamuni.

At the core of each of these cosmologies is a drama of salvation. It is this drama of salvation, implicit in all the Buddhist cosmologies, that allows for the integration of the scientific and theological bases of these cosmologies, represented in images of motion and light. More specifically, these cosmologies transform the astronomical themes of motion and light into the mytho-philosophic themes of journey and soul. The seemingly fantastic numbers characteristic of these cosmologies are grounded in the power of mathematics that allows the astronomers to measure the motions of the heavens and enables the faithful to comprehend the theological and mystical implications of these measurements.

SINGLE-WORLD SYSTEM. The basic outlines of the single-world system are generally agreed upon throughout a broad spectrum of Buddhism and are a prominent feature of the Pali texts as well as the Buddhist Sanskrit literature. Buddhist text designate it as the *cakravāla*, after the mountain of iron that surrounds it. Single, circular world systems are prominent in the Puranic and Jain cosmologies as well and have a wide dispersion throughout the classical world in general. This article ignores variations of detail in the Buddhist texts and is restricted to the extensive and systematic testimony of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* (hereafter *Kośa*), a Sautrāntika work composed in the fourth or fifth century of the common era.

The *cakravāla*. The *cakravāla* is represented as a disk ringed with a series of seven circular, golden mountain ranges, arranged concentrically with Mount Meru at the center and the *cakravāla* wall of iron at the perimeter. Proceeding outward from the center, the mountains are known as Meru, Yugandhara, Īṣadhāra, Khadirika, Sudarśana, Aśvakarṇa, Vinataka, Nimindhara, and Cakravāla. Mount Meru has a height of eighty thousand *yojana*s and penetrates the waters in equal measure; each of the mountain ranges is half the height and depth of the preceding range. The waters of various seas (*sītā*) fill the regions between the mountain ranges.

The landmasses are situated in the great ocean (*mahāsamudra*) that flows within the area bounded by Nimindhara and Cakravāla. The four landmasses, located at the points of the compass, are spoken of as "islands" (*dvīpa*) and are named Pūrvavideha (in the east), Jambudvīpa (in the south—named after the Jambu tree that is found there), Aparagodānīya (in the west), and Uttarakuru (in the north). The names of these islands are suggestive of theological directions as well: for example, Videha is the name of disembodied deities and suggests the goal of yoga, which is to liberate the soul from its bondage to the body; the Jambu tree is suggestive of the fruits of the path of Buddhism, Godānīya of Kṛṣṇa's heaven, the Goloka, and Uttarakuru of the Kurukṣetra, the "field of the Kurus," on which was fought the great battle of the *Mahābhārata*.

All of these entities rest on a layer of golden earth (*kāñcanamayībhūmi*), and all of the mountains except the *cakravāla* are composed of excrescences of this golden earth. While the islands are not similarly composed, the *vajrāsana* ("diamond throne") situated in the middle of Jambudvīpa is said to rest on the golden earth. The golden earth of the *cakravāla* rests on a circle of water (*ābmaṇḍala*); a layer of wind (*vāyumaṇḍala*) supports the water and in turn rests on empty space (*ākāśa*).

The four islands of the *cakravāla* are distinguished from each other in a number of ways, particularly with regard to their size and shape and the life span of their inhabitants. Uttarakuru is square, measuring 2,000 *yojana*s on a side, and life there has a duration of 1,000 years. (A *yojana* has been defined variously as the equivalent of 2.5, 4, 5, or 9 English miles, although its etymological link to *yoga* and *yuga* suggests a metaphysical significance as well.) Godānīya is shaped like a full moon measuring 7,500 *yojana*s around with a diameter of 2,500 *yojana*s, and life there lasts 500 years. Pūrvavideha has the shape of a half moon with three sides said to be 2,000 *yojana*s in length and a fourth that is 350 *yojana*s in length. Duration of life there is equal to 250 years. Jambudvīpa, too, measures 2,000 *yojana*s on three sides, but its fourth side is only 3.5 *yojana*s long. It is said to be shaped like a chariot. (In addition to the four main islands, the *Kośa* recognizes eight intermediate islands, two of which are similar in shape to each of the four main islands, although they are only one-tenth the size. The shape of the faces of the inhabitants of each of the islands is said to resemble the shape of the island.)

Jambudvīpa provides an important exception to the superhuman and unchanging durations of life found in the other islands. The length of human life in Jambudvīpa varies; at the beginning of the *kalpa* it is incalculable, but eventually it diminishes to only ten years and continues to fluctuate throughout the *kalpa.* Because of these irregular life expectancies, the inhabitants of Jambudvīpa are particularly aware of the workings of *karman.* Moreover, it is only in Jambudvīpa during a time of declining life spans that a Buddha will appear. Another distinguishing feature of Jambudvīpa is that all the hells are situated beneath this island. The *Kośa* distinguishes eight hot hells and eight cold hells, although other systems are attested.

A series of heavens is arrayed above the *cakravāla* in three great divisions: (1) those heavens in the "realm of desire" (*kāmadhātu*) corresponding to the six classes of the "gods of desire" (*kāmadeva*); (2) the seventeen heavens belonging to the "realm of form" (*rūpadhātu*), grouped into four classes of "meditation realms" (*dhyāna*); and (3) the four "infinities" of the "realm of nonform" (*ārūpyadhātu*). The significance of these divisions is uncertain except for the fact that they form a schematic representation of Buddhist philosophy and doctrine related to meditation. Nevertheless, several of the heavens have characteristics worth noting. The ruler of the Trāyastriṃśa is Indra, or Śakra, whose abode rests atop Mount Meru. The Tuṣita is distinguished by the fact that it is here that the *bodhisattva* is born immediately prior to being born as a Buddha in Jambudvīpa. The duration of life in the Tuṣita corresponds to the ages in which a Buddha appears. The uppermost heaven is the Akaniṣṭha; the fourth infinity is designated *bhavāgra* ("pinnacle of being").

Associated drama. In its simplest form, the drama of the single-world system depends on the fact that the universe is limited and continuous. The monk travels through all the realms of the universe in the course of his meditations, eventually getting beyond it—detaching himself from it—to take possession of an individual *nirvāṇa* and achieve the state of *arhat.* For the most part, neither the presence of a buddha nor the divisions of cosmic time are central to this drama.

COSMOLOGY OF THOUSANDS. There exist countless variations within this general heading, but the combination of thousands of worlds and the superimposition of one cosmic level upon another is a fundamental characteristic of the *sāhasra* cosmology. A second characteristic is the ultimate unity of these various combinations of worlds in the realm of a single buddha, a single *buddhakṣetra* (buddha field), or another similarly unifying entity.

The *Majjhima Nikāya* (3.101) describes a division of the *brahmaloka* into multiples of thousands of worlds, making a distinction between a *sahasso-brahmā* governing a *sahassīi lokadhatu*, and equivalent realms governed by a *dvisahasso-brahmā*, a *trisahasso-brahmā*, a *catussahasso-brahmā*, a *pancassahasso-brahmā*, and a *satasahassobrahmā*, gods that rule over worlds numbering between 1,000 and $1,000^{100}$.

Another example from the Pali texts is found at *Aṇguttara Nikāya* 1.227, which describes (1) a system of one thousand universes, *sahassīi chūḷanikā lokadhātu* ("small chiliocosm"); (2) a system of one million universes, *dvisahassī majjhimikā lokadhātu* ("middle chiliocosm"), embracing one thousand "small chiliocosms"; and (3) a system of one billion universes, *tisahassī mahāsahassi lokadhātu* ("great chiliocosm"), embracing one thousand "middle chiliocosms." The *Kośa* (vol. 3, pp. 138–141) describes the *trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu* in virtually identical terms.

From this description it appears that a *trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu* (*tisahassī mahāsahassī lokadhātu*) consists of one billion universes like the one in which we live, each consisting of four islands, a *cakravāla* wall, seven concentric ring mountains, a sun, a moon, and a Mount Meru. This arrangement of thousands of worlds is the most representative expression of the *sāhasra* cosmology and emerges as the formulaic expression of a *buddhakṣetra.* Even Mahāyāna texts that recognize the existence of innumerable *buddhakṣetra*s acknowledge the fact that each is a *trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu.*

Interpretation of the meaning of the *trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu* remains problematic. However, it is closely associated with speculations on the great division of cosmic time. Because of this association, it is reasonable to assume a connection between the thousands of the *sāhasra* cosmology and the manner in which astronomers measured the movements of the planets, multiplying the fractional measurements of their observations by thousands of years to determine the beginning and end of the world, that is, that time when all planets were (will be) in a straight line. Based on these associations, we may regard the universe as "ever-measuring," constantly productive of the divisions of time grounded in the powers of discrimination.

This association with measurements of time is strengthened by the parallels between the *sāhasra* cosmology and the cosmologies of the Hindu Purāṇas, since the "thousands of worlds" (i.e., one billion) of the *sāhasra* cosmology exactly equal the divisions of time of the Puranic cosmos—if one leaves out references to days and nights and counts only years. The Puranic *yuga*s consist of ten divine years, each equal to one thousand human years, for a total of ten thousand years in a *māhayuga*. One thousand *māhayuga*s are the equivalent of a *kalpa*, which is also a "day of Brahmā," and one hundred years of such days equal the life of Brahmā or a *mahākalpa*. (The full reckoning is: 10 x 1000 x 1000 x 100 = 1,000,000,000.) The *trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu* apparently spatializes the temporal divisions of Hindu cosmology.

Associated drama. In contrast to the drama of the single-world system, the manner whereby salvation occurs within the structures of the *sāhasra* cosmology is inextricably related to the divisions of cosmic time and the appearance of a buddha.

The largest division of time, corresponding to the duration of the universe, is a *mahākalpa*. A *mahākalpa* in turn consists of four "moments" (*kalpa*s), each of which contains twenty *antarakalpa*s. Thus, the *mahākalpa* consists of (1) a *kalpa* of creation (*vivartakalpa*), which extends from the birth of the primordial wind to the production of the first being that inhabits the hells; (2) a *kalpa* that consists of the duration of the creation (*vivartasthāyikalpa*), which begins with the appearance of the first being in the hells; (3) a *kalpa* of dissolution (*saṃvartakalpa*), commencing with the moment when beings cease to be reborn in the hells and ending with the moment when the "receptacle world" (i.e., the world inhabited by sentient beings) is destroyed; and (4) a *kalpa* during which the world remains dissolved (*saṃvartasthāyikalpa*) and during which nothing remains but space (*ākāśa*) where the world was. Each of the four *kalpa*s are sometimes designated *asaṃkhyeya* ("incalculable") *kalpa*s.

The twenty small or "intermediate" *kalpa*s (*antarakalpa*s) are characterized as follows: In a period of creation, the receptacle world (*bhājanaloka*) is created during the first *antarakalpa*; beings appear during the remaining nineteen. A reverse process occurs during a period of destruction. At the end of a period of creation, humankind has a life that is infinite in duration. During the first *antarakalpa* of the creation, it diminishes (*apakarṣa*) to ten years. Each of the next eighteen *antarakalpa*s consists of an augmentation (*utkarṣa*) of life span from ten years up to eighty thousand years and a subsequent diminution back down to ten years again. The twentieth *antarakalpa* consists solely of augmentation up to eighty thousand years.

While not specifically mentioned in the *Kośa*, it should be noted that messianic traditions within Buddhism focus on the figure of Maitreya, the future and last Buddha of our age, who will provide a new *dharma* ("teaching") to replace the degenerated teaching of Śākyamuni. This will occur when the duration of life has reached eighty thousand years.

When all beings have disappeared from the inferior realms and are reunited in a meditation realm, presumably through the power of meditation and possibly the attainment of *nirvāṇa*, the "destructions" (*saṃvartānis*) take place. The agents of the destructions are the "great elements" and are of three kinds: those by fire, those by water, and those by wind. The second meditation realm (*dhyāna*) is the limit (*sīmā*) of the destruction by fire; everything lower is burned and scorched. The third *dhyāna* is the limit of the destruction by water; everything lower is decomposed or dissolved. The fourth *dhyāna* is the limit of the destruction by wind; everything below it is scattered. There is no destruction by earth because the receptacle world consists of earth. The destructions succeed one another in the following sequence: Seven destructions by fire are followed by a destruction by water; this cycle of eight destructions is repeated a total of seven times. Then follow seven more destructions by fire and a final destruction by wind. Thus there are seven times eight, or fifty-six destructions by fire, seven by water, and a final (sixty-fourth) destruction by wind.

While the soteriological drama associated with this cosmology is framed by the speculations on cosmic time, the drama proper divides itself into four discrete "moments." The first is that of the progress of the *śrāvaka*, or one who has undertaken the religious vocation toward becoming an *arhat*. Second is the exercise of miraculous powers. Third is the career of the *bodhisattva*, who makes a vow in the presence of a buddha to pursue buddhahood rather than pass into the extinction of *nirvāṇa*. The fourth moment in the drama is the appearance of a Buddha.

The progress of the *śrāvaka* toward the state of *arhat* consists of a series of practices, teachings, and meditations designated in a general way as "the path." Briefly stated, the *śrāvaka* on the way to arhatship masters a path that consists of sixteen "moments" of the four Holy Truths (*abhisamaya*) and 182 moments of the stages of meditation (*bhāvanāmārga*) including taking possession of the "four fruits" of the path: *srotāpanna* ("stream winner"), *sakṛdāgāmin* ("once-returner"), *anāgāmin* ("nonreturner"), and *arhat*.

Following the exercise of certain miraculous powers obtained as a result of meditation, and having made a vow to become a buddha, the *bodhisattva* then perfects the various virtues (*pāramitās*) during three *asaṃkhyeya* s of *mahākalpas.* After countless rebirths among the excellent destinies, the *bodhisattva* is born in the Tuṣita Heaven, during which time he develops the acts that are productive of the thirty-two marks of a great and almost certainly cosmic person (*mahāpuruṣa*). During the course of one hundred supplementary cosmic ages (*kalpaśate śese*), he exhibits in Jambudvīpa the marks of a *mahāpuruṣa.* This he does only in the presence of a buddha.

The final stage in the drama involves the appearance of a buddha. While there is considerable doctrinal disagreement on many points relating to this subject, it is generally agreed that a buddha only appears during a period when the length of human life is declining and when it is between eighty thousand and one hundred (sometimes, eighty) years. Lifespans greater than this are too long to afford beings awareness of the impermanent nature of things; less than this and life is too brief and the five corruptions (*kaṣāyas*) too powerful for the teaching to be mastered. Since the buddha is clearly of a different order from the *arhat*, and since both are necessarily in possession of *nirvāṇa*, we must conclude that the *nirvāṇa* of the buddha is of a different order from that of the *arhat.*

Since it is more important to provide a general means of interpreting these systems than to provide ever greater detail, I suggest the following. The single-world system in isolation serves as an aid to monastic meditation in much the same way as Sāṃkhya philosophy serves as a cosmological framework for the practice of yoga. Time (motion) and the cosmos are essentially contained within the body of the individual in its unliberated mode. Time and space are the products of the movements of the primordial matter (*prakṛi*) agitated by the presence of a soul.

As a corollary, there is little need for the great divisions of time—*kalpa*s, *yuga*s, *mahākalpas*, and so forth. Where these appear, time (and the cosmos) have been incorporated into the body of the deity. While arhatship or the attainment of the individual *nirvāṇa* is the essential drama of the single-world system in the Pali texts, the Sarvāstivādin texts establish a drama involving the relationship between the individual *nirvāṇa* (*arhat*) and the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha as a cosmic figure whose body contains the elements of time. This suggestion is supported in part by the fact that the Pali Abhidhamma recognizes a single unconditioned *dharma* and a single *nirvāṇa*, whereas the Sarvāstivādin literature recognizes three unconditioned *dharma*s, including space and two types of *nirvāṇa.*

Alternative dramas. Along with three classes of saints—*arhat*, *bodhisattva*, and buddha—the *Kośa* recognizes a fourth class of saint known as the *pratyekabuddha*, or person who achieves enlightenment in isolation. The grouping of four is noteworthy for its transformation in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra (Lotus Sūtra).*

The *Lotus Sūtra* describes a "path" to salvation known as the *ekayāna*, or "single path." By means of "devices" (*upāya*), the cosmic Buddha projects three paths—those pursued by the *arhat*, the *pratyekabuddha* and the *bodhisattva*—to suit the differing spiritual capacities of creatures. While these three goals are pursued independently by beings according to their sensibilities, it is after having achieved these various provisional *nirvāṇa*s that the true *nirvāṇa* is bestowed upon them by the Buddha.

There are additional continuities between this drama and that found in the Pure Land traditions. There the faithful are admonished to think at the moment of death of the Buddha Amitābha ("infinite light"), whose field, Sukhāvatī (the Land of Bliss), lies in the west. In so doing, they will be reborn there in what will be their last birth; to live lives without interruption and to hear the *dharma* preached perfectly and thence to obtain final *nirvāṇa.* I shall simply note that Sukhāvatī is the realm of *sukha* ("bliss"), set over against this world of *duḥkha* ("suffering"). The fundamental tenet of the Hīnayāna, of course, is that all existence is suffering (*duḥkha*). The *sukha* world is therefore the visionary representation of all duality and of all striving. It is thus an accommodation to the sensibilities of all creatures and in some ways a provisional *nirvāṇa.* From Sukhāvatī the second stage of the drama unfolds, which is the *ekayāna*, or the *nirvāṇa* granted as a result of the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha.

With the same thought in mind, but using the stick rather than the carrot, the Japanese monk Genshin (942–1017) compiled extensive and horrible descriptions of the hells associated with the single-world system in order to turn people's minds toward rebirth in Sukhāvatī lest they remain in the realm of *duḥkha* and become subject to its worst torments.

The Tiantai school of Chinese Buddhism utilizes the *trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu* in another way, basing its interpretation on the second chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra.* Here we are told that it represents the three thousand worlds used as a model for the interpenetrating nature of all reality. These three thousand worlds are also known as *dharma*s and are organized in the following manner. There are ten realms of existence—those of the buddhas, *bodhisattva*s, *pratyekabuddha*s, direct disciples of the Buddha (*śrāvakas*), heavenly beings, spirits, human beings, departed beings, beasts, and depraved men. Each of these shares the characteristics of the others, thus making one hundred realms. Each of these in turn is characterized by ten "thusnesses" or "such-likenesses" through which the true state is manifested in phenomena. This makes one thousand realms of existence. Each realm is further constituted by the three divisions of living beings, space, and the (five) aggregates (*skandha*s) that constitute *dharma*s, thus making a total of three thousand realms of existence or aspects of reality. Because the interpenetration of these three thousand realms (*trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu*) is immanent in a single instant of thought, all beings have the buddha-nature in them and can thus be saved.

While comparison of these variations in drama with that of the *sāhasra* cosmology is useful, they are better understood in the context of another set of general cosmological structures known as the *asaṃkhyeya* cosmology.

COSMOLOGY OF INNUMERABLES. The *asaṃkhyeya* cosmology belongs to the Mahāyāna and is characterized by the "innumerable" (*asaṃkhyeya*) buddhas and *buddhaksetra*s filling the ten regions of space in place of the single *buddhakṣetra* of the Hīnayāna.

Images of space. While the *sāhasra* cosmology was dominated by the temporal categories of the *kalpa*, the *asaṃkhyeya* cosmology is dominated by spatial categories and images. The emphasis on spatial imagery is carried to the point where the Mahāyāna can argue that time does not exist. Just as the appearance of the Buddhas in the *sāhasra* cosmology was linked to the passage of time, the Buddhas are now associated with the directions or points of space and are referred to as the "Buddhas of the ten regions" (*daśadigbuddha*). As a result, the appearance of a buddha in this cosmology is not a rare event. Instead, it is repeatedly stated that the Buddhas are "as numerous as the sands of the Ganges."

Associated drama. A new drama is expressed in a mytheme that finds wide currency in Mahāyāna texts. It revolves around the "great concentrations" of the buddha Śākyamuni in his cosmic form and the manner in which the concentrations result in the exercise of miraculous powers, most notably the issuance of rays of light from the body of the Buddha. While the mytheme varies from text to text, it is analyzed with scholastic thoroughness in the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Śāstra* (chaps. 14–15), a text traditionally attributed to Nāgārjuna. The essential tenets of this drama may be summarized as follows.

The Buddha enters into a concentration in which are contained all the concentrations. Departing therefrom he practices a variety of magical powers, the most notable of which is the issuance of rays of light from his body. Touched by these rays of light, all beings become intent upon enlightenment and are prepared to hear the great sermon of the cosmic Buddha; the world is transformed into a Pure Land, and beings are either able to see and hear the *dharma* being preached in other buddha fields or are transported to one of those fields where they can hear the *dharma* without obstacle, distraction, or interruption. The Buddha utilizes the magical powers gained through concentration for the welfare of all beings. The power of the rays of light is so great that it is likened to the destruction of the universe by fire at the end of a *kalpa*. As a result of his extinction in concentration, the Buddha exercises miraculous powers that benefit all beings in accordance with their sensibilities. Just as the Hindu cosmologies explore the multivalence of the term *pralaya* (death/destruction of the universe/liberation) the Buddhist cosmologies explore the multiple meanings of *nirvāṇa*.

In the last analysis, it is the *nirvāṇa* of the cosmic Buddha that alone results in salvation, not the *nirvāṇa*s of individuals. According to the *Lotus Sūtra*, "he does not teach a particular Nirvāṇa for each being; he causes all beings to reach complete Nirvāṇa by means of the complete Nirvāṇa of the Tathāgata" (Kern, 1965, p. 81).

The drama of the *sāhasra* cosmology and that of the *asaṃkhyeya* cosmology can be contrasted on many points. The journey of the *sāhasra* cosmology is one that moves arduously and laboriously through each of the abodes of the cosmography and extends indefinitely in time. The journey of the *asaṃkhyeya* cosmology on the other hand occurs in an instant, transporting the individual to one of the many worlds separated from each other by the void of infinite space. In the former, Buddhas are rare and quiescent, in the latter, numerous and active. Just as the Hindu cosmologies play with a juxtaposition of the term *puruṣa* in its two meanings of multiple individual souls on the one hand and a single, all-encompassing soul on the other, the Buddhist cosmologies are concerned with individual and cosmic *nirvāṇa*s.

It may be argued that all of Buddhist cosmological speculation falls into one of these two traditions. Those that accept time as the fundamental cosmological reality belong to the Hīnayāna. Those that embrace metaphors of space belong to the Mahāyāna. It is also likely that the *cakravāla* cosmology and the Pure Land cosmologies actually constitute shorthands or simplifications of these two great traditions, the one for the benefit of the monastic vocation, and the other for the benefit of the devotional traditions of the Mahāyāna.

SEE ALSO Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, article on Celestial Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; Pure and Impure Lands; Soteriology.

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COSMOLOGY: SCIENTIFIC COSMOLOGIES

General speculations about the nature of the world are as old as the Greek pre-Socratic philosophers, but a truly scientific cosmology could not be formulated until there was some knowledge of the basic laws of nature. Isaac Newton's discovery of universal inverse-square-law gravity afforded the first serious opportunity for such an endeavor. Because gravity is attractive, an immediate problem was to explain why the universe did not collapse in upon itself. Planetary motions stopped this happening in the solar system, but what about the "fixed stars"? The answer first suggested was that in a universe of infinite extent, populated uniformly by stars, the attractive forces in different directions would cancel each other out, giving equilibrium.

However, there was a problem with the idea of a limitless cosmos. Every line of sight would have to terminate somewhere on the surface of a star. In 1823 Wilhelm Olbers pointed out that this would imply that the night sky was everywhere uniformly bright. The modern resolution of this paradox relies on the fact that the finite speed of light and the finite age of the universe together mean that only a finite number of stars are actually visible to us.

An important discovery was made at the end of the eighteenth century by Sir William Herschel. He discovered that the band of light known as the Milky Way is actually composed of a multitude of stars, constituting a vast galaxy of which the solar system is only a tiny component. Early speculators, including Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), had proposed that this might be the case. They also suggested that the luminous patches called nebulae might be other "island universes," similar to the Milky Way but at great distances from it. The issue was not finally settled until the twentieth century, but the idea was already in the air that created reality might be much vaster than had earlier been supposed.

Distances to nearby stars can be measured by parallax, the slight shift in apparent celestial position as the Earth moves around its orbit. Beyond that range, estimating distance depends upon establishing a *standard candle*, a source of light of known intensity whose observed dimming then affords a measure of its distance. Stars of regularly fluctuating brightness, called Cepheid variables, provide this measure, for it is known that their intrinsic brightness is strictly correlated with the period of their variation. In 1924 Edwin Hubble used this method to establish that the Andromeda nebula is a distant galaxy, now known to be about two million light-years away from the Milky Way.

Hubble then went on to make his biggest discovery. Light from distant galaxies is found to be reddened in comparison with the same light from a terrestrial source. This is interpreted as due to the effect of recessional motion, and the degree of reddening induced is correlated to the speed of recession. The effect (Doppler shift) is similar to the change in frequency of an ambulance siren due to the motion of the vehicle. Hubble discovered that the rate at which a galaxy is receding is proportional to its distance. This was then interpreted as an effect due to the expansion of space itself. Just as spots on the surface of a balloon move away from each other as the balloon is inflated, so as space expands it carries the galaxies with it. Hubble's discovery of the expanding universe had a profound effect upon the development of cosmological theory.

Relativistic Cosmology. Newton regarded space as a container within which the motion of material atoms took place in the course of the flow of absolute time. Albert Einstein's discovery of the theory of general relativity completely changed this picture.

In 1908 Einstein had what he regarded as his happiest thought. He realized that if he were to be falling freely, he would be completely unaware of gravity. This seemingly rather insignificant observation led him to recognize the principle of equivalence, which lies at the root of general relativity. There are two conceptually distinct meanings of mass: inertial mass (measuring a body's resistance to having its state of motion changed) and gravitational mass (measuring the strength of the body's interaction with a gravitational field). Despite their conceptual distinctness, these two measures are always numerically identical. Quantitatively, inertial and gravitational mass are equivalent. This implies that all bodies move in the same way in a gravitational field. Doubling the mass will double the inertial resistance to a change of motion, but it also doubles the gravitational force effecting the change. In consequence the resulting motion is the same. This universal behavior means that the effects of gravity on individual bodies can be reinterpreted as a general consequence of the properties of space itself, or more accurately, taking into account Einstein's earlier discovery of special relativity's close mutual association of space and time, the properties of four-dimensional spacetime. The concepts of space, time, and matter, held quite distinct by Newton, were united by Einstein in a single package deal. He turned gravitational physics into geometry. Matter curves spacetime and the curvature of spacetime in turn affects the paths of matter. There is no time without space and matter, a point Augustine had realized fifteen centuries earlier.

Einstein set to work to discover the equations that would give quantitative expression to his idea. The search was long, but in November 1915 he hit upon them. Immediately he was able to show that they predicted a small deviation in the behavior of the planet Mercury, which had already been observed but which had defied Newtonian explanation. Later, in 1919, observations of a total solar eclipse confirmed another prediction, relating to the bending of starlight by the Sun. Overnight Einstein became in the public's imagination the iconic scientific hero.

This integration of space, time, and matter in a single theory afforded the opportunity to construct a truly scientific account of the whole universe. However, there seemed to be a problem. At the time, physicists still believed that cosmological theory should yield a static picture. Physics was to be the last of the sciences to recognize the true significance of temporality and unfolding process. The geologists had got there at the end of the eighteenth century, and by mid-nineteenth century the biologists, with the publication of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859, had followed suit. In the early twentieth century, the physicists still held the Aristotelian notion of an eternally changeless cosmos. Einstein could not find a static solution of his equations. Consequently, when he published his cosmological proposals in 1918 he tinkered with the equations, adding an extra term (the cosmological constant). It represented a kind of antigravity, a repulsive force designed to counterbalance over great distances the attractive force of conventional gravity.

Einstein later called this addition the greatest blunder of his life. He had missed the chance to predict an expanding universe, for his unmodified equations had solutions (discovered by the Russian meteorologist Alexander Friedmann and the Belgian priest Georges Lemaître) that corresponded to the behavior later observed by Hubble. Moreover, his proposed static solution did not really work, for it was unstable and would have collapsed under disturbance.

BIG BANG COSMOLOGY. If the galaxies are presently moving apart, then in the past they must have been closer together. This leads to the conclusion that the universe we observe today appears to have emerged from the Big Bang, a primeval state of immensely condensed and energetic matter. Current estimates date this emergence at 13.7 billion years ago.

Taken literally, the Big Bang itself is an instant of infinite density and energy, a singularity that is beyond the power of conventional science to analyze. (Some highly speculative ideas about the very early universe, close to the Big Bang, will be discussed below.) Although some religious people (including Pope Pius XII) succumbed to the temptation to speak of the Big Bang as "the moment of creation," this was clearly a theological mistake. The Judeo-Christian-Islamic doctrine of creation is concerned with ontological origin (why is there something rather than nothing?), rather than temporal origin (how did it all begin?). God is as much the Creator today as God was 13.7 billion years ago. Big Bang cosmology is very interesting scientifically, but not critically significant theologically.

Nevertheless, three cosmologists, Hermann Bondi, Fred Hoyle, and Thomas Gold, feared that Big Bang cosmology might favor religion, and so in the 1960s they proposed an alternative *steady state* theory, the picture of an everlasting universe always broadly the same. This return to Aristotelian ideas was reconciled with the recession of the galaxies by the supposition of the continuous creation of matter, taking place at a rate too small to be observed but sufficient over time to fill in the gaps left by the motion of the already existing galaxies. Further observational results have disposed of this idea.

As the universe expands, it cools. By the time it was a microsecond old, its temperature was already at the level where the cosmic processes taking place had energies sufficiently low for scientists to possess a reliable understanding of their nature. Discussion is further simplified by the fact that the early universe was almost uniform and structureless, making it a very simple physical system to consider.

By the time it was about three minutes old, the universe had cooled to the extent that nuclear interactions ceased on a cosmic scale. As a result the gross nuclear structure of the world got fixed at what it still is today, three-quarters hydrogen and one-quarter helium. By the time the cosmos was about half a million years old, further cooling had taken it to the point where radiation was no longer energetic enough to break up any atoms that tried to form. Matter and radiation then decoupled and the latter was left simply to cool further as cosmic expansion continued. Today this radiation is very cold, three degrees above absolute zero. It was first observed in 1964 by Arno Penzias and Robert Wilson. Known as cosmic background radiation, it forms a fossilized deposit left over from the big bang era, telling us what the universe was like when it was half a million years old. One of the things we learn is that the cosmos was then very uniform, with fluctuations about the mean density amounting to no more than one part in ten thousand. This background radiation put paid to the steady state theory, which could not explain its properties in the natural way that was possible for Big Bang cosmology.

Gravity has the long-term effect of enhancing small fluctuations. A little more matter here than there produced a little more attraction here than there, thereby triggering a snowballing effect by which the universe eventually became lumpy with galaxies and stars. By a cosmic age of one billion years this process was in full swing. As stars condensed, they heated up and nuclear reactions began again on a local scale. Initially, stars burn by converting hydrogen into helium. At a later stage of stellar development, heavier elements, such as carbon and oxygen, are formed by further nuclear processes. Inside a star this sequence cannot get beyond iron, the most stable of the nuclear species. At the end of their lives, however, some stars explode as supernovae, not only scattering the elements they have made out into the environment, but also, in the explosive process itself, generating the missing elements beyond iron. In this way the ninety-two chemical elements eventually became available. One of the great triumphs of twentieth-century astrophysics was unraveling the details of the delicate processes of nucleosynthesis. When a second generation of stars and planets formed, there was available a chemical environment sufficiently rich to permit the development of life. Thus began one of the most remarkable developments in cosmic history known to us. With the eventual dawning of self-consciousness the universe became aware of itself.

THE ANTHROPIC PRINCIPLE. As scientists came to understand the evolutionary processes of cosmic history, they began to realize that the possibility for the development of carbon-based life depended critically on the details of the laws of nature actually operating in the universe. The collection of insights pointing to this conclusion has been given the name of the anthropic principle, though carbon principle would have been a better choice as it is the generality of life, rather than the specificity of *Homo sapiens*, that is involved. Many examples have been given of these anthropic "fine-tunings."

One is provided by the stellar processes by which the elements necessary for life have been formed. Every atom of carbon in every living body was once inside a star, and the process by which that carbon was made depends critically on the quantitative details of nuclear physics. Three helium nuclei have to combine to make carbon. One would expect a two-step process, two heliums first fusing to form beryllium, and then a third helium being added on to make carbon. However, there is a problem because beryllium is very unstable and this makes the second step problematic. In fact it is only possible because there turns out to be a substantial enhancement effect (a resonance) occurring at exactly the right energy. If the nuclear forces were different from what they actually are, this resonance would be in the wrong place and there would be no carbon at all. When Hoyle discovered this remarkable coincidence, he felt it could not just be a happy accident but there must be some Intelligence lying behind it.

Examples can be multiplied. Developing life on a planet depends upon its star providing a long-lived and reliable source of energy. Stars burn in this way in our universe because the force of gravity is such as to permit it. The most exacting anthropic fine-tuning relates to Einstein's cosmological constant. Modern thinking has revived this notion, but its strength has to be extremely weak to prevent the universe either collapsing or blowing apart. Many cosmologists believe the force (usually called *dark energy*) is actually present, but at a level that is only 10^{-120} of what one would regard as its natural value. Anything larger than this tiny number would have made the evolution of life, or any complex cosmic structure, quite impossible.

These scientific insights are uncontroversial, but what their deeper, metascientific significance might be held to be has been highly contended. Few are prepared to treat these anthropic coincidences as merely happy accidents, and so two contrasting explanatory proposals have been widely canvassed. One views the universe as a divine creation, explaining its finely tuned specificity as an expression of the Creator's will that it should be capable of having a fruitful history. The other is the multiverse approach, supposing that this particular universe is just one member of a vast portfolio of different existing worlds, each separate from each other and each possessing its own natural laws and circumstances. Our universe is simply the one in this immense cosmic array where, by chance, the development of carbon-based life is a possibility. Although there are highly speculative scientific ideas that might to a degree encourage multiversal thinking (see below), the unobservable prodigality of the multiverse approach makes it seem a metaphysical proposal of considerable extravagance, which appears to do only one piece of explanatory work in defusing the threat of theism.

THE VERY EARLY UNIVERSE. The closer scientists try to press to the Big Bang, the more extreme are the regimes involved and therefore the more speculative their thinking.

Many believe that when the universe was about 10^{-36} seconds old, a kind of boiling of space occurred, called inflation, which expanded the universe very greatly and with immense rapidity. The idea is not only supported by some theoretical arguments, but also gains credibility through its ability to explain some significant facts about the universe. One is cosmic isotropy: the background radiation appears virtually the same in all directions despite the fact that the sky contains many regions which, on a simple extrapolation back to the Big Bang, would never have been in causal contact with each other. On an inflationary picture, however, these different regions derive from an initially much smaller domain where there would have been the causal contact necessary to produce uniformity of temperature and density. Inflation would also have had a smoothing effect, thereby explaining the large-scale homogeneity of the universe and the close balance between expansive and gravitational effects that is actually observed (and which, in fact, is another anthropic necessity).

Much more speculative is the attempt to understand the Planck era, before 10^{-43} seconds, when the universe was so small that it has to be understood quantum mechanically. The proper unification of quantum theory and general relativity has not been achieved. In consequence there are many different hypothetical accounts of quantum cosmology. A frequent theme is that universes may continually arise from the inflation of fluctuations in the ur-vacuum of quantum gravity, and our universe is just one member of this proliferating multiverse. The assertion that this process would represent science's ability to explain creation out of nothing, is merely an abuse of language. A quantum vacuum is a highly structured and active medium, very different from *nihil.*

COSMIC DESTINY. On the largest scale, the history of the cosmos involves a tug of war between the expansive tendencies of the Big Bang and the contractive force of gravity. If in the end gravity wins, what began with the Big Bang will end in the big crunch, as the universe collapses in upon itself. If expansion wins (the currently favored option), the universe will continue to expand forever, becoming progressively colder and more dilute, eventually decaying in a long drawn out dying whimper.

In its eschatological thinking, theology must take account of these reliable scientific prognostications of the eventual futility of current process. Ultimately, a simple evolutionary optimism is not a viable possibility.

SEE ALSO Physics and Religion.

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COUNCILS

This entry consists of the following articles:

BUDDHIST COUNCILS
CHRISTIAN COUNCILS

COUNCILS: BUDDHIST COUNCILS

Accounts considering the final events in the life of Siddhārtha Gautama, the historical Buddha, are often quick to point out that his last injunctions to his community include exhortations to remember that all compounded things are impermanent and to work diligently for the attainment of salvation. What these accounts sometimes fail to emphasize is that the Buddha also enjoined the community to appoint no successor in his stead. The Buddha was explicit in arguing that his teaching (Dharma) and disciplinary training (Vinaya) would provide sufficient guidance for the attainment of *nirvāṇa.* He further granted the community authority to abolish all lesser and minor precepts of conduct, although he failed to identify precisely which precepts he deemed minor and lesser. In the absence of an appointed or hereditary successor to leadership of the Buddhist community, and with an obvious uncertainty as to which disciplinary rules were to be retained, much confusion could be expected in the days and years following the leader's demise. To combat the anticipated disorientation, it was suggested that a council be convened whose purpose would be to solidify basic Buddhist doctrine and discipline. In this way, the transition from the ministry of the Buddha's charismatic leadership to one of a newly established social identity was softened and advanced. Further, convocation of this first Buddhist council helped to establish a precedent upon which future Buddhist communities could draw for sanction in resolving disputes.

COUNCIL LITERATURE. Literature on these various Buddhist councils derives from both primary and secondary sources.

Initially, one looks to the canonical sources, and this avenue of inquiry yields fruitful results. Appended to the Vinaya Piṭaka, or disciplinary portion, of each Buddhist school's canon is a section devoted to a consideration of the Buddha's death and the first two Buddhist councils. Noncanonical sources also unearth a mine of useful material. In this regard, we can consult such texts as the Pali *Dīpavaṃsa*, as well as the *Samayabhedoparacanacakra* of Vasumitra, the *Nikāyabhedavibhaṅgavyākhyāna* of Bhavya, the *Mahāprajñāpāramita Śāstra*, (often wrongly attributed to Nāgārjuna), Ji-zang's *San-lun hsüan-i* (based on an earlier work of Paramārtha), the *Mahāvibhāṣā Śāstra*, the *Śāriputraparipṛcchā Sūtra*, and others. There is also a wealth of secondary material in Western languages, for which the reader is referred to the appended bibliography.

MAJOR INDIAN COUNCILS. Current buddhological research enables the documentation of no fewer than five Indian Buddhist councils, each of which must be described in order to unearth its import for the history of the tradition.

The first council: Rājagṛha. The first Indian Buddhist council was allegedly held during the rainy season immediately following the Buddha's death in, according to the most popular reckoning, 483 BCE. It was held in the capital city of King Bimbisāra, ruler of Magadha and a chief royal patron of the Buddha and the Buddhist community. With food and shelter provided, Rājagṛha proved to be an ideal site for the Buddhists' deliberations. Most accounts tell that a leading Buddhist monk of the time, Kāśyapa, was selected to convene the council and charged with the task of inviting an appropriate assemblage of monks. There are, however, some indications that the Buddha's first enlightened disciple, Ājñāta Kauṇḍinya, was chosen to preside, thus raising a later scholarly debate as to whether personal merit or seniority was the basis for leadership selection. In any case, as the records recount the story, five hundred monks, all having attained the status of *arhat*s (Pali, *arahant*s; "enlightened ones"), were selected to participate in the council proceedings. The plan for the enactment of the council was to have the president of the event question first Upāli, a disciple known for his mastery of the disciplinary materials, on Vinaya, and then Ānanda, allegedly the Buddha's most beloved disciple, on the various sermons of the Buddha. Sources recount, however, that at the time of his selection Ānanda was not yet enlightened. (This fact in and of itself casts some doubt on the accuracy of the account.) In due course, however, Ānanda is reported to have attained *nirvāṇa*, thus enabling him to participate in the expected fashion.

During Kāśyapa's questioning of Ānanda, reference was made to the Buddha's suggestion that the lesser and minor precepts be abolished. With the community in a quandry as to the best course of action, Kāśyapa decided to leave all disciplinary rules intact, lest the community fall into disrepute in such matters. After the recitation of the doctrinal and disciplinary materials, other issues of business were entertained and various penalties imposed on individuals who had acted incorrectly. As the convocation prepared to adjourn, a traveling monk, Purāṇa, arrived in Rājagṛha and was invited to join the proceedings. He declined, noting that he chose to remember the Dharma and Vinaya precisely as spoken by the Buddha. In so noting, further suspicion is thrown on the authority and impact of the council. Finally, the council concluded, referring to itself as the *vinayasaṃgīti*, or "chanting of the Vinaya."

At least three major functions for this first council at Rājagṛha can be distinguished. In the first place, there is the practical concern. The council established authority for the fledgling religious community in the absence of its founder, and solidarity was enhanced as well. There was also a secondary concern to begin the post-Buddha period with communal purity confirmed. The meting out of formal penalties assured such a condition. Third, there is the obvious mythic function. A formal religious event effected a renewal of the cosmic and social order, thus providing an auspicious beginning for the religious organization's new mission. Furthermore, in the recitation of the Dharma and the Vinaya (in nothing like their later forms, however), an infant Buddhist canon was established.

The general consensus of scholarship devoted to the first council almost uniformly concludes that the canonical accounts are at best greatly exaggerated and at worst pure fiction. On a small scale, it may be safe to assume that several of the Buddha's intimates gathered after his death to consider their future plight in the Indian religious climate, but the authenticity of the dramatic event presented in the canon is highly questionable.

The Second Council: Vaiśālī. One hundred years pass before there is any further information on the historical development of the Buddhist community. The occasion for this new look into the ongoing progress of the still-infant Buddhist religion was a council held in the town of Vaiśālī. The various Vinaya accounts record that a Buddhist monk named Yaṣas wandered into Vaiśālī and observed the resident monks, or *bhikṣu*s (formally identified as the Vṛjiputraka *bhikṣus*), engaged in ten practices that seemed to conflict with Yaṣas's understanding of injunctions made explicit in the Vinaya. Yaṣas, the tale has it, formally protested indulgence in these ten apparently illicit practices, but was rejected by the community of monks and sentenced to a penalty known as the *pratisaṃharaṇīya-karma*. This punishment required that he beg the pardon of the monks he had offended by his accusation and obtain their forgiveness. Although initially intending to comply with the penalty, Yaṣas eventually changed his mind, resolving to convince the local laity that the Vṛjiputraka monks were at fault. Upon learning of Yaṣas's renewed attack on their conduct, the resident monks further punished this young agitator with the *utkṣepaṇīya-karma*, literally banishing him from the community.

Undaunted by the formal act of banishment, Yaṣas journeyed to Kauśāmbī, seeking the support of a learned monk known as Saṃbhūta Śāṇavāsin. Another well-respected monk, Revata, also decided to come to Yaṣas's support on the issue of the ten practices. All the while, the Vṛjiputraka *bhikṣu*s were gathering supporters to their side as well. The conflict was brought to a conclusion in the convocation of a formal council in Vaiśālī. Revata was selected to preside over the proceedings. Sarvagāmin, an elder monk who had had the Buddha's direct disciple Ānanda as his *upādhyāya*, or teacher, was questioned on each of the ten points. One by one, Sarvagāmin rejected each point on the basis of various scriptures. With the ten practices condemned and concord renewed, the council concluded, again referring to itself as the "recital of the Vinaya" (*vinayasaṃgīti*) or as the "recital of the seven hundred," the number of monks who attended the gathering.

Of course it is necessary to consider just what these ten illicit practices were and why this particular event seems to have had so great an impact on the early Buddhist community. The ten points include: (1) preserving salt in a horn; (2) taking food when the shadow is beyond two fingers wide; (3) after finishing one meal, going to another town for another meal; (4) holding several confession ceremonies within the same monastic boundary; (5) confirming a monastic act in an incomplete assembly; (6) carrying out an act improperly and justifying it by its habitual performance in this way; (7) after eating, drinking unchurned milk that is somewhere between the states of milk and curd; (8) drinking unfermented wine; (9) using a mat without a border; and (10) accepting gold and silver. Although there is considerable scholarly disagreement concerning the meaning and implications of these practices, it is abundantly clear that each of the ten points was fully rejected by the Vinaya of each Buddhist *nikāya*, or school. Based on such scriptural certainty, then, is it possible to make any sense out of these points and their implications for Buddhist history?

Although a reconciliation was effected by the council of Vaiśālī, the very occasion of the council suggests forcefully that there were significant tensions and disagreements already operative in the Buddhist community. That it was divided by various factions must be assumed. To make general statements, it may be summarized that the various differences that were emerging as reflecting (1) rigorist versus laxist tendencies; (2) monastic versus lay emphases; and (3) sacred versus secular concern in the community.

Virtually all scholars conclude that the council of Vaiśālī was a historical event. Almost all sources place the event one hundred years after the Buddha's *nirvāṇa* (although two sources cite 110 years) at the Vālukārāma Monastery in Vaiśālī. Wilhelm Geiger and others have suggested that the council of Vaiśālī is the beginning point of Buddhist sectarianism, the point at which the *saṃgha* split into the Sthavira and Mahāsāṃghika schools. This premise, however, has been persuasively rejected by Marcel Hofinger, André Bareau, myself, and others. Thus, at the conclusion of the council of Vaiśālī, the Buddhist community remained bound together, albeit in a rather tenuous and uncertain union.

Pāṭaliputra I: the noncanonical council. By the time of the consecration of King Aśoka (c. 270 BCE), the Buddhist sectarian movement was already well advanced. Attempts to locate the beginnings of Buddhist sectarianism in the scriptures have continually failed. Nonetheless, through the painstaking efforts of Bareau, it has been possible to reconstruct the evidence of a council from which the Buddhist sectarian movement had its birth. By using primarily noncanonical sources, Bareau has been able to conclude that another council followed that of Vaiśālī by less than half a century, and it is this event that must be considered here.

In the study of this new council, only one issue can be found about which all the texts concur: that it was held in Pāṭaliputra. Both the date of the council and the occasion for its convocation are troublesome. Four possible dates appear in the various texts: 100 AN (i.e., after the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha), 116 AN, 137 AN, and 160 AN. Bareau dismisses the extreme dates as "manifestly aberrant," and initially concludes that the event must have occurred either in 137 AN or 116 AN. According to Bareau, the former date would locate the council under the reign of King Mahāpadma the Nandin, while the latter would place the proceedings in the reign of Kālāśoka. Bareau prefers the former figure, assuming that it would take thirty-seven years or so for the cause of the council to develop fully: namely, disciplinary laxity and five disparaging theses about *arhats* promulgated by an apparently renegade monk named Mahādeva. In other words, Bareau feels quite certain as to the cause of the convocation, and infers the date from the cause.

As to the specifics of the council, Bareau tells us that by the reign of Mahāpadma the Nandin, the Buddhist community had divided itself into two camps, one lax in discipline and supporting the tenets of Mahādeva, the other rigorous and strongly opposed to him. Unable to resolve their dispute internally, the Buddhists approached King Mahāpadma and asked him to mediate the dispute. The king assembled the two groups in his capital of Pāṭaliputra, but being incompetent in religious matters, decided to put the matter to a simple vote. The "laxist" party was apparently in the majority and withdrew, calling itself the Mahāsāṃghikas, or "Great Assembly." The minority party referred to itself as the Sthaviras, or "Elders." Each group then began to develop its own canon and religious community.

Virtually all the early sources in Buddhist literature conclude that the council described above was a historical event. Further, they consider this initial council of Pāṭaliputra to be the true starting point of the sectarian movement in Buddhism. Recently, however, Bareau's conclusions as to the date and cause of the council have been questioned. Janice J. Nattier and Charles S. Prebish have suggested that the council took place in 116 AN, under the reign of Kālāśoka, and that disciplinary laxity and Mahādeva's theses had nothing at all to do with the schism (1977). Based on a reevaluation of Bareau's sources and a consideration of the *Śāriputraparipṛcchā Sūtra*, Nattier and Prebish argue that the chief issue of the council, and the resulting sectarian split, was unwarranted Vinaya expansion on the part of the future Sthaviras. They are unable, at this time, to ascertain which hypothesis, if either, is correct. Nevertheless, it is clear that the sectarian movement in Buddhism emerged sometime in the century following the Vaiśālī council; by 200 BCE more than a dozen sects were evident in the Buddhist community.

Pāṭaliputra II: the third canonical council. No king has been more important for the early history of Buddhism in its native land than Aśoka. Although the traditional Buddhist legends tend to conflict somewhat with the picture of Aśoka revealed by his numerous rock edicts and inscriptions, it has generally been concluded that Aśoka was a pious ruler, sympathetic to the many Buddhists in his domain. By utilizing materials in the Pali *Dīpavaṃsa*, *Mahāvaṃsa*, *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, and *Samantapāsādikā*, one can construct a fairly accurate account of the events leading up to the third Buddhist council, and of the council itself.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* (v. 280) indicates that the close of the council was in the seventeenth year of Aśoka's reign. The *Dīpavaṃsa* notes the date as 236 AN, or 247 BCE. Apparently, "heretics" had been entering the Buddhist community for some time, undermining the Dharma, and therefore weakening the entire social and religious structure of the *saṃgha.* In order to remedy the situation, Aśoka chose a famous monk, Moggaliputtatissa, to preside over a huge assembly of a thousand monks, who were to determine and restore orthodoxy. Under Tissa's guidance the offending viewpoints were rejected; eventually it was concluded that the Buddha was a *vibhajyavādin*, or "distinctionist." The viewpoints under discussion were recorded in a now well-known Abhidharma text, the *Kathāvatthu.*

There is no question that this council was a historical event. It is curious, however, that it is mentioned only in the Pali accounts, lending weight to the supposition that the council may have been only a "party meeting" of the Vibhajyavāda sect. It is now well known that this sect was the parent of the Theravāda *nikāya.* Other possibilities for the function of the council include the separation of the Sarvāstivādin group (the heretical faction under this interpretation) from the Sthavira proper.

The council of Kaniṣka. Near the end of the first century CE, Kaniṣka became the ruling monarch of the great Kushan dynasty. He tried hard to emulate Aśoka's example of ruling in accord with the Buddhist Dharma, and championed the Sarvāstivādin school of Buddhism. From his capitals of Purusapura and Mathura, he wielded much power in the Buddhist world. Near the end of his reign, about 100 CE, Kaniṣka sponsored a council, probably in Gandhara (but possibly in Kashmir), to consider the doctrines of the Sarvāstivādin school.

Following the suggestion of the Sarvāstivādin scholar Pārśva, invitations were sent to all the learned Buddhists of the time, from whom 499 were finally chosen to attend the conference. Great debates were held on various aspects of Buddhist doctrine, and especially on the Abhidharma. The venerable scholar Vasumitra was president of the council, assisted by Aśvaghoṣa. A new Vinaya was committed to writing at the conference, and a great commentary, known as the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, on the Abhidharma text of the *Jñānaprasthāna* was compiled. There is no question but that the position this council occupies in the history of the Sarvāstivāda *nikāya* is analogous to that of the council convened by Aśoka nearly four centuries earlier for the history of the Theravāda *nikāya.*

No collective meeting in Indian Buddhism ever attained the importance of the five heretofore considered. All of the other major convocations were to take place outside of the Buddhist homeland.

OTHER ANCIENT COUNCILS. Recognizing the impact the Indian Buddhist councils have had on the continued growth of the religion in its native land, councils have periodically met in other Buddhist countries as well. Of course Aśoka was renowned for exporting Buddhism through a series of missionary endeavors, with Sri Lanka at the forefront of his enterprise. Equally, within several centuries of the close of King Kaniṣka's reign in India, Buddhism had spread into Central Asia, China, and Tibet. It is no surprise then, that Sri Lanka and Tibet were the sites of other ancient Buddhist councils.

The fourth Theravādin council. Records indicate that Aśoka's son Mahinda, a Buddhist monk, was sent to Sri Lanka to propagate the religion. Upon receiving Mahinda's teaching, King Devānaṃpiyatissa became a lay disciple and established a Buddhist monastery, called the Mahāvihāra, in his capital city of Anurādhapura. A branch of the bodhi tree was exported to Sri Lanka, and an ordination lineage was started for monks and nuns.

During the first century the Buddhist order was threatened by invading Tamils from South India and King Vaṭṭagāmaṇī was forced into exile for fourteen years (43–29 BCE). After reassuming the throne, the king found his land threatened by famine and the religious tradition split by schismatic rumblings. To combat rising religious unrest, it was decided to convene a conference in the capital city (in 25 BCE), in the by then old and famous Mahāvihāra. The prime function of the proceedings was to write down the scriptural texts of the Theravādin school of Buddhism in the Pali language. Thus the formal Tipiṭaka ("three baskets," i.e., the Buddhist canon) was established, providing an institutionalized basis for the continued growth and development of the Theravāda tradition. In addition, the Mahāvihāra community had an apparently orthodox, authoritative textual ground from which to refute their rivals in the Mahāyāna-leaning community of the Abhayagiri Monastery. Eventually, the Pali scriptures compiled at this council found their way into all the Theravādin countries of South and Southeast Asia.

The Lhasa council in Tibet. By the middle of the seventh century of the common era Tibet had an unusual political and religious relationship to India and China. King Srong bstan sgam po of Tibet seems to have been married to both Nepalese and Chinese wives, and there was a clear influx of Buddhist ideas from each of these countries. After the great monastery at Bsam yas was completed in 787, a Sarvāstivādin ordination lineage was established, and the institution became a lively place for the discussion of a wide variety of religious viewpoints.

Although King Khri srong lde btsan (r. 759–797?) was able to undermine the claims to state religion of the indigenous Bon religion, his reign was further aggravated by internal disputes among the Buddhists in his kingdom. Not only did the Tantric tradition advanced by Padmasambhava conflict with older Indian ideas maintained by Śāntirakṣita, but a Chinese monk (generally called Hva-shang, or simply Mahāyāna) argued against Śāntirakṣita as well.

As a resolution to the problem, it was suggested that a council be held at court (in 792–794 CE), with the king in attendance. To present the traditional Buddhist viewpoint, Śāntirakṣita's pupil Kamalaśīla was invited to Tibet. Mahāyāna argued the Chinese position. Two chief issues were considered. First, the Chinese monk argued that buddhahood was attained suddenly, intuitively, while the Indian monk maintained that the path to enlightenment was gradual. Second, the Indian representative argued, as a corollary to the prior point, for the positive value of meritorious action, while Mahāyāna offered a radical opposition. In a lively debate, the Chinese position was clearly defeated (so say the prevailing accounts of the Indian faction), establishing the efficacy of the Indian standpoint for Tibetan Buddhism. The Chinese were forced in no uncertain terms to leave the country, as is reported through both a Chinese source in the Dunhuang manuscripts and the works of Kamalaśīla (preserved in Sanskrit and Tibetan), but the memory of this monumental debate persisted in the minds of many Tibetan Buddhists for generations.

MODERN COUNCILS. In the millennium between 800 and 1800 CE little mention was made of Buddhist councils. To be sure, there were numerous proceedings of local import in the various Buddhist countries, but it was not until the latter half of the nineteenth century that another council took place of major impact for the entire Buddhist world.

The fifth Theravādin council. In the Buddhist culture of Southeast Asia it is not at all unusual for royal monarchs to be religious scholars, with prior training from within the Buddhist monastic order. Rama IV of Thailand, for instance, developed extensive scholarship in the Pali texts during his twenty-seven years as a monk. It was in this tradition that King Mindon Min of Burma (r. 1852–1877) convened the fifth Theravādin council in Mandalay in 1871. The purpose of the council was explicit: to revise the Pali texts. To insure the survival of the new scriptures the king had all the texts entombed in stupas, thus preserving the 729 marble tablets upon which the texts were inscribed.

The sixth Theravādin council. In 1954, nearly one hundred years after the Mandalay council, the sixth Theravādin council was convened in Rangoon, Burma, by the prime minister, U Nu. The fact that the twenty-five hundredth anniversary of the Buddha's death was approaching made the notion of a council even more auspicious. The basic function of this sixth council was to recite and confirm the entire Pali canon. Nearly two years of preparations were made prior to its inauguration on May 17, 1954.

U Nu delivered the initial address, charging the twenty-five hundred monks in attendance to work diligently at reciting and editing these important scriptural resources. For two years recitation proceeded, culminating with closure on the twenty-five hundredth anniversary of the Buddha's death (according to Burmese reckoning). The council, in addition to having tremendous religious significance, was a national festival in Burma, and established solidarity among all Theravāda Buddhists there and throughout Asia.

The World Fellowship of Buddhists. In an attempt to carry on the spirit demonstrated by the various Buddhist councils, the World Fellowship of Buddhists was established in 1950 as an expression of true religious ecumenism. The Fellowship has exercised its lofty intention through a series of conferences in various Buddhist countries. These conferences have sometimes expressed political as well as religious concerns, but they nonetheless reflect a spirit of cooperation that is thoroughly consistent with the very first Buddhist conclave, held in the rainy season following the Buddha's death in 483 BCE.

SEE ALSO Aśoka; Buddha; Devānaṃpiyatissa; Kamalaśīla; Moggaliputtatissa; Śāntarakṣita; Theravāda.

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COUNCILS: CHRISTIAN COUNCILS

Since the beginning of Christian history, designated leaders of Christian communities have from time to time gathered to make authoritative decisions on common teaching and practice. Such gatherings are usually called councils or synods (from the Greek *sunodos*, "a coming together"). Although these two terms are sometimes used synonymously, especially in Greek-Christian literature, *synod* normally designates the gathering of representatives from a local church or a single denomination, as distinct from *council*, which usually means a meeting at which representation is intended to be universal. Although only seven such meetings, all held in Greek cities in Asia Minor between the fourth and eighth centuries, are recognized by most Christian churches today as worldwide, or "ecumenical," councils (from the Greek *oikoumenē*, "the inhabited world") and as classically authoritative in their articulation of Christian faith and church order, the conciliar pattern of decision making has remained a constant feature in the life of most churches. The Roman Catholic Church, in fact, has traditionally regarded fourteen later councils, most of them Western gatherings held under papal auspices, as also ecumenical and normative. Christian councils have varied greatly in size, procedure, composition, and the way in which they have been convoked and ratified. The only criterion for determining their authority and importance is the practical norm of "reception": that a council's decisions are subsequently accepted by a church or a group of churches as valid and binding.

Councils in the Early Church. Precedents for early Christian conciliar practice lay in the Jewish Sanhedrin, or national council of priests and elders, which regulated the religious affairs, as well as some secular matters, of postexilic Israel until the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE, and in the collegial bodies of priests and leading citizens that ruled most local cults in the Hellenistic and Roman world. The first recorded gathering of Christian leaders to rule in a doctrinal and disciplinary dispute was the "council" of apostles and elders held in 48 or 49 CE and described in *Acts of the Apostles* 15:6–29. That council decided not to require full observance of the Mosaic law from Gentile converts. As the Christian church established itself in other regions of the Greco-Roman world, special meetings of the bishops in a particular province or region were occasionally called to deal with disputed issues, such as the prophetic Montanist movement (Asia Minor, c. 170), the date of the celebration of Easter (Asia Minor, Palestine, Gaul, and Rome, c. 190), the readmission to Christian communion of those who had "lapsed" in persecution (Rome, c. 230–250; Carthage, c. 240–250), or the scandalous behavior of Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch (Antioch, 264–268).

During the late second and third centuries, episcopal synods probably met regularly in most regions, although the evidence is fragmentary. As the end of the illegal status of the Christian churches drew near, however, their leaders became bolder in organizing such meetings. A synod of Spanish bishops held in Elvira, near Granada, some time in the first decade of the fourth century enacted eighty-one canons on church discipline that remained widely influential, particularly on the indissolubility of marriage and clerical celibacy. Another local synod, at Arles in southern Gaul (August 314), called to consider the response of Catholics to the schismatic Donatist church in Africa, ruled against rebaptizing Donatists who wished to enter the Catholic Church.

Early Ecumenical Councils. The first attempt to gather a body of bishops representing the whole Christian world was the council called by the emperor Constantine I at Nicaea, in northwest Asia Minor, in the summer of 325 (June 18–August 25). The Council of Nicaea is still recognized as the first ecumenical Christian council and as the model for later authoritative gatherings. With the style and procedure of the Roman senate likely in mind, Constantine commissioned the 318 bishops who had assembled near his residence in Nicaea, including several representatives from the Latin church of the West, to settle the controversy raised by Arius's denial of the eternity and full divinity of Jesus. In asserting that Jesus, as Son of God, is "begotten, not made" and "of the same substance as the Father," the council's creedal formula laid the groundwork for the classical development of Christian trinitarian theology in the half century that followed. The Nicene council also excommunicated Arius and his followers, determined a unified way of reckoning the date of Easter, and issued twenty disciplinary decrees or canons, mainly regulating the appointment and jurisdiction of bishops. Although the emperor's influence was strongly felt at Nicaea, it was the bishops themselves—under the leadership of Constantine's adviser, Bishop Hosius of Cordova, and of the young Alexandrian priest Athanasius—who formulated common theological and practical decisions. The bishops of the whole Christian world were now publicly recognized as the senate of the church.

After more than fifty years of sharp controversy over the reception and interpretation of the Nicene formula, a period that saw the proliferation of local synods and the production of many new creeds, the emperor Theodosius I convoked a meeting of some 150 Greek-speaking bishops at Constantinople in 381 (May–July) for what later was recognized as the second ecumenical council (Constantinople I). In addition to confirming Nicaea's insistence on the full divinity of Jesus as Son, this council condemned those who denied that the Holy Spirit is a distinct individual within the trinitarian mystery of God. An expanded version of the Nicene Creed, probably professed by the patriarch-elect Nectarius during the council before his installation in the see of Constantinople, was taken by the Council of Chalcedon (451) to be the official creed of the whole gathering and is still used as the standard profession of faith in many Christian liturgies (the "Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed"). This council also enacted four disciplinary canons, including one that accorded second place in ecclesiastical honor, after that of "old Rome," to the new imperial capital, Constantinople. That provision was to become a cause of contention between the Eastern and Western churches.

As a result of a bitter dispute between Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, and Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, over the proper way of conceiving the relationship of the divine and human aspects of Jesus, the emperor Theodosius II summoned a meeting of bishops at Ephesus on the coast of Asia Minor, in the summer of 431, to resolve the issue, and more particularly to judge the propriety of calling Mary "Mother of God" (*theotokos*), as Cyril insisted on doing. Representatives of the opposing groups could not agree to meet, and the would-be council ended abortively in mutual excommunication. Later (April 433) Cyril came to an agreement with the more moderate of Nestorius's supporters to excommunicate Nestorius and to accept the title *theotokos* as valid, but also to recognize that in Jesus two distinct natures—the human and the divine—are united without confusion in a single individual. On the basis of this agreement, the meeting of Cyril's party at Ephesus in 431 later came to be regarded as the third ecumenical council, and the dossier assembled there by Cyril's supporters was used as a classical anthology of christological documents.

The fullest articulation of the early church's understanding of the person of Christ was made at a council held at Chalcedon, across the Bosporus from Constantinople, in the fall of 451 (October–November). In response to continuing controversy over whether the humanity of Jesus constituted a distinct and operative reality or "nature" after the incarnation of the Word, the emperor Marcian convoked this meeting of over 350 bishops (including three legates from Pope Leo I and two North African bishops) and forced it to formulate a doctrinal statement on Christ that accommodated a variety of theological traditions. The chief inspiration of the document, however, was the balanced "two-nature" Christology articulated by Leo in his letter to Bishop Flavian of Constantinople in 449. The council also enacted twenty-eight disciplinary canons, the last of which confirmed the second rank of the see of Constantinople and awarded it jurisdictional primacy in Asia Minor and northeastern Greece. This meeting, regarded as the fourth ecumenical council, is the first for which we possess detailed minutes as well as final documents.

Chalcedon's formulation of the Christian understanding of Christ proved to be only a new beginning for controversy. After more than a century of recriminations, especially in the East, the emperor Justinian I convoked another meeting at Constantinople (Constantinople II) in the year 553 (May 5–June 2) and persuaded the 168 bishops present to reformulate the Christology of Chalcedon in terms that more clearly emphasized the centrality of Jesus' divine identity. They also condemned the speculative theology of Origen (third century) and his followers, as well as that of the chief opponents of Cyril of Alexandria from the previous century. The Roman bishop, Vigilius I, was present in Constantinople during the council but refused to attend, suspecting—along with most Western bishops—that it was being forced to weaken the stated faith of Chalcedon in the interests of political unity. In February 554, however, he agreed to accept the decisions of Constantinople II, a step that resulted in decades of controversy in Italy and Africa. This synod has generally been accepted since then as the fifth ecumenical council.

In the century that followed, Greek theologians continued to look for ways of reconciling the monophysites, Christians who had broken from the official church after Chalcedon by emphasizing the dynamic unity of the two-natured Christ as a divine person. One such attempt, favored by several seventh-century Byzantine patriarchs and emperors, was the ascription to Christ of a single divine will and "activity," or range of behavior. Led by the exiled Greek monk Maximos the Confessor, a local Roman synod of October 649 rejected this new Christology as a subtle weakening of the integral affirmation of Jesus' humanity. This condemnation was confirmed by a small gathering of mainly Eastern bishops in the rotunda of the imperial palace in Constantinople between November 7, 680, and September 16, 681, a synod subsequently recognized as the sixth ecumenical council (Constantinople III).

Ten years later, the emperor Justinian II summoned another gathering of bishops in the same rotunda to discuss disciplinary issues and formulate practical canons that would supplement the authoritative theological decisions of Constantinople II and III. Hence its customary titles, the "Quinisext" (fifth-and-sixth) synod or the synod "in the rotunda" (Gr., *en trullō)*, also known as the Trullan Synod. The membership of this meeting was also entirely Greek, and a number of its canons explicitly rejected Western practices. Although this gathering is not regarded as ecumenical, its legislation became one of the main sources of Orthodox canon law and was also frequently cited by Western medieval canonists.

The main theological controversy in the eighth- and ninth-century Eastern church was no longer directly over the person of Christ, but over the related issue of the legitimacy of using and venerating images in the context of worshiping a transcendent God. In 726, Emperor Leo III began the policy of removing and destroying the images in churches (iconoclasm), and his successor, Constantine V, convoked a synod of 338 bishops in Constantinople in 754 to ratify this practice, excommunicating those who defended the use of images, including the theologian and monk John of Damascus. In 787 (September 24–October 7), however, the empress Irene convoked another synod at Nicaea (Nicaea II), attended by some 350 Greek bishops and two papal representatives. This synod reversed the decision of the year 754 and affirmed the legitimacy of venerating images and of asking for the intercession of the saints, while insisting also that worship, in the strict sense, is due to God alone. A resurgence of iconoclastic influence in the early ninth century delayed full acceptance of this council's decrees in the East, while the rivalry of the emperor Charlemagne and the poor Latin translation of the acts of Nicaea II that reached his court led to resistance in the West and even to condemnation of the council's decisions at a synod of 350 bishops at Frankfurt in June 794. However, Nicaea II was recognized as the seventh ecumenical council at the Council of Constantinople (869–870), a recognition that was endorsed for the West by Pope John VIII in 880. It is the last of the ancient councils recognized as authoritative by virtually all Christian churches.

MEDIEVAL COUNCILS. After the death of Theophilus, the last iconoclastic emperor, in 842, controversy in mid-ninth-century Constantinople over the manner of reinstating the veneration of images led to the forced abdication of the patriarch Ignatius in 858 and to the appointment of the learned civil servant Photios, a layman, as his successor. A local synod of 861, attended by two representatives of Pope Nicholas I, confirmed Photios's elevation and declared that the election of Ignatius had been uncanonical; the pope, however, was persuaded by Ignatius's followers to break communion with Photios two years later. Tension between Rome and Constantinople grew, both over the role of the pope as a source of legitimation and a court of appeal for Eastern bishops and over competing missionary activities of the two churches in Bulgaria. A synod summoned by the Greek emperor Michael in 867 condemned Roman incursions in the East, as well as the Roman church's introduction of the word *filioque* into the creed; it asked the Frankish emperor Louis II to depose Pope Nicholas. Another council in Constantinople, summoned by the new Greek emperor, Basil I, in 869–870, deposed Photios in an effort to win the pope's support, but Photios became patriarch again after Ignatius's death in 877 and was recognized by the pope in a council of reunion held in Constantinople in 879–880. This last meeting annulled the decisions of the council of 869–870, but Western canonists in the twelfth century included the earlier gathering among the ecumenical councils, as Constantinople IV, because its twenty-second canon, forbidding the appointment of bishops by laypeople, provided a precedent for their own case against lay investiture. None of the Photian councils is recognized as ecumenical by other churches.

After the synod of 879–880, Eastern and Western bishops ceased to meet over common concerns for almost four centuries. Local and regional synods, however, continued to play an important role in civil and ecclesiastical life. In Constantinople, the "residentiary synod" (Gr., *sunodos endēmousa*) of the patriarch functioned as the administrative cabinet of the Byzantine communion. Synods in North Africa in the early fifth century (especially at Carthage in 418) and in southern Gaul in the early sixth century (especially at Orange in 529) made important formulations of the Western church's doctrine of grace. And provincial synods, attended by both bishops and secular lords, became an increasingly important instrument of government in the Frankish kingdoms of the sixth and seventh centuries. In Visigothic Spain, eighteen synods were held at Toledo between 589 and 702, dealing with both church and civil discipline and with the doctrinal issue of later Arianism. The Celtic and Roman traditions of church order in Britain were unified by the Synod of Whitby in Northumbria in 664. For the Carolingian empire, national synods were an important instrument for fostering political and doctrinal unity.

It was only in the time of the "Gregorian reform," however, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, that the popes, as part of their program of strengthening the power and independence of the ordained clergy in ruling the church, thought again of convoking councils with a more than regional representation. Gregory VII, in his canonical summary known as *Dictates of the Pope*, insisted that only the bishop of Rome has the right to convoke an ecumenical council—a principle preserved ever since by Western canon law. Corresponding to his vision of the papacy as the active center of a universal and politically independent church, Gregory and his successors began to invite bishops and abbots from other parts of Europe to participate in Roman synods and also took the lead in mobilizing European forces to regain the Christian holy places in Palestine from Muslim occupation.

Three twelfth-century Roman synods—the Lateran councils of 1123, 1139, and 1179—demonstrated the concern of the popes of this period to assert the independence of the hierarchy from lay control by enacting a variety of measures that insured the moral and social integrity of the clergy. The council of 1179 also condemned the emerging Catharist or Albigensian heresy (a Western form of Gnosticism), regulated the activities of monastic and military orders, and established the lasting rule that a pope must be elected by a two-thirds majority of the senior Roman clergy, who were known as "cardinals." These three Lateran synods, increasingly international in membership and deliberately modeled on the councils of the early church, were and are regarded as ecumenical councils by the Roman Catholic Church. Far more important, however, was the Fourth Lateran Council, convoked in 1215 (November 11–30) by Innocent III. Innocent invited not only all bishops and heads of religious orders from the Western church, but also bishops of the Armenian, Maronite, and Greek churches. Only Latin bishops attended, however, and the council's seventy canons included a strong assertion of papal primacy and a complaint against the Greek church for rebaptizing Latin converts. The meeting—recognized in the West as the twelfth ecumenical council—not only continued the disciplinary reforms of its three predecessors but also issued doctrinal statements on the Trinity and the sacraments (introducing the word *transubstantiation* into official church vocabulary), forbade secret marriages, and instituted the requirement of annual confession for adult Catholics.

Continued conflict between the popes and the Hohenstaufen emperors led Innocent IV to convoke a council of some 150 bishops at Lyons in June and July 1245. Besides calling for renewed efforts to reconquer the holy places, this synod excommunicated the German emperor Frederick II, absolving his subjects from the moral duty of obeying him. Western canonists regard this synod as the thirteenth ecumenical council. Gregory X summoned a second council at Lyons in the summer of 1274 (May 5–July 17), in the hope of restoring communion between the Eastern and Western churches, a bond broken by mutual anathemas in 1054. The Greek emperor, Michael VIII Palaeologus, who had recaptured Constantinople from Latin occupiers in 1261, accepted the invitation to attend, hoping to prevent further Western attacks on his capital. Delegates of the Mongol khan also attended, as did some two hundred bishops and the nonvoting representatives of most Western rulers. Thomas Aquinas, invited to participate as a theological expert, died en route to Lyons. The Greek delegation participated in the papal Eucharist on June 29, the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul, and agreed to a formal reunion of the churches on July 6, raising no objection to the traditionally disputed Western doctrines of the procession of the Holy Spirit, purgatory, and papal primacy, or to the new Western understanding of seven sacraments. The council is regarded in the West as the fourteenth ecumenical council. In 1283, however, a synod in Constantinople repudiated the union and deposed the patriarch, John Beccus, who had agreed to it at Lyons. Michael Palaeologus who had never succeeded in winning Greek support for the council, was excommunicated by Pope Martin IV in 1281, and his own church even denied him a Christian burial on his death in 1282.

In the face of the increasing attempts of Philip IV ("the Fair") of France to control the church. Clement V—the first pope to reside at Avignon—summoned a council to meet in the independent French town of Vienne in 1311–1312 (October 16–May 6). Eager to acquire the wealth of the Knights Templars, Philip had exerted strong pressure on the pope, even before the council, to suppress the military order on allegations of venality, heresy, and immoral practices. The council found no grounds to support these charges, but Clement suppressed the Templars by a bull of March 1312. The council also discussed plans for a new crusade, issued regulations for the growing number of new religious orders, and condemned the strict interpretation of the poverty of Jesus being advanced by the Spiritual Franciscans. Attended by 132 bishops and 38 abbots, all from western Europe, the Council of Vienne was the first to prepare documents in subcommissions and to delegate a standing committee to finish drafting documents still incomplete at the council's dissolution. Western canonists consider it the fifteenth ecumenical council.

In the Greek church a series of local synods in Constantinople (c. 1340) took up the controversy between Gregory Palamas, a monk of Mount Athos, and the Calabrian monk Barlaam about the value of hesychastic prayer (contemplative prayer prepared for by repetition of a mantra) and the possibility of experiencing the presence of God in this life. A synod in July 1351 recognized as orthodox Palamas's doctrine that God's "energies" or activities, if not God's essence, can be experienced in a quasi-visual way by a soul purified through constant prayer, a teaching that has been of central importance for Orthodox monasticism ever since.

In the West, the years of the Avignon papacy (1308–1378) saw continued centralization of papal authority, as well as increasing opposition to papal rule by the German emperors, independent cities, and certain charismatic and millenarian groups within the church. With the beginning of the Great Western Schism in 1378, in which two rival popes claimed the church's obedience, support began to grow among canonists and theologians for a more corporate system of church government, by which the pope would be understood as an executive appointed by and held accountable to the whole church, represented in a carefully appointed general council. This "conciliarist" theory, first proposed in practical terms by William Durandus of Mende at the time of the Council of Vienne, was seen by a number of prominent theologians in the last decades of the fourteenth century as the only way to end the schism. In 1409, a council at Pisa attempted to put conciliarism into practice by deposing both rival popes and electing a new one (John XXIII). The result, however, was simply that three claimants now vied for the Roman see. In 1414, the emperor Sigismund allied with John XXIII to convoke another council at Constance to resolve the issue (November 5, 1414–April 22, 1418). Following the representative system of the medieval universities, the voting members of the council—who included over 325 bishops, 29 cardinals, more than 100 abbots, several princes, and several hundred doctors of theology—decided to divide into four blocks, or "nations," each of which would have one corporate vote in the council's final decisions. These "nations" were the Germans (including eastern Europeans), the French, the English (including the Irish and Scots), and the Italians; from July 1415 the cardinals at the council were allowed to vote as a fifth unit, and a Spanish "nation" was added in October 1416. Debate was conducted within the "nations," and the whole council was managed by a joint steering committee, in which each "nation," as well as the cardinals, was represented. The council's decree, *Sacrosancta*, enacted on April 6, 1415, declared that the gathering was a general council of the church and that it therefore had supreme authority of itself, despite the absence of John XXIII, who had fled two weeks earlier. The council then condemned the reformist teachings of English theologian John Wyclif (1330?–1384) and his Bohemian disciple Jan Hus, the latter of whom was publicly burned in Constance on July 6, 1415. The decree *Frequens* (October 5, 1417) stipulated that another council was to meet five years after the dissolution of the gathering at Constance, followed by a third council seven years later and by subsequent councils at ten-year intervals. Having devised these limitations on papal power, the council appointed a joint conclave of cardinals and delegates from the "nations," who elected Martin V on November 11, 1417. After further measures for structural reform, the council adjourned in April 1418. Although Martin had previously rejected some aspects of conciliar theory (including the idea of appeal to a further council) and never formally endorsed *Sacrosancta* or *Frequens*, he did declare, at the closing session, that he would observe what the whole council had declared on matters of faith.

After an abortive attempt to summon a council at Pavia in 1423, in accordance with the decrees of Constance, Martin convoked another meeting at Basel in 1430. Eugenius IV, who succeeded Martin in March 1431, hoped once again to effect a reunion with the Greek church and believed that an Italian setting would be more appropriate for that purpose. As relations with the delegates at Basel grew more strained, Eugenius ordered the council transferred to Ferrara in September 1437, although most of the members refused to go and remained in Basel as a rival assembly until 1448. The Greek delegation arrived in Ferrara in March 1438, and after preliminary discussions the council was moved to Florence in January 1439, where the city had offered to underwrite its costs. Led by Bessarion, metropolitan of Nicaea, the Greek delegation recognized the legitimacy of the Latin doctrines of the procession of the Spirit, purgatory, and papal primacy without prejudice to the validity of the Greek tradition, which differed on these points. A decree of union between the churches was signed on July 6, 1439. Subsequent decrees of union were signed with the Armenian church (November 22, 1439) and with the Copts and Ethiopians (February 4, 1442). The date of closure of the council is uncertain. It is regarded by the Western church as the seventeenth ecumenical council. In Byzantium, however, strong opposition led by Mark Eugenikos, metropolitan of Ephesus, who had also been a delegate to the council, was voiced against the union. A synod in Constantinople in 1484 officially repudiated the Florentine decree in the name of the Greek church.

AGE OF REFORMATION. Conciliarism had died as a practical force in the Roman church with the end of the Council of Basel. The Renaissance papacy continued to grow in power and wealth, although throughout Europe the demand for "reform in head and members" continued to grow as well. Faced with the attempt of Louis XII of France to convoke the antipapal reform synod at Pisa in 1511, Julius II summoned a Roman council (the Fifth Lateran Council) on May 15, 512, which continued under his successor, Leo X, until March 16, 1517. Aside from a few decrees aimed at correcting financial abuse and encouraging popular preaching, this council—recognized as ecumenical by the Western church—achieved little.

The wave of institutional and theological reform set in motion by Martin Luther in the 1520s brought new pressure to bear on the popes to convoke a council to deal seriously with "Protestant" issues. Paul III called a council at Mantua in 1537, for which Luther prepared the theses that were later accepted by German Protestants as a kind of manifesto and known as the Smalcaldic Articles. This meeting was transferred to Vicenza in the same year and then suspended in 1539. After several delays, it was reconvened at the Alpine town of Trent, in imperial territory, on December 13, 1545. Rejecting the conciliar structure agreed on at Constance and Basel, the Council of Trent allowed only cardinals, bishops, and heads of religious orders voice and vote in its full sessions. During its first period (December 1545–March 1547), the council discussed the relation of scripture and tradition, the canon of scriptural books, the doctrines of original sin and justification, and various proposed reforms in church administration. Transferred to Bologna (papal territory) in 1547, to escape the plague, the council continued to discuss the Eucharist and the other sacraments, but Paul III agreed not to let it formulate final decisions until it could return to Trent, where Protestants could participate more freely. A second set of sessions was held in Trent from May 1, 1551, until April 28, 1552, in which documents on these topics were finished. After a ten-year hiatus due largely to continued warfare among the German principalities, Pius IV reconvoked the council on January 18, 1562, for a third and final period, during which documents were issued on the sacrificial character of the Mass, on Holy Orders and the education of the clergy, on the sacramental nature of marriage, and on purgatory, as well as numerous disciplinary decrees. The Council of Trent, recognized by Roman Catholics as a nineteenth ecumenical council, was closed on December 4, 1563. Its decrees laid the foundation for the doctrines and practice of the Roman church for the next four centuries.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, an age of rapid, often violent change in religious and civil institutions throughout western Europe as well as a time of bitter theological controversy, also witnessed a number of gatherings within and between the new Protestant communities. At the Synod of Dort in the Netherlands (November 13, 1618–May 9, 1619), representatives of the Reformed churches affirmed, against the theories of the Leiden professor Jacobus Arminius, a strict Calvinist doctrine of the predestination of both the saved and the damned, the total depravity of unredeemed humanity, and the limited scope of Jesus' atoning death. In 1643, the English Parliament commissioned a group of Calvinist divines to revise the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England along Puritan lines and to draw up a Puritan confession of faith for the British Isles. On December 4, 1646, this Westminster Assembly completed its document, known as the Westminster Confession. It comprised thirty-three articles, largely based on the teaching of Dort and the covenant theology of English Puritanism. Accepted by the Church of Scotland in 1647, it became the chief confessional document of Scottish Presbyterianism. Protestant theology also made its influence felt in the Eastern churches at this time. Synods at Constantinople in 1638 and 1641 condemned the writings of the Western-educated Byzantine patriarch Cyril I (d. 1638) for their Calvinist teaching, and this condemnation was repeated at Orthodox synods in Jassy (Iaşi, Romania) in 1642 and Bethlehem in 1672.

THE MODERN ERA. The Roman Catholic Church showed little interest in large-scale conciliar gatherings during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A regional synod held in Pistoia in Tuscany in September 1786, under the leadership of Bishop Scipione Ricci, demanded a variety of administrative and pastoral reforms in the church but was rejected by Roman authorities as antipapal and Jansenist in inspiration. Eighty-five propositions taken from its documents were condemned by Pius VII on August 28, 1794. As the spirit of political revolution and scientific positivism swept through European culture in the mid-nineteenth century, however, Catholic interest in a general council that would confront these attacks on religious tradition and give confident expression to the church's teaching again grew. Pius IX appointed a commission to prepare for such a council in 1865 and opened it solemnly—as the First Vatican Council—on December 8, 1869. The 774 bishops who attended from around the world discussed prepared drafts on faith and revelation, authority in the church, reform of the Curia Romana, and other subjects. On April 24, 1870, the constitution *Dei filius* was approved. It affirmed the compatibility of faith and reason and the necessity of supernatural revelation (contained both in scripture and in the church's oral tradition) for a full knowledge of God. After prolonged debate on the opportuneness of a conciliar statement on papal primacy and infallibility, a constitution on the church, *Pastor aeternus*, was approved on July 18, declaring the "immediate, universal jurisdiction" of the pope over all Christians and affirming that when he acts solemnly as spokesman for the universal church in doctrinal matters, the pope "possesses that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer wanted his Church to be endowed in articulating its teaching of faith and morality." Because of the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, the French troops that had been protecting the Papal State were withdrawn that same summer, and on September 20 Piedmontese troops occupied Rome. With most of the delegates gone, Pius IX suspended the council on October 20, 1870, despite the unfinished state of its agenda. Although a number of subsequent interpretations of *Pastor aeternus*, recognized approvingly by Pius IX himself, stressed that papal infallibility, as the council had envisaged it, was simply a special, highly restricted exercise of the assurance of faith in which the whole church believed itself to share, the effect of the council's decrees was to widen the gulf between the Roman church and the other churches, as well as to emphasize Catholicism's critical attitude toward secular values. Vatican I is recognized in the Roman Catholic Church as the twentieth ecumenical council.

By contrast with much of previous Christian history, the conciliar principle has come to be used increasingly as a means for fostering unity between Christian groups and mutual understanding between Christians and nonbelievers. The modern ecumenical movement began, on the institutional level, with the World Missionary Conference, a meeting of Protestant missionary groups, at Edinburgh in 1910. Two other cooperative bodies within Protestantism—Life and Work, founded in 1925 to foster common social and political action, and Faith and Order, established in 1927 to discuss doctrinal and liturgical issues—agreed in 1938 to form a World Council of Churches. Delayed by World War II, the constitutive assembly of the council was held in Amsterdam in 1948; the International Missionary Council joined it in 1961. Not a jurisdictional or legislative body, the World Council seeks to facilitate common action and dialogue in faith among all Christian churches with ten thousand members or more and to be an intermediate step toward a more formal Christian unity.

Although it is not yet a full member of the World Council of Churches, the Roman Catholic Church took its own decisive step toward Christian unity in the documents and reforms of the Second Vatican Council (October 11, 1962–December 8, 1965), which it recognizes as the twenty-first ecumenical council. Conceived by John XXIII in January of 1959 as a way of leading the Catholic Church toward spiritual renewal, toward greater cooperation with other Christian churches and other religions, and toward a more open attitude to contemporary culture, the council was attended by between 2,100 and 2,400 bishops and heads of religious orders from within the Roman communion, as well as by invited observers from other Christian churches and religious bodies. Vatican II produced sixteen documents on a wide range of pastoral, institutional, and theological issues. Affirming the ancient principle of the collegial responsibility of bishops for the governance of the whole church, in union with the pope, the Constitution on the Church (*Lumen gentium*) opened new possibilities for conciliar government in the Catholic tradition, a step that has led to the regular convening of a worldwide synod of bishops in the years since the council. Vatican II's call for liturgical reform, its stress on the centrality of the scriptures to Christian doctrine and practice, and its recognition of the validity of modern methods of biblical criticism have lessened some of the centuries-old differences between Protestants and Catholics and have given a model for practical reform to other churches. The council's declaration on religious freedom (*Dignitatis humanae*), as well as its decrees on ecumenism, on the Eastern churches, and on relations with Jews and other non-Christians, have greatly altered official Catholic attitudes toward people of other faiths. Its Constitution on the Church in the Modern World (*Gaudium et spes*) expressed, in addition, a positive, welcoming attitude toward the potentialities and aspirations of modern society that invites Roman Catholics to move beyond the defensiveness of the nineteenth century. Although much clearly remains to be accomplished, the revolution in Roman Catholic thought and practice since Vatican II and the continued growth of both the World Council and of individual dialogues between churches, suggest that Christian councils may in the future both become genuinely ecumenical once again and lead to the unity in plurality that is essential to the Christian ideal of community.

SEE ALSO Creeds, article on Christian Creeds; Ecumenical Movement; Iconoclasm; Sanhedrin; Trent, Council of; Vatican Councils, articles on Vatican I, Vatican II.

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COUVADE is the name given to various ritual acts performed by a husband during his wife's pregnancy, delivery, and postpartum period. In their most extreme form, couvade customs are said to involve the male's mimicking of or experience of pregnancy symptoms and labor pains, followed by his postpartum recovery. Meanwhile, the woman's actual physical experience is given minimal attention, and she continues her regular activities with little interruption. This extreme form of couvade seems to be more hypothetical than actual. The term *couvade* is more generally used to refer to symbolic behaviors engaged in by men during and immediately after their wives' pregnancies and deliveries.

Since in most, if not all, societies men's activities are affected to some extent by their wives' pregnancies and deliveries, it might seem reasonable to conclude that some form of couvade is universal. However, that usage would make the term so broad that some other term would then be needed to refer to the more specific and more demanding practices engaged in by men in certain tribal societies. One of the most recent discussions of couvade suggests that the term not be used to refer to activities such as giving a birth feast or helping the wife with daily chores during pregnancy. It is suggested that a mild form of couvade is involved when the husband keeps food taboos during the pregnancy or postpartum period. A more intensive form of couvade would involve behavior changes in the postpartum period, such as work taboos and restrictions, or staying close to home for varying lengths of time. The most intensive form of couvade involves ritual seclusion of the husband during pregnancy or the postpartum period, sometimes with his wife and sometimes in his own household or the men's house.

These kinds of behaviors are fairly widespread among small-scale societies, with a concentration of such practices in South American and Caribbean societies. However, theoretical discussions of couvade also rely on reports of the practice among the Ainu (the aboriginal tribal inhabitants of Japan) and among some Pacific Island groups.

A condensed summary of couvade among the Kurtachi, a people of the Pacific Islands, provides a specific example of couvade. During delivery, husband and wife are secluded in separate huts. This seclusion continues for six days, during which the man keeps food taboos, ignores his normal subsistence chores, and does not handle sharp tools. After three days he is allowed to see the child, and gives it medicine to make it strong. On the sixth day he ends his couvade by again entering the wife's seclusion hut, this time carrying a large knife with which he pretends to slash the infant.

Couvade among the Black Carib has also been studied and analyzed somewhat extensively. Their couvade observances vary in length from two days to a full year, with three months being the most typical duration. Various work taboos are considered an important part of couvade, as is a taboo on sexual intercourse, both marital and extramarital. However, food taboos play almost no part in Black Carib couvade.

A superficial approach to couvade would involve rather commonsense interpretations. Many men practicing couvade customs might be likely to see these practices as helping to protect the infant from harm, and ethnographers studying couvade could well see these practices as promoting the bonding of the father with his infant. Within a psychoanalytic framework the institution of couvade might be considered an expression of womb envy, of men's attempt to participate more directly in, or even to usurp, the essential birth-giving task of females. However, the need to protect young infants, to promote the bonding of fathers with their infants, and to defuse cross-gender envy of males, who unconsciously long for more direct participation in the birth process, exists in all societies. Yet only some societies practice couvade as defined and described by most anthropologists. Thus most recent students of couvade seek the rationale of couvade in other, less universal, factors.

By and large, these analysts find the rationale of couvade in specific features of a lifestyle's social structure. One hypothesis regarding couvade has made more refined use of psychoanalytic analysis. Proponents of this hypothesis have suggested that couvade can result from "low male salience," a combination of factors especially involving arrangements in which the mother sleeps with her children while the father sleeps elsewhere, or is absent altogether. It is hypothesized that the absence of significant contact with the father and the absence of other male role models, combined with such intense contact with the mother, promotes a cross-gender identity that encourages the male to engage in vicarious childbirth observances. Advocates of this explanation of couvade also stress that although other societies may also exhibit "low male salience," they do not have strongly institutionalized couvade. These societies, it is claimed, cope with "low male salience" by means of rigorous and demanding male puberty initiation ceremonies. Through these rigorous initiations, young males are supposedly swayed from any cross-gender identification and take on a kind of masculine identity that relieves them of tendencies toward couvade. It has been pointed out that few if any societies practice both intensive couvade and intensive male puberty rituals.

Alternative theories of couvade stress other causal factors that explain the presence of couvade in some but not all societies. It is claimed that in societies with weak fraternal interest groups a man has no reliable legal or economic means to claim paternity rights to a woman's children. He cannot rely on a loyal kin group to back up his claims to the child, nor can he refer to large economic exchanges or binding legal agreements made prior to the marriage and childbirth. Therefore, he engages in a ritual behavior to establish his claims over the child, and this ritual show gains for him a communal consensus regarding his paternity claims. According to this hypothesis, couvade is a form of ritual bargaining rather than a magico-religious attempt to influence biological processes or a ritual expression of unconscious psychodynamics. However, it would also seem that such political expressions cannot occur without some religious or psychological predisposition toward them.

Couvade seems best explained by looking to varying hypotheses rather than by focusing on only one factor as the sole rationale for these practices. It may be worthwhile to recognize the impulse toward couvade as universal, even though that impulse does not always result in the specific practices associated with "the couvade." Males are universally interested in the genesis, birth, and survival of infants whom they perceive as important. Thus, in varying degrees, males in all societies could be expected to experience some pregnancy symptoms or observe some pregnancy taboos, become involved in the childbirth process, and engage in special behaviors in the immediate postpartum period. Although the term *couvade* refers to specific male childbirth practices in some societies, the institution itself is the expression of a universal impulse rather than a strange practice limited to some small-scale societies.

SEE ALSO Birth.

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COVENANT. The translation of the Hebrew notion of *bʿrît* by *covenant* originates from its Latin rendering as *foedus/pactum* in Hieronymus's *Vulgata*. Although there is a controversy about the etymology of *bʿrît*, the linguistic link with the Accadian *birītu(m)* (string, tie) seems to be the most acceptable solution. The literary contexts of *bʿrît* confirm that the rendering in the *Vulgata* and thus the translation as *covenant* fits well. It depends on the particular context what is meant by this notion: Either two partners with equal rights mutually bind themselves (*1 Kings* 5:26; 15:19) or a stronger partner imposes unilateral claims upon a weaker one or the stronger partner voluntarily binds himself without any claims towards someone else (*1 Kings* 20:34; *Hos.* 12:2; *Ezek.* 17:13).

CONTRACT, TREATY AND LOYALITY OATH IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST. The legal order of the Middle East is based on laws of contract. As transfers of ownership (such as the sale of estates) and changes of marital status (marriage, adoption) are laid down in a written contract (Accadian *riksātu[m]),* mutual obligations are suable at a law court. Furthermore, in late Assyrian contracts breach of contract is identified with oath-breaking, for which divine sanction is effected by means of curse and penalty for the benefit of the temple. Laws of contract are also applied to settle international relations between states with equal rights as well as between a supreme power and vassal states (e.g. Hittite vassal treaties; Korošec). Opposite to private contracts, international contracts are loyalty obligations mutually or unilaterally affirmed upon by an oath. There are two distinctive types of these contracts: first, a western type of Hethite and Syrian contracts (Sfire; Lemaire, 1984) that include a section of blessings in addition to the curse; second, an eastern type of late Assyrian contracts (Parpola and Watanabe, 1988) in which only the curse can be found. This second type is different from late Assyrian loyalty oaths, such as that of King Esarhaddon (Watanabe, 1987). In these oaths, the officials of the Assyrian state and its tributary vassals—among them the king of Judea—swear unconditional loyalty to the Assyrian king and to the crown prince by the gods.

In the seventh century BCE a new and special form of late Assyrian laws of contract emerges for the first time. Now the contracts are not only subject to divine protection, but the deity himself is a party to the contract. In a collection of prophetic oracles spoken on the occasion of Esarhaddon's accession to the throne (Parpola, 1992), the god Ashur enters in a covenant (Accadian, *adê)* with the king; the other gods of the pantheon join as well. Later, the citizens and vassals of Assyria ought to be reminded of this covenant by the oath ceremony of cultic water drinking. In return for the divine support against enemies the king has to engage in ritual duties.

CONTRACT, LOYALTY OATH, AND COVENANT IN THE HEBREW BIBLE. According to the practice in the Ancient Middle East, the Hebrew Bible also mentions contracts of sale (e.g. *Jer.* 32:10–11), rent (e.g. *Gen.* 29:15–20, *Exod.* 2:9) and marriage (*Mal.* 2:14, *Prov.* 2:17). In ancient Palestine the different lifestyles and interests of Nomads, shepherds, farmers, urban people, craftsmen, and Levites coexisted in a cramped space where economical and political relations had to be constituted across family borders (e.g. *Gen.* 21:22–34; 26:23–33; 31:44–53). Therefore laws of contract were of special significance in ancient Israel surpassing the rules for changes in ownership and marital status. With reference to William Robertson Smith, Max Weber marked the ancient idea of making a covenant between JHWH, the God of Israel, and his people as a starting point of Israelite history of religion; however, this idea was not introduced because of an "elective affinity" *(Wahlverwandtschaft)* of the federal structure prevalent in prenational Israel as confederacy of oath *(Eidgenossenschaft)* in the thirteenth through the tenth centuries BCE.

Expanding Weber's theory, Martin Noth put forward the statement of an alliance of tribes organized on the model of the ancient Greek amphictyony as *Sitz im Leben* of the covenant theology. He and George Mendenhall were aiming to corroborate this statement by an analogy between the structure of an early Israelite covenant schedule and Hethite vassal treaties from the second millennium BCE. There was much argument against this early dating of the covenant between God and His people at the beginning of Israelite history of religion. On the one hand it is opposed to the covenant silence *(Bundesschweigen)* of the prophets in the eighth century BCE. Thus in *Hosea* 2:4–15 and 3:1–4, where the relationship of the people and Israel towards JHWH is interpreted as a marriage, the covenant theology is merely prepared. On the other hand the covenant theology of the Sinai pericope (*Exod.* 19–24) is known to be a late creation of Israelite literary history. Therefore Lothar Perlitt, who refers to Julius Wellhausen, came to the conclusion that the covenant theology ensued from preexile prophesy, taking its rise in the time of crisis of the late Assyrian Empire, and thus dated in the seventh century BCE.

Motifs of the late Assyrian royal ideology were partially accepted, but also partially rejected in Judah. In modern times this process—especially concerning the covenant theology—can be described in a more exact way (Otto) than in the previous centuries. In Judah they adopted the motif of a covenant with a divine partner from Ashur in the seventh century BCE in order to legitimate the reign of kings (*Ps.* 89:4–5). The authors of preexile *Deuteronomy* accept the loyalty oath of the Assyrian king in a subversive way by transforming the demand for unconditional loyalty to this king into the demand of the same kind to JHWH (*Deut.* 13:2–10; 28:20–44). The claim of the state for absolute power was thereby set in bounds and the ground prepared for a reinterpretation of the idea of covenant. As a result, within the Deuteronomistic framework of *Deuteronomy* the entire people of Israel became a partner of the covenant with JHWH at Horeb, God's mount (*Deut.* 26:16–19), and in the land of Moab (*Deut.* 29:9–14).

In the time of exile the covenant with JHWH at Horeb replaced the king. As in *Deuteronomy* the law is linked to blessing and curse; it is not modeled upon the Assyrian tradition, but rather upon a Hethite type of contract that was transmitted to Israel via Syria. Thus JHWH gets the character of a Grand King and His vassal Israel owes Him loyalty of legal obedience. If the nation, by making the covenant, is to be held liable for the law of *Deuteronomy,* the authors of the Deuteronomistic *Deuteronomy* yet are aware of the possibility that the people may fail to keep the law due to disobedience (*Deut.* 9:9–10:5).

In the tale of *Deuteronomy* the authors let the people of Israel enter into the covenant after their failure, so they express their hope that God is willing to adhere to his covenant in spite of the people's failure to obey the law—that is, JHWH does not revoke His covenant even though Israel failed the law. In this way the Israelites overcome their experience of defeat against the Babylonians and their trauma of exile.

A second version of the origin of Israel. The Priestly Code dating from the time of Exile represents a second major version of the tale of Israel's origin and is the counterpart to the covenant theology in *Deuteronomy.* It deals with universal history and designs the final goal of creation and the world history of all peoples (*Gen.* 1–11). The underlying concept of the Priestly Code is the immanent presence of Israel's God in the tabernacle of the congregation, the establishment of the expiatory cult of offerings at the altar, and, along with the cult, the priest's office ministered by the Aaronites at Mount Sinai—God's mount (*Exod.* 29:42–46). Additionally, the Priestly Code aims to prove that since the Flood, mankind has overcome the former possibility to fail God's law once for all. After the Flood, God imposed the Noachian Laws on mankind, making a covenant with them in which he commits himself to guarantee the preservation of the earth and all humans (*Gen.* 9:1–17). Israel and mankind as a whole cannot fail the covenant by which JHWH made Israel stand out from the world of the other peoples.

The Priestly Code does not locate the covenant at Mount Sinai; further, it dates the Code back to the time of the patriarchs; here it is Abraham with whom God makes a covenant (*Gen.* 17). Thus the covenant is not linked any longer to binding laws, but instead represents a mere act of divine grace. This covenant comprises God's promise of numerous descendants and of the possession of the land of Canaan. Henceforth the nation of Israel is unable to fail the covenant. An individual Israelite may, however, fail if he refuses circumcision—the token of this covenant—and will consequently be excluded from the ethnic community. Scribes of postexilic times combine both programmatic texts, *Deuteronomy,* and the Priestly Code, thus forming a Hexateuch (*Gen.* 1–*Josh.* 24); its final goal is the making of a covenant between JHWH and Joshua, who acts on behalf of the people of Israel (*Josh.* 24:25–27).

Referring to *Deuteronomy,* Joshua delivers a speech of admonition that precedes this covenant and points out the consequences of its breach if the ban on worship of foreign gods is violated. Thus he pursues the course that adds the liability for the law and the possibility of Israel's failure to the covenant theology of the Priestly Code based upon mere grace. Its sequel is realized by the extension of the Sinai pericope (*Exod.* 19–*Num.* 10) in the final form of the Pentateuch (*Gen.* 1–*Deut.* 34) that is structured by the sequence of making, breaking, and re-making the covenant (*Exod.* 19–34). God's will to adhere to His covenant with Israel, despite their failure to the law (*Exod.* 32), remains the main statement in the Pentateuch.

In contradiction to the author-scribes of the Pentateuch, prophetic circles in Jeremiah's tradition regard the Sinai covenant of old as being broken beyond repair. They instead hope for a new covenant between JHWH and His people. In their view it is this new covenant that Israel will finally not be able to break; JHWH will write the law straight into the human heart. Circles in Ezekiel's tradition expect, in a similar way, that JHWH will give Israel a new heart—as well as His spirit—so that they may comply with the law. The law itself should not be altered.

COVENANT IN EARLY JUDAISM AND IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. The covenant theology has preserved its importance in post-canonical Judaism that picks up the thread of the Pentateuch theology. According to the *Book of Sirach,* the story of JHWH with Israel consists of a series of eternal covenants reaching from Noah to David (*Sir.* 44–45); the Mosaic Law—in its role as the "Book of the Covenant"—is the expression of the preexistent wisdom in this world. In the *Book of Jubilees* those who keep the covenant made with Abraham and who undergo circumcision will not come to grief (*Jub.* 15:25–28). The feast of Shavuot becomes the date of the covenant at Mount Sinai (*Jub.* 1:1) and of the covenants made with Noah and Abraham. Moreover, theologians of the Essenes refer to the prophetic expectation of a new covenant that they consider to be realized in their community. This is also the case when membership with the Essene community—that is, participation in the New Covenant—stands for compliance with the written Torah according to Essene exegesis, including the Manual of Discipline (Sektenregel). The new covenant also needs a regular renewal at Shavuot, and on this occasion the members of the Essene community receive the blessing, whereas those who do not participate in the New Covenant are cursed.

In the Septuagint—the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible—the notion *b*ʿ*rît* is rendered not by *synthēkē* or *spondē* (treaty/covenant), but by a term from the law of descent: *diathēkē* (testament/last will). It says that God's promise is staunch and unchangeable. Yet the Septuagint has overtones of the possibility that during his lifetime the testator can dispose of the estate bequest by will, despite the appointment of the heir. Thus JHWH is depicted as the giving father and Israel as the receiving son without God's sovereignty ever being restricted.

The New Testament continues the linguistic usage of the Septuagint. The saying on the cup (Becherwort) at the last supper (*Mark* 14:24, *Matt.* 26:28) typologically resumes the verses in *Exodus* 24:8, *1 Corinthians* 11:25, *Luke* 22:20, and *Jeremiah* 31: 31–34. God establishes the eschatological community of the New Covenant (Latin: *novum testamentum*) on the basis of Jesus' expiatory death. It is the dedication of the last supper. In *Galatians* 3:15–18 Paul argues with the term *diathēkē* from the law of descent in order to institute his gospel, which is not tied to the condition of the law. Like a testament, the covenant with Abraham cannot subsequently be altered by the law, which was given later at Mount Sinai. In *2 Corinthians,* 3:14, Paul calls the Torah read at the synagogue service "old covenant" and contrasts it with the New Covenant, which is not based on the letter of the law but on God's spirit. In *Romans,* chapters 9–11, Paul expresses his hope that Israel will likewise become part of the eschatological New Covenant and that in this way God's covenant with Israel will not be cancelled (*Rom.* 11:29). The Epistle of the Hebrews sets the obsolete "old covenant" of the Levitical Torah at Mount Sinai (*Heb.* 8:7–13; 10:15–18), understood as the "first covenant," against the New Covenant and thus continues the tradition of Jeremiah 31:31–34. The New Covenant is supposed to be the "better covenant" and the "eternal covenant" that belongs to the divine order of God's roaming people. By Christ's death on the cross this order was established as an antithesis to Exodus 24:8 (*Heb.* 9:11–22), but its final completion has yet to come (*Heb.* 8:6; 11:1–12:3).

COVENANT IN POSTBIBLICAL CHRISTIANITY. In the second century CE the antagonism between the old and the new covenant gains even more severity. In postcanonical texts like the letter of Barnabas (9:1–5) and in the dialogue of Justin with Tryphon the Jew, the old covenant—intended for the Jews—was replaced by the new covenant of the Christian church. Yet in the third century the church had to contend against Gnostic and Marcionitic heresies that, with reference to the Old Testament, considered the Creator in a theologically negative way. The covenants of the Old Testament again gained in importance; they were part of the permanent salvation acts (Heilsökonomie) of God. Ireneus of Lyon substantiated the unity of both Testaments as belonging to the one Christian canon. Only in the combination of both, God's plan of salvation, consisting of the laws from Mount Sinai as well as the redemption through Christ, could be carried out.

Theologians of the Reformation, proceeding from Ireneus's thought, developed a federal covenant theology (Föderaltheologie). Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575), a reformer from Zurich, Switzerland, was the first to project a Protestant federal covenant theology. To him the history of salvation from Abraham to Christ represented one single covenant with two aspects: the first concerning law and ritual in the Old Testament, the second concerning a covenant of divine grace in the New Testament.

In the seventeenth century CE the covenant theology of orthodox Calvinism reached its climax in the Netherlands, especially due to Johannes Coccejus (1603–1669). He developed his dogmatics by going beyond Aristotelian notions, preferring to elaborate a system of the history of salvation according to which, step by step, the covenant of works (*foedus operum*) with Adam will be replaced by the covenant of grace (*foedus gratiae*). This process is said to prepare mankind for the coming of God's kingdom.

From the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries, theologians in different countries were influenced by reformist covenant theology: Thomas Boston (1676–1732) in Scotland, Charles Hodge (1797–1878) in America, as well as the Swiss theologians Karl Barth (1886–1968) and Walther Eichrodt (1890–1978). Eichrodt was a reformist scholar of Old Testament studies and developed Old Testament theology based on the patterns of covenant terminology.

COVENANT IN RABBINIC JUDAISM AND IN ISLAM. Rabbinic Judaism interprets the Biblical *bʿrît* in particular with "law/commandment" in the contents of which the sign of covenant—that is, the circumcision—is meant (compare *Gen.* 17:10) first of all. In accordance with that meaning the Israelites may be called *bʿnê bʿrît* (sons of circumcision). Referring to Exodus 34:27, the commitment to the law including oral traditions can be qualified as *bʿrît*, as well. In the Middle Ages the explicit idea of *bʿrît* only plays a minor role in Jewish theological thought. In Maimonides (c. 1135–1204), the covenant describes the union of Moses and the biblical patriarchs with God, a union directed at acquiring cognition, the goal of which is to have the insights transmitted to all women and men.

The biblical covenants are a main subject for apology in order to either reject Christian theory about the replacement of God's old covenant with Israel by Christ's salvation work, or to reject the Islamic claim that the revelation of the Prophet Muhammad exceeds the biblical covenants. Modern Jewish philosophy and theology again attaches more importance to the notion of covenant; it serves as an expression of ethic autonomy based on mutual obligations between God and mankind, or on a dialogic behavior between both of them as explained in Martin Buber (1878–1965).

According to the Qurʾān (*sūrah* 7:134–135), which adopted the biblical conception of *bʿrît*, Moses' covenant (Arabic: *ʿahd mūsā*) with God enables Moses to intercede with God and to receive the tables of testimony (*sūrah* 7:144–145). Moreover, God made a covenant with the prophets (*sūrah* 3:81; 33:7), and in particular with the Israelites at Mount Sinai, as he had previously done with Moses. The Israelites, however, broke this covenant (e.g. *sūrah* 2:63–66). After all, God had entered into a covenant with all women and men, calling upon all people to adhere to the revealed laws and to accept the reign of the one God (*sūrah* 7:171–172). Islamic traditional exegesis of these Qurʾanic verses links God's granting humans the ability to speak to the following demand of the covenant on Adamite mankind: They have to accept God as the single One and at the time of resurrection nobody can claim ignorance of the conditions of the covenant in order to exculpate himself.

SEE ALSO Biblical Literature, article on Hebrew Scriptures; God, article on God in Postbiblical Christianity.

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ECKART OTTO (2005)

COWS See CATTLE

CRANMER, THOMAS

CRANMER, THOMAS (1489–1556), archbishop of Canterbury (1533–1556), a principal figure in the reformation of the Church of England. Born of a gentry family in Nottinghamshire, Cranmer entered Jesus College, Cambridge, at the age of fourteen. After taking his B.A. (1511) and M.A. (1515), he became a fellow of the college. His marriage to a gentlewoman named Joan cost him the fellowship, but it was restored when Joan, with her baby, died in childbirth.

After his ordination (before 1520), he was appointed one of twelve university preachers and, on obtaining his B.D. (1521) and D.D. (1526), a university examiner in divinity. Cranmer kept aloof from other Cambridge scholars who met frequently to discuss Luther's writings. Instead, he privately tested these writings by his own independent study of the Bible and early church fathers.

Cranmer left Cambridge in 1529 to serve the cause of King Henry VIII's annulment of his marriage to Queen Catherine. During an embassy to Emperor Charles V in 1532 he became acquainted with several Lutheran leaders, among them Andreas Osiander at Nuremberg, whose niece Margaret he secretly married. She bore him a daughter and a son. Few were privy to this marriage until the next reign.

When Archbishop William Warham died in 1532, Henry decided that Cranmer would succeed him at Canterbury. The king was convinced that Cranmer would be dutiful not for any personal convenience, much less ambition, but from his sincere (and somewhat extreme) belief that scripture taught obedience to the divine right of kings and princes. This conviction explains many compromises and vacillations in Cranmer's life. Privately he would advise and admonish Henry and plead for mercy for the king's victims, but he would never openly disobey him.

In January 1533, Henry's secret marriage to Anne Boleyn, already pregnant, made the annulment issue urgent. Although Pope Clement VII suspected Henry's intentions, he consented to Cranmer's consecration, which took place on March 30. Both before and twice during the rite Cranmer read a protestation that his oath of obedience to the pope did not bind him if it was against the law of God, the laws and prerogatives of the Crown, or the reformation of the church.

Within a few weeks, Cranmer pronounced the marriage to Catherine null and that to Anne valid. In July the pope issued but did not publish excommunications of Henry, Anne, and Cranmer. Any hope of reconciliation ended when the Act of Supremacy (1534) declared the king and his successors "the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England."

Cranmer supported but did not initiate the major reforms of Henry's reign: the dissolution of all monastic and religious houses between 1536 and 1539 (carried out more because of the Crown's greed for their vast properties than for the sake of any principle) and the official authorization in 1539 of the English "Great Bible," for which Cranmer wrote a notable preface in 1540.

The stringent Act of Six Articles (1539) closed the door to any reforms in doctrine or practice. Cranmer spoke against it in the House of Lords, but he voted for it because the king willed it. By now Cranmer was commonly believed to be a Lutheran. In 1543 the privy council voted to arrest him as a heretic, but Henry intervened and saved him. Until Henry's death Cranmer worked quietly on projects of liturgical reform, but of these only the *English Litany* of 1544 was authorized.

Reformers dominated the privy council of King Edward VI (1547–1553), Henry's precocious young son, who was educated by Protestant tutors. Among the councillors committed to religious reform were the young king's uncle the duke of Somerset and Lord Protector, and Cranmer, his godfather. Cranmer soon published a *Book of Homilies*, one part to be read every Sunday, and translated a Lutheran catechism by Justus Jonas. Clerical celibacy was abolished. Communion including both bread and wine was ordered, for which Cranmer prepared *The Order of the Communion* (1548), a vernacular devotion for the people's Communion at Mass.

At Pentecost 1549 *The Book of Common Prayer* came into use under an act of uniformity. The book's reforming principles were derived from Lutheran sources; but its Catholic heritage was preserved by Cranmer's skillful adaptation and translation of liturgical forms and prayers from Latin service books. The daily offices were reduced to two, matins and evensong, with one chapter from both the Old and New Testaments read at each. The Holy Communion eliminated all sacrificial references except "praise and thanksgiving" and forbade any elevation of the consecrated elements. The prayer book was not popular, however, with either conservatives or radical reformers.

After Somerset's fall from power, the duke of Northumberland became Lord Protector. He was more interested in the church properties he acquired than in the radical reforms he promoted. In 1550 Cranmer published *The Form and Manner* for ordaining bishops, priests, and deacons, based on the Latin *Pontifical* and a work of Martin Bucer, and also his principal theological work, *A Defence of the True and Catholike Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Bloud of Our Saviour Christ.*

A revised prayer book was issued in 1552 under an act of uniformity. Most of the old vestments and ceremonies were abolished, and the Communion service was rearranged and conformed to the Swiss reformers' doctrine. All images, crosses, rood screens, and other ornaments were smashed, removed, or sold; and a wooden "holy Table" replaced all altars.

While Edward lay dying, Northumberland plotted to place his cousin Lady Jane Grey (granddaughter of King Henry VII) on the throne. Cranmer strongly opposed this until Edward commanded him to submit. But the coup was short-lived. Mary I, the elder daughter of Henry VIII, was acclaimed queen. Many reformers fled to the continent, and Cranmer sent his family back to Germany.

An ardent Roman Catholic, Mary persuaded Parliament to revoke all reforms of Edward's reign. Cranmer was arrested, tried, and condemned as a traitor; but Mary had other plans. When Cardinal Reginald Pole, papal legate and archbishop-designate of Canterbury, arrived in 1554, he absolved the kingdom and restored papal authority. The burning of heretics then began.

Under pressure, Cranmer wrote several recantations, but to no avail. On the day of his degradation and burning, March 21, 1556, he publicly recanted all his recantations, hastened to the stake, thrust his fist into the fire crying "This hand has offended," and soon collapsed. His monument lives in *The Book of Common Prayer*, often amended and enriched, which is used in the worship of all churches of the Anglican communion.

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MASSEY H. SHEPHERD, JR. (1987)

CREATION MYTHS SEE COSMOGONY

CREEDS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
CHRISTIAN CREEDS
ISLAMIC CREEDS

CREEDS: AN OVERVIEW

A creed is a confession of faith; put into concise form, endowed with authority, and intended for general use in religious rites, a creed summarizes the essential beliefs of a particular religion. The notion of creed comes from the Christian thought world, and it is not possible to identify in other religions the exact parallel, in form and function, of what Christians call a creed. However, approximate parallels may be noted.

According to the definition given above, there are three Christian creeds: the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian. Here is the text of the shortest and, as far as its sources are concerned, the oldest of the three, the Apostles' Creed, as found in the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer* (1945):

> I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth: And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord: Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, Born of the Virgin Mary: Suffered under Pontius Pilate, Was crucified, dead, and buried: He descended into hell; The third day he rose again from the dead: He ascended into heaven, And sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty: From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost: The Holy Catholic Church: The Communion of Saints: The Forgiveness of sins: The Resurrection of the body: And the Life everlasting. Amen.

The three Christian creeds are authoritative in large segments of the church, although Eastern Orthodoxy considers only the Nicene Creed as completely authoritative. Certain branches of Protestantism (those that emphasize freedom from traditional rites, a rational approach to religion, or the autonomy of individual religious experience) ignore creeds altogether.

In Judaism, a formula taken from *Deuteronomy* 6:4 and called the Shemaʿ (from the first word, meaning "Hear!") is the expression of monotheistic faith:

> Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one God.

Recited liturgically, the Shemaʿ includes, in addition, *Deuteronomy* 6:5–9, 11:13–21, and *Numbers* 15:37–41.

In the *Yasna*, the chief liturgical work of the Avesta (the sacred writings of the Zoroastrian religion), are found several short confessions of faith, summarizing in various wordings the principal beliefs of that religion. One of these (*Yasna* 12:1) is:

> I drive the *daēva*s hence; I confess as a Mazdā-worshiper of the order of Zarathushtra, estranged from the *daēva*s, devoted to the love of the Lord, a praiser of the Bountiful Immortals; and to Ahura Mazdā, the good and endowed with good possessions, I attribute all things good, to the holy One, the resplendent, to the glorious, whose are all things whatsoever which are good.

In Hinduism, the widely used Gāyatrī Mantra, based on *Ṛgveda* 3.62.10, corresponds in some ways to the definition of creed:

> Oṃ [the supreme power]! O earth! O air! O heavens!
> Let us meditate on the resplendent glory of Savitṛ [the sun god] that it may awaken our thoughts.

This formula is more precisely an invocation of the gods, but implicit in it is a confession of faith. The recitation of a creed functions as prayer in other religions as well.

Buddhism's Triple Refuge is a profession of faith in the wisdom of the Buddha, in the truth of his teaching, and in the significance of the community:

> I take refuge in the Buddha; I take refuge in the Dharma [doctrine]; I take refuge in the Saṃgha [community of believers].

In Islam, the creed is recited as a twofold witness:

> I witness that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God.

In Sikhism, the opening words of Japji, the guru Nānak's prayer, are expressive of basic Sikh doctrine and are universally recited by that religious community:

> There is but one God whose name is true, the Creator, devoid of fear and enmity, immortal, unborn, self-existent; by the favor of the Guru. The True One was in the beginning; The True One was in the primal age. The True One is now also, O Nānak; The True One also shall be.

FUNCTIONS OF CREEDS. Creeds function in different ways: (1) as the basis for membership in a religious community, whether accompanying a rite of initiation (Christian baptism) or constituting one of the elements of religious distinctiveness (Buddhism, Islam, Judaism, Sikhism); (2) as a test of orthodoxy, in formal opposition to heresy (Christianity); (3) as a type of prayer used in private or public worship (Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity; in Alsace, Lutherans are invited in their liturgy to "pray the creed"); (4) as a basis for religious instruction; (5) as a corporate or individual response in faith to divine revelation leading to conduct of commitment (Jews call their creed "the acceptance of the yoke of the kingdom of heaven"); (6) as an expression of self-understanding by the religious community; (7) as an assertion and confirmation of the unity of the community (Islam, Christianity, Judaism); or (8) as a witness to the world, expressing the core of belief (Judaism, Islam, Christianity).

SOURCES OF AUTHORITY. Only in Christianity has the authority of creeds been legislated formally by conciliar action. The creed of Islam draws its authority from the fact that its elements are found in the Qurʾān, and from its express wording in the *ḥadīth,* or from reports of the prophet Muḥammad where he affirms that the creed is one of the five pillars upon which Islam is built. The Shemaʿ of Judaism is an exact quotation from the Bible. In other religions, the formulas functioning as creeds base their authority on communal unanimity.

TERMS DESIGNATING CREEDS. Besides the word *creed*—not strictly a name in its origin, since it is derived from the Latin verb *credo* ("I believe"), with which the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed open—Christians use the phrase "symbol of the faith" to designate a creed.

In Islam, the creed is called the Shahādah, meaning "witness." Sikhs refer to their creed as the Mul Mantra or "root formula." In the Avesta, the term *fravarāne* is used for "confession of faith."

EXTENSION OF THE DEFINITION. Sometimes the definition of creed is broadened to include longer, more detailed statements of doctrine. These are more precisely called "articles of faith" or "confessions of faith" in Christianity and *ʿaqīdah*s in Islam. Examples of such doctrinal treatises are likewise seen in Judaism, attributed to such great scholars as Philo Judaeus, Josephus Flavius, and Moses Maimonides. Contrary to the strict definition of creed given above, articles of faith are not recited orally in liturgical settings, and their authority has been limited to certain segments of a religious community.

The advent of Protestantism in sixteenth-century Christendom prompted the preparation and use of several important confessions of faith that distinguish one denomination from another. Examples are the Augsburg Confession of Lutheranism (1530) and the Westminster Confession of the Reformed tradition (1646).

Islamic *ʿaqīdah*s have often served to emphasize controverted points of doctrine and practice or to attack heretical tendencies, so they do not necessarily deal with the full range of doctrine. Such statements of faith emerged from the five schools of Sunnī jurisprudence that predominate in the Muslim world today, as well as from schools of thought that have disappeared, and from theologians, legal scholars, mystics, and philosophers, both ancient and modern.

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CREEDS: CHRISTIAN CREEDS

Christian usage tends to apply the word *creed* preeminently to the Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian creeds (the so-called ecumenical symbols), to use *dogma* for specific ecclesiastical pronouncements, and to use *confession of faith* for the comprehensive manifestos of the Protestant Reformation. But the terminology remains fluid, and *creed* may be taken in a broad, generic sense to include any official codification of a belief, or the beliefs, of a religious community. Distinctions must then be made among the Christian creeds with respect to their functions, their degree of comprehensiveness, their authority, and their several authorizing bodies.

The various churches differ markedly on the status claimed for their respective pronouncements. Creeds may be invested with the authority of divine revelation. But at the opposite end of the scale, the entire notion of a normative, as distinct from a purely descriptive, statement of belief has often been rejected outright as a threat to the unique authority of scripture, the freedom of faith, or new communications from the Holy Spirit. Since the late nineteenth century, there has also been a tendency to disparage creeds on the ground that they occasion discord in the church and misrepresent the nature of Christian belief.

The greatest number of Christian creeds date from the Reformation era: they were by-products of the division of the Western church, serving to legitimate the several groups that claimed to be, or to belong to, the true or catholic church. For precisely this reason, the sixteenth-century confessions asserted their continuity with the past; many of them expressly reaffirmed the three ecumenical symbols, and some endorsed as well the pronouncements of the ecumenical councils. But there was, and is, no unanimity on which creeds and which councils may legitimately be classed as ecumenical.

The themes to be considered are, accordingly, the nature and authority of Christian creeds in general, the ecumenical creeds and councils, the Lutheran and Reformed confessions, other creeds of the Reformation era, and Christian creeds in the modern world.

NATURE AND AUTHORITY OF CHRISTIAN CREEDS. It is often assumed that a creed is a catalog of authorized beliefs designed as a test of orthodoxy. But the history of the origin and use of Christian creeds proves that such an interpretation is too narrow. A useful clue to this complex history may perhaps be taken from one possible meaning of the word "symbol," by which the Apostles' Creed was known from the earliest times. Tyrannius Rufinus (c. 345–410) thought the creed was so termed because it was intended as a kind of password or means of identification (Lat., *symbolum*). The basic creedal function that underlies all the others is to establish the identity of a community or to identify oneself with it.

Types of creed. The several types of Christian creeds are generated by the diverse situations that demand the affirmation, or the reaffirmation, of identity. The roots of Christian creeds, so understood, must be sought in biblical faith—in the self-understanding of the people of God. A clear prototype of the earliest Christian creeds is to be found in such Old Testament declarations as *Deuteronomy* 26:1–11, which may be described as a historical credo or confession of faith for liturgical use. In content, it is a grateful recital of the redemptive deeds of God—the deliverance from bondage and the gift of the Promised Land—by which the people of Israel were, and still are, constituted. And it is expressly designed as a liturgical formula for the sanctuary—to accompany the presentation of an offering to the Lord. Similarly, the core of the early Christian creeds was recital of the so-called Christ-*kerygma,* the deeds of God in Jesus Christ understood as continuous with the Old Testament story. (Compare the second article of the Apostles' Creed with, e.g., *1 Corinthians* 15:3–7 and *Acts* 13:16–41.) And the Christian creeds too had their original place in a liturgical rather than a legal setting: they celebrated the identity of the church as the community called into being by the crucified and risen Lord. From the earliest times there was a close connection between creed and baptism, and in most of the historic liturgies of the churches, in both East and West, a creed has been recited or sung as part of the eucharistic service.

It would be a mistake, however, to link Christian creeds exclusively with liturgy (the forms prescribed for corporate worship) or with any particular element in it, such as baptism or the Eucharist. Creeds also served the church's educational needs. Here, too, the Old Testament appears to offer a prototype: in *Deuteronomy* 6:20–25 there is a historical credo without a liturgical context, and the recital of God's marvelous deeds is simply for the instruction of the young, lest future generations forget the events that brought the people into existence. Early Christian creeds likewise found their place not only in the worship but also in the instruction of the church, including catechetical instruction before baptism.

Besides the constant requirements of worship and education, periodic divisions within a church and threats from outside have provided special occasions for the development and use of creedal formulas. Indeed, it is sometimes said that creeds and confessions are most properly born in times of crisis. Although this too is an oversimplification (like the notion that creeds are tests of orthodoxy), it is certainly true that defense against the peril of false belief—in the form of heresy, persecution by another church, or paganism—has been one stimulus to creed-making throughout Christian history. And it must be added that not only the desire to exclude competing beliefs but also the desire to overcome divisions has produced creeds, in which previous recriminations are laid aside in a new sense of unity.

The diverse uses of Christian creeds are reflected in the traditional nomenclature. An affirmation of communal identity having symbolic authority might be called "creed," "confession," "articles of faith," "canons," "decree," "catechism," "declaration," "covenant," "consensus," "platform," "apology," and so on. But in practice, function and title do not invariably coincide, and many creeds have been put to more than one use.

Authority of creeds. The status of creeds in the Roman church is closely bound up with the Roman Catholic understanding of the church, its magisterium and its infallibility. Though degrees of authoritative statement are differentiated, the highest ecclesiastical pronouncements have a juridical character and are binding on the church's members: to deviate openly and obstinately from any truth of the catholic faith is heresy. The tendency of Rome to accumulate dogmas is not approved by the Eastern Orthodox churches, but they invest the Nicene Creed and the pronouncements of their seven ecumenical councils with much the same authority that Rome accords its more abundant dogmatic norms. By contrast, the status of creeds in Protestantism is not uniform, and in view of the Protestant appeal to the sole authority of scripture, it is often seen as a problem.

The followers of Martin Luther (1483–1546) wanted a common form of doctrine to which all the evangelical churches could be expected to subscribe. Their Formula of Concord (1577) drew an explicit parallel between the authoritative ancient symbols and their own Augsburg Confession (1530), "the symbol of our time." This raised questions about the relationship of the Augsburg Confession and other Lutheran symbols to the authority of scripture. The Formula drew a line between the word of God and postapostolic witness to it, but allegiance to the symbols presupposed that they were no more than summaries of scriptural truth required by the threat of false teaching. An identity of content was claimed between scripture as the *norma normans* and the Lutheran confessions as the *norma normata*, so that an actual critique of the Lutheran church's doctrine would appear to be, in principle, as hard to undertake from within as Luther found it to launch a critique of the Roman church's doctrine. Irreformability of the Lutheran church's dogmatic standpoint was implied in the assertion "We do not intend, either in this [the Formula of Concord] or in subsequent doctrinal statements, to depart from the aforementioned [Augsburg] Confession or to set up a different and new confession." Some of the Lutheran churches regard their *Book of Concord* (1580) as a now-closed collection of symbolic books: no subsequent statement, after 1580, could attain symbolic status. Others, however, never endorsed the Formula of Concord or, with it, the *Book of Concord*.

It is sometimes asserted that the authority of confessions is weaker in the Reformed church than in the Lutheran. But the historical evidence is ambivalent. On the one hand, the absence of a single preeminent confession and a closed symbolic collection among the Reformed does appear to invite continuous revision of their confessional stand. To this extent, an admission of reformability is tacitly built into Reformed confessionalism; and the authors of Reformed confessions have sometimes expressly disowned any exclusive claim for their particular terminology, or have invited correction if in any respect they should be found to have departed from the word of God. On the other hand, subscription to the prevailing local creed or creeds has commonly been demanded of pastors and sometimes of schoolteachers—or even of entire populations (as happened in Geneva in 1537). The history of the Westminster Confession (1647), the principal creed of the English-speaking Reformed (the "Presbyterians"), is particularly instructive. The Westminster Divines seem not to have wanted it to become the rule of faith and practice rather than a "help," but that is exactly how the Scots used it north of the border, and Scottish influence became paramount. The Presbyterian appetite for heresy trials presupposed that the Westminster Confession had a legal status not unlike that accorded by the Roman church to Roman Catholic dogmas.

An unmistakable shift can be observed within Protestantism when one moves from the Lutheran and Reformed churches to what may be broadly, if loosely, called the "free church" tradition. For instance, in their Savoy Declaration (1658) the Congregationalists adapted the Westminster Confession to their own use but they expressly disavowed any intention to bind consciences, since that would belie the very name and nature of confessions of faith and turn them into exactions and impositions of faith. Since 1970, Congregationalists have belonged to the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. But Congregationalism has generally, if not always, affirmed a descriptive rather than a normative view of creeds. They "declare, for general information, what is commonly believed among" Congregationalists (English Declaration, 1833). In this manner the agony of heresy hunts is avoided, but the more strictly confessional churches are likely to argue that the basic creedal function of preserving the community's identity is here in peril of being surrendered.

Churches that renounce the use of creeds altogether may differ from the confessional churches in little more than the refusal to commit their beliefs to formal, written definitions; they may in practice be just as intolerant of any deviations from the approved language of the community. If unwritten creeds are set aside, however, it may perhaps be concluded that there are three types of Protestant attitude to formulas of belief: a closed confessionalism that requires allegiance to a past symbol or a completed collection of symbols, an open confessionalism that calls for the drafting of present symbols of belief, and a purely descriptive confessionalism that denies to "human formularies" any binding or symbolic authority at all. While these three types appeared among the Lutherans, the Reformed, and the Congregationalists, respectively, they cannot be simply identified as denominational positions. All three communions have had a complex history of subscription controversies. And the three types do not exhaust the options. The Anglican communion, for example, understands itself largely as a worshiping community, and its leaders often point to *The Book of Common Prayer* (1662) and the historic episcopate rather than the Thirty-nine Articles (1563–1571) as the pledge of corporate identity.

ECUMENICAL CREEDS AND ECUMENICAL COUNCILS. In the New Testament, faith, confession, and salvation are inseparable (*Mt.* 10:32, *Rom.* 10:10). The simplest formula of Christian confession is the assertion that Jesus is Christ (*Mk.* 8:29) or Lord (*Rom.* 10:9, *1 Cor.* 12:3), and the Western text of *Acts* 8:37 evidently reflects early use of a similar formula ("Jesus Christ is the Son of God"; cf. *Mt.* 16:16) in connection with baptism. But it was the conviction of the early Christians that Jesus himself enjoined baptism in the triadic name of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit (*Mt.* 28:19), and summaries of Christian belief emerged, known as "rules of faith" but fluid in their wording, as the Christ-*kerygma* came to be incorporated into a triadic framework. Similar to them in basic structure, only more fixed in wording, two major families of creed developed, culminating in the Apostles' Creed in the West and the Nicene Creed in the East.

The Apostles' Creed. The legend that the twelve apostles themselves jointly composed the creed named after them, each in turn contributing one clause, was not seriously doubted before the critical labors of Lorenzo Valla (c. 1405–1457) and Reginald Pecock (c. 1393–c. 1461). In its present wording, the Apostles' Creed makes its first verifiable appearance in the West no earlier than the eighth century, in a treatise by the monk Pirminius (or Priminius, d. 753), and it has remained strictly a Western creed. But a long history certainly brought it to its final form. It is generally agreed that the historical roots of the Apostles' Creed are in the ancient baptismal confession of the Roman church, the "Old Roman Creed" (R), which Archbishop James Ussher (1581–1656) first attempted to reconstruct from Marcellus (d. around 374) and Rufinus.

More recent scholarship suggests that the earliest version of R was a Greek creed in interrogative form ("Do you believe . . .?") and that it dates back to about CE 200, when Greek was still in use in the Roman church. Behind it there probably lies a still earlier trinitarian confession, also of the interrogative type but without the Christ-*kerygma.* It may simply have asked the candidate for baptism: "Do you believe in God, the Father, Almighty? And in Christ Jesus, his only Son, our Lord? And in the Holy Ghost, the holy church, the resurrection of the body?" (Another explanation of the term *symbol* is that the triple interrogation was understood to be symbolic of the Trinity.) The insertion of the Christ-*kerygma* into this presumed early-Roman baptismal confession may have been encouraged by the need to refute docetism, the denial of Jesus' humanity. The received text of the Apostles' Creed makes the point cumulatively: Jesus was conceived, was born, suffered, "was crucified, dead, and buried." Finally, the shift to the declarative form ("I believe . . ."), which required recital from memory, perhaps was made initially in catechetical preparation for baptism, then carried over into the baptismal rite itself.

The Nicene Creed. Until modern times, it was traditionally assumed that the so-called Nicene Creed was the creed promulgated by the Council of Nicaea (325), as revised and endorsed by the Council of Constantinople (381). Especially since the researches of Eduard Schwartz (1858–1940), the tradition has been generally abandoned, but much scholarly disagreement remains. Perhaps tradition was right in linking the Nicene Creed with the Council of Constantinople; hence modern scholarship designates it "the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed" (C). But it does not seem to have been a mere revision of the creed promulgated at Nicaea (N); rather, the two creeds must be said to belong to a common Eastern type, as does the creed of Caesarea, which was once supposed to have been adopted at Nicaea as the first draft of N.

The Eastern creeds are distinguished from R by their greater interest in the preexistence of Christ before the incarnation: they place the Christ-*kerygma* in a cosmic setting. Hans Lietzmann (1875–1942) thought it was possible to reconstruct an Eastern or "Oriental" prototype (O) analogous to R, but it remains uncertain whether O, or something like it, actually existed as the model for other Eastern creeds. In any case, N advances beyond O in the attempt to exclude Arianism: it affirms that the Son of God was "God from God . . . of the same substance *[homoousion]* as the Father" and concludes with anathemas against the Arian watchwords (that there was a time when the Son was not, etc.). C, in turn, advances beyond N in affirming, against the Macedonian heresy, the equality of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son, although the technical term *homoousios* is not used of the Spirit as well. Some time in the sixth or seventh century, the word *filioque* was inserted into the Latin text of C, so that the Holy Spirit was said to proceed from the Father *and the Son.* The insertion became a bone of contention between Rome and the Eastern churches, which firmly rejected it.

The Nicene Creed (C) came to be used liturgically in the Eastern church in both baptism and the Eucharist; in the West it was adopted as the eucharistic confession. The creed of Nicaea (N), by contrast, was designed not for instruction or worship but as a test of orthodoxy, which could be invoked even against a bishop of the church. In this respect, the Council of Nicaea marked a new stage in creedal history: its creed was the first to be promulgated by an ecumenical council with a claim to universal authority throughout the entire church.

The Athanasian Creed. The so-called Creed of Saint Athanasius (also known as the Quicunque Vult, from its opening words in Latin) was probably composed in southern France during or after the post-Nicene debates on the incarnation. After the Council of Nicaea, theological interest shifted from the eternal relations of Father, Son, and Spirit within the divine Trinity to the relationship between the divine and human natures of the incarnate Son. Arianism, now officially condemned, was succeeded by the Apollinarian, Nestorian, and Eutychian heresies. While the provenance of the Athanasian Creed can be inferred from the evidence of its earliest use and influence, the date assigned to it depends chiefly on the answer to the question which of the three christological heresies it was intended to oppose. It was indeed argued by Daniel Waterland (1683–1740) that even its statements on the doctrine of the Trinity require a date no earlier than 420, because they reflect the language of Augustine's (354–430) trinitarian speculations. In any case, the Christological statements almost certainly allude not only to Apollinarianism but also to Nestorianism, possibly to Eutychianism; and the three heresies were condemned respectively at the councils of Constantinople (381), Ephesus (431), and Chalcedon (451). The attribution of the creed to Athanasius, who died in 373, is clearly impossible and was already discredited in the seventeenth century by Gerrit Jansz Voss (1577–1649). Alternative suggestions have been made; perhaps the most persuasive case points to Lérins, the island abbey opposite Cannes, as "the cradle of the creed" (J. N. D. Kelly), and someone close to Vincent of Lérins (d. around 450) and Caesarius of Arles (d. 542) as its author.

The first part of the Athanasian Creed presents the doctrine of the Trinity, and the second part places the Christ-*kerygma* in the protective setting of propositions against the christological heresies. Although the creed came to be sung regularly in the West, it most likely originated not as a hymn but as a form of instruction for clergy; and its technical, metaphysical, and threatening style has gradually reduced its liturgical use. In the East it was unknown until the twelfth century and never won very high regard. The Chalcedonian definition, though never added to the number of the ecumenical symbols, actually enjoys wider authority as a defense against christological heresy because of its association with an ecumenical council.

Recognition of the creeds and councils. Most of the major churches recognize the ecumenical creeds and councils insofar as they present fundamental Christian beliefs about God and Christ. But only the Nicene Creed can fully claim the rank of ecumenical symbol, and it is unfortunate that its significance is tarnished by debate over the *filioque* insertion. Ecumenical status is assigned by the Eastern Orthodox church to seven councils: two of Nicaea (325, 787), three of Constantinople (381, 553, 680), Ephesus, and Chalcedon. The Roman church claims ecumenical rank also for its own synods, the last of which, Vatican II (1962–1965), was counted the twenty-first ecumenical council; and Rome considers the decrees of an ecumenical council to be "an infallible witness to the Catholic rule of faith." Protestants tend to single out the first four "general councils" as especially worthy of reverence, but deny that their decrees are in principle infallible; rather, they are to be tested by the word of God.

LUTHERAN AND REFORMED CONFESSIONS.

The Protestant confessions of the Reformation era were intended to restore to the church its true image and identity, which, it was widely agreed, had been obscured by the errors and abuses of the later Middle Ages. The heart of the Reformation creeds is the rediscovery of the gospel as, in Luther's memorable phrase, "the real treasure of the church." The church, Luther held, is the creation of the gospel; it is the word of God in Jesus Christ that makes the church the church. And he believed that the church's confession of the divinity of Christ was fatally impaired wherever this gospel was displaced or misconstrued.

Lutheran confessions. Of the ten symbols included in the Lutheran *Book of Concord*, the first three are the ecumenical creeds; the rest, in chronological order of publication, are Luther's Large and Small Catechisms (1529), the Augsburg Confession, Philipp Melanchthon's (1497–1560) *Apology for the Augsburg Confession* (1531), Luther's Smalcald Articles (1537), Melanchthon's *Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope* (1537), and the Formula of Concord. Among the distinctively Lutheran symbols, all German in origin, the Augsburg Confession holds a special place. Lutheranism was granted legal recognition by the Peace of Augsburg (1555) as "the religion of the Augsburg Confession." The spread of Lutheranism beyond Germany always meant adoption of this confession, and the Formula of Concord itself claimed to be simply the correct and final explanation of it in response to certain inner-Lutheran controversies.

The confession was presented to Emperor Charles V on June 25, 1530, at the Diet of Augsburg (whence the name by which it is familiarly known). Although earlier documents by other hands lay behind it, in its final form its principal author was Melanchthon, whose ecclesiastical strategy it reflects. According to the Formula of Concord, the Augsburg Confession "distinguishes our reformed churches from the papacy and from other condemned sects and heresies." But that by no means conveys the author's intention. He was certainly eager to disown the Zwinglians and the Anabaptists, but precisely in order to confirm the essential Lutheran agreement with Rome. The confession (or "apology," as it was initially called) set out to accomplish two goals: to defend the catholicity of Lutheran doctrine and to justify the innovations in Lutheran practice. Part one (arts. 1–21), the confession of faith proper, contains a summary of the doctrines taught in the Lutheran churches. It claims to present the faith of the catholic church, not of a particular Lutheran church, and it insists that there can be no disagreement with Rome if Rome's teaching, too, conforms to antiquity. The contention is not over articles of faith but over a few usages, and these are taken up in part two (arts. 22–28), which lies outside the confession of faith in the strict sense.

Melanchthon's design required the suppression of several controversial issues, including the authority of scripture, papal primacy, and the priesthood of all believers. How well he succeeded is open to question, but it is significant that in 1980, when the 450th anniversary of his confession was celebrated, there were widespread discussions between Roman Catholic and Lutheran theologians on the possibility that Rome might recognize the Augsburg Confession as a catholic confession. Still, it is undeniable that the confession bears a distinctively Lutheran stamp precisely in the regulative place it assigns to the gospel, understood as the message of justification through faith without any merits of our own. It is this "chief article" that provides one implicit definition of an "abuse" for part two of the confession: any usage implying that grace can be earned is an abuse (art. 15). The same chief article constitutes the actual core of part one, shaping the doctrines of church, ministry, and sacraments as well as the Lutheran understanding of the Christian life, neighborly love, and the earthly callings.

It is not surprising that the Roman Catholic critics of the confession, while they welcomed the affirmation of the real presence in the Eucharist (art. 10), found uncatholic the pivotal notion that the sacraments in general are testimonies of God's good will for the purpose of arousing faith, that is, the faith through which we are justified (art. 13). Sacraments are thereby interpreted (or reinterpreted) as functions of the word of God, forms of the gospel proclamation; and the entire medieval conception of the church and its ministry is transformed accordingly. This was one strictly doctrinal issue that lay behind the Lutheran charge, in part two of the confession (art. 24), that it is an abuse to celebrate the Mass as a sacrifice for sin. It would be unfair to conclude (as has sometimes been done) that Melanchthon was devious or naive. The point, rather, is that his concern was to reaffirm the gospel of grace without letting the Lutheran reform rend the unity of the catholic church.

The Reformed confessions. Unlike the Lutherans, the Reformed churches of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were not held together by a single confession of faith. Though they often acknowledged one another's confessions—sometimes even the Lutheran Augsburg Confession—in general each national or regional church drew up its own standard or standards of belief. The most comprehensive collection of Reformed creeds (E. F. K. Müller, 1903) contains fifty-eight items, and the editor remarks that the number could be doubled without achieving completeness. Other individual collections have appeared from time to time, but none has ever acquired, or could have acquired, ecclesiastical endorsement as the Reformed "Book of Concord." It was a new departure—and the act of only one branch of the Reformed family—when the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America in 1967 authorized its *Book of Confessions*, a selection of Reformed creeds of international origin. In the 1983 edition, the *Book of Confessions* of what had become the Presbyterian Church (USA) included six documents from the Reformation era (along with the Nicene and Apostles' creeds and two twentieth-century confessions): the Scots Confession (1560), the Heidelberg Catechism (1563), the Second Helvetic Confession (1566), the Westminster Confession (rev. ed., 1958), and the two Westminster Catechisms (1647). None of these six creeds stands very close to John Calvin (1509–1564), an omission that could be remedied with the French (Gallican) Confession of 1559, perhaps the outstanding Reformed creed of the declarative type. Originally conceived as an apology of the persecuted French Protestants to the king of France, the confession was not a creed for theologians only but a confession of the church, and it came to be printed inside the Bibles and Psalters of the French Reformed congregations.

Dogmatic uniformity is hardly to be expected throughout the total Reformed *corpus confessionum*, and no one confession can be taken as regulative for them all. But they were first and foremost, like other Protestant confessions, "evangelical"—that is, reaffirmations of the gospel of Christ, or (what for them was the same thing) of the lordship of Christ, as alone constitutive of the church's identity. This is particularly clear in the documents from the early years. The very first Reformed confession, the Sixty-seven Articles (1523) of Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531), sounds the characteristic note in its opening assertions (cf. Ten Theses of Bern, 1528; Lausanne Articles, 1536). In subsequent confessions the primacy of the gospel comes to be set in a more systematic framework, but it is still affirmed, either within the confessions (e.g., First Helvetic Confession, 1536, art. 12; cf. art. 5) or in preambles to them (e.g., the French and Scots confessions), and serves as the constant norm for sifting out truth from error in the prevailing beliefs and practices of the church.

The dogma of double predestination, sometimes imagined to be the center of Reformed or Calvinistic theology, is not emphasized in the sixteenth-century confessions; in some (e.g., the First Helvetic Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism) it is not even mentioned. If one looks for a distinctively Reformed emphasis, it might more plausibly be located in the concern for the order, discipline, and worship of the church. The "parity of presbyters" (i.e., the equality of all ordained clergy in rank) and the need for elders to assist the pastors in maintaining discipline are expressly included in some of the confessions—apparently as matters of faith. But here too the fundamental principle is the sole lordship of Christ, the only universal bishop of the church, the ever-present and life-giving head of the body, who needs no "vicar" (French Confession, arts. 29–30; Scots Confession, chap. 16; Belgic Confession [1561], art. 31; Second Helvetic Confession, chap. 17; etc.). And the same line of thinking prevents Zwingli's memorialist conception of the Lord's Supper, which occasioned the breach with Lutheranism, from intruding into the major Reformed confessions. In the Lord's Supper the living and present Lord feeds and strengthens his people "with the substance of his body and of his blood" (French Confession, art. 36; cf. Scots Confession, chap. 21, Second Helvetic Confession, chap. 21, and so on).

OTHER CREEDS OF THE REFORMATION ERA. Besides the Lutherans and the Reformed, other non-Roman churches in the West produced statements of belief during the Reformation era. The Church of England had its Thirty-nine Articles, the Unitarians their Racovian Catechism (1605), the Mennonites their Dordrecht Confession (1632); the Congregationalists, the Baptists, and even the Quakers continued to add to the confessional literature of the earlier Reformation. But none of these groups has invested its statements with the doctrinal authority the Lutherans and the Reformed accord to theirs; most of them would say that their confessions are for instruction, not for subscription. Sometimes the new statements borrowed freely from the old. Already in the sixteenth century the Thirty-nine Articles were largely derived from continental Protestantism, and in the following century the Congregationalists and the Baptists (both "Particular" and "General" Baptists) made their own recensions of the Presbyterian Westminster Confession, as John Wesley (1703–1791) was later to make a Methodist recension of the Anglican articles (the Twenty-five Articles of 1784).

Eastern Orthodox churches. The Eastern churches remained aloof, as far as possible, from the Reformation crisis, judging it to be an internal problem of the Western church. Some exchange did take place, however, and it generated more or less official Orthodox responses to Protestantism. Most important among them was the Confession of Dosítheos, issued by the Synod of Jerusalem (1672) to combat the Calvinizing opinions advanced by, or attributed to, Cyril I (Kyrillos Loukaris, 1572–1638), former patriarch of Constantinople. It is generally assumed that the patriarch of Jerusalem, Dosítheos (1641–1707), was the principal author of the confession, which constitutes chapter 6 of the synod's decrees. He avoided Roman Catholic doctrines and practices that Orthodoxy does not accept (papal supremacy, the celibacy of all clergy, withholding the cup from the laity) and took essentially the same stand as Rome against the Protestant views of authority and justification. The Calvinist doctrine of the Eucharist is opposed (decree 17) not only by affirming a propitiatory sacrifice but also by borrowing the Latin idea of transubstantiation.

In addition to promulgating its own confession, the Synod of Jerusalem endorsed the earlier replies of Jeremias II (c. 1530–1595), patriarch of Constantinople, to overtures from the Lutheran theologians of Tübingen. The replies (published in 1584) rejected the distinctive doctrines of the Augsburg Confession on everything except the marriage of priests. The synod also gave its sanction to a catechism drafted (c. 1640) partly in opposition to the Calvinizers by Petr Moghila (1596–1647), metropolitan of Kiev, which was probably the most influential witness to the Orthodox faith of the Greek and Russian churches until superseded in 1839 by the Catechism of Filaret (1782–1867), metropolitan of Moscow. But neither Filaret's catechism nor the documents promulgated or endorsed by the Synod of Jerusalem have the same authority in Eastern Orthodoxy as the Nicene Creed, which commended itself all the more because it was safe from the conflict in the Western church. Insofar as the Eastern church faced the Reformation at all, it has usually considered its responses to be strictly contextual; use of the Latin dogma of transubstantiation, for example, in the Confession of Dosítheos did not make it an Orthodox dogma.

The Roman Catholic Church. The Roman church, by contrast, produced its most comprehensive standard of belief (until that time) precisely in response to the Protestant Reformation. In 1545, fifteen years after the Diet of Augsburg, the long-hoped-for council that was to settle the religious questions was finally convened at Trent. Its last session took place in 1563, eighteen years later. The Orthodox and the Protestants were not represented, but Trent is considered by the church of Rome to be the nineteenth ecumenical council. (The Lutherans were invited, and delegates from Saxony and Württemberg did appear briefly in the spring of 1552, but they could be received only as errant children of the church, which had condemned Luther three decades before.) The canons and decrees of the Council of Trent were published in their entirety in 1564. Not all twenty-five sessions produced decrees on doctrine. Those that did were mainly interested in three matters of faith: authority, justification, and the sacraments.

After adopting the Nicene Creed as its confession of faith and shield against heresies (sess. 3), the council proceeded to specify the two witnesses to which it would appeal in confirming dogmas and restoring morals in the church: scripture and unwritten traditions (sess. 4). The express concern of Trent, like that of the Protestants, was for "the purity of the gospel." But there could be no question of appealing to the gospel against the traditions or teaching of the church. For the truths of the gospel, according to Trent, are contained both in scripture and in the unwritten traditions handed down from the apostles; both are to be received with the same devout reverence. And the scriptures themselves are not to be interpreted by anyone's private judgment contrary to the sense that holy mother church has held and holds.

It did not follow that the Roman church wished to stand behind the practices and beliefs that the Protestant confessions had judged to be violations of the gospel. Trent did reject the Lutheran protest in principle, and it could not accept the Lutheran inventory of abuses without discrimination. But in its decrees on reform the council inaugurated a Catholic reformation, which dealt extensively with many of the alleged abuses, eradicating some and purging others. And in its decrees on doctrine it defined positions that cannot be simply identified with positions the Lutherans and the Reformed had attacked. In particular, the decree on justification (sess. 6), which took seven months to complete, seems to deny forthrightly the very opinion against which the Lutherans had most vehemently protested: that the grace of justification can be merited (chap. 8). Trent's denial of merit before justification has been the subject of divided interpretation among twentieth-century historians, and in any case other confessional differences concerning justification, or possible differences, certainly remain, but the dividing lines are not as sharp as sixteenth-century polemics made them out to be. The same holds true for sacramental theology.

Among the controverted sacramental issues, none ranks higher in importance than the debate over the sacrificial character of the Mass. Both the Lutheran confessions (e.g., Augsburg Confession, art. 24) and the Reformed confessions (e.g., Scots Confession, art. 22) presumed that in the Roman Mass the priest was credited with sacrificing Christ to appease God. The Mass, they alleged, therefore detracted from Christ's self-sacrifice on the cross and violated the heart of the gospel—that grace is not obtained through human works. The language of the Tridentine response (sess. 22) is neither uniform nor wholly transparent. But no competition between cross and altar is implied. The once-for-all offering on the cross is said to be "represented" in the Mass and its benefits applied to daily sins, "so far is the latter from derogating in any way from the former" (chaps. 1–2). And though the sacrifice of the Mass is carried out "by the church through the priests," the decree adds: ". . . the same now offering by the ministry of priests who then offered himself on the cross" (chaps. 1–2).

Confessional legacy of the Reformation. The Tridentine decrees must be seen in relation to subsequent dogmatic pronouncements of the Roman Catholic Church, especially the constitutions of the First and Second Vatican Councils (1869–1870; 1962–1965). But the confessional legacy of the Reformation era appears less totally and irrevocably divisive than might be supposed. Just as the Reformed confessions did not perpetuate the Zwinglian sacramental views that the Lutherans found so offensive, so also the Tridentine decrees did not simply immortalize the errors and abuses with which the Protestants charged the late medieval church. And a more irenic age would have to ask, in turn, how just were the Tridentine anathemas hurled against the Protestants.

CHRISTIAN CREEDS IN THE MODERN WORLD. Although the Reformation era may be singled out as the most productive period of Christian creed-making, dogmas have continued to be defined and confessions drafted down to the present time. The Roman church's dogmas of the Immaculate Conception (1854), papal infallibility (1870), and the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (1950) were important developments of traditional Roman Catholic beliefs about Mary and the papacy. Other creedal statements have been self-conscious attempts to rethink confessional positions in the modern world. But it is also during the last three centuries that the very idea of a creed has become most precarious.

Modern anticreedalism. The problem of what may be termed "anticreedalism" has naturally made itself felt more especially in Protestantism. From the first, even the most staunchly confessional of the Protestant churches, the Lutheran, was not entirely of one mind about its symbolic books. Distinctions were made between one confession and another, and not all the Lutheran bodies adopted the Formula of Concord. Moreover, in the non-Lutheran churches there was a tendency to contrast all human formularies much more sharply with the divinely inspired scriptures. Modern anticreedalism, however, has other roots besides biblicism. Most important is the drift toward a less dogmatic variety of Christian religion. With roots in sixteenth-century humanism and antitrinitarianism and in seventeenth-century Arminianism, aversion to distinctively Christian dogmas flourished in English Deism and was nurtured by the theologians of the German Enlightenment. In the course of the eighteenth century, Protestant orthodoxy, already weakened by Pietism, retreated before enlightened disdain for inherited superstitions and dogmatic particularism. Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834) tried to deal more sympathetically with the old creeds as authentic, though reformable, deliverances of the Christian consciousness. But the resurgence of Lutheran confessionalism in the early nineteenth century was directed against Schleiermacher as well as against the rationalists, and it was carried by German immigrants to the New World.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the beleaguered antidogmatic line in Protestant theology found new resources in the work of Ritschlian church historian Adolf von Harnack (1851–1930), who argued with massive erudition that Christian orthodoxy arose as a corruption of the gospel by Hellenic metaphysics and intellectualism. Dogmas, as he put it, are "a work of the Greek spirit on the soil of the gospel"; by them, confidence in the Father God of Jesus is transformed into intellectual assent to metaphysical propositions about the inner life of the godhead and the two natures of the incarnate Son. From this standpoint, Harnack considered himself free to subject even the Apostles' Creed to detailed criticism and to oppose its continued use as a legal ordinance.

Strictly speaking, Harnack and the liberal Protestants who rallied around him did not want to abolish the Apostles' Creed, or creeds in general. Harnack in fact made a classic case for what we have termed "open confessionalism." While he deplored what he saw as the "catholicizing" of Lutheranism, he judged the opposite demand for a totally undogmatic Christianity to be a mistake. The church's task, he believed, was not to dispense with creeds but to add a new creed to the old. "Upon the path of the old Creeds we must remain," he wrote. "Satisfied with them we cannot be. The entanglements of history divide us from them."

The objection is sometimes made that such a program, despite the disavowals, abrogates the entire notion of a creed: a temporary dogma is no dogma at all, and adoption of a new confession is tacit denial of the old. But in the centuries that separate the Reformation from the present, another danger, more surely fatal to the life of a confessing church, has become increasingly clear: an old creed may be retained only as a sacred relic, a token of outward conformity, to be invoked on rare occasions for some shibboleth that it conveniently enshrines—and not as the living confession of a church. And there is a growing readiness among Christians of every communion, even among those who do not object either to creeds in principle or to the specific dogmas of the traditional creeds, to admit that every confession of faith is conditioned by the circumstances of its historical origin, and none is therefore likely to serve as the sufficient confession of another day. This admission has made it easier in practice for the churches to reappraise the historic creeds of other traditions, while accepting the responsibility to add to their own.

Modern creeds. Four twentieth-century documents represent the continued activity of Christian creed-making in the modern world. Two of them address specific political and social crises by reaffirming, sharpening, and applying elements already present in the confessional tradition: the lordship of Christ (the original Christian confession), and reconciliation through Christ, respectively. The Barmen Declaration (1934) was adopted by a synod of representatives from the Lutheran, Reformed, and United churches in Germany to address the crisis of National Socialism. Largely inspired by Karl Barth (1886–1968), it was the response of the Confessing church to the so-called German Christians. Its six terse affirmations and corresponding condemnations asserted the sole lordship of Jesus Christ, the one word of God, over every area of life against the encroachments of the Nazi state and its *Führer*. Broader in scope, but still a declaration rather than a comprehensive confession of faith, the Confession of 1967 was adopted by the United Presbyterian Church in the USA to reaffirm the message of reconciliation and bring it to bear on four urgent social issues: racial discrimination, international conflict, enslaving poverty, and alienation between the sexes.

The opening message (1962) of the Second Vatican Council also singled out two issues as especially urgent: peace between peoples and social justice. But the council's sixteen dogmatic constitutions, decrees, and declarations are not a response to a particular crisis or to critical issues; they are a broad and detailed attempt at an "updating" (*aggiornamento*) of the Roman church's entire stand in the twentieth century—her self-understanding and her relationships with other Christian groups, the non-Christian religions, and the whole human community. They call for all Christians and men of goodwill to join the Catholic Church in "building up a more just and brotherly city in the world." In issuing this call, the council made up for an omission in the work of Trent and for what many Roman Catholics perceive as one-sidedness in the work of the First Vatican Council.

The Council of Trent did not undertake to define the nature of the church at all; differences among the fathers themselves made any such venture impolitic. The First Vatican Council, on the other hand, which Rome counts as the twentieth ecumenical council, did produce a Constitution on the Church of Christ (1870), but it was concerned exclusively with the primacy of the pope and with his infallibility when he defines a doctrine concerning faith or morals. Vatican II, especially in its Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (*Lumen gentium*, 1964), presents a much fuller doctrine of the church, in biblical rather than juridical language. The hierarchical structure of the church and the primacy of the pope are reaffirmed. But Vatican II places a stronger emphasis than Vatican I on the regular and collective, or "collegial," office of all the bishops in communion with the pope, and it takes "the church" to mean the whole body of the Lord, the people of God, laity as well as clergy. All the faithful in their several ways share in the priestly, prophetic, and kingly functions of Christ. By her relationship with Christ, the church is a kind of sacrament—that is, a sign and instrument—of union with God and the unity of all humankind. Not only the Catholic faithful but all who believe in Christ are in some way united with this people of God in the Holy Spirit, who is operative among them too with his sanctifying power.

Finally, the Lima Document on Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry (1982), which approaches the creedal type of a union statement, may serve as a useful indication of the consensus and dissensus between the inherited confessional positions at the present time. Ecumenical dialogue has repeatedly shown the possibility of agreement on traditionally divisive issues, including the doctrines of justification and the sacraments. The Lima Document, produced for the Commission on Faith and Order of the World Council of Churches by representatives of all the major confessional traditions (including Roman Catholics, who have no official participation in the World Council itself), faces some of the most divisive issues of all. Its main text establishes a large measure of agreement, mainly by appeal to the common biblical heritage, and the additional commentaries indicate the differences that either have been overcome or are still in need of further discussion. Even on two of the most intractable differences—between infant and believer baptism, and between episcopal and nonepiscopal ministry—the way is pointed out toward mutual recognition as a step in the direction of greater unity of doctrine, order, and practice. It has thus become a dominant concern of modern Christian creed-making, not only to meet the political, social, and intellectual problems of the day but also to reverse the tendency of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century creeds toward inflexibility and separation.

SEE ALSO Councils, article on Christian Councils; Theology, article on Christian Theology.

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CREEDS: ISLAMIC CREEDS

An *ʿaqīdah* is an Islamic creed or creedal statement; the plural, *ʿaqāʾid* ("articles of belief"), is used in a similar sense. Since there is no Islamic body corresponding to the Christian ecumenical councils, Islamic creeds do not have the official status of the Christian creeds and thus are not used liturgically. What might be regarded as an exception to these assertions is the Shahādah, or confession of faith ("There is no deity except God; Muḥammad is the messenger of God"), which is universally accepted by Muslims and is repeated in the formal worship or prayers (*ṣalāt*). The Shahādah is not generally regarded as an *ʿaqīdah*, however, though it might be considered the basis of all later creeds. The terms *ʿaqīdah* and *ʿaqāʾid* are applied to works of greatly varying length, ranging from those with fewer than a dozen lines to voluminous theological treatises.

The Development of the Islamic Creeds. Although they hold no ecumenical councils, the Sunnīs, who are the great majority of all Muslims, have come to a large measure of agreement about the articles of belief through informal consensus. Each legal/theological school, and notably the Ḥanafī and Ḥanbalī schools, has developed creeds which the school has accepted and often attributed to its founder, even when the composition might date from several centuries later. The various subdivisions of Shīʿī Islam have also produced their creedal statements, as have some of the minor sects.

The process by which the Sunnī creed was elaborated is similar to that in Christianity, namely through argument against the views of some believers which were felt to be heretical by the main body of believers. Among the views excluded by the Sunnīs were the Shīʿī belief that the prophet Muḥammad had designated ʿAlī to succeed him and that each of the following (Shīʿī) imams had been similarly designated by his predecessor, the Khārijī belief that a person who commits a grave sin is thereby excluded from the community, and the Muʿtazilī belief that human acts are independent of God's control.

THE MAIN DOCTRINES OF THE SUNNĪ ISLAMIC CREED. The following are the main articles of belief accepted by Sunnīs, though the wording does not follow any specific creed. The order is roughly that of the Ḥanafī creed (found in Wensinck, 1932); comments have been added.

1. *God is one and unique in the sense that there is no deity other than God; he has neither partner nor associate, and neither begets nor is begotten.* This is the first clause in the Shahādah and also appears in the Qurʾān, though not in the earliest portions. *Allāh* is the Arabic word for God, used also by Arabic-speaking Christians, but some of Muḥammad's contemporaries recognized Allāh as a "high god" alongside other deities. It is against such people, and polytheists in general, that this article emphasizes the uniqueness of God, which became one of the distinctive features of Islam.

2. *He has been from all eternity and will be to all eternity with all his names and attributes.* These attributes may be essential or active (attributes pertaining to activity): among the former are life, power (or omnipotence), knowledge (or omniscience), speech, hearing, sight, and will; and among the latter, creating, sustaining (with food), giving life, and raising (from the dead). All these attributes are eternal; they are not God and yet not other than God. The Qurʾān frequently applies names to God, such as the Merciful, the Forgiving, the Creator, the Knowing. Ninety-nine such "beautiful names" are commonly recognized and used in devotions. The theologians held that God possesses the qualities or attributes (*ṣifāt*) corresponding to these names, as the quality of mercy corresponds to "the Merciful." The seven essential attributes listed above were much discussed by theologians in the third and fourth centuries AH (ninth and tenth centuries CE). Some, especially the Muʿtazilah, held that the attributes are not distinct from God's essence, so that, for example, he might be said to know by his essence; others held that the attributes have a hypostatic character (not unlike the three hypostases of the Christian Trinity), so that it is by his knowledge rather than his essence that God knows. The latter view, which made allowance for the special position of the Qurʾān as God's attribute of speech, came to be the standard Sunnī position and was accepted by the Ashʿarīyah, the Māturīdīyah, and others. With regard to the active attributes, the Ashʿarīyah held that these are not eternal, since, for example, God cannot be creator until he has created. The Māturīdīyah, on the other hand, held that these names and attributes apply to God eternally. There was also some discussion, especially in later times, when there was greater familiarity with philosophical ideas, as to whether existence, eternity, and the like were to be regarded as attributes.

3. *God created the world and all that is in it; he did not create things from any preexisting thing.* God's creation of the world *ex nihilo* is always implied in the creeds, although it is not always stated explicitly.

4. *God is unlike all created things: he is neither body nor substance nor accident (of a substance); he has no spatial limit or position.* Nevertheless, as the Qurʾān indicates, he has two hands, two eyes, and a face, and he is seated on the throne. The otherness and, in this sense, transcendence of God are clearly expressed in the Qurʾān ("No thing is like him" [42:11]), and this point received much emphasis in later times. It was a serious problem for the theologians to reconcile this otherness of God with the anthropomorphisms in the Qurʾān, which include not merely such terms as *hands* and *face*, but also most of the names and attributes. Some of those who insisted on the otherness and incorporeality of God, like the Muʿtazilah, held that the anthropomorphic terms were to be understood metaphorically, and they called those who understood them literally *mushabbihah* ("those who make [God] resemble [humanity]"). Most Sunnī theologians, following Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, said they were to be accepted *bi-lā kayf*, or "amodally" (literally "without [asking] how [they were to be understood]"), that is, neither literally nor metaphorically. Some later Ashʿarī theologians allowed metaphorical interpretation, within limits however.

5. *The Qurʾān, as it is written down, remembered, and recited, is the speech of God and uncreated.* Our writing and reciting of it, however, are created. This matter was the subject of violent discussions in the ninth century. In the so-called inquisition (*miḥnah*) begun by Caliph al-Maʾmūn around 833, prominent jurists and other officials were obliged to state publicly that they believed the Qurʾān to be the created speech of God. Among those who refused to make the profession was Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, and for a time he was the main defender of the uncreatedness of the Qurʾān. The point at issue seems to have been that, if the Qurʾān is created, God could have created it otherwise, and so it is not unthinkable that the caliph, if regarded as inspired by God, could alter its rules. On the other hand, if it is uncreated, it expresses something of God's being and cannot be humanly altered; this implies that the final decision about the application of Qurʾanic rules to practical matters is in the hands, not of the caliph, but of the accredited interpreters of the

Qurʾān, namely the *ʿulamāʾ*, or religious scholars. The Shīʿah, who believe their imams are inspired, still hold the Qurʾān to be created, but since the end of the inquisition around 850, the Sunnīs have adhered firmly to the doctrine of the uncreatedness of the Qurʾān.

6. *God's will is supreme, and he controls all mundane events. No good or evil comes about on earth except as God wills, but although he wills all events, good and evil, he does not command or approve what is evil. Actions are good or bad, not in themselves, but because God commands or forbids them; he could, if he so willed, change what is good and bad. Human acts are created by God and "acquired" by the individual.* Belief in the absolute sovereignty of God (for which there are precedents in the Bible and in pre-Islamic Arabia) enabled Muslims to face life with assurance, knowing that no disaster could happen to them unless God willed it. The Muʿtazilī assertion of human free will was seen to threaten God's sovereignty, and so many Sunnī theologians tried to find a way of reconciling God's omnipotence with human freedom. The Muʿtazilah and their opponents agreed that when a people acted, it was through a "power" or "ability" which God created in them, but while the Muʿtazilah held that this was a "power" to do either the act or its opposite and was created before the act, the others insisted that it was the "power" to do only the act in question and was created in the moment of acting. Many Sunnī theologians, especially the Ashʿarīyah, further held that while God created the act, the human agents only "acquired" (*kasaba*) it, meaning that they somehow "made it theirs" or had it "credited" to them as their act. The Muʿtazilah had shown that if the act was not the individuals' act and was sinful, God could not justly punish them for it. Most Sunnīs held that whether people were believers or unbelievers depended on their own acts and not on God. At the same time they thought that God could, in his goodness, help people to belief, yet also in his justice lead them astray or abandon them, in the sense of withdrawing guidance from them, but ultimately such treatment followed on sins by the people in question.

7. *God will judge all human beings on the Last Day after they have been raised from the dead. Among the realities of the Last Day are the balance (*mīzān*), the bridge (*ṣirāṭ*), and the pool or basin (*ḥawḍ*). Before the Last Day sinners will be exposed to the punishment of the tomb.* God's judgment on the Last Day is prominent in the Qurʾān and is implied in all creeds even when not explicitly stated. A balance to weigh a person's good deeds against bad deeds is spoken of in the Qurʾān, but there are no clear references there to the pool from which Muḥammad quenches the thirst of the believers or to the knife-edge bridge over Hell from which evildoers fall down: these are popular eschatological conceptions which have found their way into some creeds, as is also the belief in a punishment in the tomb (*ʿadhāb al-qabr*).

8. *Muḥammad and other prophets are permitted to intercede with God on the Last Day for sinful members of their communities.* Although the Muʿtazilah held that the Qurʾanic references to intercession did not justify this belief, it came to be generally accepted.

9. *Paradise and Hell are already created, and will never cease to exist.* This was a denial of some sectarian views attributed to the Jahmīyah and others.

10. *God will be seen by the believers in Paradise.* This is asserted in the Qurʾān, but it is difficult to understand literally since God is incorporeal. It was eventually held to be true "amodally" *(bi-lā kayf)*.

11. *God has sent messengers (*rusul*) and prophets (*anbiyāʾ*) to human communities with his revelations. Prophets are preserved (*maʿṣūm*) from sin by God; Muḥammad is the seal of the prophets.* Prophets are sometimes said to be very numerous, reaching as many as 120,000, although only a small number, sometimes 313, are messengers. According to the Māturīdīyah, prophets are preserved from all sins; according to the Ashʿarīyah, only from grave sins. The phrase "seal of the prophets" is now always taken to mean "last of the prophets," but originally it may have meant the one who, like a seal, confirmed previous prophets.

12. *The most excellent of the community after Muḥammad is Abū Bakr, then ʿUmar, then ʿUthmān, then ʿAlī.* This apparently nontheological assertion is a denial of the Shīʿī view that ʿAlī was most excellent after Muḥammad, and thus it is an essential element of Sunnīsm. It was agreed upon only after much discussion, especially regarding the place of ʿUthmān because of criticisms of his conduct.

13. *Faith (*īmān*) consists in assenting with the heart, confessing with the tongue, and performing works; it may increase or decrease.* This is the Ashʿarī and Ḥanbalī understanding of faith, or what makes a person a believer. The Māturīdīyah and other Ḥanafīyah, on the other hand, exclude performing works from the definition and then insist that faith can neither increase nor decrease.

14. *A believer who commits a grave sin does not thereby cease to be a believer.* This is directed against the Khārijīs, who held that the grave sinner is excluded from the community of believers. Sunnīs generally came to hold that a grave sinner of the community might be punished in Hell for a time, but would eventually go to Paradise through the intercession of Muḥammad.

SHĪʿĪ BELIEFS. Whereas for Sunnī Muslims true doctrine is what is asserted in the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth* as interpreted by accredited *ʿulamāʾ*, for Shīʿī Muslims authority in matters of doctrine rests with the divinely inspired imam. There are three main subdivisions of the Shīʿah, namely the Imāmīyah (Twelvers), the Ismāʿīlīyah (Seveners), and the Zaydīyah. All believe that ʿAlī was the rightful imam, or leader of the Muslims in succession to Muḥammad, and was followed by his sons, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, and that thereafter each imam designated his successor, usually a son. The Twelvers, with their center in Iran, hold that in 874 the twelfth imam went into occultation (*ghaybah*), but is still alive and will return as the Mahdi at an appropriate moment to set things right in the world. The Ismāʿīlīyah accept the first six Twelver imams, but hold that the seventh was a son of the sixth named Ismāʿīl, and that the series of imams continues until today. The present Aga Khan is the imam of the best-known subsection of the Ismāʿīlīyah. The original Zaydī view was that the rightful imam was a descendant of Ḥasan or Ḥusayn who claimed the imamate and made good his claim by the sword. The Shīʿah in general reject the twelfth of the articles presented above and also hold that the Qurʾān is created, but they accept most of the rest of the creed, although the Zaydīyah, and to a lesser extent the Twelver Shīʿah, tend to the position of the Muʿtazilah. The strength of the Twelver *ʿulamāʾ* in Iran today is in part due to the fact that they represent the Hidden Imam.

SEE ALSO Attributes of God, article on Islamic Concepts; Polemics, articles on Christian-Muslim Polemics, Muslim-Jewish Polemics.

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For the development of dogma, there is a brief account in Wensinck's book; I have given a much fuller account of the early period in *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* (Edinburgh, 1973), and I present a survey up to the present in my *Islamic Philosophy and Theology*, 2d rev. ed. (Edinburgh, 1984).

For the beliefs of the Twelver Shīʿah, the creed by Ibn Bābawayhi (d. 991) is contained in *A Shiʾite Creed*, translated by A. A. Fyzee (London, 1942); that of ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī (d. 1326) appears in *Al-Bābuʾl-Ḥādī ʿAshar, a Treatise on the Principles of Shīʿite Theology*, translated by William Miller (London, 1928). A modern work is *A Shiʾite Anthology*, edited by William C. Chittick (Albany, N.Y., 1981). For the Ismāʿīlīyah there is a summary of a long creed from about 1200 in *A Creed of the Fatimids* by Vladimir A. Ivanov (Bombay, 1936). The most important work on the Zaydīyah is Wilferd Madelung's *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen* (Berlin, 1965).

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CREMATION SEE FUNERAL RITES

CREOLIZATION.

The term *creolization* describes the process of acculturation in which Amerindian, European, and African traditions and customs have blended with each other over a prolonged period to create new cultures in the New World. Creole cultures are found in the southern United States, parts of Latin America, and in the Caribbean. These regions share a similar history that includes long periods of European colonial rule, a history of slavery and resistance to slavery, and the cultivation of sugar cane by forced labor. The creolizing process that accompanied these events has created rich forms of cultural expression that have been woven together like the diverse strands in a tapestry to create new cultures. These traditions may bear a resemblance to the older forms from which they derive, but they are distinct in the varying ways they blend with one another.

The term *Creole* was used initially in the sixteenth-century Caribbean to designate people of mixed race (also called mulattos) who were born of African and European parents. By the seventeenth century, it came to be applied to anyone of European and African descent born in the New World. Since the colonial period, the term has been applied to many aspects of culture. In the culinary arts it designates a highly seasoned type of food cooked with ingredients like okra and tomatoes. It refers to styles of dress that is reminiscent of the colonial era, and in the arts certain musical rhythms and dance steps are identified as Creole.

LANGUAGE. Creolization's most distinctive contributions to the cultures of the New World are in the areas of linguistics and religion. The Creole languages derive from earlier pidginized tongues that developed during the colonial period to allow African slaves and their masters to communicate. Pidgins evolved into more sophisticated languages with more complex grammatical and syntactical structures. Modern Creole languages make extensive use of words from the European languages and may also include some African and Amerindian words.

Most Creole grammatical structures are based on the languages native to West Africa, and their forms vary depending on which ethnic groups were brought from Africa or Europe to which regions of the New World. Based upon the extent of their borrowings, the Creole languages may be referred to as English-derived (as is Gullah in the United States), or French-derived (such as Haitian or Martiniquane Creoles), or Dutch-derived (Papiamento in Curaçao). Their linguistic and literary forms, oral or written, express distinctive cultural and social realities that are unique to each region.

RELIGION. Creolization has influenced many indigenous religions in the New World. Like the Creole languages, the creolization process combines religious traditions from the peoples of Africa, Europe, and the New World. Creole religions are found in the Brazilian state of Bahia, the countries on the northern coast of South America, and in the Caribbean, Central America, and the southern parts of the United States. These regions share common historical and socioeconomic circumstances related to colonialism, the plantation system, and slavery. The religions that developed in these regions are divided by scholars into several categories.

Roman Catholicism. In various parts of Central America, Amerindian and African religious traditions have been intermixed with Roman Catholic beliefs and practices, including many of the local rituals associated with various saints and the Virgin. These practices are found in various parts of Brazil and in the Spanish-speaking countries on the western shore of the Gulf of Mexico.

Neo-African. The Neo-African religions developed within the context of slavery and preserve a considerable number of African religious traditions and some Amerindian traditions, combined with Roman Catholicism. They include Vodou in Haiti and some parts of Louisiana, Santería in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico, Candomblé in Brazil, and the Orísha sects in Trinidad and Grenada.

Ancestral religions. The ancestral religions have preserved fewer African traditions and derive from various forms of Protestantism imported from the United States to the Caribbean by Christian missionaries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They include Orísha in Trinidad, Kumina and Convince in Jamaica, Big Drum in Grenada, and Carriacou and Kele in Saint Lucia.

Revivalist religions. The Revivalist religions are nineteenth and twentieth century phenomena, and are related to charismatic Protestant movements imported from the United States. They encompass Pentecostals, Baptists, Seventh Day Adventists, and Revival movements throughout the Caribbean and in parts of South America. This class includes Shouters and Spiritual Baptists (a Creole sect distinct from Baptists) in Trinidad and Tobago, Saint Vincent, Grenada, Guyana, and Venezuela; the Shakers and Streams of Power in Saint Vincent, the Tie Heads (members of the Jerusalem Apostolic Spiritual Baptist Church) in Barbados and Saint Lucia; the Jordanites of Guyana; the Spirit Baptists of Jamaica; and the Cohortes and the Holiness Church and other Pentecostal movements in Haiti.

Divination Another group of Creole religions emphasizes divination (the intuitive reading of one's future in an object) and folk healing through mediums. It includes Myalism and various Revival movements in Jamaica, Espiritismo and the various spiritist sects in Puerto Rico, Umbanda in Brazil, Maria Lionza in Venezuela, and various healing sects in Central America.

Asian religions. Another set of Creole religions were brought to the New World beginning around 1850 by indentured laborers from Asia. They include Hindu sects in Trinidad, Tobago, and Guyana.

The divisions that exist between these categories are merely theoretical, for in reality these religions are not mutually exclusive but take diverse local forms, and the theology of one region may influence that of another. These religions are shaped by their devotees, who may give their allegiance to more than one tradition simultaneously. Their practitioners' religious lives reflect the religious diversity and syncretic nature of the Creole cultures.

CREOLIZATION AS RELIGIOUS ACCULTURATION. The process of creolization that resulted in the blending of various religious traditions began shortly after the establishment of the first European settlements in the late fifteenth century. The new settlers encountered native Amerindian peoples who possessed their own religious traditions. The colonists, obsessed with the need to acquire land and the prospect of finding gold, enslaved the indigenous peoples and forced them into hard labor. The work was so onerous that by the seventeenth century the number of Amerindians was reduced by more than half.

The rapid decrease in the indigenous population necessitated a new source of labor, and Amerindians were replaced with African laborers. Africans were first brought to the Caribbean around 1512, and the total number transported to the New World since then has been estimated at more than twelve million. Most of the Africans came from West Africa and belonged to diverse ethnic groups whose religious traditions they wove into the fabric of the New World's colonial life. In their contacts with each other, they shared their religious traditions and succeeded in fashioning religious amalgams that have left indelible marks on the cultures of the New World, and eventually engendered a process of creolization that combined diverse African, Amerindian, and European religious traditions.

Creolization varied from region to region and depended upon a number of variables. The ethnic mix and historical circumstances in different regions of the New World are important considerations in the process of creolization. The uneven demographic distribution of various ethnic groups in the colonies resulted in the prominence of some cultures and the preeminence of their religious traditions. The unique mixture of ethnic religious traditions in each colony contributed to the marked diversity in beliefs and practices in different regions. The large number of Nigerians brought to Cuba and Brazil resulted in the preeminence of Yoruba beliefs and practices in Cuban Santería and Brazilian Candomblé. Africans brought from Benin and the Congo had a significant impact on the theology of vodou in Haiti and Louisiana.

The African names of these ethnic groups were preserved in many of the Creole religious traditions of the New World. Words for geographical locations or ethnic groups in West Africa, like *Arada* (or *Rada*), *Guinea, Kongo, Nago,* and *Ibo,* are used in Vodou, Candomblé, and Santería today. But they now characterize different pantheons of African spirits who function as sustainers of the cosmos, providers, or healers. Santería, Espiritismo, and Umbanda all incorporate their own pantheons of spirits who are wholly New World inventions. They developed to fill the needs of colonial societies and include Amerindian spirits from Taino, Arawak, and Carib religions.

The length of the period of colonialism and the extent to which Europeans exercised a strong cultural presence in various regions had a significant impact on the process of creolization. A prolonged European cultural influence in a country, such as Jamaica, tended to curtail its people's ability to maintain strong Amerindian or African religious traditions. In Haiti, however, where European colonial domination and cultural contact ended following the slave revolt in 1804, the people managed to maintain many more African traditions than most other nations in the New World, which remained colonies well into the twentieth century. Other nations refused to recognize Haiti for a period of fifty-six years after independence, and the country's relative isolation from foreign cultural influences allowed African traditions to entrench themselves profoundly in the culture.

Catholic traditions. The way Creole religions incorporated Christian traditions into their theology is a further consideration. The prominence of Christianity in these religions varies from region to region and especially from Catholic to Protestant colonial territories. In the French, Spanish, and Portuguese colonies, Catholic religious beliefs and practices were incorporated into Candomblé, vodou, Espiritismo, and Santería. Catholicism in these religions is visible in both theology and in ritual. Theologically, the slaves in these areas created a system of reinterpretation in which symbols associated with saints in Christian hagiology were made to correspond with similar symbols associated with the gods in African mythology. Saint James the Great, for example, the patron saint of the Spanish campaigns against the Moors, becomes Ogún, Nigeria's Yoruba god of war, in vodou and Santería. Saint Peter, believed to hold the keys to the kingdom of heaven, becomes Eleggua (or Legba), who in Yoruba and Beninese traditions is the guardian of human destiny. Catholic symbols also found a home in the religions of the New World, which make extensive use of crucifixes, missals, incense, holy water, and lithographs of various saints (and by extension of African or Amerindian spirits) in their religious rituals.

Protestant traditions. The mainly British Protestant colonies present a different picture. By and large, the British possessions tended to be less syncretic than the Catholic, mainly because the Protestants undertook the evangelization of the slaves at a much later period. The British thought that Christianity was too sophisticated for Africans to understand, and therefore considered their slaves unfit for it. The Anglican Church of England did not make any systematic efforts to evangelize the slaves in the Caribbean until the 1820s, shortly after the arrival in Jamaica of Moravian and Methodist missionaries from the United States. In contrast, the French began to convert their slaves to Christianity as early as the sixteenth century, and redoubled their efforts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Evangelical influences. Protestantism was relatively rare in the Catholic colonies until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Some Protestant denominations flourished in Latin America and the Caribbean in the twentieth century thanks to their evangelical nature. They included Pentecostals, Baptists, Seventh Day Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and more recently the Church of the Latter Day Saints (Mormons). The number of Pentecostals and Baptists in Latin America and the Caribbean today probably exceeds those of the other established Protestant denominations, not only because of their religious zeal but also because of their ardent recruitment methods. The Pentecostals and Holiness groups believe in engaging directly with the spirit world through spiritual trances and glossolalia (speaking in tongues), akin to the African ritual styles entrenched in the southern United States, the Caribbean, and the state of Bahia in eastern Brazil. This similarity may have contributed to the conversion of so many thousands of devotees.

Pentecostalism and the Holiness sects are based on the New Testament story in which the Holy Spirit descended on Christ's disciples after his death, empowering them to prophesy and to preach the gospel in different tongues (Acts 2:1–4). Charismatics believe that the miracle at Pentecost can be replicated today and that their bodies can be filled with the Holy Spirit. Speaking in tongues is a profound spiritual achievement that makes it possible to receive divine revelations and to prophesy to the community, heal the sick, and interpret dreams.

Pentecostal theology has inspired the formation of religious Creole movements throughout the Caribbean and Latin America, many combining traditional African rituals with evangelical Protestant theology. Because these groups are independent of each other it is difficult to estimate their number, but there are probably about a hundred charismatic movements in the Caribbean, each slightly different. The best-known are the Tie Heads of the Jerusalem Apostolic Spiritual Baptist churches in Barbados, the Shouters and Spiritual Baptists in Trinidad, the various Cohortes and Holiness churches (mainly Pentecostal) in Brazil, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic, the Shakers and Streams of Power in Saint Vincent, and the Native Baptists and Kumina sects in Jamaica.

These sects are unusual in combining aspects of African and Protestant traditions. They share a reverence for ancestors, a style of worship that includes antiphonal calls and answers between leader and congregants, hymns sung in rhythmic patterns accompanied by drums, and cadenced swaying of the congregants' bodies, all reminiscent of African traditional religions and part of the Creole ritual practices. Like African rituals, Pentecostal and Baptist styles of worship use every possible visible and auditory vehicle to engage the congregants. The rituals are "danced out" rather than conceived intellectually; they do not separate the mind from the body by leading a participant to high-flown intellectual exercises, but claim the entire person. But despite their Africanness, these religions are not merely replicas of their African counterparts. The Creole religions in the New World are no longer Amerindian, Christian, or African, but uniquely new creations.

Hinduism. Hinduism too has played an important role in the creolization of religions in the New World, and especially in the Caribbean. Although there are small communities of Hindus throughout the Caribbean, the largest concentrations are in Trinidad, Guyana, and Suriname. The religious presence of Hinduism in the Caribbean came about because of the abolition of slavery. After the British Emancipation Act of 1834, English colonizers imported East Indian indentured laborers. Their importation to the New World spanned a period of seventy-two years (1838–1910) in which some 143,000 people came to Trinidad alone. More were brought to Suriname, Guyana, Martinique, and Guadeloupe. These immigrants originated in the northwestern part of India and belonged to several social castes. About 15 percent of them were priests *(brahmins)* who founded support organizations in an effort to maintain Hindu traditions. Today these organizations have sought to standardize Hindu worship and supervise the teaching of its traditions in some sixty Hindu schools in Trinidad alone. Like other Creole religions, Hinduism in the Caribbean is no longer an Asian religion transplanted to the New World. It has created new myths, rituals, and festivals, such as the annual *Holi Pagwa,* that bear little resemblance to those of India. Hinduism has evolved into a Creole religion original to the New World.

CREOLE RELIGIONS IN THE DIASPORA. Since the 1950s hundreds of thousands of Caribbean and Latin American people have migrated to other parts of the Caribbean and to the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom. Among some several million emigrants are priests and priestesses of the various Creole religions. They have established temples wherever they are and continue to wield considerable authority over the people they serve.

Religion plays an important part in peoples' lives in the diaspora, and their spiritual leaders assist them in celebrations and in times of hardship. Devotees recreate their rituals by adapting them to their new cultural milieu. The day devoted to the Virgin Mary in the Catholic liturgical calendar, for example, July 16, is reserved for Ezili in Vodou and Oshún in Santería. On that day, many Haitians in New York will make pilgrimages to Our Lady of Mount Carmel Church in New York, where they will honor the Virgin in her many aspects.

The Creole religions in the diaspora are noteworthy for their multiethnic character. Ritual participation is open to members of all cultural and ethnic groups, whites as well as blacks. African Americans who seek to integrate aspects of black nationalism with an authentic African worldview are particularly attracted to the Creole religious communities. The energy, creativity, and resourcefulness of these communities will undoubtedly further alter the Creole religions as they adapt their cultural and religious traditions to suit their new communities. The Creole traditions in the diaspora will very likely continue to diversify. How they do so will depend upon their demographic composition and the theological inclinations of their members.

SEE ALSO Syncretism; Transculturation and Religion.

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CRESCAS, ḤASDAI (c. 1340–1410/11), Spanish rabbi, philosopher, natural scientist; author of the anti-Aristotelian Hebrew classic, *Or Adonai* (The Light of the Lord). Son of a distinguished family of scholars and merchants, Crescas was raised in Barcelona, studying there under the renowned Talmudist and homilist Nissim ben Re'uven. He served as rabbi in Barcelona and from 1387 was an adviser to the king and queen of Aragon, Joan I and Violant. In 1389, Crescas assumed the post of rabbi of Saragossa, and the next year he was recognized by the throne as judge of all the Jews of Aragon. Following the anti-Jewish mob riots of 1391, in which thousands of Spanish Jews—including his only son—were murdered and more than a hundred thousand were converted to Christianity, he devoted himself to the physical and spiritual reconstruction of the Jewish communities of Aragon and of Spain as a whole. His *Epistle to the Jewish Community of Avignon* (translated from the Hebrew in Kobler, 1952), dated 20 Heshvan 5152 (October 19, 1391), is a terse chronicle of the massacres that may have been written as background for entreaties to the papal court. The *Epistle* bears somber biblical allusions: the great Jewish communities of Spain are desolated Jerusalems (allusions are made to *Lamentations* 2:2, 2:4, 2:7, 5:4); Crescas's son is an Isaac sacrificed upon the altar (allusions are made to *Genesis* 22:2, 22:7–8). His *Refutation of the Dogmas of the Christians* (1397–1398), written in Catalan but surviving only in the Hebrew translation of Yosef ibn Shem Ṭov (*Biṭṭul ʿiqqarei ha-Notsrim,* 1451; Frankfurt, 1860; Kearny, N.J., 1904; translated in Lasker, 1992), was intended to combat christianizing literature aimed at Jews and *conversos.* It is a nonrhetorical logical critique of ten basic elements of Christianity: original sin, salvation, the Trinity, the incarnation, the virgin birth, transubstantiation, baptism, the messiahship of Jesus, the New Testament, and demons. Even his profound philosophical treatise, *The Light of the Lord* (1410; Ferrara, 1555; Vienna, 1859–1860; Johannesburg, 1861; and Jerusalem, 1990, ed. S. Fisher), written in Hebrew, was to some extent a response to the troubles of his times. Its assault on Aristotelianism was in part motivated by the belief that Aristotelian philosophy was weakening the commitment of Jewish intellectuals to Judaism and thus facilitating their apostasy. Crescas is also the author of a philosophic homily on the Passover, which inquires into the epistemological status of faith based on miracles, such as the splitting of the Red Sea (Jerusalem, 1988).

The Light of the Lord, a counterblast to Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed,* was planned as the philosophical first part of a two-part work. The unwritten second part was to have been an analytic codification of rabbinic law and was intended to supersede Maimonides' rabbinic masterwork, the *Mishneh Torah* (Code of Law). The *Light* is divided into four books. Book 1 discusses three roots (*shorashim*) of the Torah: God's existence, his unity, and his incorporeality. (In grouping these three principles together, Crescas followed Maimonides; cf., e.g., *Guide of the Perplexed,* intro. to part 2.) Book 2 discusses six fundaments (*pinnot*) of the Torah: God's knowledge, providence, and power; prophecy; human choice; and the purposefulness of the Torah. The fundaments are concepts that follow necessarily (i.e., analytically) from Crescas's definition of the Torah as "the product of a voluntary action from the Commander, Who is the initiator of the action, to the commanded, who is the receiver of the action" (*Light* 2, intro.). Book 3 discusses eleven nonfundamental obligatory beliefs of the Torah: God's creation of the world, the immortality of the soul, reward and punishment, resurrection of the dead, the eternality of the Torah, the uniqueness of Moses' prophecy, the efficacy of the Urim and Tummim, the coming of the messiah, the efficacy of prayer, the spiritual value of repentance, and the special providential nature of the High Holy Days and the festivals. Book 4 examines thirteen nonobligatory beliefs held by sundry groups of Jews; for example, the Jewish Aristotelian proposition that God is the Intellect and the qabbalistic doctrine of metempsychosis *(gilgul).*

The *Light* is best known for its revolutionary logico-conceptual critique of Aristotelian physics (e.g., theories of space, time, motion, the vacuum, infinity), important parts of which were translated into Latin in Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola's *Examen vanitatis doctrinae gentium* (1520). In place of Aristotle's closed world, Crescas suggested that both space and time are infinite extensions *in actu* in which many worlds—an infinite number?—are continuously being created by the infinitely good, infinitely loving God. Crescas rejected Maimonides' Aristotelian proofs of God, but did offer a short metaphysical proof of his own: whether causes and effects are finite or infinite, there must be a cause of the whole of them; for if all are effects, they would have merely possible (i.e., contingent) existence, and thus they must have something that determines their existence over their nonexistence, and this is the first cause or God (*Light* 1.3.2, quoted in Spinoza, *Epistle* 12). Such rationalistic reflection, Crescas held, can incline one toward belief in the true God of religion, but only revelation can establish that belief firmly. In a celebrated discussion of human choice (*Light* 2.5), Crescas upheld the determinist view that the notion of human choice coheres with both divine omniscience and strict physical causality. In his theologically significant discussion of teleology (*Light* 2.6), he argued that love is the purpose of man, the Torah, the created universe, and God. Against the Aristotelians, he maintained that love is not intellectual, that the immortal essence of the human soul is not intellect, and that God is to be understood not as passionless Intellect but as joyfully loving.

Crescas's own highly original philosophy emerges out of his radical critique of Aristotle and of Aristotelians such as Maimonides, Ibn Rushd (Averroës), and Levi ben Gershom (Gersonides) and is argued in their vocabulary. In some areas, it is significantly influenced by Ibn Sīnā. Its spirit, however, recalls Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, Yehudah ha-Levi, and Nissim ben Re'uven. It is also colored by Qabbalah. Its precise relationship to Latin and Catalan writers is a subject for speculation.

Among Crescas's students was the well-known philosophical popularizer Yosef Albo, who in his Hebrew *Sefer ha-'iqqarim* (Book of Roots; 1425) adapted and simplified some of his master's teachings. Crescas's *Light of the Lord* had an appreciable influence on later Jewish philosophers, notably Judah Abravanel (c. 1460–1521) and Barukh Spinoza (1632–1677).

SEE ALSO Jewish Thought and Philosophy, article on Premodern Philosophy.

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WARREN ZEV HARVEY (1987 AND 2005)

CREUZER, G. F.

CREUZER, G. F. (1771–1858), German Romantic mythologist. Educated at Marburg and then Jena, Georg Friedrich Creuzer was appointed professor of philology at Marburg in 1802, and in 1804 professor of philology and ancient history at Heidelberg, where he taught for almost forty-five years. Creuzer's major work was *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker, besonders der Griechen* (1810–1812).

Creuzer argued that ancient Greek religion derived from a spiritually pure and noble monotheism carried from India by wandering priests. But this high monotheism needed to be adapted to the crude, native polytheism. There thus arose an exoteric and popular teaching for the vulgar many, one that spoke of many gods, and an esoteric teaching for the initiated and refined worshiper. Creuzer claimed that this esoteric tradition informed Eleusinian and Samothracian mysteries, Orphism and Pythagoreanism, and Neoplatonism. His book quickly became famous and was both admired and criticized. There was much speculation on the part of German Romantics—often extravagant or fantastic—about India as the homeland of all true religion and wisdom. Creuzer seemed to give solid historical support to this enthusiasm for the East and its synthesis with Greece. But because Creuzer's work claimed to be accurate history, it also became the chief target of scholarly attacks on the excesses and defects of the Romantic mythologists. This quarrel between "romanticists" and "rationalists" is a major episode in early nineteenth-century history of religion. Creuzer's data and methods were rebutted, from various positions, by such famous scholars as Gottfried Hermann (1819), Karl Otfried Müller (1825), Christian Lobeck (1829), and Ludwig Preller (1854). One result of this controversy was that "rationalistic" and philological study of myth often disdained "romantic" enthusiasm and speculation about myth as a living religious force.

Creuzer's views on myth also met opposition in the Romantic camp. He firmly distinguished between myth and symbol. Divine meaning shone forth first of all in the symbol. The first interpretations here (as by Indic sages) took the form of images or pictographs, so as to preserve the symbol's union of spirit and matter. Only later, and on a lower level, came the narrated stories found in myth. Creuzer suggests these are concessions to popular taste. For Creuzer, the symbol embodies monotheism; myths are the vehicles of polytheism. One general criticism is summed up in the judgment of the German idealist philosopher and mythologist Friedrich Schelling, who suggests Creuzer simply reduced myth to allegory, and did so because he reproduced in Romantic terms the old Christian charge that polytheistic myth only plagiarized (and confused) the original monotheistic revelation.

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BURTON FELDMAN (1987)
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CROSSROADS

CROSSROADS in religion belong to the general phenomenon of sacred places and are a specific instance of the sacrality of roads. Wherever two or more roads intersect—forming a T or a fork or, most significantly, a junction of two roads at right angles to form a cross—there religious people often feel that the divine has intersected with the mundane. The nature of this divine presence may be positive but is very often negative. Most often, however, the divinity associated with a crossroads is paradoxically both good and evil: It seems that the meeting of different roads attracts and then expresses very well the meeting of opposites within the god.

Buddhist pilgrims travel with pleasure to a crossroads, for it is there that they are likely to find a reliquary structure containing precious remains of the cremated body of the Buddha. The Lord himself stated in the *Mahāparinibbana Sutta* that the remains of all great beings should be treated alike: "At the four crossroads a stupa should be erected to the Tathāgata" (5.26–28). Expectations were different for a pious Greek or Roman who came to a meeting of three roads, for that was the domain of the goddess Hekate, whose name, Vergil says, "is howled by night at the city crossroads" (*Aeneid* 4.609). Associated with death as well as with darkness, Hekate could be propitiated by the burial of the body of a criminal at her favorite place. This helps to explain the English custom, prevalent until modern times, of burying suicides and criminals at a meeting of roads. The execution of criminals there probably gave rise to the phrase "dirty work at the crossroads."

The folk deity Dōsojin of Japan and the Olympian Hermes of ancient Greece are gods of boundaries and of roads, but also of crossroads. They are both commonly represented by phallic images that express uneasily, even for their worshipers, the unexpected union of spirit and nature. Dōsojin may be found at the crossroads in the shape of an upright stone phallus or—capturing the god's ambivalence—a pair of phalli or a male and female holding hands. Hermes' quadrangular stone pillars are topped by the god's head and fronted by his erect penis. Located at the juncture of roads, these herms were supposed to guide and protect travelers, but might just as easily bring them grief. As the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* puts it, "And even though he helps a few people, he cheats an endless number." Something similar must be said of the Vedic god Rudra, whose "favorite haunt," according to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (2.6.2.8), is the crossroads. Rudra is fierce but must be addressed as "Śiva" (Auspicious One) if he is to heal the wounds that he himself inflicts. Rudra is not himself phallic, but he provides a name and an ambivalent character for the later Hindu deity Śiva, whose chief image is the phallus. Thus, one can understand the ancient advice to an Indian bridegroom traveling with his bride: "On the way, he should address crossroads. . . . 'May no waylayers meet us'" (*Gṛhyasūtra of Gobhila* 2.4.2). In so doing, he is calling to Rudra for help, yet asking him to stay away.

Crossroads also appear, with a different level of meaning, in the boyhood vision of Black Elk, the Oglala Lakota holy man, described in his life story, *Black Elk Speaks* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1932). Looking down from a high place, he saw the earth and two roads crossing, a red one and a black. These roads symbolized the good times and the troubled times that his people must necessarily experience; yet the crossing of them provided a center where there bloomed a "holy stick" by which his people would flourish. It was this image that provided Black Elk himself with a center and an orientation for the rest of his life.

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GEORGE R. ELDER (1987)

CROWLEY, ALEISTER (1875–1947), was a British poet, novelist and occultist, infamous throughout England and the United States as "the wickedest man in the world." Reviled as a drug fiend and debauchee and proclaiming himself the "Great Beast, 666," Aleister Crowley was also one of the most important figures in the revival of modern Western occultism in the twentieth century. Although seldom taken seriously by most scholars today, Crowley was not only an accomplished poet and mountain climber, but one of the first Western students of yoga and a major influence on the rise of Neopagan witchcraft in Europe and the United States.

In many ways, Crowley might be said to embody some of the deepest tensions in late Victorian English society as a whole. The son of a preacher in the highly puritanical Plymouth Brethren sect, Crowley would later turn to the most extreme forms of sensual excess, apparently not resting until he had shattered every imaginable social and religious taboo. Born Edward Alexander Crowley, he studied at Trinity College in Cambridge, where he would change his name to Aleister, taken from Percy Bysshe Shelley's poem, "Alastor, or, The Spirit of Solitude" (1816). Having inherited a large sum of money as a young man, Crowley was able to spend much of his time pursuing his two passions, poetry and mountain climbing. During his travels in India and Sri Lanka, Crowley also studied Hinduism and Buddhism, and would publish some of the first English works on Raja Yoga.

Crowley's first initiation into the world of occultism occurred in 1898 when he was introduced to the esoteric group known as the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn. An eclectic blending of Rosicrucianism, Freemasonry, and Qabbalah, the Golden Dawn attracted a number of prominent artists and intellectuals, including W. B. Yeats. In 1904, however, Crowley received his own first great revelation and the knowledge that he was to be the herald of a new age in world history. According to his account, Crowley's guardian angel, Aiwass, spoke through Crowley's wife and dictated to him *The Book of the Law* (*Liber AL vel Legis*). *The Book of the Law* announces the dawn of a third eon of human civilization: the first was the age of Isis, dominated by matriarchy and worship of the mother-goddess; the second was the age of Osiris, when the patriarchal traditions of Judaism and Christianity were dominant; and the third is the age of the son, Horus, when the individual human will is supreme. The only law in this age is the law of Thelema (derived from the Greek, meaning "will"): "do what thou wilt shall be the whole of the law."

Crowley's ritual practices centered first and foremost around the art of *magick*, which he spelled deliberately with a *k* in order to distinguish it from popular ideas of magic. In Crowley's definition, magick is the science and art of causing change to occur in conformity with one's will. Influenced in part by Friedrich Nietzsche's "will to power," Crowley saw the will as the most powerful force in creation, which, when properly directed, can accomplish anything the individual desires.

One of the primary reasons for the scandal and titillation that surrounds Crowley is his practice of sexual magick. Rejecting the prudish Victorian morality in which he was raised, Crowley identified sex as the most powerful expression of the will and the most potent source of magickal energy. Taking an apparent delight in violating social taboos, Crowley also employed explicitly transgressive acts, such as masturbation, homosexuality, and bestiality, in his magickal practice. After 1910, Crowley also became involved with the esoteric group known as the Ordo Templi Orientis (OTO). The higher degrees of the OTO employed a variety of sexual rites, influenced in part by a somewhat distorted form of Hindu Tantra, a tradition that also involves sexual and transgressive rituals as a means to spiritual power. Crowley and the OTO, however, would employ sexual rites in ways that no Indian *tāntrika* would probably have dared to imagine.

The peak of Crowley's magickal career was the period after 1920, when he founded his own spiritual community called the Abbey of Thelema in Sicily. The original inspiration derived from François Rabelais's *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (1534), which describes an ideal community that would transcend the hypocrisy of Christian monasteries. Crowley took Rabelais's ideal a good deal further, however, by creating a utopian community in which every desire could be expressed through free experimentation in drugs, sex, and physical excess. During this period, he would also publish his infamous *Diary of a Drug Fiend,* a semiautobiographical novel written at top-speed in order to fuel his own growing drug habit.

By the end of his life, Crowley had exhausted most of his wealth and his own seemingly infinite will to power. Though he continued to believe that his *Book of the Law* might have a decisive role to play in the unfolding of global events during World War II, he would spent his last years in a small guest house in London, increasingly addicted to heroin, until his death in 1947.

Despite the general neglect of Crowley by most historians of religions today, he has clearly had a formative impact on almost all forms of occultism, magic, and Neopaganism in the West since the mid-twentieth century. Gerald Gardner, the founder of the Neopagan Witchcraft revival in England in the 1950s, was a great admirer of Crowley and borrowed freely from him in his rituals. At the same time, Crowley's version of sexual magic and his rather skewed interpretation of Indian Tantra has had a profound influence on the many contemporary forms of sex magic and "Western Tantra" so popular in the United States and Europe today.

Finally, on a broader historical level, Crowley could be said to embody many of the central trends in modern Europe itself in the first half of the twentieth century. With his emphasis on the power of the individual human will, his ideal of a liberated sexuality, and his hope for a utopian new age beyond all the old gods, Crowley epitomizes what Marshall Berman calls the modern Faustian self. And with Crowley's own decline into drug addiction and poverty in the 1940s, he perhaps reflects the exhaustion of those Faustian ideals and the chaos of modern Europe amidst the disaster of World War II.

SEE ALSO Wicca.

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HUGH B. URBAN (2005)

CROWN. The significance of the crown lies chiefly in its place on top of the head, where it marks the bearer's relationship to what is above, to what is transcendent. At the same time the crown represents the joining of what is above to what is below, the divine and the human, the celestial and the terrestrial. The crown symbolizes access to rank and to superior force, and therefore to dignity, royalty, and power.

From a very early time crowns were associated with the sun, especially with its rays. On a third-century bas relief from the Roman city of Virunum the sun is shown receiving his radiant crown from Mithra, who has beat him in a wrestling match. In alchemy the spirits of the planets receive their light in the form of crowns from their king, the sun. In the ancient religions of Mexico and Egypt, the king in his divine aspect is the sun.

The crown's meaning can also be discovered in its circular shape, which signifies perfection and eternity. The material of the crown may represent the divinity with which its wearer is associated or even assimilated. Thus, the laurel wreath often related its wearer to Apollo, while oak leaves were emblems of Zeus. At the end of the harvest in Europe celebrants have traditionally worn wreaths of ears of grain.

During a Tibetan ceremony that seeks to eliminate the spirits of the dead, the priest wears a crown that guarantees the cosmic worth of the sacrifice by bringing together symbolically the five Buddhas and the material universe, as well as the four cardinal points with their center. In the West the Crown of Charlemagne, made for Otto I, founder of the Holy Roman Empire, is octagonal in shape, recalling the walls of Rome and the ramparts of heaven.

Crowns, often in the form of wreaths, have been awarded to victors in war or contests where the honored hero is identified with a divine patron of the contest or with a warrior god. Another religious dimension is added when—as in Mithraism and Christianity—the souls of the elect are crowned like athletes or soldiers as victors over death.

In some religious sacrifices the sacrificer wears a crown; in others the victims, even animal victims, do the same. The dead may also be crowned: in Egypt both the mummy and the statue that represented the deceased were crowned for the triumphant entry into the next life. In Christianity the crowning of martyrs is often pictured: the wearer of the crown is always related through it to a greater transcendent power.

Objects, as well as persons, can be crowned. Holy scriptures, icons, pictures, and statues are frequently honored and dedicated with crowns. Crowns sometimes assume significance independent of the crowned. Among the Yoruba of West Africa sheep were occasionally sacrificed to the crown, which had magical powers. In ancient Egypt a crown or diadem representing the highest sovereignty could execute the king's secret purpose or inflict vengeance. In one version of the legend of Ariadne and Theseus, a crown of light guides Theseus through the labyrinth after he has killed the Minotaur.

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ELAINE MAGALIS (1987)
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CRUMMELL, ALEXANDER (March 3, 1819–September 12, 1898), Episcopal priest and missionary, was a significant figure in both African American and West African Christianity. In *The Souls of Black Folks,* W. E. B. Du Bois devoted a chapter to analyzing Crummell's intellectual and moral strength. Crummell believed that Christianity had a providential role to play in the development of Africa.

Crummell was born in New York City. His father was an African prince from the Temne people who had been kidnapped and sold into slavery at the age of thirteen. Alexander Crummell attended the African Free School and Canal Street High School. In 1835 he traveled, with Henry Highland Garnet, to Canaan, New Hampshire, to attend a new experimental interracial college. However, the town's people burned the college to the ground after he and Garnet gave some inflammatory speeches during the town's observance of Independence Day. Therefore Crummell attended Oneida Institute in Whitesboro, New York, from 1836 to 1839. Because he was denied admission to Union Theological Seminary in New York City, he had to be privately tutored to pursue his goal of Episcopalian ordination. He was ordained a deacon in 1842 and a priest in 1844.

Crummell's first call was as an organizing pastor to poor blacks in New York City. From 1848 to 1853 he traveled throughout England, preaching and lecturing to raise funds for his ministry. While he was in England he was encouraged to acquire additional education at Queen's College, Cambridge, which he did. Although he raised monies for the congregation in New York, he did not return there himself but went to Liberia as an Episcopal missionary. He became a citizen of that country and married there shortly after his arrival. After establishing a number of churches in Liberia he accepted the job of principal of the Mount Vaughn High School at Cape Palmas in 1858. Crummell became a member of the faculty of Liberia College in Monrovia in 1861 and was also active in promoting the interests of the American Colonization Society, making several visits to the United States to generate interest in emigration among blacks. He published *The Relations and Duties of Free Colored Men in America to Africa* (1861) and *The Future of Africa* (1862).

Dismissed from Liberia College in 1866 due to disagreements with the administration over curriculum and other matters, Crummell formed his own school. But a period of political turmoil in the country prompted him to return to the United States in 1872. Settling in Washington, D.C., he founded Saint Luke's Episcopal Church, and in 1882 he published a collection of his sermons, *The Greatness of Christ and Other Sermons.* He founded the Conference of Church Workers among Colored People in 1883 to promote the advancement of blacks in the Episcopal ecclesial structure. After he retired from the church, in 1894, he accepted a teaching position at Howard University, which he held from 1895 to 1897. In 1897 he founded the American Negro Academy, whose purpose was to provide mutual support among black scholars and intelligentsia. His autobiography, *The Shades and the Lights of a Fifty Years' Ministry,* was published in 1894.

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JAMES ANTHONY NOEL (2005)

CRUSADES

This entry consists of the following articles:

CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVE
MUSLIM PERSPECTIVE

CRUSADES: CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVE

Crusades were military expeditions against various enemies of the church; the term refers particularly to the medieval campaigns aimed at liberating the Holy Land from the Muslims. The word *crusade* (Span., *cruzada;* Fr., *croisade*) derives from the Latin *crux* (cross); the Latin term *cruciata* does not occur before the thirteenth century. It recalls the ceremony of "taking the cross" (*Mt.* 10:38), the public act of committing oneself to participate in a crusade. Crusaders wore a red cloth cross sewn to their cloaks as a sign of their status. In modern times the word *crusade* is used metaphorically to designate evangelistic efforts at promoting all kinds of religious or moral causes.

ROOTS AND CAUSES. While the roots of the movement were complex, a major religious impulse came with the fusion of pilgrimage and holy war. The Crusades continued the old tradition of pilgrimage to the Holy Land that was often undertaken in fulfillment of a vow or as a penance; its earlier designations were *via*, *iter*, or *peregrinatio.* Attractive for pilgrims were not only the holy places themselves but their relics, above all the Holy Sepulcher, to which the emperor Heraclius had restored the True Cross in 627 CE. The finding of the Holy Lance at Antioch (June 1098) revitalized the First Crusade. In the Christian *terra sancta* mythology the name of Jerusalem ("vision of peace") evoked the image of the heavenly city, the goal of the Christian life (cf. *Gal.* 4:26, *Heb.* 12:22, *Rv.* 21:10–27). As "navel of the world" Jerusalem also figured in apocalyptic expectation; according to the Tiburtine Sibyl, the last battles would be fought and the last emperor hand over his rule to Christ in Jerusalem.

During the twelfth century armed pilgrimages began to be regarded as just wars fought in defense of the Holy Land against its illegitimate occupation by the Muslim infidel. The notion of a just war as revenge for an injury done to Christ had been invoked in the fight against Muslims in Spain and Sicily and, even earlier, in the Carolingian expeditions against pagans and Saracens. In 878, Pope John VIII offered spiritual incentives to those who would arm themselves against his foes in Italy. Gregory VII (1073–1085) envisaged a *militia Christi* for the fight against all enemies of God and thought already of sending an army to the East. An additional factor was the expectation of religious benefits. In the popular perception, the Crusade indulgence offered nothing less than full remission of sins and a sure promise of heaven. In a feudal society of warriors, crusading for God's sake under the banner of Saint Michael ranked as the ultimate fulfillment of the ideal of Christian knighthood.

Among the political causes of the Crusades, the appeals for help from the Byzantine emperors were prominent. The year 1071 saw the defeat of the Byzantine army at Manzikert in Asia Minor. Jerusalem fell to the Seljuk Turks in 1077. There is no clear evidence that these events led to increased harassment of Christian pilgrims. Nevertheless, they caused great alarm and spurred papal offers of assistance. Moreover, in dealing with the fighting spirit of the aristocracy, reform movements such as the Cluniac and the Gregorian were promoting the "Peace of God" (protection of unarmed persons) and the "Truce of God" (*treuga Dei*, suspension of all fighting during specified times). In this situation, participation in holy warfare provided an outlet for the martial vigor of Christian knights.

CAMPAIGNS. Any attempt at systematizing the Crusades remains arbitrary. Nevertheless, for clarity's sake, we shall follow the customary numbering of the main expeditions.

First Crusade (1096–1099). Urban II's call for participation in an expedition to the East at the Council of Clermont on November 27, 1095, met with an enthusiastic response. He himself declared the acclamation "God wills it!" to be the divinely inspired battle cry for the Crusaders. Thousands took the cross, especially French, Norman, and Flemish knights. Several bands of badly armed pilgrims from France and Germany, most of them poor and inexperienced, set out for Constantinople even before the army gathered. Some started by massacring Jews on their way through Germany. Many died in Hungary, and the remnants perished in Anatolia. The main force, under the papal legate Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy and an illustrious baronial leadership (including Godfrey of Bouillon, Baldwin II of Flanders, Raymond IV of Toulouse, Robert II of Normandy, and Bohemond I of Taranto), assembled at Constantinople (December 1096 to May 1097) and set out on a long, arduous march through Asia Minor. After costly victories at Nicaea and Dorylaeum (June–July 1097) and enormous hardships, the Crusaders captured Antioch (June 3, 1098) and finally Jerusalem (July 15, 1099), consolidating their victory by the defeat of a Fatimid army at Ascalon (August 12, 1099). A side expedition under Baldwin had already taken Edessa to the north (February 6, 1098). Only Nicaea was returned to the Byzantine emperor, and four Crusader states were organized along the Syro-Palestinian coast: the counties of Edessa and Tripoli, the principality of Antioch, and the kingdom of Jerusalem. Measured against the original goal, the First Crusade was the only successful one. Its territorial gains, protected by inland ridges and a system of fortresses along the coast, formed the basis that future Crusades sought to defend against mounting Muslim pressure. Constant quarrels among the leaders and rival interests of the major European powers, however, prevented any effective cooperation and success.

Second Crusade (1147–1149). The preaching of the Second Crusade had its immediate cause in the loss of Edessa to the Muslims of Syria (1144). Moved by the preaching of Bernard of Clairvaux, Louis VII of France and Conrad III of Germany led separate armies through Asia Minor. The losses suffered by the troops were disheartening. Furthermore, rather than aiming at Edessa, the remnant joined the Palestinian knights in an unsuccessful siege of Damascus (July 1148), which had been at peace with the kingdom of Jerusalem. This diversion worsened the plight of Edessa, Antioch, and Tripoli. Even at home the crusade was soon recognized as a disaster.

Third Crusade (1189–1192). At the initiative of the archbishop of Tyre, the Third Crusade responded to the defeat of the Palestinian knights at Ḥiṭṭīn in Galilee (July 4, 1187) and the resulting loss of Jerusalem to the sultan, Saladin. The leadership included Frederick I Barbarossa, Philip II Augustus of France, and Richard I ("the Lionhearted") of England. But Frederick accidentally drowned during the march, and the crusading effort disintegrated through attrition, quarreling, and lack of cooperation. Only Acre was recaptured (July 1191) and some ports secured, mainly through the initiative of Richard, who also took Cyprus from the Byzantines and finally negotiated a three-year truce with Saladin (September 1192).

Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) made the reorganization of the crusade under papal auspices one of the priorities of his pontificate. A first appeal went out on August 15, 1198. The response was slow, and the fervor aroused by the preaching of Fulk of Neuilly did not reach beyond France and Italy. The leaders contracted for transportation with the doge of Venice, Dandolo, but lack of funds forced a diversion from the original plan to attack the Muslims in Egypt. At the request of the Venetians, the Crusaders first attacked the Christian city of Zara in Dalmatia (November 1202) and then sailed on to Constantinople, where they hoped to enthrone Alexios, an exiled Byzantine pretender to the crown, and to receive the material assistance they needed. When these plans failed, the Crusaders laid siege to the city and finally stormed it (April 12, 1204). Byzantium was looted for its treasure of relics, art, and gold, and was made the residence of a Latin emperor, with Baldwin IX of Flanders as the first incumbent. A Byzantine army recaptured the city almost casually in 1261.

The Fourth Crusade was followed by the legendary Children's Crusade of 1212. A group consisting mostly of young people under the leadership of a boy named Nicholas tried to cross the Alps and find passage to the Holy Land. All trace of them was lost even before they reached the Mediterranean ports. Crusade preaching, religious fervor, and respect for children as instruments of God's power contributed to the phenomenon. Later sources confuse this crusade with a French movement led by a shepherd boy, Stephen of Cloyes, who wanted to deliver a heavenly letter to the king.

Fifth Crusade (1217–1221). In connection with his call for the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, Innocent III tried to stir up new interest in the crusade. In the Levant, Acre had become the center of Christian activity. From there an expedition under baronial and clerical leadership (Cardinal Pelagius) attempted to strike at the heart of Ayyubid power in Egypt (May 1218). The harbor city of Damietta was forced to surrender (November 5, 1219), but further hopes were dashed by the defeat at al-Mansūra on the way to Cairo (July 24, 1221). A stunning novelty was the expedition of Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (the so-called Sixth Crusade, 1228–1229). Frederick sailed to Cyprus and Acre (June 1228), secretly negotiated a ten-year truce that included the return of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Lydda to the Christians, and crowned himself king of Jerusalem (March 18, 1229), although he had been excommunicated by Gregory IX for his failure to act on a Crusade vow earlier. The Holy City was retaken by Muslim allies in 1244 after an expedition of Count Thibaut IV of Champagne had failed to secure the diplomatic gain (1239–1240).

Seventh and Eighth Crusades. Two crusades of the thirteenth century are connected with the name of Louis IX (Saint Louis) of France. In fulfillment of a vow, Louis sailed to Cyprus with a splendid host of fifteen thousand men and attacked Egypt (Seventh Crusade, 1248–1254). Damietta was occupied again (June 1249) but had to be returned together with a huge ransom when the king and his army were routed and taken captive on their slow march south (April 6, 1250). Louis took up residence in Acre for four years, attempting to strengthen the Crusader states by, for example, working toward an alliance with the Mongol khan. Another expedition against the sultan of Tunis (Eighth Crusade, 1270–1272) also ended in failure. The king died in North Africa (August 25, 1270), and the Muslims succeeded in buying off the Crusaders. In the meantime, all of Palestine as well as Antioch was lost to the Mamluk sultan, Baybars. The last Christian bastion on the Syrian coast, Acre, was stormed by the sultan in 1291.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw several papal attempts to revive the crusade or support expeditions to the East. In 1365, King Peter I of Cyprus captured Alexandria; this victory was widely hailed but inconsequential. Soon the fight against the Ottoman Turks turned into a defense of Christian lands, especially after Muslim victories over the Serbs, the Hungarians (Nicopolis, 1396), and a last Crusader army under John Hunyadi and Julian Cardinal Cesarini (Varna, 1444). The fall of Constantinople in May 1453 led to a serious initiative on the part of Pius II, who wished to go on the crusade in person. He died on the way to joining the fleet at Ancona (July 1464).

OTHER CRUSADES. During the medieval period crusades were also used against internal foes in the West. The granting of Crusade indulgences for the fight against the Moors in Spain beginning with Alexander II (1072) and a crusade to convert the Slavic Wends in northern Germany (1147) set the precedent. These actions were followed by savage crusades against Albigensian heretics in southern France (1209–1229), northern German peasants (1232–1234), and the Hussites (1421–1435), by wars of conversion against the pagan Prussians in the Baltic region (after 1236), and similar expeditions. A different development came with the "political" crusades to protect the papal lands in Italy against the Hohenstaufens. Gregory IX proclaimed the crusade against Frederick II in 1240; Innocent IV followed in 1245; and the French Angevins took Sicily (1261–1264) with full Crusaders' privileges granted by Urban IV.

CHARACTERISTICS. From the beginning, the movement depended on the initiative of the papacy; as a result, the latter's claims to universal leadership were strengthened. Urban II preached the crusade himself, as did other popes. Generally, however, this task was delegated to bishops, papal legates, and specially commissioned Crusade preachers. Few examples of this preaching are known. We have, however, a manual for Crusade preachers written around 1250 by the Dominican master general, Humbert of Romans. A crusade was announced through papal bulls, the first of these having been issued by Eugenius III (December 1, 1145). They normally included exhortation, narration (of the situation in the East), and the enumeration of privileges. The last point was of particular importance. Canon law specified the Crusader's rewards: plenary indulgence, legal advantages such as protection of family and property and the right to be judged in ecclesiastical courts, and financial incentives like exemption from certain taxes and interest payments or the right to sell and mortgage property. Violations were subject to severe punishment, including excommunication, which also applied to those who failed to act on a crusading vow.

Originally, participants expected to pay their own way and to provision their vassals. As enthusiasm faded, the financing of a crusade became more complicated. Apart from using current income, popes from the mid-twelfth century on authorized special Crusade taxes of 1 to 10 percent on ecclesiastical income for up to five years; taxing rights or a share of the ecclesiastical tithe could be granted also to secular leaders. In 1187, Pope Gregory VIII began granting Crusade indulgences for persons assisting the effort at home, who soon came to include the wives of Crusaders.

A consequence of the growing financial involvement of the popes was the wish to have more direct control of the goals and operations. While Urban II still discouraged participation of the clergy, in practice the situation soon changed. Many clerics joined the expeditions, and papal legates regularly accompanied the armies. Conflicts over authority and leadership were inevitable. Yet the popes had to be flexible. No crusade could be conducted without popular support. The early enthusiasm probably was the expression of a genuine religious sentiment, often in response to charismatic preachers such as Peter of Amiens, Bernard of Clairvaux, Fulk of Neuilly, and Jacques of Vitry. But after the initial success and the later shock over the failure of the Second Crusade, a revival of the original zeal became more difficult despite increased incentives and propaganda efforts. From the middle of the twelfth century on, critical voices were heard, including imperial publicists, Rutebeuf, Roger Bacon, and William of Tripoli. Papal opinion polls (Gregory X, 1272; Nicholas IV, 1292) elicited many answers. As in the isolated event of Francis of Assisi's visit to Sultan al-Kamīl during the Fifth Crusade (spring and summer 1219), the need for a fundamental shift from military intervention to peaceful mission efforts was often stressed, leading to missionary initiatives in the late Middle Ages, especially from the mendicant orders.

OUTCOME. The results of the Crusades are difficult to assess. In terms of religion, the failures nourished doubts about God's will, church authority, and the role of the papacy. Religious fervor yielded to apathy, cynicism, and legalism. On the other hand, the Crusades stimulated religious enthusiasm on a large scale and gave Christendom a unifying cause that lasted for centuries. They inspired a great literature of tracts, chronicles, letters, heroic tales, and poetry, not only in Latin but in the vernaculars. Ignorance of Islam was replaced by a measure of knowledge, respect, and occasionally tolerance. An emphasis on informed apologetics (for instance those of Thomas Aquinas and Ramón Lull) and on Eastern languages (canon 11 of the Council of Vienne, 1311) as a prerequisite for mission was characteristic of the later Middle Ages.

Politically, the Crusades brought few lasting changes. The Crusader states and the Latin empire remained episodes. Their precarious status forced new diplomatic contacts with Eastern powers but also strengthened the Muslim conviction that holy war *(jihād)* could be carried farther west. In this sense the Crusades led directly to the Turkish wars of later centuries, during which Ottoman expansion threatened even central Europe.

The effect of the Crusades on relations with Byzantium was primarily negative. The Crusades needed Byzantine support as much as Byzantium needed Western armies. But what started as an effort to help Eastern Christians ended in mutual mistrust and enmity (for example, the Crusades against the Byzantines in 1237, 1261, and 1282). The shrewd moves of Byzantine diplomacy created the image of the "treacherous Greeks" among Crusaders, while the sack of Constantinople left the indelible impression of Western barbarity on the Greek mind. Thus, the "unions" of Eastern churches with the West (at the councils of Lyons, 1274, and Florence, 1439) had no support at home.

One novelty with an impact on European politics was the military orders founded in the East. The Templars' financial deals with the French crown led to their ruthless suppression (1307–1312); the Hospitalers' odyssey took them to the island of Rhodes (1309–1322) and to Malta (after 1530). The Teutonic Knights found a new task in the Baltic states, and several chivalrous orders in Spain and Portugal were to influence Iberian politics for centuries.

The Crusades imposed huge burdens on clergy and laity; at times the papacy was unable to support any other cause. Yet they also furthered the growth of a money economy, banking, and new methods of taxation. The widening of the geographic horizon prepared Europe for the age of discovery. Urban culture, especially in Italian city-states such as Genoa, Pisa, and Venice, received strong impulses through trade with the East. In the West, Islamic science, philosophy, and medicine deeply influenced intellectual life.

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CRUSADES: MUSLIM PERSPECTIVE

The Muslims of Syria, who were the first to receive the assault of the Crusaders, thought the invaders were Rum, the Byzantines. Accordingly, they regarded the invasion as still another Byzantine incursion into Islamic territory, and, in fact, one inspired by previous Muslim victories in Byzantine domains. It was only when the Muslims realized that the invaders did not originate in Byzantium that they began referring to them as Franks, although never as Crusaders, a term for which there was no Arabic equivalent until modern times. Even a century later, the Arab historian Ibn al-Athīr (1160–1233) characterized that first invasion as a part of the general expansion of the Frankish empire that had begun with their conquests in Muslim Spain, Sicily, and North Africa a decade before the campaign in Syria. Nevertheless, the establishment of Frankish kingdoms in Islamic territory, the periodic reinforcement of troops from Europe, and the recurrence of invasion all contributed to a growing Muslim consciousness of the nature of the Frankish threat in Syria and Palestine.

This consciousness was reflected in the development of propaganda in Arabic designed to support the mobilization of Muslim forces against the infidel troops. The second half of the twelfth century saw the emergence of both a major Muslim leader and a literature to abet his efforts. The leader was Nūr al-Dīn (1118–1174), who succeeded in forging the political unity of the Muslims of northern Syria and upper Mesopotamia, thereby providing the basis of a military force strong enough to confront the Franks. Fatimid Egypt was brought under the control of Nūr al-Dīn's lieutenant, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, known to the West as Saladin (1138–1193). The literature consisted of poetry, *jihād* ("holy war") tracts, and books extolling the merits of Jerusalem and Palestine. Cumulatively, these works celebrated a Muslim warrior for the faith *(mujāhid)* who would unite the believers in a *jihād* to drive the soldiers of the Cross from the holy places. After the death of Nūr al-Dīn, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was able to build on the former's political and military accomplishments and exploit the fervor engendered for a Muslim hero as a means of achieving spectacular success against the Crusaders. Although no single Muslim leader of equal stature emerged under the Ayyubid or Mamluk dynasties that followed, literary support for prosecution of war against the Franks flourished until the very end, when the fall of Acre and the remaining Crusader fortifications on the coast was celebrated as a great victory for Islam, the culmination of a century-old struggle.

It should be emphasized, however, that with few exceptions active support for a concerted Muslim campaign against the Franks was limited to the areas threatened with occupation, namely Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. Various attempts to enlist the help of the Abbasid caliph of Baghdad were futile, partly, no doubt, because the institution of the caliphate was by this time virtually defunct. Even Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who was assiduous in seeking caliphal sanction for his activities, never received more than symbolic recognition from a reluctant caliph.

It should also be pointed out that war against the Franks was never total, that Muslim rulers often felt no compunctions about allying themselves with Crusader princes in order to gain their own ends, and that the call for *jihād* was muted when it was expedient, as in 1229 when the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Kāmil (d. 1238) ceded Jerusalem to Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn himself did not hesitate to strengthen Egyptian ties with the Italian commercial cities in order to obtain the materials he needed from Europe for his campaigns.

With the exception of their fortresses and churches, the Franks left few traces in Muslim territory or consciousness. Although the Muslims looted columns and at least one portal from Crusader structures and incorporated them into their mosques as trophies of victory, Islamic architecture developed independently. Nor is there any evidence of significant influence of Crusader minor arts on Islamic counterparts or, for that matter, of substantial Crusader influence on any aspect of Islamic cultural and intellectual life. There are indications, certainly, in the memoirs of the Syrian knight Usāmah ibn Munqidh (1095–1188) and the Spanish traveler Ibn Jubayr (1145–1217) that Muslims observed their Frankish neighbors with interest, interacted with them on occasion, and even approved of some aspects of their behavior—their treatment of peasants, for example. But the Muslims apparently made no effort to imitate the Franks. While it is sometimes claimed that the Crusaders contributed to the persecution of Christians in Muslim territory, the evidence for this is by no means consistent. There are clear signs that the Muslims in Egypt could and did distinguish between the Copts and the Franks and treated each accordingly. Probably the main Crusader legacy to the Arab Muslims should be sought in the field of commerce. There is little doubt that the activities of European merchants in eastern Mediterranean ports continued to be tolerated, even encouraged, by the Muslim conquerors and thus kept commercial contacts between East and West alive. However, recent Arabic historiography depicts the Crusaders as precursors of modern European infiltrations of the Arab world.

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CÚ CHULAINN See TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE

CULIANU, IOAN PETRU (January 5, 1950–May 21, 1991), a scholar of Romanian origin, was born in Iaşi, Romania. He descended from ancestors who played an important role in the cultural milieu of this city, the ancient capital of the province of Moldavia. His grandfather, Neculai Culianu, was the dean of the University of Iaşi in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century as well as a member of the influential cultural group *Junimea* (the Youthhood), founded in 1867 and directed by the literary critic Titu Maiorescu. Culianu's interest in the history of religions was precocious despite the political and ideological circumstances of his early scholarly career. In 1967 he left Iaşi for Bucharest, where he enrolled in the Faculty of Foreign Letters at the University of Bucharest. He studied Italian Renaissance thought under the guidance of Nina Façon and in 1971 delivered a thesis on the philosopher Giordano Bruno and the magical aspects of his works. Obtaining a short-term scholarship for Italy (University of Perugia) after graduating from Bucharest, Culianu decided to pursue his academic interests as an émigré rather than return to Romania. He spent the rest of his life outside his native country, living in Italy (1971–1978), the Netherlands (1978–1986), and finally the United States (1986–1991), where he died when he was shot in a bathroom at the Divinity School of the University of Chicago. According to Tereza Culianu-Petrescu, "of all the hypotheses regarding the murder, the only one privileged by evidence . . . is that of a political assassination" (in S. Antohi, Zool, p. 57). His biography also includes long stages of research in France and after 1986 frequent return trips to Europe.

Despite the interdictions of the communist-totalitarian regime of his Romanian youth, he discovered and pursued early the writings of Mircea Eliade (1907–1986) and placed himself for many years as a disciple of the great Romanian-born historian of religion. Culianu's first book (1978) was a monograph on Eliade as a historian of religions and as a writer. It was the first in western Europe to systematically discuss many of Eliade's important books and articles written in the Romanian period (1924–1940/1945). Culianu inherited from Eliade the interest for the comparative study of religion and groundbreaking themes, for different axial fields of the discipline, for literature—after 1967 Culianu published novels in Romanian as well as in Italian and English—and for modern Romanian culture. For a span of five years Culianu was also the administrator responsible for Eliade's legacy, his writings and archives preserved in Chicago, and was adopted in the 1980s as his most faithful disciple. Eliade and Culianu published together *The Eliade Guide to World Religions* (1991), which was translated into various languages, but despite its title, the project and the writing of this manual was entirely due to Culianu. The fourth and last volume of Eliade's *A History of Religious Ideas* was edited and published in German in 1990, and a long and significant scientific correspondence between the two scholars has been preserved in the Culianu family archive.

Culianu's Italian period was productive. In this epoch he was a steadfast contributor to journals like *Aevum* and *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*, writing many articles and book reviews pertaining to various fields of the history of religions, always with a sharp interest in methodology. The following orientation of his research can be discerned through his articles published in prestigious journals like *Numen* after 1975 and *Revue de l'histoire des religions* after 1976. In 1975 Culianu was appointed the assistant of Professor Ugo Bianchi (1922–1995), his mentor, at the Catholic University of Milan, and began his doctoral thesis. The results of many years of Italian research was collected and refined in a masterly synthesis on eros and magic in the Renaissance, which was finally published in Paris in 1984 as *Éros et magie à la Renaissance*. By analyzing the phantasmagorical background of different religious techniques of humanists like Marsilio Ficino and Giordano Bruno, Culianu demonstrated how the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century censure of Renaissance imagination played a huge role in evacuating from the European religious scene the baffling techniques of manipulation through magic. In Italy, Culianu published a book on Gnosticism, including an interview with Hans Jonas, that shows the great interest he developed for ancient Gnostic thought and its fictitious posterity in modern revivals (*Gnosticismo e pensiero moderno: Hans Jonas*, 1985). In the Netherlands, Culianu taught religious studies at Groningen University and taught Romanian language and literature while making several small contributions in neo-Latin and Romanian topics following the mentorship of Professor Willem Noomen, for whom Culianu edited a Festschrift in 1983.

Culianu then embarked upon a new doctoral thesis (*doctorat d'État*) at the Sorbonne on Gnostic mythical dualism under the supervision of Michel Meslin. This followed the writing of two very useful syntheses, one dealing with "the ascension of the soul" in historical and comparative perspectives (*Psychanodia I: A Survey of the Evidence concerning the Ascension of the Soul and Its Relevance*, 1983) and the other on the topic of ecstasy, ascension, and visionary description of the otherworld (*Expériences de l'extase: Extase, ascension, et récit visionnaire, de l'héllenisme au Moyen Age*, 1984), books that continue to be important for the clear exposition of all their sources, the lucid inquiry into most difficult and fascinating topics of religious studies, and the critiques they directed against the inadequacy, unfounded presuppositions, and factual errors of the German school of the history of religions. Starting in the early 1980s Culianu became more and more interested in different aspects of Gnosticism, yet he equally improved his skill in divergent disciplines like anthropology, cognitive science, literary criticism, and contemporary culture.

Arguably the most important turning point in Culianu's academic career was his departure for the United States in

1986. There he first worked as a fellow and then as an associate professor at the University of Chicago's Divinity School. He adopted a fresh approach to the study of different variants of Gnosticism, aiming to trace in his books on Western dualisms (the two editions of which are different from one another) the different types of Gnostic exegesis applied to the first paragraphs of the *Book of Genesis*, from the early Gnostics to some contemporary Gnostic-fashioned thinkers and artists. By classifying all the types of exegesis and all the possible combinations between the models adopted through the ages by the Gnostics, Culianu revealed the neglected parallel history of Christian dogmatic interpretation and their religious and mythological patterns. The discovery of invariants along two millennia in religious and secular paradigms concerning the exegesis of *Genesis* showed Culianu determined to engage a new type of approach to cognitive studies. In 1990 he founded, with the aim of combining historical and philological scholarship with the epistemology of cognitive studies, an international journal, *Incognita*, which did not survive after his premature death (only the first four volumes appeared in 1990 and 1991). Culianu's last writings include discussion on the hypothesis of determining the nature of religion as a mind game. In *Out of This World: Other-Worldly Journeys from Gilgamesh to Albert Einstein*, his last book (published posthumously), he convincingly combined fresh enquiries on the major transcendent journeys in the mythologies from the ancient Middle Eastern civilization to China with the epistemological speculation about the fourth dimension. In this research, sustained by a brilliant capacity of attracting the attention of different types of readers, Culianu met some of the current hermeneutical paradigms in Italy, France, and the United States, aiming like his mentor Eliade to conceive the history of religions as a total discipline, capable of interacting with a huge constellation of other disciplines and methods of enquiry.

The wide range of topics and academic skills Culianu expressed from his very youth to his death were the subject of internationally acclaimed exegesis. All his major books are accessible in English translation, and many of them have been translated into German, Italian, and other languages. Meanwhile some work of his last period pertaining to the introduction of cognitive sciences' methods into the frame of religious studies was sometimes criticized. *The Tree of Gnosis: Gnostic Mythology from Early Christianity to Modern Nihilism* (1992) is probably his masterpiece, but one can only guess the developments Culianu aimed to pursue. Because of his untimely death he was not able to accomplish several planned works, such as *A History of Magic* and an essay on Raimundus Llullus's *ars combinatoria*. His scholarly posterity remains vivid, as can be appreciated through the two-volume *Gedenkschrift* edited ten years after his death by Sorin Antohi, a Romanian historian of ideas, including more than forty scholarly and biographical contributions from Italy, Romania, and the United States (*Religion, Fiction, and History: Essays in Memory of Ioan Petru Culianu*, 2001). A subsequent Romanian edition was published in 2003. After 2000 a collection of Culianu's books began publication in Romanian by Bucharest's Nemira Publishing House and in Iaşi by Polirom; the latter editorial project aimed to present about forty volumes containing Culianu's collected papers translated into Romanian, of which fifteen have been published, including Culianu's minor writings edited and introduced by Antohi, Culianu's contributions to the *Encyclopedia of Religion* and other encyclopedias, edited by Eduard Irinischi, and the Eliade-Culianu corpus of correspondence, edited by Tereza Culianu-Petrescu and Dan Petrescu. These new volumes better expressed Culianu's solidarity with and, later, important divergences from, his Romanian master, as well as the difficulty in assuming the scholarly heritage of Eliade. The Ioan Petru Culianu Lectures on Religion, delivered by major scholars in the field, were established at the Central European University of Budapest, also through the effort of Sorin Antohi.

SEE ALSO Eliade, Mircea.

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EUGEN CIURTIN (2005)

CULT OF SAINTS. The cult of saints in the early Christian church began with the commemoration and veneration of the victims of persecution. The earliest forms of this veneration were part of the traditional funerary *memoria* of the dead. The inclusion of the names of martyrs in the liturgies of early Christian communities and the earliest celebrations of the anniversaries of martyrs, often observed at their tombs, rapidly gave rise to specific cults that went far beyond mere commemoration of the dead. The practice of petitions addressed to martyrs on behalf of the living arose out of the belief in the communion of saints, the resurrection of the body, and the high status accorded those who had died for the faith, and who, through their remains, remained physically present among the living. The acceptance of the intercessory role of the martyrs can be seen as early as the *Passion of Saint Perpetua* (early third century).

Although the martyr epitomized the ideal type of saint for centuries, the end of the period of persecution (early fourth century) brought with it a new concept of sanctity: namely, that those persons who lived lives of constant self-martyrdom and extraordinary virtue—had there been persecutions they too would have been martyrs—were also worthy of veneration. Increasingly, first in Syria but then throughout Christendom, persons living lives of extraordinary asceticism were venerated as *sancti* (holy persons). *Sancti* were thought capable of exerting hidden supernatural powers through miracles and, as an extension of this, powers within human society. Thus, *sancti* functioned as mediators among local groups and between local communities and regional and central powers. The sort of human and supernatural patronage that these individuals provided was thought to continue at the site of their tombs after they had died. The bodies were preserved and honored as pledges (Lat., *pignora*) of their continued interest in the living. The sorts of veneration accorded to them—vows, petitions for cures and other miracles, incubation at their tombs, and offerings of goods and specie to the clerics who had charge of their tombs—closely resembled the practices associated with pre-Christian pagan cults, such as that of Asklepios.

The initial cult of saints was focused on their tombs, but the increasing demand for cult objects in the fourth century led, in the eastern part of the empire, to the practice of moving bodies of saints to new locations, although such translations and the practice of dismembering bodies and distributing the various parts as relics were against Roman law. Along with the veneration of saints through their corporeal remains, a cult of saints focusing on their images, or icons, developed in the East. This cult, apparently encouraged by emperors as an extension and reinforcement of the secular cult of the emperor's image, survived the violent iconoclastic attacks of the seventh and eighth centuries and became a major aspect of Eastern Christianity.

In the West, the cult of saints was more conservative and, throughout the eighth century, continued to focus on the tombs of martyrs and early confessors. Nevertheless, objects that had been in physical proximity to saints' tombs were distributed as relics, particularly by the bishops of

Rome, who gained much of their prestige from controlling large quantities of remains of Roman martyrs. Relics of the saints played a major role in the Christianization of the West because the relics were offered to new converts to replace their pagan gods. The locations where bodies or relics were found became primary sites for contact between the human and divine worlds and formed the basis for the reorganization of sacred geography. While the classical world had emphasized the sacrality of urban space and considered extraurban cemeteries unclean, the Christian cult of martyrs and saints gave priority to the suburban cemeteries at the expense of the city.

Churchmen such as Pope Gregory the Great (d. 604) and the bishop Gregory of Tours (d. 594), both of whom sought to establish indigenous Christian traditions, attempted to anchor the cult of saints within the control of the hierarchy by deemphasizing living saints, who were, after all, difficult to regulate, in favor of the dead and by writing lives of Western martyrs and confessors. In these lives and in early medieval hagiography (literature dealing with saints)—which included not only *passiones* ("accounts of martyrdom") but *vitae* ("lives"), *libri miraculorum* ("books of miracles"), and *translations* ("accounts of translations")—saints were largely presented as members of social elites elected before birth as instruments of divine power. The social roles of such saints were severely limited: aside from the early martyrs, the men were normally bishops or monks and the women were almost without exception members of religious orders who had spent their lives in the cloister. The saints' lives and the promotion of their cults, particularly those of Merovingian saints written in the seventh century, were often closely related to the efforts of aristocratic relatives to establish a sacred heritage on which to base their claims of lordship. Thus saints were presented less as models of the Christian life than as evidence of supernatural power.

Threats to Rome by the Lombards in the mid-eighth century led popes to translate the remains of many martyrs into the city from the undefended catacombs. The Franco-papal political and cultural alliances of the following century resulted in an unprecedented number of translations—both sanctioned and illicit—of saints from Rome, Spain, and Gaul to the northern and eastern territories of the Frankish empire.

The demand for the remains of the saints for the purpose of promoting Christianity was enormously important in the subsequent development of medieval religion. In the ninth through eleventh centuries Roman martyrs and local saints, who were often deemed responsible for the evangelization of specific regions, were the focus of much of religious life. Veneration centered on the tombs of the saints, usually buried under the sanctuary of a church. Access to these tombs was controlled by the clergy of the church, frequently monks or canons, who were responsible for the celebration of the liturgy of the saints and direction of the cult. The importance of saints as miracle workers, patrons, and protectors of the region in which their remains were found resulted in the advent of pilgrimages made on principal feast days as well as at other times in the fulfillment of individual vows. The need to accommodate numbers of pilgrims without disrupting the regular liturgical life of the church led to the development of the characteristic pilgrimage church, with its raised crypt and wide ambulatories allowing the faithful to reach the saint's tomb or shrine without disturbing the liturgical life of the community.

During the tenth century the popularity of three-dimensional images of saints began to increase, particularly in the south of France. These statues, which were not unknown earlier and probably developed from statue reliquaries, became increasingly important during the twelfth century, when expanded contact with the Near East and improved internal communication and centralization contributed to the growth of the cults of more international saints, particularly the Virgin and the apostles of Christ. Although relics of the saints maintained their importance, miraculous statues and paintings, particularly in Italy during the later Middle Ages, became the focus of devotions.

Some saints' cults, such as those of the martyrs in Rome, the cult of Saint James in Compostela, and the cult of Saint Foy (Faith) in Conques, became international in their appeal. Most cults, however, were primarily local and regional. Consequently, competition between cults of different saints and between different cult locations for the same saint could be fierce. Beginning in the twelfth century devotion to exclusively local saints gave way to more individual or group choices of patrons as both laity and religious chose specific patrons for their activities and organizations. Devotion to particular patrons became an integral aspect of solidarity and identity in religious orders and communities, lay fraternities, craft and trade guilds, communes, and nascent states. In addition, specific saints became identified with specific types of miracles and thus were sought for specialized assistance.

The competition among cults, as well as the concern of secular and religious authorities over the proper identification and recognition of saints, led in the course of the later Middle Ages to an increasingly formal means of authentication of saints. Prior to the ninth century the process had been extremely informal: the existence of a popular cult among the faithful was usually seen as proof of sanctity. Starting in the ninth century, however, church synods insisted that no new or previously unknown saints could be venerated unless their sanctity was proved by the authenticity of their lives and miracles. The determination of authenticity was the responsibility of the local bishop; recognition meant the inclusion of the saint's name and feast day (usually the traditional anniversary of his or her death) in the liturgical calendar of the diocese. As of the tenth century local groups increasingly sought the inclusion of the saint's feast in the Roman calendar as well, and in time this led to the customary request that the pope recognize the saint's cult with a solemn canonization. With the growth of papal centralization, this practice became more formalized, and from the time of the pontificate of Innocent III (1198–1216), the right of canonization has been reserved to the pope. This did not, however, change the primary role of the faithful in the development of the actual cult. On the contrary, the role of the faithful was of the utmost importance: without an existing cult and evidence of post mortem miracles, no individual, no matter how exemplary his or her life, could be canonized. Because of the enormous expense, political negotiations, and investment of time necessary to effect a papal canonization, very few of the hundreds of persons who were the objects of cults were ever actually canonized, and those who were tended to be members of princely or aristocratic families or important religious orders who could organize, finance, and sustain the canonization process.

The intervention of the papacy in the recognition of saints as well as the social and economic transformations of the later Middle Ages prompted a change in the popular image of saints. From the thirteenth century on, more emphasis was placed on the quality of life of the individual as an imitation of the life of Christ than on miracles. The spectrum of social backgrounds from which the venerated men and women came was also greatly broadened. Under the influence of mendicant spirituality there were more saints from the bourgeoisie, more women who had active roles outside the cloister, and more laity who were seen to have achieved sanctity.

Throughout the late Middle Ages there existed a broad consensus on both the existence of a sort of sensorial code by which one could recognize special servants of God and on a belief in the saint's ability to intervene in all areas of human need. However, from the twelfth century on, a widening gulf separated the mental structures of the laity and the majority of the clergy from the university-trained elite. In the later Middle Ages three groups of persons developed who were accorded sanctity based both on geography and social position. According to André Vauchez (1981), the popular saints were the first group. Venerated primarily in rural areas—generally in northern Europe—they were the closest to the archaic type of saint: persons who, regardless of life and piety, met violent and undeserved deaths. The second group, local saints, varied according to region. In northern Europe they were, as in the early Middle Ages, persons of high rank whose bodies produced miracles. In the Mediterranean world, the local saints were most often persons who had renounced a normal existence for voluntary asceticism, poverty, and chastity. The third group of saints most closely resembled the type of saints whose cults were promoted by the official church.

The official teaching concerning the communion of the saints, the efficacy of the saints as intercessors and, thus, the validity of the cult of saints, has always insisted that whereas saints may be the object of veneration (Gr., *dulia*), they must never be the object of adoration (Gr., *latria*). Since the virtues of the saints are the virtues of Christ, praise of the saints, prayers to them, and veneration of their relics are all ultimately directed to Christ. The reality of several of the specific cults of saints, however, was often at great variance with this official position, and throughout the Middle Ages orthodox reformers occasionally objected to excesses or deviations from the official stance. From the late twelfth century on, radical reformers, such as Pierre Valdès, founder of the Waldensians, went still further by rejecting the intercessory role of saints, thereby denying the validity of the cult. Sixteenth-century reformers, especially John Calvin, were even more forceful in rejecting the mediatory role of saints and condemning the cult of relics and images as idolatry. Despite these oppositions, the cult of saints, especially that of the Virgin, has continued to play an important role within the Catholic tradition, particularly in southern Europe and in Latin America, where the cult of Christian saints has merged with indigenous and African cults in a process similar to that which took place in Europe in late antiquity.

SEE ALSO Asklepios; Iconoclasm; Icons; Persecution, article on Christian Experience; Pilgrimage, articles on Eastern Christian Pilgrimage, Roman Catholic Pilgrimage in Europe, and Roman Catholic Pilgrimage in the New World.

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Three recent studies have examined the cult of saints in the later Middle Ages in relation to changing social forms and spiritual values. Michael Goodich's *Vita Perfecta: The Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century* (Stuttgart, 1982) presents a computer-assisted prosopographical analysis of thirteenth-century saints as an ideal cultural type. Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, in their *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000–1700* (Chicago, 1982), examine saints between 1000 and 1700 in order to understand the transformation of late medieval and early modern piety. The most important of the three is that of André Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident au derniers siècles du Moyen-Âge d'après les proces de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome, 1981). This magisterial examination of the cult of saints in the later Middle Ages is essential for understanding the interplay of social, religious, political, and cultural factors in the cult of saints.

A number of recent anthologies have collected important articles on saints from specialized journals. The most significant of these are *Agiografia altomedievale*, edited by Sofia Boesch Gajano (Bologna, 1976), and *Saints and Their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History*, edited by Stephen Wilson (Cambridge, U.K., 1983). The latter is particularly valuable for its rich annotated bibliography on all aspects of saints and hagiography both Christian and non-Christian.

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PATRICK J. GEARY (1987)
Revised Bibliography

CULTS AND SECTS. The terms *cult* and *sect* are regarded as stereotype-loaded terms that are associated with new or unpopular religious movements, and these terms are thus mostly avoided by scholars. They are, however, widely used by the media and by groups (especially so-called anticult groups) that perceive certain new religious movements as objectionable and dangerous. In contemporary English, *cult* functions as the derogatory word, with *sect* reserved for less controversial groups. In French, German, Spanish, and Italian, the derogatory word is the local equivalent of *sect*, and the word *cult* is rarely used. Some dictionaries now translate the French *secte* and similar non-English words with *cult* rather than with *sect*. Originally, however, the English *cult* and *sect* were nonpejorative, scholarly terms. Some earlier uses of *sect* and *cult* in sociology will be reviewed before discussing the current derogatory uses of these terms.

FROM TROELTSCH TO STARK AND BAINBRIDGE. Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923), a German theologian and sociologist, elaborated in the early twentieth century an influential distinction between churches, sects, and mysticism. Churches, according to Troeltsch, are religious groups well integrated into the larger society. A typical mark of this integration is the fact that most members are born into churches, rather than converted to them. Coming to conclusions similar to those of Max Weber (1864–1920), Troeltsch saw the sect as a religious movement where most members are first-generation converts. Troeltsch's "sect" refers to a group that is typically hostile or indifferent to the larger society and that may criticize churches as being "this-worldly." Sects prefer to remain poor and comparatively small rather than compromise their integrity. Sects, however, may eventually evolve into churches and move toward the mainstream, being replaced at the margins of the religious field by new sects. This happens less often, according to Troeltsch, with mysticism, which is less structured and organized, and survives as a sum of individual experiences.

Troeltsch's typology remained influential in the sociology of religion until World War II. It was revised and refined in the 1940s and 1950s by J. Milton Yinger, who made further distinctions within the descriptions of both sects and churches. Yinger distinguished between "established sects," "sects," and "cults." The latter are small groups of believers sharing a religious experience but not yet organized into a structure. While some cults eventually disappear, others, according to Yinger, become sects, which he defined as religious organizations mostly made up of first-generation converts and existing in a significant degree of tension with the larger society. When second- and third-generation members appear, the sect moves to the stage of "established sect," a transitional position between the Troeltschian types of sect and church. What really differentiates sects from churches is, according to Yinger, "universalism." A sect, even an established sect, does not (yet) regard itself as universal. It only tries to organize a limited group of members. A "denomination" represents the first stage of the transformation of a sect into a church, because it at least proclaims a universal goal, although in fact it is not able to pursue it. "Ecclesiae" (churches) are more universal than denominations, but only "universal churches" are churches in the fullest sense of the word, having achieved their universal goal in practice and not only in theory. Although within Christianity only the Roman Catholic Church is, according to Yinger, a universal church, theoretically every cult can eventually pass through the various stages and become a church.

Troeltsch and Yinger clearly had in mind Christianity, and Christianity only. After World War II, the media often described as sects and cults movements that were not Christian but derived from Hinduism, Buddhism, or the occult tradition. Some sociologists, such as Bryan R. Wilson, tried to redefine *sect* as a word not necessarily connected to Christianity. In Wilson's view, the sect may be defined by its goal, which is both more and less ambitious than the typical goal of a mainstream church. A sect, unlike a church, does not aspire to be recognized by the state as an institution, nor as part of the organizational fabric of society. On the other hand, it wants to deeply change the life of its members, and will occasionally claim that this change will result eventually in a revolutionary change of society itself. These goals may be pursued inside or outside Christianity.

The latest influential sociological statement of the differences between church, sect, and cult was included in *The Future of Religion: Secularization, Revival, and Cult Forma-*

tion (1985) by American sociologists Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge. A *church* is defined (following Troeltsch) as a religious group that accepts, and cooperates with, the dominant social milieu, while a *sect* is a religious group in a situation of tension or hostility with respect to the social mainstream. However, the same group may be regarded at the same time as a sect in one country and a church in another. A sect is by definition a group that exhibits some degree of deviance while remaining within a tradition perceived as nondeviant in a given society. According to this definition, Jehovah's Witnesses are a sect because they are perceived as deviant by mainstream Christianity, yet remain within a (heterodox) Christian tradition that is not perceived as deviant per se in the West. While sects, though deviant, remain within a nondeviant tradition, cults are perceived as both deviant and as belonging to a deviant tradition. For example, Western members of the International Society for Krishna Consciousness, popularly known as the Hare Krishnas, are regarded as belonging to a cult rather than a sect because not only are they perceived as deviant, but the Hindu tradition itself is perceived as deviant and nonmainstream by the general public in the West.

Stark and Bainbridge also proposed a vertical model distinguishing between "audience cults," "client cults," and "cult movements." Audience cults are non-organized (much as Troeltsch's mysticism was) and include the following of a popular author or lecturer. Their "members" may pray or meditate in a common way, but they do not feel the need to organize. Client cults are more organized, since they include the "clients" of a religious leader or group of leaders, who sell services (courses or rituals) on a regular basis, and who would like to keep their client constituency through some sort of organization. Only cult movements are full-blown religious movements, where the permanent organization is more important than the transitional leader-client relationship.

Eventually, Stark, Bainbridge, and Wilson all recognized that *cult* and *sect* were becoming ambiguous labels and should preferably be avoided. Sociologists may use them in a purely neutral, Troeltschian way, without implying that cults or sects are morally or socially "evil," or less acceptable than "genuine" religions. However, since the media, beginning in the 1970s, were using the words *cult* and *sect* to mean dangerous or even criminal religious organizations, most sociologists and historians of religion eventually accepted the proposal by Eileen Barker to use *new religious movement* as a value-free, nonderogatory substitute for *sect* or *cult.* The term *new religions* had already been introduced by various authors, but had gained more acceptance in literature written in French rather than in English. Although there are problems with the concept of "new religious movement," a large majority of scholars follow Barker's suggestion, and the small minority of academics still using *sect* or *cult* is in fact making an implicit statement of sympathy with the goals of the anticult movement.

THE ANTICULT MOVEMENT. For the anticult movement, the distinction is simple. Religions and churches are joined out of free will. Cults and sects (the distinction between the two being somewhat blurred) use mind control, or "brainwashing," in order to attract members and keep them within the fold. Although only a tiny minority of academic scholars throughout the world would take this distinction seriously, it has been used in parliamentary reports and laws (particularly in Europe) and is still widely quoted by the news media.

Prominent in the campaign to promote brainwashing theories in reference to new religious movements was Margaret Thaler Singer (1921–2003), a clinical psychologist who was an adjunct professor at the University of California, Berkeley. She often appeared in court cases and, in a sense, invented a new profession as a psychologist in the service of anticult lawsuits and initiatives. Based on the brainwashing arguments, private vigilantes started kidnapping adult members of new religious movements on behalf of their families, then subjected them to a sort of "counterbrainwashing" technique, which they called *deprogramming.* The largest organization of the American anticult movement, the Cult Awareness Network, was often accused of referring families to deprogrammers, although courts were initially tolerant of the practice.

Criticism of the brainwashing model was offered by the American Sociological Association and the American Psychological Association, as well as by several prominent scholars of new religious movements. Scholarly criticism eventually reversed the trend toward belief in brainwashing in U.S. courts, starting in the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of California in *United States v. Fishman* (1990). Some later decisions deviated in varying degrees from *Fishman,* so this ruling did not spell out once and for all the death of the brainwashing theory. Nevertheless, an important precedent had been set in the United States that later triggered a chain of events which led to the end of deprogramming and even of the largest American anticult organization, the Cult Awareness Network. Caught in the act of referring a family to deprogrammers, the Cult Awareness Network was sentenced to such a heavy fine that it was forced to file for bankruptcy. In 1996 the court-appointed trustee-in-bankruptcy sold by auction the organization's files, name, and logo to a coalition of religious liberty activists led by Church of Scientology members.

Although the brainwashing theory lost its momentum in U.S. courts in the 1990s, the suicides and homicides associated with the Temple Solaire in Switzerland and France in 1994 and 1995 gave the theory new impetus in Europe, where it influenced parliamentary reports (largely unaware of the complicated history of the U.S. controversy) and even resulted in a controversial amendment to the French criminal code in 2001. Paradoxically, although the concept of brainwashing was used during the Cold War in American anticommunist propaganda targeting Chinese Communists, the ideology of brainwashing was used in the People's Republic of China beginning in 1999 to distinguish between "evil cults" and legitimate "religions" in a campaign that initially targeted Falun Gong, but was extended to several underground Christian organizations. The same rationale was applied by the French government's several attempts to prevent "cults" such as the Church of Scientology from operating in France, starting from a parliamentary report published in 1996. In the United States, notwithstanding the prevailing attitude of the courts against the theory of brainwashing, brainwashing metaphors were widely used by the media to provide a quick explanation for why such groups as the Branch Davidians and even al-Qāʿidah should be seen as cults rather than religions.

Although only a handful of academics accept them, distinctions between legitimate "religions" and dangerous "cults" and "sects" remain popular in some European political milieus and in the media, while acquiring a new currency to explain suicide terrorism in the wake of the events of September 11, 2001.

SEE ALSO Anticult Movements; Brainwashing (Debate); Deprogramming; New Religious Movements, articles on History of Study, New Religious Movements in Europe, New Religious Movements in Japan; New Religious Movements in Latin America, New Religious Movements in the United States, and Scriptures of New Religious Movements; Temple Solaire.

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MASSIMO INTROVIGNE (2005)

CULTS OF AFFLICTION SEE AFFLICTION, *ARTICLE ON* AFRICAN CULTS OF AFFLICTION

CULTURE.

In its most basic sense, culture is that portion or aspect of thought and behavior that is learned and capable of being taught to others. Culture includes customs and worldviews that provide a mental model of reality and a guide for appropriate and moral action. Languages are cultural in that they are learned symbolic information sets and are one of the most important means of encoding ideas and knowledge for memory and communication. All religions are cultural and all forms of spirituality exist within broader traditions or *cultures.*

Culture becomes widely communicated and shared in social groups, and it serves as a foundation for general agreement and common acceptance of certain principles and perceptions as valid, normal, and natural. In this way, the influences on culture are often masked and it is not automatically apparent that one's own views and beliefs are not simply accurate apprehensions of reality, but are, in fact, artificial and, to a degree, arbitrary. Because of this characteristic, culture can be difficult to study, either in oneself or in others. Habitual use makes the cultural lenses that one continually wears disappear from awareness, so that what is seen falsely seems to be objective truth.

In observing foreign peoples and ways of life through one's own cultural lenses, people tend to automatically judge others—insofar as their ways are different from one's own—as erroneous and inferior. At the same time, adherents to other traditions or cultures tend to look upon their customs and beliefs using their own cultural assumptions, and they can misinterpret and judge both thought and action according to foreign standards. This natural human tendency is known as ethnocentrism, which is a major barrier to understanding other ways of life and value systems. Ethnocentrism is overcome through cultural relativism, an approach in which judgment is withheld in a measured fashion in an attempt to understand another people's way of life according to their own perspectives. Once an empathetic understanding is reached, one can begin to compare cultures more accurately according to some external scientific or humanistic standard, in order to discern patterns or make generalizations.

Culture is normally contrasted with instinctual modes of thought and behavior that are not learned, but rather are genetically inherited. While the distinction between biological and cultural inputs is heuristically useful and, indeed, necessary for an understanding of human emotion, cognition, motor behavior, social interaction, and institutions, culture does not exist independently of biologically inherited characteristics, including instinctual drives and behaviors. While some behaviors appear to be almost entirely instinctual (such as an infant's innate ability to suck) as a rule, both biology and culture are implicated in most mental and motor behavior. This can be seen, for example, in food preferences. The biological need for nourishment is culturally elaborated in the great variation in which particular foods are preferred, such that any two peoples may find each other's delicacies unpalatable. These differences, while partly attributable to genetic and constitutional factors, are largely explicable only in terms of cultural difference.

Culture could also be contrasted with individual learning that is incapable of being communicated to others, or with idiosyncratic ideas and preferences not widely shared by the social group. *Culture* is often used in this sense in the social sciences and humanities. When scholars stress a populational rather than an individual perspective, *culture* typically implies a shared perspective ostensibly held by an entire population, such as a religious group or an ethic group, referred to as a culture. However, this usage can mask the fact that learned information is not always shared.

While many animal species include learning and even social transmission of knowledge in their behavioral repertoires, humankind differs from other species primarily in our much greater neurological capacity for culture and the degree to which humans rely on socially learned information as a basis for both individual and group life. Human reliance on culture allows people to adapt to a great variety of environments and psychological stresses, to respond to innumerable challenges, and to transmit to others the lessons learned through experience. One consequence of this ability to both purposely and unconsciously transmit information is that ideas originating in one person's experience can become widely shared among members of social groups. Once cultural ideas are widely shared, they appear to acquire an added aura of truthfulness, supported by apparent mutual confirmation and elaboration. A second consequence of cultural transmissibility is that individuals' ideas can survive, albeit in somewhat altered form, beyond their lifetimes. The capacity for and reliance on culture thus allows traditions to come into existence by providing a means for their codification and transmission.

Particularly in anthropology, where the concept was refined, but also in the other social sciences and humanities, culture is central because of its pervasive relevance to everything that human beings think, feel, and do. Much is captured by the term *culture,* and the phenomena scholars seek to describe, interpret, and explain under its rubric are among the most complex in nature. Therefore, the term has meant different things to different scholars, and it has undergone repeated critiques, abandonments, and redefinitions. Nevertheless, it has proven an extremely useful term with which to discuss and model the great variety of ways of thinking and living that different groups and societies around the world display. This is nowhere more clear than in the study of religion, which has revealed both great diversity and remarkable similarities in the many religious traditions of the world. Contemporary social scientists would agree that differences between religions are differences of culture, though some would use different terms. For this reason, the study of culture must be central to understanding religion as a human phenomenon.

HISTORY OF THE CONCEPT. In its earliest known English usages, *culture* refers to the cultivation of food plants. Philip Smith (2001, p. 1) writes that by the sixteenth century this meaning was metaphorically applied to people to signify proper education and human achievement. In this sense, the term *culture* in English carries a positive bias and refers only to those parts of learned ideals and behaviors that the observer considers good, proper, and refined, as when one speaks of a person being highly cultured, or of culture in the sense of fine arts. In other words, *culture* was originally meant to refer to one's own culture, carried to its most benevolent and ideal state of development.

Edward Burnett Tylor (1832–1917), the world's first professor of anthropology, was the most influential in adapting and changing this English term for the social sciences, humanities, and popular usage. Alfred L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn (1952/1963, p. 14) verified that Tylor derived these new meanings from the German term *Kultur* as used in the mid-nineteenth-century writings of Gustav E. Klemm. Tylor's definition, first proposed in the 1870s and still widely quoted, broadened the term by removing its ethnocentric bias and narrow reference to artistic achievement to include all socially learned knowledge and the behaviors, institutions, and artifacts that are produced as a result of that knowledge. For Tylor, "Culture . . . , taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (1877 [1871], p. 3).

Tylor's definition accomplished four things. First, with this usage, *culture* could be extended to people whose ideals and practices the scholar personally disapproves of or considers inferior, so that all peoples could be recognized as having culture. This element became central to the development of cultural relativism. Second, one could speak of multiple independent cultural traditions that develop in isolation from one another. This allowed scholars to speak of societies sharing ideas and beliefs as *cultures.* Third, the definition allowed one to treat all socially learned knowledge as part of a single, great body of wisdom produced by humankind as a whole. This allowed scholars to see all peoples as participating in a common project of advancing knowledge. Fourth, one could speak of culture writ large as something that develops and evolves at a level beyond that of the individuals who bear culture. This allowed scholars to analyze those learnable institutions, including religions, that do not reside in full in any individual's mind, but rather are distributed among people and artifacts and seem to transcend the individual.

From around the time that Tylor's new definition of culture was introduced, anthropologists began increasingly to believe that racial and biological explanations could not account for the differences between customs and religions throughout the world. Adopted babies grew up learning the language, religion, and skills of the people among whom they were raised, rather than inheriting those of their biological ancestors. In light of these observations, they made culture the central concept of their discipline—because through it one could explain differences in beliefs and morals in terms of learning, not innate characteristics. Fortuitously, this explanation carried with it the implication that all peoples have an equal potential to learn and develop.

Kroeber and Kluckhohn's detailed history of the term *culture* shows that Tylor's definition remained unelaborated for decades, following which a flurry of new definitions were offered (1952/1963, pp. 291–292). They cite 164 of these offered by 1950. Scholars developed new definitions of *culture* as a way of emphasizing certain elements of what was coming to be seen as an excessively broad concept, including such elements as ideas; learned behavior; symbols; problem-solving devices; normative rules or values; and patterns, systems, and organizations that are abstracted from observed behaviors. Kroeber and Kluckhohn correctly anticipated future revisions of these formulations in terms of "the interrelations of cultural forms[,] variability and the individual," and observed that some British and American anthropologists had avoided the concept altogether because of its vagueness (1952/1963, p. 357). These critiques were harbingers of developments in the second half of the twentieth century, in which the culture concept was further contested, particularly in relation to the problems of the locus, variability, and dynamics of culture.

CURRENT USE AND CONTESTATION IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES. Because of all its ambiguities and its uneven acceptance, the culture concept has come to be regarded with some suspicion, but nevertheless remains firmly fixed in scholarship. From the 1970s to the 1990s, scholars released a flurry of critiques of the concept. To summarize from Robert Brightman's 1995 review of this literature, several areas of semantic difficulty have been identified. Since the term can be used as a reified abstraction, or to refer to ideas and meanings, *culture* can deflect attention from actual, observable human behavior and interaction. *Culture* is often used to refer to a legalistic guide for behavior, which downplays the importance of individual agency or volitional choice, strategy, and improvisation. In the same vein, *culture* can imply that objective, grammatical systems of behavior control individuals like automatons. *Culture* is also often regarded as a holistic, homogeneous, coherent, functionally integrated pattern, when in fact there is a great deal of internal variation, fragmentation, disorder, contradiction, and contestation. The term *cultures* implies discrete, localized groupings, when in fact people and ideas often overlap and are not strictly bounded. Speaking of cultures can imply that these are ahistorical grouping systems, when in reality they are always changing. *Culture* can be used to mean a primordial, authentic, native way of life when in fact there is constant borrowing and mixing of ideas and practices. This usage can also falsely imply that cultures are discrete objects. Finally, viewing human variation as cultural difference can encourage scholars to exaggerate the differences between peoples, and to imply that these differences must be seen in hierarchical relationship with one another.

Brightman's citation of earlier literature makes it clear that, while many of these critiques have been presented as new, scholars have in fact wrestled with all of these complexities of the culture concept throughout the twentieth century. What is perhaps different in some of the newer critiques is that alternative terms have been suggested, either to replace or to supplement *culture* and to shift attention to processes considered more useful for the study of humanity. For example, Pierre Bourdieu uses *habitus* rather than *culture* to emphasize the disposition and practice of individuals as the proper locus of human social life (1977, pp. 72–95). Lila Abu-Lughod (1991) takes this a step further, suggesting that *culture* be abandoned altogether in favor of Bourdieu's *practice* and Michel Foucault's *discourse,* both of which emphasize the agency of individuals and observable behavior and speech rather than the supposedly timeless control of an abstract culture. Brightman (1995, p. 518) observes that another alternative term, Antonio Gramsci's *hegemony,* has come into common use among those who wish to emphasize the greater influence on ideals and behaviors exerted by people possessing disproportionate power in a society, while *counterhegemony* refers to areas of resistance within these spheres of domination.

Other threads of thinking on the culture concept can be seen in cognitive anthropology. Scholars like Claudia Strauss and Naomi Quinn (1998) have addressed the critique that *culture* is an abstract, timeless, and agentless concept by locating it in human perception, cognition, and shared experience. In this view, culture operates in the mind as generic images of reality, or schemas, that direct perception and alter in response to experiences, allowing culture to be relatively stable, but also capable of change.

Some scholars focus on cultural transmission and reception as a way to remove static or abstract implications from the culture concept. Some use analogies of genetic transmission and evolution, while others, like Dan Sperber (1996, p. 82), explain cultural processes, including the spread of religious beliefs, by using the metaphor of epidemiology. For certain thinkers, such metaphors imply that culture exists in units, sometimes called *memes* after Richard Dawkins's coinage, variously conceived of as songs, stories, or religious beliefs. Such theorized units of culture are controversial, however, and not widely accepted by scholars, who see them as arbitrary, unbounded, and changeable (see Aunger, 2001).

The interdependencies and relationships between the cultural and genetic information that contributes to each individual's capabilities and makeup, together with human agency as a force in its own right, are also pressing concerns for some scholars of culture, as Lee Cronk (1999) discusses. Despite the various critiques, *culture* continues to be a useful term in the social sciences and humanities, not only in spite of, but also because of, its multiple meanings and ambiguity.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CULTURE AND RELIGION. Virtually all of the questions that scholars in the humanities and social sciences seek to answer involve cultural factors, and questions about religion are no exception. There are certainly biological components to religious behavior, including cognitive tendencies to anthropomorphize, or perceive humanlike attributes in nonhuman phenomena, which Stewart Guthrie (1993) sees as the source of religion. Cognitive constraints limit what kinds of perception and beliefs are conceivable, and, as Pascal Boyer (1994) argues, the combination of ideas that are memorably bizarre or "unnatural" with those that are believably ordinary or "natural" appears to be a characteristic of all religious beliefs. However, no religious belief or behavior can be understood by reference to biological factors alone, for culture overlays, stylizes, elaborates, and embellishes these foundations with meanings that are both deeply motivating and arbitrary. The capacity for religious thought and experience has its foundation in our biological makeup, but it can only come to full expression with cultural inputs and processes. Thus, cognitive constraints interact with culture to produce the range of specific supernatural beings and forces that are characteristic of the world's religions.

No specific religious system can be understood without recourse to culture, for particular religions are forms of culture and exist within broader cultures. Regardless of whether one takes a theological or an agnostic perspective on a particular religion, one must recognize that the stuff of religions is cultural—it is socially learned and widely shared, and it is made up of mental and public representations of reality that guide behavior and are changed by experience. Successful religions can be seen as more widely appealing than others, and therefore more likely to be culturally learned. The fact that religions operate within broader cultural contexts is profoundly relevant to the study of religion because the "same" religious ideas change when they are transmitted from one culture to another—as shown, for example, in Kenelm Burridge's 1960 study of how beliefs of European missionaries were interpreted very differently by their Melanesian recipients, creating a "cargo cult." Syncretism, or the mixing of elements from different religious in situations of culture contact, are an important area of cross-cultural religious studies—as explored, for example, in Charles Stewart and Rosalind Shaw's (1994) volume on this phenomenon. In other cases, religions appear to be transmitted wholesale across cultural boundaries, as exemplified in Joel Robbins's (2004) account of a Papua New Guinea people's adoption of Baptist Christianity and concepts of sin, modernity, and globalization.

To study religions—whether one's own or others'—with cultural sophistication necessitates awareness of multiple points of view. Awareness of the cultural perspective of both scholars of religion and the people they describe is vital to assessing any study of religion. Missiologists begin with a cultural assumption of the primacy of a particular religious tradition in relation to other religious cultures that they consider erroneous and in need of change. Some social scientists work from materialist assumptions that deny the existence of supernatural beings and forces for lack of evidence, while others either embrace the existence of spirits or consider such questions unanswerable. Theories about religion, like religions themselves, are cultural.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CULTURES FOR THE STUDY OF RELIGION. Cross-cultural research indicates that religious thinking and behavior is found among all peoples and in all cultures. The basis of this commonality is sometimes attributed to a panhuman tendency to supernaturalism, which is elaborated differently from one culture to the next. However, others argue that the concept of supernaturalism is itself too culturally biased to describe all religions. Scholars engaging this debate have not reached consensus (see Lohmann, 2003). The degree to which culture determines human religiosity itself remains contested. However, there is no doubt that the particular beings, forces, and morals that people sense or believe in are culturally learned, since they differ from one religion to the next. Variation in specific religious ideas shows the degree of cultural malleability that humans possess with regard to religion. Perhaps the most important implication of the comparative study of cultures for the study of religion is that all religions appear to be true from the perspective of the cultural systems in which they are found; however, the arbitrariness and variability of cultures indicates that no religion is a flawless representation of absolute truth.

SEE ALSO Religion.

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ROGER IVAR LOHMANN (2005)

CULTURE CIRCLES SEE KULTURKREISELEHRE

CULTURE HEROES. The culture hero is a mythical being found in the religious traditions of many archaic societies. Although the culture hero sometimes assists the supreme being in the creation of the world, the most important activity for the culture hero occurs after creation: making the world habitable and safe for humankind. The culture hero establishes institutions for humans, brings them cultural goods, and instructs them in the arts of civilization. Thus, the hero introduces culture to human beings.

The culture hero, unlike the supreme being, is neither omniscient nor omnipotent. In some cases, the hero's behavior resembles that of a clown or buffoon; in the myths of many North American Indian tribes the culture hero appears as the trickster. Various scholars have referred to the culture hero as transformer, demiurge, culture bringer, *héros civilisateur,* and, most frequently, *Heilbringer.*

HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP. The German historian Kurt Breysig first introduced the term *Heilbringer* in 1905. Since then, the idea of the culture hero has been interpreted in various ways. Early interpretations emphasized the place of the culture hero in the evolution of the idea of a supreme being. Breysig, for example, saw the culture hero as belonging to a stage of religious development that was not only earlier than, but also inferior to, humankind's awareness of a personal supreme being. The German ethnologist Paul Ehrenreich, in developing his theory of "nature mythology," interpreted the myths about culture heroes as attempts by primitive humans to understand their natural surroundings. Ehrenreich saw in the culture hero the embodiment of the structure and rhythms of natural phenomena, for example, the rising and setting of the sun, the waxing and waning of the moon, and the movement of the stars and constellations. On the other hand, Wilhelm Schmidt, an ethnologist and historian of religions, was the chief proponent of the doctrine of primitive monotheism (*Urmonotheismus*). Theorizing that even early humans believed in a supreme being, he contended that the *Heilbringer* was never a genuine creator and that the form appeared in archaic societies after, not before, the idea of the supreme being.

The interpretations of Breysig, Ehrenreich, and Schmidt have been rejected by later students of culture and historians of religions, who, having access to more and different ethnological data, have recognized the autonomy and complexity of the culture hero. Scholars such as Hermann Baumann, Adolf E. Jensen, Mircea Eliade, Otto Zerries, Raffaele Pettazzoni, and Harry Tegnaeus have made significant contributions to a new appreciation and understanding of the culture hero. Rather than pursue an evolutionary approach, these scholars have examined the relation between the details of the myths and the historical and cultural realities of the archaic societies—their economic activity, their political and social institutions, and their attitude toward space, time, and mortality.

CHARACTERISTIC ACTIVITIES. In many of the myths that tell of the culture hero's exploits, the culture hero is portrayed as setting the stage for human survival. The myth of the Jicarilla Apaches of the southwestern United States tells how the culture hero Jonayaiuin saved humanity by destroying huge monsters that were killing people. By removing this threat of annihilation, the culture hero made the world fit for human habitation. The Malecite Indians of northern Maine tell that long ago a monster, Aglabem, withheld all the water in the world, causing people to die of thirst. Their culture hero, referred to as "a great man," killed Aglabem and released the waters by felling a huge tree. This tree became the Saint John River; its branches, the tributaries of the river; its leaves, the ponds and lakes at the heads of the streams. To the tellers of this myth, the shape of the landscape is evidence that the culture hero made the world fit for human life.

In various ways, the culture hero creates distinctions between humans and animals. The Tupian peoples of the Amazon basin in eastern Brazil believe that Korupira, a deity who is referred to as "lord of the beasts," protects wild game against human hunters. Korupira has the power to close the forest to hunters and punish those who kill his animals needlessly. The Mbuti, hunters and gatherers who inhabit the rain forest of central Africa, are one of many groups who credit their culture hero with bringing them fire. The Mbuti hero, Tore, stole fire, much to the chagrin of the neighboring chimpanzees, and gave it to humankind. From that time on, humans have enjoyed the use of fire while chimpanzees have lived in the forest without it. In the stories of numerous societies, the culture hero introduced humans to speech and manners, established the social differences between males and females, and instituted the laws of society.

The culture hero is also perceived as making economic life possible for humans. According to the myths of the San (Bushmen), a hunting and gathering people living in South Africa and Namibia, the culture hero Kaang created all wild game and gave the animals their colors, names, and characteristics. He taught the San how to make bows, poisoned arrows, traps, and snares, and he instructed them in hunting techniques. Tudava, the culture hero of the Trobriand Islanders, not only taught the Trobrianders how to build canoes and to fish but introduced them to the cultivation of yams and taros, the first root crops. Nyikang, the culture hero and first king of the Shilluk, pastoral nomads of East Africa, is said to have been the son of a cow. He released the waters and provided grazing land for the Shilluk's cattle. Among the Dogon people of Mali, West Africa, the twin culture heroes known as Nommo are credited with bringing the first millet seeds from heaven to earth and with teaching the arts of blacksmithing and pottery.

In numerous myths, the culture hero is connected with the origin of death. In a story told by the Khoi (Hottentots) of South Africa, the moon sends an insect to tell humans that after they die they will come back to life, as the moon does. The culture hero, Hare, overtakes the insect and volunteers to carry the message. However, Hare delivers the opposite message to humans, saying that they will perish forever.

Through the adventures in which they ensure human survival, institute the difference between humans and animals, introduce humankind to social and economic activity, and originate human mortality, the culture heros save the human race from chaos. They order and arrange the world, introducing humankind to the possibilities of human creativity.

BIRTH OF THE CULTURE HERO. The culture hero is able to perform these feats because he is imbued with power; he comes from another world. His divine origin is revealed in his parentage and in the supernatural nature of his birth. Tudava, the culture hero of the Trobriand Islanders, was said to have been born of a mother who became pregnant while sleeping in a cave, when her vagina was pierced by water dripping from a stalactite. The mother of Manabozho, the culture hero of the Menomini tribe of North America, was made pregnant by the wind. The mother of the culture hero of the Dinka of East Africa came to earth already pregnant. Among several African peoples, the culture hero was born from the knee or thigh of a man or woman. Regardless of the way the culture hero is born, his origin is not of this world.

DISAPPEARANCE AND TRANSMUTATION. After setting the world in order for humankind, the culture hero usually disappears. Sometimes the culture hero is killed while conquering monsters; frequently returning to a point of origin—into the sky or earth. In the myths of several peoples, the culture hero is transformed into the moon or stars or constellations. In other instances, particularly among the Australian tribes, the culture hero disappears into the earth at a specific spot, which is marked by a stone, a plant, or a body of water. Such a place, imbued as it is with power, becomes the site of the tribe's initiation and increase ceremonies.

One of the dramatic myths of the disappearance and transformation of a culture hero is that of the people on the island of Ceram in Indonesia, reported by the German ethnologist Adolf E. Jensen. The principal culture hero, Hainuwele, who in this case was a maiden, was murdered by other beings in mythical times. Their punishment, imposed by Hainuwele's sister, was that they were forced to consume the body of their victim. Then the body of Hainuwele was transformed into useful root crops, which before that time had not existed. Her sister became mistress of the underworld. This primeval murder signaled the end of mythical time and the beginning of the historical world.

The events leading up to the murder and transformation of Hainuwele established the institution of cannibalism among the people of Ceram. It also established the initiation ceremony: The young men must kill, imitating the primordial murder of Hainuwele as part of their rite of passage to manhood. Further consequences of this murder were the cultivation of root crops, the delineation of the people into separate clans, the establishment of cult houses, the separation of humans from ghosts and spirits, and the establishment of rules governing entrance to the mythical land of the afterlife. Jensen's research demonstrated the significance of the murdered culture hero among those peoples who practice root crop cultivation.

In the mythology of the Cheyenne of North America, maize originated from the murdered body of their culture hero. The transmutation of the culture hero into food, however, is not limited to the myths of agricultural societies. The Central Inuit (Eskimo) tell of Sedna, a female culture hero, who was murdered by her father. Different sea animals emerged from parts of her mutilated body—whales from her fingers, whale bones from her fingernails, and seals from the second joints of her fingers. As in the case of Hainuwele's sister, Sedna became the mistress of the underworld.

VARIOUS MANIFESTATIONS. The culture hero often appears as twins, who usually symbolize opposites. They may be of different sexes. Frequently the elder is the hero while the younger is depicted as foolish and inept. The twin heroes of the Iroquois of North America are brothers who have different fathers: One, who represents good, is the son of the sun, while his brother, who represents evil, is the son of the waters.

While Hainuwele, Sedna, and many other culture heroes are anthropomorphic, the culture heroes of many societies are theriomorphic. In Oceania, the culture hero is frequently a snake; in South America he is often a jaguar. In many tribes of North America and Africa, the culture hero appears as an animal or insect and has the characteristics of a trickster. Ananse the spider, the culture hero of many of the peoples of West Africa, is popularly known as "the foolish one"; the southern African San's culture hero, Praying Mantis, is seen as a mischievous trickster. Among North American tribes, the coyote, the hare, the mink, the chipmunk, and the crow are common forms of the trickster.

In many instances, the activities of the trickster parallel those of other culture heroes: The trickster destroys monsters, creates animals, and introduces humans to various forms of technology and social institutions. However, the trickster's adventures are also marked by failures and stumblings, deceptions and lies, awkwardness and crudity. Tricksters are often portrayed as oversexed, gluttonous, and amoral. They continually violate the institutions and prohibitions they had established. They can be alternately gracious and cruel, truthful and mendacious.

The American anthropologist Paul Radin (1956) interprets the figure of the trickster and the trickster's adventures as symbolic of humankind's development from an undifferentiated psyche to a differentiated and individual one. The adventures of the trickster, Radin contends, are symbolic of the movement from a state of asociality or nonsociality to one of sociality, from isolation to being a part of the community. The trickster not only creates or modifies the physical and social environment of humankind; by violation of the social rules and the contempt the trickster exhibits toward sacred objects, the trickster creates a kind of internal space for humankind. The trickster legitimates rebellion and disobedience by constantly challenging the status quo of the cosmos.

The phenomenon of the culture hero is very complex. Although the hero usually appears as male, some cultures have a culture heroine. In some societies, the hero is the object of a cult; in others he or she is not. Sometimes the culture hero appears as the offspring of the supreme being and assists in creation; in other instances, the culture hero is the supreme being's adversary. Visible forms of the culture hero range from human to animal, from insect to heavenly body.

Having completed his or her task on earth, the culture hero disappears, sometimes ascending to the sky or descending to the underworld. Occasionally the culture hero is transformed into a natural phenomenon such as the stars or the moon, while in some religious traditions the hero's parting accounts for shapes in the landscape.

In spite of the multifarious forms and adventures of the culture hero as they appears in different cultures, the culture hero clearly discloses one characteristic: The culture hero's mode of being reveals the sacrality of cultural and social institutions and activities that constitute the context of ordinary life for humankind. Participation in these activities by the people of archaic societies provides meaning and value to their lives and enables them to live in a sacred cosmos.

SEE ALSO Animals; Cosmogony; Death; Lord of the Animals; Tricksters; Twins.

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Irony and Sacred Delight (Berkeley Calif., 1980) extends the study of the trickster to the peoples of Africa and applies methods of literary criticism in his analysis.

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CUMONT, FRANZ.

Franz Valèry Marie Cumont (1868–1947) was a Belgian historian of religions, as well as a philologist, archaeologist, and epigraphist. He studied at Ghent (1886–1888) and in Germany and Austria (Bonn, Berlin, Vienna [1888–1890], with Usener, Diels, Mommsen, Benndorf, and Bormann), after which he made the classical "grand tour" in Greece and Rome (1891), followed by a year in Paris (École Pratique des Hautes-Études, IVe section, 1892, with Duchesne, Haussoullier, etc.). He became professor of classical philology and ancient history at the University of Ghent in 1892, a position he left in 1911 when the minister of education, supported by the Catholic lobby, denied him the chair of Roman history. Cumont's *Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain* (1906) had presented a new vision of the historical links between the diffusion of Oriental religions and the development of Christianity. Cumont had friendly relationships with several modernists, including Alfred Loisy, Louis Duchesne, and Ernesto Buonaiuti; he also published works in modernist journals in France and Italy, and was thus considered a "subversive" scholar by conservative Catholics. He retired in 1911, and in 1913 he decided to live in Rome and Paris as a private scholar, rejecting offers of several academic positions.

Cumont passed through the two world wars without fighting, but he tried to maintain intellectual activity as a sign of cultural resistance. He never married and died in 1947 near Brussels, without direct heirs. Cumont bequeathed his archive and rich library, in which the history of religions and the sciences were especially well represented, to the Belgian Academy in Rome. The more interesting part of the archive is the scholarly correspondence, which includes about twelve thousand letters received by Cumont from 1885 to 1947 from more than a thousand scholars around the world. These documents offer a rich and complex picture of the scientific, cultural, and political background of Cumont's period and activity, and of the scholarly "cartography" of his time.

Cumont's first major study is the Mithraic corpus *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* (1894–1899), which was the foundation for the scientific study of Mithraism. Cumont published an abridged version, *Les mystères de Mithra*, in 1900, which was translated into German and English (*The Mysteries of Mithra*, 1910). In 1900 Cumont and his brother Eugène traveled to Asia Minor (Pontus and Armenia) in search of the Asiatic roots of Mithra, but, though he found and published a number of new inscriptions, he did not find answers to his questions about Mithra's origin. His *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* remained the standard work on Mithraism for more than half a century.

In the 1970s Cumont's reconstruction of the Mithra's mysteries came under criticism by Richard Gordon and others. Three main problems were outlined: (1) The Anatolian, or more precisely Persian, origin of the Mithra cult, which seems to develop only in the Roman context; (2) the role attributed to the magi; that is, the Persian and Chaldean astrologers, in the cult's transmission and diffusion; and (3) the dating of Mithraism, which, according to Cumont, appeared in the Hellenistic period, though it was only documented in Roman times. However, after the discovery of the Mithraeum (Sanctuary of Mithra) in Dura-Europos in 1934 and then in Doliche (Commagene; c. 100 BCE), it seems that Cumont's ideas were not in error, and research tends to back up both the Anatolian origin and the Hellenistic dating.

In 1905 Cumont lectured at the Collège de France about Asiatic cults in Roman paganism, which led in 1906 to his famous book ("a little book about a great topic," as he said himself) *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain.* The book focuses first on the historical background and channels of the Oriental cults' diffusion in the Roman Empire; it also contains four chapters about major cults from Asia Minor (Cybele and Attis), Egypt (Isis and Serapis), Syria (Atargatis, Baal, Adonis), and Iran (Mithra). The book ends with a conclusion on the role of astrology and magic. In the fourth edition (1929), Cumont added a chapter on the Dionysiac mysteries. He was the first to point out the importance of the so-called Oriental cults for the evolution of Roman paganism, and he attempted to study them not only from the legal and public point of view, but also from the social and private one. Cumont emphasizes the multiethnic character of the Roman Empire, where the acculturative power of the religious practices was very strong. Cumont also tries to explain how the Oriental cults paved the way for the adoption of Christianity.

Though Cumont's work had a deep influence on the next generations, his vision must be revisited. First, the concept of "Oriental religions" is too imprecise and too general. The "Oriental cults" were in fact more "Greco-Oriental"—they passed first from Asia to Greece, where they were deeply Hellenized, and then from Greece to Rome. Thus, Cumont's vision is too linear and "diffusionist," and the diffusion from Asia to Rome seems to be an artificial reconstruction. The reception of the "Oriental cults" in different parts of the Roman Empire (for example, on the Danubian limes) provoked assimilations and syncretisms between the Roman, Greek, and Oriental cults and did not erase the Romans' ancient religious beliefs, but it encouraged cultural interactions, as demonstrated in Nicole Belayche's work (e.g., 2001) on this topic. Nonetheless, Cumont's *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain* remains a fundamental step in the history of ancient religions.

In 1911 Cumont lectured in Sweden and in the United States about *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and the Romans* (1912). In this work Cumont underlines the importance of astrological determinism and its consequences on the religious conceptions of the soul's destiny and of its afterlife journey. This work is related to a great philological enterprise that Cumont began in 1898: the *Corpus codicum astrologorum graecorum.* The aim was to collect information about astrological manuscripts conserved in major European libraries. Cumont, with several collaborators (in particular Franz Boll), published several volumes on the Italian, German, British, and French libraries. He used the occasion to study ancient astrological conceptions and the relationship between philosophical and religious theories, especially Neoplatonism.

Cumont thereafter published numerous essays on Greek and Roman eschatology. In 1922 he published *Afterlife in Roman Paganism;* in 1942 *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains*; and in 1949 (posthumously) *Lux Perpetua*, a scientific testament that has not been supplanted as a standard work. Cumont traces the development of conceptions of the soul, especially in the Roman world. According to ancient popular belief, a dead person survived in the tomb or as a shadow in the netherworld and could return to earth as a ghost to haunt the living. Belief in a celestial immortality appeared to Cumont to have been borrowed from Irano-Chaldean magi by Greek philosophers. This belief, owing to Pythagorean, Platonic, and Stoic influences, gradually spread from the cultivated elite to the common people, although at this point the soul was still not conceived as nonmaterial; rather, it was believed to be a subtle fluid or vapor. It was not until the rise of Neoplatonism that the opinion arose, which prevailed in Christianity, that the soul was distinct from the conditions of space and time and reached, after death, beyond the limits of the world into eternity. As for funerary art, most was allegorical, though a small proportion was supposed to represent literally the afterlife in the netherworld. Cumont examines how Greek myths—such as the stories of Phaeton, Marsyas, or the Muses—came to be used, through philosophical interpretation, as themes for the decoration of the sarcophagi of the upper classes.

Different aspects of Cumont's reconstruction were challenged by Arthur Darby Nock and Paul Veyne, who doubt that such a symbolic value is actually perceptible. Veyne prefers to speak of an "aesthetic" atmosphere, while Nock stresses the fact that Cumont gives too much importance to philosophical and literary evidence, and consequently presents as a general phenomenon what was actually a conception among elites.

Cumont's works on Julian include *Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien* (1898); with Joseph Bidez, *Imp. Caesaris Flavii Claudii Iuliani Epistulae, leges, poematia, fragmenta varia* (1922); *L'Égypte des astrologues* (1937); and, with Bidez, *Les Mages hellénisés* (1938). This last work is a critical edition of and an abundant commentary on texts (mostly in Greek) that were issued in antiquity under the authority of Zoroaster/Zarathushtra, or other so-called magi. The very existence of such Hellenized magi remains doubtful however: many if not all of those works were written by Greeks, Romans, and others, who were not magi.

Cumont also played a major role in the excavations of Dura-Europos (*Fouilles de Doura-Europos, 1923–1924,* 1926), begun in 1923 and later led by Cumont with Michael Rostovtzeff. Cumont also encouraged the Belgian excavations in Apamea.

From a methodological point of view, Cumont was a complete scholar able to make use of all the sources (literary and material) available to him to present a vivid and richly documented historical fresco. He was an excellent philologist (Hermann Diels's favorite pupil), epigraphist, and historian of religions, sciences, and art, and he was also deeply involved in geographical and institutional history. He believed that the study of Asia, through excavations and the discovery of archives, was a real revolution in historical science and that it was impossible to study the Greek and Roman world without taking Asian influences into account. His point of view was obviously that of a classicist who did not always have firsthand knowledge of the different aspects of the "Orient." Cumont learned Syriac, but he was not an Orientalist in the strict sense of the word; he asked Charles Clermont-Ganneau or Giorgio Levi della Vida to help him when he had to study Semitic inscriptions. Nevertheless, Cumont was a great scholar and a generous open-minded person who had a major influence on historians and philologists of the 1950s and 1960s, especially in France and Belgium, and including Pierre Boyancé, Jean Gagé, Henri-Irénée Marrou, André-Jean Festugière, and Jerome Carcopino.

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CUNA RELIGION.

There are perhaps forty thousand Cuna Indians today, living mostly in the San Blas Reserve on Panama's Atlantic coast, with small groups along the interior Bayano and Chucanaque rivers and in three villages in Colombia. The Cuna survived the traumatic but ephemeral Spanish conquest of the Darien Isthmus (modern-day Isthmus of Panama) after 1510. They are thus one of the few remnants of the flourishing pre-Columbian chieftaincies of the circum-Caribbean. The Cuna maintained their autonomy partly by allying themselves with the buccaneers who harassed the Spaniards.

Cult Organization. Institutionally, Cuna religion is organized in both communal and shamanic cults. The communal cult is maintained by the village chiefs (*sailakana*), who chant from oral mythological texts known as Pap Ikar ("god's way") some three nights a week to the assembled village. Official interpreters (*arkarana*) explain the arcane language of the chants, using homilies on contemporary morality. Female puberty feasts are collective rites sponsored by each village once a year.

The shamanic cult is not conducted communally, save for the rite of village exorcism that occurs during epidemics or other collective dangers. Shamans (*neles*) are credited with clairvoyance, through trance or dreams, into the four layers of the underworld. *Neles*, who may be male or female, are born to their role and are discovered by midwives through signs in their afterbirth. A born *nele* must nurture the gift and be apprenticed to an adult *nele*.

Other experts are not clairvoyants. All know a sacred text, *ikar* ("path" or "way"). These texts invoke spiritual helpers, such as stick dolls (*suar nuchu*) or magical stones (*akwanusu*), as allies in combating evil, meddlesome spirits, who usually have captured the patient's soul and who hold it in their stronghold at the fourth level of the underworld. In addition, there are herbalists (*inatuleti*) who know native plant medicines and brief incantations. Usually these specialists go to work only after a *nele* has clairvoyantly diagnosed the patient.

The various curing, exorcism, female puberty, and funerary texts are all recited verbatim as learned from an authoritative master. Not so with the texts of the chiefly God's Way. Chiefs are free to render myths as they see fit, or even to recount events from recent history. Some of their chants are not narratives, but complicated poetic metaphors.

Cosmogony and Mythic Themes. Cuna cosmogony, as disclosed in God's Way, posits an original creation by God, who sends the first man, Wako, to earth. In a primordial paradise, Wako finds the earth to be his mother, and the rivers, the sun, the moon, and the stars to be his brothers. The trees are young women. Wako lives here blissfully until God calls him back. (This image of a primordial paradise resembles the childhood of a male Cuna in a matrilocal household belonging to his mother and composed of his brothers and sisters, the type of household that exists before marriage disperses the brothers to other households and brings in outsiders to marry the sisters. Thus Wako does not have to grow up.)

Wako is merely the first of many human sons or emissaries whom God sends to earth. Most of their descendants become corrupt, necessitating more emissaries to correct them. When this fails, God repeatedly visits catastrophic punishments upon mankind and the cycle begins again. This is not quite a creation cycle since mankind is never destroyed and created anew. Rather, emissary prophets attempt to correct wayward peoples. They succeed with some, for a time; others degenerate into evil spirits and—later—"animal people."

After Wako, God sends Piler, together with his wife, to found the human race. Piler's grandchildren become vainglorious and quarrelsome. After two successive groups of emissary teachers fail to correct them, God upturns the world, banishing Piler's descendants to the fourth layer of the underworld, where they remain as *ponikan* ("evil ones") ready to wreak illness upon mankind.

The next great emissary prophet is Mako, sent to correct the obstreperous *ponikan* who are making their way through tunnels up from the underworld. Like Piler, Mako is given a wife by God. Both he and his wife are called back to God unblemished. Their three morally ambiguous children, who are neither exemplarily good nor particularly evil, start the major cycle of Cuna mythology: that of Tat Ipelele ("grandfather lord shaman"; also, the personified sun).

Ipelele and his six siblings are born of an incestuous union between two of Mako's children. Forced by their crime to flee, Ipelele's father becomes the Moon, while Ipelele's mother takes refuge with Frogwoman. Frogwoman's animal sons devour Ipelele's mother, and Frogwoman raises the children as her own. Ipelele discovers the secret of his birth and journeys to the underworld to find the herbal medicines that will revive his mother. Able to restore her only temporarily, Ipelele then devotes his life to heroic struggles against the descendants of Piler, as well as against other enemies.

Ipelele marries the daughters of evil chiefs to learn their secrets. He gives his sister to Wind in order to make an ally of him. He discovers the powers inherent in tobacco, hot pepper smoke, and cacao incense to make the *ponikan* drunk and helpless during feasts he offers them. He turns many of them into "animal people," animal spirits with their own strongholds at the fourth layer of the underworld. He finds allies in magical stones and stick spirits (from the balsa tree), which are the magical allies of shamans today. At one point, he even defeats the *ponikan* in battle, leaving the battlefield strewn with their corpses. Finally, Ipelele is called back to heaven to become the Sun, riding each day in a giant canoe steered by his helmsman servant and accompanied by his sister.

After Ipelele's ascent, the cycle of emissary preachers, human corruption, and catastrophic punishment (by fire, wind, darkness, and flood) is repeated four more times. After the final flood comes the beginning of the present epoch. Here the great tribal culture hero, Ipeorkun ("lord gold kuna") arrives among the Cuna, who are at this time corrupt, ignorant, and little different from the "animal people" who surround them.

MYTHIC ORIGIN OF CUNA CULTURE. Now there is a reversal of the usual theme. Instead of the descendants of a prophet lord becoming corrupt, the Cuna (like Ipelele before them) discover their true identity as *olotule* ("golden people") and shed the filthy ways of the animal people. Ipeorkun, like Mako, is not a warrior but is rather a teacher who reveals the particulars of Cuna culture: female puberty ceremonies; bodily cleanliness and, closely associated with it, purity; "correct" (Cuna) kin terms; terms for parts of the body; how to use the magical spirit allies of the shamans and the texts that control them; how to mourn properly; how to build proper houses; how to sleep in hammocks; and, finally, the texts of God's Way. His sister teaches women the arts of cleanliness and sewing. Ipeorkun—like Wako, Mako, and Ipelele—is called to God.

After Ipeorkun come the eight Ipelerkan ("lord shamans") to continue his teachings. They grow vainglorious and corrupt, now in specifically Cuna ways. For instance, one of them who knows the female puberty text keeps the young initiates for himself. The eight Ipelerkan are corrected by a young son of one of them, Nele Kwani, who foresees a drought (another punishment from God) and bests them all in a contest of magical powers.

Although the Cuna are a horticultural people whose staple is the banana in various forms, and whose cash crop is the coconut, neither crop is sacralized or commemorated in any myths yet collected. Cacao, tobacco, balsa wood, and magical stones, all supernatural allies in the struggle against evil, are, however, richly attested in the Ipelele cycle of narratives.

COSMOLOGY. Cuna cosmology, with its four levels above and four below the earth, is continuously revealed by the *neles*, who mystically journey through the cosmos, often forging alliances with evil spirits to learn their secrets. In the underworld are the strongholds of the kings of the spiritual allies. Heaven itself, revealed by the *neles* through a chant that recounts the adventures of a soul brought back from the dead, is a stronghold at the fourth layer above. Its golden buildings not only evoke the ancient chiefly strongholds of nearby Colombia, but today heaven also includes skyscrapers, automobiles, and telescopes, which permit souls to gaze upon the living, the underworld, and the United States (located, by implication, somewhere near the underworld). Souls who arrive at God's golden house do so only after having been physically punished for their earthly sins as they journey through the underworld.

GOD AND MORALITY. The image of God, called Pap ("father") or Diosaila (from the Spanish *Dios* and the Cuna *saila*, "chief"), is that of a stern and distant paternal figure. He is never directly personified, unlike his sons and emissaries. His morality is consistent with the good and harmonious management of a matrilocal extended household and of a community made up of a number of such households. That morality, preached weekly in the local assemblies, enjoins a man to be hard-working, productive, and cooperative, and a woman to be fertile, clean, industrious, and nurturant. Women must avoid gossip, and men, quarrels. Minor conflicts must be dealt with promptly by wise, paternal chiefs, and punishment meted out swiftly—often in the form of verbal admonishments—after which all is forgiven and forgotten. To do otherwise raises the specter of backsliding into the evil ways of the "animal people."

MYTHOLOGY AND CULTURAL SURVIVAL. Armed with this religion, the Cuna were an insuperable foe to the Spaniards, whom the Cuna associated with the *ponikan*, and whom they correctly identified as the source of illnesses. Just as the *ponikan* steal men's souls, so did the Spaniards capture their bodies and enslave them. The Cuna borrowed their mythological strategy for dealing with the *ponikan* and applied it to the Spaniards. Just as *neles* ally themselves mystically with friendly spirits, get the *ponikan* drunk magically, and confine them to their proper strongholds, so too did the Cuna form alliances with the Atlantic enemies of Spain, feast the Spaniards, and keep them at arm's length. In 1925, the strategy was played out exactly. The great tribal chief Nele Kantule, who was also a shaman, formed an alliance with an American adventurer and organized an uprising against the Panamanian administration, which took place during Carnival. The plotters fell upon unsuspecting, drunken guardsmen and killed them. The United States imposed on Panama a treaty favorable to the Indians.

Cuna mythology is kept open-ended and vital through the *neles* and through the chiefs who incorporate recent history into their chants. The dominant ritual is the recitation of texts. Prayer and sacrifice are not practiced.

Cuna religion continues to be practiced vigorously despite the incursions of Christian missionaries and public health clinics. One community, however, has already appointed "singing chiefs" for a traditional congress house separate from the "administrative chiefs" who conduct secular affairs. It is possible that this development contains the seeds of a Cuna church or ecclesiastical cult separate from the civil government. Such a church could very well be the outcome of continuing acculturation and urbanization.

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ALEXANDER MOORE (1987)

CURSING, the antithesis of blessing, is a pan-global, pan-historical phenomenon in which language, spoken or written and with or without special accompanying actions, is directed at bringing down evil or misfortune upon an intended object, person, or community. Although in colloquial parlance *cursing* commonly refers to imprecations spoken as spontaneous outbursts of rage or to cold-blooded private wishes of malice, as well as to "profane" language generally, this article emphasizes not only expressiveness but also the presumed efficacy of such language. A curse can be considered efficacious in a given cultural context either because of an explicit or implicit appeal to a deity or spiritual power to endorse and realize the curse or because the spoken or written word in and of itself is recognized as efficacious by the sender and the object of the curse and/or by the cultural community. In the latter case, the curse may be considered operative upon being pronounced, and the object of the curse may henceforth consider him or herself, and be regarded by the community, as "accursed."

A middle ground between cursing as spontaneous oral outburst and culturally recognized or institutionalized ritual is the broad category of inscribed personal curses that serve exclusively private ends. Linguists and folklorists in many cultural contexts have collected private and personal curses, including modern Palestinian curses that follow biblical curse formulas. For example, a *da'weh* may call upon God (or sometimes Satan) to bring down affliction on an enemy's health, family, honor, or property: "may God make a disease, whose cure nobody knows, befall you," "may God destroy your tent and your pasture. . . . may God deprive you of all that throws a shadow" (Canaan, 1935, pp. 247, 259).

Among the richest sources of such private curses are the *tabellae defixiones* of the classical Greco-Roman world. Thousands of such tiny lead tablets, etched with inscriptions and sometimes diagrams and rolled and pierced by a nail, have been discovered at the bottoms of wells or buried at stadia, crossroads, marketplaces, and the thresholds of homes and shops. These *tabellae* use succinct and sometimes cryptic but often explicit subjunctive or optative language to call down mishap, misfortune, financial disaster, sexual dysfunction, bodily harm or death upon the object of the curse, whether a despised neighbor, a rival shop-owner, a courtroom adversary, a chariot-racing competitor (Gager items 66, 45, and 6, respectively), or the object of frustrated sexual desire: "I bind you, Theodotis, daughter of Eus, by the tail of the snake . . . and the penis of the god so that you may never be able to sleep with any other man, nor be screwed, nor be taken anally, nor fellate, nor find pleasure with any other man but me" (Gager item 54).

Sometimes the tablet includes a tiny lead doll, bound and pierced, and the written "binding" inscription implies an accompanying manipulative action that makes this more like a spell or charm than a purely linguistic curse. The most thorough and inclusive of all these *defixiones* curses is a Latin example c. 75–50 BCE against a woman in retribution for a curse she had put upon the scribe: it scrupulously enumerates her body parts, including "intestines, belly, navel, shoulder blades, sides" and concludes, "Terribly destroy her, terribly kill her, terribly ruin her" (Falco, 140–41). The roots of such punitive counter-curse formulae can be traced to the much earlier, first-century Mesopotamian *Maqlu* tablets, which contain extensive counter-witchcraft directives and incantations: "May their witchcraft, poisons, and charms that are not good, but rather evil. / Turn upon them and attack their heads and their faces. . . . May they dissolve, melt, drip ever away, / May their life force come to an end like water from a water skin" (Tablet AfO 18, 1957–1958, ll. 56–7, 76–7, in Abusch, 2002, pp. 73–74; cf. Cryer and Thomsen, 2001, p. 47).

EARLY SCHOLARSHIP. In the matter of cultural interpretation, scholarship on cursing in the mid-twentieth century was heavily influenced by the turn-of-the-century research of Sir James Frazer's *Golden Bough, A Study in Magic and Religion*, 12 vols. (London, 1911–1915) and the Cambridge school of ethnography. Their work globalized cultural studies, but from a very hegemonic perspective. Thus, the early classic studies of cursing by Edward Westermarck, Ernest Crawley, and others often display cultural and ethnic stereotyping that derives both from their theoretical perspective of cultural evolution and from their uncritical use of travel accounts, colonial memoirs, and ethnographies as sources of descriptive and anecdotal evidence. Canaan, for example, in his article on Palestinian cursing quotes with approval an earlier writer, Rihbany, who cautioned that in the matter of extravagant verbal outbursts one must "keep in mind the juvenile temperament of the Oriental" (Canaan, 1935, p. 260).

Early scholarship assumed a fundamental dichotomy between the mentalities of "primitive" cultures, which used magic, and the mentalities of "higher" civilizations, which developed religion. Scholars believed that cultures begin in magic and "progress" toward religion and that religion itself naturally "progresses" from animism through polytheism to monotheism (see, for example, Malinowski, 1948 and the critical responses to Malinowski reviewed by Tambiah, 1968; cf. Keim, 1992, chap. 1; Fox, 1914, p. 122; and Cryer and Thomsen, 2001, pp. 113–117). "Although the theoretical basis of this interpretive model has been largely discredited and abandoned by anthropologists today," as Keim concludes, "its legacy remains strong within the field of biblical studies. . . . [as] the idealistic framework remained intact, whereby the mythological and magical develops (in Israel) toward the historical and ethical" (p. 9).

Thus, until recently, biblical scholarship operated from similar presumed contrasts between the "higher" theocratic and ethical religious ideology assumed to be reflected in the Hebrew scriptures and the polytheistic, "idolatrous," and allegedly non-ethical religious ceremonialism of the neighboring cultures of Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Canaan (see, for example, Pedersen, 1926/1964; Mowinckel, 1962; Hempel, 1961; Alt, 1934; and Blank, 1950–1951; cf. the criticism and the review of scholarship in Keim, 1992, pp. 7–10; Gervitz, 1961, pp. 137–140; Brichto, 1963, chap. 7; and Crawford, 1992, chap. 2). According to this traditional reading, cursing was a God-dependent supplication for the biblical Hebrews, whereas it was a mechanical, magical contrivance for the other Ancient Near Eastern cultures When a biblical text described curses similar to those of neighbor cultures, the scholar might lament how "the common people of Israel even in the more mature stages of their religious development frequently relapsed into the gross practices of idolatry and witchcraft [including]. . . . practices closely akin to the extant Greek and Roman *tabellae defixionum*, or curse tablets" (Fox, 1914, pp. 111–112). Thus, Alt in his classic 1934 monograph on the origins of Israelite law, which influential scholar William Foxwell Albright endorsed in his review in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* (1936, pp. 164–169), promotes the chauvinistic idea that "Hebrew apodictic law was original and unique in Israel," whereas "less advanced" casuistic law was followed in Mesopotamian and Canaanite cultures.

The following comment by Westermarck is typical of the cultural evolutionist viewpoint on the distinction between mechanical and intentional curses: "It is not to be expected, then, that distinctions of so subtle a nature should be properly made by the uncultured mind. . . . But with the deepening of the religious sentiment this idea [of mechanically effective curses] had to be given up. A righteous and mighty god cannot agree to be a mere tool in the hand of a wicked curser" (1908, vol. I, pp. 235, 564; but cf. Thisleton, 1974; Lauterbach, 1939; and Blank, 1950–1951, p. 78). But as Graf has demonstrated in a study of Greek magical papyri, the Frazerian dichotomy is untenable (1991, p. 194). Contemporary scholarship tends to show, in fact, that there is no definable, consistent contrast between the curse-formulas and usages of ancient Israel and those of her neighbors (see, for example, Gervitz, 1961 and 1962; Hillers, 1964 and 1984; Keim, 1992, chap. 1; Crawford, 1992, pp. 231–235; and Cryer and Thomsen, 2001, pp. 120–34, 144–146).

CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVE. Current anthropological and cultural studies and scholarship in comparative religion are no longer tied to the Frazerian evolutionist paradigm or unaware of its colonialist biases, as Mary Douglas shows in *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London, 1966). Instead, Western scholarship has come to be as concerned with emic or indigenous self-representation and self-understanding, as with etic analysis and interpretation from the outside (see, for instance, the theoretical introduction by Frank Salomon and Stuart Schwartz to the *South America* volume of the *Cambridge His-*

tory of the Native Peoples of the Americas, 1999). Anthropologists no longer confidently plot a diachronic cultural progression from magic through religion to science (whose defining differences no longer seem self-evident, in any case) but are more inclined to see these as overlapping and synchronic mentalities, not only within cultures but within individual psyches. Moreover, in his seminal monograph *How to Do Things with Words,* John Austin offered a significant philosophical and linguistic contribution to the discussion of such speech acts as cursing and blessing, which seem to combine both utterance and performance. Although Austin's taxonomy of "performative language" continues to be critiqued by philosophers of language (see, for example, Tambiah, 1968; Searle, 1965, 1975, and 1979), it has nonetheless proved useful to analyses of ritual language, as in recent studies of West African ceremonialism (Finnegan, 1968; Ray, 1973–1974). The concept of performative language offers at least the beginning of a more productive way to think and talk about cursing or blessing as understood within given cultural contexts.

One way to create order out of the welter of ethnographic and literary sources on cursing is to survey the material thematically, the approach taken in Falco's dissertation on "The Malediction in Indo-European Tradition." Drawing upon Indic, Hittite, Mesopotamian, Greco-Roman, Germanic, and Celtic literary sources, Falco offers examples of curses that reference such universal themes as the body and its parts (particularly the eye), food and hunger, sex, childlessness, homelessness, and pursuit and also more culturally specific themes such as allusions to swine and the sea and metaphors of atavistic dissolution into water, earth, and ashes. Particularly elaborate is the so-called Hittite Soldiers Oath, actually more of a threat of sanction than an oath, which charges that any soldiers breaking the military code will be changed "into women, and may they dress them in a womanly fashion . . . and let them place in their hands a distaff and a spindle. . . . And let them be so cursed that their land not bear fruit, that their wives not bear children like unto their begetters, but monsters, that their cattle not increase according to nature, that they suffer defeat in battle and in lawsuits and in marketplace, and that they perish utterly" (Falco, 1992, pp. 89, 121).

In ethnographic study and popular culture, perhaps the most familiar category of curses as speech acts that happen are the reported instances of "vodou death." Haitian vodou, Brazilian Xango, and Cuban Santería derive from West African religious traditions syncretically combined with aspects of folk Catholicism, and all are popularly supposed to include traditions of casting charms and spells, including fatal curses that take effect instantaneously and across any distance (for Haitian vodou, see Metraux, 1959/1972; Rigaud, 1953/1985; Pluchon, 1987; Abrahams, 1983). Casting of powerful and deadly spells has been reported for Malaysia (Skeat, 1965, chap. VI) and for Melanesia (Codrington, 1891, pp. 51, 147) and is illustrated in the documentary film *Ongka's Big Moka,* which shows an oath-making ceremony intended to refute an accusation of death by sorcery in a village of Papua, New Guinea (dir. Charlie Nairn, Granada Television International, 1974).

Comparable traditions have been widely reported for other indigenous cultures of Native America, Africa, Oceania and, especially, Aboriginal Australia. Death brought about by Aborigine "bone pointing" became a fixture of early ethnographic reporting (Warner, 1941; Basedow, 1925) and of popular culture as well, as in the Australian mystery novel *The Bone Is Pointed* by Arthur Upfield (1947/1984). Similarly, it is reported that among the Maoris, "the anathema of a priest is regarded as a thunderbolt that an enemy cannot escape" (Polack, 1840, I.248; cf. Crawley, 1934, pp. 11–19 for other Maori citations). A healthy but inconclusive ongoing scholarly exchange on the subject of vodou death, with an emphasis on Australian Aborigine culture, has appeared over the years in the pages of *American Anthropologist* (Cannon, 1942; Lester, 1972; Lex, 1974; Eastwell, 1982; Reid & Williams, 1984), often looking for empirical explanations of such reported deaths or, in the case of Reid and Williams, charging that vodou death is a European/American construct and not an Aborigine reality.

PERSONAL CURSES AND INSTITUTIONALLY SANCTIONED CURSES. Nonetheless, belief in the power of the word itself, independent of any separate invocation of a deity, can be attested in many cultural contexts, including the Indo-European. In fact, it is particularly distinctive of the Sanskrit tradition, in which numerous Vedic, Brahmanic, and Upaniṣads texts convey the idea that a primordial word, such as *Brahma* itself, embodies the fundamental creative and sustaining power of the universe that can accomplish all things (Zimmer, 1956, pp. 74–83; Westermarck, 1908, I.563; II.658, 716), and the idea of chanted *mantra* having all-pervasive efficacious power is common to Hindu, Buddhist and Tantric traditions alike. Not surprisingly, therefore, efficacious curses abound in Indic, Persian, and other Indo-European epic literature, as Falco demonstrates. A number of biblical passages imply an automatic potency to curses (e.g., *Num.* 21–22), although this remains a subject of scholarly controversy (see Fox, 1914, p. 122; Hillers, 1984, p. 185; Lauterbach, 1939; Thiselton, 1974; and Blank, 1950–1951, pp. 78, 86).

Similar beliefs in mechanically effective cursing speech acts have been documented from numerous cultures throughout the world (see especially Grimm, 1883–1886/1966; Frazer, 1911–1915; Westermarck, 1908 and 1933, Crawley, 1934; Hobley, 1967; Skeat, 1965; Kluckhohn, 1944/1967). The curse can be reified and treated as a baneful substance, as in reports of Irish folk opinion "that a curse once uttered must alight on something" (Crawley, 1934, p. 368) or of old Teutonic images of curses alighting, settling, and returning home to their sender like birds (Grimm, 1883–1886/1966 III.1227) or in the somewhat more symbolic notions that Arabs considered curses so polluting and contagious that they would lie flat on the ground so that a curse could fly over them, or that when forced to take an oath a Berber might undress entirely so that the oath could not cling to the clothing (Westermarck, 1908, I.57–59). The idea that curses can be contagious is the basis for two of Frazer's most prominent themes in *The Golden Bough*, sympathetic magic and the transference of evil. Actual personification of curses is familiar from the Greek myth of the pursuing Erinyes, who may be born of the blood of a murdered man, as in Aeschylus's *Eumenides* (cf. *Choephori* 283 seq.; Plato, *Laws* ix.866).

In contrast with private and personal cursing, culturally recognized and institutionally sanctioned cursing involves speech acts that depend not only on the power of the words or formulas themselves, or on the deity or spiritual power which may be invoked, but on the proper setting and circumstances and, above all, on the recognized empowerment of the (special) person delivering or pronouncing the curse—the "technician of the sacred." Depending on the religio-cultural context, such a person may be designated as priest, prophet, sage, shaman, wizard, or witch.

The "specialist" in cursing goes under many different cultural designations, along a spectrum of degrees of perceived positivity and negativity, ranging from the priest who heroically curses enemies on behalf of a community to the witch or sorcerer whose curses are wholly malicious. The major Mesopotamian text on witchcraft, *Maqlû*, consists of rubrics and incantations of an *asipu* or exorcist directed at subverting the negative powers of a *kassaptu*, a sorcerer or witch, one who performs destructive magic: "May the curse of my mouth extinguish the curse of your mouth" (Abusch, 2002, p. 132). In his writing about West African culture, Dominque Zahan emphasizes the polarity between magicians who are healers and sorcerers, whom he labels *nyctosophers*, or practitioners of night-wisdom (1970/1979, chap. 7). Both have fearful power that mediates between the community and that which is wild or extraordinary, but among such groups as the Azande or the Lugbara, the sorcerer represents the inversion of the idealized human image (Ray, 1976, p. 151; Evans-Pritchard, 1936/1976). A similar fundamental distinction between healer and witch as spiritual "technicians" holds for the Navajo, but in addition Clyde Kluckhohn states that four distinct kinds of witchery are designated by four distinct Navajo terms, with the sorcerer (*'inzi'd*) being the one to specialize in spells and curses (1944/1967, pp. 31–33; cf. Simmons, 1974/1980, chap. 9).

Alternatively, the person's power to curse may derive instead from some more existential circumstance: from his or her role as parent, a superannuated person, a stricken or dying person, or from the social role of stranger, guest, beggar, or victim of injustice. The curse of a parent is particularly dreaded in many cultures. According to a Moorish proverb, "If the saints curse you the parents will cure you, but if the parents curse you the saints will not cure you," and it is reported that among the Nandi of Uganda a father's curse, unless forgiven, is believed to be fatal (Westermarck,1908, I.622). Examples from Cameroon are given in Ngankam Fogue, *La malediction chez les Bamileke du Cameroun* (Baroussam, 1985; p. 14). Oedipus in exile delivers a terrible paternal curse against his disloyal sons (Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonnus* 1299, 1434). In fact, the curses of parents were embodied as avenging spirits, as the Erinyes among the Greeks or as the *divi parentum* of the Romans (*Iliad* 9. 453–457;and 21.412 seq.). The final scene of the third act of Verdi's *Rigolleto* contains a highly dramatic malediction pronounced by a wronged father: Count Monterone curses his tormentor, the jester Rigoletto, a curse fulfilled at last against both Rigoletto and the count's own innocent daughter. By extension, many cultures privilege the curses (and blessings) of the elderly and especially the dying; Grimm reports that in old Teutonic ideology, the curse of a dying person was the strongest of all curses (1883–1886/1966, IV.1690; cf. Westermarck, 1908, II.637 for examples from Africa and classical Rome).

WOMEN AND CURSES. In cultures where women carry an aura of taboo or where witchcraft is widely credited, a woman's curse can be particularly feared. Alice Ahenakew tells the Cree story of "The Old Woman's Curse," about a mother who inflicts a terrible fate on the young man who robbed her of her daughter (Wolfart and Ahenakew, 2000, pp. 20–24 and chap. 11). Zahan emphasizes the role of women in *nyctosophy* among the Bambara of West Africa because of "woman's enigmatic and impenetrable character. . . . All the more amazing because of the psychological character of her soul" (1970/1979, pp. 94–5), without acknowledging the gender bias inherent in such a comment. Similarly, Westermarck reports that among the Berbers of Morocco, "a person who takes refuge with a woman by touching her is safe from his pursuer," explaining that the "reason why women are regarded as able to offer an asylum is obviously the belief in their magic power and the great efficacy of their curses" (1907, p. 367). There is a great deal of evidence of malevolent cursing in medieval and Early Modern Europe (see Kittredge, 1929; Thomas, 1997; Douglas, 1970), but scholars now discount the idea that there were active covens of female witches who consciously preserved elements of pre-Christian European religion (see the review of critical literature on European witchcraft in Thomas, 1997, chap. 16, esp. pp. 514–515).

SOCIAL JUSTICE AND CURSES. At the opposite pole from figures of authority and technicians of the sacred, is another group believed to have a special power to curse: the stranger, the guest, the poor and the needy, and the victim of injustice. Thus in many parts of the world—and numerous examples ranging from North Africa to the Tonga Islands and the Native American Southwest are presented in the surveys by Westermarck and Crawley—strangers who step over the threshold are not only welcomed, but given a position of privilege at bed and board, at least for a limited period of time, lest any dissatisfaction from a guest bring harm to the household. The Greeks believed that guests and suppliants and beggars had their Erinyes, or avenging spirits, which personified the curses they cast upon any who despised them or turned them away (Homer, *Odyssey* xvii.475; Aeschylus, *Suppliants* 349, 489). Ecclesiasticus warns, "Do not avert your eye from the needy, and give no one reason to curse you, for if in bitterness of soul some should curse you, their Creator will hear their prayer. . . . The prayer of the poor goes from their lips to the ears of God, and his judgment comes speedily" (*Sir.* 4:5–6; 21:5; cf. *Prov.* 28:27). A pair of Palestinian proverbs sums up the philosophy of social justice underlying this category of cursing: "Do not be an oppressor and you do not need fear curses," and "There is no veil separating heaven from the prayers and imprecations of the oppressed" (Canaan, 1935, p. 263).

A special case of the conditional curse as an appeal for social justice, protection, or sanctuary is the North African Arab concept of *l-ʾâr*, which signifies a compulsory relationship in which a claimant invokes support and protection at the implied risk of a curse in the event of being denied. As Westermarck explains, the "constraining character of *l-ʾâr* is due to the fact that it implies the transference of a conditional curse," mediated by what he calls "external conductors," such as sharing food, or grasping or touching a person, the person's child or horse, or grasping the person's tent-pole (1907, pp. 361–362). A similar claim and conditional curse can be represented by a heap of stones:

> A common practice among scribes is to make a cursing cairn for a wealthy man whom they have in vain asked for a present. They make a cairn either outside his house or in some open place, read over it some passages of the Koran, and, with the palms of their hands turned downwards, pronounce a curse upon the niggard. (p. 364)

A coercive claim can be made upon a saint by building a cairn or by tying a rag to a house or a tomb and declaring, "O saint, behold! I promised thee an offering and I will not release [literally *open*] thee until thou attendest to my business" (p. 369)—a threat/prayer analogous to that of Jacob wrestling with the angel (*Gen.* 32.26). Another method would be to sacrifice an animal at the threshold of the person whose benefits are sought, for "of all conductors of curses none is considered more efficient than blood" (p. 365). Westermarck reports that in the Great Atlas Mountains a Jew who settles in a Berber village "always places himself under the protection of some powerful man by putting *ār* upon him." Because a supplicant's declaration that "I am in the *ār* of God and your *ār*," implies a claim of sanctuary, Westermarck concludes that *lār* "is thus a great boon to weak and helpless people, criminals, and strangers" (p. 366).

Protective curses. On the other hand, the protective conditional curse is at the heart of prohibitive inscriptions and edicts of rulers and the elite, and of the traditions of oaths, treaties, and covenants in Egypt and the Ancient Near East. In each case, the conditional curse invokes stated or agreed sanctions in the event that a tomb or boundary marker is violated, or an oath, treaty, or covenant is broken. Curses as protective threat-formulae are a familiar feature of ancient Egyptian inscriptions. Represented in Western popular culture as "the mummy's curse," the textual threat-formulae (involving a variety of Egyptian word roots, including and others) encompass a vast lexicon of stipulations and injunctions and a vast array of threatened punishments for such criminal or sacrilegious acts as theft, defilement, effacements, and other violations of tombs, stelae and monuments (Morschauser, 1991; Nordh, 1996; Parrot, 1939). In the words of one Sixth Dynasty tomb inscription: "As for any noble, any official, or any man who shall rip out any stone or any brick from this tomb, I will be judged with him by the great God, I (will) seize his neck like a bird, and I will cause all the living who are upon the earth to be afraid. . . ." (Pritchard 1969, p. 327c; for other examples, see pp. 326–328). Similar protective curses are common in Mesopotamian and Iron Age Syro-Palestinian Semitic inscriptions (For Mesopotamian examples see Pomponio, 1990; Grätz, 1998, chap. 2; and Speyer, 1969, pp. 1170–1174. For Syro-Palestinian examples see Crawford, 1992, chaps. 4 and 5). An eighth-century Karatepe inscription carved in Phoenician upon a statue and pedestal of Baal, threatens any defacers of the name of King Azitiwada:

> Now if a king among kings, or a prince among princes, or any man who is a man of renown, effaces the name of Azitiwada from this gate and puts up his own name, or more than that, covets this city and pulls down this gate which Azitiwada made, and makes another gate for it and puts his own name on it, whether it is out of covetousness or whether it is out of hatred and malice that hew pulls down this gate—then let Baalshamem and El-Creator-of-Earth and the eternal Sun and the whole generation of the sons of the gods efface that kingdom and that king. . . . (Crawford, 1992, p. 162; cf. p. 165, and Beyerlin, 1975, pp. 242–243; also see the inscriptions of Hadad and Nerab, in Crawford pp. 200–207)

A sixth-century tomb found in Sidon tries to warn off potential tomb-robbers:

> I, Tabnit, priest of Astarte, king of the Sidonians, son of Eshmunazor, priest of Astarte, king of the Sidonians, lie in this sarcophagus. Whoever you may be who comes across this sarcophagus, do not open it and do not disturb me. For they have collected no silver for me, nor have they collected any gold nor any other kind of valuable. Only I am lying in this sarcophagus. You must not open it and you must not disturb me, for that would be taboo to Astarte. And if nevertheless you do open it and do destroy me, may (you) not have any seed among the living under the sun nor a resting place among the spirits of the dead. (Beyerlin, 1975, p. 245)

To maximize their efficaciousness, Egyptian curse-threats often were directed against the violator's own mortuary cult and ritual burial, his remembrance, his family, and his offspring: "As for anyone who shall violate my corpse in the Necropolis, or who shall damage my image in my chamber: he shall be a hated one of Re. He shall not receive water or ointment for an Osirian, nor shall he ever bequeath his goods to his children" (Morschauser, 1991, pp. 117–129, 179). Some inscriptions known as the execration texts, imply that magical actions accompanied the formulae (p. 142), and spells in medical papyri and curses in royal decrees are particularly prominent in the Rammesid period (Morschauser, 1991, p. 182; cf. Nordh, 1996, p. 103). A stock image in late New Kingdom texts is the threat against a perpetrator, his wives, or children of sexual violation by an ass or of their sexual violation of each other: "He shall violate an ass, an ass shall violate his wife, and his wife shall violate his children" (Morschauser, 1991, pp. 198–200, 227–229).

Harsh and even crude as such curses sound, both Morschauser and Nordh emphasize the functionality of the Egyptian curse-formulae as supplements to and guarantors of stipulations that, although having legal and moral standing, were nevertheless unenforceable, as in the case of the protection of the tombs, monuments, and inscriptions of the deceased. Nordh proposes further that curses were a way of propagating the orthodox ideology of living in accordance with the all-embracing Egyptian cosmovision subsumed under the name of *Maat* (Nordh, 1996, p. 104; cf. Morschauser, 1991, p. 266). As Keim insists,

> One of the things that must be asserted at the outset, and reasserted in the course of study, is that ancient Near Eastern maledictions are religious. . . . There can be no question of such practices arising out of magical practices and then developing into religious systems. If there was such a development, it was long before the dawn of history and is no longer recoverable. Everything we actually know about maledictions in the ancient Near East attests to the deeply religious nature of their forms and operations. (1992, p. 33)

Indeed, the most renowned legal inscription of the Ancient Near East, the Code of Hammurabi (c. 1675 BCE), concludes with an extended curse invoking the gods Adad, Sin, Innana, and others to inflict terrible punishments on any who disregard, distort, or efface the king's words (Pritchard, 1969, pp. 178–180). In addition, Tzvi Abusch argues that the counter-witchcraft ritual, the Mesopotamian *Maqlu*, was based on the fundamental social contract embodied in an oath, *mamitu*, whose violation by the witch brings down the punitive counter-curse (2002, pp. 236–245, 253; and see Mercer, 1912, pp. 26–28).

As many scholars have pointed out, any oath intrinsically implies a conditional self-curse calling down on oneself a sanction or punishment in the event that the oath-taker proves untrue to what has been sworn. Often the medium or vehicle of the oath embodies its assurance: the eye, the heart, the right hand, one's children, orone's parents are put at risk; or a weapon or a ritually slain animal are taken to represent either the means or the consequences of a violated oath, as with the custom of the Nagas of Assam in which each party to an oath lays hand on a dog chopped in two (Mercer, 1912, p. 40 n.3; Crawley, 1934, p. 47; cf. *Gen.* 15 and the discussion in McCarthy, 1981, pp. 93–95). Crawley (1934, pp. 39–48) and Westermarck (1908, chap. 50) present within a Frazerian evolutionist model numerous examples of such oaths, and the related convention of trial by ordeal, from worldwide cultural contexts.

KUDURRU AND COVENANTS. The oath/curse formula characterizes two important, distinct yet related genres of Ancient Near Eastern literature: *kudurru*, or boundary-stone inscriptions, and vassal-treaties, or covenants (for examples and sources see Fensham, 1963; Grätz, 1998, chap. 2, esp. pp. 46–65; and Hillers, 1964, chap. 2). Scholars have differed over the commonalities and differences among these Ancient Near Eastern *kudurru* and treaty forms, but Dennis McCarthy has demonstrated "the essential elements of the form: stipulations, the god lists or invocations, and the curse formulae which are invariably found in the treaties from Eannatum of Lagash to Ashurbanipal of Assyria" (McCarthy, 1981, p. 122; cf. Fensham, 1962, p. 1–6; Hillers, 1964, chap. 1). McCarthy reviews and analyzes important examples of Hittite, Assyrian, and Syrian treaty texts, including the seventh-century Assyrian treaty of Esarhaddon and the eighth-century Aramaic-Syrian treaties of Sefiré (McCarthy, 1981, Part I; for original publication of texts see Wiseman, 1958; Dupont-Sommer, 1958, and Korosec, 1931; for translations and bibliography see Pritchard, 1969, pp. 534–541, 653–662). McCarthy's comparative study shows that although a verbal blessing and cursing formula typically concludes the Hittite texts (chap. 4), the Sefire treaties actually incorporate the rubrics of acted out or performed curse-actions (1981, chap. 5; cf. Hillers, 1964, pp. 21–24), and the Esarhaddan treaty includes an exceptionally long and graphic curse (a "baroque elaboration," as McCarthy calls it (p. 121), accompanied by demonstrative actions: "just as male and female kids . . . are slit open and their entrails roll down over their feet, so may the entrails of your sons and daughters roll down over your feet" (p. 117 and chap. 6). "The reason for this emphasis on the curses," McCarthy concludes, "is evident enough. They sought to secure the observance of the treaty by multiplying as it were the religious sanctions and by the use of rites which were thought infallibly to bring about the ruin of the transgressor" (p. 151).

The Ancient Near Eastern vassal-treaty and its attendant curse formulae provide an apt transition to analysis of the curse traditions of the Hebrew scriptures, specifically in relation to the central biblical idea of covenant (see Hempel, 1961; Alt, 1934; Fensham; Hillers; Keim, 1992; and McCarthy, 1981). The locus classicus is the blessing and cursing ritual at Shechem in *Deuteronomy* 27, and the expansion or midrash on the blessings and curses in *Deuteronomy* 28, with its overwhelming preponderance of curse sanctions threatened for disobedience to God's law (*Dt.* 28:15–68; cf. the parallel text in *Lev.* 26; see Lewy, 1962; Buis, 1967; Hillers, 1964 chap. 3; McCarthy, 1981, chap. 9 and sources). The curses of *Deuteronomy* 28 are compulsively thorough, promising every manner of illness, misfortune, destruction, abandonment, and disaster: “Cursed shall be the fruit of your womb, the fruit of your ground, the increase of your cattle and the issue of your flock. Cursed shall you be when you come in, and cursed shall you be when you go out” (*Dt.* 27: 18–19). Although scholars continue to debate the origins of cultic proclamation of covenant law, the cultic character of the Deuteronomic formulae is clear (see Alt, 1934; Mowinckel, 1962; Grätz, 1998, chap. 3; Schottroff, 1969, esp. pp. 217–230; and the review of scholarship in McCarthy, 1981, pp. 197–199). But, it is reported, so dread were the Deuteronomic maledictions in medieval synagogues that there were difficulties in obtaining readers at the appointed times; in one case, “on a Sabbath on which the ‘chapter of maledictions’ was to be read, the Scroll of the *Torah* was shamefully permitted to lie open for several hours, because no member of the congregation was willing to come up to the pulpit” (Trachtenberg, 1970, p. 59, sources on p. 284, notes on pp. 32–35).

Other Old Testament texts that focus on the covenantal relationship, notably the Sinai texts of *Exodus* and various prophetic texts that espouse a covenant theology, have recourse to the curse sanctions of the Near Eastern treaty model: “If the prophets of all periods knew the terms of the covenant with Yahweh,” Hillers concludes, “they knew the curses associated with the covenant as well, for these, an essential part of the covenant between men . . . were also commonly attached to the covenant with God” (1964, pp. 84–85). Hillers adduces numerous parallels between Assyrian and Aramaic treaty-curses and such biblical passages as *Isaiah* 34:11–17 and *Jeremiah* 13:26–27 and 50, which call down curses of flood and desolation, devouring animals, broken weapons, incurable wounds, dry breasts, rape, and harlotry (1964, chap. 4). Fensham had earlier concluded that there “obviously exists a close connection between certain curses of the ancient Near East and various prophetic maledictions,” focusing on examples of punitive maledictions from *Amos* 4 and *Isaiah* 13. “We have followed the line through from *kudurru*-inscriptions to treaties and hence to the Old Testament prophecies,” Fensham continues, although the latter, he insists, substitute a moral/theological grounding for the “mechanical, magical execution of the treaty-curse” (1963, pp. 172–173). It is precisely this last point, however, that more recent scholarship calls into question. For example, Gervitz’s survey of West-Semitic commemorative, funerary and votive inscriptional curses shows the contain the same mix of apodictic and casuistic forms as do the Hebrew scriptures.

Study of the topic of cursing in Old Testament contexts is complicated by the fact that several quite distinct Hebrew words are commonly translated as *curse* into English (or as malediction in French or Fluch in German.). The major Hebrew terms are *ʿalah*, *ʿarr*, *qillel*, and *qbb* (for major discussions see Brichto, 1963; Keim, 1992, pp. 15–20; Scharbert, 1977; Gordon, 1997). The preponderance of occurrences of the verb *qbb* in the OT occurs in the Balak/Balaam episode in *Numbers* 22–24 in which Balak futilely urges Balaam to curse, rather than bless, Israel; Balak’s expectation is that such a curse (or blessing) would be automatically efficacious upon pronouncement, whereas Balaam assumes that it would be dependent upon God. *Qbb* as *revile* also occurs in *Proverbs* 11:26 and 24:24 as an unambiguous malediction upon bad behavior, and also in the familiar passage in which Job curses the night of his birth (3:8). In fact, the extended passage of Job’s curse upon his birth (3:1–9) includes parallel uses of three of the Hebrew words for curse: *qbb*, *ʿarr*, and *qillel*. As a noun *qelala* is used to signify either that which is accursed or curse as the opposite of blessing (*baraka*—and sometimes *berek*, bless, is used euphemistically to mean *qillel*, curse, as in *I Kings* 21:13 and *Job* 1:5 and 9–11). As a verb *qillel* is generally used in the Old Testament in a rather defuse and imprecise way to convey personal contempt, disrespect, or abuse directed at a variety of objects, including parents, kings, and, in *Leviticus* 24:10–16 and *Exodus* 22:27, the Deity. In *Genesis* 8:21 God promises never again to *qallel* the earth, which as Brichto argues (1963, pp. 119–120), means abuse or treat injuriously, rather than curse (for full discussion on this root see Brichto, 1963, chaps. 4 and 5).

Thus, the two primary terms for curse in the Old Testament remain *ʿalah* and *ʿarr*. The *ʿalah* term usually has the force of conditionality and is associated with oaths and swearing, and it is deeply implicated in the curse-sanctions of treaties and covenant. As elsewhere in the Ancient Near East the *ʿalah* curse is associated with the protection of property (*Judg.* 17:2; *Lev.* 5:1; *Prov.* 29:24), with juridical oaths (*I Kings* 8:31) or trial by ordeal (*Num.* 5:21–28, where guilt of adultery is tested by the curse of bitter waters), and with royal commands (*1 Sam.* 14:24, where Saul precipitously puts a battlefield curse on anyone who eats before evening). But the most important association of *ʿalah* is as punishment upon Israel for betrayal of the covenant (*berith*), as set forth in *Deuteronomy* and a number of prophetic texts (*Deut.* 29:20; *Isa.* 24:6; *Jer.* 23:10; *Ezek.* 16:59; *Dan.* 9:11; and see Zechariah’s vision of the flying scroll of curses, *Ezek.* 5:1–4).

The *ʿarr* term, cognate to the Arabic *lār* discussed earlier, forms the basic operative cursing rubric in the Old Testament in its *qal* passive participle: “cursed be. . . .” Its fearful efficacy is associated with utterance by a figure of authority (*Num.* 5:18–27); a professional curser (*Gen.* 27:29; *Num.* 24:7); a king (e.g., Jehu, who curses Jezebel in *2 Kings* 9:34); or the Deity, as in the paradigmatic curses in *Genesis* on the serpent, the ground itself, and Cain (*Gen.* 3:14, 17; 4:11); or the angel of the Lord who curses those who do not participate in a holy war (*Judg.* 5:23). Such a curse has the force of a spell, as in the Balak/Balaam sequence in *Numbers* 22–23, and it is the basis of the catalog of curses associated with violation of the covenant in *Deuteronomy* 27 and 28, discussed above. In one enigmatic passage God threatens to curse Israel’s blessings (*Mal.* 2:2), in a passage that Gordon takes as a satire on the priestly blessing (1997, I.525). In other passages, a curse can be nullified by a blessing (*Judg.*

17:1–2), or it can be taken on by another person, as Rebekah does to protect Jacob (*Gen.* 27:13). Other uses of *ʿarr* include cursing the day one was born (*Jer.* 20:14–15; *Job* 3:1–9), or, as a noun, it is used to signify that which is cursed (*Gen.* 4:12 and 9:25; *Josh.* 9:23) or banned (*Jer.* 17:5). Compare it with the related term *herem* "identical with the curse in its most potent form" (Pedersen, 1926/1964, vol. 2, p. 272), meaning that which is placed under a ban, even to threat of extinction (*Exod.* 22:19; *Deut.* 7:6 and 13:13; *Judg.* 5:23 and 21:11).

Cursing in the Old and New Testaments. A special case of the use of cursing in the Old Testament, one that has been particularly problematical for pastoral theology, is the "cursing psalms," which Brueggemann has subsumed under the more general heading of "Psalms of Disorientation" (1984, chap. 3; cf. Pedersen, 1926/1964, vol. 1, pp. 446–452; Mowinckel, 1962, pp. 48–52). Here cursing is turned into a weapon against personal enemies (*Ps.* 35) or, more characteristically, into a weapon of Israel against its national enemies (*Pss.* 79, 109 and 137). Thus, the familiar Psalm 137, "By the rivers of Babylon. . . ." concludes with the violent wishful prayer that the hated Edomites be crushed for "what you have done to us!/Happy shall they be who take your little ones and dash them against the rock!" (8–9). Most extravagant of all is Psalm 109, an uninhibited prayer for Yahweh to visit every manner of cruel revenge upon the unnamed evildoers.

"Curses of the covenant" delivered by priests and Levites appear in the initiation ceremony of the Qumran community (1QS 2:16 and 5:12; and CD 1:17; 15:2–3), and whoever attacks the covenantal relationship is accursed (11QTemple 64:9–12). The Talmud permits cursing the wicked (*Men.* 64b), and acknowledges the efficacy of curses (*Ber.* 7a; *Meg.* 15a; *Sanh.* 105b), especially when uttered by a sage, and even if undeserved (*Ber.* 56a; *Mak.* 11a). Hence, there also are prohibitions against cursing, for example, by a wife (*Ket.* 72a), and against self-cursing (*Shebu.* 35a). A Jewish curse adapted from Psalm 109 that has retained currency is *Yimmah shemo (vezikhro)*: "May his name (and memory) be blotted out!," but the general rabbinic provision was to "Let yourself be cursed, rather than curse someone else" (*Sanh.* 49a). One well-known perpetuation of synagogue exclusion was the excommunication of Spinoza from the Portuguese synagogue of Amsterdam in 1656 (Little, 1993, pp. 277–278).

There is some continuity but not as much emphasis on cursing in the Old Testament Apocrypha and Intertestamental literature (see Van Den Doel, 1968, chap. 2). In the wisdom tradition, a well-known passage in *Sirach* parallels a mother's curse and God's curse (3:9, 16) and another warns against the curse of the neglected poor (4:5–6). The *Wisdom of Solomon* reiterates the *Genesis* curse on the Canaanites (12:11) and promises that the ungodly and idolatrous will be accursed (*Genesis* 3:12; 14:8), and *Tobit* 13:12 calls accursed all those who would dominate or harm Jerusalem. One distinctive cursing form found in the Intertestamental literature is the roll-call of woes: *2 Esdras* contains woes against Assyria (2:8); the Sibylline Oracles call down woes upon Babylon, Ethiopia, Libya (3:295–334), Phoenicia, Crete, Thrace (3:492–511), Lycia (5:1–26), and Greece (11:183–185). The *Apocalypse of Baruch* declares that in the last days the dead will be blessed (10:6, 11:7) and the living will be cursed (10:7, 14:14). Most impressively, the final judgment section of *1 Enoch* (94–105) contains a rolling denunciation of the foolish and the unrighteous, especially of the wealthy who oppress the poor, for they will be given over "to a great curse" (94:6–8; 97:8–10).

These Intertestamental apocalyptic themes and the rhetoric of the woes offer a direct connection to some of the most distinctive curse motifs in the New Testament. (Note that the NT, like the Septuagint (LXX), adopts the Greek words *anathematizo* and *kataraomoi* as equivalents to the various Hebrew words for cursing.) The apocalyptic woes spread over the earth in *Revelations* 9–12 directly carry over from the Intertestamental woes, as does Jesus' pronouncement of woes upon the towns of Galilee (*Matt.* 11:21–23; *Luke* 10: 13–15). On the other hand, Jesus' reiterated "Woe unto's" reflect a more intense focus on personal authenticity and spirituality, as when *Luke* parallels the beatitudes with woes unto the opposite behaviors (6:20–26). Jesus pronounces woes unto the betrayer of the Son of Man (*Mark* 14:21; *Luke* 22:22). But the major instance occurs when Jesus pronounces woes against the scribes and Pharisees as blind fools, hypocrites, and vipers (*Matt.* 23:13–36; *Luke* 11:42–52), a rolling denunciation that is the New Testament equivalent of the Deuteronomic curses in the Old Testament. Apart from these texts, the only direct curses Jesus utters are the apocalyptic words of judgment, "Depart from me" (*Matt.* 25:41), and the enigmatic cursing of the fig tree (*Mark* 11:12–22; *Matt.* 21:18–20), usually taken as an "acted out" parable denouncing the barrenness of Israel (see Van Den Doel, 1968, pp. 247–251; Hatch, 1923; Robin, 1962). Other than this, Jesus' main teaching on the matter of curses is to refrain from all oaths (*Matt.* 23:16–22; cf. *James* 3:9), and the *Book of Revelation* declares that in the Heavenly Jerusalem "Nothing accursed will be found there any more" (22:3). Paul, nevertheless, concludes his First Epistle to the Corinthians with the words, "Let anyone be accursed who has no love for the Lord" (*1 Cor.* 22; a similar Islamic execration is found in Qurʾān 2:161).

The New Testament does present a number of instances of individuals pronouncing oaths and curses, especially in the *Acts of the Apostles.* Examples include the oath of conspirators against Paul (*Acts* 23:12), Peter's implicit curses against Ananias and Simon Magus (*Acts* 5:1–11, 8:9–24), and similar punitive curses of a folkloric character that occur in a number of the New Testament Apocrypha (see Van Den Doel, 1968, p. 247). In *2 Peter* 2:14 the apostle denounces false teachers as "accursed children," and earlier Peter had sworn an oath against himself upon denying Christ (*Mark* 14:71; *Matt.* 26:74).

But the curse of greatest theological richness occurs in *Galatians* 3:10–14, in the teaching that "all who rely on the works of the law are under a curse" because justification is only by faith, but that "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law by becoming a curse for us—for it is written, 'Cursed is everyone who hangs on a tree'" (citing *Deut.* 21:23). This radical doctrine of substitution (cf. *2 Cor.* 5:21) may have led certain Gnostics to honor only a spiritual Christ and to repudiate the earthly Jesus, leading to Paul's otherwise enigmatic admonition, "Therefore I want you to understand that no one speaking by the Spirit of God ever says, 'Let Jesus be cursed!'" (*1 Cor.* 12:3).

Early Christian writers wrestled with the question of the appropriateness of cursing, generally labeling it a pagan practice but allowing for it as an occasional moral corrective (Augustine, *De sermone Domine in monte* 1:63–4; *PL* 34 1261–62) or as a judgment of justice rather than revenge (Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job* 6; *PL* 75:638–9). In the eighth century, Rhabanus Maurus Christianized the Deuteronomic presentation of blessings and cursings (*Deut.* 27) by associating the curses with the Law and the blessings with the Gospel (*Enarratio super Deuteronomium* 3:24–5; *PL* 108:947–61). Thomas Aquinas' scholastic solution was to conclude that justified curses were curses only in accident and not in substance when judged according to intentionality (*Summa theologiaa* IIa–IIae, q. 76).

CURSING AND THE CHURCH. Moreover, the post-Constantinian Church, building upon Paul's comments in *1 Corinthians* 16:22 and *Galatians* 1:8, incorporated formal procedures for anathema and excommunication, ratified at the councils from Elvira (fourth century), Tours (sixth century), and Toledo (seventh century) to Toulouges (eleventh century). In his study of medieval cursing rituals, *Benedictine Maledictions*, Lester Little sets out the documentary history of liturgical maledictory formulas in the monasteries of northern France from the tenth through the thirteenth centuries. Little shows that in the context of deeply unsettled social structures, amid the threat of recurrent violence and disorder, and in the absence of effective instruments of law and justice, the Benedictine monasteries developed a pair of elaborate ritual responses: the Clamor and the Humiliation of the Saints. These rituals were influenced both by biblical precedent and by the Irish Christian folk culture that had earlier been carried by monks to the Continent. The rich tradition of Irish saints, beginning with Patrick, whose weapons in the wilderness were fasting and cursing combined with the strong language of the maledictory Psalms, produced a powerful ritual of prostration and cries unto the Lord for protection against enemies who ranged (in the eyes of the monks) from marauding Vikings to recalcitrant or peremptory local barons. (See Little, 1993, Appendix C for "A Miscellany of Curse Formulas"; Little also reminds us that a modern literary adaptation of the Clamor appears in Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*.)

The Clamor was made even more dramatic when combined with the Humiliation of the Saints, a tradition with far less ecclesiastical sanction (Geary, 1983), when the chief relics held by a monastic church were taken from their usual places of veneration and placed on the floor of the chancel and covered with thorns. This ritual, combined with the cessation of virtually all work and ritual at the monastery, apparently created enough distress on the part of the local community and the offending baron that a settlement of the relevant issue could be negotiated. The religious phenomenology of the ritual is complex and conflicted: although the prayers are directed to God, the successful outcome is attributed to the saint, who has, however, not been prayed to but in effect coerced and even punished for dereliction of duty. Verification of this interpretation comes from unauthorized versions of the Humiliation ritual in which peasants would angrily strike the relic (an interesting contemporary representation occurs in the Francine Prose novel *Household Saints* and its film adaptation). Behind all this, as Little argues, was the very real need for justice and protection against very real adversaries in a situation of extreme vulnerability. Nevertheless, by the time of the Second Council of Lyons in 1274, the church forbade the ritual of Humiliation, although the tradition of the Clamor continued in the form of special votive masses and prayers in time of trouble and in the Ash Wednesday *Commination* in the Book of Common Prayer.

Although the Protestant Reformers were understandably hostile to the Catholic Church's claim of authority to anathematize and excommunicate, many of the Reformed churches (basing themselves upon *Matt.* 18:15–18 and *1 Cor.* 5:11) arrogated to themselves comparable powers of "evangelical separation," usually referred to among the radical Anabaptist sects as banning or shunning. Characteristic expressions of this reformed version of exclusion can be found in several texts collected in George Hunston Williams's *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers* (1957/1970), including Conrad Grebel's "Letters to Thomas Müntzer" (1524), Balthasar Hubmaier's "On Free Will" (1527), Caspar Schwenckfeld's "An Answer to Martin Luther's Malediction" (c. 1544), Dietrich Philips's "The Church of God" (c. 1560), and Ulrich Stadler's "Cherished Instructions on Sin, Excommunication, and the Community of Goods" (1537); and a systematic presentation is set out in Menno Simons's "On the Ban: Questions and Answers" (1550).

CURSING IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD TO THE PRESENT. One of the most familiar carry-overs of the curse tradition in popular culture since the Early Modern period has remained the protective curse, famously called to the attention of tourists at Stratford-on-Avon, England, when viewing Shakespeare's tomb engraving:

> GOOD FRIENDS FOR JESVS SAKE FORBEARE,
> TO DIGG THE DVST ENCLOASED HEARE:
> BLESE BE ye MAN yt SPARES THES STONES,
> AND CVRST BE HE yt MOVES MY BONES.

In *Anathema!* Marc Drogin has collected hundreds of fly-leaf book curses from medieval to Early Modern times aimed at protecting books from theft, defacement, misuse, or even misreading, concluding with a contemporary British postal mailing carefully inscribed, "*PLEASE DO NOT BEND*/ if anyone shall bend this, let him lie under perpetual malediction. Fiat fiat fiat. Amen." To this someone in Her Majesty's Postal System succinctly appended, "FART" (1983, p. 111).

Finally, note that the corpus of world literature is full of curses that drive plots and provide dramatic and melodramatic dénouements, including: Enkidu's curse on the prostitute in *Gilgamesh* (vii.3); Oedipus's unwitting self-curse (Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex* 269–72); Dido's curse on Aeneas, who abandoned her (*Aeneid* IV.863–919); Medea's curse on Jason, who betrayed her (Euripides, *Medea* 160 seq.); Caliban's curse on his new island overlords (Shakespeare, *The Tempest* I.ii.353–67); Byron's denunciation of Lord Elgin in "The Curse of Minerva"; the bitter curses rained down upon Brother Lawrence in Browning's "Soliloquy of the Spanish Cloister"; and Dylan Thomas's plea to a dying father: "And you, my father, there on the sad height, / Curse, bless me now with your fierce tears, I pray / Do not go gentle into that good night. / Rage, rage against the dying of the light."

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GEORGE SCHEPER (2005)

CUSANUS SEE NICHOLAS OF CUSA

CUSHITE RELIGION SEE KUSHITE RELIGION

CYBELE (Latin) or Kybele (Greek) is the Greek and Roman name given to a female deity of Anatolian origin whose worship was widely disseminated throughout the ancient Mediterranean world. The deity's name in her homeland was Matar, or Mother; in some cases this was modified by the Phrygian epithet Kybeliya, meaning "mountain," the source of the term *Cybele.* The Greeks and Romans also addressed the goddess as Mother (Meter in Greek, Mater in Latin), and the epithet Megale (Greek) or Magna (Latin), meaning "great," was frequently used, causing her to become known as the "Great Mother." Both the name and the visual image of the goddess first appear in Phrygia, in central Anatolia (modern Turkey), during the early first millennium BCE and spread from there, first to the Greek cities on the west coast of Anatolia, and then to mainland Greece and to Greek cities in the western Mediterranean. The goddess's cult was imported into Rome at the end of the third century BCE, and she became an important figure in Roman religion also. The deity remained a prominent figure in Greek and Roman religious practice until the dominance of Christianity in the fourth century CE.

THE ANATOLIAN BACKGROUND. The earliest clear evidence for the deity is found in ancient Phrygia. In this region there are numerous shrines to the goddess; frequently these contain an image of the deity, often placed within a sculptural relief that depicts the gabled end of a building in which the goddess appears as if standing in a doorway. Such shrines are particularly common in the region of Gordion, Ankara, and Boğazköy, and also further west in the Phrygian highlands, a region bounded by the modern cities of Afyon, Eskişehir, and Kütahya. The goddess is regularly shown wearing an elaborate gown and a high headdress, and often holds a predatory bird, perhaps a hawk; in a few cases the standing goddess is flanked by a composite human-animal figure, young male figures, or lions. In some shrines, only the architectural frame and doorway exist, suggesting that a portable image of the goddess (now lost) was placed there. Some of the doorway shrines are found on separate blocks, but others were carved directly into the natural rock of the landscape, where they form impressive monuments. Such monumental rock façades are particularly common in the Afyon-Eskişehir region; the façade at Midas City is the best known example. In several cases these façades bear inscriptions giving the name of the goddess, Matar, occasionally with a qualifying epithet, such as Kubeliya. Others bear the names of Phrygian kings, such as Midas and Ates, suggesting a close connection between the Mother goddess and Phrygian royalty. In urban centers the goddess's shrines are frequently located near the city gates. Shrines are also found along strategic transportation routes and passes, often in rural mountainous areas. Others are situated near springs and other water sources, or near burial tumuli.

The origins of the goddess are much disputed. While some have claimed that her roots lie in older Anatolian religious practice, there is no secure evidence for a mother goddess in this region during the Neolithic or Bronze ages. Female figurines from Neolithic sites such as Çatal Hüyük and Hacilar probably have no connection with Cybele, nor is there any direct antecedent for the goddess in Hittite or other second millennium BCE Anatolian cultures. The Phrygians immigrated into Anatolia from the Balkan region during the Early Iron Age, and the origins of the goddess may lie in their ancestral homeland in southeastern Europe. On the other hand, it is clear that the cult of the goddess as practiced in Phrygia was extensively influenced by the religious imagery of earlier and contemporary Anatolian cultures; the visual image of the Phrygian Mother goddess bears a close resemblance to sculptural images of a contemporary Anatolian deity, Kubaba, worshiped in neo-Hittite cities in southeastern Anatolia. In addition, the attributes of the Phrygian Mother goddess, especially the hawk and the association with mountains, have affinities with both earlier Hittite cultures and with early first millennium BCE Anatolian peoples, such as the neo-Hittites and Urartians. Yet the distinctive combination of name, physical appearance, and architectural shrines that characterize the cult of the Mother goddess is specific to Phrygia. The roots of the Greek and Roman Cybele lie in Phrygia.

CYBELE IN THE GREEK WORLD. From Phrygia, the cult of the Mother goddess passed to Lydia, in western Anatolia, where a fine marble image of the seventh or sixth century BCE depicting the goddess standing in a temple has been found in Sardis. During the same period, the earliest votive images of the goddess appeared in the Greek world, first in the Greek cities in Anatolia along the Aegean and Black Sea coasts, and then in numerous centers on mainland Greece and in Greek colonies in the western Mediterranean. In the Greek world the deity was addressed as Meter (Mother); *Homeric Hymn 14*, which probably dates from the sixth century BCE, calls her "the Mother of all gods and all human beings." She was regularly called the Mother of the Gods and was often conflated with the Greek goddesses Rhea and Demeter. In Greek votive images the goddess appears as a seated figure, usually holding a tympanum (drum) and phiale (ritual cup); often she has a lion cub in her lap, or two lions standing on either side of her throne.

Shrines to Meter are found in virtually every community in the Greek world. One prominent example was in the Agora of Athens, which contained a cult statue made by Agoracritus, pupil of Phidias. Here the shrine of Meter served as the repository of Athenian laws, a practice followed in some Ionian Greek cities as well. The goddess was also worshiped with nocturnal mystery rites limited to initiates. Briefly mentioned by Pindar (*Pythian Odes* 3), Herodotus (4.76), and Euripides (*Bacchae* 78–79), these rites seem to have been characterized by music, dance, and expressions of emotional intensity, features that were viewed with suspicion by some Greeks, including Demosthenes (*On the Crown* 260).

During the Hellenistic period the cult of Meter became even more widespread and appears in a number of new Hellenistic city foundations. It is particularly well attested in Asia Minor, especially in Pergamum, where the goddess had an urban shrine with a magnificent marble cult statue. She was also worshiped in rural mountain sanctuaries near Pergamum, a link with her Phrygian identity as a mountain goddess. Another prominent Asia Minor sanctuary is Pessinus, in Phrygia, where the sanctuary of the Mother goddess was the center of a temple state controlled by priests who bore the title Attis.

During the Hellenistic period the cult of the Greek Cybele was increasingly associated with that of a young male figure, Attis. According to a complex mythological tradition preserved in variant sources (especially Ovid, *Fasti* 4.223ff.; Pausanias 7.17, 9–11; and Arnobius, *Against the Pagans* 5.5–7), Attis was a beautiful Phrygian shepherd boy whom the goddess loved. When he proved to be unfaithful to her, the goddess drove him mad, whereupon he castrated himself. In this action he supposedly served as a model to the priests of the goddess, the Galli, who emasculated themselves in honor of Cybele. The origins of this mythological tradition and of the practice of ritual castration have been much discussed, and the source and meaning of both myth and ritual practice remain unclear. A god named Attis does not appear in Phrygian cult practice, and the name may refer to a member of the Phrygian royal family who had important priestly functions, functions that survived the collapse of the Phrygian kingdom and are reflected in the survival of the title Attis in the Mother's priesthood, such as that at Pessinus. A fourth-century BCE votive offering to Attis from the Piraeus forms the earliest indication of the cult of a god Attis in the Greek world, and his cult is attested there in the Hellenistic period as well. Votive images of Attis become common during the Hellenistic period; these depict him as a young man wearing a characteristic costume with a short tunic, leggings, boots, and a soft hat with a pointed tip. The costume, originally worn by Achaemenian Persians, became so closely associated with Attis that the dress, and especially the cap, are often called Phrygian.

CYBELE IN THE ROMAN WORLD. The cult of Roman Cybele, the Magna Mater, was imported to Rome, probably from Pergamum, in 204 BCE, toward the end of the Second Punic War. This step was taken by the Roman government after consultation with the Sibylline Books and was approved by Apollo's oracle at Delphi. From the first, the goddess was connected with the Trojan origins of Rome. Members of several prominent senatorial families, including the Cornelians and Claudians, assisted in the transfer of the goddess's image, said to be an unformed black stone. The goddess was given a temple on the Palatine, dedicated in 191 BCE, and an annual festival called the Megalesia was instituted. The cult of Attis was apparently introduced into Rome at the same time, as is suggested by the discovery of a great many images of Attis, dating from the second and first centuries BCE, in the precincts of the Palatine temple. The Galli, the emasculated priests of the goddess, also appeared in Rome. Their flamboyant costumes, feminine manners, and practice of ritual castration attracted much negative attention, and they became the archetype of the effeminate male, as described in Catullus 63. According to a passage of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 2.19.5, from the first century BCE, the Roman senate at first prohibited the participation of Roman citizens in certain ceremonies of the cult of the goddess.

The Megalesia festival of the Magna Mater, celebrated April 4 through April 10, was characterized by a procession of the Galli through the streets, in which an image of the goddess seated in a chariot drawn by lions was carried aloft. Theatrical performances and banquets shared among members of the aristocracy also formed part of the festivities. Her cult was administered in Rome by the castrated Galli, under the control of the chief priest, the Archigallus; during the second century CE these offices were opened to Roman citizens. Religious fraternities, such as the Dendrophori ("tree bearers") and the Cannophori ("reed bearers"), assisted in the ceremonies. The liturgical language of the cult seems to have been Greek, and the surviving images of the goddess are similar to the Greek model. The cult of the Magna Mater spread widely throughout the Western Roman Empire, and important shrines are known in Italy, Gaul, Germany, Spain, and North Africa. The cult continued to be prominent in the Eastern empire as well.

Under the empire, the role of Attis in the cult became greater. His part in the cult may have been officially recognized for the first time by the emperor Claudius, according to information contained in Johannes Laurentius Lydus's *De mensibus* 4.59, written in the sixth century CE. The codex calendar of 354 CE mentions five days of festivities in March in honor of Attis, followed by the ceremonial washing of the black stone in the Almo, a little river outside Rome. The increased participation of Attis in the cult seems to have been celebrated with mystery rites. In the fourth century CE, the resurrection of Attis is explicitly affirmed by Firmicus Maternus (*De errore profanarum religionum* 3), although it is doubtful whether the potential for resurrection was extended to the cult's practitioners.

The ritual of the taurobolium came to be associated with the Magna Mater cult during the second century CE. Originally a bull sacrifice to the goddess, the rite was frequently performed as homage to the emperor. During the late third and fourth centuries CE, the taurobolium entailed a form of baptism by the blood of a sacrificed bull, as described by Prudentius (*Peri stephanon* 10.1001–1050). In the fourth century CE, the cult of Cybele and Attis formed a conspicuous rallying point for that part of the Roman aristocracy that had not been converted to Christianity; in the mid-fourth century it attracted the emperor Julian, who wrote an oration in honor of the Magna Mater. Public sacrifices to the goddess disappeared at the end of the fourth century, although in the fifth century the philosopher Proclus wrote a book, now lost, on Cybele.

SEE ALSO Castration; Dying and Rising Gods; Goddess Worship, article on Goddess Worship in the Hellenistic World; Virgin Goddess.

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Lynn E. Roller (2005)

CYBERNETICS.

Cybernetics is the study of control and communication. Although it is often thought of as primarily the control systems in machines, cybernetic theory can also be applied to biological agents, to systems comprised of either mechanical or biological agents, or both. Of particular interest to cybernetics are systems that are complex, adaptive, and self-regulating through the use of feedback. Norbert Wiener coined the term in 1947 as a transliteration of the Greek *kybernetes*, which means "steersman," though it was originally used in a broader sense than merely locomotive. Plato used the term to denote the act of governing a populace as well as that of steering a boat. and the term *governor* derives from the same root. Both terms refer to the control and direction of complex systems.

Cybernetics describes the world in terms of systems and information. A mechanical or biological agent can be considered a hierarchy of interacting networks through which information is moved, created, or transformed. Similarly, a system of agents can also be described and studied through the same concepts of control and feedback. Cybernetics uses mathematical and logical models to describe the flow of information in a system. Since many systems are influenced by random factors, statistical methods are also used to forecast or describe information flow.

The goals of cybernetics are twofold. First, for any given system, cybernetics hopes to advance knowledge of that system by describing the processes that regulate its functioning. Second, the field of cybernetics also seeks to develop laws that describe control processes in general and that are applicable to all types of systems. Cybernetics focuses on the structure and functioning of any given system rather than on the physical makeup of its elements.

Applications. The earliest applications of cybernetics were predominantly in engineering and computer science (robotics, circuit design, aiming artillery). Early work by Wiener, Claude Shannon, and John von Neumann was closely allied with the fledgling field of artificial intelligence and machine learning. Since any system that evidences both complexity and self-adaptation can be studied using cybernetics, the basic concepts were soon applied in a variety of fields, including economics (Kenneth Boulding), political science, management and industrial theory (Jay Forrester, Stafford Beer), biology (Warren McCulloch, Humberto Maturana, William Ross Ashby), sociology and anthropology (Gregory Bateson, Stein Braten), and ethics (Valentin Turchin). As cybernetics moved into the social sciences in the 1960s and1970s, descriptions in the field changed from those of an observer external to the system (e.g., a human observer of a mechanical system) to those of an internal participant (e.g., a human within a political or social community).

Whereas early cyberneticists thought of information as a commodity that flowed through systems, subsequent writers, such as Maturana, have viewed information as the product of a system. In a further step one can think of the system itself as consisting of information. The computer scientist Ray Kurzweil has applied this approach to his understanding of the human being, whereas the physicists Frank Tipler and Stephen Wolfram view information as the building block of the whole universe. For these writers the concept of information informs not only the system's outcomes or activities but is considered the very basis of the system itself.

Philosophical and Theological Implications. This final understanding of both mechanical and biological agents as consisting essentially of information leads to the most important philosophical and theological implications of cybernetic theory. A cybernetic view of the human person sees that person as a system composed of information. The concept of cybernetic immortality is based on the assumption that thoughts, memories, feelings, and action define the human person. These are products of consciousness, which is considered an emergent property of the complex system of the brain. In other words, to the cyberneticist, human beings are basically biological machines whose unique identity is found in the patterns that arise and are stored in the neuronal structures of the brain. If these patterns could be replicated—in sophisticated computer technology, for example—the defining characteristics of the person would be preserved. In such an anthropology the soul is considered that part of consciousness that exerts the highest level of control on the system that makes up the human being.

The ability to isolate the cognitive part of the system and preserve its viability past the death of the body is held by some researchers as an alternative to the metaphysical immortality proposed by many religions. Kurzweil suggests the future possibility of a computer-based immortality, in which the contents of the human mind are downloaded to a silicon-based platform. Tipler envisions an eschatology in which the universe will contract to an "omega point" that will contain all the information that has ever existed, including that which makes up each human being. God is essentially the highest level of control in the cybernetic system of the universe, thus becoming identical with the omega point at the final contraction. Tipler notes that this omega point could allow for something not unlike the Christian concept of resurrection of the body, in that the information that makes up any given human being would be available, thus allowing for a reinstantiation of that individual. A cybernetic view of both God and the human person provides a way to maintain belief in a reductionistic materialism without giving up the hope of immortality.

Cybernetic theories have also been used to describe the origin of religion in societies and the development of ethical systems. In general, a cybernetic view of religion sees it as an adaptive mechanism for the survival of groups as they evolve and change in an atmosphere of physical and social competition. Religion becomes one of many feedback mechanisms for regulating the functioning of individuals within the social group.

SEE ALSO Artificial Intelligence.

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CYCLADIC RELIGION SEE AEGEAN RELIGIONS

CYPRIAN (c. 205–258), also known as Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus; bishop of Carthage. According to his own testimony, Cyprian was raised in Carthage, where he was born probably in the first decade of the third century. Scion of a noble pagan family, he had the opportunity to become well trained in literature and rhetoric. Because he was a successful rhetorician, he acquired fame and friends in the ranks of high society.

Cyprian was already mature when in 246, attracted by the purity of Christian ethics, he was initiated into the Christian faith by the presbyter Caecilius, whose name he adopted. He found theological guidance in the works of Tertullian, whom he called "the teacher," even though he did not follow him in his extreme views.

Within a short period of time Cyprian had acquired such authority that in 248, after the death of Donatus, bishop of Carthage, he was elected his successor "by the voice of the people and the verdict of God." A year later the persecutions under Emperor Decius began. While the pagan mob cried, "Give Cyprian to the lion," he found refuge outside the city, whence he administered the church with the assistance of a committee of vicars.

The persecution badly disrupted the unity of the North African church. The edict of Decius invited all Christians either to sacrifice to the idols, whereupon they would receive a *libellus* ("certificate"), or to suffer martyrdom. Large groups of Christians everywhere became martyrs to the faith, but others (the *sacrificati*) offered some kind of sacrifice, while yet others (the *libellatici*) managed to obtain false documents stating that they had offered sacrifice. When these *lapsi*, or "backsliders," expressed the desire to return to the church, Cyprian instructed his clergy to grant full communion to the sick, but to give only pastoral care to the others until peace came, when a decision could be reached on how to receive the *lapsi*.

Cyprian found opposition to his policy, however, from a group of tolerant Christians under the layman, later deacon, Felicissimus, who advocated the immediate acceptance of all backsliders without restriction. They were backed by those presbyters who were displeased by Cyprian's election to the episcopate, as well as by numerous confessors, who promptly gave letters of recommendation to backsliders.

When he returned to his see fourteen months after he left, Cyprian convoked a synod that established in concert with Rome the fundamental principles for receiving the backsliders. The *sacrificati* should undergo penance of varying length, while the *libellatici* would be received immediately. However, there was a reaction on the part of the rigorists as well. Cyprian did not succeed in preventing a double schism, which resulted from the election of two new bishops as his rivals, Fortunatus and Maximus.

A new crisis, threatened during the reign of Gallus (252) by an outbreak of the plague, was averted by the self-sacrificing attitude of the Christians toward the victims of the misfortune, both Christian and pagan. In the period that followed, Cyprian carried out fruitful pastoral, social, and interchurch activities.

The validity of the baptism of heretics, an old problem exacerbated by the extension of the influence of Novatian, a leading presbyter in Rome, was to vex the church anew. How should the returning heretics be received? Cyprian, in accordance with the custom of the African church, and on the basis of his own ecclesiological persuasions, thought that no sacrament had any validity if performed outside the canonical church. Consequently, all heretics who returned would have to be rebaptized. His opinion was confirmed by three successive synods in 255 and 256. Pope Stephen, maintaining that acceptance should be made only by the laying on of hands, broke relations with Cyprian.

Under Valerian a new edict was issued against the Christians. Cyprian, not wishing to hide this time, was arrested, exiled to a place north of Carthage, and finally condemned to death. On hearing the decision, he said only "Deo gratias." He was beheaded on September 14, 258.

Though the Christian stage of Cyprian's life was short and troubled, he became one of the great writers of the church. He certainly did not possess the force and depth of Tertullian, whose terms and topics he borrowed extensively, but he showed greater understanding and moderation than the latter. His works are the product and proof of his practical interests and they reflect all the major issues and personalities of the day. Three ancient lists cite the titles of his writings, mostly short treatises and letters.

A friend of Cyprian's, Donatus, had difficulty in breaking away from old pagan customs. In *To Donatus*, Cyprian says that he himself also feared that he would find difficulty after his turn toward Christianity but that the water of regeneration had made him a new man. *To Quirinius*, later called *Testimonia*, is a collection of biblical passages with short comments for the training of new Christians. *On the Ornaments of Virgins* was written at the beginning of Cyprian's episcopate to praise the virtue of virginity and stress the need for modesty in dress. Cyprian issued *On the Lapsed* when he returned to his see in 251. In it he expresses his sorrow for the victims of the persecution and draws principles on the basis of which the problem of the backsliders should be solved.

On the Unity of the Catholic Church was written in 251, in face of the apparent danger of a split in the church, to stress that the church of Christ is one and that those who split it bring about an evil worse than the persecution. *On the Lord's Prayer*, written in 252, presents an edifying allegorical interpretation of the Lord's Prayer. The two treatises *To Demetrianus* and *On Morality* answer questions about suffering. The first is an answer to the accusations that arose during the plague, namely that Christian refusal to worship Roman deities was responsible for the present evils. Responsibility for these evils, states Cyprian, is to be found in the moral disorder of pagan society. *On Morality* was written during the same period to answer the question of why Christians endure the same evils as the pagans—dying prematurely from the plague and from hunger. Cyprian reasons that natural laws, established by the divine will, have universal bearing. Moreover, death is not a punishment for Christians: what travelers do not long to return to their homeland? Heaven is the home of Christians.

Other treatises cover almsgiving, baptism, jealousy, and envy, or are meant to enhearten Christians facing persecution. A number of other short treatises, mostly from the third century, have been falsely attributed to Cyprian.

The letters of Cyprian, some of them small treatises in themselves, are also important. Most refer to the problems of his episcopate: the consequences of persecution under Decius, the problem of the backsliders, the Novatian schism, and the question of the baptism of heretics. Popes Cornelius, Lucius, and Stephen, and the bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, are his most eminent correspondents.

A man of action, Cyprian was concerned exclusively with practical questions as aspects of the great problem of the church. "We struggle for the honor and the unity of the Church," he declares (*Letters* 73.11). His insistence that there is only one leader of the faith and his fear of the separatist movements within the church led him to stress the element of unity. He insisted that on a high level the church is one, because its founder is one, but simultaneously it is also universal. The one church is diffused into the universal through the multiplicity of bishops. The Petrine chair, the *cathedra*, is the one church; the sees of the local bishops constitute the universal church.

The fourth chapter of Cyprian's *On the Unity* examines unity on a second level, the unity of the body of bishops. The interpretation of this text, preserved in two recensions, has presented problems for theological research. The longer recension, because it is favorable to papal primacy, was once considered by many to be an interpolation. After the research of Othmar Perler, Maurice Bévenot, and others, however, both recensions are regarded as genuine. The long text stresses that "primacy was given to Peter" by Christ and that "those who abandon the chair of Peter cannot belong to the church." The mistake of earlier historians was that they identified the chair of Peter with the see of Rome. It appears that Cyprian was already aware of such a misunderstanding, and for this reason he removed those expressions and gave the text the short form. What Cyprian wished to say was that in the famous verse of *Matthew* 16:18, "Upon this rock [*petra*] I will build my Church," the rock and chair of Peter is the faith, and since the faith is one, the see is also one. In this one see all the apostles take part, as well as their successors. "Episcopatus unus est" ("The episcopate is one"), and the particular bishops are coparticipants in it. Further, the bishops are closely joined by the law of personal love and concord, and also through their common origin (*Letters* 43.5; 69.3). Therefore the important problems of the church can be solved only by a common decision of the bishops in synod.

On the local level, every church constitutes a unity achieved through the bond of the bishop, the clergy, and the laity. The faithful must be united with the bishop in the sense understood by Ignatius of Antioch; and he who is not one with the bishop is not even with the church. But the unity must operate reciprocally. Cyprian never acted without consultation with his clergy and people.

There are definite consequences of this kind of unity for the process of salvation. The church is the bride of Christ, pure and incorrupt; therefore, "no one can have God as Father, if he does not have the Church as mother" (*On the Unity* 6). In opposition to Tertullian, Cyprian insisted that the Holy Spirit is active only within the church: "Salus extra ecclesiam non est" ("There is no salvation outside the church," *Letters* 73.21). The church is the ark of Noah, whose passengers were the only ones saved from the great flood. The sacraments of the church, especially baptism, Eucharist, penance, and ordination, are valid only within the framework of the canonical ecclesiastical life.

Cyprian's feast is celebrated in the Western church on September 16, while in the Eastern church it is celebrated on October 2, and in the Anglican on September 26; the confusion occurs because of an Antiochian magician of the same name who converted to Christianity. At the time of Augustine, there were already three churches dedicated to Cyprian's name. His relics were transferred to Lyons under Charlemagne and were later deposited at Moissac in southern France.

The dissemination of Cyprian's writings in the Middle Ages shows that he was more honored than any other Latin church writer, except for the four great doctors of the Western church. He is one of the principal founders of Latin theology. Augustine was profoundly influenced by his views; the Council of Ephesus (431) used demonstrative passages from his works; the *Gelasian Decree* put him at the head of its list of orthodox bishops; and the *Decretum* of Gratian gave official weight to his treatise *On Unity*, which was widely used during the investiture controversy.

See Also Donatism.

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Translated from Greek by Philip M. McGhee

CYRIL I (1570/2–1638), surnamed Loukaris, known also as Cyril Lucar; Greek Orthodox patriarch of Constantinople. Next to Gennadios Scholarios, the first patriarch after the fall of Constantinople, Cyril was the most brilliant and influential head of the Greek church during the period of Turkish rule. Living at a time of intense conflict, when both Rome and the Protestants were seeking to bring Greek Orthodoxy under their control, Cyril strongly favored the Protestant side.

He was born at Candia (modern-day Heraklion) in Crete, then under Venetian sovereignty, and was given the baptismal name of Constantine. He studied at Venice under the celebrated Greek scholar Maximos Margounios, and then at the University of Padua. At his ordination (c. 1593) to the diaconate in Constantinople by Meletios Pegas, patriarch of Alexandria, who was probably his relative, Loukaris took the new name of Cyril. In 1594 he was sent to Poland to strengthen the Orthodox resistance against Roman Catholic propaganda and to help with education. In 1596, when the Synod of Brest-Litovsk ratified the union of the Orthodox church in Poland with the Roman Catholic church, Cyril took part in the countersynod held in Brest by those Orthodox who opposed the union. He stayed in Poland until 1598 and went for a second visit in 1600–1601. Returning in 1601 to Constantinople, Cyril was ordained priest, and in Egypt that autumn he was elected patriarch of Alexandria succeeding Pegas, an office he held until 1620, residing much of the time in Constantinople.

While in Poland, although siding with the antiunionist party, Cyril maintained friendly relations with leading Roman Catholics; in his early sermons (1599–1600) he draws on Catholic apologists such as Roberto Bellarmino and makes use of Latin scholastic categories, accepting among other things the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. As late as 1608 he wrote to Paul V in terms implying a recognition of papal primacy. During his time as patriarch of Alexandria, however, Cyril came to feel increasing sympathy with Protestantism, particularly in its Calvinist form. His Protestant contacts were chiefly Dutch: he formed a close friendship with Cornelius van Haag (or Haga), Dutch ambassador at Constantinople; corresponded with the theologian Jan Uytenbogaert; and met David Le Leu de Wilhem. He also exchanged letters with George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, and in 1617 he sent a young Greek monk, Metrophanes Kritopoulos (1589–1639), to study at Oxford. Kritopoulos remained in England until 1624, later becoming patriarch of Alexandria (1636–1639).

In 1620 Cyril was elected patriarch of Constantinople (he had been patriarch briefly in 1612). He remained on the ecumenical throne until his death in 1638, though with some interruptions: he was deposed, reinstated in 1630, deposed a third time and restored in 1633, deposed and again reinstated in 1634, deposed in 1635 and not restored until 1637, thus serving altogether no fewer than seven different periods in office. The frequency with which he was ejected is an indication of the extreme instability of the ecumenical patriarchate at this time, subject as it was to constant interference from the Turkish authorities, and with its bishops deeply divided by internal strife. Throughout his years as patriarch, Cyril was the center of a bitter conflict between the anti-Roman and pro-Roman factions in the holy synod; behind this conflict lay the wider struggle between different states of western Europe for influence within the Ottoman empire. Cyril's opponents in the synod, the chief among them being Cyril (Kontaris) of Beroea, himself on several occasions patriarch, were supported by the Propaganda Fide in Rome and by the Jesuits in Constantinople, as well as by the French and Austrian ambassadors; on his side, Cyril relied upon the assistance of the Dutch and English embassies. He enjoyed the friendship of Thomas Roe, English ambassador during 1621–1628, through whom he donated the Codex Alexandrinus in 1628 to King Charles I of England. He also became close friends with Antoine Léger, chaplain at the Dutch embassy from 1628.

As patriarch, Cyril struggled to raise standards of education. In particular he opened a printing press at Constantinople in 1627, but this functioned for only a few months before it was closed by the Turks in 1628. He commissioned a translation of the New Testament into modern Greek, which was eventually published at Geneva in 1638. But he is chiefly remembered for his *Confession of Faith*, first published at Geneva in 1629. This work is openly Calvinist in its teaching, and many have denied its authenticity; yet, even if it was drafted by one of Cyril's Protestant friends, such as Léger, Cyril himself appended his signature to it and accepted it as his own.

Cyril's life came to a tragic end on June 27, 1638. He was arrested on an accusation of inciting the Don Cossacks to attack the Ottoman domains. After a few days in prison he was taken out to sea in a small boat and strangled. A man of vision and energy, and endowed with an able intellect, in calmer times Cyril might have succeeded in effecting a theological rapprochement between East and West, as well as in raising cultural and educational standards within the ecumenical patriarchate. As it was, his great gifts of leadership were largely wasted in an unremitting and futile struggle for power.

Cyril's *Confession of Faith* expresses to a considerable degree a reformed rather than an Orthodox viewpoint. He states that "the authority of scripture is higher than that of the church," since scripture alone, being divinely inspired, cannot err (sec. 2); and he denies the infallibility of the church (sec. 12). He adopts the standard Calvinist teaching on predestination and election (sec. 3) and insists on justification by faith alone, without works (sec. 13). He holds that there are only two "sacraments of the gospel," baptism and the Eucharist (sec. 15), and he dismisses "the vainly invented doctrine of transubstantiation," arguing that the faithful receive the body of Christ "not by crushing it with their physical teeth, but by perceiving it through the sense and feeling of the soul" (sec. 17). He rejects the doctrine of purgatory, denying that there can be change or progress after death (sec. 18), and he repudiates the veneration of icons (answer 4).

Cyril's *Confession* is the most far-reaching attempt ever made by an Eastern church leader to bring Orthodox teaching into line with Protestantism. It is hard to determine whether he was seeking merely to please his Calvinist supporters, or whether he was expressing his own deepest convictions in the hope of inspiring some sort of reformation within the Orthodox church. In fact the *Confession* found little favor and was condemned by no fewer than six Orthodox councils in the half century following Cyril's death (Constantinople, 1638, 1642; Jassy, 1642; Constantinople, 1672; Jerusalem, 1672; and Constantinople, 1691). The most significant of these condemnations was at the Jerusalem Council of 1672; this council ratified the *Confession* composed by Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem, which rebutted Cyril's *Confession* point by point. Even though Dositheos was influenced by Latin theology, his deviation from mainstream Orthodoxy was far less radical than Cyril's. The influence of Cyril's *Confession* was in this way largely negative, serving to push the Greek church in an anti-Protestant direction; but, if only by way of reaction, it also served to clarify seventeenth-century Orthodox thinking about the church, the sacraments, and the state of the departed.

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KALLISTOS WARE (1987)

CYRIL AND METHODIUS. Cyril, also known as Constantine (c. 826–869), and Methodius (c. 815–844) were called the "apostles to the Slavs" because of their religious and cultural contributions to the people of the Danube basin and later to all Slavic-speaking people. Constantine (who took the name Cyril only in the last months of his life) and Methodius were born into a prominent Christian family in Thessalonica, Greece. The brothers learned Greek and probably also Slavic, since many Slavic people had migrated south into their area of Macedonia. After their father's death, Constantine moved to Constantinople. Then only fourteen, he was cared for by the family of a high government official. He later attended the imperial university and benefited from studying with the leading teachers in the region, including Photius, the future patriarch of Constantinople (858–867, 877–888). He became librarian of Hagia Sophia, the leading church in the East, and later professor of philosophy at the imperial university. He also participated in religious debates with church leaders and Muslim scholars.

Methodius, meanwhile, had been awarded the governorship of a Slavic-speaking district. After some years as governor, however, he withdrew into a Greek monastery in Bithynia (in Asia Minor), where Constantine joined him in 855. In 860, the patriarch sent Constantine and Methodius on a mission to the Khazars, a people occuping the territory northeast of the Black Sea, who had asked that the Christian message be explained to them. The result of their visit was that two hundred Khazars requested baptism. This success led to another, more important mission shortly thereafter.

In 862, Rastislav, duke of Greater Moravia, sent a request for help to the emperor in Constantinople, Michael III. Rastislav's Slavic-speaking subjects had already been widely evangelized by missionaries from western Europe, that is, from the East Frankish kingdom (modern-day West Germany and Austria). The Slavic peoples, however, had no written language and no strong cultural or church leadership, and Rastislav perceived a danger in the political and ecclesiastical influence of the neighboring Germanic tribes. He hoped that aid from Constantinople would enable Moravia to remain politically and religiously autonomous.

Recognizing the importance of the request, the Byzantine emperor and the patriarch, Photius, agreed to send Methodius and Constantine. In the months before their journey, Constantine prepared for the mission by developing a written language for the Slavs. He formed the alphabet from Hebrew and Greek letters (in its final form, this alphabet, the Cyrillic, is still used in modern Russian and in a number of other modern Slavic languages). Using this alphabet, Constantine translated the Gospels and later the epistles of Paul and the *Book of Psalms* into Slavic.

In late 863, the brothers began the mission. They sailed around Greece and up the Adriatic to Venice, then traveled overland to Moravia, where they were warmly welcomed. Their work included training a native clergy, instructing them in the newly written Slavic language, and translating liturgical textbooks. The latinized clergy in the area vigorously opposed the Slavic liturgy; they held to a "trilingualist" theory that only Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were acceptable for worship. To win papal support for their innovations, the brothers journeyed to Rome in 867. The also took along some trainees for ordination. On the way, they spent several months south of the Danube in Pannonia (modern-day western Hungary), where another Slavic chieftain, Kocel (r. 861–874), welcomed the brothers and entrusted to them a group of young men for training.

When the brothers reached Rome, Pope Adrian II welcomed them and granted full approval to their Slavic liturgy. After some months, and while still in Rome, Constantine became seriously ill. The brothers had been staying in a Greek monastery, and during his illness Constantine took a vow to remain a monk and at that point assumed the name Cyril. In less than two months, at the age of about forty-two, he died.

With papal encouragement, Methodius returned to work with the Slavic princes of Pannonia, Moravia, and the area around Nitra. Wishing to gain jurisdiction over the areas, Adrian II sent letters with Methodius approving the Slavic liturgy. The princes welcomed Methodius back, and in 869 the pope ordained him archbishop of Pannonia and Moravia, with his cathedral at Sirmium (near present-day Belgrade, Yugoslavia). Opposition to this appointment came from the neighboring Frankish (Bavarian) bishops, Hermanrich of Passau, Adalwin of Salzburg, and Anno of Fresing, all of whom had long worked for Frankish ecclesiastical and political influence in the area. In 870, with the help of Svatopluk, the ruler of Nitra, Bishop Hermanrich contrived to arrest Methodius and imprison him in a monastery in Swabia (southwestern Germany). In 873, Pope John VIII ordered his release, reinstalled him in his former diocese, and reaffirmed, with slight reservations, papal support for the Slavic liturgy.

The work of Methodius among the Slavs seems to have prospered, but opposition continued from the Frankish clergy and from Svatopluk, the new ruler in Moravia. Accused of heresy, Methodius successfully defended himself and won from John VIII a bull that praised his orthodoxy, reaffirmed the independence of his diocese, and expressly authorized the Mass in Slavic. During the last years of his life, Methodius continued to meet opposition. Nevertheless, with the help of two disciples, he completed the translation of the Bible into Slavic and codified both the civil and the ecclesiastical law. After Methodius's death in 884, his disciples were expelled by their Frankish opponents but found refuge in southern Poland, Bulgaria, and Bohemia. Through them the work of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius continued, contributing substantially to the growth of the Greek church and Slavic Christian culture in eastern Europe.

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H. MCKENNIE GOODPASTURE (1987)

CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA (c. 375–444), church father, theologian, and saint. Cyril succeeded his uncle Theophilus as bishop of Alexandria in 412. His aggressive nature involved him in a series of polemics against heretics. His rhetorical skills were sometimes stronger than his theological judgment, and he was often forgetful of evangelical moderation. In the early days of his studies in the humanities and in religion, he had not been trained to distinguish between the authentic treatises of Athanasius, his most admired predecessor, and those by Apollinarius, listed under Athanasius's name in the episcopal library of Alexandria. Thus he mistakenly urged a form of Christology best expressed by Apollinarius's phrase, which he believed to be Athanasian: "the unique incarnate nature of God the Logos."

Cyril's most famous controversy was with Nestorius, his colleague in the imperial metropolis of Constantinople. A monk from Antioch, made bishop of Constantinople by Emperor Theodosius II in 428, Nestorius preached against Arian and Apollinaristic factions in the monasteries surrounding the capital. Both groups called Mary *theotokos* (Mother of God) in claiming that the Logos incarnate was born, grew up, and suffered. Nestorius became suspicious of this epithet and preferred Mother of Christ. Denounced to Cyril, who ignored the local circumstances and was eager to interfere in the debates at Constantinople, Nestorius was accused by his powerful Alexandrian rival of dividing Christ into two beings, a mere man and the Logos. An exchange of several letters between January and June 430 did not help. Nestorius, with an obvious lack of needed theological acumen, was unaware of the coming storm. Cyril gained strength speedily, and now without diplomatic maneuvers, he garnered the full support of the Roman bishop Celestine and the ear of the emperor. The latter called for a general council in Ephesus, at Pentecost, on June 7, 431. Before numerous Eastern bishops, led by John of Antioch, could arrive—they were moderate supporters of Nestorius and opposed to the passionate initiatives of Cyril—Nestorius was condemned as a heretic and deposed, on June 22. It took Cyril two years to become reconciled with his Eastern colleagues. Nestorius was sent into a bitter exile in Petra, and later to the Great Oasis in southern Libya. His supporters were all sent to work camps as prisoners.

The literary and theological legacy of Cyril focuses on his christological system and on biblical exegesis. In the wake of anti-Nestorian polemics, he demonstrated a strong opposition to the Antiochene school of scriptural hermeneutics. The main teachers and actual founders of this school were Diodorus, bishop of Tarsus from 378 to around 394, and Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia from 392 to 428. They were accused by Cyril of having paved the way for Nestorianism, and were condemned by the imperial court. Most of their invaluable biblical commentaries were destroyed.

Cyril's commentaries include an interpretation of christological evidences taken by him from the Pentateuch. These are known as *Glaphura*, which includes extensive interpretations of *Isaiah* and the Minor Prophets, as well as commentaries on *John*, *Luke*, *Matthew*, and the Pauline letters. In his exegesis he uses the traditional Alexandrian method, laying out the literal, typological, and moral teaching of scripture. His knowledge of different Greek versions and of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament was complemented by his familiarity with allegorical and etymological techniques of interpretation. His dogmatic works on trinitarian theology popularized the notion of one divine substance in three persons. The main contribution of Cyril in the christological debate was to prepare a clearer notion of the interrelated properties of God and man in the unity of Christ, the so-called *communicatio idiomatum.*

Through the centuries (in both the East and the West), Cyril has been regarded as one of the main defenders of imperial orthodoxy as it was transmitted into the Middle Ages.

SEE ALSO Nestorianism; Nestorius.

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CHARLES KANNENGIESSER (1987)

CYRIL OF JERUSALEM (313–386), ecumenical doctor and father of the church. Born in or around Jerusalem, Cyril was ordained presbyter in 343 by Bishop Maximus II, whom he succeeded at the beginning of 348. Although seemingly indifferent to dogmatic subtleties, Cyril could not remain outside the climate of his time. He was acknowledged by the Arians because he avoided the term *homoousios* ("of the same substance"), but he disappointed them at the beginning of his episcopate by placing himself among the adherents of the Nicene dogma. This fact was one reason for his break with Acacius, the Arian metropolitan of Caesarea who had ordained him. A second reason for this rupture was the ambiguity of the seventh canon of the Council of Nicaea (325), which ordered that the bishop of Jerusalem be honored according to ancient custom but be subject to the metropolitan of Caesarea.

Acacius, a favorite of the Arian emperor Constantius, succeeded in banishing Cyril from his see (357), and, although he was recalled by the Council of Seleucia in 359, Cyril had to endure further banishments lasting many years. Having returned under the reign of Julian, he was not personally affected by the emperor's plans to degrade Christianity and promote paganism by all means possible. However, banishment under Valens kept Cyril far from his flock for eleven years. After returning to his see in 378, he remained undisturbed in his work until his death (386).

Cyril's chief work was his *Catecheses,* a collection of twenty-four instructions, delivered in the Church of the Resurrection before and after Easter 348. Their aim was to initiate the catechumens in the fundamental doctrines of Christian faith and life and to explain the main sacraments of the church to the newly baptized.

The collection contains three types of instruction. One preliminary teaching (the *Procatechesis*), which emphasizes the importance of the last stage of instruction, draws the new tasks of the catechumens and points out the need for their preparation for baptism. Next, eighteen catecheses to the *phōtizomenoi* (those who had reached the stage of awaiting baptism at the coming of Easter) deal with the subjects of repentance and baptism, describe the basic doctrines of Christianity and the rules of life, and offer a theologically edifying interpretation of the creed. Finally, five mystagogical catecheses to the newly baptized give a detailed interpretation of the sacraments of baptism, confirmation, and the Eucharist. Some manuscripts ascribe this third section to Cyril's successor, John of Jerusalem.

These instructions seem to have been delivered impromptu, as is noted in some manuscripts. However, their style is clear, vivacious, and cordial. Their mode of instruction is based on sound pedagogical principles; the author repeats a number of times the essential elements so that they may be consolidated in the minds of the hearers. The work has been translated into many languages, both ancient and modern.

Of the homilies of Cyril only one has been preserved; it deals with the cure of the paralytic (*Jn.* 5:5). A letter addressed to Emperor Constantius reports the miraculous apparition of a cross of light above Calvary on May 7, 351. Some other unimportant texts, including an anaphora, have been falsely attributed to him.

As an adherent of the Council of Nicaea, Cyril declared that he neither separated the persons of the Trinity nor confused them. He does not, however, use the critical term *homoousios.* This omission certainly is not owing to his insistence on the necessity of biblical language in doctrine, since the term *homoeos* ("like"), which he does use to define the relation of the Son to the Father, is also nonscriptural. Neither can it be attributed to a semi-Arian tendency, since his struggle against Arianism would therefore go unexplained. It may be ascribed to his fear of a deviation toward Sabellianism, a fear that possessed many adherents of the Nicene Creed. Indeed, Cyril said, "We should not either say there was a time when the Son was not, or put our faith in the doctrine of *huiopatoria* (that is, the Father and the Son are the same person); let us not deviate either to the left or to the right" (*Catecheses* 11.16). He might have been compelled to use the term later on as an indispensable weapon in the struggle against Arianism, but we have no such evidence.

Cyril characterizes the sacrament of baptism in two ways: first, according to the Pauline presentation, as a tomb from which the baptized are resurrected, dying and rising together with Christ; and second, according to the Johannine presentation, as mother of the new spiritual birth. In the eucharistic doctrine he emphasizes clearly the real presence of Christ in the elements: "in the *tupos* of bread" the body of Christ exists, and "in the *tupos* of wine" the blood of Christ exists. Therefore, the faithful, receiving both of these, become "co-bodily and co-bloodily" of Christ. Christ, who at Cana changed water into wine, would have no difficulty in changing wine into blood. Yet Cyril does not mention the words of institution in the Eucharist, probably because they are too sacred for such mention.

After his death Cyril was not often cited, but gradually, as knowledge of his theology spread, his major writings were widely used by theologians, who came to consider them one of the more valid sources for Orthodox theologizing. In 1893

Cyril was proclaimed a doctor of the church by Pope Leo XIII. His feast is celebrated in both the Eastern and the Western church on March 18.

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PANAGIOTIS C. CHRISTOU (1987)

CYRUS II (c. 585–c. 529 BCE), called Cyrus the Great; builder and ruler of the Persian empire from 559 BCE until his death. A king of the Achaemenid dynasty, Cyrus (OPers., Kurush) combined great ambition, shrewd calculation, and military expertise to establish the largest empire in world history. From his base in Anshan he conquered neighboring Media in alliance with the Babylonian king Nabonidus in 550, overtook Lydia in Asia Minor in 547, defeated resisting areas in the Greek mainland, then returned to Persia and drove his armies eastward as far as India. With his power thus increased, he conquered Babylonia and proclaimed himself king of all Mesopotamia—indeed, of the world—in 539.

Nabonidus had alienated the Babylonian priesthood through his extraordinary devotion to the moon cult. Capitalizing on Nabonidus's heresy, Cyrus achieved popularity in Babylon by restoring the cult of its chief god, Marduk, and by reestablishing the shrines and proper worship of other gods in their former locations. In a proclamation composed in Babylonian, Cyrus asserts that Marduk delivered his lands to the conqueror and that Bel (Enlil) and Nabu, the local Babylonian gods, love his rule. The Hebrew scriptures preserve two versions of an edict by Cyrus in which the conqueror attributes his victories to the Israelite god, "YHVH God of Heaven" who "commanded me to build him a temple in Jerusalem" (*Ezr.* 1:1–3, 6:3–5). The Judeans living in exile in Babylonia saw Cyrus as their liberator because he permitted them in 538 to return to their homeland in Judaea and to rebuild the Temple, which had been destroyed by Babylonia in 587/6. A prophet of the Judean exile, the so-called Second Isaiah, portrayed Cyrus as the "shepherd" chosen by the Lord to subjugate nations and reestablish the Jerusalem Temple (*Is.* 44:28, 45:1ff.; cf. *Is.* 41:1ff.).

Subsequent Jewish traditions tend to play down Cyrus's personal rectitude while seeing him as an instrument of God (B.T., *Meg.* 12a). Christian exegetes have often regarded Cyrus as a prefiguration of the Messiah.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED IN THIS WORK

abbr. abbreviated; abbreviation
abr. abridged; abridgment
AD *anno Domini,* in the year of the (our) Lord
Afrik. Afrikaans
AH *anno Hegirae,* in the year of the Hijrah
Akk. Akkadian
Ala. Alabama
Alb. Albanian
Am. *Amos*
AM *ante meridiem,* before noon
amend. amended; amendment
annot. annotated; annotation
Ap. *Apocalypse*
Apn. *Apocryphon*
app. appendix
Arab. Arabic
ʿArakh. *ʿArakhin*
Aram. Aramaic
Ariz. Arizona
Ark. Arkansas
Arm. Armenian
art. article (pl., arts.)
AS Anglo-Saxon
Asm. Mos. *Assumption of Moses*
Assyr. Assyrian
A.S.S.R. Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
Av. Avestan
ʿA.Z. *ʿAvodah zarah*
b. born
Bab. Babylonian
Ban. Bantu
1 Bar. *1 Baruch*
2 Bar. *2 Baruch*
3 Bar. *3 Baruch*
4 Bar. *4 Baruch*
B.B. *Bavaʾ batraʾ*
BBC British Broadcasting Corporation
BC before Christ
BCE before the common era
B.D. Bachelor of Divinity
Beits. *Beitsah*
Bekh. *Bekhorot*
Beng. Bengali
Ber. *Berakhot*
Berb. Berber
Bik. *Bikkurim*
bk. book (pl., bks.)
B.M. *Bavaʾ metsiʿaʾ*
BP before the present
B.Q. *Bavaʾ qammaʾ*
Brāh. *Brāhmaṇa*
Bret. Breton
B.T. Babylonian Talmud
Bulg. Bulgarian
Burm. Burmese
c. *circa,* about, approximately
Calif. California
Can. Canaanite
Catal. Catalan
CE of the common era
Celt. Celtic
cf. *confer,* compare
Chald. Chaldean
chap. chapter (pl., chaps.)
Chin. Chinese
C.H.M. Community of the Holy Myrrhbearers
1 Chr. *1 Chronicles*
2 Chr. *2 Chronicles*
Ch. Slav. Church Slavic
cm centimeters
col. column (pl., cols.)
Col. *Colossians*
Colo. Colorado
comp. compiler (pl., comps.)
Conn. Connecticut
cont. continued
Copt. Coptic
1 Cor. *1 Corinthians*
2 Cor. *2 Corinthians*
corr. corrected
C.S.P. Congregatio Sancti Pauli, Congregation of Saint Paul (Paulists)
d. died
D Deuteronomic (source of the Pentateuch)
Dan. Danish
D.B. Divinitatis Baccalaureus, Bachelor of Divinity
D.C. District of Columbia
D.D. Divinitatis Doctor, Doctor of Divinity
Del. Delaware
Dem. *Demaʾi*
dim. diminutive
diss. dissertation
Dn. *Daniel*
D.Phil. Doctor of Philosophy
Dt. *Deuteronomy*
Du. Dutch
E Elohist (source of the Pentateuch)
Eccl. *Ecclesiastes*
ed. editor (pl., eds.); edition; edited by

ʿEduy. *ʿEduyyot*
e.g. *exempli gratia,* for example
Egyp. Egyptian
1 En. *1 Enoch*
2 En. *2 Enoch*
3 En. *3 Enoch*
Eng. English
enl. enlarged
Eph. *Ephesians*
ʿEruv. *ʿEruvin*
1 Esd. *1 Esdras*
2 Esd. *2 Esdras*
3 Esd. *3 Esdras*
4 Esd. *4 Esdras*
esp. especially
Est. Estonian
Est. *Esther*
et al. *et alii,* and others
etc. *et cetera,* and so forth
Eth. Ethiopic
EV English version
Ex. *Exodus*
exp. expanded
Ez. *Ezekiel*
Ezr. *Ezra*
2 Ezr. *2 Ezra*
4 Ezr. *4 Ezra*
f. feminine; and following (pl., ff.)
fasc. fascicle (pl., fascs.)
fig. figure (pl., figs.)
Finn. Finnish
fl. *floruit,* flourished
Fla. Florida
Fr. French
frag. fragment
ft. feet
Ga. Georgia
Gal. *Galatians*
Gaul. Gaulish
Ger. German
Giṭ. *Giṭṭin*
Gn. *Genesis*
Gr. Greek
Ḥag. *Ḥagigah*
Ḥal. *Ḥallah*
Hau. Hausa
Hb. *Habakkuk*
Heb. Hebrew
Heb. *Hebrews*
Hg. *Haggai*
Hitt. Hittite
Hor. *Horayot*
Hos. *Hosea*
Ḥul. *Ḥullin*
Hung. Hungarian
ibid. *ibidem,* in the same place (as the one immediately preceding)
Icel. Icelandic
i.e. *id est,* that is
IE Indo-European
Ill. Illinois
Ind. Indiana
intro. introduction
Ir. Gael. Irish Gaelic
Iran. Iranian
Is. *Isaiah*
Ital. Italian
J Yahvist (source of the Pentateuch)
Jas. *James*
Jav. Javanese
Jb. *Job*
Jdt. *Judith*
Jer. *Jeremiah*
Jgs. *Judges*
Jl. *Joel*
Jn. *John*
1 Jn. *1 John*
2 Jn. *2 John*
3 Jn. *3 John*
Jon. *Jonah*
Jos. *Joshua*
Jpn. Japanese
JPS Jewish Publication Society translation (1985) of the Hebrew Bible
J.T. Jerusalem Talmud
Jub. *Jubilees*
Kans. Kansas
Kel. *Kelim*
Ker. *Keritot*
Ket. *Ketubbot*
1 Kgs. *1 Kings*
2 Kgs. *2 Kings*
Khois. Khoisan
Kil. *Kilʾayim*
km kilometers
Kor. Korean
Ky. Kentucky
l. line (pl., ll.)
La. Louisiana
Lam. *Lamentations*
Lat. Latin
Latv. Latvian
L. en Th. Licencié en Théologie, Licentiate in Theology
L. ès L. Licencié ès Lettres, Licentiate in Literature
Let. Jer. *Letter of Jeremiah*
lit. literally
Lith. Lithuanian
Lk. *Luke*
LL Late Latin
LL.D. Legum Doctor, Doctor of Laws
Lv. *Leviticus*
m meters
m. masculine
M.A. Master of Arts
Ma ʿas. *Maʿaserot*
Ma ʿas. Sh. *Maʿ aser sheni*
Mak. *Makkot*
Makh. *Makhshirin*
Mal. *Malachi*
Mar. Marathi
Mass. Massachusetts
1 Mc. *1 Maccabees*
2 Mc. *2 Maccabees*
3 Mc. *3 Maccabees*
4 Mc. *4 Maccabees*
Md. Maryland
M.D. Medicinae Doctor, Doctor of Medicine
ME Middle English
Meg. *Megillah*
Me ʿil. *Meʿilah*
Men. *Menaḥot*
MHG Middle High German
mi. miles
Mi. *Micah*
Mich. Michigan
Mid. *Middot*
Minn. Minnesota
Miq. *Miqvaʾot*
MIran. Middle Iranian
Miss. Mississippi
Mk. *Mark*
Mo. Missouri
Moʿed Q. *Moʿed qaṭan*
Mont. Montana
MPers. Middle Persian
MS. *manuscriptum,* manuscript (pl., MSS)
Mt. *Matthew*
MT Masoretic text
n. note
Na. *Nahum*
Nah. Nahuatl
Naz. *Nazir*
N.B. *nota bene,* take careful note
N.C. North Carolina
n.d. no date
N.Dak. North Dakota
NEB New English Bible
Nebr. Nebraska

Ned. *Nedarim*
Neg. *Negaʿim*
Neh. *Nehemiah*
Nev. Nevada
N.H. New Hampshire
Nid. *Niddah*
N.J. New Jersey
Nm. *Numbers*
N.Mex. New Mexico
no. number (pl., nos.)
Nor. Norwegian
n.p. no place
n.s. new series
N.Y. New York
Ob. *Obadiah*
O.Cist. Ordo Cisterciencium, Order of Cîteaux (Cistercians)
OCS Old Church Slavonic
OE Old English
O.F.M. Ordo Fratrum Minorum, Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)
OFr. Old French
Ohal. *Ohalot*
OHG Old High German
OIr. Old Irish
OIran. Old Iranian
Okla. Oklahoma
ON Old Norse
O.P. Ordo Praedicatorum, Order of Preachers (Dominicans)
OPers. Old Persian
op. cit. *opere citato,* in the work cited
OPrus. Old Prussian
Oreg. Oregon
ʿOrl. *ʿOrlah*
O.S.B. Ordo Sancti Benedicti, Order of Saint Benedict (Benedictines)
p. page (pl., pp.)
P Priestly (source of the Pentateuch)
Pa. Pennsylvania
Pahl. Pahlavi
Par. *Parah*
para. paragraph (pl., paras.)
Pers. Persian
Pes. *Pesahim*
Ph.D. Philosophiae Doctor, Doctor of Philosophy
Phil. *Philippians*
Phlm. *Philemon*
Phoen. Phoenician
pl. plural; plate (pl., pls.)
PM *post meridiem,* after noon
Pol. Polish
pop. population
Port. Portuguese
Prv. *Proverbs*
Ps. *Psalms*
Ps. 151 *Psalm 151*
Ps. Sol. *Psalms of Solomon*
pt. part (pl., pts.)
1Pt. *1 Peter*
2 Pt. *2 Peter*
Pth. Parthian
Q hypothetical source of the synoptic Gospels
Qid. *Qiddushin*
Qin. *Qinnim*
r. reigned; ruled
Rab. *Rabbah*
rev. revised
R. ha-Sh. *Roʾsh ha-shanah*
R.I. Rhode Island
Rom. Romanian
Rom. *Romans*
R.S.C.J. Societas Sacratissimi Cordis Jesu, Religious of the Sacred Heart
RSV Revised Standard Version of the Bible
Ru. *Ruth*
Rus. Russian
Rv. *Revelation*
Rv. Ezr. *Revelation of Ezra*
San. *Sanhedrin*
S.C. South Carolina
Scot. Gael. Scottish Gaelic
S.Dak. South Dakota
sec. section (pl., secs.)
Sem. Semitic
ser. series
sg. singular
Sg. *Song of Songs*
Sg. of 3 *Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men*
Shab. *Shabbat*
Shav. *Shavuʿot*
Sheq. *Sheqalim*
Sib. Or. *Sibylline Oracles*
Sind. Sindhi
Sinh. Sinhala
Sir. *Ben Sira*
S.J. Societas Jesu, Society of Jesus (Jesuits)
Skt. Sanskrit
1 Sm. *1 Samuel*
2 Sm. *2 Samuel*
Sogd. Sogdian
Soṭ. *Soṭah*
sp. species (pl., spp.)
Span. Spanish
sq. square
S.S.R. Soviet Socialist Republic
st. stanza (pl., ss.)
S.T.M. Sacrae Theologiae Magister, Master of Sacred Theology
Suk. *Sukkah*
Sum. Sumerian
supp. supplement; supplementary
Sus. *Susanna*
s.v. *sub verbo,* under the word (pl., s.v.v.)
Swed. Swedish
Syr. Syriac
Syr. Men. *Syriac Menander*
Taʿ an. *Taʿanit*
Tam. Tamil
Tam. *Tamid*
Tb. *Tobit*
T.D. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō,* edited by Takakusu Junjirō et al. (Tokyo,1922–1934)
Tem. *Temurah*
Tenn. Tennessee
Ter. Terumot
Ṭev. Y. *Ṭevul yom*
Tex. Texas
Th.D. Theologicae Doctor, Doctor of Theology
1 Thes. *1 Thessalonians*
2 Thes. *2 Thessalonians*
Thrac. Thracian
Ti. *Titus*
Tib. Tibetan
1 Tm. *1 Timothy*
2 Tm. *2 Timothy*
T. of 12 *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*
Ṭoh. *ṭohorot*
Tong. Tongan
trans. translator, translators; translated by; translation
Turk. Turkish
Ukr. Ukrainian
Upan. *Upaniṣad*
U.S. United States
U.S.S.R. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Uqts. *Uqtsin*
v. verse (pl., vv.)
Va. Virginia
var. variant; variation
Viet. Vietnamese

viz. *videlicet,* namely
vol. volume (pl., vols.)
Vt. Vermont
Wash. Washington
Wel. Welsh
Wis. Wisconsin
Wis. *Wisdom of Solomon*
W.Va. West Virginia
Wyo. Wyoming
Yad. *Yadayim*
Yev. *Yevamot*
Yi. Yiddish
Yor. Yoruba
Zav. *Zavim*
Zec. *Zechariah*
Zep. *Zephaniah*
Zev. *Zevaḥim*

* hypothetical
? uncertain; possibly; perhaps
° degrees
+ plus
– minus
= equals; is equivalent to
× by; multiplied by
→ yields

Sacred matter

SACRED MATTER

Understandings of matter, of the physical, obdurate objects that make up the everyday world, vary considerably among religions. Matter is sometimes regarded as evil or void of real being, sometimes as infused with spiritual realities that animate it. In other traditions, matter and spirit are inextricably joined and the idea of a dualist split between the two is inconceivable. Likewise, the experience of matter as sacred varies from the idea of holy substance, to consecrated matter, to objects sacred to memory, to objects that are morally useful but in no manner sacred in the sense of being infused with an intrinsic power. But in every case the power or use ascribed to natural or artificial objects is inseparable from the cultural webs of meaning-making that invest them with the power to signify. It is in this sense that sacred matter of whatever kind helps construct the life-worlds of those who harness its power by using objects in their rites and ceremonies.

Perhaps the root of sacred matter in many if not all religions is the physical remains of saints, heroes, and founders. Bones, teeth, and hair endure far beyond the decay of flesh and viscera and are commonly prized as the material trace of the saint's existence. These items become relics when they are recognized as the locus of spiritual power and presence, and they therefore offer access to the holy figure for the sake of blessing. In many religions holy men and women are thought to acquire such an excess of merit that it forms a reservoir that may be accessed by prayer in the presence of the saint's relics. The relic becomes part of a metaphysical economy in which

(a) Svayambhūnāth Stupa, west of Kathmandu, Nepal, during a celebration of the birth, enlightenment, and death of the Buddha. *[©Macduff Everton/Corbis]*

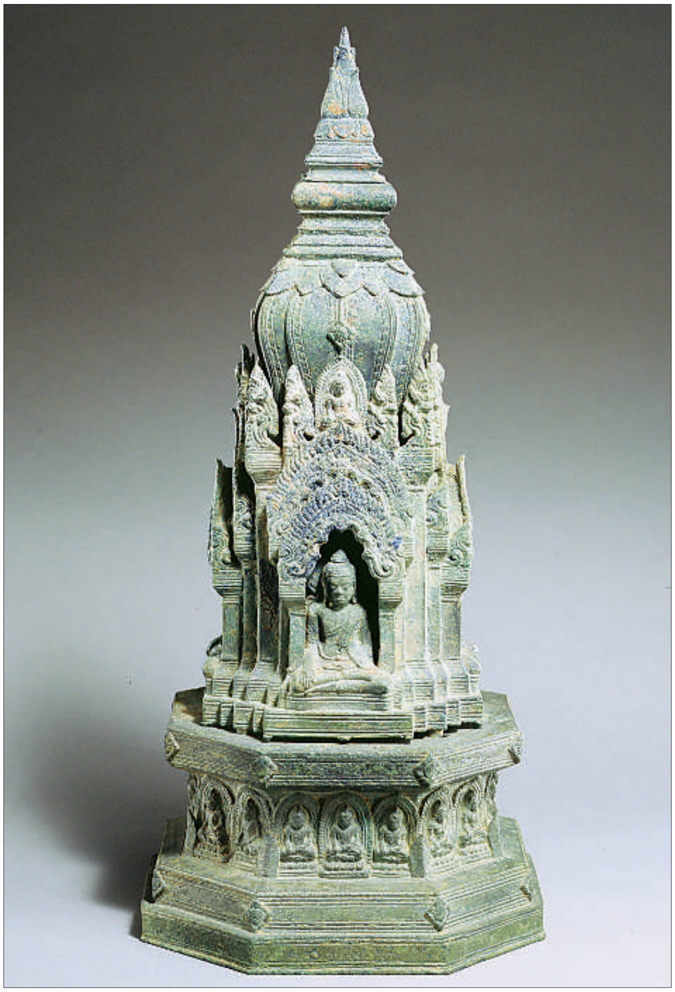

blessing is procured by pilgrimage, prayer, or penitential deed or offering. Within a few centuries of the Buddha's death a cult of relics of his body formed in India and Sri Lanka and moved with the faith as it spread north and south across Asia. The relics were placed in funerary mounds called stupas **(a)** and in portable shrines designed like stupas **(b)**. Stupas became major sites for local as well as international pilgrimage and were eventually surrounded by temple and monastery complexes and towns. Pilgrimage and relic veneration built their metaphysical economy over the commercial economies of local and far-flung populations, offering material well-being to craftsmen, townspeople, and religious communities.

The veneration of relics likely originates in devotion to the deceased at the graveside and in the dynamics of proselytism as religions spread to new regions, where the convert's need for shrines and access to the founder and other saints is fueled by competition with indigenous rival religions. In the case of Roman Catholicism, the practice

(b) **LEFT.** Portable Buddhist shrine, thirteenth century, bronze, Thailand or Cambodia. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Enid Haupt, 1993. (1993.387.7a-d) *[Photograph ©2001 The Metropolitan Museum of Art]* **(c)** **BOTTOM.** Etruscan sarcophagus made of carved travertine, from a tomb in Cerveteri, Italy, late fifth century BCE. *[©Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.]*

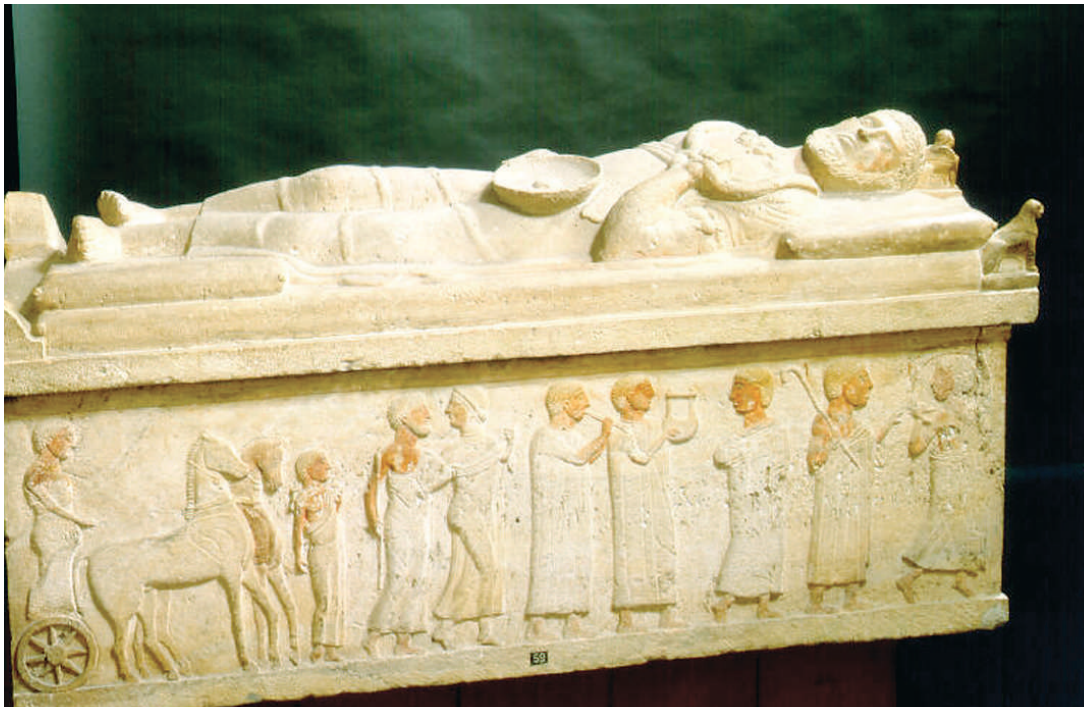

of relic veneration was energized by the cult of martyrs during the first centuries of the church's existence. But there is reason to believe that the cult of relics built on the ancient practice of ancestral worship and prayer to the dead to secure blessing in the present. Long before Roman Catholicism existed, inhabitants of the central Italian peninsula, the Etruscans, practiced an elaborate form of funerary cult in which the dead were interred in figural sarcophagi **(c)** in underground tombs carved as domestic interiors that collectively formed part of an ever-expanding necropolis, or city of the dead. The catacombs beneath Rome are their descendents.

Gothic cathedrals, much of the art, and many of the liturgical items of the later medieval Catholic Mass functioned as reliquaries to house the sacred items that had become especially important to European Christians, including the relics pilfered during the Crusades in Palestine and the Byzantine world. The bodily suffering and vindication of Jesus became the focal point of many different devotions, both cloistered and lay. Religious leaders and monastic orders endorsed devotion to saints and their relics and to the Eucharist. Elaborate monstrances **(d)** displayed the host or relics of Mary or other saints in crystal chambers housed in structures that depicted the church. Portions of the "true cross" were avidly collected in the Holy Land and brought back to cathedrals and chapels in Europe for veneration.

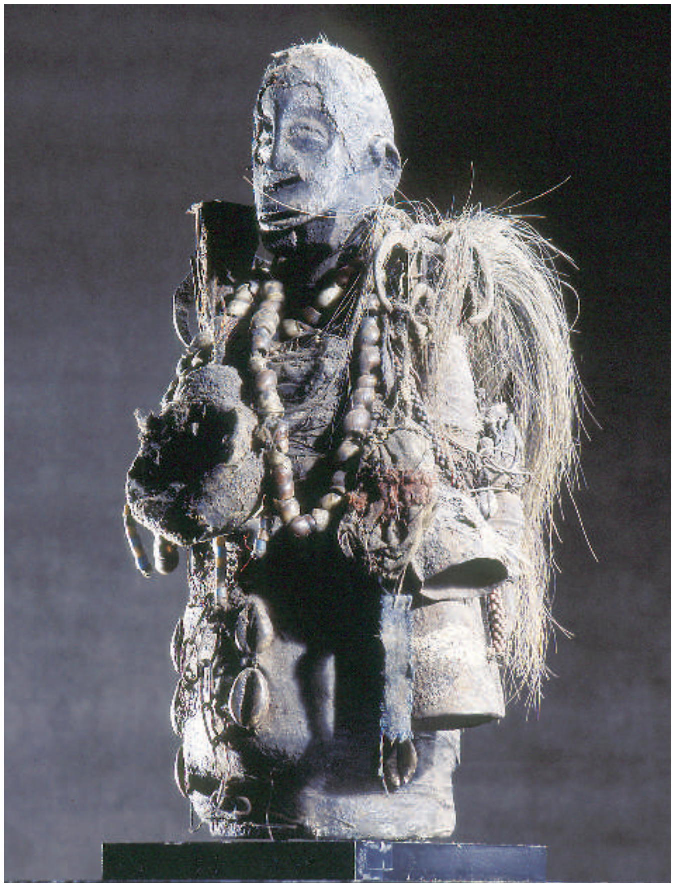

(e) Top. A Fon *bocio* figure, a Vodou protective object, made of wood, hide, fiber, cowrie shell, and cord, southern Benin. *[©Werner Forman/Art Resource, N.Y.]*

Objects can also become sacred by ritual preparation, when spiritual power comes to reside in them. Such objects may be found or manufactured. Vodou and its West African precursor Vodun consist of ritual practices that are designed to solve problems of spiritual malevolence caused by one's misdeeds or the harmful intentions of another. Shamans or priests and priestesses are able to invest objects with a counteractive power **(e)**, or to enter trances or perform libations at altars **(f)**. Another Caribbean religion that originated in West Africa, Santería, fashions beautiful garments **(g)** for initiates and practitioners to wear when they are ritually transfigured into an *orisha*, one of the spirits of natural forces, such as thunder, fresh water, or the sea. The garments are worn only a few times, including during consecration as a priest and at one's burial.

Like the performative garment, masks are a familiar aspect of African and Oceanic as well as some Native

American religions. The mask and the costume it accompanies assume a sacred power and are kept by their owner, and even handed down among family members. The mask reproduced here **(h)** was worn by the Nootka people on Vancouver Island in dances in the spring and fall to invoke ancestral spirits. The founding myth of the group related that they descended from a family of eagles that flew from heaven and transformed themselves into human beings when they arrived. Accordingly, during the ceremonial dance the eagle mask transforms into a human face that is contained within. The annual performance of the rite connects the people with their primordial origins.

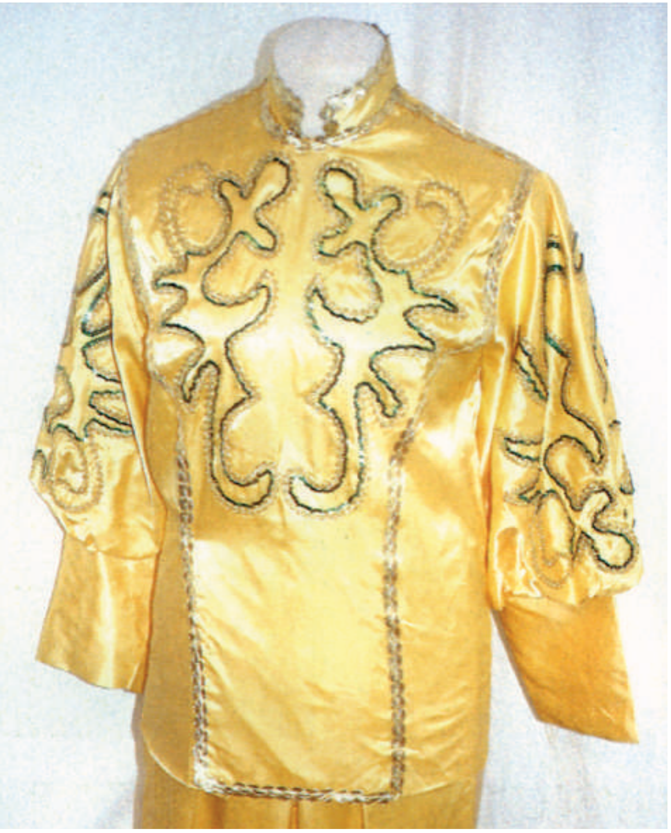

(g) **RIGHT.** Sequined taffeta garment for wear by a male Santería initiate. *[Photograph by Ysamur Flores-Peña]* **(h)** **BELOW.** A Nootka transformation mask, used in reenactments of the community's primordial origins, 1890s, feathers and wood, Vancouver Island, British Columbia. *[©The Field Museum; photograph by John Weinstein]*

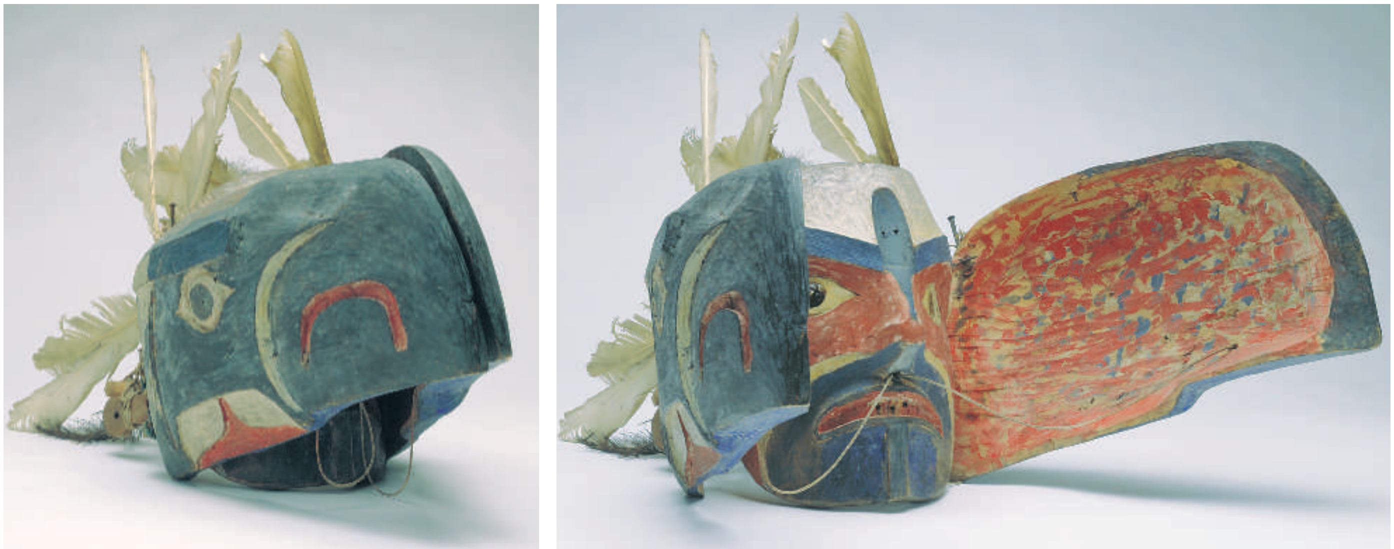

(i) Jewish worshipers parade Torah scrolls at the Western Wall in Jerusalem. *[©Peter Guttman/Corbis]*

But for some religions the idea of a spiritual energy inhering in material forms is repugnant because it confuses the divine with the merely phenomenal. Some Christians, Jews, and Muslims, as well as Sikhs and some Hindus and Buddhists, maintain that objects and rituals are merely convenient and time-honored forms of commemoration and the useful expression of devotion and communal solidarity. The very idea of sacred matter, substance endowed with power, conflicts with the stark distinction of spirit and matter of some religions, or the radical transcendence of the divine among others. For many Jews, for instance, liturgical objects **(i)** are prized for their association with orthopraxy, with strict adherence to the liturgical calendar and its prescription of ceremony. Some Christians, such as those of the Anabaptist and Puritan traditions, do not consecrate objects for use in worship spaces, and indeed, may not even set aside spaces to be exclusively used for worship. Any such privileging of objects threatens idolatry, the confusion of the divine with a created or material form.

Yet even within these traditions material forms can acquire a powerful quality that imbues their visual display with a meaning that is not merely symbolic, such as the

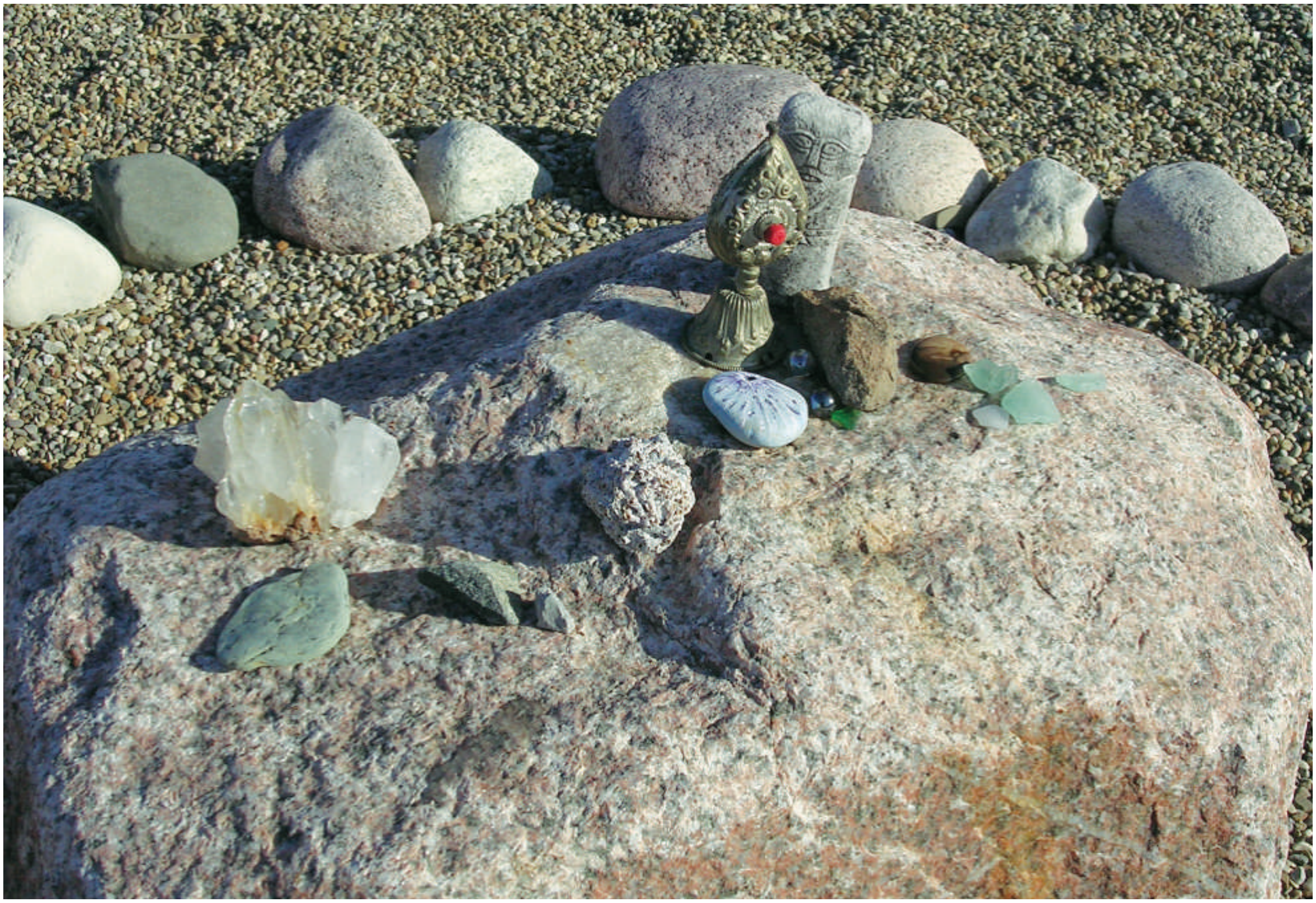

display of the Torah scroll in Jerusalem **(i)**. For other religious traditions, material forms are an integral part of evoking divine power and communicating with forces that transcend the human sphere. Often these forms are found objects, as in the case of the rocks left by visitors to labyrinths **(j)** or other sacred spaces important to earth-centered spiritualities. Crystals are believed by many to possess healing powers in their vibrational energy, which is transferred to humans in therapies of placing stones on the body at the chakras, the seven centers of energy derived from yogic teaching.

Other powers are attributed to stones by priests and users. Joseph Smith, founder of Mormonism, used a seer stone, a small, brightly colored, perforated stone, in his practice of divining, looking for hidden treasures buried in the New York landscape. Smith is said to have claimed that possession of one such stone gave him the divine power of the all-seeing eye. He used the seer stones that he possessed to search for buried money, but it was on one such quest that he found the golden plates that he claimed were the source of the *Book of Mormon*.

Managing the sacred power of objects occupies a good deal of attention and ritual practice. Since they are

(j) Crystals, rocks, and statuary deposited at the center of a labyrinth in northwestern Indiana. ***[Photograph by David Morgan]***

(k) Top. A 34-inch stone *tjurunga* with linear incisions, found in Australia before 1935. *[Masco Collection; photograph by Dirk Baker]* **(l) Above.** A *brāhmaṇa* priest bathes an ancient stone symbol of Śiva in Mamallapuram, Tamil Nadu, India. *[©Photograph by Stephen P. Huyler]*

the locus of power, the objects must be stored properly and carefully prepared for use and display. Often, as in the case of the Australian Aboriginal sacred stone called *tjurunga* **(k)**, the object is kept from sight except when in ritual use since it embodies the totemic spirits of its owner and serves as the dwelling of creator spirits. The sacred stones are displayed during initiations and are used by elders to relate traditions to those undergoing initiation. Hindu priests dedicate themselves to the daily preparation of the stone lingam of Śiva **(l)** at temples around the world, where they ritually bathe the ancient stone in honey, milk, or fragrant water before covering it with a dress and mask in order for its presentation to the devout.

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David Morgan (2005)

D

DACIAN RIDERS. The so-called Dacian Riders were associated with a mystery religion of the Getae and the Dacians, peoples of Thracian stock who lived in ancient Dacia (roughly equivalent to modern-day Romania). The cult of the Dacian, or Danubian, Riders began to spread among Roman soldiers soon after 106 CE, when Dacia was conquered by Trajan and made a province of the Roman Empire. Traces of the cult have been found as far away as the Roman provinces of Gaul and Britain.

Numerous reliefs and gems depicting the Dacian Riders are extant. Of the 232 items catalogued by Dumitru Tudor (1969–1976), 60 were found in Dacia, 24 in Moesia Superior, 34 in Moesia Inferior, 47 in Pannonia Inferior, and 25 in Pannonia Superior. Most of the Dacian reliefs are made of marble. They were copied on a large scale in lead, a very expensive material whose use can be explained only by the magical purposes for which the images of the Dacian Riders were intended. Of the 90 lead copies extant, 44 were found in Pannonia Inferior.

The most ancient reliefs show only one horseman, whose iconography was influenced by that of the Thracian Rider. Later monuments show two riders at either side of a goddess whose principal symbolic attribute is a fish. Of the 31 pieces belonging to the one-horseman type, 18 were found in Dacia. The two-horseman type belongs to the later period of this cult, which flourished in the third century CE and declined in the fourth.

Besides the two horsemen and the goddess with a fish, the iconography of the monuments includes prostrated characters, attendants, and various symbols, such as the sun, the moon, stars, and numerous animals (including the ram, dog, lion, eagle, peacock, raven, cock, snake, and sometimes even the bull). Scholarly identifications of the goddess are widely divergent. The two horsemen have been identified with the Dioscuri by some scholars and with the Cabiri brothers by others. The Greek iconography of the Dioscuri has had a particular impact on that of the Dacian Riders, but all these scholarly hypotheses are more or less fanciful.

It is likely that certain beliefs and practices, borrowed especially from Mithraism, were added to a local Dacian cult and that these borrowings changed the cult into a mys-

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CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT CORNER. Women dance with skeletons in a fifteenth-century woodcut of the Dance of Death. *[©Bettmann/Corbis]*; Seventeenth-century Chinese nobleman's badge depicting a dragon-like beast. *[©Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Demeter hands Triptolemos a sheaf of corn in a fifth-century BCE Greek relief depicting the creation of agriculture. National Archaeological Museum, Athens. *[©Erich Lessing/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Laozi riding a water buffalo, circa 960–1280. *[©Burstein Collection/Corbis]*; Ruins of Tholos Temple at Delphi, Greece. *[©Wolfgang Kaehler/Corbis]* .

tery religion. Although the myth of the Danubian Riders remains unknown, it is safe to state that it was based on some Dacian beliefs not shared by the Thracians south of the Danube. The two horsemen and the goddess were probably supposed to establish a link between three cosmic layers (heaven, earth, and underworld), as the partition of the reliefs into three registers seems to suggest.

Only three degrees of initiation were present in the mysteries of the Dacian Riders: Aries ("ram"), Miles ("soldier"), and Leo ("lion"). The first two were placed under the influence of the planet Mars, the last one under the influence of the sun. If we interpret the numerous animals depicted in the reliefs of the Danubian Riders as astrological entities, then we may surmise that the symbolism of this mystery religion was fairly complicated. Inscriptions are unusually scarce in number, short (especially those on gems), and indecipherable. Initiates in the mysteries identified their grade by badges and seals; for example, a gem of unknown provenance bears as its inscription the single word *leon.* In all probability, sacrifice of a ram played an important part in these mysteries.

See Also Thracian Rider.

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On the Dacian Riders, see the excellent work of Dumitru Tudor, *Corpus monumentorum religionis equitum Danuvinorum,* 2 vols. (Leiden, 1969–1976). Volume 1, *The Monuments,* translated by Eve Harris and John R. Harris, is a detailed catalog; volume 2, *The Analysis and Interpretation of the Monuments,* translated by Christopher Holme, is a thorough survey of scholarly theories concerning the mysteries.

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Ioan Petru Culianu and Cicerone Poghirc (1987)
Revised Bibliography

DACO-GETIC RELIGION See GETO-DACIAN RELIGION

DADDY GRACE. Charles M. "Daddy" (1881–1960) Grace was the founder of the United House of Prayer for All People of the Church on the Rock of the Apostolic Faith. A combination of Daddy Grace's grandiosity, his followers' intense devotion, and popular confusion between Grace and the controversial Father Divine caused outsiders to be skeptical of the church for decades. After Grace's death, new leadership made superficial changes that allowed the United House of Prayer to move away from its marginal status and closer to the American religious mainstream. Early in the twenty-first century, its long-term stability invites an appreciation of the strength of the institutional foundations designed and laid by Grace.

Daddy Grace was born Marceline Manuel DaGraca on the island of Brava, Cape Verde (at that time a Portuguese territory), off the northwest coast of Africa. With his parents and four siblings, Grace immigrated to Massachusetts at the turn of the twentieth century. In his first years in the New Bedford area, Grace held odd jobs such as picking cranberries, dishwashing, and selling patent medicines. During this time he also Americanized his surname and began using the first name Charles. Grace had two brief marriages, from which one daughter and two sons were produced. He died from heart ailments at the age of seventy-eight.

Grace was baptized Roman Catholic in Brava, but his religious calling in the United States led him to Protestant forms of worship, particularly the holiness movement. His early attempts to start a church were unsuccessful. He found himself rejected from the pulpit of a Massachusetts Nazarene church and was unable to gain a following in southern states despite extensive travels in his "Gospel Car." Grace finally met with success when he returned to Wareham, Massachusetts, opening his first House of Prayer in 1919, with himself as bishop.

Grace's church grew quickly in its first two decades, spreading both south and west to over a dozen states. Regardless of its growth, the church was commonly perceived as an invalid organization in which the leader exploited the working-class membership for profit. Journalists attempted to make a mockery of the bishop because his flamboyant personal style made for good press. Not only did he have long hair, painted fingernails, suits of bright colors, and jewels on his wrists and fingers, but he also traveled with an entourage that included a chauffeur, bodyguards, and occasionally lawyers and other assistants. Grace's visibility as a man of means and power was certainly one element of the House of Prayer's early growth, but it also contributed to outsiders' skepticism.

The United House of Prayer, though remaining nondenominational during Grace's lifetime, is squarely in the Pentecostal tradition. It is charismatic by nature, and Grace's theological teachings were based on the ideas of one God, one faith, one baptism, and one leader. Although popular lore holds that Grace claimed to be God, evidence demonstrates that this is a misconstruction. Instead, the church's theology focuses on the coming of the end-time and the importance of church leadership in helping to prepare. Worship services include demonstrations of the gifts of the holy spirit, as well as music led by their popular brass shout bands. The House of Prayer's traditions, including annual festive convocations and group baptisms (first on beaches, later by fire hose in the streets) added to its visibility during Grace's reign. There has long been an emphasis on member participation in church auxiliaries, which once included such clubs as the Grace Flower Girls, the Grace Willing Workers Club, the Grace Gospel Choir, the Grace Soul Hunters, and the Grace Soldiers. Beyond the church, members are expected to conduct themselves with conservative behavior, and are encouraged to read and understand the Bible.

Grace was the figurehead of the church, supported by a vast number of individual ministers and a set of General Council Laws prescribing overall operations. Grace was not accountable to anyone, and likewise the many ministers operating under him had a large degree of independence in their practices and teachings. After opening each new church or mission, Grace's involvement with individual Houses of Prayer was primarily based on financial management. Originally, Grace performed healings, but in time he encouraged people to believe they would heal because of their faith rather than because of his direct touch. As he aged, Grace took decreasing roles in religious services, though he frequently traveled to make church appearances. His sermons and other speaking roles were not as important as his mere presence at church events, and as a result very few records of his sermons have been preserved.

Grace's innovative investments and business ventures allowed the church to flourish, and this is where his genius was put to best use. Though often perceived by outsiders as using his working-class followers' donations for his own ends, Grace quietly used the money to build a wealthy corporate empire for the church. The church offered a pension fund for ministers and elderly members, as well as a small insurance plan. It owned several manufacturing businesses that generated revenue for the church corporation. Grace increasingly invested in real estate. For example, when he first opened a House of Prayer in Harlem in 1938, Grace purchased the headquarters of Father Divine's Peace Mission Movement and evicted them. This building was one of the first pieces of a trophy real estate collection that grew to include the El Dorado on Central Park West, two apartment buildings in the Sugar Hill neighborhood, a large swath of property on 125th Street in Harlem, and other mansions, apartment buildings, and businesses in places as varied as Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Detroit, Newport News, Washington D.C., and Havana, Cuba.

Following Grace's death in January 1960, the church experienced confusion over questions of succession to the bishopric and the extent of church assets. Several issues had to be resolved by the courts, and at least one splinter group formed. When the dust cleared, "Sweet Daddy" Walter McCollough (1915–1991) of Washington, D.C., was elected bishop of the multimillion dollar organization that included approximately one hundred Houses of Prayer nationwide. Under McCollough, congregants' attention was turned to issues of social justice, and church investments expanded to include projects that were of direct benefit to members, such as affordable housing and scholarship programs. McCollough's less ostentatious style of leadership helped move the House of Prayer closer to the mainstream of African American religion. Just as it was under Daddy Grace, the church today continues as a thriving, forward-thinking organization that provides an example of the harmonious mix of otherworldly theology with present-world practicality.

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MARIE W. DALLAM (2005)

DAGAN (Dagān) was a West Semitic god, well known in ancient Syria and ancient Palestine. He is mentioned in texts from Ebla (Tell Mardīḫ, in Northern Syria) dating to the mid-third millennium BCE, in which his name occurs as part of theophoric anthroponyms with the element *Da-gan* or *Da-ga-an*. The logographic abbreviation BE (for *bēlum/ baʿalum;* lord) also occurs in texts from Ebla—both as part of personal names and independently as a deity present in diverse Syrian and Northern Mesopotamian towns. This BE has frequently been identified with Dagan. However, BE is most likely a divine epithet, which refers to Dagan only in some specific cases, primarily the BE of Tuttul (i.e., "the Lord of Tuttul" refers to Dagan), modern Tell Bīʿa, on the Balīḫ River. Outside Ebla, and also during the second half of the third millennium, Dagan is attested in texts from Mari (Tell Ḥarīri, Southern Syria), which had a temple devoted to this god, probably built toward the end of the third millennium, and Tell Beydar in the region of the upper Ḫābūr River. The mentions of the "King" of Terqa in early Mari documents also refer to Dagan (^{d}lugal *Terqa*, with the divine determinative ^{d} refers to DINGIR preceding the Sumerian word for king, *lugal*). In all these pre-Sargonic Syro-Mesopotamian texts (i.e., prior to c. 2340 BCE), the only clear attestations of Dagan are in personal names.

SARGONIC AND UR III PERIODS. During the Sargonic (c. 2340–2113 BCE) and Ur III periods (c. 2113–2004 BCE), Dagan appears in royal inscriptions of Mesopotamian kings, but always in a Syrian context and especially in personal names, as in previous periods. The only autochthonous Syrian mention of Dagan during these periods comes from a Mari inscription, in which he appears along with two properly Mesopotamian deities, Ishtar and Enki. In the Old Babylonian period (first half of the second millennium BCE), the figure of Dagan emerges as the most important deity in the pantheon of the Middle Euphrates region, and his name is abundantly attested in letters from Old Babylonian Mari, as well as documents from Terqa and Tuttul. Both at Mari and at Aleppo, Dagan appears as the recipient of funerary offerings. Moreover, he plays a role in prophecies and divination, especially extispicy (observation of the entrails of sacrificial animals). As in previous periods, Dagan is widely attested in theophoric personal names from the Middle and Upper Euphrates regions, as well as the Ḫābūr area.

MIDDLE BABYLONIAN PERIOD. In the Middle Babylonian period (second half of the second millennium BCE), Dagan is particularly well represented in texts from two Late Bronze sites: Emar (modern Tell Meskene), on the Middle Euphrates, and Ugarit (Ras Shamra) on the Syrian Mediterranean coast. In texts from Emar and smaller neighboring towns including Ekalte and Azu, along with the customary syllabic spelling of the name (*Da-gan*), one finds the logogram ^{d}KUR, the determinative for divine names followed by the logogram KUR (mountain; land). This spelling may be an abbreviation of the epithet ^{d}kur-gal (The Great Mountain), but it may also point to a chthonic nature of Dagan. The latter might be associated with a possible Indo-European etymology and with Dagan's funerary offerings. The most important religious festival in Late Bronze Emar, the *zukru* festival (related to the Semitic root _*zkr_; to call, recall) was devoted to Dagan. Dagan also played an important role in most Emar rituals, as his temple seems to have been the epicenter of religious life in that city. An important corpus of mythological and epic narratives exists from Ugarit, in which Dagan is attested only in epithets of other gods (e.g, Ba⊏lu is "the son of Dagan") and in oblique references with no active role. On the other hand, in the ritual texts from Ugarit, Dagan is frequently mentioned and plays an important role.

ETYMOLOGY. In all these third and second millennium texts, Dagan appears as father of the gods and, along with his consort, Shalash, he belongs to the earliest generation of gods in the Syrian pantheon. In the first millennium, Dagan's name occurs as Dagon (Dāgôn) in the biblical historical narratives (with an expected *ā* to *ō* shift), in which he is designated a Philistine deity, with temples dedicated to him in Ashdod, Gaza, and probably Beth-Shan (*1 Sm.* 5:1–7; *Jgs.* 16:23; *1 Chr.* 10:10; *1 Mac.* 10: 83–84, 11:4).

Traditionally, three different Semitic etymologies of this theonym have been proposed: (1) the root _*dg_ (fish), which appeared already in Saint Jerome, the Talmud, and elsewhere, but which is now regarded as a folk etymology by most scholars; (2) the root _*dgn_ (grain; *dāgān*), with the expected fertility implications, but which works only in West Semitic and is likely to also be a folk etymology; and (3) the root _*dgn_ (cloudy, rainy), also bearing somehow a fertility connotation.

The latter possibility is not immediately evident, because the Semitic root in question (_*dgn_) would seem to mean "cloudy, rainy" only in Arabic. Nonetheless, there is a related root in Syriac (a Christian Aramaic dialect) that occurs in a verb meaning "to be blind, to have blurry eyes" (*dgen*, with intransitive vocalization) and in nouns referring to ophthalmic maladies and blindness. The Arabic verb *dajana* means primarily "to be dusky, gloomy," as in *dujna/dujunna* (darkness) and *adjan* (dark). Nonetheless, Arabic exhibits occurrences of this root referring to rain or rainy conditions (*dajn*; heavy rain) and the Syriac cognate (*degnā, degānā*) has a distinctive secondary but frequent meaning concerning snow (packed snow).

Based on the problems posed by the aforementioned Semitic etymologies and the association of Dagan to the earth, an Indo-European etymology has been proposed for this theonym: *$d^{h}e^{h}om$ (earth), as in Sanskrit *kam*, Greek *khthōn* (with metathesis), Latin *humus* (and probably also *homo*; terrestrial, human being), Tocharian *tkaṃ*, Hittite *tegan* (genitive *taknaš*), and perhaps even part of the name of the goddess Demeter (*Dēmētēr* _*Gdan-mátēr_, with *gd *$g^{h}d^{h}$ *$d^{h}e^{h}$). As in most etymologies of proper names, tentative and speculative by nature, it is difficult to rule out this Indo-European hypothesis. Such an etymology would also match the possible linguistic identity of the Philistines.

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DAHOMEAN RELIGION SEE FON AND EWE RELIGION

DAINAS. In Baltic cultures, the songs known in Latvian as *dainas* and in Lithuanian as *dainos* deal with two fundamental cycles, the life cycle of humans and the festival cycle of the agricultural seasons. Although they are often referred to by the common designation *folk song*, this modern term is misleading, for the *dainas*, with their trochaic and dactylic meters, differ from the folk songs known to European scholars. The original Lithuanian *dainos* have to a great extent disappeared because of the influence of the European folk song, but Latvian *dainas* have survived in great numbers. About sixty thousand (not including variants) have been collected and published by scholars. Their content reveals that they were an integral part of daily agrarian life among Baltic peoples; as such, they bear directly on Baltic religion.

Regarding the etymology of the term, Suniti Kumar Chatterji has pointed out that

> the Baltic word *daina* had unquestionably its Aryan [Indo-Iranian] equivalent, etymologically and semantically, which is perfectly permissible. . . . An Indo-European root **dhi-*, **dhy-ei*, **dhei-*, meaning "to think, to ponder over, to give thought to," appears to be the source of the Vedic *dhēnā* and the Avestian *daēnā*. An Indo-European form **dhainā* as the sourceword can very easily and quite correctly be postulated. (Chatterji, 1968, pp. 69–70)

From the age of Vedic literature words derived from this source word deal with the following notions: speech, voice, praise, prayer, panegyric, and song. The Pahlavi *dēn* ("religion") developed into the Avestan *daēnā*, which, in turn, appears in modern Arabic as *dīn*, meaning "religion," specifically, orthodox Islam. These etymological derivations and semantic relationships suggest that *dhainā* is an ancient Baltic word that has retained the meaning of "song" through the years.

LIFE CYCLE. *Dainas* figure prominently in an individual's life cycle at three major points: birth, marriage, and death. Each of these events determines not only the content but also the form of the *dainas*.

1. In songs dealing with childbirth, the mother figure appears not only as the one who bears the child but also as the one who rears it and determines its fate. These *dainas* are characterized by their deep emotionality. This is particularly true of *dainas* dealing with the fate of foster children. *Dainas* sung directly after the birth of a child during the cultic feast (*pirtīžas*) in the sauna, the traditional place of birthing, have a special significance because of their cultic character. These *dainas* are devoted to the goddess of fate, Laima.

2. *Dainas* dealing with love, the selection of a partner, and marriage are rather different from those associated with birth. They are imbued with joy and contain erotic and sexual elements intended to chafe and mock others. Some of the songs are so caustic that the seventeenth-century bishop Paul Einhorn, having heard the wedding songs of Latvian peasants, failed to comprehend their deep religious and cultic character. He wrote in dismay in his *Historie lettice* in 1649: "Afterwards such improper, brazen, and flippant songs were sung without interruption, day and night, that even the devil himself could not have devised and put forth anything more improper and lewd." Yet such fertility *dainas* belong to the very old family cult.

3. The third group of life-cycle *dainas*, those dealing with death, are rich in content, representing the individual's preparation for death. Their cultic character becomes evident in songs that describe the bearing of the casket from the home to the cemetery, which was the site of the cultic feast. There a particular type of *daina* was sung to guarantee that the dead person would have a favorable relationship with the ruler of the grave and the realm of death, occasionally referred to as Kapu Māte ("grave mother").

FESTIVAL CYCLE. The second cycle includes *dainas* that describe the agricultural work routine and festivals. In their sequence they mirror the yearly cycle, including its holidays. The most important holidays are the summer and winter solstices. The commencement and conclusion of particular work phases also have an important place in the cycle. In the spring, when planting began, bread and meat were plowed into the first furrow. Similarly, the leading of the first cattle to pasture and the first horses to night watch were also observed as special events. All of these occasions were associated with sacral feasts under the leadership of the paterfamilias. Appropriate *dainas* were an integral part of these rituals. The commencement as well as the conclusion of certain jobs was observed, especially during the fall harvest. This was a time of relative abundance, and therefore the feasts were especially lavish.

RELIGIOUS DIMENSIONS. Both of these cycles mirror the framework of the Baltic peasant's life, which consisted of both hard work and joyous festivity, represented by work *dainas* and festival *dainas*. The peasants, in close harmony with nature, performed their tasks with songs that helped them to adhere to the rhythm of work. Festival *dainas*, whether of the first or second cycle, introduce another ancient element inherent in the name *dainas* itself: that of dance. The verb *dainot* really means "to sing and move rhythmically in a group," that is, "to dance" in the broadest sense of the word.

The great majority of *dainas* are songs describing various chores that have no specific religious content. Many describe nature, using explicit personifications of and metaphors for natural phenomena. A significant number of songs, however, do have a religious dimension, which can be explained by the significance of religion in Baltic daily life. Man's place in nature and his dependence on it forced him to ponder the basis of his existence and to determine his relationship with the forces of nature. The *dainas* are the clearest proof of this close relationship. Furthermore, because the source material relating to the religious life of the Baltic peoples is limited, the *dainas* represent an irreplaceable source for the reconstruction of this religious framework.

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HARALDS BIEZAIS (1987)
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DAIVAS. The Iranian term *daiva* originally signified "god," as is shown in several occurrences of the word in the Avesta (Av., *daēva;* OPers., *daiva;* MPers., Pahl., *dēw*). Like the Vedic *deva* or the Latin *deus, daiva* may be related to the Indo-European root meaning "shine, be bright." In Zoroastrian Iran, however, *daiva* had a negative sense. Other terms were used to refer to divine beings, such as *baga* ("one who distributes"), *ahura* ("lord"), and *yazata* ("one worthy of worship"), while *daiva* was used to designate malefic or demonic powers. For that reason one speaks of a "demonization" of the *daiva* as a phenomenon characteristic of Zoroastrianism.

In all probability *daiva* acquired a negative value in the Iranian world because of the condemnation by Zarathushtra (Zoroaster) of traditional religion. The prophet of Ahura Mazdā propounded a faith and a doctrine of monotheistic inspiration, and the gods of ancient polytheism were repudiated as illusions or chimeras.

Later, after Zoroastrianism had reached a compromise with the older religious sensibility and with the various forms of polytheism that had spread throughout the Iranian world in the first millennium BCE, the *daiva*s were condemned not because they were considered, as Zarathushtra had seen them, the fruit of ignorance and superstition but because they were thought to be real demonic beings. The significance of *daiva* thus changed from "god" to "demon." In this later form of the religion, Indra, Saurva, and Nānhaithya—who had prominent positions in the Indian pantheon as Indra, Śarva, and Nāsatya—became archdemons. They were opposed, respectively, by the Amesha Spentas Asha, Khshathra Vairya, and Ārmaiti.

The Zoroastrian pandemonium is particularly rich. Among the most important *daivas* are Aēshma ("wrath, fury"), known throughout the Zoroastrian tradition; Apaosha ("dearth"), fought by Tishtrya, the *yazata* of the star Sirius; Astōvīdhātu ("dismembering of skeleton"); Būshyąstā ("sloth"); and Nasu ("corpse"), the demon of decay.

Zarathushtra's condemnation of the *daiva*s, intended as the rejection of the gods of polytheism, always remained, if only with the modification explained above, a characteristic feature of Zoroastrianism. In all its subsequent historical manifestations—as, for example, in an inscription of Xerxes at Persepolis—there are traces, even if partly distorted, of Zarathushtra's original teaching.

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GHERARDO GNOLI (1987)
Translated from Italian by Roger DeGaris

DAI ZHEN (*zi*, Shenxiu; *hao*, Dongyuan; 1724–1777), the most illustrious representative of the *kaozheng* school of evidential research and one of the leading philosophers of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911).

Dai Zhen was born into a modest mercantile family of Xiuning, Anhwei Province. He pursued his earliest education by borrowing books from neighbors. He learned very quickly and astonished his teachers by questioning the authority of everything he read. For a brief period he was apprenticed to a cloth merchant, but in 1742 he was sent to the home of a wealthy scholar and there studied with Jiangyong (1681–1762).

The scholar Jiangyong provided the formative influence during the first period of Dai Zhen's adult life. He was a specialist in the *Li ji* (Record of Rites) and in mathematics and phonology; the training he gave Dai Zhen in these areas became the foundation for much of Dai Zhen's later scholarship in the *kaozheng* tradition. This side of his education fitted him for the mainstream of Qing intellectual life. Jiangyong, however, also steeped his pupil in the philosophical systems of Song neo-Confucianism, inculcating the notion that practical scholarship and moral philosophy were the two legs of Confucian learning.

In 1754, Dai Zhen moved to Beijing, where he mingled with representatives of the *kaozheng* school of evidential research, notably Huidong (1697–1758). *Kaozheng* scholars accused the Song neo-Confucians of pointless speculation influenced by the Buddhists; such learning, they claimed, was disdainful of the practical problems of the real world and neglected solid scholarship in favor of subjectivism. Although during his early years in Beijing Dai Zhen defended the need to ask larger questions about morality and meaning, his writings published between 1758 and 1766 show the influence of *kaozheng* on his thinking. Some scholars interpret this period as a repudiation of his past philosophical training. It is certain that Dai Zhen brought to Beijing ideas that ran counter to the consensus of his peers, but whether his colleagues in Beijing convinced him to change his orientation, or whether he simply emphasized the nonphilosophical side of his work to gain acceptance at the capital, is a question that remains unanswered.

However superficial or profound his conversion to evidential research, Dai Zhen succeeded in gaining entry to the most illustrious intellectual circles. His publications in mathematics and waterway engineering earned him high renown. In 1773 the emperor appointed him to the elite board of compilers of the Imperial Manuscript Library (Siku Quanshu). He had risen to the very pinnacle of scholarship, yet even during his tenure at the library he continued to write books on philosophy.

His colleagues and peers tended to view his philosophical writings as incidental digressions from his scholarly work. Although one or two of his closest disciples recognized the importance of philosophy to Dai Zhen's intellectual life, none of them was able to carry on his philosophical work. Hu Shi revived Dai Zhen's philosophy at a memorial conference in 1923–1924, claiming that Dai Zhen, fully steeped in the empirical scholarship of his day, had attacked and transcended the errors and excesses of Song neo-Confucianism, laying the groundwork of a new Confucian vision. Others, notably Yu Yingshi, have argued that Dai Zhen's thought is in fact profoundly indebted to neo-Confucianism and is a continuous development of that heritage. Yu maintains that Dai was never fully converted to the antiphilosophical prejudices of his peers. He saw scholarship as a handmaiden to the larger task of philosophy. Arguing from Dai Zhen's letters and conversations, Yu contends that the real target of his philosophy was not the Song school, but his narrow and pedantic contemporaries in evidential research.

Dai Zhen's philosophy was based on a monism of *qi* ("ether"). He argued against the Song neo-Confucian distinctions between metaphysical and physical, between heaven-endowed nature and material nature. Such dualism, he claimed, led Confucians to neglect the empirical world and to believe that there was in human beings a dichotomy between nature and feelings. On the grand scale, Dai argued that the Dao was nothing other than the orderly patterns of the movements of ether; it was not a metaphysical principle. Analogously, he held that the realization of human nature was nothing other than the orderly patterns of one's feelings. As the sages had channeled the floodwaters to restore the order of Dao in the world, so feelings, properly channeled, are the manifestations of human nature. Human life in the material world is made up of feelings or response. When feelings are healthfully expressed and fundamental needs satisfied, both the body and *xin*, or mind and heart, of the person can be healthy and whole. To channel feelings and understand the order and movements of ether, the mind must weigh (*quan*) its perceptions and responses carefully. Weighing requires accurate and informed perceptions that take account of all the evidence and, carefully comparing the evidence, come to a balanced response.

An organic connection ran between Dai Zhen's scholarship and his philosophy. Only the former aspect of his work was appreciated during his lifetime, whereas the latter area is the subject of continued debate among Confucian scholars.

SEE ALSO Mengzi.

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Although during his lifetime Dai Zhen was best known for his essays on mathematics, waterworks, and phonology (Liang, pp. 58–59), he is today highly regarded for his philosophical writings. His *Yuan shan*, composed in 1763 and revised in 1776, has been translated by Cheng Chung-ying as *Dai Chên's Inquiry into Goodness* (Honolulu, 1971). In it Dai developed his monism of ether and his views of human nature and feelings. *Meng-zi zi i su cheng* (Elucidation on the meaning of words in Mencius) in 3 *chüan* (Beijing, 1956) was composed in 1769, but revised during his final years at the Imperial Manuscript Library. The *Elucidation* is his most systematic philosophical work and grounds his monism and his view of human nature in the writings of Mencius.

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Three English-language works provide a brief introduction to Dai Zhen's philosophy. Cheng Chung-ying discusses the philosophical system in the introduction to his translation (above). Liang Qichao provides an appreciative introduction to Dai's thought and scholarship in *Intellectual Trends of the Qing Period*, translated by Immanuel C. Y. Xu (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), pp. 54–62. Fung Yulan provides a critique of his philosophical position in *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, vol. 2, 2d ed., translated by Derk Bodde (Princeton, 1953), pp. 651–672. Finally Yu Yingshi's article "Some Preliminary Observations on the Rise of Qing Confucian Intellectualism," *Tsing-hua Journal of Chinese Studies*, n.s. 11 (1975): 105–146, provides a larger picture of the rise of evidential research that shows that Dai Zhen's moral philosophy motivates his evidential research.

JUDITH A. BERLING (1987)

DAKHMA. The Iranian term *dakhma,* which probably originally signified "tomb," seems to be derived from the Indo-European root *_dhṃbh,_ "bury" (Hoffmann, 1965), and not from *dag,* "burn," as some scholars have proposed. It is occasionally used in the Avesta with a negative meaning, insofar as the burial of bodies was condemned: the funeral rites adopted by the Zoroastrian community (and which were already practiced in priestly circles in the Achaemenid period, as we know from Herodotus) were designed to avoid scrupulously any contamination of the earth, fire, and water and can be traced to earlier practices widespread among the nomads of Central Asia. These—as we learn from the *Vendidad*—prescribed that corpses, considered impure, be exposed to vultures so that the bones could be cleansed of flesh. Once they were purified of humors and putrefying flesh, the bones were placed in special ossuaries. According to Strabo, the exposure of corpses was also practiced in eastern Iran during the Parthian period.

Later, *dakhma* became the technical term for the "towers of silence," the buildings used for the rites of exposure of the corpses, whether in Zoroastrian communities in Iran or in Parsi communities of India. The modern translation "towers of silence" seems to have been used for the first time by R. Z. Murphy, Oriental translator for the British government at Bombay (Modi, 1937).

The *dakhma,* which continues to be used today, although in more limited forms, is a circular tower, constructed of stone and often located on a hill. An iron door opens onto a large platform consisting of three concentric circles. The first and largest is for the bodies of men; the second, in the middle, is for those of women; and the third is for those of children. After the corpse has been exposed and reduced to a skeleton, the bones are put in a large, deep hole at the center of the *dakhma.*

Zoroastrian ritual attaches great importance to funerals, which are consequently very detailed and complex, as well as meticulous in their purificatory practices. Equally complex are the rites for the consecration of the *dakhma,* which consist of ceremonies for the excavation of the site, for the foundation, and for the consecration itself.

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GHERARDO GNOLI (1987 AND 2005)
Translated from Italian by Roger DeGaris

DALAI LAMA, title of the spiritual and formerly political leader of the Tibetan people, is a combination of the Mongolian *dalai* ("ocean"), signifying profound knowledge, and the Tibetan *blama* ("religious teacher"). The title dates from 1578 CE, when it was conferred by Altan Khan of the Mongols upon Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1543–1588), third hierarch of the Dge lugs pa school of Tibetan Buddhism, commonly called the Yellow Hat sect. The title was applied posthumously to the two preceding hierarchs, Dge 'dun-grub pa (1391–1475), founder of Bkra śis lhun po (Tashilhunpo) monastery near Shigatse in Gtsaṅ province, and Dge 'dun rgya mtsho (1475–1542), founder of the Dalai Lama's residence in 'Bras spung monastery near Lhasa in Dbus province. After 1578 the title was given to each of the successive reincarnations of the Dalai Lama. The present Dalai Lama is fourteenth in the lineage.

Incarnation (Tib., *sprul sku*), the manifestation of some aspect of the absolute Buddhahood in human form, is an ancient doctrine and one common to various schools of Mahayana Buddhism, but the concept of the reincarnation *(yaṅ srid)* of a lama is unique to Tibetan Buddhism. The concept emerged in the fourteenth century in the hierarchic lineage of the Black Hat Karma pa and was soon adopted by the other Tibetan schools.

From the inception of the institution, traditional procedures for discovering the rebirth of a Dalai Lama, similar to those used for other reincarnate lamas, were followed. Indicative statements made by the previous Dalai Lama during his lifetime, significant auguries surrounding his death and afterward, and meditative visions by special lamas were recorded and interpreted as guides to finding his rebirth. In time, but no sooner than nine months after the death of the previous Dalai Lama, the people began to expect reports of an exceptional male child born in accordance with various omens. Such a child, usually two or three years old when discovered, was subjected to tests to determine physical fitness, intelligence, and the ability to remember events and objects from his previous existence. If more than one likely candidate was found, the final selection was made by drawing a name from a golden urn. Once the true reincarnation was determined, he was enthroned in the Potala palace as the Dalai Lama. The monastic education of a Dalai Lama, directed by learned tutors of the Dge lugs pa school, occupied his time for years. When he attained his majority, at about eighteen years of age, he assumed the religio-political power of the office of Dalai Lama.

In the beginning, the religious power of the Dalai Lama was limited to the monastic members and lay patrons of the reformed Yellow Hat school. By the middle of the sixteenth century, religio-political power in Tibet was unevenly divided between the Red Hat Karma pa, supported by the lay king of Gtsaṅ, and the Yellow Hat Dge lugs pa, patronized by lay princes of Dbus. The third hierarch of the Yellow Hat school was subsequently invited to Mongolia by Altan Khan, who gave him the title Dalai Lama. When the Dalai Lama died in Mongolia, his reincarnation was discovered to be none other than the great-grandson of Altan Khan himself. The fourth Dalai Lama, Yon tan rgya mtsho (1589–1617), is the only one in the lineage ethnically not a Tibetan. Escorted from Mongolia to Lhasa, he was enthroned in the Dalai Lama's residence in 'Bras spung monastery. Recognition of this Mongol prince as the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama thereafter bound the Mongols by faith to the Yellow Hat school, and in time they were to protect it militarily from its enemies.

The power struggle in Tibet between the Red Hat Karma pa and the Yellow Hat Dge lugs pa continued to escalate in favor of the Red Hats and the lay king of Gtsaṅ. Finally in 1642, at the invitation of the fifth Dalai Lama, Nag dban rgya mtsho (1617–1682), Gu śrī Khan of the Mongols led troops into Tibet, defeated the Red Hat opposition, and executed the lay king of Gtsaṅ. In effect Gu śrī Khan had conquered Tibet, but true to his faith, he presented the country to the fifth Dalai Lama as a religious gift. Thus the Dalai Lama became the religious and political head of Tibet. Because he was a monk, a civil administrator was appointed to handle the day-to-day affairs of state.

After the enthronement of this Dalai Lama, a prophetic scripture was discovered. It revealed that the reincarnate Dalai Lama was also an incarnation of the Bodhisattva of Compassion, Avalokiteśvara (Tib., Spyan ras gzigs), traditionally regarded as the patron bodhisattva of Tibet. The relationship between the noumenal Avalokiteśvara and the phenomenal Dalai Lama was attested by symbolism. According to Buddhist doctrine, the mystical abode of Avalokiteśvara is a mountain called the Potala; so the fifth Dalai Lama ordered a massive fortress, also called the Potala, to be built on a mountain in the Lhasa area. Begun in 1645, the Potala at Lhasa served as the palace of the Dalai Lama for more than three hundred years.

The most common Tibetan prayer is the six-syllable "Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ." Printed on prayer flags, contained in prayer wheels, carved repeatedly in wood and stone, and chanted daily by Tibetan Buddhists, this is the vocative mantra in Sanskrit of Avalokiteśvara. In view of his relationship to the Dalai Lama, the six-syllable mantra symbolically serves at once as an invocation to both the noumenal and phenomenal manifestations of the Bodhisattva of Compassion. Because of the belief that the Dalai Lama is an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara as well as a reincarnation of his predecessor, he is frequently, but incorrectly, called the "God-King" of Tibet in Western writings.

The fifth Dalai Lama was a learned scholar and the author of many texts, including a history of Tibet. During the forty years he was head of state, the Mongols helped to protect his newly established government and to expand its territorial control. In recognition of the important role he played in religio-political history, he is referred to in Tibetan literature as the Great Fifth.

The death of the fifth Dalai Lama was kept secret for fifteen years by the civil administrator for political reasons. His reincarnation, Tshaṅs dbyaṅs rgya mtsho (1683–1706), was discovered in due course but was not officially acknowledged as the next Dalai Lama until 1697. Unlike the monastic training of his predecessors, who had been publicly enthroned and tutored as children, that of the sixth Dalai Lama was not only kept secret but was apparently less than strict. Already in his teens when enthroned in the Potala, he soon gained notoriety for his addiction to wine, women, and song. Censure caused him to renounce his vows as a monk in 1702, but he remained in the Potala as the Dalai Lama. Finally in 1706, he was deposed by Lha bzaṅ Khan, a great-grandson of Gu śrī Khan, and deported to China; he died enroute. The sixth Dalai Lama is perhaps best remembered for sixty-two four-line verses, commonly referred to as his "love songs." A recurring theme in his poetry is the psychophysiological conflict between his monastic obligations as the Dalai Lama and his passion for mundane pleasures.

After the deposition and death of the sixth Dalai Lama, Lha-bzaṅ Khan became undisputed ruler of Tibet. He enthroned a puppet in the Potala, but the Tibetan people refused to accept him as the Dalai Lama. Instead, a boy born in eastern Tibet was recognized as the true reincarnation. Owing to the unstable situation in Lhasa, the seventh Dalai Lama, Bskal bzaṅ rgya mtsho (1708–1757), was taken to Kumbum monastery in the Kokonor region for safekeeping. In 1717 Mongols from Dzungaria, in support of the seventh Dalai Lama, invaded Tibet and killed Lha bzaṅ Khan. The puppet Dalai Lama was deposed and later deported to China. The seventh Dalai Lama was escorted to Lhasa by a Manchu imperial army and enthroned in the Potala in 1720.

A significant change was made in 1721 in the structure of the Tibetan government. The office of the civil administrator, which had concentrated political power in one pair of hands, was abolished and replaced with a council of four ministers collectively responsible for the secular branch of the dyadic hierocracy.

The death of the seventh Dalai Lama in 1757 led to the creation of a new government position. The office of the Dalai Lama had become institutionalized by then, and there was no question but that his reincarnation would succeed to his position of ruling power. Thus, the death of a Dalai Lama meant an interregnum of some twenty years, during which his reincarnation had to be discovered and educated, and his majority attained before he would resume power. During that period, another reincarnate lama of the Dge lugs pa school was appointed regent to rule Tibet on behalf of the minor Dalai Lama. Reluctance of successive regents and their supporters to hand over power each time a Dalai Lama reached his majority is blamed, perhaps unjustly, for the fact that the eighth Dalai Lama ruled only for a few years, the ninth and tenth died young without assuming power, and the eleventh and twelth Dalai Lamas ruled only for short periods before their death.

The thirteenth Dalai Lama, Thubbstan rgya mtsho (1876–1933), assumed full power in 1895. He survived an attempt on his life by his former regent, who purportedly resorted to witchcraft in hopes of furthering his political ambitions. During his long reign as head of state, the thirteenth Dalai Lama was forced to flee to Mongolia in 1904 to escape British troops invading from India. He spent years traveling in Mongolia and China. Not long after his return to Lhasa, he was again forced to flee early in 1910, this time to India to avoid the invading Chinese forces. The Chinese revolution of 1911 that overthrew the Manchu dynasty and established the Republic of China also marked the end of Manchu domination of Tibetan affairs. The Manchu imperial garrison at Lhasa, which had been set up early in the eighteenth century, was deported to a man by the Tibetan government. From 1913 until his death in 1933, the thirteenth Dalai Lama was the head of an independent government. Living in exile in British India motivated the thirteenth Dalai Lama to implement various reforms in Tibet to improve the welfare of his people. His importance in Tibetan history can be compared with that of the Great Fifth Dalai Lama in the seventeenth century.

The fourteenth Dalai Lama, Bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho, was born in 1935 of Tibetan parentage in the Chinghai province of China. Two other likely candidates were also found; but the one from Chinghai successfully passed all the tests, the omens were in mystical agreement, and he was confirmed as the true reincarnation by the State Oracle of Tibet himself. The Chinghai candidate was duly enthroned in the Potala at Lhasa in 1940. During the next decade, half of which was taken up by World War II in Asia, the young Dalai Lama was educated and prepared for the time he would assume his role as religio-political ruler of Tibet.

The invasion of eastern Tibet late in 1950 by forces of the People's Republic of China precipitated the empowerment of the fourteenth Dalai Lama when he was just fifteen years old. He was escorted to a village near the Indian border to avoid capture by the Chinese. In 1951, an agreement was reached between the Tibetan government and the Peking regime, and the Dalai Lama subsequently returned to Lhasa.

In 1956, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, the high-ranking reincarnate lama of the Yellow Hat monastery of Bkra śis lhun po, were invited to India to attend the Buddha Jayanti, a great celebration marking the twenty-five-hundredth anniversary of the birth of the Buddha. After the Dalai Lama returned to Tibet, however, the constrained political situation there continued to deteriorate, and in March 1959 the Tibetan populace revolted against the Chinese regime in Lhasa. The Dalai Lama fled to India. That month the Chinese abolished the traditional Tibetan government, ending over three hundred years of hierocratic rule by the Dalai Lama, incarnation of Avalokiteśvara, Bodhisattva of Compassion.

The present Dalai Lama continues to live in exile in India. He has traveled internationally, visiting various Asian countries as well as continental Europe, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The leaders of two great religious traditions met when the fourteenth Dalai Lama of Tibetan Buddhism was welcomed in the Vatican by Paul VI in 1973 and by John Paul II in 1979.

SEE ALSO Dge lugs pa.

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TURRELL V. WYLIE (1987)

DAMASCENE, JOHN SEE JOHN OF DAMASCUS

DAMIAN, PETER

DAMIAN, PETER (1007–1072), also known as Pier Damiani; Italian author, monk, cardinal, doctor of the church, and Christian saint. Born in Ravenna, Damian acquired his training in the liberal arts, his superior command of Latin, and his knowledge of Roman law at Ravenna, Faenza, and Parma, where an urban culture survived. Ravenna, capital of Romagna and the old Byzantine exarchate, regained importance through the Ottonian revival. Throughout his lifetime, Damian retained ties with Ravenna's civil and clerical circles.

In 1035, when already a priest and teacher, he changed careers to join the disciples of the extreme ascetic Romuald (d. 1027) in the wilderness at Fonte Avellana, a hermitage near Monte Catria in the Marches. Damian is reticent about his conversion, but it is known that it was not sudden. *Vita Romualdi*, Damian's first datable work (1042), is as valuable for its view of eremitical life as the apex of Benedictine observance as it is as a source for the life of Damian's revered mentor. Chosen prior in 1043, Damian turned the colony into a stable community with a written rule, a library, and a temporal base, and saw it grow into a widespread congregation.

Damian's conviction that his pursuit of evangelical perfection did not exempt him from public service helped him cope with an important challenge of his day, namely the reform of the church, appeals for which mounted from outside monasteries, from Emperor Henry III, from Archdeacon Hildebrand (later Pope Gregory VII), and from others. A rare insight into the mystery of the church as the union of every member in Christ complemented his strong support of its hierarchical structure in the Roman tradition. His collaboration with the popes began under Leo IX (1049–1054) and was closest with the moderate Alexander II (1061–1073). Damian became cardinal bishop of Ostia in 1057, carrying out delicate missions in Italy, France, and Germany. After reconciling the archbishop of Ravenna with the Roman see, he died at Faenza, where his cult began.

The flow of writings from Damian's pen, matching his tireless activity in the church, includes 175 letters, small tracts, some 50 sermons, saints' lives, prayers, hymns, and poems. His efforts at reform, based on the norms of church law, reflect the issues of his times: clerical immorality (*Liber Gomorrhianus*), theological problems raised by traffic in church offices (*Liber gratissimus*), and political-ecclesiastical strife (*Disceptatio synodalis*). Of lasting interest are the fruits of his beloved solitude: his ideal of Christian virtue and fidelity to duty in all walks of society, and his spiritual counsel, scriptural comments, and meditations. He was steeped in the Bible and drew on the church fathers, especially Augustine, whose works he procured for Fonte Avellana. Still prized in the twelfth century, his writings were eclipsed by the intellectualism of the Scholastic age, but Dante's praise assured Damian recognition outside the church as well (*Paradiso* 21.106–111). Thanks to excellent transmission of the manuscripts, Damian's corpus was secured for the modern age in the *Editio princeps* of Costantino Gaetani (four volumes, Rome, 1606–1640). Scholarship has shifted from its earlier selectivity to a consideration of Damian's whole legacy and of the man himself, as evidenced in the studies published in 1972 for the ninth centennial of his death. Perhaps the major significance of Peter Damian for Western religion lies in the fact that he, like the Camaldolese and Carthusians, gave new life and form to the strain of contemplative life and asceticism stemming from the Desert Fathers of Egypt.

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J. JOSEPH RYAN (1987)

DANCE

This entry consists of the following articles:

DANCE AND RELIGION
POPULAR AND FOLK DANCE [FIRST EDITION]
POPULAR AND FOLK DANCE [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]
THEATRICAL AND LITURGICAL DANCE [FIRST EDITION]
THEATRICAL AND LITURGICAL DANCE [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

DANCE: DANCE AND RELIGION

Dance is part of many systems of belief about the universe that deal with the nature and mystery of human existence and involve feelings, thoughts, and actions. From a comparative worldwide perspective, dance may be seen as human behavior composed (from the dancer's point of view) of purposeful, intentionally rhythmical, and culturally patterned sequences of nonverbal body movements in time, in space, and with effort. Different from ordinary motor activities, these movements have inherent and "aesthetic" values; that is, they have both appropriateness and competency. According to historical and anthropological research, people dance to express an awareness that is often difficult to express in words, and to fulfill a range of intentions and functions that change over time. Perceptions of orthodoxy and authenticity vary. People dance to explain religion, to create and re-create social roles, to worship or honor, to conduct supernatural beneficence, to effect change, to embody or merge with the supernatural through inner or external transformations, to reveal divinity through dance creation, to help themselves, and to entertain. Specific knowledge of dance practices associated with the supernatural is acquired through initiation, divination, oracle, observation, and copying.

The power of dance in religious practice lies in its multisensory, emotional, and symbolic capacity to create moods and a sense of situation in attention-riveting patterns by framing, prolonging, or discontinuing communication. Dance is a vehicle that incorporates inchoate ideas in visible human form and modifies inner experience as well as social action. The efficacy of dance in contributing to the construction of a worldview and affecting human behavior depends upon the beliefs of the participants (performers and spectators), particularly their faith in their ability to affect the world around them.

Dance has potency through sensory sensitivity and perception: the sight of performers moving in time and space, the sounds of physical movements, the odors of physical exertion, the feeling of kinesthetic activity or empathy, and the sensations of contact with other bodies or the dancer's environment. Meaning in dance relies on who does what, and on when, where, why, how, and with and to whom it is done. Such variables can convey gender roles, class status hierarchies, race, and other group identities. Skilled dancing may show spiritual excellence.

More like poetry than prose, dance may have cognitive, language-like references beyond the dance form itself. Meaning may be conveyed through various devices, such as metaphor (a dance in place of another expression that it resembles to suggest a likeness between the two), metonym (a dance connected with a larger whole), concretization (mimetic presentation), stylization (somewhat arbitrary religious gestures or movements that are the result of convention), icon (a dancer enacting some of a god's characteristics and being regarded or treated as that god), and actualization (a portrayal of one or several aspects of a dancer's real life).

Meaning may also exist in the spheres of the dance event, including nondance activity, the human body in special action, the whole dance performance, performance segments as they unfold as in a narrative, specific movements or style reflecting religious values, the intermeshing of dance with other communication media such as music, and the presence of a dancer conveying a supernatural aura or energy.

It is not possible to know the origins of religious dance. Rock art verifies its antiquity, however, and many peoples have explanatory myths. The Dogon of Mali, for example, say that god's son the jackal danced and traced out the world and its future; the first attested dance was one of divination that told secrets in dust. A spirit later taught people to dance. Hindus of India believe that Śiva danced the world into being and later conveyed the art of dancing to humans.

A popularly held psychological and theological theory found in numerous histories of dance suggests that dance evolved instrumentally to cope with unknown happenings in the human environment. Spontaneous movement—an outlet for the emotional tension endemic in the perpetual struggle for existence in a baffling environment—developed into patterned, symbolic movements for the individual and group. When a desired situation occurred following an instrumentally intended dance (for example, rain followed a danced request), the dance was assumed to have causative power and sacred association. Over time, style, structure, and meaning in dance changed through the perception of supernatural revelation, individual or group initiative, and contacts with other people. When different religious groups come together, one may dominate the other, sometimes leading to complete acceptance or syncretism. In many parts of the world, a group may practice both the old and new religions, as when African deities share their altars with Christian saints.

ACCEPTANCE OF DANCE AS RELIGIOUS PRACTICE. Views of mind and body, especially concerning emotion and sexuality, affect dance in religion (as well as in other aspects of life). Whereas various arts use the body as an accessory to create sounds or visual objects, dance is manifest directly through the body and evokes bodily associations. Christian, Muslim, and Hindu beliefs and practices illustrate significantly different perspectives about dance and religion.

Christianity's love-hate relationship with the body and acceptance of a mind-body dichotomy—which the rationalism of sixteenth-century Europe intensified—has led to both positive and negative attitudes toward dance. Recognizing Christ's humanity, Christianity views the human body as a temple housing the Holy Spirit, and it calls its church the "body of Christ." Paul said, "Glorify Christ in your bodies" (*1 Cor.* 6:15–20). From the second century, Christians (e.g., Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Clement of Alexandria) described dance as an imitation of the perpetual dance of angels, the blessed and righteous expressing physically their desire to enter heaven. Christianity built upon the Hebrew tradition of demonstrating through pious dance that no part of the individual was unaffected by the love of God. Yet Christianity also scorned flesh as a root of evil to be transcended, even mortified. Misunderstandings of Paul's view of flesh, by which he meant to refer to the individual acting selfishly, led to negative attitudes toward the body in general that he did not share. Christianity's rejection of the body reflects an inability to come to terms with the passing of time and with death. Moreover that the body is the instrument of sex and of dance creates fear of unbridled arousal of the passions and sexuality. Consequently, religious and secular totalitarian governments try to exert control over dance.

Although the Greeks, Hebrews, and Christians took part in ancient fertility and sustenance dances, some of these dances took the form of unrestrained, sensual rites. This perceived debasement of religion led to the periodic proscription of dance and to penalties against dancers. Legends of Salome's sensuous dance, for which she received John the Baptist's head in reward (she either obeyed her revengeful mother in requesting this or expressed her anger about John's not reciprocating her sexual interest in him), have kept alive negative associations with dance. Some Christians hold any glorification of the body, including dancing, an anathema: outspoken enemies of physicality with an ascetic dislike of eroticism, which could undermine faith and unsettle the hierarchic status quo, they preach the ideal of the Virgin. Western philosophy and Victorian prudishness have not, however, affected the Eastern Orthodox Church to the extent of eliminating dance in worship.

Because the nineteenth- and twentieth-century European industrializing nations that imperialistically dominated the world economy were largely Christian, this religion has had a stifling impact on dance worldwide. Europeans recognized that non-European dance was intertwined with indigenous religions and moralities. Even though these dances often had themes and origins comparable to those of European folk dances, colonialists considered indigenous dances to be the manifestation of savage heathenism, and thus antagonistic to the "true faith." They therefore frequently sought to eliminate them. The British influence, for example, contributed to the demise of Hindu temple dancing without succeeding in spreading Christianity. However, even when proscribed or out of fashion, dance rises phoenixlike and transformed. The Hindu temple-dancing became an Indian nationalist symbol appropriated by middle-class women. Black slaves in the United States, members of Nigerian Yoruba Assemblies of God, and a number of white Christian groups have all included in their worship what appears to be dance—though under a different name, such as "play," "the shout," or "feeling the Lord."

As former European colonies in Africa, Latin America, and Asia regained independence, they frequently reevaluated and renewed their devalued dances. Moreover, counterreactions in the twentieth-century West to claims of the separation of mind from body have led to a renaissance of dance as religious practice in churches and temples. When Westerners developed more accepting attitudes about the body, and as biblical scholarship on dance increased after the 1960s, a sacred dance movement gave impetus to the resurgence of Christian congregational, choir, and solo dancing. Nevertheless, some Christian groups still ban dancing.

Islam generally disapproves of dancing as a frivolous distraction from contemplating the wisdom of the Prophet. Its religious leaders look upon dancing with contempt.

The sacred and secular, the ritualistic and playful, and the spiritual and sexual do not everywhere have the dichotomous character so common in Muslim societies and in industrial societies, where specialization and separation are hallmarks. For example, Hinduism generally merges the sacred and the sexual in a felicitous union. As religion is about mystery, potential danger, hope of heaven, and ecstasy, so too are sexual love and its ramifications. Rather than considering carnal love a phenomenon to be "overcome," as in some Christian denominations, a strand of Hinduism accepts sexual congress as a phase of the soul's migration. Through the path of devotion *(bhakti),* a surrender to the erotic self-oblivion of becoming one, a man and a woman momentarily glimpse spiritually and symbolically the desired absolute union with divinity. This is a microcosm of divine creation that reveals the hidden truth of the universe. The dance conveys this vision of life in telling the stories of the anthropomorphic gods. Hinduism has a pantheon of deities and is really a medley of hundreds of belief systems that share commonalities, as do Christian denominations. The supreme, all-powerful God is manifest in a trio of divinities: Brahma, Viṣṇu (who appears in the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa, of amorous nature and exploits), and Śiva (Lord of the Dance, who created the universe, which he destroys and regenerates through dance). Śiva's rhythms determine those of the world. The classic Indian sacred treatise on dance, the *Nāṭya Śāstra,* describes dance as an offering and demonstration of love to God, a cleansing of sin, a path of salvation, a partaking of the cosmic control of the world, and an expression of God within oneself.

TYPOLOGY OF SACRED DANCE PRACTICE. Dance is frequently an element of the process by which symbolic meanings related to the supernatural world of ancestors, spirits, and gods are exchanged among performers and spectators. From the perspectives of various religions and the functionalist, structuralist, feminist, and identity theories that view religion as part of the larger social system, there appear to be eleven categories of dance, which are neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive. The specific dances referred to in the discussion below are from different times and cultures, removed from their rich historical and social contexts; they are chosen to illustrate kinds of beliefs and acts.

Explaining religion. Dance is part of ritual constructions of reality communicated to people so they may understand the world and operate in it. The lore of sacred and profane belief, often intertwined, is told and retold in dance.

In early Christendom, dancing began as metaphor and metonym for the mysteries of faith. During the first part of the Middle Ages, dancing accompanied Christian church festivals and processionals in which relics of saints or martyrs were carried to call attention to their life histories. Later, in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, dance was an accepted liturgical art form in mystery and miracle plays. Elaborate dramatic presentations flourished in the Renaissance, but then printed tracts, pamphlets, and books and other promotions of the ascendance of the mind began to erode the importance of dance as a medium of religious expression. The Jesuits sponsored ballet as honorable relaxation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries until its suppression for being veiled political commentary.

The Spanish Franciscans used dance dramas, especially those depicting the struggle of the church against its foes, to explain the Christian faith to the illiterate New World Indians they hoped to convert. Pageants of Moors and Christians were common. Appropriating indigenous Indian dances, the Franciscans suffused them with Christian meaning. Similarly, Muslims in East Africa at the end of the nineteenth century used indigenous attachment to the old Yao initiation dances to gradually introduce another dance that was regarded as an initiation into Islam.

Contemporary Western dance performances in places of worship, referred to as sacred, liturgical, or midrash dance (search for biblical meaning in the Torah through improvisational movement); public theaters; film; television; and on the internet perpetuate the tradition of dance explaining religion. Choreographers present biblical scenes, incidents, and concepts in addition to religious philosophy, characters, events, and processes. Of course, all religious dance may have an entertaining element.

Creating and re-creating social roles. Often used as a means to legitimize social organization, religion may employ dance as its agent to convey attitudes about proper social behavior at the same time that it fulfills other purposes and functions. An example comes from Hinduism, which has a rich ancient history in the arts and religion. Although both male and female royalty in early India may have been well versed in dancing, the *Nāṭya Śāstra* is the scripture of a male sage, Bhārata Muni, who upon receiving instruction from the gods later handed it down through his sons. Recognizing that dance is symbolic, he thought danced enactments of myths and legends would give people guidance in their lives.

Male Brahmans (members of the priestly class) taught dance to males who performed only as young boys *(gotipua*s), to males who performed in all-male companies *(kathakali),* and to women dedicated to serving in the temples *(devadāsī*s). A dancer usually performs both male and female roles and movement styles for the deities in private devotions and at religious festivals involving the larger community.

Some common religious dance themes are about male-female relations. In the allegories of Rādhā (loveliest of the milkmaids) and Kṛṣṇa (the eternal lover dancing in the heart of every man), for example, their illicit love becomes a spiritual freedom, a type of salvation, and a surrender of all that the strict Indian social conventional world values.

Human analogies explain Hindu divinity; conversely, the tales of the gods—more powerful versions of men and women with the same virtues and vices—provide sanctified models for human actions as well as fantasies with vicarious thrills related to cultural sexual taboos. Danced enactments of legends send messages of patriarchal dominance—that it is acceptable for men to lustfully wander outside of marriage, whereas, in contrast, women are supposed to be faithful to their husbands, forgive them, and bear their children in spite of the pain, risk of death, and agony from high infant mortality.

In the West Sepik District of Papua New Guinea, the Umeda people convey gender status through the annual Idā dance, a ritual for sago palm fertility and a celebration of survival in the face of physical and mystical dangers. Although the sexual division of labor is supposedly complementary, in this dance the cultural creativity of men is pitted against the biological creativity of women, and female culture is opposed and ultimately conquered by male culture.

The myths and metaphors of religious codes present basic propositions concerning expected behavior between leaders and followers, other than relations between the sexes. Such codes are danced for all to see. The Indian *kathakali* (in which feminine-looking boys learn to dance female roles) draws upon the physical training techniques from Kerala's military tradition. This powerful and spectacular drama, staged as a public ritual for the entire community, has been claimed to be a reaction to foreign aggression and a reaffirmation of the priestly and warrior social status, as well as an affirmation of masculine pride in matrilineal and matrilocal society.

Dance in preconquest Mexico was devoted to deities and agricultural success; its performance, as well as its representation in artifacts, appears to have served contemporary sociopolitical designs: to create, reflect, and reinforce social stratification and a centralized integrated political organization encompassing diverse, geographically dispersed ethnic groups. Nobles, priests, and commoners, old and young, male and female, each had distinct dances and spatial levels for performing at the pyramid temple.

Worship or honor. At regularly scheduled seasonal times, at critical junctures, or just spontaneously, dances are part of rituals that revere; greet as a token of fellowship, hospitality, and respect; and thank, entreat, placate, or offer penitence to deities, ancestors, and other supernatural entities. Not only may dance be a remedial vehicle to propitiate or beseech, it may also be prophylactic—gods may be honored to preclude disaster.

Dance is a means of religious concentration as well as of corporeal merging with the infinite God. The Jews dance to praise their God in sublime adoration and to express joy for his beneficence. Hasidic Jews communicate with God through ecstatic dancing designed to create a mystical state. Hebrew Scriptures refer to "rejoicing with the whole being," as well as to specific dances performed for traditional festivals. The God-given mind and body are returned to God through dance. As a result of the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE Jews generally eliminated dance and song from regular worship until such a time as they could return from the Diaspora and rebuild the Temple. The Talmud, ancient rabbinic writings that constitute religious authority for traditional Judaism, describes dancing as the principal function of the angels and commands dancing at weddings for brides, grooms, and their wedding guests. Procreation is God's will, weddings a step toward its fulfillment, and dancing a thanksgiving symbolizing fruitfulness. Even in exile there could be dancing, because out of the wedding might be born the Messiah who would restore the people to the Land of Israel.

In Christianity the Catholic Church allowed dances created for special occasions, such as the canonization of cardinals or commemoration of their birthdays. Throughout Latin America, devotional dances are part of a pilgrimage and processional fiesta system that fuses Indian and Catholic tenets. Dance training and production preparation are often undertaken as part of a religious vow to a powerful saint, the Virgin, or a Christ figure. The Mormons believe that, when engaged in by the pure of heart, dance (excluding the embracing-couple position of Western social dance) prepares the individual and community for prayer meetings or other religious activity; devotion and recreation unite the individual with God. Brigham Young, who led the Mormon migration from Illinois to Utah, discovered that dance was a means to strengthen group morale and solidarity through providing emotional and physical release from hardship.

In Orissa, India, the custom of small boys dancing dressed as girls has coexisted with a female dance tradition since the fifteenth century. The *sakhībhāva* cult believes that, because Kṛṣṇa is male, the most effective way of showing devotion is as a female, like the milkmaids *(gopīs)* who dance their love for Kṛṣṇa.

The Gogo of Tanzania dance the Cidwanga as a sign of reverence in the annual ritual for good rains and fertility. Groups in Nigeria provide many illustrations of worshipful dance. The Kalabari believe that human beings make the gods great. Fervent worship adds to a deity's capacity to aid the worshipers, and just as surely the cutting off of worship will render them impotent, or at least cause them to break off contact with erstwhile worshipers. Among the Efik, the worshipers of the sea deity Ndem briskly dance in a circle at the deity's shrine to express metaphorically the affective intensity of a wish, whether it be for a child or a safe journey. The brisker the dance, the more likely Ndem is to grant requests. Because the Ubakala Igbo dance to honor and propitiate the respected living, it is not surprising that the spirits of the departed and other supernatural entities are also honored in this way. Some deities, such as the Yoruba Ṣango, love to be entertained and can best be placated with good dancing.

Like the human creatures they basically are, the ancestors of the Fon of Dahomey (or the other spiritual entities who are given anthroposocial attributes) are believed to love display and ceremony. Thus both living and spiritual entities are believed to watch a dance performance, and both categories of spectators may even join the dancers, the latter often doing so through possession. Supernatural beings are sometimes honored to ensure that they do not mar festivals.

Conducting supernatural beneficence. Dance may be the vehicle through which an individual, as self or other (masked or possessed), becomes a conduit of extraordinary power. Among the Ganda of Uganda, parents of twins, having demonstrated their extraordinary fertility and the direct intervention of the god Mukasa, danced in the gardens of their friends to transmit human fertility supernaturally to the vegetation. Yoruba mothers of twins dance with their offspring and promise to bless all those who are generous with alms. Here the motional, dynamic rhythm and spatial patterns of dance transfer desired qualities to objects or individuals.

The men and women of Tanzania's Sandawe people dance by moonlight in the erotic Phekʾumo rites to promote fertility. Identifying with the moon, a supreme being believed to be both beneficial and destructive, they adopt stylized signs or moon stances; they also embrace tightly and mimic the act of sexual intercourse. The dance, metaphorically at least, conducts supernatural beneficence.

Because dance movement is metonymical with life movement, dance parody of sorcerer-caused disease and death affects the ascendance of life spirits and health forces. The Tiv of Nigeria parody dropsy and elephantiasis through dance.

The Sun Dance of the hunting peoples of the Great Plains of North America was an elaborate annual pageant performed during full summer, when scattered tribal bands could unite in a season of plenty. Representatives danced to renew the earth, pray for fertility or revenge for a murdered relative, and transfer medicine. The typical Sun Dance involved a week of intense activity culminating in dramatic climactic rites. Male dancers participated in accord with personal vows made previously for success in warfare or healing of a loved one. Each dancer strove to attain personal power. Dancers were pierced through the breast or shoulder muscles and tethered with thongs to the central pole of a ceremonial lodge altar. Staring at the sun, they danced without pause, pulling back until the flesh gave way.

Effecting change. Dance may be used as a medium to reverse a debilitating condition caused by the supernatural or to prepare an individual or group to reach a religiously defined ideal state. This includes status transformation in rites of passage, death, healing, and prevention, as well as rites to reverse political domination.

The United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing, commonly called Shakers because of their dramatic practice of vigorous dancing, believed that the day of judgment was imminent. Numbering about six thousand members in nineteen communities at its peak in the 1840s, the group held that salvation would come through confessing and forsaking fleshy practices. Notwithstanding their professed attitudes toward the body, the first adherents were seized by an involuntary ecstasy that led them to run about a meeting room, jump, shake, whirl, and reel in a spontaneous manner to shake off doubts, loosen sins and faults, and mortify lust in order to purify the spirit. In repentance they turned away from preoccupation with self to shake off their bondage to a troubled past. This permitted concentration on new feelings and intent.

Dancing for the Shakers, who believed in the dualism of spirit versus body, appears to be a canalization of feeling in the context of men and women living together in celibacy, austerity, humility, and hard manual labor. Shaker dance involved a sequence of movements, designed to shake off sin, that paralleled the sexual experience of energy buildup to climax and then relaxation. Individualistic impulsive movements evolved into ordered, well-rehearsed patterns. Shaking the hand palm downward discarded the carnal; turning palms upward petitioned eternal life.

For Buddhist Sherpa lamas, laymen, and young boys in Nepal, dancing is a means by which they resolve the necessity of simultaneously affirming and denying the value of worldly existence. The spring Dumje ceremony purges the forces of repression and guilt that oppose the erotic impulses so that life may continue. The young boys' highly lascivious *tek-tek* masked dances represent sexuality as well as the children who are its desired fruits.

Dance mediates between childhood and adult status in the Chisungu, the girls' initiation ceremony of the Bemba of Zambia. The women conducting the ceremony believe they are causing supernatural changes to take place as each initiate is "danced" from one group with its status and roles to another. Among the Wan of the Ivory Coast, a man must dance a female initiate on his shoulders. During the initiation to an ancestral cult, the Fang of Gabon carry religious statues from their usual places and make them dance like puppets to vitalize them.

Another form of status change occurs at death. The Ubakala perform the dance dramas Nkwa Uko and Nkwa Ese to escort a deceased aged and respected woman and man, respectively, to become ancestors residing among the spirits, later to return in a new incarnations. These forms are similar to the dances in the Christian tradition that enable one to enter heaven.

Among the Dogon, death creates disorder. But through the symbolism and orderliness of dance, humans metaphorically restore order to the disordered world. Symbolically spatializing things never seen, the Dogon represent heaven on earth. So too at the time of death the mask dance helps to mitigate the psychic distress and spiritual fear of the dead.

The funeral dance of the Nyakyusa in Tanzania begins with a passionate expression of anger and grief and gradually becomes a fertility dance. In this way dancing mediates the passionate and quarrelsome emotions felt over a death and the acceptance of it.

Dances related to death were common in medieval Europe, a largely preliterate society dominated by the Christian church. It interpreted an economically harsh and morally complex world as a fight between God and the devil. Part of a convivial attempt to deny the finality of death, dances also had other manifestations and functions. In the so-called Dance of Death, a performer beckoned people to the world beyond in a reaction to the epidemic Black Death (1347–1373), a bubonic plague outbreak in Italy, Spain, France, Germany, and England. Evolving with the image of the skeletal figure seen as one's future self, the dance was a mockery of the pretenses of the rich and a vision of social equality. The dance emphasized the terrors of death to frighten sinners into repentance. Hallucinogenic and clonic cramp symptoms of bread and grain ergot poisoning, called Saint Anthony's Fire, led some of its sickly victims to move involuntarily in dancelike movements. Such people were believed to be possessed. Other victims sought relief from pain through ecstatic dancing, considered to be of curative value and efficacious in warding off death. Dances were also connected with wakes for the dead and the rebirth of the soul to everlasting life. Dancing at the graves of family, friends, and martyrs was believed to comfort the dead and encourage resurrection as well as protect against the dead as demons.

Gregory of Nazianzus, bishop of Constantinople, Turkey, thought of dancing at the graves of martyrs as a means to cast out devils and prevent sickness. Dance could also trample vices and that which enslaves people and holds them down.

Among the Gogo, dance metaphorically effects a supernatural change through role reversal in a curative and preventative rite. When men fail in their ritual responsibility for controlling human and animal fertility, disorder reigns. Women then become the only active agents in rituals addressed to righting the wrong. Dressed as men, they dance violently with spears to drive away contamination.

The Hamadsha, a Moroccan Ṣufi brotherhood, performs the *hadrah,* an ecstatic dance, in order to cure an individual who has been struck or possessed by a devil. They seek a good relationship with a *jinni* (spirit), usually ʿĀʾishah. In the course of the dance, people become entranced and slash at their heads in imitation of Sidi, ʿAli's servant, who did so when he learned of his master's death. A flow of blood is believed to calm the spirit. The Hamadsha women fall into trance more readily and dance with more abandon than the men.

Dance was an integral part of many American Indian religious revivals and reaffirmations in response to historical, economic, and political situations they wanted to change. The northern Paiute and peoples of the Northwest Plateau believed that ceremonies involving group dancing, a visible index of ethnic and political alliances and action, would bring about periodic world renewal. The Indians thought certain group dances had the power to end the deprivation that resulted from defeat at the hands of whites and bring about the return of Indian prosperity. The Ghost Dance religion incorporated Christian teachings of the millennium and the second coming of Christ in order to attract acculturated Indians.

Mexican dance groups, known as *concheros, danza Chicimeca, danza Azteca,* and *danza de la conquista,* originated in the states of Querétaro and Guanajuato as a response to the Spanish conquest in the sixteenth century. The groups may also be seen as "crisis cults," syncretistic attempts to create prideful cultural identity and new forms of social integration. Participants, at the low end of the socioeconomic scale and heavily represented in the laborer and shoe-shine occupations, adopt the nomenclature of the Spanish military hierarchy and perform dances reenacting the conquest that were derived from Spanish representations of the Moors and Christians. The warlike dances involve women, the aged, and children as well as men.

Embodying the supernatural in inner transformation: personal possession. Dance may serve as an activating agent for a specific kind of change: giving oneself temporarily to a supernatural being or essence. This metamorphic process is usually accompanied by a devout state and altered consciousness aided by autosuggestion or autointoxication through learned frenzied movement that releases oxygen, adrenalin, and endorphins and sometimes promotes vertigo. Audience encouragement abets crossing the threshold into another state of being. The dance itself is often characterized by a particular type of musical accompaniment. A possessed devotee may achieve a consciousness of identity or a ritual connection with the supernatural iconically, metonymically, metaphorically, or experientially. Some practitioners retain their own identities; others become the spirit—and self-identity depends on the spirit that animates the body.

A supernatural possessor may manifest itself through the dancer's performance of identifiable and specific patterns and conventional signs. In this way it communicates to the entire group that it is present and enacting its particular supernatural role in the lives of humans. Thus fear of the supernatural entity's indifference is allayed. Possession may alter somatic states and cause a dancer's collapse. The specific characteristics of possession are culturally determined, and even children may play at possession.

There are four types of personal possession. Diviners, cult members, medicine men, and shamans are among those who participate in the first type "invited" spirit mediumship possession dances. Numerous African religions and their offshoots in Haitian vodou and Brazilian macumba, as well as other faiths, involve the belief that humans can contact supernatural entities and influence them to act on a person's behalf. The worshiper takes the initiative and lends his or her body to the tutelary spirit when there is an indication that the spirit wishes to communicate with the living or when the devotee desires a meeting. As a sensorimotor sign, the dance may indicate the deity's presence or a leader's legitimacy; as a signal, it may be a marker for specific activities. As a metonym, it may be part of the universe; and as a metaphor, it may refer to human self-extension or social conflict.

The Kalabari believe a possessed dancer invites a god as a guest into the village. "Dancing the gods" is considered an admirable achievement. Masquerade dancers may become possessed, and in some cases the performer is expected to await possession before dancing. In possession dances the ability of Water People gods to materialize as pythons is accented as they metamorphose from acting like people to writhing on the ground and slithering about the house rafters as the great snakes do. The *oru seki* (spirit) dancing occurs in the ritual to solicit a special benefit or to appease a spirit whose rules for human behavior have been infringed. Possession of the invoker, an iconic sign in the midst of the congregation, assures the spirit's presence, power, and acceptance of the invocation and offerings.

Among the Ga of Ghana it is through a medium, whose state of possession is induced by dance, that the god signifies its presence and delivers messages prophesying the coming year's events and suggesting how to cope with them. Possession legitimizes leadership among the Fanti of Ghana. Because the deities love to dance, the priests assemble drummers, become possessed, and then speak with the power and authority of the deity. The Korean shaman attains knowledge and power in the role of religious leader through trance possession induced by dancing.

Invited possession may be a mechanism for individuals to transact social relationships more favorably. Healing practices often mediate the natural, social, and supernatural. In Sri Lanka's Sinhala healing rites, an exorcist attempts to sever the relationship between a patient and malign demons and ghosts. The exorcist's performance of various dance sequences progressively builds up emotional tension and generates power that can entrance both the healer and the patient. Their bodies become the demonic spirit's vehicle, constitute evidence of its control, and convince spectators of the need, as the healer prescribes, for a change in social relations that will exorcise the demonic spirit and transform the patient from illness to a state of health.

A second kind of possession dance, known as "invasion" (also often a metaphor and signal of social pathology or personal maladjustment) indicates that a supernatural being has overwhelmed an individual, causing some form of malaise, illness, or personal or group misfortune. A deity or spirit who manifests itself in specific dances identified with the supernatural speaks or acts using the possessed's body. Some cultures—for example, in Africa, the Caribbean, the Middle East, Brazil, and Korea—recognize that a person's poor physical condition and related fear and helplessness may also be associated with difficult social relationships that the person feels helpless to remedy by himself or herself. Dance becomes a medium to exorcise and appease the being, thus freeing the possessed individual and ameliorating his or her irksome ascribed status or difficult situation. Meeting the wishes of a spirit as part of exorcism frequently imposes obligations on those related to the possessed.

The *vimbuza* healing dance of the Chewa and Tumbuka societies in Malawi is a socially sanctioned means of expressing those feelings and tensions that if otherwise broadcast would disrupt family or community relationships. The dance is medicine for the *vimbuza* disease, which causes terrifying dreams or visions, the eating of unusual meat, or the uttering of a specific groan.

A third kind of possession, called "consecration," involves initiation and the impersonation of a deity, during which time the dancer becomes deified. In India the audience worships the young performers in the Rāma-līlās who play Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā, Rāma, and other mythic heroes in the same way they would revere icons. Performers of the Tibetan sacred masked dance, or *ʿcham,* are viewed as sacred beings.

Not only may individuals be possessed by supernatural entities, they may also experience "essence possession," the fourth type, by an impersonal religious or supernatural potency. Among the Lango of Uganda, *jok* is liberated or generated in dancing. Similarly among the !Kung San of Namibia, dance activates *n/um,* that potency from which medicine men derive their power to protect the people from sickness and death. The medicine dancer may go into trance and communicate with spirits without being possessed by them. The ceremonial curing dance may be called for in crisis situations, or the dance may occur spontaneously; it is redressive and prophylactic.

Merging with the supernatural toward enlightenment or self-detachment. Illustrations of another form of inner transformation through dance come from Turkey and Tibet. In Turkey the followers of the thirteenth-century poet-philosopher Mawlana Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, founder of one of Islam's principal mystic orders, perform whirling dances. Men with immobile faces revolve in long white shirts with covered arms outstretched, slowly at first and then faster until they reach a spiritual trance. These men, the dervishes (the word refers to a person on the threshold of enlightenment), strive to detach themselves from earth and divest themselves of ties to self in order to unite with a nonpersonified God. This process occurs through revolving movement and repeated chanting that vibrates energy centers of the body in order to raise the individual to higher spheres.

The Tibetan Buddhist dance ritual called Ling Dro Dechen Rolmo permits imaging the divine. The dancer's circular path and turning movement aid the participants toward enlightenment by providing a means to realize that the deity is a reflection of one's own mind.

Embodying the supernatural in external transformation: masquerade. Sacred masquerade dances, part of a people's intercourse with the spirit world, make social and personal contributions through symbolic actions that are similar to those made through dances that explain religion, create and re-create social roles, worship and honor, conduct supernatural beneficence, effect change, and involve possession. The Midimu masked dancing of the Yao, Makua, and Makonde of Tanzania and Mozambique helps to explain religion by marking the presence of the supernatural (ancestors) in the affairs of the living. In effect, ancestors return from the dead to rejoice on the occasion of an initiate's return from the training camp. The Dogon's masked-society dancing patterns depict their conception of the world, its progress and order, and its continuity and oneness with the total universe. Dance is thus a model of the belief system. Participants in the Nyau society of Chewa-speaking peoples dance a reenactment of the primal coexistence of people, animals, and spirits in friendship and their subsequent division by fire. The people believe that underneath their masks the dancers have undergone transformation into spirits.

Social roles are emphasized when the Yoruba's Gẹlẹdẹ society masquerade figures appear annually at the start of the new agricultural year to dance in the marketplace and through the streets. They honor and propitiate the female *oriṣa* (spirits) and their representatives, living and ancestral, for the mothers are the gods of society and their children are its members—all animal life comes from a mother's body.

Although both men and women belong to the Gẹlẹdẹ cult (to seek protection and blessings and assuage their fear of death), only men dance, with masks portraying the appropriate sex roles of each character. Mothers have both positive (calm, creative, protective) and negative or witch (unmitigated evil affecting fertility, childbirth, and the functioning of men's sexual organs) dimensions. The mothers possess powerful *ase* (vital, mystical power). A man can have *ase* most fully when he is spiritually united with an *orịṣa.* When men symbolically externalize the vital life forces in dance, they may be asserting their virility and freedom in the presence of the powerful mothers and, in addition, recognizing and honoring their powers in order to appease them to ensure that they utilize their *ase* for male benefit.

Among the Nafana of the Ivory Coast, masked dancing occurs almost nightly during the lunar month of the year. The dancing is intended to worship and effect change. Living in the masks, the Bedu spirits bless and purify the village dwellings and their occupants and metaphorically absorb evil and misfortune, which they remove from the community so that the new year begins afresh.

The masked (antelope headdress) dance of the Bamana of Mali represents Chi Wara, the god of agriculture—a supernatural being who is half animal and half man—who first taught people how to cultivate the soil. Chi Wara's public presence is an invocation of his blessings. In a concretized form that makes appeals more understandable to the young, animal masked dances remind humans that they have some animal characteristics, and participants respond to the dancers both positively and negatively. In this way the masked dancing presents human foibles at a distance for examination without threat to individuals, thus helping to effect change.

Masked dancing can be a metaphor for both normative and innovative behavior. Under religious auspices the dancer is freed from the everyday restrictions on etiquette and thus is able to present secular messages and critiques. Presented by the unmasked, these messages might produce social frictions or hostilities rather than positive change.

Among the Nsukka Igbo of Nigeria, the council of elders employed masked dancers representing an *omabe* spirit cult whenever there was difficulty in enforcing law and order. In Zambia, Wiko Makishi masqueraders, believed to be resurrected ancestors and other supernatural beings, patrol the vicinities of the boys' initiation lodges to ward off intruders, women, and non-Wiko.

A Chewa man residing with his wife and mother-in-law often resorts to the male masked Nyau dancer to mediate between himself and a mother-in-law whose constant demands on him he resents. When the dancer dons the mask of the Chirombo (beast), he directs obscene language against her. No action may be taken against him, for in his mask he enjoys the immunity of the Chirombo. Afterward, the mother-in-law often reduces her demands.

Socially sanctioned ritual abuse with ribald and lewd movements and gestures in a highly charged atmosphere is permitted in the Bedu masked dance mentioned above. There appear to be humor and an underlying feeling that these acts are socially acceptable and that through them participants will be purged of whatever negative emotions they may harbor.

The masked dancer may be an iconic sign, revered and experienced as a veritable apparition of the being he represents, even when people know that a man made the mask and is wearing it. Because the Angolan Chokwe mask and its wearer are a spiritual whole, both in life and death, when a dancer dies, his mask is buried with him.

Revelation of divinity through dance creation. Within a Protestant Christian view, artistic self-expression is analogized to the creative self-expression of God as creator. Dancing a set piece is considered a reflection of the unknowable God's immanence, irrespective of the performer's intention. The dancer is to dance as God is to creation. The language of movement is God given, and both the progression of a dancer's training and the perfection of performance reveal God's achievement. Within the Franciscan view, God is present in good works and in the creative force of the arts. Through dance rituals in Latin America, performers become one with creation. When an individual dances with expertise—individuality, agility, and dexterity—the Gola of Liberia consider this to be a sign of a *jina*'s gift of love given in a dream.

Self-help. Many people wanting to stay well or to cope with stress seek out nontraditional spiritual pathways. They draw upon teachings from different religions and borrow movements for their own spiritual dances. Some people seek a "high" through vigorous dance and the release of endorphins.

Nonsacred theatrical and recreational dance. In many parts of the world that have become somewhat modernized and secularized, participants in nonsacred theatrical dance often choose to explain religion, to convey or to challenge its models for social organization and gender roles, to effect change, and to honor the divine by infusing their dances with elements drawn from religions worldwide. Many folk dances associated with religious holidays or events have been transformed into commercial theatrical, nightclub, tourist, and museum productions—and into performances (by dancers other than the "folk") for recreational purposes.

Choreographers interpretatively embody religious events in sensory storytelling or reflect theologically rooted affirmations and values without reference to specific stories in opera and dance concerts and on television and the Internet. Isadora Duncan, a pioneer of American modern (a form of dance that originally reflected a rebellion against formality) viewed her dance as a prayer through which one could become one with nature, itself sacred. Dance was an invocation for which Duncan desired audience participation. Yet women have mostly performed dances taught by male choreograpahers and interpreters, and thus helped to perpetuate both male dominance over females and stereotypes of women as virgin or whore. Good women in the Bible are tainted by using seduction (e.g., Judith). Martha Graham, another pioneer of modern dance, was a leader in choreographing a woman's viewpoint and dominance without guilt. Dancers in India are modifying the movement and story line of the epics to assert feminist perspectives.

Technology and religious practice. Access to new technology is sometimes manifest in ritual, such as the appearance of a telephone mask. Movements of contemporary disco have been incorporated into possession dance. Television broadcasts some rituals as they occur. There are replays and documentaries. Among the Edo in Benin City, Nigeria, videorecording capturing the span of real time became a mandatory assertion of the importance of individual participants. Visibility may effect efficaciousness. Choreography with the camera loses immediacy of the place of worship or theater but gains excitement through access.

IN SHORT. Dance is a barometer of theology, ideology, worldview, and social change within often overlapping categories of religious practice. Dance appears to be part of a cultural code or logical model enabling humans to order experience, account for its chaos, express isomorphic properties between opposing entities, and explain realities. Dance and religion merge in a configuration that encompasses sensory experience, cognition, diffused and focused emotions, personal and social conflicts, and technology. People dance to explain religion, convey sanctified models for social organization, revere the divine, conduct supernatural beneficence, effect change, embody the supernatural through internal or external transformation, merge with the divine toward enlightenment, reveal divinity through creating dance, engage in self-help, and convey religious themes in secular theater and recreation. Permeated with religious tradition, dance continually changes.

SEE ALSO Darwīsh; Drama; Ghost Dance; Human Body; Ritual; Spirit Possession; Sun Dance.

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DANCE: POPULAR AND FOLK DANCE [FIRST EDITION]

Dance and religion have been intertwined in various ways through the centuries. The attitudes toward dance expressed in ancient Greek writings and the Bible are part of a philosophical legacy that has been influential throughout the intellectual and cultural history of the Western world. The ancient Greeks believed that dance was supreme among the arts, indeed that it was fundamentally inseparable from music and poetry. In the *Laws*, Plato writes that all creatures are prompted to express emotions through body movements, and he notes that such instinctive response is transformed into dance by virtue of a gift from the gods: rhythmic and harmonic order. Other Greeks held the general belief that dance was originally transmitted directly from the gods to humans, and consequently that all dancing is a spiritual endeavor. Whatever the origin of dance, classical historians maintain that religious rituals were indeed the source of many Greek dances, though dancing was not confined to rituals or occasions of formal worship. Dance was also an integral part of Greek social life, as recreation and as a means of solemnizing events or experiences. The spiritual nature of dance was apparently considered so all-encompassing that the Greeks made no rigid distinction between religious dancing and secular dancing.

The Hebrew scriptures contain numerous references to the dance activities of the Israelites in biblical times. Dancing was an expression of joy in all realms of life, a celebration of mental and corporeal fulfillment as well as a personal declaration of spiritual devotion. Modern scholars have debated whether dance was a part of actual religious rituals or formal worship in the Jewish faith. Some believe that there was no role for dancing in the Temple or in performances of the religious officiants during services and ceremonies. Even so, dance clearly played a significant part in the public festivals that accompanied the holy days. For example, the pilgrimages associated with seasonal festivals were sanctified by dancing, singing, and the playing of musical instruments such as the harp. Also, the triumphs of the Jewish people over their oppressors were celebrated in victory parades with dancing and special songs.

By the dawn of the Christian era, two major factors affected the status of dance in the philosophy of the church establishment. The first was the tangible and immediate heritage of attitudes toward dancing found among the Jewish people; the second was the active dance traditions of the various pagan cults that were now converting to Christianity. The Christian community shared with the Jews the fundamental belief that dance was a means of expressing reverence to God. The angels danced in heavenly joy, and mortals danced to celebrate their faith. Many ancient pre-Christian customs found in European cultures were preserved (e.g., the practice of dancing at burial grounds) and coexisted alongside the new rites of the church. Other dance customs were actually integrated into Christian religious ceremonies. Religious dances performed by the clergy included the ring dance and the processionals that formed part of the various saints' festivals. Other dances were performed only by members of the congregation, including ribbon dances, ring dances accompanied by songs and hand-clapping, and processionals. Over the centuries as Christianity spread, local enthusiasm for dancing remained strong, and church officials were compelled to limit the types of religious events in which dancing was acceptable. Regional church authorities forbade dancing in the house of the Lord: dancing would be permissible (to varying degrees) only in the religious observances that took place in public festivals outside the church structure itself. The fact that such restrictions were issued repeatedly indicates that they were not always obeyed, nor were they always enforceable in local communities.

The continued strength and tenacity of dance customs in the face of the declining approval of church authorities suggest the depth of the fundamental Western belief in the spiritual nature of dance. In *Religious Dances* (1952), Louis Backman provides a chronicle of historical references that illustrates individual dance forms and activities and their relationship to the Christian church in various regions. The interconnection of dance and religion, however, must be considered in a context that extends beyond the confines of official, formalized religion. The very definitions of folk dance and popular dance have developed from a spectrum of cultural beliefs that ranges from the organized religious establishment to the vernacular spirituality that animates everyday life.

FOLK DANCE AND POPULAR DANCE. Although the terms *folk dance* and *popular dance* did not enter common use until the early twentieth century, the dance phenomena they describe have existed for centuries. Rather than referring to particular dance choreography, *folk dance* and *popular dance* refer to the dancing found in certain social strata of European society in a certain period of history.

As Peter Burke notes in *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (1978), by the sixteenth century European society was sufficiently stratified to be able to distinguish between the culture of the common people and the culture of the elite. The elite were a minority who had access to formal scholastic training; they were the innovators and primary beneficiaries of such intellectual movements as the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. The rest of society went about everyday life, molding and adapting time-worn traditions and values to accommodate the inevitable shifts demanded by social and economic change. It cannot be assumed, however, that the common people were a homogeneous group, or that the elite educated minority did not participate in popular culture. Burke illuminates the complexity of these issues, noting the diversity of the common people: there were poorer peasants and richer peasants, freemen and serfs, uneducated laborers and literate merchants, rural dwellers and urban dwellers, religious sects and regional subcultures. The elite took part in a broad range of popular culture outside the boundaries of their intellectual pursuits, if simply because they were surrounded by that culture.

By the late eighteenth century factors such as dramatic population shifts, the radical expansion of commercial capitalism, and the advent of industrialization contributed to the disruption of traditional community life in many parts of Western Europe and the subsequent demise of many popular traditions. In the same period, a new intellectual movement took root in which the folk or rural peasants became increasingly idealized in the eyes of the elite, and "folk culture" became a national treasure embodying the survivals of the uncorrupted national past. In the nineteenth century the anthropologist E. B. Tylor pointed to folklore, especially old customs and beliefs, as providing evidence of the historical development of primitive culture into civilized society. Folklore materials were seen as the vestiges of primitive culture, somehow preserved by the folk memory in the midst of an otherwise relatively civilized society.

This argument was supported further by comparing folklore to parallel cultural elements found in existing primitive societies. Seemingly irrational folk beliefs or antiquated folk customs were explained on the basis of their full-fledged primitive counterparts; the original function and meaning of the folklore survivals were considered equivalent to those of the related primitive practices, even when the forms or contexts of performance differed greatly. Many scholars believed that primitive religion was the ultimate source of folklore because religion played such a prominent role in primitive life.

If folklore was what remained of ancient pagan religion, then it might follow that folk dance was what remained of ancient religious ritual. Yet it is curious that the genre of folk dance was neglected in the heyday of naming and documenting folk cultural genres in the nineteenth century. There is no doubt that the folk were dancing, but most scholars mention dancing only in passing, generally in reference to seasonal or religious festivals or the celebration of rites of passage.

This puzzle still remains to be explored fully, but two factors can be suggested as important elements in this regard.

The first factor is that as a cultural commodity vying for scholarly attention, dance was of comparatively low status. The young fields of folklore and anthropology were intent on establishing themselves as scientific pursuits, and toward that end researchers were concerned with the task of generating texts. Dance was not a literary genre that could be recorded in words, and unlike music it did not have associated with it a common form of notation. To be sure, scholars did not hesitate to describe folk customs and celebrations in written accounts that were often illustrated with drawings and, later, photographs. The first studies of the late nineteenth century that discussed dance in any detail used that type of descriptive narrative: they presented dance customs, complete with notes on costumes, other related material paraphernalia such as swords, ribbons, sticks, or bells, unusual dramatic characters such as a man or woman impersonator or a hobbyhorse, and the social event of which the dance activity was a part. Yet very little explicit or technical description was included of the actual dance forms or styles themselves. It seems that, while writing about dance customs was certainly possible, the difficulty of rendering dance into documentary evidence hardly encouraged early scholars to invest their intellectual enthusiasm in such an elusive genre.

The second factor in the scholarly neglect of folk dance is that it was indeed believed to manifest the remnants of ancient religious ritual. This is ironic because that type of connection with primitive culture would generally have been considered a favorable quality in the evolutionary school of thought that considered folklore to be descended from ancient religion. In the case of dance, however, it may have contributed to some intellectual discomfort. By the nineteenth century, dance style was socially stratified, although the choreographic forms danced in the elite ballrooms were not dissimilar to those danced in peasant villages. The elite were responsible for infusing these dance forms with an educated and refined style of performance appropriate to their social class, for the physical abandon and overt emotionalism displayed in much peasant dancing would have been judged quite improper, even uncivilized, by the upper classes. The contemporary observations of European missionaries and travelers of wild, impassioned dancing in primitive societies served as a graphic comparison to dancing in folk communities in Europe and may have intensified the elite's sense of a debasing impropriety of folk dance. More so than any other folk performance genre, dance may have seemed a bit threatening—too primitive and too close to home; for it could be argued that the only thing separating the dancing of the elite themselves from the blatantly uncivilized dancing of the folk was a fine line of decorum. In addition, scholars were well aware of the fact that the Christian clergy had long believed that dance and dance customs (which nineteenth-century scholars would have equated with folk dance) were the survivals of pagan religious rituals. For centuries, throughout Europe, the church had been waging campaigns to cleanse Christian ritual of any taints of paganism, of which dance was one of the most insidious elements. Whatever their intellectual creeds, nineteenth-century scholars in Europe and America were good Christian gentlemen and ladies, and there can be little doubt that the official religious prejudice against dancing influenced scholarly perceptions. It is possible that this Christian heritage contributed to a sense of discomfort with folk dance material, which in turn further discouraged researchers from working in that field.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, dance began to be considered with some seriousness. James G. Frazer included dance as one of the myriad customs examined in his comparative treatise on magic and religion, *The Golden Bough* (1890). The development of the open-air folklife museum in Scandinavia with its focus on traditional folkways gave impetus to the founding of the Friends of Swedish Folk Dance in 1893. This was one of the first organizations of its kind, dedicated to the preservation and perpetuation of regional folk dances. Lilly Grove, in her history of dancing (London, 1895), included whole chapters on national dances and dance customs. English folklore journals published essays on seasonal festivities that discussed rustic examples such as maypole dancing and morris dancing. The year 1903, in saw E. K. Chamber's *The Mediaeval Stage* (London), one of the earliest uses of the terms *folk dance* and *Volkstanz* in a scholarly study, signalling a subtle shift in intellectual attitudes: dance was finally included in the rank of folk-compound genres, and a whole group of dance forms and customs associated with the romantic notion of the folk became "folk dance."

Throughout the early twentieth century, the concept of the folk dance was codified through the collecting and publishing of dance materials and through work in the now growing fields of folklore studies and dance education. To differentiate certain important features of dance culture, particularly the origin and transmission of dance forms and styles and the contexts of dance performance, the term *popular dance* began to be used. *Folk dance* referred to dances whose origins were obscured in ancient customs and ceremonies that derived from primitive religious ritual. Folk dances were passed on from one generation to the next and were performed as part of traditional folk community festivals. Though popular dances might be adopted into the folk repertoire and performed in traditional contexts, they were not native to the folk community. Popular dances originated from an external source, such as a foreign culture or a professional dance instructor. Popular dances were transmitted through a broader variety of social relationships than would generally have been included in the traditional folk learning process; that is, people learned from non-community members, from strangers, or from dance teachers. Popular dances were most often performed during recreational events organized for the purpose of social dancing, often in a public setting such as a dance hall. Folk dance was believed to be a pure expression of national identity, whereas popular dance was a commodity in the aesthetic marketplace of a heterogeneous, multicultural society.

The development of the concepts of folk dance and popular dance is critical to a larger understanding of dance and religion. The very definition of folk dance is inextricably tied to Western ideas about the history of religion and human culture. In the end, however, the definitions of folk dance and popular dance have to do not so much with types of dance activity as with the progression of intellectual judgments about social and economic class. According to the nineteenth-century models on which they are based, folk dance is the dance performed by the folk, and popular dance is the dance performed by the working class, or bourgeoisie. These intellectual constructions are so romantically idealized and oversimplified, however, that they do not reflect the cultural reality of the time. Even if nineteenth-century peasants had been the pristine, homogeneous group the folk were supposed to be, there was constant interaction between folk and popular culture. Popular dances did circulate among rural peasant communities and in some cases were regarded as having more prestige than older traditional forms because they were new, different, innovative, or exotic. Likewise, the dancing of the new working class was full of deeply embedded traditional elements: a foreign or popular dance form would be performed in the traditional, regional body movement style of the performer, reflecting traditional concepts of the body; a laborer who paid an admission fee to enter a public dance hall would pursue social interaction with members of the opposite sex and different age groups according to traditional—and commonly shared—rules. Perhaps most importantly, the new popular dances were evaluated and accepted on the basis of how well they satisfied current fashions, but those fashions were at least partially rooted in a folk aesthetic. The complexity of the historical interrelations between folk dance and popular dance and the disparity between intellectual ideals and cultural reality must be considered seriously.

Fundamental beliefs about dance as a form of expresion run deep in Western culture and have influenced the intellectual fashions of every age. Whatever the criteria used to delimit folk dance and popular dance, it is in the meaning of dance in vernacular culture that the relationship between dance and religion can be explored most profitably. Vernacular dance, then, refers to dancing that is integral to the everyday life and beliefs of a given group of people, irrespective of whether that dancing might also be classified as folk or popular. Religion must also be contemplated in terms of everyday culture, ranging from the dogma of the official religious establishment to the traditional beliefs and practices that embody spirituality.

VERNACULAR DANCE, SPIRITUALITY, AND RELIGION. There are three general categories of dance as it relates to religion and spiritual values: religious dance, ceremonial dance, and social dance. Each of those categories can be distinguished on the basis of context, belief, and—to a lesser extent—form. *Religious dance* is dance performed as part of religious worship, often taking place in the church or sanctuary. It is believed to be devotion incarnate, more than just a symbol or gesture of piety. Common forms of religious dance include the processional, circle, and solo individual dance. In performance the dancer seeks to express reverence and to interact directly with the divine.

Ceremonial dance is a much broader category and includes dancing that is part of a whole spectrum of celebratory events, from the religious to the secular. Religious events such as saints' festivals and secular events such as civic parades frame a continuum of events that manifest many types and degrees of spiritual belief. Celebrations such as Carnival, certain rites of passage, and seasonal festivities embody an ambiguous spirituality that lies somewhere between the sacred and the secular, or perhaps encompasses elements of both. Ceremonial dance is believed to transcend the realm of everyday life, reaching toward a higher spiritual power, be it a deity, luck, or art. Of any category, ceremonial dance embraces the largest variety of dance forms including processionals, circle and line dances, various set formations, couple dances, and solo dancing.

Social dance, finally, refers to dancing that is performed for recreation, generally as part of events that are oriented around leisure activity and social interaction. Social dance is believed to be the expression of the individual or a social relationship and does not refer directly to any religious or spiritual concept, except in one sense. In that dancing is considered artistic performance, it attends to the immanent spirituality of art as a vehicle of power and meaning. The forms of social dance include various group and couple formations and solo individual dancing.

These three categories of dance—religious, ceremonial, and social—are somewhat fluid. Changes in one factor or another can result in a shift in category for a given dance. For example, with a change in context, social dance can become ceremonial dance; with a change in belief, ceremonial dance can become religious dance (this is what occurs in many cases when a dancer becomes "possessed" by a spirit or deity.) Thus it is clear that dance cannot be considered an inanimate cultural object. Its significance must be assessed in performance as it is actively employed in a social process. Following is a sampling of dance customs found in different cultures in Europe, the Middle East, and the New World, illustrating primarily examples of religious and ceremonial dance.

Europe. The religious revival movement of Hasidism developed in Europe in the eighteenth century. In reaction to the Jewish orthodoxy of the time, Hasidism emphasized the individual expression of devotion that was within the means of every man and woman and not limited to those educated few who were privileged to study the Torah. Dance became a primary mode of religious expression, and as Hasidism spread through eastern European Jewish communities, ecstatic dancing became an identifying marker of Hasidic worship. In fact, critics of the revival sometimes mocked or ridiculed the exaggerated dance style when voicing disapproval of religious extremism. Hasidic dance is religious dance in the fullest sense; it is a means of inspired communication with God. Not only is dance and ritual movement a revered element of religious services but dancing infuses the spirit of religious devotion into numerous other festivities and celebrations. A prominent form of Hasidic dance is solo improvisation, which sometimes consists of little more than simple shuffling steps or weight shifts, various distinctive body postures, and gestures of the arms and hands, which are often raised above the head. Specific dance steps are not required, and any decorous movement performed with a spiritual intent can be acceptable. Group and couple formations are also common, though men and women are strictly segregated in all aspects of religious worship, including dance. Couple forms include simple variations of linking elbows and turning, and of forward and back patterns; group forms include complex set dances in square and circle formations. The Ḥasidim have apparently never hesitated to adopt dance forms from surrounding gentile cultures, and this process continues in Hasidic communities today.

One end of the spectrum of ceremonial dance, that which is associated with the religious or sacred, is found in the Romanian ritual Căluş. For approximately one week beginning on Whitsunday, the villagers of southern Romania observe Rusalii, a period when the spirits of the dead are believed to return to be among the living. Also during this period, evil forces are believed to be unusually threatening, and various types of behavior are restricted or forbidden in efforts to ward off the illness caused by being "possessed by Rusalii." Such an illness can only be cured through the ritual Căluş. In addition to the general healing and protective properties of Căluş, the ritual is also seen as a source of good luck and fertility. Handerkerchiefs or small articles of clothing are sometimes attached to the dancers' costumes in hopes that they will be imbued with this luck, which is then brought back to the owner of the object. Likewise, threads from the dancers' costumes are throught to be charmed, and spectators often pluck them in hopes of deriving some magical benefit. Căluş involves a complex of performance genres, material culture, and beliefs, and it is believed they work together to effect some modicum of human control over nature and the supernatural.

In Căluş, women of the community sing long, emotional laments in the traditional manner to maintain contact between the dead and the living. All the dancing, however, is performed only by a select group of men, the Căluşari. These men are all highly skilled dancers and must take an oath not to reveal the secrets of Căluş and to obey certain behavioral interdictions. Dancing is a primary vehicle of ritual magic and healing and is performed with great seriousness and sense of responsibility. The Căluşari visit each house in the village, dancing in the courtyard to a group of eager spectators. The performance includes exhibition dances that are done only by the Căluşari and a final group dance in which the villagers dance with the Căluşari. The exhibition dances are of two types, one consisting of simple walking figures done in circle formation, the second being a combination of complicated steps, jumps, and acrobatic leaps that demand virtuosic skill from each dancer. In Căluş, dancing is an act of magic, an inexorable part of the healing ritual and beliefs about supernatural forces.

The Tuscan *veglia* offers an example of dancing that straddles the boundary between social and ceremonial dance. The *veglia* is the traditional evening social gathering that is held regularly through the winter season. This custom lingers on to this day in some areas but was common throughout Tuscany until a general decline that began in the 1970s. At the *veglia*, family and friends gather around the kitchen hearth in rural homes, and amid general socializing and merriment, the performance of traditional narratives unfolds. Through storytelling, children are instructed in the moral values of the community, young unmarried couples court each other with the singing of love songs, and the elders reflect on their experiences by exchanging tales of insight, happiness, and woe. Though the *veglia* is primarily a social occasion, it also has ceremonial qualities: it is a seasonal event; it is only open to people who have a certain relationship to the host family; there are prescribed rules for social intercourse between age groups; and there is a particular sequence that is appropriate for the performance of certain artistic genres. The *veglia* is a time of heightened social interaction defined by a community reverence for traditional values and a group negotiation of the boundaries of artistic performance.

Though dancing takes place throughout the year except during Lent, Carnival season is especially devoted to dance events. The "Carnival *veglia*" is often organized by the young unmarried men, who arrange for a suitable location, hire a musician, and provide refreshments. They then invite young women to the dance, who always come accompanied by a chaperon. At other times, the dance *veglia* is hosted by a given household, in which case one's attendance is dependent on being acquainted with the family and garnering an invitation. In either case, the dance *veglia* is specifically an event for the young to socialize. Every year during Carnival, the landlords hold a dance party to which people of all social classes are invited. Peasants and landowners dance together as equals, temporarily nullifying class differences.

There are also two instances when the dance *veglia* is held in a public hall. In one case, the young men arrange for a dance party to be held on a Sunday afternoon following the religious service. This dance is semi-secretive in that it is not announced formally in the community, thereby allowing the young women to attend without the knowledge of their mothers and chaperons. A public hall is also the setting for the special dance parties that are held on the three most important days of the Carnival period. These are organized by private social clubs whose members are confined to representatives of the families from a given village. The young people dress in elaborate finery, the men in dark suits with white gloves, the women in special outfits that are supposed to have never been seen before. The proceedings of the dance event are directed by the *caposala*, who is a well-known and respected man from the community. The *caposala* formally presides over the various and sundry forms of social interaction. He coordinates the sequence of dances, dance and courting games, and dancing competitions, and he serves as a matchmaker, employing both overt and covert methods to bring certain young couples together to dance and enforcing the etiquette that demands that no favoritism be shown in choosing dancing partners so that all the young women have at least one dance with each young man. He also maintains peaceful social equilibrium, settling any dispute and expelling troublesome participants. These dance *veglie* often last until dawn, although the party held on the final night of Carnival ends promptly at midnight, which marks the beginning of Lent. The last part of the Carnival season was, in years past, distinguished by the appearance of two costumed characters. The first of these masked men, dressed in fancy black formal attire, was the incarnation of Carnival itself, and he arrived just in time to dance the last dance of the evening. The second man entered at midnight, cloaked in a long gray coat decorated with smoked herrings; he was the embodiment of Lent, and he brought the festivities to a ceremonious end.

The dance forms performed at a *veglia* are always the same and are always danced in a particular sequence. The first dance is a polka, followed by a mazurka, a waltz, and a quadrille. The quadrille was considered the climax to the dance sequence, as it involved a variety of complicated steps and patterns and allowed the greatest opportunity for flirting during the changing of partners. Recently, other couple dances have been inserted after the waltz, such as the tango and the one-step. All of these forms are popular dances, and though they are all based on folk dance forms to varying degrees, none is specifically native to Tuscany. Despite the fact that these dances have been, at some point in history, imported into the Tuscan countryside from some foreign source, they have been unabashedly adopted into the community repertoire and through generations of performance have become thoroughly naturalized. The dancing that takes place at a *veglia* is social dancing in the most straightforward sense: young men and women dance together to be with each other, confirming and expanding an everyday relationship. It can also be considered ceremonial dancing by virtue of its central role in the *veglia*, transforming everyday life and social interaction into festivity and artistic performance.

MIDDLE EAST. The Middle East is the birthplace of three of the world's major religions—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—and home to a variety of regional cultures and linguistic groups. Though all three religions and their subdenominations are found in the Middle East today, Islam predominates. In *The Middle East* (1976), anthropologist John Gulick distinguishes between the "great tradition" and "little tradition" in Islamic religion. The "great tradition" refers to the tenets of official religion based on the sacred written texts. The "little traditon" refers to the belief systems surrounding the veneration of saints, the control of evil spirits, and other spiritual endeavors. The beliefs and customs of the little tradition are not specified in the official religious texts and are, in fact, frowned upon by some religious functionaries. They are, nonetheless, an integral part of everyday religious prescriptions of devotion. It is in this little tradition of vernacular spirituality that we find dance customs related to religious life. There are few studies that discuss dancing in Muslim and Jewish communities, and virtually none that examine Christian settlements. Even these limited materials, however, suggest some cultural consistency or interrelationship between customs, and possibly dance forms, found among different religious groups in the Middle East. It remains for future research to explore fully the implications of ethnicity, religion, and regionality on artistic performance.

The "little tradition" of many Muslim communities includes a type of ceremonial dancing that plays a key role in a ritual process of exorcism known as the *zār*. Though found in several Middle Eastern countries, the *zār* appears to be most well known and vital in the Nile region, particularly in Egypt. The spirit that must be exorcised in the *zār* ceremony is also known as *zār*. The *zār* ceremony is performed to cure an individual of spirit possession. Though anyone is potentially vulnerable to possession, women are the most commonly afflicted. It is believed that pure spirits are ever present, wandering around the earth. These spirits demand respect, and humans are required to observe rules of spiritual etiquette, such as giving thanks or asking permission for certain actions. Pure spirits can impose good or evil upon human beings, but it is believed that committing some infraction or allowing a breach in deferential protocol will provoke a spirit to possess an individual and wreak punishment. Such possession can manifest itself in a variety of physical and mental symptoms, such as chronic aches and pains in certain body parts, general indolence, allergies, rheumatism, epileptic fits, and different feminine complaints, including barrenness.

The *zār* ceremony requires the services of two important ceremonial functionaries, as well as an ensemble of musicians. One role is that of the *shaykhah*, who is a spiritual intermediary. Through consultations, divination, and the prescription of different types of ritual behavior, the *shaykhah* ascertains what is needed to appease and expel the spirit. The second role is that of the *munshidah*, who is a singer versed in the specialized traditional repertoire of *zār* songs. The *munshidah* sings different songs throughout the ceremony, entreating the spirit to make itself known and interact with the *shaykhah*. Both the *shaykhah* and *munshidah* are generally hereditary roles passed on from mother to daughter.

The *zār* ceremony itself can last anywhere from one to several days, depending on the wealth of the possessed woman who has come for help. The "patient" must follow the advice of the *shaykhah* to wear special garments and ornaments or to consume certain foods and drinks. The patient provides whatever offerings the *shaykhah* determines are necessary, generally a combination of a few fowl and pieces of gold or silver jewelry. At sunset, a large circular table is covered with an elaborate meal, accompanied by chants and special songs. At two o'clock the following morning, the animals are ritually slaughtered according to Islamic custom, and the possessed woman is smeared with the warm blood. The next day the *zār* ceremony continues as the *shaykhah* guides the patient through various rituals while the *munshidah* sings the appropriate songs.

The emotional climax of the ceremony is reached when the possessed woman starts to dance. Individual spirits are associated with distinctive rhythmic patterns, and as the musicians play a particular beat the possesed woman will be drawn to dance. The dancing is frenzied and ecstatic, and the dancer speaks in the voice of her possessing spirit. The spirit makes demands that the *shaykhah* must then interpret and satisfy. The dancing continues and the excitement builds as the musicians, *munshidah*, and *shaykhah* encourage the dancer, who will dance until she is thoroughly exhausted. The dance is always a solo improvisational form, consisting of torso bending and swaying, head and arm gestures, and some simple stepping and floor patterns. The dancing performed in the *zār* ceremony is considered a vehicle for the spirit to express itself and a critical cathartic element in the process of exorcism.

Yemenite Jewish culture provides a vibrant example of the range of dance activity in the religious and spiritual life of a community. Jewish communities in Yemen were among the most isolated in the Middle East, and many ancient customs were preserved as an ongoing part of daily life. For example, religious dancing was an integral part of the observation of certain holidays, such as Simḥat Torah. In celebration of the yearly cycle of reading the Torah, the congregation sang special verses of the *pizmon*, which are religious texts sung only in the synagogue. Along with their joyous, exuberant singing, the congregation danced around with the Torah scrolls, carrying them from the central desk of the synagogue, where they were placed for reading, back to the ark, where they were stored. The dancing consisted of simple walking steps without much elaboration or stylization, but the dancing was considered an expression of devotion to Jewish religious law as written in the Torah.

There was also ceremonial dancing in Yemenite Jewish communities. Celebrations and rites of passage such as circumcisions or the two weeks of preparations and festivities that accompanied a wedding were commemorated with dancing and singing. Traditionally, men and women danced separately, each to the singing of special dance songs and the playing of a drum. The dance songs sung by the men had fixed religious texts in Hebrew, Aramaic, or literary Arabic and were performed by two singers who sat apart from the dancers. The women sang songs about everyday life, including the importance of the event being celebrated at the time. Their song texts were sung in local Yemenite Arabic dialect and were performed by the women as they danced. Though the women's songs were less overtly religious, the dancing of both men and women was considered a means of rejoicing and of honoring the celebrants.

NEW WORLD. Among the European cultures in the New World, the religious sect known as Shakers offers a unique example of religious dancing in community worship. The Shakers originated in England in the mid-eighteenth century and settled in America shortly before the Revolution. They held that the second appearance of Christ was imminent and that true believers must follow certain tenets in order to transcend wordly existence and achieve everlasting life. The foundations of Shaker faith were observed through keeping apart from the world at large, the two sexes living separately and remaining celibate, sharing all property in common, diligently pursuing craftwork with their hands, and worshiping with joyful abandon. The early Shakers were overcome with ecstasy in their worship and were given to fervent and eclectic displays of divine inspiration including speaking in tongues, whirling or shaking, singing song fragments, shouting, and jumping.

As the sect grew and developed, their deranged array of spiritual responses was institutionalized into orderly forms of song and dance. Though the expression of their religious zeal was largely disposed to tidy devotional exercises, the Shaker's faith was no less impassioned. Dancing was considered a spiritual gift, or the "work of God," which they were most happy to receive. Devotional dancing was also believed to function as a means of expelling and pacifying carnal desires, thereby allowing a pure bodily manifestation of faith. There were instances of individuals dancing by themselves while receiving the spirit, but most Shaker dancing was performed in large groups consisting of all the able-bodied Believers. Men and women formed separate lines or circles and danced a variety of floor patterns and simple figures. There were dances in square and circle formations as well as processionals and sacred marches. Many of the dance patterns were said to have originated in spiritual visions and dreams received by the Shakers and were imputed with specific symbolic meanings illustrating Shaker beliefs.

The population of the New World is a panoply of different cultural groups, with a broad spectrum of religious beliefs and customs. Over the centuries different cultures have come into contact, influencing each other to varying degrees. Rather than dissolving into a homogeneous mass, however, distinct aspects from different cultural traditions were reblended into new creole forms. These creole cultures, languages, or performance traditions often contain elements that can be easily identified and traced to specific Old World origins, but the new incarnation is not an exact replica of the original. In all cases, there has been change, development, and adaption to suit new conditions and social contexts.

One of the most dramatic examples of this reblending process is found in Afro-American culture. The historical circumstances of the slave trade threw together Africans from several different national territories in west Africa, including at least five major cultural groups. The intermingling of different African traditions and beliefs has yielded an array of new Afro-American forms, which have also intermingled with other non-African traditions according to regional and historical conditions.

The *vodou* religion practiced in Haiti is one instance of this intermingling of African and non-African traditions. It incorporates a synthesis of different African beliefs and rituals that further interface with Roman Catholic practice and symbolism. Vodou is based on a complex mythology that relates major gods to lesser divinities. These spirits are called *lwa*, a Kréyol term, and they include ancestor spirits, gods and goddesses of nature, a trickster, a god of creativity, and a supreme god who presides over all the others. Every spirit has an individual personality and is associated with certain domains of everyday life or spiritual well-being. To ensure the goodwill of the *lwa* and be taken under their protection, a person must be initiated into the spiritual society. A priest or priestess, known as *hungan*, coordinates the ceremonies and rites that take place in their sanctuary and tends to community needs requiring divination, exorcism, and healing.

Vodou ceremonies and dances are generally performed in a covered shed that has a post standing in the center of the floor space. This center post is considered the means by which the spirits descend into the peristyle. Though the spirits communicate with initiates through symbolic dreams and visions, they commonly possess people and make their will known. Each spirit expresses itself through a distincitve repertoire of speech mannerisms, body movements, special dances, and a predilection for certain objects, such as a hat, bottle, or stick. It is said that a spirit "mounts" its "horse" when a person becomes possessed; the person is a vehicle for the spirit, an expressive body through which the spirit interacts with the crowd and other spirits. Possession behavior is regarded as tangible evidence of a spirit's personality and temperament, and watching the possessed during vodou ceremonies is believed to be an important way for potential initiates to learn about the spirits.

Dancing and possession are closely interrelated. Three dances are performed to honor each spirit, accompanied by songs and the playing of a drum ensemble. Rhythm acts as a kind of supernatural intermediary and entices the spirits themselves to dance. Each spirit has its own particular dances through which it reveals its power and aesthetic agility. Dancing is considered a ritual act on several levels. In one sense, dancing is held to be a gift, performed by initiates as an offering to please the spirits. In another sense, dancing is believed to be a means of divine communication by which a spirit imparts its essence or intentions to a devotee. On yet another level, dancing is transcendental, in that aesthetic fulfillment has spiritual significance. Both humans and spirits dance, seeking to achieve greater spiritual power through artistic performance. The dancing in vodou worship that is associated with possession is undeniably religious dancing, as it is the actual practice of religious belief and devotions.

SEE ALSO Carnival; Folklore; Folk Religion; Shakers; Vodou.

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LeeEllen Friedland (1987)

DANCE: POPULAR AND FOLK DANCE [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

Traditionally, dance scholarship has privileged classical and theatrical dance over popular and social dance. Folk dance has been viewed since the nineteenth century as a special case study in expressions of group identity and of interest for specialists in folklore, mythology, and ritual. Popular dance has been a study in class distinctions and in modes of transmission, especially with regard to the ever-widening forms of late twentieth-century mass media. The dearth of scholarly publications related to popular and folk dance continues even among dance ethnologists and anthropologists.

Dance anthropologists Joanne W. Kealiinohomoku and Adrienne Kaeppler and dance sociologists like Helen Thomas, have found that dance—like language, art, and religion—is found in all human societies. Popular and folk dances are powerful forces in the shaping and experiencing of culture and values, but these terpsichorean modes are culturally distinct idioms, such as in Mircea Eliade's discussion of the *călușuri* (1985).

However, the fundamental difficulty for any form of academic research is that the vehicle for dance is the human body, so that the ephemeral nature of dance presents a difficulty for "objective" analysis, as do the varied cultural attitudes toward the body. Further, all forms of popular dance, whether as a formal social dance such as the waltz or as informal and fleeting as teenage dance crazes, are perceived more as an "entertainment" than as a historically significant subject for scholarly attention.

Into the 1980s, dance scholarship had been divided into two groups: dance historians and critics who operated chronologically and based their evaluations upon traditional aesthetic criteria; and dance ethnologists and anthropologists who focused on the cultural role(s) and effects of dance. Ironically, the historians and critics traditionally concentrated their research efforts on the West while the ethnologists and anthropologists considered the non-western countries. The now classic hierarchy of dance forms from ballet through ballroom continues to function. However, since 1987 attention has been paid to the expanding universe inspired by gender studies, cultural attitudes toward the body, and the inclusion of the marginalized—that is, those who for reasons of race, ethnicity, gender, or class were omitted from earlier academic research and thereby the history of civilization. This transformation can be partially credited to the almost simultaneous airing of the eight-part television series *Dancing!* with its companion volume (1992) and the publication of the multi-volume *International Encyclopedia of Dance* (1998).

Throughout the 1990s, the oral history project of the Dance Collection of the New York Library for the Performing Arts has expanded its efforts into the collecting, supporting, and curatoring of the interviews, papers, ephemera, and film related to both popular and folk dance. In particular, the Dance Collection received funding support to coordinate with the Smithsonian Institution the videotaping of the American Folklife Festivals.

As an artistic, religious, and social practice, popular and folk dances generate a cultural and political identity for both dancer(s) and audience. These forms of dance have garnered the attention of folklorists, anthropologists, and historians of religion who typically study the interrelations among the arts, mythology, and dance of indigenous peoples as a way of learning and communicating cultural values and religious identity. Some expansions of the traditional boundaries of the interdisciplinary nature of the study of the religious connections with folk and popular dance have expanded into the realms of American Studies, Performance and Display, Popular Culture, and Religious Studies.

New Perspectives. Both from the perspective of religious studies and dance theory, the primary objective is to remove the "stigma of entertainment" from any intellectual analysis of either social or folk dance. The varied interpretations of the body and performance in contemporary scholarship may proffer a methodology for dance as kinesthetic modes for the politics of identity and difference. The category of "vernacular dance" (Spalding, 1995) has opened the borders within which dance had functioned and promises to re-shape the meaning and values of popular and folk dance for a new generation of scholars.

See Also Carnival; Folklore; Folk Religion, overview article; Performance and Ritual; Shakers; Vodou.

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DIANE APOSTOLOS-CAPPADONA (2005)

DANCE: THEATRICAL AND LITURGICAL DANCE [FIRST EDITION]

A distinction often drawn between dance in the West (the Euramerican tradition) and dance in the rest of the world is that the latter is closely tied to religion, while dance in the West, especially theatrical dance, has developed outside religious institutions and often in opposition to them. Most of the major Asian dance–drama forms originated in religious contexts, involve religious themes, and, especially in the past, were often performed by religious practitioners. Outside Europe and Asia, dancing intended for presentation to an audience has been rare until recently and has usually taken place in a religious context. Divine possession has often been a vehicle for quasi-theatrical performance.

A dichotomy can also be discovered between the history of Western dance on the one hand and that of Western music, visual arts, and architecture on the other. While religion provided a legitimate context and a source of patronage for the growth of other European arts, this was not the case for dance. For the most part, the church not only did not support dance, it vehemently opposed it.

Yet, such broad generalizations about the divorce of dance from religion tend to obscure recognition of how influential religion has in fact been. While direct religious intent has been relatively rare, it has been strong in some periods and for some choreographers. A few have been motivated to express their religious conviction in dance, and others have sought in dance the wellsprings of spirituality. These choreographers have often found inspiration in non-Western religions where the connection between the spirit and the body is often a key principle. Whereas in earlier centuries myth and ritual were used as plot devices or as political metaphors, often in recent decades the choreography has explored the deeper dimensions of their symbolism.

Religious content has entered Western theatrical dance in a variety of ways, including (1) the use of biblical or folkloric religious themes; (2) the depiction of characters, rituals, and myths of non-Judeo-Christian religions or of unorthodox sects; (3) the influence of religious philosophies; (4) explorations of the concept of ritual or the stylizations of specific rituals; (5) the enactment of myths or the probing of mythic symbolism; (6) the use of general religious concepts or central characters, events, or processes, such as Death, Creation, and the Devil; (7) plots involving supernatural characters and stories; (8) the theme of religiously motivated sexual repression; (9) the use of religion as a device for exploring cultural identity; (10) explorations of altered states of consciousness as often occurs in sacred dance; and (11) settings of the Mass as theatrical works. In addition, many dance plots presuppose a knowledge of Judeo-Christian ethics, symbolism, ritual, and history in order to be understood fully. Religion has also indirectly affected theatrical dance history by its varying attitudes toward dance, which have included suppressing, supporting, and ignoring it.

Conflicting attitudes toward the human body and, by extension, toward dancing have characterized all three of the major monotheistic religions in the West—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Although the negative view has generally won out, alternative models and solutions constantly challenge any overwhelming orthodoxy. Biblical literature, for instance, provides both favorable and unfavorable pictures. On the one hand, there is the model of King David's joyous dance before the Ark of the Covenant (2 *Sm.* 6:14–16); on the other hand, there are the Israelites' idolatrous dance around the Golden Calf (*Ex.* 32:19) and Salome's allegedly lascivious dance before King Herod (*Mt.* 14:6, *Mk.* 6:22). Contradictory, too, are possible interpretations of the words of the apostle Paul. For instance, his statement that the "body is a temple of the Holy Spirit" (1 *Cor.* 6:19) has been interpreted as indicating the appropriateness of using the body in dance as a vehicle of worship and also as justification for condemning dance as a defilement of the "temple." Ambiguity about the relation of body and soul has plagued Jews, Christians, and Muslims alike, and has militated against the acceptance of dancing.

Interestingly, some heterodoxies in monotheistic religions have incorporated dance as a major focus of expression—the gnostic sects of early Christianity, the Sufis in Islam, the Hasidim of Judaism, and the Shakers of American Christianity. The Mormons are unusual in their embrace of dancing as both a social and theatrical experience.

There has been more interrelationship between religion and theatrical dance in the twentieth century, in quantity as well as in diversity of expression, than at any other time. With organized religions in general neither condemning nor supporting dance, perhaps dance has been freer to adopt religious themes without political ties or negative consequences. Perhaps the apparent secularization of society has rendered religious themes more neutral raw material. On the other hand, the growing popularity of dance has made this medium of expression more acceptable in religious contexts. In addition, while primarily growing up outside of religious institutions, theatrical dance in the twentieth century has returned to the church and synagogue in the burgeoning liturgical or sacred dance movement.

EARLY CHRISTIANITY THROUGH THE MIDDLE AGES. The strongest evidence that there was dancing connected with religion in the early Christian church is the persistent condemnation of dance chronicled in the writings of over six hundred years of church councils. At this time, dancing was particularly associated with ceremonies at the shrines of martyrs.

The disdain of the church for dancing stemmed in part from the state of dancing at the time. Much of the refinement of Greek and Roman dance and theater had degenerated into generally bawdy mime and acrobatic shows, or else the dancing had become associated with pagan rituals. The church even refused baptism to performers. A growing asceticism further divorced Christianity from dance. In addition, certain heretical movements incorporated dance into their liturgy, further fueling orthodoxy's condemnation of it. For instance, the gnostic sects enacted the "Round Dance of the Cross" from the *Acts of John* as an actual sacred ritual dance that enabled the participants to identify with Christ and to transcend human suffering. Such lines as the following have become a rallying point for other religious sects that wish to recognize sacred dance: "To the universe belongs the dancer. Whoever does not dance does not know what happens" (Acts of John 95:16–17).

Condemnation of dancing continued into the later Middle Ages. However, the inherent theatricality of the Christian liturgy, as well as of the biblical literature, could not be ignored. Dramatic performances were often elaborate, sometimes involving processionals and dancing. Dance roles tended to be comic or grotesque character parts. Starting around the twelfth century through about the fifteenth century, plays were associated with Easter and Christmas. Corpus Christi festivals involved dancing, often by guild members or under government sponsorship. Los Seises, a ritual dance performed by boy choristers, was initiated in Seville and is still performed today. The Pelota of Auxerre is thought to have been a complex dance in which the clergy passed a ball among themselves along the stations of a labyrinth. Dances moving along the paths of labyrinths on the floors of cathedrals, such as the one at Chartres, were also integrated into the liturgy.

Dancing in both a recreational and performance context took place mostly outside the church, often in conjunction with local saint days and religious festivals. Christmas was particularly enlivened by popular dancing often involving mumming, a practice that still accompanies this holiday in parts of the United Kingdom and in North and South America. The Feast of Fools provided the opportunity for burlesques of the established church. Many of the celebrations on these holidays had pagan roots, providing further reason for official condemnation.

The miracle, mystery, and morality plays of the Middle Ages were performed in the churchyards and contained some of the beginnings of professional dance. The dancing parts tended to be fools, shepherds, and demons. The Devil was often blamed for inventing dancing, and it is the Devil who was one of the most danced characters. Minstrels, jongleurs, and other traveling performers of this period often included acrobatics, mime, and dancing in their performances. Pageants included *tableaux vivants* depicting biblical scenes. While generally not dance per se, they involved the communication of meaning through postures and movement rather than through words. The Dance of Death was a pervasive visual and literary symbol.

Social dancing was practiced in the feudal manors of the Middle Ages, and performances including dancing began to enter the courts toward the end of the period. However, it was in the courts of Renaissance Europe that the roots of theatrical dancing emerged, roots not directly linked to religion, but affected by religious ideas in indirect ways.

RENAISSANCE. With the rediscovery of classical antiquity during the Renaissance came a desire to discover the relationship between Greek philosophy and dance. Renaissance courtiers viewed dance as a medium that could express cosmological, moral, and political principles. Aristotelian ethical theory, Plato's mystical geometry, and Neoplatonist ideas of love were exemplified in dance. While dance in the Renaissance was for the most part composed of simple patterns of stepping, there was also an emphasis on elaborate spatial formations. Much like the members of a contemporary marching band at a football game, the performers constantly created floor patterns that they skillfully transmuted to other patterns. To the Renaissance dancer and spectator, the geometrical figures that were formed had symbolic significance: the dissolution of the patterns revealed the mutability of nature, but underlying these shapes and changes was a grand unifying order emanating from God. The patterns of the dancing were interpreted in different ways. For example, in cosmological terms, they might reveal the harmony of nature as in the cycles of the heavenly bodies; in moral terms, they might exemplify order and virtue and the resolution of extremes; and in political terms they might demonstrate the court's control over these cosmic patterns. It was felt that dancing helped create order within the individual's soul and thereby could promote order and peace in political affairs as well. Dance linked the political, moral, and cosmological orders in an inseparable cycle. Dance did not just portray ritual, it was felt to affect the cosmic and mundane realms of existence.

The dance-plays had primarily mythological themes. The best-documented ballet of this period, *Le ballet comique de la reine* (1581), related the triumph of Minerva (Wisdom) and Jupiter (Virtue) over the evil Circe. The king is seen as her ultimate conqueror, restoring the cosmos to peace. Another important later work has a historical theme relating to Christianity. In *Le deliverance de Renaud* (1617), the Christian crusader Renaud is seduced away from battle by the enchantress Armide. Subsequently, the Christians lose, but Armide's powers fail and Renaud is able to escape and liberate Jerusalem. The plot was interpreted as an allegory for the king freeing France from chaos.

Thus although in European history dance has often been associated with immorality, the Renaissance also offered an alternative interpretation: the conception of dance as virtue. There are examples of this attitude in antiquity, in the writings of Plato and Cicero, for instance, but a fuller development of this theme blossomed in the sixteenth century with the developing concept of the gentleman. Sir Thomas Elyot's *Boke Named the Governour* (1531) and Sir John Davies's poem *Orchestra* (1594), among other works, reveal this perspective. Adapting the concept of correspondences, they discovered the symbolic relationship between dance and particular virtues or states of being. Elyot associated dance with prudence, reason, and order. Particular dance movements were analyzed for their moral symbolism. Davies saw the correspondence between dance and chastity and marriage in contradistinction to the usual correlation between dance and lust. Both authors describe couple dancing in terms of a model of cosmic harmony. Dance was elevated to the status of an ethical ideal. Political concepts were couched in mythological themes that were revealed in dance.

During the Renaissance, *Tanzhausen* were important institutions in the Jewish ghettos of northern Europe. They fostered many choreographers, then called "dance masters," who traveled throughout Europe, often arranging dances at various courts. The best-documented Jewish dance master was, however, a product of the court tradition of southern Europe: Guglielmo Ebreo (William the Jew of Pisaro) is the author of one of the earliest extant dance manuals, dating from the mid-fifteenth century.

In the later Renaissance and early Baroque period in Italy, ballet developed in conjunction with the growth of opera. Monteverdi's *Il combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda* (1624) featured a duel between the Christian crusader Tancredi and the disguised Muslim maiden Clorinda whom he loved. He kills her, and as she lies dying she asks for baptism. The same theme has been treated by others, most notably by the American choreographer William Dollar in his 1949 ballet *The Duel*.

With the rise of Protestantism, the opposition to dancing grew and was taken to extremes in Calvinist contexts. Although the Puritan condemnation of dance was not so vehement or all-encompassing as often painted, it was strong enough to squelch much social dancing and to thwart theatrical dancing in America and in some strongly Calvinist countries in Europe.

The objection was especially strong to "mixed" or couple dancing and to women appearing on the stage. Such ambivalance toward dance persists to the present and was dramatically represented until well into the twentieth century in the United States in the so-called blue laws, which prohibited dancing and similar activities on Sunday. From the eighteenth century into the twentieth, dance performances often had to be billed as lectures or sacred concerts. Puritanical repression of the body and dancing has been a theme in several twentieth-century choreographies, especially in the works of Martha Graham.

BAROQUE AND PRE-ROMANTIC PERIODS. It is in the French court of Louis XIV (r. 1643–1714), called the Sun King, that theatrical dance germinated. In numerous court pageants the king himself was the star dancer, and his favorite role was Apollo, the personification of the sun. The subject matter of court ballets continued to be mythological or pastoral, and the message was still a political one. Professional dancers began to appear, and with the establishment of the Paris Opéra, ballet finally left the confines of the court. With the evolution of the proscenium stage, the figure-based style of the Renaissance with its attendant symbolism was no longer viable; the frontal view of the body was the focus. The ballet vocabulary rapidly expanded in this context. The aesthetic still had a moral overtone; *complaisance*, an air of refined constraint, was the ideal.

Religious institutions were also directly involved in the ballet of the Baroque period in the form of the performances regularly produced by the Jesuit colleges. These colleges were not seminaries, but rather institutions of higher secular education. Unlike most other orders, the Jesuits embraced dance as *divertissements honnêtes*. They performed plays at different times throughout the year, but the principal event was during graduation. They generally staged a five-act tragedy with a biblical, classical, or national theme. A four-act ballet was performed between the acts of the play. The ballets were sometimes loosely connected to the play, but they did not deal overtly with religious themes, favoring the Greek mythological or allegorical plots prevalent also in the court and opera ballets. They were performed in the colleges throughout Europe by the students and were immensely popular. They served as a welcome relief from the heaviness of the often obscure Latin rhetoric of the plays. In Paris the students were joined by the most famous dancers of the Paris Opéra, and the ballets were choreographed by the same preeminent dance masters, such as Pierre Beauchamps and Louis Pécour, who created the masterpieces of the secular theater.

The ballets were often veiled social and political commentaries couched in mythological terms. Themes ranged from "Crowns," a depiction of methods of royal succession, to "The History of Dance," an apologia for dance, to "The Empire of Fate," a critique of the doctrine of predestination promoted by the Jansenists, a group that was ultimately to cause the downfall of the Jesuits in the mid-eighteenth century. Dancing was compatible with the Christian humanist, this-worldly orientation of the Jesuit order. Their ballets differed from their secularly sponsored counterparts in having no female performers or romantic plots and in always having a moral point.

Dance also developed in England, where choreographer-scholars like John Weaver (1673–1760) debated the significance of the dance. The French choreographer Jean-Georges Noverre (1727–1810) shared similar concerns with Weaver, and both were instrumental in the development of *ballet d'action*, which led into another phase of dance history, the pre-Romantic. The characters were still mythological or pastoral, but rather than being merely allegorical symbols, they often displayed emotions and showed some sense of characterization. Important ballets of this period were the mythologically based *The Loves of Mars and Venus* (1717) of Weaver and Noverre's *Medea and Jason* (1763). It was the Age of Reason, and theatrical dance also emulated these ideals.

The French Revolution affected the development of ballet in several ways. For one, it dispersed many of its aristocratic dancers to other countries, including the United States, where theatrical dancing ran up against Puritan disdain. At this time, too, a different energy was at work outside the Opéra in the boulevard theaters of Paris. Catering to the middle class, they featured comic, acrobatic movements, themes from exotic lands and medieval times, grand visual spectacles, and sometimes characters drawn from life rather than from mythology or antiquity. The boulevard theater also discovered the potential for spectacle in biblical themes, producing such ballets and pantomimes as *Samson*, *Suzanne et les vieillards*, *Daniel*, and *David et Goliath* during the period from 1816 to 1838. Many of the production techniques and themes of this Theater of Marvels were adopted and refined at the Opéra.

One curiosity of this period was the highly popular, somewhat sacrilegious, political satire *The Ballet of the Pope* (1797) by Dominique Le Fevre, performed at La Scala in Milan. The choreographer danced the role of Pope Pius VI, who engaged in most unpopelike behavior. An important work of this period was Salvatore Viganó's *La vestale* (1818), which told the story of the forbidden love of a Roman Vestal Virgin, ending in the dual murder of the two would-be lovers. Pierre Gardel's *L'enfant prodigue* (1812) was perhaps the first of a long succession of interpretations of this story.

THE ROMANTIC BALLET. With the rise of romanticism in the arts, another type of religious theme entered ballet. The beginnings of the Romantic ballet are commonly traced to the 1831 opera *Robert le diable* in which Marie Taglioni, the dancer who was to become the quintessential ethereal ballerina, led a group of the spirits of nuns in a supernatural scene. The development of ballet technique, especially the beginning of *pointe* work, created a mechanism to promote the otherworldly ideals of romanticism. *La sylphide* (1832) and *Giselle* (1841), versions of which are still widely performed, are considered the epitomes of romanticism in ballet. Both exist in a context of the depiction of otherworldly spirits and the desire to escape from this-worldly reality. Because of the Romantic emphasis on emotionalism, subjectivity, malaise, and the attraction to ungovernable forces, this aesthetic trend has often been labeled as un-Christian. Yet a pervasive theme is the contrasting of these uncontrolled states with the tranquility and harmony of nature and Christian values.

Overtly religious themes were rare, but Christian ethics were pervasive. The conflict between Christian values and the supernatural or wild unknown was displayed in many guises. The Romantic litterateur Théophile Gautier characterized the two leading ballerinas of his day, Marie Taglioni and Fanny Elssler, respectively, as a Christian and a pagan dancer, referring to the virginal ethereality of the former and the voluptuous passion of the latter. The roles available to the Romantic ballerina in this era also reflected this kind of dichotomy: supernatural wood and water nymphs alternated with female bandits, gypsies, and exotic temptresses. Plots often contrasted the two.

In *Giselle*, the peasant girl is betrayed by an aristocratic suitor, goes mad, and dies, joining the ranks of avenging *wilis*, spirits who dance men to death. At one point, Giselle protects her lover by shielding him against the cross on her tomb. Thus, religious symbolism often entered the ballet in incidental or subtle ways. The Devil also showed up in many

Romantic ballets—for example, *Le Diable boiteux* (1836) and *Le violin du Diable* (1849).

Another variation of the Romantic ballet thrived in Denmark under the choreographer Auguste Bournonville (1805–1879). His ballets also reveal the fascination with the supernatural and the exotic, but Bournonville emphasized the optimistic and harmonic aspects of the Romantic spirit, for the most part eschewing the darker emotionalism of the Romantic ballets in France, England, and Russia. Contemporary Danish dance critic Erik Aschengreen noted: "Bournonville's ballets rest on the idea of spiritual aspiration, with poetry and beauty as important qualities and with Christianity as the conqueror of all dissonances" (Aschengreen, 1979, p. 111).

While rarely dealing with religious subject matter per se, Bournonville's ballets are suffused with Christian values and symbolism. His ballets contrast social harmony with uncontrolled forces outside society. Christian symbols often are the devices that effect the triumph of human values over the danger of the irrational. He often uses two women (or one woman in two transformations) as a device for contrasting the rational and irrational, Christian and pagan. A striking example of this is in his extant ballet *A Folk Tale* (1854). This is the story of the human baby Hilda who was snatched from her cradle and replaced by the troll baby Birthe. Each grows up unaware of the truth. Birthe struggles to conform to the human world, but bursts of temper and uncontrolled and vulgar movements reveal her troll nature. Hilda, on the other hand, instinctively bows to church bells in the distance and fashions herself a cross from sticks. Her calm nature soothes the chaos around her. The ballet ends happily with each character acknowledging the rightness of remaining true to one's nature. A wedding, the sanctioning of love by the church, ends this ballet, as in many other Romantic works. In *Napoli* (1842) and *The Flower Festival in Genzano* (1858), the heroine invokes the aid of the Madonna. In *Napoli*, for instance, the heroine is saved from her transformation into a sea nymph by an amulet of the Virgin Mary.

The theme of another ballet, Arcona (1875), is overtly Christian—a chronicle of the christianization of the Slavs in Denmark. The heroine is about to be initiated into the pagan religion when she sees the cross worn by a Danish prisoner. Bournonville's libretto states: "No sooner has Hella hung the cross around her neck . . . than her whole being is suffused with a religious feeling hitherto unknown to her" (McAndrews, 1982–1983, p. 330). She proceeds to free the Christian prisoner. In Bournonville's *La sylphide* (1836), which is still his most widely performed work, the hero's rejection of home to quest after the sylphide results in his losing everything, an example of how the choreographer contrasted the virtues of the Christian home with the disruptive forces of the nonsocial.

CLASSICAL BALLET. The Romantic ballet began to decline in Europe and the United States, and the values changed to promote spectacles that were often merely vehicles for flaunting women's legs. Ballet became more the province of the music hall. However, the evolution of ballet continued in Russia, where the great classical ballets *Swan Lake* (1895), *The Nutcracker* (1892), and *Sleeping Beauty* (1890) were choreographed. The themes were primarily fairy tales or exotic spectacles, but the choreographic quality of the works of Marius Petipa (1818–1910) and Lev Ivanov (1834–1901) elevated the genre. Few ballets from this period are extant, but it seems that very few had more than a gloss of religious significance. Thus, Petipa's *La bayadère* (1877) continues a tradition of depicting Hindu priests and temple dancers, and his *La fille du pharon* (1862) depicts his notion of Egyptian religion. Ironically, Ivanov's *The Nutcracker*, and the many versions of this work rechoreographed by others, has become almost synonymous with Christmas. It takes place at a Christmas party, but it has no Christian significance per se although it involves religious phenomena such as magical transformation. It is probably performed by more companies in more performances all over the world than any other work and might be said to be a symbol of the secular Christmas.

DELSARTE. During the nineteenth century, another trend with religious overtones was developing that was to have profound impact on the growth of twentieth-century dance. François Delsarte (1811–1871) developed a system for analyzing and explaining the source of expression in movement, especially as it relates to singing, acting, and oratory. In the United States, a primary application was to dance. Underlying his quasi-scientific categorization of movement possibilities and their meanings are two basic laws. The Law of Correspondence states, "To each spiritual function responds a function of the body; to each grand function of the body corresponds a spiritual act." The Law of Trinity led him to divide all nature, and therefore movement too, into a series of triads. For instance, he presented the following series:

Life	Soul	Mind
Physical	Emotional	Mental
Ease	Coordination	Precision
Motion	Space	Time
Energy	Love	Wisdom

There were three corresponding zones of the body: limbs (or lower torso), torso (or upper torso), and head. Each body part could be further subdivided into three areas, each of which replicated the physical, emotional, and mental layering. Thus, which body part one used, in conjunction with which other parts, in what section of space determined the expressive message of the movement. Outgrowths of Delsarte's work were the art of statue-posing, in which the performers created *tableaux vivants* according to Delsartean principles; aesthetic gymnastics, a form of physical fitness for Victorian women; and pantomiming of poetry. These forms of performance were precursors of modern dance.

To some followers of Delsarte, the system was "the basis of a new religious education, destined to perfect the children of men . . . and redeem the earth" (quoted in Ruyter, 1979, p. 20). An underlying idea was that since man was made in the likeness of God, then his movements must inherently reveal God. The three great precursors of twentieth-century dance—Isadora Duncan, Ruth St. Denis, and Ted Shawn—were explicitly influenced by Delsartean philosophy, and through their teachings Delsarte indirectly affected the first generation of modern dancers.

EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY MODERN DANCE. Isadora Duncan (1878–1927) is usually credited with pioneering the break with the past and ushering in a twentieth-century dance form. She discarded what she felt was the artifice and vulgarity of the theatrical dance that surrounded her and looked to an idealized conception of Greek spirit embodied in dance. She found her models also in nature, as in the curves and flow of waves and shells. She drew on Delsartean principles and philosophy, but she also developed her own ideas, which were impregnated with religion and politics. Through dance she believed that one could liberate not only the body but also the soul. One could become united with nature, and nature was sacred. She wrote: "This is the highest expression of religion in the dance: that a human body should no longer seem human but become transmuted into the movements of the stars" (quoted in Pruett, 1982, p. 57).

She found inspiration in the writings of the philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche, often quoting his statement: "Let that day be called lost on which I have not danced" (Duncan, 1928, p. 77). She was fascinated by his distinction between the Apollonian and the Dionysian. She wanted the audience to experience her work as more than entertainment, as participation in her "invocation."

She searched for inspiration in Greek antiquity. She contemplated the Parthenon and sought a dance form that would be worthy of this temple. When she found it, she exclaimed, "And then I knew I had found my dance, and it was a Prayer" (Duncan, 1928, p. 65). Her dancing was composed of simple runs, skips, and walks, often accompanied by gestures pregnant with meaning. Although one of her best-known pieces was *Ave Maria* (1914), her dances rarely had overtly religious themes.

The next major figures of twentieth-century dance were Ruth St. Denis (1879–1968) and Ted Shawn (1891–1972), her husband. Out of Denishawn, their school and company, came the three most influential pioneers of modern dance: Martha Graham, Doris Humphrey, and Charles Weidman. Not only were St. Denis and Shawn seminal in the development of modern dance but they were also the most directly involved in exploring the relationship between religion and dance in their choreography and in their teachings—and both pioneered the return of dance to the church.

St. Denis (born Ruth Dennis) ransacked the world's dances searching not only for visually exciting forms but insight into the use of dance in religion that was so prevalent outside the West. While the religious intent of her choreography was so often buried in the spectacle of her performances in the vaudeville circuit, her writings and teachings emphasized spiritual intent. In her later years, she was able to fulfill some of her dreams to create religious theatrical dancing, becoming the first major choreographer to develop liturgical dance.

In St. Denis's biography, appropriately titled *Divine Dancer*, a distinction between her own and Duncan's views on dance in relation to religion is succinctly phrased as follows: "[Duncan and St. Denis] followed the polar paths of mysticism: one, seeking the Self in the Universe; the other, seeking the Universe in the Self. St. Denis . . . probed toward an unseen center, cultivating an interior space. Duncan . . . created an expanding consciousness that seemed to consume the cosmos" (Shelton, 1981, p. 97).

From childhood St. Denis had been exposed to various forms of spiritual philosophy, from "American Transcendentalism to Swedenborgian mysticism of her parents' Eagleswood colony, to her explorations of Christian Science and, ultimately, the Vedanta" (Shelton, 1981, p. 93). Her dance was deeply influenced by Delsartean principles both in the techniques of movement and in her belief in the correspondence between the physical and the metaphysical. She believed that "the Creative Dancer is always striving to give expression to Divine Intelligence" (quoted in Cohen, 1974, p. 134) and that "dancing is a living mantra" (quoted in Shelton, 1981, p. 244).

As early as St. Denis's first concert, she choreographed works based on Eastern religions. In *Radha* (1906) she was a goddess surrounded by worshiping priests. She danced a solo built on each of the five senses, culminating in a final dance in which she renounced all sensuality, ending in the yogic Lotus Position, lost in *samādhi* (meditative trance). Her costume featured a bare midriff, and even more daring, she danced in bare feet. Other of her signature works were *Incense* (1906), in which she performed a *pūjā* ritual, and *The Yogi* (1908), based on a passage from the *Bhagavadgītā*, which was a very austere unfolding of a few simple gestures revealing a yogin's spiritual state. She also danced *White Jade*, in which she portrayed Guanyin, the Chinese goddess of mercy, and in other dances she took the roles of various goddesses (Isis, Ishtar, et al.) and biblical heroines. In her later years, she danced Madonnas. She presented pageants in churches and theaters dancing the role of the Virgin in *Masque of Mary* (1934), *Ballet of Christmas Hymns*, and *Healing*. In the *Blue Madonna of St. Mark's* she portrayed Mary's life from the birth of Christ to the crucifixion. She was eighty years old at its premiere. In the "He Is Risen" section of *Resurrection*, she danced Mary Magdelen. She formed the Society of Spiritual Acts, a Christian Science discussion group for which she choreographed dances based on religious themes. Out of this grew her Rhythmic Choir, which performed in churches.

Edward (Ted) Shawn had studied to be a Methodist minister but found dance instead. He described the basis for the Shawn-St. Denis relationship as follows: "She, pursuing the dance upstream to its source, found there religion, and

I, pursuing religion upstream, found the dance was the first and finest means of religious expression, and so we have wedded artistically and humanly ever since" (Shawn, 1926, p. 12). In a taped interview he explained his calling as follows: "I feel my whole life as a dancer has been a ministry . . . because it includes in it every attribute of God; it has lightness and rhythm and proportion and expressiveness . . . the only way you can describe God is to describe him in the terms of a great dancer." He often quoted Nietzsche's comment, "I could not believe in a God who did not know how to dance." He was more directly Christian in his intent and choice of themes, while St. Denis was immersed in Eastern religions and mystical philosophy.

Among his many works were *Brothers Bernard, Lawrence, and Masseo: Three Varieties of Religious Experience*; *O Brother Sun and Sister Moon, a Study of Francis of Assisi*; *Dance of the Redeemed*, inspired by religious visual arts such as William Blake's illustrations for the Book of Job; and Mevlevi Dervish. He often incorporated the dancing of the Doxology into his concerts.

The religious import of St. Denis's dances was usually lost to the audience, which saw only exotic spectacle. Realizing this, Shawn and later St. Denis turned to explicit Christian themes and contexts. As early as 1917, Shawn choreographed an entire church service held in the Scottish Rite Temple of San Francisco. (In 1921 the same work was censured by the local clergy and the commissioner of public safety of Shreveport, Louisiana.)

An accompanist and composer for Denishawn was to become a major force in shaping American modern dance choreography. Louis Horst (1884–1964) became mentor to at least two generations of modern dancers. He developed a systematic method for composing dances, using musical composition as a guide to teach dancers about form and style. One of his choreographic devices was based on "modern dance forms," that is, stylistic models garnered from the arts of an era and translated into dance. What he called Primitivism embraced two styles, Earth Primitive and Air Primitive. Both were characterized by awkward asymmetrical movements, the former revealing a sense of vitality, the latter of awe. The Archaic style was conceived of as ritualistic, and the movement style was based on Egyptian and Greek basreliefs. Medievalism had two aspects, religious and secular. It included the symbolism of denial of the flesh as revealed in off-balance, distorted postures. The ecstasy of saints and the exuberance of courtly love and minstrelsy were the essence of secular life. In Horst's outline, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were characterized by Introspection/Expression, Cerebralism, Jazz, Americana, and Impressionism. Primitivism, the Archaic, and Medievalism took clues from visual arts and music, and all had religious connotations. Those themes have been repeated throughout twentieth-century modern dance and ballet, whether or not directly as a result of Horst's teaching. Stylized gestures have often been used to evoke an archaic context, as in Nijinksy's *L'après-midi d'un faune* (1912), which predates Horst, and in Paul Taylor's *Profiles* (1979). The stylization of religious ecstasy has characterized the many versions of *The Rite of Spring*. Horst worked with almost all the early modern dancers, but he had an especially close collaboration with Martha Graham.

Doris Humphrey and Martha Graham. Nurtured by "Miss Ruth's" spiritual lectures and later influence by Horst's methodology and theories of movement style, the two great pioneers of American modern dance, Martha Graham (1894–1991) and Doris Humphrey (1895–1958), brought to their independent careers Delsartean principles and religious themes. During the early period of modern dance, in the late 1920s and the 1930s, ritual was a common theme. Two classics are Graham's *Primitive Mysteries* (1931) and Humphrey's *The Shakers* (1931). The former was inspired by the rituals of the Native American Christians of the southwestern United States. It is an abstraction of the passion play as seen through the experience of the Virgin Mary. The three sections—"Hymn to the Virgin" (adoration), "Crucifixus" (Virgin's grief), and "Hosannah" (exaltation)—are punctuated at the beginnings and ends by processions of the Virgin and her attendants, composed of weighted, solemn steppings. Processions are a frequent device in Graham's works, and they lend to virtually any theme a ritualistic quality. In the same year, *The Shakers* depicted the essence of the dance ritual of the American religious sect, the Shakers, who used dance and song as their primary modes of worship. Both works created fictitious rituals based on actual sources.

Religious themes per se were not common in Humphrey's choreography or that of her colleague Charles Weidman (1901–1975). Their choreography was, however, religious in the wider sense of showing a concern for the fundamental issues of human life. For instance, Humphrey described her *New Dance* (1935) trilogy as having the theme of the relationship of man to man. To her, *New Dance* represented "the world as it should be, where each person has a clear and harmonious relationship to his fellow beings" (quoted in Cohen, 1972, p. 137). It conveys its message without overt narrative; it is through the organization and disorganization of group relationships that the theme is developed.

Humphrey's *Passacaglia and Fugue in C Minor* (1938) is a plotless work to Bach's music. However, she found in the music religious import that colored the dance. For instance, in a program note she points out that the "minor melody . . . seems to say 'How can a man be saved and be content in a world of infinite despair?'" (quoted in Cohen, 1972, p. 149). Dancing to Bach was highly controversial. Even his secular music has been interpreted as being suffused with spirituality. One of Humphrey's earliest pieces was to Bach's so-called *Air for the G String* (1929), which consists of a group of women with a leader who basically walk, pose, dip, and sway in sumptuous draperies inspired by the paintings of Fra Angelico. Although there is no plot or context, the costumery, music, and the rapturous poses (often in Gothic sway as in sculptures of the Madonna), suggest a pious ritual. Humphrey later defended her use of Bach, especially in the context of World War II, by stating: "Now is the time for me to tell of the nobility that the human spirit is capable of" (quoted in Cohen, 1972, p. 243). Choreographers continue to use Bach as a means of lending a spiritual aura to their works. In later years Weidman choreographed *Christmas Oratorio* (1961), *Easter Oratorio* (1967), and *Bach's St. Matthew's Passion* (1973).

It is impossible to look at Martha Graham's towering sixty-year career without considering the role of religion. Her work can be seen as falling into several periods. Her earliest works were stark, ascetic, often ritualistic pieces. She later turned to more narrative works, exploring facets of female psychology and aspects of Americana. In the 1940s she began her epic treatment of mythological and biblical themes, which has continued for forty more years. Almost all her early works are lost, but some of their titles are suggestive: *Figure of a Saint, Resurrection, Vision of the Apocalypse, Heretic*, all choreographed in 1929, stand out among other titles.

El penitente (1940), inspired by the Spanish-Indian flagellant sects of the American Southwest, is the depiction of Christ's journey to Calvary as performed by a troup of touring players. *Appalachian Spring* (1944) is the story of a wedding in the nineteenth-century frontier. The figure of the Revivalist who weds the couple is a crystallization of one aspect of American religion. The ambivalence about physical enjoyment (whether in the sexual connotations of marriage or in the abandonment of dance and play) is expressed in the Revivalist's movements. He dances a tormented solo of self-condemnation characterized by crawling on his knees, breast beating, and fervent praying. The moralistic dilemma of ambivalence toward sexuality is explored in many of Graham's works, especially in her treatment of women, such as in her *American Provincials: Act of Piety, Act of Judgment* and the *Scarlet Letter.* In Graham's *Letter to the World* (1940), the poet Emily Dickinson battles repression as personified in an ancestress figure. Graham's family was staunchly Presbyterian, and her father had objected to dancing for moral reasons.

Graham's *Dark Meadow* (1946) is a ritual of rebirth and procreation with strong erotic overtones and pervasive Jungian and Freudian symbolism. Archetypal characters, such as She of the Ground (representing the female principle), dance a myth of rebirth. There are allusions to the worship of phallic monuments and to sacrifice in the name of fertility. Her monumental works based on Greek mythology include *Cave of the Heart* (1946), retelling the Medea legend; *Night Journey* (1947), the Oedipus story through the experience of Jocasta; the full length *Clytemnestra* (1958); and *Cortege of Eagles* (1967), the story of Hecuba; and lesser-known works, such as *Phaedra* (1962), *Circe* (1963), and *Andromache's Lament* (1982). Other biblical works include *Herodiade*, the Salome story as seen through the psyche of her mother; *Judith* (1950) and *Legend of Judith* (1962); *Gospel of Eve* (1950); *Embattled Garden* (1958), a major retelling of the Adam-Eve-Lilith myth; and *Lucifer* (1975). A major historical work, *Seraphic Dialogue* (1955), is based on the story of Joan of Arc. The characters are Saint Michael, Saint Catherine, Saint Margaret, and Joan at the moment of canonization. Joan recalls the three facets of her life as the Maid, the Warrior, and the Martyr.

Graham uses religious themes as a device for probing psychological dimensions. She treats mythology as the psychology of another age and seeks to reveal the "inner landscapes" of the human psyche in her dance. Even in her less frequent plotless works there are religious reverberations. *Diversion of Angels* (1948) is a rare lyrical and joyful work for four couples and three solo women, yet at the end the soloist in white is crowned with the splayed fingers of a symbol of benediction. The title of *Acrobats of God* (1960), derived from the name of a group of early church fathers who lived in the desert, alludes to a comparison of the ascetic spiritual life of the Desert Fathers to the arduous training of dancers. Both works celebrate the dancer, and their titles may reveal Graham's conception of their superhuman quality. In the last section of the abstract *Acts of Light* (1981), the "Ritual of the Sun" is evoked by the stylization of a technique class.

Other first-generation American modern dance choreographers. Two other pioneers were Lester Horton (1906–1953) and Helen Tamiris (1905–1966). Very few of their works survive. Horton often used themes from other cultures that were inherently religious: *Siva-Siva* (1929), *Voodoo Ceremonial* (1932), *Sun Ritual* (1935), and *Pentecost* (1935) are examples of works utilizing such themes. His three best-known works all have religious themes: *Salomé* (several versions from 1934 to 1950), *Le sacre du printemps* (1937), and *The Beloved* (1948). *The Beloved* is still in active repertory. Although it is not expressly religious, it is an example of the theme of sexual repression implicitly derived from religious beliefs. It is a duet for a husband and wife. The man, outwardly a symbol of rectitude, proceeds to manipulate and then to strangle his wife, who presumably is guilty of a sexual transgression.

Tamiris (born Becker) choreographed many works of social protest. She is best known for her *Negro Spirituals.* This is a suite of dances (solos and group pieces) to which she added over a period of fifteen years beginning in 1928. She is credited as the first to use black spirituals. *Negro Spirituals* is set to music representing a gamut of moods. Partially pantomimic in degrees of abstraction, each piece is a distillation of a theme. The crucifixion section, for instance, was inspired by the visual imagery of medieval religious paintings. Her goal was to reveal the human side of suffering, oppression, and joy. Ted Shawn also choreographed *Negro Spirituals* in 1933, and the theme became very popular among black choreographers beginning with Alvin Ailey's *Revelations* (1960).

Central European modern dance. In Europe, another approach to modern dance developed. The foremost figure there was Rudolf Laban (1879–1958), better remembered today for his theoretical work (now called Laban Movement Analysis) and the development of a dance notation system (Labanotation or Kinetography Laban), than for his choreography, which has been lost. Laban believed in the spiritual source of movement and felt that dance was a means of attuning to the harmony of the universe. He had been impressed in his youth by the dancing of Muslim dervishes and sought to find and understand the link between movement and spirituality. He developed the idea of "movement choirs," communal dancing of lay dancers, as an expression of the festive spirit of humanity. His stage choreography often dealt with cosmic themes. For example, *The Swinging Temple* was a choreodrama of all types of dancing from primordial rhythms through priestly processions, to ecstatic, comic, and combative dances. His writings and the scenarios for many of his dance works have a strain of mysticism, a search for the divine power of movement, whereas the system for the analysis of movement that developed from his theories is known for its objectivity.

Laban's two most famous students were Mary Wigman (1886–1973) and Kurt Jooss (1901–1979). Wigman is considered the principal dancer-choreographer of central European modern dance. While not concerned with themes from any specific religion, her work in general grapples with spirituality and the larger issues of life. Many of her works deal with death or the cycle of nature. Her signature work was the solo *Witch Dance* (1914, rechoreographed in 1926), which probes the demonic side of human nature. Many of her works revolved around the darker, grotesque aspects of life, themes that seem to have been appropriate to Germany between the two world wars, her most productive period.

Jooss is best known for *The Green Table* (1932), an antiwar ballet still widely performed. In this work, he draws on the medieval image of death as the Grim Reaper, placing the work in a religious historical context.

The European tradition of modern dance was established in America by Wigman's student Hanya Holm (1898–1992). Her works of the 1930s often made social and political statements but can also be seen as having an underlying moral message. Her masterwork, *Trend* (1937), was nonliterary, but its theme was the discovery of the meaning of life.

At the same time that Laban was beginning his experimentation, there were several others in Europe exploring the relationship between movement and spirituality in the context of new religions. Among these were Rudolf Steiner (1861–1925) and G. I. Gurdjieff (1877?–1949). Steiner developed a comprehensive religious and philosophical system called Anthroposophy, which encompassed a movement and dance system called Eurythmy. In this practice, specific gestures and floor patterns are correlated with specific sounds and spiritual functions. Performing the movements thereby promotes physical and spiritual health. Structured choreography to works of classical music is one form of expressing this philosophy. Gurdjieff, influenced by Sufism, developed dancelike movement exercises designed to effect certain mystical states. The work of Steiner and Gurdjieff was part of a tradition that centered on the belief that mystical knowledge could be manifested in physical behavior and that the altered states of consciousness generated by movement could put one in touch with the underlying patterns of the universe.

SECOND GENERATION OF AMERICAN MODERN DANCE. Humphrey's closest protégé was José Limón. Several of his major works were based on religious themes. He often drew on his Mexican and Native American heritage. *La Malinche* (1949) is a form of the passion play as performed by a troupe of traveling Mexican peasants. *The Visitation* (1952) is based on the Annunication; *The Apostate* (1959) captures a battle between Christianity and paganism; and *There Is a Time* (1956) is a danced version of *Ecclesiastes* 2. Limón's *Psalm* (1967) includes the theme of the Jews under Hitler, and *The Unsung* (1970) deals with the spirituality of Native Americans. In *The Traitor* (1954) he retells the story of Jesus and Judas, casting Judas as a symbol of modern man. *Missa brevis* (1958), first performed in a bombed-out church in Budapest, is a dance of pain and an affirmation of faith. At certain points, women dancers are carried like the statues of the Madonna in Mexican religious processions.

The choreography of Alwin Nikolais, a student of Holm, rebels against the emotionalism of the first generation of modern dance. He turns instead to portraying the moving body as just one element of a multimedia theater. He has often been criticized for dehumanizing the dancer, but he interprets his work in a religio-philosophical manner; he sees man as a "fellow traveller . . . rather than the god from which all things flowed. . . . He lost his domination but instead became kinsman to the universe" (quoted in Siegel, 1971, p. 11). His pieces often are glimpses into the ritualistic lives of what seem to be alien tribes of people whose activities make profound comments on human existence. His *Tower* (1965), for example, details the building of a metaphorical Tower of Babel to which each dancer contributes a piece only to have the whole monument topple at the end.

Erick Hawkins is among those choreographers who worked with Graham. His choreography is notable as a rejection of her aesthetic and technique. He has been inspired by Zen philosophy and feels that an audience should be brought to enlightenment. His goal has been to develop a technique that would be harmonious with nature, gentle and free of tension. His choreography is often ritualistic and deals with the human relation to nature and the oneness of body and soul. The mood of his works is often meditative with poetic resonances. In *Plains Daybreak* (1983), for example, masked dancers represent the essences of animals during a mythical time near the beginning of creation. *Lords of Persia* (1965) is a portrayal of an ancient game of polo stylized as sacred ritual.

Paul Taylor has produced a wide range of works that frequently make comments on the human condition and social relationships. Sometimes his works involve religious themes. One of his most enduring works is *Three Epitaphs* (1960), in which dancers covered in black appear as figures whose postures and gestures convey both humor and pathos. The title of this work and the accompaniment of early New Orleans jazz funeral music provide an ironic commentary to the antic interactions of these creatures. His *Churchyard* (1969) is a dance of piety transformed into wild eroticism; *Runes* (1975) creates a prehistoric ritual of sacrifice and regeneration.

Merce Cunningham made a radical break with the past. He creates plotless works in which movements, music, and decor are conceived of as separate elements. Pure movement is the primary content of his works, and therefore religious themes are irrelevant. However, underlying Cunningham's choreography is a philosophy based on Zen Buddhism. Like his principal musical collaborator, John Cage, Cunningham often composes according to chance principles; for instance, throwing the *I ching* (casting lots) determines the order in which movement phrases will be combined. Such an indeterminate method of choreography helps him to feel liberated from becoming attached to his possessions, which are his choreographic creations.

POSTMODERN DANCE. Cunningham signaled the beginning of a reconception of dance. The idea that theatrical dance was marked by storytelling, emotional expression, and a fixed relationship to music and decor was shattered by his work. Many choreographers in the next generation of modern dance have been called "post-Cunningham" or postmodern. One of the more prominent characteristics of this trend in dance has been the focus on movement for movement's sake. Dances were often composed of everyday movements danced by untrained performers. They wished to return dance to the people, rather than reserving it for the virtuosic performer. Religious themes would not seem relevant to plotless works that aimed to expose the nature of movement rather than the nature of human and spiritual existence. Yet, a major stream of postmodern dance has been the exploration of the concept of ritual. Many choreographers shared the aims of the experimental theater of the 1960s and 1970s, especially the idea that dance and theatrical performances could be rituals for both performers and audience. A goal was to provide a transformative experience, a function of many religious rituals. The means of effecting these changes in physical and mental states were also modeled on a conception of ritual that often emphasized symbolism, manipulations of time and space, repetititons, nonlinear development of actions, and a highly formal structure. Some aimed at the creation of a feeling of community; others reached for a spiritual experience, a feeling of holism or integration with the universe. They were concerned with experiencing dance as a metaphor for life.

Anna Halprin has been a pioneer in this area. She explored the use of trance, the expression of communal feeling through dance, and the healing nature of movement. Deborah Hay created a series of Circle Dances based on simple movements to be performed in a group with no spectators. She was influenced by *taiji quan* and Daoist philosophy. The goal of these dance experiences was to understand the inner self, the power of the group, and the individual's connection to the cosmos. Meditation as well as ecstatic movements have characterized these ritualistic dances.

Meredith Monk, on the other hand, creates multimedia theatrical works that are often ritualistic in character. She creates layers of evocative imagery and archetypal characters and transforms ordinary speech into chants and spectacular sounds. Her *Vessel* (1971) dealt with Joan of Arc. Many of her other works, such as *Quarry* (1976) and *Education of the Girlchild* (1972), have presented themes of human life and history in a ritual structure.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY BALLET. While modern dance grew out of a desire for self-expression, ballet traditionally has been concerned with telling stories. The twentieth century saw the development of plotless (or abstract) works that inherently give limited scope for interior states or religious themes. Yet, ballet also expanded its expressive powers in such a way as to become a vehicle for religious ideas as well.

The first major break with nineteenth-century ballet in both form and content was Sergei Diaghilev's Ballets Russes. This company produced a few biblical works: *Salomé* (1913), *The Legend of Joseph* (1914), and *Prodigal Son* (1929). *Le dieu bleu* (1912) was based on the Hindu god Kṛṣṇa. The most remarkable religious work was also perhaps the most revolutionary ballet in dance history—*Le sacre du printemps* (1913), choreographed by the great dancer Vaslav Nijinsky. The dance and its music by Igor Stravinsky caused a riot at the premiere, and the ballet was performed only a few times. It drew on a mythic history of Old Russia, but its pounding rhythms, ecstatic dancing, circular floor patterns, and sacrificial dance of death became a model for many other rituals in twentieth-century dance. There have been many other re-choreographings of the Stravinsky music, including Léonide Massine's 1930 reworking for Diaghilev (in which the Chosen Maiden was danced by Martha Graham, who fifty-four years later was to choreograph her own *Rite of Spring*). Other notable examples were by Horton, Wigman, ballet choreographer Maurice Béjart, German Expressionist modern-dance choreographer Pina Bausch, and Paul Taylor, who transformed the ritual into a gangster play within a play.

Two of the last works that Diaghilev produced were *Apollon musagète* (1928) and *Prodigal Son* (1929), both choreographed by George Balanchine, who was to become the most influential ballet choreographer in the United States, if not the world. Though Balanchine is known primarily for his plotless works, these two early ballets with religious themes are counted among his greatest, and both are performed in many companies around the world. *Apollon musagète*, now titled *Apollo*, retells the birth of the god and his coming of age under the tutelage of three of the Muses. In

Prodigal Son, Balanchine drew on motifs from his native Russia, including visual imagery from religious icons, especially the two-dimensional quality, and certain gestures and liturgical movements from the Russian Orthodox church, such as beating the chest and back.

Other Balanchine works of some religious significance include his *Nutcracker* (1954), *Noah and the Flood* (1962), and his Greek mythological masterpiece, *Orpheus* (1948). His *Don Quixote* (1965) also has much religious imagery. Despite the relative lack of religious themes in his choreography, religion was very important in Balanchine's personal life. One of the last works he created incorporated much religious symbolism and has been interpreted as his comment on death. In 1981, he choreographed the last movement of Tchaikovsky's *Pathétique* Symphony as a ballet of the same name. A dance of grief is followed by a procession composed of angels with enormous wings, hooded figures, and monks who prostrate themselves in the form of a cross. A child extinguishes a candle to the final notes of the symphony.

Another choreographer for the Ballets Russes was Léonide Massine. Although he is best known for his character ballets, he also choreographed several ambitious but short-lived works based on religious themes. Seventh Symphony (1938), set to Beethoven's *Seventh Symphony*, was a chronicle of the world from its creation to its destruction; *Noblissima visione* (1938) was the story of Saint Francis of Assisi; and *Laudes evangelii* (1952) was the translation into dance of a fourteenth-century text depicting eight episodes from the life of Christ.

Frederick Ashton has been the principal choreographer in Great Britain. Like British ballet in general, his works tend to be literary, although he occasionally has used religious themes. An early Ashton work was the choreography for the Virgil Thomson-Gertrude Stein opera *Four Saints in Three Acts* (1934). His *Dante Sonata* (1940), based on the *Inferno* of Dante's *Commedia*, was a reaction to World War II. It was conceived as a battle between the Children of Light and the Children of Darkness. *The Wise Virgins* (1940) was also an antiwar ballet. Performed to Bach cantatas and chorale preludes, it created visual images reminiscent of Baroque art. The work had a devout atmosphere. He also occasionally used mythical themes, as in *Cupid and Psyche*, *Leda*, *Mercury*, *Mars and Venus*, and *Daphnis and Chloe*. His *The Quest* (1943) was the story of Saint George; his *Tiresias* (1951) depicted a Cretan athletic ritual.

Other choreographers in England include Ninette de Valois, founder of the Royal Ballet. One of her most successful works was *Job, a Masque for Dancing* (1931) based on William Blake's drawings. As an example of Western ambivalence toward the relationship between religion and dance, censors prohibited the depiction of God in this work, leading de Valois to create a character called Job's Spiritual Self. *Miracle in the Gorbals* (1944) by Robert Helpmann was a morality play in dance in which Christ comes to the slums of Glasgow, revives a suicide, and in turn is murdered by the crowd.

Antony Tudor is known for his psychologically motivated ballets, and few of his works are religious in content. His *Shadowplay* (1967), which depicts a wild boy as lord of the jungle, however, was influenced by Zen Buddhism. Underlying his masterwork *Pillar of Fire* (1942) is the theme of religiously induced sexual repression. His *Dark Elegies* (1937) is a ritualization of grief.

In modern ballet, mythic characters are often used to create a psychological dimension. Tudor's *Undertow* (1945), for example, is a contemporary murder story, but the characters have mythological names, and his *Judgment of Paris* (1938) is set in a Paris bar where Juno, Minerva, and Venus are tawdry showgirls.

The American John Butler, who choreographs in both the ballet and modern dance idioms, has produced a large opus of religious works. He was the principal choreographer for the American religious television series *Lamp unto My Feet* in the 1960s. One of his major works is *Carmina burana* (1959), which is set to thirteenth-century poems discovered at a Benedictine monastery. The monks and nuns of the dance temporarily discard the discipline of their order to engage in the passions of secular life and to experience the wheel of fate.

Robert Joffrey and Gerald Arpino, choreographing for the Joffrey Ballet, have created several works based on religious themes. Joffrey's *Astarte* (1967), which has been called the first psychedelic ballet, is a contemporary depiction of the Akkadian Ishtar, moon goddess of love and fertility who was called Astarte by the Greeks, though audiences are often unaware of this theme. Set to loud electronic rock music, flashing lights, and projected film, the dance evokes the atmosphere of an après-discotheque seduction. The man strips to his briefs, the goddess lets down her hair, and an erotic *pas de deux* of power and submission takes place in a hallucinatory sequence. It was the first multimedia rock ballet to receive widespread attention, and it ushered in a new trend in ballet, enticing new audiences into the theater. Arpino's *Sacred Grove on Mount Tamalpais* (1972) is a paean to the "flower children" of the 1960s, an innocent romp of renewal depicting a wedding ceremony and the birth of a son who promises to be a kind of prophet to the celebrants. His *Trinity* (1969) is a three-part contemporary ritual of young people employing some popular dance movements set to a rock orchestration of Gregorian chant and other sacred music styles. In the third section, "Saturday," the dancers carry lighted candles. A male soloist dances to a rock version of the hymn "Ite, missa est" that concludes the Latin Mass. The final image is of the stage, empty except for the pattern of votive candles on the floor.

Contemporary European choreographers have been more attracted to religious themes than their American counterparts. John Neumeier, mainly choreographing for the Hamburg Ballet, created the four-hour *Saint Matthew's Passion* (1981) set to Bach's work. The story is conveyed through *tableaux vivants* interspersed with dancing commenting on the deeper aspects of the drama. Neumeier's *Mahler's Third Symphony* has a theme of redemption and incorporates Mahler's idea of the quest for divine love.

The Czech Jiri Kylian, working primarily for the Nederlands Dans Theater, has offered *Psalm Symphony* (1978), based on Psalms 39, 40, and 150, among other works. Further examples include John Cranko's *Kyrie eleison* (1968) and Kenneth Macmillan's *Requiem* (1976). Maurice Béjart, choreographer for his Belgian company, Ballet of the Twentieth Century, is known for tackling grand epic themes. Several of his works have themes with religious connotations. In his *Nijinsky—Clown of God* (1971), the Ballets Russes is cast as Nijinsky's Paradise with Diaghilev as its overseeing God. His *Bhakti* (1968) draws on Hindu mythology, and his *Notre Faust* (1975) is one of several dance treatments of this work over the centuries.

Contemporary ballet has incorporated many movements and much of the sensibility of modern dance. It often does not use *pointe* work but may reserve this kind of movement to portray particular ideas. A ballerina on *pointe* sometimes is cast in a higher spiritual mode. For instance, in Ashton's *Illuminations* (1950), Sacred Love dances on *pointe*, while Profane Love has one bare foot; in Neumeier's *Mahler's Third Symphony*, the figure of idealized love dances on *pointe* while most of the other dancers do not.

BIBLICAL THEMES. The flexibility of interpretation inherent in biblical literature has been an inspiration for many different treatments that range from literal interpretations to the probing of universal psychological truths to political and social commentary. Several characters and episodes have been particularly appealing. These include: the theme of creation, the garden of Eden, the story of Cain and Abel, Noah and the Flood, Job, David and Goliath, Joseph, Samson and Delilah, Salome, the Prodigal Son, the Wise and Foolish Virgins; and the many biblical heroines, including Miriam, Jephthah's Daughter, Esther, Deborah, Judith, Ruth, the Virgin Mary, and Mary Magdalene. The life of Christ and interpretations of various psalms have also been frequently choreographed themes. One of the more popular subjects has been the story of Adam and Eve. Treatments of this theme indicate some of the range of interpretations of biblical stories. Graham's *Embattled Garden* (1958) introduces Lilith into the domestic routine of the Garden of Eden, whereas Butler's *After Eden* (1966) and Limón's *The Exiles* (1950) both deal with the fate of Adam and Eve after the expulsion, while Roland Petit's *Paradise Lost* (1967) featured a pop interpretation with Adam plunging into a backdrop of a huge lipsticked mouth at the end of the dance. The story has been treated with awe and wonder and irony, and as tragedy and comedy.

The *Book of Genesis* has provided a source of comedic ballets. *Billy Sunday* (1946), choreographed by Ruth Page, is the retelling of these familiar stories as they might have been explained by the baseball-player-turned-preacher Billy Sunday, who used the vernacular and often employed baseball analogies in his exuberant evangelical addresses. In this work Bathsheba does a striptease behind a screen fashioned from a scarf, and Joseph's seducer is the contemporary Mrs. Potiphar. Page emphasizes those stories that portray women betraying men. Taylor's *American Genesis* (1973) recasts the stories as episodes in American history, using bits of Americana—such as minstrel-show techniques—as ironic commentary on both United States history and the biblical stories themselves.

Other ways in which biblical stories have served as a means of social commentary include interpreting the story of Joseph as a message about overcoming political oppression and the story of Esther as a metaphor for Nazism's "final solution." Jooss's *Prodigal Son* found his downfall not in the pursuit of decadent living but in the quest for power, a poignant theme for Germany in 1931.

RELIGIOUS THEMES AND CULTURAL IDENTITY. Modern dance, built on a philosophy of the expression of emotions and personal identity, has provided a vehicle for the exploration of ethnic and religious identity through dance. This has been true, in particular, for Jewish, Afro-American, and Asian choreographers.

Jewish history, ritual, and music have inspired several twentieth-century works in both modern dance and ballet. Several topics have been particularly popular: Jewish village life of tsarist Russia and eastern Europe, the Holocaust, Hasidism, Sefardic Judaism, and Jewish folk tales. Some works employ movement qualities and steps associated with dances from Jewish communities or with prayer movements, while others use Jewish themes or music without any particular ethnic movement style.

The second generation of modern dancers were particularly drawn to social and political themes. This period of growth also coincided with World War II and the attendant Holocaust, providing thematic material for powerful dances. Many of the works of Pearl Lang have Jewish themes. Perhaps her best-known work is *The Possessed* (1975), based on the dybbuk legend. She also choreographed dances using Hasidic themes, biblical stories, and poems composed by Holocaust victims. Her *Tailor's Megillah* is the retelling of Esther's story in a tailor's shop.

Anna Sokolow created the solo *Kaddish* (1946); *Dreams* (1961), an abstract enactment of the horrors of the Nazi concentration camps; and *The Holy Place* (1977), based on Psalm 137 and dealing with the theme of the Jews in exile. The first part of *The Exile* (1939) is set in ancient times, the second deals with persecution, culminating in Nazism. She created both *The Bride*, in which a shy Jewess faces a wedding to an unknown groom, and *Mexican Retablo*, in which she danced a Madonna.

Tamiris choreographed *Memoir* (1957), depicting themes of Jewish life. Holm offered *Tragic Exodus* (1939) and *They Too Are Exiles* (1940), which dealt with the dispossession and persecution of all peoples, but at that time, reference to the Jews in Hitler's Germany was all too apparent. Sophie Maslow choreographed *The Village I Knew* (1950) as an evocation of Jewish life in tsarist Russia.

In ballet, Eliot Feld has contributed *Tzaddik* (1974), a representation of a scholar's intensely emotional introduction of two students into the world of religious study. His *Sephardic Song* (1974) was influenced by traditional Sefardic music. Jerome Robbins choreographed *The Dybbuk Variations* (1974), an abstract version of this story. Robbins is also well known for his staging and choreography of the musical-theater work *Fiddler on the Roof* (1964), which drew on many dance forms and images of turn-of-the-century Jewish life in Russia.

Israel has a very active theatrical dance culture. Many choreographers there naturally turn to Jewish and biblical themes. One of the more prominent companies, the Inbal Dance Theatre, whose principal choreographer is Sara Levi-Tanai, draws on the dances and rituals of the Jewish minorities of the Middle East, especially the Yemenites. Some examples of works by Israeli choreographers include Levi-Tanai's *Psalm of David* (1964), which features the story of Avishag, the girl brought to the aging David; Margalit Oved's *The Mothers of Israel*, choreographed for Ze'eva Cohen, draws on the image of the biblical Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, and Leah; the Bat-Dor Company performs Domy Reiter-Soffer's *I Shall Sing to Thee in the Valley of the Dead My Beloved* (1971), which tells the history of Israel through the story of King David's loves; Rina Schoenfeld choreographed *Jephthah's Daugher* for the Batsheva Company; and the Russian dancer Rina Nikova founded the Biblical Ballet of Israel.

African Americans have also drawn on dance as a vehicle for the expression of cultural identity. Religious practices and music are a major component of this identity and have formed the basis for many ballet and modern dance works. *Revelations*, a work by Alvin Ailey, was one of the first of these works, and it has also proved to be the most popular and enduring. It is a suite of dances to black hymns and gospel music, each section revealing the theme or spirit of the song—from the solemn abstraction of "I've Been 'Buked'" to the rousing church service of the finale. The audience is often whipped into an enthusiastic hand-clapping and foot-stomping participation that is akin to the atmosphere of many black churches. In this way, *Revelations* has introduced to the Western theater a different model for the role of the spectator at a ballet performance. Some of the other religiously inspired Ailey works include *Three Black Kings* (1976) and the often humorous *Mary Lou's Mass* (1971), in which biblical stories are reenacted.

Many African and African American choreographers also draw on African religious practices. Katherine Dunham, Pearl Primus, and Asadata Dafora were among the first to do this. Dunham's *Rites of Passage* (1941) depicted a fertility ritual, and *Shango*, a vodou rite. Primus's Fanga (1949) created a ritual in an African context.

Asian religious themes have often been popular in Western dance history. In the past, Eastern themes tended to be used as a device for creating exotic spectacle. St. Denis promoted a form of Orientalism that adopted the color and sensuality of Asian dance but also attempted to expose its spiritual import. Cunningham, Hawkins, and Tudor have been influenced by Zen Buddhism. Starting in the 1960s, but especially in the 1970s and 1980s, there has been an explicit attempt to create a dance form that assimilates Eastern and Western dance and that especially captures the spiritual quality of Asian dance. Asian and Asian-American choreographers have been particularly active in adopting Eastern techniques and themes to the modern dance context, often emphasizing the creation of ritual. Kei Takei and the duo Eiko and Koma are particularly noteworthy for their use of Japanese rituals and movement qualities, and Mel Wong is known for his synthesis of Chinese culture and American modern dance.

The discovery of Asian religions in the context of the drug-influenced counterculture of the 1960s led to works such as Béjart's *Bhakti*, a ballet about love as manifested in the relationships between Rāma and Sitā, Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, and Śiva and Śakti. In the 1970s and 1980s, there has been a growing interest in Ṣūfī dancing, and choreographers have adopted spinning techniques, as in the work of Laura Dean, and have explored the mystical symbolism of Muslim faith.

Modern dance also took root in Japan, where a unique synthesis of American and central European Expressionist modern dance, Japanese *nō*, and *kabuki* combines with a post-World War II sensibility. An avant-garde trend called *butoh*, a word referring to an ancient dance, exists in the shadow of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and lends itself to the creation of ritualistic theatrical probings of primordial and postapocalyptic images.

SACRED OR LITURGICAL DANCE. Dance has returned to the church and synagogue in the twentieth century. With St. Denis and Shawn as its foremost pioneers, the sacred dance or liturgical dance movement has grown rapidly. Another early experiment with ritual dancing in the church took place at Saint Mark's-in-the-Bowerie Church in New York, beginning in the 1920s. Choreographed by the rector of the church, William Norman Guthrie, the dance, depicting the Annunication, was performed by six barefooted women robed in flowing white material probably dancing in the Duncanesque style of the avant-garde of the time. For this scandalous act, Saint Mark's was suspended from the Episcopal church. The ritual dance was performed annually for many years and continued to cause controversy.

Contemporary sacred dance covers a range of ways in which movement can be incorporated into the liturgy. These include (1) rhythmic or dance choirs, analogous to singing choirs, (2) performances based on religious themes or stories by lay or professional dancers, which the congregation watches, (3) congregational dancing in which everyone participates, (4) dancing based on ritual dances of other cultures,

(5) charismatic dancing, (6) danced individual prayers, and (7) dance with therapeutic intent (spiritual healing through dance). Aims of sacred dance include promoting the affirmation of the body, offering dance to God, creating a sense of community, finding the festive nature of life and religion, and integrating body and soul. Leaders in the sacred dance movement have been, among others, Margaret Fiske Taylor, Douglas Adams, Mary Jane Wolbers, Judith Rock, and Carla de Sola. Exponents of liturgical dance have also been unusually prolific writers. In the United States, the Sacred Dance Guild was formed in the late 1950s, and the movement grew rapidly in the 1960s and 1970s in many countries, fed by other related trends: the reemergence of exuberant social dancing, the growth of alternative religions and religious practices, and the rise of dance therapy. While the sacred dance movement is mainly a Christian movement, there is also a growing following in Judaism. A central controversy within the movement is whether to emphasize the liturgical aspect or the aesthetic aspect, whether sacred dance should be performed by the laity with a communal, participatory focus or whether it should be performed by professionals with an aesthetic goal. Ironically, the success of theatrical dance in America, despite the opposition of religious orthodoxies, has led to the addition of a new (or rediscovered) dimension of religious practice—the expressive power of dance.

SEE ALSO Anthroposophy; Circumambulation; Drama; Gurdjieff, G. I.; Labyrinth; Procession; Steiner, Rudolf.

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There has been very little written about religion and theatrical dance. Aside from a few isolated articles or books on particular topics, most information must be gleaned from general books on dance. There are, however, a few anthologies that cover aspects of this topic. In 1979, an International Seminar on the Bible in Dance was held in Israel. The papers from the conference were not published as a group, but the manuscripts are available at the Dance Collection, New York Public Library at Lincoln Center, and elsewhere. Papers of special interest to this topic are those on Limón, Graham, The *Prodigal Son*, *Billy Sunday*, labyrinths, and biblical dance on television. In conjunction with this event, Giora Manor published an extensive study of the use of biblical themes in ballet and modern dance, *The Gospel according to Dance* (New York, 1980). *Worship and Dance*, edited by J. G. Davies (Birmingham, 1975), is particularly useful for information on dance in the church, both historically and as part of the contemporary liturgical dance movement. *Focus on Dance X: Religion and Dance*, edited by Dennis J. Fallon and Mary Jane Wolbers (Reston, Va., 1982), includes Lynn Matluck Brooks's "The Catholic Church and Dance in the Middle Ages," Diane Milhan Pruett's "Duncan's Perception of Dance in Religion," and Georganna Balif Arrington's "Dance in Mormonism: The Dancingest Denomination." A thought-provoking article by Douglas Adams and Judith Rock, "Biblical Criteria in Modern Dance: Modern Dance as Prophetic Form," also delivered at the seminar in Israel, is an application to dance of Paul Tillich's four categories of the relation between religion and visual arts. About half the articles in this volume are devoted to the liturgical dance movement. The journal *Parabola*'s issue on "Sacred Dance," vol. 4, no. 2 (May 1979), contains articles on the dance of Jesus by Elaine H. Pagels and on labyrinths by Rosemary Jeanes. Jamake Highwater's *Dance: Rituals of Experience* (New York, 1978) is a personal view on the importance of reaffirming the ritual nature of dance; his book includes a discussion of which contemporary theatrical choreographers create works that fulfill his conception of ritual.

Most information about religion and theatrical dance must be pieced together from a general history of Western dance. A basic introduction to this topic is Jack Anderson's *Dance* (New York, 1979). A more detailed, although somewhat out-of-date book is Lincoln Kirstein's *Dance: A Short History of Classical Theatrical Dancing* (New York, 1935). Marcia B. Siegel's *The Shapes of Change* (Boston, 1979) analyzes some of the important works of American dance including *Negro Spirituals, Shakers, Revelations*, and several of Graham's works. A brief description and listing of dances by major modern dance choreographers can be found in Don McDonagh's *The Complete Guide to Modern Dance* (Garden City, N.Y., 1976). Anthologies of primary sources include *Dance as a Theatre Art*, edited by Selma Jeanne Cohen (New York, 1974), and, for theoretical essays, *What Is Dance?*, edited by Roger Copeland and Marshall Cohen (New York, 1983). One of several books of synopses of ballet librettos is *101 Stories of the Great Ballets* by George Balanchine and Francis Mason (Garden City, N.Y., 1975).

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SUZANNE YOUNGERMAN (1987)

DANCE: THEATRICAL AND LITURGICAL DANCE [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

Academic studies related to the topic of theatrical and liturgical dance have remained predominantly within the circles of dance scholarship. Traditionally, such studies have been divided into two categories of analysis: dance history and criticism, which have premised their evaluations according to chronological and classic aesthetic criteria; or ethnography and anthropology, which have inquired into the cultural formations and functions of dance. The former has emphasized typically the West and the latter non-Western cultures. The publication of the *International Encyclopedia of Dance* (1998) and the televised presentation of the eight-part series *Dancing!* (1992), with its companion volume, generated both scholarly and public interest in the global and multi-cultural correspondences among dance traditions. Since 1987, the central investigations by dance scholars have moved beyond the "how, what, where, and why" of dance to those related to dance as a communicator of meaning and values throughout world cultures and religions.

Interest in the investigation of liturgical and theatrical dance has extended into the realm of religious studies—especially world religions—beyond the traditional categories of "dance and liturgy," ritual studies, and the umbrella of art and religion. These are evidenced in the work of Ann Cooper Albright, Diane Apostolos-Cappadona, and Ann Dils. While J.G. Davies' texts remain as classics for the study of liturgical dance in Christianity, Doug Adams, Helga Barbara Gundlach, Thomas A. Kane (in *Introducing Dance in Christian Worship*), Judith Rock, and Carla De Sola continue to expand the discussions about the nature, styles, and meaning of Christian liturgical dance into the contemporary scene. Other religion scholars have incorporated analyses of ritual and ceremonial dance into their studies of individual religious traditions, i.e., Hinduism and Native America, which might otherwise not culturally identify these dances as "liturgical." Issues of gender studies, investigations of the body, and the study of the economic, ethnic, engendered and/or racial minorities have affected the modes and methods for studying liturgical and theatrical dance. This appears in the work of Jane C. Desmond, Brenda Dixon Gottschild, Judith Lynn Hanna, and Cynthia Novack.

Both the performance and the study of liturgical and theatrical dance have incorporated the technologies of video, mass media, and the internet as well as a place within the academic spectrum in the newer categories of "performance and display," and "visual culture" (Mitoma, 2003). Scholarship in the fields of liturgical and theatrical dance has entered geographic areas previously investigated to a lesser extent, such as Southeast Asia, Pre-Columbian Latin America, Oceania, and Africa. These are shown in the work of Judy Mitoma, Richard Anderson Sutton, Robert Farris Thompson, and Elizabeth Zimmer. The influence—historically and from post-1960s global cultures—of non-Western religious dance traditions on Western dance, whether religious or secular, is emerging as an investigative focus for both dance history and religious studies scholars. However, more often than not the study of the influences of non-western dance and religion is in terms of a particular dancer in historical studies, such as Isadora Duncan, Ruth St. Denis, José Limon, and Martha Graham. Exciting possibilities for new scholarship include analyses of the "east-west" connectives in such contemporary choreography as that of Eiko and Komo, Meredith Monk, Peter Sparling, and Yin Mei.

NEW PERSPECTIVES. The new directions for the study of theatrical and liturgical dance will emerge in coordination with a growing recognition of global and multi-cultural discourses, especially in terms of cross-cultural analyses of the creative process and the human body as evidenced for example in the work of Mitoma and Zimmer. New questions about the definition of dance—liturgical and/or theatrical—are raised with the advent of technology and the merging of dance with other media to create "performance pieces," such as the collaboration between architect Zaha Hadid and the Charleroi Dance Company (2001). Analyses of dance as a communicator of cultural values and ideas will re-frame the mode and methods of studying theatrical and liturgical dance from the perspective of dance studies in the work of Ruth Solomon and John Solomon, and in religious studies as evidenced in the work of a new generation of scholars, most notably Kimerer Lewis LaMothe.

SEE ALSO Anthroposophy; Circumambulation; Gurdjieff, G. I.; Labyrinth; Performance and Ritual; Procession; Steiner, Rudolf.

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DIANE APOSTOLOS-CAPPADONA (2005)

DAN FODIO, USUMAN (AH 1168–1232, 1754/5–1817 CE), renowned Fulbe Islamic teacher and shaykh. Shehu (Hausa for *shaykh*) Usuman dan Fodio was born in the Hausa kingdom of Gobir, in the north of the present-day state of Sokoto, Nigeria. He came of a line of Muslim scholars of the Fulbe clan Torodbe that had been established in the area since about 854/1450. They worked as scribes, teachers, and in other literate roles and contributed over several generations to the dissemination of Sunnī Islam among the inhabitants of Gobir. As a result, the Gobir royals were superficially won over to Islam. Nonetheless, authority in Gobir still rested on customary norms, not the Islamic *sharīʿah*, at the end of the eighteenth century CE. This caused mounting frustration among these Muslim literates and resulted in the emergence of an Islamic reform movement that reached its peak at that time. The Shehu Usuman became widely accepted in Gobir and neighboring kingdoms as its leader.

The Shehu Usuman spent his early manhood as a teacher and preacher of Islam in Gobir and the nearby kingdoms of Zamfara, Katsina, and Kebbi. He appears to have had no initial intention of pursuing reform by force, but the prolonged resistance of the Gobir chiefs and courtiers to demands for stricter adherence to Islam built up tension. After several violent incidents, organized warfare broke out between the Gobir forces and the Shehu's followers in 1219/1804. For the Muslim reformers this was *jihād*, war against unbelievers.

The campaigns in Gobir ended in 1223/1808, when the Gobir dynasty collapsed and was replaced by a polity organized along Islamic lines that the reformers described as a "caliphate" (Arab., *khalīfah*). The Shehu remained its titular head until his death in 1232/1817, when he was succeeded by his son, Muhammadu Bello. Elsewhere in the Hausa kingdoms and even as far south as Yorubaland and the Nupe kingdom other *jihāds*, led by the Shehu's "flag bearers," or military commanders, continued until brought to a halt by the colonial occupations of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The Shehu was not only a war leader but also a scholar and poet in the classical Arabic tradition. Best known among his verse works is his panegyric to the prophet Muḥammad, *Al-dālīyah (The Ode Rhyming in Dāl)*, that helped to spread the prophet's Ṣūfī cult and was seminal to a genre of Hausa prophetic panegyric (Hau., *madahu*) among the generations that followed him.

His Arabic prose works are numerous (see Last, 1967). Their main thrust is against all manifestations of indigenous, non-Islamic Hausa culture—song, music, ornate dress, architecture, social mores, and so on—and an insistence that these be replaced by Islamic alternatives. His works also influenced his society, and posterity, by disseminating the ideas of the Qādirī order of Ṣūfīs, to which he was deeply committed, especially as regards the cult of the *awliyāʾ* (Arab.; sg., *walī*, "one near" to Allāh). Indeed, the Shehu's own charisma stems largely from his reputation as a *wali*.

The immediate political consequences of the *jihād* were to overthrow the discrete Hausa principalities based on traditional, unwritten customary codes and to substitute the unified Islamic system of the caliphate governed by the revealed and written *sharīʿah*. More long-term cultural and religious consequences were to displace, to some extent, indigenous African notions about cosmology and replace them with the Islamic celestial architecture, to challenge African cyclical explanations of life and death with the finality of the Islamic doctrine of divine punishment and reward, and to enhance the status of Arabic literacy in Hausa society.

The Shehu is still a much revered personality among Hausa Muslims, having become something of a symbol of Hausa Muslim nationalism. However, the Ṣūfī aspects of his teaching are now less emphasized than in the past, perhaps because the Wahhābī doctrine has become more influential in West Africa.

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MERVYN HISKETT (1987)

DANIEL, or, in Hebrew, Daniyye'l; hero of the biblical book that bears his name. Daniel is presented as a Jew in the Babylonian exile who achieved notoriety in the royal court for his dream interpretations and cryptography and for his salvation from death in a lion's pit. He also appears in the last chapters of the book as the revealer of divine mysteries and of the timetables of Israel's restoration to national-religious autonomy. As a practitioner of oneiromancy in the court, described in *Daniel* 1–6 (written in the third person), Daniel performs his interpretations alone, while as a visionary-apocalyptist, in *Daniel* 7–12 (written in the first person), he is in need of an angel to help him decode his visions and mysteries of the future. It is likely that the name Daniel is pseudonymous, a deliberate allusion to a wise and righteous man known from Ugaritic legend and earlier biblical tradition (*Ez.* 14:4, 28:3).

The authorship of the book is complicated not only by the diverse narrative voices and content but by its language: *Daniel* 1:1–2:4a and 8–12 are written in Hebrew, whereas *Daniel* 2:4b–7:28 is in Aramaic. The language division parallels the subject division (*Daniel* 1–6 concerns legends and dream interpretations; 7–12 concerns apocalyptic visions and interpretations of older prophecies). The overall chronological scheme as well as internal thematic balances (*Daniel* 2–7 is chiliastically related) suggest an attempt at redactional unity. After the prefatory tale emphasizing the life in court and the loyalty of Daniel and some youths to their ancestral religion, a chronological ordering is discernible: a sequence from King Nebuchadrezzar to Darius is reported (*Dn.* 2–6), followed by a second royal sequence beginning with Belshazzar and concluding with Cyrus II (*Dn.* 7–12). Much of this royal dating and even some of the tales are problematic: for example, *Daniel* 4 speaks of Nebuchadrezzar's transformation into a beast, a story that is reported in the Qumran scrolls of Nabonidus; Belshazzar is portrayed as the last king of Babylon, although he was never king; and Darius is called a Mede who conquered Babylon and is placed before Cyrus II of Persia, although no such Darius is known (the Medes followed the Persians, and *Darius* is the name of several Persian kings). Presumably the episodes of *Daniel* 2–6, depicting a series of monarchical reversals, episodes of ritual observances, and reports of miraculous deliverances were collected in the Seleucid period (late fourth to mid-second century

BCE) in order to reinvigorate waning Jewish hopes in divine providence and encourage steadfast faith.

The visions of *Daniel* 7–12, reporting events from the reign of Belshazzar to that of Cyrus II (but actually predicting the overthrow of Seleucid rule in Palestine), were collected and published during the reign of Antiochus IV prior to the Maccabean Revolt, for it was then (beginning in 168 BCE) that the Jews were put to the test concerning their allegiance to Judaism and their ancestral traditions, and many refused to desecrate the statutes of Moses and endured a martyr's death for their resolute trust in divine dominion. All of the visions of Daniel dramatize this dominion in different ways: for example, via images of the enthronement of a God of judgment, with a "son of man" invested with rule (this figure was interpreted by Jews as Michael the archangel and by Christians as Christ), in chapter 7; via zodiacal images of cosmic beasts with bizarre manifestations, as in chapter 8; or via complex reinterpretations of ancient prophecies, especially those of *Jeremiah* 25:9–11, as found in *Daniel* 9–12.

The imagery of the four beasts in chapter 7 (paralleled by the image of four metals in chapter 2), representing four kingdoms to be overthrown by a fifth monarchy of divine origin, is one of the enduring images of the book: it survived as a prototype of Jewish and Christian historical and apocalyptic schemes to the end of the Middle Ages. The role and power of this imagery in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century work of the exegete Isaac Abravanel, the scientist Isaac Newton, and the philosopher Jean Bodin and among the Fifth Monarchy Men of seventeenth-century England, for example, is abiding testimony to the use of this ancient topos in organizing the chiliastic imagination of diverse thinkers and groups. The schema is still used to this day by various groups predicting the apocalyptic advent.

The encouragement in the face of religious persecution that is found and propagandized in *Daniel* 11–12 contains a remarkable reinterpretation of *Isaiah* 52:13–53:12, regarding the suffering servant of God not as all Israel but as the select faithful. Neither the opening stories about Daniel and the youths nor the final martyrological allusions advocate violence or revolt; they rather advocate a stance of piety, civil disobedience, and trustful resignation. Victory for the faithful is in the hands of the archangel Michael, and the martyrs will be resurrected and granted astral immortality. Presumably the circles behind the book were not the same as the Maccabean fighters and may reflect some proto-Pharisaic group of *ḥasidim*, or Pietists. The themes of resistance to oppression, freedom of worship, preservation of monotheistic integrity, the overthrow of historical dominions, and the acknowledgment of the God of heaven recur throughout the book and have served as a token of trust for the faithful in their darkest hour.

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MICHAEL FISHBANE (1987)
Revised Bibliography

DANTE ALIGHIERI (1265–1321), Italian poet, theologian, and philosopher. Dante offered in his *Commedia* a "sacred poem" of enormous erudition and aesthetic power, which more than any other work of Christian literature merits the appellation conferred on it by a mid-sixteenth-century edition: "divine." After producing the *Vita nuova* in 1295, Dante entered the volatile world of Florentine politics, which, however unjustly, subsequently led to his banishment from the city in 1302. In exile for the remainder of his life, he wrote the *Convivio*, the *De vulgari eloquentia*, and the *De monarchia* in the following decade, works that together reveal a commonality of themes: an admiration for the Latin classics, a dedication to the study of philosophy, and a commitment to the revival of the Roman imperial ideal. These concerns are all transfigured in the long and elaborate course of the *Commedia* (*Inferno, Purgatorio, Paradiso*), which represents an encyclopedic synthesis of late medieval thought subsumed within an overarching theological vision. The poem is at once profoundly traditional in its religious ordering of human experience and an innovation of substance and form that suggests an utterly new mentality at work. It can be seen both as an attempt to exorcise what would shortly become the spirit of the Renaissance and yet also as a brilliant precursor of it.

Dante came of age in Florence at a time when the papacy was embroiled with the Holy Roman Empire over temporal jurisdiction in Italy. Widespread corruption in the church, as well as within the powerful mendicant orders of the Franciscans and the Dominicans, seemed to give rise to many individualistic and charismatic expressions of piety that, while passionately Catholic, nonetheless found themselves alienated from the established religious institutions and hierarchies. It is in this context that a devout layman like Dante, discovering himself a mere "party of one," could dare to arrogate to himself the quasi-biblical role of prophet. He became a voice crying in the wilderness, instructing the powers of church and state in their true responsibilities at the same time that he was attempting to woo the ordinary reader (in a daring use of the vernacular for so ambitious a poetic work) into a full conversion of the heart.

Whatever the poet's personal upbringing may have given him, it is known that he studied for an extended period "in the schools of the religious orders and at the disputations of the philosophers" (*Convivio* 2.12). At Santa Croce he would have been exposed to the wealth of Franciscan piety, while at Santa Maria Novella the Dominican Remigio de' Girolami expounded the theology of Thomas Aquinas with special regard for the Aristotelian philosophy that subtends it. In such an intellectual atmosphere Dante found validated what was to be one of the most impressive characteristics of his own work: the massive appropriation of pagan and classical writers for Christian reflection and use.

In assessing Dante's relation to medieval theology and religious thought it is commonplace to emphasize the formative influence of "the Philosopher" (Aristotle) and the "Angelic Doctor" (Thomas); that is, to stress his strong debt to Scholasticism. It must be remembered, however, that the poet everywhere shows himself to be an independent and eclectic thinker, whose imaginative meditation on the Christian faith leads him far and wide: to the systematics of Peter Lombard, the Platonism of Bonaventure, the mysticism of Bernard of Clairvaux and the Victorines, the biblical exegesis (as well as the retrospective confessional mode) of Augustine. Thus, while we may well speak of Dante as standing at the crossroads of medieval religious thought, the intersection is one that he personally constructed rather than discovered ready-made. The synthesis of the *Commedia* is idiosyncratically his own.

As a propagator of the Christian religion Dante must, of course, be assessed by the achievement of his great poem, with its account of the state of the soul after death portrayed in the course of a journey undertaken by the poet himself (lasting from Good Friday 1300 to the Wednesday of Easter Week) through the realms of damnation, purgation, and beatitude. Granted this extraordinary experience through the intercession of his deceased love, Beatrice, the pilgrim-poet is led step by step through a process of conversion by a series of guides and mediators: the pagan poet Vergil, Beatrice herself, and the churchman-mystic-crusader Bernard. But in its larger aspect, the poem is itself an invitation to conversion: to the individual reader, to rediscover the Gospels' "true way"; to the church, to recover its spiritual mission; and to the state, to exercise its divinely ordained mandate to foster temporal well-being.

There are other transformations as well. Hell is portrayed not as a place of arbitrary horror, but as the eternal living out of the soul's self-choice, whereby punishments not only fit but express the crimes of sin. Dante also brings Purgatory aboveground and into the sun, turning the traditional place of torturous penance into more of a hospital or school than a prison house. No less striking is the presentation of Beatrice, at once the earthly lover praised in the youthful pages of the *Vita nuova* and the Christ-event for Dante: a woman in whom we see human eros accorded an unprecedented place in the scheme of human salvation. But perhaps most significant of all—and most singularly responsible for the *Commedia*'s immense and enduring popularity—is Dante's superb representation of the self: ineradicable even in death; more vivid than the theological context in which it is eternally envisioned; more subtly and realistically portrayed than in any other work of medieval literature. The poem's itinerary leads us along the paths of theology to a vision of God, but its hundred cantos offer an investigation of human nature and culture that grounds the reader's attention in the complex realities of earth.

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PETER S. HAWKINS (1987)

DAO'AN (312–385), also known as Shi Dao'an, Chinese Buddhist monk, scholar, and gifted exegete whose organizational abilities and doctrinal acumen helped shape the direction of early Chinese Buddhism. Dao'an was born to a family of literati in what is now Hebei Province in North China. He became a novice at the age of twelve. In 335 he journeyed to Ye (Hebei Province), the new capital of the Later Zhao kingdom, where he studied with Fotudeng (d. 348), the thaumaturge-monk whose magical prowess and success at predicting the outcome of battle had served to recommend Buddhism to the non-Chinese rulers of the kingdom. With the death of Shi Hu, then ruler of the Later Zhao, in 349, Dao'an left Ye and began a peripatetic career in North China that was to last until 365, when he was forced by war to flee south to Xiangyang (Hubei Province). During this period he gathered around himself an ever-growing band of disciples and developed the scholarly and organizational skills for which he is esteemed.

Dao'an's interests during the period 349–365 were conditioned by the pronounced orientation of the Buddhism of North China around primarily Hinayanistic techniques of meditation designed to advance the practitioner through successively rarefied transic states (Skt., *dhyāna;* Chin., *chan*). The enumeration of these states constituted the topic of several sūtras introduced to China in the second century CE by the Parthian translator An Shigao. During his time in the North, Dao'an wrote commentaries to no fewer than six of An Shigao's translations, remarking at one point that the study of *dhyāna* categories constituted "the very pivot of the religious life." That the practice of the techniques described in An Shigao's translations occupied a central role in the community of monks gathered around Dao'an can scarcely be doubted.

This interest in some of the earliest products of the interaction between India and China may reflect something of the growing historiographical and text-critical concerns that would become the hallmark of Dao'an's later years. His biographies emphasize his concern lest the meaning of the scriptures be obscured by the translation process or by the efforts of well-meaning exegetes to couch Buddhist ideas in equivalent Chinese terms bearing only a nominal relationship to the original Sanskrit. Like no one before him in the history of Chinese Buddhism, Dao'an recognized that profound differences separated the original teachings of the scriptures from the hermeneutical framework devised for them in China. In light of this, he undertook his own program of textual exegesis, including careful notation of the history of various texts in China, and formally repudiated a prevailing method of textual interpretation known as *geyi* (matching meanings), under which numerical categories from the scriptures were paired with terms from secular literature.

The year 365 found Dao'an in Xiangyang with an entourage of over four hundred disciples. Once there he moved quickly to establish a monastic center and to forge links with the local government and aristocracy that would ensure its institutional stability. Aware of the difficulties in regulating monastic life in the absence of a complete translation of the Vinaya, or monastic rules, he promulgated a series of ordinances of his own devising. These appear to have treated the daily regimen of the monks and their observance of the Upoṣadha (Pali, Uposatha), or fortnightly confessional ceremony.

But the distinguishing feature of Dao'an's fifteen-year stay in Xiangyang was his shift in attention from *dhyāna* texts and practices to the Mahāyāna Prajñāpāramitā (perfection of wisdom) literature. Although there is evidence that he had become acquainted with these sūtras prior to 365, the years in Xiangyang were characterized by a radical reorganization of his religious interests: six of Dao'an's commentaries from this period are devoted to the Prajñāpāramitā literature. He is also said to have lectured twice yearly on the *Fangguang jing,* Mokṣala's translation (291 CE) of the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* in twenty-five thousand *ślokas*. It is as an outgrowth of this interest in speculations on *prajñāpāramitā* that he is credited with establishing the teaching of original nonbeing (*benwu zong*), one of seven so-called *prajñā* traditions that flourished in China during the fourth and fifth centuries. From the scant evidence remaining to us, Dao'an's teaching appears to have emphasized the existence of an underlying substrate (*benwu*) that stands to phenomena (*moyou*) as both fundamental substance and source. By focusing the mind in meditation upon this radically other, empty absolute, Dao'an taught, release from phenomenal existence can be won.

Two other hallmarks of Dao'an's stay at Xiangyang bear mentioning. The first is his compilation, in 374, of the first critical catalog of Chinese Buddhist texts. As a culmination of his lifelong interest in the fidelity of the sources available to the Chinese, the *Zongli zhongjing mulu* (Comprehensive catalog of the collected scriptures) became a model for all future works of this sort. Dao'an personally inspected each of the more than six hundred works in the catalog, laboriously copied the colophons, where available, and scrupulously passed judgment on the authenticity of the information given there. The other noteworthy feature of Dao'an's career in Xiangyang is his inauguration of a cult to the *bodhisattva* Maitreya. In this cult, clearly the model for his disciple Huiyuan's own Amitabha confraternity (402 CE), Dao'an and seven other devotees gathered before an image of Maitreya and collectively vowed to be reborn in Tusita Heaven, the abode of the *bodhisattva* prior to his rebirth in this world. His biography relates how, in a miraculous visitation to Dao'an shortly before his death, Maitreya vouchsafed to him a vision of Tusita.

The final era of Dao'an's career began in 379 when Fu Jian, ruler of the Former Qin kingdom, laid siege to Xiangyang. In the aftermath of the capitulation of the city Dao'an was brought to Chang'an to preside over a monastic community several times larger than that at Xiangyang. With Fu Jian's restoration of Chinese hegemony over Central Asia, Chang'an was once again the eastern terminus of a trade and information network that stretched through Chinese Turkistan, beyond the Hindu Kush, and into India itself. In the final years of Dao'an's life a number of important missionaries and translators arrived in Chang'an from the western regions, especially from Kashmir, where the Sarvastivada community was exceptionally strong. They brought with them texts that gradually began to fill the lacunae in the canon so lamented by Dao'an. The *Ekottara* and *Madhyama Āgama*s, the *Jñānaprasthāna* (the central work in the Sarvastivada Abhidharma Pitaka), and important sections of the Sarvastivada Vinaya were all introduced at this time. As head of an officially sponsored translation bureau, Dao'an advised the translation team in matters of style (Dao'an, of course, knew no Sanskrit), and composed prefaces to some of the texts. His classic guidelines for translators, consisting, formulaically, of five parameters for changing the text (*wu shiben*) and three conditions under which deviation from the original was not encouraged (*san buyi*), date from this period.

Dao'an's influence over the exegetical and bibliographical traditions of Chinese Buddhism during its formative years can scarcely be overestimated. As the first Buddhist on Chinese soil to confront the problem of understanding Buddhist texts on their own terms, free from the conceptual distortions imposed on them by their association with indigenous thought, Dao'an brought to the young church a new measure of maturity. He is also significant for having combined in a single career the emphasis on Pietism and *dhyāna* practices characteristic of the Buddhism of North China with the Gnostic speculations of Prajñāpāramitā and *xuanxue* thought that engaged the Buddhist thinkers of the South. That Buddhism emerged with the doctrinal and institutional autonomy that it did during the fifth century is attributable in no small measure to Dao'an's efforts.

SEE ALSO Huiyuan; Kumārajīva; Maitreya.

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DAO AND DE

DAO AND DE, the "way" and "virtue," respectively, are basic Chinese philosophical concepts with particular relevance in the Daoist tradition. They are important separately as politico-philosophical and religious terms. Joined as a binomial, *dao-de* appears first in the third century BCE and plays a key role in religious Daoist speculation. In modern Chinese, *dao-de* means "morality."

Dao is the word for "road" or "pathway." It has no other sense in the earliest texts—that is, in the oracle bones of the Shang dynasty (c. 1200 BCE). By the time of the Eastern Zhou (770–256 BCE), *dao* comes to mean the correct or natural way something is done, especially in the actions of rulers and kings (Vandermeersch, 1980). Used as a verb, *dao* also means to "show the way," "tell," or "guide," and hence gains the meaning "teaching" or "doctrine." In both these senses, the term is central to the various philosophical schools of ancient China and the formulation of political doctrines; it often designates a meta-way of talking about specific ideas or political measures (Hansen, 1992). A. C. Graham accordingly entitled his volume on ancient Chinese thought *Disputers of the Tao* (1989).

In the philosophical texts, *dao* means both "the way the universe operates" and "the teachings people follow." Thus, the *Lunyu* (the *Analects* or "Sayings of Confucius," dated to about 400 BCE) speaks of the "*dao* of the ancient kings" and says a state "has *dao*" if it is well governed. A Confucian gentleman "devotes himself to *dao*" and people do not all "have the same *dao*" if they adhere to different principles. The classic of all texts on *dao*, the *Dao de jing*, states, "*dao* that can be *dao*'ed is not the eternal *dao*" (chap. 1), emphasizing the ineffable nature of the way that underlies existence.

Despite this, it is possible to create a working definition, such as that by Benjamin Schwartz in his *The World of Thought in Ancient China* (1985). He describes *dao* as "organic order"—organic in the sense that it is not willful. It is not a conscious, active creator, not a personal entity, but rather an organic process that just moves along. It is mysterious in its depth and unfathomable in its essence.

Beyond this, *dao* is also order, clearly manifest in the rhythmic changes and patterned processes of the natural world. As such, it is predictable in its developments and can be analyzed and described in ordered patterns. These ordered patterns are what the Chinese call *ziran,* or "self-so," which is the spontaneous and observable way things are naturally. Yet while *dao* is very much nature, it is also more than nature. It is also the essence of nature, the inner quality that makes things what they are. It is governed by laws of nature, yet it is also these laws itself.

In other words, it is possible to explain the nature of *dao* in terms of a twofold structure. The "*dao* that can be *dao*'ed" and the "eternal *dao*." The latter is the mysterious, ineffable *dao* at the center of the cosmos; the former is the *dao* at the periphery, visible and tangible in the natural cycles. About the eternal *dao*, the *Dao de jing* says:

> Look at it and do not see it: we call it invisible. Listen to it and do not hear it: we call it inaudible. Touch it and do not feel it: we call it subtle. . . . Infinite and boundless, it cannot be named;. . . Call it vague and obscure. (chap. 14; see LaFargue, 1992)

This *dao* is entirely beyond the perception of ordinary humans. It is so vague and obscure, so subtle and so potent, that it is utterly beyond all knowing and analysis, and cannot be grasped however much one may try. The human body, the human senses, and the human intellect are not equipped to deal with *dao* on this level, and the only way a person can ever get in touch with it is by forgetting and transcending his or her ordinary human faculties, by becoming subtler and finer and more potent, more like *dao* itself.

Dao at the periphery, on the other hand, is characterized as the give and take of various pairs of complementary opposites, as the natural ebb and flow of things as they rise and fall, come and go, grow and decline, are born and die. The *Dao de jing* says:

> To contract, there must first be expansion. To weaken, there must first be strengthening. To destroy, there must first be promotion. To grasp, there must first be giving. This is called the subtle pattern. (chap. 36)

Things, as long as they live, develop in alternating movements, commonly described with the terms *yin* and *yang*. It is the nature of life to be in constant change, and of things to always be moving in one or the other direction, up or down, towards lightness or heaviness, brightness or darkness, and so on. Nature is in a continuous flow of becoming, latent and transparent, described as the alternation of yin and yang, complementary characteristics and directions, that cannot exist without each other. This is the nature of *dao* as it can be observed and followed in politics and self-cultivation. If practiced properly, following this aspect of *dao* will ultimately lead to a state of spontaneous alignment with the ineffable *dao*, the creative force at the center (see Roth, 1999). Attaining this state of perfect alignment is described as sagehood and being in complete nonaction *(wuwei)*.

De as a term goes back further than *dao*. It has been identified in the oracle bones, where it seems to indicate a psychic quality of the king that is approved by the spirits and that gives him influence and prestige (Nivison, 1978–1979). Thus, in the Shang dynasty, heaven or the ancestors would recognize and "approve" the *de* of a sacrificer, preferring the "fragrance" of his offerings to those of others (*Shangshu* 30). The good king observes the religious duty to care for *de* in himself, seen as a psychic entity implanted in the person by heaven. Not unlike the concept of *mana* in Polynesian religions, *de* is thus the personal power inherent in a person that allows him or her to be vibrant and strong and rule in harmony with the wishes of the gods and ancestors. By extension, the word also came to mean a basic "goodness" or "generosity," as well as "to admire someone for his generosity," indicating the moral quality (virtue) and psychic force of a person (Munro, 1969).

Used frequently in the politico-philosophical texts of ancient China, *de* denotes an energy in the ruler that enables him to found or continue a dynasty. The theory was that heaven, surveying the world and finding the people suffering from disorder, conferred its mandate (*ming*) on the person with the greatest *de*. His subsequent success attested to and supported heaven's choice. Usually, the first ruler of a dynasty is heavy with *de* and thus able to govern without effort (*Lunyu* 2.1). He does not need to use punishment to gain obedience; the wisest of the land are eager to serve him, knowing that he will heed their advice. Accordingly, the dialogue of Mengzi with the king of Qi is centrally concerned with the question: "What innate *de* does one need to be king?"

Following the establishment of a dynasty, the usual pattern was that the ruler's *de* diminished over time, until a new dynasty needed to be established and received the mandate of heaven. This diminishing, however, was not inevitable, but involved the active forfeiture and loss of *de* by subsequent rulers. It could be prevented through personal restraint and ritual correctness, and many political texts serve to advise rulers on just how to maintain these. If not prevented, a bad last ruler, who was entirely without *de*, would appear on the scene. He would neglect the proper rituals, engage in sensual indulgence, follow the advice of greedy counselors, exploit the people to build grandiose palaces, and govern by punishment and harsh measures.

The result of this vision of *de* is a paradox: the ruler who needs to be straightened out most lacks good counsel and would not listen if he had it, while the one who has good counselors and is wise enough to recognize their wisdom and listen to them is "virtuous" already. As the concept of *de* becomes more recognizably "virtue," which all people may have, it leads to a persistent difficulty in moral philosophy: the question of how *de* is to be imparted to the person who lacks it. The problem exasperated Confucius (e.g., *Lunyu* 5.9, 6.10). Later philosophers had various solutions, such as Mengzi and his famous principle of the inherent goodness of human nature.

Another paradox arises not from the aspect of *de* as moral virtue but from its aspect as psychic force. The person with *de* has prestige, effectiveness, and status—things people desire. However, in order to acquire and strengthen *de*, one must be self-denying, sincerely generous, and generally good. Therefore, efforts to gain more *de* must be self-defeating, unless one seems to be trying to avoid it. The *Dao de jing* solves this issue by saying:

> The person of superior *de* is not conscious of his *de*; therefore he has *de*. The person of inferior *de* never loses sight of his *de*; therefore he loses *de*. The person of superior *de* takes no action and has no ulterior motive

> for doing anything. The person of inferior *de* takes many actions and follows ulterior motives in doing so. (chap. 38)

Thus, the person with the greatest *de* is unassuming and unimpressive, follows the patterns of *dao* in nonaction, and comes to serve all. Again, the text says: "Strong *de* appears as if unsteady; / true substance seems to be changeable" (chap. 41).

The person in the *Dao de jing* who has perfect *de* is also most in line with *dao*: the sage, who can be, but does not have to be, the ruler. The sage is described as unobtrusive, inactive, and independent, free from all possessions or attachments and without a formal teaching or program of action. Because he is all these things, which match him to the natural forces of heaven and earth, "the sage is whole" (chap. 22) and his accomplishments are thorough and long-lasting. Part of his permeating effect is that he subtly and imperceptibly—like the *dao*—spreads *de* by just being, imposing some of his psychic force and inherent goodness on others. Thereby he "causes people to be unknowing and free from desires, so that the smart ones will not dare to impose" (chap. 3). He is "always there to help the people, rejecting no one and no creature" (chap. 27), never puts himself forward in any way yet finds himself a nucleus of social and cosmic activity.

> Not presenting himself, he is radiant. Not thinking himself right, he is famous. Not pushing himself forward, he is meritorious. Not pitying himself, he is eminent. (chap. 22)

The *Dao de jing* is a good example of a text where the political quality of *de* as virtue is conflated with the more psychological aspect of *de* as inherent life force. In this latter sense, *de* indicates the essential character of anyone or anything, effective in interaction with people and things. The same is also apparent in other philosophical texts. Thus, Confucius says that "the *de* of the ruler is wind; that of the people is grass" (*Lunyu* 12.19); and the correspondence system of the five phases, which fully developed in the Han dynasty, describes its different aspects as the *wu de* or the "five powers" (see Yates, 1997).

In the *Zhuangzi* (the *Book of Master Zhuang*, the second major text of ancient Daoism, compiled in the third century BCE), this more physical yet intangible aspect of *de* is made clear in a chapter called "The Sign of Virtue Complete" (chap. 5), and particularly in the story of the suckling pigs. Told in the voice of Confucius, it tells of a group of little pigs nursing at the body of their dead mother. "After a while they gave a start and ran away, leaving the body behind, because they could no longer see their likeness in her. . . . They loved not her body but the thing that moved her body"(i.e., her *de*). By the same token, several other stories in the same chapter tell of people who have lost a part of their body (maimed in war or as punishment) but are in no way impaired in their *de*, their inherent life force—the thing that moves the body—still being complete.

To sum up, *de* means the inherent force and power that moves the world and makes people and animals come to life. It can be held to a greater or lesser degree, be purer or cruder, superior or inferior. When strong and radiant, it imparts itself to others and creates harmony and good government, thus resulting in a "virtuous" situation and imbuing its carrier with virtue—in the original sense of *virtus*, the power that makes a man strong and valiant. When lost, it results in death or the loss of inherent integrity—both cosmic and moral—which in turn causes political corruption and the downfall of dynasties.

Dao and *de* in combination occur mainly in Daoist texts. The *Dao de jing* is the classic example. Divided into eighty-one chapters, the text also has two major parts, a *Dao jing*, and a *De jing*. The former discusses the more cosmic dimensions of life and the larger perspective of Daoist thought; the latter focuses on the concrete activities and patterns of daily life. *De* here describes the activation of *dao* in the visible cycles of existence; that is, *dao* at the periphery. Both parts are of equal importance in the text, but while the standard version of the *Dao de jing* places the *dao* part first, the manuscripts found at Mawangdui (168 BCE) reverse the order (see Henricks, 1989).

A fifth-century religious Daoist text that takes up the *Dao de jing* in its mystical dimension and links it to practices of ritual and self-cultivation also discusses the relationship between *dao* and *de*. Section 10 of the *Xisheng jing* (Scripture of western ascension) relates *dao* and *de* and connects both to the social virtues of Confucianism:

> In *dao*, make nonbeing the highest; in *de* make kindness your master. In ceremony, make righteousness your feeling; in acting, make grace your friend. In benevolence, make advantage your ideal; in faith, make efficaciousness your goal. . . .When kindness, social responsibility, ceremony, and faith are lost, *dao* and *de* are also discarded, they perish and decay. When social *de* is not substantiated by *dao*, it will be supported only by material wealth. (Kohn, 1991, p. 242)

In the same way, the texts suggests that "the way the good person acts in the world can be compared to the bellows: he never contends with others, his *de* always depends on *dao*. This is because he is empty and void and utterly free from desires" (sect. 18). *Dao* and *de* in this text are thus seen as closely related, and one cannot be cultivated without the other. More importantly, the concept of *de* is expanded to include the various specific virtues of Confucian society.

The most detailed Daoist discussion of the relation of *dao* and *de* is found in the *Daoti lun* (On the embodiment of *dao*), a short scholastic treatise associated with Sima Chengzhen (647–735), the twelfth patriarch of Highest Clarity (Shangqing) Daoism. According to the text, "*dao* is all-pervasive; it transforms all from the beginning. *De* arises in its following; it completes all beings to their end. They appear in birth and the completion of life. In the world, they have two different names, yet fulfilling their activities, they return to the same ancestral ground. *Dao* and *de* are two and yet always one. Therefore, there is no *dao* outside of the omnipresence of *de*. There is no *de* different from the completion of life through *dao*. They are one and still appear as two. *Dao* is found in endless transformation and pervasive omnipresence. *De* shines forth in the completion of life and in following along. They are always one; they are always two. Two in one, they are all-pervasive. All-pervasive, they can yet be distinguished. Thus their names are *dao* and *de*" (*Daoti lun* 1a; see Kohn, 1998, p. 130).

According to this, *dao* and *de* are two aspects of the underlying creative power of life; they need each other and depend on each other. They are different yet the same, separate yet one, nameless yet named, at rest yet in constant movement. Pervading all, penetrating all, they are indistinct, yet can also be distinguished and named, creating a particular vision of reality. Names and reality, then, raise the problem of epistemology and knowledge of *dao*. Both names and reality ultimately belong to the same underlying structure that essentially can never be grasped. But they are also an active part of the world.

The practical application of this concept of *dao* and *de* as two aspects of the same underlying power is realized in Daoist cultivation. Through mystical practice, adepts strip off all names and classifications in their minds, and allow the "chaos perfected" nature of *dao* to emerge. *Chaos*, as the text explains, means "without distinctions," something, not a thing, that cannot be called by any name. *Perfected* means "total and centered in itself," some not-thing that has no referent outside of itself. Speaking of self or beings as "chaos perfected" thus creates a dichotomy that is not there originally. Any name, even that attached to the human body, arises from a conscious self and is mere projection. The concept is a formal expression of a perceived difference—it is unrelated to the being as being, as chaos perfected (*Daoti lun* 5a).

Knowledge of *dao* is thus a contradiction in terms, yet that is precisely what Daoism is about, what adepts strive to realize. It can only be attained in utter so-being, a state that is both empty and serene and not empty and not serene at the same time. It thereby comes close to *dao*, which embodies emptiness and rests originally in serenity, yet is also actualized in the living world and moves along with beings and things (*Daoti lun* 5b).

The close connection of *de* to *dao* in this vision is applied to guide practitioners to an integrated mystical vision of the universe and lead them toward the attainment of sagehood and oneness with *dao*. *De* helps to explain why, "if there is no difference between all beings and *dao*, should one cultivate it at all?" The answer is that "cultivation makes up for the discrepancy, however minor, between the root and its embodiment, and leads back to original nonbeing" (*Daoti lun* 8b). *De*, the visible, tangible, and active part of *dao* in the world is the bridge that allows the first step in this direction—a major stepping stone in the recovery of the original flow of life in *dao*.

See Also Chinese Religion, overview article; Daoism, overview article.

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Livia Kohn (2005)

DAOCHUO (562–645), known in Japan as Dōshaku; Chinese pioneer of Pure Land Buddhism in East Asia. Daochuo advocated devotion to Amitābha Buddha and rebirth in his Pure Land as the only practice in our age that would guarantee salvation. Although Pure Land devotion was popular among most Mahāyāna Buddhists as a supplementary practice, Daochuo followed Tanluan (c. 488–c. 554) in regarding it as necessary for salvation. Other forms of Buddhism he branded as the "path of the sages" *(shengdao),* too difficult to practice during these times.

A religious crisis caused in part by the bewildering demands of Indian Buddhist texts in the eyes of Chinese practitioners was exacerbated by famine and war in the Bingzhou area of Shansi Province where Daochuo lived, and he became the first Pure Land thinker to proclaim that the ten-thousand-year historical period predicted by the scriptures for the final decline of Buddhism (i.e., the *mofa;* Jpn., *mappō*) was at hand. Accordingly, he deemed traditional practices inadequate since no one could attain enlightenment based on self-effort. For Daochuo, the only hope was through outside help. He preached that the *Wuliangshou jing* (the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra*) was designed for this period and that reliance on the compassionate vows of the Buddha Amitābha—which guarantee people of ordinary religious capacities rebirth in his Pure Land followed by speedy and painless enlightenment there—was the only soteriologically effective action remaining.

After his conversion to Pure Land in 609, Daochuo took up residence in the Xuanzhong Monastery. There, he lectured over two hundred times on the *Kuan wu-liang-shou ching (*Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra)* and advocated its practices, especially the vocal recitation of Amitābha's name *(nianfo;* Jpn., *nembutsu).* Departing from the view of Tanluan, for whom *nianfo* involved a transcendent quality of mystical union with Amitābha's name, Daochuo was the first Chinese Buddhist to teach reliance on verbal recitation, which was to be aided by bushels of beans or rosaries to record the number of recitations. (Daochuo himself is alleged to have recited the name of Amitābha as much as seventy thousand times a day.) As a consequence, Pure Land devotion spread rapidly among the laity under the slogan "chant the Buddha's name and be reborn in the Pure Land" *(nianfo wangsheng)* and rosaries became ubiquitous in Chinese Buddhism.

Because the prajñāpāramitā literature affirmed that reality is characterized by both form and emptiness, Daochuo argued for the legitimacy of using verbal recitations and attention to the physical aspect of Amitābha and his Pure Land. These practices, he believed, were temporary expedients to lead people to formlessness, nonattachment, and nonduality after rebirth in the Pure Land. In his only surviving writing, the *Anloji,* Daochuo acknowledges that understanding the Pure Land as formless is superior to seeing it as form, and that one's original motivation should be a desire for enlightenment *(bodhicitta)* in order to save others, not just desire for the bliss of Pure Land. However, according to the Mahāyāna doctrine of "two truths," those who understand the ultimate truth of emptiness are able to use the conventional truth of form to save beings, thus legitimizing temporary attachment to concrete forms in Pure Land devotionalism.

The most important disciple of Daochuo was Shandao (613–681), who wrote systematic works that firmly established Pure Land as a major religious tradition in East Asia and influenced Honen in Japan. It was the sense of crisis and urgency that permeates the *Anloji* that dramatized the necessity of Pure Land devotion, while the concrete methods of practice that Daochuo promoted made Pure Land attractive and accessible to common people. Pure Land devotion thus became a popular social movement in China for the first time, and the sound of Amitābha's name has been chanted unceasingly in Chinese Buddhist worship ever since.

SEE ALSO Honen; Jingtu; Mappō Shandao; Tanluan.

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DAOISM

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
THE DAOIST RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY
DAOIST LITERATURE
HISTORY OF STUDY

DAOISM: AN OVERVIEW

The English word *Daoism*, with its nominalizing suffix, has no counterpart in the Chinese language. The term has been used in Western writings on China to refer to a wide range of phenomena. First, scholars employ the term *Daoism* to designate early philosophical texts classified as representing *daojia* (schools of the Dao) in early Chinese bibliographic works. Some of these, such as the *Dao de jing* (The classic of the way and its power), also known as the *Laozi* after its supposed author, propounded methods of governance based on mystical gnosis, inaction on the part of the ruler, and a metaphysics centered on the concept of the Dao. Others, such as the eponymous *Zhuangzi*, emphasized mystical union with the Dao and equanimity in the face of death and other natural processes.

Second, given the staunch antipathy toward Confucian methods of social organization common to texts classified *daojia*, the term *Daoism* has been employed in modern scholarship to mark a wide range of anti-Confucian, utopian, and escapist strains of thought. For instance, eremitic withdrawal from government service, a practice with deep roots in the Confucian tradition, was until recently routinely portrayed as "Daoism."

Third, and even more loosely, *Daoism* has been used in works on China to express a sort of free-flowing effortlessness informing individual endeavors, especially the arts of calligraphy, painting, music, and the like. Fourth, *Daoism* has been used to refer to any Chinese religious practice that is not identifiably Confucian or Buddhist. Fifth, and more strictly, the term *Daoism* is used by scholars to translate the Chinese term *daojiao* (literally, "teachings of the Dao"), the closest analogue for our term *Daoism.* The Chinese, like the Japanese, had no formal name for their native religion until the arrival of Buddhism. The term *daojiao* was thus fairly widely adopted to distinguish Daoist religious practice from *fojiao*, "the teachings of the Buddha," or Buddhism.

The present entry deals solely with these religious movements. Even with our narrower focus, problems of definition remain. Most Daoist organizations lacked or failed to emphasize elements deemed essential in other religions. With some exceptions, most Daoists throughout history would agree that their religion did not have a single founder, a closed canon of scriptures, a unified creed, exclusive criteria of lay membership, or a stable pantheon. Historically speaking, the most important structuring force was not internal, but external to the religion. In its efforts to impose order on the realm, the state from time to time sought to control Daoism through overseeing the initiation of clerics, the number of temples, the approved canon, and the like. While none of these attempts were ultimately successful, they did provide impetus for stricter organizational cohesion than would otherwise have been the case.

The high degree of doctrinal flexibility deployed by Daoist organizations often leads modern scholars to debate which specific ideas and practices might or might not be called *Daoist.* A more productive approach, one that emphasizes not what Daoism is, but how various traditions functioned within society, will notice how Daoism has remained an open system, accepting elements drawn from diverse sources and organizing them according to a constellation of key principles and practices. None of these constituents are exclusive to or original with the Daoist traditions. Yet the distinctiveness of the religion lies in the combination of such elements into a structure of beliefs and practices with distinct priorities. These priorities are explored in the following section.

KEY ASPECTS OF DAOISM. The defining concept of the Daoist religion is the Dao itself, understood in a particular way. The term *dao*, originally denoting a "way" or "path," came to be used in pre-Han philosophical discourse to refer to the proper course of human conduct and, by extension, to the teachings of any philosophical school, especially insofar as these were based on the venerated ways of the sages of antiquity. In the *Laozi*, the *Zhuangzi*, and other early writings, the Dao came to be seen not as human order, but as the metaphysical basis of natural order itself, inchoate yet capable of being comprehended by the sage, primordial yet eternally present. This *Dao* of the early thinkers informs religious Daoist texts as well, but with an added dimension of great significance. For Daoists, the Dao underwent further transformations, analogous to those it underwent at the beginnings of time, to incarnate itself in human history. The Dao itself is seen as anthropomorphic, possessed of likes and dislikes, desires, sentiments, and motivations—the full range of human emotions. At the same time, the Dao might act in history through avatars, such as Laozi, who were fully human in appearance. Finally, a number of deities, including those resident in the human body, are regarded as divine hypostases of the Dao.

Qi has been variously translated as "breath," "pneuma," "vapor," or "energy." Seen as the basic building block of all things in the universe, *qi* is both energy and matter. In its primordial form, before division, the Dao is described as "nothingness," void and null. The first sign that it was about to divide, a process that would eventuate in the creation of the sensible world, was the appearance within this nothingness of *qi*, a term that originally seems to have meant "breath" or "steam." All physical objects in the universe are thus composed of relatively stable *qi*, while rarified *qi* is responsible for motion and energy and is the vital substance of life. In that the Dao is characterized by regular and cyclical change, the transformations of *qi* could be described in terms of recurring cycles, marked off in terms of *yin*, *yang*, the five phases, or the eight trigrams of the *Yi jing.* In such interlocking systems, *qi* was the intervening matrix by which things sharing the same coordinates in the cycle might resonate and influence one another.

Daoists, building both on such cosmological speculation and on various practices for extending life that featured the induction into the body of pure, cosmic *qi*, came to regard *qi* as the primary medium by which one might apprehend and eventually join with the Dao. Most meditation practices, in one way or another, involve swallowing *qi* and circulating it within the body. The primary difference between Daoist meditations and similar hygiene practices is that Daoists visualize the substance either in deified form or as the astral sustenance for *qi*-formed deities resident in the body. In fact, all of the gods are held to be concretions of *qi* from the earliest moments of the Dao's division. *Qi*, particularly that mysterious substance known as *yuan qi* (primal *qi*) thus bridges the gulf between the sensible and the supramundane worlds.

Macrocosm-microcosm. While all existence is seen to be part of the Dao, movements away from its primordial condition of unity are held to be destructive, evil, and transgressive. The perfect human is thus imagined to be a flawless microcosm of the cosmic whole, with the bodily spirits perfectly attuned to their counterparts in the macrocosm. The most common depiction of the body in Daoist writings holds that it is divided into three realms, corresponding to the tripartite cosmic division into heaven, humanity, and earth. A spot in the brain, between and behind the eyebrows, controls the palaces of the head; the heart, organ of sentience and emotion, controls the center; and a spot above the pubis, center of reproduction, controls the life force. These are sometimes called the "three primes" or the "three cinnabar fields." From an initial unity before birth, the human body moves towards increased diversity and closer to death.

Daoist ritual is much concerned with identifying and combating the forces of aging, degeneration, and illness. The goal, at once temporal and spatial, is to bring the various aspects of the body back into unified harmony. Beings who existed in this state are called *xian* (Transcendents) or *zhenren* (Perfected). Generally, *xian* had once been human, while *zhenren* are pure manifestations of aspects of the Dao, though this distinction is not always strictly maintained.

In the correlative cosmology of Chinese science developed during the early Han dynasty, the earth was held to mirror the heavens, so that each portion of the realm corresponded precisely with a sector of the heavens. This correspondence was the basis for the determination of the celestial omens that were regularly reported to the throne. The pole star and surrounding constellations corresponded to the emperor and his court, so that "invasions" of meteors or comets in that portion of the sky were held to be particularly dire portents. In addition, four (and later five) mountains, or "marchmounts," were designated the corners and center of the square earth, symbolically encompassing the realm and corresponding to the five phases. These mountains, which support the sky dome, were thus points where communication with heaven was easiest. Most important in this regard was the eastern marchmount, Taishan, associated with the east, the rising of the sun, and new beginnings. Here a number of Chinese emperors ascended to perform a rite called the *fengshan* to seal with heaven their mandate to rule.

These concepts were further developed in Daoism. Daoist ritual often focuses on the northern dipper, whose movements mark the passage of time, and on the palaces of the apex of heaven, the higher gods of which are described in great detail. The other asterisms, the sun, and the moon also house gods responsible for the orderly revolutions of these celestial bodies who could be accessed through ritual. Eventually, all of the marchmounts boasted Daoist temples.

Bureaucratic pantheons. Imperial symbolism extends into almost every aspect of the Daoist religion. Aspects of the Dao are visualized as the lord of heaven with a dizzying number of spirit-officials. Just as the well-run kingdom depended on the labors of its bureaucracy, so the workings of the cosmos depend on this pantheon of spirits. The human body is held to house a corresponding pantheon of spirits. Daoist methods for communicating with the spirits of the body and the heavens involve both visualization meditations and the actual delivery of documents, swallowed for the internal spirits and buried, submerged, or burned for delivery to the cosmic pantheon. Illness, like disorders in the human realm, can be cured through such petitioning rites, the goal of which is to bring disharmony to the attention of the highest gods. When the priest presents such documents, he or she is acting as an official in this celestial pantheon. Because of this, Daoist priests are sometimes called "officials of the Dao."

The gods who fill various ranks in the pantheon, including the highest, are not fixed. Daoists hold that gods, as part of a changeable cosmos, are themselves subject to change and can be promoted or demoted. A number of rituals end with a procedure to "establish merit," whereby the gods invoked in the rite are recommended for promotion in gratitude for their prompt aid. Divinities from Buddhism and the gods worshiped by local cults could also be absorbed into the pantheon. New revelations almost always include information on new gods or rearrangements of the existing pantheon.

Ritual. Meditations and ritual practices are designed to bring individuals and communities back to a state of integration with the Dao. Modeled on the dawn assemblies held by the human monarch to review his officials, the basic ritual program brings the Daoist priest in vision before the assembled bureaucracy of heaven where, through his merit, he can formally request the rectification of disease or other disorder. Ritual robes, headgear, and paraphernalia, all carefully described in Daoist manuals, are fashioned after the styles of the imperial court. Communication with the spirits of heaven takes place sometimes through recitation of petitions, sometimes through their presentation by burning. In addition, some documents—talismans and longer texts—are written in "celestial script," an imaginative form of writing loosely resembling ancient forms of Chinese graphs, but illegible to ordinary mortals.

One striking feature of Daoist ritual is the way it collapses space and time. The ritual space is constructed to symbolize the cosmos, overlaid with the vertical dimension of the center, which represents the highest courts of the heavens. Temporally, Daoist ritual seeks to bring its performers back to the moment of cosmogenesis, when the Dao was integrated and whole. In its fully developed form, Daoist ritual became a colorful pageant that had a marked influence on Chinese drama. The ascent of the priests to the courts of heaven is outwardly symbolized with banners, retinues of acolytes bearing incense and flowers, and ritual pacing accompanied by austere music.

Eschatology. In its concern with time, Daoism adopted the notion of cyclical return common to ancient Chinese metaphysics. One component of the "Mandate of Heaven" concept was that empires rose and fell in a regular cycle, a cycle that was eventually associated with the cyclical progress of the five phases. Daoist contributions to this system of thought came to the fore particularly when the religion was employed by one or another aspirant to the throne to support his program. But, given that Daoism came into being as a religious entity during the final days of the Han empire, dire pronouncements concerning an imminent sweeping away of the unjust and the establishment of a new kingdom of Great Peace were always part of the religion, helping to support its program of moral reform. One early version promised that the righteous would be the "seed people" of the coming age, chosen to repopulate the new divinely sanctioned kingdom. Equally important were the contributions of Buddhist scripture, whose vast cosmological visions and descriptions of "kalpa cycles" came to inform eschatological writings.

Morality. The idea that humans, through indulging their desires and hoarding what should be shared, block the correct circulation of energies that should exist in the ideal Daoist kingdom has been present from the beginning. As noted above, illness was seen by early Daoists as a sign of such transgression. Followers were urged to repent of transgressions and to petition the deities to repair the imbalances caused thereby. The primary transgression mentioned in Daoist writings seems to be covetousness or desire. Even when providing explanations for the *Laozi*, however, early Daoists did not follow that text in its rejection of Confucian virtues such as humaneness and responsibility. Instead, they argued that such virtues were too often merely outward and advocated the practice of "secret virtue," good acts performed secretly so that only the gods would know and reward the agent. Eventually, Daoist texts and morality tracts regularly came to include lists of precepts to be followed by priests and by the laity.

Relations with other religions. The doctrinal flexibility of Daoist practice meant that the system was quite accommodating to Buddhism, and later to such foreign imports as Manichaeism. This ability to absorb the beliefs and practices of other religions could elicit a negative response from proponents of the targeted religion. One idea that resurfaced several times in Chinese history was that Buddhism was but a foreign version of Daoism, created by Laozi himself when he disappeared through the western gates of the Chinese kingdom. Insofar as this story was related to show that Daoism was fit for the Han peoples, while Buddhism had been specifically crafted for "foreign barbarians," it was rightly seen by Buddhists as an attempt to co-opt their religion. Books propounding this theory were imperially banned several times.

Most Daoist adaptations of Buddhist doctrine and practice were innocent of such motives. Since Buddhist sūtras were translated into Chinese, it was natural that Buddhist doctrine had to be explained in native terms. Daoism often informed or, through adapting Buddhist doctrine and practice to its own uses, reconfigured those native understandings. While appropriations went both ways, it is undeniable that many features of the Daoist religion are adaptations of ideas brought in with Buddhism. The distinctive Daoist ideas of rebirth, of the underworld purgatories, of monastic life—to name but a few—all grew from productive interactions with Buddhism. Generations of Chinese scholar-officials and Buddhist scholiasts sought to clarify the boundaries between the two religions, but the attempt proved less than successful. Indeed, as Erik Zürcher (1983) has remarked, China's three great religions—Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism—might be envisioned as a floating iceberg with three peaks. Above the waterline, the peaks are distinct, but below, where the religion of the common masses is situated, they merge into undifferentiation.

Such is not the case for Daoist interactions with the popular, or common, religion of the Chinese people, which is centered on cults to the powerful dead who are often consulted through mediums and propitiated with meat sacrifice. Originally, Daoist organizations forthrightly banned all such worship of "blood eaters," arguing that these unholy gods only drained the sustenance of those who worshipped them. Eventually, a few such figures were admitted to the Daoist pantheon and other associated practices, such as fortune-telling, were allowed. Nonetheless, most Daoist lineages strove first and foremost to distinguish their practice from that of common cult religion.

DAOISM AT THE BEGINNING OF THE IMPERIAL ERA: FIRST AND SECOND CENTURIES CE. As mentioned above, the Daoist religion began with the founding of the Way of the Celestial Masters (*Tianshi dao*) in the second century CE. Recent archeological finds and increased scholarly attention have begun to clarify the lively religious scene of the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) that provided the backdrop to this event and contributed elements that were shaped into the Daoist synthesis.

From later Warring States times, shadowy *fangshi* or "masters of prescriptions" sought patronage with various rulers, promulgating esoteric techniques passed from master to disciple. These included knowledge of paradises beyond the seas, alchemical, magical, and medical techniques, and the ability to contact spirits. From such sources there grew a widespread popular belief in the existence of *xian*, "Transcendents" or "Immortals," winged beings who could bypass death, travel vast distances to inhabit remote paradises, or confer blessings on deserving mortals. One of the most powerful of these was the Queen Mother of the West, who was held to reside on the mythical cosmic mountain Kunlun. In the opening years of the common era, a panic spread through the Shandong peninsula when farmers left their fields and traveled west to greet what they said was the imminent arrival of this deity. The Queen Mother would eventually find a place in the Daoist pantheon. From around the same time we have records of others sacrificing to the deified Laozi, regarding him as a salvific, cosmic deity in the fashion of the archaic deity Taiyi.

Another aspect of Han belief that was adapted into Daoism was the idea that documents addressed to the bureaucracy of the otherworld should be interred with the dead to facilitate the transfer from one realm to the other and to ensure that the dead did not return to injure the living. Archeologically recovered documents, addressed to the Yellow, or Heavenly, Thearch and his officers attest to this belief.

Perhaps the most important ingredient, however, was the constellation of ideas surrounding Han imperial religion. These include the belief that heaven responds directly to human actions, rewarding good and evil, and that heaven forecasts its will through signs and portents. The Han court invested a good deal of administrative energy in collecting and analyzing such portents. This led to the composition of apocryphal addenda (*chenwei*) to the imperially-sanctioned Confucian classics that detailed the systems underlying celestial omens and explained how to interpret them. According to these texts, heaven regularly intervened in human history by sending its envoys in human form. Normally, these divinely engendered beings were seen to be the founders of new dynasties. But cultural heroes, such as Confucius, were also born in this fashion.

In the chaotic years leading up to the fall of the Han dynasty, a number of aspirants to the throne, holding that celestial approbation had departed from the Liu house, employed religious persuasions of the sort that had supported the divine mandate of the dynasty to mobilize followers. Among the rebel groups mentioned by court historians was the organization to which later Daoists traced the beginnings of their dispensation, the Celestial Masters. Sometimes mentioned by historians in the same tone was a more infamous group, the Yellow Turbans.

Centered in the eastern reaches of the Han empire, the Yellow Turban rebellion, led by a man named Zhang Jue, was a well-planned insurrection organized around a millennial religious ideology. Zhang called his movement the "Way of Great Peace" and, under the slogan that the "Yellow Heaven is about to rise," sought to position himself and his followers as the vanguard of a new and perfect society. It is likely that this ideology was drawn from a revealed book, the *Scripture of Great Peace*, perhaps a version of a work that had been promulgated earlier in the Han dynasty by a court faction. The *Scripture of Great Peace*, which survives only in fifth- or sixth-century recensions, promotes an ideal social structure based on cosmic principles, particularly the idea that the moral action of each person determines not only individual wellbeing, but also the health of the body politic and the smooth functioning of the cosmos.

The Yellow Turbans converted people to their cause through healing practices, including incantation, doses of water infused with the ashes of talismans, and confession of sins. The *Scripture of Great Peace* relates confession to the idea that political and cosmic disease is caused by humans and must be cured on the individual level. Sin, in this text, is the failure to act in accord with one's social role, thereby blocking the circulation of the Dao's energies. Those who should labor with their bodies fail to do so, but live in idleness; those who possess wealth keep it for their own enjoyment rather than allowing it to circulate; and those who should teach virtue only "accumulate" it for their personal benefit. These and other blockages to the circulation of goods and life forces lead, by this account, to illness and death. This strict correspondence between microcosm and macrocosm was to be a prominent feature of later Daoist practice.

Zhang Jue organized his followers into thirty-six administrative regions. The new age of the Yellow Heaven was to dawn in the year 184, the beginning of a new sexagesimal cycle by the Chinese calendar. Despite well-laid plans, news of Zhang Jue's uprising reached the court and the Yellow Turbans were defeated within the year.

The ideologies and practices of the early Celestial Masters were superficially similar to those of the Yellow Turbans. Historians note that the early Celestial Masters knew of the *Scripture of Great Peace*, but there is no conclusive evidence of any direct connection between the two movements. The Celestial Masters revered as founder Zhang Ling (Zhang Daoling in Daoist texts), a man of Pei (in modern Jiangsu province) who traveled to the kingdom of Shu (the western part of modern Sichuan) to study the Dao on Mount Cranecall. Daoist texts record that there, in the year 142 CE, he was visited by the "Newly appeared Lord Lao," the deified Laozi. Laozi granted him the title "Heavenly [-appointed] Teacher" or Celestial Master. On Ling's death, the title of Celestial Master was passed on to his son Heng, and eventually to his grandson, Lu. The line of transmission, it is claimed, remains unbroken this day, but the first three Celestial Masters, and their wives, are the most important. Later Daoist ritual regularly includes the invocation of their names.

Some scholars have suggested, however, that the legends of the first two Celestial Masters were fabrications, since only Zhang Lu is mentioned in non-Daoist historical records. Nonetheless, a stele inscription found in the modern province of Sichuan, recording the initiation of a group of libationers, or priests, in 173 CE, attests to the fact that Celestial Master practice existed at that time and already had produced a corpus of scriptures.

The Celestial Masters divided their followers into twenty-four parishes or dioceses, each headed by a libationer. But this hierarchy was not organized along traditional lines. Women and non-Han peoples—two groups so devalued in traditional Chinese society that accounts of them, if they appeared at all, were placed at the end of standard histories—were welcomed as full members of the Celestial Masters' community. Both could serve as libationers, and men were encouraged to emulate virtues specifically associated with women.

Libationers instructed the people by means of the *Dao de jing*, which was to be recited chorally so that even the illiterate could be instructed. The *Xiang'er* commentary to the *Dao de jing*, attributed to Zhang Lu and surviving in part in a Tang dynasty manuscript recovered from Dunhuang, attests to the novel ways in which they interpreted the text.

As Terry Kleeman (1994) has shown, the central teaching of the Celestial Masters, called "the Correct and Orthodox Covenant with the Powers," held that "the gods do not eat or drink, the master does not accept money." This stricture, as clarified in the *Xiang'er* commentary, mandates the rejection of blood sacrifice, central to popular and imperial cult. In place of gods, and their priests, who could be swayed by offerings, the Celestial Masters revered deities who were pure emanations of the Dao and ate only *qi*. Agents of this unseen bureaucracy resided even in the human body and so could not be deceived. They would be moved only by good deeds or ritually presented petitions of contrition. In any event, they kept detailed records of each person's merits and demerits.

The Celestial Masters cured illness with confession and the ingestion of talisman water. The ill were to confess their transgressions in specially constructed "chambers of quietude" and to present the necessary written petitions to the offices of heaven, earth, and water. Three times a year—the seventh of the first month, the seventh of the seventh month, and the fifth of the tenth month by the lunar calendar—people were to assemble at their assigned parish. There, libationers would verify records of death and birth, and communal meals would be held. On this occasion, members of the community were to present a good-faith offering of five pecks of rice. This gave rise to an alternate name for the community, the "Way of the Five Pecks of Rice" or, in less favorable sources, "the rice bandits." Beyond these faith-offerings, the community was enjoined to perform acts of merit, such as the building of roads or the provision of free food for travelers.

As Kristofer Schipper (1982) shows in detail, libationers were also responsible for bestowing on the faithful registers recording the number of transcendent "generals," residents of their own bodies, that they were empowered to summon and control. Children of six years of age received a register with one general. By marriageable age, initiates could receive registers listing seventy-five generals, a number that they could double by performing the Celestial Master marriage ritual. This ritual, known as "merging *qi*" included instruction in a precise method of intercourse that could replenish the bodily forces of male and female participants, normally deficient in *yin* and *yang qi* respectively, without the exchange of bodily fluids that led to reproduction. As the *Xiang'er* commentary explains, the Dao wishes people to reproduce, but not to squander their vital energies. Later reformers were to criticize and rectify this practice, which was considered "lascivious" by outsiders.

By the end of the second century, Zhang's grandson, Zhang Lu, then head of the community, took sanctuary in the Hanzhong Valley, just north of the Sichuan basin and over 200 kilometers southwest of the Han capital of Chang'an (modern Xian). In 215 CE, Zhang Lu surrendered to Cao Cao, the Han general whose son was to inaugurate the Wei dynasty (220–265) of the Three Kingdoms period. As a result of this act of fealty, a large portion of the Celestial Master community was relocated from Hanzhong to areas farther north, while many of its leaders were enfeoffed or otherwise ennobled. While some followers doubtless remained from the early period in Sichuan, the spread of Daoism throughout China as a whole begins with this diaspora of the original Celestial Master community.

A fascinating document found in the Daoist canon, the "Commands and Admonitions for the Families of the Great Dao," dated to the first of the three yearly assemblies in 255, gives us some idea of how the community fared under the Wei kingdom. Delivered in the voice of Zhang Lu, who had doubtless died by that time, the document warns the community of the impending fall of the dynasty and excoriates them for lapses in practice. From this document, we learn that the system of parishes had fallen into disarray and that a number of new texts, including the important *Scripture of the Yellow Court* were in circulation. The "Admonitions" further states that Zhang Lu himself, or at least the medium who now spoke in the voice of Zhang, authored the *Scripture of the Yellow Court*, which presents detailed meditations on the gods of the body.

DAOISM OF THE SIX DYNASTIES: FOURTH THROUGH SIXTH CENTURIES. We hear no more of the Celestial Masters until the Jin dynasty's (265–420) hold on northern China began to weaken early in the fourth century. A group of ethnic Ba families, some two hundred thousand strong, returned to the region of Chengdu where Li Te inaugurated the short-lived theocracy known as the Cheng-Han (302–347). Other Celestial Master adherents came into the region around present-day Nanjing when the Jin dynasty relocated there in 317. The writings of Ge Hong (283–343), a member of an influential southern gentry family, provide detailed information on the vibrant religious scene that the Celestial Masters encountered.

At a young age, Ge Hong formally received from his tutor—a man who claimed that his lineage extended through Ge's great-uncle—"Grand Purity" alchemical scriptures and the *Esoteric Writings of the Three Sovereigns*. Throughout the remainder of his life, Ge collected as many such texts as he could. Though his poverty prevented him from ever concocting an elixir himself, Ge Hong became an ardent proponent of practices of transcendence that extended back to the *fangshi* of the Han. Two works bearing his name have survived. The inner chapters of the eponymous *Baopu zi* (Master who embraces simplicity), known by Ge Hong's style name, represent a spirited defense of the arts of transcendence and include transcriptions of some of the methods Ge studied. Ge ranks such practices, listing herbal recipes meant to prolong life as a distant second to the ingestion of the mineral and metallic products of the alchemist's furnace. The *Traditions of Divine Transcendents*, which survives only in later redactions, provides vivid hagiographies of important transcendent figures, including Laozi and Zhang Daoling, who is here portrayed as a practitioner of alchemy.

While Ge Hong shows only a limited awareness of Celestial Master religion, as Robert Campany (2002) has shown, his writings provide invaluable testimony to the ways religious practitioners operated in the society of the time, gaining reputations for their esoteric arts, seeking patronage, and initiating disciples. Further, Ge's written works attest to several scriptural traditions that were eventually to find their way into the Daoist canon. The most important of these are the two traditions into which Ge was initiated as a youth and the *Five Talismans of Lingbao*, a book of visualization practice and herbal recipes. Indeed, it was through Ge's own family, as well as families related to his by marriage, that Celestial Master Daoism was to be reshaped through an infusion of these southern traditions.

Between the years 363 and 370, the Daoist Yang Xi (330–c. 386) was employed as a spiritual advisor by a gentry family related to Ge's through marriage. Yang's patrons, who had employed before him a Celestial Master libationer, were Xu Mi (303–373), a minor official at the imperial court, and his son Hui (341–c. 370). From his meditation chamber, Yang brought to them enticing revelations from the unseen world. These concerned both the whereabouts in the underworld or heavens of the relatives and acquaintances of the Xus and their circle, as well as complete scriptures outlining new practices. Transmitted from person to person among this privileged group, Yang's *Shangqing* (Upper clarity or supreme purity) scriptures and revealed fragments of divine instruction eventually came to be collected in the first of the tripartite divisions of the Daoist canon. Thereafter, the Shangqing scriptures, augmented by later revelations and additions, became the center of one school of Daoist practice, with its own patriarchs, priests, temples, and liturgies.

Several features distinguished the Shangqing scriptures from the mass of scriptural material produced during this period. First of all, the texts emanated from the highest reaches of the heavens. The Transcendents (*xian*) of earlier scripture occupy only lower positions in the celestial hierarchy. Above them are ranks of even more exalted and subtle beings, the Perfected (or "Authentic Ones," *zhenren*), a term originating in the *Zhuangzi* but here made part of a bureaucratic pantheon of celestial deities. The Perfected, male and female, are clothed in resplendent garb, described in terms of mists and auroras. They are decked out with tinkling gems, symbols of their high office. Their bodies are formed of the purest *qi* and glow with a celestial radiance as they move about the heavens in chariots of light. The texts such beings brought were likewise exalted in that they described the practices the Perfected themselves employed to subtilize their bodies. In fact, one form the Shangqing scriptures take is that of a biography of one or another of the Perfected, replete with descriptions of the practices associated with that deity.

Secondly, the Shangqing scriptures clearly earned their eventual popularity in large part through the compelling way in which they are written. Yang Xi must be counted among the major innovators in the history of Chinese letters. The language of his texts—both poetry and prose—is abstruse, dense, and obscurely allusive. It seems to exemplify as much as express the mysterious qualities of the spirit world to which he had been granted privileged access as the result of his strivings. The macrocosm-microcosm identity familiar from other Daoist texts becomes for Yang license for a multivalence of signification whereby literally whole passages refer simultaneously to, for instance, the placement of palaces in the heavens and the arrangement of spirit-residences in the viscera. Yang frequently uses such devices as synesthetic metaphor to portray how apparent contradictions collapse in the Dao. In addition, because Yang's revelations described spirit marriages with young female Perfected awaiting both him and the Xus, one cannot discount the erotic component of Yang's productions. Yang's unique style was immediately and widely imitated, both by writers of Daoist scripture and by later secular writers.

Finally, the Shangqing texts were prized for their message. The Shangqing texts do not represent a radical break with the past. All of the meditations and rituals found in them have analogues in earlier religious literature. A number of scriptures contain improvements on earlier Celestial Master techniques, while one fragment proves to be a rewritten version of the Buddhist *Sūtra in Forty-two Sections*. What is really new is the way in which the constituent parts are modified to give preeminence to the guided meditations and visualizations of the practitioner. The meditation practice of the Shangqing scripture includes both visionary journeys into the heavens and more direct ways of working with the body.

Visionary journeys have an ancient pedigree in Chinese religion. In the Shangqing scriptures, the adept is instructed to perform purifications and then to visualize his or her body ascending to the sun, moon, stars, or up into the celestial timekeeper, the northern dipper. There, the adept imbibes astral sustenance, the food of the gods, pays homage to the gods, or exchanges documents with them. Practices aimed at perfecting the body also typically involve visualization. While there are quite a few references to drugs and elixirs in the Shangqing texts, the tradition tended to transform more physical practices into meditative experience. Generally, the spirits that inhabit the body are energized through the ingestion of pure *qi*, enjoined not to leave, and merged with their celestial counterparts. In some practices, the joining of bodily gods with those of the macrocosm functions as an interiorization of the Celestial Master sexual practice known as "merging *qi*." Other techniques teach ways of reenacting the process of gestation using the *qi* of the nine heavens to create an immortal body.

After the death of Yang and the Xus, the fragments of personal revelation and the scriptures Yang had received from the Perfected were scattered. The preservation of such a significant portion of Yang's writings is due to the efforts of Tao Hongjing (456–536), perhaps the foremost scholar of early Daoism. Tao collected the more personal revelations that Yang Xi wrote for the Xus in his *Zheng'ao* (Declarations of the Perfected), an extremely diverse work that includes records of the Perfected mates promised to Yang Xi and Xu Mi, injunctions to Xu Mi and Xu Hui concerning the details of their practice, letters between them, accounts of the underworld topography of Mount Mao, and even records of dreams. As this work cites a number of scriptures, it has proven invaluable to scholars' attempts to reconstruct Daoist history. In addition, Tao Hongjing edited a number of the scriptures that he was able to acquire and preserved annotated passages from them in his *Dengzhen yinjue* (Secret instructions on the ascent to perfection), which survives only in part.

At the very beginning of the fifth century, another southern corpus of scriptures began to emerge, attesting to yet another attempt to reform Daoist practice. These scriptures, collectively known as *Lingbao* (Numinous gem), represent at once a return to the communal practices of the Celestial Masters and a renewed attempt to make Daoism the common religion. The Lingbao scriptures drew upon the religious traditions of the day (*fangshi* practice, Han-period apocrypha, southern practices known to Ge Hong such as those found in the *Lingbao wufu jing* itself, Celestial Master Daoism, Shangqing Daoism, and Buddhism), sometimes copying entire sections of text and presenting them so as to accord with its central doctrines in order to fashion a new, universal religion for a unified China. While Lingbao proponents failed in this attempt—the emperor upon whom they based their hopes, Song Wudi (r. 420–422) failed to reunify the kingdom, and monks expert in the texts they plagiarized, Buddhist and Daoist alike, denounced their productions as forgeries—the Lingbao texts they produced did lead to a new Daoist unity.

While Lingbao descriptions of the spiritual cosmography of the human body differ little from those of the Shangqing scriptures, their soteriology are very different. The Lingbao texts describe an elaborate cosmic bureaucracy that has survived the destruction of the cosmos through countless kalpas, or "world-ages," a concept adapted from Buddhism. At the apex of the pantheon is the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Commencement, a deity who plays somewhat the same role in the Lingbao scriptures as the cosmic Buddha in Buddhist scriptures. By joining with the enduring Dao through keeping its precepts and conducting rituals for the salvation of others, adherents hope to ensure for themselves either a favorable rebirth "as a prince or marquis" or immediate promotion into the celestial bureaucracy. The hymns and liturgies of the scriptures reenact and prepare practitioners for this latter, final destination. This was the first instance in which a version of the Buddhist concept of rebirth was fully integrated into Daoist doctrine. Significantly, Daoists, holding that their religion valued life while Buddhism valued death, did not forward *nirvāṇa* (cessation) as a religious goal. Because later Daoist ritual practice was based on these early Lingbao texts, this explanation of rebirth was to become an enduring feature of the religion.

The moral component of the Lingbao scriptures—a mixture of traditional Chinese morality and Buddhist salvational ethics—is much more prominent than that found in earlier texts. There is also a pronounced proselytizing emphasis. The texts argue that contemporary Daoist and Buddhist practices are but variant paths that lead to the same goal and that the rewritten versions of some practices found in their pages are the original, authentic pronouncements of the Celestial Worthy from prior kalpas. As a result, the Lingbao scriptures give what amounts to the earliest attempt to grade religious practices, an emphasis that led Lu Xiujing (406–477), the Daoist who first catalogued the Lingbao scriptures, to also make a listing of all Daoist texts, entitled the Catalog of the Three Caverns. Lu's catalog originally comprised 1,228 *juan* (scrolls) of texts, of which 138 had not yet been revealed on earth. The texts were divided into three "caverns" or "comprehensive collections": *Dongzhen* (comprehending perfection, containing Shangqing texts), *Dongxuan* (comprehending the mysterious, containing Lingbao texts), and *Dongshen* (comprehending the spirits, containing early southern scriptures). All subsequent Daoist canons were organized into these "three caverns." Three deities, each regarded as a transformation of the former, were designated the ultimate sources of these three collections of texts. These were: (1) for Dongzhen, the Lord of Celestial Treasure, residing in the Heaven of Jade Clarity; (2) for Dongxuan, the Lord of Numinous Treasure, residing in the Heaven of Upper Clarity; and (3) for Dongshen, the Lord of Spiritual Treasure, residing in the Heaven of Grand Clarity. With some modifications, this trinity, also known as the "three pure ones," continued to be central to later Daoist ritual traditions.

In the north of China, reform of the Celestial Masters' practice took a different turn. In 415 and again in 423, Kou Qianzhi (365–448), a Celestial Masters' priest, received from the deified Laozi revelations containing codes explicitly meant to reform aberrant practice and lead to a more tightly organized ecclesia. With the help of a high official, he presented these to the throne of the Toba (a Turkish people) Wei dynasty (386–534). Because the foreign rulers in the north of China were interested in controlling religions that might disguise rebellion, the Toba emperor agreed to make Kou's new dispensation the official religion of the kingdom. The demand for orthodoxy increased to the extent that the emperor was eventually urged to proscribe Buddhism. The Daoist theocracy barely outlived Kou.

Subsequent northern emperors continued to harbor suspicions of unregulated religious practice, however, leading to a series of court debates between Buddhists and Daoists and concomitant attempts to abolish one religion or the other. The best documented of these occurred during the reign of Yuwen Yong, Emperor Wu of the Zhou dynasty (r. 560–578). Harboring the ambition to reunify China, Emperor Wu, who had himself received initiation into Daoist scriptures, held several debates between Buddhists and Daoists to determine which of their doctrines would best complement the Confucian state orthodoxy. Daoist apologists argued, apparently with some success, that their practice extended back into the prehistorical golden age of the Central Kingdom, while the Buddhist religion was a recent foreign import. But the debates were still inconclusive and the emperor charged one of his officials, Zhen Luan, to compose a treatise comparing the two religions. When Zhen produced the "Treatise Deriding the Dao," which debunked the claim of antiquity of Daoist scriptures and undermined the hope for a unifying ideology, the emperor ordered it burned and commissioned the scholarly monk Dao'an to write a new treatise, "Treatise on the Two Teachings." Both works survive in the Buddhist canon, providing scholars with opposition views regarding the Daoist practice of the day. Daoist apologists, on the other hand, preserved no similarly detailed documentation of the debates.

As would happen again and again throughout Chinese history, Emperor Wu's attempts at central control of religion were neither effective nor long lasting. In 574, he ordered that Buddhist and Daoist monks return to lay life and confiscated temple holdings. Later in the same year, he established a central Daoist temple, the Tongdao guan (Observatory for Comprehending the Dao) and commissioned the composition of an encyclopedic collection of Daoist writings, the *Wushang biyao* (Secret essentials of the most high). While the proscriptions did not endure beyond Emperor Wu's death in 578, the controversies continued as subsequent emperors attempted to co-opt the prestige of Buddhism and Daoism to bolster their dynastic designs. Within Daoism, the *Wushang biyao* did have the effect of providing its contents with the stamp of orthodoxy, though at some point the more egregious passages claiming that Buddhist doctrine and practice originated with Daoism were expunged from the collection.

DAOISM UNDER THE TANG (618–907). The rulers of the short-lived Sui dynasty (581–618), which did manage to unify China, favored Buddhism to lend cosmological authority to their state orthodoxy. But millennial expectations, drawn from both Buddhism and Daoism, arose in force again to contribute to the downfall of the dynasty. Foremost among these expectations was the idea, derived from early Daoism and given prominence in the Shangqing scriptures, that the "Perfect Lord" Li Hong would soon descend to sweep away the unjust and establish a rule of great peace. Among those who took on the mantle of the Perfect Lord was Li Yuan, founder of the Tang dynasty. Further, he claimed descent from Laozi, whose given name was said to have been Li Er. Given this, Tang emperors tended thereafter to favor the Daoist religion.

As a result, the Tang period marked a time of consolidation and expansion for the Daoist tradition. Even Wu Zhao (r. 684–705), who proclaimed herself "emperor" and renamed the dynasty Zhou, while giving secondary status to the religion that had lent support to those she sought to replace, took recourse to Daoist symbolism, ritual, and prestige to establish her rule. The most fervent imperial supporter of Daoism was Li Longji (the Xuanzong Emperor, r. 712–756). The emperor's personal involvement with the cult of the dynastic ancestor built up slowly over the course of his long reign. At first he sponsored rituals for the welfare of the state, employing prominent priests such as Sima Chengzhen (647–735) to help revise state ritual and music. He also introduced Laozi's text, the *Dao de jing*, into the state exam system, even composing an imperial commentary to the text. The favor he bestowed on the religion was matched by imperial oversight. He instituted the office of commissioner for Daoist ritual to control at the national level the ordination and registration of the priesthood. Similar oversight was accorded Buddhist institutions.

It was during the second half of Xuanzong's reign that his enthusiasm for the religion came most fully to the fore. The watershed events were the appearance of the divine ancestor to the emperor in dreams and the discovery of a talisman, the whereabouts of which was also revealed by Laozi. As a result of this latter discovery, the emperor changed the reign-name to "Celestial Treasure." He distributed images of Laozi, fashioned after his dream vision, throughout the empire, granted grand titles to the sage, and established official institutes for Daoist study in each prefecture of the realm. As Timothy Barrett (1996) shows, graduates of these institutes could take part in the newly inaugurated Daoist examination in the capital and enter the civil service, the first time religious examinations had ever been used for this purpose. Meanwhile officials reported apparitions of Laozi and other signs of divine approbation with great frequency. Even Xuanzong's flight from the capital as a result of the An Lushan rebellion and his removal from power are not without legends of Laozi's continued support of the emperor.

Due in part to this imperial favor, the Tang dynasty marked a rapid expansion of Daoist belief and practice into the gentry class, with a concomitant growth in Daoist scholarship. A number of encyclopedias, annotations, and local histories survive from the period. In response to the subtleties of Buddhist philosophy, Daoist scholars evolved a number of philosophical approaches to Daoism, from meditations on the self and nurturing life to analyses of the processes by which one might join with the Dao. Distinctive styles of music, art, and dance were also developed. With the regularization of Daoist monasticism, we learn more about women who entered Daoist orders, some clearly attracted by the prospect of gaining more control over their lives. A few gained kingdom-wide reputations for their piety. Once such was Huang Lingwei (c. 640–721), who after a long period of training restored and occupied the shrine of the Shangqing goddess Wei Huacun. Her reconstruction of the site was aided at each step by divine visions and dreams. The number of poems presented to her by famous figures and the laudatory biography written after her death by the official and calligrapher Yan Zhenqing (709–784) attest to her fame.

The practice of alchemy also came into prominence during the Tang. As in other areas of Daoist scholasticism, ancient texts were collected and compared. One representative work is the *Essential Instructions from the Scriptures on the Elixirs of Great Clarity* (Sivin, 1968) by the physician and pharmacologist Sun Simiao (581–682). While the exact extent of elixir ingestion is unknown, a number of literati mention the practice in their writings. In addition, Tang emperors patronized masters of alchemy and several of the later emperors may have died as a result of such experimentation. Meanwhile, the use of alchemical experimentation as a means to observe the workings of the cosmos led to the gradual creation of "inner alchemy," a term that refers to various methods for merging "cinnabar" and "lead" within the body to create the immortal embryo without actual ingestion of mineral or metallic substances. As Fabrizio Pregadio (2000) has shown, this trend began during the late Six Dynasties period (220–589 CE) with the *Zhouyi cantong qi* (Token of the concordance of the three, based on the *Book of Changes*), a work that shows operative alchemy to be a replication of cosmic processes as defined by the symbol systems of the ancient fortune-telling manual, the *Book of Changes.* Widely studied during the Tang, this work, together with the dangers of elixir ingestion, led to the eclipse of operative alchemy.

Later Daoists were to look back on the Tang as a golden age, and often traced their own lineages to real or mythological Tang figures. A more balanced picture of the religion appears in the works of Du Guangting (850–933), the foremost Daoist priest of the Shu kingdom (in present-day Sichuan). Writing as the Tang dynasty lay in ruins, Du's collections of hagiographies, miracle tales, inscriptions, and ritual summaries attest to aspects of the religion that are given short shrift or lacking in earlier sources (Verellen, 1989). Here we learn of the importance of Daoist practice at the local level, the veneration of holy women, and the importance of lay benefactors for the maintenance of temples and images.

DAOISM UNDER THE SONG (960–1279) AND YUAN (1206–1368). In gauging the development of Daoism during the Song and Yuan dynasties, we must avoid the "documentary fallacy." More than half of the texts found in our primary source for the study of the religion, the Ming canon printed in 1445, were compiled after the mid-twelfth century. This dramatic increase in documentation, in part the result of the invention of printing and consequent spread of literacy, provides evidence, unavailable from earlier times, on how the religion operated at all strata of society. This has sometimes led scholars to underestimate the penetration of Daoism into lower levels of society in earlier periods and to overstate the spread of the religion during the Song and Yuan. Even accounting for this distorting factor, however, it does appear that social changes—especially the rise in mercantilism, increased literacy, and the relaxation of governmental control—led to new forms of organization, an increase in the number of literate priests, heightened religious competition, and a consequent burgeoning of pantheons and practices. Increasingly, localities, regional associations of various kinds, and minority communities came to adopt Daoist deities and practices. At the same time, scholarly Daoists composed vast ritual compendia, consolidating and formalizing practice. And, again under foreign rule in the north of China, another counter-trend emerged. This was Quanzhen Daoism, a well-organized and highly centralized monastic movement.

These disparate features of the religion endure to the present day. In many ways, then, scholars tend to see the Song period as the beginning of modern Daoism. The most thoroughly studied example of a local therapeutic and exorcistic tradition that rose to national prominence, and eventually received court recognition, is the Rectifying Rites of Tianxin (the center of heaven, that is, the northern dipper). While serving the fourth ruler of the state of Min (present-day Fuzhou) during the years 935 to 939, a Daoist priest by the name of Tan Zixiao was asked to interpret a set of talismans that had come to light. These, he pronounced, were part of a secret patrimony, the Rectifying Rites of Tianxin, passed down from Zhang Daoling. The talismans, as they developed in the tradition, were held to embody the power of the celestial emperor of the north, of the Department of Exorcisms, and his agents, the fearsome generals Tianpeng, Heisha, and Zhenwu, among others. Daoist priests visualized Tianpeng in Tantric form and the latter two with disheveled hair, bulging eyes, brandished weapons, and martial dress. And thus they are depicted in Daoist statuary and painting. The rites of Tianxin were passed from master to master, finally coming to the Daoist Deng Yougong, who between 1075 and 1100 wrote ritual manuals that were eventually included in the imperially sponsored Song Daoist canon of 1120, the first ever to be printed.

Another ritual tradition was founded by Lu Shizhong (fl. 1100–1158), a native of Chenzhou (modern Henan) who received visits from the deified Zhao Sheng, who had been a disciple of the first Celestial Master. Lu's manuals, known as the Rites of the Jade Hall, blend the Rites of Tianxin with Lingbao funeral rites and show an increased emphasis on meditation practice. Characteristic of these and other therapeutic rituals of the early Song was the practice of *kaozhao*, "summoning for investigation." In *kaozhao* ritual, the master transforms himself into a martial deity, identifies the demon causing problems, seizes it, and causes it to descend into the troubled person or a surrogate where it might be interrogated and the problem resolved (Davis, 2001). Such practices could only arise once illness was no longer linked to morality, as it had been in earlier Daoist traditions.

Early Song rulers, who like the Tang rulers before them traced their ancestry to a Daoist deity, here the Yellow Emperor, had recourse to the protection offered by demon-quelling ritual. Threatened by peoples to their north, they found special protection from the celestial general Heisha, whom they ennobled with the title "the Perfected Lord who Supports the Sage [ruler] and Protects [his] Virtue." They also ordered the construction in the capital Kaifeng of a massive temple complex dedicated to Zhenwu, the Perfected Warrior. In addition, rulers patronized ritual specialists, built temples throughout the realm and sponsored the collection and printing of Daoist texts. The *Yunji qiqian* (Seven slips from the book bags of the clouds), a 120-chapter collection of Daoist texts extracted from the canon of 1120, survives from this period.

The imperial support of Daoism culminated in the brief theocratic reign of Huizong (r. 1101–1125), who called to court Daoists from the major ordination centers. In addition to confirming the prestige of old Daoist lineages—Shangqing was represented by its putative twenty-fifth patriarch and the Celestial Masters, now centered at Mount Longhu (in modern Jiangxi), by their thirtieth—several new lineages were also created in response. Lin Lingsu (1076–1120) arrived in the capital with revelations he had received from *Shenxiao* (Divine empyrean), the highest reaches of heaven. Lin revealed the divine identity of Huizong as the deity "Great Thearch of Long Life" and promulgated a set of rituals based on earlier Shangqing and Lingbao texts. Yang Xizhen (1101–1124) claimed to have emerged from the caverns hidden in Mount Mao, the ancient center of Shangqing practice, with a set of therapeutic rituals that had been bestowed upon him in this underworld study center. These were called the "Rites of Youthful Incipience." Huizong's enthusiasm for these Daoist traditions went to such extremes that he commanded that all Buddhists of the realm be demoted to Daoists of the second rank. This and other excesses incited further disputes between Buddhists and Daoists. But Huizong's reign was short and in 1127 the court moved south to evade the Jurchen Jin dynasty (1115–1234).

During the southern Song, the most noteworthy developments involved the codification of innovations begun in the north. Lin Lingsu had presented his Shenxiao tradition as an extension of the ancient Lingbao canon and the culmination of Shangqing revelation. In line with these claims, he had presented to the throne a sixty-one-chapter version of the originally one-chapter Lingbao *Scripture of Salvation.* This important text formed the basis for another ritual tradition, the Lingbao *dafa* (Great Rites of Lingbao). While there were regional variations, the centerpiece of this tradition was the rite of *liandu* (roughly, "salvation by fiery smelting"). Through an extremely elaborate external ritual—involving chants, pacing, and the use of talismans—and an equally complex internal ritual through which the bodily spirits of the master descended into the hells, the rite aimed to purify and rescue the dead.

Under the Jin in northern China, several new traditions appeared. The most important and enduring of these was the Quanzhen ("Perfect Realization" or "Completion of Authenticity"). The movement was inaugurated by the ascetic and visionary Wang Zhe (1113–1170), also known as Wang Chongyang. After achieving enlightenment in 1167, Wang wandered the Shandong peninsula, converting followers and founding associations for the promulgation of his doctrine. Wang gathered around him a coterie of favored disciples, all highly literate men among whom Ma Danyang (1123–1184) was his designated heir. The later tradition settled on a list of *qi zhen* (Seven Perfected or "Authentic Ones") as the foremost disciples. This list included Sun Bu'er (1119–1183), Ma's wife, thus signaling the vital role female clerics had come to play in the movement.

Wang's most famous disciple, Qiu Changchun (1148–1227), was summoned to the Jin court in the 1180s and, in 1220, to the itinerant court of Chinggis Khan (r. 1206–1227), who hoped to obtain the drug of immortality from him. Although Qiu allowed that he knew only hygienic techniques for prolonging life, he made a favorable impression on the khan, who bestowed special privileges on the Quanzhen order, including authority over the religious in his realm. Quanzhen Daoism grew explosively during the Yuan dynasty, despite prescriptions of the order ordered by Kublai Khan (r. 1260–1294) in retribution when his armada sent against Japan was destroyed by a typhoon in 1281. According to the estimates of Vincent Goossaert (2001), by 1300 there were some four thousand Quanzhen temples in northern China, housing an estimated twenty thousand clerics, around one-third of whom were women.

As an order, Quanzhen was devoted to both communal discipline and self-cultivation. Priests and nuns took vows of celibacy and left the home to live communally in one of the many temples. There, submitting to monastic discipline, they would work to cultivate lack of attachment, purity of mind, and immortality through the practice of inner alchemy. As they often took up residence in the temples of local cults or other orders, the rituals conducted by Quanzhen clerics derived from all the major traditions of Daoism. Sometimes their eclecticism led them into difficulties, as when Quanzhen clerics championed a later version of the *Huahu jing*, the scripture that held that Laozi was the Buddha, before the Yuan emperors in a series of debates with Buddhists. In a final debate before Kublai Khan in 1281, the enraged emperor ruled against them and, as we have seen, eventually suppressed the order. In mature form, Quanzhen doctrine was less doctrinaire, drawing from the quietist aspects of Confucianism and Ch'an (Jpn., Zen) Buddhism and revering both the Buddhist *Heart Sūtra* and the Confucian *Classic of Filial Piety.*

The remarkable spread of Quanzhen during the Yuan period can be attributed to several factors. First, clerics tended to travel widely, spreading the doctrine. Second, Quanzhen adepts, more than those of other contemporary religious groups, tended to use literary works—dialogic treatises, poetic accounts of practice, public inscriptions, organizational histories, and the like—as proselytizing tools. Third, Quanzhen adepts easily assimilated themselves to existing religious establishments, reinterpreting the texts of their rivals and even occupying their temples.

DAOISM IN THE MING (1368–1644) AND QING (1644–1911). Scholars have only recently begun to turn their attention to post-Yuan developments in the Daoist traditions traced above. One difficulty derives from the often-strained relationship between Daoist practitioners and the throne. Increasingly stringent controls placed on Daoist institutions and practitioners during the Ming and Qing attest to the continued vitality of the religion. At the same time, tight imperial oversight tended to erase from the public record much that we would like to know.

The first Ming ruler, Taizu (r. 1368–1399), attempted to manage Daoism by establishing various agencies governing the religion, regulating the number of monks and nuns who could be ordained, and mandating the maximum age at which they could do so. Taizu favored the Zhengyi order, but tolerated the Quanzhen movement. Clerics of many ritual traditions thus began to take refuge in these two orders, a situation that continues. It is clear, however, that Taizu's restrictions, though continued by subsequent emperors, only superficially limited the numbers or activities of Daoists.

Chengzu (r. 1402–1425), also known by his reign-title as the Yongle Emperor, provided more protection for Daoism. He ordered the compilation of a new canon (completed after his death) and designated Zhenwu, the Perfect Warrior, the dynastic protector. Claiming that Zhenwu had aided him in unifying the realm, the emperor set up a sanctuary for this deity in Beijing's forbidden city when he took residence there in 1421. He also provided support for the god's cult center on Mount Wudang in Hubei. For similar reasons, Chengzu supported other deities, including the popular "god of war," Guandi, one of a list of popular deities who were adopted into the Daoist pantheon.

Subsequent Ming emperors continued the dual policy of support and control begun by the first rulers of the dynasty. Despite official patronage for some, there seem to have been few doctrinal developments during this period. The main trend seems to have been one of amalgamation of diverse practices into a single way, something that pleased rulers as evidence of unity. One important tradition that provided a foundation for this search for unity was the tradition of inner alchemy. Zhao Yizhen (d. 1382), a master trained in Quanzhen and Qingwei ritual, proposed a strict course of self-examination through the use of "ledgers of merit and demerit," a widespread practice at the time. Such self-criticism, he held, could bring human emotions into harmony with reason, dispel illusion—whether that of demons, spirits, or *bodhisattvas*—and prepare the way for proper absorption of cosmic essences through meditation. Zhang Yuchu (1361–1410), the forty-third Celestial Master of the Zhengyi tradition, carried on Zhao's understandings of inner alchemical practice, explicitly incorporating into his system the insights of Chan Buddhism on inner nature.

An even more syncretic teaching was propounded by Lin Zhao'en (1517–1598), scion of an official family from Fujian who studied with various Daoist masters and eventually styled himself "Master of the Three Teachings." His group became the "Three in One Teaching," merging insights from Confucianism as the principle doctrine, with Daoism and Buddhism. Lin taught a method of inner cultivation in nine stages, culminating in "breaking through the void," a final step of inner alchemical practice for forming the internal embryo. To this stage of ultimate attainment, Lin assimilated the "perfect sincerity" of neo-Confucian understanding of the *Doctrine of the Mean* and the Buddhist concept of moving beyond illusion into the ground between being and nonbeing. The group spread throughout southeastern China and endured for about 150 years after Lin's death.

Another result of Ming attempts at religious control was the strengthening of lay associations, both trade guilds and those local groups organized for the purpose of sponsoring a temple or religious site. One prominent example is the famous Yongle Gong (Palace of Eternal Joy), a temple dedicated to Lü Dongbin first occupied by Quanzhen adepts in the 1240s that had, by the mid-Ming, fallen into disrepair. Beginning in 1614, local leaders organized subscription campaigns for the repair and ritual use of the temple. To the efforts of such associations we owe the remarkable preservation of fourteenth-century murals depicting scenes from the life of Lü Dongbin, perhaps drawn from popular Yuan plans, and depictions of Daoist divinities used in ritual (Katz, 1999). The support of temple associations is also responsible for the incorporation into Daoism of popular deities such as Ma Zu, goddess of merchants and fishermen.

Another sign of popularization was the printing and distribution of Daoist tales. Among these, one of the most completely studied concerns the mysterious figure Zhang Sanfeng. Pierre-Henry de Bruyn (2000) relates the origins of this figure: When Chengzu (r. 1402–1424) usurped the throne by having his nephew murdered, he still entertained doubts that the burnt corpse presented to him was in fact his nephew. He consequently sent secret police throughout the realm on the pretext of seeking the immortal "Zhang Sanfeng," but actually to seek for his nephew. As a result of this apparent imperial interest, all sorts of legends began to circulate concerning this figure. These were duly published and circulated by the faithful, and a cult arose.

The same trends—strict imperial control, standardization of Daoist traditions under the aegis of Zhengyi and Quanzhen, and growing lay involvement—intensified during the Qing dynasty. The Manchu rulers of the Qing venerated Tibetan Buddhism and promoted neo-Confucian doctrine as state orthodoxy, even to the extent of promulgating its tenets among the populace through imperial "sacred edicts." The Confucian elite, feeling that excessive emphasis on personal cultivation had led to the collapse of the Ming, tended to support the state orthodoxy. As a result, officially sanctioned "three teachings" movements during the Qing tended to exist for the purpose of spreading Confucian morality. An unintended consequence of this imperial initiative was an upsurge in lay associations and sectarian movements organized under the pretext of spreading morality. *Shanshu* (Morality books) promoting Confucian ethics based on Buddhist notions of *karma* and Daoist concepts of longevity and of the bureaucratic organization of the unseen worlds had circulated since the Song dynasty but now were produced in even greater numbers.

Beginning in the Ming, sectarian movements published similar works, known as *baojuan* (precious volumes) of a more striking religious character. A number of these were produced by "spirit writing," a type of revelation whereby spirits of gods, Transcendents, or even cultural heroes were believed to compose texts by taking control of a writing implement. The most common means, still in use today, involved two mediums wielding a double-handled planchette that would inscribe the deity's words, graph by graph, in a shallow box filled with sand. This message would then be "transcribed" by several observers. Texts produced in this way began to appear as early as the Song dynasty (Kleeman 1994), but the popularity of such works seems to have increased radically during the Ming.

One of the most widespread of the sectarian movements, named by Susan Naquin (1985) "White Lotus Sectarianism," centered on the Maitreya-like goddess, the Eternal Venerable Mother, who, it was believed, would reappear to eradicate evil and create a new heaven and earth. These movements, only loosely organized, were a threat both to the Buddhist and Daoist establishments and to the government. Imperial attempts at suppression only succeeded in spurring millenarian movements.

While Qing rulers gave precedence to the Zhengyi order in state ritual, they also appreciated the organizational strengths of Quanzhen, with its strict rules for clerics. Over the course of the dynasty, the Longmen branch of Quanzhen rose to domination. The Longmen branch traces its founding back to Qiu Chuji of the Song, but, as Monica Esposito (2000) has shown, it actually originated during the Ming among southern Daoist movements. The importance of the Longmen branch can with assurance be traced to Wang Changyue (d. 1680), who from 1656 until his death served as abbot of the Baiyun guan (White Cloud Abbey) in Beijing. Wang reorganized Quanzhen precepts to include neo-Confucian rules for living that were favored by Qing rulers. He divided the precepts into three ascending stages: (1) initial precepts of perfection; (2) intermediate precepts; and (3) precepts of celestial transcendence. He also held that anyone could gain immortality through their careful cultivation. Under Wang's direction, Baiyun guan became a central training center for all Daoist traditions, formally granting the precepts to male and female clerics from all over the kingdom as part of their official investiture. This, in itself, was crucial to the spread of Longmen branch teachings.

As Wang Changyue's example shows, while Quanzhen and other Daoist organizations continued to discourse on and practice the inner alchemy of earlier days, there was an increased emphasis on universalism. Simplified descriptions of the discipline were promulgated not only by Daoists, but by sectarian groups and lay organizations, and even in popular plays and novels. Schools of martial arts and physical cultivation adopted some inner alchemical learning to their own purposes, leading to the widespread practice of *qigong* (roughly, "breath achievement") in modern times. While many *qigong* schools have their own origin myths, a more scholarly account of their origins is that, while some of their practices are quite ancient, they in fact grew from the intellectual and social conditions of Ming and Qing times.

DAOISM IN JAPAN. There is no clear evidence of the transmission of organized Daoism to Japan. No records of Daoist investiture or even the presence of Daoist priests have yet been detected. A number of scholars have cited references to immortality seeking, alchemy, and other practices and words associated with Daoism in texts from the seventh century CE forward. For example, the *Nihonshoki* (Chronicle of Japan), under entries for the years 456 to 479, mentions several mountaintop establishments it styles *dōkan* (Daoist temples), but it is uncertain what sort of establishment might have been meant. Most Japanese scholars, then, agree with the 1933 findings of Tsukami Jikiryō that "Daoist ideas transmitted to Japan in ancient and Heian (794–1185) times came first under the umbrella of esoteric Buddhism and yin-yang divination, and then spread to the wider populace" (cited in Masuo, 2000, p. 824). A number of the practices scholars point to in support of this assertion, however, are best considered part of Chinese common religion, rather than specifically Daoist.

One example is the practices associated with the *gengshen* (Jpn., *kōshin)* day, the fifty-seventh day of the sexagesimal cycle of days according to the Chinese calendar. According to texts as early as the *Baopuzi,* the human body played host to three worms or "corpses" that sought the death of their host and would, on the night of this day, ascend to heaven to report on his or her transgressions. Since these evil-minded residents might depart the body only during sleep, one method to frustrate them included an all-night vigil. While Daoist texts taught that abstention from meat, sexual abstention, and purification procedures were also necessary, the vigil in Japan (as sometimes in China) became the occasion for an all-night party.

Introduced in the mid-ninth century, *kōshin* practice was modified in the eleventh century by Tendai monks, who added further Daoist and Buddhist elements from a variety of scriptural sources. During the Edo period (1603–1687), esoteric monks and *yamabushi* began delivering morality lectures on the practice throughout the country and a number of *kōshin* halls were established to accommodate those holding vigils. Thriving *kōshin* halls still exist in Osaka and Nara. Although specific practices for ridding the body of the three worms found a place in Daoism, the belief in the three worms was not confined to Daoism, as its presence in Buddhist texts composed in China attests.

Other practices associated with Daoism—methods of appeasing the celestial bureaucracy, the use of apotropaic talismans and spells, even the ritual "pace of Yu" (a magical gait held to avert evil originating in ancient Chinese occult traditions and adapted into Daoism)—can be found in similar form, mixed with Chinese common religion and Buddhism. One group that seems to have been particularly receptive to Daoist practice was the *yamabushi* practitioners of Shugendō (roughly "way of practice for inciting auspicious response"). According to legend, Shugendō began in the seventh century, but was certainly widespread by the end of the Heian period. The practice of *yamabushi*, who undergo austerities in the mountains to gain spiritual powers, includes healing, the dispelling of misfortune, a version of the pace of Yu, and the use of spells and talismans. While some of these can be traced to Daoist works, the precise vectors of transmission are unknown. In addition, the twelfth-century Shintō schools of Ise and Yoshida developed a view of spirits (Jpn., *kami*) divided according to function and sometimes associated with the northern dipper and other asterisms that made specific use of Daoist works.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a number of Daoist practices, including those associated with Quanzhen Daoism, arrived in Japan as a result of the popularity of neo-Confucianism. Morality books were another source of knowledge of Daoist deities, such as the martial god Guandi, and of practices meant to satisfy the moral oversight of the celestial bureaucracy. In line with the flexible nature of Daoist belief, such foreign elements were easily modified to conform with Japanese society.

DAOISM IN KOREA. Unlike the case of Japan, there are records of the formal transmission of Daoism into the Korean peninsula. In the early seventh century, Tang emperors, who traced their lineage to Laozi, sent priests on at least two occasions to teach Daoist ritual in the court of the king of Koguryŏ (37 BCE–668 CE). During the late Tang, monks of the unified Silla (668–935) are recorded as having visited the Chinese capital to study Daoism. Not much is known, though, about how well established the religion became as a result of such exchanges.

During the Koryŏ dynasty (918–1392), however, Daoist ritual became part of imperial practice. King Taejo (r. 918–943) set up some fifteen Daoist sites, ordered rites for the welfare of the state, and gave Daoism a ranking equal to that of Buddhism. Subsequent emperors followed suit. Under King Sŏnjong (r. 1083–1094), Daoist rituals were no longer confined to the capital and, in 1115, Song Huizong provided clerics to assist in imperial Daoist rites. Jung Jae-seo (2000) has found that there were a total of 191 recorded *jiao* rituals performed during the Koryŏ. During this period, Korean intellectuals also became interested in Daoist practice, sometimes modeling their associations on the hagiographies of Chinese Transcendents.

The Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1910) promoted neo-Confucianism as the state doctrine and closed many of the temples built during the Koryŏ, but still allowed some Daoist rituals for the welfare of the royal family. A version of Chinese methods of control was instituted early in the dynasty whereby candidates for the priesthood were examined in the Lingbao scriptures, a *Zhenwu* scripture, and other important texts. Eventually only one temple, the Sogyŏk sŏ, with one hall dedicated to Grand Unity and another to the Three Pure Ones and patronized by officials, was allowed to conduct formal Daoist rituals. These were entirely Chinese-style Daoist rites. The temple was finally abolished as a consequence of the Japanese invasion. Nonetheless, private study of inner alchemy continued in the form of private *danhak pai* (schools of alchemical studies), which developed in distinctive ways and began to claim transmissions from shadowy ancient figures of Korean history.

The "new religions" that developed in Korea in the nineteenth century drew extensively on Daoist scriptures and practices. The Donghak (Eastern Doctrine), established in 1860 by Choi Jaewu (1824–1864) and others, includes sacrifices to Daoist gods, the use of talismans, and the practice of visionary journeys to the celestial realms.

DAOISM TODAY. The official body governing Daoist practice in modern China is the Chinese Daoist Association, formed in 1956 and officially approved by the Ministry of Internal Affairs on May 20, 1957. Operating from the White Cloud Temple in Beijing, the organization coordinates Daoist practice and controls the initiation of priests and nuns. At first, the association, following Qing precedent, recognized only Zhengyi (Celestial Master) and Quanzhen traditions. During the government-sponsored mass movements of the 1960s and 1970s, all Daoist holdings were returned to state control. Following the Cultural Revolution, and particularly from 1979 forward, governmental control of religious practice has relaxed considerably and researchers report a resurgence of Daoist practice throughout the country. This has been matched by an exuberant growth of scholarship on all aspects of the religion.

In Taiwan, free exercise of religion existed since the founding of the Nationalist government in 1949. All forms of religious practice flourished and the crafts necessary to ritual—the painting of religious images, construction of ritual garb and implements, and so on—thrived. Many early Western researchers into the Daoism, beginning with Kristofer Schipper, began their studies with fieldwork on the island. In 1951, Zhang Enpu, the putative sixty-third generation Celestial Master founded the Taiwan Daoist Society to provide coordination for Daoist activities. This quasi-governmental organization represents only one facet of the vibrant Daoist practice seen in Taiwan; Daoist practitioners and scholars have also entered into fruitful communication with their counterparts in mainland China.

Outside of China, Daoist practice exists wherever there is a substantial Chinese community. In premodern times, one of the vectors of transmission seems to have been non-Han peoples who had been converted to Daoism as part of strategies of Sinification. For instance, the Yao people, resident in northwest Thailand, practice a form of the Rectifying Rites of the Center of Heaven, dating to the Song. Michel Strickmann (1982) has provided evidence that the Yao acquired their traditions from officially sponsored missionaries, perhaps as early as the Song. Comparable evidence for the Daoism of other parts of Southeast Asia has not so far been discovered.

More common was the spread of Daoism with Chinese mercantile communities, something that we know to have occurred from early times. Today Singapore and Malaysia host the most widespread practice of the religion. Active associations for the coordination of Daoist practice were founded there in 1979 and 1995, respectively. These umbrella organizations frequently coordinate with the Daoist Associations of China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan.

SEE ALSO Dao and De; Fangshi; Huangdi; Shugendō; Taiji; Xi Wang Mu; Yinyang Wuxing; Yuhuang.

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DAOISM: THE DAOIST RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY

There is no trace in the historical records of any organized Daoist community before the Latter Han dynasty (25–220 CE). Among the various politico-religious movements that sprang up during the second century as the dynasty went into decline, the most famous are the Way of the Heavenly Masters (Tianshi Dao) and the Way of Great Peace (Tai ping Dao). Although the historical evidence linking these two groups is slim, both clearly aimed at the total transformation of society and the establishment of a Daoist utopia; both were founded by people surnamed Zhang, probably because the Zhang clan was thought to be descended from the Yellow Emperor, who, together with Laozi, was revered in Han Daoism as the divine source of Daoist teachings; both organized the faithful into cosmologically determined units; and both considered sickness a sign of sin and therefore prescribed confession as a prerequisite for healing.

HAN PERIOD. At least partly inspired by a *Tai ping jing* (Scripture of great peace), presented to the throne during the reign of the emperor Shun (r. 126–145 CE), the Way of Great Peace was founded by three brothers who called themselves the generals of the lords, respectively, of Heaven, Earth, and Man. In addition to healing by means of confession and "symbol-water" (*fu-shui*), they and their subordinates spread the message that a new era, the era of Yellow Heaven, was about to begin. Having organized their adherents, known as the Yellow Turbans, into thirty-six military regions (*fang*) covering eight of the twelve provinces of the empire (all of eastern China), they rose in revolt in the first year of a new sixty-year cycle, a *jiazi* year (184 CE). It took government forces a full ten months to crush the revolt.

The Way of the Heavenly Masters was founded, according to the mid-third century *Zhengi fawen Tianshi jiao-jie k'o-jing* (Scripture of the rules and Teachings of the Heavenly Masters, a Text of the Method of Orthodox Unity), by Zhang Daoling. He is there said to have received, in the year 142, from the Newly Manifested Lord Lao (Xinzhu Laojun), the "Way of the Covenant of Orthodox Unity with the Powers" (zhengyi mengwei dao). He set up twenty-four "governances" (*zhi*) and "divided and spread the energies of the mysterious (celestial), the original (terrestrial), and the beginning (the Way) in order to govern the people." The earliest list of these governances appears in the late sixth-century *Wushang biyao* (Essentials of the supreme secrets): it places all but one of the governances in what is now Sichuan province and clearly confirms that the movement started in the western part of that province.

According to the dynastic histories, Zhang Daoling was succeeded by his son Heng, and Heng by his son Lu. Zhang Lu controlled northeastern Szezhuan for over thirty years, until he surrendered in 215 to Cao Cao, future founder of the Wei dynasty (220–264). Cao Cao gave him the title "General Who Controls the South" (*zhennan jiangjun*), enfeoffed him, and married his son Pengzu to Lu's daughter. It was probably at this time that the last of the twenty-four governances was located in the capital city of Luoyang and that the Way of Orthodox Unity (Zhengyi Mengwei Dao) became the dominant religion in the state of Wei. It remains to this day the most important form of religious Daoism.

SIX DYNASTIES PERIOD. The dynastic histories note that the adherents of Zhang Daoling were called "rice rebels" because a tax of five bushels of rice was levied on initiates. Throughout the Period of Disunion (220–589), the nickname Way of the Five Bushels of Rice (Wudoumi Dao) continued to be applied to the "church" of the Heavenly Masters. Its original organization consisted of a hierarchy of laypeople called "demon soldiers" (*guizu*), low-level priests called "demon clerks" (*guili*), higher-level priests called "libationers" (*jijiu*), and chief priests called "head libationers." Each of the libationers was in charge of an "inn of equity" (*yishe*). Said to be like the postal relay stations of the Han government, these inns were open to travelers, and free "meat and rice of equity" were supplied them.

That the "church" had in fact virtually supplanted the state may be seen from the fact that justice was administered by the libationers. Minor infractions were punished by the obligation to repair the routes between the inns: the word *dao* means "way, route," and free circulation of goods, persons, and ideas was considered essential to a society built on Daoist principles.

The basic institutions and attitudes of the movement all reveal its utopian character. Perhaps most striking in this regard is the equal treatment accorded to men and women—both could become libationers—and to Chinese and tribal populations. There were, as a result, a large number of these tribal people among the adepts of the Heavenly Masters. The various titles given the leaders of the movement, and in particular that of libationer, were taken from the Han system of local administration, where they referred to individuals selected locally for their moral qualities and their wisdom. The hierarchy envisaged was one that was communally oriented and merit based. Although the position of Heavenly Master was in later times a hereditary one, it is not certain that this was true at first; until as late as the Five Dynasties period (907–960) there are many references to heavenly masters of surnames other than Zhang.

In addition to running the inns of equity, the libationers were charged with the task of explaining the *Laozi* (*Dao de jing*) to the faithful. Part of a commentary on the *Laozi,* the *Xiang'er zhu,* found in the Dunhuang caves at the beginning of this century, is generally attributed to Zhang Lu. The commentary insists above all on the moral conduct of the faithful: "Who practices the Dao and does not infringe the commandments will be profound as the Dao itself; Heaven and Earth are like the Dao, kind to the good, unkind to the wicked; therefore people must accumulate good works so that their spirit can communicate with Heaven."

The "demon clerks"—so called, no doubt, because they had direct charge of the "demon soldiers"—had as their chief task the recitation of prayers for the sick. After the sick person had first meditated on his sins in a "quiet room" (*jingshi*), the demon clerk would write down the person's name and the purpose of his confession. He drew up this "handwritten document for the Three Officers" in three copies, one to be sent to each of these governors of Heaven, Earth, and the Waters. It was for this service that the faithful contributed five bushels of rice, as well as the paper and brush for preparing the documents.

An early Daoist text, the *Tai-zhen ke* (Regulations of the most perfect) states that every household should set up a meditation room and place the list of the names of its members in five bushels filled with "faith-rice" (*xinmi*). Every year, at the beginning of the tenth month, all the faithful were to gather at the governance of the Heavenly Master himself and contribute their faith-rice to the Heavenly Granary. They would then go in to pay their respects to the Heavenly Master and listen to an explanation of the rituals, ordinances, and commandments. The family registers of all the faithful were to be brought up to date at this time, that is, births, deaths, and marriages were to be recorded, so that the centrally held registers agreed with the family registers.

Similar gatherings were held in the first and seventh months, the former to determine, according to their respective merits, the advancement of the officers of the movement, the latter that of the laypeople. On each of these three "days of meeting" (*huiri*), linked respectively to the Three Officers (San Guan) of Heaven, Earth, and the Waters, a "memorial stating the merit [of each and all] was sent up." These days of meeting, especially the grand assembly of the tenth month, are clearly the origin of the community Offerings (*jiao*), which continue to constitute, to this day, the most elevated service performed by Daoist priests at the request of temple communities.

Progress in this vast meritocracy was marked by the graded transmission of a whole series of commandments and registers. According to the *Regulations of the Most Perfect,* the first series of commandments was transmitted to seven-year-old children. Starting at the age of eight, they could receive a register with the name and description of one general on it, then the register of ten generals at age twenty. Next came the registers of seventy-five generals, of which there were two, a feminine (*yin*) one giving control over seventy-five immortals (*xian*), and a masculine (*yang*) one, to which were attached the same number of potentates (*ling*). The *Regulations* state simply that these two registers are to be transmitted successively to the same person. It is probable, however, that the second transmission occurred only after successful accomplishment of the rites of sexual union called "mingling the energies" (*heqi*), for the reform-minded Heavenly Master Kou Qianzhi (d. 448), in forbidding the practice of these rites by other than married couples in his *New Regulations,* refers explicitly to the "registers of male and female officers."

These registers gave the names and physical descriptions of these generals and the armies of immortal and spiritual officers under their command. The role of these armies was to guard and protect the adept, just as the gods of the popular pantheon, who are also often called generals, were supposed to do. The adept who received further registers was called a "Daoist who distributes his energies" (*sanqi Taoshi*), that is, one who had moved beyond self-protection to saving others: a priest.

In general, each additional register increased the adept's power over the invisible world of the spirits and added thereby to his understanding of the Covenant of Orthodox Unity with the Powers. To enter the Way of the Heavenly Masters meant to worship only those powers enrolled, like the adepts themselves, on official registers and to cease to worship the "gods of ordinary people" (*sushen*). According to the *Xiang'er* commentary, "the Way is most venerable, it is subtle and hidden, it has no face nor form; one can only follow its commandments, not know or see it." The ultimate goal was to know this invisible way, to "hold on" to its mysterious—"orthodox"—Unity. This required forswearing all contact with the multiple "heterodox cults" (*yinsi*) current among the people. Throughout the Period of Disunion and, in somewhat diluted form, down to the present day, Orthodox Unity Daoists have been, like the Confucians, implacable opponents of these cults.

This well-formed, cosmologically comprehensive ecclesiastical organization survived, more or less intact and with appropriate modifications, through the Tang dynasty (618–907). One of the reasons for its survival was its readiness to come to terms, in the manner of Zhang Lu, with the state. The Scripture of the Teachings of the Heavenly Master cited above explicitly criticizes the Yellow Turbans as a "perverse way" (*Xiedao*) responsible for the death of millions. The same text states that the Dao, that is, Lord Lao, had often in the past appeared as the "teacher of kings and emperors." But after his "new manifestation" in the year 142, he would appear no more, for "Lord Lao had then bestowed on Zhang Daoling the position of Heavenly Master." Now, in the year 255, the Heavenly Master urges the faithful to obey the "pure government of the Wei."

The power and the appropriateness of this conception in the context of the Confucian state may be seen from the fact that in 442 the emperor Taiwu (r. 424–452) of the Northern Wei (386–535) became the first of a long line of emperors to "receive registers" (*shoulu*), that is, to receive a Daoist initiation that was tantamount to ecclesiastical (divine) investiture. Emperors—especially, but not exclusively, those favorable to Daoism—perpetuated this practice until the end of the Northern Song dynasty (960–1126).

The man who thus invested the emperor Taiwu was Kou Qianzhi. In 425, Kou was named Heavenly Master and his *New Regulations,* partly of Buddhist inspiration, was promulgated throughout the realm. In 431, in what may be considered a forerunner of the system of officially sponsored abbeys (*guan*) begun under the Tang and continued through the Qing (1644–1911), altars (*tan*) were set up and priests assigned to officiate on them in every province.

It is also noteworthy that the first great persecution of Buddhism occurred under the reign of the emperor Taiwu: inspired by Kou's Confucian friend, Cui Hao (381–450), and with Kou's reluctant cooperation, a decree promulgated in the year 444 attacked, in the same breath, the "heterodox cults," with their mediums and sorcerers, and Buddhism. Although the proscription of Buddhism that followed in the year 446 was rescinded by a new emperor in 454, these events proved to be the opening round of a long competition for imperial favor. In southern China, in 517, the emperor Wu (r. 502–549) of the Liang dynasty (502–557) abolished all Daoist temples and ordered the return of Daoist priests to the laity. In the year 574, after a series of debates between representatives of the "three teachings" (*sanjiao*)—Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism—the emperor Wu (r. 560–578) of the Northern Zhou dynasty (557–581) proscribed Buddhism and made Daoism the state religion. Daoists were later instrumental in bringing about the suppression of Buddhism by the Tang emperor Wuzong (r. 841–847) in the year 845 and its reduction to subordinate status by the emperors Huizung (r. 1101–1126) of the Northern Song dynasty, in 1119, and Taizu (r. 1206–1229) of the Yuan dynasty, starting in 1224.

The most telling arguments used in these various conflicts were, on the Buddhist side, that the only authentic Daoist works were those of its philosophers, the *Laozi* and the *Zhuangzi* and, on the Daoist side, that Buddhism was a foreign religion suitable only for barbarians. The court debates themselves often focused on a Daoist text called the *Huahu jing* (Scripture of the conversion of the barbarians). The idea that Laozi, at the end of his life, had gone into the western regions beyond China and there transformed himself into the Buddha in order to convert the barbarians is first attested in a memorial presented to the throne in the year 166 by one Xiang Kai. At that time, Buddhism was still perceived in China as a form of Daoism, and so the legend was useful, even complimentary to the Buddhists. But by the time the libationer Wang Fou wrote the first known (now lost) version of the *Huahu jing* around the year 300, Buddhism had become an entirely autonomous force in Chinese life, and the compliment had turned into a polemic slur.

The Daoists rarely won the court debates, and the *Huahu jing* was regularly proscribed over the centuries, starting in 668 with its suppression by Tang Gaozong (r. 650–684). But before the work disappeared definitively from circulation, after Yuan Shizu (r. 1260–1295) ordered all copies burned in 1281, it had served for nearly a millennium as a means of conveying a central Daoist conviction, based on many a passage in the *Laozi,* that the Dao embraced all things, large and small, high and low, Chinese and barbarian. To the Daoists it followed logically that "Daoism"—the "teaching of the Way" (*daojiao*)—included within itself all other teachings.

Outrageous from the Buddhist point of view, Daoist universalism was most attractive to Chinese emperors. The emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou dynasty, for example, began the decree in which he ordered the foundation of the Abbey for Communicating with the Way (Tongdao Guan) a mere eleven days after proscribing Buddhism as follows: "The supreme Way is vast and profound: it envelops both being and nonbeing; it informs highest heaven and darkest hell." According to Buddhist sources, the people appointed to staff this state abbey were all "enthusiasts of the *Laozi* and the *Zhuangzi* and proponents of the unity of the Three Teachings."

Another expression of Daoist universalism constantly attacked by the Buddhists was its regular "fabrication" of new texts by plagiarizing Buddhist sūtras. This criticism applied especially to the Lingbao ("numinous treasure") scriptures that began to appear in southeastern China in the 390s. The most important of these texts, the *Wuliang duren jing* (Scripture of universal salvation), may be described as pure "Mahāyāna Daoism." From start to finish, it has the flavor of a Buddhist scripture, but the revealed words come from the mouth, not of the Buddha, the "World-honored One" (*Shizun*), but from that of the "Heaven-honored One of the Primordial Beginning" (Yuanshi Tianzun), that is, the Dao. These texts also take over Buddhist notions of karmic retribution and introduce Buddhist-inspired rituals for the dead.

Some twenty years prior to the appearance of the first Lingbao texts, another group of texts had been revealed in the same part of China that was to play an extremely important role in the court Daoism of the Tang dynasty. Owing little to Buddhism, this new Shangqing ("high purity") literature completely transformed the methods of the traditional, eremetic Daoism of the South—alchemy, gymnastics, diet, visualization, and sexual practices—by incorporating them into a complex system revealed in ecstatic prose and poetry by a kind of automatic writing during séances. Recitation of these sacred texts and visualization of the spirits described in them became the high roads to spiritual realization in this movement.

The milieu in which these revelations occurred was that of the southern aristocracy, a group that recently had been supplanted by émigrés fleeing North China after the barbarian capture of the capital city of Luoyang in 311. These émigrés, who founded the Eastern Jin dynasty (317–420), with its capital in Jiankang (modern Nanking), brought with them the Way of the Heavenly Masters, and many Southerners—among them the father and uncle of Xu Mi (303–373), one of the main recipients of the new revelations—had adopted the Northerners' religion. Wei Huazun (d. 334) herself, the "teacher in the beyond" of the inspired calligrapher of the revealed texts, one Yang Xi (330–?), had been, during her life on earth, a libationer. Xu Mi continued to employ his father's libationer, Li Tung. One of the "real persons" (*zhenren*) who was revealing to Xu the new methods for spiritual (as opposed to physical) rites of union criticized Xu for his excessive use of the old methods of the Heavenly Masters: "The method for mingling the energies is not practiced by the Real Persons; it is an inferior Way that destroys the orthodox energies of the real vapors." Also, illness was attributed not to sin and consequent attacks by demons, but to physiological causes, and massages and drugs were therefore prescribed instead of the confession of sins. The demons of the Shangqing texts are those forces that try to keep the adept from achieving the level of concentration necessary for the spiritual union with a divine spouse, which alone can lead to "realization" (immortality).

It was probably a second- or third-generation practitioner of the new techniques of realization who first classified Daoist literature into the "three caverns" (*sandong*). Traditionally, it is Lu Xiujing (406–477) who is credited with this hierarchical classification, which places Shangqing texts first, Lingbao second, and Sanhuang (Three Sovereigns) last. The Sanhuang scriptures, of which only small portions survive, represent the talismanic, exorcistic literature of popular Daoism. It may be that they represent the tradition of the Yellow Turbans, for the Three Sovereigns are those of Heaven, Earth, and Man, whose lords the brothers Zhang served as generals.

Heavenly Master texts are conspicuously absent from this classification, but it may well be that they were felt by Lu, who is one of the most important liturgists in Daoist history, to be unnecessary: not only would he have shared, as a practitioner of Shangqing methods, the dim views of the sexual rites of the Heavenly Masters, but also, and more importantly, he had incorporated the basic Heavenly Master liturgy into the Lingbao texts, which he himself had edited. The Three Caverns thus constituted a complete and self-contained canon of exorcistic, liturgical, and meditational texts: together, they met every religious need, from that of a sick peasant requiring an exorcism to that of the refined aristocrat seeking sublime spiritual union.

The idea of this tripartite division was no doubt inspired by the Buddhist Tripiṭaka, but whereas the division of the latter was generic, that of the Daoist was practical. Correspondingly graded registers, moreover, were created to accompany initiation into each successive level of texts. Five separate rituals of transmission were included in the original *Wushang biyao* (compiled c. 580 at imperial behest): progressive initiation into the texts of the Three Caverns was preceded by the transmission of ten commandments (against murder, robbery, adultery, etc.) and of the *Laozi.*

The addition of these two rituals of initiation was a clear sign that the idea of the Three Caverns, however coherent ideologically, was too far removed from the reality of Daoist practice to survive without major modifications. The other ritual chapters in the *Wushang biyao* provided further evidence of this: nine of ten chapters were taken directly from the texts of the Three Caverns, but one, the "mud and soot fast" (*tutan zhai*), a ritual of confession, required an officiant who was at once a "libationer belonging to a diocese of the Heavenly Masters" and a "ritual master of the Three Caverns." This situation was remedied, probably in the early Tang period, by adding the Four Supplements (*gsifu*) to the Three Caverns. In the resulting initiation hierarchy, Orthodox Unity texts occupied, appropriately, the bottom of the seven rungs: emperors interested in Daoism invited Shangqing masters to court and received their registers, but the typical country priest required no more than the registers of Orthodox Unity—and the skills they implied. The remaining three of the Four Supplements also incorporated older Daoist traditions: alchemy, the Scripture of Great Peace, and the *Laozi.*

TANG PERIOD. The Tang dynasty saw the development of the more or less definitive forms not only of the Daoist canon, but also of Daoist messianism and monasticism. Closely related to its utopianism, Daoist messianism always had an intensely political character. In the second-century *Laozi bianhua jing* (Scripture of the transformations of Laozi), Laozi puts himself forward as the messianic leader. But during the Period of Disunion, it was usually a "descendant" of Laozi, the Perfect Lord (*zhenjun*) Li Hung, who excited the messianic hopes of the people. Thus Kou Qianzhi, in his *Laojun yinsong jiejing* (Scripture of the recitation of the prescriptions of Lord Lao), complains that many false prophets "attack the orthodox Dao and deceive the common people. All they have to say is, 'Lord Lao should reign, Li Hung ought to manifest himself.'" Li Hung messianism even appears in the Shangqing scriptures: according to the *Shangqing housheng daojun liji* (Shangqing biography of the Latter-day Saint and Lord of the Way), Li Hung will appear in a *jen-renchen* year (the twenty-ninth year of the sixty-year cycle, possibly 392) to establish a new world populated by the chosen and governed directly by the Latter-day Saint.

The centuries-old conflict between this popular Daoist messianism and the Heavenly Master tendency—seen in the careers of both Zhang Lu and Kou Qianzhi—to opt for the role of spiritual advisor to the emperor, found its perfect resolution in the Tang dynasty when, at last, not Li Hung himself, but another family of the same surname as Laozi, Li, came to power. This advent, moreover, is said to have been predicted toward the end of the Sui dynasty (589–618) by one Ji Hui, a Daoist who had entered the Abbey for Communication with the Way at the beginning of the Sui dynasty: "A descendant of the Lord Lao is about to rule the world, and our teaching will prosper." No sooner had Tang Gaozu (r. 618–627) come to power than he asked Ji Hui to celebrate an Offering to pray for divine benediction on the dynasty. He then ordered the complete rebuilding of the Lou Guan (Tower Abbey) and, in 620, changed its name to Zungsheng Guan (Abbey of the Holy Ancestor). In 625, after holding a debate between representatives of the "three teachings," Gaozu ranked them in the order Daoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism.

Tower Abbey occupied the site where Laozi was said to have revealed the *Laozi* to the keeper of the pass, Yin Xie, before disappearing into the western regions. Daoist sources make it out to have been a center for the cult of Laozi already in the time of Qing Shihuang (r. 221–209 BCE) and describe it as an important northern Daoist center throughout the Period of Disunion. In the Tang dynasty it became a dynastic cult center. In 679 its abbot, Yin Wencao (d. 688) compiled, on the order of the emperor, the *Sheng Ji* (Annals of the saint) in ten volumes. Judging on the basis of its Song-dynasty successor, the *Hunyuan sheng ji* (Annals of the saint of the womb), this was a "salvation history" of Daoism, presented as the successive divine interventions of Lord Lao in human history. In 741, after the emperor Xuanzong (r. 713–756) had encountered his divine ancestor in a dream, a statue corresponding to the face he had seen in his dream was found near the Abbey of the Holy Ancestor. The emperor had the statue set up in the inner palace for his own worship. He then ordered that similar statues be cast and sent to all the state-sponsored abbeys in the country, declared a general amnesty, and had an inscribed tablet set up at the Zongsheng Guan to commemorate these events.

The first network of Daoist buildings was that associated with the twenty-four governances of Heavenly Master Daoism in the second century. The first state-sponsored Daoist abbey in history is generally thought to be the Chongxu Guan (House for the Veneration of the Void) founded in 467 by the emperor Ming of the Liu Song (420–479) for Lu Xiujing. But it was not until 666, after performing the *feng-shan* ritual of celestial investiture on Taishan, that the Tang emperor Gaozong (r. 649–683) decreed the creation of a system of state-sponsored Daoist (and Buddhist) monasteries in each of the prefectures—there were over three hundred—in the empire. This dual system was perpetuated under all successive dynasties, until the fall of the empire in 1911.

It is generally assumed, with good reason, that these and other non-state abbeys were populated by monks and nuns. First, people who entered these institutions were said, like their Buddhist counterparts, to have "left the family" (*chujia*). Second, from the mid-sixth to the mid-eighth century, a new type of Lingbao scripture, clearly designed for monastic living was very much in vogue: the vocabulary and long-winded style of these texts is that of Buddhist scholastics; repeatedly, they recommend such Buddhist virtues as charity and compassion and such Buddhist practices as scripture-copying, recitation, and preaching; above all, they explicitly recommend celibacy. The *Taishang icheng Haikong zhizang jing* (The reservoir of wisdom of sea-void, a scripture of the unique vehicle of the Most High), after speaking in derogatory manner of Orthodox Unity Daoists, affirms that only those who "leave the family" can liberate themselves from all attachments and achieve enlightenment. Preaching is important in this *ekayāna* ("unique vehicle") Daoism because it frees people from doubt and ignorance.

Other texts in this group, however, such as the *Yuanyang jing* (Scripture of the primordial Yang) suggest that these Buddhist practices are but a preparation for more traditional Daoist ones, among which it names the rites of sexual union. Indeed, Daoist monks and nuns often lived in the same community and are known to have practiced these rites: they had "left their families," but Daoist commandments forbade only concupiscence, not intercourse. On the contrary, carefully regulated sexual intercourse was one of the oldest of Daoist roads to immortality, said to have been practiced by Laozi himself.

State support entailed state control. The emperor Xuanzong introduced registration of Buddhist and Daoist monks and nuns and restriction of their movement. He set limits on the size of monastic communities and on their land holdings. He ordered all monks who had not received official ordination certificates to pass an exam. A commissioner was appointed for each religion to ensure that these various ordinances were respected. Specific ritual services were also required of these state clergy: both Buddhists and Daoists were to perform services for the deceased of the imperial family on the anniversaries of their deaths; Daoists also celebrated rituals for the prosperity of the state on the three "days of origin" (the fifteenth day of the first, seventh, and tenth months) and on the emperor's birthday. This latter was made a three-day national holiday, to be celebrated with feasting throughout the empire.

Xuanzong favored Daoism in still other ways: he inaugurated imperial use of a ritual known as "throwing the dragon and the prayer slips" (*tou longjian*), its aim was to report dynastic merit to the Three Officers and to pray for personal immortality. In 731, upon the suggestion of the Shangqing patriarch Sima Chengzhen (647–735), sanctuaries dedicated to the Daoist Perfect Lords of the Five Sacred Peaks were set up on these mountains and Daoist priests selected to staff them. In early 742 the emperor ordered all Daoist temples in the empire to copy the *Benji jing* (Scripture of the original term) throughout the coming year. At the end of the year he issued a second decree attributing the good harvest to the merit thus obtained. In 748 he added to the Daoist monastic network a system of shrines on all forty-six mountains that had "cave-heavens" (*tongtian*). He also ordered the establishment of abbeys on the various sites where famous Daoists of the past had "obtained the Way." Between two and five Daoists were appointed for each of these new shrines and abbeys.

Xuanzong also went to considerable lengths in giving institutional form to the special relationship between the ruling house and its divine ancestor: in 737 he placed the Daoist clergy under the jurisdiction of the Office of the Imperial Clan; in 741 he ordered the creation of temples for the worship of Laozi in the two capitals (Chang'an and Luoyang) and in each prefecture, as well as a parallel network of Daoist academies and examinations. The imperial ancestral tablets were henceforth to be kept in the temple dedicated to Laozi in Chang'an, and statues of the imperial ancestors were set up in the Taiqing Gong (Palace of Grand Purity), which had been built in Pozhou, Laozi's birthplace. In the mid-740s Xuanzong had his own image set up next to that of Laozi in the Taiqing Gong in Chang'an, and later added those of his chief ministers as well. A first imperial commentary on the *Laozi* was published in 732, a second in 735, and in 745 the *Laozi* was declared superior to the Confucian classics. Among Xuanzong's successors—at least five of whom died of elixir poisoning in their Daoist-inspired quest for immortality—only Wuzong (r. 840–846) found anything to add to Xuanzong's ideological edifice: he made Laozi's birthday a three-day national holiday.

FIVE DYNASTIES, SONG, AND YUAN PERIODS. Later dynasties naturally could not make use of this link with Laozi; the Song replaced it with a similar genealogical tie to the equally Daoist Yellow Emperor, but the Tang system of state control and support survived. Registration statistics preserved over the centuries provide interesting insight into the shape and functioning of the system. (See table 1.)

The figures for the year 739 show that even the extravagant patronage of Xuanzong did not suffice to bring the number of Daoist monastic centers on a par with those of the Buddhists. This is not a reflection of the relative popularity of the two religions, but of the fact that lay clergy continued to be the norm among Daoists. A text compiled at imperial behest around 712, the *Miaomen youqi* (Origins of the school of mystery) distinguishes between hermits and those who "leave the family," on the one hand, and libationers and those who "live at home," on the other. These latter categories, whose chief function is healing, are said to be particularly numerous in Sichuan and the South.

The figures from the eleventh and seventeenth centuries show a marked decline for the Buddhists and remarkable stability for the Daoists. Although Buddhism is generally said to have lost much influence under the last two dynasties, what these figures really demonstrate is the success of the policy restricting the number of ordinations. Ordination implied exemption from taxation, conscription, and corvée. A Southern Song-dynasty (1127–1260) compilation of the Qing-Yuan period (1195–1201) restricts the number of Daoist novices to one per fifty and of Buddhist to one per hundred of the population as a whole. Qing-dynasty (1644–1911) law allowed monks and nuns of both religions to adopt a single pupil to whom they could transmit their ordination certificate. No religious institution could be founded without imperial permission.

Monastic Populations

Year	Registrations	Buddhism	Daoism
739	Monasteries	3,245	1,137
	Convents	2,113	550
1077	Monks	202,872	18,513
	Nuns	29,692	708
1677	Monks	110,292	21,286
	Nuns	8,615	——

TABLE 1.

All nineteenth-century observers note that the result of these restrictive policies was a glaring gap between the law and reality. At the beginning of the Qing dynasty, a state census revealed 12,482 monasteries and temples founded with imperial permission and 67,140 without. Already in the eighth century, Zhang Wanfu (fl. 711), in his *Shou sandong jingjie falu zheri li* (Calendar for the selection of days for the transmission of the registers, prescriptions, and scriptures of the Three Caverns), complains that the Daoists of these areas paid attention neither to the fasts of the official liturgy nor to the proper transmission of ritual knowledge: "Their only interest is in Offerings and sacrifices." Moreover, their "vulgar ways" had become popular of late in the capital cities of Chang'an and Luoyang as well.

These comments of Zhang suggest that, by his time, the aristocratic, meditative Shangqing tradition already was losing ground to more popular forms of Daoism. Other indications of this are the gradual rise of a "Confucian" Daoist movement called the Way of Filial Piety (Xiaodao). First heard of in the seventh century, claiming to have been founded by one Xu Sun (239–292?), it was in fact a local cult whose growth from its base in Hongzhou (Jiangxi) had led to its adoption and absorption by Daoism. This process was to be repeated many times in the future, most notably in the case of a local Fujian cult of two brothers, which was converted by imperial decree in 1417 into a state Daoist cult. The emperor Chengzu (r. 1403–1425) decided on the elevation of these two "perfect lords of boundless grace" (*hong'en zhenjun*) after a nagging illness had been cured by a drug prescribed, apparently, by the Fujian temple's medium. The brothers' official titles in the imperial "canon of sacrifices" were lengthened, a second temple built for them in the capital, a special Daoist liturgy created, and, in 1420, a Lingbao scripture produced. It taught the virtues of loyalty to one's superiors, filial piety, charity, and justice, and the emperor had it printed for dissemination on a wide scale in order to repay his debt to the divine brothers.

Another example of the increasing imbrication of popular cults, imperial ideology, and Daoist liturgy occurred at the beginning of the Song dynasty. Between 960 and 994, a commoner by the name of Zhang Shouzhen received a series of revelations on Mount Zhongnan, the site of Tower Abbey. The god, who was an assistant of the Jade Emperor, revealed himself to be the divine protector of the new ruling house and instructed Zhang to find a Daoist master. Having been initiated by a Daoist of Tower Abbey, Zhang received further revelations leading to the establishment of an imperially funded temple in 976, an official title in 981, and, above all, a system of Daoist Offerings that has survived, at least in part, until the present day.

The basic feature of the new system is the grading of Offerings according to the number of "stellar seats" (*xingwei*)—from 24 to 3,600—used to construct the altar. Divided into nine grades (3 x 3), the upper three altars were reserved for the emperor, the middle three for his ministers, and the lower three for gentry and commoners. The upper three altars had, respectively, 3,600, 2,400, and 1,200 stellar seats, corresponding to the Grand Offerings of All Heaven (*Putian*), the Entire Heaven (*Zhoutian*), and Net Heaven (*luotian*). Perfect expression of the hierarchical universalism common to both Daoist and imperial ideology, this system was adopted as the universal norm in the year 1009 by the emperor Zhenzong (r. 998–1023). It was to remain in official use throughout the Yuan (1279–1368) and perhaps beyond.

A 1,200-seat version, based in part on an official edition of Daoist ritual promulgated under Huizong (r. 1101–1126), has been preserved by Lü Taigu in his *Daomen dingzhi* (The Daoist system normalized) of 1201: starting from the highest celestial and stellar divinities, the list descends—by way of the celestial officials linked to the texts of the Three Caverns, the perfect lords and immortals of Daoist history and geography, the vast bureaucracy of the Three Officers, and all the governors of hell—to the humblest gods of the soil and agents of the time cycle. Among the Daoist sites for whose lords a seat is reserved are the Five Sacred Peaks, the various "cave-heaven" paradises, and the twenty-four governances; famous Daoists mentioned include Zhang Daoling, Xu Sun, Lu Xiujing, Du Guangting, various patriarchs of the Shangqing lineage, Tan Zuxiao, Jao Tongtian, Zhongli Quan, and Lü Dongpin.

The last two named are semi-legendary Daoist immortals who came to be revered together as the patrons of an important school of *neidan* (internal elixir alchemy) first heard of in the eleventh century. Dan zixiao (fl. 930) and Jao Tongtian (fl. 994) were the co-founders of the Tianhsin Zhengfa ("orthodox rites of the heart of heaven"), a new form of exorcistic healing based on texts discovered on Mount Hua-kai (Jiangxi province) and attributed to Zhang Daoling himself. The movement spread throughout southern China—the Yao tribes that have since migrated to Thailand still practice these rites today—and by the start of the twelfth century was deemed important enough to merit imperial attention (the oldest extant collection of these rites was presented to the throne by one Yuan Miaozong in 1116).

Du Guangting (850–933) was at once an important Daoist liturgist and one of Daoism's greatest hagiographers. His liturgical compilations draw on both the Lingbao and the Zhengi traditions; his collections of anecdotal literature are a gold mine of information on local cults and popular Daoism. The liturgies may be described as a synthesis of past practice, the stories as a harbinger of future developments: Du's career marks a watershed in the history of Daoism.

Suddenly, the veil is lifted on the world of popular piety—a world of miracles, exorcisms, pilgrimages, and portents—and on the place of Daoism in that world. In his *Daojiao lingyan ji* (Records of Daoist miracles), for example, Du tells a story about Xu Sun's magic bell: when a military governor tried to remove it from the Daoist abbey where it had been ever since the time of Xu Sun, Xu appeared to the governor in a dream and told him his life was in danger. The governor returned the bell and went to burn incense and confess his fault in the abbey, but his sin was too grave to be pardoned and he died in battle soon afterward.

Another tale recounts how a mysterious visitor, later rumored to have been Zhang Daoling himself, visited the Heavenly Master of the eighteenth generation and repaired the sword used by the first Heavenly Master to "punish and control gods and demons." The sword had been in the family, adds Du, for twenty-one generations. Elsewhere in the same book, in introducing the story of a man who was released from hell because he was wearing a register transmitted to him in the year 868 by the nineteenth-generation Heavenly Master, Du notes that, until the thirteenth-generation descendant of Zhang Daoling, the registers transmitted to the faithful had been made of wood, but "because they were being transmitted on such a vast scale, the thirteenth Heavenly Master could not make them in sufficient numbers and so started using paper and silk instead."

Du no doubt owed his knowledge of such events to his own master, Ying Yijie (810–894), who, at the age of eighteen, had gone to Longhu Shan (Dragon-tiger Mountain) in Jiangxi to be initiated by the eighteenth Heavenly Master. Much later accounts claim that Zhang Sheng, the fourth-generation descendant of Zhang Daoling, had been the first to take up residence on Mount Longhu. The first contemporary trace of a Zhang family in southern China dates to 504, when according to a stele, the twelfth-generation descendant lived in an abbey in what is now Jiangsu. In the mid-eighth century Sima Chengzhen mentions a Zhang living on Mount Longhu. The next reliable witness is Du Guangting.

It is therefore impossible to ascertain whether the Zhang family, which apparently lived on this mountain in unbroken succession from at least the mid-eighth century until 1949, was indeed descended from the first Heavenly Master.

What is certain is that, from Du Guangting's time on, the lineage grew steadily more important in Chinese religious life. Already in 1015, the emperor Zhenzong (r. 997–1023) recognized its hereditary rights. By 1097 Mount Longhu had won official recognition as an authorized center for initiation into Daoist practice, along with Mount Mao (Jiangsu) for the Shangqing tradition and Mount Gezao (Jiangxi) for the Lingbao. The thirtieth Heavenly Master (1092–1126) played a prominent role at the court under Huizong, and his reputation for magical powers was already celebrated in a contemporary novel. Full consecration came in the thirty-sixth generation, to Zhang Zongyan (d. 1291): invited to the capital by the emperor Shizu (r. 1260–1295) in 1277, he was commissioned to perform a Grand Offering of the Entire Heaven (2,400 divinities) in the Changchun Gong (Palace of Eternal Spring). Shortly thereafter, he was appointed head of all Daoists in southern China. The emperor Chengzong (r. 1295–1308) decreed in 1295 that Heavenly Master texts for the Offering be used throughout the empire. Finally, under the first Ming emperor, Taizu (r. 1368–1399), the Heavenly Masters were put in charge of all Daoist affairs.

During the Yuan dynasty the control of Daoism in the North was entrusted to the successive leaders of the Quanzhen ("integral perfection") order. One of three major Daoist movements to emerge in the North during the twelfth century, when that part of China was ruled by the foreign Jurchen Jin dynasty (1115–1234), it alone was destined to survive beyond the Yuan. Its founder, Wang Zhe (1112–1170), a native of the same village in Shaanxi as Zhongli Quan, had witnessed, at the age of eighteen, the takeover of his native province by the invading Jurchen. He nonetheless served for a time in the military before deciding to abandon both his career and his family. In 1160, after a period of living in reclusion in Liujiang village, not far from Tower Abbey, two mysterious encounters with Daoist immortals led him to dig a grave, to which he gave the name "tomb of the living dead," and to live in it for three years; having built a thatched hut, he lived next to it for another four. In 1167 he suddenly burned down his hut and left for Shandong to begin proselytizing. According to Wang's hagiographers, the three immortals who appeared to him were Zhongli Quan, Lü Dongpin, and Liu Haichan, all of whom Wang refers to in his writings as his teachers.

Wishing to shock people into enlightenment, which necessarily entailed a complete break of the sort he had made from his own family and career, Wang's methods were apparently uncompromising and even violent. In this manner he selected seven disciples, including one separated couple, to carry on his work. He also established five *sanjiao hui* ("assemblies of the three teachings") before dying while on his way back to his home in the west. His disciples are portrayed by their hagiographers as ascetics and, in some cases, eccentrics. Qiu Changchun (1148–1227) lived for seven years in a cave. Hao Datong (1140–1212) spent six years under a stone bridge neither moving nor speaking and eating only when people offered him something. For nine years Wang Chui (1142–1217) spent his nights in a cave standing on one foot so as not to fall asleep. Wang is also depicted as a wandering exorcist and healer (herbal medicine was one of the arts that Wang Zhe insisted "those who study the Way must master").

The reputations of the Seven Real Persons (*qizhen*), as Wang's disciples came to be known, soon made the movement of Integral Perfection a force to deal with. It attracted lay followers from all levels of society, including the gentry class, to which most of the seven and Wang Zhe had belonged. Their following seems to have been particularly large among women. The emperor Shizong (r. 1161–1190) summoned Wang Chui in 1187, questioned him about the methods for "preserving life and ruling the country," and constructed for him the Xiuzhen Guan (Abbey for the Cultivation of Perfection). In 1197 Wang was involved, together with the Zhengi Daoist Sun Mingdao, in the celebration of a Grand Offering of the Entire Heaven in the Tianchang Guan (Abbey of Celestial Longevity) in the capital. In 1202 the emperor Zhangzong (r. 1190–1208) ordered Wang to perform an Offering in the Palace of Grand Purity in Laozi's birthplace.

But it was Qiu Changchun's three-year westward trek to meet Chinggis Khan in Central Asia that assured the order's future, for when Qiu returned to China in 1223, he did so armed with decrees granting tax and labor exemption to himself and his disciples and control over "all those in the world who leave their families" to him. The result was the rapid growth of the Integral Perfection order and the start of another round of confrontrations with the Buddhists. When Qiu died, the Tianchang Abbey was renamed the Abbey of Eternal Spring (Changchun Guan), in Qiu's honor, and his disciples inherited his position. One of them, Li Zhichang (1193–1273), abbot between 1238 and 1256, precipitated the crisis with the Buddhists by printing and distributing the *Laozi bashii huatu* (Pictures of the eighty-one transformations of Laozi). One of these transformations, of course, was that into the Buddha. The Buddhists protested and also accused the Daoists of appropriating their temples. Debates were held in 1255, 1258 (the burning of the offending books was ordered, but not carried out), and 1281 (Zhang Zongyan also participated in this debate). After the last confrontation, the Daoist canon was ordered destroyed—an order carried out, at least in part, and the Quanzhen order went into a partial eclipse until the end of Shizu's reign. It was replaced at the court by the Heavenly Masters and their ambassadors.

Strictly speaking, Integral Perfection Daoism taught nothing new. It was a reform movement that sought, in the tradition of Daoist universalism, to synthesize the best in the

Three Teachings. Like Chan Buddhism, which Wang Zhe apparently knew fairly well, it preached celibacy and "sitting in meditation" in order to control the "apelike mind and the horselike will"; as in neo-Confucianism, perfect authenticity was prized as the ultimate goal of self-cultivation. But it was eminently Daoist in insisting that both one's "nature" (*xing*) and one's "life force" (*ming*) had to be nurtured, and in having recourse for the latter to the usual panoply of physiological practices. Quanzhen masters were also frequently renowned adepts of the martial arts, and Wang Zhe himself must have practiced internal alchemy inasmuch as his divine teachers were its patrons.

Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongpin, especially the latter, appear frequently to convert and save people in a number of Yuan operas (*zaju*) of clearly Quanzhen inspiration. A temple on the presumed site of Lü Dongpin's house was converted into a Quanzhen abbey toward the end of the Jin dynasty and then, after the abbey had burned down in 1244, rebuilt on a vast scale between 1247 and 1358. The three surviving halls of the resulting Yonglo Gong (Palace of Eternal Joy) are dedicated, respectively, to the Three Pure Ones, Lü Dongpin, and Wang Zhe. The magnificent murals of the latter two halls tell the stories of Lü and Wang and of Wang's conversion by Lü. The murals of the first hall portray many of the same divinities as were listed in Lü Taigo's list of 1201: they are all "going in audience before the Origin" (*chaoyuan*), that is, before the Three Pure Ones. The other great surviving monument of Daoist history, the fabulous complex of abbeys and palaces on Mount Wu-tang (Hubei), built by the Ming emperor Chengzu in honor of Pei-ti (Emperor of the North), divine patron of the exorcistic and martial arts, was also a Quanzhen center. Reopened in 1982, it has since been recognized by the UNESCO World Heritage Fund. The Tower Abbey was first taken over by the Quanzhen order in 1236, when disciples of Qiu Changchun rebuilt it.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS. Both the site of Lü Dongpin's house and Mount Wu-tang were important pilgrimage centers from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries on. As such, they reveal an important aspect of Daoism's role in Chinese society in those centuries: Daoists occupied and ran important cult centers and their temples. In particular, the Daoists, together with the Buddhists, inhabited the many sacred mountains of China and took care of the pilgrims who came to them. Several of the more important pilgrimage centers also developed networks of "branch offices"—local centers where the lay-person who lacked the means or the motivation to make a long pilgrimage could nonetheless worship the divinity of his choice. On the Daoist side, the most numerous temples of this kind were those dedicated to Lü Dongpin, the Emperor of the North, and the Emperor of the Eastern Peak. The first two were centers for the practice of divination by selection of slips, which were then interpreted by an attendant. The halls dedicated to Lü Dongpin in most Quanzhen abbeys served simultaneously as temples for the local populace.

The temples of the Eastern Peak (Dongyue Miao), on the contrary, were without exception run by Orthodox Unity Daoists. According to an inscription written by one Zhao Shiyan in 1328 and set up on the grounds of the Temple of the Eastern Peak in Beijing, such temples "first become widespread in the middle of the Song dynasty." By the Yuan dynasty they were to be found in every town of any size, and mediums and their Daoist masters worked in them side by side, the former to contact the souls of the dead and the latter to save them, for the Eastern Peak, the abode of the dead already in Han times, was associated at once with the tribunals of hell and the hope of immortality. Veritable nerve centers of the traditional Chinese religious system, the temples of the Eastern Peak seem to have been singled out for destruction by the Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976).

It is not known when the original Daoist community organized by the Heavenly Masters disappeared. As early as the third century, leaders of the community were complaining that libationers were increasingly self-appointed or at least not appointed by the hierarchy. The office of libationer, moreover, seems very early on to have become a hereditary one. It is nonetheless fairly certain that laypersons continued to practice the initiatory rites of sexual union as late as the mid-Tang, and Heavenly Master "congregations" must therefore have continued to exist. But by the mid-Song, when the Heavenly Masters themselves began once again to play a political role, it was as hierarchs not, as in the time of Zhang Lu, of an organized lay community, but of all Orthodox Unity priests. Over the centuries, laypersons of means continued to make the pilgrimage to Dragon-Tiger Mountain in order to be invested before death with a "register of immortality," but the main function of the Daoist "pope" was the transmission of registers to priests. By the 1920s and 1930s even the number of such registers had dropped off to from one to three hundred a year, and it was estimated that only one percent of Zhengi priests actually applied for such a register.

This situation was in part due to the fact that the foreign Qing dynasty had terminated the special relationship between the ruling house and the Heavenly Masters. During the Ming dynasty, by contrast, emperors were constantly inviting the Heavenly Master to the capital to perform Offerings, the compilation of the *Daozang* (Daoist canon) was entrusted to the Heavenly Masters, and several emperors even arranged high marriages for what had in effect become their spiritual counterpart: the emperor controlled the (Confucian) administration; the Heavenly Master had final authority over all gods and demons. He was, in other words, not only the nominal head of all Daoist priests, but also the overseer of all local cults. Throughout the Ming period, the Heavenly Master continued to be associated with imperial campaigns against heterodox cults. At the same time, local Orthodox Unity priests were "infiltrating" local temples—of the Eastern Peak, of the City God (Chenghuang Miao), of the third-century patriot and general Guan Yü (Guanti Miao)—and performing Offerings for the consecration of temples dedicated to gods who, although not "Daoist," had been officially invested by imperially promulgated titles inscribed in the "canon of sacrifices." The collective ceremonies of initiation of original Daoism seem to have survived only among tribal peoples such as the Yao: there, ordination remains a prerequisite for salvation and is therefore extended to the entire community.

The number of Daoist monks—mostly of the Quanzhen order since the Yuan dynasty—never approached that of lay Daoist priests (or Buddhist monks). The monks nonetheless played an important part in shaping Daoist history from the fifth century on. Not only did their leaders have privileged relations with emperors, at least until 1281, they also regularly exchanged visits and poems with the members of the gentry class from which many of them came. Wang Zhe's first convert and eventual successor, for example, Ma Yü (1123–1183), was known locally as Ma *panzhou,* Ma "half-the-prefecture," because of his extensive land holdings. Also, it was these Daoists who controlled the network of official abbeys first created in the Tang dynasty.

At the beginning of the Qing dynasty, the White Cloud Abbey of Beijing, originally built around the grave of Qiu Changchun became the center of a reinvigorated, imperially recognized Quanzhen lineage. In the 1940s it still had at least nominal control of twenty-three such abbeys throughout the country. Qiu's birthday on the nineteenth day of the first lunar month was one of Beijing's biggest festivals. The only complete copy of the Ming-dynasty Daoist canon to survive to the present is that of the same White Cloud Abbey. It was only natural, therefore, that it was selected by the government in the 1950s as the seat of the National Daoist Association. Among the major abbeys that have been restored since the government began, in the early 1980s, to allow and even encourage the restoration of religious buildings, many are on the 1940s list of twenty-three, and all reopened abbeys send their best novices to Beijing for a six-month training period. Gradually, however Zhengi Daoists have joined the hitherto Quanzhen-dominated national association, and they now perform rituals in their temples as in the past.

SEE ALSO Du Guangting; Jiao; Kou Qianzhi; Laozi; Liang Wudi; Lu Xiujing; Millenarianism, article on Chinese Millenarian Movements; Priesthood, article on Daoist Priesthood; Sima Chengzhen; Taiping; Wang Zhe; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Daoist Devotional Life; Zhang Daoling; Zhang Jue; Zhang Lu; Zhenren.

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Revised Bibliography

DAOISM: DAOIST LITERATURE

Compared to Buddhism, the literature of Daoist traditions remains largely unexplored. Large-scale study in this area was greatly enhanced in 1926 with the appearance of the first widely accessible reprint of the *Daozang*, or Daoist canon, which, at 1120 fascicles, is the largest repository of Daoist literature ever compiled. Research on Daoism prior to that time was, with few exceptions, generally confined to studies of texts such as the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi* that are widely available in editions outside the canon. For the most part, the West has also had its understanding of the Daoist legacy shaped by what has been summarized from the writings on the subject by Buddhist polemicists and unsympathetic Chinese literati. The one-sided view of Daoist traditions that such limitations promote is easily amended when the resources of the *Daozang* are taken into account, together with subsidiary compilations and pertinent collections of epigraphy and manuscripts. The social and historical context of much of this material has only recently come under intensive scrutiny. Continued research on the Daoist literary heritage is likely to challenge many long-held perceptions about the nature of religious traditions in Chinese society.

THE DAOZANG. Before 1926, very few copies of the Daoist canon were available outside of those kept in the temple archives of China. The state traditionally sponsored both the compilation and distribution of the *Daozang*. While it cannot be said that the newly founded Republic of China was a patron of Daoism, the reprinting of the canon between 1923 and 1926 came about only through government subvention. The former minister of education and renowned bibliophile Fu Zengxiang (1872–1950) was instrumental in convincing President Xu Shichang (1855–1939) of the scholarly value of the *Daozang* and to underwrite its publication by the Commercial Press of Shanghai. The copy that was selected for photographic reproduction in the 1920s and that has since been reprinted in at least three modern editions was the wood-block concertina canon housed in the Baiyun Guan (White Cloud Abbey) of Beijing, the central Daoist seminary of the People's Republic of China. It is thought that this copy of the canon was largely derived from the 1445 printing, apart from the lacunae reconstituted in 1845.

History of compilation. Among the earliest inventories of Daoist writings are those recorded in the bibliographic monograph of Ban Gu's (32–92) *Han shu* (History of the Han) and Ge Hong's (283–343) *Baopuzi*. It was not until the late fifth century, well after the establishment of the Shangqing and Lingbao scriptural traditions, that a single, comprehensive catalogue of Daoist texts was attempted. Lu Xiujing (406–477), principal codifier of the Lingbao corpus, undertook the task on the order of Song Mingdi (r. 465–472). The *Sandong jingshu mulu* (An index to the scriptural writings of the three caverns), which Lu presented to the emperor in 471, was said to list over twelve hundred *juan* (scrolls or chapters), ranging from scriptures and pharmaceutical works to talismanic diagrams. Nearly three centuries later, Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–756), confident that he was the descendant of Laozi, issued a decree dispatching his envoys throughout the empire in search of all existing Daoist writings. The collection that followed was given the title *Sandong qionggang* (Exquisite compendium of the three caverns) and reportedly included around thirty-seven hundred or fifty-seven hundred *juan*. It was the first canon from which multiple copies were to be transcribed for distribution to Daoist temples. But not long after Xuanzong officially authorized this undertaking in 748, the imperial libraries of the capitals of Chang'an and Luoyang were destroyed during the An Lushan and Shi Siming rebellions, and much of the *Sandong qionggang* was apparently lost.

Subsequent compilations were attempted upon the command of various Song emperors, who similarly viewed their mandate as part of a larger Daoist dispensation. Song Zhenzong (r. 998–1022) assigned his trusted adviser Wang Qinruo (962–1025) the task of preparing a new catalogue of Daoist texts in the imperial archives. By 1016 an assistant draftsman named Zhang Junfang (fl. 1008–1029) was put in charge of a staff of Daoist priests to make copies of a new canon for distribution to major temples. The *Da Song tiangong baozang* (Precious canon of the celestial palace of the great sung; 4,565 *juan*) that resulted was the first definitive edition of what has come simply to be called the *Daozang*.

A century later Song Huizong (r. 1101–1125) initiated an even more ambitious program for the compilation and dissemination of a new Daoist canon. In 1114 he issued an edict ordering all local officials, clergy, and laity to submit whatever Daoist texts they had to the capital of Kaifeng. A number of Daoist priests answered his call to help with the collation of the incoming literature. Their work culminated in the *Zhenghe wanshou Daozang* (Daoist canon of the longevity of the Zhenghe reign), the first canon to be printed. The blocks for nearly fifty-four hundred *juan* were cut sometime around 1118 to 1120. It is not known how many copies of the *Daozang* were subsequently made and there is also some question as to how much was lost upon the Jurchen takeover in 1127. But it appears that at least some blocks survived, for in 1188 it is reported that Jin Shizong (r. 1161–1189) commanded their removal from Kaifeng to the Tianchang Guan (Abbey of Celestial Perpetuity) in the central capital of the Jurchen empire, the predecessor to the Baiyun Guan in Beijing. His grandson and successor, Jin Zhangzong (r. 1190–1208), had the temple enlarged in 1190 and then appointed two imperial academicians to assist the abbot in reediting the canon. With the carving of additional blocks two years later, the *Da Jin xuandu baozang* (Precious canon of the arcane metropolis of the great Chin) totaled over sixty-four hundred *juan.*

In 1215 the capital of the Jurchen fell into the hands of the Mongols and it is not known how much of the enlarged canon of the Jin escaped destruction. But by 1237 work on a new edition was undertaken, sponsored this time by the local administration of Shanxi province. Two Quanzhen masters, Song Defang (1183–1247) and his disciple Qin Zhi'an (1188–1244), oversaw a staff in the hundreds. The *Xuandu baozang* (Precious canon of the arcane metropolis), completed in 1244, was apparently the largest ever, comprising altogether seven thousand *juan.* Over a hundred copies were said to have been made, but in 1281 Khubilai Khan decreed that all texts and printing blocks of the *Daozang* be burnt, save the *Dao de jing.* Fragments of the 1244 canon were nonetheless spared and, together with what remained of the Jurchen and Song canons, came to serve as the foundation of the Ming *Daozang.*

The canon currently in print is based on the compilation completed between 1444 and 1445 and a supplement dating to 1607. Ming Chengzu (r. 1402–1424) initiated the project in 1406 by appointing the forty-third Celestial Master, Zhang Yuchu (1361–1410), as compiler-in-chief. But the final version of the *Da Ming Daozang jing* (Scriptures of the Daoist canon of the great Ming) was actually completed under the guidance of Shao Yizheng, a prominent Daoist master at the court of Ming Yingzong (r. 1436–1449). The fiftieth Celestial Master, Zhang Guoxiang (d. 1611), supervised the preparation of a 240-*juan* supplement to the 5,318 *juan* of this edition. It is known as the *Xu Daozang* (Supplementary Daoist canon) of the Wanli reign (1573–1619), whereas the fifteenth-century core is sometimes referred to as the *Zhengtong Daozang* or Daoist canon of the Zhengtong reign (1436–1449).

Organizational divisions. As the title of Lu Xiujing's catalogue of 471 suggests, Daoist writings were traditionally classified according to the "Three Caverns" (*sandong*). This tripart division became a fundamental organizational feature of the *Daozang.* Although there has been a tendency in the past to equate these three compartments of texts with the "Three Receptacles" (*sanzang*) of the Buddhist canon, the closer parallel is actually the Buddhist *triyāna* or *sansheng* ("three vehicles"). Rather than being representative of three genres of literature such as the Sūtra, Vinaya, and Abhidharma of the Three Receptacles, the Three Caverns reflect three distinct revelatory traditions. And like the Three Vehicles, the Three Caverns are viewed as a ranking of textual legacies. The Dongzhen section evolved around the Shangqing (Supreme Clarity) scriptures, the Dongxuan around the Lingbao (Numinous Treasure), and the Dongshen around the San huang (Three Sovereigns). Since this categorization gives primacy to the Shangqing traditions, it is assumed that it was devised well before Lu Xiujing compiled his catalogue, perhaps by the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century. There is less certainty about the origins of the Four Supplements that follow the Three Caverns, what are known as the Taixuan, Taiping, Taiqing, and Zhengyi components of the canon. The term *ssu-fu* ("four supplements") does not seem to date before the turn of the sixth century. The first three have commonly been regarded as individual appendices to the Three Caverns, but in fact they appear to have been organized around very specific literary collections. Central to the Tai-xuan division is the *Dao de jing.* Likewise, the *Taiping jing* (Scripture on the grand pacification), the Taiqing (Grand Purity) legacy of alchemical writings, and the Zhengyi (Authentic unity), or Celestial Master heritage lie at the heart of the Taiping, Taiqing, and Zhengyi subdivisions. It may be that these four supplements were inspired by demands to establish a more cohesive body of Daoist literature vis-à-vis the rapidly developing corpus of Chinese Buddhist writings. Although the preeminence of the Shangqing revelations was apparently never in question, it seems that by the sixth century there was more awareness of the diversity of inspiration from which they arose. Liturgical texts of the Tang dynasty, moreover, seem to suggest that the arrangement of the canon corresponds to descending ranks of ordination, from the top level of Dongzhen down to the first step of the Zhengyi initiation.

Whatever the underlying significance of the organization of the *Daozang,* accretions over the centuries have resulted in a less than systematic presentation of texts. Each of the Three Caverns is subdivided into twelve sections: (1) original revelations, (2) divine talismans, (3) exegeses, (4) sacred diagrams, (5) histories and genealogies, (6) codes of conduct, (7) ceremonial protocols, (8) prescriptive rituals, (9) special techniques (i.e., alchemical, geomantic, numerological), (10) hagiography, (11) hymnody, and (12) memorial communications. The distribution of texts is not always in keeping with either the major headings or these subheadings. No categorical distinctions are applied to the Four Supplements and the *Xu Daozang,* the contents of which are as diverse as the Three Caverns.

Facets of research. Nearly half of the volumes in the canon either bear dates after 1126 or can be directly linked to new scriptural traditions developing after the Northern Song dynasty. Moreover, the prefaces of at least sixty titles in the *Daozang* indicate that they circulated in printed editions prior to their incorporation into the canon. Prefaces and colophons, however, are not always reliable guides to the history of a text. Fictive lineages are often invoked in order to establish the historical antiquity of newly codified writings. It is not unusual to find, for example, the provenance of a text traced directly to the founder of the Tianshi Dao (Way of the Celestial Masters), Zhang Daoling (fl. 142 CE). An even larger number of texts are simply presented as the word of divine authority. The names of the deities cited often prove critical to the identification of a text vis-à-vis established scriptural traditions. Other internal dating features that help clarify the historical and social origins of a compilation include reign titles, datable place names and official titles, as well as the titles of canonization granted by imperial decree to various patriarchs and apotheosized cultic figures. The language itself, particularly the use of specialized terminology, also helps determine the setting in which a text arose. The *terminus a quo* or *terminus ad quem* of a work can likewise be determined with the help of a number of inventories of Daoist texts.

Contents. The range of literature in the canon is as diverse as the beliefs and practices associated with Daoism since the Han dynasty. Much research to date has concentrated on the scientific significance of Daoist alchemical and pharmaceutical works. Aside from the early Shangqing and Lingbao scriptural traditions, little has been reported on the textual legacy of Daoist revelatory and cultic inspiration. The *Daozang*, furthermore, has yet to be fully appreciated as a valuable repository of belles-lettres in its own right. The following survey highlights a few of the texts in the canon with enduring literary and religious interest.

Revelation and ritual. As a work ostensibly transmitted from master to disciple, the *Dao de jing* or *Laozi* has long been regarded as a revelation in itself. The writings that Laozi reportedly delivered to the gatekeeper Yin Xi on his journey west have served as the inspiration for centuries of instruction on the attainment of the Dao. To the Celestial Masters, the *Dao de jing* seems to have functioned foremost as a code of behavior for young initiates. It is thought that the Xiang'er commentary on the *Laozi* (*Xiang'er zhu*) discovered at Dunhuang was compiled by one of the first, if not the first, patriarch of the Celestial Masters. The commentary extrapolates not only rules of conduct but also techniques of meditative practice from the text and is the only substantial writing associated with the early Celestial Masters to survive. The apotheosis of Laozi, that is, Taishang Laojun, or Lord Lao the Most High, who appeared before the founder Zhang Daoling was said to have revealed not scriptures but the sacred registers and talismans of divine guardians. Both were essential to the demonifuge mission of the Tianshi Dao. Divine commanders on high could be summoned only by those privy to their names and capable of infusing talismanic communications with their vitality. Countless texts, including even Ge Hong's *Baopuzi*, purport to preserve the apotropaic talismans of the Celestial Masters. The manipulation of such talismans was and still is thought to keep spectral forces at bay. Throughout the centuries the codifiers of later revelatory and ritual writings have never forgotten the ultimate heritage of the Tianshi Dao as a healing cult. Many anthologies of ritual are based precisely on the understanding that the ultimate mission of their founders was to convey hope in the salvation of humankind from all forms of suffering.

Salvation was also the message behind one of the earliest scriptures recorded in the canon, the *Taiping jing* (Scripture on the grand pacification). An early version of a text by this title was apparently promoted during the Western Han in support of a faction that sought to influence the direction of the ruling house through its expertise in the interpretation of cosmological omens. What circulates as the *Taiping jing* can be traced in part to another faction that arose during the Eastern Han on the Shandong Peninsula. Because of the text's link with Zhang Jue, leader of the Yellow Turban peasant rebellion, and the fall of the Han empire, the *Taiping jing* fell out of favor for several generations. It was not until the sixth century that a new, and much larger, edition of 170 *juan* appeared, portions of which are preserved in the canon as well as in Dunhuang manuscripts. This edition, the provenance of which can be traced to the Shangqing *axis mundi* of Maoshan (in present-day Jiangsu), seems to retain many of the major themes promoted in the Han dynasty works. The text was generally regarded as the omen of a more prosperous era. While there is difficulty in distinguishing the second-century text from later accretions, it appears that one consistent feature was the hint of an apocalypse should the divine teachings recorded within not be put into effect. The sixth-century editors enlarged upon this theme by interpolating references to the promise of deliverance by a messianic figure sacred to Shangqing, Housheng Jun, or the Sage-lord to Come. Overall, however, the *Taiping jing* stresses the importance of creating a utopian society in the present, one in which the political, social, and economic welfare of all could be assured upon the recitation of the scripture and the keeping of behavioral precepts in accordance with the will of the heavens above. This ideal of equity is tempered in part by instructions on techniques for prolonging life, a pastime in which only a select few could indulge.

The common denominator between the practices prescribed for attaining longevity in the *Taiping jing* and in the Shangqing scriptures is a large body of macrobiotic literature that is traditionally associated with the *fangshi* or technocrats of Chinese society. The titles of many of these works are recorded in early hagiographies. Central to these guides on the pursuit of a life everlasting is the ability to gain communion with the gods residing within one's own body as well as with those on high. One of the earliest and more provocative instruction manuals on gaining communication with the corporeal hierarchy is the *Huangting jing (Scripture of the Yellow Court).* The innate ambiguities of this lengthy verse composed in heptasyllabic meter were apparently thought to be at least partially resolved upon repeated recitation. A revised and less arcane version of the *Huangting jing* was reportedly among those texts conveyed to Yang Xi (b. 330), the prime recipient of the Shangqing revelations during the years 364 to 370. The most comprehensive record of Shangqing beliefs and practices was made over a century later by the eminent Daoist master Tao Hongjing (456–536). The *Zhengao* (Declarations of the perfected) that he edited is largely intended to be a verbatim account of the instructions given Yang during the visits of divine transcendents. Central to the expectations of those promoting the new dispensation of Shangqing was the imminent descent of a messiah who could replace the disorder of their age with order. The eschatological scenario for the advent of a savior by the name of Li Hong is set forth in the *Shangqing housheng daojun lieji* (Annals of the Lord of the Tao, the sage-to-come of Shangqing). The vision of Li Hong's epiphany continued to inspire a number of messianic movements as reflected, for example, in the *Dongyuan shenzhou jing* (A scripture of spirit spells from the caverned abyss), a composite work dating from the fifth and sixth centuries that has its analogues in the newly compiled *dhāraṇī* sūtras of that era.

The Shangqing visionaries worked not only toward the restoration of terrestrial order but also toward their own promotion into the ranks of the divine. The methods by which their eschatological hopes could be realized ranged from the rigid control of diet to stringent respiratory exercises and experimentation with pharmaceutical compounds. But the main sustenance for adepts pursuing such a regimen were the vital forces of the sun, moon, and stars. It was thought that the regular and concentrated absorption of these powerful sources of radiance would lead ultimately to one's cosmic transmigration. Feeding on the illumination of astral bodies is among the most fundamental techniques of the Daoist master (central to his private meditative sessions as well as his liturgical performances) and is by and large a technique of visualization, the skill of which is the concern of many manuals predating the Shangqing revelations. Those texts in which the ultimate goal specified is ascent to the celestial realm of Taiqing are commonly regarded as part of a Taiqing scriptural tradition, the origins of which remain unclear. The teachings of these Taiqing manuals were incorporated into both the Shangqing revelations and the slightly later scriptural tradition known as Lingbao. The prolongation of life through the ingestion of astral essences is, for example, a lesson in the *Taishang Lingbao wufu xu* (Prolegomena on the five talismans of the numinous treasure of the most high), a text originally dating to the late third century and recycled by spokesmen for the Lingbao tradition in the late fourth century.

The major recipient of the Lingbao revelations was Ge Chaofu, a nephew of Ge Hong. In the 390s, Ge Chaofu began ascribing the origin of some twenty-seven Lingbao scriptures to his grand-uncle Ge Xuan (164–244). This set of sacred writings actually owes its inspiration to not only the centuries-old arcana of southern Chinese religious practice and the more recent Shangqing innovations, but also to the Mahāyāna Buddhist traditions of the Nanjing area. The message of Lingbao, as epitomized in the *Duren jing* (Scripture on the salvation of mankind), was that all could ultimately be released from the cycle of suffering and ascend to the celestial realm by adhering to the teachings of the Yuanshi Tianzun, or Celestial Worthy of Primordial Commencement. The foremost contribution of the Lingbao tradition was in fact a whole program of liturgical services to be performed on behalf of the living and dead. Equally significant was the articulation of a code of behavior to be followed by the faithful in their struggle to escape the bonds of the mundane realm. As with the Shangqing tradition, a systematic presentation of the Lingbao corpus came some time after the original revelations. What is preserved in the canon from this syncretic development is due to the efforts of Lu Xiujing, the compiler of the first known catalogue of Daoist writings.

Expansion on the Lingbao rituals continued for centuries, as is reflected, for example, in the *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* (Protocols on the establishment of the great *Zhai* retreats of the Yellow Register), a compilation based on the writings of Lu, as well as two major Tang liturgists, Zhang Wanfu (fl. 711) and Du Guangting (850–933), and the Song Daoist masters Liu Yongguang (1134–1206) and Jiang Shuyu (1156–1217). Du Guangting was by far the most prolific Tang liturgist, for in addition to editing a number of Lingbao codes, he also compiled the protocols for various ordination rituals, including those marking the bestowal of the *Dao de jing* and the divine registers of Shangqing and Zhengyi. He issued, moreover, a series of ritual texts associated with the *Scripture of Spirit Spells*, as well as with the archaic practice of casting propitiatory prayers inscribed on metal or wood into caves and streams. The diversity of Du's contributions reflects in general the trend of his age toward a consolidation and systematization of diverse ritual practices in which the Daoist priesthood was engaged.

The editorial enterprises of the Tang dynasty soon yielded to a new wave of scriptural innovation during the Song dynasty. The creation of more innovative ritual traditions was apparently stimulated in large part by Song Huizong's patronage of Daoist masters. Among the most influential at his court was Lin Lingsu (1076–1120) of Wenzhou (in present-day Zhejiang). Lin convinced the emperor that he was the incarnation of Changsheng Dadi (Great Sovereign of Long Life) and, as such, was responsible for the salvation of all under his domain. To this end, Lin drew on the soteriological features of the Lingbao legacy and the messianic expectations of the Shangqing tradition to devise what he called the Shenxiao (Divine Empyrean) dispensation. The *Gaoshang shenxiao zongshi shoujing shi* (Formulary for the transmission of scriptures according to the patriarchs of the exalted divine empyrean) is a record of the evolution of the Shenxiao scriptures from their origins as cosmic script to their bestowal upon the Grand Sovereign himself. Large ritual compendia were eventually compiled based on this new scriptural heritage, with the *Duren jing* uniformly established as the central focus. Among the largest of such corpora are those associated with the teachings of Ning Benli (1101–1181), also of Wenzhou, namely the *Shangqing Lingbao dafa* (Great rites of the Shangqing Lingbao legacy), compiled by a disciple named Wang Qizhen, and the *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* (Golden writings on salvation, based on the instructions conveyed by the Lingbao legacy), edited originally by Lin Weifu (1239–1302) of Wenzhou.

Another scriptural tradition codified during Song Huizong's reign was the Tianxin Zhengfa (Authentic Rites of the Celestial Heart), the origins of which were traced to the discovery in 994 of sacred texts at Huagai Shan (in present-day Jiangxi). One of the Daoist masters working on the compilation of a new canon at Kaifeng, Yuan Miaozong (fl. 1086–1116) sought to make amends for a lack of talismanic healing rituals by compiling the *Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* (Secret essentials of the most high on assembling the perfected for the relief of the state and delivery of the people). At the heart of this corpus are the instructions on the application of the three talismans central to the Tianxin legacy: San'guang (Three Sources of Radiance; i.e., sun, moon, and stars); Zhenwu (Perfected Martial Lord); and Tiangang (Celestial Mainstay; i.e., Ursa Major).

The best testimony to the diversity of healing ritual from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries is the *Daofa huiyuan* (A corpus of Daoist rites), compiled after 1356. The most voluminous work in the canon, this corpus is devoted largely to what are known as *leifa* ("thunder rites"), based on the practice of quelling demonic forces through the absorption and projection of thunder pneumas. The opening chapters of the work are derived from one of the later Thunder Ritual traditions called Qingwei (Purified Tenuity), codified in part by Zhao Yizhen (d. 1382). Many rituals that evoke the authority of the Zhengyi tradition appear to reflect the influence of the thirty-ninth Celestial Master Zhang Sicheng (d. 1343). Most outstanding of all are the ritual instructions to be enacted on behalf of various astral deities and cultic figures such as the martial lord Guan Yu (d. 219). These therapeutic rites were prescribed for a wide range of ailments, from conjunctivitis to manifestations of possessing spirits. Many attest, moreover, to a long tradition of collaboration between Daoist masters and spirit-mediums.

Hagiography. Not unlike Confucian and Buddhist biographical accounts, Daoist hagiographies were compiled primarily as commemorative works, usually with a didactic message in mind. The lives of transcendents were generally intended to instruct on the paths by which one's divine destiny might be realized, as well as on the rewards inherent in venerating those who gained entry into the celestial ranks. The visionary Yang Xi was reportedly conveyed the full biographies of a number of divine transcendents with whom he was in communication, but only a few survive. Some of his contacts are memorialized in the *Liexian zhuan* (Lives of the immortals), traditionally attributed to Liu Xiang (77–6 BCE) but apparently based on several centuries of oral tradition surrounding various local cults.

More extensive hagiographic accounts were compiled during the Tang dynasty, most notably by Du Guangting. One work of his, the *Yongcheng jixian lu* (A record of the transcendents assembled at Yongcheng), is entirely devoted to the lives of divine women, starting with an account of the cosmic evolution of the primordial goddess who gave birth to the historical Laozi. Du Guangting was above all a good storyteller and, as his *Daojiao lingyan ji* (An account of the divine efficacy of the teachings of the Dao) and *Shenxian ganyu zhuan* (A record of inspirational encounters with divine transcendents) further attest, he was most interested in recording accounts of sacred phenomena. Such works, together with Buddhist miracle tales, contributed significantly to the development of the narrative in Chinese literary history.

By far the most comprehensive hagiographic work in the canon is one compiled by a specialist in Thunder Ritual named Zhao Daoyi (fl. 1297–1307), the *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (A Comprehensive mirror on successive generations of perfected transcendents and those who embody the Dao). Largely derivative of earlier works, this text preserves much material that has otherwise been lost. Among more specialized works is the *Xuanpin lu* (A record of the ranks of the sublime) edited by a prominent literatus named Zhang Yu (1283–c. 1356). The author, who was himself temporarily in residence at Maoshan, dedicates a large portion of his text to the Shangqing heritage, from Yang Xi to the twenty-fifth patriarch Liu Hunkang (1035–1108). A separate account of the Zhengyi patriarchs, the *Han Tianshi shijia* (A genealogy of the Celestial Masters since the Han), is a composite work, based on editions dating from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. The imprimatur of the fiftieth Celestial Master, Zhang Guoxiang (d. 1611), is found not only in this text but in the latest hagiography of the canon, the *Soushen ji* (In search of the sacred), edited by Luo Maodeng (fl. 1593–1598). Also a composite work, this text opens with the biographies of Confucius, Śākyamuni, and Taishang Laojun. Most predominate thereafter are the accounts of apotheosized cultic figures from south of the Yangtze. The dates of birth and ascension recorded in many of these entries give some indication as to the annual cycle of festival days authorized by church and state.

Several hagiographic works honor the Quanzhen heritage founded by Wang Zhe (1113–1170). One of the earliest is the *Jinlian zhengzong ji* (An account of the true lineage of the golden lotus), completed in 1241 by Qin Zhi'an, editor of the 1244 canon. This work was apparently lost in the book burning of 1281 and only recovered in the Ming. It was unknown to the compilers of a similar hagiography, the *Jinlian* *zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan* (An illustrated biographical account of the transcendent origins of the true lineage of the golden lotus). Liu Zhixuan and Xie Xichan completed this text in 1326, according to what written documents and stone inscriptions remained. They differ with Qin in attributing the origins of Quanzhen teachings to Laozi, but there is unanimity on the following four patriarchs: Donghua Dijun (Sovereign Lord of Eastern Florescence), Zhongli Quan, Lü Yan (b. 798?), and Liu Cao (fl. 1050). Central to both works are the hagiographies of the founder Wang and his seven disciples, known to the tradition as the Seven Perfected Ones (*qi zhen*) of Quanzhen: Ma Yu (1123–1183), Tan Chuduan (1123–1185), Liu Chuxuan (1147–1203), Qiu Chuji (1148–1227), Wang Chuyi (1142–1217), Hao Datong (1140–1212), and the single matriarch, Sun Bu'er (1119–1183).

Among hagiographies for individual Quanzhen patriarchs is an anonymous compilation in tribute to Wang Chuyi, the *Tixuan zhenren xianyi lu* (A record of the marvels manifested by the perfected who embodies sublimity). The nineteen episodes in this text offer a rare view of the therapeutic mission of Quanzhen masters, in the roles of healer, rain-maker, and demon queller. Even more well-known is the patriarch Qiu Chuji, whose journey into Central Asia for an audience with Chinggis Khan is commemorated in the *Changchun zhenren xiyou ji* (The journey to the west of the perfected Changchun). Qiu's disciple Li Zhichang (1193–1256) completed this work in 1228, following Qiu's death at the Tianchang Abbey in Beijing. The transcendent Lü Yan, conventionally credited with Wang Zhe's enlightenment, is the subject of a lengthy chronicle by Miao Shanshi (fl. 1324), the *Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji* (Annals of the wondrous communications and divine transformations of the sovereign lord Chunyang). As with similar narrative sequences, this text appears to have evolved from centuries of storytelling traditions that also found their expression in temple wall paintings.

Most numerous of the hagiographies focused on local cults are those dedicated to Xu Sun (239–292?), whose career as a healer and subduer of malevolent dragons was established from Sichuan east to the central Jiangxi River valleys. The earliest text to survive intact is the *Xiaodao Wu Xu er zhenjun zhuan* (A Hagiography of Wu and Xu, the two perfected lords of the filial way). Xu's association in this account with Wu Meng, the legendary exemplar of filiality, attests to an early ritual tradition that evolved around his cult in Jiangxi, apparently a Tang variation on Lingbao liturgy. The *Yulong ji* (An anthology of jade beneficence), a later work compiled by the well-known specialist in Thunder Rites, Bai Yuchan (fl. 1209–1224), reveals the extent to which Song Huizong patronized this cult as a symbol of unity in the face of the Jurchen invasions. Veneration of Xu Sun eventually led to the development of a nationalistic cult known as the Jingming Dao (Way of Purity and Perspicacity), generally thought to have been founded by Liu Yu (1257–1308), an abbot of the Yulong Guan, an abbey established in Jiangxi at the putative site of Xu's ascension. Liu's disciple Huang Yuanji (1270–1324) edited the *Jingming zhong xiao quanshu* (A comprehensive compilation on the Jingming tradition of loyalty and filiality), the biographies of which exemplify the role of Xu's disciples as guarantors of political stability. The traditional attributes of *zhong* (loyalty) and *xiao* (filiality) are reinterpreted in this context as metaphors for submission to authority and the suppression of rebellion. Shrines to Xu are still maintained in Taiwan today and, even more remarkably, the Yulong Abbey is officially designated as a historical monument worthy of preservation.

A number of other hagiographic accounts testify to the popularity of local cults at various sacred mountain sites, including Lu Shan on the northern border of Jiangxi, once a popular missionary resort, and Huagai Shan, the source of the Tianxin revelations. Most well-known perhaps is the guardian of Wudang Shan (in present-day Hubei), referred to as Xuanwu (Dark Martial Lord) or Zhenwu (Perfected Martial Lord). How early this deity associated with the north was enshrined in China is not known, but well over three hundred shrines are established in his name on Taiwan today. Xuanwu's role as defender of the Song empire against the Western Xia invasions and other threats is commemorated in the *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* (An account of the revelations conveyed to the sages by the supreme sovereign of the dark celestial realm). A composite work, it is derived largely from the textual counterpart to the wall paintings of a shrine dedicated to the Martial Lord by Song Renzong in 1057. A later anthology reveals in turn that many literati of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries promoted Xuanwu as the special guardian of the Mongol empire. Similarly, the *Da Ming Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* (An illustrated account of the auspicious responses of the supreme sovereign of the dark celestial realm during the great Ming) is a collection of encomia dating from 1405 to 1418 that honor the deity's role in establishing the mandate of the Ming.

Topography, epigraphy, and historiography. The chorography of sacred space, in the heavens above, on the earth below, and in the subterranean caverns beyond, is the subject of many works in the Daoist canon. Certainly among the most renowned of such texts from antiquity is the *Wuyue zhenxing tu* (Mappings of the true form of the Five Sacred Peaks), talismanic variations of which were introduced into the Lingbao textual corpus. The apotropaic value of these diagrams was recognized by Ge Hong and inspired Daoist liturgists for many generations later. The Five Sacred Peaks also serve as a crucial point of reference in Du Guangting's *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* (A record of the celebrated mountains, conduits, sacred peaks, munificent terrains, and caverned heavens). In addition to mapping out the *wuyue* ("five [sacred] peaks," e.g., Tai Shan in the east, Heng Shan in the south, Song Shan in the center, Hua Shan in the west, and Heng Shan in the north) and the interlocking network of ranges, Du identifies ten major and thirty-six supplementary *dongtian* or subterranean chambers, as well as seventy-two sites traversed by various transcendents and the twenty-four original parishes established by Zhang Daoling in western Sichuan.

Larger descriptive topographies date from the Song to Ming. The canon preserves individual records for three of the Five Sacred Peaks. That compiled in commemoration of the Sacred Peak of the East, *Dai shi* (A history of Dai), was presented to Ming Shenzong (r. 1573–1619) on New Year's Day of 1587. In compiling this work the editor, Zha Zhilong (fl. 1554–1586), sought to reinforce the ritual obligations of the court toward Tai Shan, devoting large portions of the text to the history of imperial sacrifices and various temple compounds, as well as the supernatural phenomena witnessed at the site from 78 BCE to 1586.

Earlier and less ambitious accounts are available for the sacred peaks of the west and south. The *Xiyue Huashan zhi* (A treatise on Hua Shan, sacred peak of the West) is attributed to a Wang Chuyi, not to be confused with the Quanzhen patriarch of the same name. This text, derived in part from the *Huashan ji* (A record of Hua Shan) dating to the Tang, may in fact be the work of the author of an 1183 preface, Liu Dayong. Unlike the treatise on Tai Shan, there is little discussion of ritual traditions in propitiation of the spirits embodied in the mountain. Instead, the compiler was far more interested in recounting stories about supramundane forces and in identifying indigenous plants and minerals with magical properties.

The *Nanyue zongsheng ji* (An anthology on the collective highlights of the sacred peak of the south) is wholly devoted to the history of Daoist sanctuaries on Heng Shan. The edition of this text in the *Daozang* is an extract from a fuller account of sacred shrines, including Daoist, Buddhist, and folk, that is printed in the Buddhist canon. Chen Tianfu (fl. 1131–1163), who completed this text in 1163, relies in part on the *Nanyue xiaolu* (A short account of the sacred peak of the south) compiled by Li Chongzhao in 902. Of considerable interest are Chen's own contributions on the history of rituals on behalf of the emperor's longevity and national prosperity. As the inventory of canonizations reveals, Song Huizong was a particularly avid patron of the shrines at Heng Shan.

Five topographies in the canon celebrate mountain ranges in Zhejiang, the most famous of which is Tiantai Shan. Central to the *Tiantaishan zhi* (A treatise on the Tiantai Mountains) is the history of the Tongbo Abbey, located on a peak of that name. It was for centuries the most prominent temple compound in the Tiantai range. Built originally for the Daoist master Sima Chengzhen (647–735), the Tongbo Guan reportedly once housed one of the largest collections of Daoist texts in the country. With the fall of Kaifeng and the reestablishment of the Song mandate at Hangzhou, the temple became an even more important talisman of the state and was evidently at the height of its glory in 1168, following thirty-seven years of construction activity. It later served as a haven for refugees during the fall of the Mongol regime and by 1367 went up in flames.

To the sacred font of the Shangqing revelations is dedicated the largest topography in the canon, the *Maoshan zhi* (A treatise on Maoshan). The forty-fifth Shangqing patriarch, Liu Dabin (fl. 1317–1328), completed this text in 1328, at a time when the site enjoyed a renewal of royal patronage. His account opens with a comprehensive collection of imperial communications concerning Maoshan, dating from 1 BCE to 1319 CE. Other outstanding features include the hagiographies of the three eponymous transcendents surnamed Mao as well as the ranks of Shangqing patriarchs and matriarchs, the history of various shrines and hermitages, an anthology of stone inscriptions dating from 520 to 1314, and a large selection of prose and prosody sustaining the sanctity of the region.

The *Daozang* also preserves a few works solely comprised of texts carved on stone. Most notable are the anthologies of epigraphy prepared on behalf of the Quanzhen heritage. The largest is the *Ganshui xianyuan lu* (An account of the origins of transcendents at Ganshui) compiled by the Quanzhen archivist Li Daoqian. The title refers to the Ganhe Garrison (in present-day Shaanxi), where the founder Wang Zhe reportedly achieved enlightenment in 1159. Most numerous are the tomb inscriptions commemorating worthies ranging from Wang Zhe to a contemporary of the editor. Another anthology, the *Gongguan beizhi* (Epigraphic memorials of palaces and abbeys), is devoted largely to the early history of the Baiyun Guan in Beijing. One inscription marks the conclusion of a massive renovation of the Tianchang Guan, as the earlier abbey was known, in 1179. Also included is the proclamation issued upon the completion of the Jin canon at the Tianchang Guan in 1191.

Zhu Xiangxian (fl. 1279–1308) of Maoshan is the editor of two works commemorating the site where Laozi reputedly left behind the *Dao de jing* in answer to the gatekeeper Yin Xi's pleas for instruction. One is a set of hagiographic inscriptions entitled *Zhongnanshan shuojing tai lidai zhenxian beiji* (An epigraphic record of the successive generations of perfected transcendents at the pavilion for the recitation of scripture on Zhongnan Shan). Zhu composed these accounts and had them inscribed on stone following a pilgrimage in 1279 to the Lou Guan (Tiered Abbey) established in honor of Yin Xi's discipleship. He derived much of his data from an earlier work compiled by Yin Wencao (d. 688), a Daoist master who apparently regarded himself as a descendant of Yin Xi. The second work compiled by Zhu, the *Gu Louguan ziyun yanqing ji* (An anthology from the abundant felicity of purple clouds at the tiered abbey of antiquity), includes inscriptions on the history of the shrine dating from 625 to 1303.

The historical works in the *Daozang* do not match the size and scope of those in the Buddhist canon. There are a large number of brief historical surveys embedded in various texts, composed generally to establish the ultimate antiquity and thus authority of a scriptural tradition. The earliest separately compiled history in the Daoist canon is the *Lidai diwang chongdao ji* (A record of reverence for the Dao on the part of sovereign rulers over successive generations) of Du Guangting. The opening summary of the pre-Tang era is little more than a statistical analysis of the number of temples established and Daoist masters ordained from one period of state patronage to the next. The discussions thereafter focus on the role of Taishang Laojun as the ancestral guardian of the Tang, especially his defense of the empire during the uprising of Huang Chao (d. 884).

The unifying feature of all later histories in the canon continues to be the providential manifestations of Lord Lao. Prototypes of this historiographic approach include the early writings on *huahu* ("converting the barbarians") that were essentially chronicles of Laozi's incarnations as the supreme preceptor of all peoples. To write a history of the faith was, in other words, to write a hagiography of Lord Lao as the messiah. This approach is exemplified in Jia Shanxiang's (fl. 1086) *Youlong zhuan* (Like unto a dragon), the title of which is drawn from Confucius's putative characterization of Laozi as recorded in the *Shi ji* (Records of the historian) of Sima Qian (145–86 BCE). Jia concentrates on Lord Lao's role as instructor to the ruling house and the history of the Taiqing Gong (Palace of Grand Clarity, in present-day Luyi, Henan province), the reputed birthplace of the "historical" Laozi.

Nearly a century later, Xie Shouhao (1134–1212), a prominent Daoist master at the site of the Xu Sun cult in Jiangxi, presented an even more comprehensive chronicle to Song Guangzong (r. 1190–1194). In compiling the *Hunyuan shengji* (A chronicle of the sage from the primordiality of chaos), Xie sought to correct the inconsistencies in Jia's account by drawing on a wider range of readings from the *sanjiao*, or "three teachings" (i.e., Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism). Xie's work is an invaluable source of citations from works no longer extant, such as the early chronicle on Lord Lao compiled by Yin Wencao. He is also particularly attentive to the history of the compilation of the canon. Among those who found Xie's work indispensable was the hagiographer Zhao Daoyi.

LITERARY COLLECTIONS AND DIALOGIC TREATISES. Among the most informative sources on the beliefs and practices of Daoist masters are their collected writings, editions of which were commonly prepared by devotees. The prime example is of course Tao Hongjing's assiduous collation of Yang Xi's revelatory verse. The writings of Wu Yun (d. 778), an ordained Zhengyi master often summoned by Tang Xuanzong, were brought together more expeditiously. According to a preface by Quan Deyu (759–818), a scribe named Wang Yan rescued what remained of the master's writings and presented them to the imperial archives. The edition in the canon, the *Zongxuan xiansheng wenji* (A literary anthology of Master Zongxuan) is that which a disciple Shao Yixuan conveyed to Quan. Among Wu's most well-known compositions is a sequence of verse entitled *Buxu ci* (Lyrics on pacing the Void) and a lengthy essay arguing that divine transcendence can indeed be learned. The history of a second Tang anthology in the canon, the collected works of the renowned Du Guangting entitled *Guangcheng ji* (An anthology of Guangcheng), is more obscure. It, too, is a valuable resource on the ritual activities of Daoist masters whose reputations made them favorites at court.

By far the most numerous of literary collections in the canon are those compiled after the Tang. A vast corpus, for example, has evolved around the semi-legendary Lü Yan, claimed as the patriarch of both the Quanzhen and Nanzong (Southern Heritage) traditions. A substantial collection of verse conventionally ascribed to him in truth probably dates no earlier than the thirteenth century. One anthology, the *Chunyang zhenren huncheng ji* (An anthology of the perfected on arising from turbulence), was prepared by He Zhiyuan, a disciple of Song Defang. He was among those assigned to work on the Canon of 1244, the opportunity of which no doubt led to this edition. What he claimed to be the product of Lü's divine inspiration appears instead to reflect the literary legacy of Wang Zhe and his disciples.

Over a half-dozen works alone purport to be the teachings and writings of founder Wang. A number of the texts were compiled in direct tribute to Ma Yu's discipleship under Wang. The master's basic pedagogy was apparently to recite a verse that would provoke a response from his devotees. Two works, the *Chongyang jiaohua ji* (An anthology on the proselytism of Chongyang) and the *Chongyang fenli shihua ji* (An anthology of Chongyang on the ten transformations according to the sectioning of a pear), preserve hundreds of these missives between Wang and Ma. The exchange began, according to legend, when Wang locked himself up for one hundred days on the grounds of his hosts Ma and wife Sun Bu'er and communicated with them merely by submitting a gift of food, often a section of pear, accompanied by instruction in verse. There is unfortunately no comparable record of Sun's responses, although late editions of her writings available outside the canon suggest that at least a few considered her to have been equally literate.

Other texts in the canon reveal that Wang was also willing to entertain the questions of his disciples. Records of such question-and-answer sessions, known as *yulu* or dialogic treatises, were as popular with the Quanzhen masters as with their Chan Buddhist counterparts. A somewhat redundant example of this genre, the *Chongyang shou Danyang erhshisi jue* (Twenty-four lessons conveyed by Chongyang to Danyang), is composed of a series of questions and answers attributed to Ma and his master Wang. Among the lessons taught is that the devotee should speak very little, control all emotions, and minimize anxiety and cravings. Further details on Wang's instruction are found in the *Chongyang lijiao shiwu lun* (Fifteen discourses on the teachings set forth by Chongyang). Moderation in all things appears to be the central message of this dialogue. According to the concluding statement ascribed to Wang, departure from the mundane realm was to be accomplished mentally, not physically. The closing simile, obviously borrowed from the Buddhist translator and exegete Kumarajiva, is that one's body is like the root-stock of a lotus mired in mud, whereas one's heart-mind is suspended in space as the lotus blossom itself.

The writings associated with Ma Yu are even more numerous than those of his master. Aside from three works based on exchanges with Wang, there are altogether six separate collections of prose and prosody printed under his name in the canon. One compilation, the *Dongxuan jinyu ji* (An anthology of the gold and jade of Dongxuan), includes a particularly revealing verse that exhorts Buddhist monks and Daoist masters to come together in accord and do away with slander. Another work, the *Jianwu ji* (An anthology on gradual enlightenment), features onomatopoeic verses that were apparently designed to illustrate, as the title implies, that enlightenment is a gradual process. A significant number of Ma's verses are expressly dedicated to female adepts, including his wife Sun. All men and women of the Dao, he urges, would best bring under control their *yima xinyuan*, or "horse of the will and monkey of the mind."

Qiu Chuji, the youngest disciple of Wang and eventually the most renowned, has comparably fewer writings to his name in the canon. The *Changchunzi Panxi ji* (An anthology of Changchunzi from the Pan tributary) preserves compositions dating both from Qiu's seclusion in the upper reaches of the Yellow River valley as well as from his later ritual activities at Qixia (in present-day Shandong). Among his verses are commemorations of various *jiao* fetes over which he had presided, personal communications to Jin Shizong (r. 1161–1189), and instructions on meditative practices. In addition to Li Zhichang's account of Qiu's later years, the *Xuanfeng qinghui lu* (A record of a felicitous convocation on the sublime spirit of the Dao), ascribed to Yelü Chucai (1189–1243), provides a record of the sermons delivered before his patron, Chinggis Khan.

All but a fraction of the collected writings associated with the other select members in Wang's circle are lost. The single anthology of Tan Chuduan's teachings in the canon arose directly from the initiative of the junior patriarch Liu Chuxuan. Of the five anthologies attributed to Liu, only one survives, although a dialogic treatise compiled by his disciples reveals somewhat more about his career. Liu's sayings, many of which were inspired by lines in the *Dao de jing*, were reportedly so popular as to have become part of the local culture of his circuit. The two paragons of filial piety, Wang Chuyi and Hao Datong, are remembered with one anthology each. The *Yunguang ji* (An anthology from Yunguang), named for the cavern in which Wang secluded himself for nine years, is a valuable supplement to the hagiographic *Xianyi lu*. The one edition of Hao's teachings to be preserved attests to his training as a diviner and abiding interest in the *Yijing*.

The influence of the early Quanzhen patriarchs is easily measured by the volume of writings that emerged from later generations. Among those whose teachings expanded upon this legacy are Qiu's successor Yin Zhiping (1169–1251), Liu's disciple Yu Daoxian (1168–1232), and Hao's disciple Wang Zhijin (1178–1263). Later syncretists for whom there is ample record in the canon include Li Daochun (fl. 1290), Miao Shanshi (fl. 1324), Wang Jie (fl. 1310), Chen Zhixu (fl. 1329–1336), Wang Weiyi (fl. 1294–1304), and Zhao Yizhen (d. 1382). Many of these figures drew equally from the Quanzhen and Nanzong traditions. The fullest documentation on the latter is to be found in late encyclopedic anthologies of the *Daozang*.

Encyclopedic anthologies. The earliest comprehensive encyclopedic work in the canon is the *Wushang biyao* (The essentials of unsurpassed arcana). Only two-thirds of the original one hundred *juan* survives of this anonymous compilation. Citations from a wide selection of texts are organized under 288 headings, ranging from cosmology and sacred topography to the protocols for transmitting divine scriptures and instructions on meditative practices. The origins of this text are revealed in a Buddhist, not Daoist, compilation, namely the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (Supplementary biographies of exalted monks) of Daoxuan (596–667), which states that Zhou Wudi (r. 561–578) ordered its compilation following his pacification of the state of Northern Qi in 577. It is thought that work began on this vast anthology as early as 574, when Wudi issued a decree establishing the Tongdao Guan (Abbey of Communication with the Dao) as a symbol of the anticipated political and ideological reunification of the empire. The text is not only an invaluable resource for citations from the original Shangqing and Lingbao revelations, but also for the later codifications they inspired.

Two smaller compendia were compiled a century later by a relatively unknown recluse named Wang Xuanhe (fl. 683). The larger of the works, the *Sandong zhunang* (Pearl bag of the three caverns) is organized under thirty-four categories dealing with various aspects of conduct befitting an adept and includes extracts from a number of texts on contemplative pursuits that are otherwise lost. The second corpus attributed to Wang is the *Shangqing daolei shixiang* (A categorical survey of the Dao of Shangqing), which specializes in citations dealing with six types of sacred quarters, from private retreats to the cosmic chambers of revealed literature.

A much larger encyclopedic anthology, the *Yunji qiqian* (Seven lots from the book-pack of the clouds), was compiled by Zhang Junfang, inspired apparently by his assignment to oversee the copying of a new canon on the order of Song Zhenzong. Zhang states in his preface that his intention was to prepare a reference work for the emperor's personal use. But since the *Yunji qiqian* was not completed until 1028 or 1029, it was obviously presented to his successor Renzong (r. 1023–1053). The writings Zhang selected for this work date from the earliest revelations to the first decades of the eleventh century. Recorded, for example, in the opening essays on cosmogony and scriptural transmission are unique copies of the prefaces composed for the first catalogues of Shangqing and Lingbao literature. Additional subheadings include sacred topography, behavioral precepts, ritual purification, visualization techniques, and hagiography. Notably absent are any instructions on liturgical procedure, a subject that Zhang clearly considered to be beyond the scope of this corpus.

Two remarkable collections of writings treating "inner alchemy" (*neidan*) appeared during the Southern Song period. The first in print was the *Dao shu* (Pivot of the Dao) compiled by the bibliophile Zeng Cao (fl. 1131–1155). Among the rare texts Zeng records is the *Baiwen pian* (A folio of one-hundred questions), based on a putative exchange between Lü Yan and his mentor, the late Han transcendent Zhongli Quan. The entire last chapter is devoted to the *Lingbao pian* (A folio on Lingbao), a variant edition of the *Lingbao bifa* (Conclusive rites of Lingbao), which was also compiled as a tribute to this legendary discipleship. A related theoretical work on the cultivation of the *jindan* (metallous enchymoma), the *Zhong Lü chuandao ji* (An Anthology on Zhong [li]'s transmission of the Dao to Lü), is found in both the *Dao shu* and a later Song collectaneum of *neidan* literature, the *Xiuzhen shishu* (Ten writings on the cultivation of perfection). This anonymously compiled anthology also includes many texts associated with the Nanzong, or Southern Heritage, the "five patriarchs" (*wuzu*) of which are: Liu Cao (d. ca. 1050), Zhang Boduan (d. 1082), Shi Tai (d. 1158), Xue Zixian (d. 1191), and Chen Nan (d. 1213). The establishment of this patriarchy appears to be a rather late innovation inspired by the legacy of the Seven Perfected of Quanzhen. By the early fourteenth century a number of texts began to assert that Liu conveyed the teachings of the venerable Zhongli Quan and Lü Yan to both Wang Zhe in the north and Zhang Boduan in the south.

Zhang Boduan is popularly regarded as the "founder" of Nanzong. His writings were initially viewed as treatises on *waidan*, "exterior," or laboratory, alchemy. More recent research suggests that they fall, rather, into the mainstream of *neidan* literature. An edition of the major corpus attributed to him, the *Wuzhen pian* (Folios on the apprehension of perfection), is recorded in the *Xiuzhen shishu*, with a preface by Zhang dating to 1075. The same anthology also includes variant editions of similar lyrical sequences ascribed to Shi Tai, Xue Zixian, and Chen Nan. But by far the most dominant in the *Xiuzhen shishu* are the writings of Chen's putative disciple, the renowned Thunder Ritual specialist Bai Yuchan. Nearly half of the text is devoted to a record of his instructions on *jindan* and Thunder Ritual traditions, as well as his liturgical activities in Fujian and his accounts of the Xu Sun cult in central Jiangxi. It may be that the *Xiuzhen shishu* was compiled by devotees of Bai, for the latest work included is a set of texts on *jindan* by Xiao Tingzhi (fl. 1260), a second-generation disciple.

OTHER SOURCES. While the *Daozang* is the most comprehensive collection of Daoist literature, it is by no means the only source available. Among the number of publications issued during the Qing dynasty, the next largest corpus is the *Daozang jiyao* (An edition of essentials from Daoist canon). The reedition of this work in 1906 includes 287 titles, compared to nearly fifteen hundred in the canon. Over half of the titles are found in the *Daozang* as well, but this anthology also contains works otherwise unknown, including tracts attributed to Sun Bu'er and Liu Cao, as well as the writings of later syncretists such as Wu Shouyang (d. 1644).

Perhaps one of the most neglected resources for Daoist literature is epigraphy. Aside from the few, mainly Quanzhen, collections in the canon, there is a wide range of stone and bronze inscriptions pertinent to the history of the faith. An anthology of epigraphy compiled by Wang Chang (1725–1806), for example, includes a transcription of the *Taishang Laojun riyong miaojing* (A wondrous scripture of Lord Lao and most high for daily use) carved on stone in 1352 at the Pavilion for the Recitation of Scriptures in Shaanxi. A variant redaction of this text is found in the *Daozang* and, at 141 words, is among the shortest works in the canon. It is essentially a code of conduct based on many traditional Chinese attributes such as filiality. Study of epigraphic documents will soon be greatly facilitated by the imminent publication of a comprehensive anthology of inscriptions bearing on the history of Daoism, a project begun by Chen Yuan and now being completed by Chen Zhichao at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing.

Scriptures and related sacred writings found in various archives constitute another essential source of Daoist literature. The Dunhuang manuscripts preserved in a number of libraries worldwide, for example, include texts that clarify the early history of several scriptural codifications. One such work, of which only a portion survives in the canon, is the *Benji jing* (Scripture on the original juncture). Over seventy fragments of this text are in the British and French archives of Dunhuang manuscripts. One of the compilers is known to have taken part in debates before the court of Tang Gaozu (r. 618–626) on the issue of whether the Buddha was a disciple of the Dao. The text itself, designed apparently in part to support this theory, seems to have taken its inspiration from discussions on the cosmogonic concept of *pūrvakoṭi* (Chin., *benji*) in the *Madhyamāgama* and *Saṃyuktāgama*, Chinese translations of which appeared in the fourth and fifth centuries. Parables in one section of the *Benji jing*, moreover, were evidently drawn from the *Dharmapada*. The text reached the height of its popularity during the reign of Tang Xuanzong, who ordered all Daoist priests not only to copy it out but also to recite and lecture on it during official religious festivals. In short, the lessons within were thought to lead to the salvation of the state as well as of the individual.

Later collections of manuscripts and rare blockprints also have much to reveal about the continuity and change in Daoist traditions. Among published works is the *Zhuang Lin xu Daozang* (Supplementary Daoist canon of the Zhuang and Lin clans) edited by Michael Saso, a collection of Daoist works largely gathered from a Zhengyi fraternity in Xinzhu of north Taiwan. These texts, as well as those recovered by Kristofer Schipper in the Tainan area of south Taiwan, suggest a remarkable continuum of Daoist liturgical practice. A scripture dedicated to Tianfei (i.e., Mazu) in the Schipper Archives of Paris, for example, proves to be a variant of a text in the canon dating to 1409–1412. The manuscript version conveys an image of this well-known Fujianese patroness of seafarers that accommodates a folk vision of her as an *avatāra* of Guanyin. Tianfei’s assimilation to this all-compassionate *bodhisattva* is promoted in popular narratives on the life of the goddess compiled during the late Ming dynasty. Just as she continues to inspire poets, novelists, and even scriptwriters in this age, so, too, has much of the Daoist literature both in and outside the canon left its mark on centuries of Chinese belles-lettres. Further study of this literature can only disclose how deeply the Daoist heritage pervades all aspects of Chinese society.

SEE ALSO Alchemy, article on Chinese Alchemy; Du Guangting; Fangshi; Ge Hong; Laozi; Lu Xiujing; Millenarianism, article on Chinese Millenarian Movements; Sima Chengzhen; Tao Hongjing; Wang Zhe; Xian; Zhang Daoling; Zhang Jue.

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JUDITH MAGEE BOLTZ (1987 AND 2005)

DAOISM: HISTORY OF STUDY

Although Daoism represents a tradition as ancient and as rich as any other major religion, the serious study of this tradition has been almost entirely a twentieth-century phenomenon and largely a phenomenon of the second half of the twentieth century at that. The reasons for this are not far to seek. From its fourth and last printing in 1445 until its reproduction by photomechanical means in 1926, the Daoist canon (*Daozang*), a compendium of over one thousand different works representing the full scope of the tradition, was a decidedly rare work, the jealously guarded possession of a handful of monasteries. Until the twentieth century, moreover, few outsiders would have been inclined to persist in seeking them out. To the traditional Chinese scholar, raised in the neo-Confucian belief that Buddhism and Daoism alike were little more than gross superstition, there was little reason to take an interest in such literature.

Although certain eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scholars made use of the Daoist canon to obtain good editions of ancient philosophical or historical texts (which, as in the case of the *Mozi*, were often not Daoist works but were included in the canon for reasons unrelated to their contents), it was not until 1911 that a Chinese scholar lingered over the rest of the canon. This scholar was Liu Shipei, a fervent nationalist whose attitude toward tradition had been enlarged by the modern world to embrace a less orthodox range of study.

By the time Liu published the results of his readings, non-Chinese scholars who had inherited the best of the traditional Chinese polymath's zeal for knowledge (without the polymath's blind spot with regard to religion) had begun to show a lively interest in Daoism also. French Sinologists, such as Édouard Chavannes and Paul Pelliot, and Japanese, such as Tsumaki Naoyoshi, came to Daoism out of a general interest in Chinese civilization, but also from societies where the study of religion was an accepted branch of learning. Japan, in particular, had at an early stage accepted much of China's medieval culture, including the Buddhist faith, but had not undergone a neo-Confucian rejection of this legacy to the same degree. Thus, learned Buddhists, such as Tokiwa Daijō, were already confronting the complex issue of the relationship between Chinese Buddhism and Daoism in the 1920s. One of them, Ōfuchi Eshin, had even traveled abroad to investigate the millennium-old manuscripts of Daoist scriptures that had been discovered among other ancient materials at Dunhuang in Northwest China at the turn of the century.

The increased political role of Japan in China during the 1930s also brought many Buddhist scholars to China. Some, such as Fukui Kojun, returned to Japan to pursue research in the Daoist canon, now available in its modern printing in academic libraries, while others, such as Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, stayed longer to gain firsthand experience of Daoist monastic life. Yoshioka's 1941 *Dōkyō no jittai* (The actual state of Daoism), published in Beijing, remains an invaluable source on a mode of religious life now largely vanished. The expulsion of the Japanese from China after 1945 effectively halted all such opportunities for fieldwork and even led to the loss of much material already painstakingly collected. However, as *Dōkyō to Chūgoku shakai* (Daoism and Chinese society), a slim volume published in Tokyo in 1948 by Kubo Noritada, demonstrates, even after their return to Japan these scholars were concerned to relate their historical and bibliographical research to the fuller picture of Chinese society they had witnessed. Their numbers were also sufficient to found in 1950 the Japan Society of Taoistic Research (Nippon Dōkyō Gakkai) and to start, the following year, the publication of a journal, *Tōhō shūkyō*, a serial still published with an annual update on Daoist bibliography.

In contrast, 1950 saw the publication in Paris of the posthumous writings on Daoism of the sole French scholar to have followed up the pioneering work of Chavannes and Pelliot by carrying out research into materials in the Daoist canon. Henri Maspero (1883–1945), like others of his generation, came to the study of Daoism not as a specialist but as a broad-ranging scholar. He had published in the fields of Egyptology and Vietnamese studies and had produced a Sinological masterpiece, a one-volume survey of preimperial China, before his research into the China of the latter Han period and thereafter brought him face to face with the Daoist religion. During the 1930s he applied himself to unraveling the formative stages of the religion, working independently of, but using similar methods to, his Japanese contemporaries (for example, comparing materials in the Daoist canon with the Dunhuang manuscripts and with Buddhist sources). Maspero perished at Buchenwald in 1945 before he had published more than a portion of his findings. In his three-volume collected writings, compiled by Paul Demiéville, his equally erudite literary executor, an entire volume is devoted to Daoism. Maspero's description of Daoism remains a highly rewarding record of the first encounter between a modern European mind and the full complexity of this ancient religion.

Sadly, Maspero had no students. Maspero's great contemporary in the study of Chinese religion, Marcel Granet, more immediately influenced the experts on Chinese religion who rose to prominence in postwar Paris. Yet Granet was not unaware of the importance of Daoism, and the work of such men as Max Kaltenmark, Rolf Alfred Stein, and Michel Soymié helped maintain the primacy of Paris as the center of Daoist studies in the Western world. Nor were these men, for their part, unaware of the achievements of their Japanese colleagues: Soymié established with Yoshioka in 1965 a second Japanese journal devoted to Daoism, the *Dōkyō kenkyū*. By this time a number of studies of Daoism had been published in Japan, and many points of controversy were hotly debated. A new generation of European researchers specifically interested in Daoism emerged, and the new publication soon introduced the findings of Anna Seidel and K. M. Schipper to a Japanese audience.

While the two major streams of Daoist studies were beginning to flow together, research in China remained almost as it had been in France in the 1930s, the domain of one lone scholar. Since the reprinting of the Daoist canon, established specialists in the history of Chinese religion, such as Chen

Yinke and Chen Yuan, had devoted articles to aspects of Daoist history, and one small volume attempting an account of the whole development of Daoism had been published, partly on the basis of early Japanese research. But from 1949 onward the only aspects of Daoist studies to see publication were those connected with the history of peasant uprisings or the history of science. In the former area the textual scholar Wang Ming produced in 1960 an excellent edition of the *Taiping jing*, a major Daoist scripture associated with the Yellow Turban insurgents of the Han dynasty, but subsequent discussion of the text by a number of academics tended not to focus on religious issues.

In 1963 Chen Guofu, a historian of science and the "lone scholar" referred to above, managed to republish an expanded version of an outstanding monograph, originally published in 1949, on the formation of the Daoist canon. Chen had initially undertaken his lengthy and painstaking research during the 1940s, when his interest in the history of Chinese alchemy led him to the question of the dating of Daoist texts on this subject. But especially in the 1963 edition of his *Daozang yuanliu kao,* he also included gleanings on many other topics that had caught his eye in the course of his readings. Other scholars, unable to claim to be furthering the study of science rather than religion, were less fortunate. Man Wentong, who had published some worthwhile research on Daoist texts in the 1940s, saw his work confiscated during the late 1950s; only a few further notes were published posthumously in 1980. The Chinese Cultural Revolution of the 1960s ended for a while the activities of the Zhongguo Daojiao Xiehui (the Chinese Daoist Association), a group formed in 1957 but unable even then to achieve much in either religious or academic terms.

Chen Guofu had begun his alchemical researches while studying in the United States under Tenney L. Davis at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and it was almost exclusively this scientific aspect of Daoism that had continued to attract the attention of the English-speaking world—apart, that is, from the perennial fascination with the *Dao de jing,* reinvigorated for academics in the 1970s and 1990s by discoveries of early versions of its text. Thus, when the first international conference on Daoism met in Italy in 1968, two historians of science, Joseph Needham from Great Britain and Nathan Sivin from the United States, joined with experts on religion such as Schipper and Seidel. No Chinese scholar attended, nor did any senior scholar from Japan. This situation was rectified in 1972 at the next conference, which was held in Japan so a number of Japanese scholars could attend, as did Hou Ching-lang, originally from Taiwan but trained in Paris. Hou was by no means the first Chinese to have conducted research into Daoism there. In 1960 Wu Chi-yu had used the Dunhuang manuscripts to compile an edition of an important Daoist scripture, the *Benji jing.* A few other Chinese scholars had by now published on Daoism in Hong Kong, Taiwan, or farther afield—Liu Ts'un-yan in Australia, for instance. But it was not until 1979, at a third conference held in Switzerland, that the situation in Beijing had changed sufficiently for Chen Guofu to participate. Daoist studies were thus finally able to achieve true international status and to win a degree of recognition in Daoism's native land.

The change of climate in the People's Republic of China manifested itself in a number of other ways. The year 1979 also saw the first publication of a new academic periodical, *Shijie zongjiao* (World religion), marking the start of the officially recognized study of religion in post-1949 China. Although it was initially much concerned with the history of atheism, in the following year articles on Daoism were included. The first volume of an outline history of Chinese Daoist thought, *Zhongguo Daojiao sixiang shigang,* and a new textual study by Wang Ming also appeared at this time. By 1980 the Chinese Daoist Association was active once more. In 1981 a dictionary of religion (*Zongjiao cedian*) containing a large number of entries on Daoism, was published. The first dictionary of Daoism as such, the *Daojiao dacidian* by Li Shuhuan, appeared in 1979 in Taiwan, but while Li's status as a Daoist priest contrasts markedly with that of the Marxist compilers of the later volume, inasmuch as neither dictionary incorporated the findings of non-Chinese scholars, both fell well below the standard that could have been achieved through international cooperation.

Although Chinese scholarship on Daoism lagged behind that of France and Japan, the potential for development was great. In the early 1980s Daoist priests appeared once again in China's streets and marketplaces, showing that the living tradition of the religion had not been cut off entirely by the Cultural Revolution and that scholars might still learn from it firsthand. Furthermore, China's bibliographic resources remained (and still remain) the envy of the outside world. One might mention, for example, the epigraphical sources on Song Daoism used by the historian Chen Yuan, besides those related to canonical literature. At this point international work was already under way on a complete bibliographic guide to the canon in its modern reprinted form. Based in Paris under the direction of Schipper, it was sponsored by the European Association for Chinese Studies and involved scholars from European countries and beyond. Even before publication of the guide, the project led to the publication of concordances to important Daoist texts and to an analysis by John Lagerwey of a sixth-century Daoist encyclopedia, published by Lagerwey as the *Wushang piyao* (1981). It also indirectly stimulated a monograph by Piet van der Loon titled *Taoist Works in the Libraries of the Sung Period* (1984).

In Japan, major collaborative ventures were preceded by publications reflecting the work of individual careers. First Yoshioka and then Kubo produced histories of Daoism aimed at general audiences. Ōfuchi Ninji completed a catalog of all the Daoist manuscripts from Dunhuang with a companion volume of photographs of every text. These two works were published as *Tonkō Dōkyō*, respectively subtitled

Mokuroku-hen and *Zuroku-hen*, in Tokyo in 1978 and 1979. Collaborative ventures began when a volume on Daoism was required for a series on the rich material of Dunhuang, and no fewer than ten writers (including Schipper) joined under the editorship of Yoshioka. Yoshioka died in 1979, but the volume, *Tonkō to Chūgoku Dōkyō*, eventually appeared in 1983. It includes a sixty-two-page general bibliography of Daoism based on material he had earlier collected. Yoshioka had in a sense initiated cooperative scholarship in Japanese Daoist studies somewhat earlier. A Festschrift in his honor, *Dōkyō kenkyū ronshū* (Collected essays in Daoist studies), drawing on the work of fifty-four Japanese and foreign contributors, was published in Tokyo in 1977.

In 1983 a comprehensive survey of Daoism involving the work of twenty-three scholars was published in Japan under the general title *Dōkyō*. This was the first collaborative attempt at a full description of the religion in any language. The three volumes of this survey, *Dōkyō to wa nani ka?*, *Dōkyō no tenkai*, and *Dōkyō no dempō*, are devoted respectively to a description of Daoism itself, an assessment of its importance in relation to other aspects of Chinese life and thought, and a survey of its spread beyond its Chinese origins. The last volume also contains surveys of research in Japan and elsewhere. The study of Daoism outside mainland China became increasingly prominent, especially as it moved from historical to anthropological research. Historical research has not, however, decreased in importance. Pioneering works such as the *Hanʿguk Togyosa* of Yi Nŭng-hwa, a study of the history of Daoism published in Seoul, South Korea, in 1959, have successors in the publications of Japanese scholars concerned to reassess the impact of Daoist beliefs on the history of their own culture. Of these, the symposium *Dōkyō to kodai tennōsei*, which appeared in Tokyo in 1978 under the editorship of Fukunaga Mitsuji, deals with an issue of no slight importance to the modern Japanese, namely the possibility of Daoist influence on such a quintessentially Japanese institution as the emperorship.

However, it is in the investigation of Daoism as practiced nowadays outside mainland China that the greatest diversity of scholarly activity became apparent. Kubo, in his research into Daoist beliefs associated with the hour *gengshen*, has covered not only Japan but also Okinawa. Of the many ethnographers and others concerned with recording Daoist practices in Taiwan, one scholar based on that island, Liu Zhiwan, published the first part of his study *Chūgoku Dōkyō no matsuri to shinkō* in Tokyo in 1983. In 1975 the American Michael Saso published in Taipei twenty-five volumes of Daoist texts used under the title *Zhuanglin xu Daozang*. The Daoist practices of the Yao people of northern Thailand were recorded by Japanese scholars and have attracted the attention of French, American, and Dutch scholars. Daoism in Hong Kong, Singapore, and other overseas Chinese communities was investigated to some extent as well.

By the mid-1980s, Daoist studies were thus no longer confined to one or two pioneers working in isolation, and in the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century the trend toward the internationalization of Daoist studies has continued, even though the initial series of international conferences has not been maintained. The steady revival and progress of academic life in the People's Republic of China saw the emergence of strong centers of research outside the Institute for the Study of World Religions in the China Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, which launched *Shijie zongjiao*. Sichuan University in Chengdu, for example, has since 1986 published a journal, *Zongjiaoxue yanjiu* (Religious studies), which consistently carries articles on Daoism, and also completed publication between 1988 and 1995, under the editorship of Qing Xitai, of the first comprehensive history of Daoism up to the twentieth century, spread over four volumes, a work now available in English translation. The Chinese Daoist Association, meanwhile, published not only its own journal but also a major encyclopedic dictionary in 1994, a year before an even larger work of the same type from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, which had already produced a comprehensive guide to the literature in the canon in 1991. In some respects, publication on Daoism in China (notably the series *Zangwai daoshu* and its continuation, supplementing existing canonical collections, and especially the republication of traditional works on self-cultivation) was assisted by the rapid rise of interest in *qigong* in the late 1980s, though government worries about the implications of the craze eventually led to its increasing regulation in the following decade, especially after 1999.

The stream of monographs and research aids produced in Japan has increased to a flood, and more concise encyclopedic dictionaries drawing on a wider range of international scholarship have been published in Japan. The French language has remained important for scholarship in the field, even though scholars who had initially published in French often choose to publish in English or see their work translated. The same holds true for the less conspicuous but not unimportant tradition of Daoist studies in Germany. During the last decade of the twentieth century the study of Daoism in English at last came into its own. The only journal exclusively dedicated to it, *Taoist Resources,* lasted less than a decade (1988–1997) before being absorbed into the *Journal of Chinese Religions*, but this and other established periodicals find much more room for contributions on Daoism. Stephen Bokenkamp's pioneering *Early Daoist Scriptures* initiated the first monographic series in English dedicated to Daoism (in 1997), whereas established social historians like Robert Hymes and Edward L. Davis publish volumes exploring the role of Daoism in local society from the eleventh century onwards.

In part, this willingness of North American university presses to venture into what had been before the 1980s a virtually unknown area was the result of the emergence of a wider reading public in the English-speaking world, a public still primarily interested in the *Dao de jing, feng-shui,* or the martial arts, but also prepared to explore further. To cater to such interests a number of websites emerged, including some of real academic value, such as that maintained by the Italian expert on alchemy, Fabrizio Pregadio, who is also editor of a substantial and groundbreaking encyclopedia of Daoism in English. Livia Kohn, who had from early in her career attempted to provide materials in English to meet the needs of higher education in North America, edited the first major work of reference on Daoism in English, the *Daoism Handbook*, though her student James Miller has achieved an even more remarkable feat by condensing knowledge into a readable introductory volume. Miller's work has earned the approbation of at least one ordained Daoist priest engaged in doctoral research in English. The combination of religious and academic qualifications goes back to Schipper's contacts with Daoist circles in Taiwan, but the increasingly obvious strength of the religion throughout the Chinese world suggests it is a combination that may become more common in the future. Certainly the revival of Daoist practice on a large scale in China itself has enabled scholars such as Kenneth Dean and Lagerwey, partly inspired by the pioneering work of der Loon, to combine textual scholarship and fieldwork to bring new insights into many aspects of Daoist ritual and its relationship to Chinese social life.

Meanwhile, the very vibrancy of the religion in the contemporary world has started to stimulate reflection on the way it was originally represented in Western scholarship as a moribund tradition perpetuated only by ignorant charlatans. In this, the lead has been taken by the Australian scholar Benjamin Penny, who has briefly examined some of the influences working on nineteenth-century accounts of Daoism. In 2003 Elena Valussi challenged the rhetoric of decline in later Daoism through a London doctorate devoted to the emergence in the Qing period of texts promoting the self-cultivation of women. These show an ongoing pattern of adaptation and innovation into the twentieth century not easy to reconcile with the negative assessments of Western missionary observers. The early twenty-first century is at last seeing the recognition of Daoism as a religious tradition of remarkable richness and historic depth that has by no means been extinguished by modernity and that may yet have much to teach. Several of those responsible for demonstrating this, like Anna Seidel (1938–1991), Michel Strickmann (1942–1994), and Isabelle Robinet (1932–2000), did not live to see the full fruits of their efforts.

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T. H. BARRETT (1987 AND 2005)

DAOSHENG (360?–434), also Zhu Daosheng; Chinese Buddhist monk, student of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, and early proponent of a doctrine of sudden enlightenment. The precise age at which Daosheng entered the religious life is unknown. Accounts of his early career state only that he studied under Zhu Fatai (a disciple, with Dao'an, of Fotudeng) in Jiankang, the southern capital. In 397 he journeyed to Mount Lu and became the disciple of Dao'an's most famous student, Huiyuan. During his first year on Lushan, Daosheng took advantage of the presence of the Kashmiri monk Saṃghadeva to study the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma literature. Around 406 he left Lushan for the northern capital of Chang'an, where he presumably attended Kumārajīva's translation seminars of the *Vimalakīrti* and *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtras*. Later, he wrote commentaries to both of these scriptures.

In 407 Daosheng abruptly left Chang'an and returned to Lushan, bearing with him a copy of Sengzhao's *Boruo wu zhi lun* (*Prajñā* is not knowledge). Liu Yimin's correspondence with Sengzhao regarding this text, included in the *Zhaolun*, resulted from this fortuitous transmission. Shortly after arriving on Mount Lu, Daosheng was off again, this time to Jiankang, where in 418 Faxian translated a recension of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*. This text, like its Hīnayāna namesake, purported to record the last discourse of the Buddha, a fact that very naturally conferred on it a prestige and authority all its own. Quite unlike the Hīnayāna version, however, the Mahāyāna text preached that *nirvāṇa* was "permanent, joyous, personal, and pure" (Chin., *chang*, *le*, *wo*[!], *jing*), assertions that are substantially at odds with the normative Mahāyāna teaching that the nature of *nirvāṇa*, like that of all *dharma*s, is itself empty (*śūnya*) of all attributes. More curious to Daosheng's ears, however, was the statement in Faxian's translation that the *icchantika*s (Chin., *yichanti*, beings who have cut off their roots of virtue and seek only to gratify their desires) could never attain buddhahood. To Daosheng, such a statement vitiated the central claim of Mahāyāna Buddhism to be a vehicle of salvation for all beings. Disdaining to accept the letter of the text, he insisted on the ultimate buddhahood of the *icchantika*s, and in so doing brought down upon himself the wrath of the monastic community in Jiankang. Daosheng was forced to leave the capital in 428 or 429 when accusations of heresy were formally brought to the attention of the emperor.

Back on Lushan, Daosheng did not have to wait long for vindication. In 430 a new recension of the

Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra, translated by Dharmakṣema in Liangzhou in 421, reached the southern capital. Eight chapters longer than Faxian's recension, this text contained passages in the sections hitherto unavailable to the Chinese that explicitly guaranteed salvation to the *icchantika*s. When the contents of this text became known in Jiankang, Daosheng was invited to return to the capital. He died on Mount Lu in the year 434.

Daosheng's works, nearly all lost, reflect the broadened textual horizons of the Chinese Buddhist world of the early fifth century. They include essays on the Buddha nature and the *dharmakāya* (the transcendental, absolute body of the Buddha); a treatise on the two truths, presumably a Mādhyamika-oriented work deriving from the influence of Kumārajīva; and commentaries on several sūtras, including the *Vimalakīrti,* the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (Lotus), the *Nirvāṇa* (the principal scriptural warrant for many of his notions), and the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā.* But what we know of his thought is based principally on secondary sources, the testimony of Sengzhao, for instance, who liberally cites Daosheng's views in his own commentary on the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra.* Of Daosheng's scriptural commentaries only that on the *Lotus* survives.

For Daosheng, the phenomenal world is supported by an absolute, a principle of cosmic and moral order (*li*) that is unitary, indivisible, and immanent in all things. This cosmic order is *dharma.* As the source of things, it is also their *ti,* or substance, and yet it is ultimately without any qualifying attributes whatsoever: it is *kong,* empty, *wu,* without existence, or *ziran,* self-same, what is naturally so. The personification of this principle is, of course, the Buddha, but as the Buddha is in a sense no more than a reification of the *dharma,* the body of the *dharma* (*dharmakāya*), buddhas and ordinary beings share a common substance. The *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* asserts, in its most well-known passage, that all beings possess this buddha nature (*foxing*). If so, argues Daosheng, the religious life does not culminate in the acquisition of some new quality but in an awareness within each of us of an already present enlightenment. Once this awareness dawns, there then arises what the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* refers to as the true self (*zhen wo*), an unqualified, blissful, and unchanging consciousness. It was in terms of this True Self that Daosheng understood the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*'s teaching that *nirvāṇa* is permanent, joyous, personal, and pure.

Classical Mahāyāna thought conceives of the religious path as commencing with a mind set on enlightenment (*bodhicitta*) and progressing through a series of ten *bodhisattva* stages (*bhūmis*) in which deluded thought is suppressed and nondual insight (*prajñā*) into reality cultivated. The seventh of these *bhūmis* is usually considered a decisive point in the spiritual life. From that point on, the practitioner is considered no longer subject to spiritual retrogression; his consciousness is wholly oriented toward enlightenment, even if that path involves, as it must, the decision to delay final *nirvāṇa* for the sake of others. But is the experience of enlightenment itself a sudden, radical break in consciousness, or is it of a piece, more rarefied perhaps, with the gradual steps of spiritual progress along the *bodhisattva* path?

A document contemporary with Daosheng, Xie Lingyun's *Bianzong lun* (Discussion of essentials; included in the *Guang hongming ji,* T.D. no. 2103) apprises us that for many Chinese the *bodhisattva* path was seen as a course of gradual progression and graded stages of enlightenment. Against this view, the *Bianzong lun* sets forth what it calls the new doctrine of Daosheng. According to this doctrine, as the Absolute is unitary, indivisible, and without any qualifiers whatsoever, so too must the wisdom that comprehends it be a sudden, intuitive insight (*dunwu*) into the whole of reality. Such an insight can admit to no gradation. Daosheng likens the process of enlightenment to that of a fruit ripening on a tree. Religious practice may inculcate confidence and faith in the *dharma,* but at the moment when one reaches enlightenment there is a qualitative leap or disjunction, just as the fruit suddenly falls away from the tree when it reaches maturity.

Daosheng's teaching of sudden enlightenment was not the first such doctrine in China. Previous thinkers such as Zhi Dun and, allegedly, Dao'an, had spoken of the seventh *bhūmi* as the critical stage at which insight dawns. For them, however, this insight was deepened in later stages. Daosheng rejected this lesser doctrine of sudden enlightenment (*xiao dunwu*), as he did the gradualist notions of his former companion in Chang'an, Huiguan (354–424), who argued that practitioners of different levels of spiritual maturity perceive the truth in different ways and to differing degrees: the truth may be whole, but some are capable of seeing only a portion of it. This subitist versus gradualist controversy was one of the issues subsumed within the discourse of fifth- and sixth-century debates on the *jiaopan,* the divisions of scriptures that attempted to account for the diversity, even incongruity, the Chinese found among the teachings of the Indian sūtra literature. These organizing schemes classified texts both genetically, according to the type of teaching embodied therein, and historically, according to the period in the career of the Buddha in which they were said to have been preached.

In one of the most prominent of these early systems, Huiguan proposed that the Buddha preached at least two types of doctrine, *dunjiao,* or sudden teachings, and *jianjiao,* gradual teachings (a third type, indeterminate, is often attributed to Huiguan and was widely found in *jiaopan* contemporary with his). But Huiguan's emphasis here does not bear directly on the nature of the enlightenment experience itself; as the term *jiao* (teaching) implies, what is at issue is the *method* employed in various texts to bring beings to enlightenment, suggesting that in their quest for a systematization of the Buddhist scriptures, the scholar-monks of Daosheng's time admitted, in best Mahāyāna fashion, a plurality of religious paths without necessarily denying the suddenness of enlightenment itself.

For his part, Daosheng too proposed a classification of the Buddha's teachings according to the capacities of the audience. In the *Miaofa lianhua jing su*, his commentary to the *Lotus Sūtra*, Daosheng acknowledges the need for various devices to provoke faith in *dharma* and posits a fourfold division of the Buddha's teachings: (1) Good and Pure Wheel of the Law; (2) Expedient Teachings; (3) True Teachings; and (4) Teachings without Residue. Whether these refer, as commonly interpreted, to specific texts or, as also maintained (Ōchō, 1952, pp. 232–238), merely to teaching methods, they are indicative of Daosheng's recognition that although the Truth may be indivisible, the means to attract people to it must take heed of their capacity to comprehend what is taught. Clearly, Daosheng never intended to preclude the necessity for religious cultivation by promulgating his doctrine of sudden enlightenment.

Crucial as these issues may have been for the Indian Buddhist tradition, where both subitist and gradualist tendencies are attested, it is important to recognize the extent to which the debate over the topic in China was carried out against a backdrop of indigenous values and perceptions. Despite the provocative fact that Xie Lingyun classed as sudden the doctrines of Confucius, Confucian teachings were perennially associated with a gradual path of moral and intellectual cultivation epitomized in their concept of the ideal person, the *junzi*. By contrast, the very notions most typically associated with the subitist doctrine, the unity and indivisibility of the Truth and the ineffability and spontaneity of the experience of it, are characteristically Daoist. As Demiéville points out (1973, pp. 256–257), Daosheng's most well-known assertions—that works are in vain, that acts engender no retribution, that *karman* is a mere nominal designation, and that buddahood is innate in all beings—handsomely recapitulate the notions of sagehood championed in the immediately preceding centuries by the *xuanxue* thinkers.

In later centuries, subitist and gradualist patterns would manifest themselves again in the controversies of the Southern and Northern Chan teachings (upon which Daosheng's thought has no real bearing whatsoever) and, in another form altogether, in the division of the neo-Confucian teachings into the so-called Cheng-Zhu and Lu-Wang traditions, testifying to the power of these motifs over Chinese intellectual and religious history. It is thus important to see in Daosheng's thought the extent to which Buddhist and indigenous patterns of religious thinking fertilize each other and to recognize in the concerns of the still young Chinese Buddhist church of Daosheng's day the resumption of perennial Chinese themes and conflicts.

SEE ALSO Bodhisattva Path; Guo Xiang; Huiyuan; Kumārajīva; Sengzhao; Wang Bi.

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MARK D. CUMMINGS (1987)
Revised Bibliography

DĀRĀ SHIKŌH, MUḤAMMAD. (According to some sources, Dara Shukōh.) Sultan Muḥammad Dārā

Shikōh (AH 1024–1069/1615–1659 CE), the eldest son of the Mughal emperor Shāhjahān and Mumtāz Maḥal, was born in the city of Ajmer. Dārā's political career began in 1634, when he was given the first *manṣab* (rank) in command of 1,200 *dhāt* (soldiers) and 6,000 *sawār* (horsemen). By 1657 the number of troops under Dārā's command had reached 100,000. Moreover, later in the same year, due to the illness of his father, Dārā was appointed as regent to look after the affairs of the empire.

Dārā was not a successful warrior, however. His three expeditions against the Persian army, in 1639, 1642, and 1653, ended in humiliation and cost him the chance of capturing Kandahar. His later career, moreover, saw two detrimental defeats in the war of succession at the hands of his brothers, who refused to accept Dārā as the new regent. First he lost against Murād and Aurangzēb in Samūgarh, and then a few months later he suffered his final defeat in 1659 at the hands of Aurangzēb in Deorai. Although Dārā was a brave warrior, his lack of diplomatic and leadership skills lost him his crown, and he was forced to flee to Dadar for refuge. There he was betrayed by his host, Malik Jīwan, and handed over to the new emperor, Aurangzēb. Finally, Dārā was paraded in disgrace through the streets of Delhi and beheaded in Dhū al Ḥijja AH 1069 (August 1659).

Dārā was a patron of arts, architecture, and literature and was himself a skilled calligrapher, artist, poet, writer, and translator. He wrote several works on Sufism and translated a few remarkable Sanskrit works into Persian. Dārā appears to have been interested in the Qādiriyya Ṣūfī *silsila* (literally, "order") from his childhood. He was formally initiated by Mullā Shāh into the Qādiriyya *silsila* sometime in 1639 or 1640. He remained committed to his *silsila* throughout his life, and as a poet he adopted "Qādirī" as his pen name.

It was his interest in Sufism that led Dārā to start writing in 1639 or 1640. His first four works were on Sufism. The first, *Safīnat al-Awliyāʾ* (Ship of the saints), contains more than four hundred short biographies of Ṣūfī saints of various orders. The second, *Sakīnat al–Awliyāʾ* (Tranquility of the saints), encompasses the lives of twenty-eight Qādirī Ṣūfīs, mostly Dārā's contemporaries. The third work, *Risāla-i Ḥaqq numāʾ* (The compass of the truth), is a manual aimed at explaining the theory and practice of Ṣūfī meditation. The fourth work, *Ḥasanāt al-ʿĀrifīn* (Merits of the Gnostics), is a collection of the *shaṭḥiyyāt* (ecstatic utterances) of the Ṣūfī saints from the eleventh century down to Dārā's own time. His Ṣūfī writings show that he was an enthusiastic follower of the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* (oneness of being) and advocated an inclusive approach towards other religions.

It was Dārā's broad-minded Ṣūfī attitude that brought him to the study of Hinduism. He held a series of dialogues with a Hindu yogi, Bābā Lāl Dās, and discussed with him various concepts of Hinduism, at times comparing them with Islam. This conversation was later compiled as *Sūʾāl-o-jawāb Dārā Shukōh-o-Bābā Lāl Dās* (The dialogue between Dārā Shukōh and Bābā Lāl Dās). As a result of his discussion with Bābā Lāl and other Ṣūfīs he wrote *Majmaʿ al-Baḥrayn* (*The Mingling of the Two Oceans*). This work represents one of the most important attempts to reconcile Islam and Hinduism in the history of Indian thought, and specifically in the field of comparative religion. Yet despite its ecumenical nature, *Majmaʿ* became the most controversial work written by Dārā.

Dārā also translated fifty Upaniṣads—under the title *Sirr-i Akbar* (The greatest veil)—from the original Sanskrit into Persian. Later, Anquetil Duperron, a French scholar, translated the Persian rendering of Dārā into French and Latin and introduced his work to Europe. In his preface to the *Sirr-i Akbar,* Dārā assigned the Upaniṣads the status of *kitāb-i maknūn* (a well-guarded book)—a status previously assigned by Muslim scholars only to the Qurʾān. For Dārā, the Upaniṣads and the Qurʾān represented two facets of the same truth. Dārā's other scholarly efforts in the field of Hinduism include a translation of the *Bhagavadgītā* and his commission of a translation of the *Jōg Bāshist,* also known as *Minḥāj al-Sālikīn* (The path of the wayfarers). In the preface to *Jōg,* he praises the prophet Muḥammad and admires the Hindu avatar Ramchand. This also demonstrates that, for him, both personalities were guides of the same stature. Dārā Shikōh's efforts to forge a new relationship between Hinduism and Islam was the most remarkable ecumenical achievement in the history of Mughal India.

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PERWAIZ HAYAT (2005)

DARKNESS SEE LIGHT AND DARKNESS

DARŚANAS SEE MĪMĀṂSĀ; NYĀYA; SĀṂKHYA; VAIŚEṢIKA; VEDĀNTA; YOGA

DARWIN, CHARLES SEE EVOLUTION; SCIENCE AND RELIGION

DARWĪSH. The Persian word *darwīsh,* from the Pahlavi *driyosh,* is most likely derived from the term *darvīza,* meaning "poverty," "neediness," "begging," and so forth. The word *darwīsh* has entered the other Islamic languages, such as Turkish and Urdu, and is even found in classical Arabic sources. It has become an English word in the form of *dervish.* In all these cases, including the original Persian, it is related primarily to spiritual poverty, equivalent to the possession of "Muhammadan poverty" *(al-faqr al-muḥammadi).* Hence the term *darwīsh* referring to a person who possesses this "poverty" is the same as the Arabic term *faqīr* used in Sufism in many Islamic languages besides Arabic (including Persian itself) for Muhammadan poverty. Within Ṣūfī circles, these words are used interchangeably, along with *mutaṣawwif,* "practitioner" of Sufism.

The term *darwīsh* appears in Persian literature as early as the tenth century and in such early Persian Ṣūfī texts as the works of Khwājah ʿAbd Allāh Anṣārī of Herat, where it carries the basic meaning referred to above but encompasses such variations as "ascetic," "hermit," and "wandering Ṣūfī" *(qalandar).* Later it also became an honorific title bestowed upon certain Ṣūfīs such as Darwīsh Khusraw, the leader of the Nuqṭawiyah school at the time of Shah ʿAbbās I. Throughout the history of Sufism, the state of being a *darwīsh,* or *darwīshī,* has been held in great honor and respect, as seen from the famous *ghazal* of Ḥāfiẓ that begins with the verse

> Rawḍiy-i khuld-i barīn khalwat-i darwīshānast
> Māyiy-i muḥtashimī khidmat-i darwīshanast
>
> The sublime eternal Paradise is the spiritual
> retreat of the dervishes;
>
> The essence of grandeur is the service of the dervishes.

There is, however, a secondary meaning associated with *darwīsh* that carries negative connotations, interpreting simplicity of life, limitation of material needs, reliance upon God for sustenance, and other aspects of Muhammadan poverty or Sufism as laziness, lackadaisicalness, indifference to cleanliness, neglect of duties toward oneself and society, and other injunctions emphasized by the *sharīʿah,* or Islamic law. This negative aspect of the term increased with the decay of certain Ṣūfī orders during the past two or three centuries and also with the attempt by some people to pass themselves off as *darwīsh* without any involvement with Sufism at all. Nonetheless, the association with spiritual poverty, self-discipline, and the basic virtues of humility, charity, and veracity remains the primary meaning of the word.

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SEYYED HOSSEIN NASR (1987 AND 2005)

DASAM GRANTH. The *Dasam Granth* (Tenth book) is a collection of writings attributed to Gurū Gobind Singh, the tenth Sikh gurū (1666–1708). It was compiled sometime after his death by Bhāī Manī Singh, one of his devoted followers. The *Dasam Granth* is 1,428 pages long, so it is almost the same size as the *Gurū Granth* (1,430 pages). The *Gurū Granth*, also known as the *Ādi Granth* (First book), is the sacred scripture of the Sikhs, but some parts of the *Dasam Granth* are also used in Sikh prayers. The authorship and authenticity of a large proportion of this work is questioned. Most of the *Dasam Granth* is in the Braj language, but the entire work is printed in the Gurmukhi script.

Gurū Gobind Singh was a superb poet who introduced vigorous meters and rhythms to revitalize his people and created novel images and paradoxes to stretch their imagination. He was also a great patron of the arts and employed numerous poets from different religious backgrounds. Much of the poetry written by Gurū Gobind Singh himself as well as that by his court poets was lost during his evacuation from Anandpur in 1705. Bhāī Manī Singh spent years collecting whatever materials he could salvage, and from these he produced the first recension of the *Dasam Granth.*

The *Dasam Granth* remains controversial among scholars, and it elicits a range of responses from devotees. Such compositions as the *Jaapu, Akāl Ustat, Bicitra Nātak, Caṇḍī*

Caritra, Caṇḍī di Vār, Śabad Hazāre, and *Gyān Prabodh* are generally accepted as Gurū Gobind Singh's compositions, and these are revered by the Sikhs. A large proportion of the *Dasam Granth* (about 1,185 pages) is devoted to stories, many of them based on Indian myth, others dealing with amorous intrigues. Most people believe that these sections were written by the poets of the gurū's entourage. They are therefore neglected, but the *Benati Chaupai* from this section is one of the daily Sikh prayers.

The *Dasam Granth* opens with the *Jaapu*. Analogous to Gurū Nānak's *Japu* (the first hymn in the *Gurū Granth*), Gurū Gobind Singh's *Jaapu* carries forward in breathtaking speed Nānak's message of the One reality. Many Sikhs recite the *Jaapu* daily in the morning. It is also one of the hymns recited as part of the Sikh initiation ceremony. Through dynamic metaphors and rhythm, the *Jaapu* exalts the animating and life-generating One that flows through and interconnects the myriad creatures: "salutations to You in every country, in every garb" (*Jaapu* 66). Like Nānak's *Japu*, Gobind Singh's *Jaapu* celebrates the presence of the transcendent within the glorious diversity of the cosmos: "You are in water, You are on land" (*Jaapu* 62); "You are the sustainer of the earth" (*Jaapu* 173).

The *Jaapu* is followed by *Akāl Ustat* (Praise of the timeless one), which occupies twenty-eight pages of the *Dasam Granth*. It proclaims the unity of humanity:

> Hindus and Muslims are one . . . . The Hindu temple and the Muslim mosque are the same. . . . All humanity is one. (*Akal Ustat* 86)

Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948) popularized these verses in his famous prayer, "Īśvara and Allah are your names, temple and mosque are your homes." Verses from the *Akāl Ustat* are central to the Sikh initiation ceremony. They rhythmically repeat that without love all religious practices are ineffective: "They alone who love, find the Beloved."

The thirty-eight-page *Bicitra Nātak* (Wondrous drama) follows the *Akāl Ustat*. This poetic autobiography is a magical mixture of biographical facts and literary imagination. It is the only autobiographical work by any of the Sikh gurūs.

The three Durgā-Caṇḍī poems come next and retell the story of Durgā's titanic battles against the demons from the *Devīmāhātmya*. With all his artistic zeal, the gurū amplifies the warrior role of the ancient Hindu heroine.

Khālsā Mahima (Praise of the Khālsā), which comes later in the *Dasam Granth*, is a favorite hymn amongst the Sikhs. It celebrates the democratic Khālsā community created by Gurū Gobind Singh: "The Khālsā is my special form . . . the Khālsā is my body and breath." Another popular text from the *Dasam Granth* is the defiant *Zafar Nāmā* (Letter of victory), written in Persian, and addressed to the emperor Aurangzeb.

Like his predecessor gurūs, Gobind Singh appropriates love as the highest form of action. His devotional compositions reiterate Sikh ideals and ethics. Their tone is forceful, and their imperatives are clear:

> Recognize the single caste of humanity
> Know that we are all of the same body, the same light.
> (*Akāl Ustat* 85)

The tenth gurū's verse continues to have great resonance for the global society. Difference should not stand in the way of people getting to know one another:

> Different vestures from different countries may make us different. But we have the same eyes, the same ears, the same body, the same voice. (*Akāl Ustat* 86)

SEE ALSO Ādi Granth; Sikhism; Singh, Gobind.

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NIKKY-GUNINDER KAUR SINGH (2005)

DAVID [FIRST EDITION], second king of Israel and Judah (c. 1000–960 BCE), and founder of a dynasty that continued until the end of the Judean monarchy. David was the youngest son of Jesse from Bethlehem in Judah.

DAVID'S PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL. David is regarded by both tradition and modern scholarship as the greatest ruler of the combined states of Israel and Judah. He was able to free them from the control of the Philistines and to gain a measure of domination over some of the neighboring states (Edom, Moab, Ammon) and some of the Aramean states of Syria. At the same time he established treaty relations with Tyre and Hamath. He also extended the territories of Judah and Israel to include a number of major Canaanite cities and took Jerusalem by conquest. It became his capital and remained the ruling center of Judah until the end of the monarchy.

There are no references to David in any historical source outside the Bible. One contemporary ruler, Hiram of Tyre, mentioned in *2 Samuel* 5:11, is known from other historical sources, but the correlation of the chronologies of the two kings remains problematic.

The assessment of David's career is based upon sources in *1 Samuel* 16 through *1 Kings* 2. Some of these that mention his military activities reflect annalistic or formal documents. These are now embedded within two literary works often regarded as nearly contemporary with David and an important witness to the events: the story of David's rise to power (*1 Sm.* 16 through *2 Sm.* 2:7, *2 Sm.* 5), and the court history, or succession story (*2 Sm.* 2:8–4:12, 6:16, 6:20–23; *2 Sm.* 9–20; *1 Kgs.* 1–2). It remains less clear how *2 Samuel* 6–8 relates to either of these works or how they all fit into the larger history of the monarchy. The materials in *2 Samuel* 21–24 are supplemental additions that do not belong to the other sources.

There are, however, two serious questions about this literary analysis. First, the identification of a distinct literary work, the story of David's rise to power, may be doubted, since it may be viewed as a continuation of earlier materials in *Samuel* and as having strong ties to the rest of the so-called Deuteronomist's history of the monarchy—in which case it would be a work of the exilic period. Second, the court history was not originally part of this history but constitutes a later addition with quite a different perspective. If these two views can be sustained, then both works are comparatively late, and great caution must be exercised in using them as historical sources for the time of David.

DAVID IN THE TRADITION OF ISRAEL. Whatever their historical value might be, the literary works within *1 Samuel* 16 through *1 Kings* 2 establish David's place within the Israelite-Jewish tradition. Two quite different views of David's character and his significance for later Israel are given in these works.

Rise to power. David's introduction is directly linked to God's rejection of Saul, so that he immediately appears as the "one after God's own heart" to replace Saul. Shortly after David enters Saul's service as personal armor bearer, musician, and successful military leader, Saul becomes jealous and turns against David. While Saul's son Jonathan, his daughter Michal, his servants, and all the people grow to love David, Saul grows to hate him and makes various attempts on his life so that David flees. David establishes a band of followers in Judah and becomes a vassal of the Philistines. Saul, demented, cruel, and forsaken by God, ultimately dies on the battlefield with his sons. David, after offering a lament for Saul and Jonathan, is made king at Hebron, first by Judah and subsequently by Israel. David then captures Jerusalem and wages successful warfare against the Philistines. All of this comes to David because "God is with him." Throughout the entire account, David is viewed as one who can do no wrong. Heroic and magnanimous, he is the obvious replacement for Saul.

The dynastic promise. Once the land is at peace, David is able to bring the Ark to Jerusalem (*2 Sm.* 6) and build himself a palace (*2 Sm.* 5:11). He then proposes a plan to Nathan the prophet to build a temple for the Ark, and this leads to a dynastic promise by God through the prophet (*2 Sm.* 7). Although some have argued that this promise is based upon a special document of the early monarchy, it seems preferable to regard it as the thematic center of the larger Deuteronomic history of the monarchy and its ideology of kingship.

The dynastic promise is the real climax to the account of David's rise to kingship. With David a new era begins in two respects. God promises David an eternal dynasty but assigns the task of building the Temple—a permanent abode—to his son Solomon. God will be "a father" to the king, and he will be God's "son." He may be disciplined for disobedience to God's laws, but the dynasty will remain in perpetuity.

David as the "servant of Yahveh" who is completely obedient to God becomes the model for all future kings, especially those of Judah. Not only is his obedience rewarded with an immediate heir, but it is said to merit the perpetuation of his dynasty even if some future kings are disobedient to God's laws.

This dynastic promise also becomes the basis for the hope of a restoration of the monarchy after the destruction of the state in 587/6 BCE and ultimately leads to messianism—the belief that a son of David will arise and restore the fortunes of Israel and usher in the final reign of God.

Court history. The so-called court history, or succession story, variously regarded as a unique piece of early history writing, a historical novel, and a work of royal propaganda, is a literary masterpiece of realistic narrative. Some view it as written in support of Solomon, while others understand it as anti-Solomonic. If this work is an early source used by the historian of *Samuel* and *Kings*, then it is not clear how he could have been reconciled to such a pejorative view of David, since the rest of the history so completely idealizes him.

The court history, in fact, was a later addition to the history that seeks to counter the idealized view of David by suggesting that he gained the throne from a son of Saul under doubtful circumstances and that the divine promise to David was constantly used by David, Solomon, and others to legitimize very questionable behavior. The "sure house" of David is characterized by endless turmoil, and Solomon finally succeeds David after a palace intrigue. David himself commits adultery and murder. One of his sons, Amnon, rapes his sister Tamar and is avenged by his brother Absalom. After an exile Absalom returns to lead a revolt against his father that finally ends in Absalom's death. This is followed by yet another revolt between north and south.

This pejorative view of David's monarchy and the dynastic promise did not suppress the royal ideology or its evolution into messianism. At most it "humanized" David and gave added appeal to the tradition as a whole.

DAVID IN THE *BOOKS OF CHRONICLES*. The historian of *1* and *2 Chronicles* sees in David the real founder of the Jewish state, a state dominated by the Temple and an elaborate priestly hierarchy (*1 Chr.* 10–29). The Chronicler's source for David was the history in *Samuel* and *Kings* modified by his perception of the state, which was based upon his own times in the Hellenistic period. He presents David as immediately coming to the throne over all Israel after the death of Saul. There is no account of his struggle with Saul or of his warfare with Saul's son, Ishbosheth. The whole of the court history has been excised as too derogatory. In its place David becomes the real founder of the Temple, laying all the plans, providing for all the workmanship and the materials, and even establishing the whole hierarchy of priestly and Temple officials. Of particular importance for later tradition is the association of David with the Temple music, which did much to identify him as the "sweet singer of Israel." In this history David is completely idealized, and the time of David is an anachronistic legitimation for the ecclesiastical state that developed in the time of the Second Temple.

DAVID AND THE PSALMS. David is directly mentioned in only a few psalms (78, 89, and 132), those that make reference to the dynastic promise, all of which are dependent upon *Samuel* and *Kings*. In the Hebrew scriptures the superscriptions, which are all late, and which modern scholarship considers secondary additions, attribute seventy-three psalms to David. This continues the tradition of David's association with the sacred music of the Temple. But in a number of instances the individual laments (e.g., *Ps.* 51) are associated with particular events in David's life. Thus the psalms that were originally anonymous become increasingly associated with the figure of David.

DAVID IN PROPHECY. While the royal ideology had at most a minor place in preexilic prophecy, it was only in late prophecy and in exilic and postexilic editing of prophetic books that the dynastic promise to David plays a major role in visions of the future (*Is.* 9:5–6 [Eng. version 6–7], 11:1–10, 61:1–7; *Jer.* 33:14–26; *Ez.* 34:23–24; *Am.* 9:11ff.; *Mi.* 5:1–3 [EV 2–4]; *Zec.* 12:7–9). Hope is expressed for the restoration of the Davidic dynasty and times of prosperity. In their most elaborate form these prophecies predict an "anointed one" (the Messiah) who would manifest all the idealized attributes of royalty, liberate Israel from its enemies, and bring in the reign of Yahveh.

DAVID IN RABBINIC JUDAISM, CHRISTIANITY, AND ISLAM. The most important development in the Davidic tradition in postbiblical Judaism was the regarding of David as the author of the Psalter, or at least as author of most of the psalms within it. This meant that David, as the composer of Israel's sacred hymns and prayers, was a model of Jewish piety. In the psalms David speaks not only for himself but for all Israel. His praise represents the spiritual life of the worshiping community, and in his prayers he supplicates God for Israel in all time to come. Furthermore, a number of the psalms have as their theme the glorification of the Law (Torah) and the ardent devotion of the psalmist to the study of the Law day and night (*Ps.* 1, 19, 119). Consequently, David was viewed as a great authority on the Law, and his words and example could often be invoked to settle a point at issue in the discussions of legal matters (*halakhah*) (B. T., *Ber.* 4a; B. T., *Yev.* 78b–79a). Since the Psalter came to be regarded as holy writ, David was also considered a prophet through whom God spoke and gave his revelation to Israel.

Some elements in the Davidic tradition gave the rabbis difficulty, most notably David's sin of adultery with Bathsheba. Some attempted to exonerate him, but those who found him guilty of wrongdoing saw a divine purpose in the events, namely that David was to be an example of contrition and repentance to give hope and encouragement to Israel when it sinned (*Midrash Tehillim* 40.2, 51.1, 51.3). Another problem was the tradition that David was descended from Ruth the Moabite (*Ru.* 4:17), since this would make him ineligible for participation in the congregation of Israel. As a compensation, every attempt was made to enhance David's genealogical line and give him the strongest possible pedigree. The dynastic promise to David represented the future hope of Israel, but many rabbis were concerned that it not be used for political or ideological manipulation by messianic adventurers. At the same time the liturgical tradition continued to embody the hope in a restoration of the kingdom of David in the age to come.

Christianity, as reflected in the New Testament, also recognized David as author of the psalms, as an example of piety, and as a prophet of divine revelation; but the emphasis was clearly on the messianic aspects of the tradition. Since Jesus was identified as the Messiah, he received the title "son of David," although he repudiated the political connotation of such a designation. Matthew and Luke, in their birth stories, connect Jesus with Bethlehem, the city of David, and supply genealogies that trace his lineage back to David. David as prophet also bears witness in the psalms to Jesus as the Messiah (*Acts* 2:25–37).

Islam's tradition about David is slight. The Qurʾān knows of a few episodes in David's life, such as the victory over Goliath, but this and other stories are confused with those of other biblical figures (2:252). The Qurʾān also recognizes that God gave *Psalms* to David as a divine book in much the same way as Moses and Muḥammad received their revelations (17:56).

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JOHN VAN SETERS (1987)

DAVID [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS].

The most important recent developments in the study of the biblical king David have to do both with the degree of historicity of the Bible's account and with new textual material. Fueled by a more skeptical approach to biblical historiography and by new interpretations of the archaeological evidence, in recent years some scholars have come to question the historicity of the entire united monarchy of Israel (the biblical reigns of Saul, David, and Solomon). Nonetheless, the fragments of the Tel Dan inscription discovered in 1993 and 1995 seem to contain the first and only early mention so far of David outside the Bible.

The Bible's account of the united monarchy of Israel in *1-2 Samuel* and *1 Kings* (part of the so-called Deuteronomistic history) is no longer accepted by many scholars as accurate documentation about the tenth century BCE, but instead as an idealized portrayal of a past golden age. Some scholars (especially Thomas L. Thompson, Niels Peter Lemche, and Philip Davies) have gone so far as to argue that the united monarchy never really existed but was merely the propagandistic invention of post-exilic or even Hellenistic Jewish writers. According to this, the twin kingdoms of first Israel in the ninth century and later its sister Judah in the seventh century would have arisen independently and would not have been the result of a split of Israel under Solomon's son, Rehoboam, in the last quarter of the tenth century. Other scholars, however, maintain a pre-exilic or exilic date for the main portions of the Deuteronomistic history, but suggest that the Bible has exaggerated the extent and might of the historical David and Solomon's tenth-century kingdom (e.g., Israel Finkelstein, Neil Silberman, Amihai Mazar).

With regard to the archaeology of tenth-century Israel, certain sites with monumental gates and palaces that had been previously connected to the reign of David's son Solomon, are now dated by Finkelstein and others to the following ninth century. For example, Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer, which are said to be rebuilt by Solomon in *1 Kings* 9:15, have been reinterpreted on the basis of pottery analysis, carbon-14 dating, and other means, as early ninth-century cities. Even if one might disagree with the new dating of these large cities, however, one is still left with the numerous small settlements elsewhere, especially in the south around Jerusalem. These small sites do not at all bear evidence of the significant political reorganization or population and settlement growth that would have taken place with the united monarchy.

As for excavations in Jerusalem itself, the great capital of David and Solomon in the Bible, they have produced an almost total lack of evidence for significant tenth-century occupation. Either subsequent occupation of Jerusalem throughout the centuries destroyed or obscured its monumental buildings, or else Jerusalem was merely a highland village in the tenth century, without the great temple and palace of the Bible's united monarchy. Population estimates for the environs of Jerusalem and points south suggest that only around five thousand people lived in that area, whereas up to forty-five thousand lived in settlements north of Jerusalem. Thus, it is unlikely that Jerusalem in the tenth century was the capital of a large kingdom, or a city of any particular importance whatsoever, let alone the center of an empire stretching from Egypt to the Euphrates, as is described in *1 Kings* 4:21 for Solomon's reign.

Interpretations of the Tel Dan inscription, found at Tel Dan in northern Israel in three fragments in 1993 and 1995, add to the discussion. Perhaps dating to just before 800 BCE, the inscription is written in Aramaic, probably by a king of Aram who celebrates his defeat of a king of Israel and perhaps also of a king of *byt dwd*, "the house (i.e., dynasty) of David." The fragments preserve at most only four words in each of twenty-one lines, and thus it remains difficult to piece together the historical situation that is commemorated. The simplest interpretation is that the inscription reflects the existence at that time in some form of both Israel an early form of Judah, with the latter signified by the name of the dynastic hero, David, from days long past.

However, while the Tel Dan inscription shows that there was a *byt dwd,* "house of David," recognized by Arameans around 800 BCE, it does not prove the historicity of the biblical narratives concerning king David. (Note that it has also been suggested that the phrase *byt dwd* should be restored to line thirty-one of the Moabite inscription from the late ninth-century BCE, but that proposal is problematic and unlikely.)

In sum, the biblical narratives about David are particularly important for what they tell historians about political theology, apologetic writing, and literary devices in biblical historiographic discourse. However, for the purpose of historical reconstruction, the search for the historical kernel of the Davidic traditions may well belong to the realm of modern apologetics and contemporary political theology.

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TAWNY L. HOLM (2005)

DAʿWAH. The Arabic term *daʿwah* (lit., "call, invitation, summoning") is used especially in the sense of the religious outreach or mission to exhort people to embrace Islam as the true religion. The Arabic root *dʿw* occurs frequently in the Qurʾān, where it can also mean calling upon God in prayer (as in *duʿāʾ*). The Qurʾān contains many imperatives to spread Islam, as in *sūrah* 16:125–126:

> Call [*udʿu*] thou to the way of thy Lord with wisdom and good admonition, and dispute with them in the better way. Surely thy Lord knows very well those who have gone astray from his way, and he knows very well those who are guided. And if you chastise, chastise even as you have been chastised; and yet assuredly if you are patient, better it is for those patient. And be patient; yet it is thy patience only with the help of God.

Daʿwah can also mean simply an invitation to a mundane affair, such as a meal, or propaganda for a political or sectarian cause. A specialized meaning of *daʿwah* has been the quasi-magical practice of spell and incantation through invocation of the names of God and his good angels and jinn, in pursuit of personal goals such as healing, success in love or war, avoidance of evil, and other things. This occult practice became highly elaborated and included astrology, a magical alphabet, numerology, and alchemy.

During the early centuries of Islamic history, *daʿwah* often had strong political orientations when used to mean a summons to support a claimant to Islamic rule. New movements would spread their ideologies of Islamic statehood through highly organized and disciplined networks of information and indoctrination. The most forceful and long-lived *daʿwah* enterprise was the Shīʿī sect known as the Ismāʿīlīyah, which insisted that the true Muslim community should be ruled by a politico-religious leader descended from the family of Muḥammad through the line of Ismāʿīl Jaʾfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 756 CE), one of the great Shīʿī imams. The Ismāʿīlīyah developed *daʿwah* into a comprehensive political theology aimed at their ultimate dominance of the Muslims. The movement inducted converts into a fanatically devoted community that observed a hierarchy of degrees of membership, marked by initiation into ascending levels of esoteric knowledge. The leaders at each level were called *dāʿīs*, "summoners," who exercised authority by regions in which they preached and taught the doctrines of the movement. The *dāʿīs* were considered by the Ismāʿīlīyah to be the representatives of the imam. In some cases, the head *dāʿī* was the highest religious leader of a country, a sort of Shīʿī "bishop." More often, the *dāʿīs* functioned in an underground manner, spreading their doctrines in territories not under Ismāʿīlī rule. As well as preaching and propaganda, advanced theology and philosophy were major activities of the *dāʿīs*.

In the modern period, *daʿwah* most often refers to Islamic missionary activities, which are increasingly characterized by long-range planning, skillful exploitation of the media, establishment of study centers and mosques, and earnest, urgent preaching and efforts at persuasion.

Daʿwah as mission should never be spread by force (*sūrah* 2:256). If the hearers refuse to embrace Islam, then they should be left alone, at least for a time. But a committed Muslim should not give up the task of *daʿwah*. If nothing else succeeds, the silent example of a devout Muslim may be used by God as a means to someone's voluntary conversion.

In the strong Islamic revival the post-colonial period, *daʿwah* has a less specifically political and a more marked spiritual and moral emphasis than in earlier times. The *ummah*, the Muslim community, is believed to transcend national political entities, and the *sharīʿah*, the sacred law, is said to make claims on Muslims even when it is not embodied as the actual legal code (except in certain countries). *Daʿwah*, then, is the cutting edge of Islam and as such is directed at fellow believers as well as at the multitudes outside the *ummah* who nevertheless possess the God-given *fiṭrah* (*sūrah* 30:30), or "inherent character," also to be intentional Muslims and thus vicegerents (*khulafāʾ*; s. g., *kha-līfah*, "caliph") of God on earth (2:30). From North Africa to Indonesia, and beyond, Muslim individuals and organizations are strenuously dedicated to missionary activities, utilizing the media and other advanced means of communication and "market research." *Daʿwah* faculties are prominent in Muslim training schools and universities, and the hope is that the strong obligation to spread Islam will be felt by Muslims at all levels of society. *Daʿwah*, as well as migration, is responsible for the significant recent growth of Muslim populations in Western countries.

SEE ALSO Shiism, article on Ismāʿīlīyah.

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FREDERICK MATHEWSON DENNY (1987)

DAY, DOROTHY (1897–1980), personalist revolutionary, journalist, and lecturer. Between 1933, when she brought out the first penny-a-copy issue of the *Catholic Worker*, and 1980, when she died, Dorothy Day became, in the opinion of many, America's foremost Roman Catholic voice calling for peace and a profound change in the major institutional forms of the contemporary world. She opposed what she regarded as the enslaving colossus of the modern state and the technological giantism to which it was a partner. Fundamental to her ideas of social reordering was her insistence on the personal transformation of value based on the primary reality of spirit rather than the spirit of acquisitiveness. For her, this meant taking her directions from church tradition, the papal encyclicals, and her literal reading of the Gospels. She used these sources to justify her absolute pacifism and her communitarian ideas on social reconstruction.

For Day, the ultimate and transfiguring value was love, a subject that was the theme of her best writing. The exercise of a sacrificial love was at the heart of her personalist revolt against the enlarging domain over life of institutional forms. The world would be renewed by persons who loved and not by state management. In her own case she chose to wage her revolution by establishing "houses of hospitality" in the destitute areas of lower Manhattan in New York City, by promoting communitarian farms, and by an immense writing and speaking regimen that left few Catholic parishes or schools untouched by her ideas by the time of her death.

She was born the third in a family of five children in Brooklyn on November 8, 1897, the daughter of Grace Satterlee and John Day. An opening in journalism for John Day took the family to San Francisco in 1903, but the earthquake there, three years later, forced a removal to Chicago. In 1915 the family moved to New York where Dorothy, having finished two years at the University of Illinois, began her own life in journalism as a reporter for the Socialist *Call*.

For the next five years she dabbled in radical causes, moving from one cheap flat to another, mostly in the lower New York area. In 1919 she left a hospital nurse's training program to live with a flamboyant journalist, Lionel Moise. The affair ended with her having an abortion, a circumstance that filled her with such grief that she was brought to the brink of suicide. Later, living in a fisherman's shack on Staten Island as the common-law wife of Forster Batterham, she bore a daughter, Tamar Therese. Out of gratitude for her daughter and a mystical rapture she felt in living on such close terms with nature, she turned to God and was subsequently baptized a Catholic. In 1932 she met the French itinerant philosopher, Peter Maurin, and after some months of tutelage she acquired from him the idea of "the correlation of the spiritual with the material." This was the beginning point of her vision of social re-creation.

Her personality was remarkably forceful and engaging, but she could be given to moments of authoritarian harshness. After a series of retreats during World War II, the unremitting struggle of her life was to grow in sanctity. In her later years the impression she gave was of one who had achieved a rare level of holiness. She died on November 29, 1980, and was buried at Jamestown, Long Island, not far from the site of her conversion.

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Dorothy Day wrote five books, all of which, from various perspectives, are autobiographical. The best and most comprehensive is *The Long Loneliness* (New York, 1952). A full-length biography is my *Dorothy Day* (New York, 1982), based on personal acquaintance with Day and for which I had access to all of her personal manuscript materials. An excellent edition of Day's writings is Robert Ellsberg's *By Little and Little: The Selected Writings of Dorothy Day* (New York, 1983).

WILLIAM D. MILLER (1987)

DAYANANDA SARASVATI (1824–1883), leading Hindu reformer and founder of the Ārya Samāj, known by the westernized form of his religious name, Dayānanda Sarasvatī. What is known of Dayananda's early years comes from two autobiographical statements made after he founded the Ārya Samāj in 1875. Although he refused to reveal his family and personal names or place of birth in order to preserve his freedom as a *saṃnyāsin* ("renunciant"), these statements allow a reconstruction of his life before he became a public figure.

Dayananda claimed to have spent his childhood in a small town—from his description, most likely Tankara—in the princely state of Morvi in northern Kathiawar, now in Gujarat's Rajkot district. His father was a high-caste *brahman* landowner and revenue collector and a devout worshiper of Śiva. Dayananda received Vedic initiation at eight and began to study Sanskrit and the Vedas. Although his father preferred that he become a devotee of Śiva, an experience in the local Śiva temple undermined Dayananda's faith that the temple icon was God, and turned him away from Śaiva ritual practice involving images. The deaths of a sister and a beloved uncle a few years later made him realize the instability of worldly life, and when, around 1845, he learned that his family had secretly arranged his marriage, he fled to become a homeless wanderer.

The young mendicant studied the monistic philosophy of the Upaniṣads with several teachers before being initiated into an order of *saṃnyāsin*s as Dayananda Sarasvati in 1847. He lived as an itinerant yogin for the next thirteen years, but in 1860 he settled in Mathura to study with the Sanskrit grammarian Vrijānanda (1779–1868). Vrijānanda, whom Dayananda accepted as his *guru,* aided Dayananda in perfecting his Sanskrit and also convinced him that the only truthful texts were those composed by the *ṛṣi*s ("seers") before the *Mahābhārata*, since, he taught, all later works contained false sectarian doctrines. Dayananda committed himself to spreading this message when he left his *guru* in 1863, though it took him most of his life to decide which individual texts were true and which were false.

Between 1863 and 1873, Dayananda spent most of his time in small towns along the Ganges River in what is now western Uttar Pradesh meeting representatives of various Hindu communities and debating sectarian *paṇḍits.* These experiences confirmed his early doubts about image worship and led him to reject all of the Hindu sectarian traditions—not only Vaiṣṇavism, to which he had an early aversion, but eventually even worship of the formless Śiva. In place of sectarianism and the related religious and caste restrictions, he argued with growing conviction for a united Hinduism based on the monotheism and morality of the Vedas.

Throughout this period Dayananda continued to dress as a yogin in loincloth and ashes and debated only in Sanskrit; thus his message was restricted mainly to those orthodox upper-caste Hindus who were most solidly opposed to his views. Early in 1873, however, he spent four months in Calcutta as the guest of the Brāhmo Samāj leader Debendranath Tagore, met the great Brāhmo spokesman Keshab Chandra Sen, and discussed religious issues with these and other westernized Hindu intellectuals. Dayananda saw firsthand the influence of the Brāhmo organization, learned the value of educational programs, public lectures, and publications in effecting change, and accepted from Sen some valuable advice to improve his own reception: abandon the loincloth and the elitist Sanskrit in favor of street clothes and Hindi.

Dayananda left Calcutta with an unchanged message but a broader perspective and a new style, lecturing and writing in Hindi and seeking a receptive audience for his message. He found the first such audience in Bombay, where he founded the Ārya Samāj ("society of honorable ones") on April 10, 1875. His major breakthrough, however, came two years later in the Punjab, where a rising class of merchants and professionals was seeking a defense of Hinduism against Christian missionary activity. A chapter of the Ārya Samāj was founded in Lahore in 1877, and this soon became the headquarters for a rapidly expanding movement in the Punjab and western Uttar Pradesh.

Dayananda left control of the Ārya Samāj in the hands of local chapters and spent his last years perfecting his message. He completed the revision of his major doctrinal statement, *Satyārth prakās*, shortly before his death on October 30, 1883. With final conviction, he declared that the Vedic hymns revealed to the *ṛṣi*s were the sole authority for truth, and he reaffirmed his faith in the one eternal God whose revelation thus made salvation possible for all the world.

See Also Ārya Samāj.

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Thomas J. Hopkins (1987)

DAY OF ATONEMENT See RO'SH HA-SHANAH AND YOM KIPPUR

DAY OF THE DEAD.

The feast of All Saints Day and the liturgical celebration of All Souls Day have long histories in Western Christendom. The origins of these occasions in the Christian yearly cycle are uncertain, but by the fourteenth century they ranked immediately after Christmas and Holy Week in importance, and their celebration had been fixed on November 1 for All Saints Day and November 2 (or November 3 if November 2 fell on a Sunday) for All Souls Day. Since then these two festivities, most commonly known as the Days of the Dead, have been inextricably interrelated in the liturgy of the Western Church. At the onset of, perhaps even as the result of, the Reformation and the rise of modern science during the Renaissance, there was a significant decline in the ritual and ceremonial underpinnings of Christendom, but in the New World (more precisely in the Catholic New World) the rites, ceremonies, and symbolic meaning of All Saints Day and All Souls Day have been reinvigorated and in many ways have achieved their maximum elaboration.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE OBSERVANCES. All Saints Day commemorates those individuals who in the service of the church have achieved that ambivalent status of "sainthood." Although the transcendentally different natures of the omnipotent-omnipresent almighty God of Christian monotheism and its underlings, the saints, may be clearly understood and explained by theologians, this has not been the case for significant segments of practicing Christians since probably the formative period of Christianity between the first and fourth centuries CE. Indeed there is plenty of historical evidence that for sizable segments of Christendom the proliferation of saints and their relationship to God have come to look suspiciously like polytheism and have led to practices incompatible with monotheism. Moreover there are anthropologists (Ralph Linton, John M. Roberts, L. Keith Brown, Hugo G. Nutini) who maintain that the bulk of Christianity for centuries has been practicing monolatry (or polylatry) and not monotheism—that is, that in behavior (psychologically) and practice (ritually and ceremonially) no transcendental difference emerges between God and the saints, including the many manifestations of the Virgin Mary. This is certainly the case with Mesoamerican Indians in the early twenty-first century. Most contemporary Mexican Indians have not internalized the theological distinction between God and the saints, even if they somewhat vaguely understand it, and in their actual religious behavior and practice God is little more than a primus inter pares, a more powerful deity than the many saints and the various forms of the Virgin Mary. Mexican Indians, and often rural mestizos, often rank the village patron saint higher than God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost or they center their Catholicism on the cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe, thus in effect abandoning the central tenet of monotheism.

Lest the reader think that the syncretic nature of Catholicism in this region of the New World is a special case, two examples from other parts of the world may be cited. In their ranking and expressive analysis of the saints as conceived and practiced by Chinese Catholics in Hong Kong, John M. Roberts and John T. Myers found that the array of Catholic supernaturals (God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, several dozen saints, and half a dozen manifestations of the Virgin Mary) was similar to the Chinese pantheon of gods. The respondents conceived of these Catholic supernaturals as gods who have definite rankings and spheres of action. In many peasant communities in the West as well—such as southern Italy, Sicily, and southern Spain—the saints are conceived as deities of sorts, with powers in their own right and not infrequently arranged in arrays similar to classical polytheistic pantheons. Whether or not the distinction between God and saints is understood or explicitly made by these subsocieties, the fact remains that in behavior and practice these segments of Christendom are practicing monolātry, not monotheism. Indeed at least in Catholicism it may be difficult to be a theologically pure monotheist.

The feast of All Saints Day is in a sense democratic in that it commemorates all the saints of God, canonized and uncanonized, known and unknown. It is a rite of propitiation and intensification, in which the church celebrates the external glory of God in the company of those who are closest to his perfection. The origins of the feast are lost, but there are indications that as early as the middle of the fourth century a day was set aside to commemorate the martyrs who had died before Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire. Specifically May 13 commemorated all the martyrs of Edessa (an important early center of Christianity, now the city of Urfa in southern Turkey), and it appears that this date soon spread to the western empire. By the early seventh century most bishoprics in the West celebrated on this day their own and other martyrs of Christendom. Some scholars doubt that there is a connection between May 13 and November 1, and no one has determined how and under what circumstances a feast of all saints came to be celebrated on the latter date. Scholars also are not agreed as to when the category of "saint" or the status of "sainthood" appears in Christian theology and practice. It is safe to assume, however, that there were no saints as ritual and ceremonial objects of worship until the beginning of the seventh century. It is reasonable to surmise an evolution from martyr to saint, but the social and religious condition of this transformation and amalgamation are not clear. In any case, by the beginning of the ninth century November 1 was widely celebrated as the day of all martyrs and saints in Western Christendom, and in the latter part of the eleventh century, during the papacy of Gregory VII, that date officially became All Saints Day in the modern sense of the feast. Since then All Saints Day has steadily increased in importance as a ritual occasion in the yearly cycle, and in southern Europe, especially Spain, it developed elaborate proportions beginning in the early fourteenth century.

All Souls Day, November 2, is a liturgical celebration of the Western Church commemorating the "faithfully departed"—that is, those who have died within the fold of the church. It is observed as a day for honoring and rejoicing with those who are in heaven, offering prayers for those who are in purgatory so that they may soon enter the kingdom of heaven, and in general supplicating with the dead to watch over the living and thanking them for past intercessions. All Souls Day is a yearly rite of propitiation and thanksgiving and, in the popular conscience, a veritable cult of the dead. Indeed it is a form of ancestor worship somewhat reminiscent of the Roman gods of the household, the *lares* and *penates* (the feast of Parentalia), from which it probably developed. Among the many organizational, ritual, ceremonial, and symbolic examples of syncretism as Christianity developed out of the confluence of Hebrew monotheism and Roman polytheism, All Souls Day is one of the clearest.

Until well into the Middle Ages the church was reluctant to establish a specific liturgical day for propitiating and thanking the dead. The reason for this reluctance was the desire to dissociate the church from the persistent and tenacious pre-Christian rites and ceremonies of the cult of the dead and ancestor worship, widespread among all branches of Indo-European polytheism, which from the beginning the church regarded as "superstitious" and theologically impure. The efforts of the early church fathers (Augustine, Jerome, Athanasius, Boniface, and Chrysostom) to render what they regarded as superstitious and heretic remains of the polytheistic past (many aspects of witchcraft and sorcery, rites and ceremonies associated with particular festivities and the cult of the gods, the cult of the dead itself, and so on) indicate that a significant amalgam of beliefs and practices of the old and new religions already existed. By the beginning of the eighth century, at least in the circum-Mediterranean area, many aspects of Christianity had been significantly syncretized. Despite these efforts and the efforts of subsequent theologians, as Christianity spread to more marginal areas of Europe, syncretism placed a permanent mark on several practices of the Christian faith. More than the other two great branches of monotheism (Judaism and Islam), Christianity has been unable to divest itself completely of polytheistic beliefs and practices out of which it arose. Christian theologians have always insisted on an ideologically pure monotheism, and ever since the church became an imperial force in the middle of the fourth century, it has successfully obliterated deviations that smacked of polytheism, pantheism, monolatry, and other deviant supernatural conceptions. Nevertheless the syncretic aspects of Christianity have manifested themselves in many contexts and segments of Christian worship, and theologians, sometimes to their embarrassment, have had to accommodate rituals, beliefs, and behaviors with a distinct polytheistic, pantheistic, or monolatrous character within a strict monotheistic ideology. The often marked dichotomy between theology and practice appears to be a constant from Christianity's folk beginnings to its imperial maturity during the first half of the sixteenth century.

Although prayers to the dead were encouraged from earliest times, the church, for the reasons given above, was slow in giving liturgical recognition to the rites and ceremonies concerning the dead that probably had been going on for centuries in many parts of Christendom. However, Pentecost Monday was dedicated to the worship of the dead in Spain by the middle of the seventh century. For reasons unknown, November 2 was set aside for commemoration of All Souls Day, a practice that was well established in the Cluniac monasteries in northern France by the middle of the twelfth century—that is, not long after November 1 had officially become All Saints Day. Unlike All Saints Day, however, All Souls Day never acquired official liturgical status—further evidence that the church was unwilling to formally sanction a celebration so pregnant with pagan elements and unchristian evocations. All Souls Day came to have liturgical status only by custom. Nonetheless by the second half of the fifteenth century All Saints Day and All Souls Day were liturgical feasts celebrated as a unit and ranked among the four most important occasions in the yearly ritual cycle of Western Christendom.

What the church was up against throughout the Dark and Middle Ages is well known; the situation has been replicated several times during the past five hundred years in the context of the expansion of western European peoples throughout the world. With specific reference to All Souls Day, many beliefs and practices of pagan origins or corruptions of Orthodox Christian beliefs concerning the dead were associated with this celebration and ancillary concerns. Throughout Western Christendom, these beliefs and practices survived until well into the sixteenth century. With the onset of secularization in Western society, they were displaced to marginal areas and to the lower levels of the social order, but they are still found in circum-Mediterranean areas and in other parts of Europe.

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES. Among the best-known beliefs and practices that were associated with the All Souls Day complex and relevant to the cult of the dead, the following may be mentioned. During the vigil of November 2 the souls of the dead came back in spirit to bless the household where they had died. On November 2 the souls in purgatory came back in the form of phantoms, witches, and toads, lizards, and other repellent animals in order to scare or harm persons who wronged or injured them during their lives. Food offerings were made to the dead in the cemeteries, ritually disposed of by those concerned after the souls had symbolically tasted the food. Special food offerings, consisting of a dish or drink that he or she had particularly liked, were made to prominent departed members of the household. Garments that had been worn by particularly good or pious members of the household were displayed on the family altar so that the souls would rejoice upon contemplating such a display of affection and become effective protectors of their living kin. The way to the house was marked by recognized signposts of flowers and other decorations so that the returning souls could more easily find their earthly homes. This veritable cult of the dead during the Dark and Middle Ages had probably changed little since Roman times.

All Saints Day, on the other hand, was rather heavily influenced by northern Indo-European polytheism and by the liturgical feasts of the Byzantine (Orthodox, Armenian) and Coptic churches, which in turn were doubly influenced by other Near Eastern polytheistic systems. Both the Germanic and Celtic traditions, particularly the latter, celebrated in the late autumn a complex of rites and activities associated with the end of harvest and the impending arrival of winter and intended to honor the gods of agriculture and natural elements. During the process of conversion to Christianity, the church condemned this complex as dealing with the devil and dabbling in witchcraft and sorcery. In the British Isles this was the celebration of Samhain, which has survived among English- and Gaelic-speaking peoples and is variously known as Hallow E'en, Allhallows, Hallowmas, and most commonly Halloween. Probably by the middle of the fifteenth century Halloween had coalesced as a syncretic component of English, Irish, Scottish, and Welsh Catholicism. By that time the high point of the celebration was the vigil of All Saints Day, and since then Halloween has been intimately associated with this liturgical feast as well as All Souls Day. The Protestant Reformation kept the celebration of All Saints Day, but for several reasons (most significantly the denial of the belief in purgatory) it abolished the feast of All Souls Day. With the increasing secularization of northern European societies, the Halloween–All Saints Day complex was transformed into what it is in the early twenty-first century, a secular feast. In many parts of northern Europe, however, the church was never able to stamp out completely many beliefs and practices associated with regional complexes that were instrumental in shaping the combined liturgical celebration of All Saints Day and All Souls Day. Thus even in the early twenty-first century, from Ireland to Russia, the ethnographer or folklorist finds survivals of these beliefs and practices (related mainly to food, drink, and special rites performed in the household or cemetery) among peasant and rural folk.

The syncretic background of All Saints Day in the Byzantine Church is not well known and still less that of the Coptic Church. However, the contemporary celebration of All Saints Day and All Souls Day in the East indicates that syncretism there was perhaps more influenced by pagan elements than in the West. The celebrations of the Greek and Armenian Churches appear to be more diversified and exhibit more traits of early Christian origin that is the case in the Western Churches. The Eastern Churches celebrate All Souls Day on several different dates: the Greek Church on the Saturday before Sexagesima Sunday (the second Sunday before Lent); the Armenian Church on Easter Sunday (as in Spain in the seventh century). The most interesting celebration of All Souls Day is in the Syrian-Antiochene Church. On the Friday before Septuagesima (the third Sunday before Lent), dead priests are honored; on Friday before Sexagesima, all the blessed souls in heaven and purgatory are worshipped; and on Friday before Quinquagesima (the first Sunday before Lent), all those who have died away from home and parents and friends are remembered. An even more elaborate division of labor in the celebration of All Souls Day is present in rural Tlaxcala, Mexico. Perhaps there is a connection with the Syrian-Antiochene rites, or it may be simply a continuation of pre-Hispanic practices.

It is probably in southern Italy and Spain that the celebration of the combined feasts of All Saints Day and All Souls Day acquired its most complex and elaborate form. In Spain this may be attributable to the Christian reconquest of Spain from the Moors in particular and Muslims inputs in general, but the evidence is not conclusive. It is certain, however, that the Dominican order was instrumental in enhancing the importance of All Saints Day–All Souls Day during the fifteenth century. For example, the Dominicans initiated the custom of having a priest celebrate three masses for the eternal glory and rest of the faithfully departed on All Souls Day. This action gained quick acceptance throughout Spain, and All Souls Day became ritually more important than All Saints Day. (This apparently never happened in any other country of western Europe.) By the middle of the fifteenth century the combined celebration of All Saints Day and All Souls Day in Spain was commonly referred to as Todos Santos. This combined liturgical celebration had become increasingly important and ranked just below Christmas and Holy Week in the yearly ritual cycle of Spanish Catholicism, popularly if not theologically. It was in this form that Todos Santos was introduced into the New World by the mendicant friars in the first half of the sixteenth century, and All Souls Day has remained the most ritually significant of the two days.

In Mexico the Day of the Dead is also known as Todos Santos and, after Christmas and Holy Week (Easter), is the most important celebration in the annual religious cycle. In several respects it is more elaborate than in Spain due to its syncretic component, which reinforced the Spanish Day of the Dead with similar beliefs and practices of Pre-Hispanic polytheism. The celebration of Todos Santos has three main components: the offerings to the dead on the household altar, the decoration of the graves in the cemetery, and the celebration of the different kinds of dead from Palm Sunday to Easter Sunday. All three of these components, but particularly the last, are heavily laden with pre-Hispanic elements. Moreover the sociological significance of the Todos Santos greatly departs from its Spanish antecedents. November 1 and 2, the central core of the celebration, are homecoming for Mexican folk people (rural Indian and mestizo communities); those who have migrated to the city return to visit their kin and together remember the dead, and if they do not return for three consecutive years, they are no longer regarded as members of the community. Throughout the Todos Santos cycle (from a week before to a week after November 1) people are on their best behavior, exchange offerings, and make special efforts to intensify kinship, ritual kinship (*compadrazgo*), and friendship relationships. This, in other words, is a "sacralized" period or a kind of *treuga Dei* (truth of God) in the community's annual cycle.

SEE ALSO Afterlife, article on Mesoamerican Concepts; Funeral Rites, article on Mesoamerican Funeral Rites.

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HUGO G. NUTINI (2005)

DAZHBOG was the pre-Christian sun god of the East and South Slavs. The name *Dazhbog* (Old Russian, *Dazh'bog*) is first mentioned in the Kievan pantheon, listed in the Russian *Primary Chronicle* (c. 1111 CE). His connection with the sun is clearly stated in the *Malalas Chronicle* of 1114: "Tsar Sun is the son of Svarog, and his name is Dazhbog." (Svarog, the creator of the sun, is identified in Greek translation with the smith Hephaistos. Like his Lithuanian counterpart, the heavenly smith Kalvelis, whose achievement is described in the *Volynian Chronicle* of 1252, Svarog probably hammered the sun into shape and placed it in the sky. For the chroniclers, he was identical with Helios.) The importance of this god is attested in the thirteenth-century Old Russian epic *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, where the phrase "grandchildren of Dazhbog" is used to refer to the Russian people.

Dazhbog seems to have been one of the various manifestations of the Indo-European god of the "shining sky" or "heavenly light." In the Kievan pantheon his name appears next to that of Khors, another sun deity (cf. Persian *khursīd*, "sun"), and he was identified with the Greek god Apollo by early Russian translators. Dazhbog is possibly an analogue of the northwestern Slavic deity Svarozhich (Svarožiči, Zuariscici; "son of Svarog"), who was worshiped in the temple at Radigast (Rethra), near Feldberg, in present-day northern Germany. There, as noted in 1014 by Thietmar, bishop of Merseburg, were a number of carved idols dressed in armor and helmets, each dedicated to some aspect of the god. The most important one was that of Svarozhich.

In Roman Jakobson's view, Dazhbog, like the Vedic Bhaga, is "the giver of wealth," and the name of Dazhbog's immediate neighbor in the Kievan pantheon, Stribog, means literally—like that of Bhaga's partner Amsa—"the apportioner of wealth" (see Jakobson, 1972). The name *Dazhbog* is a compound of *dazh'* (the imperative form of *dati*, "to give") and *bog* ("god"). Both Slavs and Iranians eliminated the Proto-Indo-European name for the "god of heavenly light," **dieus*, and assigned the general meaning of "god" to a term that originally signified both wealth and its giver, *bog*. The origin of the name *Dazhbog* may go back to the period of close Slavic-Iranian contacts, not later than the Scythian-Sarmatian period.

In Serbian folk beliefs, Dabog (i.e., Dazhbog) is an adversary of the Christian God: "Dabog is tsar on earth, and the Lord God is in heaven." Dabog is also known as "the silver tsar"; in mining areas as Dajboi, a demon; and as Daba or Dabo, the devil.

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DEA DIA.

DEA DIA. The worship of the Roman goddess Dea Dia was in the hands of a priesthood of twelve, the *fratres arvales* (Arval brethren), and she possessed a shrine in a grove outside Rome at the fifth (or sixth, depending on the period) milestone on the Via Campana, in the modern suburb of La Magliana. The deity, her cult, and her priesthood supposedly date back to very early in Roman history, but they underwent a major renovation by Augustus (r. 27 BCE–14 CE). From the previous period, we only know of the existence of the *arvales* and of a public sacrifice, mentioned by Varro (*De lingua latina* 5, 74). The site itself bears testimony of cultic occupation since at least the third century BCE. But it is impossible to be sure whether these items belonged to Dea Dia or to Fors Fortuna, who possessed a temple on the same spot.

After Augustus's reform the priesthood consisted of twelve members chosen by cooptation from the most distinguished families. The reigning emperor was always a member. The reorganization was one element in Augustus's policy of directing enthusiasm for his person and policies into traditional religious channels. Under the empire the Arval brethren offered sacrifices not only to Dea Dia but to a wide variety of divinities to secure the health and prosperity of the emperor and his family. Along with sometimes lengthy descriptions of the rituals celebrated in the grove of Dea Dia, and of other sacrifices of the brotherhood in Rome, the records of the Arval brethren were inscribed on marble, and numerous fragments have been preserved. These records, extending from 21 BCE to 241 CE, are a major source for traditional Roman religion in the imperial age. The cult and its priesthood are documented as late as 304 CE.

Dea Dia, who was the owner of the *lucus fratrum arvalium* and the main addressee of the cult celebrated by the Arval brethren, is only known by the proceedings of this brotherhood. Thus, there has been much speculation about her identity. During the nineteenth century, when scholars tended to assimilate gods, Wilhelm Henzen (1874, p. ix) saw her as a goddess similar to Ceres, if not Ceres herself. In the *Römische Mythologie* (1831) of Ludwig Preller and Heinrich Jordan, Dea Dia was supposed to embody certain aspects of the numen otherwise venerated under the names of Ceres, Tellus, and perhaps Ops or Acca Larentia (see also Fowler, 1911, p. 435; Wissowa, 1912, p. 195). One also finds assimilations to Diana, Hebe, and the Mother of the Gods. In short, Dea Dia was supposed to be an indigitation (the assimilation of minor deities to one major god or goddess) of Ceres or another goddess linked to agriculture.

In a similar vein, Ida Paladino has tried to present Dea Dia as a minor *paredros* of Fors Fortuna. Paladino thinks that, with the Lares, also present in the *lucus* of the Arvals, and Diana (whose name relies on the same etymon), Fors Fortuna shared a marginal position, as well as a link to Servius Tullius and the plebs. When Augustus reformed this cult, he preferred, according to Paladino, the less plebeian goddess Dea Dia. According to an isolated inscription from Amiternum (CIL I, 2d ed., 1846), Dea Dia herself could be of Sabine origin.

As Henri Le Bonniec (1958, p. 202) has shown, Dea Dia cannot possibly be taken as another form of Ceres because the ritual of the Arval brethren, which is the best known in ancient Rome, forbids this assimilation. Moreover, the Arval proceedings never mention Ceres (the hypothesis of Kurt Latte that her "real" name was secret and taboo is not convincing). And generally speaking, the trend of indigitation, as surmised by Greek and Roman antiquarians and grammarians, has been denied pertinence in religious history (Le Bonniec, 1958, p. 203). Accordingly Ileana Chirassi-Colombo and Robert Schilling have reconsidered the problem. Both start with the name of the goddess, from *dius* (luminous) and *diuum* (sky), and consider her as the goddess of the sky (Chirassi, 1968) or of the beneficial light necessary to agriculture (Schilling, 1969; Franz Altheim [1931] links her, unconvincingly, to the moon). Chirassi considers this Dia as an archaic paredros of Jupiter, or Dius, with whom she is supposed to have formed a couple representing the sky and the earth.

Referring to the cultic evidence, Schilling shows that the name Dea Dia is an emphatic doublet, meaning literally, "the celestial goddess." According to the Arval proceedings, Dea Dia performed her divine function between the periods of sowing and harvesting and was thus the good light of heaven that brought the crops from germination to maturation. This is evident in both the date and the ritual of her festival. Her feast was always held in May, about a month before the beginning of the harvest in central Italy. Its exact date was announced in January, on the 7th or the 11th. The ritual at her festival employed, among other offerings (a lamb, meatballs, sweet wine, and pastries), green ears from the current crop, together with dried ears of grain from the previous year's crop. The other gods and goddesses mentioned in her *lucus* are to be considered her assistants or her guests; the precise link to her neighbor Fors Fortuna is not known. The temple and the grove of Dea Dia could have been built at La Magliana only after Augustus's reform, which could have so monumentalized an aristocratic ritual.

SEE ALSO Arval Brothers; Roman Religion, article on the Early Period.

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John Scheid (2005)

DEAD SEA SCROLLS. The manuscripts unearthed between 1947 and 1956 in the Judean desert, in caves along the coast of the Dead Sea, have come to be known collectively as the Dead Sea Scrolls. The main body of materials comes from Qumran, near the northern end of the Dead Sea, 8.5 miles (13.7 km) south of Jericho. Other texts, including the Masada scrolls and the Bar Kokhba texts, are occasionally also referred to as Dead Sea Scrolls, but this article will pertain only to the Qumran scrolls themselves. These scrolls constituted the library of a sect of Jews in the Greco-Roman period that has been identified by most scholars as the Essenes.

Discovery. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Hebrew manuscripts discovered in the *genizah* ("storehouse") of the Ben Ezra synagogue in Cairo began circulating in Europe. Much of this collection, known as the Cairo Genizah, was acquired for the University of Cambridge by Solomon Schechter in 1896. Among these texts was a strange composition, known as the *Zadokite Fragments* or the *Damascus Document*, that outlined the life and teachings of a Jewish sect. Eventually, this same text was found at Qumran.

There, in 1947, a young bedouin entered what is now designated Cave I and found a group of pottery jars containing leather scrolls wrapped in linen cloths. These scrolls, the first finds, were sold to Athanasius Samuel, the Syrian metropolitan of Jerusalem, and to Eliezer Sukenik, a professor representing the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The scrolls in the possession of the Syrian metropolitan were purchased in 1954 by Yigael Yadin, Sukenik's son, on behalf of the Hebrew University.

Scientific exploration of the cave in 1949 by G. Lankester Harding and Roland de Vaux uncovered additional fragments and many broken jars. From 1951 on, a steady stream of manuscripts has been provided by bedouin and archaeologists. Some of these manuscripts are held in the Archaeological (Rockefeller) Museum in East Jerusalem. Many are displayed in the beautiful Shrine of the Book, a part of the Israel Museum built especially for the display and preservation of the scrolls.

Dating. From the beginning, the dating of the scrolls was a matter of controversy. Some saw the new texts as documents of the medieval Jewish sect of the Karaites. Others believed they dated from the Roman period, and some even thought they were of Christian origin.

Of primary importance for dating the scrolls was the excavation of the building complex immediately below the caves on the plateau. In the view of most scholars, those who lived in the complex copied many of the scrolls and were part of the sect described in some of the texts. Numismatic evidence has shown that the complex flourished from circa 135 BCE to 68 CE, interrupted only by the earthquake of 31 BCE.

Similar conclusions resulted from carbon dating of the cloth wrappings in which the scrolls were found. Study of the paleography (the form of the Hebrew letters) in which the texts are written has also supported a similar dating. It is certain, then, that the scrolls once constituted the library of a sect that occupied the Qumran area from after the Maccabean Revolt of 166–164 BCE until the great revolt against Rome of 66–74 CE.

The Scrolls. The many scrolls that were found in the Qumran caves can be divided into three main categories: biblical manuscripts, apocryphal compositions, and sectarian documents.

Fragments of every book of the Hebrew scriptures have been unearthed at Qumran, with the sole exception of the *Book of Esther*. Among the more important biblical scrolls are the two *Isaiah* scrolls (one is complete) and the fragments of *Leviticus* and *Samuel* (dated to the third century BCE). William Albright and Frank Moore Cross have detected three recensional traditions among the scrolls at Qumran: (1) a Palestinian, from which the Samaritan Pentateuch is ultimately descended, (2) an Alexandrian, upon which the Septuagint (the Greek translation of the Bible) is based, and (3) a Babylonian, which serves as the basis of the Masoretic (received and authoritative) text fixed by rabbis in the late first century BCE.

The apocryphal and pseudepigraphical writings were known until recently only in Greek and Latin translation. The Cairo Genizah yielded Hebrew and Aramaic fragments of medieval recensions. Among the important fragments found at Qumran are *Ben Sira*, *Jubilees*, Aramaic fragments of the *Enoch* books, the *Testament of Levi*, and additions to *Daniel*.

By far the most interesting materials are the writings of the sect that inhabited Qumran. The *pesharim* are the sect's biblical commentaries, which seek to show how the present premessianic age is the fulfillment of the words of the prophets. Prominent among these texts are the *pesharim* to *Habakkuk*, *Nahum*, and *Psalms*, and the *florilegia*, which are chains of verses and comments. The commentaries allow us a glimpse of the sect's self-image and allude to actual historical figures who lived at the time during which Qumran was occupied.

The *Damascus Document* describes the history of the sect and its attitudes toward its enemies. It also contains a series of legal tracts dealing with various topics of Jewish law, including the Sabbath, courts and testimony, relations with non-Jews, oaths and vows, and so forth.

Admission into the sect, the conduct of daily affairs, and the penalties for violating the sect's laws are the subjects of the *Manual of Discipline*. This text makes clear the role of ritual purity and impurity in defining membership in the sect as well as detailing the annual mustering ceremony of covenant renewal. Appended to it are the *Rule of the Community*, which describes the community in the End of Days, and the *Rule of Benedictions*, which contains praises of the sect's leaders.

The *Thanksgiving Scroll* contains a series of poems describing the "anthropology" and theology of the sect. Many scholars see its author as the "teacher of righteousness" (or "correct teacher") who led the sect in its early years.

The *Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* describes the eschatological war. The sect and the angels fight against the nations and the evildoers of Israel for forty years, thereby ushering in the End of Days. This scroll is notable for its information on the art of warfare in the Greco-Roman period.

Unique is the *Temple Scroll*, which is an idealized description of the Jerusalem Temple, its cult, and other aspects of Jewish law. This text is the subject of debate as to whether it is actually a sectarian scroll or simply part of the sect's library.

THE SECT AND ITS BELIEFS. The Qumran sect saw itself as the sole possessor of the correct interpretation of the Bible, the exegesis of which was the key to the discovery of God's word in the present premessianic age. Like other apocalyptic movements of the day, the sect believed that the messianic era was about to dawn. Only those who had lived according to sectarian ways and had been predestined to share in the End of Days would fight the final battle against the forces of evil. In order to prepare for the coming age, the sect lived a life of purity and holiness at its center on the shore of the Dead Sea.

According to the sect's own description of its history, it had come into existence when its earliest members, apparently Zadokite priests, decided to separate themselves from the corrupt Judaism of Jerusalem and left to set up a refuge at Qumran. The sect was organized along rigid lines. There was an elaborate initiation procedure, lasting several years, during which members were progressively received at the ritually pure banquets of the sect. All legal decisions of the sect were made by the sectarian assembly, and its own system of courts dealt with violations and punishments of the sectarian interpretation of Jewish law. New laws were derived by ongoing inspired biblical exegesis.

Annual covenant renewal ceremonies took place in which the members of the sect were called to assemble in order of their status. Similar mustering was part of the sect's preparations for the eschatological battle. The Qumran sect believed that in the End of Days, two messiahs would appear, a Davidic messiah who was to be the temporal authority, and a priestly messiah of Aaron, who was to take charge of the restored sacrificial cult. They were both to preside over a great messianic banquet. Meals of the sect were periodically eaten in ritual purity in imitation of this final banquet.

The sect maintained a strictly solar calendar rather than the solar-lunar calendar utilized by the rest of the Jewish community. The sect was further distinguished by its principle of communal use of property. Although private ownership was maintained, members of the sect could freely use each other's possessions. The scrolls themselves refute the widespread view that the sectarians of Qumran were celibate.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE SECT. Dominant scholarly opinion has identified the Dead Sea sect as the Essenes described in the writings of Philo Judaeus and Josephus Flavius of the first century CE. Indeed, there are many similarities between this group and the sect described by the scrolls.

In many details, however, the Dead Sea Scrolls do not agree with these accounts of the Essenes. Josephus himself calls the Essenes a "philosophy" and makes clear that it was composed of various groups. If, indeed, the Dead Sea community was an Essene sect, perhaps it represented an offshoot of the Essenes who themselves differ in many ways from those described by Philo and Josephus. A further difficulty stems from the fact that the word *essene* never appears in the scrolls and that it is of unknown meaning and etymology.

Scholars have noted as well the points of similarity between the Qumran writings and aspects of the Pharisaic tradition. Louis Ginzberg has called the authors of these texts "an unknown Jewish sect." Indeed, many groups and sects dotted the spiritual and political landscape of Judaea in the Greco-Roman period, and the Dead Sea sect, previously unknown from any other sources, may have been one of these groups.

QUMRAN AND THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS. The Dead Sea Scrolls have illuminated the background of the emergence of rabbinic Judaism and of Christianity. In the years leading up to the great revolt of 66–74, Judaism was moving toward a consensus that would carry it through the Middle Ages. As Talmudic Judaism emerged from the ashes of the destruction, other groups, like the Dead Sea sect, fell by the wayside. Nonetheless, the scrolls allow us an important glimpse into the nature of Jewish law, theology, and eschatology as understood by one of these sects.

The scrolls show us that Jews in the Second Temple period were engaged in a vibrant religious life based on study of the scriptures, interpretation of Jewish law, practice of ritual purity, and messianic aspirations. Some Jewish practices known from later texts, such as phylacteries, thrice-daily prayer, and blessings before and after meals, were regularly practiced. Rituals were seen as a preparation for the soon-to-dawn End of Days that would usher in a life of purity and perfection.

The scrolls, therefore, have shown us that Jewish life and law were already considerably developed in this period. Although we cannot see a linear development between the Judaism of the scrolls and that of the later rabbis, since the rabbis were heirs to the tradition of the Pharisees, we can still derive great advantage from the scrolls in our understanding of the early history of Jewish law. Here, for the first time, we have a fully developed system of postbiblical law and ritual.

The Dead Sea sect, and, for that matter, all the known Jewish sects from the Second Temple period, were strict adherents to Jewish law as they interpreted it. At the same time, with their emphasis on the apocalyptic visions of the prophets, the sects provide us an understanding of the emerging Christian claims of messiahship for Jesus. Only against the background of the Dead Sea Scrolls can the worldview of early Christianity be understood.

The contribution of the biblical scrolls to our understanding of the history of the biblical text and versions is profound. We now know of the fluid state of the Hebrew scriptures in the last years of the Second Temple. With the help of the biblical scrolls from Masada and the Bar Kokhba caves, we can now understand the role of local texts, the sources of the different ancient translations of the Bible, and the process of standardization of the scriptures that resulted in the Masoretic text.

In the years spanned by the Dead Sea Scrolls, the text of the Hebrew scriptures was coming into its final form, the background of the New Testament was in evidence, and the great traditions that would constitute rabbinic Judaism were taking shape. The scrolls have opened a small window on these developments the analysis of which will reshape our knowledge of this crucial, formative period in the history of Western religion.

SEE ALSO Essenes.

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DEATH is a fact of life. This statement is at once banal and profound. It is banal insofar as it is common knowledge that all human life is limited in duration; it is profound, however, insofar as serious reflection on the end of life challenges the limits of human language, conceptual thought, symbols, and imagination. In an important sense, the meaning of life is dependent in part on one's understanding of death. That death is a fact of life is also paradoxical, for it suggests a coincidence of opposites—death-in-life and life-in-death. How people have imagined death-in-life and life-in-death has shaped their experience of biological death both individually and collectively. Death is paradoxical, as well, in that although every death is an individual experience—only individuals die, even when they die together in large numbers—death is also a profoundly social experience.

Death as a biological fact or as a physiological state is uniform across time and space. However, this universal sameness in biological terms should not lull one into the error of assuming that the human sense or experience of death has been—or is also—uniform across space and time. When contemplating death today, people must avoid the anachronism of projecting their contemporary understanding and experience of death back onto others in the past. Similarly, they must also avoid the cultural imperialism of assuming that their understanding and experiences are normative and that those of other cultures should be measured in their terms. This entry on death is concerned with the diverse ways in which death has been imagined and the many different ways it has been experienced in different cultures and different ages. To say this is to recognize that although death is "a given" in one sense, it is culturally and historically constructed in various ways.

The study of beliefs and ritual practices surrounding death has been pursued using a number of different methodological approaches, including ethnographic, sociological, psychological, historical, morphological, and structural to name a few. The best comparative studies of death in the history of religions build upon the large number of available detailed ethnographic descriptions of specific communal beliefs and ritual practices, but move beyond these in a number of ways. Comparative studies in the history of religions are interdisciplinary in nature, integrating the findings of different disciplines in an effort to understand the complex existential meanings of religious beliefs and practices. The classic ethnographic monograph tended to present a historically "flat" and socially undifferentiated picture of the conception of death and the performance of mourning and funerary rites in a given culture. Unfortunately, such "snapshot" studies of different cultures implied that religious beliefs were static over time and uniformly held by all members of a given culture or religious tradition. More recently, the subfield of historical anthropology has reintroduced history into the mix and produced numerous sensitive studies of change in beliefs and practices. Scholars have also paid more attention to the effects of cultural contact, colonialism, and issues of gender, resulting in more complex representations.

In this essay, no attempt will be made to present an exhaustive survey of beliefs and ritual practices related to death. Rather than providing ethnographic detail and careful historical analysis, the entry focuses on selected themes and issues that emerge from a broad survey of cultures and religions, and in so doing offers some general reflections concerning the human imagining and experience of death. In passing, it also touches upon methodological issues involved in the comparative, cross-cultural, and historical study of beliefs and ritual practices surrounding death.

THE CONCERN WITH DEATH. Death has been a central concern of religious persons across space and time. The brute fact of death raises pressing questions: Why do people and other living things have to die? What happens to a person after death? Do the dead have a continued existence of some sort? Are they happy? Where do the dead go? Can the dead return to the world of the living? Can the dead communicate with the living? Is death permanent, or is it a temporary or transitional state? These and many other questions have long spurred speculation concerning death and the possibility of an afterlife.

Recognizing that death raised questions for people, numerous nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholars were led to speculate on the relationship of human ponderings on death to the origins of religion. These theories of the origins of religion were often written in the Enlightenment genre, represented by Rousseau's essay *Discourse on the Origin of Social Inequality.* Such works of imaginative reconstruction are based on pure speculation, not historical evidence. These reconstructions also are based on the ill-advised belief that modern psychological assumptions are universally applicable. Finally, such accounts are based on logical inferences (often faulty) that are presumed to have been drawn by the earliest human beings. The British anthropologist E. E. Evans-Pritchard dismissively labeled this sort of "*a priori* speculation, sprinkled with illustrations" the "if I were a horse" fallacy and unworthy of the name historical reconstruction (1965, p. 24). While there is little or no historical evidence to support these imaginative flights, it is salutary to note the broad influence they once had.

Today scholars strive to understand how different conceptualizations of death, the afterlife, and the body, as well as different ritual practices, affect the individual and collective experience of death. The cultural historical constructions of death, the body, the afterlife, and so on also directly affect one's religious valuations of life in this world. In thanatology (the study of death), among other things, it is important to consider the religious anthropology (i.e., the specific understanding of human nature and divine nature and the relationship between them), the understanding of the body, and the operative cosmology of a given culture or religious community. Moreover, one must take into account a given culture's epistemology of death and the afterlife (i.e., how people claim to know things about death and the afterlife). After all, most people would deny that their concepts about death are based on mere speculation. Cultures have established means of obtaining evidence on matters related to death and the afterlife. This evidence is commonly found in the content of dreams, reports from shamans concerning their ecstatic flights through the multiple realms of the universe, or individual accounts of visionary experiences or events witnessed in trance states. Alternatively, the "proof" may be found in the authoritative proclamations of myths or sacred texts.

Death may be accepted as a fact of life by many persons today, but historians of religions have clearly demonstrated that humans have rarely imagined death to have been a natural and inevitable condition from the beginning of time. Throughout the world, a myriad number of myths tell how death came into the world and how humans came to be mortal beings. Death is often claimed to be the result of an accident of some sort or an unfortunate mistake or choice made by a god or an ancestor. It may be the result of an act of forgetfulness, trickery, or theft, or it may have resulted from the breaking of a taboo or perhaps the commission of some major or minor transgression. The *Genesis* account of the fall, with the consequential changes in the human ontological condition and in the world itself, is only one such myth. It is important to recognize that this myth, like other such stories, continues to exercise power over the collective imagination and lives of millions of people. In yet other religions, the length of human life is imagined to be different in different cosmic ages, with the length usually decreasing as the devolutionary process continues.

OVERCOMING DEATH. If death was not always a fact of life, then the possibility suggests itself that death might be overcome in some way. The study of death in the history of religions is, in part, the history of how different cultures and religious communities have sought to deny the finality of the seemingly "given" nature of death. Many religious beliefs and practices aim to overcome death in some way or to restore humans and the world to conditions prior to the introduction of death. Eschatologies, for example, imagine the end of the world as it now exists, including the end of death. Similarly, the so-called cargo cults that emerged in the face of radical cultural disruption and rampant disease in situations of cultural contact are expressions of a desperate anticipation of the destruction of this world and the inauguration of a renewed world.

More generally, scholars have long noted that initiatory rites involve symbols and scenarios of death and rebirth. The performance of an initiatory rite rehearses death followed by a scenario of rebirth of some kind. This death may be imagined in biological terms, or it may be the death (end) of a specific status or ontological condition. In many religions, religious healers gain their powers precisely by having overcome death through an initiatory trial of some sort. Such initiatory trials are often unsought, but they need not be. Many examples of what one might call "dying onto the world" are found in the history of religions, including the elaboration of religious vocations defined over against mundane life in the world. These include, to name only two of the most common types, the renunciation of the world by monks and nuns and individuals going into the mountains, desert, or the bush in order to practice some form of asceticism and to seek visions. In many religions, lay persons or ordinary men and women can also ritually gain a foretaste of death and the afterlife. Altered states of consciousness of various sorts provide access to knowledge of the afterlife in many religions. For Pentacostal Christians, for instance, the psychosomatic experience of the descent of the Holy Ghost—the loss of consciousness, speaking in tongues, the radiant sense of divine infusion—is a form of dying onto life as, while at the same time a foretaste of what the Second Coming will bring.

Religious seekers have also proactively pursued various means of achieving immortality, sometimes in human-embodied form and other times by seeking to overcome the human body. The ancient Egyptians exemplify those who imagined the afterlife to be similar to life in this world, with the body surviving death. Thus, the corpse was carefully embalmed in order to preserve its form, while items the deceased would need in the afterlife were also buried with the body.

Practitioners in alchemical traditions around the world have searched for the elixir of immortality. Alchemists provided recipes and proffered various techniques to transform the mortal body into an immortal one. Some religions speak of a spiritual body existing after death. In such traditions, the decomposition or immolation of the physical body is often seen as a form of release into a spiritual existence. Such a belief informs the Ainu bear festival in Northern Japan in which a deity *(kamui)* visits the world of the living in the form of a bear cub. The cub is nursed and raised by the Ainu; it is also entertained before it is ritually killed, thereby releasing the deity from its temporary physical form and sending it back to the spirit world (Kimura, 1999).

Other traditions, such as yoga in its many forms, have sought to overcome the embodied nature of human existence (i.e., to overcome the body itself, which is identified as the locus of mortality) in order to achieve an immaterial and timeless state of pure consciousness. In Indian religious traditions, biological death is believed to lead to rebirth in another physical form, whereas *moksa,* release from the karmic cycle of birth-death-rebirth, puts an end to death. Death, then, has been imagined in many different ways, some positing another form of embodied existence and others a disembodied state. Only a few religions, such as the ancient religion represented in the *Enuma Elish,* viewed death as a real end, with no form of existence following it.

THEORIES OF DEATH AND THE ORIGINS OF RELIGION. As noted above, the recognition of the central importance of death in the conceptual worlds of human beings throughout time has occasionally led Western scholars to make some overblown claims concerning death and the origins of culture or civilization. Before returning to a brief consideration of some of the issues related to death that remain central to the study of the history of religions today, it is necessary to review in a cursory manner a few of the most famous—and wrongheaded—grand theories of the origins of religion that were based in part on the scholars' imagined human response to death in the misty past.

Edward B. Tylor. The famous nineteenth-century armchair anthropologist Edward B. Tylor no doubt went too far in claiming that death was the reason religion existed. In his highly influential two-volume work *Primitive Culture* (1871), Tylor argued that the concept of the soul or an animating spirit arose when primitive peoples reflected on death, trance states, visions, and dreams. He asserted that the belief in the existence of the soul was the logical deduction that primitives drew from putting together two separate experiences. First, according to Tylor, the primitives' awareness of the sudden transformation of a vibrant human body into a corpse at the moment of death must have suggested to them that the animating source of life was not to be found in the physical body. At the moment of death, the material body remained, but it was cold, immobile, and lifeless. In dreams and visions, however, people often saw and conversed with dead persons, who thus seemed to continue to "exist" in some form even after their bodily demise. Putting two and two together, this led to the logical deduction that an animating spirit or soul must exist that was invisible, immaterial, and detachable from the physical body.

Tylor believed that this type of primitive reasoning was the basis of the most primitive cultural stage of development, which he labeled "animism." Animism is the belief that both animate and inanimate things, natural phenomena, and the universe itself possess a vital animating power or soul. Like many nineteenth-century theorists, Tylor assumed that all cultures passed through evolutionary stages. The precise enumeration of these stages varied from scholar to scholar, but in general they follow the pattern of evolution from a belief in magic to religion and, ultimately, to the triumph of reason and science. At each stage, it was believed that belief in the earlier form of magic or religion would decline. Moreover, contemporary peoples living in technologically primitive cultures were held to be living fossils, as it were. As such, the study of "primitives" seemed to hold the promise of providing scholars in various disciplines the opportunity to view what the life of their own ancestors must have been like millennia earlier.

Ghosts and ancestral spirits. Herbert Spencer, one of the founders of modern sociology, offered a similar theory in *The Principles of Sociology* (1885). However, he maintained that the origins of religion were to be found in the belief in ghosts rather than the soul. Significantly, visions of the dead—as well as encounters with them in dreams—again played a central role in Spencer's theory. Because the dead were believed to still be present somehow in the world, Spencer claimed that they came to be propitiated and offered food, drink, and so on by their living relatives and friends. Moreover, the most important and powerful members of society were believed to retain their position and power even after death. Thus, they were treated with special respect and decorum, as they had been while alive. Over time, these ancestors evolved into deities. Thus, according to Spencer, primitive ancestor worship was the basis of all religions. Unfortunately, there is no hard historical evidence for this assertion or for the other universal claims he proffered.

Sigmund Freud. For his part, Sigmund Freud made a stunning series of claims about death, sex, and religion in both his psychological writings and in his works of cultural historical interpretation. The latter include *Totem and Taboo* (1918), *Civilization and Its Discontents* (1930), *The Future of an Illusion* (1928), and *Moses and Monotheism* (1939). Freud offered a psychological explanation of the paradoxical coincidence of opposites of death-in-life and life-in-death. He argued that *eros* and *thanatos*, the drives to reproduce oneself and to annihilate oneself, were both primordial in human nature and deeply intertwined at the unconscious level. Indeed, he claimed that a universal psychological connection existed between sexual activity and death. He found evidence for this assertion not only in the lives of his neurotic patients and ethnographic descriptions of primitive rites, but in such things as a colloquial phrase for male ejaculation, which translates as "the little death." Freud was not an anthropologist, though he used the work of anthropologists, sociologists, and ethnographers in his works of cultural interpretation. Nor was he really interested in cultural diversity. Rather, his interest, like so many others of his age, was only in different psychological-*cum*-cultural stages of development.

Few anthropologists or historians of religions today would accept Freud's universal claims or offer competing universal claims of their own for that matter. For instance, rather than make a universal assertion about the significance of "the little death," they would note that the male anxiety implicit in this phrase flows from the widely-held (but not universal) archaic belief that the vital fluids and life energy in one's body are finite in quantity and that they are not replenished. For those holding this understanding of the male body, any expenditure of seminal fluids is assumed to deplete the man's life force. Ironically then, the act that leads to the creation of new life ultimately contributes to the male's own physical decline and death.

Menstruation and lactation, to name two prominent female physiological functions, are also highly-charged symbols in many cultures and religions, but Freud paid considerably less attention to them. Had he, he would have found that they, too, are often associated with death-in-life and life-in-death. Freud was equally unaware of the significant impact the differences in the religious anthropologies of diverse people or their different understandings of the human body could have on their experience of sexual activity and death, among other things. Indeed, Freud dismissed native explanations of such things outright, claiming that conscious explanations never got to the real unconscious causal sources of human psychology and behavior.

In *Totem and Taboo*, Freud again associated death with the origin of religion, society, and civilization. Building upon the now long-discredited hypothesis that the earliest human beings lived in hordes each ruled by a dominant male and the mistaken concept of totemism, Freud produced a gothic tale (or, perhaps, a modern psychological myth) of primordial patricide. In Freud's telling, a single dominant male claimed exclusive sexual rights to all of the women in the horde. The sons produced by this supreme male must have looked up to their father and aspired to be like him, even as they hated and envied him. They no doubt became increasingly frustrated, Freud suggested, as they reached sexual maturity, but were still denied a sexual outlet within the horde. Then, one day the sons collectively hatched a plan to kill their father in order to gain sexual access to the women. After the dastardly deed had been done, "cannibal savages as they were," the sons instinctually devoured their victim in order to incorporate his power. Then, according to Freud, something momentous happened.

The sons' love and admiration of the father, which had been repressed in order to commit the murder, resurfaced as pangs of guilt and psychological ambivalence. These quickly overwhelmed them. On the one hand, they were grieved by their father's death and horrified by their role in it, but on the other they experienced a sense of satisfaction in having replaced the father. Yet Freud claims that in death the father became even stronger than he had been in life through the workings of psychological repression and substitution. In the wake of the murder, the sons forbid themselves sexual access to the local women (this is the origin of the incest taboo and exogenous marriage rules) and forbid the slaying of the father. The latter taboo was expressed through the deflected form of the totem animal or plant, the surrogate for the father, which was normally taboo but which was eaten in a collective ritual meal. In this way, Freud connected the origins of the totemic festival with the primitives' ambivalent psychological response to the death or murder of the father.

The psychological ambivalence felt towards the dead father was, Freud claims, the origin not only of the universal incest taboo and various taboos surrounding death, but also of the totemic meal, social organization, moral restrictions, and even religion itself. Significantly, Freud's narrative and analysis was concerned not only with instincts, but with the ways instincts and primitive desires are affected and controlled by the psychodynamics of family and social organization. For the primitive, the totemic object or animal is a surrogate for the murdered father, while in a more developed stage of culture the figure of God clearly serves this purpose.

Applying the biological theory of Ernst Haeckel that ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny to psychology (i.e., the stages of biological development of an individual from conception through maturity replicate in abbreviated form the evolution of the species), Freud argued that the study of the mental life of children, as well as dreams and neuroses, could shed light on the primitive stage of human development. He believed that the earliest object of sexual desire for every infant boy is incestuous and forbidden—his mother. Like the grown-up sons in the primal horde, an infant son is jealous of the father's sexual possession of the mother and desires to eliminate him as a rival. Freud posited that the Oedipal complex, as he labeled it, was a universal psychological complex, but one which healthy children in civilized societies could now overcome through submitting to social controls and, thereby, learning to control their instincts and deferring the immediate gratification of their desires.

For Freud, religion was the crucial link between the individual and society. Religious myths and rituals were the collective expressions of the same unconscious desires and psychological processes that produce dreams and neuroses in individuals. Freud famously claimed that religion was a collective neurosis that would eventually be outgrown, although not in the near future. Unlike Spencer and Tylor, though, Freud did not consider primitives to be rational beings; rather, he compared them to neurotics and children. Yet, just as most healthy boys work their way through the psychological conflicts of the Oedipal stage, he believed that cultures, too, evolved psychologically, with reason gradually replacing fantasy.

Modern studies of death. Today few people ascribe to the psychological assumptions underlying these and other theories that connect death to the origin of religion. The search for origins of this sort has been abandoned. Still, scholars have been struck by the patterned ways in which death has been associated with life in many cultures. For instance, scholars have long noted the striking association of death with fertility and/or the regeneration of life in religions around the world. In *Versuch über Grabersymbolik der Alten* (1859), J. J. Bachofen noted the prominence of symbols of fertility (e.g., eggs) and women on the tombs of ancient Greece and Rome, which he interpreted as indicating a belief in life coming out of death. For his part, Sir George Frazer made the image of the dying-and-rising god a central theme of his influential comparative study, *The Golden Bough,* which went through multiple editions during the early twentieth century. Other scholars, such as the classicist Jane Harrison, carried the study of the ancient mystery cults further, demonstrating in *Themis* (1911) how the social order was related to the natural order through these religious rites.

In 1906, Robert Hertz, a student of Emile Durkheim, published a seminal essay on the collective representation of death in *Année Sociologique* in which he analyzed double or secondary burial practices in Southeast Asia (Hertz, 1960). In the cultures he studied, the first burial period was temporary and dedicated to mourning. After the flesh of the corpse had rotted away, the dry skeletal remains were disinterred and then reburied elsewhere. With this secondary burial, the deceased was integrated into the society of the dead, while the mourners were reintegrated into the society of the living. Hertz also pointed to structural and symbolic parallels between funerary rites and initiation rites and marriages, an insight that numerous other scholars subsequently followed up and detailed in many other societies. More recently, Maurice Bloch and Jonathon Parry have revived interest in the symbolic association of death and fertility in a culturally wide-ranging collection of essays entitled *Death and the Regeneration of Life* (1982).

One final scholar deserves special mention. In a series of important publications, Philippe Ariès presented an unprecedented survey of the changing attitudes toward and representations of death in Europe over a thousand years from the eleventh through the twentieth centuries. Ariès used an interdisciplinary approach in his quest to trace these changes, working with literary, liturgical, testamentary, epigraphic, and iconographic sources of evidence. Specialists may quibble over specific details and dispute some of Ariès' interpretations, but his work has demonstrated beyond a doubt that the experience of death is subject to change over time within the same culture. On the other hand, scholars have also disclosed the remarkable continuity of some funerary practices over several millennia. Margaret Alexiou's study, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (1974), and more recent anthropological field work (e.g., Danforth, 1982), has demonstrated that the performance of funerary laments and the practice of secondary or double burial continues down to the present in some rural areas, in spite of the dominant presence of Greek Orthodox Christianity.

To his credit, Ariès did not attempt to offer a grand overarching psychological or sociological theory about death. Rather, he sought to organize in a significant way the huge amount of historical evidence he had surveyed and then to trace the changes that occurred over broad sweeps of time. In his magnum opus, *Homme devant la mort* (1977; English translation, *The Hour of Our Death*, 1981), Ariès suggested that the history of the Western representations and experiences of death could be organized around variations on four psychological themes: the growing awareness of the individual; the defense of society against untamed nature; belief in an afterlife; and belief in the existence of evil.

DEATH IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE. Death has rarely been taken as an end as such, a real terminal point. Rather, for most humans throughout time, physiological death has signaled a transitional moment and state, not an absolute end. At death, life as previously lived in this world ends for the deceased, but the memory and imagination of the living open up paths to the past and the future and to other worlds and other modes of existence. A survey of the history of religions clearly shows a widespread affirmation that death creates the potential for new beginnings, for a new stage of the cycle of birth-death-rebirth, or for transitioning to different ends. The transformative possibilities signaled by death are numerous and extremely variable. However these possibilities are imagined, though, humans have rarely been content to "let nature take its course," as it were. Upon closer inspection, even those religious groups that apparently let nature take its course following a death (e.g., when the Parsi Zoroastrians of India exposed the corpse on top of a tower to be consumed by carrion birds, or the Lakota Sioux exposed the corpse on a bier to the elements), will be found to have performed ritualized acts intended to symbolically integrate the deceased into a cosmological world of meaning.

Death almost inevitably moves the living to perform ritual work of some sort in an effort to control what happens posthumously both in the world of the living and in that of the dead. The transformations made possible by death are not automatic, nor are they necessarily without danger. By and large, people have assumed that the desired transitions and transformations after death can be accomplished safely only through proper ritual acts. The performance of such rituals may require specific changes in dress, bodily decoration, voice (e.g., in ritual mourning), diet, daily activities, and so on among the living.

Liminality. Death creates a liminal time and space for the living and for the deceased. For a given period of time, those closely related to the deceased often have specific ritual obligations placed upon them, as well as a number of prohibitions (e.g., they cannot comb or wash their hair, wear colorful clothing, participate in certain activities, eat certain foods, go to certain places). The deceased is often imagined as being in a liminal condition as well, betwixt-and-between the world of the living and the world of the dead. In these cases, the funerary and mourning rites are designed to assist the deceased in his or her journey to the otherworld or to effect the transformation into an ancestor, spirit being, and so on. These rites are often viewed as aiding the dead, but at other times they are also clearly designed to keep the dead from returning to the world of the living or otherwise causing havoc. The liminal status of the newly dead or the dead for whom funerary rites were not performed is often imagined to be potentially dangerous. Such liminal beings haunt the world of the living and may cause illness, death, or other calamities; they may also possess individuals or cause them to go mad. Thus, many posthumous rituals are prophylactic in nature and designed to protect the living from the dead.

The liminal status of the corpse almost always requires that it be prepared or handled in specific ritualized ways. In some societies, the deceased is buried or cremated with objects he or she will need in the other world; in other societies, the dead may be buried in a fetal position, perhaps indicating a belief in rebirth. The care taken with the remains of the dead throughout human history has provided archaeologists with some of their most important evidence about the religious beliefs and practices of diverse peoples.

In many societies, death does not terminate all relationships between the deceased and living relatives. Throughout East Asia, for instance, ancestral cults involve regular ritual interactions often for up to thirty or more years, including prayers, offerings of food, drink, and incense, memorial services, and even dances to entertain the dead during the festival of the dead. In Japan, the corpse is cremated and the ashes buried in a cemetery. The deceased is given a posthumous name, which is inscribed by a Buddhist priest on a wooden tablet that is installed in a domestic Buddhist or Shinto ancestral shrine. After the requisite period of memorial rites has passed, the ancestral tablet is itself burned in a symbolic second cremation. Thereafter, the individual identity of the deceased ends and he or she is incorporated into the anonymous class of ancestors.

Communicating with the dead. Many religions also have ritual techniques for communicating with the dead. In traditional societies, a shaman or medium often serves as a conduit of communication with the dead. The deceased may possess a ritual functionary in order to communicate his or her needs or desires, or the ritual specialist may travel through ecstatic flight to the land of the dead to speak with the dead. In other religions, dreams or visions induced by hallucinogens may provide a means of interacting with the ordinary dead. Many societies have regular festivals to which the dead are invited, such as Obon in Japan or the Days of the Dead in Mexico.

In many mourning rites, mourners converse with the deceased by speaking, singing, or otherwise performing both voices in the dialogue. The desire to maintain some contact with deceased loved ones is widespread, although such contact is carefully controlled and of limited duration. In some societies one finds that—more than death itself—it is the fear of being forgotten after death that is paramount. One thinks of the ancient Greeks and the cult of heroes in which posthumous fame was more valued than life itself.

Many religions encourage visits to the gravesites of the deceased, where tears are shed, prayers are said, offerings of flowers, food, and incense are made, and communion with the deceased occurs. In many societies, songs associated with the dead are sung to recall the deceased, including an enumeration of the places he or she used to visit or the lands the deceased may have hunted or tilled. The deceased is often ritually mourned or keened at the gravesite, although in societies that practice double or secondary burial, these songs or mourning rites are sometimes offered at the now-empty initial burial site. In some societies, physical objects, songs, or specific places associated with the dead function as souvenirs or memento mori, recalling the deceased to mind. In ancient Japan, people employed objects (e.g., a comb, an item of clothing) called *katami* (to see the form/shape [of the deceased]) to conjure up an image of the dead (Ebersole, 1989). In the Victorian period, people often carried lockets containing a snippet of hair from a deceased or absent loved one. Victorian women also made elaborate hair weavings or flowers, birds, and other decorative forms—by using the hair of dead family members—for similar purposes. With the emergence of photography, photos of the deceased, including those of dead infants and children carefully posed to appear to be sleeping, became extremely popular. Today many persons find these objects macabre and disturbing, witnessing to a major shift in cultural sensibility surrounding death.

Many religions provide rituals to be performed for the benefit of the dead, as noted earlier. The practice of endowing Christian masses to be performed or the reading of Buddhist sutras for a deceased individual are examples. Sometimes individuals made arrangements for such rites to be performed on their behalf after their death, a clear indication of the belief in the continued existence of the self and personal identity. In other cases, it is the surviving family members who are expected to perform memorial or ancestral rites or to have them performed by religious functionaries. The Hindu *pinda* rite of offerings of food and drink to one's deceased parents is a prime example of a daily domestic practice.

Preparation for facing death, pacification, and the grieving process. Many religions also developed rites designed to help those facing imminent death to accept this fate. The Catholic rite of last unction is but one example. Such rites are based on the widespread belief that one's state of mind and mental focus at the time of death are critical in determining one's posthumous condition. Those who die in an emotionally agitated state, whether it be of fear, anger, jealousy, or lust, will not find peace in the afterlife and, thus, become potentially dangerous. Many different ritual practices seek to overcome the arbitrary nature of death precisely by controlling the timing and/or manner of death, but also one's mental response to it. By overcoming the survival instinct, one overcomes the fear of death and even death itself. The so-called self-mummified buddhas of Japan are the desiccated remains of Shugendō priests, now enshrined as objects of worship, who took a vow to have themselves buried alive in the mountains. Thousands of people gathered to witness the event, while the priest, breathing through a hollow bamboo tube, continually beat a drum and recited the *nembutsu,* or the ritual invocation of the Bodhisattva Amida (Amitābha), until death, or release, came (Hori, 1962).

Many religions feature rituals of pacification of the dead, designed to assist the deceased to accept his or her new status and surroundings. A certain ambivalence is evident in many of these rites. On the one hand, surviving loved ones wish for a continued relationship with the deceased; on the other hand, there is some fear or anxiety expressed over the possible return of the dead. The living seek to tightly control their interactions with the dead through ritual means. Although the dead are invoked to be present, the rites also usually include formal send-offs to return the deceased to the land of the dead.

Some scholars have long argued that mourning, funerary, and memorial rites are really for the living and answer to their psychological or social needs. Durkheim, for example, claimed they responded to the need for renewed social solidarity; more recently, psychologists and others insist on the need for individuals to work through the grieving process. (The findings of the history of religions, though, might well lead one to question whether there is a single universal grieving process.) Obviously, religious rituals serve multiple purposes, and need not be mutually exclusive. A brief consideration of the different scholarly interpretations of Japanese Buddhist rites of pacification for aborted fetuses (*mizuko kuyō*) will demonstrate this. These rites were newly created in late twentieth-century Japan, where abortion was a common form of birth control. Some have argued that *mizuko kuyō* rites answer the psychological needs of the parent(s), who experience pangs of guilt after the decision to abort (cf. La Fleur, 1992). Others, such as Helen Hardacre (1997), have argued that entrepreneurial Buddhist priests created the need for such rites through skillful marketing techniques. Significantly, advertisements represented aborted fetuses as haunting spirits in need of pacification rites.

The corpse. Whenever death occurs, a corpse is created—an object at once like a living body and radically different from it. Yet, one finds numerous reports of anomalous cases that deny this truism a universal status—the Taoist immortal who leaves the physical world, leaving behind only sandals, mysteriously empty tombs or graves, and so on. No matter what the details are, such reports imply that the "death" involved was not an ordinary biological death. In some cases, death is denied by claims that an individual has gone away or into hiding (e.g., the Shīʿah Hidden Imam in Iran), perhaps to return triumphantly at a later time. In ancient Japan, the emperor or empress did not die; rather, as a "living deity," he or she had returned to the High Heavens and there become secluded behind the bank of clouds. In many cases, death restores a person to true form, as in the case of a deity who had temporarily taken on material or human form. In yet other cases, at death the individual is reportedly changed instantly into another now permanent or eternal form—a star in the heavens, a rock formation, a spring—leaving no corpse

When a corpse is present, however, it is usually considered to be polluted, leading to numerous avoidance procedures. In many societies, only designated individuals may touch and prepare the corpse. In India, these ritual functionaries are outcastes; in other societies, they may be close relatives, who take on a polluted state for the duration of the funerary and mourning rites. In modern technologically developed societies, these roles have been assumed by medical professionals and professional morticians.

In a striking number of cultures, though, it is predominately women who perform these ritual duties. Bloch and Parry have provocatively argued that the prominence of women in funerary rites is not, as Frazer and many others believed, so much a part of the symbolic regeneration of life as it is a symbolic elaboration of female sexuality and fertility precisely in order to oppose it to "real" vitality. That is, female sexuality and biological reproduction are equated with death-in-life, which must be overcome. Among other religions Bloch and Parry cite, they suggest that Christianity epitomizes this pattern. They contrast the role the woman Eve played in the Fall in the Garden of Eden—which led to human sexuality, biological procreation, and death—to that of the Virgin Mary. The asexual conception of Jesus and his subsequent death and resurrection restore the possibility of access to the life eternal of Paradise. The meaning and valuation of physiological death, fertility, and regeneration can be totally transformed by shifts in symbolic and ritual representations, which recontexualize these (Bloch and Parry, 1982).

Whatever the merit of Bloch and Parry's overall thesis, it is clear that the meanings of concepts such as death, fertility, sexuality, and rebirth are not singular, nor are they culturally determined for all time or for all persons within a culture. The meanings for such fundamental categories can be renegotiated over time within the same religious tradition, as Ariès and others have shown. At an individual or subgroup level, they may also be affected by one's class, gender, or occupation among other things. A few admittedly extreme examples allow a more general point about these factors to be made. Take, for instance, Egyptian pharaohs. They no doubt anticipated death and rebirth differently than did their slaves, especially insofar as the afterworld was believed to replicate the social, political, and economic structures found in this world. Similarly, the ruling Mayan and Aztec elites must have understood and experienced the ritual sacrifice of the many human captives offered as tribute differently than did many of the conquered people, who were regularly forced to provide the persons for these bloody sacrifices. Unfortunately, most of the records and representations of these sacrificial deaths come from the elite sectors of the societies. Such evidence must be used carefully, always bearing in mind that the voices of the powerless and the disenfranchised were rarely recorded.

Sacrificial rites. Modern scholars have with little difficulty reconstructed the symbolic logic informing the ritual taking of human life in Mesoamerican empires. There once again myths and rituals proffer the paradoxical claim that life comes out of death. In order to renew the cosmos and to guarantee fertility and regeneration, blood must be shed at a specific time, at a specific place, and in a specific choreographed manner. This might be in the form of ritual bleedings from the penis of the Mayan king or through human sacrifice at the Aztec New Year and other appropriate moments of transformative potential (cf., Carrasco, 1999).

Such rituals clearly represented the religio-political ideology of the power elites. It should not be uncritically assumed, however, that such ritual performances accurately represented the shared cultural understanding of all people in the empire. At the same time, neither should it be uncritically assumed that the rites were nothing more than a vehicle for ideological obfuscation on the part of the ruling elites. To be sure, in significant ways, human sacrifice was a forced performance, but cases exist in which persons voluntarily went to their own deaths, and as such require an understanding the power such symbolic activities—designed to effect the magic of transforming death into life or even immortality—can have over individuals and groups. At a minimum, the question here is one of what constitutes a meaningful voluntary death for specific groups.

The history and complex multiple and competing meanings of the Hindu ritual practice of sati—the self-immolation of a widow on her husband's funerary pyre—may serve as an exemplar of voluntary ritual death. Sati has long captured people's imagination, but only recently have scholars begun to explore its history and the complex, ongoing, and contested representations of its meaning. For instance, Catherine Weinberger-Thomas (Chicago, 1999) sensitively explored how British merchants and later colonial authorities used the ritual as a rationale for taking control of India; how Western scholars have depicted it and why; how fundamentalist Hindu religious and political groups have embraced it; the complex issues of gender; and the at times intense social and familial pressures a widow faces. She also seeks to understand why some young women chose to follow their husbands in death. She discloses the power of the belief that the widow's self-immolation makes two human bodies into one indivisible body, which is ritually transformed into a sacrificial oblation and rice ball—a *pinda.* The funeral pyre becomes the mirror image of the marriage bed in which male and female powers were first conjoined, although now this union of opposites is forever. This ritual suicide is also the inverse of the primordial self sacrifice of Purusha, as detailed in *Ṛgveda* X: 40. In the latter, the primordial divine sacrifice leads to the creation of the material world, the caste system, and so on; with the ritual sacrifice of sati, all of these are overcome and the couple escapes the cycle of birth-death-rebirth.

Continued presence of death in life. It is a commonplace to say that religions create worlds of meaning. But they also create meaningful deaths. Death is never far from human experience, no matter how people may try to banish it from sight and mind. It permeates daily life just as it structures the rhythms of collective life. Graveyards, ossuaries, tombs, memorials, and museums bring the presence of death and the dead into human consciousness and landscape. Monumental architectural buildings and structures seek to guarantee and to control the memory of the dead by future generations. The mall of Washington, D.C., for instance, is a public space filled with memorials to the dead designed to evoke a sacred sense of the past and a collective American identity. Today in secular scientific cultures, human genes and DNA have become yet another way of re-imagining the continued presence of the dead in the living.

Religious calendars are punctuated with festivals and observances related to the dead, but so are secular calendars. The citizens of modern nation-states celebrate memorial days of various sorts for their war dead, the victims of genocide, presidents, and kings, but they also celebrate birthdays and beginnings. Even when the dead are feared or are considered polluting and, thus, are segregated and separated spatially from the living, they hover nearby. Ritual avoidances of specific places, foods, words, names, and so on also bring the dead—even in their physical absence—into the consciousness of the living. The dead live in memory, in dreams, and in physical tokens. In other cases, the dead are physically near to hand—buried under the cathedral floor, enshrined in part or in whole as holy relics in temples and sanctuaries, or interred under the entranceway to a house. The dead may even be literally incorporated into the living through some form of endocannibalism (e.g., Amazonian natives drinking the cremation ashes of a villager). Scholars have noted the striking similarity to the symbolism (or the reality of the miracle of transubstantiation) of the Christian Eucharist—"This is my body; this is my blood."

Death is everpresent, as well, in the privileged myths and stories told again and again in song and poetry, in the arts (painting, sculpture, weaving, mosaics, pottery, etc.), in dance and dramatic performances, in children's play ("Ring around a rosey/ pocketful of posies/ ashes, ashes, all fall down."), and today on television, in the movies, and in video games. Bringing the ubiquity and the absolute redundancy of death before the mind's eye of the living has often served didactic purposes, moving persons to act in spiritually and morally proper and ascribed ways. The Buddhist ritual contemplation of putrefying corpses, the ritual visualization of the inevitable future of all human bodies, visiting collective ossuaries, and so on have been used to move people to renounce the material body and the world. Graphic pictures of hells and the land of the dead in many religions have similarly served to keep death in the minds of people, just as images of heaven and the afterlife have proffered hope to many.

The ubiquitous presence of death, however, can also make it banal and rob it of any sense of sacrality or meaning. People can become inured to death by the numbing effect of the sheer numbers of the dead in times of plague, war, and, to use a modern term, natural disaster. Death's seemingly relentless redundancy can lead persons to perform horribly immoral acts as death's banality threatens the foundations of society. Akira Kurosawa's film *Rashomon,* set in Kyoto in an age of terrible civil war and a time of rampaging plague, is an unforgettable portrait of death's power to destroy law and order and to create utter chaos. Sheer desperation, coupled with the drive to survive, can lead humans to depravity as the moral order of the universe collapses. In the European Holocaust, the carrying out of the Nazi policy of extermination of the Jews, gypsies, and others was possible in part because in the camps killing became so banal.

There is also the "death without weeping"—the resignation at times of the poorest of the poor to the necessity of death for some if others are to live. The myriad images of a happier life in the future that many religions have proffered must not blind one to the desperate, horrible, and yet rational decision that innumerable mothers have made throughout history to stop feeding one child so that others might live (cf., Scheper-Hughes, 1992). Similarly, in much of the world today and in all countries before the advances of modern medicine, giving birth was an extremely dangerous act. All too often, bringing life into the world meant the death of the mother.

Yet, in the history of religions, few societies have collectively embraced an existential fatalism, which assumes that death is meaningless. Rather, plagues, wars, and natural disasters have often been taken to be cosmological signs of some sort. They have generated eschatological visions on a cosmic scale of the end of the world as we know it and the beginning of a new world. Or they have stimulated calendrical speculation on a cosmic scale, with the positing of ages through which the universe must pass. Examples are legion, ranging from ancient Indian speculation on devolutionary cosmic ages (*yugas*) and Buddhist writings on the present time as the Age of Declining Dharma to the elaborate intermeshing calendars of the Aztecs and the Mayans, which inexorably move through their cycles of change and ends and beginnings. In almost all cases, as has been seen in the case with the death of an individual, the end is imagined as a beginning. The end of a cosmic age is a moment of transition and transformation, one marked by death, destruction, and danger. Yet the religious imagination of humans turns this dark time—this descent into chaos—into a prelude to a renewed time and a return to order. Often this denouement is rehearsed in ritual performance and mythic narration.

The need to explain death. Death is both uniform and arbitrary. It is uniform in so far as all persons, regardless of social status, position, and wealth are subject to dying. Death is arbitrary, though, in terms of when it strikes, how it strikes, and often who it strikes. In this sense, death is enigmatic, mysterious, and unnerving. Although death is inevitable, specific deaths need to be explained. In many societies, the corpse or skeletal remains were examined for evidentiary purposes, or other ritual means, such as divination, were employed to determine who or what had caused a death. Today in scientifically developed countries, a special medical practitioner will perform an autopsy for these purposes.

In the past and in many traditional cultures today, ritual autopsies of a different sort were and are performed. In rural Greece, for instance, as in centuries past, old women and female relatives will fondle and closely examine exhumed skeletal bones for signs of the moral condition of the deceased and, thus, his or her posthumous fate (cf. Danforth, 1982). In other societies, the condition of a corpse after death is taken to be a sign of his or her spiritual status. In Buddhist and Christian lore, for example, the corpses of saints do not decay, nor do they emit disgusting odors. Rather, they release aromatic smells. Such extraordinary corpses are, of course, the source of relics in the cults of religions around the world. Such body relics are the repository of healing and saving powers; they are also yet another expression of the belief in life-from-death.

If the timing of death often seems arbitrary, societies and religious communities seek to regularize it temporally by punctuating religious and political calendars with days memorializing the dead. Whether it be the Shīʿah Muslims' annual memorialization and re-enactment of the martyrdom of al Husain, Christians' annual ritual remembrances of the crucifixion of Jesus and his resurrection, the celebration throughout East Asia of the festival of the dead, a ritual time when the spirits of the dead are invited to return to the world of the living and are entertained there, or modern national memorial days for the war dead, calendars are filled with days dedicated to the collective recollection of the dead. Through such collective reflections on death, communal values are reaffirmed. In an important sense, life cannot have meaning until death does.

While death is universal, it is imagined, encountered, and responded to in a myriad number of different ways across space and time. Death in the history of religions is the history of the ever-changing imagination and revaluation of death, as well as of the stylized responses to it. Philippe Aries' magisterial thousand-year history of death in Europe is one notable attempt to interpret and understand the existential meaning of the shifting representations of death over time. Aries' work reminds one that the manner in which death and the afterlife (or, the different possible consequences of death) are imagined and represented informs the lived experience of death both by the dying person and the survivors. Aries describes "the tame death" in medieval Europe when a dying individual accepted his or her coming death and met it at home. Surrounded by loved ones, the dying person said her or his last goodbyes and prepared to face death calmly, for one's state of mind at the time of death helped to determine one's fate.

Many religions have taught ways of preparing for death and facing this inevitability calmly. Holy men of the Agora sect in India meditate on death in the cremation grounds, spread the ashes of the dead over their own bodies, use human skulls as begging bowls, and pursue other practices in order to live with death continually (cf. Parry, 1994). Some Japanese samurai also practiced daily meditation in which they envisioned their deaths in battle. By practicing dying in this way, they sought to prepare themselves to face death unflinchingly (Reynolds and Waugh, 1977). In a myriad number of different ways, humans have sought to control death, even if it could not be conquered. The query "Death where is thy sting?" is an expression of the achievement of this control over death (*1 Corinthians* 15:55).

One way to gain control over death is to control the timing of one's death or to overcome the arbitrary timing of death by foretelling it. The ability to predict one's own death or to will it to happen at a certain time and place are widely recognized as a sign or a power of a holy person. The Japanese Buddhist poet-monk Saigyō (1118–1190) wrote a well-known poem (no. 77) included in his collection, *Sankashū* (*Nihon koten bungaku taikei,* Vol. 29, p. 32), that reads:

> negawaku wa Let me die, I pray, hana no shita nite
> under the cherry blossoms haru shinan of spring. sono
> kisaragi no around the full moon mochizuki no koro of
> the month of Kisaragi.

Kisaragi is the classical Japanese name for the second lunar month. Gotama the Buddha passed away on the fifteenth of this month, so Saigyō's wish was to emulate the Buddha even in death. When Saigyō died on the sixteenth of Kisaragi, many people took this as an auspicious sign. Saigyō's posthumous fame rested in part on this "proof" of his extraordinary spiritual nature. Similar miraculous powers of forecasting one's own death are found in religions around the world.

CONCLUSION. These general comments on death in the history of religions have done little more than present a brief introduction to the subject. In many ways, conceptions of death are subject to change over time, just as they vary dramatically in different religions. The imagining of death is not an empty exercise; it shapes the individual and communal experience of death and life. That death is a fact of life remains one of the most intractable mysteries that human beings must confront. Human beings past and present have always sought to find meaning in death and, thereby, in life.

The history of this search for meaning in the history of religions is both poignant and ennobling.

SEE ALSO Afterlife; Ages of the World; Alchemy; Ancestors; Ashes; Banaras; Birth; Bones; Bushido; Cannibalism; Cargo Cults; Day of the Dead; Descent into the Underworld; Dying and Rising Gods; Easter; Eschatology, overview article; Fall, The; Funeral Rites, overview article; Ghost Dance; Heaven and Hell; Human Sacrifice; Initiation; Life; Otherworld; Pure and Impure Lands; Relics; Rites of Passage; Sacrifice; Sati; Suicide; Tombs; Underworld.

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GARY L. EBERSOLE (2005)

DECALOGUE SEE TEN COMMANDMENTS

DE CHARDIN, PIERRE TEILHARD SEE TEILHARD DE CHARDIN, PIERRE

DECONSTRUCTION.

The word *deconstruction* was coined by French philosopher Jacques Derrida (1930–2004), with whom the movement of that same name is identified. Derrida rejects the classical anthropological model of language, according to which the speaking subject gives verbal expression to inner thoughts that are subsequently written down. In such a model, writing is a sign of speaking; speaking is a sign of thinking; and thinking is a sign of being. Instead, Derrida follows the *structuralist* thesis of Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913), which posits that language is to be understood scientifically as a purely formal system of signs *(langue)* internally related to one another (like a dictionary in which one word is defined by other words) and underlying the utterances of speaking subjects *(parole),* thus eliminating both the subjective-psychological and objective-metaphysical factors. In Saussure's model, *signifiers* are arbitrary (the word *king* has no natural likeness to a real king) and differential (they differ by the "space" between, say, *king* and *ring*). The *signified* is the effect produced by the rule-governed use of signifiers. Derrida's thought is *post-structuralist;* it criticizes Saussure for privileging speech over writing, in violation of the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign, and for treating linguistic strings as closed systems of fixed structures. Metaphors and wordplay illustrate the uncontainable capacity of linguistic chains to network out indefinitely in new directions, pushing endlessly against the limits imposed by the rules. Derrida encapsulated his adaptation of Saussure in the neologism *différance,* French philosophy's most famous misspelling. The idea is to keep networks open-ended, to resist their tendencies to closure, in order to allow new and unforeseen effects.

Deconstruction is not a settled body of substantive theses or positions but a style of thinking that applies in any field of inquiry, theoretical or practical, by virtue of which any present set of beliefs or practices is held to be indefinitely revisable (deconstructible) in the light of something unrevisable (undeconstructible). Inasmuch as the undeconstructible is never actually present or realized, the undeconstructible is also said to be "the impossible." According to Derrida, the least bad definition of deconstruction is the "experience of the impossible." "Least bad" because, in deconstruction, which is resolutely anti-essentialist (nominalistic), words have only a relatively stable unity of meaning, shifting histories of use, and no fixed or defined borders. Derrida uses the word *experience* in the sense not of empirical data gathering but of running up against something unexpected, even traumatic. "The impossible" does not mean a simple logical contradiction, such as (*p & ~p*), but something that shatters the horizon of expectation, that is not accountable (or possible) under prevailing presuppositions.

The same sense is conveyed when Derrida describes deconstruction as the "invention of the other." *Invention* has the more literal sense of "coming upon" and even of "in-coming" (Latin, *in-veniens*), running up against something that comes in upon or comes over us, overwhelming our powers of anticipation. By the "other," Derrida means not the relatively other—that is, new evidence confirming an existing horizon—but the "wholly other" *(tout autre),* a phrase he borrows from the Jewish ethicist Emmanuel Levinas, meaning something unforeseeable, unrepresentable, for which we have no concept. A deconstructive analysis thus prepares the way for or explores "the possibility of the impossible." Jean-François Lyotard makes a comparable distinction between making a new move in an old game (the possible or relatively other) and inventing a new game altogether (the impossible or wholly other). That, in turn, invites comparison with Thomas Kuhn's distinction between *normal science,* which makes new discoveries within an existing paradigm, and *revolutionary science,* when an anomaly forces a fundamental reconfiguration of the current schema, resulting in a "paradigm shift."

Derrida has recourse to a family of *venir* ("to come") words picked up in English in both Latinate *(invention)* and Anglo-Saxon forms *(coming).* Deconstruction is turned to the "in-coming," the invention, or the advent, of the "event," which is a unique and "singular" happening, not an instance or example of a universal (Derrida's idea of "singularity" is derived from Søren Kierkegaard, Martin Heidegger, and Levinas). The event defies convention, where everything is regularized and routinized. Deconstructive thinking is guided by the invocation "come" *(viens),* which Derrida has not hesitated to call a certain "prayer," by which he means a deep desire or love of the event to come, which is not without anxiety since the future is also an absolute risk. The motif of the "come" clearly has messianic overtones that Derrida acknowledged in later, more autobiographical, essays like "Circumfession," where he reflects on his birth as a Jew and on his early life in a Jewish family in French Algeria. The motifs of love and desire have overtones of Augustine's *cor inquietum,* of what Derrida calls the "prayers and tears of Augustine," which also surface in these same essays about his life in the Franco-Christian colony that is the historic land of Augustine.

The word *deconstruction,* which has the predominantly negative sense of disassembling something, is clearly not the best word for this deeply affirmative mode of thinking. Coined by Derrida as a translation of Heidegger's *Destruktion,* and used by him to characterize his own work, it owes its currency just as much to commentators who seized upon it. Heidegger himself was likely referring to Martin Luther's use of *destructio,* which itself goes back to *1 Corinthians* 1:19. Just as for Luther, destroying the wisdom of the wise meant nothing destructive, but rather the recovery of the original sense of scripture by breaking through the crust of Scholastic theology. And just as Heidegger did not mean anything negative but rather the recovery of the unthought sense of "being" that was hidden in the history of metaphysics, so Derrida does not mean anything negative, but rather the releasing of the possibility of the impossible, or the coming of the event, that threatens to be closed off by conventional interpretation and practices. While the word has entered the general vocabulary (e.g., "deconstructing Woody Allen") with the negative sense of knocking down and exposing faults, to deconstruct something in Derrida's sense is not to ruin it but to give it a history, to open it up to a future. Something that is insulated from deconstruction is not protected but petrified, having hardened over into a dogma, like a law that could never be reformed or repealed. The word enjoyed, or suffered from, a *succès de scandale,* particularly in American literary theory circles in the 1970s, where it seemed to invite a kind of interpretive anarchy that licensed any interpretation, however bizarre. When Derrida protested against such interpretations, critics thought him involved in the self-contradiction of insisting that his own texts should be interpreted carefully, thus refuting his own theory that anything goes.

In fact, careful reading is what deconstruction is all about. A philosophical theory with wider implications, deconstruction first gained ascendancy in the 1960s and 1970s as a literary theory. A deconstructive reading settles deeply into the grain of a text, sensitizing itself to its tropes and metaphors, its choice of words, the chains in which those words are caught up, and the complex and even anonymous operations of the linguistic system in which the author is working, in order to show that the text contains an unmasterable complexity—*dissemination*—that cannot be contained by the author's own intentions or conscious logic. Thus, Derrida's well-known critique of "logo-centrism." Derrida's frequent use of puns and wordplay is not a substitute for an argument but an exemplification of a theory about wordplay, which illustrates the unmasterable, unintended dimension of language, the semantic, graphic, and phonic chains that no intentional agent can contain. James Joyce, an early hero of Derrida's, embodies this point about language almost perfectly. This disseminative effect is not something that a clever writer or reader is doing to the text, exerting a kind of violence or mastery over it, but an auto-deconstructive operation going on within the linguistic network itself.

That this is not interpretive anarchy but responsible work, Derrida thinks, is clear to anyone who reads carefully. Anyone who reads Greek philosophy carefully knows that there is all the difference between "Plato," a shorthand for a cluster of condensed philosophical theses, summarized and passed along in prepackaged histories of philosophy, and a close, careful reading of or immersion into Plato's writings, which reveals multiple voices, dramatic devices, conflicting and suggestive counter-motifs, and loose threads—in short, a "text," a highly woven and interwoven complex, not a neatly argued "book" under the absolute conscious control of an "author." We might add that anyone who has studied the Jewish or Christian scriptures carefully will understand that these are "texts" in just this sense; that is, a complex weave (or "palimpsest") of many voices, competing theological and political agendas, redactive layerings, anonymous interventions, lost stories, liturgies, and multiple extra-textual references or reinscriptions of earlier texts, texts without fixed "margins." In the same way, conservative critics charge deconstruction with being out to destroy "tradition," but Derrida would respond that he only wants to show its immense complexity and competing voices; there is no such thing as "tradition" in the singular but rather an interweaving of many traditions and counter-traditions, of dominant and recessive voices, and even of chance mutations in manuscripts. Close readings of the past—the uncovering of forgotten women, for example—opens up hitherto closed possibilities for the future. Deconstruction is very conservative, Derrida once quipped, because the only way to love and be loyal to the past is to deconstruct it.

Although Derrida's avant-garde style of writing, especially early on, lent superficial credibility to the misinterpretation of deconstruction as a form of relativism or even nihilism, no one today can mistake the sustained seriousness of the later writings, whose ethical, political, and even religious character is beyond doubt. Reading his account of the "gift without return" or "forgiving the unforgivable," more informed critics today will accuse him of a Kantian rigorism or unrealistic ethical purism, an accusation that he also rejects. From the early 1980s on, Derrida has written not only about the gift and forgiveness, but about justice and the law, hospitality, friendship, democracy, capital punishment, and international human rights. In 2003 he published *Voyous,* a book about the denunciation of "rogue states" by the Western democracies.

Religious thinkers are fascinated by a distinction Derrida introduced in the 1990s between the concrete "messianisms"—the three great monotheistic religions of the book, as well as the philosophical eschatologies of G. W. F. Hegel, Karl Marx, and Heidegger—and the pure "messianic" or "messianicity." The *pure messianic* means the formal structure of desire, expectancy, or openness, the pure structure of the "to come" *(à venir)*—like the hospitality to come, the justice to come, and, most famously, the "democracy to come"—that is concretized in the historical messianisms. In virtue of the pure messianic, one can speak of a "religion without religion," a religious desire without confessional dogma or institutional ties. The "democracy to come" is not a Kantian regulative ideal, which brings a concept to ideal completion beyond its empirical limits, because, for Derrida, *democracy* is not a concept or an essence on which we are making asymptotic progress, but a moment in the openendedness of history that makes possible an event, whose coming cannot be foreseen and whose name is not known, and where nothing guarantees that it will not bring forth a monster instead of a messiah. "Secular" political theory, and philosophy generally, is always transcribing an "unavowed theologeme," like the messianic promise, thus skewing any rigorous distinction between the religious and secular, faith and reason, religion and the nonreligious, prayer and social hope, theism and atheism.

This is not to say that religious thinkers were not interested in deconstruction from the start. The early essay "Differance" (1967) started a discussion with negative theology that dominated the dialogue between deconstruction and theology until the late 1990s. As Derrida says, he loves the syntax, semantics, and the tropes of negative theology, which is a self-effacing discourse, a discourse that attempts to erase its own traces. Beyond matters of style, the critique of the metaphysics of presence in deconstruction (what is present is deconstructible; the undeconstructible is never present) bears a substantive analogy to the critique of idols in apophatic theology (if you comprehend it, it is not God; if it is God, you cannot comprehend it). Nonetheless, while negative theology clearly uses deconstructive techniques, deconstruction is not negative theology, because it has no commitment to a *hyperousios,* to a Godhead beyond God or a God beyond being. The exchange between Derrida and Jean-Luc Marion is the most important in this regard.

In the 1980s, deconstruction was appropriated by the theology of the "death of God," most notably in Mark C. Taylor's *Erring: A Postmodern A/theology* (1984). Taylor argued that the first wave of death-of-God thinking in the nineteenth century left the old God standing under the new name of *Humanity.* Deconstruction is the true hermeneutics of the death of God because it has displaced any absolute center, human or divine, with the free play of signifiers. God has descended into the world without remainder, even as scripture has descended into *écriture* without remainder, a reading that reflected the Nietzschean understanding of Derrida then dominant in American departments of literature. Since then a different appreciation of the religious dimension of deconstruction has emerged in thinkers such as John Caputo, Kevin Hart, and Hent de Vries, for whom deconstruction is the hermeneutics not of the death but of the desire for God.

SEE ALSO Heidegger, Martin; Literature, article on Critical Theory and Religious Studies; Structuralism.

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JOHN D. CAPUTO (2005)

DEFILEMENT SEE PURIFICATION; TABOO

DE GROOD, J. J. M. SEE GROOT, J. J. M. DE

DEIFICATION.

The Latin term *deificatio* does not appear until late in the Roman era, and then first in Christian literature, particularly in the controversies involving the Nestorians, who blamed the orthodox for "deifying" the body of Christ. In current usage, the English term *deification* is equivalent to *apotheosis.* In light of history, however, *apotheosis* might be reserved to refer to the consecration of heroes, of political personages, of Hellenistic sovereigns and, notably, of Roman emperors. In this article the subject will be the deification of individuals or of things generally through means that correspond to certain general tendencies of Greco-Roman paganism.

PYTHAGOREANISM AND CATHARTIC DEIFICATION. Since death makes the radical difference between men and gods, the problem of deification is indeed that of immortalization. In the Classical epoch, the Greeks attributed the power of immortalizing (*athanatizein*) to the Getae and to the Thracians through a kind of shamanism that may have involved Zalmoxis. No evidence exists of the ritual patterns of these practices, but they must have been based on a doctrine of the soul and on the existence of spiritual elites. Zalmoxis was regarded as a *daimōn* and as a disciple of Pythagoras. The connection is significant, since belief in metempsychosis is sometimes attributed to the Thracians.

The belief in metempsychosis is tied to the first explicit formulation of a deification of persons through asceticism and the satisfaction of penalties consequent upon the pleasures of previous lives. It is found in the writings of the Pythagorean philosopher Empedocles (frag. 145–146): a soul is a kind of "demon" that is bound to the cycle of reincarnation in expiation for its faults. At the end of purifying reincarnations, after having been "prophets, cantors, physicians . . . ," these fallen and ransomed "demons" are "reborn as gods": they become the "table companions of the immortals." The last two verses of the Pythagorean *Golden Verses* (70f.) offer hope of a state like that of an immortal god for the sage "who, having left his body behind, goes forward into the free ether." Hierocles would explain this deifying liberation of the soul as the "highest aim of the hieratic and sacred craft," that is, of philosophy. Deification, then, consists of restoring the personal *daimōn* to its authentic status as an immortal god. It is the goal of a spiritual asceticism confirmed by various means of testing.

The same teaching is implicit in Plato, notably in the *Phaedo* (69c, 114c), where the philosopher is talking not expressly about a deification, but rather about a sojourn among the gods. It is also seemingly implicit in the inscriptions engraved upon the noted golden tablets of Thurii (fourth to third century BCE) and of Rome (second century CE). These assure the deceased that he will be a god by virtue of his heavenly ancestry, his divine race, and the sentence that he has served. Caecilia Secundina "became divine according to the law," that is, by the law that governs reincarnations (*Orphicorum fragmenta* 32g.4). The deceased in one of these tablets states expressly that he has escaped at last the "circle of sorrows," an image that elsewhere is applied to the cycle of rebirths. Whether these tablets bear inscribed fragments of an Orphic "book of the dead," of a *missa pro defunctis*, or of a Pythagorean *hieros logos* ("sacred teaching"), their formulary promises a posthumous deification.

The same point of view is declared on the new tablet of Hipponium: the soul of the deceased woman will take "the sacred path along which the other initiates and Bacchants walk unto glory." The reference is to Orphic Bacchants. It is significant that Orphic vegetarianism expresses the desire to live not as men but as gods. This asceticism had the aim of purifying man from his Titanic components by liberating the Bacchus within him. A liberation of this sort coincides, as it does in Empedocles and Plato, with the escape from the "circle of genesis." The Orphic-Pythagorean deification thus presupposes a persevering action directed toward oneself, a cathartic and mystic tension. When Hippolytus (*Philosophumena* 6.9.25) attributes to Pythagoras the statement that souls "become immortal, once they are detached from their bodies," this does not mean that physical death liberates them automatically, but that immortality is the reward for continual effort at personal purification. This conviction is based upon a dualist anthropology.

THE MYSTERIES AND INITIATORY DEIFICATION. Orphic-Pythagorean ideas were disseminated with variations (especially involving metempsychosis) by advocates of Platonism and Neoplatonism. Ever since the Classical epoch, the Orphic mystics, as well as various wandering charlatans, had promised, through the use of specialized formulas, not a religious purification, but only an ethical purification in the spirit of the philosophers. Later, during the Hellenistic age, the multiplication and success of mystery religions popularized a new form of deification.

These cults—centered on deities who were regarded as having lived and suffered among men—put into question the radical distinction between cursed mortals and blessed immortals. Insofar as they made their initiates relive in a liturgical way the trials of the gods who had died and revived (Osiris) or were reborn (Attis), the mystery religions connected their devotees with an adventure that ended with victory over death. Indeed, the initiation that, at first, was regarded as giving the candidates some assurance of a kind of privileged status in the beyond (Eleusis) tended also to safeguard them against bad luck, and even to deify them by a form of ritual identification with Dionysos, Attis, or Osiris. The Dionysian mysteries made a Bacchus of the initiate; the consecration of the initiate by means of the winnowing basket and the phallus regenerated him by immunizing him against death and infernal demons. Dionysos was held to have returned from the nether regions along with his mother Semele, and to have been "reborn." His myth provided a model for the rebirth of any initiate, to whom the same immortality was promised (Turcan, 1966, pp. 396ff., 436ff., 466ff.). This regeneration required the (figurative) death of the initiate, who was subjected to a rite of katabasis. The initiate was seen as undergoing the same trials of initiation that had turned Dionysos into a true Bacchus (ibid., pp. 406ff.). The Neoplatonists compared the restoration of the soul (purified and reintegrated in God) to the awakening of Dionysos Liknites (ibid., p. 401). The initiation of the cult of Isis offers many comparisons. The neophyte had to die to his previous life, and the ritual involved a descent into hell, with some kind of mystical or hallucinatory journey through the cosmos. Yet as recompense the initiate was defied, adorned *"ad instar Solis"* ("as a likeness of the Sun," that is, Osiris-Helios), and held up to the faithful as an idol. The benevolence of Isis, who judged someone to be worthy, made the neophyte into a new Osiris. The funeral rites of mummification in ancient Egypt had the same purpose. Yet in figuratively anticipating the initiate's death, the mysteries of Isis during the Roman epoch in some way democratized apotheosis, in that in its beginnings only pharaohs were the beneficiaries.

The mysteries of Cybele likewise promised a regeneration to their adherents and an elevation (*epanodos*) toward the gods. Just as in the initiation of the cult of Isis, the initiate is thought of as dying like Attis, in order to share in the love of Cybele in a blessed *hieros gamos.* The Galli, by castrating themselves, identified with Attis. To avoid this personal bodily sacrifice, use was made of the *taurobolium*, the ritual sacrifice of a bull. The function and meaning of the *taurobolium* are debated (R. Duthoy, *The Taurobolium: Its Evolution and Terminology*, Leiden, 1969). Yet the fact remains that the beneficiary of the *taurobolium* was factitiously identified with the victim by drenching himself in the victim's blood, thereby becoming an Attis that those present could worship. Just like the initiate of Isis, the initiate of Attis was "reborn" through the *taurobolium: in aeternum renatus.* Whatever the rites or mysteries, the resting with a divine nature was thought of as a regeneration (Nilsson, 1974, p. 653). This feature is also seen in Hermetic deification.

HERMETISM AND GNOSTIC DEIFICATION. Comparing astrology with an initiation, Vettius Valens (second century CE) identifies contemplation of the stars with a kind of mystical union with God: the knowledge of the heavens "divinizes" the man who possesses it, as if the subject came to merge with the object. This is even more true of the knowledge of God when, in the imperial epoch, philosophy becomes theosophy. In the *Corpus Hermeticum*, this idea recurs frequently, "for this is the blessed end of those who have the knowledge: they become God" (*Corpus Hermeticum* 1.26). The good choice—that of divine things—"deifies man" (ibid., 4.7). We are "divinized" by the birth into spiritual life that constitutes gnosis. *Asclepius* 41 gives thanks to the supreme God, that he has deigned to "consecrate for eternity," that is, to deify men in the flesh. This affirmation seems to conflict with that in *Corpus Hermeticum* 10.6, where it is denied that the soul can be divinized while in a body.

Indeed, Hermetic gnosis supposes a complete regeneration. It is the new man enlightened and reborn in God who becomes a god by dying to physical life and by becoming alien to the world even in this life. Regeneration consists of the substitution of ten good "powers" (including "the knowledge of God") for twelve evil "powers" attributable to the zodiac. The disciple then identifies himself with the cosmic eternity, Aion, and he is then divinized. This is the very recommendation that Nous makes to Hermes: "Become Aion, and you will understand God" (ibid., 11.20). Here again it is a matter of restoring the soul to its original state: "You are born a god and a child of the One," declares Hermes to Tat (ibid., 13.14).

Similarly, the Gnostic systems derived from Christian inspiration, whatever the variations in their myths and their soteriology, envision only the final restoration of the spirit to its original divine state. Finally, the idea that by knowing oneself one learns to know God and to be known by him so as to be "deified," or "generated into immortality," is expressed by orthodox Christians (Hippolytus, *Philosophumena* 10.34). In contrast with Hermes Trismegistos, Hippolytus promises the Christian a body that will be as immortal and incorruptible as the soul itself. But, like the Hermetist, the Christian must also die to the old man and to the profane life.

MAGICAL AND THEURGIC DEIFICATION. Certain procedures of deification are comparable to Hermetic gnosis, at least insofar as they are presented as "formulas for immortality" that feature magical concepts. This is true in the case of the so-called Mithraic liturgy (end of the third century CE), where the name of Mithra appears as only one of those associated at that time with the sun. The ritual involves prayers and a journey of the spirit that in some way anticipates the posthumous ascension of the soul unto Helios and the heavenly Aion, both invoked for the occasion. As in Hermetism, the *apathanatismos* asserts that a subject is regenerated by the very object of his theosophical quest, but this is conditional to the exact application of a formula. Other magical texts insist upon the importance of knowledge revealed by the god or gods: "We thank you for . . . having divinized us through the knowledge of your being," states one papyrus. Following the death of the magus, Aion carries away his breath (*pneuma*) by way of rescuing it from Hades, "as befits a god." The neophyte is "reborn" and freed from fate, as was the initiate of Isis. Neoplatonic theurgy would give its approval to pagan magic, and Psellus could believe that it was capable of making gods of men.

The magus could also deify animals by ritually mummifying them in accordance with traditional Egyptian practices. Further, he could deify idols through telestic action and theurgy. In this sense, *Asclepius* 23 affirms that man is the creator of gods. It was precisely for this reason that Christians reproached pagans: the very idea that men could make gods! The most frequently denounced example of idolatrous fiction is that of Serapis who, according to Origen (*Against Celsus* 5.38), owed his existence "to the profane mysteries and to the practices of sorcerers invoking demons." Indeed, telestic action consists of causing divine influence to enter into idols, to "animate" them or to illuminate them through the magical process known as *phōtagōgia.* This consecration of statues employing magical formulas played a great role in late paganism.

FUNERARY AND ICONOGRAPHIC DEIFICATION. The adornment of tombs displays the concern for deifying individuals by analogy or through iconography. This tendency was first evident in Rome among the class of freedmen who sought thus to insure themselves some kind of moral promotion. Their cippi or stelae represent, from the first century CE, Herakles, Hermes, Dionysos, and Artemis portrayed after the image of the deceased man or woman. The epitaphs, the architecture of the tombs, and the literary tradition confirm the intention to identify the dead with gods, goddesses, and heroes. When the use of sarcophagi began to prevail at the time of the Antonines, sepulchral imagery manifested even more clearly the same concerns that are evident among higher social circles; emperors and empresses provided the example. This style of funerary deification consisted either of featuring the deceased's medallion portrait (*imago elipeata*) as being carried by the gods (Tritons, Centaurs, Victories, Erotes) or of giving the sculpted god, goddess, or hero the same features as the dead man or woman, who could then be seen as Dionysos, Ariadne, Mars, Hercules, Endymion, or Selene. Imagery of predatory animals (eagles, griffins) or gods (Dioscuri, Pluto) also implies a deification by analogy. Finally, sarcophagi with figures of the Muses, or with scenes of teaching, of battle, or of hunting, heroize the deceased through association with the depicted qualities of gallantry or erudition.

Thus, in the Hellenistic and Roman world, philosophy, theosophy, magic, mystery religions, and the cult of the dead all aspired to the same goal (one that on principle was excluded in Classical Greek religion): for the individual person to become or become again a god.

SEE ALSO Apotheosis; Soul, article on Greek and Hellenistic Concepts; Theurgy; Thracian Religion.

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Translated from French by Paul C. Duggan

DEISM. The term *deism* was originally equivalent to *theism*, differing only in etymology: *theism* based on the Greek word for god (*theos*), and *deism* on the Latin (*deus*). In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, *deism* came to signify one or another form of rationalistic theological unorthodoxy. Often used pejoratively, it was also sometimes worn as a badge of honor. The first known use of the term occurs in the *Instruction chrétienne* (1564) of the Calvinist theologian Pierre Viret: "I have heard he is of that band who call themselves 'Deists,' a wholly new word which they would oppose to 'Atheist.'"

In its principal meaning, *deism* signifies the belief in a single God and in a religious practice founded solely on natural reason rather than on supernatural revelation. Thus Viret characterizes deists as "those who profess belief in God as creator of heaven and earth, but reject Jesus Christ and his doctrines." John Dryden's preface to his poem *Religio Laici* (1682) defines deism as "the opinion of those that acknowledge one God, without the reception of any revealed religion." The currency of the term in the eighteenth century was undoubtedly enhanced by the article on Viret in Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1697).

Like most epithets of controversy, *deism* was used in a number of senses other than its principal one. It was often used as a vague term of abuse with no determinate meaning at all. Among the chief subordinate or deviant senses of the term are (1) belief in a supreme being lacking in all attributes of personality (such as intellect and will); (2) belief in a God, but denial of any divine providential care for the world; (3) belief in a God, but denial of any future life; (4) belief in a God, but rejection of all other articles of religious faith (so defined by Samuel Johnson in his *Dictionary*, 1755).

Some Deists completely rejected all revealed and ecclesiastical religion, adopted anticlerical attitudes, challenged the scriptural canon, questioned the credibility of miracle narratives, or even rejected the New Testament as fabrication and imposture. Thus Edward Stillingfleet, bishop of Worcester, described the addressee of his polemical *Letter to a Deist* (1677) as "a particular person who owned the Being and Providence of God, but expressed mean esteem of the Scriptures and the Christian Religion." Yet a number of influential seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British thinkers described themselves as "Christian Deists" on the grounds that they accepted both the Christian religion based on supernatural revelation and a Deistic religion based solely on natural reason, consistent with Christianity but independent of any revealed authority.

Thus, even the principal sense of *deism*, which refers to belief in God without belief in supernatural revelation, is inherently imprecise. No sharp dividing line can be drawn between Christian or revelationist Deists and Deists who recognized no revelation. The former often accepted Christian revelation precisely because it accords with natural or rational religion and sometimes advocated allegorical readings of scripture in order to secure this agreement, while the latter often disavowed any "mean esteem" of Christian scriptures and expressed admiration for the inspiring way in which the truths of natural religion were presented in them. Further, there is no sharp line separating Christian Deists and orthodox Christian theologians (such as Thomas Aquinas or Duns Scotus) who maintain that some parts of Christian doctrine can be known by natural reason.

Deism was most prominent in England, the only place where it approached the status of a movement. Among its best-known representatives were Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1583–1648), author of *De veritate* (1624); his disciple Charles Blount (1654–1693); John Toland (1670–1722), author of *Christianity not Mysterious* (1696); Anthony Collins (1676–1729); and Matthew Tindal (1657–1733), author of *Christianity as Old as the Creation* (1730), often described as "the Deist's Bible." The powerful influence of English Deism is attested by the sizable number of attacks on it by the orthodox, including not only Stillingfleet, but also Richard Bentley, Charles Leslie, Samuel Clarke, and (most famously) Joseph Butler in his *Analogy of Religion* (1736). Deism also met with vicious persecution in England, where blasphemy was punishable by forfeiture of civil rights, fines, and even imprisonment. At least two prominent Deists were imprisoned for expressing their blasphemous opinions: Thomas Woolston (1670–1733) was sent to prison in 1729 and died there; Peter Annet was fined, pilloried, and imprisoned to hard labor in 1764 at age seventy.

Deism is generally associated with British religious thought. However, a number of major continental religious thinkers of the late sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries clearly qualify as Deists under the principal meaning of the term. They include Giordano Bruno (1548–1600) and Lucilio Vanini (1584–1619), both burned as heretics for rejecting ecclesiastical authority and scriptural revelation; Barukh Spinoza (1632–1677); François-Marie Arouet (Voltaire; 1694–1778); Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778); Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694–1768); Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781); Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786); and Immanuel Kant (1724–1804). (Both Voltaire and Kant, however, repudiated the label "Deist" and always described themselves as "Theists.") There were outspoken Deists among the founding fathers of the United States of America, notably Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790), Thomas Paine (1737–1809), and Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826).

Deism appears to be exclusively a seventeenth- and eighteenth-century phenomenon, but this is partly an illusion. There are special reasons why the term *deism* attained currency then but did not survive longer. The rise of modern science did not immediately initiate warfare of science with religion, but it did initiate warfare within religion, between the orthodox who held fast to tradition, authority, and the supernatural, and the freethinkers, who sought a religion that harmonized with nature and reason. A term was needed by the orthodox to distinguish the freethinkers from themselves, and by the religious freethinkers to distinguish themselves from mere atheists. *Deism* served both needs. The term has fallen into disuse in the past two centuries, however, perhaps chiefly because in nineteenth- and twentieth-century philosophical and religious thought the distinctions between reason and tradition, nature and supernature, have lost the sharpness they had for thinkers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Greater tolerance of diversity of opinion within Christian society has also lessened the need for an epithet whose principal function was to scourge independent thinkers. Deism itself has also become a less popular position, owing to the increasing tendency of rationalists to become simple unbelievers rather than to settle for compromises and half-measures. Yet deism—in fact, if not in name—still survives in all religious communities and individuals whose convictions arise from autonomous thinking rather than from the submission of reason to ecclesiastical or scriptural authorities.

SEE ALSO Bruno, Giordano; Doubt and Belief; Enlightenment, The; Kant, Immanuel; Lessing, G.E.; Mendelssohn, Moses; Reimarus, Hermann Samuel; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Spinoza, Barukh; Theism.

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DEITY. As a symbol, deity represents the human struggle at its highest; it represents humanity's effort to discover its identity in confrontation with the limits of its universe. Deity is the symbol of what transcends the human being and the symbol of what lies hidden most deeply within. While other creatures merely accept their environments as a given, human beings exist as such only when they realize both their solidarity with the universe and their distinction from it. In the journey toward self-identity humanity encounters deity. In a cross-cultural context, deity symbolizes the transcendence of all the limitations of human consciousness and the movement of the human spirit toward self-identity through its encounter with the ultimate. Deity symbolizes humanity's knowledge that it is not alone nor the ultimate master of its fate. And yet this knowledge, dim though it may be, associates humanity with this same deity. Deity both transcends and envelops humanity; it is inseparable from humanity's awareness of its own identity and yet is always elusive, hidden, and for some, seemingly nonexistent.

THE POLYSEMY OF THE WORD. *Deity* is a word with a diversity of meanings. It is an ambiguous and often polemical word. The different interpretations that it has been given show that it is also a relative word.

Ambiguity. The word *deity* is ambiguous. It is not a proper name. It is not even a common name, since its possible referents are hardly homogeneous. It is the product of many and heterogeneous abstractions. Most names referring to divine beings or the divine were originally common names singled out in a peculiar way. What was general became specific, concrete, and, like a single being, evocative of emotion. Thus *Allāh* probably comes from *al-illah*, that is, "the God." *Ńinyi* or *Nnui*, the name for God among the Bamum of Cameroon, means "he who is everywhere"—and thus is at once concrete and elusive. *Yahveh* means "he who is" (or "he who shall be"), which becomes being par excellence for Christian Scholasticism. *Śiva* means "auspicious, benign, kind"—what for the Śaivas represents the highest symbol of the deity stripped of any attribute.

In short, there are gods called Allāh, Nnui, Yahveh, Śiva; but there is no god called Deity. One worships Viṣṇu, or even the Buddha, but one does not worship deity as such. One may worship only a particular deity. We often speak of "major" and "minor" deities in religious traditions. The word *deity*, in short, has a higher degree of abstractness than does the word *God.*

In Western antiquity, in the Middle Ages, and up to the present, *deity* in its adjectival or pronominal form is a word applied to creatures and used without theological misgivings. Works and persons are called "divine" and "deities" because they share in deity in a way in which they would not be said to share in God. Spiritual writers or popular heroes are called "divines" in many languages. The word simply denotes a character of (divine) excellence, which can be shared by many creatures.

The word *god* was also originally a common name, but soon became the proper name of the one God of the theists (and also of the atheists, for many atheists are merely antitheists; both live within the mythic horizon of the one personal God, accepting or rejecting it). By extension scholars speak of the African gods, discuss the nature of a supreme god, and the like.

At any rate, *deity* is not identical with *god.* One does not believe in deity in the individualized sense in which one may believe in God. Yet one may accept that there is something referred to by the word *deity.* The referent will always retain a certain mystery and show certain features of freedom, infinity, immanence, transcendence, or the like. For others, this mysterious entity becomes the highest example of superstition, primitivism, unevolved consciousness, and a pretense for exploiting others under the menace of an awesome and imaginary power. The ambiguity of the word is great.

Polemical usage. At the same time *deity* is also a polemical word. It has sometimes stood against some conceptions of God without rejecting the divine altogether. The philosophical Deism of the last centuries in Europe, which developed a concept of the divine more congenial to the natural sciences emerging at the time than to the idea of a personal god, could serve as an example. The deity of the Deists was to substitute for and correct the *theos* of the theists without discarding the belief in the existence of some supreme being or first cause. Yet this polemic was not new to the eighteenth century. The prolific Greek writer-priest at Delphi, Plutarch of Chaeronea (c. 46–c. 119 CE), our first source for the word *theotēs*, uses it in his polemic against the mythological interpretations of historical heroes as they appeared in the work of Euhemerus of Messina (fl. 300 BCE). In the New Testament this word, in the only passage in which it appears (*Col.* 2:9), is translated by the old Latin *deitas*, whereas the Vulgate uses the more current *divinitas*—a word unknown before Cicero (106–43 BCE). In the *Letter to the Romans* 1:20 we find the word *theiotes* derived from the adjective *theios* and also translated as *divinitas* in the Vulgate.

Deity is not only polemical in regard to a personal conception of God. It is polemical also as a symbol of the political use of the divine. We should not forget the wars of religion, the attempted legitimation of power and use of violence in the name of God, gods, and divinity, nor the justification of so many ideologies by slogans such as "In God we trust" or "*Gott mit uns.*" Deity has been all too often the cause of strife and war, sometimes under the guise of peace.

Relativity. From the perspective of a sociology of knowledge, the modern use of the word *deity* could be interpreted as the Western effort to open up a broader horizon than that of a monotheistic God but without breaking continuity with tradition. *God* was a common name. It became a proper name: the Abrahamic God. And it was then that this *God* came to designate the one God, which Muslims or Christians wanted to propagate around the world. All others were "mere" gods or, at most, inappropriate names for the true God. It is interesting to see how Western scholarship today tries to disentangle itself from its monolithic and colonial mentality. Is the word *deity* the last bulwark of this attitude?

We may draw two opposing conclusions from the paradoxical fact that this word denotes both the most communicable and the most exclusive aspects of the "divine" reality: everything that is shares a divine character, and nothing—no thing—that is can be said to embody or exhaust the divine, not even the totality of those things that are. In sum: the word says everything, every thing, and nothing, no thing. One legitimate conclusion from this ambiguity may be that one should avoid the word altogether or speak of deities in the plural as special superhuman (divine) entities.

There is another possible conclusion, however. Precisely because of its polysemic nature, this word may become a fundamental category for the study and understanding of religion. The subject matter of religion would then be related to deity, and not just to God or to gods. Polysemy does not need to mean confusion. It means a richness of meanings, a variety of senses. *Deity* could then become a true word, that is, a symbol not yet eroded by habit, rather than a univocal concept.

I should now try to describe the field of the symbol "deity" and study its structure. Regarding its field I shall analyze the means of approach to this symbol in its broadest aspect. Then, I shall examine the structure of deity by analyzing the different avenues, contexts, and perspectives under which deity has been studied. I shall then mention the structure of human consciousness when referring to deity. I shall further briefly compare deity with other equally broad categories in order to get a more accurate picture, and finally I shall try to summarize my findings.

AN APPROACH TO DEITY. This article does not deal primarily with the concept of God as it is generally understood in the Western world, and therefore it is not necessary to discuss, for instance, atheism or the nature of God. Further, this essay's cross-cultural perspective requires that the viewpoints of other cultures be integrated with our own instead of simply reported. Still we are engaged in what is predominantly a Western activity: taking a perspective from one tradition (as betrayed by the very use of the word *deity*) and expanding it in order to achieve a more universal viewpoint.

Linguistic background. Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814) provides us with a caution: "Deity appears only in the highest performance of thinking." We must keep in mind at the very outset that discourse about deity is unique, because the locus of deity is beyond both the things of the senses and the things of the intellect. Yet the way to deity belongs to the dynamism of our intellect. This is expressed in the first sentence of the *Brahma Sūtra:* "Athāto brahmajijñāsā" ("Now therefore the desire to know *brahman*"). The text refers to the "desiderative knowledge" or the "knowing desire" (*jijñāsā*), which arises out of an existential situation (*atha*). It liberates us from the weight of selfishness (*ahaṃkāra*), permitting us to soar in the search for deity. The process follows both an existential and an intellectual path, with no separation between pure and practical reason. Deity is as much at the beginning as at the end of the human quest—and also in between. The search requires purity of mind, strength of will, and a change of life.

While speaking of deity we have already had occasion to refer to God, and we now introduce *brahman.* Do all these words designate the same "thing"? Or have they at least the same meaning?

Brahman is certainly not the one true and living God of the Abrahamic traditions. Nor can it be said that Shang-ti or *kami* are the same as *brahman.* And yet they are not totally unrelated. Can we affirm that all those names refer to deity as a broad category? Is *deity* perhaps the common name for God, the godhead, the divine, *brahman*, *mana*, and so forth?

To begin with, it must be stressed that *brahman* and God, for instance, are not the same. The one is passive and does not need to care, it is at the bottom of everything and is the very condition of possibility for all that there is. The other is active and provident; it is above everything, personal, the creator of all that is. But they are not so different as to make the translation of the one by the other totally inaccurate. The Christian Scholastics, while affirming the ineffability of divine names, did not deny that some names are more applicable than others. We shall call *brahman* and God homeomorphic equivalents, because they perform corresponding yet different functions in their respective systems.

It is tempting to use the word *deity* as an abstract noun for all such homeomorphic equivalents. *Deity* would then refer to God, *kami*, *brahman*, Zeus, Rudra, Tien, the Dao, El, Baal, Urðr, Re, Kālī, and so on. This enterprise is relatively simple as long as we remain within more or less homologous cultures, making it easier to find common properties like infinity, omniscience, goodness, immutability, omnipotence, simplicity, unity, and so on. But when we attempt to include such properties as futurity, nothingness, or illusion, we find that these attributes are not at all common and are incompatible with the previous ones. In point of fact there is no common structure other than the purely formal one of being a vague something different from and perhaps superior to human beings, and sometimes only apparently so. Deity would then be a purely formal concept with no significant content whatsoever.

We may note the tendency, especially common to the West, to universalize what is familiar, as in the following sentences: "The Christian God is an absolute value for all; modern technology is fit for the entire world; the natural sciences are universally valid; truth is universal." We shall have to avoid such pretension if we are to take other cultures as seriously as we take Western cultures. The word *deity* cannot encompass all that other traditions have said about what in one group of cultures can be rendered by *deity.* Were we to use the term *brahman* or *kami* instead of *deity*, our meaning would change. The context being different, the results would also be different. Thus we must be careful in making extrapolations and avoid generalizations that are not warranted by the self-understanding of the different cultures of the world.

With these preliminary warnings in mind, we may now examine the distinction between God and deity. This distinction was known to medieval Christianity and was given clear expression by Meister Eckhart in his distinction between the godhead and God. The godhead, or deity, is as far from God as heaven is from earth. Deity is here the inner and passive aspect of the divine mystery and is related to the *deus absconditus* that was much commented upon during the patristic period. God, on the other hand, would be the outer and active aspect of the same mystery. Be this as it may, however, we will use the word *deity*, in distinction to *godhead*, to mean not just God's essence (as in Thomas Aquinas) or the "God beyond God" or the ground of God (as in Eckhart), but simply that divine dimension elusively present everywhere, which only our highest thinking performance can glimpse and which is the goal of our existential human quest.

Deity, then, not only may denote God or gods as substantial beings but also may be used as a generic name connoting all those forces, energies, entities, ideas, powers, and the like that come from "above" or "beyond" the human realm. In this sense *deity* represents the element of reality that belongs neither to the material world nor to the merely human realm but is above or beyond the sensible and intellectual order. *Deity* may thus stand for one of the three dimensions of reality that practically all human traditions reveal. First, there is the realm of heaven: the gods, the superhuman powers, the supraintelligible. Then there is the realm of the human: consciousness, ethics, life, mind, the intelligible, and so forth. And finally, the realm of the earth: the cosmic, the material, the spatiotemporal reality, the sensible, and so on.

We cannot proceed further in the study of the human approach to deity until we examine the nature of the "thing" we are trying to investigate. It is irrelevant now whether the world of deity is the paradigm of the human world, in which case the latter would be only a shadow of the real, or whether on the other hand the divine universe is only a projection of the unfulfilled desires of humans. The fact remains that the human experience crystallized in language witnesses to the existence of such a divine world, be it populated by *daimones* or by *theoi*, by *deva*s, *elohim*, spirits of all types, the one God, or by nobody. Have we a common name to designate that universe? Can we say that this is the world of deity? For this we need a historical interlude.

Historical background. How have human beings come to the notion of deity? For some scholars this notion has been the result of an inference of some type of causal thinking. Deity is then a supreme being or beings, of a celestial or other type. The human question about the origin of life, the world, and the like triggers the search for a cause that then will be "located" in whatever place appears to be more appropriate for the dwelling of a supreme being or beings, whether in the heavens or in the earth. Others would see the origin of deity not so much in the intellectual quest as in the existential anxiety of the human being facing the elemental mysteries of life and nature. Still others have seen the search for deity as based neither on causal thinking, nor on anxious feeling, but on simple awareness.

For others deity is the disclosure of a supreme being through its own initiative, which explains why man has come to the idea of deity. If such a supreme being exists, even if its "revelation" is progressive and related to the intellectual development of the peoples concerned, it is always from that power that the first step comes.

Contemporary discussions are the aftermath of that great controversy of past decades about the origin of the idea of God, a controversy that resulted from the conflict of the emerging theory of evolution with traditional beliefs in God. Wilhelm Schmidt (1868–1954), rejecting the evolutionary scheme, searched for traces of a primitive revelation of a "primordial monotheism" among primitive peoples. Schmidt was elaborating the insights of Andrew Lang (1844–1912), who had argued for the existence of a belief in supreme beings among archaic peoples, in opposition to the then pervasive theory of primitive animism, represented by E. B. Tylor (1832–1917). Finally, atheistic movements—scientific, dialectical, or historical—will make of deity a superfluous hypothesis, an artificial tool for the subjection of humans, an undue extrapolation of our present ignorance, a mere illusion to console us in the midst of our impotencies.

It seems fair to say that the most universal, primordial human experience is neither monotheistic, nonatheistic, nor polytheistic but rather a deep-rooted belief in a divine world, a world populated by different kinds of superhuman beings or forces. Whether those beings are one or many, whether they represent a polytheistic hierarchy or an *Urmonotheismus*, is not the most important point. What is most important is that these beliefs express a human experience that says that man is not alone in the universe and that the sensible world is not all there is to reality. This is made clear not only by innumerable oral traditions and written texts in nearly every culture but also by the existence of a veritable jungle of names for the divine. All human languages have an enormous treasure of words denoting the super- or extrahuman realm. It belongs to a second moment of human reflection to try to put order into that world, to assign to it its degree of reality, to decide what kind of hierarchy reigns there, and to elucidate the relationship of that world with the human world and the rest of the universe. One does not prove the existence of deity in a primordial civilization. The gods are simply there.

THE STRUCTURE OF DEITY.

Historical investigation is only a part of the question about deity. How people have come to this idea is less important than the structure of the idea itself. This structure is not an "objective" datum, however. It is in part a function of human interest. We have here an example of how any human enterprise is motivated and conditioned by human interests and prevailing myth. Because deity has no detectable referent outside human consciousness, its structure depends in part on one's opinions about it and on those of any human consciousness for which the notion makes sense. In other words, what deity *is* is inseparable from what people have believed it to be.

We must try then to make sense of the ideas and experiences humankind has had on the subject. For this we must attempt to understand the context in which the problem has been put. This leads us to distinguish between the methods that can be employed to elucidate the question and the horizons within which the problem of deity is set. The main methods are theological, anthropological, and philosophical. These methods are all interrelated, and distinguishing them is really a question of emphasis. The possible horizons of the problem consist of the presuppositions that we make about what we are looking for when we set about asking about deity and its origins. Horizons are a function of our universe and of the myths we live by. I shall distinguish three such horizons. Combining these with the methods just mentioned would give nine different sets of notions about deity. Brevity requires, however, that I do not develop these nine representations of the divine. I will describe only the three fundamental horizons that predetermine the question of deity.

Horizons. In order to understand what kind of deity we are talking about, it is essential to reflect on the horizon of the question. Is the deity to be conceived as absolute consciousness? As a supreme being? As the perfect, ideal individual? Or as the creator of the world? In short, where do we situate the divine? Where is the locus of deity? The horizons are, of course, dependent on the culture of any given time or place. Viewed structurally, however, the function of deity always seems to provide an ultimate point of reference. We may situate this point outside the universe or at its center, in the depths of man (in his mind or heart), or simply nowhere. Cosmology, anthropology, and ontology offer us the three main horizons.

Metacosmological. The human being in ancient times lived facing the world. The main concern was the universe as a human habitat. Humanity's vision is directed toward things in heaven and on earth. The horizon of deity is precisely this universe, but not just as one thing among others.

The locus is metacosmological. Deity is here related to the world. Certainly, it may be identified as immanent to the world, or more probably transcendent to it, but deity is the deity of the world, and the world is the deity's world. What type of function or functions deity is supposed to perform and what kind of relation it has with the world are left to the different cosmologies and traditions. In any case, deity is a kind of pole to the world, a prime mover that sets the world into motion, sustains it, directs it, and even creates it. A temporal metaphor can be used to say the same thing. In this case, the deity is represented as the beginning, present before the big bang, or at the end of the evolution of the physical universe, as the omega point. Or the deity may be both alpha and omega, at the beginning and at the end of the universe. The most common name for this deity is "God," whether this be Varuṇa, "supreme lord, ruling the spheres" (*Ṛgveda* 1.25.20), or Yahveh who "made heaven and earth" (*Gn.* 1:1). This God is "that from which truly all beings are born, by which when born they live, and into which they all return" (*Taittirīya Upaniṣad* 3.1). This God is the *pantokratōr* of many traditions, Eastern and Western. Even the *deus otiosus* belongs to this group. Deity is here a metacosmological category. Its most salient feature is its infinity. The world we experience is contingent, and all things are transient, finite. Only the deity is infinite.

Meta-anthropological. At a certain moment in history the main interest of humanity was no longer nature or the world outside, above and mysterious, but humanity itself. Humanity's visions were directed toward the inner recesses of the human spirit: the feelings, the mind. The locus of deity is here the human realm, but not just a human field made wider. It has to be deeper as well. The locus is meta-anthropological.

Here deity is seen as the symbol for the perfection of the human being. The notion of deity does not come so much as the fruit of reflection on the cosmos or as an experience of its numinous character as it does from anthropological self-awareness. Deity is the fullness of the human heart, the real destiny of man, the leader of the people, the beloved of the mystics, the lord of history, the full realization of what we really are. This deity does not need to be anthropomorphic, although it may present some such traits. Deity is here *ātman-brahman*, the fully divinized man, the Christ, the *puruṣa*, or even the symbol of justice, peace, and a happy society. Here deity may be considered immanent or transcendent, identified with or distinguishable from man, but its functions are related to the human being. It is a living, loving, or menacing deity, inspiring, caring, punishing, rewarding, and forgiving. In this deity all pilgrimage ends, all longing disappears, all thoughts recoil, and all sin is blotted out. The deity is a meta-anthropological category.

The vexed problem of divine personality belongs here, as do psychological analyses of human belief in deity. The most salient feature of this horizon, however, is the attribute of freedom. The deity is here freedom itself, liberating man from his often painful limitations. Modern theologies of liberation belong here, as does the notion of a god acting in history.

Meta-ontological. We are told that the culmination of man's development is self-awareness. The power of reflection makes *Homo sapiens* the superior being that he believes himself to be. The locus of the deity here cannot be just a superman or a ground of the world. It has to be a superbeing. The locus is meta-ontological.

Humanity is proud of the human power of abstraction. Deity is here not only beyond the physical world but also outside any natural realm, including that of the human world, the intellect, the desires, and the will. Deity is totally above and beyond nature, including human nature. The transcendence or otherness of deity is here so absolute that it transcends itself, and thus it can no longer be called transcendence. Deity does not exist; it is meta-ontological, beyond being. It is not even nonbeing. The apophatism is absolute. The deity neither is nor exists, nor is it thinkable or speakable. Silence is the only proper attitude toward it, not because we are incapable of speaking about it, but because silence is what befits it. This silence neither hides nor reveals. It is silence because it says nothing, there being nothing to say. Possible names for this deity are *śūnyatā*, Neither Being nor Nonbeing, Huperon, and so on. Deity is here a meta-ontological reality. Seen from below, as it were, it belongs to the unthinkable. Seen from within, it belongs to the unthought. To think about it would be idolatry.

Here we encounter the problem of the nothingness of deity, the radical apophatism developed in many traditions. The most salient feature here is immanence and transcendence, the two belonging together. Deity is the immanence and transcendence inserted in the heart of every being.

We should hasten to add that these three horizons are not mutually exclusive. Many a thinker in many a tradition has tried to elaborate a conception of deity embracing all three. Within Hinduism, for instance, *nirguṇa brahman* would correspond to the third type, *saguṇa brahman* to the first, and *īśvara* might be the personal deity of the devotee. Similarly, the Christian Scholastic tradition would like to combine God, the prime mover (the first type), with the personal God of the believers (the second type), and that of the mystics (the third type). How far all three can be reduced to an intelligible unity is a philosophical and theological problem that different traditions try to solve in different ways.

The morphological traits of deity may be summarized according to these three horizons, suggesting a threefold structure for deity. The ultimate experience of the meta-ontological deity is the character of the "I." Deity is the ultimate "I," the final subject of activity. "Who am I?" The "I" who can respond to this question without further questioning is the ultimate "I," the deity.

The meta-anthropological deity represents the experience of the "thou." In the human urge toward the deity this latter appears as the ultimate "thou" with whom dialogue and human relations can be established.

The deity as the ultimate cause and prime mover of the world is the "he, she, or it" that only an inference discloses. One speaks of this deity always in the third person.

Methods. We may now turn to the different methods used in the attempt to understand deity. Whatever deity may be, it is neither a sensible nor an intelligible thing. The deity is neither a visible thing nor a mere thought. Modern hermeneutics speaks of "pre-understanding" as a necessary condition of understanding, of a "hermeneutical circle" that is needed in all interpretation. Within the realm of sensible or intelligible objects we may be able to ascertain what pre-understanding is. We acquire an idea of the whole, which we may modify while investigating the parts. It is on the basis of this pre-understanding that a given method is applied to understanding an object. But how can this be done in the case of deity? If every method implies a proleptic jump into the alleged object, a coming back to our starting point, and a methodical process afterward, it is difficult to see how such a method can be applied in our attempt to understand deity. We do not know in which direction we should make the first jump nor with what instruments to approach it—unless we start from the received tradition or with an authentic mystical experience. This amounts to saying that we renounce finding a method of searching for deity and replace it by methods of research, interpreting the opinions of people about it. We know, further, that if we start with some "instruments," the results will greatly depend on the nature of those instruments. We can then neither jump (if we do not know the direction) nor come back (if the subject matter is beyond the senses and the intellect). In a word, the method for seeking the deity is sui generis—if indeed there is a method at all.

How do we come to a pre-understanding of deity? We may receive it from tradition. In the case of a direct mystical experience there is not a pre-understanding but an immediate insight that the mystic afterward explicates in terms of the culture in which he or she lives, and so ultimately it comes to the same thing. The mystic needs a post-understanding, as it were, in terms of his or her time and culture, which amounts to an initial pre-understanding for all the others. The pre-understanding of deity is, therefore, a traditional datum. Now, there are three main attitudes toward this datum. If one accepts it as a starting point and proceeds to a critical effort at understanding it, this is the *theological method.* The theologian tries to clarify something from within. If one tries to bracket one's personal beliefs and attempts to decipher the immense variety of opinions throughout the ages regarding the idea of deity, this is the *phenomenological method.* The datum is then the sediment of the history of human consciousness. Finally, if one reflects on one's own experience, enriched as much as possible by the thoughts of others, this is the *philosophical method.*

These methods are not mutually exclusive, and all three play a role in the human quest for deity. All are required and they imply each other. We distinguish between them for heuristic reasons only. Each one presents divisions and subdivisions. Sociology, psychology, anthropology, and so forth are among the important disciplines within these three approaches, each with its own particular methods.

We refer to methods in the plural, for there is not one single theological, phenomenological, or philosophical method. Each of these approaches presents a variety of methods. What we describe here is only a general pattern of methods, which acquire a proper physiognomy when applied to particular cases.

Theological. The theological method begins with an accepted datum: there exists a world of the gods, the world of deity. We will therefore have to clarify and eventually justify the raison d'être of such a world, but we do not necessarily have to prove its existence. In short, the origin of the idea of deity is the deity itself—whatever this deity may be. This forms the core of the so-called ontological argument and of any religious enterprise that wants to clarify the nature of deity. Deity could not be known if it did not exist. The theological problem here consists of determining what kind of existence this is. When Thomas Aquinas, for instance, ends each one of his five proofs for the existence of God by saying "and that is what all call God," he shows his theological method of clarifying the existence of something that we already call God. The deity was already there, certainly, as an idea, but also as a reality that hardly anyone doubted, although its rationality had to be demonstrated and its existence verified as real and not merely apparent. Theological proofs thus presuppose faith and only prove that such faith is rational. They are a form of *fides quaerens intellectum* ("faith seeking understanding").

We have already indicated that each combination of method and horizon yields a distinct picture of deity. In fact, theological methods have been mainly combined with the cosmological and the ontological horizons. They have been less conversant with the anthropological one, and this explains the uneasiness in theological circles when dealing with the emerging sciences of man, like psychology and sociology. The theological dialogues with Freud, Jung, and Weber are typical examples. There are serious studies on the psychology and sociology of religion, but little attention has been given to the psychology and sociology of deity from a theological perspective. Hans Urs von Balthasar's work on a theology of aesthetics is a notable exception.

Phenomenological. The phenomenological method could also be described as morphological, or even historical, since it is used in the new science of religions, often called the history of religions. On the whole there is a consensus regarding the phenomenological method, as the study of people's beliefs drawn from their own self-understanding, as reflected in the critical consciousness of the scholar. Here is the place for a typology of the conceptions of deity. This method is important today, in a world in which people of different religions mingle in the concerns of daily life, that is, in the stresses of technological civilization.

Use of the phenomenological method uncovers an immense variety of types of deity. We find the so-called animistic conception of deity as an all-pervading and living force animating everything that there is. We find so-called polytheism, the presence of many "gods" as supernatural entities with different powers and functions. We find so-called deism as the belief in a supreme being, probably a creator, who is afterward passive in relation to his creation, a notion that excludes any kind of specially revealed god. We find monotheism of the type of the Abrahamic religions, religions of a living, provident, and creator god. We find the various theisms that modify the exclusiveness of the monotheistic model, and pantheism, the identification of the deity with the universe. We also find all sorts of atheisms, as reactions to theism and especially to monotheism. And of course we find a number of distinctions and qualifications of these broad notions that are intended to respond to the demands of reason or answer difficulties raised by particular or collective experiences.

These types, and the changes that they have undergone through the ages, have been the subject of many useful and comprehensive studies by well-known scholars like Mircea Eliade, Gerardus van der Leeuw, Geo Widengren, Kurt Goldammer, W. Bede Kristensen, and Friedrich Heiler. With the possible exception of Widengren, none of these authors uses the notion of God as a major religious category. Even Widengren, who emphatically wants to distinguish religion from magic, while affirming that "faith in God constitutes the intimate essence of religion," has a very large idea of what God means. All the others recognize that there is a particular sphere that is at the center of religious life.

Philosophical. The philosophical method proceeds differently, although, in ways, not totally disconnected from those of the previous ones. Pascal's famous *mémorial,* which was found stitched in his coat after his death, "The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, not of philosophers and scholars," has since served in the West to emphasize this difference. Without entering into the discussion of whether the "living God" is the *actus purus* or whether one can fall in love with the prime mover, the quintessence of the philosophical method consists in the willingness to question everything. The philosophical method is that of the radical question, be it the question of salvation, *mokṣa,* happiness, or whatever form in which it may be conceived. It is within this framework that the question of deity appears. Here in a cloud either of knowledge or of unknowing, in a science of good and evil, lies the philosophical locus of deity. This locus is the ultimate question, even if there is no final answer.

When this ultimate locus is considered to be being, the question of deity turns out to be what Heidegger calls an "onto-theology," a reflection on the being of beings. Here, the philosophical method meets the historical controversy. Is deity the highest being or is it being as such? In the latter case it cannot be a supreme being. The ontological difference is not the theological one. The history of religions puts the same question by simply asking how the supreme being is related to the entire reality. This polarity between being and supreme being permeates most of the conceptions about deity. We could phrase it as the polarity between the deity of the intellectuals (being) and the deity of the people (supreme being). A more academic way of saying it is this: deity may appear as a result of a thinking reflection (discovering being) or an existential attitude (requiring a supreme being). For the former, deity is the subsisting being, source of being, the foundation, the being "being" in all beings. For the latter, deity is the supreme being, the lord, the divine person, the ultimate in the pyramid of reality. The former conception will have to clarify the relation between deity as a ground of being and an undetermined and general *ens commune.* The latter will have to define the relation between deity as *esse subsistens* and the rest of beings that the deity creates, rules, and directs.

Is deity being (*Sein, sat, esse*) or the supreme being (*höchstes Seiendes, paramatman, ens realissimum*)? One can think about the first, but one cannot worship it. One can adore the second and trust in it, but this God cannot be reasoned about; it is corroded by thinking.

If the philosophical locus of the deity is the ultimate question, we may find as many conceptions of deity as there are ultimate questions. Thus the many and varied answers. The diversity of religions can also be explained from this perspective. Religions give different answers to ultimate questions, and the questions themselves are different. But philosophical reflection may ask still further: what is it that prompts man to ask the ultimate question, whatever this question may be? Why is man an asking being, ever thirsty for questions?

In a word, the issue of the deity has to do with the peculiarity of man as a questioning animal. "God acts without a why and does not know any why," says Meister Eckhart. What prompts man to question is ultimately the consciousness of not being realized, of not knowing, of being finite. This consciousness can be expressed as the anthropological discovery that man is imperfect, still in the making; the cosmological observation that the universe is moving, that is, also still becoming; or the ontological thought of nothingness lurking over being. In sum, the problem of becoming emerges here as the theological problem par excellence. If becoming is possible, it is because being is still "being." What covers this gap between being and becoming (encompassing or not encompassing the two) is the locus of the deity: it keeps open the flow of being.

THE TEXTURE OF HUMAN CONSCIOUSNESS OF DEITY. The different perspectives on the human approach to deity that we have found end in a healthy pluralism: reality is itself pluralistic. We cannot, of course, encompass this plurality in a unified scheme of intelligibility on a universal scale. Yet if we keep in mind our particular situation in time and place and its various viewpoints and prejudices, we may venture some further valid considerations.

Our point of departure is the lost innocence of our present situation. Whatever deity may be, whatever peoples of other epochs have felt, thought, or believed about deity, even if they have told us that it was the deity itself who spoke to them, it remains always the conviction of contemporary man that all relation to deity takes place in and through human consciousness. This in no way weakens the reality or the objectivity of deity. It only affirms that human consciousness is always a fellow traveler in this journey. If we want to reach a consensus regarding the many opinions on the nature of deity, we shall have to fall back upon the texture of our consciousness, even while accepting that deity may be much more than an act or content of consciousness and that this consciousness may vary with time and place and even be shaped by the power of deity.

In view of the many opinions about deity we have to rely upon the one factor that is common to them all, namely the human consciousness that uses the word *deity* or its homeomorphic equivalents. Deity has this one constitutive feature: it is disclosed to us in an act of consciousness, an act of consciousness that, in spite of having a transcendent intentionality, has no verifiable referent outside of consciousness. The reference of the word *deity*, in fact, is neither visible nor intelligible, and yet every culture in the world witnesses to the fact that men constantly speak about a "something" that transcends all other parameters. We have then to rely on the cultural documents of the past and the present that witness to this *tertium* we call *deity.*

We rely on the fact that people have meant something when using this word or its equivalents. The analysis of deity is based therefore not on the empirical presence of the object nor on the immediate evidence of thought but on tradition in its precise and etymological meaning, that is, on some cultural good that is being transmitted to us. One exception seems to be the case of mystics, who say that they have directly experienced this extra-empirical and supra-intellectual reality. Yet the moment that the mystics speak they have to fall back upon their consciousness. The thought and speech of the divine belong to that unique field of human consciousness whose contents are disclosed in the very experience that has them and nowhere else. This explains the elusive character of the divine and also accounts for the fact that the question is more important than the answer.

Deity is visible only in its alleged manifestations—and there is no way to make visible the manifesting power beyond what is manifested. Nicholas of Cusa says pointedly that God is the invisibility of the visible world, just as the world is the appearance of the invisible God.

Nor is deity intelligible. It would cease to be divine if we could grasp its meaning as something belonging to the human or worldly sphere. The divine is not subject to observation, nor can there be a science of the divine. Thus Meister Eckhart says that we must transcend not only the things of the imagination but even those of the understanding.

Long before Śaṅkara, the Indian world made crucial the distinction between appearance and reality and recognized that the latter transcends both the senses and the mind. The short *Kena Upsaniṣad* is perhaps one of the best scriptural texts to underline the transcendence and immanence of the deity:

> That which cannot be expressed by words but by which the word is expressed . . . That which cannot be thought by the mind, but that by which, they say, the mind is thought . . . That which cannot be seen by the eye, but that by which the eyes have sight. . . . It is not understood by those who understand; it is understood by those who do not understand. (1.5ff, 2.3)

In sum, of the divine there is only *logos* ("word"): *theologia.* But it is a *logos* irreducible to *nous;* that is, it is a word only revealed in the experience itself. This does not allow us to conclude that the divine is just a subjective state of experience. All things are related to states of experience, but of all others we have a communicable referent; we can get at the *res nominis*, that is, at the thing named. This is not the case with the divine. The *res nominis* is in the *ratio nominis*, that is, in the meaning of the name itself. And this is what has made theological and religious disputes so uncompromisingly serious. The names of God are all we have. Considering names as mere labels of things (as in nominalism) is the proper procedure of modern science, but this method is not adequate if applied to deity. Without the names we have no way of reaching the referent.

The names of deity are also different from abstract names like justice and beauty. We may infer the meaning of justice by observing a certain pattern of behavior among people and acquire some sense of beauty by contrasting some of our experiences with similar ones of other people. Both human behavior and sensible objects fall in the category of commonly shared experiences. In other words, the referent in all these cases is verifiable outside of consciousness although not independent of it. This is not the case with deity. We cannot verify it as an object outside the field of our own consciousness, nor can we compare our states of consciousness as we can in the case of other abstract concepts. In this latter case we can point to the things or acts reflecting, revealing, or somehow defining the meaning we give to such words. In the case of deity we can certainly infer the idea people have of it from what they say and do, but there is one difference: a dimension of transcendence, of ineffability, inadequacy, ultimacy, or uniqueness, which necessarily leaves a gap between the manifested and its source. This is the reason why some traditions have postulated a special "seventh" sense related to the divine, which is neither reducible to the five senses nor to the "sixth" sense of the intellect.

Now, to affirm that all the names of deity mean ultimately the same thing assumes at the start that "our" name is the real one. We make of our conception of it, expressed in the name we give it, the pattern for all other conceptions. The name we give it would then name the "thing" that is supposed to have other names as well. This is not the case. Not everybody is looking for the same thing, either the ultimate cause, the ground of being, or absolute nothingness, if any of these is what we mean by deity. Much less are the worshipers of Kālī ready to give up their practice and worship Allāh, or true Christians ready to deny Christ and adore Caesar. Deity is not a Kantian "thing in itself." Words matter. The conception we have of deity is certainly not identical with its reality. But it is our way of access to it, which we cannot deny without betraying ourselves. Martyrdom for the sake of a name is a human fact not reducible to sheer fanaticism.

The name we give it, or the name anyone else gives it, does not exhaust the nature of deity. Strictly speaking we do not name it. We only refer to him, her, or it. Or we simply believe, call, pray, shout, dance, or whatever. Deity is not an object of naming but of invocation. Deity is what we appeal to, implore, and worship precisely because it is beyond our apprehending faculties.

In the Greek tradition *theos* is a predicative name. Things are divine, and a particular entity is godly. *Theos* is an attribute. God is not a concept but a name. But when the name loses its power no amount of conceptualization can give it back.

There has been a shift in the idea of deity from the predicate to the subject. This is a great revolution. In the West this could be said to represent the genius of the Abrahamic traditions. While many traditions say that light, love, or goodness is God, that is, divine ("Truth is God" was a slogan of Mohandas Gandhi), the New Testament reverses the sentence and affirms that God is light, love, or goodness. Something similar could be said of the great Upanisadic revolution: in the Upaniṣads we witness the passage of the god of the third person (the Vedic gods) to the god of the first person (*aham brahman*, "I am *brahman*") by means of the second person (*tat tvam asi*, "that thou art"). The revelation of the "I" dawns in the very realization of the aspirant to liberation; the "I" is not a third person (he, she, it, or even they). The language of the deity cannot be the third person. The deity has to be the first person. It is only the real "I" when it says "I," or rather when "I" says "I," and more exactly when I say "I." This is what is called realization—the realization of the I (by the I). Only the I can say "I."

At any rate the divine is so linked to our state of consciousness that there is no way of deciding what ontic status it has outside the ontological statement. Or, rather, the deity has no ontic status. An ontological statement has an accepted currency only with people who share in the same myth, one in which a particular form of the divine is taken for granted.

The claim to universality is the temptation of any complex and sophisticated culture. This aspiration to universality is built into human nature. But we often fail to recognize that we cannot make a claim for universality in our own terms, which are far from being universal.

Meaningful talk about the divine is thus restricted to those belonging to the same mythical sphere. Others will hear but not really understand. Each culture or subculture has a myth in which their particular form of the divine is possible and talked about. In this sense it cannot be generalized. It is restricted to those of the same faith, to the initiated. Properly speaking, we do not know what we are talking about when we refer to the divine. We are already taking it for granted, which is the function of any myth, that is, to offer the unquestioned horizon of intelligibility where our words are meaningful.

And yet the world of deity is an ever-recurrent world in the history of mankind. What do all these traditions refer to? If asked, believers might answer that the divine is not just a purely subjective state of consciousness; most will assert that they refer to the highest realm of reality, a realm so high that it is beyond the reach of human powers. And yet they continue to speak of it. It belongs to their myth. The myth is the locus of belief. It is only when pressed by those outside their group that they concede that there is no possibility of showing any referent in the world of common human experience. At most they may point to an homeomorphic experience if they have found a language of communication.

What is, then, the content of such an experience of deity? We have said that the content of the experience is inseparable from the experience itself, so that it cannot be "shown" outside the experience: the divine is neither sensible nor intelligible. Is there something else? Common sense and historical evidence say that of course there is something else, since everybody seems to speak about the divine in one form or another. The critical mind will say that it makes no sense to speak about something that we cannot think. That is why many a philosopher feels more comfortable calling the content of that experience nothingness. All theology ends by being apophatic.

From these considerations we may infer that there is something in human consciousness that points to something beyond, and yet we are unable to "locate" it outside that consciousness. God has been described as a "transcending center of intention" (John E. Smith). No wonder that many thinkers in both the East and West then identify deity with consciousness in its highest form. Others defend a sort of transcendental dynamism of human consciousness toward a superior and perfect form of consciousness, which they then call divine. Still others affirm that it is only a pathological growth of our own consciousness, triggered perhaps by fear of the unknown or fostered by religious priestcraft for the sake of power. Finally, while recognizing both the divine immanence of human consciousness and the human intentionality toward a divine transcendent consciousness, some do not dare to consider deity as the all-encompassing reality but only as a dimension of it. Reality is primary to consciousness.

Consciousness is always consciousness *of*, of reality, of being, even of itself. This last is the *noēsis noēseōs* of Aristotle, the absolute reflection of Hegel, and the *svayamprakāśa* ("self-illumination") of Vedānta. Now pure consciousness cannot be of anything, not even of itself. This is what lets Vedānta say that *brahman* is not even conscious of being *brahman*. It is Īśvara, the Lord, who is the full consciousness of *brahman*. Something similar could be said of the Father, the *plenitudo fontalis* of the Christian Trinity.

THE DEITY BETWEEN GOD AND THE SACRED. Having tried to present the problematic of deity in its broadest aspect, we may ask whether speaking of "the divine" is not preferable to speaking of "deity." It may better describe what we are looking for, namely a super- or metacategory that can serve to express the religious phenomenon in its universality. In fact, *deity*, because its grammatical form is substantive, suggests a certain kind of substantialization that is inappropriate for many religious traditions, which we could call the *nāstikā*s or *anātmavādin*s (such as the Buddhists who say that there is no God because there is no substance). Thus, in spite of some modern efforts at adaptation, the Buddhist world, for one, feels uncomfortable with the word *deity*—although not, of course, with deities.

There is another category of similar generality that has often been presented as the center of the religious traditions of humankind. Every religion, we are told, deals with the sacred. It was Nathan Söderblom who, in 1913, described the notion of holiness as even more essential than the notion of God. For Söderblom, there is no real religion without a distinction between the holy and the profane. Mircea Eliade is today the most important spokesman for the centrality of the sacred as the religious phenomenon par excellence. But, we may ask, if the sacred is the central category of religion, what is the place and role of deity?

There is a danger in wanting to reduce the immense jungle of man's religious experience, as crystallized in the different religions of the world, to a single category or even to a single set of categories. Even if this were possible, its only purpose would be to give a panoramic and coherent picture of the whole. But what cannot be universalized is precisely the perspective of the observer. Let us assume that the sacred is a convincing category for understanding and describing religious phenomena. It would still be true that it is only a suitable category for us—that is, a very special class of readers in time and space. If our parameters of understanding change, then the perspective must also vary. In short, we cannot universalize our perspective, and a "global perspective" is obviously a contradiction in terms. There is thus room for more than one attempt to focus the religious experience of man. Let me try then to point out the locus of deity in the panorama of human religious experience and distinguish it from the sacred.

One feature seems to permeate all the varied meanings of deity: personality. Deity does not need to be a substance nor a person in the modern sense of the word. But on the other hand, *deity* does not denote merely a character of things, as does the word *sacred*. Deity is a source of action, an active element, a spontaneous factor: it is free. Its actions cannot be anticipated; it has initiative. We cannot deal with deity as with an object that we can imprison in the web of our thoughts. Deity has a mysterious quality of being able to act and not just react, to take the lead, even if in a purely passive way.

We should distinguish between personality and person on the one hand and person and substance on the other. We may recall that the concept of person in the West was developed not as a meditation on man but as a theological problem. To speak of the personality of deity is no more an anthropomorphism than is speaking of God as a supreme being, which some would call an anthropomorphism simply because man is also a being. Here the polemical aspect of the notion of deity comes to the fore. Almost everyone will admit that there is a third dimension in reality, since man and the world, as they are experienced by us, do not exhaust that other pole that is neither man nor the world as we experience them now. But not everyone is prepared to admit that this third pole has personality, that is, that it is endowed with freedom, is a source of action, has an identity, and is relationship.

In this sense, the concept of deity is not just the idea that there is a third pole in reality. Nor is it identical with the concept of God. It stands between the sacred and God. It shares with the former its immanence and with the latter its personality (in the sense we have indicated). But while the concept of God seems to imply a certain substance, the idea of deity does not need to present this characteristic. It says only that this third dimension is not a mere mental hypothesis, a piece of mental equipment necessary for making sense of reality or merely something to fill in the gaps in our understanding. The notion of deity affirms boldly that this other dimension is real, that is, active, free, efficacious, and powerful on its own account. But it does not make it independent of the two other poles and thus not even independent of our conceptions of it. In a word, deity connotes the highest form of life.

CONCLUSION. This cross-cultural approach to the mystery of deity has one liberating consequence. It liberates us from the many aporias that, for centuries, have tortured the human mind as it attempts to consider God as the supreme being. Among these are the questions: is it personal or impersonal? If almighty, how can it condone evil? If infinite, what is the place of finite beings? If absolutely free, why can it not make two and two equal five? If omniscient, what about human freedom? Subtle theological and philosophical answers have been put forward. But the answers could be made simpler by cutting the Gordian knot of a universal theory about God and rediscovering the divine as a true dimension of reality.

Whether the word *deity* means a plurality of divine beings, absolute consciousness, perfect happiness, the supreme being, a divine character of beings, or being as such, thought about deity has no referent. At the same time it seems to be one of the most unvarying and powerful factors in human life throughout ages and across cultures. Words referring to deity or its homeomorphic equivalents are unique. Philosophy avers that the intentionality of human consciousness, while pointing outside itself, cannot show in the realm of the sensible or the intelligible the referent of this intentional act. In a word, there is no object that is deity. Either human consciousness transcends itself, or thought about deity is an illusion, albeit a transcendental illusion of historical reality.

We should return now to one of our earlier queries. Is the word *deity* broad enough to include all the types of the mystery we have tried to describe? We know that its original field is the cosmological, but we have also noted that we distinguish it from the name *God* precisely to allow it other horizons.

The word *deity* may partially fulfill this role on one essential condition: that it strip itself of all connotations coming from a single group of civilizations. This amounts to saying that it cannot have any specific content, because any attribute, be it being, nonbeing, goodness, creatorship, fatherhood, or whatever, is meaningful only within a given cultural universe (or a group of them). Deity becomes then an empty symbol to which different cultures attribute different concrete qualifications, positive or negative. *Deity* would then say something only when translated into a particular language.

I am still critical of such an option, however, and would like to propose a compromise that may appear obvious once explained. Were this article to be translated into Chinese, Arabic, or Swahili, what word would we use to convey this idea of deity? Either we would coin a new name or use an old one with the connotations of the particular language. So we can say that for the English language *deity* may be a convenient name to use to transcend the provincial limits of certain groups of cultures such as the one that thinks, for instance, that Buddhism was not a religion and Confucianism only a philosophy because they do not accept the Abrahamic idea of God. But we should not elevate the word *deity* as the name for that metacategory. It is only a pointer toward the last horizon of human consciousness and the utmost limit of human powers of thinking, imagining, and being. Now, an abstract name like *the Ultimate* or a metaphor like *horizon* are equally dependent on particular cultural systems or ways of thinking. Perhaps the word *mystery* is more adequate, in spite of its Hellenic flavor. Or should we say *brahman*, *kami*, *numen...?*

At any rate we should insist that this does not mean that all those quests search for the same thing but in different places. The quest is different in each case, and so are the ways or methods involved. We leave open the question (ultimately as a pseudo-question) whether we use different methods because we look for different things or whether we find different answers because we use different methods. Both possibilities are intrinsically related, and their relation does not lie on the level of the *logos* but on the level of the *mythos*, as we have suggested. All our ways and means, all our quests and perspectives already belong not only to the searching but also to what is sought. Deity is not independent of our own search for it. If we radically destroy all the ways to the peak, the entire mountain will collapse. The slopes of the mountain also make the mountain.

Scholars may debate whether humankind is or is not monotheistic, whether a personal god is a universal truth or there actually is a creator, whether the so-called atheists are right in denouncing anthropomorphisms and dogmatisms of all sorts, whether there is a divine origin of this universe or a glorious or catastrophical Parousia. One thing seems to emerge as a cultural universal and a historical invariant: besides the world and man there is a third pole, a hidden dimension, another element that has received and is still receiving the most varied names, each name being a witness of its power and of the impotence of human beings to reduce everything to a common denominator.

The human being both individually and as a species is not alone. Man is not alone not only because he has an earth under his feet but also because he has a heaven above his head. There is something else, something more than what meets the eye or comes into the range of the mental. There is something more, a plus that humans cannot adequately name but that haunts them nevertheless. This plus is freedom and infinity. Deity stands for all that is unfinished (infinite) and thus allows for fulfillment in one sense or another. Man needs—and discovers—an opening, a way out of the strictures of the exclusively empirical or ideological affairs of daily life. The idea of deity can provide such an opening, provided that it can be kept free of any particular content. It would then become a symbol for the emerging myth of a human race that can no longer afford to transform cultural discrepancies into a cosmic tragedy.

SEE ALSO Anthropomorphism; Evolution, article on Evolutionism; God; Gods and Goddesses; Otherworld; Sacred and the Profane, The; Study of Religion; Śūnyam and Śūnyatā; Theism; Theology; Transcendence and Immanence; Truth.

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RAIMUNDO PANIKKAR (1987)
Revised Bibliography

DE LAS CASAS, BARTOLOMÉ SEE LAS CASAS, BARTOLOMÉ DE

DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, LOUIS SEE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, LOUIS DE

DELAWARE PROPHET SEE NEOLIN

DELITZSCH, FRIEDRICH (1850–1922), German Assyriologist. Friedrich Conrad Gerhard Delitzsch was the son of the Old Testament scholar Franz Delitzsch (1813–1890). Both were men of extremely high linguistic ability, but in other respects they formed a striking contrast. The father was pious and conservative in theology, and although he was interested in Christian missions to the Jews, he was warmly appreciative of Judaism; the son became iconoclastic and contemptuous toward traditional doctrine and hostile to the entire dependence of Christianity upon Judaism.

The leading figure in the Assyriology of his time, Friedrich Delitzsch placed grammar and lexicography of the languages of ancient Mesopotamia on a sound and exact basis. In the area of biblical scholarship, his *Die Lese- und Schreibfehler im Alten Testament* (1920) provided an exhaustive classification of ways in which copying errors, such as writing one consonant in place of another, may have affected the text of the Hebrew Bible. His main influence on religious studies came with the "Babel-Bible" controversy. Advances in Assyriology had already made a difference to scholarship but had hardly affected the general public. Delitzsch's two lectures "Babel und Bibel" were delivered, in 1902, before the German Oriental Society and were attended by Kaiser Wilhelm II, who took an active interest in these matters. In the past, the Bible had been considered the oldest book: it was believed to reach back to the beginnings of the world. Now Assyriology presented new knowledge, knowledge that went back to an epoch much earlier than that of which the Bible had known. The similarity between the Babylonian and the biblical worlds was enormous. But this meant that the Old Testament material was not unique and could not count as pure revelation. The Babylonian material confirmed the antiquity of the biblical material but put in question its finality. In fact the Old Testament rose little above the religious and ethical level of Mesopotamian civilization.

By relativizing the authority of many elements within the Bible, the new discoveries made room for a conception of religion that was more in accord with "reason." Delitzsch insisted on the spiritual and universal nature of God as discerned, he thought, by the German Reformation. In this light, what Delitzsch considered the limited, parochial, and sometimes immoral world of the Old Testament could not continue to have authority. These ideas met with a storm of opposition. In his later work *Die grosse Täuschung* (The great deception; 1921), Delitzsch continued in the same vein but became more extreme. The Old Testament was a collection of fragments which had some literary and cultural value but had no relevance for Christianity. Christianity had as close a relation to paganism, Delitzsch claimed, as it had to Judaism, and he emphasized to an almost hysterical degree the "defects," "inaccuracies," and "immoralities" of the Old Testament.

Delitzsch was facing real problems in the existence of common ground between the Bible and its antecedent religious environment and of religious differences between some strata of the Bible and others. But the controversial stand he took was rooted more in modern ideological conflicts than in a dispassionate study of the ancient religions. His use of ancient evidence was often exaggerated and distorted, as when he argued that Jesus, being a Galilean, was not of Jewish blood and when he asserted that Jesus' teaching was "anti-Jewish." Similarly, Delitzsch's conception of Christianity draws from only a very narrow strand in the Christian tradition. As history of religion, his assessment of the data was intemperate, and his outbursts had the effect of retarding rather than advancing the cool assessment of the problems that Assyriological discovery had created for the relationship between Bible and religion.

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Delitzsch's controversial lectures were published in German as two books under the same title, *Babel und Bibel* (Leipzig, 1902–1903); the English edition, *Babel and Bible* (Chicago, 1903), contains not only the lectures but a selection from the comments they engendered, including those of Kaiser Wilhelm II and of Adolf von Harnack, along with replies by Delitzsch. *Die grosse Täuschung* (Stuttgart, 1921) appears never to have been published in English.

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DELORIA, ELLA CARA (1889–1971). Ella Cara Deloria was born January 31, 1889, on the Yankton Sioux Indian Reservation in southeastern South Dakota. She was the daughter of the Reverend Philip Deloria, an Episcopal priest, and Mary Sully Bordeaux. Her parents were enrolled members of the Yankton Sioux tribe, and both were descended from Dakota (Sioux) and Euro-American ancestors. The year after Ella's birth, her father was given charge of St. Elizabeth's Mission in north-central South Dakota, on the Standing Rock Reservation. Because his parishioners and the children attending the mission school were primarily Hunkpapa and Blackfoot Tetons (Lakotas), the Deloria family adopted the *l* dialect of the Tetons in place of the *d* dialect of the Yanktons. Therefore, Deloria, although a Yankton, grew up speaking the Lakota dialect of the Sioux language.

Deloria's primary schooling was at St. Elizabeth's until 1902, when she attended All Saints, an Episcopal boarding school in Sioux Falls, South Dakota. In 1910 she entered Oberlin College, then transferred to Columbia Teachers College in 1913, where, two years later, she earned her bachelor of science degree. During her senior year at Columbia Teachers she met Franz Boas, professor of anthropology at Columbia University, who introduced her to the formal study of American Indian languages and cultures, thereby setting in motion the course of much of the rest of her life.

For the next thirteen years Deloria was involved in Indian education. She taught at All Saints from 1915 to 1919, worked for the YMCA supervising health education in Indian schools from 1919 to 1923, then taught dance and physical education at Haskell Indian school in Lawrence, Kansas. In 1927 Boas, finally learning Deloria's whereabouts, visited her to propose that she resume the Lakota language studies that she had begun with him in New York. She readily agreed. He proposed that she record "all the details of everyday life as well as of religious attitudes and habits of thought of the people" (Boas quoted in Deloria, 1988, pp. 235–236). From 1928 until 1938, with support from Columbia University, Deloria studied the language, recorded stories and ethnographic material from Lakota elders throughout South Dakota, and translated historical texts written by tribal members. From 1939 until 1948 she continued to work as time allowed on the materials she had collected.

Deloria's collaboration with Boas himself culminated in a grammar of Lakota (Boas and Deloria, 1941). However, most of her studies were carried out under the supervision of Ruth Benedict, a cultural anthropologist who was Boas's assistant and colleague. After Boas's death in 1942, Deloria continued to collaborate with Benedict until the latter's death in 1948.

One of the first projects Deloria undertook for Boas was the translation of a native language text on the Sun Dance, the most important traditional Lakota religious ceremony. A long and detailed account, it had been written in the early 1900s by George Sword, a religious leader among the Oglala Lakotas on the Pine Ridge Reservation in southwestern South Dakota. Deloria read the text aloud to an Oglala elder and with his guidance edited and retranscribed it. The text, printed in both Lakota and English, was her first professional publication (Deloria, 1929).

As a member of a prominent Episcopal family, Deloria had little familiarity with traditional Lakota religion, but she became very interested in it. She recorded a large number of myths and sacred stories, many of which have been published in Lakota and English (Deloria, 1932; Rice, 1992, 1993, 1994). While recording autobiographical texts from elders she learned a good deal about the individual's role in religious ceremonies, visions and other supernatural experiences, and conflicts between traditional religion and Christianity. Benedict pressed her to interview medicine men and record their visions, but this forced Deloria into a personal dilemma. Her father was a prominent missionary, and her younger brother, Vine V. Deloria, had followed in his footsteps and begun his career as a missionary at Pine Ridge. Showing undue interest in traditional religion jeopardized the family's reputation, and, in any case, traditional religious leaders were not comfortable sharing their sacred knowledge with a devout Christian, who might ridicule them. Deloria focused instead on the forms of ceremonies, starting with the Sun Dance. She hypothesized that all the Sioux groups shared common ceremonies but that each performed them in different ways. She worked for years on a study that would document the variations from group to group, but failed to complete it.

Deloria's *Speaking of Indians* (1944) was intended to introduce American Indians to a broad popular audience. In it, with great insight and empathy, she succinctly summarized her understanding of traditional religion. She considered the Lakotas before they had learned of Christian teachings to be naturally religious, "always subconsciously aware of the Supernatural Power. Before it they felt helpless and humble" (Deloria, 1944, p. 51). She exemplified this with an account of the Sun Dance, making the esoteric ritual comprehensible to the general public.

The concern with communicating to the public motivated Deloria to write an ethnographic novel, *Waterlily,* that told the story of three generations of women before the reservation period. It masterfully summarizes the important themes of her study of Lakota culture and is the only written source that explores the religious life of Lakota women. When she completed the book in 1948 she could not find a publisher; it was published posthumously (Deloria, 1988) and rapidly became the most widely read of her works.

After Benedict's death in 1948 Deloria struggled to continue her work and received a number of grants for studies of religion and social life. From 1955 to 1958 she returned to St. Elizabeth's Mission to run the school she had attended as a girl. A grant for work on a Lakota dictionary provided her a position at the University of South Dakota from 1962 to 1966. After retiring, she continued to live in Vermillion, South Dakota, until her death on February 12, 1971.

Deloria was the most prolific native scholar of the Lakotas, and the results of her work (much of which is still unpublished, archived in the American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia, and the Dakota Indian Foundation, Chamberlain, South Dakota) are an essential source for the study of Lakota religion.

SEE ALSO Lakota Religious Traditions; North American Indians, article on Indians of the Plains.

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RAYMOND J. DEMALLIE (2005)

DELPHI. The Delphic oracle was the most important oracle of ancient Greece. Archaeological excavations at Delphi have shown that the temple of Apollo, which was the center of the oracular activities, was not built before 750 BCE. It was a time of extensive Greek colonization, and one in which the oracle, for obscure reasons, managed to play an important role. This activity may well have been the decisive factor in establishing Delphi almost immediately as an authoritative oracle, and Homer's *Iliad*, most commonly dated to the eighth century BCE, already mentions the wealth of its votive offerings. Its geographical location, far from powerful Greek city-states, undoubtedly helped its rise to fame; for none of the consulting states had to fear that its rich presents would foster the development of a rival state. On the other hand, Delphi was not so remotely situated as the oracle of Dodona (in northwestern Greece), its older rival. The Delphic oracle's fame was highest in the Archaic period, when even kings from Lydia and Cyrene came for consultation.

Earlier studies went so far as to stress the role of Delphi in supporting new moral and religious values such as requiring purification following a murder, but the evidence for such Delphic initiatives is actually very slight. It is indeed hard to see why Delphi, unlike all other oracles, should try to influence its clients beyond their immediate needs. The famous sayings "Nothing in excess" and "Know thyself," which in the sixth century were fitted into the wall of the Delphic temple, reflect existing ideas rather than new ones. Both sayings exhort man to remain within his human limits—a common idea in Archaic Greek literature. It seems therefore more likely that the oracle, through its central position in Greek society, functioned as a sounding board that could amplify current religious conceptions and preoccupations.

The ritual of consulting the oracle was relatively simple. After making various sacrifices, consultants of the oracle had to enter the temple of Apollo where they presented their questions, orally or written on a tablet, to the priestess of Apollo, the Pythia. She was an older woman, whose age made it socially acceptable for her to mix in the company of men such as priests and ambassadors. At the same time, she was dressed as a girl; the conception of the Pythia as the bride of Apollo was at least hinted at in Delphic mythology. The priestess made her utterances seated on a tripod and holding a spray of laurel, but unfortunately we are not informed about the exact process whereby she arrived at her oracles. Later reports, both ancient and modern, mention prophetic vapors emerging from a chasm below the priestess, but this has been disproved by modern archaeological findings. Such reports were evidently rationalizing explanations of the Pythia's skill in giving oracles. Her voice was supposed to change when she responded to the inquiries, which seems to indicate an altered state of consciousness. At the "séance," special "prophets" were present who translated the Pythia's utterances into acceptable prose or hexameters. It is not known to what extent the consultants could influence the outcome of the oracle, but it seems clear that the opinion of powerful clients was regularly taken into consideration. The grateful consultants dedicated votive offerings to the god, and in the highly competitive Greek society the exhibition of these offerings encouraged a kind of potlatch in dedications: at the end of the fifth century, there were nearly thirty special buildings in which Greek cities displayed their dedications.

Many of the inquiries and the oracle's corresponding answers have been preserved, although a number of these answers are demonstrably forgeries—products of hindsight. Greek cities as well as individuals sought the oracle's advice on a wide range of religious, political, and private matters. The evidence shows that in general the oracle helped to decide between various alternatives rather than to predict the future; recourse to the oracle must often have been a convenient way of avoiding the risk of being blamed for the wrong decision.

Delphi's prestige remained high until the fourth century BCE, when it was looted and, perhaps more fatal, when Alexander the Great moved the center of the Greek world to the East. The rulers of the warring factions after Alexander's death (c. 323 BCE) had no time for embassies to Delphi. Although on a much lower level, the oracle continued functioning in Roman times when the prolific author Plutarch (c. 45–120 CE) was one of its priests; his two treatises *The Oracles at Delphi No Longer Given in Verse* and *The Obsolescence of Oracles* are a mine of information on Delphi's rich mythology and ritual. In the fourth century CE, Delphi still attracted the attention of Roman emperors, but the prohibition of all pagan cults in 392 by the Christian emperor Theodosius I also meant the end of this age-old institution.

SEE ALSO Oracles.

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JAN N. BREMMER (1987 AND 2005)

DELUGE, THE SEE FLOOD, THE

DE MARTINO, ERNESTO.

An ethnologist and historian of religions, Ernesto de Martino (1908–1965) was born on December 1, 1908, in Naples, Italy, where he studied under Adolfo Omodeo, graduating with a degree in philosophy in 1932. His degree thesis, subsequently published, dealt with the historical and philological problem of the Eleusinian *Gephyrismi* (ritual injuries addressed to the goddess) and provides an important methodological introduction to the concept of religion. Clearly influenced by reading *Das Heilige* by Rudolf Otto, de Martino preferred to emphasize the choleric nature of the believer, overturning the German scholar's thesis and making it capable of being applied to relations with gods in polytheistic religions and spirits in animist religions. Attracted by the ideological stance of the regime, for several years de Martino worked on an essay interpreting Fascism as a historically convenient form of civil religion. However, the attempt was insubstantial and the work, still unpublished, was gradually rejected by the author. At this time, which we now call the "Neapolitan" period, lasting until 1935, de Martino fell under the spell of the personality and work of an archaeologist who was particularly open-minded concerning the ancient history of religions and who was disliked by both the regime and its intellectual opponents: Vittorio Macchioro, known for his Orphic interpretation of the frescoes in the Villa of Mysteries in Pompeii and advocate of a theory of religion understood essentially as experience.

De Martino moved to Bari, where he became a history and philosophy teacher at a *regio liceo.* He almost immediately had the opportunity to become part of the philosopher Benedetto Croce's circle and to move in an anti-regime environment. He slowly distanced himself from Fascism completely, so that in 1941 he was one of the founders of the Liberal Socialist Party. Meanwhile, he had singled out religious ethnology as his main subject of study and edited the essays that made up his first book (*Naturalismo e storicismo nell'etnologia,* printed in the 1940s by Laterza) and formed the basis of the research that would in time develop into his most famous work, *Il mondo magico.* In the first book, which is primarily methodological, de Martino set out an idealistic theory of ethnology, perhaps in a negative rather than positive sense, refuting those theories that appeared least appropriate to the understanding of magical religious phenomena, such as the prelogical thought of Lucien Lévy-Bruhl and the *Urreligion* of Father Wilhelm Schmidt. If the criticism of the Viennese school (highly regarded in Italy) seems somewhat expected today and in line with that already put forward by Raffaele Pettazzoni, the dispute with Lévy-Bruhl would develop fruitfully, in that de Martino ended up making use of his insight regarding "magic participation," not just in sociological but in ontological terms.

After September 8, 1943, he was at Cotignola (near Ravenna) with the partisan adherents of the Partito d'Azione (Party of Action), and it was during the course of that year, the low point of European civilization, that the central theory upon which *Il mondo magico* was based took shape. Extensive study of parapsychology and psychopathology led him to reconsider radically the problem of magic in primitive societies, hitherto neglected or avoided by ethnologists; in particular, paragnomic powers were interpreted by de Martino as useful and vital tools in a culture in which the individual is unable to separate himself from the world around him and continually risks vanishing. In this dramatic scene, which is centered upon the crisis of "presence" (perhaps a translation of Heidegger's *Dasein*), the sorcerer or shaman is someone who knows how to lose the presence voluntarily and regain it by ritual action, playing the part of actor and director in a collective drama, which allows the group to recover the energy that has been lost. Edited after the end of the war, the book was published in 1948, provoking discussion rather than agreement, but nonetheless marking the author as one of the leading postwar Italian intellectuals.

In 1947, meanwhile, de Martino moved to Rome. He did not manage to find a permanent university post (he only became a qualified university teacher in 1952), and he had to make do with high school teaching, something he found rather unsatisfying. To supplement the paltry salary and especially to maintain a leading position in the political and cultural life of the capital, he worked directly with the Rome office of the Einaudi publishing house, where liberal socialist and communist intellectuals were brought together and where he would establish—along with Cesare Pavese (1908–1950)—a collection of ethnological and religious studies that were to go down in history as "La Collana Viola": this series would also contain irrational religious and ethnological classics (by Kerényi, Eliade, Jensen, Frobenius, and others), giving great offense to the supporters of Croce and the communists and rightly gaining de Martino a formidable intellectual reputation. All this took place at the very moment when, like many other politically committed scholars of his generation, he was beginning an intense, fervent period of militancy: for a time he joined the Socialist Party and traveled to Bari and Lecce, first in his role as commissar of the provincial federation and then as an inspector, experiencing at first hand the great land struggle of those years in the countryside of the South, or as he said in a much discussed essay of 1949, "the explosion of the lower-class people's world into history." Two literary works, along with his direct political experience, impelled him to see the south of Italy as an area in need of urgent study, to be wrested from the domain of folklore: *Quaderni del carcere* by Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937) and *Cristo si è fermato a Eboli* by Carlo Levi (1902–1975). In the former he found a conceptual framework that allowed him to set Marxism in a historical context, placing it within the structure of Italian cultural life, and of seeing religious belief and practice in southern Italy as the historical result of the interaction, not entirely contradictory, between the ruling and lower classes, between the Catholic Church and a core of pre-Christian traditions. In the work of Levi, on the other hand, he found a map of the spread of magic in the former Kingdom of Naples, an invaluable guide, enabling him to select places and subjects to study, according to a different perspective to meridionalist writing, which was more interested in aspects of material poverty than in forms of cultural poverty. This was a gap that would be closed to some extent with the work de Martino would carry out during the 1950s, specifically looking to set out a "religious history of the South."

Driven by the urgency of this project, which was also political, de Martino undertook a lengthy and substantial series of ethnological excursions into the world of magic described by Levi, seemingly not limited by time but restricted in terms of location, centered around the *sassi* (*terminus technicus*) of Matera and delimited by the Naples of Croce. These expeditions were groundbreaking for several reasons: first, he was in charge of a team of trained professionals and experts in related disciplines (such as social work, psychiatry, parapsychology, ethnomusicology, sociology, and photography), but most of all because he was concerned about setting out the problem of the relationship between the subject and object of research. The most extensive of these field studies gave rise to and produced the greatest contributions to the religious history of the South that de Martino himself had begun to carry out: the 1952 expedition, organized to acquire information concerning Lucanian ceremonial magic, gave rise to the first part of *Sud e magia* (1959); the expeditions of 1953 to 1956, recording the funeral laments of Lucania, formed the basis of the ethnographic chapters of *Morte e pianto rituale nel mondo antico* (the largest and most detailed of de Martino's books, published in 1958 and winning the prestigious Premio Viareggio literary prize); while the 1959 expedition to Galatina, in Puglia, which was interested in gathering such information as still existed on the ancient "tarantula" rituals, formed the harsh starting point of *Terra del rimorso* (1961), the third and unfortunately final stage of this lay pilgrimage to places where mere existence itself is something of an endeavor. From these three works, the cultural institutions surveyed and studied, corroborated by historiographical case study, were given a sense of worth that previous folkloric research had neglected or even sometimes crushed.

The rapid transformation of the south of Italy as a result of the so-called economic miracle and the gradual withdrawal of de Martino from active politics (partly as a result of disillusion with the unself-critical position adopted by the Italian Communist Party after the events of 1956) are the most obvious reasons that led to the end of the meridionalist period begun in 1949. In 1958 the writer finally gained a university chair in Cagliari, and the following year he began to hold a course on the history of religions. At first he seemed to be concerned with collecting and revising the more theoretical essays that he had been writing in the meantime (in 1962 *Furore simbolo valore* was published), but contrary to what some thought he had not in fact ceased his research and was in fact already working on a magnum opus concerning cultural apocalypses, which was to represent a compendium of his philosophy. This work would remain largely unfinished, but from the preliminary notes (published posthumously in 1977 by Clara Gallini as *La fine del mondo*), he was already embarked upon an intensive program to reestablish human sciences on the basis of an extremely detailed and careful indisciplinary study: the madness of the end of the world, the drama of the Christian apocalypse, the eschatological elements of Third World religions, the collapse of the bourgeoisie prophesied by Marxism, the "loss of the center" in the artistic expression of the twentieth century, are all themes that are analyzed throughout the respective texts (psychiatric, religious and historical, ethnological, philosophical, and literary) and return once again to that distinct contemporary sense of "ending," which the author interprets, at times ecumenically, as the "ontic" risk of losing forever the world as a cultural homeland. One of the means of salvation is ethnographic humanism, and it was this message, albeit not yet in complete detail, that the author found the time to convey. He was taken ill with a lung tumor and died in a Roman hospital on May 6, 1965.

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The vast majority of critical work on de Martino is posthumous. Here we will only mention those works that form an essential starting point: Benedetto Croce, "Intorno al 'magismo' come età storica," in *Filosofia e storiografia* (Bari, 1949); Enzo Paci, *Il nulla e il problema dell'uomo* (Turin, 1950); Renato Solmi, "E. De Martino e il problema delle categorie," *Il Mulino* 7 (1952); Cesare Cases, in his introduction to the edition of *Mondo magico* (Turin, 1973); Pietro Clemente, "Morte e pianto rituale. Riflessioni su un lavoro di E. De Martino," *Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Università di Siena* 4 (1983); Pier Giorgio Solinas, "Idealismo, marxismo, strutturalismo," in *L'antropologia italiana. Un secolo di storia,* edited by A. R. Leone (Bari, 1985); Placido and Maria Cherchi, *Ernesto de Martino. Dalla crisi della presenza alla comunità* (Naples, 1987); Carlo Ginzburg, "Momigliano e De Martino," in *Rivista storica italiana* 100 (1988); Ricardo Di Donato, "Preistoria di Ernesto De Martino," *Studi storici* 1 (1989); Giuseppe Giarrizzo, "Note su Ernesto de Martino," *Archivio storico di cultura* 8 (1995); *Ernesto de Martino nella cultura europea,* edited by Clara Gallini and Marcello Massenzio (Naples, 1997); Silvia Mancini, Postscript to the French edition of *Mondo magico* (Paris, 1999); and Gennaro Sasso, *Ernesto de Martino fra religione e filosofia* (Naples, 2001). Numerous journals, such as *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 51 (1985) and *La ricerca folklorica* 13 (1986), have devoted whole issues to de Martino.

PIETRO ANGELINI (2005)

DEMETER AND PERSEPHONE. In the Homeric epics, no link is established between the two goddesses Demeter and Persephone, to whom later sources attribute a close mythical and ritual relationship, insofar as they are mother and daughter. In the *Iliad* (14.326), Demeter is presented as the bride of Zeus; elsewhere in the same poem (2.696) and in the *Odyssey* (5.125–129), her specific function as goddess of the harvest is also mentioned. Although Demeter appears to play a marginal role in the Homeric religious panorama, she is a figure of extreme antiquity, perhaps related to the Sitopotinja (mistress of the wheat) mentioned in the Linear B texts of Mycenae (twelfth century BCE), and she performs a fundamental role in the polytheistic Greek system. In Hesiod's *Theogony*, Demeter is one of the many brides of Zeus, and in the *Erga* (vv. 465ff.), the poet presents Demeter Chthonia, partnered with Zeus Chthonios, as the sovereign dispenser of the fruits of the land.

In both of Homer's epics, Persephone, daughter of Zeus (*Odyssey* 11.217), is referred to as queen of the underworld and bride of Hades. The fact that no link between the two goddesses is mentioned does not imply that such a link was unknown at the time of composition. Nor does it follow that one may identify in Persephone the figure of a pre-Hellenic underworld goddess, different from the Kore (maiden) of the wheat and daughter of Demeter, as proposed by some scholars and comprehensively argued by Gunther Zuntz (1971). The first reference to their relationship and to the dramatic circumstances that led to Persephone becoming the bride of Hades is found in Hesiod (*Theogony*, 912–914). The narration of the event meanwhile, which represents one of the longest-lived and most geographically widespread mythical traditions in Greek history, is the subject of the *Hymn to Demeter* in the pseudo-Homeric collection, datable to around 600 BCE. This text, although literary and nonliturgical in nature, represents a sort of manifesto of the mythical-ritual context of Eleusis, because it links Persephone's abduction to Demeter's founding of the mysteries. Demeter's refusal to accept the loss of her daughter leads Zeus to allow them to periodically meet on Olympus, despite the fact that Persephone has since become queen of the underworld. The successful resolution of the problem involves the human world, to which Demeter grants not only agrarian fertility, which had ceased as a consequence of her mourning, but also a new ritual dimension within which initiates may experience direct and intimate contact with the two goddesses and obtain, with their goodwill, the guarantee of happiness after death. The mythical and cultic role of Demeter and Persephone in Greek religion is not limited to the Eleusinian mysteries, even though these are essential to defining their identity and prerogatives. Their role is actually extremely wide-ranging and diversified, and they are found both in the typical formula of the mother and daughter pair and as distinct figures with respective cults.

DEMETER CULTS. A wealth of sources testifies to the cult of Demeter throughout the area to which Hellenism spread, from the islands of the Aegean and Asia Minor to Magna Graecia. Sicily was particularly devoted to the worship of Demeter. A characteristic aspect of Demeter cults was the central importance of the abduction and search for Kore; in many parts of Greece and the colonies, and in particular in Sicily, the foundation of the cult and the structure of its places of worship are often linked to the mythical theme of the goddess visiting human hosts. Therefore the divine experience has an etiological function toward the numerous local cults, influencing both the arrangement of the sacred area (temple, enclosure, grove, or even vast sanctuary) and the ritual practice, which assumed a great variety of forms, at times connected to the Eleusinian model, at others Thesmophorion. There is thus created a sort of map of the Demeter cult that reflects the movements of the divine figures in the cosmos, with the earth as their meeting point. The sacred site and the ritual praxis celebrated there are in turn configured as a tangible sign of the divine passage along two vectors: vertical, through the underworld, the surface of the earth, and Olympus; and horizontal, representing Demeter's wandering in search of her daughter. This mythical theme in fact provides a wealth of material for the various cults, constituting the common thread that links the many pieces of the vast mosaic of Demetrian sites.

Among the sources that testify to the functional relationship between myth and sacred place, the *Periegesis* by Pausanias in particular offers extensive material for the reconstruction of a basic Demetrian cartography, whereas the remaining documentation—literary, epigraphic, and archaeological—helps fill in the details. Among the numerous cults connected with the theme of Demeter's wanderings, the most significant are those of Megara and Pheneos. In the first location, Pausanias mentions the rock called "Anaclethris because Demeter (if the story be credible) here too called her daughter back when she was wandering in search of her. Even in our day the Megarian women hold a performance that is a mimic representation of the legend" (*Periegesis*, 1, 43, 2). Every year at Pheneos a festival with evident aspects of the mysteries was celebrated in a construction known as the Petroma, formed by two large stones with a circular opening, "with a mask inside of Demetra Cidaria. This mask is put on by the priest at the Greater Rites who for some reason or other beats with rods the Folk Underground. The Pheneatians have a story that even before Naon arrived the wanderings of Demeter brought her to their city also. To those Pheneatians who received her with hospitality into their homes the goddess gave all sorts of pulse save the bean only" (*Periegesis* 8, 15, 1–4). Insofar as the divine mask—many examples of which have been found in the Demeter sanctuaries—is worn by the celebrant, this leads one to suppose that the latter aims to impersonate Demeter herself. The beating of the rods on the ground would thus seem to be aimed at "recall" and may be considered similar to the ritual performed at the Anaclethris rock in Megara in memory of the despairing wail of the mother looking for her abducted daughter.

Reports of Diodorus Siculus illustrate a different but parallel mythical tradition by placing the divine event in a Sicilian setting. It is difficult to establish the antiquity of this version, whereby the island is the place of the abduction, of Demeter's search, and also of the maiden's return, although this version was already formed by the high Hellenistic period. Nevertheless the spread of the Demetrian cult, starting from the most ancient colonial foundations (eighth to seventh centuries BCE) in Sicily, leads one to believe that the process of "transferring" the cult and its adaptations to local conditions induced the corresponding mythical narration to become rooted in the territory, along with the cultic structures. Diodorus situates the Sicilian version of the abduction in the Heroic Age and attributes the foundation of the magnificent festival of Syracuse to Herakles (*Bibliotheke*, 4.23). He goes on to provide an extended narration of the myth that, while reflecting the existing pan-Hellenic pattern, is characterized by its entirely Sicilian setting, which unfolds on the road linking Enna, where the abduction of the divine maiden took place, and Syracuse. Here the king of the underworld "ripped open the earth, plunged with the abducted maiden into Hades and made a spring flow forth, where the Syracusans every year celebrate a famous festival" (*Bibliotheke*, 5.3–4).

Having completed the union between mythical event and ritual practice, the historian offers a detailed description of two festive cycles, with sacrifices and grandiose ceremonies dedicated respectively to Persephone at the time of the ripening of the wheat (May–June) and to Demeter at the time of sowing of the seed. The first festival is called the *katagoge* of Kore, a name intended as the "recall" of the divine maiden rather than as her "descent" (into the underworld). The result is that in the Sicilian context the positive outcome of the story, with Persephone's periodic return to her mother, was the premise and foundation for a special cultic practice.

The second festival, dedicated to Demeter, concerns the theme of the goddess's laughter, which marks the end of her grief, and which is usually provoked—according to the various traditions—by *aischrologia* or by more or less explicitly obscene behavior. These attitudes are transferred from the mythical level, on which a female figure with various names (Iambe, Baubo, or a nameless old woman) intervenes, to a ritual level representing one of the most typical and recurrent elements of the Demeter cults, from the Eleusinian mysteries to the Thesmophoria. The seasonal collocation of the Syracusan festival at the time of the sowing or of the first germination of the wheat (October–November) confirms its connection with agriculture and the analogy with Thesmophorion practice, despite the duration of the rite (ten days) and its public aspects. Many archaeological finds from the city and surrounding territory confirm, in the wealth of votive materials portraying the two goddesses and their worshipers, just how pervasive and deep-rooted Demetrian and Persephonean religiosity was.

Whereas Demeter cults distinguished all of Sicily, some of the main centers were in Agrigento, which Pindar celebrates as the "dwelling place of Persephone" (*Pythics*, 12, 1–5); Gela, the site of a characteristic Thesmophorion (Bitalemi); and Enna, where Cicero—who witnessed the tradition whereby "the island of Sicily is entirely consecrated to Ceres and to Libera"—recognized the presence of the "more ancient Ceres," venerated in a famous sanctuary (*In Verrem Actio* 2, 2, 4, 48, 106–108). Archaeological research has brought to light in these and many other Sicilian locations sacred areas and votive hoards of such richness as to completely confirm the opinion, again reported by Cicero, of the ancient inhabitants of the island, who claimed that "these two goddesses were born in those places and the cultivation of cereals was introduced for the first time in that land."

The service of Demeter, without being an exclusive prerogative of women, was nevertheless usually performed by priestesses. In the priestly hierarchy of Eleusis, an essential role was played by the *hiereiai* ("priestesses") and by the *hierophantis* ("she who reveals the sacred things"), who acted as the female counterpart of the highest-level priest, the hierophant who revealed the sacred symbols of the mysteries. The other esoteric Demeter cults, particularly the Thesmophoria, are entirely characterized by female aspects, with only a few exceptions, in which men's involvement was limited to certain phases of the rite. This exclusive female Demetrian rituality is not configured as being in opposition to the male sphere but rather in a dialectic relationship and complementary to it. In almost all cases the cults in question have an evident political dimension in the sense that, inserted in the official calendar of the city, they are connected to the promotion of the well-being and prosperity of the entire community. Whereas generally excluded from the judicial-administrative activities of the Greek city, women nevertheless played a crucial role on the sacred level, which represented an essential and irreplaceable element of city life, for it was on this level that the city depended for its legitimacy and for the strength that ensured its survival and continuity.

The Thesmophoria are the oldest and most pan-Hellenic in diffusion of the female esoteric Demeter cults. The name *Thesmophora* was given to the goddess as an expression of her role as giver of civilizing laws (*thesmoi*), in particular of the rules of marriage. Agriculture and marriage, as well as chthonic and human fertility, are Demeter's functional prerogatives and the cornerstones of human identity. Humans, in the Greek ideological panorama, are defined as different from the gods due to their double roles as eaters of bread and generators of children, insofar as they are mortal but producers of culture. The Thesmophoria, which was reserved for married women with full rights of citizenship, took place once a year, although on different dates in the festive calendars of the various Greek cities. The festival is also connected to the abduction of Persephone; sources relate that on the days of the festival the *thesmophoriazousai* (the women who celebrated the Thesmophoria) ritually evoked Demeter's grief, the search for Persephone, and Persephone's retrieval. The festival involved both of the goddesses; in many cases a male figure, Eubuleus or Zeus Eubuleus; and a triad that included a married couple, probably identifiable as Persephone and an underworld Zeus, who corresponded to Hades/Pluto. Extensive archaeological evidence confirms the pervasive nature of this cult, with numerous finds dating from the archaic age up to late Hellenism spread throughout the Hellenized Mediterranean world, with particular concentrations in the Aegean Islands, in Magna Graecia, and in Sicily. The recurrent image of the female figure in votive deposits (the worshiper or goddess herself) with various attributes (a piglet, a cist, a dish of fruit, a torch) vividly express its central element, with its double reference to agrarian and female fertility. The presence of various figures of *kourotrophos*, a divine or human nursing mother, in the Thesmophorion places of worship strengthens the female connotations of the mythical-ritual scenario gravitating around the two goddesses.

Numerous other exclusively female rituals gravitate around Demeter, often together with her daughter and in relationship with the mythical theme of the abduction. In Athens there was the Stenia, a nocturnal festival in which women kept a vigil, perhaps awaiting the return of the two goddesses, and the Scire, connected also with Athena, Poseidon, and Erecteus. Sources of the imperial age attest the presence of mysteries of one or the other goddess in numerous centers, above all in the Peloponnese and in Asia Minor, and in cities in which the cult of Demeter had a long and consolidated tradition, such as Smyrna, Ephesus, and Pergamus.

PERSEPHONE CULTS. Some cults were dedicated solely to Persephone without Demeter, albeit often coupled with her underworld husband Hades, whereas others included her mother but merely in a sporadic or marginal role. Among these, particularly significant is the Magna Graecian cult in Locri, whose flourishing is shown by a few literary sources and by extensive archaeological evidence. Whereas its period of greatest splendor was between the end of the sixth century and the mid-fifth century BCE, this cult also spread outside the Locri Persephoneion to Medma and other towns of Magna Graecia and to Francavilla in Sicily. It was characterized by the enthusiastic participation of the local people and by a rich mythical background with a corresponding ritual praxis, whose reconstruction depends entirely on the exegesis of the complex iconography. The votive *pinakes* (tablets) that have been found in large numbers in the *favissae* (underground chambers for sacred deposits) of the sanctuary present numerous scenes in which the divine and mythical levels intertwine deeply with human life and ritual. The scenes are dominated by the majestic figures of Persephone and Hades on their thrones, often accompanied by other divine figures (Dionysos, Hermes, Ares) and above all human images, such as maidens with various attributes (ball, cockerel) and women engaged in picking fruit, in ritual procession, and in scenes of sacrifice or nuptial significance. A particularly interesting depiction is that of a female figure (goddess or woman?) sitting at a table upon which is placed a basket that she holds open to reveal a boy inside. Another scene that stands out for the frequency and variety of figurative motifs is that of a chariot drawn by winged horses carrying a maiden, who is led, often by force, by an abductor, who is sometimes a youth and sometimes an older man. The two levels of the divine and human are inextricably intertwined, because the scenario of the mythical marriage is superimposed by the reference to the common female experience of marriage perceived as a maiden's separation from her family and her assumption of the new role of adult woman, wife, and mother.

Lastly, the varied ancient religious literature attributed to the mythical Thracian poet Orpheus displayed a great interest in the myths and rituals gravitating around the mother and daughter pair. Although the thesis of an influence of Orphic doctrines in Eleusis has been convincingly confuted by Fritz Graf (1974), numerous testimonies reveal the existence of particular mythical versions of the abduction, which the Orphic *Argonautika* link explicitly to the Thesmophoria. In some formulas relative to the otherworldly journey of the soul contained in the well-known gold leaves from Thurii (fourth–third centuries BCE) that seem to reflect an eschatology of Orphic inspiration, Persephone is invoked as "pure Queen of them below" (in Kern, 1922, fr. 32 c-f), and Demeter is also mentioned.

SEE ALSO Baubo; Eleusinian Mysteries; Goddess Worship, overview article, article on Goddess Worship in the Hellenistic World; Greek Religion; Hades; Hekate; Orpheus; Thesmophoria.

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DEMIÉVILLE, PAUL (1894–1979), French Sinologist and Buddhologist. Demiéville was born in Lausanne, Switzerland, and completed undergraduate studies at Bern in 1911. He subsequently studied in Munich, London, Edinburgh, and Paris, finishing work for a doctorate in music at the University of Paris in 1914. He began his study of Chinese the following year at King's College in London, but he returned to Paris to study first at the École Nationale des Langues Orientales and then at the Collège de France, where he worked with Édouard Chavannes. Demiéville graduated from the École des Langues Orientales in 1918, having mastered not only Chinese but Japanese and Sanskrit as well. In 1920 he moved to Hanoi, and from 1924 to 1926 he taught Sanskrit and Western philosophy at the University of Amoy. From 1926 to 1930 he lived in Japan, where he edited the first four volumes (1929–1931) of the encyclopedic dictionary of Buddhism *Hôbôgirin*, compiled under the direction of Sylvain Lévi and Takakusu Junjiro. (The dictionary resumed publication in the 1960s.)

In 1931, Demiéville returned to France to become professor of Chinese at the École Nationale des Langues Orientales, a post he held until 1945, at which time he became director of studies at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, teaching courses in Buddhist philology. In 1946 he succeeded Henri Maspero to the chair of Chinese language and civilization at the Collège de France, the position he held until his retirement in 1964.

Demiéville was a corresponding member of the British Academy, the Association for Asian Studies, and the School of Oriental and African Studies in London and was an honorary member of Tōyō Bunko and of the Académie du Japon. He was awarded honorary doctorates by the universities of Louvain and Rome, and he was elected a member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in 1951. He served as codirector of the journal *T'oung pao* (Leiden) from 1945 to 1976.

Demiéville was a prolific writer, publishing 179 studies (books and articles) and 104 book reviews. His works are characterized by philological precision and a thorough examination of the sources. They are models of scholarship. He wrote on Chinese language, art, literature, archaeology, history, philosophy, and religion. But he is best known for his work on Buddhism in China, the school of Chan (Zen) in the Tang dynasty in particular, and for his work on the Buddhist materials found at Tun-huang.

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Book-length studies by Demiéville include the following: *Les versions chinoises du Milindapañha* (Hanoi, 1924); *Le Concile de Lhasa: Une controverse sur le Quiétisme entre bouddhistes de l'Inde et de la Chine au huitième siècle de l'ère chrétienne* (Paris, 1952); and *Entretiens de Lin-tsi*, translated and edited by Demiéville (Paris, 1972). Demiéville was the author of numerous articles, the most important of which are reprinted in two volumes: *Choix d'études sinologiques* (Leiden, 1973) and *Choix d'études bouddhiques* (Leiden, 1973). Both of these volumes contain extensive bibliographies, which are updated in Yves Hervouet's obituary for Demiéville, published in *T'oung pao* 65 (1979): 1–12.

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DEMIURGE. The Greek term *dēmiourgos* (together with its variants) is derived from the words *dēmos* ("people") and *ergon* ("work") and thus has the basic meaning of "one who works for the people," an artisan or a professional. This etymological base subsequently developed in two directions. On the one hand, *dēmiourgos* came to refer to a magistrate; on the other, it became a name for the original creator of the world, in the specific sense of an ordainer or arranger, someone who as an artist fashions the world out of preexisting matter in accord with a preexisting model. It is this second meaning that is of primary concern here.

The term *dēmiourgos* occurs only twice in Homer, each time in the *Odyssey*. At 17.383 it refers to a professional man such as a soothsayer, physician, carpenter, or inspired poet. At 19.135 it refers to a herald, "one who performs a public function" (*kērukon hoi dēmioergoi easin*). Here the development of the later meaning, that of "magistrate," is already perceptible. Sophocles uses the term in its original sense when he calls Hades "the savage artisan of Hector's girdle" (*Ajax* 1035). Similarly, Aristophanes links the *dēmiourgoi* ("artisans") with other categories of workers (*Peace* 297) and uses the term *dēmiourgikos* ("in the style of an artisan, a specialized worker") to refer to Hermes, the versatile god of inventions (*Peace* 429). At one place *dēmiourgos* possibly takes on the specialized sense of "potter" (*Knights* 650), which suggests the future evolution of the word in the sense of "(cosmic) molder." The same term is used in its original meaning by Herodotos (7.31), whereas Thucydides uses it in the sense of "magistrate" (5.47.9; cf. 1.56). The pre-Socratic philosophers use the term *dēmiourgiai* in its original meaning (see, for instance, Philolaos, frag. 11t), whereas in the doxography of these philosophers, the term may refer to a molder or a former, in the sense of a cosmogonic agent (as in Empedocles).

Plato uses the term *dēmiourgos* to refer both to an artisan and to an original arranger of the world. Meaning "artisan" or "craftsman," the term occurs in *Laches* 185e and 195b and in *Charmides* 162e, 164a–b, 171c, 173c, 174e, and 175a. The last two cases include the sense of something that affects or causes; compare *Sophist* 219c, *Philebus* 55d, and *Laws* 829d, where the suggestion is of performers of noble deeds. See also *Gorgias* 452a, 453a–e, and 454a, where rhetoric and arithmetic "produce" persuasion, as do the arts in general. Compare, however, the term used as "creator of phantoms," that is, the opposite of a real creator, in *Republic* 599a–d and 601b, and see also *Republic* 340e, 346c, 597d; *Apology* 22d and 23e; *Alcibiades 1* 131a and 140b–c; *Gorgias* 447d and 455b; and *Euthydemus* 280c. Note particularly *Republic* 389d, which quotes Homer's *Odyssey* 17.383. In the context of the theory of the three categories of citizens in the *polis*, see *Republic* 415a; *Phaedrus* 248e; and *Sophist* 219c (cf. *Statesman* 280c). See also *Critias* 110c and 112b and *Laws* 746c and 921b.

Closely associated with the meaning "artisan" is the meaning "professional man" or "specialist," which appears in Homer. In this sense the term occurs in *Laches* 195d and *Charmides* 164b (cf. *Philebus* 55d and *Sophist* 229d); *Protagoras* 312b and 322b (*dēmiourgikē technē*, "the professional art" or "skill in handiwork," the gift of Prometheus to mankind, as opposed to the more spiritual or ethical *politikē technē*, the "political art," which is the gift of Zeus); *Cratylus* 389a, where the legislator is the most rare among the "specialists" or "experts" (cf. 428e and *Laws* 921d, respectively, referring to specialists in the arts of instruction and of war); *Euthydemus* 301c and *Phaedo* 86c, where it is a question of artists (cf. also the *Symposium* 186d, among others; *Republic* 401c; and *Sophist* 236a, where it refers to the sculptors of statues); and *Hippias Maior* 290b, where Phidias is mentioned as "a good craftsman knowing the beautiful" (here we are close to the meaning of a molder of the universe inspired by an invisible model). Finally, see *Republic* 596b, where a craftsman "fixes his eyes on the idea or form."

Dēmiourgos in the sense of a divine artisan or creator of the world is found in the *Timaeus*, *Statesman*, *Philebus*, *Republic*, *Sophist*, and *Laws*. It is the *Timaeus*, however, that provides us with the most complete description of the Demiurge. In fact, in the *Timaeus* nearly every occurrence of the noun *dēmiourgos* and the verb *dēmiourgeō* refers to the divine molder of the universe. The only exception to this is 24a, where the reference is to an ordinary artisan. The *Timaeus* presents the role of the Demiurge as essential to both the world and man, since it is responsible for their correspondence as microcosm and macrocosm. Although this theme of the microcosm and macrocosm has led some scholars to posit the survival of (reconstructed) ancient Indo-Iranian speculations on an alleged myth of a primordial man (*makranthrōpos*) in the *Timaeus*, a myth that would express a kind of pantheistic unity of God and world, such a survival is unlikely. In fact, in Plato's *Timaeus* the role of the Demiurge is incompatible with an essentially monistic conception of the world as a gigantic organism. Rather, this text is informed by Plato's fundamental dualism, a dualism that describes an ontological reality while at the same time providing a principle of philosophical hermeneutics.

Plato distinguishes two realms. On the one hand there is the ideal world, the world of the Ideas, the models of all reality. Opposite this stands the sensible world, which comes into being through the activity of the Demiurge, who projects the efficacy of the ideal models that he contemplates into the receptive *chōra* ("receptacle"). Clearly the Demiurge is here to be distinguished both from the Ideas, including the supreme idea, the idea of the Good, and from the soul of the world, the soul that the Demiurge introduces into the "body" of the world in order to animate it.

Plato refers to the Demiurge as a cause or principle (*aitia*) of the world, a term that he also applies to the world of Ideas in its relation to the sensible world. Even the *chōra* itself, the receptacle that preexists the molding activity of the Demiurge, is called an *aitia*, although due to its inferior ontological status it is sometimes referred to inaccurately in translation as "prime matter," in relation to the Demiurge and the world of Ideas.

The molding and animating activity of the Demiurge is an ordering activity that opposes the primordial chaotic disorder of the elements, progressively reducing their disorderly movement. The world is said to be generated by the Demiurge, who is also termed its "maker and father" (*poiētēs kai patēr*, *Timaeus* 28; cf. 41 and "maker and father," *dēmiourgos kai patēr*, at *Statesman* 273; at *Republic* 597d the painter is not *dēmiourgos kai poiētēs*). The Demiurge is also described as "the most perfect of causes," while the world is described as "the most beautiful of generated beings" (*Timaeus* 29). The model that inspires the maker is eternal, always the same, uniform and ungenerated. The Demiurge itself is said to be difficult to know; knowledge of it is impossible to divulge (*Timaeus* 28). Nevertheless, despite these difficulties, the role of the Demiurge does not seem to be in doubt. The beauty of the world sustains the belief that the activity of the Demiurge is beneficent, inspired by an eternal model. As we shall see, this belief stands in marked contrast to the ignorance and the *modus operandi* attributed to the demiurge in Gnostic systems. Plato's Demiurge, being good and without envy (*phthonos*), excludes as much as possible every imperfection from the world.

The role of the Demiurge in fashioning the world is primarily one of providing order. He takes the visible, preexistent mass that moves without measure and order (*kinoumenon plēmmelōs kai ataktōs*) and orders it, placing intellect within the soul of the world and the soul within the world's body, so that the world as a whole might be truly a living being, having a soul and an intellect, and born through the providence of God (29–30). The fashioning of man is somewhat more complex. The Demiurge provides man only with the higher, immortal part of his soul. The soul's inferior, mortal part, as well as the human body, are the creation of the inferior gods. Once brought into being, the Demiurge locates the souls among the stars and notifies them of the "laws of fate" (*nomous tous heimarmenous*). All souls begin as equals, each enjoying the same original conditions. Their individual destinies are to be determined by either their observance or neglect of piety and righteousness. The just soul is destined to return to its star, while the others are subjected to the law of metensomatosis, according to which a first reincarnation would be in the form of a woman, to be followed by rebirth in the form of an animal, if the soul should persist in its evil (here Plato is heir to the Orphics). Only submission to reason can insure the soul's return to its star. Plato adds that the Demiurge "dictated to them all these laws in order to be in the subsequent times innocent of the evil (*kakia*) of each of them," which can mean either that the Demiurge is innocent of moral evil or, more probably, that it is not responsible for evil souls. It is only after the establishment of this original justice by the Demiurge that the lower gods create for every individual the remaining part of the soul and the body.

Plato discusses the Demiurge in other dialogues as well, although these discussions are not always consistent with the doctrine presented in the *Timaeus* concerning the creation of man. Further discussions may be found at *Statesman* 270, 273 and 308; *Philebus* 27 (cf. 26 and 39); *Republic* 507, 530 (cf. 596 and *Sophist* 234a–b); and *Laws* 902.

The development that leads from the Demiurge of Plato to the demiurge of the Gnostics is a long one. As a transitional figure we may mention the Middle Platonist Numenius, who to an extent foreshadowed the pessimistic outlook of the later gnostics. The demiurge of Numenius, which he called the Second God, was an ambivalent figure torn between the possibilities of contemplating the ideal world or, alternatively, directing his attention downward toward the sensible world. A quite different development of the Platonic Demiurge is found in Philo of Alexandria. Philo employs the narrative of the *Timaeus* when he introduces the notion that in creating man God had not worked alone but had been assisted by other heavenly agents. This introduction of demiurgic intermediaries was intended to keep God separate from human evil.

Coming to the Gnostics, we encounter the notion of an inferior demiurge, a notion more or less common to the various gnostic schools, sects, and religions, with their anticosmic attitudes, and in clear-cut opposition to the far more positive Platonic notion. This opposition was noticed by the founder of Neoplatonism, Plotinus (third century CE), who wrote a treatise "against those who say that the Demiurge of the world is bad and that the world is bad," namely the Gnostics (*Enneads* 2.9). It is true that the Gnostic demiurge continues to function as the fashioner of the world and as an intermediary presence. But there is an immense difference: the Gnostic demiurge itself belongs to this inferior world, the world of ignorance that holds the spiritual soul in bondage. It is accordingly inferior to the human soul, which, when enlightened by *gnōsis*, realizes its consubstantiality with the divine *pneuma*, or spirit. The inferiority of the demiurge is sometimes reflected in its name, as when it is called Saklas ("foolish one").

More precise characterization of the demiurge varies considerably according to the different Gnostic schools and sects. On the one hand, there is the monstrous, almost demonic figure of the lion-headed demiurge Ialdabaoth found in the Gnostic *Apocryphon of John* and the ignorant, "psychic" (i.e., nonspiritual) Ialdabaoth of the Valentinians. The latter was assigned a role in the preliminary education of man and was destined to be taken up at the end of time into the heavenly realm known as Ogdoad. Significantly, this latter realm was not included in the higher, divine realm of the *plērōma.* On the other hand, among some followers of Basilides one finds the demiurge Sabaoth, who was conceived of as just and who cooperated with the pneumatic or spiritual beings, though he always remained unassimilable to them and was presented as the son of the evil, dethroned Ialdabaoth.

Common to all these Gnostic demiurges, however, whether in the Valentinian or Sethian currents, is a complete lack of spiritual or pneumatic nature: they are essentially inferior. In addition, they are often described in terms originally applied to the creator god of the Hebrew scriptures, a god debased in the Gnostic ideology. This explains the popularity of Hebrew or pseudo-Hebrew names for the demiurge, such as Ialdabaoth.

The demiurge is also found in other Gnostic groups and religions. We may mention the ambivalent demiurge of the Mandaeans, Ptahil, and the demiurge of the Manichaeans, the Spiritus Vivens ("living spirit"), who was an evocation of the Father of Light and was believed to have fashioned the world from the dark, demonic substance of slaughtered demons.

SEE ALSO Archetypes; Gnosticism.

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Revised Bibliography

DEMONS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

DEMONS: AN OVERVIEW

Except in some monotheistic religions, all demons are not assumed to be evil. Many kinds of spiritual beings who are not obviously gods may be described as demons. Demons are far more powerful than humans, though their powers are limited and they are longer-lived, though not necessarily immortal. Demons often seem to be the anthropomorphic conceptualization of discrete, invisible natural forces that are perceptible mainly through their effects, such as wind or specific diseases. In prescientific cosmologies, air, wind, and the "breath" *(spiritus)* of life are usually conceived as invisible or even immaterial. As spirits, demons are normally invisible, becoming perceptible either through their effects on humans, or through language or signs. When becoming visible, demons may exhibit their own inherent shapes or assume familiar or monstrous forms.

Demonic spirits may protect or inhabit places, bodies of water, or vegetation. Demons may also inhabit or be guardians of an underworld, and may torment human souls there. At times ghosts have demonic characteristics. They may be the ancestors of the culture that describes them, or recently deceased family members who, it is feared, could return to claim surviving relatives or neighbors.

In some religions (particularly Judaism, Christianity and Islam), demons may be identified with or compared to angels or devils. However, in English and other modern languages, the three terms, all derived from ancient Greek, have differing implications. *Daimon,* and its derivatives *daimonios, daimonion* (*daemon, daemonium* in Latin), denote a suprahuman spiritual being that interacts directly with humans. The *daimon*'s character may be good, evil, or changeable, but late Judaism and Christianity eventually define demons as profoundly, irredeemably evil.

Angel (aggelos or *angelos;* Latin *angelus)* denotes a messenger, and was originally applicable to human as well as suprahuman envoys. In Judaism and Christianity, the *angel* is a spirit messenger sent to humans by the god, but the term could include other functions, such as rewarding or punishing humans.

The noun *devil (diabolos;* Latin *diabolus)* derives from a verb meaning "to throw across" and by extension to attack, accuse, or slander. The devil is the sworn enemy of the god, and attempts to harm, subvert, or seduce the god's worshippers. The devil is inferior in power and wisdom to the god; in the three principal monotheistic religions, he is a renegade creature of the god. Devil and demon can thus be synonymous common nouns, particularly in Christianity, which defines *the* Devil as leading an army of subordinate demons. (In fully dualistic religions deriving from the ancient Iranian prophet Zarathushtra [c. 600 BCE], the evil opponent of the god is not his inferior but his inverted twin, fully as divine and powerful.)

Aside from ruling certain phenomena for all or many members of a society, demons may dedicate continuous attention to a single individual. A spiritual guardian protects the interests of his devotee. Conversely, a demon can afflict or even "possess" humans, entering their bodies and creating disease or an alien, transgressive personality.

Demons' invisibility implies that they either have bodies of finer matter than that composing the visible world, or else lack bodies altogether. Yet demons are in many cultures thought to behave like ordinary embodied humans: they may have sexual relations among themselves or with humans, and procreate demonic or semi-demonic children who are superhumanly powerful, charismatic, or evil.

TRIBAL CULTURES. The belief in invisible beings who control or strongly affect the conditions of human life is universal. It appears to be an essential trait of humanity to think of its own interactions with the physical world in anthropomorphic terms, considering forces and even objects as if they had personalities and desires. From the point of view of cultures possessing writing, demonic modes of thinking resemble the literary and ethical device of allegory, wherein psychological and physical phenomena are described as well-defined "people." According to the critic Angus Fletcher, demons "share [a] major characteristic of allegorical agents, the fact that they compartmentalize function," explaining limited aspects of the world: "Constriction of meaning, when it is the limit put upon a personified force or power, causes that personification to act somewhat mechanistically" (Fletcher, 1964, 40, 55). This relative predictability expresses a desire to tame or domesticate the world: "Coming from the term that means 'to divide,'; *daemon* implies an endless series of divisions of all important aspects of the world into separate elements for study and control" (Fletcher, 1964, 59). The need to understand the conditions of life leads to a belief that good—and especially, bad—fortunes are due to the agency of spirits. Demons give shape to inchoate fears of sudden vulnerability, dependence or victimization, triggered by solitary wastelands, darkness, or sexual anxieties. Attempts to control or placate these invisible forces take the form of exorcism, trickery (e.g., substituting effigies for potential human victims), or worship.

HINDUISM. In Hinduism the question of gods and demons reflects a complex, multimillennial history of religious and cultural beliefs. In the Vedas and epics, suprahuman beings are mentioned whose exact nature, and their differences from everyday humans, are often unclear. *Rakshasa*s, *pisaca*s, and *vetala*s are demon-like beings that haunt graveyards, threaten the living, and feed on human flesh; some are ghosts, others are suprahuman. *Pitr*s are ancestral spirits. In Hinduism reincarnation eliminates the absolute ontological barrier between humans and suprahumans that modern western cultures take for granted. The term *deva* refers to godlike beings, but even they are subject to reincarnation; moreover, humans may be reincarnated as *deva*s. *Deva*s are in conflict with *asura*s or "not-gods" (cf. Greek Titans). Yet *asura*s are neither radically evil nor the dedicated opponents of a single supreme deity, unlike demons of Judaism and, especially, Christianity. Nor is the enmity of the *deva*s and *asura*s a historic constant; it appears that *asura* corresponds to "god" in some Vedic texts. When its meaning evolved to approximate "demon," the word *sura* was coined as its antonym. Though occasionally opposed to divinities and humans, Hindu "demons" are not inimical to them inherently or by definition.

In Iranian religion, which apparently descended from the same "parent" religion as Hinduism, a similar conflict existed between beings called *daeva*s and *ahura*s. "In Iran, the ahuras defeated the daevas, the leader of the ahuras became the high God, Ahura Mazda, the god of light, and the Iranian daevas, consigned to the ranks of evil spirits, became minions of Ahriman, the lord of darkness. In India, the devas defeated the asuras" (Russell, 1977, p. 58). In both cases, "One group of deities was vanquished by another and relegated to the status of generally evil spirits" (Russell, 1977, p. 58). In Iranian religions, however (Zoroastrianism, Zervanism, Mazdaism), the "demonization" of the defeated gods created a dualistic system, a dichotomy between the forces of good and evil more absolute than in Christianity, Islam, or Judaism (Russell, 1977, 104ff.).

BUDDHISM. Many of the suprahuman beings important to Buddhist ontology were inherited from Hinduism. The *asura* is a jealous or hostile god/demon, while the *preta* is a ghost condemned to constant hunger; they are two of the unhappy destinies to which persons who have lived badly can be reborn in the world of sense experience. The *asura*s have been ejected from a divine realm of contentment ruled by its King, Indra. Māra, whose name means "death," promotes illusory thinking and vice, and behaves as a sort of Devil-figure in Buddhism. He tempted the Buddha with doubt as the latter was approaching enlightenment, even sending his own daughters and other minions to frighten and seduce him. Evil, however, is not personified by Māraas it is by Iranian evil gods or by the Judeo-Christian Devil, since evil, defined as suffering, is inevitable and necessary in the Buddhist world view. Mārais not responsible for cosmic evil as Satan is.

GREECE AND ROME. *Theos* (god) and *daimon* are near-synonyms in Homer (c. 800 BCE); *daimon* denotes more the power or agency of a god, rather than personality (cf. Latin *numen*). From Hesiod (c. 700 BCE) on, demons were considered inferior to the gods. Socrates' (d. 399 BCE) *daimon* was a kind of tutelary instinct, not necessarily external to him.

In the *Symposium,* Plato (d. 347 BCE) held that the gods, who have no direct contact with humans, use *daimon*s as their messengers (*aggeloi*). Greek gods had no fixed good or evil character; nor did demons until the late Hellenistic period, when they were generally considered evil. Other spirits, not always explicitly called *daimon*s, might have either fixed or changeable character. *Keres* were fate-like powers of evil and death for individuals; *heroes* were spirits of the dead; *Lamia, Empusa, Gello, and Mormo* were names for a female spirit that killed infants and (in some cases) coupled with sleeping men. The *Erinyes* and the *alastor* were spiritual avengers of the dead. Other figures, more important to mythology than to ordinary experience, were probably demons at their origin: the *Harpies* may have been wind-demons, and the *Gorgons* underworld- or sea-demons.

Roman spirits (*lares, manes, penates* and *genii*) were not unambiguously godlike or demonic or ghostly. The *Lamia,* however, had the same characteristics as her Greek namesake, while the *stryx,* a nocturnal demon who appeared as a screech-owl or a human shapeshifting witch, also assaulted sleeping babies (or according to some authors, suckled them with her own milk). Roman religion adopted the Etruscan death-demon *Charun,* making him the ferrier of souls to the underworld.

In Hellenistic demonology the Jew Philo of Alexandria (d. 40 CE) distinguished between angels and demons as good and evil spirits, although he classified some Gentile gods as angelic, against traditional Jewish "demonization" of them (see below). The Septuagint, a Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible begun in the third century, also made the angel/demon distinction. The Middle Platonist Plutarch (d. c. 120 CE) distinguished demons from gods and agreed that demons were entirely evil. In his *Platonic Theology,* Proclus (d. 485 CE) rationalized the system of gods, goddesses, heroes, and demons in Hellenistic religion, building on the Neoplatonism of Plotinus (d. 270 CE). But Proclus's concept of the Good as the highest principle, transcending all being, minimizes the distinctions between gods and demons, making Neoplatonic theology seem a de facto demonology. Accordingly, when Marsilio Ficino (d. 1499), Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (d. 1494), and other European philosophers of the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries revived Neoplatonic and Hermetic theology, guardians of Christian orthodoxy often suspected them of demon-worship.

JUDAISM. There are few recognizable demons in pre-exilic texts of the Hebrew Bible. Several beings mentioned there resemble spirits, and seem traceable to evil spirits of the Mesopotamians, Canaanites, and other neighbors, who believed that demons frequented remote and dangerous places. Desert demons were assimilated to or described as wild animals (*Isa.* 13:21; 34:14). Hebrew words for these spirits were rendered as *daimon* and *daimonion* by the translators of the Septuagint.

Lilith appears in the Hebrew Bible only once, as a nocturnal demon (*Isa.* 34:14); her name probably derives from Akkadian demonology. In middle Babylonian times, words related to Hebrew *līlīt* designate sterile, sexually frustrated, or uninitiated female demons, or a succubus demon (*Lilitu).* Later, Rabbinic commentators describe Lilith as the rebellious first wife of Adam, who, vainly claiming parity with him, left him and bore endless broods of demons. Lilith threatens newborn Jewish children with crib death, and must be warded off by an inscription invoking three angels God originally sent to subdue her. Saint Jerome (d. 420 CE) translated *līlīt* in Isaiah 34 as *Lamia;* his commentary identified the two infanticidal demons, maintaining that other Hebrew sources identify Lilith as an Erinys, or Fury.

Yahweh himself sometimes sent entities defined as or resembling evil spirits to punish erring Israelites or destroy their enemies (*1 Sam.* 16:14; *Judg.* 9:22–23; *1 Kings* 22:19ff.; *Exod.* 12:23; *Sirach* 39:28f.). But these agents had no more specificity or character than is implied by the tasks they performed for Yahweh; they were his "projections," and he could even accompany them (as in *Exod.* 12).

The role of Satan as chief of the demons evolved gradually. In pre-exilic texts, Hebrew *satan* was a common noun, designating any opponent or adversary. During the exile, the Israelites became acquainted with dualistic theologies deriving from the teachings of Zarathushtra, wherein divine rivals of equal power compete for human allegiance. Post-exilic texts (*1 Chron.* 21:1; *Job* 1:11; 2:5) describe a unique demonic adversary or *satan* of Israel or individual humans. This personage has an ambivalent relation to Yahweh, relieving him of responsibility for evil, but furthering, rather than opposing, his designs. The Septuagint translated this usage of *satan* as *diabolos.*

Post-exilic texts dismissed the gods and tutelary spirits worshipped by rival civilizations as empty idols. The Septuagint rendered the Hebrew terms for such foreign deities (especially *shedim)* as *daimon* even when translating pre-exilic texts (*Deut.* 32:17; *Ps.* 95:5, 105:37; *Isa.* 65:11).

The Jewish apocrypha and pseudepigrapha accelerated the dualistic process that turned all demons into the enemies of God. Notable is the demon Asmodeus of *Tobit* 3:8 and 17, who killed the first seven husbands of Sarah, and whose name may reflect a Persian phrase, *aeshma daeva,* or "demon of wrath." He was defeated by Raphael, an angel of the Lord.

Ancient tradition related that, on the Day of Atonement, the scapegoat, laden with the sins of the Israelites, was sent into the desert wastes "for Azazel" (*Lev.* 16:8–28). In *1 Enoch* and other pseudepigrapha, Azazel became a recognizable Devil-figure: ringleader of demons, enemy of God, and tempter of humans. According to these texts demons were originally holy angels, or "Watchers" (*egregori)* who rebelled because of their lust for human women (see below). Aside from Azazel, other texts named the demons' leader as Belial, Mastema, Satanael, Sammael, Semyaza, and *Satan.*

Pseudepigraphic and Talmudic sources identify some demons as the souls of deceased evil giants, who were born when the Watchers, also called *bene ha-elohim* or "sons of God," mated with the "daughters of men" (*1 Enoch* 6:2, etc.; cf. *Gen.* 6:1–4; *Deut.* 1:28; *Num.* 13:22, 33). The title "sons of God" reflects an older, semipolytheistic view of Yahweh as the sovereign of a heavenly court (cf. *Job* 1; *Ps.* 82). The dead-giant demons were numerous; one text counts 409,000 giants drowned by Noah's Flood (*3 Maccabees* 2:4; *Wisdom* 14:5–6; *1 Enoch* 15:8–16:1; *Jubilees* 10:1–3; *Testament of Solomon* 17:1; *3 Apocalypse of Baruch* 4:10). Demons are more frequently discussed in the Babylonian Talmud and the Midrashim than in the Jerusalem Talmud. Demons are important to Qabbalah, which drew on Christian and Muslim demonologies, including folklore, pursuing a systematic understanding of the subject. Although long-lived, demons are mortal, and may have been saved from extinction by Noah's Ark. The *Zohar* and later works of Qabbalah describe demons having natural bodies of fire and air and an inherent (rather than fictive or virtual) gender. Mating between male demons and women, and between female demons and men, is common, and produces demonic or hybrid children. Demons may depend on human semen even to reproduce their own species. Demons are organized into hosts, and control or meddle in most areas of human life; they must be carefully avoided or approached through incantations or by learning and using their individual seals.

CHRISTIANITY. As with Judaism, the Christian scriptural canon was formed gradually, creating an eclectic and evolving body of doctrine about spiritual beings. Like the contemporary Jewish apocrypha, new Testament demonology elaborated on canonical Hebrew texts. It also shows resemblances to various strains of Hellenistic religion and philosophy. Christian innovations took place mainly on two fronts, exorcism and the role of Satan. The Gospels describe demons or evil spirits (*daimon, daimonion, pneuma akatharton, pneuma poneron*) who possess or afflict humans, but fear and obey Jesus. Demons proclaim Jesus's power before witnesses by obeying his adjurations (*Matt.* 8:32; *Mark* 5:13; *Luke* 8:33), and through explicit verbal declarations (*Luke* 4:41; *Mark* 1:23–25, 34; *Matt.* 8:29; cf. *Mark* 5:7). By affirming his power, both miraculous healing and demonic utterances prove Jesus's divinity (cf. *Matt.* 8:16–17). Saint Paul (d. 65/67 CE) refers infrequently to demons (*1 Cor.* 10:20–21 [cf. *Deut.* 32:17]; 1 Timothy 4:1); other New Testament books concentrate on Satan and (in *Revelation*) the host of fallen angels.

Jesus and the Gospel writers present Satan as Jesus's declared personal adversary (*Mark* 3:23; *Luke* 11:18–21), paralleling the representation of Satan as Yahweh's adversary in Jewish apocrypha and further confirming Jesus's divinity. The rivalry between Jesus and Satan is developed in Saint Paul's *Epistles* and the *Book of Revelation*; the latter provides dramatically explicit visualizations of the divine Christ and the demonic hordes arrayed against him. *Luke, John, Paul,* and *Revelation* (e.g. chapter 12) consolidate the portrait of Satan as the leader of numerous evil angels who fell from Heaven because of their rebellion—not against Yahweh but against Christ (*Luke* 10:18; *Eph.* 2:1–2; 6:11–13; *2 Cor.* 6:14–16; *Col.* 2:15). "By the end of the New Testament period, Christian tradition made no distinction between fallen angels and demons" (Russell, 1977, p. 236).

Subsequent Christian literature internalized and spiritualized the danger of demonic persecution. Christian writers continued to see demons as responsible for human physical and psychological suffering, but also developed the notion of *temptation:* Satan tempts every Christian to oppose God through sin, just as he tempted Jesus in the desert (*Mark* 1:12–13; *Matt.* 4:1–11; *Luke* 4:1–13). All temptation, from Adam and Eve onward, was eventually credited to Satan. For most of the Middle Ages, demons were assumed to be ubiquitous and constantly tempting Christians and others. Such temptation usually happened privately and invisibly, though demons could act visibly and even publicly. The early monastic desert fathers regularly encountered demons who tempted them extravagantly, an experience detailed in Athanasius's (d. 373 CE) *Life of Saint Anthony* and elsewhere. The *incubus* demon was a sexual predator who polluted or violated sleeping women. The magician Merlin was supposedly born to a nun thus impregnated, while Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153) allegedly defeated another incubus who tormented a pious laywoman. The popular legend of Theophilus (ninth to thirteenth centuries) described a priest who, disappointed in his career, contracted his soul to the Devil but was eventually rescued by the Virgin Mary.

After 1100, Western Christian interest in demons increased dramatically. The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 declared that "the Devil and the other demons" (*diabolus et alii daemones)* were created good but became evil through free choice. The Book of Job, whose sophisticated theodicy explicitly portrayed "the satan's" responsibility for human suffering, became highly influential for both writers and visual artists. The apocryphal Book of Tobit, novelistically recounting the archangel Raphael's defeat of Sarah and Tobias's demonic persecutor Asmodeus, also evoked interest. Peter Lombard (d. 1160), Saint Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), Saint Bonaventure (d. 1274), and many other theologians devoted systematic attention to good and—especially—evil angels, inventing *angelology* and *demonology* as a scientific subdiscipline of Christian theology. Treatises discussed the moral qualities of angels but also their history, social organization, psychology, physiology, and sexuality. Demonic corporeality became a major concern: since demons were thought sometimes to interact visibly and tangibly with humans, the question arose whether they had bodies, and if so, of what sort. Aquinas's solution prevailed: demons are pure spirit without matter, but can fabricate virtual bodies; thus they can afflict humans both internally (by possession and other invisible means) and in external reality (through apparition "in person"). Visual representations of demons became progressively more horrific after 1200, emphasizing a grotesque hybrid corporeality that seemed increasingly "real" rather than a visual allegory of spiritual perversity. This process was particularly notable in depictions of the Last Judgment and Hell, which were practically ubiquitous by the late Middle Ages. In these pictures, the interaction of spirits—human souls and demons—was portrayed as physical, corporeal violence.

Detailed literary and visual representations of the biblical demonic world relate to a growing interest in narratives about more recent human encounters and interactions with demons. About 1225, Caesarius of Heisterbach collected several dozen such tales in his *Dialogue on Miracles;* other collections of miracles and saints' biographies did likewise. In this period, exorcism, which had become formalized over the centuries, inspired intense interest in necromancy. This form of "black magic" arose in what Richard Kieckhefer (1989) has called the "clerical underworld" (pp. 153ff) of relatively learned professional exorcists. Originally defined as persons who commanded the souls of the dead (as in *Odyssey,* book 11 and the biblical story of Saul and the "Witch" of Endor [*1 Sam.* 28]) necromancers were redefined by Christian authorities as necessarily—and often willingly—contacting demons. While proponents defined necromancy as effected in the name of God, ecclesiastical consensus countered that it necessarily involved unholy alliances with demons.

"Demonization" of individuals and social groups, based on the notion of the demon as *satan* or *diabolos*—adversary—became a major vehicle of political and religious persecution during the Christian Middle Ages. Jews, heretics, "infidels," political enemies and vulnerable targets of opportunity (e.g., the Templars) were defined as unremittingly evil, and as literally in league with the Devil; their destruction was incumbent on the pious or orthodox. Between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries, Catholic enforcers of orthodoxy, becoming sensitized to the spread of necromancy, also encountered widespread and alarming heresies among the laity (e.g., Catharism, Waldensianism, Hussitism). They thus began attempting to verify rumors, dating to the eleventh century, that even unlettered heretics had regular demonic encounters. Stereotypical "confessions" of such experiences, extracted under torture from real or suspected heretics, were cited to explain the origin and appeal of heretical doctrines. Confessions further stimulated officials' curiosity by portraying demons with vivid and shocking immediacy, creating a vicious cycle of inquiry and confirmation.

By the 1430s both ecclesiastical and secular judges were pursuing a new variety of super-heretic, the Witch, created by this process. Unlike previous heretics, witches were not considered merely deluded about doctrine. The Witch voluntarily sought to encounter Satan and his demons "in person," attending vast but secret mass meetings (the Sabbat or "Witches' Dance") where humans worshiped Satan as their god and had orgiastic sex with demons. Official theories about witches grew exponentially more sensational and complicated, making witchcraft responsible for society's most intractable problems—crop failure, disease, infertility, infant, adult, and animal mortality, religious and political turmoil.

In fact, the Witch was a phantom of the inquisitorial imagination, evoked by a coercive dialogue between tortured defendants and demon-obsessed prosecutors and judges, but the witch stereotype resisted facts, proof, and compassion until after 1700, killing some 50,000 to 60,000 defendants in western Christendom. Thanks to this "witch craze," narratives of human-demon interaction are an important preoccupation of western culture and a major subgenre of its literature. From Christopher Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* (1590s), John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1674), and Johann Wolfang von Goethe's *Faust* (1790), to Aldous Huxley's *Devils of Loudun* (1952), Arthur Miller's *Crucible* (1953) and Ira Levin's *Rosemary's Baby* (1967), the Devil and the demonization of his accused allies have retained their fascination.

Nor is the phenomenon of demonization limited to Christianity—or to religion. The perception of an imperfect natural or social order leads in extreme cases to a kind of collective paranoia: disasters are blamed on powerful saboteurs, who mask their immense malignant power beneath a pretense of marginality or benignity. Like demons, they are imagined as powerful, omnipresent, and immune to conventional methods of discovery or ordinary human justice. Extraordinary, extralegal measures are required to unmask and neutralize the threat, or legality itself must be redefined. The *Protocols of the Elders of Zion,* the Holocaust, and aspects of more recent genocides (e.g., Rwanda, Kosovo) bear witness to the powerful appeal of this myth. Evidence of its appeal also appears in the "show trials" and gulags of Stalinism (1930s), Mao Zedong's Cultural Revolution (1960s), Pol Pot's Cambodia (1970s), and the House Un-American Activities Committee under Joseph McCarthy (1950s). When "things go wrong," and no external enemy is clearly to blame, the evil will be sought inside the afflicted social body. Manifest powerlessness or a clear record of benignity offer no protection from persecution: as was often proclaimed in early modern Europe, the devil's subtlest trick is to convince us that he doesn't exist. Demonization occurs interculturally as well: a society's internal cohesion is enhanced by a dualistic world-view that identifies foreign antagonists as completely evil. It is more important that the antagonist be completely wrong and evil than for "us" to be completely right and good.

ISLAM. The most widespread figures in Islamic demonology are the *djinn* or jinns. They are ontologically intermediate, somewhat like the Greek *daimonia* and the Judeo-Christian angels and devils. According to the Qurʾān (LV, 14), their bodies were created of smokeless flame, while human bodies came from clay and angelic bodies from light. Jinns are of both sexes. Given their ethereal composition, jinns are normally imperceptible to humans, but may become perceptible in a variety of guises, including giants, dwarves, or animals. In pre-Islamic Arabia, jinns were desert beings like nymphs and satyrs, and hostile to humans; they were gradually "spiritualized." By Muḥammad's time, Arabs of Mecca were sacrificing to them and seeking their favor (Qurʾān VI, 128; LXXII, 6).

Jinns have a social organization and family life, and interact variously with humans, including through romantic love and intermarriage. They can be contacted through various forms of magic, and may respond favorably, but can also be easily offended and will react accordingly. At times they behave playfully, teasing and tricking humans. Jinns are prominent in folklore, popular magic, and literature, from the *Thousand and One Nights* onward. The notion of the jinn has been transmitted from Arabia to non-Arabic centers of Islamic culture, where it blends variously with local traditions about spirits.

Subclasses of the jinn are the *Gḥūl,* the *siʾlat,* and the *ʿifrīt.* For ancient Arabs, the *Gḥūl* (etymon of English *ghoul*) was a shape-shifting being who lived in desert wastes and led travelers astray. The *Gḥūl* may be male or female; according to differing traditions, the *siʾlat* may be either a female *Gḥūl* or a kind of witch among the ghouls; some writers maintain that men can sire children on a *siʾlat* but not on a *Gḥūl.* In popular usage *Gḥūl* may designate a human or demonic cannibal; this usage has inspired English and French concepts of ogres and vampires (*ghoul, goule*). The *ʿifrīt* is a powerful, cunning, frightening jinn, and may also be thought identical to a *marid;* alternatively, one may be more powerful than the other.

The *sḥaytān* for pre-Islamic Arabs was a jinn, a kind of "genie" or "genius" or guardian spirit who was sometimes good, sometimes evil; as tutelary spirit it was also called the *karin.* It was responsible for inspiration of all sorts, and human progress in general, but particularly for poetic inspiration. The *sḥaytān* could also be a rebellious jinn, thus an "evil spirit" or "demon."

In Islamic usage, the singular *al-Sḥaytān* is a personal name paralleling Jewish and Christian references to Satan. This figure is also named Iblīs (possibly a contraction of *diabolos).* His epithets include *ʿAduww Allāh* (Enemy of God) and *al-ʿAduww* (The Enemy). The Islamic Satan resembles the Christian and late Jewish figure, as portrayed in the two Testaments and in apocrypha such as the *Life of Adam and Eve.* Areas of uncertainty or disagreement about Iblīs/*al-Sḥaytān* remain in Muslim commentary, especially regarding whether he is an angel (*malʾak*) or a jinn. Angels are considered ontologically sinless by some, and have other characteristics incompatible with Iblīs's fundamental rebelliousness and even his physical makeup as presented in the Qurʾān. Also unclear is the exact nature of his sin, particularly the relation between his pride and his disobedience.

DOUBT, SKEPTICISM, UNBELIEF. Since demonic beings are by definition invisible most or all of the time, belief in their responsibility for human welfare or suffering—and belief in their very existence—varies considerably over time.

Until recently, the narrative of progress by which western societies define themselves inspired confident assertions that these societies were "outgrowing" or had already abandoned the belief in demonic reality. However, developments since the 1980s belie such a facile scenario. In the United States, polls register a majority of persons claiming to believe in spirit phenomena. The literal, personal existence of the Devil has been strongly affirmed by charismatic and fundamentalist Protestants and by Catholics alike. Meanwhile, exorcism, which the Second Vatican Council of the 1960s had de-emphasized, has become a divisive issue, even in the Pope's own diocese of Rome. In the United States and elsewhere, the same period has witnessed panics over alleged Satanic cults and "satanic ritual child abuse," along with enthusiastic New Age variants of angelolatry, benign or "white" witchcraft and magic, and the space-age demonology of "alien abduction syndrome" and "multiple personality syndrome." These movements variously express a lost sense of religious connection or "spirituality"—a term that defies precise definition and often seems not to require belief in actual spirits.

On the other hand, the assumption that, before the advent of scientific thinking in the seventeenth century, all Christians and Jews, or the overwhelming majority of them, believed in the literal existence of demons and angels, is equally erroneous. Skepticism about spirit did not arise suddenly in the 1600s; Aquinas himself had recognized the need to rebut it. Skepticism provoked the earliest treatises by militant witch-hunting demonologists (1460s), and remained a constant anxiety of Christian demonology even after 1700, when widespread witch-hunting had ceased.

The Sadducees, a Jewish sect in the time of Jesus, refused to believe in spirit (*Mark* 12:18; *Acts* 23:8). As detailed above, the oldest books of the Hebrew Bible make no mention of angels and demons as beings distinct from and subordinate to Yahweh, or to an individual named "Satan." The Jewish philosopher Moses Maimonides (d. 1204) opposed the belief in demons. Among Muslims, the question of the real existence of *jinn* was problematic. Ibn Sina (Avicenna, d. 1037) denied their existence, and Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) opined that only God knew the truth, while other philosophers variously evaded the question. Scholars also debated the nature or the real existence of the *gḥūl,* which does not appear in the Qurʾān. It is uncertain to what extent the Buddha believed in the empirical reality of demons.

Epicurean and other ancient materialistic philosophies, which asserted the perishability of the human soul, remained familiar—mostly through hostile paraphrases—throughout the "Age of Faith," or Christian Middle Ages. Thomas Aquinas observed that some contemporary Aristotelian philosophers denied the reality of angels and devils; on one occasion he attributed the attitude to Aristotle himself. Accusations of philosophical skepticism were periodically leveled at innovative thinkers during the thirteenth and following centuries, at times with apparent justification. The philosopher Pietro Pomponazzi argued exhaustively between 1516 and 1520 that Aristotle's philosophy lent no support to the reality of angels, demons, magic, or human immortality, while the Fifth Lateran Council of 1513 dogmatically reaffirmed human immortality as an article of faith. From Aquinas until nearly 1800, Christian apologists regularly invoked the phenomena of witchcraft and exorcism as proof that angels, demons, and the immortal soul were not imaginary.

Between about 1550 and 1700, epidemics of demonic possession among Western Christians, often linked to accusations of witchcraft, provided compellingly theatrical arguments for demons' reality, but also provoked widespread skepticism. As demonic witchcraft was progressively discredited, interest shifted to ghosts (in the eighteenth century) and spiritualism (in the nineteenth) among those interested in defending the reality of spirit and human immortality. Yet purported demonstrations continued to produce skepticism and ridicule.

The enduring controversies over the reality of demons and spirits provide ample evidence that the drive to understand cosmic forces in human terms is not restricted to "primitive," "medieval," or "unscientific" societies.

SEE ALSO Angels; Devils; Monsters.

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WALTER STEPHENS (2005)

DEMONS: PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

The experience of the demon as a supernatural being that can affect human life for good or for bad is found all over the world. Modern depth psychology provides us with a fuller understanding of the nature of this phenomenon. Even in modern civilization where there is no longer the belief in demons, demons continue to play an important role. The existence of demons is a fact. The question of central importance is "How does consciousness interpret this fact?"

The interpretation depends upon the development of consciousness and the awareness of the multiple forces that determine human personality and experience. A more advanced stage of consciousness can look back at the preceding stage and describe it. For the present stage of consciousness, however, there exists no outside objective and critical standpoint from which to observe it. C. G. Jung has distinguished five different stages in the development of consciousness (also referred to as stages of the relation between object and subject). I would like to discuss the attitude toward the existence of demons at each of these five stages with reference first to cultures in which the stage of consciousness dominates and then to cultures of modern Western civilization.

Examples of each of these five stages can be found in human psychology side by side with the more advanced stages. There is no civilization in which consciousness belongs only and exclusively to one stage alone, because different psychological faculties will be developed to a different degree at any one time. Even though the main function may become advanced and rational, the inferior function remains archaic and closely aligned with the unconscious psyche.

THE MYTH OF THE COSMIC MAN: ARCHAIC MENTALITY. The unconscious psyche is the original mind of man, his primeval mentality, with which he still functions through his instincts. All persons function in this archaic way when unconscious; that is, to be unconscious in psychological terms is to be governed simply by the unconscious forces of instinct. Humankind has survived for hundreds of thousands of years supported by this primordial mentality, living in a state of identify with the environment called by Lucien Lévy-Bruhl "the participation mystique." The fact that humankind survived the Stone Age points to the value of this instinctive behavior.

The consciousness of these early stages of humankind and of today's hunters and gatherers resembles that of early childhood. At this stage man lives undifferentiated from his surroundings. This does not mean that he cannot differentiate between himself and the objects around him, but rather that for him these objects are alive: they have soul and behave like animated beings. In the words of Jung, the individual lives as though he were immersed "in a stream of events in which outer and inner worlds are not differentiated, or are differentiated very indistinctly."

For archaic man, the whole world reflects his psyche, or his psyche is just as much outside as inside, because as long as a psychic content is unconscious, it will appear in both realms. This stage of consciousness is mirrored in the myth of the cosmic man, a giant who pervades the entire universe; examples are the Indian Puruṣa or the Scandinavian Ymir. The psyche of archaic man is everywhere. All of the objects in the universe of archaic man lead their own purposeful lives, influencing or even dominating him. He feels inferior to these powers of nature and worships or propitiates them. Religion and magic are at his disposal in order to deal with these powers. Because his own ego is ill defined, it is easily transformed into an animal or possessed by one of the surrounding powers, by a spirit or a demon, or transformed into an animal. Possession belongs to this mentality, and one can be exorcised as easily as possessed.

By worshiping these powers, human beings acknowledge their reality and importance, and they are kept in the awareness of the entire community. Only when something escapes our attention and is thus neglected are we in danger of being possessed by it.

Possession—when our actions are determined by some psychic (or spiritual) force that overwhelms the ego—is by no means a phenomenon restricted to primitive societies, nor is it limited to those in our present civilization whom we call possessed. On the contrary, it is a universal experience. Whenever an unconscious power takes over the ego, possession occurs. Archaic man is threatened by all the demons and spirits around him, but at the same time he is wrapped also in the protection of the symbolic mother; that is, he is protected by powers that look out for him and provide him with sustenance so that he does not have to worry about himself. For example, when the Kusase people hear a certain tree in the village ask for a new dress and for new offerings, they are not surprised since this happens from time to time. In the context of their world, this is a common event and demands no explanation.

The idea of an all-pervading power in nature (*mana*, *manitou*, *orenda*, *wakanda*) forms part of this animistic view of existence. And magic is the primitive technology that seeks to manage this power. But the religious attitude is already prominent at this stage in the person of the shaman, rainmaker, or weathermaker, who is a specialist in dealing with spiritual powers. Furthermore, the power becomes embodied in certain sacred persons such as the chief, warrior, or blacksmith, as well as in sacred objects such as swords, stones, and medicine.

In modern Western civilization this archaic attitude still survives. Not only fairy tales and legends but also the words of poets reflect this attitude. And whenever an emotion lays hold of us, we fall back into such archaic behavior; for example, we kick the corner that "hit us," or we swear at the car that refuses to budge. We treat things as if they had a will of their own. This indicates that we believe that things share our human nature: the lime tree in the famous folk song bears all the feelings of love and the sorrow of farewell that men and women experience beneath its branches. We find ourselves feeling attached to objects as well as to persons, and when either fails to act according to our expectations, we experience strong emotion, because we identify with them to a certain extent.

If we look closely at our fears, we may detect the old demons and spirits in modern disguise: irrational fear of cancer or of atomic energy, idiosyncrasy, fear of war and power. We do not trust our modern consciousness to be able to handle these mighty things; there might be a demon in them that would make a fool of us. And we still worship the body of Christ in the host or the represented person in icons. In Switzerland, mountain climbing was avoided for a long time because of the belief in a divine numen living on top of the mountain. Old names point to this fact, such as the Vrenelisgärtli of Glärnisch, or "garden of Venus." Many names of parcels of land or of rivers also refer to the ancient spirits of nature that formerly lived in these places. Most vegetation rites in May and on midsummer's night recall the spirits of grain. Many Europeans still put a fir tree with colored ribbons on a newly built house in order to appease the spirits who will enter and dwell there. In Greek religion, the spirits of nature are personified as nymphs, dryads, and satyrs as well as in the form of the god Pan and numerous other local deities. Many of the sanctuaries of the Virgin Mary found in the woods, in a grotto, or by a well have inherited the site from pagan spirits. In the beginning of the common era, Christian churches were built on the site of earlier temples, sometimes with the stones of the earlier temples, because the power of the numen was already present there. Modern exorcists continue to banish ghosts in places that have been haunted for ages.

THE SACRIFICE OF THE COSMIC MAN: PROJECTION. In the myth of the cosmic man, the giant is sacrificed by the gods or by the wise men of old. This sacrifice symbolizes the cultural moment when the archaic mentality is sacrificed in favor of a different level of consciousness. This moment seems to correspond to the great Neolithic revolution of humankind, the transition from a life of hunting and gathering foods (living off the gifts of nature, the symbolic mother) to the life in which both plants and animals were domesticated. In agriculture and the herding of animals, humankind assumed some responsibility for husbanding natural resources and providing a steady food supply the human being. At this point he becomes separate from its environment; for the first time there occurs a split between human as subject and nature as object. Differentiation from the environment is one of the most difficult tasks for humankind. Psychic development (individuation) depends upon the ongoing continuation of this process. However, the individual is constantly threatened by demons, threatened, that is, by forces that are unconscious. The mythical combat between the hero and the dragon mirrors this dangerous situation.

Therefore it is consciousness that, in effect, creates the cosmos, for in the differentiation of consciousness the world comes into being as a realm separate from man. From this stage onward we can properly speak of a projection whenever there is any doubt as to whether or not a phenomenon does, in fact, belong to the outer world in which we seem to experience it. For example, when a schizophrenic of our civilization hears the voice of the devil, it is correct to interpret the voice as a projection of something that exists within him rather than something existing in the world.

Usually a demon is understood to be a supernatural being of a nature intermediate between that of gods and men. In the writings of Homer, the word for "demon," *daimōn*, can still refer to a god or, in a rather vague sense, to a divine efficacy. In a famous passage of Plato's *Symposium*, Diotima describes Eros as a "great spirit [*daimōn*], and like all spirits a being intermediate between the divine and the mortal" (202e). Psychologically speaking, this corresponds to the complex of the collective unconscious as defined by Jung. The complex, which is a necessary and normal component of the psyche, is intermediate between the ego and the archetype, having both a personal and an impersonal aspect. Whereas the archetypes are inborn dispositions, the complex comes into being through experiences in the individual life.

At this stage of consciousness, for example, the warrior is no longer believed to be generally demonic, but rather he becomes the berserker who fights with a mad frenzy only when he is possessed by the god Odin. Mediumship and possession attributed to specific gods or spirits are regular phenomena at this stage of consciousness. At this level, every disease is explained as the result of a spirit or demon. They are primitive forms of what we call mental disorders or *Geisteskrankheit* ("spirit-illness"). In psychological terms, a complex, also called a partial personality, takes over the ego.

The shaman is the master of spirits, the one who has overcome his own states of possession. Demons are far from being only noxious. In spirit-mediumship the spirits mediate the power of divination, providing information about the future and about matters removed from ordinary perception. They mediate between the spirit world and men and convey to their society the beneficial power of the gods. Everyone may have his own guiding spirit that controls to some effect his behavior. Mediumship may be experienced as a vocation whereby a spirit chooses a specific person as its vehicle. Our word *inspiration* means that a spirit is whispering wisdom into the ear of the inspired. When the world as a whole is no longer believed to be alive, it remains, nevertheless, filled with spirits and demons. One must be careful lest one be tripped up by a demon unnoticed. Spirit possession can even be contagious, especially during adolescence.

Spirits, particularly those of dead ancestors, may have control over the fertility of the earth, because they are believed to live in the earth under the ground or above the rain clouds. Passing by a cemetery one must take care not to be bewitched by a lurking ghost, the spirit of an ancestor that might cause illness or even death. (Psychologically, this appears to be the same fear that one experiences today when passing by a graveyard late at night.) Furthermore, a young girl has to be careful when she walks by a pond lest one of the unborn souls lurking there might jump into her womb and make her pregnant. The ghosts of the dead are especially hungry and desirous of blood or meat, food that must be provided through sacrifices. The great power of a mighty man continues to hold sway even after his death. In the vicinity of the grave of a *shaykh* there is a palm tree and a conical stone; barren women may silently step over the stone seven times and eat dates from the tree in order to become pregnant.

A regressive appearance of demons and spirits occurs when the high gods become remote. This often happens when a new civilization overlays an older one, whether by historical change or by conquest. The conquerors impose their social and administrative systems upon the conquered people, but they are themselves unconsciously infected by the spiritual culture of the latter. Some conquering tribes believe that the vanquished tribe survives in spirit form. In the new religious system the high gods become demons and spirits. As high gods they had received a cult and were represented in the collective consciousness, but in the new system they sink into relative unconsciousness. The Greek magical papyri are full of ancient high gods and goddesses, among them both Hekate and Hermes. Hellenistic syncretism absorbed many gods of the Mediterranean culture. In early Christianity the pagan gods became demons or spirits. The medieval iconography of the Devil, for example, depicts the Greek god Pan, who in ancient times was first a spirit of nature and the god of shepherds and finally became god of the universe. (In Greek *pan* means "all.") Plutarch relates the story of the death of the great Pan, according to which some sailors learn of the event and bring the tale to an island, whereupon a great lamentation ensues. This story marks the end of the archaic worship of nature, an end that resulted from the rise of Christianity. Our modern dilemma deriving from the pollution of nature demonstrates the practical value in the worship of ancient nature spirits, which served to render the superhuman quality of nature conscious to humankind, forming a consciousness that has been lost up to our present time. Today, natural science is searching again for the mysteries of nature, albeit with a rationalistic attitude.

MORAL DIFFERENTIATION: BELIEF IN A WORLD OF GOOD AND EVIL DEMONS. In the ancient story of Jacob's fight with the angel at the Jabbok River (*Gn.* 32:24) Yahveh is a deadly but not evil power. In the tale of Job from a later period, Satan ("the adversary") is one of the sons of God and represents the partial separation of an inner opposition generated by God himself. Similar is the history of the *deva/daēva* common to both prehistoric India and Iran. Originally the term was a neutral one referring to the celestial, daytime sky. After further development in India the term *deva* came to signify the high gods. In Iran, however, *daēva* acquired the meaning of "demon" in the evil sense.

Moral differentiation splits the world further into the opposites of night and day, earth and sky, left and right, good and evil. The collective consciousness is always in danger of identifying with one of a pair of opposites, abandoning the second to the demonic powers of the unconscious. Such an attitude gave rise, for example, to the Black Mass. Neglected aspects of the psyche are not simply repressed and forgotten, they become more and more powerful in the unconscious psyche and more disturbing to the conscious personality. A worldview that fails to acknowledge and experience the original unity of the opposites is in danger of an invasion from the neglected or rejected side. Psychologically, every optimistic or exclusively good attitude calls forth a reaction from its opposite. The more one-sided the conscious attitude, the larger grows the demonic counterworld.

THE ENLIGHTENMENT: DENIAL OF THE EXISTENCE OF DEMONS. Modern literature on demons is written for the most part from the standpoint of rationalism and attempts to explain demons as superstitious phenomena of a primitive mentality. The psychoanalytic approach developed by Sigmund Freud toward religious phenomena in general shares this attitude. It is a necessary transitional stage in the development of consciousness for man to ask "Who creates the demons?" and to answer "It is I!" In fact, man cannot help assuming responsibility for the products of his own imagination. They have arisen in him, and therefore he is their creator. Thus man identifies with his consciousness and explains all unconscious phenomena as derivative of that consciousness.

But in our time we can observe a certain counterreaction to this one-sided view in the form of irrational reactions: the new religions; the parapsychology enthusiasts; drug-based religion and fascination with science fiction among the youth; the "worship" of the natural wisdom of animals by some modern scientists; and the popularity of modern myths such as J. R. R. Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings.*

OBJECTIVITY OF THE PSYCHE: *UNUS MUNDUS.* Modern analytical psychology attributes to demons a reality of their own, recognizing the important role they play in the psychology of man. Because the *Auseinandersetzung* (Ger., "coming to terms") with the world of demons and spirits in the individuation process is so important, Jung specified a method called active imagination in which the figures of the unconscious are regarded as autonomous living entities of the psyche. Using this method it is possible to approach the archaic mentality from a position of conscious responsibility, acknowledging the unconscious and its personifications (demons, spirits, ghosts, fairies, angels, and so on) and seeking to find the appropriate way to respond to them. For these personifications may become conscious to the ego, but they are not created by it. The ego is obligated to take the unconscious realities into consideration. (This process recalls the Latin *relegere*, "*to gather up again.*") Spirits and demons must be allowed to arise as inner figures so that the ego can come to terms with them.

Sometimes one central spirit becomes the leading principle. This figure is called the archetype of the Anthropos, or the Self in human form (the unconscious principle of personality). Often the Anthropos is experienced as an inner guide, as, for example, Poimandres ("shepherd of men"), Agathos Daimōn ("good spirit"), and Hermes-Thoth in antiquity; Mercurius in alchemy; and Khidr in Islam. The *daimōn* of Socrates was a figure or a voice of a similar kind who forbade him certain things. A later variation is the guardian spirit who mediated between the spirit world and man, bringing dreams and foretelling the future.

The contemporary notion of spirits affects our understanding of mental illness as well as the psychic side of physical illness. Lauri Honko has studied the belief in so-called sickness projectiles, and he demonstrates the appearance of this belief in numerous cultures. For example, the German expression for lumbago is *Hexenschuss*, which means literally "the witch's shot."

The projection plays an important role in the transference of complexes from one person to another. Unconscious complexes are always projected onto other persons whom they may harm. Emotions are energy-laden phenomena that also affect other people. Typically, the gods of love (Eros, Cupid, Amor, Kāma) are armed with a bow and arrow, indicating that projections are sent by the divine principle or demon. But Job's plague, too, was caused by the arrows of Yahveh (*Job* 6:4), and the Vedic god Rudra sends death and illness with his arrows (*Ṛgveda* 7.46). A demon can be either a pathological complex or a new, creative impulse; both issue forth in connection with an archetype and embody a value that can destroy or save the individual person.

Further, the reality that analytical psychology attributes to demons provides insight into the parapsychological meaning of ghosts. The autonomy of the complex, together with the concept of synchronicity (the meaningful coincidence of events), provides tools with which we can understand, though not explain, the psychology of apparitions. French and English literature on this topic is extensive and points to a common belief in locally bound spirits, the *genius loci*, often depicted as a snake. In Roman families the genius was also a spirit of fertility. Modern parapsychology takes into account the psychological conditions that give rise to the appearance of apparitions. Beyond any doubt there are some people who are simply more aware of or sensitive to such phenomena; they are often said to possess second sight. Nevertheless, such occurrences are not uncommon for the less sensitive.

There is little doubt of the existence of the phenomena that have been called demons, angels, spirits, ghosts, and so on. But since these are experiences of a psychic nature, they can never be known except by means of such inner images.

SEE ALSO Spirit Possession.

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DENOMINATIONALISM.

Denominationalism is one of the least understood aspects of Protestantism. In both popular usage and dictionary definition, *denominationalism* is commonly equated with *sectarianism.* This is a strange reversal in meaning, for in origin and intention the concept of denominationalism was the opposite of sectarianism.

The fact that few Protestants take offense when their church is called a denomination is evidence of a lingering awareness that the term has a positive connotation quite different from the negative implication of *sectarianism.* A sect by definition is exclusive. It claims the authority of Christ for itself alone, whereas the word *denomination* was adopted as a neutral and nonjudgmental term that implied that the group referred to was but one member, denominated by a particular name, of a larger group to which other Protestant denominations belonged. It was an inclusive term conveying the notion of mutual respect and recognition. Albert Barnes, minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia (1830–1867), summarized the meaning of denominationalism when he said that the spirit it fostered

> is opposed to all bigotry and uncharitableness; to all attempts to "unchurch" others; to teaching that they worship in conventicles, that they are dissenters, or that they are left to the uncovenanted mercies of God. . . . The Church of Christ is not under the Episcopal form, or the Baptist, the Methodist, the Presbyterian, or the Congregational form exclusively; all are, to all intents and purposes, to be recognized as parts of the one holy catholic Church.

Denominationalism, in origin, was related to religious toleration and religious freedom. The latter were political and constitutional responses to religious diversity and were designed to enable a religiously diverse people to live together in peace. Denominationalism, on the other hand, was a response to problems created by the division of adherents of a single religious tradition into separate and competing ecclesiastical bodies. They shared a common faith but were divided by issues of church government and worship. Denominationalism took toleration and, later, religious freedom for granted, accepted arguments put forward in their defense, and then moved beyond the goal of peace among competing groups to a quest for unity in the midst of the acknowledged differences of those who shared a common faith. To this end, both an ideology and a system of relationships were devised that would permit members of the several Protestant denominations to acknowledge the unity that transcended their divisions and thus encourage them to maintain friendly coexistence and to engage in concerted action to promote shared concerns and forward common ends. It is interesting that a similar ideology and rationale for mutual respect and cooperative activity, utilizing the equally neutral term *sector* for *denomination*, was adopted by Jacob Neusner, noted professor of Judaic studies at Brown University, to explicate the unity that exists within a divided Judaism. (See his *Sectors of American Judaism*, 1975, pp. 259–277.)

Denomination as a nonjudgmental term in Protestantism was brought into vogue in the eighteenth century by leaders of the Evangelical Revival in Great Britain and of the parallel Great Awakening in North America. John Wesley was representative of British leadership when he declared: "I . . . refuse to be distinguished from other men by any but the common principles of Christianity. . . . I renounce and detest all other marks of distinction. But from real Christians, of whatever *denomination*, I earnestly desire not to be distinguished at all. . . . Dost thou love and fear God? It is enough! I give thee the right hand of fellowship." Gilbert Tennant, based in New Jersey but itinerating throughout the colonies, was even more precise in defining what the word implied: "All societies who profess Christianity and retain the fundamental principles thereof, notwithstanding their different denominations and diversity of sentiments in smaller things, are in reality but one Church of Christ, but several branches (more or less pure in minuter points) of one visible kingdom of the Messiah."

Although the revivalists made current coin of the term, it had been used as early as 1688 by Samuel Willard, minister of Old South Church in Boston, in a lecture later published as part of his *Compleat Body of Divinity*, in which he commented: "Through our knowing *but in part*, it is come to pass that professors of Christianity have been of diverse opinions in many things and their difference hath occasioned several *denominations*, but while they agree in the *foundation* they may be saved." Moreover, the denominational concept was implicit in the participation of Increase and Cotton Mather in 1717 in the ordination of a Baptist minister. And it was equally implicit at about the same time in the acceptance by Harvard College of funds from Thomas Hollis, a Baptist, for the endowment of a professorship of divinity and for a scholarship fund that would be available to Baptist as well as to other ministerial students. Such incipient manifestations of a irenic denominational temper were precipitated by policies of James II and then by the perceived consequences of the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the Act of Toleration of 1689. Still, the creative moment in forging the concept of denominationalism antedated the crisis of the years following 1688–1689 by almost half a century.

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ORIGIN. Usually a movement or a theology is born before it is named. This was true of denominationalism. The denominational understanding of the church had been hammered out by non-Separatist Puritan preachers prior to and during the sessions of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, a body of clergymen summoned in 1643 during the English Civil War to advise the "Long Parliament" in the shaping of a religious settlement. The problem that stymied the Parliament and the Westminster Assembly was the splintering and fragmenting of a triumphant Puritanism. Puritans of several hues had united to bring down rule by "lordly prelates" in the church, but, having done this, they were unable to agree on an alternate policy. A solution to this problem was proposed by non-Separatist Independents (Anglicans of a congregational persuasion) both within and outside the assembly. Those who were members of the Westminster Assembly were called the Dissenting Brethren.

The non-Separatist Independents were indebted to the Protestant reformers of the sixteenth century for their basic insights. They recalled repeated cautions against sanctifying churchly forms. The true church, the reformers had insisted, is not an institution, although it finds institutional expression in the world. Calvin was more confident than Luther that external ecclesiastical arrangements could be deduced from the Bible; still, he had a word of caution for those "who are not satisfied unless the church can always be pointed out with the finger." This, he said in the preface to the *Institutes*, cannot be done in any final sense. The whole question of the boundaries of the church must be left to God, "since he alone 'knoweth them that are his.'" The reformers acted upon this insight only to a limited degree, but they did recognize as true churches, more or less adequate in external form, those possessing an essentially common faith, whether they were Lutheran churches as in various political units of Germany and Scandinavia, Reformed churches as in other political divisions of Europe, or an Anglican church as in England. The new element introduced in mid-seventeenth-century England was the application of this understanding to a situation where divisions were within a geographical area rather than between geographical areas.

As the fragmentation of Puritanism increased after 1640, the moderates associated with the Dissenting Brethren became increasingly aware of "the danger of rending and dividing the godly Protestant party" at its moment of triumph when there was "an absolute necessity of their nearest union." Not only did divisions threaten the achievement of reforms desired by all the godly, they constituted a denial of the spirit of Christianity itself. "We are wrangling, devising, plotting, working against one another," said Jeremiah Burroughes, their most eloquent spokesman in the Assembly, whereas "love and unity are Christ's badge." It was an unhappy fact that "we are divided notwithstanding we are all convinced of the evil of our divisions." The problem was to find a way to peace and unity when Christians did not all agree. "If we stay for peace and love till we come to the unity of faith in all things," Burroughes confessed, "we must stay for ought I know till we come to another world."

With this dilemma in mind, seventeenth-century Independents elaborated a series of principles as a basis on which Christians could be united notwithstanding their differences.

First, so long as people live "in this muddy world" and "deceitfulness" lurks within the human heart, it is inevitable that there shall be differences of opinion even among the godly.

Second, even when differing convictions do not involve fundamentals, they cannot be lightly regarded. Those who fear God must first be persuaded themselves before they can accept the judgment of others.

Third, differences must be approached with humility and a degree of tentativeness. No one put this more vividly than Thomas Hooker of Connecticut, as his contribution to the ongoing discussion in England. "The sum is, we doubt not what we practice, but it's beyond all doubt that all men are liars and we are in the number of those poor feeble men; either we do or may err, though we do not know it; what we have learned we do profess and yet profess still to live that we may learn."

Fourth, as a corollary to human fallibility, Burroughes contended that "God hath a hand in these divisions to bring forth further light. Sparks are beaten out by the flints striking together." How can people know that they are right, asked another, until they "by discussing, praying, reading, meditating, find that out?"

Fifth, "though our differences are sad enough," they do not make us of "different religions." While "godly people are divided in their opinions and ways . . . they are united in Christ." Nor does the mere fact of separation constitute schism. It is schismatic only when it is not "loving and peaceable," only when it is "uncharitable, unjust, rash, violent."

Burroughes gave several illustrations of what he had in mind. Both Scots and refugees from abroad, he noted, had been permitted to have their own churches in England without being regarded as schismatics. This also had been true of Independents when they were in exile on the continent. Furthermore, persons of sufficient means in England had the liberty of "choosing pastors" by "choosing houses," moving from a parish where in good conscience they could not enjoy the means of grace to another parish where they could. When they did so, no cry of schism was raised. Should the same liberty be denied the less affluent who could not afford to move their dwelling from one side of the street to the other? Were they to be condemned as schismatics when their richer brethren were not?

What Burroughes and others were pleading for was a recognition that, although Christians may walk in different "ways" of outward obedience, they are still united in Christ and may work together for common ends of "godliness." They did, in fact, unite in defense of "the good old cause" of religious toleration. Many (those of Episcopal persuasion as well as Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists) did participate in Oliver Cromwell's "voluntary national establishment" during the 1650s. Later there were the "Heads of Agreement" of 1690, the joint petition to Queen Anne in 1702 from those who came to be called the "three old denominations," and the establishment in 1732 of a formal representative committee, known as "the Dissenting Deputies," to protect and expand the rights of the dissenting churches and their members.

DENOMINATIONALISM IN THE UNITED STATES. The denominational concept of the church was accepted in New England from the beginning. "We do not go to New England as Separatists from the Church of England," said Francis Higginson, "though we cannot but separate from the corruptions of it." As did their brethren at home, they adopted the neutral term *way* when explaining points of distinction from other orthodox Protestants (e.g., John Cotton, *The Way of the New England Churches Cleared*, 1648). Moreover, the elders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony expressed the same willingness to learn from others when responding to an inquiry concerning their practice. "We see as much cause to suspect the integrity of our own hearts as yours; and so much the more as being more privy to the deceitfulness of our own hearts than to yours . . . which causeth us with great reverence to accept and receive what further light God may be pleased to impart unto us by you. But as we have believed, so have we hitherto practiced." They were upset, however, when dissidents challenged their attempt to fashion a new Zion in the American wilderness, since there was ample room for dissidents to establish their own communities. Banishment was the response, but as John Cotton explained, perhaps somewhat blandly, "Banishment in this country is not counted as much a confinement as an enlargement," pointing out that "the jurisdiction (whence a man is banished) is but small, and the country round about it large and fruitful; where a man may make his choice of variety of more pleasant and profitable seats than he leaveth behind him."

Although New Englanders did not always match profession with practice, their understanding of the church was well adapted to the situation in other colonies where religious diversity prevailed and no single group occupied a dominant position. Even North Carolina could be regarded as a southern Pennsylvania in its ethnic composition and religious complexion, and the valley of Virginia and late-blooming Georgia were not greatly different.

Not only was the denominational theory of the church popularized by leaders of the Great Awakening, since 1690 it had been reinforced by the growing influence of John Locke, who had adopted and set forth, in his *Letter Concerning Toleration*, a view of the churches that he derived from his non-Separatist Puritan antecedents. (See George L. Hunt, *Calvinism and the Political Order*, 1965, pp. 111–113.)

By their acceptance of religious freedom following the American Revolution, most Protestant churches (with their general assemblies, general conventions, general conferences, general councils, or general associations) were committed to voluntarism and became, from a legal point of view, voluntary societies. They were under no legal restraint in dealing with their own internal affairs. Nor were most of them the least inhibited in following the practice developed during the years of the Great Awakening in joining together in efforts to promote concerts of prayer and religious revivals. In addition, in the early decades of the nineteenth century, out of their concern for the whole of society, a host of additional voluntary societies, both denominational and interdenominational, were founded to promote missionary, educational, benevolent, and reform activities. These societies became so ubiquitous that Orestes Brownson complained that "matters have come to such a pass that a peaceable man can hardly venture to eat or drink, to go to bed or get up, to correct his children or kiss his wife" without the guidance and sanction of some society.

This pattern of institutional activity persisted into the twentieth century, with new societies being formed as new needs were perceived to supplement the work of the older societies. Such newer societies were as varied as the Student Volunteer Movement, the League for Industrial Democracy, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. In addition, Protestant churches became linked by such official agencies as the Foreign Mission Conference of North America.

COUNTERVAILING ATTITUDES IN THE UNITED STATES. Not everyone was enamored with denominationalism as an expression of Christian unity. There were manifestations of "high church" sentiment by some groups (e.g., Landmark Baptists) who insisted that they alone represented the true church and refused to recognize or cooperate with those outside their ranks. Others (e.g., Old School Presbyterians) established official boards firmly under church control to carry on work hitherto delegated to voluntary societies. Still others, such as Thomas and Alexander Campbell, sought to fashion a unified movement in which denominational distinctions would disappear. They preempted the name Christian for themselves and called upon others to reject party names and nonbiblical creeds and practices that were a source of division and to unite instead on the basis of biblical names and practices alone. Typical of their point of view was the slogan "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; and where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent." Although the adherents they gathered were regarded as a denomination by others, they repudiated the name and spoke of themselves as a brotherhood.

A major shift in attitude toward denominationalism began in the late nineteenth century. It grew out of a growing conviction among a few key leaders that unity should find expression in a comprehensive church sufficiently broad in outlook and tolerant in spirit to minimize differences of opinion. Phillips Brooks, pastor of Trinity Church in Boston (1869–1891) and briefly Episcopal bishop of Massachusetts, was one who helped cultivate the temper that led in this direction when he declared that humanity itself, not any organized body of believers, is the instrument through which God effects his purposes. This is the true church where "the great human impulses" lead people to do "Christian work in the spirit of Christ" even when they "studiously" disown him. Broad churchmanship, it was sometimes called, or catholic Christianity.

The roots of this catholic Christianity can also be traced back to seventeenth-century England, to the "latitudinarians" of the decades following 1660. Two streams converged to inform the views of the "men of latitude." One was derived from the Cambridge Platonists, non-Separatist Independents at the university, who, unlike fellow Independents serving as pastors, faced the problem of finding a basis for unity within an institution (the university) rather than between institutions (the churches). After 1660 they joined forces with those influenced by the rationalism of the Enlightenment to fashion a defense of diversity (latitude) within a comprehensive state-established church. Thus they stood in opposition to those who insisted upon a narrowly defined Caroline Christianity (i.e., during the reign of Charles II) as the only true faith of the Church of England. The latitudinarian apologetic initially had little relevance to a situation where religious diversity was widespread and there was no dominant state church. Additional changes in the climate of opinion were necessary before it could become pertinent.

Another impulse leading to unhappiness with the denominational concept was the belief that, from an organizational and administrative point of view, the denominational system was inefficient and financially improvident. John D. Rockefeller Jr., a Baptist who was deeply devout and devoted to the mission enterprise and whose social concerns had been awakened by men who surrounded his father, is a prime illustration of this second impulse. A careful steward, Rockefeller sought efficiency and economy through consolidation of missionary endeavor and other aspects of Christian activity. He used his influence and his money to make Christian outreach cost-effective by initiating such breathtaking schemes to redeem a global society as the Interchurch World Movement of 1919–1920 and the Laymen's Foreign Mission Inquiry of 1930–1932. In the end he ceased contributing to denominational projects, restricting his stewardship to consolidated efforts.

A third factor bringing denominationalism into disrepute was a by-product of German sociological studies, notably those of Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923). The key concept was a typology that drew a distinction between "church" and "sect" applicable to countries with a predominant state church. A "denomination," however, was difficult to fit into this scheme, for it was neither "church" nor "sect" in terms of Troeltsch's analysis. Still, his views were intriguing. The most influential attempt to adapt Troeltsch's typology to the American scene was H. Richard Niebuhr's *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (1929), which in a curious way idealized European state churches because they were institutions into which everyone was born, rich and poor alike.

A scathing indictment of denominationalism preceded Niebuhr's analysis of "the ethical failure of a divided church" and his descriptions of the churches of the disinherited, the middle class, and those produced by nationalism, sectionalism, and the color line. "Denominationalism in the Christian church," he declared,

> is an unacknowledged hypocrisy. It represents the accommodation of Christianity to the caste-system of human society. . . . The division of the churches closely follows the division of men into the castes of national, racial, and economic groups. It draws the color line in the church of God; it fosters the misunderstandings, the self-exaltations, the hatreds of jingoistic nationalism by continuing in the body of Christ the spurious differences of provincial loyalties; it sets the rich and poor apart at the table of the Lord, where the fortunate may enjoy the bounty they have provided while the others feed upon the crusts their poverty affords.

Niebuhr acknowledged the insights he had derived from Troeltsch's typology. "Churches" are natural social groups "akin to the family or the nation" into which people of all classes are born, whereas "sects" are "voluntary associations." Sects compromise the universality of the Christian faith by their surrender to various caste systems. As generations pass, sects become denominations that are inclusive in the sense that people are born into them, with membership being determined by custom and family tradition. But as denominations, these former sects perpetuate in the body of Christ the caste systems of society. The volume closed with a summons to organic unity. Denominations were challenged to transcend their social conditioning and coalesce into a comprehensive church that would express the brotherhood of the Christian gospel.

By 1937 Niebuhr had second thoughts and published *The Kingdom of God in America* as a partial corrective to his earlier volume. He was still aware of the ways in which ethnicity, race, sectionalism, and economic circumstance had led to the formation of separate Christian groups. But this was not the whole story. He had not taken into account that denominationalism in its initial manifestation was the product of a new religious vitality with a dynamic sense of mission that placed primary emphasis on inner Christian experience. While differences of outward form and structure were not deemed unimportant and although there were competing claims as to their relative adequacy to express and advance the claims of Christ, stress was upon changed lives and a shared mission that encouraged cooperative activities and a not unfriendly coexistence. Slowly, however, the differing patterns took on greater importance as they became institutionalized. Here the problem was not compromise with caste systems but the process by which institutions over a long period of time begin to regard their own perpetuation as an end in itself. The earlier Puritan and the later evangelical sense of mission that provided the denominations with their reason for existence and bound them together in common causes began to fade. Becoming self-satisfied and self-congratulatory, they made peace with the world. This acculturation won from Niebuhr a stinging rebuke: "A God without wrath brought men without sin into a kingdom without judgment through the ministrations of a Christ without a cross." Niebuhr's summons was a call for renewal, for the recovery of a sense of mission that must precede and accompany any movement toward unity. Only a renewal that translated the love of God into love of brother would be powerful enough to overcome the walls of partition—institutional, ethnic, racial, sectional, economic—that fragmented the body of Christ.

The strictures of *The Kingdom of God in America* did little to mitigate the negative connotation evoked by the term *denominationalism* as a result of its being equated with sectarianism. Niebuhr's earlier *Social Sources of Denominationalism* continued for more than half a century to be his most influential book. Many Protestants seemed oblivious to his second thoughts. Instead of responding to the summons for renewal as a prerequisite for unity, many had become converts to a twentieth-century version of "latitudinarianism" or "catholic Christianity" that sought a united church that would be ample enough to accommodate the views and opinions of everyone. Instead of seeking renewal as a first step, such leaders opted for the more direct approach of tinkering with institutional arrangements to increase the scope of comprehension, a procedure that did not differ in kind from the preoccupation with institutional concerns that Niebuhr regarded as the nub of the problem.

Since the common core of Protestantism had become so badly eroded, it is possible that *Protestant denominationalism* may no longer be a viable term to indicate anything more than Protestant diversity. Perhaps Sidney Mead, author of numerous perceptive and incisive essays dealing with the shape of Protestantism in America, is right in using the words *church*, *denomination*, and *sect* as synonyms. There is an overabundance of Protestant denominations in this sense, but only minority segments are linked by a common faith and few of these segments possess a theological concept of denominationalism to express their unity and undergird their cooperative activities.

Recognizing this situation, and conceding that the use of the word *denomination* is likely to persist, Martin E. Marty of the University of Chicago in 1982 made a sensible suggestion. As the Bible justifies the use of the word *church* only for a local congregation or the entire church, the word *denomination* can serve as a useful "in-between" term to designate existing ecclesiastical groupings that have provided "family tone" and clusters of memories and symbols that still can be invoked to sustain Christians in their daily lives. "Denominations," Marty noted, "are an offense only when they undercut the local church or the whole church," but when Christians are faithful to their "particular heritage," without condemning others, they enrich the whole church. Such an observation is not far removed from the spirit of those who initially fashioned the denominational concept of the church.

SEE ALSO Anabaptism; Anglicanism; Baptist Churches; Christian Science; Church, article on Church Polity; Congregationalism; Disciples of Christ; Jehovah's Witnesses; Lutheranism; Mennonites; Methodist Churches; Moravians; Mormonism; Pietism; Presbyterianism, Reformed; Puritanism; Quakers; Salvation Army; Seventh-day Adventism; Shakers; Unitarian Universalist Association.

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The most important discussions of denominationalism, from a variety of perspectives, have been assembled by Russell E. Richey in *Denominationalism* (Nashville, 1977). Richey includes a chapter from H. Richard Niebuhr's *The Kingdom of God in America* (Chicago and New York, 1937) and calls attention to the importance of Niebuhr's *Social Sources of Denominationalism* (Hamden, Conn., 1929). He includes Sidney E. Mead's essay "Denominationalism: The Shape of Protestantism in America," reprinted from Mead's *The Lively Experiment* (New York, 1963), which contains other pertinent material. Other essays included are by E. Franklin Frazier, Fred J. Hood, Winthrop S. Hudson, Martin E. Marty, Elwyn A. Smith, and Timothy L. Smith. Richey notes that the understanding of Protestant denominationalism presented in this entry represents a fairly general consensus, having been adopted by Sydney E. Ahlstrom in *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven, Conn., 1972), pp. 96, 381–382; Robert T. Handy in *A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1976), p. 112; Winthrop S. Hudson in *Religion in America,* 3d ed. (New York, 1981), pp. 81–82; Martin E. Marty in *Righteous Empire: The Protestant Experience in America* (New York, 1970), p. 69; and *The Westminster Dictionary of Church History* (Philadelphia, 1971), "Denominationalism." For the most theologically informed explication of denominationalism, see Jacob Neusner's "Conservative Judaism in a Divided Community," in *Sectors of American Judaism* (New York, 1975), vol. 2 of his *Understanding American Judaism.*

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DEPROGRAMMING.

The term *deprogramming* has been used since the 1970s to refer to a range of behaviors, all of which are aimed at convincing members of so-called new religious movements (NRMs) to leave such groups and return to more mainstream social and religious lifestyles. Such groups might be "cultic," that is, communal and with high-demand authoritarian leadership, or they may simply hold unconventional beliefs and rituals. Definitions of *cult* have been extremely variable and inclusive, and the term has been used to refer to groups ranging from Old Catholics, Mormons, and Jehovah's Witnesses to members of the Unification Church, the Hare Krishnas, the Seventh-day Adventist–derived Branch Davidians, and even Pentecostals.

Deprogramming is regarded by its advocates as a "liberating" process that frees NRM members from a presumed hypnotic state of involuntary servitude or "mind control" that has been previously "programmed" into them. Deprogramming (as a term and practice) began in 1971 as the ad hoc vigilante response of one man, Theodore (Ted) Roosevelt Patrick Jr., to the intense missionizing activities of the Children of God, a fundamentalist Christian sect that was later renamed The Family. Patrick was a civil rights activist and Special Representative for Community Relations under California governor Ronald Reagan. According to Patrick's autobiographical *Let Our Children Go!* (1976), his teenage son and nephew met several missionaries of the Children of God and returned home noticeably and "mysteriously" disoriented. Patrick attended a meeting of the group and, by his account, found himself powerfully drawn to surrender his rationality and free will. Patrick claimed that he was contacted within a single week by fifty-two families who complained that their children had been similarly affected by the Children of God. Patrick developed a rough explanation of the "programming" (or conditioning) performed by that group. At the time, he had no knowledge of the post–Korean War coercive influence/brainwashing literature developed by U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) propagandists and psychologists.

DEPROGRAMMING INTERVENTION. The style of intervention that Patrick developed to "rescue" young persons from NRMs included sudden forcible abduction of a NRM member, detainment for days or longer in secured locations, the demeaning of the NRM, constant argumentation, and a barrage of verbal assaults on the integrity, sincerity, values, and activities of the religion and its leaders, all frequently interspersed with biblically based references. Patrick and other deprogrammers never claimed to be proselytizing their own personal credos—a claim that is contradicted by the sworn depositions and testimonies of some deprogrammees—but rather to simply "free minds" so that NRM members could once again think for themselves.

Noncoercive deprogramming attempts also occurred, as when a parent or clergyperson—by telephone, mail, or face-to-face—tried to create doubts or second thoughts in the mind of a young "cult" member who, in the absence of more than moral or emotional persuasion (i.e., without forcible restraint or violence), decided to leave the new faith. However, the coercive form of deprogramming caught public attention and became the object of opposition by such groups as the American Civil Liberties Union.

By the fall of 1971, Patrick had resigned his state position to devote himself full-time to mostly coercive deprogrammings. By early 1972 he was actively pursuing such interventions nationwide against a variety of NRMs, and he inspired a cottage industry of imitators, some of whom had been his apprentices. These deprogrammers represented a variety of backgrounds, from private investigators, insurance salesmen, and used-car salesmen to attorneys, degreed psychologists, and convicted felons.

The heyday of deprogramming occurred at the same time that some highly visible new religions were in apparent expansion. One source of deprogrammers' clientele was a subculture of relatives of previous NRM members who referred subjects to Patrick and other deprogrammers. Other sources included several anticult or counter-NRM organizations, such as the Citizens Freedom Foundation and its successor, the Cult Awareness Network (CAN).

There are few reliable estimates of how many deprogrammings took place. In the late 1980s sociologist David G. Bromley used a triangulation of media reports and internal organizational documents to track down almost four hundred attempted deprogrammings of members of the Unification Church. Bromley found that most of the successful deprogrammings were performed on persons either newly affiliating with the church or just beginning the process of disaffiliating, which suggests that the deprogrammers' faith in the efficacy of their techniques was overblown. Nevertheless, Bromley concluded that "the practice of forcibly separating individuals from religious groups for the purpose of inducing them to renounce their memberships is unprecedented in American religious history" (1988, p. 203).

Deprogrammings in Decline. By the late 1980s deprogrammers were seeking to shed Patrick's legacy of kidnapping and forcible confinement of deprogrammees, and they tried to upgrade their image to that of mental health therapists, or "exit counselors." Meeting at annual CAN conferences over a period of several years, they struggled to craft a code of ethics and to work out details, including a sliding scale of counseling fees that differentiated between academically trained and nondegreed practitioners. However, the resulting code of ethics focused mainly on the abuses of some deprogrammers who took drugs during deprogrammings and had sex with their captive clients, indicative of the unregulated "profession" that deprogramming had become.

Deprogrammings became all but extinct by the late 1990s for several reasons. First, there were some spectacularly bungled attempts, as when deprogrammers abducted the wrong person or allowed targeted persons to escape. In addition, the deprogrammings frequently did not work; it was relatively easy for deprogrammees to pretend to be deconverted ex-members ready to rejoin mainstream society, and then, when the counseling was supposedly finished, to bolt back to the NRM group. Few families could afford repeated deprogramming attempts since the practitioners began to charge upwards of $30,000.

Second, there were mounting legal costs for unsuccessful deprogrammers in criminal and civil proceedings. Several high-profile deprogrammers, including Patrick and private investigator Galen Kelly, served time in prison as judges became more aware of the religious liberties implications of deprogramming, as well as its status as an unrecognized, ersatz therapy. Coercive deprogramming and its questionable brainwashing assumptions were also aggressively criticized by civil liberties advocates, behavioral science scholars, and NRM spokespersons. Such criticism eventually tainted anticult "rescue" heroics with an odious reputation.

With the collapse of the CAN in 1996 due to bankruptcy as a result of civil suits brought against it (mostly by members of the Church of Scientology), deprogrammers, who now called themselves "thought reform" counselors or consultants, lacked a national referral conduit and either had to establish internet websites or gain footholds in local church community networks. However, the single legal case that finally brought an end to the CAN was *Scott v. Ross* (1995), a civil suit brought by Jason Scott, a United Pentecostal adult whose mother hired an "exit counselor" named Rick Ross to deprogram her three sons from a church of which she disapproved. After Scott's two brothers were successfully deprogrammed, Scott was violently abducted, physically abused, and forcibly detained at a remote Washington State location for almost a week.

The jury was clear in its decision to award damages to Scott ($875,000 in compensatory damages, as well as punitive damages in the amount of $1,000,000; against CAN; $2,500,000 against Rick Ross; and $25,000 each against Ross's two accomplices). The CAN's primary activity in this and other operations was to provide the public and the media with false or inflammatory opinion in the guise of "information" about unconventional religions. The jury's decision, under the definitions provided in Washington law, was that CAN was an organized hate campaign. In a curt note to the defendants, who appealed the verdict, U.S. district court judge John C. Coughenour concluded:

> Finally, the court notes each of the defendants' seeming incapability of appreciating the maliciousness of their conduct towards Mr. Scott. Rather, throughout the entire course of this litigation, they have attempted to portray themselves as victims of Mr. Scott's counsel's alleged agenda. Thus, the large award given by the jury against both CAN and Mr. Ross seems reasonably necessary to enforce the jury's determination on the oppressiveness of the defendants' actions and deter similar conduct in the future (*Scott v. Ross*, 1995).

The final death knell for deprogramming was shrinking public and official concern over many NRMs, some of which (such as the Unification Church) accommodated to the larger society and became, therefore, less visible, while others simply disappeared. In a time of war and fear of foreign terrorism, which characterized most of the 1990s and the early twenty-first century, NRMs in North America were not a major source of disquiet, and the market for interventions dramatically declined.

SEE ALSO Anticult Movements; Brainwashing (Debate); Cults and Sects; Law and Religion, article on Law and New Religious Movements.

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ANSON SHUPE (2005)

DERVISH SEE DARWĪSH

DESCARTES, RENÉ

(1596–1650), French philosopher. Descartes is held to be the father of modern philosophy and chief architect of the modern approach to the relationship between science and religion. The scholastic tradition, already ably criticized by Descartes's time, was in effect obviated by a new, universal metaphysical construction based on the conceptual apparatus of Descartes. The entire development of European philosophy, in all its diverse tendencies, has been dependent, directly or indirectly, on the Cartesian legacy. If it is true, as Whitehead said, that European philosophy consists of footnotes to Plato, modern European philosophy, in the same sense, consists of footnotes to Descartes.

Born to a noble Roman Catholic family, Descartes was educated in the physics and metaphysics of an Aristotelian and Thomist tradition, and in medicine and law. He joined the Dutch army, and, while in the Netherlands, became interested in mathematics and the new physics. Having traveled in various countries, he returned to France, where he outlined the first version of a new method of thinking based on mathematics *(Rules for the Direction of the Mind)*, but he did not complete or publish it. After settling in the Netherlands, he maintained contact with scholars by letter; Marin Mersenne was his main correspondent. He passed the last year of his life in Sweden at the court of Queen Christina.

Descartes's aim was to use mathematics as a model for developing a fully unified form of human knowledge. He applied this method in his *Treatise on the World.* The trial of Galileo and condemnation of Galileo's *Dialogues* convinced Descartes not to print his own work, which clearly confirmed the heliocentric theory. In 1637 he published several parts of it with a methodological introduction, called *The Discourse on Method*, which was to become one of the greatest texts of modern thought. In 1641 he published his other major work, *Meditations on First Philosophy*, which had previously been sent to a number of scholars, among them Gassendi, Hobbes, and Arnauld; their objections and Descartes's replies were subsequently published with the main text. *The Principles of Philosophy* appeared in 1644 and *The Passions of the Soul* in 1649. Some other works and his voluminous correspondence were published posthumously.

The *Discourse* indicates that for Descartes philosophy was a methodological and conceptual basis for the sciences, to make them useful in the domination of nature. Although the metaphysical problems he discussed in his *Meditations* are not subordinated to this goal, it is clear that Descartes was interested only in matters that could be solved by rational means and that his mental attitude was essentially antihistorical.

Cartesian method demands that we accept as true only what is presented "clearly and distinctly" to our mind, leaving no room for doubt. We should suspend our judgment in all matters where the slightest doubt is possible, including all the truths of common sense, in order to find something that resists all doubts. Sense-perception does not provide us with any indubitable knowledge, since we cannot be a priori certain that we are not dreaming or that we are not being deceived by a malicious demon. But my very act of doubting, however far extended, and therefore the fact that I am thinking, cannot itself be doubted. And thus I find at least this one certainty in which I cannot be deceived: I think, and I, the thinker, must exist; no demon could induce me to err on this point. This reasoning, summarized in the famous formula "Cogito ergo sum," can be admitted as the basis of knowledge.

The cogito, accepted as a kind of epistemological absolute, is in Descartes's work an implicit challenge to the authority of tradition and an appeal to look for truth only in the reason of a thinking individual. And it implies that the only object that is directly and indubitably accessible to one's mind is its own activity; wherever else we start, our beliefs will be exposed to doubt.

While I grasp my existence as identical with the awareness of existence, I observe, according to Descartes, that nothing belongs necessarily to my nature except the fact that I think; therefore I may describe myself as a thinking thing, or thinking substance, or immaterial soul. This transition from "I think" to "I am a thinking substance" was strongly criticized by Descartes's contemporaries and later. It gave rise to the question, much debated in the twentieth century, whether or not the "self" or "I" can be described at all in "objective" categories.

Our mind, according to Descartes, has a natural light whereby it is capable of acquiring knowledge on most important issues without relying on sense-perception. We have in our mind a natural idea of God, or a perfect being. Since our mind clearly perceives that it is not perfect itself (of which the fact of doubting is evidence, if indeed evidence is needed), it could not have fabricated this idea, as a more perfect thing cannot be produced by a less perfect; consequently the very presence of this idea is a proof of the actual existence of the perfect being. This psychological argument for God's existence, like the ontological argument in traditional version, which Descartes accepts as well, implies nothing about God's presence and signs in the world. God's first function, in Descartes's construction, is to assure the reliability of human knowledge: being perfect, God cannot deceive us, therefore we can rely both on our commonsense belief in the reality of the material world and on our intellectual intuition. (Many critics pointed out the circularity in this reasoning: acts of intuition are necessary to acquire the certainty of the existence of God, who subsequently appears as a guarantor of the infallibility of those very acts.) We can thus affirm the reality of the material world.

Descartes conceived the material world, or "extension," in strictly mechanistic terms. All processes are explained by the laws of mechanics; living organisms behave according to the same principles that govern artificial automata; there is no specific realm of life. To be sure, human beings are endowed with an immaterial soul, which is the seat of all sensations; animals, having no soul, are no more than mechanisms, and their reactions are just mechanical movements. In human beings, organic (that is, mechanical) processes, should be distinguished from psychological events in the soul. The human organism does not differ from other mechanisms; its death is a physical phenomenon, whereas the separation of the soul is not the cause but the effect of death. The two substances—soul and body—that make up the human being cannot affect each other; therefore the question of how we can realize, in perception, the mechanical impacts of other things on our bodies and cause movements of our body by the sheer act of will becomes difficult to solve; and Descartes's followers, when trying to explain the unity of soul and body and their mutual influence, naturally tended to materialist or occasionalist explanations, none of which conformed to the master's doctrine, which implied both that the soul is absolutely free and capable of dominating the affects, and that the affects are passive states caused by the movement of blood.

Descartes's philosophy almost instantaneously produced new lines of division in European intellectual life. Though attacked, mainly for its rationalist rigor, by both Protestants (the school of Voetius) and Catholics (all Descartes's works were put on the Index of Prohibited Books in 1663), its impact was soon to be felt not only among philosophers, scientists, and physicians, but among theologians as well. In the Netherlands, Coccejus's school tried to apply Descartes's methods in theological investigations; in France, Malebranche and other occasionalists attempted a Catholic assimilation of a somewhat modified Cartesianism. In the Jansenist milieu the influence of Descartes was very strong. By the end of the seventeenth century few orthodox Cartesians remained, but the impact of the doctrine was felt throughout the early French Enlightenment; its general rationalist and determinist approach laid the foundation of eighteenth-century materialism, while its skeptical side and the cogito were crucially important in the rise of modern idealism, starting with Berkeley.

Although there are no reasons to doubt that Descartes himself believed in God and in the immortality of the soul, his philosophy made God absent in the world and thus useless in interpreting it. Descartes was not, strictly speaking, a deist, insofar as, according to him, the force needed to sustain the universe in existence is the same as that needed to create it; yet he contributed decisively to the deist and atheist movements of the subsequent centuries. He was the modern founder of totally secularized thinking. Outstanding twentieth-century Thomists (Gilson, Maritain) saw in Descartes the main author of what they believed to be the aberration of modern intellectual life, of its individualist, idealist, and rationalist tendencies. And the problem of the transition from the cogito to the world and vice versa has remained, thanks to Descartes, one of the crucial issues in modern phenomenology and existential philosophy.

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DESCENT INTO THE UNDERWORLD.

Narratives the world over tell of descents into the underworld. Many traditions include myths connected with journeys to the "otherworld" undertaken by both human and suprahuman beings. Experiences of such journeys are especially common in the shamanistic traditions, but they are also found in association with various ecstatic religious phenomena and various heroic and visionary contexts within a great number of cultures.

An important differentiation can be made between the descent with no return (accomplishing the due of human mortality) and the descent with return made by heroes, shamans, and other extraordinary humans. The imaginary experiences with return could fulfill different objectives: to explain the cosmic subterranean topography, to rescue someone from the realm of the dead, and to expose the punishments and sufferings in the otherworld with a moral purpose. The descent into the underworld, particularly to the kingdom of the dead, is one of the central themes in myths explaining the cosmic order, the limits and possibilities of the human being, the relationships between gods, and human relationships with god or the gods.

But the descent into the underworld is also a powerful imaginal and, on occasion, stereotyped literary motif. In the European traditions, due to the influence of the Homeric *Nekyia* (ninth book of the *Odyssey*), the descent (Greek, *katabasis*), an imaginary motif is present in major literary and artistic works despite the cultural, chronological, and religious differences between contexts and authors (between, for instance, Vergil's sixth book of the *Aeneid* and the *Inferno* in Dante's *Commedia*). Such a literary motif is also found in the Middle Eastern traditions from the *Epic of Gilgamesh* to the *Book of Enoch* or the *isra* of Muḥammad. There are cross-relationships among all of these literary traditions. Christ's descent into hell and medieval Christian literature developing the topic of the descent and the description of hell have, therefore, a long literary tradition.

The beliefs concerning descent into an underworld inhabited by spirits and supernatural beings could be based in part on experiences in which the soul is believed to leave the body during a state of altered consciousness—such as trance, sleep, or near-death experiences—or during the visions and hallucinations associated with these states. The content of such experiences, however, is determined to a large extent by the cultures and traditional beliefs of the persons undergoing them, but these phenomena also have remarkable similarities in different cultures and ages, a fact that encourages intercultural comparisons.

THE ROADS TO DEATH: TOPOGRAPHIES OF THE DESCENT. Beliefs concerning the descent into the underworld are often connected with the concept of a three-layer cosmos, according to which the human world is located midway between the realm of spirits above and the realm of the dead below—the "underworld." The underworld itself may also be thought of as divided into layers. In certain Asian, European, Mesoamerican, and Oceanic cultures, for instance, the underworld is believed to be divided into as many as nine layers. Mayan cultures recognized nine levels of the underworld, and some funerary temples reproduce a descent in nine phases. Scandinavians called the ninth and lowest level Niflhel.

These cosmic levels are often believed to be connected to one another by a cosmic tree or mountain, which is frequently believed to be located in the north. In inner and northern Asia, India, and northern Europe, the "center of the world" is found in the north. The cosmic tree that connects the levels of the cosmos also acts as a path of communication among them. The Vasyugan Khanty, the Maya, and the Scandinavians, for instance, believe that it has its roots in the underworld. In the shamanistic tales of Siberia, the opening leading to the underworld is represented as lying at the foot of the cosmic tree or at the foot of its counterpart, the shaman's tree. The Altaic Turks, on the other hand, locate this opening at the "center of the cosmos" and describe it as a "smoke hole." Many northerly peoples locate the opening to the different cosmic levels in the North Star that shines at the center of the world and symbolizes supernatural stability and eternity.

In all cultural traditions the most important part of the underworld is the realm of the dead. Most of the traditions describing the descent into the underworld are in fact concerned with visiting the dead, though this realm may be described differently in various cultures. In some cultures of the East, in central Asia, and in ancient Greek religion, for instance, it is described as the palace of the sovereign of death or as a mighty dwelling place. In ancient Scandinavian folklore it is a great hall, whereas in the Finnish epic it is a large living room. Among the hunting peoples of Siberia, it is conceived of as a yurt village, in the Celtic culture it is in an insular location, and in ancient Greek tradition Hades (the realm of Hades, the god of the underworld) seems to be described as a palace. Despite the variety in representations, however, many of the concepts surrounding the realm of the dead and the roads to entrances are similar in all parts of the world.

Belief in a local opening and a road leading to the underworld are common in the cultures of Europe, Asia, America, West Africa, Melanesia, and Polynesia. On the west side of Rarotonga, in the Cook Islands, for instance, one finds the Black Rock, from which the souls of the dead are thought to set off on their journey to the otherworld. Volcanoes, such as Etna, or caves, such as that of Lough Derg in Ireland, mark the beginning of the road to hell or purgatory, as in medieval Christian literature. In the ancient Greek imaginary topography, subterranean entrances to the realm of Hades are not uncommon (more than fifty are testified in the ancient sources), and sanctuaries could be located in caves or entrances to the underworld: the best-known example is the Nekyomanteion (oracle of the dead) at Ephyra.

One of the universal features of such a road to the underworld is darkness. This is why the Yakut shaman has disks representing the sun and moon sewn onto clothing—to provide light on the route to the otherworld. The road is also dangerous, fraught with difficulties and preternatural obstacles that only an initiate or a spirit being can overcome. In Finnish folklore such obstacles include a great eagle, a snake, a fiery pond or waterfall, and a river bristling with swords. Similar obstacles are also found in the mythologies of the Middle and Far East, of classical antiquity, and of the Germanic peoples, and they were also cultivated in the Christian vision literature and art of the Middle Ages. According to the ancient Germans and the Yakuts of Siberia, the dead had to be equipped either with shoes or a horse to protect them on their difficult journey.

Traditions familiar in both Asia and Europe tell of a stream surrounding the realm of the dead that must be crossed on a ferry or by a narrow bridge made dangerous by swords, or they speak of a wall surrounding the underworld over which the soul must leap. In ancient Greek mythology the ferryman Charon helps the dead cross the labyrinthine underworld waters and enter the realm of Hades. But Charon, as a literary and iconographic motif, is found even in Western Christian literature and arts (e.g., in the Sistine Chapel), despite the religious changes produced in the idea of the underworld by Christianization. It could be used as an example of the plurality of beliefs about the underworld that coexist in a culture or a religion and that encourage the microanalysis of cases, contexts, and points of view.

Another widespread concept connected with the underworld is that of the beast or dog that guards its gates. Examples include the Greek Kerberos, with its three heads; the Scandinavian Garmr, a huge and bloody monster; the Babylonian Nedu, with its lion's head, human hands, and bird's feet; and the Egyptian Ammut, the watchdog of the underworld god Osiris that has the body of a lion, the front limbs of a crocodile, and the rear limbs of a hippopotamus.

THE SHAMANIC INITIATION AND THE DESCENT INTO THE UNDERWORLD. A journey to the underworld under the helpful guidance of the spirits is the cornerstone of the classical shamanism of Siberia and inner Asia, and corresponding practices connected with the activities of a seer or an ecstatic healer are found in other parts of the world as well: in North America, in Oceania, in the folk religion of Indochina, among the early religions of Europe, and especially in the various religions of South America. One typical feature of this type of otherworldly journey is the use the shaman makes of ritual techniques intended to induce ecstasy.

Where there is a belief in an underworld, it is not uncommon for people to have chance experiences of descending into it during sleep or trance. In shamanistic cultures such spontaneous experiences were interpreted as proof that the spirits had selected a candidate as a future shaman. According to a Nentsy myth, a woodcutter suddenly found himself on the back of a *minryy* bird, from which he fell through a hole into the underworld. There he wandered from the dwelling of one spirit to that of another and had to recognize each in turn. He was then cut into pieces and put together again, after which one of the spirits guided him back to the earth's surface. This experience was taken to be the initiation as a shaman, particularly in view of the dissection and reassembling of the body by the spirits.

Chance visions, pains, and torments were interpreted as the shaman's sickness and were taken as signs of a person's candidacy as a shaman. While learning to use the drum and sing the shaman's songs, the candidate withdrew from the normal life of the community, fasted, and sought contact with the spirits. A journey to the underworld, experienced through visions and auditions, was a prerequisite for initiation. The central element of this journey was the experience of rebirth. The reports of such initiation visions prove that the initiate's experiences were shaped by the shamanistic tradition of the community in question. The older shamans interpreted the candidate's experiences in such a way as to channel them toward accepted, traditional patterns. During this initiation period the new shamans became familiar with that part of the spirit world to which they would later journey during shamanic séances.

A number of the peoples of inner Asia and southern Siberia referred to the shaman's journeying to the underworld as "black." This seems to be a reference to the fact that the underworld contained not only the abodes of the dead but also the dwelling places of various disease-causing or otherwise dangerous spirits. In order to be an accomplished shaman, one had to know the roads leading to these places and be able to recognize their inhabitants. This made it all the more important for a candidate to study the topography of the underworld during the initiation period. In the more northerly regions, this study was conducted under the guidance of special spirits, usually zoomorphic spirits of nature.

THE DESCENT AS SHAMANIC RITUAL. The ritual descent into the underworld takes place during a shamanistic séance, in the course of which the shaman describes in song the stages of the journey. In northern Siberia and the Arctic regions in particular, the actual transfer to the otherworld was thought to coincide with the highest point in the shaman's altered state of consciousness and was indicated by loss of external consciousness. The shaman's soul was then thought to have left the body and to be traveling in the otherworld in the form of an animal or accompanied by benevolent spirits.

The visit to the underworld was sometimes portrayed through performable means. The journey of the "black" shamans of the Altaic Tatars to Erlik Khan, the lord of the underworld, was expressed not only in song but also in mime and movement. The shamans gave detailed descriptions of the stages of the journey and the meeting with Erlik Khan. First they rode southward, climbed the Mountain of Iron, on whose slopes lay the fading bones of unsuccessful shamans, and then descended through a hole into the underworld. They next crossed the sea of the underworld by an extremely narrow and dangerous bridge and arrived at the dwelling of Erlik Khan. At first the lord of the underworld was angry, but as the shamans offered him drink and sacrifices, he became benevolent and promised to fulfill the shamans' wishes. The shamans then returned to earth riding on a goose.

When descending into the underworld, the shaman tried to solve problems that were thought to be caused by the spirits. The reasons for the journey to the underworld thus depended on the sorts of spirits living there and on the way they were thought to influence human life. If an illness was believed to be caused by a loss of soul, it was the shaman's task to fetch the patient's soul from the malevolent spirits who had stolen it. Other typical reasons for descending into the underworld were to acquire knowledge concerning the future, the weather, lost objects, or persons; to meet the spirits who assisted at a birth; to meet the keepers of the game during a period of famine; to escort the soul of a sacrificial animal to its destination; or to accompany the souls of the dead to the underworld. For example, the initiatory vision of the Nganasani shaman Sereptie Djaruoskin reveals that he knew the roads leading from the foot of the shaman's tree to the spirits responsible for every kind of sickness, to the main guardians of the game, and to the spirits who provide protection at births.

If the soul of a dead person should fail to go to the underworld but instead keep disturbing the peace of the living, the shaman was called upon to play the role of psychopomp (guide of souls). Indeed among the Nanay (Goldi), the Altaic Turks, and the Nentsy, escorting the soul of the dead to its new abode was one of the shaman's most important tasks. After a death, the Nanay arranged a festival, during which the shaman caught the wandering spirit and placed it on a cushion specially made for the occasion. A big clan memorial festival was then held, and the shaman escorted the soul of the dead to Buni, the clan's own kingdom of the dead. On the way the shaman and the soul in keeping were assisted by the spirit Buchu, who knew the way, and the bird Koori, who carried the travelers to the underworld on its back. At the séance during which all this took place, the shaman expressed the stages of the journey with dramatic effects, giving instructions to the assisting spirits and expressing in song the horror and relief over the difficulties along the way. As described at such séances, the road to Buni included eighteen stages that had special names and generally known features. The most difficult task along the journey was crossing the river separating the living from the dead. The shamans could tell when they had reached their destination from strange footmarks, the sound of dogs barking, and other traditional signs.

In modern shamanism (and in neoshamanism), because of undergoing the process of adaptation to the modern world and global society, some of the classical themes of the descent into the underworld are objects of redefinition and psychological interpretation (using, for example, the Jungian and New Age concept of shadow as explanation). The descent into the underworld has become an inner experience of combat against a personal alter ego. The cosmic topographical implication and the social interest of the shamanic exploit are transformed in a private experience without social or cosmic relevance.

THE HEROIC DESCENT AND THE ORPHEUS THEME. The journeys to the underworld undertaken by shamans and mystics typically involve visions experienced during trance. There are, however, myths and tales in parts of the world that tell of journeys to the underworld undertaken by humans or gods without the aid of ecstatic techniques or powers. Visiting the underworld was thought to be one of the standard deeds of mythical heroes. The heroes descending into the underworld need not necessarily be human, for Ishtar makes the journey in the Akkadian myth, Lemminkäinen's mother does so in the Finnish tradition, and the Mayan twins Hunahpu and Ixbalanque descend into Xibalba (the realm of the deities of the death) in the *Popol Vuh.*

The reasons for the descent were many. One of the most popular was the rescue of a relative or loved one who had died young. But the journey also could be undertaken to search for immortality, knowledge, or some special favor, to escort the dead to their final resting place, or to receive initiation in the mysteries of the underworld. Here exists a close parallel to the reasons given for the shaman's journey.

A test of strength between love and death is the basis of the legends and myths in which one left behind in this world follows the beloved or relative "to the land of no return." And when the result of the journey is positive, the inexorable law of mortality—the power of Thanatos—is overcome by the power of Eros. The best-known representative of this type of narrative is the Orpheus theme, various forms of which are found not only in Eurasia but also in North America, Oceania, and Melanesia.

In Vergil's version, in the fourth book of the *Georgics,* perhaps the best literary expression of the classical myth (because the Orphic versions, included in *Katabasis of Orpheus,* have unfortunately disappeared), Orpheus sets off for Hades in search of his wife Eurydice, who has died young. With his songs and his music, Orpheus relieves the suffering in the underworld and wins the favor of the gods. Eurydice is promised to him on condition that he not turn to look at her on the road up. The impatient Orpheus breaks his vow and loses his wife. Despite the negative result of the *katabasis,* for the followers of the Greek mystery cults who use the name of Orpheus as a sign of identity this underworld exploit is a demonstration of the possibility of acquiring knowledge that can defeat death. The Orphic initiation offers the wisdom to find the appropriate path in the underworld journey and the knowledge of the correct descent that is inscribed in the Orphic-Dionysiac gold lamellae (sheets) found in a number of burial sites in Greece and southern Italy.

A negative result is also obtained by the god Izanagi in his underworld search for his twin sister and wife Izanami in the realm of Yomi as reported in the Japanese *Kojiki.* The episode explains a cosmic division into two layers, upper and lower, ruled by the twin gods, a provisional arrangement changed by the following generation of gods.

Greater happiness befalls the heroes of the Polynesians, including the Maori of New Zealand, who rescue their loved ones by deceiving the spirits trying to prevent their escape. In one Maori narrative, Hutu follows Pane, who has died of love for him, to the underworld. There Hutu entertains the spirits, having them sit on the top of a tree that has been bent over and fastened to the ground by a rope. When Hutu lets go of the rope, the spirits are hurled into the air, and he escapes with his beloved.

In addition to spouses or lovers, the main characters in these tales may also be people who are attached to one another by some other tie. For example, there are stories among the Indians of North America that stress sibling attachment. The Tatars of the Sayan steppes tell the story of Kubaiko, who goes to look for her brother in the kingdom of death ruled by Erlik Khan. After carrying out the superhuman tasks imposed upon her by the princes of death, Kubaiko receives the body of her brother and brings him back to life with the water of life. The story gives a long description of the state after death and the punishment of sinners. The torments inflicted in Hades to the enemies of the gods (Sisyphos, Tantalos, Tityos) are described in the story of Odysseus's journey to the land of the dead. But because the goal of the hero is not to rescue someone but to obtain information, the episode seems more an invocation followed by a vision than a descent.

The related idea of the death and resurrection of a god lies behind certain invigoration rites. There is a myth connected with the Akkadian Ishtar and her Sumerian counterpart Inanna that describes the descent of the goddess into the underworld, probably to try to subjugate that realm. On her way, Ishtar takes off her clothes and her ornaments as she passes through the gates that lead to Arallu. On reaching her destination, she dies, and the earthly vegetation wilts. When the gods sprinkle her with the water of life, she recovers and returns to earth.

The Heroic and Initiation Descent: Immortality and Apotheosis. In some cases a hero penetrates the kingdom of death to gain immortality. One of the oldest known examples is the Sumerian myth of Gilgamesh, in which Gilgamesh crosses the waters of death and reaches the land of eternal life. There he finds a plant that guarantees immortality. But a snake snatches it from him on his return trip, and he is forced to accept mortality for humankind. The account of Gilgamesh's journey has been compared to the account of Herakles's visit to Hades and Odysseus's *Nekyia.* But Odysseus refuses the immortality promised to him by Calypso in order to to maintain his own identity. Herakles reaches apotheosis (the transformation into a god) after a number of exploits (crucially the visit to the garden of the Hesperides), not simply after his victorious return from the underworld, when he brings with him the watchdog Kerberos and delivers Alcestis and Theseus.

The pursuit of immortality is also part of the tradition woven around the Polynesian trickster and culture hero Maui. Maui believed he could make himself immortal by crawling through the body of his giant grandmother Hine-nui-te-po. Hine-nui-te-po wakes as Maui enters her mouth and, closing her mouth, kills the intruder. This swallowing motif, also found in the story of Jonah and the great fish, is quite common in traditions concerned with initiation and takes both mythical and ritual forms. It is found in the Finnish folk epic, in which Väinämöinen enters the belly of a giant sage who had long been dead. Väinämöinen descends to the underworld in the role of a sage to seek knowledge and incantations. In this respect he is reminiscent of a shaman. A similar seeking journey is made by the Scandinavian god Odin, who is described as having ecstatic powers.

Further reasons for traveling to the underworld include the search for some special object, as in the descent of Psyche, or the mere satisfaction of curiosity. In each case the journey is described as extremely dangerous and difficult, with its success depending on special conditions: the travelers should not eat any food offered in the underworld, nor should they look back on the return journey, lest they fall under the power of the spirits giving chase from below (which happens to Izanami in the Japanese myth and Persephone in the Greek myth).

In some cultures, a main reason to endure the descent is to demonstrate the supernatural condition of the traveler, a recognition of his or her extraordinary or divine nature. The *katabasis* of Dionysos, with the rescue of his mother Semele, shows without a doubt to his followers the power of the god over death. And then Dionysos, like a sort of mystic Hades, could offer to those who had endured the initiation into his mysteries the liberation from death: the Dionysian path (difficult to distinguish from the Orphic path) to overshadow the mirage of common underworld destiny as it appears in the words inscribed in the golden intiatory lamellae.

In a similar way, some Christian theologians explain Christ's descent into the underworld as a complete victory over hell, overcoming the power of evil and rescuing the "saints of the Old Testament," highlighting the new alliance that changes the foundations of the cosmic topography with the descent. The complex theological implications of the episode have been understood in different ways in the various Christian denominations (a number of which discarded the cosmic implications of the descent, simply understood as a paraphrastic reference to the act of dying). But the iconographical possibilities of the episode have been widely exploited in art and literature, especially in the Middle Ages and in Oriental Christianity, due to the values of glory and sovereignty that underlie the episode and the classical and oriental imaginal implications of the descent into hell.

THE VISIONARY DESCENT WITH MORAL PURPOSES. Visions of descending into the underworld are a part of the traditions of the religions of the Middle East and the ancient Mediterranean world, Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity. The visit in question is usually to the kingdom of the dead, and one of its main themes is the observation of the torment awaiting sinners in the other world, along with the judgment of souls. The moral purposes of the journey are evident and serve as arguments to reinforce the belief in the ethical mainstream proposed by these religions.

One of the earliest records in the Greek tradition of the transformation of the literary heroic descent into a descent with moral purposes is the Platonic myth of Er, related at the end of Plato's *Republic* (c. 380 BCE), in which the visions of the postmortem destiny had a propaedeutic purpose in the philosophical way of life proposed by Plato. Earlier accounts about the punishment in Hades for amoral or criminal attitudes certainly existed—for instance, in the *Nekyia* painted in the fifth century BCE by Polygnotos in the Cnidian Lesche at Delphi (and described by Pausanias)—but in Plato the description had a moral purpose.

Multiple examples of the imaginal and moral effectiveness of these sorts of visionary descents exist in the ancient world. The *Book of Enoch* relates a descent into the She'ol that shows the diversity of the ideas about the underworld in Hellenistic Judaism. The judgment of the dead in an Egyptian papyrus of the first century CE describes how Setne Khamuas, a high priest of Memphis, descended into the halls of Amenti under the guidance of his son Si-Osiris. In the Christian *Apocalypse of Peter* (c. 135 CE), the visions detail, in an explicit and meticulous way, the terrible punishments of the sinners. These themes were particularly popular in the Christian literature and art of the Middle Ages, and the descriptive and imaginal possibilities of the journey were exploited in Christian countries. The popular medieval English mystery play *The Harrowing of Hell* is an example of this, although the most accurate and famous artistic expression of such beliefs is Dante's *Commedia* (1321).

But these descriptions of journeys into hell (and eventually paradise and other locations) repeat beliefs that are familiar from the Mediterranean and Middle Eastern traditions, and the relationships between authors and religious traditions are difficult to trace. The influence of a literary tradition that overcomes religious backgrounds using identical imaginal resources is undeniable, but the final purposes of the descriptions are also significant. For example, Aeneas's descent in Vergil's sixth book of the *Aeneid,* Christ's descent into hell in the *Gospel of Nicodemus,* the visions exposed in the Iranian *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag,* the journey described in the *Book of the Scale,* or other descriptions of the *isra* of Muḥammad had specific religious significance within each religious tradition.

The visionary descent appears also in Far Asian traditions. The ascetic practices known as *gyo,* practiced by Buddhist priests in Japan, sometimes led to trances that included visions of journeys to the underworld. Some of the visions were of an initiatory nature and had structural and thematic similarities to the shamans' visions. In the *Nihon ryōiki* a priest called Chikō, while feigning death, found himself accompanied by two messengers on the road to the underworld. The road led westward and finally to a golden palace, the door of which was guarded by two terrible beings. Three times the messengers ordered Chikō to clasp a burning hot pillar so that his flesh was burned and only his bones remained, and three times the spirits put him together again. They finally sent him back to earth, ordering him to renounce the sin of envy. In addition to such reports of initiatory trials, the Japanese narratives also contain revelations of the sentences passed by the king of the underworld and the horrors awaiting sinners. One type of narrative, which has parallels in the Chinese tradition, tells of persons descending into the underworld to save one of their relatives from the torments of hell. Such descriptions of the judgment and punishment of sinners could serve as a moral warning to lead a virtuous life, but they could also be used as a meditation resource (e.g., the visonary visit to the realm of the punished during the meditative practice with *bhava chakra* in Mahāyāna Buddhism).

The theme of visionary descent experienced a renewal in European tradition with Emanuel Swedenborg's (1688–1772) description of a supposed visit to the underworld in his *De coelo et ejus mirabilibus, et de inferno, ex auditis et visis* (Heaven and its wonders and hell from things heard and seen, 1758). He proposed a Christian esoterical topography of hell and an angelology, in which the torments of the sinners are transformed in an inner postmortem experience of the evil committed in life. Swedenborg is useful as an early example of the modern prevailing tendency to the interiorization brought about by the loss of imaginal fascination of the heroic motif of the descent. (The powerful 1998 iconographical adaptation of the classical *descensus* in Vincent Ward's film *What Dreams May Come* is perhaps an exception.) In fact, the descent into the underworld seems to be of little interest in the theological speculations and ritual practices developed in Christianity in particular and in the world religions in general, excluding perhaps some shamanic contexts.

SEE ALSO Judgment of the Dead; Shamanism; Underworld; Visions.

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DESERTS.

In areas of continuous occupation, the presence of the sacred transcends and resolves the stresses produced by the environment. In the desert, humankind, deprived of the support of social solidarity and helplessly confronted by supernatural forces, is beset by anguish and fear.

THE DESERT AND PERSONAL RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE. The first visions of the desert, therefore, are pessimistic. It is the region of the savage beasts and malevolent spirits, of demons of all kinds. In primitive societies it is the place of trials, of initiations. It is the place to which the rejected and the exiled are banished: Cain (*Gn.* 4:11–16), Hagar and Ishmael (*Gn.* 21:9–15), and the scapegoat that was burdened with the sins of Israel (*Lv.* 16:8–10). Particularly characteristic of the most ancient sedentary societies of the Middle East (Haldar, 1950), this conception was long lived. For the prophets of Israel (e.g., *Ez.* 20) and in the accounts of the Exodus, the time in the desert is that of infidelity (*Ex.* 17:7), of the golden calf (*Ex.* 32), and of punishment before the entrance into the Promised Land.

But another, parallel attitude also developed: the desert as apprenticeship and self-knowledge. As a terrain of struggle, the desert leads to the discovery of one's own being and, thereby, to the affirmation of the individual. At a more evolved stage of religious thought, it is the privileged place of divine revelation, of the betrothal of Israel with Yahveh

(Gillet, 1949), of the offer of alliance, and of law that brings liberation. After the infidelities in the land of Canaan, it was by means of a return to the desert, the place of love and intimacy with the divine, that reconciliation with Yahveh was achieved (*Hos.* 2:14–16; *Jer.* 2:2–3). The desert thus becomes a refuge from corruption and depravity. Philo Judaeus (d. 45–50 CE) adds to this specifically Jewish conception a theme of Hellenistic mysticism—the romantic yearning of the world-weary city dweller for solitude, for retreat to the desert, where he can find peace. The desert, where the air is pure and light (*On the Contemplative Life* 22–23), assumes for Philo an absolute value. It was for this reason that God gave his laws to his people "in the depths of the desert" (*On the Decalogue* 2). This idea leaves its trace, then, through a whole series of Christian authors, for example, Origen: "John the Baptist, fleeing the tumult of the cities, went into the desert, where the air is purer, the sky more open, and God more intimate" (*Homilies on Luke* 11). It is the point of departure of the entire Christian monastic movement toward settlement in the desert after the fourth century—a movement that to a large extent regains the primitive pessimistic vision in its land of choice, Egypt.

The desert is where the devil is encountered and where Christ contended with him (Mauser, 1963). Monastic asceticism developed as a struggle in a fearsome place that was the land of demons par excellence. But this struggle was victorious. The presence of the pious anchorites integrated the desert into the realm of faith either by transforming it into a city, *desertum civitas* (Athanasius, *Life of Anthony* 14; cf. Chitty, 1966), or by fertilizing it and making it bloom according to the prophecy of *Isaiah* 35:1: *desertum floribus vernans* (Jerome, *Letters* 14). Finally, it was in the desert that the monks would find *hēsuchia,* the serenity of solitude. Christian tradition would thus, in the course of centuries, base the movement toward the solitary life that was to become as essential component of it on the image of the desert as a place of solitude (*ēremia*).

This approbation of solitude, brought to its apogee in Christianity, was to be more or less present in all higher religions in which the ascetic imperative is based on meditation, which is facilitated by life in the desert: Buddhism, particularly in the Tantric forms, Daoism, and Islam. However, in the case of Islam, the acceptance was relatively cautious. For the Muslims, the desert was above all a *thème d'illustration* (Arnaldez, 1975). It is necessary to "realize" the desert of spiritual solitude before the sole existent being, God. But it is dangerous to actually take abode in the desert. It is true that there man can avoid hypocritical ostentation (*riʾāʾ*) and the artificial social role that destroys authentic sincerity (*ikhlās*). But he thereby runs the risk of arrogance, of developing the cult of his inner self. This more reserved attitude of Islam in regard to the reality of the desert does not affect the value attributed to the desert as a synonym for solitude and retreat, ending in the solitariness (*infirād*) that culminates in mystical ascension. Both by its nature and its symbols, the desert brings man closer to God.

The Desert in the History of Religions. Does this proximity to the divine lead to the development of a particular religious structure? Ernest Renan thought so. In his *Histoire générale des langues sémitiques* (1885), inspired by the long Christian tradition, he wrote: "The desert is monotheistic. Sublime in its immense uniformity, it first revealed to man the idea of infinity, but not the perception of an unceasingly creative life that a more fertile nature inspired in other races" (p. 6). He later returned to this idea and defined it more precisely in his *Histoire du peuple d'Israël* (vol. 1, 1887, pp. 45, 59). He found the basis for the development of primitive monotheism, which he attributed to the Semitic peoples, to be "the customs of nomadic life," where there is little room for cultic practice and where "philosophical reflection, exercised intensely within a small circle of observation, leads to extremely simple ideas." More than a century after Renan, his idea of the desert as source and origin of Jewish monotheistic thought would again inspire the works of a master of biblical archaeology, William Albright (1964, pp. 154–156).

Actually, this idea is now largely outdated and has been vigorously disputed. All the studies on pre-Islamic Arab religion in particular (Wellhausen, 1897; Ryckmans, 1951; Henninger, 1959) have drawn a picture of it that has little to do with monotheism and that associates with the supreme deity, Allah, a numerous and varied cortege of deities. The desert is the domain of polymorphous and diffuse ritual. It is, to repeat the expression of the Qurʾān, "associationistic," and the desert bedouin are "the most obdurate in their impiety and hypocrisy" (sura 9:97).

However, the situation remains ambiguous. Beside and above the other gods was Allāh. He was incontestably a god of the nomads, a provider of rain (Brockelmann, 1922), and one can easily imagine the extreme importance that he assumed for a nomad whose survival depends entirely on the condition of the grazing land. Not only among the Arabs was the god of rain the unique god. It has been possible to reconstruct the special characteristics of the religion of pastoral peoples in general in conjunction with the peculiarities of their social structure and their way of life; such a reconstruction has been made for the first time in an environment very different from the desert, namely, that of the high grassy savannas of East Africa (Meinhof, 1926). The creation of powerful personages, of heroic saviors who are then frequently enrobed in historic myths connected with the origins of the tribe, is an expression of the instability of the pastoral tribe, which assembles or disperses in accordance with the importance of the individuals that direct and guide it within a context of aggressive relationships between groups. This orientation often accompanies that which consists of making the god of rain the unique god, dispenser of all benefices. The herdsman soon breaks free of polytheism. Ancestor worship is unknown to him, and the dead are forgotten. The herdsman is knowledgeable and intrepid, little inclined toward fear and superstition.

One is here indeed on the way to the monotheistic god, but under the impetus of a somewhat different logic. It is not that the desert is monotheistic but rather that the pastoral nomad has the tendency, at least, to become monotheistic. In contrast with the profusion of rituals in the Australian desert traversed by primitive hunters or gatherers is the evolution toward the monotheistic god of the warlike pastoral tribe, herders of large beasts of the African savannas or the bedouin of the deserts of the Old World. This trend toward monotheism is a late development in the cultural history of humanity. Contrary to Wilhelm Schmidt's opinion, this "great god of the herdsmen" is not the legacy of a primitive monotheism. Today we know that the pastoral nomads were, in the main, descendants of the first agrarian civilizations of the Old World, or were at least posterior to them. They constitute, in the world of the deserts and the steppes, a relatively recent cultural development, first in the form of the prebedouin herders of bovines, and then, after the domestication of the horse and the dromedary, in the form of the widespread, aggressive, warlike nomadism of the bedouin type, which in the Middle East does not go back further than the second millennium BCE.

But the appearance of monotheistic tendencies in the tribes of pastoral nomads can be rapid, as is shown by the analysis of neopastoral civilizations of the New World (Planhol, 1975). The Navajo of the Colorado plateaus of North America, whose pastoral mode of life did not emerge until the second half of the eighteenth century, still do not recognize a supreme deity (Reichard, 1950). But among the Goajira of Colombia and Venezuela, whose aggressive, cavalieristic, pastoral life goes back at least two or three centuries, there is a process of elaboration that seems much more advanced. Involved here is the predominance of a demiurgic creator (Maleiwa) and a rain giver (Juya), who are, however, not yet confused with each other, although the first signs of such a confusion are evident (Perrin, 1976). Among the herdsmen of East Africa, such as the Maasai, whose formation of a pastoral system goes back at least a thousand years, pastoral monotheism is well defined.

But, rather than being a true monotheism, it is in fact a monolatry in that it is willing to recognize the existence of other gods, who fulfil the same functions for the benefit of neighboring tribes or peoples; it is a protomonotheism in Baly's sense of the term (1970, pp. 258–259). The moral monotheism (Baly's "absolute" or "transcendent" monotheism) is a much more complex and revolutionary structure (Pettazzoni, 1950), the birth of which implies a break, not a simple evolution. Its occurrence exclusively in the Middle Eastern and Old World cultural environment reflects conditions of conflict. Here the presence of groups of pastoral nomads with still rather primitive monotheistic tendencies certainly played an essential role within the orbit of sedentary, sacerdotal civilizations that were polytheistic but much more highly developed (as Weindl, 1935, demonstrated). These conflicts could not be resolved except by a universalistic aspiration such as that of which the birth of Islam, following that of Judeo-Christian monotheism and Zoroastrian dualism, constitutes the final manifestation (Watt, 1953, 1956; Rodinson, 1961). Although Yahvism, as Nyström (1946) has shown, surpasses and in many particulars contradicts and transcends the bedouin ideal, this ideal is nonetheless necessary to it.

There is, therefore, no "religion of the desert." But, in the historical evolution of humanity in the Old World, the deserts have indeed been the privileged place for the development of the pastoral nomadic cultures that evolved precociously toward monotheism and that constituted an essential component in the genesis of the great monotheistic religions.

SEE ALSO Arabian Religions; Eremitism; Monotheism; Retreat.

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DESIRE is one of those important subjects that are seldom discussed under their own names, so that one hardly knows where to go for answers to questions about the nature of desire and its significance for the religious or spiritual life. The term *desire* is only rarely found in the index or tables of contents of books on religion, even when the term figures prominently in the author's description or interpretation of religion. In addition, there is no widely shared consensus about the meaning of the term, so it is put to a variety of uses. There is no standard inventory of experiences, realities, or relations to which the term refers.

In order to clarify the subject of desire and indicate some representative ways in which desire has been religiously and spiritually interpreted, its scope and boundaries will be discussed through a cross-cultural overview. In this context, the varieties of desire and of the experiences, realities, and terms closely associated with desire—and of other terms antithetical to it, terms of contrast through which some of the particular meanings of desire become fixed—will be examined. The dimensions of desire will thus be reflected upon by charting the regions of human experience to which the term *desire* refers.

In a discussion of the term *desire,* three kinds of questions need be considered. First, what is it that is being named? How is desire thought of, imagined, represented to oneself, and located in relation to other phenomena? Second, how does desire enter into human experience? In what circumstances does it become an issue for the religious or spiritual life? Third, how do people deal with desire in their religious or spiritual lives? What are the negative and positive strategies with which religious and spiritual individuals, communities, and traditions have dealt with desire? Where desire has been taken as a threat to the religious life or to spiritual integrity, what strategies have been developed to discipline, train, overcome, transcend, detach from, or eradicate desire? Where desire has been viewed more positively, what strategies have been developed to channel, direct, release, render articulate, or otherwise enlist and incorporate the energies and vitality of desire into the spiritual or religious life? In other words, how have individuals and communities sought to share and pass on what they have learned about desire and how to deal with it?

What is named when speaking of desire? How is it thought about, imagined, represented to oneself, and located in relation to other phenomena—particularly to matters of religious or spiritual importance?

Desire is commonly understood in volitional terms, in which case it is identified with such things as willing, wanting, and wishing, choice and appetite, inspiration and motivation, and even with intention. Desire is also understood in more emotional or affectional rather than volitional terms, in which case it is associated or identified with such things as emotion, feeling, passion, love, eros, (and eroticism), attachment, craving, yearning, greed, and lust. These volitional and affectional vocabularies for interpreting desire are, of course, not incompatible—especially if, as is often the case, the affections are understood as central to or constitutive of the self as willing and loving. Where reason is set over against and valued above either will or emotion, desire will usually be viewed as spiritually problematic.

In discussions of religious ethics, desire will figure more positively in teleological than in deontological ethics. Teleological ethics is likely to involve some consideration of the *telos* (goal or object) of desire—its satisfaction or fulfillment in happiness, well-being, pleasure, ecstacy, and/or union or communion or some other form of participation in the divine or sacred reality. In deontological ethics, on the other hand, desire will be seen in tension or conflict with the governing moral principles of obligation and duty. Yet here, too, reality goes beyond the terms of analysis, as when through the agency of religious rituals duty is sometimes converted into desire. According to anthropologist Victor Turner, sacred symbols have two semantic poles, one abstract and normative, the other physiological and "orectic"—that is, relating to desire or appetite, willing and feeling. The drama of ritual action, he suggests, may cause an exchange of properties between these semantic poles, condensing their many referents into a single cognitive and affective field, the biological referents ennobled and the normative referents charged with emotional significance. By such an exchange of qualities between semantic poles, what is socially necessary is rendered desirable, and duty becomes desire.

There is at least one striking contrast in the cultural and religious treatment of desire between Oriental and Occidental cultures. In Western cultures desire is generally given a more positive place in the vision of human being and well-being. But that affirmation tends to remain at a fairly abstract level, formulated by theologians. At the more pedestrian level of spiritual guidance and of daily life among ordinary people, desire is hedged about with all sorts of constraints. In both East and West, desire is treated in a highly differentiated fashion, but the pattern of differentiation varies significantly. In Asia desires are viewed in the context of the stages of life and are judged and constrained or released and licensed differently, according to the stage of life in question. In the West, desires are viewed more consistently in relation to their objects rather than to the stages of life, and desires are evaluated and graded according to higher and lower, finer and coarser objects of desire.

Desire figures in human experience in many ways and becomes religiously valid or problematic under a variety of circumstances. To illustrate the spiritual importance and power of desire and the complexity of the issues raised by desire, consider two of the greatest religious texts: the *Dao de jing,* the principal classic of Daoism, a collection of about the fourth century BCE attributed to Laozi, and Augustine's *Confessions,* a Christian classic written near the end of the fourth century CE. The *Dao de jing* is divided into two books. Book 1 begins and ends on the subject of desire:

> The way that can be spoken of
> Is not the constant way;
> The name that can be named
> Is not the constant name.
> The nameless was the beginning of heaven and earth;
> The named was the mother of the myriad creatures.
> Hence always rid yourself of desires in order to
> observe its [the way's] secrets;
> But always allow yourself to have desires in order to
> observe its [the way's] manifestations.
>
> The way never acts yet nothing is left undone.
> Should lords and princes be able to hold fast to it,
> The myriad creatures will be transformed of their own
> accord.
> After they are transformed, should desire raise its head,
> I shall press it down with the weight of the nameless
> uncarved block.
> The nameless uncarved block
> Is but freedom from desire,
> And if I cease to desire and remain still,
> The empire will be at peace of its own accord.
> (*Dao de jing,* trans. D. C. Lau, Baltimore, 1963, pp. 57, 96)

The ambiguity of desire is recognized, as well as the need to be acquainted with it. But real power and serenity lies in freedom from desire and in the active inactivity that is here identified with the "nameless uncarved block." Desire is presented as a problem rather than a resource for true spirituality.

In contrast, Augustine takes a very different view of desire. Addressing himself to God, he begins the *Confessions* by proclaiming the greatness of God and the desire to praise Him. "Thou movest us to delight in praising Thee; for Thou hast formed us for Thyself, and our hearts are restless till they find rest in Thee." But Augustine goes on to write of other desires that distract him from desire for God—desires for success and adulation, sexual desires, that great complex of desires that he came to identify as belonging to the City of Man in contrast with those of the City of God.

How do people deal with desire in their religious or spiritual lives? For some, desire itself, of whatever sort, is spiritually destructive. The primary—or at any rate initial—aim of their spiritual practice and discipline is to wean themselves from all desire, even the desire for enlightenment, self-transcendence, liberation, salvation, *nirvāṇa,* or mystical union with God. For others, desire is not itself intrinsically problematic but is seen as an essential and even a central mark of their humanity and of their spirituality. The issue for them is the right direction of desire, the right ordering of the various desires toward their appropriate objects, and a true perception of appropriate rank among possible objects of desire.

The experience of desire is often powerful and demanding. One may experience a single powerful desire as all-consuming and overriding all others. Or one may experience conflicting desires and find ourselves wrestling with their competing claims. Even if one has resolved the issues raised by a particular desire or set of desires, one may well find that resolution challenged and upset by the appearance of yet new desires, and at some point in this process one's response may well be to seek a path away from all desire—a way of apathy, disinterestedness.

Desire invokes, if it does not actually generate, tension and contrast—between the present and the future, the actual and the possible, the real and the ideal—and tends to nourish or express restless dissatisfaction with the former in each of these pairs and to assign higher value to the latter. And yet the disquieting role of desire can be seen as undermining complacency, mobilizing creative energies, and generating new achievements.

EASTERN CONCEPTS. A representative range of religious movements and texts will be selectively analyzed to illuminate the issues raised by the religious significance of desire. This examination will be a topical study rather than a chronological survey of historical records. For this reason some of the early religious movements are passed over entirely, and modern movements, texts, and developments have generally not been considered.

In India various sentiments have been recorded to define desire. At both the intellectual-scholarly and the popular levels, the element of desire has been discussed and analyzed.

Hinduism. Among the ancient sacred texts that deal with desire, the *Bhagavadgītā* (the most revered of Hindu texts, composed between the fifth and second centuries BCE) has been generally considered the most important one. In this tradition *kāma* (Skt., "desire") is one of the four basic aims or drives (*puruṣārtha*s) that need to be either satisfied, redirected, or transcended in life. The four basic aims are *dharma* (in its narrower meaning of social duty), *artha* (enjoyment of material things), *kāma* (pleasurable experiences generally, but often, as in the context of the *Gītā,* the satisfaction of sensual desire), and *mokṣa* (release, liberation). They are to be realized, transformed, or transcended in such a way as to realize one's personal obligation (*svadharma*) in accordance with one's social station and stage of life. Thus the exact nature of one's response to desire depends upon one's place in the class system (*varna*) and one's advancement along the path marked by the four basic stages (*āśrama*s) of life—student, householder, forest dweller, and renunciant.

The appropriate measure for the enjoyment or the control of desire and its objects and related passions is also seen in Hinduism in terms of the three *guṇa*s (energy fields, or strands), which differently combine to form all things in nature (*prakṛti*). In ascending order of spiritual health, these three *guṇa*s are *tamas, rajas,* and *sattva.* A life in which ignorance, insensibility, and lethargy predominate is *tamas* (dullness), one in which emotion and subjectivity predominate is *rajas* (turbulence), and one in which intelligence and objectivity predominate is *sattva* (dynamic equilibrium).

Fulfillment of one's own *dharma* (*svadharma*), again, involves some combination of three types of discipline (*yoga*), each of them requiring the sublimation and transcendence of desires, passions, and emotions together with an intensification of (1) action without attachment in *karmayoga,* the *yoga* of work and action, (2) loving devotion to a personal deity in *bhaktiyoga,* and (3) knowledge and wisdom in the most demanding path of *jñānayoga.* The aim is to rise above both *tamas* and *rajas* toward the equilibrium and detachment of *sattva,* knowing neither attraction nor repulsion, neither pleasure nor pain, having passed from both the absence and the turbulence of desire to the renunciation of all desires and aversions into a condition of equilibrium or serenity beyond desire.

In the *Gītā,* desire, anger, and greed are described as "the threefold gate of Hell that leads to the ruin of the soul" (16.21). Arjuna, the protagonist, learns that he must move among the objects of sense "with the senses under control and . . . free from desire and aversion" (2.62) if he would attain "serenity of mind" and that the same is required if he would attain intelligence, concentration, peace, or happiness. "He attains peace into whom all desires flow as waters into the sea, which, though even being filled, is ever motionless" (2.70). Yet it is only particular desires that are to be abandoned, for action without attachment involves "desiring [only] to maintain the order of the world" through one's action (2.71), and Kṛṣṇa, the god, declares: "I am the strength of the strong, which is free from desire and passion," but also "I am the desire in all beings, which is not incompatible with dharma" (7.11).

The *Gītā* is the most important sacred text in a tradition in which desires are ultimately to be overcome in detachment. In the Vedas and the Upaniṣads, desire is given a prominent place in the description of human nature, but then precisely for that reason it is ultimately desire that must be uprooted in order to achieve liberation from bondage to the wheel of existence. Nonetheless, in that same tradition, desires appropriate to the stages of life on the way to liberation are affirmed and even celebrated with imaginative exuberance. *Kāma* (desire, most especially erotic and sensual desire, delight, and pleasure) is often assigned a very positive role in the spiritual life and in the religious vision of reality. At one level of this tradition is the *Kāma Sūtra,* a manual for the enrichment of erotic and sexual pleasure appropriate to the householder stage of life.

At a deeper and broader level of this tradition there is the rich and complex Hindu mythology in which the place of desire in the life of the gods is portrayed. Wendy O'Flaherty, in *Asceticism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Śiva* (London, 1973), has shown, for example, how in the mythology of Śiva, desire and asceticism, chastity and sexuality, quiescence and energy, are variously related and yet in a fashion that affirms even where it does not clarify a profound inner connection between asceticism and eroticism and the power inherent in the transformation of one into the other. The tension is exhibited in part through the conflict between Śiva and Kāma—Śiva, the eternal *brahmacārin* (student), the god whose essence is chastity, and Kāma, the god of desire. But the conflict is also evident within Śiva himself, for he sometimes appears in the ambiguous figure of an erotic ascetic, both yogin and lover, (even a yogin because he is a lover) and is sometimes represented in images with an erect phallus, the ithyphallic yogin. While in Hindu mythology asceticism and eroticism revolve about each other in cycles of alternating ascendancy, chastity building into desire and the fulfillment of desire leading to chastity, the balance of these energies is found ideally through the control and transformation of desire.

Tantrism, a complex of teachings and practices that takes both Hindu and Buddhist forms, develops some of these last themes in a radical direction. Tantric teaching envisages the world as a field of energy generated through the sexual union of masculine and feminine aspects of sacred energy, *śakti.* The mobilization of *kāma,* desire, plays an important part in Tantric practice designed to participate in the restoration of the universe to its original unity with its sacred source. That practice involves the sublimation rather than the conquest or destruction of desire. It includes the ritually controlled performance of sexual union, but without consummation, redirecting the energy spiritually upward rather than physically outward. In emulation of the sacred activity of world-generation, erotic desire and play is thus ritually elevated into a vehicle of meditative discipline and devotion (*bhakti*)—and a means of sharing in the plenitude of sacred power by which the world is sustained.

Buddhism. The *Dhammapada,* an early Theravāda Buddhist collection of teachings about the moral life and the path to spiritual perfection, includes much on the subject of desire. Desire is a principal manifestation of the selfish craving, grasping, or blind demandingness (Pali, *taṇhā*) that, according to the four noble truths of Buddhism, is the cause of unhappiness, pain, and sorrow (*duḥkha*), and that can only be destroyed by following the eightfold path toward the freedom and joy of *nirvāṇa.* The 423 aphorisms of the *Dhammapada* offer guidance for those who would follow that eightfold path. Humanity is portrayed as besieged by dangerous and destructive desires on every side. "When the thirty-six streams of desire that run towards pleasures are strong, their powerful waves carry away that man without vision whose imaginings are lustful desires" (339). "The creeper of craving grows everywhere," and one must "cut off its roots by the power of wisdom" (340). Only if you "cut down the forest of desires" and its undergrowth, and not only a particular tree of desire, will you "be free on the path of freedom" (283). Beyond that, if the very "roots of craving are not wholly uprooted" (338) the tree and forest of desires will flourish again. Desire is specifically associated with pleasure, passion, lust, sensuousness, and craving (212–216), and all of these are portrayed as generating sorrow, fear, hatred, bondage, and disharmony. On the other hand, the surrender of all desires leads to the joy, wisdom, and freedom of *nirvāṇa.* "The loss of desires conquers all sorrows" (354). "When desires go, joy comes: The follower of Buddha finds this truth" (187). The true *brahman,* "leaving behind the desires of the world" (415), "has nothing and desires nothing" (421). "He who has no craving desires, either for this world or for another world, who free from desires is in infinite freedom—him I call a brahman" (410).

In Zen Buddhism, a Japanese religious movement of Chinese origin that emphasizes the direct experience of enlightenment, desire is treated in a somewhat different fashion. A Mahāyāna Buddhist text, popular in the Zen school, the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra,* extresses compactly the aim of *dhyāna* (Jpn., *zen,* "meditation, trance"): "The goal of tranquilization is to be reached not by suppressing all mind activity but by getting rid of discriminations and attachments." As discrimination dissolves and distinctions—between self and other, between this and that, even between *saṃsāra* and *nirvana*—are experienced as illusory, desire and attachment fall away as well, and delusion is displaced by enlightenment (Jpn., *satori*).

Zen Buddhism in Japan is most powerfully represented by the Rinzai and Sōtō sects, whose principal discipline is *zazen,* sitting meditation. The Rinzai practice is to concentrate meditation on a *kōan,* a riddle designed to break the grip of the discriminating rational mind, opening the way for *kenshō,* the experience of seeing into one's essential Buddha nature and realizing one's unity with all that is. In Sōtō practice the adherent moves through the unity of body and mind in sitting, to concentrate on the sitting itself, *shikantaza,* "just sitting"—not sitting in order to accomplish some objective but just sitting, letting the activity of the "monkey mind" come and go as it will, letting come what may and letting it go, accepting what comes but not desiring and not holding on, simply letting the mind be emptied of all discriminations and attachments, and in that simplicity of presence actualizing one's undefiled Buddha nature and opening the way to *satori,* enlightenment. In all of this there is no place for desire—except of course, paradoxically, for the desire to break through one's own illusory view of reality and experience the true reality of Buddha nature. That desire, too, is dissolved rather than conquered in the sustained discipline of Zen—a way of just being in accord with the Way, letting go of any desire that the "thatness" (*tathatā,* "suchness") of things be otherwise. The practice of meditation then becomes a model for activity in everyday life, with everything to be done just for what it is, just doing, just being, and not aiming at some desired end.

Daoism. Daoism is an important Chinese movement whose influence extended beyond the sectarian confines of the Daoist church to the arts, literature, and Chinese philosophy in general. Its influence can also be discerned in the formation of the Chinese Chan school (known in Japan as Zen) of Mahāyāna Buddhism. As is evident from the passages from the *Dao de jing* already cited, Daoism recommends freedom from desire as essential to the Way (the Dao) and its power or virtue (*de*). But it proposes to achieve that freedom, not by disciplined control of desire or even of the mind, nor quite by rising above desire, but rather by going beneath it, by following the wisdom of the valley, of water, in which is to be found the power of the Way. "The highest virtue is like the valley" (41). "Highest good is like water. Because water excels in benefiting the myriad creatures without contending with them and settles where none would like to be, it comes close to the Way" (8). Nature rather than empire provides the models. "The river and the sea" are powerful, and their power endures, because "they excel in taking the lower position" (66). Even the empire will be at peace if the ruler will but say with the sage, "I am free from desire, and the people of themselves become simple like the uncarved block" (57). Abandon desires, simply let them drop. Seek not to control them or the world, but find spiritual health—and, not incidentally, survival—in a life of simplicity, humility, and harmony with nature, the flow of which is only disturbed by desires. In *wuwei,* the action that is no action, lies the power of the Way. "The Way never acts yet nothing is left undone" (37). Do not try to establish harmony, as though it depended upon you, but let go and let harmony reign, as it will do of its own accord. Such is the perspective of Daoism on desire.

WESTERN CONCEPTIONS. Turning now from religions of Eastern origin to religions of Middle Eastern and Western origin, it is necessary to again be very selective, because there is no hope of even surveying the relevant literature on desire or of describing the many strategies for addressing desires. The principal sources that provide the themes upon which variations have been played are to be found in ancient Israel and in ancient Greece, in the Bible and in Hellenistic cultures. The variations are themselves substantial, although for the most part they share a generally more positive assessment of desire as an ingredient in human nature and as contributing to spiritual fulfillment than is characteristics of the religious movements already examined.

Stoicism. Among the traditions in the West, Stoicism provides a unique perspective. The *Enchiridion* of Epictetus, a Hellenistic philosopher who taught in Rome in the late first century and early second century CE, is the most influential formulation of basic Stoic teachings. Epictetus begins by distinguishing things within one's power from things beyond one's power. Desire is among the former things, and in a world where there is much that is beyond one's power, one can achieve spiritual serenity and freedom only to the extent that one disregards things beyond one's control and focuses on those things one can control. The basis of such a life is the perception that there is a universal *logos* (reason) and *nomos* (law) at work in all that happens and that if one keeps one's mind in harmony with that universal nature, responding to events according to reason and not emotion, then one's external circumstances will be of little consequence. One can live in simplicity, with moderate desires and expectations, not demanding that events happen as one wishes, but wishing them to happen as they do happen. Stoicism is a religious philosophy of lowered expectations and reflective responsibility in the station to which one is assigned by God.

Old Testament. The Old Testament contains many observations about various desires, ranging from the use of erotic love and desire and pleasure as metaphors for God's relationship to Israel to expressions of God's frustrated desire and longing for a covenant faithfulness on the part of the people of Israel and expressions of comparable desire on their part for intimacy with God, as well as injunctions to detach from or to discipline various desires in accordance with God's commandments and laws. What the Bible has to say directly about desire may fairly be summed up in three passages: the Lord's declaration through the prophet Hosea, "For I desire steadfast love and not sacrifice, the knowledge of God, rather than burnt offerings" (*Hos.* 6:60); the exclamation, "My soul thirsts for God, for the living God" (*Ps.* 42:2); and the saying of Jesus, "For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also" (*Mt.* 6:21).

Early Christianity. Augustine (354–430 CE) gives the most powerful classical formulation of the convergence of Hellenistic and biblical traditions. It is from Augustine that has come the most influential expression of Western religious thought about desire and also the most important expression of what has proved for many to be most problematic about the orientation toward desire. There is in Augustine something of the whole range of Christian attitudes toward desire.

Augustine affirms the basic biblical conviction that everything that is has its origin in God and is essentially good and that by the grace of God the world is being restored from a fallen condition to its proper destiny in God. The appropriate human role in that process is to conform the will to God in a covenant of faith and obedience to God's laws, or, to put the same matter differently, to conform the heart to God in love to God and neighbor. In either case the critical human response is a matter of will or of love more than it is of reason or of knowledge, and desire is central to Augustine's understanding of both will and love—or, more precisely, of willing and loving as different terms for the same activity. So, in the *City of God,* Augustine says: "The right will is . . . well-directed love, and the wrong will is ill-directed love. Love, then, yearning to have what is loved, is desire; and having and enjoying it, is joy; feeling what is opposed to it, is fear; and feeling what is opposed to it, when it has befallen it, is sadness" (14.7). In the *Confessions,* Augustine had said that "the mind can experience four kinds of emotion—desire, joy, fear, and sorrow" (10.14). It is these same four emotions that he here presents as forms of love, with the critical and spiritually constructive role assigned to the affirmative affections of desire and joy.

The way in which Augustine appropriates Hellenistic and especially Platonic ideas into his formulation of Christian thought is illustrated by his also presenting the four classical Greek virtues as forms of love:

> Temperance is love giving itself entirely to that which is loved; fortitude is love readily bearing all things for the sake of the loved object; justice is love serving only the loved object, and therefore ruling rightly; prudence is love distinguishing with sagacity between what hinders it and what helps it. The object of this love is not anything, but only God, the chief good, the highest wisdom, the perfect harmony. So we may express the definition thus: that temperance is love keeping itself entire and incorrupt for God; fortitude is love bearing everything readily for the sake of God; justice is love serving God only, and therefore ruling well all else, as subject to man; prudence is love making a right distinction between what helps it towards God and what might hinder it. (*Morals of the Catholic Church,* chap. 15)

The passage is worth quoting at length in this context, for the second formulation shows clearly that the first formulation is also about four forms of that true virtue that for Augustine is not just any love or all love but specifically the love of God. It is also clear that these forms of love are all manifestations of desire, that is, of that phase in the life of the virtuous lover marked more by yearning for what is loved than by the joy of actually or fully having and enjoying it.

Indeed, for Augustine all of human life is moved by desires. He takes it for granted that "we all certainly desire to live happily" and that without desire people do nothing. The problem is not to uproot or transcend desire, which is an essential mark of humanity and of belonging to God. It is right rather to direct desires toward their appropriate objects and to order all objects of desire in accordance with their true relation to God, the *summum bonum,* the source and center of all value and beauty, in whom alone restless human hearts will find the satisfaction of all their deepest desires. It is for Augustine the dynamic of desires that draws the heart toward God, though only an infusion of divine grace is sufficient to turn desire from all lesser goods toward God. Augustine makes a major distinction between desires directed upward, which he calls *caritas,* or love, and those directed downward, which he calls *cupiditas,* or lust. The one tends toward God, the other toward worldly goods. An even sharper contrast is invoked as he distinguishes between the City of God and the City of Man, the heavenly and earthly cities into which all humanity is divided, the one formed by the desire or "love of God, even to the contempt of self," the other by the "love of self, to the contempt of God" (*City of God,* 14.28). An otherwise Platonic contrast between lower and higher desires and their corresponding hierarchy of objects cumulating in God is thus transformed into a more historical contrast culminating in heaven and hell—a contrast and contest between those moved to seek God and respond to God's grace and those moved to seek self and the world.

Three kinds of objections have been raised against Augustine's views related to desire. Mention of them can serve as a shorthand way of indicating some alternatives to Augustine among Christians that cannot be surveyed here. One objection is that even if Augustine is right that all of human life is moved by desires, he is wrong in identifying the love of God with desire, and that he is led into that error by adopting the Platonic idea of love as *eros,* an aspiring love moved by the beauty of its object and the desire to possess and enjoy that object. Anders Nygren, a Lutheran theologian, has been most forceful in claiming that "*agape,* Christian love . . . has nothing to do with desire and longing" (*Agape and Eros,* London, 1932–1939), because it is a love which bestows value rather than being attracted by it. M. C. D'Arcy in *The Mind and Heart of Love* (New York, 1947) and Daniel D. Williams in *The Spirit and the Forms of Love* (New York, 1968) are among those who have challenged Nygren's diametrical opposition between *eros* and *agape.*

A second objection has been that Augustine, and with him Thomas Aquinas and much of Christian orthodoxy, has been led by Greek ideas about the impassibility of God—the idea, for example, that God's perfection includes his being unchanging and self-sufficient—into either denying or distorting the biblical view that God, too, is moved by desire, because desire is the mark of some need, some lack, which would be remedied or satisfied by what is desired. The issue is whether a God who is understood to love and act with a purpose in the world can without contradiction be construed as unchanging, impassible, unmoved by desires such as those that are often attributed to God in the Bible and in the piety of both Jews and Christians.

A third objection has been against Augustine's repudiation of sexual desire and his influence on the long history of the Roman Catholic Church's requirement of celibacy for the priesthood and its teaching that sexual pleasure and even the expression of love are at best only secondary ends of sexual intercourse, the primary end of which is said to be conception.

Medieval and Renaissance Christianity. The pivotal role of Augustine is illustrated by the fact that the other three most important theologians of Roman Catholic and Protestant Christianity, Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), Martin Luther (1483–1546), and John Calvin (1509–1564), are all essentially Augustinian and in most respects do not depart from Augustine's views on desire. Thomas Aquinas, following Aristotle, assigns more importance to the intellect and reason in directing the will than does Augustine and gives a more Aristotelian turn to the ranking and the formation of intellectual and moral virtues in the governance of appetites, passions, and desires by reason. The classical Greek virtues are not presented by him as forms of love but are rather supplemented by the three theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity, through which God's grace makes possible and completes the natural desire of all intelligent creatures for the "vision of God."

On the subject of desire, Luther departs from Augustine principally in connection with his insistence upon the universal priesthood of all believers, the dignity of all callings and not only of the priesthood, and hence the abandonment of celibacy as essential to the priesthood. He also exhibits a certain lustiness of character and a more affirmative attitude toward the expression of sexual desire within the context of married love.

John Calvin departs from Augustine primarily by developing a distinctively political strategy in both church and state for the encouragement and the enforcement of sober, righteous, and godly lives turned from ungodliness and worldly lust. He was at war against what he called "irregular desires" or "inordinate desires of the flesh" (*The Institutes of the Christian Religion* 3.3.2). Such desires are considered sinful "not as they are natural, but because they are inordinate" and are contrasted with "those desires which God implanted so deeply" in human nature "that they cannot be eradicated from it without destroying humanity itself." Desires are to be drawn away from the world and toward God. "Whatever is abstracted from the corrupt love of this life should be added to the desire for a better" one in full communion with God (3.2.4). But Calvin rejected too great an austerity as well as a stoic divestment of all affections, arguing that God's gifts are given for human pleasure and delight as well as for human necessity—though people are to use them as though they used them not, according to the requirements of their calling.

European Enlightenment. Barukh Spinoza (1632–1677), a freethinking but "God-intoxicated" philosopher (as some have called him), developed a religious philosophy akin to Stoicism in its determination to see things from a universal and rational perspective. But he assigns to desire a much more crucial and positive role in human experience than does Epictetus. In his *Ethics* he examines the conditions under which desire can spring from reason, from the knowledge and love of God. In his view, there are but three primary emotions—joy, sorrow, and desire. Of these three, to which all other emotions are related, it is the two affirmative affections of desire and joy that are most important, and of these "desire is the very nature or essence of a person" (3.57). It is the intellectual love of God that gives the mind power over its emotions, and the *Ethics* is an elaborate analysis of how this process culminates in and flows from a condition of blessedness.

MONASTICISM. Monasticism has been an important strategy for spiritual discipline and the control of desires in most religious traditions. For Buddhism it is the *saṃgha,* the community of monks. For Christians there have been a variety of monastic orders, many of them following variations on the rule drawn up by Benedict of Nursia (480–543), with many desires renounced by the three vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. The Benedictine rule requires manual labor in part to control desires by diverting energy and employs the image of the "ladder of humility" for the disciplinary steps by which "desires of the flesh" are cut away and displaced by the love of God and a "second nature" that delights in virtue. The *Little Flowers* of Francis of Assisi (thirteenth century), a collection of legends and traditions about the saint, reflects a different pattern of monastic discipline, more severe in its insistence upon poverty and freedom from all compromise with the world, but it also offers a more joyful asceticism, sending monks out of the cloister to delight in the created world and its beauty and to celebrate the realized desire for ecstatic union with Christ.

MYSTICISM. For the mystics, desire is generally equated with search for the transcendent. The testimony of Francis of Assisi has much in common with religious mysticism around the world, in which the experience as well as the language of desire and joy, of ecstasy and delight, play an important role. For the mystic, the spiritual desires cultivated and realized are of far greater significance than all the abandoned worldly desires. In his *Sayings of Light and Love,* John of the Cross (1542–1591) advises: "If you desire that devotion be born in your spirit and that the love of God and the desire for divine things increase, cleanse your soul of every desire and attachment and ambition in suchwise that you have no concern about anything." In *The Spiritual Canticle* he notes that "the soul lives where she loves more than in the body she animates," and that "God does not place His grace and love in the soul except according to its desire and love." And in *The Living Flame of Love* he declares to God:

> What you desire me to ask for, I ask for; and what you do not desire, I do not desire, nor can I, nor does it even enter my mind to desire it. . . . Tear then the thin veil of this life and do not let old age cut it naturally, that from now on I may love you with the plenitude and fullness my soul desires forever and ever.

Similiarly, the Ṣūfīs considered spiritual union with the transcendent beloved as the pivotal aspect of all their desires and endeavors. All else in existence was generally regarded as superfluous. The urgent quest for the almightly is thus reflected in the prayers of Rābiʿah al-ʿAdawīyah (d. 801):

> O God, my whole occupation and all my desire in this world, of all worldly things, is to remember Thee, and in the world to come, is to meet Thee. This is on my side, as I have stated; now do Thou whatsoever Thou wilt. O God, if I worship Thee for fear of Hell, burn me in Hell, and if I worship Thee in hope of Paradise, exclude me from Paradise; but if I worship Thee for thy own sake, grudge me not Thy everlasting beauty. (quoted in Arberry, p. 51)

As the prayer indicates, for Rābiʿah all aspects in life were subservient to her intense desire for spiritual elevation and union with God.

SEE ALSO Four Noble Truths; Logos; Mystical Union; Tantrism.

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DESTINY SEE FATE

DETERMINISM SEE FREE WILL AND DETERMINISM

DEUS OTIOSUS.

The Latin term *deus otiosus* (pl., *dei otiosi)*, meaning literally "god at leisure" or "god without work," denotes a god who has withdrawn or retired from active life. The paucity of detailed descriptions of these deities, when coupled with their widespread appearance in cultures around the globe, presents a puzzle for the study of religions. Athough the outline of these divine personalities is usually sketchy, they maintain a firm hold on the religious imagination. The study of gods who have retired from their arena of activity has provoked deep reflection on the meaning and function of symbols, especially of divine forms, in religious life.

CELESTIAL ASSOCIATIONS. Many African creation myths involving *dei otiosi* recount how the divine sky lay flat on the earth at the beginning of time. Nuba and Dogon myths, for example, describe how the chafing of the sky against the earth stunted human growth and disrupted normal routines of work. (R. C. Stevenson, "The Doctrine of God in the Nuba Mountains," in *African Ideas of God*, ed. E. W. Smith, London, 1950, p. 216; Marcel Griaule, *Masques Dogons*, Paris, 1938, p. 48). "In particular, women could not pound their grain without knocking against the sky, and so close relations finally ended when the sky's anger at the annoying blows of the women's pestles caused it to withdraw from the earth" (Dominique Zahan, *The Religion, Spirituality, and Thought of Traditional Africa*, Chicago, 1979, p. 16). In other African societies, such as the Nyarwanda and Rundi of central Africa, the creator god lived with the first people at the beginning of time (or the first people lived in the sky with the god). For one reason or another, the god moved away from the company of his creatures—upstream, downstream, to a mountaintop, or to the sky (R. Bourgeois, *Banyarwanda et Barundi*, Brussels, 1957, vol. 3, pp. 19–25).

Most forms of the *deus otiosus* cluster around the symbolism of the sky. The manifestation of the sacred in the sky and the belief in supreme beings of the sky is most often overwhelmed and replaced by other sacred forms. We do not mean to say that devotion to the beings of the sky was the first and only religious practice of archaic humankind. In the first place, we do not have the data we need to reconstitute the first forms of religious practice and belief in human history. More important, the study of histories that we know more fully indicate the unlikelihood that a belief in a supreme being of the sky would exclude all other religious forms. The point to begin with is that the experience of the sky as a religious reality, in fact as the divine sphere, places emphasis on the religious value of withdrawal and transcendence. The sky itself, as a symbol of sacred being, embraces or constitutes these elemental structures of a *deus otiosus*, withdrawal and transcendence. For this reason, countless other hierophanies can coexist with this sacred manifestation of the remote sky.

For example, Puluga is an omniscient sky-dwelling divinity revered in the Andaman Islands. After a stormy relationship with the first people, Puluga reminded them of his commands and withdrew. Men have never seen him since that time of estrangement at the beginning (Paul Schebesta, *Les Pygmées,* Paris, 1940, pp. 161–163). In a similar way, Témaukel, the eternal and omniscient creator of the Selk'nam of Tierra del Fuego, is called *so'onh-haskan* ("dweller in the sky") and *so'onh kas pémer* ("he who is in the sky"). Témaukel created mythical ancestors who took over the process of creating the world. Once creation was accomplished, he withdrew beyond the stars. For his part he remains indifferent to human affairs. Correspondingly, human beings possess no images of Témaukel or regular cult dedicated to him, and they direct their prayers to him only in cases of dire illness or bad weather (Martin Gusinde, "Das höchste Wesen bei den Selk'nam auf Feuerland," in *Wilhelm Schmidt Festschrift*, Vienna, 1928, pp. 269–274). The Muring people of the east coast of Australia recount in their myths the story of Daramulun, their "father" (*papang*) and "lord" (*biamban*). Daramulun, the true name of this divine being of the sky, is known only to initiates. For a brief time he lived on earth and instituted the rites of initiation. Since his return to the heavens his presence is made known mostly in the sounds of thunder, the eerie groans from the nocturnal jungle, and through the sound of sacred bull-roarer used in initiation rites (Alfred W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, New York, 1904, pp. 362ff., 466ff.). Similarly, Bunjil, the heavenly supreme being of the Kulin tribes of Australia, created earth, trees, animals, and human beings and then left the world to live in the heaven beyond the "dark heaven" visited by holy men (ibid., p. 490).

ABSENCE OF MYTH AND CULT. The most striking feature of the *deus otiosus* is the absence of an active cult dedicated to the god. Even where there is sporadic and spontaneous devotion, it is remarkable how often there is no regular calendar of seasonal rituals celebrated in honor of the god. Mythic accounts of the *deus otiosus* are scanty. Even those myths that exist are short compared to the dramatic epics of heroes, storm gods, or the divine forms associated with the agricultural cycle. A large number of celestial supreme beings receive no regular worship. Among them we may mention Muladjadi of the Batak of central Sumatra, Petara remembered by the Sea Dyaks of Kalimantan (Borneo), Ndengei of Fijian mythology, and Yelefaz from the island of Yap.

The absence of scheduled cult and the brevity of mythic reference to the *deus otiosus* led scholars to a misconception. At the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth (and even today, in some circles), scholars of religion and culture overlooked the importance of this religious form. The *deus otiosus* was seen as an anomalous piece of speculation, as a recent addition to the divine pantheon in response to contact with Christian missionaries, or as an archaic idea that had lost the clarity of its expression and meaning. It did not fit into the schemata that evaluated mythic thinking as infantile, unsubtle, or undeveloped. Rather than regard the absence of the *deus otiosus* from myth and cult as an inherent feature of its structure, scholars frequently ignored the issue or slighted its value in favor of theories that portrayed tribal peoples as theologically naive or intellectually underdeveloped.

WITHDRAWAL OF GOD. Myths that mention the *deus otiosus* usually face head-on the question of the god's absence from the preoccupations of culture. The narratives themselves describe the withdrawal or substitution of the supreme being. For example, Ọlọrun, the Yoruba divinity whose name means "lord or owner of the sky," turned over the project of creating the world to Ọbatala, one of his sons. When Ọbatala became drunk and mismanaged the creation of humans from clay, Oduduwa, his younger brother, usurped the task of creation. Ọlọrun then permanently absented himself from human history. He does not intervene directly in human affairs, for he delegated the care of human creation to his sons and to the *oriṣa*, a collection of deities each with its own precinct, priesthood, temple, and devotees. Although absent from the unfolding course of human affairs, Ọlọrun remains an essential presence, for he inspires the breath of life into all individuals and allots them their destiny. Furthermore, the Yoruba call upon Ọlọrun in times of desperate calamity (E. Bọlaji Idowu, *Olódùmarè: God in Yoruba Belief*, London, 1962; Peter Morton-Williams, "An Outline of the Cosmology and Cult Organization of the Oyo," *Africa* 34, 1964; Benjamin C. Ray, *African Religions: Symbol, Ritual, and Community*, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1976, pp. 49–76, esp. pp. 52ff.).

Myths describe the origins of the status of the *deus otiosus* in cultural life as well as in the religious imagination. On the one hand, the god withdraws on his own initiative after finishing his work of creation or of overseeing its accomplishment. On the other hand, another frequent scenario is the usurpation of the supreme being's sovereignty by a younger and more active god. In the Hittite translations of Hurrian texts made around 1300 BCE, there is an initial episode that describes the struggle for the "kingship of heaven." At first, the god Alalu was king, then the divinity named Anu overpowered him. At the beginning of Anu's reign, Kumarbi, the main protagonist of Hittite myth and the father of the gods, was Anu's servant. After nine years, Kumarbi chased Anu into the sky, tossed him to the ground, and bit off his loins (Hans G. Güterbock, "The Hittite Version of the Hurrian Kumarbi Myths: Oriental Forerunners of Hesiod," *American Journal of Archaeology* 52, 1948, pp. 123–124; and C. Scott Littleton, "The 'Kingship in Heaven' Theme," in *Myth and Law among the Indo-Europeans*, edited by Jaan Puhvel, Berkeley, 1970, pp. 93–100). A parallel in Greek mythology describes the castration of the sky god Ouranos and the forced separation of Heaven (Ouranos) from Earth (Gaia). In Mesopotamian mythology as well, the young gods led by Marduk guarantee that the great gods such as An, Enlil, and Ea lose their supremacy in the cult.

The existence in mythology of this most streamlined and ethereal of divine forms, the *deus otiosus*, teaches a lesson about the dynamics of the religious imagination. The *dei otiosi*, especially those supreme beings of the sky who retire after the creative episode, withdraw from the world in several senses. They withdraw on high and leave their creation behind. They also withdraw to the outer margins of the religious imagination and define the outermost reach of creativity, for they assume the most wispy of images. No doubt, contact with outsiders, especially Christians or Muslims, has often played a role in shaping the contemporary forms of *dei otiosi*. However, such contact does not preclude the existence of an indigenous structure of the *deus otiosus*. In fact, the existence of a myth of an otiose god enabled many cultures to recognize aspects of the foreign supreme being and reconcile them with their own. Far from remaining insignificant, the features of the *deus otiosus* exhibit definite signs, especially of vagueness and sublimity, that demarcate the outer reach of imaginable being.

SYMBOLIC CHARACTERISTICS. The *deus otiosus* is a limit-image, for before and beyond the *deus otiosus* nothing exists. The Winnebago Indians of Wisconsin admitted, "What there was before our Father Earthmaker came to consciousness, we do not know."

Sublimity. The descriptions of supreme beings who withdraw on high introduce students of religion to the most sublime end of the spectrum of divine forms, for the *deus otiosus* is often the most sublimated of sublime forms. By narrating descriptions of the most remote, transcendent, invisible, or intangible reality, cultures offer themselves and scholars expressions of an experience of being that, by definition, most transcends the senses. The myths of the *deus otiosus* are statements about the nature of creativity itself and about the subtle powers and rarefied capacities of the religious imagination. The Witóto of Colombia offer the following example: in the beginning nothing existed except "mere appearance," which was "something mysterious." Moma, the supreme being, touched this phantasm. Moma calls himself Nainuema, "he who is or possesses what is not present." He is an illusive appearance linked to sacred sounds associated with ritual words and chants. By means of dream, Nainuema held the phantasm against his breast and fell into deep thought, his breath helping him hold onto the illusion with the thread of his dream. Moma plumbed the dream-contained, breath-held phantasm to its bottom and found that it was empty. He fastened the illusion to his dream-thread with a gluey substance and then stamped on the bottom of the illusion until he came to rest on the earth. He made the forests rise by spitting and covered the earth with heaven (Konrad T. Preuss, *Religion und Mythologie der Uitoto*, vol. 1, Göttingen, 1921, pp. 27, 166–168). Such sublime features of the *deus otiosus* have great value for the student of religious forms, for they describe the outer boundaries of imaginable being.

Passivity. The passive character of the *dei otiosi* leaves the gods' personalities vague and ill-defined. The deities often avoid dramatic action and remain inert or aloof. In fact, the creativity of the *dei otiosi* is often described in negative terms. Their omnipresence comes across as a lack of presence in any single or definable place over another. Their omnipotence implies an uninvolvement with any single or specific cosmic operation, such as the growth of crops or the transitions of the human life cycle. Their omniscience implies a certain indifference to, or lack of interest in, any one fact over another. Their immortality implies a certain stasis, immobility, and inability to change. These negative valences are a function of the gods' association with creation at the very beginning. Once creation is accomplished and being has appeared for the first time, the function of a creator is completely exhausted and the god becomes otiose. The divinities and their unique creative powers retire from the active world they have initiated. They remain the ground of all created being and of all creative possibilities and, for that very reason, retire into infinity, beyond the bounded spaces of creation. Once the universe comes into existence, the supreme being's active mode is no longer in need of full manifestation, nor is it desired.

Primordiality. The withdrawal of the *deus otiosus* from the creative scene marks the end of the primordium. Therefore, it may be said that the presence of the *deus otiosus* defines primordiality, a potent condition full of possibilities. *Dei otiosi* have always existed; they bespeak the meaning of eternity and antiquity. The sky, or whatever paradisal place the gods dwelled in, has always been inhabited by supernatural beings. For example, for the Aranda of Australia, the "great father" (*knaritja*) is an eternal youth (*altjira nditja*) who lives in an eternally green countryside covered with flowers and fruits. The Milky Way transects this immortal dwelling place. The great father and his heavenly companions, all equally young, take no interest in the affairs of earth; the great father leaves the management of such affairs to the ancestors. The Aranda great father represents the primordium, the state of being that has no immediate significance, although it has unprecedented ontological bearing. Beatific existence, immortality, anteriority, or static antiquity are unmatched conditions of being. That primordial state was interrupted, and direct contact with it became difficult or impossible. Only a few privileged people, such as mythic heroes or specialists in ecstasy, can revisit a situation that has become irretrievably lost. Primordiality reveals something about the very nature of time and space. It is a quality that cannot be recaptured in terms of the present conditions of the cosmos. The withdrawal of the *deus otiosus* is part of the definition of a primordial world that stands over and against history. Primordiality is the milieu in which reality and eternity can truly manifest themselves. Knowledge of the existence of a *deus otiosus* affirms that even unique modes of being can be apprehended as a species of time.

Transcendence. The fate of the *deus otiosus* in mythic history guarantees that the first state of being becomes something less immediate and pressing. The god withdraws and becomes distant, and, for its part, human history becomes enveloped by the wrappings of symbolic life. For example, in the very beginning of the Makiritare creation cycle, all that existed was sky and eternal light. Shi, the invisible sun, had already created Wanadi, the heavenly creator, by blowing on quartz crystal. During that first period, there was no separation between the sky and the earth; the sky had no door in it as it does now, and Wanadi was bright and shining everywhere. He wished to make houses and place good people in them, and for this reason sent aspects of himself to earth. Attawanadi ("house-Wanadi"), the third aspect of Wanadi, specialized in constructing enclosures. He created the enclosed stratum called earth. Attawanadi made a new, visible sky for the earth so that the real sky could no longer be seen. The *atta*, the house or village of the Makiritare, is an exact replica of the first universe created by Attawanadi. Attawanadi's creation of the house-world achieved symbolic closure. He withdrew from his creation.

Myths of creation involving a *deus otiosus* frequently recount the lifting up of the sky and the installation of that heavenly body, the primordial image of transcendence. The sky becomes the paradigm of distance and difference. As the object of first real separation, the *deus otiosus* and its celestial manifestations betoken the possibility of distance between one kind of being and another; their continued transcendence and absence guarantee the symbolic life they signify. Many myths portray the danger that the sky will fall; that is, they portray the fear of the collapse of symbolic possibilities. If the symbolism of withdrawal of the *deus otiosus*, the reality transcendent above all others, will not stand up to scrutiny and cannot stay removed, then no symbolic distance of any kind can be guaranteed, and representational life fails. In fact, it is only at the end of time that many *dei otiosi* make their return. Attawanadi, for example, will return to the Makiritare when the earth ceases to exist (Marc de Civrieux, *Watunna: An Orinoco Creation Cycle*, ed. and trans. David M. Guss [San Francisco, 1980, pp. 28ff.]. The relationship between gods and humans comes into being when the separation of creator from created is acknowledged. "The period of man's 'religiousness' is not at all the 'paradisiac' era when God lived in the 'village' of men but the period following when God had lost his earthly and human qualities in order to live separately from mankind" (Zahan, *The Religion, Spirituality, and Thought of Traditional Africa*, p. 16). The withdrawal of the *deus otiosus* becomes the foundation-stone of religious life: "the African feels deeply that the more inaccessible God seems to be, the greater is his need of him" (Zahan, p. 16).

Symbolic life, made possible by the withdrawal of primordial being, offers humankind the freedom of the symbolic condition, a dynamic existence that could never have flourished if the creator had continued to crush or overwhelm his creation with his ponderous presence and immediacy. Mediation, intermediaries, and symbolic distance become indispensable and possible when the god retires from the scene.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE STUDY OF RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS. The knowledge of the mythic history of the *dei otiosi*, the story of their creative acts and the transformations they undergo while disappearing into the starry vault or into the forest or downstream, are an indispensable part of culture. Equipped with this knowledge, members of a culture live in awareness of the sacred nature of their environment and of their sociocultural order because they know the mythic history of each one of its forms. The withdrawal of the primordial being, the *deus otiosus*, leaves indelible marks on the physical universe and its organic contents.

For example, the Campas of Peru describe the migration of the sun (Pava) into the sky. He enlisted the aid of the hummingbird Neoronke, who carried one end of the sky-rope to the highest level of the universe. As Pava ascended, transformations occurred that gave nature its present condition. Many primordial beings, which at that time existed in protohuman form, became animals such as the tapir or the mouse. Certain trees and flowers used to demarcate the calendrical year were daughters of Pava. The trees are the clothes that these young women shed when they migrated to heaven with him. When the sky-rope dropped to the earth after the ascent, a number of beings fell from heaven to earth, including the wasp, the porcupine, and the sloth (Gerald Weiss, *Campa Cosmology: The World of a Forest Tribe in South America*, New York, 1975, pp. 219–588; esp. pp. 389–390).

There is no guarantee that the divine form of the *deus otiosus* will remain balanced on the periphery of the religious imagination. In some cases it seems that the god lapses into total oblivion. In other instances, prophets re-form and revitalize the concept of the supreme being and reinstate his cult. Where mythic knowledge of the retired god disappears entirely, the deity becomes completely otiose and no longer has religious value. Such was probably the fate of Dyaus, the Indo-European sky god, who eventually was no longer worshiped. No hymns or myths present this oldest Vedic religious form. The name simply designates the "sky" or "day." However, there lingers the memory that the "Sky knows all" (*Atharvaveda* 1.32.4) and that there is the "sky father" (*Atharvaveda* 6.4.3), who is one element of the primordial pair, Dyāvāpṛthivī, "sky and earth" (*Ṛgveda* 1.160). This draws Dyaus into the circle of similarly named Indo-European sky gods for whom we possess mythologies: Greek Zeus Pater, Roman Jupiter, Illyrian Daipatures, Scythian Zeus-Papaios, and Thraco-Phrygian Zeus-Pappos.

The god Mwari of the Shona people of Zimbabwe appears to be an instance of the recovery of the *deus otiosus*. Since the fifteenth century, circumstances have contributed to the revitalization of this remote sky god's cult. The Rozvi royal dynasty patronized the cult in the center of the city of Zimbabwe and the priests of Mwari have become important political figures (Daneel, 1970, pp. 30–35).

The form of the *deus otiosus*, even if it is recalled only in wispy outline, is an essential stimulus to the life of the religious imagination. To one degree or another such a form is implied in every complete corpus of myths. Since every reality appearing in the mythic beginnings of the world is a total and absolute statement of its kind of being, the change and dynamism that undergird human history provoke a total eclipse or disintegration of primordial form. The death, transformation, or withdrawal of supernatural beings into the heights or into the extremes of the cosmos exemplifies the fate of primordial existence as a whole.

SEE ALSO Sky; Supreme Beings.

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DEVĀNAṂPIYATISSA (247–207 BCE), king of Sri Lanka. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, Devānaṃpiyatissa was an ally of Aśoka and through Aśoka's influence introduced Buddhism to Sri Lanka. At the outset of his reign, Devānaṃpiyatissa sent envoys to India with gifts for Aśoka. In return, Aśoka sent gifts and implicit support for Devānaṃpiyatissa's kingship. The Sinhala chronicles also relate that the Buddhist elder, Mahinda, who was either the son or the brother of Aśoka, visited Devānaṃpiyatissa to establish the Buddhist tradition in Sri Lanka.

Mahinda is said to have arrived in the island on the full-moon day of Poson (May–June), a day still celebrated in Sri Lanka as the date of the founding of Buddhism there. Devānaṃpiyatissa greeted Mahinda on Missaka Hill, now called Mihintale, and proceeded from there to the site of Anurādhapura. Near the royal pavilion in Mahāmegha Park at Anurādhapura, Mahinda and Devānaṃpiyatissa laid out and subsequently built the monasteries and shrines that came to be the international center for the Theravāda Buddhist tradition. The heart of their complex was the Mahāvihāra, the Great Monastery, which was established 236 years after the Buddha. The king also built the first stupa or *cetiya* in Sri Lanka, the Thūpārāma, to enshrine the collarbone relic of the Buddha.

At the request of the women in Sri Lanka, Devānaṃpiyatissa arranged for Mahinda's sister Saṃghamittā to come from India to ordain women into the Buddhist order of nuns. Saṃghamittā brought with her a branch from the bodhi tree under which the Buddha attained enlightenment. The king planted this branch at Anurādhapura, where it remains today as a sacred shrine for Buddhists.

See Also Aśoka.

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DEVĪ See GODDESS WORSHIP, *ARTICLE ON* THE HINDU GODDESS

DEVILS. The definition and derivation of the term *devil* need to be carefully delineated. This need for care in defining *devil* arises from the fact that the very class of creatures being designated as malign may have been originally benign or may be capable of acting in either a benign or malign way. One species of devils in classical Hinduism consists of the *asura*s, also called *pūrvadeva*s, or "those who were formerly gods or benign beings." In Zoroastrianism, the same *asura*s, by contrast, are called *ahura*s, or "lords." In Christianity, Satan, the Prince of Darkness, is regarded as a fallen angel. According to Origen (whose view is considered heresy by orthodox Christians), he will, in time, be reinstated in his "pristine splendor and original rank." There are, however, also classes of intermediate beings whose association with evil is equivocal. In Islam, genies or, more properly, *jinn* provide a useful illustration: "They were vaguely feared, but were not always malevolent" (Watt, 1970, p. 153).

Biblical Terminology. The problem is also, in part, etymological. The English word *devil* derives from the Greek *diabolos*, which has the original sense of "accuser" or "traducer" (from *diaballein*, "to slander, traduce," lit., "to throw across"). The Hebrew Bible (Old Testament) uses the word *satan* in the sense of "adversary," and it was translated in the third century BCE by Egyptian Jews as *diabolos*. When the Greek Septuagint (Old Testament) was translated into Latin, *diabolos* was rendered as *diabolus* (in the early translations) or as *saṭan*, in the standard Vulgate text (Robbins, 1959, p. 130). In the New Testament, on the other hand, the name *Satanas* is used to mean not just any adversary, as is often the case in the Old Testament, but *the* adversary of God. Throughout the New Testament, *Satanas* refers to the Devil, and *Revelation* 12:9 describes "the great dragon . . . that ancient serpent, who is called the Devil and Satan." As Robbins points out (p. 130), English translations generally render both the *saṭan* of the Hebrew scriptures and *Satanas* of the New Testament as "Satan."

Thus two different conceptions were fused, and this idea of an evil demigod became the common heritage of Judaic and Christian traditions. The word *devil* as used in the New Testament fuses two elements—the Greek and the Judaic. The Greek element is provided by the inclusion of the sense of *daimōn* ("demon"), which referred to a guardian spirit or a source of inspiration. The description of the Devil as the "prince of the demons" (*Mt.* 9:35) is particularly significant in this respect, for, according to Russell (1977, p. 229), the association of the Devil with the demons is paralleled by his association with the fallen angels (see *Rv.* 12:4, 12:7ff.; *Eph.* 2:1–2). However, the Greek Septuagint "used *demon* for the Hebrew words meaning 'vengeful idols' (*schedim*) and 'hairy satyrs' (*seîrim*). The Vulgate Latinized accordingly and the English authorized version (1613) translated both by 'Devil,' while the revised version (1881) substituted 'demon' in Deuteronomy and the Psalms [and] retained 'Devil' in the New Testament." The overall result of these philological developments was that "originally distinct species of spirits were unified by interchangeable translations of Devil, demon, fiend. All these terms devolved on Satan" (Robbins, 1959, p. 131). This explanation should clarify the use of the terms *demon* and *devil* as they are employed here. The word *demon* denotes spirits in general while the word *devil* denotes evil spirits, malign beings viewed as embodiments of evil.

Typology. Several typologies of devils are possible, and consideration may be limited to those that proceed by habitation and function. Psellus (eleventh century CE) distinguishes devils by habitat as fiery, aerial, terrestrial, aqueous, subterranean, and heliophobic. A simpler scheme may be applied in the case of Africa and Oceania, where devils could be associated with animals, waters, forest, and mountains. The former scheme has the merit of being comparable with those of otherworld religions, wherein, however, the site of habitation may not be described in terms of elements but may be located in space. Islam provides a link between the two types. The *jinn* are created out of a single element, fire, but are "associated with deserts, ruins and other eerie places, and might assume such forms as those of animals, serpents, and other creeping things" (Watt, 1970, p. 153). But the *jinn* are not necessarily evil like the devils, or *shayṭān*s, who prompt human beings to evil.

According to one tradition the species (for which we may use "genies" as a convenient westernized rubric) is made up of five orders, namely, *jānn*, *jinn*, *shayṭāns*, *ʿifrīt*s, and *mārid*s. The last are said to be the most powerful and the first the least; *shayṭān* is generally used to signify any evil genius; an *ʿifrīt* is a powerfully evil genius, while a *mārid*, as indicated, is an evil genius of the most powerful class. At this point it should be noted that sources admit to some confusion between *jānn* and *jinn;* while it is held that *jānn* are transformed *jinn*, just as certain apes and swine were transformed men, it is also admitted that the two are often used indiscriminately as names for the whole species, whether good or bad (*jinn* is the more common term, however). As for the characteristics of *jinn*, they are of different shapes, appearing as serpents, scorpions, lions, wolves, jackals, and so on; they are of land, sea, and air; and either have wings that allow them to fly, move like snakes or dogs, or move about like men. Other embodiments of evil in Islam may also be mentioned: *quṭrub*, *gharrār*, *siʿlah*, *shiqq*, and *nasnās*. Of these, the *gharrār* is comparable to the ogre inasmuch as the latter is also a figure of folklore who feeds on human beings.

In the Indic worldview the devils have been provided with a habitation and a name. Jainism provides an example of the many typologies of devils in Indic religions. The seven netherworlds contain the hells, one of which, the Vyantaras, includes demons, goblins, ghosts, and spirits, which are divided into eight ranks—*kinnara*s, *kimpuruṣa*s, *mahoraga*s, *gandharva*s, *yakṣa*s, *rākṣasa*s, *bhūta*s, and *piśāca*s, all of which are found in Hindu mythology in nearly the same forms (Jacobi, in Hastings, 1911, p. 608).

Anthropological studies of Buddhism, particularly as practiced in Burma (Spiro, 1978) and Thailand (Tambiah, 1970), have led to the identification of devilish beings in Buddhism. Thus it has been noted in the case of Burmese Buddhism that *nat*s, witches, ghosts, and demons, though substantively different, share the functional attribute of causing pain (Spiro, p. 40). It is noteworthy that although Hinduism does not acknowledge a specific devil, which Buddhism does in the form of Mara, it acknowledges the existence of devilish beings, who are also functionally differentiated. Hindu lore distinguishes between *asura*s, a class of supernatural beings continually opposed to the gods; *rākṣasa*s, demonic beings who roam about at night, disturb the penances of ascetics, and harass and kill people; *piśāca*s, who frequent cremation grounds; *vetāla*s, or vampires; and *preta*s and *bhūta*s, phantoms of the dead who bother human beings on occasion. Sometimes the word *bhūta* is inclusive of *preta* and *piśāca* (Crooke, in Hastings, 1911, p. 608). The Hindu god Śiva, incidentally, presides over his own *gaṇa*s, or malevolent troopers, who include some of the abovementioned creatures and can act in extremely unpleasant ways when incensed.

By contrast, in Islam, the various functions of the one and same class of demons—the *shayṭān*s—may be distinguished: they teach humans magic, lead them to unbelief, try to eavesdrop on heaven, and accompany obstinate unbelievers. An intermediate form of functional differentiation, between the Hindu one, organized by class as well as function, and the Islamic one, where different functions are performed by members of the same class, is provided by Zoroastrianism, where the devil, Angra Mainyu, rallies around his standard Aka Manah ("evil thought"), Indra, Saurva, Nanhaithya, (parallel with three Indian deities who are opposed), Taurvi ("hunger") Zairich ("thirst") and Aēshma ("fury"), so that one finds closely allied devil figures performing several diabolical functions, only some of which have been listed. One of the clearest formulations of devilish functions in Christianity is found in the *Admirable History* (1612) of Sebastien Michaëlis, which is set forth in three sets of hierarchies, each specifying the name of the devil, his function, and his adversary (Robbins, 1959, p. 129).

Another way in which devils could be typologized is by gender differentiation, for female devils are not unknown. In popular Hinduism the Churalin, a demoness regarded as the composite spirit of women who have died in childbirth (Babb, 1975, p. 248), is referred to as identifiable by an inverse foot formation. Islam speaks of beings called *ghūl* in general, though properly speaking it is said to apply only to the female, whose male counterpart is the *gharrār*. She is supposed to lead a solitary existence in the deserts, to waylay travelers and practice cannibalism. The case of the lamia, a vampire or (night-)mare, may also be discussed here. The word serves a dual sense, which may cut across gender differentiation: it could mean a succubus demon or a witch. It was suggested in the fifteenth century in Germany and Czechoslovakia that lamiae were demons in the shape of old women who stole children and roasted them.

Possession. As universal as belief in evil spirits is belief in the phenomenon of possession of the body by these evil spirits. The history of Christianity records epidemics of possession, and a distinction is drawn between possession and obsession, the former being more grave inasmuch as it involves actual residence by the evil spirit in the body of the possessed.

Exorcism has been associated with Christian evangelization since its inception. This is also true of other religions. Tambiah (1970) clearly distinguishes between possession by benevolent and malevolent spirits (*phī*) in the context of Thailand, and notes how the distinction figures in Buddhist mortuary rites. Although the Thai beliefs about such evil spirits are so free-floating as to resist typologizing, certain kinds of devilish spirits most often cited as attacking people may be mentioned. Spirits of the rice field (*phī rai phī naa*) can attack villagers; so can the spirit that lives on a mountain (*phī pu loob*) but the attack of the *phī paub*, a malevolent disembodied spirit, is to be feared most as it may be hosted by some living being. Its origin is attributed to the transformation of spells into an evil force inside a magical expert, either a man or a woman. The force then acquires an existence of its own and can possess others.

Debate on Origins. Speculation regarding the origin of belief in devils has proceeded along several routes. According to one view, belief in devilish beings may have its roots in the experience of prehistoric man. At this time wild animals of strange shapes and sizes roamed the earth, and it would have been easy for early human beings to assume that nonhuman evil spirits abounded and assumed animal forms. Alongside this explanation may be placed the anthropological view, according to which beliefs in all classes of spiritual beings—benign or malign—are derived from belief in the disembodied spirits of the dead. Considerable controversy surrounds this view, but it may be safe to affirm that among many peoples the hostile spirits of the dead would be identified as devils. Psychological explanations for the origin of devils include the ideas of hallucinations and projection with various degrees of sophistication. As early as 1218, Gervase of Tilbury suggested that belief in lamia or nightmare was simply nocturnal hallucination, and some modern scholars would argue that man manufactures his devils out of his fears. It is often considered self-evident that the "conception of such beings doubtless stems from man's instinctive fear of the unknown, the strange and horrific. It is significant that belief in evil spirits or Devils can exist without the idea of the Devil, i.e. the personification of the principle of evil in a single being" (Brandon, 1970, p. 229).

In addition to the historical (i.e., prehistorical); anthropological (i.e., animistic); and psychological (i.e., psychoanalytical) explanations, one must consider also the theological aspect, for what is really involved is an explanation of the problem of evil. How is its existence to be reconciled with belief in a benevolent God? Evil creatures that defy God, despite his potential supremacy, may offer the scaffolding for some kind of a theological explanation. Given the existence of evil, one can offer a certain range of justifications: (1) what is perceived as evil is necessary for greater good; (2) evil exists as a necessary part of a good creation; (3) the universe is not perfect but is being perfected, hence the existence of evil; and (4) evil is necessary to retain free will. The existence of devils, as of the Devil, can be reconciled in various ways, as representing the principle of evil either singly or collectively and emerging out of an attempt to come to existential grips with the fact that evil exists. Since most events are caused by an agent, one might assume that evil is also caused by an agent, which may itself be either intrinsically or instrumentally evil.

SEE ALSO Ahuras; ʿĀshūrāʾ; Demons, article on Psychological Perspectives; Evil; Satan; Spirit Possession; Theodicy.

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DEVOTION.

Religious *devotion* is ardent affection, zealous attachment, piety, dedication, reverence, faithfulness, respect, awe, attentiveness, loyalty, fidelity, or love for, or to, some object, person, spirit, or deity deemed sacred, holy, or venerable. Devotion may also be thought of as action, such as worshiping, praying, and making religious vows.

Devotion is a very common phenomenon in all areas of the world and in most religious traditions. In some traditions, sects, or cults, devotion is the central religious concern or is almost synonymous with religion itself. This is the case, for example, in some versions of Chinese and Japanese Pure Land Buddhism, several Hindu devotional movements, and some Christian movements, such as Pietism. The centrality of devotion seems to be more common in religious traditions in which theistic tendencies are central, although its importance in Pure Land Buddhism is sufficient evidence to caution against equating devotion with theism. Religious devotion frequently exists in a theological context of hierarchy where there is at least functional if not ontological theism and divine being(s) are considered to be superior to and have power over a human devotee.

OBJECTS OF DEVOTION. The extensiveness of devotion in religion becomes evident when the variety of objects of devotion is considered. While deities are usually considered the principal objects of devotion, a great many other things are also given devotion in the world's religions. In many African religions, as well as in such historical traditions as Hinduism and Confucianism, ancestors are important objects of reverence, awe, and devotion. Various people, living and dead, are also objects of devotion or the focus of devotional cults. *Gurūs* in Hinduism, saints in Christianity, the *xian* (immortals) in Daoism, the sage kings in Confucianism, *imāms* in Islam, *tīrthaṃkaras* in Jainism, and the buddhas and *bodhisattvas* in Buddhism are only a few examples of divine personages who receive devotion in the world's religions.

In most religions, devotion is primarily addressed to a deity. This could be male, female, or androgynous (as in the half-male, half-female deity Ardhanārīśvara in Hinduism,). The deity or divinity could be in the form of an animal or tree; sometimes, the deity may temporarily possess a human being and during the period of possession that person is the object of veneration. Devotion can also be shown to saints, *gurūs,* and charismatic teachers.

Relics associated with sacred personages are the objects of devotion in many religions. The physical remains of the Buddha were incorporated into stupas, the shrines around which devotional Buddhism began. To this day, parts of the Buddha's physical body are enshrined in temples such as the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy, Sri Lanka. In Christianity, particularly in the late medieval period in Europe, there was a lively traffic in relics, which became extremely important in popular piety. Relics were incorporated into church altars and often represented the concrete, objective aspect of the divine around which the church was built. Pieces of the true cross, bones of martyrs, vials of the Virgin Mary's milk, even the foreskin of Jesus, were among the holy relics that were the objects of popular devotion. In contemporary Christianity the Shroud of Turin is probably the best-known example of a holy relic. In other traditions as well, the physical remains of saints are commonly revered, and the burial places of saints, where purported miracles attributed to devotion are not uncommon, often become centers of healing cults.

In many societies, charismatic leaders, relics, and shrines of saints also become the devotional focus of adherents from communities different from the one to which they were originally associated. Thus, Hindu devotees throng the *dargāh*s (shrines where Ṣūfī saints are entombed) in India. In many cases, the land where these shrines were built was donated by Hindu rulers to the Muslim saints they venerated. Sites where miraculous cures and healing are said to take place also draw devotees from a variety of religious affiliations. Thus, Lourdes, Fátima, Velankanni, and other places where it is held that Marian apparitions took place are pilgrimage centers for devotees from a variety of religious traditions. Devotion in these cases is focused on a person, site, or object not ordinarily considered to be part of the religious tradition to which one officially belongs. These "fuzzy boundaries" between religions abound in South, Southeast, and East Asia, where rigid affiliation to a religious tradition has historically not been part of a community's ethos.

Rivers in Hinduism and mountains in Shintō are often especially revered; indeed, most religious traditions associate sacredness with specific places. Certain cities, such as Vārāṇasī in Hinduism, Jerusalem in Judaism and Christianity, Mecca in Islam, and Ise in Shintō, play an important role in the tradition of many religions and are often themselves the centers of pilgrimage and devotion. Sometimes whole geographical areas or countries are the objects of devotion, such as the Indian subcontinent as a whole for Hindus and Israel for many Jews.

Where it is not possible to visit an original pilgrimage site, devotion often focuses on ritual objects such as the Ark of the Covenant in ancient Judaism and the Host in Christianity. Sacred texts are also objects of devotion in some religions, insofar as they are seen to be the locus of divine revelation. Although the place and function of these texts in the various religious traditions are quite different, the Torah in Judaism, the *Lotus Sūtra* in Nichiren Buddhism, the *Adī Granth* in Sikhism, and the Qurʾān in Islam are books held in great reverence. Indeed, the sacred, holy, or divine has revealed itself to, or been apprehended by, humankind in so many different ways and in such a variety of forms that at some point in the religious history of the world almost every conceivable object has received religious devotion.

And finally, in a circular fashion, people perceived to be paradigmatic devotees themselves become the objects of devotion. Many saints, teachers, and devotees are honored, venerated, and prayed to as bestowers of earthly favors, as mediators between human beings and gods, and as exalted divinities in themselves.

TYPES OF DEVOTION. Devotion is of different types and takes place in different physical settings, with different attendant moods, and within different kinds of communities. It is often meditative, emotionally disciplined, and subdued, and consists primarily of the willful directing of one's attention to the object of devotion. This is the nature of devotion, for example, as described in the *Bhagavadgītā.* There, Kṛṣṇa teaches Arjuna to center himself mentally on God in all his actions in order to make his entire life an act of devotion. There is a similar emphasis in most theistic traditions in which the devotee is taught to be attentive to God in all things.

Devotion may also express itself in emotional frenzy and passion. Ṣūfī devotion is usually accompanied by music and dance, and much Ṣūfī devotional poetry is intensely passionate. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* a medieval Hindu devotional text, says that true devotion is always accompanied by shivering, the hair standing on end, tears, and sighs of passion. The Hindu saint Caitanya (1486–1533) exemplified this kind of devotion. He was so often overcome by fits of emotional devotion to Kṛṣṇa, in which he would swoon or become ecstatic, that he could barely manage the normal routines of daily life.

The setting of devotion may be quite formal. Churches, synagogues, temples, and mosques are all places in which people devote their minds and hearts to the divine. In such settings devotion may be highly formalized, even routinized, and under the direction of professional clergy. In its formal expression devotion is often communal or congregational and arises from, or is even dependent upon, the coming together of a group of people for a common devotional purpose. On the other hand, devotion in such formal physical settings may also take the form of a lone individual performing an act of devotion to a special saint.

Devotion may also be highly informal and unstructured. The best examples of this are the lives of famous saints who were great devotees. Francis of Assisi (1182–1226) in Christianity and Caitanya in Hinduism were both characterized by spontaneous outbursts of passionate devotion in nearly any setting.

Devotional communities (groups formed primarily as a result of, or in order to cultivate, devotion) also vary from the highly structured to the very unstructured. Monastic orders in Christianity and the Ṣūfī orders in Islam, in which devotion serves a central role, are examples of highly structured devotional communities. The South Indian devotee-saints of Śiva (the Nāyaṉārs) and Viṣṇu (the Āḻvārs), in comparison, were part of unstructured traditions in which individual poet-devotee-saints wandered the countryside or resided at temples and sang devotional hymns to their lord. The devotional community may extend no further than an individual saint and his or her admirers, students, followers, or devotees. Such was the case in the early days of Saint Francis's religious life and for such Hindu saints as Lalleśvarī or Kashmir (fourteenth century) and Mīrā Bāī of Rajasthan (1498–1546).

The practice of devotional rituals may also have several goals. While most religions portray the ideal goal as submission to the deity's love without any expectation of reward or fear of punishment, millions of devotees pray or perform votive rituals for the fulfillment of specific desires. Thus prayers may be offered or devotional exercises performed for the cure of a family member, achievement of a particular career goal, the birth of a child, the marriage of a son, or even the selling of a house. These prayers and votive rituals form the bulk of most devotional petitions in many religions.

CHARACTERISTICS OF DEVOTION. Although the contexts, objects, and moods of devotion vary, there are several characteristics that typify most religious devotion. These involve the emotions, the will, and the mind.

1. The object, person, or deity to whom devotion is directed is regarded with awe and reverence. There is a recognition, often more emotional than mental, that the object is imbued with sacred power. This awe or reverence may assume a passionate intensity, exclusivity, or ardor that overwhelms the devotee.
2. There is faith—conviction, trust, or confidence—on the part of the devotee that the object of devotion is real, that it underlies, overarches, or in some way epitomizes reality. This aspect of devotion is usually associated with the will; it involves commitment, loyalty, and often submission to the object of devotion.
3. Single-mindedness, at least for the time that a particular person, object, or deity is venerated, often involves mental concentration on its object. Spiritual techniques that aim at focusing and concentrating the mind are often part of religious devotion.

Characteristics of theistic devotion. When religious devotion is theistic in nature it is further typified by the following characteristics.

1. Theistic devotion involves a personal relationship in which the deity is imagined and approached as a person and is expected to respond to his devotees accordingly. In Islam, for example, the term *manājāt*, meaning "intimate converse," is supposed to characterize a person's devotion to God. The attitude the devotee adopts in this personal relationship varies and is often dependent upon how the deity is perceived.
2. One of the most common metaphors used in theistic devotion is that of a love relationship. The love of the devotee may be like that of a servant for the master, child for a parent, parent for a child, friend for a friend, or lover for the beloved. In theistic devotion the mood of love, especially when the relationship is familial, erotic, or romantic, introduces great intimacy, passion, and tenderness into the devotional experience. When devotion is expressed in terms of a love relationship, the deity is usually cast in a very approachable role and is described as reciprocating the devotee's love with a passionate love of his or her own. Many goddesses, for example, are portrayed as mothers who are attentive to and fiercely protective of their devotees/children, while the Lord's Prayer in Christianity describes God as the devotees' father. Throughout theistic devotion, deities assume the roles of loving parent, intimate friend, playful child, or impassioned lover in response to the devotee's own devotional role. In some roles of intimacy, the devotee may even tease or scold the deity; such is the case with Andal (c. eighth century) and Nammāḻvār (c. ninth century), who composed Tamil devotional hymns, hailing Kṛṣṇa as harsh and cruel and as the person who knows no righteousness.
3. Theistic devotion is also characterized by expressions or feelings of praise and submission. Both attitudes presuppose that the deity is morally superior to, wiser, and more powerful than the devotee, and usually that the devotee has been created by the deity or is wholly dependent on the deity for his or her continued existence and well-being. In praise, the deity's qualities of goodness, greatness, and generosity are often mentioned. The deity is praised for bestowing various blessings, particularly the blessing of life, on the devotee, the country or nation, or the world as a whole. Theistic devotion typically expresses itself by praising the deity as the source of all good things and as the embodiment of all good qualities. In Islam, for example, the term *ḥamd*, meaning "thankful praise," often characterizes devotion. The relationship that is frequently spoken of when praise and submission dominate is that of a master and servant.

The devotee of a deity often expresses total dependence upon the god by feelings, attitudes, gestures, or acts of submission. In Arabic the word *muslim* means "one who surrenders (to God)," suggesting the centrality of this attitude in Islamic tradition. The Muslim term *ʿibādah* (worship) is often used to characterize devotional observances to God, clearly indicating that the divine-human relationship is like that of a master to a slave *(ʿabd).* In Śrī Vaiṣṇavism, a Hindu devotional movement, the theme of complete self-surrender *(prapatti)* is central; such submission is held to epitomize *bhakti*, or devotion to God.

The style of submission may depend upon the type of relationship envisioned by the devotee. The submission of a child to its mother, for example, might be quite different from the submission of a slave to his owner. In many traditions the devotee is affirmed to be greatly inferior to the deity; men and women are often described as morally weak, sinful, corrupt, and insignificant, and the deity as overwhelmingly superior. In this relationship the proper attitude of the devotee is abasement and submission.

Devotion in the context of nontheistic traditions. Devotion, most prominent in theistic traditions, is sometimes considered a form of justification for letting loose the flow of divine grace. One may ask if it has any place in philosophical schools such as Zen Buddhism and Advaita Vedānta, where individual meditation in a nontheistic context is seen as the way to reach the final goal. Zen, Advaita Vedānta, and some yogic traditions have ontologies which consider the distinction between the deity and devotee meaningless or challenge concepts of reality as we know them. In many of these schools there is no ultimate gracious deity whose grace will give salvation or liberation. Thus, in the nontheistic traditions, philosophically speaking, devotion has no ultimate value as a path to liberation, *nirvāṇa*, or the final goal. Yet, many adherents of these traditions have, in fact, composed devotional hymns addressed to teachers and deities.

DEVOTION AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICES. Devotion is often associated with or expressed in the context of several common types of religious practices.

Prayer. Devotion often takes the form of prayer. In prayer a deity is entreated, supplicated, adored, or praised in a mood of devotional service or attentiveness. In some cases, the devotee cultivates a mood of devotion before praying, in order to ensure sincerity and concentration. In medieval Judaism, for example, some authorities recommended the practice of *kavvanah*, the directing of attention to God, before prayer so that prayer might be undertaken with the proper mental inclination.

Moving and dramatic expressions of devotion are found in poems and hymns that articulate the prayers of devotees to the divine in many indigenous religions and in every theistic religious tradition among the world's historical religions. Hymns, such as those central to Protestant Christianity, are devotional prayers set to music. Collective prayer, common in many religions, is another example of formalized devotion.

Worship. As a formal expression of homage, service, reverence, praise, or petition to a deity, worship is closely related to, or expressive of, devotion. Much worship represents a formal, periodic, structured expression of devotion. The prescribed daily and Friday prayers in Islam, called *ṣalāt*, for example, are essentially devotional in nature. In Hindu *pūjā* (worship), which occurs in both temple and domestic settings and which may be performed by an individual or by large groups, the basic pattern of ritual actions denotes personal attendance upon and service of the deity by the worshipers. The deity is symbolically bathed, fanned, fed, and entertained by the priest or directly by the devotee. It is common in worship to make an offering to the deity, which again is often done in the spirit of devotion. Some forms of worship are primarily occasions for devotees to express together their devotion to their god. This is the case, for example, with Hindu *kīrtana* and *bhajan*, gatherings of devotees at which songs are sung in praise of a deity. The setting is usually informal and the mood warm and emotional. It is not uncommon for devotees to dance and leap for joy while they sing their hymns of praise. In Protestant revival meetings, too, open expression of emotional devotion to God is encouraged and expected of those present.

Performing and fine arts. Devotion in many religions is expressed through music and dance. Many church and synagogue services deploy music, chants, and ritual action to express devotional intensity in an aesthetic framework. Making joyful noise or using the body to depict one's longing for the divine have been hallmarks of almost all religious traditions. Deities and devotees in many traditions dance the cosmos, dance their relationship to each other, and dance to the powers of the universe. Devotees in the Hindu tradition emulate the dance of the deities Śiva, Pārvatī, or Kṛṣṇa. Many dances portray a soul's longing for the supreme being; the devotional songs of Hindu schools are standard accompaniment for dancers. Devotion to the deity is expressed through a number of *bhavas* or attitudes, including the attitudes connected with service, maternal love, and romantic love. Singing emotional lyrics with devotion is said to be a path through which one can reach salvation. In the Hebrew scriptures, Miriam took a tambourine in her hand and danced with all the other women; *Psalm* 149 exhorts one to praise the Lord's name in dance. There is a palpable expression of devotion in the dances of some Ṣūfī traditions and in the circular dances seen among the Ismāʿīlīs.

Divine beings are often painted, carved, or fashioned out of various materials to be used as objects of devotion. These objects are frequently invested with life and the divine is said to reside in them after ritual consecrations. Many of these icons are carved with devotion for worship by other devotees.

Pilgrimage is a popular undertaking in many religions, and for many pilgrims the journey is an act of devotion. Setting off on a long trip to a sacred place is a sort of physical prayer. Through the pilgrimage the pilgrim may be making a special appeal to a deity or expressing gratitude for a blessing received from the deity. In Islam a pilgrimage to Mecca is enjoined as one of the fundamental acts of submission incumbent upon all Muslims.

The pilgrim may be making the pilgrimage simply to steep himself or herself in an atmosphere of piety and devotion that is far more intense than in ordinary circumstances. The feeling of community that arises among pilgrims is often strong, and the entire journey, which can last for weeks or even years, may turn into a devotional extravaganza with hymns being sung all day long, devotees swooning in fits of ecstasy or possession, and miraculous cures or incidents being reported. The annual pilgrimage to Pandharpur in Maharashtra is an act of mass devotion sustained for weeks, not unusual in Hinduism.

Devotion is also closely connected with patronage. The large cathedrals of medieval Europe, the Hindu temple complexes of South and Southeast Asia, Buddhist stupas and temples, and Shintō shrines were frequently built by royalty, nobility, or wealthy patrons as a testimony to their devotion and piety.

Meditation. Although many kinds of meditation may not involve devotion, devotion often uses meditative techniques. Meditation usually involves disciplining the mind so that it can focus on something without being distracted by frivolous thoughts or bodily needs and discomforts. For many practitioners the goal is to achieve or maintain attentiveness to a deity. Meditation is used to perfect, deepen, sharpen, or enhance devotion. In such cases meditation and devotion may become synonymous. In Japanese Pure Land Buddhism the term *anjin* (which is sometimes translated as "faith") refers to a meditative calm in which the heart and mind are quieted through concentration on Amida Buddha and his paradise. A particularly common meditative technique used to engender, express, or enhance devotion is the constant repetition of the deity's name or a short prayer to the deity. Ṣūfīs invoke the names of God over and over as part of their *dhikr* (a term meaning recollection that refers to devotional techniques); Eastern Orthodox Christian monks chant the Jesus Prayer ("Lord Jesus have mercy on me a sinner") as often as possible; devotees of Kṛṣṇa chant his names repeatedly. In Pure Land Buddhism, devotees chant a short prayer ("Hail to Amida Buddha") over and over to sharpen and concentrate their faith in Amida.

Asceticism and monasticism. Asceticism and monasticism are often undertaken in the context of devotion, especially in the theistic and Pure Land Buddhist traditions. The Desert Fathers sought solitude in the desert in order to develop their attentiveness to God without distractions or hindrances from society or other people. Their asceticism was clearly associated with, and intended to cultivate, devotion. An ascetic strain is also strong in Sufism, a highly devotional expression of Islam, and many of the most important Hindu devotional leaders and saints have been world renouncers. In many cases, it is clear that asceticism, or renunciation of the world, has been found not only compatible with devotion but a positive encouragement of it.

The case is similar with monasticism. An isolated, cloistered, highly regimented religious community was for centuries esteemed in Christianity as the best place to devote oneself to God. Life in the monastic community was dominated by regular worship and prayer several times a day and imposed a devotional discipline on the individual. To a great extent, monasticism in Christianity was a systematic attempt to perfect a human being's devotional predilections. As in Christian asceticism, the goal was to become attentive to God at all times, except that in the monastic context this goal was sought with the help of a like-minded community and under the guidelines of a carefully regulated spiritual discipline or rule. In many respects, several Ṣūfī brotherhoods and Pure Land Buddhist monastic communities were also organized attempts to create the ideal environment for cultivating the devotional sentiment.

Apart from acts of renunciation in which a devotee may make a clean break with the world he or she lives in, there are many acts of asceticism that are woven into the daily life of the faithful. Thus, Muslims may fast during the month of Ramaḍān, from sunrise to sundown. Hindu women fast on particular days of the week, lunar month, or year for the welfare of their families. In many situations, acts of devotional asceticism addressed to specific deities may be performed for immediate worldly benefits, rather than for salvation or liberation.

Mysticism. For many devotees, particularly in theistic traditions, there is a deep longing to be close to, in the presence of, or absorbed into the deity. This is also the goal of mysticism in theistic traditions, and devotion and mysticism are often closely associated. In medieval Jewish mysticism, *devequt*, which is usually translated as "cleaving to God," is considered the highest religious state that can be attained. This state of cleaving to God is synonymous with an intense devotion in which the devotee is completely preoccupied with and absorbed into the divine. In Sufism the term *fanāʾ* describes a point in the devotee's or mystic's spiritual quest in which all feeling of individuality and ego fall away and the Ṣūfī is overwhelmed by God. In Christianity, Paul expresses the idea of union with the divine as follows: "It is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me" (*Gal.* 2:20). In trying to describe the intimacy of his unmediated experiences of God, John of the Cross (1542–1591), a Spanish mystic, spoke of a river merging with the ocean and of iron heated until it becomes one with the fire. Mystical union, then, represents the ultimate goal of many devotees in several different traditions, and the mystical path is often understood as being the highest path a devotee can embark upon. In many of these cases, devotion is gendered and a submitting devotee is portrayed as a woman in the ecstatic embrace of her lover.

Social action and charity. In some religious traditions, charitable service to one's fellow human beings is considered the most perfect form of devotion to the divine. Several Christian movements with a strong devotional bias have emphasized works of charity as central to devotional life. With the inauguration of active religious orders for men by Francis of Assisi in the thirteenth century, and for women by Mary

Ward and Vincent de Paul in the seventeenth century, the focus of religious life, which had earlier been cloistered, shifted from the cultivation of one's spiritual predilections in isolation from society to serving the poor and needy in the world. Several religious brotherhoods and sisterhoods in Protestant Christianity aim at serving the poor, while the Social Gospel movement of the nineteenth century in the United States represents an attempt to provide theological justification for social involvement as central to Christian life.

A dramatic modern example of devotion as inextricably associated with social service is the life of Mother Theresa of Calcutta and her Sisters of Charity, who minister to the "poorest of the poor" as a way of life. Mother Theresa said that she taught the women who joined her order to see Jesus in each person they served; in serving men and women, they serve Jesus.

Other traditions, too, equated service to human beings with service to God. Mahatma Gandhi, for example, who had a strong devotional bent, was once asked why he did not withdraw from the world in his search for God. He replied that if he thought for one moment that God might be found in a Himalayan cave, he would go there at once, but he was convinced that God could only be found among human beings and in their service.

DEVOTION AND ETHICS. Some narratives depict devotees as flouting the accepted norms of ethics of the tradition. Thus, a devotee may resort to highway robbery or may sell her body so that the money may be used for charity or a pious cause. In some such narratives, the devotee is depicted as undergoing a test. In some there is a miraculous intervention and the devotee is vindicated, but in others, the story may aim to show that within the world of devotion, the normal code of behavior may be nuanced or even reversed, with a logic of its own that is not seen in everyday life. In some traditions, this philosophy is taken one step further to make the point, in an exaggerated manner, that the devotion of a so-called sinner is more "pure" or acceptable to a devotee than the half-hearted or mindless devotional ritual of one who is considered to be virtuous or morally upright.

The philosophy of devotion. The Hindu and Buddhist traditions, in which there are very strong competing paths alongside the devotional path, put forth two kinds of arguments in defending the excellence of the devotional way. Both traditions assume that the world has entered a final period of moral, religious, and ethical decline (the *kaliyuga* in Hinduism, and *mappō* in Japanese Buddhism), in which human beings are no longer spiritually capable of undertaking certain religious paths that were popular among people in earlier ages. Asceticism, meditation, monasticism, and religious ceremonialism, in particular, are held to be too demanding for people of the present age, whose spiritual capacities are weak. In this age, devotion is the best way to reach the spiritual goal, the best because it is the easiest. It can be practiced by anyone, by monk and peasant, rich and poor, priest and layman, man and woman, young and old.

The second argument follows from the first. Why is devotion the easiest path? Because it is the most natural to human beings. In some Hindu devotional movements, *bhakti* (devotion) is said to represent one's inherent *dharma* (proper way of acting) as opposed to one's inherited *dharma*, which is equated with one's caste, occupation, and social roles. All human beings, according to this logic, have an inner longing to love God, and until they do they remain frustrated, incomplete, lonely, and lost. Devotion is understood as a person's cultivation of this natural urge to serve and love the creator, who has instilled in human beings at the deepest level a longing to be reunited with their source.

The idea of devotion representing a person's natural inclination is also expressed in many Ṣūfī images that speak of one who is not devoted to God as being like a fish out of water, a camel far from a watering hole, a bird separated from its mate. To seek God by means of the mystic way is to return home, to seek the familiar and comfortable, to indulge one's natural longings. A similar idea is expressed in Augustine of Hippo's (354–430) famous saying to the effect that human beings are restless until they find their rest in God.

In the vision of Francis of Assisi, all creation was brought into being in order to praise the creator; every species in existence praises God in its own special way. Even inorganic nature celebrates the creator in some way. For Francis, devotion to God represents the inherent and underlying law of the creation and is apparent everywhere. Some Ṣūfīs write that the entire creation is said to be pervaded by the presence of God, that his divine presence intoxicates all creatures and sets them singing and dancing in ecstatic praise.

In the *Bhagavadgītā*, when Kṛṣṇa teaches Arjuna how to discipline his actions so that he will not reap the fruits of *karman*, he tells him to dedicate all of his actions to God, to become God's instrument in all that he does (9.27). One who is truly devoted to a deity makes every action, no matter how apparently insignificant, routine, or frivolous, an act of devotion to the divine. Similarly, Hasidic Judaism teaches that the state of *devequt*, or cleaving to God, should be a person's constant state of mind. In everyday life, even while performing the most mundane acts, a person should cleave to the Lord.

SEE ALSO Worship and Devotional Life.

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DGE LUGS PA. The Dge lugs pa (Geluk pa) order of Tibetan Buddhism was founded in the early fifteenth century by Tsong kha pa (1357–1419) in the area of Lhasa, the capital of Tibet. He established a monastic university on a mountain called Dga' ldan ("the joyous") in 1409, and his sect was thus originally called Joyous Way (Dga' ldan pa'i lugs); later it came to be called Virtuous Way, Dge lugs pa. Students built two other large monastic universities in the Lhasa area, 'Bras spung (Drepung) (1416) and Se ra (1419), and the system gradually spread throughout the country. Within two hundred years the sect had become an important political force, such that around 1640, with the help of the Mongolian potentate Gushri Khan, the fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682) assumed power as head of the government. The lineage of Dalai Lamas maintained this position until the Chinese takeover in 1959.

The Dge lugs pa educational system so captured the imagination of Tibetans that its universities attracted great numbers of men. Dge lugs pa gradually became the dominant mode of religious education and the dominant cultural force in an area ranging from the Kalmyk Mongolian lands in Russia near the Caspian Sea through Outer Mongolia, Inner Mongolia, Mongolian Siberia, parts of China, and Tibet. Lhasa, with its large Dge lugs pa universities, became the cultural, religious, educational, medical, and astrological capital of Buddhist Inner Asia. Great influence was exercised by a complex system of education, devotion, meditation, and cultism, the pattern for which was set by brilliant Dge lugs pa leaders in Lhasa over several centuries.

In Lhasa each monastery had at least two competing faculties and student bodies, which periodically met to debate in intense competition. Factionalism between groups of differing philosophic opinion was highly encouraged; thus there was more intellectual activity within the Dge lugs pa order on this level than between Dge lugs pa and the other orders of Tibetan Buddhism.

Although the Western study of Dge lugs pa education is scarcely more than a half century old, it is possible to piece together a picture of this highly developed program for stimulating the metaphysical imagination. In general, Dge lugs pa doctrinal training is classified into two types, sūtra and Tantra, based on a division of the texts regarded as the Buddha's word. Training in the sūtra system is further divided into a more "practical" and a more "theoretical" system of study. Both practical and theoretical systems are based on great Indian books and Tibetan texts that consist of either explicit commentaries on those texts or expositions of main themes in them.

The practical system centers on Tsong kha pa's *Lam rim chen mo* (Great exposition of the stages of the path) and Indian texts such as Śāntideva's *Bodhicāryāvatāra* (Engaging in the Bodhisattva deeds). The theoretical system centers either on comparative systems of tenets, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist, or on the "Five Great Books." The large Dge lugs pa universities take the latter approach for a curriculum of sūtra study that begins when the student is around eighteen and continues for twenty to twenty-five years.

To prepare students for study of these texts, the curriculum begins with a class on introductory debate that serves to establish the procedure of combative and probing analysis used throughout the entire course of study. The approach is at once individualistic (as used in the preparation and execution of specific debates) and group-stimulated (in that information and philosophic positions are acquired from fellow debaters in an ongoing network of communication). The preliminary classes further study basic psychology and basic theory of reasoning. Then begins a reading of the first of the Five Great Books: the future Buddha Maitreya's *Abhisamayālamkāṃra* (Ornament for clear realization), a rendering of the hidden teaching on the path structure in the *Perfection of Wisdom Sūtras;* this work is usually studied for six or seven years.

The class then passes on to the second Great Book, Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvatāra* (Supplement to [Nāgārjuna's] treatise on the middle), to explore for two years the explicit teaching on the emptiness of inherent existence expounded in the *Perfection of Wisdom Sūtras.* Next is Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* (Treasury of manifest knowledge), a compendium of the types and nature of afflicted phenomena (*kliṣṭadharma*) as well as the pure phenomena (*vaiyavadānikadharma*) that act as antidotes to them; this takes two years. The fourth Great Book is Gunaprabhā's *Vinaya Sūtra* (Aphorisms on discipline), also studied for two years.

Each year throughout the entire twenty-year program, time is taken out for pursuit of the last of the Great Books, Dharmakīrti's *Prāmaṇavarttika* (Commentary on [Dignāga's] compilation of prime cognition), largely epistemological and logical studies. At the end there are several years for review and preliminary rounds of debate in preparation for the national yearly debate competition in Lhasa; the winner becomes a national hero.

Throughout the long course of study reasoned analysis is stressed, but at the same time the student maintains daily practice of Tantric rites revolving around visualization of himself as a deity. He also participates in cultic rites at the university, college, and subdivision levels to appease and satisfy various protector deities associated with those units, and participates in devotional assemblies on a daily basis centered on deities like the savioress Tārā. Because of the long training period in sūtra studies, this less obvious, yet very strong and even dominant Tantric side of Dge lugs pa often goes unnoticed by foreign observers.

After taking a *dge bśhes* degree, a monk can proceed to a Tantric college, the two prime ones being the Tantric College of Upper Lhasa and the Tantric College of Lower Lhasa. Both have as their main purpose the study, transmission, and practice of the *Guhyasamāja Tantra,* again through the extensive commentaries of Tsong kha pa. The distinguishing feature of Tantrism is deity yoga; its practitioners meditate on themselves as having the physical form not of an ordinary person, but of a deity embodying the highest levels of wisdom and compassion.

Underlying this entire program of religious immersal through doctrinal, devotional, ritualistic, and meditational means is a commitment to reason. The harmony of reason with the most profound religious experiences of compassion, wisdom, deity yoga, and manifestation of the fundamental innate mind of clear light is stressed. Meditation is viewed as being of two varieties, stabilizing (or fixating) meditation and analytical meditation, with the latter receiving great stress in Dge lugs pa. To develop compassion, reflective reasoning is used to enhance basic feelings that are recognized as part of common experience. To develop wisdom, reflective reasoning is used in an intricately devised process so that the student may penetratively understand the incorrectness of assent to the false appearance of phenomena as if they existed in their own right. The aim is not merely to defeat rival systems but to overcome an innate, unlearned misconception of the nature of phenomena.

Such analytically derived realization of emptiness constitutes the first step in practicing deity yoga in Tantrism. The wisdom consciousness—the realization of emptiness impelled by compassion—is then used as the basis for manifesting as a divine being. The wisdom consciousness itself appears as a deity in an indivisible fusion of wisdom and compassion that is symbolized by a *vajra,* a diamond. Utilizing these continuous divine appearances, stabilizing meditation can then be performed on essential points within the body to induce subtler levels of consciousness that are used to realize the same emptiness of inherent existence. When the most subtle consciousness, the fundamental innate mind of clear light, is actualized, the wind (Skt., *prāna;* Tib., *rlung*), or energy, associated with this most subtle consciousness is said to be used as the substantial cause for appearing in an *actual* divine body such that one no longer needs the old coarse body. Transformation is literally both mental and physical.

This most subtle mind is the same as the clear light of death that terrifies ordinary beings, who fear they are being annihilated when it manifests. The Dge lugs pa system of education is aimed at overcoming this fear of one's own most basic nature; thus it suggests that the sense of otherness that many of the world's cultures associate with profound religious experience of the awesome is based on a misconception about the basic nature of one's own being. Further, it suggests that this fear and sense of otherness can be caused to disappear through an understanding of the actual status of phenomena, which is gained through reasoned investigation brought to the level of a profoundly moving experience. This highly developed view of the compatibility of reason and deep mystic insight, expressed in a system of education and ritual exercise, is a distinctive feature of Dge lugs pa.

Since the Dalai Lama's flight from Tibet in 1959, just prior to the takeover of the government by Chinese Communists, a refugee community of Dge lugs pas under his leadership (which is not confined to members of the Dge lugs pa order) has, in scattered places throughout India, reestablished smaller versions of Lhasa's three main monastic universities (each having two competing colleges as subdivisions) as well as two of the Tantric colleges and the monasteries of the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama. Thus the Dge lugs pa educational system has been reestablished in India and, as of 2003, involved approximately ten thousand monks. There are also approximately eight hundred Dge lugs pa nuns in India and Nepal, with scholastic education being introduced in the early 1990s in some nunneries, a remarkable development in the empowerment of women. Clearly this re-establishment of monastic training in exile is a feat of considerable achievement by an overall Tibetan refugee population in India and Nepal of 120,000.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, Schools of; Dalai Lama; Tsong kha pa.

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PAUL JEFFREY HOPKINS (1987 AND 2005)

DHAMMAKĀYA MOVEMENT. At the turn of the twenty-first century, the Dhammakāya (Thai, *Thammakāi*) movement was one of the most dynamic and controversial aspects of Thai Theravāda Buddhism. The Pali word *dhammakāya* corresponds to the Sanskrit term *dharmakāya,* which in Mahāyāna Buddhism has come to refer to one of the three aspects of the buddha-nature, specifically its unmanifest yet all-pervading essence. By the late twentieth century the term had also been applied to a specific meditation method and to the movements that taught it. By the early twenty-first century, the most prominent of these movements, based at Wat Phra Dhammakāya on the north edge of Bangkok, had attracted tens of thousands of followers in Thailand and established several branch centers abroad. Highly skilled at organization and proselytization, this movement was also plagued by public controversies and periodically threatened with suppression.

ORIGINS AND GROWTH. Dhammakāya meditation was developed in the early twentieth century by the Thai monk Luang Phọ̄ Sot Jandasarō (Thai: Čhanthasarō). Supporting his teaching with references to the Pali texts of Theravāda Buddhism, Sot claimed his new method of meditation was taught by the Buddha and resulted in an actual vision of the Buddha's essence. Though these teachings eventually proved controversial, they drew little note in Sot's day. He was eventually appointed abbot of Wat Paknam in what is now western Bangkok, which he made a center of dhammakāya teaching and practice, a role continued into the late twentieth century.

Following Sot's death in 1959, several disciples continued teaching his method. By the late 1960s one of them, a white-robed nun named Chandra Khonnokyoong (Thai, Čhan Khonnokyūng), had attracted a group of university students into her circle. In 1969 one of them, a recent graduate of Kasetsart University, took ordination as Phra Dhammachaiyo (Pali, Dhammajayō; Thai, Thammachaiyō) and served from then on as titular head of this new branch of the movement. By 1970 Chandra's core of devotees had attracted the funds to establish a new meditation center just north of Bangkok, and the movement's activities rapidly expanded. By the early 1980s the movement had attracted thousands of devotees, and its meditation center was now registered as a monastery under the name Wat Phra Dhammakāya.

The founders of Wat Phra Dhammakāya had a talent for organization. The movement's core of university and technical-school students quickly took control of the student Buddhist clubs at several of the most prestigious campuses in Bangkok. In the 1980s on-campus activities expanded rapidly, and by the late 1980s the movement controlled clubs on more than fifty campuses around the country. The group also organized annual meditation and indoctrination retreats that gradually increased in length and numbers. In Thai Buddhism, young men have long been expected to undertake temporary ordination before assuming adult responsibilities, but for many urban men this tradition had become increasingly abbreviated, and the movement was seeking to reverse this trend. By the late 1980s the Dhammakāya movement's program of meditation retreats, which it dubbed *dhammadāyāda* (Thai, *thammathāyāt,* meaning "heir of the *dhamma"),* was enrolling more than a thousand participants a year in a program that entailed a two-month commitment and culminated in a highly publicized mass ordination.

In the 1980s a competing center opened in Ratchaburi province, a little west of Bangkok. This center, led by Phra Sermchai Chaiyamanggalo, became registered as the monastery Wat Luang Pho Sodh Dhammakāyaram, which takes great pains to distance itself from Wat Phra Dhammakāya. A third center, Wat Paknam, reportedly also functions as a center of dhammakāya teachings. However, as of late 2003, the largest, best known, and most controversial of the movements continued to be the one based at Wat Phra Dhammakāya.

By the late 1980s Wat Phra Dhammakāya was drawing a congregation of more than 1,000 on Sundays (more than 5,000 at the beginning of the month), and claimed to draw more than 50,000 on major Buddhist observances. Its followers also organized branch meditation groups and centers throughout the country, and by the 1990s several overseas branches had also been organized. By the late 1990s the crowds had gotten even larger, and the organization had acquired a full square mile of land and was nearing completion of a massive stupa faced by a pavilion said to accommodate 100,000 people. Meditation retreats continued to multiply (including *dhammadāyada* retreats for young women), and the movement had required additional land for temples and meditation sites throughout the country.

CONTROVERSIES. The Wat Phra Dhammakāya movement has been plagued by controversy throughout its existence. Criticisms have focused variously on its style of meditation, its interpretation of the terms *dhammakāya* and *nirvāṇa*, the alleged self-aggrandizement of its leaders, and the potential threat to competing streams of Thai Theravāda Buddhism entailed by its size, its financial power, and its political connections.

The exact nature of the controversies changed over time. In the 1970s, the movement was thought to be communist because of its successes among university students, who at the time tended to be leftist. By the late 1980s the movement was more likely to be considered right-wing due to its connections with the government and military officials; criticism shifted to the movement's size, ambitions, and organizational methods, though few in this period raised questions about doctrinal issues. In addition, visible and sometimes violent rifts arose between the movement's educated urban followers and the farmers, who tended to be less well-connected and outside the movement and who sometimes lost their livelihoods as the movement expanded its land holdings. These conflicts came to a head in the late 1980s as the movement was expanding its main center near Bangkok.

By the late 1990s, leading critics had amplified their attacks to include allegations of doctrinal heresy. During this period several of the movement's leading monks were also charged with financial improprieties. In the midst of this, the most serious crisis in the movement's history, leading governmental officials seriously proposed replacing the monastery's entire leadership with non-dhammakāya monks. In 1999 Wat Phra Dhammakāya's abbot was briefly suspended, but the monastery and movement remained in the hands of his deputies, and in late 2003 neither abbot nor movement seemed to have suffered lasting damage.

TEACHINGS. Wat Phra Dhammakāya is known for its emphasis on meditation and on a strict lay morality. It is dhammakāya meditation that has drawn the greatest attention.

The meditation. Participants in dhammakāya meditation are urged to relax, focus on a meditative object such as a clear crystal ball, and recite the *mantra sammā ārahaṅ* (Thai, *sammā ārahang*, literally, "fullness of spiritual attainment"). When devotees meditate in groups, as they often do, the voice of the session leader becomes an additional (unacknowledged) meditative object.

Leaders teach that when meditators have become sufficiently skilled, or their store of merit sufficiently full, they will see a glowing sphere called the *paṭhommamagga* (Thai, *pathommamak*, or "beginning of the path"). As they continue to gaze upon the sphere, it should pass through a series of self-representations (or "sheaths") of increasing clarity, resulting in a vision of the dhammakāya. Visual representations of these successive sheaths show a glowing circle containing a man sitting in meditation; in the later spheres he is wearing a yellow robe, and in the final, "dhammakāya," sheath he looks like a glowing saint, or Buddha.

The dhammakāya seen in meditation is a self-representation both of the Buddha's eternal essence and of the buddhahood within. Thus the meditator does not attain something he or she does not have, but rather sees what was already there. This clarity is founded on the merit accumulated in past lives, but is enhanced by the practice of meditation, especially dhammakāya meditation. Not only can meditation on the dhammakāya speed attainment of *nirvāṇa,* owing to the tremendous amount of merit it generates, but advanced practitioners can also use meditation to explore past lives and to visit the heavens and hells of traditional Thai Buddhist cosmology.

Points of orthodoxy. In many ways the Dhammakāya movement operates entirely within the norms of Thai Theravāda Buddhism. Its emphasis on meditation is paired with an emphasis on lay morality and the promotion of Buddhist identity and Buddhist missions. The movement justifies its teachings with references to the Pali texts of the Theravāda traditions, and the majority of its practices (other than the meditation itself) are grounded in Thai Buddhist convention. The cosmology is also fairly conventional, asserting the reality of past and future lives, as well as the existence of multiple heavens and hells, all of which can be visited (and experientially verified) through meditation.

Heterodox teachings. The movement also promotes several heterodox teachings, two of which deserve special note. The first has to do with the notion of the dhammakāya. The Dhammakāya movement says that this notion, which is found in the Pali texts, refers to the Buddha's eternal essence, or to the buddhahood within, which can be viewed directly through meditation. Opponents say that the Pali references to dhammakāya refer solely to the inwardly comprehended truth of the Buddha's teachings.

The second of these teachings has to do with the nature of *nirvāṇa.* Although most Theravāda teachers hold that *nirvāṇa* refers to a "snuffing out," or the end of the cycle of existence and suffering, the Dhammakāya movement asserts, again with references to the Pali scriptures, that *nirvāṇa* is a place where past buddhas can be visited through meditation.

It appears that these teachings were developed by Luang Pho Sot, and versions of them are propagated by all of the movement's competing branches. As noted above, until the 1990s these teachings drew little public comment, but late in the decade they were the subject of much controversy, as opponents branded them heretical.

SIGNIFICANCE. In terms of the educated, relatively urban Thai culture from whom the movement draws most of its followers, Wat Phra Dhammakāya takes a middle of the road position, appealing to the mind while avoiding intellectualism, and appealing to popular fascination with the miraculous while rejecting traditional magical rituals. The movement's leaders lecture in classroom style, its followers read religious literature voraciously, and the organization sponsors Pali quiz contests, yet its commitment to building its own organization, and the relatively simple nature of its teachings, separate it from more intellectual Thai Buddhist leaders such as Buddhadāsa and Prayut Payutto. On the practice side, the movement believes strongly in the action of karma and the beneficial power of merit (especially merit accumulated through meditation); many devotees expect that the practice of dhammakāya meditation will not only help to calm the mind, but can also have miraculous effects on external circumstances. Yet the movement also discourages allegedly "non-Buddhist" or "magical" practices such as traditional divination, possession, and healing rituals.

Wat Phra Dhammakāya is an extension of the nineteenth-century reforms of Prince Mongkut (later King Rama IV) and Prince-Patriarch Vajirañāṇa (Thai, Wachirayan), who fully accepted Western science for investigating and mastering the material world, while asserting traditional Thai Buddhist cosmology as the means of understanding one's place in the world and strict textualism as a means of understanding Buddhism. To this reformist stance the Wat Phra Dhammakāya movement added late-twentieth-century organizational and public-relations techniques, along with a pragmatism, emphasis on lay practice, and advertisement of success that appeals to many educated city dwellers. Unlike most earlier Buddhist movements, Wat Phra Dhammakāya organizes lay practice much like a school would organize its students or a corporation its workers, while continuing to proclaim the superiority of the monastic path. The organization views its role as calling people, especially secularly educated people, back to a whole-hearted devotion to Buddhism, while hoping to make Wat Phra Dhammakāya the primary center through which meditation's meritorious power will be channeled for the benefit of the world.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Southeast Asia; Buddhist Meditation, article on Theravāda Buddhist Meditation.

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EDWIN ZEHNER (2005)

DHARMA

This entry consists of the following articles:

HINDU DHARMA
BUDDHIST DHARMA AND DHARMAS

DHARMA: HINDU DHARMA

The term *dharma,* central to Hindu conceptions of morality, tradition, and national identity, is a notoriously difficult one to define. Standard definitions relate the word variously to the individual's duty to observe custom or law, to the individual's conformity to duty and nature, or to divine law itself. An examination of the word in context, however, quickly reveals that all of these simple definitions gloss over numerous complexities and contradictions. This is primarily due to the fact that *dharma* both embraces and tries to bridge a foundational ambiguity in Hindu thought.

Hindu cosmologies, histories, and normative traditions describe a wide gap that separates that which is essentially true and eternal from its historic and contingent manifestations. The broadest and most compelling way of putting the matter is in the distinction between Veda (transcendent knowledge) and *itihāsa* (history), or between *śruti* (revelation) and *smṛti* (tradition based on memory). *Śruti* represents the source of absolute authority—revealed knowledge—while *smṛti* is the tradition that humans obey in order to live the sanctioned life. At the heart of Hinduism, then, is this paradox: the tradition that tells Hindus how to live in the world is a tradition of recollection, and memory must bridge a daunting gap between the present and the timeless absolute.

The concept of *dharma* encompasses this paradox and reflects Hindu cosmology's understanding of the ambiguous relationship between absolute truth and history and time, between revelation and remembrance. This can be seen, for example, in the story that holds that Prajāpati composed a book on *dharma* that, at one thousand chapters, was so vast it had to be reduced to a mere four thousand *ślokas* in order to accommodate human frailty (*Nāradasmṛti,* Introduction). It can also be seen in the belief that at the end of each cosmic age (*yuga*) the Veda will disappear, requiring recurring *dharma* legislation at the beginning of each successive new age (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 3.2). Something eternal and absolute remains forever, but what we as humans see of it changes, gets lost to forgetfulness, and must be gleaned from limited memory in order to serve as a binding moral tradition. These profoundly important ideas must be taken into account in any attempt to understand the concept of *dharma* and the nature of ethical discourse within Hinduism.

THE LEXICAL DIVERSITY OF *DHARMA.* *Dharma* is generally understood as a concept that encompasses several meanings, including morality, law, religion, and tradition, as well as the nature of reality or the nature of individual members of society. For contemporary and western scholarship this is far too ambiguous: the conceptual distinction between the nature of reality and morality, or between religious and legal rules is too important to gloss over by means of one term. Nonetheless, the lexical meanings of *dharma* remain extremely diverse and the decision to translate the word into one term or another remains difficult and context-sensitive.

In fact, the wealth and subtlety of meanings denoted by *dharma* belies any brief definition. Even a cursory glance at the numerous textual examples reveals a number of broad meanings. Like the term *ṛta,* which refers to the Vedic conception of cosmic and social order, *dharma* is depicted as a cosmological principle that encompasses both the structure of reality and the essential rightness of this structure. It is Varuṇa's *dharma* that separates Heaven and Earth, and Mitra-Varuṇa are the two guardians of this order, whose laws are truth itself (*Ṛgveda* 6.70.1; 5.63.1). Both of these gods are wise with *dharma* (*Ṛgveda* 5.63.7). This conception extends to the much later *dharma* texts. *Manusmṛti* (Manu), for example, argues that the practice of appointing a childless widow to another man is unacceptable because it destroys the eternal *dharma* or the natural order of things (9.64).

Dharma often recurs in the plural nominal form in Vedic literature, referring either to religious laws or ritual practices. Agni is said to cherish the laws (*dharmani*) (*Ṛgveda* 5.26.6; 8.43.24). Soma, like a steer, which is both powerful and fecund, ordains laws (*Ṛgveda* 9.64.1), while Varuṇa enforces them (*Ṛgveda* 7.89.5), but the sacrifices are the first laws (*Atharvaveda* 7.51). In fact, several Vedic gods are given the name Dharma or some variation of it, most notably Agni, who is called Svadharma—"whose very self is the law" (*Ṛgveda* 3.21.2). Other gods who bear the name Dharma are Savitṛ, Viśvadeva, Mitra, and Varuṇa. And, of course, Dharma himself is a Vedic god (*Ṛgveda* 8.35.13) and the post-Vedic divine father of Yudhiṣṭhira in the *Mahābhārata* (1.1.69).

The strong religious and ritual meanings of *dharma* extend to post-Vedic literature, including Dharmasūtras and Dharmaśāstras, but more specialized meanings are added as well. *Dharma* can mean "Law" as a sacred normative order of reality, as in the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra,* in which a student is encouraged to take delight in *dharma* (5.11). A similar meaning attaches to *dharma* in Manu, in which the birth of a *brāhmaṇa* is described as the eternal physical form of *dharma* (1.98).

The renowned cosmological doctrine of the four *yugas* (aeons) entails the successive deterioration of *dharma.* In Manu, *dharma* is compared to a bull that loses one leg in each age following the initial *Kṛtayuga.* This conception, along with the implication that the loss of *dharma* leads to a deterioration of health and longevity in each age, resembles the Vedic doctrine of *ṛta* in which moral and natural factors are inseparable. A sense prevails here that *dharma* implies some substance that increases or diminishes with the rise or fall of order—or, for that matter, with the observance of rituals or good and bad actions. This "substance" has often been translated as "merit" in texts that use *dharma* in the following sense: "Four things increase and thrive for a man who habitually greets other people . . . long life, *dharma,* fame and strength" (Manu 2.121; 3.131). This sense of *dharma* overlaps with the ethical and eschatological domain of karma in its psychological implications as *puṇya* (merit) or *pāpa* (demerit or sin)—the attendant consequences of doing right or wrong. Perhaps "virtue" would be a fair translation for *dharma* in the sense of a quality that attaches to individuals who follow the law—though the distinction between the law that is followed and the virtue that increases may be arbitrary here.

The meanings of *dharma* extend far beyond the topics mentioned above to areas that circumscribe the social domain, particularly law and morality. A paradigmatic expression of this usage is the famous statement in the Śanti Parvan of the *Mahābhārata* that *dharma* restrains the evil acts of men and helps the acquisition and preservation of wealth (12.91.5). In other words, *dharma* can be broadly understood as the law that underlies social order—a juridical equivalent of law as cosmic order, or a principle of absolute justice: "Because of *dharma* alone people are sustained in their separate stations" (*Mahābhārata* 12.110.11). The broad principle that upholds social order and economic activity becomes instantiated in the work of the king as the dispenser of justice: "No one should violate the justice (*dharma*) that the king dispenses" (Manu 7.13). The king is the guardian of *dharma* in this sense, and the paradigmatically righteous king, Yudhiṣṭhira in the *Mahābhārata,* is the *dharma rāja.*

But *dharma* also refers to the specific laws that the king enforces, such as the law (*dharma*) for the division of inheritance (Manu 1.115), the duties of husband and wife (Manu 8.7), the duties of the priest (Manu 12.71), and others. The distinction made between rules of conduct that are enforced by the court ("positive law") and those that are sanctioned by religious principles (God's revenge, hell, *karman*), does not apply here. The legal concept of *vyavahāra* (legal transaction), often contrasted with *dharma,* simply refers to the manner by which a legal dispute is brought to the attention of the court, not to the source of authority or sanction. In other words, whatever particular problem the king addresses (settling inheritance disputes; defining the boundary between the rights of two castes), the issue is always regarded as a matter of *dharma,* in this case, *rāja dharma.*

***DHARMA* AND AUTHORITY.** The complexity and richness of *dharma* reflects not so much the failure to make conceptual distinctions as the multiplicity and durability of the traditions in which the term figures. A great number of texts over millennia simply cannot speak with one voice. Nonetheless, Hindu theorists began to synthesize and unify the conception of *dharma* from an early age. Their theories seek to ground *dharma* as rule of conduct in some type of metaphysical foundation such as the Vedic conception of *ṛta.* Possibly the oldest such theory is found in the *Gautama Dharmasūtra,* which lists three sources (*mūla*) of *dharma* (1.1–2). These are Veda, tradition, and good custom. Later *dharma* texts (such as Manu and Yājñavalkya) added a fourth, namely "self-contentment" (*ātma-tuṣṭi*) or conscience. The doctrine of the four sources (or "feet"—*pada*) of *dharma* achieves two primary goals: one is technical, the second ideological. Technically, the four sources reflect a hierarchy of prestige and therefore the ranking of applicability among rules. One may look to tradition only where the Vedas are silent and to good custom only where the first two say nothing. In a conflict between rules—for instance, the widow's right to inherit as opposed to her obligation to perform *satī* (self-immolation) on the funeral pyre—the rule that originates in a higher source of *dharma* prevails.

The ideological goal of this doctrine is to ground *dharma* (as contingent law and morality) in a transcendent and fixed source of authority. The law on the books, the customary practice in the region, even moral common sense, ultimately point to the Veda and to the sacred order of reality.

Despite the efforts of some scholars, such as P. V. Kāne, to show that the Vedas do cover a wide array of *dharma* topics, and even specific rules, most contemporary scholars agree that the Vedic texts (*saṃhitā*) contain little in the way of explicit rules of conduct. Consequently, the Veda should be regarded as a source of authority, a metaphysical constitution, so to speak, rather then a positive source for rules of conduct or ethical reasoning. This recognition underlies the later synthesizing theories of Mīmāṃsā philosophers. When the foundational Mīmāṃsā text, Jaimini's *Mīmāṃsāsūtras* (c. 100 BCE), states that *dharma* is a beneficial act indicated by Vedic injunction, it is attempting to ground the authority of contingent rules of conduct on the eternal validity of Vedic language and its meanings (1.1.2). In other words, the Mīmāṃsā philosopher, like his colleagues within the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika schools, is aware of the gap that separates present circumstances and the justifying norm, which is said to be eternal and immutable. The commentaries on the *Mīmāṃsāsūtras,* such as that of Kumārila, argue that what makes *dharma* binding even as it changes over time, is precisely this grounding of the language of *dharma* in the language of Vedic injunctions. What makes *dharma* known are the rules of interpretation based on Mīmāṃsā hermeneutics of Vedic language, primarily the distinction between injunction (*vidhi*) and statement of fact or embellishment (*arthavāda*). In short, the doctrine of the four sources of *dharma* in its basic form, and the philosophical-grammatical speculations on the link between *dharma* and Veda, reflect a sharp awareness of the problematic nature of law and morality in relation to ultimate authority.

THE LITERARY SOURCES OF *DHARMA*. Among its many lexical meanings *dharma* can indicate "tradition" in a very broad sense, or, as *sanātana dharma* (eternal *dharma*), it can refer to the normative tradition loosely identified with Hinduism. However, in the narrower technical sense of rule of conduct (religious, moral, legal), *dharma* is found mainly in a large but clearly circumscribed literary corpus.

The Vedic Saṃhitās do contain some references to matters of *dharma,* and the newer Gṛhyasūtras are systematic expositions of procedures for domestic and life-cycle rituals. However, the explicit and comprehensive enumeration of *dharma* rules begins with the Dharmasūtras, which originally belonged to Kalpasūtras associated with specific Vedic schools. The four major Dharmasūtras are attributed to Gautama, Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha, and Āpastamba. The texts, written in the post-Brāhmaṇa period but notoriously difficult to date, were probably composed between 600 and 200 BCE. The sūtra texts were composed in a brief aphoristic prose style, and they are regarded as parts of the *smṛti* (rather than Veda) tradition within the broad classification of the four sources of *dharma.* Far grander in scale and elaboration are the Dharmaśāstras, written in *śloka* (a four-part meter) verse using the classical Sanskrit that was the hallmark of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* as well. The Śāstras cover the same topics as the Dharmasūtras but they expand and add detail, and they reflect many of the social changes that took place in the intervening centuries. The major, and oldest, works are *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* (or *Manusmṛti*), *Yājñavalkyasmṛti,* and *Nāradasmṛti.* Like the preceding sūtra texts, these works are impossible to date with precision. The most renowned and often-discussed of all *dharma* texts, *Manusmṛti,* reveals the hand of several compilers and contains both internal and external evidence of a contradictory nature (see Doniger and Smith, 1991). Its dating is very broadly placed between the third century BCE and the second or third century CE. Yājñavalkya and Nārada are slightly more recent, as are additional *dharma* texts such as *Parāśarasmṛti, Bṛhaspatismṛti,* and *Kātyāyanasmṛti.*

Roughly contemporary texts with the early Dharmasūtras, and serving as respected sources of *dharma,* are the two great epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata.* The latter is a consciously framed model of good conduct, and the twelfth book (Śanti Parvan) is a virtual encyclopedia of *dharma.* Georg Bühler believed that a full 10 percent of the *ślokas* in Manu were shared with the *Mahābhārata,* and P. V. Kāne gives the nod of precedence to the Dharmaśāstra. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, though specializing in matters of statecraft and polity over law and morality, was nonetheless a valuable source of *rāja dharma,* or the rules that apply to the king. It dates to the first two centuries BCE, perhaps to the court of Candragupta Maurya.

Far more specialized as sources of *dharma* are the commentaries (*bhāṣya*) that have been attached to the Dharmaśāstras, especially Manu and Yājñavalkya. The oldest is Bhāruci's commentary on Manu—an incomplete work, possibly of South Indian origins. The most prestigious commentary on Manu from the perspective of adjudication, is *Medhātithi,* dating to the ninth or tenth century. However, the *Manvartha Muktāvali* of Kullūka, a fifteenth century work composed in Banaras, is far more comprehensive and clear. The Dharmaśāstra of Yājñavalkya also inspired several commentaries. By far the most important was the *Mitākṣarā,* authored by Vijñāneśvara in the eleventh century. This large work had a vast influence on family law, especially matters of succession and inheritance, throughout India, with the exception of Bengal, where the *Dāyabhāga* digest of Jīmūtavāhana (twelfth century) prevailed. The Anglo-Indian courts turned the *Mitākṣarā* into the virtual law code for personal law under British dominion.

While commentaries were being composed in medieval and early modern India for the sake of clarifying and promoting legal schools, large compendia or digests (*nibandhas*) also began to appear. These were collections of quotes from the older *dharma* texts, logically arranged under various headings, with occasional brief commentaries. The most prominent among the many digests were the *Kṛtyakalpataru* of Lakṣmīdhara (twelfth century), which was a vast collection of nearly 30,000 *ślokas.* The *Smṛti Candrikā* of Devanna Bhaṭṭa is a South Indian digest from roughly the same period and contains a very important commentary on the Dharmaśāstra. Additional works of note include the *Vivāda Ratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara, the *Smṛti Sindhu* of Nanda Paṇḍita, and the *Vyavahāra Mayūkha* of Nīlakaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa.

It is important to note that along with the specialized sources of *dharma* there have always been the informal or popular sources of moral and religious norms. Among many others, these include mythical and folk narratives contained in the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* (along with explicit *dharma* sections), oral and theatrical performances in temples or during festivals, the *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa* (collections of stories about moral and pragmatic conduct), the *Kathāsaritsāgara,* the plays of Kālidāsa and other dramatists, the Purāṇas, and devotional songs.

THE TOPICS OF *DHARMA*. Because the concept of *dharma* is so fluid and encompasses so many domains, it is difficult to limit the range of *dharma* to a fixed set of "topics." In a sense, everything is *dharma.* Still, the most prestigious and systematic literary source of *dharma,* Manu, does consciously enumerate a number of clearly defined areas. Manu 1.111–118 serves as a general table of contents for the work as a whole and includes the following major topics, among others: rituals of change (*saṃskāras*—"rites of passage"), the duties of a student, rules for marriage, sacrifices and last rites, rules that describe and restrict means of livelihood, food, purification, the duties of women, rules for the ascetic, matters relating to the king and court procedure, rules for husband and wife, inheritance, protection of the state, rules for time of emergency, expiation, and rules that apply to foreigners and heretical social groups.

***VARṆĀŚRAMADHARMA*.** The central domain of *dharma,* which gradually came to be equated by several texts with *dharma* itself, is *varṇāśramadharma:* the duties of the four social classes (*varṇas*) and the four stages of life (*āśramas*) (*Viṣṇusmṛti* 1.48; *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 1.1). The social classes include the *brāhmaṇa* (priest), *kṣatriya* (warrior), *vaiśya* (merchant), and *śūdra* (laborer). The Dharmaśāstras explicitly regard these as social categories rather than specific or definitive occupations. All *kṣatriyas* are not warriors and many *brāhmaṇas* perform tasks different than officiating in rituals.

Still, the rules that indicate the appropriate duties (*svadharma*) befitting each social class are firm, enforced by the rule of law and fortified by the threat of ritual pollution and the retributive psychology of *karman.* Some *svadharma* rules may be suspended during times of emergency (*āpaddharma*). The rules or duties that apply to all members of society are designated *sādhāraṇa* (or *sāmānya*) *dharma.* These are not very numerous and, though prestigious, they have never gained the sanctity one sees invested within Judaism in the Ten Commandments. There are several lists of *sādhāraṇadharma* but Manu specifies nonviolence (*ahiṃsā*), truthfulness, not taking other people's property (*asteya*), purity, and restraint of the senses as the *dharma* of all the *varṇas.* The *Vāmana Purāṇa* describes a tenfold *dharma* common to all, adding generosity, forbearance, quiescence, not demeaning oneself, and ascetic discipline to Manu's list (Kāne, 1968–1975, vol. 2, p. 11).

The doctrine of the four stages of life, so central to the Dharmaśāstras, follows the older Dharmasūtra version (*Gautama Dharmasūtra, Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*), which included only three stages: the student (*brahmacārin*), the householder (*gṛhasthin*), and the forest-dweller (*vānaprasthin*) who is not a complete renouncer. Only from the sūtra texts of Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha onwards does a fourth *āśrama* emerge—that of the *saṃnyāsin* who renounces all social relations and identity in full pursuit of *mokṣa* (liberation). The addition of the fourth stage of life represents, according to Patrick Olivelle, the attempt to resolve a perceived tension between the competing values of *dharma* and *mokṣa* in the enumeration of life's four supreme values: *kāma* (love), *artha* (wealth), *dharma* (morality), and *mokṣa* (liberation). In broader terms yet, the addition of the fourth stage of life is another effort to encompass, by means of *dharma,* both contingent reality and transcendent or ultimate value. The synthesis corresponds to the contemporaneous drive to ground *dharma* in Veda as transcendent authority (*prāmaṇa*). Both types of synthesis may have been historic reactions to the challenges of heterodoxy (Buddhism, Jainism), or more specifically, the threat that the quietist or monastic life (*nivṛtti*) posed to the pursuit of active engagement (*pravṛtti*) in social life. Hence, in Manu both *nivṛtti* and *pravṛtti* are regarded as domains of *dharma,* and the fourth stage of life (*saṃnyāsa*) is fully integrated into the *āśramadharma.* In a different vein, the roughly contemporary *Bhagavadgītā* resolves the tension between meditative inactivity and *varṇa* duty (*svadharma*) by postulating yet other integrative concepts—devotion (*bhakti*) to God (Kṛṣṇa) and selfless action.

DHARMA, TIME, AND SOCIAL REFORM. The *dharma* texts, which tipped their hats to the eternal Veda as their eternal source of authority (in theory), contained several rules of conduct that later communities were bound to find unworthy of their values. A small number of hermeneutic and ideological devices were constructed either by the compilers of *dharma* texts or by subsequent theorists to admit changes into an ostensibly immutable tradition. Chief among these were the doctrines of *Kālī-varjyas* (rules unfit for the Kālī age) and *āpaddharma* (rules for time of emergency). But additional techniques included the Mīmāṃsā distinction between injunctive text (*vidhi*) and mere explanatory passages (*arthavāda*), as well as the concept of *loka-vidviṣṭa*—norms that are odious to the public despite their origin in *dharma* texts.

The *dharma* literature does not provide more than a few dozen explicit examples of exceptions to the immutability of *dharma.* But the principle is familiar and prestigious, and so it may be invoked to substantiate legal and social reforms when the time is right. The most notorious examples among the fifty or so *Kālī-varjya* rules are the prohibitions against *nīyoga*—the pairing of a childless widow with her deceased husband's brother, the remarriage of widowed virgins, eating meat, or killing a *brāhmaṇa* aggressor (in self-defense) (Kāne, 1968–1975, vol. 3, pp. 930–968). The rules of *āpaddharma* tend to loosen prohibitions against upper-caste freedom: A *brāhmaṇa* may study under a *kṣatriya,* upper-caste members may engage in low-caste professions (which are usually polluting), a *vaiśya* may lend money at interest, and, most notoriously, a high-caste Hindu may steal and eat polluting meat. This latter case is illustrated in the famous story of Viśvāmitra who stole dog meat from a *caṇḍāla* (untouchable) during time of drought and famine (Manu 10.108; *Mahābhārata* 12.141.90), as well as in the lesser-known stories of Uṣati Cakrāyaṇa and, earliest of all, Vāmadeva (*Ṛgveda* 4.18.13).

Like the ranking of the four sources of *dharma,* these concepts were intended to situate law and ethics in the historic and contingent world while preserving *dharma*'s authority as grounded in Veda. However, when pressure for reform began to build up under Anglo-Indian courts in the nineteenth century, these devices were seldom explicitly invoked by either reformers or conservatives, although they occasionally figured in substance. The abolition of *satī* (widow burning), known as the Bengal Satī Regulation of 1829, was the first major case to test the Dharmaśāstra and the judicial autonomy given by the British to Hindu law in modern times. Reformers claimed that *satī* did not originate in *smṛti* (authoritative tradition—Dharmasūtras and Dharmaśāstras) but in custom, and that it was "revolting to the feelings of human nature." The opponents of reform appealed both to *smṛti* (although the texts were sharply divided on the matter) and to the sanctity of "immemorial" practice in matters of religious belief. In other words, both sides appealed to the prestige invested in the hierarchy of the four sources of *dharma,* but the reformers also introduced the matter of *loka-vidviṣṭa.* Similar legal battles followed (for instance, the Caste Removal of Disabilities Act of 1850; the Hindu Widow Remarriage Act XV of 1856). In the case of widow remarriage, the opponents of reform appealed to the *Kālī-varjya* principle as showing that precisely because the Kālī age was morally depraved: widows, even the very young and virgins, should not be allowed to remarry. These conservatives showed that the principle of overriding positive legal rules could be used as a tool for protecting the status quo and not only for reform. The reformers, as usual, argued that the rule they wished to reform was not Sastric but rooted in custom, and that the change promoted social morality by enshrining what the British called "equity." Backed by British courts and power, reformers consistently won the legal battles, but social practice was far slower to change.

Due to the fact that Hindu *dharma* has always encompassed religious, social, and juridical matters, twentieth-century legislation has been strongly shaped by the culture of *dharma.* The social and legislative battles of the nineteenth century continue to influence various aspects of Hindu law today in topics such as marriage, succession, adoption, guardianship, caste law, and minority rights. In other words, conflicting interpretations of *dharma* still effect social policy in India today. Moreover, the question of *dharma* has spilled out of the courtroom and legislature to become part of a far more impassioned ideological contest over what constitutes Hindu consciousness (*Hindutva*) in the face of competing values such as feminism, social equality, and religious pluralism.

The concept of *sanātanadharma,* which both conservatives and liberals now often equate with normative Hindu identity, emerged in the early years of the nineteenth century in response to Anglo-Indian social legislation. The orthodox opponents of Ram Mohan Roy (members of the Dharma Sabha) used it as an ideological response to the reformers' claim on the Veda as a source of equity and a blueprint for reform. *Sanātanadharma* thus became conflated with Hindu identity and national pride. This is how even such figures as Aurobindo Ghose and India's president-scholar Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan used the term. For social and religious conservatives, "*satīdharma*" could then be defended—as it is still defended in some nationalist circles today—as a voluntary affirmation of national and religious ideology by Hindu women of courage. And, although no one justifies dowry murders (the killing of brides whose dowry was deemed unsatisfactory), or the violence toward Dalits (scheduled castes, tribes) over matters of land or labor, the remedy for such tragedies has been complicated by the ideological contest over the meaning of *dharma* and the seemingly ageless conflation of religious and ethical discourse within matters of *dharma.*

SEE ALSO Karman, article on Hindu and Jain Concepts; Śāstra Literature; Sūtra Literature; Varṇa and Jāti; Vedas.

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DHARMA: BUDDHIST DHARMA AND DHARMAS

The pan-Indian term *dharma* (from the Sanskrit root *dhṛ,* "to sustain, to hold"; Pali, *dhamma;* Tib., *chos*) has acquired a variety of meanings and interpretations in the course of many centuries of Indian religious thought. Buddhism shares this term and some of its meanings with other Indian religions, but at the same time it has provided a set of unique and exclusive interpretations of its own. *Dharma* can imply many different meanings in various contexts and with reference to different things. Here we shall consider it under two general headings: the first as *dharma* in a general sense, comprising a variety of meanings, and the second as *dharma*(s) in a technical sense, denoting the ultimate constituents or elements of the whole of the existing reality.

GENERAL USAGES. *Dharma* was and still is employed by all the religious denominations that have originated in India to indicate their religious beliefs and practices. In this sense, *dharma* refers broadly to what we would term "religion." *Dharma* also designates the universal order, the natural law or the uniform norm according to which the whole world (*saṃsāra*) runs its course. Within the Buddhist context this universal order is coordinated in the doctrine of dependent origination (*pratītya-samutpāda*). This rigorous natural law, which controls the sequence of events and the behavior and acts of beings, has no cause or originator. It is beginningless and functions of its own nature. It is said in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, and later rephrased in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, that the nature of things is such that the causal law as the inevitable determination of *karman* continues to evolve spontaneously whether or not the *tathāgata*s appear in this world. It is an inherent and all-pervading law that does not depend for its existence on the appearance of the Buddhas, whose mission in this world is merely to reveal it. Śākyamuni Buddha first perceived and understood this fundamental law and then proclaimed and explained it to his followers. The discovery of the nature of *dharma* is compared in some sūtras to the discovery of an old and forgotten city. In the Mahāyāna, especially within the context of the doctrine of the three Buddha bodies (*trikāya*) and the reinterpretation of the relationship between *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* as two aspects of the same reality, *dharma* as the universal norm received a wider and deeper interpretation. As a part of the compound *dharmakāya*, it signifies both the immanent and transcendental reality of all beings and appearances. Thus, it clearly denotes the essence of sentient beings as well as the nature of the Buddhas. In the sense of denoting phenomenal existence, it is also referred to as reality (*dharmatā*), the essence of reality (*dharmadhātu*), suchness (*tathatā*), emptiness (*śūnyatā*), or store-consciousness (*ālaya-vijñāna*). In the sense of referring to the nature of the buddhas, it is known as buddhahood (*buddhatā*), as the self-nature of the buddhas (*buddhasvabhāva*), or as the womb of the buddhas (*tathāgata-garbha*).

Dharma as the Buddha's teaching or doctrine as a whole comprises his exposition of the universal order of nature as described above and his proclamation of the path toward deliverance. Thus, when his teaching is meant as a whole system it is the term *dharma* (or *śāsana*) that is employed. When his teachings are referred to or explained from two different angles, that is, when theoretical and practical aspects are differentiated, two terms are employed: *dharma*, as a body of religio-philosophical discourses as contained in the Sūtras, and Vinaya, or monastic discipline, the rules and regulations for the application and practice of *dharma*. The Prātimokṣa (monastic code) contains rules of conduct, each of which is also called *dharma*.

The shortest and yet the clearest exposition of *dharma* as the Buddha's word (*buddhavacana*) is epitomized in Śākyamuni's first sermon, when he "set in motion" (i.e., proclaimed) the wheel (lore) of *dharma:* the four noble truths and eightfold noble path. There is suffering and it has a cause that can be eliminated through the knowledge and practice of the path of *dharma* as summarized by the Eightfold Noble Path: right views, right conduct, and so forth. Another presentation of the same path is articulated within the basic trilogy of monastic practice of cultivating wisdom (*prajñā*), morality (*śīla*), and meditation (*dhyāna*). Through wisdom one acquires a full vision of *dharma*, through morality one purifies all that obscures the vision of *dharma*, and through meditation one matures *dharma* within oneself and indeed transforms oneself into an epitome of *dharma*.

Dharma denotes truth, knowledge, morality, and duty. It is the truth about the state and function of the world, the truth about how to eliminate its evil tendencies, and the truth about its immutable spiritual potentiality. It is knowledge in the sense that once one becomes aware of *dharma* one acquires the knowledge to become free from the bonds of phenomenal existence. It is morality, for it contains a code of moral conduct that conduces to spiritual purification and maturation. It is duty, for whoever professes *dharma* has a duty to comply with its norms and to achieve the goal that it sets forth. In this sense there is only one duty in Buddhism: the ceaseless and constant effort to strive for *nirvāṇa*.

Dharma, together with the Buddha and the *saṃgha*, constitute a "threefold jewel" (*triratna*) before which one makes prostrations and in which one takes refuge. Here *dharma* does not so much represent a body of teachings as it assumes a character of awesomeness, protection, and deliverance wholly appropriate to the Truth. One stands in awe of *dharma* as a self-sustained righteousness whose universal legacy is to protect through its righteousness those who profess it. Soon after his enlightenment, realizing that there is no one more perfect than himself in virtue, wisdom, and meditation under whom he could live in obedience and reverence, Sākyamuni decided that he would live honoring and revering *dharma*, the universal truth he had just realized. As one of the Three Jewels, the Buddha is *dharma*'s embodied personification, revealer, and teacher. The *saṃgha* constitutes a body of *dharma*'s followers among whom *dharma* thrives as the norm of daily life, becoming an inspiration and a path to deliverance. The Three Jewels as conceived in the early period can be paralleled, as a somewhat general compar-ison, with the later concept of the three buddha bodies. *Dharma* as *dharmakāya* represents its own sublime and absolute aspect, the Buddha as a *saṃbhogakāya* represents the pure and glorified state of *dharma*, and the *saṃgha* as *nirmāṇakāya* represents *dharma* as discovered and operating within the world.

TECHNICAL USAGES. The strictly technical meaning of *dharma*s as ultimate elements or principles of existence as systematized in the Abhidharma literature, especially in the Abhidharma works of the Sarvāstivāda school, is not so distinct or rigidly formulated in the four Nikāyas (Āgamas). In the sūtras of the four Nikāyas we find many descriptions of *dharma*s and their various classifications, but their systematization into what we could call "*dharma* theory" took place within the Abhidharma literature. Thus, in the Nikāyas *dharma*s are usually characterized as good or bad with reference to ethical conduct, but receive little attention as coherent metaphysical or epistemological systems. The *Dasuttara Sutta* enumerates some 550 *dharma*s to be cultivated or abandoned. The *Saṅgīti Sutta* gives an even larger number of them, and the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* lists some 1,011 *dharma*s. In this latter work we also find a set of *dharma*s that Śākyamuni ascertained to be for the benefit of living beings. These include the thirty-seven *bodhipakṣya dharma*s that constitute the thirty-seven practices and principles conducive to the attainment of enlightenment.

Rather than providing further examples from the sūtras I propose now to concentrate on describing the *dharma* theory of the Sarvāstivāda school. Within its systematized presentation one finds practically all the important aspects of *dharma*s and their role; the variant interpretations of other schools will be mentioned wherever appropriate.

Buddhism makes an emphatic and "dogmatic" statement that a "soul" (*ātman*) as interpreted by non-Buddhist schools in India does not exist. By denying the existence of a soul as a permanent and unifying factor of a human entity it has removed all grounds for asserting the permanency of the human entity or the existence of any indestructible element therein. With reference to the substantiality of physical things it has removed the concept of substance and replaced it by modalities: there is no substance but only the appearances of what we call substances or things. Having removed the notion of substance Buddhism has construed an explanation as to how this world functions. According to this explanation, the universe is seen as a flux of *dharma*s, the smallest elements or principles of which it consists, but this flux is not merely a flux of incoherent motion or change. On the contrary, the world evolves according to the strict law of dependent origination (*pratītya-samutpāda*).

This universal flux can be conveniently viewed, for the moment, at three simultaneous and interrelated levels. If we take the inanimate world (matter) alone, it flows in accordance with a uniformly homogeneous and natural law of change. Similarly, the organic world (vegetation) flows according to its own uniform evolution of natural life (germination, growth, etc.). The third level is constituted by sentient life. This last one, apart from comprehending the other levels (matter and organic functions), includes a sentient element (consciousness or mind) as well. In general, we can say that it includes material as well as immaterial elements. Such sentient life, in which the material and immaterial elements are tied together, evolves or flows according to the strict law of causality as decreed in the causal nexus of dependent origination. Furthermore, this constant flux of sentient life coordinated by the law of dependent origination has a moral law superimposed upon it: the "law" of *karman*. It is with regard to such a flux that the *dharma* theory attempts to provide an explanation. There is no substance or person but there are *dharma*s (psychophysical elements) that flow according to the law of dependent origination that is set in motion by the law of *karman*. Basically, the *dharma* theory provides an explanation of how the universe functions within the context of a sentient life, in particular a human flux, for it is human life that Buddhism is concerned with. *Dharma* theory constitutes then not so much an explanation of what the universe is as it does an attempt to describe of what it consists and how it functions. Thus, in the detailed enumeration of *dharma*s as basic and infinitesimal elements that constitute the conglomeration of the universe we find an analysis of human life and its destiny. But this analysis is not "Buddhist psychology," as many call it; it is an exposition of both the constant and inevitably coordinated flux of phenomena and the inherent potentiality of bringing this flux to a halt.

I shall now describe some general classifications of *dharma*s (again, after the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma). *Dharma*s are divided into conditioned (*saṃskṛta*) and unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*). The conditioned *dharma*s (seventy-two in all) comprise all the elements of phenomenal existence (*saṃsāra*). They are called conditioned because by their nature and in their flow they cooperate in and are subject to the law of causality; they conglomerate or cooperate in the production of life (*pṛhagjana*). The unconditioned elements (three in all) are those that are not subject to the law that governs phenomenal existence. *Dharma*s are also divided into those that are influenced or permeated by negative tendencies or depravities (*āsrava;* in a moral sense, bad *karma*s) and those that are not under the influence of depravities (*anāsrava;* morally, good *karma*s). These are the same *dharma*s as in the previous classification but here they are viewed from two aspects: when they are influenced chiefly by ignorance (*avidyā*) their flux has the tendency to perpetuate itself; when they are under the influence of intuitive wisdom (*prajñā*) they acquire the tendency toward appeasement or tranquillity. By their nature the unconditioned *dharma*s must be classed among the *dharma*s that are not under the influence of depravities. We should recall here that the chief characteristic of *saṃsāra* is motion or unrest, *duḥkha*, and that of *nirvāṇa* is tranquillity, *nirodha*. The *dharma*s can be also divided in relationship to the four truths. Here again we have a twofold division. The first two truths (unrest, *duḥkha*, and its cause, *samudaya*) refer to the seventy-two *dharma*s that are permeated by depravities or that are conditioned. The two other truths (rest, *nirodha*, and the means to it, *mārga*) refer to the three unconditioned *dharma*s that are always at rest (*nirodha*) and to the *dharma*s that are on the way (*mārga*) to become extinguished (*nirodha*).

Having described the general divisions I shall now proceed to list a set of three standard classifications within which individual *dharma*s are distributed. The first classification, which includes the conditioned *dharma*s alone, refers to their grouping as perceived in a sentient life. This classification divides *dharma*s into five aggregates or *skandha*s. Here we have (1) matter or body (*rūpaskandha*): eleven *dharma*s; (2) feelings, sensations, or emotions (*vedanāskandha*): one *dharma*; (3) perceptions (*saṃjñāskandha*): one *dharma;* (4) impulses or will-forces (*saṃskāraskandha*): fifty-eight *dharma*s; (5) consciousness or mind (*vijñānaskandha*): one *dharma*. This division into five *skandha*s not only constitutes an analysis of all phenomena but also serves to prove that there is no soul (*ātman*) in a human entity, for none of the five *skandhas* can be identified with or regarded as a soul.

The second classification divides *dharma*s with reference to the process of cognition. Here we have the six sense organs (*indriya*) and the six sense objects (*viṣaya*) jointy called the "bases" or "foundations" (*āyatana*) of cognition. The six sense organs or internal bases are (1) sense of vision (*cakṣur-indriyāyatana*); (2) sense of hearing (*śrotra-*); (3) sense of smell (*ghrāna-*); (4) sense of taste (*jihvā-*); (5) sense of touch (*kāya-*); and (6) consciousness or intellectual faculty (*mana-*). The six sense objects or external bases are (7) color and form (*rūpa-āyatana*); (8) sound (*śabda-*); (9) smell (*gandha-*); (10) taste (*rasa-*); (11) contact (*spraṣṭavya-*); and (12) nonsensuous or immaterial objects (*dharma-*). The first eleven *āyatana*s have one *dharma* each; the immaterial objects comprise sixty-four *dharma*s.

The third classification groups *dharma*s in relationship to the flow (*santāna*) of life that evolves within the threefold world (*kāma-*, *rūpa-*, and *ārūpya-dhātu*) as described by Buddhist cosmology. This group is divided into eighteen *dhātu*s, or elements. It incorporates the previous division into the twelve bases, to which is added a corresponding set of six kinds of consciousness to the intellectual faculty. Thus we have (13) visual consciousness (*cakṣur-vijñānadhātu*); (14) auditory consciousness (*śrotra-*); (15) olfactory consciousness (*ghrāṇa-*); (16) gustatory consciousness (*jihvā-*); (17) tactile consciousness (*kāya-*); and (18) nonsensuous consciousness (*mano-*). Within this group the five sense organs and their five objects contain one *dharma* each (ten *dharma*s in all). Consciousness (no. 6) is divided here into seven *dhātu*s (no. 6 plus 13–18). The *dhātu* that represents immaterial objects (no. 12) contains sixty-four *dharma*s. All the eighteen *dhātu*s exist in the sensuous world (*kāmadhātu*) or the world in which the mind operates through the sense data. In the world of refined matter (*rūpadhātu*), the objects of smell and taste (nos. 9–10) and the olfactory and gustatory consciousnesses cease to exist. In the world without matter (but frequently interpreted as very subtle matter for we are still within *saṃsāra*) all the *dhātu*s cease to exist except for consciousness (no. 6), its immaterial objects (no. 12), and its nonsensuous aspect of cognition (no. 18).

Now at last we come to enumerate the individual *dharma*s. Within the classification into the five *skandha*s, matter (*rūpa*) contains eleven *dharma*s: five sense organs (*āyatana*s 1–5) and their five corresponding sense objects (*āyatana*s 7–11), plus an additional element to be discussed below. *Āyatana* (*dhātu*) number 12 (nonsensuous objects) is in this system classified as an immaterial *dharma*, as we shall see, and hence is not considered here.

Matter or body is conceived as consisting of the four primary elements (*mahābhūta*s)—earth, water, fire, and air. Secondary or refined matter (*bhautika*, derived from or related to matter) is represented by the senses and their objects (i.e., sense data). As already mentioned above, there is no substance as such. The four primary elements are talked about in Buddhism, but rightly understood these are taken to refer to properties: hardness (earth), cohesion (water), heat (fire), and motion (wind). The primary matter (four elements) present in a body sustains the secondary matter (the senses and their objects). Since the Buddhists analyze matter within the context of a sentient life, their description of matter is mainly concerned with discerning how it functions and how it appears, not with what it is, for properly speaking it does not exist. The world is in constant flux, the living life changes from one moment to the next. Consequently, because Buddhists are constrained from speaking in terms of soul or substance, matter is styled as sense data alone. Such a definition of the physical *dharma*s that constitute the sense data (ten *dharma*s) accounts for the component of matter that sustains consciousness, the other component of sentient life. What then is the eleventh *dharma*?

The Sarvāstivāda, viewing the human personality as a threefold aspect of body, speech, and mind, divided *karman* (as it operates within a sentient life) into mental action (*manas*, identified with volition, or *cetanā*) and physical and vocal actions. Mental action was classed as immaterial but physical and vocal actions that proceed from mental action were classed as belonging to matter (*rūpaskandha*). Furthermore, physical and vocal action was seen as being an (external) "expression" (*vijñapti*), but when mental action was committed but not externalized its "material" concomitant was seen as "nonexpression" (*avijñapti*). It is the latter "unexpressed matter" (*avijñaptirūpa*) that constitutes the eleventh *dharma* among the *skandha* division. Although immaterial, it was classed as matter because physical and vocal action with which it was associated was classed as such.

Three *skandha*s (feelings, perceptions, and impulses) contain jointly sixty *dharma*s, which are included as immaterial objects within the two other (*āyatana*, *dhātu*) classifications (no. 12 in both). The three immutable elements (*asaṃskṛta*) and *avijñapti* are also included among the immaterial *dharma*s of these two latter divisions, thus making a total of sixty-four *dharma*s.

Now I shall describe the sixty *dharma*s that are included in all three classifications (*skandha*, *āyatana*, and *dhātu*). They are divided into two main groups: one group comprises forty-six associated *dharma*s or mental *dharma*s (*caittadharma*), that arise from or in association with pure consciousness or mind (*citta-saṃprayuk-tasaṃskāra*); the second group comprises fourteen unassociated *dharma*s, that is to say, *dharma*s that can be associated neither with matter nor with mind (*rūpa-citta-viprayukta-saṃskāra*).

The forty-six associated *dharma*s include ten mental *dharma*s that are present in a sentient life (*citta-mahābhūmika*): (1) feeling, (2) perception, (3) will, (4) contact, (5) desire, (6) comprehension, (7) memory, (8) attention, (9) aspiration, and (10) concentration; ten morally good (*kuśala-mahābhūmika*) *dharma*s that are present in favorable conditions: (11) faith, (12) courage, (13) equanimity, (14) modesty, (15) aversion to evil, (16) detachment from love, (17) detachment from hatred, (18) nonviolence, (19) dexterity, and (20) perseverence in good; six obscuring (*kleśa-mahābhūmika*) *dharma*s that enter the stream of a sentient life in unfavorable moments: (21) confusion (ignorance), (22) remissness, (23) mental dullness, (24) lack of faith, (25) indolence, and (26) addiction to pleasure; ten additional obscuring (*upakleśa-bhūmika*) *dharma*s that may occur at different times: (27) anger, (28) hypocrisy, (29) maliciousness, (30) envy, (31) ill-motivated rivalry, (32) violence, (33) malice, (34) deceit, (35) treachery, and (36) self-gratification; two universally inauspicious (*akuśala-mahabhūmika*) *dharma*s: (37) irreverence, and (38) willful tolerance of offences; and eight *dharma*s that are called undetermined (*aniyata-bhūmika*) or undifferentiated in the sense that they can have different moral implications: (39) remorse, (40) deliberation, (41) investigation, (42) determination, (43) passion, (44) hatred, (45) pride, and (46) doubt. All forty-six *dharma*s listed above cannot be associated with (or cofunction with) consciousness at the same time on the general principle that their inner inclinations are variously geared toward either good or evil.

The fourteen unassociated *dharma*s are (47) acquisition (*prāpti*), or the controlling force of an individual flux of life, (48) force (*aprāpti*) that suspends some elements, (49) force of homogeneity of existence, (50) force that leads to trance, (51) force produced by effort to enter trance, (52) force that stops consciousness, thus effecting the highest trance, (53) force that projects life's duration, (54) origination, (55) duration, (56) decay, (57) extinction, (58) force that imparts meaning to words, (59) force that imparts meaning to sentences, and (60) force that imparts meaning to sounds.

Pure consciousness or mind constitutes one *dharma* (fifth *skandha*, sixth *āyatana*). In the division into *dhātu*s *vijñāna* is, as it were, subdivided among seven *dhātu*s (no. 6 plus 13–18) where the same consciousness is viewed in relation to the sense organs and immaterial objects.

Adding all the conditioned *dharma*s together yields eleven material *dharma*s, one *dharma* representing consciousness, forty-six associated *dharma*s, and fourteen unassociated *dharma*s—seventy-two in all. These are the *dharma*s into which the whole of phenomenal existence is analyzed and which account for all events that take place within it.

The Sarvāstivāda also enumerate three unconditioned *dharma*s: space (*ākāśa*), emancipation through discerning knowledge (*pratisaṃkhyānirodha*), and emancipation through nondiscerning knowledge (*apratisaṃkhyā-nirodha*). Thus, the total of *dharma*s both conditioned and unconditioned amounts to seventy-five in the Sarvāstivāda school.

The Theravāda tradition enumerates only one unconditioned *dharma* (*nirvāṇa*) and eighty-one conditioned *dharma*s: four primary elements; four secondary elements; five sense organs; five sense objects; two aspects of sex (male and female); heart as the sustaining element of psychic life; two kinds (bodily and vocal) of *avijñaptirūpa;* a psychic vitality of matter; space; three properties (agility, elasticity, and pliability) of body; three characteristics (origination, duration, and decay) of conditioned *dharma*s; material food; fifty-two mental elements, including twenty-five wholesome, fourteen unwholesome, and thirteen morally neutral elements; and consciousness.

The Sarvāstivāda asserted that all the conditioned *dharma*s are real (they exist for they happen) and that they have the characteristic of coming into existence, lasting for a short period, and disappearing again in order to reappear in a new karmically determined formation. They also maintained that *dharma*s exist in all three times: past, present, and future.

The Lokottaravāda school, a Mahāsāṃghika subsect, treated all the conditioned *dharma*s as unreal and held that only the unconditioned *dharma*s are real. The Prajñaptivāda school, another Mahāsāṃghika group, argued that the twelve *āyatana*s are not real because they are the products of the *skandha*s, which are the only real entities. The Sautrāntikas admitted the existence of thought but rejected the reality of the majority of the associated and all the unassociated *dharma*s, denied the reality of the past and future, and maintained that only the present exists. They also rejected the existence of the unconditioned *dharma*s, considering them mere denominations of absence. The Mādhyamika school rejected the ultimate reality of *dharma*s altogether. The Vijñānavāda school recognized mind as the only reality (*cittamātra*) and treated the whole of phenomenal existence as its illusive projection. Finally, a well-known Buddhist formula (*ye dharmā hetuprabhavā*, etc.) expresses the soteriological aspect associated with the analysis of sentient beings in terms of *dharma*s: "Whatever events arise from a cause, the Tathāgata has foretold their cause, and the Great Hermit has also explained their cessation."

SEE ALSO Buddhist Philosophy; Four Noble Truths; Karman, article on Buddhist Concepts; Mādhyamika; Nirvāṇa; Pratītya-samutpāda; Sarvāstivāda; Sautrāntika; Soteriology; Soul, article on Buddhist Concepts; Yogācāra.

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DHARMAKĪRTI (c. 600–660), Buddhist philosopher of South Indian origin, pupil of Īśvarasena, and teacher at Nālānda. Dharmakīrti's thought brings the tradition of Buddhist epistemology and logic as founded by Dignāga (c. 480–540) to its culmination and final accomplishment.

Dharmakīrti's philosophical work consists of seven treatises still extant either in the original Sanskrit or in Tibetan translation. Dharmakīrti's stated intention was to give an explanation of Dignāga's ideas, and tradition accepted his explanation as such. His works, however, surpassed those of the earlier philosopher to become the basis for the study of this tradition by later Indian and Tibetan Buddhists. His first major work, *Pramāṇavārttika* (Commentary on the means of valid cognition), is a verse text in four chapters. The first chapter, "On Inference," was written with a prose commentary, thus constituting his earliest work, and was only later joined with the other chapters, "Establishment of the Means of Valid Cognition," "On Perception," and "On Proof." The *Pramāṇaviniścaya* (Analytical determination of the means of valid cognition), contains chapters on perception, on inference, and on proof, and is the final formulation of Dharmakīrti's epistemological and logical thought in mixed verse and prose. For its clarity in structure, presentation, argument, and verbal expression, it is a masterpiece of Indian scholarly literature. In what is largely an excerpt of the latter work, the *Nyāyabindu* (A drop of logical argumentation), Dharmakīrti gives a succinct *sūtra*-like formulation of his epistemology.

The *Hetubindu* (A drop of logical reason) examines logical reason, negative cognition, and causality. The *Vādanyāya* (The rule for disputations), his last work, attempts to apply the new logical theory to the dialectical practice. Dharmakīrti refuted solipsism in his *Santānāntarasiddhi* (A proof of other mental continuities) and rejected the reality of relations in *Sambandhaparīkṣā* (Examination of Relation).

Most of Dharmakīrti's thought is devoted to epistemological and logical themes. In its context, this must be understood as an attempt to establish a philosophical foundation of meaningful everyday and Buddhist practice. For Dharmakīrti, valid cognitions can be established only with regard to the Buddha, who—himself a means of valid cognition—can provide the motifs and goals of all human actions that are the frame of judgment necessary to differentiate the validity or invalidity of cognitions. At the same time, perception and inference, the two kinds of valid cognition, can be used to demonstrate that the Buddha is the only conceivable source from which we can derive such advice.

In the field of logic, Dharmakīrti overcomes the formal character of Dignāga's theory, in which only three forms or characteristics of logical reason are formulated as the necessary conditions of logical certainty, by giving an ontological explanation for such certainty. According to this explanation, concepts are related to each other only when they refer to the same real entity or to an entity caused by that referred to by the other concept. The necessary logical relation is thus based on a relation of real identity or of causality. Consequently, only such concepts may be used as logical reasons (*hetu*) that are either "essential properties" (*svabhāva*), "effect" (*kārya*), that is, concepts referring to something as the effect of something else, or "non-perception of something perceivable" (*dṛśyānupalabdhi*).

Dharmakīrti's theory of concepts (*apoha*) explains a concept as the difference from other things that is common to individual entities. Lacking any principle of unity, absolutely different individual entities nonetheless cause the same judgments precisely on account of such experience of them that differs from experience of others. The resultant concept is nothing real, but by recourse to experience and practice there is nevertheless a relation between reality and the false realm of linguistic constructs of varying degrees of reliability. While perception is a direct valid cognition of what is real, inference is an indirect valid cognition, since it is conceptual by nature and must be gained under strict control by means of logical reason (*hetu*). Concepts that may be used as logical reasons serve to infer other concepts as necessarily true or to remove or correct wrong concepts. One of the most influential results of this new logical theory is a new form of the inference of universal momentary destruction (*kṣaṇikatva*) in which Dharmakīrti derives it from the concept of being (*sattvānumāna*), thereby offering a new method for establishing the first of the four noble truths, "All is suffering."

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DHARMAPĀLA (530–561), Indian Buddhist thinker associated with the Yogācāra school and founder of a Vijñānavāda ("consciousness only") tradition that was to become highly influential in the scholastic traditions of East Asian Buddhism. His numerous followers include Śīlabhadra, his successor as abbot of Nālandā and teacher of the famous Chinese monk Xuanzang (569–664). It was Xuanzang who introduced Dharmapāla's thought to China, where, under the name of Faxiang ("dharma characteristics"), it supplanted the traditions transmitted by Paramārtha (499–569) and Bodhiruci (d. 527) to become the dominant form of Yogācāra there. The Faxiang "school" was introduced to Japan beginning in the late seventh century by the monk Dōshō (629–710), enjoyed three subsequent transmissions, and, as the Hossō school (the Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese Faxiang), became perhaps the most eminent of the six scholastic traditions that flouished during the Nara period (710–784).

The eldest son of a minister in Kāñcīpuram, Dharmapāla became a Buddhist monk in his youth. He studied Buddhism at the Nālandā monastic university and later became its head. In several doctrinal debates Dharmapāla defeated philosophers representing both non-Buddhist and Buddhist (especially Hīnayāna) opinion. At twenty-nine, however, realizing that he was not destined to live long, he retired from his post at Nālandā to concentrate on writing. He died two years later. Despite the relative brevity of his career, Dharmapāla wrote a number of works, some of which are preserved in the Chinese canon. These include the *Guansuo yuan lun shi* (T.D. No. 1625), the *Cheng wei shi lun* (T.D. no. 1585), and the *Dasheng guang bolun shi lun* (T.D. no. 1571). The second of these, Xuanzang's translation of the *Vijñāptimātratāsiddhi*, a compilation of ten commentaries on Vasubandhu's *Triṃśika* (Thirty verses), includes a commentary by Dharmapāla's own hand. More than a mere gloss of the original text of Vasubandhu, however, Dharmapāla's commentary constitutes an original doctrinal treatise in its own right.

Unlike the Mādhyamika thinkers, who concentrated on the refutation of fallacies without explaining how the magic (i.e., the illusion, in Buddhist terms) of "self" should arise in every living being, Dharmapāla offered an intricate analysis of this process from the Yogācāra point of view. This analysis begins with an interpretation of causality, or "dependent co-origination" (*pratītya-samutpāda*): every action creates a pattern or potential for future action, just as in legal cases a single decision becomes a precedent for the future. The precedents, karmic residues in this case, are technically referred to as "seeds" (*bīja*), which are "deposited," as it were, in a "receptacle" or "store" consciousness, from which, under the proper conditions, they manifest themselves at some future time. The process by which actions "deposit" seeds in the subconscious is known as "impression" (*vāsāna*); the actualization of these seeds in the mental life of the being involved is known as "manifestation."

The accumulation of these numerous potentials suggests a division of labor between the storage function, the coordinating function, and the discriminating function. In Yogācāra thought, these functions represent concrete activities of different levels and types of consciousness, usually numbered eight in the system championed by Dharmapāla. The storage function is referred to as *ālaya-vijñāna* ("storehouse consciousness"). It is the *ālaya* that receives the *bīja*s deposited by actions and as such functions as a karmic repository in which the continuity of past actions in the stream of an individual's lives is preserved. The coordinating function is called the "cognitive" center (*manas*); it serves to synchronize all the activities of mind so that they function as an integrated whole. It is the *manas* that, turning inward, fails to perceive that the *ālaya* essentially has no existence other than the seeds that it stores, and thus falsely imputes to the *ālaya* the permanence and unity of a self or *ātman*. Such a (false) belief in the existence of a self is traditionally regarded by Buddhists as the very source of suffering. Ordinary sentient beings (as opposed to Buddhas and very highly advanced *bodhisattvas*) are unaware of the actions of these two functions. *Ālaya* and *manas* thus constitute unconscious functions of mind.

The discriminating function is represented by the six types of consciousnesses of which we are all aware: the five senses and the thinking process itself (*mano-vijñāna*). These, like the *manas*, are ultimately the very creations, "evolutes," of the seeds stored in the *ālaya*, which manifest themselves under the proper causal conditions as our psychophysical "selves." What appears in consciousness, under this interpretation, is thus not an external reality but simply the products of previous actions and cognitions thrown into consciousness by the functioning of the *ālaya*. Thus the mind, which should be indivisible, is, in Dharmapāla's view, fundamentally fractured into subjective and objective components: that which is conscious and that which we are conscious of.

The interaction of the three functions, further complicated by the subject-object split, transforms the reality of the illusional existence of living beings. These functions are therefore referred to as the "three sources of transformation." What is usually called "self" is merely the "subject portion" of the *ālaya* as interpreted by the *manas*. Similarly, what is usually called the "external world" is the "object portion," a mere sense of externality. Whether or not there exists a world outside of consciousness is not at issue here: it is the sense of externality that obtains *within* consciousness that is the subject of Dharmapāla's analysis, for deliverance or enlightenment consists in realizing that the "self" and the "real" world are mere reifications, enforced in language, of consciousness.

Yogācāra analysis of reality, a term as ambiguous in Sanskrit as it is in English, thus must take into account the varying ways in which a thing may be construed as real. According to Yogācāra doctrine, a "triple nature" (*trisvabhāva*) is inherent in all things. First, there is the sense in which all things are mere constructs of mind, mental fabrications devoid of reality outside of the consciousness that creates them. This character of things is referred to as *parikalpita-lakṣaṇa* ("imaginary character"). Second, there is the sense in which things are dependently originated, devoid of any independent reality but "real" in the sense that they exist as part of a nexus of events that mutually condition and reinforce each other. This character of things is referred to as *paratantra-lakṣaṇa* ("dependent character"). Finally, things are characterized as "ultimately real" when viewed without the distortions of conceptualization. But what constitutes this "perfected character" (*pariniṣpanna-lakṣaṇa*) is precisely the "emptiness" (*śūnyatā*) of the thing, its *lack* of self-nature (*svabhāva*) or the "ultimate absence of a reality-in-its-own-right." Such a reality is also referred to as "suchness" (*tathatā*).

Dharmapāla's *Vijñāptimātratāsiddhi* was the subject of at least three major commentaries (T.D. nos. 1830, 1831, 1832) and a host of subcommentaries. Although Faxiang thought failed to survive the challenges posed by the creation of the new, more fully sinicized, Buddhist traditions of the Tang period (618–907), its doctrines were kept alive in the wide dissemination of the commentaries to the *Cheng wei shi lun*. In Japan, Hossō thought continues to this day to serve as part of the basic Buddhist training of scholars and clerics alike.

SEE ALSO Ālaya-vijñāna; Kuiji; Paramārtha; Tathatā; Vasubandhu; Xuanzang; Yogācāra.

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DHIKR (Arab., "remembrance, mention") is an important Islamic concept and practice best known in the West as a form of Ṣūfī ritual. Because it signifies a kind of prayer, the term *dhikr* is usually translated as *invocation*, since it involves the repetition of a name or names of God, often within a set phrase such as "Praise belongs to God." The sources frequently discuss it in conjunction with supplication (*duʿaʾ*, "calling [upon God]"), which normally adds a request to the mention of a name or names; supplication may take the form of a personal prayer in any language, while *dhikr* employs Arabic names drawn from the Qurʾān. Both are fundamentally voluntary and in any case need to be distinguished from the daily prayer (*salāt*), which is incumbent upon all the faithful.

Studies of *dhikr* in Western languages usually emphasize the bodily movements and the techniques for bringing about concentration that are employed by various Ṣūfī groups and thus neglect the centrality of the concept in the Qurʾān, where the term is employed, along with various closely related derivatives, about 270 times. Although techniques have certainly fascinated a number of Islamicists and travelers to the East, they have always been of secondary interest within the Ṣūfī tradition itself. Nor is it necessary to search for outside influence to explain their genesis: perseverance in remembering God—and sincere Islam is nothing if not this—will eventually entail a certain concern with the technical aspects of controlling one's thoughts and attention.

The basic meaning of the term *dhikr* can be brought out by answering three questions:

1. What is the object of remembrance? God, whose nature is defined succinctly by the first *shahādah*, or creedal statement, "Lā ilāha illā Allāh" ("There is no god but God"), and in detail by the whole range of names and attributes (*al-asmāʾ wa-al-ṣifāt*) mentioned in the Qurʾān.
2. Why should God be remembered? Because human beings are commanded to remember him by his revelations to the prophets and because ultimate human felicity depends upon this remembrance.
3. How can God be remembered? By imitation of the Prophet, who provides the model through his *sunnah* (practice or custom) for all religious and spiritual activity.

In short, to understand the full implications of the term *dhikr* as it is employed in the Qurʾān and the tradition one needs to have a clear grasp of the three "principles of religion" (*uṣūl al-dīn*), namely divine unity, prophecy, and the return to God (in its widest sense, embracing both the "compulsory return" through death and the "voluntary return" through spiritual practice).

QURʾANIC SOURCES. The Qurʾān refers to itself as a remembrance (*dhikr*) or reminder (*dhikrā*, *tadhkirah*) more than forty times and also alludes to other revelations by the same terms (*sūrahs* 10:71, 21:48, 21:105, 40:54). God had to send a long series of prophets—124,000 according to a *ḥadīth*—because Adam's children keep on falling into forgetfulness, the shortcoming of their father (20:110). If the Qurʾān is a remembrance, so also is the human response to it (here the root's fifth verbal form, *tadhakkur*, is often employed). To be human is to remember: to acknowledge and confirm the obvious. "Not equal are the blind and the seeing man, those who have faith and do deeds of righteousness and the wrongdoer. Little do you remember!" (40:58).

The ultimate object of remembrance is God, since nothing else is truly worthy of human devotion, which is to say that "there is no god but God." The Qurʾān employs the term *dhikr Allāh*, "the remembrance of God," twenty-six times in nominal or verbal form. In a number of other instances where the word *ism* ("name") is inserted into this phrase, the emphasis is placed upon the verbal mentioning of the name *Allāh*, for example, when people are commanded to remember/mention God's name before sacrificing animals (5:4, 6:118, and elsewhere), but the command to remember/mention God's name is also a general one: "And remember the name of thy Lord, and devote thyself to him" (73:8; also 2:114, 22:40, 24:36, 76:25, 87:115). In any case the remembrance of God is almost invariably interpreted to coincide with the mentioning of his name, whether vocally or mentally.

Fifteen verses actually command the remembering of God. But beyond obedience to such commands, human beings must remember God because true life—life with God in the next world—depends on it. In Qurʾanic terms, "to be forgotten by God" is to burn in the Fire; to be remembered by him is to dwell in Paradise. If we want God to remember us, we must follow the divine command to remember him: "Remember me, and I will remember you" (2:152), since God will forget those who disobey this command. Speaking of the resurrection, God says, "Today we do forget you, even as you forgot the encounter of this your day; and your refuge is the Fire" (45:34; also 20:126, 32:14, 38:26, 59:19). Such verses help explain why the Ṣūfī Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 1309) can say in his well-known treatise on *dhikr*, "All acts of worship will disappear from the servant on the Day of Resurrection, except the remembrance of God" (*Miftāḥ al-falāḥ*, Cairo, 1961, p. 31).

Just as *dhikr* brings about felicity in the next world, so too it provides the way to achieve proximity to God in this world. In contrast to the hearts of the godfearing, the hearts of the unbelievers are "hardened against the remembrance of God" (39:22–23). Note the emphasis through repetition in "Those who have faith, their hearts being at peace in God's remembrance—in God's remembrance are at peace the hearts of those who have faith and do righteous deeds; theirs is blessedness and a fair resort" (13:28). The way to achieve this peace of heart (cf. the "soul at peace with God," 89:27) is to follow the Prophet, one of whose names is Dhikr Allāh: "You have a good example in God's Messenger, for whosoever hopes for God and the Last Day and remembers God frequently" (33:21). The Prophet is the perfect embodiment of

God's remembrance; hence, his *sunnah* provides all the details of how to remember God in every act of life. Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh quotes a short *ḥadīth* that epitomizes the pervasive rationale for the love of the Prophet: "He who remembers me has remembered God, and he who loves me has loved God" (*Miftāḥ*, p. 46).

Ḥadīth. The *ḥadīth* literature provides a wealth of material on *dhikr* corroborating the Qurʾān picture while emphasizing the practice of mentioning or invoking God's names and the benefits it provides beyond the grave. The Prophet calls *dhikr* the best act of worship. Every word a person utters in this life will be counted against him or her in the next life, except "bidding to honor and forbidding dishonor" (sura 3:11, 7:157, and elsewhere) and remembering God. When a companion of Muḥammad complained about Islam's many ordinances and asked for a single practice to which he could cling, the Prophet replied, "Let your tongue remain moist in the remembrance of God." The Prophet reported that God says, "I am with my servant when he remembers me. If he remembers me in himself I remember him in myself, and if he remembers me in an assembly, I remember him in an assembly better than his." Such "assemblies" of God's remembrance are well attested in the Prophet's time and became the model for Ṣūfī gatherings.

The *ḥadīth*s make clear that the important formulas of remembrance or invocation are those still heard throughout the Islamic world on every sort of occasion: "There is no god but God," "Praise belongs to God," "Glory be to God," "God is greater," and "There is no power and no strength save in God." Only the last is non-Qurʾanic, while the first, the Shahādah, is said to be the most excellent. The *ḥadīth*s also make clear that all of God's names, traditionally said to number ninety-nine, may be employed in invocation and supplication, though certain names, such as *All-Merciful* or *All-Forgiving*, have always been employed far more than others, such as *Avenger* or *Terrible in Retribution*.

The idea that each name of God has a specific characteristic is already well reflected in the *ḥadīth* literature. Thus, for example, many *ḥadīth*s allude to "the greatest name of God" (*alism al-aʿẓam*), the name "when called by which he answers and when asked by which he gives." Litanies (*awrād*, *aḥzāb*) composed of divine names, formulas of remembrance, and Qurʾanic verses have been common among Muslims from earliest times. Some of them mention the ninety-nine "most beautiful names"; others, such as *al-jawshan al-kabīr* (quoted from the Prophet in Shīʿī sources, e.g., ʿAbbās Qummī, *Mafātīḥ al-jinān*, Tehran, 1961/2, pp. 179–207), list one thousand names of God.

Ṣūfī Tradition. The Shīʿī *ḥadīth* literature, which includes sayings from all twelve imams as well as from the Prophet, helps to demonstrate that the remembrance of God remained central to Islamic piety in the two centuries following Muḥammad. But while the Qurʾān commands the faithful to remember God, the jurists could not impose remembrance upon the community except in the form of the ritual prayer and other outward acts of worship, since by its nature remembrance is a personal affair related more to the domain of intention than to outward activity. In general, therefore, the Ṣūfīs more than any other group emphasized the importance of the devotional practices. In the words of Khwājah Muḥammad Pārsā (d. 1420), "The root of being a Muslim *[aṣl-i musalmānī]* is 'No god but God,' words that are identical with remembrance.'" Hence, he says, the soul of the daily prayer and the other ritual practices, such as fasting and pilgrimage, is "the renewal of God's remembrance in the heart" (*Qudsīyah*, ed. Aḥmad Ṭāhirī ʿIrāqī, Tehran, 1975, p. 30). In the same way, the Ṣūfīs considered all Islamic doctrine and theory to be aimed at awakening remembrance in the soul. If on the one hand the Qurʾān commands human beings to remember God, on the other it provides a full justification for the necessity of this remembrance in its teachings about human nature and ultimate felicity, as, for example, in its description of the "trust" given to human beings in preference to all other creatures (33:72).

In commenting on the Qurʾanic teachings, the Ṣūfīs in particular demonstrate that remembrance of God implies far more than just the ritual activities that go by this name. Full remembrance means actualizing all the ontological perfections latent within the primordial human nature (*fiṭrah*) by virtue of its being a divine image. These perfections belong ultimately to God, the one true being, and in his case they are referred to as the divine names. Al-Ghazālī and many others speak of human perfection as "assuming the traits of the divine names" (*al-takhalluq bi-al-asmāʾ al-ilāhīyah*); Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1240) even offers this phrase as the definition of Ṣūfīsm (*Al-futūḥāt al-makkīyah* 2.267.11). Since *Allāh* is the all-comprehensive name (*alism al-jāmiʿ*), the referent of all other divine names, the stage of full human perfection is also known as "being like unto Allāh " (*taʾalluh*), or "theomorphism." For Ibn al-ʿArabī and others, the remembrance of the name *Allāh* is the sign of the fully realized human individual to whom reference is made in the prophetic saying, "The Last Hour will not come as long as there remains someone in this world saying, 'Allāh, Allāh!'" (*Futūḥāt* 3.248.17, 3.438.21).

The hallmark of this potential theomorphism is the particular nature of human intelligence, which sets men and women apart from all other creatures. Turning to God—remembrance—actualizes the divine image latent within humans; ultimate felicity is nothing but the remembrance of our own true nature, or the realization of genuine human character traits, the names of God.

Ṣūfī teachings and practice can be summarized by the "best of invocations," the Shahādah: "La ilāha illā Allāh " ("There is no god but God"). The aim is to "annihilate" (*fanāʾ*) all "others" (*aghyār*) and to "subsist" (*baqāʾ*) in the divine. In the words of Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh, "No one says correctly 'No god but God' unless he negates everything other than God from his soul and heart" (*Miftāḥ*, p. 28). Likewise Najm al-Dīn Rāzī (d. 1256): "When one pursues the *dhikr* and persists in it, the attachment of the spirit to other than God will be gradually severed by the scissors of *la ilaha*, and the beauty of the monarch of *illa Allāh* will become manifest and emerge from the veil of might" (*The Path of God's Bondsmen*, p. 270). For Rūmī as for many other Ṣūfīs, the fire of love drives the seeker to remember God constantly; only this can effect the final transformation: "Love is that flame which, when it blazes up, burns away everything except the beloved. It drives home the sword of *lā ilāha* in order to slay other than God" (*Mathnavī* 5, vv. 588–590).

Though many authorities agree that "Lā ilāha illā Allāh" is the most excellent invocation, others hold that the "single invocation" (*al-dhikr al-mufrad*)—the mention of only the name *Allāh*—is superior. Ibn al-ʿArabī often quotes approvingly the words of one of his masters, Abū al-ʿAbbās al-ʿUraybī, who held that this invocation is best, since in invoking "no god but God" one could die in the terror of negation, but in invoking Allāh one can only die in the intimacy of affirmation (*Futūḥāt* 1.329.2, 2.110.21, 2.224.34).

Ṣūfī masters employed various names methodically to bring out the spiritual potentialities and shape the character traits of their disciples. Many Ṣūfī works provide information on names that can be appropriately invoked—though never without the permission and inculcation (*talqīn*) of a master—by disciples at different stages of spiritual growth. Works on the "most beautiful names," such as al-Ghazālī's *Al-maqṣad al-asnā* (partially translated by R. Stade, *Ninety-nine Names of God*, Ibadan, 1970), often discuss the moral traits and spiritual attitudes that reflect each of the individual names on the human level. Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh devotes several pages to the properties of various names and their influence on disciples at different stages of the path. He points out, for example, that the name *Independent* (*al-Ghanī*) is useful for a disciple who seeks disengagement (*tajrīd*) from phenomena but is unable to achieve it (*Miftāḥ*, p. 35). Nonetheless, those who invoke the name *Allāh* should not be interested in specific benefits but should exemplify the attitude expressed in the famous prayer of the woman saint Rābiʿah al-ʾAdawīyah (eighth century): "O God, if I worship thee for fear of Hell, burn me in Hell, and if I worship thee in hope of Paradise, exclude me from Paradise; but if I worship thee for thy own sake, grudge me not thy everlasting beauty" (A. J. Arberry, *Muslim Saints and Mystics*, London, 1966, p. 51).

Some Ṣūfīs wrote of transcending *dhikr*, since in the last analysis it is an attribute of the seeker and is therefore "other than God," a veil concealing God from sight (al-Kalābādhī, *The Doctrine of the Sufis*, p. 107). Ibn al-ʿArabī explains that there can be no invocation after the veil has been lifted and contemplation (*mushāhadah*) takes place, for "invocation disappears in the theophany of the invoked" (*Futūḥāt* 2.245.21). According to al-Nūrī (d. 907), true invocation is "the annihilation of the invoker in the invoked" (Rūzbihān, *Mashrab al-arwāḥ*, ed. Nazif H. Hoca, Istanbul, 1974, p. 139). Ibn al-ʿArabī's foremost disciple, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (d. 1274) writes that the Ṣūfī must gradually abandon all invocation, both outward and inward, until total emptiness is achieved (*Al-risālah al-hādiyah al-murshidīyah*, MS; cf. M. Valsan, "L'épître sur l'orientation parfaite," *Études traditionnelles* 67, 1966, pp. 241–268). But the final word for most seekers remains with Ibn al-ʿArabī: "Invocation is more excellent than abandoning it, for one can only abandon it during contemplation, and that cannot be achieved in an absolute sense" (*Futūḥāt* 2.229.24).

Many classifications of types of *dhikr* can be found in Ṣūfī works. Some of these refer to the depth of concentration achieved by the disciple, such as invocation of the tongue, of the heart, of the innermost mystery. Another common classification distinguishes between loud or public and silent or private *dhikr*. The former was usually performed in groups according to various ritual forms that took shape within the different Ṣūfī orders. Sessions of public invocation range from the reserved to the ecstatic; some groups, such as the Mawlawīyah, or "whirling dervishes," considered music and dance aids to concentration, while others banned anything but sober recitation. Most Ṣūfīs would probably agree that public sessions are really a secondary form of Ṣūfī practice, since the individual's progress on the path, to the extent it does not derive totally from God's grace, depends upon his or her own efforts. Thus Saʿdī (d. 1292) is not speaking metaphorically when he says at the beginning of his famous *Gulistān:* "Every breath taken in replenishes life, and once let out gives joy to the soul. So each breath contains two blessings, and each blessing requires thanksgiving." It is the silent and persevering remembrance of God with each breath or each heartbeat, always within the context of the prophetic *sunnah*, that takes the seeker to the ultimate goal.

SEE ALSO Attributes of God, article on Islamic Concepts; Shahādah; Sufism.

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For *dhikr* in the Ṣūfī tradition, see Louis Gardet's entry in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed. (Leiden, 1960–), and J. Spencer Trimingham's *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (New York, 1971), pp. 194–217, both of which deal mainly with techniques. A far more insightful treatment is provided by Annemarie Schimmel's *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill, 1975), pp. 167–178. Among translated texts a brief overview of the views of the early Ṣūfīs is provided by al-Kalābādhī's *The Doctrine of the Sufis*, translated by A. J. Arberry (Lahore, 1966), pp. 105–108, while a comprehensive explanation of its significance is given by Najm al-Dīn Rāzī's *The Path of*

God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return, translated by Hamid Algar (Delmar, N.Y., 1982), pp. 268–285. For a description of various forms of *dhikr* within the context of contemporary Egyptian Sufism, see Michael Gilsenan's *Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 156–187.

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DIALOGUE OF RELIGIONS.

Etymologically, the word *dialogue* (Gr., *dialogos*) means simply "conversation," although in Western intellectual history its dominant meaning has been "a piece of written work cast in the form of a conversation." In the history of religions, "conversations" about the meaning of beliefs, rituals, and ethics have no doubt been taking place, though informally and unrecorded, from the very beginning, or at least from the first encounter of divergent belief systems. However, the phrase *dialogue of religions* has become common in various religious traditions only since the second half of the twentieth century.

Written dialogues on religion and on philosophical subjects have a long history. The most celebrated Western examples are no doubt the dialogues of Plato, and particularly those in which the teaching methods of Socrates are presented on a question-and-answer basis. Within many religious traditions, dialogues between teachers and their pupils were recorded as a means of communicating and deepening insights. But in virtually all such cases the neophyte occupied a position of submission to the teacher, whose authority derived from what he had learned orally from his mentor and proved in practice. This type of dialogue is especially marked in the Indian traditions, Hindu and Buddhist alike. A relationship of faith and trust is set up between master and disciple, whereupon the disciple receives instruction, often in response to respectful questioning. Many of the Upaniṣads are cast in dialogue form, as is the *Bhagavadgītā* and a portion of the Buddhist Pali canon. The Judeo-Christian tradition likewise contains much instruction in dialogue form: the Law (Torah) is interpreted orally by rabbis to the circle of their disciples, whereas the teachings of Jesus are often placed in the context of conversations and instruction sessions within the company of followers. It is hardly possible in any of these instances to speak of a dialogue between equals, since the disciple or pupil comes seeking the insights that only that particular teacher can provide. In the Socratic dialogue the pupil is made to play a more active role, certainly, but the presence of the master is what guarantees that insights will emerge.

Artificial or imaginative dialogues on religious and metaphysical subjects also occur frequently in Western literature, following the pattern established in classical antiquity. An early medieval example of the genre was the Icelander Snorri Sturluson's *Prose Edda* (early thirteenth century), in which Gangleri asks three informants about the contents of Norse mythology. Later examples are very numerous, and include works as diverse as David Hume's *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* (1779), R. A. Vaughan's *Hours with the Mystics* (1856), and Ninian Smart's *A Dialogue of Religions* (1960). This type of dialogue relates closely to the conventions of the theater and the novel, which may serve a similar purpose and of which this type of dialogue is a didactic offshoot. Less artificial were attempts to record the conversations and informal statements of literati and religious leaders—Martin Luther's *Tischreden* (*Table Talk*, 1566), Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (1791), *Dialogues of Alfred North Whitehead* (1954), and, from India, *The Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna* (1897).

Imaginative dialogue has also served the cause of interreligious controversy—for example, by convincing an imaginary opponent of the error of his ways. An early missionary example was K. M. Banerjea's *Dialogues on Hindu Philosophy* (1861), which set Indian traditions against one another in the interests of Christianity. This apologetic method was, however, short-lived.

Common to the older forms of didactic or controversial dialogue was the assumption that religious truth is to be arrived at rationally, by reasonable discourse and the weighing of evidence and proofs. Doubtless there were cases in which this actually happened. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, contacts between religious traditions increased rapidly, and along with them actual (as opposed to imaginary) conversational encounters between believers. How often these followed an ideally rational course must remain a moot point: one suspects they seldom did so. But since during this same period the Western countries were politically and economically dominant, and the Christian missionary enterprise was experiencing its greatest successes, conversations usually involved Christians, and were seldom between equal partners. Where other traditions were concerned, for instance in confrontations between Hindus and Muslims in India, there could be a level of mutual suspicion that prevented constructive conversations from taking place at all. The West was, however, becoming steadily better informed on matters concerning other religious traditions, while the rapid onset of theological liberalism was modifying the terms in which Western religion was expressed. Before World War I, the dominant concepts were "sympathy" and "fulfillment," and although innumerable conversations took place, no one applied to them the word *dialogue.*

Apologetics and controversy aside, in the late nineteenth century began a serious attempt to bring the religious leaders of the world together in a spirit of reconciliation, concentrating on what united them rather than what kept them apart. The pioneer assembly was the World's Parliament of Religions, held in Chicago in 1893; its original impulse came from Swedenborgians, yet it gathered under the banner of a common theism. The parliament at least attracted delegates from every major tradition, and although it dismayed the orthodox of many creeds (especially within evangelical Christianity), it established many important contacts. It also marked the beginning of the modern Hindu "mission" to the

West in the person of Swami Vivekananda, who taught, following Ramakrishna, the equal value of all religions as pathways to the Real. This view was strongly supported in theory by organizations like the Theosophical Society (founded in 1875) and Bāhā'i. A Chicago "continuation committee" was formed, though no further full-scale parliaments were ever held. The Chicago spirit survived, however, in an International Council of Unitarian and Other Liberal Religious Thinkers and Workers, which worked between 1901 and 1913. Its aims were to introduce believers to one another, to emphasize the "universal elements" in all religions, and to work for the "moral uplift of the world." World War I brought these efforts to a temporary halt, but after the war, when internationalism was held to be one safeguard against further conflict, various interfaith movements emerged, culminating in the World Fellowship of Faiths (1929).

Eight years earlier, Rudolf Otto had instituted his Religiöser Menschheitsbund (Interreligious League) with the same end in view—the lessening of international tensions through the banding together of believers. These moral objectives were accepted on the liberal wing of Christianity, coming to expression at the Jerusalem conference of the International Missionary Council in 1928, and classically in the liberal manifesto edited by W. E. Hocking, *Re-Thinking Missions* (1932). In general, however, Christians were uneasy about interfaith cooperation. Hindus adjusted to it more easily, and in the person of Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan gained an international spokesman of great force and clarity. Radhakrishnan held that the comparative study of religion made exclusive claims on the part of any individual tradition impossible, and that behind all empirical forms of religion there is "the same intention, the same striving, the same faith" (Radhakrishnan, *East and West in Religion*, London, 1933, p. 19).

Between the wars, world congresses and fellowships of faiths continued to meet regularly, even under the lengthening shadow of various forms of totalitarianism. Mention might also be made of the Oxford Group Movement (subsequently retitled Moral Re-Armament), which was basically Christian but which was more concerned with moral than with theological issues: it enjoyed its heyday in the late 1930s, and attracted many non-Christians. On another level, the *philosophia perennis* proclaimed by Coomaraswamy, Schuon, and Guénon gained followers from various traditions, Eastern as well as Western. This, however, was less a meeting place of religious traditions than a means by which they might be transcended. In the area of scholarship, although the study of religion on a multicultural basis undoubtedly did increase mutual respect among the traditions and further dialogue between them, few individual scholars were prepared to pronounce on the issue. One exception was Friedrich Heiler of Marburg, who stated at an international conference in Tokyo in 1958 that "a new era will dawn upon mankind when the religions will rise to true tolerance and co-operation on behalf of mankind. To assist in preparing the way for this era is one of the finest hopes of the scientific study of religion" (quoted in Sharpe, 1975, p. 272). Other scholars, however, regarded this ideal as less than "scientific."

Parliaments, congresses, and conferences continued to bring together religious leaders in a spirit of irenic idealism, on the pattern of the League of Nations. Yet there was an increasing sense of the threat to religion being posed by the European totalitarian regimes, as well as by materialism, and frequent calls were made for the world's religious leaders to band their people together to meet these pressures. What the leaders could not guarantee to do, however, was change the religious configurations of the world. Local situations were still, during the interwar years, dominated by local concerns. Within the Christian churches, there were several notable moves in the direction of increasing visible unity—among Methodists in Britain, Presbyterians in Scotland, Protestant churches in Canada and South India—but relatively little could be done on the interfaith level.

The notion of dialogue in its modern sense entered the world of religion during the confused and confusing years after World War I, and was closely connected with the philosophy of existentialism. Its first and most widely read manifesto was Martin Buber's *I and Thou* (1923), which urged that human beings should cease to look upon one another merely as objects ("I-It") and approach one another directly and with mutual acceptance as fellow humans ("I-Thou"). Buber was Jewish and therefore well acquainted with racial, religious, and economic oppression. But such forms of oppression might emerge whenever and wherever negative value judgments were applied by a dominant group to their (supposed) inferiors. The only cure was the recognition of common humanity, and the personal discourse—or dialogue—of individuals, whatever their beliefs, on that level.

Although Buber and the other existentialists were widely read, and although, as we have seen, many interfaith initiatives were begun between the wars, the application of the term *dialogue* to the relation between religious traditions did not become common until the years after World War II. By that time the political and religious patterns of the world had begun to change more and more rapidly. Western political imperialism was being rapidly dismantled; former colonies were becoming independent almost daily, with a consequent questioning of the values of the colonial period, religious values not excepted; but at the same time Christianity was an important factor in the lives of the new nations, and needed to find a new role, independent of the former governing powers. The newly independent nations were seldom other than partly Christian. India became officially "secular," while having a massive Hindu majority, and Pakistan was created as a Muslim state, for Hindu-Muslim dialogue on the subcontinent had been a marked failure. Elsewhere in the world, whether official ideology was Muslim, Buddhist, Jewish (in the sole case of Israel), or "secular," Christianity was in almost all cases thrust on to the defensive. In the Western countries themselves the Christian pattern underwent a progressive polarization between conservative and liberal views, with liberals in particular suffering greatly from postcolonial guilt on the one hand and an uncertainty as to ultimate religious values on the other.

It was in this atmosphere that the word *dialogue* began to emerge as the only workable term with which to describe the proper attitude of one group of believers over against another. It should be remembered, however, that during the time of its greatest popularity, between the mid-1960s and the mid-1970s, the word was used almost exclusively by the liberal wing of Christianity (both Catholic and Protestant) in the West, and by similarly liberal Christians in the developing nations. Conservatives found the term unacceptable, since it implicitly placed religious traditions on a par with one another, or at least was less than explicit when it came to affirming the claims of Christianity. In the non-Western world, too, there were those who suspected that the new emphasis on dialogue was no more than a subtler and more insidious form of missionary apologetics.

An important symbolical breakthrough was achieved by the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) of the Roman Catholic church, which spoke in several documents about dialogue, the church for instance urging "her sons . . . prudently and lovingly, through dialogue and collaboration with the followers of other religions," to "acknowledge, preserve, and promote the spiritual and moral goods found among these men, as well as the values in their society and culture" (*Nostra aetate* 2). Similarly, the disciples of Christ "can learn by sincere and patient dialogue what treasures a bountiful God has distributed among the nations of the earth" (*Ad gentes* 2.11). Statements of this kind had the effect of liberating Catholics from previous restrictions on fellowship with non-Catholics, and of releasing a flood of "dialogue literature," in the production of which Protestants were soon to share.

But not all this literature saw the nature and purpose of dialogue in the same light. In addition, much of it suffered in that it was not actually emerging from discussions between believers belonging to different traditions, but remained on the level of theorizing *about* dialogue. Various types of activity seemed to be capable of being contained beneath the "dialogue" canopy.

1. *Discursive dialogue* (previously "debate" or "discussion") involves meeting, listening, and discussion on the level of mutual competent intellectual inquiry. As such it was neither very new nor very remarkable, though it had always been fairly uncommon. As an intellectual activity, it could only ever be profitable among equally equipped partners, since it presupposes the willingness of both to listen, as well as speak.
2. *Human ("Buberian") dialogue* rests on the existential foundations previously described, and assumes that it is possible for human beings to meet purely and simply as human beings, irrespective of the beliefs that separate them. The great drawback to this approach is its individualism. Although suitable enough among intellectuals in the semisecular West, it leaves out of consideration the extent to which the individual is shaped by the community of which he or she, depending on its support and adhering to its values, is part. To bypass the community is often simply impossible, and although this approach rests on high ideals, it may prove to be little more than a theoretical stance.
3. *Secular dialogue* stresses that where there are tasks to be performed in the world, believers in different creeds may share in a program of joint action, without regard to their respective convictions. In the theological climate of the 1960s and 1970s, dialogue very frequently appeared to be pointed in this direction. It simply bypassed the belief question in the interests of practicalities. "Desacralization turns the eyes of men to the world, to time and history, and the realities of history are often more manageable for purposes of dialogue than the supramundane things of an ethereal world" (Jai Singh, 1967, pp. 43–44).
4. *Spiritual dialogue* has been advocated chiefly by those who have been trained in the contemplative and monastic traditions, and who have learned to set high value upon Eastern (or other) spirituality, while not wishing to lessen their hold upon their own. Its locus is not debate and discussion, but prayer and meditation, and in recent years it has given rise to a considerable number of ashrams and meditation centers in East and West alike. In theoretical terms, it rests on a monistic theology similar in many ways to Vedānta; in practical terms, it often concedes to the East a level of attainment in matters of spirituality superior to that of the West, and is prepared to use non-Christian scriptures, liturgies, and techniques alongside those that are specifically Christian. Often it will stress the importance of *theologia negativa*, negate the primacy of logic and conceptual knowledge, and rely on experience, intuition, and contemplation. In this respect it was a typical product of the 1960s.

Since about the mid-1970s, the term *dialogue* has been somewhat less used than during the previous decade, partly on account of changing fashions, partly in response to socioeconomic pressures. There is little real evidence that the stated goals of dialogue (at least as formulated by Christians) were ever reached, and in any case, each new generation has had to take up the task of meeting other believers afresh. But at least the "dialogue period" helped to banish some of the impatience and the inaccuracies of the past, although doubtless creating fresh problems of its own. While it taught many Christians the importance of sympathy and seriousness in interreligious discourse, it failed to engage the attention of most other traditions on anything but a superficial level. As such, what has often been called a "dialogue of religions" and set forth as a practical activity, has remained on the level of theory and ideals. Actual encounters of believers there will always be. They will undoubtedly remain haphazard, unpredictable, sometimes violent, and always determined by local conditions.

SEE ALSO Religious Diversity; Truth.

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DIAMOND. The diamond, first of all, participates in the hierophany of stones signifying in religious consciousness that which is hard, rugged, and unchanging. Above all, stone *is.* Like all precious stones, the diamond also partakes of the general symbolism of treasures and riches, which in religious terms represent moral and intellectual knowledge.

As a symbol the diamond, as the hardest of all stones, has a wide range of meanings, among them indestructibility, constancy, the unyielding, and dominance. Because of its brilliance it also signifies unconquerable light, excellence, frankness, joy, life, and purity.

In Greek the word for "diamond" is derived from *adamas,* meaning "invincible, unconquerable." In some places, and especially on Greek emblems, it indicated the irradiant mystic center, a meaning discovered in the most obscure examples as well as in the most prominent. Jean Chevalier and Alain Gheerbrant (1982) point out that the German word *Eckstein* ("cornerstone") also refers to the diamond in a deck of cards. The cornerstone is one of many symbols for the center. In a more obvious example, Plato likens the axis of the world to a diamond.

Until the nineteenth century, diamonds were found almost entirely in India. On the subcontinent the word *vajra* meant both "lightning" and "diamond." Thus, the *vajra* of the god Śiva has a double aspect as thunderbolt and diamond scepter. *Vajra* also belongs to the god Agni as a spiritual power and to Indra as a temporal power. As a diamond *vajra* is adamantine and depicts spiritual power, but as thunderbolt and lightning it also represents both destruction and fertilization, death-dealing and life-giving powers, the alternating and complementary forces of the universe.

The symbol of the *vajra* is important in Buddhism as well, where it symbolizes the power of the Buddha's teaching (the *dharma*) to overcome the deluding passions of sentient beings. The Diamond Throne or Seat is the place of enlightenment. Situated at the foot of the bodhi tree, it is the unchangeable axis or center of the world.

In Tantric Buddhism *vajra* represents immutable, unalterable spiritual power. Symbolizing clarity and light, it also refers to the indeterminate character and ultimate emptiness of the Buddha nature. Mircea Eliade cites a Tantric text that makes a clear identification between *śūnyatā* ("voidness") and *vajra.* The Chan patriarch Huineng is said to have declared that neither that which is waxing nor that which is waning is the diamond.

In the traditional mineralogy of the Indian subcontinent, the diamond represents perfection. Stones and metals were thought to grow within the earth's womb, each with its own lethargic pace and rhythm. The crystal was unripe (Hindi, *kacchā)* and constituted a state of intermediate maturation. The diamond was the epitome of maturity and ripeness (Hindi, *pakkā).* The crystal is not hard; the diamond is. The Indian alchemist, associating the diamond with immortality, identified it with the philosophers' stone.

Similarly, in Tibetan iconography the diamond scepter signifies the adamantine or immutable world, which is also potential or nonmanifest. The bell or *tilpa* refers to the phenomenal world, which is manifest and changing. The diamond scepter is the active principle; the bell is the passive. The former is wisdom and the latter, human reason.

The diamond has also been linked with the supreme female divinity, who is usually associated with the earth. In Tibet the earth goddess Tārā has a human incarnation, the Diamond Sow. She is also traditionally regarded as the consort of or feminine counterpart to the *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara. In the transition from tarot cards to modern playing cards, diamonds replaced the ancient suit of pentacles, which had been symbols of Mother Earth (Tārā) and of the earth as feminine.

The characteristics of hardness and durability have lent themselves to other meanings. In the Old Testament the diamond could symbolize hardness of the heart and forehead (*Jer.* 17:1). In Rome it was believed that the stone promoted harmony, and that it guarded health and vitality if worn on the left hand, close to the heart. This belief probably informed its character as an emblem of reconciliation in the Middle Ages and as a sign of betrothal in the modern world.

In some places the diamond's brilliance and lucidity made it a symbol for Christ. In Hebrew culture the sixth stone of the high priest's breastplate, a diamond, was said to become dark or light according to the guilt or innocence of an accused person.

Mircea Eliade (1958) has related diamonds to "snake stones," which in many cultures are thought to have fallen from the heads of snakes or dragons. In ancient India, and later in the Hellenistic and Arab worlds, it was believed that the stones were poisonous if anyone touched them with their lips, because they had once been in a snake's throat. The notion that precious stones came from snake spittle has been found in areas ranging from China to Great Britain.

Pliny the Elder (23–79 CE) described the *dracontia*, or dracontites, that were to be found in the brains of dragons. Philostratus the Lemnian (b. c. 190 CE) reported that the eyes of some dragons were stones of blinding brilliance imbued with magical powers. Sorcerers, he relates, after they have worshiped reptiles, cut off their heads and take out the precious stones.

Given such beliefs, it is not surprising that the diamond has a reputation as a remedy for snakebite. Indeed, Pliny describes it as a universal talisman, rendering poisons and every malady harmless and causing evil spirits and bad dreams to depart. In occidental Europe, the diamond has been thought to chase away savage beasts, phantoms, sorcerers, and the terrors of the night. In Russia, its purity and lucidity have made it a charm to impede lust and to strengthen the resolve of the chaste.

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DIANA. Latin grammarians offer the oldest and most commonly accepted etymology of the name of Diana. She is the female counterpart of Zeus/Deus, following the etymological chain: *Deus, dius, Divus, Diovis, dies, duius, Diviana, Diana.* Therefore, Diana is "the goddess," and she is often defined as such in inscriptions of the imperial era, which honor her as *Dea Diana, Deana*, or simply, *Diana.*

Varro (*De lingua Latina* 5.68), following the ancient texts of Epicharmus and Ennius, states that "the Moon (*luna*) takes her name from *lucere* (to illuminate) because it shines alone at night." For this reason it is called *Noctiluca* over the Palatinus, where her temple shines at night. Varro adds that *lucere* derives from *luere* (to undo, to dissolve), because light (*lux*) dissolves darkness; from *lux* derives *Noctiluca* (*De lingua Latina* 6.79). In her temple a lamp remained lit, illuminating the night. That rite is not Greek, but Italian. For his part, Cicero commands that "just as the Sun receives the name of Apollo, so the Moon receives that of Diana" (*De natura deorum* 3.20.51); the same duality of day versus night appears in Horace's *Ode* 4.6, when the poet, in this hymn honoring Augustus, praises Apollo *Phoibos* (= Sun) and, later, the rites celebrated in honor of Diana-*Phoibe*, whose flame grows, ripening the wheat fields: *rite crescentem face Noctilucam, prosperam frugum celeremque pronos volvere mensis* (As with a torch that rekindles the moonlight, to bring back favorable prosperity and swift fruitfulness).

Catullus dedicates his *Carmen* XXXIV to Diana. Here, the rhythmic repetitions transform the poem into a true hymn or a prayer where she is invoked as Mistress (*domina*) of wild life in verses 9 through 12: *montium domina ut fores / silvarumque virentium / saltuumque reconditorum amniumque sonantum* (Thus you are mistress of the hills, and the flourishing woods and the secluded pasture land and the resounding river). The verses show the duality of Diana as a midwife and protector of children, and as regent of the gloomy night. Thus, Diana is the light that rules the night. This is why she is also invoked as *Lucina* (and by the Greeks as *Lucifera*), stealing the role from Juno herself, who aids women in labor (Cicero, *De natura deorum* 2.68).

The Italic cult to Diana is very ancient. Legend attributes to King Tatius the establishment of her cult in Latium, brought from the land of the Sabines. According to Livy (27.4.12), a temple and a forest (*templum et lucus*) were consecrated to her in Anagnia, the land of the Hernici, as was a hill near the *Tusculum.* These natural landscapes defined from early on the sacred surroundings of Diana: dark forests, luxuriant woods, and caves.

The paradigm of such a cult can be found in the oldest and most renowned of Diana's sanctuaries in Latin worship, that of *Diana Aricina*, located in the forest of Nemus, on a lakeshore at the foot of the Alban hills (Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 16.91). From the name of the lake and the forest, the goddess takes the epithet *Nemorensis.* In Aricia, the worshipers of Diana were mostly female, and her night rituals were impressive. Once the women had performed the rites, they returned to Rome in a procession, carrying torches and illuminating the night with the fire of their goddess. The procession was repeated, more theatrically, on the ides of August, when the women, carrying the torches, would stand around Lake Nemi until they could feel the presence of the goddess: "Diana herself, who crowns with flowers her chosen hounds, sets her darts and lets the wild beasts lose, while in their chaste homes, the people, throughout the land of Italy, celebrate the day of Hecate" (Statius, *Silvae* 3.1.55–60).

This archaic temple held extraordinary importance in the organization of the later cult of the goddess, for, when it was moved to Rome, the priest of the temple of Diana in the Aventine was addressed by the "archaeological" title *rex nemorensis* (Ovid, *Fasti* 3.265; 6.735). The title conferred sacred respect, and was evidence of the ancient barbarism. The priest of Diana "always had to defend himself sword in hand against his foes" (Ovid, *Ars amandi* 1.260). The notion of barbarism and a constant state of "defense and vigilance" are probably at the heart of Diana's success among slaves and gladiators. In the time of Augustus, the bronze tables with the founding decree of the confederate temple, the *lex arae Dianae in Aventino*, were still preserved. As in Aricia, in Rome the anniversary of her cult was August 13. On that date, slaves received symbolic freedom and women purified themselves by washing their hair and combing it delicately (Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae* 100).

The early commingling with Artemis can explain those aspects of Diana that contrast with her virginal nature. At Aricia, votive objects have been discovered that take the form of vulvas and phalluses. Syncretism progressively altered the Latin goddess to the point of conferring various features of the Greek goddess upon her beyond her lunar function; thus she became a midwife like Artemis *Locheia*, a huntress-goddess, and, as Diana *Trivia*, a goddess of crossroads, after the example of Hekate *Trioditis*. By the time of Augustus, the absorption of Diana by Artemis was virtually complete, as can be seen in the *Carmen saeculare* of Horace. On the other hand, Strabo (4.1.5) relates that the cultic statue on the Aventine displayed the same traits as the Artemis of Marseilles, which in turn was identical with the Artemis of Ephesus.

In Campania, north of Capua, there was another great archaic sanctuary to Diana, called the Diana Tifatina because of the abundance of evergreen oaks on its surrounding hills. It was created around the third century BCE. The numerous inscriptions found there suggest the popularity of her cult, especially between the first century BCE and the first century CE, which depict Diana Tifatina as "huntress." The temple received generous tributes from Sulla in gratitude for his victory over C. Norbanus not far from the temple of Tifatina (Velleius, *Paterculus* 2.25.4; Plutarch, *Sulla* 6). Economic activity, based on the ownership and farming of the land, extends to the imperial era. The policies of protection of the temple by the emperors is exemplified by the actions of Vespasian in 77 or 78 against private individuals who improperly occupied lands surrounding the temple of Diana Tifatina—by illegally expanding the size of adjacent plots during the first century CE. The emperor demanded that the land be returned to the temple *(quibus secundum instrumentum fines restituuntur)*. Sulla granted the land to the temple of Diana in 82 CE, and its boundaries were legally recorded in the land registry under Augustus. The imperial judgment is preserved in an inscription in Capua, stating that Emperor Vespasian "restored the limits of the lands under litigation to the temple of Diana Tifatina, donated by Cornelius Sulla" (*CIL* X 3828).

After the burning of Rome in 65 CE, Nero ordered the construction of a temple to Diana in the Aventine, which is also mentioned by Vitruvius (5.5.8) and Ovid (*Fasti* 3. 883–884). The temple took the place of another one, in a different location, that "Servius Tullius had consecrated to the moon," according to Tacitus (*Annales* 15.41.1). Livy also refers to the temple (40.2.2) when he tells the prodigious story of how, in the year 182, the door to the sanctuary was blown down by a hurricane.

During the first and second centuries CE Diana was highly honored by the military, especially equestrian officers throughout the Roman Empire. Dedications allude to Diana's ancient names, as well as her earlier functions as goddess of the forests and ruler of wild animals. Thus, in Altava (Mauretania Caesariensis) she is invoked as "Diana Dea nemorum comes, victrix ferarum" (*CIL* VIII, 9831); Diana Nemorensis is worshiped in Narona (Dalmatia) (*CIL* III, 1773); while in Intercisa (Lower Pannonia), honors go to Numen Dianae Tifatinae (*Année Epigraphique,* 1968, 429). In an important inscription in León (Hispania), dating to the second century CE, a senator who was also *legatus* in legion VII *Gemina*, writes a long votive invocation of the goddess, building a temple in her honor and offering her his hunting trophies: boar tusks, deer antlers, and a bear skin, all of them hunted by Tullius Maximus, who calls himself "general of the descendants of Aeneas" (Del Hoyo, 2002).

In late antiquity, the name of Diana and her nocturnal names (such as Hekate, *Triva*, Selene, Luna) had great acceptance in the religion of the people and in magic.

SEE ALSO Artemis; Dea Dia; Moon; Roman Religion, article on the Early Period.

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DIETARY LAWS SEE KASHRUT

DIETERICH, ALBRECHT (1866–1908), German philologist and historian of Greco-Roman religions. Born in Bad Hersfeld (in the Hesse region of Germany), Albrecht Dieterich completed his secondary studies in the school where his father (who wanted Dieterich to become a theologian) was a member of the faculty. At the University of Leipzig in 1885–1886, Dieterich studied the New Testament and church history; he also took an interest in the philosophy of religion in general and enrolled in courses in classical philology (taught by Georg Curtius, Otto Crusius, and Otto Ribbeck). He pursued higher studies at the University of Bonn from 1886 to 1888, where the teaching of Hermann Usener (whose daughter he later married) had decisive influence upon his scientific orientation. He also studied under Franz Bücheler, who introduced him to funerary epigraphy, and under Reinhard Kekulé, who taught him to appreciate iconography.

Dieterich consolidated the bases of his philological training at Usener's urging, who had him write a dissertation on Aeschylus. He then worked on an edition (with comments) of the magical papyrus J 384 of Leiden; it was submitted to a competition sponsered by Bücheler and won the prize (the text was published in the *Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie*, supp. vol. 16, 1888). In this work Dieterich showed his concern for historical and linguistic comprehension of the papyrus's strange elements (that at first glance appear irrational) by paying attention to how these elements manifest the marginal strains of Greco-Roman religion (e.g., Orphism, Hermetism, and Gnosticism). Having obtained his doctoral degree in 1888, he passed his state examination in 1889 with his dissertation addressing the question, "What do we know about the theism or pantheism of Plato?" In 1891 he qualified as a doctor of philosophy at the University of Marburg with his work *De hymnis Orphicis capitula quinque*, in which the problems of literary and religious history are treated together. (The hypothesis that he advanced in this book—that of an Alexandrian elaboration of some "Orphic hymns"—is no longer supported, but nevertheless it is still generally agreed that certain aspects of Orphism in Ptolemaic Egypt deserve attention.)

He had at first planned to edit another magical papyrus of Leiden (J 395) as part of his doctoral work; it was instead published as an appendix to his *Abraxas* (1891). This book, written in homage to Usener, displayed Dieterich's remarkable mastery over hermetic and Gnostic literature. He applied himself in *Abraxas* to uncovering in this literature elements of Stoic, Orphic, astrological, Egyptian, and Judaic origin. Yet for all that he did not neglect Classical Greek literature (especially Aeschylus and Aristophanes). He wrote the article "Aischylos" for the *Real-Encyclopädie* (1893); in this article the religious sense of tragic grandeur surpasses the level of purely verbal and bibliographical erudition. The origins of Christianity were part of his concern as well. His study of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, a text discovered in a tomb in Akhmim, Egypt, led to the publication of *Nekyia* (1893), an in-depth study of the Greek tradition of descent (*katabasis*) into the underworld and of Judeo-Christian apocalyptic tradition. It stressed the importance of popular beliefs and of beliefs of popular origin at the periphery of official cults or of Classical paganism.

During 1894 and 1895, a long Mediterranean voyage took him to Greece, Asia Minor, Naples and Pompeii, Sicily, and finally Rome. He thus made direct contact with the objects of his studies: the countrysides, the representational monuments, the common people's way of life, and the ever-living folklore in rustic festivals. The paintings of Campania (commented upon by August Mau) and Italian theater inspired Dieterich's book *Pulcinella* (1897), a perspicacious study of the history of comic characters from classical antiquity extending into the present. His visit to the Lateran Museum resulted in his publication in 1896 of a commentary on the epitaph of Aberkios (a bishop of Hierapolis, Phrygia) in which he proposed a pagan interpretation, which generated both enthusiastic support (e.g., from Salomon Reinach) and sharp criticism (e.g., from Franz Cumont).

In 1895 he became an auxiliary professor of philology at the University of Giessen, and then became in 1897 a full professor there, succeeding Edvard Schwartz. His teaching on Greek and Latin literature made reference to iconography as well as to popular mythology. Greatly impressed by Erwin Rohde's *Psyché* (1890–1894) and Wilhelm Mannhardt's *Wald- und Feldkulte* (1875–1877), he became fascinated with ethnography and collaborated in the projects of the Hessische Vereinigung für Volkskunde. In this activity he always insisted upon the necessity of providing a philological basis for comparisons. He held conferences at Frankfurt on the rites of birth and death that served as a prelude for his book *Mutter Erde* (1905).

Dieterich was interested in the magical aspect of literature manifested in the mysticism of signs, in demonology, and in all the aberrant and disturbing fringes of Greco-Roman paganism, which until then were somewhat neglected by classical philologists. In a similar way, Oriental religions also concerned him. In a letter written in 1897, he argued that the Egyptian deity Sarapis was a syncretic god foreshadowing a kind of henotheism that would pave the way for Christian monotheism. Hugo Hepding, with his book *Attis* (1903), inaugurated the series "Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten," which Dieterich, along with Richard Wünsch, edited until Dieterich's death. The same year saw the publication of Dieterich's *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, an expansion of an article he had published in 1902 ("Die Religion des Mithras" in the journal *Bon ner Jahrbücher*); the topic was the famous papyrus in the National Papyrus Library in Paris (Supplementum Graecum 574) that contains the "formula for immortality." Although Dieterich's description of this text as a Mithraic liturgy is no longer generally accepted, his commentary does display prodigious erudition.

Dieterich moved to the University of Heidelberg in 1903, succeeding Crusius as professor of classical philology. There he dedicated himself mainly to the history of religions. Beginning in 1904, his editing (at first with Thomas Achelis but from 1905 to 1908 alone) of the journal *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* occupied the greater part of his time. This, however, did not prevent him from writing a *magnum opus* that he had been nurturing for some time: *Mutter Erde: Ein Versuch über Volksreligion* (1905). In it he defends the thesis that rites of birth and death can be explained as functions of a fundamental belief, a primitive and universal given in the history of religions. His idea enjoyed considerable success. It was answered with justified criticisms (for example, by Olof Pettersson in his book *Mother Earth*, Lund, 1967); yet the work still has merit, and any criticisms of it ought to be nuanced (see my review of Pettersson's book in *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 175, 1969, pp. 69–71). Significantly, *Mutter Erde* was dedicated to Usener on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. In the same year (1905), a supplement to *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* was also dedicated to Usener; in it, a piece entitled "Sonnentag" by Dieterich drew a relationship between a Heidelberg custom and the ancient and modern feasts of Palm Sunday. He was planning one work on popular religion and another on the origins of Christianity.

Dieterich died of a cerebral apoplexy shortly after beginning a course of lectures at Heidelberg; he was fully active and in the prime of his career. His students (notably Friedrich Pfister, Eugen Fehrle, and Otto Weinreich) bear the clear stamp of his teaching. He contributed to a greater understanding of Greco-Roman paganism by opening classical philology to the exegesis of obscure texts from late antiquity; he also contributed to the comparative study of religions and to the study of popular traditions without ever losing sight of the great Hellenic literary tradition.

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ROBERT TURCAN (1987)
Translated from French by Paul C. Duggan
Revised Bibliography

DIETERLEN, GERMAINE (1903–1999), a towering figure in French ethnography, is especially known for her exhaustive documentation of the Dogon of Mali. In 1931 she joined the famous ethnographic expedition, the Dakar-Djibouti mission, led by Marcel Griaule (1898–1956). She became an integral part of Griaule's interdisciplinary research team and his closest associate. Dieterlen's interests and investigations were wide-ranging. She made more than forty expeditions, mostly to Mali but also to Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Niger, and Ghana. She researched Bozo, Peul, and Bambara (Bamana) as well as Dogon cultures, including music and instruments, statuary and art, jewelry, oral literature, language, and religion.

Dieterlen was already married and thirty years old when she decided to earn her baccalaureate in order to pursue a vocation in the nascent science of ethnography. That she defied the constricting social conventions of her day shows the extraordinary will and determination that she extended into the field, where she was reputed to be both exacting and tireless.

Dieterlen's first work, "Calebasses dahoméennes" ("Documents de la mission Dakar-Djibouti"), published in 1935 in collaboration with Griaule, was a descriptive study of the more than thirty-six hundred objects brought back by the Dakar-Djibouti mission for the Trocadero Museum. Dieterlen's careful attention to material culture reflects the influence of her teacher Marcel Mauss (1872–1950). Her first great work, *Les âmes des Dogons* (1941), inaugurated her innovative research on religious ethnology. During three subsequent expeditions she deepened her focus on belief systems, producing the classic *Essai sur la religion des Bambara* (1951). These three works, though disparate in content and style, reflect the two orientations in Dieterlen's scientific life: concrete objects and symbolic representations. Dieterlen's fascination with the relationship of concrete manifestations to systems of belief is evident in another work coauthored with Griaule, *Signes graphiques soudanais* (1951).

Dieterlen carefully attended to the very words of those she studied as a means of understanding their beliefs and systems of representation. Her method was to note their language and then later develop reflections and deepened insights by examining their words. This was the method used in *Le renard pâle* (1965), which she published after Griaule's death under both their names. An extraordinary work, it is the extended study and amplification of the cosmogonic system first expounded by a Dogon elder seventeen years before and related by Griaule in his landmark book, *Dieu d'eau* (Conversations with Ogotemmêli) in 1948. Her comprehensive synthesis of Dogon cosmogony is complemented by a thorough analysis of its concrete manifestation in their social arrangements. Dieterlen's respect for the authority of her native informants' own self-representation is epitomized in *Le titre d'honneur des Arou* (1982), almost entirely comprised of direct transcription.

Dieterlen's assumption that key informants were articulate exponents of local knowledge provided the guiding impulse for her novel use of ethnographic film as a research tool. She viewed filmed ceremonial events with informants to elicit a dialogue and insights that led to fuller comprehension. A unique achievement in the history of ethnography was the series of eight films she made with Jean Rouch (1917–2004) between 1967 and 1973 consecrated to the Sigui, a Dogon masking ritual held every sixty years that extends over a seven-year period. A pioneer of the medium, Dieterlen eventually served as the president of the Committee on Ethnographic Film.

Another critical contribution Dieterlen made to the field was her promotion of dialogue between the French and British schools of anthropology, which employed characteristically opposing means of interrogating West African culture. The French approach, personified by Griaule and Dieterlen, gave primacy to the symbolic and mythical features of culture, while the British method, more analytical than metaphysical, documented social organization, particularly kinship and politics. Collaborating extensively with British colleagues, Dieterlen played an ambassadorial role that fostered constructive discussion about method even as it promoted work that cut across the boundaries of Francophone and Anglophone countries. Dieterlen served on the Council of the International African Institute (CIAI) along with Daryll Forde (1902–1973), who edited the important collection *African Worlds: Studies in the Cosmological Ideas and Social Values of African Peoples* (1954) that also bridged French and British preoccupations.

During the mid-1960s the CIAI organized two seminars on the Voltaic region. The result was an important collection, *African Systems of Thought* (1965), coedited by Dieterlen and the British anthropologist Meyer Fortes (1906–1983). The volume initiated a wide and enduring debate on the meaning of non-Western thought. It also explored the degree to which the contrasting theoretical orientations and methods of the two schools determined strikingly different appraisals of similar cultures.

A founding member and director of research for the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), Dieterlen created a research group on African religions. She organized the CNRS's influential 1971 international colloquium on what later became a fashionable theme in anthropology, the "notion of personhood." Dieterlen's contribution recovered the feminine as important aspects of the Dogon mythology and social system, including a consideration of pregnancy, childbirth, and the placenta as the bearer of the sacred signs of creation. In an astounding homage to Dieterlen, the Dogon gave her the status *yasiguine* (sister of Sigui), which entitled her to be a member of the male masking society.

SEE ALSO Griaule, Marcel.

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LAURA S. GRILLO (2005)

DIFFUSIONISM SEE EVOLUTION, *ARTICLE ON* EVOLUTIONISM; KULTURKREISELEHRE

DIGNĀGA (c. 480–540 CE), founder of the Buddhist school of epistemology and logic in India. Born near Kāñcī in South India, Dignāga first belonged to the Vātsīputrīya school of Hīnayāna Buddhism, but unconvinced of the adequacy of its doctrine, he left the school. Some source materials record that he became a pupil of Vasubandhu, a renowned scholar of Buddhist philosophy, but his direct relationship to Vasubandhu may be questioned: a passage in one of Dignāga's works indicates an uncertainty concerning the authorship of a book traditionally attributed to Vasubandhu. Dignāga stayed for some time in Nālandā, then the center of Buddhist learning, and obtained mastery of the Vijñānavāda philosophy and of logic. His later years were spent in Orissa.

Dignāga composed many philosophical treatises. Most are no longer extant in Sanskrit, but a certain number of them are available in Tibetan or Chinese translation. The important ones are (1) *Prajñāpāramitā-piṇḍārtha-saṃgraha*, a summary of the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* from the Yogācāra standpoint; (2) *Traikālya-pa-rīkṣā*, a treatise on the concept of time consisting of verses taken from Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya* with a slight but significant modification: it is intended to set forth the Yogācāra view that phenomenal existences are produced by the consciousness (*vijñāna*); (3) *Abhidharmakośa-marma-dīpa*, an abridgment of Vasubandhu's book treating the dogmatics of the Hīnāyana schools; (4) *Hastavāla-prakaraṇa*, an examination of the Sautrāntika concepts of ultimate reality (*paramārtha-sat*) and empirical reality (*saṃvṛti-sat*); (5) **Upādāya-prajñapti-prakaraṇa*, a clear explanation of the Sautrāntika concept of empirical reality, arguing at the conclusion from the Yogācāra viewpoint that empirical reality is a product of the consciousness; (6) *Ālambana-parīkṣā*, an examination of the object of cognition; (7) *Hetucakraḍamaru;* (8) *Nyāyamukha;* (9) *Hetumukha* (not extant except for a few fragments); and (10) *Pramāṇa-samuccaya.* These last four works treat logic and epistemology.

Dignāga was a proponent of the Yogācāra doctrine insofar as he maintained that phenomenal existence was fabricated by the consciousness. However, the notion of the *ālaya-vijñāna* ("receptacle consciousness"), a central Yogācāra doctrine, is not mentioned in any of his works. He belonged to that school of the Yogācāras that did not recognize the *ālaya-vijñāna* and the "I-consciousness" (*manas*) separately from the six kinds of ordinary sense consciousness: visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory, tactile, and discriminative. In some of his works he evinces an interest in Sautrāntika doctrine, and in fact, Dignāga's epistemological theories as expounded in the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* were made acceptable for both the Sautrāntikas and the Yogācāras.

Among the treatises concerning the Yogācāra philosophy, the *Ālambana-parīkṣā* is most important. In this work Dignāga repudiates the realists by arguing that a cognition cannot take for its object a thing in the external world, whether it is an individual atom or an aggregate of atoms. His discussions are similar to those presented by Vasubandhu in his *Viṃśatikā-vijñaptimā-tratāsiddhi.* However, the originality of Dignāga lies in his insistence that an object of cognition (*ālambana*) must fulfill two necessary conditions: first, the object must be the cause (*kāraṇa*) of a cognition, and second, it must possess the same form (*ākāra*) as that which appears in the cognition. To satisfy these two conditions the object must be a real entity (*dravya-sat*) and possess a gross form (*sthūlākāra*). With these two conditions in view Dignāga examined and rejected the realist theories and drew the conclusion that the object of cognition is nothing other than the form of an object that appears in the cognition.

Dignāga's major contribution in the field of logic is the invention of the "wheel of reasons" (*hetucakra*), which shows nine possible relations between a logical reason (*hetu*) and what is to be proven (*sādhya*), and enables one to distinguish a valid reason from invalid ones. The *hetucakra* was first presented in the *Hetucakraḍamaru*, and later incorporated in the *Nyāyamukha*, a work treating the dialectic on the model of Vasubandhu's *Vādavidhi*, and in the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, a systematic exposition of the theory of knowledge.

The *Pramāṇasamuccaya* is the most important of Dignāga's works, for it is the synthesis of the doctrines expounded by him in different treatises. It comprises six chapters focusing on, respectively, (1) perception (*pratyakṣa*), (2) inference *svārthānumāna*), (3) syllogism (*parārthānumāna*), (4) proper and improper examples in syllogism (*dṛṣṭānta-dṛṣṭāntābhāsa*), (5) "differentiation from others" (*anyāpoha*) as the meaning of a word, and (6) futile rejoinder (*jāti*). In the first chapter, Dignāga makes a radical distinction between the two means of cognition, namely, perception, which apprehends the particular (*svalakṣaṇa*) with no conceptual construction (*kalpanā*), and inference, which apprehends the universal (*sāmānyalakṣaṇa*) produced through conceptual construction. The doctrines that invited attack from opponents, such as that of the identity between the means (*pramāṇa*) and the result (*pramāṇaphala*) of cognition and that of "self-awareness" (*svasaṃvitti*) of cognition, are advocated in this chapter. Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 6 deal with logical problems. In these chapters Dignāga discusses in full detail such topics as the distinction between inference for oneself (*svārthānumāna*) and inference for others (*parārthānumāna*), the three character-istics (*trirūpa*) of an inferential mark (*liṅga*), the object of inference (*anumeya*), the "wheel of reasons" (*hetucakra*), and the concomitance in agreement (*anavaya*) and in difference (*vyatireka*) between inferential mark and example, and establishes the system of three-membered syllogism. The fifth chapter is devoted to the elucidation of the *apoha* doctrine, that is, the doctrine that the function of a word consists in the "differentiation (of an object) from other things" (*anyāpoha*) and not in the direct reference to a real entity. This doctrine also aroused controversy among the scholars of the different philosophical schools.

Dignāga had a great influence on the scholars of both Brahmanic and Buddhist schools. Uddyotakara (c. sixth century) of the Nyāya school, Kumārila Bhaṭṭa (c. seventh century) of the Mīmāṃsā school, and Mallavādin (c. sixth century) of the Jain school made vehement attacks on his doctrines as presented in the *Pramāṇasamuccaya.* Praśastapāda (c. sixth century), a Vaiśeṣika philosopher, was much indebted to Dignāga for the formulation of his theory of inference. Among Buddhist scholars, Dharmakīrti (c. 600–660) wrote an elaborate commentary on the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, the *Pramāṇavārttika*, in which he fully developed the ideas formulated by Dignāga. Soon this work took the place of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* in academic circles, and was studied both by Buddhists and by members of rival schools.

SEE ALSO Dharmakīrti; Indian Philosophies; Vasubandhu; Yogācāra.

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DIHLAWĪ, SHĀH WALĪ, ALLĀH SEE WALĪ ALLĀH, SHĀH

DILTHEY, WILHELM (1833–1911), German philosopher of history and intellectual historian. Dilthey was born in Biebrich am Rhein, where his father, a liberal Calvinist theologian, was court chaplain to the duke of Nassau. Following graduation at the head of his *Gymnasium* class in nearby Wiesbaden, he enrolled at Heidelberg in 1852 to study theology. After only a year, however, he left for Berlin and there began to concentrate on history and philosophy, studying with some of the greatest representatives of German historical scholarship: Leopold von Ranke, Theodor Mommsen, Jakob Grimm, August Boeckh, Franz Bopp, and Karl Ritter. In philosophy, his principal mentor was the Aristotelian F. A. Trendelenburg. Dilthey's interest in the German theologian and philosopher Friedrich Schleiermacher also stems from this Berlin period. In 1860, his essay on Schleiermacher's hermeneutics was awarded two prizes by the Schleiermacher Society and was followed by a commission to complete an edition of Schleiermacher's correspondence and write his biography. Dilthey defended his doctoral dissertation on Schleiermacher's moral principles in 1864. In the same year he presented a monograph on the analysis of moral consciousness that served as his *Habilitationsschrift*, the thesis that qualified him for university teaching. After a brief period of teaching at Berlin, he was called to Basel in 1867, and then to Kiel in 1868.

In 1870, Dilthey published the initial volume of his *Leben Schleiermachers* (Life of Schleiermacher), the first of several ambitious projects that would remain unfinished. In 1871, he accepted a chair at Breslau, where his main efforts were devoted to the problem of the nature and methods of the human sciences. In 1883, he published the first part of his major philosophical work, *Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften* (Introduction to the Human Sciences). In 1883, Dilthey also returned to Berlin to succeed Hermann Lotze in the chair that had once been occupied by Hegel. Election to the Prussian Academy of the Sciences followed in 1897. In 1900, he gave up his seminars, and in 1907 he retired from teaching altogether in order to develop more systematically the philosophical ideas put forward in the *Einleitung.* Dilthey died while on a working holiday in the Austrian Tyrol in 1911.

Dilthey's research on Schleiermacher and his account of the process of understanding the activity of a religious thinker constituted an important component of his work on the theory and practice of intellectual history. Yet his major contribution to religious studies lies in his theory of the human studies and its implications for the scientific investigation of religion.

Dilthey's theory of the human studies may be understood as an attempt to establish the idea that these disciplines have a distinctive subject matter and method that differentiate them from the natural sciences. The difference in subject matter is not grounded in two different modes of being but is, rather, based on two different ways of experiencing the world. Each is empirical, and each has its own definitive scientific objectivity and validity. The distinctive subject matter of the natural sciences is the world as given in the abstractions of sense perception and structured by reference to causal laws. The distinctive subject matter of the human sciences is the world as the person actually experiences it: the historically constituted ensemble of meanings and values that are the objects of his practical projects and interests. Because the artifacts of this historical world are all expressions of the human spirit, or *Geist*, the human sciences are the *Geisteswissenschaften*, the disciplines that investigate expressions of the human spirit.

Verstehen, or understanding, the distinctive method of these disciplines, is a consequence of the attitude that defines their subject matter. Because the actions and artifacts that express the human spirit are meaningful entities, a kind of knowledge is possible in the human sciences that cannot be reduced to explanation, or knowledge of the nomological structure of natural phenomena. *Verstehen* identifies the meaningful content of expressions of the spirit and the structures in which they are implicated. Much of Dilthey's work in the philosophy of the human sciences was concerned with the elucidation of this process of understanding and its distinctive epistemological quality, which he called the hermeneutic circle. An interpretation of the Romantic movement, for example, presupposes prior knowledge of which persons, actions, and artifacts fall within it. However, the latter are identifiable only on the basis of a general criterion that defines the features of romanticism. Thus knowledge of the whole rests on knowledge of the parts, which in turn presupposes knowledge of the whole.

The main aim of Dilthey's philosophical work was to develop a critique of historical reason that would resolve the question of how knowledge in the human sciences is possible. Dilthey struggled with this enterprise for more than forty years in the attempt to identify a basic or foundational science for the human sciences. In his writings of the 1880s and the early 1890s, he seems to have envisaged a descriptive, analytical, and phenomenological psychology as this foundation. Beginning in 1895, however, he stressed hermeneutics, or the theory of interpretation, as the basis for a valid theory of knowledge on which the human sciences can be grounded. Nevertheless, in his last works Dilthey retained intact many of the psychological theses of his earlier writings; moreover, the hermeneutic doctrines of his later work are also present in his earlier writings. As a result, the relationship between psychology and hermeneutics in the development of Dilthey's thought remains one of the most controverted issues among scholars who have attempted to understand his project of a critique of historical reason.

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Revised Bibliography

DINÉ RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS See NAVAJO RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS

DINKA RELIGION See NUER AND DINKA RELIGION

DIOLA RELIGION. Numbering some four hundred thousand people, the Diola inhabit the well-watered coastal plain between the Gambia and São Domingo rivers of Senegambia and Guinea-Bissau. They are sedentary wet-rice farmers and usually described as a stateless people, governed by village councils. Despite a common ethnic label the various Diola subgroups speak distinct dialects and have somewhat divergent religious beliefs and political organizations.

The past two centuries of Diola religious history have been characterized by the increasing interaction of Diola religion with Islam and Christianity. While Muslims and Christians have been in contact with the Diola at least since the sixteenth century, few conversions occurred before the late nineteenth century. On the north shore of the Casamance River, where contact with Islam was both earliest and most violent, many Diola have embraced Islam and, to a lesser extent, Christianity. However, the growth of these new religions had to await the firm establishment of colonial rule and the growth of commerce in peanuts before gaining dominance over the traditional religion. On the south shore the vast majority of the population resisted the advance of Islam and Christianity until after World War II. While Christianity has made substantial inroads since that time, Diola religion remains dominant. This may partly result from the south's escape from the devastation of the Mandinka invasions and its slower integration into the colonial economy. A major factor, however, was the ability of south shore religion to adapt to rapidly changing conditions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Innovations in ritual structures, the creation of new cults, and the emergence of Diola prophets have all contributed to the vitality of Diola traditional religion. This study will focus on south shore Diola religion.

Adherents of Diola religion believe in a creator god and in a number of lesser spirits whose powers originate with the supreme being but who are more accessible to the religious community. A study of Diola ritual might suggest that the supreme being, variously known as Ata-Emit or Emitai, was a remote high god whose name was rarely invoked in prayer, who had no shrines, and who was not a moral force in community life. The lesser spirits, variously known as *ukine* or *sinaati*, dominate ritual life. By examining the history of various cults and other religious beliefs, it becomes clear that Emitai is an active force in Diola life as a provider of life itself, as a source of spiritual aid in a time of crisis, and as the creator of the various cults. His name is derived from *emit*, meaning both "sky" and "year," thus indicating a strong relationship with the heavens and the order of an agricultural year. Furthermore, *Emitai ehlahl*, which means "it is raining," indicates Emitai's crucial role in the disbursement of that life-giving resource.

Emitai is seen as the creator of the world and all its inhabitants and as the source of human knowledge of farming, ironworking, and healing. He established a set of duties and interdictions to which he holds people accountable. At the time of death, Emitai decides whether a person has lived morally enough to become an ancestor or whether, if the individual concerned disregarded Emitai's interdictions, he will become a phantom wanderer or, ambivalently, a village dweller in a land to the south. All fates are temporary; the dead are eventually reincarnated.

Emitai communicates with people through dreams and visions and endows some of them with powers to communicate with him and with lesser spirits. While lesser spirits receive the bulk of ritual attention, prayers are ultimately received by Emitai. In times of crisis or when people feel they have exhausted other means, Emitai is prayed to directly. This is especially true during droughts when a ritual known as Nyakul Emit is performed. Rituals are conducted at all the village shrines, and prayers are offered directly to the supreme being: "Ata-Emit, is it true that this year's rice is destined to wither in the rice paddies? . . . The misfortune will be so large that we will not have the strength to speak. Give us water, give us life."

In Diola religion, the lesser spirits provide specific ways for individuals, families, and communities to resolve recurrent problems and to sustain a religious community. Thus there are shrines associated with rain, women's fertility, farming, hunting, fishing, war, ironworking, healing, family welfare, and village councils. These cults were introduced in a variety of ways. Some are said to have existed since the time of the first ancestors, that is, beyond the memory of Diola historians. Others were borrowed from the Bainounk, a people who were conquered by the Diola but who still retain a spiritual authority as the first inhabitants of the region. Still others were introduced by people who had spiritual powers, who were said to be able to travel up to Emitai or make contact with spirits through dreams or visions. Others were learned about from neighboring Diola or from other neighboring peoples. Such shrines were installed by elders from the outside community who also initiated a local group of shrine elders. The large number of shrines helps to ensure that one path can resolve any particular problem, and it allows a broad access to religious authority. Most people eventually become shrine elders. The shrines themselves contain ritual objects associated with spirits but not the spirits themselves. These objects help to summon the spirits and focus the attention of the worshipers.

While the preceding description represents broad continuities in Diola religion since 1700, environmental disruption, political and economic changes, and prophetic leaders have all influenced Diola religion. Droughts and epidemics have created spiritual challenges that have led to the formation of new cults and changes in ritual structure. Diola participation in the slave trade generated new sources of community vulnerability as well as new sources of social stratification, each of which had religious consequences. Men who gained wealth from the ransom or sale of captives often invested their wealth in the acquisition of priestly offices, thereby changing the role of priests and the ability of the less fortunate to gain religious authority. A new series of cults stressing lavish sacrifices to gain ritual authority became increasingly important to the Diola in the eighteenth century.

During World War II a Diola woman named Alinesitoué had a series of visions of Emitai. It was a time of severe drought and increasing French military conscription and confiscation of rice and cattle. Alinesitoué revealed that Emitai had given her a series of shrines that would help procure rain but whose ritual offices would be open to all, regardless of wealth, age, or sex. She advocated a renewed commitment to community, a stripping away of social and religious hierarchies, and a reaffirmation of many customs that had fallen into disuse. She taught that Emitai was deeply involved in the lives of the Diola and that they could expect his assistance if they followed his ways. Alinesitoué's teachings enabled the Diola to meet the crisis generated by the French occupation and a renewed Christian mission challenge. They allowed the Diola to adapt to their increasing integration into the rapidly changing order of a colonial and independent Senegal with the support of a vital Diola religion.

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DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE

(c. 500 CE), Christian mystical theologian, also known as Pseudo-Dionysius. In the early sixth century, a set of treatises and letters appeared under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, whom Paul had converted in Athens (*Acts* 17:34). At a synod in Constantinople in 533, the writings were used to support the monophysite position, but their authenticity was challenged. Nevertheless, the works soon came to be accepted as both apostolic and orthodox, and assumed nearly canonical status and authority in Eastern and Western Christendom.

Hilduin first translated the works into Latin (c. 832), and mistakenly identified Dionysius the Areopagite with Denis, the first bishop of Paris and patron saint of France. Though Abelard challenged this last identification, not until the Renaissance did Lorenzo Valla and Erasmus again question the authenticity of the writings' apostolic claims. These claims were decisively overturned in 1895, when two scholars, Joseph Stiglmayr and Hugo Koch, documented the dependence of the Dionysian corpus on Proclus, the fifth-century Neoplatonic philosopher. The works were thus composed in the late fifth or early sixth century. Despite many scholarly attempts to identify their author, he remains hidden behind his influential pseudonym. Dionysius's treatises are *Divine Names*, *Celestial Hierarchy*, *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, and *Mystical Theology*. The titles indicate Dionysius's principal concerns: religious language, hierarchy, and spirituality.

Divine Names poses the problems of religious knowledge and language by contrasting divine transcendence and theophany. In itself the divine nature is beyond being (*huperousios*), yet God becomes manifest in all being as its cause. God is both utterly transcendent and present in all things. This paradox underlies Dionysius's affirmative and negative theology. Affirmative theology focuses on divine causality and knows God through God's self-manifestations. It traces the causal procession from God's unity, through the divine ideas, or forms, to celestial hierarchy and thence to the sensible world; as it follows this descent, affirmative theology discovers an increasing variety of divine names, from "good" and "one" to "ancient of days," "sun," and "rock." Conversely, negative theology retraces the procession of beings in a return that moves from the sensible world, through the intelligences and forms, and to divine unity. Thus Dionysius emphasizes the dissimilarities in sensible symbols and the limits of all intelligible divine names. His work *Mystical Theology* negates all language about God because divinity cannot be known in its transcendence. For Dionysius, therefore, God is both nameless and praised in all names.

In *Celestial Hierarchy* Dionysius defines hierarchy as "a sacred order, activity and knowledge" that seeks "as far as possible [an] assimilation and union with God" (3.1–2). Its order is defined by each rank's capacity for assimilation to God, and its activity is purification, illumination, and perfection as it receives and communicates divine knowledge.

The celestial hierarchy consists of nine ranks of angelic intelligences, arranged in groups of three: (1) seraphim, cherubim, thrones; (2) dominations, virtues, powers; and (3) principalities, archangels, angels. The first triad is immediately united to God, whose light and knowledge it communicates to the lower ranks. In its turn the third triad presides over the human hierarchies. The ecclesiastical hierarchy stands between the celestial hierarchy and the hierarchy of the Mosaic law, which it supersedes (*Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 5.2). Within the church there are six ranks in two triads: (1) bishops, priests, and ministers or deacons; and (2) monks, the "holy people of God," and those being purified (e.g., penitents and those awaiting baptism). Dionysius again stresses the activities of perfecting, illuminating, and purifying, but his focus here is symbolic and sacramental. Baptism is the sacrament of initiation and illumination, and the eucharistic liturgy exemplifies both the christological mystery and the perfecting "communion and union with the One" (*Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 3.1). Contemplation (*theoria*) of the sacraments' hidden meanings purifies and illumines the understanding, and produces an intellectual insight akin to that of the celestial hierarchy.

The brief treatise *Mystical Theology* both completes and transcends the schemes of the divine names and of the hierarchies. It emphasizes the divine nature's radical transcendence, and it envisions mystical union in terms of unknowing (*agnōsia*). The concluding chapters present negative theology's ascending motion by stripping away the sensible and intelligible names of God. Dionysius then denies that God can be named adequately even in negative terms, because God is prior to all affirmation and negation. In itself the divine nature remains beyond all the contrasts that arise in its causal self-disclosure—and thus beyond all knowledge and speech. For Dionysius, mystical theology is an austere, intellectual ascent to union with God, and because divinity is essentially unknowable, this union occurs in the cloud and darkness of unknowing. This assimilation to God also completes the task of hierarchy. It is the perfection that the intellect seeks in symbols, sacraments, and intelligible divine names. Yet mystical theology accomplishes this ecstatically, by going out from intellect and hierarchy to their hidden source in the divine nature itself. In this way mystical theology completes the return to the God "beyond being."

The Dionysian writings are the product of a thoroughly hellenized Christian mind. Their reliance on Proclus and Damascius continues and even exaggerates the Greek patristic use of Platonic and Neoplatonic thought to interpret Christian faith. Dionysius was drawn into the mainstream of Byzantine theology by Maximos the Confessor, John of Scythopolis, and John of Damascus. Dionysius's major impact, however, came in the medieval West, where he was an immensely authoritative but alien figure. As the only Greek father to be fully and widely welcomed in the West, Dionysius influenced the whole range of Latin theology and spirituality. His account of the angelic hierarchy became standard, and his treatment of liturgy and the sacraments enriched the symbolic thinking of the Middle Ages. The Dionysian corpus became a major source for speculative thinkers, including John Scottus Eriugena, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and Nicholas of Cusa. Perhaps most important was the influence of Dionysius on mystical theology, evident in the Victorines, the Rhineland and English mystics, and in John of the Cross. Even while these Western thinkers were transforming his doctrine in their schools and monasteries, they consistently revered him as the "divine Dionysius." Although Dionysius's influence waned with the increasing suspicion concerning his identity, he still speaks powerfully on the issues of religious knowledge, language, and symbolism and their inherent limits.

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DIONYSOS is included in the pantheons of the majority of Greek cities and is present at such very early festivals as the Apaturia, the festival of the phratries, and the Anthesteria, that of new wine and the assembly of the dead. The youngest of the Olympian gods, he is somewhat insecure about his divine identity because he was conceived in the womb of a mortal woman, Semele. His semidivine status may account for his consistent interest in mortals and wine drinkers. As the god of masks, Dionysos appears in many forms, but he most loves to disguise himself as a god of the city, posing as a political deity and expressing absolute power. He appears in this form at Teos, where the city and the territory are consecrated to him and where he has a magnificent temple. In the town of Heraia in Arcadia, one of the two Dionysian temples is reserved for Dionysos the Citizen (Dionysos Polites). In Patras, where he is promoted to the rank of tyrant and given the title of Aisymnetes, he is the magistrate in charge of giving every person his rightful share. His political career begins in the seventh century on the island of Lesbos. Here he appears alongside Zeus and Hera in the common sanctuary as the god who is an "eater of raw flesh" (Alcaeus, *Fragment* 129). Thus the keystone of this political and religious edifice is Dionysos's subversive character, expressed in his rejection of the sacrificial system of eating food that is cooked according to the proper order (roasted then boiled) in favor of *omophagia*, the desire to eat raw flesh. The most extreme form of *omophagia* is *allelophagia*, in which men devour one another, becoming like wild beasts and ferocious animals. Such behavior allows them to escape from the human condition: it is a way of getting outside oneself by imitating those animals least subject to domestication.

It is at Delphi, in the great pan-Hellenic sanctuary of the eighth century, that Dionysos presents the full extent of his influence. In partnership with Apollo, the most ambitious god in the pantheon, Semele's son dominates not only the assemblies of local gods but also the whole course of Greek religion. Although he is originally from Thebes, Dionysos can be found in two parts of Delphi: in the heights of Mount Parnassus, where the members of the Thyiads, "the agitated ones," gather every other year in the Corycian cavern to honor him in the secret liturgy of the *trietēris* ("triennial festival"); and in the sanctuary of the Pythia, in a tomb-cradle beside the golden statue of Apollo, where he waits in mortal slumber until his servants come to wake him and where the Pure Ones, the priests of Apollo, privately offer sacrifice to him. At Delphi, Dionysos holds himself aloof from the giving of oracles, whereas in other sanctuaries oracles are closely connected with him. But this is because at Delphi he forms, together with Apollo, one of a pair of forces who are alternative poles in a system open to all of the altars or sanctuaries they share. Apollo has his Dionysian side, just as Dionysos presents more than one Apollonian aspect. The close connection between them at Delphi is the culmination of all the alliances that link them together at other places and in other ways.

Dionysos and Apollo are particularly joined in Orphic thought and its theogonic discourse, which was wholly at variance with the official dogma of Hesiod's theology. The religious system of the city and of the world, Hesiod's theology categorically rejected the way of life advocated by followers of Orpheus, who renounced the world and sought to be saved by returning to the primordial unity that preceded diversity. In the succession of divine ages described in the Orphic theogony, Dionysos is at once the last ruler and the first. In the last age he appears in the guise of the child who is lured by the Titans with toys—a spinning top, a devilish rhombus, and a mirror—and then slaughtered and devoured after being first boiled and then roasted (in breach of the normal order of the sacrificial ceremony). In being torn apart, scattered abroad, and broken into seven pieces, Dionysos experiences for himself the effects of the utmost differentiation, in accord with the process that began after the first age under the aegis of Phanes-Metis, another name for Dionysos. The primordial god of the perfect Unity, Phanes-Metis comes back at the end in order to return things once again to the beginning. In this scenario Apollo, even at Delphi, plays a role in the odyssey of Dionysos. Apollo buries the remains of Dionysos's murdered body at the foot of Mount Parnassus; shares the sovereignty of the oracle with Night, the primordial power; and, finally, becomes the Sun, the greatest of the gods even to Orpheus himself, rising to the summit of Mount Pangaeus in Dionysos's Thracian kingdom.

The success of Dionysos in Orphic theology reveals more than his ability to appear as the youngest of the Olympians and the oldest of the ancient gods. It demonstrates too his mystical calling, his natural tendency to rule over mysteries. In Ephesus, in the late sixth century, the philosopher Heraclitus denounced those who prowl in the night, in particular "magi, Bacchants, and mystics." It is sacrilegious, according to Heraclitus, for people to be initiated into what they dare to call mysteries. From the discoveries at Olbia on the shores of the Black Sea, we now believe that Dionysos first appears as the initiator in the sixth century, long before a Scythian king had enrolled in the band of Bacchus (Gr., Bakchos) in this same city, where he was fond of going for the aesthetic pleasure of living *à la grecque*—even to the extent of becoming a follower of Dionysos. This initiation was already known to King Scylas (Herodotos, 4.79), who had already begun preparations for it when a prodigy occurred: his palace of white marble, struck by lightning, was reduced to ashes. Nonetheless Scylas went ahead with the initiation ceremony, during which he publicly played the Bacchant, staggering through the town with a band of revelers.

What Herodotos implies in his account of Scylas going through with the initiation (*teletē*) is stated clearly in Euripides' *The Bacchae* in the voice of Dionysos. To Pentheus, who has failed to recognize his divinity and who will remain firmly entrenched in a ridiculous error, Dionysos, appearing as a stranger, recounts how the god introduced him to his rites, during which Dionysos watched him while he himself looked upon the god. In this mirror image, the initiation seems to denote an experience in which the Bacchant comes face to face with his god: he becomes as much a Bacchus as is Dionysos. The lord of the Bacchanalia refuses to reveal this experience to Pentheus; these are unspeakable things (*arrēta*) that non-Bacchants may not know (1.472). At Cumae, in the fifth century, a similar formula prohibited entry to a Greek cemetery "save to those who have been initiated to Dionysos."

At Olbia and at Cumae, Dionysos obviously does not receive the official, public worship that so many cities practice during the winter months, when solemn processions are attended by the entire population. Sacred laws from Asia Minor clearly distinguish between regular sacrifices, in which a goat or even a large ox is offered to Dionysos in full view of the city, and more private ceremonies in which the priestess of Dionysos celebrates an initiation into the cult of the god who drives people mad, inciting men and women to raving lunacy. There is a difference between *thuein* and *telein.* The same holy law of the Miletians, in 276 BCE, specifies that the rites of consecration (*telestēria*) should be invested in the priestess, who can initiate people into Dionysos Bakcheios "in the city, in the country, or in the islands." These are the so-called trieteric mysteries, which take place every two years. At Miletus they were celebrated at the same time as the Feast of the Return, when the god, escorted by the priests and priestesses, came back and entered the town.

In more than 150 cities of Asia Minor and the islands, Dionysos appears in the guise of Bakcheios, the god of the bacchanals—those who, like him, have become *bakchoi.* "Many are those who carry thyrsi; few are the Bacchants," according to a saying of the initiation masters quoted by Plato in his *Phaedo* (69c). To the initiate is reserved the experience of frenzy and possession, seeing the god face-to-face and sharing his madness and delirium. In the last golden tablet, a book of the dead unearthed at Vibo Valentia in Calabria in 1974, the titles *mystic* and *bacchant* are given to the chosen ones who go to the right, under the sign of memory, and take the sacred path that leads to the gods. Dionysos follows the same direction, from the sixth century on, to enter, via Iacchos, into the system of Eleusinian gods—the mysteries founded by Demeter on the fringes of Athens.

In connection with Dionysos the Initiate—who, under the name of Mustes, has a temple between Tegea and Argos (Pausanias, 8.54.5)—we find esoteric practices and rules of secrecy. Near Mantinea, in a great ancient chamber known as the *megaron,* the honey companions (*meliastai*) worship Dionysos, a neighbor of Black Aphrodite (Pausanias, 8.6.4). At Brysai, on the slopes of Mount Taigetos in Laconia, only women are permitted to view the statue of Dionysos, ensconced in an open-air sanctuary, and the sacrifices they perform are carried out in the greatest secrecy (Pausanias, 3.20.3). Males are also excluded on Lesbos, at Aigai, and on the island on the shores of the Atlantic described by Posidonius. The privilege of experiencing a private, face-to-face encounter with Dionysos or of being truly possessed by him is restricted to women, notwithstanding the violent objections of some modern-day feminists, who condemn the Dionysian interest in women as another way of oppressing them. The most unfortunate effect of this misinterpretation is to obscure the Dionysian union and its fundamental aspect: it is an individual allegiance that rejects kinship or feudal ties and, in the fluid form of the private *thiasos,* creates associations and communities independent of authority and outside the control of the state. If the mystical and mysterious side of Dionysos appears less clearly in the Athenian city-state—no doubt because the mystical pole there is called Eleusis—still it is a major component of Dionysianism in very many cities from the earliest times. Whether he resides in the center of town or camps on its outskirts, Dionysos is always the lord of dementia and of the ability to get outside oneself.

The popular tales of his coming and his manifestations describe, often in explicit terms, the favored *modus operandi* of Dionysos. It has to do with what the Greeks call the god's *epidēmia:* the tendency of a power to take up residence in one sanctuary and then switch to another temple and another country. Thus Apollo likes to spend the winter in the company of the Hyperboreans, making it possible for Dionysos to be "woken" by his priestesses, who proclaim his return. This is *epidēmia* in the sense of appearance or presence (*parousia*) and not in the sense of contagion, which would suggest that Dionysos moves from one place to another like a contagious disease whose infectious source is located on foreign soil (in the country of the Thracians) and is responsible for the violent fevers that invade the healthy, vigorous body of the Hellenic nation. One need only peel the outer shell of legend from this picture, only recently revealed with the aid of a number of myths concerning Dionysian Thrace and the god's enemies, to uncover the reality of a very faithful history. The Dionysian *parousia,* as originally intended, presents two interlocking aspects. The god who comes is a foreigner and remains so, carrying within him the most unwavering strangeness.

Yet the opposite side of Dionysos, and his appearance vis-à-vis the other gods, is that he affirms through his disavowal that he is a god too strange, and too much a stranger, to be believable. In Greece, the stranger, as opposed to the "barbarian," belongs to the society of those who share the same blood, the same language, and the same gods, according to Herodotos's definition. Dionysos, indeed, is no barbarian god, even when his outrages smack of barbarism. Born in Thebes, in the town of Kadmos, he is a great god, the equal of Apollo, the oracular power known as Ismenios. Dionysos presents himself in his status as a foreigner in more than one of his Joyous Entrances. For example, at Patrae in Achaia (Pausanias, 7.19.7–9), Dionysos enters as an idol in a sealed chest, like a demon god classed as a foreigner, and is conveyed by an equally strange king, a prince stricken with madness for having looked at the face, the mask, of Dionysos. This strange team puts an end to an equally outlandish sacrifice in which the human blood of both sexes had to be shed, bringing forth a sickness (*nosos*) in the land; the earth is diseased with punishment imposed by a cruel Artemis.

But the stranger who comes with Dionysos, instead of making himself a host and returning the gracious generosity seen in a feast like the Xenia, appears ungrateful to those who find him. The strangeness of Dionysos seems to imply that he cannot be recognized as a god at first sight. Thus he is obliged to offer a public demonstation of his divine power so that all people can see what a great god they have failed to acknowledge.

The appearance of Dionysos requires the revelation of Otherness through its exacting violence. There are those who do not know him and still slight him, doubters and those who neglect, scorn, or refuse to believe in or accept him. And there are those who are called on to persecute him, whom he has chosen to be his tormenters and thus the most striking witnesses to his *parousia*, once they have become his rightful victims. In Boeotia, in the city of Orchomenus, the daughters of King Minyas, absorbed in household tasks, pay no heed to Dionysos. But then the god, in the guise of a young girl, carefully encourages them to join in his mysteries. Suddenly, all three are entranced by Dionysos's metamorphoses—the girl disappears, and the god is a bull, a lion, a leopard. They watch in fascination as milk and nectar flow along the weaver's loom. Already they are caught in the web; wishing to honor the unknown god by offering sacrifice, they draw lots to see who will have the privilege of providing the chosen victim. The tragically elected Leucippe falls upon her own son and, with the help of her sisters, tears him to pieces in front of Dionysos (Antoninus Liberalis, *Metamorphoses* 10).

In Thrace, where Dionysos is also treated as a stranger, Lykurgos embodies the irreconcilable foe whose blindness compels the god, despite himself, to unleash the cruelest of deeds. Like a madman, Lykurgos brandishes his double ax, the *pelekus*, to kill Dionysos, not knowing that in Thessaly, at Pagasai, Dionysos is called the god of the ax, Pelekus. Lykurgos, hallucinating in his *mania*, turns the weapon back upon his own flesh and blood: he strikes down his children, whose living limbs, arms, and lopped-off legs appear to him as so many branches on a vine. This happens before the Edonians, incited by Dionysos, attempt to put an end to the fatal barrenness of their land by handing over their king to wild horses. The king is to be torn apart on Mount Pangaeus, where the oracle of Dionysos, like that at Delphi, will be erected. On its peak, Orpheus, the worshiper of the greatest of the gods, whom he names Apollo, is torn to pieces by Thracian women with a violence borrowed from Dionysos.

The stranger-god finds the full measure of his *parousia* in murderous frenzy, in the *mania* that leads to killing and to the spilled blood of a son torn apart by his mother, to children who are cut down alive by their father, and to father and daughter, such as Icarus and Erigone, losing their lives for lack of pure wine. Dionysos is truly himself only in *unyielding* madness, when the *mania* creates, through murder, a taint, a *miasma*, a sickness or pestilence. One must be cleansed of this stain; it is urgent to escape the plague, for in it appears the contagious power of those who fall into madness, which affects an entire town or even a whole country. In the *mania* of Dionysos is a taint that the god himself experiences in the course of his life (Apollodorus, *Library* 3.5.1). When he discovers the vine, Hera, his stepmother, breathes madness into Dionysos, dooming him to the wanderings of all madmen. Dionysos goes to Proteus, then to Cybele in Phrygia; at last he finds Rhea, who eases and puts an end to his nomadic delirium. Dionysos is purified, delivered from the taint of his madness. While with Rhea he learns the rites of his cult, and he receives from her his raiment, his Bacchus outfit, which he gives to Pentheus in *The Bacchae*.

The tales of his epiphany thus show how the worship of Dionysos, with its formalized mythology, establishes itself within the sphere of the purification called for by the insanity that the stranger carries. Dionysos the Purificator (Lysios) is the opposite side of the Bacchanal, the god who leads men and women astray in his frenzy. That he is a dual god is shown by his pairs of neighboring temples, at Thebes, at Corinth, and at Sicyon. The unclean madness that forms the basis of his cult is always part of him, however disciplined and civilized Dionysos may seem in the pantheons of cities unmindful of his fundamental wildness.

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DIOSCURI SEE TWINS

DISCIPLESHIP. Scholars of the world's religions have contributed much to the study of discipleship in the settings of specific religious communities. But there remains much to be done in framing a general estimate of the social meaning and historical impact of discipleship as a communal pattern in the history of religions. The present entry, therefore, offers a model of discipleship that might be helpful in organizing comparative studies of this important type of religious society.

Religious discipleship, in the sense defined below, seems to be specifically rooted in the great civilizational religious and philosophical systems that arose in the Mediterranean world, Mesopotamia, South Asia, and East Asia from the middle of the first millennium BCE through the middle of the first millennium CE. Buddhism, Christianity, Confucianism, Greco-Roman philosophical tradition, Islam, Hinduism, Judaism, Daoism, and Zoroastrianism are the most influential traditions to have emerged or reached classical expression during this period. At the conceptual center of each stands a moral seriousness that challenges adherents to transform themselves in light of a comprehensive vision of the place of human life in the cosmic order. At the social center of these traditions stand strikingly similar types of authoritative figures—literate intellectuals (priests, scribes, teachers, or prophets) who claim, on the basis of learning in ancient tradition or personal insight, to mediate wisdom about the essential purposes of life. Communities established for the perpetuation and transmission of such wisdom were probably the earliest settings for the practice of religious discipleship.

A WORKING MODEL OF DISCIPLESHIP. Discipleship can be defined most generally as a particularly intense mentoring relationship in which a body of knowledge deemed essential to the wise conduct of life is transmitted from the mentor (or master) to the protégé (or disciple). This wisdom, about how to properly live, necessarily combines practical matters of daily life with more esoteric bodies of theory or doctrine. In the practice of discipleship, moreover, such wisdom is believed to be available only within the mentoring relationship. The disciple's belief that the master is uniquely capable of communicating wisdom is crucial to the master's continuing authority in the relationship. It is also crucial to the disciple's ongoing willingness to emulate those elements of the master's way of living that are taken to embody the latter's own possession of wisdom.

Indeed, emulation of the master is the essence of the master–disciple relationship. It is both a primary strategy in the disciple's quest for wisdom and proof that this knowledge has been properly mastered. So, for example, the disciples of Stoic philosophers in the Hellenistic world would seek to embody the attitude of *apatheia* (indifference to pleasure or pain) modeled in the lives of such masters as Epictetus (50–130 CE). Similarly, initiates into Islamic Ṣūfī circles would be expected to emulate the specific discipline or path (*ṭarīqah*) modeled by the guide (*shaykh*). Another common aspect of emulation involves, as in early rabbinic Judaism (from about the third century CE) and Tibetan Buddhist monastic settings even in contemporary times, memorizing the master's formal teaching in oral or written texts, and interpreting their meaning in oral instructional settings.

In many cases, orally recited stories that first circulated among disciples about the deeds of a master were written down to provide hagiographic material for circulation both within and beyond the immediate circle of disciples. The diverse oral collections of Jesus' sayings and deeds that underlie the canonical and extra-canonical Gospels may well have been collected by Jesus' disciples prior to the point at which they were combined into a broader evangelical literature. Later, more formal examples of hagiography in the Christian tradition include the *Life of Anthony* and the *Life of Pachomius*, both of which were fundamental to the development of fourth-century asceticism as a pattern of Christian discipleship. Comparable writings are transmitted in Sufism (e.g., *The Way of Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ar-Rifāʿī* of the twelfth century), Jewish contemplative circles (*The Life of the Holy Lion Rabbi Isaac Luria* of the early seventeenth century), and Daoism (*Collected Accounts of the Perfected* of the tenth century), among many others.

Emulation of the master necessarily involves disciples in intense psychological identification with, and dependence upon, their mentors. Thus the virtue of humility or self-effacement before the master is a prized trait of the disciple. Symbolic postures of subordination can be as simple as carefully observed protocols governing, for example, which rabbinic disciples walked to the left or the right of the sage, and which the sage actually chose to lean upon when walking. In this context, it is not unusual for disciples to expect and receive corporal punishment as a form of discipline, as specified, for example, in the *Rule* of the Christian monastic order of Saint Benedict. In other systems of discipleship, as in some Tantric traditions of India or in ancient Greek philosophical discipleship, identification with or subordination to the master can also be expressed via sexual intimacy.

DISCIPLESHIP AND SOCIAL HIERARCHY. The basic social protocol of discipleship involves practices for ordering human relationships in view of hierarchy of power and authority. The fundamental purpose of that relationship is to authorize the transmission of knowledge and wisdom from the superior (the master) to the subordinate (the disciple). The nature of this knowledge will be discussed below. For now, it is important to focus upon the nesting of the discipleship relationship within a web of other types of hierarchical institutions in which the transmission of knowledge is also an essential goal.

Most historical examples of religious discipleship involve not simply a teacher and a student, but a group. This group is the discipleship community. Such communities, in many respects, are analogous in intention and structure to such common social institutions as kinship systems and schools. The social hierarchy created within the discipleship community is different from that of family and school, but dependent upon both. In discipleship, the community is a kind of school that recapitulates at a more refined level the cultural task of the family. Here the disciple returns to the psychological situation of childhood to be fundamentally reformed as a human being. Now the task of emulation involves absorbing the teaching of a master in such a way as to embody the master's own achievement.

What is that achievement? It is at this point that the question of special knowledge and wisdom arises. The master's achievement is greater than that of the biological parent or other elder, who has merely become a participant in the received cultural or religious tradition. The master, by contrast, has reached that form of human perfection held out by tradition as the highest attainable. The master, then, is a parent, but more so. Often called "Father" or "Mother," the master can displace the biological parents in the disciple's scale of loyalties and affections. Certain Greco-Roman philosophical paths, echoed by some rabbinic teachers of the early common era, as well as medieval Ṣūfī masters, held, for example, that a disciple owes more respect to a master than to a biological parent. The reason should not be hard to predict: parents only bring their child into physical life, whereas the master, by contrast, brings the disciple into eternal, life-transforming knowledge.

The master is also more than a teacher, for a system of discipleship is more than a school. Schools transmit the knowledge expected of functional participants in the religious tradition or culture. Whether at a relatively fundamental or at a more sophisticated level, they transmit "formative" knowledge, knowledge that shapes the cultural and autobiographical identity of the knower and enables one to both share in and contribute to creativity in the culture. In the setting of discipleship, however, students are trained to reconceive their own human perfection in emulation of the model presented by their master. In this sense, the knowledge offered in the discipleship relationship is not formative but "transformative." It holds out to the disciple the promise of becoming in some fundamental sense a new being. In possessing the master's transformative knowledge and embodying it, one passes from a state of ignorance to one of wisdom, illumination, or grace, depending upon the symbolic vocabulary native to the traditions that nourish specific discipleship communities.

CHARACTERISTICS OF TRANSFORMATIVE KNOWLEDGE. As mentioned above, transformative knowledge can be known only through a direct relationship of discipleship with the master. Familiarity with a master's teaching alone, either as oral tradition or written text, does not constitute a transformative appropriation of the master's knowledge. Rather, it is necessary to hear the master's own teaching accompanied by the master's explanation; it is necessary to observe the master's behavior in various settings, in order to emulate the ways in which the master's teachings are embodied in concrete models of execution.

The master, from this perspective, is a living medium through which a truth, otherwise hidden from natural sight, is disclosed and made tangible. The master is a disclosure of truth, and this disclosure is only in part mediated through specific verbal teachings. Its fullness must be found in the actual existence of the master. Thus the disciple commonly views the master as a kind of text to be decoded and interpreted. The full, transformative knowledge imparted by the master is available only to the disciple who knows how to read the master's text—and this text includes more than the master's verbal utterances. It includes the entire being of the master as it is disclosed to the disciple in the personal encounter.

In the history of religions, the nature and significance of the transformative knowledge made available to disciples by masters is always linked to broader cultural and religious traditions within which the discipleship communities themselves have emerged. In other words, masters control, focus, and refine symbol systems that penetrate widely throughout a given culture. They transform "culture" into a disciplinary path that creates a "subculture," a community living out the larger values of a cultural tradition in particularly intense and concentrated form. Monasticism in the diverse Christian and Buddhist traditions are examples of discipleship communities that are perceived, by both insiders and their lay or royal patrons, to represent the purest representation of the path of life defined by Christ or the Buddha. Depending upon circumstances, however, discipleship communities can define themselves, under a master's guidance, in an adversarial relationship to the larger cultural and religious tradition. A "subculture" of discipleship, in other words, can become a "counterculture."

Thus the so-called Dead Sea sect of second-century BCE Jewish Palestine, founded by a priest known as the Righteous Teacher (*moreh tzedek*), was certainly a discipleship community that framed itself in opposition to the existing culture of the Jerusalem Temple priesthood. It is highly probable as well that the original discipleship communities surrounding Siddhārtha Gautama, the founder of Buddhism, were defined in some sort of adversarial relationship to socially dominant forms of Hindu asceticism and Brahmanic traditionalism. Buddhism and Christianity, from this perspective, are examples of countercultural discipleship communities that ultimately became comprehensive religious civilizations in their own right, and that lived to spawn further subcultures of discipleship.

The precise social agendas of discipleship communities are distinct, at least theoretically, from the specific sorts of transformative knowledge that they offer to their members as the pinnacle of and reward for a life of self-discipline. For the present introductory purpose, it will be helpful to organize the patterns of transformative knowledge transmitted within discipleship communities into the following clusters: (1) knowledge concerning the cultivation and interpretation of visions; (2) knowledge concerning the cultivation of conditions of ego-lessness and loss of self-consciousness; and (3) knowledge concerning self-mastery in view of ultimately authoritative laws or norms. It is important to remember that, like all typological exercises in the history of religions, these types rarely appear in "pure" form. Rather, students should be prepared to find various degrees of admixture of one or more of these patterns in any given discipleship community.

The cultivation of visionary experience, especially associated with healing, is, according to some historians of religion, among the oldest forms of religious activity. Often referred to under the general rubric of shamanism, its roots lie in the preagricultural societies of hunters and gatherers, and it continues in a variety of forms into contemporary times. It is impossible to know how prehistoric shamanic experiences were transmitted or whether training in the cultivation of such experiences took the form of discipleship communities as defined here. It is clear, however, that guidance in the shamanic arts among contemporary practitioners often takes forms quite similar to discipleship, although the life-defining vision that inaugurates the life of the shamanic healer is commonly sought in isolation.

The point is that the formation of discipleship communities for the cultivation of extraordinary visions is not limited to classical shamanic rites of healing. The prophetic guilds of ancient Israel and other Mediterranean and Mesopotamian cultures also cultivated visionary experiences. Here, however, the healing of individuals was not a primary concern, but rather the disclosure of divine purposes in relation to communities or to society as a whole. Many scholars have suggested, moreover, that the tradition of pseudepigraphic apocalyptic literary prophecies of Second Temple period Judaism (c. 520 BCE–70 CE) and early Christianity (c. 30 CE–120 CE) had its roots in visionary discipleship communities formed among scribes in particular. The ability to receive visions of a heavenly world, to interpret their meaning for others, and to cultivate new visions, was read as a sign of the visionary's transformation into a new being, no longer entirely earthbound, but capable of tasting in this life the immortality of the divine world. This form of visionary pursuit proved to be of particular salience among the various Christian communities of Late Antiquity labeled by their Orthodox Christian theological opponents as Gnostics. It was richly apparent as well among neighboring Jewish communities associated with heavenly ascent to the *merkavah*, or divine Throne, who witnessed angels bathed in divine light and surrounded by rivers of fire singing hymns to the hidden God of Israel.

The cultivation of experiences of ego-lessness and loss of self-consciousness is commonly found among contemplative traditions frequently defined as mysticism. It is entirely fair to assert that mysticism is among the most frequent settings for the flourishing of discipleship communities. Contemplative exercises associated with yogic disciplines for focusing awareness beyond the self, necessarily mediated by a guide or *gurū*, have very ancient roots in the Indian subcontinent and continue to be widely practiced in traditional and westernized forms. Equally well known are the contemplative traditions of Japanese Zen Buddhism, Tibetan Buddhism, Islamic Sufism, some forms of Jewish Qabbalah, and a host of Christian meditative practices cultivated primarily in monastic settings. All of these require protracted periods of discipleship to a master in order to achieve and control the interpretation of various states of loss of self.

In one sense, the search for self-mastery in view of ultimately authoritative norms or laws is common to any form of discipleship, for the essence of discipleship is the incorporation of a discipline framed by rules. In certain types of discipleship circles, however, self-mastery is viewed not merely as a means toward the acquisition of transformative knowledge, but as the essence of wisdom itself. This is particularly so when heroic cultivation of memory is regarded as part of the discipline of self-transformation. Scrupulous Brahmanic performance of ancient Vedic rituals, associated with the memorization of vast corpora of orally transmitted Sanskrit texts, is one of the oldest continuous traditions of this sort of discipleship community. In Judaism, this type of discipleship became prominent in the rabbinic communities of late antiquity (c. 200 CE–700 CE). Disciples in this tradition studied under masters who had memorized the traditions of Oral and Written Torah that had been revealed on Sinai to Moses and incorporated them into their very being. Like their masters, disciples sought to be transformed into "living books" from which the revelation of God could be read.

SOME QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY. As stated above, the comparative study of discipleship as a pattern of religion remains relatively undeveloped, especially in light of the massive documentation of discipleship communities in specific religious traditions. It is useful, therefore, to pose some pointed questions for further research on the nature of discipleship and the relationship of discipleship communities to the larger patterns of the religious cultures in which they emerge.

The first is as follows: What structural and historical roles have discipleship communities played in forming and transmitting traditions central to religious traditions as a whole? To what degree, in other words, does the discipleship community constitute a formative, culturally influential context for the production and transmission of aesthetic, ideological, ritual, or other traditions? Are there religious civilizations that appear to have been largely generated by discipleship communities; are there others in which discipleship communities appear relatively late in the articulation of the tradition? What historical or ideological factors might explain such differences?

The second question concerns the wisdom cultivated within discipleship communities. How is transformative knowledge constructed in relationship to the sorts of ritual or theological knowledge mediated beyond the discipleship community? That is, in what settings do discipleship communities represent themselves as self-selecting elites who must protect their special knowledge from outsiders? What conditions account for moments in which discipleship communities seek to expand the circle to include and transform those originally outside the circle? How have discipleship communities been involved in the politics of knowledge within their several host cultures?

A third question focuses upon the media in which transformative knowledge is communicated in the situation of disciple mentoring. Discipleship as such seems to be largely associated with religions in which literacy and the interpretation of writings play important roles. Yet the importance of the mentoring relationship commonly places a premium on orally transmitted knowledge. Can the study of discipleship communities shed light on the relative importance of written and oral forms of communication within the broader religious traditions in which they participate? Many discipleship communities are profoundly hostile to, or at least ambivalent about, the use of written sources in the teaching of disciples. These include the following: Brahmanic priests, rabbinic sages, Hindu *sants*, Greco-Roman philosophers, and Christian monastic ascetics, among others. How do such attitudes mirror broader cultural attitudes regarding the authority of books and teachers as repositories of knowledge?

Finally, a fourth question: To the degree that the discipleship community is constructed hierarchically, how does its hierarchy replicate or undermine other social hierarchies beyond the community? At times, for example, initiation into discipleship communities offers relief from confining gender roles (as in female monasticism in Buddhism and Christianity). What principles explain this creation of a space in which normal gender practices are suspended? Why are such principles absent in other discipleship traditions, such as those created in Judaism, where—with the possible exception of the first-century Therapeutrides of Alexandria—female discipleship is largely unknown?

SEE ALSO Leadership.

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MARTIN S. JAFFEE (2005)

DISCIPLES OF CHRIST. The Disciples of Christ is an American-born religious group formed in 1832 by the merger of the Christian movement led by Barton Stone with the "Reforming Baptists," headed by Thomas and Alexander Campbell. Most of the early leaders of the movement, including Stone and the Campbells, had been Presbyterians, but they imbibed deeply of the spirit of religious freedom in the wake of the American Revolution. Stone was one of the leaders of the Kentucky revival at the turn of the nineteenth century. Distressed by Presbyterian opposition to the revival, in 1804 he and five other ministers left the church, announcing their plan to be "Christians only" in "The Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery."

Thomas Campbell came to America in 1807, having been a Presbyterian minister in Northern Ireland. Disturbed by the sectarian spirit of the American church, Campbell clashed with the synod, and in 1809 he was suspended from the ministry. Campbell and a few of his supporters almost immediately formed the Christian Association of Washington (Pennsylvania), and Campbell wrote a fifty-six page explanation of his views, called the *Declaration and Address.* Thomas Campbell's son, Alexander, arrived in America shortly after the publication of the *Declaration and Address.* Twenty-one years old at the time, Alexander Campbell had been influenced by the reforming ideas of Scottish evangelist Robert Haldane while spending a year in Glasgow, and he immediately embraced his father's independent position. He quickly rose to the leadership of the movement. The Campbells joined with Baptist associations from 1815 until 1830 and were known by the name Reformers.

Preaching similar pleas for Christian union and in frequent contact with one another in Kentucky, the Stone and Campbell movements sealed a remarkably successful union in 1832. Alexander Campbell and his followers generally favored the name Disciples of Christ, while the Stone churches continued to use the name Christian Church. Many local congregations were called Churches of Christ. All three names have been used throughout the movement's history. The new church spread rapidly with the westward migration of population; at the time of the union in 1832 it was estimated to have 22,000 members, and by 1860 that figure had grown to nearly 200,000.

Two ideas undergird Disciples thought, both of them highly attractive amid the optimism on the American frontier in the 1830s. First was an emphasis on Christian union. Second was an appeal for the "restoration of the ancient order of things" as a means of attaining unity. The battle cry of the movement, stated in 1809 by Thomas Campbell, was "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; and where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent."

The Disciples were Arminian, believing in freedom of the will, and they were revivalistic, although never given to extreme enthusiasm. They held traditional views on most questions and were most visibly set apart by their restorationist views on the local church. They organized autonomous congregations presided over by elders and deacons and emphasized weekly observance of the Lord's Supper. In the early years of the movement, Alexander Campbell was caustically anti-institutional, but by the 1840s antimission sentiment abated. Most early Disciples were also strong postmillennialists, believing that the second coming of Christ would be ushered in by the world reformation begun by Luther and capped by their own restoration movement.

In addition to the Campbells and Stone, the most prominent early leader of the Disciples was another Scottish Presbyterian minister, Walter Scott, who is credited with formulating the "five-finger" plan of salvation—faith, repentance, baptism, forgiveness of sins, and gift of the Holy Spirit—which was preached by a generation of pioneer Disciples evangelists. The Disciples were slow in developing denominational institutions; consequently, the most powerful leaders of the movement were editors of religious journals. Alexander Campbell edited the *Christian Baptist* from 1823 to 1830 and the *Millennial Harbinger* from 1830 until 1864, just two years before his death. Stone, Scott, and scores of other preachers also published papers that tied the loose-knit movement together.

While conceiving of themselves as a protest against sectarian division, the Disciples quickly became a part of the denominational competition in the American Midwest and South. Alexander Campbell's influence among the Baptists was particularly strong, and in some parts of the West, the Disciples devastated Baptist associations. The church spread rapidly westward from Ohio and Kentucky and as far south as Tennessee and Texas.

The years after the Civil War form a second era in Disciples history. By 1866, all of the first generation leaders of the church were dead, and dramatic shifts in power occurred within the church. The Disciples continued to grow rapidly; the religious census of 1906 listed around 1,150,000 members in the movement. But the census also revealed that a major schism had taken place within the church. Deep sectional and sociological tensions had begun to appear shortly after the Civil War.

In spite of the facts that the Disciples were strongest in the border areas and that most of the church's leaders had urged moderation during the slavery controversy, Disciples were seriously divided by the Civil War. In 1863, northern Disciples passed a resolution of loyalty to the Union at the meeting of the American Christian Missionary Society, which had been formed in 1849. Southern Disciples were deeply angered. Although most Disciples argued that the church could not divide because it had no denominational apparatus, in the years after the Civil War northern and southern newspapers and other institutions became increasingly antagonistic. In the census of 1906 the most conservative wing of the movement (which was almost entirely southern) was identified separately and designated the Churches of Christ.

Although the tensions of the nineteenth century had clear sectional and sociological underpinnings, the debate also had a doctrinal focus. As it became ever more apparent that the hoped-for millennium of peace and unity was not imminent, conservative Disciples lost interest in Christian union as a practical goal, and liberal Disciples increasingly discarded legalistic restorationism as a means of attaining union. The most visible issues that divided churches were support for the missionary society that had been founded in 1849 and the scripturality of the use of instrumental music in worship. The founding of the society (which had Alexander Campbell's tacit approval) seemed to some an abandonment of the anti-institutional principles of the early movement; the society further alienated many southerners because of the passage of political resolutions during the Civil War; finally, the organization was attacked as "unscriptural" by rigid restorationists. The introduction of organs into the churches also rankled conservatives, who considered them symbols of decadence and found no evidence of their presence in the New Testament churches. By 1900, hundreds of conservative local congregations had separated from the movement as independent Churches of Christ.

The most powerful Disciples journal during the late nineteenth century was the *Christian Standard*, published in Cincinnati, Ohio, by Isaac Errett until his death in 1888. The most influential journal among the conservatives of the South was the *Gospel Advocate*, edited for over half a century by David Lipscomb in Nashville, Tennessee. By the end of the century, however, leadership of the movement had drifted toward James H. Garrison, who in 1874 became editor of the Saint Louis-based *Christian-Evangelist*. Garrison was grounded in the nuances of Disciples theology, but he was irenic in spirit and encouraged a new generation of Disciples leaders to take the mainstream of the movement into the center of liberal American Protestantism.

In the early twentieth century the Disciples suffered a second major division and a slowing growth rate. As a new generation of Disciples liberals, particularly a group associated with the University of Chicago, pressed for a more ecumenical view of the Disciples mission and a more liberal understanding of the scriptures, conservative opposition solidified around the *Christian Standard*. Finally, in the 1920s, the conservatives began withdrawing their support from Disciples organizations and in 1927 established the rival North American Christian Convention. These dissentient conservative congregations remained loosely associated in the Undenominational Fellowship of Christian Churches and Churches of Christ. The more liberal wing of the movement adopted the name Christian Church (Disciples of Christ).

A full body of boards and commissions developed in the twentieth century, headquartered mostly in Indianapolis and Saint Louis. In 1968 the church restructured into a representative and more centrally controlled organization, losing perhaps one-third of its listed congregations in the move and completing the second schism, which had been in progress since the 1920s.

Disciples have been important leaders in modern ecumenical activities. The *Christian Century* began as a Disciples journal (founded as the *Christian Oracle* in 1884), and its editorial corps was long dominated by Disciples. The Disciples have also been prolific builders of universities and colleges, perhaps the most widely known being Texas Christian University, Butler University, Drake University, and Bethany College.

SEE ALSO Campbell, Alexander.

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DISCIPLINE, SPIRITUAL SEE SPIRITUAL DISCIPLINE

DISMEMBERMENT.

Among the many procedures that are carried out in sacrificial ritual, dismemberment and distribution of the victim's body figure prominently. Moreover, beyond its physical dimension, dismemberment also possesses complex and highly significant social, symbolic, and intellectual dimensions, as has been shown, for instance, in Jean-Pierre Vernant's analysis of the primordial sacrifice performed by Prometheus, according to Hesiod's *Theogony.* For, as Vernant has argued, the division of the victim's body in effect establishes the difference between gods, who are immortal and have no need of food (since they receive only the victim's bones and fat) and humans, who receive portions of bloody meat wrapped in an ox's stomach and whose lives are thus characterized by hunger, death, and ultimate bodily decay.

Whereas the Promethean model of sacrificial division (evident also in the sacrifices of the Greek city-states) served to discuss and establish the distinction between human and divine, other sacrificial patterns are more attuned to gradations of social hierarchy. Such is the case in Dinka sacrifice, as described by Godfrey Lienhardt, who presents what appears to be a "butcher's chart" detailing the assignment of different cuts of meat to different social groups, the prestige of group and cut being directly correlated. That the butcher's chart is, in effect, a diagram of social hierarchy is not lost on the Dinka themselves, who observe: "The people are put together, as a bull is put together." Lienhardt (1961) goes on to elaborate: "Since every bull or ox is destined ultimately for sacrifice, each one demonstrates, potentially, the ordered social relationships of the sacrificing group, the members of which are indeed 'put together' in each beast and represented in their precise relations to each other in the meat which it provides."

A similar pattern is also evident in one of the most ancient Italic sacrifices, the *Feriae Latinae,* a ritual that dates to the period prior to Roman domination of central Italy but subsequently was taken over by the Romans and adapted to their purposes. Thus, according to Dionys of Halikarnassos (4.49), all forty-seven cities that were members of the Rome-dominated Latin League were called upon to send representatives each year to the Alban Mount "to congregate, feast together, and take part in common rituals." Within the *Feriae Latinae,* however, were celebrated both the cohesion of the Latin League and the unequal status of its members, themes that found expression in the sacrificial banquet at the center of the rite. Thus, each city was assigned to contribute a different, carefully graded portion of food to the celebration ("some lambs, some cheeses, some a portion of milk"), while hierarchically ranked portions of meat taken from the sacrificial bull were distributed to all the participants. Given its sociopolitical importance, the distribution of meat was carefully scrutinized, and any mistake in the assignment of portions could force the repetition of the entire ritual, as could the failure of any participant to pray for the welfare of the whole Roman people. The latter offense would mark a failure of social solidarity; the former, of proper hierarchy.

A similar case is found in one of the best-documented sacrifices performed by the ancient Germanic peoples, that of the Semnones, as reported in chapter 39 of Tacitus's *Germania*:

> They say that the Semnones are the oldest and most renowned of the Suebi. This belief is confirmed in a religious ceremony of ancient times. At a fixed time, all the people of the same blood come together by legations in a wood that is consecrated by the signs of their ancestors and by an ancient dread. Barbaric rites celebrate the horrific origins, through the dismemberment of a man for the public good. . . . There the belief of all looks back [to the primordial past], as if from that spot there were the origins of the race. The god who is ruler of all things is there. Others are inferior and subservient. The good fortune of the Semnones adds to their authority. One hundred cantons are inhabited for them, and this great body causes them to believe themselves to be the head of the Suebi.

Several points must be made regarding the logic and intent of this grisly rite in which the public dismemberment of a human victim was the central feature. First, this was done in repetition or representation of creation, insofar as the sacrifice celebrating the "horrific origins" (*horrenda primordia*) was performed at the very place where the "origins of the race" (*initia gentis*) were believed to be. This comes as little surprise, however, given the well-known Germanic myths that describe creation as resulting from the bodily dismemberment of a primordial giant by the gods themselves. (For the fullest account, see Snorri Sturluson's *Gylfaginning* 6–8.) Second, the sacrifice was performed to confirm the Semnones' claim to primacy within the Suebian confederation, of which they considered themselves the "oldest and most renowned" (*vetustissimos se nobilissimosque*) members. This claim was also expressed in bodily terms: the Semnones regarded themselves as the "head of the Suebi" (*Sueborum caput*), something that was perhaps no idle metaphor, but one reflected—and justified—in the formal distribution of the dismembered remains of sacrificial victims.

The theme of creation as the result of a primordial act of sacrificial dismemberment is also common in ancient India. As one celebrated text relates:

> When they divided Man [Skt., Puruṣa], how many pieces did they prepare? What are his mouth, arms, thighs, and feet called? The priest was his mouth, the warrior was made from his arms; His thighs were the commoner, and the servant was born from his feet. The moon was born of his mind; of his eye, the sun was born; From his mouth, Indra and fire; from his breath, wind was born. From his navel there was the atmosphere; from his head, heaven was rolled together; From his feet, the earth; from his ear, the cardinal points. Thus the gods caused the worlds to be created. (*Ṛgveda 10.90.11–14*)

The text is remarkable for the way in which it describes society and the cosmos alike as having both been formed from the bodily members of the first sacrificial victim. Thus, we are first presented with a set of social homologues to the human body, wherein four differentially ranked classes—priests (Skt., *brāhmaṅa*), warriors (*kṣatriya*), commoners (*vaiśya*), and servants (*śūdra*)—derive their respective hierarchic positions and characteristic modes of action (speech, force of arms, production and reproduction, and running of errands) from that bodily part with which they are associated (mouth, arms, thighs, and feet). Similarly, a second set homologizes parts of the cosmos to bodily members or faculties: moon to mind, sun to eyes, wind to breath, and so on. Moreover, the social and the cosmic sets themselves are implicitly correlated through the mediation of the body, for the cosmos—like the body and society—is organized into hierarchically ranked vertical strata: heaven (including the celestial bodies), atmosphere (including the wind), and earth.

The logic of dismemberment thus establishes the priestly class as concerned with heavenly matters, such as sacred speech and the ritual fire, by their very nature, for priests and fire alike have their origin from the mouth (fire being thus the "eater" of whatever is placed into it, the sacrificial fire being called the "mouth of the gods"). The lower classes, in contrast, are relegated to more lowly, mundane pursuits; warriors occupy an intermediate status.

The model that is established within this myth (as also within the practice of Vedic sacrifice) is, quite literally, that of an "organic" cosmos and a "corporate" society, the parts of which are ordinarily unified but are also analytically detachable, whereupon their hierarchic interrelations become fully evident. Moreover, the corporate nature of society also finds expression within the very rhythms of sacrificial ritual. Lienhardt's observations regarding Dinka sacrifice are, once again, most instructive:

> It is at the moment immediately preceding the physical death of the beast, as the last invocation reaches its climax with more vigorous thrusts of the spear, that those attending the ceremony are most palpably members of a single undifferentiated body, looking towards a single common end. After the victim has been killed, their individual characters, their private and family differences, and various claims and rights according to their status, become apparent once more. In the account of the role of cattle, I mentioned the Dinkas' way of figuring the unity and diversity of kin-groups in the unity of the bull or ox and in the customary division of its flesh. Similarly in a sacrifice, whilst the victim is still a living whole, all members of a gathering are least differentiated from each other in their common interest in that whole victim. With its death, interest turns towards the customary rights of different participating groups in the division of its flesh. . . . Sacrifice thus includes a recreation of the basis of local corporate life, in the full sense of those words. The whole victim corresponds to the unitary solidarity of human beings in their common relationship to the divine, while the division of the flesh corresponds to the social differentiation of the groups taking part. (Lienhardt, 1961, pp. 233–234)

Although he does not use these terms, Lienhardt here masterfully describes the phases of aggregation and segmentation that mark most rituals. As is clear in the accounts of the *Feriae Latinae* and the Semnones' sacrifice, individuals and groups gather for the performance of a ritual in which they gradually surrender their sense of separate identity as they come to feel part of a broader social totality, united by bonds of kinship, polity, commensality, and/or common purpose. Then, toward the end of the proceedings, this social totality breaks into its constituent parts once again, only to be reunited at the next sacrifice. Further, as Lienhardt recognized, the moment at which the phase of aggregation ends and that of segmentation begins is that moment in which the victim is killed and its flesh divided.

Social segmentation thus coincides with sacrificial dismemberment, while aggregation corresponds to a victim that is whole. That victim, like society, contains within its body the potential to be cut into hierarchically differentiated pieces, but its life depends upon the preserved unity and cooperation of those pieces within an organic whole. These same processes also find abstract, philosophical expression at times, as in the thought of Empedocles (fifth century BCE), who describes the entire cosmos as being ruled by two competing processes: Strife, which tears things apart and finds its representation par excellence in sacrificial dismemberment (see, for example, his fragments numbered B128, B137, and B20 in the Diels-Kranz collection), and Love, the force that reunites those things rent asunder by Strife. For that matter, things are not so dissimilar when it comes to the celebrated Aristotelian tools of analysis (i.e., separating a whole into its constituent parts) and synthesis (i.e., reassembling the parts into an organic whole), whereby thought is dismembered and put back together, after the fashion of a sacrificial ox.

SEE ALSO Cosmogony; Greek Religion; Puruṣa; Sacrifice.

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BRUCE LINCOLN (1987)
Revised Bibliography

DĪVĀLĪ, also known as Dīpāvalī, is an important renewal festival celebrated all over India in October–November at the time of the autumn equinox. Dīvālī marks the end of the rainy season and the harvest of the summer crops. The name *Dīvālī* can be translated as "row of lights," in reference to lights lit on the nights of the transition from the waning to the waxing moon. These lights stand for the hope kindled by the new season that comes at the end of the dangerous monsoon. In many ways the festival is a celebration of a new year. Accordingly, debts are paid off, and merchants close their accounts in anticipation of new wealth.

Dīvālī is a three-night festival, the last night of which is the first night of the waxing moon. The celebrations incorporate a number of mythic elements, many of which find colorful regional variations. As in any renewal rite, care is taken to cleanse and purify homes and shops, and people make certain to perform special ablutions in a ritual bath. The festival is most obviously characterized by the seemingly infinite number of oil lamps that are lit everywhere, as well as by the noise of exploding firecrackers that are said to frighten away evil spirits and to welcome the arrival of Lakṣmī, goddess of prosperity. In some regional practices the lamps are said to light the darkness for departed ancestors or to welcome the demon king Bali.

It is to Lakṣmī, however, that the people offer jewels and money, delicate foods, and special new clothes made for the occasion. Much importance is placed on the giving of gifts to all members of the family and to the neighborhood servants who help people throughout the year. Men gamble at various games in a ritual reenactment of the dice tournaments played by the gods to determine the fate of human beings.

The festival is associated with several Puranic myths. Their underlying idea calls forth what was at issue during the rainy season and centers on the notion, which holds true for ancestors as well, that underworld creatures play a crucial role in the acquisition of wealth. A well-known myth relates how the dwarf Vāmana (an incarnation of Viṣṇu) asked Bali to grant him as much land as he could cover in three steps. The generous demon king agreed. To his amazement, two of the dwarf's steps covered the earth and the sky; the third, planted on Bali's head, sent the demon to the underworld, a region that became his domain. For his generosity, Bali was then allowed to come to the surface of the earth during Dīvālī in order to bestow wealth on human beings.

Another myth, one in which the god Kṛṣṇa is said to slay Naraka (or Narakāsura, the "demon of hell"), similarly marks the momentary halt of evil underworld powers. Naraka is the son of Bhūdevī, the earth goddess, and Varāha, the incarnation of Viṣṇu as a boar, who had rescued the goddess when she lay buried under the waters of the sea. Although he was ultimately killed by Kṛṣṇa—as all demons must eventually be killed by a god—Naraka, like Bali, is nevertheless paid homage when the question of wealth is at stake.

In North India the second day of Dīvālī is reserved for the worship of the hill Govardhana, near the town of Mathura, a site of deep religious significance for devotees of Kṛṣṇa. Once Indra had captured all of the world's cattle. Kṛṣṇa freed the cows, but the enraged Indra flooded the earth with a downpour of rain to drown the valuable animals. Kṛṣṇa then raised Govardhana so that the cows would be saved. The importance of the myth is clear in the context of Dīvālī, for in Hindu thought the cow is a powerful and evocative symbol of prosperity. The ritual here primarily involves worship of cattle, but—in a play on the word *govardhana* (lit., "cow-increasing")—offerings are made to mounds of cow dung (*govar*) to ensure continued prosperity and wealth (*dhana*).

One final ritual marks the celebration of Dīvālī. Girls and women, who at the onset of the rainy season had tied protective threads around their brothers' wrists, now invite the boys and men for delicacies in exchange for gifts. This rite is accompanied by the worship of Yama, lord of the dead, and his twin sister, Yami. Yama is also known as Dharmarāja ("king of the social and cosmic order"), for that very order is then restored with the return of prosperity, which is dependent upon women and on controlled underworld powers.

SEE ALSO Gambling; Hindu Religious Year; Yama.

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DIVINATION

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
GREEK AND ROMAN DIVINATION

DIVINATION: AN OVERVIEW

is the art or practice of discovering the personal, human significance of future or, more commonly, present or past events. A preoccupation with the import of events and specific methods to discover it are found in almost all cultures. The culture possibly least interested in divination is that of the traditional Australian Aborigines, yet even they hold divinatory "inquests" at funerals to discover the identity of the sorcerers responsible for the deaths.

Much of science itself has evolved from forms of divination and may be said to continue certain aspects of it. Astronomy, for example, is deeply indebted to ancient Near Eastern and Hellenistic astrological researches; mathematics and physics were advanced by Indian, Pythagorean, and Arabic divinatory cosmological speculations; and several leading Renaissance scientists were inspired by the divinatory schemes of Qabbalah and hermitism in their search for the moral harmonies and direction of the universe. Yet it would be incorrect to label divination a mere infantile science or pseudoscientific magic, for modern science and traditional divination are concerned with essentially distinct goals. This helps to explain the continuing fascination with divination even today on the part of well-educated people, notably in regard to astrology, the *Yi Jing*, and spiritualism or necromancy (séances with the dead). Divination involves communication with personally binding realities and seeks to discover the "ought" addressed specifically to the personal self or to a group. Science, however, if faithful to its own axioms, cannot enunciate any "oughts" because of its methodological, cognitive, and moral neutrality: it only offers hypotheses about reality and is concerned with general statistical regularities, not with unique persons or events. The existential situation and binding transcendental realities are beyond its concern. It may be argued that, precisely to the degree that such modern disciplines as psychotherapy and Marxist theory leave science behind, they take on divinatory (and therefore religious) functions, and represent modern contributions to the history of divination.

BASIC FORMS. Anything can be used to divine the meaning of events. It is very common to assign spontaneous and arbitrary meaning to signs or omens when one is deeply anxious about the outcome of a personal situation. But the cultural form of divinatory methods and signs is seldom entirely random: each one expresses a specific logic.

A full list of divinatory agents, therefore, would amount to a catalog of both nature and culture. H. J. Rose, in his article "Divination, Introductory and Primitive," in volume 4 of the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (Edinburgh, 1911), classifies the most common means used to obtain insight as follows: dreams (oneiromancy); hunches and presentiments; involuntary body actions (twinges, sneezes, etc.); ordeals; mediumistic possession; consulting the dead (necromancy); observing animal behavior (e.g., ornithomancy, interpreting the flight of birds); noting the form of entrails of sacrificial victims (extaspicy or haruspicy), or the victims' last movements before death; making mechanical manipulations with small objects such as dice, drawing long or short stalks from a bundle, and so on (sortilege); reading tea leaves (tasseography), or using playing cards (cartography), etc.; decoding natural phenomena (as in geomancy, palmistry, phrenology, or astrology); and—of course—"miscellaneous." Plato—in an analysis that still forms the basis of most modern treatments (as in the world survey of divination edited by Caquot and Leibovici, 1968)—distinguished "ecstatic" and "nonecstatic" types, with the latter including all inductive and empirical systems of noting portents, studying entrails, and so forth. But ecstatic states and inductive methods can be mingled confusingly; indigenous interpretations of so-called objective omens often assume spirit possession of the omens and/or ecstatic insight in the diviner, while some mediums appear quite normal when "possessed."

It would be more useful to establish what the indigenous theory of divination is, rather than to attempt to assay the states of mind actually experienced by diviners in different cultures and periods. The same conscious experience of heightened awareness can be interpreted in one culture as deep wisdom and in another as spirit possession. Under the influence of such interpretations, in fact, an individual diviner might permit himself to drift into a deeper mediumistic trance, or on the contrary strive toward a more intense lucidity. How a condition is interpreted influences the way it unfolds and realizes itself.

Stressing the indigenous theory of divination also directs us to the cosmological assumptions and the attitudes toward the self that unit various seemingly unrelated methods. For example, cultures that stress mediumistic interpretations of trance usually also explain the casting of lots or the conformations of entrails in terms of spirit possession: divination, according to this overarching viewpoint, consists of the forms of communication developed by invisible beings to instruct humanity on the meaning of events. But cultures that have developed a concept of a decodable impersonal and elemental divine order would see the entrails or the sortilege in terms of microcosmic echoes of vaster harmonies. In general, then, we may distinguish three general types of divination, based on indigenous meanings: those based on the immediate context when interpreted by the spiritual insight of the diviner (intuitive divination); those based on spirit manipulation (possession divination); and those reflecting the operation of impersonal laws within a coherent divine order (wisdom divination).

Intuitive divination. The Shona of Zimbabwe esteem their *hombahomba* diviners above all other kinds because these remarkable men, consulted by strangers who travel from far off to seek their help, can spontaneously tell their visitors' names, family connections, urgent problems, and even minor experiences encountered on the journey. People speak in awe of the piercing eyes and aura of penetrating awareness of these diviners, whose fame can spread over great distances. And yet—an example of how types of divination can run into one another—the *hombahomba* may attune himself to the consultation by casting *hakata* dice (a form of wisdom divination), after which, in one reported case, the diviner became possessed before returning to a state of mind in which he could begin the inquiry.

Intuitive divination is perhaps the elementary form out of which, through various interpretations, the other two developed. It is seldom much stressed, although its distribution as hunches and presentiments is universal. The reliability of amateur intuitions is not usually considered very great, yet in many cultures extraordinary spiritual masters are often credited with this type of divinatory insight, which then has more prestige and credence than any other. For example, disciples of a *tsaddiq* or saintly master in Hasidic Judaism frequently claim that their master can look into a person's soul at first meeting and determine not only the past lives but also the future course of that person. Precisely the same claims are made for many Hindu *gurūs.* These insights by the *gurū* are regarded as far more reliable and authoritative than the various forms of wisdom divination common to India, and these in turn are more esteemed than folk mediumistic and possession divination methods.

Possession divination. There are many varieties of possession divination. The most common is augury: divining the message sent by spiritual beings through nonhuman creatures or things. The classic form of augury, much used in ancient Greece and Rome, consisted of attending to the flight of birds, which were thought to be seized by the gods or spirits and directed according to a code known to the diviner. But all other forms of interpreting supposedly objective spirit messages were also included in the Latin term *augurium.*

Even when human agents are seized by the spiritual beings, this does not always imply trance: a popular form of divination in ancient Near Eastern, medieval European, and even modern societies such as Mexico, is to pose a question and then attend to the first chance words one overhears from passing strangers on the street. Another almost universal method whereby spirits or divinities communicate with a person is to induce twitches or sudden pains in the body. Quite explicit meanings can be derived from this, depending on the part of the body affected and other indications, and of course varying according to the specific cultural context. The theory behind the contemporary use of the Ouija board is explicitly spiritualistic, yet all that one must do to use it is put oneself in a receptive mood: ordinary awareness remains. A very similar state is apparently involved in some cases of glossolalia, according to American Pentecostals I have interviewed, but full mediumistic trance is reported in many studies (see, for example, Felicitas Goodman, *Speaking in Tongues,* Chicago, 1979). The divinatory interpretation of dreams is another very widely used method; here manipulation by spiritual beings begins to require outright alteration of consciousness, although only when the ego has already dimmed its awareness.

Full divinatory possession of human beings may be of several theoretical forms: prophetic inspiration, shamanistic ecstasy, mystical illuminations and visions, and mediumistic or oracular trance. They differ according to the degree of ego awareness and lucidity, awareness of the ordinary world, and the theoretical recipient of the divinatory message. The prophets of the Bible seem to retain a lucid sense of themselves and the world as they exhort their audience, although they are gripped by an overmastering sense of the integral meaning of events as illuminated by God's presence. The recipient of this revelation of temporal meaning is both the prophet and the human community. In shamanistic trance the struggle between ego awareness and the spirits is often portrayed as being so intense that it forces a displacement of the shaman from this world: the shaman may fly far away to interrogate the spirits or God, and may have to struggle with bad spirits and force them to confess their role in human events. As recipient of the divinatory communications, the shaman may later report on his conversations to an assembled audience, or may permit the audience to eavesdrop on the actual interviews or even to be directly addressed by the spirits through his mouth, but in any case he remains self-possessed and afterward can recall everything that occurred. For the mystical visionary, on the other hand, the entire ordinary world is eclipsed by the ecstatic revelations, and the mystic is the sole direct recipient of the communications. The oracular medium, however, loses all awareness, it is said, and therefore often remains ignorant of the message that is communicated directly from the spiritual being to the audience.

The dependency in particular cultures or subgroups of a culture on "objective" augury methods, or on methods that progressively encroach on or even obliterate ego awareness, suggest differing views of the self, society, and the world. Satisfactory cross-cultural studies of divinatory theories from this point of view have not yet been made, but some points may be tentatively suggested. All kinds of possession divination assume a mysterious, arbitrary world governed by personal powers who are involved with a vulnerable humanity. The human self must learn how to submit to or cajole these capricious and often dangerous spirits. However, in loosely organized, relatively egalitarian societies with an emphasis on personal initiative, we can expect more confidence in the ability of the human ego to sustain its integrity when faced with the spiritual powers. This is what we find, for example, in circumpolar and related cultures in Europe, Siberia, and North America. A study by H. Barry, I. L. Child, and M. K. Bacon (cited by Erika Bourguignon, *Possession*, San Francisco, 1976) shows that hunting-fishing cultures generally depend on short-term risks and personal initiative, so that individuals are trained from childhood to be self-reliant and self-sufficient: each adult can master all the cultural skills necessary to survive, and ego alertness is highly valued. In such societies mediumistic divination is not found; instead, individuals possess an encyclopedic knowledge of portents, and of methods for obtaining auguries of the capricious spirits' intentions. The autonomous ego can negotiate its way through a mysterious cosmos, while the shaman, able to retain ego awareness and control even in the most intimate relationship with the spirits, is the group guide.

The same cross-cultural study indicates that children in agricultural societies are trained to be obedient, reliable, cooperative, and patient—qualities needed for ceaseless cultivation of crops and for interaction with fixed communities. The social group, not the individual, is the survival unit; personal success is obtained through accommodation to others. Even the powerful must submit to the more powerful and the spirits, while the weak survive only through self-effacement. Here, mediumistic trance expresses the natural state of things. A survey of African cultures by Lenora Greenbaum (in *Religion, Altered States of Consciousness, and Social Change*, edited by Erika Bourguignon, Columbus, Ohio, 1973) has shown that mediumistic divinatory trance is most common in societies having slaves and two or more hereditary (i.e., fixed) classes, such as commoners and nobility, and possessing populations over 100,000. I might add that in such societies a sense of relative deprivation and ego diminution must be common, since individuals meet people every day who enjoy other roles in life. Less advantaged groups (the poor, women, and so on) might well seek transcendental release from the resultant frustrations through mediumistic trance more often than more privileged sectors of society (see I. M. Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion*, Baltimore, 1971). In any case, here one obtains power only through radical self-effacement; even kings become divine only through being possessed. This is the opposite view from that underlying shamanism.

It is perhaps inevitable that, at the center of social power, attempts are made in such cultures to master all that can be known of the arbitrary will of the gods. The court diviners frequently compile mountainous records of precedents of monster births or other omens, the results of centuries of haruspicy, and so forth, as in Babylonia, where we see the fruit of intense efforts to maintain clarity as far as is possible. The Babylonian priests noted every heavenly sign over many centuries, identifying each celestial body with a god. But no system emerged from this, for the classical Babylonian worldview was polytheistic and predicated on power, passion, and personal whims of the divinities. Yet the result was a hierarchy of divination methods: present at the courts were alert, learned priests who interpreted the will of the gods in elaborate augury ceremonials, while among the lower classes mediumism and a much more random and confused use of omens indicated the insecurity of ego control.

When the entire social structure and even the cosmos is felt to be inauthentic, as in late antiquity, mediumistic ecstasy may tend to apocalyptic predictions of the end of the age: the muted protest becomes radical and explicit. Or mystical visions may teach the negation of the entire world. In such cases, divination merges with salvation cults.

Wisdom divination. The elaboration of divination systems based on a unified field of impersonal and universal processes that can be studied, harmonized with, and above all internalized by nonecstatic sages, is an important but rare development in the history of religion. It is most often found in complex civilizations that have been defeated by equally powerful cultures and therefore must integrate their own indigenous views with other perspectives. Wisdom divination is a syncretistic movement beyond specific cults, approaching the elemental ground from which all personal spirits and cultic gods as well as cultural groups arise. But the speculative effort must usually begin in court and priestly circles, for it depends on a cumulative effort of generations and a specialized learning of which, in most early civilizations, only centralized priesthoods are capable. Only after literacy and education become general can the sagelike diviner detach himself from court circles and apply himself to individual and nonpolitical concerns.

Thus it was only after Babylonia fell to Persian conquest in the sixth century BCE that its priestly thinkers were challenged by a view that placed "Truth" (the Zoroastrian *artha*) and a cosmic order founded in a supreme being above the capricious gods. The new empire embraced many cultures, making possible as a real option personal conversion to such missionizing, universal monotheisms as those espoused by the Jews and the Persians. The old social boundaries—and their gods—now became part of a vaster order, and an attempt was begun to link individual lives directly to a single cosmic pattern rather than to any intermediate hierarchies. Inevitably, the effort was eventually to lead to a kind of pagan monotheism, but it began as an attempt to confirm the polytheistic view. With the new radical improvements in mathematics and astronomy, the first personal horoscope known to us was made of a ruler in 410 BCE. The new cities and academies of the Hellenistic world spurred the fusion of Zoroastrian, Babylonian, Jewish, Syrian, and Greek currents; as Franz Cumont (1912) has made clear, astrology came to function as nothing less than a universal and syncretistic religious perspective that underlay or influenced all the religions of late antiquity. Even synagogues, as we know from recent excavations, commonly traced the zodiac on their sanctuary floors or walls.

The growing separation of divination and wisdom from the central institutions of power was resented by many kings and emperors. One of Augustus's first acts as emperor was the burning of about two thousand collections of pseudo-Sibylline oracles circulating among the people, since some of the oracles favored rival figures or criticized Roman policies, while others, by Jewish proselytizers, predicted the impending messianic era. Several Roman emperors outlawed all nonofficial divination; Constantine the Great and his successors used Christianity as an excuse to roast to death any astrologer and client caught in private consultation (see Cramer, 1954, and D. Grodzynski's article in Vernant et al., 1974). Even in modern times astrology can have political aspects: the Nazis directed certain agents to gain reputations in the United States and England as astrologers, and then to predict the success of Nazi endeavors or otherwise demoralize Western efforts. Within Nazi Germany itself, astrology was strictly an instrument of state.

Today, however, astrology serves usually as a muted protest against everyday social identity or generally accepted scientific values and cosmology. While interest in astrology is widespread, it has been especially favored by the so-called counterculture, and by many in the lower and lower-middle classes, particularly women, since it desubstantializes oppressive personal relationships, offering instead an exotic alternative identity in which faults are erased or elevated into association with a "star family" embracing strangers. In an increasingly fluid, anonymous, and heterogeneous society, pattern and typological identities are discovered within a larger cosmic harmony, and a sense of control is restored to personal life through the aesthetic and probabilistic terms in which predictions are couched. The power of such a vision is seen in the fact that it persists, even though the zodiac houses and their stellar correlates, fixed as they were during the hellenistic period, are now literally two thousand years out of congruence, making the system obsolete even in its own terms.

A quite similar history of a wisdom divinatory system is that of the *Yi Jing* in China. It was the practice in court circles of the Shang dynasty to consult the nature spirits and royal ancestors—and especially the celestial supreme being—concerning all significant state decisions. Scapulimancy was the favored technique—in the late Shang period tortoise shells were generally substituted, supplemented by sortilege with long and short yarrow stalks. These methods had their roots, respectively, in hunting-fishing cultures to the north and in agricultural tribes to the south. Although these methods already involved a conception of heavenly and earthly polarities, it was apparently only after the Shang were overthrown by the Zhou, and after the Zhou had expanded rapidly in succeeding centuries to embrace cultures throughout northern, central, and even southern China, that an elemental metaphysics arose that transcended all gods and spirits and was encapsulated in the *Yi Jing* as such. There is no reference to personal spirits or gods anywhere in the text of the *Yi Jing* in its present form, which stems from the late Zhou and former Han dynasties. Instead, all of reality is regarded as woven out of a dialectic of yin and yang forces (contracting and expanding, respectively): all things and persons are composites in the process of transformation. Using the elaborate binary code of this method, one can discover what the transformations imply, but only if one has attained true nobility and tranquility of character. Confucian mandarins and philosophers through the ages ruled their lives by this text, but only in the Ming dynasty did its use become widespread among the general populace, reflecting the growth of literacy and the escalating complexity of Chinese civilization. The *Yi Jing* had come to serve as a quiet intellectual aid to personal transcendence and mastery of immediate social pressures. This function—the same one it serves today in the West—differed from its earlier Confucian use as a guide in official life and in social activity often associated with the court.

The Chinese had a number of other forms of wisdom divination, in particular a distinctive form of astrology and an elaborate geomancy. The latter offered detailed instructions on the cosmic forces affecting any specific site, and professional geomancers were consulted whenever a house was to be built, a road laid, or a grave site chosen. Astrology too governed all aspects of village life by the later medieval period, despite the general folk use of many possession divination methods, ranging from countless omens and portents to outright mediumistic séances.

Hindu astrology combined some elements of the Chinese system and more of the Middle Eastern system into its own configuration. Other significant forms of wisdom divination include the Islamic *hati* system *(al-khaṭṭ bi-raml)* and the several derivations of it in West Africa (especially the Yoruba and Fon Ifa systems), Zimbabwe, and Madagascar.

DIVINATION IN WESTERN RELIGIONS. The Jewish and Christian traditions are markedly ambivalent about divination. For example, the rabbis criticized the use of folk methods found in surrounding cultures, just as the Torah itself forbids all appeals to local nature spirits or to the dead. While the efficacy of such appeals is not necessarily denied (*1 Sm.* 28), such acts were thought to suggest that God is not the one source of all events and of all truly reliable knowledge. (See *Dt.* 18:10–22; *Lv.* 19:26, 19:31, 20:6–7, 20:27; *Jer.* 10:2; and the tractates *Pes.* 113a and *Ned.* 32a from the Talmud. For a full discussion, see Cohen, 1949.) Thus prophetic inspiration directly from God, the use of Urim and Tummim in the Temple, certain kinds of omens, and even dream divination by Joseph in Egypt and at local shrines in ancient Israel were certainly acceptable. So most Talmudic rabbis permitted dream divination, water gazing, and the use of omens; contradictory views were expressed concerning astrology, but by the Middle Ages most rabbis accepted what was in effect the science of the day. Moses Maimonides, however, made a scathing attack upon it: freedom of will, he said, is fundamental to Torah spirituality; those who follow God cannot in any case by subject to the stars (see, e.g., *Dt.* 4:19–20), while a close analysis of astrology shows it to be based on poor reasoning and worse science. Necromancy was explicitly condemned in the Torah (*Dt.* 18:11), and there is very little reference to any kind of spirit possession in the Talmud; the late medieval dybbuk possession chiefly involved tormented but not malicious spirits who sought expiation for sins. Yet qabbalistic meditations resulted in a wide variety of wisdom divinatory methods based on the divine image sustaining the whole of creation, and prophetic ecstatic visions were sought by mystics from the Talmudic age on.

In Christianity some of the same themes and ambiguities reappear, but now the antithesis between good and bad divination is understood as part of a war between Christ and Satan. For example spirit possession, mediumistic and otherwise, is a frequent phenomenon and is generally viewed as demonic and requiring exorcism. However, astrological signs can be good, for they marked Jesus' birth. Dream divination by Joseph or Pilate's wife, casting lots, and mediumistic glossolalia are all approved (*Mt.* 1:20, 2:2, 2:12, 27:19; *Acts* 1:26, 10:10), unless performed by non-Christians like Simon Magus or by sorcerers (*Acts* 8:9, 13:6, 16:16). Folk methods used in the Roman Empire and afterward were readily incorporated into Christian and official usage, although the fourth-century Synod of Laodicia and the contemporaneous Theodosian Code outlawed divination (drawing on earlier precedents in Roman legislation). Thus divinatory invocation of pagan deities or spirits, schismatic prophetic movements within Christianity, and even oracular attempts to criticize or delegitimize the ruling regime were all stamped as "Satanism."

Similar attitudes continued into later European cultures, but a rich and highly varied regional folk practice of divination persisted. From Islamic civilization—itself the inheritor of Middle Eastern, Persian, and even Indian methods of divination—came scholarly catalogs of divinatory significances of dreams, omens, and studies of specialized systems such as palmistry, astrology, and crystal gazing. Astrology—despite the rejection of it in the late Roman Empire by church leaders who often cited critical analyses by earlier pagan philosophers—came to be regarded as a universal science in the Middle Ages. The Renaissance renewed acquaintance with classical criticisms (permitting astronomy to develop as an independent science), but the increasing literacy of later generations spread knowledge of these systems and encouraged devotees to elaborate their own methods further and publish studies of them. Cartomancy (including the use of tarot cards), phrenology (divination by head conformations), graphology (handwriting analysis), and many other novel systems or elaborations of earlier systems developed at this time. Pietists of the Reformation heartily condemned these alternative systems of wisdom, but continued to use dreams, omens, and even scriptures opened at random to comprehend events.

In the modern period, devotees of such systems as astrology or water witching often feel constrained to offer "scientific" explanations for the claimed success of their methods—explanations often extrinsic to the methods themselves. Extrasensory perceptions (precognition, etc.), for example, have been cited, or the "synchronicity" invoked by C. G. Jung for the power of the *Yi Jing:* with the mind tuned in by the divinatory apparatus and method, the diviner may notice the minute evidences of interconnections and processes in the environment that are usually ignored, or the diviner may in this heightened state even comprehend vaster elemental wholes leading inevitably to certain outcomes. It is even suggested that divinatory consciousness may be able to pick up unobservable rhythms in events, in somewhat the same way that a radio picks up invisible transmission. These hypotheses may describe real processes; unfortunately, they are at present untestable.

SACRIFICIAL MOTIFS. In any case, divination is fundamentally directed by religious, not scientific, concerns. Its basic curiosity is not about how the world is constructed apart from the pulsing heart of the observer, but about the existential meaning of particular human lives. Above all, divination illuminates suffering and alleviates doubt. It restores value and significance to lives in crisis. But to achieve this, all systems of divination demand the submission of the inquirer to transcendental realities, whether these be divine persons (possession divination) or the underlying divine order (wisdom divination). The inquirer is made to achieve spiritual distance from the self and the immediate crisis.

This recentering of the self is usually directed by sacrificial motifs and rituals. Almost all African divination, for example, ends in sacrifice to the spirits named in the consultations as responsible for the crisis, and many rites also begin with sacrifice. Very often the act of divination is simply a sacrificial rite: in Nilotic and Bantu cultures, the answer is "read" from the entrails of victims. Often the actions of the sacrificed victim give the spirit's answer. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo and nearby culture areas, chickens may be fed a partially toxic substance: if the bird dies, God has accepted it and signified "yes" to the question; if not, the answer is "no." A similar logic directs witch ordeals. As in Africa, so also in Europe is the observation of the last convulsive movements of a sacrificial victim a divination practice. Strabo tells us that the ancient Gauls often killed a slave or captive by a sword stroke in the back: the future was then told from the way he fell, his movements, and the way the blood flowed. Even wisdom divination is frequently given a mythical source in a primal sacrifice (as in the case of the African Dogon and Bambara rites, and also the Yoruba and Fon systems of divination, called Ifa and Fa, respectively. The oracle bone divination of Shang dynasty China had a sacrificial context, and the actual procedure by which one consults the *Yi Jing* is basically structured by sacrificial ideas. Mediums perhaps most dramatically embody a sacrificial logic: those initiated in the spiritualistic religions of Nigeria and Dahomey, for example, and in their perpetuations in recent centuries in the Caribbean, must undergo a symbolic and psychic death and resurrection—one so experiential that occasionally the offering to the spirits, the medium-candidate, does not rise again from the ground.

All this expresses a deeper truth, that divination requires the radical submission of the diviner and indeed the client to the transcendental sources of truth, before their lives can be transformed and set straight, before they can be reincorporated harmoniously into the world. In short, divinatory rites follow the pattern of all rites of passage. The client, having learned in the course of the rite to offer up to the divine all egocentric resistance, ends the session reoriented to the world and able to take positive and confident action in it.

G. K. Park (in Lessa and Vogt, 1965) has suggested that divination assists in political and personal decision making precisely by removing the decision from contesting parties and giving it an objective legitimacy, both through its spiritual source and its convincing ritual drama. O. K. Moore (ibid.) has added that even the "randomizing" of decision outcomes in divination is actually adaptive in situations where egoistically obvious or socially customary decisions might end up limiting personal or group survival chances. By hunting in accord with the cracks that appear on heated deer shoulder blades, the Naskapi Indians of Labrador are prevented from overhunting favorite areas and are therefore more likely to find game year-round.

Wisdom divination also often works in this way: by freeing the inquirer from customary ways of thought, it frequently reveals fresh insight into problems. Thus the cryptic proverbs or aphorisms (as in the Ifa system or the *Yi Jing*), or the nonbinding details and universalizable generalities (as in astrology), open up a cosmic perspective that in itself bestows tranquility and a renewed ability to cope effectively with crises. One learns to see behind appearances and to cultivate a continual attitude of tranquil self-offering. The momentum of wisdom divination, in short, is to internalize the basic attitude operating in all divination; it does this by rendering the structures of the transcendent into a form in which they can be grasped consciously and autonomously. The very vagueness of the answers in most forms of wisdom divination aid in this personal appropriation, making the client participate in shaping meaning out of the session.

SEE ALSO Dreams; Geomancy; Necromancy; Oracles; Yinyang Wuxing.

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DIVINATION: GREEK AND ROMAN DIVINATION

People tend to think of divination as a process concerned with the future and with such questions as "Will I marry?" and "Will I be rich?" But in ancient Greece and Rome, as in many other cultures, divination was predominantly concerned with discerning the will of the gods and other superhuman entities (e.g., demons, ghosts) and then learning how to bring oneself into harmony with them. Thus, the enquirer might try to find out why famine was harming his city: Had the dead not received the cult that was due them? Was a god being ignored? Alternatively, an enquirer might ask a god's advice: shall we institute a new political system in Athens? In the latter sort of cases, the enquirer typically presented a detailed plan to the god and then asked for his or her approval, rather than giving the god completely free rein to decide what should be done. The knowledge that one sought from divination usually was not all that different in its nature from what one could learn from another person. It differed mainly insofar as the gods, demons, and ghosts might know more because they had a greater range of sources of knowledge; they knew what was going on among the dead, among the gods, and in distant parts of the world that the average enquirer could not reach.

Almost any object, person, statement, or event could convey information; the challenge was to learn how to choose, interpret, and act upon it correctly. Sometimes divinatory information aroused debate among its recipients as to how to interpret it. For example, during the Persian Wars of the early fifth century BCE, the Athenians received an oracle from Apollo at Delphi advising them to protect themselves "by wooden walls," but prominent citizens argued for different interpretations. Themistocles (c. 524–c. 460 BCE) finally convinced the others that this meant they should increase the size of their navy (ships being built of wood) rather than seek refuge on the Acropolis, which had in former times been protected by a "wall" of thorn bushes. Themistocles was proven correct when the fortified navy saved not only Athens but all of Greece (Herodotos*, Histories* 7.140–143).

This story also demonstrates that anyone, not only a specialist, was free to interpret divinatory information; indeed, the Greek *chrêsmologoi,* or professional interpreters of oracles, had urged the Athenians to abandon their city after they heard the oracle, but their advice was ignored. Professional seers (*manteis*) traveled with armies to provide advice, but the general Xenophon (c. 431–c. 352 BCE) stated that he himself was knowledgeable enough in the arts of divination so that his seer could not deceive him with false information (*Anabasis* 5.6.29). This statement also reflects the common presumption that, far from being unimpeachable, professional diviners were motivated by the same things as other people and might put their own interests before those of their clients. Moreover, even when the source and interpretation were considered trustworthy, divinatory information might be challenged. The "wooden walls" oracle was the second oracle the Athenians had received from Delphi; they had rejected an earlier one because it offered the city no hope at all, and they asked the god for a more optimistic response. Similarly, in Rome the results of sortition (a method whereby an answer was obtained by shaking or drawing lots out of a jar) might be overturned in the civic and military arena when participants judged them to be "ill-omened." For example, if the results commanded that a man serving in the office of *flamen Dialis* (a prominent priesthood) should accept a foreign posting, the results were overturned because the *flamen* was forbidden from sleeping outside his own bed for more than two nights running. Divination, in short, was always as much a process of negotiation as it was of obtaining knowledge.

GREECE. Although Greek and Roman divinatory methods and the contexts in which they were used were very similar in many regards, there were also distinctions, and it is therefore best to treat the two cultures separately. We begin with Greece.

Institutional oracles. Both of the oracles that Athens received during the Persian Wars came from the Delphic Oracle, one of the oldest (perhaps dating to the late ninth century BCE) and most prestigious of Greek institutional oracles, which were situated in a fixed spot and administered by a priesthood. At Delphi, in an inner chamber of Apollo's temple, the Pythia (a woman who had pledged to remain a virgin) sat on a sacred tripod, wore a crown of sacred laurel, and was inspired by the god himself. Through her mouth, Apollo issued statements that were transmitted to enquirers by priests called "prophets"—literally, "those who speak for" someone else. The statements might be worded so as to require interpretation, as we have seen, but the truly enigmatic Delphi response, whose meaning proves to be quite different from what it seems (as in the story of Oedipus), is probably only a literary motif.

Although Delphi was the most famous oracle in the ancient world, there were others. Most were sponsored by Apollo (including those at Didyma and Claros), but Zeus had one at Dodona, and other gods had oracles, too. Dead heroes might also convey information through oracles: Amphiaraus had one in Oropus and Trophonius had one in Lebadeia. The means by which the information was conveyed varied from place to place; at the oracle of Trophonius, enquirers descended into an underground shrine and apparently encountered the hero himself.

Independent practitioners. Independent experts who went by a variety of titles provided divination as well; *ornithomanteis* (interpreters of birds' behavior), *oneiromanteis* (dream interpreters), and *teratoskopoi* (interpreters of portents) were among them. The word *mantis,* the most general term of all, might be applied to any of these and many other types. Neither the titles nor the methods of divination that they represented were mutually exclusive, and many practitioners used more than one technique as the situation demanded. *Manteis* might provide other services as well, such as purification and initiation into private mystery cults. Although myths that made *manteis* such as Melampus and Amphiaraus members of prominent royal families may reflect the status of *manteis* during some early period of Greek history, by the classical age *manteis* were marginalized members of society. For important matters it was preferable, when possible, to consult one of the institutional oracles. *Chrêsmologoi* (interpreters of oracles) not only interpreted information delivered by institutional oracles, as mentioned in the story of Themistocles, but also oracles that had been collected together and were believed to be very old, such as those of Bacis and the Sibyls. "Belly-talkers" (*engastrimuthoi*) had gods or demons in their stomachs that prophesied (see Plato, *Sophist* 252c, and Plutarch, *On the Obsolescence of Oracles* 9, 414e).

In later antiquity there were other divinatory techniques that private practitioners might employ. It is likely that many of these were available earlier but simply do not show up in the more meager sources of that time; examples are scrying (gazing at water or some other reflective surface), lychnomancy (gazing at a flame), and "direct vision"—that is, a personal encounter with a god. The later sources make it clear that the practitioners often combined and adapted divinatory procedures that we would consider separate from one another. Thus, a practitioner might call a spirit into a child to prophesy at the same time as he asked the child to scry. In short, divination was a collection of practices open to improvisation, even if modern scholars (and already some ancient intellectuals such as Cicero) have attempted to categorize its varieties.

Everyday divination. Divinatory methods were available to ordinary people as well. Typically, these involved a person interpreting some spontaneous occurrence that seemed significant. In the *Odyssey* (17.541), Telemachus sneezes unexpectedly, and his mother, Penelope, interprets this to mean that she will soon be rid of her troublesome suitors. Dreams were viewed as having hidden meanings (but see *Odyssey* 19.562–567, where Penelope dismisses attempts to find hidden meanings in her dreams). Although one could call in professional help for especially strange ones, the average person usually could manage without such help.

Intellectuals became fascinated with dreams: Aristotle (384–322 BCE) wrote a short treatise, *On Divination in Sleep,* in which he denied that dreams were predictive, but the Stoics went on to explore in depth the "scientific" reasons that dreams might be so. In the second century CE, Aelius Aristides kept a "dream diary" that described his nightly visions and proposed interpretations for them. Artemidorus's dream book, also from the second century, includes the dreams of people whom he interviewed, with notations as to what subsequently happened—an early effort at systematizing and testing dream interpretation. He also attempted to catalogue and categorize symbols that might appear in dreams, somewhat in the way that Sigmund Freud later would (and indeed, Freud, in his study of dreams, sometimes quotes Artemidorus). At the shrine of the hero Amphiaraus, people "incubated" (slept) in a special building and waited for the hero to advise them in dreams. Priests might help the dreamers interpret the dreams.

There are many more divinatory methods about which only a little is mentioned in the sources, making it impossible to say how common or respected they were. Aristophanes (c. 450–c. 388 BCE) shows us a woman asking a statue of Hekate outside her house whether she should go out that day (*Lysistrata* 63). At dice oracles, which were set up in marketplaces of Greek Asia Minor during the Roman Imperial period, merchants apparently took the initiative, when they pleased, of rolling the dice and then looking up the significance of the roll on a chart engraved on the base of a statue of Hermes (the god of merchants). There were also a few people who were what today would be called "clairvoyant"—that is, they could "see" what was happening in distant places (Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* 8.26; Eunapius, *Lives of the Sophists* 468).

Sometimes the conversation of other people (especially children), when overheard by someone who needed advice, was interpreted as a divine message. The story of the conversion of Saint Augustine (354–430 CE) to Christianity plays on this practice: while sitting in his garden he heard a child on the other side of the wall sing out "pick it up and read it," which Augustine took to refer to the Bible that lay on a table next to him; later, after he had converted, Augustine decided that it must have been an angel rather than a child (*Confessions* 8.12.29).

ROME. Much of what was said about Greek methods of divination is also true for Rome; in fact, in many cases, Greek sources explicitly discuss Roman participation as well. The Romans, for example, frequently visited the institutionalized oracles that the Greeks had established, such as Delphi, as well as a few of their own, such as the lot oracle of the Roman goddess Fortuna at Praeneste. But Roman divination differed from that of the Greeks in two important ways. First, the state exerted far greater control over the methods that were used for public matters—and eventually tried to exert control over private divination as well. Second, although Greek intellectuals already had mocked and challenged divinatory procedures, Roman writers provide a much richer picture of debates that swirled around the topic. It must also be noted that the Romans at least believed (and were probably to some extent correct in believing) that their methods of divination had been inherited from the Etruscans, who were viewed as especially sagacious in such matters.

Civic divination. Roman civic divination can be divided into three main types, organized according to whether the information conveyed was sought or unsought, and to the circumstances that surrounded each individual divinatory incident.

Taking the *auspices* was an act initiated by people seeking a sign from the gods to ensure that an undertaking would be successful—that is, that the gods approved of it or were at least open-minded about it. A famous form of this type of divination was feeding sacred chickens and watching whether they consumed the food. Obviously, this was open to manipulation—a starving chicken will eventually eat. Another form required defining a *templum*, that is, designating a rectangular section of the sky that was then divided into left, right, front, and back subsections. One then watched for signs to appear within the *templum*'s subsections (e.g., lightning, particular birds such as [Jupiter's] eagle) and drew meaning from these signs. Such *auspices* were interpreted by experts known as *augures;* until they gave the go-ahead, no public business (such as elections, Senate meetings, or initiation of new priests) could be conducted. Their role was strictly interpretative, however; the actual taking of the *auspices* was carried out by a magistrate. The *augures* also determined whether ritual faults had been committed during the taking of *auspices*—if so, the act had to be repeated correctly.

Prodigies or *portents* were unbidden omens sent by the gods to warn humans of imminent disaster. These might take any of myriad forms: the birth of a two-headed calf or a hermaphrodite, sudden strokes of lightning, and eclipses are examples. Before a prodigy was studied, the Senate had to decide that it really was a prodigy; if so, either of two types of experts were called in: *haruspices* or *pontifices.* (*Haruspices* were from Etruria, reflecting the Roman belief that the Etruscans were masters of many religious practices, especially divinatory ones.) The *haruspices* and *pontifices* gave advice about how to avert the disaster that the prodigy had portended. Although this implicitly included interpreting the prodigy, emphasis was always on aversion rather than explanation; in this sense, Roman divination was an eminently practical rather than a theoretical art. We also hear of portents in Greece, and of experts (*manteis,* for example) sometimes being called in to interpret them, but Greek cities had no similarly complex, official system in place for dealing with them.

Entrail reading (also called extispicy or *haruspinica*) is a form of divination found throughout the Mediterranean. (Typically, the liver and other internal organs of every sacrificial animal were "read" to determine whether the gods were pleased with the sacrifice, and if the sacrifice occurred at the outset of an important endeavor, the gods' pleasure or displeasure was construed as sending a message about the endeavor itself.) In Rome, extispicy was especially associated with military matters. Before battle, the *haruspices* looked at the entrails of the sacrificial animal and determined, from the pattern of bumps and other characteristics upon them, whether the gods were pleased. If they were not, that did not necessarily mean that the endeavor had to be abandoned; the sacrifice might be repeated numerous times until the entrails signified that it was all right to go ahead.

None of the three methods just described foretells the future, strictly speaking; at most they indicate what might happen if proper actions are not taken to avert crisis, or what might happen if the gods' advice (e.g., not to go into battle) were ignored. Roman divination, even more than Greek, was an ongoing consultation with the gods in which humans attempted to discover how they must modify their behavior to maintain the *pax deorum* (peace with the gods) that lay at the center of Roman religion.

A final form of official Roman divination that should be mentioned involved the Sibylline Books, collections of oracular verses in Greek dactylic hexameter, supposedly purchased from the Cumaean Sibyl (one of several sibyls or prophetesses inspired by Apollo) during an early period of

Roman history; the collection was occasionally supplemented as time went on and was completely rebuilt after the original books were lost in a fire in 83 BCE. The collection was under the care of a priestly group called the *quindecemviri sacris faciundis* (fifteen men concerned with sacred actions), but only the Senate could decide when the collection would be consulted for advice. In later antiquity, Christians and Jews read their own meanings into these oracles, finding within them, for instance, predictions of Christ's coming.

State control of divination. Of course, Romans needed advice concerning private as well as public matters, and by and large the same methods were available to them as to the Greeks: everything in the world potentially carried meaning, if properly observed and interpreted. Knowledge is power, however, and periodically, particularly during the Imperial period, certain forms of divination were either condemned or kept under strict governmental control. The most important of these was astrology. In the second century BCE, catarchic astrology (the reading of star signs at the outset of an endeavor) was introduced into Rome (Pliny, *Natural History* 35.199), and by 139 BCE the Senate had already passed a law expelling all astrologers (Valerius Maximus 1.3.3). The purge was constantly repeated; the first century CE alone saw eleven new attempts to expel astrologers. Other forms of divination came under fire, as well; the emperor Augustus had more than two thousand oracular books burned to prevent unauthorized access to them. In general, these purges fell into line with other attempts by Roman rulers to control religion and thereby access to the divine—purges of Jews, of magicians, of members of mystery cults in honor of Dionysos, and, of course, of Christians.

Response to divination. As mentioned above, Aristotle already had formally critiqued dream divination in the fourth century BCE, and many other Greeks had challenged particular operators as being dishonest or inept. But there is more evidence for intellectual engagement with the question of how (or whether) divination worked in sources from the Roman period, perhaps because people of this time were more interested in the topic or perhaps because the sheer luck of survival has left more.

Cicero's treatise, *Concerning Divination,* is an articulate investigation of arguments for and against divination that takes the form of a dialogue between Cicero and his brother, Quintus. The latter represents those who believe divination works, particularly the Stoics; Cicero himself presents philosophical arguments against it, particularly those of the Platonists and Cynics. No resolution is reached, but in the course of the discussion Cicero not only offers a lengthy résumé of divinatory methods, but also elaborates on a division of divinatory methods that had first been proposed by the Stoics and that still holds considerable sway: that between natural divination (e.g., dreams, inspired prophecy such as that of the Delphi Pythia or the Sibyls) and artificial divination, which required special training or tools (e.g., reading bird flights, astrology, sortition). Another important topic that Cicero takes up from the Stoics is cosmic *sympatheia,* the idea that everything in the cosmos is connected to other things; thus, movements or changes in the heavenly world should be signaled by changes in the world below. Once one knew how to read and interpret the system, these changes could provide information that was not otherwise available. *Sympatheia* continued to be debated by philosophers throughout antiquity and into the Middle Ages.

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DIVINE, THE

SEE HOLY, IDEA OF THE; SACRED AND THE PROFANE, THE; TRANSCENDENCE AND IMMANENCE

DIVINE CHILD

SEE CHILD

DIVING PRESENCE

SEE SHEKHINAH

DIVINITY

SEE DEITY; GODS AND GODDESSES; SUPREME BEINGS

DIVINIZATION

SEE APOTHEOSIS; DEIFICATION; HEROES

DJAN'KAWU.

The name Djan'kawu (also spelled as Djang'kawu or Djanggawul) refers to ancestral beings described in the mythology of the Dhuwa moiety, or descent group, of the Yolngu people, who live in northeast Arnhem Land in the Northern Territory of Australia. The Yolngu people divide themselves into two moieties called Dhuwa and Yirritja. People inherit their moiety identity from their father and paternal grandfather, and are required to marry someone from the other moiety. Land and water areas, totemic ancestors and ceremonies, natural species, and other phenomena are all assigned to one or the other moiety. Djan'kawu traditions are found in many patrilineal groups of the Dhuwa moiety, especially coastal groups.

The ancestral beings called Djan'kawu comprise an elder and younger sister in some groups' stories while others add a brother. Their names also vary from group to group. Dhuwa moiety myths describe the journey of the Djan'kawu "following the sun" from Burralku, an island across the sea to the east, to the eastern coast of northeast Arnhem Land, then along the coast and islands to the west towards the sunset. The Djan'kawu are said to have traveled on foot and by canoe or bark raft, each carrying two long sticks called Garninyirdi, one in each hand. The Garninyirdi were used as walking sticks on land and as paddles for the canoe.

The Djan'kawu also carried twined pandanus baskets, or dilly bags, decorated with the orange feathers of the red-collared lorikeet, and containing many strings of lorikeet feathers as well as *rangga,* which are sacred objects made of wood and other materials. The sisters had with them conical *ngarnmarra* mats of the kind that Dhuwa women use as aprons, bassinets, and mosquito nets, and which served as fishing nets in the myths and songs.

The Dhuwa stories relate how the Djan'kawu saw and named many fish, birds, reptiles, and animals on their journey. They gave birth to many children in the country of each Dhuwa moiety group, and left the powers of continuing reproduction in the water holes and springs they made with their sticks. The springs bubbled up on the beaches or in the saline mud of the mangroves, the fresh water mixing with salt water at high tide. The Djan'kawu placed sacred objects in the waters of each group and reserved some water holes for older men.

As in the doctrines of Aboriginal people from other regions of Australia, the Djan'kawu left traces of their journey, activities, and physical presence in the land and waters. In Yolngu terminology, the traces of the ancestors and the songs and other gifts that they left behind are their footprints, or *luku,* the foundation (*rom*) of ancestral law (*mardayin*). A group may identify a specific locale in their country as the place where the ancestors pulled their canoe up to the mangroves. They planted one of their sticks and it became a tree. They heard men chanting from a ceremony ground in the forest. A certain causeway of shell was their path. The Djan'kawu endowed each group with the myths, songs, dances, designs (painted or made in the sand), and sacred objects that describe and "follow" their journey, actions, and presence.

DJAN'KAWU SONGS. The songs of the Djan'kawu constitute a distinctive genre in the repertoire of Dhuwa moiety groups, and are called *birlma,* or clap stick songs. Male singers use heavy ironwood clap sticks to create a slow steady rhythm unaccompanied by a didgeridoo, or Aboriginal drone pipe. The songs have a chant-like sound with a low pitch and shallow melodic profile. They "follow" songs sung by the Djan'kawu themselves, and so are often sung in the first person as if the Djan'kawu themselves were singing. The songs do not have a direct narrative structure but rather evoke images related to the Djan'kawu and places associated with them.

The songs tell of the catfish the Djan'kawu caught with their *ngarnmarra* mats, of shellfish in the mangrove swamps, of flying foxes and black cockatoos (fruit bats) in the trees, of water monitor lizards in the creeks and water holes, and of monsoon rains and floods. A particularly interesting feature of the Djan'kawu songs is the way they manipulate time and space. On one level they represent the long journey of many days, during which the Djan'kawu gave birth to people from all the Dhuwa moiety groups and gave them their ancestral law. On another level the songs trace the passage of the sun through a single day, for singers often begin the song series early in the morning (for a purification ceremony, for example) and sing through the day until sunset, when the ceremony ends. On one level the songs represent the ancestral beings' journey from Burralku in the east through the lands and waters of many groups, to those belonging to people far to the west towards the sunset. On another level the songs follow the Djan'kawu around a particular group's country, through the sea to the mangroves, up to the saline mud flats and across to the swamps and lagoons, into the forest and patches of jungle. The song cycles may be construed as following the seasons of the year, ending with the monsoon rains. They also seem to recapitulate the human life cycle, beginning with conception (represented by the sisters catching fish with their conical mats and putting them in their dilly bags), and ending with the Djan'kawu, exhausted from their labors, walking or paddling toward the setting sun.

DJAN'KAWU DESIGNS. Designs associated with the Djan'kawu belong to the Dhuwa groups who possess the myths. They are painted on the body for ceremonies and on sacred objects; drawn with ridges of sand or soil on the earth to mark ceremony grounds; or reproduced on bark paintings or prints for sale. The Djan'kawu designs have some features in common. One is the use of a circular form that radiates vertical and horizontal bands with diagonal divisions between the bands. This design may represent the sun, a waterhole made by the Djan'kawu, or other aspects of the Djan'kawu stories. It may be drawn as two circles joined by a band, representing springs and channels in the mangroves, or repeated several times to form a grid of circles, bands, and diagonal lines. These multivalent images have many meanings, including symbolic references to a group's country that function as a kind of map, as well as references to the group's sacred objects.

A second design associated with the Djan'kawu consists of horizontal stripes of white, red, and yellow ochre painted on the body for ceremonies or on a ritual digging stick or hollow-log coffin. This polysemous design has a rich array of meanings ranging from the red-collared lorikeet to the bands on a mangrove tree left by the tides. The adult males of the moiety keep the design's other meanings secret.

DJAN'KAWU DANCES AND CEREMONIES. Adults and children follow the ancestors' journey in a sacred dance accompanied by male singers. The dancers move in a line or as a pair through the camp, each dancer provided with a pair of long sticks, and painted in horizontal stripes of red and yellow ochre and white clay. From time to time the dancers form a circle and spear the ground with their sticks, working them back and forth, representing the Djan'kawu making waterholes and giving birth to each group along their journey. Finally they surround the deceased (in a funeral) or the initiate (in a circumcision), or the sacred Riyawarra tree (in a Nga:rra ceremony), where the leader calls out the ancestral names of the Dhuwa moiety groups whose countries lie along the ancestral track.

The Nga:rra revelatory ceremony is an important ritual in which young men are gradually admitted to participate in secret dances and see the sacred objects. The young women learn the dances at the public ground. Each day during the ceremony, the men dance out from the men's ground to the public dance ground where the women represent the Djan'kawu sisters at the Riyawarra tree. The men then chase the women away and perform the dances of Salmon, Catfish, and other fish. The leader calls out the ancestral names of a Dhuwa moiety group, which changes on each day of the ceremony, and all the men and women participate in the Kingfisher dance.

These daily dances represent central episodes in the mythology of each Dhuwa group. According to one group's myths, the ancestral sisters leave their dilly bags full of sacred objects hanging in a tree by the swamp while they go to the mangroves to collect crabs and shellfish. The men then sneak out from a secret ceremony ground, steal the dilly bags, and take them back to the ceremony ground, where the sisters are not admitted because they are women. From that moment on, the teller of the myth remarks, the men possessed the ancestral sacred objects and the women became the "workers" at the hearth. Each group's story, however, varies in its details: in one version a fire destroyed the dilly bags, in another the men attempted to have intercourse with the women but failed, in still another the sisters were joined by a brother. But the dances are sufficiently abstract to accommodate each group's version of the story—a necessary characteristic because many Dhuwa moiety groups participate jointly with their Yirritja moiety relatives.

On the final day of the Nga:rra ceremony, the men dance out from the secret ground through the camp to the Riyawarra tree. The participants are all painted with stripes and carry the long sticks required to reenact the creative journey of the Djan'kawu. At the tree the women are lying under conical *ngarnmarra* mats. As the men surround the women, working the long sticks back and forth, the women burst out of the mats to represent the birth of children to the moiety groups. Then all participants bathe in the sea, or a lagoon or river nearby, their body paints mixing together in the water.

The Djan'kawu songs, dances, and designs may be used in other ceremonies. The men may paint a Djan'kawu design on the initiate's chest during a circumcision ceremony or on the deceased during a funeral ceremony. The Djan'kawu rituals and designs are also incorporated in purification ceremonies following a death, in which the mourners wash themselves while standing in a sand sculpture representing the springs made by the Djan'kawu.

The Djan'kawu were credited with setting down precedents for such matters as kin relations and customary rights in the countries associated with them. A body of designs and ceremonies are the ancestral inheritance of each group and form part of its ancestral law (*mardayin*). Each patrilineal group is differentiated from others by the particular constellation of sacra associated with its country (or countries), the specific details of its mythology, its particular sacred objects, and the form of its designs. The groups are linked by the common features described above.

The Djan'kawu mythology and associated sacra are but one of a vast array of Yolngu mythological traditions. A second major Dhuwa moiety tradition is that of the Wagilak sisters, whose long journey began in the south. Their story is associated with a cycle of ceremonies in a "desert" style, in which wild cotton is stuck to the body in patterns and ritual songs are accompanied by boomerangs used as clap sticks. Yirritja moiety mythology includes several long journeys as well, such as those of Lany'tjung. Yirritja patrilineal groups, however, recognize many beings, creators, and ancestors, including Shark, Honeybee, Saltwater Crocodile, Long-Necked Turtle, Whale, and Dingo. What distinguishes the Djan'kawu mythology is its association with the Nga:rra ceremony of the Dhuwa moiety.

SEE ALSO Australian Indigenous Religions, articles on Mythic Themes; Gadjeri; Gender and Religion, article on Gender and Indigenous Australian Religions; Iconography, article on Australian Aboriginal Iconography.

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DOCETISM.

DOCETISM. The term *docetism* is primarily used with reference to ancient Christologies where the reality of Jesus Christ's physical body was denied, or at least various of the normal carnal properties and functions were refused in favor of those more spiritual or ethereal. Christ had only the appearance (Greek, *dokesis*) of a human, and only seemed *(dokein)* to be a man. Such docetists were accused by their opponents of putting forward a phantasm, and obviating the fundamental Christian hope in the resurrection with a birth and death that were not entirely real.

Beliefs in the divine origin and nature of the Christ inevitably put pressure on the full humanity of Jesus from the earliest times. Many found it hard to accept that he would eat and drink in the normal way, let alone perform more gross human functions, suffer the debilitations of old age and disease, or emit bodily fluids. Thus, some texts ascribe special characteristics to his body, such as that he could alter his appearance at will, or, in the *Acts of John,* that his eyes never closed and he left no footprints. A particular issue was his conception and birth, and here one can argue that docetic tendencies have affected mainstream Christian beliefs, where the virgin birth and associated doctrines have had enormous devotional power. Another problem was the reality of his death, and again one can track a variety of strategies that have attempted to circumvent that most human of fates, such as substitution of another on the cross or survival somehow of the experience to awaken in the tomb.

Certainly, the resurrection narratives, with their curious portrayals of Jesus unrecognized by his closest associates—or suddenly disappearing or appearing in their midst, implicate docetism in the basic Christian story, while the notion of "the resurrection body" enables it to coexist with imperatives requiring his full humanity. The disciples fear that they have seen a ghost, and thus he must eat a piece of grilled fish before their eyes (*Lk.* 24:37–43), just as he puts Thomas's hand into his side (*Jn.* 20:27).

Apart from these contentious issues about the canonical gospel narrative itself, it is clear that docetic beliefs received support (whatever the original intention) from phrasing in the early hymn embedded in *Philippians* 2:5–11, which states that Christ Jesus took "the form of a slave, being born in human likeness," as this echoes as a proof-text through the writings of adherents to such views. Conversely, *1 John* 1:1–3 and 4:1–3, and *2 John* 7 evidence anti-docetic emphasis on the flesh that has been touched. Already, by the early second century, Ignatius of Antioch and Polycarp were combating those who denied the fleshly reality of Jesus' birth, life, and death, as well as those who claimed that his suffering was only apparent. Marcion can be taken as indicative of the trajectory of an indigenous Christianity in Asia Minor that now sought divorce from its Jewish and historical origins, and for whom Jesus descended suddenly from the third heaven to Capernaum in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Caesar, fully formed but in appearance only.

Although docetism is frequently associated with Gnosticism—and many variations of such ideas can be found in the Nag Hammadi and similar writings—it is best understood as a collection of widespread tendencies that evidence the imperatives of popular piety, the impress of pagan notions of divinity or archetypal polarities between heaven and earth, and the influence of the glorified Christ already envisioned in the transfiguration and resurrection appearances. The term *docetist* first appears in a letter of Serapion of Antioch as quoted in Eusebius of Caesarea's *History of the Church* (6.12.6) with reference to those who circulated the *Gospel of Peter,* dating from around the mid-second century; but indications of pressure in this direction are evident from virtually the earliest strata of Christian belief that can be tracked historically. There is no evidence for any single sect of "docetists," and (even though Clement of Alexandria ascribes it to Julius Cassianus) no founder or point of origin can be supposed other than in theologically driven histories of heresy. However, docetic Christologies are useful in tracking the heritage of later systems, such as the understanding about the advent of Jesus (that he came "without body") assumed in Manichaeism; the duplication of the docetic Jesus in the Mandaean savior figure Anosh-Uthra; and possibly the Qurʾanic teaching at 4:157 about the crucifixion (that Jesus was not killed, but rather a resemblance of him on another). It has even been suggested as a source for the development of the triple-body of the Buddha doctrine in Mahāyāna texts.

Essentially, *docetism* is a term of opprobrium utilized by opponents to highlight the supposed correctness of their own views. Its usage reflects a refusal to accept the worth or impetus driving divergent Christologies, and thus the development of varied Christianities, some of which (such as Marcionism or Manichaeism) placed a premium on a noncorporeal savior free from limitations of time or matter. The term is still found in contemporary discussions of Christology to indicate particular emphases, but it remains rooted in theological or value-laden assumptions.

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DOCTRINE.

DOCTRINE. Most dictionaries record two related senses of the term *doctrine:* according to the first, it is the affirmation of a truth; according to the second, it is a teaching. The two are not mutually exclusive: to affirm something as true is a way of teaching it, and that which is taught is usually held to be true.

The denotation of the term is thus reasonably clear. However, the connotations (i.e., the feelings and attitudes associated with it), differ according to where the emphasis is placed in a given instance. As the statement of a truth, doctrine has a philosophical cast; as a teaching, it suggests something more practical. The first connotation prevails among the secular sciences. The doctrine of evolution, for example, comprises a body of knowledge that is appropriately characterized as a theory, but not a teaching. Philosophical discourse reveals more variation: according to the context, "the doctrine of the equality of man" may be taken either as a precise axiom belonging to a political theory, or as a practical maxim designed to guide political action.

Religious doctrines tend to be characterized by their practical intent. Even when a doctrine appears in the shape of an abstruse theoretical disquisition, it is usually the case that any speculative interest is strictly subordinated to the spiritual, which is the dominant concern. For example, the orientation of Judaism is toward practical obedience to the law of God, not speculative knowledge of his being. The doctrinal element in Judaism thus reveals an intimate connection with the notion of teaching. The most important figure is the rabbi ("teacher"); the most important word is *torah* ("instruction"), which refers to God's revelation in the Hebrew scriptures and, more specifically, to his law as presented in the five books of the Pentateuch. In a broader sense, *torah* encompasses the oral as well as the written law, together with the continuing tradition of rabbinical interpretations. The Talmud ("study") is an authoritative compilation of expositions of the law and applications of it to particular circumstances. It has been observed that the phrase "to read the Talmud," while grammatically correct, is a violation of the text's religious character, since the only appropriate response to the Talmud is to study it.

In Islam, the *sharīʿah*, or study of God's law, is of paramount importance. Here the doctrinal element is subordinated, of course, to judgments about moral and ritual behavior. The term *kalām*, however, indicates a kind of thought very close to that indicated by the English terms *doctrine* and *theology*. *Kalām* literally means "word" or "speech," and the Qurʾān is deemed *kalām Allāh*, the word of God. In the course of time, *kalām* has come to mean both a single truth and a system of truth (as is the case with the English term *doctrine*), and has played an important role in the history of the Islamic tradition.

Christianity uses the terms *doctrine* and *dogma* to designate the teachings through which salvation is offered to all those who hear and respond. An early example of such a doctrinal affirmation is Paul's claim that Christians have been "reconciled to God by the death of his Son" and that "much more, being reconciled, [they are] saved by his life" (*Rom.* 5:10).

The development of Christian doctrine is closely allied with the task of instructing catechumens who are being prepared to receive the sacrament or rite of baptism. As late as the third century, Augustine, in *De magistro* (Concerning the teacher), reveals a major concern with doctrine in this sense. His specific tractate on Christian doctrine, *De doctrina christiana*, is not an exposition of the content of Christian doctrine but a discussion of the most effective way to teach it. Indeed, the immense Augustinian corpus contains no speculative overview of Christian knowledge; his most memorable works in the field of doctrine are devoted to specific themes that troubled the faith of Christians in his time: free will (*De libero arbitrio*); divine providence *(City of God);* the Trinity (*De Trinitate*). Even the great disquisitions on doctrine by Thomas Aquinas (the *Summa theologiae* and *Summa contra gentiles*) are in the form of questions and answers that reveal an obvious affinity for the method of catechetical instruction. Luther's most important contribution to the area of doctrine is his *Longer Catechism* and *Short Catechism;* Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* is an expanded version of a small handbook he originally produced to assist Christians in understanding the teachings presented in Luther's catechisms.

The examples of such major Catholic and Protestant figures are evidence of the dominant focus of Christian doctrine on spiritual instruction. The teaching focus of doctrine has both a constructive and defensive thrust. It is, in part, an attempt to refute heresies within the church and false teachings without, as many historians of doctrine have pointed out. This polemical aspect offers a partial explanation for the greater emphasis on certain themes and the neglect of others at a particular time and place. Still, the refutation of error is not an end in itself, but a means through which to enhance the efficacy of the soteriological aspect of the teaching, which remains the paramount concern.

A CATEGORY OF COMPARATIVE RELIGION. Doctrine is not restricted to Christianity. There are examples in each of the world's major religious traditions of affirmations that possess the same kind of authority and intent: in Judaism, the Shemaʿ ("Hear!") with its admonition "Hear, O Israel! The Lord is our God, the Lord is one"; in Islam, the testimony of the Shahādah that "there is no god but God, and Muḥammad is his prophet." Examples of doctrine central to other religions include the doctrine of the permanent self, or *ātman*, in Hinduism; the doctrine of nonself, or *anātman* (Pali, *anatta*), in Buddhism; the Confucian doctrine of "humanity" or *jen;* the Daoist doctrine of the efficacy of nonaction, or *wuwei;* and the Shinto belief in *kami*, the presence of sacred power in things.

It is even more significant that each religion makes use of words that, though not exact synonyms for the terms *doctrine* or *teaching*, are very close to them in meaning: *torah* ("instruction") in Judaism and *kalām* ("doctrine, theology") in Islam; *darśana* ("school, viewpoint") in Hinduism; dharma ("teaching") in Buddhism; *chiao* ("teaching") in Confucianism and Daoism; *Butsudo* ("way of the Buddha") in Japanese Buddhism; *kami no michi* ("way of the Japanese divinities") in Shintō.

The prevalence of a doctrinal factor in all of the world's major religions suggests that it ought to be treated as a general category in the academic study of religion. This has, at times, not been recognized with sufficient clarity because of a romantic bias that exalts feeling over thought and deems "doctrine" an alien intrusion into a religious form of existence that is essentially nonrational in character.

However, the notion of a dichotomy between thought and feeling in the religious life is not tenable. Feelings, perceptions, and emotions require form and structure to become the content of human experience. By the same token, mysticism and rationalism reveal an intimate affinity, since most mystics become known to us through the discursive accounts of their ineffable experiences that they produce. Even the symbol systems of nonliterate societies have a doctrinal or rational aspect that gives religious shape to communal life.

Doctrine, then, is a category in the comparative study of religion that belongs with ritual, sacrament, mystical experience, and other factors whose importance has been recognized for some time. Like them, doctrine is designed to focus the mind, emotions, and will on the religious goal that the community has accepted as its ultimate concern.

Buddhism. Buddhism provides a striking example of the role played by doctrine in the realization of a religious goal. According to the Buddhist dharma, or teaching, the existence of man is determined by limitless craving (*tṛṣṇā*) that produces anguish (*duḥkha*) and a fundamental distortion of one's thoughts and feelings about the world. The teaching offers release from the tyranny of those disordered perceptions and a path of deliverance from the endless cycle of birth and rebirth (*saṃsāra*) to which man's obsessive desires have bound him. The teaching consists of training in the control of thoughts and feelings, conscientious ethical behavior, and an intensive discipline of inner concentration and meditation. The doctrinal component supports the posture of mind and heart that is to be assumed throughout the various stages of the training.

However, in his present state of illusion, the seeker is never able to discern the true difference between the theoretical and the practical. He does not know what is a mere palliative and what truly heals. In this state he perceives Buddhist teachings as paradoxical: metaphysical reticence is advised in meditations that seem endlessly speculative; simplicity is advocated in arcane terms. These paradoxes are themselves symptoms of the ignorance of the seeker, who does not even know what constitutes the simplicity and healing that he seeks. The doctrine or teaching leads him along a path that, by both wakening and frustrating his speculative curiosity, brings about a transformation of thought and feeling that is the prerequisite for the authentic liberation that is his goal.

The doctrine of *nirvāṇa* (Pali, *nibbāna*) is a striking case in point. The term literally means "blowing out," as when a candle is extinguished. It is used to indicate the final end of man. But what is it? Four possibilities have been suggested: (1) it is absolute nonexistence; (2) it is a positive state of bliss and tranquillity; (3) it is a state that can only be indicated in terms of what it is not; and (4) it is something ineffable, incapable of being rendered in either positive or negative terms. Depending upon the Buddhist text or school that is consulted, each of these options receives some sort of support. On what basis is one to choose among them?

The scholar-observer who, as a speculative venture, examines the doctrine from without, will probably make a choice based on historical grounds (which option is closest to the original teachings of the historical Buddha?) or on systematic considerations (which is most consistent with Buddhist thought as a totality?). On the other hand, a Buddhist will judge them according to their efficacy as religious vehicles. From this perspective, it may appear that each option makes a contribution according to changes in circumstance as the Buddhist seeker proceeds along his religious path.

The notion of *nirvāṇa* as extinction is as austere and forbidding to the average member of a Buddhist society as it is to a nonbeliever. Still, it may be effective as a means to separate the seeker from some of the distorted perceptions of "existence" that are one cause of his anguish. In different circumstances, the prospect of an end that includes bliss and tranquillity may be more therapeutic; at other times, the way of negations, or an even more intricate path of "spiritual agnosticism," eschewing both negations and affirmations, may be efficacious. While man remains in a state of bondage to his anguish and illusions, a definitive description of his final end is of little value. The authority of the doctrine of *nirvāṇa* lies rather in the therapeutic role it plays in the attainment of a goal that will only be truly known in the process of its concrete realization. When this takes place, it will become apparent that the "goal" was in the seeker's possession all the time. The doctrine has led him on an arduous journey to a destination that, once reached, coincides with the place of departure that he never left.

THEOLOGY AND DOCTRINAL FORM. At the present time, doctrine is frequently associated with systematic theology. For over a thousand years of church history, theology had diverse meanings, some of which were remote from those of Christian doctrine. Plato used the word *theology* to describe the stories about the gods told by poets; Aristotle used it to describe his doctrine of immutable substance. Augustine distinguished three senses: the theology of the poets, a civic theology based on public ceremonies, and a theology of nature. Sometimes the term was used in a narrow sense by Christian thinkers, who restricted it to the doctrine of God.

Muslim theologians such as al-Ghazālī (1058–1111 CE) participated in a golden age of theology devoted to the task of reconciling Greek philosophy with the faith of Islam. During the same period, Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon, 1135/8–1204) worked on the reconciliation of Greek thought with Judaism; Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) undertook a similar task in respect to the Roman Catholic faith. Even more important is the fact that during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries revisions in medieval education were made that, among other things, introduced the notion of doctrinal theology as an academic discipline with a status similar to that of the secular subjects taught in the university curriculum.

Hugh of Saint-Victor (c. 1096–1141) developed an approach to theology that subsumed the two senses of the term *theory* (i.e., both intellectual endeavor and contemplation of God) under the complex notion of "speculation," which had previously been applied, for the most part, to religious meditation. Hugh characterized the method of theology as a kind of thought that is theoretical, both in the rational sense of submission to the norms of logic and in the contemplative sense of religious aspiration and vision. However, the delicate balance that he proposed is the prescription of an ideal and not what most works of systematic theology are, in fact, like. Theologians readily acknowledge that the norms of rational adequacy as a rule take precedence over a devotional focus. They deem it sufficient that theology provides rational support for the spiritual life without functioning as a direct expression of it.

The institutionalization of systematic and doctrinal theology in universities and seminaries has guaranteed for it a place of continuing importance in the history of the church from the time of the Renaissance to the present. However, it is evident that in the course of its long history the church has also made use of other forms (e.g., epistles, catechisms, creeds, tractates, and biblical commentaries) to express the concerns of doctrine. At the present time, there is some evidence that the essay is replacing the systematic tome as the preferred means for doctrinal discussions among both Catholic and Protestant thinkers.

The fourth book of Augustine's *Christian Doctrine* offers comments about doctrine that are still relevant to the contemporary scene. Augustine suggests that rhetoric is as important as logic in the communication of doctrine, though, like Plato in his attack on the Sophists, he is aware that the eloquence of rhetoric may deceive rather than enlighten. Augustine accepts, however, Aristotle's defense of the notion of a viable rhetoric that deals with the distinction between probative arguments and those based on a misuse of eloquence analogous to a formal logic that distinguishes between valid and invalid syllogisms. Augustine makes use of the rhetorical tradition derived from Aristotle to explore the capacity of Christian doctrine to teach, delight, and persuade. He recommends a subdued style for the task of careful instruction, a moderate style for condemnation and praise, and a grand style, forceful with the emotions and the spirit, for those moments when the need emerges to move the reader to action.

Contemporary experiments in the communication of doctrine through literature and other media are thus not unprecedented; they are, in fact, the continuation of a classical tradition of rhetoric toward which many thinkers, in both religious and secular disciplines, are at present showing a renewed respect.

SEE ALSO Creeds; Dharma; Dogma; Jiao; Kalām; Theology; Torah; Truth.

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DŌGEN (1200–1253), more fully, Eihei Dōgen (or Buppō Dōgen, but never Dōgen Kigen or Kigen Dōgen as has been mistakenly suggested), was the founding abbot of the Eiheiji Zen monastery. Since the late nineteenth century, he has been officially designated, along with Keizan Jōkin (1264–1325), as one of the two founding patriarchs of the Japanese Sōtō Zen school, and, most recently, he has been widely celebrated as one of Japan's most creative and original religious thinkers, whose writings and novel use of language seem to anticipate many modern philosophical concerns.

Dōgen lived at a time of political and religious unrest. Shortly before his birth, the Buddhist monastic centers in the ancient capital of Nara had been destroyed by warfare in 1185, Japan's first military government (shogunate) had been established in Kamakura in 1180, and the royal court in Kyoto in 1194 had banned the establishment of independent Zen temples, which were just beginning to appear. During the year of Dōgen's birth (1200), however, the fortunes of the new Zen movement changed when the shogunate began to support the pioneer Japanese Zen teacher Eisai (1141–1215).

Dōgen entered monastic life as a youth. From 1212 to 1217 he studied the mixed exoteric-esoteric (*kenmitsu*) Buddhism of the Japanese Tendai tradition on Mount Hiei. From 1217 to 1225 he studied Zen Buddhism under Myōzen (1184–1225), who was Eisai's successor as abbot of Kenninji temple in Kyoto. In 1223 Dōgen accompanied his teacher Myōzen on a pilgrimage to China. In 1225, after Myōzen died, Dōgen became the disciple of the Chinese monk Rujing (1163–1227), who was then abbot of the major state monastery on Mount Tiantong (i.e., Mount Taibei in Zhejiang province). Two years later, in 1227, Dōgen inherited Rujing's Caodong Chan (Japanese, Sōtō Zen) lineage and returned to Japan.

Once back in Japan, Dōgen initially resided at Kenninji. In 1230 he established a new Zen community (officially designated the Kōshōji monastery in 1236) in Fukakusa outside of Kyoto, where in 1241 he was joined by a group of Zen practitioners known as the Darumashū (the lineage of Bodhidharma). In 1243 Dōgen secured the patronage of a powerful warrior family, the Hatano, and relocated his Zen community to the Hatano estates in Echizen province where the following year he founded the Daibutsuji Monastery (renamed Eiheiji in 1246). In 1253 Dōgen became deathly ill and returned to Kyoto for medical treatment, which proved ineffective. Today, Eiheiji is one of the two headquarter temples, along with Sōjiji, of the Sōtō Zen school, one of Japan's largest religious denominations. In 1878 the Meiji emperor (Mutsuhito, 1852–1912) awarded Dōgen with the posthumous name Jōyō Daishi.

Dōgen was an extremely prolific author who wrote essays, sermons, and poetry, both in literary Chinese and in Japanese. His early short compositions—such as *Bendōwa* (A talk on practicing Buddhism, 1231), *Fukan zazen gi* (Universal exhortation to practice sitting Zen, 1233), and the Chinese-language *Shōbōgenzō* (True dharma eye collection, 1235, a compilation of 301 *kōan*, or topics for Zen study)—comprise a concise introduction to key Zen doctrines and methods of practicing Zen meditation.

In midcareer, and especially after being joined by members of the Darumashū, Dōgen wrote a series of books in Japanese also collectively titled *Shōbōgenzō*. While this Japanese-language *Shōbōgenzō* apparently never reached the final form intended by Dōgen, he nonetheless completed at least three compilations: an initial draft in sixty books, a revised draft in seventy-five books, and a new draft in twelve books. After Dōgen's death, books from these three compilations were mixed together (sometimes with unrelated compositions) to produce many other separate editions, each independent from the others. In 1796, monks at Eiheiji began work on publishing an officially sanctioned "Head Monastery" (*honzan*) edition of the *Shōbōgenzō*. It was revised in 1906 to include ninety-five books, arranged in a rough chronological order that bares no relationship to the order of books in any of the three compilations by Dōgen. Each individual book in the *Shōbōgenzō* typically is organized around a series of quotations from Chinese *kōan* or Chinese translations of the Buddhist scriptures. Dōgen then comments in Japanese on each of these passages to show how they should be read and understood as expressions of religious truth. Together the books in the *Shōbōgenzō* comment on approximately 512 *kōan*, thereby providing an encyclopedic overview of Zen (and general Buddhist) teachings.

In later life, Dōgen seems to have concentrated his literary efforts on composing works in Chinese. After his death, his disciples compiled these Chinese-language compositions into the *Eihei kōroku* (Extensive recorded sayings of Eihei Dōgen, ten fascicles), which contains sermons, lectures, and verse organized into sections from Kōshōji, Daibutsuji, and Eiheiji. It contains the only writings by Dōgen that can be positively dated to his mature years between 1247 and 1252. In all, it includes Dōgen's comments on approximately 298 *kōan*. Finally, in 1667, monks at Eiheiji compiled a collection of Dōgen's independent essays on monastic procedures, which they published as *Eihei shingi* (Eihei Dōgen's monastic regulations). The proper practice of Buddhist monasticism was of major concern to Dōgen, and many of the books in the *Shōbōgenzō* also address this topic.

Dōgen died in almost complete obscurity, known only to his immediate disciples. The Sōtō Zen community he founded, however, prospered. At first it expanded slowly but steadily, and then it grew rapidly under the leadership of monks affiliated with the Sōjiji monastery, which had been founded by a fourth-generation dharma heir of Dōgen named Keizan Jōkin. During this period of expansion, manuscript copies of Dōgen's prodigious oeuvre were stored in the head monasteries of each major temple network, where they served more as symbols of religious authority and legitimacy than as sources for studying Zen Buddhism.

This situation changed during the Tokugawa period (1600–1868) as a result of government policies that simultaneously promoted Buddhist scholasticism and reorganized many Sōtō temple networks. At that time, reform-minded Sōtō monks, such as Manzan Dōhaku (1636–1714), who sought to challenge temple policies, cited Dōgen's writings to support their positions and began publishing excerpts from his Japanese-language *Shōbōgenzō*. Sōtō authorities reacted by asking the government to ban its publication, which was done from 1722 to 1796. With the subsequent publication of the Head Monastery edition of the *Shōbōgenzō*, however, Dōgen eventually came to be identified with doctrinal orthodoxy for the Sōtō Zen school. Influential Sōtō monks, especially Menzan Zuihō (1683–1769) and Nishiari Bokusan (1822–1910), interpreted Dōgen as advocating a religion of "just sitting" (*shikan taza*), in which the practice of sitting Zen (*zazen*) is itself the complete authentication of awakening (*shushō ichinyo*). Meditation on *kōan* and striving to see nature (*kenshō*; i.e., attain *satori*) are to be rejected. In this way, Dōgen's Zen came to be contrasted to other forms of Zen Buddhism, now usually associated only with Japanese Rinzai or Ōbaku Zen lineages. More recently, some Sōtō scholars have advocated a "Critical Buddhism" (*hihan Bukkyō*), which portrays Dōgen's teachings as standing in opposition to many Buddhist doctrinal norms, such as original awakening (*hongaku*), that are widely accepted in East Asia.

In 1868 the Tokugawa regime was overthrown, and Japan entered a period of rapid transformation into a modern political state, with an industrialized economy fully engaged in the world. In 1906 the Head Monastery edition of the *Shōbōgenzō* was published for the first time in a modern typeset edition readily accessible to a mass audience. It soon came to the attention of Japanese intellectuals who had not been educated in Buddhist doctrines but trained in Western philosophy. Leading scholars and educators, such as Watsuji Tetsurō (1889–1960), Tanabe Hajime (1885–1962), and Akiyama Hanji (1893–1980), discovered in Dōgen an original Japanese philosopher whose ideas and methods of analysis presented innovative responses to ontological, phenomenological, and linguistic issues posed by Western thinkers such as Martin Heidegger (1889–1976), Jean-Paul Sartre (1905–1980), and others. Dōgen's notion of time as discontinuous moments (*uji*), in particular, has attracted much attention. Just as important, but less discussed in Western-language scholarship, is Dōgen's innovative methods of reading Chinese-language texts. In a manner with many parallels to postmodern literary deconstructionism, Dōgen's Japanese-language comments frequently dissect and rearrange individual words or phrases from Chinese-language passages in ways that defy the ordinary rules of grammar to reveal hidden layers of significance. Today Dōgen's importance to philosophy is widely recognized, not just in Japan, but throughout the world.

There have been sporadic attempts to translate Dōgen's writings, especially his Japanese-language *Shōbōgenzō*, into Western languages. None of the results has been wholly satisfactory, however, with paraphrased interpretation frequently substituting for the complex linguistic gymnastics of Dōgen's original prose. Moreover, any translation must confront the thorny problem of how to reconcile the existence of at least three separate versions of Dōgen: the thirteenth-century Zen teacher, the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Sōtō sectarian patriarch, and the twentieth-century Western (or world) philosopher. Dōgen has become too big to be defined by any one audience.

SEE ALSO Eisai; Keizan; Zen.

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DOGMA.

Dogma, in the strictest sense, whether embodied in the sacred scripture of the Old and New Testaments or in tradition, is understood by the Roman Catholic Church to be a truth revealed by God (directly and formally), which is presented by the church for belief, as revealed by God, either through a solemn decision of the extraordinary magisterium (pope or council) or through the ordinary and general magisterium of the church (episcopacy). It is to be accepted by the same faith that is due to the divine word itself (*fides divina*) or to the church's tradition (*fides catholica*).

This magisterial definition, as it was given by the First Vatican Council, has the following historical antecedents: (1) the ancient philosophical (Platonic-Stoic) use of the word *dogma* to designate that which seems right to all, as opinion or teaching, as foundation or decision, as decree or edict, as a rational judgment that is identical to a moral decision, or as a decree of a legitimate authority; (2) the New Testament use, in which Old Testament law is said to be the dogma of God and the decisions of the apostolic council are designated as dogmas in *Acts* 16:4; and (3) the patristic and medieval transmission of both these strains, the dogma of God in distinction to the teachings of human beings or of the philosophers. The close connection between the "dogmas of the Lord" and the "fidelity to the church" is already asserted in the *regula fidei*, the canon of truth. Finally, synodal decrees are also considered dogmas in opposition to the dogmas of the heretics. The content referred to by *dogma* also occurs in the patristic and scholastic tradition under equivalent designations, for instance, *professio* and *confessio*, or (Catholic) truth in general; *fides*, the correct doctrine handed down by the church; and, in Thomas Aquinas, over against the concept of dogma, the narrowed concept of *articulus fidei*. What led to an emphasis on the formal authority of dogma was, finally, the emphasis on the claim to the limitless autonomy of human reason in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The definition of the concept and function of dogma in the Eastern Orthodox churches, in spite of the multiplicity and differing historical development of these churches, can begin with their formal unity in terms of doctrine, law, and liturgy. Faith is based upon the dogmas that have been transmitted in part through scripture and in part through the oral *paradosis* ("handing down" of tradition) of the apostles and have then been interpreted by the councils and church fathers. Because and to the extent that the church speaks with the authority of the Holy Spirit, it is infallible in the same way as scripture. The believing acceptance of the revealed truth of faith is necessary for salvation. The dogma of the church is present and closed in the doctrinal decisions of the first seven ecumenical councils (325–787), whose formulations are considered the embodiment of dogma and the summary of the teachings of scripture. The further dogmatic development of the Latin church is rejected. Dogma in the Orthodox churches has not so much a doctrinaire-intellectual function as it does a doxological and life-defining one.

The relationship to dogma of the churches and communities produced by the Reformation is defined by the theology of the reformers, which, on the one hand, does not dispute that the church may have to make obligatory statements and that the truth of scripture may only be able to be revealed through a painstaking process. It therefore accepts at least the Trinitarian-Christological dogma of the old church as an appropriate expression of the matter of the gospel. But, on the other hand, through the principle of *sola scriptura* (over against an association of scripture and tradition), the theology of the reformers takes up a different position, scripture being for them no longer merely the source and norm of all Christian speech, teaching, and preaching, but, rather, the single final authority. All confessions and dogmas are to be measured against it. In this sense, dogmatic statements (even the Trinitarian-Christological) are only secondarily binding for Protestant theology, and then only when it has been demonstrated whether and to what extent dogmas open up an access to direct biblical instruction, where it is presupposed that scripture, on the basis of its transparency, is its own interpreter. In spite of all confessional-theological discussions among the churches and communities growing out of the Reformation, and in spite of the changing theological positions and the change in the functional definition of dogma connected with them (from orthodoxy through rationalism and Pietism and from the purely ethical and practical interpretation to dialectical and existential theology), they agree both negatively and positively. Negatively, they agree in their rejection of the Roman Catholic understanding of dogma and its function for faith and church as "doctrinal law." Positively, they agree in the conviction that God's word must not only be existentially recognized but also known as objective truth and reproduced in statements and doctrinal teachings, however these may then be interpreted and qualified with regard to their binding character.

In the question of the development of dogma, Roman Catholic theology must proceed from the fact that the church defines statements as revealed by God if they satisfy one of the following conditions: (1) Even if previously stated, they were not always expressly defined or bindingly taught as revealed. (2) They articulate the express contents of statements of the earlier tradition in very different or newly developed conceptual terms (by defending the always known meaning of the revealed statement more expressly against heretical misinterpretations, by setting off more clearly individual aspects of these statements, or by placing these aspects in a dialectical interplay of faith and reason or in a more explicit relationship to other truths of faith and of reason). (3) They refer to statements in the tradition that may not be immediately equivalent to them or explicitly capable of being traced back to the apostles or that cannot even be supposed with historical probability to have been once previously available. Thus not only theology but also revelation (to the extent that it is only present in proclamation, acceptance of faith, and practice) has a history, a "development," and a "progress" after Christ, even if this history is essentially different from the development of revelation before Christ.

The problem of the development of dogma and its solution consists in the task of demonstrating the fundamental possibility and the actuality, in individual cases, of the identity of the later, "developed" matter of faith with the apostolic matter given in Christ. The difficulty of the problem lies in the fact that, according to church doctrine, the entire "public" revelation, entrusted to the church and its teaching office and involving an obligation of belief, was closed with the death of the apostles, that is, that the church can only continue to bear witness to what it has heard about Christ in the apostolic generation and has recognized as belonging to the deposit of faith. Therefore an additional, later, ecclesial revelation is not possible, does not expand the old Christian revelation, and cannot undergo an epigenetic transformation in the sense that might be implied by modernism. Because the solution to the problem (formally speaking and in general) must be sought in the fact that a new dogma is contained "implicitly" in an old dogma or in the whole of what was previously believed, the problem and its solution may be formulated in the following way.

1. What is the status of implicitness and what is the process of explication such that these can be recognized as factually given in the development of dogma? That is, how can the identity of faith, as expressed in an actual history of faith, and revelation after Christ be explained?
2. What implications are sufficient so that the explicated can be considered as revealed by God (and not simply taught by the church with infallible authority)? Such an implication is obviously to be applied, however, in such a way that it can be said not only that the new dogma, as derivative in its truth and certainty upon the original revelation, could thus legitimately appeal to the witness of God (purely objective implication) but also that it, of itself (even if in a different form), has always been witnessed to by God's self and has always been believed by the church (subjective implication).

The problem, precisely posed, has only been clearly present since the nineteenth century, that is, since there has existed a history of dogma that not only (as still in the post-Tridentine period) doxographically collects the proofs from an earlier time for the doctrine of the present and thereby considers these proofs to be only different from the contemporary doctrine in their external form but also sees that the recognition of revelational truth has a real history after Christ.

The problem is stated differently in Protestant theology, because there is in evangelical theology no faith statement of the church that could be an absolutely binding norm for the private understanding of scripture, and thus there can actually be, from the start, only a history of theology, not really a history of dogma and faith after scripture. Behind this problem is, as its natural presupposition, the problem of the historicity of the (ever the same) recognition of truth in general and that of reconciling a present continuing immediacy of the divine revelation in the church (which is necessarily historically new) with the relegation of the present proclamation back to an earlier historical past, that is to say, back to the apostolic period.

The first three centuries of Christianity and perhaps the following one and a half centuries, which saw the development and culmination of the first three, present a history of Christian belief and dogma in a confrontational struggle with the simultaneous assimilation of a non-Christian spiritual and cultural (Hellenistic-Roman) environment. However, the second long period after the waning of antiquity, that is, from the early Middle Ages to the Enlightenment, was a time of unfolding and differentiation of the substance of faith from within its own center outward into even more systematized distinctions that, because of their one point of departure from within, could be considered without really major confrontation with external contradictions and as a more or less homogeneous abstraction presupposed by all to be self-evident. (This was so in spite of the continuing influence of Platonism and the medieval reception of Aristotelianism, and in spite of the crises that occurred with the split between the Eastern and Western churches and with the Reformation of the sixteenth century.) This was, therefore, a time for summae and simultaneously and for the same reasons a time (because the whole was taken for granted) when one threw oneself into theological questions with enormous passion and almost became lost in them. It was a time the effects of which are reflected in the great catechisms of the modern period. It was a time in which one could take for granted long papal encyclicals over relatively small questions of detail of the Christian faith; in which the magisterium reacted carefully and quickly to real or imagined attacks against individual doctrines of this detailed system; and in which one had the impression that the entire system was clear and could hardly be further developed, except in the case of individual questions, so that the major work of theology had to be turned backward upon its own history.

Today (after a long preparation since the Enlightenment, from which time also dates the defensive dialogue with liberalism and modernism) we have doubtless entered upon a new, third phase in the history of faith and thus also in the history of dogma and of theology. Today it is no longer a question of an ever more detailed unfolding of the basic substance of faith within a homogeneous environment that has a common horizon of understanding with the church. It is much more a question of winning a new understanding (naturally preserving the substance of faith which has been handed down) of the one totality of faith in a non-Christian environment, in a new epoch of a global world civilization in which world cultures that were never Christian have appeared. It is also a question of a history of faith and dogma in a new diaspora, with confrontation and assimilation to be simultaneously carried out in a radically new way that includes even the most divergent belief, that of atheism and the doubt as to whether religion in general will survive. To that extent, there is a formal similarity between the period of the history of dogma now beginning and the first period, even if the matter and the tasks of the first and the third periods are radically different.

The history of faith and dogma will probably develop in the future not in the style of the second period, as an evolutionary unfolding and systematizing differentiation of the basic substance of faith, but rather as the transposition of this lasting faith into new and pluralistic horizons of understanding. Because of the incommensurable and not synthesizable pluralism of contemporary and future horizons of understanding, transpositions of faith will have to occur by means of a plurality of theologies that, despite the necessary readiness for dialogue of these theologies among themselves, will not be able to be synthesized adequately for the preservation and rediscovery of the one faith.

The task of the magisterium in this incipient period will, therefore, hardly consist any more in the definition of "new" individual dogmas, no longer so much in the anxious monitoring of supposed or real deviations from individual traditional doctrines, but rather in the preservation of the one entirety of the faith in its basic substance and, in fact, not so much through a "censuring," but rather through the positive, constructive, collaborative work on this new interpretation of the old faith that is demanded today in a new and not necessarily Christian environment.

The history of faith and dogma will continue, but it will have a different character, not so much the history of individual, newly articulated statements of faith and of the theology that reflects upon them, but rather the history of the restatement of the old basic substance of faith in the confrontation with and assimilation of the future horizon of understanding. It is self-evident that this history will be then no longer merely the history of the formulation of early Christian and Western dogmas and their theology (including their export to other countries) but rather the history of the faith and dogma of a universal church, however little we can concretely imagine today what is materially and formally meant by that. This naturally does not exclude but rather includes the fact that the changing new conception of the one entirety of the Christian substance of faith will also have consequences for the interpretation of many or all individual doctrines.

SEE ALSO Creeds; Doctrine; Theology.

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DOGON RELIGION. The Dogon inhabit the cliffs of Bandiagara, an area located in the southwestern region of the bend of the Niger River in Mali. This area consists of a vast, rocky plateau that ends in its southern part in a 124-mile-long (200-kilometer-long) cliff overlooking a vast plain. Numbering approximately 225,000, the Dogon are cultivators of millet and other cereals and breeders of small livestock; owing to the scarcity of permanent water sources on the plateau and on the cliffs, they have had to exploit all resources available to them. Onion and pepper gardens and plantations of large trees (ficus, baobab) surround the villages whose clay houses picturesquely conform to the jagged contours of the rock.

The Dogon are well known in ethnographical literature. Since 1931 they have been the subject of numerous publications by the French ethnologist Marcel Griaule (1898–1956) and by other researchers schooled in his methods. The Dogon are perhaps best known for their art, whose consummate form is sculpture in wood (masks, statuettes, locks).

The traditional religion of the Dogon is complex and involves, among other things, a rich myth of origin, belief in a unique god, and an intricate cult of the ancestors. Christianity has had little impact on their culture, but Islam, during the late twentieth century, made significant inroads, without, however, destroying the vitality of long-standing religious beliefs and practices.

THE CREATION MYTH. The Dogon myth of origin provides both an explanation of the world and a justification of Dogon social organization. The creation of the world was the deed of the god Amma, the one god and image of the father who existed before all things. He traced the plan of the universe using 266 signs (a number corresponding to the gestation period for human beings). The design (the preliminary act of creation) corresponds to thought, which "conceives" before action or speech. Following an unsuccessful initial attempt, from which he salvaged only the four elements (water, earth, fire, and air), Amma placed in the "egg of the world," or the original placenta, two pairs of androgynous twins in the form of fish (to Sudanese peoples the catfish *Clarias senegalensis* represents the human fetus). Their gestation inside the egg was interrupted by an act of rebellion: one of the male beings prematurely left the "mother" (the placenta), deserting both "her" and his female counterpart, thus prefiguring the birth of single beings even though Amma had envisaged twin births. The solitary being descended into space and primordial darkness, taking with him a piece of the placenta that became Earth. Aware of his solitude, he traveled through space, attempted to reascend to heaven to join his female twin again, and even sought her out in the bowels of Earth, an incestuous act that brought to a climax the disorder he had already introduced into the world by leaving the placenta. The piece of placenta rotted and thus death appeared on earth.

Amma put an end to the male being's disorderly acts by transforming him into a fox, an animal that occupies a very important position in Dogon ideology. This small, wild creature, which is known more properly as *Vulpes pallida*, goes about only at night and never drinks water from ponds near the village—which, for the Dogon, explains why the fox was chosen to symbolize this enemy of light, water, fertility, and civilization.

The mythical fox Yurugu (also known as Ogo) was condemned to an eternal search for his lost twin. Moreover, he lost the ability to speak when Amma, from whom he had stolen speech, punished him by cutting off his tongue (indeed, actual foxes emit only a brief, almost clipped cry); but he still retained the power to foretell the future by "speaking" with his paws.

Unable to restore total order to his universe, Amma sought to mitigate the disorder let loose by the fox; he sacrificed Nommo, the other male twin who had stayed in the egg. Nommo's dismembered body purified the four cardinal points of the universe, and the blood that flowed forth gave birth to various heavenly bodies, edible plants, and animals.

Amma then burst the *Digitaria exilis*, a minuscule grain into which he had "rolled" all the elements of creation; these elements emptied into an ark of pure earth (the remains of the placenta). In that ark Amma also placed Nommo, whom he had already resuscitated, and his other "sons," the four pairs of heterosexual twins who are the ancestors of the human race. He lowered the ark from the heavens by means of a copper chain; the ark crashed onto Yurugu's earth at the time of the first rainfall, which formed the first pool of water. The sun also rose for the first time. Nommo went to live in the pool while the eight ancestors settled on the spot where they had landed. Using the pure earth from their ark, these ancestors created the first cultivated field, and cultivation then spread throughout Yurugu's impure earth (the bush).

The ancestors initially communicated by means of cries and grunts until one of the Nommo twins, the master of water, life, speech, and fertility, taught them language at the same time that he instructed them in the art of weaving. He then revealed to the ancestors such other fundamental techniques as agriculture, blacksmithing, dance, and music. The first human society was thus founded; marriage was introduced when the ancestors exchanged sisters.

The descent of the ark is analogous to birth. The ancestors of humanity who began their life on earth can be seen as newborns emerging from the maternal womb; the ark is the placenta, and its chain is the umbilical cord; the rains are the fetal waters.

CULTS AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. The four male ancestors founded the four major religious cults, which are also the pillars of social organization; among the Dogon, social order cannot be dissociated from religion. The eldest of the ancestors, Amma Seru ("witness of Amma"), is associated with the creator god and with air (sky). The patriarch of the extended family is Amma Seru's representative in the human community. His residence, known as the "big house," is the focal point of the paternal lineage, and this is where the altar to the ancestors is situated. The altar is composed of pottery bowls (deposited there whenever a family member dies) into which the patriarch pours libations in honor of the ancestors.

Paternal lineages combine to form a totemic clan; all members of a particular clan must respect the same taboo, be it animal or vegetable. The clan is headed by a priest whose vocation is revealed through trances that incite him to seek an object hidden by dignitaries of the clan at the death of the priest he will succeed. He remains subject to these trances, which force him to wander through the countryside prophesying; he is said to be possessed by Nommo. As the representative of the ancestor Binu Seru ("witness of the *binu*"), the priest is responsible for the cult of the *binu*, the ancestors associated with the various animal and vegetable species. According to the custodians of profound knowledge, the *binu* are also symbols of the different parts of Nommo's dismembered body; the ensemble of these *binu* represents the body resuscitated in its entirety. The cult itself is associated with water, and its ritual is celebrated in sanctuaries whose façades are periodically redecorated with paintings done in thin millet paste; each transformation favors a specific event—the coming of the rains, the harvesting of various crops.

The cult of Lébé is dedicated to the ancestor Lébé Seru ("witness of Lébé") who, having died, was subsequently brought back to life in the form of a large snake; this ancestor is associated with Earth (the planet and soil, as well as the mythic archetype Earth), and with vegetation that periodically dies and comes back to life. His priest is the *hogon*, the most senior of the region, whose authority once had political impact, since it was he who administered justice and controlled the marketplaces. The *hogon* and the totemic priest together celebrate the feast of sowing (*bulu*) before the coming of the rains; they distribute to the villagers the millet seeds that have been stored in the preceding year. These seeds are thought to contain the spiritual essence of this cereal. The mythical snake Lébé is said to visit the *hogon* every night to lick his body and thus revitalize him.

The fourth ancestor, Dyongu Seru ("witness of healing"), has a different status. He was in effect the first human to die, following the breach of an interdiction. His cult is celebrated by the mask society (which exists only on the cliff and on the plateau). It is an exclusively male association, which all boys enter after their circumcision; each one must carve his own mask and must learn the society's secret language. The dance of the masks takes place as part of funeral ceremonies for men. Objects of death, the masks are strictly forbidden to women, who are associated with fertility and the forces of life. Women can only observe the dances from far away.

The death and resurrection of Dyongu Seru are commemorated through the Sigi, a spectacular ceremony that takes place every sixty years; the last one was held between 1967 and 1974. This feast also marks, on the human plane, the renewing of the generations (sixty years is thought to be the average human life span) and, on the celestial plane, the revolution of the "star of *Digitaria exilis*" around the "star of Sigi," or Sirius. The Dogon's longstanding knowledge of this Sirius satellite, which was only recently discovered by astronomers, is a mystery that science has not yet uncovered. The ceremony, celebrated from village to village over a period of eight years, includes dances executed by men in single file (each generation is ranked according to age-group). Their costumes and paraphernalia refer to both maleness and femaleness: for example, the cowrie shells that decorate the dancers' costumes and the fish-head design of their embroidered bonnets are symbols of fertility; when they drink the ritual beer, they sit on a ceremonial seat, which is a masculine symbol. Another important component of the Sigi ceremony is the erection of the "great mask," a single tree trunk or log carved in the shape of a snake to represent the resurrected ancestor.

Dyongu Seru is associated with fire, death, the wilderness (in his role as hunter and healer), and, consequently, disorder—connections that, in turn, link his cult with the mythical fox Yurugu who, on a more mundane level, is commemorated in divination rites. Diviners trace framed grids in the sand, and during the night small foxes come to eat the food offerings placed on these "tables"; the configuration of spoors left by the animals are then interpreted as responses to questions about the future. Yurugu, however much decried for being the source of disorder, is respected for his ability to foretell the future, a gift that even Amma could not take away from him. In effect, by liberating himself from all rules through his act of rebellion, Yurugu placed himself beyond time. Ultimately he incarnates individual liberty, in opposition to the group solidarity essential for the survival of traditional societies, and therein lies his ambiguity.

The Dogon religious universe is also peopled by various categories of spirits who haunt the wilderness, the trees, and inhabited sites; these spirits are the outcome of Yurugu's incestuous coupling with Earth. They represent natural forces and the original proprietors of the soil, with whom men had to ally themselves in order to gain possession of cultivable land. Offerings presented to these spirits on different occasions propitiate them and renew the original alliance.

Speech and Being. A human being is viewed as a whole composed of a body and the eight spiritual principles of both sexes. A vital life force (*nyama*) animates the entire being. The ambivalence of the human condition (that is, its simultaneous maleness and femaleness), which recalls the law of twin births ordained by Amma but later destroyed by Yurugu, is mediated by circumcision and clitoridectomy; these procedures free the child from the influence of the opposite sex (located in the prepuce and the clitoris) and thus have an equilibrating function. Death destroys the tie that holds together the various components of a person's being; funeral ceremonies assure that each component is restored to its place and facilitate the transference of the vital force from the deceased to an unborn child, who will establish a cult for that ancestor.

Speech is fundamental in Dogon thought. It forms itself in the body, all of whose organs contribute to its "birth," and like human beings, it possesses vital energy and spiritual principles. The four basic elements enter into its composition, but water is the most essential component. In symbolic rapport with all technological processes, especially the art of weaving (the organs of the mouth are said to "weave" sounds), speech is both creative (on the divine plane) and fertilizing (on the human plane); in fact, intercourse between spouses is successful only if "good words" make the woman fertile. Speech is also the cement that holds together all social relationships and facilitates the advance of society, its progress and survival.

If ancestor worship and the belief in Amma dominate the religious beliefs of the Dogon, the mythical figures who command their worldview are Nommo and Yurugu: the two incarnate opposed and complementary principles (order/disorder, life/death, humidity/dryness, fertility/sterility) that wrangle over possession of the universe. That struggle, which is constantly rekindled, assures both the equilibrium and progress of the world.

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Geneviève Calame-Griaule (1987)
Translated from French by Brunhilde Biebuyck
Revised Bibliography

DOGS. Recent archaeological discoveries place the domestication of the dog thousands if not tens of thousands of years prior to that of any of the other animals with which humanity has shared its cultural evolution. This shared heritage is reflected in the ritual, mythology, and religious doctrine of nearly every human society. The ancient Phoenicians, Chinese, Meso-Americans, and Egyptians buried, entombed, or mummified dogs, separately or together with their human masters; archaic astronomical systems from Europe, Asia, Africa, and North America identify star clusters or planets with supernatural dogs; and dogs figure prominently in a wide variety of myths and rituals, particularly those concerned with death and afterlife.

The place of *Canis familiaris* in religious traditions closely corresponds to the social roles, behaviors, and spatial orientations of dogs in relationship to humans, as protectors of the home, in hunting, and in herding. In every case, the dog is located at a problematic boundary between "us"—the living members of a human community—and "them": the dead, wild animals, interlopers, and human enemies of that community. As a watchdog, it prowls the zone of demarcation between within and without, inhabited space and outside world. As a herding animal, it constitutes a moving periphery, enclosing the herd that it guards from savage predators and human rustlers, but also culling animals that have been designated for slaughter. In the hunt, the hound leads—seeing, hearing, and scenting the prey before its master, who follows its bark, is able to do so—and fetches back small game in its mouth. Man's best friend has a dark side as well: the domesticated dog can turn rabid, predatory, or feral, in which cases it may endanger the very humans and livestock it normally protects. Furthermore, the dog's gluttony may be a stronger impulse than its faithfulness to its master, and its indiscriminate eating habits allow it to consume carrion, excrements, and other impure substances, including the bodies of humans slain in battle.

All of these canine qualities and behaviors have made for an intimate association between dogs and death in the world's religions. Gods of death, such as the Greek Hekate, the Indian Yama and Bhairava, and the Teutonic Garmr, are often identified with or accompanied by dogs that guard the gates to their realms. Very often, the dog is cast as a hellhound that tracks down and even devours the errant dead, for which reason the dead may be buried together with a sop to distract it, as in the case of the Sārameya—the twin dogs of the Indian death god Yama—the Greek Cerberus, and the Nicaraguan Tausun Tara. Alternatively, the dog serves as a psychopomp, a guide who leads or herds the recently deceased over the dangerous paths leading to the world of the dead—hence the sacrifice of dogs or the burial of dog effigies with the dead in Nahuatl, Chamba (northern Nigeria), and ancient Chinese traditions. In several northern European traditions, a spectral pack of dogs accompanies the storm god Woden, or the Christian Devil, on his wild hunt after the souls of the damned. At different periods, the Tibetans, Kalmuks, Parsis, Bactrians, Hyrcanians, Mongols, Javanese, and Kamchatkans have exposed their dead in "sky burials," relying on necrophagous dogs and birds of prey to consume the bodily remains and thereby carry off the pollution of death.

Numerous myths of the origin of death involve a dog. In several western African traditions, the dog is a messenger whose failure to deliver a message to a high god results in human mortality. A central Asian mytheme, found from the Balkans to Siberia and northern Japan, features a primal dog who is charged by a *deus otiosis*-type figure with protecting the bodies of a primal human pair; the dog succumbs to the temptations of the Devil, who befouls humans and dog with his spittle, thereby rendering them mortal.

Judaism, Christianity, and Islam generally cast the dog in a negative light, especially by emphasizing its impurity, and often identify dogs as demons or minions of the Devil. A striking exception is the role of the dog in the early Christian and later Islamic myth of the "Cave of the Seven Sleepers," which draws on a widespread Indo-European mytheme that has a faithful watchdog guard the mouth of a cave where six saints sleep for hundreds of years. From the high Middle Ages down to the twentieth century, a greyhound was venerated in the Dombes region of southeastern France as Saint Guignefort, the healer of sick children, in spite of repeated attempts by the Roman Church to suppress the cult of this decidedly noncanonical saint.

In Zoroastrianism, the dog plays a particularly positive role in postmortem ritual. A dog is fed three times daily for three days following a death, as a conduit for nurturing the soul of the dead. In the celebrated rite of *sag did*, the powerful gaze of a "four-eyed dog" drives away the demonic Nasus spirits that swarm around the corpse of the deceased. In Zoroastrian otherworldly geography, one or two four-eyed dogs are present at the Cinvat bridge in order to aid the souls of the just to cross over to the "Best Existence," which lies beyond. The same four-eyed dog is found, this time with a negative valence, in ancient India, where this creature was put to death beneath the feet of a horse representing the king, as a part of the famous *aśvamedha* sacrifice. This apotropaic (evil-averting) sacrifice identified the dog with the king's rival in what was essentially a ritual of royal conquest, which concluded with the sacrifice of the horse itself.

This doubling of dogs' eyes is not limited to Indian or Indo-Iranian religions, and is of a piece with a broader phenomenon of doubling in the symbolism of death. Four-eyed dogs are found in the mythology and ritual of numerous cultures, including the Ibo of Nigeria who behead a four-eyed dog (that is, a dog with pronounced markings over its eyes) when burying their chiefs. This they do in order that the dog may transfer its powers of clairvoyance to the deceased. Similar practices involving dogs of this sort are found in hunting rituals in many parts of Africa, while Finnish and Slavic traditions employ four-eyed dogs to root out and protect against evil spirits. Hellhounds are often found in pairs, or with two heads (as in the case of the Greek Orthos, Cerberos's less famous elder brother); and the name of the Indian Yama may itself be read as "Twin," the brother of Manu, "Man," who sacrifices him. As the first being to die, Yama becomes the lord of the world of the dead. A parallel mytheme is found in ancient Rome, in which Romulus kills his twin brother Remus (whose name is an Indo-European cognate of Yama) as a foundation sacrifice. In Mesoamerica, the Nahuatl dog god Xolotl is considered to be the twin brother of Quetzalcoatl, and together the two represent the planet Venus, as the morning and evening stars respectively. The eastern and western entrances to East Asian Buddhist temples are guarded by Foo (or Foh) dogs, which are said to symbolize the yin and yang principles. In ancient Egypt, the jackal- or dog-headed Anubis of Cynopolis was considered to be the "opener" of the northern paths of the dead, while the wolf-god Up-uaut or Ap-heru of Lycopolis opened the southern paths. Likewise, the "entrance" to the Milky Way, the starry path of the gods and the dead in several Indo-European traditions, is guarded by two dogs, Canis Major and Canis Minor, with the dog star Sirius being located in the former constellation of the Greco-Roman system. Located at the threshold of two worlds, these beings that symbolize the transition between death need two bodies, two heads, or four eyes to look both backward and forward, toward both the living and the dead who live in a symbiotic relationship not unlike that obtaining between man and dog.

In Roman mythology, the aforementioned twins Romulus and Remus, who had been forsaken at birth, are suckled and protected by a she-wolf in a cave at the base of the Palatine hill. They enjoy the same mythic fate as Cyrus, the founder of the Achaemenid dynasty and the Persian Empire: according to Herodotos, the infant Cyrus, who had been left to die at the order of the Median king Astyages, was saved by a Median woman named "Bitch." Other versions of the story, such as that of Trogus Pompeius, simply state that Cyrus was raised by a she-dog, as were also the Greek Aesculapius, the Persian Afrasiyab, and Lugaid Mac Con of Irish legend. A variation on this Indo-European mytheme of a dynastic founder or culture hero being fostered by an animal nurse, is a central and east Asian ethnogenic myth, which likely spread into the circumpolar regions. This is the myth of the origin of a people or race through the union of a human woman and a male dog, a most illustrious example being that of Chinggis (Genghis) Khan, as is related in the opening lines of the *Secret History of the Mongols* (c. 1240 CE). The Inuit of the central Arctic trace the origin of the "five human races" back to the union of the daughter of the primordial human pair, a maiden named Uinigumasuittuq ("She Who Did Not Wish to Marry"), with the family dog, Siarnaq. A similar myth is found among several of China's "southern barbarian" peoples, including the Man, Yao, and Liao. In both Chinese and European medieval literatures, this mytheme, which was transmitted along the Silk Road from its original Central Asian source, underwent a transformation that made it a stock fixture of world mythology. As it traveled east and west, it became an account of a remote "Kingdom of Women" that shared its borders with a "Kingdom of Dogs." During the mating season of the former, these dogs, or Dog-Men would cohabit with the women, with female offspring being kept by the women, and males by the dogs or Dog-Men. This was the source of the rich European mythology of races of Dog-Men (Cynanthropoi) or Dog-Headed Men (Cynocephali), who figure in the Alexander Legend and the writings of Marco Polo, as well as in the legends of several medieval Christian saints, who sought to convert these monsters to the true faith.

Numerous mythical traditions cast supernatural dogs in various types of foundation myths. According to the mythology of two Mesoamerican peoples, the Huichol and the Tlapanec, the repopulation of the earth is effected, following a great flood, through the union of a man and a she-dog. The Nahuatl Xolotl reanimates humanity at the beginning of a new creation cycle by fetching the bones of dead humans from a prior cycle back to his dwelling and bleeding on them from his penis. The North American Shoshone and Achowami, as well as several African peoples, identify the dog as the bringer of fire to humanity. Maya manuscripts depict the dog as the bringer of maize to the world, while several southern Chinese and Southeast Asian myths portray the dog as swimming over the waters of a primal flood while carrying grains of rice on its tail, to feed a starving humanity.

Poised on the uncertain boundary between humanity and animality, wildness and domestication, inside and outside, the living and the dead, purity and impurity, even the divine and the demonic, dogs have, throughout the long history of their relationship to humans, been especially "good to think with," whence the abundance of mythology, ritual, and religious precept that we humans have generated around canine modes of being in the world.

SEE ALSO Animals.

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DAVID GORDON WHITE (2005)

DOLGAN RELIGION.

The Dolgans are a small, Turkic-speaking nationality living on the Taimyr Peninsula in northern Siberia. Their primary occupations are hunting and fishing; they also breed a small number of domesticated reindeer, which are utilized as means of transport during nomadic migration. During the winter season the Dolgans live in the forest-tundra zone, and toward summer they migrate northward into the tundra in pursuit of wild reindeer herds. In 1989 there were seven thousand Dolgans, 80 percent of whom spoke their native tongue, which is derived from the Yakut language. The Dolgans appeared as a distinct nationality during the last three hundred years and are largely descended from the Tunguz and the Yakuts; their religion had its origin in the culture area of their formation.

The Dolgans are converts to Christianity, and they bear Russian names. Their calendar—a six-sided small stick carved from mammoth bone—is known as the *paskaal* (from Russian *paskhal'nyi,* "relating to Easter"); the basic Russian Orthodox holidays are marked on the sides of the *paskaal.* The old men who can calculate time by this calendar are called *paskaalcit* and are deemed to be sages. Icons are found in each Dolgan dwelling, but the Russian Orthodox saints represented on them are no more revered than are the other spirits of the Dolgan pantheon.

In their mobile dwellings (*urasa*), special sanctity is attached to the four foundation poles (*suona*) in which the spirits who protect the people living in the *urasa* dwell. After a successful hunt, these poles are smeared with the blood of a wild reindeer and purified by the smoke of burning fat. When a dwelling's owner dies, the weeping of the *suona* is heard. The cover of the *urasa* is sewn out of reindeer chamois, on which are drawn the sun, moon, reindeer, or *urasa*, according to a shaman's instructions. The *urasa* functions as a barrier impenetrable to evil spirits. In building a permanent dwelling, the Dolgans leave two tall trees by the side of the entrance, so that the souls of the dwellers may live in their branches. The trees are termed *serge* ("post") in Yakut.

The Dolgans call all supernatural beings *saĭtaan*, a word of Arabic origin brought to the Dolgans by the Russians, who borrowed it from Turkic-speaking Muslims. In practice, small stones and anthropomorphic and zoomorphic images carved from wood or reindeer antler, as well as certain household objects, figure as *saĭtaan*s.

All these objects are revered because they are bearers of spirits, either independently or by means of the shaman. A *saĭtaan* may be a personal helper of its owner or the protector of an entire family or nomadic group; it may, for example, be the hook used to hang the caldron in the *urasa*. Facing the hook, the Dolgans smear it with the blood or fat of a slaughtered animal and address it, saying, "May the caldron hung on thee be full lifelong!" One type of *saĭtaan*, with human form, is called the *baĭanaĭ*. The idea of the *baĭanaĭ* and the term itself are borrowed from the Yakuts, among whom Bai-baianai is master of the forest. But among the Dolgans a *baĭanaĭ* becomes the personal helper of the hunter who made its image. However, the *baĭanaĭ* acquires power only after the shaman animates the figurine by placing his breath within it. Before going on a hunt, the hunter smears his *baĭanaĭ* with the fat of a wild reindeer and tosses it into the air in order to divine his chances of catching game. If the figurine falls on its back, there will be success; if it falls on its belly, there will be failure. Wooden images of birds and animals, called *singken*, also belong to the category of *saĭtaan*s that assist hunters. Hunters carry them along on the hunt, together with the *baĭanaĭ*.

At the beginning of each winter month, the hunter purifies his *baĭanaĭ* with the smoke of burning fat. Upon killing a wild reindeer, he cuts the fat from the animal's knee and suspends it from the figurine. After a particularly successful hunt, the Dolgans feed not only the *baĭanaĭ* but all their *saĭtaan*s. They hang them on poles over the hearth, into which they throw small pieces of fatty food. Then they arrange a low table near the hearth and place on it pieces of the heart and lungs of slain animals. Afterward, the *saĭtaan*s are smeared with blood and placed in a box, where they remain.

During nomadic treks, white or piebald reindeer carry the boxes containing *saĭtaan*s and icons in cases. Such a reindeer is decorated with a beaded, embroidered headband and a bell is hung on its neck. This reindeer is always placed just before the end of the animal train; the reindeer transporting the dwelling poles is tied to it. When they arrive at a new place, the Dolgans avoid setting up their *urasa* where another stood earlier, since strange *saĭtaan*s might prove powerful and feel wrathful toward the newcomers.

The activities of the Dolgans are accompanied by many religious rites. After killing a reindeer, the hunter smears his rifle with its blood. The bones of a reindeer that has been eaten are buried in the ground, and a tripod of poles is placed above them so that other reindeer will not go near that place. Upon killing an arctic fox, the hunter cuts off its nose so as not to give away his luck with its skin. The Dolgans rarely hunt bears, which they fear and which they regard as women transformed into beasts. The hunter who has killed a bear lies on its back imitating sexual intercourse. Then the participants in the hunt take out the bear's heart, eat it, and caw like ravens. While fishing, the Dolgans present to the Master of the River or Lake beads or scraps of red wool tied to nets. Near the body of water they hang a fox skin from a rope attached to the ends of two sticks thrust into the ground. Some Dolgans throw small, flat pieces of dough into the water; impressions of crosses worn on the body are made on these.

Shamans play such a large role among the Dolgans that the emergence of each new shaman is met by his kinsmen with great joy. According to Dolgan tradition, a shaman owns one to three Tuuruu trees, the term designating the "world tree" among the Tunguz, and he sets the souls of the persons under his protection on their branches. Signs of a shaman's power are the number, height, and extent of branching of his trees. A weak shaman's tree will be sickly, and the people in his charge may die. On the second day after death, the shaman must accompany the dead person's soul into the netherworld.

Among the Dolgans, as among the Yakuts, shamans are called *oĭun*; a female shaman is called *udaghan,* as among the Yakuts, Buriats, and Mongols. The Dolgans divide shamans into several categories according to their ability. The strongest shamans, *ulakan oĭun,* can cure diseases, divine events, and generally know all that happens on earth. In the past, the frequent wars between groups of Dolgans were decided by shamanic duels, with each shaman trying to increase the *ilbis* or power of the war spirit of his group. He sheltered the *kut,* or soul, of his leader on a cloud and killed the soul of the opposing leader. The shamanic séance, which in some cases continued for several days and nights, is called *kyyryy* by the Dolgans, from the Yakut word *kyyr,* "to hop."

In the spring, when the first grass appeared, the shaman performed the annual shamanic ritual Djilga Kyyryy, by which he would divine what awaited his nomadic group. This ritual, the greatest religious festival of the year, is also called Dʾyly Oduuluur. To conduct this rite a new *urasa* was made, and seven or nine images of birds with heads turned toward the sun were fastened on top of the poles making up the *urasa*'s frame. The shaman departed on these birds to meet the chief of the upper world in order to secure his support for the forthcoming year. During this festival, the Dolgans and their shaman performed the ritual dance Kisi Kaamy Gynan ("people's step-by-step procession"). They circled the hearth three times clockwise, then exited from the tent and continued the same movement around it. This festival probably came to the Dolgans from their neighbors the Nganasani, who called it Any'o Dialy ("big day") and conducted it on the summer solstice. However, the dance is Yakut in origin.

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Translated from Russian by Demitri B. Shimkim

DÖLLINGER, JOHANN (1799–1890), more fully Johann Joseph Ignaz von Döllinger; Roman Catholic professor of dogmatics and church history at the University of Munich (1826–1872), who became the controversial center of scholarly liberal Catholicism in Europe. Son of a pious Catholic mother and an educated, anticlerical father, he was ordained at age twenty-three and served briefly as a curate before finishing his doctoral dissertation and being appointed to Munich. There he was somewhat novel among Roman Catholics, though not unprecedented, in his emphasis upon the scholarly study of church history.

The key principle in Döllinger's thought, "organic growth," or "consistent development," gave not only approval but also limits to changes in the Catholic church. Early in his career, defending established developments in Catholicism, he denounced mixed marriages, affirmed the authority of the pope (1836), and favored the policy that Protestant soldiers be required to kneel at the consecration when they were present at a Catholic mass (1843). Likewise, in his works on Luther (1851) and the Reformation (1846–1848), he denounced the break in historical continuity effected by the Protestant schism. Later in his career, however, he came to oppose as "inconsistent with tradition" new prerogatives of the papacy, such as the opposition to modern scholarship and the assertion of infallibility. In 1863, Döllinger organized, without ecclesiastical permission, a meeting of one hundred Catholic theologians in Munich, to evaluate the scientific study of history. In his opening address he denounced scholasticism and called boldly for a thorough use of critical tools in examining church history, independent of Roman authority. Although hailed by liberal Catholics throughout Europe, such principles were soon condemned by Pope Pius IX, in his 1864 *Syllabus of Errors* and in his encyclical *Quanta cura.* Such disagreements intensified as rumors grew that unrestricted papal infallibility was to be affirmed at the First Vatican Council (1869–1870). For his opposition to infallibility, Döllinger was excommunicated, with both haste and publicity, in March 1871, by Archbishop Scherr of Munich. Some have seen the excommunication as gratuitous. Döllinger's opposition resulted partially from conciliar secrecy, which kept him from learning until too late the restrictions placed on infallibility. Because of the enforced ignorance, some of his arguments (1869–1871) sound more rhetorical than relevant.

Döllinger provided a rallying cry for the development in Germany of the "Old Catholic" church (which denied papal infallibility). He admitted he belonged to this church "by conviction," but he never formally joined. His refusal of an offer to become the first German Old Catholic bishop hampered that church's growth. Even after excommunication, he continued to attend Roman Catholic services, even though he was denied the sacraments by his excommunication. Despite political ability sufficient to hold national office under Ludwig I of Bavaria, neither his scholarship nor his statecraft was adequate to reconcile Catholicism with modernity. As important to Germany as Cardinal Newman was to England, Döllinger influenced Lord Acton and widened the ambit of historical consciousness in the Roman Catholic church. He has not yet found his definitive place in that church's history. Extolled in a book by his close friend the Old Catholic priest Johannes Friedrich (*Ignaz von Döllinger*, 3 vols., 1899–1901), he also was castigated by the Jesuit Émile Michael (*Ignaz von Döllinger*, 1892), whose criticism was so severe that Döllinger was repudiated even by the usually nonjudgmental modernist Friedrich von Hügel. The definitive Döllinger biography has not yet been written.

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RONALD BURKE (1987)

DOMESTIC OBSERVANCES

This entry consists of the following articles:

JEWISH PRACTICES
CHRISTIAN PRACTICES
MUSLIM PRACTICES
HINDU PRACTICES
CHINESE PRACTICES
JAPANESE PRACTICES

DOMESTIC OBSERVANCES: JEWISH PRACTICES

Besides the synagogue, the home has traditionally been a main focus of religiosity both for the Jewish family as a unit and especially for women. Women were traditionally excluded from the duty of Torah study, which for men was, and to some extent remains, a major focus of spirituality. Moreover, women were not obligated to observe many of the religious practices that bound men. In particular, their place in public synagogue ritual was minimal. Consequently, domestic rituals, and especially those governed by women, are important focuses of their spirituality. For all Jews, certain ritual customs (*minhagim*) and rabbinic laws (*halakhot*) actually require a domestic setting. These rituals may be divided into those that are held on specific occasions of the Jewish calendar and those that are a constant presence in daily life.

PERIODIC DOMESTIC OBSERVANCES. The annual festival cycle begins in the spring with Passover, which focuses on two major domestic activities: the thorough cleaning of the home to remove leavened food, and then the Seder, the Passover eve feast, which has traditionally been led by the father and requires the participation of the children. Shavuʿot, in early summer, is accompanied by only minor domestic customs, such as decorating the home with greenery and partaking of dairy foods. The period of mourning for the destroyed Temple, which follows in midsummer, affects the home in a fashion opposite to that of the festivals: enjoyment of music, food, new clothing, and vacations, and joyfulness in general, are restricted. The fall holy days start with Ro'sh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur, which are primarily synagogue-centered occasions but which include secondary domestic activities. On Ro'sh ha-Shanah, foods symbolizing good fortune are served at the family meal, and on Yom Kippur, family elders bless the young. During the weeklong Sukkot festival the domestic focus is again pronounced. Temporary booths or huts (*sukkot*) are erected near or adjacent to each family home. Meals are eaten there, and some males follow the rabbinic tradition of sleeping in the booths at night. People entertain guests and generally pass time in the family *sukkah*. Ḥanukkah, in early winter, is focused domestically as well. Lights are ritually kindled in the home, and special holiday foods are prepared. Ḥanukkah also has indoor child-centered activities (gift-giving and living-room games). In late winter, Purim requires a formal feast at home, and women and children become particularly involved in the traditional sending of gifts of food to friends.

PERENNIAL DOMESTIC OBSERVANCES. Besides seasonal events, the Jewish home also has perennial ritual activities, primarily on the Sabbath, when the routine of the home is transformed. Domestic rituals are observed on the Sabbath: candles are lit by the housewife on Sabbath eve; the Qiddush ("sanctification of the day") is chanted at the first of the three mandatory festive meals; families sing Sabbath songs (*zemirot*) and sometimes study Torah together. Of these customs, candle-lighting is a major rite for women, a virtual symbol of female religious identity. In recent times, with the attenuation of many more-burdensome Jewish customs, candle-lighting has remained vital and thus has become more prominent. According to some traditions, parents formally bless their children on Sabbath eve, and Sabbath night is a preferred time for conjugal relations. In the home the Sabbath ends with the ceremony of *havdalah* ("separation" of the Sabbath from the week), which involves the use of wine, spices, and a special braided candle, and at which a new fire is lit. Another perennial domestic ritual element is the display of religious artifacts. Foremost of these is the mandatory *mezuzah* inscription of biblical verses, encased on all doorposts. Brass or silver candelabra, wine goblets, and collections of Judaica books are common in the more prosperous homes. It is a custom to leave a section of wall in the home (about one square foot) unpainted, as a symbol of pain over the destruction of ancient Jerusalem (*zekher le-ḥurban*).

The celebration of rites of passage spills over into the home through the holding of festive meals. Domestically, the most marked rites of passage are mourning rites, which restrict the bereaved to their homes and require them to receive condolence visits. Memorial candles for the dead are lit at home. In the past, marriages in Mediterranean countries were patrilocal and some marriage observances paralleled mourning rites. The bridal couple were restricted to their new home for seven days of festivity, and daily rites were held in the presence of visitors. In our time, owing to the attenuation of patrilocality, the practice among many young Orthodox bridal couples, both in Israel and elsewhere, is to travel distances to visit their kin, and to be hosted in different homes where rites are held for the duration of seven days.

In Orthodox and traditionally observant families, the home is the scene of innumerable daily acts of individual piety: the ritual washing of hands upon arising, before meals and after voiding; the uttering of grace after meals, and of shorter benedictions before and after the partaking of any food. Prayers are recited upon waking and upon retiring at night, and three daily prayer services (*shaḥarit*, in the morning, *minḥah*, in the afternoon, *maʿariv*, in the evening) are required of all adult males. In recent times, because of the weaker hold of the community, weekday prayers are frequently said at home rather than at the synagogue; hence, the role of the home in daily prayer has increased.

The most pervasive home observances are those that concern food and conjugal relations. Observance of the rules of *kashrut* (maintaining a ritually pure, kosher kitchen), is dependent upon the foods introduced into the home, and on the separation of various categories of foods in the kitchen and dining area. *Kashrut* also requires the services of extra-domestic agents, such as a *shoḥet* (ritual slaughterer), and of manufacturers of kosher foods. The maintenance of "family purity" (*ṭaharat ha-mishpaḥah*) depends to a greater extent on the privacy of domestic practice. Family purity consists of the maintenance of a monthly schedule of conjugal separation and reunion based on the menstrual cycle, and on the woman's periodic immersion in a *miqveh* (ritual bath). While the availability of an external agent, the *miqveh*, is required here as well, the element of domestic autonomy in this area of intimacy is nonetheless very strong. The autonomy of the home in this area was curtailed in traditional times (in Northern Europe roughly until the mid-nineteenth century, in Mediterranean lands until close to the mid-twentieth century). Decisions concerning the proper timing of immersion were not handled exclusively by the woman then, but rather in conjunction with a circle of elder females, family and neighbors. If there was any physiological irregularity, male rabbis were consulted. In contemporary Orthodoxy, middle-class sensitivities concerning the privacy of sexual matters have eliminated the role of the outside female circle; rabbis are consulted only in the most unusual cases. But it is in the maintenance of *kashrut* that the role of the home has increased most in contemporary times, and has assumed a novel symbolic weight. The affective term *kosher home* is now commonly used in reference to *kashrut* observance, which has gained much greater prominence in relation to its historical place in Jewish practice and thought. Over time, additional domestic practices have become more prominent (contemporary domestic Sabbath practices are innovations of the late sixteenth century). Most recently in the West, the pressure of Christmastime commercialism has encouraged Jewish families to elaborate the observance of Ḥanukkah, especially with parties, gift giving, and the decoration of the home, as an ethnic counterpoint to Christian symbols such as the tree and Santa Claus.

There are two major exceptions to this development (i.e., the increasing emphasis on Jewish domestic ritual). One is the virtual disappearance of the *ḥallah*-separation rite. Married women baking their bread used to separate and burn a small portion of the dough, as a symbol of the tithe that was due the priests in Temple times. *Ḥallah*-separation used to be a major female responsibility, similar to Sabbath candle-lighting and to the maintenance of family purity (*niddah*). But as bread production has shifted from a domestic to a commercial setting, the rite has become uncommon. Another exception is in practices of the Hasidic movement, which encourages male groups to congregate by themselves, or at the court of the *rebbe*, the sect leader. In these congregations, adult males eat the third of the three required meals together, away from their families, on the Sabbath afternoon. Hasidism also encourages men to spend some of the holy days and Sabbaths at the distant court of the *rebe*, again separating them from their families.

SEE ALSO Kashrut.

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DOMESTIC OBSERVANCES: CHRISTIAN PRACTICES

Contemporary forms and practices of Christian religious life in the home vary widely among the various denominations and branches of Christianity, as well as among ethnic and socioeconomic groups within those broader divisions. The usual division of Western Christians into Roman Catholic and Protestant is, for the purpose of the present discussion, more suitably replaced by a distinction between those denominations, such as Roman Catholic, Episcopalian, and Lutheran, with strong liturgical traditions, and those, such as Baptists and Pentecostals, that have a less fully developed ritual heritage.

Western Christians often adorn their homes with religious images such as crucifixes and holy pictures, and Eastern Christian homes traditionally contain an icon corner where images of Christ and the saints are honored and where family prayers are said. A lighted candle or oil lamp usually burns before these icons. In the homes of families of the Eastern churches and the Western churches with more developed liturgies, palm or other branches blessed in church on Palm Sunday may be placed behind these images.

Traditional Roman Catholics sometimes provide small fonts for holy water at the doors of bedrooms, and during the month of May a Marian shrine may be set up in a corner of the home. The blessing of a new home, usually conducted by a priest, is practiced by some liturgically oriented Christian families of both East and West, with Eastern Christians observing an annual renewal of the house blessing during the period following the Feast of Theophany (Epiphany) on January 6.

Some form of grace, said daily at the main meal or at each meal, is common among Christians, at least on special occasions. Also common among most denominations is the practice of an adult or older member of the family hearing a child's bedtime prayers. Christian families observe the Lord's Day (Sunday) in various ways. A festive meal is often part of the day, which may be honored as a day of rest. Among some families of the nonliturgical traditions, family gatherings for prayer, often held early in the morning and consisting of Bible readings, hymn singing, and prayers by a leader, are customary.

Devout Christian families often say prayers for sick family members. These prayer services can include the laying on of hands and anointing with oil by a priest (in the liturgical traditions) or by a layperson (in the nonliturgical traditions). These rites of anointing are usually reserved for the seriously ill and dying in more conservative religious families. In the Eastern tradition, a priest, or, among Western Christians, a layperson or priest sometimes brings the Eucharist from the church to the sick person; in the less liturgically oriented churches the Lord's Supper may be celebrated by an ordained person in the sickroom.

Families of different denominations observe anniversaries of the deaths of family members and friends in various ways. Not uncommon among Eastern Christians, especially those of Slavic extraction, is the custom of burning a lighted candle before a picture of the deceased person during the day of the anniversary. A festive dinner, with gifts for the honored person, is commonly given on the saints' name days of family members, and various national groups enjoy festive meals featuring traditional ethnic foods on the feast days of their important saints.

The cycle of feasts and seasons of the Christian calendar provides many occasions for religious observances in the home, especially among Christians with strong liturgical traditions. During the pre-Lenten Carnival season, doughnut making and pancake suppers are common, such customs originating from earlier times when lard and other meat products had to be consumed before the beginning of Lent. While Lenten fasting and abstinence have become merely token or even nonexistent among many Western Christians, Eastern Christians commonly abstain from meat, butter, eggs, milk, and other animal products throughout this period, as well as during other penitential times. Some families in the nonliturgical churches are returning to the ancient practice of fasting twice weekly, usually on Tuesday and Friday. In the West during Lent, families often give money saved by having simple meals to charitable organizations. Also, soft pretzels continue to be served in some homes, a practice that originated in the Middle Ages when the shape of the pretzel was thought to resemble the crossed arms of a person at prayer. Hot cross buns, another customary food of medieval origin, are served in some Christian homes on the Fridays of Lent and during the last days of Holy Week.

Eastern Christian families continue their tradition of creating intricately decorated Easter eggs to be included in a basket of foods (with sausage, butter, cakes, and other foods proscribed during Lent), which is taken to the church and blessed at the all-night Easter service and eaten at a holy breakfast following that service on Easter morning. A similar breakfast has become popular among some Western Christian families in recent years following the restoration of the Easter Vigil service to its original time in the middle of the night. Two unique Eastern Christian family customs practiced during this season should be noted: (1) the bringing home of a lighted flame from the matins service of Holy Saturday (held on Holy Friday evening) and the marking of the form of a cross on the underside of every door lintel with smoke from this flame; and (2) the blessing of and picnicking at the graves of departed relatives and friends on the Sunday following Easter Day.

Many Western Christian families observe a similar memorial custom, but in the autumn season rather than at Easter. Picnicking at the graves of the departed on November 2 (All Souls Day) is common especially among Hispanic Christians; visits to cemeteries on that day, or the following Sunday, are also made by members of various denominations.

Eastern Christians continue the ancient practice of preparing fruit on the Feast of the Transfiguration of Christ (August 6) and flowers on the Feast of the Dormition of Mary (August 15) to be taken to the church for a special blessing. Some Western Christians have renewed a similar practice of bringing freshly baked bread to the church to be blessed at Lammastide (the first two weeks of August).

The Advent season encompasses immensely rich and varied family observances. The custom of the Advent wreath enjoys widespread popularity in the West. On the Advent wreath, constructed from a circle of evergreens surmounted by four candles (usually three purple and one rose colored), Christians light one additional candle each week during the four weeks of Advent. In some families the wreath is lighted before the evening meal to the accompaniment of brief prayers and often the singing of the Advent carol *O Come, O Come, Emmanuel.* Among Western Christians three traditional feasts during Advent are regaining the popularity they had in earlier centuries: Saint Barbara's Day (December 4), when a dormant branch of flowering cherry, known as the Barbara branch, is brought indoors and blooms on or near Christmas Day; the Feast of Saint Nicholas (December 6), which is often celebrated with small gifts placed in the children's shoes left outside bedroom doors on the eve of the feast; and the Feast of Santa Lucia (December 13, usually the date of the earliest sunset of the year), which is observed with customs dating from pre-Christian times and features saffron-yellow yeast buns, known as Lucia cakes, baked in the form of a spiral sun.

Among Hispanic people the last nine days of Advent are known as Posadas ("lodgings"). Children, portraying Mary and Joseph seeking shelter on their way to Bethlehem, go from door to door and are turned away repeatedly. Finally, the last home welcomes them, which then becomes the site of a joyful service and feast.

Some families honor the religious significance of the traditional Christmas tree by a ritual blessing of the tree. Often they place a crêche or nativity scene under or near the tree and adorn it with other traditional decorations, such as candles and glittering tinsel.

A festive family dinner on Christmas Eve is common among many ethnic groups, often with a prescribed number of courses (usually seven, nine, eleven, or twelve) limited to fish or vegetable dishes. The fact that the day before Christmas was one of strict fast and abstinence in previous centuries accounts for the tradition of a meatless festive meal. Ethnic variations abound at this Christmas Eve meal; among the better known is the Polish custom of the distribution by the head of the family of portions of a waferlike rectangle of unleavened bread, known as *oplatek,* with prayers and good wishes for the holy season and the coming year.

The Feast of the Epiphany (traditionally celebrated on January 6 but observed by some denominations on a Sunday near that date) is little observed in most Western Christian homes, although Twelfth Night parties on the eve of the feast, a custom dating from the Middle Ages, continue to be held or are being revived. In Hispanic cultures, January 6, known as the Day of the Three Kings, is a major feast, and families of Slavic extraction continue the centuries-old custom of using blessed chalk to mark the doorways of their homes with the numerals of the current year and the initials of the Three Kings. Known as the Feast of Theophany among Eastern Christians, January 6 celebrates the manifestation of God's presence in the world that was given at the baptism of Jesus. Water, as the primal element representing all creation, is blessed in the churches and preserved by families at home; the custom of the reverent drinking of some of this blessed water by members of the family persists, and the priest uses the same water to bless the home on the traditional annual visit during this season.

Recent developments in Christian domestic religious observance include the adoption by some Christian families of Jewish feasts. These include Ḥanukkah near the winter solstice, with its custom of lighting the menorah (an eight-branched candelabrum), and the feast of Purim in the spring, when the story of Queen Esther is read aloud to the accompaniment of joyous noisemaking by children. Christian families celebrating these festivals serve traditional foods, such as potato pancakes for Ḥanukkah and prune-filled three-cornered pastries for Purim. Of particular interest is the celebration of the Seder (the Jewish Passover meal) in some Christian homes during Holy Week. As Christians rediscover the centrality of Jewish Passover imagery to their own beliefs and practices, especially its relevance to the Eucharist, they have begun to extend invitations to family and friends to celebrate a Seder with them annually; some families follow the Jewish ritual strictly, while others adapt it in various ways.

See Also Carnival; Christmas; Easter; Epiphany; Halloween.

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DOMESTIC OBSERVANCES: MUSLIM PRACTICES

Owing to the segregation of the sexes and the belief that a woman's primary roles are as wife, mother, and manager of domestic affairs, the traditional Muslim home is largely the domain of women. Accordingly, many religious practices that occur within the home are performed exclusively by or facilitiated by women; these tend to be less formal and are often placed in the realm of folk practice. None of the five obligatory Muslim religious observances—the profession of faith, daily prayers, fasting, the pilgrimage, and almsgiving—is fundamentally bound up with the home. Indeed, public religious institutions and performances are generally the provinces of men. Women may attend the mosque and public religious gatherings, but their presence is seldom essential and frequently discouraged. They often remain onlookers or are relegated to separate areas where it is difficult to follow the central activity, such as a sermon, in any detail. Thus women's religious activities tend to take place in the home, where they can exercise some control and express their religiosity with a degree of freedom.

THE HOME ENVIRONMENT. Even within the home, a woman's behavior reflects on her family's reputation in the Muslim community. It is expected that she will be modest and circumspect in her dress and behavior, keep a good home, and be careful in performing her religious duties. Women are responsible for the protection of family health and well-being, which is achieved in part through vows and procedures to ward off the evil eye; both practices are popularly regarded as Islamic. Women are also charged with the care of young children and must see to their religious upbringing.

As managers of the home, women are responsible for creating and maintaining an environment conducive to proper Muslim behavior for all family members. Consequently, conventional domestic tasks take on religious significance. Ritual purity (*ṭahārah*) is an essential precondition for acts of worship. Things such as blood, certain bodily fluids, wine, pigs, and dogs are regarded as ritually unclean (*najis*). A person, place, or object that comes into contact with any of these must be properly cleansed in order to be ritually pure (*ṭāhir*). The state of ritual purity may be achieved by ritual washing *(wuḍūʿ, ghasl)* for personal cleanliness and by washing in running water or a sufficiently large body of water for objects. Women are themselves often considered ritually unclean because of menstruation, childbirth, and child care and must work hard at keeping themselves and their families, as well as their homes, appropriately clean. Clothes to be worn for prayer and other religious observances must be ritually pure. The vessels in which food and drink are cooked and served should be scrupulously clean as well. Some women devote a great deal of time and energy to these tasks: cleanliness is indeed next to godliness and often a prerequisite for it. In two *ḥadīth*s (traditional accounts), the Prophet is reported to have drawn attention to the importance of ritual purity, saying "Purification is half of faith," and "The key to Paradise is worship [*ṣalāt*]: the key to worship is purification" (M. M. Ali, *A Manual of Ḥadīth*, Lahore, 1944, pp. 41–42).

The preparation and consumption of food also have religious overtones. Bread, the archetypical food, is regarded as a symbol of God's generosity and must be treated with respect. Housewives take care not to dispose of uneaten bread with other scraps; rather, it is fed to beggars or animals or transformed into breadcrumbs for later cooking. Because certain foods are said to have been preferred or recommended by the prophet Muḥammad, their preparation has religious merit. In Iran dates are said to have been recommended by the Prophet as the first food to eat upon breaking the Ramaḍān fast. Other dishes are prepared as the result of vows to particular saints or, for Shīʿī Muslims, to the *imāms;* their distribution is regarded as a praiseworthy religious act. In addition, entire meals are prepared for religious reasons and served at home. These include evening meals during the fasting month of Ramaḍān, to which the poor may be invited, or ritual meals served in consequence of vows, such as the *sufrah*s in Iran. Women are expected to know when and how to prepare dishes that have religious significance: some Iranian women, for example, recognize a different dish as appropriate for each night of the month of Ramaḍān. The exact round of meals is a matter of local tradition, known to the women of a particular town or region. The careful avoidance of prohibited foods in cooking is equally important. As the primary guardians of their families' Muslim identity, Chinese Muslim women go to great lengths to avoid cooking with pork and pork products in the midst of the non-Muslim, pork-eating Chinese majority.

Hospitality is considered one of the hallmarks of a good Muslim, and the burden of caring for guests falls chiefly on the shoulders of the host family's women. Here too, this responsibility takes on particular importance in areas where

Muslims are a minority and proper accommodations and food are hard to find.

RITUALS AND CEREMONIES. Specifically religious domestic observances for which time is set aside and special preparations are made include Qurʾanic readings during Ramaḍān and special sermons at which women may officiate. In Iran and Iraq, Shīʿī Muslim women attend sermons combined with mourning for the martyred *imāms,* particularly on ʿĀshūrāʾ (10 Muḥarram), which commemorates the seventh-century CE martyrdom of Imam Ḥusayn and other men in his family along with the imprisonment and mistreatment of the women. The rituals may be sponsored by and for women; if sponsored by families and attended by men as well, separate areas are set off for the women.

Observances to mark regained health and answered vows may take place at any time of the ritual year. Auspicious days, such as the Prophet's birthday, are preferred. In Iran, ritual dinners (*sufrah*s) are often held on such occasions. A sermon commemorating the martyrdom of the *imām* or saint who answered the vow is followed by a dinner at which foods associated with the holy figure are served. Friends and family join in preparation of the dinner, then celebrate the answered vow and take home some of the remaining blessed food for their menfolk and children.

Many ceremonies marking rites of passage are held at home, and women play a major role in preparing for them. Among the ceremonies marking important stages in Muslim life are the formal naming of a child, circumcision, wedding contract ceremonies, and the reading of the Qurʾān over a body before it is taken away for washing and burial.

In Ethiopia, Egypt, the Sudan, and the Arabian Peninsula women participate in *zār* ceremonies. *Zār* refers to both the belief in possession by spirits (*jinn;* sg., *jinni*) and ceremonies designed to alleviate illness caused by spirits. The ceremonies, which involve dancing and trance, often take place at the homes of afflicted women. Women who attend do not feel that belief in the *zār* and its effectiveness conflicts with Islam. *Jinn* are mentioned in the Qurʾān and are popularly identified with the spirits that can possess and trouble people.

The extent to which a woman is willing and able to participate in group religious activities depends on her socioeconomic status, her education, the attitudes of senior men and women in her family, and her stage of life. For more observant and less traditional women, legitimate religious activity is determined by formal interpretations of religious law and includes formal religious education. Highly educated or strictly observant Muslim women may regard certain rituals, such as the *sufrah* or *zār*, as non-Islamic and avoid them. Denigrated practices are often viewed as vestiges of pre-Islamic rituals. Iranian Shīʿī *sufrah*s, for example, somewhat resemble *sufrah*s displayed in Zoroastrian ritual contexts. Women bearing heavy responsibility for the care of young children, food preparation, and housework have little time to attend religious gatherings.

Women perform essential services to their families and define themselves as good women in discharging their duties as Muslims, but the opportunity to socialize with other women in preparing for and celebrating religious occasions doubtless constitutes part of the rituals' attraction as well. By participating in individual and group religious observances at home, women are able to express their religious sentiments in ways that suit them personally and are socially acceptable. As women move into the public world of education, paid employment, and politics, circumspect behavior at school and in the workplace is added to their responsibilities as representatives of their families and their faith.

SEE ALSO ʿĀshūrāʾ; Folk Religion, article on Folk Islam; Islamic Religious Year; Rites of Passage, article on Muslim Rites; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Muslim Worship.

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DOMESTIC OBSERVANCES: HINDU PRACTICES

The Hindu home provides a necessary center for all social and religious life. A man has not fulfilled his duties and obligations to his ancestors unless he has been a householder. A woman is considered to be auspicious and blessed while she is married, and incomplete if she is not. Indeed, neither men nor women in Hindu society normally perform calendrical or life-cycle rituals unless they are wedded and their spouses are still alive. The home is where the major turning points in the life cycle (birth, marriage, and death) occur. Although practical considerations now make the hospital and the temple possible alternative locales, Hindus still associate such major occasions with the family living quarters. Traditional domestic architecture, wherever possible, anticipates the celebration of these periodic and grand events at home.

HOUSEHOLD OBSERVANCES. At a symbolic level, the household of a couple serves as a miniature of cosmic principles. Ideally, a home should be laid out as a series of rooms surrounding a single, larger courtyard. This is the same plan that astrologers use to depict the organization and movement of planetary deities and that priests use in laying out a sacred space for ritual purposes. Because of physical constraints, a shortage of proper building materials, and other economic and social concerns, contemporary Hindu homes in South Asia frequently deviate from the traditional ideal. Nonetheless, life in a modern house can still be linked, in several symbolic ways, to this basic design.

Where Viṣṇu is the prime deity it is common to have a tulasi plant growing in the family courtyard. This plant, treated as sacred, will always be tenderly cared for. Even when the tulasi itself is missing, a distinctively shaped pedestal intended for it often forms part of the basic household layout. No exact parallel exists for homes where Śiva is the foremost god. Nonetheless, there are other ways to mark off the symbolic center of family living space for special occasions. One common practice is to erect a square canopy made of bamboo stakes, mats, cloths, and vegetable greenery. This structure will generally be tied to one or more green branches, which serve symbolically as ritual center posts. Often these are further festooned with small pouches of grain, suggestive either of household fertility or simply of abundance. Like the tulasi plant, the ritual post functions as the *axis mundi*. Alternative expressions of the same idea take form through elaborate floor designs, complete with a pleasing vertical centerpiece. During the month of October–November, Hindus in Bengal traditionally put an oil lamp on a pole tied to the roof. Now often replaced by an electric bulb, this light helps the ancestors see their way in an annual journey made across the sky. In South India similar lights are placed on the central pillar of the temple for the same period. These folk concepts utilize a pillar-of-heaven concept. In this way, Hindu homes symbolically link family and temple life to ordered energy in the cosmos at large.

The Hindu home also shares its form with cosmic space by its customary orientation to the four cardinal points. Walls, doors, and even sleeping or eating locations inside are often identified in this manner. In Tamil-speaking areas people say that, ideally, the main door of the house should face the rising sun. The building's interior lines will then presumably allow the passage of morning air and light through the house in straight lines. Some orthodox homes in the South actually have a large mirror that faces the eastern entry, where a hall leading through the whole is not possible. This way the same effect is achieved in an illusory but still highly visual manner. Similar cosmic overtones govern other aspects of house layout. The family hearth, for example, recalls the sacred fire used in many Hindu rituals, just as a domestic well (if there is one) symbolically leads to the underworld. A typical Hindu residence also reserves space for the gods. The household shrine can be as grand as a separate room or as simple as a small picture or wall niche. Often a family's favorite gods are pictured in poster form, but they can also be represented in other, more traditional ways, such as by lamps, pots of water, or measures of grain.

No verbal terminology explicitly associates the parts of the house with parts of the body, yet the two are intimately linked. Indeed, the human body is considered by many Hindus to be a temple of the Lord, just as the household living space is a shrine. Hence daily bathing is a key part of the Hindu toilet, and the body should be internally cleansed by fasting in preparation for important events. Similarly, daily sweeping is essential to the maintenance of the house, as is the regular whitewashing or repainting of interior walls. The use of a medicinal cow-dung wash on the floors is also part of traditional preparations for many ceremonial events. After such preliminaries, homes in many parts of India are further decorated with powdered floor designs, ritual wall paintings, bunches of specially tied leaves, or strings of flowers. These adornments help protect a dwelling against evil spirits and serve, as well, to beautify personal space. Similarly, a Hindu's own body is frequently beautified with scented powders after bathing. Protective strings or amulets, and black eye paste, can be added to ward off various unwelcome forces.

In a striking way, images of fire and cooking further link these two forms—the human body and the "body" of the home—within Hindu religious life. On the domestic hearth each day, foodstuffs are transformed through water and heat into consumable meals. Human digestion also provides a fire that refines and transforms food internally. Fire, for a Hindu, is itself a god (Agni), yet it is also the vehicle through which offerings at domestic rituals are carried to other gods via an open flame and rising smoke. Food consumption is often seen as a parallel process that makes offerings to an internal god. Thus all eating, but especially the partaking of full meals, is a semisacred activity. Orthodox Hindus bathe and change into clean clothes before meals, and prefer not to talk while seated for any significant feeding purpose. Many Hindus are also sensitive about having maximum privacy at this time. No one but an approved cook should tend the domestic hearth, and no one but the eater should look at the meal set before him. Because of the presence of an internal fire, the period reserved for food consumption is also a time of transformation. The threat of mismanaging this process, and hence of subsequent spiritual and physical disorder, is always present at such moments. Careful controls surround the eating process for this reason.

Firm rules also govern body movements in the home. Because personal or household space should be respected and kept clean, shoes or sandals must always be left at the door. Furthermore, Hindus are very aware of the symbolism of vertical placement. The lowest floor of a house is reserved for unclean visitors. Washermen or itinerant merchants sit or stand there. Higher levels are reserved for honored guests and for family members, while the very highest spots are used for sacred shrines and for valued photos of deceased relatives. One always sits and lies at a level lower than that allocated to these revered symbols. Similarly, much family etiquette revolves around bowing to senior members, often touching their feet. Women generally cover their shoulders (and in the North, their heads) in the presence of certain relatives. Such gestures indicate an attitude of special respect. Correct male behavior is similar. Men partially uncover themselves (legs, head, chest) when performing services for pay, thus acknowledging inferior status, but cover up (at least their legs) to express deference to senior relatives and to gods.

It is difficult to delineate male roles from female roles in discussing domestic observances. In wealthy homes male servants often cook, but among close relatives it is usually women who tend the family hearth. An exception arises when women in the house are menstruating, at which time they are not supposed to touch anything in the kitchen, or indeed to even enter that room. If no other female relatives are available, men may temporarily assume the task of food preparation at this time. Hindus can also be quite particular about taking cooked food from strangers, since in such a case they know little about the caste and pollution restrictions that were observed during its preparation. Many Hindu men who travel, or who live alone for other reasons, learn to cook for themselves.

A somewhat similar division of labor by gender governs worship at domestic shrines. Many Hindu women regularly tend a family altar, laying or hanging fresh flowers around the gods and saying prayers. In homes where elaborate daily rituals are performed, however, these are usually left to a senior male. Such intensive worship is by personal preference and is generally associated with individual orthodoxy. It is also common for families to conduct day-to-day rituals themselves but to hire a priest-specialist for the more elaborate work associated with honoring family gods during special festivals or at key domestic events.

Relation to Nondomestic Observances. It would be incorrect to draw any sharp division between Hindu household rites and nondomestic observances. The human body, the domestic living space, and the public temple, as pointed out earlier, are ritually similar. Worship relating to one, for a Hindu, is often equivalent to worship at another.

Hospitality, another key theme, also runs through both temple and domestic events. The reception accorded special household visitors has its own rituals of greeting, seating, and feeding. Gods are treated as household guests, while human visitors may be treated like gods. Foods appropriately offered a guest, as well as the sequence in which they are presented, have been codified in detail. In traditional circles even the serving dishes used to welcome guests are made of special metals and molded into special shapes. Details of gesture and posture are also important when one is receiving visitors. Such gestures are sometimes carefully described in folktales. Details of such hospitality rules, but not the principles, vary by region and by a family's social or community status.

For any Hindu, the house guest *par excellence* is the religious mendicant. Many devout, well-to-do people make a point of feeding ascetic wanderers daily. Family honor and personal merit both increase with the generous giving of food to one who has renounced the world. Popular religious legends tell of gods who become beggars in order to test a devout householder. These holy persons challenge the donor, testing to see if he or she is willing to sacrifice personal abundance for religious devotion. In all such encounters divine grace enters the household with the guest's presence, just as a deity is thought to enter the household shrine during worship. It is not uncommon, furthermore, to give foods that were first offered at the family shrine to strangers who later appear at the door.

Public and domestic elements also come together in other Hindu observances. One tradition, becoming more and more popular at present, is the hymn-singing evening among friends. This event can be held in a public temple, but it is also commonly organized in private. The participants either seat themselves facing a household shrine or use an image taken from that altar as a centerpiece. Such gatherings redefine space in a personal home, so that it becomes more like the space of the public temple.

Hindu domestic rituals spill into the wider world in other ways. A good illustration is provided by the popular southern rite called Poṅkal. This is the special boiling of raw rice *(poṅkal)* on a festive occasion, and its subsequent offering to one or more divinities. The symbolism of Poṅkal carries with it many of the associations between body, home, shrine, and cosmos already mentioned. At an overt level, Poṅkal transforms raw rice into a milky, mushy gruel that is then offered to a god or goddess with a short ceremonial *pūjā*. In a third step, the same food is later distributed among the key participants and eaten. At a deeper level Poṅkal is symbolically associated with the harvest of rice or the birth of a child. In each of these three transformations there is both careful control and the application of heat. In Poṅkal the cooking is confined by a pot; in a field rice is ripened or cooked by the sun, there held to the earth in which it was planted; in gestation a child matures or "cooks" inside the mother's belly while still confined to her womb. The Poṅkal ceremony is also linked to key calendrical festivals such as the Tamil New Year, where yet a further temporal transition is celebrated.

The *poṅkal* is generally cooked in new pots, often on a new stove. Normally it is prepared in the open, on a house threshold, or at the border of a temple compound. In this sense cooking *poṅkal* is a little like cooking at a picnic. The place is unusual and the method of preparation slightly different from normal. There is also a special ritual involved in the cooking, whereby each pot must boil up and spill out in an auspicious direction, but not substantially overflow. This rice-cooking ritual may be performed at home and the product directly offered to deities there, or it may be prepared in an open temple yard by women from separate households. It will then be offered to a publicly enshrined god or goddess. The rite of Poṅkal thus moves a key domestic activity out of the inner sanctum of the kitchen and into more marginal and more open spaces. The preparation of this most vulnerable of food substances, boiled rice, is also opened up on such occasions to an unusual degree of public view. Both these changes suggest the temporary merger of domestic with wider human domains.

If the cooking of *poṅkal* involves a relaxation of the distinction between household and temple, it is also a key ritual in events that mark the overlap of a household social grouping with other key dimensions of community structure. A share of Poṅkal rice, for example, is often offered to immediate family ancestors. Furthermore, cooking *poṅkal* is a common ritual ingredient of festivals celebrated by much larger groupings of kinfolk, such as whole lineages, clans, or subcastes. The preparation of *poṅkal* is also a big event at calendrical celebrations for the village goddess. Here members of many different castes participate overtly. By joining in such an event, they define their common membership in a unit larger than the hamlet or single community.

POLLUTION. Hindu men and women both contract ritual pollution upon the death of close relatives. Complex rules govern how long one is disqualified from participating in festival events after a family funeral has taken place. Both sexes also suffer from temporary pollution after sexual intercourse (requiring a bath) and after eating foods cooked by persons of low caste (traditionally requiring additional acts of expiation). Hindu women acquire pollution during childbirth and menstruation as well. The rules vary by caste, region, and the general orthodoxy of the household as to the action and precautions necessary in such circumstances. Most urban or educated Hindus now consider some or all of these pollution ideas outdated. The enforcement of such restrictions persists, however, in many rural areas.

The Hindu concept of pollution is still imprecisely and incompletely understood by theorists, but it is known that this idea interweaves, in complex ways, such elements as domestic precautions, detailed rules for social intercourse, and several concepts of danger. Pollution, for the Hindu householder, involves a social misalignment, the loss of bodily substances, or a lapse in key biological functions. Either matter is out of place or primal energies have been misaligned. Pollution-linked restrictions serve to prevent such disorders from spreading. As in the Poṅkal ceremony, unusual admixtures and the heat that they generate are a necessary force in transformation. Such processes, though necessary, must be properly contained and monitored in order to confine the chaos produced as their by-product. Hindu domestic ceremonies symbolize the need for regulation and control. They thus ensure a fruitful channeling of vitalizing and heating forces of many kinds.

SEE ALSO Rites of Passage, article on Hindu Rites.

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DOMESTIC OBSERVANCES: CHINESE PRACTICES

Chinese domestic rituals are rich and varied, differing from place to place and over time. We know most about the observances of the southeastern provinces (Kwangtung, Fukien, and Taiwan) in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; what follows reflects this imbalance in our knowledge. Widespread hints and a few fuller accounts of other provinces and other periods, however, give us confidence that, despite considerable variation in specific rituals, the same basic themes have shaped domestic ritual throughout China for several hundred years.

The Chinese word *jia* means both "house" and "family," and everywhere in China there exists a close ritual connection between the building and its inhabitants. It is convenient to divide Chinese domestic rituals into three types: those concerning the house itself, those dealing with the life cycle of the family and its members, and those calendrical rites that are ordinarily performed by the household corporately, or by one or more household members for the benefit of the family as a whole.

RITES OF THE HOUSE. The placement and spatial proportions of a house are believed to affect greatly the fortunes and well-being of its inhabitants. Before building, then, care is taken to site and orient a house in a way favorable to those who will live in it. This is done by selecting a site, if possible, with the advice of a geomancer, a specialist in the technique of *feng-shui* ("wind and water"). A geomancer can tell from the topography of a potential site and its surroundings how well the "cosmic breaths" or "natural forces" *(qi)* set up by building the house will harmonize with those of the natural environment and the potential inhabitants. Geomantic siting and orientation are particularly important in a farmhouse, which can be built without regard to streets or nearby structures.

An urban house, of course, must be built on an empty lot and must face a street, so the opportunities for geomantic siting and orientation are correspondingly restricted. But in both urban and farm houses, the internal proportions of construction are another important consideration in assuring a harmonious dwelling. Such measurements as the size and placement of gates and doors, the arrangement of rooms, and, in particular, the placement of the ritual altar are deemed to affect the relations between a house and its inhabitants. Accordingly, not only geomancers but also carpenters must be familiar with correct proportions; carpenters' manuals contain both explicit instructions for the proper proportioning of a house and an occasional hint at how to cause discord in an enemy's family by purposefully building the house incorrectly.

Disharmony in family relations is sometimes attributed to bad geomantic siting or improper proportioning or layout of a house. To correct such spatial dissonance, it is not uncommon for people to erect a screen to prevent the direct entry of certain undesirable forces or spirits, reorient a door so it will face the domestic altar at a different angle, or perhaps build or take down a wall in order to restore harmonious relations between a house and neighboring structures. In extreme cases, houses geomantically diagnosed as incurable may be abandoned in favor of more salubrious sites.

Not only must a house harmonize with its spatial surroundings, it must also be occupied at a harmonious, and thus auspicious, time. A family moves into a new house during a two-hour period selected by a horoscope reader (who may double as a geomancer) to harmonize with the hours, days, months, and years of birth of as many of the family members as possible. The actual act of moving is marked by lighting incense to the household gods and ancestors on the new altar. The full celebration of moving into a new house is an elaborate one, often complete with major ritual sacrifices, officiated by Daoist or other priests, and including a large feast for relatives, friends, and neighbors.

Even after taking all prudent geomantic and horoscopic precautions, a family may still find its house a source of domestic disharmony. Certain rituals are designed to protect against this or to remedy it should it occur. Families who have moved into a previously occupied house will protect themselves against the spirit of the original owner, who is thought to reside in the house: on certain calendrical holidays this spirit, Ti-chi-chu ("lord of the foundation"), is worshiped with a small offering. In many areas, exorcisms, performed by Daoist or other priests, are employed either as precautions against possible haunting or in order to banish a ghost or spirit thought to be causing trouble.

In addition to such malevolent spirits, more benevolent or protective spirits also reside in the Chinese house. The local gods and family ancestors are enshrined on an altar, usually a prominent feature of a central parlor or another auspiciously located room in the house. They are the object of many of the calendrical and life-cycle rituals described below. Besides these, the house also plays host to some lesser spirits, the most important of which is Zaojun, the so-called kitchen god or, more accurately, "lord of the stove." The stove god is a low-ranking divinity, but many people consider him important because he is a sort of spy, sent by the Jade Emperor in Heaven to report on the activities of household members. As there is one stove for each household, even if there is more than one household in a dwelling, each household also has its own stove god, represented either by a picture or by his title written on red paper and pasted on the wall near the stove. This provides the stove itself with a certain sanctity. Thus, polluting substances (such as laundry, which is presumed to contain menstrual blood) cannot be placed on or hung in front of the stove, any more than these substances can come in contact with the altar. In addition, in some areas people ritually send the stove god back to Heaven to make his report on one of the last days of each lunar year; sometimes they place a bit of sticky candy on his lips so that his report will be brief and inarticulate, or alternatively, a bit of opium to soften his mood. Some families occasionally offer incense to a minor divinity associated with the household pigs or other livestock; rituals and stories surrounding this spirit are not as important or as elaborated as those concerning the stove god.

LIFE-CYCLE RITUALS. Domestic rites and celebrations accompany almost every stage in the life cycle of family members, including pregnancy, birth, early childhood, marriage, family division, death, and the passage to ancestral status. At each stage, both the family as a social unit and the house as a ritually charged space play an important part.

When a woman becomes pregnant, a spirit known as the "fetus spirit" (*taishen*) comes into being. This spirit, thought by some to be the soul of the unborn child, is not yet firmly attached to the fetus, but migrates around the house, changing its position from day to day. By reading a ritual calendar, people can discern, for example, that the fetus spirit will be in the bedroom today, on the roof tomorrow, in the front door the day after, and so on. No one worships or propitiates the fetus spirit, but all must be careful not to offend it for fear of harming the unborn child. Thoughtlessly driving a nail into a wall where the fetus spirit is staying, for example, may cause the child to be born with a harelip; sawing or cutting cloth in the fetus spirit's current room can cause missing limbs or digits; moving things that have long lain still at a time when the fetus spirit is in that room can cause spontaneous abortion.

Aside from such considerations, the pregnant woman has but few ritual restrictions placed on her. Birth ordinarily occurs in the woman's bedroom. The blood of birth, like the blood of menstruation, is polluting, and thus offensive to the gods. For one month following the birth, a new mother is treated as being in a state of ritual pollution, and is confined to the house. During that month, the room where the birth took place is also considered polluted, as is anyone who enters it. For a first son, a first-month feast often marks both the lifting of the state of pollution and the introduction of the child to the community; for subsequent sons and for daughters the ritual is often omitted.

A mother with young children has special ritual duties incumbent on no one else; she makes daily prayers and offerings to Chuangmu ("bed mother"), a low-ranking spirit whose special concern is the health and growth of young children. Closely associated with the bed, the bedroom, and motherhood, the Bed Mother is ignored by other members of the household; she is also, unlike such domestic spirits as the Lord of the Stove, unaffected by pollution. After a woman's children are all of school age or older, she will no longer need the special protection of the Bed Mother, and will cease the prayers and offerings to her.

Since no rituals have marked puberty or other coming of age for Chinese boys or girls in late traditional or modern times, the next ritually important event in the life cycle of the family is marriage. Marriage, like the other life-cycle rituals mentioned above, is closely connected with both the family group and the house itself. After the initial negotiations and matching of horoscopes of the prospective spouses, the first major ritual is the engagement, in which members of the groom's family (but in most areas, excluding the groom himself) deliver the betrothal payment (*pinjin*) and other gifts to the bride's family, and the groom's mother places a ring on the bride's hand. A few weeks or months later, at a horoscopically determined day and time, the marriage itself takes place. The day before the wedding, members of the groom's family go to the bride's house to exchange some ritual presents for the bride's dowry, which they then proceed to take home with them. Part of the dowry—the clothing, jewelry, cosmetics, and bedroom furniture—is installed in the "new room" (*xinfang*), ideally a newly built room, but minimally a newly outfitted one, in which the new couple will sleep. The next visit of the groom's relatives fetches the bride herself, who comes in splendor in a red sedan chair, and at a ritually auspicious moment is carried into the bedroom, the act marking the actual wedding. Later, she and her new husband worship the ancestors of his house, symbolizing the incorporation of the bride into her marital family. A feast follows, introducing the family's bride to relatives and neighbors.

With all sons bringing their brides to live as part of a joint family, the household will, inevitably, grow too large and its conflicts too intense to remain together as a joint corporation. The eventual establishment of separate household groups involves not only the equal division of property and residential space among the brothers but also the division of ritual responsibilities. After the households are divided, brothers may continue to share an altar for household gods and ancestors, but they can no longer share a stove or a stove god. A simple ritual of division involves a final common meal, followed by division of the ashes from the original stove and the consecration of a new stove, with a new stove god, for each of the newly independent households.

Death, like other phases in the life cycle, is an affair both of the family and of the house. A person's death places all family members, as well as the house (whether or not the person died at home), in a state of ritual pollution for a month, and initiates the most elaborate and sustained series of life-cycle rituals. At a ritually auspicious time, a priest or monk, depending on local tradition, places the body in its elaborately painted wooden coffin, which remains in the family's parlor until the burial. A paper soul-tablet with its own incense burner is set up on a special table adjacent to the family's altar. Copious offerings of food and incense are made night and day until the funeral, which must occur at a ritually opportune time, and thus may be delayed several weeks. The funeral involves the participation of many people besides the family members, and as such, is not a purely domestic observance. But the connection to the house remains strong; the two ritually crucial acts of the funeral, those that must be performed at proper times on pain of severe illness for family members, are carrying the coffin out of the house and lowering it into the grave. The family pays all funeral expenses, including a modest feast for a large gathering of relatives, neighbors, and friends. Those who come to pay their respects help offset the cost by bringing the family gifts of money.

After the funeral the temporary, paper spirit-tablet remains on its table for a few weeks, after which it is moved to the family altar, where it is still worshiped separately from the wooden tablets of previously deceased ancestors. After one or two years, a carved wooden tablet replaces the paper one, and the deceased takes a place among the ancestors of the household, to be worshiped as part of the domestic ritual calendar.

CALENDRICAL RITUALS OF THE FAMILY. Calendrical rituals center around the altar, which is usually divided into two halves. The left-hand part (which stands at the observer's right when facing the altar) is the ritually superior half, and enshrines the household gods. These may include deities of Buddhist origin such as Guanyin or one of the Buddhas; historical heroes, such as the Three-Kingdomsera fighter Guangong or one of the more local heroes; or purely traditional gods of the folk religion, such as Tudigong ("earth spirit"). There is usually a scroll hanging on the wall behind the gods' half of the altar, depicting whatever gods are popular locally. Families who feel particular devotion to an individual god may in addition place that god's carved wooden image on the altar in front of the scroll. A single incense pot serves for offerings to all the gods or, if need be, to a particular god on his or her birthday or other special occasions, such as the anniversary of the day when the god saved a family member's life or aided in some other extraordinary way.

The subordinate side of the altar, the right side (which stands at the observer's left), is the seat of the family's ancestral tablets. Depending on region and on individual preference, there may be a separate tablet for each ancestor or married pair of ancestors, there may be a single tablet-cabinet, containing rectangular wooden strips, one for each ancestor or pair, or the names of all the ancestors may be written on a broad, rectangular wooden board. In any case, the names of individual ancestors are always written on the tablets, together with their birth and death dates, and often the number of sons erecting the tablet. Exactly which deceased forebears are worshiped as ancestors varies from household to household, but the general rule is that a family should worship the household head's father and mother, father's father and father's mother, and so on back three to five generations from the current head. In fact, however, other ancestors are often included. For example, if a woman with no brothers marries into the family, she will bring her ancestors' tablets with her, and if a man marries into his wife's family, he may also bring his parents' tablets, or more if he has no brothers to take care of the tablets at home. Ancestors with surnames other than that of the primary ancestral line of the household cannot be worshiped together with the primary ancestors; they must have their own incense burner, and may be relegated to a separate, subordinate altar.

Daily devotions at the altar include incense offered morning and evening, first to the gods and then to the ancestors. Often, a third stick of incense is placed in a burner just outside the front door of the house and offered to dangerous ghosts. Any family member may perform these simple rites; in practice the duty most often falls to the senior woman.

More complex offerings to various spirits may come on the first and fifteenth days of each lunar month, corresponding roughly to the dates of the new and full moon, respectively. These offerings may include presentation of food and burning of ritual money as well as the customary lighting of incense. But the truly elaborate domestic offerings are reserved for special occasions of three kinds. First are the holidays, which are dispersed differently through the Chinese lunar and solar years from one region to the next; only the New Year and the Mid-Autumn festival, celebrated the fifteenth day of the eighth lunar month, approach universality. Second are the birthdays of individual gods, on which occasions households may worship individually or as part of a larger, community celebration. Finally, there are the death-day anniversaries of the family's individual ancestors; these are of course different for each family.

For any of these three sorts of calendrical occasions, each family will prepare and present its own offerings, which always include incense, food, and paper money, and may also include other paper offerings, such as clothing for the ancestors, and on some occasions firecrackers. Offerings always differ according to the particular occasion and according to which spirits are being worshiped. As a general rule, gods receive large, symbolic offerings, such as whole fowl or meat cuts and "gold" paper money. Ancestors receive smaller and more intimate presentations, including food cooked, chopped, and ready to eat, along with silver spirit money and in some places clothes or other practical goods, burnt in paper form. Ghosts, worshiped in many places in the seventh lunar month, receive massive and impersonal offerings, such as uncooked foods, and always the lowest denomination of paper money.

A calendrical ritual of any sort represents the discharge of a family's ritual obligations, either alone or along with other households in the community. At the same time, ritual occasions of this sort provide families with the opportunity to socialize and to strengthen ties with other families. All food offerings are eventually eaten, and all but the simplest are elaborate and expensive enough to be suitable for entertaining guests. Even on the private occasion of an ancestor's death-day, a family will invite a few relatives or neighbors to a ritual meal, and on a major community holiday or god's birthday every house in a village or a city street will be full of guests from outside the local community. On these holidays, as on so many other private and public occasions, the Chinese family affirms its good standing and its unity through ritual.

SEE ALSO Chinese Religion, article on Popular Religion; Chinese Religious Year.

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DOMESTIC OBSERVANCES: JAPANESE PRACTICES

The Japanese dwelling once was a sacred place in which images and symbols of numerous deities and spirits were the object of purely domestic ritual. Over the past century, and with increasing acceleration since the end of World War II in 1945, both the number of objects of veneration and the frequency of the rituals directed toward them have declined precipitously. Despite the decline, there nevertheless remain ceremonies and practices that speak directly to the notion that the dwelling and its occupants will enjoy the protection of an array of tutelary deities and spirits so long as they are fittingly propitiated.

In analyses of Japanese religious behavior it is common to distinguish three general domains: Buddhism, Shintō, and folk beliefs and practices. Although the categories are by no means exclusive, this tripartite division affords a useful way of organizing a discussion of change. The postwar period has seen the near eclipse of domestic practices belonging to the realms of folk religion and Shintō. Both were closely bound up in the annual cycle of agricultural and fishing communities, whose way of life has been irreversibly altered by the massive social and economic transformation of the twentieth century. Shintō, furthermore, has long been deprived of its privileged position as the vehicle for the government's efforts to construct a national cult centered on emperor worship. Rites in the Buddhist idiom alone survive as the chief focus of domestic religious observances.

Before turning to these Buddhist rites, however, it is appropriate to survey briefly the rapidly vanishing world of household deities and spirits, for only a generation or two ago their benign presence was thought essential to the well-being of the domestic unit. Few dwellings would have contained all of them, given the very great regional variation in these matters, but it is safe to say that most would have had at least one.

Known by many names, the *yashikigami* (house deity) was found in one form or another throughout the country. Customarily enshrined in the corner of the house yard or on other land owned by the family, it served as the tutelary deity of the household or the community and in some places was thought to represent the spirits of the ancestors of the contemporary population. The rites associated with the house deity were essentially Shintō in character, but lacked any connection with the state cult. Equally common, perhaps, was the *toshi no kami* or *toshigami* (year deity), enshrined in the Shintō style on a shelf set high on the wall of the main room of the house. As the name implies, it was venerated chiefly at the New Year, at which time its vaguely tutelary powers were invoked to see the family safely through the coming year.

Once almost universal but quite rare since the disestablishment of state Shintō was the practice at the New Year and on some other festival occasions of hanging a scroll in the *tokonama* (alcove) of the main room of the house bearing the characters *Tenshō kōtaijin* (i.e., the name Amaterasu Ōmikami, the sun goddess, founder of the imperial line). Offerings to this premier deity of the Shintō pantheon consisted of rice or glutinous rice cake and branches of the *sakaki* tree. Less ordinarily enshrined in homes than in places of business, Inari, usually referred to as the fox god but in reality the goddess of rice, was found in some house yards. In other areas, an image of the *bodhisattva* Jizō (Skt., Kṣitigarbha), the protector of children, was installed somewhere outside the house and, like Inari, was made the object of occasional offerings.

Many houses contained a pair of images of two other deities thought to bring good fortune. Ebisu, usually depicted with a large fish under his arm, and Daikoku, shown standing or sitting astride bales of rice and holding a hammer from which money and other valuables flow, were placed together on a separate shelf, and offerings of food were made to them periodically. Daikoku appeared in another form as well, as the largest of the four main pillars supporting the roof of the house. Called *daikoku bashira*, this post was the central point of the geomantic diagram from which all auspicious and inauspicious directions were calculated. Although no offerings were made to it, care was taken that the pillar was not defaced and that no one leaned disrespectfully on it.

Ritual of a combined folk and Shintō character is also a feature of the construction of the house itself. The site itself is protected by the placing of emblems of purity and sanctity called *shimenawa* (twisted straw rope) and *gohei* (folded white paper streamers). When the ridgepole is raised, a priest or the head carpenter, accompanied by the head of the house and his sons, performs rites designed to secure the good fortune of the family and from atop the structure throws down rice cakes to family members, helpers, and neighbors. The ceremony is followed by a feast featuring numerous dishes symbolizing prosperity, longevity, and felicity. Less widely practiced in cities than in the countryside, both the sanctification of the house site and the ridgepole ceremony are still widely observed.

There remain three other major domestic deities associated directly with the dwelling itself, *kama no kami* (deity of the stove), *suijin* (deity of the well), and *benjō-gami* (deity of the toilet), all of whom received offerings primarily at the New Year. The first was enshrined on a shelf, where offerings of rice, tea, *sakaki* branches, candles, and incense were made. The well god, represented by a stone image or a small clay shrine set near the well or pump, received offerings of flowers. The toilet god has been of little importance in most areas for a long time, but was given a little rice at the New Year. Of the minor household deities, many were worshiped in limited areas or by certain kinds of households. It would be impossible to enumerate them here.

Until the end of World War II, which ended in a defeat so catastrophic that the carefully crafted structure of national Shintō was totally discredited, most houses had a shelf for Shintō deities called the *kamidana*. Made of plain wood and bearing unglazed pottery vessels for offerings, it held a miscellany of amulets (*fuda* or *omamori*), souvenirs from Shintō shrines, and most particularly a talisman from the imperial shrine at Ise, seat of the imperial ancestors. At the end of the war many people took down the *kamidana* or failed to incorporate one into new dwellings built in the postwar period. Nonetheless, the practice of collecting amulets from both Shintō shrines and Buddhist temples remains a vigorous one, and almost anyone on a visit or pilgrimage will purchase them to bring back to keep in the house, on his or her person, or, more recently, in the family automobile. These amulets are for easy childbirth, traffic safety, curing alcoholism, success in school examinations, and a host of other mundane concerns. Never the object of veneration or offerings, they are thought to serve a generally protective function.

Most of the rites associated with the household deities so far discussed are performed rather casually. An offering may be made by anyone who thinks of it, although the wife of the family head or the grandmother of the house is most likely to discharge this function as part of her domestic duties. Very different are the rites associated with veneration of the spirits of the deceased members of the household, for in this context the family coalesces as a worshiping unit. These rites center on the *butsudan* (Buddhist domestic altar), a cabinet with doors that normally stands in the main room of the dwelling. The altar doors are opened only when a ceremony is held or someone wishes to speak to the ancestral spirits. Although the altar may contain certain Buddhist paraphernalia, perhaps an image of a *bodhisattva* or scroll bearing a picture or sacred text, it is first and foremost the repository for the memorial tablets of deceased family members. For this reason it is called the ancestor shelf (*senzodana*) in many parts of the country.

On major occasions of worship, priests may be called to the home to conduct the services, but all the other ceremonies for the ancestral spirits are performed by members of the family. They may assemble as a collectivity or approach the altar individually, but on such occasions the presence of a ritual specialist is not required. Because the matter is rather complicated, it will be well at this juncture to lay out the variety and kinds of circumstances that lead the living members of the household to interact ritually with the spirits of their dead kin.

Particular attention is given the ancestral spirits on four occasions in the annual ritual cycle: New Year, the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, and Obon (Festival of the Dead) in the middle of July or August by the Western calendar. By far the most important of these is Obon, when the spirits are welcomed back to the house and given a feast by the members of the family. They remain for three days and are sent off again with gifts of food and flowers. On all four of these calendrically determined occasions, the collectivity of the ancestors is worshiped by the collectivity of the family. Other occasions for domestic worship center on the deceased individual. Special offerings and sūtra reading mark every seventh day of the first forty-nine days after death. Memorial services are held at the altar in a sequence of anniversaries of the person's death (*nenki* or *shūki*), generally the first, third, seventh, thirteenth, seventeenth, twenty-third, twenty-seventh, thirty-third, fiftieth, and one-hundredth. Depending on the family's sectarian affiliation and preferences, one of the last three anniversaries may terminate the series of observances for the deceased as an individual. In addition to these prescribed rites, rice, tea, and other foods are placed in the altar daily, usually at the time of the morning meal. For the more elaborate and formal rites, most people deem it appropriate that the family head officiate, but at all others any member may make the offerings. Inasmuch as responsibility for care of the ancestors is conceived as an extension of a woman's domestic role, it is not surprising to find that adult female members of the family are heavily involved in the daily offering of food and drink to the ancestral spirits, who are clearly thought to remain in need of care and sustenance.

More casual, less routinized contact between the living and the domestically enshrined ancestors is also common. Individuals may petition the ancestors for assistance in some endeavor, report successes to them and apologize for failures, seek their advice rhetorically by raising problems and expressing doubts about the best course of action in some matter, and offering them a portion of gifts of food brought to the family by visitors. At such times no formal offerings are made, but such interaction, in which conventional rather than ritual speech is used, clearly supports the contention that, as David W. Plath (1964) has put it, the Family of God is the family and the dwelling the site of the most intense religious activity in which most Japanese ever engage.

Until recent times the house was also the site of births, weddings, and funerals, as well as a number of other events marking stages in the life cycles of its members. Each was marked by the preparation of ceremonial foods and the display of ritual objects. Auspicious and festive occasions, as well as somber and inauspicious ones, were observed in the context of a concern for the continuity of the domestic unit, celebrating the addition of new members through birth or marriage, changes in their social position, and transition to the realm of ancestorhood. Today, however, women give birth in hospitals and weddings are held in commercial establishments. Only the funeral service remains a household event.

The annual round is punctuated by the observance of a combination of secular and religious occasions on which, as in the life-cycle events, special foods are prepared by the women of the house and ritual objects specific to the event are displayed. There is still considerable variation in the scheduling of these rites and practices, but the establishment of a series of national holidays and adoption of the Western calendar in rural and urban areas alike have served to encourage standardization of the annual cycle. Many official holidays and not a few informal practices retain some vestiges of religious elements, although for the most part these have become much attenuated in recent years.

The annual ceremonial calendar begins with the great three-day celebration of Oshōgatsu, the New Year, which is essentially a family-centered holiday. Decorations are placed in and around the dwelling and offerings made to the ancestors and the deities. In many rural areas January 15 is marked as Koshōgatsu, Little New Year, by the preparation of special foods and other observances. On March 3 families with daughters celebrate Momo no Sekku or Hina Matsuri, Girls' Day, by setting up displays of dolls and making or purchasing special cakes and preparing a meal of auspicious dishes. The vernal equinox, Shūbun no Hi, today observed on March 21, is a religious occasion for cleaning the family graves and venerating the ancestors. On May 5 families with sons mark Boys' Day, Tango no Sekku or Shōbu no Sekku, by flying cloth banners and carp streamers over the house, displaying objects such as miniature helmets, spears, swords, and masculine dolls, and as on Girls' Day, preparing or purchasing special cakes. Since the end of World War II, both these days have been combined into Children's Day, May 5, but the old distinction is still widely observed.

Tanabata, the Star Festival, now held on July 7 for the most part, is the occasion for practicing calligraphy and setting up branches of living bamboo festooned with decorations in the yard of the house. The Festival of the Dead, Obon, is the paramount religious holiday. Formerly held on the thirteenth to the fifteenth days of the seventh lunar month, it is now observed in July in some areas and in August in others. The autumnal equinox, Shūbun no Hi, like the vernal, is an occasion for veneration of the ancestral spirits. The annual cycle formerly concluded with Setsubun, the eve of Risshun, first day of the old solar year. Today it falls out of sequence about February 3. Each family member eats a number of boiled beans equal to his or her age in years and tosses roasted beans outside the house with the cry "Oni wa soto, fuku wa uchi" ("Devils out, good fortune in"). Like many of the formerly religious occasions, Setsubun increasingly is regarded as an observance children will particularly enjoy.

With the passage of time, many of these festive occasions, which formerly played such a significant role in the life of the household, will continue to fade in importance, and their meaning will be lost. Already most young Japanese have seen them performed in the traditional manner only in costume dramas on television or read about them in accounts of life before World War II. Nonetheless, the core of domestic ritual concerned with the care of the ancestors of the house remains the bedrock on which rests what is left of the sacred character of the domestic unit in Japanese society.

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DOMINIC

DOMINIC (1170–1221), Christian saint and founder of the Order of Friars Preachers, popularly known as the Dominicans. Born at Caleruega in Old Castile, Spain, of parents of the lesser nobility, Domingo de Guzmán received his early education for the clerical state from his archpriest uncle before going to Palencia to study arts and theology from 1186 until 1196. In the latter year he became a canon regular of the reformed cathedral chapter of his home diocese of Osma, where he was ordained to the priesthood and spent the next seven years. A diplomatic mission to Denmark in 1203 brought Dominic, as the traveling companion of his bishop, Diego d'Acebes, into contact with the Albigensian, or Catharist, movement in Languedoc.

This dualist heresy, which had its origin in the teachings of the Persian religious thinker Mani (216–276), had come to western Europe from the Bogomils of Bulgaria, spreading along medieval trade routes in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The Albigensians (the name derives from the city of Albi, near Toulouse) offered a viable religious alternative for many men and women in southern France who were disenchanted with the institutional church, and the austere lives of the Albigensian teachers, known as the perfect, often stood in marked contrast to the wealth and immoral behavior of the Roman Catholic clergy.

Confronted with a profound challenge to Catholic teaching and authority, Innocent III (1198–1216) had enlisted the services of the Cistercians as preachers among the Albigensians. When Dominic and Diego arrived at the papal court in 1205 on their way home to Spain, after the unsuccessful completion of their Danish mission, Innocent sent them to join the Cistercian preaching mission. The nine years of Dominic's preaching among the Albigensians (1206–1215) constituted the germinating period for his understanding that the ecclesial crisis represented by the Albigensian movement could be met only by a group of doctrinal preachers who would proclaim the gospel and live in apostolic poverty. While in Languedoc, Dominic established a form of religious life for a group of converted Albigensian women at Prouille. This first community of Dominican nuns marked the beginning of countless ways in which women over the centuries would come to share in and help create the Dominican vision.

In 1215 Dominic gathered his first companions in Toulouse, and with the approval of Bishop Fulk they began to preach and live a communal religious life within the diocese. Dominic's vision, however, extended far beyond the confines of Languedoc. Hence he accompanied Fulk to the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 to obtain papal approval for his dream of a band of doctrinal preachers available to serve the universal church wherever there was need. Innocent III approved of Dominic's idea in principle, but since the council had just forbidden the establishment of any new religious orders, the pope told him to return when he and his companions had selected an already approved rule under which they would live.

Dominic and the first friars chose the rule of Augustine, the rule under which Dominic had already lived as a canon regular, supplemented with legislation borrowed from the Premonstratensians and modified in ways appropriate to their new circumstances. In a series of three bulls between December 1216 and February 1217, Honorius III (1216–1227) officially approved Dominic's plan for a universal preaching brotherhood and addressed its members as "the Order of Preachers."

In 1217 only four years remained of Dominic's life, but they were to be years of intense activity in which he set forth the basic design for the Order of Preachers with bold strokes. Since Dominic believed that doctrinal preaching was required to meet the spiritual needs of men and women in an increasingly urban and academic culture, he saw study as essential to a universal preaching mission. Upon his return from Rome in 1217, Dominic dispersed the first sixteen friars gathered in Toulouse throughout Europe, sending seven of them to establish a religious house at the University of Paris. From the dispersal in 1217 until the spring of 1220, Dominic was on the road, preaching, visiting the friars he had sent out, gathering new members for the order, founding new houses, and seeking continued papal support for the work of the preachers.

Dominic's thought has survived not in his writings, for only a few of his letters are extant, but rather in the formative guidance that he gave to the first two general chapters of the order in 1220 and 1221. The idea of a general chapter was not unique to Dominic; begun by the Cistercians in the previous century, it had become the common form of unifying and promoting the life of a religious order. Dominic, however, saw the general chapter not as a gathering of abbots but as an assembly of brothers elected by their peers who would legislate for the common good. In Dominic's vision the master of the order was to be the center of unity on the universal level, the provincial on the regional level, and the prior on the local level. But the friars themselves, functioning through the general, provincial, and local chapters, were to assume responsibility for carrying on the life and mission of the order.

Under Dominic's dynamic leadership, the chapters of 1220 and 1221 established the basic constitutional framework that would ensure constant flexibility in adapting the order's preaching mission to diverse situations. They gave a primary place to study as essential to doctrinal preaching, embraced mendicant poverty, provided for dispensations from the constitutions when necessary so as not to impede preaching or study, and universalized the mission of the order by establishing eight provinces in western Europe. The chapters of 1220 and 1221 brought Dominic's vision to life: an order of preachers whose preaching would flow from a life of study and common prayer, lived in a community of brothers professing the vows and being jointly responsible, through a chapter system of representative government, for a universal preaching mission in cooperation with the bishops and with the papacy's protection and support.

Dominic fell ill during a preaching tour in Lombardy after the meeting of the general chapter of 1221, and he died in Bologna (where he is buried) on August 6, 1221. In 1234 he was canonized by Gregory IX (1227–1241), and he is commemorated in the Roman calendar on August 8. The influence of Dominic perdures in the shared vision of a religious family of men and women dedicated to preaching the gospel to all people while living in a community that is committed to common prayer and simplicity and whose members are jointly responsible for their life and mission.

SEE ALSO Dominicans.

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DOMINICANS. The popular name of the Order of Friars Preachers (Ordo Praedicatorum, abbreviated O.P.) was derived from the name of the order's founder, Domingo de Guzmán (1170–1221), generally called Dominic. In France the Dominicans were once known as Jacobins, from their priory of Saint Jacques at the University of Paris, and in England they were known as Black Friars, from the black mantles that they wore over their white habits.

Along with the Franciscans, the Dominicans constitute the heart of the mendicant friar movement of the thirteenth century. After the renaissance of the twelfth century, the presence within medieval society of a growing number of urban-dwelling and literate laypeople, critical of and often alienated from the institutional church, posed a great pastoral problem. The secular and religious clergy at the beginning of the thirteenth century seemed ill equipped to meet the spiritual needs of an urbanized laity and unable to cope with the rapid spread of the Albigensian and Waldensian heresies in the cities of southern France and northern Italy.

Between 1215 and 1221, Dominic with papal approval founded a religious order whose members would not be bound by monastic stability but would be itinerant doctrinal preachers, living a life of poverty in community and educated to minister to the spiritual needs of a literate urban laity. The presence of the Dominicans at the burgeoning universities of Europe established a mutual relationship that would have profound consequences for the history of European thought. From the local priory, which was seen as an ongoing theological school for preachers, to the great centers of study at Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Cologne, the houses of the order constituted a vast educational network. Albertus Magnus (1193–1280) and Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), with their monumental achievements of utilizing the insights of Aristotelian thought in the formulation of a new Christian philosophical and theological synthesis, represent the best of the Dominican tradition of study at the service of preaching the gospel in ever new and challenging milieus.

The same creative élan that marked the Dominican presence at the great university centers of Europe was also manifest in missionary activity. Within the first hundred years of their existence, the Dominicans had established missions in Scandinavia, the Baltic area, eastern Europe, Greece, Persia, the Holy Land, and North Africa.

Dominican emphasis on doctrinal preaching led popes and bishops to use the order in the work of the Inquisition. This darker aspect of Dominican history is somewhat counterbalanced by the positive impact that the order's model of government by elected representatives had upon the emerging parliamentary system of Europe.

From its earliest days the Order of Preachers embraced not only priests, student brothers, novices, and lay brothers, all of whom constituted what came to be called the first order, but also contemplative nuns (the second order) and women religious and laypeople living in the world (the third order). The first order grew rapidly in the first hundred years of the order's existence. In 1277 there were 12 provinces and 404 priories with about thirteen thousand friars whereas in 1303 there were 18 provinces and 590 priories with about twenty thousand friars. Because the Black Death took a great toll in the middle of the fourteenth century, the number of Dominican friars probably never exceeded thirty thousand at any one time during the Middle Ages.

The monasteries of Dominican second-order nuns, which numbered 4 during the last years of Dominic's life, increased to 58 in 1277, 141 in 1303, and 157 in 1358. Munio of Zamora, seventh master of the order (1285–1291), drew up a rule in 1285 for lay men and women who wished to be Dominicans while continuing to live in the world. It is impossible to estimate how many men and women shared the Dominican life and mission as members of the third order, but Catherine of Siena (1347–1380), mystic and doctor of the church, stands as an eloquent witness to the third order's profound influence upon medieval society.

The German Dominicans Meister Eckhart (1260–1327), Johannes Tauler (1300–1361), and Heinrich Suso (c. 1295–1366) were leaders in the fourteenth-century mystical movement, but like all other religious orders the Dominicans experienced a considerable loss of members and a marked decline in observance and morale as a result of the Black Death. Raymond of Capua, twenty-third master of the order (1380–1400), inaugurated a reform movement in the last decades of the fourteenth century that resulted in the renewed life of the order in the fifteenth century, exemplified by Antoninus of Florence (1389–1459), Fra Angelico (1387–1455), and Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498).

The Dominicans Johann Tetzel (1465–1519) and Thomas de Vio Cajetan (1469–1534) played key roles in the events that inaugurated the Reformation, and Dominicans were to be found both joining the ranks of the Reformation preachers and defending the old faith before and after the Council of Trent (1545–1563). Although religious changes in Europe caused the disappearance or decline of the Dominican provinces in northern Europe, seven new provinces were founded in Central and South America. Dominican missionary activity in the New World was rendered illustrious by the preaching of Louis Bertrand (1526–1581), by the charitable work of Martín de Porres (1579–1639) and Juan Macias (1585–1645), and by the struggles of Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474–1566) to protect the Indians from the exploitation of Spanish colonial officials.

Although the order numbered between thirty and forty thousand friars and nuns in forty-five provinces in the seventeenth century, and Thomism flourished under such distinguished commentators as John of Saint Thomas (1589–1644), much of the outward structure of the order was swept away during the difficult period from 1789 to 1848. Under the impulse of the French Dominican preacher Jean-Baptiste-Henri Lacordaire (1802–1861) and the outstanding leadership of Vincent Jandel, seventy-third master of the order (1855–1872), the Dominicans entered upon a new spring in the mid-nineteenth century that ultimately produced in the early decades of the twentieth century the biblical scholar Marie-Joseph Lagrange (1855–1938) and the Thomistic theologians Reginald Garrigou-Lagrange (1877–1964) and Juan Arintero (1860–1928).

Dominican theologians Yves Congar, Dominic Chenu, and Edward Schillebeeckx were leaders in the new theological movement that flourished after World War II in Europe and culminated in Vatican II. The renewal of the order in accordance with the norms of the council began with the publication of the new constitutions written at the general chapter held at River Forest, Illinois, in 1968. The four subsequent general chapters have continued the renewal process and given special emphasis to new forms of preaching and to the modern media of communication, the ministry of social justice, and the development of the order in South America, Africa, and Asia. In 1974 the concept of the first, second, and third orders was replaced by that of the Dominican family. New emphasis was given to the common mission of the men and women of the order to preach the gospel, while recognizing the diverse ways in which the ministry of preaching is carried out by the clerical, religious, and lay members of the order.

Over the past seven centuries 18 Dominican men and women have been canonized, and 334 members of the Dominican family have been beatified. Furthermore, 4 popes, 69 cardinals, and several thousand bishops have been drawn from the Dominican order to the service of the universal church. In 2000, the Dominican family throughout the world included 5,171 brothers in solemn vows, 4,672 priests, and 477 lay brothers. In 1983 there were 4,775 nuns in 225 cloistered monasteries, 40,816 women religious in 140 congregations, and 70,431 laity or secular Dominicans.

SEE ALSO Albertus Magnus; Catherine of Siena; Dominic; Eckhart, Johannes; Las Casas, Bartolomé de; Savonarola, Girolamo; Tauler, Johannes; Thomas Aquinas.

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THOMAS MCGONIGLE (1987)
Revised Bibliography

DÖMÖTÖR, TEKLA (1914–1987) was a Hungarian folklorist and pioneering scholar of folk religion in the Hungarian context. Born in Budapest, Hungary, she studied English and German philology at the Pázmány Péter University in Budapest from 1932 to 1936. Her Ph.D. dissertation (1937) was about German medieval ritual drama. She became a university teacher in 1953, then was professor and chair of the folklore department in Budapest—the university's first woman chairperson and professor—from 1973 to 1984. Her primary field of research was the history of Hungarian theater and Hungarian folk customs and folk beliefs. Beginning in the 1960s she participated in international conferences and societies of European folklore. In 1985 she won the Herder Prize for fostering comparative folklore research in central Europe.

Dömötör's major works are devoted to Hungarian folk calendar customs and Hungarian ritual poetry, including references to folk beliefs and folk legends. Extending her earlier popular books, she wrote the first new summary on Hungarian folk beliefs (1981 in Hungarian, English translation 1982). Dömötör wrote a biographical sketch about János Honti (1910–1945), the closest friend of her husband, Aladár Dobrovits, professor of Egyptology at the Budapest University. In this biographical sketch of Honti, who was one of the first modern Hungarian folklorists and who was killed by the Nazis, she gave a detailed picture of the work before World War I of the Hungarian Section of the Folklore Fellows in organizing the rich Hungarian folklore collections.

Dömötör's monograph on Hungarian folk beliefs is a careful work. She avoids the use of such basic religio-scientific concepts as the term *mythology* as regards the Hungarians. Contrary to many Finno-Ugric scholars, she prefers historical interpretations of folklife and belief and is reluctant to say anything about "Hungarian shamanism." In the introduction she lists the previous attempts to describe the "ancient Hungarian religion," but in general she finds unconvincing their reconstructions and historic stratifications concerning the ancient Hungarian "mythology" or "religion," because in such works "the scope of speculation remains very wide indeed" (1982, p. 42). When Hungarians adopted the Christian faith (during the reign of King Stephen I, 997–1038), the old pattern of social organization disintegrated, to be replaced by the emergence of a feudal social structure. According to Dömötör, Hungarian medievalist historians have interpreted the true historic data related to beliefs and customs according to their own expectations. Regarding the time of the Reformation, she discusses "diabolic beings," evil-eye cases, and witches. The witch trials existed in Hungary until 1768, and their pattern does not significantly modify the general European picture. At the time of the Enlightenment a tendency toward teaching the people not to trust superstitions appeared.

Dömötör did not address the later sociohistorical stratification of Hungarian folk beliefs. She wanted to draw an overall picture of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The major chapters of her description are: animistic beliefs (mythical beings, metamorphosis, *ignis fatuus,* "fair lady," "fair maid" and fairies, revenants and ghosts, demons of nature, giants and dwarfs, the devil and his accomplices, Lucy, malevolent spirits, bogeymen, demons of disease, changeling, werewolf, dragon, snake, and other mythical animals and plants); the "cunning folk" (people with special skills); healers and their cures; magic (and divination); the magical power of words (incantations and prayers); man and nature (creation of the earth and weather lore); laicized traditions of the church (popular religion), pilgrimages, and sects; and the living and the dead (grave posts).

As is evident from these contents, Dömötör's book does not give a deep historical analysis and does not follow any system of phenomenology of religion. The order of the several subchapters in the book remains unexplained. In fact the differences between old traces of "mythology," folk beliefs, superstitions, and forms of everyday popular religion are not distinguished or systematized. Dömötör was afraid of making any terminological or theoretical suggestions or conclusions. The fear of giving concess to mystical or nationalistic interpretation (of the primordial Hungarian religion) paralyzed the systematization of Hungarian worldview studies. On the other hand, most of the data Dömötör refers to are historically correct, put into European context, and without boasting speculations. In particular she refers to the results of Géza Róheim, Vilmos Diószegi, Éva Pócs, and Mihály Hoppál but with idiosyncratic restrictions. Superfluously she stresses the importance of the social context, whereas in fact she was never a follower of any social or historical interpretation of the beliefs. (Except for some slogans, she was never a Marxist either.) Empiricism and eclecticism prevail in her studies on Hungarian folk legends and folk customs. Dömötör wrote the short entry "Hungarian Religion" in the first edition of *The Encyclopedia of Religion,* however, without any reference to gender problems.

SEE ALSO Hungarian Religion

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VILMOS VOIGT (2005)

DONATISM is the name given to the schism that divided the North African church from around at least 311 until the end of the sixth century. The immediate cause was the refusal of part of the clergy and congregations of Carthage, supported by bishops from Numidia, to accept the election of the archdeacon Caecilian as bishop of Carthage in succession to Mensurius. It was claimed that one of Caecilian's consecrators, Felix of Apthungi, had been a *traditor* (i.e., one who had handed the scriptures to the authorities during the Great Persecution of 303–305) and was therefore unworthy. It was also claimed that Caecilian had maltreated confessors in prison at Carthage by preventing food supplied by well-wishers from reaching them.

In the background of the schism, however, were important theological and nontheological issues. Since its emergence into history in 180, the North African church had been a church of martyrs. Its members believed themselves to be under the continuous guidance of the Holy Spirit. For many, the ideals of purity, integrity, and zeal for martyrdom took precedence over that of universality. Under Cyprian's guidance, the church had decided that a valid sacrament could not be administered by a cleric in a state of sin or to one who was outside the church. Congregations should separate themselves from a priest who was a sinner. In addition, in the latter part of the third century, the less romanized province of Numidia had become a separate province of the church, and its primate had acquired the right of consecrating each new bishop of Carthage. Now the bishops of Numidia were eager to assert the claim of their province in the government of the North African church.

These factors helped to consolidate opposition to Caecilian, and in 312 he was condemned to deposition by a council presided over by the primate of Numidia. The emperor Constantine, however, supported Caecilian, put a considerable sum of money at his disposal, and exempted from municipal levies clergy loyal to him. In April 313, the opposition appealed to Constantine, outlining their complaints against Caecilian and requesting arbitration from bishops in Gaul, as Gaul, they claimed, had not suffered in the persecution.

Long-drawn-out legal processes ensued. Constantine first delegated the opposition's complaint to Pope Miltiades, himself an African, but on the rejection of the pope's decision in favor of Caecilian (October 5, 313) by the opposition, summoned a full council of Western bishops at Arles on August 1, 314, to decide the issue. The opposition, now led by Donatus of Casae Nigrae in southern Numidia, rejected this decision also. Only after the acquittal of Felix of Apthungi in February 315, another appeal, and the dispatch of a commission of bishops to Carthage did Constantine conclude that Caecilian was innocent; he pronounced judgment in that sense on November 10, 316.

Persecution (317–321) failed to destroy the Donatists, as they were now known. Under Donatus's leadership they became the majority party among North African Christians, and this predominance was only threatened temporarily by the exiling of Donatus by the emperor Constans in 347/8. Under the emperor Julian the Donatist leaders returned in strength. Their leader was now a cleric named Parmenian who was not a North African but described as a "Gaul or Spaniard." As bishop of Carthage, until his death in 391/2, he witnessed Donatism at the height of its power in North Africa. His death, however, was followed by schism between his followers. The new bishop of Carthage, Primian, was supported by the Numidians but opposed by Maximian, a descendant of Donatus who represented more moderate tendencies within the church.

The Maximianist schism was contained and unity within the Donatist church restored at the Council of Bagai on April 24, 394. Four years later, however, one of the principal Donatist leaders was implicated in the revolt against Emperor Honorius by the native chieftain, Count Gildo. On its failure, the Donatist church faced attack by the North African catholics, now ably led by Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, and Augustine of Hippo. Augustine took advantage of the fact that nearly all Christendom had remained loyal to Caecilian and hence regarded his Catholic successors as the true bishops of Carthage. In addition, by their practice of rebaptizing converts the Donatists rendered themselves liable to the antiheretical laws of the emperor Theodosius. Moreover, the extremist Donatists and social revolutionaries known as Circumcellions, who since 340 had been terrorizing the landowners of the day and the Catholic population in general, were considered a menace to civil authority. Augustine persuaded the government of the emperor Honorius to promulgate edicts banning the Donatists in February and March 405 and finally in May 411 maneuvered them into a conference with the Catholics under an imperial commissioner, Marcellinus, to decide what party was the "catholic church" in North Africa.

In the previous twelve years Augustine had written a series of tracts designed to show that there was no historical justification for the schism and that rejection of universality as the standard of catholicism as well as erroneous teaching on the church and sacraments made the Donatists heretics. In addition, Bishop Aurelius's yearly conferences of Catholic bishops of Carthage had revitalized the organization and sense of purpose of the catholics. When the conference met, all the advantages lay with them, although the Donatists still managed to match the Catholics in number of bishops, namely 284. After three session of debate Marcellinus gave his decision against the Donatists. This was followed on January 30, 412, by an edict that effectively banned Donatism, confiscated Donatist property, and ordered the exile of Donatist leaders.

This time the repressive measures succeeded. Augustine provides evidence for the conversion of Donatist congregations and surrender of Donatist church property. The Circumcellions, however, remained active and eventually contributed to the downfall of Roman Africa when the Vandals invaded from Spain in 429. In the Vandal occupation (429–534) little is heard of the Donatists, but at the end of the sixth century, after the Byzantine reconquest, Donatism emerged again in southern Numidia. Descriptions of the progressive advance of the movement are found in a series of letters from Pope Gregory to his representatives in North Africa, to imperial officials, and to the emperor Maurice. After 601 nothing more is heard of the movement. Only further archaeological investigation of Numidian rural sites is likely to add to our information about the final phase of the sect.

Donatism demonstrates the continuance in the West of the biblical rigorist and individualist pattern of early Christianity that placed individual holiness under the guidance of the spirit as its highest ideal. The Donatists were the true successors of Tertullian and Cyprian in the African church, and they were protesters. Church and state must always be separate. Martyrdom must be accepted as a Christian duty. As far as the Donatist was concerned, the conversion of Constantine might never have taken place. In addition, Donatism, unlike any other Christian movement in the Roman Empire, gave scope for revolutionary stirrings among the peasantry, for it expressed the peasants' hopes for the great reversal of material fortunes that would presage the millennium. Its forceful repression by church and secular authorities also provided precedents for the persecution of heresy in the Middle Ages and in the Reformation and Counter-Reformation periods.

Material remains of Donatism are still to be seen in North Africa, especially in Numidia, where the great church of Bishop Optatus of Timgad (388–398) is an outstanding monument to Donatism at the height of its power. Many Donatist chapels have been found in rural sites of Roman and Byzantine date in Numidia. Some Donatist literature has survived, notably the circular letter written by Bishop Petilian of Constantine to his clergy about 400; it is preserved in Augustine's *Contra litteras Petiliani.* Tyconius was a Donatist biblical exegete of first caliber whose work was used extensively in the early Middle Ages by orthodox writers such as Bede. Finally, Donatism found expression in peasant art forms, especially in woodcarving. These art forms often incorporated a biblical text or the watchword used by the Circumcellions, "Deo laudes."

SEE ALSO Augustine of Hippo; Christianity, article on Christianity in North Africa; Constantine; Cyprian.

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W. H. C. FREND (1987)

DONG ZHONGSHU (also Tung Chung-shu, c. 195–c. 115 BCE) is one of the most important thinkers of Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) Confucianism. His concept of the relationship between Heaven and humans has been influential for the development of Confucianism. Yet Dong's contribution to the history of religion is a matter of dispute due to diverging evaluations of the sources connected to him. Today, four sorts of sources with possible information about Dong Zhongshu exist.

SOURCES. The *Records of the Grand Historian (Shiji)* written by Sima Qian around 100 BCE contains a biography of Dong Zhongshu, the earliest and most reliable source about his life and thought. According to *Shiji*, Dong in his early years was interested in the principles operating within the forces of yin and yang. On the basis of these principles he created a ritual that should seek and stop the rain, and he attempted to interpret historical and contemporary anomalies and catastrophes as omens.

In the biography of Dong Zhongshu in the *Dynastic History of the Han* (*Hanshu*) written by Ban Gu at the end of the first century CE, Dong is depicted rather as patriarch of Han Confucianism and as a political teacher. Appended to the biography are three memorials, which contain a question-and-answer exchange between Dong and Emperor Wu. In these memorials Dong refers to two ultimate authorities that should serve as guidelines for the Han government: Heaven and antiquity. Dong claims that Heaven responds to human action according to the same principles that Confucius's judgments of praise and blame respond to the action of the historical actors in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu*). According to Dong, Confucius inserted his judgments in the *Chunqiu* in correspondence with the laws and the will of Heaven, and has thus proven how Heaven responds to human action. Heaven's response is not a conscious choice—it is mechanical and automatic, but it does not always respond in a one-to-one analogy to the actions. Instead, Heaven appears as a rather lenient and gracious force that starts signaling with small tokens of anomalies as warnings before sending harsh punishments in the form of catastrophes.

The *Chunqiu fanlu* (*CQFL*) is a post-Han collection that was probably edited six centuries after Dong's death. It is a compilation of extremely heterogeneous and contradictory materials, including chapters on *Chunqiu* exegesis, Huang-Lao philosophy (the philosophy of the Yellow Emperor Huangdi and Laozi which focuses on questions of inner spiritual self cultivation, the void, the dao, the emptying of the mind, non-action and non-being), Confucian virtues, state institutions, cosmological speculations on *yin-yang*, *wuxing*, Heaven and Earth, and sacrificial and rain rituals. Which of these materials was written by Dong Zhongshu is highly controversial.

Other Han sources contain many quotations from Dong Zhongshu, but larger fragments of his writing are also transmitted. The "Wuxing zhi" chapter in *Hanshu* includes Dong's commentaries and explanations to historical and contemporary anomalies and catastrophes. Furthermore, the fragments of the *Chunqiu jueyu*, a handbook on law cases ascribed to Dong, give an impression of the pragmatic and formal usage of the *Chunqiu* as a book of legal precedents.

CRITICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE SOURCES. The evaluation and interpretation of these sources determines the different reconstructions of Dong Zhongshu's life, religion, and philosophy.

In the sources that most probably stem from Dong's hand—in *Shiji* and *Hanshu*, in the first 17 *Chunqiu* exegetical chapters and the ritual chapters of the *CQFL,* as well as any of the above mentioned fragments—Dong Zhongshu is never connected to *wuxing* or to Huang-Lao thought. He appears as a specialist on prognostication and religious rites employing the theory of yin and yang. Moreover, he is depicted as an important political thinker and instructor who professes Heaven and antiquity as the most important models upon which a state should be molded. In the *Chunqiu jueyu* he is quoted as an important exegetical voice in legal court cases. These sources present him as a serious traditional scholar whose thought was rooted in the classical Confucian writings and in his belief in a Heavenly way and its signs.

There is little theoretical innovation in his work. It is rather mainly important in the history of thought because of decisive selections and new evaluations of traditional concepts like the will of Heaven, the law of stimulus and response, correspondence between human action and Heaven, love for the people, cyclical change of institutions, and human nature. Dong is not developing these concepts further but rather applies and combines old traditions in new contexts like text exegesis, modification of cosmological cycles, devaluation of yin (punishment) against yang (education), or the introduction of a lenient aspect in Heaven's clockwork of mechanical resonance. Innovative is Dong's connective approach through which he interrelates different areas such as prognostication, human nature, politics, cosmology, and text exegesis on the basis of a singular Heavenly scheme that reaches into all of these realms. However, he therewith does not intertwine these realms into one unified system that could function as a universal organism, but rather establishes structural parallels and analogies in order to defend his moral, political, and philosophical position against Legalists, Mohists, and Huang-Laoists.

CRITIQUE ON TRADITIONAL INTERPRETATIONS OF THE SOURCES. Dong Zhongshu appears rather differently under the premise that he is the author of the whole *CQFL*, a premise which has been upheld by the mainstream of traditional scholarship. As the material of the *CQFL* is so abundant, complex, and comprehensive, Dong, as the assumed author, has subsequently been depicted as the architect of Han Confucianism, the founder and theorist of Han cosmology and Han political philosophy who ingeniously created the great synthesis of *yin-yang, wuxing,* and exegetical scholarship on the Confucian classics in a great unified theological and teleological system.

Further research shows that this picture can not be upheld. Han Confucianism is a collective term covering highly complex and contradictory philosophies of very different synthetic teachings, which vary strongly from thinker to thinker. Dong's philosophy is neither theological nor teleological, but rather a traditional philosophy of a balance of extremes. Heaven as a willful institution plays a crucial role in Dong's philosophy; however, this institution is strictly subdued to the working rules of yin and yang and should not be compared to a deity. Dong's *Chunqiu* scholarship is nowhere connected to or mixed with cosmological theories. It rather develops from concrete text exegesis to a theory of abstract political and moral principles. Although historical *Chunqiu* precedent cases are sometimes taken to illustrate cosmological principles, theories of cosmology and of *Chunqiu* scholarship remain strictly disconnected.

The central position of Heaven as a model and argumentative foundation of the design of the imperial position within the political philosophy of the *CQFL,* and, moreover, the interpretation of the *CQFL* material as a systematic whole, has led Chinese reformers at the end of the nineteenth century to declare Dong Zhongshu's Confucianism to be the correct and pure form of Chinese Confucianism. Accordingly, this ostensible systematic and religious Confucianism, constructed as an indigenous form of unified Chinese national state religion, was used to oppose Western religion and culture. In a counterreaction, Chinese Marxist histories of Chinese thought evaluate Dong's philosophy as feudal idealist theology because of this alleged fixation on Heaven as the systematic center of his thought. It is correct that Heaven in Dong's writings is revived as a central philosophical authority. However, the way in which Heaven is brought into the argumentation is far from "theology" in the sense of a unified religious system founded in something like *theos.* Dong's theories, and even the theories concerning Heaven in the later chapters of the *CQFL,* merely reflect a cosmo-political discourse and nowhere show an attempt to unify or systematize different models of Heaven's operations. Therefore, they should not be regarded as an innovative outline of a Chinese theology, but rather be read in the context of other cosmo-political writings of Dong's time contained in the *Lüshi Chunqiu,* the *Huainanzi,* and the *Xinyu.* Religious theory in Han times developed rather in the realm of the search for immortality in the *fangshi,* Huang-Lao, and Mohist spheres. Dong Zhongshu used the concepts of Heaven and yin and yang for political, prognostication, and ritual purposes. He did not formulate a religious theory of his own.

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JOACHIM GENTZ (2005)

DÖNMEH. The followers of the Ottoman Jewish messiah Shabbetai Tsevi (or Shabtai Zvi; 1626–1676), subsequent to his conversion to Islam, are known as the Dönmeh. Despite hostility originating from the belief that they had converted to Islam deceitfully, though perhaps with a salvific intent, the Dönmeh adhered to Tsevi and his successors. They maintained a certain degree of unity even after their removal in 1924 from Salonika, which had become their capital early on, to Turkey (where they are still present). Tsevi's conversion is understood to have been the model for their own, undertaken in imitation of his and intended to assist him in his attempt to defeat demonic forces associated with Islam by descending among them. There were, however, several different theologies and theologians of the Shabbatean sects, including some that did not convert to Islam or counsel conversion until long after the seventeenth century, and several that converted sincerely, whether to Christianity, to Islam, or to Turkish secular, progressive nationalism. All the sects retained a certain unity based in their history, their belief (or the memory of one) in Tsevi's divine role and destiny, and their practice of a number of rituals and customs from the late seventeenth century recalling Tsevi's passion and his liberationist, even antinomian, praxis. In general it may be more useful to consider the Dönmeh as a movement of revitalization, looking back to the *conversos* of Iberia, and as counterparts of their contemporaries, the Portuguese-Dutch Jews.

Among themselves the Dönmeh (Turkish: turners, converts) are known collectively as the *ma᾽aminim* (Hebrew, believers); few of the earlier sectarian groups—Izmirli (from Izmir), also known as *kabayeros* (knights); Yakubiler (followers of Tsevi's brother-in-law); Konyousos (followers of Tsevi's chief successor, Barukhya Russo Counio)—remained distinct after the rise of secular Turkey and the population transfer of 1924. The members of the groups occupied themselves as merchants, bureaucrats, and artisans and developed a great interest in progressive schooling, religion serving as moral instruction, and scientific training served by modern pedagogy. Basic beliefs (in the messiahship of Shabbetai Tsevi and in his "spiritual [antinomian] Torah" and its trinity), practices (spousal exchanges, consumption of ritually impure foods), and festivals (invented by Tsevi or commemorating deeds of his passion) have held the Dönmeh together to a certain degree. This cohesion has been assisted by bonds of secrecy and privacy and by the marginalization of the group from both Jewish and Islamic communities. Dönmeh attachment to progressive social politics has been of great importance and can be seen as arising from this marginalization.

The most important literature of the Dönmeh that remains from the early periods includes their prayer book, collections of praise-songs, and some homiletic material. The late nineteenth century witnessed the rise to prominence of Dönmeh in Ottoman Salonika. Dönmeh bankers and textile and tobacco merchants played a large role in global trade and finance; headed the city's Chamber of Commerce; founded influential progressive schools, literary journals, and architectural styles; and engaged in local and then imperial politics—serving as mayors, members of parliament, and ministers, and generally espousing modernization and, in time, secularization. Some Dönmeh became so committed to radical new philosophies and political ideas that they played an important role in the revolutionary movement that deposed the sultan in 1908 and laid the groundwork for the creation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923. At the same time, many remained faithful to ancestral Shabbatean traditions.

Because they were considered Muslims by the Greek government, the Dönmeh of Salonika were subject to deportation to Turkey as part of the population exchange of 1923–1924. Relying on their Jewish origins, some Dönmeh asked the Greek government to excuse them from the expulsion, as other Dönmeh approached Turkish officials with the same aim. Despite their protests, the estimated ten to fifteen thousand Dönmeh were compelled to abandon their native Salonika. Immediately following their arrival in Turkey in 1924, the Dönmeh faced a wave of controversy as Muslims sought to determine whether they were Jews or Muslims, foreigners or Turks. For over two decades, newspapers published sensationalized accounts of Dönmeh beliefs and practices. Throughout the 1930s many kept Shabbetai Tsevi's memory, traditions, and customs fully alive. Actively practiced customs included the recitation of passages from traditional Dönmeh literature—such as "*Shabtai Zvi, esperamos a ti*" (from the *kaddish*, as in the Dönmeh prayer book)—at the Festival of the Lamb held on the seashore, and at other Dönmeh feasts, fasts, burials, and festivals.

After World War II the Dönmeh managed to integrate into the mainstream of Turkish society, marrying into secularized Muslim families and almost entirely losing their distinctive religious beliefs and customs, other than rituals attending burial at predominantly Dönmeh cemeteries in Istanbul. At the same time, Dönmeh retained social ties among themselves by sending their children to the originally Salonikan Dönmeh schools relocated to Istanbul and serving on their boards, residing in the same neighborhoods in Istanbul, maintaining the textile and tobacco businesses and business relationships established in Salonika, and retaining membership in the same Masonic lodges.

Anti-Dönmeh journalism in Turkey has increased in intensity since the 1990s. Typically driven by anti-Semitic, populist, and religious motives, this writing has defined the Dönmeh community in ways that stress its alienation from Turkish social, political, and religious norms.

SEE ALSO Messianism; Shabbetai Tsevi.

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HARRIS LENOWITZ (2005)
MARC DAVID BAER (2005)

DONNER, KAI. Finnish scholar Karl Reinhold (Kai) Donner (1888–1935) united British anthropology and Northern ethnography. Born into a Swedish-speaking family, Donner was educated in the religious liberalism and bilingualism that prevailed in Finnish universities at the beginning of the twentieth century. His father, Otto Donner, was a professor of Sanskrit and comparative linguistics at the University of Helsinki; in 1883 he founded the Finno-Ugric Society, a nationalistic organization that studied the languages, ethnology, and history of Finno-Ugric peoples.

In 1908 Donner's studies in Budapest introduced him to Hungarian research in Finno-Ugristics (Hungarian is an Ugric language). Three years later he went to Cambridge University, where he became familiar with British anthropological models. This is significant because until the turn of the twentieth century Finnish scholars wrote mainly in German and rarely ventured outside the spheres of German and Russian science.

The ranking scholars of British anthropology at that time were A. C. Haddon and W. H. R. Rivers in Cambridge, who established the first British anthropological field laboratory on the western Pacific islands of the Torres Strait. Other leading lights were Charles G. Seligman, Edward Westermarck, and Bronislaw Malinowski in London, as well as Robert R. Marrett and Alfred R. Radcliffe-Brown at Oxford. The Torres Strait study launched functionalism (a theory that emphasized the interdependence and importance of institutions and behavioral patterns—particularly cultural practices—for a society's survival) as a method for conducting field work; this became Donner´s model for his studies in Siberia.

Donner's association with these British anthropologists was formative and through them he learned the basics of ethnological field work. Haddon introduced him to Malinowski; Sir James Frazer, another Cambridge fellow and author of the seminal *Golden Bough,* donated his portable grammophone for Donner's linguistic studies. Donner was also deeply influenced by Rivers's article "The Genealogical Method as Anthropological Inquiry," published in a 1910 issue of *Sociological Review*: "I have had only positive results from its use among the Samoyeds and later on in Finland," he remarked. "It will be the key to the gate to the world already gone. It makes [it] possible to remember in a touchable manner the old beliefs and customs, ancestral worship."

Donner made two expeditions to Siberia, the first a two-year venture, begun in August of 1911, in which he travelled from Tomsk to Narym, Tymskoye and in the settlements by Ob and Tym rivers—the main areas of the Samoyedic peoples, who numbered about 18,000 at that time. Donner's second tour took place in 1914, during World War I and the Russification of the Samoyeds he had met during his first tour.

Donner categorized his Siberian field data according to the typological and genealogical models he learned in Britain. He was particularly influenced by Haddon's 1908 publication *The Study of Man,* which defines ethnology as "description of a man, a tribe, people in a smaller or larger area" demanding special characteristics from the scholar. Donner used these methods in Siberia even though he believed that the Samoyeds had little collective knowledge about their ancestors. Haddon's genealogical methods, for example, helped explain the inheritance of shamanic prestige symbols in a Ket River clan that Donner described in 1915. He also used anthropometry (the collection, correlation, and comparison of human body measurements) as a research tool.

Between his two Siberian treks he took part in a research seminar led by Westermarck at the University of Helsinki, where he was encouraged to write his doctoral thesis on the Samoyed. Although there was no department of religious history at the university, Heikki Paasonen (1865–1919), a Finno-Ugrist, suggested that Donner write his dissertation on comparative religion instead of philology (the study of languages and literature) as he had intended.

Donner's fieldwork followed Castrén's footsteps as faithfully as possible, although he sought to disprove some of the less-likely hypotheses proposed by Castrén—whose nationalistic fervor had sought too many relatives on the Finnish family tree. Donner believed, for example, that Castrén´s inclusion of Uralic and Mongolian-Turkic peoples in the Finno-Ugric family was wrong. While they shared some common vocabulary, this was due to their long-lasting contacts in Siberia.

Donner's field notes are also interesting from a historical perspecitve. On his journeys he met Russian officials, Orthodox missionaries, European emigrants, as well as other Finns who were merchants, ministers, and even prisoners in Siberia. His memoir *Siperian samojedien keskuudessa vuosina 1911–1913 ja 1914* (Among the Siberian Samoyed), first published in 1915, was republished in 1979 with a preface written by his son Jörn Donner (b. 1932), a filmmaker and author.

SEE ALSO Finno-Ugric Religions.

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DOORWAYS SEE PORTALS

DOSTOEVSKY, FYODOR (1821–1881), Russian novelist. Fyodor Mikhailovich Dostoevsky's childhood was spent in the constrained atmosphere of a Muscovite charity hospital, where his father served as a doctor. It was the murder of his father (1838) that was alleged by Freud to have determined the course of Dostoevsky's epilepsy. This theory is usually discounted, but there is no doubt about the epilepsy itself, nor about its capacity to inspire in its victim something of a "higher awareness." Early symptoms of the condition were experienced in 1849 during his first period of imprisonment. By this time the young Dostoevsky, a graduate of the Academy of Military Engineering in Saint Petersburg, had already established a reputation with some works of fiction, the earliest and most acclaimed of which was *Poor Folk* (1846).

But it was not for his writings that Dostoevsky had been arrested. His crime was having participated in a utopian-socialist discussion group. At a time of repression in the aftermath of the European revolutions of 1848, Dostoevsky and his fellow "conspirators" found themselves arbitrarily sentenced to death. Only minutes before the execution was the sentence commuted. The years of penal exile in Siberia that followed (four years of hard labor and four of military service in the ranks) could not efface the memory of the cynically contrived mock execution, and Dostoevsky was to return to this near experience of death more than once in his later fiction.

The penal exile itself provided ample material for a semidocumentary study of it, *Notes from the House of the Dead* (1860–1861), which was to be published on Dostoevsky's return to European Russia. Part of the book was to be serialized in the short-lived journal *Vremia*, which Dostoevsky founded with his brother (1861). Despite the suppression of this journal, Dostoevsky was to revert to journalism throughout the years to come in order to ensure a modest income. But the greater part of his rarely adequate income was derived from the serial publication of his novels and novellas in the well-established literary periodicals of the day.

It was in the second of Dostoevsky's own periodicals, *Epokha*, that the first of his major works appeared, *Notes from the Underground* (1864). This anguished work ushered in the period (and introduced some of the thematics) of the great novels. The majority of these novels were composed in western Europe, to which Dostoevsky withdrew to escape his creditors. He found it necessary to mortgage his writings for some time, much to his disadvantage. Only after completing abroad much of *Crime and Punishment* (1866), all of *The Idiot* (1868), and *The Possessed* (1871–1872) was Dostoevsky in a position to return to his homeland. *A Raw Youth* (1875) and the unfinished *The Brothers Karamazov* (1879–1880) were thus exceptional in being composed on Russian soil by this most Europhobic of Russian patriots. Even so, with rare exceptions (such as *The Gambler*, 1867) all the novels have a Russian setting.

This is not to say that the novels are restricted by their time and place, deeply rooted though they are in each. In the dismal byways of Dostoevsky's Saint Petersburg or his provincial towns, problems and myths with universal implications are encountered. The significance of suffering, the limitations of reason, and the importance of free will are debated as early as *Notes from the Underground*. Each of the major novels has moral and religious problems at its center. Yet answers to these problems are not necessarily to be expected. Rather (as one of Dostoevsky's characters urges in *The Idiot*), "it is the continuous and perpetual process of discovery [which is important], not the discovery itself." Dostoevsky does not set himself up as an arbitrator between the characters engaged in this process. Indeed, in *The Possessed* and *The Brothers Karamazov* he even abandons his role as narrator to "independent" surrogates.

It is one of these surrogates who notes that "reality strives toward fragmentation." The world of the novels is replete with disorientation and disorder. Yet in the privacy of his notebooks Dostoevsky still insists that there is or ought to be some "moral center" or "central idea." However eroded such a central idea may be, however obscured in the contemporary mind, merely to depict its erosion should not be sufficient for someone like himself who has progressed to his "hosanna" through what he describes as "a great crucible of doubt."

After his second marriage (1867), and especially in the last decade of his life, Dostoevsky gradually reverted to the Orthodox Christianity of his youth. Indeed, even in the darkest days of his exile, he had never abjured his residual loyalty to "the image of Christ," regardless (as he wrote in 1854) of whether it corresponded to the truth or not. Nor had he abandoned a certain faith in some kind of golden age, yet to be recaptured. But none of this was enough to overcome a deep-seated reluctance, an organic inability, to proceed with a didactic novel. The creative process inevitably involved him in the production of works that are multicentered and polyphonic in both their philosophical and psychological concerns.

Nevertheless, he continued to nurture the hope that he might one day "compel people to admit that a pure and ideal Christianity is not an abstraction, but a vivid reality, possibly near at hand; and that Christianity is the sole refuge of the Russian land from all its evils." Toward the end of his life it seemed that *The Brothers Karamazov* might prove the appropriate vehicle for such a demonstration. The saintly figure of the elder Zosima would be called upon to act as the principal spokesman of faith in the work. Thus, the spokesman was required to perform a task to which his author was ill-suited. Equally important, the faith that Dostoevsky invokes was curiously diluted, even secularized. Not that it fails to reflect a "process of discovery"—but necessarily a part of that process are the incisive arguments presented by Ivan Karamazov and his Grand Inquisitor, critics of the divine dispensation.

The Dostoevsky whom one emperor had seemingly sought to execute was to be offered a state funeral by another. The didacticism that had little opportunity to flourish in the novels had found an outlet in the brash and chauvinistic journalism of the writer's later years—hence at least some of the acclaim which accompanied him to his grave. But it was the reputation of a novelist who had given his readers an insight into his crucible of doubt which was to live on. Had he not taken pride in the fact that he "alone had brought out the tragedy of the underground"? It was a tragedy, he had noted in 1875, "which consists of suffering and immolation; of the awareness of that which is better, and of the inability to attain it."

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idealism and his reluctance to confine himself merely to the phenomena of everyday life. Malcolm V. Jones, in his *Dostoyevsky: The Novel of Discord* (London, 1976), discusses the centrifugal forces in the fiction with erudition and tact. The classic treatment of the novelist's polyphonic technique is Mikhail Bakhtin's *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1973). By contrast, L. A. Zander in *Dostoevsky* (London, 1948) argues that his subject is essentially a proponent of Orthodox Christianity. Less partisan is the useful study of *The Religion of Dostoevsky* by A. Boyce Gibson (London, 1973). The symposium *New Essays on Dostoyevsky*, edited by Malcolm V. Jones and Garth M. Terry (Cambridge, U.K., 1983), contains my analysis of the teachings attributed to the elder Zosima, "The Religious Dimension: Vision or Evasion? Zosima's Discourse in *The Brothers Karamazov*," pp. 139–168.

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DOUBLENESS.

The prehistoric cultures of Europe used images of doubles to indicate potency or abundance. This can be seen in the frequent use of double images of caterpillars, crescents, eggs, seeds, spirals, snakes, phalli, and even goddesses. Dualism is also expressed by two lines on a figurine, or in the center of an egg, vulva, or seed, and by a double-fruit symbol resembling two acorns.

The exaggerated buttocks of Upper Paleolithic and Neolithic figurines (called "steatopygous" in the archaeological literature) are probably a metaphor of the double egg or breasts, that is, of intensified fertility or pregnancy. Such figurines usually have no indication of other anatomical details; the upper part of the body is totally neglected. An intensification of the meaning can be seen in whirls, snake coils, spirals, and lozenges engraved on the buttocks of figurines created during the Copper Age of east-central Europe (5500–3500 BCE). Obviously, the fat female posteriors that appear on prehistoric figurines had other than erotic significance or simple aesthetic purpose. They were, in fact, the actualization of a cosmogonic concept. Egg symbolism made manifest certain basic beliefs, hopes, and understandings concerning creation, life origins, and the birth process as well as reverence for supernatural potency, expressed by the doubling device, the "power of two."

A glyph formed by two ellipses connected at one end—a double grain or double fruit—appears on ceramics, seals, and megaliths throughout the duration of Old Europe (6500–3500 BCE). The sign may have been retained from the Upper Paleolithic period: a sign of two connected ovals that look much like buttocks can be seen in Magdalenian parietal art. Similar signs are engraved on Irish megaliths. The double-fruit glyph continued to be significant in Minoan ceramic art. By the middle Minoan period, it can be seen in association with a tree and a sprouting bud, incorporated in the hieroglyphic inscription on seals.

The mystique of the power of two lingers in European folk tradition, especially in the East Baltic countries, which have remained a repository of ancient beliefs and traditions. Latvians have preserved to this day the word *jumis* and the deity of the same name. The meaning of the word is "two things grown together into one unit," such as apples, potatoes, and so on. *Jumis* and *jumm*, Finnish and Estonian words considered to be ancient borrowings from the Baltic, mean "two things or beings joined together," "bundle of flax," and "divinity who gives wedding luck."

Twin ears of rye, barley, or wheat—a relatively rare phenomenon in nature—are a manifestation of *jumis*. When a double ear is found at harvest time, it is brought home by the reaper and put in a place of honor on the wall beside the table. In the following planting season, the *jumis* is mixed with the seed grain and sown in the field. *Jumis* is a force that increases wealth and prosperity, signified by double ears, double fruit, and double vegetables.

Neolithic images of the great goddess are frequently marked with two dashes over the hips, arm stumps, between the breasts, or on the pubic triangle. Often two horizontal or vertical lines are painted or incised across the face or a mask of the goddess. The double line also typically appears on mother and child figurines, which suggests that these lines may have connotations of resurgence and new life.

Double-headed goddesses convey the idea of twin birth on a cosmic plane. Figurines of "Siamese twins" are known throughout the Neolithic period and the Copper Age. The heads of these figurines are beaked and masked; the bodies are marked by chevrons, meanders, and crossbands. These attributes identify the image as a bird goddess. In Anatolia and the Agean area, two-headed figurines continue into the Archaic period of Greece. The twin aspect of the great goddess is also expressed by double-bodied or double-necked vessels from the early Bronze Age in the Aegean, Crete, and Malta.

SEE ALSO Baltic Religion; Dualism; Numbers; Prehistoric Religions; Twins.

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DOUBT AND BELIEF.

[*This entry is a philosophical discussion of the interrelation of doubt and belief in the Western tradition.*]

Doubt and skepticism, although popularly accounted antithetical to religious belief and alien to the religious attitude, are in fact inseparable from every deeply religious disposition. The fact that twentieth-century philosophical critique of religion focused on questions of meaning rather than on questions of truth (the usual preoccupation in the nineteenth century, when T. H. Huxley coined the term *agnostic*) does not at all diminish the importance of doubt as part of the intellectual process of religious belief. All authentic religious faith, indeed, may be viewed as a descant on doubt.

THE MEANING OF DOUBT. The word *doubt*, although often regarded as the opposite of *belief*, signifies primarily vacillation, perplexity, irresolution. These primary meanings are discoverable in the Latin word from which *doubt* is derived: *dubito*, which is grammatically the frequentative of the Old Latin *dubo*, from *duo* ("two"). To doubt means, therefore, to be of two minds, to stand at the crossroads of the mind. The regular German word for doubt (*Zweifel*, from *zwei*, "two") brings out the vacillating connotation more obviously than does the English word. In German, *Zweifelgeist* means "skepticism, the spirit of doubt," and *Er zweifelte was er tun sollte* means "He was in doubt what he should do"—that is, he was of two minds about it. The Greek *doiazō* ("I doubt") also exhibits this two-mindedness.

Doubt, therefore, is not to be equated with unbelief or disbelief but rather with a vacillation between the two opposites: unbelief and belief. In doubt there are always two propositions or theses between which the mind oscillates without resting completely in either. To the extent that religious people deprecate doubt, what they are deprecating must be indecision rather than unbelief, and what skeptics find praiseworthy in it must be not unbelief but a willingness to recognize two sides to a question. Doubt is the attitude of mind proper to the skeptic, who is by no means necessarily an unbeliever any more than a believer. The only serious reproach that either believer or unbeliever may justly direct to the skeptic is that of declining to make up his mind in one direction or the other—that is, a moral rather than an intellectual reproach.

MODES OF DOUBT. Doubt may be considered in three modes: an attitude of mind, a philosophical method, and a necessary ingredient in or component of belief.

1. The characteristic attitude both of the ancient Greek thinkers and of the Renaissance men who admired and followed them has doubt as one of its fundamental inspirations. (By *attitude* is meant here an inclination of the will.) That is, rather than conceiving philosophy as a way of showing this or that proposition or thesis to be such as to lead logically to a settled conviction, thinkers in this tradition insist upon an openness of mind sustained by an ongoing attitude of questioning. Even when inclining to one view or another, such thinkers will always not only pay homage to doubt as a methodological principle but will endeavor in practice to keep their minds constantly alert to the claims of both sides of every question: they will show a judicial rather than a prosecuting or defensive attitude. Such an attitude, to the extent that it is successful in terms of its own aims, is creative, engendering openness of the will as well as of the mind. Like all attitudes it is, of course, susceptible to deformity. It may be feigned, for instance, to disguise a moral unwillingness to reach a decision because of the implications of making such a commitment. That the attitude of doubt can lead to such a moral deformity or perversity is of itself, however, no argument against its salutariness or its integrity. It is an attitude that has sustained the greatest minds of all ages in human history; a notable exemplar is Socrates.

2. Doubt as a philosophical method is exhibited in the thought of many important thinkers. Celebrated instances include Augustine and Descartes. In Augustine's dictum "*Si fallor, sum*" ("If I doubt, I exist") and in the well-known Cartesian formula "*Cogito, ergo sum*" ("I think, therefore I am") are to be found intellectual assurances that in the act of doubting one's own existence is an awareness of that existence, since if one can catch oneself doubting, one cannot be doubting that one exists and so at least one can be certain of the proposition "I exist," whatever that proposition be taken to mean. Doubt, then, is a methodological point of departure as well as an implicate of all thought. Thinking, in the sense in which it is understood in this intellectual tradition, which goes far beyond any computerlike function of the human brain, entails doubting.

3. While both of the foregoing modes of doubt are relevant to questions of religious belief, that which most sharply illuminates an understanding of the nature of religious belief is the notion that doubt is an implicate of religious faith and therefore of the religious belief that formulates that faith. By taking the view that authentic religious faith does not entail blind, thoughtless belief but must always be accompanied by an element of doubt, we recognize that such faith and the belief that formulates it are in some way sustained by doubt, making doubt and belief as inseparable from each other as are, in the human body, the arteries and the veins. If one hopes to preserve the vigor and vivacity of one's thought, one must conserve in it the element of doubt that sustains it. Authentic religious faith, whatever it is, can never be as the schoolboy is said to have defined it: believing steadfastly what you know isn't true; instead, it must always entail doubt. Some religious philosophers in the modern existentialist tradition, such as Kierkegaard, Unamuno, and Marcel, have emphasized that a faith unshaken by doubt cannot be authentic faith at all but is a mere blind nodding without either intellectual content or moral decision. I have called faith a descant on doubt, by which I mean, of course, that it rises beyond the doubt that is at the same time its necessary presupposition: one cannot have a descant with nothing to descant upon, nor can a descant ever leave the rest of the music permanently behind it.

Contemporary religious thinkers in the tradition of Kierkegaard talk of the "leap of faith," a phrase that sometimes exasperates their hearers. How does one jump from doubt to belief without injuring, not to say destroying, the integrity of the belief? Before dealing with this vital question, we must first clarify the relation between faith and belief, more particularly as these terms arise in religious contexts.

Faith and Belief. In religious literature faith and belief often have been identified with each other. In medieval usage the Latin *fides* ("faith") generally means both. Even in the New Testament the distinction between the two is not entirely clear, for the Greek word *pistis* ("faith") often has the older connotation of intellectual conviction alongside the notion of trust, the bending of one's whole being to God in complete confidence in his infinite goodness and in his ability to guard and to guide one's entire life in the best possible way. The thirteenth-century Thomas Aquinas, who became a quasi-official spokesman of the Roman Catholic church, and even Martin Luther, leader of the sixteenth-century Reformation, when they wrote of *fides*, often meant intellectual assent as much as an act of the will. The classic Lutheran dogmatic treatises usually distinguished three elements in *fides: notitia* ("knowledge"), *assensus* ("assent"), and *fiducia* ("trust"). By this they implied that both intellect and will are involved in *fides;* nevertheless, following Luther himself, they recognized *fiducia* as the principal element and the others as subordinate to it.

In much Christian literature, however, not least among heirs of the Reformation, the term *faith* is invested with a volitional connotation and *belief* with an intellectual one. The distinction is useful, for faith has an ethical content, with implicates of courage and perseverance that are irrelevant to intellectual assent to any proposition or thesis, religious or otherwise. Nevertheless, faith also entails a metaphysical stance. The object of faith is an "is," not merely an "ought to be." It is the postulated real, so that no matter to what extent authentic faith may be called volitional rather than cognitive, an act of the will rather than an intellectual affirmation, it must be somehow connected with the intellectual activity by which it comes to be formulated. Since, as we have seen, thought itself implies doubt, every assertion of belief that is not to be dubbed mere credulity presupposes an intellectual choice between two alternative possibilities. And since, as we have seen, doubt is an implicate of belief and all authentic faith has in it an intellectual element of belief, then doubt must be called an implicate of faith, no matter how much the volitional element in faith be emphasized.

Beliefs, moreover, cannot be held in isolation: they are part of a creedal system that may be called authentic only to the extent that they are not mere uninformed opinions or thoughtless presuppositions. As soon, therefore, as we start developing either faith or reason, the question of accepting this belief and rejecting that one inevitably arises. Without the coherence that is thereby achieved, one would seen be in a position like that parodied in apothegms such as "I believe there is no God and Our Lady is his mother." So although faith is an act of the will, it must be expressed not only in a particular belief but by a whole system of beliefs, each of which is believed to illumine the others. Hence there is in the mainstream of Western theological tradition the tendency to set forth creedal statements that call for believers' assent, as does, for example, the Nicene Creed. In Indian thought and practice, by contrast, one may hold one's own view (*darśana*) without repudiating that of another that seems logically incompatible with it. That attitude, however, arises from an emphasis on the inadequacy of all formulations of truth *(dharma)*. The West, except in the more philosophical types of religious literature and in the more mystical varieties of religious experience, has been less skeptical about the capacity of religious symbols to portray the realities of the spiritual dimension of being.

Faith, although it entails an intellectual element of belief, plays a special and often misunderstood role in the Bible and therefore in all biblically oriented Jewish and Christian thought. A classic series of illustrations of the fundamental religious significance of faith is provided by the author of the *Letter to the Hebrews* (*Heb.* 11), who points to the actions of Abraham, Noah, and other biblical figures, upholding them as exemplars of the courage of those who have lived by faith. Such faith is typified in Abraham's going out "not knowing whither he went" (*Heb.* 11:8). It is closely akin to trust. We should note carefully, however, that although Abraham's courage may have been boundless, his ignorance was by no means absolute. He was not totally uninformed. He did not wander forth haphazardly as in a game of blindman's buff. Yet, considerable as his knowledge presumably was, his act entailed both great personal courage and a firm personal conviction that he could rely on the guidance and guardianship of God, in whom he reposed his trust and to whom he dedicated both his courage and his intelligence, using all the willpower and the knowledge at his disposal.

The "knight of faith," whom Kierkegaard depicts in *Fear and Trembling*, engages in a paradoxical movement that presupposes and transcends the "purely human" courage that mere renunciation of the world demands. His is a uniquely humble courage that makes him perfectly obedient to God. Faith is "the greatest and hardest" enterprise in which one can engage, entailing as it does a leap beyond even the highest ethical decisions of which anyone is capable. From all rational standpoints the leap is absurd, running counter to everything to which human wisdom directs our attention as reliable guideposts to right decision and noble action: common sense, logic, and experience. In his journals, Kierkegaard expressly asserts that "faith's conflict with the world is a battle of character. . . . The man of faith is a person of character who, unconditionally obedient to God, grasps it as a character-task that one is not to insist upon comprehending" (*Journals and Papers*, vol. 2, pp. 13–14). Kierkegaard was by no means an enemy of either the aesthetic or the intellectual or of the ethical life of man; his concern was to show the uniqueness of faith as a category transcending all other modes of human consciousness.

This distinctiveness that Kierkegaard saw in faith has warranty in the New Testament, from which he drew his principal inspiration. Through such faith the Christian is saved (*Eph.* 2:8) and made righteous in the sight of God (*Rom.* 5:1). Inseparable though faith is from belief, it is not to be equated with it. It has a quality that distinguishes it from every other activity of mind and will. Nevertheless, having recognized that distinctiveness, we must now explore further the relation of faith to whatever cognitive status can be assigned to belief.

Prevalent but erroneous is the notion that faith, especially in the tradition of the Protestant reformers, excludes claim to knowledge of God. Hence faith is often contrasted with sight. In the teaching of the Christian school at Alexandria, faith tended to be treated as a vestibule to knowledge, a prolegomenon to a Christian gnosis. By contrast, the reformers glorified living by faith. Yet the French reformer Calvin expressly states: “Faith consists in the knowledge of God [*cognitio Dei*] and of Christ” (*Institutes* 3.2.5). He is not claiming knowledge of God as God is in himself (*apud se*); he does mean that we know him as he is in his dealings with us (*erga nos*). Faith, then, ever for so doughty a champion of its volitional character, has a cognitive element in it. Indeed, as good theologians no less than great mystics have always seen, faith yields a kind of knowledge, a gradual unfolding of awareness of God in human experience, apart from which awareness faith could not be indefinitely sustained. This awareness of that to which the name God is given is formulated in a set of beliefs that express in one way or another the stance to which faith leads the person who exercises it. Faith, practical and volitional as it is, is the means by which the knight of faith actually arrives at what he comes to call communion with (that is, entailing knowledge of) God. Just as we learn to drive or skate or play the piano less from books than by doing the thing, so through faith we arrive at the cognitive element to which it leads and is expressed in a set of beliefs.

Human knowledge is always limited and subject to revision, except in the case of mathematics, which is a closed system, a vast tautology that is indispensable as an instrument in scientific inquiry yet incapable by itself of yielding new information. Knowledge of the empirical world, based on observation and experiment, can never yield certainty. As Kant showed, we cannot know the “thing-in-itself.” Doubt is therefore inseparable from all inquiry into and discoveries about the empirical world. Yet through advancement in the sciences we do have a better grasp of the world around us than did our primitive ancestors. We would not propose to go back to our forebears’ view that the earth is flat with a blue dome of sky above it, but we must be prepared to doubt that our present knowledge of astronomy is irreformable and to recognize that a thousand years hence it, too, may seem primitivistic. When the knight of faith, whose adventures take him to a dimension beyond the empirical world as commonly understood, expresses his faith in a creedal statement, he can claim only a kind of knowledge. Many philosophical objections attend his claim. For instance, has he merely experienced a psychological state within himself, or has he in any sense encountered the ground of existence, the ultimate reality? Or, again, might he have encountered God through the superego of his own psyche? He can never be consistently and constantly sure; yet his faith, ever challenged by such questions, survives the challenges. When the authentic believer goes on to proclaim his belief “in” God, he is speaking from experience, as is the swimmer who says he believes “in” swimming and knows that he knows what he is talking about.

Since the knight of faith is engaged in a practical, not a theoretical, inquiry, his method, like the method of the sciences, is inductive. The inductive method used so habitually and extensively in modern science entails making hypotheses and subjecting them to tests that result in their verification or falsification. While the knight of faith cannot verify or falsify the beliefs that express his faith in the same way that the scientist tests his hypotheses, his procedure is in some important respects analogous. As the creative scientist invests his time and may stake his reputation on the eventual verification of his hypothesis, so the knight of faith stakes his life and his final destiny on his. Although he cannot hope to provide a definitive, assent-compelling verification of his faith here and now, the claim implicit in his faith is verifiable or falsifiable in the long run. Such faith entails risk. It is, as Pascal saw, a gamble; yet it is by no means a mere idle gamble, for it is informed by one’s whole interpretation of life, as the scientist’s hypothesis is no mere guess, but is founded on the whole range of his scientific experience and inquiry.

We have seen that in the thought of the Middle Ages faith (*fides*) was generally equated with belief. The great thinkers of the thirteenth century were much more familiar with deductive methods of reasoning than with inductive ones. Despite the foundations for inductive methods that were laid by original medieval minds such as Robert Grosseteste, Roger Bacon, and Johannes Duns Scotus, medieval science did not advance as physics, chemistry, and biology have advanced in recent times. The medieval men certainly did not lack powers of observation. They made astonishingly perceptive discoveries and invented many ingenious technological tools. They were hampered, however, by not taking seriously enough those inductive methods by which modern science has made its advances. For the same reason they tended to underestimate the meaning and power of faith as the volitional, practical, risk-taking catalyst of authentic awareness of God, apart from which both the beliefs and the doubts that spring from it must lack authenticity. This peculiar role of faith was expressed in the nineteenth century by John Henry Newman. In his *Apologia pro vita sua* he reports that it was not logic that carried him on any more than it is the mercury in the barometer that changes the weather: “The whole man moves; paper logic is but the record of it.”

The difference between the medieval and the post-Renaissance understanding of the nature of faith may be due also, at least in part, to a general change of outlook that the Renaissance brought about in respect to the nature of man. In medieval thought the will was treated as but one of several "faculties," or powers of the soul. Such was the change wrought by the Renaissance that a tendency developed to see the will as virtually synonymous with the whole person. In this view the whole person is the agent; hence the act of faith comes to be seen more and more as an act of the will.

BELIEF AND KNOWLEDGE. The twentieth-century philosopher Bertrand Russell, in one of his best books, *Human Knowledge* (London, 1948), reminds us that "all knowledge is in some degree doubtful, and we cannot say what degree of doubtfulness makes it cease to be knowledge, any more than we can say how much loss of hair makes a man bald" (p. 516). He goes on to say that all words outside mathematics and logic are vague. After pointing out that empiricism as a theory of knowledge is inadequate, though less so than any previous one, he concludes that "all human knowledge is uncertain, inexact, and partial" (p. 527).

Russell's thought on this subject represents a development of the empiricist view championed in the eighteenth century by David Hume. According to Hume all human knowledge is reducible to more or less strong beliefs. Although some modern philosophers have argued for a clear distinction between knowledge and belief, they show only that it may be convenient to dub certain very strong beliefs knowledge in order to distinguish them from other beliefs that are weak. While I may feel so certain about some beliefs that I wish to assign to them a special place among my beliefs and so call them knowledge, I can never claim to be entirely certain that I have examined all possible alternatives, if only because I cannot know all the possible alternatives. When belief in a geocentric universe was fashionable, many must have felt confident that such a universe was demonstrable beyond a shadow of a doubt. If anyone doubted it, he could be asked to follow the movement of the sun from its rising to its setting and so be shown conclusively that the sun moved; yet that conclusion would be wrong according to today's reckoning.

For practical purposes one may choose to call one's strongest beliefs knowledge, but it can never be knowledge in the sense of an infallible grasp of truth or an acquaintance with reality. Even to say "I know I am in pain" is not an exception since it adds nothing to saying "I am in pain." If I did not know myself to be in pain, I could not be in pain; and if I were in pain, I could not have neglected to notice it. Of course I feel pain; but to say "I know" is to claim knowledge of what pain is, and this I cannot properly claim. Nor could such a claim to know result in any objective knowledge at all. As my friend you would presumably trust my word; nevertheless, you would be entitled to disbelieve me. John Austin in his essay "Other Minds" (*Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, supp. vol. 20, 1946) recognized this by pointing out that saying "I know" registers the highest possible cognitive claim in a form that authorizes someone to rely on the statement, so that it functions in a way similar to "I promise." Thus the claim to know is no more than a strident way of asserting a particular belief.

It is one thing to contend that everyone has the right to be sure of his beliefs; it is another thing to affirm that the beliefs are justified as claims to knowledge. By claiming to know, I would claim—judiciously or rashly—to have no doubt. If I affirm that something is a known fact, I am contending that no one has any need or any right to doubt it. No alleged facts, however, can be said to be so indubitable, and none, therefore, is so indisputable. When in creedal statements such as the Nicene Creed or the so-called Apostles' Creed we use the traditional "I believe" or "We believe," we exhibit the characteristically religious disposition of openness and its implication of the possibility of doubt. This doubt may be transcended by faith, yet the faith is meaningless apart from it. Perceptive, then, was the poet Alfred Tennyson's observation that more faith lives in honest doubt than "in half the creeds"; for unless the believer's affirmation recognizes the possibility of doubt, his faith has no vitality. The absence of doubt is the height of irreligion. Both the will to believe, which the psychologist and philosopher William James popularized in the late nineteenth century, and the will to doubt, which Bertrand Russell said he would prefer to preach, are necessary for a lively faith. When the authentic believer says "I believe," he omits a hidden qualifier—"*Nevertheless*, I believe." For if there can be nothing (outside the tautologies of logic and mathematics) that justifies a claim to certainty, then doubt is proper to every belief. Authentic belief does not sidestep doubt. On the contrary, when one seriously intends to live by faith, one does not at all claim that the formulation of that faith is adequate or irreformable.

NIHILISM AND CERTAINTY. The role of doubt in belief can be clarified by a glance at two extremes: nihilism and certainty. Nihilism (from the Latin *nihil*, "nothing") consists in the dogmatic tendency to deny not only the existence of God but the permanence of any entity. According to such a view one can therefore say nothing that is absolutely true of anything since no claims to truth have any objective grounds. A classical exponent of nihilism in its intellectual aspect is Gorgias in Plato's dialogue of that name. In contrast to the earlier philosopher Protagoras, who held that "man is the measure of all things" (i.e., truth is relative to persons and circumstances), Plato's Gorgias taught that there can be no truth at all. On the practical or ethical side the nihilist denies all "higher" and "objective" values. In the nineteenth century the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche held that the interpretation of existence that Christianity bequeathed to Europe was fundamentally a life-negating pessimism. A particular form of nihilism emerged in Russia. Mikhail Bakunin (1814–1876) taught that society's only hope lies in its destruction, while, even more radically, Dmitrii Pisarev (1840–1868) taught that society is so evil that its destruction is a good in itself. Existentialism, by contrast, is not necessarily nihilistic, although some forms of it (e.g., those of Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus) have nihilistic elements in them.

Certainty is a peculiarly difficult concept. After the Renaissance, John Locke, George Berkeley, and David Hume all paved the way for Kant's demonstration that we can have no certain knowledge of the "thing-in-itself." Noteworthy is the fact that down to the present century the papal index of prohibited books included these writers only in respect to those of their works that cast doubt on the possibility of certain knowledge. Although from Augustine to Thomas the medieval thinkers had discussed the conditions of certain knowledge, all of them held that at least some kind of knowledge is possible. Otherwise, how else could one know, for instance, that God exists? Modern thinkers, however, have generally been reluctant to recognize the possibility of absolute certainty except in the realm of logical and mathematical relationships that are (as we have seen) tautologies. Russell distinguished three kinds of claims to certainty: (1) logical, or mathematical, certainty—for example, if we grant that man is a rational animal, we may be certain that by implication man is an animal; (2) epistemological certainty, according to which a proposition is credible in the highest degree as a result of the abundance of evidence adduced for it—for example, we can be certain that the earth moves around the sun; and (3) psychological certainty, which occurs when a person merely feels no doubt about the truth of a proposition—for example, if after having known you for two minutes I were to say, "I am an excellent judge of people, and I know for certain that you are not to be trusted."

THE ROLE OF DOUBT IN AUTHENTIC FAITH AND BELIEF. Superficial critics of religion tend to ask, "How genuine is the believer's belief?" Such a question never yields—nor could it ever yield—any satisfactory answer. The questioner, having taken care to steer between the Scylla of nihilism and the Charybdis of a claim to certainty, would more fruitfully formulate the question by asking, "How genuine is the doubt behind the belief?" For when a believer says, "In spite of *x*, I believe *y*," that which is most likely to determine the significance of *y* is knowledge of the content to be assigned to *x*.

Doubt is a profound expression of humility. Without the humility that is and always has been at the root of all creative philosophical and scientific inquiry from Socrates onward, pretensions to religious faith are shown for what they are: at best a caricature, at worst a mockery, of religion. For humility is not only the virtue that corresponds to the vice of pride—which according to the teachings of all the great religions of the world is the fundamental obstacle to spiritual perceptivity; it is also closely connected with love, which is in Christian teaching the spring of all virtues. So faith and love respectively have as their implicates doubt and humility. If humility be radical enough it can become the best means of access to God, who "resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble" (*Jas.* 4:6). We may also say with E.-Alexis Preyre that "the man whom doubt, pushed to its extreme consequences, has led to total indetermination may 'find' God or not. But if he find God, the faith of that man is immovable" (*À l'extrême du scepticisme*, Paris, 1947, p. 168).

Laughter is likewise relevant to the spirit of humility and doubt. To be able to laugh at oneself is surely the hallmark of humility. Neither the religious fanatic nor the antireligious propagandist is likely to be able to do so, and so neither can ever laugh lovingly about religion. The mirth that springs from self-forgetfulness is a potent instrument in the attainment of religious insight, for it springs from deep humility and a childlike love that have matured into intellectual openness and awe before the mystery of being. That is impossible apart from doubt.

Faith, to have any value at all, emerges in personal encounter with divine being: "*Scio cui credidi*" ("I know whom I have believed"; *2 Tm.* 1:12). In childhood we learn to trust those who surround us with love. In due course we discover that, like all human beings, they, too, have their limitations. The deeply religious person, however, claims to have encountered the being in whom alone such trust may be placed without reserve, and so such a person sets no limits on the faith that issues from the encounter. What such a person may and should question is what precisely the encounter signifies and how it is to be interpreted. If the faith does not entail any doubt at all, surely it is a straw in the wind.

Moreover, without a willingness to doubt, religious tolerance is impossible. True, religious tolerance is not in itself the mark of authentic faith, for it may spring from mere indifference to or ignorance of the cardinal issues of the religious consciousness; but a faith that is fundamentally intolerant of any expressions of religion other than its own merely reveals its lack of confidence and the trivial nature of its thrust. Genuinely religious persons, whatever their beliefs, are always thoroughly impressed by the mystery of faith. The tendency to explain rather than to contemplate mystery is the vice of much popular, institutional religion and has immensely contributed to the disunity of Christendom as well as to the maintenance of barriers between one religion and another. The apocalyptic literature of religion unfolds the presence of mystery; it does not purport to explain it. Genuine religion is always full of wonder and therefore full of doubt, while irreligion is wonderless. With wonderless belief the devotee can offer only wonderless love, which is tantamount to blasphemy since it entails a casualness such as one might properly express in saying, for instance, "Of course I love candy, doesn't everyone?" Such religion, shorn of doubt, lacking humility, and therefore loveless, surely reveals its own ignorance and depravity, for it expresses a mere narcissistic looking at oneself in a mirror rather than an outpouring of love to the source and ground of being, apart from which religion is indeed vain.

SEE ALSO Enlightenment, The; Epistemology; Existentialism; Faith; Intuition; Knowledge and Ignorance; Logical Positivism; Philosophy, articles on Philosophy and Religion, Philosophy of Religion; Skeptics and Skepticism; Truth.

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DOV BER OF MEZHIRICH (c. 1704–1772), Hasidic teacher and leader of the movement from 1760. A scholar and an ascetic qabbalist from his youth, Dov Ber sensed a lack in the rigorous routine of study, fasting, and self-mortification that provided the standards for intense Jewish spirituality in his day. Tradition has it that he was a physically frail man, rendered so in part by the voluntary self-denial of his early years.

Toward the middle of the eighteenth century, Dov Ber came under the influence of Yisraʾel ben Eliʿezer (1700–1760), the Besht, a wandering healer and folk teacher and the central figure of a spiritual revival movement that had met with some modest success among Jews in Podolia. The Besht, though a person of significantly less rabbinic learning than Dov Ber, was a natural mystic and a charismatic personality who probably had mastered the supranormal powers of perception. Their meeting transformed Dov Ber's life. The Besht taught a religion of divine immanence, of the palpable presence of God in each place, each moment, and every human soul. In this teaching Dov Ber felt his own religious life come alive, and he was liberated by it from the excessive demands of his earlier asceticism.

While the death of the Besht occasioned a struggle for leadership in the nascent movement, most of the master's disciples followed Dov Ber as he moved the center of Hasidic teaching westward to Volhynian Mezhirich, where he served as preacher *(maggid).* In the twelve years of his leadership, he attracted to Hasidism a dazzling group of young seekers, many of whom were to become important teachers, leaders, and authors in their own right. These include such well-known Hasidic figures as Menaḥem Mendel of Vitebsk, Shneʾur Zalman of Lyady, Levi Yitsḥaq of Berdichev, Elimelekh of Lizhensk, and Aharon of Karlin. It was Dov Ber who sent them forth to spread the Hasidic message throughout the Jewish communities of eastern Europe, and it is largely due to his impact that Hasidism became a far-flung and important force in Jewish history. His death in 1772 occurred just as the controversy and bans against the Ḥasidim were first being issued by the rabbinical authorities.

Dov Ber was a mystic intoxicated by the single idea of *devequt* ("attachment to God") as a return to the state of primal nothingness. He taught a panentheistic doctrine that bordered on acosmism: the transcendent God also fills all the worlds; his life force is the only true vitality in all of being. The outer human self as well as the exterior appearance of all reality are the infinitely varied garb of God. As the devotee learns to transcend such externals, he will find only the One, that nothing that is in fact the only Being. Paradoxically, this highly abstract immanentism was combined frequently with entirely personalistic religious metaphors. God is often described by Dov Ber as a father who reduces the intensity of his presence in the world, a process called *tsimtsum,* the way a patient parent lessens the complexity of a concept while trying to impart it to a beloved child.

Much of Dov Ber's work focuses on issues of devotion. He taught that proper prayer must be for the sake of the Shekhinah (the exiled divine presence) and that supplication for one's own sake was selfish. Prayer as practiced in the Mezhirich circle was an ecstatic ascent to *devequt*, with the externals of worship successively cast aside as the worshiper, even while continuing to recite the prescribed liturgy, basked in the glow of God's presence. The heights of such prayer bordered on the prophetic; moments passed in which the worshiper's own voice was silenced as "the Shekhinah spoke from his mouth."

Unlike earlier Jewish mystics, who seemed to shy away from unitive formulations in discussing their experiences, Dov Ber freely advocated union with the divine. The human soul, wholly identified with *shekhinah*, the lowest of the ten divine emanations, had to return to *ḥokhmah*, or primordial wisdom, the highest of the ten and often called by the name *Ein*, representing the divine *nihil*. In this act of mystical self-annihilation, man served as a channel by which all the divine energy released in creation was reunited with its source, effecting a foretaste of ultimate redemption.

In Dov Ber's teaching, the messianic urgency that characterizes much of the earlier Qabbalah is set aside or "neutralized"; the immediate and highly individual act of *devequt* seems to mitigate the need for the long-range and collective striving for *tiqqun*, or cosmic redemption. This neutralization was also made possible by a vision that denied the ultimate reality of evil, considered an illusion that stood as a temporary barrier to our sight of the good.

Dov Ber's teachings were edited by his students and published after his death in *Maggid devarav le-Yaʿaqov* (1784), *Or Torah* (1804), and *Or ha-emet* (1899). He is also frequently quoted throughout the many writings of his disciples, and his dominant influence is felt throughout the later Hasidic literature.

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DOVES SEE BIRDS

DRAGONS.

The etymology of the term *dragon* (from the ancient Greek *drakōn* and the Latin *draco, -onis*) points to serpents, for the Greek term means "serpent," and it refers to real snakes as well as to mythical snakes or snakelike figures; the Latin term may also refer to actual serpents. By dragons we mean mythical creatures shaped like serpents or with serpent features, and often endowed with features or parts belonging to various animals (a body like a lizard's or a crocodile's, with a feline's or a reptile's head, a bat's wings, an eagle's or a lion's paws and claws, and a mouth endowed with many tongues and pointed fangs). Dragons are often presented as fierce, devouring monsters; according to many traditions, they spit fire; they may be chthonic, aquatic, or aerial beings.

Even though the specific shape of the dragon's monstrous body becomes increasingly standardized in time and assumes a heraldic fixity in the art of many cultures, as in the European or in the Chinese and Japanese, the dragon is better defined by its meaning and function in mythical thought than by that shape. Dragons are the symbols of elements, forces, or principles present, or active, in the cosmic (or precosmic) world. They thus express, in mythical language, aspects of the natural setting of the various societies, and the dangerous or positive qualities of those aspects, such as drought or rain, flood, and so on. Beyond this "natural" meaning they possess a more complex value on the cosmic level, being forces of stability or of disorder, of staticity or of dynamism, of death or of life. Again, they may have a similar meaning on a "social" or "political" level, symbolizing the enemies, or, in some cases, the champions, of a given culture, society, group, or class. In this case also, however, the symbolism of this first level expresses a second-level, "cosmic" symbolism of evil, disorder, and injustice, or of protection and strength.

The main Old World traditions about dragons can be classified in two different groups. A tradition belonging to cultures located in the western part of Eurasia and in some parts of East Africa presents dragons as chaotic beings, responsible for death and disorder, and vanquished by gods or heroes. This tradition has its roots in the ancient mythologies of the Near East, and of the Indian, Iranian, and European world, and it continues into the Christian culture of the European Middle Ages as well as into the Christian mythology of Egypt and Ethiopia. A second tradition is typical of East Asia (notably China, Japan, and Indonesia) and presents dragons as powerful and helpful beings. The distinction, however, is not a totally simple and straightforward one, for "positive" aspects are present in the dragon lore of the western area, notably in India (where myths present dragonlike beings that are similar to the dragons of East Asia), and dragon-slaying myths are not unknown to the East Asian cultures. In order to respect the complexity of the material, a more detailed treatment is required, based upon specific aspects and motifs of the dragon lore of the Old World, rather than upon the usual twofold classification.

DRAGONS IN COSMOGONIES AND ESCHATOLOGIES. The most ancient traditions about dragons go back to the Sumerian, Akkadian, and Egyptian mythologies of the first three millennia BCE. In these contexts dragons (often clearly serpentine; in some cases, as in that of Tiamat, of different, though unclear, shapes) represent forces or elements that interfere with the correct order or functioning of the world, and they are vanquished by gods who shape and organize the cosmos and, through their victory, acquire authority and power over the newly ordered world. The god Enlil defeats a monstrous being, the Labbu, in a Sumerian text. The god Marduk vanquishes the monsters Tiamat and Kingu in the Akkadian text *Enuma elish* of Babylon. In the mythology of the Syrian city of Ugarit (end of the second millennium BCE) the god Baal defeats the monsters Yamm ("sea") and Mot ("death"). The dragon Apopis is slain by the god Seth in Egyptian mythology. In similar mythical traditions the serpentine Vṛtra is killed by the warrior god Indra (or by the hero Trita) in Indic mythical narratives that go back to the *Ṛgveda*. In the Hittite texts of Bogazköy, the serpent Illuyanka is killed by the storm god. In Greek mythology, Zeus slays the monster Typhon, who had a hundred snake heads, and Apollo kills the female serpent (*drakaina*) at Delphi, and then builds his own sanctuary on the spot where the monstrous being has been slain.

In some cases, these myths have been interpreted as myths of fertility and of the seasonal pattern, because the victorious deity is often a storm god, and drought, rain, and the life of vegetation are often at stake. But the cosmogonic quality of these myths is clear in all cases: in order to construct, or to defend, the world order, the god has to destroy the primeval, chaotic dragon. In some cases (as in that of Apsu and the female Tiamat, who represent two parts of the original watery chaos, and of the younger monster Kingu) the dragonlike monster represents the preexisting, static, chaotic matter that must be broken, divided, and restructured to build the cosmos. In other cases (as in the myths about Apopis, the serpent who tries to stop the sun from rising and setting, or of Vṛtra, the "withholder" who blocks the cows symbolizing water and dawn) the serpentine monsters are beings that cause staticity and death by stopping the correct functioning of the world, and they must be eliminated.

The Hebrew Bible contains many traces of an ancient mythology, wherein Yahveh, in primeval times, defeats monsters that are extremely similar to the dragonlike beings dispatched by the various Near Eastern gods: to names already present in the more ancient Ugaritic texts (*Yamm*, *Mavet*, or *Mot*) one can add names such as *Peten*, *Nahash*, *Rahab*, *Leviathan*, *Tannin*, *Behemoth*. Indeed, this seems to have been an ancient Israelite myth connecting creation to the fight against one or more primeval monsters, and thus a cosmogonical motif alternative to the one(s) contained in the first chapter of the *Book of Genesis*.

Given the structural correspondence between cosmogonies and eschatologies, it is not surprising to find that eschatological myths of various societies show a dragon as the being (or as one of the beings) responsible for the lapse into chaos and death that is to take place at the end of time. Thus in late biblical texts (e.g., *Dn.* 7, *Jb.* 7:12), as well as in Judaic and Christian texts of "apocalyptic" content (e.g., *Rv.* 12–13, 20), the primeval dragon is said to have been defeated but not totally destroyed, and to return at the end to wreak havoc, only to be finally annihilated. Other religious traditions also present dragonlike beings as eschatological enemies: thus the Germanic mythology (the Midgarðr serpent of the *Prose Edda*) and the Iranian (the serpentine Azhi Dahaka, later called Zohak, who is chained to Mount Demavend by the hero Thraetaona/Feridun and who returns at the end of time).

DRAGONS AS ABDUCTORS AND DEVOURERS. To the above themes one should connect the similar mythical complex that presents dragons as robbers who steal wealth or abduct women, and the theme of the devouring dragon. In some of the "cosmogonical" myths listed above (e.g., in the Ugaritic myth of Baal, Mot, and Yamm) the"chaotic" enemy is also presented as a devourer, or as a tyrant levying tribute; in other cases, such as the ancient Egyptian myth about Astarte and the sea (nineteenth dynasty), a goddess is sent (as "tribute"?) to the monster by the gods it terrorizes. But a more precise motif of this type has recently been reconstructed and called the Indo-European cattle-raiding myth. In the mythologies of many Indo-European-speaking societies (Indic, Iranian, Hittite, Greek, Roman, Germanic, and Armenian) versions or traces of a type of myth have been found, wherein a monstrous, serpentine, three-headed being steals cattle from a hero or a community; a god or hero retrieves the cattle and dispatches the monster. The Indic example is the very myth of Indra (and/or Trita) mentioned above, that is clearly cosmogonic; the Hittite example is the myth, also cited above, of Illuyanka and the storm god. This overlapping, and the eschatological developments of the Germanic and Iranian myths of this group (see above), point to a typological and historical connection between the theme in question and the cosmogonical myths mentioned in the preceding section, though there is no consensus among scholars on the original cosmogonic value of the cattle-raiding myths.

In the Iranian myth belonging to this group, the monster Azhi Dahaka/Zohak steals not cattle (though an interpretation of the stolen female as cattle has been proposed for the most ancient versions) but royal women, and his opponent Thraetaona/Feridun regains the young women (and, in the later versions, the usurped throne) by defeating the dragon. This theme of a dragon who steals women and is defeated by a hero who thus regains them is no less widespread than the theme of the devouring or greedy dragon. It is attested in ancient Greek mythology (e.g., the hero Perseus saves Andromeda from the dragon), and it is a central theme in medieval and modern dragon lore in Europe and Asia, appearing in folk tales collected from the oral tradition of European peasants down to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in which a "princess" is stolen by a dragon (or by some other monstrous enemy) and recovered by a young man of the lower social strata, who kills the monster and is promoted, often by gaining the hand of the "princess." In other folk tales of the same traditions, the dragon steals or devours vital elements such as light or water, or pollutes the soil or the air of whole regions.

Dragons as Withholders and Custodians. The tradition of the dragon as a greedy usurper, robber, devourer, or withholder may be combined with two other widespread motifs: the theme of the serpent who in primeval times deprived humankind of immortality—a theme attested, for example, in the biblical *Book of Genesis* (3:1–15) and in the Mesopotamian *Epic of Gilgamesh*—and the widespread theme, which is especially important in many Asian mythologies, of the snake that resides at the foot of the tree of life or the cosmic tree. Such combinations probably gave rise to the theme of the dragon as a custodian of the tree of life or of other sources of immortality or longevity: one should quote the ancient Greek myth of the dragon that guarded the golden apples of the Hesperides, killed by Herakles when the hero conquered the apples, or the *nāga*s of Indic tradition, that guarded the White Mountain and its wonder-tree Mahāsankha, "tall as Mount Meru," that produced a special fruit. In other cases the dragon is shown not guarding but attacking the holy tree: thus, in Iranian mythology (*Bundahishn* 18.2) the reptile created by Ahriman that damages the miraculous plant Gayo-kerena, or, in Germanic traditions, the serpent Níðhǫggr that attacks the roots of the cosmic tree Yggdrasill.

The theme of the dragon as guardian of the tree of life or cosmic tree is connected typologically to the theme of the dragon who guards treasures, widely attested in China, India, and Europe. See, for instance, the ancient Greek tradition about the dragon that guarded the Golden Fleece and was killed by the hero Jason, who thus obtained the precious token of kingship; the serpents guarding the gold of Apollo among the Scythians (Herodotus, 3.116); and the Germanic myth of the snake Fafnir who guards the gold coveted by Regin and is killed by the hero Sigurd. The theme of the dragon guarding the tree of life became an important iconographical motif in ancient and medieval art of Asia and Europe: it is found, in a rigid heraldic scheme, even in the reliefs of the Baptistery of Parma and of other medieval churches.

Dragons as Enemies and Devils. In other traditions, dragons are ever-active, menacing symbols of evil. In some cases, their symbolic value is drastically "historicized," and they are identified by various societies or groups with real, external enemies such as foreign nations or oppressive powers and rulers. It has been shown that in many traditions of the cattle-raiding myth type the serpentine cattle raider (or abductor of women) is seen as the representative of an enemy (often non-Indo-European) group, against which the society that created the myths was engaged in a continuous warfare; in the Hebrew Bible and in the most ancient Christian texts the various monsters listed above are quoted to indicate neighboring nations (Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, etc.) or tyrannical rulers that oppressed Israel or persecuted the believers.

In later Judaic and in other religious and magical texts of the eastern Mediterranean of Hellenistic and Roman times, dragons and serpents are increasingly presented as symbols and instruments of the evil forces, and from this background, as well as from the eschatological value of dragons in biblical and other traditions (see above), the identification of the dragon with the enemy of God, Satan, arose. This interpretation was already explicit in the "canonical" Christian apocalypse (*Rv.* 20:2; see above), and it became the most generally accepted in the Christian world. In the new Christian context, numerous hagiographic and other traditions contained a restructured version of the ancient mythical theme of the battle against the dragon or monster, in which the dragon was an embodiment or an emissary of Satan. The best-known type of battle between a holy being and the devilish dragon in Christian traditions opposes the satanic enemy to a warrior figure. One might mention Saint George, a saintly knight of Anatolian origin, who often replaced the "pagan" dragon slayers of local, pre-Christian traditions; or Michael, the Archangel, an important figure of Christian angelology that is presented as a dragon slayer already in the earliest texts (*Rv.* 12:7–9). These two figures are extremely popular in Christian iconography from the earliest times; they are usually shown dispatching the satanic dragon with a lance or sword, clad in full armor, and Saint George is often depicted on horseback.

Saints George and Michael are not, however, the only Christian dragon-slayers. The Virgin Mary, mother of Jesus, for example, is often depicted as trampling a serpent, as the Second Eve who defeats the forces of evil, in fulfillment of the verse of the *Book of Genesis* (3:15) that announced an eternal enmity between the seed of Eve and the serpent; the iconographical type continues, today still, in Catholic sacred art. Finally, other dragon-fighters of Christian tradition, such as Saint Marcellus of Paris (fifth century) or Saint Hilary of Poitiers, appear not as warriors, but as bishops, their weapon against the dragon being not the sword or lance but the bishop's pastoral staff. The connection established by the hagiographic sources between their victory over the dragon and their role as culture heroes and as peaceful leaders of their communities shows that their treatment of dragons (often not slain, but tamed or chased away) has specific meanings, different from those of the other Christian narratives about dragons, and probably less concerned with a theological symbolism: we are told of Hilary that "he gave more land to humankind, for colonists migrated to the place that had been held by the beast" ("addidit terra hominibus, quia in loco beluae incola transmigravit").

Dragons as Givers of Fecundity and Life. In spite of the systematic "demonization" of dragon figures in the Christian Middle Ages, specialists of European folklore and medieval culture have shown that many aspects of the dragon lore of Europe point to a more complex symbolic and mythical value of dragons. It will suffice here to quote the heraldic use of dragons in crests, banners, and insignia, from late antiquity to modern times; the identification (that has been compared to "totemic" practices of tribal societies) of nations and lineages with dragons; the presence of dragons (often as symbols of fecundity and prosperity) in liturgical processions (such as the Rogations of western Europe) or in folkloric festivals (such as Carnival).

The "positive" traits of dragons in European traditions show the dragon lore of Europe to be polysemous. They may be usefully compared to the "positive" traits of dragons in East Asia, and especially in China, where dragon figures are no less polysemous than in the Western tradition. In China, the theme of dragons as forces or beings that have to be controlled and confirmed in order to "create" the cosmic order is well attested by, for example, the Confucian *Shujing* (Book of stories). That text recounts how the mythical emperor Yu, the founder of the Hsia dynasty, who gave the world its correct order, built the first canals, freed the land from the chaotic waters, and chased away the serpents and dragons, forcing them to reside in the marshes.

To this tradition one could add many others, such as the deeds of the dragon-slaying emperor Chuan-hin. However, one should note that Nü-kua (the goddess who ordered the world in primeval times according to another ancient text, the *Lizi*, and killed the black dragon) and her spouse, the mythical emperor Fuxi, are represented as dragonlike beings in sculptures of the first centuries CE. This paradox of the dragonlike dragon-slayer is emblematic of the complexity of Chinese dragon lore. Chinese dragons embodied the fertilizing qualities of water, and the importance of rain in the agricultural life of that region explains the increasingly ouranic traits of dragons, their wings, their connections with lightning.

Far from being a mere symbolic expression of the natural elements, however, Chinese dragons represent the rhythmic forces that rule the life of the cosmos. This is explicitly stated by the Daoist Zhuangzi, who writes that the dragon is a symbol of rhythmic life because it embodies the waters that guarantee the living order of the cosmos by their harmonious movement. The cosmic value of dragons as symbols of rhythm and flux is not distinguished, in this text, from their value on the level of the material elements of nature.

The connection of Chinese dragons with rain is well exemplified by the ritual practices of ancient China; during droughts, images of the Ying dragon, a water figure, were made, to propitiate rainfall. Yet dragons are also important in rituals of cosmic renewal, as is shown by the presence of dragon masks during the lamplit, nightly festivities that close the Chinese New Year feast; and many traditions and practices point to the other value of dragons as symbols of cosmic rhythm. In particular, this is clear in the symbolic correspondences and ties between dragons and the Chinese emperors or Sons of Heaven who were also representative of cosmic rhythms and givers of fecundity. Thus we are told that an emperor of the Hsia dynasty ate dragons in order to ensure magically the welfare of his kingdom, and that when that same dynasty underwent a crisis and lost its vital force, dragons appeared to reestablish the correct rhythmic flux in various ways. Finally, mythical dragons were responsible for the ascension of monarchs to the heavenly regions, as happened, we are told, when Huangdi, the Yellow Emperor, was abducted with several members of his court by a bearded dragon and carried to the sky.

Throughout Southeast Asia, in South India, Indochina, and Indonesia, dragons are water figures and symbols of fertility. This is attested not only by narrative traditions but also by ritual practices. Thus, in modern Cambodian weddings the bride is identified with the moon, her teeth are treated as if to deprive them of serpent venom, and the rituals are explicitly connected with myths about a dragonlike royal ancestress; in Tenasserim (Burma), to stop the rainy season and to bring in the dry weather, a statue of Upagutta, a mythical serpent king, is plunged in water and offered sacrificial gifts, in a ritual that is a symmetrical reversal of the Chinese dragon rite mentioned above.

Dragons as Parents and Ancestors. Many traditions of Asia and Europe present dragons as the parents of heroes and holy men and as the mythical ancestors of kingly dynasties. The ancient Greek myth of the origin of the Boeotian city Thebes combines this theme with the theme of the serpent as guardian and withholder: the hero Kadmos kills the dragon that barred the way to the site of the future city and then sows the dragon's teeth in the earth, thus giving rise to the Spartoi ("sown men"), who become the first Thebans. Alexander the Great (r. 336–323 BCE) was believed by some to be born from his mother's encounter with a god in the shape of a serpent, and a similar legend was told of the Roman emperor Augustus. According to a Chinese tradition, the princess Liu was resting by a pond with her husband, when she was raped by a dragon and conceived thus the future emperor Gaozu; and the culture hero Fuxi was said to have been born from a pond that was famous for its dragons. Similar traditions are attested in Annam and Indonesia; and the Indian kings of Chota Nagpur were believed to have descended from a *nāga*, or serpentlike spirit, named Puṇḍarīka.

A series of Asian traditions recount the birth of a famous kingly ancestor or holy man from a prince or priest and a *nāgī* (female counterpart to the male *nāga*). Thus, according to a Palaung myth, the *nāgī* Thusandi and the son of the solar deity, Prince Thuryia, gave birth to three sons who became the kings of three lands (China, the land of the Palaung, and Pagan). Similar traditions about the origins of royal dynasties from female dragon figures exist in South India, Indochina, and Indonesia. In India the birth of the sage Agastya from the *apsara* Urvasi is recounted in a comparable fashion.

In the legends, the dragon-woman is often recognized as such suddenly, because she smells strongly of fish, or because she is spied upon while she takes a bath and plays in the water with a *nāga*. In modern traditions of this kind from Cambodia, the female dragon is a moon figure, and her mythical marriage with a solar prince is the prototype of today's marriage rituals, as well as a symbol of cosmic union between opposites. Similarly, the traditions about the birth of a dynasty from the union of a watery, dragonlike female and a fiery solar male are symbolic of a primeval unity of opposites that prepares the new cosmos represented by the new dynastic order.

A comparable symbolic interpretation has not been offered by scholars for the European traditions of the same type, that also derive princely dynasties from dragonlike females, and are known both from medieval chronicles and other texts, and from modern folklore. In the best-known of these European narrative traditions (the story of the extrahuman female Mélusine or Mélusigne, often classified as a fairy by its medieval redactors) the female protagonist is spied upon by her husband, who discovers that she turns into a snake when taking a bath. The Mélusine stories have been compared to the myth told by Herodotus (4.8–10) about the birth of the ancestors of the three Scythian "tribes" from the hero Herakles and a powerful female being, who was half woman, half serpent, but decidedly chthonic rather than watery.

SEE ALSO Chaos; Monsters; Snakes.

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CRISTIANO GROTTANELLI (1987)
Revised Bibliography

DRAMA

This entry consists of the following articles:

DRAMA AND RELIGION
ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN RITUAL DRAMA [FIRST EDITION]
ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN RITUAL DRAMA [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]
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INDIAN DANCE AND DANCE DRAMA
BALINESE DANCE AND DANCE DRAMA
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NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN DANCE AND DRAMA
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DRAMA: DRAMA AND RELIGION

Although it can be said that the presentation of drama and religious ceremony are analogous, the two practices are not always directly related in world history. The notion popularized in the early twentieth century by the Cambridge School that drama springs directly from ritual has been largely discredited. However, religious practices and dramatic presentation often share many common elements: costume, storytelling, a playing space, and an audience. Also many of the world's dramatic forms are derived from religious rituals and are still, in some way, connected to religious celebration. With that in mind, drama has had a long, sometimes intimate, sometimes adversarial relationship with religion.

Scholars generally assign drama and religious ritual to a continuum with the following divisions: ritual with performative elements, ritual drama, drama presented as part of a religious festival, and secular drama. While this continuum cannot be used as a trajectory of theatrical development, it provides a useful tool with which to understand the many kinds of relationships theatrical performance has had with religious practice. Some societies developed rituals with advanced elements of performance but never developed anything approaching a secular drama. Conversely, some societies adopted a secular performance form independent of religious ritual. At the same time, many in Western society have assigned the secular theater a religious importance and power, particularly during the mid–twentieth century, when interest in so-called primitive cultures surged.

RITUAL COMPRISING PERFORMATIVE ELEMENTS. To understand the relationships between these various forms and concepts it is useful to examine the ritual practice of Egungun. Egungun ritual influenced later performance forms in Yorubaland and what came to be known as Nigeria. Yoruba religion centers on deities related to nature (the *orisha*) and ancestor worship. The followers of Yoruba believe human spirits travel back and forth to a spiritual plane between lives, and followers look to the spirits of their ancestors for guidance.

The ancestor may appear to someone in material form embodied by a dancer from the Egungun secret society. The ancestor can be summoned at particular times of need or may appear regularly during cyclical rituals, such as the Egungun Festival. The dancer wears elaborate costumes, which consist of a mask and long strips or panels of fabric. The dancer whirls around so that the long strips of fabric fan out and create a breeze. This breeze is said to be a blessing passed from the ancestors to the living. No one may touch the dancers, however, and men with whips or sticks keep the dancers and the spectators separated.

The Egungun ritual contains other performative elements, including songs of praise for the *orisha* and satirical sketches. The ritual does not possess the elements of a ritual drama in that it does not contain a set narrative, characters, or specific dialogue, but according to Joel Adedeji (1972), Egungun had a direct influence in the development of dramatic forms such as the Yoruba Alarinjo theater and on the postcolonial drama of such writers as Wole Soyinka (b. 1934) (Adedeji, 1972, p. 254).

RITUAL DRAMA. The earliest known record of ritual drama comes from an Egyptian stele erected around 1868 BCE. It is the account by Ikhernofret of his participation in the Mysteries of Osiris at Abydos. The stele reads like a list of heroic accomplishments: "I overthrew the enemies of Osiris. I celebrated the *Great-Going-Forth,* following the god at his going. I sailed the divine boat of Thoth." The drama he is recounting, often called the *Abydos Passion Play,* recounts the life, death, and resurrection of Osiris. It is difficult to get an accurate idea of how elaborate or developed the performance may have been or where one might place it on the continuum between ritual and drama.

Another example of ritual drama is the Mayan dance drama *Rabinal Achí* (also known as the Dance of El Tun). Scholars have long studied the accounts of ritual warfare among the Mayans, but in the 1990s Nikolai Grube deciphered the glyph for the word *dance.* Several precolonial dances have survived, including the Dance of Giants, a solstice ritual of the lunar gods in conflict with the solar gods, and a pole dance in which dancers attached to ropes wound tightly around a pole slowly descend (fly) to the ground from the top as the ropes unwind.

The text of *Rabinal Achí* is the only Mayan precolonial dramatic text to survive. In the nineteenth century a Queché actor named Bartolo Zis first transcribed the text into Queché using the Roman alphabet. The French priest-explorer Charles Brasseur de Bourbourg, after seeing a performance, convinced Zis to recite it to him. The drama retells the story of the ritual warfare between the Rabinal and Queché warriors during the Mayan Classic period (300–900 CE). In the story the Rabinal warrior has captured Cawek, a Queché warrior. Rabinal brings Cawek before the Rabinal chief, where Cawek's request to say good-bye to his homeland is met with silence. Cawek leaves the room and returns sometime later angry at the idea that anyone might have assumed that he had fled. He then bravely faces his sacrificial death.

The dancers of the drama, the Twelve Yellow Eagles and Twelve Yellow Jaguars, wore elaborate costumes and masks. The drama was accompanied by music, and Brasseur included musical notation in his description. His version includes two trumpets (probably European-style) and a drum, although scholars assume that other native instruments were used in the precolonial performances. The anthropologist Georges Reynaud made special note of the "parallelism" of the dialogue. The ritualistic dialogue consists of "parallel" responses in which the second speaker repeats what the first speaker says before adding more dialogue to the conversation. The dialogue also contains ritualistic salutations and closings.

Dancers continued to perform the ritual drama into the twenty-first century, although as Carlos Escobar (2001) points out, some question how much the text must have changed through the ages, especially after the Spanish priests outlawed such rituals in 1625. Zis inherited the oral text in secret, and subsequent translations present an even greater filter of the text. Richard Leinaweaver (1968) noted that in a twentieth-century production the masks, costumes, and musical instruments were placed on a sacred altar the night before the drama was staged, a syncretic practice that performers of the sacred *autos,* the Catholic liturgical dramas, also occasionally observe (Leinaweaver, 1968, p. 15).

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN RITUAL AND SECULAR DRAMA. Ritual drama developed in many societies in large part because drama and religious ritual share so many elements and structural qualities. As Richard Schechner notes in *Between Theater and Anthropology* (1985), both employ the use of "restored behavior," or behavior that is repeated. The repetition sets dramatic performance and ritual behavior apart from the behavior of everyday life. The distance of the performers from the behavior makes the behavior "symbolic and reflexive" in a way that regular behavior is not.

Religious ritual and dramatic performance both employ the use of a "frame" to set these behaviors apart from everyday life. These may be as complex as the concentric circles of ritual sacrifice that separate the world of the sacred from the world of the profane or as simple as the rectangle of the proscenium arch in the Western theater. But herein lies the key difference between ritual and the performance of secular drama.

Arnold van Gennep (1960) explained that in the ritual, such as the rite of passage, the ritual subject moves through three phases: separation, transition, and incorporation. The subjects pass through the ritual frame into a marginal, or liminal, state where their status is ambiguous. Then the subjects are restored to everyday life in a new state, with a new status. Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss (1964) also defined ritual as "a religious act which, through the consecration of a victim, modifies the condition of the moral person who accomplishes it or that of certain objects with which he is concerned" (Gennep, 1960, p. 13). As Victor Turner (1982) noted, while ritual behavior can be defined as obligatory, collective, integrated, and transforming—or liminal—secular drama is optional, individual, removed, and although it may question the status quo or experiment with form, it is ultimately void of the transforming quality of ritual. It is, therefore, merely *liminoid.*

DRAMA OF RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS. Of the secular dramatic traditions, many coincide with religious festivals, and many of those can be traced back directly to a ritual drama or a ritual practice. Nigerian scholars have traced the Egungun ritual origin of Alarinjo theater, the court theater of the Oyo Yoruba kingdom that predated colonialism. While the drama may be tied to religious practice, dramatic traditions such as Alarinjo demonstrate an elaborate theatrical practice in which artisans train for specific tasks within the theatrical art, such as acting, dance, costuming, mask making, set design, or music. Often a system of guilds and schools control the selection and training of the artists and oversee the production of the theatrical event. In other words, artists are producing art for art's sake.

SANSKRIT DRAMA. Scholars know very little about the origin of Sanskrit drama, a performance form that remained popular from approximately the second century CE to the ninth century. While some say that Sanskrit drama has its origins in the popular traditions, others argue that it shares many elements with certain religious rituals. Regardless of its origins, the Sanskrit theater of India has a close relationship with Hindu temple festivals. According to Farley Richmond and his colleagues (1990), the *Nātya Śāstra,* the ancient Indian dramaturgical text, equates dramatic performance with holy sacrifice (Richmond et al., 1990, p. 47). The *Nātya Śāstra* also gives Sanskrit drama divine origins. In the story, Brahmā creates drama as an alternative to the less desirable behavior in which people were engaged. The gods gave the priests the charge of creating and maintaining the dramatic tradition (Richmond et al., 1990, pp. 25–26).

While Sanskrit drama, in its ancient form, did not last past the ninth century, other forms grew up in its place. Wealthy families offer *kathakali* performances at temple festivals and other important events. *Kathakali* evolved from a Sanskrit drama derivative and plays devoted to celebrating the life of Kṛṣṇa. Although it may have sprung from devotional worship, *kathakali* is an institution unto itself. The *kathakali* actor undergoes extensive training from a young age. *Kathakali* students learn elaborate makeup art specific to their character types. In addition to the dance steps, the actor must learn a series of hand gestures and complex facial expressions. It is through the face that the actor evokes the appropriate *rasa* and reflects the psychic state of the character.

THE ORIGINS OF GREEK DRAMA. Also associated with a religious festival, Greek tragedy supposedly evolved from dithyrambs, or choral dance drama, to honor the demigod Dionysos. To some extent, high school and college textbooks have oversimplified the relationship of tragedy to Dionysian worship, influenced perhaps by the century-old theory of Gilbert Murray that rituals of vegetation deities, specifically the Dionysian *sparagmos* (ritual rending), were evident in the tragedies of Euripides. However, as William Ridgeway suggests (and Herodotus before him), dithyrambic performance was not limited to religious worship as the people of Sicyon used the dithyramb as a tribute to ancestors and dead heroes. Also while the dithyramb may have influenced the development of tragedy, the dithyramb continued to develop as an independent form. Scholars have begun to look at Greek dramatic forms as having a multitude of influences instead of looking for one ritualistic ur-drama that must have predated Aeschylus.

In the sixth century BCE Peisistratus established the Greater Dionysia. The festival included many activities celebrating wine and fertility, such as the procession of the phallus. Like two of the other Dionysian festivals, the Greater Dionysia included dramatic contests. According to the *Marmor Parium,* the first tragic contest occurred in 534 BCE. Although the priest of Dionysos occupied the central seat at the dramatic performance, the dramas themselves do not reflect a particular religious belief. Rather, they reinforce Athenian class and political ideology. Athenian playwrights of the fifth century BCE seem particularly interested in analyzing the benefits of Athenian institutions, such as democracy or the courts. The plays were performed at a religious festival but other than that have very little connection with religious thought.

RELIGION AND DRAMA AT ODDS. While many religions included drama as an important part of religious observance, some religions (especially the Christian and Islamic) forbade theater. Even before Rome became a Christian empire in the late fourth century CE, the early Christian Church looked with disfavor on dramatic performance. Tertullian wrote *De Spectaculis* at the end of the second century CE, sometime after his own conversion to Christianity. He devoted his entire treatise to explaining why Christians should not attend any of the entertainments such as races, gladiatorial combat, Atellan farce, and tragedies.

Most of Tertullian's explanations are simple: Christians should not take pleasure in watching others being harmed, nor should they witness licentious behavior. His thinking also reflects some of the complexities of early Christian thought. He noted that watching such entertainment aroused passions that could lead to sinful feelings and actions. Tertullian condemns the practice of acting itself, stating: "[God] regards as adultery all that is unreal. . . . He never will approve any putting on of voice, or sex, or age; He never will approve pretended loves, and wraths, and groans, and tears" (chapter 23). Tertullian found the very idea of performing a role sinful.

In the first half of the treatise, Tertullian lays out what seem to be the most vehement of his reasons for avoiding the entertainments: their pagan origins. The fact that the theater of Rome was a temple of Venus and that the Greek theater came from the Dionysian festivals, Tertullian states, are reason enough to avoid theatrical entertainment. The theater became the site of conflict between Roman pantheism and emerging Christianity.

The Catholic Church, in its quest for a monopoly on spectacle during the medieval period, continued to campaign against the theater, decreeing excommunication for anyone who attended theater instead of church and declaring that no plays should be performed on Sundays. While very little evidence exists of secular drama's persistence and development during this time, scholars deduce that the continual stream of declarations by the church is evidence enough.

LITURGICAL DRAMA: MEDIEVAL RITUAL DRAMA. In the late medieval period the Catholic Church began to develop a theatrical practice of its own. Many scholars believe that the liturgical drama grew out of the Mass in the form of a trope, or a lengthened musical passage used to elaborate some moment in the liturgy. The most widely cited trope is the *Quem Queritis,* the trope that accompanies the Easter Mass in the form of a dialogue between the three Marys and the angel at the tomb. This simple passage was accompanied by stage directions written in the tenth century by Bishop Ethelwold in the *Regularis Concordia,* instructing the monks to position themselves around the tomb "in imitation of the angel seated in the tomb, and of the women coming with spices to anoint the body of Jesus" (Gassner, 1963, p. 37). The tropes were performed on the *platea* (a flat space in the front of the church) in front of a mansion (a small structure that signified a location such as the sepulcher, manger, or Hellmouth).

The theory of the development of liturgical drama holds that these miniature dramatic presentations in the form of tropes became more elaborate and developed into the later outdoor vernacular religious drama, following the ritual-to-drama trajectory. But some scholars, such as Dunbar Ogden (2002), dispute that, pointing to the fact that the tropes continued to develop as a separate form parallel to the outdoor drama (Ogden, 2002, p. 35).

CYCLE PLAYS, MIRACLE PLAYS, AND MORALITY PLAYS: MEDIEVAL RELIGIOUS DRAMA. With the establishment of the Feast of Corpus Christi as a churchwide celebration by Pope Urban IV in 1264, outdoor religious drama began to form. Whether it developed from the trope or not, the festival allowed for several developments: the presentations could be much more elaborate outdoors, and the stories could be performed in the vernacular because they were situated outside of the formal Mass. Furthermore, since the festival was an annual festival, all the events of the church calendar were covered at one time, allowing for the dramatization of the life of Jesus or even the entire Bible from the Creation to the Last Judgment. The outdoor cycles continued to use the mansion and *platea* staging from the indoor pieces.

In addition to the cycle plays, groups of performers began to perform miracle plays and morality plays. Miracle plays dealt with the lives of saints or participated in debating a church controversy. *The Croxton Play of the Sacrament* examined the issues of transubstantiation and whether Jews can convert to Christianity. Morality plays instructed the audience in how to be a good Christian. For instance, *Everyman* instructs Christians to attend confession regularly in order to assure that their accounts are in order when death unexpectedly arrives.

CHRISTIAN DRAMA IN THE AMERICAS. By the dawn of the Renaissance, Christian drama was popular all over Europe from the cycles of the British Isles to the *autos* of Spain. The *autos* quickly spread to the Americas with the colonization of much of the New World by the Spanish in the sixteenth century. The priests who accompanied the conquistadors attempted to supplant indigenous rituals with *autos* to indoctrinate the indigenous people in the ways of Christian practice.

The priests also encouraged the converted native people to stage their own Christian pageants, which became an opening for the performance of political subversion. Many scholars have noted the contradictory semiotics of *La conquista de Jerusalén* (The conquest of Jerusalem, 1543). The Franciscans charged the indigenous converts of Tlaxcala to perform the pageant during the Feast of Corpus Christi. The frame of the pageant is the liberation of Jerusalem from the Moors. In a layering of symbols, the Christians were dressed as the new captain general of New Spain. The Moors were dressed like the former captain general, the conqueror of the Aztecs, Hernando Cortés. This created a performance of the "reversal of the conquest," with the indigenous people defeating Cortés at Jerusalem.

CHURCH INFLUENCE ON MODERN SECULAR DRAMA. With the Renaissance came a new secular drama, especially in places where the religious drama was outlawed to prevent religious conflict in a Europe increasingly divided along Catholic and Protestant lines. In England, Elizabeth I outlawed religious drama in 1559 and specifically suppressed cycle plays in 1570. University students continued to study the classic plays of Rome and used them as models along with a variety of other sources, including the Bible, for Renaissance drama. Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (c. 1588) reflects the conflicting cosmologies of the medieval world and the English Renaissance. The play resembles a morality play with the forces of good and evil fighting for Faustus's soul. Although Faustus condemns himself to hell for the knowledge he gains, he remains a Renaissance man, a humanist, and a seeker of scientific truth.

In Italy, with the power of the church on the wane, powerful Italian families, such as the Medici family, began to celebrate an Italian culture that preexisted the church. The Medici family poured money into creating spectacles that often used Roman mythology as the main theme. But Christian morality maintained an influence on the high arts, and morality occupied an important position as a central component of the concept of verisimilitude in drama. The neoclassicists, who advocated returning to the ideals of Horace and Aristotle in the sixteenth century, stressed that truthfulness meant a higher, moral truth rather than a specific, historical truth.

Christian clergy continued to be a powerful force in shaping the direction of the development of Western drama. A few years after Protestants in England had managed to successfully close the theaters during the Commonwealth, the Protestant minister Jeremy Collier helped to put an end to Restoration comedy when he wrote his "Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage" in 1698. Unlike some of his predecessors, Collier felt that drama should not be banned because drama could be used for didactic purposes. But Collier disliked how evil was rewarded in Restoration comedy. He objected to the licentious behavior of Restoration comedy characters, particularly the women. He also objected to characters taking the Lord's name in vain and mocking the clergy. These were sentiments that were shared by the increasingly powerful merchant class, initiating a sea change in the nature of English drama.

MODERN THEATER AS RELIGION. While experimental movements in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries seemed to challenge the Christian moral imperative, many avant-garde artists became interested in the spiritual practices of non-European cultures. One of the most influential of these artists was Antonin Artaud (1895–1948). In 1931 Artaud witnessed a Balinese dance at the Colonial Exposition, a performance that had an immediate and profound effect on Artaud and launched his writings about his "Theater of Cruelty." For Artaud, the key to the truth lay hidden deep within the human psyche, a psyche that had been perverted and repressed by civilization. Artaud wanted a theater that would act on the senses with sounds and images visceral enough to force the members of the audience to see their true selves. For Artaud, the so-called primitive societies of Bali and Mexico had escaped the effects of European civilization and were able to convey something deeper in their performance by way of gesture and facial expression.

This primitivism of Artaud's Theatre of Cruelty influenced several avant-garde artists: Jerzy Grotowski of the Polish Laboratory Theatre, Richard Schechner's Performance Group, Julian Beck and Judith Malina of the Living Theatre, and Joseph Chaikin of the Open Theatre. Grotowski (1968) sought to use ritual to induce actors into "casting off his everyday mask" and to lose themselves as a kind of sacrifice (Grotowski, 1968, p. 34). He advocated a theater without lights, a stage, or elaborate costumes so that he could remove the separation of the actors from the audience; and he used long and arduous rehearsal workshops to create *communitas* among his actors.

In 1968 the Open Theatre embarked on the Bible Workshops, a series of improvisations designed to explore some of the concepts in the Bible. Through these workshops the Open Theatre explored the life of Jesus and the stories in *Genesis.* Chaikin encouraged the company members to read Carl Jung and Joseph Campbell to inform their exploration. The improvisations developed into the dramatic work *The Serpent: A Ceremony,* a play that drew connections from modern political assassinations to what the group believed were the roots of such violence in the Bible.

FEMINIST SPIRITUALITY AND THE THEATER. In the 1970s and 1980s cultural feminist theater took up the use of ritual in performance. As Jill Dolan noted in *The Feminist Spectator* *as Critic* (1988), many women left avant-garde groups and formed their own when it became clear to them that women's issues were being ignored. As part of the feminist theater movement in France, Hélène Cixous reiterated Artaud's belief that gesture and movement could somehow subvert language, which to Cixous was phallocentric. But as Dolan pointed out, women's groups in the United States rarely followed her lead and looked instead to discover a feminist narrative, which was seen as cyclical and connected to the earth. The cultural feminist groups often used ritual in performance. For example, the group At the Foot of the Mountain used ritual as a companion to their performance of *Ashes, Ashes* in which they asked the audience to visualize saying good-bye to someone close to them as the apocalypse approached. Dolan recounted a ritual performed in conjunction with *Story of a Mother II* in which the group encouraged the audience to celebrate mother-daughter relationships and their matrilineal history. This development in cultural feminist theater fit within a larger trend by cultural feminists to return to Wiccan spirituality in what was perceived as a return to a matriarchal society that predated patriarchal religions such as Christianity.

POSTCOLONIAL DRAMA AND RELIGION. In the nations formerly colonized by the British, many scholars have documented the ways colonial administrators, uneasy with the idea of using Christianity to teach English morality, used Shakespeare in place of the Bible. Now, as part of the project to revive national traditions, many native dramatists have employed religious elements from their precolonial cultures.

Miguel Ángel Asturias used the Mayan dance of Los Gigantes in his play *Soluna* (1955), a title that literally means *Sun/Moon.* The central character envies the spiritual life of the indigenous peasants around him. He has been told that a mask he received from a sorcerer will make time run backward. He dreams that the peasants act out Los Gigantes, the Mayan ritual fight between the agents of the Sun and the agents of the Moon. When he awakens, the train carrying his wife, who had been in the process of leaving him, wrecks after an eclipse and an earthquake, and she returns to him. While Asturias appropriated Mayan spiritual elements in his work, it should be noted that Asturias was not a Mayan but rather a white Guatemalan anthropologist who studied with Georges Reynaud at the Sorbonne. Some scholars have been critical of his European-informed look at the Guatemalan native people.

Wole Soyinka has written about Yoruba spiritual practices in his plays, such as *Death and the King's Horseman* (1975), which involves Egungun and the ritual suicide of the king's horseman on the night of the king's burial. The foreign administrators, who lack understanding and sensitivity to the Yoruba religion, continually trivialize Yoruba practice, even to the point of wearing Egungun costumes to a Western masked ball. They attempt to stamp out the "barbaric" customs and interfere with the horseman's task to tragic effect.

THE FUTURE OF DRAMA AND RELIGION. The future of drama and religion is impossible to predict. In some cases, religion will continue to act as a censor, suppressing seemingly objectionable material, as in the case of funding being pulled from four performance artists who were National Endowment for the Arts recipients in 1990. Certainly the two will continue to share common elements, especially their creative potential. As Schechner says of ritual, dramatic performance "opens up a time/space of antistructural playfulness" where creative choices and solutions can be explored and rehearsed (Schechner, 1993, p. 233). The exploration of new religious ideas will continue to spur new material and create new dramatic practices, and drama will continue to be shaped by religious ideas.

SEE ALSO Performance and Ritual; Ritual.

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E. J. WESTLAKE (2005)

DRAMA: ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN RITUAL DRAMA [FIRST EDITION]

It is now commonly recognized that drama in the ancient Near East originated as a program of ritual acts performed at seasonal festivals, especially at the New Year festival. The central theme of this program was "off with the old, on with the new"; it was designed to mark the end of one lease of communal life and to ensure the next. The program is attested in many parts of the world and survives—albeit in attenuated form—in folk plays still performed in northern Greece and in such popular diversions as the English mummers' play.

The principal components of this ritual program are as follows:

1. The deposition (or even execution) of the reigning king, regarded as the embodiment of communal life momentarily ended, followed by the installation of a successor, regarded as a new avatar (or incarnation) of the ideal, perpetual kingship ("Le roi est mort; vive le roi!"). Often a temporary king is appointed during the interval.
2. The ceremonial "marriage" of the new king to a chosen bride in order to ensure the continued fecundity of the people. This epitomizes a brief period of sexual license observed by the community as a whole to the same end.
3. A combat between principals or teams symbolizing, respectively, new year and old, summer and winter, rainfall and drought, or simply life and death. When waged by principals, the victor (necessarily the embodiment of regeneration) becomes the king. Often the defeated antagonist is identified as a dragon who has impounded the subterranean waters and caused drought, or who has embroiled the sea and rivers and brought floods. His discomfiture ensures the irrigation of the soil in proper measure, and the power to control it is then formally vested in the victorious new king.
4. A communal feast, whereby members of the community recement their bonds of kinship by commensality, thus becoming companions in the literal sense of the word. The community's gods are thought to be present either as guests or as hosts. The ancestral dead are likewise in attendance, since the ongoing existence of the community necessarily involves the past as well as the present and future ("Our founders are with us in spirit").

Often the ritual program takes the form of the burial and subsequent disinterment of a puppet representing the temporary death and subsequent revival (resurrection) of vegetation and fertility.

Six factors turn this ritual program into drama in the modern sense of the term:

1. It comes to be interpreted as the representation in present time of a situation or process that essentially transcends the particular moment when it is performed—that is, as the punctualization of something essentially transtemporal. This is accomplished by representing the successive functional acts as incidents (or episodes) in a myth or story, the actors then impersonating supernatural beings, such as deities, or demons.
2. There is shift of focus from the ritual plot to the interplay of characters. The actors are no longer cardboard figures representing such abstractions as old year and new, life and death; the combat becomes one of conflicting personalities.
3. The action comes to be performed by a professional class (e.g., priests) rather than by the community as a whole. The broad masses then constitute an audience. This converts drama in the original sense of the term, namely, something done (Gr., *draō*, "do"), into theater, something watched (Gr., *theaomai*, "watch"), that is, into a spectacle.
4. Subsidiary elements are introduced in order to enhance popular interest and attention. Familiar songs are inserted in which the audience may join; messages are repeated verbatim when delivered, so that latecomers to the performance may catch up with the preceding action; the several incidents are tricked out with details drawn from traditional folklore; things are done abortively twice and successfully only at the third try, thereby increasing momentum and excitement.
5. The ritual combat is sometimes rationalized as the commemorative reenactment of a historical event, the actors being identified with traditional heroes and their adver-

saries. In certain parts of Greece, for instance, the opposing teams were portrayed as the followers of Alexander and Darius respectively, and in the English mummers' play they become at times King George and Napoleon. Indeed, by this process the ritual purport may be obscured altogether, as when the folk play develops into the enactment of an incident from scripture (e.g., the Flood, the Annunciation, or the Crucifixion in the medieval mystery plays or the story of Esther in Jewish plays staged at Purim).

6. In the course of time, when the original function of the performance has been forgotten, the action may degenerate into burlesque, farce, or masquerade, as is often the ase in the modern survivals. This development eventually gives rise to comedy.

The earliest examples of ritual drama come from the ancient Near East. They are preserved in hieroglyphic and cuneiform texts emanating from the civilizations of the Egyptians, the Babylonians and Assyrians, the Hittites of Asia Minor, and the Canaanites of ancient Syria. These texts date in general from the second and third millennia BCE, although their contents in several cases represent traditions older than the documents themselves. Most of them are explicitly associated with seasonal ceremonies, either being accompanied by a formal "order of service," or else containing interspersed liturgical rubrics. It should be observed, however, that since the ritual drama was (and still is) often performed in pantomime, the dialogues being recited and the story narrated by a "lector," some of the texts appear to be scripts for these "presenters" rather than libretti for the actors.

EGYPT. The Egyptian texts are the oldest. The *Ramesseum Coronation Drama* is inscribed on a papyrus unearthed in 1896 in the precincts of the Ramesseum at Thebes. The manuscript dates from the reign of Sen-Wosret (Sesotris) I (c. 1970 BCE), but it is believed that the contents go back some thirteen centuries earlier to the time of the first dynasty. The text was designed for the ceremony of installing (or reinstalling) the pharaoh at a New Year festival. It includes such elements of the ritual pattern as the combat, the death of the old king and the lamentation over him, the investiture and enthronement of the new king, a communal feast attended by the governors of the several provinces (nomes) of Egypt, and various acts (for example, the threshing of grain and the milking of goats) designed to promote fertility.

The successive ritual acts are construed as an enactment of the mythic discomfiture of the god Osiris by his evil brother Seth. The combat is taken to represent the fight between them. The new king is identified with Horus, son of Osiris, who avenged his father and defeated Seth. The two sacred women who bewail the slain king are the goddesses Isis and Nephthys, who bewailed Osiris. The official who invests the new king is the god Thoth, who adjudicated the contest between the gods. The various regalia are explained symbolically: the maces handed to the new king are the testicles of Seth wrested from him by Horus and then grafted upon himself to increase his vigor. The threshing of the grain represents the belaboring of Osiris by his rival. Interspersed rubrics identify the actors with their mythic counterparts and list props for the various scenes.

The *Edfu Drama* is engraved, with illustrative reliefs, on one of the walls of the temple at Edfu (Idfu; ancient Bekhdet); this text was composed for a ritual performance at a spring festival. Its central theme is the reinvigoration of the king as the epitome of communal life. It consists of a prologue, three acts (subdivided into scenes), and an epilogue. At one point, there is mention of a "chief lector," and since there is no indication of separate speakers, it is probable that the action was performed in pantomime and that what we have before us is simply the script for that "reciter."

The contents include such ingredients of the ritual pattern as the combat, the installation of the victor as king, and a "sacred marriage" at which he is the bridegroom. The action is interpreted mythically: the king is the local god, Horus of Bekhdet; his adversary, termed "the Caitiff," or "Monster," is identified as a hippopotamus (analogous to the dragon elsewhere), and the bride is the goddess Hathor of Dendera.

The *Memphite Theology* (or *Memphis Drama*), inserted on a slab of black granite now in the British Museum, was written in the reign of Shabaka (c. 712–697 BCE), but a preamble states expressly that it was copied from an original, which has been dated by modern scholars some eighteen centuries earlier. It was designed to be performed at a festival.

The theme is, once again, the death or discomfiture of the old king, the ritual lament over him, the combat, and the installation of the victor as the new king in the city of Memphis. The king is again identified with Horus, his defunct predecessor with Osiris, the wailing women with Isis and Nephthys, and the combat as that between Horus and Seth. The action, however, is not only mythified, but also historicized; the upshot of the combat is that the god Geb awards Upper Egypt to Seth and lower Egypt to Horus, but both areas are eventually united in a single country whose capital is Memphis. The text concludes, in fact, with a hymn to Ptah, patron god of that city.

It has been suggested also that certain mythico-magical texts engraved on plaques and stelae depicting Horus treading triumphantly on snakes, crocodiles, and scorpions were copied from ritual drama. There is, however, no indication that these myths were associated with seasonal festivals, nor do they include several of the typical elements of the ritual pattern.

BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA. The evidence for drama among the Babylonians and Assyrians is inferential and indirect but nonetheless persuasive. First, we have a long mythological poem, the *Enuma elish* (wrongly called an epic of creation), which was recited by a priest as part of the liturgy of the New Year festival. This relates how Marduk, the primary god of Babylon, vanquished a rebellious marine monster named

Tiamat and her cohorts, how he thereby acquired sovereignty over the gods, was installed in a newly built palace, and, at a banquet, determined the world order. Although this text is a literary composition and not a scenario, it clearly conforms to the ritual pattern of combat, enthronement, and renewal, and it is therefore reasonable to conclude that it is based on some more ancient seasonal drama.

Second, we have a series of texts—albeit fragmentary—in which what seem to be successive acts in a seasonal ritual are interpreted mythologically as representing incidents in a story concerning Marduk. This has suggested that these texts accompanied a dramatic performance. It has been proposed alternatively, however, that they refer rather to historical events that learned academicians explained as exemplifications of a traditional myth.

From the Hittites comes a text that describes how the weather god, with the aid of a mortal, defeated a marine dragon named Illuyanka, how this was followed by a desired precipitation of rain, and (apparently) how control of the subterranean waters was thereafter vested in the king. The story is tricked out with folkloric motifs and was designed for recitation at an annual festival. It is prefaced by a petition for rain and is accompanied by a description of the festival ceremonies. Hence, although it is once again a liturgical recitation rather than the actual text of a play, it clearly derives, like its Mesopotamian counterpart, from some earlier dramatic performance. Another Hittite text describes a ritual combat, in which the antagonists are historicized respectively as the Hittites themselves and a neighboring people called the Masa (possibly the Maeonians of Lydia).

That sacred drama was known also to the Canaanites in the second millennium BCE may be confidently deduced from a lengthy mythological poem discovered at Ras Shamra (ancient Ugarit) on the north coast of Syria. This relates how Baal, god of rainfall and fertility, successively vanquished Yamm, lord of seas and rivers, and Mot, genius of aridity and death. By virtue of defeating the former, he acquired sovereignty over the gods and was installed in a newly built palace. At an inaugural banquet tendered to the gods, he deliberately excluded Mot, whereupon his offended rival lured him down to the netherworld. During his sojourn there, all fertility failed on earth. An interrex was appointed in the person of a young god named Athtar—probably the genius of artificial irrigation—but he was too small to "make the grade," and the languishing earth was revived only when Baal's sister Anat, aided by the Lady Sun, descended into the lower regions, retrieved him and gave him burial, as a necessary prelude to his eventual resurrection. Thus revived, Baal finally discomfited Mot in combat and made known his return by an impressive display of sheet lightning.

Clearly a myth of the alternation of wet and dry seasons in the Syrian year, this poem reflects unmistakably in its contents and sequence the characteristic features of the standard seasonal ritual—the combat, interrex, enthronement, and banquet. A colophon states expressly that it was redacted (or recited?) by a disciple of the high priest. It was therefore a liturgical chant, probably recited at an autumnal festival that inaugurated the rainy season after that of the winter squalls and the dry summer months.

A burlesque version of the primitive seasonal drama may be seen to underlie another composition from Ras Shamra, conventionally known as the *Poem of Dawn and Sunset.* This consists of two sections: the first gives the rubrics for a ritual ceremony at the time when grapes ripen, and the second an accompanying mythological narrative. Two women encounter the aged supreme god El at the seashore while he is shooting down a bird and boiling it for his dinner. They make ribald remarks about his senility and seeming sexual impotence. Thereupon he gives forthright proof to the contrary. The ladies bear a pair of siblings. Someone—apparently the cuckolded husband of each—reports to the god that the children (of whose true parentage he is evidently unaware) glow like dawn and sunset—a common trait of divine offspring—whereupon El cynically suggests that their proper place would be up in the sky alongside the sun, moon, and fixed stars. Subsequently, further children, called "the gracious gods," are born. El is informed that these have insatiable appetites—another common folkloric trait of divinely begotten children. He thereupon consigns them to the desert, there to forage for their food. After a time, they fall in with the official custodian of grain and beg food and drink. Although he has only a meager supply to meet his own needs, he apparently feeds them, or they break into his silo. The rest of the story is missing, but a few fragmentary words at the end may be interpreted to mean that as a reward for his generosity, the gods annually bestow a due measure of crops and fruits. The text would thus be a more or less comic version of the ritual drama acted out at a festival of renewal in June, when vines are preliminarily trimmed. The seduction of the two women would then reflect the sacred marriage, and the children would be the gods subsequently astralized as the Heavenly Twins (Dioscuri), the regnant constellation of that month.

HEBREW SCRIPTURES. Literary echoes of the sacred drama have also been recognized by several modern scholars in certain of the biblical psalms. Those, for instance, that begin with the words, "The Lord reigneth" (or "hath become king"), Psalms 97 and 99, for example, would have been patterned after a traditional type of hymn composed for the annual enthronement of the god at the New Year festival (even though the ceremony itself may have been discarded); while Psalm 93, which acclaims the Lord as having acquired sovereignty by subduing "the mighty waters," as occupying a gorgeous temple, and as issuing eternal decrees for the government of the world, would reflect the same myth as the Mesopotamian and Hittite texts, based on the seasonal pattern.

Some scholars have also suggested that the *Song of Songs* is really a pastoral drama, in which a country maiden (the Shulammite) abducted by the king (Solomon) for his harem, is won back by her shepherd lover. There is, however, no evidence of such secular drama in the ancient Near East. Moreover, this view depends very largely on dubious interpretations of certain passages, and the assumed scenes of the drama sometimes consist of a single verse! It is therefore more probable that the biblical book is simply a repertoire of love songs.

Ritual Patterns in Greek and Other Literature. Much of the same ritual pattern that underlies the ancient Near Eastern texts may be recognized also as one of the main sources of classical Greek drama, for Gilbert Murray (1912) has pointed out that in several of the classical Greek tragedies that have come down to us, notably in those of Euripides, it is possible to discern—albeit through a glass darkly—such standard elements of the primitive ritual pattern as the combat (usually attenuated to a mere verbal altercation), the discomfiture of the loser (e.g., Pentheus or Hippolytus), the ceremonial lament, and sometimes also the resurrection of the fertility spirit (modified, to be sure, into a mere final theophany, like that of Dionysos in *The Bacchae*). On this theory, the prologue, which came eventually to summarize the background of the play, would have developed out of a more primitive ritual formula that served originally not to introduce the characters but to inaugurate the religious ceremony at which the play was performed. (Such a prologue indeed occurs in the aforementioned Canaanite *Poem of Dawn and Sunset.*) So, too, the division of the chorus into two halves would be a survival of the two opposing teams in the ritual combat.

A striking example of how the primitive ritual drama survived in literary form has been detected by Murray in *The Bacchae* of Euripides. Here he finds a mythified version of the combat, the dismemberment (in this case, of Pentheus), the lament, the retrieval of the scattered members, and, as "by a sort of doubling," the resurrection, attenuated into the final epiphany of the true god Dionysos instead of the revivification of the slaughtered victim.

Some twenty years later, Francis Cornford (1934, 1961), an eminent British classicist, applied this theory to Greek comedy, arguing that traces of the combat, the death-and-resurrection, the sacred marriage, and the banquet could be recognized in each of the extant plays of Aristophanes. It must be noted, however, that other scholars have questioned this assumption.

Nor is it only in Greek drama that survivals of the ritual pattern may be recognized. Equally impressive is the evidence afforded by the so-called Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*. This describes the rape of Demeter's daughter Persephone and the search for her by her mother and the goddess Hekate. But the successive incidents in the narrative reproduce to a nicety certain features of the ritual associated with the festival of Thesmophoria and with the Eleusinian mysteries. Thus, the search by torchlight reproduces the torchlight procession by female worshipers; the fast observed by Demeter reproduces the period of abstinence and mortification characteristic of seasonal ceremonies; the emphasis on her glum abstention from mirth and laughter finds its explanation in the statement of Plutarch and other writers that the festival was observed in a grim, lugubrious mood and that all merriment was forbidden; while the obscene gestures and jokes of the crone Iambe correspond to the chanting of ribald songs couched in iambic meter as a means of stimulating fertility.

It is not, however, in the seasonal pattern alone that the origin of Greek drama may be recognized. Other scholars—notably William Ridgeway (1915) and even Murray himself—have suggested that an alternative source lay in some cases in the commemorative stories of ancient heroes recited on the anniversaries of their births or deaths or at annual festivals when their shades were believed temporarily to rejoin their kinsmen (this would be like the reenactment of historical incidents in modern pageants, for example, on President Washington's birthday).

Finally, survivals of the primitive ritual pattern have been recognized by several modern scholars not only in drama but also in other forms of literature. It has been claimed, for instance, that some of the hymns of the Hindu *Ṛgveda* were chanted in seasonal masquerades and that some of the odes in the Chinese *Shih ching* were the libretti of crude harvest pantomimes. The Scandinavian *Elder Edda* and the legend of the Holy Grail have likewise been derived from ritual archetypes. Doubtless in certain cases, enthusiasm has outrun sobriety, but this can scarcely detract from the fact that a set of usages so constant and recurrent in ancient communities may be expected to have left its impress on their literature and art.

See Also Egyptian Religion, article on The Literature; Enuma Elish; Epics; Literature, article on Literature and Religion; New Year Festivals; Poetry, article on Poetry and Religion; Psalms; Purim Plays.

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THEODOR H. GASTER (1987)

DRAMA: ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN RITUAL DRAMA [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

Beginning with his 1936 master's thesis, Theodor H. Gaster (1906–1992) focused most of his research on the analysis of Ancient Near Eastern mythological compositions (especially those from Ugarit, modern Ras Shamra in Syria) as religious dramas that were performed within a ritual setting. Gaster was deeply influenced by James G. Frazer's (1854–1941) understanding of the relation between myth and ritual, as well as by his preoccupation with seasonal patterns in mythological narratives and discourses. Although this approach, exemplified by Gaster's famous work *Thespis*, was predominant in North American and British scholarship during the 1950s and 1960s, now it can also be regarded as a modern intellectual construct rather than as a historical reconstruction.

ANCIENT EGYPT. Gaster was excessively optimistic about the possibilities of knowing the actual setting of many ancient compositions. In the case of the Ancient Egyptian, some compositions have been regarded as ritual dramas by some scholars, including the *Dramatic Ramesseum Papyrus*, the *Triumph of Horus* from the Ptolemaic temple at Edfu, and the Ptolemaic papyri concerning the mysteries of Osiris at Abydos. In fact, in some instances (e.g., the Mysteries of Osiris at Abydos and the Bremner-Rhind Papyrus), the papyri include annotations about the performance of songs and switch between first person singular and plural—the latter may indicate solos sung by Isis and duets by the two goddesses (Isis and Nephthys) in the Bremner-Rhind Papyrus. Nevertheless, the evidence is generally ambiguous, and even the indications of the expected performative nature of songs and hymns do not imply an actual dramatic performance with different roles enacted by actors. The compositions themselves and the rituals connected to them were literary dramatizations of divine deeds, which would have taken place in a mythical time. However, there is no clear indication that these compositions were ever staged as actual dramas.

MESOPOTAMIA. The Mesopotamian case is even more complicated. One can question whether the Sumerian and Akkadian religious narratives had any actual life outside the narrow walls of the scribal world. For many of the ritual texts and exorcisms, specific instructions do prescribe their recitation at various points in rituals. Moreover, there are some letters stating that certain rituals were performed or instructing them to be performed. Nonetheless, almost all the texts whose performance seems more or less well attested in different sources are nonnarrative and mostly performative utterances (i.e., incantations and rituals whose illocutionary linguistic nature qualify them as speech acts). However, for the Mesopotamian religious narratives—the kinds of compositions that articulate a theological or theologico-political discourse—very little evidence exists that they were ever performed. Ironically, the *Enuma elish* (the Babylonian story of creation) is the only religious narrative for whose performance there seems to be some explicit evidence. One fragmentary tablet refers to the recitation of the whole *Enuma elish* on the fourth of Nisan (i.e., on the fourth day of the Akitu festival). The Akitu was the Babylonian New Year festival, celebrated from the first to the twelfth of Nisan (the first of Nisan would be near the vernal equinox, about March 21). In Babylon, the Akitu was a sowing festival. In other Mesopotamian cities, however, especially in earlier periods, the Akitu took place twice a year—during harvest season and during sowing season.

That the *Enuma elish* was probably the only Mesopotamian religious narrative ever performed is ironic because this is an exceedingly atypical work: The style, dialect, grammar, and lexicon of the composition seem to point to an individual author, an erudite scholar trained in all the intricacies of the most arcane scribal traditions. Most Assyriologists date the composition to the reign of Nebuchadrezzar I (c. 1100 BCE), and the scribal and scholarly setting of the text can hardly be doubted. The poem abounds in puns and word play based on signs and compound signs, which can make sense only in writing. The famous list of the fifty names of Marduk in Tablet VII of the *Enuma elish* is understandable only in its written form: Every line of the text is an expansion based on homophonic and homographic Sumerograms evoked by each specific name of Marduk. The text is itself a scholarly commentary. Thus, the only religious narrative that may have ever been publicly performed in Mesopotamia constitutes the epitome of artificiality, the prototype of scholarly literature. Even if regarded as part of the official cult, the *Enuma elish* stands alone in the history of Mesopotamian religious texts and little can be inferred from its uniqueness.

SACRED MARRIAGE. Also with regard to Mesopotamia, many assume that the cycle of lyric compositions focused on the relation between Inanna and Dumuzi reflects a ritual usually called *hieròs gámos* (sacred marriage) and that these texts would have been connected to its performance. However, very little is known about such a ritual. As part of the celebration of the new year from the second half of the third millennium to the beginning of the second, the king, representing Dumuzi, would have had (or pretended to have) sexual intercourse with a woman (usually a high priestess) who was representing the goddess Inanna. Echoes of this ceremony survived in first millennium texts that describe royal rituals and the epithalamia of, for instance, Nabu and Tašmētu in Assyria, and Nabu and Nanaya in Babylonia. Most of the details of this sacred marriage are unknown. In documents from the Ur III period (c. 2100–2000 BCE), there are some mentions of priestesses spending the night in the god's bedchamber. Other possible sacred marriage rites have been proposed for earlier periods, especially those involving the moon god (Nanna/Suen), and his high priestess at Ur. In spite of all of this more or less oblique evidence, important doubts have been cast on the actual existence of such a rite. The arcane character of this ritual and the unclear and scanty evidence can be explained in the light of the inherent nature of the ritual, whatever its actual performative mechanisms were. Nonetheless, the Mesopotamian sacred marriage may well have been a mere intellectual construct, a religious narrative in which the mythical and historical discourses intersect as part of the Mesopotamian political theology.

HITTITE. Probably the only area in which Gaster's enthusiasm was partly justified is Anatolia. A number of Hittite rituals have been regarded as the forerunners of drama. Some of these rituals are labeled as *uttar* (utterance, word, spell) in their colophons and refrains and have sections clearly noted as direct speech (with the quotation particle *-wa*). Moreover, some Hittite compositions can be regarded as ritual dialogues, as in the case of the text describing the "great road" the soul takes at death. Nonetheless, most Anatolian texts in Hittite, Luwian, and Palaic are actually rituals, and rituals are performative by nature. Some of these rituals include dialogues that were perhaps dramatized, but this is still a far cry from staged drama. Likewise, in the realm of Mesopotamian secular literature, the Sumerian dialogues and disputations might seem pieces of a chamber theater of sorts, if it were not for the fact that these are strictly scribal compositions whose life was limited to the confines of the Mesopotamian schools.

The Ugaritic cycle of Baʿlu has been interpreted by Gaster and others as a ritual dramatization of a seasonal pattern. This approach makes several assumptions for which there is no textual evidence: (1) the Baʿlu narrative mentions very few terms or expressions that could be linked to a ritual or seasonal cycle; (2) the identification of Yammu (the sea) with a dragon or monster; (3) the banishment of Môtu (death) prior to his confrontation with Baʿlu; (4) the seasonal pattern reverses the order of the texts; (5) the cycle would correspond to an autumnal festival of which there are no traces in the Ugaritic corpus (e.g., rituals, administrative documents, letters); and (6) the palace of Baʿlu in the cycle cannot be the temple excavated at Ras Shamra, because the composition places it on Mount Sapanu (*ṣpn*, Ṣapānu, biblical *ṣāp̱ôn*, Saphon), presumably north of Ugarit. Therefore, there is no textual basis for an interpretation of this mythical cycle as a ritual drama. As in the case of the Egyptian compositions above, a composition may narrate a mythical event in a dramatized fashion, but this does not imply that the composition was performed as a drama, especially in the absence of any specific evidence (e.g., administrative texts concerning festivals or references to performance within the composition itself or in other texts). This would also apply to the biblical *Song of Songs,* which is simply a lyrical dialogue between the Shulammite and her lover, sometimes seemingly portrayed in the poems as King Solomon. The *Song of Songs* may have been performed as a series of recitatives, but can hardly be labeled as a drama and was probably never a hierogamic text.

In sum, it is a misguided effort to search for the historical or typological roots of Greek drama in the Ancient Near East. Some compositions include dialogues between characters and some concrete genres (rituals, incantations, exorcisms) were performative by nature. However, there is no internal or external evidence of any actual dramatic, staged performance of any of these mythological and ritual texts.

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GONZALO RUBIO (2005)

DRAMA: MIDDLE EASTERN NARRATIVE TRADITIONS

Popular religious storytelling has been widespread in the Islamic Middle East since the earliest times, and its forms have varied considerably according to time, place, and branch or sect of Islam. For the period before 1500, sources for religious storytelling are few and widely scattered; nevertheless, some idea of the situation can be gained. With the establishment of Shiism as the state religion in Persia in about 1500, important new forms of religious oral narrative appeared, some of which are still practiced in the twentieth century.

Religious storytelling on the popular level has its roots in formal preaching in the mosque. In its broadest sense, it attempts to interpret the religion and meet the spiritual needs of the common people in a manner more accessible to them than that of a preacher representing the religious establishment. This kind of storytelling quickly came to reflect the values and beliefs of popular Islam and in doing so widened the gap between the Islam of the theologians and jurisprudents and that of the common people. The sources for the study of popular religious storytelling reflect, by and large, the views of the small educated class, including the religious class, and deplore the existence and influence of popular oral narrators.

In the first century of Islam it became the practice of governing authorities to appoint a preacher for the local mosque and pay him a stipend from the state treasury. At the same time, unofficial preachers (*qāṣṣ*, lit. "story-teller"; pl., *quṣṣāṣ*) began delivering sermons in mosques and elsewhere. While the official preachers represented the views of the religious establishment, the free preachers were not so restricted. Enlightenment mixed with entertainment in their sermons, and edifying tales slowly developed into entertaining ones, always within the framework of transmitting and interpreting the tradition of the Prophet. Some popular preachers were highly respected men of great learning, and al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 868/9) included Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 728/9) in his list of learned popular preachers. Most, however, were bent on impressing their audiences, and since it is easy to pass from edifying tales to profane ones, they began to enjoy great success among the uneducated. By about 892, popular preaching was considered a problem in the Muslim community, and the government announced that storytellers, astrologers, and fortune-tellers were not to appear in the streets and mosques of Baghdad. In Spain in the twelfth century, religious storytellers were banned from performing in cemeteries and from telling tales in which the Prophet's name was mentioned, and municipal authorities were charged with preventing women from attending their sessions in tents.

Because of the bias of the sources in favor of the religious establishment, most accounts of popular preachers and storytellers after the ninth century describe them as charlatans and often associate them with beggars and confidence men. They were accused of mixing edifying narratives from the Qurʾān with fanciful biblical legends, stories from pre-Islamic Arabia and Persia, eschatological and cosmological tales based on invented chains of authorities, romances with religious associations, and popular etymologies, leaving no questions unanswered. Among the public, they became more highly regarded than the theologians, who condemned them for falsifying the religious tradition. They were also opposed by the Ṣūfīs, who maintained that they did not transmit true mystical experiences. More than one source describes their practices used to impress their audiences, which included painting their faces, artificially stimulating the flow of tears, making histrionic gestures, pounding on the pulpit, running up and down its stairs, and even throwing themselves off it. These storytellers flourished in Iraq, Persia, and Central Asia but were relatively scarce in the Hejaz and in Muslim North Africa. Whatever the accuracy of these accounts may be, it is clear that the popular religious storytellers, like the friars of medieval Christianity, bridged the gulf between an intellectual and distant religious establishment and an illiterate populace needing spiritual guidance and education in terms they could comprehend.

When the Safavids (1500–1732) were establishing Shiism as the official religion in Persia, one of the means they used to spread their message was the oral storyteller. This appears to have stimulated the development and specialization of oral narration, and to judge from the sources, religious storytelling flourished in Persia from the sixteenth to the early twentieth century. I shall describe here the three most important forms.

Rawẓah-khvānī began with public readings from *Ruwẓat al-shuhadā* (The garden of martyrs), a collection of stories by Ḥusayn Vāʿiẓ Kāshifī (d. 910 AH/1504–1505 CE) about the Shīʿī *imāms.* Soon moving out of the mosque and into public places and private houses, *rawẓah-khvānī* became an integral part of religious life. It is still practiced widely in Iran. Another form of oral religious narrative, rarer today, is a variety of picture storytelling called *pardah-dārī.* Working in pairs, narrators make use of a large canvas on which are painted pictures of the imams in their struggles with the opponents of Shiism. The canvas is slowly unrolled or unveiled as the story is related in a mixture of prose and verse. Finally, there is *sukhanvarī*, which began in Safavid times and is all but extinct in Iran today. Probably deriving from an older rivalry between Shīʿī and Sunnī religious storytellers, *sukhanvarī* was a contest in which two narrators attempted to outdo each other in improvising verses praising the imams and condemning the Sunnīs. The contests would usually take place in coffeehouses and were most popular during the nights of Ramaḍān.

Among the Sunnīs of Ottoman Turkey and the Turkic peoples of Central Asia, religious storytelling was practiced to a modest extent. It is believed that the *meddah*s (dramatic storytellers) of Turkey were originally religious storytellers, and nineteenth-century travelers report hearing popular religious narratives in Kabul and Bukhara. Today the practice has almost disappeared from Sunnī Islam, but it is still popular among the Shīʿī communities of Iraq and Anatolia, in addition to Iran. There a variant of *rawẓah-khvānī* is common: passages from *maqtals*, books that relate the martyrdom of the *imāms*, are recited, most often during the first ten days of Muḥarram (the first month of the Muslim lunar year).

SEE ALSO Taʿziyah.

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WILLIAM L. HANAWAY, JR. (1987)

DRAMA: INDIAN DANCE AND DANCE DRAMA

In the cultures of the Indian subcontinent, drama and ritual have been integral parts of a single whole from earliest recorded history. The first evidences of ritual dance drama performances occur in the rock paintings of Mirzapur, Bhimbetka, and in other sites, which are variously dated 20,000–5000 BCE. The ancient remains of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa (2500–2000 BCE) are more definitive. Here archaeological remains clearly point to the prevalence of ritual performance involving populace and patrons. The Mohenjo-Daro seals, bronze figurines, and images of priests and broken torsos are all clear indications of dance as ritual.

The aspect of Vedic ritual tradition closest to dance and drama was a rigorous system called *yajña*. Various types of sacrifices called *yajña*s were held at different astronomical confluences and lasted for five, seven, fifteen, or twenty-one days. These rituals were dramatic performances presented in a sacred enclosure. Usually three altars symbolized the celestial, terrestrial, and mundane worlds. The altars were in the shape of a square, a circle, and a semicircle. The performance included incantation, verses recited in different meters in specific intonation, movement in eight directions along a circumambulatory path in the sacred enclosure, and offerings of sixteen auspicious objects. Combined, these activities constituted a comprehensive ritual drama. Participating were the priests and the *yajamana*, the person desiring the performance of the sacrifice. Roles were clearly defined: the patron, his wife, the priest, his assistants, and members of the society representing the various vocations.

The ritual's movement pattern was dramatic from inception to conclusion. The cosmos was symbolically recreated for the duration of the performance, and the movement of the universe in its process of involution, evolution, and devolution was suggested. The ritual's ultimate conclusion was the ritual burning of the sacred enclosure.

The concern of the Vedic poet was also focused on images of dance and drama, as evidenced by the inumerable textual references to these arts. Some members of the Vedic pantheon were dancers: Ūṣa, the goddess of the dawn; Indra, the god of the thunderbolt; and the two sets of twin gods, the Māruts and the Aśvins.

Archaeological remains from the Mauryan period provide evidence of the prevalence of ritual dance and dance drama. The terra-cotta figures of the dancing girls, the drummer, and others of this period suggest preoccupation with ritual dance. The tradition continues in the Sunga, Stavahana, and Kushan periods (second century BCE to second century CE), culminating with the great Buddhist stupas, Jain monuments, and early Hindu temples of the Gupta period (fourth to sixth centuries CE). The frequency of ritual performance is evident from the architectural remains of sacrificial enclosures, sculptural reliefs, and literary evidence.

THE NĀṬYA ŚĀSTRA. Attributed to Bhārata, the *Nāṭya Śāstra* (second century BCE to second century CE) enunciates a theory of aesthetics and the techniques of dramaturgy in thirty-six chapters. These chapters discuss dramatic evolution, theatrical and stage construction, and the presentation of drama. Drama is viewed as a reenactment of the cosmos, which is composed of celestial, terrestrial, and mundane worlds. It is compared to a ritual performance (*yajña*) and aims at emancipation or release (*mokṣa*) gained through the purification of emotion (*rāsa*).

Like the stupa and temple, the theater is a sacred enclosure, and the stage is the sacred altar. A center is established, and all else radiates from it. The stage center is demarcated. The performance is a ritual that begins with offerings to the sacred center and the deities of the eight directions. The *Nāṭya Śāstra* devotes a full chapter to the preliminary rituals (*pūrvaraṅga*). These comprise various entries and exits of three principal dancer-actors who establish the ritual space through song and mime. Drama proper follows. The *Nāṭya Śāstra* clearly draws upon Vedic ritual drama to create the edifice for dramatic ritual. It extracts elements from the four Vedas: intonation, recitation, gesture, language, music, and the internalized states of emotion, to create a fifth whole that Bhārata called the fifth Veda of drama. With speech, movement, music, and costumery, the performance is early multimedia. The *Nāṭya Śāstra* recognizes regional variations and can be presented in either stylized or natural modes.

Enunciated in oral tradition two thousand years ago, the precepts of the *Nāṭya Śāstra* are still followed in India in many dance and drama forms in whole or in part. The preliminaries invariably invoke principal deities; the sacred enclosure is demarcated. Whether the performance is in open space or in a closed theater, a center is established. Offerings are made of eight auspicious things, such as coconut, water, turmeric, and so forth. Once the director and his companions have established the consecrated space, the audience is invited to participate in the mythical, consecrated time of the drama.

The architectural plans of many stupas and temples built between the second and thirteenth century provide evidence of adhering to a sacred geometry of the square and circle. In each instance, a center is fundamental. Many rituals were performed in different areas of the temple, from the inner sanctum to outer enclosure. By the eighth century and particularly between the tenth and thirteenth century, special structures called *naṭamaṇḍapa* were built for ritual dance and dance drama.

Music and dance were included as part of temple offerings (*sevas*) involving flowers and incense. A solo dancer performed before the deity. Hereditary dancers called *devadāsīs* also performed in the temple sanctum. This practice was prevalent in all parts of India. Many other ritual dance dramas were performed in the courtyard, a tradition that continued and developed in many parts of India.

RITUAL DANCE DRAMA. The ritual dance-drama form with the longest continuity, called *kuttiyattam*, is performed today in special theaters (*kuttambalamas*) in Kerala. The spectacle held in these special theaters within the temple precincts is performed by professional acting families called *chakyars*. Such families can trace their genealogies back to the tenth century of the common era.

The play starts with the sounding of a large, pitcher-shaped drum, the *mizhavu*. The director and his companions enter, almost exactly as described in the *Nāṭya Śāstra*, carrying a brimming vase and a pole. In the central area of the stage, eight auspicious gifts, *aṣṭa-maṅgala*, are offered; these offerings almost replicate the offerings within the temple sanctum. The actors then circumambulate the stage, establishing the eight directions and the three spaces of the universe—nether, terrestial, and celestial.

A single play takes from seven to nine nights to complete. Each act is elaborated upon in minutest detail. A repertoire of ten plays is extant, although today only excerpts are presented. Night after night audiences witness these performances in rapt attention. Participation in the performance is a ritual act comparable to the daily worship the devotee offers to the deity inside the temple.

In the Guruvayur Temple (c. fifteenth century CE), the dance drama called *Kṛṣṇattam* is presented in the temple courtyard rather than in a *kuttambalama*. The life of Kṛṣṇa is enacted by a totally male cast of actors over a period of eight nights. The performance is based on the *Kṛṣṇagiti*, a text composed by King Manavedan. The favorite episodes of Kṛṣṇa's life—his birth in a dark prison, his childhood pranks, his conquest of the snake demon Kaliya, his destruction of the demonness Pūtanā and the demons hidden in tree trunks, his playful sport with the cowherdesses (*gopīs*), and his final journey to heaven (*svargarśana*)—are all re-created in a charming spectacle full of lyricism and fluidity. The faces of some actors are painted in green or red, symbolizing good and evil characters, respectively; other characters wear large masks.

The *kathakali* dance drama form was inspired by *kuttiyattam.* By some accounts it developed as a reaction to *kṛṣṇattam.* Eclectic in character, it is a highly sophisticated art form utilizing the preliminary rituals of *kuttiyattam* and presenting dance dramas based on the Indian epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata.* While *kathakali*'s ritualistic origins are not immediately clear, it draws essentially upon the rituals held in the temple sanctum.

The countless ritual dance drama forms of several village communities in Kerala are fundamental to the evolution of all temple dance drama forms. The preserve of the socioeconomically deprived and backward classes, these forms are known as *teyyams*, a name derived from the word *daivam* ("to be god"). Many different forms of *teyyam* and *teriyattam* continue to be performed in Kerala. In these performances, the spirit of the deity enters the actor so that the ritual enactment invariably culminates in magic and trance. These forms characteristically feature elaborate makeup, high headgears, and oversize costumery, all designed to create an otherworldly vision. In the form called *mudiyettu*, an enclosure is made, and the image of the goddess Kālī is traced on the ground with the powders of different cereal grains. Another person, who many be considered devotee or priest, worships the image. Then this priest/devotee dances in a trance state and obliterates the image. A second enclosure is made, and the action of the dance drama shifts to this second space. A lamp, which had accompanied the first part of the performance, is moved to the second enclosure, symbolizing continuity. The story of Kālī vanquishing the demon Darika is enacted in the second enclosure. Until about the mid-twentieth century, the role of Kālī was performed by the same actor who worshiped and obliterated the image in the first enclosure; today they are different actors. At the end of the performance, the actors who take the roles of Kālī and Darika become possessed.

It is important to remember that for those forms drawing inspiration from the temple, the ritual precedes the dramatic spectacle, and the actors always are narrators and performers of the myth. In village dance drama rituals, however, the performer is not an actor but is transformed for the duration into the deity. The performance, therefore, invariably ends in trance with the actor possessed.

Similar dance-drama forms are known elsewhere in India. The patterns of chanting *mantra*s in the temple sanctum; singing inside the temple; and performing dances in the dance hall (*manadappam*), dance drama in the temple courtyard, and dance drama in the village field or open spaces are pan-Indian.

One can identify three major systems of dance as ritual process and ritualistic dance drama from the thousands of distinctly regional or local forms. The first is an offering of music and dance, usually performed by a solo female dancer or a group of dancers. This genre owes its repertoire in varying degrees to the traditions followed by *devadāsī*s, *māhari*s, and others, and includes the *bhāratanāṭyam* of South India, the *orissi* of Orissa, and the *ardhananṛtyam* of Andhra Pradesh.

The second system includes the dance dramas within and without the temple courtyard. Here the performers are largely male dancer-actors, not devotee-narrators as in the solo offering. The medieval cycle plays concerning the life of Kṛṣṇa or Rāma emerged within this broad category. While known throughout India, they are special to the North and East. The third system is characterized by the presentation of themes from the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Performances of Rāma-līlā are pervasive throughout India. The life cycle of Rāma, hero and god, is also presented during early autumn in Java, Bali, Thailand, and Malaysia. Commencing with ritual preliminaries—invoking gods of the water, earth, and sky and the deities of the quarters, and seeking benediction—the life of Rāma is enacted nightly in episodes about his birth, his ultimate coronation, the banishing of Sītā, and, in some versions, his immersion in the waters of the river Saryu. The Rāmnagar Rāma-līlā and the Tulsīghāṭa Rāma-līlā are held in different parts of the city of Banaras. These ritual dance-drama performances take on a special quality because the locale itself is transformed into the situs of the story. Each episode is performed in a different place. The singer-director recites verses from the *Rāmacaritamānas*, a sixteenth-century work by Tulsīdās. Young boys, especially trained for the annual performance, act their roles in the changing locales; the audience identifies them with the mythical heroes. During the performance of the Rāma-līlā, a period of over twenty days, the actors who play the main role of Rāma and his brothers are considered deified. They are consecrated through ritual before the beginning of the dance drama; from that time on the human is icon come to life. Only after their final performance when they remove their headgear do the actors return to mundane life. Until that time, the audience worships them as they would an icon, the sacred and the profane are concurrent without tension, and actual time and place become mythical while also retaining their own ordinary identities.

Ritual and dance drama around the Kṛṣṇa theme constitute another performance system throughout India. Inspired by the early life of Kṛṣṇa, especially that narrated in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (c. ninth century), the cycle of Kṛṣṇalīlā plays is performed two weeks before the Janmāṣṭamī, the day of Kṛṣṇa's birth on the eighth day of the waning moon of July–August. The most important of these is the *Vṛndāvana Kṛṣṇalīlā*. Again, as in the case of Rāma-līlā, young boys are trained for their roles, initiated, and consecrated. For the duration of the cycle plays, these young boys, as Kṛṣṇa, his consort Rādhā, and other cowherdesses (*gopī*s), are considered deified. Beginning with Kṛṣṇa's birth, a new episode in his life is presented each day. This is known as *līlā*. The enactment of the stories in the early life of Kṛṣṇa culminates in the *rāsa*, the circular dance of great antiquity in which Kṛṣṇa stands in the center with the *gopī*s surrounding him. During the dance, Kṛṣṇa creates the illusion in which each *gopī* believes her partner to be Kṛṣṇa. In the *Vṛndāvana Kṛṣṇalīlā* the one young Kṛṣṇa suddenly is multiplied, leading to complex circle dancing until Kṛṣṇa and his consort Rādhā finally stand in the center. All others pay obeisance to the icon (*mūrti*) of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā as they would within the temple. Ecstatic cries fill the arena. Devotees prostrate themselves before the young dancers who are, for that time and space, deities.

In Manipur, the same Kṛṣṇalīlā becomes Rāsalīlā and is performed five times yearly to coincide with the full moon of spring, the monsoons, late autumn, and so forth. Instead of young boys, young girls before puberty take the principal roles. The *gopī*s can be women of any age, from ten to more than sixty. The enactment of Kṛṣṇa's early life is a moving spectacle, but the presentation of *rāsa* provides the most heightened ecstatic experience. The *rāsa* is held in the Govindjī Temple precincts in Manipur in springtime; the *mahārāsa*, or grand *rāsa*, in the November full moon. The *gopī*s arrive in two files of twenty to forty dancers each, dressed in glittering skirts and transparent veils. They sing verses from the tenth section of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, each *gopī* vying with the others to communicate her yearning for the Dark Lord. Tears flow effortlessly. Singing in falsetto, with minimal restrained gestures, also occurs. Always played by a young girl, Kṛṣṇa appears, dances, and looks for the *gopī*s. Rādhā, dressed in a green skirt to distinguish her from the red-skirted *gopīs*, then appears. This provides an opportunity for a solo dance of great beauty. A dialogue through music and dance takes place between the two, followed by estrangement and then reunion. As in the *Vṛndāvana Kṛṣṇalīlā* the dance ends with a circular movement but without a number of Kṛṣṇas appearing.

The atmosphere is charged with devotion (*bhakti*). Members of the audience enter the arena and bow down or prostrate themselves before the dancer-deities, offer gifts, and then retreat. The dance can last all night until early in the morning, when the *gopīs* and the audience worship the child actors portraying Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā as they would the icons inside the temple sanctum.

SEE ALSO Līlā.

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DRAMA: BALINESE DANCE AND DANCE DRAMA

Balinese dance and dance drama are integral to the distinctive Hindu-Buddhist religious practices found in Bali, Lombok, and parts of East Java, Sumatra, and Celebes recently converted to Bali-Hindu religion or settled by Balinese under Indonesia's national program to relocate population. Many sourcebooks for Balinese drama derive from the pre-Muslim period of Javanese civilization. Beginning in the fourteenth century, Java's Hinduized courts confronted first Islamic, then Western forces of trade, political authority, and religious instruction; the ritual and drama apparently central to Javanese statecraft altered accordingly. Neighboring Bali, in part isolated from these developments and from the more intensive style of Dutch colonialism, provided a context for the continuing cultivation of both scribal and performing arts tied to rites of ancestor commemoration and a cult of kingship, to wet-rice agricultural cycles, and to intricate temple systems that organize productive lands, civic units, domestic space, and funerary areas into networks of shrines. Hindu deities and local ancestors make periodic visitations to these shrines to be entertained. Moreover, demonic agents both regularly and occasionally upset the social and cosmic equilibrium and must be appeased at places vulnerable to their influence, such as the ground, the sea, and all crossroads.

Balinese temple celebrations always include the playing of gongs and metallophones (*gamelan*, the instruments for which the percussion orchestra is named) and specific dances in ritual processions; they may also include shadow puppet theater (*wayang*), masked dance drama (*topeng*), or many unmasked dance dramas. Performances may be used to upgrade life-crisis rites, such as tooth filings, weddings, and cremations. A specific orchestral ensemble accompanies each variety of dance and drama. Important genres include *gambuh*, *topeng*, *parwa*, and *wayang*. In *gambuh*, unmasked courtly dramas dating back at least four hundred years, the orchestra adds haunting flutes to its percussions. *Gambuh* tales come from the indigenous cycle of love and political intrigue called Malat in Bali and Panji in Java. Masked *topeng*, performed either by a soloist or by multiple actor-dancers, stages narratives from dynastic chronicles. *Parwa*, probably originating around 1885, is similar to *wayang wong*, in which masked dancers replace the famous leather puppets of *wayang kulit;* but *parwa* contents are restricted to episodes from the *Mahābhārata*. Bali's versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* remain the basic source for *wayang*, both the renowned nighttime varieties that project puppet shadows onto a screen and the daytime version without shadows, regarded as a more potent message to ancestral shades. Myriad additional genres represent one of the fullest flowerings of dramatic dance in the history of civilizations.

Complex rules delimit which episodes in what performance mode are suited to which rituals; variations reflect Bali's history of shifting sponsorships by courts, ancestor groups, localities, and now national and commercial agencies. Several types of dance involve divine or demonic possession (for example, the prepubescent trance dancers of *Sanghyang Dedari*). Trance occurs frequently in Balinese ritual, most spectacularly among the participants in the famous exorcist battles based on the Tantric tale of *Calonarang*, in which the witch Rangda (whose dread masks belong to village-area temples) engages the friendlier force of lionlike Barong (whose costumes are usually owned by hamlets). The end is inevitably a standoff. Most Balinese dance dramas, however, are thought to be given not by deities or demons, but for them. Bali's traditional concept of "audience" includes the ordinarily remote deities, lured to their "seats" for the show; partisan ancestors, to whom descendants may have "promised in their hearts" a particular performance; human spectators of all social ranks; and outsiders as well, including foreigners and tourists. Indeed commoners, called "outsiders" to noble courts (*purî*), are essential spectators. That ritual and drama are seldom designed for a closed public, despite the culture's exclusivistic hierarchies, helps explain the resilience of Bali's semiprofessionalized dance and drama organizations: talented peasants moonlighting in troups for hire.

Any Balinese ritual mobilizes an array of specialists, some restricted by caste or social position, others not. Brahmana priests (*pedanda*) specialize in Sanskrit and esoteric manuals that prescribe rituals for purifying water (*tirtha*) required by their clients for ceremonies. Puppeteers (*dhalang*), not restricted to a particular caste but sometimes concentrated in certain ancestral lines, are highly respected virtuosi: a *dhalang* is the actors, propmen, screenwriter, director, and conductor rolled into one. Young dancers are intensively exercised in choreographic codes that replicate in gestures what a *dhalang* depicts through puppets. A temple celebration, cremation, wedding, or other ritual may be elaborated into a bustling, muted circus, with multiple rings of performers and onlookers, perhaps including a priest intoning *mantra*s, a reading group reciting select texts, a *wayang*, various phases of the ritual itself, extra attractions, and several *gamelan*. Historically transforming genres of dance and drama have combined and recombined select channels of refined versus agitated form: sound (in phased periodicities of percussion), voice (in chant and prayer, individual and choral song, and spoken dialogues), languages (Sanskrit; Old Javanese, or Kawi; High Balinese; vernacular Balinese; Indonesian), styles of movement, and levels of gesture. Certain performers—the puppeteer, the *topeng* soloist, the translating and paraphrasing servant-clowns of *wayang wong*—must master all codes.

Dance and drama in Bali portray stock types of conventional characters, ordered into cosmically opposed sets, right-hand ("mountainward") and left-hand ("seaward"). The familiar panoply from Hindu myth and epic includes gods; heroes; adventurous knights; ladies; prime ministers; ladies-in-waiting; servants; ogres; demons; animals (some anthropomorphic); and clowns, the most popular figures, marked by specifically Balinese characteristics. Stage layouts, the situation of performances in and around temples, and the punctuation of ritual by dance and drama help articulate such conceptually opposite attributes as refined and crude and divine and demonic implicit in all spatial arrangements, interactions, and temporal flow. Styles of offerings and priestly functions, too, activate complementary cycles of patterned sound, gesture, story, and ritual regalia: from the esoteric *mantra*s and *mudrā*s (hand postures) of *pedanda* (high priests of the right-hand powers) or *sengguhu* (high priests of the left-hand powers), to the charms, tokens, and homey icons of the many *balian* ("curers") dealing in sorcery and love magic. The realms of health and disease, activities of allure and cure, and the values of aesthetics and exorcism remain intertwined in Bali-Hinduism, where any analytic separation of the theatrical, the political, and the religious arts is difficult to sustain.

Recent studies of Balinese dance and drama adopt helpful, although conscientiously rationalized, schemes advanced by I G. Sugriwa, R. Moerdowo, and other Indonesian scholars. They distinguish four types of dances. There are dances indispensable to ritual sacrifice, performed in the inner temple by the deities' female attendants and male guardians, drawn from the community concerned. There are optional dance dramas of the middle courtyard that heighten a temple ceremony or a crisis rite; masks and costumes and the performers themselves, perhaps hired from outside, are ritually consecrated. A third type encompasses "secular" dances performed in conjunction with a temple ceremony, but outside the walls, along with cockfights and games of chance; one example is the flirtatious Joged, a dance that recalls precolonial royal involvement in prostitution and other service monopolies. Finally, commercial dances, casually performed with unconsecrated masks, have flourished in tourist shows; the consummate example is the picturesque monkey dance (the Cak), which has become the trademark of Balinese culture in Indonesia.

The rich interplay among dance, drama, and religious practice and belief in Bali pertains to many important issues. Balinese Hinduism's stress on dance in popular ritual sets it off vividly from Islamic values of neighboring islands and of the Indonesian nation. Although many dramatic texts in Bali originated in India, its dance is very different from South Asian varieties, as are its temples. The rituals garnished with Balinese dance drama have counterparts among non-Hindu Indonesians, particularly wet-rice growers and societies organized into rival centers of authority marked by competitive displays during rituals of death, reburial, marriage, circumcision (not practiced by Balinese), or other passage rites. A major problem in interpreting Balinese arts concerns their place in rivalries among rajas, among localities, and among other sponsors. The manufacture of sacred objects—gongs, masks, daggers, written texts, and the like—and expertise in rituals necessary to maintain and periodically cleanse and reconsecrate them remain important in Balinese notions of status and prestige. Moreover, dramas often contain stories of their own origins and credit different social segments, dynasties, and ancestors with instituting distinct arts and performances. Contrary claims in these matters still vitalize Balinese social and political processes and introduce complications into the historiography of Balinese religion, dance, and drama.

Explicit Bali-Hindu philosophies of religion correlate action, word, and thought, thus orchestrating ritual deed, spoken syllables, and mental images in a theory of the interrelation of visual, verbal, spatial, and sonic arts. Some Balinese experts make fine distinctions between trance and "inspiration" (*taksu*) as well as other conditions of dramatic and religious awareness. Although several modern institutes and schools for the preservation and advancement of Balinese arts have promoted new experiments in training and documentation (including musical notation systems), traditional court-based or village-centered training techniques persist for music, dance, drama, sculpture, painting, and so forth. Certain principles of Balinese religion seem manifest less in popular creed than in ideals of transmitting from masters to novices complex aesthetic skills, such as musically structured muscular coordination of postures plus pulsations of eyes, limbs, feet, and fingers. Performers achieve exemplary concentration, self-control, and personal effacement; their poise seems to exist in dynamic tension with the risk of demonic abandon. Judging from Balinese culture, a religion can be danced as much as believed.

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DRAMA: JAVANESE WAYANG

Wayang kulit, also known as *wayang purwa* ("shadow play"), is a type of puppet theater that is indigenous primarily to Java, the most populous island of Indonesia, but that flourishes also on the Indonesian islands of Bali and Lombok and in the state of Kelantan on the Malay Peninsula. *Wayang kulit* is performed by a sacral puppeteer (*dalang*), who, accompanied by the percussive yet flowing music of the *gamelan* orchestra, moves intricately crafted leather figures in front of an oil lamp to cast flickering shadows on a white screen as he chants mythological narrative in old sanskritized Javanese or other languages. Variants of *wayang kulit* include the wooden-rod puppet form *wayang golek* among the Sundanese of West Java and a human dance drama (*wayang wong*) patterned after the puppet plays.

Wayang kulit traditionally lasts all night—from 9 PM to 7 AM—and is a rite as well as a drama. It is performed at weddings and circumcisions, to exorcise evil spirits, and to cure. *Wayang kulit* also embodies an elaborate mythology and philosophy. The two great Hindu epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, are the mythological sources for some of the *wayang kulit* narrations. The *Rāmāyaṇa* depicts the quest of Prince Rāma, aided by the white monkey god Hanuman, for Princess Sītā, who is abducted by the monster king Rāvaṇa. The *Mahābhārata* portrays the battle between the five knightly brothers, the Pandavas, and the hundred rival princes, the Kurawas. But these plots are only a skeleton for a vast cycle of interlocking episodes developed by the Indonesians. In addition to the Hindu epics, variants of *wayang kulit* draw on stories from Arab, Javanese, and other traditions, as well as contemporary plays, including some addressing such topical matters as family planning or national ideology.

Wayang kulit characters are categorized according to their status, temperament, and manner, and their interrelationships are plotted through intricate genealogies that trace them to the origins of the world. The refined characters tend to appear on the puppeteer's right, the crude ones on his left. The refined princes, epitomized by Arjuna of the Pandavas, have narrow, almond-shaped eyes, down-turned noses, slightly bowed heads, no chin whiskers, and delicate physiques. Crude monsters, typified by Buriswawa, are fat, with heavy, bristling eyebrows, round eyes, bulbous noses, and red faces. Battles between refined heroes and crude monsters carry psychological as well as political meanings, symbolizing the tension between fleshly desire and spiritual tranquillity. Related themes include the hero's search for his origin and destiny as he passes through temptations represented by forest nymphs, and his search for the self, symbolized by his climbing inside the ear of his own miniature replica to discover the universe inside the person. For Javanese, to experience the symbolism of a *wayang* play is vicariously to struggle through the life cycle and to undergo mystical exercises, and they have composed meditations and treatises on the plays that explicate their meanings in relation to Javanese philosophies and theologies, as well as world religions.

A central role is played by Semar, the short-legged, stout, hermaphroditic, and misshapen clown. Brother to Batara Guru (Śiva), Semar was of pre-Hindu, local Javanese origin (c. 600 CE), and he combines the earthly role of lowly servant with the powers and wisdom of the highest god. It is he who appears on the screen at midnight, when the elements rage, to restore order. Having a relation to the princes somewhat like that of Shakespeare's Falstaff to Prince Hal, Semar balances their extreme refinement, heroism, and nobility with his earthiness and buffoonery (a buffoonery that, when necessary, is transformed into awesome might).

If the clown-servant Semar represents, as some have suggested, the earthy Javanese substance beneath the courtly Hindu glaze, Prince Arjuna is the consummate Satriya, the cultured and noble knight. Before a great battle, Arjuna is troubled by the need to kill his cousins and boyhood playmates, the Kurava. In his distress he turns to his divine mentor, Kṛṣṇa, who is driving Arjuna's chariot. Kṛṣṇa explains that Arjuna must fulfill the code of his knightly caste and follow the predetermined path of his life: he must slay the enemy. He should perform that deed, however, while maintaining an inner detachment from it. Spiritual tranquillity in the midst of worldly conflict is a core ideal of Hinduized Javanese philosophy.

Wayang kulit has been part of Javanese experience for perhaps a thousand years, dating back at least to the time of King Airlangga in the eleventh century CE. Yet *wayang kulit* remains very much a living tradition, influencing the political and secular as well as the religious life of Indonesians. The late President Sukarno once wrote a newspaper column under the penname Bima, the blunt and strong Pandava brother, and he named a regiment after the female warrior Srikandi. Sukarno also referred to his relation to Indonesia as analogous to that of a *dalang* to his puppets, and in other ways he and others have drawn on the imagery of *wayang* in interpreting political life. Comic books on newsstands depict the adventures of Semar's sons Petruck and Gareng in contemporary costumes and situations. Pedicabs are painted with the image of Semar, and he is the guardian figure for a contemporary mystical cult. Classical performances of *wayang kulit* abound, not only in palaces and schools but also as part of community life—at weddings and village festivals, amid the laughter of children and the gossip and meditative conversation of their elders.

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JAMES L. PEACOCK (1987 AND 2005)

DRAMA: EAST ASIAN DANCE AND THEATER

From ancient times, theater and religion have had a close, often symbiotic, relationship in East Asia. Theatrical performance is an integral part of certain animistic, Confucian, and Buddhist rites in China, Korea, and Japan. Priests have been performers, and even today temples and shrines provide places for performance. Play cycles based on religious myth and legend are numerous. Aesthetic systems reflect religious worldviews. Although drama is increasingly secularized in the contemporary world, religious values and beliefs continue to be projected to audiences through masked plays (*sandae* in Korea, *satokagura* and *nō* in Japan), popular dramas (*kabuki* in Japan and *jingxi* and other forms of Chinese opera), and puppet plays (*gogdu gagsi* in Korea and *bunraku* in Japan).

SHAMANISM AND ANIMISM. Since prehistoric times people in northeast Asia have communicated with animistic spirits for the benefit of the living through songs and dances. In the fourth millennium BCE, the inscription on a Chinese oracle bone mentions a dance of sympathetic magic performed to induce the spirits to bring rain. Before the time of Confucius (or Kongsi, c. 551–479 BCE), songs and dances dedicated to the Eight Deities and supervised by the royal steward constituted an important state ritual of the Chinese court. Performing a masked play is a folk ritual in northwest Korea, intended to repulse evil spirits at the beginning of summer. Dances of demon exorcism (*namahage* and *emburi* for example) are central features of lunar New Year festivals in scores of villages in Japan. The Lion Dance, familiar through East Asia, may have derived from totem worship in prehistoric times.

The three-part structure of the rituals of Shintō, containing many animistic elements, reveals one reason performing arts in Japan are naturally linked to the practice of animism: the god (or *kami*) is summoned into this world, entertained, and sent away. Because deities had to be entertained, a large number of religious dances developed. In Japan many dances enact, often in attenuated, symbolic form, myths of the islands' founding gods and goddesses. The god remains enshrined in his or her god-house during court or shrine dances (*mika-gura*), hence the dancer and the god are separate. At agricultural festivals, village actors wear the costumes and masks of ferocious demons (*oni*). In these folkloric dance dramas (*satokagura*), the spirit moves freely into the world of humans by possessing the performer.

From these primal traditions has come the concept of a sanctified stage area. A sacred playing space, often on the ground, is set apart from the mundane world by the placement of tree branches at the four corners. This idea, in developed form, can be seen in the Japanese *nō* stage. A plain square platform is marked off by four pillars and covered by a roof in the style indicating the dwelling of a god. The bridgeway *(hashigakari)*, on which the spirit-protagonist of a *nō* play enters, mirrors the sacred passageway marked out on a shrine ground along which a god would make his or her journey from the other world to a temporary home at festival time.

In shamanistic traditions, the shaman is a professional communicator with the spirits. Throughout East Asia and from earliest times, dance and song have been essential shamanic skills. The Chinese *Li ji* (Book of rites; fourth century BCE) tells of shamans wearing animal skins who drive out evil spirits, and *The Elegies of Chu* of the first century BCE describes elegantly dressed male and female shamans singing and dancing seductively to woo deities to make the passage down into this world. Contemporary shamans continue the tradition of being skilled singers and dancers. Dances of Japanese shamans are relatively simple, while seances (*kut*) of present-day Korean shamans contain complex dances designed to please the god being invoked. The purely theatrical skill of juggling can be part of the shaman's repertory in Korea. In Japan, juggling and acrobatics were associated with Shintō agricultural festivals in medieval times as "field music" (*dengaku*), and they are still performed today during Shintō festivals such as the New Year celebration.

The origin of theater in Japan is described in the *Kojiki* (Records of ancient matters; 712) and the *Nihongi* (Chronicles of Japan; 720) in a myth that has the shape of a shamanistic performance. The sun goddess, Amaterasu, has withdrawn in anger from the community of fellow deities into a rock cave, thus plunging Japan into darkness. Another goddess, Ame no Uzume, tries to lure her from the cave by showing her breasts, lowering her skirt, and dancing joyfully on an overturned tub. The assembled gods and goddesses cry out and clap with delight. Hearing their laughter, Amaterasu leaves the cave to see what is causing so much merriment—thus light is restored to the world. Like a shaman, Ama no Uzume entices a goddess to leave her private world and join the community on whose behalf she is performing. Like a shaman, she entices the goddess with joyful singing and dancing. And like a shaman, she uses a mirror and holds a sprig of a tree, two favorite shamanic implements.

Links between shaman and performing artist are not difficult to identify. The Chinese ideograph for shaman represents two people practicing a skill, by inference, the skill of performance. The same ideograph is used in Japan for a Shintō priestess (*miko*), who serves at a shrine as a *kagura* dancer. The old Korean term *kwangdae* meant shaman or popular performer interchangeably. In Korea the husbands of female shamans performed masked plays (*sandae*) and puppet plays (*gogdu gagsi*). One of the standard roles in plays of both genres is the female shaman, usually depicted as a young and alluring prostitute. It is also believed that *pan'sori* narrative singing was developed into a Korean national art by these same low-status performers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. (Confucian and Buddhist teaching equally hold the shaman in contempt.) A Japanese myth says that the spreading pine tree painted on the back wall of a *nō* stage symbolizes the Yogo Pine, the tree through which the god descended to earth during performance. Stamping at the conclusion of a *nō* play and the earth-stamping dance sequences in village *kagura* are contemporary examples of Ama no Uzume's stamping steps described twelve hundred years ago. The four flags worn on the back of a Chinese opera general are averred to derive from the Chinese shaman's flags of exorcism.

It has been theorized that acting originated in East Asia in the shamanic act of possession. There are difficulties with such an argument. The village actor in Japan who wears the mask and costume of a demon may or may not be possessed by the mask's spirit; in neither case, however, is he functioning as a trained shaman. Conversely, the shaman, possessed by a deity and speaking the deity's words, rarely enacts past events in that deity's life as the actor would do. Rather, the shaman's function, at least as we know it today, is to bring the god's knowledge and power into the mundane world in the service of practical needs (curing sickness, assuring prosperity, et al.). The art of mimesis (acting) and especially the enactment of a story about a character (drama) are not essential to this function. Similarly, the action of a *nō* drama has been likened to a shamanistic seance because in the typical play an intermediary, usually a Shintō priest, summons a dead spirit or deity to enter this world. But the parallel is inexact: the enticed spirit does not possess the intermediary but becomes independently manifest on stage. Finally, and in a more general sense, the performing arts may have had their origin in shamanism. If so, we must imagine ancient man waiting for a shaman professional to create the first songs and dances. What is more likely is that after song and dance existed, shamans utilized these theatrical arts for religious purposes.

CONFUCIANISM. While less influential perhaps than primal traditions, Confucianism has affected the performing arts in three main ways. First, according to Confucian doctrine, the performance of appropriate music and dance helped assure the harmonious working of the universe. Confucian rulers supported court performance as a ritual function, often coopting preexisting animistic rituals. During the Tang dynasty (618–907) in China, the Koryŏ dynasty in Korea (from c. the eleventh century), and at the Japanese imperial court during the Nara and Heian periods (710–1185), rulers patronized large contingents of palace performers, and they established official schools to preserve the ritually correct forms. The Pear Garden school, founded by the emperor Xuanzong (712–754), was the most famous of these in China. The Japanese form of court dance, *bugaku*, continues to be patronized by the emperor in modern Japan and thus represents an unbroken tradition of some thirteen hundred years. Second, Confucian ideals of proportion, moderation, and symmetry set the aesthetic tone of court performance. *Bugaku* is an excellent reflection of Confucian ideals in its sedateness, repeated patterns, and geometric symmetry of form.

Third, the ethical norms of Confucianism—social duties as expressed in the “five human relationships”—set the standards of morality for dramatic characters, especially in popular theater. Filial piety is celebrated in Chinese operas such as *The Lute Song* (c. 1358), and duty to one’s lord in scores of Japanese *kabuki* and *bunraku* plays such as *The Forty-seven Loyal Retainers* (1749) and *The Subscription List* (1841). Korean *sandae* present a peasant’s view of Confucian morality: unfilial sons and unfaithful wives are mockingly satirized. Domestic plays (*sewamono*) in eighteenth-century *kabuki* and *bunraku* use the conflict between human feelings (*ninjo*) and social duties (*giri*) as a major plot device. Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653–1724) wrote a score of domestic plays in which young lovers, unable to meet the heavy demands of duty—to spouse, parents, children, employer—choose to die together rather than live under Confucian restrictions.

BUDDHISM. Between the seventh and the eleventh centuries, Buddhism was widely propagandized in East Asia by popular forms of masked drama. *Giak*, the Buddhist masked dance drama of Korea, was brought to Japan in 612 by the Korean immigrant, Mimaji (Jpn., Mimashi), who had learned the art in China. Called *gigaku* (“elegant entertainment”) in Japan, it was supported by the imperial court as a means to spread the new state religion. *Gigaku* is described in a fourteenth-century book on music, *A Short Manual of Instruction*, as a procession that passed through the city streets in which masked performers enacted comic scenes ridiculing the evils of drunkenness, lechery, and lewdness. Court-supported performances died out, but village masked plays, such as the widespread *sandae* in Korea, and the Lion Dance (Jpn., *shishimai*) that is seen everywhere in East Asia, are believed to be their descendants. Remnants can also be seen in contemporary *gyōdō* processions in Japan, in which monks wearing masks of *bodhisattva*s circle a statue of the Buddha. Popular, anticlerical views of Buddhism can be seen in contemporary Korean *sandae*. Buddhist monks are ridiculed for being venal and lustful.

The origin of *nō* in Japan can be traced back to ninth-century performances of sorcerers (*jushi* or *noroji*) who would impersonate a guardian deity of Buddhism such as Bishamon at the New Year exorcism ceremony, and of temple sextons who would play his *oni* (demon) antagonists. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Buddhist priests enacted teachings and legends of Buddha in *ennen nō* and *sarugaku nō*. Even after professional actors took over in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, troupes lived at Buddhist temples. The troupe organized by Kan’ami Kiyotsugu (1333–1384), the nominal founder of *nō*, was attached to the Kofukuji in Nara, and most of Kan’ami’s life was spent performing at Buddhist temple festivals around the country. A dozen *nō* plays out of the repertory of 240 concern Shintō deities. *Ōkina*, a ceremonial piece commemorating felicitous longevity, is the most ancient and sacred. The majority, however, are deeply imbued with Buddhist teachings. By the time of the great actor Zeami Motokiyo (1363–1443), the protagonist (*shite*) of a typical *nō* play was the ghost of a famous man or woman who was suffering torment in Buddhist hell. At the conclusion of such a play, the spirit abandons the sinful human ties binding him or her to this world and, through the mercy of Amida Buddha, attains salvation in Western Paradise. While Zen philosophy is expressed by characters in some *nō* plays, the Pure Land salvation of Amida is far more pervasive (as it is in *kabuki* and *bunraku* plays).

Early puppet plays in Japan emphasized Buddhist miracles and legends. *The Chest-Splitting of Amida*, showing the Buddha saving a dying girl by placing his heart in her chest, was a sixteenth-century favorite. Buddhist ghosts of the dead and reincarnated spirits are standard characters in Chinese opera, *nō*, *bunraku*, and *kabuki*, becoming, in the latter, objects of parody in the nineteenth century. Buddhist concepts underlie several features of playwriting. Coincidence abounds, not because playwrights were careless, but because of the belief in reincarnation: people whose paths had crossed in previous lives were fated to meet again in later incarnations. The Buddhist idea that the world is transient and in constant flux finds its parallel in the episodic structure of Chinese operas, Korean *sandae*, and Japanese *kabuki* and *bunraku* dramas. The relative unimportance of climax, so noticeable to the Western theatergoer, is a reflection of the belief that each moment is equal to any other, that life is a stream constantly flowing. Zen concepts of intuitive apprehension—as opposed to explicit statement—underlie the *nō* aesthetics of restraint, suggestion, and abhorrence of realistic detail in staging. A practical man of theater, Zeami nonetheless formulated a particularly Buddhist vision of the ideal *nō* performance. It should express *yūgen*, a quiet beauty tinged with dark, melancholy emotion. The *nō* actor and theoretician Komparu Zenchiku (d. between 1468 and 1471) carried Zen aesthetics to its furthest when he spoke of the art of *nō* passing through "six wheels," an image relating to the Buddhist duality of illusion-reality, and leading to ultimate enlightenment, symbolized by the wheel of emptiness and the sword.

For the sake of convenience, the contribution of each religion to the performing arts has been discussed separately here. Yet such a division is necessarily arbitrary and perhaps misleading. One aspect of dance or theater may reflect several East Asian religions. To cite but one example, the annual cycle of full-moon festivals that is celebrated by performances in all parts of East Asia relates to local traditions, Confucianism, Buddhism, and, indeed, Daoism as well.

SEE ALSO Music, articles on Music and Religion in China, Korea, and Tibet, Music and Religion in Japan.

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DRAMA: AFRICAN RELIGIOUS DRAMA

In traditional Africa, everyday life, blending profane and sacred activities, is permeated with music, dance, rhythmic movement, symbolic gestures, song, and verbal artistry. Body adornment—costuming, painting, tattooing, decorating, and masking—is not only a mark of status, age, and sex differentiations but also serves as an element of beautification, play, imitation, impersonation, and visual communication of religious values.

Dramatic performances by soloists and groups of actors interacting with active spectators originate from the combination of these features in recurring formal settings. Simple routine activities as well as momentous events—the hoeing of a field, the telling of a tale, the recitation of an epic, the coming out ceremony of a newborn child, the celebration of a marriage, the initiation of young men and women, the enthronement of a chief, or the burial rites of a headman—are accompanied by dramatic performances, all with more or less explicit religious content. Groups of interacting participants (protagonists, preceptors, experts, attendants, musicians, singers, active audience), in specific settings and at prescribed moments, portray characters and enact events through the combined use of words, songs, gestures, rhythms, dances, mimicry, music, and artifacts. The narration of a tale, for example, becomes a performance event in which narrator and audience may enhance the presentation of a text through phonic, verbal, and mimetic features, including dialogue, choral singing, handclapping, gestures, and sometimes music and special costumes (Ben-Amos, 1977, pp. 13–16; Finnegan, 1970, pp. 500–502).

In the performance of an epic, Nyanga bards identify with the central hero by acting out select passages before an audience that responds with encouragements and sung refrains (Biebuyck and Mateene, 1969). Accompanied by song and music, Pygmy hunters among the Bembe perform spectacular solo and duo dances. Painted and dressed in animal hides and feather hats, the hunters imitate the behavior of certain animals and the techniques used to spear them in a display of skill and prowess that placates the deities presiding over the hunt. The Khomani of southern Africa stage plays in which men and boys act out, with appropriate sound effects, the hunting of a gemsbok or a fight between baboons and dogs, or plays in which women and girls imitate the movements and habits of turtles (Doke, 1936, pp. 465–469). After harvest time among the Malinke and Bamana of West Africa, disguised men, accompanied by a female chorus, present nocturnal comical and satirical sketches that portray characters such as a thief, a braggart, or an adulterous woman. Each performance is a structured entity that starts with a ballet with male and female participants. A prologue, which is both sung and acted, follows, introducing the individual actors. Last are the actual plays in which the actors also engage in dialogue with the musicians (Labouret and Travélé, 1928). Countless other examples could be given of such performances where dramatic action offers an opportunity for entertainment, display of artistic skill, social prestige, and reward. Broad religious conceptions are implicit in the overall purposes of such performances, which show the close bond between animals and humans or the disastrous consequences of not living in conformity with standards set by the ancestors.

The elements of religious drama emerge more directly in activities linked with hunting, planting, harvesting, and other seasonal events. These performances not only ensure a successful hunt or abundant crops but also placate the supernatural beings that are responsible for order in nature, appease the spirits of the animals, attract and neutralize evil beings, purify humans of their sinful interference with natural forces, and protect against witchcraft.

In dances preceding an actual expedition, elephant hunters among the Baasa are painted and specially dressed to present the village audience with a sequence of realistic skits in which elephants are praised and appeased before being symbolically killed (to increase the chances for a safe and successful hunt). The movements of the elephant are vividly re-created by a disguised hunter who carries two small elephant tusks. At the same time, actors painted to portray marauding leopards symbolically evoke the dangers of the deep forest, while others brandish spears and display medicines to depict the power, tribulations, and joys of the specialist hunters. The song texts are specifically addressed to famed ancestors, divinities, and elephant spirits to protect and purify the hunters.

Divination and therapeutic sessions may be simple events in which a diviner or healer submits the patient to private consultation and treatment. If masks, figurines, and other sculptures are used, the sessions develop into a sequence of dramas in which mystic powers are captured, controlled, and released for the benefit of the patient.

Among the Kongo, when a person is diagnosed by a diviner to be suffering from a sickness or misfortune caused by *nkosi*, the patient must be treated by a ritual expert who holds complete control over this mysterious power. *Nkosi* is contained in a secret mixture of mineral, vegetal, and animal ingredients placed in the cavity of a wooden figurine and consecrated by the sacred words and deeds of a healer initiated to this power.

The treatment consists of an ordered sequence of dramatic events. The invited healer, accompanied by attendants playing small slit-drums, carries the figurine to the outskirts of the village. Dialogue and action including the patient's relatives follows. After receiving gifts, healers and assistants proceed to the patient's house. The figurine is placed on a mat while the patient, surrounded by many relatives, is seated outside. There follows a series of dramatic actions, accompanied by songs, imprecations, gestures, music, and rhythmic movements. The figurine is manipulated like a puppet while the power contained in it is exhorted, conjured, and appeased with words, gestures, and sacrificial blood; the patient and relatives are aspersed with lustral liquid; the patient is rubbed successively with white clay, oil, and the medicines contained in the figurine; and the rules and prohibitions linked with *nkosi* are interpreted (Van Wing, 1941, pp. 89–90).

Funerary ceremonies are sometimes accompanied by a spectacular dramatic finale intended to honor the deceased and their families. An elaborate example is the Bobongo of the Ekonda of west-central Africa. Organized *équipes* of men or women rehearse for several weeks before presenting the theatrical spectacle three to fifteen months after the death of an important man. The performance includes a combination of special body ornamentation, dance, acrobatics, pantomime, song, panegyrics, tales, lessons in ethics, and invocations of nature spirits and dead quasi-divinized twins. It also involves the construction of special decors, platforms, fences, and litters in which solo dancers are brought to the village (Iyandza-Lopoloko, 1961; Vangroenweghe, 1977).

Dramatic forms of expression climax in those rituals and festivities in which masked, painted, and costumed actors, sometimes carrying artifacts (clubs, whips, scepters, staffs, swords, axes, rattles, phalli, figurines), engage in prescribed and staged performances. The intricate action involves a combination of sung and spoken texts, vocal signals, music, dance, gestures, and mimicry by specially disguised performers who interact with one another and with the participating audience. These maskers represent ancestors, divinities, nature spirits, monsters, and mythological or undefinable *sui generis* creatures. In many ethnic groups these total performances, incorporating elements of what is conventionally called drama, sacred opera, and ballet, form an intrinsic part of men's initiations (for example, puberty rites, induction into voluntary associations and cult groups, enthronement rites for chiefs and headmen, and initiation schools for ritual experts). The numerous activities of these initiations—which may extend over a considerable period of time and may be staged in several prescribed settings—are interspersed with performances in which the actors embody supernatural beings and human prototypes.

Outstanding examples of traditional African dramatic art are found in the young men's Mukanda rites, held periodically by a large number of related ethnic groups in southern parts of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, northeastern Angola, and northern Zambia. Novices are circumcised at an early stage of the rites as part of the transition from boyhood to manhood, but the overall aims of the Mukanda institution are social, didactic, moral, and aesthetic. Living in prolonged seclusion, the young men are not only trained in vital economic activities but are thoroughly educated in values and beliefs. They spend a large part of their secluded life learning how to perform dances, music, and songs and how to manufacture costumes, masks, and other paraphernalia. Throughout the Mukanda, the elders and ritual experts who organize and direct the rites, and even the women and noninitiated males who are excluded from their secret activities, are involved in a series of celebrations in which choreographic and musical performances are as essential as the material and social aspects. Masked and costumed male performers, singly and in groups, participate in the secret and public events.

Among the Chokwe, who have the most highly developed mask institution, maskers appear in all major stages of the Mukanda rites and in the public festivities that follow. The masks, hierarchically organized, fall into distinctive semantic, morphological, and functional groups. They also differ in the materials used (some are sculptured in wood; others are constructed of fibers, beaten bark, and resin), in size and volume, in the ornamental designs, and in the related accessories, costumes, and paraphernalia. Each fully outfitted masker impersonates a unique character and refers symbolically to a range of religious, cosmological, moral, philosophical, and social concepts.

Masks may represent an ancestor of a chief or a lineage founder, a nature spirit, a mythological being, or some *sui generis* creature that exists only through the mask, as well as social and psychological types. All maskers are thought to be *ikishi*, beings who rise from the dead for the Mukanda through the intercession of ritual experts and devotees. For both insiders and outsiders, masks and maskers are always surrounded with an aura of sacredness, mystical power, danger, and mystery. The maskers have distinctive roles as impersonators of "others." Those that directly embody specific ancestors or nature spirits perform in situations of social control: they lend authority, dignity, integrity, and conformity to the proceedings; they protect against witchcraft or interference by noninitiates; they supervise and sanction the fermentation of corn, the brewing of the sacred corn beer, and the preparation of medicines; they sanction the secrecy and accuracy of the rites; they discipline and test moral and physical strength. Others that depict prototypical characters in the guise of legendary figures assume the roles of entertainers, comedians, and social critics to underscore basic social and moral values. All maskers stir strong emotions among novices and initiates as well as among noninitiates: they spread terror and anxiety; they create an atmosphere of severity and restraint; they engage in the burlesque, the libidinous, the satirical.

The danced and masked dramas of the Mukanda rituals alternate between reality and fiction, tragedy and comedy, and combine the performing arts to convey deep religious, moral, philosophical, and sociopolitical messages. Moreover, in several ethnic groups, the closing of the Mukanda period is followed by dance tours. Organized by previous and recent novices and their tutors, these masked dances function as displays of individual artistic talent and skill and as sources of prestige and material reward. These dance tours have gradually become independent dramatic performances in which the secular element of entertainment and fun overshadows the lingering sacredness attributed to the masks (Bastin, 1982; Lima, 1967).

In numerous festivals imbued with religious meanings among West African peoples (e.g., the Yoruba, Igbo, Abua, Urhobo, and Ijo of Nigeria), the central actors are maskers, often recruited from the members of secret societies, cult groups, and certain age groups. The spectacles performed at designated times by Yoruba Gẹlẹdẹ maskers follow a precise plot pattern in danced sketches that include social comments, satires, caricatures of strangers, and scenes honoring important persons and depicting hunters and women at markets. Artistic competition and the search for prestige in such performances are keen (Drewal, 1975, pp. 142–146). Their overall purposes, however, are the propitiation of witches through prayers, offerings of food, and sacrifices. Typical Yoruba masquerades linked with the Egungun cult start with a sequence of songs and invocations to divinities, ancestors, and elders along with acrobatics and dances; next are plays in which mythical themes are enacted together with satirical and burlesque sketches of characters; the performance ends with a procession to collect gifts (Drewal, 1975, pp. 46–48). Among the northwestern Igbo of Nigeria, some of the maskers in plays produced by males of the same age group represent women. These plays are performed at feasts held soon after harvest or at celebrations for the earth spirit. The forms of the masks depict ideal feminine beauty and character; the male maskers imitate female dancing style and portray women at work or at leisure (Boston, 1960). In the Afikpo-Igbo Okumkpa play, which is part of a calendar of seasonal festivals, as many as one hundred maskers (always thought to be personifications of ancestral and nature spirits) present danced and sung satirical and topical scenes that are conceived as commentaries on the lives of real persons (Ottenberg, 1975, pp. 87–127).

Dramatic impersonations of supernatural beings and mythological, legendary, and prototypical characters are accomplished not only through masks but also by simpler methods of mimicry, dance, word, object, and gesture. A case in point is the initiation of men and women into the hierarchically graded Bwami association of the Lega. Most phases of these initiations consist of structured dramatic sequences. Stereotypical characters are depicted in pantomimes by expert dancers and preceptors or are represented by natural objects and artifacts (including masks and figurines) that are displayed and manipulated in song and dance contexts. The characters are ancestors, legendary persons, illustrious initiates of the past, personified animals and objects, or social, physical, and psychological types. All of them positively or negatively illustrate the association's code of values.

In one episode, for example, an initiate represents Kyamunyungu za Baitindi ("big arrogant one of the passionate dice players"). The sickly old man, stumbling, irascible, and loaded with bags containing valuables, arrives uninvited in a village to play the dice game. In highly dramatic action that involves a cast of other initiates, the old man provokes the villagers by quarreling with the headman, interfering with the dice throwing, and challenging his opponents to a fight; unwilling to listen to advice, he is chased away. This scene refers to the novice who must passively listen to the advice of his tutors and show respect and restraint in all his actions.

The countless episodes in which ancestors (generalized or specifically named), stereotypical characters (e.g., Great Old One or Beautiful One), personified animals (e.g., pangolin or turtle), objects (e.g., a bark pounder or a shell), and activities (e.g., poison ordeal or divination) are enacted are always performed with dance, music, and song and with appropriate objects and paraphernalia. In many instances the dramatic effects are enhanced by light and dark contrasts (some of the action takes place at night, at dawn, or in a closed initiation house lighted with burning resin torches), special vocal features (dialogues, orations, praises, name shouting) and musical features (imitation of nature sounds; use of mirlitons, bull roarers, and other unusual and sacred musical instruments; message drumming), and by alternating solo dances and ballets by initiated men or women (Biebuyck, 1973).

Theater in the modern Western sense may be a fairly recent development in Africa, but from immemorial times drama has been an intrinsic part of narrative sessions, rituals, and other celebrations (Schipper-de Leeuw, 1977, pp. 7–38). Moreover, the dramatic enactment of characters and events may become the most important feature in initiations and cult activities and as a result may be established as a partly independent form. The dramatic performances—short, self-contained sketches, longer, conceptually interrelated scenes, or elaborate plays—are multifunctional. They are total aesthetic expressions in which the participants, using a multimedia system of communication, display individual and collective skills in the arts of dance, song, music, sculpture, design, and costume to emphasize beauty, pageantry, inventiveness, harmony, and perfection. They are sources of entertainment for the actors and for the audience, which often actively participates as part of a chorus or an orchestra or by responding with its own dance, song, hand clapping, and dramatic action. They provide means of gaining prestige and reward and of reaffirming status, rank, and authority not only of the participants but also of the ancestors and supernatural beings. They incorporate multifaceted messsages on religious, moral, social, and political themes. Finally, those performances in particular that involve maskers are thought to be sacred occasions during which divinities, ancestors, nature spirits, and mythical beings return to the human world to be honored and placated, to bring communal well-being, and to sanction the rules and practices of initiations and rituals.

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DANIEL P. BIEBUYCK (1987)

DRAMA: NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN DANCE AND DRAMA

In all regions of North America, indigenous peoples practiced various public rituals for the purpose of communicating with the supernatural spirits and powers that controlled their universe. The most ubiquitous and theatrical form of the dramatic performance was dance in which actors wore elaborate costumes and masks representing the supernatural beings they sought to appease. These dance dramas often involved a special performance area that included entrances and exits for the performers; a chorus of singers and dancers; principal dancers; scenic backdrops; special lighting effects; and, most importantly, plots revolving around myths of creation and supernatural beings and powers who were perceived to inhabit the everyday world. These dance dramas were characterized by masquerade, imitation, role reversal, burlesque, and reenactments of myths and personal visions.

American Indians relied greatly on their ability to mime the behaviors of those animals and birds that were important to their religious life. The environment played a great role in ritual performance, which was grounded empirically in knowledge of the seasons, flora, and fauna. As might be expected, hunters chose to emulate in their dances those animals that were important to their survival, while farmers performed rituals that focused on the agricultural cycle.

Dance drama was performed to the accompaniment of vocal music sung by an individual or chorus. The songs might contain meaningful text, sometimes short phrases that poetically captured the theme of the dance, or meaningless vocables that despite their lack of semantics were highly structured both melodically and rhythmically. The range of native musical instruments in North America was comparatively limited. Various sizes and shapes of drums served as the major accompaniment to song in all regions. Rhythmic patterns were characterized mainly by single unaccented beats, duple accented beats, and accented triplets. Only in the Pueblo Southwest do we find a highly structured sense of rhythm, particularly in some of the mimetic animal and bird dances, in which there is a perfect correspondence between song, drum, and dance steps without benefit of measured beats in the strict Western sense of time.

Costumes were both realistic and stylized. On the Plains, a Buffalo dancer would dress in the hides of a bull, complete with a headdress of horns, a robe over his shoulders, leggings made from the hairless part of the hide, and a buffalo tail hanging conspicuously from his waist. Similarly, Eagle dancers of the Pueblo Southwest soared gracefully in the dance plaza wearing costumes made from eagle feathers topped with a headdress representing the bald eagle's crown and golden beak. But in the Northwest Coast region, where wood sculpture reached its highest aesthetic form in all of North America, intricately carved masks, made to be manipulated by strings revealing masks within masks, and carved and painted dance houses and scenery frequently featured stylized representations of ravens, whales, bears, and other animals and birds significant to the coastal culture.

All ritual performances were for the benefit of the general public as well as the principal performers, and all performances required a specially constructed performance area. Frequently, the public part of the performance represented only a small part of a longer ritual that sometimes took several days or weeks. For example, among the Lakota on the Great Plains, the vision quest was regarded as a personal and private form of mediation and propitiation. However, it was necessary for a medicine man to interpret the candidates' visions. Frequently, in order to legitimate the experiences, the supplicants were directed to reenact their visions before the entire village. This reenactment took the form of imitation of various animals or birds that had informed them, and appropriate costumes representing the buffalo, wolf, elk, bear, or eagle were worn.

On a larger scale, Plains Indians performed the Sun Dance collectively, after individual dancers had participated in private vision quests. An integral part of the ceremony, the elements of which were widely diffused to nearly all Plains tribes, was the erection of the medicine lodge, or sacred arbor, in which the performance occurred. Dancers wore special costumes including long kilts, necklaces representing sunflowers, and wreaths of sage around their wrists, ankles, and forehead. The segments of the dance in which the Sun was propitiated were directed by the Sun Dance leader. The performance lasted for several days and was accompanied by other intrusive dances prior to going on the buffalo hunt.

The Kwakiutl of the Northwest Coast were unsurpassed as dramatists with a full sense of lighting, scenery, costumes, and plot. The dance dramas were presented in cycles and depicted the kidnapping of the hero by a spirit who bestowed supernatural power upon him before returning the hero to the village. The hero was most frequently possessed by a "cannibal spirit" and therefore craved human flesh. In the reenactment, a frenzied hero was led back into the dance house by villagers and fed flesh believed to have been taken from a human corpse, although more likely it was animal meat. The dance house was replete with trap doors and tunnels, and performers could quickly appear and disappear magically. The dancers wore huge masks with movable parts, some representing the large beak of a bird, through which the dancers cried out "Eat! Eat!" Hollow stems hidden beneath the floor were used as microphones through which the voices of the actors could emanate from any part of the house. Dolls strung on ropes partly obscured by the dim firelight flew through the air for dramatic effect. Finally, the principal dancer, believing he had consumed human flesh, calmed down to end the event gracefully.

In the Northeast, the best-known Iroquoian sodality was the False Faces. The society was formed when a supernatural being called False Face appeared to the Iroquois in the form of detached faces and taught them the art of curing. The elaborate masks were carved and painted in grotesque ways, and when worn by the society, members were believed to frighten away malevolent spirits that caused sickness. The mask was carved from a living tree and was painted red or black depending on whether the carver began work in the morning or afternoon. Noses, mouths, and eye holes were twisted and contorted, and long shocks of horsehair fell over the wearer's shoulders. The False Faces performed during the midwinter festivals on the New York and Canadian reservations. Additionally, they visited every Iroquois house in fall and spring in order to exorcise evil spirits. Wearing the masks and tattered clothing, the False Faces carried turtle-shell rattles and hickory sticks. When someone had contracted a disease over which the False Faces had power, the leader of the society was informed, and the troop of False Faces appeared at the patient's house, striking and rubbing their rattles against the house as they entered. Once inside they sang and danced, accompanied by the shaking of rattles. Some of the dancers would scoop up hot embers from the fire and blow them on the patient in order to cure him.

In the Great Lakes area the ritual of the Midewiwin was enacted by the Ojibwa and other central Algonquians. Translated as "Great Medicine Society," the Mide (the shortened form of the name) held its meetings once a year in a special lodge resembling a large wigwam varying in length from one hundred to two hundred feet and in width from thirteen to thirty feet. In height it was seven to ten feet with an open apex that was covered with cattail mats and birchbark during inclement weather.

The Midewiwin was a membership organization, and people were admitted on the basis of application, of having a suitable dream, or by replacing a deceased relative who had been a member. Both men and women could join, and the religious leaders of the Mide were elected by its membership.

The main annual functions were initiatory, and curing rites were conducted by carefully trained Mide shamans.

The Mide priests determined which candidates would be accepted into the society, and candidates were expected to pay for the rites of initiation, which included knowledge of the myths, rituals, songs, and remedies of the society. All ceremonies had originated in revelations and were carefully transcribed on birchbark scrolls with a bone stylus and handed down pictographically from generation to generation.

The initiation rite was the most dramatic. The candidates knelt on mats surrounded by four posts inside the medicine lodge. Two members held the candidates' shoulders, while four others thrust their medicine bags at them. As the four leaders approached, the candidates were overcome by the power of the leaders' spirits and fell lifeless to the ground. When revived, each candidate spat out a small cowrie shell called *migis*, which was the sacred emblem of the Mide. The initiator then offered the shell to the four directions and sky after which it magically disappeared again into the candidate's body, and the candidate was fully resuscitated. All members were required to attend meetings once a year for the renewal of their spiritual powers, but smaller gatherings could be held for the treatment of the sick, singing songs, and strengthening their belief in the power of the Mide. A feast was an inseparable part of all Mide functions.

One of the most important ceremonies of the Southeast was the Green Corn Dance, a celebration of the harvesting of one of the major food staples of North America. Known among the Creek as the Busk (from the Creek word *puskita*, "to fast"), the ceremony of first fruits took place in August. The Busk was actually an aggregation of different ceremonies, including the drinking of *Ilex cassine*, or "black drink," used as an emetic to purge the participants and purify themselves. A sacred fire was built, and young initiates had their flesh scratched to make them brave. Both men and women performed various dances including the Stomp dance, which was performed in a serpentine pattern by a line of alternating men and women. The women wore turtle-shell shakers around their knees that accompanied the antiphonal singing of the group. At the end of the Busk, the various clans participated in a stickball game that marked the conclusion of the ceremony. Variations of the Green Corn Dance were found also among the Seminole, Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Yuchi of the Southeast, as well as among other tribes where corn was cultivated.

The Southwest is where the highest concentration of dance drama is found not only with the elaborate agricultural rituals of the Pueblos, but with the various curing rituals, puberty ceremonies, and mimetic animal dances. Literally hundreds of these rituals were performed by the Navajo, Apache, and Pueblo peoples each year. In many cases native rituals are still held in conjunction with feasts of the Catholic Church. All provide colorful spectacles equal to any of the religious pageants of North America and Europe.

The Hopi of Arizona perform a number of masked dances on their mesas. The *kachina* dances, named after the spirits of the dead, are the most intriguing. The Hopi believe that in mythological times the *kachina*s came from their homes in the West to bring them rain and to ensure them long and happy lives. Later, the *kachina*s showed the people how to make masks and costumes and taught them their songs and dances with the understanding that if the people performed the ceremonies correctly, the supernaturals would continue to bring prosperity to the villages. There are over 250 named *kachina* spirits among the Hopi, each represented by a different mask and costume. It is believed that the men who impersonate the spirits at the *kachina* performances become the spirits they represent. Women and uninitiated youth are not supposed to know that the *kachina* dancers are really their clansmen. At each performance the *kachina*s bring gifts for the children and place them in the center of the village plaza. The *kachina* dances are performed during the first half of the year, when their appearance is supposed to ensure the successful planting of crops. The ceremonies represent intense periods of ritual performance in which all men and women in the village undergo instruction in their faith. It is also a time when the people entertain their spiritual benefactors.

At the time of the summer solstice, the Niman dance is performed in which all the *kachina*s appear en masse before the villagers who thank the supernaturals for the gift of a good harvest. It is believed that the *kachina*s then leave to return to their homes. When they return to their homes, they visit the dead, who are performing rituals of the winter solstice while similar ceremonies are being performed by the living during the summer.

In New Mexico among the Zuni the Shalako ceremony is held in November or December each year. Six dancers are dressed to represent giant birds, the messengers of the rain gods, with conical costumes attached to their waists measuring in height from ten to twelve feet. They have birdlike faces complete with beaks that are movable, protruding eyes, and upcurved tapered horns. At midnight, they enter special houses that have been built for their performance. They utter birdlike calls and clack their beaks in rapid succession. They dance and make speeches telling the people to pray for an abundant harvest and long lives for the villagers.

The Shalako dancers are joined in their ritual by the ten Koyemshi, or "Mudheads," the children of a legendary incestuous union. These impersonators are appointed by the Zuni priests to serve for one year and are then free from further duties for another four years. The Koyemshi entertain at all public rituals when the *kachina*s are away from the village by providing comic, and sometimes obscene, interludes between the more serious dances. Sometimes they play Euroamerican games such as beanbag. The jokes, puns, and riddles that they cry out to the villagers are filled with scatalogical references, and they play pranks and make obscene jokes about the most respected and sacred aspects of

Zuni religion. In this manner they make moral and ethical points by burlesquing those institutions and individuals with whom people come in contact every day. They also burlesque their most sacred beliefs through vulgar references that strongly constrast with appropriate Zuni behavior. For the duration of the ritual, the onlookers participate vicariously in what is temporarily socially approved behavior.

The Koyemshi appear as ludicrous figures. They wear formless baglike cotton masks that have bumps or knobs protruding from them. The knobs are filled with raw cotton seeds and earth or dust taken from the footprints made by the people in the streets around the village. Sometimes feathers are tied to the knobs, and the lower part of the mask is tied to the knobs with black cotton in scarflike fashion. Under the scarf they wear a small bag containing squash, corn, and gourd seeds. Their masks and bodies are painted with pink clay that comes from the sacred lake. These clowns also wear black homespun kilts, and the leader adds to his kilt a black tunic worn over his right shoulder. As is true with the Hopi, the Zuni dancers and clowns serve to underscore the religious values of the society by occasionally emphasizing the absurd.

Nearby in Arizona and parts of New Mexico and Oklahoma, numerous bands of Apache perform a ceremony used variously as a puberty ceremony, or to cure illness and avert catastrophe. The Mountain Spirits dance, or Gahan, as it is properly known, is an essential feature of the female puberty ceremony, in which the young initiate ritually represents White Painted Woman, the divine mother of the Apache culture hero, or in some cases, Mother Earth. The Apache believe that performance of the ritual brings good fortune to the initiate, her family, and to the entire tribe.

In this ceremony four male dancers represent the four directions, or Mountain Spirits, powerful supernatural beings who act as intermediaries between humans and the Great Spirit. The initiate is secluded in a special lodge. She is painted and dressed by a woman of impeccable reputation who also has received a vision from the White Painted Woman. Each day a male singer sings appropriate songs for her. Each night the masked dancers appear in spectacular and grotesque costumes. They are dressed and painted by a shaman in a special brush arbor before the evening ceremonies begin. The shaman paints their bodies with designs representing the sun, moon, lightning, planets, rain, and rainbow. After being painted and instructed, the dancers line up facing east. They then spin clockwise, spit four times into their headdresses, and put them on after feigning this action three times. A fire is made in the ceremonial lodge by rubbing sticks together, and each night the masked dancers enter the lodge and dance around the lodge in a prescribed manner. They wear wooden headdresses shaped like huge rainbows projecting from their black-hooded faces. Yellow buckskin kilts are tied from their waist, cuffed by long fringed boots. They carry wooden swords in each hand, and as they dance in rigid, angular patterns, bending and crouching in near-balletic movements, they slap their swords vigorously against their thighs and legs. On the fourth night, the candidate joins the dancers dressed in a yellow buckskin fringed dress with designs like those of the masked dancers. At the end of the four days, the young woman scatters pollen over the people who were brought to her to receive her blessings.

The Apache regard the dance as particularly powerful, and each of the aspects of the dance must be done properly lest harm befall the tribe. If the dance is not executed properly, it is believed that the dancers may have trouble with their eyes and noses, their faces will swell, or paralysis will set in.

Among one of the most vivid ritual performances of the Navajo of the Four Corners region of the Southwest is the Yeibichai, also known as Night Chant. The word *yeibichai* is partly a corruption of the Zuni word for "spirit" plus the Navajo term for "maternal grandfather," hence it literally means "grandfather of the gods." The ceremony was handed down by supernaturals and was thought to be particularly efficacious in curing both psychosomatic and somatic disorders, especially insanity, deafness, or paralysis.

The ritual is sponsored by one man and his clan relatives in winter and is performed outdoors on a barren plateau. A sacred hogan is built at the west and a brush arbor shelter for the dancers at the east. Between the two a row of bonfires is built.

The ceremony takes nine days, the first eight being composed of secret ceremonies, and the last day, a public performance. In the dance the Grandfather of the Gods is personified by the lead dancer, who wears buckskin hunting clothes. The other dancers wear masks and kilts and resemble Pueblo *kachina*s.

The ritual specialist in charge of the Yeibichai is the chanter, a person who has chosen to learn the sacred ritual. He pays to be taught and studies for many years learning by rote every detail. During this time he collects sacred objects such as prayer sticks, herbs, turquoise, white shell, abalone, and jet, which he will use in his ceremonies. The specialist also may learn a few lesser rites plus the Blessingway, a ritual that must follow every other ritual to atone for any possible mistakes in them.

During the first four days, the patient and his relatives purify themselves by sweating and taking emetics. The patient and the chanter pray to the supernaturals to aid them in the ceremony. Each supernatural must be named in the proper order lest misfortune befall them. The chanter sings sacred songs and administers potions and sacred pollen to help rid the patient of evil forces.

During the next four days, the chanter and helpers coax the supernaturals into the ritual area by constructing sand paintings of them. The final power will arrive when pollen has been sprinkled on the sand painting. In these paintings, male divinities are represented as having round heads, while females have square heads. The *yei*s, as these male and female divinities are called, are pictured as standing on clouds or lightning and guarded by rainbows. The completed painting forms an altar sometimes ranging in width from four to eighteen feet.

Next, the patients are bathed and dried with cornmeal and painted with the symbols of the supernaturals. They are then brought into the hogan to receive power from the supernaturals represented in the sand painting. Sand from various parts of the painted figures is pressed against their ailing parts, and they are made one with the supernaturals and share their power. Finally the sand is swept up so that it may not be contaminated. The Navajo word for the design means the "going away of the group" and the design itself is regarded as a temporary visit from the supernaturals. On the ninth night, both the chanter and the patient must stay awake until dawn while the power increases in them. The Yeibichai impersonators are dressed in grotesque masks and decorated kilts with as many turquoise and silver necklaces, bracelets, and bow guards as they can put on. They spend the night publicly dancing and singing. The patients must not sleep until sunset, when they enter the sacred hogan and stay there for four nights. The rite is ceremonially concluded with the Bluebird Song, sung in honor of the bird of the dawn that brings promise and happiness.

Although most dance dramas were performed by groups of singers and dancers, the Deer Dance of the Yaqui of the Southwest is a unique solo performance. The Yaqui believed that the deer had the power to cure or cause illness and also to bring thunder, lightning, and rain. Dancing to the deer deity also ensured food and fecundity for the people and animals.

A religious pageant announcing the Deer Dance, which took place just before Easter, was suddenly interrupted by the presence of four to six dancers and four singers striking gourds with sticks to create a rasping sound. All dancers were naked from the waist up and wore grotesque masks representing human faces. The lead dancer, however, wore small deer antlers attached to his head and a cocoon rattle, six to eight feet in length and filled with pebbles, wrapped around one leg.

The lead dancer performed most of the Deer Dance alone. His movements mimicked that of the deer with great realism, his head moving quickly and erratically from side to side as if he had picked up the scent of danger. His feet scratched the earth before he quickly bolted upward, leaping gracefully over some imaginary barrier. Then, as the dance came to a close, the dancer became hunter and hunted, imitating the actions of a man with bow and arrow carefully stalking his prey. Letting fly the arrow that mortally wounded him, he fell to the ground quivering as he breathed his last.

SEE ALSO Clowns; Iconography, article on Native North American Iconography; Music, article on Music and Religion; Sun Dance.

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WILLIAM K. POWERS (1987)

DRAMA: MESOAMERICAN DANCE AND DRAMA

Mesoamerican dance and other dramatic performances not only serve as public entertainment but also are inextricably linked to native society, religion, and worldview. In Mesoamerica, dance encompasses the interplay of physical, historical, and spiritual aspects of human existence. On a basic corporeal level, dance encompasses concepts of sensuality, sex, and fertility—not only of humans, but also of the world as a whole, such as the summer season of warmth, growth, and abundance. This is commonly expressed through flowers that symbolize sexual organs, pleasure, beauty, the soul spirit, as well as the numinous realm of ancestors. Through dance, historical events and political and social relationships are defined and expressed through bodily presentation and movement. Mesoamerican dance includes both song and nonverbal aspects of communication including distinct gesture, posture, position, and *pasitas,* or steps. In addition, dance forms a conduit linking the living to the gods, ancestors, and other supernatural beings. Drama encompasses basic concepts such as reenactments of creation mythology, and through ritual pageants, the definition of communities. Drama was also a fundamental part of ritual sacrifice and public humiliation of captives. In fact, because public dance and performance were so intensely interwoven in Mesoamerican cultures, during the colonial era, community dances, dramas, and theatrical events formed a locus for mass conversion throughout New Spain. Although it will never be known how any of these performances were viewed or received in the past, in general, Mesoamerican dances today do not eliminate the observer. Spectatorship and vicarious participation are integral components in community festivals and contribute greatly to the success of the event.

PHYSICALITY OF DANCE. Given the essentially physical nature of dance, it is not surprising that throughout Mesoamerica it relates to somatic sensations. For example, the Dominican friar Diego Duran disapprovingly describes the Aztec Tickling Dance as "so roughish as to be compared to our own Spanish dance called the *saraband,* with all its wriggling and grimacing and immodest mimicry." Duran also mentions that the term for this dance, *cuecuechcuicatl,* can also mean "dance of the itch," a connotation very similar to conceptions of dance among the ancient Mixtec of Oaxaca. Thus there is the Mixtec town called Zahuatlan, which means "place of itching" in Nahuatl. The original Mixtec term for this community is Yucu Cata, meaning "mountain of itching," but in Mixtec, *cata* also signifies "dancing," and in the pre-Hispanic *Codex Selden* (c. sixteenth century), this town is rendered as a mountain marked by an obviously dancing man holding rattles in his upraised arms. The Aztec and Mixtec relation of dance to itching suggests a restless and agitated physical need much like intense sexual desire.

In Mesoamerica, dance is a basic form of interaction between the sexes. Among the Aztec it provided a means to meet and interact with possible future paramours and spouses. Finely dressed warriors danced during the day at the *cuicacalli* ("house of flowers") to attract women for potential trysts. These dances promptly ended when children from the various wards arrived for their lessons, indicating the erotically charged nature of these adult events. However, during children's dances it often became evident that certain boys and girls had a special affinity and fondness for one another, and this was often the prelude to future marriage. Two Aztec deities closely identified with dance and music were the male Xochipilli and the female Xochiquetzal, youthful and beautiful beings of sensuality, pleasure, and fertility. Although there is little direct evidence indicating that they were a couple, they shared very similar symbolic domains. Aztec figurines frequently depict Xochiquetzal wearing her flower headband while in a position of dance, with bouquets of flowers in her extended hands. Duran mentions that the "most enjoyed" Aztec dance, the Dance of Flowers, was dedicated to Xochiquetzal. Both Aztec deities contain the term *xochitl,* of "flower" in their names, a basic symbol of sensuality and fertility in Mesoamerica.

Aside from condoned aspects of comportment, Mesoamerican dance frequently lampoons egregious conduct of both sexes. Masked performers reinforce accepted models of behavior through burlesque and clowning, which is the antithesis of socially accepted norms expressed by other dancers during the same occasion. However, for the Aztec, there was a being of dance decidedly different from Xochipilli and Xochiquetzal—the bestial Huehuecoyotl, the old and corrupt coyote god of dance identified with drunkenness, excess, and unseemly sexual demeanor. In the Aztec calendrical system he is the patron of the thirteen-day week called "one flower," and in the ancient manuscripts illustrating this period he appears with grotesque monkey-like dancers in the context of alcohol and wanton excess. At the time of early contact in Yucatan there was a rich variety of comical dances, theatrical lampoons, and social parodies. Officials were openly addressed and ridiculed by costumed dancers who used cleverly phrased metaphors and witty allusions to make reference to their improper activities. Either performed on stage or indoors, these humorous farces were closely associated with the god K'uk'ulkan, or Quetzalcoatl. Titles of the comedies provide clues to some of the favored targets of these direct displays, including "the parasite," "the cacao grower," and "the chile vendor." The last mentioned dance is suspiciously similar to the well-known and infamous Aztec account of the last king of Tula, Huemac, and his daughter. In this legend the daughter falls hopelessly and lustfully in love with a Huastec Maya chile vendor who, tellingly, wears no breechcloth.

Ritual clowns are commonly portrayed in figurines of the Late Classic Maya (600–900 CE), portable images that may well have been passed out at festival events as mementos. Quite frequently, such figures were aged beings displaying bestial attributes and wielding dance rattles or fans, clearly marking them as performers. At times these grotesque characters, the converse of Classic Maya conventions of comeliness, were paired with beautiful young women in erotic embraces, scenes surely meant to be humorous. One of the most common themes addressed in ritual humor in contemporary Maya communities was inappropriate sexual behavior of senior and typically aged public officials. On a fundamental level, ritual clowning defines and normalizes appropriate gender roles through a folk or "popular" medium. This is especially true for children, who learn during socially focused and framed events some of the most elemental aspects of individual public identity and responsibility.

One of the most common dance positions portrayed in ancient Mesoamerican art is with the arms upraised and the elbows bent at right angles to the sides of the body. This convention occurs with the wildly grinning performers of the ceramic art of Nopiloa and Remojadas, Veracruz (c. 500–800 CE). These figures often display attributes of spider monkeys in their headdresses. Frequently amusing creatures, spider monkeys of the verdant, humid jungles were widely identified with dance and sexuality in Mesoamerica. In addition, when they run they adopt the same basic upwardly raised arm position enjoyed by dancers. Dancers adopted this position in many areas of ancient Mesoamerica besides Remojadas, including the Classic Maya and highland Mexico.

SOCIAL POLITICS OF DANCE. What were the social politics of dance and performance, and what were the stakes? Aside from parodies, one essential reason for community dance was undoubtedly related to notions of self-display and social prestige. Aristocratic participants, including members of the royalty, presented themselves publicly to affirm their ancestry, identity, and current place within courtly society. Sixteenth-century chroniclers mention that the Aztec had professional singers who composed songs and public performances concerning the glorious deeds of ancestors and nobles; especially important were the "feats, victories, and conquests" of kings. Among the Classic Maya, including such ancient cities as Copan, Palenque, Yaxchilan, it is clear from numerous works of art that rulers frequently personified and incarnated gods, demonstrating their unique link to the supernatural world. Imagery of elaborately costumed dancing nobles appears in a wide variety of media, from large permanent monuments carved in stone to smaller painted or incised elite vessels and innumerable ceramic figurines, indicating that these motifs were available for commoners as well as for the upper echelons of society. These "mass market" objects, which were widely circulated throughout the urban centers as well as rural outliers, must have expanded the desire for these important ceremonial events.

For the Aztec, members of the royal court adhered to strict rules of conduct that established what the scholar Susan Evans described as a "theater for courtly behavior." Public speaking, song, and dance were all important aspects of palace life. Even the title of king, or *tlatoani,* signifies "speaker," denoting the importance of oratory and rhetoric. According to sixteenth-century chroniclers, the Nahuatl "lordly language" of the court, *tecpillatolli,* was quite distinct from the language of the commoners, known as *macehuallatolli.* Music, song, and poetry were closely identified with royalty and courtly behavior, and the god of music was Xochipilli, the "flower prince," the god of the palace folk. In Aztec thought flowers symbolize both music and rulership. The king of Tetzcoco, Nezahualcoyotl, was renowned as a gifted poet, and a number of Nahuatl texts ascribed to him survive to this day. The *Florentine Codex* (c. 1577) describes the public demeanor of Aztec kings:

> When the ruler went forth, in his hand rested his reed stalk which he went moving in rhythm with his words. His chamberlains and his elders went before him; on both sides, on either hand, they proceeded as they went clearing the way for him. . . . He sang; songs were learned; chants were intoned. They told him proverbs and pleasantries to pass the time.

The same source also mentions a palace courtyard with flowering trees where the king danced, as well as a detailed list of the sumptuous items worn by the king during his performances. Diego Duran records that during the coronation of King Tizoc, some 2,000 nobles danced in his honor within the palace. In this event, dance served as a social contract acknowledging Tizoc as king of Tenochtitlan.

At an early age Aztec children were taught songs, music, and dance at the aforementioned *cuicacalli,* the house of song, located near the central temple area of each community. According to Diego Duran, boys and girls between twelve and fourteen years of age were brought separately from the various wards of the city; each group of boys was accompanied by an old man, and each group of girls by an old woman. Serving essentially as chaperones, these old men and woman would walk behind the children as they marched to and from the *cuicacalli,* closely watching for any inappropriate or disrespectful behavior. The *cuicacalli* is described as a compound of many spacious chambers surrounding a large courtyard used for the dance. According to Duran this courtyard also featured a stone statue of the god of dance with his arms extended and hands hollowed to receive bouquets of flowers and feather fans.

REPRESENTATIONS IN ART AND LITERATURE. Classic Maya art is filled with portrayals of dance, which are identifiable by the accoutrements of the dancers, including masks, rattles, and fans. In addition, the dancers are frequently attended by musicians playing drums, trumpets, flutes, and rattles, as well as by male and female singers. However, perhaps the clearest indications of dance are the poses adopted by these performers. Aside from the symmetrically upraised arm position mentioned above, dancers gesticulate dramatically, with the arms extended and the hands bent sharply at right angles. Very rarely are dancers depicted in profile; instead, they tend to be represented in a frontal or three-quarter body position with the head almost invariably in profile. This position affords the spectator the most direct and probably preferred viewing perspective. Typically, the feet are turned out sharply at right angles with one foot raised. In an almost life-size in-the-round sculpture from Structure 10L–16 at Copan, the founding king of the Copan dynasty, K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo,' is explicitly portrayed with his feet turned sharply outward from the central axis of his body, indicating that this was a true pose of dancers, and not an artistic convention deriving from matters of perspective. This position is strikingly similar to second position *plié* of French ballet, developed during the reign of King Louis XIV, its first star. This stance derived from a particular presentation of the body intended to intensify viewership of the central performing figure, whose outturned legs heightened the impact of physical movement.

For the Classic Maya, not only are there detailed portrayals of particular forms of dance, but also the accompanying glyphic texts often provide specific terms for distinct dances. Thus, the epigrapher Nikolai Grube deciphered the glyph denoting dance, probably read as *ak'ta.* Another glyph following this term refers to the specific form of dance, and among these are dances with staffs, an axe-like scepter known as the god K'awil, and even live serpents. In addition, there are references to a ballplayer dance and military dances. Quite frequently, Maya kings impersonated particular deities, and in Maya texts such performances are phrased by a clause that could be glossed as "in the famous image of," followed by the name of the particular deity portrayed. It is likely that as with the contemporary *katsina* dancers of the Hopi, Zuni, and other Puebloan peoples of the American Southwest, such dancers were considered not simply as skilled performers but rather the spiritual embodiments of conjured beings. For the Great Plaza at Copan, many of the elaborately carved stelae of the thirteenth ruler Waxaklahun Ub'ah K'awil portray the king as various gods frozen in dance, suggesting that such plazas were important *loci* for public dances.

WAR DANCES. Among the ancient Maya, dance also served to celebrate military victories. Not surprisingly, such dances involved the display of war trophies, including body parts, and the strength and virility of the male warriors. The Franciscan friar Diego de Landa mentions such war dances as the Holcan Ok'ot and the Batel Ok'ot, during which hundreds of warriors danced in long strides in perfect unison to the beat of the drum. Landa also notes that during the month of Pax, warriors danced with the jawbones of the vanquished. Similarly, many Classic Maya vessel scenes depict musicians and elaborately dressed striding warriors with captives, severed heads, and other body parts; quite probably these were scenes of celebratory war dances. One of the more elaborate portrayals of this type of celebratory dance is found in Room 3 of Structure 1 at the site of Bonampak', Chiapas, Mexico. In this chamber, warriors dance with severed heads and other body trophies to the accompaniment of trumpets and rattles. In the center of the south wall scene, men display massive fan-like elements extending laterally from the side of their groins. Although this has been interpreted as a supreme act of penis perforation and self-sacrifice, it is entirely possible that is it a mock bloodletting event celebrating male virility and bravery.

Aside from the dancing men with their phallic fans, the pivotal element in the Room 3 scene from Structure 1 is a beheaded figure swung above the heads of two celebrants. The murals of this chamber almost surely concern the sacrificial climax of a particular historical event. However, these events were not limited to one particular occasion, rather they were re-created in pageants celebrated by the entire community, quite possibly over generations. Each drama not only recalled the original event, but all subsequent performances as well, revivifying the accomplishments and pride of the population with each presentation. One remarkable Late Classic vessel seems to depict the original historical event, one episode removed. In this scene, published by Justin Kerr (K2025), a masked figure accompanied by musicians threatens an unarmed young man with his spear and shield. Rather than in the typical pose of the captive, this figure stands in a dramatic position of dance with one arm fully upraised and the other flexed behind his waist. Behind the youth are contortionists, who with their grotesque faces appear to personify trophy heads. Such a theme of historical reenactment is consistent with the sixteenth-century *Rabinal Achi,* which concerns the arraignment and eventual execution of Cawek of the Forest People from the Quiche nation by the court of Rabinal. Although this was an event cast in the fifteenth century, the dance continues to be celebrated in the community of Rabinal to this day.

DANCE ACCOUTREMENTS. In the most tragic moments of the *Rabinal Achi,* Cawek muses how his bones will be used by future generations in celebrations. In a similar manner, it is clear that war trophies worn by dancers in Mesoamerica were not simply for one occasion, but were esteemed regalia of past heroic events that were passed down through generations as valuable family possessions and inscribed memories. It is likely that such pieces were tied into the original performances when they first appeared before the public. It is also clear that many of the fine jewels and other accoutrements presented by royal courts of the ancient Maya, Mixtec, Aztec, and other peoples of Mesoamerica were esteemed as physical testimonies of special moments of royal favor. For the Aztec, there are descriptions of the emperor bestowing elaborately worked necklaces and other jewels during specific celebrations. When one handles these pieces, it is clear that they were meant for music and dance, for both the gold pendants and the jades make light tinkling noises. Although the Classic Maya lacked metals, they did possess a rich array of shell and jade jewelry and dance regalia. As Rosemary Joyce noted, the jewels worn for these events would accumulate an heirloom quality. Perhaps the most important objects of royal Maya dance were three jade plaques hanging from a belt mask. When worn in dance, these items emit a powerfully vibrant sound, quite possibly denoting the voice of the ancestral head from which the plaques depend. In a number of examples, including the famed Leiden Plaque, such jades have anachronistic texts that refer to historical episodes well before the style of the carving, suggesting that the pieces are indeed heirlooms of ancient peoples and events.

The frequent use in dance of shining jewels of jade, shell, and precious metals, as well as the elaborate plumage of tropical birds, is not simply related to sumptuary goods of the elite. Rather, such beautiful and precious items relate to the symbolism of brilliant colored flowers, a basic representation of the soul and paradise, not only in Mesoamerica but the American Southwest as well. In these regions, a common and ancient metaphor for the numinous state of contact between the world of the living and the supernatural realms of the gods and ancestors is the "rain of flowers." Thus in the remarkable early colonial Aztec songs known as the *Cantares Mexicanos,* there is frequent mention of raining flowers and jewels, along with the presence of incense. Diego Duran mentions that during his accession, emperor Tizoc carried a smoking censer to the pivotal drum to inaugurate the dance of nobles. Still today, *copal* incense and music are used to open the path for religious processions. Along with flowers, incense is one of the most basic offerings for the honored ancestral dead in both ancient and contemporary Mesoamerica. Even today, among the contemporary Jakaltek Maya of highland Guatemala, dance is a means of "untying," feeding, and communicating with the ancestral beings, for them the most compelling reason for traditional dance. Although scenes of the rain of flowers do appear in Aztec portrayals of dance and music, such scenes are much more widespread in Classic Maya art, where not only dancers but also kings are portrayed in this shining place of sweet music and incense, contacting their ancestors from the other realm.

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DRAMA: EUROPEAN RELIGIOUS DRAMA [FIRST EDITION]

Ancient drama ceased to be performed at the beginning of the Middle Ages. Christian authors like Tertullian (third century) complained that it was cruel, obscene, and idolatrous. Whatever the justification for such complaints, by the fifth century it was no longer relevant to the dominant Christian culture. Performances in the ancient manner may have been offered in Byzantium as late as the seventh century, but they were sporadic and culturally insignificant. A Christian imitation of classical Greek tragedy, *Christos paschon* (fifth century?), may or may not have been performed. Curiously, in spite of the memories of ancient drama that lingered in Byzantium, European religious drama was created in the Latin West rather than the East.

Ancient dramatic texts were copied and read in the West throughout the Middle Ages. The tenth-century nun Hrosvitha of Gandersheim wrote attractive Christian comedies imitating the comedies of Plautus, but it is unlikely that they were performed. In the later Middle Ages, the terms *tragedy* and *comedy* referred to narrative works like Dante's *Commedia.* The mimes, folk plays, and quasi-dramatic entertainments performed sporadically during the Middle Ages did not establish a significant dramatic tradition, and they have disappeared almost without a trace.

In the tenth century several brief plays appeared that were written for performance. These plays were not imitations of ancient drama but original compositions. They all depict the visit of the Marys to the sepulcher of Christ on the morning of the Resurrection. They are to be sung rather than spoken, and they begin with the Angel's question: "Quem quaeritis in sepulchro?" ("Whom do you seek in the sepulcher?"). Since they are attached to the Easter liturgy they are called liturgical dramas.

Liturgical dramas of the nativity of Christ appeared in the eleventh century. By the twelfth century there were dramas of the postresurrection appearances of Christ, the Ascension, Pentecost, the Slaughter of the Innocents, and the Prophets of Christ. There were also dramas on less explicitly liturgical subjects: Lazarus, the apostle Paul, Joseph and his brothers, Saint Nicholas, and the Antichrist. Two long vernacular plays survive from this period: *Le mystère d'Adam* and *La seinte Resurreccion.* Both require more sophisticated acting and staging than the liturgical plays. By the fifteenth century vernacular religious drama was flourishing throughout Europe. In addition to plays on biblical subjects there were saints' plays, miracle plays, and morality plays. Some of the plays were gigantic by modern Western standards, requiring a whole day or even several days for performance and using huge casts and elaborate stage machinery.

During the Renaissance, Protestant and Roman Catholic authorities discouraged the performance of medieval religious drama, and it was gradually supplanted by the secular theater. Only one medieval play has survived to the present in more or less continuous performance: *The Mystery of Elche*

(c. 1420), which is presented annually in the town of Elche in Spain on the Feast of the Assumption. The well-known *Oberammergau Passion* is of later origin (seventeenth century) and is performed only at ten-year intervals. A few medieval plays have occasionally been revived in the twentieth century. Of these, the fifteenth-century morality play *Everyman* is the most enduringly popular.

There has been much speculation about the origins of the tenth-century Resurrection play. Historical scholarship has sought a specific "source" and located this source in a ninth-century lyric composition (trope) that was used to ornament the regular liturgy. In *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (1933) Karl Young argues that the Resurrection play began as a trope of the Introit of the first mass of Easter day. This trope was eventually separated from the Introit and attached to Easter matins. In the new position its dramatic quality could be exploited, and it began to be acted.

The possibility of a deeper relationship between the Resurrection play and the liturgy of the church is suggested by the fact that in every culture in which drama is an indigenous form, the earliest examples are closely associated with religious rituals. The rituals are dramatic in quality and the dramas have obvious ritual elements and themes. The relationship between Greek religious ritual and Greek drama was apparent to Aristotle, and the lingering influence of this relationship can be seen in several of the extant Greek tragedies. Both the form and the theme of the Resurrection play point to a similar relationship with Christian ritual.

Baptism is the Christian rite of initiation. The sequence of events in a liturgical ceremony is described in what the Middle Ages called an *ordo*, an order of procedure. As performed in the early centuries, the *ordo* of baptism required the candidate to descend naked into the font, to be immersed three times, and, on emersion, to be signed in holy oil and blessed by a bishop. This sequence is itself a generalized drama in which immersion in water is the visible expression, or "imitation," of cleansing from sin.

In elaborating Paul's ideas of baptism and resurrection (*Rom.* 6:3–4) Cyril of Jerusalem (fourth century) uses the terminology of Greek dramatic criticism: "O Paradox! We did not really die, we were not really buried, we were not really crucified and raised again; but our imitation [*mimēsis*] was a likeness [*en eikoni*], and our salvation a reality" (*Catechesis mystagogica* 2.5).

Cyril understands baptism in two ways. The ritual occupies the foreground. It is a real action because it produces "a reality," namely, the rebirth and salvation of the candidate. This reality is absolute. It is caused by the intervention of the divine—the Holy Spirit—in the world of time. Baptism is also a stylized enactment by imitation (*mimēsis*) of the death and resurrection of Christ. This historical drama defines the ritual by giving it a specific meaning that is true, rather than conjectural, as far as Christianity is concerned.

Throughout the earlier Middle Ages the Easter Vigil was the preferred time for baptism. The candidates prepared for their initiation during Lent. They were baptized at around midnight on Holy Saturday. Dressed in white robes, they then proceeded to their first Communion, which occurred early on Easter morning, a time roughly coincident with the moment of Jesus' resurrection, which baptism enacts.

Like baptism, the Mass is a real action. By means of consecration, bread and wine are transformed into the body and blood of Christ. The change is a transubstantiation, a change of substance, not a symbolic change or a commemoration.

The Mass *ordo* is a sequence of discrete ritual moments arranged in the form of prologue, rising action, climax, and denouement. This structure took shape over centuries and with innumerable variants. It was regarded, however, as divinely ordained, which means that the arrangement of the ritual moments follows the will of God rather than natural causality. The structure cannot be explained, but it must be observed if the ritual is to produce its miracle.

The initial tone of the Mass is solemn and the concluding tone is joyful. The climax is the miracle of the real presence. It is both a recognition (*anagnōrisis*) of Christ and a reversal (*peripeteia*) of the tone of the ritual. Medieval liturgists described the reversal as a change from sorrows (*tristia*) to rejoicing (*gaudium*). The Mass, in the Classical Greek sense, is therefore comic rather than tragic in structure.

Bits of scriptural history are embedded in the structure of the Mass. When the celebrant repeats the words of Christ at the Last Supper during the consecration he is, for the moment, representing the historical Christ. Representation also occurs during the celebrant's "extension of hands" *(extensio manuum)* in imitation of the arms of Christ on the cross.

In the ninth century these and related historical elements led to a full-scale interpretation of the Mass in which each ritual moment was equated with an event in the life of Christ. The most elaborate description of the Mass from this point of view is the *Liber officialis* of Amalarius of Metz. According to Amalarius the climax of the Mass is the commingling. Because Christ's body and blood are united in the commingling, it corresponds to the Resurrection. The two subdeacons who assist represent the two Marys who visited the sepulcher on Easter morning. At the moment of the commingling, their solemnity is changed to joy, as though through the announcement of the angel to the historical Marys.

In this interpretation the Mass is both a ritual and an elaborate historical drama. The ritual provides the absolute reality on which the drama rests. It is, however, a generalized reality, a sacramental ground. The drama gives this sacramental reality a specific narrative meaning that allows it to be "understood." It seems probable that the Amalarian interpretation was popular in the ninth and later centuries precisely because the laity no longer understood the Mass on its own terms and welcomed the assistance that the interpretation provided. At any rate, for the reasons outlined above, ninth-century Easter liturgy was dominated by the theme of the Resurrection.

The Resurrection play of the tenth century was performed at Easter. Its structure reproduces in little the structure of the Mass: a movement from sorrow, through a climax which is a recognition and a reversal, to rejoicing. And the historical moment that is its subject, namely the Resurrection, is the moment Amalarius equated with the climax of the Mass. Liturgy also provides the stage on which the play is performed, the clerics who act its roles, and vestments that serve as its costumes.

In the Mass generalized ritual action is primary and narrative drama secondary. In the transition from ritual to drama this relationship is inverted. The Resurrection play makes the story primary and ritual action secondary, secondary in the sense of being a submerged sacramental ground, an *a priori* shaping principle that must be deduced *a posteriori* from the materials it has shaped. The sequence of ritual moments is not a plot. It is, rather, a form that can be the shaping principle of many different plots, both historical and fictional. It provides the absolute reality on which medieval religious drama builds it appearances.

When the ritual structure of the Mass becomes the ground for a play about the Resurrection, this structure seems to be replaced by a plot, a story with characters. The clerics who perform the actions of the ritual become actors. Their ceremonial gestures become mimetic gestures expressing human motives. Their prayers and chants become stylized dialogue, still sung, but dialogue in which questions produce replies and commands are visibly obeyed. Meanwhile, because the congregation no longer participates, as it does in the ritual, it becomes a group of spectators, an audience.

Underlying these visible changes there is a movement from ritual sequence to natural causality. The ritual moments in the Mass follow one another in a given order because they must be in that order. Natural causality is not so much absent from the *ordo* as irrelevant to it. On the other hand, because the events of a plot occur in natural time, they are subject to causality. If scriptural history says they occurred, they are necessary; if not, they are only probable. Scripture, for example, states that when the Marys came to the sepulcher they encountered an angel. The angel is thus a necessary element of the Resurrection play, even though outside of the sphere of natural causality. Scripture is vague, however, about the gestures of the Marys when they encountered the angel. The actors performing the roles of the Marys must decide what gestures the Marys probably used. In several extended versions of the Resurrection play the Marys report their experience to the apostles. The Bible says that such a report occurred but does not provide the dialogue. Several plays therefore use a well-known lyric composition (sequence) that begins "Dic mihi Maria" ("Tell me, Mary") for the dialogue. The popularity of this composition demonstrates that it was widely considered an acceptable—therefore probable—version of the dialogue. Hence its appropriateness for the play.

Unlike ritual reality, the reality of drama is contingent. Scriptural history is true in a special sense, and, therefore, necessary; but other kinds of history can err, and elaborations based on probability are contingent by definition. The reality of medieval religious drama is therefore a hypothetical reality, "reality in appearance," in which the reality of the appearance is sustained by the absolute reality of the sacramental ground on which it rests.

Ritual reality is an *ordo*, absolutely determined. "Reality in appearance," however, is plastic and can be manipulated. Three kinds of manipulation are common in medieval religious drama: extension, invention, and imitation.

Extension is the addition of historical episodes to an already existing drama. The visit of Mary Magdalene to the cross can be added, for example, at the beginning of the Resurrection play, and the appearance of Christ at Emmaus at the end, without changing the play's structure. The limit of extension for scriptural drama is shown by the English Corpus Christi plays; they begin with the Fall of Lucifer and end with the Last Judgment, but they retain the comic structure, including the visit to the sepulcher as the climax, of the Resurrection play. For religious drama based on historical sources other than scripture (the *Legenda Aurea*, for example) the limit of extension is the limit of the historical narrative.

Invention is the creation of episodes that are not found in history. As is evident from the problem of the gestures of the Marys confronting the angel, even the briefest historical drama uses extension because history never provides all of the details that drama requires. Whenever extension occurs it moves the drama from history toward fiction. The report of the Marys to the apostles is scripture, but the dialogue beginning "Dic mihi Maria" is fiction. Scripture states that the Marys brought ointment to the sepulcher. Where did the ointment come from? Probably from a spice merchant. How was the ointment obtained? Probably by bargaining. Bargaining has its humorous as well as its serious aspects, so an invented spice-merchant episode, freed of the restrictions of the biblical narrative, has the potential of becoming amusing or satirical. One of the earliest episodes invented for the Resurrection play is the "spice merchant" (*unguentarius*) scene. It is mildly satiric. It is also anachronistic. Historical research might have produced something like a Palestinian merchant of the first century, but the result would have baffled the audience. Therefore the dramatist produced a character who is "probable" in the sense of resembling the sort of merchant with whom his audience was familiar. This means also that the character has the quality of "realism."

A brilliant instance of realistic invention is provided by the *Second Shepherds' Play* of the Wakefield Cycle (fifteenth century). Scripture states that shepherds visited the infant Jesus. What were the shepherds like? The Wakefield dramatist creates a comic vignette of medieval English shepherds that is so effective that it all but eclipses the Nativity scene that is the play's subject. A similar impulse toward free invention is evident in the gigantic French *mystères* of the late Middle Ages, which are based on saints' lives rather than scripture. This playful impulse is made possible by the fact that, as long as the sacramental ground is respected, it will sustain—that is, make acceptable—almost any kind of invention. The playfulness is expressed in passages that are alternately humorous, grotesque, satirical, serious, and intensely devout, and in abrupt juxtapositions of the comic and the ploddingly didactic, the realistic and the miraculous.

The late medieval morality play is entirely fictional, being made up out of the probabilities of theories of religious psychology. Because it is fictional it is more cautious—more rationalistic—than the plays based on scriptural history and saints' lives. Its characters are more consistent, its dialogue more restrained, and its use of digressive, comic, and realistic materials and abrupt juxtapositions more conservative. Its reliance on the sacramental ground of ritual is evident in its comic plot, which regularly hinges on the miraculous conversion or salvation of its protagonist, and in its use of religious themes and characters from the invisible world: good and bad angels, departed souls, demons, and comic "vices" who reappear in Renaissance drama rationalized as villains, like Iago, or as comic embodiments of the principle of disorder, like Falstaff.

Imitation is simply the use of models. The Resurrection play embodies the concept of a "reality in appearance" resting on a sacramental ground. Once the original form of the play became widely known, it could be a model for other Resurrection plays and for plays using the same techniques but different subject matter. As the dramas became more complex through extension and invention, the possibilities for imitation multiplied. By the fifteenth century (and probably much earlier) medieval religious drama had institutionalized itself, and its authors drew their techniques primarily from other dramas. Because the "reality in appearance" of religious drama is explicit and the sacramental ground is *a priori* and invisible, the surface eventually came to seem real—that is, autonomous—while the sacramental ground came to seem a corollary of subject matter and hence either an accident of history or a liability, rather than the foundation on which the drama rests.

During the Renaissance, French and Italian drama rejected the medieval tradition. At first the alternative was direct imitation of the tragedies of Seneca and the comedies of Plautus and Terence. Since ancient drama rests on a ground entirely different from, and alien to, the ground of medieval drama, it is not surprising that most of the direct imitations were stillborn. In seventeenth-century France direct imitation gave way to a neoclassicism that paid homage to ancient models but was based on rationalist principles of verisimilitude, decorum, and the norm of nature. The dramas of Molière and Racine assume that appearance is autonomous and seek to create the illusion of reality by subjecting all of their materials to the rule of probability. Their plays resemble thought-experiments arising from the question, "Given this situation and these characters, what would be the probable result?" The comic plots are pure fiction. The myth and legend that provide the subject matter of the tragic plots are drained of their ancient religious import: myth and legend provide a means of distancing the thought-experiment, or drama, from immediate experience and thus of emphasizing its status as "autonomous appearance."

Spanish and English drama of the Renaissance took an opposite path. As neoclassic critics rightly observed, Shakespeare's plays ignore verisimilitude and decorum and are filled with extravagant language, improbable inventions and characters, and astonishing juxtapositions of the serious and the comic. They may be considered in this regard a final flowering in a secular context of the traditions of religious drama. Shakespeare's enormous history cycle, extending from the "fall" of England through the murder of Richard II to its miraculous "salvation" following the defeat of Richard III, is a secular equivalent of the Corpus Christi play. Several of his tragedies end on a note emphasizing the redemptive quality of suffering: *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, and *Macbeth*. The motif of salvation by miracle is rationalized by the "unrealistic" devices of coincidence and disguise in comedies like *The Comedy of Errors*, *Twelfth Night*, and *Measure for Measure*; it becomes explicit in *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*. The medieval tradition also appears in characters influenced by medieval conventions (Falstaff as comic vice), in ritualistic scenes (Othello kneeling to pledge allegiance to Iago), in magic and miracles (*Midsummer Night's Dream*, the rebirth of Hermione), and in the emphasis at the end of many of the plays on reestablishment of community (*As You Like It*, *Hamlet*, *Measure for Measure*, *The Tempest*). According to later, neoclassic (eighteenth-century) criticism, Shakespeare's plays should be failures. They are sprawling, loosely constructed, improbable, and indecorous. The fact that they succeed is evidence of their reliance on a reality deeper than the "autonomous appearance" of neoclassic drama and of the continuing importance of this deeper reality for the modern audiences who respond to them.

Liturgical drama is emphatically not an antiquarian subject, and its reemergence in extremely popular vernacular forms is significant. Paul Claudel and T. S. Eliot, among others, attempted to revive religious drama in the twentieth century; their efforts were not fully successful. Perhaps this is because their plays are concerned primarily with subject matter, that is, with appearance. A few twentieth-century plays began with ritual rather than subject matter, and these seem moderately effective: Timothy Rice and Andrew Lloyd Webber's *Jesus Christ Superstar* and Leonard Bernstein's *Mass.* Popular movie and television entertainments—Westerns, thrillers, science fantasies—retain the comic structure of ritual and its convention of "salvation by miracle," although the miracles are always rationalized as coincidence, luck, or "intervention from beyond." Popular entertainment, however, is limited by its dependence on stereotypes and formulas. Its "reality in appearance" is thin and predictable when compared to the "reality in appearance" observable in medieval religious drama and in English and Spanish drama of the Renaissance.

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O. B. HARDISON, JR. (1987)

DRAMA: EUROPEAN RELIGIOUS DRAMA (FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS)

The origin of the Latin *Visit to the Sepulcher* and the related ceremonies of the Good Friday *Depositio* (usually involving the burial of a consecrated wafer and/or image) and Easter *Elevatio,* which first appeared in the *Regularis Concordia* (c. 980 CE) from Winchester, remains controversial, but the various forms taken by these dramatic rites have been most fruitfully studied from the standpoint of the geographical distribution of texts and music, rather than of theory (especially the discredited theory of evolutionary development). While centers of this music-drama activity were monasteries and cathedrals, widespread records of parish church presentation exist at least for the *Depositio* and *Elevatio.* The Easter sepulchers required for these are recorded in great numbers throughout much of Europe, and many still exist.

The distinction between rite and mimetic drama is necessarily blurred. The semidramatic Palm Sunday procession is a case in point. In German-speaking countries and Poland, the procession included a *Palmesel*, a carved life-size image of Jesus riding on a donkey. This ceremony, along with certain other semidramatic rites, would be maintained for some centuries in spite of the prohibitions of the Council of Trent. Brigittine nuns, using a carved corpus of Jesus for the *Burial*, continued traditional Good Friday ceremonies into the twentieth century.

The first of the medieval music-dramas to become something of a modern box-office success was the twelfth-century *Play of Daniel* when it was staged by the New York Pro Musica in the 1950s. This play, originally composed by young men of Beauvais Cathedral for the Christmas season, has eschatological overtones and is an impressive collation of biblical history and prophecy. Another very effective play is the slightly earlier *Sponsus* from Saint Martial of Limoges, which stages the Wise and Foolish Virgins (with the latter seeking to buy oil from oil merchants); the reward of the Wise is to be invited in to the marriage feast by the Bridegroom, while the Foolish are cast into darkness, as specified in *Matthew* 25.

The most remarkable example from this period, however, is the *Ordo Virtutum* (c. 1151) of Hildegard of Bingen, which was virtually unnoticed by scholars until the 1980s. It dramatizes the fall of Anima (the Soul) and her return to the circle of the Virtues, over whom Humility presides as queen. The music of this ambitious play, which has twenty singing roles (the number of nuns in Hildegard's abbey), is based on chant but is unique for its time. The single male character, the Devil, is unmusical and only shouts indecorously; his appearance may be surmised from the illustrations in the manuscript of Hildegard's *Scivias,* which also contained an earlier draft of the play.

These music-dramas were not intended to be entertainment. As Katherine of Sutton, Abbess of Barking in Essex, indicated circa 1370 when offering a *Harrowing* play in which the nuns of the convent were to take part, the purpose was to bring the participants out of their spiritual lethargy. Such a motive is particularly evident in the *Peregrinus,* which adapted the Emmaus story to the religious community's desire for the sight of the absent God. Ritually, singers and congregation were to be brought into sacred time as if present at the original events.

Little direct connection can be claimed between the liturgical drama and the vernacular plays of the late Middle Ages. The ambiguity of the Middle English term *play* has created some scholarly confusion, but for the most elaborate examples of the vernacular drama—for example, the great Creation-to-Doom cycles presented at York and possibly Coventry on the feast of Corpus Christi and at Chester during Whitsun week—the purpose of the producers seems principally to have been to involve the audience aesthetically and spiritually in the depiction of salvation history. These dramas attempt to make visible and to stage-manage the violence connected with the life of Jesus from the massacre of the innocents to the crucifixion in a way that focuses the audience's compassion toward the sufferer, the Lamb of God. Audience response is difficult to ascertain when we are dealing with productions from the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. Occasional evidence of inappropriateness appears, as in the play of the Funeral of the Virgin at York that dramatized the attack by a Jew on her bier—a case of anti-Semitism in which the audience apparently participated raucously, and of which the sponsoring guild disapproved. But, in general, the producers—the guilds and the city corporation of York—would never have been able to carry on the tradition of staging the plays in the cycle on pageant wagons through the streets at such enormous expense for nearly two hundred years unless a serious religious purpose had been involved. They clearly were setting out to make visible for audiences the same scenes that were depicted in religious art of the city churches and the minster, and they were doing this in a manner that brought the stories forth in a lively rather than a static way. Audiences were therefore being invited to imagine themselves as onlookers at the events of sacred history. The popular *Meditations on the Life of Christ,* translated by the Carthusian Nicholas Love of Mount Grace Priory in Yorkshire, indeed told people that it was necessary for their salvation to be able to *imagine* the passion of Christ visually in all the stages of his suffering. Both in England and on the continent people felt they received spiritual benefit from watching plays on the lives and suffering of saints.

Just as the vernacular plays of the late Middle Ages did not directly evolve out of liturgical drama, so too the plays of Shakespeare and his contemporaries cannot be viewed as having emerged through an evolutionary process that brought about the secularization of earlier biblical, morality, or saint plays. Secularization was largely forced on the public stage in England by the iconoclastic bias of the Reformation and the fear of the authorities that the medieval saint and biblical plays promoted Catholicism. Nevertheless, at their best, Renaissance dramas retain a religious dimension that extended to both stage picture and the invocation of religious iconography in their texts, and they have rightly been seen (in Heideggerian terms) to facilitate the "deconcealment of Being."

With the rise of modernity, the plays of Henrik Ibsen and of August Strindberg examine religious themes in an unorthodox but powerful way. Strindberg in his late plays presents a rich visual symbolism that reflects a world in which God is simultaneously absent and present. T. S. Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral* (1935), as well as, to a lesser extent, Charles Williams's *Thomas Cranmer of Canterbury* (1936) retain their interest. After World War II, perhaps some of the most striking treatments of religion appeared in the films of Ingmar Bergman. *The Seventh Seal* (1957) explores human doubt and fragility against the background of death in the plague years of 1348 to 1350—a symbolic treatment of the possibility of nuclear annihilation during the Cold War—while some of his films from the early 1960s treat the tremendous power of religious experience over against the terror of the void in a world without God.

Some current challenges for scholarship will involve more thorough exploration of the following: the connections between traditional religion and early drama; the significance of positional symbolism (to use Mary Douglas's term) or its displacement, and the applicability of other anthropological insights in dramas, both medieval and more recent; the spread of early religious drama to the East (e.g., the adaptation of European forms such as the Magi play to Indian dance drama in South India) and to the New World; comparisons of European vernacular plays with dramas such as the Shīʿī passion plays of the death of Ḥusayn in Iran and Iraq; and the sponsorship and reception of religious drama since the Middle Ages, as well as, more specifically, the engagement of audiences with religious content.

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Much new research on early religious drama, both English and continental, appears in the journals *Comparative Drama, Early Drama* (superseding *The REED Newsletter*); *The Early Drama, Art, and Music Review* (formerly *EDAM Newsletter*); *Medieval English Theatre;* and *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama;* while for documentation concerning original performance and sponsorship, see the volumes of *Records of Early English Drama.*

CLIFFORD DAVIDSON (2005)

DRAMA: MODERN WESTERN THEATER

Where religion has kept alive its affinity with dance, drum, and the dramatic appearance of the gods, it has remained vital. Where drama has kept alive its quality of magic disclosure, it has remained indispensable. These legacies have proved difficult to maintain in Western society, but they contain the heart of the expectations people bring to theater and to religious ceremony alike. The ancient and persistent link between religion and drama may be viewed as the result of factors that include the emergence of theater from religious ritual, the acting out of sacred myth and story, the quasi-priestly or shamanic characteristics of theatrical performers and, conversely, the theatrical qualities of religious liturgies.

It is often supposed that the theater in modern Europe and North America, like Western civilization in general, has steadily become more secular, which is to say, less and less concerned with religion. The truth of this assumption, with respect to theater and modern society alike, is debatable. To the extent that it may be true, it is balanced by the fact that Western religion itself has undergone a kind of secularization: it has, in many quarters, undergone demythologizing, the "death of God," and a radical turn toward political action in "this world," all without losing its identity as religion. More significant than the phenomenon of secularization is the fact that, in most European and American societies in modern times, the professional theater and institutional religion have both become culturally marginal—perhaps for similar reasons.

Before 1700, the principal places for public storytelling were theaters and churches. The advent of novelistic fiction in the eighteenth century meant that stories could be told to a wide audience without people having to gather in a public place. Even so, theater remained a popular institution throughout the nineteenth century while revivalistic religion, if not regular church attendance, was also vigorous, especially in the United States. The immense success of motion pictures and television in the twentieth century reduced the audience for live theater to a very small portion of the population. Although, compared to this, the number of churchgoers remains very large, perhaps twenty to twenty-five times as great in the United States, it too has shrunk as the audience for film and television has grown. New methods of communication, the proliferation of channels on television, the advent of virtual-reality meeting places on the World Wide Web, and multiplex movie palaces have all brought about a change in the way people gather in public—or do not so gather—to participate at the performance of stories, rituals, and myths.

The change in patterns of assemblage has not been quite the same for all social classes. The popularity of religious gatherings continues more vigorously among the marginalized than among the affluent. One might even argue that religion serves as a theater of the poor, although it would be more accurate to say that among them the bifurcation between religion and drama is not as deep as among those with higher incomes.

The rise of the charismatic movement within traditional and established churches, as well as the growth of Pentecostal denominations, may indicate a renewed quest for theatrical and ecstatic worship, paralleling the revivalism of an earlier age.

It would be a mistake, of course, to link forms of worship too closely to social strata. In the United States, for instance, congregations of evangelical churches now occupy middle- to upper-level income brackets and are flourishing. In some cases their messages, saturated with apocalyptic themes, are inherently dramatic and conjure up spectacular imagery. However, it must be said that insofar as religion and theater are middle-class institutions, both are, ironically, of less and less importance to the middle class. The social bracketing of the two institutions leads to a kind of aesthetic bracketing as well: theater becomes pictorial (and hence no significant competition for film and television), while religious rituals become archaic, not to say quaint. In this situation, theater and religion often look to each other for some lost component to help restore their immediacy. The fundamental link between them is their use of performance to make what is unseen seen and what is absent present, and this in the immediacy of a specific time and place.

CHRISTIANITY AND RENAISSANCE THEATER. Although European Christianity was much indebted to classical Greek and Roman civilization, it also inherited the Bible's view of history as fulfillment of divine promise and of Christ as a redeemer who did not fit either the tragic or the comic prototypes of antiquity. Hence, Christianity brought into European culture many sensibilities concerning human character, experience, and historical existence that were significantly different than those upon which the drama of Greece and Rome had been based. It is likely that these sensibilities became mixed with those of the religions that were already practiced in Europe when Christianity arrived. Several nonclassical ideas emerged that proved important to drama: for example, that human nature is not divided into a limited number of fixed character types; that some individuals are subject to marked changes in character as a result of experiences they undergo; and that human history is capable of genuine novelty and surprise. As they worked their way into dramatic expression on stage, these ideas led to a mode of drama concerned with processes of history, the dynamics of class interaction, and the confrontation of the human soul with temptation, with conscience, and with God.

An unprecedented outburst of dramatic genius occurred in the sixteenth century. The greatest talents were those of William Shakespeare in England and Lope de Vega in Spain. Their writing for the stage was based upon very different ideas of dramatic form from the Greek and Roman classics. These ideas led to a form more loose, more episodic, more open to variety in human characterization, more concerned with reflective consciousness, and more open to depictions of the grotesque and the ugly. The immediate sources of the new sensibility, with its profound effect upon dramatic form, theater design, and modes of acting, are thought to lie in medieval Christian dramas known as *mystery plays,* in popular religious festivals, whether Christian or not (some of which gave rise to mummers' plays, concerned with death and resurrection), in biblical literature, and in Christian homilies.

In England, the new dramatic sensibilities were expressed by Shakespeare and most of his contemporary dramatists, using themes much indebted to the humanists and to Protestant (mostly Puritan) reformers of that age and showing the strong influence of a rising middle class. In Spain, the new sensibilities were expressed by Lope de Vega and Pedro Calderón de la Barca, using ideas more congenial to feudalism and to Roman Catholicism. The Renaissance, with its ambivalent attitude toward Christianity, the church, and dogma, empowered dramatists not only to express their own religious ambivalence but also, in the process, to fashion a new dramatic form.

Puritan influence on drama, noticeable during the reign of Elizabeth I in England, soon changed to hostility toward theatergoing. By the early seventeenth century, most Puritans would have been startled to know that John Calvin had spent many Sunday afternoons watching the performance of plays, even if those were indeed plays on scriptural subjects by Theodore Beza. In 1642, English Puritans, who had achieved municipal power in London, closed all theaters, partly because the stage was thought conducive to loose morals, but also because it was associated with the royal court, the nobility, and Roman Catholicism. Although the theaters were allowed to reopen in 1660 with the accession of Charles II to the throne, this forced closing left its mark on all subsequent relations between church and theater throughout the Western world, relations that are sometimes intense but most often strained.

DRAMA IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES. With some exceptions, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were not periods of important interaction between religion and drama. In the Counter-Reformation, Jesuits throughout Europe made widespread use of dramas to propagate the faith, producing a legacy of postmedieval didactic theater that has had widespread influence, for example on the twentieth-century Marxist playwright Bertolt Brecht. The neoclassic dramas of France in the seventeenth century, especially those of Jean Racine and Thomas Corneille, and also the comic dramas of Molière, are not well understood without knowledge of Christian doctrine and ethics in that age, including, for example, Jansenist theology, which was important to the work of Racine. The anticlericalism that spread during the Enlightenment, especially in France and Germany, exacerbated ancient tensions between religion and theater, with the result that the rift between them was at its widest in the Age of Reason. Whether that has anything to do with the fact that this was not an especially creative period of playwriting, as compared to epochs before and after, is a matter for speculation. The theater of the eighteenth century went in for extraordinary scenic effects and allied itself with experiments being made by painters and architects. It tended more toward the pictorial than the performance aspect of theater and hence was distant from any deep religious sensibility.

The Romantic movement that began in the late eighteenth century was a different matter. It stimulated the use of religious themes in drama, often in unorthodox forms. Goethe's *Faust* (1808/1832) is perhaps the most famous example, but it is difficult to think of a Romantic playwright in whose dramas religious ideas or experiences do not make an appearance, whether in a positive manner (as in Faust), a negative manner (as in much of Henrik Ibsen), or a highly charged ambivalent manner (as in the works of Wilhelm von Kleist, Georg Büchner, and others).

SOCIAL REALISM. During the nineteenth century, European drama began to display two major interests: the effect of social conditions upon human existence (leading to a style usually known as *realism*) and the quest for meaning in life amid the uncertainties occasioned by the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution, and the emerging evolutionary view of nature. Depictions of the quest for meaning, more than the positivistic concern for social realism, led frequently to plays depicting a search for God or for the protagonist's soul. Ibsen's *Brand* (1866) and *Peer Gynt* (1867) fall into this category, as do many plays by August Strindberg, such as *Advent* (1898), *To Damascus* (1898–1904), *Easter* (1900), and *The Ghost Sonata* (1907). At the same time, there was also a tendency for the more realistic or "secular" plays to develop a symbolic mode that verges on myth and confronts an audience with quasi-religious mystery. Ibsen's *The Wild Duck* (1884) and *The Master Builder* (1892) are of this kind, as well as Strindberg's horrifying plays about marriage, *The Father* (1887) and *The Dance of Death* (1901). It is worth noting that Ibsen was interested in the religious existentialism and anticlericalism of Søren Kierkegaard, and that Strindberg was at one time a practitioner of alchemy and at another a disciple of Emanuel Swedenborg.

To this tendency among major nineteenth-century playwrights to evince an interest in religious themes, the most notable exception is Anton Chekhov. In him the heavens are closed. The symbolism of plays like *The Seagull* (1896) and *The Cherry Orchard* (1904), strong and beautiful as it is, does not hint at transcendent mystery. The closing speech of Sonya in *Uncle Vanya* (1897), with its vision of an eventual heavenly peace, is moving precisely because the audience recognizes that her words are only wistful.

George Bernard Shaw, a fourth luminary among playwrights at the turn of the century, was a severe critic of contemporary Christianity, mostly because of what he saw as its moral hypocrisy and its alliance with capitalism; yet he introduced religious motifs in almost all his plays, and it may be said of him, as of William Butler Yeats, that he invented a religion of his own. Made up of ideas taken from Christianity, from the philosophers Friedrich Nietzsche and Henri Bergson, and from Fabian socialism, Shaw's faith amounted to a divination of the creative force of life. While concern for life as both rational and holy is never absent from Shaw's work, the plays in which it is most prominent are *Man and Superman* (1903), *Major Barbara* (1905), *Back to Methuselah* (1922), and *Saint Joan* (1923). Meanwhile, Shaw's Irish compatriot, the poet Yeats, was making use of theater to communicate not only the legends of Irish patriotism but also poetic religious visions, especially in plays written late in his life, such as *Calvary* (1921), *The Resurrection* (1927), and *Purgatory* (1938).

TWENTIETH-CENTURY THEATER. World War I put an end, not to romanticism in the arts, as used to be said, but to its nineteenth-century phase. Following the war, the theatrical motifs and styles of the preceding century continued, but in a deeper, more tortured form. The quest for meaning became more desperate. One result in the theater was a form known as *expressionism,* which used theatrical resources—decor, costuming, lighting, music, scene construction, performance technique—to achieve effects more like painting, cartooning, clowning, and poetry than like the narrative art that most Western theater has been. Indeed, from Yeats onward the experimental Western theater has reached out to Eastern (mostly Japanese) stylistic conventions, which are themselves firmly rooted in religious tradition.

In the work of German expressionist playwrights such as Ernst Toller, Ernst Barlach, and Oskar Kokoschka (better known as a painter) is found an outrage against existence that is at once moral and religious, the latter with varying degrees of explicitness. Art of this kind, in the theater as well as in other forms, was employed by the theologian Paul Tillich to depict the religious situation in Germany in the late 1920s. He wrote of such art as engaged in a religious protest against "bourgeois self-sufficient finitude," as he termed the attitude that had infiltrated both the churches and other social institutions and against which much serious theater of the time protested.

Such a theater of antireligious religious protest (to use a very dialectical expression for it) was also brought forth by the first playwright of the American theater to achieve an international reputation—Eugene O'Neill, whose plays often depict "the creative pagan acceptance of life," as he put it, "fighting eternal war with the masochistic, life-denying spirit of Christianity" (quoted in Cole, 1961, p. 237ff.). The plays of O'Neill that treat this religious theme include *Desire under the Elms* (1924), *The Great God Brown* (1926), *Lazarus Laughed* (1928), *Dynamo* (1929), and *Mourning Becomes Electra* (1931).

In O'Neill's works there is also another, slightly different understanding of the modern religious situation, one closer to the views of Tillich. O'Neill articulated this in a letter to the critic George Jean Nathan. Here he wrote of his desire to dig at "the roots of the sickness today," which he described as "the death of an old God and the failure of science and materialism to give any satisfying new one for the surviving primitive religious instinct to find a meaning for life in, and to comfort its fears of death with" (quoted in Clark and Freedley, 1947, p. 690). Such a sense of the loss of God, of meaning, of satisfaction and comfort, may be called post-Nietzschean, after the German philosopher who was the first among modern intellectuals to write of the "death of God." This view of the modern human situation, when held with passion, gives rise to a conviction known as existentialist, of which O'Neill was the first and remains the foremost exponent in American theater. His deepest expressions of this attitude are to be found in his late plays, particularly *The Iceman Cometh* (1939) and *Long Day's Journey into Night* (1940), but it is anticipated much earlier in his expressionist plays, such as *The Emperor Jones* (1920) and *The Hairy Ape* (1922).

In Europe, too, one can discern a line of development from the pre-expressionist, anarchist outcry of Alfred Jarry's *Ubu roi* (1896) through the expressionist drama—including many examples from Russia, France, and Italy not mentioned here—continuing in specifically existentialist dramas such as *No Exit* (1944) by Jean-Paul Sartre and *Caligula* (1944) by Albert Camus, thence into the post-1945 "theater of the absurd" (including the work of Eugène Ionesco, Arthur Adamov, Jean Genet, Fernando Arrabal, Edward Albee, and others) and culminating in the plays of Samuel Beckett, most famously in his first published play, *Waiting for Godot* (1952).

Crucial to this development, as also to the experimental theater of the 1960s and 1970s, were the ideas put forward by Antonin Artaud in a book of essays entitled *Le théâtre et son double* (1938, translated as *The Theater and Its Double,* 1958). Artaud's "theater of cruelty," as he called it, is actually a theater of pure gesture in which words and ideas are "cruelly" subordinated to actions performed for their own sake (*l'acte gratuit*). This concentration upon the theatrical gesture per se would return theater to the domain of ritual. Theologically speaking, an *acte gratuit* is the action of a divinity that is answerable only to itself. Avant-garde theater in the twentieth century has been an attempt to return theater to its religious roots without necessarily adopting—indeed, often opposing—religious faith.

There was, however, a movement in midcentury to restore religious faith to the theater by way of a return to poetic drama. The movement's most prominent figure was the poet T. S. Eliot, who in 1934 was asked by E. Martin Browne, a theater director working for the Anglican diocese of London, to compose some verses (later known as "Choruses from the Rock") for a diocesan stage production. This was followed by a commission from Browne and Canterbury Cathedral that resulted in the play *Murder in the Cathedral* (1935), an explicitly religious play, which made Eliot famous as a playwright and which is arguably the best poetic drama written in modern times. Eliot later aspired to the writing of religious plays composed in verse about people in modern circumstances, partly because of the aesthetic challenge such a task presented, partly for the sake of propagating Christian faith in the modern world, and partly as an answer to existentialist playwrights. He wrote five of these, of which the most popular has been *The Cocktail Party* (1949). Others active in the revival of poetic religious drama have been Christopher Fry, Ronald Duncan, Henri Ghéon, and André Obey. However, the Belgian Michel de Ghelderode, who wrote perhaps the most forceful religious dramas of the century, chose not to use verse. Instead, he adopted a theatrical style somewhere between that of expressionism and absurdism, yielding works of strong religious and theatrical interest, including *Barabbas* (1929), *Chronicles of Hell* (1929), and *The Women at the Tomb* (1928)

During this period, Brecht was seeking a theater that synthesized both the aesthetic value of expressionism and the instructional value of naturalism. He sought a theater that was poetic, parable-like, didactic, and epic, portraying the large configurations of power while locating the dilemmas of the little person within these configurations. In his play, *Galileo* (1943), for example, he demonstrates how the authority of an institution supersedes the rationality of scientific truth. Garbed in papal vestments, the otherwise supportive prelate must force Galileo to renounce his discovery. To watch Brecht's Berliner Ensemble perform one of his plays was to watch a calm ritual unfold. The dramaturgy is antinaturalistic and yet captivating. Although there is controversy over the precise meaning of Brechtian concepts like "the alienation effect" (*Verfremdungs-effekt*) and "epic," the result was a certain spaciousness that allowed audiences to contemplate ideas that might form a basis for decisions in real life. Although Brecht, with his Marxist orientation, derided religious piety, his work seems to lie within a biblical tradition of prophecy in its analysis of an era and its denunciation of the destructive forces within society

PERFORMANCE THEATER. An important result of the competition given to theater by film and television has been the recognition by innovative theorists and practitioners that theater is not necessarily an art of representation. Instead, leading innovators began to view theater as an art of performance that focuses upon the actuality of the performer's existence and the interaction between the performer, the other performers, and the spectators. There have been attempts to work from an aesthetic of actuality rather than one of imitation. This awareness, and the techniques of performance associated with it, tend to move theater in the direction of ritualization and thus bring to the surface one of its more important yet hidden connections with religion.

For this reason, it may be argued that there has been no more significant development in the relation between theater and religion in the twentieth century than the experimental theater movement of the 1960s and 1970s. The most influential exponent of this movement was Jerzy Grotowski, founder of the Polish Laboratory Theater. The notion of theater as religious ritual has become more explicit for many of Grotowski's successors. Peter Brook has acknowledged the inspiration of G. I. Gurdjieff, also a major influence for Grotowski. Inspired by yogans and dervishes, Gurdjieff's concept of theater was that of a spiritual quest employing movement and music to achieve enlightenment. Brook turned increasingly to an exploration of religious themes, including performance adaptations of Ṣūfī poetry and a spectacular dramatization of the Hindu epic, *Mahābhārata*. Brook's 1998 production about a Russian mnemonist, *Je suis un Phénomène,* implied, according to the London *Times,* "that the brain remains unknowable and exists in relation to yet more imponderable issues to do with friendship, God and death" (quoted in Moffitt, 1999, p. 164). Indeed, the intensity of such work necessitates the formation of quasi- or actual religious communities of performers who often abandon the role of entertainer in favor of both improving technical skills and finding an absolute immediacy of the performing gesture in a quest for a transcendent awareness.

One such troupe, Dzieci (Polish for "children"), founded by Grotowski disciple Matt Mitler in 1999, is "dedicated to a search for the 'sacred' through the medium of theater." Carrying this idea to pastoral lengths, Dzieci regularly visits patients in hospitals, where moments of nonverbal interaction result in therapy for the patient, learning for the performer, and transcendent awareness for both. In the course of developing a theater project inspired by Aldous Huxley's *Devils of Loudun,* the Dzieci troupe stumbled upon the idea of creating a Fool's Mass, which has become its signature piece, performed repeatedly in various church settings. The performers wear vestments not of priests but of medieval bedlam idiots who are called upon by circumstance to celebrate a Mass even though they do not know how. Moving easily between the sublime and the ridiculous, drawing its audience through laughter toward participation and contemplation, the work resists being categorized as either theater or religion, becoming both at once in an event experienced by many as transformative. As they stand beside these grotesque characters in prayer, worshippers begin to participate in the liturgy with new understanding.

AFRICAN AMERICAN THEATER. African American religion in the United States, unlike the religion of most white Americans, has made a direct artistic contribution to the theater, largely because worship in African American churches has retained a vigorous performance tradition. Narrative recitation in African American preaching, for example, is theatrical in the deepest sense of the word. Music and rhythm provide the structure of the service, and dancing often occurs. The religious service aims at a visible experiential encounter between the suppliants and a God who provides security, dignity, and freedom.

There has also been a close connection between African American church music and music performed for entertainment in clubs and theaters. In the commercial theater, this connection has been manifest in many productions, among them Langston Hughes's *Tambourines to Glory* (1949), with gospel music by Jobe Huntley, and *Black Nativity* (1961), as well as Vinette Carroll's *Your Arms Too Short to Box with God* (1975). Lee Breuer's *The Gospel at Colonus* (1983) is a powerful musical with a book drawn from Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus, Oedipus Rex,* and *Antigone.* This text was sung, orated, and preached as if it were part of an African American church service. Here gospel music, African American preaching, an avant-garde approach to theater, and the ritual basis of Greek theater as echoed in the Sophoclean text all joined to provide a glimpse of the ecstasy that a living tradition of religious theater can provide.

CONTEMPORARY THEATER. It would be a mistake to assume that religious themes are not part of the work of the major playwrights of late twentieth and early twenty-first century. British playwright David Hare's *Racing Demon* (1990) critiques the Church of England in a wry Shavian manner. The play portrays how the kindly vicar of an inner city parish is sabotaged and ultimately ousted by the establishment and its ecclesiastical allies. In a scene reminiscent of Brecht's *Galileo,* a bishop dons his vestments as he grows ever more merciless in his condemnation of the saintly but naive vicar. At the heart of this play and Hare's *The Secret Rapture* (1988) is the question of the survival of goodness in a system of ruthless greed and exploitation.

For the inchoate characters of American writer David Rabe, religion seems a vague notion that has been mislaid in the recent past. Rabe's characters flail about in a violent, fragmented world at the mercy of moment and emotion. Although they reach out for a moral authority, they find none, and question one another helplessly and often comically. A character in Rabe's *Hurly Burly* (1985) asks, "What I'm wondering here is, you got any particularly useful, I mean, lead on this karma stuff?" Rabe's is a postmodern vision to which even existentialism can bring no comfort. The works of South African playwright Athol Fugard, including *The Island* (1973) and *Master Harold and the Boys* (1982), create a dialogue across racial and religious barriers. His plays are a combination of righteous anger and yearning for reconciliation.

The vibrancy and common elements of theater and worship in African American culture continue to produce rich results. The playwright August Wilson brings to his work a sense of spiritual continuity. Everything from African animism, slavery, and the history of the African American church appears in Wilson's symbols in plays where the ghosts are both destructive and constructive. Wilson's characters challenge one another over what has the greater power—the devil or God, oppression or loving-kindness.

African-Canadian playwright Djanet Sears deals with both feminist and racial issues in her work. In 2002 Sears wrote and directed a powerful spectacle about a young woman struggling to see God through a veil of personal tragedy. The staging incorporates dance, Caribbean and African choral elements, and perhaps classical Greek theater. Sears reached back to Shaw for the title to this work, and, in an act of cultural reappropriation, named her play *Adventures of a Black Girl in Search of God.*

CURRENT POSSIBILITIES. An expanding use of drama within liturgy itself can be expected in twenty-first-century theater. Playwrights and liturgists are turning for inspiration to the dynamics of early church drama, the mystery plays, and the work of Swedish theologian and playwright Olov Hartman. The nonecclesiastical work of Brazilian director Augusto Boal, who breaks down distinctions between audience and actor as a method of working out practical solutions to oppressive situations, may also provide a helpful resource in future liturgical and dramatic exploration. These approaches provide clues both to the enrichment of participative ritual and theater, and to the discovery of a dramatic vehicle for the proclamation of a theology of liberation.

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DREAMING, THE.

If one asks: Why do you call out before approaching a sacred site? Why do you sweep the paths clean the first time you visit the camping site of a deceased relative? Why do you click your fingers to move rain clouds? Why does the hunter not get the best part of the catch? Why do you never look directly at or speak to your mother-in-law? Why do you marry a classificatory matrilateral cross-cousin? Why do you kill an iguana by hitting it behind the ear? Why is the baby carrier rubbed with red ochre? Why do you always ask a particular relative if you can go to a certain place to hunt or gather? The first answer will most likely be, "because that's the Law," or "that's the Dreaming."

Although Aboriginal beliefs and practices are not consistent across the Australian continent, at the core is the concept of the Dreaming, a moral code that informs and unites all life. The dogma of Dreaming states that all the world is known and can be classified within the taxonomy created by the ancestral heroes whose pioneering travels gave form, shape, and meaning to the land, seas, and skies in a long-ago creative era that W. E. H. Stanner, in his classic 1962 article "Religion, Totemism, and Symbolisim," called the "founding drama" (Stanner, 1979, pp. 113–114). Here a rocky outcrop indicates the place where the ancestral dog had her puppies, there a low ridge the sleeping body of the emu; the red streaks on the cliff face recall the blood shed in a territorial dispute; ghost gums stand as mute witness to where the Lightning Brothers flashed angrily at their father Rain; the lush growth of the bush berries is the legacy of prudent care by two old grandmothers; the clear sweet water holes the home of the rainbow serpent. The water holes stay sweet and pure because the Law is followed. Sacred places, imbued with the power of the ancestral heroes, must be approached according to the Law laid down in the Dreamtime. The ritual work necessary to keep the Law alive is often called "business," and those schooled in the Law, "business men" and "business women."

DREAMINGS, RELIGION, AND TOTEMISM. Tracing the genealogy of the term *Dreaming* or *Dreamtime* has been the subject of a spirited exchange between Patrick Wolfe, in "On Being Woken Up: The Dreamtime in Anthropology and in Australian Settler Culture" (1996, pp. 197–224) and Howard Morphy in his response, "Empiricism to Metaphysics: In Defence of the Concept of the Dreamtime" (1996, pp. 163–189). While it is interesting to ascertain the first documented usage of the term, it is perhaps more important to consider the context within which terms such as Dreaming were being employed.

Ronald Berndt (1987) noted:

> The basic indicator of what is (or was traditionally) regarded as sacred, the Dreaming serves to articulate the main components of Aboriginal religion. Variously defined, this concept has its own identifying terms among differing Aboriginal groups: *alcheringa* (Aranda), *djugurba* (Western Desert), *bugari* (La Grange), *ungud* (Ungarinyin), *djumanggani* (eastern Kimberley), *wongar* (northeastern Arnhem Land), and so on. Such words are not necessarily translatable, but nearly all of them refer in one sense to a category of actions and things, mythic beings, natural species and elements, and human or human-type characters of the far distant past, the creative era, or the beginning. In addition, however, they imply a condition of timelessness. They do not refer only to the past as such but to the past in the present and into the future—a past that is believed to be eternally relevant to all living things, including human beings. (pp. 479–480)

For the most part, the observers and recorders in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were reluctant to call Aboriginal beliefs and practices "religion." They were more comfortable with concepts of "magic" and "superstition." In his 1962 article (reprinted in 1979) Stanner traced the resistance to the idea that Indigenous Australians had what might properly be called "religion." Skeptical and dogmatic pronouncements held sway. The blindness, he argued, was not that the men would not see but rather that the idea of religion without God, without creed or priests, "was organic with the European mind of the day" (1979, p. 108). In 1915, in *The Elementary Form of the Religious Life,* Émile Durkheim would write of the profoundly religious character of Aboriginal culture, and it is this notion in part that Stanner explores in his sketch of positive characteristics of Aboriginal religion. First, the world was full of signs of intent; second, at its best religion put a high worth on the human person; third, it magnified the value of life by making its conservation and renewal into a cult; fourth, it privileged the spiritual over that material domain; fifth, it was a discipline that subdued egotistical man to a sacred continuing purpose; sixth, the religious philosophy entailed assent to life's terms; and lastly, the use of symbolism in major cults inculcated a sense of mystery (1979, pp. 113–114).

Stanner's article also explored the notion of "totemism." He argued:

> What is meant by Totemism in Aboriginal Australia is always a mystical connection, expressed by symbolic devices and maintained by rules, between living persons, whether as individuals or as groups or as stocks, and other existents—their "totems"—within an ontology of life that in Aboriginal understanding depends for order and continuity on maintaining the identities ad associations which exemplify the connection. (1979, p. 128)

In 1933 A. P. Elkin proposed a threefold classification of individual totem, social totem, and cult totem. Stanner looked at four modes of acquiring a totem—dream, conceptual, augury, and descent-affiliative, but admitted that there was no satisfactory classification and much research was yet to be done.

The Ngarrindjeri of the lower Murray River translate their word *ngatji* as totem and explain its significance as "friend, countryman, and protector." *Ngatji* bring messages and reassurance that the land is indeed alive and "full of signs of intent." In central Australia ceremonial participants refer to ritual paraphernalia representing sacred places and Dreamings by kin terms. In this region Aborigines trace their relationship to the land through both mother's father and father's father. Other considerations are also important. Some are specific and individualistic, such as the place where one's forebears are buried and the place where one was born and conceived. The latter is usually reckoned by the first sensation of movement felt by the mother-to-be, the quickening around the sixteenth week of pregnancy. Both birth and conception sites are open to a degree of manipulation in that one can plan to be in a particular area when a birth is imminent, or one can choose not to acknowledge a pregnancy until near a site with which one would like to have one's child associated. Other considerations are more general and community based, centering on ties of kinship and ritual sharing or exchange. People also have sentimental ties to the places where they worked and lived. These are the places they know, and in Aboriginal society it is only with knowledge of the ways of the land that one may assert a right to use that land and tell the stories of the Dreaming.

Bearing Witness. It is only since the late 1970s, with the presentation of evidence from Aboriginal witnesses in land claims brought under the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act,* 1976, the *Aboriginal and Torres Straits Islander Heritage Protection Act,* 1984, and the *Native Title Act,* 1993, that Aboriginal voices have been given primacy in defining their relationships to land and their Dreamings. However, the constraints of the Australian law that seeks to "recognize" traditional ties to land specifies that to be granted title to the land of their ancestors, the claimants must meet the criteria of traditional ownership enshrined in legislation. What has happened is that a once-dynamic, negotiable, accommodating, and integrative set of beliefs and practices has been rendered static by statute. The assertion by indigenous Australians that their Law remains unchanged has been taken as a lived reality by Anglo law, and those who cannot measure up to early written records are deemed to have "lost" their culture or to have fabricated it. For a number of reason, accounts of the Dreaming were not recorded by nineteenth- and early twentieth-century observers and when recorded were presented as myths and "just so" stories rather than understood as religion.

In a central Australian land claim brought by the Kaytej, Warlpiri, and Warlmanpa in 1981, three women, Nampijinpa, Napurrula, and Nungarrayi, cooperated in explaining about their Dreamings, or Yawakayi (meaning bush berry), in the country of Waake and Wakulpu, southwest of Tennant Creek (Transcript of Evidence, pp. 175–191). The witnesses were careful to locate the Dreamings in place and in relationship to each other and to themselves. Their conversational style draws the audience into this account of the founding drama, and the repetition underscores the moral lessons being imparted. They were there to bear witness to the fact that none had ventured onto the territory or knowledge of another. Although the narrators mention secrets of the Dreamings, the story has been told in a public context and may be shared with persons not bound by the Law.

> *Yawakayi* comes from Waake and went to visit his brother as Wakulpu, the other one comes from Yanganpali [Wauchope]. He stopped at the soakages along the way . . . at Warnku, he was just sitting in the shade . . . There is a creek there . . . Then he got up and went straight to Wakulpu . . . The one from Waake, he stopped at Jajilpernange, Wulpuje. His brother at Wakulpu told him to go straight back. There was one *Yawakayi* who was sitting by himself at Wakulpu. He was sitting by himself. His name was Amberanger. He was the oldest brother. That is his secret name. That is the Dreaming's own name. The other *Yawakayi* came and was asking this one. "Nambinyindu?" which means, "What name are you?" "I am food, I am vegetable food. What about you?" He refused to answer. He made a sign which means, "I don't know. I don't want to let on." "I said mine. I'm hungry." What they were doing [Napurrula explained], is calling each other's secret names. Another name was Yarrirnti. "You can be Yarrirnti," he answered. "What about you?" He then said, "I am Wakuwarlpa" which is a fruit like *yawakayi.* These two Yawakayi were asking each's secret names and also for secret places that they held [Napurrula ex-

> plained]. That is all, and then he went back—the one who was visiting from Wakulpu . . . to Waake . . . back to Waake. The one who was at Wakulpu stayed living there permanently. He stayed there and that is it . . . and the one who came from Wauchope . . . he was staying there, where that house, that hotel at Wauchope is. He went from there, from Wauchope, he went to Warnku from Wauchope. He went from Warnku where there is a swamp and he slept there, at Wirlilunku. That is the name of the swamp where the Dreaming camped . . . then he went in at Wakuplu for ever. He entered the ground. The soakages of Wakulpu, Kirlartakurlangu. Wirlilunku, a swamp, Jarnapajinijini, Amarralungku, Martunkunya, Kungku, Alajiyte, Kunanyirre, all Yawakayi places.

The women continued to name the places the Dreaming visited, but as they neared the boundary of their country, one said, "Stop there. We're getting too close to someone else's country."

What were the responsibilities of these women as the descendents of these Dreamings? Nungarrayi explained:

> We do that *yawulyu* for Wakulpu all the time. We make the country good . . . for fruit. So it will grow up well, so we can make it green, so that we can hold the Law forever. My father told me to hold it always this way. So I go on holding *yawulyu* for the country. . . . Sometime we dance, man and women together . . . For Wakulpu. So we can "catch him up," "hold him up."

Knowledge of the Dreamings is passed down the generations through song, ceremony, and ritual designs and through being in the country of one's ancestors. When it is shared, the correct people must be present to make sure the Law is followed and to bear witness should any challenge as to the propriety of ceremonies arise.

DREAMINGS AND ART. It is partly through the growing popularity of Aboriginal art and endeavors such as the exhibit entitled Dreamings at the Asia Society in New York in 1987 that the concept of the Dreamings has reached an international audience. There is a long tradition of illustrating Aboriginal Dreamtime stories for a popular audience such as *The Dreamtime: Australian Aboriginal Myths in Paintings* by Ainslie Roberts with text by Charles P. Mountford. This and similar collections of "myths and legends" pandered to Anglo sensibilities rather than reflecting Indigenous storytelling modes. But now Indigenous artists are speaking directly to their audiences. In *Kuruwarri: Yuendumu Doors* Dreaming stories referring to more than two hundred sites are presented in Warlpiri and English. The 1983 project involved five artists painting thirty doors at the Yuendumu settlement school with Dreaming designs. They negotiated the content with other Warlpiri men and women who also collectively owned the designs. Their goal was to teach their children, but the doors, now unhinged, are owned by the South Australian Museum and have traveled widely.

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY. The Law is inscribed on the land and encoded in relationships that are testimony to the continuance of the Law. The Law binds people, flora, fauna, and natural phenomena into one enormous interfunctional world. It is the responsibility of the living to give form and substance to this heritage in their daily routines and their ceremonial practices; to keep the Law, to visit the sites, to use the country, and to enjoy its bounty. It is in the living out of the Dreamtime heritage, particularly in the ceremonial domain, that we see how the past is negotiated in the present, how men and women position themselves vis-à-vis each other and vis-à-vis the Law. The common core of knowledge of the Dreamtime concerns knowledge of ancestral activities (the major sites and their Dreaming affiliations), the rights of the living descendents, and the responsibilities of the ritual bosses of the particular business. It is a structural grid onto which people, place, and relatedness are mapped.

It is through ceremonial activity that men and women give form to their distinctive interpretation of the heritage. Thus, although the dogma of Dreaming states that the Law continues unchanged and immutable, the living shape and negotiate beliefs and practices. In most parts of Australia there is a taboo on calling the names of the dead. When an important ceremonial leader dies, songs, designs, place names, and ritual paraphernalia associated with him or her will also become taboo. This knowledge will eventually come back into circulation through the dream of a person who stands in the right relationship to the songs, dances, and places to be able to carry on the Law.

In an oral culture the Law can be given meaning only through the expressions of the living. As long as one has contact with the land and control over sacred sites, the Dreamtime, as an ever present, all-encompassing Law, can be asserted to be a reality. But land, as the central tablet, the sacred text, is no longer under Aboriginal control across the country. Accounts of the Dreaming reflect these altered circumstances, and in the accounts of contact with the colonizers and the changing use of land, Indigenous Australians have attempted to contain the changes, to assimilate the intruders, and thus make them amenable to their law. The narratives of travels through the country of the ancestors, of family, and of outsiders now meld details of the ruptures in relations to the Dreamings and to country with those of continuing connectedness asserted with the past.

Although each song, dance, and design bears the stamp of its finder, the dogma of Dreaming that entails this necessary and continuous process of reinvention ensures that only one person may claim to be an individually inspired creator: Living persons may only assert and reaffirm the law and act as the custodians of knowledge of the Dreaming. The process of reinvention is necessary because of the taboos on a person's property at death. It is continuous because the Dreamings must be shown to have continuity and people to have access to that power. Renewal depends on access to country. Over the generations a song that referred to a specific incident will become shrouded in oblique references, intelligible only to the contemporaries of the person depicted in the song or design. However, once the reference is no longer to a particular person but to a subsection, the song becomes part of a more general repertoire of ancestral activity in the area. Ultimately, it will concern the ancestors themselves. In *Daughters of the Dreaming* Diane Bell traces the way in which a song that began as a reference to a specific event becomes assimilated into the general body of Dreaming activity (2002, pp. 92–94).

Fred Myers (1986, pp. 64–68), writing of the Pintupi of central Australia, describes the process of deductive reasoning by which landscape is assimilated to narrative structure and the underlying impulse to find explanations within the framework of known stories for anomalous formations is satisfied. Ian Keen (1994, pp. 296–297), writing of the Yolngu of Arnhem Land, a people whose stories have become the standard references in the study of religion, points out, "Yolngu assimilated introduced ritual forms to their own mythology and interpreted old forms in terms of mythologised newcomers." Robert Tonkinson, writing of the religious life of the Mardudjara of the Western Desert, identifies "four related aspects of its internal dynamism" (1978, p. 113).

In the southeast, where ties to land have been disrupted and knowledge of ancestral activity has been challenged, people still validate Stanner's 1962 edict: "Aborgines thought the world full of signs to men: they transformed the signs into assurances of mystical providence; and they conceived life's design as fixed by the founding drama" (1979, pp. 113–114). For the Ngarrindjeri the land is still alive with signs of intent, foreboding, and significance. The *ngatji* (totems), such as Ritjuruki, the little willy wagtail bird, and Nori, the pelican, bring messages. The past is constantly being refound and reincorporated into the present, albeit a radically altered one.

As Keen (1994) argued, rather that trying to record changes to a "traditional" order, we should "trace trajectories of transformation in relations, powers, trends, events, and the forms into which people try to shape their worlds" (p. 297).

HISTORY AND DREAMINGS. One debate concerning the relationship between history and myth has been pursued with some vigor by Steven Hemming in "River Murray Histories" (1995) and Philip Clarke in "Myth as History?" (1995) with reference to the Ngurunderi exhibit in the South Australia museum in the mid-1990s. To be sure, some narratives are grounded in history. For example one of the major creative heroes of the Lower Murray River, Ngurunderi, is said to have called out in the voice of thunder to his escaping wives. As they ran into the Southern Ocean, the seas rose and separated the land from the nearby islands. The bodies of the fleeing wives can be seen as the rocky islands known as The Pages. If this is to read as history, the story recalls events of 6,000 to 10,000 BCE when Kangaroo Island was cut off from the mainland and the sea rose to near present levels.

Several Dreamings are associated with the opening on the Murray River mouth to the sea. In one, Thukapi, a pregnant turtle, looking for a place to lay her eggs, drags her swollen body to the sea and pushes open a channel for the river waters to flow into the sea. In another complex of stories, the creative hero Ngurunderi creates the landscape. The actual location of the Murray mouth does shift, silt up, and change shape. The multiplicity of myths reflects the changing nature of the land itself.

At one level the Dreaming is an era shrouded in the mists of time from which people claim to be descended without actually tracing the links. Information concerning past generations is difficult to locate on a chronological scale because there is a taboo on calling the names of the dead. This is often given as a reason for the shallowness of genealogies, patrilines, matrilines, and so on. Such an explanation is tautological. It is more pertinent to recognize that the remembering of a unique name and exact dates adds little to Aboriginal understanding and perceptions of the past. What is stressed when identifying a person, alive or dead, is their relationship to others, their Dreaming affiliations, and their ritual associations. In this way it is possible to locate every person as a unique individual: no two persons share exactly the same social rituals and kin field. Siblings are perhaps the closest. To say "our grandparents were siblings" is sufficient to bind two people as sharing the same Dreaming, rights, and responsibilities.

The shallowness of genealogical memory is not a form of cultural amnesia but rather a way of focusing on the basis of all relationships—that is, the Dreaming and relationships to the land. By not naming deceased relatives, people are able to stress a relationship directly to the Dreaming. It is not necessary to trace back through many generations to a founding ancestor to make a claim. By stating that a person is of a certain country, usually by reference to a grandparent who was from the area, the identity of a person is known.

Relations to country that underpin relationships between people are evident also in the way people refer to ritual objects. During a ceremony it is not unusual to hear participants refer to a sacred object that represents a particular ancestor, Dreaming track, or sacred site as "mother," father," or "aunty."

At another level the Dreaming is only two generations behind the present generation, moving concurrently with the present, its heritage entrusted to the "old people," to the deceased grandparents. It is this aspect of the Dreaming that makes any attempt to establish an ethnographic baseline an uneasy enterprise. The Dreaming is not a long dead and fixed point of reference. It is a living and accessible force in the lives of people today, just as it was in the past. Here, then, is the structural potential for change, the Indigenous mode of incorporating change within their cosmos.

Those who give form and substance to the Dreaming live increasingly divergent lifestyles from those envisaged as correct in the Dreaming of a century or two ago. People no longer live in small mobile bands but on large settlements and outstations, in towns and fringe camps, on cattle stations (ranches), and in the cities. They no longer subsist by hunting and gathering but have become members of the cash economy. People are no longer independent producers but rely on wage labor and social security. New items have been accommodated in the ceremonies that bring forth the Dreamings. Wooden digging sticks are now metal crowbars, car springs are used as adzes. These incorporations are seamless. Other resources can be brought under the control of the Dreaming law by classifying them within the subsection system. Thus, one's car may be known as a particular relative and be painted for ceremony with Dreaming motifs. Even residence in a new territory can eventually be legitimated once evidence is found of Dreamtime activity in the locality. Being born on the country, even if it is not that of one's grandparents, confers some rights that will strengthen over several generations of residence, births, and burials in an area. The Law is not challenged by certain changes, but others such as alcohol present significant problems.

The twin notions of an ideologically fixed universe and a structural potential for change through actual behavior are not irreconcilable rather; they allow one to maintain a secure position known to be underpinned by the Law while leaving room to respond within particular constraints. Stanner (1966, p. 169) put it well when he wrote, "They attained stability but avoided inertia." It is possible to establish how life ought to be lived and to be relatively certain that in these values there is continuity with the past. It is somewhat more difficult to determine what is or was the actual behavioral content of the Law as applied or acted upon in any given situation, unless one has actual documented observations.

SEE ALSO Australian Indigenous Religions, overview article; Ecology and Religion, article on Ecology and Indigenous Traditions; Law and Religion, article on Law and Religion in Indigenous Cultures.

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DREAMS.

The category of dreams designates both sleeping and imaginal states of consciousness together with waking descriptions and other representations of these states. Sleeping consciousness includes healing dreams, prophetic dreams, archetypal dreams, nightmares, and lucid dreams. Imaginal consciousness includes guided fantasies known as waking dreams, omens, and visions.

Dreaming is both a sleeping and a waking experience that is activated whenever energy flows inward toward the spiritual and intellectual senses rather than outward toward the worldly and perceptual senses. When one falls into a trance or falls asleep, the worldly senses vanish inside, the everyday mind stops functioning, and one is sleeping. After a period of nothingness, the mind begins to function again, and dreaming begins. As this happens one slowly moves from private sensations, personal memories, images, and symbols to transpersonal imagining as an interactive social process.

THE CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF DREAMS.

From the earliest times sleeping dreams and waking visions have been of considerable interest to humankind. Dream narratives have also been examined to learn how members of different cultures categorize and use their dreams. Some researchers have shown both the tactical use of dreams in social interaction and the cultural influences on dream content. Others have chosen not to focus their attention on dream narratives or social context but rather to use dreams to investigate psychological issues, such as personality and values.

Before Sigmund Freud published *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900), scholars described dreams as the ultimate source of religious beliefs concerning the supernatural and the nature of the human soul. After Freud's book, many people followed him in separating the nature of the dream experience, or the "manifest dream," from the so-called real meaning of the experience, which he labeled the "latent dream." The manifest dream content is investigated with the help of a dreamer's associations to the key elements in the dream that are traced to the dreamer's hidden or latent thoughts, consisting of a combination of wishes and conflicts. The manifest dream content—though often distorted, disguised, or presented in metaphorical form—and the latent dream content are in turn linked to a distinction between two modes of thought: primary and secondary process. Primary process consists of nonlogical symbolic imagery, whereas secondary process is predominantly verbal and logical.

A number of researchers who were interested in the cross-cultural study of dreams utilized Freudian concepts and methodologies. Some, however, remained skeptical and tested the key hypotheses. Others ignored the approach altogether. Those who followed Freud's psychoanalytic theories and methods argued that similar latent contents—including incestuous family attachments, sibling rivalry, anxiety about maternal separation, and fear of castration—are revealed in dream reports gathered in vastly different cultures. The ethnographer Anthony Wallace (1958) even described the Iroquois of North America as having independently invented their own psychoanalytic techniques of dream interpretation.

Other researchers employed one or more of the following Freudian methodologies in working with dreams:

1. eliciting associations to dream images as they are related,
2. focusing on an element containing a metaphorical key to the meaning of the dream,
3. asking for the previous day's events connected with the dream,
4. allowing the subject to freely associate to the dream.

The ethnographer Dorothy Eggan (1966), for example, did not press her Hopi consultants for the previous day's residue or free associations but allowed them to take the initiative in dream telling and free association. The psychoanalyst Géza Róheim (1952), on the other hand, obtained associations from Australian Aborigines for each dream episode and elicited personal anecdotes, myths, and songs. Because he was focused on the infantile wish rather than on current conflicts, he suggested that an analyst need only be familiar with the simple factual knowledge required to follow the manifest narrative content of a dream.

The psychoanalytically trained ethnographer Waud Kracke (1979) disagreed with Róheim, noting that in order to understand what a person's dreams reveal about his or her personality it is necessary to learn the language of dreaming within that individual's culture. Researchers who use a psychoanalytic approach to dreams often combine it with an ethnographic approach to the culture in order to probe both the psychological and the cultural significance of dreams. Visionary or prophetic dreams, for example, often transform the psyche of the dreamer, and they may be a source of inspiration for the founding of new religions and charismatic movements as well as for triggering anticolonialist revolts. Would-be prophets commonly experience revelatory dreams that underlie both their personal access to charismatic power and their spiritual message. Examples include the origins of the Dream and Ghost Dances of Native North America as well as Melanesian cargo cults and Japanese new religions (Michelson, 1923; Burridge, 1960; Fabian, 1966; Worsley, 1968; Franck, 1975; Lanternari, 1975; Stephen, 1979).

Freud's hypothesis concerning type dreams states that the same manifest content—for example, flying, climbing, or the loss of a tooth—reveals identical latent meanings across cultures. Charles Seligman (1923) tested this idea by publishing a request for British colonial officials and missionaries to send him records of native dreams. He believed that if type dreams of the Freudian sort were found frequently in this data base, then the human unconscious was qualitatively so alike worldwide that it constituted a common store on which fantasy might draw. His store metaphor points to the objectifying notion of dream symbolism as a simple trait that might be measured or weighed by colonial officials. It ignores the importance of communicative context both within these cultures and in the negotiation of reality between colonial administrators and indigenous peoples. This lack of sensitivity to the context and manner in which one conducts research is also true for the Navajo research of Jackson Steward Lincoln (1935). He ignored the influence of social setting on his own collection of dreams: transactions that took place at the Black Mountain Trading Post.

While Seligman and Lincoln found that similar sorts of dreams occurred worldwide, the Freudian premise that universal type dreams should mean the same thing everywhere they occurred was never tested empirically until Benjamin Kilborne (1978) asked a group of Moroccan dream interpreters to explain the meaning of a set of fifteen dreams he culled from Freud. Kilborne found that whereas Freud treated dream reports as analyzable structures requiring secondary associations before they could be adequately interpreted, Moroccans did not make an analyzable entity of either the dream or the context of interpretation. Thus in a woman's dream of a deep pit in a vineyard created when a tree was removed, which Freud used as a classic example of a female castration dream, Moroccan dream interpreters focused primarily on the pit, leaving out the tree, or else focused on the tree, leaving out the pit. In the first instance the pit was described as representing a trap for the dreamer, whereas in the second case the tree represented a good person who died. Whereas the Freudian explanation of dream symbols draws on the notion of universal latent content, the Moroccan explanation centers on the dreamer's social position.

Although most dream researchers chose the Freudian path of analysis, a few, including John Layard (1988), Vera Bührmann (1982), and Lawrence Petchkovsky (1984), followed Carl Jung. The sharpest disagreement between the Freudians and the Jungians centers on Freud's hypothesis that the manifest dream is simply a disguise of the latent dream that embodies an infantile erotic wish. Jung (1974) argued that images in dreams reflect the structure of psychological complexes in the personal unconscious that rest upon archetypal cores in the psyche and are subject to the individuating force of the self.

Dreaming encourages a variety of attitudes and responses: pragmatic, cognitive, and spiritual. The pragmatics of dreaming centers on the tactical use of dreams and visions in dream sharing, social interaction, and healing. A cognitive response focuses on expectations concerning the theoretical nature of dreaming and dream interpretation systems together with the languages of dream telling. Spiritual approaches to dreaming combine symbolic, mythic, and ritual elaborations of consciousness. Although these responses overlap, the following sections introduce them one after the other.

THE PRAGMATICS OF DREAMING. Deciding which dreams to share, how, and with whom are important issues. Informal dream telling upon awakening with members of one's immediate family is found in all societies. More formal public dream sharing, although it is far less common, also occurs in many places. However, the significance given to the act of dream sharing, whether formal or informal, varies markedly from one society to another. In some societies people place a high value on both the personal and the public use of the many forms of dreaming, including waking dreams, lucid dreams, visions, and nightmares. In other societies dreaming is regarded as insignificant and is given limited importance or even ignored. Epistemological differences between these attitudes toward dreaming are evident when people relate their life stories.

Many Amerindian societies, for example, honor dreaming and construct personal biographies around dreams and visions. The Lakota holy man Black Elk, when he first met his biographer John Neihardt (1932), immediately shared his power dreams with him. Likewise in Chile, when the Mapuche shaman Tomasa first met Lydia Degarrod (1990), she shared her power dreams and visions. In northern California and Oregon there were in the past, and in some cases there remain, organized schools of shamans in which novices shared their dreams with their teachers. After listening carefully to the novices' dreams, the teachers encouraged them to receive specific types of dreams or visions that allowed them to heal patients.

For Mayans in Mexico and Central America it is routine to awaken one's spouse or other sleeping partner in the middle of the night to narrate a dream (Tedlock, 1992, p. 120). Parents also ask their children each morning about their dreams. In most of these societies, even though there may be no recognized dream interpreters, dreams and dream interpretations of respected elders are taken seriously. Children's dreams, while they are always given the benefit of interpretation, have little effect on adult's actions. Other societies urge their children to experience and report certain types of culturally approved dreams and visions that help them to allay anxiety and bring them power and prestige. In yet other cultures parents carefully monitor their children's dream reports lest they begin receiving nightmares. If a youngster receives such dreams, the parents do what they can to alter them by taking the child into the mountains, where they ask that person's spirit to stay away.

The first issue in dream sharing is to categorize the dream as to its type: good or bad, lucky or unlucky. Once this has been decided, a dreamer chooses whether or not to tell the dream. This depends on a combination of personal preference and wider cultural patterns. At Zuni Pueblo in western New Mexico, for example, the dreams that are immediately told are only those that are considered to be "bad," in that dead people appear and attempt to lure the dreamer to visit the Land of the Dead (Tedlock, 1992, p. 118). The way Zunis prevent the completion of such nightmares is to tell them while inhaling the fumes of a burning piñon branch, then to plant feathered prayer sticks for the ancestors asking them not to appear. If the dream is frightening, the dreamer may even ask for a ceremonial whipping at the hands of a masked ancestral figure. Such whippings remove the bad thoughts and turn them around, reversing their meaning. Good dreams, on the other hand, are not reported until they have been "completed," in other words until they have come true.

Among Quechua speakers in the Peruvian Andes, dreams are premonitory of the day's events (Mannheim, 1992, p. 145). If you experience a bad dream, when you get out of bed in the morning you should step on the left instead of on the right foot. Then before telling anyone your dream, you must find a young sheep or llama and recount the dream to the animal then spit in its mouth three times saying, "Disappear, disappear, disappear."

In China from the earliest times the nature of dreams—whether lucky or unlucky—was considered to be determined by the spirits (Fang and Zhang, 2000). During the Zhou dynasty (c. 1150–256 BCE) the emperors practiced rituals to solicit lucky dreams and to avoid unlucky dreams. Texts containing charms to help one avoid bad dreams or turn them into good dreams were eventually written down. *The New Collection Zhou Gong's Dream Interpretations* (Tang dynasty, c. 618–907 CE), for example, explains that those who have evil dreams should not tell anyone. When they rise in the morning they should instead write on a piece of paper "Red sunshine, the sun rises in the east." If they read this charm three times and place it under their beds, the ghosts will immediately flee.

After a dream is categorized, it can be enacted or interpreted in various ways. Jungians and certain other dream workers regard one's dream images as aspects of the self.

Thus all of the symbols within a dream are "translated" into words upon waking and are shared later during an analytic session or dream-group meeting. During this period the dreamer, with the help of the analyst or facilitator, moves into the inner space of the dream and brings out or elaborates the dream events, often amplifying them through mythic or visual similarities, rhymes, or wordplays.

K'iche' Mayans handle their dreams in a similar but slightly different manner. Unlike Western dream enthusiasts, Mayans do not wait for the dream to end to integrate it. Instead they begin during the process of dreaming whenever an important mythic symbol appears. If they miss this opportunity, they wait for a later dream when the symbol recurs in a somewhat different form. At that time the dreamer awakens slightly, cognitively enters the dreamscape, and interrogates each and every symbol as it appears, one after the other, so that each reveals its true nature. This practice, called "completing the dreaming," is similar to both Dream Yoga and lucid dreaming.

DREAMING, COGNITION, AND INTERPRETATION. The dichotomy between dreaming as an internal subjective reality and waking as an external objective reality, together with a devaluation of dreaming, is an inheritance from the ancient Greeks, most especially from Aristotle. He dismissed dreams as nothing but mental pictures that, like reflections in water, are not the real objects. This idea was elaborated at the end of the Middle Ages, when the notion of the person as having a soul or spirit that could temporarily leave the body during dreaming became heretical. Whereas dreaming was already devalued within the West by the time of the emergence of naturalistic or scientific thought, it was not until the development of Cartesian dualism in the seventeenth century that dreams were firmly placed within the realm of fantasy or irrational experience.

It must be remembered, however, that the irreducible dualism of "spirit" and "matter," which denies the common principle from which the terms of this duality proceed by a process of polarization, was a historical development within Western philosophy. A majority of the world's peoples have not focused their thinking around oppositionalism and thus have not isolated dreaming within the "unreal" realm of spirit. Rather, it is a rationalist proposition that dreaming is somehow a more subjective, false, private, illusory, or transient reality than the more objective, true, public, real, or permanent reality of waking life.

This difference in attitudes toward dreaming is demonstrated by a set of interchanges between Rarámuri Indians living in northern Mexico and the ethnographer William Merrill (1992). Merrill noted that he was frustrated when on numerous occasions people described to him incredible personal experiences but failed to mention that the events had taken place in dreams until he specifically asked. Another researcher living in a Tzeltal Mayan community in Chiapas, Mexico, noted that since dream events were deeply integrated into conscious behavior, it was often difficult for her to decide whether a person was referring to an actual occurrence or to a dream (Hermitte, 1964, p. 183). A third ethnographer who was editing a Tzotzil Mayan's life story reported that she found herself asking him over and over again whether a particular event he was describing occurred in conscious waking life or in a dream while he was sleeping (Guiteras Holmes, 1961, pp. 256–257).

During fieldwork at Zuni Pueblo in western New Mexico, Barbara Tedlock sometimes found it difficult to tell whether a person was narrating a nighttime dream or a waking experience. When she asked a middle-aged man whether he ever had dreams that foretold the future, he answered: "Yes, awhile back a sheep herder found a dead rabbit, badly torn up, and he cooked and ate it. Later on the man was thrown from a burro, his foot caught in the stirrup, and he was dragged around in some rocks. When his partner found him, he was all tore up, dead" (Tedlock, 1973 field notes).

Instead of narrating one of his own dream experiences, this man related a waking omen. Thus although there are separate terms in the Zuni language to distinguish dreaming from the perception of omens, the fact that the rabbit was eaten in life rather than in a dream seemed to be a matter of indifference to the narrator. Either way, the incident of the rabbit portended the incident with the burro. This blending of waking omens and sleeping dream signs into a single category of premonitions is found more generally among Amerindians.

This remarkable creative potentiality of dreaming occurs because dreams are a way of thinking and of organizing knowledge. At some level all people believe this, as is revealed by the common saying "I'll have to sleep on that decision." At the same time people often profess the belief that dreams are meaningless fantasies or confused mental imaginings with little truth value. This ambivalence arises from the educational system that teaches that only fully conscious rational thoughts can provide true knowledge. Nevertheless people also believe that irrational, or better yet nonrational, unconscious thoughts or intuitions are a sign of "genius."

THE LANGUAGE OF DREAMING. It has been suggested that dreaming is the original native tongue, a common language shared by all human beings. However, when discussing dreams, people often neglect the important fact that in any given society the language or languages spoken deeply affect the perception and narration of dreams. Both the structure of the language and its available vocabulary help to channel the imagination of dreamers. Thus within a number of languages, including French, Italian, K'iche' Mayan, and Xavante, the verb stem for dreaming is transitive, indicating that a dreamer acts upon or "makes" something while dreaming. In other languages, such as English, German, Spanish, Zuni, Kalapalo, and Egyptian hieroglyphics, the verb stem used to describe the process of dreaming is intransitive, indicating that dreaming is a passive state of being, that one simply "has" or "sees" a dream. This difference underscores the variable attention paid to dreaming as a passive observation by a dreamer and dreaming as an active experience of the dreamer's soul, psyche, or self.

In dream telling a dreamer's source of knowledge or authority as a narrator is also marked grammatically. Wherever dreaming is conceived as involving the actions of the soul rather than of the dreamer's ego, third-person singular forms are used. Epistemological concern with a dreamer's source of knowledge or authority is often marked grammatically. On the Northwest Coast of Canada Kwakiutl speakers use a suffix that indicates that the action of the verb occurred in a dream. There is also another suffix meaning apparently, seemingly, and it seems like as well as in a dream. Since these two suffixes include adverbial and conjunctional ideas possessing a strong subjective element, they are categorized as word suffixes and are placed in a single classification expressing the sources of subjective knowledge. As a grammatical category these suffixes indicating events known only indirectly have been classified by linguists as *evidentials*. There are several kinds of evidentials—tense particles, adverbs, and quotatives—that require the speaker to adopt a particular stance toward the truth value of an utterance.

The use of evidentials demonstrates major epistemological differences among various traditions. In a number of cultures report forms consisting of verbs as well as particles indicate that the preceding or following utterance is an animation of the speech of a deity, ancestor, or other supernatural. In these examples there is no distinction, as there is in English, between direct discourse that is faithful to the wording and indirect discourse that is faithful to the meaning. Instead, for many peoples there appears to be an irreducible dialectic between linguistic structure, practice, and ideology. It also reveals the existence of separate dream interpretation codes for lay dreamers and professional dream interpreters within the same society. Only people who have been trained as dream interpreters use the quotative.

Psychologists of both psychoanalytic and cognitive bents have read anthropology to compare the dreams of preliterate, tribal, traditional, or peasant peoples with their own findings concerning the dreams of literate, urban, modern, or industrial peoples. This dichotomy, however, denies people living in other cultures contemporaneity with industrial peoples. Instead of using typological time to create and set off an object of study, such as "tribal dreaming," cultural anthropologists have become interested in intersubjective time in which all of the participants involved are coeval or share the same time. This focus on communicative processes among people living in the same time but in vastly different cultures demands that coevalness not only be created and maintained in the field but also that it is carried over during the write-up process. Robert Dentan (1986), while discussing the principle of contraries in which dreams indicate the opposite of what they seem, noted that practitioners of this type of dream interpretation include such widely separated peoples as Ashanti, Malays, Maori, Semai, Zulu, Polish American schoolgirls, and psychoanalysts. In other words Euro-Americans share this principle of dream interpretation with people living in faraway, exotic places.

This underlying sameness in human cognition is also stressed within structuralism. A structural approach to dreaming demonstrates that dreams, like myths, constitute a set of systematic transformations of a single structure consisting of a set of oppositions representing a dilemma or conflict facing a dreamer. Philippe Descola (1989), in research among Jivaroan people in South America, found that the individual unconscious and the collective unconscious are related less by contiguity or universal archetypes than by use of encoding devices for the diversity of reality within elementary systems of relationships. He noted that, like structualists, indigenous dream interpreters emphasize the logical operations through which symbols are connected and suggests that a comparative grammar of dreams is needed that might elucidate how various cultures choose and combine a set of rules or codes for dream interpretation.

The turn away from treating non-Western dreams as totally other, fully knowable objects to be gathered, analyzed, tabulated, and compared with Western dreams toward paying attention to the problematics of dream communication and interpretation worldwide has occurred within anthropology for several reasons. First, ethnographers came to distrust survey research in which "data" is gathered for the purpose of testing Western theories concerning universals in human psychology. Cross-cultural content analysis, in which statistical assertions about dream patterns within particular ethnic groups or genders were the goal, have been critiqued by anthropologists. There are several reasons for this, including the fact that sample surveys aggregate respondents who are deeply distrustful of the researcher with those who are not, as if suspicion made no difference whatsoever in the validity of their replies. Further, a comparativist focus on the extractable contents, underlying structure, or cognitive grammar of a dream report not only omits important phenomena, such as pacing, tones of voice, gestures, and audience responses, that accompany dream narrative performances but is also an expression of the culture of alphabetic literacy and thus is culture-bound.

Another reason for the abandonment of content analysis by most anthropologists is their formal training in linguistics, which encourages them to reject the basic assumption of aggregate statistical research, namely that meaning resides within single words rather than within their contexts. Furthermore dream symbols taken in isolation can be misleading if the researcher has not spent sufficient time observing and interacting within the culture in order to make sense of local knowledge and produce a "thick description" of that culture. Rather than interpreting the language of dream narratives in semantico-referential, context-independent terms, it is more appropriate to utilize context-dependent or pragmatic meaning.

Because of these considerations, researchers no longer set out to elicit dream reports as ethnographic objects to be used primarily as raw data for comparative hypotheses. Instead, since the attitudes toward and beliefs about dreams held by a people reveal important aspects of their worldviews, constructing a detailed ethnography of dreaming has become an important research goal. Ethnographers tape-record and transcribe verbatim dream narratives along with dreamers' interpretations. The method of ethnographic semantics, in which direct and formal questioning is used, may also be applied to ascertain how members of a particular linguistic group categorize their dreams. The goals of this methodology are to produce a taxonomic system of types of dreams, good, bad, true, false, and to reveal native dream theory and techniques of dream interpretation.

This combination of linguistic and ethnographic methodologies, applied within different domains, particularly suits contemporary cultural anthropology, which requires researchers to enter the field for extended periods of time with broad sets of research interests. By living in the community they learn the local language as well as how to interact appropriately, and they are present for various formal and informal social dramas. Sooner or later they are present when a dream is narrated within a family or to a practicing shaman or other dream interpreter. If this event attracts their attention, they make notes about it in their field journals, and they may later record other such occurrences on audio- or videotape. Once they have translated their texts, they may ask the narrator, who may or may not be the dreamer, questions about the meaning, significance, and use of the dream account.

This shift in research strategy from eliciting dozens of dreams as fixed objects to studying naturally occurring situations, such as dream sharing, representation, and interpretation, is part of a larger movement within the human sciences in which there has been a growing interest in analyses focused on practice, interaction, dialogue, experience, and performance together with the individual agents, actors, persons, selves, and subjects of all this activity. A number of new books in the human sciences display this shift from a focus on the dream as an object to the social context surrounding both the personal experience and cultural uses of dreaming (Dombeck, 1991; Parman, 1991; J'edrej and Shaw, 1992; Tedlock, 1992; Shulman and Stroumsa, 1999; Young, 1999; Lohmann, 2003).

DREAM SHARING. Lydia Degarrod (1990) recorded the majority of her subjects' dreams within a natural setting rather than by arranging formal interviews. During her research in southern Chile with the Mapuche Indians, she gathered dreams and interpretations from members of two families who were coping with serious stress caused by witchcraft and illness. Through dream sharing and interpreting, the afflicted members of the families were able to express their anxieties and externalize their illness, and other family members were able to participate in the healing of their loved ones. Degarrod hypothesized that these types of family interventions were possible due to the general belief that dreams facilitate communication with supernatural beings and due to the nature of the communal dream sharing and interpreting system that allowed the combination of elements from different individual's dreams to be related through intertextual and contextual analysis.

During her research among Australian Aboriginal peoples, Sylvie Poirier (2003) found that dreaming was closely intertwined with religious beliefs. In Western Australia, for example, dreams represent the privileged space-time of increased receptivity among individuals, the environment, and the ancestral world. Through studying local epistemology, she found that not only was the interpretation of dreams open to multiple readings depending on context but that dream experience was also a primary step in the social construction of the person. This sensitivity to the crucial importance of the social and cultural context in understanding and interpreting dreams has been elaborated by historians of religion to include the integration of dream interpretation into the culture's ontological and semiotic maps and the further integration of dream theory into culturally specific notions of personality and economies of consciousness, so that dreaming can be seen in the context of metapsychology (Shulman and Stroumsa, 1999, p. 7).

By studying dream sharing and the transmission of dream theories in their full social contexts as communicative and integrative events, including the natural dialogical interactions that take place within these events, scholars have realized that both the researcher and those who are researched are engaged in the creation of a social reality that implicates both of them. Although ethnographers have long subscribed to the method of participant observation, it still comes as a shock when they discover how important their participation is in helping to create what they are studying. Gilbert Herdt (1992) reported his surprise at discovering the therapeutic dimension of his role in New Guinea as a sympathetic listener to his key consultant, who shared with him erotic dreams that the consultant could not communicate to anyone within his own society.

Likewise the importance of the psychodynamic process of transference, or the bringing of past experiences into a current situation with the result that the present is unconsciously experienced as though it were the past, has only recently been fully realized and described for anthropology. Waud Kracke (1979), during his fieldwork with the Kagwahiv Indians of Brazil, kept a diary containing his personal reactions, dreams, and associations. In an essay discussing these field responses, Kracke not only analyzed his personal transference of his own family relationships to certain key Kagwahiv individuals but also his cultural transference of American values to Kagwahiv behavior patterns.

THE SPIRITUALITY OF DREAMING. Throughout history humans have perceived the visible world of daily living as containing an invisible essence or world of the imagination that manifests in sacred places. This may be located above, below, behind, or alongside of the everyday waking world. Melanesians picture a magical underground mirror world, in Celtic myths the Otherworld lies somewhere in the west, entered through lakes or caves, and in Korean shamanism it lies just across a river from the everyday world. During dreaming, human spirits leave the body and wander in these mythic realms, meeting and engaging with other spirits.

Dreams are perceived as an experience of the shadow, spirit, or soul. As such they are fertile ground for reflection, spiritual growth, and prophecy. Insights derived from dreams have challenged people to deepen and refine their understandings of the sacred. The process of dreaming lies at the heart of shamanism and those religions such as Daoism and Buddhism that have long intermingled with shamanism.

In shamanic cultures dreams allow increased receptivity among persons, ancestors, animals, and indeed the entire natural world. The visible entities that surround one—rocks, persons, animals, trees, leaves—are crystallizations of conscious awareness. The invisible medium between such entities is a dreamlike realm from which all conscious forms emerge. In a number of traditions the rainbow is the outside edge of dreaming, a place where the invisible potentials become manifest, and flashes of lightning are discharges from the depth of dreaming. It is through the nightly experience of dreaming that shamans learn to connect themselves to the cosmos in order to gain knowledge and power.

This shamanic approach toward dreaming is highly developed in hunting-and-gathering societies. When a hunter falls asleep, the spirit detaches itself from the body, tracks and catches a prey animal. The following morning the awakened dreamer goes into the forest to the dream place and gets his or her prey. In far northern Canada hunters explain this ability to communicate with and influence animals as the spiritual practice of "deep hope." They envision this form of dreaming as learning how to untie or lay out a straight mental-spiritual path to the goal of getting meat. In yet another form of dream hunting a person develops an amorous dream alliance with a forest spirit who becomes his or her hunting guide. The spirit falls in love with the dreamer, visiting often in dreams, and enjoys intercourse with the dreamer. This intimate relationship eventually turns the dreamer into a successful hunter. A third type of dreaming involves spirit animals who visit hunters and "sing through them" while they are sleeping, granting them special songs that ensure their later success in hunting. These types of power dreams are sources of spiritual entities, such as divine partners or spouses, attending spirits, companion animals, co-essences, or spirit doubles.

Worldwide there is a close connection between dreaming and shamanic initiation. Essie Parrish, a famous Kashaya Pomo shaman from northern California, told Tedlock one of her earliest power dreams. She was eleven years old at the time she was selected to serve her people as a healing shaman.

> As I lay asleep, a dream came to me. I heard a man singing way up in the sky. It was as if the singing entered deep into my chest, as if the song itself were singing in my voice box. Then it seemed as if I could see the man. After I awoke the song was singing in my voice box. Then I myself tried, tried to sing, and amazingly the song turned out to be beautiful. I have remembered it ever since. (Tedlock, 1972 speech to the New School)

In Myanmar (formerly Burma) a young woman dreamed repeatedly of a spirit suitor in human form. After sharing her dreams with her friends, she was encouraged by them to symbolically wed him. As an orchestra played, she performed a special dance and then entered a screened-off area where a group of women shamans waited. One of them moved a mirror back and forth in front of her face, hypnotizing her, while pressing another mirror against her back. A second woman shaman attached cotton strings to her ankles and wrists, placed a longer cord diagonally across her shoulders, and pierced her hair knot with a needle to which a cotton string was attached. As the young woman drifted into sleep, she became both the wife of the spirit and an initiated shaman. From this point onward she was not only in love with and loved by her spiritual spouse, but she also was able to transform herself into his spirit double through appropriate dress and dance gestures (Spiro, 1967, p. 322).

Within Buddhist nations, such as Myanmar, Mongolia, and Tibet, there are both clerical (written) and shamanic (oral) spiritual traditions. Whereas each accepts dreams as spiritually meaningful, the clerical tradition, in which dreaming is primarily used as an aid to achieving enlightenment, holds that dreams are examples of the empty and illusory nature of this world. In the shamanic tradition dreaming leads directly to the esoteric practice of Yoga or lucid dreaming, both of which involve cultivating and controlling one's dreams. Tibetan dream practice combines indigenous shamanic beliefs about the spiritual power of dreams with the Buddhist goal of enlightenment (Young, 1999).

LUCID DREAMING. Within many spiritual traditions the key moment of lucidity is described as the result of an interior dialogue or imaginal conversation between different parts of the self, psyche, or soul. The dreamer is simultaneously cognizant of being asleep and removed from the external world and of being awake and receptive to the inner world. At this crossover point between sleeping and waking there are often complex synesthesias—visual, auditory, and tactile—as the lucid dream emerges from the dream landscape. This new element, which interrupts the imagery and narrative flow of an ongoing dream, fuses dreamer to dreamscape in such a way that it may be experienced as fearful or joyful.

Several methods for achieving lucidity while dreaming are described in the autobiography of the well-known Cahuilla shaman Ruby Modesto (Modesto and Mount, 1980). This remarkable woman spent her adult life as an herb doctor, spiritual healer, and midwife within her home community outside Palm Springs. She explained that directing the course of dreaming, or what is called in her tradition "setting up dreaming," was the most important spiritual practice within her culture. It had been actively sought, used, and taught for generations by shamanic healers.

Dreams and Prophecy. In monotheistic religions, such as Judaism and Christianity, dreaming is closely related to prophetic traditions. The prophet Muḥammad was chosen for his mission late in his life, when the angel Gabriel appeared to him in a dream. The Old Testament records the prophetic dreams of Joseph, the son of Jacob (*Gn.* 37:5–11), and in the New Testament both the Magi and Mary's husband Joseph are warned in dreams to beware of King Herod. The Magi are warned to return to their country by another route, whereas Joseph is told "take the child and his mother and escape to Egypt. Stay there until I tell you, for Herod is going to search for the child to kill him" (*Mt.* 2:13).

A widespread type of prophetic dream is the conception dream that parents experience shortly before the birth of extraordinary children. Stories about the birth of Christian and Muslim saints contain many such dreams, which are believed to be signs of divine involvement, sometimes even actual divine fathering. For example, Joseph, the stepfather of Jesus, received a dream in which an angel appeared to him saying, "Joseph, son of David, do not fear to take Mary your wife, for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Spirit" (*Mt.* 1:20–21). This dream proclaims Jesus' divine origin and encourages Joseph to accept Mary's child as the son of God.

Women also have conception dreams. According to Korean Daoist beliefs, whenever heavenly spirits and those of a woman's body join together and crystallize to make a baby, a dream emerges. One night a Korean woman dreamed that she was bathing in a stream all alone in the moonlight. "I saw a red pepper floating around me. Without thinking, I picked it out of the water, and woke up. Ten months later I had a gentle, though obstinate, boy" (Seligson, 1989, p. 15). In the West during the Middle Ages a pregnant woman's dream was recorded in an eleventh-century text, *The Life of Saint Thierry.* The future mother of Thierry was disturbed by her dreams and consulted a woman renowned for her gift of interpreting dreams.

> She confided her vision, first begging [the woman] to pray for her, so that the vision would not forecast for her an unnatural event, and then begging her to tell her the meaning of the vision. After praying, invested with prophetic grace, [the dream interpreter] said: "Have faith, woman, since what you have seen is a vision coming from God." (Schmitt, 1999, p. 277)

Conception dreams can also be experienced by a fetus while still inside its mother's womb. Desert-dwelling Yuman speakers in the American Southwest remember their earliest dreams from the time they are within their mothers' wombs (Kroeber, 1957). These unborn souls are said to journey to a sacred mountain, where their deceased elders give them special spiritual powers. After the baby is born, he or she totally forgets this prenatal journey, but dreams of the mountain reappear during adolescence. In these traditions all songs, myths, good fortune, and in fact all knowledge itself is derived from dreams. Thus the Mohave and other Yumans are said to interpret their culture in terms of their dreams, rather than their dreams in terms of their culture.

Robert Desjarlais (1991), during his fieldwork in Nepal with the Yolmo Sherpa, noted a large degree of agreement among individuals concerning the meaning of dream imagery and found an implicit dictionary of dream symbolism that individuals relied upon most frequently in times of physical or spiritual distress. In this dream interpretation system the experience of dreaming is believed to have a close, even causal connection with the future life of the dreamer. This principle is also found in many other cultures. However, such interpretations are often provisional. Not all people in a given society place their faith in them, and in some societies only certain individuals are believed to be able to experience prophetic or precognitive dreams. Researchers who have undertaken substantial fieldwork within American society have found that middle-class dreamers also admit to having experienced dreams of the prophetic or precognitive sort in which they obtain information about future events. The Western conception of dreams as predictors of misfortune or success, together with the anecdotal literature on "psychic dreams," indicates that this form of dream interpretation is far from rare in Western societies.

Labeling certain dream experiences prophetic or precognitive, however, does not explain how these and other dream experiences are used within a society. In order to learn about the use of dreaming, researchers cannot simply gather examples of different types of dreams by administering a questionnaire but must interact intensively with local populations for long periods of time. Thus whereas Desjarlais discovered an implicit metaphorical dictionary of dream symbolism among the Sherpa early in his fieldwork, it took him some time as an apprentice shaman to learn the precise way these dream symbols served as symptoms and signifiers both shaping and reflecting distress.

Among the Navajo of the American Southwest and the Maya of Guatemala, as people age their dreams become more and more continuous with waking life, predicting, causing, or expressing events in the world. As a result they no longer clearly distinguish what they discover in dreams from what they learn through direct sensory experience or from other people. Elders sometimes even manipulate their dream narratives to blur the distinction between the present and the mythological past.

Myths and Dreams. Whereas dreams have been described as private, highly fluid experiences and myths as public, fixed linguistic forms, they are actually closely related. Both myths and dreams have a story line that is expressive of an inner emotional-aesthetic structure together with an imagistic, metaphor-rich tapestry of spiritual feeling. Links between dream portents and the events they predict are often made by way of myths. Examples include Daoist practices in ancient China as well as those of contemporary peoples living in the Amazon Basin in Brazil.

For Daoists the appearance of a peach in a dream was an extremely favorable omen, because the Queen Mother of the West loved peaches and invited her favorites to partake of them in order to acquire immortality (Fang and Zhang, 2000). In the Amazon Basin to dream of an armadillo smoked out of his burrow indicates that a kinsman will die, because in a myth a man lures his brother-in-law into an armadillo's home and tries to kill him there (Reid, 1978). On the other hand, to dream of either leaf-cutter ants or a white-lipped peccary entering the house indicates that the person will be killed. This is based on a set of myths in which twin heroes kill their grandmother by transforming leaf-cutter ants into poisonous spiders then create and destroy white-lipped peccaries with thunder sticks (Reid, 1978).

As processes dreams and myths are inversions of one another. Whereas dreams move from sensory imagery to verbal form, myths move from language to sensory imagery. Thus among the Sharanahua of eastern Peru, when shamans elicit dream reports from their patients, they typically consist of single images, such as "peccary" or the "sun," that simultaneously echo myths and overlap with the shamans' categories of songs and symptoms. These thoughts may be shared through "representation" by talking about, drawing, painting, or describing a dream or through "presentation" by reenacting the dream in poetry, song, and dance.

In representational symbolism intentional reference is paramount, the medium of expression is relatively automatic, and inductive reality is paramount. In presentational symbolism meaning emerges as a result of an experiential immersion in the emotional patterns of the dream that is grasped intuitively. Dream workers of various kinds—prophets, *gurus,* shamans, theologians, and psychoanalysts—use a combination of these techniques to help dreamers engage with the image-filled mythic world of dreaming. It has been noted by healers that in many cultures dramatizations of dreams are a highly effective treatment for disoriented and alienated persons. The psychiatrist Wolfgang Jilek (1982) observed that Northwest Coast shamans who encouraged their clients to perform their dreaming in public are 80 percent effective in healing, compared with the 30 percent effective rate for psychiatrists using the private representational techniques favored by depth psychology.

Some Western dream workers have independently come to a similar conclusion about the presentational power of dreaming. They have noted that because dreams involve an imagistic healing process, it is best if the cogitating mind stays out of the process. Consequently many of them no longer interpret dreams but instead focus on reenacting and reexperiencing the feelings and images of the dream as fully as possible. Others take the position that the healing power of dreaming requires both experiencing, for energy, and interpretation, for meaning.

SEE ALSO Asklepios; Consciousness, States of; Visions.

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BARBARA TEDLOCK (1987 AND 2005)

DRUGS SEE PSYCHEDELIC DRUGS

DRUIDS. The term *druid* is used by Greek and Roman authors, medieval Irish writers, and modern scholars alike to designate a priest of the ancient Celts. The word is thought to mean something like "those knowledgeable about the (sacred) oak," being derived from two Celtic words meaning "oak" and "knowledge." (This etymology seems more plausible than the identification of the first element *dru- with an intensive prefix, which is not well attested in the Celtic languages; cf. also the Galatian term *drunemeton,* which presumably means "oak grove".) As there is no unequivocal archaeological evidence concerning the druids, our knowledge of them rests exclusively on a rather small number of written sources, which are fragmentary and difficult to interpret. This poses the fundamental question of to what extent the classical and early medieval statements about druids may be taken as an adequate reflection of historical reality.

The Druids of the Greek and Roman Authors. The oldest classical reference to druids may be contained in a passage written in the third century CE by the philosophical writer Diogenes Laertios. Discussing the supposition of some earlier writers that philosophy had its origins among the barbarians, he mentions Persian magi, Babylonian or Assyrian Chaldeans, Indian gymnosophists, and Celtic druids, referring to the philosophers Aristotle and Sotion of Alexandria as his sources. If Diogenes' identification of these sources is correct, the druids may have attracted the attention of classical authors as early as the fourth century BCE. However, the earliest detailed description of druids apart from this brief and somewhat doubtful reference is given in the first century BCE by the Stoic philosopher Posidonius of Apamea. His description of druids can be reconstructed in outline by comparing the statements to be found in Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and Timagenes (as cited by Ammianus Marcellinus), which are demonstrably dependent on Posidonius. In addition to these authors, there is information about druids in Julius Caesar, Pliny the Elder, and other authors writing in the imperial period.

Diodorus mentions the druids in the context of his description of Celtic society. He groups them together with poets and soothsayers, saying that they were highly respected theologians and philosophers that were held responsible for all matters of sacrificial offerings. An allusion to his view of their teaching may be seen in his explanation of Celtic bravery, which he attributes to a belief in the transmigration of souls. Strabo gives a very similar account, stating that the druids were natural and moral philosophers. According to him, the druids were considered to be most just and therefore entrusted with settling both private and public disputes. The druids' preoccupation with natural philosophy is also mentioned by Cicero, who differs from the other sources by ascribing to them the pursuit of divination by means of the interpretation of signs. (Cicero, incidentally, also tells us that the Gaulish noble Diviciacus frequently referred to by Julius Caesar was a druid.) To this description Ammianus Marcellinus (referring to Timagenes) adds that the druids were organized in brotherhoods, in accordance with the teaching of Pythagoras.

A more elaborate description of the druids is given by Julius Caesar, whose account concurs to a large extent with the above-mentioned writers but offers much additional information not to be found elsewhere. Caesar describes the druids as the most important social group (making no mention of either poets or soothsayers). According to him, they did not pay any taxes, had immunity from military service, and were exempt from all lawsuits; organized on a national basis, they were presided over by a single druid with the highest authority. They were reported to commit to memory a great number of verses, some of them remaining in training for some twenty years. Yet another piece of information is provided by Pliny the Elder, according to whom the designation "druid" was derived from the Greek name of the oak, because the druids chose oak groves for their sacrificial rites and held nothing more sacred than the mistletoe and the oak on which it grew. Describing a druidic sacrifice, Pliny mentions a druid in white clothing climbing the tree and cutting the mistletoe with a golden sickle.

As Suetonius in his biography of the emperor Claudius reports, Roman citizens were forbidden to participate in the religion of the druids even in the time of Augustus, long before the entire priesthood was totally banned in the middle of the first century CE. However, druids continue to be mentioned sporadically, and there are even some references to female druids (who are not known from pre-Roman times) as kinds of female soothsayers in the late imperial period.

In evaluating this body of evidence, it should be noted that all Greek and Latin statements about druids refer to Gaul in the immediately pre-Roman and Roman period, and that there is virtually no information about druids in earlier times or in other Celtic-speaking regions, such as the Iberian Peninsula, Italy, the Balkans, and Asia Minor. Furthermore, most if not all information about pre-Roman druids is demonstrably contained in or derived from Caesar and Posidonius, whereas sources from the late imperial period referring to contemporary druids may use this term in a rather loose sense meaning no more than "Gaulish soothsayer." On stylistic grounds, Pliny the Elder's description of a druidic sacrifice may also be considered to be based on Posidonius, whose highly influential Celtic ethnography is known only in outline. Thus, any evaluation of the evidence rests on an estimate of the trustworthiness of two authors, Posidonius and Julius Caesar. As regards Posidonius, it should be noted that his comparison of druids and Greek philosophers may mirror both his own philosophical turn of mind and the influence of Greek culture on the Celts of southern Gaul, where he collected most of his information. As for Julius Caesar, it seems possible that he deliberately depicted the druids as a worthy counterpart to the Roman pontifices presided over by the *pontifex maximus,* just as he depicted the Gaulish gods along the lines of the Roman pantheon, in order to emphasize the Gauls' adaptability to Roman civilization and to stress their cultural superiority over the Germanic tribes east of the Rhine. It is probable that the elaborate and large-scale sacrificial rites at major Gaulish sanctuaries, such as those of Gournay-sur-Aronde or Ribemont-sur-Ancre, presuppose the existence of a specialized cult personnel, and it stands to reason that the performance of divinatory practices (which may leave no archaeological traces) would also have been one of their functions. However, both Posidonius's view of the philosophical quality of the druids' teaching and Julius Caesar's account of the hierarchical and national structure of their organization are somewhat open to doubt.

The Druids of Medieval Irish Literature. In looking for druids in medieval Insular Celtic literature, it will be noted that Welsh sources are completely silent on this point and that the oldest Irish references to druids tend to assimilate the druids to pagan priests as known or, rather, imagined from biblical and apocryphal writings. (The Welsh term *derwydd* [prophet], though superficially similar to Old Irish *druí*, is to be analyzed as *do-are-wid-, so that its usage does not tell us anything about druids in the technical sense of the term.) Thus the hagiographer Muirchú in his *Life of Patrick* modeled the saint's confrontation with King Loegaire's druids on the Old Testament account of Moses's confronting the magicians of Pharaoh. Conversely, an Old Irish gloss on the New Testament calls the pharaoh's magicians "two Egyptian druids." Among the most prominent features of the druids in Irish literature is their association with magic. However, this should not be taken to reflect any genuine tradition, being most likely based on the medieval Christian association of pagan religion with the workings of demons. In fact, it may be questioned whether there are any clear recollections of pagan priests to be found in medieval Irish writings, as in many cases the druid appears to be depicted as a negative counterpart of the Christian priest. A typical example of this tendency would seem to be Muirchú's description of a contest between Saint Patrick and a pagan druid, in the course of which both of them throw their books into a river. Clearly, sacred writings were for the early medieval author of this story of such paramount importance that he could not envisage a pagan priest doing without them. Similarly, some other medieval Irish narratives credit the druids with performing ceremonies of name-giving that seem to be modeled on the Christian baptism, presumably because medieval clerics found it hard to believe that there should have been no pagan equivalent of this fundamental Christian rite. In fact, the survival of the Continental Celtic word for "druid" in Old Irish cannot be taken to warrant a continuity of either social organization or religious teaching.

The Druids of Modern Scholarship. Much modern writing about the druids has been bedeviled by the fact that, from the seventeenth and eighteenth century onward, the fragmentary and often contradictory classical and medieval statements were invoked to buttress more or less ill-founded assumptions about Celtic culture and religion in general. A general tendency has been to interpret the pagan Celtic past in the light of the present and to "explain" the present with reference to alleged pagan antecedents. Ideas of continuity have been especially prominent in Great Britain and Ireland due to linguistic continuity, but also in France where the idea of "our ancestors, the Gauls" was used to establish and propagate a cultural identity different from and superior to that of the Germans. Major factors in the creation of these ideologies were an uncritical reliance on the credibility of the written sources and the absence of a firm chronology, so that Stone and Bronze Age artifacts and monuments came to be associated with the druids. Influential figures in this development were the British antiquaries John Aubrey (1626–1697), Henry Rowlands (1655–1723), and William Stukeley (1687–1765), who popularized the idea that Stonehenge and contemporary monuments were to be interpreted as temples of the druids. Mention should also be made of the Welsh antiquary Iolo Morgannwg (Edward Williams, 1747–1826), who from patriotic motives tried to demonstrate a continuity of tradition stretching from the pre-Christian druids to the modern Welsh poets. When, in the course of the nineteenth century, Indo-European linguistics and Celtic studies came to be established as academic disciplines, great store was set by correspondences between the writings of classical and medieval authors, and by real or alleged Indo-European parallels. Especially influential have been the ideas of Georges Dumézil (1898–1986) and his followers, who derived the druids from a prehistoric Indo-European priesthood that they believed was also at the base of the ancient Indian Brahmans. More recently, however, an increased awareness of methodological problems involved in this approach and substantial advances in Indo-European linguistics, Celtic studies, classical philology, and prehistoric archaeology have helped to show the fragility of many facile interpretations of that written evidence which, without exaggeration, may be said to have generated an amount of discussion inversely proportionate to the verifiable facts.

See Also Celtic Religion, overview article.

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Bernhard Maier (2005)

DRUMS are instruments that produce sound through the striking, rubbing, or plucking of stretched membranes. The religious use of drums is historically and geographically extensive, but by no means universal. They are conspicuously lacking in many Christian and Islamic liturgical traditions, as well as in various African religions. Their absence from the oldest forms of religious music of such well-known hunter-gatherers as the African Pygmies and San (Bushmen), the Australian Aborigines, the Väddas of Sri Lanka, and others suggests that drums are not particularly archaic or "primitive" but rather are associated with the later cultural systems of sedentary agriculture and urban civilization. They are important in both local traditions and in the "great" intercultural, literate religious traditions.

Drums have relatively low value in Middle Eastern and European religious traditions, somewhat more in East Asia, Oceania, and Native America, and high value and variety of uses in South Asian, African, and Inner Asian and circumpolar shamanistic traditions. Where drums are used, they may have considerable symbolic or ritual value: E. Manker (in Diószegi, 1968, p. 32) describes how, when Christian missionaries burned the drums of Sami (Lapp) shamans, the Sami protested that the drums were their compasses; how could they find their way in the world without them?

DESCRIPTION. Drums belong to the organological class membranophones, instruments that produce sound by means of a stretched flexible membrane (skin, plastic, etc.). Instruments shaped or played like drums, but lacking membranes—the "slit-drums" or "log drums" of many tropical areas, the "bronze drums" of Southeast Asia, the "steel drums" of Trinidad, and so forth, are idiophones or solid instruments. Other mislabels, such as "tambourine" (correct only for frame drums with jingles) or "tom-tom" (corruption of a Sinhala/Tamil name for paired kettledrums), often have been indiscriminately applied by Westerners to non-Western drums in much the same way as labels like "witchcraft" and "vodou" have been widely and derogatorily applied to non-Western religions.

Drums are described by number of membrane heads (one to five), by material composition (wood, earth/clay, metal, bone, etc.), by shape of body (shallow frame, round-bottomed kettle, straight-sided cylindrical, bulging barrel, narrow-waisted hourglass, etc.), and by playing technique (hands, sticks, suspended clappers), decorations, and other physical features. Although such features are the basis of scientifically accurate descriptions, religious traditions themselves often categorize and evaluate drums in terms of less tangible but religiously more significant factors.

SYMBOLISM. Drums may carry a wide range of symbolic values, both positive and negative. The negative symbolism best known in the West, that of sensuality and licentiousness, is based on culture-specific associations of drums, rhythmic dance, and sexual abandon. Because this particular symbolism is not universal (for example, dance and sexuality may be seen as normal, as religiously beneficial, or as unrelated to drums), the negative symbolism of sensuality may be rarer than other negative associations. Another important one is the association of drums with pollution. In South Asia, for example, drums have sometimes been considered religiously polluting because the hands of those who touch or play them must come in contact with the skins of slaughtered animals, or because of associations with powerful, dangerous beings and forces; hence, both making and playing drums have been restricted to low castes. The negative association of drums with noise and chaos may be less widespread than is sometimes assumed: for example, drums were included only in a few scattered, atypical cases in the European Christian "Instruments of Darkness" complex described by Claude Lévi-Strauss in *From Honey to Ashes* (New York, 1973). Christian and Buddhist images of hells with sinners imprisoned in drums gain at least some of their negative impact from the demons shown beating them.

In their positive roles, drums may be associated with almost any aspect of religious experience, and may even themselves be considered deities. One common symbolic complex links them with elements of nature, biology, and cosmology. A drum may embody an *axis mundi* of the cosmic tree or mountain in its wooden or earthen body, the life force of a helping spirit in the form of the animal that supplied its skin, the voice of thunder or of an animal/spirit in its sound, and elements of hunting or pastoral lifestyles in its manufacture, treatment, and use. Another widespread symbolic complex derives from social relationships: drums may form "family" relationships with one another or with humans; sets of them may constitute hierarchies that parallel or are included within human and divine hierarchies; and they may play functional roles within society and the pantheon, ranging from invoking the deities to functions as practical as telecommunication. The "royal drums" of Africa and ancient South India were part of the property, symbols, and tools of divine kingship, considered so powerful and important in some cases that it might be more appropriate to speak of the king as a symbol of the royal drums than the reverse. The model of royal and divine proclamation is often central to the religious symbolism of drums, whether or not they are actually sounded for communication or musical purposes. Where the symbolic connection of drums, dance, and sensuality exists, it may become a positive symbol of divine enjoyment and celestial pleasures, with court and village dances serving as models for, or sacramental participations in, their heavenly counterparts.

It should be emphasized that the symbolism of drums does not support any unitary hypothesis of universal sexual symbolism. Drums may be seen as feminine because of their hollow bodies and soft skins; as masculine because of their intrusive sounds and the rigid sticks or hand tensions required to play them; or as neuter, androgynous, or symbolic of sexual union because of any of these or other reasons. The paired high/low-pitch kettledrums of Asia are often considered male/female; but if low is "male" in one culture, it is just as likely to be "female" in a neighboring culture. The multioctave drum sets of West African and African American possession religions are often viewed as "families," with the largest and lowest drum acting as "mother," and with primary contrasts drawn across generational rather than gender lines. As with most instruments, drums are more widely played by men than by women; but for almost every case of a male-oriented drum tradition or practice, a corresponding female-oriented example can be found somewhere, occasionally even in the same culture or religious tradition.

RELIGIOUS USE. Drums may be excluded from religious uses, used peripherally to demarcate the temporal, spatial, or structural boundaries of religious occasions, or integrated in positive, essential ways into religious thought and performances. If they are used religiously, their role is usually musical; but sometimes they function instead as signaling or communication devices, as silent cult objects or offerings, or in other capacities. Drums may or may not have special religious status compared with other musical instruments. For example, many Islamic traditions exclude all instruments equally from religious observances. Some Christian traditions have admitted other instruments while excluding drums. Many African and South Asian traditions assign special roles and status to a wide variety of drums. In most of Central and North Asia, drums were the prime focus of ritual, while other instruments were used for secular music. Generally, the great intercultural religious traditions of Near Eastern origin have shown more hostility or indifference to drums than have many others; but this ultimately may be due as much to the lack of early wide distribution and musical importance of drums in the area as to religious factors.

The vast range of religious valuations and uses of drums can be suggested by a few specific examples.

African and African American traditions. Although images of a "dark continent" filled with compulsively throbbing, obsessively omnipresent drums, witch doctors, and similar colonialist missionary-in-the-cannibal-pot stereotypes have partially faded away in the post-independence period (1950s onward), the ideal pan-African perspective of many writings continues to mask a range of cultural, religious, and musical diversity as great as is found in Europe or in Asia. The use of drums in African religions is a typical example of this diversity, with cases ranging from drums playing central, essential religious roles to their total absence from a religious tradition.

Colin Turnbull, in *The Forest People* (New York, 1961) and *Wayward Servants* (New York, 1965), found the drums used occasionally by the Mbuti Pgymies to be a late import from contacts with sedentary non-Pygmy villagers. Drums were not suitable by reason of their heavy wooden construction to the traditional Mbuti nomadic-forager lifestyle and their associated religious observances—a point equally worth noting in regard to other hunter-gatherers who lead a nomadic life without the assistance of draft animals. Even the pastoralist Fulbe, distributed through nearly the entire sub-Saharan borderland, adopted drums only in ceremonial contexts arising from culture contact with neighboring sedentary agricultural peoples such as the Hausa. Agriculturalists, in turn, need not accord drums a significant place in religion: Maraire (n.d.) reports that the Shona of Zimbabwe assign a very high religious value and function to the plucked idiophone *mbira* used in Bira possession rituals, while considering drums and their music appropriate to less sacred contexts oriented around socializing and entertainment. In the last analysis, neither race, place of residence, nor ecological adaptation is an accurate predictor of the importance or unimportance of drums in African music and religion.

Against this background of diversity, of contrasting occurrences interspersed with significant blank spaces where no uses are found, the pattern of use of drums in African religions stands out clearly as one of remarkable religious and artistic richness. In some cases, drums and ritual are so closely associated with each other that the same term can be used to refer to both (Turner, 1968, p. 15). If drums are not universally present, they nevertheless occur throughout the continent in nearly every possible physical shape (beside those mentioned above, goblet-shaped, conical, cylindroconical, and footed varieties are widespread), musical function, and religious value, and application. Drums may be found in every position and role from that of peripheral accessories that signal the start of ceremonies to that of spirit beings in their own right, called to life through invocations and rituals, tended by priests and acolytes, and housed, unseen by profane eyes, in sacred dwellings. They are so widespread and important that even religious traditions of Near Eastern origin—those of the Falāshā Jews and Coptic Christians of Ethiopia, as well as of the Islamic Ṣūfīs—overcome the reservations widespread among non-African branches of their respective religious traditions to the extent of allowing some liturgical drumming by cult members, leaders, or priests. Frequently, however, the drumming is less extensive and elaborate than that used by neighboring religious traditions of local African origin. The paired kettledrum apparently spread with Islamic conquests and conversions. Its most widespread ritual use, however, is in ceremonies of state, rather than in Islamic worship.

Although only extensive reading in the ethnographic, religious, and ethnomusicological literature would give an adequate sense of the religious uses of African drums, a few topics of broad interest are worth mention.

Talking drums. The widely mentioned "talking drums" that transmit verbal messages by playing tonal and rhythmic abridgments of stylized phrases are frequently slit-drums (i.e., wooden percussion tubes) or xylophones, rather than true drums with membranes; but drums may also be used for communication, as in the cases of the *atumpan* two-drum set of Ghana or the variable-tension hourglass drums widespread in West Africa. Most reported cases of religious use have involved announcements and communications among cult members (e.g., to invite guests to an initiation ceremony), a peripheral application sometimes combined or alternated with the widespread practice of using drums to accompany religious dance. However, there have also been reports (e.g., among the Ewe and Yoruba) of "talking drums" used for direct communication with gods or spirits, transmitting messages in the form of invocations or prayers—a function of greater apparent religious centrality and importance than announcing and signaling.

Royal drums. One especially characteristic function, best documented in East Africa but occurring in other regions as well, is the use of drums as royal emblems or regalia, a religious function insofar as it usually relates to concepts and cults of sacral kingship. Drums may be personalized spirits or ancestors, or conduits of power; in either case, they are the sacralizing and legitimizing emblems of royal rule, and as such receive honor, offerings, and ritual care that may be greater than that accorded the king himself. Royal drums are the prime example of drums that may be religious artifacts without necessarily being musical instruments as well: some royal drums are never played, and a few may exist entirely on a divine plane, invisible to all but the gods themselves (Lois A. M. Anderson, n.d.). Other royal drums may have a full range of musical uses while still enjoying a higher ritual status than their profane counterparts; such was the case with the *entenga* tuned-drum ensemble of the Buganda court. Often, as with the Buganda and Rwanda royal drums, several sets existed, each with its own kind and degree of religious, political, and musical function. Playing and/or priestly service of the royal drums might be restricted to male members of either hereditary noble or service classes. As was also the case with royal drums in ancient South India, some African royal drums were the recipients of ritual blood sacrifices.

Possession. Drums may not be used at all in possession cults (cf. the Shona Bira, mentioned above). But their importance in West African areas exploited by the slave trade led to their use in African American possession religions such as Haitian vodou, Brazilian Candomblé, the Lucumi of Cuba, the Shango religion of Trinidad, and others. In keeping with their West African sources, these religions use drums in cross-generational "families" of three or more to accompany spirit-possession rituals and dances. There has been some controversy as to whether the sounds of the drums actually "cause" or induce possession, that is, whether their effects are best understood in physiological or cultural and religious terms.

Rhythm and time. The musical variety of African religious drumming extends from the austere patterns of widely spaced single beats used by the Falāshā Jews, to elaborate polyrhythms (one rhythm played simultaneously with one or more contrasting rhythms) of the complex and compelling sort that most listeners associate with African styles. The question of possible conceptual relationships between musical rhythm and cosmological/calendrical time has been raised by Alan P. Merriam in his article "African Musical Rhythm and Concepts of Time-Reckoning" (in Thomas Noblitt, ed., *Music East and West,* New York, 1981, pp. 123–141) and by others. The unresolved issue is whether the perception by foreign observers of "time" and cyclicity in African music (or their being labeled as such in European languages) corresponds significantly to African conceptions, given the apparent lack in African languages of a "time" domain that extends to musical categories. J. H. Kwabena Nketia (n.d.) has suggested that music itself might constitute an extralinguistic, complementary system of conceptualization. We might hypothesize that musical rhythm is one fundamental human mode of perceiving and conceptualizing time, whether lexically labeled as such. If so, the apparent "polyrhythm" of simultaneous contrasting-length market weeks in West Africa may share an underlying conceptual unity with musical polyrhythms. On the other hand, we might equally hypothesize that musical polyrhythms result at least in part from the proliferation of conceptually multigenerational drum "families" that replicate socioreligious concepts of ancestor-descendant relationships. While research trends during most of the twentieth century moved gradually away from consideration of such broad issues, favoring a view of music as an autonomous "art" intelligible only in terms of acoustic-structural principles peculiar to itself, new approaches in the century's final decades suggested a growing interest in the conceptual bases of the close links between music and religion that are so evident in African behavior and performance.

Buddhism. Buddhist traditions share a common symbolic valuation of drums but differ widely in patterns of use. The act of proclaiming the Buddhist teaching is traditionally known as "sounding the drum of the Dharma," either because of a proclamation by Śākyamuni Buddha (c. 560–480 BCE) after his enlightenment that he would sound the "drum of immortality" (*amata-dundubhiḥ*), or because of an edict of the Indian emperor Aśoka (d. 232 BCE) that "the sound of the war drum [*bherighoṣa*] has now become the sound of *dharma* [*dharmaghoṣa*]." Both *dundubhiḥ* and *bherī* were royal/military drums. Perhaps because of the Buddha's *kṣatriya* (warrior/princely) caste origin, Buddhist drum symbolism relies heavily on the concepts of royal authority and invincibility. Drum sounds reach everywhere, filling earth and sky; they are clear and unmistakable; and they cannot be ignored or overwhelmed by lesser sounds. These are all characteristics both of the royal drums themselves and of the teaching proclaimed by the Buddha.

The use of drums in Buddhist ritual, derived from the stupa (reliquary mound) cult sanctioned in the *Mahāparinibbana Sutta*, is said to date back to the death of the Buddha (c. 480 BCE). They are pictured on the railings of the stupa in relief sculptures of the first century BCE–first century CE period. In Indian Buddhism up to the early second millennium CE, drums served the function of elaborating and ornamenting the *tāla* rhythmic cycle outlined by the cymbals, according to standard Indian musical practice of the time. Written drum notations were introduced before the mid-eighth century CE.

Sri Lanka. Modern practice varies with traditions and cultures. Generally, Theravāda Buddhism restricts the use of instruments to laymen, while Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna traditions allow monks to play them as well. In present-day Sri

Lanka, Theravāda Buddhism exists in conjunction with a variety of indigenous *yakkha* (local spirit) cults whose priests are hereditary low-caste drummer-dancers using their ritual and artistic skills to control a variety of powerful forces. Just as their gods are admitted to the Buddhist pantheon in a subordinate role, so also their instruments and performances find a subordinate, boundary-marking role in some Buddhist ceremonies.

Two kinds of drums, the *dawula* (cylindrical drum) and the *tammätamma* (paired kettledrums), play a more central role in the orthodox Buddhist cult of stupas and other types of *cetiya* (relics), in the *pañcavādya*, or fivefold instrumental music that can be traced back to the first centuries of Indian Buddhism. The drums play auspicious music based on beat patterns conventionally associated with the Buddha, with acts of offering or circumambulation, and so on. The players are of the same caste and are often the very same persons as those who serve as priests of the *yakkha* religions. The primary drum of the *yakkha* cult, the *gäta bere* barrel drum, also finds an important place in Buddhist rituals as the *mangulbere*, or "auspicious drum." In the chief Buddhist temple of Kandy, even high-caste specialists play the hourglass *udäkki* drum to accompany secret songs of praise in the inner shrine.

Nepal. In the Vajrayāna Buddhism of the Newars of Nepal, drums find both more diverse and more central ritual roles. Parallels with Theravāda include the use of paired kettledrums in the fivefold offering music and the adoption of drums from local cults, such as the barrel drums adorned with ram's horns (*yakkakhiṃ*) embodying the indigenous god of dance (Nasadyah) which accompany some dances with Buddhist contents. Specific drums are allocated to specific castes, from the small barrel drum (*naykhiṃ*) of the butchers to the deified barrel drums (*damaḥkhiṃ*), decorated with masks of the deities they embody and played by the highest castes of Buddhist Tantric priests. In processions farmers play the *dhimay*, which is made from an irregularly shaped cross section of tree trunk. They and the oil-presser caste play the *mākhiṃ* barrel drum to accompany songs of praise at Buddhist temples. Vajrācārya priests accompany some of their Tantric *cārya* songs and dances with the *kwotaḥ*, a three-headed drum set made by joining a large horizontal and small vertical barrel drum together. The drum becomes the embodiment of both the god of dance and the buddha Vajra-sattva during performance, and it plays musically structured, notated compositions of *mantra* syllables evoking the presence of buddhas and gods. Drumming, singing, and dancing, along with meditation, become the technical means for generating the *maṇḍala* of buddhas in the performers' own bodies, voices, and minds.

Central and East Asia. Outside the South Asian homeland of Buddhism, drums lose their caste associations and some of their practical musical importance, while retaining their symbolic value. In Tibetan Vajrayāna, the double-headed frame drum (*rnga*) is used in both vocal and instrumental performances, but in a role supporting the cymbals, which provide a primary musical structure based on elaborate mathematical sequences. The hourglass drum made from two human skulls (Skt., *kāpāla-ḍamaru*), adopted from the Indian *Kāpālika* yogic tradition, is also largely subordinate, often being replaced by a similar wooden drum. Nevertheless, such drums may symbolically embody the entire range of Buddhist concepts and teachings and enjoy greater practical importance in specialized ritual/meditational traditions. In East Asian Mahāyāna Buddhism, drums are often used, together with an assortment of metal and wooden idiophones, to mark off the subdivisions of musical structures. Japanese Buddhist practices range from the elaborate drumming in Zen temples to the greatly lessened use of drums in traditions such as Buzanha Shingi Shingon, in which idiophones such as the wooden fish-shaped *mokugyō* play beat patterns accompanying chants. Some traditions give drums a practical role to match their symbolic value, as with the Nichiren school Nihonzan Myohonji pacifist monks who walk about chanting and beating a small single-headed frame drum, literally "sounding the drum of the Dharma" to call attention to their Buddhist teachings and way of life.

Shamanism. In the "classical" shamanism of Inner and North Asia, drums play central roles in religious belief and practice. The drum is the shaman's primary religious tool for attracting helper gods or spirits, for taming or inciting them to action, and for carrying the shaman away on spiritual flights to heavenly realms or to the underworld. The drum itself is part of the shaman's pantheon, a living spirit helper or a theriomorphic steed such as a horse or a deer. It may serve as object as well as agent of religious acts, being treated to life-cycle rituals, like those performed for humans, from its "birth" to its "death," as well as to cyclic or occasional ceremonies encouraging or exhorting it to perform its helping function. It may also serve the shaman as a tool for specialized ritual purposes, as in drum-divination ceremonies in which the upturned skin of the drum is sprinkled with small grains that move about through sympathetic vibration when a second drum is played nearby (or, if the drum has two playing heads, when the second head is beaten) to form divinatory patterns on the drumhead. The type of drum used may indicate the shaman's status in a graded hierarchy of initiatory rankings. In contrast to many religious drum traditions, shamanic drumming is frequently performed by women, as female shamans are fairly widespread.

The shaman's drum is usually a shallow frame drum with a wooden circular or ellipsoidal body and one skin head, played with a stick. Small jingling pieces of metal or bells may be mounted either on or inside the drum, or worn separately on the shaman's costume. Making the drum recapitulates a primordial cosmological quest, as in this song of the Tibetan Bon tradition:

> seek a drum, where do I seek? I seek in the four directions, and the eight between; On the Chief of Mountains, in the center of the world, There, there is a tree growing; A mighty sandalwood tree has grown. Now,

> having cut a branch from it, Bending, bending, forced in a coiled circle, Knowing the method, hewn by an ax's blade, With the hide of a black antelope covered over, That amazing drum, that swastika-circle drum, Sewn together with effort, by the pressure of a tendon, Has a miraculous, melodious, sweet sound, full of meaning: Beaten, it is beaten in the highest heaven; Sounds, it sounds at the peak of the world-mountain; The realm of demons trembles: *Shig shig!* When I beat on that great drum, then Even all the ocean, churned, clouds up with mud; The massive Chief of Mountains, shaken, is thrown down; The water-serpent children are uneasy in their minds; *E ma!* How great this most superior of wonders!

The feeling of joyful mastery expressed here is the result of spirits, called and subjugated by the drum, entering the player's body and merging into a single identity under his control. Siberian ethnographic accounts are seldom detailed enough to show exactly what role the drumming plays in this course of events, but the process is quite clear for the related Himalayan shamanic traditions. The shaman begins by drumming at moderate speed in a dotted-rhythm beat pattern, singing an invocation of the "first shaman"; he then changes to a slightly slower, steady rhythm, as he sings an invitation song to the spirits who will come to help in the ritual. As he senses the approach of the spirits, his body begins to shake, sounding the metal bells on his costume or in the drum, and the beating grows louder. The drumming becomes irregular, suddenly breaking off into short periods when the drum is silent, and only the sound of the shaking bells carries on the emotional momentum of the performance. The singing is interspersed with special vocal effects: singing into the face of the drum, grunting, whistling, sneezing, and altered tones of voice. These events are signs of the entry of a spirit into the drummer's body, and of the struggle for control between him and the spirit. As the shaman asserts mastery over the spirit, the drum reenters with a strong, steady beat, the shaman begins a song of praise to the helping spirits, and the way is open for subsequent ritual stages of dancing, travel to spirit worlds, diagnosis, divination, curing, or whatever is required by the ritual.

The combination of heightened emotion and use of the drum to summon and control spirits, evident both in shamanic songs, as quoted above, and in the actual events of the ritual, is characteristic of the full geographic range of Asian shamanism. Use of the drum as a "steed" for a flight to the spirit world is a more limited phenomenon. Mircea Eliade (1964) argues that ecstatic flight is the historical and religious core of the shamanic complex, and that those traditions that lack it represent a degenerate stage; I suggest in "Musical Flight in Tibet" (in the journal *Asian Music* 5, 1974, pp. 3–44) that the practice of drumming to attract the tame theriomorphic spirits is a religious transformation of widespread use of music by Asian hunters and pastoralists to lure and control animals, and that the ideology of spiritual flight is a later and more localized superimposition on a conceptual basis of the shaman as a spiritual hunter-pastoralist. In some religious traditions outside the "classical" Asian/circumpolar area, broad similarities in ideology and practice seem to justify comparative extension of the term *shaman* (originally from the language of the Tunguz of Siberia); some of these traditions (e.g., the Mapuche of Chile) use drums in ways similar to Asian shamans, while many "shamanic" traditions of Latin America use hallucinogenic drugs and/or rattles whose symbolic and functional status so closely parallel that of the shaman drum as to suggest that they are local substitutes for it.

Other traditions. Drums have seen religious use on every inhabited continent, although in Aboriginal Australia they were characteristic only of coastal zones of contact with Melanesian cultures. They have been used throughout most of human history and found a place in the religions of ancient civilizations of both the Old and New Worlds.

Near East and Mediterranean. Drums appeared rather late in Mesopotamia. Clapper idiophones were shown in the artwork of the Mesilim and Ur I periods (c. twenty-eighth–twenty-fourth centuries BCE). Drums alone begin to appear in depictions of ritual dances in the neo-Sumerian period (twenty-second–nineteenth centuries BCE). Frame drums (*adapa?*, *balag?*) existed in sizes ranging from extremely large varieties played by two men down to small handheld types carried by dancers; the latter apparently spread to Egypt (sixteenth–eleventh centuries), Israel (*tof*, mentioned in *Exodus*, *Psalms*, etc.), Greece (*tumpanon*, sixth–fifth centuries?), Rome (*tympanum*, c. 200 BCE), and eventually throughout the Near East, where it is still widespread under the Arabic name *daff*.

In Sumeria, drums were ideographically linked with the god Enki and by ritual and symbolic attention to their skins with the bull, symbol of sacred strength. The small frame drum became associated (c. 2000 BCE) with women players and with revelry and has generally retained these associations throughout its geographical and historical range. Even today it is widely played by women at weddings. In Israel the small-frame drum was excluded from Temple ritual. Other drums may have been employed until the ban on instrumental music following the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE. The small-frame drum was associated in Egypt with the goddess Isis and in Greece with the imported Cybele and native Dionysos cults. Eventually it spread to Rome along with these three "orgiastic" religions.

Cultic associations with dance and sexual license helped to shape Judeo-Christian attitudes to drums up to the present day, but they may not be entirely responsible for the subsequent exclusion of drums from the Jewish, Christian, and Islamic liturgies. In fact, such associations applied only to one type of drum (the small-frame drum); but this was, perhaps significantly, in an area where few types were available as more "respectable" liturgical alternatives. Cylindrical drums, goblet-shaped or footed drums, and a few other types were known in Sumeria and Egypt. In Israel, Greece, and Rome frame drums may have been the only drums available. There is no evidence of musically important or elaborate rhythmic traditions that might have stimulated the importation or invention of other types. Even the drum perhaps most characteristic of the Near East, the paired kettledrum, did not appear until the beginning of the second millennium CE.

At any rate, we see the disappearance of drums and other instruments from the Jewish liturgy in the first century CE, after the destruction of the Temple and the rise of the less ritualistic synagogue tradition. Christianity, perhaps simply following the lead of its parent tradition and culture, seemed to mirror the synagogue in its apparently exclusively vocal musical practices. Islam, in its turn, excluded drums, instruments, and "music" from its worship, which nevertheless came to include melodically chanted "readings" from the Qurʾān and religious poetry; these in turn eventually came to embrace possible rhythmic accompaniment with drums, even the once-suspect frame drum. By the early second millennium CE the Ṣūfīs movement began to develop, leading to ritual traditions that use drums along with other instruments to accompany inspirational dancing. Drums would likewise gradually reenter Christian religious music through the influence of European folk, military, and art music traditions.

India and China. Textual evidence indicates the presence of drums in India and China by at least the late second millennium BCE; they are probably considerably older in both regions. There is some evidence for the use of drums in the Indus Valley civilization of the third millennium BCE. The earliest Indian sacred texts, the Vedas, seem to regard drums as primarily military instruments used by the Central Asian Aryan tribes who migrated into India some time after the middle of the third millennium. Later Tamil (South Indian) literature, which may reflect a much earlier culture, describes a cult of sacred royal drums reminiscent of African traditions, including sacrifice and ritual care by priests who were avoided because of their association with powerful, dangerous beings. Such cults may have provided the initial impetus that led to the eventual high religious value of drums in Hinduism. Another stimulus was provided by the decline of Vedic sacrificial ritual and its supplanting by the performance of *pūjā* offerings, a development particularly stressed in Buddhist traditions, where we find the first evidence of musical *pūjā.* Hindu traditions parallel their Buddhist counterparts in variety and richness, incorporating drum music at every level; and one of the three supreme post-Vedic gods, Śiva, is identified with the hourglass-shaped *ḍamaru* drum, which he plays to accompany his own cosmic dance. The elaborate rhythms of Indian drumming were, at least until the growth of Islamic dominance in the second millennium CE, part of a tradition that was inseparably both aesthetic performance and religious offering, whether Hindu, Buddhist, or Jain, and hence a reflection of the same ideals of complexly multifaceted individuality that appear in Indian pantheons and ritual practices.

In China, by contrast, drums and their music were a balanced component in both a carefully orchestrated musical structure and the elemental cosmic structure it embodies. Drums were part of an ideal system of *ba yin* or "eight sounds" represented by the names of eight characteristic materials from which instruments are constructed: metal, stone, silk, bamboo, wood, skin, gourd, and earth. Each of the instrument groups corresponding to these materials in turn corresponds to a cardinal point of the compass, a season of the year, a natural element or phenomenon, and other cosmological features. Drums are classified under their most characteristic constituent material, skin, and they correspond to the north, to winter, and to water. In Confucian ceremonial music, they play a musical part that is slow and simple in terms of technique and rhythmic density but that, together with the other instruments of the ensemble, forms part of a restrained, carefully regulated, and balanced whole. Barrel drums, some very large, are the most characteristic type used.

Americas and Oceania. New World civilizations, like their Old World counterparts, made use of drums. Ritual applications included sacrifices that sometimes involved human victims and, among the Incas at least, used their skins as drumheads. However, reports of at least one "drum" used in sacrificial rituals are the result of misidentification: the Aztec *teponaztli* was a slit-drum, or wooden percussion tube, rather than a membranophone.

The drum most widely used in American music and ritual is the frame drum, the form, ideology, and use of which in many regions show general parallels to that of the Asian shaman's drum. In addition to their shamanic use, frame drums were utilized in a wide variety of local religious contexts; among the best-known examples are the Plains Sun Dance and War Dance, as well as the late nineteenth-century Ghost Dance and other postcontact syncretistic and revitalization movements. Frame drums are played with sticks held in one hand only, a practice that links them with other unacculturated Native American drum traditions and distinguishes them from Euro-American and African American traditions and styles.

Two relatively recent traditions show some unusual features. Thomas Vennum, in his *The Ojibwa Dance Drum* (Washington, D.C., 1982) and subsequent work, has examined the history of the "dream drum" revealed in a vision by the Great Spirit to Tailfeather Woman of the Sioux in the nineteenth century and passed on to the Ojibwa (Chippewa) and other Northeast Woodlands peoples through manufacturing and song-learning rituals ultimately intended as a way of creating intertribal peace. While the "dream drum" is a larger and more elaborate version of the widespread frame drum, other physical types of drums may also attain religious importance. The best-known example is the water drum used to accompany songs in the sacramental peyote rituals of the Native American Church. The drum consists of a solid-bottomed body that forms a vessel into which water is poured and with the single playing head covering it at the top. Using more or less water creates a higher or lower sound; the dampness also changes the tension of the drumhead (which can be tuned by making it wetter or dryer), and the sound has a characteristic wavering reverberation caused by the movement of the water inside.

In Oceania, the area richest in variety of musical instruments was Melanesia, where log slit-drums (percussion idiophones) generally enjoyed more religious and musical prominence than true drums with membranes. Oceanian drums tend to have only one playing head, often made from fish or shark skin and to be set or held in vertical position and played with the hands. Hourglass shapes are common in Melanesia, and cylindrical types are widespread in Polynesia.

Drums were accorded sacred status in Polynesia, kept and tended by priests in temples, and considered receptacles of *mana* (sacred power). Some were associated with sacrifice, including, in Tahiti, human sacrifice. Many were "royal drums," used to honor chiefs as well as gods; one Hawaiian king traveled with such a drum in his canoe. Important drums of chiefs or gods were often large, with smaller versions used in lesser contexts; ensembles of varying sizes were found in some areas. The Hawaiian ceremonial Mele Hula dances utilize two drums: the larger *pahu hula* of wood, played with the hands, and the smaller *pūniu* made from a coconut shell, played with a braided fiber "stick." Although other instruments are also used, the drums are reserved for the most important dances.

DRUMS AND POSSESSION. African American religions, shamanism, and many other religious traditions employ drums in conjunction with, and apparently to induce, a kind of experience known in the research literature as "possession" or "altered states of consciousness." Behind such standard labels lie essential differences in both the experience itself and the process of achieving it: Haitian priestesses and Tibetan oracles, for example, are controlled by the beings who enter their bodies, while the Tamang shaman asserts control over the spirits who enter his. Both of the former rely on others to play drums for them during the ritual, but the shaman acts as his own drummer. What all these traditions have in common is a varied range of techniques for transformation of personal consciousness into a correspondingly varied range of experiences of identity with a god or spirit and, in many but not all cases, the use of drums with or without additional instruments.

A famous and controversial hypothesis by Andrew Neher (1961, 1962) posits an automatically causal, physiological link between drumming and ritual experiences of consciousness-transformation. Neher cites laboratory experiments with photic driving (pulsating lights) and covariation of alpha rhythms in the brain to support a suggestion that rhythmic drumming, with its wide frequency spectrum and high energy content, would automatically affect a normal brain in such a way as to affect alpha rhythms and produce reactions similar to those reported by laboratory subjects: visual, tactile, kinesthetic, and emotional sensations for experiments with light, but only "unusual perceptions" and muscle twitching reported for actual tests with drums. He predicts (1962) that a beat frequency of 8–13 cycles per second (the range of normal alpha variation) will be found to predominate in "possession" rituals with drums.

Neher's hypothesis has been accepted without further examination by a number of ethnologists and scholars of religion (e.g., Siikala, 1978) but has been questioned or rejected by ethnomusicologists investigating actual drum usage in transformation rituals. Gilbert Rouget (1977, 1985) argues, based on extensive studies of African and African American traditions, that the laboratory experiments differ greatly from the conditions and experiences of actual ceremonies; that automatic physiological causation is out of the question because most of those who hear the drumming (even the same individuals on different occasions) do not experience trance or possession; and that if Neher's quantitative predictions were correct, "then the whole of sub-Saharan Africa should be in trance from the beginning to the end of the year." But in fact, given the speeds that occur in drum music elsewhere, if Neher's (1961) dubious alternative of a lower limit of 4 beats per second were accepted, much of the world would be in perpetual trance.

While proponents and opponents of the hypothesis have tended to argue over its merits on the basis of logic and conviction, Neher's quantitative prediction has not been subjected to quantitative testing by comparison with measurements of drum rhythms in actual performances. Figure 1 shows a comparison of (A) Neher's (1962) predicted minimum tempo of 8 beats per second for "trance" rituals, with transcriptions of actual drumbeat tempos in (B) the "invitation" song to helping spirits sung by a Tamang shaman; (C) the instrumental "Invitation to the Protector of Religion" (*Chos skyoṅ Spyan ʾdren*) played for the Tibetan state oracle (*Gnas-chuṅ chos skyoṅ*) before he sinks into a quiescent state to receive the god Pehar; and (D) the "Song of Invitation" (*Spyan ʾdren gyi dbyaṅs*) sung to the oracle just before he begins to show evidence of having been transformed into a state of conscious identity with the god.

Clearly, the minimum quantitative requirements of the hypothesis are not satisfied by two of the best-known Asian traditions that ought to fall within its intended scope. Example B of figure 1 is 58 of the required minimum speed, while Example C would have to be 280 times as fast to reach the minimum 8 beats per second. Other well-known Asian traditions (e.g., Tibetan and Newar Tantric *sādhana*s) likewise fail to satisfy the hypothesis; and, while one might expect to find more cases of African and African American traditions that fall in the predicted quantitative range, there are also African cases that do not meet the requirements of the hypothesis (John Blacking, n.d.). In any case, the hypothesis in its given form must be rejected, as the occurrence of exceptions to its predictions show the operation of cross-cultural variables external to the species-universal mechanisms of human physiology. The possibility cannot be excluded that a more sophisticated reformulation of a physiological-causation theory will lead to verifiable, significant results. Current research on musical and religious practices show, however, such a wide range of variation as to render the search for causal universals progressively more difficult, and also greater apparent progress in the investigation of cultural and ideological factors that seem to underlie both religious and musical practices.

SEE ALSO Shamanism; Spirit Possession.

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Although drums are both musical and religious instruments, it is difficult to find studies that do not ignore or misinterpret one of these two aspects. Information is scattered in journal articles and general religious and musical studies of particular areas; and many important findings of recent researchers are still unpublished, as indicated by the number of "n.d." (no date) citations for information used in this article.

The most extensive previous general study, A. E. Crawley's article "Drums and Cymbals," in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, edited by James Hastings, vol. 5 (Edinburgh, 1912), is flawed by outdated and inaccurate ethnographic data and by discredited interpretive approaches. These faults are common to many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century ethnographies (and almost universal in travelers' and missionaries' accounts); while later studies have increasingly tended to treat music and religion as autonomous, mutually unintelligible domains. Thus, even such excellent ethnographic studies of drum-centered ritual traditions as Victor Turner's *The Drums of Affliction: A Study of Religious Processes among the Ndembu of Zambia* (Oxford, 1968) or Bruce Kapferer's *A Celebration of Demons: Exorcism and the Aesthetics of Healing in Sri Lanka* (Bloomington, Ind., 1983) exclude drums and their music from the depth of analytical attention paid to other components of ritual symbolism and performance.

The scientific, physical description of drums is given accurate and readable treatment in the "Terminology" section ("Membranophones," pp. 459–463) of Curt Sachs's *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York, 1940), an organological classic with a wealth of accurate information organized around partly outdated historical viewpoints. The most comprehensive and up-to-date organological information will be found in the *New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, 3 vols., edited by Stanley Sadie (New York, 1984).

The most ambitious recent effort to relate African drumming and ideology, criticized by some specialists for lack of methodological explicitness and generalization of localized West African experience to a pan-African scale, is John M. Chernoff's *African Rhythm and African Sensibility* (Chicago, 1979). A less exciting but perhaps more reliable ethnomusicological study, also from West Africa, is J. H. Kwabena Nketia's *Drumming in Akan Communities of Ghana* (Edinburgh, 1963). The classic work on "talking drums," with an old-fashioned perspective and pronounced missionary bias, is John Carrington's *Talking Drums of Africa* (London, 1949). Among the more technically oriented organological studies of specific regions, Olga Boone's *Les tambours du Congo Belge et du Ruanda-Urundi* (Tervuren, Belgium, 1951) is one of the more comprehensive. There are a number of good studies of religious and symbolic aspects of drumming-centered ritual traditions in Africa, among which Victor Turner's works (including the book already cited) are outstanding examples.

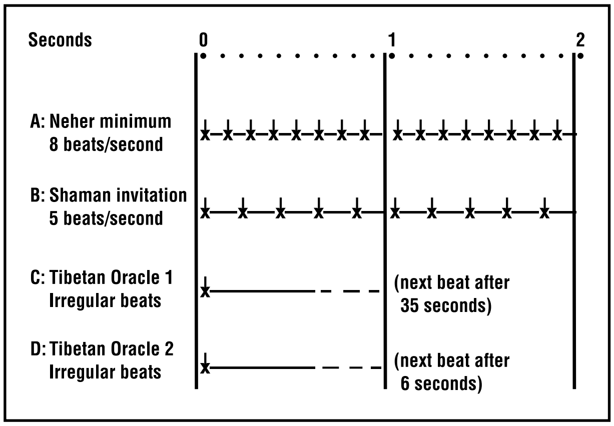

FIGURE 1. Neher's minimum projected tempo figures compared with drum tempos in two ritual traditions.

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DRUZE. The title *Druze* (Arab. *Durzī;* pl. *Durūz)* was given to the community by outsiders who derived it from the name of Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Darazī (d. 1019). Al-Darazī is considered by Druzes to be the "deviate" or "great heretic." Druzes refer to themselves as *Muwwaḥḥidūn* (Unitarians) or *Ahl al-Tawḥīd* (the People of Unitarianism). In addition to these titles, the community is often known in the Middle East as *Banū Maʿrūf* (Sons of Mercy, or Sons of Beneficence). The term *Maʿrūf* is derived from the Arabic words *ʿarafa* (to know), *maʿrifah* (knowledge), and *ʿirfān* (esoteric knowledge, gnosis). More importantly, the Druze manuscripts refer to the community as *madhhab ʿirfānī* (a gnostic school), and to its members as *Aʿrāf* (those who possess knowledge).

There are approximately one million Druzes in the world today, with the majority of them living in Syria (40–50%), Lebanon (30–40%), and Israel (6–7%). Syrian Druzes can be found mainly in the Ḥawrān and Ṣuwaydāʾ provinces, with the city of Ṣuwaydā having the largest Druze population. In Lebanon, Druzes live primarily in the ʿAlayh and the Shūf regions, with smaller populations in Bʿabdā, Marjʿuyūn, Rāshayyā, and al-Matn. Some Druze families also reside in Beirut, where the judiciary and administrative center of the community has its headquarters. In Israel, Druzes live in the Galilee and Carmel Mountain regions, with smaller numbers in other parts of the country. There are also a few thousand Druzes living in Jordan.

In addition to these larger concentrations of Druzes in the Middle East, smaller communities can be found in Australia, Canada, Europe, the Philippines, South America, West Africa, and the United States. These Druze diasporas have established communal associations, such as the American Druze Society, the British Druze Society, the Druze Association of Toronto, the Sidney Druze Society, and La Druzo Brazileiri.

INITIATED VERSUS UNINITIATED. Religious beliefs unite Druzes into socially cohesive communities and divide them into two main classes: the initiated or wise *(ʿuqqāl)* and the uninitiated or "ignorant" *(juhhāl).* The initiated members learn the precepts of their faith through readings and discussions of the sacred writings in the Druze house of prayer *(khalwah* or *majlis).* Only those believers who demonstrate piety and devotion and who have withstood the lengthy process of candidacy are introduced to the esoteric teachings and oral traditions of the faith. The Druze doctrine considers women more spiritually prepared than men, and women therefore undergo a less rigorous initiation process. The initiated men and women are easily identified by their modest dark clothes and white head covers.

Initiated persons are further subdivided into a number of categories, with the *Ajāwīd* (plural of *juwayyid,* the diminutive form of *jayyid,* which means "good") as the most devout among the initiated. The *Ajāwīd* serve as models for behavior, truthfulness, and wisdom, and whenever disputes arise their opinions are both revered and followed. Thus, they provide exclusive authority on the religious doctrine and dictate the proper conduct of members of the community, reinforcing its interactions within families, villages, and the rest of the world.

Uninitiated persons make up the majority of Druze society. They may seek initiation at any age, but their acceptance is based on their character. Although the uninitiated are indeed "ignorant" of the Druze doctrine, they are expected to behave according to certain prescriptions, both spiritual (e.g., devotion to God and his prophets) and moral (e.g., respect for elders, care for the young, and honor for women).

The division of Druzes into the initiated and uninitiated also has important ramifications for the political behavior of members of the community. This social structure may have facilitated Druze political cohesiveness, since religious leadership is provided by the *ʿuqqāl,* while political leadership is exercised by the *juhhāl.* However, despite the power held by the political leaders, families continue to consult, revere, and defer to the initiated members of their own families and of the community as a whole. Even though almost none of the initiated members hold political office, their perspectives carry political weight, influencing the decisions of the community's political leaders. Thus, while the initiated exercise strong yet indirect power in enforcing accepted standards for the community, the uninitiated draw strength from, as well as provide protection for, the initiated and the way of life, beliefs, and values they represent.

HISTORY VERSUS GENEALOGY. Druzes trace their genealogy to the beginning of time, believing that *tawḥīd* has existed in several phases or cycles *(adwār)* since the creation. They hold that before the biblical (or historical) Adam, there were 343 million years of human existence, and that during that period and up to the present certain communities have professed *tawḥīd* in one form or another. The Druze manuscripts include an elaborate cosmological doctrine that begins with the prebiblical Adam, referred to as "the pure Adam" (*Adam al-Ṣafāʾ*), and known as *Adam Kadmun* (Primordial Adam) in the Jewish Qabbalah and other religious traditions.

Druze historical origins, on the other hand, are traced to eleventh-century Fāṭimid Egypt. The Fāṭimis (r. 909–1171 CE) are Ismāʿīlī Shīʿah who originated in North Africa but conquered Egypt and built Cairo in 969 CE as their seat of power. According to almost all scholarly accounts, and based on Druze manuscripts, the Druze religious doctrine was founded, approved, supervised, or simply tolerated by the sixth Fāṭimid caliph, al-Manṣūr, known as al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (r. 996–1021 CE).

In the eyes of many historians, al-Ḥākim was the most controversial among Fāṭimid caliphs, due partly to rumors about a claim for divinity, which he apparently never made, and partly to his early resolutions against the ritualistic practices of several religious communities. Descriptions of al-Ḥākim as insane and eccentric became dominant in mainstream Islamic scholarship and later in the West as well. However, more recent historians have come to view him as an antagonist to ritualistic practices and as a reformer with his own style and approach.

A second important figure in the Druze religious reform movement is Ḥamzah ibn ʿAlī (b. 985), who is considered the main authority behind Druze teachings. Ḥamzah came to Cairo in December 1016 CE, and in May 1017 al-Ḥākim officially conferred the title of *imām* on him, announcing that he and his associates could begin disseminating their religious reforms. Druze manuscripts tell us that Ḥamzah ibn ʿAlī sent missionaries in every direction of the earth with a document or "proclamation of faith" known as *al-Mithāq* (the Covenant) by which the prospective converts could commit themselves and pledge their loyalty to the new movement and its religious doctrine. Then he sent twenty of his followers to the supreme Muslim judge, Aḥmad ibn al-ʿAwām, asking him not to adjudicate cases by members of the new movement because the movement's doctrine, among other things, prohibited polygamy and the remarriage of one's divorcee, practices that were authorized in the Islamic courts. Ḥamzah's emissaries were attacked and some were killed.

During this external resistance to the new movement, an internal power struggle arose between Ḥamzah and one of the activists mentioned earlier, al-Darazī. Although Ḥamzah was technically al-Darazī's superior, he decided to withdraw from public preaching in order to prevent any confusion in the ranks of new and prospective converts. Al-Darazī exploited the opportunity of Ḥamzah's withdrawal and not only claimed the title of *imām* for himself, but also began to falsify Ḥamzah's writings and teachings in order to present al-Ḥākim as divine. This was apparently in the hopes that al-Ḥākim would favor him over Ḥamzah. Instead, al-Ḥākim withdrew his support from al-Darazī and public opposition to al-Darazī's teachings increased. As his defeat neared, al-Darazī redirected the public's attack by declaring that he had acted on Ḥamzah's instructions.

Ḥamzah's previous withdrawal from preaching now worked against him by reinforcing al-Darazī's assertion that he was indeed following Ḥamzah's directives. Consequently, instead of attacking al-Darazī, the crowd turned against Ḥamzah's residence at the Ridan mosque. Although al-Darazī was eventually executed by al-Ḥākim and his teachings were repudiated, some writers thereafter attributed his teachings to the followers of Ḥamzah. In doing so, they referred to such followers as *Druzes* after Darazī's name, and erroneously portrayed al-Darazī as the founder of Druzism.

In 1021 CE, al-Ḥākim departed on one of his routine trips, but he never returned, leaving fertile ground for speculation. His contemporaries said that he could have been assassinated by his sister's agents, attacked by nomads who had not recognized him, or he could have simply died of natural causes. Whatever the case, his body was never found, and historians have been unable to resolve the mystery surrounding the caliph's life and disappearance. In the same year, Ḥamzah withdrew completely from the public eye and delegated the leadership of the community to Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Sāmmūqī, who is considered the third important figure in the emergence of the Druze movement.

Bahāʾ al-Dīn took office in a period when the Fāṭimid caliph, al-Ẓāhir, successor of al-Ḥākim, began persecuting members of the new movement. This period of persecution is known in the Druze tradition as a "testing phase" or "hardship" that lasted over five years. After 1026 CE, Bahāʾ al-Dīn wrote letters both to prospective converts in new locations and to those members who had seceded from the movement as a result of the persecution. He also sent missionaries to strengthen and guide believers. Bahāʾ al-Dīn continued his activity until the closing of the Druze *tawḥīd* movement in 1043. In that year Ḥamzah ibn ʿAlī, Bahāʾ al-Dīn and the other luminaries left Egypt to an unknown destination. Druzes believe that they will all return on the Day of Judgment. Since 1043, Druzism has remained closed to new converts.

In the past nearly one thousand years, Druze communities have faced various challenges, most notably their religious and spiritual decline during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. That period led to the emergence of several important spiritual leaders, the most important being the prolific theologian al-Amīr al-Sayyid al-Tanūkhī (d. 1479), who is the author of a number of treatises and commentaries. On the social and political levels, Druzes have remained a close-knit community and have almost always stayed loyal to the governments under which they lived. Exceptions that are worth mentioning may include the Maʿnīs' uprisings against the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century and the Aṭrashs' rebellion against French rule in the 1920s. Both the Maʿnīs and Aṭrashs were also supported by non-Druze residents of the region.

BELIEFS VERSUS PRACTICES. The Druze manuscripts advocate that the sources of *tawḥīd* are many and include the Hebrew Bible, the New Testament, and the Qurʾān. The Druze (holy) book, known as *The Epistles of Wisdom (Rasāʾil al-Ḥikmah)*, is in actuality a hermeneutic of biblical and Qurʾanic doctrines rather than an independent book of revelations.

Several beliefs and practices may be highlighted. The first Druze belief is in God and his oneness, without an attempt to penetrate the nature of his being and attributes. With minor variations, the Druze belief in God is consistent with the Judeo-Christian-Islamic tradition.

Secondly, Druzes believe in the teachings of several intermediaries, including seven spokesmen (*nutaqāʾ*) who preached *tawḥīd* in their times: Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muḥammad, and Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl. For each of these seven spokesmen, God provided a foundation *(asas)* to help in spreading *tawḥīd.* These helpers are, respectively, Seth, Shem, Ishmael, Aaron/Joshua, Simeon Peter, ʿAli ibn Abī Ṭālib, and al-Qaddah. Because these spokesmen and their helpers came from God, introduced his teachings, and obeyed and worshiped him, Druzes acknowledge and revere them. In addition to the spokesmen and foundations, Druzes believe that there was also a hierarchy of luminaries *(ḥudūd)* in each cycle. The five central luminaries are, in descending order, the Universal Intellect (*al-ʿAql al-Kullī*), the Universal Soul (*al-Nafs al-Kullīyah)*, the Word (*al-Kalimah),* the Preceding (*al-Sābiq*), and the Following (*al-Tālī).* Each of these spiritual luminaries was also represented by a human in each respective period.

Third, Druzes believe in the phenomenon of the transmigration of souls, or more precisely perhaps, *metempsychosis.* They use the unique term *taqāmus,* derived from *qāmis,* meaning "shirt," and not the common Arabic term *tanāsukh* (reincarnation). Druzes rely on biblical and Qurʾanic passages, as well as on Platonic and Neoplatonic arguments, to support their belief in *taqāmus.* Generally, and in contrast to other traditions, Druzes believe that after the death of the body the soul is instantly reborn into a new human body. Thus, Druzes do not accept the doctrine that the soul "hovers" without the body, nor the belief that humans are reborn as animals, plants, or things. Moreover, they believe that the soul's punishment or reward is granted only on the Day of Judgment and after a large number of lives in which the soul would have experienced all possible roles, being poor and rich, healthy and ill, and having had long and short lives.

In addition to the above three beliefs in God, intermediaries, and metempsychosis, Druzes believe in the centrality of wisdom *(ḥikmah)* as a collective body of knowledge concerning theology, cosmology, and eschatology. The word *ḥikmah* is often associated with *The Epistles of Wisdom,* but here the use of *ḥikmah* is distinctive and more cumulative, going beyond the eleventh-century religious doctrine. Some Druze sages are aware of such distinction between the *book of ḥikmah* and the *body of ḥikmah*, and they confirm that the world's printed spiritual texts are only a few drops in a vast ocean of wisdom. These drops are partially recorded in a number of ancient and medieval texts, some of which represent versions of older manuscripts with some degree of error.

Related to the belief in *ḥikmah* and its place in the Druze community is the belief in accessing such *ḥikmah* through initiation. As stated earlier, initiation in Druzism is a lengthy and arduous process. Like other esoteric and mystical groups, such a process demands that the initiated member be not only of the right character and personality, but also in a ready mental and spiritual state in life.

Finally, Druze religious practices, as distinguished from beliefs, include the following:

1. Speaking the truth *(ṣidq al-lisān);*
2. Protecting coreligionists *(ḥifẓ al-ikhwān);*
3. Abandoning the worship of idols/sin *(tark ʿibādat al-awthān);*
4. Fleeing from devils and oppression *(baraʾah min al-abālisah wa-al-tughyān);*
5. Declaring the unity of the creator *(tawḥīd al-Bāriʾ);*
6. Being contented with God *(riḍāʾ);*
7. Submitting to God's will *(taslīm).*

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DUALISM. As a category within the history and phenomenology of religion, dualism may be defined as a doctrine that posits the existence of two fundamental causal principles underlying the existence (or, as in the case of the Indian notion of *maya* as opposed to *atman,* the painful appearance of the existence) of the world. In addition, dualistic doctrines, worldviews, or myths represent the basic components of the world, or of humans, as participating in the ontological opposition and disparity of value that characterize their dual principles. In this specific religio-historical sense, dualism is to be distinguished from the more general philosophical doctrines of transcendence and metaphysical irreducibility, which are opposed to monistic or pantheistic doctrines of immanence. This article will examine dualism only in the former sense, as a religio-historical phenomenon. It begins with a systematic overview of the nature and types of dualism, then proceeds to a closer examination of some specific historical instances.

As a religio-historical phenomenon, dualism is more specific than either simple duality or polarity. Not every duality or polarity is dualistic—only those that involve the duality or polarity of causal principles. Thus not every pair of opposites (such as male and female, right and left, light and darkness, good and bad, spirit and matter, and sacred and profane) can be labeled as dualistic, even when their opposition is emphasized. They are dualistic only when they are understood as principles or causes of the world and its constitutive elements. In addition, in order for pairs of opposites to be dualistic, it is not necessary that they be mutually irreducible or coeternal. Indeed, one may be the creation of the other, as in the dualistic doctrine of the Bogomils, where Satan, created by God, is in turn the creator of the human body. In short, there is no dualism where there is no question of cosmogony or anthropogony, where there is no account of the principles responsible for bringing the world and humans into existence. This means that a concept of mere ethical dualism, stressing the moral opposition between good and evil and their respective protagonists (as in the Christian concepts of God and the devil), is not properly dualistic in the religio-historical and phenomenological sense—unless, however, good and evil are also connected with opposite ontological principles, as in Zoroastrianism and in Manichaeism. The simple contrasting of good and evil, life and death, light and darkness, and so on is in fact coextensive with religion itself and cannot be equated with the much more specific phenomenon of dualism.

DUALISM IN RELIGIO-HISTORICAL, PHILOSOPHICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL DISCOURSE. In 1700 the English Orientalist Thomas Hyde (1636–1703) used in his *Historia religionis veterum Persarum* (1700) the term "dualistae" in reference to the ancient religion of the Persians, whom he described as professing a belief in two principles—respectively the Light and Good one and the Dark and Evil one, a belief he traced to Zarathushtra. Subsequently, the terms "dualist" and "duality" were employed in reference to Zarathushtra by Pierre Bayle and Gottfried Leibnitz, and in 1734 Christian Wolff in his *Psychologia rationalis* introduced the term "dualism" to define philosophical systems like that of René Descartes (1596–1650), which posit that mind and matter are two distinct substances. Subsequently, the term came into use for philosophical descriptions of Cartesianism, the mind-body problem, and the doctrines of transcendence. More generally, the term dualism came to be applied also to philosophical systems that contained important and paradigmatic pairs of oppositions like that of Plato, with its dualities between the mortal body and the immortal soul, the "One" and the "Many," the finite and the infinite, as well as the world perceived by the senses and the world of eternal ideas comprehended by the mind or the Kantian ontological distinction between the phenomenal and the noumenal world.

Although the term "dualism" entered forcefully into philosophical terminology, theories, and arguments, in the field of religious history and theology throughout the nineteenth century, it would retain its original association with Zarathushtra and the ancient Persian religion. The development of Oriental scholarship, the history of religions, and ethnology in the second half of the nineteenth century, however, led to the application of the term beyond ancient Iran in the discussions of the religions of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, the Greek and the Hellenistic world—particularly with regard to some currents in Pre-Socratic philosophic traditions, Orphism and Pythagoreanism)—and the first studies trying to identify dualist strands in the preliterate cultures of North America and Eurasia. Consequently there appeared the first attempts to determine the place of religious dualism in the history of religions on the whole. Dualism came to be variously defined as a reaction against monotheism; as an intermediate phase of passage between polytheism and monotheism; as a protest against the presence of evil in the world; as a corrective to monism's tendency to effect a premature synthesis (Rudolf Eucken); and as a response to the experience of irrationality in the world (Max Weber).

Another approach to the problem in which dualism and monotheism are treated as intimately related phenomena was also to find its early expressions in literature, for example, in Ludwig Stein's *Dualismus oder Monismus* (1909). The widening of the scope of the study of religious dualism in the early twentieth century was also effected by the historical-critical methods of inquiry introduced by the *Religionsgeschitliche Schule*. At the same time, the prominent focus on the impact of ancient Iran and Mesopotamia on Judaism, Christianity, and Gnosticism in the most influential works of the *Religionsgeschitliche Schule*, as well as the postulation of Iranian redemption myths—like that of the "redeemed redeemer," believed by Richard Reitzenstein to have crucially influenced Gnosticism—helped to retain what should have been by then an anachronistic paradigm of Iran as the cradleland of religious dualism.

Meanwhile, the contemporary advance in research in the dual organization of a number of mainly preliterate societies generated increasing interest among anthropologists and sociologists in its origins, development, and ways of functioning. This had direct implications for the study of dualism, polarity, and contrariety in religious and cultural history. Coupled with the widening exploration and understanding of the phenomenon of dual symbolic classification in such preliterate (as well as some later) societies, this led to the conceptualization of some influential anthropological and sociological approaches to the problem of dualism and dual social organization. For Emile Durkheim and his followers, as well as related theorists—like the Russian scholar A. Zolotarev—the bipartite classification of society and the world (and the related religious and mythological/cosmological notions) had its origins in dual models developed in society itself. Other scholars favored "historical" explanations for the rise of social organization of a binary type—decoded largely as a consequence of the historical mixture of two different ethnic entities.

Although making some major contributions to the study of dual social organizations, particularly in relation to the use of dual symbolic classification and religious traditions such as the cult of the divine twins, these historicizing and sociologizing approaches were frequently marred by obvious reductionism. According to the influential alternative approach offered by the structural anthropology of Claude Lévi-Strauss and his followers, the principles of dual social organization derive from a "deep structure" operating unconsciously in the human mind, one of whose most important mechanisms is that of the binary opposition intrinsic to the mind's perception of the world.

Structural anthropology stimulated a number of studies and widespread debates across a range of fields, ranging from whether binary differentiation and oppositions form the primal and permanent basis of human consciousness and culture (including theories that it could be related to the bicamerality of the human mind) to their posited correlations with the general formal characteristics of language and the diffusion and history of binary systems of thought and action in various civilizations. The studies and debates also ranged from preliterate societies, to the use of a "polar mode of thought" in classical Greece and China, and the preoccupation of binary opposites and contrariety in medieval and early modern Europe.

The resultant expanding study of binary social organizations and symbolic classifications on the whole, and separate problems—such as the correlation between beliefs/cosmology based on the binary cosmos of certain cultures and the related social institutions (binary or not)—has not always distinguished sufficiently the term dualism from duality, polarity, contrariety, and oppositional thought. With the prevalent focus being on the sociological or psychological interpretation of religion, this has led to some ambiguity and uncritical use in the application of the term dualism in anthropological and sociological discourse, as well as a frequent lack of terminological specification, which has to be contrasted with the terminologically well-defined usage of the term in philosophical discourse gradually established throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Indeed the term dualism may have originally been introduced in a religio-historical framework, but the parameters of its legitimate and specific usage were determined earlier in philosophical discourse—this process was somewhat delayed in religious studies of the phenomenon, at least prior to the appearance of the first more systematic works on religious dualism. The unearthing and publication of new sources for Manichaeism between the two World Wars, and the eventual discovery of the Nag Hammadi Gnostic corpus in 1945, revolutionized the study of Gnosticism and led to increasing numbers of studies, such as Hans Jonas's *The Gnostic Religion* (1958), that focused on various aspects of Gnostic dualism. Employing the newly redefined methods of form criticism, redaction history, and tradition history, these studies revisited and reassessed the theories and arguments of the *Religionsgeschitliche Schule* regarding the origins of Gnostic dualism, and often broke into completely new territories.

A new stage in the research on religious dualism and a movement towards the accomplishment of its *Weltgeschichte* was inaugurated in the studies of Ugo Bianchi between 1958 and 1995. Among the many contributions of these studies was the elaboration of a systematic typology of dualism with the simultaneous and balanced use of comparative-historical and phenomenological approaches to the various historical and theological problems posed by dualist traditions (pertaining to, among others, diffusion, cultural exchange, parallel development, and acculturation). Thus depth, meticulousness, and variety were finally given to the religio-historical senses in which dualism can be validly used. Bianchi's discussions, typology, and definitions of dualism—which integrated material both from literate and nonliterate religions—have recently been further elaborated, specified, and in some cases challenged by other scholars working in the various fields of religious studies.

ROLE IN MONOTHEISM, POLYTHEISM, AND MONISM.

In the historical phenomenology of religion, dualism need not be opposed necessarily to either monotheism, polytheism, or monism.

Dualism in monotheism. Dualistic manifestations of monotheism can be found in the *Gathas* of the Zoroastrian Avesta and in Christian Gnosticism. Here one finds an ontologically inferior and often demonic figure, such as Ahriman (Angra Mainyu) in the Avesta or the Prince of Darkness in Manichaeism or the psychic demiurge in Gnosticism, all of which exist as a second principle along with the supreme God. Only in Marcionism does this dualism lead beyond monotheism to a properly ditheistic doctrine (the supreme god of perfect goodness, as opposed to the inferior god of "justice"). Additionally, some forms of non-Gnostic Christian speculation deeply influenced by Platonism can be regarded as dualistic. Rather than a Gnostic belief in two irreducible agencies that account for the existence of humans and the universe, there is in the speculation a belief in the fundamental opposition of the immaterial human soul and the material—that is, physical—body. Although present here is the same God who creates both the soul and the body, the occasion for the creation of the latter is the primordial sin of what were originally "incorporeal"—that is, not bound to a material body—rational souls. This primordial sin can accordingly be viewed as a second principle or cause that motivates God to create the human body in its present constitution and the visible world in which people must live until the final apocatastasis, or restoration of his primordial, "immaterial" condition.

Such is the picture presented by the platonizing anthropology of Origen (c. 185–c. 254 CE. In this case, one can speak of an anthropological dualism, which implies not only the dual constituents of soul and body, but more importantly a duality of causes: the omnipotent will of God and the sin of a created soul, the latter motivating the creation of the human physiological body and the material world. Clearly, sin is not to be understood here as the efficient cause of this "second creation"; it merely motivates the subsequent (second) creative act of God. Rather, sin is to be understood here as "previous sin," as distinct from the original sin of Adam. Whereas the latter was committed by Adam as a fully corporeal man, this "previous sin" was committed by the preexisting souls in a kind of "prologue in heaven." Elements of this Origenian tradition of anthropological dualism are also found in Gregory of Nyssa, who thought that God created the human (sexual) body because of his foreknowledge of the (not sexual) sin of Adam and his fall from paradise.

One finds a somewhat different form of non-Gnostic, dualistic monotheism in certain Jewish thinkers who admit the existence of angelic agents who cooperate with God the creator. In Philo Judaeus (c. 20 BCE– after 42 CE), for instance, these angels are particularly concerned with the creation of people or their lower constituents. Philo shows here the clear influence of Plato, who in his *Timaeus* had opposed the great Demiurge, creator of the immortal part of the soul, and the "generated gods," whom the Demiurge appoints to create the lower, mortal parts of the soul and the human body.

Needless to say, dualistic formulations of monotheism were criticized by Christian theologians, who sought to avoid any limitation of the absolute creativity of God. Nevertheless, it should be noted that some of the abovementioned conceptions (those of Philo and Plato) were originally intended to safeguard God's innocence in relation to evil. Thus the Platonists attributed human evil not to God, but to the freedom of the will and to the corporeal nature of humans.

Dualism in polytheism. Dualistic conceptions can also be found in polytheism. In some polytheistic cosmogonies there is an opposition between two distinct causal principles, represented on the one hand by the older, semipersonal *archai,* or principles of an elementary character, and on the other by a new race of youthful and energetic gods. Thus Ouranos, in the cosmogony of Hesiod, and Apsu, in the Mesopotamian *Enuma elish,* are each violently opposed in their egocentrism and ontological passivity by new gods, among whom figures a wise and energetic demiurge who creates or sets in order the world, apportions lots, and fixes destinies. It should be noted that in this type of cosmogony, the vanquished primordial entities do not completely lose their sacredness. Ouranos, for instance, retains a prophetic function, Apsu remains pure, and Vrtra (an analogous figure in Vedic cosmogony) remains a brahman. In other words, the character of these primordial entities, fated to a final defeat and transformed substantially into the elements of the universe, is far from demonic; they remain different from the aggressive beings that characterize the Zoroastrian and Gnostic worldviews.

Dualism in monism. Finally, even monism can be expressed in dualistic terms. This is the case, paradoxically enough, in the classical Advaita doctrine of Sankara (c. 788–820), and in other systems that reduce the multiplicity of the material world to illusion—that is, to metaphysical nonexistence. These systems in fact correspond to the definition of dualism put forth earlier, inasmuch as *maya* (illusion), though ontologically insubstantial, nevertheless gives rise to the phenomenal world and its suffering. Instances of dualistic monism can be found outside India as well. In Greece the monistic doctrine of Parmenides is not without dualistic overtones, with its opposition between truth and opinion (*doxa*)—a distinction that was also proper to Plato. More profoundly intermingled, and at the same time opposed, are the coeternal principles of Love and Discord in the ontology and cosmology of Empedocles. One also thinks of Heraclitus's essentially dualistic doctrine of "war" (*polemos*), where the "way downward" and the "way upward" oppose each other, all within the context of the axiological preeminence attributed to the principle of Logos, which has as its material aspect fire.

TYPES OF DUALISM. In order to provide a more systematic examination of dualism, it is necessary to review a typology of its basic forms. These forms, however, require verification through comparative historical research. From the systematic point of view, every form of dualism may be classified by type as either radical or moderate, either dialectical or eschatological, and as either cosmic (or procosmic) or anticosmic. Each of these pairs is examined in turn below.

Radical versus moderate. Radical dualism and moderate dualism may be distinguished from each other on the basis of their respective views of the two fundamental principles. Radical dualism admits two coequal and coeternal principles (in the sense that both of them exist and act from the very beginning, whatever may be their final destiny; see below). Late Avestan and medieval Zoroastrianism, as well as the early Gathic doctrine of the two primordial spirits, are examples of such radical dualism. In particular, the two Gathic spirits are to be understood as existing independently from the beginning of the world with their perfectly contrary natures. Notwithstanding the interpretation given by most Iranologists, the conflicting moral choices of the two Gathic spirits between *asha* (Truth) and *druj* (Untruth) means merely the declaration of their inborn natures, and the bad spirit has nothing in common with Ahura Mazda, the high god. That the Gathic spirits are mentioned in the Gathas as "twins" does not imply more than their being symmetrical and contrary in essence to each other. (Manichaeism and some varieties of medieval Catharism also belong within this form.) Among the Greeks there exists a radical dualism in Orphism, with its conception of the *kuklos tes geneseos* ("the cycle of birth") and the dualistic implications of its metaphysics; in Empedocles' theory of the two opposed principles of Love and Discord; in Heraclitus; and in Plato's doctrines of the two alternating revolutions of the world, mentioned in the *Statesman,* and of the coeternity of the Ideas and the "receptacle" *(chora).* There are also several forms of radical dualism in India, particularly in the Samkhya system, with its opposed principles of *purusa* and *prakrti.*

Unlike the radical dualism, moderate (or monarchian) dualism exhibits only one primordial principle, while a second principle somehow derives from the first, often through an incident that took place in a kind of prologue in heaven. This second principle then plays a central role in bringing the world into existence. Many of the Gnostic systems provide examples of moderate dualism, in particular the systems of Valentinus, where the structure of the divine, pneumatic world (the *pleroma*) allows for the possibility of a fall in heaven. The fall of Sophia, the last Aion, is a result of her location on the periphery of the divine *pleroma.* This dangerous position amounts to a kind of predestination. Although this does not destroy the moderate, or monarchian, character of Valentinianism, it does show that Gnostic metaphysics here includes a concept of crisis or instability in the divine that is fundamentally dualistic. It also provides evidence of Gnosticism's connections with other speculative trends during the Hellenistic period, such as the Orphic, Pythagorean, and Platonic traditions. Other examples of moderate dualism are the anthropogony of Plato's *Timaeus,* and medieval sects (some of the Cathari and the Bogomils).

Evidence of radical or moderate dualism among nonliterate cultures is ambiguous, and this fact may be significant for an understanding of the formation process of dualistic ideologies and creeds. Thus, whereas the Algonquin myth of the two brothers Ioskeha and Tawiskaron, born of Ataentsic (a primordial female being) can be traced to a type of radical dualism—because the brothers have, respectively, a positive and negative relation to creation from the beginning—other American myths of a dualistic character are different. They may present a supreme being who in the beginning is unopposed but is later joined by a second figure of unknown origin who begins to interfere in the creation process. The unknown origin of the rival, who is often characterized as a demiurgic trickster, may be intended to indicate that his earlier absence was really an unmanifested presence, and that he is in fact an integral part of a single, all-inclusive scenario.

The same seems to be true of the North American myth of Nih'asa (or Napiwa), the "hard man" who arrives late, his origin unknown. He succeeds in taking control of the earth with the creator god's permission, but then immediately acts against the latter's purposes. The less tragic Chukchi myth of the primordial times conveys the same impression. The supreme being creates everything, but forgets to create Raven (who in other Northeast Asian myths is a trickster and a secondary demiurge). The supreme being's forgetfulness points to the fact that Raven is implicitly, even before his birth, a constituent element of the universe. In fact, the myth tells us that he comes into being in darkness, during the night following creation, born of a creator god's abandoned garment. Thus the creator is, in one way or another, responsible for the totality of existence, and Raven owes his existence to a kind of inborn necessity.

It would seem, therefore, that the most ancient formulations (or at least the simplest) did not choose between the two possibilities of radical and moderate dualism. Perhaps such an alternative was not recognized. Such may also have been the case with what we have called the moderate dualism of the Valentinians and of other Gnostics and sectarians, whose mythologies are frequently reminiscent of the dualistic scenarios of archaic cultures.

In this connection one may also mention the mythologies of the Yazīdīs, the Ahl-i Haqq, and the dualistic myths and legends found in the folklore of eastern Europe. The latter have been influenced both by the doctrines of the Bogomils, who themselves drew upon certain Christian apocryphal writings; but they also have some features in common with the dualistic mythologies found among the Tatars of the Altai and among other Turkish and Mongolian populations of Central Asia.

Dialectical versus eschatological dualism. Dialectical dualism may be distinguished from eschatological dualism by the fact that the two irreducible principles recognized by the former function eternally, whereas in the latter case they do not. In dialectical dualism the two principles are often conceived of as good and evil, respectively, both in the ethical and metaphysical sense. Samples are to be found in Orphic speculation on the one and the many, in Empedocles and Heraclitus, and in Platonism. The Hindu opposition of *atman* and *maya* also represents this type of dualism, as does the Chinese ideology of *yin* and *yang,* and various theosophical speculations.

The distinctive feature of eschatological dualism is the belief that the evil principle will be overcome at the end of history. Examples of this type of belief can be found in Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, Gnosticism, Bogomilism, and Catharism. As can be seen from this list, many forms of eschatological dualism are historically dependent on doctrines within Christianity, where soteriology is strongly eschatological (though nondualistic). Similarly, some forms of dialectical dualism are connected with monistic speculations. It should also be noted that whereas dialectical dualism is always radical dualism, eschatological dualism can be grounded on either radical dualism, as in the case of Zoroastrianism and the Manichaeism influenced by it, or on moderate dualism, such as one finds in most Gnostic traditions, in Bogomilism, and in Catharism.

Cosmic (Procosmic) versus anticosmic dualism. Cosmic and anticosmic forms of dualism are distinguished by their attitudes towards the world. Cosmic dualism contends that creation is fundamentally good, and evil comes to it from the outside. Zoroastrianism can be named as a typical example. Anticosmic dualism contends, to the contrary, that evil is intrinsic to the world and present in an essentially negative or delusive principle or substance such as matter, the body, or the inferior soul. Examples here include Orphism, Gnosticism, Manichaeism, Bogomilism, Catharism, and certain forms of Hinduism. In Manichaeism, for instance, we find the notion of the world as being made out of the dark, material substance of demons, molded by a divine demiurge, the Spiritus Vivens. The cosmos is created as a providential engine in order to permit the progressive liberation of the souls trapped within it, which are eventually guided to the heavenly paradise.

OTHER TYPOLOGIES OF RELIGIOUS DUALISM. With the expansion of research on religious dualism, other typologies have also been put forward that should be taken into account when considering separate disciplines like that of Dead Sea Scrolls studies, in which such alternative typologies of dualism have become more influential. Some modern scholars have added more dichotomies to the above scheme of Bianchi's three pairs, as in the case of Ioan Coulianu, who added to the scheme the dichotomy of antihylic (against matter) versus prohylic dualism (*The Tree of Gnosis*, 1992), while effectively not recognizing mitigated dualist teachings as belonging to religious dualism and, accordingly, the first pair in Bianchi's typology. In her *Le Dieu Separé* (Paris, 1984) Simone Pétrement puts the main focus on the dichotomy of horizontal dualism (where the division is between beings on the same level as in Zoroastrian and Qumran dualism) and vertical dualism (where the division is between realities of different levels as in Platonic, Christian, and Gnostic dualism as well as the Cartesian and Kantian systems). A. H. Armstrong ("Dualism: Platonic, Gnostic, and Christian," 1992) proposes as a main dichotomy a distinction between cosmic dualism, which perceives the whole existence as constituted by the interaction of two opposite principles, and two-world dualism, which posits the division between two levels of reality, the normal and the higher one. The cosmic dualism in this scheme is further divided into four varieties: conflict-dualism of the Iranian pattern, in which the two principles are intrinsically opposed and in a constant conflict; dualism in which the two principles are seen as independent but complementary or interacting in harmony—as frequently speculated in Chinese thought; and two types of dualism in which the second principle derives from the first, accordingly either in revolt or opposition against the first principle, or in harmony and collaboration with it.

Another kind of typology of religious dualism is widely used in the study of the Qumran texts and differing from Bianchi's scheme in several important respects. Advanced by James H. Charlesworth and elaborated by other Qumran scholars, it distinguishes ten types of dualistic thought: metaphysical dualism, denoting the opposition of two prominent causal powers of equal standing; cosmic dualism, expressing the division of the universe and humankind into opposed forces of good and evil—which are, however, not viewed as coeternal or causal; spatial dualism, which divides the world in two spatially differentiated parts, like heaven and earth; and eschatological dualism focused on the bisection of the world into two temporally separated parts like the present age and the future one (also referred to as spatial dualism); ethical dualism, indicating the splitting up of humanity into two mutually exclusive camps on the basis of their adherence to virtue or vice; soteriological dualism, signifying the bisection of humans into two groups on the basis of their acceptance or rejection of a messianic figure; theological dualism, denoting the contrast between God and humans or the creator and his creation (a contrast approaching genuine dualism only when the element of antagonism between the two is accentuated); physical dualism, referring to the radical separation between spirit and matter; anthropological dualism, designating the contrariety between body and soul as dissimilar principles of being (obviously related to the previous type of physical dualism) and finally, psychological dualism, denoting the opposition of two principles or impulses—good and evil—within people and struggling to prevail upon them. It is obvious that the types of cosmic and eschatological dualism refer to different kinds of dualist concepts in this typology and Bianchi's scheme, differences that should be reckoned with when dealing with studies in the relevant fields

RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF TYPES. A general consideration of the typologies that have just been presented permits one to make several interesting observations. First of all, the first opposition—that between radical and moderate forms of dualism—seems to be the least significant. This calls into question the frequent assumption that dualism in its genuine form implies the coeternity of the two principles. That this particular alternative caused important clashes in the Cathar churches of the Western Middle Ages should not lead us to overestimate its importance. The fundamental ambiguity involved in the question of the origin of the rival of God, the demiurge-trickster, in the dualistic mythologies of a number of nonliterate cultures points rather to the relative unimportance of this opposition. From the metaphysical point of view, the second form of typological opposition, that between dialectical and eschatological dualism, which is the most important. Finally, in relation to the actual conception and practice of life, it is the third opposition, that between cosmic and anticosmic dualism, that is central.

This final point enables us to recognize the specific character of Zoroastrianism in relation to the other types. As an outstanding form of cosmic dualism, Zoroastrianism is to be distinguished sharply from anticosmic Manichaeism, in spite of their similarities as both radical and eschatological. Manichaeism, which is generally Gnostic and Western in character, nevertheless shares in the radical and eschatological form of Zoroastrian dualism and suggests the conceptual and iconographic influence of the Iranian religious milieu.

The opposition of cosmic and anticosmic is less helpful for arriving at a specific characterization of Platonic and Hermetic forms of dualism. Both Plato and Plotinus strongly affirmed the beauty and order of the cosmos (something that sets Plotinus apart from the Gnostics). Nevertheless, they occasionally expressed less optimistic views. In the *Laws,* for example, Plato formulated an opposition between two souls of the world, one good and the other evil. Furthermore, both he and Plotinus shared the Orphic doctrine of the body as the tomb or prison of the soul and the view of life as a kind of death. In the end, it is impossible to describe the thought of either as consistently cosmic or anticosmic.

DUALISM IN HISTORY. Up to this point in the entry, the approach to dualism has been systematic. But the history of religions entails more than a purely phenomenological or systematic outlook. Employing a comparative-historical method raises the question of possible historical connections between different forms of religious dualism, and engages one in analyzing the historical milieus in which these phenomena arise. A historical-comparative treatment of dualism as a specific category of religious thought and experience need not revert to diffusionist explanations that presuppose a single historical origin of dualism and explain its subsequent geographical extension as a consequence of cultural diffusion and adaptation. The diverse historical forms of dualism can be better explained on the basis of parallel development, provided this approach avoids the presuppositions of evolutionism and physiological development. Yet it is not less historical in character than the diffusionist approach.

What is intended, then, is a historical typology that would explain the independent development of analogous religious phenomena such as dualism on the basis of comparable religious and historical circumstances or presuppositions. In any case, with the modern scholarship available, it would be hard to support a diffusionist explanation of the widespread presence of dualism in different cultures, times, and religions. Given the presence of forms of dualism in the archaic cultures of North America, it is clearly impossible to view all forms of dualism as having a single geographical point of origin, such as Iran. Here it is best to focus only on those connections that can be historically documented.

As was pointed out above, such connections can be found between some forms of Manichaean and Zoroastrian dualism. Similar comparative-historical conclusions could be drawn concerning the relationship between the dualistic conceptions found in eastern European folklore and in such western Asian sects as the Yazīdīs. One could possibly speak of a certain dualistic propensity in the ethnological background of these areas without losing sight of the opposite possibility—namely, the direct influence of the great dualistic religions and the active dualistic sectarian movements such as the Bogomils. Similar possibilities exist in the case of the well-established dualistic mythologies of the Inner Asian Turks and Tatars (see, for example, the dark figure of Erlik, an antigod particularly connected with the realm of death). These may have been influenced not only by Iran but also by the dualistic folklore traditions of eastern Europe.

The earth-diver cosmogonies and dualism. Even in Iran, there have occasionally been peripheral formulations of dualism that cannot be explained on the basis of Zoroastrian ideology alone. The characterization of Ahriman as a kind of demiurge-trickster, for instance, is not unlike the characterization of similar figures in the nonliterate cultures of Asia. Ultimately one is led to question the origins of Zoroastrian dualism itself: to what extent was it influenced or predetermined by the figure of Zarathushtra? To what extent, and in which ways, was Iranian religion characterized by dualistic tendencies prior to Zarathushtra? And, what was more important for this: those elements that were paralleled in the Vedic literature of India (such as the parallel figures of Indra-Vrtrahan and Verethraghna), or those that recall Inner Asian folklore?

However these questions are to be answered, one possibility deserves special mention, namely that of what one might call a "dualistic imperialism." This may be illustrated by considering the historical fate of the so-called earth diver, the mythical theme of a bird or animal that dives into the primordial sea in order to bring up some mud for the creator, who then spreads it on the surface of the waters to create the earth. This motif is widespread, being found in Inner Asia, eastern Europe, and North America. What is interesting is that it has dualistic implications only in the Old World, which seems particularly significant because other dualistic myths are far from rare in the New World. It may mean that the originally nondualistic motif of the diver was first given a dualistic interpretation in Asia, some time after versions of it had spread to North America. The reasons for such an insistence on a dualistic interpretation of the motif in Asia can only be guessed at, but once it had taken hold, it could have modified the earlier situation and led to the appropriation of themes previously extraneous to dualism. Thus one would have a kind of "dualistic imperialism" whose more peculiar manifestations would have appeared in Iran or at its borders. Such a hypothesis need not have anything to do with the theory that dualism as such originated in these regions.

Whereas it is still early to conclude that the earth-diver cosmogonic scenario can be seen as the core of a widespread "Eurasian dualism," various East European, Siberian, and Central Asian earth-diver cosmogonies display dualist elements in different stages of development and combination. It would be safe to assume that both internal factors (like inherited binary cosmogonies and the divine twins mythology) and external influences (in the Eurasian cases: Christian diabology, with its inherent dualist tendencies; as well as possible Zoroastrian and Manichaean influences in the central Asian cosmogonies) conditioned the overall general movement towards dualism, as the mythic scenario came to be reinterpreted and modified, particularly in Eurasia.

Traces of the earth-diver cosmogonic lore may be found in the cosmogonies of Islamic heterodox groups such as the

Alevi, the Yazīdīs, and the Ahl-i Haqq, but its dualist elements have been variously tamed. In most of the mature east European versions of the cosmogonic scenario, the two primordial beings are identified as God and Satan, and it is God who dispatches Satan to dive in the primal sea (whether in ornithomorphic form or not) upon which there follows the antagonism between the two figures. These east European dualist cosmogonic legends vary in detail, yet all of them emphasize the role of Satan as an original companion of God and a crucial vehicle for the creation of the material world.

Diffusion of dualism. It is now time to focus attention on other territories and cultures in which dualism, in forms different from those found in Inner Asia and North America, was once widespread. These territories extend from the border of the Achaemenid empire in the East to Sicily and Magna Graecia in the West. Here, Orphism and Pythagoreanism—both typical forms of dualism—took forms different from those found in Iran, Inner Asia, and North America. Rather than a supreme being opposed by a devilish or trickster-like demiurge, we find a form of anthropological dualism that is at the same time ontological and cosmological. The doctrines of *soma-sema* (body-tomb), *metensomatosis,* and purification from "previous sin" characterize this mysteriosophical, anthropological dualism, which is rooted in a metaphysics that opposes oneness and multiplicity in the context of an eternally recurring cycle. The term "mysteriosophical" is intended to refer to the tendency of Orphism and Pythagoreanism, and later Plato and Platonism, to adapt elements from the theology of the mystery religions to their own philosophies. The mystery religions themselves seem to have been free from the antisomatic attitudes typical to Orphism and Pythagoreanism.

The anticosmic and antisomatic doctrines of Greek mysteriosophy are comparable in some respects to the monistic-dualistic speculation found in the Indian Upaniṣads, some of which were roughly contemporary with the mysteriosophic currents of the West. Greek mysteriosophy no doubt contributed to the development of similar trends in the West— for example, in the form of Gnostic, Hermetic, Neoplatonic, and Neo-Pythagorean dualism, and in Gnostic antisomatism, which connected death with *eros* and *genesis* (birth) with *phthora* (corruption, death). Although Gnosticism, and in particular Christian Gnosticism, was undoubtedly heir to the eschatological setting of non-Gnostic Christianity, these objective historical and phenomenological connections with pagan mysteriosophy should not be overlooked.

Also not to be overlooked is the question of the influence of North Asian, northeast European, and Balkan forms of animism and shamanism on the development of dualism in the Mediterranean area, as well as in Iran and Central Asia. The problem of the relation between such non-Greek forms of animism and shamanism and some of the "irrational" aspects of Archaic and Classical Greek culture is well known. Although the issue is certainly of primary importance, it should not be forgotten that important differences separate the *metensomatosis* and asceticism of Orphism and Pythagoreanism from the animistic creeds and practices of northeast European shamanistic cultures. In particular, the ethical and ontological motivations of the Greek mysteriosophic traditions are conspicuously absent in such cultures. The same is true of those Balkan personages, such as Zalmoxis, who are connected in Thrace with practices and beliefs of "immortalization" that are different from the Orphic conception of death and reincarnation in the context of ethical and ontological purification. Nevertheless, these so-called barbarian elements may form an essential part of the history of European dualism.

The "Pythagorean" abstention from meat was also attributed to Zalmoxis. Moreover, for the celibate sect of the Ktistai, and also the pagan sect of the Pious Ones (Eusebeis) of Balkan antiquity, abstaining from meat (Strabo, *Geographia* 7.3.3.5) may recall some corresponding aspects of the medieval Balkan sect of the Bogomils, founded by a priest named Bogomil ("he who prays to God," or perhaps "he who loves God"). The dualistic folklore of the Balkans and eastern Europe, as well as the more or less dualistic apocrypha popular there, are also a part of this history. These oral and literary instances are particularly interesting in that they may show the influence of Gnostic motifs drawn from literary texts and oral legends originating in the East. Generally speaking, one can say that "Oriental" dualism—derived from both literary and oral traditions and characterized by the opposition of a creator and an inferior demiurge (the lower god of Gnosticism, or the demiurge-trickster of ethnology and folklore)—was influential in those Balkan and eastern European regions where dualistic trends were already in evidence. The di-theism of those imported mythologies may have been prepared for by indigenous conceptions of a duality of gods, such as the white god and the black god mentioned by a medieval—and not authoritative—text: Helmold's *Chronica Slavorum* (twelfth century).

DUALIST DENOMINATIONS AND TENDENCIES IN JUDAISM, CHRISTIANITY, AND ISLAM. The ostensibly contradictory views of early Zoroastrianism as "dualist monotheism" or "monotheistic dualism" (and the related debates on whether Zurvanism should be considered a "heretical" monistic deviation from dualist Zoroastrianism or just its triadic version) have been continuously challenged and redefined against the background of the monotheistic worlds of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Concerning early Zoroastrianism, the main debates have been focused on whether Angra Mainyu can be regarded as proceeding from Ahura Mazda or as a likewise uncreated being who is directly opposed to him, as well as on whether Angra Mainyu should be considered evil by nature or by choice.

Dualism in Judaism. To a great extent these debates have been provoked by the various chronological problems posed by nature of the primary sources for Zoroastrianism and the difficulties in separating the early stages of Zoroastrian thought from later sources. These problems have also affected the study of the religious interchange between ancient Iran and Israel and the emergence of dualist tendencies in postexilic Judaism. Previously focused on the development of Jewish angelology and demonology and the emerging notion of Satan as the personification of cosmic evil opposed to God and humanity in the intertestamental period, the arguments for Zoroastrian influence on postexilic Jewish thought received a fresh impetus with the discovery and publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls, among which documents like the *Community Rule* and the *War Rule* offered explicit dualist proclivities and terminology. This was coupled with the related expansion of research into the intertestamental Enochic apocalyptic tradition with its generative, novel, and dualistically-oriented notion of the superhuman origin of evil caused by the sinful descent of the fallen angels—the Watchers—in the early section of the apocalyptic corpus of *1 Enoch, The Book of the Watchers.*

Although Qumran cosmic dualism ("cosmic" as in Charlesworth's scheme above) remains a dualism under one God who determines the dualistic structure, a number of studies have sought a Zoroastrian or Zurvanite pedigree for the Qumran teachings of the "Two Ways" and the "Two Spirits" and the temporal and eschatological dimension of the "war dualism" in the *War Rule.* As Qumran thought presents varied dualist traits with a complex evolution, such arguments for a certain outside dualist impact on them need to be balanced by a proper analysis of their links with late sapiential theology (with its "embryonic" ethical dualism and the related dual classification of the creation into pairs of opposites and antitheses) and the cosmic antagonism of opposed supernatural powers in intertestamental pseudepigrapha such as the *Aramaic Testament of Levi*, *The Book of Jubilees*, and the Enochic apocalyptic works.

Rabbinic Judaism. Following the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE, rabbinic Judaism tended to counterbalance the dualist trends developed in apocalyptic Judaism, although it retained elements of the impact of Platonic soul-body dualism on Jewish thought in the Hellenistic period (on figures such as Philo). Rabbinic texts from the second century CE warn against the heresy of the "Two Heavenly Powers" linked to speculations about the exalted status of an angel or vice-regent of the Lord that may have been related to nascent Gnostic thought.

In rabbinic Judaism the figure of Satan and the myth of the downfall of the angels lost much of the intensity and the dualist traits that had marked some earlier Jewish apocalyptic trends, although the aggadic tradition preserved and elaborated various stories about Satan (Samael) and the evil spirits. Otherwise, in rabbinic theory Satan was linked to the evil inclination within man (*yetser ha-ra*) which was opposed to the good inclination (*yetser ha-tov*). Dualistic tendencies were retained, however, in the Jewish Merkabah (Divine Chariot) and later Hekhalot traditions, especially in the speculations surrounding the status and functions of the highest of the archangels and God's vice-regent, Metatron, as the "Lesser Yahweh."

More explicit dualist tendencies reappear in Judaism from the twelfth century onwards in early Qabbalistic traditions (along with other parallels to Gnostic notions from late antiquity which have not been historically explained), particularly those concerned with the problem of evil and positing the existence of another, parallel world of a *sitra' ahra*, waging a constant war with the "side of holiness"(in contrast with the non- and often antidualist theodicy in contemporary Jewish philsosophy). These dualist tendencies were magnified in the later Lurianic Qabbalah of Isaac Luria (1534–1572), with the elaboration of its fundamental doctrines of the divine *tsimtsum* (contraction), the breakup of the spiritual vessels and the discharge of the demonic *kelippot* (shells) in creation.

Dualism in early early Christianity and gnosticism. In early Christianity some of the concepts of Satan and his opposition to God and man—developed in postexilic and particularly apocalyptic Judaism—were accepted with all their ambiguities and potential for radical new developments. Early Christianity retained a tension between its monotheistic theology and the dualist implications of its evolving diabology and the evident spirit-flesh opposition in the New Testament. The inherited heavenly antagonism between Michael and Satan was reflected in Revelation; there are definite dualist traits in John and Paul where the Devil is the "god of this world," with his imperium embracing not only the evil spirits and wicked men but also "this age" (*Aion*) and this world (*kosmos*)—he was the "Prince of this World" and "the whole world . . . lies in the power of the evil one" (*1 Jn* 5:19), although his prevalence in the world has been broken with Christ's advent. In early Christian thought, the Devil was the personification and source of evil and death—an angel—who has fallen, through his pride and free will, to lead the hosts of evil against the "Kingdom of God" and Christ. At this time the Enochic story of the downfall of the angels was still popular and known among the Church Fathers. As well, the Church Fathers also had to defend the orthodox Christian tenets of evil as privation of good and Godness against the more radical, dualist solutions of the origin of evil advanced in the contemporary Gnostic schools of the second and third centuries.

Despite the evident dualism of spirit and flesh in early Christianity, the world was viewed as a creation of the benevolent God-Creator and was not evil by nature. Conversely, the multifarious Gnostic schools did share, on the whole, an anti-cosmic dualism—the material world was negated as an imperfect and evil creation of an inferior demiurgic, or clearly "Satanic" power, and was opposed to the supernal spiritual world of the true but remote and unknown God. The Gnostic schools drew widely on the syncretistic heritage of antiquity to embellish their basic dualist myths and concepts related to the creation of the world by the demiurge, the fall of the soul, the missions of the redeemer and revealer of the *gno-*

sis, and finally the release and ascent of the soul to its spiritual abode. Gnosticism shared its preoccupation with the divine knowledge, *gnosis*, the soul's search for its divine origin, and its final salvation with another religio-spiritualist current whose teachings crystallized in the early Christian era, Hermeticism, which also presented some dualist traits—yet there were also important differences between the two movements in the spheres of theology, cosmology, and anthropology.

Gnostic groups, moreover, adopted and further elaborated esoteric traditions current in early Christianity and Jewish Christianity that were believed to have been transmitted both orally in apostolic times and through apocryphal (understood as "hidden") texts. Whereas the classification and provenance of the various Gnostic schools (Christian and non-Christian Gnosticism, for example) continues to provoke debates and conflicting theories, a general distinction between Gnostic radical dualism of the two primal principles (as in Manichaeism) and Gnostic moderate dualism (Valentinianism and Sethian Gnosticism) has found a wider acceptance. Gnostic groups—and particularly Manichaeism—retained the use of pseudepigraphy, and the Manichaeans continued to resort to the composition and compilation of new apocrypha in their later history.

After the collapse of the Manichaean westward mission, and amid the intense persecution during the early reign of Justinian the Great (527–65), Manichaeism remained mostly confined to Asia, where it survived as a separate religion until the end of the Middle Ages. Following the widespread dissemination of manifold Gnostic and dualist teachings during late antiquity, traces and actual transmitters of Gnostic and dualist traditions in the early Middle Ages become increasingly difficult to discern and identify. In the Near East, such teachings enjoyed an uninterrupted historical maintenance within the still-existing small religious group of the Mandaeans in southern Iraq and Khuzistan in Iran, rightly considered the last survivors of the great Gnostic movements of late antiquity.

Medieval forms of Christian dualism. In the early Middle Ages, traces and elements of Gnostic and dualist teachings in varying degrees of intensity were also preserved in various apocryphal works from late antiquity that, despite being banned, were preserved, maintaining their circulation mainly in the eastern Christian world in heterodox, sectarian, or simply learned circles. Under the right circumstances these Gnostic or dualist residues in apocryphal works could effect a revival of related attitudes through simple borrowing of their themes, or through creative interpretation spreading from these works to the canonical scriptures, complete with all of the possibilities for the formulation of new heterodoxies and heresies. A number of such apocryphal texts were preserved in Byzantium, where the process of the creation of new apocrypha, like apocalyptic revelations about the course of world history, continued throughout the early Middle Ages.

The first important early medieval version of Christian dualism was formulated by the Paulicians who emerged in the complicated world of early medieval Armenia. Whereas Paulician radical dualism has been often traced in the past to Manichaean, Gnostic, or Marcionite influences, it seems more plausible that Paulicianism developed its dualist version of Christianity through a spiritualist and allegorical reading of the New Testament, its dualist element being influenced directly or indirectly by the various dualist residues still active in the religious scene of late antique and early medieval Armenia, ranging from Zoroastrian to Gnostic survivals. The Paulicians entered Byzantium around the mid-seventh century, and in 759 entered the Balkans for the first time to establish a long-lasting presence in Thrace, continuing to play a frequently important role in the development of Balkan-Byzantine—and consequently medieval European Christian—dualism.

The history of medieval Christian dualism entered a new, crucial stage with the emergence of the Bogomil heresy in the first half of the tenth century in the newly Christianized Bulgarian kingdom. The origins of Bogomilism are surrounded by many riddles, but it is now apparent that whereas the antisomatic and anticosmic aspects of Bogomil dualism should be explored in the wider context of Byzantine heresy, heterodoxy, and alternative demonology, there are strong parallels between the main Bogomil theological formulas and diabology, on the one hand, and apocryphal traditions, preserved in a number of apocryphal works, and which were translated and disseminated in the Slavonic Orthodox world around the time of the formation and spread of Bogomilism, on the other.

Given this wide-ranging translation and diffusion of apocryphal texts in the initial phases of the development of Slavo-Byzantine culture, it seems not so surprising that the formulation of the Bogomil new version of Christian dualism was strongly stimulated by the influx of teachings, themes, and notions rediscovered in the newly translated apocryphal works from late antiquity. The expansion of the Bogomil mission, both eastwards in Byzantium, and westwards, stimulated the diffusion of the Christian dualist tradition in western Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and reached its culmination in the growth of an organized Cathar movement in northern Italy and southern France (contemporary Catholic accounts often refer to the crucial impact of Balkan-Byzantine dualism on its formation). Modern theories may differ in their estimation of the chronology and the scale of Bogomil influence on original Catharism, but invariably confirm its vital role in providing a new dualist framework for western heretical and heterodox currents. Bogomil and Cathar dualism had a strongly anticosmic, antisomatic, and eschatological character.

Original Bogomil dualism had a monarchian nature that clearly contrasted with the mature Paulician radical dualist dogma of the two principles: the evil creator of this world and the good Lord of the world to come. By the last three decades of the twelfth century, however, both Bogomil and Cathar dualism divided into two strands, a monarchian and a radical trend, which advanced different versions of Christian dualism. Generally, according to the first, monarchian strand, there was one sublime God, Father of All, yet the material universe was created and ruled by his rebellious firstborn, Satan or Lucifer, the Lord of the Old Testament. The one sublime God's younger son, Jesus Christ, was sent in a semblance of the human body to "save that was lost" during the satanic reign through his baptism in the Holy Spirit and with fire (*Lk.* 19:10). Generally, the radical branch of Bogomil and Cathar dualism taught that Satan-Lucifer was a son of an eternal evil god whose attack on the heaven of the good God caused the fall of the angels, and that the mission of Christ was to redeem angelic souls from their imprisonment in human bodies.

Both versions of Bogomil-Cathar dualism present a number of differences from the variants of theological dualism and related teachings professed by earlier antiecclesiastical and heretical movements such as Manichaeism and Paulicianism. To a considerable extent, this is due to the Bogomil-Cathar indebtedness to earlier apocryphal and apocalyptic traditions and their predilection for the elaboration of new vivid mythic stories in support of their dualist doctrines. This practice presents a telling parallel to Gnosticism, in which the creation of Gnostic secret dualist myths was, as pointed out by Guy Stroumsa in his *Hidden Wisdom* (1996), a crucial part of the process of a "self-conscious re-mythologization" by the Gnostic theorists. In both cases this re-mythologization and creation of a dualist mythology was accomplished through a determined inverse exegesis of the normative scriptures to produce alternative and striking accounts of cosmogony, fall, and salvation of the soul. Whereas the campaigns of the Inquisition, the rise of spiritual currents in Catholicism, and the work of the Mendicant orders all effected the eclipse of Catharism in the early thirteenth century, reports of Bogomil activities in the eastern Christendom discontinue only in the early fifteenth century, amid the spread of new syncretistic and sectarian movements in the early Ottoman era.

Dualism in Islam. Although the diabology and cosmology of the Qurʾān and early normative Islam was notably strictly monotheistic and antidualistic, veiled or explicit dualist tendencies eventually appeared in Islamic mystical and *ghulāt* (heterodox) traditions, as Islam expanded and encountered a multitude of other religious traditions. Still, one needs to distinguish the definite dualistic traits in such traditions from the heightened use of dualities and polarities, as in the system of ninth-century mystic al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi or the use of Zoroastrian themes and imagery in al-Sohrawardi's thought; one needs also to be extremely cautious regarding the antidualist polemical clichés of Sunnī heresiologists who could attack the Ismāʿīlīs as followers of dualist Manichaeism. In this context the appearance of gnostic-like and dualist traits in the syncretistic and revelatory *Umm al-kitāb* and in the pre-Fatimid early Ismāʿīlī cosmological tract of Abū ʿĪsā al-Murshid deserve greater attention and study which can indicate whether their revival of dualist and gnostic tendencies is the outcome of an assimilation of Neoplatonic and related traditions from late antiquity or novel religious syntheses in Islamic garb. Likewise, the dualist tendencies in the cosmology and diabology of Islamic heterodox communities such as the Alevi, the Yazīdīs and the Ahl-i Haq need to be considered in the context of their conglomerate-like belief systems in which the later and locally-adopted elements need to be differentiated from the more archaic components of their beliefs which include versions of the ancient and dualistically-oriented earth diver cosmogonic scenario.

In the case of the Yazīdīs and the Ahl-i Haqq the archaic layer of beliefs includes pre-Islamic Iranian traditions, both Zoroastrian and pre-Zoroastrian. In the case of the Alevi, any search or claims for influences of the Balkan and Anatolian Christian dualist sectarians on their teachings and practices of Alevism should consider first the arguments for traces of a Manichaean impact on Alevi traditions, again arguably traceable to the pre-Islamic exposure of some Central Asian Turkic groups, most famously the Uighurs, to Manichaeism. And when one considers the greater problem of dualism vis-à-vis Islam, one should take into account that when even these Islamic heterodox traditions have inherited a cosmogonic tradition with strong dualist leanings like the earth-diver one, they generally tended to minimise its dualist potential (without neutralising it altogether) in contrast to the hardening of the dualist elements in the Christian heterodox and popular cosmogonies based on the same cosmogonic scenario.

PLUTARCH'S VIEW. Some of the more important historical and systematic forms of dualism as found in different religious contexts have been considered in this entry. Consider briefly, now, a type of dualistic thought that, far from being limited to the expression of a particular creed, was a key to the interpretation of different religious systems and of religion in itself. This type of dualistic thought is exemplified in Plutarch's treatise *Isis and Osiris.* The aim of the philosopher and theologian of Chaeronea is to show, on the basis of Platonic or Middle Platonic hermeneutics, that dualism, as the idea of two opposing forces manifesting themselves in the universe, is a notion common to most of the religions of his time.

In the course of developing his thesis, Plutarch provides precious information concerning the Persian, Mesopotamian, and especially the Egyptian religions. The information he gives concerning the Osiris-Seth opposition in Egypt is the sole ancient literary document containing a complete form of that basic myth. His interpretation of the different characters of the myth and of the different forms of relationship that link them together is clearly Platonic and heavily speculative. He goes so far as to introduce different kinds of opposition: a hostile opposition between Osiris/Horus and

Seth, and an opposition of cooperation and transcendence between Osiris and Isis, a married couple. Osiris is interpreted as the ideal world, or the transcendent model that informs matter; that is, Isis, the female, is the nourishing agency of all beings in the visible world.

It is important to note that Plutarchian hermeneutics synthesizes these two different kinds of dualistic opposition into a unitary structure. As a result, in Plutarch's interpretation, Isis does not totally eliminate the evil figure of Seth from the world after the victory of Horus over him. Despite his inborn malignity, Seth is clearly conceived of as a presence necessary for the equilibrium of the world. Thus, despite his acceptance of the Platonic notion expressed in *Theaetetus* 176ab that evil is intrinsic to the lower world, Plutarch's speculative Platonism actually goes beyond Plato. Plato had never managed to unite the two different forms of dualism found in the *Laws* (the two opposing souls of the universe, one good and one bad) and in the *Timaeus* (the invisible and the visible as necessary constituents of being).

Would it be too much to suspect that Plutarch, though aided by the use of Platonic speculation, did not himself purely invent this complex, yet unitary, "Egyptian" structure? Egyptian documentation lends support to the idea that Seth, god of deficiency, sterility, and loneliness, god of the desert and of hostile countries, was explicitly acknowledged as a constituent element of the Egyptian pantheon and universe. He has, for instance, a positive role in the daily struggle against the serpent Apophis, the enemy of the sun. That is not all. Recent studies of the Egyptian Seth have demonstrated that he possesses traits characteristic of a trickster. Moreover, the comparative study of the Egyptian mythology of Seth and that of Yurugu (Ogo) among the Dogon of West Africa has shown considerable structural affinities between the two. In the Dogon myths, Yurugu is a sterile, lonely, adversarial character; yet at the same time he is an indispensable element in the universe. He is furthermore a trickster; he is "pale fox" (the name refers to *Vulpes pallida,* an African fox).

It is remarkable, having made peregrinations among the many forms of dualism, to come across something reminiscent of that pedantic, aggressive, unhappy, and inescapable dualistic figure, the demiurge-trickster (Raven, Coyote, and others) typical of a number of preliterate mythologies. Could this mean that, far from being a protest against monotheism, a protest intended as an option in favor of the innocence of God over his omnipotence, dualism may be interpreted (in at least some of its forms) as rather an insufficient actualization of God's omnipotence? And that the most extreme and irreconcilable form of dualism—namely dialectical dualism, both in its quietistic and combative forms—was fated to present monotheism with its most radical challenge? This can be seen also in the dialectics of Hegel, Nietzsche, Marx, and Freud, all of which are samples of "dualism" in the modern world.

SEE ALSO Demiurge; Gnosticism; Manichaeism; Orpheus; Plato; Tricksters; Twins; Zoroastrianism.

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UGO BIANCHI (1987)
YURI STOYANOV (2005)

DU GUANGTING (850–933; adult style, Binsheng; epithet, Dongying zi; name in religion, Master Guangcheng) was born in the region of Chuzhou in Zhejiang. Around 870, after failing to obtain the civil service examination degree (*mingjing*) in the Confucian classics, Du underwent Daoist training and initiation at Mount Tiantai in Zhejiang. His master Ying Yijie (810–894) belonged to the Tiantai branch of the Shangqing lineage that descended via Xue Jichang (d. 759), a disciple of Sima Chengzhen (647–735). Soon after the accession of Emperor Xizong (r. 873–888), Du was summoned to court. He performed various functions as a Daoist prelate and official redactor at the capital Chang'an up to the outbreak of the Huang Chao rebellion (880–885). After the sack of the capital by the rebels in early 881, Du followed the court into exile in Chengdu (Sichuan). As a textual and liturgical scholar, Du deplored the loss of Daoist sacred books in the wake of the destruction of Chang'an and eventually reconstituted parts of the canon from temple libraries in Sichuan. Du announced the divine restoration of the Tang dynasty under the auspices of Lord Lao in his memorial *Lidai chongdao ji* (*Daozang* 593), which he presented to the emperor on the eve of the court's return to the capital in 885. When Xizong was once again obliged to flee Chang'an the following year, Du Guangting obtained permission to return to Sichuan.

Many of Du's works were written during the period of transition from the Tang (618–907) to the Five Dynasties (907–960), while he was a priest in the temple Yuju guan in Chengdu and a frequent visitor to nearby Mount Qingcheng. This phase in Du's career brought him into contact with the future emperor Wang Jian (847–918) and his local staff and allies, who were to proclaim the kingdom of Shu after the fall of the Tang in 907. Under the first two rulers of the independent Shu kingdom, Du resumed his earlier functions as court Daoist and official, reaching the rank of vice president of the board of finance (*hubu shilang*) in 916. Around the time of the fall of the Former Shu in 925, Du seems to have retired to Mount Qingcheng, where he died in 933.

Du Guangting was a prolific author. His lifelong mission to preserve and transmit works from the Daoist canon led Du to patronize the burgeoning printing industry in tenth-century Sichuan. Under the Song (960–1279), Du was recognized as the foremost patriarch of the Daoist liturgical tradition, handed down by Lu Xiujing (406–477) and Zhang Wanfu (fl. 711–713). His voluminous writings, compendia, and editions in this domain (see, for example, the "Liturgical Manual for the Yellow Register Retreat," *Taishang huanglu zhai yi* [*Daozang* 507]) are regarded as authoritative to this day. Du's contributions to philosophical and scriptural exegesis are epitomized in his massive annotation of the Tang imperial commentary on Laozi's "The Way and Its Power" (*Dao de zhenjing guangsheng yi* [*Daozang* 725]). Active in the religious and political arenas under three imperial governments, Du was a well-placed observer of a key period in Chinese history, which is now recognized as the transition from the medieval to the modern periods. Hundreds of his court and liturgical memorials document his activity at various social levels, from the emperor to the newly risen merchant class (see especially *Lidai chongdao ji* [*Daozang* 593] and the surviving seventeen-*juan* fragment of his collected works, the *Guangcheng ji* [*Daozang* 616]). His writings probe contemporary events from the perspective of an overarching, sacred history of Daoism that was intertwined with the destiny of imperial government. Du's narrative oeuvre, in particular, reveals a keen observation of the place of religion in a society undergoing the violent dislocations and upheavals of rebellion and civil war. Belonging ostensibly to the genre of Daoist hagiography—devoted to the lives of immortals and chronicles of sacred sites—his anecdotal histories are also akin to the imaginative literature known as "traditions of the supernatural" (*chuanqi*) that was popular in Tang times. Du Guangting authored or transmitted hundreds of tales of this genre, which he collected into separate books. With some overlap, these collections are organized around recognizable themes. For example, the "Evidential Miracles in Support of Daoism" (*Daojiao lingyan ji* [*Daozang* 590]) focuses on the interaction of the Buddhist and Daoist communities in late medieval society; the "Record of Marvels" (*Luyi ji* [*Daozang* 591]) on the cultural distinctiveness and sacred destiny of the Sichuan region; the "Encounters with Immortals" (*Shenxian ganyu zhuan* [*Daozang* 592]) on the Daoist theme of the supernatural encounter as revelation; and the "Record of the Assembled Immortals of Yongcheng" (*Yongcheng jixian lu* [*Daozang* 783]) on the legends of female immortals in the entourage of the Queen Mother of the West (Xi wang mu). Du's classification of these rich materials offers significant insights into the order of a medieval Daoist's mental universe. His works, despite many losses, constitute one of the richest testimonies to have come down from medieval China.

SEE ALSO Daoism, overview article.

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FRANCISCUS VERELLEN (2005)

DUMÉZIL, GEORGES. Georges Dumézil (1898–1986) was a French scholar who revolutionized the study of comparative mythology, especially comparative Indo-European mythology. In the early decades of the twentieth century, largely as a result of the eclipse of Max Müller's "solar mythology" (Dorson, 1955), the science of comparative mythology—especially comparative Indo-European mythology—reached a low ebb. However, the basic questions to which Müller and his adherents had addressed themselves—the curious thematic, if not in all cases etymological, parallels among a great many ancient Indo-European gods and heroes—remained unresolved. In the early 1920s a young French scholar named Georges Dumézil set out to find a viable framework in terms of which these questions might once again be approached.

Born in Paris on March 4, 1898, Dumézil attended the Lycée Louis-le-Grand and later the prestigious École Normale Supérieure. After serving as an artillery officer in 1917 and 1918, he returned to his studies at the University of Paris, where in 1924 he completed his doctoral thesis. Entitled *Le festin d'immortalité: Étude de mythologie comparée indo-européenne* (*The Feast of Immortality: A Study of Comparative Indo-European Mythology,* 1924), it marked the beginning of one of the twentieth century's most distinguished scholarly careers.

Dumézil's initial attempts (e.g., 1924, 1929) to develop a "new comparative mythology" were grounded in James G. Frazer's now largely discredited theory, first enunciated in the latter's masterwork, *The Golden Bough* (1890), that religion everywhere reflects an attempt to magically renew the world by periodically killing and replacing kings and other persons symbolic of divine beings. But the Frazerian model ultimately failed to provide the theoretical framework Dumézil was seeking. By 1938, however, he had made a major discovery and had begun to draw upon a wholly different theoretical base. The discovery was that the several ancient Indo-European-speaking communities, at least in their earliest periods, were characterized by a tripartite social class system that broadly resembled the three Aryan or "twice-born" castes of classical and later Indian society (i.e., Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriyas, and Vaiśya). The new theoretical base was the sociology of Émile Durkheim and his followers, to which Dumézil was introduced by Marcel Granet. Although it is unfair to characterize Dumézil as a full-fledged Durkheimian (his fundamental training was in philology and the history of religions), he nevertheless came to adopt one of Durkheim's most famous maxims: that important social and cultural realities are inevitably "collectively represented" by supernatural beings and concepts (Durkheim, 1912).

In a remarkable series of books and articles written during the course of the next decade, Dumézil successfully combined his newly discovered evidence for tripartite social structures, Durkheimian sociology, and the traditional methods of comparative philology, and he arrived at a comprehensive model of the common Indo-European ideology—that is, the tripartite cognitive model in terms of which the ancient (and not so ancient) Indo-European speakers ordered their social and supernatural universes. The salient features, or functions, as Dumézil labeled them, of this ideology are as follows: (1) the maintenance of cosmic and juridical sovereignty; (2) the exercise of physical prowess; and (3) the promotion of physical well-being, fertility, wealth, and so on. At least some evidence of this cognitive model can be seen in every ancient Indo-European tradition, from Vedic India, whose three-fold caste system was collectively represented, respectively, by Varuṇa and Mitra (first function), Indra (second function), and the Aśvins, or Divine Horsemen (third function), to the Old Norse figures Týr and Odin, Thor, and Njord and Freyr, who reflect the same functional paradigm. Moreover, it soon became clear that the three functions are endlessly replicated in an extremely wide variety of cultural phenomena, including triads of epic heroes, threefold categories of diseases (and cures), and even tripartite conceptions of physical space.

At first glance, Dumézil's approach might appear similar to that of his longtime friend and colleague, Claude Lévi-Strauss. However, where Lévi-Strauss (e.g., 1963) is concerned with the universal structure of the human psyche, Dumézil's purview is limited to the Indo-European-speaking domain (Littleton, 1982, pp. 277–275), and he was the first to admit that non-Indo-European speakers, such as the Sino-Tibetans, the Hamito-Semites, the Uto-Aztecans, and the Bantu are constrained by wholly different cognitive models, predicated on other functional paradigms.

To be sure, Dumézil's theories and methods have not met with universal approval. Some critics suggest that on more than one occasion he imposed the tripartite model on data that are perhaps amenable to other interpretations (Littleton, 1982, pp. 186–202). Still others have claimed that he was a crypto-fascist (Momigliano, 1983 and Lincoln, 1991, pp. 231–267), an unfortunate accusation that has been laid to rest by Didier Eribon in *Faut-il brûler Dumézil?* (*Is it necessary to burn Dumézil?*, 1992). In addition, Nicholas Justin Allen (1987) has suggested that a "fourth function" exists outside of the tripartite paradigm and can be characterized as "other."

After spending several years teaching at the University of Istanbul (1925–1932) and a year as a lecturer at the University of Uppsala in Sweden (1932–1933), Dumézil returned to France and settled into a career at the University of Paris, punctuated by visiting professorships at other universities, including the University of Lima, Peru (1955), and the University of California at Los Angeles (1971). In 1948 he was appointed Professeur de Civilisation indo-européenne in the Collège de France, a position that was created for him, where he remained until his retirement in 1968. In 1979, in the autumn of his eightieth year, he was elected to the Académie française.

In 1925 Dumézil married the former Madeleine Legrand, a union that produced a son, Claude, and a daughter, Perrine (Curien). After suffering a massive heart attack, he passed away in Paris on October 11, 1986.

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C. Scott Littleton (2005)

DUMUZI. The god Dumuzi (Akkadian: Tammuz) appears very early in the cuneiform documentation, and an echo of him is still present today, since the month of July in Middle Eastern calendars bears his name. In the history of cuneiform Mesopotamian literatures, the tradition on the god is discontinuous. From the Old-Babylonian period (the twentieth through the sixteenth century BCE), nonhomogeneous songs about the god and the goddess Inanna have been found. Thorkild Jacobsen (1976, pp. 23–73) gathered them into a single plot, segmented in four sections:

1. courtship songs
2. wedding songs
3. death and lament songs
4. search and return songs

There is no evidence to ascribe the search and return songs to the god's return from the netherworld, so it must be removed from Jacobsen's otherwise valid reconstruction. The first two sections are clearly connected to that type of *hieros gamos* in which the king, playing the role of Dumuzi, married the goddess Inanna. It is not known how this rite was actually celebrated, but direct evidence of its historical performance is available, since kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur and of the Dynasties of Isin and Larsa (from the twenty-first through the eighteenth century BCE) explicitly declare in their texts that they married the goddess Inanna (in particular, two of them, Shulgi and Iddin-Dagan, left celebrative hymns on regard). The king's personification of Dumuzi and his marriage with the goddess was intended to attract the gods' blessing on the reign. After the wedding the reign would become prosperous in all aspects, including agriculture. Dumuzi is also a character in a "contrast" (belonging to the gender of the *debates*) where he, the shepherd, is competing with the farmer to obtain the hand of the goddess Inanna. Two kings named Dumuzi are recorded in the great Sumerian King List (composed during the Isin period); one whose reign lasted thousands of years is included among the antediluvian kings, and the other is included with the mythical kings of Uruk.

After the Old-Babylonian period there was a change in the documentation: only lamentation songs, which mourn the god's departure, were transmitted; Dumuzi as a lover and a bridegroom was almost completely forgotten. Only the authority he took *post mortem* as a great officer of the netherworld is still mentioned. The *gala/kalû* priests (related to Ishtar) sang these lamentation songs when conducting funerals, at the beginning of an activity as a prophylaxis against evil entities, and during rituals for appeasing a god when his temple had to be touched for reconstruction or restoration. The change in the tradition coincides with a change in the use of the *hieros gamos* rite to apply only to marriage between divinities, excluding the form in which the king, personifying Dumuzi, unites with Inanna (for a possible exception, see Nissinen, 2001, p. 103).

At last the myth of Adapa must be considered. The myth tells how Adapa, because of an impious act, had to submit to the verdict of the heaven god An. Dumuzi and Gizzida, a divinity often confused with Dumuzi, were at the gatepost of heaven, as intermediaries with lofty An. The contradiction between the netherworld, where Dumuzi plays a role of responsibility, and the heavenly one is seemingly real, since the anthropomorphic aspect of the divinity is the mere representation of a cosmic power that can be manifested in other forms: Dumuzi and (Nin)gizzida are actually mentioned as constellations in an astronomic text.

OBSERVATION ON THE DOCUMENTATION. Scholars still debate whether the whole of the love literature is related to the couple Inanna and Dumuzi, or whether a part is formed by merely profane songs, or whether a part is connected with the *Hieros gamos.* The discussion parallels the debate over the biblical *Song of Songs.* Because divinities, even in anthropomorphic forms, are not belles lettres characters but representations of cosmic powers, in the love songs the two lovers, even when they are depicted as laymen, are two persons who act under the influence of that particular cosmic power that is love. Under this point of view, the lovers are a manifestation of that cosmic power, and so they play exactly the same role as the anthropomorphic characters of Inanna and Dumuzi (Lambert, 1987, p. 26; Alster, 1999, p. 832; Nissinen, 2001, pp. 126ff.). Consider the exorcist who declares, "I am Asalluhi [/Marduk]," or Gudea who intends to tell his dream to the goddess Nanshe, to have its meaning cleared, but who in reality is given the oracle by the seers and the diviners of the goddess' temple (Waetzoldt, 1998). All these priests participate in the nature of the cosmic power the respective divinities represent. All the love songs, as well as the songs of the king's wedding, must therefore be included in the category of the songs of Inanna and Dumuzi.

There are two distinct traditions regarding Dumuzi's death. One tells how he was caught by demons who carried him into the netherworld, where he played an important role after his arrival there. Another is included in the finale of the Sumerian poem "Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld." Two versions of the poem exist, one in Sumerian (with minor variations according to local versions) and one in Akkadian. Both versions contain a narrative in which Inanna requests—for no apparent reason—to penetrate the netherworld. The queen of that kingdom, her sister Ereshkigal, allows Inanna access, ordering the porter to deprive Inanna of a piece of jewelry at each of the seven netherworld gates. Inanna is therefore naked, denuded of her divine powers (her jewels) when she arrives before the queen of the netherworld, and Ereshkigal hangs her, in a condition of suspended life, from a nail. Inanna's faithful vizier, the goddess Ninshubur, obtains help from Enki, who creates two beings to rescue her. These creatures enter the netherworld and gain Ereshkigal's gratitude, and in return they ask for the piece of meat hanging from the nail—such is Inanna's appearance. But because of the netherworld law that there must be a substitue for anyone leaving its reign, a replacement must be found to in order to set Inanna free. Demons escort Inanna from the netherworld, and she begins looking for someone to replace her. In an outburst of anger she chooses her unlucky husband Dumuzi, who is not displaying signs of mourning for her death, and the demons take him into the netherworld. His sister Geshtinanna generously agrees to replace him for a portion of the year. This is the only known case of Dumuzi's going up, and it represents the god's short sorties—in his role of netherworld officer—to bring back haunting ghosts. This function of the god is related to the series of incantations of Ishtar and Dumuzi (Farber, 1977).

DUMUZI'S PORTRAIT. Dumuzi was a young shepherd. After his premature death at the hand of demons, he became an officer in the netherworld, where he stayed. There are clues that his ascent in the final part of "Inanna's Descent" is related to his official task (Scurlock, 1992). Dumuzi's character in mythology is rather vague, mixing qualities of Amaushum gal anna, Ningizzida, and, in specific cases, Damu (a genuine vegetation god). Songs in his honor praised him with all these and other names, including those of the divinized kings of the Ur III and Isin dynasties (who took part in the *Hieros gamos*). The god shows solar traits as well in, for example, his driving the ghosts haunting the living back into the netherworld. Like the sun, he is closely related to kingship, so that for some time sovereigns personified him in the *Hieros gamos.* It must be remarked that both Dumuzi and Utu are masculine characters very close to Inanna, the former being her husband and the latter her elder brother.

DUMUZI AS DYING AND RISING GOD. Tammuz is mentioned in the Bible in a prophecy of Ezekiel (dated between the seventh and sixth century BCE). Because the biblical prophet lived in Babylonia, where he was deported after the conquest of Jerusalem, this passage should be considered as belonging to the Mesopotamian cultural area. The evidence for this is that (1) the sun god Shamash is mentioned in the same context and (2) there are no further mentions of Tammuz in the Old Testament. Mentions of Tammuz from periods after the Mesopotamian cuneiform literary tradition are relevant. Lamentations of the Sabians of Harran for the passing away of Ta'uz (Tammuz, identified with St. George by the Christians), are doumented, written in Arabic and dated to the tenth century CE. But the crucial feature—extraneous to the Mesopotamian cultural area—is the translation of the biblical "Tammuz" of *Ezekiel* to "Adonis." This translation has influenced scholars' opinions up to recent times. In the Septuagint translation, the name Tammuz was left untranslated, but later Christian authors (Origen, Saint Jerome) rendered it as Adonis. When the first cuneiform texts mentioning Dumuzi/Tammuz were discovered, the ancient identification of Tammuz with Adonis played a decisive role in scholars identifying a pattern of death and resurrection that could not be deduced from the surviving parts of the texts themselves (which, at the time, were but roughly understood). The existence of Tammuz's resurrection, symbolizing the vegetation cycle from sowing (death) to blooming (resurrection), became authoritative. This composite portrait placed him together with other divinities in the Eastern Mediterranean area, including the Egyptian Osiris (whose resurrection is well-established in myth), some Syro-Palestinian divinities, and the mythic-ritual complex of Demeter and Persephone. Dying and resurrecting were common to all these divine figures, hence their current label as dying and rising gods.

THEORIES ON THE DYING GOD. The Tammuz that emerged from philological research was forced into a preconceived pattern of dying and rising fertility gods, based on what was known about the connection between Adonis and Tammuz (François Lenormant in 1874). This identification began with the Akkadian version of "Ishtar's Descent to the Netherworld"—the first myth to be found—even if its meaning was far from certain. References in the Akkadian myth to the vegetative seasonal cycle provided evidence for what scholars already assumed, namely Dumuzi's inclusion in the dying and rising god class. Two opinions developed about this cycle. One, first proposed by the Assyriologist Lenormant (in 1880), identified the sun as the main character of the cycle. The second, following Sir James George Frazer's path (*The Golden Bough* in 1890 and *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* in 1905), saw the life cycle—in particular the vegetal one—as the deep meaning of that myth. A third line of thought located the myth's meaning in both the solar cycle and the vegetative one (indications of this direction can be found in Lenormant himself and in Barton in 1902). At the beginning of the past century Marduk joined the rank of these divinities; he was explicitly compared with Christ by Heinrich Zimmern, who in 1906 published the first exhaustive research on the Babylonian festival of Akitu*, Zum babylonischen Neujahrsfest.* Zimmern misunderstood some passages (which are not fully clear even today!), and thought that after Marduk was imprisoned (which Zimmern took to mean "death"), he was resuscitated. The scholar drew comparisons with New Year celebrations from other cultures to reach a parallel with Christ's passion. His thesis was expanded by Stephen Herbert Langdon (1923), who interpreted Marduk's apotheosis, the *Enuma elish*, and the Akitu festival, within the same cultural context as "Ishtar's Descent to the Netherworld," Tammuz's fate (since he was thought to alternate with the goddess in sojourning on earth), and the *Hieros gamos* rite. As Assyriologists advanced in their studies, they toned down some of this excess but nonetheless inclined to follow the underworld-agrarian interpretation. They considered Dumuzi to be a vegetation god; therefore, in the holy marriage the king was performing a fertility rite to restore life after the death of wintertime. Thorkild Jacobsen (1962) presented the most exhaustive exposition of this theory, linking it to the village society of the fifth and fourth millennium, before the rise of the city-state, when survival depended on the actions of natural agents. He compared the "intransitivity" of the gods from that era to the "transitivity" of the great gods of the third millennium, in the age of the fighting city-states. Ugo Bianchi became interested in Dumuzi while researching the origin of the mystery cults and Gnosticism. In Bianchi's opinion, four phases followed in sequence. First cults developed similar to those of Tammuz, followed in the order by the mystery cults, the so-called mysteriosophic cults, and Gnosticism. Bianchi saw Dumuzi as the earliest manifestation of the dualism that reached its apex in Gnosticism, and which is opposed to Hebrew and Christian monotheism. To further his theory, Bianchi (1965) accepted the intransitivity of the Dumuzi myth, relating it to the character of Adonis, as in Jacobsen's fatalistic-vegetative interpretation.

The pattern of the dying and rising gods has been reconsidered and re-interpreted. Henri Frankfort (1948) has the distinction of being the first to differentiate Osiris from other divinities in the supposed class of dying and rising gods. Based on new studies, the western Semitic Baal and the Phoenician Eshmun and Melqart have been reconsidered and recognised as prototypes of divinised dead sovereigns (del Olmo Lete, 1996).

Advancing studies opened new perspectives on Dumuzi as well. After Oliver R. Gurney's article (1962), which critically examined Langdon's, Anton Moortagart's, and Adam Falkenstein's positions, Bent Alster (1972) confirmed the myth's connection with kingship and the absence of references to the vegetative cycle. A by-form of Dumuzi, worshiped in Lagash in the third millennium and older than any mention of Dumuzi in that town, the god Lugal-URU-KAR2, has been shown to be related to kingship and to be extraneousness to the vegetation cycle, so indirectly confirming the genuine features of Dumuzi (Pisi, 1995).

M. M. Fritz (2003, pp. 291–301, 370) has shown how Dumuzi (and Amaushumgalanna, who is identified with him) is a distinct divine character not to be confused with Damu and Ningizzida. Both the latter gods are vegetation divinities, and because Damu was also worshiped as a healing god, some scholars thought that there were two distinct gods with the same name. Now Fritz uncovers evidence that this is not the case and that Damu was a single divine character who contained both qualities of healing and vegetation god. It is evident from the documentation Fritz adduced that the peculiar features of Damu do not match those of Dumuzi, and therefore, the latter cannot be considered a vegetation god (Fritz, 2003, p. 370). Nonetheless, in particular circumstances (which Fritz describes) Damu and Ningizzida may be included in the same context with Dumuzi (Fritz, 2003, pp. 249–268).

IS THE MYTHICAL COMPLEX OF INANNA AND DUMUZI A RELIGION APART? As mentioned, in *The Treasures of Darkness* Thorkild Jacobsen identified Inanna's and Dumuzi's songs as manifestations of "intransitivity." In the previous edition of this *Encyclopedia* he outlined the character Dumuzi's "passivity":

> Dumuzi was generally visualized as a young man or boy. Under some of his aspects he is of marriageable age; in others he is younger, a mere child. He is dearly loved by the women who surround him—his mother, sister, and later, his young bride—but there is no evidence to assume that his cult was predominantly a women's cult [Fritz, 2003, pp. 353–359]. The love songs of his wooing and wedding are all love songs to him or are self-praise of the bride hoping her body will please him; there are no love songs of his to Inanna.

> Correspondingly, the laments for him are by his mother, sister, and widowed bride, never by a father. One may also cite here *Ezekiel* 8:14: There sat women weeping for Tammuz.

The intransitivity and passivity of the Inanna and Dumuzi complex differentiate it from a religion centered on the pantheon of the divine characters who transitively and actively operate in the cosmos. This opinion of Jacobsen—for completely unrelated reasons—is shared by other great interpreters of Mesopotamian thought. Both Falkenstein (1954), on an evemeristic ground, and Jean van Dijk (1971), who compared the hunters' cult to that of the farmers and breeders, who worshiped respectively Enlil and An, considered independent the mythological complex of Inanna-Dumuzi from the remaining religious beliefs. The myth's connection with kingship could provide a clue to this peculiarity. An active principle (Dumuzi), by his union with the goddess (Inanna) of the Venus planet (the crepuscolar nature of which, between day and night, represents the passage between opposites, here from heaven to earth), borrows Venus star's power of manifestation, spreading it all over the earth (this radiation is similar to the biblical Glory or the Hindu *shakti*). When this role is over, this power is cast into the netherworld, where it exercises its strength, since everything earthly is bound for death. It is from this pattern that the king's role derives, not because he is his people's leader, but because he is the conduit for divine power from heaven and therefore becomes the distributor of it over the earth. The autonomy and peculiarity of this pattern enabled its wide scattering outside Mesopotamian religion. A shadow of it could still be found in the fourth century CE, when the emperor Julian expanded philosophically the cosmological aspects of a peculiar version of the myth of Attis and Cybele (Mander, 2001). The Inanna and Dumuzi complex serves as a bridge between the human and the divine, between life and death, and between unity and multiplicity. Kingship is an essential component because it connects heavenly will and human society.

See Also Adonis; Dying and Rising Gods; Inanna; Kingship, article on Kingship in the Ancient Mediterranean World; Mesopotamian Religions, overview article.

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Pietro Mander (2005)

DUNS SCOTUS, JOHN (c. 1266–1308), Franciscan philosopher and theologian, and founder of the school of Scotism. Born in Scotland and trained by his paternal uncle at the Franciscan friary at Dumfries, Scotland, Duns Scotus entered the Franciscan order at an early age and was ordained a priest. As a bachelor of theology he studied and taught at Oxford, completing his lectures on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, which he began revising as the *Ordinatio* in 1300. When in 1302 the turn came for the English province to provide a talented candidate for the prestigious University of Paris, Duns Scotus was sent. During the demonstrations against Boniface VIII initiated by Philip the Fair, Duns Scotus sided with the pope and, as a consequence, was exiled from France. Just where he spent his exile is unknown, but with the death of Boniface and the accession to the papacy of Benedict XI, the church's ban against the king and the university was lifted, and Duns Scotus returned to complete his Paris lectures on the *Sentences.* He became regent master probably in 1305.

During his regency Duns Scotus conducted quodlibetic disputations covering a wide variety of theological and philosophical questions about God and creatures proposed by his audience. His later version of these questions (*Quaestiones quodlibetales*), like his *Ordinatio* (begun at Oxford, and hence referred to as the *Opus oxoniense*), was not finished at the time of his untimely death, yet these two works were widely copied for distribution and are largely responsible for his fame as a philosopher and theologian. In addition he left a number of important philosophical works on logic, psychology, and metaphysics, presented in the form of questions suggested by the works of Porphyry and Aristotle. Like *Collationes oxoniense et parisienses* (shorter questions on specific philosophical and theological topics), these were probably the result of disputations Duns Scotus conducted for the Franciscan students at Oxford and Paris. The most extensive and influential of these philosophical works are the *Quaestiones subtilissime super libros Metaphysicorum Aristoteles* and the important *Tractatus de Primo Principio*, a compendium of what reason can prove about God. Duns Scotus left Paris in the fall of 1307 to teach at the Franciscan house of studies in Cologne, where he died the following year. His remains rest in the nave of the Franciscan church near the Cologne cathedral, where he is venerated as blessed.

In his writings, Duns Scotus views theology as a practical science rather than a theoretical science, inasmuch as it gives human beings the necessary knowledge to reach their supernatural end. This end consists in sharing in the inner life of the Trinity in heaven. Developing Richard of Saint-Victor's insight that perfect love wants the beloved to be loved by others, Duns Scotus envisions the motive for creation as follows. God first loved himself, then he freely decided to create co-lovers of his infinitely lovable nature. Being orderly in his love, he next predestined Christ's human nature to share this glory and gave this nature the highest possible grace that could be bestowed upon a creature. Christ, the God-man, purchased grace for both angels and humanity. But because God foresaw Adam's sin and humanity's consequent fall from grace, Christ came as a suffering, rather than a triumphant, mediator. The most perfect form of mediation, however, would have been to preredeem, and Scotus proposes this as the rationale for Mary's immaculate conception, an argument that became basic for defenders of that doctrine until its declaration in 1854 as a dogma by Pius IX. Finally, God willed the sensible world to serve humanity.

As a philosopher, Duns Scotus modified the Aristotelian influence current in his day with insights of Augustine of Hippo, Anselm of Canterbury, Richard of Saint-Victor, and Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna). Developing Ibn Sīnā's conception of metaphysics, Duns Scotus provided a powerful rational proof for an infinite being, who he believed had revealed himself to Moses as the "I am who am."

In his philosophical system, Duns Scotus stressed the metaphysical primacy of the individual, each with its own unique "haecceity," which exists only because God's creative love wanted just "this" and not "that." On the other hand, he logically analyzed what individualized created natures must have in common, if scientific knowledge of them is to become possible.

Duns Scotus adopted the peculiar "Augustinian" tradition of the earlier Franciscan school, which stressed the "supersufficient potentiality" of the will for self-determination, and showed how it could be reconciled with the Aristotelian notion of an active potency, if one rejected the controversial principle that "whatever is moved is moved by another." In this and other ways he brought the earlier anti-Aristotelianism of his Franciscan predecessors into the mainstream of what contemporaries considered essential to Aristotle's philosophical system. For instance, he indicated how Aristotle's criteria for rational and nonrational faculties could be used to prove that the will, not the intellect, is the primary rational potency. Nonrational faculties are determined to act in one way, said Aristotle, all other conditions being the same; rational faculties are free to act in more than one way and thus are the basis of all creativity in the arts. If that be so, Duns Scotus argued, the intellect is nonrational, since it has but one mode of acting determined by the objective evidence. In this it resembles all active potencies that are collectively called "nature." The will alone has the basic freedom, when it acts with reason, for alternate modes of acting. Thus for Duns Scotus the distinction between nature and will represents the primary division of active potencies, corresponding roughly to the Aristotelian division of nonrational and rational.

Original also is Duns Scotus's development of Anselm of Canterbury's distinction of the will's twofold inclination, or "affection," namely, love of the advantageous on the one hand and love of what is right and just for its own sake on the other. As the seat of the former, the will is only an intellectual appetite that seeks happiness and self above all else. Only by reason of its affection for justice is the will free to moderate this self-seeking and, according to right reason, love what is good objectively for its intrinsic worth. Unlike Anselm, however, Duns Scotus understood justice not merely as a supernatural, infused gift, called "gratuitous grace" or "charity," but as a congenital or innate freedom of the will, free precisely because it liberates the will from that necessity Aristotle claimed was characteristic of all natural agents, namely, to seek happiness and the perfection of their nature above all else.

These two affections of the will are not volitions as such; though they incline the will, they do not necessitate it or cause it to act. The will itself determines how it will act, but when it does it acts in accord with one or the other of these affections. While the affection for the advantageous corresponds with Aristotle's conception of choice, the affection or bias for justice is an essentially Christian notion. This inclination, according to Duns Scotus, has a twofold effect: (1) it enables the will to love God above all else for God's own sake, and (2) it allows the will to moderate its natural inclination for happiness and self-actualization, either as an individual or as a species, and to love according to right reason. Thus the affection for justice provides the natural basis for a rational ethical philosophy. Both affections are essential to human nature, but they can be perfected supernaturally and directed to God as their object. Charity perfects the will's affection for justice, inclining it to love God for his own sake; hope perfects the will's affection for the advantageous, inclining it to love God because he has shown his love for us in this life and because he will be our ultimate happiness in the life to come.

Another important psychological notion of Duns Scotus' that influenced subsequent scholastics is his conception of intuitive intellectual cognition, or the simple, nonjudgmental awareness of a here-and-now existential situation. First developed as a necessary theological condition for the face-to-face vision of God in the afterlife, intellectual intuition is needed to explain our certainty of primary contingent truths such as "I think," "I choose," "I live," and to account for our awareness of existence. Duns Scotus never makes intellectual intuition the basis for his epistemology. Neither does he see it as putting persons into direct contact with the external sensible world, with any substance material or spiritual, or with an individual's haecceity, for in this life, at least, human intellect works through the sensory imagination. Intellectual intuition seems rather to be identified with the indistinct peripheral aura associated with all our direct sensory-intellectual cognition. We know of it explicitly only in retrospect when we consider the necessary conditions for intellectual memory.

The notion of intellectual intuition continued to be a topic of discussion and dispute down to the time of Calvin, who, influenced by the Scotist John Major, used an auditory rather than a visual sense model of intellectual intuition to explain our experience of God. Whereas Duns Scotus restricted intuition of God to the beatific vision in the afterlife or to the special mystical visions given to the prophets or to Paul of Tarsus, John Major explained that we may also experience God intuitively whenever he "speaks to our soul" through some special inspiration.

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DURGĀ HINDUISM. In classical Hindu mythology the goddess Durgā is one of the principal forms of the wife of the great god Śiva. She is particularly celebrated for her victory over the buffalo demon Mahiṣāsura. At a higher level of abstraction she is considered to be the energy (*śakti*) of Śiva. Ultimately she is Devī, the Goddess, whose myriad names and forms are merely transient and adventitious disguises that overlay a unitary spiritual reality.

Most modern scholars have sought to find the ultimate origin of the goddess worship of Hinduism in the prehistoric Indus Valley civilization centered in what is now Pakistan. This theory is plausible, but the evidence for an important goddess cult in the Indus civilization is inconclusive, and the historical links of such a cult with classical Hinduism are impossible to document. Preclassical Vedic literature mentions numerous goddesses, but they are clearly of secondary importance. The earliest Vedic text, the *Ṛgveda*, praises several river goddesses, most notably Sarasvatī; the goddess Uṣas, the Dawn; Aditi, a rather vague mother of several gods; and the goddess Vāc, Speech. An ancillary Vedic text, the *Bṛhaddevatā* (2.77), includes Durgā among the many names of Vāc, but this is considered to be a late interpolation. The *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (1.8.6.1) of the *Yajurveda* mentions

Ambikā, later one of the common alternate names of Durgā, as the sister of Śiva. In the later *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (10.18), Śiva is said to be "the husband of Ambikā, the husband of Umā." Umā appears in the *Kena Upaniṣad* (3.12) as Haimavatī, the daughter of Himavat, the Himalaya.

It is not until the early centuries of the Christian era, however, that either Durgā in particular or the Goddess as a unitary concept become important figures in Hindu religious texts. Hymns in praise of Durgā as the Goddess appear in the *Virāṭaparvan* (6) and the *Bhīṣmaparvan* (23) of the epic *Mahābhārata*, the critical edition of which considers them to be late interpolations. In the *Harivaṃśa*, the "appendix" to the *Mahābhārata*, the Goddess consents to be born as Yaśodā's child, who is exchanged for Kṛṣṇa and killed by Kaṃsa. There follows another long hymn dedicated to her, but the critical edition considers this also to be an interpolation. The three hymns provide lists of her names and forms and praises of her greatness, but they do not narrate her mythological exploits. These appear in great detail in the classical texts known as the Purāṇas, dated between the third and fifteenth centuries CE.

Most important in this context is the section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* known as the *Devīmāhātmya*, also called the *Caṇḍīmāhātmya* and *Durgāsaptaśatī*. This text celebrates the Goddess's victory over the buffalo demon Mahiṣāsura and over the demons Śumbha and Niśumbha. The great prevalence of Durgā's buffalo-killer form, known as Mahiṣamardinī, in iconography shows this to be her most important exploit. The *Devīmāhātmya* tells how the gods are oppressed for a century by the demons led by Mahiṣāsura. Finally they appeal to the great gods Viṣṇu and Śiva to rescue them. The anger of Viṣṇu and Śiva, joined with the anger of all the other gods, produces a mass of luminous energy. This then takes the form of a woman, the Goddess. Each god gives her his principal weapon. The god Himavat gives her the lion, which becomes her "vehicle." During a great battle she destroys the armies of Mahiṣāsura and finally beheads the demon himself.

In classical mythology many of the forms assumed by the wife of Śiva can be divided into those that are terrifying and those that are benevolent. Durgā Mahiṣamardinī belongs among the former, together with Caṇḍikā, Kālī, Vindhyavāsinī, Cāmuṇḍā, and many others. Her benevolent forms include Satī, Umā, Pārvatī, Śiva, and Gaurī. These benevolent forms have their own distinct cycle of myths, recorded in the Purāṇas and other works, such as Kālidāsa's *Kumāra-saṃbhava.* She also appears as Yoganidrā ("cosmic sleep"); as Viṣṇumāyā ("world illusion"); as Ambikā ("the mother"); as Śakti ("divine energy"); and as simply Devī ("the goddess"). Since she is Śakti, those who worship her above all other gods are frequently called Śāktas. Śākta worship tends to blend into the somewhat heterodox current of Hinduism known as Tantrism, after the religious texts called the Tantras. Durgā as the one Devī, on the other hand, is one of the five great gods of the nonsectarian, orthodox Brahmanic cult known as Pañcāyatana.

As Hindu thinkers tend to conflate all her forms into a single great goddess, many modern scholars similarly consider these forms to be manifestations of a single archetypal mother-goddess concept. However this may be, it is also clear that most of these forms have distinct historical origins. They derive from a variety of goddesses from specific regions and localities, each associated with specific social or ethnic groups and fulfilling specific cultural functions. Many of the major terrifying forms of the Goddess, such as Durgā, seem to have arisen among semi-hinduized tribes such as the Śabaras and Pulindas and retain these associations in classical texts. Local forms of goddesses of disease, such as the goddesses of smallpox, may also have contributed to the evolution of these terrifying forms.

Durgā Mahiṣamardinī is popular especially in Bengal and Bihar in the east and in Tamil Nadu in the south. Her great festival is the Durgotsava, or Durgā Pūjā, also called Navarātri, celebrated during the first ten days of the waxing fortnight of the autumn month Āśvina. Clay images of Durgā are made and presented with varied offerings. Formerly many buffalo and goats were sacrificed to her, but this practice has been gradually dying out. Recitations of the *Devīmāhātmya* also play an important part in the festival. On the "Victorious Tenth Day" (Vijayadaśami) the images are paraded to a river or tank. Now considered lifeless, they are deposited in the water.

SEE ALSO Goddess Worship, article on The Hindu Goddess.

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Revised Bibliography

DURKHEIM, ÉMILE

DURKHEIM, ÉMILE (1858–1917), known generally as France's first sociologist, was far more than that. David Émile Durkheim was also a historian and theorist of pedagogy, moral education, and morals; a student of traditional societies, ritual life, and the world's religions; an active agent of social reform and religious change in his own milieu; a writer of patriotic tracts during World War I; a prominent defender of Alfred Dreyfus; a champion of charitable relief efforts for Jews fleeing the Russian pogroms of the early twentieth century; and a lifelong, although thoroughly eclectic and radical, philosopher.

In terms of his own strategic intellectual goals and his reputation among his contemporaries, Durkheim sought to infuse a sociological apperception into all areas of human life, especially religion. As an academic, he raised this awareness of the social dimension first by systematically challenging the identities of the two leading humanistic disciplines of his day—history and philosophy. In doing so, he sought to radically reorient their practice. To Durkheim, the historians of his day were dull describers and documenters; Durkheim sought instead to *explain* events by revealing their underlying sociological causes. He likewise thought that philosophy had stagnated by remaining speculative and locked into psychological introspection. Durkheim argued that philosophy could solve its perennial problems only by seeking the empirical social causes to the conditions it considered. Exemplifying this attempt to surpass both history and philosophy by seeking the underlying, collective, empirical causes of human action was one of Durkheim's earliest books, *Suicide* (1897). In this book, he tried to show that while suicide seemed at first like a lonely, deeply internal, even metaphysical matter, it was to be explained by the conditions of membership in social groups, such as religious communities, to which individuals taking their own lives belonged. Durkheim's mature sociological approach to religion emerged a decade or so later, but it retained many of the same methodological priorities established in *Suicide*.

Durkheim's life followed a similarly innovative pattern. The teenage Durkheim abandoned Jewish religious practice. He thus passed up the professional calling prepared for him as the eldest son in a family with a long history of rabbinic service. He left his home in Épinal, Lorraine, for a new life in Paris, where he attended one of the classical *collèges* to prepare for entry into the exclusive École Normale Supérieure, the elite institution for educating the influential *instituteurs* who staffed the nationwide system of rigorously secular state-run *lycées*. After teaching philosophy for several years at provincial *lycées,* interrupted by a short study tour of German universities (1885–1886), in 1887 Durkheim joined the faculty of the University of Bordeaux in a position created for him in social science and pedagogy, where he remained for fifteen years. There, he produced his first trademark books—*The Division of Labor in Society* (1893), *The Rules of Sociological Method* (1895), and *Suicide*—and many germinal articles. In Bordeaux, Durkheim also began to develop an interest in ethnological topics, such as totemism, and also religion.

Durkheim lived the final fifteen years of his life in Paris, where he succeeded Ferdinand Buisson in the chair of the Science of Education at the Sorbonne. He likewise continued the work he had already begun in Bordeaux, organizing the annual review *L'année sociologique,* and pursuing his work on pedagogy, religion, and social science. In the capital, he produced the work for which he is justly most famous, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1912). He died on the eve of the end of World War I, considerably wounded in spirit by the death of his son, André, on the field of battle, but writing what he considered would be his masterpiece, a book to have been entitled *La Morale*.

Durkheim's years at the École Normale Supérieure (1879–1882) gave the new life he had fashioned for himself a definite intellectual and personal formation. Among his classmates were such future luminaries as the philosopher Henri Bergson and the statesman and socialist Jean Jaurès. Among his instructors, Durkheim was greatly influenced by the "scientific" history of Gabriel Monod, and even more perhaps by the historian of Roman religion and domestic rituals, Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges. Among philosophers, the neo-Kantian Émile Boutroux exerted direct influence upon Durkheim with his notions about the independence of different levels of being, such as the social over the psychological. Linked with Boutroux in terms of Durkheim's emerging social realism was Alfred Espinas, a major figure in the "eclectic" tradition of philosophy and social thought in France. Durkheim credited Espinas with being the source of his sense of autonomous reality of the social realm over the realms of biology and personal psychology.

Another vital philosophical influence upon Durkheim was the neo-Kantian republican rationalist and founder of the periodical *Critique philosophique*, Charles Renouvier. Renouvier seems to have played a role in shaping Durkheim's reading of Immanuel Kant, as well as his passion for a science of morality. Renouvier's political liberalism, especially its affirmation of the sacredness of the individual human person, ran parallel to Durkheim's inclinations towards a "religion of humanity." Guided in large part by the values of Renouvier, and enhanced by his close friendship with the neo-Hegelian Renouvierian, Octave Hamelin, Durkheim articulated a form of humanistic liberalism that remained with him throughout his life. Like other progressives of his time and place, Durkheim's interest in Hegelian revisions of neo-Kantianism recalled not only Hamelin, but also such notables as the legendary promoter of left-wing Hegelianism, Lucien Herr. Over the dual extremes of a utilitarian individualism and materialism, on the one side, and a collectivist socialism and mystagogic spiritualism on the other, Durkheim sought to integrate an unruly French egoism with a broad, but concrete, communalism. His defense of Captain Alfred Dreyfus, articulated in terms of the French republic's collective valuation of the *individual* as a sacred being, captures what has aptly been called the eclectic "social individualism" at the core of Durkheim's values.

Although his years in Bordeaux were happy and productive, Durkheim's move to Paris in 1902 proved indispensable to the success of his celebrated periodical, *L'année sociologique* (1898–1913). Its success was facilitated in large part by his nephew, Marcel Mauss, and Mauss's close collaborator, Henri Hubert. These two Durkheimians also recruited members for what arguably was Durkheim's most important "work"—that lively and extravagantly talented team of coworkers, the Durkheimian "*équipe*." This remarkable community not only absorbed and deployed Durkheimian ideas for generations, but would also shape a good deal of what and how Durkheim himself would think and write. As historians of religion themselves, Hubert and Mauss, for example, made significant contributions to Durkheim's articulation of the central notion of sacrifice in *The Elementary Forms.* Others associated with the *équipe* were Maurice Halbwachs, Robert Hertz, Célestin Bouglé, Antoine Meillet, Marcel Granet, Louis Gernet, Marc Bloch, Lucien Febvre, and Lucien Lévy-Bruhl. His location in Paris also placed Durkheim in the thick of the struggles over the future of the Third Rebublic against its Catholic adversaries, and along with that, all the attendant academic and national political struggles that shaped the times and Durkheim's work as well.

In terms of his study of religion, one can perceive the same socializing efforts that Durkheim had employed in regards to the fields of history and philosophy. At the time, the study of religion was dominated by various combinations of philosophy, psychology and Christian theologies. Bringing a social dimension to the study of religion meant that more attention would be accorded the collective, group, or institutional functions and contexts of religion. Durkheim thus spurred the study of religious communities like monastic groups, charismatics, local cults, "world" religions, ritual associations, ethnic and national religions, and such institutions as the church, synagogue, and so on. Further, insofar as his work concerned philosophical, psychological, or theological matters in religion, Durkheim wished to cast a social light upon them in order to show how they were dependent upon their social location for much of their form and content. How, for example, might the early Christian belief in the visitations of the Holy Spirit be related to the effervescent vitality of the young community and its avid ritual life? How and why was the notion and experience of the "sacred" so widely deployed in the religions of the world, and why was it so often linked with the identities of religious communities?

In this respect, the fruitfulness of the research fostered by this articulation of the social dimension of religion for modern religious studies far overshadows that upon which far too much attention has been focused by students of religion—the so-called sociological reduction of religion. Commonly regarded as the most important feature of Durkheim's thought about religion—doubtless because of the apologetic anxieties it stirs—this "reduction" takes the form of claiming that all talk of God can be reduced to talk about society. As a formula, this is to assert that society and God are identical. There is indeed ample warrant for the view that the Durkheimians believed that all talk of God was really about and derived from social experience. The religious experience of "spirit" is explainable in terms of the dynamics of crowd-induced enthusiasms in rituals. As atheists, the Durkheimians did not believe an experience of God or spirit was possible because gods or spirits either did not exist or were beyond the cognitive abilities of humans to experience. Ritual, on the other hand, was religion in tangible form.

On the other hand, the Durkheimian identity of society and God was also intended to be read as arguing that all social forms contained a spiritual or normative aspect to them. Materialists therefore attacked the Durkheimians for insisting upon the place of norms, values, consensus, beliefs, and other intangibles—"spiritual" factors—in the makeup of human reality. So, on this reading of the God-society identity, the Durkheimians were asserting the "godly" quality of social reality. Societies, whether families, tribes, nations, and so on, were not therefore just agglomerations of particulars, but units of humanity linked together by the common values that at once constitute them and that they hold to be sacred. It is this side of the God-society identity that fits with the deeply held Durkheimian views of the importance of religion and of its primacy in time and agency among other social institutions.

The genesis of Durkheim's consuming interest in religion is a subject of some debate. William Robertson Smith's *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (1889) is frequently, and with good reason, cited for its influence upon Durkheim's turn to the study of both simple societies and religion. Durkheim's first two major books, *The Division of Labor in Society* and *Suicide* dealt with social problems of so-called advanced industrial societies, while his masterpiece in the study of religion, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, explored so-called primitive ritual and religion and dealt with such topics as the sacred, totem, taboo, sacrifice, ordeals, myth, and symbolism—all set among the aboriginal folk of Australia. These were not the interests one might have expected from an author concerned mostly with the problems of the industrial society. Yet, in a way, a continuity may be discerned, at least from *Suicide* to *The Elementary Forms*, despite general agreement among scholars that around 1895 Durkheim shifted his interest to religion and to the so-called primitive societies. One might, for instance, argue that a social problem afflicting the France of his day was that of how to establish a secure and viable social order. How, given the threat of war with Germany or the fissiparous individualism bred by modern urban life (the political anarchism of the day was also a concern), could modern societies hope to maintain sufficient cohesion to continue surviving? Durkheim reasoned that the secrets of social integration and coherence were there to be learned in the "elementary forms of social life" in the societies of so-called primitive peoples, where coherence and well-regulated order was the norm. If one could isolate and identify the "elementary" institutions, practices, and mechanisms that "primitive" societies employed to secure their own coherence, then perhaps modern folk could either create or retrieve these aspects of a social technology of order and coherence for their own use. *The Elementary*

Forms answered this question by proposing Aboriginal Australian society and its elaborate sacrificial ritual religious life as a model for the France of its day. As ritual sacrifice functioned among the Aborigines to weld the people into a coherent whole, so also would the civic sacrifice of duty and devotion to country insure France's integrity against their foe.

A revival of interest in Durkheimian work, spurred by the publication of Steven Lukes's *Émile Durkheim: His Life and Work* (1972), shows no sign of letting up. Some of this may have to do with the steadily declining political and intellectual fortunes of Marxism. Despite their shared conviction about the social nature of human beings, Durkheimian social thought has escaped the downdraft in which Marxism was caught due to its links to a discredited totalitarianism. Even in his own time, while Durkheim's theories were seen as fully social, they were also seen as alternatives to the economic materialism of Marxism. Thus, Durkheim actually provided an alternative both to Marxian economic materialism and to the abstract individualist interpretations of human life that Marx attacked as well. Like Marx, Durkheim challenged the conventional wisdom of entrenched abstract individualism, and pushed people to seek the underlying social constraints and causes that shape the way they act—whether this be their religious behavior or anything else. Social and cultural constraints are thus paramount in Durkheim's view, and as such seem more subtle, complex, and diverse than Marx's economism would allow. Thus, today, when the sociocultural dimensions conditioning economic life itself are gaining new appreciation, Durkheim's emphasis upon the role of religion and kindred sociocultural factors in social formation will likely become more compelling as well.

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DUSHUN (557–640), also known as Fashun; first patriarch of the Huayan school in China. Dushun was born in the town of Wannien in Yongzhou Province, the birthplace of many important Buddhists. At the age of eighteen he was ordained by Senzhen of the Yinsheng Si, and studied Buddhist meditation under him. Some years later he went to Qingzhou Province and there recommended that people hold a Buddhist vegetarian feast. According to legend, he is said to have satisfied the hunger of a thousand people with food adequate for only five hundred. According to this same legend, he acquired such great supernatural power through meditation that he was able to effect miraculous cures. Indeed, it is principally for such charismatic powers, and not for his doctrinal contributions, that he is known to later church historians.

As a result of his growing reputation, Dushun was asked to preach at the court of Tang Taizong (627–645). It is said that the emperor bestowed upon him the honorary name *Dixing* (Imperial heart) in the year 632. In the years after his death at the Yishan Si temple in Nanjiao, popular legend declared Dushun to have been an incarnation of the *bodhisattva* Mañjuśrī.

Little precise information is known about Dushun's religious practice. It is said that he urged Fan Xuanzhi, one of his disciples, to chant the *Huayan jing (Mahâvaipulya-buddhagaṇḍavyūha Sūtra)* and to learn from it the practice of the *bodhisattva* Samantabhadra. We can infer from this that his own religious exercises were intimately related to such practices. Dushun had at least four disciples: the abovementioned Fan Xuanzhi, Zhiyan, who was to become the Huayen school's second patriarch, a monk known simply as Da, and a child of a Li family. The latter two persons are otherwise unknown.

Tradition has long ascribed to Dushun authorship of the seminal *Fajie guanmen* (On the meditation of the *Dharmadhātu*), a work that sets forth the basic doctrinal and practical stance of Huayan Buddhism. Some modern scholars, however, doubt that this book was either edited or written by him. The *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (Further biographies of eminent monks), which contains the most reliable account of Dushun's life, makes no reference whatsoever to the *Fajie guanmen.* Nor is there any positive relation between the thought expressed in this work and the thought of Dushun's disciple and patriarchal successor Zhiyan. Finally, the *Fapudixin zhang*, written by Fazang, the Huayan school's third patriarch, has the same content as this work. Given these arguments, and considering the long tradition of pseudepigraphy in the Buddhist tradition, the association of Dushun with the *Fajie guanmen* appears doubtful.

SEE ALSO Huayan.

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Dushun's role in the formation of Huayan Buddhism is the subject of three important articles: Tokiwa Daijō's "Shina kegonshū dentō ron," *Tōhōgakuhō* (Tokyo) 3 (1932): 1–96 and its sequel, "Zoku kegonshū dentō ron," *Tōhōgakuhō* (Tokyo) 5 (1934): 1–85; and Yūki Reimon's "Kegon hokkaikanmon ni tsuite," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 6 (1958): 587–593. In my own study of early Huayen thought, *Shoki chūgoku kegonshisō no kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1977), I question the reliability of the traditional attribution of the *Fajie guanmen* to Dushun; see especially pages 325–370.

In addition, it is clear that the *Wujiao zhiguan* (Cessation and contemplation practice in the five teachings) cannot be attributed to Dushun based on its contents. Ishii Kōsei tried to demonstrate a new point of view that it appeared several decades after the third patriarch Fazang's death (712) in the article named "Kegonshū no kangyōbunken ni mieru zenshūhihan," *Matsugaokabunko kenkyū nenpō* 17 (Kamakura, 2003):47–62.

KIMURA KIYOTAKA (1987 AND 2005)

DUṬṬHAGĀMAṆĪ ("Gāmaṇī the wicked"), prince of a minor Sinhala kingdom who unified Sri Lanka as a Buddhist polity and ruled the island as overlord for twenty-four years (c. 161–137 BCE). In a manner characteristic of the rulers of classical India, Duṭṭhagāmaṇī marked his position as overlord by constructing numerous religious monuments and with great donative ceremonies (*mahādānas*) for the Buddhist monastic order.

Duṭṭhagāmaṇī established his polity through a series of military campaigns against the Sinhala and Tamil rulers of other minor kingdoms. His polity was fragile, however, maintained more by an ability to coerce than by administrative institutions; it collapsed soon after his death. The image of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī was more enduring. It provided a model of the ideal Buddhist king and the ideal layman, who have the responsibility to protect and promote Buddhist institutions materially, for which spiritual benefits accrue.

The image of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī was embellished in a folk epic tradition that extolled his virtues as a pious king and his exploits as a warrior. This epic tradition was the source for the many versions of the Duṭṭhagāmaṇī story found in the Sri Lankan monastic chronicles and in later Sinhala literature. The classic version is found in the *Mahāvaṃsa,* the most important of the chronicles.

The qualities of piety and violence—antithetical in canonical Buddhist ethics—are woven together in the *Mahāvaṃsa's* account of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's military campaign to become overlord. He declares that his battles are "for the sake of the *sāsana* [i.e., Buddhism]" and "not for the pleasures of sovereignty." He goes into battle with monks in his army and a relic of the Buddha on his spear. The dramatic climax comes with Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's single combat with the Tamil king Eḷāra, who, while described as a just and righteous ruler, is judged by the *Mahāvaṃsa* as unfit to be overlord because he was not a Buddhist.

All versions of the story give prominence to the pious deeds done by Duṭṭhagāmaṇī after he became overlord. The *Mahāvaṃsa* says that, in addition to his construction of monuments (including the Great Stupa at Anuradhapura) and his many donations to the monastic order, he gifted sovereignty over the island to the relics of the Buddha, a sign of Sri Lanka's identity as a Buddhist polity. As a result of these meritorious deeds, we are told, he has been reborn in the Tusita (Skt., Tuṣita) heaven, and in the future will be reborn as a chief disciple of the next buddha, Metteyya.

A crucial element in the story is Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's remorse over the killing done in battle, a motif that recalls Aśoka, the first Buddhist imperial ruler. A delegation of enlightened monks (*arahant*s) counsels the king that he has no reason to feel remorse. In different versions of the story, various explanations for this counsel are suggested, an indication perhaps that the counsel itself troubled Buddhists: Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's victims were not Buddhist, and thus killing them was somehow not equivalent to taking human life; his intentions to protect the *sāsana* were good, and would outweigh the evil of his actions; there would be no opportunity for the fruits of these evil deeds to mature, since his rebirth in heaven was assured by his good deeds, and this counsel was given only to comfort his mind.

The folk epic tradition assumed a strong communalist character—specifically anti-Tamil—which became increasingly visible in the later literature. This communalist character has made the Duṭṭhagāmaṇī story a vitriolic element in the political and religious rhetoric of modern Sri Lanka.

The story was an important part of the *dhammadīpa* ("island of truth") tradition, which viewed Sri Lanka as the repository of the Buddha's teaching. It emphasized the necessity of political unity for the island to fulfill its religious destiny, as well as the special and exclusive relationship its rulers were to have with Buddhism.

The Duṭṭhagāmaṇī story has also had a continuing significance in Sinhala Buddhism as a background for interpretation. It has provided a context for resolving conflicts about ethical issues (e.g., whether violence is ever permissible), for elucidating points of Buddhist doctrine, and for legitimizing social and religious charters.

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CHARLES HALLISEY (1987)
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Revised Bibliography

DVERGAR (dwarfs) are an all-male race of supernatural beings in Germanic mythology. Only in later sagas are they described as stunted and deformed. Molded from earth or quickened in the blood of giants in earlier eddic sources (*Gylfaginning*, ch. 13; *Vǫluspá*, st. 9), the dwarfs were created by the gods. This was the most successful of the gods' experiments in producing life by nonbiological means, for the dwarfs were craftsmen like the gods and served their interests. Artisans in wood and metal and gifted with magical creativity, dwarfs produced precious objects such as Þórr's hammer, Óðinn's spear, Sif's golden hair, Freyr's boat, and Freyja's necklace and boar. A particularly useful item that they forged for the gods was the magical fetter that kept the monstrous wolf Fenrir bound until the gods' last battle at Ragnarǫk. Dwarfs also engaged in creative enterprises of their own, such as brewing the mead of wisdom and poetic inspiration (*Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 1).

Dwarfs occupied an intermediate position between gods and giants (*Hávamál*, st. 143). Active, inventive, and humanlike, as were the gods, they lived in earth or rocks and associated with death and cold, as did the giants. Also like giants, dwarfs were assigned a place in Germanic cosmogony. Four dwarfs (Austri [East], Vestri [West], Suðri [South], and Norðri [North]) were said to uphold the four corners of the sky, which was made from the skull of the primordial giant Ymir. But where the giants were generally hostile to the gods, dwarfs were generally friendly, becoming vindictive only when they were treated unfairly. For example, the gold guarded by the dragon Fáfnir had originally been taken from a dwarf by Loki. The dwarf put a curse on it, which led to the tragedies of the Vǫlsungs and the Nibelungs. Unmotivated hostility by the dwarfs is seen in their capture and killing of Kvasir, from whose blood they brewed the mead of poetic inspiration.

Dwarfs could not reproduce, but the eddic poem *Alvíssmál* describes how Alvíss (All-Wise) persuaded the gods to give him Þórr's daughter. Like the giants who sought Freyja and Iðunn for their brides, this dwarf tried to redress the social imbalance that forbade the goddesses to be married to anyone but gods. Þórr thwarted Alvíss's effort by starting a riddle contest with him, with questions continuing until dawn, when the rays of the sun turned the dwarf into stone.

Depicted principally as craftsmen and resembling priests in their possession of secret knowledge and magic chants (*Hávamál*, st. 160), dwarfs show affinity with the earth-dwelling forces of magical creativity of the Mediterranean regions, such as Ptah of Egypt, Hephaistos of Lemnos, and the Daktyls of Crete, but they are more likely to have originated as demons of death, as suggested by their underground home and names like Bláinn (Blue, black), Dáinn (Dead), and Nár (Corpse). Alvíss is described as having a pale nose and looking as if he had spent the night with a corpse. There is little to suggest that the dwarfs were venerated.

SEE ALSO Eddas; Germanic Religion; Jǫtnar.

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LOTTE MOTZ (1987)
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DWIGHT, TIMOTHY (1752–1817), president of Yale College and leader of Connecticut orthodoxy. A grandson of Jonathan Edwards, Dwight viewed himself as within the Edwardsean "New Divinity" tradition. But by Dwight's time the Edwardsean "consistent Calvinism" had become an arid scholasticism that denigrated all human activity, or "means," used in the process of attaining salvation. As Harriet Beecher Stowe later commented, the high Calvinistic system as expounded by Edwards's intellectual followers was like a "rungless ladder" with piety at the top and no human way to ascend. "Consistent Calvinist" ministers of early national America alienated their parishioners and dampened religious fervor. On the other hand, liberal moralists of the time were compromising the historic doctrines of the reformed faith and veering toward Unitarianism. Dwight, an important transitional figure in the development of a nineteenth-century American evangelical consensus, devised a practical theology with the avowed purpose of countering America's late-eighteenth-century slide into secularism.

As president of Yale College between 1795 and 1817, Dwight forged his system of theology, which he preached in sermon form, exerting profound influence on a multitude of students who later entered the ministry. With his pragmatic approach, Dwight did not abjure such Calvinist doctrines as depravity, election, or absolute divine sovereignty, but he avoided giving them the effect of rendering humanity powerless in the process of salvation. He laid emphasis on the means by which one can attain piety, accentuating the spiritual potency of an environment saturated in "true religion." In many an emotion-laden sermon Dwight exhorted his students to repent and receive the Savior. In his revivalistic preaching and his enhancement of Christian nurture, Dwight influenced such important divines as Nathaniel W. Taylor and Lyman Beecher, both of whom studied under him at Yale. These men devised the practical, evangelistic orthodoxy that spawned the interdenominational "benevolent societies" and played a major part in spreading the Second Great Awakening. Dwight's emphasis on nurture was later picked up and expanded by the influential Hartford theologian Horace Bushnell, a forerunner of the Social Gospel.

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Dwight's best-known work is his *Travels in New England and New York* (1823; reprint, Cambridge, Mass., 1969). In this four-volume compendium, he comments editorially on the religion, culture, and politics, as well as the geographical features of his region. Republished, the *Travels* has been edited and given an excellent introduction by Barbara Miller Solomon. Dwight's *Theology Explained and Defended in a Series of Sermons*, 4 vols. (New Haven, 1823), went through a number of nineteenth-century editions. It is the best and most comprehensive exposition of his theology. There are three modern biographical studies of Dwight, each of which views his life from a different perspective. Charles E. Cunningham's *Timothy Dwight 1752–1817* (New York, 1942) concentrates on his attainments as educator. It is the most complete biography of Dwight. Kenneth Silverman's work, *Timothy Dwight* (New York, 1969) focuses on the development of his social and political views as expounded in his narrative and epic poetry. Stephen E. Berk's *Calvinism versus Democracy: Timothy Dwight and the Origins of American Evangelical Orthodoxy* (Hamden, Conn., 1974) considers Dwight as theologian and ecclesiastical politician, relating his career to the broader social and religious currents of his time. It contains the only detailed appraisal of Dwight's theology.

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DYBBUK is a term used in Jewish sources for a dead soul possessing the body of a living person. The term first appears in seventeenth-century Ashkenazi (European) Jewish sources. Earlier Jewish sources and Sephardic (Middle Eastern) Jewry even after the seventeenth century refer to a possessed person as "adhered to by an evil spirit" (*davuk mi-ruah ra'ah*). Ashkenazi usage borrowed the root of the verb "to adhere" and made it into a noun signifying "the adherer" (Scholem, 1934). While cases of spirit possession are found in Jewish sources dating back to antiquity, the scattered references in ancient rabbinic literature were followed by a millennium of silence, which was finally broken by a dozen or so sixteenth-century narrative accounts. These first tales served as models for subsequent cases and their narration. Approximately eighty similar accounts were recorded from the seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries (Nigal, 1994).

ETIOLOGY. Although the early modern etiology of spirit possession most commonly regarded the possessing agent as a dead soul, earlier Jewish sources refer to the possessing agents as *shedim* or *mazzikim*, these being malevolent demons. The increasing tendency to identify the intruder as a dead soul is an indication of the growing prominence of the doctrine of reincarnation in sixteenth-century Judaism (Scholem, 1991). The Jewish doctrine, as articulated by contemporary mystical theorists, allowed both for reincarnation into a body at birth (*gilgul*; literally, "rolling"), as well as for the temporary transmigration of a soul into an adult body in a supplementary capacity (*'ibbur*; literally, "impregnation"). While the term *dybbuk* would come to be exclusively associated with the evil "impregnation" of the dead into bodies of the living, contemporary Jewish mystics actively pursued benevolent "impregnations" of saints into their own bodies, often through prostration upon the graves of the righteous (Kallus, 2003; Giller, 1994).

Classical Jewish sources generally regarded the afterlife as entailing a stay of up to a year in Gehenna, a purgatory that was thought to refine and purify the soul in preparation for its entrance into the Edenic heavens. According to sixteenth-century conceptions, however, particularly evil individuals lacked sufficient merit to gain admission to Gehenna. They would thus linger in a tortuous limbo of unspecified duration. Respite for such a soul could only be obtained through its taking refuge in the body of a living person; possession also allowed a soul to negotiate the terms of its admission to Gehenna through the intervention of a rabbinic exorcist.

LOCUS. The Galilean town of Safed was the epicenter of the efflorescence of spirit possession among Jews in the sixteenth century. The Jews of Safed in this period were predominantly pietistic refugees and penitent *conversos* of Iberian origin who, along with other new immigrants from Jewish communities from around the world, chose the town for its religious advantages as soon as political and economic conditions facilitated their doing so. Despite its small size, Safed became the religious capital of world Jewry, producing masterworks of legal, homiletical, and mystical literature that have remained influential to this day. Leading the Jewish religious revival in Palestine that followed in the wake of the Ottoman conquest of 1516, these mystics cultivated benevolent forms of possession while also serving as exorcists for those whose experiences were of an unwelcome variety. Just as centers of religious devotion in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe were the focal points of outbreaks of demonic possession, cases of "*dybbuk*" possession notably emerge in Jewish society in the context of this community of self-selected mystical pietists. The monastic intensity of this small community, which took upon itself the burden not only to lead, but to atone for the sins of the entire Jewish people, may have been the driving force behind the eruption of spirit possession in Safed (Chajes, 2003).

Isolated cases from this period were also reported in Jewish communities elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire, as well as in Italy. Over the subsequent centuries, *dybbuk* possession was reported in Jewish communities from North Africa to eastern Europe. Accounts of spirit possession from Hasidic circles tend to focus less on the victim or spirit, as did earlier accounts, and more on the exorcist—in this case, a Hasidic master. While always serving a didactic function, *dybbuk* accounts in the nineteenth century thus became part and parcel of Hasidic hagiography. The last well publicized case of *dybbuk* possession took place in Dimona, Israel, in April 1999 when a 38-year-old widow was diagnosed by a prominent Jerusalem rabbi as possessed by the soul of her late husband.

SIGNS OF POSSESSION. Jewish sources note symptoms of *dybbuk* possession that closely correlate to those found in many other cultures. Physical signs include epileptic collapse, called "the falling sickness" *(holi ha-nofel)* in medieval sources; unnatural strength; and egg-shaped swellings under the skin, often seen in motion and identified as the source of the *dybbuk*'s speech. Impostors and insanity were thought to be ruled out, especially when the spirit spoke in a language unknown to the victim (xenoglossia) and when the sins of those present were exposed through its clairvoyance (Patai, 1978). *Dybbukim* (plural) were often thought to have entered their female victims through the vagina, but other orifices could also be subject to penetration. Food in which a *dybbuk* was lodged might thus enter a victim who innocently ate of it. Finally, while *dybbuk* possession was involuntary and the victim not culpable for what she said or did under the influence, many victims were thought to have been possessed as a punishment for a previous sin of omission or commission. Sins of belief seem to have been particularly common, especially what might be called "folk-skepticism" or unlearned disbelief in traditional doctrines and authority.

TRADITIONAL TREATMENT: JEWISH EXORCISM. While narrative accounts of spirit possession among Jews are lacking between antiquity and the sixteenth century, the evidence of Hebrew and Aramaic magical literature indicates a striking continuity in the approach to treating the possessed over the centuries. A typical Jewish exorcism would begin with the diagnostic examination of the suffering victim. If possession was confirmed, efforts to obtain the name of the spirit would begin. Without obtaining this name, there could be no successful adjuration (Gk., *horkos* [exorcism]; Heb., *hashba'ah*) of the spirit to depart. Threats of excommunication might be used, along with adjured angels and demons, as well as fumigations of burning sulphur. Such ceremonies were often punctuated by the thunderous blasts of a ram's horn (*shofar*), which Jewish sources dating back to antiquity believed had the power to discombobulate demonic forces (*le'arbev et ha-satan*). Finally, an amulet might be written to be hung upon the victim, lest she be repossessed by the dislocated spirit in the aftermath of a successful exorcism (Knox, 1938).

In the wake of the etiological shift of the sixteenth century and the increasing tendency to identify the spirit as the soul of a Jewish sinner, penitential liturgy on behalf of the spirit is added to the exorcism formulae. Thus the exorcist comes to advocate on behalf of this tormented soul and to facilitate its admission to Gehenna in a negotiated quid pro quo, in exchange for leaving the victim quickly and unharmed.

According to the extant accounts, women were more likely to be victims of *dybbuk* possession by a margin of about two to one. While heterosexual penetration was most common, we also find cases of male souls possessing men; possessions by female souls rarely occur. This predominance of possessed women, not unique to the Jewish possession idiom, has often been viewed as resulting from their social or sexual deprivation in patriarchal cultures. Possession affords its primarily female victims with a licit opportunity for public expression and for the release of suppressed beliefs and feelings; exorcism, in this interpretation, reintegrates the victim into the community (Bilu, 1985). While such functionalist interpretations are compelling, critics charge that they are invoked too quickly in the analysis of women's religiosity, thus disallowing for the possibility of women acting religiously for religious (rather than social or psychological) reasons (Sered, 1994). Indeed, there is reason to believe that at least some of the women described as *dybbuk*-possessed may have been female visionaries and clairvoyants venerated by segments of the community unrepresented in the accounts composed by men (Chajes, 2003; Deutsch, 2004).

Dybbuk possession is known today primarily through the Yiddish play, *Between Two Worlds: The Dybbuk,* written in the early twentieth century by S. Ansky, and first performed shortly after his death in 1920 (Werses, 1986; Ansky, 2002). Ansky's ethnographic research in eastern Europe and his keen grasp of the dramatic potential of possession narratives resulted in a mythic tale of a righteous young scholar who gives up everything, including life itself, to be united with his true love. Denied her as his bride in life, he possesses her upon his death on the day she was to have married another. Adapted for film and shot in Poland in 1937, *Der Dibuk* is one of the finest Yiddish films of the period and, in retrospect, a poignant time-capsule of Jewish life in Poland in its final hour. The play, directed by Evgeny Vakhtangov, was also performed in 1922 in a Hebrew version by the Habima theater troupe in Russia; Habima would later stage popular revivals of the play in Tel Aviv, lending it a formative role in the history of Israeli theater. More recent works by Leonard Bernstein, Tony Kushner, and others testify to the enduring appeal of this material.

SEE ALSO Exorcism; Hasidism; Magic; Qabbalah; Spirit Possession.

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J. H. CHAJES (2005)

DYING AND RISING GODS. The category of dying and rising gods, once a major topic of scholarly investigation, must now be understood to have been largely a misnomer based on imaginative reconstructions and exceedingly late or highly ambiguous texts.

DEFINITION. As applied in the scholarly literature, "dying and rising gods" is a generic appellation for a group of male deities found in agrarian Mediterranean societies who serve as the focus of myths and rituals that allegedly narrate and annually represent their death and resurrection.

Beyond this sufficient criterion, dying and rising deities were often held by scholars to have a number of cultic associations, sometimes thought to form a "pattern." They were young male figures of fertility; the drama of their lives was often associated with mother or virgin goddesses; in some areas, they were related to the institution of sacred kingship, often expressed through rituals of sacred marriage; there were dramatic reenactments of their life, death, and putative resurrection, often accompanied by a ritual identification of either the society or given individuals with their fate.

The category of dying and rising gods, as well as the pattern of its mythic and ritual associations, received its earliest full formulation in the influential work of James G. Frazer *The Golden Bough,* especially in its two central volumes, *The Dying God* and *Adonis, Attis, Osiris.* Frazer offered two interpretations, one euhemerist, the other naturist. In the former, which focused on the figure of the dying god, it was held that a (sacred) king would be slain when his fertility waned. This practice, it was suggested, would be later mythologized, giving rise to a dying god. The naturist explanation, which covered the full cycle of dying and rising, held the deities to be personifications of the seasonal cycle of vegetation. The two interpretations were linked by the notion that death followed upon a loss of fertility, with a period of sterility being followed by one of rejuvenation, either in the transfer of the kingship to a successor or by the rebirth or resurrection of the deity.

There are empirical problems with the euhemerist theory. The evidence for sacral regicide is limited and ambiguous; where it appears to occur, there are no instances of a dying god figure. The naturist explanation is flawed at the level of theory. Modern scholarship has largely rejected, for good reasons, an interpretation of deities as projections of natural phenomena.

Nevertheless, the figure of the dying and rising deity has continued to be employed, largely as a preoccupation of biblical scholarship, among those working on ancient Near Eastern sacred kingship in relation to the Hebrew Bible and among those concerned with the Hellenistic mystery cults in relation to the New Testament.

BROADER CATEGORIES. Despite the shock this fact may deal to modern Western religious sensibilities, it is a commonplace within the history of religions that immortality is not a prime characteristic of divinity: Gods die. Nor is the concomitant of omnipresence a widespread requisite: Gods disappear. The putative category of dying and rising deities thus takes its place within the larger category of dying gods and the even larger category of disappearing deities. Some of these divine figures simply disappear; some disappear only to return again in the near or distant future; some disappear and reappear with monotonous frequency. All the deities that have been identified as belonging to the class of dying and rising deities can be subsumed under the two larger classes of disappearing deities or dying deities. In the first case, the deities return but have not died; in the second case, the gods die but do not return. There is no unambiguous instance in the history of religions of a dying and rising deity.

THE DEITIES. The list of specific deities to whom the appellation "dying and rising" has been attached varies. In most cases, the decipherment and interpretation of texts in the language native to the deity's cult has led to questions as to the applicability of the category. The majority of evidence for Near Eastern dying and rising deities occurs in Greek and Latin texts of late antiquity, usually post-Christian in date.

Adonis. Despite the original Semitic provenance of Adonis, there is no native mythology. What is known depends on later Greek, Roman, and Christian interpretations.

There are two major forms of the Adonis myth, only brought together in late mythographical tradition (e.g., the second-century CE *Bibliotheca,* falsely attributed to Apollodorus of Athens). The first, which may be termed the Panyasisian form, knows only of a quarrel between two goddesses (Aphrodite and Persephone) for the affections of the infant Adonis. Zeus or Calliope decrees that Adonis should spend part of the year in the upperworld with the one, and part of the year in the lowerworld with the other. This tradition of bilocation (similar to that connected with Persephone and, perhaps, Dumuzi) has no suggestion of death and rebirth. The second, more familiar Ovidian form narrates Adonis's death by a boar and his commemoration by Aphrodite in a flower. There is no suggestion of Adonis rising. The first version lacks an account of Adonis's death; the second emphasizes the goddess's mourning and the fragility of the flower that perpetuates his memory. Even when the two versions are combined, Adonis' alternation between the upper and lower worlds precedes his death.

The rituals of Adonis, held during the summer months, are everywhere described as periods of intense mourning. Only late texts, largely influenced by or written by Christians, claim that there is a subsequent day of celebration for Adonis having been raised from the dead. The earliest of these is alleged to be the second-century account of Lucian (*Syrian Goddess* 6–7) that, on the third day of the ritual, a statue of Adonis is "brought out into the light" and "addressed as if alive"; but this is an ambiguous report. Lucian goes on to say that some think the ritual is not for Adonis but rather for some Egyptian deity. The practice of addressing a statue "as if alive" is no proof of belief in resurrection; rather it is the common presupposition of any cultic activity in the Mediterranean world that uses images. Besides, Lucian reports that after the "address" women cut their hair as a sign of mourning.

Considerably later, the Christian writers Origen and Jerome, commenting on *Ezekiel* 8:14, and Cyril of Alexandria and Procopius of Gaza, commenting on *Isaiah* 18:1, clearly report joyous festivities on the third day to celebrate Adonis (identified with Tammuz) having been "raised from the dead." Whether this represents an *interpretatio Christiana* or whether late third- and fourth-century forms of the Adonis cult themselves developed a dying and rising mythology (possibility in imitation of the Christian myth) cannot be determined. This pattern will recur for many of the figures considered: an indigenous mythology and ritual focusing on the deity's death and rituals of lamentation, followed by a later Christian report adding the element nowhere found in the earlier native sources, that the god was resurrected.

The frequently cited "gardens of Adonis" (the *kepoi)* were proverbial illustrations of the brief, transitory nature of life and contain no hint of rebirth. The point is that the young plant shoots rapidly wither and die, not that the seeds have been "reborn" when they sprout.

Finally, despite scholarly fantasies, there is no evidence for the existence of any mysteries of Adonis whereby the member was identified with Adonis or his fate.

Aliyan Baal. The Ras Shamra texts (late Bronze Age) narrate the descent into the underworld of the puissant deity Aliyan Baal ("the one who prevails; the lord") and his apparent return. Unfortunately, the order of the incidents in the several different texts that have been held to form a Baal cycle is uncertain. The texts that are of greatest relevance to the question of whether Aliyan Baal is correctly to be classified as a dying and rising deity have major lacunae at the most crucial points. Although these texts have been reconstructed by some scholars using the dying and rising pattern, whether these texts are an independent witness to that pattern remains an open question.

In the major narrative cycle, Baal, having won the rulership by vanquishing the dangerous waters, is challenged by Mot, ruler of the underworld, to descend into his realm. After some initial hesitation, and after copulating with a cow, Baal accepts the challenge and goes down to the lower realm, whence it will be said of him that he is as if dead. After a gap of some forty lines, Baal is reported to have died. Anat descends and recovers his corpse, which is properly buried; a successor to Baal is then appointed, and Anat seeks out and kills Mot. After the narrative is interrupted by another forty-line gap, El declares, on the basis of a symbolic dream, that Baal still lives. After another gap of similar length, Baal is described as being in combat with a group of deities. As is apparent from this brief summary, much depends on the order of incidents. As it stands, the text appears to be one of a descent to the underworld and return—a pattern not necessarily equivalent to dying and rising. Baal is "as if he is dead"; he then appears to be alive.

In another, even more fragmentary Hadad cycle (Hadad being identified with Baal), Hadad goes off to capture a group of monsters, but they, in turn, pursue him. In order to escape he hides in a bog, where he lies sick for seven years while the earth is parched and without growth. Hadad's brothers eventually find him and he is rescued. This is a disappearing-reappearing narrative. There is no suggestion of death and resurrection.

There is no evidence that any of the events narrated in these distressingly fragmentary texts were ritually reenacted. Nor is there any suggestion of an annual cycle of death and rebirth. The question whether Aliyan Baal is a dying and rising deity must remain *sub judice.*

Attis. The complex mythology of Attis is largely irrelevant to the question of dying and rising deities. In the old, Phrygian version, Attis is killed by being castrated, either by himself or by another; in the old Lydian version, he is killed by a boar. In neither case is there any question of his returning to life. There is a second series of later traditions that deny that Attis died of his wounds but do not narrate his subsequent death or, for that matter, his rebirth. Finally, two late, post-Christian theological reflections on the myth hint at rebirth: the complex allegory in the *Naassene Sermon* and the euhemerist account in Firmacus Maternus, in which a pretended resurrection is mentioned. Attis is not, in his mythology, a dying and rising deity; indeed, he is not a deity at all.

All of the attempts in the scholarly literature to identify Attis as a dying and rising deity depend not on the mythology but rather on the ritual, in particular a questionable interpretation of the five-day festival of Cybele on March 22–27. The question of the relationship between the Day of Blood (March 24) and the Day of Joy (March 25) caught the attention of some scholars, who, employing the analogy of the relationship of Good Friday to Easter Sunday, reasoned that if among other activities on the Day of Blood there was mourning for Attis, then the object of the "joy" on the following day must be Attis's resurrection. Unfortunately, there is no evidence that this was the case. The Day of Joy is a late addition to what was once a three-day ritual in which the Day of Blood was followed by a purificatory ritual and the return of the statue of the goddess to the temple. Within the cult, the new feast of the Day of Joy celebrates Cybele. The sole text that connects the Day of Joy with Attis is a fifth-century biography of Isidore the Dialectician by the Neoplatonic philosopher Damascius, who reports that Isidore once had a dream in which he was Attis and the Day of Joy was celebrated in his honor!

Scholars have frequently cited a text in Firmacus Maternus (22.3) as referring to Attis and his resurrection on the Day of Joy: "Be of good cheer, you of the mysteries, your god is saved!" However, the god is unidentified, and the notion of "cheer" is insufficient to link this utterance to Attis and the Day of Joy. The text most probably reflects a late antique Osirian ritual.

Neither myth nor ritual offers any warrant for classifying Attis as a dying and rising deity.

Marduk. The figure of the king-god of Babylon, Marduk, has been crucial to those scholars associated with the Myth and Ritual school as applied to the religions of the ancient Near East. For here, as in no other figure, the central elements of their proposed pattern appear to be brought together: the correlation of myth and ritual, the annual celebration of the dying and rising of a deity, paralleled by an annual ritual death and rebirth of the king. Marduk is the canonical instance of the Myth and Ritual pattern.

In 1921, F. Thureau-Dangin published the text, transcription, and translation of a Seleucid era text, preserved in two copies, presenting a part of the ritual for the New Year festival (the Akitu) in Babylon. Despite a large number of references to the performance of the ritual in Babylonian texts (although not always to the Akitu associated with Marduk or Babylon) and scattered mentions of individual items in the ritual, this exceedingly late cuneiform text is the only detailed description of the ritual program in Babylon to survive. It enjoins twenty-six ritual actions for the first five days of the twelve-day ceremony, including a double reading of a text entitled *Enuma elish.* Assuming that this reference is to some form of the text now known by that name, the "Babylonian creation epic" as reconstructed by contemporary scholarship, the ritual suggests a close link to the myth. However, not one of the twenty-six ritual actions bears the slightest resemblance to any narrative element in the myth. Whatever the significance of the recitation of the text during the Akitu festival, the myth is not reenacted in that portion of the ceremonies that has survived.

Realizing this, some proponents of the Myth and Ritual approach have argued that the first five days of the ritual were only purificatory in nature, and go on to speculate that the next three days of the festival featured a dramatic reenactment of a myth of the death and resurrection of Marduk. This sort of imaginative speculation gave rise to a new set of problems. There is no hint of Marduk's death in the triumphant account of his cosmic kingship in *Enuma elish.* If some such myth was enacted, it was not the one stipulated in the ritual program. Nevertheless, scholars turned to a cuneiform text that they entitled *The Death and Resurrection of Bel-Marduk.* The title is somewhat misleading. There are sixteen episodes in the text, which appears to narrate Marduk's imprisonment. The text is fragmentary and difficult to interpret, but it appears to be in the form of a ritual commentary in which a set of ritual gestures are correlated to events in a subtextual narrative of Marduk's capture.

For an older generation of scholars, Marduk's imprisonment was equivalent to his death, and his presumed ultimate release represented his resurrection. More recent interpretations have minimized the cosmic symbolism: Marduk has been arrested and is being held for trial. By either reading, such a narrative of the king-god's weakness or crime would appear odd in a Babylonian setting. This caution is strengthened by the fact that the text is of Assyrian provenance and is written in the Assyrian dialect. It is not a native Babylonian text and could have played no role in the central festival of Babylon.

The so-called *Death and Resurrection of Bel-Marduk* is most likely an Assyrian political parody of some now unrecoverable Babylonian ritual composed after the Assyrians conquered Babylon in 691/689 BCE. At that time, the statue of Marduk was carried off into Assyrian captivity. From one point of view, the text has a simple, propagandistic message: Compared to the gods of Ashur, Marduk is a weak deity. More subtly, for those Assyrians who held Marduk in some reverence, the notion of his crimes would provide religious justification for his capture.

The notion that the king undergoes an annual ritual of mimetic dying and rising is predicated on the fact that the deity, whose chief representative is the king, is believed to undergo a similar fate. If it is doubtful that Marduk was understood as a dying and rising deity, it is also doubtful that such a ritual was required of the king. Some scholars have held that the so-called ritual humiliation of the king on the fifth day of the New Year festival, with its startling portrayal of the king being dethroned, slapped, pulled by the ears, and reenthroned, is symbolic of his death and resurrection. But such an interpretation ignores both the manifest content of the ritual text and its date. During the humiliation ceremony, the king is required to recite a negative confession: that he did not overthrow his capital city of Babylon or tear down its walls, that he did not insult its protected citizens, that he did not neglect or destroy its central temple.

From one point of view, such a negative confession is ludicrous. What native Babylonian king ever contemplated, much less carried out, such actions? These were the actions of foreign kings (Assyrian, Persian, Seleucid) who gained the throne of Babylon by conquest and desecrated the native cult. However, as with Cyrus among the Israelites, so too for the Babylonians, foreign kings could be named who restored Babylon and its temple. Read in this light, the ritual humiliation of the king appears to be a piece of Babylonian nationalistic ritual rectification: Good fortune and continued kingship comes to the (foreign) king if he acts as a pious (native) king would act. If not, he will be stripped of his kingship.

This understanding is made more plausible by the date of the only surviving texts of the ritual. They are all from the Hellenistic Seleucid period, that is to say, from a period after the ending of native kingship and the installing of foreign kings on the throne. The pattern may be earlier, dating back, perhaps, to the time of Sargon II (r. 721–705 BCE), the earliest conqueror of Babylon to adopt consciously the Babylonian etiquette of kingship and during whose rule, for the first time, one finds legal texts guaranteeing Assyrian recognition of the rights and privileges of the "protected citizens" of Babylon. In the present text of the New Year ritual, a set of actions designed to deal with the more proximate Assyrian conquerors has been reapplied to the relatively more foreign Seleucid rulers.

There is no evidence that the Babylonian Marduk was ever understood to be a dying and rising deity, that such a myth was reenacted during the New Year festival, or that the king was believed to undergo a similar fate.

Osiris. In contrast to the other deities considered above, Osiris has a thick textual dossier stretching over millennia. Although the full, connected myth is only to be found in Greek, in Plutarch's *Isis and Osiris* from the early second century CE, the Osirian myth can be reconstructed from the Pyramid Texts of the fifth and sixth dynasties. While the names of the actors and details of the incidents vary, this record is remarkably consistent over twenty-five hundred years. Osiris was murdered and his body dismembered and scattered. The pieces of his body were recovered and rejoined, and the god was rejuvenated. However, he did not return to his former mode of existence but rather journeyed to the underworld, where he became the powerful lord of the dead. In no sense can Osiris be said to have "risen" in the sense required by the dying and rising pattern; most certainly it was never conceived as an annual event. The repeated formula "Rise up, you have not died," whether applied to Osiris or a citizen of Egypt, signaled a new, permanent life in the realm of the dead.

Osiris was considered to be the mythical prototype for the distinctive Egyptian process of mummification. Iconographically, Osiris is always depicted in mummified form. The descriptions of the recovery and rejoining of the pieces of his body are all elaborate parallels to funerary rituals: the vigil over his corpse, the hymns of lamentation, the embalmment (usually performed by Anubis), the washing and purification of the corpse, the undertaking of the elaborate ritual of the "opening of the mouth" with its 107 separate operations, as well as other procedures for reanimation, the dressing of the body, and the pouring out of libations. Through these parallels, the individual Egyptian dead became identified with, and addressed as, Osiris (perhaps earliest in Pyramid Texts 167a–168a). The myth and ritual of Osiris emphasizes the message that there is life for the dead, although it is of a different character than that of the living. What is to be feared is "dying a second time in the realm of the dead" (*Book of Going Forth by Day* 175–176).

Osiris is a powerful god of the potent dead. In no sense can the dramatic myth of his death and reanimation be harmonized to the pattern of dying and rising gods.

Tammuz/Dumuzi. The assessment of the figure of Tammuz (Sumerian, Dumuzi) as a dying and rising deity in the scholarly literature has varied more than any other deity placed in this class. For example, within a thirty-year period, one of the most significant scholars in the field, the Sumeriologist Samuel Noah Kramer, has revised his judgment regarding this question several times. Before 1950, Kramer thought it possible that Dumuzi was freed from death; between 1950 and 1965, he considered Dumuzi to be solely a dying god; since 1966, he has been willing to speak again of the "death and resurrection" of Dumuzi.

The ritual evidence is unambiguously negative. During the summer month of Tammuz, there was a period of wailing and lamentation for the dead deity. A substantial number of cultic hymns of mourning, going back to the second millennium BCE, have been recovered; by the sixth century BCE, the ritual was practiced in Jerusalem (*Ez.* 8:14); in Syria, it is witnessed to as late as the fifth century CE and, in variations, persisted through medieval times. If third-century Christian authors are to be trusted, the figure of Tammuz interacted with that of Adonis in Asia Minor. In all of these varied reports, the character of the ritual is the same. It is a relentlessly funereal cult. The young Tammuz is dead, and he is mourned. His life was like that of the shoot of a tender plant. It grows quickly and then withers away. It was a life that is "no more"—a persistent refrain in the lamentations. There is no evidence for any cultic celebration of a rebirth of Tammuz apart from late Christian texts where he is identified with Adonis.

Given the predilection of scholars concerned with Christian origins for a pre-Christian pattern of dying and rising deities, it comes as no surprise that, despite the lack of cultic evidence, it was widely supposed that the period of mourning for Tammuz must have been followed by a festival of rejoicing. This speculative conclusion seemed to gain support with the publication of the Akkadian *Descent of Ishtar* from the library of Ashurbanipal in Nineveh. The text narrates the descent of the goddess into the underworld and her return. However, the concluding nine lines of the text contain a series of enigmatic references to Tammuz, Ishtar's youthful lover, in the land of the dead. Although the text nowhere mentions it, scholars supposed that the purpose of Ishtar's descent was to bring Tammuz up. If so, this would place Tammuz securely within the dying and rising pattern.

Even on the basis of the Akkadian text alone, such an interpretation is unlikely. There is no connection stated in the text between Ishtar's descent and Tammuz. (Indeed, some scholars have suggested that the last lines referring to Tammuz were originally independent and added to the *Descent* as a scribal gloss.) Even more detrimental to the dying and rising hypothesis, the actions performed on Tammuz in these three strophes are elements from the funeral ritual. Ishtar is treating Tammuz as a corpse. Finally, the line rendered in the earlier translations as "on the day when Tammuz comes up" has been shown to be a mistranslation. It either refers to Tammuz greeting Ishtar (i. e., coming up to her) in the underworld, or it is a reference to the month Tammuz. In the Akkadian version, Tammuz is dead and remains so. Such an understanding is witnessed to in other Akkadian texts. For example, in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* (6.46–50), the hero insults and scorns Ishtar, reminding her that all her previous lovers—Tammuz heads the list—have died as a result of their relationship to her.

Such considerations seemed to become purely academic with the publication of the Sumerian prototype of the Akkadian text, *Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld* (Inanna is the Sumerian form of Ishtar) and the closely related *Death of Dumuzi.* These early texts made clear that the goddess did not descend to the realm of the dead to rescue her consort. Rather it was her descent that was responsible for his death.

Inanna, the queen of heaven, sought to extend her power over the underworld, ruled by her sister, Ereshkigal. As in the Akkadian text, Inanna descends through seven gates, at each removing an article of clothing or royal regalia until, after passing through the seventh gate, she is naked and powerless. She is killed and her corpse hung on a hook. Through a stratagem planned before her descent, she is revived, but she may not return above unless she can find a substitute to take her place. She reascends, accompanied by a force of demons who will return her to the land of the dead if she fails. After allowing two possible candidates to escape, she comes to Erech, where Dumuzi, the shepherd king who is her consort, appears to be rejoicing over her fate. She sets the demons on him, and after he escapes several times, he is captured, killed, and carried off to the underworld to replace Inanna. In this narrative, Dumuzi is a dying god.

In 1963 a new portion of the *Descent of Inanna* was announced. Here, it would appear, there is yet a further episode. Inanna, in response to Dumuzi's weeping, decrees an arrangement whereby Dumuzi will take her place for half the year in the underworld and then return to the realm of the living; his sister, Geshtinanna, will then take Dumuzi's place in the underworld for the other half of the year, and, likewise, return.

For some scholars, this new conclusion to *Inanna's Descent* was sufficient to restore Dumuzi/Tammuz to the class of dying and rising gods. Such an understanding is unlikely. The myth emphasizes the inalterable power of the realm of the dead, not triumph over it. No one ascends from the land of the dead unless someone takes his or her place. The pattern of alternation—half a year below, half a year above—is familiar from other myths of the underworld in which there is no question of the presence of a dying and rising deity (e.g., Persephone, as in Ovid, *Fasti* 4.613–4, or the youthful Adonis as described above), and is related, as well, to wider folkloristic themes of death delayed if a substitute can be found (e.g., Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index* A 316; D 1855.2; P 316). Such alternation is not what is usually meant in the literature when speaking of a deity's "rising."

As the above examples make plain, the category of dying and rising deities is exceedingly dubious. It has been based largely on Christian interest and tenuous evidence. As such, the category is of more interest to the history of scholarship than to the history of religions.

SEE ALSO Castration.

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DYNAMISM. In philosophy, dynamism is “the system, theory, or doctrine which seeks to explain the phenomena of the universe by some immanent force or energy” *(Oxford English Dictionary).* In the study of religion, dynamism is the theoretical viewpoint that finds a universal, immanent force or energy underlying—either logically or chronologically—all religious (and/or magical) beliefs, practices, and forms of association. This viewpoint has also been known as animatism, preanimism, dynamistic preanimism, and, very occasionally, predeism.

Religious dynamism received its most precise theoretical formulation at the beginning of the twentieth century, especially in the writings of R. R. Marett, Konrad T. Preuss, and Marcel Mauss. It contributed to the waning of the evolutionistic animism then prevalent and exerted a great deal of influence on both the study of religions generally and the study of certain cultural areas, but in the end it succumbed to criticism. In its classic form it finds no advocates today. Some of its elements, however, persist with varying degrees of vitality.

BEFORE PREANIMISM. Dynamism was formulated as a theoretical alternative to other proposed theories on the origin of religion. Its conceptual configurations took shape from contemporary general attitudes toward religion and other human cultural phenomena, from current theories against which it reacted, and from ethnographic data that had surfaced in the nineteenth century.

Nineteenth-century thought on religion was dominated, by and large, by the idea of evolution, its procedures by a historical, generally noncontextual comparison of surface features arranged in logical progression. Each of the several theories advanced along these lines took its name from the stage of religion it posited as earliest: fetishism, naturism, totemism, manism, animism, and so forth.

Dynamism reacted most directly to the view that at its earliest, religion comprised a belief in a multitude of supernatural, personal beings with whom human beings interacted. The most popular such theory, first formulated by the British ethnologist E. B. Tylor in *Primitive Culture* (1873), counted both human souls and independent spirits among those beings, and was called animism (from the Latin *anima;* hence “preanimism”). In developing his theory, Tylor deliberately neglected emotion in favor of intellect. In his view, animistic beliefs were originally explanatory: the belief in souls explained phenomena such as life and death, dreams, and apparitions; spirits formed elements in a full-blown theory of personal causation. A similar theory, manism, proposed by the British social thinker Herbert Spencer (*Principles of Sociology*, 1876), derived all higher religious forms from a belief in ghosts *(manes).* The work of James G. Frazer stood in a more ambiguous relation to dynamism. On the one hand, R. R. Marett called *The Golden Bough* the greatest compendium of preanimistic phenomena ever compiled. On the other, many of Frazer’s interpretations were held suspect. Frazer conceived a stepwise development between religion and magic. In discussing magic, he emphasized external, immutable, and mechanical sequences of events, or laws, disregarding any possible efficient cause. Taboo he saw as a form of negative magic, while religion developed in the wake of magic’s failure and posited the existence of potent superhuman beings whose wills one had to propitiate.

Principles of evolution and the common identification of modern nonliterate civilizations with prehistoric culture made the wealth of ethnographic material then becoming available to Western thinkers essential to all middle to late nineteenth-century theories of religion. Frazer’s “magical stage” showed that not all ethnographic material fit an animistic or manistic model. For the dynamistic theories, the most important single ethnographic datum was the Melanesian word *mana*, bequeathed to the Western scholarly world by R. H. Codrington’s *The Melanesians* (1891). Codrington spoke of *mana* as “a force altogether distinct from physical power, which acts in all kinds of ways for good or evil, and which it is of the greatest advantage to possess and control” (p. 118, n. 1). The American ethnologist Alice C. Fletcher had already spoken of “Sioux” religion in similar terms.

Some writers surpassed ethnography to anticipate features of the dynamistic theories. Apparently writing in ignorance of Marett's proposed animatism, J. N. B. Hewitt noted that a notion of magical potency was common among North American Indians. He suggested that the Iroquois word *orenda* was suited to denote this notion, and on it he based a definition of religion. Hewitt did not openly oppose other theories, nor did he set his definition in the context of further reflections on religion. Nonetheless, his article significantly influenced the development of dynamism on the European continent.

By contrast, John H. King's earlier work, *The Supernatural* (1892), lay in obscurity until Wilhelm Schmidt brought it to scholarly attention. King derived all religion from a sense of luck or chance. But he posited an intervening stage between this initial period and a later, more manistic one, an era of religion centered on nonpersonal, all-pervasive power, such as *mana*, *wakan* (Lakota), or *boylya* (Australia).

CLASSIC DYNAMISTIC THEORIES. Evolutionary thought can integrate evidence incompatible with previously formulated developmental schemes very economically by postulating further, formerly unrecognized developmental stages. These stages assume their preferred places at the beginning of developmental series. Insertion at the initial position allows the rest of the series to remain relatively undisturbed and at the same time claims the greatest possible significance for the newly posited stage or stages.

At the end of the nineteenth century, two new theories sought to redress the inadequacies of evolutionistic animism by assigning it a derivative position. One theory, first voiced by Andrew Lang in 1898, argued, mostly on historical-ethnographic grounds, that religion originally centered not on a multitude of spirits but on a supreme creator invoked to explain the existence of the cosmos. The other, dynamism, first enunciated by Marett, combined logic with certain ethnographic data to postulate not a preanimistic superpersonal deity but a preanimistic, nonpersonal power or, as it was commonly called, *mana.* Nevertheless, some dynamists, Marett among them, advanced only cautious evolutionary claims. They saw *mana* as logically primitive but not necessarily as temporally prior to the idea of deity.

In addition to the common emphasis on power as constitutive of religion, dynamistic theories shared several other characteristics. First, they denigrated the mental abilities of peoples at the dynamistic stage (the primitives). On the one hand, most abandoned the intellectualist orientation and considered religion a matter not so much of individual belief as of collective processes and actions prompted by collective emotion. Whether emotionalist or not, they generally denied that primitives were capable of, or interested in, the causal thought that Tylor and Frazer required of them. On the other hand, those who spoke of a universally pervasive power were forced to admit that primitives did not clearly conceive of power as such. These scholars often claimed to work out logically the notion of power implicit in primitive speech and action.

Second, dynamistic theories softened the sharp distinction between religion and magic that Frazer, among others, had postulated. The force underlying religious and magical practices was identical. In addition, dynamists usually balked when others based the separation of religion and magic on a distinction between coercion and propitiation. In their view, religious and magical acts alike could be coercive, propitiatory, or both simultaneously. When a distinction was made, dynamists tended instead to distinguish magic from religion—not altogether satisfactorily—on grounds of the agent's moral or social position (good versus bad intent, communal versus individual acts). Third, dynamistic theories envisioned taboos not as the result of cognitive imaginings about causal processes but as a reaction to immanent but fearful power.

By definition, dynamistic theories equate power with the beginning or most elementary form of religion. But the classic dynamistic theories did not all conceive of power in identical terms. For Marett, power was an aspect of the supernatural, manifested as the extraordinary and inexplicable. It evoked emotions, especially awe, that impelled those who encountered it to attempt to establish relations with it. Marett distinguished positive and negative modes of the supernatural: *mana* (the supernatural has power) and *taboo* (power may be harmful; be heedful of it). He imagined development proceeding from the undifferentiated and indistinct to the differentiated and distinct, and for him it made sense to distinguish magic and religion only on a more developed, moral level.

A second view was expressed by Preuss, in his highly influential article "Der Ursprung der Religion und Kunst." For Preuss, "supernatural" and "mystical" carried connotations of the spiritual, the animistic. As a result, unlike Marett, he posited at the initial stage of human development a distinctly nonmystical, efficacious power believed to reside in all objects, both animate and inanimate, and to operate in all activities, both those we consider magical and those we consider natural. Human actions with regard to this power were prompted by the intellect, or rather, by the so-called *Urdummheit* ("primal stupidity") of humanity transcending the bounds of instinct. In Preuss's view, this power was originally differentiated; the idea of a universal, indwelling power such as *orenda* developed late. The gods, Preuss thought, were in origin only natural objects of special magical efficacy. Thus, he derived religion (which he identified with a concern for gods) from the era of magic.

A third view was expressed by Mauss in his *General Theory of Magic.* Unlike Marett's and Preuss's notions, Mauss's power (he called it *mana*) was neither supernatural nor natural, but social and unconscious. Originating in collective emotions and impulses, *mana* consisted of society's relative values and differences in potential. It undergirded both religious and magical practices, which Mauss distinguished only with difficulty, and at the unconscious level it was universal and undifferentiated. But it was not opposed to differentiated representations. It called them into existence and provided a field for their operation. In the realm of magic (on which Mauss's work focused), differentiated representations occurred in three forms: the abstractly impersonal (laws of sympathy), the concretely impersonal (differentiated potentials), and the personal (demons).

ELABORATION AND APPLICATION. In the ensuing years, several writers expressed and expounded dynamistic views. Differences between various notions of power persisted, inherited in part along national lines, but no new major, theoretical positions developed. In England, for example, E. Sidney Hartland synthesized and refined a variety of positions but made no significant theoretical contributions of his own. Alfred Vierkandt sought to refine Preuss's views by prefacing his initial era of magic with a premagical stage and by supplementing the intellectual confusion of subjectivity and objectivity that Preuss saw underlying magic with a similar practical and affective confusion. But these were essentially modifications in detail.

In general, those with dynamistic leanings seemed bent on (rather superficially) conciliating rather than adjudicating differing views of power. For example, Émile Durkheim and Lucien Lévy-Bruhl maintained that Preuss's magical and intellectualist orientations, respectively, differed more in language than in substance from religious or magico-religious and emotionalist views. At heart, dynamism remained the simple assertion that in origin or in essence religion was a complex of acts and beliefs centering on a reified, autonomous, efficacious, quasi-substantive power residing in all objects, whether that power was differentiated or universal, and whether or not the practitioners themselves formed any clear ideas about it.

Dynamistic views influenced many areas of the study of religion outside theoretical ethnology. In these areas, too, different dynamistic heritages were displayed clearly. But in general writers did not appreciate and often did not discuss the different possible notions of power. In attempts to increase dynamism's scope and adequacy, some even took the movement toward conciliation one step further, combining dynamistic views with other theories.

In the human studies, for example, Durkheim linked dynamism above all with totemism. For him, *mana* was the imperative force of society manifested (more or less) as the totemic principle, while the soul was *mana* individualized. Thus, the soul was conceptually, though probably not temporally, posterior to *mana.* Not surprisingly, the philosopher Lévy-Bruhl developed his notion of "primitive mentality" in what came to be a clearly dynamistic context. Lévy-Bruhl thought that the primitive felt rather than represented (i.e., conceived) an all-pervasive, ever-dynamic "essential reality, both one and multiple, both material and spiritual" (Lévy-Bruhl, 1966, pp. 16–17). In the history of religions proper, Nathan Söderblom outlined three constituents of primitive religion: animism, *mana,* and a belief in a primitive "originator" *(Urheber).* Rather more exclusively dynamistic, Gerardus van der Leeuw made power the center of his phenomenology of religion.

Those who reflected more concretely on religion also applied dynamistic insights. Somewhat like Söderblom, Marett's student E. O. James discovered in his study of Australia that the impersonal power at the center of religion was manifested in animatistic, animistic, and anthropomorphic forms even at the primitive level. Summarizing a decade of intense dynamistic influence on North American ethnology, Franz Boas's article on religion in the *Handbook of American Indians* made the belief in magical power, with varying degrees of individualization and personification, "one of the fundamental [religious] concepts that occur among all Indian tribes" (Boas, 1910, p. 366).

Descriptions of literate cultures also found dynamistic formulations useful. John Abbott, a bachelor of Oxford in the British civil service, wrote a lengthy description of Indian practices that interpreted *śakti* as the Indian equivalent of *mana*, manifested in the positive and negative forms of *puṇya* ("merit") and *pāpa* ("evil"). In the second quarter of the twentieth century, H. J. Rose refused to assign priority to either dynamism or animism in discussing the earliest religion of the Greeks, but his treatment of early Roman religion was thoroughly dynamistic, equating the Latin *numen* with *mana* and Latin *sacer* with *tabu.*

ON THE WANE. The combination of the dynamist viewpoint with others could not forestall criticism. Because awareness of developments in anthropology and the history of religions has always varied, dynamism waned more slowly in some areas than in others. Eventually, however, several critiques devastated the classic dynamistic formulations.

The ethnographic and linguistic critique not only opposed dynamism's genetic or essential universality; it questioned whether the notion of an impersonal, fluid power was at all appropriate to the cultures to which it had been ascribed. For both major areas supplying dynamists with ethnographic material, this critique began in 1914. Paul Radin, reviewing the writings of the Americanists Hewitt, Fletcher, William Jones, John R. Swanton, and Boas, noted the common appearance of personal beings in their accounts and suggested that they had been misled by the North American Indians' lack of concern for a supernatural being's precise form. After surveying the cultures of several Polynesian islands—*mana* is as much a Polynesian as a Melanesian concept—Arthur M. Hocart contradicted not Codrington's accounts so much as the theorists' allegations that *mana* was nonpersonal and constantly evoked an emotional response. Radin characterized North American religions as "Tylorian animism"; Hocart declared *mana* to be "out and out spiritualistic." Later scholars would modify both characterizations.

A second critique, the historical, did not question dynamistic interpretations of *mana* but did doubt *mana*'s place as the foundation of all religion. Nineteenth-century evolutionary thought had been content to establish developmental stages from a logic of forms. The early twentieth century witnessed efforts to establish the connections among nonliterate societies historically. When applied to Oceania, both Schmidt's culture-historical approach and A. Capell's historical linguistics led to the conclusion that, far from being primary, *mana* actually belonged to the youngest cultural stratum.

A third critique addressed the presupposed orientation of religious beliefs and practices that underlay dynamistic views. This took two forms, structural-functional and semantic-symbolic. With Preuss, many dynamists held that all behavior was actual and effective, directly aimed at fostering life. Symbolism arose only when acts that had been conservatively preserved were no longer believed to be actually efficacious. Structural functionalists rejected the dynamists' assimilation of religious acts to technical acts and looked not to purpose but to hidden function in explaining ritual's preservation. Bronislaw Malinowski conceived of religious observances as the "cement of the social fabric" (Malinowski, 1948, p. 50), magic as the result of a psychophysiological mechanism to allay anxieties in the face of dangerous human impotence. Because magical power resided in human beings, Malinowski felt that any theory seeking the essence of magic in a power of nature *(mana)* was totally misdirected. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown sought to avoid the distinction between magic and religion and saw rituals as expressions of common sentiments essential to an orderly social life, but he felt no compulsion to reduce common social values and sentiments to a reified, efficacious power.

The roots of the semantic-symbolic critique lay in the aftermath of World War I. Europe's search for meaning revitalized the symbol, first among theologians, philosophers, and litterateurs, later among historians of religions, anthropologists, and other students of humanity. In a critique of preanimism and certain animistic and theistic notions, the German anthropologist Adolf E. Jensen completely reversed Preuss's notion. In Jensen's view, practices arise as semantically full expressions. Over time, symbolic contexts change and a state of application sets in. Practices then become semantically depleted. They are conceived as some variety of purposive act. Thus, both structural-functional and semantic-symbolic critiques relegated to the interpretive sidelines the purposive orientation on which dynamistic notions were based.

Dynamism lingered longest, it seems, in discussions of Roman religion. In contrast to the situation at the turn of the century, classics and anthropology were not closely related after World War I. In a critique of H. J. Rose, Georges Dumézil employed each of the three arguments leveled at classic dynamism. Citing the practice of baptism, Dumézil warned scholars not to mistake symbolic acts for efficacious ones. He intensively examined rituals, sayings, and terms such as *numen* to show the extent to which dynamistic interpretations strain the evidence. Finally, he noted that personal gods were inherited from the time of the Indo-European migrations; hence it made no historical sense to posit a strictly Roman predeistic period.

DISPERSED REMNANTS. Today, classic theories of dynamism exert virtually no influence in the study of religion or anthropology. Descriptive failures and the results and limits of historical work have contributed to the disregard not only of dynamism but of all evolutionary theories. Furthermore, the semantic-symbolic view of religion that dominates at present, again in combination with descriptive failings, has made dynamism's nonevolutionary side unappealing. Nonetheless, several dynamistic elements, now removed from their former theoretical context, float dispersed throughout the study of religion.

Of these, the least important is probably the name about which the theories congealed. *Dynamism* (often used in the plural, *dynamisms*) now refers blandly to the changes characteristic of religious phenomena. In this usage, change has lost its purposive, effective character and arouses no desire to identify an efficient cause. Some scholars, such as Ugo Bianchi, use the term in combating what they see as a falsely static view of religion, promoted particularly by phenomenological investigations (*The History of Religions*, Leiden, 1975). But in such a case, the term *dynamism(s)* refers to a characteristic of the metaphysical background against which all religious phenomena necessarily stand forth. It says little about religion itself.

More important are the continuing investigations of the original ethnographic materials upon which the dynamists built. Some phenomena still seem actually to permit a quasi-dynamistic interpretation. Of impersonal power, Åke Hultkrantz writes, "*Orenda* is one of the most convincing proofs of such a conception that can be found" (Hultkrantz, 1983, p. 39). But later dynamists, such as Hartland, had already recognized that *mana* could not be adequately described as impersonal. More recently, Julian Pitt-Rivers has built especially on fieldwork by Raymond Firth in interpreting *mana* in the light of political anthropology, as exemplifying the sacred dimension that must be included in any comparative study of political power.

Perhaps most important, however, is the notion of power in the study of religion. Even such a convinced symbolist as Mircea Eliade has stated that "every hierophany is a kratophany" (Eliade, 1960, p. 126). Eliade interprets power ontologically. For him it refers to what is real (sacred) and "therefore efficacious, fecund, fertile" (p. 129). Eliade also cautions students of religion to keep several points in mind: the particular conception of power denoted by *mana* is not universal; power is not the whole of religion; and kratophanies exhibit differences in degree and frequency.

The analysis of religious power requires a more subtle approach than the dynamists ever developed, an approach that abandons the evolutionistic and narrowly essentialistic concerns of classic dynamism and that does not treat power monolithically, as an impersonal, all-pervading, efficacious essence. For years the problem lay dormant, apart from rather isolated comments such as Eliade's. Today, there are signs of an inchoate resurgence of interest in questions of religious power as found in both literate cultures, such as India, and nonliterate cultures. The new interest derives in part from a general reaction to radically synchronic and semantic structuralist interpretations. In time it may gain strength, if a general concern with praxis and power replaces the current widespread concern with meaning, as it has to some extent done already. At present, discussions of religious power are limited to particularist accounts of varying scope, usually informed by some degree of theoretical reflection in anthropology or similar fields. It is impossible to predict whether these discussions will continue to flourish, to what extent they will contribute to a new, general vision of religion, and what insights, if any, such a general vision might share with classical dynamism.

SEE ALSO Animism and Animatism; Manism; Numen; Power.

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DZOGCHEN, the Great Perfection (or Great Completion, *Rdzogs chen*), also known as Atiyoga (*a ti yo ga*), is considered the pinnacle of all systems of thought and practice in the Nyingma (Rnying ma) and Bon traditions of Tibetan religion. It is widely associated with a rhetoric stressing naturalness, spontaneity, and simplicity, as well as a deconstructive critique of Buddhist philosophical positions and normative practices. It has an ambiguous relationship with Tantra, since at times it stresses its transcendence and distinctness from Tantric forms, whereas in most forms it is clearly indebted in its concepts, diction, and practices to esoteric Buddhist traditions. The Great Perfection is thus often portrayed as a tradition that lacks any type of systematic philosophic inquiry or even actual praxis. From the outside it is often viewed on these terms as a fairly homogenous tradition.

The truth is that the rubric the Great Perfection embraces an astonishingly varied array of traditions that, for example, range from a systematic rejection of all praxis to complex systems of Tantric rituals, and from a rejection of all Tantra, including its sexual and horrific elements, to a full incorporation of esoteric funerary and sexual rituals. This diversity finds its expression in different doxographical schemes, which hierarchically rank diverse Great Perfection traditions in relationship to each other, each having its own distinct lineages, scriptures, and unitary rubric of self-identification. Despite this diversity, however, there is a common rhetorical and contemplative thread that runs through all these traditions, which can be summed up as a tendency toward naturalness, innateness, and simplicity/simplification and a strong suspicion of techniques and rule-governed processes of all types.

Early Histories. The Great Perfection's lineage holders and historians claim transcendental origins tracing back to divine figures and other world systems, with different histories for the Nyingma and Bon lineages, respectively. Nyingma lineages trace the origins of their lineages on this planet and this era back to India and a variety of other countries, and they were then transmitted into Tibetan translations and lineages during the latter half of the eighth century CE onward from diverse languages and sources. The most important early sources are attributed above all to the Indians Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra, and Śrīsiṃha, as well as the Tibetan Vairocana, all of whom lived in the latter half of the eighth century. Many of these teachings are then claimed to have been concealed within Tibet shortly afterward during the ninth century as the Tibetan empire disintegrated. Innovations in the tradition were thus largely introduced historically in Tibet through the medium of revelations of these concealed scriptures via visionary and physical excavations known as "Treasures" (*gter ma*) that were revealed from at least the tenth century and right into the present.

Bon lineages and histories of the Great Perfection are similar in character, but quite different in details. Traditional histories describe lineages flowing into the Tibetan plateau from the western realm of Takzik and first appearing in the Zhang Zhung empire (fifth to seventh centuries) as translated into the Zhang Zhung language. These materials were then retranslated into Tibetan as the Tibetan empire's seventh-century rise eclipsed its western Zhang Zhung rivals and then gradually subsumed them. However, only minor fragments of Zhang Zhung language still exist in literary form, and all Bon literature currently exists only in Tibetan manuscripts, the earliest of which can only be attested in roughly the eleventh century. Remarkably, Bon lineages continue to this day to maintain a strong historical memory of their non-Tibetan Zhang Zhung origins and affiliations. Bon lineages of the Great Perfection, like their Nyingma counterparts, transformed over time largely through the medium of revelations of past concealments known as "Treasures" from at least the eleventh century onward.

Despite these traditional claims, there is no independent attestation of the existence of any separate traditions or lineages going under these rubrics outside of Tibet, though the nomenclature Atiyoga and the Great Perfection does appear in eighth- and ninth-century Indian Tantric Buddhist literature. Admittedly, there is no question that its characteristic discursive language, marked by an esoteric naturalism, a strong language of negation, and a celebration of divine creation, is pronounced in some Indian Tantras. However, we have no evidence of any independent tradition outside of Tibet known under Atiyoga, Great Perfection, or any of the other rubrics that gradually emerge over time in the Nyingma and Bon traditions for these movements. Nontraditional scholarship since the 1980s suggests that most of the early literature claiming to be "translations" are original compositions that date much later than the claimed eighth-century dates for their translation—much less their, at times, even far earlier claims for composition back in India or elsewhere before translation. Scholarship has thus begun to focus on how these traditions reflect the indigenization of Buddhism into Tibet during the ninth to the fourteenth centuries, in particular, rather than on its supposed ancient roots.

Thus, the doxographical diversity of the Great Perfection—despite all its variants claiming to be rooted in eighth-century (and earlier) translations—appears to be the hidden key to the still secret history of the Great Perfection on Tibetan soil. Within the Nyingma tradition we can trace the lineaments of this secret history with a certain degree of confidence. The tradition first appeared in the first half of the ninth century with a series of short texts attributed to Indian saints that at some point were codified into a canon of eighteen texts referred to as "mind oriented" (*sems phyogs*) or later as "mind series" (*sems sde*). These texts were then gradually transformed over the next two centuries into full-fledged Tantras attributed to the divine authorship of Buddhas, as well as into ever longer and more numerous texts. This culminated in the emergence of *The All-Creating King* (kun byed rgyal po) at an uncertain date in the last half of the tenth century to the first half of the eleventh century. This Tantra was historically perhaps the most important and widely quoted of all Great Perfection scriptures, and it clearly was in part formed by incorporating earlier shorter texts as chapters. These texts represent what appears to have been the dominant form of the tradition during the ninth to the tenth centuries.

This early literature is almost entirely without any references to practice of any kind and indeed is renowned for its rhetoric of transcendence and spontaneity, suggesting that all forms of practice are superfluous given the primordial purity of "awareness" (*rig pa*) possessed by all living beings. However, they are still inextricably bound up with normative Tantra, which in eighth- and ninth-century Tibet was represented by Tantric movements known as the "Great Yoga" (*mahāyoga*), with intricate forms of ritualism including visualization of self as deity, peaceful and wrathful maṇḍalas, and complex initiations. The Great Perfection thus originates on the periphery of the vast discursive terrain of the *mahāyoga* by creating a vacuum within its landscape through the systematic expulsion of an array of standard Tantric principles. This absence is defined by what it has excluded, since it is an absence of precise systems that are thus inexorably evoked under erasure. The entire spectrum of rejected Tantric ideologies and praxis thus haunts the Great Perfection's pristine space of rhetorical absence.

Historical transformations. This landscape was completely transformed in the eleventh century as a series of new Treasure revelations gradually articulated into an entirely different series of Great Perfection movements with distinctive rubrics of self-identification and radical new developments in doctrine and practice. This transformation was part and parcel of the renaissance of Tibetan culture occurring from the late tenth century to the early twelfth century as new Buddhist literature and practices were imported anew from India. This period, under the rubric the "later dissemination" (*phyi dar*) of Buddhism, is often misunderstood as primarily involving new movements called "modernists" (*gsar ma*), but the truth is that the older Bon and Nyingma lineages were just as deeply involved as creative agents of change. The point of delineation involved the former explicitly acknowledging their debt to new imports that they "translated," whereas the latter groups tended to glide over this indebtedness by assimilating new developments seamlessly into their older traditions through the process of Treasure revelation. The eleventh century in particular was dominated by the rise of *yoginī* Tantras deriving from the final efflorescence of Indian Buddhist culture. These striking documents involved horrific imagery and violent rituals, erotic imagery, and sexual practices and somatic practices involving a cult of the body's subtle interior. They were also marked by transgressive rhetoric and an evocative imagery of long-haired *siddhas* celebrating lay values in ritual assemblies called "circles of the group" (*tshogs gi 'khor lo*, Sanskrit *gaṇa-cakra*). While Nyingma or Bon lineages on the whole neither formally transmitted nor wrote about these traditions in this or the next few centuries, it is clear that in fact these new esoteric transmissions made a deep if unacknowledged impact on their own rapidly evolving traditions.

In the case of the Great Perfection, its new variations emerging in the eleventh century were clearly deeply indebted to the *yoginī* traditions. Its influences were clear in the rise of subtle body representations and practices, new pantheons of wrathful and erotic Buddhas, increasingly antinomian rhetoric, and a focus on motifs of death. At the same time these influences were transformatively assimilated with each strand modified and integrated on the basis of the Great Perfection's commitments to naturalism, Gnosticism, simplicity, and divine creation. This influence can be traced progressively through movements that come to be known as the Secret Cycle (*gsang skor*), Ultra Pith (*yang tig*), Brahmin's Tradition (*bram ze'i lugs*), and others and culminates in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries with the emergence of the Seminal Heart (*snying thig*). The Seminal Heart represents a stunningly creative and deeply Tibetan reinterpretation of many central Buddhist traditions around the central motif of the divine creativity of the Buddhas' creation of Pure Lands. The central literature is a body of revealed Tantras collected together as *The Seventeen Tantras* (rgyud bcu bdun) and a body of exegetical literature organized as *The Seminal Heart of Vimalamitra* (bi ma snying thig).

THE SEMINAL HEART. The Seminal Heart is characterized by an intensely philosophical discourse, a distinctive doctrinal intersection of divine creation and naturalism, and a unique contemplative system integrating visionary practices of spontaneous image cultivation with earlier practices of technique-free cultivation of pure awareness. In each of these areas there is a deep grounding in exoteric and esoteric forms of Indian Buddhism, but there is also a startlingly creative assimilation. The first facet is its systematic philosophical character, which is unusual because of its esoteric nature. Tantric Buddhism in India tended on the whole to be far more focused on ritual practice than on philosophical speculation, even if there gradually developed a cottage industry in scholastic exegesis on these rituals and iconography. In Tibet, however, many esoteric traditions came to develop complex philosophical discourses, which some have termed *philosophic Vajrayāna*. The Seminal Heart represents perhaps the most interesting philosophical system to emerge out of this development.

Its doctrinal heart is a unique blend of the older strains of naturalism with a new doctrine of Gnostic creation intertwined with esoteric conceptions and practices of death. Its basis is what can be best termed a Gnostic orientation, which entails a Buddha's primordial *gnosis* (*ye shes*, Skt. *jñāna*) being portrayed consistently as the principal creative agent driving manifestation, even if its effects are often clouded by derivative processes fueled by emotionally fueled activity (*las*, Skt. *karman*). Thus, rather than *gnosis* being a product of contemplative practice, it is seen as a preexistent agent that precedes, not follows, *karma*. This divine creativity is modeled on juxtaposing two basic doctrines found in the Great Vehicle (*theg chen*, Skt. *Mahāyāna*): buddha-nature (*de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po*, Skt. *tathāgatagarbha*) and a buddha's creation of Pure Lands and Enjoyment Bodies (*longs sku*, Skt. *sambhogakāya*). Buddha-nature is the idea that all life is characterized by an internal divinity, though just how inert or active this divinity is, and its relationship with a manifestly realized buddha, often remains unclear. Pure Lands are special cosmic locales believed to be created by buddhas as realms with optimal spiritual conditions into which Buddhists could be reborn after death. Enjoyment Bodies are resplendent forms that a buddha manifests out of the pure emptiness of his or her enlightenment experience and that typically reside at the center of these Pure Lands. The philosophical innovation of the Seminal Heart was to integrate buddha-nature with this buddha-creativity, and then articulate this internal Gnostic creativity as the central driving force of all being and manifestation.

This process of creativity marked by the unfolding of Pure Lands and divinely resplendent buddhas—itself depicted clearly in the esoteric form of the creation and articulation of a maṇḍala—is found, most importantly, in three intertwined processes: cosmogony, post-death experience, and contemplation, as well as more minor contexts such as embryology, dreaming, and cognitive activity. Each of these is described as centrally involving a buddha's Gnostic creativity engendering Pure Lands, or maṇḍalas of buddhas. This notion of buddhas creating worlds was a standard component of Great Vehicle literature, but the innovation of the Seminal Heart was to apply it so systematically to a wide variety of contexts in which creation, transition, and development take place. Thus, a buddha's *gnosis* is identified as the preeminent creative agent in the universe, rather than the more typical depiction of *karma* as what generates the world, embodiment, mental action, dreaming, post-death experience, and other such human experiences. The Seminal Heart presents an unusual divine cosmogony, in which a Buddha's *gnosis* is presenting as driving the emergence of being out of nonbeing, which unfolds as a primordial array of Pure Lands. The karmic process of conditioned existence only emerges as a secondary process following a lack of recognition of those divine arrays as "self" by an emergent cognitive capacity. Second, out of the experience of complete collapse into emptiness that marks death, the experience of the intermediate process (*bar do*) between death and rebirth is marked by the experience of rich maṇḍalas of serene and horrific buddhas. The karmic experiences of memories of one's past life, and visual premonitions of one's impending rebirth, only occur in a secondary post-death process should one fail to recognize the divine manifestations as "self-manifestations." Third, the core contemplative practice, termed *direct transcendence*, involves stimulating a flow of Pure Lands out of one's heart through one's eyes into the sky, so that one reflexively experiences, and recognizes, these divine maṇḍalas of buddhas as self. Thus, in the birth of worlds, in the emergence out of death, and in contemplation, we find *gnosis* as the primary agent and *karma* as a derivative and secondary process.

Finally, its contemplative system consists of a massive anthology of varied Tantric and non-Tantric contemplative techniques capped by two unique contemplative processes named "breakthrough" *(khregs chod)* and "direct transcendence" *(thod rgal).* Breakthrough signifies the older style of

Great Perfection contemplation, and its descriptions are typically poetic evocations of pure awareness that strictly avoid discussions of techniques that might be understood to generate such states of awareness. Direct transcendence, however, is an innovative practice that involves relying on yogic postures, breathing practices, and gazing directed at the complete darkness of a specially prepared retreat hut, or at sources of light such as the sun. The practice aims at generating a spontaneous flow of luminous, rainbow-colored images that gradually expand in extent and complexity, proceeding from fragments of buddha-bodies and sacred icons to gradually become vast maṇḍalas of buddhas pervading the sky. While innovative, these practices clearly represent a transmutation of Tantric practices typically classified as "perfection phase" techniques (*rdzogs rim*). These practices involve manipulation of a yogic or subtle body of winds, channels, and nuclei within the coarse physical body, which engender ever more subtle states of consciousness marked by experiences of flashes of light. These experiences of light are typically discussed in terms of eight, ten, or eleven signs described imagistically as like fireflies, a mirage, smoke, or lightening. These practices, as outlined in the early-eleventh-century Indian Tantric cycle *The Wheel of Time* (Kālacakra), culminate in the vision of a buddha, and the close association with staring into darkness and at the sky make it highly probably that it was a direct inspiration for the Seminal Heart.

Despite this influence, the practice was deeply assimilated into the Great Perfection with its focus on naturalness, release rather than control, spontaneity rather than fabrication, simplicity rather than complexity, and interpenetration of the external and internal rather than the deeply interior world of subtle body yogas. Likewise, when we turn to the vast anthologies of practices presented as preliminaries and auxiliary contemplative techniques, we find a wide range of ordinary and unique exoteric and esoteric practices that have been thoroughly assimilated into the world of the Great Perfection. Throughout, common Buddhist practices have been subtly and extensively altered, again, to be simple rather than complex, natural rather than artificial, spontaneous rather than contrived, governed by letting go rather than taking control, and focused on the intersection of the external and the internal rather than on deeply internal processes. Most notably absent is any focus on the mainstream Tantric practice of deity yoga, with its ritual transformation of self into deity by complex visualizations and mantric recitations of a Buddhist deity.

THE DOMINANCE OF THE SEMINAL HEART. The Seminal Heart's radical transformation of the Great Perfection was not without its internal critics from conservative Nyingma figures. It seems that the most important Nyingma of the twelfth century, Nyangrel Nyima Özer (Nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer, 1136–1204), in particular developed his Crown Pith (*spyi ti*) tradition to reassert the older traditions in new form as supreme. He appears to have felt that the Great Perfection should transcend prescriptions of specific practices as well as the rhetoric of violence, sexuality, and transgression. His revelations are marked by the relative absence of *yoginī* Tantra influence and appear to substitute instead a lovely rhetoric of metaphors and images.

Despite such reservations, however, the Seminal Heart was ultimately to triumph and become the dominant tradition of the Great Perfection for the Nyingma. This was due in no small measure to the towering achievements of Longchenpa (*klong chen pa*, 1308–1364) in the fourteenth century. Longchenpa, considered to be one of the greatest authors, intellects, and poets in the history of Tibetan Buddhism, both systematized the Seminal Heart and integrated it with broader Mahāyāna literature and motifs. His corpus is marked as much by poetic beauty as by intellectual mastery and includes *The Seven Treasuries (mdzod bdun), The Trilogy of Natural Freedom (rang grol skor gsum), The Trilogy of Relaxation* (*ngal gso skor gsum*), and three of the five parts of *The Seminal Heart in Four Parts (snying thig ya bzhi).* Most of the Seminal Heart content stems from the earlier literature, but Longchenpa's writings refine its terminology, systematize it into powerful intellectual architectures, and provide brilliant interpretations. In addition, most previous Nyingma authors bothered little with nonesoteric philosophy, at least in their exegetical compositions. In contrast, Longchenpa was deeply learned in exoteric Buddhist thought and wrote extensively on it, as well as explicitly integrating it with the Seminal Heart, thereby articulating its deep roots in mainstream Buddhist thought and practice.

Following Longchenpa, there were many other major Great Perfection corpuses of literature in terms of revelation, exegesis, and poetry. Throughout, we can see the dominant influence of the Seminal Heart, though the earlier traditions of a pristine transcendence continue to play a vibrant though lesser role. Important bodies of literature include *The Penetrating Wisdom* (dgongs pa zang thal), revealed by Rinzin Gödem (*rig 'dzin rgod ldem*, 1337–1409); *The Nucleus of Ati's Profound Meaning* (rDzogs pa chen po a ti zab don snying po), by Terdak Lingpa (*gter bdag gling pa*, 1646–1714); and others. Of particular note is the seventeenth-century revelations of Jikme Lingpa ('Jigs med gling pa, 1729/30–1798) in *The Seminal Heart of the Great Matrix* (*klong chen snying thig*). These revelations emerged as the most popular ritual system of the Great Perfection over the last two centuries. In addition, they represented the culmination of an increasing ritualization of the Seminal Heart with an ever greater focus on evocation rituals of deities (*grub thabs*, Sanskrit *sādhana*) that had to come to be the lynchpin of monastic esotericism.

EARLY BON TRADITIONS. The Great Perfection in nominally non-Buddhist Bon circles in Tibet is deeply intertwined with that of Nyingma lineages in all ways, though these complex interdependencies are unacknowledged. It is clear that identical terminology, structures, and even whole passages are shared by the Nyingma and Bon traditions, while many of the key elements of the Seminal Heart are found within pre-fifteenth-century Bon literature. The standard Bon doxography outlines three main traditions of the Great Perfection (*a rdzogs snyan gsum*): Guidance on the Syllable *A* (*a khrid*), Great Perfection (*Rdzogs chen*), and the Oral Transmission *(snyan rgyud).* In short, the Great Perfection is said to be more philosophical and the oral transmission more experiential, whereas the Guidance on the Syllable *A* falls in between. The key authoritative figure in these traditions' background, paralleling that of Śākyamuni and Padmasambhava for the Nyingmas, is Shenrab Miwoche (*gshen rab mi bo che*), a divine figure said to have historically founded the Bon Tantric traditions in the land of Takzik to the west of Tibet.

In the Tibetan imperial period—a difficult time for *Bonpos,* given their valorization of the suppressed Zhang Zhung Empire—key figures were Tapihritsa and Gyerpung Nangzher Löpo (eighth century). The former is said to have orally transmitted *The Oral Transmission of Zhang Zhung* to the latter in a vision, and his student Gyerpung then committed it to writing to become the core text of the Oral Transmission tradition. The cycle has strong connections to the Seminal Heart synthesis, as it is distinctive among the early Bon Great Perfection traditions for its view's emphasis on embodiment, along with its pervasive focus on visions of light. It seems to be the earliest Bon literature that evidences this movement beyond the more common early focus on the Great Perfection consisting of a pristine view similar to the austere perspective of the non-Tantric Mādhyamaka school. However, its redaction is presumably centuries later than the eighth century—much of its present one-volume redaction does not even claim to go back to Tapihritsa, though the two key, but short, texts (*The Twelve Little Child Tantras* and *Instructions on the Six Lamps*) both claim to have been orally transmitted to Gyerpung from a vision of Tapihritsa.

Instructions on the Six Lamps is historically intertwined with the early Seminal Heart canon with similar discussions of the six lamps: All Good as the primordial Buddha, the dying process, post-death intermediate state liberation, and, of course, the importance of visionary experiences of lights and Buddhas. However, it is not a mere adaptation of any known Nyingma Tantra, as it uses terminology and concepts in its own distinctive way. At least one other text of the *Zhang Zhung* cycle, however, appears to be directly derived from *The Seminal Heart of Vimalamitra.*

The other central figure for Bon during the imperial period was Drenpa Namkha, a shadowy *siddha*-style figure in the eighth century as well, but whose name is said to have been used by at least three different figures from Tibet, the Dakpo (dwags po), and the Zhang Zhung, respectively. His most important teachings on the Great Perfection are said to be contained in *The Magical Treasury of the Magical Sky (nam mkha' 'phrul mdzod),* but this was only transcribed as an oral transmission in the twelfth century by Tulku Lungbön Lhanyen (Sprul sku lung bon lha gnyan, b. 1112?) after receiving them from Tsewang Rindzin (Tshe dbang rig 'dzin, twelfth century).

LATER BON TRADITIONS. During the later renaissance period, Shenchen Luga (Gshen chen klu dga, 996–1035) was one of the earliest and most important of Bon treasure-finders, whose revealed Treasures in 1017 were part of *The General Heap (sPyi spungs)* canon, including the famous Great Perfection text *The Ninefold Cycle of the Hidden Enlightening Mind.* Shenchen Luga also excavated a commentarial cycle on the latter text, which itself appears to be centered on classic mind-series rhetoric as found in early Nyingma Tantras of that classification.

Zhötön Ngödrub (g/bzhod ston dngos grub grags, c. 1050) further mined Great Perfection literature from *The General Heap* cache when he excavated *The Trilogy of Proclamations (sgrags pa skor gsum),* a single volume with forty-six individual texts that claims to be a translation from the Zhang Zhung language. Its root Tantra is *The Golden Tortoise* (gser gyi rus sbal) and Samten Karmay (1988) shows that this text was subsequently copied with minor modifications to partially elide its Bon character by Nyingmas. This latter Tantra was then circulated as a mind-series text claiming to be translated from Sanskrit by Mañjuśrīmitra and Vairocana, and rediscovered by the obscure Khyungdrak (khyung grag of Lhodrak [lho brag], thirteenth century?). However, the Bon text itself in at least two cases reproduces lines from one of the earliest Nyingma Atiyoga texts, indicating that this Bon revelation was itself drawing on earlier Buddhist sources in its own composition. The cycle is also connected to *The Oral Transmission of Zhang Zhung* by the presence of the identically titled *The Twelve Little Child Tantras*, located in the collection right after *The Golden Tortoise.*

Zhötön also revealed *The Great Sphere of the Great Perfection's Ultra Summit* (yang rtse'i klong chen) from the same location in 1088, which became the basis for the Great Perfection tradition in Bon. It claims to have been originally composed by the eighth-century *siddha* Nyenchen Lishu Takring (snyen chen li bshu stag rings) from Takzik Long, who translated it from the Zhang Zhung language into Tibetan and then concealed it. Zhötön evidently considered himself to be the reincarnation of Nyenchen, just as Dangma himself was considered to be an incarnation of Vimalamitra when he initially excavated the latter's Treasure cache at Zha (zhwa) temple. One of the texts from the cycle, *The Lamp Illuminating the Signs of Dying*, is nearly identical to a text on the same subject attributed to Mañjuśrīmitra titled *Examining for Death*, which is redacted within *The Turquoise Letters* section of *The Seminal Heart of Vimalamitra.*

Only a few decades later Gongdzö (dgongs mdzod, 1038–1096) of the Meu (rme'u) clan founded the *A* Guidance tradition, which differs from the other two divisions of Bon Great Perfection by having a precise historical origin in Tibet rather than transcendental origins. It appears the tradition was more associated with the Nyingma mind-series movement with its central focus on inner calm (*zhi gnas*) techniques revolving around concentrating on a written letter *A.* Drugom Gyelwa Yungdrung's (bru sgom rgyal ba gyung drung, 1242–1290) later condensation of the tradition does involve a simple channel visualization practice and dream yoga, but it remains to be seen if these date back to the original synthesis of Gongdzö.

However, Drugom is arguably the most important Bon Great Perfection figure after the eleventh century. He partially corresponds to the role of Longchenpa in the Nyingma tradition and composed important works in both the Guidance on the Syllable *A* and Oral Transmission traditions. He wrote a series of nine interlinked texts on *The Oral Transmission of Zhang Zhung* that present the contemplation of spontaneous light images within darkness, in sky gazing, and in sun gazing—the similarities with the Seminal Heart are detailed. He also contributed a long exegesis to yet a third important Great Perfection cycle, namely *The Lamp Commentary Dispelling Darkness*, which was included within *The Commentarial Cycle on the Great Sphere of the Ultra Summit*. Special mention should also be made of Shardza Tashi Gyeltsen (shar rdza bkra shis rgyal mtshan, 1859–1933), the prolific Bon author who drew extensively on Longchenpa's own Great Perfection corpus to create compositions whose system is basically identical to the Seminal Heart.

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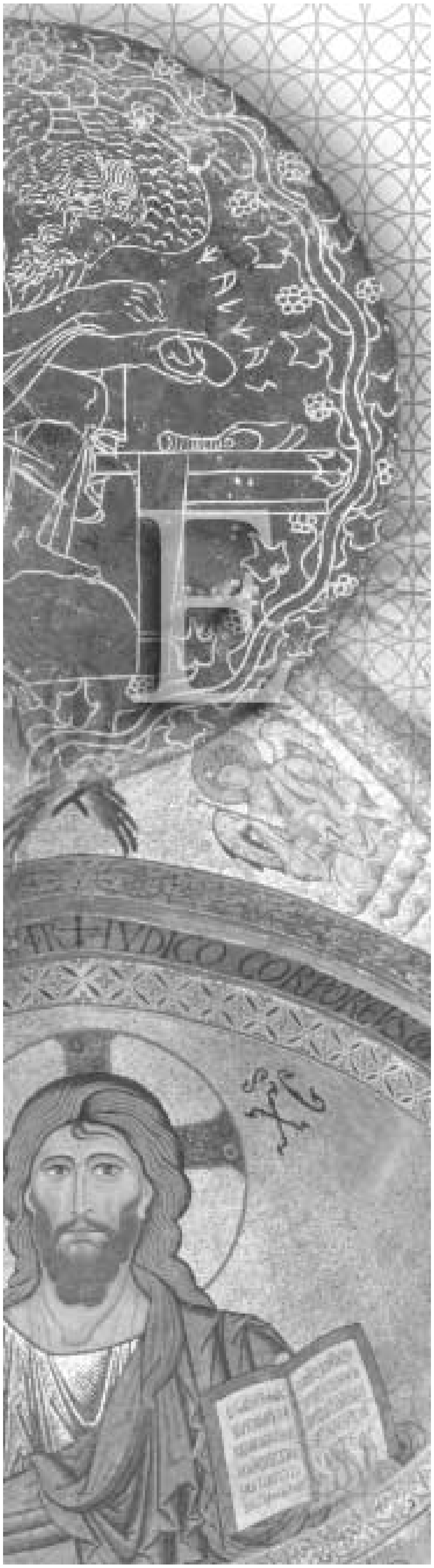

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EAGLES AND HAWKS. The terms *eagle* and *hawk* can be taken to refer generally to birds of prey, although there is much confusion as to the particular species (eagle, hawk, falcon, vulture, osprey, etc.) in bird symbolism and its description. Eagles and hawks seem to gather their symbolic value from their swiftness, soaring ability, and fierceness; through these qualities they are equated and associated with various religious principles and with deities of all kinds.

The sacred roles of the eagle and hawk in many religions derive from their association with the life-giving and life-sustaining powers of various deities who represent the forces of nature. The Aztec god of sun and war, Huitzilopochtli, is symbolized by an eagle. The sun's efforts to regain the sky from its daily rising in the east symbolize the struggle between the principles of the celestial, or spiritual, spheres and those of the lower world. The sun gods Re and Horus of ancient Egypt, who share similar attributes, are depicted as hawks or hawk-headed men.

A myth of the Iroquois describes how Oshadage, the Big Eagle of the Dew, bears a lake of dew on his back, which brings water and life to the earth after forces of fire have parched all plant life. Assyro-Babylonian religion provides a similar example: the divine lion-headed eagle Imdugud spread his wings after a drought, shrouding the skies in rain-bearing clouds. An Olmec deity, the dragon monster, is a composite of caiman, eagle, jaguar, serpent, and human, a figure that fuses sun, water, earth, and fertility symbolism.

Eagle and hawk symbolism is also associated with death, for the birds often act as the bearers of souls "heavenward." This is true of the hawk in California Indian religions as well as in the religious system of ancient Egypt, where the hawk was itself the emblem of the soul. In ancient Rome an eagle was released from an emperor's funeral pyre to signify the soul departing for the afterlife.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT CORNER. Colossus of Ramses II at the Temple of Amun in Karnak, Egypt. *[©Gian Berto Vanni/Corbis]*; Coptic ceremonial fan depicting Ethiopian saints. *[©Werner Forman/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Reverse of an early-fourth-century BCE Etruscan bronze mirror showing the mythical seer Calchas dressed as an haruspex and examining an animal liver. Museo Gregoriano Profano, Vatican Museums. *[©Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Twelfth-century mosaic of Jesus as Pantocrator. Duomo di Cefalu, Sicily. *[©Adam Woolfitt/Corbis]*; Glazed pottery eagle from second- to third-century CE Italy. Museo Ostiense, Ostia. *[©Erich Lessing/Art Resource, N.Y.]* .

Because of their swiftness, eagles and hawks are the messengers and bearers of the gods. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of ancient Greek culture make reference to the gods' use of eagles as messengers. In Eddic mythology, both Freyja and Odin possessed a hawk's plumage that gave them the capacity for swift flight. The swiftness of the eagle Garuḍa is noted in the Hindu *Mahābhārata.* It was Garuḍa who stole the soma for Viṣṇu and so became Viṣṇu's mount. In Christianity the swiftness of the eagle's flight associates the bird with prayer rising to the Lord and with his grace descending to man.

As birds of prey, the eagle and hawk are often identified with gods of war and with supernatural malice in general. The eagle was the weapon bearer of the Roman gods and was often shown clutching a thunderbolt in its talons. According to the *Mahābhārata*, hawks are unlucky omens except when they precede a warrior into battle. As Jupiter's bird in Roman religion, the eagle was also a "storm bird," just as the hawk was among the ancient Greeks; both were identified with violent winds associated with the earth's malignant forces.

Eagles and hawks represent divine majesty, the superiority of the intellect over the physical and of the spiritual over the material. Thus the opposition of eagle (or hawk) and serpent represents the domination of baser forces by higher spiritual forces; so also, more generally, does the symbolic equation of eagle and thunderbolt. This principle is found also in such mythical creatures as the Christian griffin, the Olmec jaguar-monster deities, and the Assyro-Babylonian god Imdugud; in Greek imagery depicting a hawk ripping apart a hare; and, similarly, in Hindu imagery of the eagle Garuḍa and a serpent.

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EARTH.

"May the rain-maker water the Earth-Mother that she may be made beautiful to look upon." Thus opens a prayer to Awitelin Tsita, the earth divinity of the Zuni of New Mexico. The chant continues, "May the rain-makers water the Earth-Mother that she may become fruitful and give to her children and to all the world the fruits of her being that they may have food in abundance. May the Sun-Father embrace our Earth-Mother that she may become fruitful, that food may be bountiful, and that our children may live the span of life, not die, but sleep to awake with their gods" (Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "Ethnobotany of the Zuñi Indians," in *Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington, D. C. 1915, p. 37). Many North American peoples revered the earth and remained deeply impressed by its sacredness. In the first years of the twentieth century, a Cheyenne explained to a visitor, "It is by the earth that we live. Without it we could not exist. It nourishes and supports us. From it grow the fruits that we eat, and the grass that sustains the animals whose flesh we live on; from it come forth, and over its surface run, the waters which we drink. We walk on it and unless it is firm and steadfast we cannot live" (George Bird Grinnell, "Tenure of Land among the Indians," *American Anthropologist* 9, 1907, p. 3).

Native Americans are not the only people to speak of the earth with intimacy and emotion. Throughout history and across cultures, people have clung to their images of the sacred earth. It is worthwhile and necessary to come to grips with these images. In the first place, they reveal a reality that remains veiled in any other terms. Furthermore, the study of the images of the earth bears directly on our understanding of the human condition as it has been plumbed by so much of the human family. In this article we review several important aspects of the earth, seen as a religious condition: earth as the source of life, earth as it appears at the beginning of time, the image of earth as the primal mother, and earth as the locus of regenerative life.

SOURCE OF LIFE. The cosmos is a reservoir of sacred forces. From a religious perspective, the earth is the clearest epiphany of an ensemble of sacred apparitions: soil, stones, trees, water, shadows, vegetation, and the jumbled landscape of the world. These form a single, living, cosmic unity. The soil, the earth, signifies this tangle of concrete vitalities. The earth is the foundation, the generative source, of every expression of existence. From the earliest records we possess of religious history, the earth, united with everything else that is, supports and contains all the life forms that reveal themselves to human beings. Earth is a tireless fount of existence. The lesson that the Cheyenne man taught his visitor is that the religious meaning of the earth remains indistinguishable from all the life that takes manifest form through the powers of the earth: mountains, forests, water, vegetation, and so on.

THE CREATIVE ROLE OF EARTH IN THE BEGINNING. A great number of myths describe a distant time when the earth produced or helped create life in the world. Among the many mythic themes, we call attention to five: androgyny, parthenogenesis, hierogamy, sacrifice, and emergence.

Androgyny: fullness of being. Androgyny is an ancient and widespread image of wholeness. Myths make clear that the meaning of androgyny goes beyond its overtly sexual manifestation to symbolize the perfection of a primordial, nonconditioned state of being. In fact, every beginning must start in the wholeness of being. Gods who manifested powerful aspects of the earth, especially divinities of vegetation and fertility, reveal traces of androgyny (cf. Nyberg, 1931, pp. 230ff., for bisexual earth divinities). These sources of holiness and power, such as Attis, Adonis, and Cybele in the Mediterranean world, portray the overfullness from which life springs. In cosmogonic myths, chaos often represents the perfect totality, the undifferentiated unity, on which all subsequent existence bases itself. In such circumstances, the creative role of the earth is obscure but discernible. The earth exists "in germ."

Such is the case in the Japanese texts recorded in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi.* In the beginning, heaven and earth were inseparably mingled together. These male and female principles formed a perfect and androgynous totality within an egglike chaos. Eventually a tiny, amorphous island was precipitated out of the chaos. In this island was a reed, a development of the germ that first existed in the center of the cosmic egg. The reed was the first articulate transformation undertaken by the earth; it generated a number of gods. Later, when heaven and earth separated definitively from one another, they took on the human forms of a man and a woman, Izanagi and Izanami. The union of the two separate principles generated the world. When the woman died giving birth to the fire god, the deities of local places, hearths, and vegetation arose from her body. For the moment we focus our attention on the first stage of creation and on the incipient, androgynous being that embraces the sacred powers of the earth. These are not yet clearly defined, but they include all possibilities of life. As such, the divine androgyny in which the earth shares at the most primordial stage of creation is the ultimate ground of the realities that follow.

Parthenogenesis. According to Hesiod, "Earth [Gaia] herself first of all gave birth to a being equal to herself who could overspread her completely, the starry heaven [Ouranos] who was to present the blessed gods a secure throne forever" (*Theogony* 5126f.). This divine couple procreated the gods, the cyclopes, and a slew of mythical monsters, arrogant children with a hundred arms and fifty heads. Although Gaia finds no prominent place in the Homeric Hymns, one of them is addressed to her: "It is the earth I sing, securely enthroned, the mother of all things, venerable ancestress feeding upon her soil all that exists. . . . To thee it belongs to give life to mortals and to take it from them" (*Hymn to Earth* 1ff.).

Ancient Greek traditions affirm that the earth existed before heaven, to whom the earth gave birth by parthenogenesis (i.e., without any male assistance or insemination; for treatment of parthenogenesis among Greek and other Mediterranean goddesses, see Uberto Pestalozza, *Pagine di religione mediterranea*, Milan, 1942, vol. 1, pp. 191ff.). Through such myths the power of the creative possibilities of the earth are portrayed as limitless. The motif of parthenogenesis by the primordial earth reappears in myths that account for all the species of animals and plants as having been born from the body of a primordial being, as well as in myths of virgin birth such as the Greek accounts of Hera who, alone and unaided by men, gave birth to Typhon, Hephaistos, and Ares. Izanami, the Japanese goddess of the earth, gave birth to a number of gods who issued from her own substance.

Hierogamy. Perhaps the most lavish and numerous myths depicting the role of the earth in creation are those that describe a marriage between heaven and earth, a hierogamy. Myths of this sort are reported from Oceania, Indonesia, Micronesia, Asia, Africa, Europe, and the Americas. When heaven encounters earth, life flows forth in innumerable forms. The union of heaven and earth is a fundamental act of creation; it generates life on a cosmic and biological scale. The Greek accounts about Gaia and the Japanese myths concerning Izanami show that the views of androgyny, parthenogenesis, and hierogamy are related and, on occasion, even overlap one another. All of these images, which are expressions of a coincidence of opposites, struggle to express the notion of creativity and of the cosmic fecundity of the earth. In the beginning of time, according to the Maori tradition, the sky, Rangi, and the earth, Papa, were locked together in a sexual union. Their children longed for the light of day. In the eternal darkness of their earthen womb, they plotted a way to separate their parents. Eventually, the children severed the bonds that tied heaven to earth and shoved their father into the air until light appeared.

According to Zuni accounts, the creator, Awonawilona, contained all being within himself. At first he existed alone in the universe, but then changed himself into the sun and produced two seeds from his own substance. With these he inseminated the waters. Under his warmth, the sea turned green and grew in size until it became the earth mother (Awatelin Tsita, the "fourfold-containing mother earth"), on the one hand, and the sky father (Apoyan Táchu, "all-covering father sky"), on the other. These cosmic twins embraced in union to produce the countless numbers of creatures. After many complications, the sun and the first ancestors he created managed to free the creatures germinating in the dark womb of the earth. Previously they had crawled over one another like reptiles, hissing and spitting out indecent words. Eventually, when the sky was lifted off the earth, these children escaped along a ladder to freedom and light (Frank Hamilton Cushing, "Outlines of Zuñi Creation Myths," in *Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Washington, D. C., l896, pp. 379–384).

In myths of hierogamy, a sacred union with heaven, often symbolized by lightning, hail, or rain, is indispensable to the fruitfulness of the earth. It also serves as the model of fruitful human marriage. Hierogamy explains creation from some primordial whole that precedes it. The separation of heaven from earth is the first cosmogonic act, a fundamental shearing of primordial unity. In this widely known mythic drama, the fecundity of the earth with heaven is noticeably absent or sparsely distributed among the peoples of Australia, the Arctic, Tierra del Fuego, and the hunters and herders of North and Central Asia.

Sacrifice. In some myths of creation, the earth appears as a primordial victim of destruction (e.g., through conflagration, deluge, earthquake, petrification), especially through sacrifice, or even self-sacrifice. In such circumstances the fertility of the earth is never suppressed, for from the immolated or dismembered remains spring the species of plants, animals, linguistic groups, or races of humankind. The mystery of the creation of edible plants through the sacrifice of a goddess of the soil or earth was reenacted through agrarian rituals.

Most often, ritual sacrifices associated with the fertility of the soil were symbolic. In some cases, however, we possess reports of the actual sacrifice of living human victims. Such was the case, for example, among the Khonds of early nineteenth-century India. The Khond community, a Dravidian tribe inhabiting the hills of Orissa, a province of southern Bengal, bought a *meriah*, a voluntary victim who lived in the community for years, married, and fathered children. In the days preceding his sacrifice the *meriah* was ritually identified with the sacrificed divinity. The community danced in reverence around him. The victim was led in procession from the village to the virgin forest, the location of sacrifice. Participants anointed him and decorated him with flowers. They called upon the earth god, Tari Pennu (or Bera Pennu): "O God! We offer the sacrifice to you. Give us good crops, seasons, and health" (Frazer, 1926, p. 389). In front of representatives from every village in the vicinity, the *meriah* was slain, and a priest distributed fragments of the sacrificed body. These pieces were brought to the villages and ceremonially buried in the fields. The remains were burned so that the ashes could be spread over plowed fields to guarantee a good harvest.

In connection with the sacredness of the earth, the Aztec of central Mexico also performed acts of ritual sacrifice and dismemberment. When plants first sprouted, people sought the "god of the maize," a new shoot that was brought home, revered, and furnished with food offerings. That evening the new sprout was carried to a temple. The goddess of maize was honored by three different female age-groups. When the crop was ripe, the community celebrated a sacrifice in which a young girl represented Xilonen, the goddess of the new maize. After the young woman was sacrificed, the new crop could be consumed as food. Two months later, at the end of the harvest, another woman, representing the goddess Toci, was beheaded in sacrifice. A priest wore the flayed skin of the victim; another ritual specialist fashioned a mask from the victim's thigh. The masked participant played the role of a woman in childbirth in the harvest ritual.

These sacrifices ritually repeat the creation scenario in which the violent death of a primordial earth (e.g., through flood, fire, or violent self-sacrifice) gave rise to new forms, especially plants. Cut to pieces, the victim's body is identified with the mythic being whose death gave life to the cereal grain.

Emergence. We have seen how the earth figures largely in the creation of cosmic structures, as well as plant and animal life. A large number of myths emphasize the role of the earth in the origins of human life. As mentioned above in the opening scenes of the Zuni creation account reported by Cushing, the solitary creator became the sun and impregnated the great waters with two seeds from his own substance. These germs of men and of other creatures eventually hatched in the darkness. Pośhayank'ya, the great sage (who perhaps represents the nocturnal sun), then emerged from the foamy body of the earth mother, who possessed four wombs, one on top of another. It was in the deepest of these womb-caverns that all creatures dwelled in the beginning. For the first time, Pośhayank'ya pleaded with the sun father to liberate humanity from the dank and crowded bowels of the earth. In order to deliver the forms of life from the obscure and indistinct conditions of its fertile matrix, the sun father began another round of creation, but this time he aimed to produce intelligent beings who could find their way out of the dark, uterine hold of life-engendering earth. These beings would have the freedom that comes from the knowledge of magical power and ritual.

For a second time the sun father inseminated the foamy earth mother to produce twins. The twins sliced open the mountains and slipped into the subterranean darkness. With their warm breath they hastened the growth of a climbing plant, enabling it to break through to the light above. They then fashioned a ladder from its stalk, thus permitting the creatures to ascend from the lowest cavern into the second chamber. The beings who stayed behind or fell along the way became terrible monsters, creatures of the deep. Step by step, the twins provided the plant-ladder to grow and led the earthly pilgrims toward open space and heavenly light. At each stage, the people grew in wisdom, and humanity multiplied along the way, filling up whatever space was made available in the earth by the twins. Eventually, the twins led out, one after another, six distinct groups of people, the ancestors of the six human races. They emerged on the surface of the earth still bearing signs of their fetal existence in the ground: their toes were webbed and their ears, like those of bats and other creatures of the night, were attached to their heads by large membranes. They could not yet stand erect but crawled on their bellies like lizards or hopped like frogs.

The Caniengas Mohawk, an Iroquois group, also reported that humans once dwelled in the dark womb of the earth, without sunlight and in strange form. One day, during a hunt, one of the intraterrestrials accidentally discovered a hole that led to the surface of the earth. On the surface, this huntsman captured a deer. Drawn by the good-tasting game and the fine countryside, the subterranean creatures decided to emerge into the light of day. Only the groundhog remained in the earth.

Similarly, referring to the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians, the nineteenth-century scholar John Hockewelder remarked that "Indian mythologists are not agreed as to the form in which they existed while in the bowels of the earth. Some assert that they lived there in a human shape, while others, with greater consistency, maintain that their existence was in the form of certain terrestrial animals, such as the groundhog, the rabbit, and the tortoise" (cited in Frazer, 1926, p. 427).

These myths of emergence from the earth illustrate to what extent the earth is seen as a mother. In fact, the gestation of the fetus and the act of parturition are viewed as recapitulations of the cosmic birth of humankind and the creation of life in general, when humans emerged from the deepest chambers of the earth. Within the earth humanity lived an embryonic existence; for that matter, all the forms of creation existed as embryos within the earth. All living beings passed through the various stages of development in a "ripening" process that has not yet come to completion. For that reason the fruits of the earth reflect many different degrees of transmutation. Some Indian minerological tracts, for example, describe the diamond as "ripe" (*pakka*), whereas crystal is "unripe" (*kacca*), and the emerald, still wrapped in its stone womb, is only an embryo. In the same way, base metals and unrefined ores are not yet fully "ripe," but human smiths and alchemists may imitate, hasten, and complete the powerful functions of the earth mother.

This passage from the darkness of unconscious and preformal life to articulate form through emergence becomes a model for many human activities. When cultures wish to create something new, restore something worn, or regenerate a being, they reenact the pattern that was powerful enough to produce life in the first place. The act of procreation and birth of individual human beings in a culture is considered a reenactment of the primordial drama of emergence. The condition of the unborn child parallels the preexistence of humanity in the womb of the earth. Every fetal child relives the primal experience of humanity though its signs (darkness, water, enclosure, larval form, etc.). In other words, because the emergence myth is known, cultures recognize that every individual possesses a firsthand experience of the entire significant history of humanity. The human mother and her fertile powers are brought completely within the compass and sacredness of the great earth mother.

MOTHER EARTH. Across the face of the globe, people cling to the belief that human beings were born from the earth. In some cases, human maternity is believed to result from the direct insertion of a child, an earthling, into a human woman's womb (whether in the form of a seed, an ancestral soul, or a miniature fetus). Up until the moment of its translocation into the human womb, the child had lived an embryological existence in the earth—in a cave, well, fissure, or tree. In Lithuania, for example, children were said to come from springs, lakes, or hills intimately associated with Zemyna, the earth mother, for she alone was responsible for the creation of new beings (Haralds Biezais, *Die Hauptgöttinnen der alten Letten*, Uppsala, 1955, pp. 338–342).

In many societies, the presence of a child in a mother's womb is attribued to her contact with some animal, stone, or other object. Whatever role the father and his sexual union with the mother might play, the fertility of the earth as the primordial mother is directly responsible for human motherhood and offspring. In such a setting of beliefs, human beings are, in a profound sense, people of their native land. Like the first humans in the earth, each new generation of children first lives among the rocks or in chasms. Aquatic animals such as frogs, crocodiles, fish, swans, or storks then bring them and place them magically in their mothers' wombs. Here again, fecund earth, the fertility of cosmic being, is represented by specific fruits or forms that take life from her (e.g., mountains, fertility stones, the waters of grottoes or springs, animals). A human mother simply receives children in their embryonic state. She is a container that helps the larval life of the earth attain a specifically human form. The belief is that the subterranean womb is the true *fons et origo* of embryological life, and once that is understood, the religious beliefs and practices described below make sense.

Memories of life in the womb. The experiences of mystics and shamans may be compared with prenatal existence in the womb of the earth. The primordial dark night of the soul portrays the opacity of subterranean life before emergence onto the surface of the earth. The power of North American shamans, for example, sometimes depends on their extraordinary abilities to remember their prenatal life. The images they recall from life in the womb bear striking similarity to the chambers, fixtures, sounds, and sensations of the subterranean world. The Guayaki of Paraguay often consult pregnant women as diviners, since their unborn children reveal secrets and truths to them. Fetal children possess the power to know obscure facts because they relive the primordial experience of the divine twins. These, in the first utter darkness of chaos, knew the germinal possibilities of all subsequent life forms and experienced them at first hand, in the darkness, before they pursued their diverse historical destinies.

At times the cultural community longs to return to the womb of the earth mother. The Yaruro people of Venezuela revered their great mother, who lived in the remote area of Kuma in the east, where the dead go. In the late 1930s, the Yaruro expressed the desire to reenter the realm of their mother in order to be reborn into the paradisal existence that preceded life and the arrival of colonial invaders (Vicenco Petrullo, *The Yaruros of the Capanaparo River, Venezuela*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 123, Washington, D. C., 1939, pp. 226ff.).

Labyrinths. The image of the earth as mother (with openings to the world in the form of galleries, mines, grottoes, and caves) and the desire to return to the embryonic stage of existence in the womb explain why the labyrinth can be an image of the body of the earth mother. The labyrinth, or meandering underground cavern, was an initiatory arena as well as a place to bury the dead. Entering a labyrinth (among other religious motivations for doing so) amounted to a ritual return to the womb of the mother. Labyrinthine caves were the sites of initiation, funerals, and marriages. It is in the fruitful womb of the earth that new forms of life first quicken. The labyrinth dramatizes the difficulty of discovering the past back to the sources of limitless creativity.

Malekula funeral symbolism, for example, describes Tenes (or Le-he-he), a frightening female being who lies in wait for dead men's souls. She stands at the entrance to a cavern; in front of her, outlined on the ground, is the sketch of a labyrinth. As the dead soul approaches, she rubs out half of the design. If the deceased has been properly initiated, he will know the entire outline of the labyrinth and find his road easily to the afterlife; otherwise the woman will swallow him. The labyrinths that one finds drawn on the earth in Malekula teach the living the road to the land of the dead. That is, they provide the living with the initiatory key that enables them to return into the bowels of the earth mother (A. Bernard Deacon, "Geometrical Drawings from Malekula and the Other Islands of the New Hebrides," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 64, 1934, pp. 132ff.; John Layard, "Totenfahrt auf Malekula," *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 5, 1937, pp. 242–292).

Agrarian rites. Rites that mark significant moments in the agricultural calendar repeat what happened to the earth in mythical times. The mysteries of how life emerged from a germ hidden in an undifferentiated chaos, or was engendered in the sacred union between heaven and earth, or resulted from the violent death of divinities associated with the soil are reenacted in the rituals of the earth. Agricultural operations in the Andes, for example, are scheduled around the menstrual periods of Pachamama, Mother Earth. Special restrictions are observed at the times when Pachamama is "open," for the life of the community and the cosmos depend on her fertility.

Women usually play crucial roles in the rites associated with earthly fecundity. Insofar as women are symbolically assimilated with the land and insofar as agricultural work is homologous with the sexual act (so that the plow or spade is an emblem of the phallus, for example), women become epiphanies of the sacred power of the earth. The acts of women have worldly significance, for they channel the effects of the earth's ability to bear fruit and modulate its intensity. The Qurʾān declares, "Your wives are to you as fields" (2:223). The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (7.2.2.5) identifies the furrows of a plowed field with a vulva and the seeds sown in the furrow with semen. These ideas are widespread; they account for the prominent ritual role of women in agriculture. Many communities consider it auspicious if a pregnant woman sows the new seed; it augurs a good harvest, for the crops will grow apace with the fetus. Often women put the seed in the ground cleared by men, or women choose and store reservoirs of the fertile powers of the earth. Agricultural labor keeps one cognizant of the sacred origins of gardening; labor is the vehicle of meaning as well as the vehicle of its transmission from one generation to another.

For example, after the Canelos Quechua women of Ecuador have set a new field, they remain in it with their children and recount episodes from ancient myths about Nungui, the goddess of garden soil, whose power underlies all fertility. The neighboring women of the Jivaroan community also sing to Nungui at the time of planting. Nungui is short, fat, and black (characteristic features of many "dark virgins" or black madonnas associated with the soil). She forces crops to break through the surface of the earth by making them grow. Nungui dances at night in gardens that are well maintained; the new shoots of manioc are her dancing partners. Since plants tend to shrink during the daylight hours, Jivaroan women harvest them in the morning.

In a related ritual Jivaroan women ask Nungui for "babies," three red jasper stones (*nantara*) whose hidden location in the earth is revealed to them by the goddess in dreams. The nantara contain the female souls of manioc plants. Women hide the stones in the earth and keep them dark with an overturned food bowl placed in the center of the garden. The stones carry out the role of Nungui's mystical child who, in the primordial past, helped women accomplish all the tasks of farming with a single magical word. The prescribed layout of the contemporary Jivaroan garden and the red "children-stones" hidden there remain as signs of the perfect garden that existed at the beginning of time. When the time arrives to plant manioc seedlings, Jivaroan women gather to sing to Nungui while squatting over the new slips. The woman gardener places the first manioc cutting against her vaginal opening and paints the plant red before placing it in the ground. The identification of the fertility of women with the fertility of the soil is thus complete and direct. When they finish planting the fields, women dance for five nights in a row in honor of Nungui and request that her presence spur on the growth of the plants (Michael J. Harner, *The Jívaro: People of the Sacred Waterfalls*, Garden City, N.Y., 1973, pp. 70–76; Julian H. Steward and Alfred Métraux, "Tribes of the Peruvian and Ecuadorian Montaña," in *Hand-*

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The religious role of women, who are identified with the land, appears dramatically in ritual sexual unions performed in fields or in orgies with which the entire community punctuates the agricultural calendar. With these sacred acts, women and their partners commemorate the union of heaven and earth in order to stimulate the fruitfulness of the virgin soil. Communal sexual frenzy evokes the image of the divine couple during the confusion of the long cosmic night in the period before creation, or in their primal state within the cosmogonic egg. During orgies, the whole community celebrates this return to the undifferentiated state of the earth at the beginning of time. The custom of streaking naked across the earth to provoke the virility of the sky or of the fertilizing rains shows how rites associated with the earth break down the barriers between individuals, society, cosmic nature, and divine forms. The experience of society during orgy is that of seeds and primordial embryos. The community as a whole loses its articulate shape during the period of subterranean merging and disintegration that is an integral part of the process of germination. Individuality dissolves in the orgy, for neither law nor social form is maintained in the total fusion of sexes and emotions. As in the ritual of immersion in water, orgy undoes the structures of the community and identifies human life with the formless, precosmic chaos in the bowels of the earth before creation. Even when orgies are not literally carried out but are only staged as performances (e.g., phallic dances or parades, dancing between series of unmarried partners), the fruitfulness of life derived from the earth depends on the symbolic dissolution of norms through carousing, obscenity, debauchery, insult, or choreographic and choral union of bodies and voices normally held separate from one another. For example, it is in connection with the fertility of the earth that many of the so-called *hadaka matsuri* (literally, "naked festivals") celebrated throughout Japan find their meaning.

Lying on the soil. We have already seen that the conception and birth of human individuals are scaled-down versions of the creative process performed by the earth since the beginning of time. Human mothers repeat that sucessful first act by which life first appeared in the womb of the earth mother. For that reason, at the moment of birth, women from many cultures put themselves directly in touch with the earth and mimic her actions. In this way they partake as fully as possible of her powers and remain under her protection. In numerous societies women give birth in such a way as to deposit the child onto the earth, or else place the child on the soil immediately after birth. In some cases women in childbirth lie prostrate on the ground or move into the forest or fields. "To sit on the ground" was a common expression in ancient Egypt meaning to give birth (Nyberg, 1931, p. 133). Every authentic birth of an Aché of Paraguay repeats the first act of standing upright upon the primordial earth. The Aché birth rites include two moments: *waa*, a "falling" from the womb onto the soil, and *upi*, a "lifting up." The act of touching the earth introduces the child to the biotic condition shared by all animals and plants. By lifting him up from the earth, the mother repeats his transition from amorphous biological form to fully human stature—just as it was obtained by the primordial ancestors when they first emerged from the earth and stood upright upon it (Pierre Clastres, *Chronique des Indiens Guayaki*, Paris, 1972, pp. 14–16). The earth must be the mother who gives birth to every true human being.

Placement on the soil was also an integral part of healing rites. Sick persons were restored to health when they were created anew, remade in the image of the ancestral beings in their primordial situation within the earth. The Huichol of Mexico, for example, when on pilgrimage to Wirikuta, their place of mythic origins, stop by pools of water that open into the creative depths of the earth. The healer asks his patients, especially barren women, to stretch out full-length on the ground, which is the powerful body of the primal mother. The rite of placing a newborn child on the earth existed in ancient China, where a dying person was also set on the soil. The earth represents the powers both of birth and of rebirth to a new existence. The powers of the earth determine whether the transitions of birth and death are valid and well accomplished (Granet, 1953, pp. 192–198).

DEATH AND REGENERATION. As a form of regenerative darkness, the earth, in its sacredness and fertility, includes the reality of death. This was clear already in the myths of the sacrifice of a primordial divinity associated with the soil. The death of the god gives rise to life in new forms, especially that of plants. Life and death are simply two phases in the career of Mother Earth. In fact, "life" in the light of day consists of a hiatus, a brief period of detachment from the earth's womb. It is death that returns one to the primordial or eternal condition that existed before the cycle of life began.

Many of the terrifying aspects of the earth mother, in the form of the goddess of death or the recipient of violent sacrifices, are rooted in her status as the universal womb, the source of all life. Death itself is not annihilation, but rather the state of the seed in the bosom of the earth. This helps explain why the bodies of the dead are buried in fetal positions in so many cultures. These "embryos" are expected to come back to life. In some cases, as stated above, the dead reenact the experience of the earth mother herself, who was the first person to die (e.g., Izanami of Japanese mythology, who died giving birth to fire). In such circumstances, the negative depictions of the earth mother as the goddess of death portray her role in the sacrificial mode of existence that makes passage from one form to another possible. The ubiquitous sacrificial dimension of symbolic existence guarantees the unending circulation of life. "Crawl to the earth, your mother," proclaims the *Ṛgveda* (10.18.10). "You, who are earth I place you in the earth," is a funerary formula from the *Atharvaveda* (12.1.11, 12.1.14). The Kraho of Brazil make every attempt to transport a dying man back to the soil of his maternal village. The inscriptions on ancient Roman tombs illustrate the same desire to rest in one's native earth. The vitality and fecundity of the earth, its sacred power to generate life without end, assures the reappearance of the dead in a new living form.

The rich symbolism of the earth is not exhausted by the cosmogonies, agricultural feasts, or burial practices of archaic peoples or tribal societies. The earth remains a powerful image of the possibility of new life and radically new social existence. In contemporary religious movements of rebellion or revolution prompted by desperate and oppressive circumstances, the earth becomes a focal image of renewal (Bruce Lincoln, "'The Earth Becomes Flat': A Study of Apocalyptic Imagery," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 25, 1983, pp. 136–153; see also Werner Müller, *Geliebte Erde: Naturfrömmigkeit und Naturhass im indianischen und europäischen Nordamerika*, Bonn, 1972). In the eschatological or utopian visions of new regimes or revolutionary kingdoms the face of the earth will be renewed or the end of the world will intervene to impose a new and just order, symbolized by the leveling of mountains and the filling of valleys. All forms of life, without discrimination, will obtain easy and equal access to the plenteous vitality of the earth.

COSMIC SOLIDARITY OF LIFE. The religious imagery of the earth engenders a kinship among all forms of life, for they are all generated in the same matrix. The intimate relationship between earth and the human, animal, and vegetal life forms inheres in the religious realization that the life force is the same in all of them. They are united on the biological plane; their fates, consequently, are intertwined. Pollution or sterility on one level of existence affects all other modes of life. Because of their common origin, all life-forms constitute a whole. Unlike the sacredness of the sky, which appears vividly in the myths of the separation of the sky from the creaturely forms dependent on it, there is no rupture between the earth and the forms it engenders.

Furthermore, earth protects the existence of life in myriad forms, and safeguards against abuses (e.g., incest or murder) that threaten the good order of reproductive life. Ritual union between sexual partners and orgies celebrated in ceremony are restricted to decisive moments of the agricultural calendar. During the rest of the time, the earth mother is often a patroness of morality and a guardian of the norms conducive to fruitful existence. The earth punishes certain categories of criminals, especially adulterers, murderers, and sexual miscreants. In some cases, as in ancient Greece, the shedding of blood on the earth and incest could render the earth barren, with catastrophic consequences. Thus, in the opening of Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*, a priest bewails the fate of Thebes because women suffer birth pangs without living issue and the fruits of the earth and the oxen in the fields are dying, as is the city itself.

CONCLUSION. The earth reveals the meaning and sacredness of life's ceaseless ability to bear fruit. This point comes home strongly in all the images we have examined. There is a tendency for agricultural divinities, active and dramatic, to draw attention from the primordial divinities of the soil. But in all the great goddesses who represent the capacities of agriculture and the fruitfulness of the tilled soil there exists the underlying presence of the earth as a whole, the sacredness of the physical place of life. It is true that the earth often appears in cosmogonic myths as a figure vaguer in outline than the more clearly delineated goddesses of specific crops or particular rites in the agricultural cycle. However, the role of the earth in the earliest stages of mythic history testifies to the abiding sacredness of life itself, regardless of the distinct forms that it may include. The myths of parthenogenesis, of the androgyny of the earth, of hierogamy, of the sacrifice of the primordial earth, and of emergence from the dark womb of the first times affirm the sacredness of the soil. That is, they disclose the meaning of its tireless creativity. That manifestation of the sacred in the form of the soil, whether as a general presence or divine figure, helps make sense of rituals and symbolic forms linked to the earth.

Descents into caves and grottoes, the imagery of subterranean embryos, scenarios of return to a prenatal existence, labyrinths, rites of swearing by the earth, deposition of the newborn on the earth or interment of the dead in earthen graves, the iconographic tradition of black madonnas, and the terrifying figures of great goddesses, as well as the stylized sexual orgies of agricultural feasts return the attention of the religious imagination to one of its most important sources: the inexhaustible powers of the universal procreator of life. Few images have generated such power within the religious imagination or held such a command over it throughout the course of human history. It is possible that the rise of the earth to primacy as a sacred form in the religious imagination was stunted by her sacred marriage with the sky and other male divinities (e.g., storm gods) who are important in agriculture. Nevertheless, the earth, especially in the image of the great mother, has never forfeited her role as the locus of life, the source of all forms, the guardian of children, and the womb where the dead await their rebirth.

SEE ALSO Alchemy; Androgynes; Caves; Dismemberment; Hieros Gamos; Labyrinth; Nature.

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EARTH FIRST! Earth First!, the best known among the so-called radical environmental groups, was founded in 1980 in the southwestern United States. With its slogan "no compromise in defense of mother earth," it underscored its anti-anthropocentric ideology. In contrast to the anthropocentric point of view it promoted a "biocentric" or "ecocentric" axiology that insisted that every life form, and indeed every ecosystem, has intrinsic value and a right to live and flourish regardless of whether human beings find it useful.

DEEP ECOLOGY. This axiology has a significant affinity with deep ecology, a philosophy and term derived from the work of the Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess (1912–). Naess developed deep ecology to critique what he considered the "shallow" anthropocentric ethics of most forms of environmentalism as well as to articulate a biocentric perspective in which nature is considered to have intrinsic value.

Naess's path to that perspective was grounded in his joyful and mystical experiences in wild nature, which led him to appreciate and draw from the pantheistic philosophy of Baruch Spinoza as well as from the Hindu Vedas, especially as interpreted by Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948). Naess's version of deep ecology suggested that a path to one's personal self-realization can involve expanding one's sense of self to include nature. Consequently, biocentric ethics can be understood as a form of self-love rather than a duty or obligation. Naess was clear, however, that there are many experiential, religious, and philosophical bases for a deep ecology perspective and that his represents only one of them.

After hearing about it in the early 1980s, the earliest Earth First! activists adopted deep ecology as a descriptor for their own ethics even though few had read Naess's philosophy in detail. However, they identified with what they understood to be his critique of anthropocentrism and his biocentric ethics. The early affinity between Earth First! and deep ecology was animated by two shared perceptions: first that all life evolved in the same way and from the same single-celled organism and thus all life forms are related, and second that the biosphere and all its life forms are sacred.

Whereas Naess insisted that there are many tributaries to a biocentric perspective, radical environmentalists tended to believe that monotheism cannot be one of them. Such activists generally blame monotheistic religions and the agricultural practices that evolved simultaneously with them for environmental deterioration as well as the destruction of premonotheistic foraging cultures. They also believe that the societies that preceded monotheism and/or agriculture were more environmentally sustainable because they considered nature sacred. These activists often single out Christianity as the most powerful global form of Western monotheism in part because it is seen as devaluing the earthly realm and locates the sacred beyond this world and in part because it has been aligned with political power. The earliest Earth First!ers found such critiques in the work of historians such as Paul Shepard, Lynn White, Perry Miller, and Roderick Nash. Earth First! cofounder Dave Foreman, the most charismatic of the group's early leaders and the one most responsible for articulating its critical perspective, asserted:

> Our problem is a spiritual crisis. The Puritans brought with them a theology that saw the wilderness of North America as a haunt of Satan, with savages as his disciples and wild animals as his demons—all of which had to be cleared, defeated, tamed, or killed. (*Harpers Forum,* 1990, p. 44)

THE PHILOSOPHY OF EARTH FIRST! Foreman and his earliest Earth First! comrades found substantial evidence that such attitudes were alive and well in contemporary America. During the years leading up to the formation of Earth First!, when he was still working for the Wilderness Society, Foreman concluded that ordinary political advocacy had become ineffective because the government had been corrupted by corporations, which were assisted by a virulently antinature Christian ideology, including that of President Ronald Reagan and his secretary of the interior, James Watt, a devout evangelical Christian. That antinature religious ideology, which desacralizes nature and unleashes a voracious appetite for "natural resources," combined with modern science and advanced technology, had produced an environmental calamity in which most of the world's life forms were jeopardized, Foreman and his cohort believed. This belief that human beings are precipitating an environmental apocalypse that imperils a sacred natural world provides the urgency felt by Earth First!ers and undergirds their conviction that resistance to these trends is a moral imperative.

TACTICS AND GOALS. The general public knows less about the social, religious, and ethical perceptions of Earth First!ers than it does about the movement's controversial tactics. Earth First! activists have engaged in rowdy and well-publicized protests that often have involved civil disobedience, including innovative blockades of logging roads and industry or governmental offices as well as clandestine sabotage operations that increasingly have utilized arson.

These tactics sometimes are employed by individuals associated with offshoot groups such as the Earth Liberation Front (ELF), which believes that tactics more aggressive than those usually deployed by Earth First! are essential. The ELF first emerged in the United Kingdom in 1992. Its participants called themselves "elves" to evoke playfully a sense that they were spirits of nature or other representatives of the natural world who were defending themselves. The moniker was also a way for many of them to signal their pagan identity.

Soon radical activists in North America also were calling themselves elves as they took credit for a series of dramatic and costly sabotage and arson attacks. Their targets included forest service offices and equipment, ski resort lodges built in habitats considered critical for endangered species, genetic engineering laboratories, and gas-guzzling sport utility vehicles. Whatever the targets or the descriptors they choose when announcing their actions, radical environmentalists consider civil disobedience and sabotage to be forms of economic warfare against the destroyers of nature. They hope that those tactics will thwart destructive commercial enterprises by making them unprofitable.

Some Earth First!ers consider themselves anarchists and seek the overthrow of all industrial nation-states. The majority, however, have a less revolutionary goal of securing legal protection for habitats large enough to ensure the survival of biological diversity. Indeed, the movement helped bring that term, which often is abbreviated as *biodiversity,* into popular parlance and public debate. This broader objective depended on environmental legislation and law enforcement, which most Earth First!ers, despite their justification of extralegal tactics, hoped to strengthen. Indeed, the earliest Earth First! activists theorized that an uncompromising radical environmental movement could strengthen the resolve and lobbying power of mainstream environmentalists.

Although it is difficult to judge whether the presence of a radical environmental front makes mainstream groups more effective, after the formation of Earth First! some mainstream environmental groups did develop stronger positions, at least in part as a response to Earth First!. A number of them also adopted biodiversity protection as a central priority, something that had not been prevalent before Earth First!'s emphasis on it. Some of the leaders of mainstream groups who publicly criticized the movement's illegal tactics privately acknowledge that the radicals have played a positive role politically.

ROAD SHOWS, WILDERNESS GATHERINGS, AND OTHER RITUALS. Equally important, the critique of anthropocentric attitudes that the militants of Earth First! forcefully articulated contributed significantly to the spread of deep ecology spirituality within the wider environmental movement. One way that occurred was through the creative efforts of the movement's leaders, artists, and musicians.

Some of the first generation of Earth First! activists, for example, toured the United States conducting "road shows" that also could be labeled biocentric revival meetings. Those shows sometimes would juxtapose photographic slides of intact "sacred wilderness ecosystems" with wilderness habitats ruined by logging. The epistemological assumption behind the presentations was that a spiritually receptive heart would know that a great wrong had been committed. The American Earth First! singer Alice DiMicelle, for example, once explained during an interview that her role during performances in a 1992 Earth First! tour of the United Kingdom was, through her photographs and music, to awaken in the audience, many of whom had never experienced a sacred wilderness ecosystem, the mystical experience that is available in such places.

Perhaps the most common theme in the road shows was conversion stories, frequently that of Aldo Leopold, who is considered by many the greatest ecologist of the twentieth century. In the 1930s Leopold, who had contributed to the federal government's campaign to exterminate the wolf and other predators, encountered a female wolf and her pups and with his Forest Service mates shot the wolf, only to witness the "green fire" dying in her eyes as she expired. That experience precipitated Leopold's biocentric epiphany of the intrinsic value of predators, even those labeled varmints by the mainstream culture. This led to his repentance and subsequently to some of the most poignant biocentric nature writing of the twentieth century. In the 1980s and afterward Dave Foreman became well known for ending his road show performances by recalling Leopold's conversion, urging those assembled to repent, howling with him the cry of the wolf as a sign of their reconnection with and ethical commitment to wild nature.

Wilderness gatherings of Earth First! activists provided another important venue for earth-based religious rituals. Movement poets and musicians performed their own works, which reflected and reinforced perceptions of the sacredness of life while providing activists with powerful bonding experiences. Others took on the role of religious leaders, developing sometimes elaborate pageants that depicted a "fall" from an early nature-and-goddess-worshipping paradise of foragers (caused by the advent of sky-god-worshipping agricultural societies) that precipitated an ecological calamity. In those performances a cosmic redemption also was enacted as a remnant community of resistance, which understood the earth's sacred nature, arose and fought for the reharmonization of life on earth. Movement members who were also involved in Neopaganism, Wicca, or New Age rituals often played significant roles in shaping the ritual life of the emerging movement. Indeed, Earth First! has many of the sources and characteristics of a wide variety of contemporary nature religions and arguably has contributed to a number of them.

Even more influential than the rituals at wilderness gatherings was the invention of a ritual process that became known as the Council of All Beings. It was developed primarily by two Buddhists, the American Joanna Macy and the Australian John Seed, both of whom became pioneering figures in the deep ecology movement internationally. They achieved this in part by spreading this process and similar ones primarily though not exclusively in North America, Australia, and Europe. The heart of the ritual involves an imaginative, if not mystical or shamanic, process in which the human participants take on or represent the identity of other beings and entities of nature, expressing during the council's deliberations their anguish about environmental deterioration, their hopes for the future of life on earth, and their counsel and support in pursuing ecological justice.

Further illustrating the role that Buddhism has played in the movement, John Seed was introduced to Earth First! by the American Pulitzer Prize–winning poet Gary Snyder, a Buddhist who variously calls himself a deep ecologist or a "Buddhist animist." Snyder also has been one of the leading proponents of bioregionalism, a decentralist environmentalist ideology that has become the de facto social philosophy of radical environmentalism. It envisions local political self-rule within political units whose boundaries would be redrawn to cohere with the contours of differing types of ecosystems.

Snyder attempted to communicate with the Earth First! movement soon after he heard about it but criticized tactics he considered violent that were being advocated by some Earth First!ers, including Foreman. However, Snyder was strongly supportive of Earth First!ers' deep ecological intuitions and direct action resistance as long as it remained nonviolent and thus, in his view, effective political theater. After hearing about Earth First!, Seed quickly arranged to participate in one of the earliest North American road shows, which contributed to his own fusion of Buddhism, deep ecology ritualizing, and radical environmental activism.

SABOTAGE AS RITUAL. For some Earth First! activists, however, the most important ritual actions are sabotage and civil disobedience, which constitute acts of earth veneration and can lead to spiritual experiences that reconnect their participants with nature. For example, early in his Earth First! period Dave Foreman, who left Earth First! but not its overall ethical commitments around 1990 primarily because of political differences with a growing faction of anarchistic newcomers, spoke of sabotage as a form of ritual worship. A number of other Earth First! activists have described mystical experiences of "earth bonding" or reported communicating with the trees they inhabited during antilogging campaigns. Those experiences reflected or helped shape the pantheistic and animistic worldviews that Earth First! activists often share. Indeed, so many Earth First!ers consider themselves pagan that a possible description for the movement would be the pagan environmental movement.

Whatever terminology Earth First! activists identify with, during its initial decade at least, the movement probably received its greatest inspiration from the southwestern novelist Edward Abbey (1927–1989). His *Desert Solitaire* (1968) described mystical experiences in the desert that taught him humility and a proper spiritual perception; for him, that meant biocentrism and reverence for the land. Abbey's novel *The Monkeywrench Gang* (1975) portrayed ecological saboteurs fighting back against a totalitarian and relentlessly destructive industrial civilization that was in league with religions that seek salvation beyond this world. Though a work of fiction, the book was based on an actual group of ecological saboteurs (mentioned briefly in *Desert Solitaire*) who in the 1950s battled the strip mining of the Black Mesa plateau by the Peabody Coal Company. Through its characters *The Monkeywrench Gang* captured the various types of nature religion that animated those early green rebels, such as Doc Sarvis's hope that "Pan shall rise again!" (Abbey, 1975, p. 44) and George Washington Hayduke's pondering of "the oceanic unity of things" and his rationale for sabotage, which was grounded in his understanding that the desert is "holy country" (Abbey, 1975, pp. 227, 128).

EARTH FIRST! AS A RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT. The human perception of sacred places, along with battles over them, is common in the history of religion. Often there is an environmental dimension to such perceptions of sacredness; sometimes places are invested with an aura of holiness because they are remote, dangerous to access, or characterized by great biomass or geomorphological uniqueness (as is the case with caves, geothermal vents, and mountains). What is religiously innovative in the Earth First! movement and other radical environmental groups is the notion that the greater is the contribution of a place to the planet's genetic and biological diversity, the greater is its sacredness.

Although Earth First! activists affirm that the entire biosphere is sacred and worthy of defense, because they cannot be everywhere at once, they must make hard choices and decide which parts they will act to protect or heal. Consequently, the most important ethical priority is to prevent extinctions and the destruction of the world's most important biological reserves. Even decisions about where to camp are determined on the basis of such considerations: a site should be near enough to connect spiritually to the most fragile and thus sacred ecosystems but not so close that it damages or defiles them.

Apocalyptic expectations of the end of the world or a lesser disaster also have been common in the history of religions. Environmental degradation may have played a role in fostering the kind of suffering that gives rise to such expectations. What is novel in the apocalypticism characteristic of Earth First! is that for the first time such an expectation is grounded in environmental science or at least on one credible reading of currently available scientific data. Moreover, as Earth First!ers are drawing on the same countercultural religious elements as others involved in contemporary nature religion, many of them also are drawing on contemporary science as a religious resource, and this represents another innovation. Many Earth First!ers, for example, consider James Lovelock's Gaia hypothesis spiritually meaningful, inspiring or supporting their pantheistic religious sentiments. Others have been moved by those, such as Thomas Berry, who endeavor to consecrate scientific narratives of the evolution of the universe and biosphere, making them into new sacred stories that promote the veneration and defense of nature.

Not all radical environmentalists, however, are comfortable calling themselves religious, including a number of biologists who have supported radical environmental initiatives. This discomfort is usually the result of equating religion with the Western institutional forms of religion that they consider authoritarian and antinature. Nevertheless, those environmentalists rarely object to and almost always rely on metaphors of the sacred to express their conviction that nature has intrinsic value. They also often describe environmental destruction as desecration or defilement. Even though a few participants in these movements call themselves atheists, this generally means that they do not believe in otherworldly deities or divine rescue from this world, not that they deny a sacred dimension to the universe and earthly life. Indeed, they often characterize their connections to nature as spiritual.

The Earth First! movement can be considered religious in that it views the evolutionary process, the diversity of life, and the entire biosphere as precious, sacred, and worthy of defense. Another religious aspect is that its participants construct myths, rituals, and ethical practices that cohere with such beliefs. This kind of nature religion attempts to express a form of spirituality that coheres with evolutionary understandings of the origins and diversity of life. It claims to offer a solution to intractable and intensifying environmental problems, and if nothing is done to halt the unfolding environmental catastrophe, it offers hope that some may survive and eventually live on the earth respectfully and sustainably, especially those who develop spiritual humility.

As the radical environmental worldview is at odds with that of many of the earth's other peoples, viewing most religions as part of the problem, it enjoins resistance to them as well as efforts to persuade those who adhere to them to resacralize their perceptions of the earth. In light of these differences and because the environmental conditions that contributed to the rise of Earth First! and other radical environmental groups show no signs of abating, it is likely that such groups will continue to precipitate or become involved in environment-related social conflicts. It is also likely that for the indefinite future such religiosity and movements will continue to play a role in shaping religious attitudes and behaviors toward the earth's living systems.

SEE ALSO Ecology and Religion, articles on Ecology and Buddhism and Ecology and Nature Religions; Gandhi, Mohandas; Neopaganism; New Age Movement; Wicca.

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BRON TAYLOR (2005)

EAST AFRICAN RELIGIONS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
ETHIOPIAN RELIGIONS
NORTHEAST BANTU RELIGIONS

EAST AFRICAN RELIGIONS: AN OVERVIEW

East African religions do not form a single coherent body of beliefs and practices. They show great diversity in myths and cosmologies and in beliefs about the nature of spiritual powers; in kinds and authority of ritual experts; in the situations when ritual is performed; and in responses to the advent of Islam and Christianity. This diversity is consistent with the ethnic, geographical, and historical diversity of the region. Our knowledge of East African religions is very uneven, and this may also contribute to the seeming diversity.

The total population of the Eastern African region in 2003 was about 263 million people. The population comprises some two hundred more or less distinct societies, each defined by its own language and sense of identity, its own traditional territory and political structure, and its own system of family relations, marriage, and religious belief and practice. These groups are distributed very unevenly in areas of high and low population densities.

East Africa contains several clearly defined geographical and cultural areas, with an immense variety of societies, languages, and religions. It has been the meeting place of several main language groupings, and its peoples are remarkably diverse in their cultures and forms of economic, political, and familial organizations.

In the northern part of the region live peoples representing several main language families and groups: Semitic and Hamitic (Cushitic), mainly in Ethiopia and Somalia, and three subgroups of the Chari-Nile group of the Nilo-Saharan family—Sudanic, in the far northwest corner, Nilotic in the upper Nile Valley, and Para-Nilotic (Eastern Nilotic or Nilo-Hamitic) mainly in the Rift Valley region. To the south are many people speaking Bantu languages (of the Niger-Congo family). There are small pockets of speakers of other language families (such as Khoisan, or click, languages in northern Tanzania), and there are of course speakers of intrusive languages such as Arabic and English. In most parts of the region Swahili has long been used as a lingua franca, although in a debased form rather than in its proper form as spoken along the Indian Ocean coast. However, there appears to be no direct relationship between language and religious belief and practice.

The situation is different as regards economic, political, and familial types, and belief and practice are more obviously linked to them. Although there are a few hunting and gathering peoples, such as the Hadza of Tanzania and the Okiek of Kenya, the vast majority of the population consists of mixed farmers, growing grains and keeping some livestock, and pastoralist livestock herders.

A century of European colonial rule over the entire region and the long Arab colonial overrule along the coast have brought about degrees of unity and interaction. Trade and wars have also often linked peoples together in varying ways and degrees. Although East African peoples are traditionally farmers and livestock herders, large towns and urban centers exist throughout the region, from the ancient cities of Mombasa, Mogadishu, and Zanzibar on the coast to the modern cities of Nairobi, Addis Ababa, Kampala, and Dar es-Salaam. Scattered are many lesser towns that have attracted mixed immigrant populations from the countryside and from which modern Christian and syncretist movements have spread out into the rural areas. Today there are virtually no peoples in the region who are unaffected by Christianity or Islam (although the depth of influence of these faiths varies widely); but traditional local religions remain active in almost every part of the area.

DIVINITY AND MYTH. All East African religions have a belief in a high god, the creator. Perhaps the most accurate term to translate this concept here is *Deity.* As would be expected, even though there are variations, in all of them the Deity is attributed broadly similar characteristics: omnipotence, everlastingness, ubiquity, and being beyond the comprehension and control of ordinary living people. The variations lie in the idioms and symbols used to express these features and abilities. These general characteristics are found in the high gods representing all the cosmologies of the region: Kwoth (Nuer; the name also means breath or spirit), Juok (Shilluk), Nhialic (Dinka), Mbori (Azande), Adroa (Lugbara; the name also means power), Ngai (Kikuyu), Kyala (Nyakyusa), Mungu (Swahili), and so on. The names are different, but the divine nature is the same. Usually the Deity is considered to be spatially unlocalized, but in some religions it is thought to be associated with mountains and other terrestrial features, as among the Kikuyu, who state that Ngai dwells on Mount Kenya and on lesser mountains of the Rift Valley area.

The Deity is usually considered remote and otiose: after creating the world it retired, leaving men and women on earth ultimately dependent upon it but pursuing their own ways cut off from divine truth and perfection and with a memory of a primeval paradise that might one day be reached again with the help of prophetic leaders. Perhaps all peoples of the region have myths to explain the separation, often couched in terms of a Tower of Babel story in which a rope or a tree between heaven and earth was destroyed either by human foolishness or divine displeasure. (There is not the least reason to suppose that these separation myths are in any way due to diffusion from Christian sources.) There is considerable variation in the degree to which it is held that the Deity interferes in the everyday affairs of the living, beyond being responsible for death, and in beliefs held about the relationship between its creation of the world and the later formation of human societies. There is also much variation in its relationships with the many lesser deities that are found in all East African cosmologies.

These aspects and relations are stated in myth, each society having its own corpus of myth that tells of the creation of the world, the relationship between humankind and the Deity, and the formation of society. A typical example is that of the cosmogony of the Nilotic Shilluk of the upper Nile. Their myths tell of the creation of the world by Juok and of the later formation of the Shilluk kingdom by the culture hero or mediator, Nyikang. The mythical cooperation of creator and hero is a feature of many East African myths, their two activities being distinct in time and usually in place also. Nyikang, whose parentage is usually given as a father of heavenly provenance and a mother who was a creature of the River Nile with the attributes of the crocodile, is thus associated with sky, river, and earth; he separated the Shilluk from their neighbors and united his people as their first king. All later kings have been embodiments of Nyikang, and the installation of a new king is a dramatic representation of both the social diversity and the unity of the Shilluk as well as their mystical link with the Nile, on which they are ecologically dependent. The king, as Nyikang in immanent form, represents the ideal and true order of the world within himself. Godfrey Lienhardt has written about the Shilluk proverb that says "the Shilluk only believe what they see," pointing out that it is through their human king that they are also able to see what they believe.

Other than the distinction between the creation of the world and the formation of the particular society, the most widespread mythopoeic feature of the many and varied myths of the region would seem to be the attribution of reverse or inverted characteristics and behavior to the originally created inhabitants. They may be portrayed as incestuous or as being ignorant of kinship, the idiom used by most East African societies to express and validate everyday social relationships; they may be given close identification with animal species, the natural and the social thereby being brought into a single conceptual system; they may be said to have dwelt outside the present homeland in a state of primeval timelessness, their travels and adventures representing those of past migrations and final settlement into the present habitat; they construct a cosmic topography in which the particular society is set in both space and time as a moral community within an asocial and amoral wilderness.

With creation myths are found myths that tell of such matters as the relationships between people and wild and domesticated animals, between men and women, and between peoples of different societies and races; the origins of and reasons for death; the origins of fire and cooking, linked with the making of settlements and the exchange of primeval hunting for farming; and the nature and validation of the ties, rights, and obligations of descent, age, sex, and rank. It is frequently difficult to draw any meaningful distinction between what may be considered by outside observers to be myths and folk tales that tell of these and similar problems. As with myths, most folk tales are concerned with paradoxes and logical contradictions in the experience of the particular culture concerned. Perhaps the great majority of East African folk tales are told about agents who are animals or humans in the guise of animals; their adventures refer essentially and by implication to human behavior. Proverbs and riddles, many with similar implications, are found throughout the region.

In Ethiopia and the Swahili and Somali coasts, the areas with long-standing literacy and forms of writing, accounts of the formation of the world and society and their history may also be in written forms. They may profess to be historical chronicles of particular towns, peoples, or dynasties, but nonetheless they partake of the general nature of mythopoeic statements, using the same idioms as spoken myth.

LESSER DEITIES AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE LIVING. The Deity usually communicates with the living only indirectly, through refractions of its power in the forms of lesser deities, spirits, gods, powers, and ancestors, ghosts, or shades (almost every writer has his or her own terminology, which has led to a good deal of definitional confusion). These mystical entities may float freely or they may be attached to social groups (lineages, clans, neighborhoods, and others) by having localized shrines established for them. The relations of communication are complex, but essentially the deities may control or constrain the living by possessing them and making them sick, and the living may contact the deities by sacrifice, prayer, and self-induced trance. Both parties are seen as interdependent, even if the living may not understand the full nature and motivation of the deities; but if contact ceases, the deities cease to have power and to "exist" in the awareness of the living at all.

There are many kinds of these deities found in East African religions, but they may conveniently be divided into the categories of spirits and ancestors, each comprising many subtypes. Spirits are considered as different from the transcendent and otiose Deity (even though the same word may be used for both, as is *kwoth* among the Nuer). They are immanent, more dynamic, and more immediately demanding; they are usually regarded as so numerous as to be beyond counting. Whereas the Deity is only rarely localized in shrines (as among the Kikuyu, who recognize certain fig trees as shrines for Ngai), many kinds of shrines, temples, and images are built for the spirits where they may be contacted by the living. Since spirits are invisible and unknowable, being of a different order than human beings, they need some locus where the living may contact them.

A spirit may be considered as a representation of some aspect of human experience whose power is thought to be outside the immediate community and beyond the everyday knowledge or control of ordinary people, until it exercises some form of power over a living person by possession or sickness. This experience may be that of nature, as with the smallpox and other disease gods of the Ganda or the earthquake and lightning spirits of the Lugbara; it may be experience of outside historical events, as with the airplane and Polish (refugee) spirits of the Nyoro; or it may be the individual experience of inner psychological states such as guilt and fear, as with the sky divinities of the Dinka. The possession of a living person by a spirit places him or her into direct and palpable contact with the particular experience: divination identifies the spirit, and sacrifice removes it from the possessed victim and restores the proper status quo.

Another aspect of spirit possession is that the victim is thereby singled out and acquires a new or additional mystical and personal status. In East Africa women appear more usually to be possessed by spirits; it has been suggested that this is so because women suffer from a greater sense of cultural deprivation and ambiguity of role than do men. Women's roles are less clearly defined than those of men, with the exception of the role of mother. When a woman is barren, therefore, her role is wanting and ambiguous: she may acquire a more definite one, largely independent and less under the control of husband or brother, by becoming the adherent and communicant of a spirit and so linking herself to other women who have been possessed. In some societies, for example the Lugbara, these women acquire a degree of personal independence and clearly defined identity but no more. In others, such as the Swahili, they become members of spirit cults and so of socially recognized groupings that stress their joint identity as against that of the men, who are seen as affiliated to a particular mosque in which women are never full members. The Swahili spirits are localized in particular places, each of which is associated with a particular cult group under the control of a spirit priest who has the powers of mediumship and divination. The women thus form a kind of mirror organization to that of the men. Something very similar is found in the *zār* cult of much of Ethiopia, Somalia, and the Muslim Sudan. Women are possessed, healed by an exorcist-medium, and then considered as cult adherents. The high incidence of this possession would seem to be linked to the particular problems, both social and psychological, of women in these largely Muslim societies.

The other main category of deity in East African religions is that of the dead, who, unlike spirits, are of the same order of existence as the living and so more easily understood and approached. There are many kinds and levels of ancestral worship, corresponding to the various kinds of ancestors: those of the direct line of descent, those of submerged descent lines, and those of other kin. They may be considered as individual ancestors, remembered by their personal names, or as collectivities of unnamed ancestral kin who are of less importance in living memory. As they are like the living, they may easily be worshiped by sacrifice in which they are given food, which is shared between them and the living as it is among kin, each category of ancestors representing a particular group or constellation of living kin that comes into contact with the dead on particular occasions. Also, as might be expected, the ancestors may themselves act as senior kin and initiate communication by sending sickness or trouble to the living and so draw attention to themselves.

Sacrifice is made typically to remove sickness or as a response of gratitude for removal of sickness, to avoid sickness and other troubles, and at times on regular occasions of group or individual purification. Each kin or lineage group makes its own sacrifices (since ancestors of other groups are of no interest to it). In centralized societies the royal ancestors may be offered sacrifice on state occasions by the ruler and his priests on behalf of the entire kingdom.

An example of lineage sacrifice is that of the Lugbara of Uganda. Here the most important and frequent sacrifices are made to the ghosts, those dead of the patrilineal lineage who have left sons behind them. They are believed to send sickness to their living descendants to teach them if the latter have denied respect to the living elders, who may invoke the dead to do this as part of an elder's duty. When the sickness has gone, the lineage elder sacrifices an animal to thank the dead and so cleanse the home of sin. People may also sacrifice to their matrilateral ghosts for broadly similar reasons and to the collectivity of dead who left no children. Similar sacrifices are reported from the Nyakyusa of southern Tanzania, but besides their being made by lineages to their own ancestors they are also made on behalf of all the members of neighborhoods and chiefdoms.

The relationship between ancestor and spirit worship is essentially that ancestors are linked to, and typically localized in, a shrine established by their descendants, whereas spirits are freer and if localized are tied to neighborhoods and wider settlements instead of to descent groups. The identity of the group concerned is clearly of central importance.

Sacrifice is typically made by ritual representatives of living groups. They are of two kinds: priests who are regarded as having special spiritual characteristics and skills, and ordinary senior people (elders) who sacrifice by virtue of genealogical position rather than special skills as such (although by being nearer to the dead than juniors they do have greater spiritual authority). It is true that in most East African societies priests may also be appointed on genealogical grounds, but in those cases they come from priestly lines, as the office is not open to members of other groups. Priests are repositories of divine knowledge and power that are usually considered to be vested in a descent line, so that there are myths that explain how this line was originally selected by the Deity for this task. Examples are the Masters of the Fishing Spear among the Dinka, the Nuer Leopard-skin priests, the Mugwe of the Meru of Kenya, the rainmakers of the Lugbara, the *laibons* of the Maasai and their Para-Nilotic neighbors, the members of the most senior age-sets among the Kikuyu.

The priests who have these specialized duties are uniformly given aspects of sacredness and so set apart from ordinary people. For example, the Dinka Masters of the Fishing Spear carry life within themselves for their people and so may not die a natural death; when they feel their powers wane they ask to be buried alive so that the life remains for the community. At a politically higher level, the king of the Shilluk is smothered for the same reasons. The Lugbara rainmakers are considered almost as living ancestors, being symbolically buried at their initation as rainmakers, and they are buried at their real death later in ways that are the exact opposite of those of ordinary funerals.

Another universally found ritual expert is the diviner, a person, male or female, believed able to discover the mystical causes of sickness and other misfortunes in the everyday world of the living. Methods of divination used in East Africa are many, including the use of oracles (more or less mechanical devices believed to be beyond the physical control of the operators), trance and mediumship (often while possessed by a spirit associated with mediumship), the consultation of omens, and formerly, before colonial rule stopped the practices, the administration of ordeals and oaths. Diviners are usually also healers, treating both the material and the mystical aspects of sickness by the use of medicines and by divination.

In brief, sacrifice to spirits and ancestors removes sickness and guilt for the commission of sin (defined variously but essentially as an act against the will of the Deity and the proper order of authority within social groups) by the immolation of a victim identified with the sick person, thereby removing the experience that has disturbed or affected the local group and the moral role of the guilty person within it. Other rites are found throughout the region: those of tradition or transformation of status. The most widespread are rites of initiation at puberty and at death.

Initiation rites, more generally for boys than for girls, although these take place, are most elaborate in those societies in which age-sets and generation-sets provide the basis for political and military action and also regulate marriage. The best-known examples are the Para-Nilotic pastoralist societies such as the Maasai, Samburu, Nandi, Karamojong, and their related neighbors; some southern Ethiopian groups such as the Galla; and others such as the Nyakyusa of southern Tanzania, who also have age systems of political importance and complex initiation rites. These rites, as with all rites of transition, begin with a rite in which the initiates are separated symbolically (and often physically) from their families and is followed by a series of rites that takes place in seclusion or secret from the remainder of society. Finally there are the rites of reaggregation of the new person into society with his or her new role as an adult able to have sexual relations, marry, act as a warrior, and so on. In some cases, as traditionally among the Kikuyu, the period of seclusion might take many months and would finish with the elaborate symbolic rebirth of the new young man. But today initiation rites have lost much of their former importance and are performed somewhat perfunctorily in most of the region.

In those societies where ancestral cults are important, mortuary rites are likewise important; an example comes from the Lugbara of Uganda, where mortuary rites, especially for senior men, are long, drawn out affairs that involve the participation of kin over great distances. The disposal of the corpse is of little moment, but the symbolic destruction of the deceased's social identity, the restructuring of kin ties that were centered on him, and the rites of redomestication of the soul as a ghost in its new shrine are all of the greatest importance and elaboration. In societies where ancestral cults are lacking, such as the technologically simple hunting and gathering Hadza of Tanzania, these rites are of virtually no importance.

EXPLANATIONS OF AND RESPONSES TO EVIL AND MISFORTUNE. All East African religions have a concept of evil. Explanations of evil and responses to it are typically expressed in beliefs in witchcraft and sorcery, which are thus integral parts of any system of religion. The first fully adequate study of witchcraft—one which has not as yet been surpassed—concerns witchcraft beliefs among the Azande people of southwestern Sudan. The Azande distinguish between witchcraft (an innate mystical ability to harm others merely by wishing or thinking to do so) and sorcery (the use of material substances to do the same). Although this distinction is widespread in East Africa, it is not universal, and many societies refer merely to evildoers who use either or both means of harming others.

These beliefs are found throughout the region, although each culture has its own peculiarities of idiom in which to express the ideology of evil; in all of them, however, the ideology of a witch is that he or she is in some way a reverse of a full and properly behaving member of a community. The basic principles of the system of explaining coincidence, unexpected failure, disaster, or sickness are similar everywhere. It is consistent with the basic, small-scale, and personal relationships of everyday life in these societies that explanations of the unexpected and immediately inexplicable in technical terms should be sought in personal relations, as the activities of evil-intentioned persons. Their motivation is held to be hatred, envy, and jealousy against those who are more fortunate or successful. These emotions are felt toward others who are already known; it is extremely rare that such feelings are provoked by strangers. Their identity depends largely on the composition of the more important groups whose members should regard themselves as a community. Witchcraft is a kind of treachery, a perversion for ignoble ends of proper authority, obligation, and affection. Thus where the basic local group is a kinship one, witches are held to be kin of their victims and sorcerers thought to harm unrelated persons. Where such kin groups are unimportant, the distinction between witches and sorcerers may not be made.

These beliefs are linked to knowledge of technical causation. A belief in witchcraft regards the activities of witches as "the second spear," in the Zande phrase. It is clear that a man is gored by a buffalo: the belief in witchcraft is used to explain not that he was gored as such but why he was gored by a particular animal at that particular time and place. The identity of the witch is discovered by divination, and demands for reparation, vengeance, punishment, or other socially approved action can be taken by the community so as to restore proper relations between the concerned parties. The whole is an effective jural process once the premises are accepted.

Radical social change has occurred in almost all parts of East Africa during and since colonial times. Change leads to increases in disputes and tensions as traditional social roles break down and alter, and this is often expressed in terms of suspicions and fears of witchcraft and sorcery. These evildoers are traitors, coming symbolically from the outside of the community, and efforts are made to cleanse whole communities of them by mass purificatory religious movements led by prophets and healers, both Christian and non-Christian.

RELIGIOUS CHANGE AND PROPHETIC MOVEMENTS. East African societies have never been static, and at times in their history change has been rapid and radical. A usual response to the sense of confusion about the present, uncertainty about the future, and in some cases virtual breakdown of the social order has been and is the recourse to prophetic leaders. It is often held that East African prophets are a modern phenomena, but this is extremely unlikely; although historical records are few it may be safely assumed that they have always been a feature of the region.

If we omit here the famous Sudanese Mahdi Muḥammad Aḥmad who led his adherents to capture Khartoum in 1885 and established a theocracy there, the earliest cases for which reasonably reliable records are available include those from the southern Sudan and from what is now Tanzania (earlier prophets have been recorded from the Lake Nyasa region to the south).

Prophets have been a marked feature of the Nuer and Dinka of the Nilotic Sudan. At the end of the nineteenth century the Nuer prophet Ngundeng, claiming inspiration from a Dinka sky divinity and spending much time fasting and living in the wilderness, was able to bring together large, normally autonomous groupings to raid neighboring peoples and to stand together against Arab slavers and, later, British colonial rule. He built an earthen pyramid from which he would prophesy. After his death his son Gwek succeeded him, refusing cooperation with the government. A deformed man, Gwek would stand on top of the pyramid in a state of possession, uttering prophecies that foretold the end of colonial rule. He was killed and the pyramid destroyed some years later. Among the neighboring Dinka, Arianhdit was perhaps the greatest prophet, flourishing at the time of the First World War; he died in 1948. Dinka prophets were Masters of the Fishing Spear as well as Men of Divinity, thus being both priests and prophets with powers additional to those of ordinary priests. The main Dinka prophets may well have influenced the prophetic water cults that arose in Uganda at the time of the Uganda Mutiny, marked by the drinking of divine water that would remove the Europeans and their weapons.

Among the Lugbara, to the south, a water cult known as Yakan emerged about the turn of the century in response to human and cattle epidemics and to the intrusion of Arabs and Europeans, which seriously affected local life. The disturbance of a traditionally ordered society led the people to seek a famed prophet, Rembe, from the Kakwa people to the north. At first they obtained sacred water from him; later they invited him to enter their country to restore their damaged society. Rembe dispensed water that was imbued with divine power to his adherents, promising that drinking it would ensure the return of dead livestock and people (and so destroy the traditional ancestral cult), drive away disease and foreign newcomers, and make the drinkers immune to bullets. Adherents were regarded as equal, men and women, old and young, irrespective of clan differences, thereby symbolizing a primeval egalitarian society as portrayed in myth. The cult collapsed at his arrest in 1917, although the spirit Yakan who inspired him is to this day believed to be a wandering spirit. Like almost all prophets, Rembe tried to reconstruct society as it was thought to have been at the beginning of time, the utopia of the future being the same as the paradise of the mythical past.

The communal drinking of divine water was also found in southeastern and central Tanganyika during the Maji Maji rebellion (*maji* is Swahili for water) against the German colonial government in 1905–1907. It was begun by a diviner or prophet called Kinjikitile, who was possessed by a local spirit as well as by a panethnic deity called Hongo. Those who drank Kinjikitile's water would be immune to bullets and would drive the Germans into the sea. The movement turned beyond his control politically; he was hanged, but the revolt was put down only after as many as a quarter of a million Africans had died.

There were many other prophet-led movements of the time, such as the Giriama (a Mijikenda group of the Kenya coast) movement of 1914, led by prophetesses, and the Nyabingi movement in southwestern Uganda during the first quarter of the century and later, also led largely by women. Both of these began as religious responses to colonial rule and later became increasingly political in aim until they were put down by the colonial governments.

Many accounts of changes in East Africa have set conversion to Christianity apart from more traditional and pre-Christian prophetic movements (except in Ethiopia, the political center of which has been Christian since the fourth century—but Ethiopian Christianity has had no influence on other parts of the region, being physically so separate). This reflects the outsiders' distinction between true and false religions, but from the point of view of the local societies themselves the distinction is largely meaningless. Outside observers also distinguish between traditional and world religions, but here the differences are more significant. Christianity and Islam are parts of international networks of economic and political as well as religious relations, so that their adherents may become part of extrasocietal and extra-African groupings that are significant in the lives of educated and elite people. They are also literate religions and as such open up temporal and spatial visions and areas of knowledge of a wider world that are less accessible to traditional worldviews based upon particular local societies.

It may well and sensibly be argued that a person adopts a new faith both because he or she accepts, in an intellectual or emotional measure, its theological arguments and because he or she accepts it as a better way of dealing with the tribulations of everyday life than had been offered by the traditional faith. In all traditional East African religions the factor of healing is, and has probably always been, a central one. To this must be added a related factor: when fears and accusations of witchcraft and sorcery reach a critical stage, people turn to prophets who promise to cleanse the land of these evils. East Africa has had many new Christian and Islamic prophetic movements whose leaders promise a new society free of witchcraft, sickness, and poverty; in addition, the Christian message as expressed by missionaries refers, to a large extent, to the problems of physical and moral health and sickness. Another factor has been that of education. Until independence a high proportion of educational services were controlled by mission organizations; thus to acquire a Western education and enter the modern world one had to join a mission and become at least a nominal Christian. This kind of conversion has nothing to do with the individual sincerity of conversion and belief, which is a matter quite outside the competence of any outsider to evaluate.

African Independent Churches without any link to foreign bodies have long been a feature of East Africa. They began largely as responses to what were seen (justifiably or not is not the immediate question at issue) as overbearing colonialist attitudes on the part of the mission churches. These African Independent Churches (AICs) in East Africa seem to have developed rather later than those in other parts of the continent. They have been marked particularly in areas of very high population density, which have been those where, for obvious reasons, colonial efforts and influences were first directed and where the effects of external change and of land shortage and overcrowding have been the most severely felt. The Kikuyu, the Luhya, and the Luo of Kenya, the Chagga of Tanzania, and the Ganda of Uganda are among the most striking examples, and all of them have educated Christian elites and African Independent Churches. These areas also, as a not unrelated consequence, have produced most of the members of modern political and social elites.

Islam has been a feature of East Africa for many centuries. It has been a part of the religious situation in northern Ethiopia, the Sudan, and the Somali and Swahili coasts since the Middle Ages. The advent of Omani colonial rule based on Zanzibar in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries revitalized it, and from the coast Islam penetrated into the interior along the trading and slave routes based on Zanzibar. In some cases whole groups near the coast became Muslim, as did the Yao, for example (often largely to prevent their being enslaved, often to enable them to participate in the slave trade as partners with Arabs and Swahili); in others, individual members of the trading settlements inland, such as Tabora and Ujiji in Tanganyika (now Tanzania), became Muslims. In addition, Muslims from the Indian subcontinent have been in the coastal towns for centuries and spread inland to the more modern colonial towns. In general, however, Islam has had relatively little religious impact on most of East Africa, and once the power of the Zanzibar sultanate was weakened it almost ceased to spread.

If traditional Christian and Muslim prophetic leaders are considered members of a single category of religious experts, it may be seen that there are certain clearly defined phases of these movements in East Africa since the latter part of the nineteenth century. The first phase was that of the earlier effects of colonial rule, with which a link was seen with epidemics and other disasters; here the prophets were ultimately unsuccessful as religious or political leaders (although their inspirational spirits have usually lingered on as free spirits of one kind or another). The second phase was during the second quarter of the twentieth century, when the political aspects were less in evidence and more importance was given to missionization, missionaries being seen as colonial agents and even as betrayers of the Christian message as it affected Africans. The third and fourth phases have been more contemporary but should be distinguished. One comprised the movements led by Christian prophets to reform mission churches and to found syncretist or reformed sects and churches; these continued the process mentioned in the second phase. The other has been the rise of more overtly political leaders during the period of gaining political independence from the colonial powers. The leaders' authority has usually had aspects of messianic and charismatic authority, but no more need be said about them here. The third phase, however, is distinctly relevant and provides a main link between the histories and followings of traditional and world religions, especially Christianity in this particular region of Africa. The acceptance of new faiths, with either the abandonment of the old or a syncretism of the two, does not happen in a historical or social vacuum and cannot be considered in isolation from the traditional religious past. The same people, as individuals, move from traditional to world religions (and often back again): they are not members of separate communities.

SEE ALSO African Religions, articles on Mythic Themes and New Religious Movements; Lugbara Religion; Muḥammad Aḥmad; Nuer and Dinka Religion; Nyakyusa Religion; Witchcraft, article on African Witchcraft.

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The other main category of writings on East African religions are surveys of various kinds in which comparisons are made between several local religions. Benjamin C. Ray's *African Religions* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1976) is an excellent introduction to African religions in which those of East Africa feature prominently, in particular the Nuer, Dinka, Shilluk, Ganda, Lugbara, and Kikuyu. *Witchcraft and Sorcery in East Africa,* edited by John Middleton and E. H. Winter (London, 1963), and *Spirit Mediumship and Society in Africa,* edited by John Beattie and John Middleton (New York, 1969), contain essays by various authors on these matters among several different peoples. J. Spencer Trimingham's *Islam in East Africa* (London, 1964) is a useful survey, and John V. Taylor's *The Primal Vision* (London, 1963) is a valuable short introduction to East African religion from a Christian viewpoint.

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EAST AFRICAN RELIGIONS: ETHIOPIAN RELIGIONS

Situated in the northeasternmost part of the Horn of Africa, Ethiopia is populated by three major groupings of people.

These groups speak languages classified as being related to three branches of Afro-Asiatic: Cushitic (e.g., Agaw, Bilen, Sidama, Oromo), Semitic (e.g., Amhara, Tigriňa, Tigre, Gurage), and Nilo-Saharan (e.g., Majangir, Berta, Gumuz, Koma). Linguistic affiliations roughly correspond with religious observances. Centuries ago Cushitic- and Semitic-speaking Ethiopians were converted to Christianity and Islam but they still retain some traditional beliefs and practices. The traditional religious observances of the Nilo-Saharan peoples have been among the least influenced by Christianity and Islam. Cushitic religious traditions, principally those of the Agaw, profoundly affected the beliefs and practices of Ethiopians on the central plateau.

AGAW. Inhabiting the northern and central plateaus in the region of Gonder province, the Agaw form the linguistic and cultural substrate population of the Semitic-speaking Amhara and Tigriňa. Their most northerly relatives, the mainly Islamic Bilen, are sedentary and engage in agriculture, as nearly all Agaw do. Three Agaw groups—the Qemant, Kwara, and Falasha (the last sometimes called Ethiopian Jews, who practice a pre-Talmudic form of Judaism)—live west of the Takkaze River and north of Lake Tana. Other Agaw groups live south of Lake Tana in Agawmeder and Damot. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the Agaw were estimated to number about 490,000.

The Qemant, who have a mixture of traditional and Hebraic religious beliefs, live in dispersed settlements that are defined by sacred groves, the abodes of culture heroes called *qedus.* Sacred groves, a feature widespread among other central Ethiopians, are the loci of all major religious ceremonies. Among the Qemant, these ceremonies are conducted by officiates (*wambar*) who hold the highest political and religious offices and belong to the Keber, or superior moiety. Keber moiety members trace their ancestry to the pure Qemant; all other Qemant belong to the Yetanti moiety. Both groups disdain manual labor other than agriculture. At the apex of the priesthood, the *wambar* are assisted on ceremonial occasions by higher and lower priests, who ritually sacrifice on behalf of the community a white bull or white sheep as an offering to the male high god, Mezgana, who is believed to reside in the sky. After performing purification rites, priests and laypeople fast from the eve of the ceremony until the sacrifice the following morning. Worship of *jinn* at their natural abodes is also held to regulate rain, restore fertility, and rid the community of pests and disease.

OROMO. The over twenty million Oromo, representative of the southern Cushitic, stretch from the southern tip of Tigre to Harar, then south to the Tana River in Kenya, and as far west as the tributaries of the Blue Nile. Their cultural life is varied, ranging from the seminomadic pastoralism practiced by the southern Boran, who have resisted conversion to Christianity or Islam, to the sedentary agricultural life of the Macha of western Shoa province. Shoan and Wollo Oromo long ago abandoned their traditional dependence upon cattle, a cultural transformation coinciding with their gradual acceptance of the religious beliefs and practices of the agricultural and Christian Amhara and Tigriňa near whom they settled. By the close of the twentieth century, few traces of indigenous Cushitic rites existed among the Muslim Jimma Oromo, most of whom had become devout followers of the Tijānīyah order of Islam.

Macha, Boran, and Guji Oromo, with slight variation, all share in common the Kallu institution, which Karl Knutsson describes as a social bridge between humanity and divinity. Through the figure of the Kallu, a ritual expert, a person's wishes are carried to divinity; this dignitary also constitutes the channel through which divinity's will is passed down to humanity. Moral rules of conduct are made manifest in the Kallu's daily behavioral and ritual performances associated with divinity. Macha manifestations of divinity find expression in the belief in Waka (sky or god); Atete, a female deity; and *ayana*, or divine agents. Kallu rituals, performed in groves of tall trees, incorporate sacrifices for rainmaking or ceremonies in honor of Waka. Possession by *ayana* spirits at regular intervals gives the Kallu man or woman a wider sphere of influence and power as a ritual clan leader.

AMHARA-TIGRIŇA. Inheritors of the monophysite doctrine of Christianity (which became the official religion of the old Aksumite kingdom in about 350 CE), the Semitic-speaking Amhara and Tigriňa, inhabit large areas of central Ethiopia. The provinces of Gonder, Shoa, and Gojam, and the district of Lasta in Wollo province are the traditional homelands of the Amhara, estimated at the beginning of the twenty-first century to number almost twenty million. Tigriňa mainly inhabit the province of Tigre, their homeland, and more are dispersed throughout several districts in highland Eritrea. The Tigriňa people numbered over four million at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

The Amhara-Tigriňa have no cult associated with their supreme being and creator god, Egziabher (the god from across the sea). Predating the transplantation of Christianity, the Amhara-Tigriňa worshiped good and evil spirits who were associated with trees, fountains, and animate and inanimate objects. Nowadays, extreme devotion is expressed to the Virgin Mary (Maryam), who is believed to dwell in such sacred natural areas as high mountains, springs, and groves of sycamore trees. Sacrifices and cult activities take place in sacred groves, though the church (*bet kristyan*) is the principal seat of religious worship. Dedicated in the name of a patron saint, the church is the focal point of the parish, the largest local, social, and political subdivision. At services, only the priest and deacons (and formerly the king) may enter the sanctuary, which is completely hidden from the view of the communicants. Priests and laypeople alike observe strict fasting laws throughout the year and always before major religious festivals. Before a modern system of taxation was introduced in this century, church and state administration was supported by an elaborate system of tithing in labor and kind, made possible by a surplus economy based on extensive agricultural production.

GURAGE. The southernmost speakers of Semitic Afro-Asiatic, the Gurage inhabit the region in Shoa province where Lake Zeway and the middle course of the Gibbie River form, respectively, the general east and west boundaries. The Shoan Oromo live to the north, and Sidama groups stretch across the southern flanks of Gurage territory. Language and dialectical differences sharply demarcate the largely Christian and Muslim eastern Gurage from the adherents of traditional religion, which is still observed among some western Gurage. These western Gurage numbered about 250,000 at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The cultural life of the western group is dominated by the cultivation of *Ensete ventricosum*, more commonly known as false banana, a food staple consumed in great quantities on all religious or ritual occasions.

The remote supreme god of the western Gurage figures less prominently in religious beliefs and practices than do lesser deities, on whom major cult activities center. Guardians of the shrines dedicated to the lesser deities—Wak, the male sky god; Dämwamwit, the female deity; and Božä, the thunder god (all of whom reside in sacred groves where the great annual festivals are held)—exercise quasi-political and judicial roles in their spiritual capacity and sanction the authority of secular leaders. The annual festival of the female deity gives women ritual license to shed their customary subservient role and abuse menfolk verbally.

MAJANGIR. Nilo-Saharan peoples, such as the Majangir, Anuak, and Nuer, occupy western Ethiopia, mainly along the Sudan border. In the early twenty-first century, the hunting and trapping Majangir were estimated to number about 28,000 people. They live on the southwestern edge of the Ethiopian plateau in dispersed homesteads adjacent to forest areas, which they exploit for game. The material culture of the Majangir is as simple as their political and religious organization; the ritual expert (*tapat*) possesses characteristics of both shaman and priest, exercising quasi-political, chiefly duties. He derives his power mainly by control over spiritual sanctions, the threat of which is sufficient to maintain peace and order.

SEE ALSO Aksumite Religion.

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EAST AFRICAN RELIGIONS: NORTHEAST BANTU RELIGIONS

The northeastern Bantu-speaking peoples of East Africa include the Ganda, Nyoro, Nkore, Soga, and Gisu of Uganda; the Kikuyu and Kamba of Kenya; and the Gogo and Kaguru of Tanzania. Although these societies are united by their common usage of Bantu languages, they differ considerably in political, social, and economic organization and in religious ideas and practices.

In most of these societies the creator god is regarded as a remote and distant figure, except among the Kikuyu where he is thought to be involved in the major events of personal and community life and is the object of ritual activity. The Nyoro and Nkore say that the creator god, Ruhanga, made the world and everything needed for human life on earth. He also established the three classes of Nyoro and Nkore society: the agriculturalists, the rulers (or royal clan), and the cattle herders. Each class is descended from one of Ruhanga's sons, whom Ruhanga tested before assigning them their social role. The Nyoro say that Ruhanga disinherited his fourth son, Kantu, and that he became the source of evil in the world and eventually corrupted the people. For this reason, say the Nyoro, Ruhanga withdrew to the sky and later sent disease and death into the world to punish the people. Because of his remoteness, Ruhanga does not play any role in Nyoro and Nkore ritual.

Among the Ganda, the creator god, Katonda, had a small temple and a medium who gave oracles at night. Katonda was known as the Owner of Heaven and the Master of Life, and it is said that every morning the heads of families would pray to him for the protection of their households. Although Katonda was important to everyone's personal destiny, offerings were not often made to him, and he appears to have had less ritual significance than most of the other gods; today he has no shrine or medium. According to Ganda mythology, it was the culture hero, Kintu, who established the world, populated the country, and founded the kingdom of Buganda. Death also came into the world as a result of the misdeeds of Kintu and his wife, Nambi, and their children, who allowed Nambi's brother, Death (Walumbe), to come to earth with them. After Death started killing people and was chased into the underworld, Kintu solemnly declared that Death would never kill all the people.

The Gisu say that the creator, Were, is a distant deity who allots each person his life span. Were has no shrines, and no sacrifices are made directly to him, although there is a vague belief that he is the recipient of sacrifices made to the ancestors and nature spirits. Were is regarded as being invisible and present everywhere like the wind.

The Kikuyu say that the creator, Ngai, dwells on certain prominent mountains in western Kenya, including Mount Kenya. His presence is also said to be manifested in such natural phenomena as the sun, moon, stars, rain, rainbows, lightning, and thunder; he is also present in sacred fig trees, where sacrifices are made to him. According to Kikuyu tradition, Ngai gave the land to the ancestors, Kikuyu and Mumbi, and he told them to call upon him in times of need. Sacrifices are offered to Ngai in times of drought, famine, and epidemic and also during the agricultural cycle. The Kikuyu also pray to Ngai at the major stages of life: at birth, initiation, marriage, and death. On less important occasions, offerings and prayers are made to the ancestors.

The relationship between Ngai and the people is unilateral, while their relationship with the ancestors is reciprocal. People beseech Ngai for his blessings, which he may choose to give or to withhold, whereas they pour out beer and slaughter animals for the ancestors, who are expected to respond favorably. The shrines to Ngai are fig trees that are both publicly and privately owned. A diviner communicates with Ngai in his dreams and determines when it is appropriate to offer sacrifice. After a sheep is killed, its intestines are tied around a tree and a portion of meat is placed at the foot. Prayers are offered to Ngai while facing Mount Kenya and the other mountains at each of the cardinal points. Two days later a solemn beer-drinking ceremony may be held and prayers offered again to Ngai for rain, health, prosperity, and children.

The Kamba, who are neighbors of the Kikuyu, say that the creator god, Molungu, made all things, including men and animals; thus the Kamba call him Mombi, the molder of all creatures. First, Molungu created the ancestors, then he made man and woman and sent them down from heaven. Later, another couple came up through the ant holes in the earth, and their children married those of the sky couple. As time passed, the people multiplied and their livestock increased and their crops prospered. However, one year the people failed to offer sacrifice to Molungu and he became angry and refused to send the rains, and there was great famine. Many of the original clans migrated to distant places, and these people are now the neighbors of the Kamba: the Kikuyu, Maasai, Meru, and others.

Originally, Molungu intended to endow human beings with immortality. He sent a chameleon with a message of eternal life to the people. When the slow-moving chameleon finally arrived, he began to deliver his message, saying, "I was ordered to . . . I was ordered to. . . ." But before he could finish, he was interrupted by the swift-flying weaverbird that had been sent by Molungu with a new message that the people would die. The bird delivered his message quickly and concisely, and since that day mankind has been mortal. According to another version, the chameleon was interrupted by a clever and agile hare who had overheard the message that Molungu gave to the chameleon, only he heard incorrectly and delivered the message that people would die.

Molungu is said to dwell beyond the skies and to observe mankind from the tops of Mount Kilimanjaro and Mount Kenya. He is thought to be well disposed to human beings and to intervene in human affairs when people act against the moral principles of society, but no sacrifices are offered directly to him. His dealings with the Kamba are mediated entirely by the spirits of the ancestors. In times of drought, flood, or epidemic, women gather and a goat is sacrificed. The women ask the ancestors to intercede with Molungu on behalf of the people. The sacrifice is intended to remove the ills and sins committed by the people during the year. The sacrificial animal is burned and the women call out all the offenses done by people in the community in order to purify it and to ward off Molungu's punishment. Occasionally, the Kamba pray to Molungu at other times, for example, to give thanks for the birth of a child or to ask that initiated children turn out well. The prayers to Molungu are brief and general in nature, reflecting his distance and impersonal character.

Among the Ganda, Soga, Nyoro, and Nkore, the primary focus of the traditional religion is upon the hero gods, the *lubaale* (Ganda), *misimbwa* (Soga), and *cwezi* (Nyoro and Nkore). These deities are thought to have been human beings who died and became gods. Some of the *cwezi*, for example, are said to have been ancient kings while others are described as having once been their royal servants. Each god has several shrines and priests throughout the country. In Buganda the most important gods were also in the service of the kingship. In precolonial times the king consulted them about matters of state, while the common people consulted them about personal misfortunes. These gods are still active today, and they are consulted about a variety of personal troubles, such as illness, crop failure, loss of money, barrenness, and loss of employment. To discover the cause of the problem, a person goes to a medium and pays a token fee (often described as a kind of gift) and, under probing by the diviner, states the nature of the problem. The medium then goes into a trance and tells the client (in the voice of the god) the remedy for the difficulty and also the additional cost involved in order to make the remedy effective. The diviner may tell his client to use certain medicines, usually obtained at the marketplace, and/or to make a sacrifice. The diviner usually gives some practical advice about the client's behavior as well. Sometimes the remedy requires the client to become initiated into the cult of the god so that persistent troubles will cease. This entails some expense and a lifelong relationship with the deity and his shrine.

Ghosts of the dead may also be diagnosed as the cause of personal misfortune, though not as frequently as the gods. Like the gods, the ghosts are communicated with through spirit possession and mediumship. But unlike the gods, the ghosts may be destroyed or rendered harmless by being placed in a pot that is then burned or buried in the ground.

The Gisu place shrines for the spirits of the dead in the compounds of important men or in special groves. These groves, which contain a number of fig trees, are sacred to the ancestors. The shrines in the homesteads are shaped like small huts, with forked branches extending through the roof so that offerings of meat may be hung upon them. Sacrifices take place at these shrines on important family occasions, such as the naming of a child, the circumcision of a boy, or personal misfortune. The central act is the offering of beer and an animal (e.g., cow, goat, or fowl) with an invocation. During the invocation, all the names of the dead must be recited lest a spirit feel slighted and cause trouble. Beer is sprayed over the participants as a blessing; red clay, signifying the renewal of health, may also be rubbed on them.

The matrilineal Kaguru offer annual beer and animal sacrifices to the ghosts of the dead at clan ritual sites. These sites contain the graves of the founding female ancestor of the clan and those of her closest descendants. The graves are cleared of growth, and beer and flour are poured onto the gravestones. The blood of animal victims is also poured out. Often a miniature shelter for the ghosts is built on the site. The dead are said to gain nourishment from the offerings and to be made cool and quiet and therefore unlikely to bother the living. The fertility of the land depends upon such annual rites, for the spirits of the dead guarantee the productivity of the land. Cultivation and other work on the land is thought mystically to wear down the earth; and the misdeeds of the people, especially of the clan elders who live near the site, are also thought to disturb the ghost ancestors. The Kaguru believe that if such rituals were not performed, the land would be less fertile, the annual rains less favorable, and illness and misfortune more frequent.

Although the Kaguru do not believe in reincarnation, they say that newborn children come from the land of the dead, where, it is said, the ghosts have villages and live as do people on earth. The difference is that life and death in the land of the ghosts is the reverse of that on earth. The ghosts mourn when one of their number dies and is born on earth, and they rejoice when a person dies on earth and is born in their land. Hence, an infant's hold on life is precarious because the jealous ghosts wish to take it back, and many rites are performed for the ghosts in order to protect the child's life.

Gogo rituals are also concerned primarily with the ancestors, for they are believed to control the fertility of the land and the welfare of the clans who live on it. Cattle and beer are the chief offerings. These bridge the gap between human beings and the spirits because they belong both to the world of men and to the world of nature, as do the ancestor spirits themselves. The semipastoralist Gogo sacrifice cattle, their most valuable possession, to the ancestors for rain and good crops and to obtain their blessings at crucial stages in the life cycle. Beer is poured out around a post that is considered to be the architectural and ritual center of the household. Called the nose of the homestead, the post is the locus of contact between the world of the living and the world of the dead in the domestic rituals. Beer may also be poured onto the gravestones of the dead, which also link the living to the world of the spirits.

Among the northeastern Bantu-speaking peoples, certain rites, or aspects of rites, are not aimed at the gods or spirits but at impersonal mystical forces that affect the welfare of human society. By means of ritual action bad forces may be removed and society purified and thereby spiritually renewed. The Gogo distinguish between good and bad ritual states. For things to go well, a good or auspicious ritual state must be created. When things do not go well (for instance, if a woman miscarries or has a difficult childbirth or if cattle become diseased), a bad ritual state is said to prevail. In these circumstances it is assumed that the male ritual leaders have failed. Women must take over and act and dress like men and effect a ritual cure through dancing. The women's violent, masculine dancing is a reversal of normal female domesticity and a parody of the male's violent role in Gogo society. In this reversal of sex roles, the ritual state of society is turned around. The inauspicious ritual state is taken to the boundary of the ritual area and thrown down into a swamp or pool, and the area is thus purified and a good ritual state regained.

Divination is central to all East African religions. The Kikuyu say that a diviner, called a man of God (*mundu mugu*), is chosen by Ngai through dreams. "A father may teach, but it is God [Ngai] who chooses the [diviner]. He talks to him in the night: it comes into his head." Divination is performed by spilling out small counters (beans and stones) from a gourd that reveals the will of Ngai or, more frequently, the will of the ancestor spirits. The result of the inquiry is determined by the odd or even number of counters that are spilled out together with other small objects that have symbolic significance. Kamba diviners use the same technique. A few Kikuyu diviners are also inspired in dreams directed by the creator god, who gives long-range prophecies about future events. During the colonial period in Kenya, such prophecies about colonial intrusion helped to legitimate the Mau Mau cause against British rule. The Mau Mau, a pro-independence armed revolt led by the Kikuyu in the 1950s, was an attempt to establish traditional land rights and ways of governance.

The Gisu diviner diagnoses his clients' problems by using a small wooden dish with pebbles in it. After invoking his ancestors for assistance, he swings the dish in an arc over his head, calling out the names of spirits who might be responsible for the problem or of people who might be causing it through sorcery or witchcraft. If the pebbles shake and rattle, then the wrong cause has been identified. When the pebbles form a mass and do not move, the correct diagnosis has been reached. The questions that the diviner puts to the test in this fashion are based upon his local knowledge and upon information gained from his client.

In the lacustrine kingdoms of Bunyoro, Nkore, and Buganda, the death, burial, and installation of kings were major ritual events that affected the whole kingdom. The kings were symbolically identified with the country as a whole, and hence their well-being was essential to the well-being of the kingdom. Thus they were surrounded by ritual prohibitions that were intended to keep them in a state of health and ritual purity. In Bunyoro the king's life was also strengthened periodically by the killing of human beings, sometimes in his stead as a mock king. Although the kings were not regarded as divine beings, in Bunyoro and Nkore it was said that the kings were killed when they grew old or ill or were wounded in battle, although there is no evidence that this actually occurred. That the kingship was thought of in this way, however, indicates the symbolic significance of the king as the source of life, peace, and order in his kingdom. In Bunyoro and Buganda there were also shrines for the spirits of the royal ancestors, and in Buganda these shrines were major ritual centers of the kingship. The mediums at the royal shrines conveyed advice from the royal ancestors to the king regarding matters of state, and all of the king's officials went to the shrines to be confirmed in office.

Fundamental to the social systems of the Gisu, Kikuyu, Kamba, Kaguru, and Gogo are rites of puberty and of initiation into adulthood. Their purpose is to transform young boys and girls into adult men and women. In these societies circumcision and clitoridectomy (or labiadectomy) are practiced. These physical operations are regarded as the outward signs of a new social position and of an inner moral change. Among the Gisu and Kikuyu, circumcision is thought of as a form of ordeal that testifies to the strength of character necessary for the change from childhood to adulthood. During the seclusion period, the initiated boys and girls are taught the rules governing sexual relations and the moral principles of society. For the Gisu, such rites are transformational, not merely transitional, "for it is in your heart," and the newly initiated person is said to be "like another person." The emphasis upon self-determination is also important, for a boy chooses when he shall be circumcised. When he does, he presents himself as a fully responsible agent to bear the ordeal and to stick to his resolution. Of the Kikuyu initiation rites, Jomo Kenyatta has said that "the moral code of the tribe is bound up with this custom and . . . it symbolizes the unification of the whole tribal organization." The rites mark the beginning of participation in the various governing groups in Kikuyu society, because age-group membership begins at this time. The history and legends are explained, as are the moral rules of society. Ngai and the ancestors are invoked, the misdeeds of childhood are symbolically cast away, and the initiates take an oath of loyalty and service to the Kikuyu community. Elements of these rites were also used during the Mau Mau oathing ceremonies. The Kaguru say that initiation into adulthood is the most important and impressive experience of their lives, and they conduct themselves in a noticeably different manner after going through it. Afterward, the fully initiated boys and girls can marry and have children, and the boys can own livestock and become warriors and elders in their society.

In precolonial times belief in witchcraft and sorcery was fundamental to East African societies. Although witchcraft and sorcery accusations are illegal under present law, in the past belief in witchcraft and sorcery functioned as an explanation of misfortunes that were not attributed to the gods or ancestors, and the process of finding and punishing witches functioned as a means of controlling socially deviant behavior and of resolving tensions within the local community. Belief in witchcraft and sorcery is based upon the assumption that many of the ills of life, including death, are caused by the evil intentions of human beings: hence the portrayal of witches as human beings whose behavior is the reverse of what is normal for humans. Witches and sorcerers are supposed to walk and dance upside down, to commit incest, to work at night, to travel at fantastic speeds, to go about naked, and to practice cannibalism. In short, witches and sorcerers are thought to confound the rules of society because they are bent upon destroying it. For the most part, witches were thought to be relatives of the people they attacked. The powers of witchcraft were also thought to be inherited and to be operative without a person's being aware of it. Sorcery, by contrast, was regarded as a conscious and deliberate action in which specific magical techniques were used to destroy other people. Witchcraft accusations were generally directed against people who exhibited antisocial characteristics—jealousy, spite, deceitfulness; even physical ugliness and unaccounted wealth were grounds for suspicion. In the past, diviners were employed to identify witches and sorcerers, and the accused were forced to confess and were often executed. Despite the illegality of witchcraft and sorcery accusations in the late twentieth century, belief in witchcraft and sorcery still exists in most of these societies as a way of explaining misfortune, and accusations may still be covertly made and acted upon.

Throughout the region of the northeastern Bantu-speaking peoples, the modern era has been marked by the increasing interaction of the traditional religions with Islam and Christianity. Although Islam and Christianity had long been present in certain areas of East Africa, it was not until the implementation of colonial rule with its new economic, educational, social, and religious order (or, in the case of Islam, the establishment in 1832 of the Omani Sultanate on Zanzibar and the subsequent development of extensive trading networks) that the introduced religions gained widespread influence.

By the late thirteenth century Islam had spread to the trading ports along the East African coast, and in the fifteenth century Mombasa and Zanzibar had become important centers of Arabic influence; despite this, however, Islam did not penetrate beyond the coastal area until the early nineteenth century. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Muslim teachers and religious leaders followed the Zanzibari traders along the inland routes that conveyed ivory and slaves from Buganda and northern Tanganyika. Through the agency of the kings of Buganda, notably Mutesa I, Islam took hold in Buganda, and Arabic literacy developed among the chiefly class. Despite the fact that Mutesa once martyred several dozen Muslim converts because of the zealousness of their faith and the threat it posed to the exercise of his authority, Buganda became the center of Muslim expansion and later the home of a community of Sudanese Muslims from the north.

Although the Portuguese established Christianity in Mombasa in the early sixteenth century, it vanished when the Portuguese were expelled in 1631. Christians were forced to convert to Islam. In 1844 missionary work began again in the Mombasa area, and in the 1860s missionary activity entered the inland, Bantu-speaking areas with the arrival of the Anglican Church Missionary Society and the French Catholic White Fathers at Mutesa's capital in Buganda. Several years later Mutesa's successor, Mwanga II, killed a number of royal pages for placing their Christian faith above their allegiance to the throne. After a prolonged struggle for power in the kingdom between adherents of Christianity and Islam, the Christian faction (with the support of British forces) was victorious, and Christianity became the established religion of Buganda. Thereafter, Buganda became the center of Christian expansion in the Bantu-speaking areas. One of the aims of missionary work was the suppression of the Arab slave trade, and this motive also contributed to the establishment of colonial governments in Uganda, Kenya, and Tanganyika. During the colonial period, Islam made little headway in the Bantu-speaking areas, especially in parts formerly affected by the slave raids. The original Protestant and Catholic missions in Uganda spread into neighboring Kenya and Tanganyika, and colonial authorities rapidly opened these areas to other missions, such as the African Inland Mission and the missions of the Salvation Army, Scottish Presbyterians, Baptists, German, and Swedish Lutherans, Seventh-day Adventists, American Mennonites, Moravians, and the Brethren.

While the European missionaries were primarily motivated by the teaching of the gospel, they also acted, consciously or unconsciously, as agents of colonialism, racism, and westernization. The establishment of mission schools and hospitals did much to break down African traditional culture, and the missionaries joined colonial officials in attempting to abolish many indigenous practices, such as circumcision rites (especially among girls), polygamy, bridewealth, mourning rites, twin ceremonies, and ancestor rituals. In this fashion the missionaries set about to educate and westernize the next generation of African leaders. The missionaries also taught about human equality and the importance of individuals and thereby helped to foster the seeds of anticolonialism among Africans who were later to take over the governments, schools, and churches of East Africa in the postcolonial period. From the beginning, African preachers and catechists assisted the European missionaries, and they played a major role in spreading Christianity outside the mission stations and in founding new churches. Sometimes the frustrations of European control and the upheavals of colonial and postcolonial life caused African religious leaders to found their own churches, especially in Kenya, where over 150 such churches were established before and after the independence period. These churches combined African and Christian beliefs and rites into indigenized Christian expressions; but many were short-lived, and a few had elements of political protest, such as the Dini ya Msambwa (Religion of the Ancestors) in western Kenya. After independence in the 1960s leadership in the mission churches gradually passed into African hands, and this was accompanied by a significant growth in church membership. At the same time there was a resurgence in traditional religion, especially in the practice of divination and healing, due largely to the absence of colonial repression and to the need for culturally suitable therapeutic techniques not found in Christianity, Islam, or Western hospitals. With the establishment of political parties and nationalist governments, the churches, which had originally shaped the leadership of the new nations, were effectively reduced to a marginal role in the politics of East Africa.

SEE ALSO Interlacustrine Bantu Religions.

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EASTER, the most important of all Christian feasts, celebrates the passion, the death, and especially the resurrection of Jesus Christ. The English name *Easter*, like the German *Ostern*, probably derives from *Eostur*, the Norse word for the spring season, and not from *Eostre*, the name of an Anglo-Saxon goddess. In Romance languages the name for Easter is taken from the Greek *Pascha*, which in turn is derived from the Hebrew *Pesaḥ* (Passover). Thus Easter is the Christian equivalent of the Jewish Passover, a spring feast of both harvest and deliverance from bondage. The Eastern Slavs call Easter "the great day" and greet one another, as do the Greeks, with the words "Christ is risen," receiving the response "He is risen indeed."

Easter is the earliest of all annual Christian feasts. It may originally have been observed in conjunction with the Jewish Passover on the fourteenth day of the month Nisan. Gradually, however, it was observed everywhere on Sunday, the day of Christ's resurrection. The Council of Nicaea (325) prescribed that Easter should always be celebrated on the first Sunday after the first full moon following the spring equinox.

Easter was fundamentally a nocturnal feast preceded by a fast of at least one day. The celebration took place from Saturday evening until the early morning hours of Sunday. In the fifth century Augustine of Hippo called this "the mother of all vigils." From at least the time of Tertullian (third century) the Easter Vigil (also called the Paschal Vigil) was the favored time for baptism, since the candidates for initiation mirrored the new life won by Christ from the darkness of death.

The symbolism of light became an important feature of this nocturnal festival. It was customary on the Saturday evening of the Easter Vigil to illuminate not only churches but entire towns and villages with lamps and torches; thus the night was called "the night of illumination." From at least the end of the fourth century in Jerusalem the lighting of lamps at vespers took on a special character at this feast. In Northern European countries the use of special lights at Easter coincided with the custom of lighting bonfires on hilltops to celebrate the coming of spring; this is the origin of the Easter fire later kindled in Western Christian Easter Vigils. Large Easter candles also became the rule, and poems were composed in honor of them and thus of Christ the light, whom they symbolized. Such poems stem from as early as the fourth century; the most famous, still employed in various versions, is the *Exultet*, which originated in the seventh or eighth century. In the East, among the Orthodox, Holy Saturday night is celebrated with a candlelight procession outside the church building. After a solemn entrance into the church, bells peal and the Great Matins or Morning Prayer of Easter begins. It is followed by a solemn celebration of the Eucharist according to the liturgy of Saint Basil.

The Easter Vigil also contains a number of biblical readings. In the East the baptisms took place during the long readings of the vigil, whereas in the West a procession to the baptistery took place after the readings had been completed. In both cases the celebration of the Eucharist followed the baptisms. With the decline in adult conversions and, hence, in Easter baptisms during the Middle Ages, the time for the vigil service (and thus the end to fasting) was moved up to Saturday morning; however, the Roman Catholic church restored the nocturnal character of the service in 1952 and other rites relating to Holy Week in 1956. In the current Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Episcopalian rites the Paschal Vigil is the high point of a *triduum*, or three days of services, celebrating the death and resurrection of Christ.

From at least the end of the fourth century, Easter was provided in Jerusalem with an octave, eight days of celebration. With the medieval decline in the octave celebration, Monday and Tuesday of Easter week nevertheless retained the character of holidays. In a larger context the whole of the fifty days from Easter Sunday to Pentecost was properly called Easter, and so constituted a feast in its own right; the eight-day octave, however, was a time of special recognition of the newly baptized. The Sunday after Easter was called the "Sunday in white" because the newly baptized wore their baptismal garments for the last time on that day, and among the Orthodox the octave of Easter is still called "the week of new garments."

Devotions tied to the liturgy of Easter are the origins of liturgical drama. In the Middle Ages it was customary to bury the consecrated host and a cross, or simply a cross, in an Easter sepulcher on Holy Thursday or Good Friday. The host or cross was retrieved on Easter Sunday morning and brought to the altar in procession. From this practice developed a brief Easter play called the *Visitatio sepulchri* (Visit to the Tomb), which enacted the visit of the two women to Christ's empty tomb. The same dramatic dialogue can be seen in the eleventh-century poetic sequence *Victimae paschali laudes* (Praise to the Paschal Victim), which became part of the Western liturgy.

A number of popular customs mark Easter Sunday and the rest of Easter week. One such custom, allied to the coming of spring with its earlier sunrise, is an outdoor sunrise service celebrating the resurrection. Such celebrations are especially popular among American Protestants. Since Easter was a time in which the newly baptized wore shining white garments, it became customary to wear new clothes on Easter Sunday and to show them off by walking around town and countryside; thus originated the Easter promenade or Easter parade, popular in many places.

Among the most familiar Easter symbols are the egg and rabbit. The egg symbolizes new life breaking through the apparent death (hardness) of the eggshell. Probably a pre-Christian symbol, it was adapted by Christians to denote Christ's coming forth from the tomb. In many countries the exchange of colored or decorated eggs at Easter has become customary. The Easter Bunny or Rabbit is also most likely of pre-Christian origin. The rabbit was known as an extraordinarily fertile creature, and hence it symbolized the coming of spring. Although adopted in a number of Christian cultures, the Easter Bunny has never received any specific Christian interpretation.

Among Easter foods the most significant is the Easter lamb, which is in many places the main dish of the Easter Sunday meal. Corresponding to the Passover lamb and to Christ, the Lamb of God, this dish has become a central symbol of Easter. Also popular among Europeans and Americans on Easter is ham, because the pig was considered a symbol of luck in pre-Christian European culture.

SEE ALSO Baptism; Christian Liturgical Year; Drama, article on European Religious Drama; Egg; Passover; Pigs; Rabbits.

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EASTERN CHRISTIANITY.

From the city of Jerusalem, the first Christian missionaries set out along the roads of the Roman Empire to the cities and villages of the Mediterranean world and beyond. Within only a few years after Christ, Christian communities existed in major cities of the southeastern Roman Empire. Some aspects of the church's rapid development from Jerusalem through Syria and Greece and on to the city of Rome are contained in the Acts of the Apostles. The areas where the Christian presence was the strongest were in the East: Syria, Asia Minor, Egypt, and North Africa. Beyond the eastern confines of the Roman world, there were also Christian communities developing in Persia, Armenia, Ethiopia, and India.

The dramatic growth of the early church was not without difficulties. Yet the influence and prominence of Christians within the Roman world gradually increased, especially in the more eastern areas of Syria, Asia Minor, and the Greek peninsula. Under the Roman emperor Constantine, the formal persecution of the church ceased in 311, and a new relationship between the church and government developed after 313. Before his death in 337, Constantine was baptized. Emperor Theodosius finally proclaimed Christianity the official faith of the Roman-Byzantine Empire in the year 380.

PARALLEL HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS: EAST AND WEST.

Because of a variety of developments and characteristics in the church beginning in the first four centuries, it is common to speak generally of Eastern and Western Christianity. These broad descriptive designations have their limitations. Nevertheless, they do help us to sense the diversity in unity that was expressed in early Christianity. The designations also help us appreciate the fact that the theological and historical development of Eastern Christianity is distinctive from the forms of Christianity that are expressed today both by Roman Catholicism and by the many expressions of Protestantism. While centered upon Christ and his teachings, both Eastern and Western Christianity came to express different perspectives. At times, these perspectives were complementary, at other times opposed to one another.

Initially, the early distinctions between Eastern and Western Christianity reflected the structural developments of the early church, especially in the Roman Empire. From the beginning, the one church was a communion of local churches. They were bound together by a common faith, frequently referred to as the "faith of the apostles." Yet, each regional church had its own particular characteristics. As such, the church was not a monolithic body. The Christian faith was expressed in regional churches containing a wide variety of peoples in different cultural settings and using different languages, a diversity that also expressed itself in liturgical practices.

Moreover, the organizational association of local dioceses within the Roman Empire became more pronounced from the second century onward. Comprising local parishes, each diocese maintained its integrity under the leadership of its bishop. Yet a regional association of dioceses developed that served to strengthen the unity and mission of the churches in a particular area. These provinces, led by a metropolitan archbishop, were eventually structured along the lines of five regions within the Roman-Byzantine Empire. By the early fourth century, the centers were associated with the cities of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. Politically, Emperor Diocletian already had divided the empire between East and West in the third century. Theodosius furthered this in the fourth century.

Subsequently known as patriarchs, the bishops of these five churches and cities exercised primatial leadership among the bishops of their ecclesiastical region, later termed patriarchates. In some cases, these ecclesiastical regions extended beyond the borders of the Roman Empire. The most significant of these bishops were the pope of Rome within the western part of the Roman-Byzantine Empire and the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople in the East. The position of the patriarch of Constantinople was established in the late fourth century and increased in importance especially following the rise of Islam in regions of the other Eastern patriarchates in the seventh century. Likewise, the influence of the pope of Rome increased in Western Europe during late antiquity and the subsequent rise of the Carolingian Empire in the ninth century. The Eastern patriarchates, however, consistently repudiated efforts by the pope to exercise authority beyond his territory.

The early distinction between Eastern and Western Christianity reflects the differences in languages in the early church. The early church never supported a universal language. On the contrary, the faith was expressed in a variety of languages and through a variety of cultures. While Jesus and the earliest Christians spoke Aramaic, the books of the New Testament were composed in a simple form of Greek. During the first century, Greek was the "common language" of the Mediterranean world. In the eastern portion of the Roman Empire, Greek remained the preferred language of education and culture. In the western portion, Latin predominated at least from the fourth century. Beyond the borders of the empire, the early church communities were composed of believers of a wide variety of cultures who also used languages such as Syriac and Armenian. The differences of languages, most especially Latin and Greek, provided one significant basis for making a distinction between Western Christianity and Eastern Christianity, at least from the fourth century. Indeed, historians of early Christianity have often spoken of the "Latin West" and the "Greek East." This designation, however, neglects those other, early expressions of Eastern Christianity employing other languages in teaching and preaching. The Christian Scriptures, for example, were translated into at least five major languages of the East by the end of the fourth century.

The early distinction between Eastern and Western Christianity also reflects differences in theological perspectives and terminology in the early church. A number of theological perspectives and schools of Christian thought became more pronounced during the fourth and fifth centuries. Each of these sought to express the Christian faith within a distinctive cultural context with its own philosophical antecedents. Each provided important perspectives upon the meaning of the faith as expressed in Christian Scripture and tradition. The desire to maintain the unity of faith did not prevent the natural development of different theological emphases as well as the use of different theological terms in various regions.

By the early fourth century, important centers of Christian learning and thought could be found in the prominent eastern cities of Alexandria, Antioch, and Edessa as well as in the region of Cappadocia (modern central Turkey). The development of a distinctive Western Christian theology was initially linked with North Africa and only by the fifth century with Rome.

Patristic traditions that developed after the fourth century reflect the distinction between Eastern and Western Christianity. Important teachers of the early church were concerned with teaching the Christian faith within a particular setting and in relationship to particular theological challenges. The teachings of Tertullian (c.160–c. 225), Cyprian (d. 258), and Augustine (354–430) reflect the theological issues of the growing church in North Africa. Among the critical issues were Donatism and Pelagianism. The teaching of Ambrose (c. 339–397) reflects pastoral concerns dealing with Arianism and sacramental practices in the region of Milan. The teachings of Athanasius (c. 296–373), Ephraem (c. 306–393), and Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444) reflect their concerns with Christology. The teachings of Macrina (c. 327–379), Basil (c. 330–379), Gregory the Theologian (329–389), and Gregory of Nyssa (c. 330–c. 395), referred to as the Cappadocians, clarified the theological terms used to describe the Trinity. The teachings of Leo of Rome (d. 461) reflect a concern with both Christology and with church organization.

Within the early Christian East, there were many outstanding teachers, but none predominated in anything like the role played by, say, Augustine in the West. Profound theological issues affected the eastern portion of the Roman-Byzantine Empire especially between the fourth and eighth centuries. These were addressed at local councils and at the ecumenical councils, convened in the cities of the eastern part of the Roman-Byzantine Empire.

Clearly, there were different trajectories in the patristic traditions of East and West. Especially from the seventh century onward, a number of serious theological debates, compounded by politics, deepened the historic differentiation between Eastern and Western Christianity. In the realm of theological reflection, Eastern and Western Christianity were engaged with different theological issues and were affected by the perspectives of different teachers. The East was preoccupied with Christological themes, iconoclasm, missions to the Slavs, hesychaism (a style of prayer and meditation leading to a personal experience of God), and the encounter with Islam. Among its influential teachers at this time were John of Damascus (c. 675–c. 749), Maximos the Confessor (c. 580–662), Photios of Constantinople (c. 810–c. 895), and Gregory Palamas (c. 1296–1359). The West was preoccupied with such theological issues as the atonement, the relationship of the church and the state, and the interplay between revelation and reason. Among its influential teachers were Anselm of Canterbury (c. 1033–1109), Pope Gregory VII (c. 1021–1085), and Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274).

The great theological themes in East and West were bound to be expressed in the worship, popular piety, art, and architecture of the churches. Here too one can sense simple differences that may reflect deeper theological concerns. The liturgy and art of the Christian East emphasized the intimate and natural relationship between the Triune God and humanity within the context of a good creation. The Eastern liturgy together with liturgical art and architecture were designed to provide a context through which this salutary relationship is celebrated, nurtured, and, when necessary, restored. With the coming of the Middle Ages, the developing liturgy and liturgical art of the Christian West was concerned more with overcoming the barrier between God and humanity caused by sin.

The early distinctions between Eastern and Western Christianity reflect the fact that there were also different cultural and intellectual contexts especially in the two major portions of the Roman Empire. The Byzantines, a term coined by Western historians, always described themselves as "Romans." They believed that their commonwealth continued the Roman Empire, albeit with a new basis in the Christian gospel. Following the transfer of the capital to the city of Byzantium in 324, it was termed "New Rome," or later "Constantine's City" (Constantinople). While they placed ultimate emphasis upon the Christian revelation, the Byzantines appreciated the cultural and intellectual inheritance of the ancient world. For the most part, elements of the intellectual tradition of the Classical world were viewed as imperfect forms of preparation for the coming of Christ. Unlike the Christian West, the Byzantines never experienced the "Dark Ages" and always maintained a high regard for learning. Founded in 425 by Emperor Theodosius II, the University of Constantinople existed for about seven hundred years before the medieval Western universities were established. The Byzantines never lost touch with Plato and Aristotle. Indeed, the West's contact with the Byzantine world during the Middle Ages frequently led to revivals of learning. Byzantine scholars coming to Western Europe after the fall of Constantinople nurtured the Renaissance of the fifteenth century.

Moreover, the Christian East had significant examples of charitable institutions, well developed by the late fourth century. The believer was expected to imitate God in acts of philanthropy. This personal responsibility was also expressed in a substantial way both by the church and by the government. Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian, John Chrysostom (c. 347–407), Olympia the Deacon (c. 368–408), and John the Almsgiver (556–619) were notable teachers who called upon believers to care for the poor and needy. Moreover, the church took an active role in establishing charitable institutions. Basil is especially remembered for the creation, about the year 372, of a "city of healing," known as the *Basileias,* where the sick and poor were cared for regardless of their beliefs. His activity provided inspiration for other church leaders and governmental officials. Throughout its history, the Byzantine Empire was renowned for its hospitals, orphanages, homes for the elderly and the poor, and hospices for travelers.

Many of the early Eastern teachers and philanthropists were nurtured in monasteries. From the fourth century there was a strong monastic presence in the Byzantine world, rooted in a tradition established in Egypt by Anthony (c. 251–356) and by Pachomius (292–346). Basil and his sister Macrina also provided additional guidance for monastic communities. The Eastern insights were subsequently received in the West by Jerome (342–420), John Cassian (c. 415), and Benedict (480–540). The monasteries were communities of celibate believers whose lives revolved about services of prayer. In the East, many monasteries also were concerned with preservation of manuscripts and with schools and hospitals. The monasteries, frequently located in mountains, were also places of pilgrimages. Mount Athos, known as the Holy Mountain, contains a number of active monasteries dating from the late Byzantine period.

DIVISION AFTER THE COUNCIL OF EPHESUS, 431. The early church professed that Jesus Christ was not only divine but also human. Reflecting the witness of the New Testament and early Christian teachings, the Council of Nicaea in 325 and the Council of Constantinople in 381 opposed Arianism and Apollinarianism, teachings that denied either Christ's full divinity or full humanity. Essential aspects of the faith of the church were expressed in the Nicene-Constantinople Creed of 381. By this time, and after much discussion, the church had settled on terminology that described the Trinity as three persons (*hypostases*), one divine essence (*ousia*). However, further questions arose over the relationship of the divinity and the humanity of Christ as well as the theological terms to be employed. These issues led to serious and unresolved divisions primarily within Eastern Christianity following the Council of Ephesus in 431 and the Council of Chalcedon in 451. At their heart, these divisions of the fifth century reflect the differences between the theological schools of Alexandria and Antioch. Both acknowledged Christ to be divine and human. Yet both differed in their descriptions of the relationship of the divinity and humanity in Christ as well as the terms to be used in describing the relationship between them.

The controversy was initiated over the term to be used to describe Mary. Formerly a monk in Antioch, Patriarch Nestorius of Constantinople refused to speak of Mary as the *Theotokos* (Mother or Birthgiver of God) and preferred to use the term *Christotokos* (Birthgiver of Christ). The term *Theotokos* had long been part of the church's understanding of the Virgin Mary and her relationship to Christ. It was less preferable for Nestorius because it sounded as though the humanity of Christ was somehow lost. Following the noted exegete Theodore of Mopsuestia (c. 350–428), the Antiochian tradition in general and Nestorius in particular were concerned with safeguarding the integrity of the humanity and divinity of Christ. He was accused, however, of teaching not only that Christ was divine and human but also that Christ was two beings. In his teaching, there appeared to be no true connection between humanity and divinity in Christ.

Representing the Alexandrian school of thought, Patriarch Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444) was the chief opponent to Nestorius. Cyril emphasized the union of humanity and divinity in Christ. In so doing, he frequently used the phrase "One nature of the Incarnate Word." Not denying Christ's full humanity and divinity, Cyril emphasized their union in the one reality of Christ. He usually used the word "nature" *(physis)* to describe the concrete expression of the one Christ.

To resolve this dispute, a council of bishops convened in Ephesus in 431. When it began, however, not all the bishops from the region of Antioch had arrived. The council deposed Nestorius and affirmed Cyril's Christological perspectives. The Antiochian bishops subsequently refused to accept the decision of Ephesus and convened their own council. They held that the terminology of Cyril could be used to deny the integrity of the divinity and humanity in Christ. For some of them, the term "nature" (*physis*) was used to speak about the two realities of humanity and divinity.

In an effort to avoid division, Patriarch Cyril and Patriarch John of Antioch came to an agreement in 433 affirming a common Christological teaching and a common terminology. They spoke of Christ being one person (*hypostasis*) and being of two natures (*physis*). This agreement eventually led many in the Antiochian tradition to accept the decision of the Council of Ephesus. The moderate Alexandrians emphasized the union of the divinity and humanity in Christ. The moderate Antiochians emphasized the integrity of both the humanity and divinity in Christ. Either approach, though, could be pushed to an extreme.

The bishops of the church in the region of eastern Syria and Mesopotamia met in 484 and formally rejected the decision of Ephesus and its clarification of 433. They continued to be suspicious of the Alexandrian perspective and the attacks on Nestorius, whom they honored. The alienation became even more pronounced as time passed. It was compounded by proponents of an extreme Alexandrian Christology as evidenced by the monk Eutyches (fl. 450). Moreover, the subsequent decision of the Council of Constantinople in 553 to condemn posthumously the teachings of Diodore of Tarsus (died c. 390) and Theodore of Mopsuestia (c. 350–428) further deepened the alienation.

The church in the region of Mesopotamia dates from at least the second century. It was conquered in the third century by Persia, which never fully accepted Christianity. Zoroastrianism predominated, and Christians remained a minority. During the early fourth century, the bishops of the region were organized into an ecclesiastical structure under the leadership of a *catholicos,* the bishop of the Persian royal capital at Seleucia-Ctesiphon. He later received the additional title of patriarch. The city of Edessa became a noted center of Christian theology. The church in Persia had little formal connection with the church in the Roman-Byzantine Empire. Attempts to reconcile the divided churches, especially in the sixth century, were thwarted by the conflicts between the Roman-Byzantine Empire and the Persian Empire. Compounded by politics and distance, the schism deepened. In addition, the rapid rise of Islam in the early seventh century further aggravated the separation and prevented meaningful contacts.

The church in Persia eventually came to be called by some the Nestorian Church. More recently, it has been more properly known as the Assyrian Church or the Church of the East. From the seventh century, it was generally unaffected by the subsequent developments that touched the churches in the Mediterranean world through the Middle Ages and into the modern period. However, the Church of the East was engaged in remarkable missionary activity well into the fourteenth century. Missions were established for a period in Ceylon, India, Burma, Thailand, Indochina, and China. In recent centuries, membership in this church, however, has been considerably reduced. Some members accepted the authority of the Roman Catholic Church in the sixteenth century. Others were the objects of Protestant proselytism in the nineteenth century. A sizable number of its faithful were the victims of persecution in the early twentieth century. Today the majority of its 400,000 members live in present-day Iran, Iraq, and Syria. Because of recent immigration, there are new parishes in Western Europe and North America. It has had little formal contact with either the Orthodox Church or the Oriental Orthodox Churches.

DIVISION AFTER THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON, 451. The second notable church division in the Christian East followed the Council of Chalcedon in 451. In order to heal the growing division over Christology within the Roman-Byzantine Empire, a council of bishops met at Chalcedon, near Constantinople, in 451. This council was a response to an earlier meeting of bishops held in Ephesus in 449. Dubbed the "Robbers Synod" by Pope Leo of Rome, that council supported the extreme Alexandrian Christology expressed by the monk Eutyches. He maintained that in Christ there was a single nature, implying that Christ's humanity had been lost through its contact with his divinity. The bishops at Chalcedon forcefully repudiated the decisions of the council of 449 and its extreme Alexandrian Christology. They sought to express the apostolic faith in opposition both to extreme Alexandrian and extreme Antiochian perspectives. The council was also concerned with reconciling the growing division between the churches reflecting Alexandrian Christology and those reflecting the Antiochian version, especially the church in Mesopotamia.

The statement of the council reflected the theological debates reaching back to the council of Ephesus and the differing emphasis in Christology. The statement brought together the moderate elements of both Alexandrian and Antiochian Christology while opposing the extreme distortions of each. At the same time, the statement established a common terminology that could be received by both traditions. While recognizing the mystery of the incarnation, the statement affirmed that Christ is one person with two natures, both fully human and fully divine. Neither his divine nor his human nature is diminished or lost by the union in one person. Before this, the term "nature" had been used by some to describe the single reality of Christ (one nature). Others had spoken of two natures when referring to the divinity and humanity of Christ.

The churches related to the Patriarchate of Rome and the Patriarchate of Constantinople immediately received the statement. The Council of Chalcedon was eventually recognized in these churches as the Fourth Ecumenical Council. However, in the decades following Chalcedon, portions of the church in Egypt and in Syria as well as the church in Armenia rejected the statement of the council. For a time, the church in Georgia joined them. Following their lead, the churches in Ethiopia and in Malankara, India, subsequently also rejected the decision.

Upholding a very formal Alexandrian position, the opponents of Chalcedon believed that the use of the terminology of "two natures" had overtones of Nestorianism despite the fact that the council anathematized Nestorius. The opponents also claimed that the "two nature" terminology was a betrayal of Cyril's usual affirmation of "one nature of the incarnate Word." Generally overlooked was the fact that Cyril in the agreement of 433 recognized the use of the "two nature" terminology if understood properly. Those who rejected Chalcedon also repudiated the Monophysitism of Eutyches. They were subsequently accused of the heresy of Monophysitism because of they used the term "nature" as the Chalcedonians used the word "person" to describe the reality of Christ. While opposed to the doctrinal Monophysitism of Eutyches, they accepted a "linguistic Monophysitism" claiming to follow Cyril.

The division in the Christian East after Chalcedon not only reflected differences in Christology. It also reflected historical, political, and cultural differences between those Christians within the Roman-Byzantine world and those living on and beyond its boundaries. Following Chalcedon, those who rejected the council's teaching made up a significant portion of the Christians living on the periphery of the empire. The attempt by the Byzantines to impose the decision of Chalcedon through military force especially in Egypt only compounded the division.

Councils of bishops meeting in Constantinople in 553 and 661 attempted to heal the growing division. They also addressed ongoing questions related to describing the person of Christ. These councils were eventually recognized as the Fifth and Sixth Ecumenical Councils by the churches of the Byzantine-Roman world. By the seventh century, however, differences in Christology and theological perspectives were greatly complicated by cultural, political, and linguistic factors. In addition, the rise of Islam in the seventh century created a further wedge between those churches that accepted Chalcedon and the subsequent councils and those that did not. While there was some contact and dialogue during the Middle Ages, misunderstandings and language and cultural differences prevented an enduring reconciliation.

The portion of the Christian East that rejected the Council of Chalcedon developed parallel to those Orthodox churches of the Roman-Byzantine Empire. While some theological dialogues took place in the Middle Ages, no formal reconciliation was achieved. The fact that these churches, which did not accept Chalcedon, often existed in difficult political environments frequently limited their mission and theological development even into the twenty-first century. They have often been referred to as "Monophysite churches" and more recently as "Lesser Eastern Churches" or "Non-Chalcedonan Churches." Accepting the first three ecumenical councils, they claim to profess the Orthodox faith, express a different tradition in Christology, and possess distinctive liturgical traditions reaching back to the earliest days of Eastern Christianity.

Today, these churches use the title "Oriental Orthodox Churches." They are distinguished from the Orthodox Church, sometimes called Eastern Orthodox, which accepted Chalcedon and the related councils of 553, 680, and 787. The Oriental Orthodox Churches include: the Patriarchate of Alexandria (Coptic Orthodox) (3,900,000), the Patriarchate of Antioch (Syrian Orthodox) (250,000), the Church of Armenia (Armenian Apostolic; 6,000,000), the Church of Ethiopia (16,000,000), the Church of Malankara (India) (1,000,000), and the Church of Eritrea (1,700,000). While in full communion with one another, each church has its own distinctive history and liturgical traditions. Each also has a significant number of members living in Western Europe and North America.

Despite their formal division between the family of Oriental Orthodox churches and the family of Orthodox churches, theologians from both established an unofficial bilateral theological dialogue in 1964. This theological dialogue became formal in 1985. It is generally recognized today by theologians and church leaders in both families that the Christological differences between the Oriental Orthodox and the Orthodox were primarily a matter of terminological differences and that in fact both families of churches profess the same faith in Christ but use different theological terms.

DIVISION BETWEEN THE ORTHODOX CHURCH AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCHES. From the eighth century, signs of a growing estrangement between the Church of Rome and the Church of Constantinople together with portions of the churches of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem began to be evident in the wake of the iconoclastic controversy. Its first phase began following an imperial decree forbidding the veneration of icons by Emperor Leo III in 726. Initially, the veneration of icons was declared to be a form of idolatry, although the use of images, evidenced by the catacomb examples, dated from the earliest years of Christianity. With reference to the Old Testament, Leo III and his son Constantine V viewed "idolatry" as a cause of their political difficulties. Supported by Constantine V, a local council of bishops in 773 opposed the veneration of icons based upon Christological perspectives. Despite vicious persecution of the iconophiles, their theological perspectives eventually triumphed. The chief theological defenders of icons were John of Damascus, Theodore of Studios (759–826), and Nikephoros, patriarch of Constantinople (758–828). Empress Irene reversed the imperial policy and supported a new council held in 787 in Nicaea, which repudiated the iconoclastic positions. A second phase of iconoclasm arose in 714 but was formally ended in 843. A flowering of iconography followed. Throughout this period, the Church of Rome consistently opposed iconoclasm.

With the end of iconoclasm, the Church of Constantinople, supported by the government, entered into a vigorous period of missionary activity. Chief among the missionaries were Cyril (c. 826–869) and Methodios (c. 815–885). Sent by Patriarch Photios (c. 810–c. 895) first to evangelize the Khazars on the northeast side of the Black Sea in 860, the brothers eventually went to Greater Moravia. They created the Glagolithic alphabet and translated portions of the Scriptures and liturgical texts. Following their example, other missionaries worked especially among Slavic tribes of Central and Eastern Europe, inventing the Cyrillic alphabet as part of their activity. These missions provided the background for the formal conversion of the Kiev city-state under Prince Vladimir (956–1015) in 988. This established not only a bond with the Church of Constantinople but also a political and cultural relationship with the Byzantine world.

Photios was also involved in debates with the Church of Rome over issues that would subsequently be identified as the essential reasons for the "Great Schism." Pope Nicholas (d. 867) refused to recognize Photios's election in 863 following the deposition of the previous patriarch. Refusing to recognize the legitimacy of Nicholas's authority in the East, Photios in 867 authored a harsh letter denouncing Western missionaries in Bulgaria and the addition of the *filioque* (Latin for "and from the Son," professing the proceeding of the Holy Spirit from both the Father and the Son) to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed in parts of the West. Ignatius, the previous patriarch, was restored in 867 and Photios was deposed. A council in Constantinople in 869 recognized the deposition. It was subsequently recognized as the Eighth Ecumenical Council by the Roman Catholic Church. Photios, however, was subsequently restored as patriarch. A new council in Constantinople in 879, with representatives of Pope John VIII, formally restored relations with Rome. Many Orthodox consider this the Eighth Ecumenical Council.

Since the ninth century, the *filioque* addition has remained a point of contention between the Orthodox East and the Catholic West. The Orthodox continue to recite the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed (381) in its original form, affirming that the Holy Spirit "proceeds from the Father," while the West expanded the wording to say that the Spirit "proceeds from the Father and the Son." The addition initially was introduced in Spain in the sixth century as a safeguard against Arianism. Behind the addition lies the Trinitarian theology of Augustine. The addition was adopted by the local bishop's council of Frankfurt (794). However, the addition was opposed by Pope Leo III. In the 860s Nicholas I supported the use of the *filioque* by Western missionaries in Bulgaria. The *filioque* was formally used in the Creed at the liturgy in Rome in 1014. From that time, Photios and the Byzantines held that the West had acted improperly to alter unilaterally the Creed that was the common heritage of the whole church. Photios also believed that the *filioque* expressed an incorrect understanding of the relationship among the persons of the Trinity.

Behind the *filioque* debate was also the question of the authority of the pope of Rome. Nicholas I had affirmed a universal supremacy of jurisdiction for the Roman see, over the East as well as the West. The Byzantines held that the pope, as senior among the five patriarchs, was accorded a "primacy of honor" but not a universal jurisdiction over and above other bishops. The bishop of Rome was regarded as the first bishop, but the first among equals. The Byzantines believed that while appeals could be made to the pope from the East, he did not have the right to intervene without request in the internal affairs of the other patriarchates. According to the Byzantine view, the pope cannot by himself decide questions of doctrine apart from the wider body of bishops. Thus, the East always looked to councils to resolve grave disputes.

There were also significant political developments in Western Europe. Determined to challenge the authority of the Roman Empire in Constantinople, Charlemagne was crowned Emperor of the Romans in 800 by Pope Leo III (d. 816). The papacy looked to the Carolingians for a political and military alliance. Likewise, Carolingian theologians were intent upon projecting Western theological perspectives and strengthening the position of the papacy, especially in relationship to the East. Misunderstanding the council of 787, the Carolingian theologians initially refused to accept its decision on the veneration of icons. Likewise, the Carolingians were firm proponents of the use of the *filioque* in the Creed. In a clear attempt to degrade the Byzantine Empire, the Carolingians refused to accord to it the title "Roman Empire," which the Byzantines consistently used. The Carolingians spoke disparagingly of it as the "Greek Empire," and they termed the Church of Constantinople as the "Greek Church."

The exact date of the Great Schism between East and West cannot easily be established because the separation was a gradual process extending from the ninth to at least the fifteenth century. The degree of alienation also varied in different places. The process focused chiefly upon the deterioration of the relationship between the Church of Rome and the Church of Constantinople. Differences in theological emphasis between the East and the West can be identified at least by the fourth century. Despite these, as well as the political estrangement, there was a fundamental sense of unity in faith and sacramental life that persisted well into the Middle Ages.

There were, however, serious differences developing in the understanding of authority in the church and especially the authority of the bishop of Rome. Different understandings of the role of the bishop of Rome in West and East were compounded by political developments in Western Europe. In the wake of the Germanic invasions and the growth of feudalism in Western Europe in the early Middle Ages, the church in Western Europe developed a highly centralized structure. This "feudal pyramid" placed the pope at the top. All other Western archbishops and bishops were placed in subservient positions to him.

The model of church governance in the West was compounded by political alliances between the papacy and the Franks in the late eighth and early ninth centuries. By the time of Pope Gregory VII (c. 1021–1085), however, the papacy sought to overcome political influence and other abuses that had developed during the feudal period. Influenced by the reform movements of Lorraine and Cluny, a number of influential popes advanced a strong doctrine of papal authority in relationship to Western political powers. As part of the reform movement, the papacy emphasized its independence from political rulers in Western Europe. It also reasserted the claim to universal jurisdiction over the churches of the East as well as the West. At the same time, the gradual Norman conquest of the Byzantine territories in Sicily and southern Italy, where Eastern Church traditions prevailed, also eliminated a significant bridge between East and West. The claims of the papacy were expressed with greater strength and emotion but with little appreciation for the perspectives of the East.

Sent by Pope Leo IX, Cardinal Humbert, bishop of Silva Candida, led a delegation to Constantinople in 1054. The mission of the delegation was to discuss growing tensions between Rome and Constantinople over theology and liturgical practices. Not received by Patriarch Michael Cerularios, Humbert placed a bull of excommunication against him on the altar of St. Sophia Cathedral on July 16, 1054, purportedly in the name of the pope. The anathema contained a number of charges against the East, including condemnation for failure to use the *filioque* in the Creed and neglect of papal authority. Also noted was the Eastern practice of using unleavened bread in the Eucharist and allowing a married priesthood. Believing that Humbert himself and not the pope initiated the action, Cerularios anathematized Humbert and his companions. While historians once used 1054 as the date of the schism, it is now recognized that the anathemas were very limited in scope. Humbert claimed to excommunicate Cerularios, not the emperor or the Eastern Church. Cerularios excommunicated Humbert, not the pope, who had died earlier. It appears that mutual acts were quickly forgotten, since sacramental communion between Rome and Constantinople and other parts of the East continued. The event of 1054 was a symptom of the deepening alienation.

While the Western Crusades sought to regain the Holy Land, they profoundly affected relations between Rome and the Eastern churches. In the captured cities, Eastern bishops were replaced by westerners, dividing the allegiance of the faithful and deepening the sense of alienation at the popular level. An expression of schism, rival patriarchs and bishops were commonplace in the Patriarchate of Antioch from 1100 and in Jerusalem from 1187. Diverted to Constantinople in 1204, the Fourth Crusade plundered the city and led to the temporary installation of a Latin patriarch there as well. The imposition of Western bishops loyal to Rome and to political powers in Western Europe became a tragic and visible expression of schism in Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and other cities. The clergy and faithful did not easily accept bishops imposed upon them. For them, this was a clear sign that Rome and Western rulers had little regard for the legitimacy of the ancient patriarchal churches of the East. While the Byzantines eventually recaptured the city in 1261 and the

Latin patriarch of Constantinople was removed to Rome, the destruction and sense of betrayal were not easily forgotten.

Between 1204 and 1453, when the Byzantine Empire fell, numerous attempts were made to address the theological and ecclesiological differences and to heal the schism between Rome and Constantinople. Two major attempts are noteworthy. At the Council of Lyons (1274), a small Byzantine delegation sent by Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus (d. 1282) accepted the reunion terms of Pope Gregory X. Eventually repudiated in Constantinople, the meeting provided little opportunity for genuine dialogue. At the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–1439), there was a larger delegation from Constantinople, including Emperor John VIII and Patriarch Joseph II. With greater opportunity for discussion, the Byzantines recognized the Latin understanding of the procession of the Holy Spirit but were not required to add the *filioque* to the text of the Creed. The Byzantines also accepted an ambiguous view of the authority of the pope. Diverse practices were accepted in liturgical matters. A participant in the discussions, Mark Eugenikos (c. 1394–1445), archbishop of Ephesus, refused to accept the agreements, and the Council of Florence was formally rejected in Constantinople in 1484. At the same time, it was decided that individual Western Christians (Latins) would be anointed with holy oil upon entry into one of the other Eastern patriarchates. This was a liturgical expression of disunity with Rome, perceived to be in schism. The Roman Catholic Church, however, recognized the council and subsequently used it as a basis for the establishment of Eastern Catholic churches, known historically as the "unia" or "uniates," which accepted the full authority of the pope. The Patriarchate of Constantinople together with those of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and the church of Cyprus, claiming to also be the apostolic and catholic church, eventually came to be known as the Orthodox Church.

During this period there was also a growing divergence in the theological traditions in the East and West and the issues with which their respective theologians dealt. Gregory Palamas (1296–1359) a monk from Mount Athos and later archbishop of Thessaloniki, represented the tradition of hesychaism. Especially significant was the recitation of the "Jesus Prayer." Confronted with the teachings of Barlam of Calabria (1290–c. 1350), Gregory affirmed the possibility of genuine personal encounter with God through prayer, experienced as divine light and involving the whole person, body and soul. In so doing, he followed Symeon the New Theologian (949–1022) and Gregory of Sinai (d. 1347). Gregory Palamas also spoke of the distinction between the divine essence, which is always hidden, and the divine energies or presence, which can be experienced in this life. His teachings were affirmed by three councils held at Constantinople (1341, 1347, 1351). A younger companion of Palamas, Nicholas Cabasilas (c. 1322–1395), a lay theologian, related hesychist theology especially to baptism and the Eucharist. The approach to God and the style of theological reflection exemplified by these teachers were quite different from that embodied in Western scholasticism expressed by Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225–1274). The Byzantines were not unconcerned with the relationship of reason and revelation. Yet in espousing an apophatic and more mystical approach to theology, they more readily affirmed the limitations of human speculation and the importance of prayer and worship for the transformation of the person.

The dramatic events of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries hardened the alienation between the Roman Catholic Church centered on the pope of Rome and the Orthodox Church represented chiefly by the patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 marked the end of the Roman-Byzantine Empire. With the victory of the Ottoman Turks, the Church of Constantinople came under Muslim domination, thus joining the other patriarchates of the East.

While not directly involved in the Reformation debates, the Orthodox were not in a position to respond properly to the new issues raised in the West in the sixteenth century. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Orthodox world, with the exception of Russia, was under the domination of the Ottomans. The Ottomans designated the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople as the head of the "Rum Millet," the Roman Orthodox people. Responsible to the sultan, the patriarch had ultimate religious and civil responsibility for all Orthodox regardless of language or culture in the Ottoman Empire. Treated as second-class citizens by the Ottomans, the life of the Orthodox and their church was gradually restricted. Orthodox had limited opportunities for advanced theological study in the East. Feeling oppressed, they adopted a defensive stance emphasizing survival. The Orthodox sought to maintain their patristic and liturgical inheritance, yet they failed to develop it in a creative manner. They were content with what has been called a "theology of repetition." During this period, a vast collection of spiritual texts known as the *Philokalia* was edited and published in 1782 by Makarios of Corinth (1731–1805) and Nikodimos of Mount Athos (c. 1749–1809). They were subsequently translated into Slavonic, Russian, Romanian, and more recently into English.

There was also a parallel tendency among some Orthodox theologians toward a form of westernization. Orthodox who could study in Western Europe were attracted to universities dominated by either Roman Catholicism or Protestantism. At the same time, some Roman Catholics and Protestants sought to enlist the Orthodox as their allies in the Western controversies. This meant that some Orthodox were challenged in difficult circumstances to reflect more deeply on new theological issues that had been raised during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation.

Between 1573 and 1581 Lutheran theologians at Tübingen engaged in correspondence with Patriarch Jeremias II of Constantinople (c. 1530–1595). In his responses the patriarch expressed traditional Orthodox teaching, generally avoiding both Catholic and Protestant perspectives and terminology. Later, however, Patriarch Cyril I (1572–1638) expressed clear Calvinist perspectives in his Confession of 1629 but gained few supporters among the Orthodox. Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem (1641–1707), in his Confession of Faith adopted at the Council of Jerusalem (1672), opposed Cyril but tended toward Roman Catholic perspectives and terminology. Metropolitan Petr Moghila of Kiev (1596–1646) expressed a strongly Latin style of theology within the Orthodox Church of the Ukraine. In the seventeenth century this "Latinizing" tendency later spread from Kiev to Moscow. Russian theology became increasingly influenced by Western perspectives, particularly through the influence of Feofan Prokopovich (1681–1736). Against this background, some discussions also took place between Anglicans and Orthodox between 1716 and 1725.

There were significant developments simultaneously in the Orthodox Church in Russia. Following the adoption of Christianity in Kiev in 988, the church flourished until the coming of Mongols in 1240. By the fourteenth century the center of civic and religious life had moved to Moscow. The Church of Russia, led by the metropolitan of Moscow, became autocephalous and independent from Constantinople in 1448. In 1589 Constantinople established the Patriarchate of Moscow and all Rus and ranked it after the ancient patriarchates. During the seventeenth century, a schism took place within the church following the reform of liturgical practices by Patriarch Nikon. Those who rejected the reforms were termed "Old Believers" or "Old Ritualists." Preferring closer governmental oversight, Czar Peter the Great abolished the patriarchal office in 1721 in favor of the synodical structure. Despite these limitations, there were significant missions in China, Japan, and Alaska in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Likewise, a number of outstanding saintly teachers enriched church life. Among these were Paissy Velichkovsky (1722–1794), Seraphim of Sarov (1759–1833), Philaret of Moscow (1782–1867), and John of Kronstadt (1829–1908).

The Orthodox living in territories close to Catholic or Protestant countries eventually became the objects of proselytism. With political support from Poland and as a reaction to Protestantism, some Orthodox Christians living in the region of Ukraine entered into communion with Rome by decision of a council of bishops held in the city of Brest in 1595. Both clergy and laity were permitted to maintain many of their Eastern liturgical customs and much of their administrative organization. However, they professed ultimate loyalty to the pope of Rome and, in principle, Rome's view of the papacy. With Western political support, similar "unions" were established in Carpatho-Russia in 1646 and 1664, in Transylvania in 1700, and in Damascus in 1724. In other places, the Orthodox generally viewed these "unions" as tragic attempts to impose papal authority over their weakened church. By the year 1729, Rome formally forbade sacramental communion (*communio in sacris)* with the Orthodox, viewing them as schismatic. Being threatened both by Roman Catholic missionaries and Ottoman political influence, the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1755 responded and advocated for a time the "rebaptism" of Roman Catholics who entered the Orthodox Church. This unprecedented recommendation did not reflect all of Orthodoxy and was subsequently overturned in 1888, yet such events indicate the level of estrangement and the formalization of the schism. Little formal contact between the Orthodoxy and Rome followed.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS. The breakup of the Ottoman Empire led to the creation of new states in the Balkans. The Patriarchate of Constantinople granted autocephalous status to the churches of Greece (1833), Romania (1864), Bulgaria (1871), Serbia (1879), and later Albania (1937). Following the example of older Orthodox churches, these became fully responsible for their internal life while professing unity in the Orthodox faith.

The Church of Russia was profoundly affected by Bolshevik revolution in 1917 following the abdication of the czar and the civil war. On the eve of the revolution a historic church council reestablished the patriarchal office and elected Tikhon Belavin (1865–1925) of Moscow as patriarch. Other church reforms were prevented by the increase of persecution. Nearly all bishops and theologians were either executed or exiled in the 1920s and 1930s. About 85,000 priests were executed. Believers were systematically persecuted. Churches and monasteries were destroyed. With the Second World War, a *modus vivendi* between the church and the Soviet government was established, especially to defend against the Nazis threat. The internal life of the church, however, continued to be severely restricted. Only after 1989, with disintegration of the communistic system, did the plight of the church begin to improve. This has led to a dramatic growth of church members and the establishment of new churches, monasteries, and schools.

Following World War II the establishment of communist governments in Romania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia also led to restrictions on church life. Restrictions were lifted only after 1990 with the establishment of new governments. The church of Albania was especially impacted after the communist revolution of 1945. In the year 1967 the government began to close all churches and persecute Christians. Only in 1991, following the downfall of the communist government, was the church able to be restored. In many parts of Eastern Europe and the Middle East, Orthodox Christianity is only beginning to recover from the domination of repressive political and religious regimes.

The political and ecclesial developments of the late twentieth century led to new difficulties accompanied by the reemergence of ethnic and religious conflicts in the Balkans into which some Orthodox leaders were drawn, especially in Serbia. In Ukraine and Romania, tensions arose between Orthodox and Eastern Catholics over property rights. The Church of Russia repudiated the activities of evangelical

Protestant missionaries and the establishment of Roman Catholic dioceses. The churches of Bulgaria and Georgia experienced internal divisions reflective of political disputes. The undue emphasis on nationalism has tended to weaken a common witness and mission.

New and dramatic contacts between the churches of the Christian West and churches of the Christian East began in the late nineteenth century and intensified throughout the twentieth century. The ecumenical movement, with a goal of the visible unity of the churches, provided many opportunities for contact and theological dialogue. Each of the Orthodox Churches and the Oriental Orthodox Churches eventually became members of the World Council of Churches, founded in 1948. Their involvement provided opportunities for new contact and dialogues between the two Orthodox families, beginning informally in 1964, affirming agreement in a common Orthodox faith. In addition, the Orthodox, Oriental Orthodox, and the Assyrian Church of the East have established bilateral dialogues with the Roman Catholic Church. Participants in many of these dialogues have included leading contemporary Orthodox theologians.

The ecumenical dialogues have provided opportunities for a true engagement of Eastern and Western traditions of Christianity as well as for the examination and resolution of historic differences. At the same time, this encounter has enabled Western Christian theologians to move beyond a distorted perception of the Christian East. A false perception of the Christian East as essentially exotic, decadent, and moribund was reflected in the writings of Edward Gibbon (1737–1794) and Adolph von Harnack (1851–1930). Their influence can still be found in some studies that continue to marginalize the Christian East.

The migration of Eastern Christians to Western Europe, North and South America, and Australia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries provided a basis for the growth of parishes and dioceses in cities where Western Christian churches were long established, sometimes improperly referred to as the "diaspora." Especially significant has been the steady growth of the Orthodox Church in the United States. While the Ecumenical Patriarchate claims ultimate canonical responsibility, most of the Orthodox jurisdictions remain directly connected to an autocephalous church. The largest, the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, is a province of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. The Russian Orthodox Archdiocese (Metropolia), dating from the mission to Russian Alaska in 1794, received autocephaly (self-governing) status from the Church of Russia in 1970 and was renamed the Orthodox Church in America. This status, however, has not been recognized by most other Orthodox churches. While each jurisdiction began to serve a particular ethnic group, a remarkable process of indigenization has taken place as expressed in well-established parishes, dioceses, and theological schools serving about five million. This includes today persons from a wide variety of ethnic backgrounds, as well as persons raised in other religious traditions. Since 1960 the Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Churches (SCOBA), now representing nine jurisdictions, has been the major instrument of Orthodox unity and witness. It has also coordinated ecumenical dialogues, charitable endeavors worldwide, and missions especially in Africa and Asia. The presence of Orthodoxy in America has also provided many Western Christians with the opportunity to experience firsthand the spiritual and liturgical traditions of Eastern Christianity. This has been supported by a growing number of books and articles addressing various aspects of Eastern Christian theology, spirituality, liturgy, and history.

The Orthodox Church today is a communion of fourteen autocephalous churches and two autonomous churches. These are: the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople (3,500,000 approximate members), the Patriarchate of Alexandria (250,000), the Patriarchate of Antioch (750,000), the Patriarchate of Jerusalem (130,000), the Patriarchate of Russia (80,000,000), the Patriarchate of Serbia (8,000,000), the Patriarchate of Romania (19,800,000), the Patriarchate of Bulgaria (8,000,000), the Patriarchate of Georgia (3,500,000), the Church of Cyprus (442,000), the Church of Greece (9,025,000), the Church of Poland (570,000), the Church of Albania (160,000), and the Church of the Czech and Slovak Republics (55,000). The autonomous churches are: the Church of Finland (57,000) and the Church of Estonia (50,000).

DISTINCTIVE THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES. Eastern Christianity, exemplified chiefly through the theology and life of the Orthodox Church, has had its own distinct historical development distinguishing it from both Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. At the same time, Orthodoxy has also preserved a distinctive expression of the Christian faith that its adherents believe is in continuity with the teachings of early Christianity and free from more recent Western Christian debates. Especially in the past five centuries, the Orthodox churches have not experienced the same theological discussions as those that took place within Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. These include, for example, Western debates over revelation and reason, faith and works, Scripture and tradition, or science and religion. The Christian East generally does not accept the dichotomies that have been part of the Western Christian traditions. One does not find a harsh distinction, for example, between the "City of God" and the "City of Man," between nature and super nature, body and spirit, Scripture and tradition, law and gospel, or sacred and secular.

The Triune God of revelation. Eastern Christianity teaches that the one God is a Triune God, known as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The one God has created all and is beyond all. Yet this God has acted to reveal himself and his love in history. While not diminishing the value of human reason and reflection, the Orthodox affirm that God is a mystery who is ultimately beyond human definition. The limited knowledge that we have of God results chiefly from the divine revelation and not from human speculation, important though it may be. Through this revelation, centered upon Christ, human persons have experienced a God who is a good God, *philanthropos,* a lover of humankind. This proclamation of the philanthropic God is at the heart of the worship and mission of the Orthodox Church. It is central to the life of each believer. Throughout the prayers of the Orthodox Church, one hears the affirmation: "You are a good God who loves humankind and to you we offer glory, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. . . ."

The reality of Christ and the event of his coming are the cornerstone of the Orthodox faith. The revelation of God to the ancient Israelites is fulfilled in the coming of Christ, the promised Messiah. Through his incarnation and in his person, a new relationship between divinity and humanity has been established that affects all. In the person of Jesus Christ, divinity is united with humanity in such a way that the distinctive character of each is maintained. The God who has created human persons and the entire world is not a distant and remote being. Rather, in order to express his love and restore persons to fellowship, God has united himself to humanity in the person of Christ.

The Orthodox have a high regard for the dignity and value of the human person, who is seen as naturally theocentric. From the moment of creation by God, the human person is fashioned with an orientation to God as the source of life. A natural and enduring relationship between each person and the Triune God is assumed, rooted in the very act of divine creation and deepened through the incarnation and the coming of the Spirit. This means that it is natural and healthy for the human person to live life in communion with the Triune God. It is unnatural for the human person not to be in a loving relationship with God. A source of much reflection in the Christian East, the biblical description of the human person as being created in the "image and likeness" of God (*Gen.* 1:26) is a profound affirmation that speaks both about the deep bond of love between God and each human person and the dignity of each person.

This bond was vividly expressed in the earthly ministry of Christ. Through his preaching and teachings, Christ revealed both the Triune God as *philanthropos* and the theocentric nature of the human person. In proclaiming the Kingdom of God, Christ announced a dramatic change in the course of history. Affirming the reign of God, Jesus spoke of the Father who loves each person and seeks a loving response from each person. He taught that the human person is most fully human when life is lived in communion with God and other persons through loving relationships. He promised that God the Holy Spirit would be a comforter and guide, nurturing those who know him as Lord. In his acts of forgiveness, Christ declared God's mercy for sinners and assistance to persevere. In his healings and exorcisms, Christ expressed the ability of God to overcome every evil power. Most importantly, the Resurrection of Christ is not only the heart of the gospel but also as the sign of God's ultimate victory over the power of death, evil, and Satan. The Resurrection of Christ is a bold proclamation that not even death is an obstacle to the Father's reconciling love. The Orthodox Easter hymn declares: "Christ is risen from the dead, conquering death by death, and upon those in the tombs he bestows life."

The Orthodox believe that Christ established the church with the call of his first disciples. It is a community of those who are called by God and who affirm Christ as Lord and Savior. The church is part of the divine plan of salvation centered upon Christ and enlivened by the Spirit from the first Pentecost. Through the life of the church, the Holy Spirit reveals the presence of the Risen Christ to persons of every age and every place and enables believers to share in his saving work. Because of the Spirit, Christ is not a distant person of history. The Holy Spirit leads persons from a life of self-centeredness to a life centered upon Christ and his gospel. The person of the Spirit is not subordinate to Christ, nor is the ministry of the Spirit inferior to that of Christ. The Spirit unites human persons to Christ, who leads them to the Father. Within this community of faith, believers have the opportunity to cultivate the bond of love not only with one another but also with the persons of the Holy Trinity. Both Christ and the Spirit work in harmony to accomplish the will of the Father, who desires that "everyone be saved and come to the knowledge of truth" (*I Tim.* 2:4). Under the guidance of the Spirit, the church has a mission to preach the gospel to all nations and to bear witness to the presence of the Risen Christ.

Salvation. These fundamental affirmations about God and the human person are the basis for the Eastern Christian view of salvation. From the very beginning the human person was fashioned in the "image and likeness" of God and given the vocation to live in communion with God (*Gen.* 1:26). A distortion in the natural relationship, however, was introduced into human history and is expressed in the story of the fall. The "ancestral sin," as the East speaks of "original sin," marked humanity's turning away from God. Yet the identity of the human person was never destroyed and the divine love was never diminished. While all sin and its consequences distorted the relationship between God and the human person, it could not destroy the fundamental bond between God the Father and his sons and daughters. Understood essentially as a new relationship with God the Father given in Christ, salvation is first an unmerited and free divine gift.

The term "deification" *(theosis)* is frequently used in the Christian East to describe the process of sanctification whereby the human person responds to the divine initiative and moves ever closer to the living God, through a life that reflects and imitates the divine love. The believer, following the example of Christ, must freely live in such a way that the relationship with God is deepened and strengthened. The gift of salvation must be freely received and actualized in the life of each believer. Through this relationship, the human person not only grows closer to God, the source of life and holiness, but also becomes more fully human. The process of deification begins at the very moment of personal creation and continues to the life that is to come. Love knows no limit and no boundary. For this reason, the great teachers of the church often declare: "God became human so that human persons may become divine."

Salvation is not simply personal but also communal. The Orthodox teach that believers grow in their relationship with God within the fellowship of the church. The rite of baptism establishes not only a personal relationship with Christ but also a relationship with all those others who are bound to Christ. Within this community of believers, the followers of Christ have the opportunity to deepen their love for as well as their understanding of God. They also have the support to live their lives in imitation of Christ within the responsibilities and obligation of daily life.

The theocentric person is also a person who is called to live in relationship with others. The inner orientation to the God of love is at the same time an orientation to other persons. The human person is not meant to be an autonomous or individualized self. Rather, the human person is meant to be a valuable member of a network of authentic relationships that contribute to well-being, wholeness, and holiness. Ultimately, these relationships of love contribute to the salvation of the whole world.

Authentic human relationships are those that nurture love, compassion, and mercy and make us more sensitive to the needs of the "other." Like God's relationship with us, our relationships with others are meant to be expressions of love, which heals and reconciles. In communion with God and others we grow in our human identity. The Orthodox take very seriously the old Christian adage "A solitary Christian is no Christian."

Relationships among believers are meant to be a constant reminder of the profound relationship that each of us has with every member of the human family. The Orthodox teach that each person, regardless of circumstance or belief, is created by the same God. Indeed, each of us has been united with God in a very intimate way through the humanity that Christ has shared.

Salvation also has its cosmic dimension. The Orthodox believe that human persons are not saved from the world but in and through the created world. The soul is not saved separately from the body but rather together with the body. The whole person, body and soul, is meant to share in the process of deification, beginning with the relationships and responsibilities of this life. Far from rejecting the body and the rest of the material creation, the Orthodox look upon the physical as the work of God and the medium through which the divine is manifest. The entire creation, good from the beginning, is related to the reality of the Incarnation of Christ.

The creation is the gift of a good and loving God, and although it is prone to distortion, both because of its createdness and because of human sin, it remains fundamentally valuable and "very good" because of its divine origin. By uniting himself with our humanity, Christ established a profound relationship not only with our human nature but also with the entire created order. The ultimate transfiguration of the entire cosmos is already prefigured not only in the lives of the faithful but also in the material of the Eucharist, the icons, and the relics of the saints.

The Orthodox Church makes constant use of the elements of the physical world in its worship. Bread and wine, water and oil, fruits and flowers are but a few of the many elements taken up by the church in its worship. In blessing these things of the earth, the church affirms that the physical world has its origins with God, that it possesses intrinsic value, and that it can be a vehicle of divine presence. This is the same principle that applies to the icon. It is composed of the "stuff of creation," wood and paint, or stone and glass. The icon is a valuable means of relating to God and one another.

Worship. Eastern Christianity has always emphasized the importance of worship. The gathering of believers, especially for the Eucharist, is an act of thanksgiving and praise offered in response to the presence and actions of the Triune God. Although Orthodox worship often can be very elaborate, solemn, and lengthy, it expresses a deep and pervasive sense of joy. This mood is an expression of belief in the Resurrection of Christ and the deification of humanity, dominant themes of Orthodox worship. In order to enhance this feeling and to encourage full participation, services are normally sung or chanted within a setting conducive to prayer.

Worship is not simply expressed in words. In addition to prayers, hymns, and Scripture readings, there are a number of ceremonies, gestures, and processions. The church makes rich use of nonverbal symbols to express God's presence and our relationship to him. Orthodox worship involves the whole person: intellect, feelings, and senses.

Services in the Orthodox Church follow a prescribed order, framework, and design, with a view to preserving its corporate dimension and strengthening a sense of unity and continuity. The content of the services is also prescribed. There are unchanging elements, and there are parts that change according to the feast, season, or particular circumstance. The regulating of the services indicates that worship is an expression of the entire church and not the composition on a particular priest and congregation.

Worship is also an important means of communicating the faith, especially through prayer. As the axiom says, the rule of prayer is the rule of faith (*lex orandi est lex credendi*). This means that the essential affirmations of the faith are expressed through worship. No universal or official language is prescribed, Orthodox worship having always been celebrated in the language of the people. Indeed, two or more languages may be used in the services to accommodate the needs of the congregation. Throughout the world Orthodox worship is celebrated in over fifty languages or dialects.

The Eucharist. Known as the Divine Liturgy, the Eucharist is the most important act of communal prayer for Orthodox Christians. In obedience to the command of the Lord given at the last supper (*Luke* 22:19), it has been celebrated regularly since the time of the apostles. At the Eucharist the community of believers gathers to hear Scripture, offer prayers, present the offering of bread and wine, recall the mighty acts of God, invoke the blessing of the Spirit, and receive Holy Communion as an expression of union with Christ and one another. It is an action, the Orthodox believe, that manifests the presence of Christ in the midst of his followers and is an expression of the kingdom to come.

The Eucharist is celebrated on Sunday morning, the day commemorating the Resurrection. It may also be offered on most weekdays, especially on feast days and saint days according to local custom. It is celebrated only once a day to emphasize and maintain the unity of the local congregation. While an ordained bishop or priest is necessary, the Divine Liturgy is never celebrated without a congregation. In many places the greater participation of the congregation and the frequent reception of Holy Communion are being strongly encouraged.

As it is celebrated today, the Divine Liturgy is a product of rich historical development. The fundamental core of the liturgy dates from the time of Christ and the apostles. To this, prayers, hymns, and gestures have been added. The liturgy achieved a basic framework by the ninth century. There are two principle forms of the Eucharist presently in use in the Orthodox Church. While their structure is the same, there are differences in prayers and hymns. The Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom is the version most frequently celebrated. The Liturgy of St. Basil the Great is celebrated especially during Lent. According to local custom, the Liturgy of St. James and the Liturgy of St. Mark are occasionally used. In addition, there is also the Liturgy of the Pre-Sanctified Gifts. Used on weekday evenings during Lent, this is a Vesper service followed by the distribution of Holy Communion reserved from the previous Sunday. The Orthodox affirm the presence of Christ in the eucharistic bread and wine but generally avoid using terms such as "transubstantiation" to express the reality. A portion of the eucharistic gifts is reserved for the communion of the sick, but it is not used for any other forms of devotions. Only baptized believers may receive Holy Communion. Except in emergencies, the Orthodox do not offer Holy Communion to members of other Christian churches because of the state of disunity over teachings.

Sacraments and prayers. The Orthodox Church has never formally determined a particular number of sacraments. In recent centuries, however, catechisms have frequently identified seven. With the Eucharist at the center, these rites are events of church life when the perception of God's actions in the lives of particular persons is heightened and celebrated. All the sacraments lead toward and flow from the Eucharist, which is at the center of the life of the Church. Traditionally, the sacraments are known as Mysteries in the Orthodox Church because they not only celebrate and reveal the presence of God but also make believers receptive to God. All the sacraments affect our personal relationship to God and to one another, although they are addressed to each person by name.

The sacraments are composed of prayers, hymns, Scripture lessons, and gestures. The Orthodox have avoided reducing the sacraments to a particular formula or action. Often, a whole series of rites make up a sacrament. Most use a portion of the material of creation as an outward and visible sign of God's presence and action. Water, oil, bread, and wine are but a few of the many elements employed. The frequent use of the material of creation affirms that matter is good and can become a medium of the Spirit. In addition, the use of creation affirms the central truth of the Orthodox Christian faith: that God became human in Jesus Christ and entered into the midst of creation, thereby redirecting the cosmos toward its Creator.

The sacrament of baptism with a threefold immersion in water in the name of the Holy Trinity publicly incorporates persons into the church. The act is a sign of new life and an identification with the death and Resurrection of Christ. Orthodoxy encourages the baptism of infants of believing parents. The sacrament bears witness to the action of God who calls a child to be a valued member of his people. From the day of their baptism, children are expected to mature in the life of the Spirit, through their family and the church. This practice reveals that Orthodoxy views children from their infancy as important members of the church. There is never time when the young are not part of God's people. Following a period of preparation, the baptism of adults is also practiced when there was no previous baptism in the name of the Holy Trinity.

Chrismation (confirmation) immediately follows baptism and is never delayed until a later age. It is a personal Pentecost, which signifies the coming of the Holy Spirit. The priest anoints the various parts of the body of the newly baptized with holy oil saying, "The seal of the gifts of the Holy Spirit." The sacrament emphasizes that the Spirit blesses each person with spiritual gifts and talents. The anointing also reminds us that our bodies are valuable and are involved in the process of salvation. Those who are received into the Orthodox Church and have been previously baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity are usually anointed with the same holy oil.

Confession is the sacrament through which sins are forgiven and the relationship to God and to others is restored and strengthened. According to Orthodox teaching, the penitent confesses to God and is forgiven by God. Viewed not as a judge but as a physician and guide, the priest bears witness to the presence and action of Christ and his people. Confession can take place on any number of occasions according to the needs of the believer. In the event of serious sin, however, confession is a necessary part of the preparation for Holy Communion. Orthodoxy encourages every believer to have a spiritual father or mother to whom the believer turns for spiritual advice and counsel.

The church blesses the relationship between a man and a woman and affirms the action of God in their lives through the sacrament of marriage. They enter into a new relationship with each other, God, and the church. Marriage is not viewed simply a social institution or legal contract. It is an eternal vocation of the Kingdom of God extending into the age to come. A husband and a wife are called by the Holy Spirit not only to live together but also to share their Christian life together so that each, with the aid of the other, may grow closer to God and become the persons they are meant to be. In the marriage service, after the couple have been betrothed and exchanged rings, crowns are placed on their heads as a sign of "glory and honor" of their vocation. Near the conclusion of the service, the husband and wife drink from a common cup of wine, reminiscent of the wedding of Cana and symbolizing the sharing of the burdens and joys of their new life together. It is expected that the marriage relationship is permanent and eternal. However, in cases where the marital relationship breaks down, the church may grant an ecclesiastical divorce and permit a second marriage.

Through the sacrament of ordination (holy orders), those who have been chosen from within the church are set apart by the church for special service to the church. God calls each through his people to serve the needs of the community. The process of ordination begins with the local congregation, but the bishop alone, who acts in the name of the wider church, can complete the action. Ordinations always take place within the context of the Eucharist. The rite involves the invocation of the Holy Spirit and the imposition of his hands on the person being ordained. There are three major orders—bishop, priest, and deacon—each of which requires a particular ordination. Often, other titles and offices are associated with these three orders. Each order is distinguished by its pastoral responsibilities within the community. Only a bishop may ordain. Persons may choose to marry before they are ordained. Since the sixth century, bishops have been chosen only from the celibate clergy. Since the early church, women have been ordained as deacons but less so in recent centuries. There have been formal calls for a revival of this practice.

The sacrament of the anointing of the sick (holy unction) is offered to believers who are ill or weak in body, mind, or spirit, not simply those in danger of death. As with chrismation, oil is also used as a sign of God's presence, strength, and forgiveness. After the reading of seven epistle lessons and seven gospel lessons and the offering of seven prayers, the priest anoints the body with the holy oil. In many places, this sacrament is also celebrated for all on Wednesday of Holy Week.

The Orthodox have many other blessings and special services of prayer that complement the major sacraments and that reflect the presence of God through the lives of the faithful. Among the more significant are the Great Blessing of Water on the Feast of the Theophany, January 6, the monastic profession, and the rites of burial.

There is also a fundamental connection between the prayers of the community and the prayer of the home, called the "domestic church." Prayer in the home also has a special importance for Orthodox believers. They are expected to have a personal "rule of prayer" to be followed during the course of the day, normally in the morning and evening. In most homes of Orthodox Christians, there is usually a corner or shelf where icons are prominently displayed with a vigil light. Here at the "home altar" family prayers are offered. The traditional Book of Prayers contains numerous prayers addressing the events and responsibilities of daily life. They serve to remind the believer of the presence of God through all aspects of life.

Holy Scripture. The Orthodox have a high regard for the Holy Scriptures. The book of the Gospels is prominently placed on the altar, and at least one selection from Scriptures is read at the every service of common worship. The Orthodox recognize twenty-seven books in the New Testament and forty-nine books in the Old Testament. The Orthodox recognize that the Bible, a collection of diverse texts written at different time periods and places, and in a variety of literary styles, is inspired by the Spirit through the hands of human persons. The books have been collected by the community of believers for the sake of nurture and teaching. This means that the Orthodox view the Scriptures as the "books of the church." They must be read by the faithful and interpreted within the broader context of the tradition of the church. The Scriptures are not always clear or self-explanatory. Here, tradition refers to the essential faith affirmations about the Holy Trinity, the human person, and all reality, which are professed by the church. These affirmations are rooted in the divine revelation centered on Christ, and they are transmitted in and through the believing community.

While Scriptures are given preeminence within tradition, reference can also be made to the faith expressed in other aspects of church life. These would include the Eucharist and other forms of liturgical prayer, hymns, iconography, the doctrinal decisions of the councils, the teachings of the Fathers and Mothers, as well as the witness of the saints. Through all of these, the Spirit can act to nurture the believer in the truth of the faith and deepen the relationship with the Triune God.

The Fathers and Mothers. Eastern Christianity has a special devotion to the Fathers and Mothers of the church. There is no absolute definition of such persons. Generally, the name is given to important teachers of the faith who are honored because of their sanctity and spiritual wisdom. Among the more prominent are those who were involved in the Trinitarian and Christological discussions of the early church. In every age, however, these teachers are concerned with relating the faith of the church to particular concerns and issues. They are very much people of their age and have to be understood as such. In facing the issues of their day, these teachers sought to affirm the intimate connection between theological reflection, the rule of prayer, and the life of virtue.

The icon. Eastern Christianity in general and the Orthodox Church in particular are especially known for its iconography. Forms of iconography have existed from the earliest days of the church, as evidenced by those primitive drawings in the catacombs of Rome. Icons may depict Christ, Mary, the Mother of God, and the other saints. At first glance, many icons appear simply educational because they can depict scenes from the Old and New Testaments or from the later history of the church. But more than this, icons are meant to assist the believer in being drawn closer to the person depicted. Icons are not worshiped, yet they may serve as vehicles through which veneration is offered to Christ and the saints and through which the presence of God is communicated to believers.

Most of the icons of the saints depict them in a historical setting. The saint is pictured in a manner that appears to express his or her transfiguration, sometimes accompanied by a symbolic expression of the saint's particular ministry or task in life. Sometimes the saint is depicted in the company of others, even pets or other animals. For the Orthodox, the saints dwell now in the glory of the kingdom. Yet the icon is a clear reminder that the saint grew in holiness within the context of the relationships and responsibilities of daily life. The icon is also a reminder that life is meant to be lived in harmony with God and others in the midst of the creation.

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EAST SYRIAN CHURCH SEE NESTORIAN CHURCH

EBIONITES is the name given to a Jewish Christian sect that flourished during the early history of the Christian church. The origin of the term, a Hebrew word meaning *poor persons*, is obscure. It may have been an honorific title given to an original group of Christians who were Jews living in Jerusalem that needed assistance from Christians elsewhere in the Roman Empire (*Rom.* 15:25, *2 Cor.* 9:12). It was first used by the Christian bishop Irenaeus of Lyons (Gaul) in the late second century to designate a Jewish Christian sect. Some later writers used it ironically to refer to the poverty of understanding of the members of the sect, who did not believe that Jesus Christ was the divine Son of God. There is no evidence to support the claim of some Christian writers that it derived from a person named Ebion, the supposed founder of the sect.

The origin, history, and distinct character of the Ebionites have been subjects of intense debate. It is possible that the Ebionites go back to the earliest period of Christian history, when most Christians were Jews and some continued to observe the Jewish law. If so, they would be the earliest example of a Christian movement within Judaism that was eventually left behind as Christianity adapted to the influx of Gentile converts. These Christians eventually became a distinct group that, along with other groups (e.g., the Gnostics), was rejected as heretical by the emerging great church. They are sometimes identified with the minim (heretics), mentioned in the Talmud.

The Ebionites were Jews who accepted Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah (Christ) while continuing to maintain their identity as Jews. They cultivated relations with Jews as well as Christians though they were welcomed by neither. They followed the Jewish law, insisting on circumcision, keeping the Sabbath and celebrating the Jewish festivals (Yom Kippur, Passover), and observing the dietary laws (e.g., abstention from pork) and other Jewish customs. They repudiated the apostle Paul because of his denigration of the Jewish law. They saw Jesus as a prophet, an exceptional man in the line of Jewish prophets (as described in *Deut.* 18:15), and denied the virgin birth. They justified their way of life by appealing to the example of Jesus' life: he was circumcised, observed the Sabbath and celebrated the Jewish festivals, and taught that all the precepts of the law should be observed. They celebrated Easter on the same day that the Jews celebrated the Passover, and they held the city of Jerusalem in high esteem.

Besides the Ebionites there were other Jewish Christian sects, such as the Nazarenes, the Symmachians, and the Elkesaites, but it is difficult to distinguish one from the other, and the names are not used with any consistency. Ebionite is the most common designation, and it may simply have been a term used to characterize any form of Jewish Christianity with a stress on the observance of Jewish law. Although early Christian writings directed against heresy sometimes linked the Ebionites with other heretical groups, such as the Gnostics, the distinctiveness of the Ebionites lies less in their doctrines than in their attitude toward the Jewish law.

The Ebionites had their own gospel, but it is not possible to reconstruct its content in any detail. Ancient writers mention three Jewish Christian gospels, but because of the fragmentary nature of our information, it is difficult to distinguish these works clearly. The *Gospel of the Ebionites* (a modern designation) may have been similar to the Gospel of Matthew, but it did not include the narrative of the virgin birth and Jesus' infancy.

Information on the Ebionites is scattered over three centuries, from the middle of the second to the middle of the fifth, suggesting that the sect had a continuous history as a distinct group from the earliest period. A continuous history cannot be documented, however, and it is more likely that the persistence of people called by the name Ebionites is evidence that within Christianity, in spite of the break with Judaism and the bitter polemic against Jewish practices, there continued to spring up groups of Christians who believed that one could be a Christian and still observe the Jewish law.

The greatest strength of the Ebionites was in Palestine and Syria, areas where Judaism flourished. One community of Ebionites lived in Pella, east of the Jordan River, and claimed to be descended from the original group of Christians, who were thought to have fled Jerusalem at the time of the war with the Romans in 70 CE. There was a resurgence of Jewish Christianity in the late fourth century, encouraged by Jewish messianism and the emperor Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem. Jews began to hope for their return to Jerusalem and Judaea, a rebuilding of the Temple, and restoration of sacrifices—the beginning of a messianic age. After this period little is known of the Ebionites.

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EBLAITE RELIGION.

The archaeological excavations carried out in the ancient city of Ebla have brought to light a library with thousands of clay tablets that inform us in detail about the politics, economy, and religion of third-millennium BCE Syria. These cuneiform texts have provoked great interest among scholars. Ebla's geographical position near the Syro-Palestinian region described in the Bible, as well as the presence in the Eblaite onomasticon of anthroponyms similar to those of the biblical patriarchs, have caused a heated debate among scholars of different tendencies.

THE EBLAITE PANTHEON. Although archaeologists have not been able to identify particular buildings from the third millennium as temples, it is clear from these texts that the city of Ebla must have contained a large number of religious buildings dedicated to the various divinities of their pantheon, since the Eblaites were in fact a polytheistic people. The pantheon, as seen in the epigraphic material, is clearly Western Semitic, and in this respect the Eblaite civilization differs from civilizations of the Mesopotamian world. Of course scholars at Ebla were aware of the Sumerian gods, and the Eblaite texts include a bilingual vocabulary with a section dedicated to listing the Sumerian gods who could be partly identified with Eblaite gods; for example, Inanna, the Sumerian goddess of love and war, is equated with Ishtar, the Western Semitic goddess with the same attributes, and Nergal, the Sumerian god of the underworld, is compared to Rasap, in later times Rasef, the god of plague.

Confirming what is already known from later literature, the texts from Ebla show that certain syncretic processes had not yet occurred. For example, Enlil, the supreme god of the Sumerian pantheon, was equated in the second millennium to the principal god of the Western Semitic pantheon; at Ebla, however, at least according to the bilingual vocabulary, the two divinities were not regarded as equivalent. At Ebla, as throughout the whole of Western Semitic civilization, Dagan is the principal god, and he is regarded as distinct from the Sumerian Enlil. This suggests deep intellectual reflection among the Eblaite writers, along with a spiritual maturity in their religious belief, indicating perfect knowledge of the divine world.

The Eblaite pantheon is indeed Semitic, and its chief god is Dagan, but together with familiar Semitic gods, such as Ishtar, Baal, Rasap, Kamish, Sipish, Adad, Sin, and Shamagan, we also find Hurrite gods, such as Ashtapi, Ishhara, and Hepat, and perhaps even Teshup. There are also gods that are otherwise completely unknown, such as the divine pair Kura and Barama, protective divinities of the Eblaite kingdom; Kakkab ("the star"), possibly Venus; and NI.DA.KUL (the spelling is uncertain), identified by some scholars as the moon god, who must have been part of the Eblaite pantheon, or more recently with Adad-Baal of later tradition. It is also striking that the guardian god of the city of Ebla is Dabir, who is known from the Bible.

Certain aspects of Eblaite religion are completely novel conceptually and anticipate much later developments. In particular, two pertinent and highly significant patterns of Eblaite thought reveal the remarkable flexibility and tolerance of this civilization. The first and most apparent novelty lies in the Eblaite practice of honoring not only their own divinities but also those of other cities and kingdoms both on lists of official offerings made by the royal household and in offerings made by private individuals. The recipients of the offerings are not only gods of the city and kingdom of Ebla, but also gods from various other kingdoms and cities of central-northern Syria. From sacrificial offerings to the god NI.DA.KUL of Arukatu, Æama, and Luban, as well as to Adad of Abati, Atanni, Æalam, Lub, and so on, we can clearly see that the Eblaites welcomed gods venerated in other cities into their pantheon. Frequent mention of gifts ("offerings to the gods") being dispatched by the Eblaite court to the most distant locations—Adab in southern Mesopotamia, Gasur in northern Mesopotamia, and Byblos on the Mediterranean coast in Lebanon—all lead to the same conclusion.

There would have been political reasons for this religious attitude towards foreign divinities, but it remains the case that the Eblaites, by behaving in this way, demonstrated open-mindedness, flexibility, and sensitivity to the needs of those with whom they came into contact. In contrast to the jealous reaction of the Sumerians, Assyrians, Babylonians, and Hebrews to the gods of other peoples and their rigid rejection of foreign religious traditions, one cannot help but be struck by the openness of the Eblaites in dealing with the varied religious observances of peoples with whom they had political and economic relationships.

The second novelty is the particular concept of divinity held by the Eblaites, which, notwithstanding their widespread polytheism, took the form of henotheism and a theoretical concept of god. Dagan in particular rises to a leading, nearly unique role. In votive texts and in onomastic writings Dagan is often referred to not by his own name but with the title *Lord*, which corresponds to the Semitic *belu.* In various religious references linked to particular cities, we find the expression "Lord of the gods" and "Lord of the country," confirming Dagan's leading role among the Eblaite gods and his undisputed position as the principal Semitic god in the third millennium. In an inscription of Sargon of Akkad, Dagan is said to have presented to the king the Upper Country, confirming what the Eblaite texts say about the status of this god.

The use of the term *Lord* instead of the name *Dagan* has profound implications in terms of religious history. It is clear that Dagan is present under a wide range of aspects and conceptual representations, as demonstrated by the numerous occasions where ^{d}*Be Lord* is followed by a geographical reference. This perhaps provides an answer to an even more intriguing question, with all that this implies in terms of religious history: Dagan, although the principal god, or perhaps by virtue of being so, is not called by his own name, but rather by the term *Lord.* We thus find ourselves dealing with a religious concept very different from that in Mesopotamia, on the basis of which the name of the god could not be spoken, as is the case in other important ancient religions. This suggestive question, implicitly requiring an affirmative response, makes us realize the enormous contribution of Ebla to the understanding of later historico-religious phenomena.

This view of the role of Dagan finds unexpected onomastic support, permitting us to draw the conclusion that the Eblaites had already arrived at an abstract concept of divinity in the third millennium. It is indeed highly probable that the theophoric designations *-il* and *-ya* that are often mentioned in onomastic texts do not indicate the god Il or the god Ya as individual personal gods, but rather *god* as such or the concept of the divine. The use of the term *Be* for Dagan and of *-il* and *-ya* for divinity itself does not mean that we can talk of definite monotheism among the Western Semitic peoples; rather we can legitimately conclude that at the very least the Eblaites had an extremely advanced concept of the divine and were certainly very close to henotheism.

EBLAITE CULT. Turning from speculation to everyday life in Ebla, the deeply religious nature of the Eblaites is evident from the divine worship of both private citizens and the royal family. Eblaite texts concerning economic matters regularly catalogue offerings, bloody and unbloody, presented to the divine world in general and to individual gods to gain their favorable intercession in every aspect of life, and especially on important occasions, such as marriage or illness. The important influence of the cult on public life is also reflected in the six months of the New Calendar that refer to the festivals of various gods:

Festival of Dagan: 1st Month
Festival of Ashtapi: 2nd Month
Festival of Ada(d): 4th Month
Festival of Adamma: 9th Month
Festival of AMA-ra: 11th Month
Festival of Kamish: 12th Month

Two other festivals can be added to these official festivals: *itu er-me* and *itu hu-lu-mu*. Both are religious rituals, the first resembling the festival of tabernacles and the second that of the holocaust.

Such festivals presuppose the existence of sacred buildings or temples and the presence of cult worshippers or priests, but archaeologists have not managed to identify religious buildings of the third millennium, despite their presence as indicated by the written sources. It is recorded that one of the structures on the acropolis, specifically *é-mah* ("exalted house"), is the official temple area of the city of Ebla. Various temples mentioned in the documentary sources must have been located elsewhere in the Low City, especially the temples of Kura, Adad, and Ashtar, the three gods that were most worshipped at Ebla. Other texts tell us of the existence of a temple to all the gods called *e-mul*, where, inter alia, the marriage ceremony of the queen to the new sovereign was conducted. Located in the temples were statues of the various gods, made mostly of gold and silver and resplendent with jewels that the people had brought to them as gifts.

The ranks of the priesthood are not explicitly designated as such, but the priestly titles *dam-dingir*, reserved for female members of the ruling class, perhaps only royal princesses, and *pa*$_4$*-shesh* ND ("the god's anointed") stand out. One text indicates that the male head of the priestly class was called *a-bu-mul* ("father of the gods") and the female head *ama-mul* ("mother of the gods"); their respective relations to each other have not yet been investigated.

Religion also played a central role in Eblaite state events. The most weighty decisions were accompanied by oaths taken before the more important gods. Thus when Ebrium bequeaths his possessions to various children, he swears an oath before Kura, Siphish, Adad, and all the gods. Furthermore, in a curse mentioned in a treaty between Ebla and Assur, the sun god, Adad, and all the gods are invoked. Other ceremonies took place at the temple of Dagan at Tuttul.

The power structure at Ebla was essentially secular, in contrast to Mesopotamia and Egypt, where the sovereigns were either divine incarnations or simply their representatives. Nevertheless, Ebla was governed by firm religious principles: the marriage of the queen and sovereign was a religious rite that took place in the temple of the gods, and the queen herself was chosen by divination, which involved an inspection of entrails presided over by the "god of their fathers." The term *dingir* followed by a personal name did not indicate that this person had been made a god, but rather referred to the god of the individual concerned, and was actually the eponym of various Eblaite families, thus showing that the very structure of Eblaite society was based upon familial bonds. The choice of the queen of Ebla was made with the blessing of the god of the family to which she belonged.

Other important ceremonies include various divine processions in the area around Ebla, including one for the god NI.DA.KUL that occurred in the territories of over twenty other cities. Another even more splendid procession in celebration of the marriage of the queen lasted some six weeks, starting from Ebla and following a specific route to the town of Binash.

Eblaite royal power was the prerogative of the queen, that is, the female, and the sovereign became king not via dynastic descent but through marriage to the queen, who was the sole and real possessor of royal power, and who was chosen by the inspection of entrails. The marriage ceremony and subsequent enthronement took place in a time and manner described in the texts, from which it is clear that the ritual lasted some six weeks and featured cult acts not only in Ebla and Binash, but also in other cities where the marriage party would stop during the ceremonial procession. The Eblaite texts describe the enthronement of two well-known sovereigns, Arennum and Ebrium, the third and fourth rulers of Ebla, confirming theories advanced in previous studies regarding the nature of Eblaite sovereignty.

The rite of the scapegoat was one of the ceremonies in the complex ritual for the succession to the Eblaite throne. This rite was carried out when the procession arrived in Binash, and involved the purification of the sanctuary *é-mah* via the expulsion of a goat, a rite that Pelio Fronzaroli (1993) has rightly emphasized as "partly anticipating the well-known episode in *Leviticus* (16:21–22)." "Let us purify the exalted house (the sanctuary) before Kura and Barama go there, let us release a goat with a silver bracelet on its neck to the mountain of AliNI."

A passage from the Eblaite texts describing the purchase of a silver bracelet supports the idea that this rite must have occurred in the manner described above: "One Dilmunite *shiqlu* of silver for one bracelet for a goat for the purification of the exalted house of Binash (on the occasion of) the enthronement of the sovereign" (MEE 7, 34 v. VII 6–13). The text is only interested in the administrative dispatch of the silver and its intended destination and not in the fate of the goat, but the very mention of this transaction along with the purification of the sanctuary for the enthronement of the sovereign makes it clear that it was a part of this ceremony. This Eblaite practice marks the beginning of a rite that was to become very widespread, especially in the region of Syro-Palestine and Anatolia in the second and first millennium, as well as in the world of the Old Testament, as seen from the *Leviticus* passage cited above. Ebla is the oldest source for such a rite, which was to develop and extend until it included all the ceremonies described in the Bible: in Ebla there is no transference of the sins of the community to the head of the chosen goat, nor the sacrifice of another goat, the blood of which is sprinkled in the sanctuary. The Eblaite text emphasizes only that the temple was purified by sending a goat wearing a silver bracelet to the mountain. However, this ritual dating from the middle of the third millennium BCE is the nucleus of the highly detailed rite described in *Leviticus*. This fact demonstrates the attachment of the Syro-Palestinian peoples to religious tradition.

Among the most outstanding Eblaite prophetic figures, at least at Mari, a particular role is assigned to an individual called the *apilum* (var., *aplum*; fem., *apiltum*), which translators have rendered as “answering,” basing their translation upon the literal meaning of the Akkadian. The translation is ill-suited to the role of the human being, however, and would be better rendered as “prophet.” The surprise in the bilingual vocabulary of Ebla is not so much that the term contains the familiar Semitic root *ʾpl*, but that it includes the Sumerian syntagma *eme-bala*, which means “to translate” or “to interpret,” and not the meaning expressed by the Semitic root, “to talk” or “to answer.” The term corresponding to *eme-bala* in Akkadian and in other Semitic languages is *targumannu*, so that probably the Eblaite scribe intended a particular meaning of the Sumerian headword. The prophet therefore is no longer “the one who answers,” as previously translated, but rather “the translator,” that is, the person who interprets the divine message and renders it intelligible to humankind, just as the Greeks intended when they chose the word *prophet* to refer to someone who speaks for someone else—in this case God.

SEE ALSO Canaanite Religion; Hittite Religion; Israelite Religion; Mesopotamian Religions; Moabite Religion; Phoenician Religion.

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ECCLESIASTES. The *Book of Ecclesiastes* belongs to the wisdom writings of the Hebrew Bible, along with *Proverbs* and *Job.* The Hebrew title of the book is Qohelet, a term related to the verb *qāhal,* “to gather, assemble.” Most likely the noun *qōhelet* designates the function “gatherer,” although it remains unclear whether the term refers to the author as a gatherer of wise sayings or as a gatherer of persons for instruction. Greek translators interpreted the word to mean *ekklēsiastēs,* “member of a citizen’s assembly.” Although the book identifies Qohelet as “king over Israel in Jerusalem, ” that is, Solomon (1:12; cf. 1:1), scholars recognize this persona as a literary fiction, one that is maintained only for the section 1:12–2:26. In the epilogue Qohelet is referred to as a *ḥākām,* a “sage” who taught the people.

DATE, PROVENANCE, AND RECEPTION. The lack of specific historical references within the book makes it difficult to date *Ecclesiastes.* Consequently, its linguistic profile provides the best clue to the date of composition. The presence of Persian loan words and numerous Aramaisms, as well as Hebrew expressions and grammatical forms typical of other post-exilic texts, makes a date earlier than the mid-fifth century BCE all but impossible. Opinion is divided, however, as to whether the book is more likely to have been composed during the Persian period (540–332 BCE) or the Hellenistic period (332 BCE–165 CE). A date in the fourth or third century BCE is most likely.

Though the date remains somewhat uncertain, the social context of the book is reflected in the striking use of terms drawn from the commercial world. *Ecclesiastes* often uses these terms in a derived or metaphorical sense, but the commercial origin of words such as *yitrôn* (profit), *ḥesrôn* (deficit), *ḥeshbôn* (account), and *shallît* (proprietor) is readily recognized. Moreover, a number of the sayings concern money and economic relations. Beginning in the Persian period, the economy of Palestine was increasingly monetary and commercial. The competitive economic context of Persian and Hellenistic Palestine was also combined with an autocratic and often arbitrary system of political and economic hierarchy (royal grants, tax farming, etc.) that made it difficult for individuals to have a sense of control over their economic futures. This socioeconomic situation seems to inform the perspective of *Ecclesiastes,* in which the inability of persons to be able to grasp the order of the world becomes thematic. One of the ways in which this perspective is manifest in *Ecclesiastes* is the foregrounding of the contradictoriness of experience.

Not surprisingly, *Ecclesiastes* was one of the books about whose canonicity certain rabbis raised questions in the late first century CE, when such issues were being discussed. The shocking nature of a number of the observations of *Ecclesiastes* provoked some of the opposition. In addition, the book's odd, self-contradictory structure gave pause. As a remark in the Talmud observes, "the sages sought to withdraw the book of Qohelet because its words are mutually contradictory" (*b. Shabb.* 30b). Nevertheless, the book was received as canonical in Judaism and thus in the Christian canon. In fact, *Ecclesiastes* came to be recognized as one of the five Megillot, the scrolls read in connection with the calendar of Jewish festivals. *Ecclesiastes* is read during Sukkot, the Festival of Booths, presumably because of the connection between the repeated calls of *Ecclesiastes* to enjoy the present moment and the association of Sukkot with "the season of our rejoicing."

CONTENT AND THEMES. Although *Ecclesiastes* is often seen as a heterodox work, it fits quite well into the larger picture of wisdom writings in the ancient Near East. Ancient Near Eastern wisdom was fundamentally concerned with the quest for order in the natural world, especially as that order expresses itself in the sphere of human experience. While many wisdom texts, such as the *Book of Proverbs,* express confidence in human ability to discern and profit by perceiving such an order, there are also many that express a skeptical or pessimistic view. These include the Egyptian writings of the *Dialogue of a Man with His Ba*, *The Admonitions of Ipuwer*, and the conclusion to *The Instructions of Ani.* In Mesopotamian wisdom *The Babylonian Theodicy* and, in particular, *The Dialogue of a Master with His Slave* articulate skepticism toward the project of discerning the order of the universe. In Israelite wisdom the *Book of Job* is also reckoned among the skeptical works. It is probably incorrect to see these different opinions as representing a chronological movement from confidence to skepticism. It is rather more likely that both the confident and the skeptical perspectives were present within the dialogue of wisdom at most times.

The particular perspective of *Ecclesiastes* concerning the accessibility of order in the world is announced in the opening verse of the text (1:2). Following the translation of the King James Version, the line is often rendered "Vanity of vanities, says Qohelet; vanity of vanities; all is vanity." The word translated "vanity" is *hebel*, which literally means "a puff of air." It is, as C. L. Seow suggests in *Ecclesiates: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (1997), "anything that is superficial, ephemeral, insubstantial, incomprehensible, enigmatic, inconsistent, or contradictory. . . . It cannot be grasped—either physically or intellectually" (p. 47). Thus, *Ecclesiastes* does not deny that there is an order to the world—indeed, he often suggests that there is—only it is one that cannot be grasped by human knowing. Consequently, translators sometimes render *hebel* by such terms as *futility* or even *absurdity.*

The conviction of *Ecclesiastes* that humans cannot grasp the order of the world helps make sense of a frequent literary strategy used in the book in which two sayings that contradict one another are placed side by side. Exposing contradictions as the way in which the world is in fact experienced demonstrates the elusiveness of any intellectual or moral order. Moreover, it also explains why his judgment concerning the utility of wisdom is so mixed. Wisdom may in some cases be an advantage, but in other cases it affords no advantage whatsoever. Hence, persons are unable to control their futures by discerning the right deed for the right time. For this reason *Ecclesiastes* often characterizes the work people do in their lives with a word that has negative connotations, *ʿamal,* meaning "burdensome toil." Similarly, *Ecclesiastes* notes that although God is just, injustice is often present in the world. Death becomes emblematic of the inability of humans to grasp any meaningful order, since "the same fate comes to all" (9:2), whether they are wise or foolish, good or evil, religious or not. Like the order of the world, God remains inscrutable for *Ecclesiastes.* Although much that *Ecclesiastes* says about God would be at home in *Proverbs,* he differs from that book in stressing the radical transcendence of God ("God is in heaven and you are on earth" [5:2]). Like an imperial monarch in the Persian or Hellenistic period, God is to be feared rather than loved (5:1–7).

Despite the conviction of *Ecclesiastes* that the order of things cannot be understood and used to human advantage, he addresses the concern of traditional wisdom for how to live appropriately in the world. Consistent with his analysis of the inability of persons to control their futures, *Ecclesiastes* endorses taking pleasure in the moment at hand. One should enjoy eating, drinking, being festive, loving one's spouse, working on the task at hand (9:7–10). Even this is not in one's own power, however, but rather is frequently described as God's "gift" or as a person's "portion" from God. Although this advice differs from what one finds in other Israelite wisdom texts, it is traditional wisdom, having a very close parallel in the Mesopotamian Gilgamesh epic. Thus, *Ecclesiastes* should not be seen as representing a crisis in Israelite wisdom, as is sometimes suggested, but rather as articulating the skeptical or pessimistic strand of traditional ancient Near Eastern wisdom.

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CAROL A. NEWSOM (2005)

ECCLESIOLOGY See CHURCH, *ARTICLE ON* ECCLESIOLOGY

ECK, JOHANN

ECK, JOHANN (1486–1543), German Roman Catholic theologian known for his opposition to the Protestant reformers. Born Johann Maier in the Swabian village of Eck, he entered the University of Heidelberg at age eleven. Thereafter he studied at Tübingen (master of arts, 1501), Cologne, and Freiburg (doctor of theology, 1510). In 1510 he began studies at Ingolstadt, where he received a second doctorate and assumed a position on the theological faculty. He quickly became the dominant theological force at Ingolstadt and retained his position and his dominance there until his death. Eck was ordained to the secular priesthood in 1508 and preached regularly during the years he spent in Ingolstadt.

Eck's early years revealed broad intellectual interests. He published on logic (*Bursa pavonis,* 1507; *In summulas Petri Hispani,* 1516; *Elementarius dialectice,* 1517) and on Aristotle (1517, 1519, 1520). He read geography and canon law, and his affinities for the humanists were reflected in his study of Greek and Hebrew and his fondness for classical sources. In theology, his most significant early work was the *Chrysopassus* (1514), a treatise on predestination. In it Eck declared his preference for the Franciscans Bonaventure and Duns Scotus but asserted that he would not be bound to any theological party—a notable declaration in view of his attachment to the nominalists during his years in Freiburg. The *Chrysopassus* expounded doctrines of merit and free will that would soon be under attack by Luther and other Protestants.

Luther's Ninety-five Theses (1517) changed Eck's life. At his bishop's request Eck responded to the theses, and ensuing exchanges led to the Leipzig Disputation (1519) between Eck and the Wittenbergers Luther and Karlstadt. Shortly thereafter Eck went to Rome and helped secure papal condemnation of Wittenberg theology. He was commissioned (1520) to publicize in Germany the papal bull *Exsurge Domine,* which condemned forty-one propositions attributed to Luther, and which Luther publicly burned.

The rest of Eck's life was devoted largely to combating Protestants in Germany and Switzerland. Although he had no confidence that disputation would convince his Protestant opponents, he engaged in debate when he thought public policy might be influenced—notably in Baden in 1524. He was the most important Catholic participant in discussions with Protestants at Augsburg (1530) and Ratisbon (1541). His anti-Protestant publications included the following: defenses of papal authority (*De primatu Petri,* 1520), the doctrine of purgatory (*De purgatorio,* 1523), the sacrament of penance (*De satisfactione* and *De initio poenitentiae,* both 1523), and the sacrifice of the Mass (*De sacrificio missae,* 1526); the *Enchiridion* (1525), a manual intended to refute common Protestant errors; cycles of sermons (German and Latin, 1530); and a German translation of the Bible (1537). Two memoirs (*Schutz red,* 1540, and *Replica,* 1543) are polemical tracts that also provide biographical details.

Eck's writings were the most widely distributed anti-Protestant theological works of his generation. He played a major role in convincing Roman Catholic authorities that Luther's teachings were novelties dangerous to the security of the faith. He helped shape the strategy widely used against the Protestants: to take positions representing a medieval consensus and, in defending them, to anticipate possible Protestant objections, avoid scholastic demonstration, and emphasize scriptural arguments.

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Despite its age and some serious flaws, the most satisfactory biography of Eck is still Theodor Wiedemann's *Dr. Johann Eck, Professor der Theologie an der Universität Ingolstadt* (Regensburg, 1865). For a thorough modern treatment of one aspect of Eck's theology, see Erwin Iserloh's *Die Eucharistie in der Darstellung des Johannes Eck* (Münster, 1950). Two exemplary critical editions of works by Eck are *Enchiridion locorum communium adversus Lutherum et alios hostes ecclesiae, 1525–1543,* edited by Pierre Fraenkel (Münster, 1979), and *De sacrificio missae libri tres, 1526,* edited by Erwin Iserloh, Vinzenz Pfnür, and Peter Fabisch (Münster, 1982).

Walter L. Moore (1987)

ECKANKAR

ECKANKAR was founded by Paul Twitchell (1909–1971) in California in the mid-1960s. Although the Hindi/Punjabi term *Ek Onkar* (literally "One God/Power") was most likely derived from Guru Nānak's *Japjī* (the first set of hymns in the Sikh holy book, *Gurū Granth Sāhib*), Twitchell altered its original phonetic spelling and definition, claiming that "Eckankar" was a Tibetan-Pali word meaning "co-worker with God." According to Twitchell, Eckankar was an ancient spiritual path with a lineage of 970 "Eck" Masters who trace back to Gakko, who brought the true teachings of soul travel from the city of Retz on the planet Venus. Twitchell alleged that through this bilocation philosophy a neophtye can leave his or her body via an inner light and sound and soul-travel to higher regions of consciousness, which lead ultimately to the supreme lord, Sugmad.

The Living Eck Master (occasionally retaining the more exalted title of Mahanta, "the highest state of God consciousness on earth") is central to Eckankar theology because it is through his guidance that the student (known as a chela) receives various levels of initiation, usually involving instructions into new sacred tones and other higher-level practices of contemplation. In an early article entitled "The Cliff Hanger" published in *Psychic Observer* in 1964, Twitchell explained the basis behind his new group:

> Eckankar, which I formed out of my own experience, is the terms used for the philosophy I have developed for the Cliff Hanger. It is based on Shabd-Yoga, a way out form of yoga. The word is the Hindu locution for the cosmic sound current which is known in our vernacular as the cosmic river of God.

Twitchell attributed the evolution of his personal philosophy into a public spiritual path to his second wife, Gail Atkinson (whom he married in 1964 when he was fifty-four years old and she was twenty-one), saying, "The switchover from the Cliff Hanger to Eck began taking place after I met my present wife, Gail. She insisted that I do something with my knowledge and abilities" (quoted in Brad Steiger, *In My Soul I Am Free* [San Diego, 1974], p. 64).

Eckankar's organization and teachings have evolved since Twitchell died of heart disease on September 17, 1971, in Cincinnati, Ohio, shortly after giving a talk. Twitchell's widow, Gail Atkinson (his first wife, Camille Ballowe, whom he married in 1942, divorced him on the legal grounds of desertion in 1960), claimed to have had a dream in which her husband appointed Darwin Gross to be his spiritual successor and the leader of Eckankar. Gross, who eventually married and then divorced Atkinson, served as the Living Eck Master for ten years until 1981, when he appointed Harold Klemp to succeed him as the spiritual leader of the organization. Two years later, in 1983, there was an acrimonous split between Klemp and Gross, which resulted in the latter being excommunciated from Eckankar. A lawsuit was filed by the Eckankar organization against Gross for allegedly misappropriating funds and for trademark and copyright infringement. Gross subsequently cut off any formal ties with Eckankar and started his own group called ATOM (The Ancient Teachings of the Masters). Eckankar has more or less erased Gross's tenure (and books) from their official histories. After selling the copyrights of Twitchell's books to Eckankar, Gail Atkinson ended her association with Eckankar.

Under the present leadership of Klemp, Eckankar has expanded its core audience worldwide and has an estimated paid membership of anywhere between 40,000 and 100,000 members yearly (Eckankar does not provide exact numbers). Klemp has also produced a wide-ranging series of books and discourses and has moved Eckankar's former center of operations from Menlo Park, California, to Chanhassen, Minnesota, where he established the temple of Eck. According to its own accounting, Eckankar has members from over one hundred countries around the world.

During Klemp's tenure, Eckankar has also systematized its teaching and made it more accessible to the general reading public by lessening its emphasis on Twitchell's extensive use of Indian-influenced terminology (particularly Hindi/Punjabi). Eckankar's official website (http://www.eckankar.org) presents a codified version of its belief system:

> Soul is eternal and is the individual's true identity. Soul exists because God loves it. Soul is on a journey to Self- and God-Realization. Spiritual unfoldment can be accelerated through conscious contact with the ECK, Divine Spirit. This contact can be made via the Spiritual Exercises of ECK and the guidance of the Living ECK Master. The Mahanta, the Living ECK Master is the spiritual leader of Eckankar. Spiritual experience and liberation in this lifetime are available to all. You can actively explore the spiritual worlds through Soul Travel, dreams, and other spiritual techniques.

Eckankar has weathered a fair storm of controversy since its inception, primarily because of questions concerning Twitchell's alleged plagiarism, biographical redactions, and purported historical antecedents. First, Twitchell claimed that while traveling in Europe and India he was taught Eckankar by the two former Masters who preceded him, Sudar Singh of Allahabad and Rebazar Tarzs, a supposed five-hundred-year-old Tibetan monk. However, there is no documented evidence proving that Twitchell had visited these countries when he claimed he did or that either Sudar Singh or Rebazar Tarzs are genuine historical figures. Rather, there is ample evidence (even from Twitchell's own pen) that he was associated with Swami Premananda of the Self-Revelation Church of Absolute Monism in Washington, D.C., from 1950 to 1955, when he was asked to leave the church compounds for personal misconduct. Additionally, Twitchell received initiation into Shabd Yoga in 1955 from Kirpal Singh, the founder of Ruhani Satsang in Delhi, India, while the guru was on his first tour of the United States. He kept in close contact with Kirpal Singh via correspondence for at least a decade and took his wife Gail to see the Indian guru and have her receive initiation from him in San Francisco in 1963. Twitchell also joined L. Ron Hubbard's Church of Scientology in the 1950s and eventually served for a short time as his press agent and wrote a number of articles for the group.

With the founding of Eckankar, however, Twitchell altered his biography and redacted references to his former teachers and replaced them with a hierarchy of Eck Masters. He even changed his birth date, claiming on his second marriage certificate that he was born in 1922, subtracting some thirteen years off his age. He also eventually denied his initiation under Kirpal Singh and threatened to sue his former gurū over what he considered defamatory claims concerning his discipleship.

A number of Twitchell's books on Eckankar contain large chunks of material appropriated from sources he failed to reference. Twitchell seemed particularly fond of plagiarizing whole passages from Radhasoami Satsang Beas author Julian Johnson, whose two books, *With a Great Master in India* (1934) and *The Path of the Masters* (1939), contributed to much of Eckankar's specialized terminology that draws extensively from the Sant Mat tradition of North India, an eclectic spiritual movement that includes such poet-saints as Kabīr, Dādū, and Tulsi Sahib. While Gross denied such appropriations for over a decade, the current Eck leader, Harold Klemp, has acknowledged some of Twitchell's plagiarism by calling him a "master compiler." Regardless of these continuing controversies, Eckankar has become an exceptionally successful religion with centers spanning the globe. Interestingly, Eckankar has a strong presence in Africa (particularly Nigeria) and in Europe, and it continues to draw thousands to its yearly conferences.

While Eckankar has been directly influenced by the Self-Realization Fellowship, Theosophy, Scientology, and particularly Sant Mat (via its specialized version of sound-current yoga), it has, in turn, influenced a number of new religious offshoots, including the Movement of Spiritual Inner Awareness (MSIA), founded by John-Roger Hinkins; MasterPath, founded by Gary Olsen; The Ancient Teachings of the Masters (ATOM), founded by Darwin Gross; the Divine Science of Light and Sound, founded by Jerry Mulvin; the Sonic Spectrum, founded by Michael Turner; and the Higher Consciousness Society, founded by Ford Johnson. Each of the founders of these groups was at one time a member of Eckankar, and they have all incorporated many Eck terms and ideas into their respective organizations. Eckankar's future looks bright as it enters its fifth decade of existence.

SEE ALSO Hubbard, L. Ron; Scientology; Sikhism; Theosophical Society.

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DAVID CHRISTOPHER LANE (2005)

ECKHART, JOHANNES (c. 1260–1327?), called Meister Eckhart; German theologian and mystic. Eckhart was born at Hochheim in Thuringia (now Germany). After entering the Order of Preachers (Dominicans) at Erfurt, he began theological studies in Cologne about 1280, possibly being among the last students of Albertus Magnus. In 1293 Eckhart was in Paris as a young lecturer and in 1302 he held the chair once held by Thomas Aquinas. A versatile personality, Eckhart was chosen in 1303 and in 1307 to be the religious superior of a province of numerous Dominican houses and institutions. During his second teaching period in Paris, after 1311, Eckhart laid the foundations for what he intended to be his great work, the *Opus tripartitum*, a synthesis of commentaries on the Bible, philosophical-theological treatises, and sermons on the Christian life.

In 1314 Eckhart was active in Strassburg, a city rich in theological schools and centers of preaching and mystical prayer. Eckhart, without neglecting his theological teaching (among his students were the famous mystical writers Johannes Tauler and Heinrich Süse), traveled widely to Dominican and Cistercian houses as preacher and spiritual director. By 1322 this demanding apostolate had been transferred up the Rhine to Cologne.

By 1326 Eckhart was under attack for his theology by the archbishop of Cologne. Rivalry between Franciscans and Dominicans; the heated atmosphere of the excesses in piety, as well as the genius of Rhenish mysticism; Eckhart's preaching about God and human personality in a vivid, colloquial German—all contributed to Eckhart's difficulties. Mindful of the accusations leveled previously against Thomas Aquinas, and insulted by a local inquisition presuming to evaluate the Dominicans who stood under papal protection, Eckhart appealed to the papacy, then at Avignon. He spent the remaining months of his life traveling the roads to and from southern France, appealing his case before the papal Curia. In 1329 John XXII concluded formally that seventeen of the articles ascribed to Eckhart (only a sample of the longer list) were to be construed as heretical or supportive of heresy, but the papal document observed that Eckhart, prior to his death, had rejected error. Eckhart's place and time of death remain unknown.

Eckhart's professorial works in Latin together with his popular German sermons develop a single system that is a religious metaphysics of spirit-in-process. Spirit here has a twofold significance. In a daring appropriation of apophatic mysticism, Eckhart defends the otherness of the divine being, that "wilderness" that to us is nothing. For Eckhart, the Trinity exists only on the surface of the absolute, for the three persons display activity. The ultimate reality of the absolute is "the silent godhead" from which in love enormous processes come forth from transcendent peace. The second manifestation of spirit is human personality. Eckhart, whom some have called the greatest depth psychologist before Freud, describes human life both theoretically and practically as a birth. The true self that is being born in each person is a word of God, just as Jesus, the divine Logos, is a word of God. This birth happens in the midst of a metaphysics of psychological praxis: only by letting the world of finite being and desires be can the individual prepare for the birth at the center of his or her personality (in the "spark" of the psyche) of that new self that is the fulfillment of God's personalized love and of our individualized personality.

Eckhart exercised an extraordinary influence not only upon Tauler and Süse and other Rhenish mystics but also upon Nicholas of Cusa. Martin Luther too admired these and other mystics of the German school from the fourteenth century, but, because of the papal condemnation, he knew them only from anonymous collections. After 1800 the German thinker Franz von Baader rehabilitated a number of mystics, including Eckhart, who then influenced Hegel and, more extensively, Schelling. In the twentieth century, scholarship discovered more writings of Eckhart, employed critical methods to verify and comprehend them, and filled in the picture of a genius of extraordinary depth. Martin Heidegger, both Jungian and Freudian psychologists, and Asian scholars found Eckhart to be an inescapable voice in philosophy, theology, and personal life. Since 1965 a significant renaissance of interest in Eckhart's work has been taking place in Europe, North America, and Asia.

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THOMAS F. O'MEARA (1987)

ECOLOGY AND RELIGION

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
ECOLOGY AND INDIGENOUS TRADITIONS
ECOLOGY AND HINDUISM
ECOLOGY AND JAINISM
ECOLOGY AND BUDDHISM
ECOLOGY AND CONFUCIANISM
ECOLOGY AND DAOISM
ECOLOGY AND SHINTŌ
ECOLOGY AND JUDAISM
ECOLOGY AND CHRISTIANITY
ECOLOGY AND ISLAM
ENVIRONMENTAL ETHICS, WORLD RELIGIONS, AND ECOLOGY
SCIENCE, RELIGION, AND ECOLOGY
ECOLOGY AND NATURE RELIGIONS

ECOLOGY AND RELIGION: AN OVERVIEW

Religion and ecology is an emerging area of study, research, and engagement that embraces multiple disciplines, including environmental studies, geography, history, anthropology, sociology, and politics. This article will survey the field of study and some of the broader movements of religion and ecology. The field of study responds to both historical and contemporary quests for understanding the interrelationships of humans, Earth, cosmos, and the sacred. This field involves explorations of such topics as the creative and destructive dynamics of nature, divine presence and purpose in nature and the cosmos, the ways in which environments have shaped and been shaped by human culture, the symbolic expression of nature in myth and rituals, and the understanding of ecology as displayed in traditional practices of agriculture, commerce, fishing, or hunting. In short, it explores the complex and varied systems of human-Earth relations as expressed in religious traditions.

Religions are often thought to concentrate primarily on divine-human relations that aim at personal salvation or liberation from earthly travails. They also emphasize the importance of social and ethical relations between humans. The intersection of religion and ecology opens up for further investigation the broad interactions of humans as individuals and as communities with the natural world and the universe at large. It underscores the many ways that humans locate themselves by means of religious cosmologies within a universe of meaning and mystery. It explores the varieties of human flourishing in relation to nature, whether those interactions reflect reciprocity or respect, domination or manipulation, celebration or submission. It suggests as well that human interaction with the sacred often occurs in and through nature and the larger cosmos.

Religions have acknowledged that simultaneously with ongoing seasonal and geological changes there is a wholeness and a holiness in the earth. This evolving cycle of life and death is, in part, what has engaged religious systems seeking to integrate their intricate symbolic and ritual structures with life processes. Life, death, and rebirth in the natural world are frequently symbolized in religious traditions. This alignment of the passage of human life with natural systems constitutes a profound dynamic of religious energy expressed in cosmological myths, symbols, and rituals. Along with this alignment, religions have developed injunctions against overuse of land and species found in numerous scriptures. This interweaving of cosmological religious thought and environmental ethics is explored in the study of religion and ecology.

As an emerging field, religion and ecology is still defining its scope and limitations. The field embraces both descriptive and historical studies as well as prescriptive and constructive theologies. Most scholars in the field do not presume that environmentally friendly scriptural passages imply environmentally sensitive practices. Moreover, scholars acknowledge the vastly different historical contexts in which religious traditions evolve by comparison to current environmental problems. Nonetheless, some scholars of the world's religions have suggested that there are both concepts and practices from these traditions that can be integrated into discussions of environmental policy and ethics. For example, the Islamic concepts in the Qurʾān regarding *tawḥīd* (unity of creation), *mizan* (balance), and *amānah* (trust or stewardship) reflect values that have been interpreted in relation to the natural world. Furthermore, Islamic practices such as *hima* (protected sanctuaries) and *ḥaram* (sacred precincts) represent ancient customs whose contemporary environmental implications are currently being explored. It is the premise of many scholars of religion and ecology that the religions offer intellectual energy, symbolic power, moral persuasion, institutional structures, and a commitment to social and economic justice that may contribute to the transformation of attitudes, values and practices for a sustainable future. Yet scholars also recognize the challenges of historical complexities, the inevitable gaps between ideas and practices, and the extremes of idealizing or dismissing particular religions. Academics have written of the dangers of idealizing the "noble savage" or "noble oriental" in this regard. Correctives to such idealizations can be found in environmental history, which is itself a newly emerging field. These historical studies will help to shed light on actual environmental practices of various cultures, influenced in part by their religious traditions.

DIVERSITY AND DIALOGUE OF RELIGIONS. The world's religions are inherently distinctive in their expressions, and these differences are especially significant in regard to the study of religion and ecology. Several types of religious diversity can be identified. First, there is historical and cultural diversity within and among religious traditions as expressed over time in varied social contexts. For example, Buddhism arose in India, spread to Southeast Asia and north across the Silk Road through Central Asia to China, and to Korea, Japan, and the West. This geographical expansion is paralleled by strikingly different cultural expressions of Buddhist thought and practice.

Second, there is dialogic and syncretic diversity within and among religious traditions. This does not override the historical and cultural diversity but instead adds another level of complexity. Dialogue and interaction between traditions engenders the sedimentation and synthesis of religious traditions into one another. This often results in new forms of religious expression that can be described as syncretic, the commingling of religions, or hybrid—the fusion of religions into new expressions. Such creative expressions occurred when indigenous peoples in the Americas adapted Christianity into local settings. In East Asia there is an ongoing dialogue between and among Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism that has resulted in various kinds of syncretism.

Third, there is cosmological and ecological diversity within and among religions. Religious traditions develop unique narratives, symbols, and rituals to express their relationships with the cosmos and with local landscapes. In Daoism the body is an energetic network of breathings-in and breathings-out that expresses a basic dialogical pattern of the cosmos. Through this process individuals open themselves to the inner meditative landscape that represents a path of organic unity with the cosmos.

Ecological diversity is evident in the varied environmental contexts and bioregions where religions have developed over time. For example, Jerusalem is the center of a larger sacred bioregion where three religious traditions, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, have both shaped and been shaped by the environment. However, the formation and expression of symbols, rituals, laws and community life within these religions in relation to urban, piedmont, hill country, and desert settings that constitute "Jerusalem" are historically quite different. These complex interactions illustrate that religions throughout history have interacted in myriad ways with their natural settings.

DEFINING TERMS. In the field of religion and ecology, religions may be broadly understood as a means whereby humans, recognizing the limitations of phenomenal reality, undertake specific practices to effect self-transformation and community cohesion within a cosmological context. Religions are vehicles for cosmological stories, symbol systems, ritual practices, ethical norms, historical processes, and institutional structures that transmit a view of the human as embedded in a world of meaning and responsibility, transformation and celebration. Religions connect humans with a divine or numinous presence, with the human community, and with the broader Earth community. They link humans to the larger matrix of mystery in which life arises, unfolds, and flourishes.

Nature is seen in this light as a revelatory context for orienting humans to abiding religious questions regarding the cosmological origins of the universe, the meaning of the emergence of life, and the responsible role of humans in these life processes. Religions thus situate humans in relation to both the natural and human worlds with regard to meaning and responsibility. This may be a limiting or liberating experience. For example, religious ideas regarding nature may have deep associations with social beliefs and practices that are seen as unchanging ideals authorizing hegemonic ideologies. At the same time, religions may become a means for experiencing a sustaining creative force in the natural and human worlds and beyond. For some traditions this is a creator deity, for others it is a numinous presence in nature, and for others it is the source of flourishing life.

This experience of a creative force gives rise to a human desire to enter into transformative processes that link self, society, and cosmos. The term *anthropocosmic* refers to the linkage in which the microcosm of the individual is connected to the larger human community and to the macrocosm of the universe itself. The anthropocosmic impulse is for relationality, intimacy, and communion with this numinous reality. Individual and communal transformations are expressed through rituals and ceremonies that celebrate natural seasonal cycles as well as various cultural rites of passage. Religions link humanity to the rhythms of nature through the use of symbols and rituals that help to establish moral relationships and patterns for social exchange.

The term *ecology,* as it is used here, locates the human within the horizon of emergent, interdependent life rather than seeing humanity as the vanguard of evolution, the exclusive fabricator of technology, or a species apart from nature. The term is also used here—rather than the term *environment,* which can suggest something apart from humans—to indicate the dynamic interaction of humans with nature. *Scientific ecology* is used to indicate the empirical and experimental study of the relations between living and nonliving organisms within their ecosystems. While drawing on the scientific understanding of interrelationships in nature, the term *religious ecology* is used here to point toward a cultural awareness of kinship with and dependence on nature for the continuity of all life. Religious ecology provides a basis for exploring diverse cultural responses to the varied Earth processes. In addition, the study of religious ecology gives insight into how particular environments have influenced the development of cultures. Therefore, one can distinguish religious ecology from scientific ecology, just as one can distinguish religious cosmology from scientific cosmology.

This awareness of the interdependence of life in religious ecology finds expression in the religious traditions as a sacred reality that is often recognized as a creative manifestation, a pervasive sustaining presence, a vital power in the natural world, or an emptiness (*śūnyatā*) leading to the realization of interbeing. For many religions, the natural world is understood as a source of teaching, guidance, visionary inspiration, revelation, or power. At the same time, nature is also a source of food, clothing, and shelter. Thus, religions have developed intricate systems of exchange and thanksgiving in relation to human dependence on animals and plants, on forests and fields, and on rivers and oceans. These encompass symbolic and ritual exchanges which frequently embody ecological knowledge of ecosystems, agricultural processes, or hunting practices.

The study of religion and ecology explores the many ways in which religious communities articulate relationships with their local landscapes and bioregions. Religious ecology gives insight into how people and cultures create complex symbolic systems from their perceived relationships with the world, as well as practical means of sustaining and implementing these relations. In other words, these symbolic systems are frequently embodied in hunting, agricultural, and ceremonial practices that reflect respect for the mystery of life, along with ritual exchanges for appropriate interactions with nature, especially as a source of nourishment for body and spirit.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND IN THE WEST. While movements of religion and ecology can be found worldwide, the field of religion and ecology is largely situated in academic settings in the West. With the growing critique of the unintended ecological and social consequences of globalization, a period of intense self-reflection has emerged in the West. The causes of environmental destruction have sometimes been traced to particular views of nature in Western philosophy and religion. Some of the varied and intertwined conceptualizations of cosmology, nature, and religion that have arisen in Western thought are explored here. Significant conceptualizations have also emerged, for example, in South Asian thought regarding *rita* (cosmological order) and *deva* (natural forces); in East Asian explorations of *dao* (the Way) and *qi* (material force); in Buddhist reflections on *pratityasamutpada* (dependent origination); and in Indigenous lifeways regarding relationality to spirits in nature. However, other articles explore the multiple contributions of South Asian, East Asian, and Indigenous traditions, as well as the Abrahamic traditions.

The first formulation of an incipient environmental philosophy in the West is often attributed to the *Airs, Waters, and Places* of Hippocrates. This work describes the close formative influences of environment on peoples and their cultures. Concepts regarding the environment were actively explored in Hellenistic thought under the category of *oikumene*, or community of the inhabited world. These philosophical developments went beyond, but also complemented, ancient ideas of personification of natural forces in the classical religions of the Mediterranean region. Various Indo-European and Semitic myths of creation posited a universe of correspondences between material realities, cosmic bodies, and deities that mapped out personal identity, social stability, and cosmic hierarchies. Pagan worship in the Mediterranean world ritualized ancient ideas that brought self, society, and cosmos into meaningful relation, and the Hellenistic philosophers reformulated many of these ideas. Among Stoic thinkers the linkage between cosmology and ethics gave rise to a sense of cosmopolitan citizenship as a way for humans to participate in the divine order. One of the most significant and longest lasting concepts for describing the gradations of the natural and human worlds was that of a hierarchical view of life often imaged as a chain or ladder. Such a great chain of being effectively brought together Platonic and Aristotelian worldviews and provided the grounds for elevating humans above nature.

Cosmological concepts also commanded significant attention within the Abrahamic traditions derived from the attribution of creation to a monotheistic God. Both Rabbinic Judaism and early Christianity drew on the Hebrew Bible (e.g., *Gen.* 1:26–28; *Jb.* 26:8–13; and *Ps.* 65:5, 11–13) and Greek Platonic thought (e.g., *Timaeus* and Paul's epistles) to articulate ideas of design and order in nature as reflecting the power of the Divine Creator. The land ethic in the Hebrew tradition and the value of wilderness as places of encounter with the divine also passed into Christianity. Similarly, in Israel symbolic clusters were associated with shepherding in the hill country and agricultural productivity in the piedmont region. Such clusters were linked with the idea of a cosmic center in Jerusalem with which one could map the entire known world. Mapping the local and mapping the universe, or cosmography, often overlapped in cultures. These distinctive cosmological concepts coalesced around the Jewish and Christian notions of God's divine plan for creation. This is evident in the *hexaemeron* literature of the early Church Fathers describing the six days of creation, as well as in the writings of Philo, Origen, and Augustine.

Along with the sense of divine order in creation, another biblical and Qurʾanic theme is God's loving care for creation. This is manifest in the imagery of the *Song of Songs* in the Hebrew scriptures, the parables of Jesus in the New Testament, and those passages in the Qurʾān evoking *ihsan*, love, care, and beauty. Individuals who embodied this quest for devotional love of the divine through the natural world include Qabbalistic and Hasidic teachers in Judaism like Baʿal Shem Tov, Christian figures like Bernard of Clairvaux and Francis of Assisi, and Jalāluddīn Rūmī among the many Ṣūfī masters of Islam. While this devotional exuberance inspired many in these traditions, the scholastic thinkers sought to circumscribe this experiential enthusiasm with more rational views of God, humans, and creation.

Scholastic thought in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam reflects the influence of the classical ideas of a divinely ordained beginning, an order to creation, the godlike form of creatures, and of nature as a work, like a product, resulting from an applied technique. God as manifest in His works became identified with views of the Divine as Artisan who contained within Himself the Divine Forms as articulated by Plato. Many Western thinkers depicted nature as similar to a scriptural book that revealed the mysteries and the mind of the Creator. However, like humans who suffered from the sin of the original fall, nature aged and experienced decay. It might be said that in all the Abrahamic traditions there is an ambivalence regarding nature. On the one hand, in Christianity nature is seen as good, as at the Nicene Council, and yet fallen, as in the writings of Augustine and Calvin. On the other hand, in different expressions in Judaism and Islam nature is at once God's handiwork as well as a potential place of chaos requiring transcendence.

Nature was worthy of admiration by humans only if that wonder and esteem was associated with the love of God. It is in this context that Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Rushd, Maimonides, Thomas Aquinas and other scholastic thinkers of the medieval period reinvigorated the direct investigation of nature based on Aristotle's notion that form is embedded in the world of matter. For example, in the *Summa contra gentiles,* Thomas Aquinas affirmed a diversity of created forms as coming closest to manifesting the divine. He wrote that, "The presence of multiplicity and variety among created things was therefore necessary that a perfect likeness to God be found in them according to their manner of being." (Bk. 1, chap. 45, para. 2) Despite this cosmological orientation within Christianity, as Roman Catholicism became dominant in Europe, it nonetheless suppressed indigenous nature-based religions and frequently leveled sacred groves and built churches on sacred sites. Thus, while such a devotional figure as Bernard of Clairvaux experienced a deep mystical union with the divine he also sought to tame the wild growth of the Clairvaux valley in France as an expression of that devotion.

The sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation did not significantly alter fundamental ambivalences within Christianity toward the natural world. Rather, with John Calvin and Martin Luther it deepened a sense of the fallen character of nature, emphasizing a need to control the wild and chaotic dimensions of the world. Thus, as Protestantism spread to the Americas it subtly engendered a fear of both new lands and new peoples as manifestations of the wild and chaotic. This resulted in a justification for the extraction of resources and the exploitation of peoples and animals as irrational, dark, chthonic entities. Such an objectifying worldview where the divine rested more fully in a transcendent realm accorded with emerging scientific perspectives evident in scientists such as Francis Bacon who advocated the torture of a feminine nature to make her reveal secrets.

By early modern times the discoveries of the Americas caused major revisions of Western cosmology and introduced a range of new ideas that refuted the presumed flatness, as well as the aging and senescence, of the Earth. Explorers noted the limits of the Earth's productivity, while increasingly observing a balance and harmony in nature evident both in the web of life and its potential loss in environmental destruction. By the seventeenth century in the West, philosophers such as Barukh Spinoza and natural theologians such as George Burnet, John Woodward, and John Ray, emphasized the order of the universe, nature's inherent design, its interrelationships, productivity, and capacity for positive manipulation and control. Enlightenment thought in the eighteenth century helped to shift conventional Western cosmology even further from a theological perspective focused on a personal Creator actively involved in creation to a predominantly scientific view of the universe as operating under machine-like principles.

As a result of the scientific revolution and Enlightenment thought, some theologians gradually muted their ideas about final cause and purpose in the universe itself. They broadly accepted the notion of Deism that God created nature with inherent mechanistic relationships that carried the whole cosmos forward. The presence of God's revelation in creation began to diminish for some Western religious thinkers. Thus, the revelatory character of nature was replaced by a linear unfolding of divine creation that connected God's care for creation and the ancient design arguments with the Deist notion of a clockwork universe. Deism and mechanism opened the way for the further objectification of nature.

The Romantic movement of nineteenth-century Europe, in reaction to the rational, objectifying emphases of the Enlightenment, brought a resurgence of the understanding of nature as vital, dynamic, and, for some, revelatory of the mind of God. Drawing on the writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau, such as *The Reveries of a Solitary Walker*, Romantic writers like Johann Fichte, Johann Herder, Friedrich Schelling, and Johann Goethe returned to the direct experience of nature as a way toward unity or harmony with the sacred in nature. This type of personal revelatory experience of nature was troubling to the orthodox teachers of the Abrahamic traditions because it fostered a religious path in nature apart from the authorized scriptures. The Romantic contemplation of nature later influenced the American transcendentalists, such as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau, as well as such early environmentalists as John Muir and John Burroughs.

By the twentieth century, religious traditions in the West had largely relegated cosmology and the understanding of Earth's geological development and biological diversity to the domain of Earth science and life science. Salvation history became identified with a Western anthropocentric view of salvation focused exclusively on the human existentialist condition apart from the world of nature. The focus on the individual that characterized both Protestant Reformation views of personal salvation and Enlightenment views of political liberties resulted in a highly anthropocentric view of the human as above nature. While Darwinism resituated Western anthropocentrism in an evolutionary worldview, an abiding tension surfaced in fundamentalist Christianity with its emphasis on the uniqueness of God's creation and the knowledge of reality and revelation localized in the Bible and not in nature.

Many critics have cited Western anthropocentrism in both its philosophical and religious expressions as an obstacle to a more comprehensive environmental ethics. They suggest that this anthropocentrism, in combination with the objectification of nature fostered by the scientific method of observation, has resulted in the economic exploitation of nature and consumption of its resources with little sense of restraint or limits.

Significant critiques of Western anthropocentrism and the objectification of nature are found in the work of Lynn White and Arne Naess, among others. The provocative essay of Lynn White titled "The Historical Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis" (1967) challenged many theologians and biblical scholars to explore the relationship of religion to the environmental crisis. White argued that the technological impact of humans on the planet's ecology has been largely deleterious. This is in part due to the influence of Christianity as a highly anthropocentric religion emphasizing a transcendent God removed from nature. These notions, White felt, contributed significantly to the desacralization of nature and, thus, to the ability to exploit nature without awareness of the consequences. White recommended alternative forms of Christianity, especially the comprehensive compassion for life of Francis of Assisi, whom White proposed as a patron saint for ecologists.

The Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess has also articulated an influential corrective to these positions of anthropocentrism and the objectification of nature. In *Deep Ecology: Living as if Nature Mattered* (1985), Bill Devall and George Sessions introduced Naess' concept of "deep ecology," which emphasizes the intrinsic ethical value of the natural world. They drew on Advaita Vedānta thought in Hinduism to emphasize human "self-realization" that recognized the larger dependence of humans on the entire community of life. This position also relied on the natural philosophy of Barukh Spinoza that highlights the unity of the divine in the natural world. Deep ecology has promoted a biocentric equality and the radical interdependence of species as values needed for protection of species diversity—both biological and cultural.

Such complex perspectives on nature in Western thought come into relief when considering anthropocentric responses to the first image of the Earth from the moon in 1969. One response can be characterized as a feeling of liberation similar to an ancient, classical Greek view of freedom from the constraints of the human condition that had been bound by the natural world. A second response follows from an appreciation of the beauty of the blue-green planet akin to a Romantic perspective that seeks to know this beauty more deeply through experience and contemplation. A third response reflects a thoroughly modern hubris derived from human technological accomplishments that sees the future of the Earth as a controlled, dominated, and managed sphere. The world's religious traditions themselves are influenced by these views. Yet, they continue to generate diverse responses by imaging the Earth from the standpoints of different cosmologies.

THE STUDY OF RELIGION AND ECOLOGY IN NORTH AMERICA. The field of religion and ecology arises from two disciplines that came more fully into the North American academy after the Second World War, namely, the study of religion and the science of ecology. Religious studies surfaced in the postwar era as an academic field focused on an analysis of religious experiences, myths, rituals, symbols, texts, and institutions. Distancing itself from creedal positions, religious studies developed as a distinctive area from theology that emphasizes particular denominational interpretations of religious life. The earlier emergence of the history of religions and comparative religions was an important spur to religious studies. This had taken place in nineteenth-century Europe under the leadership of such scholars as Max Mueller, who helped translate the *Sacred Books of the East,* and James Legge, who translated the *Chinese Classics.* Moreover, the appearance of the phenomenology of religion, the anthropology of religion, and the sociology of religion also prepared the grounds for a broader understanding of religion. A growing awareness of cultural diversity and the postwar affluence of the 1950s were accompanied by significant legal cases that made possible the establishment of departments of religion in higher education in North America. Previously, the study of religion had been largely confined to seminaries and schools of theology; now religion could be studied in the academy. Both undergraduate and graduate departments of religion thus emerged in the North American context.

The German biologist Ernst Haeckel coined the term *ecology* in 1866 as a combination of the Greek words *oikos* (house) and *logos* (science). The academic discipline in North America can be dated from the founding of the Ecological Society of America in 1915. As a field of study in higher education and as a movement for conservation it has come more fully into its own in the postwar period. The founding of the Nature Conservancy, which was established from the Ecological Society of America, occurred in 1951. This documents the concern and motivation of professional ecologists to preserve natural landscapes. A number of subdisciplines within ecology have emerged. For example, evolutionary ecology developed from a merger of ecology and evolution in the 1960s. The conservation biology subdiscipline developed with its own society in the late 1970s with the express goal of applying ecological principles to conservation issues. Other emerging subdisciplines include restoration ecology and landscape ecology.

Drawing on the natural sciences of biology and chemistry, and the social sciences of economics and politics, ecology has become the basis for interdisciplinary departments of environmental studies that have developed in higher education since the 1980s. In the 1990s the humanities began to participate in environmental studies with the emergence of environmental literature and history as well as environmental ethics, religion, and philosophy. Religious studies have contributed to environmental studies from such varied perspectives as the study of world religions and ecology, ecotheology and ecofeminism, social and environmental ethics, nature religions and alternative environmental movements, and cultural and ritual studies.

The fields of ecology and environmental studies have developed in relation to emerging environmental concerns that spanned the twentieth century. These included the challenging experiences of the Great Depression and Dust Bowl, dire predictions regarding growth in human population, glimpses of the limits of production and consumption, and awareness of the loss of species and ecosystems. This inspired an incipient conservation movement that gained attention with the publication of two key books. Fairfield Osborn's *Our Plundered Planet* (1948) described the devastation already facing many ecosystems. His major concerns focused on species loss and the cascading effects of human population growth. A year later, Aldo Leopold's classic text *A Sand County Almanac* (1949) called for a new land ethic. A forester with the U.S. Forest Service, Leopold described the land ethic as expanding the boundaries of the community to include soils, waters, plants, and animals, or, collectively, the land. The extension of ethics to the larger environment was, for Leopold, both an evolutionary possibility and an ecological necessity.

Walter Lowdermilk, a forester with the Soil Conservation Service, anticipated a similar conservation ethic after extensive travel and study of the effects of human civilization on soils. He wrote an essay in Jerusalem in 1940 in which he observed that each nation needed to appeal to national awareness for stewardship of soil and land for future generations. He called this the principle of an Eleventh Commandment. Scientists and others began to explore degradation of land due to industrial-technological processes and the dangers to biological life caused by new chemical compounds. With the publication in 1962 of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring,* which documented the effects of DDT on bird life, the environmental movement was born.

APPROACHES WITHIN THE STUDY OF RELIGION AND ECOLOGY. While the field of religion and ecology arose in Western academic and philosophical contexts, it cannot be dissociated from the changing ideas and practices of the world's religious and cultural traditions, as well as from pressing environmental concerns, both global and local. Scholars in the field may draw on social-scientific studies of how a culture mediates between human populations and ecosystems while also relying on historical, textual, and interpretive studies from the humanities. Various creative approaches have emerged in the study of religion and ecology analyzing the ways in which cultures conceptualize, classify, and value their natural environments. Historical approaches have refuted older studies in this field that tended to fix a culture's ecological insights as synchronic patterns that never changed. Now, the mutual impacts of cultures and environments are more clearly understood as having changed and shaped one another through time. Moreover, postmodern approaches have affected many contemporary researchers in religion and ecology, attuning them to questions about the ways in which human individuals and groups construct systems of meaning and power concerning nature, society, and the environment. Studies of place-based conservation and biodiversity are being integrated with an understanding of religious ecology and sacred place. The mutual relevance of land, life, value, and sustainability are all included in the network of inquiry identified with the intersection of religion and ecology.

While a variety of methodologies are being used in the study of religion and ecology, three interpretive approaches challenge both scholars and the religious traditions themselves: retrieval, reevaluation, and reconstruction. Retrieval tends to be descriptive, while reevaluation and reconstruction tend to be prescriptive. Retrieval refers to the investigation of scriptural, commentarial, legal, and other literate and narrative sources in particular religions for evidence of traditional teachings regarding human-Earth relations. This requires that oral-narrative and historical and textual studies uncover the theoretical resources already present within the tradition. In addition, the method of retrieval examines ethics and rituals present in the tradition in order to discover how the tradition actualized these teachings in practices. Retrieval may be complemented by studies in the environmental history of cultures or geographical areas.

Interpretive reevaluation occurs when a tradition's teachings are evaluated with regard to their relevance to contemporary circumstances. In what ways can the ideas, teachings, or ethics present in these traditions be adopted by contemporary scholars, theologians, or practitioners who wish to help shape more ecologically sensitive attitudes and sustainable practices. Reevaluation also questions ideas that may lead to inappropriate environmental practices. For example, are certain religious tendencies reflective of other-worldly or world-denying orientations that are not helpful in relation to pressing ecological issues? It asks as well whether the material world of nature has been devalued by a particular religion, or whether exclusively human-centered ethics are adequate to address environmental problems.

Finally, reconstruction suggests ways that religious traditions might also adopt its teachings to current circumstances in new and creative ways. This may result in a new synthesis or in a creative adaptation of traditional ideas and practices into modern modes of expression. This is one of the most challenging aspects of the emerging field of religion and ecology and requires discrimination in the transformative adaptation of traditional ideas in relation to contemporary circumstances. Yet there are precedents for this in the ways religions have reshaped themselves over time, as is evident in theology and ethics.

RELIGIOUS THINKERS ADDRESS ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS. Religious and moral reflections on environmental problems emerged from several Christian theologians in the second half of the twentieth century. One of the first to raise a voice of concern was Joseph Sittler, a Lutheran theologian at the University of Chicago. Writing in the 1950s, he decried the repudiation of Earth by Christians as a distorted reading of the biblical promise as exclusively oriented towards humans. Urging a larger cosmological vision, Sittler called for Christianity to recover a cosmic redemption of all creatures and of creation as a whole. Sittler's influence in the World Council of Churches led to the founding in 1963 of a Faith-Man-Nature group. For some ten years this group brought together leading theologians, such as Paul Albrecht, John Cobb, Philip Hefner, and Paul Santmire, to explore Christian understandings of appropriate human interactions with the environment.

Foremost among those thinkers who have urged Christianity to reconsider its relationship to the environment is the process theologian John Cobb. In the mid-1960s Cobb published *A Christian Natural Theology,* which reflected a traditional Christian understanding of "natural theology" as theology done within the bounds of reason apart from any reference to the natural world. Cobb's work later moved outside the framework of Kantian philosophy to find a basis in the process thought of Alfred North Whitehead for valuing the natural world and appropriate human interaction within it. Encouraged by the early work of the theologian Joseph Sittler and the biologist Charles Birch, and spurred by his son Clifford's concern for environmental degradation, in 1972 Cobb wrote *Is It Too Late? A Theology of Ecology.* Over the years Cobb has critiqued the harmful effects of growth-oriented economies on the community of life, especially in his work with the economist Herman Daly (*For the Common Good* [1989]). He and Daly challenged conventional economics, seeing it as engineered to promote development despite the environmental and social costs.

In 1972 Gordon Kaufman also published a seminal article, "A Problem for Theology: The Concept of Nature." Here, and in his later work, *In Face of Mystery: A Constructive Theology* (1993), he raised challenging questions about the anthropocentric model of God as developed in Christianity and the relationship of traditional models of God to creation. Kaufman critiqued the nature and names of the monotheistic, transcendent God that tends to distance humans from the sense of the sacred as residing in the natural world. He urged a new bio-historical understanding of humans as embedded in complex processes of "serendipitous creativity" in nature, and thus co-creators with the unfolding Earth processes.

The feminist theologian Sallie McFague has developed some of these ideas further, calling for new images of God as not simply a distant and transcendent father but also as friend and lover. Rosemary Radford Ruether draws on the Gaia hypothesis and ecofeminism for the development of a broader ecotheology. Both of these feminist theologians are indebted to the earlier historical work of Carolyn Merchant (*The Death of Nature* [1980]), which portrays the use and abuse of nature as comparable to patriarchal domination of women and the disintegration of older organic views of nature in which the sacred was experienced as immanent. Along with ecofeminism there has been an important alignment of social justice and environmental concerns among religious thinkers in both the developed and developing countries. The significance of this movement is that it creates new religious syntheses linking awareness of environmental degradation with insights from economic, political, and social analysis. The liberation theologian, Leonardo Boff, highlights this conjunction, as has the feminist theologian Ivone Gebara. Similarly, the emerging theologies and practices identified with eco-justice and environmental racism within Judaism and Christianity has been fostered by such writers as Roger Gottlieb and Dieter Hessel.

In response to the growing environmental and social crises facing the planet, and aware of the need for new modes of human-Earth relations, Thomas Berry drew on his studies of world religions and cultures to formulate a framework for rethinking cosmology. Beginning in the 1970s, Berry developed the cosmological thought of the Jesuit paleontologist Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (1881–1955) to present a radical revisioning of the scientific discoveries of universe emergence as the new cosmological story of our times. After many years of studying world religions and cultures, he published late in his career a sequence of books that elaborated this idea: *The Dream of the Earth* (1988), *The Universe Story* (with Brian Swimme, 1992), and *The Great Work* (1999). Berry understood the central roles of cosmologies in the world's religions as activating community identity, relationship with local bioregions, and communion with the Earth and universe itself. The challenge of contemporary societies, for Berry, is to realize and implement the transformative energies of the new cosmological story to effect a radical revisioning of human-Earth relations. From a cosmological perspective, this entails the transformation of individual and community in ways that foster the flourishing of the whole community of life.

The Islamic scholar Seyyed Hossein Nasr, while studying science at Harvard University in the 1960s, sensed the limited metaphysics of science and the loss of the transcendental unity he observed among the religions. He has been the leading spokesperson in the Islamic community for drawing attention to the seriousness of the environmental crisis as well as the need for a revival of the cosmological basis of religions where humans are seen as a microcosm of the macrocosm of the universe.

STUDIES IN ANTHROPOLOGY, CULTURAL STUDIES, AND GEOGRAPHY. Among the cultural theorists who investigated the connection of culture and the environment was the anthropologist Julian Steward, who proposed the study of cultural ecology. His studies of the Shoshone peoples of North America posited relations between the environment and the economic and technological aspects of society. While his work did not address religion directly, it marked a turning point in bringing together social, cultural, and environmental studies.

The Swedish historian of religions Åke Hultkrantz also studied the Shoshone and extended this research in cultural ecology to religion. Hultkrantz sought to understand the creative roles of environmental adaptation by evaluating its direct influences on technological, economic, and material culture, as well as the environment's indirect influences on social formations in specific cultures. Hultkrantz's article "Ecology" in the 1987 *Encyclopedia of Religion* was the only entry on this topic. He distinguished cultural ecology and geography of religions as the two major sources for modern studies of ecology of religion. Championing Steward's cultural-ecological approach, Hultkrantz stressed study of the impact of environment on religion, both directly through material culture and indirectly through social structures. Hultkrantz revealed how indigenous cultures have a "primary integration" in which religious complexes are ecologically adapted to basic traits of sustenance and technology. Cultures, such as those identified with Christianity and the so-called higher religions, adapted religion to their social structures. These Hultkrantz termed cultures of "secondary integration." Through research, he felt, religio-ecological types could be identified that would assess the interplay between environment and religion, especially among indigenous cultures.

Other anthropologists have contributed to the exploration of the relationships of ecosystems to symbol systems, rituals, and cultural life that have had significant implications for the study of religion and ecology. In *Pigs for the Ancestors* (1969), Roy Rapport's seminal study of liturgical cycles among the Maring of New Guinea, Rapport suggested that ritual among indigenous peoples functions as a conventional means for maintaining order between social groups and their environments. More than simply proximity to natural environments, then, indigenous peoples have coded into their ritual life a developed wisdom for sustaining their social life in specific environments.

The anthropologist Keith Basso drew attention to the significance of place-names among indigenous peoples, especially the Western Apache of North America. Basso reemphasized the importance of local knowledge about traditional places as connected to a broad array of ideas and values in indigenous communities, such as cosmology, identity, advocacy, and wisdom. In *Wisdom Sits in Places* (1996) Basso investigated disciplinary rituals and meditational practices in which the Apache "drink from places" so as to "work on the mind." In doing so, he developed an anthropological approach to the study of religion and ecology based on place.

Within medical anthropology, various approaches have developed that describe the interactions of ecological systems and religious beliefs. For example, George Foster and Barbara Anderson, in their work *Medical Anthropology* (1978), analyzed religions as functional sociocultural systems that adapt to different environments and thus bring new ethnomedical strategies into being. Arthur Kleinman, in *Patients and Healers in the Context of Culture* (1980), was among the first medical anthropologists to explore the complex relationships of environment, culture, and religious beliefs as impacting healing. Byron Good, in *Medicine, Rationality and Experience* (1994), challenged the instrumental rationality prevalent in biomedicine as well as functionalist approaches to religion, which he felt were insufficient interpretive tools for understanding the dynamic relationships of environment, religion, and healing. Like Kleinman, Good called for more attention to narratives about ecology, illness, and beliefs that reveal the voices of humane and socially committed individuals and communities.

Early social-science contributions to the study of religion and ecology emerged from the field of geography. In *The Geography of Religions* (1967), David Soper outlined a range of topics, modes of investigation, and examples of interactions between religious systems and landscapes. The geography of religion explores religions as material, social, and cultural expressions that evolved in relation to environments. Religions are thus viewed as molding environmental space in such diverse ways as ritualization of ecology, spatial and organizational structures, political processes and interactions with other religions. Investigation of these spatial and ecological characteristics of religions has steadily influenced the study of religion.

The geographer Yi-Fu Tuan has explored ways in which individuals' affective ties with the environment result from their being simultaneously biological organisms, social beings, and unique individuals with perceptions, attitudes, and values. For Tuan, the neologism *topophilia* describes this coupling of sentiment with multiple connections to place evident in human cultures. Thus, the images that emerge in religions, for example, are not directly shaped by the environment; rather, environments stimulate sensory commitments giving rise to emotions and ideals expressed in religion. In this context, the multiplicity of religious symbols are secondary manifestations of the deeper ecological connections described as *topophilia.*

This emphasis on symbols, imagination, and ecology was taken up by Richard Peet and Michael Watts in *Liberation Ecologies: Environment, Development, and Social Movements* (1996). Peet and Watts used Marxist dialectics to investigate the roles of religions in fostering "ecological imaginaries" within the overall contradictory character of the relations between humans and the Earth. Ecological imaginaries are the deep networks of affective association between bioregions and humans that surface in human imagination as symbols and concepts motivating individuals and communities to action. Ecological imaginaries bring political awareness to political ecology. Moreover, these affective and imaginative connections to ecology create the possibility for deeper liberation from the grip of seemingly intractable social and market forces.

Drawing on the social sciences and humanities, the two-volume *Encyclopedia of Religion and Nature* (2005), edited by Jeffrey Kaplan and Bron Taylor, continues the investigation of religion and ecology by exploring diverse nature-influenced religions as well as traditions that consider nature as sacred. These volumes are a major resource for study of the intersections of society, religion, and environment. Kaplan and Taylor not only attempt encyclopedic coverage of the historic roles of environments in the formation and development of religions, but they also address contemporary challenges to the religions raised by environmental crises.

MOVEMENTS OF RELIGION AND ECOLOGY: CALLS AND RESPONSES. Many organizations and individuals have called for the participation of religious communities in alleviating the environmental crisis and reorienting humans to show respect, restraint, and responsibility toward the Earth community. Several key documents contain this call. One is the statement of scientists titled "Preserving and Cherishing the Earth: An Appeal for Joint Commitment in Science and Religion," which was signed at the Global Forum meeting in Moscow in January 1990. It suggests that the human community is committing "crimes against creation" and notes that: "Problems of such magnitude, and solutions demanding so broad a perspective must be recognized from the outset as having a religious as well as a scientific dimension." It also acknowledges that:

> The environmental crisis requires radical changes not only in public policy, but in individual behavior. The historical record makes clear that religious teaching, example, and leadership are powerfully able to influence personal conduct and commitment. As scientists, many of us have had profound experiences of awe and reverence before the universe. We understand that what is regarded as sacred is more likely to be treated with care and respect. Our planetary home should be so regarded. Efforts to safeguard and cherish the environment need to be infused with a vision of the sacred. (http://www.environment.Harvard.edu)

A second key document, "World Scientists' Warning to Humanity," was produced by the Union of Concerned Scientists in 1992 and was signed by more than 2,000 scientists, including more than 200 Nobel laureates. This document also suggests that the planet is facing a severe environmental crisis:

> Human beings and the natural world are on a collision course. . . . Human activities inflict harsh and often irreversible damage on the environment and on critical resources. If not checked, many of our current practices put at risk the future that we wish for human society and the plant and animal kingdoms, and may so alter the living world that it will be unable to sustain life in the manner that we know. Fundamental changes are urgent if we are to avoid the collision our present course will bring about. (http://www.environment.Harvard.edu)

The document calls for the cooperation of natural and social scientists, business and industrial leaders, and religious leaders, as well as the world's citizens. It concludes with a call for environmentally sensitive attitudes and behaviors which religious communities can help to articulate:

> A new ethic is required—a new attitude towards discharging our responsibilities for caring for ourselves and for the Earth. We must recognize the Earth's limited capacity to provide for us. We must recognize its fragility. We must no longer allow it to be ravaged. This ethic must motivate a great movement, convincing reluctant leaders and reluctant governments and reluctant peoples themselves to effect the needed changes.

Although the responses of the religions to the global environmental crisis were slow at first, they have been steadily growing since the latter part of the twentieth century. Several years after the first United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, in Stockholm in 1972, some of the Christian churches began to address the growing environmental and social challenges. At the fifth Assembly of the World Council of Churches (WCC) in Nairobi in 1975, there was a call to establish the conditions for a "just, participatory, and sustainable [global] society." In 1979 a follow-up WCC conference was held at Massachusetts Institute of Technology on "Faith, Science, and the Future." This conference issued a call for a new biblical interpretation of nature and of human dominion. Moreover, there was recognition of the critical need to create the conditions for ecologically sustainable societies for a viable planetary future. The 1983 Vancouver Assembly of the WCC revised the theme of the Nairobi conference to include "Justice, Peace, and the Integrity of Creation." The 1991 WCC Canberra conference expanded on these ideas with the theme of the "Holy Spirit Renewing the Whole of Creation." After Canberra, the WCC theme for mission in society became "Theology of Life." This has brought theological reflection to bear on environmental destruction and social inequities resulting from economic globalization. In 1992, at the time of the UN Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, the WCC facilitated a gathering of Christian leaders that issued a "Letter to the Churches," calling for attention to pressing eco-justice concerns facing the planet. Principles of eco-justice that have had growing support in the last decade include: solidarity with other people and all creatures, ecological sustainability, sufficiency as a standard of distributive justice, and socially just participation in decisions for the common good.

In addition to major conferences held by the Christian churches, various interreligious meetings have occurred and movements have emerged that have shown significant levels of commitment toward alleviating the environmental crisis. Some of these include the interreligious gatherings on the environment in Assisi in 1984 under the sponsorship of the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), and under the auspices of the Vatican in 1986. Moreover, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) established an Interfaith Partnership for the Environment (IPE) that has distributed thousands of packets of materials for use in local congregations and religious communities since 1985.

The Parliament of World Religions—held in Chicago in 1993, in Cape Town, South Africa in 1999, and in Barcelona in 2004—has issued statements on global ethics embracing human rights and environmental issues. The Global Forum of Spiritual and Parliamentary Leaders held international meetings in Oxford in 1988, Moscow in 1990, Rio in 1992, and Kyoto in 1993 that had the environment as a major focus. Since 1995 a critical Alliance of Religion and Conservation (ARC) has been active in England, and the National Religious Partnership for the Environment (NRPE) has organized Jewish and Christian groups on this issue in the United States. A member group of NRPE, the Coalition on Environment and Jewish Life (COEJL) has helped to mobilize the American Jewish communities regarding environmental issues, especially global warming. The Islamic Foundation for Ecology and Environmental Sciences (IFEES), based in England, has from its beginnings in 1984 established itself as a leader in environmental conservation and activism in Islamic settings. Religious groups have also contributed to the drafting of the Earth Charter. The World Bank has developed a World Faiths Development Dialogue on poverty and development issues with a select group of international religious leaders.

Religious leaders and laypersons have spoken out for protection of the environment. The Dalai Lama has made numerous statements on the importance of environmental protection and has proposed that Tibet should be designated a zone of special ecological integrity. Rabbi Ishmar Schorsch of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York has frequently drawn attention to the critical state of the environment. Bob Edgar, president of the National Council of Churches, has led campaigns on environmental issues such as global warming and clean air. The Greek Orthodox Patriarch Bartholomew has sponsored several seminars to highlight environmental degradation in the Aegean, the Black, the Adriatic, and the Baltic Seas, as well as the Danube River. He has strongly critiqued human negligence and destruction of the environment by calling it "ecological sin." From the Islamic perspective, Seyyed Hossein Nasr has written and spoken widely on the sacred nature of the environment for more than two decades. In the Christian world, along with the efforts cited earlier of the Protestant community in the WCC, the Catholic Church, has issued several important pastoral letters since around 1990. Pope John Paul wrote a message for the World Day of Peace, January 1, 1990, titled "The Ecological Crisis: A Common Responsibility." He has also spoken of the need for ecological conversion, namely a deep turning to the needs of the larger community of life. In 1988 the Catholic Bishops of the Philippines issued an environmental letter titled "What Is Happening to Our Beautiful Land" and two years later the U. S. Catholic Bishops Conference published a statement called "Renewing the Earth." In 2000 the Boston Bishops wrote a pastoral letter titled, "And God Saw That It Was Good," and in February 2001 the Bishops of the Pacific Northwest published a document called, "The Columbia Watershed: Caring for Creation and the Common Good."

In October 2003 the Canadian bishops also published a letter on the environment. In August 2000 a gathering of more than one thousand religious leaders took place at the United Nations during the Millennium World Peace Summit of Religious and Spiritual Leaders, where discussion of the environment was a major theme. The UN secretary general, Kofi Anan, who addressed the summit, has called for a new ethic of global stewardship, recognizing the urgent situation posed by current unsustainable trends.

RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD AND ECOLOGY PROJECT. It was in light of these various initiatives and in response to the call of scientists that a three-year international conference series, titled, "Religions of the World and Ecology," took place at Harvard University. From 1996 to 1998 over eight hundred scholars gathered to examine the varied ways in which human-Earth relations have been conceived in the world's religious traditions. The intention of the series was to assist in establishing a new field of study within religious studies that would link to the interdisciplinary field of environmental studies and have implications for public policy on environmental issues. The series of ten conferences examined the traditions of Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Daoism, Confucianism, Shintō, and Indigenous religions. Held at the Center for the Study of World Religions at Harvard Divinity School, the conferences were organized by Mary Evelyn Tucker and John Grim in collaboration with a team of area specialists. The series brought together international scholars of the world's religions, as well as scientists, environmentalists, and grassroots leaders. The papers from these conferences were published in ten volumes by the Center for the Study of World Religions and distributed by Harvard University Press. Recognizing that religions are key shapers of people's worldviews and formulators of their most cherished values, this broad research project uncovered a vast wealth of attitudes toward nature sanctioned by religious traditions. In addition, the project identified over one hundred examples of religiously inspired environmental practices and projects in various parts of the world ranging from reforestation in India and Africa to preservation of herbal knowledge in South America, from the protection of coral reefs in the Pacific regions to the conservation of wildlife in the Middle East.

Three culminating conferences were held at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cambridge, Massachusetts, at the United Nations, and at the American Museum of Natural History in New York. These conferences brought representatives of the world's religions into conversation with one another as well as into dialogue with key scientists, economists, educators, and policymakers in the environmental field. It was at the United Nations press conference that an ongoing Harvard Forum on Religion and Ecology was announced to continue the research, education, and outreach begun at these earlier conferences. The forum has mounted an international website to assist the field of religion and ecology with introductory papers and annotated bibliographies on the major world religions as well as on science, economy, and policy issues (http://environment.harvard.edu/religion).

CONCLUSIONS. Several qualifications regarding the intersection of religion and ecology were identified by scholars in the Harvard research project. First, many suggest that no one religious tradition has a privileged ecological perspective. Rather, scholars frequently indicate that multiple perspectives are the most helpful in identifying the contributions of the world's religions to environmental problems. This field is thus conceived as an interreligious project. Second, it is assumed by many that while religions are necessary partners in this process, they are not sufficient without the indispensable contributions of science, economics, education, and policy to the varied challenges of current environmental problems. Therefore, this field can be regarded as an interdisciplinary effort in which religions have an important role. Third, it is acknowledged that there is frequently a disjunction between principles and practices, so that ecologically sensitive ideas in religions are not always evident in environmental practices in particular civilizations. Many civilizations have overused their environment, with or without religious sanction. Finally, there is an acknowledgment that religions have all too frequently contributed to tensions and conflict among ethnic groups, both historically and at present. Dogmatic rigidity, inflexible truth claims, and misuse of institutional and communal power by religions have often led to disruptive consequences in various parts of the globe.

Nonetheless, it is acknowledged that while religions have been preservers of traditional ways, they have also been provocateurs of social change. In other words, they can be both limiting and liberating in their outlooks and affects. In the twentieth century, for example, religious leaders and theologians helped to give birth to progressive movements such as civil rights for minorities, social justice for the poor, and liberation for women. In the 1990s, religious groups were instrumental in launching a movement called Jubilee 2000, advocating debt reduction for poor nations. In the early years of the twenty-first century, the National Council of Churches in the United States organized a campaign calling for attention to global warming and its deleterious consequences for human and biological communities.

As key repositories of enduring civilizational values, and as indispensable motivators in moral transformation, it can be said that religions have a role to play in shaping a sustainable future for the planet. This is especially true because attitudes toward nature have been consciously and unconsciously conditioned by religious and cultural worldviews. Lynn White observed this in the 1960s, when he noted, "What people do about their ecology depends on what they think about themselves in relation to things around them. Human ecology is deeply conditioned by beliefs about our nature and destiny—that is, by religion" (White, 1967). Recognition of the diverse roles of religions in shaping ecological worldviews, both historically and at present, has led to calls for their further involvement in addressing environmental issues.

A significant example of this occurred in autumn of 2003 in China. Pang Yue, director of the National Environmental Protection Bureau, gave an important speech in which he called for the creation of an environmental culture drawing on traditional values based in Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism. He said, "The inner spirit of traditional Chinese culture echoes environmental culture that the world is currently emphasizing. Traditional Chinese culture pursues harmony between human beings and nature. . .and as human beings we have the responsibility to maintain and protect our environment." These remarks are striking in their departure from the materialist Marxist ideology of the last fifty years in China, as well as China's current emphasis on development, seemingly at any environmental cost. This call for recovery of traditional values is being echoed in many parts of the world as environmental issues become ever more pressing.

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ECOLOGY AND RELIGION: ECOLOGY AND INDIGENOUS TRADITIONS

In anthropology the term *indigenous* refers to small-scale societies with distinct languages, mythic narratives, sacred places, ceremonies, and kinship systems. Over 500 million people are considered indigenous; they live on every continent (except Antarctica) as well as in the Pacific Rim. They are known as First Nations (Canada), Adivasi (India), Orang Asli (Malaysia), Igorot (Philippines) and Indians or Native Americans (the Americas). Unfortunately these native societies are often marginalized within the larger culture; their existence is also threatened by the exploitation of corporations and extractive industries (such as fossil fuels and mining). Any discussion of indigenous traditions and ecology must necessarily involve political issues of cultural and biodiversity survival. Each indigenous society is unique, and a study of one regional community cannot be extrapolated to represent others. Each society has its own cosmological understanding of nature and its own regional, cultural, and historical issues with which to contend as it struggles to survive the challenges of a global economy.

The complete history of ecology and indigenous traditions is too complex and diverse to explore here, but three overview perspectives are useful. First, before and after contact with the civilizations of Asia, Europe, and Africa, indigenous cultures certainly interacted with one another, sharing forms of traditional environmental knowledge (TEK) as well as a mode of historical consciousness often embedded in myth. The transmission of knowledge of manioc cultivation in the Pacific region and yucca extraction from problematic tubers in South America are two examples of widespread sharing of technologies. Both of these food production techniques demonstrate widespread adaptation to local symbol systems and explanatory cosmologies. Quite often, historical notice of such a technological change was embedded in an ancient myth that would be narrated in a slightly different manner to mark the historical event. This first overview perspective can be identified with the ancient forms of traditional environmental knowledge found among specific indigenous peoples that also shows evidence of having become hybridized knowledge in other cultures. The spread of tobacco similarly illustrates the features of ancient sharing and adaptation. Tobacco became central to the socioreligious life of many indigenous peoples of the Americas holding its spiritual intentions intact to the present.

Second, with the advent of dominant and oppressive cultures that subverted indigenous ways of knowing, these small-scale cultures experienced massive deaths largely due to disease pathogens for which these native peoples had little or no immune resistance. These times of intense cultural fragmentation and despair have varied in world history, continuing to the present for some indigenous peoples. This has resulted in a tremendous loss of elders who would transmit traditional environmental knowledge as well as the cessation of the accompanying rituals that accompany that knowledge. Thus, indigenous peoples continue to experience the diminishment and loss of the actual ecological diversity itself that stimulates their deepest cultural religiosity. Certainly, not all traditional knowledge is lost, nor is the biodiversity of indigenous homelands extinguished, but in this overview perspective the religious sensibilities resulting from these profound losses among indigenous people often assumes prophetic forms that announce the end of a cosmological cycle before renewal reoccurs.

A final overview perspective has emerged more forcefully in the contemporary period that can be identified as resistance and regeneration. This is not exclusively a recent development as indigenous peoples have resisted the oppression and loss of the colonial period from its inception, but this historical perspective serves to emphasize the global activities of indigenous peoples who now often act in concert to make dominant cultures aware of their plight, to argue for their sovereignty in the larger arena of nation-states, and to articulate their contributions to human thought and their insights into contemporary challenges. A striking example occurred with the Zapatistas uprising in Chiapas, Mexico, in January 1994. This well-coordinated struggle linked labor issues with cultural survival, loss of homeland with growth of computer networks. Not only did this movement resist the age-old forms of oppression by the Mexican state, but it has also been a regenerative site for offering new thought on current issues. Increasingly, global forums of indigenous peoples and local communities critique international agreements on environmental or cultural issues that do not recognize the existence or contributions of indigenous peoples. These indigenous forums explore such issues as biopiracy, biocolonialism, and environmental racism, and propose traditional ideas and practices to counter the market-driven plans offered by developed nations. No one organization speaks for indigenous peoples, but some significant groups are the Columbia Coordinating Body of Indigenous Peoples Organizations of the Amazon Basin, International Alliance of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples of the Tropical Forests (Nepal), Amazon Alliance (Ecuador), Pacific Concerns Resource Centre (Fiji), International Research Institute for Maori and Indigenous Education, Ethnic Minority and Indigenous Rights Organizations of Africa (Nigeria), African Indigenous Women Organization, and the Inter-Mountain peoples Education and Culture in Thailand Association as well as the ongoing work of Cultural Survival and International Survival.

Traditional indigenous societies view all existence as interdependent, including interactions with nature and the technology of their subsistence practices. The term *lifeway* is used here to indicate this integration of thought, production, and distribution. This ecologically integrated knowledge has often been misconceived as animism or "failed epistemologies" too limited for consideration by modern societies. However, indigenous knowledge traditions—based on a relational knowing of their worlds—can contend as robust alternatives to modern worldviews that tend to objectify and distance the natural world from the human. Three significant political and social undercurrents must be considered in the study of indigenous religions and ecology.

First, despite mounting economic and political pressures indigenous communities have demonstrated remarkable resistance and regeneration. This has been evident through five centuries of contact with European culture and continues with the twenty-first-century struggle against complete absorption into dominant cultures. Cosmology (a society's view of the natural world and universe) and ecology play significant roles in this struggle, as well as in the adaptation of indigenous societies to contemporary culture and technology.

Second, what is known of indigenous lifeways, their integration of culture into local ecosystems, and their environmental knowledge has come from indigenous peoples themselves. Elders and teachers have been the source of knowledge about, and decision makers for, religious and environmental activities.

The third sociopolitical consideration is an ideology called *indigenism,* the promotion, defense, and/or politicization of native cultures. Romantic perspectives view indigenous lifeways as rigid, unchanging, and opposed to even appropriate development. At the other extreme, national governments sometimes devalue and demean the sustainable interactions that native peoples maintain with local bioregions to claim exclusive prerogatives over the use of indigenous lands. Both views are potentially misleading.

INDIGENOUS VOICES. Too frequently indigenous voices are not heard on ecological issues. Native American lawyer Vine Deloria, Jr., calls for the recognition of native peoples as national entities with sacred lands exempt from the arbitrary decisions of state and federal governments; this, he says would constitute a move from "greening" to "maturing." Deloria connects religion and ecology not simply with academic or conservationist concerns but with the struggle for legal and political rights to conserve traditional lifeways.

Indigenous logic is strikingly different from the linear, analytical, mechanistic, and concept-driven rhetoric of dominant modern societies. Traditional cultures often connect their regard for the protective power of spirits with concepts of cosmology and ecology. Spirits are differently understood, but these numinous beings are markedly place-based, relational, and felt presences. Affective, emotional ways of knowing are often cultivated in rituals by means of deprivation and body- or mind-altering substances, enabling indigenous leaders to address situations of community need through spirit-inspired messages.

Indigenous leaders know that environmental knowledge has long been operative in their communities and that, of late, nonnative peoples have been interested in this knowledge. They wonder, however, if this new interest is genuine or simply another type of exploitation.

THEMES IN THE STUDY OF INDIGENOUS RELIGIONS AND ECOLOGY. Several prominent themes can be identified; this list is not exhaustive but represents efforts to understand the intricate and varied ways that indigenous peoples live in relation to their ecosystems.

Balance and conservation. Many indigenous lifeways recognize the balance that pervades both the ecosystem and the cosmos. Ruptures in this balance are addressed by ritual procedures intended to restore personal, social, ecological, and cosmological harmonies. Even hunting and fishing are believed to foster the balance of life. Thus, the Yup'ik Eskimo of Alaska view hunter and prey as part of a cycle of reciprocity in which animals visit the human world to be hunted, treated respectfully, and sent back to return the following season. Animals and plants are seen as spirit beings that willingly give themselves for human sustenance. Hunting and other activities are part of a cycle of reciprocity based on privilege and responsibility to a slain animal. These complex systems of limits on hunting, dietary prohibitions, and gender and kin rules regarding distribution of game and other foods constitute indigenous conservation ethics.

Religious ritual in the ecology of the Tsembaga horticultural peoples of highland New Guinea was described in 1968 by Roy Rappaport in *Pigs for the Ancestors.* This study provided important insight into indigenous concerns for cosmological and ecological balance. Previously, cultural ecology taught that indigenous religions had been formed passively by interactions with local environments. Rappaport suggested instead that ritual acted as a regulatory system whereby the Tsembaga maintained their environment, limited hostility, controlled population growth, promoted trade, and facilitated the distribution of protein. In short, Tsembaga religion had ecological implications as well as connections to political, social, and subsistence practices.

Richard Nelson's 1983 study of the Koyukon peoples of Alaska, *Make Prayers to the Raven* advanced this understanding of indigenous religions and ecology by showing how extensive Koyukon oral narratives of the Distant Time (*Kk'adonts'idnee*) contained detailed environmental knowledge of the boreal forest. Moreover, these narratives presented particular examples of Koyukon regard for plants and animals. Nelson explored ways in which these ecological insights linked a complex Koyukon ethical system (*hutlanee*) with cosmological narratives of the Distant Time and subsistence practices. Most importantly, Nelson's work described an indigenous conservation ethic flowing from the mutual interactions of lifeway and ecosystem.

Narrative and place. The Maori of New Zealand speak of themselves as *tangata whenua,* people of the land. By grounding their identity as a people in stories of their homeland, the Maori are not simply expressing a nationalistic patriotism. Rather, *whenua* means both land and placenta; this evokes the Earth-mother herself, Papatuanuku, and makes land the connection both to larger cosmic forces and the source of personal life. Myths describe how the Sky-father, Ranginui, was separated from the Earth-mother by the efforts of their children, who eventually differentiate all of creation. Thus, the mythic offspring bring about the primordial separation that introduces into creation disparate, yet interconnected, forces such as yearning, ambiguity, and fecundity.

For the Maori, interactions with the environment bring humans into contact with *mana* and *maori*, powers inherent in all of reality. A thing's existence carries within it *mana,* or the inherent right to be where it is. Maori myths explore predator and prey relations throughout existence in concepts of hard *mana*—competition and aggression—as well as soft *mana*—compassion and cooperation. All creatures also possess a personal life force, *maori,* suggesting that reality has intrinsic intention and value.

A Maori proverb presents a glimpse of this dynamic, interactive kinship with the Earth: "The blood (*toto*) of humans (*tangata*) comes from food *(kai);* our welfare (*oranga*) comes from land (*whenua*)." This links blood with the food that comes from the death of one's nonhuman kin, namely animals and plants. In addition to *mana* and *maori,* all beings-as-food carry individual *tapu*, or sacredness. Human subsistence practices may be harmful to the *mana* of those eaten, but recognition of *tapu* respects *maori.* Inner life, or blood, is thought to depend on correct spiritual relations with other creatures, including ritual treatment of their tapu. Welfare, or material prosperity, for the *maori* flows from ethical relations with the differentiated forces of life in creation.

According to the Maori, humans are people of the land when they maintain right relationships with the *mana, maori,* and *tapu* of creatures. These knowledge-based processes establish the *maori* of the human community, which can only be generated by acting responsibly. The Maori claim to be people of the land in Aoteroa New Zealand proceeds from a cosmology that establishes all creatures, not simply humans, in a web of kinship. Their ancestral prerogatives entail responsible, ethical interactions with both creatures and the land.

Person and power. In many indigenous cultures both male and female shamans cultivate intense, intimate, and transforming relationships with local lands and life forms. Shamans are persons of spiritual power whose symbolic practices mirror the understandings and interactions of their small-scale societies, with local environments as the source of efficacious power. Their exceptional ecological imagination makes shamans capable of interacting and identifying with local environments in innovative and creative ways.

A shaman's knowledge of plants, animals, terrain, and weather patterns is not merely empirical learning, but clearly has a religious perspective as well. Shamanistic views of the environment are relational and reflect personal and community identities and values. The shamans' healing and divining arts present a range of unique individual expressions of culturally specific religious ecologies.

Shamans transform the external environment of mountains, rivers, and biodiversity into inner experiential landscapes that resonate with the surrounding animate world, weaving together the outer environment of all beings with the shaman's inner psychic world, thus generating empathy and commitment from the people. As is evident in the following case study, this cosmology is presented as both the actual homeland and symbolic representations of it.

Arkadii Anisimov's study of the fishing and reindeer-herding Evenk peoples of the central Siberian plateau describes the shaman's tent and ritual as a "fencing" designed to protect the people from attacks by both harmful underworld spirits and neighboring shamans. Evenk cosmology envisions a tripartite world, and the ritual configures zones of symbolic activities that manifest this view. The shaman's tent is in the middle region, or human world, with an eastern gallery as the celestial realm and a western gallery as the underworld. The cosmological symbolism of the realms is evident to the Evenk. Thus, the eastern gallery has living green-leafed larch trees that are turned upside down with their roots on top as if anchored in the celestial world. Wooden plaques depicting spirit images of reindeer and pike symbolically swimming in the Milky Way are planted in the ground as guardians of this celestial region. Dead larch trees in the western gallery have their roots pointing down to the netherworld with wooden images of spirit birds and ancestral figures guarding the path to the departed. This western gallery, moreover, has multiple images of animals, fish, and larch trees with birds on top—all arranged in the form of a fish weir to capture any dangerous wolf spirits sent by neighboring shamans to attack during the ritual.

The shaman's tent, set on the human/earth level, has a central larch tree, a fire at its base, and a raft-seat for the shaman with wooden plaque images of salmon flanked by attending representations of knives, spears, and fish other than pike. In this symbolic setting the shaman becomes an animal and undertakes therapeutic journeys to heal members of the community who are ill. Along with healing symbolism, the shaman marshals considerable military might in the form of spirit-animal legions to oppose dangerous intruders. Should the shaman die, anxiety reigns until a new shaman can reestablish this protective spiritual fencing. The power-knowledge of the Evenk shaman, therefore, draws on a complex religious ecology that connects animal symbolism, military preparedness, and healing journeys to protect the people in their bioregion.

CONCLUSION. Indigenous lifeways do not foster individual, subjective beliefs, conceptualizations, or representations, nor do they divide a this-world reality from an other-world, transcendent reality. Rather, they live in a relational universe, striving to nurture and create a world that nurtures and creates them. Indigenous peoples undertake conversations with mountains, rivers, stars, animals, and plants that are not merely metaphorical or symbolic communication, but reciprocal conversations.

Ritual is but one example of this conversation in which the pragmatic and the religious, the material and the spiritual are interwoven. Body/mind connections between the human and the natural world are celebrated by indigenous peoples in ritual; human senses are activated as the highly crafted logic of ritual communication enables conversations with all living things. Life in the world is not without discord and disagreement—demands and limits are acknowledged. Rather than being symbolized as ecologists, indigenous peoples stand for commitment to place in the contemporary world.

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ECOLOGY AND RELIGION: ECOLOGY AND HINDUISM

Hinduism, the major religious tradition in India and the faith of almost a billion people around the world, is extremely diverse. There are many philosophical, ritual, narrative, theistic, and nontheistic traditions within Hinduism and, therefore, Hinduism encompasses pluralistic views towards nature. Many Hindu communities value nature, think of the universe as the body of God, pray for peace between all the elements of the universe, urge nonviolence to all beings on earth, and personify nature and the earth as goddesses. However, others devalue nature by thinking of matter (homologized to women) as ensnaring the spirit and preventing it from achieving liberation. Yet other Hindus think of the universe as ultimately without reality, and some Hindus think of the final goal as transcending all dualities of good and evil, spirit and matter, culture and nature.

Several Indian words in Sanskrit and in vernacular languages have philosophical and colloquial meanings corresponding to the many meanings of *nature.* In general, the term *nature* will be used here to refer to those elements that are considered to be part of the lived or conceptualized environment in the many Hindu traditions. The most frequently used Indian term for "nature," *prakṛti,* may refer to matter as well as the inherent tendencies in material substances.

The many Sanskrit texts within Hindu traditions have had a limited role to play in the history of the religion. Hindu traditions consider custom and practice to be as important as the texts themselves. Nevertheless, with the intellectual colonization by the West and the advent of mass media, more Hindus today have started to focus on the sacred texts, and many search for answers to the environmental crises both in text and practice. This entry, therefore, will discuss textual sources, as well as eco-practices adopted by Hindus. This essay will consider the phenomena of nature in texts and then discuss the various forms of environmental activism in India that use religio-cultural concepts as sources of inspiration or guidance. Environmental activism has been largely guided by notions of *dharma* (duty, righteousness, "religion"). These concepts have been communicated through stories from the epics and Purāṇas (Sanskrit and vernacular texts glorifying deities and places composed primarily in the first millennium CE) and narrated by family or village elders.

NATURE IN SANSKRIT TEXTS. The earliest hymns of the Vedas are addressed to many gods, and many of them are connected with natural phenomena and the environment the people lived in. Agni, the god of fire, is seen as a messenger between human beings and the deities because offerings were placed in the fire to be carried to other worlds. Agni is the fire on earth, lightning in the atmosphere, and the sun in the sky. Usha, the goddess of dawn, Varuṇa, who presides over the waters, the oceans, and even aquatic animals, and Indra, who is associated with the thunderbolt and rain, are all worshiped. A goddess known as Sarasvatī is also spoken of, sometimes as a river, sometimes as representing learning. Some hymns speak of a connection between the rituals and the prevalence of cosmic and earthly order, *ṛta. Ṛta* is truth and justice, the rightness of things. It makes harmony and peace possible on the earth and in the heavens. Although *ṛta* is an impersonal cosmic principle, Vedic gods like Varuṇa were considered its upholders.

In retrieving and revisioning the Vedas, Hindus have emphasized those sections that speak of peace and harmony. Thus, the "Shanti path" (Song of peace) in the *Yajurveda* (36:17) has become popular in India and in the diaspora. Repeating a hymn composed more than three millennia ago, the Hindu devotee recites: "May there be peace in the skies, peace in the atmosphere, peace on earth, peace in the waters. May the healing plants and trees bring peace; may there be peace [on and from] the world, the deity. May there be peace in the world, peace on peace. May that peace come to me!"

The many texts that focus explicitly on *dharma* or righteous behavior were composed in the first few centuries of the Common Era. Many sections of the epics *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas also focused on *dharma.* The epics and Purāṇas give detailed narratives of the periodic and cyclic destruction of the world. By the beginning of the third eon, things are perceived as going awry. The *Kūrma Purāṇa* says that because of greed and passion, the people of this age seize the rivers, fields, mountains, and clumps of trees and herbs, overcoming them by strength. That is just the beginning of the decline in virtue and behavior. The epic *Mahābhārata* (c. 500–200 BCE) is graphic in the portrayal of the events that will take place at the end of the fourth—and worst—eon and what will happen after a thousand such ages. At the end of the eon the population increases; there is a stench everywhere. The "natural" order of things becomes sluggish; the cows will yield little milk; and the trees, teeming with crows, will yield few flowers and fruits. The *brahmans*—the priestly class—it is said will plunder the land bare for alms. At the end of a thousand eons, the text continues, there will be a drought of many years, and all creatures will starve. The fire of destruction will rage, and large clouds will rise up in the sky. The epics say that at this time all humans will become omnivores and barbarians. They will destroy parks and trees, and the lives of the living will be ruined in the world. Thus, there seems to be an almost preordained structure in the destruction of the environment.

Other scriptural passages on *dharma*, however, focus on positive elements. They encourage the planting of trees, condemn the destruction of plants and forests, and assert that trees are like children. In this context, a passage from the *Matsya Purāṇa* is instructive. It is said that the goddess Pārvatī planted a sapling of the Aśoka tree and took good care of it. Her rationale was that there are many acts of *dharma* that one can perform—digging wells and reservoirs provide clean water to the public—but a tree is as good as ten sons in serving the community. Sentences such as these have been valorized by some temples to encourage the planting and care of trees. Other Purāṇas also celebrate the planting of trees; the *Varāha Purāṇa* says that one who plants five mango trees does not go to hell, and the *Viṣṇu Dharmottara* claims that one who plants a tree will never fall into hell. The *Matsya Purāṇa* also describes a celebration for planting trees.

ASPECTS OF NATURE. Most Hindus perceive divinity in many aspects of nature. Many animals, snakes, mountains, rivers, trees, and, indeed, the entire universe pulsate with something divine. Some Hindus personify natural phenomena as divine; others think of natural phenomena as having presiding deities. Although the divinity is considered invested in some natural phenomena and habitats, it does not follow that such habitats are not used or abused. As with many religious traditions, there is dissonance between perception and behavior.

Most of the rivers of India are considered to be female and the mountains male. Rivers are perceived to be nurturing (and sometimes judgmental) mothers, feeding, nourishing, quenching, and when angered, flooding the earth. Rivers are personified as deities. The River Gaṅgā (Ganges) is sometimes portrayed as a consort of Lord Śiva. In the south, Kāverī Amman (Mother Kāverī) is the name by which the river is fondly addressed. Hundreds of girls born in the area of Coorg, where the Kāverī has her source, are named after her. In the plains of Tamilnadu, Kāverī is seen as a devotee and sometimes the consort of Lord Viṣṇu, and several temples (such as Terazhundur, near Kumbakonam) include a striking image of this personified river in the innermost shrine.

Rivers such as the Gaṅgā, Kāverī, Godāvarī, and Narmadā are much venerated by devotees, both as rivers and as goddesses. By bathing in the great rivers of India, one is said to be both physically cleansed and morally purified of one's sins (*papa*), which are destroyed. Moreover, one acquires merit or auspiciousness in this way. Although there is strong belief in the religious purity of the rivers, from an environmental perspective, they have become severely polluted as a result of rapid industrialization and the release of toxic human and industrial waste. The rivers that are supposed to purify human beings, physically, morally, and ritually, are said to be at the receiving end of *adharma*, unrighteous behavior. The beliefs of devotees that the rivers are intrinsically pure, moreover, works against the cleansing of the rivers, for some people believe that they cannot really be polluted.

PHILOSOPHICAL TEXTS, *DHARMA*, AND *MOKṢA*. Hindu texts portray *dharma* and *mokṣa* (liberation from the cycle of life and death) as goals for all human beings. There are many meanings for *dharma.* In some of its manifestations, it is concerned with *loka sangraha* or the welfare of human beings. *Dharma* refers to many topics, including notions of righteousness and duty, as well as virtues such as gratitude and compassion, which are thought of ideally as common to all human beings. While in some philosophical traditions, doing one's *dharma* or duty led to *mokṣa,* in other cases the dictates and norms of *dharma* to sustain society (beget children, earn money) could be seen as binding one to the cycle of life and death and as tugging in a direction away from liberation. The pathways to liberation included meditative and reflective paths focusing on control of the human body and mind, as well as intellectual and emotional devotion to the deity of one's choice. Detachment from everyday life—even while living in the midst of the world—was an integral part of the enterprise.

It is important to keep this taxonomy in mind, because theological doctrines dealing with "reality" do not necessarily trickle down into dharmic or ethical injunctions. This disjunction between *dharma* and *mokṣa* is marked in some Hindu texts and practices. *Dharma* texts promote righteous behavior on earth, and *mokṣa* texts encourage one to be detached from such concerns. A few texts, such as the *Bhagavadgītā*, have tried to bridge the paradigms of *dharma* and *mokṣa.*

Thus, a theology that emphasizes the world as a body of God, a pervasive pan-Indian belief that goddess Earth (Bhūdevī/Vasundhara/Pṛithvī) is also a consort of Viṣṇu, or the notion that the mother goddess (Amba, Durgā) is synonymous with nature (*prakṛti*), does not necessarily translate to eco-friendly behavior. Likewise, renunciation, celibacy, and detachment are laudable virtues for one who seeks liberation from the cycle of life and death, but the texts on *dharma* say that begetting children is necessary for salvation. These biomorphic worldviews are significant if we are to assess the relevancy of philosophical viewpoints such as deep ecology for the Hindu traditions. On another front, the dissonance between *dharma* and philosophical texts explains why some Hindu traditions hold the Goddess to be supreme while women do not always have a high position in society. It is true that some theological/*tattva* texts speak of certain kinds of "oneness" of the universe and, in some cases, of the equality of all creation. Some philosophical texts speak of the oneness of creation and the creator, and the absolute identity between the supreme being (Brāhmaṇ) and the human soul (*ātman*)—a oneness that transcends the concept of "equality of many"; however, in the sphere of *dharma* and everyday life, the hierarchies of social classes pertaining to economics, gender, caste, and age are significant. Hindu institutions and eco-activists have therefore found more resources in the narratives in the *dharma* texts than in those of philosophy and theology in galvanizing people.

ENVIRONMENTAL ACTIVISM IN THE CONTEMPORARY PERIOD. In India there has been a fairly long, though sporadic, history of environmental activism. The faith of the Bishnoi and in the Chipko movement and the Narmadā Andolan have become well known. The Bishnoi tradition—or as some call it, the eco-religious revolution—was started around 1485 in Samrathal Dhora (north India) by Jambho-ji (b. 1451). Jambho-ji was said to have been influenced by the pastoral life led by the deity Kṛṣṇa and is believed to have preached his faith for about fifty-one years. Of the 120 sayings credited to him, twenty-nine *(bish-noi)* directives are said to be particularly significant. Many adherents today interpret these teachings as promoting biodiversity and the protection of trees.

The Chipko movement uses principles of nonviolent protest and resistance to protect trees from commercial developers. The movement was organized during the 1970s in the Himalayan region of the state of Uttar Pradesh and has since spread to many other parts of India. Local villagers embrace (*chipko* means "to hug") trees, and the movement promotes many slogans that help spread the message. These pithy sayings include such messages as "Ecology is permanent economy" and "What do forests bear? Soil, water, and pure air." The protests are based on Mohandas Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence, pervasive Hindu notions of a harmonious relationship between human beings and nature, and respect for nature *(prakṛti),* which is seen as divine.

Some temples, such as the one at Tirumala Tirupati in South India, the largest and richest temple complex in the country, have also encouraged eco-activism. Billboards saying "Vriksho rakshati: rakshatah" ("Trees protect: Let us protect them" or "Trees, when protected, protect us") greet visitors to the sacred pilgrimage town of Tirumala-Tirupati in the state of Andhra Pradesh. The Tirumala-Tirupati temple is one of the oldest temples, and it carries a great deal of dharmic and financial clout both in India and in the diaspora. In response to the ecological crisis in India, the temple at Tirumala-Tirupati began what is called the Vriksha (tree) Prasāda scheme. Whenever a pilgrim visits a temple in India, he or she is given a piece of blessed fruit or food to take home. This is called a *prasāda* or "favor" of the deity; at Tirumala-Tirupati, a sapling, rather than food, is given as the symbol of the deity's grace. The nurseries of the Tirumala-Tirupati temple have many varieties of plants, both decorative plants and plants that are considered to be medically useful. The saplings cultivated are suitable for the soil in various parts of India, and by planting them at home, one can have an authentic piece of the sacred place of Tirumala wherever one lives.

The Tirumala-Tirupati temple, which is located on an elevation of 3,000 feet, was once surrounded by heavy forests. Apart from the giving of saplings, which is meant to raise the ecology-consciousness of the pilgrims, the forestry department of T. T. Devasthanam (the official bureaucracy of the temple) started the Shri Venkateswara Vanabhivriddhi scheme in 1981; it was initially called the "Bioaesthetic Plan." Following this plan, donations made by devotees are used for the purchase and planting of trees and plants. Over 2,500,000 indigenous trees are said to have been planted on the hills and the plains as a result of this program. In its support of this venture, the temple quotes relevant scriptural texts on the importance of trees and, most importantly, honors the devotee-participants in this thriving program. Both in texts and in practice, the Hindu traditions and some institutions have encouraged proactive approaches in the planting and protection of trees and plants.

Environmental activists have also deployed a number of religious strategies in the fight against the damming of rivers. Sunderlal Bahuguna, a well-known environmental activist, says that damming a river is like killing it. In opposing the building of the Tehri Dam in the Himalayas, a seismic zone, he has argued that several sacred pilgrimage sites will be destroyed if the dam were to break.

Several activists have drawn upon traditional Hindu narratives and rituals to save rivers like the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā from pollution, and more recently from corporate developers. Many of the movements and statements, such as the Haridwar Declaration, issued in 2002 to protect the river from privatization and commercial interests, draw upon the narratives and imagery of Gaṅgā as mother and goddess. The Haridwar Declaration correctly points out that rites of passages for Hindus, from birth to death, are conducted on the banks of these holy rivers and that the people will not let their Gaṅgā Mātā (Mother Gaṅgā) or its water be sold to multinational corporations. The declaration recalls the story of the descent of this river from the heavens, as narrated in the Purāṇas. It goes on to say that the sacred waters of this river cannot be the property of any one individual or company, and that Mother Gaṅgā is not for sale. In this, and many similar activist efforts, the Puranic narratives and notions of *dharma* are pressed into use.

Ramachandra Guha, a noted environmentalist, has urged a more practical environmentalism. He argues against an extremist, radical environmentalism, and advocates a balance between ecological concerns and social justice on the one hand, and economics and science and technology on the other.

In the hundreds of grassroots movements around India, leaders like Veer Bhadra Mishra and Sathya Sai Baba, institutions like the World Wide Fund for Nature, and pilgrimage sites such as Badrinath have all used religious narratives, ritual, and the values of *dharma* as ways of successfully motivating Hindus to take action and clean up the environment, plant new trees, and value biodiversity as an integral part of their activities. In many of these movements, women have played an active role.

WOMEN AND CONTEMPORARY ENVIRONMENTAL ACTION. Beginning in the late twentieth century, environmental activists such has Vandana Shiva began to develop an ecofeminist critique of gender and the environment that was pertinent to India. They compared the denigration of the rivers to the denigration of women at various times in the history of Hindu civilization. Shiva has eloquently and forcefully explored as well the ways in which women suffer as "development" destroys forests near their homes. Shiva argues that many of the new corporations are involved in "maldevelopment" projects in which nature and women are turned into passive objects and exploited by and for the uncontrolled desires of men.

Shiva also works on issues of hazardous wastes, biodiversity conservation, globalization, and patenting and intellectual property rights (calling the profiteering of corporations from traditional ecological knowledge "biopiracy"). Shiva has highlighted colonialism as a major factor in the draining of resources from India and the dismantling of traditional ecological paradigms by which the earth is held in respect. She argues that the process of patenting will deprive India of its last resource—biodiversity. Inspired by such critiques, women from diverse social classes have become environmentally active in India.

Women in the Chipko movement, for example, have been involved in protecting trees, for women are generally the first to feel the impact of deforestation. In an important development, however, many women from the more powerful classes have become influential environmental activists in their own right, adding their strength to the cause. Women have been actively and creatively involved in communicating the tragedy of ecological disaster and facilitating environmental awareness and action, sometimes using traditional religious art forms, sometimes through mainstream media and technology.

Awareness of ecological concerns has also been raised through the medium of traditional Indian dance. The theory and practice of classical dance in India is seen as a religious activity. In the twentieth century, classical dance began to be used as a medium for a social commentary on women and the environment. Noted dancers choreographed many dances with environmental themes, portraying, through their art, the Chipko movement and the pollution of the landscape, and the importance of trees. Through this medium audiences around the country, urban and rural, literate and illiterate, soon came to understand the urgency of this message.

With the growing awareness of the ecological plight, Hindu communities are pressing into use many dharmic texts and injunctions. They are drawing on the epics and Purāṇas for inspiration as they plant gardens and revive traditional lore regarding the medicinal importance of trees and plants. Women, through song and dance, increasingly communicate the ways in which environmental deterioration injures both women and nature, and they call for environmental protection and restoration, sometimes engaging in direct action to resist environmentally destructive practices. The philosophical insights of Hinduism may not have been strong enough to prevent environmental disaster, but the dharmic resources have provided rich resources for the subcontinents' early initiatives to reverse these trends and make the subcontinent green and toxin free.

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Vasudha Narayanan (2005)

ECOLOGY AND RELIGION: ECOLOGY AND JAINISM

The physical environment plays a key role in the Jaina worldview, which makes a direct connection between its cosmology and its ethical system. From the earliest extant text of the tradition, one learns that Jaina monks and nuns were keen observers of the elements and the living beings of the natural world. The *Ācārāṅga Sūtra,* which dates from the fourth or fifth century before the common era, indicates that Mahāvīra (c. 500 BCE), who established Jainism in its current institutional form, was a keen observer of nature. The text states: "Thoroughly knowing the earth-bodies and water-bodies and fire-bodies and wind-bodies, the lichens, seeds, and sprouts, he comprehended that they are, if narrowly inspected, imbued with life" (1.8.1.11–12; in Jacobi, 1884). These observations indicate the underpinning of the Jaina worldview: the belief that life *(jīva)* takes many interchanging forms. The life force exists in the four elements of earth, water, fire, and air as well as in microorganisms *(nigodha),* plants, and animals. At the point of death, this life force moves from one body to the next, depending on its karmic constitution. The life force attached to an earth body moves very slowly, whereas the life force found in an insect or microorganism might move on very quickly. The goal of Jainism entails an elevation of consciousness about one's *karma,* leading to rebirth in a human body and the adoption of a nonviolent lifestyle that will ultimately free a person from all karmic entanglements. At this final stage of blessedness, one ascends to the realm of perfection *(siddha-loka)* wherein one dwells eternally, observing the machinations of the world but never again succumbing to its allurement. The twenty-four great teachers or *tīrthaṃkaras* of Jainism all are said to have attained this state along with an undetermined number of saints.

The practice of nonviolence or *ahiṃsā* in Jainism sets an individual on the path of spiritual purification and ascent toward liberation. Jainas have been scrupulous in developing techniques for the avoidance of harm to living beings. The vows of Jainism provide the very foundation for Jaina identity. Nonviolence undergirds the human interpretation of and consequent relationship with the natural world. The commitment to not inflict harm extends far beyond anthropocentric concerns into the animal, plant, and even elemental realms.

The *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* lists five primary vows *(vrata)* for ethical practice: nonviolence, truthfulness, not stealing, sexual restraint, and nonpossession. These same vows inspired Mohandas Gandhi to lead a deeply abstemious life; he had learned of them during his childhood in Gujarat, an Indian state with a large Jaina presence, and from Raichandbhai, a prominent Jaina lay teacher. Nonviolence requires not only doing no harm to other human beings but also being informed about and respectful of all life forms. Truthfulness requires honesty in all one's dealings and vigilance about one's commitment to the nonviolent ideal. Stealing causes harm in innumerable ways, as does sexual promiscuity. In addition to the obvious emotional and medical hazards presented by wantonness, the very act of sexual intercourse kills innumerable microorganisms generated and obliterated by the heat and friction of sexual contact. Possessions weigh heavily on their owners. All material objects entail some sort of harm in their production and maintenance. Even to wear a heavy coat traps small insects and microorganisms. The Jaina philosophers and practitioners were mindful of such violations of the code of nonviolence and advocated minimal ownership of things. The ultimate ideal can be found in the story of Mahāvīra, who spent the last several years of his life totally naked, a practice emulated by the naked monks of the Digambara branch of Jainism.

In the early philosophical period of Jainism, Umāsvāti (c. 450 CE) composed the *Tattvārtha Sūtra,* a text that itemizes and describes the details of Jaina cosmology. The universe, shaped like a cosmic woman, consists of seven hells at its base, the surface of planet earth (Jambudvīpa) emanating from the navel region at its center, and nine heavens that rise through the torso of the cosmic person up to the crown of the cosmic head. Beyond the body of this person can be found the crescent realm of the liberated souls, the *siddhas* (adepts) and *tīrthaṃkaras* (great teachers), who have attained the fourteenth and ultimate state of unattached aloneness *(ayoga kevala).* These adepts have literally risen above and beyond all forms of *karma.* All other life forms can be found in lower stages of consciousness, with the overwhelming majority residing in the first stage, the deluded or ignorant view *(mithyādṛṣṭi).* Only human beings can begin the ascent along the spiritual path *(guṇasthāna)* that ultimately frees one from all karmic entanglement.

Umāsvāti categorized life forms according to the number of senses they possess. Earth, water, fire, and air bodies have only the sense of touch, as do plants. Worms add the sense of taste. Bugs possess touch, taste, and the capacity to smell. Winged insects add the ability to see. More complex beings, such as reptiles, mammals, and fish, can also hear and think. These higher life forms develop moral agency and make clear decisions about their behavior. These categories became embellished with great detail in the centuries following.

In the Middle Ages, some Jaina authors turned their attention to an exhaustive enumeration of biotic forms. Śāntisūri, a Śvetāmbara Jaina writer of the eleventh century, states in the *Jīva Vicāra Prakaranam* that hardened rock can survive as a distinct life form for twenty-two thousand years; "water-bodied souls" for seven thousand years; wind bodies for three thousand years; trees for ten thousand years; and fire for three days and three nights. He goes on to describe different forms of rock, such as quartz, gold, chalk, lava, and many others, and the variety of shapes assumed by water and fire and gives elegant descriptions of plant genres, worms, bugs, animals, hell beings, gods, and humans.

Jaina cosmology proclaims that all aspects of the surrounding world have feelings and consciousness. The earth feels and responds in kind to human presence. The earth one treads upon, the water one drinks, the air one inhales, the chair that supports one, the light that illumines one's day—all these entities feel one through the sense of touch, though one seldom acknowledges their presence. Humans, as living, sensate, sentient beings, have been given the special task and responsibility of growing in awareness and appreciation of these other life forms and of acting accordingly. Humans have the opportunity to cultivate ethical behavior that engenders respect toward the living, breathing, conscious beings that suffuse the universe.

The environmental message of this remarkable faith presents interesting challenges to the development of an ethical outlook. On the one hand, Jain precepts can support and correct the practice of an ecologically aware lifestyle. The practice of a Jaina monk or nun or carefully observant layperson challenges even the deep ecologist. Vegetarianism must be followed. One may not take up a profession that entails harm in any way. Only a few Jaina farmers can be found, as agriculture causes too much harm to the earth bodies and the two-sensed worms found in the soil. Jainas generally are careful about their professional choices, with few members of the community participating in warfare, directly or indirectly. Virtually none will involve themselves in the trafficking of animal products. Most Jainas take up careers that involve the production and sale of items manufactured from one-sensed beings and have found great success in the cotton industry and the diamond business as well as in accounting and banking. Many prosperous Jaina industrialists have used their wealth to support the extensive communities of Jaina monks and nuns in India and have contributed generously to the construction of Jaina temples.

However, other aspects of the faith present ambiguous challenges. Like the members of virtually all other religions, Jainas, despite their promotion of compassion toward all life forms and extensive construction of animal shelters *(pinjrapoles),* believe the highest form of life is human life. The inherent worth of other life forms is to be respected, but not for its own sake. Rather, a Jaina avoids harm for his or her own self-purification, not to advance the spiritual status of another. In traditional Jainism, to interfere with another's *karma* does harm to oneself. Despite Jainism's emphasis on the need for self-purification, the myriad practices resulting from the importance of nonviolence—the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* even includes detailed instructions on how to empty one's bowels without harming living beings—have the unintended effect of guaranteeing that when in the presence of an observant Jaina even an ant has a much better chance for survival than it would if in the company of even well-intentioned members of other religious communities.

Perhaps one illustration of a positive attitude toward environmental protection stemming from the observance of *ahiṃsā* can be found in two Jaina stories that relate to trees. The first comes from a discourse in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* in which Mahāvīra tells a gathering of monks and nuns to "change their minds" about looking at big trees. He says that, rather than seeing trees as "fit for palaces, gates, houses, benches . . . , boats, buckets, stools, trays, ploughs . . . seats, beds, cars sheds," they should speak of trees as "noble, high and round, big," with "many branches . . . magnificent" (2.4.2, 11–12; in Jacobi, 1884). This advice indicates that Mahāvīra not only appreciated the beauty of trees but also encouraged his followers to set aside their utilitarian perspectives. Wood, the major material used at the time for nearly all aspects of human manufacturing, was to be viewed by Jainas not for its monetary value but for its inherent beauty.

Another tree story similarly warns against the wanton destruction of trees while simultaneously explaining the mechanics of *karma*:

> A hungry person with the most negative black *leśyā* karma uproots and kills an entire tree to obtain a few mangoes. The person of blue karma fells the tree by chopping the trunk, again merely to gain a handful of fruits. Fraught with gray karma, a third person spares the trunk but cuts off the major limbs of the tree. The one with orangish-red karma carelessly and needlessly lops off several branches to reach the mangoes. The fifth, exhibiting white or virtuous karma, "merely picks up ripe fruit that has dropped to the foot of the tree." (Jaini, 1916, p. 47)

Again, trees are not to be regarded covetously for their fruits but are to be given respect and treated in such a way as to avoid the inflicting of harm. This ethic of care may be extended to the entire biotic community, engendering an awareness of and sensitivity to the precious nature of life.

A ready example of Jaina involvement in the protection of life can be found in their long-standing practice of animal rescue. Quite often, the connection between treatment of animals and the environment is overlooked. The Jaina tradition has a long commitment to animal protection that can serve as a paradigm guiding interaction with the natural world. During the period of the Islamic incursion into India, the Jaina community was often in retreat and had some of its temples taken over and converted into mosques. However, some Jaina monks exerted influence within the Islamic world. Jinacandrasūri II (1531–1613), a leader of the Khartar Gacch order of the Śvetāmbaras, traveled in 1591 to Lahore, where he greatly influenced the Mogul emperor Akbar the Great. He gained protection for Jain pilgrimage places as well as legal protection ensuring that Jaina ceremonies would not be hindered. Akbar even lent support to Jaina advocacy for animals and forbade the slaughter of animals for one week each year.

A modern example of Jaina activism that extends into the realm of ecological ethics is in the work of two leaders of the Śvetāmbara Terāpanthī movement, Ācārya Tulsi (1914–1997) and his successor Ācārya Mahāprajña. Tulsi was appointed to the leadership of his order in 1936, when he was twenty-two years old. For fifty-eight years he served as leader and preceptor and worked tirelessly at promulgating the Jaina teachings on nonviolence. In June 1945, deeply disturbed by World War II, he issued a nine-point declaration of the basic principles of nonviolence. Starting with the proclamation that nonviolence should be widely propagated, he then stated that one must overcome anger, pride, deceitfulness, and discontent; that all persons should pursue education; that governments must become just; that science must not be used for purposes of war; that governmental pronouncements should promote “universal fraternity instead of national solidarity”; that people must not hoard; that the weak must not be oppressed; and that religious freedom should be granted to all (Kumar and Prakash, p. 42). Although some of these principles may certainly be seen though environmentalist spectacles, particularly the admonition against hoarding, not until 1949 did Ācārya Tulsi explicitly mention environmental pollution. He issued an eleven-point call for action, culminating in an eco-friendly message. Specifically, he asked his followers, laypeople and monastics, to observe the following admonitions: to not kill or attack; to not engage in destructive activities; to subscribe to the ideals of human unity and religious toleration; to follow good business ethics; to limit acquisitions; to not engage in falsification of elections; to abstain from bad habits and addictions; and finally, to be “alert to the problem of keeping the environment pollution-free” (Kumar and Prakash, p. 71).

Contemporary Jainas, particularly in North America, identify readily with values centered on environmental protection. Anne Vallely notes, “Rather than through the idiom of self-realization or the purification of the soul, ethics are being expressed through a discourse of environmentalism and animal rights” (Vallely, 2002, p. 193). One example of this trend is in *Resurgence,* the journal edited by the former Jaina monk Satish Kumar. This beautiful publication features works by prominent photographers, artists, and writers that highlight the beauties of nature and critique the many assaults on the environment caused by consumerism and the global economy. Whereas this journal enjoys worldwide distribution to diverse constituencies, a newer journal, *Jain Spirit: Sharing Jain Values Globally,* is distributed almost exclusively within the Jaina community. It includes articles on an array of topics, including essays on the integration of Jaina traditional values into contemporary life. One such piece, “Vote with Your Pocket,” by Raju Shah, extols the virtues of hybrid automobiles, which “produce up to 90 percent less emission than a similar-sized normal vehicle” (Shah, 2003, p. 44). Numerous websites buttress the new global reach of the Jaina community, which continues to espouse vegetarianism and animal activism as key components of its ethical expression. As the twenty-first century progresses, the abstemious lifestyle of the Jainas may become increasingly instructive to those seeking to protect the environment.

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CHRISTOPHER KEY CHAPPLE (2005)

ECOLOGY AND RELIGION: ECOLOGY AND BUDDHISM

In 1967 Lynn White, in an effort to address the roots of the growing global environmental crisis, put forward the thesis that the biblical worldview, which placed God outside of nature and authorized human beings to exploit nature for their proper ends, had been a major factor in the West's degradation of the natural environment (White, 1967). The ensuing controversy sparked by his thesis diverted attention from his underlying point at the core of the religion and ecology movement, namely, that human ecology is deeply conditioned by religious beliefs. Although White viewed Franciscan piety as having a more benign attitude toward nature than mainstream Christian theology, he found in Buddhism an even more holistic, egalitarian worldview and an environmentally friendly style of life. This entry seeks to explore White's sensibility regarding Buddhism by first analyzing four dimensions of the Buddhist worldview from the standpoint of their potential ecological significance, and then examining the normative values of a Buddhistically grounded lifestyle consonant with an ecology of human flourishing.

FOUR DIMENSIONS OF A BUDDHIST ECOLOGICAL WORLDVIEW. Although over the centuries Buddhism has developed diverse forms from the time the Buddha taught his *dharma* in India over 2,500 years ago, its holistic principle of causal interdependence (*paṭicca samuppāda, idappaccayatā*) has remained the normative core of its philosophical worldview. Buddhists view this interdependent world as conjoined in four ways: existentially, morally, cosmologically, and ontologically. Existentially, Buddhists affirm that all sentient beings share the fundamental conditions of birth, old age, suffering, and death. The existential realization of the universality of suffering lies at the core of the Buddha's teaching. Insight into the nature of suffering, its cause, cessation, and the path to the cessation of suffering constitutes the essence of the Buddha's enlightenment experience, formulated as the four noble truths and enunciated in the Buddha's first public teaching.

The tradition conveys this universal truth via the story of the founder's journey to *nirvāṇa*, the logical interrelationship among the four noble truths, as well as in many, often poignant, narratives. In one account a young mother approaches the Buddha after the death of her infant child. She pleads with the Blessed One to restore her child's life. In response the Buddha directs the grieving mother to bring him a mustard seed from a house in a village where death has never occurred, and if she finds such a household he will resuscitate her child. The mother returns to the Buddha not with the mustard seed but with the existential realization of the universality of suffering caused by death. The touching story of a mother's grief over the death of her baby speaks to the heart; the syllogistic logic of the four noble truths speaks to the mind.

Suffering and Compassion. Buddhism links the existential condition of the universality of suffering with the moral virtue of compassion. That the Buddha, after his enlightenment, decides to share his insight into the cause of and the path to the cessation of suffering rather than selfishly keeping this knowledge for himself, is regarded by the tradition as an act of universal compassion. Extrapolating from the example of the Buddha, Buddhist environmentalists assert that the mindful awareness of the universality of suffering produces compassionate empathy for all forms of life, particularly for all sentient species. They interpret the *Dhammapada*'s ethical injunction not to do evil but to do good as a moral principle advocating the nonviolent elevation of suffering, an ideal embodied in the prayer of universal loving kindness that concludes many Buddhist rituals: "May all beings be free from enmity; may all beings be free from injury; may all beings be free from suffering; may all beings be happy." Out of a concern for the entire living environment, Buddhist environmentalists extend loving kindness, compassion, and respect beyond people and animals to include plants and the earth itself: "We humans think we are smart, but an orchid. . .knows how to produce noble, symmetrical flowers, and a snail knows how to make a beautiful, well-proportioned shell. We should bow deeply before the orchid and the snail and join our palms reverently before the monarch butterfly and the magnolia tree" ("The Sun My Heart," Nhat Hanh, p. 85).

***Karma*, rebirth, and Buddhist cosmology.** The concepts of *karma* and rebirth (*saṃsāra*) integrate the existential sense of a shared common condition among all sentient life forms with the moral nature of the Buddhist cosmology. Not unlike the biological sciences, rebirth links human and animal species. Evolution maps commonalties and differences among species on the basis of physical and genetic traits; rebirth maps them on moral grounds. Every form of sentient life participates in a karmic continuum traditionally divided into three world-levels and a hierarchical taxonomy of five or six life forms. Although this continuum constitutes a moral hierarchy, differences among life forms and individuals are relative, not absolute. While Buddhism traditionally privileges humans over animals, animals over hungry ghosts, male gender over the female, monk over laity, all forms of karmically conditioned life—human, animal, divine, demonic—are related within contingent, samsaric time: "In the long course of rebirth there is not one among living beings with form who has not been mother, father, brother, sister, son, or daughter, or some other relative. Being connected with the process of taking birth, one is kin to all wild and domestic animals, birds, and beings born from the womb" (*Laṇkāvatāra Sūtra*). *Nirvāṇa*, the Buddhist summum bonum, offers the promise of transforming karmic conditionedness into an unconditioned state of spiritual liberation, a realization potentially available to all forms of sentient life on the karmic continuum. The belief that plants and trees or the land itself have a similar potential for spiritual liberation became an explicit doctrine in Chinese and Japanese Buddhism and may also have been part of popular Buddhist belief from earliest times in the realization that all life forms share both a common problematic and promise: "*bodhisattvas* each of these, I call the large trees" (*Lotus Sūtra*).

Although the Buddhist doctrines of *karma* and rebirth connect all forms of sentient existence together in a moral continuum, Buddhist ethics focus on human agency and its consequences, and, in this sense, Buddhism is anthropocentric, not biocentric. The inclusion of plants and animals in Buddhist schemes of salvation may be important philosophically for the attribution of inherent value to nonhuman forms of life; however, it is humans who are the primary agents in creating the present ecological crisis and who will bear the major responsibility for its solution.

The myth of origins in the canon of Theravāda Buddhism (*Aggañña Sutta*) describes the deleterious impact of human activity on the primordial natural landscape. Unlike the Garden of Eden story in the Hebrew Bible, where human agency centers on the God-human relationship, the Buddhist story of first origins describes the negative impact of humans on the earth, which results from their selfishness and greed. In the Buddhist mythological Eden, the earth flourishes naturally but greed and desire lead to division and ownership of the land, which in turn promotes violent conflict, destruction, and chaos. It is human agency in the Buddhist myth of first origins that destroys the natural order of things. Although change is inherent in nature, Buddhists believe that natural processes are directly affected by human morality. From the Buddhist perspective our relationship to the natural environment implies an intrinsic moral equation. From a Buddhist perspective, therefore, an environmental policy based solely on a utilitarian cost-benefit analysis cannot solve the problem. At the heart of the matter remain the moral issues of greed, hatred, and violence.

The account of the Buddha's awakening (*nirvāṇa*) delineates the major elements of the Buddhist worldview in terms of the concrete particular, the general, and the universal. Tradition records that during the night of this defining experience the Blessed One first recalled his previous lives within the karmic continuum; then he perceived the fate of all sentient beings within the cosmic hierarchy; finally he fathomed the nature of suffering and the path to its cessation formulated as the four noble truths and the law of interdependent co-arising (*paṭicca samuppāda*). The Buddha's enlightenment experience is mapped in a specific sequence: an understanding of the *particular* (his personal karmic history), the *general* (the karmic history of humankind), and finally the *principle* underlying the cause and cessation of suffering. Subsequently, this principle is broadened into a *universal law of causality*: "on the arising of this, that arises; on the cessation of this, that ceases." Buddhist environmentalists find in this template a vision that integrates all aspects of the ecosphere—particular individuals as well as general species—in terms of the principle of mutual codependence.

These three stages, encompassed by the Buddha's enlightenment experience, suggest a model of moral reasoning applicable to environmental ethics that integrates general principles and collective action guides with particular contexts, or in the catchphrase of the popular bumper sticker, "Think globally; act locally." Effective schemes of environmental justice require both general principles, such as those embodied in the Earth Charter, and enforceable programs of action appropriate to particular regions and nation-states.

ONTOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF BUDDHIST ECOLOGY. In the Buddhist cosmological model individual entities are by their very nature relational, which undermines the autonomous self vis-á-vis the "other," whether human, animal, or vegetable. Buddhist environmentalists see their worldview as one that rejects hierarchical dominance of one human over another or humans over nature, and as the basis of an ethic of empathetic compassion that respects biodiversity. In the view of the Thai monk Buddhadāsa Bhikkhu (1906–1993),

> The entire cosmos is a cooperative. The sun, the moon and the stars live together as a cooperative. The same is true for humans and animals, trees, and the earth. When we realize that the world is a mutual, interdependent, cooperative enterprise. . .then we can build a noble environment. If our lives are not based on this truth, then we shall perish (Swearer, 1998, p. 20).

In later schools of Buddhist thought the cosmological vision of interdependent causality evolved into a more substantive sense of ontological unity. The image of Indra's net found in the Huayan (Jap., Kegon) tradition's *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* has been a potent metaphor in Buddhist ecological discussions: "Just as the nature of earth is one, while beings each live separately, and the earth has no thought of oneness or difference, so is the truth of all the Buddhas." For the American writer Gary Snyder the Huayan image of the universe as a vast web of many-sided jewels, each constituted by the reflections of all the other jewels in the web and each jewel being the image of the entire universe, symbolizes the world as a universe of bio-regional ecological communities. Buddhist environmentalists argue, furthermore, that ontological notions, such as buddha-nature or *dharma*-nature (e.g., *buddhakāya, tathagata-garbha, dharmakāya, dharmadhātu*) provide a basis for unifying all existent entities in a common sacred universe, even though the tradition privileges human life in regard to spiritual realization.

For Tiantai monks in eighth-century China, the belief in a universal buddha-nature blurred the distinction between sentient and nonsentient life forms and logically led to the view that plants, trees, and the earth itself could achieve enlightenment. Kūkai (774–835), the founder of the Japanese Shingon school, and Dōgen (1200–1253), the founder of the Sōtō Zen sect, described universal buddha-nature in naturalistic terms: "If plants and trees were devoid of buddhahood, waves would then be without humidity" (Kūkai); "The sūtras [i.e., the *dharma*] are the entire universe, mountains and rivers and the great wide earth, plants, and trees" (Dōgen). Buddhist environmentalists often cite Dōgen's view as support for the preservation of species biodiversity, a view that ascribes intrinsic value to all species by affirming their shared dharmic nature.

For Buddhists the truth of the principle of causal interdependence as a universal, natural law was authenticated in the narrative of the Buddha's own *nirvāṇa* and his teaching (*dharma*). As has been noted, Buddhist scriptures and other texts employ the hermeneutical strategies of metaphor, story, and discursive logic to promote and explicate this truth. Throughout Buddhist history, poetry has also been an important literary tool for conveying the *dharma* and the truths of the interdependence of humans and nature. An early Pali *sutta* incorporates early Vedic traditions and extols nature's beauty by drawing on the metaphor of Indra and the landscape of abundance:

> Those rocky heights with hue of dark blue clouds
> Where lies embossed many a shining lake
> Of crystal-clear, cool waters, and whose slopes
> The herds of Indra cover and bedeck
> Those are the hills wherein my soul delights.
> (*Theragātā*)

East Asian traditions under Daoist influence best represent this poetic expression. The early ninth-century Chinese Buddhist poet and layman, Han-shan, writes:

> As for me, I delight in the everyday
> Way Among mist-wrapped vines and rocky caves
> Here in the wilderness I am completely free
> With my friends, the white clouds, idling forever
> There are roads, but they do not reach the world
> Since I am mindless, who can rouse my thoughts?
> On a bed of stone I sit, alone in the night
> While the round moon climbs up Cold Mountain
> (*Kaza and Kraft,* 2000, p. 54).

Although the various expressions of Buddhism's holistic, interdependent worldview that range from logical paradigms to poetry offer both guidance and inspiration to ecological thinking, the natural world looms largest for the achievement of an ecology of human flourishing.

AN ECOLOGY OF HUMAN FLOURISHING. Buddhism arose in north India in the fifth century BCE at a time when the region was undergoing a process of urbanization and political centralization accompanied by commercial development and the formation of artisan and merchant classes. The creation of towns and the expansion of an agrarian economy led to the clearing of forests and other tracts of uninhabited land. These changes influenced early Buddhism in several ways. For instance, the transformation of the natural environment that accompanied these changes was a factor in the Buddhist conception of human flourishing. Early monastic Buddhism was not biocentric, but naturalism seems to have played a role in popular piety, and naturalistic sentiments came to be infused in Buddhism in China, Korea, and Japan. As we shall see, while nature as an intrinsic value may be lacking in early Buddhist thought and practice, it nonetheless was always central to the Buddhist concept and articulation of the ecology of human flourishing.

THE *SANGHA* AND NATURE. Even though the picture of the Buddha seated under the tree of enlightenment traditionally has not been interpreted as a paradigm for ecological discourse, today's Buddhist environmental activists point out that the decisive events in the Buddha's life occurred in natural settings: the Buddha Gautama was born, attained enlightenment, and died under trees. The textual record, furthermore, testifies to the importance of forests, not only as the preferred environment for spiritual practices such as meditation, but also as a place where laity sought instruction. Historically, in Asia and increasingly in the West, Buddhists have situated centers of practice and teaching in forests and among mountains at some remove from the hustle and bustle of urban life. The Buddha's own example provides the original impetus for such locations: "Seeking the supreme state of sublime peace, I wandered. . .until. . .I saw a delightful stretch of land and a lovely woodland grove, and a clear flowing river with a delightful forest so I sat down thinking, 'Indeed, this is an appropriate place to strive for the ultimate realization of. . .*nirvāṇa*'" (*Ariyapariyesana Sutta*).

Lavish patronage and the traffic of pilgrims often complicated and compromised the solitude and simple life of forest monasteries, but forests, rivers, and mountains have remained important in the Buddhist ecology of human flourishing. Recall, for example, the Zen description of enlightenment wherein natural phenomena such as rivers and mountains are perceived as loci of the sacred, as in Dōgen's *Mountains and Water Sūtra.* Although some religious practitioners tested their spiritual mettle in wild nature, more often the norm appears to be a relatively benign state of nature conducive to quiet contemplation as suggested by the above quotation, or by the naturalistic gardens that one finds in many Japanese Zen monasteries originally located on the outskirts of towns. Buddhadāsa Bhikkhu called his forest monastery in south Thailand the Garden of Empowering Liberation (Suan Mokkhabalārāma), observing: "The deep sense of calm that nature provides through separation from the stress that plagues us in the day-to-day world protects our heart and mind. The lessons nature teaches us lead to a new birth beyond suffering caused by our acquisitive self-preoccupation" (Swearer, 1998, pp. 24–25). For Buddhist environmentalists, technology alone cannot solve the eco-crisis. A radical transformation of values and lifestyle will be required. Communities like Suan Mokkhabalārāma provide an example of a sustainable lifestyle grounded in the values of moderation, simplicity, and non-acquisitiveness.

Buddhadāsa's Garden of Empowering Liberation stands not as a retreat from the world but as a place where all forms of life—humans, animals, and plants—live as a cooperative microcosm of a larger ecosystem and as a community where humans are taught to practice an ecological ethic. Such an ethic is characterized by the virtues of restraint, simplicity, loving-kindness, compassion, equanimity, patience, wisdom, nonviolence, and generosity. These virtues represent moral ideals for all members of the Buddhist community—monk, lay person, political leader, ordinary citizen, male, female. Political leaders whose mandate it is to maintain the peace and security of the nation, are admonished to adhere to the ideal of nonviolence. King Aśoka (third century BCE), the model Buddhist ruler, is admired for his rejection of animal sacrifice and the protection of animals, as well as for building hospices and other public works. The Buddhist ethic of distributive justice extols the merchant who generously provides for the needy. Even ordinary Thai rice farmers traditionally left a portion of rice unharvested in their fields for the benefit of poor people and hungry animals.

The twin virtues of wisdom and compassion define the spiritual perfection of the *bodhisattva* praised by Śāntideva, the eighth-century Indian poet-monk, in these words:

> May I be the doctor and the medicine
> And may I be the nurse
> For all sick beings in the world
> Until all are healed.
> (*Bodhicaryāvatāra*)

For contemporary engaged Buddhists, most notably the Dalai Lama, a sense of responsibility rooted in compassion lies at the very heart of an ecological ethic: "The world grows smaller and smaller, more and more interdependent . . . today more than ever before life must be characterized by a sense of universal responsibility, not only . . . human to human but also human to other forms of life" (Sandell, 1987, p. 73).

A CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF ECO-BUDDHISM. For many Buddhist environmentalists, compassion naturally results from the intellectual understanding that all life forms are mutually interdependent. Others, however, argue that while a cognitive recognition of interdependence is necessary, it alone is not a sufficient condition for an ethic of mutual regard. These critics point to the centrality of practice in Buddhism, the threefold path to moral and spiritual excellence—virtue, mindful awareness, wisdom—as the key element in an ecological ethic. For the Vietnamese Zen monk, Thich Nhat Hanh (b. 1926), it is the practice of mindful awareness, in particular, that opens both heart and mind to the interbeingness of humans and nature:

> *Look deeply*: I arrive in every second to be a bud on a spring branch to be a tiny bird, with wings still fragile learning to sing in my new nest to be a caterpillar in the heart of a flower to be a jewel hiding itself in a stone. . . . ("Please Call Me By My True Names," Nhat Hanh, 1987)

Critics of the ethical saliency of the traditional Buddhist vision of human flourishing also argue that such nondualistic philosophical concepts as not-self (*anātman*) and emptiness (*śūnyatā*) undermine human autonomy and the distinction between self and other, essential to an other-regarding ethic. What are the grounds for an ethic or laws that protect the civil rights of minorities or animal species threatened with extinction when philosophically Buddhism seems to challenge their significance by deconstructing their independent reality as an epistemological fiction? Furthermore, they point out that the most basic concepts of Buddhism—*nirvāṇa*, suffering, rebirth, not-self, and even causality—were intended to further the goal of an individual's spiritual quest rather than engagement with the world. They affirm, therefore, that Buddhism serves primarily a salvific or soteriological purpose and that any attempt to ecologize the tradition distorts the historical and philosophical record. Buddhist environmentalists respond that their understanding of the tradition brings to the debates about human rights and the global environment an ethic of social and environmental responsibility more compatible with the language of compassion based on the mutual interdependence of all life forms than the language of rights. Furthermore, to apply Buddhist insights to a broad ecology of human flourishing represents the tradition at its best, namely, a creative, dynamic response to contemporary problems.

A related but more sympathetic criticism from within the Buddhist environmental movement suggests that for Buddhism to be an effective force for systemic institutional change, the traditional Buddhist emphasis on individual moral and spiritual transformation must be adjusted to address forcefully the structures of oppression, exploitation, and environmental degradation. While preserving the unique Buddhist emphasis on the practice of mindful awareness and a personal lifestyle of simplicity, under the inspiration of A. T. Ariyaratna, the founder of the Sarvodaya Shramadana movement in Sri Lanka, Sulak Sivaraksa, co-founder of the International Network of Engaged Buddhists, and other leaders, a new form of environmental and socially engaged Buddhism has emerged dedicated to the creation of a just, equitable, and sustainable world.

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ECOLOGY AND RELIGION: ECOLOGY AND CONFUCIANISM

Within the Confucian tradition, there are rich resources for understanding how Chinese culture has viewed nature and the role of humans in nature. These are evident from the dynamic interactions of nature as expressed in the early classic *Yi jing* (Book of changes), to the Han period integration of the human into the triad with heaven and Earth, to the later neo-Confucian metaphysical discussions of the relationship of principle *(li)* and material force *(qi)*. This does not imply, however, that there is not a gap between such theories of nature and practices toward nature in both premodern and contemporary East Asian societies. China, like many countries in Asia, has been faced with various environmental challenges, such as deforestation, for centuries. Thus, this is not to suggest an idealization of Confucian China as a model of environmental ideas or practices. This is an exploration of how Confucian thought contributed to the Chinese understanding of the relationship of humans to nature. China's complex environmental history would need to be examined for a fuller picture of the social and political reality of these relations. In addition, the spread of Confucianism would have to be traced across East Asia to Korea and Japan.

Confucianism, along with Daoism and Buddhism, has helped to shape attitudes toward nature in the Chinese context. These attitudes have changed over time as the three primary religious traditions have interacted with each other in a dynamic and mutually influencing manner. While distinctions have been made between various schools in these traditions, there has also been coexistence and syncretism among the traditions. Indeed, it is fair to say Confucianism and Daoism, in particular, share various terms and attitudes toward nature, although they differ on the role of humans in relation to nature. Confucians are more actively engaged in working with nature, especially in agricultural processes, while Daoists are more passive toward nature, wanting to experience its beauty and mystery without interfering in its rhythms.

Confucianism has conventionally been described as a humanistic tradition focusing on the roles and responsibilities of humans to family, society, and government. Thus, Confucianism is often identified primarily as an ethical or political system of thought with an anthropocentric focus. However, upon further examination and as more translations become available in Western languages, this narrow perspective needs to be reexamined. The work of many contemporary Confucian scholars in both Asia and the West has been crucial for expanding the understanding of Confucianism.

Some of the most important results of this reexamination are the insights that have emerged in seeing Confucianism as not simply an ethical, political, or ideological system. Rather, Confucianism is now being appreciated as a complex religious tradition in ways that are different from Western traditions. This is because Confucianism is being recognized for its affirmation of relationality, not only between and among humans but also between humans and the natural world. Confucians regard humans as not simply individualistic entities but as communitarian beings. It is this emerging understanding of the religious, relational, and communitarian dynamics of Confucianism that has particular relevance to the examination of Confucian attitudes toward nature. Some of these attitudes may be characterized as:

1. Embracing an anthropocosmic worldview.
2. Affirming nature as having inherent moral value.
3. Protecting nature as the basis of a stable agricultural society.

4. Encouraging human self-realization to be achieved in harmony with nature.

ANTHROPOCOSMIC WORLDVIEW. The contemporary Confucian scholar Tu Weiming has spoken of the Confucian tradition as one based on an anthropocosmic vision of the dynamic interaction of heaven, Earth, and human. He describes this as a continuity of being with no radical split between a transcendent divine person or principle and the world of humans. Tu emphasizes that the continuity and wholeness of Chinese cosmological thinking is also accompanied by a vitality and dynamism.

This view is centered on the cosmos, not on the human. The implications are that the human is seen as embedded in nature, not dominant over nature. The Confucian worldview might be described as a series of concentric circles where the human resides in the center, not as an isolated individual, but as embedded in ever-expanding rings of family, society, government, and nature. The moral cultivation of the individual influences the larger circles of society and politics, as is evident in the text of the *Great Learning,* and that influence extends to nature, as is clear in the *Doctrine of the Mean.* All of these interacting circles are contained within the vast cosmos itself. Thus, the ultimate context for human flourishing is the 10,000 things, nature in all its remarkable variety and abundance.

Indeed, in Confucianism there is recognition that the rhythms of nature sustain life in both its biological needs and socio-cultural expressions. For Confucians, the biological dimensions of life are dependent on nature as a holistic, organic continuum. Everything in nature is interdependent and interrelated. Most importantly, for Confucians nature is seen as dynamic and transformational. These ideas are present as early as the classical texts of the *Book of Changes* and the *Book of Poetry* and are expressed in the *Four Books*, especially in *Mencius*, the *Doctrine of the Mean*, and the *Great Learning.* They come to full flowering in the neo-Confucian tradition of the Song (960–1279) and Ming (1368–1644) periods, especially in the thought of Zhu Xi, Zhangzai, Zhou Dunyi, and Wang Yangming. Nature in this context has an inherent unity, resulting from a primary ontological source (*Taiji*). It has patterned processes of transformation (*yin/yang*) and is interrelated in the interaction of the five elements (*wuxing)* and the 10,000 things. Nature's dynamic vitalism is seen through the movements of material force (*q qi*).

Within this Confucian worldview, human culture is created and expressed in harmony with the transformations of nature. Thus, the leading Confucian of the Han period (202 BCE–220 CE), Dong Zhongshu, developed a comprehensive synthesis of all the elements, directions, colors, seasons, and virtues. This codified an ancient Chinese tendency to connect the patterns of nature with the rhythms of humans and society. This theory of correspondences is foundational to the anthropocosmic worldview where humans are seen as working together with heaven and Earth in correlative relationships to create harmonious societies. The mutually related resonances between self, society, and nature are constantly being described in the Confucian texts. This early Han correlative synthesis, along with the institution of the civil service examination system, provided the basis for enduring political rule in subsequent Chinese dynasties. This is not to suggest that there were not abuses of political power or manipulations of the examination system, but simply to describe the anthropocosmic foundations of Confucian political and social thought. These Confucian ideas spread across East Asia to Korea and Japan and today are present in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore as well.

NATURE HAS INHERENT MORAL VALUE. For Confucians, nature is not only inherently valuable, it is morally good. Nature thus embodies the normative standard for all things. There is not a fact/value division in the Confucian worldview, for nature is seen as the source of all value. In particular, value lies in the ongoing transformation and productivity of nature. A term repeated frequently in neo-Confucian sources is "life-life" or "production and reproduction" (*sheng sheng*), reflecting the ever-renewing fecundity of life itself. In this sense, the dynamic transformations of life are seen as emerging in recurring cycles of growth, fruition, harvesting, and abundance. This reflects the natural processes of growth and decay in nature, human life, and human society. Change is thus seen as a dynamic force with which humans should harmonize and interact rather than from which to withdraw.

In this context, where nature has inherent moral value, there is nonetheless a sense of distinctions. Value rests in each thing in nature, but not in each thing equally. Differentiation is recognized as critical; everything has its appropriate role and place and should be treated accordingly. The use of nature for human ends must recognize the intrinsic value of each element of nature, but also its particular value in relation to the larger context of the environment. Each entity is considered not simply equal to every other; rather, each interrelated part of nature has a unique value according to its nature and function. Thus, there is a differentiated sense of appropriate roles for humans and for all other species. For Confucians, hierarchy is seen as a necessary way for each being to fulfill its function. In this context, then, no individual being has exclusive privileged status. The processes of nature and its ongoing logic of transformation (*yin/yang*) are the norms that take priority. Within this context, however, humans have particular responsibilities to care for nature.

PROTECTING NATURE AS THE BASIS OF A STABLE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY. With regard to protecting nature, the Confucians taught that what fosters nature is valuable; what destroys nature is problematic, especially for a flourishing agricultural society. Confucians would ascribe to this in principle if not consistently in practice. Confucians were mindful that nature was the basis of a stable society and that without careful tending imbalances could result. There are numerous passages in *Mencius* advocating humane government based on appropriate management and distribution of natural resources. Moreover, there are various passages in Confucian texts urging humans not to wantonly cut down trees or kill animals needlessly. Thus, Confucians would wish (at least in principle) to nurture and protect the great variety and abundance of life forms. Again, it may be noted that this did not always occur in practice, especially with periods of population growth, military expansion, economic development, and political aggrandizement.

However, the goal of Confucian theory to establish humane society, government, and culture inevitably resulted in the use of nature for creating housing, growing food, and establishing the means of production. In this sense, Confucianism can be seen as a more pragmatic social ecology that recognized the necessity of forming human institutions and the means of governance to work with nature. Nonetheless, it is clear for Confucians that, in principle, human cultural values and practices are grounded in nature, are part of its structure and dependent on its beneficence. In addition, the agricultural base of Confucian societies across East Asia has always been recognized as essential to the political and social well-being of the country. Confucians realized that humans prosper by living within nature's boundaries—they are refreshed by its beauty, restored by its seasons, and fulfilled by its rhythms. Human flourishing is thus dependent on fostering nature in its variety and abundance; going against nature's processes is destructive of self and society.

SELF-REALIZATION IN HARMONY WITH NATURE. For Confucians, harmony with nature is essential; societal well-being and human self-realization are both achieved in relation to and in harmony with nature. The great intersecting triad of Confucianism—namely, heaven, Earth, and humans—signifies this understanding that humans can only attain their full humanity in relationship to both heaven and Earth. This became a foundation for a cosmological ethical system of relationality applicable to spheres of family, society, politics, and nature. The individual was always seen in relationship to others. In particular, the person was grounded in a reciprocal relationship with nature.

Nature functions in the Confucian worldview as great parents to humans providing sustenance, nurturing, intelligibility, and guidance. In return, nature requires respect and care from humans. Human self-realization is achieved by fulfilling this role of filiality toward heaven and Earth (nature) as beneficent parents who have sustained life for humans. This idea of heaven and Earth as parents is first depicted in the early classic of the *Book of History* and is later developed by thinkers such as Kaibara Ekken in seventeenth-century Japan. Humans participate in the vast processes of nature by cultivating themselves in relation to nature, by caring for the land appropriately, by creating benevolent government, and by developing human culture and society in relation to nature's seasons and transformations.

Human self-realization implies understanding the continuities of nature in its daily rhythms and seasonal cycles. Yet humans also recognize that these orderly patterns contain within them the dynamic transformations engendering creativity, spontaneity, and openness. This is the challenge for humans within a Confucian context: How to live within nature's continuities and yet be open to its spontaneities. Thus while nature has intelligible structures and patterns, it also operates in ways to produce and encourage novelty.

With regard to establishing human culture and maintaining institutions, the same dynamic tensions are evident within the Confucian tradition. How to be faithful to the past—the continuity of the tradition—and yet be open to the change and innovation necessary for the ongoing life of the tradition. Achieving self-realization for the Confucians required a creative balancing of these two elements of tradition and innovation against the background of nature's continuities and changes.

In the Confucian tradition there exists underlying patterns of cosmological orientation and connectedness of self to the universe and self to society. Indeed, one might say that Confucianism as a religious tradition is distinguished by a concern for both personal groundedness and cosmological relatedness amidst the myriad changes in the universe. The desire for appropriate orientation toward nature and connection to other humans is an enduring impetus in Confucianism. Indeed, this need to recognize and cultivate such relatedness is the primary task of the Confucian practitioner in attaining authentic personhood.

This relatedness takes many forms, and variations of it constitute one of the means of identifying different periods and thinkers in the tradition. In China, from the classical period of the *Book of Changes* to the Han system of correspondences and the Neo-Confucian metaphysics of the *Diagram of the Great Ultimate*, concerns for cosmology and cultivation have been dominant in Confucian thought. In Korea one of the most enduring expressions of this was the four-seven debates that linked the metaphysics of principle *(li)* and material force *(qi)* to issues of cultivating virtue and controlling the emotions. These debates continued in Japan, although without the same intensity and political consequences. Instead, in Japan the effort to link particular virtues to the cosmos became important, as did the expression of cultivation in the arts, in literature, and in practical learning. In this manner, one's cultivation was shared for the benefit of the society in both aesthetic and practical matters. Thus, in varied forms throughout East Asian Confucianism, the human is viewed as a microcosm in relation to the macrocosm of the universe,

NATURALISTIC IMAGERY OF CONFUCIAN RELIGIOSITY. Self-cultivation in this context is seen as essential to develop or to recover one's innate authenticity and one's connection to the cosmos. It is a process filled with naturalistic imagery of planting, nurturing, growth, and harvesting. It is in this sense that one might describe the religious ethos of Confucianism as a dynamic naturalism aimed at personal and societal transformation. This means that the imagery used to described Confucian religious practice is frequently drawn from nature, especially in its botanical, agricultural, and seasonal modes. Thus to become fully human one must nurture (*yang*) and preserve (*cun*)—that is, cultivate—the heavenly principle of one's mind and heart. These key terms may refer to such activities as nurturing the seeds of goodness that Mencius identifies and preserving emotional harmony mentioned in the *Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhongyong*).

In *Mencius* there is a recognition of the fundamental sensitivity of humans to the suffering of others (IIA:6). This is demonstrated through the example of an observer's response on seeing a child who is about to fall into a well. Mencius suggests that the child would be rescued through activating the instinctive compassion of the observer, not by promising the rescuer any extraneous rewards. Indeed, to be human for Mencius means to have a heart with the seeds (or germs) of compassion, shame, courtesy and modesty, right and wrong. When cultivated, these will become the virtues of humaneness, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom. When they are developed in a person they will flourish, "like a fire starting up or a spring coming through" (IIA:6). Thus the incipient tendencies in the human are like sprouts or seeds that, as they grow, lean toward becoming fully cultivated virtues. The goal of Mencian cultivation, then, is to encourage these natural spontaneities before calculating or self-serving motives arise. This begins the art of discerning between the Way mind (*daoxin*) and the human mind (*renxin*).

In a similar manner, the *Doctrine of the Mean* speaks of differentiating between the state of centrality or equilibrium before the emotions (pleasure, anger, sorrow, joy) are aroused and the state of harmony after the emotions are aroused. This balancing between the ground of existence (centrality) and its unfolding process of self-expression (harmony) is part of achieving an authentic mode of human existence. To attain this authenticity (*cheng*) means not only that one has come into harmony with oneself but also that one has achieved a unity with heaven and Earth. Thus the identification of the moral order and the cosmic order is realized in the process of human cultivation. Self-authenticity is realized against the backdrop of the sincerity of the universe. This results in participation in the transforming and nourishing processes of heaven and Earth.

In *Mencius,* that self-cultivation is seen as analogous to the natural task of tending seeds and is thus enriched by agricultural and botanical imagery. Moreover, in the *Doctrine of the Mean* this cultivation is understood within the context of a cosmological order that is pervasive, structured, and meaningful. The human is charged to cultivate oneself and, in this process, to bring the transformations of the cosmos to their fulfillment. It is thus possible to speak of early Confucianism as having religious dimensions characterized by naturalistic analogies of cultivation within a context of cosmological processes of transformation. All of this, then, involves a religiosity of analogies between the human and the natural world.

The *Book of Changes* was also a major source of inspiration for spiritual practice and cosmological orientation for the neo-Confucians. This was seen amidst the transformations of the universe celebrated as production and reproduction (*sheng, sheng*). For the neo-Confucians it was clear that many of the virtues that a person cultivated had a cosmological component. For example, humaneness (*ren*) in humans was seen as analogous to origination (*yuan*) in nature. The growth of this virtue in humans thus had its counterpart in the fecundity of nature itself. To cultivate (*hanyang*), one needs to practice both inner awareness and outer attention, abiding in reverence within and investigating principle without. This requires quiet sitting (*jingzuo*) and extending knowledge through investigating things *(gewu zhizhi)*. To be reverent has been compared to the notion of recollection (*shoulian*), which means literally to collect together or to gather a harvest.

Thus, from the early classical Confucian texts to the later neo-Confucian writings there is a strong sense of nature as a relational whole in which human life and society flourishes. This had implications for politics and society that were evident throughout Chinese history, even if the ideals of the tradition were not always realized in practice.

SEE ALSO Confucianism, overview article and article on the Classical Canon.

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ECOLOGY AND RELIGION: ECOLOGY AND DAOISM

The study of Daoism and ecology has undergone rapid revision and expansion in the past ten years but is still in its infancy. The most important reason for the transformation of this field is the dramatic advance in Daoist studies since 1980. Whereas the focus of Daoist studies had previously been fixed on proto-Daoist wisdom literature such as the *Zhuangzi* (c. third century BCE) and the *Dao de jing* (c. fourth century BCE), scholars now understand Daoism to include a wide range of priestly, communal, and monastic traditions that began in 142 CE with the Way of the Celestial Masters under Zhang Daoling and continue to the present day in China, East Asia, and across the world. As knowledge of these traditions has broadened and deepened, so has the ability to make connections between Daoism and ecology, but despite the many possible areas of engagement that have opened up, the field of Daoism and ecology remains relatively unexplored, at least in comparison to such traditions as Christianity and Buddhism.

COSMOLOGY AND ENVIRONMENT. The starting point for any discussion on Daoism and ecology is the Dao itself. Daoist cosmology regards the Dao as the principle of vital creativity inherent within the diversity of phenomena within the universe. The Dao is transcendent in that it is regarded as the supreme wellspring of creativity for heaven, earth, and humanity. The Dao is also immanent within all life as the vital power (*de*) that informs the nature (*xing*) of each of the myriad beings (*wanwu*). Daoist religion can be regarded as ecological in its theoretical structure because it is based on the continuous negotiation between individuals and their cosmological environment or creative matrix (*dao*). Life is thus neither absolutely fated nor a matter of individual will but inscribed in a complex ecology of engagement with family, ancestors, deities, the seasons, the sun and moon, and even the Dao itself.

This ecological understanding of religion does not mean, however, that Daoists have always exhibited romantic views of nature or modern environmentalist sensibilities. More frequently, Daoists are concerned with the flow of vital fluid *(qi)* in their bodies and the cultivation of a divine (*shen*) or immortal (*xian*) body that transcends the conventional limits of time and space. Although this focus on self-cultivation has frequently taken the form of detachment from ordinary life and meditative internal visualization, the focus on the inner body is itself predicated on an understanding of the body as the world and the world as the body. This microcosm-macrocosm correspondence indicates an ecological resonance between the vitality of Daoist practitioners and the vitality of the cosmological matrix in which they exist.

Daoists thus came to imagine the body as a cosmic landscape incorporating stars, mountains, streams, vegetation, and other natural phenomena. The nineteenth-century *Neijing tu* (Chart of the inner passageways), for example, depicts organs of the body as groves of trees, and *qi* meridians as streams. Altogether it depicts the body, like the world, as an ecology of living beings that function together to create an integral life form. Other charts depict the body as a single solid mountain with an abundance of fountains, springs, and waterfalls. The implication is that the environment provides a natural analogy for understanding the functioning of the body.

Other more abstract schemes for mapping the connections between the body and the environment are also prevalent. The most widespread is the common Chinese system of the five phases (earth, metal, water, wood, and fire), which is correlated with the seasons of the year, directions, colors, the organs of the body, the emotions, tastes, and so on. The accompanying theory of impulse and resonance (*ganying*) provides a holistic scheme of synchronic correlation in which a change in one domain entails a corresponding change in another domain. This theory, which forms an integral part of the diagnostic scheme of Chinese medicine, is also central to the Daoist worldview, and it functions, for instance, to coordinate the directions, times, and colors of Daoist liturgies.

VIEWS OF NATURE. The resonance between human bodies and the Dao may be traced back as far as the *Dao de jing* and its seminal statement that "Dao follows [its] nature" (*dao fa ziran*; *Dao de jing*, chap. 25). Interpretations of this phrase vary but two themes predominate. The first interpretation is that this phrase indicates the Dao's transcendence: the Dao follows no principle other than its own so-being. The second interpretation points to the Dao's immanence: the Dao is inscribed in the patterns of nature, and thus the path to be followed is the natural path. This implies a core value of "naturalness" at the heart of Daoist ethics and leads to the formulation of the Daoist principle of nonaction (*wuwei*), that is, action that is so harmonious with the flow of the Dao that it seems as though it is no action (see Liu, 2001).

Daoist thinking regards the transcendent and immanent aspects of the Dao as complementary, not opposed. On the one hand, Dao transcends nature, and humans who follow the Dao aim for a transcendent state of unity with the Dao; on the other hand, Dao is implicated within nature, and humans must follow a natural path. A failure to understand the complementarity of these principles has led to the tendency to separate Daoism into a natural philosophy on the one hand, and a mystical-religious tradition on the other. If, however, we understand nature in the Daoist sense as pregnant with the capacity for self-transcendence it becomes easier to understand how Daoism can be both "natural" and "religious." This recursive, self-transcending view of nature is evident in two places in the *Dao de jing*. It is most clearly expressed in the cosmogony of *Dao de jing* chapter 42, in which "Dao gives birth to One; One gives birth to Two; Two gives birth to Three; Three gives birth to the ten thousand things." At each stage of this cosmogonic process, nature becomes, as it were, pregnant with itself, in a process of creative emergence and evolution. Secondly, we can look to the Daoist view of transformation (*bianhua*) according to which natural phenomena are in a process of constant change and creativity. This is not only a descriptive statement about the nature of nature but implies, prescriptively, an ethic of nonattachment to things. Although this Daoist view of nonattachment is not implicated, as in Buddhism, with a theory of unsatisfactoriness (*dukkha*) or impermanence, it does entail a similar set of negative ethical prescriptions rooted in the value of nonaction *(wuwei),* that is, noninterference in the creative process of the Way.

In the proto-Daoist *Zhuangzi*, the theory of transformation implies a skepticism with regard to the traditions of Confucian behavior and the conventions of logical philosophy. Since the natural world is constantly changing, human patterns of thinking and habits of action can never be adequate to orient humans towards nature. This attitude further implies an ethic of deference or respect for the spontaneity of nature's transformations. Some scholars infer from this an attitude of stoic, even mystical, passivity in regards to natural transformation that does not sit well with modern notions of environmental activism. According to this interpretation, even though Daoists may deplore the extinction of a species, they must not let themselves be moved to action by such a natural phenomenon. Other scholars infer from this concept of natural transformation not an ethic of passivity, but a more sophisticated Daoist form of "noninterventionist" action. Such nonaction is neither crassly heroic nor wildly precipitate, but functions mystically to create a harmonious balance within the natural order.

HISTORICAL SURVEY. The earliest two Daoist religious traditions were the Way of the Celestial Masters and the Way of Great Peace. Of the two, only the former is in some form extant, but scholars have investigated both in terms of their environmental and ecological orientation. Chi-tim Lai in *Taiping jing* (The Daoist concept of central harmony, the scripture of great peace) advocates a view of central harmony (*zhonghe*) between heaven, earth, and humankind: the role of humans is thus to achieve an optimal organic harmony between the three fundamental cosmological processes of heaven, earth, and humanity. This implies that although these early Daoists may not have been environmentalists in the modern sense, their religious worldview was founded on a cosmic ecology whose ideal state was a dynamic homeostatic equilibrium. This organismic, physiological worldview may be compared to James Lovelock's Gaia hypothesis, according to which the earth is understood as a unitary self-regulating organism. Unlike Lovelock, Daoists have generally regarded humans as the apex of creation with an active role to play in maintaining the creative harmony of heaven and earth.

The Way of the Celestial Masters codified specific measures for promoting this cosmic harmony, as evidenced in the *One Hundred and Eighty Precepts of Lord Lao*, its chief ethical code before the Tang dynasty (618–907). Central to this movement was the network of twenty-four "places of order" (*zhi*), all situated in the mountains or other natural spaces of the kingdom of Shu (present-day Sichuan province), which functioned as the religion's spiritual centers where assemblies were held and scriptures were kept. In "Daoist Ecology: The Inner Transformation," Kristofer Schipper writes that nature functioned as a sanctuary in the dual sense of a sacred space and as a refuge for the community.

This view of nature as sacred space continued in the Daoist alchemical movements that flourished in pre-Tang China. Here nature functioned as the alchemist's storehouse, an immense repository of numinous substances, particularly rare minerals and fungi, that were used for the decoction of elixirs of immortality. In these alchemical traditions the final goal was not the extension or nourishing of life as seen in China's ancient longevity (*yangsheng*) traditions, but rather the transcendence of ordinary human nature and the attainment of a celestial life. As Robert Campany writes in "Ingesting the Marvelous," nature is both the realm to be transcended and at the same time the means of transcendence.

As the Daoist alchemical vision became thoroughly interiorized in the *Shangqing dao* (Way of highest clarity) and subsequent meditative traditions, this led to an increasing emphasis on the inner landscape of the body. In the inner alchemy tradition, which continues to the present day, the marvelous substances previously sought in nature's bosom are instead found within the energetic systems of the body. Similarly, the alchemical reactions are carried out by an internal process of energy manipulation. Both the inner and outer forms of alchemy are predicated on a cosmology of transformation delineated in terms of the sixty-four hexagrams of the *Yi jing* (Book of changes).

CAVERNS AND MOUNTAINS. Of particular importance in the cosmic landscape is the concept of caverns or grottoes (*dong*). In keeping with the polyvalent character of Daoist symbology, caverns have multiple meanings. Firstly, Daoist hermits often withdraw to mountain caves to engage in cultivation practices. Caverns are thus natural sacred environments in which Daoists have lived and cultivated the Dao and are the dwelling places of immortal beings. Secondly, caverns are understood as nodes in a network of sacred spaces that extend throughout the earth and are mirrored in a network of ten major and thirty-six minor grotto-heavens (*dongtian*). Daoist traditions grew up in and around these natural spaces, and became associated with the sacred mountains in which these grottoes are located. For this reason Daoist traditions may be classified not only by the lineage of their founders but by various sacred mountains around which they formed, for example, Maoshan (Mount Mao) Daoism. The term *cavern*, moreover, was used by Lu Xiujing (406–477) to denote the three major subdivisions of the Daoist canon. According to this bibliographical cosmology, caverns are understood to be celestial repositories of sacred texts, cosmic libraries formed of the fabric of the Dao. A further religious function of the earthly caves is thus to be a place where the revelation of sacred texts can take place. Texts are said to inscribe themselves on the walls of caves or at least become visible to adepts after years of meditation in caves.

The cave where Zhang Daoling, the first celestial master, is said to have meditated in the second century CE is now part of the monastery known as the *Tianshi dong* (Grotto of the Celestial Master), on Mount Qingcheng near Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan province. In the precincts of the monastery there is also a double gingko tree with two trunks joined together that Zhang Daoling is alleged to have planted nearly two thousand years ago. It is feted with a red sash. Since areas of outstanding natural beauty form the environments in which important Daoist figures have received religious revelations, it is not surprising that monasteries were established around these sites and continue today to mark out the sacred character of specific natural environments.

DAOIST PRECEPTS. Daoist communities formulated environmental ethical precepts that aimed to codify the relationship between humans and nature. The most important set of precepts for the early Celestial Masters community in Sichuan was known as the *Yibaibashi jie* (One hundred and eighty precepts). Community elders known as *libationers* were required to live by the code and thus set an example for the rest of the community. Approximately twenty of these precepts are injunctions against the wanton destruction of the natural environment. Members of the community were not to dry wet marshes, poison lakes, disturb birds, pick flowers, make lakes, or chop down trees without good reason. These precepts do not indicate a modern environmentalist concern with preserving nature but rather are there for the benefit of the libationers themselves. The admonition that "you should not light fires in the plains" contains the implication that this act will result in harm not only to the environment but to the community. These precepts can thus be regarded as a type of ecological ethics based on the notion that human fate is inextricably implicated in the natural environment. Although we can be sure that it was the fate of humans and not the environment that concerned the Celestial Masters, there was no concept of a human morality that somehow stood apart from the natural environment.

This ancient sentiment has been echoed in a recent statement on global ecology issued by the Chinese Daoist Association. This declaration points to an inflated image of the human self and subjective will as causes of the split between humans and nature in modern industrial and technological society. The text, written by Zhang Jiyu, argues that humans must nurture spontaneity and nonassertive action (*wuwei*) in order to restore the ecological balance between humans and nature. The practical effect of this declaration has been the attention to the local environments surrounding Daoist monasteries, where Daoists have been involved in planting trees and conserving rare plant species.

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES. The situation of Daoist monastic environments in China is precarious. On the one hand Daoist monasteries located in scenic locales are lauded for their environmental aesthetic and for actively promoting an environmental consciousness among China's people. The message that "Dao follows nature" receives a high profile in many temple inscriptions, and the Daoist complex on Mount Qingcheng contains many signs written in Chinese and English that make the connection between Daoism and environmental protection. The message is that China's cultural and religious traditions contain the wisdom that will help China succeed in creating economic development with ecological sustainability. But on the other hand these same Daoist mountains, precisely because of their natural beauty, are becoming local economic engines attracting significant numbers of tourists and infrastructure investment from local governments. The monasteries' economic success brings the danger of too many tourists and the possibility of environmental degradation. In this way the development of Daoist sites in China precisely mirrors the economic success and environmental problems of China's overall development.

SEE ALSO Daoism, overview article; Qi.

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ECOLOGY AND RELIGION: ECOLOGY AND SHINTŌ

Shintō and ecology cannot be called an established academic subject, either in Japan or in the West. However, in reply to the growing concerns for environmental politics, Shintō and many other religions have become a focus in the debate on inherent ecological thinking patterns in the established religious worldviews. In Japan, a discourse on the environmental aspects of Shintō that spans strictly academic research and Shintō theology has developed since the 1990s. One chief representative is Minoru Sonoda, who is both a Shintō priest and a Shintō historian and has published articles in English. His contributions to the subject will be discussed later. In the West probably the most remarkable effort so far has been an international conference called Shintō and Ecology that was organized by the Center for the Study of World Religions (CSWR) of Harvard University in 1997. This conference was part of a series of conferences on Religions of the World and Ecology. Still, there is no comprehensive study on the subject in a Western language, although the papers from this conference were published in Japanese.

This article will first discuss the ecological conditions and values of modern Japan before proceeding to a discussion of Shintō. As will become clear, the evaluation of Shintō's contribution to Japanese environmentalism depends on the respective interpretation of Shintō, which is in itself a controversial topic. Examples of religious symbolism applied to objects of nature and a discussion of Shintō's pragmatic ethics conclude the article.

ECOLOGY AND MODERN JAPANESE SOCIETY. Japan's environmental record is highly ambivalent. On the one hand, the country is known for its environmental catastrophes, such as the Minamata disease, a case of mercury poisoning that culminated in the 1960s, or its insensitive politics in connection with whale hunting and the exploitation of exotic timber wood. On the other hand, Japanese countermeasures against environmental pollution have proved surprisingly effective. Japan's laws and regulations concerning exhaust gases and the emission of sulfur dioxide and nitrogen have long been among the strictest in the world. These policies, which were started in the 1970s, have earned Japan something of a reputation as a model of environmentalism. According to Conrad Totman, a leading authority in the field of environmental history, in the long run, Japan's achievements in ecological preservation outweigh the harms Japanese society did to its environmental conditions. In his famous analysis of forestry in preindustrial Japan (1989), Totman argues that given the population density and the geographical conditions of the Japanese archipelago, one would expect Japan to be a "impoverished, slum-ridden, peasant society subsisting on barren, eroded moonscape characterized by bald mountains and debris-strewn lowlands" (p. 1). Instead, outside the urban centers Japan enjoys a wealth of verdant forests that has earned it the denomination "green archipelago." Totman argues that this is not the result of nature's benevolence but of "generations of human toil that have converted the archipelago into one green forest preserve" (p. 1).

To sustain his argument, Totman provides the following figures: Japan is not only one of the world's most heavily populated societies. Since 80 percent of the country consists of hard-rock mountains, it is by far the most populous society in terms of density by arable land (p. 172). In fact, Japan was on the verge of deforestation already in the seventeenth century. Totman's study concentrates on the policies that prevented forestry overexploitation, which elsewhere produced ecological calamities not only in the industrial age but, for instance, along the Mediterranean coast during the Roman Empire. The relative success of Japanese society in preserving and creating natural conditions that form the basis of the country's wealth naturally leads to the question of the extent to which Shintō, Japan's indigenous religion, has contributed to the ecological standards of Japan.

SHINTŌ AND THE PROVERBIAL JAPANESE LOVE OF NATURE. Shintō (literally, "Way of the Gods") comprises in its broadest sense a variety of beliefs in Japanese indigenous deities (*kami*). *Kami* range from powerful nature and ancestor deities to spirits of insignificant objects and are virtually infinite in number. Beliefs and forms of worship are equally heterogeneous but are often directed at objects of nature such as trees, rocks, or mountains, which are either interpreted as abodes of the *kami* or as *kami* themselves. Many Shintō shrines, even in urban areas, are further surrounded by small groves generally protected by religious taboos. One famous shrine, Kasuga Taisha in Nara, has even allowed a tree to protrude from the roof of one of its buildings, thus showing special respect for the sacredness of trees. Particularly in the eyes of Western observers, Shintō has been regarded therefore as a very ancient, "animistic" religion, maintaining features of times when people did not yet possess the capabilities to change their natural environment and instead strove for living in harmony with given environmental conditions. The French scholar Augustin Berque, for instance, contrasts the Christian "physicophobiac" tradition with the Japanese love for nature ("physicophily") and its strong affinity toward the forest (Berque, 1997). Other observers, such as Spanish author Luis Diez del Corral, directly associated Shintō architecture with this "physiophilic" attitude, regarding the Japanese shrine as the most compressed architectural expression of the forest as the home of the sacred (Diez del Corral, 1967).

Such harmonious, often romantic depictions stand in stark contrast to the historical role of Shintō in modern Japanese society, particularly in the area of ultranationalism from the 1930s to World War II. At that time Shintō was quintessentially equated with emperor worship. Every Japanese was obliged to perform religious service at the local shrine not as a reverence to the local *kami* or to surrounding nature but as a reverence to the state embodied by the figure of the emperor. This so-called State Shintō (*kokka shintō*) is nowadays often explained as an ideological misuse of the old indigenous religion, contrary to its original values and intentions. Emperor worship, however, had been an indispensable part of Shintō theology long before the existence of a modern nation-state. Until after World War II, the emperor was traditionally seen as descended from the Sun Goddess (Amaterasu), and thus divine himself. Even today, hardly any Shintō apologetic in Japan would go as far as to remove the emperor completely from the realm of Shintō.

Recent scholarship has attempted to overcome these inherently contradictory images by reducing the interpretation of Shintō to the facts gathered from historical sources. This implies a rejection of the still common notion that Shintō reflects a transhistorical Japanese mentality (including Japanese nature worship). Instead, special attention is given to the changing conceptions of indigenous deities and the interactions of Buddhism and Shintō. Since these interpretations are not yet familiar outside specialist circles, a short historical overview in light of recent studies seems necessary before discussing the ecological aspects of Shintō. More specific essays on this topic can be found, for instance, in *Shintō in History: Ways of the Kami* (Breen and Teeuwen, 2000) or *Tracing Shintō in the History of Kami Worship* (Teeuwen and Scheid, 2002).

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT. In ancient Japanese myth, the world (i.e., the Japanese islands) is a creation of a primordial, divine couple who are equally the ancestors of all divine beings populating the mundane world. Yet apart from a few mythical narrations, Shintō does not possess a theoretical concept of nature, the universe, or the divine, as developed for instance by Buddhism or Daoism. While there have always been individual attempts to establish something like a canonical Shintō view on these issues, such efforts drew mostly from existing explanations of other religions and did not reach canonical authority. This lack of religious doctrine is closely related to the fact that there is neither a founding figure nor a body of canonical texts, apart from ancient chronicles (most notably the *Kojiki,* or "Records of Ancient Matters" from 712, and the *Nihonshoki,* or "Records of Japan," from 720), which were never intended as religious writings by their authors. Shintō is defined by its belief in the local deities (*kami*), which existed through all phases of Japanese religious history. Yet the notion that belief in the *kami* is in itself an independent, self-sufficient religion is a comparatively new phenomenon. During most of Japanese religious history since the advent of Buddhism (sixth century CE), *kami* were seen either as minor spiritual beings such as demons or goblins or as manifestations of Buddhist entities.

In early historical times, probably inspired by the example of Buddhist temples, emperors as well as other local leaders began to erect permanent sites of worship to their ancestor deities, generally referred to as "shrines" (*jinja*). The most prestigious of these sites of ancestor worship is the well-known Ise Shrine dedicated to Amaterasu, the sun goddess, which is at the same time regarded as the ancestor deity of the imperial lineage. Only in the case of such big shrines, which became part of an elaborate system of state rituals, did a professional priesthood take over the affairs of religious service to the *kami.* On the local level, however, *kami* worship was mostly conducted by community leaders or was put into the hands of Buddhist monks. Buddhism was also instrumental in erecting sites of *kami* worship. Already in the Nara period (eighth century), every large Buddhist temple had its local protector *kami,* situated side by side with the local Buddha. Thus, from the beginning of Japanese Buddhism, efforts were taken to integrate *kami* worship into the Buddhist worldview and liturgy. *Kami* worship and Japanese Buddhism developed during most parts of their common history in mutual interaction and were not regarded as different or competing religious systems.

From the medieval period onward, however, individual thinkers engaged in a theology of *kami* worship independent from Buddhism. It is in this context that the word *shintō* was used for the first time to designate something comparable to Buddhism (in Japanese, *bustudō*, the Way of the Buddha) (Teeuwen, 2002). Only in these theologies, the way of the *kami* was regarded as a religion comprising, among other features, a cosmology based on Japanese myth, an ethical system different from Buddhism, and rituals for the dead, which had been entirely in the hands of Buddhist monks. While such efforts to establish Shintō as an independent religion were only partly successful, they induced a series of independence movements in many shrines from the beginning of the Edo period (1603–1867) onward. In the eighteenth century, a new intellectual movement, the so-called Nativist School (*kokugaku*), focused on the idea of Japanese culture from the times before the impact of Chinese and Indian civilizations and led to a new evaluation of ancient history, mythology, and the pure Way of the Kami. Later generations of this school were instrumental in the reestablishment of the political role of the *tennō* and the proclamation of Shintō as a kind of state religion in the political upheaval of 1868, generally known as the Meiji Restoration. Most notably, the early Meiji government commanded the separation of *kami* and Buddha worship (*shinbutsu bunri*), thereby destroying many existing syncretistic institutions and providing for the first time the necessary conditions for Shintō as an independent religion on a nationwide scale. The ideas of the Nativist School not only paved the way for the above-mentioned nationalistic ideologies of State Shintō, they also shaped the general depiction of Shintō as a repository of timeless, transhistorical Japanese values up to the present day.

As should be clear from this short sketch of recent approaches to Shintō history, it is not at all easy to determine a precise value system of Shintō, let alone Shintō attitudes toward nature. Yet there is an ample range of religious symbolism related to natural objects, which is nowadays attributed to the realm of Shintō. The following passages provide a few representative examples.

Mountains and rocks. Mountains were always seen as the realm of the divine in premodern times. Pilgrimages to Mount Fuji and other famous peaks trace their origins back to mountain cults that arose from a characteristic blend of ancient shamanistic and Buddhist religious features (*cf.* Miyake, 2001). But while modern pilgrimages are mass phenomena, undertaken mostly by bus, in olden times only very few people entered the higher mountainous regions. Those who did were almost by definition religious ascetics, called *yamabushi,* "those who sleep in the mountains." It is therefore no surprise that the mountains appear in folk legends either as the realm of the dead or as entrances to the Buddhist hell. All in all, the religious awe in relation to mountains is tightly connected with fear of their wild, menacing natural conditions. On the other hand, hills or smaller mountains close to human dwellings were sometimes regarded as a whole as a "divine body" (*shintai*), as the case of Mount Miwa near Nara demonstrates. Finally, there are certain scenic spots that owe their religious flair to their peculiar shapes. The "wedded rocks" at the Bay of Ise, two natural stone pillars formed by the sea and now united by a sacred rope (*shimenawa*), are a particularly famous example.

Trees. Sacred trees (*shinboku*) furnished with a simple cord of raw hemp to indicate their divine aura are a remarkable indication of the Japanese capability to endow nature with religious symbolism by using "almost natural" materials. Trees hold indeed a peculiar religious significance. In a recent article (2000), Shintō scholar Sonoda Minoru pointed out that in some of the earliest Japanese texts the word *mori,* which translates as "forest" in modern Japanese, could be used as a synonym of *yashiro,* the ancient word for *kami* shrine. According to Sonoda, this is an indication that in prehistorical times *kami* were venerated in simple groves. The groves around modern Shintō shrines are thus remnants of what shrines originally used to be—trees as abodes of the *kami.* To him, these "expressions of Japan's ancient animistic view of life" are part of an ancient forest culture, which has helped to limit ecological disasters in Japan so far (p. 45).

In fact, it remains open to debate to what extent Sonoda's relation between shrines and trees actually accounts for a special ecological consciousness. After all, Shintō does not protect forests in general but only a few select examples of trees. In the study of Japanese forestry mentioned earlier, Totman (1989) demonstrates that in the ancient period, religious institutions not only supported indiscriminate wood consumption but were actually among the chief consumers. Already in the eighth century the erection of shrines and temples, together with aristocratic mansions, led to the deforestation of vast regions in the Kinai region around present-day Nara, then the center of Japanese civilization. The practice of rebuilding shrines anew every twenty years, which is nowadays still performed in the case of the Ise shrines, was formerly a common technique related to prehistoric construction methods, which ceased when wood became sparse (p. 12). Totman raises these examples of "ancient predation" in his discussion of religious impacts on Japanese environmentalism, which he ultimately denies (p. 181). According to him, pragmatic considerations and a long period of trial and error with Japan's most important construction material, wood, were more important for early modern ecological successes than religious values.

SOCIAL ROLES OF *KAMI WORSHIP*. In spite of limitations of the received image of Shintō, it is quite obvious that *kami* worship played an important role in the religious life of communities during all times of Japanese history. *Kami* rites filled those gaps, where conventional Buddhist worship fell short in offering satisfactory solutions. In particular, rites related to agricultural production are primarily addressing local *kami.* Regular festivals (*matsuri*) in honor of the *kami* play an important role in sacralizing the annual cycle of production and in strengthening vertical and horizontal social bonds within local communities. In premodern times shrines seem to have also functioned as keepers of a kind of village constitution, which took the form of a pledge of the village to the local *kami.* In a recent study of shrines from the eighteenth century, Maeda Hiromi found many examples in which villagers were bound to raise only special crops or special animals by the will of their *kami.* As the economy changed and other forms of agriculture seemed more profitable, villages took great pains to change the provisions of their *kami,* which could only be done with the assistance of the highest Shintō authorities (Maeda, 2002). These examples testify to the severity of *kami* worship as well as to the flexibility and pragmatics of Shintō precepts.

CONCLUSION. All in all it becomes clear that the natural environment of Japan was and still is heavily endowed with religious symbolism. This symbolism is often, but not always, related to the native deities, the *kami.* Yet while the outer form of these symbols seems to have been transmitted with a remarkable degree of consistency and uniformity, the contents of *kami* worship is difficult to determine and subject to historical change.

From the earliest historical times indigenous Japanese religion, whether we call it Shintō or not, was related to the cultivation of nature, that is, agriculture. Natural conditions were perceived of as *kami,* and religion served to turn the powers of these *kami* into conditions favorable for agricultural production. Indigenous deities thus represented both nature's benevolent and nature's threatening aspects. They were neither morally good nor bad, but simply powerful. Also in later times, *kami* were worshiped not so much in the quest for moral guidance but in order to gain a *kami*'s favors. This is also one of the reasons for the well-known "this-worldliness" (*genze riyaku*) of Japanese religion in general and of Shintō in particular.

In the long run, Shintō seems to have always adapted to the conditions of human production, not the other way round. In particular, Shintō has been used to endow case-specific, pragmatic regulations with some religious dignity. It is certainly possible to sieve environmental ideas from the traditions of Shintō, but in historical retrospect there is no clear indication that Shintō served better to preserve environmental stability than any other religion.

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ECOLOGY AND RELIGION: ECOLOGY AND JUDAISM

Judaism is rooted in two core beliefs: that God is the sole Creator of the universe and that God's will was revealed to Israel in the form of law, the Torah, as part of an eternal covenant. The dialectical relationship between the doctrine of creation and the doctrine of revelation, between nature and Torah, between what is and what ought to be, frames Jewish attitudes toward the natural world, reflecting changes over time.

Biblical cosmology envisioned an earth encompassed by a sphere of water, over which God's wind (*ruah*) hovers. Although the details of the creative act remain open to interpretation and debate, the act itself was broadly understood as one of establishing boundaries, separating heavens from earth, dry land from water, animate from inanimate things, human beings from other animals. Boundary formation at creation would serve as the rationale for the distinction between the sacred and the profane, the permitted and the forbidden in the legal parts of the Bible and in post-biblical Judaism.

In rabbinic Judaism (first to sixth centuries), cosmological speculations (*ma'aseh bereshit*) were regarded as esoteric lore to be divulged only to the initiated few (Mishnah *Hag.*

2:1). Although the rabbis debated the details of the biblical creation narrative, the dominant view was that the earth and the heavens are like "a pot with a cover." The "cover" was identified with the firmament (*raqi'a*), itself composed of water and stars of fire that coexist harmoniously (J. T. *R. H.* 2:5 58a), although it was believed that there were more than one firmament (*Hag.* 12b). The sun and the moon were believed to be situated in the second firmament, and beneath the earth there was the abyss.

In the Middle Ages, Jews reinterpreted the biblical creation narratives and rabbinic cosmological speculations in light of Greek and Hellenistic science and philosophy. Whether the world was created ex nihilo or out of a pre-existing matter was hotly debated. Moses Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon, 1135/8–1204) held that the origin of the universe was beyond the ken of human reason and remained ambiguous whether God created the world ex nihilo or out of pre-existing matter. Unlike Maimonides, Levi ben Gershom (Gersonides, 1288–1344) argued that creation out of pre-existing matter is scientifically demonstrable and is in full accord with Aristotelian science.

Like its Muslim counterpart, medieval Jewish Aristotelianism was interlaced with Neoplatonic themes. The separate intelligences were said to emanate from God and the corporeal world emanated from the celestial spheres. Many Jewish thinkers understood creation to mean emanation and depicted the universe as a hierarchical great chain of being in which each thing occupies its natural place and acts in accord with its inherent telos. Whereas the doctrine of creation emphasizes the transcendence of God and the total dependence of all created beings on God, the doctrine of emanation highlights the immanence of God, viewing the natural world as an extension (albeit most remote) of divine reality. Both transcendentalist and immanentist outlooks informed medieval Jewish thought, but one view is not necessarily more "green" or "environmentally friendly" than the other.

During the early modern period, Jewish philosophers became increasingly more interested in the flora and fauna of their natural environment, and Jewish philosophical-scientific texts abound with information about minerals, plants, and animals. Yet such information was still framed by the theological assumptions of medieval rationalism: The natural world could be understood in light of the revealed Torah since it was the blueprint of creation. Jewish thinkers were also rather slow to respond to the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century, and most rejected Copernicus's heliocentric theory on religious grounds. While a small cadre of Jews earned doctorate degrees at European universities, especially in medicine, interest in natural sciences remained marginal among Jews. Instead, the study of halakhah (Jewish Law) and Qabbalah (Jewish mysticism) preoccupied Jewish intellectual interests, and both endeavors were textual, self-referential, and abstract.

With the onslaught of modernity and the secularization of culture, Jews began to re-examine their tradition, and many found it wanting precisely because Jewish life was divorced from nature. When Jews were granted civil rights, they flocked to the universities, excelling in the natural sciences such as physics, chemistry, and biology. Embracing science as a substitute to traditional Torah study, Jews no longer regarded the Bible as the source of truth about the physical world; cosmology now belonged to "science" rather than to "religion." As a result, Jewish philosophers no longer reflected about the origin of the universe, but instead focused on explicating the religious and existential meaning of the doctrine in relation to the doctrines of revelation and redemption.

DESCRIPTIONS OF NATURE IN JEWISH SACRED TEXTS. The doctrine of creation facilitates an interest in the natural world that God created. The more one observes the natural world, the more one comes to revere the creator because the world manifests the presence of order and wise design in which nothing is superfluous. *Psalms* 19:1 expresses the point poetically: "The heavens are telling the glory of God / and the firmament proclaims his handiwork." *Psalms* 148 depicts all of creation as engaged in praising God and recognizing God's commanding power over nature. Nature also fears God (*Ps.* 68:9); it observes the relationship between God and Israel and expresses either sorrow or joy at the fortunes of the Israelites (*Jl.* 1:12; *Am.* 1:2; *Jon.* 3:7–9; *Is.* 14:7–8). In the *Psalms*, however, awareness of nature's orderliness, regularity, and beauty never leads to revel in nature for its own sake. Nature is never an end but always points to the divine Creator who governs and sustains nature. The emphasis on orderliness of creation explains why in Judaism one does not find glorification of wilderness and why the cultivated field is the primary model for the created universe in the Bible.

The Bible abounds with references to the natural world and figurative usage of natural elements to teach about the relationship between God and Israel. In one famous parable, fruit trees and vines willingly serve the human in ritual observance by providing oil, fruit, and wine (*Jgs.* 9:8–13). Conversely, nature does God's bidding when it serves to punish and destroy the people of Israel when they sin; indeed, ungodly behavior leads to ecological punishment. Since God is the sole Creator, it is God's prerogative to sustain or to destroy nature (*Ps.* 29:5–6; *Zec.* 11:1–3; *Hb.* 3:5–8). Nature itself becomes a witness to the covenantal relationship between Israel and God, and the ongoing drama of righteousness, chastisement, and rebuke. Mostly the Bible emphasizes divine care of all creatures: God provides food to all (*Ps.* 147:9), God is concerned about humans and beasts (*Ps.* 104:14; 145:16), and God's care is extended to animals that can be used by humans such as goats and rabbits (*Ps.* 104:18) as well as to lion cubs and ravens that do not serve human interest. Because God takes care of animals, they turn to God in time of need (*Ps.* 104: 21; 27; 147:9; *Jb.* 38:41).

The rabbis were concerned about the relationship between revealed morality (prescriptive law) and the laws of nature (descriptive laws), but the rabbinic corpus harbors diverse, and even conflicting, views. One theme highlights the regularity of nature and its indifference to human concerns: "nature pursues its own course" (*olam ke-minhago noheg*; B.T. *A. Zar.* 54b). Accordingly nature is independent of the revealed Torah and the laws of nature are different from the laws of the Torah. A contrary viewpoint, however, holds that the natural world is contingent upon the acceptance of the Torah by the Jewish people; had they rejected the Torah, the world would have reverted to primeval chaos. The link between nature and the moral conduct of humans is expressed in yet a third view, that original natural order was perfect but suffered a radical change as a result of human original sin (B. T. *Kid.* 82b). A fourth view posits "the animals of the righteous" as models for human conduct. Since these animals live in perfect harmony with their Creator, humanity has much to learn from them, in terms of not only the principle of observing God's will but also specific lessons (B. T. *Pes.* 53b). Finally, there is a rabbinic teaching that not only do animals observe the moral laws, but all of nature is perceived as fulfilling the will of God in the performance of its normal functions (J. T. *Peah* 1:1).

The relationship between Torah and nature was the core of medieval philosophical speculations. Thus for Maimonides and Gersonides, God is the supreme telos of the universe, the intelligible apex of the entire cosmos accessible through philosophy and culminating in prophecy. Viewing nature itself as "wise," the goal of the medieval philosopher-scientist was to fathom the wisdom of nature in order to attain the ultimate end of human life: the knowledge of God to the extent this is possible for humans.

The notion that the Torah is the paradigmatic blueprint of nature was elaborated and radicalized in Qabbalah. Focusing on the linguistic aspect of the creative act, the qabbalists regarded the letters of the Hebrew alphabet as the building blocks of the created world, whose permutations account for the diversity of nature. This approach to nature assumed magical and theurgic dimensions: The one who knows how to decode the Torah can manipulate the physical environment (hence Qabbalah was closely associated with magic, astrology, and alchemy) and even affect and impact God's inner life (namely, reunify the feminine and masculine aspects of the Godhead). While qabbalistic texts abound with symbols derived from the natural world, corporeal nature was regarded as evil to be transcended or spiritualized.

Qabbalah gave rise to Eastern-European Hasidism in the eighteenth century. Hasidic theology treated all natural phenomena as ensouled: Divine sparks enlivened all corporeal entities and not just human beings. The divine sparks sought release from their material entrapment. Through ritual activity, the Hasidic master attempted to draw closer to the divine energy, the liberation of which would result not only in the sanctification of nature but also in the redemption of reality and its return to its original, non-corporeal state. The worship of God through the spiritualization of corporeal reality (*avodah ba-gashmiyut*) became a major Hasidic value.

Qabbalah and Hasidism contributed to the bookishness of Jewish culture and the alienation of traditional Jews from the natural world. With the rise of modernity, the very lack of Jewish interest in nature was cited by the Jewish Enlightenment (Haskalah) as the reason for Jewish backwardness. Only the return to nature could modernize the Jews, enabling them to recover their lost vitality and integrate as equals into modern society. The literature of the Haskalah movement in the nineteenth century is full of descriptions of nature, emphasizing its beauty, wisdom, and moral power.

The return to nature was one of the major goals of Zionism, the Jewish secular nationalist movement that emerged at the end of the nineteenth century in response to virulent anti-Semitism. The Zionist movement succeeded in reversing the traditional Jewish lifestyle and creating a new type of Jew, one who was rooted in nature rather than in sacred texts, but Zionism also illustrates the complex relationship between Judaism and ecology. In the State of Israel, intimate familiarity with the landscape of the land of Israel, its flora and fauna, and concern for the preservation of the physical environment are popular among secular Israelis. Yet environmentalism is generally not legitimated by appeal to the religious sources of Judaism.

The creative interweaving of Judaism and ecology belongs primarily to North America. Since 1970, considered the beginning of Jewish environmentalism, Jewish scholars (first Orthodox and later Reform and Conservative) have responded to the charge that the Judeo-Christian tradition is the cause of the environmental crisis. Jewish environmentalism has raised awareness about ecological problems such as pollution of natural resources, deforestation, erosion of topsoil, the disappearance of species, climatic changes, and other ecological disasters brought about by the industrial revolution, human greed, and unbridled consumerism. The nascent literature of Jewish environmentalism has shown that Jewish sacred texts and practices express concern for the earth and its inhabitants, and that the rhythm of Jewish religious life is rooted in the cycles of nature. Since 1993, the Coalition on the Environment and Jewish Life (COEJL) has coordinated a broad range of educational activities and brought a distinct Jewish voice to policy making on municipal, state, and federal levels.

LEGAL AND ETHICAL POSITIONS REGARDING THE ENVIRONMENT. In Judaism, Scripture frames legal and ethical positions regarding the environment. While clearly privileging the human perspective, the Bible places on humans special responsibilities toward the environment. Only the human species is said to be created "in the image of God" (*Gn.* 1:26), although humans, like other animals, were fashioned from the dust of the earth to which they return at death. Creation in the image of God did not entail a license to subdue and exploit the earth, as many environmentalists erroneously charge, but the task to protect God's created world. By following divine commandments, humans can sanctify nature and endow it with religious meaning. Nature itself is not sacred or holy, but it becomes sacred when humans interact with it in the framework of observing God's commandments. Jewish environmental responsibility is exemplified in the relationship between the people of Israel and the land of Israel, the land that belongs to God but which God gave to Israel, the chosen people, as collateral of the eternal covenant.

Land-based commandments. Various land-based commandments in the Bible express the belief that God is the rightful owner of the land of Israel and the source of its fertility. The Israelites working the land are but God's tenant-farmers who are obligated to return the first portion of the land's yield to its rightful owner in order to insure the land's continued fertility and the farmer's sustenance and prosperity. Accordingly, the first sheaf of the barley harvest, the first fruit of produce, and two loaves of bread made from the new grain are to be consecrated to God.

Scripture pays special attention to trees. *Leviticus* 19:23 commands that, during the first three years of growth, the fruits of newly planted trees or vineyards are not to be eaten (*orlah*) because they are considered to be God's property. When Israel conducts itself according to the laws of the Torah, the land is abundant and fertile, benefiting its inhabitants with the basic necessities of human life—grain, oil, and wine—but when Israel sins, the blessedness of the land declines, and it becomes desolate and inhospitable. When the alienation from God becomes egregious and injustice overtakes God's people, God removes them from the Holy Land. Thus the well-being of God's land and the moral quality of the people who live on the land are causally linked and both depend on obeying God's will.

***Bal tashchit* (“do not destroy”).** The main legal principle of Jewish environmental ethics concerns the protection of vegetation, especially fruit-bearing trees. In war times, fruit-bearing trees must not be chopped down while a city is under siege (*Dt.* 20:19). This commandment is undoubtedly anthropocentric, but it indicates that the Torah recognizes the interdependence between humans and trees, on the one hand, and the capacity of humans to destroy natural things on the other. The Jewish legal tradition thus requires that one carefully weigh the ramifications of all actions and behavior for every interaction with the natural world; it also sets priorities and weighs conflicting interests and permanent modification of the environment.

***Tzaʿar baʿalei hayyim* (“distress of living creatures”).** Although the Jewish tradition places the responsibility for management of God's creation in human hands, the tradition also recognizes the well-being of non-human species: Humans should take care of other species and be sensitive to the needs of animals. Cruelty toward animals is prohibited because it leads to other forms of cruelty. The ideal is to create a sensibility of love and kindness toward animals in order to emulate God's attribute of mercy and fill the commandment “to be Holy as I the Lord am Holy” (*Lv.* 19:2). Thus *Deuteronomy* 22:6 forbids the killing of a bird with her young because it is exceptionally cruel and because it can affect the perpetuation of the species. This commandment is one of seven commandments given to the sons of Noah and is therefore binding on all human beings, not just Jews.

The tradition prescribes particular modes of slaughter that are swift because they are performed with a sharp, clean blade. In Hasidism this principle was combined with the belief in the transmigration of souls into non-human bodies and the development of elaborate slaughtering practices designed to protect the human soul that may have transmigrated into the body of the animal about to be slaughtered. The concern for unnecessary suffering of animals is applied today to the industrial farming of animals for human consumption and with the use of animals in scientific experimentation.

Social justice and ecological well-being. The most distinctive feature of Jewish environmental legislation is the causal connection between the moral quality of human life and the vitality of God's creation. The corruption of society is closely linked to the corruption of nature. In both cases, the injustice arises from human greed and the failure of human beings to protect the original order of creation. From a Jewish perspective, the just allocation of nature's resources is indeed a religious issue of the highest order. The treatment of the marginal in society—the poor, the hungry, the widow, the orphan—must follow the principle of scriptural legislation. Thus, parts of the land's produce are to be given to those who do not own land. By observing the particular commandments, the soil itself becomes holy, and the person who obeys these commandments ensures the religio-moral purity necessary for residence in God's land.

The connection between land management, ritual, and social justice is most evident in the laws regulating the sabbatical year (*shemittah*). During the sabbatical year, it is forbidden to plant, cultivate, or harvest grain, fruit, or vegetables, or even to plant in the sixth year in order to harvest during the seventh year. Crops that grow untended are not to be harvested by the landlord but are to be left ownerless (*hefqer*) for all to share, including poor people and animals. The rest imposed during the sabbatical year facilitates the restoration of nutrients and the improvement of the soil, promotes diversity in plant life, and helps maintain vigorous cultivars.

Environmental virtues. In Judaism the ethics of duty are complemented by the ethics of virtue. The very virtues that rabbinic Judaism found necessary for standing in a covenantal relationship with God are the virtues that enable Jews to be the stewards of God's creation. The rabbinic tradition highlights the merits of humility (*anavah*), modesty (*tzniʿut*), moderation (*metinut*), and mercifulness (*rahmanut*), all of which are ecologically beneficial.

IMPORTANT RITUALS AND SYMBOLS. Ancient Israel was an agrarian society that lived in accord with seasonal rhythms and celebrated the completion of each harvest cycle by dedicating the earth's produce to God. Therefore, the Jewish tradition is rich with rituals that use natural objects and with symbolic language that is linked to natural phenomena. The rituals sanctify nature, making holy corporeal, physical reality.

Sukkot. Originally celebrating the end of the summer harvest and the preparation for the rainy season in the land of Israel, the pilgrimage festival of Sukkot was associated with the redemption of Israel from Egypt. In *Leviticus* 23:42, Israel was commanded to dwell in booths (*sukkah*) for seven days so "that your generations may know that I made the people of Israel dwell in booths when I brought them out of the land of Egypt." Removed from the protection of their regular dwellings, the Israelites were compelled by the temporary booths to experience the power of God in nature more directly and become even more grateful to God's power of deliverance. The rabbis elaborated the symbolic meaning of the *sukkah*, viewing it as a sacred home and the locus for the divine presence. They homiletically linked the four species (citron, palm, myrtle, and willow) used to celebrate Sukkot to parts of the human body, types of people, the four patriarchs, the four matriarchs, and even God. The festival of Sukkot was concluded by yet another festival, known as *Shemini Atzert* (Eighth Day of Assembly), which included prayers to God to deliver rain.

***Tu B'Shevat* (New Year for Trees).** A post-biblical festival that illustrates how humans sanctify nature is celebrated on the fifteenth day of the month of Shevat, which coincides with the time almond trees bloom after the period of winter dormancy. The day was celebrated as "the new year for trees" (*rosh ha-shanah la-ilanot*) paralleling the birthday of the world in the month of Tishrei. During the Middle Ages, when Jews no longer dwelled in the land of Israel, the festival assumed a new symbolic meaning, with new prayers and new customs. Fruits grown in the land of Israel were eaten by Diaspora Jews, and a special set of Psalms was added to the daily liturgy. The most elaborate ritual for the festival was constructed in the sixteenth century by qabbalists, for whom the land of Israel was no longer merely a physical place but rather a spiritual reality. Modeled after the Passover service, the qabbalistic ritual for the "new year for trees" endowed it with the capacity to restore the flow of divine energy to the broken world.

Shabbat. The most original environmental ritual in Judaism is the Sabbath, the introduction of imposed rest on nature. On the Sabbath, humans create nothing, destroy nothing, and enjoy the bounty of the earth. Since God rested on the seventh day, the Sabbath is viewed as completion of the act of creation, a celebration of human tenancy and stewardship. Sabbath teaches that humans stand not only in relation to nature but in relation to the Creator of nature. Most instructively, animals are included in the Sabbath rest (*Dt.* 5:13–14). There are specific cases in which it is permissible to violate the laws of the Sabbath in order to help an animal in distress. The observance of the Sabbath is a constant reminder of the deepest ethical and religious values that enable Jews to stand in a proper relationship with God.

MODERN JEWISH ECOLOGICAL THINKING. The traditional Jewish ethics of stewardship or responsibility toward nature find an interesting advocate in the founder of modern Orthodoxy, Samson Raphael Hirsch (1808–1888). For him nature has a theological significance because not only is nature a model for the observance of its laws, but also it places on humans its own demands or commandments. Hirsch suggested that responsibility toward non-human creatures is commanded because empathy toward them is almost impossible. Because it is impossible for humans to understand these creatures, these laws appear irrational, binding humans to the world that is alien to them. Nature is a source of religious and moral commitment.

Human religious responsibility toward nature is also emphasized by Yosef Dov Soloveitchik (1903–1993), the spiritual leader of modern Jewish Orthodoxy in the twentieth century. Soloveitchik interpreted the two creation narratives in the Bible as two paradigmatic human postures toward nature. The first narrative presents "the majestic man" (Adam I) who celebrates the unique position of the human in creation. Creative, functionally oriented, and enamored of technology, Adam I aims to achieve a "dignified" existence by gaining mastery over nature. By contrast, the second creation narrative presents the "covenantal man" (Adam II), the human who was commanded "to till and tend" the earth. Adam II eschews power and control; he is a non-functional, receptive, submissive human type who yearns for a redeemed existence, which he achieves by bringing all of his actions under God's authority. The two postures exist simultaneously and remain permanently at war with each other within every religious Jew. Soloveitchik thus warned against the modern glorification of humanity (Adam I) that brought about the destruction of nature and pointed to religious commitment (Adam II) as the only response to our ecological and existential crisis.

Long before Soloveitchik, Aharon David Gordon (1856–1922), the spiritual leader of Labor Zionism, was keenly aware of the crisis of modernity and the causal connection between technology and human alienation from nature. Settling in Palestine in 1904, Gordon joined the agricultural settlements in order to create a new kind of Jewish life and Jewish person. He viewed humans as creatures of nature but warned that humans are in constant danger of losing contact with nature. For Gordon, the regeneration of humanity and of the Jewish people could come only through the return to nature and the development of a new understanding of labor as the source of genuine joy and creativity. Through physical, productive labor, humanity would become a partner of God in the process of creation. Rejecting the traditional Jewish focus on Torah study, Gordon viewed labor as a redemptive act, provided that the means humans employ are in accord with the divine order of things, that is, with nature. Gordon's "religion of labor" was a transvaluation of traditional Judaism.

Another Zionist leader, Martin Buber (1878–1965), reinterpreted traditional Jewish values in order to address the dilemmas of modern Jewish life. If the tradition understood the covenant to be law-centered, Buber insisted that the covenantal relationship culminating in revelation means a direct, non-propositional encounter with the divine presence. According to Buber, humans relate to the world either directly and unconditionally ("I-Thou") or indirectly, conditionally, and functionally ("I-It"). The "I-Thou" modality means a direct encounter that encompasses all of one's personality and treats the other as an end rather than as a means. The "I-It" relationship has a purpose outside the encounter itself and involves only a fragment of the other, not the entire person. Buber's ideas became ecologically relevant and influential because he extended the "I-Thou" relationship to an encounter with nature. In treating nature as a "Thou" rather than an "It," Buber personified natural phenomenon and recognized not only the need of humans to communicate with natural objects but also the inherent rights of nature as a "Thou" that waits to be addressed by the wholeness of one's own being.

Buber's colleague and successor as the leader of adult education in Germany, Abraham Joshua Heschel (1907–1972), is considered the most influential Jewish ecological thinker. A scion of a Hasidic family who received modern university training, Heschel escaped the Nazis in Germany, eventually settling in the United States in 1944. Intent on reversing the negative impact of modernity, which some suggest led to the atrocities of the Holocaust, Heschel's ecologically-sensitive depth theology spoke of God's glory as pervading nature, leading humans to radical amazement and wonder. Heschel viewed humans as members of the cosmic community and emphasized humility as the desired posture toward the natural world. Recognizing human kinship with the visible world, Heschel celebrated God's presence within the world, but he also insisted that the divine essence is not one with nature. God is simultaneously transcendent and immanent. Heschel's ecological teachings have been translated into concrete educational programs at the Abraham Joshua Heschel Center for Environmental Learning and Leadership in Tel Aviv.

The attempt to anchor Jewish environmentalism in the religious sources of Judaism was one characteristic of the Jewish renewal movement from the 1970s and 1980s. Environmental activists who were born Jews found their way back to the sources of Judaism by recognizing their ecological wisdom. Founded by Ellen Bernstein, the organization Shomrei Adamah (Keepers of the Earth) popularized the idea of Jewish environmentalism, revived nature-based Jewish rituals—such as the ritual meal for the minor holiday *Tu B'Shevat,* and organized wilderness trips with a strong Jewish component. The most significant ecological thinker in the Jewish renewal movement is Arthur Waskow, who coined the term "eco-kosher" to highlight the connection between human mistreatment of the natural world and social mistreatment of the marginal and the weak in the society. His concern for ecology is part of a deep passion for justice, and his recommendations include the cultivation of self-control, moderation in material consumption, sustainable economic development, and communitarianism.

While Waskow's environmentalism is linked to Heschel's social activism and indebted to social ecology, another disciple of Heschel, Arthur Green, has attempted to anchor Jewish ecological thinking in Qabbalah and Hasidism, the other dimension of Heschel's legacy. Adopting the ontological schema of Qabbalah, Green maintains that all existents are in some way an expression of God and are to some extent intrinsically related to each other. From the privileged position of the human, Green derives an ethics of responsibility toward all creatures that acknowledges the differences between diverse creatures while insisting on the need to defend the legitimate place in the world of even the weakest and most threatened of creatures. For Green, a Jewish ecological ethics must be a *torat hayim,* namely, a set of laws and instruction that truly enhances life.

While the Jewish tradition is rich with ecological wisdom, serious challenges are still posed to the future of the nascent Jewish environmental movement. First, the well-being of the natural world is still regarded as a marginal issue on the agenda of Jewish leadership, perhaps because Jews are generally preoccupied with the protracted Israeli-Arab conflict, relations between the State of Israel and Diaspora communities, Jewish-Christian dialogue, pluralism within Judaism, and gender equality. On a grassroots level, Jewish individuals are raising environmental issues and organizing educational activities to bring the ecological insights of Judaism to the attention of Jews, but it remains to be seen whether they will succeed in capturing the imagination of most Jews. Second, there is a conceptual gap between the religious nature of the Jewish tradition and the secularist outlook of the environmental movement. Thus, while in the State of Israel there is a vibrant environmental movement, its activities are secular and not legitimated by Jewish religious sources. In America, the Jewish environmental movement that speaks in the name of the religious tradition must translate its values and sensibilities to the language of the secular environmental discourse, and in some cases, as with nature-based feminist spirituality, Jewish environmentalism stands in direct conflict with self-conscious Neopagan sensibilities. Third, Jews all over the world share the habits of a consumerist society that puts a major stress on the limited natural resources of the planet. There is no indication that Jews, as a whole, will be interested in scaling down their lifestyles and markers of social mobility that they fought so hard to obtain. Ironically, it is the return to the oldest values in Judaism that might curb human behavior harmful to the environment.

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HAVA TIROSH-SAMUELSON (2005)

ECOLOGY AND RELIGION: ECOLOGY AND CHRISTIANITY

The problem of human distortion of ecological processes, to which much attention has been given since the 1960s, was not directly considered in most of Christian history. Whereas the teaching of Jesus reflects a rural context, the early church developed largely in urban centers of the Mediterranean world, where even the issues associated with agriculture were little considered. Christian theology dealt with human relations and especially the relation of human beings to God. Christian teaching in the early church had little bearing on how the natural world was treated at the time.

Nevertheless, retrospectively, the relevance of its teaching in this regard can be seen in the habits of mind and common practices that developed in Western Christendom after the fall of the Roman Empire in the West. Concepts of nature that primarily dealt with the human body and its sexuality colored attitudes toward the wider natural world. Doctrines of gender designed to support patriarchy also had their influence on the treatment of the natural world. The important doctrine of creation could be read either as a strong affirmation of the value of the natural world or as dethroning its claims to sacrality and opening it to exploitation.

Biblical scholars at the dawn of the twenty-first century can show that there are rich resources for the development of an ecological theology in the Christian canon. Historians of doctrine can show that traditional formulations have positive contributions to make. But the fact is that, at least in the West, these opportunities for the development of an ecological theology were neglected. Christian teaching generally led to the study of the natural world as testimony to God's greatness and to the use and manipulation of the world to satisfy human desires. It directed people away from a sense of kinship with other creatures and from treating the earth as worthy of respect in its own right.

Throughout most of Western history, Christian teaching focused on the process of personal redemption. The understanding of this process was heavily influenced by Paul's distinction between spirit and flesh. From a modern perspective, one can rightly emphasize that the flesh is to be identified not with the body but with an orientation of the whole person away from God. But through most of the history of Western Christianity, this theological duality was closely associated with the metaphysical dualism of mind, or spirit, and matter. The material world was understood to be inferior; to cultivate the spirit was to break away from that world. This required disciplining the body and repressing its desires.

Sexuality, in particular, was viewed as a threat to spirituality. Saint Augustine taught that original sin is transmitted from generation to generation by the sexual act. From the male perspective, sexuality was associated especially with women, so that the denigration of sexuality was used to denigrate women as well. Thus, the affirmation of domination of the body by the spirit justified the domination of women by men. Because the body and its sexuality were the main place where nature appeared in this treatment of redemption, nature as a whole was perceived as an object to be controlled by human efforts.

The tendency to disparage the physical, particularly its expression in sexuality, had immense practical effects in the church. It led to the ideal of celibacy and, in the West, to the rejection of marriage for secular priests as well as for members of religious orders. The only moral justification the Western church allowed for sexual acts was their necessity for procreation. It taught that the pleasure connected with these acts was sinful. The association of the natural world with fertility and sexuality meant that nature shared in the negativity of the human body.

However, the tendency to denigrate the physical world in general was checked by two central Christian doctrines:

incarnation and creation. Both of these doctrines required a defense against those who shared the Gnostic tendency to carry the hostility to the physical world through to its consistent conclusion.

The classic text for the doctrine of the incarnation of God in Jesus is in the prologue to John's gospel: "The Word *(Logos)* became flesh." Those who thought dualistically of the realm of spirit and the realm of flesh resisted this idea. They thought the purely spiritual God could not actually become a part of the physical reality. They argued that Jesus was not a real being of flesh and blood, but only an appearance in the physical world. This idea was called *docetism.* The church insisted that, on the contrary, the Word truly became "flesh."

There were repeated efforts to interpret incarnation as the replacement of some normally human function in Jesus by the divine. Against this, the creeds insisted that Jesus had all the dimensions of humanity, so that God assumed every aspect of the human. This cut against the sharp dualism of spirit and flesh and indicated that all aspects of human existence are subject to redemption. Although there were strong pressures toward the adoption of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, the church insisted on the resurrection of the body. This can connect with occasional suggestions in the New Testament (especially *Romans* 8:19–23) that the redemption of our bodies is part of the redemption of the whole of creation.

The *locus classicus* for the discussion of creation is the first chapter of *Genesis,* which deals far more directly and extensively with the natural world than any passage in the New Testament. It has played the largest role in Christian history in shaping explicit teaching about the natural world, and while it has been read in many ways, it stands against any effort to treat the natural world as inherently unreal or evil.

Those who most strongly opposed the affirmation of the physical world argued that the God who created this world is an inferior god. It cannot, they thought, have been the Father of Jesus Christ. The most important advocate of this view was Marcion, who wanted to cut Christianity off from its Jewish roots. The church stood firm against him, insisting that the Father of Jesus Christ was the creator of the physical world, and that the Jewish scriptures are part of the Christian canon.

Nevertheless, in much of Western Christian history the chief lesson drawn from the *Genesis* creation story has been that human beings are the crown of creation. They differ from all other creatures in that they alone are in the image of God, and God has given all the other creatures to human beings to control and use. People are commanded both to subdue the earth and to increase in number. Hence, although the goodness of the world is recognized in this view, that goodness is understood to be a matter of its usefulness to human beings. A nature that resists subjugation to human control may still be viewed in a very negative light. Anthropocentrism and dualism both gain support from this reading.

This reading of *Genesis* provides the background for the dominant Western understanding of the story of the fall, in which the image of God in human beings is radically corrupted. From this it might be concluded that the difference between humans and other creatures is greatly diminished and the authorization to subdue them no longer valid. But the typical reading has been quite different. The emphasis has been, instead, that the good nature created by God for human enjoyment, depicted in the Garden of Eden, was also drastically corrupted by human disobedience to God. The earth is, therefore, no longer a friendly context for human life. This accents the need for human beings to dominate and manage the natural world.

A far less anthropocentric and dualistic reading of the creation story is possible. One may emphasize that God sees that creation is good before and apart from human beings. This suggests that the value of other creatures cannot be simply their usefulness to human beings. In most respects, God treats human beings like other animals. The dominion they are given in relation to other animals does not extend to eating them, and like other animals, humans are given only vegetation to eat. The sovereignty of human beings within the created order consists in representing God's rule. God's rule is for the sake of the ruled, not their exploitation. Today, lessons of this sort are drawn frequently from the story. But this was rare in the tradition.

One of the most famous and beloved Christians did draw conclusions from the Scriptures that have led to thinking of him as the patron saint of ecologists. Actually, he might better be thought of as the patron saint of animal lovers. The deep sensitivity of Saint Francis to the natural world was focused on animals. In this relationship he emphasized kinship instead of the dualism that justified exploitation.

Saint Francis was not alone in the medieval period in opposing dualism, however. Many people thought in terms of a great chain of being with many links and stages, rather than in terms of the dualistic either/or. There were many stories, especially from Irish Christianity, of saints who related positively to animals.

At the practical level, there was also some moderation of dualism. In contrast to the Desert Fathers in the East, Western monasticism balanced spiritual disciplines with physical labor in the fields. In contrast with much classical thought, it affirmed the dignity of such work and its worthiness as a form of service to God. Of course, this work was also a matter of manipulation and use.

Sacramental practice could give nature a deeper meaning. It tied spirit to nature in ways that are in tension with dualism. Bread and wine were held to be transmuted into the body and blood of Jesus so as to work salvifically for the believer. Participation in Jesus was attained by the physical act of eating and drinking. Sacramental thinking could extend this to the idea that spirit is found everywhere in nature. Nature is not thereby deified, but it testifies to the divine and communicates it to us.

Instead of advancing from medieval Christianity in an ecological direction, modernity hardened the dualism already well established in Christian teaching and practice. The Christian dualism of the premodern era was more practical than theoretical. God's concern was generally understood to be the redemption of human beings, not of all creatures; and humans were authorized to use other creatures as they saw fit. The church had resisted an ontological dualism that would have declared human beings to be of a different substance from other creatures or spirit to be a different substance from the physical world.

At the dawn of the modern era that resistance was ended in secular philosophy. Descartes affirmed the ontologically different character of mind and matter and set the task of modern philosophy. Many Christians, especially Protestants, followed his lead, only a little checked by their commitment to biblical interpretation. The influence of Saint Thomas on Catholic thought moderated its tendencies to dualism during the modern period.

The secularism that modernity encouraged also rigidified inherited anthropocentrism. This was checked in Christianity by belief in God. Christianity was, in principle, theocentric rather than anthropocentric. The door was open to thinking of the relation of God to the natural world as separate from that of humans to this world. The tendency to anthropocentrism resulted from the belief that God cares primarily for human beings and that the rest of creation was provided to serve and be used by humans. Thus it was derived from theocentrism. But modern secular thought eroded this check on human pretensions. God came to function only as needed by the human thinker, and finally disappeared from consideration altogether. The human world became self-contained.

Most Protestant thinkers have held back from this total atheism. But in many instances in the past two centuries, they have placed anthropology in the center of their work. For many modern Protestants, God seems to be an embarrassment. The anthropocentrism of these theologies goes far beyond that of the tradition.

After Descartes, the most important philosophical influence on Protestant theology has been Immanuel Kant. His dualism is even more extreme than that of Descartes, and his anthropocentrism is thoroughgoing. Whereas Descartes assigned a metaphysical status to nature different from that assigned to mind, Kant argued that nature is a construct of the human mind. It has no separate existence.

Most progressive Protestant theology on the continent of Europe followed Kant's lead in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In this way it was free to ignore the challenge of the natural sciences to traditional Christian teaching. The natural world simply disappeared from this theology. Gerhard von Rad, perhaps the greatest Old Testament scholar of the twentieth century, emphasized that Judaism focused on history, not nature. Its basic faith centered on the Exodus story of liberation from bondage in Egypt. The idea of creation was an extension of God's lordship over history. The clear implication is that this extension is dispensable.

Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976), the greatest New Testament scholar of the twentieth century, taught that the true message of the Bible was to be found in existential interpretation of the texts. People are to ask of each text what it means in their personal existence. The idea of creation, from this point of view, speaks of a radical personal dependence on God. It says nothing about the natural world. This outcome of the long trajectory of Christian anthropocentrism and dualism highlights, by contrast, that these tendencies were by no means controlling in earlier periods.

Western Christianity was awakened from its dogmatic slumbers primarily by the famous 1967 essay of Lynn White Jr., "The Historical Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis." White wrote as a historian of science and technology. He showed that Western Christianity had, from an early point, a peculiarly strong tendency to dominate its environment. He traced this to the influence of the Western reading of the Bible, and especially the creation story. This attitude provided the context for the development of technology in the West even at a time when it was somewhat backward culturally. Later it provided the context for the rise of modern science. When science and technology came together in the chemical revolution, and later in the nuclear one, the mastery over nature that was called for in the Western reading of *Genesis* was dramatically realized. The result, however, is to endanger the future of life on the planet. Unless the goal of mastery is checked by other attitudes toward the natural world, the human venture, now led by the West, is likely to end in catastrophe.

Since the 1970s, Christians have scrambled, somewhat successfully, to contribute to the ecological worldview that is now so urgently needed. This has been done chiefly by highlighting aspects of the scriptures and tradition that had been progressively obscured. Official church teaching had already freed itself from the general denigration of sexuality and the human body that played so large a role in shaping its negativity toward nature. In the twentieth century it recognized that this view of sexuality is not biblical and has been profoundly harmful. This repentance for deeply entrenched teachings paved the way for the recovery of the positive affirmations of the natural world in the doctrines of creation and incarnation and the Pauline understanding of salvation (see *Rom.* 8:19–23).

Meanwhile, Eastern Orthodox thought has found new vitality in addressing ecological issues. It had never gone as far as the West in viewing human beings or nature as fallen, it rejected Augustine's understanding of original sin as transmitted through the sexual act, and it was not influenced by Cartesian dualism and Kantian idealism. Accordingly, it has never been as anthropocentric or dualistic as the West. Patriarch Bartholomew of Constantinople has given strong leadership in the Christian world in bringing the church's thought to bear on ecological issues in a positive way.

The Roman Catholic Church has also spoken powerfully through letters from the pope and from the bishops. Among Protestants, the World Council of Churches has done especially creative work since 1972 when it introduced sustainability into its vision of healthy societies. Later it called for respect for the "integrity of nature." Many member churches have developed their own statements. There is also a movement among evangelicals to develop an ecological theory influenced by the Bible.

In the West, most of the progress in formulating a more ecological theology has come from distinguishing Christian teaching from the Greek and modern philosophies that have so greatly influenced it. In the East, on the other hand, the philosophical theology of Gregory of Nyssa has been reemphasized for its positive value. In the West, process theology has called for a new connection with philosophy, this time with one that has systematically developed some of the biblical themes that are most useful for ecological purposes.

For example, the philosophy of Alfred North Whitehead (1861–1947) was developed to counteract the dualism and anthropocentrism of modern thought. By identifying process as basic, instead of substance, it connects more closely with the biblical emphasis on event and story. By affirming the intrinsic reality and value of all things, it picks up the teaching of *Genesis* 1. By showing how creaturely diversity contributes not only to the creatures but also to God, the biblical account of God's creation and the preservation of such diversity are underscored.

Perhaps most important, Whitehead stresses Paul's insight that Christ is in us and we are in Christ and that we are "members of one another" (*Eph.* 4:25). Nothing is more important to the ecological vision than the deep interconnectedness of all things. Whitehead shows that the entities that make up the world participate in the constitution of other entities as well as in the life of God, and that God participates in the constitution of all creatures. What humans do to other creatures, especially, in New Testament language, "to the least of these" *(Matt.* 25:40), they do to themselves and to God.

There is, of course, opposition to this view. Some conservative Christians suppose that any strong affirmation of the earth revives paganism and amounts to idolatry. The connection between feminism and much of the best work on ecological theology has added to this opposition, which is directed as much, or more, against feminist theology as against any supposed tendency to deify the natural world.

But by far the larger problem is the difficulty of changing basic attitudes even when the need for change is recognized. Earth Day is widely observed every year, but emphasis on the integrity of creation is still rare during the rest of the year. Christian habits direct attention to war and injustice, but not easily to ecological decline. This remains an afterthought. Even those who oppose anthropocentrism and dualism in theory find it difficult to incorporate a truly different way of viewing the world. When viewed in relation to the depth of change that is needed, what has been accomplished is disappointing. When viewed in relation to where the church was in the 1960s, the change appears remarkable and profoundly hopeful.

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JOHN B. COBB, JR. (2005)

ECOLOGY AND RELIGION: ECOLOGY AND ISLAM

As with most religious traditions, in the Islamic world the attempt to retrieve environmental values in response to the present ecological crisis is a recent phenomenon. Moreover, the overwhelming majority of Muslim intellectuals remain preoccupied with other issues (such as Western hegemony, local and regional politics, gender issues, the role of religion in society), and accord environmental degradation a marginal status if they pay attention to it at all. Indeed, it might not be an exaggeration to state that environmental discourse is less developed within the contemporary Islamic tradition than among the followers of most other major religious traditions. Nevertheless, the few Islamic thinkers who have addressed environmental values specifically have found much in the tradition that could potentially lead Muslims to value nature and to adopt a more effective and responsible stewardship ethic than one typically sees throughout the Muslim world today.

HUMANS AND NATURE IN THE QURʾĀN. The Qurʾān presents natural phenomena as signs (*ayat*) pointing to the existence of God (16:66, 41:53, 51:20–21, 88:17–20). The value of nature is therefore primarily symbolic. Scientific inquiry, which aims to understand the workings of the universe, thus constitutes for Muslims a sacred quest. Nature is perfectly proportioned and without any flaws (67:3), a reflection of the qualities of its Creator. It has a divinely ordained purpose (3:191, 21:16, 38:27) and is neither random nor meaningless. The "environment" is nothing less than God himself, since, according to the Qurʾān, "whithersoever you turn there is the presence of God" (2:115).

Within the hierarchy of creation, the Qurʾān accords humans a special status, that of God's *Khalīfa* (2:30, 6:165), which has been generally understood by Muslims to mean "vice-regent," thus one of stewardship or trust (*amanat*). Jafar Sheikh Idris (1990) has criticized this as a later interpretation, however, arguing that the original meaning of *Khalīfa* was "successor"; according to this view, humans are not the "deputies of God" but simply the "successors to Adam."

Nevertheless, the Qurʾān states that "all that is in the earth" has been subjected (*sakhkhara*) to humans (22:65) and that "It is He who has created for you all things that are on earth" (2:29). Yet ultimately, it is God "in whose hands is the dominion of all things" (36:83; *cf.* 2:107, 24:42). And though humans are said to have been created "in the best of forms" (*fi aḥsani taqwim*), the Qurʾān goes on to caution that "Assuredly the creation of the heavens and the earth is [a matter] greater than the creation of human beings: Yet most people understand not!" (40:57).

Humans are described in the Qurʾān as being more like other beings than unlike them. All creation is said to worship God (22:18), even if its praise is not expressed in human language (17:44, 24:41–42). Nonhuman communities are said to be like human communities (6:38), and nonhuman animals are explicitly said to possess speech (27:16). Nonhuman animals are said to have received divine revelation, as when God instructs bees on how to make honeycombs and honey (16:68). The earth was created for the benefit of all living beings (*anām*), not for humans alone (55:10). In fact, the only significant difference between humans and other beings is that humans alone possess volition (*taqwa*), and are thus accountable for their actions.

Humans will accordingly be held accountable for any acts of wanton destruction committed against the earth (2:205, 7:85). Wastefulness and overconsumption are also prohibited (7:31), as is hoarding. Water, arguably the most vital natural resource, is to be kept as common property (54:28). Balance (*mīizān*) is to be maintained in all things, including, presumably, natural systems (13:8, 15:21, 25:2); failure to do so, consequently, may be argued to be un-Islamic.

IN *ḤADĪTH*. The Arabs to whom the Qurʾān was revealed in the early seventh century CE had a long familiarity with the ecological constraints posed by their native desert environment. Reports about the words and deeds of Muḥammad (*ḥadīth*) indicate that the Prophet of Islam possessed both an awareness of these constraints and a sensitivity to the duties of humans toward the rest of creation.

Muḥammad received the first of his revelations while meditating in a cave on a mountain outside of Mecca. Thus, as in the case of numerous other seminal religious figures, his insights came within the context of immersion in the natural world. Perhaps the most illuminating of the *ḥadīth* in this regard is the one that states, "The earth has been created for me as a mosque [i.e., as a place of worship], and as a means of purification" (*Sahīh Bukhārī* 1:331).

A well-known *ḥadīth* has Muḥammad prohibiting his followers from wasting water, even when it is found in abundance and when it is used for a holy purpose such as ritual ablutions (*Musnad* ii, 22). Muḥammad also decreed that no more than an ankle depth of water (that is, sufficient for one season) could be taken for irrigation. Essential resources are to be common, not private property: "Muslims share alike in three things—water, pasture and fire" (*Mishkāt al-maṣābīḥ*).

Numerous *ḥadīth* speak to Muḥammad's concern for the interests of nonhuman animals. In regard to the killing of domestic animals for food he called for swift and conscientious slaughter with a sharp knife (*Sahīh Muslim* 2:11, "Slaying," 10:739) and not to slaughter an animal within view of its kin. He forbade hunting for sport and frequently reprimanded his followers for abusing or neglecting their camels and donkeys. He urged his followers to plant trees and cultivate land to provide food not only for humans but for birds and other animals as well (*Sahih Bukhari* 3:513). In a *ḥadīth* that is strikingly similar to a well-known rabbinical saying, Muḥammad is reported as saying, "When doomsday comes if someone has a palm shoot in his hand he should [still] plant it" (*Sunān al-Baīhaqī al-Kubrā*).

In Islamic Law. The legal corpus known as the *sharīʿah,* codified by Islamic jurists during the eighth through the tenth centuries CE, was meant to address the breadth of human activity and thus includes aspects that could be said to deal with environmental protection and management of natural resources. Sunnī jurists based their prescriptions on interpretation of Qurʾanic injunctions, the example of Muḥammad as attested in the *ḥadīth,* analogical reasoning, and their own consensus of opinion, as well as preexisting customary practices of the Arabs and the Persians in particular, and to some extent of other Muslim peoples. Other schools of Islam also developed their own approaches to defining the *sharīʿah.*

Common aspects of *sharīʿah* law with the most explicit environmental applications may be the institution of the protected zone (*ḥarim*), which prohibited the development of certain areas, mainly riverbanks, for purposes of protecting watersheds. A related institution is that of the preserve (*ḥima*), which usually entailed the protection of trees and wildlife. Some traditional *ḥarim*s and *ḥima*s still exist today, but they are much diminished from former times and continue to disappear. The legal texts go into some detail about the distribution of water resources and also devote sections to the "bringing to life" (*iḥya*) of "dead" lands (*mawāt*), including the conditions and rights pertaining to one who engages in such "development."

Islamic law also extends many legal protections to nonhuman animals, including the "right of thirst" (*ḥaqq al-shurb*), which states that they cannot be denied drinking water (Qurʾān 91:13). A thirteenth-century work by ʿIzz al-dīn Ibn ʿAbd al-salam, *Qawaʾid al-ahkam fī masāliḥ al-anām* (*Rules for Judgment in the Cases of Living Beings*), includes what some contemporary commentators have called "an animals' bill of rights." Among the provisions are that animals should be properly cared for, not overburdened, kept safe from harm, given clean shelter, and allowed to mate.

Although there is little in the classical legal corpus that could be explicitly categorized as environmental law, there exist within it several basic principles that could, if so interpreted, serve to mitigate some of the main causes of global environmental degradation today. In particular, one may cite the principles of minimizing damage, the primacy of collective over individual interests, and the giving of priority to the interests of the poor over those of the rich. While some contemporary Muslims—notably Mawil Izzi Dien and Uthman Llewellyn—have attempted to provide such interpretations, these have not yet found their way into the legal codes of any existing Muslim societies.

In Islamic Philosophy. From around the tenth century CE Muslim philosophers, familiar with Classical works, appear to have been the ones to coin the Arabic term *tabiʿa* to represent the Latin and Greek equivalents *natura* and *physis.* (The word *tabiʿa* does not appear in the Qurʾān.) The derivatives *tabʿ* and *matbuʿ* may, on the other hand, have been the source of the Latin pairing *natura naturans* (the creating) and *natura naturata* (the created) (Nasr, 1993, p. 9). In Islamic philosophy the distinction between the Creator and creation is represented by the terms *haqq* (literally, "Divine Truth") and *khalq* (that which is created). The laws of the universe exist not in and of themselves but rather as expressions of the divine will, understood in Aristotelian terms as the First Cause. There are no "secondary" causes; thus, what appear to be the laws of nature are merely the "habits" of created things, which God could alter if he chose. Miracles, accordingly, are seen simply as instances in which God chooses to cause things to happen in other than their familiar, habitual manner.

Yet the relationship of the infinite (the Creator) to the finite (creation) is neither entirely one of immanence (*tasbīḥ*) nor one of transcendence (*tanziḥ*), since both extremes are incompatible with the ultimate oneness *(tawḥīd)* of God. Neither can creation be divine alongside the Creator, nor can there exist separate realities for each; either case would represent a kind of polytheism (*shirk*) unacceptable in Islam.

The Muslim philosophers developed further the Hellenistic model of the cosmos, which they understood to be spherical in shape and bounded by the stellar field. The planets, the sun, and the moon occupy the middle layers, with the earth constituting the center. The heavenly world (*al-ʿālam al-āʿla*), though made up of ether in contrast to the lower world *(al-ʿālam al-asfāl),* which is comprised of the four elements, shares with it the qualities of heat, cold, moistness, and dryness and acts upon it accordingly. The earth's geography was most often understood in terms of the pre-Islamic Iranian divisions of seven concentric climes (*keshvar*s), although the fourfold division of the Greeks and the ninefold version of the Indians were also known.

Muslim philosophers affirm the position of humans near the top within the hierarchy of created beings, below angels but above other animals, plants, and minerals. Humans are the mediators between the heavenly and earthly realms and a major channel for divine grace. The human body, furthermore, is perceived as a microcosm of the universe, with specific parts of the body being identified with parts of the zodiac and thus subject to their influences.

The Ikhwān al-Ṣafa, in their tenth-century treatises collectively known as the *Rasāʾil,* write that the study of nature offers proof of God: "Know that the perfect manufacturing of an object indicates the existence of a wise and perfect artisan even when he is veiled and inaccessible to sense perception. He who meditates upon botanical objects will of necessity know that the beings of this reign issue from a perfect artisan" (quoted in Nasr, 1993, p. 45). For the Ikhwān, who admired Pythagoras, emphasized numbers, regarding them as an important means of insight into the ordering of nature. In one section of their treatise the Ikhwān present a fictitious court case in which nonhuman animals complain of their treatment by humans. Goodman has drawn attention to the similarity of ecological vision evoked in this tenth-century tract with that of contemporary ecologists (Goodman, 1978, pp. 5–6). The Ikhawān were a marginal group, however, and their views should not be taken to represent the mainstream Islamic thought of the time.

IN SUFISM. Muslim mystics, known as Ṣūfīs, have tended to interpret Qurʾanic references to the oneness of God (*tawḥīd*) as indicating an underlying unity to all reality. The Andalusian mystic Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-ʿArabī (1165–1240) described creation in terms of "unity of being" *(waḥdat al-wujūd)*, an idea that won wide popularity among Ṣūfīs especially in South Asia, where his work remains highly influential. Some Muslims have found this belief to verge dangerously close to pantheism, however; the seventeenth-century Indian Ṣūfī teacher Shah Waliullah preferred the term "unity of witness" *(waḥdat al-shuhud)* as more clearly maintaining the distinction between Creator and creation.

The Ṣūfī notion of the "Complete Man" (*insan al-kamil*), also elaborated by Ibn al-ʿArabī, expands the conception of the human being as microcosm of the universe. For Ṣūfīs, cultivation of the individual is analogous to cultivation of the cosmos as a whole; thus, one's personal spiritual development can affect the entire world.

To Ṣūfīs such as Jalāluddīn Rūmī (1207–1273), not just animals and plants but the entire universe of creation is alive. "Earth and water and fire are His slaves," he writes in the *Masnavī-yi maʿnavī*; "With you and me they are dead, but with God they are alive" (1.838). Nature also speaks, though only the mystics realize this: "The speech of water, the speech of the earth, and the speech of mud are apprehended by the sense of them that have hearts" (1.3279). The conversations of nature are indicative of affective relationships: "You yourself know what words the sun, in the sign of Aries, speaks to the plants and the date palms/You yourself, too, know what the limpid water is saying to the sweet herbs and the sapling" (6.1068–1069). Moreover, the Ṣūfīs often employ the symbolism of love (*ʿishq*) to describe the relationship of mutual attraction between the Creator and his creation. Yunus Emre, a thirteenth-century Turkish poet, composed the famous line, "We love all creation for the sake of its Creator."

Many Ṣūfī tales, such as those found in the works of Rūmī, Attar, and others, include animal characters, though these are almost always stand-ins for human characteristics associated with particular species. Nonhuman animals are seen as occupying a level below humans, and the "animal soul" of the philosophers is equated by the Ṣūfīs with the "lower self" (*nafs*), or one's own baser instincts, which along the path of spiritual development one strives to overcome.

CONTEMPORARY MUSLIM DISCOURSE ON THE ENVIRONMENT. The terms used by contemporary Muslims to denote "the environment"—for example, *al-biʿat* in Arabic, *mohit-e zist* in Persian, and *çevre* in Turkish—are all of recent derivation. In Muslim societies around the world discussions on environmental ethics and the protection of natural resources remain marginal and the level of discourse in most cases very low. When Muslim intellectuals address these topics at all—which is not often—their responses tend to be backward looking and self-exonerating: premodern Muslim societies are argued to have been perfectly ecological or nearly so, and current environmental problems to be the fault of hegemonic Western ideologies and lifestyles.

Given that among the world's billion-plus Muslims a disproportionately high number live in poverty, and that the poor suffer more immediately and dramatically from the effects of environmental degradation than do the rich, the lack of serious critical attention to environmental issues by Muslim intellectuals is striking. For all the attention given in current Islamic discourse to issues of social justice, the environment figures very little or not at all.

The number of Islamic voices calling attention to environmental issues is growing, though such voices remain so far outside of the mainstream of Islamic thought. It is perhaps significant that among the very few Muslim intellectuals to write on environmental values in Islamic terms, almost all have written their works in English. The first was Seyyed Hossein Nasr beginning in the 1960s. Since that time attempts to describe an Islamic environmental ethic have been undertaken by Mawil Izzi Dien, Bashir Ahmad al-Masri, Fazlun Khalid, and others.

For the most part the criticisms of several Muslim intellectuals have been directed at modernity as imposed on Muslim societies by the West, in particular such practices as interest taking (*riba*, which is forbidden in Islam) and the global economic system that is founded upon it, as well as the erosion of traditional Muslim social networks and the encouragement of materialistic lifestyles. Overconsumption by the West is held to be the major cause of global environmental degradation, while overpopulation in the developing world is not, a view believed justified by the Qurʾānic verse, "There is not a creature that walks on the earth but that Allāh provides for its needs" (11:6). One example of a trend against continuing fervent pro-natalism characteristic of traditional Muslim societies can be detected in the official policies of the Islamic Republic of Iran, which since the late 1980s have called for a reduction in birthrates.

The ecological remedies proposed by contemporary Islamic environmentalists generally involve some kind of "revival" of premodern models that are often highly idealized visions of traditional Islamic society. There has been little serious attempt to gauge critically the extent to which the life ways of premodern Muslim societies were in fact "more ecological" than present-day ones, or to which they resembled the guidelines provided in classical Islamic law, although there is much evidence that in areas such as land and water protection, hunting for sport, and so on, abuses were rampant, as indeed one may find in any human society.

In summary, it may be concluded that the discussion on Islam and ecology is in its very early stages but that it is likely to gain in relevance and sophistication as growing numbers of Muslims come to engage it as a vital contemporary issue.

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RICHARD C. FOLTZ (2005)

ECOLOGY AND RELIGION: ENVIRONMENTAL ETHICS, WORLD RELIGIONS, AND ECOLOGY

Environmental ethics emerged as a new subdiscipline of philosophy in the early 1970s. It arose as a response to the widespread perception of an "environmental crisis" in the 1960s. The inspiration for a systematic exploration of environmental ethics was Lynn White Jr.'s (in)famous article, "The Historical Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis," published in *Science* in 1967. In this article White laid the blame for the "ecologic crisis" at the doorstep of the Judeo-Christian worldview—in which "man" is exclusively created in the image of God, given "dominion" over the earth (and all its creatures), and commanded to subdue it. In retrospect, of course, White's central and narrowly focused thesis seems jejune and cavalier. He claims that the Judeo-Christian worldview is anthropocentric, while the fragments of text from *Genesis* on which he bases his interpretation seem to be clearly theocentric.

THE JUDEO-CHRISTIAN STEWARDSHIP ENVIRONMENTAL ETHIC. Indeed, apologists eventually succeeded in developing a very powerful Judeo-Christian stewardship environmental ethic based on a fuller and subtler reading of the same texts. In several preceding verses God declares the creation to be "good." In the emerging technical terminology of academic environmental ethics, God thereby confers "intrinsic value" on the creation. And in subsequent verses the first man, Adam, is charged to "dress and keep" the Garden of Eden. If the Garden may be understood to represent nature as a whole, then the appropriate human relationship to nature seems to be that of caretaker, not conqueror. In light of this passage, the aforementioned (and somewhat ambiguous) "dominion" must then, the apologists go on to argue, surely connote not only special privileges but also special responsibilities—paramount among them the duty to steward and conserve creation.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THOUGHT AND ACTION. The daring and lurid charge that the Judeo-Christian worldview—as its implications historically unfolded through two millennia—is to blame for the environmental crisis eclipsed a more general lemma, or fundamental assumption, that White reiterates throughout his essay: that what we do depends on what we think, and, corollary to that, that we cannot change what we do—to the environment in this case—until we change what we think about it and about ourselves in relationship to it. As long as we believe that we are rightfully lords and masters of creation, we shall never care for and conserve it. If this is true—and philosophers above all others are inclined to believe that it is—then to meet the challenge of the environmental crisis requires more than the development of scientific knowledge to better understand its proximate causes and the development of new "appropriate" technologies. It requires a revolution in our most basic beliefs and values—beliefs about the nature of nature, human nature, and the proper relationship between the two. That is a job not for scientists and engineers but for philosophers, theologians, and historians of religion.

AN AGENDA FOR ENVIRONMENTAL PHILOSOPHY AND COMPARATIVE ENVIRONMENTAL THEOLOGY. White thus sets the two-step agenda for a new domain of philosophical inquiry. There are other traditions of thought—most notably the Greco-Roman tradition—that have powerfully informed the modern Western worldview, in which context, White believed, the environmental crisis had been spawned. As a first step, these ideas about the nature of nature (such as the atomic theory of matter) and human nature (as, for example, defined by reason) and the relationship between the two (dualism) must also be identified and debunked. As a second step, new ideas—perhaps abstracted from such revolutionary twentieth-century sciences as quantum physics, evolutionary biology, and ecology—must be woven into a new, environmentally responsible worldview.

In suggesting that other religions—such as ancient European paganism and Zen Buddhism—espoused environmentally responsible worldviews, White also set an agenda for comparative religion and environmental thought. How do other religious worldviews picture the nature of nature, human nature, and the proper relationship between the two? White's interpretations of European paganism and Zen Buddhism were as jejune and cavalier as his interpretation of the Judeo-Christian worldview. But a more patient, thorough, and expert evaluation of the potential of all the world's religions to ground and foster environmental ethics was implicitly called for. In direct reaction to White's suggestion, Christian theologians led the way in formulating the stewardship environmental ethic. Scholars and representatives of various and diverse religious traditions of thought—Hinduism, Jainism, Daoism, Confucianism—soon followed by articulating very different environmental ethics. That enterprise—sometimes called the greening of religion—is now well advanced, spurred in large part by the Harvard conference series and subsequent books on "World Religions and Ecology."

ANIMAL LIBERATION AND ANIMAL RIGHTS. Creating a nonanthropocentric environmental ethic has been the central preoccupation of secular environmental philosophy. The first generation of environmental philosophers, steeped in modern Western ethical theory, tried to develop nonanthropocentric environmental ethics out of one or the other dominant strands of thought in (militantly anthropocentric) Western ethics—utilitarianism and Kantianism.

The most orthodox—and for that reason among the most compelling—of such efforts was mounted by Peter Singer and called "animal liberation." At the foundation of the utilitarian strain of modern ethical theory is the axiom that pleasure is good and pain is evil; and, further, that every moral agent should strive to maximize the good (pleasure) and minimize evil (pain), no matter where or by whom experienced—the agent him- or herself or anyone else. Singer simply pointed out that many nonhuman beings were also "sentient" (capable of experiencing pleasure and pain); therefore, for utilitarianism to be entirely consistent, the pleasure and pain of all sentient beings should be given equal consideration with human pleasure and pain. Singer thought animal liberation required vegetarianism—and billions of animals do indeed suffer grievously in the contemporary meat industry. But in an ideally reformed meat industry, animals might be comfortably raised and painlessly slaughtered. Thus, the pleasure human beings take in eating meat might be vouchsafed with no pain suffered by animals on the debit side of the utilitarian benefit-cost ledger.

To remedy the failure of animal liberation morally to condemn the killing and eating of some of our fellow animals, Tom Regan developed a case for animal rights. Rights, according to Regan, are based on the "inherent worth" (or intrinsic value) of the beings who have them. And, argues Regan, beings who are "subjects of a life," who have a sense of self, a remembered past, an anticipated future, desires, aversions—a life, in short, that can go better or worse from their own point of view—have intrinsic value. Kant thought that only rational beings have intrinsic value, but that doctrine, Regan believes, falls to the Argument from Marginal Cases. The "marginal cases" are prerational human infants, abjectly mentally challenged human beings, and postrational human seniors suffering from dementia. Because all such human beings are not rational, they have no intrinsic value, by Kant's reckoning, and thus no rights. Therefore, they can—if the Kantian criterion is consistently applied—be subjected to all the horrors and indignities to which we subject rightless animals: use them for biomedical experimentation, hunt them sport, or make dog food out of them. To bring the marginal cases into the class of beings protected by rights, we must relax the criterion for intrinsic value. Though not rational, the marginal cases are subjects of a life, but so are many other kinds of animals.

BIOCENTRISM. Animals, however, represent only a tiny fraction of the environment that is alleged to be in a state of crisis. What about plants and other organisms that are certainly alive but that cannot be regarded as *subjects* of a life? A major school of thought in environmental ethics attempts to take Regan's reasoning a step further. All organisms, plants included, arguably have interests and goods of their own, even if they are not interested in their interests or care about what is good or bad for them. If they are not subjects of a life, they are, according to Paul Taylor, "teleological centers of life": they have unconscious ends (goals or purposes)—to grow, to thrive, to reproduce—which may be fostered or frustrated by moral agents. Being a teleological center of life should therefore, according to Taylor, be the criterion for intrinsic value (or inherent worth). However, no influential environmental philosophers are willing to go so far as to base universal organic *rights* on universal organic intrinsic value. Instead, according to Kenneth Goodpaster, all organisms deserve at least to have "moral considerability"—that is, a moral agent should at least take their interests into consideration when his or her actions would affect such beings. Holmes Rolston III has most fully developed this school of thought in environmental ethics. He insists that we have duties to species as well as specimens because the *telos* they are striving to realize is precisely their kind or species. And, Rolston also insists, we have duties to ecosystems and to biotic communities because they are the necessary contexts in which organisms thrive.

Despite Rolston's ingenuity, the main problem with this neo-Kantian strain of environmental ethics is that it does not directly address the actual environmental concerns that mandated the development of environmental ethics in the first place. In healthy ecosystems and stable biotic communities, individual organisms routinely and necessarily get their ends frustrated. What is of actual environmental concern is not the ups and downs in the careers of individual organisms.

Rather, concern focuses on abrupt, mass species extinction and the erosion of biodiversity; ecological degradation; global climate change; soil erosion; desertification; air and water pollution; and the hole in the earth's stratospheric ozone membrane. Other environmental philosophers—who seek to tailor a theory of environmental ethics to actual environmental concerns, rather than the other way around—have thus found it necessary to work outside the modern classical utilitarian and Kantian paradigms. The former terminates in animal liberation, the latter basically in plant liberation, not in the more comprehensive and holistic environmental ethic that the environmental crisis demands.

THE LAND ETHIC. Often called a prophet, Aldo Leopold anticipated the emergence of the environmental crisis by more than a decade and, in response, sketched a "land ethic." Leopold was not a philosopher by training. He was trained in forestry at Yale University and began his career with the U.S. Forest Service, eventually to become a professor of game management and wildlife ecology at the University of Wisconsin. Thus, he was less constrained by the modern Western ethical paradigms than latterly were academic environmental philosophers. He was apparently influenced instead by Darwin's theory of the origin and development of ethics in the *The Descent of Man.* J. Baird Callicott has filled in Leopold's outline of an environmental ethic and provided it with a full philosophical pedigree and expression.

According to Darwin, ethics evolved from "parental and filial affections," which were more widely directed to more distant kin (uncles, aunts, cousins, and so on) by natural selection—because they bonded individuals into united societies or communities. As members of united societies or communities, pursuing the struggle for existence collectively, individuals had a better chance to survive and reproduce than they would as loners. Certain kinds of individual behavior—murder, theft, adultery, treachery—threaten group solidarity. Ethics emerged when our earliest human ancestors evolved sufficient intelligence to trace the consequences of generalized forms of behavior on society, sufficient powers of imagination to envision those consequences, and, finally, language in which prohibitions against antisocial behavior could be encoded. Then, according to Darwin, as these small original human societies—which were scarcely anything more than extended families—flourished and began to compete with one another for limited resources, those that merged together to form larger, better organized communities won out. As Darwin envisioned it, over time this process of social evolution through merger was repeated several times. Clans, also known as gens, merged to form tribes; tribes merged to form nationalities; closely related nationalities merged to form sovereign states. Each of these moments in the evolution of human societies was accompanied by a correlative development of ethics. Darwin foresaw a time in the future—which is now upon us—in which a single human society, global in scope, would emerge. Facilitated by sophisticated transportation and communication technologies, loosely organized by such governing bodies as the United Nations (UN) and the World Trade Organization, and funded by financial institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, we sanguinely call it the Global Village or, more ominously, the New World Order. The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948, is its ethical correlative.

A year later after the UN human rights declaration, Leopold was, as Darwin before him, looking beyond his own time to the next step in this process. For, as Leopold was keenly aware, ecology had discovered that we are members not only of multiple human communities—our extended families, our ethnic groups, our municipalities and states, our nations or countries, and now the Global Village—we are also members of similarly nested biotic communities. If there is indeed an intimate—perhaps even an innate—correlation between our perception of community membership and an ethical response, as Darwin argued, then when, through universal ecological literacy, people become aware of their membership in biotic communities, they will respond with environmental (or land) ethics.

ECOCENTRIC HOLISM AND THE PROBLEM OF ECOFASCISM. Because Darwin thought of ethics as more focused on and concerned with society as a whole, not its members severally, the environmental ethic that Leopold erected on these Darwinian foundations makes for a better fit with actual environmental concerns. According to Leopold, "a thing is right when it tends to preserve the integrity, stability, and beauty of the biotic community; it is wrong when it tends otherwise." Leopold understood the biotic community to include not only plants and animals but also soils and waters. This broad, holistic precept thus addresses species extinction and loss of biodiversity—for nothing so violates the integrity of biotic communities than the loss of their component species—water pollution, soil erosion, and most of the other things that are of actual environmental concern. Further, it allows for the subordination of the interests of individual organisms to the good of the whole, to the integrity, stability, and beauty of the biotic *community.*

One should immediately worry, however, that it might also allow for the subordination of individual *human* interests to the good of the whole. Not surprisingly then, a charge of "ecofascism" has been leveled at Leopold's land ethic, first by Tom Regan. Fortunately, the charge will not stick because Leopold understood the land ethic to be an "accretion"—that is, an addition—to our older and more venerable traditions of human ethics, not a substitution or replacement for them. In the Darwinian foundations of the Leopold land ethic, when smaller societies merge to form larger societies, the older more venerable social strata do not dissolve. Even as we are now members of the Global Village, we are still very much also members of extended families and nation-states. And the ethics correlative to those social strata remain operative and in many circumstances preemptive. Unfortunately, the duties and obligations generated by our multiple community memberships are not always mutually consistent.

Family obligations and patriotic duties may conflict. One or another of the duties generated by our memberships in various human communities may conflict with the obligations generated by our membership in various biotic communities. Nor, also unfortunately, is there any algorithm that one may mechanically apply to them to resolve such moral conundrums. A person of goodwill must simply weigh and balance conflicting duties and obligations as best he or she can and try to choose wisely among them those that, under the circumstances, are the most compelling.

THE EARTH CHARTER. Just as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights crystallized the then-new ethic of the emerging Global Village, so the Earth Charter, also developed under the auspices of the United Nations, crystallizes the currently new ethic of the biospheric ecological community. The Earth Charter was anticipated in the early 1990s by Hans Kung's "Declaration of the Religions for a Global Ethic," commissioned by the Parliament of the World's Religions. It acknowledges, among other crises, a crisis of "global ecology" and, albeit largely focused on humanitarian concerns, declares that "the new global order" should be, among other things, "nature friendly." Kung's declaration was reviewed at an interdisciplinary colloquium with participants from various religions and continents and sent to various colleagues and friends who responded with dozens of suggestions for its improvement. The Earth Charter was drafted and repeatedly redrafted by an international committee based on systematic "consultations," spanning a decade, with thousands of individuals from different cultural backgrounds and sectors of society, representing hundreds of organizations, from all regions of the world. The first two of the four principles of the Earth Charter are, like the Leopold land ethic, holistic in scope and focus, respectively, on "respect and care for the community of life," and "ecological integrity." Two principles of the Earth Charter—concerning "social and economic justice" and "democracy, nonviolence, and peace"—spell out what Leopold only assumed, that environmental ethics must be harmonized with more traditional and familiar ethics concerned with individual human liberty, welfare, and rights.

THE PRAGMATIC APPROACH. Not all environmental philosophers have been happy with the search for a nonanthropocentric environmental ethic that has dominated the environmental-philosophy literature. Environmental pragmatists—Bryan Norton, most notably and persistently—have criticized the preoccupation of their colleagues with theory building, especially the construction of some comprehensive theory designed to embrace all environmental concerns. Instead they call for a bottom-up approach: beginning with actual issues, such as a proposal to dam a river, and then sorting out the attitudes and values at play in such cases, with the purpose of finding a course of action on which most interested parties can agree, irrespective of their attitudinal and moral differences. These two approaches to environmental philosophy—comprehensive theory building and an action-oriented search for pragmatic consensus—appear to be complementary, not competitive. The mainstream approach aims at the long term—what Hans Kung called a "transformation of consciousness"—something that will not occur in a human lifetime. The pragmatic approach aims at the (relatively) short term—environmental issues and public policies that are current for spans of time ranging from a few years to a decade or two (some of which of course may entrain long-term irreversible effects). The environmental crisis requires both approaches if ever it is to be adequately addressed.

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J. BAIRD CALLICOTT (2005)

ECOLOGY AND RELIGION: SCIENCE, RELIGION, AND ECOLOGY

The contemporary dialogue between religion and science is part of the foundation of the religion and ecology dialogue. Many of the contemporary luminaries in this dialogue—Ian Barbour, Holmes Rolston III, John Haught, John Cobb, Jr., and many others—also have published on ecological issues. Both fields try to understand the relationship of humans and nature.

Religion is an extremely diverse phenomenon, always plural, and difficult to philosophically define. The same can be said for science. For many today, there is a deep cultural ambivalence about one or the other. Science for many people brings to mind negative images of toxic industries, genetically modified foods, or nuclear holocaust. Similarly, religion also brings to mind negative images for many of religious wars, inquisitional torture, fanatical intolerance, genocidal persecutions, and deadly cults. Often juxtaposed to these negative images of one domain, either religion or science, is generally a positive and sometimes utopian orientation towards the other domain.

TYPOLOGY OF SCIENCE AND RELIGION. Ian Barbour has suggested a four-part typology for how different people relate science and religion—conflict, separation, dialogue, and synthesis. The conflict model sees religion and science as necessarily in opposition. Within the conflict model, one needs to choose sides, so there are two versions. Scienticism promotes science as an alternative belief system to religion against superstition and supernaturalism. It favors a commitment to materialistic and reductionistic understandings of reality often along with a commitment to human progress or betterment. Contemporary advocates of this position include Richard Dawkins, Daniel Dennett, and Stephen Weinberg.

The religious version of the conflict model promotes an absolute ontological and epistemic dependency on God as revealed in a scriptural tradition in which cosmological references are interpreted literally. The conflict generally revolves around accounts of natural history—evolution and cosmology—but also questions about the human person and ethics. These religious fundamentalists promote alternative "sciences" because they understand contemporary science to being necessarily atheistic and immoral. Both versions of the conflict model generate competing mythologies about the history of science and religion.

The separation model sees religion and science as different categories of endeavors. Stephen Jay Gould popularized the term "Non-Overlapping Magisteria" or NOMA to describe this view of science and religion (Gould, 2002). Science seeks to answer questions of "what" and "how," whereas religion seeks to answer questions of "why." Science deals with facts, religion deals with values. It is only when the two step out of their proper domains that conflict arises.

The problem with the separation model is that separate is never really equal. Religions necessarily make ontological claims about reality; the insights of science necessarily impinge upon questions of values and purpose. While religion and science are certainly distinct endeavors, they need to be in some kind of conversation. This then leads to the dialogue model, where religion and science need to engage each other on boundary questions of metaphysics and ethical dilemmas such as the ecological crisis or the challenges of new technologies. Science is sometimes understood to be mute on these questions, though it gives rise to new insights and technologies that present further challenges for humanity.

Others promote the synthesis model, wherein they seek to join science and religion in metaphysical, meaning, and moral systems. In this view, philosophers, theologians, and practitioners should be willing to reinterpret their fundamental beliefs in light of contemporary science; even as they mine their religious traditions to recover profound insights about the nature of the Divine, the nature of humanity, and the nature of nature. Advocates of this model note that there is not a metaphysical-free way of understanding the world and ourselves. Humanity would be better served if we develop a consistent, probable, and holistic understanding of science and religion. The contemporary conversation is profoundly influenced by the process philosophy of Alfred North Whitehead, the evolutionary mysticism of Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, and the hierarchical epistemology of Michael Polanyi. This synthesis model is particularly helpful for the religion and ecology field in that it affirms the importance of science in both its philosophical implications and practical understanding of the world of nature.

This four-part typology of the relationship between science and religion was turned into an alliteration by John Haught, who speaks of "conflict, contrast, contact," and "convergence" (Haught, 1995).

GENERAL PHILOSOPHICAL ISSUES. All science assumes some kind of *reductionism,* whereby a complex problem is broken down and analyzed in terms of its parts. Reductionism has led to increasing specialization in the familiar list of disciplines and departments of the modern university, as well as the growing lists of sub-disciplines and interdisciplinary communities of research. One can distinguish between philosophical reductionism and methodological reductionism. The latter is simply a tool for exploration and problem-solving, while philosophical reductionism becomes an all-encompassing worldview. There is a kind of reductionism that assumes everything can be broken down to constitutive parts, namely, consciousness is merely biology, biology is nothing but chemistry, and chemistry is just particle physics. Many scientists and philosophers, enamored with the incredible progress made in the last century, make intemperate claims about the power and prospects of reductionism to answer all questions, but this can lead to absurd category mistakes. A biologist need know nothing about particle physics to effectively practice biology. Cosmology is not likely to shed new light on economics. The concept of emergence is now being explored with scientific and philosophic rigor. The whole is often more than the sum of its parts. Novel entities come to be in an evolving universe that builds on existing structures and processes to create new levels of complexity. Many religious philosophers see the concept of emergence in science as a way of recovering religious understandings of the universe and the human person. Moreover, for some this is an important philosophical basis for understanding the large-scale evolutionary context for present day environmental questions.

Another philosophical debate within science and religion deals with the issue of materialism. The universe is nothing more than matter-energy and space-time. In this view, science cannot allow for any phenomena that are not material. All real phenomena, as opposed to imagined phenomena, can be analyzed as material or physical processes. In this extreme form, materialism precludes the truth claims of religion. Materialism also can leave no grounds for protecting the natural world.

However, religious and scientific philosophers today note that many scientific disciplines need the immaterial concept of information in order to understand material reality. Contemporary physics, for instance, assumes a transcendent understanding of mathematics, even as it deconstructs material reality into ephemeral subatomic particles, extend wave functions, and immaterial field equations. These new ontological categories open up a possibility for understanding aesthetic, moral, and spiritual realities as more than just imagined fantasies. Information science is also an important part of understanding the complex interactions of ecosystems and species.

Another philosophical debate within science and religion deals with the question of causation. The reductionist and materialist view understands causation to always be from the "bottom-up," while religious thinkers postulate modes of "top-down" causation. In contemporary physics, we also confront the conundrum of non-local causation in entangled quantum states. All of this opens up the possibility of a robust understanding of free will in human action, as well as divine action in the universe that need not violate the laws of science. Rather than simply a bottom-up or top-down approach to causation the complex interaction of chance and necessity is now part of the discussion.

Contemporary science challenges many of the traditional ontological hierarchies of religious worldviews. Science offers two kinds of hierarchies—chronology and size. On the one hand there is the chronological unfolding of the universe: from the infinitely dense and infinitely hot originating singularity some thirteen billion years ago; through the rise of stable particles to galaxy and star formation; the stellar fusion of heavier elements; the growth of solar systems out of second and third generation stars with complex chemistry; the rise of life on at least one planet; the stunning evolution of life into myriad forms over hundreds of million years; and the recent rise of our own species with its capacities of mind and language. Science also offers a new hierarchy of size, from orders of magnitude smaller and larger, unimaginable to our ancestors even one hundred years ago. This new epic of evolution and the new topography of the universe challenge some of our religious notions of human dignity and divine purpose. Many traditional religious cosmogonies seem quaint and parochial in light of this new scientific worldview. The science and religion dialogue seeks to offer new interpretations of the epic of evolution that integrates this new natural history with the enduring wisdom, spiritual quest, and cultural insights of our religious traditions. This context of the epic of evolution is also critical to the dialogue of religion and ecology. More people are realizing that the future of the evolutionary process is severely challenged by the presence of more than six billion people on the planet, along with the environmental destruction humans have wrought with their sophisticated technologies.

Another general philosophical issue explored at the intersection of science and religion is the question of dualism versus holism. Humans have often understood the metaphysics of the universe in terms of philosophical dualism—animate and inanimate, human and non-human, mind and brain, spiritual and material. Modern science undermines many of these dualisms. Religions have promoted both dualistic and holistic metaphysics. Humanity is lost in this new understanding of the universe without a compass or a map to the great moral, aesthetic, and ecological questions. The ecological sciences are offering a more holistic vision of life—human and non-human—which has implications for more comprehensive environmental ethics.

SPECIFIC PHILOSOPHICAL ISSUES. There are also a number of specific philosophical issues that science raises for religious thought and practice which are explored in the contemporary encounter between science and religion.

Physics and cosmology. Physics and cosmology raise a number of profound metaphysical questions. A number of the fundamental characteristics of the universe appear to be "fine-tuned" for the later development of complexity. This can be seen in the specific values of the four fundamental forces—gravity, electromagnetism, and strong and weak nuclear forces. Other characteristics, like the ratio of matter to anti-matter, the rate of expansion of the universe, or the particular properties of carbon, could all be hypothetically slightly different, in which case it would have been impossible for the universe as we know it to evolve. Sometimes referred to as the anthropic principle, physicists are often attracted to the idea that the universe, including our own consciousness, was some how intended and is sometimes interpreted as evidence for the existence of God, though the impersonal, mathematical God of Physics bares little resemblance to the God of Scriptures.

Contemporary physics understands the nature of space-time and matter-energy to be radically different than our common sense experiences would suggest. Time is relative to the location and speed of the observer; space bends and folds under the influence of intense gravitational fields. Little bits of matter can be converted into an enormous amount of energy, as seen in nuclear bombs or the stellar furnaces. Energy can be converted into matter, as seen in the bubble chambers of particle accelerators. Moreover, what we understand to be the concrete stuff of our everyday world turns out to be mostly empty space at the atomic level and ephemeral chimera at the subatomic level. These subatomic particles exhibit the strange properties of quantum mechanics. With both particle and wave, subatomic stuff is entangled, implicating both other subatomic particles and the observer, able to influence other quantum events at a distance or backwards into the past. The strangeness of quantum phenomena has led many a physicist to take a religious or philosophical turn, in spite of their prior materialist and mechanistic commitments.

Contemporary astronomy and cosmology also confront humanity with a scale and grandeur of an evolving universe difficult to imagine. Measured now in billions of light-years and hundreds of billions of galaxies, our lives on this planet might seem rather small and insignificant. On the other hand, our ability to even comprehend this new cosmic topography can also ennoble and enlarge our appreciation of these unique human abilities. In either case, this new view of the cosmos is an occasion for religious and philosophical reflection and an opportunity to expand our understanding of the divine. Moreover, it can enhance the reasons for protecting this remarkable planet.

Evolution and biology. Evolution and biology raise a series of different questions for religious thought. Where cosmologists see issues of elegant improbability in the design of the universe, evolutionary theory points towards a chaotic and brutal developmental process in which famine, predation, disease, and death are the ultimate editor of a story written through random drift. Darwinian evolution has been a flash point of conflict between science and religion, because it appears to undermine traditional religious understandings of nature as a product of a benevolent and powerful God. As applied to humans, social Darwinism also seems to undermine traditional religious morality, indeed in some cases to have contributed to ruthless political ideologies in the twentieth century.

Many religious and scientific thinkers have interpreted evolution through teleological or teleonomical lenses, arguing that natural history presents us with a progressive unfolding of greater levels of complexity and beauty in nature. Some scientists also point to mathematical patterns in nature, as well as the convergent evolution of similar life structures among unrelated species. It is important to remember that the problems of suffering, death, and evil have confounded humanity long before the theory of evolution, so the challenge of Darwinism is not a new issue for religious and theological thought. Some think it useful to extend the notion of free will beyond the human, that all of nature has elements of self-creative possibility not governed by causal processes or Divine fiat.

The lacuna of applying evolutionary theory to human behavior revolves around the question of altruism. If survival and reproduction are the key motive forces in evolution and human behavior, then why would anyone sacrifice his or her self for the benefit of someone unrelated? When science explores human nature, it necessarily confronts religious moral teachings, which universally teach some version of the Golden Rule. Many argue that humans evolve in a Lamarckian pattern by which acquired cultural adaptations are passed on directly to the next generation and that as such humanity transcends mere biological processes. Moreover, humans are a profoundly social and symbolic species; and we use narratives—for instance, sacred stories—to navigate existential moral and value choices. In that sense, everyone employs metanarratives, consciously or unconsciously, to navigate the uncertainties of life. *Homo sapien* is a moral and believing animal in which religion, broadly understood, is involved, even if that "religion" be atheism, pragmatism, or materialism.

Finally, evolution gives us a new perspective on the recent past and future prospects for humanity and the planet. Science, technology, economics, education, and government have given humans enormous power to engage in large-scale environmental engineering, even as we are about to embark upon wide-ranging genetic engineering of other species and ourselves. In the fields of bioethics and environmental ethics, religion and science discuss what it means to be human and the prospects of humanity's self-transcendence or self-destruction in a brave new world of twenty-first century technology. Science itself does not give much guidance as to whether such a future is desirable or whether it should be resisted.

Chaos and complexity theories. Applied in numerous scientific disciplines, chaos and complexity theories suggest that some of the most creative phenomena are distributed systems and iterative processes. In some cases, simple mathematical models can describe natural phenomena. In other cases, the multiplication of feedback loops and complexity confound us with known limitations of science and computation. Computer models are used to simulate climate change, which inform environmental policy debates. Computer models are now also used to simulate religious and cultural systems. Philosophers and theologians ponder the significance of this new paradigm for understanding the nature of God and creativity.

Aesthetics and ethics. In these domains the interaction of science and religion also plays itself out. Many philosophers realize that we cannot maintain a simple Is/Ought distinction. The nature of nature must inform our understanding about how humans desire to transform their lives, which values are possible and desirable to maximize. Traditional religious philosophy makes the distinction between natural moral law, knowable to any reasoning human being, and revealed moral law, knowable only those initiated in a particular tradition. The old natural law tradition needs to be conversant with the best of contemporary science, rather than fall back on antiquated Aristotelian notions of fixed natural kinds. All moral discourse presupposes sets of obligations and the necessity of sacrifice. There is a growing appreciation of the role of religious beliefs and practices in existentially grounding ethical deliberation, even as we debate issues like abortion, euthanasia, human and animal rights, and ecojustice.

Intra- and interreligious dialogue. Finally, science provides a powerful common denominator for this exciting and productive dialogue. In many conferences and workshops today around the world, organized by groups like the Center for Theology and the Natural Sciences (www.ctns.org), the Zygon Center for Science and Religion (www.zygoncenter.org), Metanexus Institute (www.metanexus.net), the John Templeton Foundation (www.templeton.org), and others, religious thinkers and practioners from diverse religious and philosophical traditions—as well as diverse scientific disciplines—find common ground and profound challenges in confronting some of the greatest questions of our time.

Ecology. Once dubbed "the subversive science," ecology also challenges the adequacy of reductionism and materialism, as it poses both new and enduring questions about the appropriate relationships between humans and the more-than-human world. By all accounts, we live at a unique moment in the natural history of our planet and the cultural evolution of our species, filled with challenge and promise. Whatever the future holds in store, the endeavors of science and religion, separately and together, will play an important part in the unfolding story.

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ECOLOGY AND RELIGION: ECOLOGY AND NATURE RELIGIONS

The term *nature religion* or the plural *nature religions* most commonly is used as an umbrella term for religious perceptions and practices that despite substantial diversity are characterized by a reverence for nature and consider nature sacred. Over the last few centuries a number of phrases have been used to capture the family resemblance, including *natural religion, nature worship, nature mysticism,* and *earth religion,* and words have been invented to reflect what is taken to be the universal essence of such religiosity, such as *paganism, animism,* and *pantheism.* The term *nature religion,* which began to be employed regularly within religious subcultures at about the time of the first Earth Day celebration in 1970, is used increasingly to represent and debate such "nature-as-sacred" religion in both popular and scholarly venues.

HISTORY OF THE IDEA OF NATURE RELIGION. Regardless of the terminology, the idea has a long history that in significant ways parallels the evolution of the academic study of religion. Indeed, the most common contemporary understanding of nature religion resembles the nature-venerating religiosity described in E. B. Tylor's *Primitive Culture* (1871), F. Max Müller's *Natural Religion* (1888), James G. Frazer's *The Worship of Nature* (1926), and Mircea Eliade's *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (1958). As Lawrence Sullivan concluded in a broad comparative review of nature-related religiosity in "Worship of Nature" in this encyclopedia, there are diverse examples of the worship of nature in the history of religion.

This background helps explain why the study of religion has often involved an interpretive effort to understand nature religion (understood broadly as nature-venerating or nature-as-sacred religion) as well as "the natural dimension of religion," a term from Catherine Albanese's *Nature Religion in America* (1990), which urged scholars to examine not only religions in which nature is explicitly considered divine or worshiped but also those in which it serves as an important symbolic resource. This and other changes in the field of religious studies—where scholars focus less on notions such as worship and more on the way religion is integrated into everyday life and the way it promotes identity formation and serves power and material interests—have recast discussions and understandings of nature religion among religionists and scholars alike.

Despite some changes as scholarly perspectives come into and fall out of fashion, there have been important continuities in both popular and scholarly contestations over nature religion. In those contestations the line between the observer and the practitioner often has been blurred; scholars frequently become as involved in nature-related religious production as do their overtly religious subjects.

The most common debate has been between those who consider nature religions to be religiously or politically primitive, regressive, or dangerous and those who laud them as spiritually perceptive or authentic and ecologically beneficent.

NATURE RELIGIONS AS PRIMITIVE, REGRESSIVE, OR DANGEROUS. Perspectives that view nature religions as primitive, regressive, or dangerous may have originated with and throughout recorded history have been influenced by the ancient antipathy between Abrahamic religions and the pagan and polytheistic religions of the ancient Middle East. Frazer noted, for example, that the Hebrew King Josiah initiated a death penalty for those who worshipped the sun in the seventh century BCE and that subsequent Hebrew figures, including the prophet Ezekiel, continued to battle the solar cult and other forms of what they considered nature-related idolatry. The orthodox streams of Abrahamic religion, especially Christianity and Islam, maintained their hostility and helped push nature religions and the peoples who embodied them to extinction or marginalization through conversion, assimilation, and sometimes violence. Those actions were legitimated in religious terms as promoting the spiritual well-being of both believers and prospective believers.

However, criticisms of nature-related religiosity have not been restricted to the religiously orthodox. The tendency to view nature religions as primitive (though not necessarily dangerous) intensified as Occidental (Western) culture placed increasing value on reason and as many thinkers became less religiously orthodox. The German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), for example, advanced an idealistic philosophy that viewed nature religions as primitive for failing to perceive the divine spirit moving through the dialectical process of history.

More important for the historical study of religion in general and scholarly reflection on nature religion in particular was the influence of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution published in *On the Origin of Species* (1859). Generations of scholars came to view nature religions as primitive misperceptions that natural forces are animated or alive. A friend of Darwin, John Lubbock, initiated that characterization in *The Origin of Civilization and the Primitive Condition of Man* (1889), citing Darwin's observation of the way dogs mistake inanimate objects for living beings. Lubbock asserted that religion had its origin in a similar misapprehension by primitive humans. Soon E. B. Tylor, who some consider the father of anthropology, would coin the term *animism* for that type of attribution of consciousness to inanimate objects and forces, asserting that that misapprehension was grounded in the dream states and sneezing of "primitive" or "savage" peoples. Not long afterward Max Müller, considered by some the father of the academic study of religion, traced the origin of Indo-European religion to religious metaphors and symbolism grounded in the natural environment, especially the sky and sun.

Both classical paganism and polytheistic religions, of course, involved the supplication to or veneration of celestial bodies and other natural entities and forces. According to Frazer, who was influenced by Tylor and Müller, belief and cultus related to the sun, the earth, and the dead were especially common in the worldwide emergence and ancient history of religion. Frazer approvingly quoted Müller's *Introduction to the Science of Religion* (1873): "The worship of the spirits of the departed is perhaps the most widely spread form of natural superstition all over the world" (Frazer, 1926, p. 18).

The idea of religion as involving nature-related beliefs and practices became widely influential, as did Frazer's "worship of nature" rubric to describe such religions:

> [By] the worship of nature, I mean . . . the worship of natural phenomena conceived as animated, conscious, and endowed with both the power and the will to benefit or injure mankind. Conceived as such they are naturally objects of human awe and fear . . . to the mind of primitive man these natural phenomena assume the character of formidable and dangerous spirits whose anger it is his wish to avoid, and whose favour it is his interest to conciliate. To attain these desirable ends he resorts to the same means of conciliation which he employs towards human beings on whose goodwill he happens to be dependent; he proffers requests to them, and he makes them presents; in other words, he prays and sacrifices to them; in short, he worships them. Thus what we may call the worship of nature is based on the personification of natural phenomena. (Frazer, 1926, p. 17)

This early nature religiosity, Frazer thought, was replaced first by polytheism and then by monotheism as part of a "slow and gradual" process that was leading inexorably among civilized peoples to the "despiritualization of the universe" (Frazer, 1926, p. 9). Most scholarly observers during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries seemed to agree that the nature spirituality characteristic of early peoples and the world's remaining "primitives" eventually would be supplanted by higher, monotheistic forms or no religion at all.

They assumed that although such religion might be regressive, it could not be considered dangerous or threatening, at least to cultural and material progress.

More recently, however, a chorus of voices has suggested that some forms of nature religions have been or can be pernicious or at least not as ecologically beneficent as they may seem upon cursory observation.

Drawing on analyses of dominance and power in the work of the philosopher Michel Foucault and the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, in *Nature Religion in America* (1990) Catherine Albanese argued that nature religion, although it is commonly thought to promote social and ecological well-being, often masked an impulse to dominate nature as well as other people. Specifically, she analyzed how some religions of nature that were prominent during the period of the nation's invention justified the subjugation of both the natural world and the continent's aboriginal peoples. She also broadened the field of view in regard to religion by including in it her own definition of religious phenomena in which nature was "a compelling religious center . . . [and] culture broker" even if it was not considered sacred. The study of nature religion, including, broadly "the natural dimension of religion," Albanese concluded, can illuminate "persistent patterns in past and present American life" (Albanese, 1990, pp. 200, 13).

Albanese's analyses of nature religion caused consternation among many scholars and religionists who had a positive attitude toward nature religion. By broadening the subject and complicating the understanding of its consequences, Albanese's study precipitated significant shifts and a more complicated discussion of the nature variable in religion among practitioners of nature religions and scholars. A number of scholars concluded that there have been worldview affinities and historical connections among some nature religions (especially northern European paganism and various pagan revival movements) and racist worldviews as well as between nature religions and radical environmental movements, which some view as prone to violence.

Perhaps the most influential among those critics was Anna Bramwell, whose *Blood and Soil: Walter Darré and Hitler's Green Party* (1985) was followed by *Ecology in the 20th Century* (1989). Bramwell's main argument has been that the environmental movement, which can be traced roughly to the middle of the nineteenth century, represents an entirely new "nature worshipping" ideology in which "a pantheistic religious feeling is the norm" (Bramwell, 1989, p. 17, cf. p. 13). This religious ideology, which she called "Ecologism," can be fused to many ideologies, she acknowledged. However, she argued that it has had its strongest affinities and historical connections to racist programs (such as eugenics) and political movements (such as Nazism) that rejected Enlightenment rationality, often in favor of an agrarian ideal.

Bramwell's discussion of Earnest Haeckel (1834–1919), who coined the word *ecology* in *Generelle Morphologie* in 1866, is noteworthy. She was careful to point out that Haeckel did not promote Nazi ideology. He did, however, promote an ecologistic spirituality that would be grafted to racist worldviews, according to Bramwell. Although Haeckel was atheistic and hostile to traditional monotheism, Bramwell believes he strongly advocated monistic pantheism, the belief that there is no supernatural realm and no spiritual substance distinct from matter but that nature in all its forms is divine. According to Bramwell, "Haeckel's most important legacy was his worship of Nature, the belief that man and nature were one, and that to damage one was to damage the other" (Bramwell, 1989, p. 53). To the extent that she was correct, the analysis of environmentalism as a new religious form would become important to religious studies.

Other books followed that explored connections between what some have called right-wing ecology and nature religion, including several by Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke that found occult and pagan roots in Nazism (Goodrick-Clarke, 1994, 1998, 2002). Richard Steigmann-Gall's *The Holy Reich: Nazi Conceptions of Christianity 1919–1945* (2003), however, argues largely to the contrary that Christianity, or a least an unorthodox strain of it, was far more important to Nazi ideology than were the few Nazis who were thinking romantically about the revival of a pre-Christian, Aryan nature religion that probably never existed.

Those studies of the Nazi period should be compared to fieldwork-based studies of contemporary movements. For example, the Swedish anthropologist Mattias Gardell, in *Gods of the Blood: The Pagan Revival and White Separatism* (2003), found significant affinities between contemporary nature religion, environmental ideals, and racist ideologies in Europe and North America. Another important work that took a fieldwork-based approach was edited by Jeffrey Kaplan and Heléne Lööw and titled *The Cultic Milieu* (2002), after an influential article by the sociologist Colin Campbell (1972). Several of its articles analyzed whether oppositional nature religions and environmental movements had developed or were likely to develop racist and violent characteristics. Although the conclusions varied with the specific subject matter, the book represented a turn toward field research in the effort to discern how nature religions are fused to political ideologies.

NATURE RELIGIONS AS SPIRITUALLY PERCEPTIVE, AUTHENTIC, AND ECOLOGICALLY BENEFICENT. Two historical works that bring the reader from ancient times nearly up to the present age of historical ideas, Clarence Glacken's *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (1967) and Donald Worster's *Nature's Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas* (1977), demonstrate both the marginalization of nature religion and its persistence as a religious force.

Early in *Traces on the Rhodian Shore,* for example, Glacken urges his readers not to "forget the echoes of the primordial Mediterranean world: its age-old veneration of Mother Earth" or its "astrological paganism" (Glacken, 1967, pp. 13, 15). This is an appropriate injunction for the study of nature religion. In Glacken's and other studies, including Worster's *Nature's Economy,* it becomes clear that whereas belief in specific earthly and celestial nature gods may have declined or disappeared, the perception that nature's places and forces are sacred, which gave rise to classical paganism, has not withered way. That perception has been resilient, at least episodically, threatening the hegemony of the monotheistic consensus and later challenging secular, science-based worldviews.

Writing at the dawn of the "age of reason," the Jewish philosopher and theologian Baruch (or Benedictus) Spinoza (1632–1677) and the French social theorist Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), provide two influential examples of such a challenge.

Spinoza articulated a sophisticated monistic pantheism that has directly or indirectly influenced generations of subsequent pantheistic nature religionists. Those embracing or being influenced by such philosophy include some of the greatest theologians and philosophers of the modern period, including Friedrich Schleiermacher, Alfred North Whitehead, and later generations of "process" philosophers and theologians, who have been either pantheistic or panentheistic in worldview. Spinoza was also very influential on the early philosopher-architects of the deep ecology movement, such as the Norwegian Arne Naess and the American George Sessions, as well as on a number of recent thinkers who have explicitly promoted pantheistic religion, including Michael Levine (1994), Robert Corrington (1997), and Donald Crosby (2002).

At least as important was Rousseau's inspirational role in the so-called Romantic movement. Rousseau rejected revealed Abrahamic religions in favor of a deistic "natural religion" that, he believed, helps people discern God's existence in the order and harmony of nature. For Rousseau, natural religion and an epistemological turn to nature could provide a way to live free of the alienation, inequality, prejudice, and competitiveness of "civilization." His *Reveries of a Solitary Walker* (1782), which fused botanical observation with reminiscences of his ecstatic experiences in nature, presaged an explosion of religious nature and natural history writing. His greatest legacy, however, may not have been his role in promoting reverence for nature but his respect if not veneration for indigenous peoples who lived closer to nature and were thus socially and ecologically superior to "civilized" peoples. Rousseau's belief that such peoples were worthy of emulation makes his nature religion not only a worldview; his belief also enjoined a practice that demands direct experience in nature as well as (at least eventually) ethical obligations to nature itself. For Rousseau and his progeny these obligations oppose the dominant social forces in the West: hierarchal religions, centralized nation-states, and the quest to harness nature for human purposes.

Spinoza, and Rousseau more directly, offered a direct rejoinder to those who viewed nature religion as dangerous or primitive. This viewpoint offered instead an antidote to the West's spiritual malaise, social violence, and economic inequality and the possibility of a harmonious future among the entire community of life.

ANTHROPOLOGY, THE STUDY OF RELIGION, AND NATURE RELIGION. Throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first anthropologists and scholars of religion often have continued to play the tunes common to nature religion. This is ironic since such scholars frequently have been directly or indirectly critical of such forms of religion. Even these critics, however, have, sometimes unwittingly, offered analyses that would be used to invent (or revitalize) nature religions.

Frazer provides a relevant example. Although he thought nature worship would disappear as scientific rationality spread, his wide-ranging descriptions of nature religiosity and his theory in *The Golden Bough* (1994) that much folk culture constitutes cultural survivals of a pagan past helped revitalize paganism or inspire new pagan religious production. Other scholars and religionists would offer historical interpretations of goddess or pagan societies that would be integrated into Neopaganism. Mircea Eliade's work, especially *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (1958) and *The Sacred and the Profane* (1959), functioned similarly as a resource. Unlike Frazer, however, Eliade apparently believed that the human experience of a sacred dimension of life represents not false consciousness but an authentic religious perception. A generation of religion scholars and popular writers followed his lead.

Equally important has been the work of the anthropologists who have developed several subfield specializations that have become known as ethnobotany, traditional ecological knowledge, and ecological anthropology or historical ecology. In various ways these disciplines have examined indigenous societies and sometimes peasant cultures as well in order to understand the relationships between ecosystems, livelihoods, and religions. The pioneers of these approaches, including the anthropologists Richard Schultes (1989), William Balée (1994), Roy Rappaport (1979, 1999), Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff (1976, 1996), Steven Lansing (1991), and Fikret Berkes (1999), concluded that indigenous societies and their spiritualities and religious practices and ethics, if not disrupted by outsiders, are usually environmentally sustainable and do not reduce biodiversity.

Many of these theorists have grounded their understanding of nature religion (and religion and nature) in evolutionary theory, wrestling with whether religious life can be seen as an evolutionary adaptation that promotes human survival. Roy Rappaport, one of the most influential theorists arguing along these lines, wrote, "Religious rituals [are] neither more or less than part of the behavioral repertoire employed by an aggregate of organisms in adjusting to its environment" (Rappaport, 1979, p. 28). Although this may sound like a scientifically reductionistic theory stating that religion can be explained as a mere epiphenomenon of evolution, Rappaport and many other anthropologists came to appreciate, if not have a personal affinity with, the nature religions of the indigenous people with whom they were well acquainted. The Harvard anthropologist Richard Schultes, who is widely considered the founder of ethnobotany and who studied indigenous cultures for decades in South America, concluded that the religion-related ecological knowledge of indigenous people was a precious treasury for humankind and that it was critically important to the conservation of biodiversity.

In addition to anthropologists, many scholars of religion have been involved in efforts to kindle a sense of reverence toward nature. In 1990 a group of scholars formed a Religion and Ecology Group within the American Academy of Religion. Its purpose was not only to understand the relationships between religions, cultures, and environments; many of its members sought to encourage religious environmental action. Some of its most active members became involved in the most comprehensive scholarly project to date in the emerging field of religion and ecology: a series of conferences titled "Religions of the World and Ecology" that were held between 1996 and 1998 and hosted by the Harvard Divinity School Center for the Study of World Religions (which at the time was directed by one of Eliade's most distinguished students, Lawrence Sullivan). Organized by two Bucknell University historians of religion, Mary Evelyn Tucker and John Grim, the conferences were followed by a ten-volume Harvard University Press book series, published between 1997 and 2004, which they edited. In the series introduction, Tucker and Grim indirectly confessed their belief in the earth's sacredness by lamenting "we no longer see the earth as sacred" and tracing environmental decline to this defective religious perception (Tucker and Grim, in Tucker and Williams, p. xvii). This statement seemed to also assume that earlier humans had a superior religious sensibility toward nature. The architects of the conference and the series held out the hope that a common religious ground for valuing nature could be found among all religions. They articulated their conviction that scholars could contribute to this effort by identifying and evaluating the "*distinctive ecological* attitudes, values, and practices of diverse religious traditions . . . that comprise . . . fertile ecological ground" (Tucker and Grim in Tucker and Williams, p. xxiii).

In the 1990s there were several conferences that focused explicitly on religions that consider nature to be sacred. Several important conferences were held in the United Kingdom. Graham Harvey and Charlotte Hardman organized the first one, "Paganism Today," which was held at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne in 1995. It and a number of edited books that followed represented, at least in part, an effort to blend rigorous scholarship with pagan identity, thereby legitimating that hybrid genre. Those books included a volume that took its title from the conference, Harvey and Hardman's *Paganism Today: Wiccans, Druids, the Goddess and Ancient Earth Traditions for the Twenty-First Century* (1996). Another volume, *Researching Paganisms* (2004), which Harvey later coedited with Jenny Blain and Douglas Ezzy, argued in favor of the use of diverse methods in the study of paganism and emphasized the value of committed pagan scholarship. The second conference was held at Lancaster University in 1996 and was organized by members of that university's religious studies department. It was titled "Nature Religion Today," and as in the "Paganism Today" conference the year before, many of the organizers and presenters were self-consciously pagan in their religious identity. This conference included a discussion of the revival or invention of Wicca, druidic religion, and Celtic nature spirituality. Also like the first conference, this one led to a scholarly publication, *Nature Religion Today: Paganism in the Modern World* (Pearson, Roberts, Samuel, and Roberts, 1998). At both conferences as well as afterward the participants engaged in their own forms of ritualized nature veneration. A third conference, a year later in 1997 at University College Winchester, was titled "Re-Enchantment."

The preceding examples illustrate that like some anthropologists, some scholars of religion not only study the various manifestations of nature religion but are directly involved in such religious production, both in scholarly ways and by participating in ritual and ethical action. The ethical action is most often deployed in defense of ecosystems and the indigenous peoples who are considered wise stewards of them.

SCIENCE AND NATURE RELIGION. In addition to anthropologists and religion scholars, a growing number of scientists are becoming engaged in nature religion. Nature religionists, scholarly and not, have embraced them and find reinforcement in the statements of scientists who confess their feeling that life is miraculous or that the natural world is sacred. Such shared sentiment has also led to interesting collaborations that appear to represent new forms of nature religion, including cases of scientific narratives being considered sacred and either grafted onto already existing religions in creative ways or offered as stand-alone sacred stories for modern, scientifically informed people. An example of science-based nature reverence can be found in a statement issued in the early 1990s by a group of prominent scientists that included Stephen Jay Gould, Hans Bethe, Stephen Schneider, and Carl Sagan:

> As scientists, many of us have had profound personal experiences of awe and reverence before the universe. We understand that what is regarded as sacred is more likely to be treated with care and respect. Our planetary home should be so regarded. Efforts to safeguard and cherish the environment should be infused with a vision of the sacred. (Suzuki and Knudtson, p. 227, cf. p. 167)

Some of these scientists had been influenced significantly by the former passionate priest and world religions scholar Thomas Berry (1914–), whose thinking was, in turn, influenced by Teilhard de Chardin, Alfred North Whitehead, and Mircea Eliade. Beginning in the late 1980s, Berry, sometimes collaborating with the physicist Brian Swimme, argued that the universe story—science-based cosmological and evolutionary narratives—should be considered sacred stories and inspire reverence for nature and environmental action. For scientifically inclined individuals who find implausible the supernaturalism that accompanies most forms of religion, Berry also articulated a spirituality that coheres with the feelings of awe and reverence that sometimes emerge from science itself. Published examples include Ursula Goodenough's *The Sacred Depths of Nature* (1998), the science writer Connie Barlow's *Green Space, Green Time: The Way of Science* (1997), and Loyal Rue's *Everybody's Story: Wising up to the Epic of Evolution* (2000).

In addition, some scientific theories were appropriated by nature religionists as evidence for their own perception of nature's sacredness. The atmospheric scientist James Lovelock articulated a scientific theory in *Gaia: A New Look at Life on Earth* (1979), in which he argued that the biosphere operates like a self-regulating organism, maintaining the necessary conditions of life. Although Lovelock borrowed the Gaia theory's name from the ancient Greek god of the earth, he regarded it as a scientific theory, not a religious treatise. He was, therefore, shocked at how nature religionists seized on it as evidence for their pantheistic, nature-venerating worldviews. But he eventually embraced the spiritual interpretation of his theory, concluding in 2001 that we must protect Gaia because "We are a part of it . . . and should revere it again."

NATURE, RELIGION, AND THE FUTURE. This discussion of nature religion illustrates some of the diverse ways in which the phenomenon has been understood. It has said little, however, about the invention or revitalization of paganism in the twentieth century and paid little attention to environmental and New Age groups, which often fit well into the nature religion construct.

Although nature religions usually consider nature to be sacred, they do not always agree about its location or where it manifests itself most powerfully. There are differing perceptions in nature religions of whether the sacred is primarily earthly (manifested in specific places such as caves, mountains, and water bodies), biotic (perceived in the earth's flora and fauna), or cosmic (reflected in a platonic way in earthly life but located beyond the biosphere).

Despite substantial differences, some convergence may be under way. Participants in contemporary nature religion often speak of their sense of "connection" and "belonging" to the earth, its living systems, or the universe as a whole. Such rhetoric is so widespread that it has become possible to define nature religions as *spiritualities of connection.* This would echo the etymological root of the word *religion,* which has to do with belonging or being bound to forces greater than the self. Such spiritualities usually are accompanied by kinship feelings and ethical obligations toward nonhuman life. They appear to be likely to play an important role in the human religious future, perhaps in part because such religion can be apprehended through the senses (sometimes magnified through scientific methods and technologies).

It is all but certain that nature religion will continue to evolve and encounter hostility. Nature religionists undoubtedly will continue to frame such opposition as the repressive tendency of religious zealots who seek to desacralize and desecrate the living natural world.

Scholarly theories regarding the evolutionary or "natural" roots of religion and analyses of the ubiquity of nature as a religious resource for veneration, worship, and symbolic thought suggest that religion will remain deeply intertwined with nature. The intersection of religion and nature therefore will continue to provide fertile ground for both nature religion and the scholarly analysis of it.

SEE ALSO Animals; Animism and Animatism; Earth; Earth First!; Nature; Neopaganism; Paganism, Anglo-Saxon; Pantheism and Panentheism; Sacred and the Profane, The; Vegetation.

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BRON TAYLOR (2005)

ECONOMICS AND RELIGION.

[*To explore the relations between religion and economics, this article takes as its starting place the beginnings of modern economic theory and examines the perspectives on those relations that have developed within the sociology of religion since the late nineteenth century.*]

A sustained scholarly interest in the relationship between religion and economics crystallized in a number of Western societies in the early years of the twentieth century. Since that time it has been a topic of considerable research and debate.

DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC ANALYSIS. The discussion of the relationship between economics and religion is plagued by a general problem having to do with how appropriate it is to speak of separate domains—such as the economic or the religious—in premodern, especially primal, societies, where such distinctions were or are not part of everyday life. Indeed, only during the last two hundred years or so have people become accustomed to speak of the *economy,* even though the term was used as long ago as the fourth century BCE by Aristotle to designate the relationships among members of the domestic household. Aristotle was particularly concerned to show, in the face of the commercial expansion of his time, that human wants and needs are not unlimited and that useful things are not, by their nature, scarce. In spite of the great expansion of trade, profit making, and eventually, price setting by market forces and the appearance of large-scale manufacture during the centuries following Aristotle, it was not until as recently as the end of the eighteenth century that "the economy" became fully thematized (and then only in the Western world) as a relatively autonomous realm of human life. That period saw the beginnings in Great Britain of the discipline that came to be called political economy and the first use of the term *économiste* by French intellectuals. The perception of the economy as a relatively autonomous realm (and, in the view of many of those who specialized in analyzing it, the most fundamental human realm) went hand-in-hand with the view that religion was of rapidly diminishing significance.

PRIMACY OF ECONOMIC ASPECT. The prevailing view among social scientists and historians has been that the economy, during the long period from ancient Greek civilization to the nineteenth century, became disembedded from the societal fabric, especially in the Western world. By the late nineteenth century, therefore, the economy was seen as standing apart from the rest of society. This move has been called the "naturalization" of the economy (in the sense that it came to be regarded as operating according to its own natural laws, particularly those issuing from the relationship between supply and demand, as expressed in monetary prices), and it constituted a crucial aspect of the nineteenth-century diagnosis of secularization (the decline in the significance of religion in modern society). The perception of the rapidly increasing autonomy of the economy inspired in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels the idea that human history in its entirety had been motored by economic forces or, more specifically, by class conflicts centered upon economic concerns. In response to the view of the classical British political economists that the best form of society is one in which there is free competition among many private producers in line with universal economic laws, Marx argued that different modes of production have prevailed during different periods of history, and therefore the embryonic capitalist mode cannot be regarded as the paradigm of all other modes, let alone as a permanent and universal system.

Both the classical political economists, on the one hand, and Marx and Engels, on the other, thus saw the economy as fundamental to the operation of human societies and correspondingly regarded religion, particularly in modernizing societies, as of peripheral significance (for Marx and Engels, it was primarily an epiphenomenon), but they differed greatly with respect to the implications of the fundamentality of the economy. Religion was, according to Marx, being driven from human life by capitalist materialism and in any case impeded the realization of proletarian class consciousness, which would make possible the release of the class from the exploitative bondage of capitalism. Nevertheless, despite Marx's mainly negative assessment of the historical role of religion, he initiated an intellectual concern with the historical origins of capitalism and, more generally, with the relationship between economic matters and religion.

PRIMACY OF SOCIAL AND MORAL ASPECTS. Classical political economy as such did not encompass the sociological and historical themes that were developed by Marx and others during the nineteenth century. For the most part, the more sociologically inclined social scientists of the period shared Marx's belief in the increasing salience of the economy but tended to view it as a threat to the social and moral integration of industrial societies. In France, for example, Saint-Simon, after having written at length about the new industrial order, came to the conclusion that a new and in a sense secular version of Christianity was necessary in order to give the new form meaningful direction.

While Marx spoke of the new industrial order as providing the opportunity for deprived, exploited classes to seize control of the mainspring of human life (that is, its productive forces) and thus bring about the religionless humanization of the species, Saint-Simon had come to the conclusion that religion in a modernized form was essential in sustaining the meaningful sociality of human life in the face of the eruption of the economic factor. For Marx, religion is the definitive form of alienation, but for those who wrote from the perspective of Saint-Simon, religion cements society and in a sense expresses the sociality of humanity. The latter view was brought to its consummation by Émile Durkheim in the early years of the twentieth century. For Durkheim religion is the serious life, as he put it, and serves, inter alia, so as to elevate men and women above purely material interests.

RELIGION AND ECONOMIC LEGITIMATION. Although the developing nineteenth-century discipline of political economy (eventually known simply as economics) did not share the concern of Marxism and non-Marxist social science with religion, religious ideas and practices emerged in the major areas of capitalism—notably Britain and the United States—that legitimated the capitalist economy and sanctioned the existing social order. Indeed, capitalists themselves quite often expressed the view that certain forms of Protestantism encouraged a dedication to industrial work. More specifically, one may point to Wesleyan Methodism in England as an important example of the way in which religion played a significant part not merely in the development of the entrepreneurial attitude but also in the acquiescence of workers to their role in the system of social stratification. (That religion could, in spite of its allegedly imminent demise, perform this service for capitalism was conceded by Marx under the rubric of "false consciousness.") The greatest degree of religious legitimation of capitalism occurred in the United States, where the predominance of a basically Calvinist form of Protestantism encouraged the view that men proved themselves before God and their fellow men and women by successful, disciplined economic striving.

GERMAN CRITIQUES OF CAPITALISM. By the end of the nineteenth century, intellectuals in Europe and North America had become almost obsessed by the idea that a major transformation of the West had occurred, for by that time not only had capitalistic production greatly expanded but so had bureaucracy, science and technology, and urban forms of life. Thus in the declining years of the nineteenth century theories and diagnoses proliferated concerning the causes, magnitude, and implications of what was considered a more material and less religious mode of existence. It was in Germany, however, that the particular problem of the relationship between religious and economic factors was given the most sustained initial attention, particularly as far as its history was concerned.

The fact that an interest in the connection between economic matters and religion developed so strongly among German scholars can be attributed in part to their felt need to comprehend the character and the place in the modern world of Germany, which had only recently been politically united. Although it possessed a rich culture, the area that became the German empire in the 1870s had been relatively backward in economic terms and had not developed what came to be called by Max Weber "the spirit of capitalism" to the same degree as other parts of western Europe, notably

Britain and Holland, and the United States. A number of German intellectuals were thus greatly concerned (as well as ambivalent) about the origins and ramifications of the capitalist mode of production, which had in those other countries seemingly been responsible for rapid economic growth, urbanization, the increasing significance of money, and so on. They were also concerned with the problem of developing in Germany an integrated national society despite class conflicts largely produced, as they saw it, by changing economic circumstances, as well as by religious and other cleavages.

It should not be thought, however, that concern about the connection between religion and economic matters was confined to Germany, for in less self-consciously intellectual ways the link was addressed in many contexts and societies. During the rapid expansion of capitalistic forms of production, distribution, and exchange in the nineteenth century, religious leaders had responded in a variety of ways. By the 1890s the problems posed by materialism, rapid urbanization, inequality and poverty, the rise of labor unions and working-class political parties, and related conflicts between the lower and middle classes had attracted the attention of many religious leaders, organizations, and movements. Indeed the declining years of the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth centuries witnessed a spawning of movements concerned with the relationship between religion and capitalism. The most conspicuous of these movements deplored the social consequences that they attributed to the capitalist system.

SOCIAL GOSPEL, CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM, AND ROMAN CATHOLICISM. The social condition that aroused the most concern, as expressed in the Social Gospel movement in the United States and in Christian socialist movements in Britain and other predominantly Protestant societies (where capitalism had progressed the furthest), was the poverty and exploitation allegedly inherent in capitalism. In response, these movements ranged from the theological or moral denunciation of capitalism in toto to the more typical advocacy of methods for ameliorating the distress caused by urbanization and industrialization. Their opponents within religious organizations tended to argue either that the primary concern of religion should be with strictly spiritual matters or, as noted in the case of Calvinist Protestants, that capitalism was a God-sanctioned form of economy in the context of which individuals should strive to do their disciplined best. There were also those in American churches who were strongly opposed to anything resembling socialism, in which they saw the prospect of a world without religion, not least because of the open hostility to religion often found among secular socialists (especially those of a Marxist persuasion). Within Catholic circles and specifically in the pronouncements of the Roman Catholic church itself one did not find such conspicuous extremes. Generally speaking, what prevailed in official Catholicism was the view that capitalism contained the seeds of materialism and exploitation but that outright opposition to it in the form of socialism or labor unionism carried the potential for antireligious developments. Socialism and secular unionism were regarded as forms of attachment that rivaled commitment to the Catholic church itself. Consequently, the official Catholicism of the period expressed antagonism not only to most of the trappings of modernity but to what it saw as an ideology of modernism.

The intense religious concern with economic matters that characterized the early years of the twentieth century soon faded. While it would be an exaggeration to say that only slight concern was expressed between World War I and the 1970s, that period constituted something of a hiatus in the modern religious conciousness of the economic domain. This may be attributed in large part to the fact that during and in the aftermath of the phase of religious interest in economic matters that spanned the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the modern welfare state came into being. Indeed, the concern expressed by religious leaders about poverty, health, and other issues had more than a little to do with the steps that many governments took in Europe and elsewhere to establish social welfare programs for their citizens. (Moreover, many religious organizations established their own welfare programs, partly following the lead of the Salvation Army.) During the 1970s and 1980s, however, the economic costs of maintaining the welfare state increased enormously, while serious problems of unemployment and poverty again became evident, partly due to the decline of traditional manufacturing industries in many of the more affluent societies. Meanwhile, the failure of most societies in the Third World to develop strong economies led to increasing concern about global poverty, material deprivation, and intersocietal inequalities. Against that background, there was a considerable renewal of religious interest in economic matters during the 1970s and 1980s, but this time on a much more global scale than at the beginning of the century.

CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT. One of the major sources of the revived concern with the religion-economics theme is the changed relationship between the economic and the governmental spheres. In the early decades of the nineteenth century the view developed that the economy, at least under classical capitalism, was naturelike and operated on its own terms. To that extent the government was thought to have only a small role to play in the production and distribution of wealth and material resources and that what is now called governmental intervention in the economy was inappropriate. However, thanks largely to the growth and monopolistic tendencies of industrial enterprise, governments were gradually conceded a definite role in the management of the economy. As the welfare state and strong central governments emerged, the economy was increasingly regarded as subject to state control or at least calibration rather than as an autonomous system following its own laws. The English economist John Maynard Keynes, by advocating a relatively high degree of governmental intervention in capitalist economies, did much to advance this view, which was further reinforced by the spreading influence of socialist, communist, and other conceptions of economic planning.

There has, however, been a reaction against the interventionist view, particularly in the United States, leading to a revival of the conservative idea that economic growth is best encouraged by the ethic that Weber considered crucial to the rapid economic growth achieved by the mainly Protestant societies of the West during the nineteenth century. On the other hand, the more recent rapid economic growth of some Asian societies, notably Japan, has further raised the possibility that it is not individualistic Protestantism as such that encourages industrial enterprise, but rather a generalized sense of sacrifice and collective involvement in work, at least in the modern corporative economy.

MAX WEBER'S CONTRIBUTION. In addressing the crystallization of scholarly interest in the relationship between religion and economics at the end of the nineteenth century it should be stressed that in the German context there was a general philosophical and sociological issue at the center of debate. In the later years of the nineteenth century Germany experienced a rapidly growing interest in the writings of Marx, due both to academic engagement with them and to the growth of the German Social Democratic Party, whose debates about ideology and strategy largely centered upon issues raised by Marx and Engels. For Marx and Engels and for those influenced by them, notably the historian and prominent ideologue of the Social Democratic Party, Karl Kautsky, the view that the economic realm was autonomous had led to analyses that rendered religion an effect of economic factors. This view became a major ingredient in the materialist, as opposed to the idealist, perspective on human life and history. It was against this general background that Weber began to make his highly influential contributions to the religion-economics theme.

Economics and religion. The novelty of the argument developed by Weber is best indicated at the outset by the fact that his colleague Ernst Troeltsch could emphatically remark that linking the scholarly discussion of economic matters to the analysis of religion and religious change, as he himself advocated, must have seemed strange to his readers, not least in the German context. The major reason for this was that for the majority of German intellectuals (not simply those of a Marxist persuasion), the modern world was characterized by the complete triumph of material, worldly concerns over spiritual ones, and religion was therefore retreating rapidly into the background. This was widely and often pejoratively perceived to have occurred most conspicuously in Britain and North America. At the end of his most important contribution to the discussion of the relationship between economic and religious matters, Weber indeed expressed the view that men and women were destined to live in an "iron cage" of concern with materiality, calculation, and routine, condemned to involvement in highly structured "intramundane" matters. However, writers such as Weber, Troeltsch, and Georg Simmel took the view that this self-interested concern with worldly matters, notably those of an economic kind, had not arisen autonomously but had developed out of changes in cultural presuppositions and psychological dispositions concerning such matters as the relationship between the individual and society. More specifically, in the writings of Weber there developed a particular interest in the relationship between what he came to call material interests and ideal interests in contrast to the prevailing distinction between material, economic forces and ideas.

Weber began his work *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904–1905) by referring to the observations and complaints in the German-Catholic press and at German-Catholic congresses about the fact that business leaders and owners of financial capital, as well as skilled laborers and commercially trained business employees, were overwhelmingly Protestant. He set out to show that this circumstance, which was duplicated on a larger scale in contrasts between whole societies (such as Britain and Italy), could be largely explained in terms of what he called the "permanent intrinsic character" of religious beliefs. Weber did not deny that such "temporary external historico-political situations" as the migration of ethnic groups to societies in which they became commercially successful had been important in effecting economic change. But he insisted that such events had occurred over a very long period of human history and in many different places, whereas his exclusive interest was in the differential development of the distinctively modern spirit of entrepreneurial capitalism.

Origins of capitalism. After the publication of *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,* Weber began to situate his inquiries into the origins of modern capitalism within a more general inquiry into the origins of the calculative, rational-instrumental, and secular spirit of the Western world. In other words, his study of the ethos of modern capitalism, with its emphasis upon disciplined work, careful calculation, a willingness to forgo short-term for longterm gains, and so on, was subsumed by a wider interest in the making of the ethos of the modern Western world.

Weber argued that the tension between religious belief and what he sometimes called the economic impulse is central to the understanding of the human condition. The economic impulse is universal. But he asked, how and in what ways has it come to be tempered by rationality? In primitive society, he argued, religion is subordinated to the economic impulse and for that reason is best described as magic. Put another way, economic and religious matters are, from the modern point of view, conflated. Rituals and myths tend to be directed toward mainly economic functions. They are relatively instrumental in the provision of economic necessities and thus more magical than religious, not least because in primitive society there is virtually no development of economic ethics. In essence, economically based magic is the embryonic form of religion.

Dualist world images. From that primitive matrix there developed, argued Weber, dualistic world images, that is, images of a cosmos divided into two relatively independent realms, such as the opposed forces of good and evil in Zoroastrianism. Dualistic images of the cosmos gave rise to the problem of the relationship between an individual's action in the mundane world and the fate of the individual in relation to the supramundane world. Given the fundamentality of the economic impulse—or, put another way, the necessity of minimum levels of material satisfaction to support human life—it was inevitable that there should have been tension between the mundane world in its economic aspect and the supramundane world as a focus of meaning. As ideas about the two domains of the cosmos crystallized, a need developed, in turn, for what Weber called an ethical interpretation of the variations and vicissitudes in human fortunes.

Theodicy. Central to Weber's analysis of the economic ethics of the major religious traditions was the concept of theodicy. First systematically used by the philosopher G. W. Leibniz, the term *theodicy* in its most circumscribed sense has to do with the existence in this world of suffering, evil, and injustice in the face of belief in an omniscient, omnipotent, and just God. Weber expanded its range of application, particularly with reference to matters concerning economic circumstances, so as to embrace not merely monotheistic religions (notably Judaism, Christianity, and Islam) but also the major religions of India, China, and Japan (notably Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism). It is crucial to recognize that in loosening the concept of theodicy (illegitimately, according to some) to encompass nontheistic religions Weber had a particular, guiding purpose: his quest for the origins of the modern ethos (a central part of which was, in his view, the instrumental, calculative rationality of entrepreneurial capitalism). In other words, although Weber in one sense followed Hegel and other Germans before him, and Troeltsch in his own time, in trying to establish a framework for the comparison of the major religious traditions, his work was unique in that he was not interested (as, for example, Hegel had been) in demonstrating that Christianity carried the greatest potential for the realization of the "idea of religion." Nor was Weber concerned, as others had been, with examining the degree to which Indian religion constituted a viable metaphysical alternative to Christianity. Closer to his project was Troeltsch's attempt to demonstrate the superiority of Christianity on the grounds that it promulgated both a particularly transcendent view of the supernatural and a definite set of social teachings. Nonetheless, Weber regarded Troeltsch's work as guided too much by theological purposes and a normative commitment to maximizing the relevance of religion to the modern world, as well as by too great an emphasis upon the social teachings that were explicitly developed by the Christian churches on the basis of official doctrine. Weber was interested in what he called the "practical-ethical" applications of religious teachings, the methodical, quotidian working out of theology and religious teaching in concrete circumstances.

Spirit of capitalism. Claiming that he was attempting only to show that it was just as possible to produce an idealistic interpretation of the rise of modern capitalism centered on religious matters as a materialistic one, Weber set out to provide an account of the "spirit" of modern capitalism. In emphasizing spirit (in the sense of the ethos that animates a certain kind of economic action and sustains certain kinds of economic institutions), Weber was in effect insisting that even though much of the behavior that informs the modern world is indeed sustained by what Marx had called the dull compulsion of economics, one could not plausibly account for its emergence solely in reference to economic change as such, not least because the monetary economy had initially become much more significant in the West than in the East, and then only in certain parts of the West. Weber thus set himself the task of stipulating what aspects of Christianity in general and of Protestantism in particular encouraged the growth of a positive orientation to the economic realm.

Weber began by emphasizing Martin Luther's injunction that the world should be made into a monastery. Whereas in traditional Christian teaching a clear distinction had been made between those who were called to live a monastic life of self-sacrifice (particularly in reference to the vows of poverty and chastity) and those who lived in the world, Luther argued that all Christians should be capable of following a God-inspired way of worldly life. Thus from Weber's point of view Lutheranism constituted a crucial unfolding and further rationalization of the inherently innerworldly attitude of Christianity. The religious calling was, in other words, considered pursuable in this world. There was no need for a separate group of exemplary religious who turned emphatically away from the everyday world. Weber argued, however, that Luther's ideas in this and other respects were not so radical as those of John Calvin. The Lutheran conception of the calling was, in spite of its greater inner-worldliness in comparison with traditional, Catholic Christianity, essentially passive. It required the typical believer to live as religious a life as possible while remaining indifferent to the wider social context. In other words, the Lutheran was to take the world as he or she found it and respect the secular authorities and institutional characteristics of the wider society. The point of the religious life was to concentrate upon one's personal and familial circumstances in intimate relationship with God.

From Weber's point of view this Lutheran ideal was not sufficient to explain the development in the Western world of an ethos that positively encouraged active involvement in worldly and particularly economic affairs, even though it opened the door to such involvement. It was thus to the rather different Protestant attitude of Calvin that he turned in his search for the most significant source of the spirit of capitalism. Before considering what Weber saw in Calvinism in this respect it is necessary to emphasize again that Weber was concerned with the capitalism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Capitalism in the sense of profit-seeking had existed in many parts of the world for many centuries, but modern capitalism of the kind that had developed in the West since the late eighteenth century had distinctive characteristics. It was a form of economic life that involved the careful calculation of costs and profits, the borrowing and lending of money, the accumulation of capital in the form of money and material assets, investment, private property, and the employment of laborers and employees in a more or less unrestricted labor market. Given Weber's interest in the spirit, or ethos, of modern capitalism it was what one may loosely call the attitudinal aspect of capitalism and even more particularly the attitudes of businessmen that concerned him. What he was thus looking for was an image of the economic realm that emphasized the virtue of disciplined enterprise and a positive concern with economic activity as such (more or less regardless of the material riches that the successful accumulated).

The central feature of Calvinism in terms of Weber's interest in the growth of the modern monetary economy was its special emphasis upon the doctrine of predestination, the idea that the conception of God as all-powerful, all-knowing, and inscrutable led inexorably to the conclusion that the fate of the world and of human individuals was predetermined. For Weber the crucial question hinged upon the practical problem posed to those who subscribed to this doctrine. Specifically, how did Calvinistic individuals decide to act in the world when they believed that God had already determined the fate of each individual and that only a relatively small proportion of human beings could be saved? Weber argued that individuals were constrained to look for signs of having been accorded an elite salvational status. Those who were most successful would tend to regard their worldly success as an indication that they were among God's chosen. While the conviction that one had been saved was the most general indicator of being of the elect, Calvinism's emphasis upon each person having a calling in life, a calling to strive in as disciplined a manner as possible, without self-indulgence, strongly encouraged the view that worldly success was a confirmation of acting as an instrument of God's will and a sign of elect status.

Thus, in Weber's interpretation, Calvinism constituted a further evolution of the Lutheran idea that life itself could be subjected to the monastic conception of the religious calling. Whereas Luther had adumbrated the relatively passive notion of being called to be as devout as possible in the world, Calvin had articulated a more dynamic and active conception of the calling. Calvin called upon individuals to be religious by engaging with the world. And even though Calvinism as a religious doctrine did not specify how one could be supremely confident that one was acting as an instrument of God, it certainly encouraged the faithful to become actively involved in the major institutional spheres of society and, in so doing, to take individual responsibility as agents of God. Weber maintained that it was psychologically inevitable that those who were most tangibly successful as a result of disciplined, ascetic striving in the world would tend to think of themselves as chosen by God. Because worldly indulgence and luxuriating in the fruits of one's endeavors were precluded by the Calvinist ethos, the result of disciplined economic action was the accumulation of financial capital. For Weber, the process of economic investment followed by accumulation of profit and more investment was intimately related to the process of gaining confirmation of salvation, even though such a calculating attitude toward salvation was not prescribed by Calvinist theology.

Weber regarded the Calvinist doctrine of predestination (which has appeared with much less explicitness in many branches of monotheistic religions) as the extreme theological extension of the Christianity that had developed after the founding of the Christian church. It was the logical consummation of the idea of an omniscient God and the commitment to religious involvement in the world. Calvinism thus constituted a logically perfected theodicy.

In *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* Weber concentrated on showing, as he put it, that a one-sided, idealistic account of the rise of capitalism (in the sense of stressing the role of ideas) was just as plausible as the equally one-sided materialist accounts produced by Marxists. In any case, he added, a historical account of the rise of capitalism ought to acknowledge the fact that capitalism (or any other mode of production) is not merely an objective structural phenomenon but is also, at least in part, sustained by a set of presuppositions that encourage specific interests in work and industry and discourage others. Thus, contrary to some interpretations of his work, he did not seek to provide a monocausal account of the rise of modern capitalism but rather to stress the ideational factors that had encouraged the capitalist work ethic and had been neglected by the Marxists. Even though he was intent on emphasizing the critical significance of religion in the rise of modern capitalism, Weber did not simply posit Protestantism as the cause and capitalism as the effect. Rather he insisted that a vital aspect of capitalism is the "spirit," or ethos, that legitimates it, and he sought the principal origins of that spirit. In this regard it should be emphasized that Weber undoubtedly exaggerated the degree to which the affinity between certain branches of Protestantism and capitalist economic success had been overlooked prior to his writings. Nevertheless, his own attempt to provide a detailed explanation of that affinity was unique and pathbreaking. It should also be stressed that according to Weber the spirit of capitalism had gradually become self-sustaining, so that by his own time it was no longer grounded upon the "Protestant ethic." Weber's major thesis about the link between Protestantism (particularly in its Calvinist and some other non-Lutheran forms) and capitalism was presented in the context of an expanding debate on that topic, notably, as has been emphasized, in Germany. His own ideas exacerbated the debate and have since been subjected to extensive criticism and appraisal. Indeed, the significance of his argument probably became greater in the course of the twentieth century. This is so not merely because of the purely scholarly interest in the making of the modern world and the crucial role of the West in that regard but also because the great economic disparities between contemporary societies became a matter of widespread concern, controversy, and conflict. Weber's major thesis about the promotion of the spirit of capitalism (and, more generally, of economic success) is thus of considerable relevance to the discussion of the making of the modern world as a whole and, more specifically, the distribution of resources and wealth within it. Before turning to such matters, however, it is necessary to indicate the ways in which Weber fleshed out his thesis about the origins of the modern Western consciousness.

Economic ethics. In the last decade of his life (1910–1920) Weber engaged in a series of studies of non-Christian civilizations with the express intent of explicating the economic ethics of their major religions. (He completed studies of India and China, as well as of the religion of ancient Israel, but not full-scale studies of medieval Christianity and Islam.) These efforts were largely guided by a general analytical contrast between Occidental and Oriental world-images, at the center of which were religious-metaphysical conceptions of the relationship between the cosmos and the world. His aim was to find out why there had arisen in the West (and more in some parts of the West than in others) the instrumental rationality that seemed to lie at the heart of not merely modern economic life but also modern science, modern forms of organization (what he called rational-legal bureaucracy), and modern life generally—or in other words, why modern capitalism and other aspects of modern life and consciousness had not arisen in Eastern civilizations.

The set of contrasts that Weber employed in his inquiries into economic ethics may be summarized as follows. The Eastern conception of the supramundane world centered upon a notion of eternal being, whereas the Western conception involved belief in a personal God. The first tended to encourage and to be consolidated by a mystical, otherworldly orientation, while the second was closely related to an ascetic, innerworldly orientation. The Eastern image was to be seen in its most acute and logically consistent form in classical Buddhism, which emphasized the basically illusory character of worldly life and regarded release from the contingencies of the everyday world as the highest religious aspiration. In contrast to Calvinism, its Western parallel and and opposite, Buddhism directed the attention of its adherents, particularly Buddhist monks, away from the conditions of everyday life and thus did not encourage the continuous application of religious ideals to the concrete circumstances of the world. More generally speaking, Weber maintained that in India, China, and Japan the dominant worldviews lacked the dynamic created in monotheistic religions, particularly in Christianity, by the conception of a demanding God who had enjoined believers to transform the world in his image. Thus in Eastern societies there was much more concern with the maintenance of an organically ordered society and the promotion of organic social ethics.

It is important to note that in his studies of Eastern societies, Weber took great pains to discuss the ways in which religious ideas and social structures were mutually reinforcing. In other words, even though he ascribed great significance to religion, he wished to demonstrate the specific links between religion and other aspects of human societies. But precisely because he did attend so closly to religion, his work has frequently been interpreted as an expression of religious determinism.

Weber's work on religion and economic life has been subject to an immense amount of exegesis and criticism, most of it centered on his thesis about the Western origins of capitalism. While much of the criticism has been well-grounded with respect to the historical record, a good deal of it has derived from tacit acceptance of the view that the modern economy is an autonomous realm lacking any kind of religious-symbolic grounding or relevance. During the 1970s and 1980s, however, renewed interest was generated in the religious foundations of economic life. The idea of the autonomy of economic life and action, as characteristically expressed in the work of professional economists, was strongly challenged, and religious organizations and movements became increasingly concerned about economic issues. Weber's work hovers explicitly or implicitly in the background of much of the contemporary interest in the relationship between religion and economics.

THE MODERN WORLD. While Weber was clearly conscious of the extent to which nineteenth-century entrepreneurial capitalism was itself being transformed, not least through the expansion of the modern bureaucratic state, his work on religion and economic life has primary relevance to the growth or lack of growth of classical, as opposed to what is now often called late, or advanced, capitalism. Moreover, Weber's work touched little, if at all, upon one of the most significant ingredients of modern economic life, particularly in capitalist societies—consumerism. Weber, as has been emphasized, was interested in the development of entrepreneurial asceticism (an asceticism that, for him, had become freed of its original religious mooring). In contemporary language he was concerned with the origins of the work ethic. However, a more hedonistic dimension of economic culture is to be found in the odyssey of capitalism. Certainly the value placed upon the accumulation of consumer goods is central to the modern form of capitalism. An interest in consumerism has led some social scientists—notably anthropologists—to attempt to lay bare the symbolic basis of patterns of consumption. That is, some analysts have become increasingly concerned with the underlying meanings that are produced and distributed by the advertising, purchase, and display of consumer goods. While not specifically involving the study of religion, this relatively new focus is part of a growing tendency to situate the study of economic behavior and institutions in a broader sociocultural context.

Among the more important specific developments that suggest a return to the thorough investigation of the relationship between religion and economic matters are these: the rapid economic growth in the second half of the twentieth century in societies, such as Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, and

Singapore, with religious traditions—sometimes called Neo-Confucian—that do not clearly conform to the Weberian image of Calvinist Protestantism; the emergence in the same period of religious movements, many of them inspired by forms of liberation theology, which stress the importance of linking economic ideas with theological ideas and religious practices; and the general problem of the global economy.

The capitalist world system. In fact these three phenomena discussed above are closely related, with the third probably being the most important. In the tradition largely initiated by Weber, the primary concern has been to connect the comparative economic success of societies (and of groups and regions within societies) with forms of religio-cultural tradition and religious commitment. But a contrasting approach, called world-system theory, has arisen out of the increasing awareness that the world constitutes a single sociocultural system, and that the affairs of particular societies, groups, and regions are inextricably bound up with it. In one of its most influential forms, the theory maintains that the modern world system is largely the result of the growth of capitalism and that the system should be understood as a primarily economic phenomenon. According to this view, the capitalist world system, which had its earliest beginnings in Europe some five hundred years ago, has spread to the point that it now embraces the entire world.

In the version developed by Immanuel Wallerstein, who has placed himself in the Marxist tradition, world-system theory reverses the priority that Weber's work gives to religion, for Wallerstein regards the religious cleavages that occurred in sixteenth-century Europe as consequences of the placement of societies in the nascent world economy. Specifically, he argues that those societies that became predominantly Protestant were the core societies of the embryonic world capitalist system, while those that remained or became Catholic were "peripheral" societies whose major economic function was the supply of raw materials to the dominant manufacturing centers. (Subsequently, as the world system expanded so as to become literally a worldwide system, those early peripheral units of the system became semiperipheral, insofar as they were economically situated between the core capitalist centers of economic domination and the peripheral societies of the world.)

Influence of religion. Thus, in the perspective of the school of thought largely led by Wallerstein, religion has played a significant, but nonetheless epiphenomenal, part in the making of the modern global system. It has, in other words, played an important ideological role, in the Marxist sense of ideology as the form in which inequality and exploitation are presented as justified. To a considerable extent this argument constitutes the highwater mark of the economistic view that everything in human life can be reduced to and explained by economic factors. Yet, in its very extremeness, it has stimulated what promises to be a constructive reaction in the form of a reassessment of the relationship between religion and economic life. In other words, just as the view, promoted by Marx and Engels, that individual societies are driven by conflicts attendant upon economic motivations stimulated the rich, if controversial, attempts by Weber to show that under certain circumstances religion could be a critical factor in sociocultural change, so the view of the entire world as governed by the dynamics of economic motivations and relationships is stimulating new ways of thinking about the economic significance of religion.

Talcott Parsons. A major example of such thinking, although not a direct reaction to the materialist form of world-system theory, is to be found in the work of Talcott Parsons. Greatly influenced by Weber, whose *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* he translated (1930), Parsons devoted much of his academic career to the question of what others have called the degree of embeddedness of economic life. At the center of his thinking in this regard is the general proposition that while economic activity is essential to human life, it is neither fully determining nor fully determined. Nonetheless, Parsons acknowledged that at certain points in history the economic realm has appeared to be particularly significant. Thus he attended to the various ways in which this apparent significance has been interpreted. Indeed, one of his main interests was the way in which the modern discipline of economics arose as one reaction among others to the cultural thematization of the idea that the economic realm is the central and most problematic realm of human existence. Specifically, Parsons examined the relationship between the responses to this idea and the industrial revolution that began in certain Western societies in the second half of the eighteenth century.

In this regard Parsons circumvented the perennial question of whether the economic or "material" aspects of life are more or less important than the "ideal" aspects. While conceding the great importance of the economic aspects, he tried to show that the ways in which they are interpreted and symbolized are of no less importance. The perception of economic autonomy yielded a number of different religious or quasi-religious interpretations, two of which carried it to the point of economic determinism. These were classical economics as it developed in the wake of the writings of Adam Smith and the particular socialist tradition initiated by Marx. Parsons regarded these economistic responses to the industrial revolution as being themselves quasi-religious in nature, for they carried with them sets of ideas concerning the nature and meaning of human existence. He proposed the important idea that nothing in social life is or can be purely economic.

Economic change. Wallerstein's world-system theory, it should be emphasized, originated as a direct response to the modernization theories of the 1950s and 1960s, which owed much to the writing of Weber on the relationship between religious and economic change. New life was given to Weber's work by the widespread concern with the economic gap between established societies, particularly those of the industrial West, and those that had won their independence during the wave of decolonization of the late 1950s and the 1960s. Many social scientists tried to account for disparities in economic circumstances and growth rates by assessing the degree to which religion encouraged or discouraged involvement in economic enterprise and the development of a work ethic.

A strong tendency among modernization theorists in the 1950s and 1960s was to maintain that cultural change, sometimes expressed more specifically as religious change, was a prerequisite of economic change, and that the mainly non-Christian societies of the world (as well as most of the Catholic Christian ones) needed either a Protestant ethic or its functional equivalent as a motivational base for engaging in economic activites that would produce economic growth. This was not at all an original idea, because, as has been seen, during the nineteenth century the claim that Protestantism in its Calvinist version encouraged commitment to enterprise and work had been quite widespread. Indeed in Latin America during that period it was not uncommon for the political leaders of newly independent states to encourage the spread of Protestantism in the hope that it would yield economic growth in the face of the dominant, largely anticapitalist Catholic ethos.

World-system theory achieved prominence largely because of its opposition to the view that poor societies can achieve prosperity by their own internal efforts (even if this means the importation of new cultural and religious forms). In place of this internalist conception of societal change, the theory afforded a basically externalist conception, one that regarded the position of individual societies in the world economic system as almost entirely the consequence of the character of the system as a whole. Rather than attributing economic growth or lack of growth to indigenous, including religious, characteristics, world-system theory maintained that the economic fates of individual societies are determined by the functioning and expansion of a capitalist world system (in which even internally socialistic societies are constrained to act capitalistically in their relations with other societies).

World as a whole. Even though a number of critical weaknesses have been exposed in this argument, there can be little doubt that it is to the world as a whole that one must now look in considering many of the most important questions about the relationship between economic and religious factors in modern life. One major example of this is the development of liberation theology, most conspicuously in Latin America. Latin American liberation theology, which has counterparts on all other continents, grew in part from a perspective on the world as a whole that is closely related to Marxist world-system theory. Dependency theory developed in Latin America in the 1960s in opposition to the view that the relatively backward economic state of Latin America should be attributed, inter alia, to its fatalistic Catholicism. Rather, it was argued, Latin America's condition was to be largely explained by its dependent status in relation to affluent countries, in particular the United States, whose very advantages were made possible by the economic underdevelopment of Third World societies. In combination with that perspective on the world system some leaders of the liberationist movement effected what during the late 1960s seemed an unlikely fusion of Christian theology and Marxist ideology, thus to a significant degree violating the traditional Marxist view that religion is, at least in the modern world, an enemy of socialist revolution. There is much debate as to the degree to which this fusion of Christian ideas concerning the achievement of the kingdom of God upon earth and the liberation of religious consciousness with Marxist ideas concerning the fundamentality of economic forces and relationships is simply a marriage of strategic convenience rather than a genuine synthesis. Nonetheless, the degree to which religion and politics, more specifically theology and ideology, have been recently combined among Marxist-tinged liberationist movements, as well as in movements often labeled as fundamentalist (ranging from Christian fundamentalism in the United States to Islamic fundamentalism in the Middle East), is very striking. Many such developments can best be understood in reference to the fact that the conspicuousness and evident fatefulness of the global economy (whether one calls it capitalistic or something else) elicits specific responses from movements, societies, regions, and so on, involving attempts to imbue the world order and its parts with some kind of symbolic meaning, such as the legitimation of privileged economic circumstances (what Weber called the theodicy of good fortune) or the attempt to overcome underprivileged conditions. In any case it is evident that the very different projections by Marx and Weber of a modern world without religion, which would allegedly yield to the force of economic interests and processes, have not yet been realized.

What thus has changed most of all since the period in which Weber wrote extensively about the economic ethics of the major religions is the highly conspicuous emergence of the global economy. This process has increasingly forced religions—more specifically, leaders of religious movements and organizations—to confront the economy and its appurtenances (such as materialism and consumerism) much more comprehensively than heretofore. Thus the original Weberian interest in the way in which religions differentially encourage or inhibit economic progress has been enlarged and refocused.

This is to be seen particularly in the case of Islam. Assisted in no small part by the economic circumstance of the world coming to depend so much, directly or indirectly, on the rich deposits of oil in a number of Islamic countries, Islam has reasserted itself in defiance of the West. In the process, many questions have been raised, both within Islamic contexts and by observers of it, as to whether the relative economic backwardness of Islamic societies in recent centuries has issued from inherent characteristics of Islam as a religious tradition, at one extreme, or from the subordinate position of Islamic societies in relation to those of West, at the other.

Weber's writings on Islam suggest strongly that it inhibited the growth of the instrumental rationality necessary for the emergence of a modern economic orientation, but that view is resisted by those who maintain that much of what appears, in Weber's terms, to be inimical to modern economic rationality is actually the consequence of Islamic culture's adaption to a subordinate politico-economic situation. Some scholars have argued that capitalism would have developed in Islamic societies but for this situation. Others have maintained that Islam is inherently more conducive to a socialist economic system, and that that is precisely what is developing in the modern period. In any case, unlike such societies as Britain and the United States, which led the way into, and in a sense created, the modern global economy, Islam, which not so many centuries ago was itself a dominant civilization, is currently engaged in a self-conscious, traumatic attempt to formulate very explicitly its economic ethics or, more generally, its economic culture. The self-conscious formulation of economic ethics or culture is also occurring to varying degrees in a number of other major religious contexts. Whether this will lead to a reunion of economics and religion of the kind that has prevailed in different patterns throughout most of human history remains to be seen.

SEE ALSO Marx, Karl; Modernity; Money; Political Theology; Revolution; Secularization; Troeltsch, Ernst; Wealth; Weber, Max.

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ECSTASY.

ECSTASY. The term *ecstasy* (Gr., *ekstasis*) literally means "to be placed outside," as well as, secondarily, "to be displaced." Both senses are relevant to the study of religion, the first more than the second perhaps, inasmuch as it denotes a state of exaltation in which one stands outside or transcends oneself. Transcendence has often been associated or even equated with religion. If such an understanding of ecstasy carries the historian of religion into the hinterland of mysticism, the second sense, involving as it does spirit possession and shamanism, carries one to the borderland of anthropology and even psychiatry. The vast range of phenomena covered by the term supports the adoption of an approach toward its understanding that uses a variety of methods, one of which, the philological, has already been engaged. *Ecstasy* can thus mean both the seizure of one's body by a spirit and the seizure of a human by a divinity. Although seemingly in opposition, the two senses are not mutually exclusive, and between them lies the vast and diverse range of phenomena covered by the umbrella term *ecstasy*, with the magician standing at one end of the spectrum and the psychiatrist at the other. The historian of religion tries to grasp the significance of the intervening terrain with the help of historical, anthropological, phenomenological, sociological, psychological, and philosophical approaches to the study of religion.

HISTORICAL APPROACH. Ecstatic techniques reach back to prehistoric times; utilizing the principle of survivals, the historian can reconstruct these techniques by extrapolating from the role of shamans in modern primal societies. In the realm of history proper, the mystery religions that flourished in the Greco-Roman world, such as those celebrated at Eleusis and those centering on Orpheus, Adonis, Attis, Isis and Osiris, Mithra, and others, provide examples of the role of ecstasy in religion. The emphasis on secrecy in these cults makes it difficult to delineate the exact role played by ecstasy in their rituals, but those rituals are generally believed to have led to ecstatic states that signified salvific union with their deities. Elements of ecstasy are not absent in Israelite religion, where groups or individuals were seized by the spirit of Yahveh; the case of Saul is often cited in this respect (*1 Sm.* 10:1–16).

It is significant that even the phenomenological approach to ecstasy, though it does not divorce the ecstasy of the shaman from communion with spirits, does point out that the "specific element of shamanism is not the incorporation of spirits in the shaman, but the ecstasy provoked by the ascension to the sky or by the descent to Hell" (Eliade, cited in Lewis, 1971, p. 49); the descent of Jesus into hell and his ascent to heaven, according to the Athanasian Creed, provide a rudimentary parallel to shamanistic ecstasy. Even when spirits are associated with the work of the shaman, the parallel persists. In *Revelation*, for instance, it is ecstasy that rules from the first moment: "I was in the Spirit on the Lord's Day, and I heard behind me a loud voice like a trumpet saying, 'Write what you see in a book'" (1:10–11). John turns to "see the voice," whereupon he sees seven lampstands and, in the middle of them, "one like a son of man": "When I saw him, I fell at his feet as though dead" (1:17). Later we are told how John saw an open door in heaven, and he heard a voice saying, "Come up hither, and I will show you what must take place after this" (4:1). John responds, or something within him responds: "At once I was in the Spirit" (4:2). Again he looked, saw, and heard. Another example may be provided from a later chapter of *Revelation*: "And he carried me away in the Spirit into a wilderness, and I saw a woman sitting on a scarlet beast" (17:3). Finally there is the vision of the New Jerusalem: "And in the Spirit he carried me away to a great, high mountain, and showed me the holy city Jerusalem coming down out of heaven from God" (21:10). Many religious traditions chart the path to ecstasy with precision and sophistication. Hinduism speaks of the various steps of Yoga leading to *samādhi*; Buddhism speaks of *jhāna*s and *nirvāṇa*; Christianity speaks of the mystical way; and Islam speaks of the hal and maqam, or states and stations en route to divine knowledge (an imagery that may be compared to the "mansions" of Teresa of Ávila), as well as of wajd ("ecstasy").

ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH. The anthropological approach emphasizes the role of the shaman and the phenomenon of possession in both prehistoric and contemporary preliterate societies. *Shaman* is a widely used term, the "lowest common denominator of which is that of the inspired priest" (Eliade, cited in Lewis, 1971, p. 49). In the anthropological approach, it is the shaman's role as a psychopomp that is preeminent. Through an ability to achieve a state of ecstatic exaltation, acquired after much rigorous training and careful, often painful initiation, the shaman is able to establish contact with the spirit world. In the course of this exaltation, the shaman may affect the postmortem fate of the deceased, aid or hurt the diseased in this life, as well as encounter the occupants of the spirit world, communicate with them, and then narrate the experiences of ecstatic flight on his or her return from there.

PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH. It must be remembered, however, that while all shamans are ecstatics, all ecstatics are not shamans. Taking a broader phenomenological approach, one discovers that a variety of means, such as dancing, drugs, self-mortification, and so on, have been used across cultures and at various times to induce ecstasy and that these have generated ecstatic states ranging from the shamanistic to the mystical. If the first step of the phenomenological method is to classify, then one may employ Plato's distinction between "two types of mantic or 'prophecy', the first the *mantikē entheos*, the 'inspired madness' of the ecstatic, e.g. that of the Pythia; the second the systematic interpretation of signs, such as the augury of the flight of birds" (van der Leeuw, vol. 1, 1938, p. 225). This last category may be excluded from consideration here as a form of soothsaying. A further distinction has to be made between shamanistic and mystical ecstasy, with the experience of someone like Saul providing a bridge between the two. As Gerardus van der Leeuw writes: "With the *Shamans*, still further, we find ourselves on the road to the prophets, but of course only in the sense in which Saul too was 'among the prophets', that is as regards the ecstatic frenzy that renders possible a superhuman development of power" (ibid., p. 218). We must therefore consider three categories of ecstasies (and accordingly, ecstatics); they may not always be separable, but they are distinct: the shamanistic ecstasy, the prophetic ecstasy, and the mystical ecstasy. The differences among the three emerge clearly when we consider the nature of ecstatic utterances.

The ecstatic utterances of the shaman relate to the world of the spirits and to the shaman's movements in that realm. Eliade clearly distinguishes between non-shamanic, parashamanic, and shamanic ecstasy, the characteristic feature of the last being the shaman's ability to communicate with dead or natural spirits. The ecstatic utterances of the prophet relate to God: the prophet literally speaks for God, though there are borderline cases, such as the priestess at the oracle at Delphi whose cryptic utterances had to be interpreted. These may be contrasted with the ecstatic utterances known as *shaṭḥīyāt* in Islamic mysticism; a typical example is provided by al-Ḥallāj's proclamation, "I am the Creative Truth" ("Anā al-ḥaqq"). This highly mystical utterance, which cost him his life, has been explained in later Sufism as resulting from a mistaken sense of identity with God due to God's overwhelming presence in mystical experience (as if a piece of red-hot coal in a furnace would call itself fire or a candle in the sunlight would mistake the light of the sun for its own).

SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH. The sociology of ecstasy or ecstatic religion, as explored by I. M. Lewis, provides another useful dimension to the topic. This approach relies heavily on the indirect application of the work of Émile Durkheim and Max Weber. Following Durkheim, Lewis draws attention to the socially integrative function of the shaman who, at ritual services, instills in the people a sense of solidarity by emphasizing the shunning of adultery, homicide, and other socially disruptive practices, and who often plays an active role in settling disputes. At the same time, however, the study of ecstasy also exposes the limitations of Durkheim's approach in certain contexts: the cultivation of ecstasy, especially in mysticism, may lead to a breach within a religious tradition instead of playing an integrating role in it. Thus, Sufism was viewed with suspicion by Islamic orthodoxy until the two were reconciled by al-Ghazālī. A more Weberian approach views the shaman as discovering through his ecstatic flights the reasons for whatever may have befallen his client, providing the client with "meaning," which according to Weber is one role of religion. Moreover, a subtler application of the Weberian approach makes further generalizations possible. Thus, according to the relative-deprivation theory, secret ecstatic cults may flourish particularly among women or dispossessed groups in patriarchal or authoritarian societies. This may be as true of women dancing ecstatically in Dionysian rituals in Greece in the fifth century BCE as it is in the *zār* cult in Sudan in modern times.

Another issue raised by the sociological approach to the study of religion is the role of ecstasy in societies that are in the process of secularization. Two views seem to prevail. One is to look upon the cultivation of cultic ecstasy as possessing cathartic value in a society undergoing rapid social change. A broader view suggests that the process of secularization does not so much do away with the need for transcendence as it provides surrogates for it. A convergence exists between the sociology of religion, which maintains that there are religious phenomena that belong to no determined religion, and the Tillichian theological viewpoint, which maintains that, though modern people think they have overcome their need for ultimate concern or transcendence, what has really happened is that they continue to seek it in secular contexts (as, for instance, in ecstatic participation in football matches). It may be further added that ecstasy is by definition an extraordinary experience that transcends routine, so that the increasing bureaucratization of modern life may impel the sort of person that Eliade called *homo religiosus* to seek such ecstasy all the more. It has been speculatively suggested, for instance, that the evidence in Indus Valley culture of yogic practices possibly possessing an ecstatic dimension may reflect that culture's highly organized, homogeneous, even monotonous appearance.

PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH. Various approaches to ecstasy have been discussed so far but, inasmuch as ecstasy is essentially concerned with the mind (or what lies beyond the mind), one might expect the psychology of religion to prove the most illuminating. The psychology of religion, however, is a discipline with boundaries that are difficult to define strictly; this is even more true when it is applied to a subject like ecstasy, which the psychology of religion itself approaches with methods that can vary from the transpersonal to the psychiatric. Thus, one must distinguish clearly among certain approaches within the psychology of religion: the psychoanalytical approach, the pharmacological approach, and the mystical approach.

The psychoanalytical approach has been applied to ecstasy at two levels, the shamanistic and the mystical. Claude Lévi-Strauss has argued that the cure administered by the shaman—who, unlike the modern analyst listening to the patient's words, speaks out on behalf of the patient—involves "the inversion of all the elements" of psychoanalysis yet retains its analogy with it. J. M. Masson sees in the ecstatic, oceanic feelings of the mystic a reversion to the experience of the fetus in the womb.

Modern developments in pharmacology have brought what might be called chemical ecstasy into the limelight. Drug-induced ecstasy was not unknown in ancient times. The *soma* of the Vedas, which R. Gordon Wasson identified with the mushroom called the *Amanita muscaria*, was supposed to be one such drug; it has even been suggested that techniques of yogic ecstatic trances were developed in post-Vedic Hinduism as a substitute for the *soma*-induced trances once the Aryans moved deeper into India and lost contact with the geographical source of the mushroom. Mexico provides another example of the religious use of drug-induced ecstasy in the peyote cult, which Aldous Huxley popularized in a modern version through his experiments with mescaline. But it was the discovery of LSD (lysergic acid diethylamide) that threw the door wide open to this avenue to ecstasy, with its open advocacy by modern experimenters such as Timothy Leary and Alan Watts.

Modern psychology tends to dismiss these experiences as chemically and artifically induced and therefore not genuine. Such a dismissive approach is difficult for a historian of religion to countenance; drugs can be the means to, rather than the cause of, these ecstasies. But the fact that such chemical experiences are not always ecstatic should not be overlooked; neither should the widespread assertion that drug-induced ecstasy may be distinguished from mystical experience primarily because the drug does not usually transform the personality and the subsequent life of the user, and that mystical experience usually does. Psychedelic drugs can be used not merely to induce ecstasy but also to gain power, a fact mentioned by Patañjali in his *Yoga Sūtra* and illustrated in the contemporary writings of anthropologist Carlos Castaneda.

For many, the classical focus of the discussion of ecstasy is still provided by mysticism, notwithstanding the elaboration of the role of archaic and chemical techniques in this context. Mysticism, for our purposes, may be conveniently defined as the doctrine or belief that a direct knowledge or immediate perception of the ultimate reality, or God, is possible in a way different from normal sense experience and ratiocination. The two channels in which the mystical tradition of mankind has flowed are thus naturally identified by emotion and intuition. The ecstatic experience resulting from them has been distinguished accordingly as "communion" in the first case, in which the devotee, though psychologically merged in God, remains a distinct entity, and as "union" in the second case, in which the aspirant achieves an ontological identity with God. The distinction is crucial to an understanding of mystical ecstasy: in the first case, access to the ultimate reality is "gained"; that is, it is something that originally did not exist; in the second case, access to the reality is "regained"; that is, it is something that always existed but was not recognized until the moment of ecstasy. Martin Buber's distinction between I-Thou and I-It relationships is relevant here. Some traditions recognize the existence of both these types of mysticism. The Hindu mystic Ramakrishna (1836–1886) contrasts the two ecstasies as offering a choice between "tasting sugar" and "becoming sugar," without insisting that the two be viewed as mutually exclusive.

Ecstasy in the Hindu tradition is basically experienced in three modes: nontheistic, theistic, and trans-theistic. In the nontheistic mode, it results from the suppression of all mental modifications; because of its restriction to the person of the practitioner and the absence of any outside referent, R. C. Zaehner refers to this mode as *enstasy*: "By 'enstasy' I understand that introverted mystical experience in which there is experience of nothing except an unchanging, purely static oneness. It is the exact reverse of ecstasy which means to get outside oneself and which is often characterized by a breaking down of the barriers between the individual subject and the universe around him" (*The Bhagavad-Gītā*, London, 1973, p. 143). Although the *Yoga Sūtra*, to which Zaehner's statement applies, also recognizes the existence of God, the theistic mode of ecstasy that flows from the love of God is best described in the *Bhakti Sūtra*: "It is as if a dumb man who has tasted a delicious food could not speak about it." The ecstasy experienced through the transtheistic or absolutistic mode in Hinduism is similarly considered ineffable because, in it, the distinction between the one who experiences and the experienced is annulled. Thus one is left with the Upanisadic paradox of the experience of the Absolute: "But where everything has become just one's own self, then whereby and whom would one see?" (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* 4.5.15). Does Meister Eckhart provide an answer to the question when he says "The eye with which I see God is the same with which God sees me"?

The Islamic mystical tradition emphasizes the passing away of individuality in God (*fanā'*), who alone represents divine unity *(tawḥīd);* this loss of self into God provides the experience of inward ecstasy. In Islamic mystical poetry wine symbolizes the "ecstatic experience due to the revelation of the True Beloved, destroying the foundations of reason" (Arberry, 1950, p. 114). Such ecstatic experience of God constitutes the ecstatic's knowledge of God (*ma'rifah*).

In Buddhism ecstasy plays an important role in the trances; the typical text of the first trance runs as follows: "Detached from sensual objects, O monks, detached from unwholesome states of mind, the monk enters into the first absorption, which is accompanied by Thought-Conception [*vitakka*] and Discursive Thinking [*vicāra*], is born of Detachment [Concentration: *samādhi*] and filled with Rapture [*pīti*] and Joy " (*Dīgha Nikāya* 1.182). It should be added, however, that in the fifth stage, ecstasy gives way to equanimity, and the final attainment of *nirvāṇa* is characterized not by ecstasy but by knowledge and bliss.

In Christian mysticism too, ecstasy plays a key role. We see it in the statement of John Cassian (360–435) that "by constant meditation on things divine and spiritual contemplation . . . the soul is caught up into . . . an ecstasy." It is at the heart of the fourteenth-century text *The Cloud of Unknowing*:

> God wishes to be served with both the body and the spirit together, as is proper, and He will give man his reward in bliss both in body and in soul. In giving that reward, He sometimes inflames the body of His devout servants with wonderful pleasures here in this life, not only once or twice, but very often in some cases as He may wish. Of these pleasures not all come into the body from outside through the windows of our senses, but come from within, rising and springing up out of an abundance of spiritual gladness and out of true devotion of spirit. (cited in Progoff, 1957, pp. 172–173)

It may be noted that, here as in other instances, ecstasy is not divorced from knowledge of God, and the text spells out stages for its attainment. In Christian mysticism, as in other forms of mysticism (especially theistic), different stages are delineated, perhaps the best known being the passage of the soul to God, first through the illuminative, second the purgative, and finally the unitive ways.

THE CROSS-CULTURAL APPROACH. Following Gershom Scholem's study of Jewish mysticism, we can ask why ecstatic experiences take particular forms constrained by each individual culture. Why, for instance, did Teresa of Ávila not have ecstatic visions of Kālī? The Hindu mystic Ramakrishna is said to have had visions of figures outside Hinduism, but he is known to have been somewhat familiar with the traditions in question. Yet C. G. Jung argued that some of his clients gave evidence of certain archetypal ecstatic visions that transcend the bounds of time and space. The role of depth psychology in uncovering the roots of ecstasy, it seems, has yet to be fully explored; the same is true of the other extreme, the physical symptoms accompanying the states of ecstasy. In ecstasies of the shamanistic and prophetic type the hypothalamus has been shown to become inactive so that people in trance become impervious to physical maltreatment or deprivation, though they still respond to speech and social communication. In ecstasies of the mystical type, signs of life have been known to fade, sometimes to the point of apparent disappearance.

Humanistic psychologists such as Abraham H. Maslow have taken some interest in ecstasy in its relation to the concept of peak experience. This interest is even more evident in Ernst Arbman's monumental work, *Ecstasy or Religious Trance* (1963–1970). In this psychological study of ecstasy, Arbman emphasizes the close relation between ecstasy and mystical experience and, within mysticism, between ecstasy and visionary experience. He classifies the latter as assuming three forms, which represents a trichotomy of medieval Christian mysticism traceable to Augustine: corporeal, imaginative, and intellectual. These three forms may be instantiated, respectively, by the experiences of the prophet Muḥammad in receiving the Qurʾān through an angel, some of the experiences of Teresa of Ávila, and the recorded experiences of Ignatius Loyola and Jakob Boehme. The distinction between these three forms of ecstatic visionary experience—the corporeal, the imaginative, and the intellectual—is said to lie in the fact that, while the first experience is felt as something actually or objectively perceived, in the second case it is something experienced only inwardly, in a psychic or spiritual sense. The third type of vision, in which the sense of the word *intellectual* seems to correspond more to Platonic than to modern usage, apprehends its object without any image or form.

How might we establish the genuineness of the experiences represented by this classification, even if the existence of a mystical realm is granted, and even if it is further accepted that the pathological state of mind might be the most receptive for such experiences? Or, to broaden the scale of skepticism, how do we know that the shaman's journeys do in fact occur? The phenomenologist of religion is disinclined to ask such questions, as are the followers of some other disciplines, but the historian of religion cannot choose to ignore them since almost every tradition concerned with ecstatic experience has provided evaluative criteria for distinguishing between genuine and spurious experience. More generally, what is the role of the philosophy of religion in ecstatic experiences? This is a thorny issue, complicated by a fundamental epistemological problem: philosophers use reason in order to know, but ecstatics reason because they know. And yet a philosophical approach to ecstasy still seems possible if two factors are taken into account: an ecstasy, however prolonged, is usually a temporary state, and it can be experienced by religious mystics and nonreligious mystics alike.

DURATION AND EFFICACY. The duration of the ecstatic trance is variable. William James regarded transience as one of the four marks of the mystic state, but allowed only for "half an hour, or at most an hour or two." On the other hand, according to the Hindu mystical tradition, an ecstatic trance can be so profound that one does not recover from it at all. One reads of mystics who remained in a state of trance for six hours (Teresa of Ávila), three days (Ramakrishna), five days (Ellina von Crevelsheim), and even six months (again, Ramakrishna). Moreover, not merely mystics per se but also otherwise intellectually or aesthetically gifted persons have experienced ecstasy. Rabindranath Tagore describes one such experience:

> I suddenly felt as if some ancient mist had in a moment lifted from my sight and the ultimate significance of all things was laid bare. . . . I found that facts that had been detached and dim had a great unity of meaning, as if a man groping through a fog suddenly discovers that he stands before his own house. . . . An unexpected train of thought ran across my mind like a strange caravan carrying the wealth of an unknown kingdom. . . . Immediately I found the world bathed in a wonderful radiance with waves of beauty and joy swelling on every side, and no person or thing in the world seemed to me trivial or unpleasing. (cited in Walker, 1968, p. 475)

This passage raises a vital issue: if ordinary mortals can experience ecstasy along with the great mystics, and if ecstasies are terminable, then what do the great religious traditions of the world ultimately have to offer by way of salvation? If the answer is ecstatic union and ecstasy is a temporary phenomenon, then how lasting are the results of the spiritual path? Must one follow it to experience ecstasy?

The answer is not entirely clear, but both the theistic and nontheistic mystical traditions have approached an answer by asking whether ecstasy and union (in a mystical context) are identical. For Plotinus the two are one:

> For then nothing stirred within him, neither anger, nor desire, nor even reason, nor a certain intellectual perception, nor, in short, was he himself moved, if we may assert this; but, being in an ecstasy, tranquil and alone with God, he enjoyed an unbreakable calm. (Plotinus, *Enneads* 6.9)

For Teresa of Ávila, ecstasy and union are not identical:

> I wish I could explain with the help of God wherein union differs from rapture, or from transport, or from flight of the spirit, as they call it, or from trance, which are all one. I mean that all these are only different names for that *one and the same thing, which is also called ecstasy.* It is more excellent than union, the fruits of it are much greater, and its other operations more manifold, for union is uniform in the beginning, the middle and the end, and is so also interiorly; but as raptures have ends of a much higher kind, they produce effects both within and without (i. e., both physical and psychical). . . . A rapture is absolutely irresistible; whilst union, inasmuch as we are then on our own ground, may be hindered, though that resistance be painful and violent. (Teresa of Ávila, *Life* 20.1–3)

Apart from the question of whether, in either the theistic or nontheistic context, ecstasy represents union, and if so, to what extent and degree, there is a further question: does such ecstatic union constitute the summation of religious experience? There seems to be some difference of opinion on this point. Thus, according to W. R. Inge,

> Ecstasy was for Plotinus the culminating point of religious experience, whereby the union with God and perfect knowledge of Divine truth, which are the conclusion and achievement of the dialectical process and the ultimate goal of the moral will, are realized also in direct, though ineffable, experience. Plotinus enjoyed this supreme initiation four times during the period when Porphyry was with him; Porphyry himself only once, he tells us, when he was in his 68th year. It was a vision of the Absolute, 'the One', which being above even intuitive thought, can only be apprehended passively by a sort of Divine illapse into the expectant soul. It is not properly a vision, for the seer no longer distinguishes himself from that which he sees; indeed, it is impossible to speak of them as two, for the spirit, during the ecstasy, has been completely one with the One. This 'flight of the alone to the Alone' is a rare and transient privilege, even for the greatest saint. He who enjoys it 'can only say that he has all his desire, and that he would not exchange his bliss for all the heaven of heavens'. (Inge, 1912, p. 158)

Yet when we turn to other religious traditions, the culmination of the religious life seems to be distinguished not so much by a transient, if repeatable, ecstatic union as by a blissful state of being. The final goal of a Christian existence, for example, is the "eternal life" of the beatific vision or the kingdom of God, and not transient ecstasies; and the final goal of Buddhism is the attainment of the lasting happiness of *nirvāṇa*, which is attained for good, unlike the temporary ecstasies of the trances.

> Even the word 'happiness' (*sukha*) which is used to describe Nirvāṇa has an entirely different sense here. Sāriputta once said: 'O friend, Nirvāṇa is happiness! Nirvāṇa is happiness!' Then Udāyi asked: 'But, friend Sāriputta, what happiness can it be if there is no sensation?' Sāriputta's reply was highly philosophical and beyond ordinary comprehension: 'That there is no sensation itself is happiness.' (Rahula, 1967, p. 43)

Given the scope and variety of the phenomenon of ecstasy, our approach has been to use a variety of methods. It might then be proper to conclude by raising a methodological point: can or should one's approach to the study of ecstasy be translated into the terms of some other human phenomenon (a method often pejoratively described as "reductionist")? Eliade argues this point:

> Since ecstasy (trance, losing one's soul, losing consciousness) seems to form an integral part of the human condition, just like anxiety, dreams, imagination, etc., we do not deem it necessary to look for its origin in a particular culture or a particular historical moment. As *an experience* ecstasy is a non-historical phenomenon in the sense that it is coextensive with human nature. Only the religious *interpretation* given to ecstasy and the *techniques* designed to prepare it or facilitate it are historically conditioned. That is to say, they are dependent on various cultural contexts, and they change in the course of history. (Eliade, cited in Wavell et al., 1966, p. 243).

Thus, fasting, drugs, meditation, prayer, dancing, and sex have all been used to induce ecstasy in the course of human history.

A dominant trend in the study of religion on this point is reflected in what Charles Davis says of reductionistic explanations in general, which also applies to the explanations of ecstasy. His discussion is entitled "Wherein There Is No Ecstasy," a line from T. S. Eliot that refers not to the absence of ecstasy per se but to its absence in "the mystical dark night of the soul." Davis has this to say:

> There is no difficulty in accepting reductionistic explanations of particular religious beliefs and practices, if such explanations are sufficiently grounded. Every expression of the transcendent is a particular experience. The particularity of the experience is due to non-transcendent factors. Hence, in that particularity, it is open to non-religious explanations. As for a reductionistic explanation of religious faith as such, in my judgment a reductionistic explanation is so little grounded and so patently the result of an inadequate development of the subject who offers it that I do not grant it any degree of probability. But I am not infallible. Despite the certitude of my judgment, the possibility of error and illusion remains. (Davis, 1984, p. 398)

Scholars will no doubt continue to debate the issue of ecstasy, and shamans, prophets, and mystics continue to experience it—if a secularized world will let them do so.

SEE ALSO Enthusiasm; Mystical Union in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam; Mysticism; Psychedelic Drugs; Shamanism.

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ARVIND SHARMA (1987)

ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT.

The long and varied history of Christian ecumenism is reflected in the many definitions attached to the word itself. The Greek *oikoumenē* comes from the noun *oikos* ("house, dwelling") and the verb *oikeō* ("to live, to dwell"). *Oikoumenē*, which is derived from the present passive participle of the verb, suggests the land in which people live or dwell and is usually translated "the inhabited world." The word initially had no theological implications; it was a descriptive term used by the Greeks to describe the world they knew, and later by the Romans to describe the Roman Empire.

Biblical usage of the word *oikoumenē* is sparse. Eight of the fifteen references are found in *Luke* and *Acts*, and with the exception of two references that suggest the Roman empire (*Lk.* 2:1, *Acts* 17:6) and one that may have cosmic import (*Heb.* 2:5), the remaining uses are no more than descriptive references to "the inhabited world" (*Mt.* 24:14; *Lk.* 4:5, 21:26; *Acts* 11:28, 17:31, 19:27, 24:5; *Rom.* 10:18; *Heb.* 1:6; *Rv.* 3:10, 12:9, 16:14).

As the early church extended its geographical boundaries, writers begin to refer to the church throughout the *oikoumenē* as a way of distinguishing it from local assemblies. And when Christians from different locations began to meet together to discuss aspects of belief and discipline, such gatherings began to be referred to as "ecumenical councils," that is, councils having representation from all parts of the *oikoumenē*. Eastern Orthodox churches acknowledge seven ecumenical councils before the Great Schism of 1054, while the Roman Catholic Church also claims as ecumenical subsequent councils in the West, such as the Council of Trent and the two Vatican councils. The Lutheran Formula of Concord (1577) described the early creeds (Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian) as "ecumenical creeds" because they had been accepted by all branches of the Christian church. The meaning of the word *ecumenical* was thus extended beyond the theologically neutral notion of "the inhabited world" to include both an understanding of the church in its worldwide sense and expressions of belief that have universal ecclesiastical acceptance.

After a period of relative neglect, the word *ecumenical* reappeared in the twentieth century, with new meanings appropriate to a new situation. Many church bodies, disturbed by their divisions from one another, which were made particularly apparent by the competitive nature of nineteenth-century missionary activities, began to look for ways to overcome their diverse histories. Following a world conference of missionary societies in Edinburgh in 1910, the word *ecumenism* began to be used to signify a concern to reunite the divided Christian family. Alongside this concern for unity was a corresponding concern for mission (from *missio*, "a sending forth") to the *oikoumenē*. These twin poles of unity and mission have characterized what has come to be referred to as "the ecumenical movement." However, a broader use of the word *ecumenism* has also emerged to designate an attitude of active goodwill and concern for all peoples. Concerns about world hunger, racism, or political oppression are thus frequently described as "ecumenical concerns" and are often focal points of common action not only among Christians but in conjunction with all people of goodwill.

THE BIRTH OF MODERN ECUMENISM: EDINBURGH, 1910.

The fellowship of those who have been made "one in Christ" has almost always been marred by institutional division. In the earliest Christian literature, the letters of Paul, there are accounts of Paul's attempts to adjudicate between factions bitterly disputing with one another. The church at Corinth was particularly notorious in this regard. The creedal controversies in the early councils were attempts to set boundaries to the faith, and they provided canons for exclusion of heretics as well as inclusion of believers. In 1054 a radical division, the Great Schism, culminated the separation between Eastern and Western Christianity, and in the sixteenth century the Western church was further divided into the many separate denominations that resulted from the Reformation.

It is to the credit of the groups thus divided that they continued to believe that their divisions were "sinful," but not until the nineteenth century, with its missionary advance from Europe and North America to the rest of the world, was the situation recognized as intolerable. The efforts to "make disciples of all nations" (*Mt.* 28:19) was in fact imposing divisions of European origin on newly converted Christians in Asia, Africa, and Latin America in ways that distorted the unity in Christ that the message was supposed to bestow.

It is therefore significant that the first major attempt to begin a healing of the divisions within Christianity originated in the missionary societies. In 1910, a number of missionary societies held a conference in Edinburgh, Scotland, that by common consent is described as the birth of the modern ecumenical movement. The purpose of the conference was to develop a common missionary strategy that would not only avoid the scandal of the past but provide for a more creative and collaborative use of resources in the future.

THE THREE STREAMS FLOWING FROM EDINBURGH. As delegates to the Edinburgh conference looked ahead, they saw that some kind of structure would be necessary if the goals of the conference were to be accomplished. A continuation committee was established, and by 1921 it was clear that three concerns would need attention, continuing reflection, and structural implementation: (1) the missionary task of the church, (2) the kinds of common service the churches could render to the world even in their divided state, and (3) the doctrinal issues that were responsible for the ongoing divisions.

In response to the first concern, the International Missionary Council was established in 1921 to help various mission boards coordinate their previously separate and competing activities and to hold conferences that would enable members to think in new ways about the church's mission. During its forty-year life, the council held five conferences that dealt with the impact of secularism on the life of the church (Jerusalem, 1928); the relationship of the Christian religion to other world religions (Madras, 1938); the need to see missions as a two-way street on which the so-called younger churches would now be giving as well as receiving (Whitby, 1947); the imperative need for Christian unity, if mission was to retain its credibility (Willingen, 1952); and recognition that the time had come for missionary concern to be related structurally to those Christians already grappling with questions of unity and service (Ghana, 1957). The last conference translated into a decision to merge with the already established World Council of Churches, a decision that was implemented in 1961.

The Edinburgh-inspired concern for the church's common service to the world was embodied in a second structure, called the Commission on Life and Work. Recognizing that organic reunion was years if not light-years away, members of this commission sought to develop a consensus on matters to which divided churches could relate. "Doctrine divides, service unites" became the slogan. The first Conference on Life and Work, held in Stockholm in 1925, was widely representative—over 600 delegates from 37 countries attended and discussed the church's responsibility in such areas as international relations, education, economics, and industry.

A second Conference on Life and Work, held in Oxford in 1937, drew delegates from 40 countries and 120 denominations who discussed church and state, church and community, and the church and its function in society, while small groups dealt with education, the economic order, and the world of nations. Two realities loomed behind the Oxford discussions. One was the rapid consolidation of Adolf Hitler's power in Nazi Germany and the almost "emergency" situation it created for understanding the task of the church in such a world. The other was a realization that service could not adequately be discussed apart from considerations of doctrine. Consequently, the delegates voted that the Life and Work Commission should seek to merge with the Faith and Order Commission, the third outgrowth of Edinburgh.

This third structure provided a place for the doctrinal issues that divided the churches to be explored. The members, adopting the name Faith and Order, held an initial conference in Lausanne in 1927, with over 400 delegates from 108 churches, including not only Protestants but Eastern Orthodox representatives as well. The report of the conference exemplified a descriptive process called "comparative ecclesiology," which sought to pinpoint and describe doctrinal differences as well as similarities, without as yet attempting to resolve them. However, the commonly shared conviction at Lausanne that "God wills unity" led the delegates to project a second conference, which was held at Edinburgh in 1937, with delegates from 122 participating bodies. Unanimous agreement was reached on a statement about "the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ," although in other areas, such as church, ministry, and sacraments, awesome divergences remained. The delegates did acknowledge, however, that their task was not so much to create unity, which is God's gift, as to exhibit more clearly the unity that their empirical divisions obscured.

Members of the Faith and Order Commission realized that doctrine involves action and service, and they voted at Edinburgh (in complementarity with a similar action taken by the Commission on Life and Work) that the two groups should merge. Delegates from both groups therefore met in 1938 at Utrecht to work out proposals for "a world council of churches." World War II intervened, and until 1948 the world council was "in process of formation."

OTHER ECUMENICAL ADVANCES. From 1910 to 1948, ecumenical activity was not limited to high-level consultations. Many denominations established international bodies, such as the Lutheran World Federation and the World Alliance of Reformed and Presbyterian Churches, so that global concerns could receive greater attention. National ecumenical agencies were created, such as the British Council of Churches and the Federal Council of Churches in the United States, which later became the National Council of Churches of Christ, providing vehicles through which Protestant groups could work cooperatively on many issues.

Another ecumenical impetus reminding Christians that "the world is too strong for a divided church" was the rise to power of Hitler, whose policies were bent on the extermination of the Jews, the suppression of any Christian groups opposing Nazi claims, and the extension of racially based totalitarian rule. The Barmen Declaration (1934) of the Confessing Church in Germany was a theological "no" to Hitler that brought Reformed and Lutheran groups together for the first time since the Reformation. Christians living under persecution from 1933 to 1945 discovered that in concentration camps or occupied territories their unity far outweighed their differences.

THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. In 1948 at Amsterdam, the World Council of Churches (WCC) became a reality, fusing the concerns of the Faith and Order and Life and Work commissions. In 1961 the International Missionary Council joined the WCC, thus completing the structural reunification of the three areas of concern originating at Edinburgh. Some 146 churches—Protestant, Anglican, and Orthodox—were the original members of the World Council. During World War II, a skeleton staff in Geneva engaged in refugee relief and found various ways for Christians to communicate across the national barriers created by the war. The person most responsible during these interim years, W. A. Visser 't Hooft, a Dutch lay theologian, was elected the first general secretary of the WCC, and permanent headquarters were established in Geneva.

At the time of its creation, the WCC defined itself as "composed of churches which acknowledge Jesus Christ as God and Savior." From the beginning the WCC has made clear (despite misunderstanding by outsiders) that its task is "to serve the churches," not to become a superchurch itself or to be a Protestant/Orthodox counterpart to the Vatican.

The issue of membership in the WCC has been a delicate one. All churches accepting the basic affirmation of "Jesus Christ as God and Savior" have been welcome to apply for membership, and at each world assembly (held every five or six years) new churches have joined, so that after the Vancouver world assembly (1983) there were three hundred member churches representing around four hundred million Christians and including almost all the major Protestant and Orthodox bodies in the world. Membership in the WCC, however, does not imply that member churches believe that their own doctrine of the church is inadequate, nor does it mean acknowledging that other members are "fully" churches. At the New Delhi assembly in 1961, a more fully developed basis for membership was approved. It reads: "The World Council of Churches is a fellowship of Churches which confess the Lord Jesus Christ as God and Savior according to the Scriptures and therefore seek to fulfill together their common calling to the glory of one God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit."

Although the WCC has gone through several structural reorganizations since its inception and will continue to respond structurally to new situations, the emphases of all three Edinburgh streams have remained central throughout its history. A brief description of the structure as it existed after the Vancouver assembly will indicate the wide variety and scope of WCC commitments.

There are three major foci of concern in the WCC, identified as "program units." Program Unit I, devoted to Faith and Witness, is where the earlier Faith and Order Commission is housed. In its new guise, Faith and Order has continued to have an active history since the formation of the WCC, dealing with issues related to the visible unity of the church and preparing reports on such topics as accounts of Christian hope; the theology of baptism, Eucharist, and ministry; the relationship between church and state; and the unity of the church in relation to the unity of humankind. The subunit on World Mission and Evangelism is clearly the repository of many of the concerns of the earlier International Missionary Council and deals with problems raised in proclaiming the faith today, discerning the true missionary congregation, and developing ways for churches throughout the world to share their resources, both material and spiritual.

The subunit on Church and Society is one of the continuing vehicles for the concerns of the earlier Commission on Life and Work; the WCC has held important conferences in this area, most notably a conference on "The Church in the Social and Technical Revolutions of Our Time" (Geneva, 1966), which included worldwide representation and set a new direction for Church and Society concerns. There have also been subsequent conferences on the uses of nuclear energy and issues in medical ethics. The subunit on Dialogue with People of Living Faiths and Ideologies has been a vehicle for widening contacts far beyond the Christian arena. The subunit on Theological Education seeks to make resources available for training for ministry in as ecumenical a context as possible.

Program Unit II is concerned with Justice and Service, another place where certain Life and Work emphases continue to be manifest in concrete ways. The subunit on Inter-Church Aid, Refugee and World Service has been a conduit for specific, practical, and immediate help to people in need. The subunit on Churches' Participation in Development enables churches to be involved in economic development in their own lands through grants and other acts of solidarity such as long-term low-interest loans, along with extensive educational programs and the sharing of technical services. The subunit on International Affairs calls the churches' attention to situations of injustice and conflict, particularly in such areas as the violation of human rights. The Program to Combat Racism, through separately solicited funds, gives financial support to groups of racially oppressed peoples so that they can work for their own liberation. The Christian Medical Commission engages in programs of community health care and education, particularly in areas that are without adequate hospitals or professional medical assistance.

Program Unit III is concerned with Education and Renewal and is oriented to new thinking about Christian education and its impact on parish life. The subunit on Education sponsors programs to develop leadership, educational curricula for churches, and Bible study. The subunit on Renewal and Congregational Life provides resources for local congregations and other Christian groups. The subunit on Women is helping the entire Christian family to rethink the roles of women in both church and society. A similar subunit on Youth gives special attention to the needs of young people.

Even this cursory listing indicates the council's breadth of concern. It directs ongoing attention to theological reflection in the context of the contemporary world (Program Unit I), specific actions in various projects of service (Program Unit II), and ongoing attempts at renewing the mind for the life of the people of God (Program Unit III). In addition to a staff of about 275 persons to administer these various activities, the WCC has a Central Committee, composed of about 135 members, chosen proportionately from among the member churches, which meets annually to determine the ongoing tasks of the WCC between assemblies.

At the world assemblies, member churches meet to discuss their common task and to work on problems that have emerged since the previous assembly. The topics of the assemblies give an indication of the central themes of the WCC's ongoing life. From 1948 to 1983, six assemblies were held: "Man's Disorder and God's Design" (Amsterdam, 1948), "Jesus Christ the Hope of the World" (Evanston, 1954), "Jesus Christ the Light of the World" (New Delhi, 1961), "Behold I Make All Things New" (Uppsala, 1968), "Jesus Christ Frees and Unites" (Nairobi, 1975), and "Jesus Christ the Life of the World" (Vancouver, 1983).

The most volatile storm center of controversy in the life of the WCC has been the Program to Combat Racism. Provided for at Uppsala (1975) shortly after the murder of Martin Luther King Jr., who was to have been the keynote speaker, the Program to Combat Racism assigns considerable sums of money each year to groups throughout the world who are victims of racism and are trying to find ways of escaping such repression. Small grants have occasionally been given to "freedom" groups, particularly in Africa, occasioning protest from others who feel that such gifts will foster violence. Although there have been no instances in which the charges have proven accurate, the issue has remained an emotionally charged one and has the effect of deflecting the public's attention from many of the other activities of the WCC.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROMAN CATHOLIC ECUMENISM. During most of the developments described above, the Roman Catholic Church remained uninvolved. Its posture was clear: church unity could be achieved only by the return to the Roman Catholic Church of all the Christian bodies who had separated from it. Since full ecclesial reality was possible only for churches in communion with Rome, Roman Catholics were initially forbidden by Rome to participate in ecumenical activities. For example, Roman Catholic observers were not permitted to attend either the Amsterdam (1948) or Evanston (1954) assemblies of the WCC.

However, a few Roman Catholic ecumenical pioneers very cautiously began to initiate contact with non-Catholics. After World War I, Max Metzger, a German priest, founded the Una Sancta movement to foster dialogue between Protestants and Catholics. French priest Paul Couturier worked for revision of the prayers of the Christian Unity Octave of the Roman liturgy, so that Catholics and Protestants could begin to pray together. The Foyer Unitas in Rome was established for the study of non-Catholic traditions. Dominican priest Yves Congar in France, Jesuit Gustave Weigel in the United States, and other individuals trod a lonely path of seeking to put Protestants and Catholics on speaking terms with one another. After the Amsterdam assembly (1948), an "Instruction" was issued by the Holy Office in Rome in 1949, providing some cautious initial guidelines for Catholic and non-Catholic encounters; even so, an invitation to the Vatican to send Catholic observers to the Evanston assembly (1954) was declined. In 1961, however, during the pontificate of John XXIII, a similar invitation to send observers to the third assembly at New Delhi (1961) was accepted, and five priests attended.

A major ecumenical turning point occurred when John XXIII invited the major Protestant, Anglican, and Orthodox bodies to send observers to the Second Vatican Council, convened in the fall of 1962. Lasting warm and personal relationships that dissolved the frosty barriers of the centuries were established during the four sessions of the council (1962–1965).

Vatican II enhanced Catholic engagement in ecumenism in a number of ways. For one, the very calling of a council was seen as an instance of *ecclesia semper reformanda* ("the church always being reformed"), a concept Protestants had previously thought was anathema to Rome. Second, the inclusion of the observers demonstrated that Rome did not wish to continue to live in ecclesiastical isolation. Third, the influence of the "missionary bishops" who had often worked with Protestant missionaries brought fresh perspectives to other bishops trained in exclusivist patterns. Fourth, many of the council documents opened new doors of ecumenical understanding.

Of the sixteen promulgated conciliar documents, at least seven had significant ecumenical import. The document on ecumenism opened new doors for dialogue and understanding; the document on the liturgy restored the use of the vernacular and made Catholic worship less foreign to non-Catholics; the document on the church affirmed the "collegiality of the bishops," correcting certain one-sided emphases from Vatican I concerning the primacy of Peter that had been ecumenically counterproductive; the document on revelation gave scripture a greater prominence and authority in relation to tradition; the document on religious liberty dispelled fears about Catholic ecclesiastical imperialism; the document on the church and non-Christian religions created the possibility of dialogue between Roman Catholics and adherents of other world religions; and the document on the church and the world today indicated areas of concern, such as economics, labor unions, nuclear weapons, and culture, on which Catholics and non-Catholics could work together despite lack of full doctrinal consensus.

Assessments of the long-range impact of Vatican II are diverse. For many Catholics, the council brought the church into the modern world and made new levels of activity and dialogue possible. For other Catholics, the council created so many lines of rapport with modern thought and movements that the distinctiveness of the Catholic faith seemed to be placed in jeopardy. For most Protestants, the council unexpectedly legitimated Catholic attitudes that continue to enrich ecumenical life.

In the new atmosphere created by Vatican II, the relationship of Roman Catholicism to the WCC was raised anew. There is no theological reason why the Roman Catholic Church could not become a member of the WCC, since the basis of membership poses no challenge to Catholic faith. At the Uppsala assembly (1968), three years after the conclusion of Vatican II, the relations with Roman Catholic observers were so cordial that it seemed as though an application for membership might soon be possible, but by the Nairobi assembly (1975) such momentum had diminished. One important consideration, acknowledged by both sides, has been that, because of its size, the voting power of the Roman Catholic Church in the WCC would be disproportionate and cause alarm to member churches that have numerically small constituencies. Nevertheless, a close working relationship has been established between Geneva and Rome, not only in areas of social service projects, such as the Commission on Society, Development, and Peace, but in the theological arena as well, and Roman Catholic theologians have for some time been full voting members on the Commission on Faith and Order, contributing to discussions and reports about ministry, baptism, and Eucharist.

A further ecumenical contribution has come from Roman Catholicism. Building on the Vatican II document "The Church and the World Today," Catholics in Third World countries, particularly Latin America, have created a "theology of liberation," affirmed by the Latin American bishops in a meeting in Puebla, Mexico, in 1979, which involves committing the church to making "a preferential option for the poor." This has led to significant numbers of Catholics, frequently joined by Protestants, siding with the destitute at great personal risk in oppressive situations; Catholic-Protestant differences have paled before the awesome responsibility of ecumenical challenges to the oppressive status quo. This "practical ecumenism" provides a significant model for ecumenical involvement elsewhere.

EXTENDING INTRAMURAL CHRISTIAN ACTIVITY. Within the Christian family the impetus of ecumenical concern has not only led Christian bodies to seek closer contacts with one another and to work together whenever possible, but also led many denominations to seek organic union with one another. The motivations usually include at least a desire to respond organically and structurally to Jesus' high-priestly prayer "that they all may be one" (*Jn.* 17:21); a recognition that division is a "scandal" in the sight of both Christians and non-Christians, who cannot fail to perceive the hypocrisy of those who preach unity but do not practice it; and a desire to use institutional resources with more efficient stewardship by avoiding both overlapping and competition. Although not widely heralded by the secular press, there continue to be significant numbers of mergers between denominations that are members of the WCC. While the latter body does not act as the agent or broker for such reunions, its very existence has brought diverse groups of Christians into contact with one another and thereby helped to enhance the movement toward denominational reunion.

Many of the reunions have taken place among the so-called younger churches as they have sought to overcome the legacy of divisive denominationalism that the nineteenth-century missionary enterprise bequeathed to them. Although the period is exceptional, the reunifications that took place between the years 1965 and 1972 give some indication of the intensity of the concern to heal the Christian divisions of centuries. During that period, united churches were created out of two or more confessions in Zambia, Jamaica and Grand Cayman, Madagascar, Ecuador, Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, Belgium, North India, Pakistan, Zaire, and Great Britain.

Other specific steps toward organic unity will be completed only after years of further discussion and exploration. A proposal for reunification of ten denominations in the United States, the Consultation on Church Union, is now, after years of high-level ecumenical discussion, moving into a time of local denominational reacquaintance at the grassroots level before any final decisions are made.

The tender spots in negotiating denominational mergers center less on theology than on polity. Theological agreement on most, if not all, issues is increasingly reachable, but the form and structure of new denominations is rendered difficult when any of the three major polities—congregational, presbyterian, or episcopal—are being combined. The Church of South India (1947) was the first such reunification to draw all three types of church government within a single new structure.

Within all denominations, and within the World Council of Churches, a new intramural issue has emerged with a vitality not anticipated even a short time ago: the role of women within the life of the church. Not only have such issues as the ordination of women and the holding of church office by women been treated very differently by the historic Christian confessions, but cultural influences, often unconsciously appropriated by various church groups and imposed on the intramural discussions, have made this a "radicalizing" issue for many women, who have been active in ecumenical affairs and have discovered that they have been the victims of conscious, or even unconscious, discrimination within the churches. The World Council of Churches has included a division within its structure to deal with the problem in an ongoing way, and a major consultation was held at Sheffield, England, in 1981; however, equality of status is far from a reality, either ecumenically or denominationally, and ongoing discussion and action on this matter will be high on the ecumenical agenda for the foreseeable future.

EXTRAMURAL ECUMENICAL DEVELOPMENTS. In addition to all the ecumenical concerns that center on mission and unity, there is the further meaning of *oikoumenē* that calls attention to the whole of "the inhabited world" and comprises not only service to every member of the human family but also a certain way of thinking about and relating to those who are part of the human family but not the Christian family. There are at least four areas in which the inner life of the ecumenical movement has been turning outward toward appraisal of and dialogue with groups that Christians cannot avoid confronting in an ever-shrinking world, and with whom they must seek terms of mutual understanding.

One of the most important of these areas has been the new attention accorded the relationship between Christians and Jews. Christians, born of the family of Abraham and Sarah, are beginning to acknowledge that they have been at best ungrateful heirs, and at worst despicable destroyers, of a faith apart from which they cannot truly define themselves. The ongoing history of destructive relations between Christians and Jews, frequently the result of a Christian theological imperialism, has been exacerbated in recent times by the Holocaust and the murdering by the Nazis of six million Jews, with the passive complicity and at times the active involvement of the Christian world. In the emerging ecumenical discussion, a new emphasis on the eternal nature of God's covenant with the Jews (based in large part on fresh study of *Romans* 9–11) is beginning to challenge the more traditional "supercessionist" view—that the coming of Christ superseded the divine covenant with Abraham—which has reduced the Jews living in the common era to objects for conversion. The WCC has sponsored several consultations on the relationship between Jews and Christians. Vatican II opened some doors for the new discussion by its clear declaration that anti-Semitism can in no way be grounded in the Christian scriptures, and many Protestant denominations, including a number in Germany, the location of Hitler's rise to power, have been exploring in fresh ways the implications of a view that Christians and Jews, who have lived in such destructive tension in the past, can create a more positive future together.

A concern to understand the relationship of Christianity to other world religions is a second area that has been the object of increasing ecumenical attention. A Vatican II declaration, "The Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions" (1965), began to open doors on the Roman Catholic side, and the WCC has held a series of consultations, such as one at Chiang Mai, Thailand, in April 1977, on "Faith in the Midst of Faiths," which sought to explore new ways of dealing with the many communities of faith that exist in a world where Christians have often claimed to be the unique community of faith. The discussion goes back to a meeting of the International Missionary Council in Madras in 1938 on the Christian message to a non-Christian world. The issue is to discover a modus vivendi for all, between an attitude of theological imperialism, which implies that if one faith is the truth no other faiths really have a right to exist, and a syncretism, which implies that there are not enough differences between the faiths to pose an issue and that some amalgamating of them all can create a new faith for the future. The unattractiveness of both options means that the discussion will continue.

A third area of extramural ecumenical dialogue has had varying degrees of success and failure: the relationship between Christianity and Marxism. In the years immediately after World War II, an extended dialogue between Christians and Marxists flourished in Europe, since many Christians had been united with Russians and other communists in opposing the fascism of Hitler and Mussolini. However, the European dialogue was severely set back by Soviet takeovers in such places as Czechoslovakia. The issue of how Christians are to approach Marxism and communism is vitally important, as a matter of daily life as well as intellectual dialogue, because in many areas of the world Christians live under socialist or communist regimes. The entrance of the Russian Orthodox Church into the WCC at the New Delhi world assembly (1961) assured that the issue of Christian presence within a Marxist state would be under continual scrutiny.

The matter is rendered even more urgent in parts of the world where socialism or communism are seen as possible alternatives to oppressive governments that are perceived to be linked to imperialistic forms of capitalism. In Latin America, for example, the issue of Christian involvement in movements seeking to overthrow oppressive dictators cannot be separated from the question of the degree to which Christians are willing to work with Marxists in such situations or to accept certain elements of Marxist analysis in seeking to create a society more in keeping with their understanding of the Christian gospel. Although in the United States concern about Marxism is frequently interpreted as the camel's nose of subversion entering the tent of ecclesiology, the dialogue will remain crucial on an ecumenical level as long as Marxism represents an option for millions of people living in a world Christians are called upon to serve.

A further area of dialogical involvement centers on the appropriate relationship between Christians and those who are defined by a term such as *secularism.* A significant part of every world assembly of the WCC has addressed matters like international relations, racism, poverty, violence, and social embodiments of evil. Vatican II called attention to this new dialogue in its document "The Church and the World Today" (1965), which dealt with problems of culture, the spread of atheism (for which the church acknowledged some responsibility), the role of secular agencies in bringing about social change, and so forth.

But there is an even more fundamental issue, to which the Faith and Order division of the WCC has been directing attention and which is summarized in the title of one Faith and Order study: "Unity of the Church—Unity of Humankind." Recognizing that there is a unity that binds all people together as part of the human family, quite apart from the unity some of them have consciously chosen by their allegiance to Christ, how are those two kinds of unity to be related to one another? Does the former negate the significance of the latter, or vice versa? Can the two unities coexist? Is one too narrow, the other too broad?

The above are only a few examples of ways in which contemporary ecumenical concern is becoming broader and deeper. The original commitment to Christian cooperation has grown beyond issues of exclusive interest to Christians.

SOME UNRESOLVED ECUMENICAL ISSUES. The ecumenical movement is not so close to being successful that it will shortly render itself unnecessary. The three areas of mission, doctrine, and service still contain formidable obstacles to be overcome, though their formulation has shifted in some interesting ways since 1910.

In the area of mission the matter of "sending ambassadors of Christ" to faraway places must be viewed from a new perspective, since it now depends on who is deciding what is "far away." "Foreign missions" used to mean activities beyond the boundaries of North America and Europe. These continents constituted the "center," the rest of the world the "periphery." Mission was conceived of as a one-way street, emanating from the center toward the periphery. By the time of the Whitby conference of the International Missionary Council in 1947, it was clearly and even sternly affirmed that mission had become a two-way street and must remain that way. The new Christian vitality in the last half of the twentieth century seems to be coming from what used to be called the periphery, that is, the younger churches.

The real issue in the 1980s and 1990s and beyond may be the degree to which the "older churches" at the "center" can have the grace to be recipients of new understandings of the gospel that will come from the "younger churches" at the "periphery." For the time being, at least, it may be more ecumenically blessed for the older churches to receive than to give. (The WCC, which at its inception was made up almost entirely of "leaders" from North America and Europe, has responded creatively to the new situation. Increasing numbers of its staff and leadership are drawn from other parts of the world.)

In the area of doctrine there have been a surprising number of theological convergences, even though certain unresolved issues remain central to the question of church reunions. There are increasing degrees of consensus on the meaning of baptism and even on Eucharist, though the matter of ministry (i.e., who is properly validated to administer the sacraments) is far from resolved.

But Catholics and Protestants, for example, are much closer than before on such issues as the authority of scripture, the relationship of scripture to tradition, the meaning of "the priesthood of all believers," the nature of liturgy, the meaning of faith, and the necessity of social involvement on the part of Christians for the good of all. The office of the papacy naturally continues to divide Roman Catholics from the Orthodox, Anglicans, and Protestants, and the claim to infallibility of church teaching, while interpreted in different ways by the Orthodox and the Catholics, is an area where they are discernibly closer to each other than either of them is to the Protestants. The role of Mary in the economy of salvation is another unresolved area, although the Mary of the Magnificat (*Lk.* 1:46–55) is increasingly important to Protestants as well as Catholics.

The difference of atmosphere from earlier times, however, is marked. Rather than closing off unassailable areas from discussion, there is a willingness to reexamine and even restate deeply held truths in the light of what is learned in ecumenical dialogue. Many non-Catholics, for example, could now acknowledge the possibility of some form of papacy, if defined as *primus inter pares*, the pope as a "first among equals." While this is not a definition acceptable to Roman Catholics, many Catholics are nevertheless attempting to define more precisely the meaning of papal authority, especially in the light of Vatican II's conclusion that the bishop of Rome shares teaching authority with the other bishops in the "episcopal college."

Another doctrinal issue, however, will be increasingly important in the life of the ecumenical movement. It has little to do with formulations of a doctrine of the papacy or Eucharist or baptism, but a great deal to do with how doctrines are actually formulated. Protestant ecumenical theology has had a strong classical European stamp upon it, solidly rooted in the biblical heritage of Luther and Calvin. Roman Catholic ecumenical thought has likewise been nurtured by a European frame of reference, though, thanks to thinkers like Karl Rahner, it has been moving in new directions. Orthodox theologians have seen themselves as guarantors of past tradition, and their modes of describing that tradition have the stamp of centuries upon them.

But this is not the background from which Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans have come into the ecumenical movement. There is no reason, this new generation argues, why ways of doing theology in Europe should be normative everywhere. They are insisting that their own theology must now be done indigenously, arising out of their own cultures and using imagery appropriate to those cultures. Thus African Christians are drawing on images and experiences that maintain some continuity with their tribal pasts, to provide new metaphors to speak of the love of God in Jesus Christ. Asians are doing the same with a heritage more venerable than that of Europe, and "water-buffalo theology" (Kosuke Koyama) is more resonant for them than forensic images drawn from medieval courts of law. Latin Americans are insisting that theology must grow out of the experience of the poor, rather than being imposed on the poor by intellectuals in universities. A theological system arises out of human struggle, they are asserting, rather than being provided ahead of time by experts and then "applied" to specific situations. To the degree that the former "periphery" does begin to speak to the former "center"—and is heard—the issue of theological methodology will become an increasingly critical area of discussion.

In the third area, that of service, many difficult ecumenical issues have been posed for discussion, and the drawing of lines of difference bears little resemblance to the situation at the beginning of the modern ecumenical era. If, in the earlier period, it was true to say that "doctrine divides, service unites," the reverse has almost become the descriptive reality: service divides, doctrine unites.

A basic difference between two types of Christian approach to service seems to be part of a legacy that each era leaves to its successor. This legacy is a distinction between (1) those who see the Christian life as fundamentally an individual matter, in which, by giving sufficient attention to the personal and inner dimensions of life, a spirit is created that will transform the outer structures of society, and (2) those who believe that Christian faith is so incurably social that it is never enough just to change individuals and assume they will change society. This second view necessitates a simultaneous frontal attack on the unjust structures of society because they are causes of and manifestations of, as well as the results of, human sin. Almost all Christians, when pressed, would agree that both concerns must be present and that a theology containing one and not the other would be truncated and incorrect. But in practice, the matter of priority, or, even more, proportion, between the two is a significant cause of division.

What becomes ecumenically confusing is that divisions over such matters bear no resemblance to past denominational or confessional allegiances. For example, the lines between Roman Catholics and Protestants are not usually drawn on an issue such as the appropriateness from a Christian perspective of possessing nuclear weapons. Some Catholics will be closer to some Protestants than they will be to most other Catholics; some Presbyterians may be more at home in the company of Methodists on this matter than with their fellow Presbyterians. Within a Catholic religious order, the most diversified opinions may be found on the ethical responsibility of multinationals, and within member churches of the WCC similar divisions occur.

Issues of practice, then, are more often volatile sources of disagreement than issues of belief. For example, when "conservatives" attack the WCC, the issue is less likely to be a Faith and Order commission report on baptism than the allocation of funds for the Program to Combat Racism. Some Catholics appear to be more upset with the social analysis of Catholic liberation theologians than with Protestant views of the meaning of papal infallibility. Church members in the twenty-first century are better able to tolerate doctrinal differences on the meaning of the real presence in the Eucharist than to allow for two points of view on whether or not "class struggle" is a legitimate descriptive term in Christian social analysis. So it is tensions within the realm of service—how the church is to relate to the world, what it is to do in relation to revolutionary situations, how it is to make a critique of the economic order (or whether it is even appropriate to do so)—that have become the causes of the deepest ecumenical ruptures.

Beyond the focal points of mission, doctrine, and service, other unresolved, structural issues remain. For example, what should be the relationship of world confessional bodies, which are global expressions of denominationalism, to the WCC? Is the continuation of such groups as the Lutheran World Federation or the World Alliance of Reformed Churches a contribution or a detriment to ecumenism? Do they impede the cause of Christian unity, or are they provisionally necessary for the maintenance of certain doctrinal emphases and portions of a tradition that might otherwise be lost?

Coupled with such matters is the problem of size. Is there a "critical mass" beyond which concern for the Christian message will be dissipated simply because of the need to keep the wheels of a large organization running smoothly? To the degree that ecumenical dialogue brings about new understandings that render unnecessary the ongoing life of separate denominations, will the resultant mergers necessarily be vehicles for a refining of the prophetic nature of the gospel, or will bigness breed slowness and timidity? Whatever the answers to these and yet unanticipated questions, ecumenical concerns will persist in the life of the church as long as there is a discrepancy between the actual state of the church and the will of the head of the church "that all may be one."

SEE ALSO African Religions, article on New Religious Movements; Anti-Semitism; Australian Indigenous Religions, articles on Aboriginal Christianity, New Religious Movements; Christian Ethics; Christianity; Church, article on Church Polity; Councils, article on Christian Councils; Creeds, article on Christian Creeds; Denominationalism; Dialogue of Religions; Eucharist; Faith; Holocaust, The; Marxism; Mary; Ministry; Missions, article on Christian Missions; North American Indian Religions, article on New Religious Movements; Oceanic Religions, article on Missionary Movements; Papacy; Political Theology; Reformation; Sacrament, article on Christian Sacraments; Schism, article on Christian Schism; Theology, article on Christian Theology; Vatican Councils, articles on Vatican II.

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ROBERT MCAFEE BROWN (1987)

EDDAS. The Icelandic works known as the Eddas form our most important sources for Scandinavian mythology. The *Poetic Edda* is a collection of alliterative poems. First in the Danish Royal Library (hence the collection's name, *Codex Regius*), this manuscript was transferred to Iceland in 1971. Sixteen pages were lost from the middle between 1641 and 1643; the remaining ninety pages contain eleven poems about the gods and eighteen about Germanic heroes. A few poems in a similar style are found in other medieval manuscripts. The work known as the *Prose Edda* or Snorri's *Edda* is a handbook of poetry written by Snorri Sturluson between around 1225 and 1230. To explain circumlocutions such as "Freyja's tears" for "gold," Snorri relates myths about the gods. In one manuscript the work is given the title *Edda*. The derivation of this word is obscure, although several explanations have been proposed.

The authorship, date, and place of origin of the eddic poems are unknown. The *Codex Regius* was written about 1270, but its poems were copied from several manuscripts that are now lost. The poems quoted in Snorri's *Edda* must be from before 1230, and close echoes of them are found in court verse from the tenth and eleventh centuries. Their mythological lore must be older still, for it underlies the metaphors used by Norwegian court poets from the ninth century on. Eddic poetry was probably being composed in Scandinavia by the ninth century, although the content and form of these poems is unknown. Their mythological and heroic lore existed for two hundred years in Christian oral tradition, most likely for its entertainment value.

ORGANIZATION OF THE *CODEX REGIUS*. The *Codex Regius* has a clear hierarchical organization. It starts with cosmology; continues with Óðinn, Freyr, Þórr, and other supernatural beings; and concludes with human heroes. The poems on their own are not easy to understand, as they assume familiarity with the myths; therefore, the compiler supplies some commentary. But even so, knowledge of Scandinavian mythology would be sparse were it not for Snorri, who also organizes and explains the mythological lore he sets down. A prologue asserts that the heathen religion arose from nature worship and that the gods known as the Æsir are actually men, the descendants of King Priam of Troy. They emigrated from Asia, from which their name derives, and their king, Óðinn, gave his sons the rule of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. This section, reflecting patristic approaches to paganism, may be intended to deflect any criticism of the retelling of pagan mythology.

The next part, the *Gylfaginning* (Deluding of Gylfi), uses a frame narrative—the quest of the Swedish king Gylfi to learn about the Æsir—to retell myths about the creation, cosmology, some two dozen gods and goddesses, and the end of the mythological world at Ragnarǫk. The triad of gods who answer Gylfi's questions appears to be modeled on the Christian Trinity. The third section, *Skáldskaparmál* (Language of poetry), uses a different dialogue to present additional myths, but it primarily discusses the diction of court poetry. The last section, *Háttatal* (Enumeration of meters), contains three of Snorri's poems illustrating many Norse verse forms, together with a prose commentary. Snorri most likely included mythology in his *Edda* because so many poetic circumlocutions required a knowledge of it. Viewing the heathen religion with detachment, he writes about the gods with irony and humor. He has little interest in allegorical or symbolic explanations of myths, and where he does offer an interpretation, it is an etiological one.

Given the inescapably mediated nature of the Eddas, can anything about authentic Scandinavian paganism be learned from them? The thirteenth-century forms were recorded by people who cannot have held them sacred, making them an unreliable source for religious history. Nonetheless, the myths do seem to be a reflex of paganism, as seen by the parallels between Snorri's myths and those of Saxo Grammaticus (c. 1150–after 1216), whose work predates Snorri's and was not known in Iceland. In addition, the eddic depictions of the gods correspond to what is known of the earlier Germanic pantheon.

THE FIRST FIVE POEMS. The *Poetic Edda* opens with *Vǫluspá* (Prophecy of the seeress), composed perhaps in late-tenth- or early-eleventh-century Iceland. It relates the creation of the worlds, the war between the two groups of gods (Æsir and Vanir), the death of Baldr, the fall of the gods, the destruction of the earth by fire and water, and its reemergence from the sea, beginning a new age. The poet was probably not a Christian, but the moral framework, the idea of punishment or reward for human beings after death, the coming of an unnamed new god referred to only as *inn ríki* (the mighty one), and the obsession with the end of the world do suggest syncretic use of Christian material. If the poet was a Christian, he was well versed in pagan mythology and does not display the hostility towards it common among early Norse Christians.

The second poem, *Hávamál* (Speech of the High One), begins the sequence about Óðinn. A composite work drawn from at least six sources, it lists the spells known to Óðinn and describes his winning the secret of runes by hanging from the World Tree for nine nights, wounded with a spear, a sacrifice of himself to himself. The elements of this myth all have parallels in Norse tradition, and it is probably not influenced by the Christian crucifixion. Next are two short narratives about Óðinn's unsuccessful wooing of a resolute maiden and his seduction of a giant's daughter in order to steal the mead of poetic inspiration. Finally, a long series of proverbs offers advice. References to cremation and memorial stones indicate the poem's origin in pagan Norway. In the third poem, *Vafþrúðnismál* (The lay of Vafþrúðnir), Óðinn holds a riddle contest with the giant Vafþrúðnir to see who knows the most mythological lore; defeat means death for the vanquished. They cover creation, the halls of the gods, the World Tree and the creatures that live on it, the life of warriors after death in the hall of Óðinn, and the events leading to Ragnarǫk. A variant of this myth is found in the fourth poem, *Grímnismál* (The lay of Grímnir).

The fifth poem, *Skírnismál* (The lay of Skírnir), tells of the wooing of the fair giantess Gerðr by Freyr, the fertility god. This myth seems quite archaic, and even if one sets aside the interpretations associating the story with any particular fertility ritual, there can be no doubt that sex and fertility lie at its core. The myth has also been interpreted as reaffirming the patriarchal structure of Old Norse society, depicting a male-female struggle for power and providing a matrix for resolving conflict between different families through a system of exchange and intermarriage.

ÞÓRR: FOUR POEMS. Þórr is the subject of the next four poems. In *Hárbarðsljóð* (The song of Hárbarðr) he tries to compel Óðinn, who is disguised as a ferryman, to take him across a fjord. When they recognize one another, they exchange insults referring to shameful incidents in the past. *Hymiskviða* (The lay of Hymir) describes how Þórr went fishing with the giant Hymir and nearly caught the sea serpent that encircles the earth. The tale is humorously told, but this does not diminish its underlying seriousness, for the emergence of the monster from the depths is the signal for the beginning of Ragnarǫk and the end of the world. The importance of this myth is seen from its depiction on Viking Age carved stones in Sweden, Denmark, and England. *Lokasenna* (Loki's exchange of insults) tells how the mischievous Loki is evicted from the gods' banquet for killing a servant. He immediately returns, and a heated exchange of abuse ensues in which he reminds each god of some humiliating incident. *Lokasenna* was grouped with the poems about Þórr because Loki leaves only when faced with Þórr's fury. The poet's purpose was probably to recite a catalogue of the important stories about the gods, perhaps as an *aide-mémoire.*

Þrymskviða (The lay of Þrymr), thought to be one of the youngest mythological poems (from the beginning of the thirteenth century), borrows phrases from older poems to describe the theft of Þórr's hammer by the giant Þrymr, who wants to exchange it for the hand of Freyja, goddess of love. Þórr goes to Þrymr disguised as Freyja, his face covered by the bridal veil, and Loki accompanies him disguised as a maid. Thanks to this ruse, Þórr is able to recover his hammer when it is brought in as part of the wedding ceremony. Like *Hymiskviða*, *Þrymskviða* treats a serious threat in a comic vein. Without Þórr's hammer to protect them, the gods would be at the mercy of the giants, but Þórr's unfeminine behavior and Loki's inspired excuses for him are truly amusing. However, this myth is otherwise unknown, and it may simply be a skillful imitation of "authentic" mythological poems.

The Final Poems on the Gods. The last two mythological poems nominally deal with lesser supernatural beings. *Völundarvkiða* (The lay of Völundr) tells the tragic story of the smith Völundr (in English: Weland, Wayland), who exacts a grisly vengeance on the king who captures him. Völundr is probably not a native figure of Scandinavian mythology, but his Norse appellation *álfa dróttinn* (Lord of Elves) seems to have led the compiler of the *Codex Regius* to place the poem here, rather than with the heroic poems with which modern scholars classify it. *Alvíssmál* (The lay of Alvíss) is a wisdom contest like *Vafþrúðnismál.* Here Þórr uses questions to keep the dwarf Alvíss (All-Wise)—who has persuaded the other gods to give him Þórr's daughter as a bride—up all night until the rays of the sun turn him into stone.

Outside the *Codex Regius.* Eddic poems not in the *Codex Regius* include *Baldrs draumar* (Dreams of Baldr), which describes how Óðinn seeks information from a seeress about the fate of his son Baldr. The incomplete *Rígsþula* (Rígr's list of names) treats the origin and structure of human society. Rígr (whom the medieval scribe says is the god Heimdallr) visits three farms, where each housewife gives birth to a boy nine months later. The child at the first farm is named Þræll (Slave), the child at the second is Karl (Freeman), and the child at the third is Jarl (Earl). Each has the stereotypical appearance of his social class. The poem thus employs an aristocratic, secular perspective in its survey of the social hierarchy and reflects archaic insular influences—such as the name Rígr, which corresponds to the Old Irish *rí* (king)—and the implicit sanction of the custom of allowing distinguished visitors to have sexual relations with the wife of the host. Scholars are split between regarding it as a mirror of Viking Age society (tenth century to c. 1100) and as a product of the learned milieu of late-twelfth-century and thirteenth-century Norway and Iceland.

Grottasöngr tells how King Fróði of Denmark had a mill that would grind out whatever its owner wished for. At first the king ordered it to grind gold and happiness for himself and peace for his kingdom, but his greed drove the two slaves who worked the mill to rebel and grind out vengeance and destruction. *Hyndluljóð*'s recounts how Freyja forces the giantess Hyndla to tell the genealogy of her protégé Óttarr. In addition to this information, Hyndla recites a version of *Vǫluspá.* Most scholars believe that this was originally a separate poem older than the verses about Freyja and Óttarr but younger than *Vǫluspá. Hyndluljóð*'s emphasis on genealogy and the interrelationship of noble families and legendary heroic figures suggests that it is a mythologization created for sociolegal purposes.

Snorri's Sources. When Snorri assembled the myths in his *Edda*, he made extensive use of the eddic poems and also drew on tales of the gods from other, unknown sources. He gives several traditional views about the creation of the world; describes the gods and goddesses and other supernatural beings, listing lesser ones about whom little or nothing is known; and explains how Óðinn and two companions created the first man and woman from logs of wood. Snorri also recounts a number of myths and legends concerning the gods and the giants. One is the tale of how a giant built the stronghold of Ásgarðr, whereupon the gods cheated him out of his wages and took his life; Óðinn's eight-legged horse Sleipnir was an unintended result of the gods' trickery. Another relates how the god Týr lost his hand in the process of binding the wolf Fenrir. Other tales relate how Óðinn brought the mead of poetry to Ásgarðr, which treasures the dwarfs fashioned for the gods, what befell Þórr in the land of the giants and at the court of Útgarða-Loki, and how he dueled with the giant Hrungnir. The defeat of the giant Þjazi results in the marriage of his daughter Skaði to one of the Vanir hostages, the sea god Njörðr. Loki's escapades culminate in the tale of how he caused the death of Baldr and was bound by the gods under the earth as a punishment. Finally, Snorri gives an account of Ragnarǫk that is based on *Vǫluspá* but which incorporates popular beliefs about the world's ending.

See Also Freyr; Óðinn; Saxo Grammaticus; Snorri Sturluson; Týr.

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ELIZABETH ASHMAN ROWE (2005)

EDDY, MARY BAKER (1821–1910), the American discoverer of Christian Science, founded the Church of Christ, Scientist, "to commemorate the word and works" of Christ Jesus and "to reinstate primitive Christianity and its lost element of healing" (Eddy, 1895, p. 17). The subject of vehement attack by the popular press and male theologians of her day, and of staunch defense by proponents of her teaching, Eddy remains a controversial figure.

Prayer, biblical readings, and religious discussion were prominent features of her rural New England upbringing, and Baptist, Methodist, and Congregational clergy frequented the family home. As a child, Eddy rebelled against the stern Calvinism of her father's religion, preferring the more loving deity of her mother's teaching. Despite her reservations about the doctrine of predestination, Eddy joined the Congregational Church and remained a member until she founded her own religious organization.

In the late twentieth century, feminist scholars turned to Eddy's life and leadership, hoping to find in her a model of empowerment for women. Eddy was not, however, primarily interested in political freedom but in a liberation theology that freed people from the "bondage of sickness and sin" (Eddy, 1875, p. 368).

Critics sought to dismiss Eddy by accusing her of being a hysterical female in the stereotypical nineteenth-century mode. This accusation failed to take into account an ancient precedent that may be more relevant in Eddy's case. In the second and third centuries CE Christian women were accused of hysteria by an emerging male religious hierarchy as a means of marginalizing women's religious authority. The accusation is particularly notable in patriarchal dismissal of female theologians who, like Eddy, functioned without deference to male authority. This precedent provides a historical antecedent, and not just a cultural one, for the opposition Eddy's teachings attracted.

EARLY LIFE. Eddy was born in Bow, New Hampshire, the youngest of the six children of Mark Baker and Abigail Ambrose Baker. Her formal education was sporadic, and she was often kept home from school due to illness. In her autobiography, *Retrospection and Introspection*, she wrote that her father was "taught to believe" her brain was too large for her body (Eddy, 1891, p. 10). Even though her schooling was uneven, she spent several terms at academies for young women.

Eddy was a keen learner and an avid reader, and throughout her life she kept scrapbooks of writings that had attracted her. In *Science and Health* she praised observation, invention, study, and original thought as "academics of the right sort" (Eddy, 1875, p. 195). Typically, what interested her were the ways thought was expanded through learning, rather than learning as mere acquisition of facts.

MARRIAGE AND MOTHERHOOD. Eddy's first marriage, in 1843, was to George Washington Glover. He died of yellow fever the following year, however. The pregnant widow returned to New England from her home in South Carolina, and eventually her young son was put in the care of a family retainer. Eddy was not reunited with him until he was grown and a parent himself.

In 1853, in the hope of providing a home for her son, Eddy married Daniel Patterson. He, however, was unwilling to have the boy. An itinerant dentist, Patterson was frequently absent from home, and in 1866 he abandoned his wife permanently. It was not until 1873 that Eddy applied for and was granted a divorce.

During these years Eddy suffered various illnesses that often kept her bedridden. She sought relief through a variety of alternative medical methods, including allopathy, homeopathy, and hydropathy. In 1862 she traveled to the Portland, Maine, clinic of Dr. Phineas P. Quimby, a magnetic healer. The extent of Quimby's influence on Eddy's thought is one of the more controversial aspects of her life.

After Eddy had become well known, Quimby's son and several of the doctor's associates claimed she had misrepresented Quimby's teaching as her own. Eddy acknowledged she had edited Quimby's notes but denied that he was her source for Christian Science. In fact, Quimby's techniques were based on mesmerism, while Eddy's practice was firmly rooted in the Christianity that had always been her strength.

Eddy's faith was tested after Quimby's death when in 1866 she suffered internal injuries following a fall on an icy path. Eddy later recalled that she turned to her Bible and read an account of one of Jesus' healings recorded in the Gospels. Subsequently she spoke of her instant recovery as a transformative experience in which she glimpsed "Life in and of Spirit" (Eddy, 1896, p. 24). The fall on the ice has assumed mythic importance in the history of Christian Science. Although the homeopathic physician who was called to Eddy's bedside later claimed it was his treatment that healed her, Eddy insisted it was her glimpse of a spiritual reality that effected the physical healing. The discovery of Christian Science is dated from this event.

Eddy's third marriage was to Asa Gilbert Eddy in 1877. Their brief union ended with his death in 1882. Gilbert

Eddy was one of his wife's early followers and the first to publicly advertise as a Christian Science healer.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE. Prior to her fall, Eddy's life had been fairly conventional. In nineteenth-century America, men held legal, financial, and decision-making power over women's lives. Women, especially genteel women, were daughters, sisters, wives, mothers, widows—and Eddy was all of these. Even in religion women were denied a public voice in worship and were expected to assent to the beliefs of their male relatives. In preaching a theology that promoted biblical authority over clerical teaching, and in founding a church, Eddy threatened established patriarchal positions and subsequently suffered legal, verbal, and even physical consequences.

Following her recovery, Eddy committed herself to a deep study of the Bible, spending the next several years seeking the spiritual significance of biblical accounts of healing. She searched for the "primitive Christianity" of Jesus and the early Christians in the period before the institutional church darkened its hue (Eddy, 1875, p. 139). This was her concept of evangelical religion. She wrote extensive exegetical notes, particularly reflecting on the books of *Genesis* and *Revelation.* Revisions of these books, and the addition of a glossary containing her interpretation of the spiritual meaning of selected terms mainly drawn from these two books, later formed the basis of her class teaching and the "Key to the Scriptures" section of the Christian Science textbook. As her radical ideas developed and she began to broadcast them, she found herself at odds with family and friends.

Over the next few years Eddy moved from boardinghouse to boardinghouse. She had little in the way of financial resources and made her living through modest literary contributions and eventually by taking students, to whom she began to teach her theology of healing. Her teaching was reinforced by her own healing practice. During this period she began writing her major work, *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures,* the first edition of which was published in 1875. The book went through eight major revisions and over two hundred lesser versions before Eddy's death.

Initially Eddy hoped her ideas would be adopted by existing churches. When this did not happen, she organized her own church in 1879, only to abandon its charter in 1889. In 1892 she reorganized the church and named it the First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Massachusetts. Although Eddy herself preached both from the pulpit and in public halls, she decreed in 1895 that there would be no ordained clergy in her church. Instead she "ordained" the Bible and *Science and Health* as its pastor. Worship services consisted of readings from the Bible and "correlative passages" from her book. The readers, one man and one woman, were elected for a stipulated term from the lay membership.

In addition to Sunday and midweek worship, Eddy provided for lecturers who visited communities by invitation. Both women and men could be called to this position. She developed a highly centralized government for her church, delegating daily oversight to a board of directors. Both men and women were eligible to serve in this capacity, although female directors remained in the minority. Eddy also set up a structure for theological education, the teachers of which could be either men or women. Most notable, however, was the prominence of females in the public practice of what Eddy called Christian healing.

During the remainder of her life Eddy faced repeated internal dissension from followers wishing to supplement or supplant her teaching with their own. Most of these left Christian Science, and several of the women eventually became religious leaders in their own right, particularly in the New Thought movement. Eddy was convinced that the glimpse of spiritual reality she had experienced in 1866 and its subsequent refinement was divinely inspired and, as such, could not be modified by anyone else. Neither the church government she formed nor the denominational textbook she wrote can be revised. Her final achievement was the founding of an international newspaper, the *Christian Science Monitor,* in 1908.

At a time when many women lived domestically centered lives, Eddy's talent for organization and for conducting business, skills nineteenth-century society usually associated with men, attracted hostility and opposition. Followers defected and opponents criticized the control she maintained. At the same time, others found healing through the teachings of Christian Science.

THEOLOGICAL TEACHINGS. As a child Eddy was immersed in the thought and language of the Bible. Her mature writings are replete with biblical allusions and citations. Her reading of the Bible, though, was often unconventional, and both nineteenth- and twentieth-century commentators criticized her theology as abstruse, uninformed, even heterodox.

In her spiritual interpretation of the Lord's Prayer, first published in 1891, Eddy defined God as Father and Mother. In 1900 she changed the designation to Father-Mother. Eddy was not the first female theologian to identify God in this way. Julian of Norwich (1342–after 1416) and the Shaker Mother Ann Lee (1736–1784) had described God as Mother, and there are biblical precedents as well. Hannah Whitall Smith, a contemporary of Eddy and a member of the Holiness movement in Philadelphia, also likened God to a Mother. However, there is no evidence that Eddy drew on any of these for her own interpretation.

From the third through the fifteenth editions of *Science and Health,* Eddy used the feminine pronoun for God in her chapter "Creation," reverting to the masculine pronoun in 1886. She also consistently employed nongendered terminology for God, referring to the deity as Life, Truth, Love, Spirit, Soul, Mind, and Principle.

Eddy's theological reflections in her chapter "Science, Theology, and Medicine" primarily relate to the nature of Christ and the character of Jesus. She wrote that Jesus was the highest human concept, inseparable from Christ, which she defined "as the divine idea of God outside the flesh" (Eddy, 1875, p. 482).

To a twenty-first-century reader, Eddy's use of *man* as a generic term sounds dated. However, she declared that masculine, feminine, and neuter genders are "human concepts," weakened by anthropomorphism (Eddy, 1875, p. 516). For Eddy, generic man was a nongendered spiritual idea, neither an "Eve or an Adam" (Eddy, 1887, p. 51). Feminist commentators operating out of a body-affirming late-twentieth-century and early-twenty-first-century imagination have been disappointed that Eddy's teaching does not relate to female bodies any more or less than to male bodies. Her rejection of corporeality as the real embodiment of woman and man is based on her teaching that the physical condition is a misapprehension. Eddy posits, on a biblical basis, that creation was originally and is ultimately spiritual. This spiritual image of body held in thought affects physical conditions in a redemptive manner that heals the human body.

A theologian, healer, teacher, author, and publisher, Eddy continued to function as leader of her church into her ninetieth year. In the twenty-first century Eddy has been recognized for her pioneering work in the field of spiritual healing.

SEE ALSO Christian Science; Lee, Ann; New Thought Movement.

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DIANE TREACY-COLE (2005)

EDO RELIGION. The Edo-speaking peoples live in a tropical forest region of southern Nigeria. Their language formerly belonged to the Kwa family of Niger-Congo languages and is now classified with the South Central Niger-Congo group (Ruhlen, 1991). The Edo proper, centered in and around Benin City, are of long standing in this region. Oral traditions suggest that by the thirteenth or fourteenth century, the Edo were united into a powerful kingdom that by the fifteenth century had embarked on a course of aggressive military expansion in southern Nigeria. At the end of the fifteenth century, Portuguese explorers made contact with them, recording for the first time the name *Benin*, which has been used since to refer to the kingdom (the people are sometimes referred to as the *Bini*). In the ensuing 500 years following contact with Portugal, the Benin traded with many European nations until, in 1897, Benin fell to British colonial expansion and was incorporated into the wider political framework of Nigeria. Benin City, the capital of the kingdom from medieval times, is today the administrative center and capital of modern Edo State, one of thirty-three states created in late-twentieth-century, postcolonial Nigeria.

Traditional Edo religion divides the world into two realms: a visible world of ordinary human experience, and an invisible world of gods, ancestors, and other supernatural beings. The spirit world is a realm located under the ground or where the sky and earth meet. It has a parallel existence that constantly affects the everyday world. Rituals central to Edo religion, including prayers, offerings, and sacrifices, take place at meeting points between both realms, at shrines inside homes and villages, or at the foot of trees, crossroads, or the banks of rivers.

The two realms were created by the supreme being, Osanobua. He also established the framework of space and time and made the first humans by breathing lifeforce into molded clay images. Osanobua is envisioned as a king living in a palace from which he presides over the spirit world, having delegated responsibility for the everyday world to his children, the other gods of the Edo pantheon. The most important among them is Olokun, his son and ruler of the great waters, who resides in his own palace under the Ethiope River, which the Edo believe is the source of all the world's waters. From there Olokun sends the blessings of wealth and children to his faithful devotees, especially women who desire children. Olokun's wives and chiefs are the gods of the main rivers of the kingdom and are worshiped locally by villagers.

Ogun, another son of Osanobua, is the patron deity of all who work and use metal: the blacksmiths and brass and bronze casters; and the warriors, hunters, farmers, and modern vehicle drivers, for example. Ogun is seen as the god "who opens the way"—that is, he makes it possible for other deities and ancestors to be effective. Olokun and Ogun are vital forces in contemporary Edo religious life, but some deities, such as Ogiuwu, god of death, and Obiemwen, the great mother goddess, are no longer worshiped in Benin. Other deities, including Esu, Sango, and Oronmila, have been borrowed from the Yoruba to the west of Benin, especially in border areas where the two ethnic groups have been in close contact. Mammy Water is a cult borrowed from the Igbo area to the east.

Edo men and women alike may keep a shrine or shrines to Olokun, Ogun, or other gods. In addition, families and subdivisions (quarters) of towns and villages also keep communal shrines for the worship of various local deities. A family or ancestral shrine is kept in the house of the eldest son, who inherits all his father's property. Requests for assistance and appeals are addressed to these ancestors as well as to the gods.

Individuals both male and female become religious specialists through apprenticeship, attainment of seniority, or a by a religious "calling" signaled in trance states. There are two main religious roles: priest or priestess and Osun adept, Osun being the god of medicines. Priests and priestesses officiate at ceremonies, perform sacrifices, lead songs and prayers, and convey messages from a deity who "speaks" through them while they are dancing and/or in a trance. Throughout the year priests hold annual festivals to honor their own deity (usually Olokun or Ogun) and others. They also hold an annual festival to honor the deity who "speaks" through them. Although some priests have the knowledge to cure illness, the Osun specialists are the primary medical experts in traditional Edo religion and culture. The adept of Osun, seeking to gain knowledge of the power inherent in leaves and herbs, undergoes an apprenticeship, after which he is able to divine the causes of sickness, prescribe herbal treatments; in the old days, he also administered poison and other ordeals. Witchcraft is widely believed to be the ultimate cause of illness. Witches are identified as persons of evil intent who use their knowledge of herbalism to cause barrenness, disease, and premature death. At night witches are able to transform themselves into predatory birds and fly about. They meet in trees and plot to harm their innocent victims.

Adult men and women who have lived a full lifespan and have children receive a proper burial. The male heads of families join the group's ancestors who reside in the spirit world, but maintain their interest and involvement in the daily lives of their descendants. The ancestral altar located in the home of the senior male of a lineage, or the shrine in a special section of a ward or a village, is the focus of sacrifices and prayers at periodic rituals and in times of crisis, when appeals for help are made.

The ancestors of the king of Benin (who is known as the *oba*) are considered the protectors of the nation at large. Their altars are national shrines housed in the royal palace. As the descendant of these divine kings and the possessor of vast supernatural powers, the *oba* is a central figure in Edo religion. In Edo cosmology, the *oba* is called "king of dry land," and he is the earthly counterpart of the great deity Olokun, "king of the waters," giver of wealth and children. The king and his court are occupied throughout the year with public and private rituals aimed at preserving the well-being and prosperity of the Edo nation.

In the early sixteenth century the *oba* permitted Portuguese Catholic missionaries to establish their church in Benin City; it lasted until the late seventeenth century. The church was reestablished in the twentieth century and is known as the *oba*'s church, with worshipers at three locations in the city. Twentieth-century missionary activity by Protestant denominations and many evangelical groups converted some Edo to Christianity, and some Edo have converted to Islam, but traditional religion, with the *oba* at its core, continues to flourish.

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PAULA BEN-AMOS (1987)
FLORA EDOUWAYE S. KAPLAN (2005)

EDUCATION, RELIGIOUS SEE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

EDWARDS, JONATHAN (1703–1758), was an American theologian and philosopher. Born in East Windsor, Connecticut, Edwards was the only son in a family of eleven children. His father, Timothy Edwards, a graduate of Harvard College, was the minister of the Congregational church in that town. His mother was the daughter of Solomon Stoddard, the minister at Northampton, Massachusetts.

LIFE AND WORK. As a youth Edwards was nurtured and instructed in the tenets of Reformed theology and the practices of Puritan piety. He entered the Collegiate School (later Yale College) in 1716; the course of study included classical and biblical languages, logic, natural philosophy, and the "new philosophy." He received the B.A. degree in 1720 and subsequently spent two additional years in New Haven studying theology. These early years, during which Edwards's inclination toward intellectual pursuits quickly became evident, were difficult but significant; the same period proved decisive religiously, too.

In August 1722 Edwards accepted his first pastorate at a Presbyterian congregation in New York City, a position he held until May of the following year. In the fall of 1723 he became the pastor at Bolton, Connecticut, but after a short time gave up the position. In May 1724 he assumed responsibilities as a tutor at Yale College. Two years later he resigned to become the ministerial colleague of his maternal grandfather in Northampton. He was ordained in February 1727 and in the same year married Sarah Pierrepont, the daughter of the Congregational minister in New Haven. Upon the death of Stoddard in 1729, Edwards became the full minister in Northampton.

The following years were times of expanding responsibilities. Edwards paid a great deal of attention to the preparation of sermons. A lecture he gave at Boston in 1731 became the first of his sermons to be published. He began to gain a reputation as a defender of Reformed doctrines. Edwards became a leading member of the Hampshire Association, an organization of clergymen in the county. His family also expanded with regularity, eventually reaching a total of eleven children.

The congregation at Northampton experienced an extraordinary manifestation of religious zeal during the winter of 1734–1735. The ferment spread to other communities in the Connecticut River valley. Accounts of these events sent by Edwards to Boston eventually circulated in expanded form throughout the American colonies and Great Britain, making him something of a celebrity. To his dismay, however, the religious fervor in Northampton proved short-lived.

In the fall of 1740 the languishing religious situation in New England changed dramatically with the arrival from England of George Whitefield, who in mid-October visited Northampton, where his preaching affected many, including Edwards. Scores of ministers adopted Whitefield's pattern of itinerancy and began to preach outside their own pulpits. In July 1741, for example, Edwards preached his now-famous sermon titled "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God" at Enfield, Connecticut, having delivered earlier versions at several locations. The emotional outbursts accompanying the Great Awakening became increasingly controversial, causing critics to question the legitimacy of the revivalists and of the "New Lights." By 1742 the opponents of the revivals, led by Charles Chauncy of Boston's First Church, stepped up their attacks. Edwards answered these "Old Lights" by publishing a major defense of the revivals, declaring them the work of God's spirit and a harbinger of the millennial age. During the same period he preached a series of sermons that became the nucleus for his fullest statement on the evangelical nature of true religion, *A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections.* After the revivals waned again, he sought new ways to foster religious concern: For example, he supported a plan for a worldwide concert of prayer.

Late in the 1740s Edwards was forced to turn his attention to problems in Northampton. Conflict developed with members of his congregation over questions of ministerial authority. An open rupture was provoked by Edwards's announcement that he intended to discontinue his grandfather's practice of admitting to communion those in good standing, unless they could provide evidence of a work of grace in their lives. The conflict spread into town politics and into relations with neighboring ministers; bitter factionalism prevailed. After months of controversy, a council of ministers and laity recommended a separation, and Edwards's formal dismissal followed in mid-1750.

Edwards faced uncertain prospects following his removal. After receiving several offers to settle, including one tentative proposal from Scotland, in May 1751 he accepted a pastoral call to Stockbridge in western Massachusetts, a mission outpost populated by a few whites and more than 250 Indian families. Life at Stockbridge was difficult, especially after the outbreak of warfare in the mid-1750s. Despite the circumstances, these years were perhaps Edwards's most productive. Not only did he continue his pattern of study, but he wrote several major treatises. His writings gave voice to a lifetime of reflection.

In the fall of 1757 Edwards received an invitation from the College of New Jersey (later Princeton) to become president of that young Presbyterian institution. After some reluctance, he consented and in February 1758 journeyed to New Jersey. One week after his arrival he was inoculated against smallpox; less than one month later he became a victim of that disease. Edwards was buried in the cemetery at Princeton.

WRITINGS. The writings of Edwards fall into five categories: personal writings, sermons, occasional pieces, philosophical and theological works less directly occasional, and private notebooks. A substantial body of materials exists in each of these categories.

Edwards's most significant personal writings from the early period of his life, the "Diary" and "Resolutions," provide a contemporary record of his spiritual struggles and of his determination to pursue the religious life. The "Personal Narrative," a later recollection, records for spiritual edification his youthful experiences. Moreover, Edwards's correspondence was voluminous. He wrote to family members, students and colleagues, business associates, and evangelical leaders in America and Great Britain. His letters reveal a personal side not evident in the standard depictions of him as an intellectual, a preacher, and a polemicist.

Edwards's most pressing responsibility was preaching to his congregation. He invested heavily in the preparation of sermons, which often gave the first public expression to ideas developed in his notebooks. During his lifetime Edwards published eighteen sermons. The most famous of all, his Enfield sermon, continues to attract widespread attention today. Of greater significance, perhaps, is the "Farewell Sermon" in which he revealed his personal perspective upon the Northampton controversy. Two of Edwards's sermon series, *A History of the Work of Redemption* and *Charity and Its Fruits,* were published as treatises after his death. Today there is extant a collection of approximately thirteen hundred manuscript sermons.

A substantial number of Edwards's publications were written in response to particular circumstances. The most notable of his occasional writings describe and defend the revivals. *A Faithful Narrative* is clinically descriptive by contrast with the partisan, celebratory tone of *Some Thoughts. A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections* is theologically reflective, the *Life of Brainerd* didactic, and *An Humble Attempt* guardedly optimistic. All form part of an extended apology for evangelical religion. His publications relating to the communion controversy, although polemical, reinforce the same concerns.

Nearly all of Edwards's writings are in a sense occasional. Several of his publications, however, are more programmatic, defining fundamental theological and philosophical positions. For example, in the treatises *Free Will* and *Original Sin,* Edwards addressed himself to questions regarding human nature and human capacity. But they too were written in response to Enlightenment assaults upon traditional views and are part of his defense of classic Reformed doctrines. Shorter writings, titled *End of Creation* and *True Virtue,* have an even more abstract quality. At his death Edwards was at work on a rational defense of Christianity, a harmony of scripture, and a history of the work of redemption.

Edwards's study habits yielded an immense amount of material in his private notebooks. The notebooks "Natural Philosophy" and "The Mind" have received widespread attention, but the "Miscellanies," which contains theological, biblical, and philosophical reflections, is the most important source for tracing the development of his ideas. He also devoted separate notebooks to general biblical commentary, apocalyptic writing, typology, prophecy, history, sermon ideas, and symbolism in nature. Edwards's method of study included writing and rewriting his ideas, developing certain themes, and citing or paraphrasing works he read. The "Catalogue," a notebook referring to his reading, contains a working bibliography that documents the wide range of his interests.

THOUGHT. Edwards's religious and philosophical ideas form a coherent body of thought, but no complete system was stated by him. Among his unfinished projects were plans for such a statement. He must be viewed as a transitional thinker, looking back to the Reformed heritage and also drawing heavily upon the Enlightenment. Edwards employed biblical concepts as well as insights from the new science. He set for himself the task of defending orthodox views against liberal assaults from the Arminian party, but he also borrowed the ideas of his contemporaries to revise and restate the tradition.

One central theme in Edwards's thought is the universal depravity of humankind. According to him, all humanity shared in the original sin of Adam whereby a supernatural gift of grace was lost. The identity of humankind with Adam was constituted by divine decree, and by virtue of that identity, the fall condemned all to a life of certain and actual sin. Sin, in turn, merits condemnation and punishment; the greater the sin, the greater the deserved punishment. Transgressions against God are deserving of eternal retribution. Since the fall, humans are not truly free to choose the good.

Free will is a matter of semantics, for the will is free only to choose sin.

A second major theme in Edwards's thought is the sufficiency of God in the work of redemption. Humanity is totally dependent upon a gracious God who from eternity elected some for salvation. Edwards described God's nature variously. During his youth he spoke in idealistic categories, positing the necessary existence of an eternal Mind. Later he described God as the sun and the light from which everything derives its existence. He also employed the traditional language of the Trinity: The Father generates the Son from himself and is himself the source and object of his loving Spirit. In the redemptive act the Father appoints the Son as the Redeemer and accepts him as a sufficient price, and through his Spirit he communicates the good that has been purchased to those who have been chosen. The excellency of Christ is sufficient for the work of redemption. The presence of the Spirit defines a saint; only those with the indwelling divine principle are saved. The new birth signals the restoration of the supernatural gift lost with the fall into sin. Conversion is the moment when grace is infused into the life of the individual.

A third major theme is the legitimacy of the affections in true religion. Edwards believed that faith necessarily involves both the intellect or understanding and the volition or will. It is an act of affective knowledge, a sense of the heart. Belief inclines the heart toward what the understanding chooses. This holistic approach to religious experience was the linchpin for Edwards's case against both the rationalists and the enthusiasts. Against the former he held that, contrary to their belief, the emotions are legitimate in the religious life. Although he shared with John Locke a fear of the passions, he was unwilling to rule out the affections because he had investigated with great care specific cases of emotional religion and found them to be genuine. At the same time, he charged the enthusiasts with ignoring the role of the intellect in religious experience.

Edwards inherited his interest in practical religion from the Puritans, but the revivals raised the question of how to distinguish genuine religion from false. He sought to answer this question by establishing clear signs for the former. In true religion, he said, the witness of the Spirit is manifest both in the exercises of grace within the heart and in outward practice. True conversion is evident from the presence of both faith and love within the person. Self-examination is one way to test the state of grace, but the expression of holy affections in love of God and human beings is the chief means of assurance. Moreover, for Edwards conversion was never an end in itself but merely the beginning of the Christian life; the responsibility of the elect to pursue this godly life was another major theme in his thought. Sanctification, he held, follows justification as the product of the indwelling Spirit. Edwards insisted that true virtue consists in consent to or union with being in general, and that love of God for its own sake is the foundation for all other morality.

Finally, Edwards's system also embraced a vision of future glory. In his belief, the church comprises the community of the elect on earth, that is, those who have experienced grace in their lives. In covenant with others, the saints engage in the business of religion: good works, attendance at ordinances, worship, prayer, reading the Bible, and pursuit of their vocations. These activities reflect the kingdom of God in the world. Under the leadership of the ministry, the church seeks to expand and increase. Edwards's interest in missions reflected his larger understanding of history. The work of redemption, according to him, has progressed by God's direction from the time of biblical history to the contemporary moment and is moving toward a millennial climax on earth. The culmination of the Kingdom will bring the greater glory of God—the ultimate goal of creation and the purpose of the created order. Edwards looked eagerly for the fulfillment of this biblical vision.

INFLUENCE. During his lifetime Edwards achieved prominence and widespread reputation as a preacher, a leader of the revivalistic faction, and an evangelical theologian. Less than a decade after his death, Samuel Hopkins, disciple and close friend, declared that Edwards was one of the greatest theologians of the age. A school of New England theologians that emerged during the second half of the eighteenth century and that included Hopkins, Joseph Bellamy, and Jonathan Edwards, Jr., among its members held Edwards in high esteem even while beginning to depart from his specific views; that departure reflected the growing influence of the Enlightenment on American theology. Evangelicals in the first half of the nineteenth century continued this pattern of response. The publication and republication during this period of Edwards's works in collected editions is striking evidence of his stature, as is the circulation by tract societies of his works in abridged editions. On the other hand, the contrasting views of Charles Grandison Finney are a useful measure of the evangelical movement away from Edwards in antebellum America.

The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed an erosion of interest in Edwards and an increasing hostility toward his theological positions, particularly his commitment to the notion of human depravity, the doctrine of necessity, and the idea of eternal retribution. Although considerable praise was given to Edwards's skills as a metaphysician and logician, theological and cultural liberals condemned his ideas; even those who admired him and accepted his evangelical premises often viewed him as a tragic figure. The bicentennial of his birth produced only a small surge of interest in Edwards the man.

By the middle of the twentieth century, the prevailing attitude toward Edwards's work changed dramatically as a confluence of circumstances brought about a renaissance of interest in his ideas and a reassessment of his significance. This new interest, which had begun as a trickle of scholarship in the late 1930s, has in the present time risen to a flood tide. Edwards has become a major figure, a creative force, one of the most original thinkers in the American experience. Among the reasons for the change have been the new cultural climate in America following the Great Depression, the accompanying theological reappraisal that gave rise in American Protestantism to neoorthodoxy, and the growing concern about national origins, including the role of the Puritans in American life. An increasing number of conservative Protestants in America have also identified their thought with his evangelical views. This renewed engagement with the full range of Edwards's ideas has manifested itself among scholars in their support for a new critical edition of his writings. Today Edwards remains the object of sustained investigation by many in a variety of fields. For the moment, his place is secure within the pantheon of American thinkers.

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STEPHEN J. STEIN (1987)

EGG. The egg has aroused feelings of wonder in cultures all over the world. Its smooth, elliptical shell conceals the mystery of new life in formation. The sight of an egg hatching and a young creature bursting out from an apparently lifeless object stimulated ancient peoples to think about the creative process. It would have been difficult for early humans to understand an abstraction such as the creation of the world, but they could watch a similar process in the hatching of an egg. Thus the egg became an important symbol in creation stories.

The concept of a world egg that hatched the first creator appears in many early myths. The Harris Magical Papyrus, an Egyptian manuscript of the New Kingdom period (1569–1085 BCE), contains the earliest known reference to a world egg emerging from the primeval waters. Several Egyptian deities are associated with the egg: Thoth, god of the moon; the sun god, Re; the celestial goose, Seb, god of the earth; Ptah of Memphis; and Khnum, god of creation, who shaped the world egg on his potter's wheel.

The Hindu Upaniṣads (c. 600–300 BCE) describe the first act of creation as an egg breaking in two. The *Ṛgveda,* a body of Hindu hymns, sacrificial formulas, and incantations collected in the first millennium BCE, speaks of Prajāpati, Lord of Creation, who fertilizes the waters of creation, which change into a golden egg. Inside sits the golden figure of Brahma, floating in the primeval waters for a thousand years, his golden light shining through seven shells. Land, sea, mountains, planets, gods, and humankind are all inside the egg with him.

In Chinese legend Pangu, the first man, emerged from the cosmic egg, as did Sun Wukong, the popular monkey king of Daoist and Buddhist legend.

Oceania has many stories of the origin of humankind from eggs. The divine bird laid one on the water, according to the Sandwich Islanders, and their islands hatched from its shell. Fijians attribute the origin of humans to Ngendei, who nurtured the world egg, and tribes in southeastern Australia believe the sun emerged from an emu egg thrown into the air.

In the Jewish tradition, eggs are used on many ceremonial occasions. Lag ba-ʿOmer, a joyful festival honoring the memory of Rabbi Shimʿon bar Yoḥai, falls on the thirty-third day between Passover and Pentecost. Children and their parents picnic with colored eggs. While the pious rabbi lived, God's symbolic rainbow, a sign that he would not destroy the world, was unnecessary. When he died, people needed the rainbow and hastened its coming by dyeing eggs in many colors.

The Seder, or Passover meal, always includes among its ritual foods a roasted egg. This is variously explained as a symbol of the additional sacrifice offered in the Temple at Passover, the sacrifice of travelers, or the departure from Egypt. More likely it signified rebirth, since Jewish mourners are traditionally fed baked eggs.

In the third and fourth centuries of the common era, the Christian church gradually adopted a Lenten fast of forty days commemorating the time Christ spent without food in the wilderness. Pope Gregory the Great (r. 590–604 CE) decreed that all Christians must renounce meat, cheese, butter, milk, and eggs at this time. The Orthodox church was very strict and permitted only the consumption of fruit, vegetables, bread, honey, and nuts. Hence it is not surprising that eggs form an important part of the festival food at Easter.

Easter is a major feast for Orthodox Christians in Russia and other countries of the former Soviet Union, and churches are filled for the midnight Mass. On Easter Sunday the dead are remembered. Hundreds visit the cemeteries to sit by the graves of their loved ones. They consume red eggs and scatter the shells on the soil.

It is not clear when the custom of exchanging eggs at Easter was first established. In his book *Easter: Its Story and Meaning* (1950), Alan Watts suggests that there are no western European records of Easter eggs prior to the fifteenth century. But the household accounts of the English king Edward I for 1290 record that eighteen pence was spent on decorating Easter eggs with gold leaf for presentation to members of his court. Poles were preparing Easter eggs before the eleventh century, and two goose eggs adorned with stripes and dots were found in a grave at Worms, Germany, dated 320 CE. Scholars are not sure whether this grave was the site of a Christian burial.

For Christians the Easter egg is a symbol of the resurrection of Christ. As a bird breaks out from its shell, so Christ arose from his tomb at the resurrection. In the Middle Ages it was a usual practice to place colored eggs in the replica of the tomb during the Easter service. Sometimes the clergy laid them on the altar as they greeted each other with the words "Christ is risen." This custom was observed in parts of France until the eighteenth century.

In traditional folk religion the egg is a powerful symbol of fertility, purity, and rebirth. It is used in magical rituals to promote fertility and restore virility; to look into the future; to bring good weather; to encourage the growth of the crops and protect both cattle and children against misfortune, especially the dreaded evil eye. All over the world it represents life and creation, fertility and resurrection. It appears at all the major events in the life cycle: birth, courtship, marriage, sickness, and death, as well as during Holy Week and the Easter period. It is the bearer of strength because it contains the seeds of life. In early times eggs were interred with the dead. Later they were linked with Easter. The church did not oppose this, though many egg customs were pre-Christian in origin, because the egg provided a fresh and powerful symbol of the resurrection and the transformation of death into life.

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VENETIA NEWALL (1987)

EGYPTIAN RELIGION

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
THE LITERATURE
HISTORY OF STUDY

EGYPTIAN RELIGION: AN OVERVIEW

Before beginning to survey ancient Egyptian religion, a number of limiting factors must be considered. The data upon which this survey rests come from all periods and many different sites, but these times and places are very unevenly represented. Clearly, more data survive from the later periods, from the south of the country (Upper Egypt), and from the very highest social strata. Some cult centers were totally lost long ago. Others required periodic renovation, while the increased devotion and/or increased wealth of later generations also led to large-scale rebuilding efforts. Because of this it is often impossible to survey what went on for thousands of years at the major temples of Memphis and Heliopolis, difficult to assess the cultic changes at major sites such as the Karnak and Luxor temples, and almost impossible to reconstruct the pre-Greek beliefs and cultic practices from the largely Ptolemaic remains at the sites of Edfu, Dendera, and Philae. Material from numerous cemeteries in the deserts near town sites, sometimes on the opposite side of the Nile, provides more eschatological data than anything else, but it also occasionally provides doctrinal, devotional, ethical, or cosmological information about one or another of the creeds of ancient Egypt. Monumental architecture is often not synchronous with monumental pieces of religious literature, and some of the most commonly repeated texts are often much less insightful than some unique, fragmentary pieces.

RELIGIOUS TEXTS AND HISTORICAL SETTING. Of the texts that survive from ancient Egypt, the religious literature as a whole remains the most difficult to comprehend. There are a variety of explanations for this, including the carelessness of scribes, the composite nature of the collections, efforts to keep the material esoteric or arcane, and also factors having to do with the modern editing of the texts. In examples from both temple walls and papyri, the original scribe's efforts have been mishandled by copyists and artists. Texts chosen from different sources for a new purpose were not always fully understood by the scribes, who tried to incorporate old or unfamiliar bits. For much of the religious literature researchers are simply not familiar enough with all the mythological allusions, the magic, the rites, and the puns, and in the case of the Ptolemaic material, efforts were made originally to encode the texts with widespread and multifold sign substitution. These Ptolemaic hieroglyphs, which contain much of the accumulated myths and rituals at several major sites, also were not completely consistent from one site to another. One problem with modern editions of the religious literature is that the major concern has been to establish the best text by assembling parallels, with the result that the individual complete manuscripts are not understood or easily compared. The order of the texts in these editions is generally not that of any individual manuscript, and the variations that occur are completely lost in them, and in the translations made directly from them.

On the positive side, it should be noted that a large quantity of texts have been published now, and these include almost all the texts on several large temples. The temple texts furnish descriptions of the deities, their mythic significance, daily rites, and festivals, and to some extent the interaction between the human and divine worlds. Not all of the texts have been translated yet, but some important ones on rites and feasts have been, and attempts based on the texts found on the temple walls to explain the function of various parts of temples are not far off the mark. The major collections of mortuary or funerary texts from tombs are also available now, and preliminary published translations at least present the different Egyptian views concerning the afterlife and provide additional information concerning almost all aspects of Egyptian religion. There have also been numerous studies dealing with individual deities or concepts based on the phenomena encountered in all sources, and while these may not accurately reflect what the religion was for any one time or place, they do provide useful references for future synchronic studies, and again are probably not terribly far from the mark. Surveys of all of ancient Egyptian religion, also for the most part phenomenological, almost always have important observations to offer, though they do tend to be much less accurate in their generalizations and their subjectivity is often too significant an ingredient. Any details from which such generalizations are made may have applied to only an individual or a small group, when many different levels of belief and devotion were possibly current at the same time. To some extent, the survey that follows indicates trends, tendencies, and what apparently was appealing or approved at the highest levels, with the political motive often as weighty as the religious.

Already in prehistoric times, burial customs indicated a belief in life after death, which would have required that the body be preserved along with some household furnishings and food offerings. The expectation or hope was for a life after death that was not unlike human existence in this world. The locations of tombs and position of the bodies in their graves became traditional, and the traditions may have been more or less religious. Bodies were usually in a crouched position on their left sides with the head to the south and facing west, a custom that could be associated with the cult of Osiris or other gods of the dead in a western necropolis, or even with the location of the setting sun and perhaps the cult of the sun god. The exceptional site with a head to the north could also be understood in terms of an astral cult (reflected in later Pyramid Texts), with the goal of the deceased being to join the imperishable stars in the northern sky. There has been a great deal of speculation concerning the association of various cults with different localities in Egyptian prehistory, some of this based on finds but most on later evidence and claims. With the wealth of material available from historical context, it is surely best to omit speculation on undocumented origins and on the supposed interactions of the various prehistoric cult centers.

At the very beginnings of Egyptian history the slate palette of Narmer (c. 3110–3056 BCE) shows this king of Upper Egypt, who is wearing the white crown of the south, smiting a northerner, while on the reverse side of the palette Narmer is shown wearing the red crown of Lower Egypt. Whether Narmer or his son, Aha, was actually the first king (later known as Menes) of the first dynasty is still debatable, but some of the emblematic representations on the palette may have mythological significance. Both the bull and the falcon can represent aspects of the king's power, but the latter seems very likely to be associated with the identification of the king as the god Horus, a principal element in the myth of divine kingship. Since all but one king of Egypt is known to have been identified with the title "Horus," this myth is both very early and also, perhaps, one of the cornerstones of Egypt's success. There are several aspects of Horus, however, and even several Horuses, so that the full and precise meaning of this early representation could easily be overstated if it were said that all that is known of the association of the king and Horus from later texts had already been formulated at this stage. Many accretions must have occurred with later explication. The divinity of the pharaoh and the notion of divine or sacred kingship have recently been challenged because of specific later references indicating that there were clear distinctions between the respect accorded the kings and the worship accorded the greatest gods. It will be seen, however, that the myth persisted, undoubtedly supported by the kings, some without doubt more vigorously than others.

Menes, besides identifying with Horus and unifying or reunifying the Two Lands, traditionally founded the capital, Memphis, and erected a temple there, presumably to the god Ptah. His civic contributions were equaled by his religious devotion, and he was thus an exemplary model for all succeeding kings. The kings of the first two dynasties probably had both tombs and cenotaphs that supported the new role of dual kingship, but their monuments at Abydos may also have had some bearing on the relationship of the living Horus to the deceased Osiris, whose cult was later at least maintained there. The fact that kings at the end of the second dynasty could take a "Seth" or a "Horus and Seth" title would indicate that the myth of the contending of Horus and Seth for the patrimony of Osiris was certainly known. But it is doubtful that this reflected a shift in religious belief; more likely a it was political move that was given a mythological framework.

For the first half of the Old Kingdom—the third and fourth dynasties—the great pyramids themselves remain, unfortunately, the principal monuments to the current beliefs. The attention given to these elaborate tombs clearly surpassed any other contemporaneous projects and would seem to show that the power of the king was reflected in the cult of his divine kingship. If the pyramids are not exclusively symbolic of royal power, they could also be symbols of divine power, either of the Horus-king or of his new father, the sun god, Re. The famous statue of Khafre with his headdress incorporating the Horus Falcon can be used to argue for the former, but the title "Son of Re," the use of *Re* in the theophoric royal names, and the true pyramid shape associated with the sun's rays and/or the Benben stone of Re point to the likelihood of either a developed or developing solar cult. In the second half of the Old Kingdom—the fifth and sixth dynasties—the central importance of the cult of Re is very well documented. The kings generally have *Re* in their name, and in addition to their smaller pyramids, they constructed substantial temples to the sun god. The story of the *Miracles That Happened in the Reign of King Khufu* (Westcar Papyrus) was probably written in the Middle Kingdom, but it reflects what was viewed as having happened earlier. The text purports to prophesy that a new dynasty will succeed Khufu's successors and that its first three new kings will be born to the wife of a priest of Re.

Much more significant for an understanding of the religion of this period and of much that had been developing and evolving before it are the Pyramid Texts, first recorded in the interior burial rooms of the pyramid of Unas, the last king of the fifth dynasty. These texts in vertical columns, lacking the illustrations and rubrics of later such mortuary or funerary literature, provided a combination of rituals, hymns, prayers, incantations, and offering lists, all designed to ensure that the king would reach his goal in the afterlife and have the information and provisions that he would need there. The texts were evidently compiled by priests connected with the temple of Re at Heliopolis. They indicate acceptance of the fact that the king is a god who ascends to the sky, joins Re on the solar bark for his voyage back and forth across the heavens, and guards Re and guides his bark past the perils, usually snakes, that threaten them. The rites, some of which may have taken place in these rooms or in the mortuary temple or valley temple to the east of the pyramid, included provision for opening the tomb, sacrificing an ox, and breaking jars for magical protection. The descriptions of the ascension in the tomb's antechamber provide alternative explanations that may have come originally from separate sources. They have the king ascending on the wings or backs of birds, on the incense wafting upward, on reed rafts, or on the outstretched arms of gods forming a ladder for him. On entering the tomb the king is still addressed as Horus; on ascension to the sky he is called Osiris. In the so-called cannibal hymn, he devours gods to acquire their attributes. He protests his guiltlessness and claims his divine perquisites. Within the burial chamber the king is presented to the great gods, and the offering-lists and spells are provided for him, while on the west gable are inscribed the serpent spells, incantations possibly intended to protect the tomb or to be used in guiding Re's bark.

Apart from the central theme of this collection, one learns much more about the religion of Egypt from these texts through the king's relationship to various deities and also through citations or mythological allusions from the texts of the other religions of the Egyptians. Here the king's genealogy is presented clearly by making him the product of the Heliopolitan Ennead. This family of nine gods represents a cosmological or cosmogonical explanation of creation by Atum (the complete one), who by himself created Shu (air) and Tefnut (moisture). From this pair, Geb (earth) and Nut (watery sky) came forth, and in the next generation they produced the two brothers Osiris and Seth and their sisters, Isis and Nephthys. Osiris, the eldest, ruled on earth in place of his father, but he was slain by his stronger brother, Seth. It fell to Osiris' son, Horus, born after his death, to avenge the slaying and assume the rule of this world.

In the form in which this genealogy survives, the significance of the Ennead is really subordinated to the son, Horus, on the one hand, and on the other to Re, who is alternately assimilated to Atum or placed before him as his creator. In the Pyramid Texts the Ennead is personified as the goddess Hathor (House of Horus), and so Re and Hathor are the parents of Horus just as surely as Osiris and Isis. Horus is also said here to be a son of Sekhmet, a statement of interest because Sekhmet was the consort of Ptah, the creator god of Memphis. According to later texts (the Shabaka Stone), Ptah sprang forth from primeval chaos conceiving the creator, Atum, in his heart and bringing him forth on his tongue by speaking his name. The chaos from which Ptah came is also known as the Hermopolitan Ogdoad: The four pairs of deities represent the different aspects of chaos from which an egg appeared as the inundation receded at Hermopolis, thus producing the creator. The names of the four pairs are not consistent in different texts, but they generally include Amun and Amaunet (hiddenness), Kuk and Kauket (darkness), Huh and Hauhet (formlessness), and Nun and Naunet (the watery abyss). The creator god of Hermopolis might well have been Thoth, the moon god of that city, but in these Heliopolitan texts the creator remains Atum, while Thoth is included as a member of the Ennead and as a companion of Re in the sky. Because the son of Ptah and Sekhmet is Nefertem, the child appearing from the lotus, the king was associated with the scions and creator gods of all three of these important and early cult centers of Egypt.

It should be noted that the roles of both Thoth and Ptah in this connection are not spelled out, but they seem to be clearly alluded to. There were thus probably some limits on how far the Heliopolitan priests would go in assimilating the doctrines and deities of their counterparts or rivals. To some extent the priests of the other temples must have approved of some such accommodation to guarantee the continuing favor and actual support of the crown, but because the formulation had been Heliopolitan, the cult of Re became preeminent, and for the most part it remained so for most of Egyptian history.

In the fifth dynasty society in general became more open, and many of the highest offices in the land could be attained by people not related to the royal family. At least a few utterances from the Pyramid Texts indicate that they were not written originally for a king, so that the goal of a blessed hereafter was not exclusively a royal prerogative. Further decentralization of power occurs in the sixth dynasty, and local nomarchs are provided with quite respectable tombs. These tombs may have been equipped with religious texts on coffins or papyri that have not survived, but certainly in the First Intermediate Period, with the breakdown of central authority, several claimants to kingship, and actual civil war, the claimants to earthly power also made claim to divinity.

The texts on the interior of the single or nested wooden coffins of nobles from many sites in Egypt are in some cases identical to the earlier royal Pyramid Texts, and in other cases are considerably expanded. The texts from different sites vary more than the texts found at each site. The local differences are not all explained as yet, but some reasonably significant collections of spells labeled "books" on the coffins from El Bersha (the necropolis of Hermopolis) have been studied. These coffins have on their fronts (the side faced by the mummy lying on its left side) a false door to facilitate the deceased's mobility; a painted table of offerings to provide sustenance; a plan and description of the Field of Hetep, which is at least one version of the paradise these Egyptians hoped for; and a list of ship's parts, information useful for the deceased, who joins the sun god in his bark and guides it through the skies.

On the inside surface of the bottom of most of the El Bersha coffins was painted an elaborate illustrated plan or map with descriptive texts known today as the *Book of Two Ways.* (*The Book of Two Ways* is a collection within the Coffin Texts.) The plans are all roughly comparable, with a blue waterway surrounded by mounds to represent the day sky, and a black land route, surrounded by water, representing the night sky. This cosmological plan provided the earliest illustrated guidebook to the beyond and attempted to locate various uncommon demons as well as some commonly known terms for places in the afterlife. Apart from the central plan, however, the book is really two different books. The earliest version was apparently written as a guide for followers of the Osirian religion, and the goal of several of its sections was to aid these followers to pass the various gates and demon keepers leading to the mansion of Osiris. The later version has the plan and one section as a guide to the route leading to the mansion of Osiris, but it also has one whole section dealing with Thoth, another dealing with Re, and a conclusion that ties together the whole in terms of knowledge of spells about the beyond. If the deceased knows the spells to the first stage, he will become a star in the sky with the moon god, Thoth. If he knows them to the next stage he will join Osiris in his mansion, and if he knows all the spells he will join Re on his bark in the sky. These goals also appear to be put in terms of social standing, commoners being associated with Thoth, great ones with Osiris, and, obviously, royalty with Re. What this does is to democratize the hereafter by making the highest goals available to anyone who has the book. It was clearly based on an original Osirian text, and in the hands of the priests of Re it would have become a good prosyletizing text for the solar religion.

The *Book of Two Ways* concludes with the famous statement by the All-Lord, Re, that he "made the four winds that every man might breathe," "made the great flood that the poor as well as the great might have power," "made every man like his fellow (I did not command that they do evil. It is their hearts that disobey what I have said)," and "made their hearts to cease forgetting the West, in order to make divine offerings to the gods of the nomes." The All-Lord says, "it is with my sweat that I created the gods. Mankind is from the weeping of my eye," and a little later he adds that after the deceased has spent millions of years between Re and Osiris, "we will sit together in one place. Ruins will be cities and vice versa; house will desolate house." These remarks provide rather interesting insights into the metaphysics and ethics of the Re religion as well as a noteworthy example of early ecumenism. These particular Coffin Texts came from a necropolis of Hermopolis, in middle Egypt. Whether Re priests from Hermopolis or Heliopolis were responsible is still debatable. But another text of this same chaotic period, from Heracleopolis in middle Egypt, although it is a literary text in the "instruction" genre, is actually one of the most religious documents surviving from ancient Egypt. A compact section at the end provides in capsulized form the complete philosophy and theology of the Re religion:

> One generation of men passes to another, and God, who knows characters, has hidden Himself, . . . so worship God upon his way. . . . The soul goes to the place it knows. . . . Beautify your mansion in the West, embellish your place in the necropolis with

> straightforwardness and just dealing; . . . more acceptable is the character of the straightforward man than the ox of the wrongdoer. Serve God, that He may do the like for you, with offerings for replenishing the altars and with carving; it is that which will show forth your name, and God is aware of whoever serves Him. Provide for men, the cattle of God, for He made heaven and earth at their desire. He suppressed the greed of the waters, he gave the breath of life to their noses, for they are likenesses of Him which issued from His flesh. He shines in the sky for the benefit of their hearts; He has made herbs, cattle, and fish to nourish them. He has killed His enemies and destroyed His own children, because they had planned to make rebellion; He makes daylight for the benefit of their hearts, and He sails around in order to see them, . . . and when they weep, He hears. . . . He has made for them magic to be weapons to ward off what may happen.

From this it is seen that Re is hidden, omniscient, provident, responsive and just. Humans, who are created in the likeness of God, and for whom heaven and earth were created, must worship God, and provide for their fellow people. Hypocrisy is of no avail, but God gave humans magic to ward off "what may happen."

This text of the instruction of a Heracleopolitan king to his son, Merikare, anticipates the fall of the tenth dynasty (2040 BCE) to the Theban family of dynasty eleven. Coffin Texts continue to be used in the Middle Kingdom, and this indicates that for the most part the religion or religions of the people did not change drastically with this change in government. The official doctrine of the state, however, had to be supported by a great deal of political propaganda literature to account for the reunification under the new Theban king, Mentuhotep II, then the apparent usurpation by his vizier, and finally the assassination of this vizier become king, Amenemhet I. Amenemhet had already returned the capital to the north and constructed defenses on Egypt's borders, but he was apparently not prepared for the threat from within his own palace. The change from dynasty eleven to dynasty twelve was also marked by a shift in the Theban's titular god and the formulation of a new national god. Previously Montu, a war god, was worshiped at perhaps four separate temples in the Theban nome, but with Amenemhet ("Amun is in front") Amun and his new cult begin a long and steady growth in the south in spite of the fact that the kings of this and succeeding dynasties ruled from the north. The new god is perhaps a conflation of Montu with Min, the ithyphallic fertility god of Coptos, which had been allied with Thebes in the war against Heracleopolis, and also, of course, with Amun, the first of the primordial gods of Hermopolis. This latter element may have provided the priority of the new god in the minds of the formulators, but the association with Re as Amun-Re was probably the significant factor in guaranteeing some continuity with the earlier dynastic gods.

The king of the twelfth dynasty was still Horus, but beginning with Senusret I (1971–1928 BCE) important new claims to kingly divinity surface. In the *Story of Sinuhe* Senusret I is called a god without peer, "no other came to be before him." In order to consolidate his power, Senusret III deposed a number of powerful nomarchs and divided the country into departments that were to be administered from the capital by his appointees. At the same time, in a cycle of songs in his honor and in a loyalist instruction he is called the "unique divine being" and is identified as Re himself. Remarkably, the propaganda literature of this dynasty remained popular for at least 900 years, and the tradition of Senusret's special position among the kings of Egypt also survived through Greek sources to the present.

The Second Intermediate period was marked both by internal weakness eventually giving way to division and by foreign occupation of at least the major part of the delta. These Hyksos rulers were eventually driven out of their capital at Avaris by a new Theban family, which reunited the land and began the period of greatest imperialistic expansion, the New Kingdom. The new family was devoted to the cult of Amun-Re at Karnak, and also had a special interest in the moon god in several earlier forms, including Iah (the moon itself), Thoth, and Khonsu, who was now the son of Amun-Re and Mut (the mother). Thutmose I (c. 1509–1497 BCE), perhaps the first king of the eighteenth dynasty to have a palace in the north, was also responsible for leading expeditions far into Syria, perhaps to the Euphrates. His credentials as a god-king were evidently well established, but not those of his successors. His daughter by his chief wife had to become consort to his son by a lesser wife to secure that son's succession as Thutmose II. But when the latter died, handing over the throne to a son by another wife, his half sister and chief wife, Hatshepsut, took the throne for herself. There were probably very practical explanations for her success in this maneuver, but the justification she chose to propagate was her own "divine birth." She had this recorded on the walls of her mortuary temple at Deir al-Bahri, which depicted Amun-Re in the form of her father, Thutmose I, coming to her mother Ahmose, who conceived the goddess-king, the female Horus.

Hatshepsut's mythologizing goes beyond this with the commemoration of her restoration efforts since the expulsion of the Hyksos. They had "ruled without Re," and she was indeed favored by the gods of Egypt. She had extensive work done at the temple of Karnak, adding a new sanctuary, pylon gates, and very tall obelisks, monuments as much to herself as to Amun-Re, her father. Her small cult temple at Medinet Habu (ancient Djeme) probably has particular significance mythologically for the later association of the Hermopolitan Ogdoad with this sacred site. According to a Ptolemaic text in the Khonsu temple at Karnak, Amun was the father of the fathers of the Ogdoad who (as Ptah) created the egg at Hermopolis and later traveled *(khenesh)* to Thebes in his new name of Khonsu. Together with the Ogdoad, he is in the tomb chamber in the necropolis at Medinet Habu. Indeed, it seems likely that Hatshepsut and her supporters were concerned not only with her genealogy but with the genealogy of the Theban gods. Her husband's son, Thutmose III, who succeeded her and eventually tried to blot out her memory, was primarily involved with military expeditions to Syria and Palestine, and he used his additions to the Karnak temple to publicize his victories. The temple became wealthy and influential because of his generosity and devotion. His successors continued to benefit from and build upon his achievements in the international sphere; foreign alliances, foreign wives, and foreign deities were all introduced in this period, which peaked in the reign of Amenhotep III (1403–1366 BCE).

The son of Amenhotep III, who may have been his coregent for as long as ten years, changed his name from Amenhotep IV to Akhenaton by his fifth year and moved his residence to a new site, Akhetaton (modern Tell al-ʿAmarna). He devoted himself to one aspect of the solar cult, the sun disk (Aton) itself. He saw himself and perhaps his wife, Nefertiti, as the only representatives or intermediaries between the Aton and the rest of creation. Akhenaton's monolatry or henotheism, while apparently accepted by his chief officials, eventually did bring him into direct conflict with the powerful temple staff of Karnak. His supporters attacked the name "Amun" and the word *gods* throughout the Theban area. They were probably sent to eradicate the full name "Amun-Re, King of the Gods," but this attempt to erase (primarily from monuments) the term *gods* has been viewed by many as a monotheistic revolution. Later reaction to Akhenaton as a heretic is known, but what he intended or how far he went to not as clear. The Aton was not his creation either as an icon or as a deity. It had increased in significance in the early eighteenth dynasty. The emblems of almost all the gods of Egypt survive from Tell al-ʿAmarna, indicating that Akhenaton's followers either had no fear of keeping them or had greater fear of abandoning them. The fact that Akhenaton's own prenomen is Waen-Re ("the unique one of Re") is indicative of his continued acceptance of the old solar cult, or perhaps even of the Heliopolitan priests' support of the new cult. Something of Akhenaton's attitude toward the Aton in this international period can be seen in the following excerpt from his famous hymn to the Aton.

> How plentiful it is, what you have made, although they [the creatures made by Aton] are hidden from view, sole god, without another beside you; you created the earth as you wished, when you were by yourself, before mankind, all cattle and kine, all beings on land, who fare upon their feet, and all beings in the air, who fly with their wings. The lands of Khor and Kush and the land of Egypt: you have set every man in his place, you have allotted their needs, every one of them according to his diet, and his lifetime is counted out. Tongues are separate in speech, and their characters as well; their skins are different, for you have differentiated the foreigners. In the underworld you have made a Nile that you may bring it forth as you wish to feed the populace, since you made them for yourself, their utter master, growing weary on their account, lord of every land. For them the Aton of the daytime arises, great in awesomeness. All distant lands, you have made them live, for you have set a Nile in the sky that it may descend for them and make waves upon the mountains like the sea to irrigate the fields in their towns. How efficient are your designs, Lord of eternity: a Nile in the sky for foreigners and all creatures that go upon their feet, a Nile coming back from the underworld for Egypt.

Most aspects of this hymn can be found stated in almost identical terms in the universalist hymn to Amun-Re, so it cannot be regarded as totally original or epoch-making in itself. A claim in the hymn that there is no other who knows the Aton except his son, Akhenaton, is noteworthy, and the statement that the whole land was founded and its crops were raised by the Aton for Akhenaton and Nefertiti is egocentric, to say the least.

Akhenaton's coregent and short-lived successor, Semenkhkare, who some now believe may have been none other than Nefertiti herself, seems to have attempted reconciliation with the priesthood of Amun-Re. But Tutankhaton (c. 1348–1339 BCE), who next assumed the throne, changed his name to Tutankhamen, had statues of himself made both as Amun and as Osiris, and decorated the Luxor temple with scenes of the restored Opet feast. (The main feature of this feast was the procession of Amun's cult image from the Karnak temple to the Luxor temple and back.) He even had a restoration stela set up at Karnak. After his death and that of his successor, Ay, the temple reliefs and stela were usurped by his former general, Horemheb, who on becoming king began attacks on his four predecessors who were involved with the movement, now regarded as heretical.

Horemheb's successor was his vizier, who came from Tanis. As Ramses I he began the nineteenth dynasty, which for various reasons is seen as most significant in the history of Egyptian religion. On the one hand, the pharaohs of this dynasty had to indicate their continuity with the past and assure their support in all the cult centers of Egypt. They built extensively at all the old temple sites and went overboard to demonstrate their polytheism. Temples now had multiple chapels and sanctuaries dedicated to various deities, but the monuments also were used as propaganda to show the power of the kings, to depict their victories, to record their legitimate succession, and to indicate their great devotion to the gods and their munificence to both the gods and their own subjects. On the other hand, the pharaohs succeeded in reinstating their own god, Seth, whom they commemorated as having been in their new capital since the time of the Hyksos. Seth was included in the royal names now and also had one of the Egyptian armies named for him.

In the early Ramessid period the tombs of nobles had much less of the biographical material and scenes of everyday life that were common earlier. Now the emphasis was on the funerary rites and any religious offices the deceased had held. There appears to be a very conservative religious reaction to what had taken place in the eighteenth dynasty. Even the literary texts have primarily mythological settings and content for stories, but interestingly, these often make the gods look foolish and cannot be considered very pietistic. Women, even goddesses, in these texts are cast in an unflattering light, again perhaps in reaction to the powerful queens of the preceding dynasty. The long reign of Ramses II produced numerous temple constructions with colossal statues and representations of himself, but these seem to indicate that he was glorifying himself as much as any of the other gods. The group of four deities at the back of his temple at Abu Simbel shows that he was placing himself on the same level as the three earlier dynastic gods of Egypt—Ptah, Re-Harakhty, and Amun-Re.

The religious texts with which people were buried in the New Kingdom and later are now known as the *Book of Going Forth by Day* but they actually constituted at least two different collections, again emphasizing in introductions or conclusions either an Osirian or a solar afterlife, often with some elements of both in between. These papyri, illustrated with vignettes, vary greatly in length and include many interesting chapters, such as that with the servant statue or Shawabti spell (chap. 6), the heart spell (chap. 30), a spell to enable the deceased to have all requisite knowledge in one chapter (chap. 162), and the famous negative confession and judgment scene (chap. 125). The negative confession is not confession at all but rather a protestation of innocence between forty-two judges of the underworld. Following the psychostasia, or weighing of the deceased's heart, in relation to the feather of Maat, or Truth, the deceased inevitably escapes the devourer and is presented to Osiris, but most often goes forth past the gatekeepers and joins Re as well. The New Kingdom copies of the *Book of Going Forth by Day* are commonly called the Theban recension because so many copies come from Theban tombs. But the texts generally, even in the negative confession, indicate a northern origin, most likely Heliopolitan. Many texts outside of the negative confession are modifications or corruptions of the earlier Coffin Texts versions.

The negative confession, though less than ideal as a code of ethics, cannot be ignored, because it survived in thousands of copies spanning fifteen hundred years. A portion of the fuller list follows:

> O Wide-of-Stride, who comes forth from Heliopolis,
> I have not committed evil.
>
> O Embracer-of-Fire, who comes forth from Babylon,
> I have not stolen.
>
> O Nosey, who comes forth from Hermopolis,
> I have not been covetous. . . .
>
> O Dangerous-of-Face, who comes forth from Rosetau,
> I have not killed men.
>
> O Ruti, who comes forth from heaven,
> I have not damaged the grain-measure. . . .
>
> O Breaker-of-Bones, who comes forth from Heracleopolis,
> I have not told lies. . . .
>
> O White-of-Teeth, who comes forth from the Fayum,
> I have not trespassed. . . .
>
> O-Eater-of-Entrails, who comes forth from the Thirty,
> I have not practised usury. . . .
>
> O Wanderer, who comes forth from Bubastis,
> I have not gossiped. . . .
>
> O Wamemti-Serpent, who comes forth from the place of judgment,
> I have not committed adultery.
>
> O Maa-Intef, who comes forth from the Temple of Min,
> I have not defiled myself. . . .
>
> O Ser-Kheru, who comes forth from Wensi,
> I have not been quarrelsome.
>
> O Bastet, who comes forth from the sanctum,
> I have not winked.
>
> O His-Face-behind-Him, who comes forth from Tep-het-djat,
> I have not been perverted; I have not had sexual relations with a boy. . . .
>
> O Tem-sep, who comes forth from Busiris,
> I have not been abusive against a king.
>
> O Acting-with-His-Heart, who comes forth from Tjebu,
> I have not waded in water.
>
> O Flowing-One, who comes forth from Nun,
> My voice has not been loud. . . .

The judges and the places from which they come are not consistently prominent or frightening and cannot logically be connected with the forty-two nomes of Egypt, but while a few of the statements have uncertain meaning, the vast majority are perfectly clear and not particularly surprising.

From the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty the principal religious text selected to decorate the walls of the royal burial chambers was the so-called book of Amduat, or *That Which Is in the Netherworld.* This book, which resembles a large-scale papyrus unrolled on the walls, treats of the voyage of the solar bark through the hours of the night sky, but it involves Sokar, the god of the Memphite necropolis (Rosetau), as chief god of the underworld. The nineteenth-dynasty kings, different as they may have been from their eighteenth-dynasty counterparts, were also buried in tombs in the Theban Valley of the Kings, but their tombs were more elaborately decorated, with relief carving and paintings of the *Book of Gates* and the journey of the sun through the body of the goddess Nut.

When Ramses II made peace with the Hittites some time after the nearly disastrous battle of Kadesh, a thousand deities on either side were called to witness, and foreign deities such as Anat, Astarte, and Reshef became even more popular in Egypt. His successor, Merneptah, was beset with attacks from Libyans and the Sea Peoples. It is from his reign that the earliest surviving reference to Israel is found, but without other corroborating documentation for the story of the Exodus aside from its reasonably accurate setting.

Ramses III of the twentieth dynasty was the last great pharaonic ruler of Egypt. His building efforts included a separate small temple at Karnak, as well as a very large mortuary temple for himself at medinet Habu. This latter, which survives in very good condition, contains descriptions of the complete festivals of Min and Sokar in addition to the usual battle scenes, and it also has an elaborate calendar of feasts and offerings. The whole was surrounded by a wall with two fortifiable gateways, which probably reflect the worsening political situation of the whole country. There were strikes by the royal tomb workers, who had to be provisioned by the temple storehouses; there were attacks by a coalition of foreigners, principally Libyan; and finally, the king was slain in a harem conspiracy. In addition to punishing those responsible, his son Ramses IV recorded in a very interesting document, the great Papyrus Harris I (c. 1150 BCE), all the benefactions that his father had made to the temples of Egypt. The Wilbour Papyrus, of slightly later date (1140 BCE), confirms that the temple of Amun-Re alone controlled an exorbitant amount of land and the population of a large area in middle Egypt hundreds of miles away.

By the end of the twentieth dynasty the High Priest of Amun, Herihor, was for all practical purposes the ruler of Upper Egypt, and the twenty-first dynasty began with one of his sons assuming the kingship at Tanis in the north while another succeeded him as high priest in the south. Several of the priestly successors also claimed royal titles in the Theban area, and eventually the two offices were combined in one. Unlike the earlier usurpations of viziers or generals, who undoubtedly had a military power base, the base for the priests seems to have been primarily economic. The process can be traced back to the nineteenth dynasty, to a priestly family that gained control not only of the temple treasury but also of the royal treasury. Throughout the Ramessid period there are indications that all was not what it was supposed to be in this period of religious fervor. Banquet songs stress a *carpe diem* attitude; a workman in the royal necropolis shows no respect for his deceased king, and eventually almost all of the Theban tombs were systematically looted. Some of the robbers were accused and tried, but evidently those chiefly responsible got away with their crimes. The priests reburied the royal mummies, but with none of their original trappings or treasure. The priests apparently did not approve of the reinstatement of Seth by the Ramessid kings, and the god's name was attacked at their capital in the north.

When a Libyan family, the twenty-second dynasty, took over in the Third Intermediate Period they ruled from the north also, but controlled the south by appointing a daughter to serve as Divine Adoratress of Amun, a new position above that of high priest. The Nubian Piye (Piankhy), a very devout follower of Amun, conquered all of Egypt to set things right there but did not remain to rule himself, although he did appoint his sister (Amenirdis I) to be the successor of the current Divine Adoratress (Shepenwepet I) when she eventually died. His good intentions were not sufficient, however, and the Nubians (twenty-fifth dynasty) did return to rule the country, losing to the Assyrians, who installed the Saite (twenty-sixth) dynasty. This period marked one of the last Egyptian revivals, with a great deal of temple and tomb construction. In many respects the Saite period harked back to the Old Kingdom; several huge Theban tombs of this time had extensive collections of the Pyramid Texts.

With the Persian conquest of Egypt by Cambyses in 525 BCE, there are indications that the conquering kings had good intentions with regard to maintaining the cultural, legal, and religious traditions of the Egyptians. Although Herodotos, who was not unbiased, accused Cyrus of sacrilege in Egypt, it is known that this king dutifully performed burial rites for an Apis bull and also had small temples erected to the Egyptian gods. The Persian satraps who actually administered the country were doubtless less highly esteemed, probably deservedly so. With several native rebellions and one last gasp of independence in the thirtieth dynasty, Egypt fell again to the Persians, and in turn welcomed Alexander the Great in 332 BCE as a savior from the Persian oppressors.

Alexander was probably convinced of his own divinity on visiting the oracle of Amun at the Siwa oasis, but this was not enough to guarantee a long life. Under his successor, Philip Arrhidaeus, the sanctuary of the Karnak temple was rebuilt. When Alexander's general, Ptolemy, became king of Egypt, much new construction was begun. Alexandria, with its library, museum, and new government offices, was founded, while other Greek cities in Egypt were enlarged or planned. Under the Ptolemys truly great temples were erected at some ancient cult sites, and countless smaller temples, gates, appendages, and inscriptions were added to other places. All the main structures at the temple of Horus at Edfu are Ptolemaic. The vast main temple and its surrounding walls are covered from top to bottom with scenes and texts dealing with Horus, his myths and rituals. The texts have undergone a complicated encoding with a sixfold increase in the number of hieroglyphic signs used, and a wide range of possible substitutions for many standard signs is also encountered. The language is classical Middle Egyptian, and presumably the texts were from earlier material chosen by Egyptian priests from their own libraries, or perhaps from several sites in Egypt. The inscriptions are quite distinctive but often difficult to translate. They seem intentionally obscure despite their accessibility, and the encoding must have been used to make these texts more esoteric or arcane to their own followers and perhaps to the Greeks as well.

The temple of Hathor at Dendera has similar encoding of texts, as well as *mamisi* (birth houses) for the goddess, secret crypts, and a combined Egyptian-Greek zodiac on the ceiling of a small room on the temple's roof. The dual temple of Haroeris and Sobek (the crocodile god) at Kom Ombo may have had a crypt for oracular pronouncements. At Esna the creator god, Khnum, who fashions on the potter's wheel, is commemorated. The temple of Isis on the island of Philae had many separate buildings with inscriptions dating well into the Roman period. The cult of Isis, incorporating much of the cult of Hathor as well, is probably better known now from the Isiac temples in the rest of the Mediterranean than it is from this, the greatest center of the worship of the Egyptian goddess of love. Now that the entire temple complex has been moved to higher ground on a neighboring island, much more work will be possible here. Following construction of the old high dam at Aswan, the temple was under water for most of the year. Another major Oriental cult in the Greco-Roman world that had at least some roots in Egypt was that of Serapis, whose name comes from Osiris and the Apis bull of Ptah of Memphis. These particular sacred bulls, chosen for their markings, had been mummified and buried in large sarcophagi at the Serapium in Saqqara throughout much of the late period in Egyptian history.

Alexandria early became one of the principal centers in the world for the study of philosophy and theology, and when Egypt converted to Christianity many of the Alexandrian Church Fathers became deeply embroiled in controversies. Philo, Origen, Arrius, and Clement represent a few of the different positions originating in Alexandria. Traditional Greek philosophers and pagan, Jewish, Christian, orthodox, and heterodox interpretations—all had their adherents here, living virtually side by side for some time. The Septuagint and Hexapla were produced here, and the Coptic Gnostic library found in Upper Egypt at Nag Hammadi probably originated here as well. The hermetic tractates may provide some link to earlier Egyptian notions, but the apocrypha and *Gospel of Thomas* preserved in this archive most likely originated elsewhere.

Monasticism in both its eremetic and cenobitic forms originated and became very popular in Egypt, partially spread by conditions in the country under the Romans, who overtaxed the people and provided them little protection from the Blemmyes' invasions. The monasteries provided food, protection, and solace. The monastic rule of Pachomius became the standard in many Egyptian monasteries, and it was introduced to the west by John Cassian, becoming the basis of Western Benedictine monasticism.

The early Christians in Egypt suffered persecution under the Romans, but after Rome converted to Christianity, the pagans suffered as well. The Neoplatonic philosopher Hypatia was stoned to death in Alexandria in 415 CE, and the last outpost of paganism in the Roman Empire, at the temple of Isis at Philae, was finally overcome in the late fifth century. When the Arab general ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAṣ took Egypt in 641 conversion to Islam was rapid, due as much to economic advantages as to the attractions of the Qurʾān.

CONCEPTIONS OF THE UNIVERSE. The ancient Egyptians conceived of their universe in a number of different ways. One view was that the firmament (*bia*) was a huge inverted metal colander, from which pieces fell; these wonders or marvels (*biau*) included meteoric iron (*biat*), which was used in making ceremonial implements such as the adzes for the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth. This ritual was performed to give life to statues or other representations and also to revivify the mummies of the deceased. According to another view, the sky was a giant cow whose four legs were supported by four deities, while other deities (stars) on small crescent-shaped boats sailed on her belly. This heavenly cow may be associated with Hathor, who according to the Heliopolitan cosmogony was variously seen as consort of Re and mother of Horus, but also as consort of Horus and mother of Ihy, a form of the sun god to whom she gives birth. The sun god, Re, is also frequently shown being born to the goddess Nut, whose body spans the sky from east to west. According to the Heliopolitan cosmogony she should, of course, be descended from him. Nevertheless, as regularly depicted on the ceilings of royal bed chambers, the sun appears and crosses the goddess's body during the day, but is swallowed by her at night, passing through her body from west to east to be born again.

All of these concepts view the earth as quite solid, generally flat, and practically limitless in extent. The sky (Nut) receives her support from the earth (Geb), and sometimes is shown held apart from him by the air god, Shu. All that the sun encounters in its day and its night voyage is above the earth. The locations generally translated as "netherworld" or "underworld" (*imht* and *duat*) both actually appear to have been in the sky originally. Some descriptions indicate that the Egyptians also conceived of an undersky (*nenet*) and a topsy-turvy afterlife, so that one of the terms (*duat*) seems to have been relocated later. As if this were not confusing enough, another mythological cosmology would have one form of the falcon god, Horus, represent the entire sky, with his two eyes as the sun and the moon. The moon was the eye injured in the battle with his uncle, Seth, to avenge the death of his father, Osiris, in order to assume his inheritance. This great Horus would seem to be as much greater than Re, the sun, as the Heliopolitan Re of the Pyramid Texts is above his son, the Horus-king. Such seemingly incompatible cosmologies may represent either earlier separate traditions or later attempted rationalizations.

CONCEPTIONS OF HUMAN NATURE AND DESTINY. The Egyptians' view of their own nature certainly varied in some respects from time to time, place to place, and person to person, but a few terms persisted expressing notions about their ontology that are reasonably consistent. People were created in God's image, from the weeping of his (Re's) eye, were conceived in God's heart (mind) and spoken by his tongue (Ptah), or were fashioned on the potter's wheel (Khnum). One's body had to be preserved in order to enable it to properly live again in the afterlife. To ensure this a replica of the body was thought to have been fashioned by the gods at birth; more were made later by sculptors and painters as stand-ins for bodies that might be lost. These *ka* figures, enlivened by the Opening of the Mouth ritual, served as second effective personalities, but they could also be protecting genii. At least by the Late period even the great gods such as Re and Thoth have a number of these *ka*s or "attributes," including Hu (authoritative utterance), Sia (perception), Maa (sight), and Sedem (hearing).

The term most closely approximating "soul" for the Egyptians was *ba,* which was represented in hieroglyphic as a small bird and was also depicted in burial scenes departing from the body as a bird flying up to the sky. In at least one literary text, the *Dispute of a Man with His Ba,* this conscience or other self is present in life to be argued with and to help the person make up his mind after considering both sides of a question, in this case the serious question of whether to go on living. Another literary text, the *Lamentations of Khakheperreseneb,* has the scribe address his heart (*ib*), which cannot respond, rather than his *ba.* It was generally the heart that was considered the seat of both intellect and will.

Another significant aspect of an individual's person or personality is the *akh,* or "spirit," which is what remains apart from the body or at least is not limited by the body after death. A person wants to become an *akh aper,* an "equipped spirit" or "perfect spirit," in the afterlife, and to this end he prepares himself with the required religious spells from one or the other collections available, often including as many books and variations as possible and both full and shortened versions. The spirits in the hereafter were sometimes thought to be not content to rest in peace in a blessed state, nor were they always allowed to. Another literary text, the *Ghost Story,* tells of a long-dead spirit who appears to a priest and requests that his cracked and drafty tomb be repaired. Many letters to the dead are also found; they were left with food offerings by living relatives to urge some specific action on their behalf in the spirit world. These usually mention past favors and show confidence in the deceased's ability to effect change for righting the injustice.

GODS, CULTS, AND MAGIC. While the deceased in the necropolis were regularly called *akh*s, they were also occasionally termed *netjeru* ("gods"). A curse left on a square block at the door of a tomb threatened dire consequences to anyone who disturbed even a pebble in the tomb, and it advised finding a place that would not impinge upon the tombs of any of the gods in the necropolis. For the Egyptians the word *netjer* ("god") was used broadly to cover all levels of divinity, from the greatest gods to the justified dead (that is, those declared "true of voice" in the judgment before Osiris). Monotheism, if it ever existed in ancient Egypt, was never clearly formulated and apparently was never established as doctrine in any of the native religions. From almost all periods come texts that indicate the uniqueness of one or the other gods, usually some form of the sun god, but this monolatry or henotheism cannot be demonstrated to have the exclusivity necessary to fit the modern definition of monotheism.

There are numerous references to "god" and "the god" in Egyptian literary texts, particularly in the instructions. In some cases these may refer to a local god or to the king, but most frequently they refer to Re or Pre (the sun). He is often called the *neb-er-djer* ("lord to the limit, universal lord"), and can indeed appear practically transcendent, as in the *Instruction for Merikare,* quoted above. The only important point lacking here is a statement that no other god exists, but of course this can also be said of the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament. Tradition is the principal source for both the Jewish and the Christian monotheistic doctrine, but it is lacking for Egyptian religion. Without this tradition the multiplicity of denominations and sects, the veneration of saints, and the loose use of "divine" and "godlike" for popular heroes would all conspire to challenge the generally accepted monotheistic aspect of modern Western religions and of Western civilization. For the Atenist heresy of Akhenaton the situation is somewhat different, because the *Hymn to the Aton* states that there is no god beside (or like) Aton, there was an attack on other gods and the plural "gods," and Akhenaton was later clearly regarded as having attempted to disrupt the established religious system. Most likely the notion of monotheism was present in this period, in some minds at least, though it was harshly dispelled. By syncretizing the names and aspects of various deities into powerful new gods, the Egyptians widened the gap between the greatest god and all the rest. Re-Atum, Amun-Re, and Pre-Harakhty were unchallenged national gods each in his own time.

Probably second in importance to the great national gods was the cult of the god of the dead. This evolved very early, evidently from several separate cults. The cult of Osiris, originally from Busiris, superseded the cults of Khentyimentiu ("foremost of the westerners") and Wepwawet ("opener of the ways") from Abydos and Siut, respectively. The cults of Osiris and Re intermingle in most of the mortuary literature, and in at least one instance come close to merging. When the cult of Sokar becomes a major element in royal funerary literature and later in all the funerary literature of the New Kingdom, it leads to perhaps the ultimate syncretism in the late New Kingdom of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris-Tatenen.

The Osiris cult certainly permeated almost all aspects of Egyptian culture. Osirid statues decorated the courts of temples, and the Osiris suites are a major feature of the mortuary temples. Every owner of a book of mortuary literature is given the title "Osiris," and every deceased person named in tomb or stele has the epithet "true of voice" or "vindicated" with respect to his last judgment before this great god. The association of Osiris with death, resurrection, fertility, and the Nile touched everyone, and his cult center at Abydos, where he was supposed to have been buried, became the most important pilgrimage site in the country.

The living king is generally called the "good god," while the deceased king is the "great god." Whether death actually enhanced the king's status is debatable. As the embodiment or incarnation of the god Horus, he is already a major god on earth, and much of the doctrine of his divinity and his perquisites was widely published and accepted. Certainly the king who instructed Merikare was more aware personally of his limitations than Senusret III or Ramses II would have been. The whole concept could have been viewed in different ways at different times by different people. Based on the number of persons who had as their goal in the afterlife something approaching or equaling the goals of their kings, perhaps more would have believed in their sovereign's divinity and their own potential divinity than some modern scholars are now prepared to accept. Of course there are exceptions—the *Song of the Harper* and the story of the *Man Who Was Tired of Life* both reflect despair about the afterlife. Some kings were assassinated, and all the royal tombs were robbed. Aware of the difficulty of securing their burials, the Egyptians tried incredible masses of stone, secret hidden passages, tricks, provision of security guards, and also magic and curses. In a sense all of these would have been attempts by believers to thwart the unbelievers.

Some individuals, even nonroyal personages, attained a state of divinity far above the ordinary. The cult of deceased kings would generally not have outlived the endowment of their funerary establishment, but Amenhotep I, together with his mother, Ahmose Nefertari, continued for centuries to be venerated by the workmen of Deir al-Medineh as the great patrons or patron saints of the place. The architect of the step pyramid of Djoser at Saqqara, Imhotep, was deified, and his cult became ever more popular more than two millennia after his death. He was revered as a sage and was also identified with the Greek god Asklepios. Another architect and sage, Amenhotep Son of hapu (the epithet is traditionally part of his name), was also exceptionally revered. In sum, the Egyptians seem to have had a number of different levels of divinity, several equivalent to different levels of sainthood, with only one word, *netjer,* to cover them all.

Worship of animals does not seem to have been a significant element in any of the religions of Egypt. The use of animals to represent some attributes of gods, or the gods themselves, is frequent, and in most religious artwork their primary importance is clearly in differentiating the principals. The conventional linking of the falcon with Horus, the falcon and disk with Re, the cow with Hathor, the baboon or ibis with Thoth, the jackal with Anubis, the crocodile with Sobek, and the ram with Amun-Re was generally recognized throughout the country and in all periods following its formulation, whereas strictly anthropomorphic representations would have been confusing. It is possible that for some ritual reenactments priests would have worn the animal masks of the gods and recited the words attributed to the gods in numerous temple reliefs. The cobra Edjo of Buto and the vulture Nekhbet of Al-Kab are usually represented in their totally animal forms, but they are protective deities for the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, and were more intimidating in this form. The often malevolent but sometimes protective deity Seth is represented as either partially or totally animal, though there was in antiquity, and there is now, little agreement as to what the animal was. Pig, hippopotamus, donkey, hound, and giraffe are all plausible in different documents or reliefs. Evil beings or demons are often composite, fanciful creations that must be armed with knives to be really threatening. The evil serpent Apophis, perhaps the greatest demon, is repulsed from attacking the sun god by means of numerous serpent spells, but it is also driven back by the spears, and bows and arrows of protecting deities such as the four sons of Horus—Imesty, Hapi, Duamutef, and Khebeksenuef—who are also the protective gods represented on the Canopic jars containing the internal organs of the mummified dead.

Although oxen and smaller cattle were among the offerings made to the gods in their temples, the Apis bull, which was emblematic of and sacred to Ptah in the New Kingdom and later, had a very special position and would have been considered by many as the embodiment of a god on earth. Burials of each successive Apis bull and its cow mother were performed with great solemnity. Later, in the Greek period, the proliferation of cemeteries for mummified cats sacred to both Bast and Paket, crocodiles sacred to Sobek, ibises sacred to Thoth and Imhotep, baboons sacred to Thoth, and falcons sacred to Horus reached all parts of Egypt, to the point that demand for some of these creatures as votive offerings began to exceed the supplies available; sometimes people who thought they had purchased jars with mummified animals actually left sealed jars of sand to be buried in the huge catacombs at sacred sites.

Magic was clearly a significant aspect of Egyptian life. Again, as noted in the *Instruction for Merikare,* magic was considered a gift of the great god, Re. There was a goddess called Weret-Hekau (Great of Magic), and several texts refer to the books containing the secret knowledge of Thoth, whom the Greeks later identified with Hermes and whose legendary knowledge is still being touted by certain groups today (e.g., the Rosicrucians). The Egyptians had magical spells believed to prolong life, to alter fate, to help in romance, and to combat any number of physical and mental afflictions. A combination of entreaty and threat is found in one type of love charm:

> Hail to you, Re-Harakhty, father of the gods!
> Hail to you, Seven Hathors, who are adorned with strings of red thread!
> Hail to you, all the gods of heaven and earth!
> Come make so-and-so [f.] born of so-and-so come after me,
> Like an ox after grass, like a nursemaid after her children, like a herdsman after his herd!
> If you do not make her come after me, then I will set fire to Busiris and burn Osiris.

Some magic spells survive in the funerary literature, some references occur in the literature, and much is found in the medical texts. The rubrics of chapters in the New Kingdom *Book of Going Forth by Day* frequently provide information about the very ancient origins of these spells for transformation and glorification, and they also provide instructions concerning the rites accompanying recitation of the spells. In some cases complete secrecy is required, and one frequently encounters the claim that a particular spell was tried and proved a million times. Chapter 64 of the *Book of Going Forth by Day* is "The Chapter for Knowing the Chapters of Coming Forth by Day in a Single Chapter." Its rubric adds:

> If this chapter is known by the deceased, he will be mighty both on earth and in the otherworld, and he will perform every act of a living person. It is a great protection that has been given by God. This chapter was found in the city of Hermopolis on a block of iron of the south, which has been inlaid with real lapis lazuli, under the feet of the god during the reign of his majesty, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkaure, justified [i.e., deceased], by Prince Hordedef, justified. He found it when he was journeying to make an inspection of the temples. One Nakht was with him who was diligent in making him understand it, and he brought it to the king as a wonderful object when he saw that it was a thing of great mystery, which had never before been seen or looked upon. This chapter shall be recited by a man who is ritually clean and pure, who has not eaten the flesh of animals or fish, and who has not had intercourse with women. And you shall make a scarab of green stone, with a rim plated with gold, which shall be placed in the heart of a man, and it shall perform for him the opening of the mouth. And you shall anoint it with *anti*-unguent, and you shall recite over it these spells. . . .

The words that follow are the heart spell of chapter 30. The discovery of the text by such a famous sage in so significant a place clearly enhanced its value.

Those Egyptian medical texts that deal with surgical procedures tend to be reasonably scientific, but for the vast majority of human ailments treated in most medical texts the Egyptians relied on magic—potions, poultices, or salves applied with written or recited spells. Headaches and stomach disorders are obvious targets, and there are lengthy series of spells for hastening birth that recall the travail of Isis in giving birth to Horus.

Magic was also used in the Execration Texts, which the Egyptians devised to overcome enemies perhaps too difficult to overcome by any other means. These bowls or figurines, inscribed with a fairly standard selection of the names of Egypt's foreign and domestic enemies plus all evil thoughts, words, and deeds, were deliberately smashed to try to destroy any and all persons and things listed thereon.

The Opening of the Mouth ritual, already referred to above, was obviously a magical rite to bring to life mummies and other representations of individuals. Sculpted portraits (called reserve heads) in Old Kingdom mastaba tombs were magical stand-ins. The eradication from statues, stelae, and tomb and temple walls of names and representations of individuals was thought to be a way of eliminating those persons magically. The texts in some tombs had the animal hieroglyphs either halved or with knives in them, to prevent them from being a danger to the deceased. The names of individuals involved in the harem conspiracy against Ramses III were often changed in the records to evil-sounding names, primarily so that the evil person's memory would not live on. In this same conspiracy, magic was also apparently involved in the making of waxen images by the conspirators. Exactly how these were to be used is unclear.

In addition to reserve heads and *ka*-statues, the deceased in his tomb frequently had a supply of servant statues. In the earlier periods they were shown doing exactly what they would have done in life, but in the New Kingdom they were represented merely as mummified figures, with chapter 6 of the *Book of Going Forth by Day* written on them. This is the magic spell that says that if the deceased is called upon to do any work in the afterlife, such as moving sand from one bank to another, the "answerer" (the figurine) will respond that he is present to do it. A different type of magic is found in the *Cannibal Hymn,* in Pyramid Text utterances 273–274. Here the deceased king goes about devouring the gods, both to demonstrate that he has gained power over them in death and in order to acquire their strength and attributes.

Popular Religion and Personal Piety. Among the numerous amulets used by the Egyptians a few stand out and deserve attention. Probably the best-known amulet and symbol is the *ankh* sign, the hieroglyph for "life," which is most frequently shown being presented by the gods to humans. Considerably more important for the Egyptians was the *udjat,* the eye of Horus, which symbolized the sacrifice endured by Horus in his struggle to avenge his father's murder. This eye was used to designate any offering or sacrifice and also to represent the sun and the moon gods and their barks. Similar falcon eyes are found on the fronts of Middle Kingdom coffins, presumably to enable the deceased to see; on the prows of boats and in mummy wrappings these might also have been chosen to ward off evil.

The scarab beetle was a symbol that had religious significance, but it was frequently used for the very practical purpose of identification, as a seal bearing the owner's name on its flat underside. Some scarabs have ornamental decoration and the vast majority have royal names, usually of Thutmose III or Ramses II. The scarab itself was a symbol of the sun god, apparently derived from the image of this beetle slowly pushing along a nutritious ball of dung. The Egyptian word for this beetle was *kheper,* a homonym for their word meaning "to come to be" or "to happen," and the word also became the name of the early morning sun deity. Re, then, is the powerful and bright noonday sun, and Atum the old and worn-out evening sun.

Two symbolic figures often found on amulets seem to have been primarily associated with household deities and were particularly important for their connection with fertility and the successful conclusion of pregnancy. These are of the gods Bes, the grotesque human-faced baboon or monkey, and Taweret, the not very attractive female hippopotamus/crocodile who stands on her hind legs and holds another amulet, the "knot of Isis," in her hands. Amulets of the frog goddess, Heket, and the knot of Isis were probably used similarly by women. The feather of Maat (Truth or Justice) also symbolized order, and in those countless temple scenes showing the king presenting to various deities the small figure of the goddess wearing the feather and seated on a basket, the king is both claiming and promising to preserve order on earth on behalf of all the other gods. The plump hermaphrodite figures of Hapy are symbolic of the fertility of the Nile in flood and are frequently shown tying together the sedge plant of Upper Egypt and the papyrus of Lower Egypt.

The numerous stelae and votive offerings left at cult centers provide adequate testimony of the personal piety of the Egyptians. Many of the stelae were inscribed with a plea to the god of the place, and some had a human ear or ears carved on them as if to entreat the god to be especially attentive. Because the common people would not have had access to the god in the interior of his temple, they had their own preferred shrines, statues, or reliefs of the god (often Amun) "who hears prayers" outside the temple proper but within the sacred precincts. If they were patient they could wait to approach the god on his processions in connection with major feasts. These occasions were regularly used to make requests of the gods, and the nod of the god, perhaps aided by the shoulders of the men carrying the god, was considered a significant oracular response. The "power" or "manifestation" of a god is mentioned in several texts as punishment for an offense (e.g., being blinded for lying) or as a force compelling a person to recant earlier testimony. Some women called "knowledgeable" could use their powers for conjuring or healing. Omens were important to the Egyptians, many different dreams were interpreted as good or bad, and at least by the Late Period they had calendars of lucky and unlucky days.

One final indication of the religiosity of the Egyptians and also of their trust in magic is the very frequent occurrence, both on stelae and in graffiti, of a list of good works the writer had done, followed by his request that any passerby reading the text pronounce his name and the formula "A thousand bread, beer, oxen, and fowl," so that some day he would magically receive these stereotypical offerings. The Egyptians had a great deal of confidence in both the written and the spoken word and a proper respect for things sacred. A woman from Deir al-Medineh accused of stealing a workman's tool compounded her guilt enormously when she swore a false oath and it was discovered that she stole not only the tool but also a vessel from a temple.

TEMPLES. The priests and priestesses of ancient Egypt included a very high percentage of the population. The king himself seems to have been the principal intermediary between gods and humans. He is shown making offerings, pouring libations, and burning incense before almost all the gods in all the temples. How much of the king's time was actually spent in religious ritual is not known and probably varied from dynasty to dynasty and from one king to another. The large amount of civil authority delegated to viziers would have released time for more religious activities if that were desired. Some kings, however, seem to have preferred leading military expeditions, perhaps finding these more essential or more interesting.

The actual high priests of each temple had different titles. The word used most frequently was *hem-netjer* ("servant of the god"), which the Greeks rendered as "prophet." The great temple of Amun-Re at Karnak had four ranked prophets, and the first prophet had one of the highest positions in the land. In addition to his religious duties involving the daily temple ritual and rites connected with many special feasts, he exercised temporal power over a vast amount of landholdings and over the people who worked those lands. He also served as a judge in the tribunal headed by the vizier. Some did rise to the higher priestly offices by coming up through the ranks and being recognized for their abilities, but it was also the case that they could start at the top, apparently with the king's patronage. Royal princes frequently held the post of high priest of the temple of Ptah at Memphis. At Thebes the office of high priest often was hereditary, and it became a power base from which individuals could claim and acquire the kingship of the entire land (twenty-first dynasty).

Little is known about the lesser prophets, though the office of second prophet seems in one case to have been given over to a queen, Akhmose Nefertari of the eighteenth dynasty, either to exercise the office or to award it to another. Later a famous fourth prophet of Amun, Montuemhet (twenty-sixth dynasty), was simultaneously mayor of Thebes, and his great wealth and prestige probably accrued from that position. It is not known whether any of these figureheads and administrators were also knowledgeable theologians.

Those temple scribes who were familiar with the sacred writings were called *chery-heb* ("lector priest"). It was their responsibility to interpret omens and dreams, to know the magical spells required for any eventuality, and to read the required texts for the rituals of embalmment and burial. The scribes most likely also provided the copies of funerary texts that people wanted to be buried with, and would either have served as physicians themselves or would have provided the magical medical spells that the physicians used.

In all the temples most of the lesser tasks were in the hands of the faithful. All would be called upon to do their monthly service, and because they were regularly divided into four phylae, this meant that they alternated but served three months out of the year. These common priests (*wabu,* "pure ones") shaved their hair, washed frequently in the sacred lakes near the temples, and maintained ritual purity to enable them to serve the god in his mansion. They served as porters, watchmen, and attendants, assisted with offerings and rites, and probably did their share of cleaning, polishing, painting, and moving things around.

There was of course a major distinction between the city cult temples and the mortuary temple establishments. The great mortuary temples grew out of the smaller chapels erected above shaft tombs, and these in turn developed from the small offering niches in Old Kingdom mastaba tombs. The offerings to be left at the chapels of nobles or temples of kings were provided by endowments, and the priests who administered the endowments were called *hemu-ka* ("servants of the *ka*"). If the endowment included lands, the produce would have provided offerings as well as an income for the individual "priests." They would also benefit from the unconsumed offerings that they provided each day. These endowments became an important part of the individual's property and tended to be collected and handed on to heirs.

Women in all periods shared at least some priestly responsibilities and enjoyed priestly titles. In the Old Kingdom many women were priestesses of Hathor, Neith, or Nut. In the early New Kingdom the great royal wives were also the "god's wives of Amun" and as such bore the next divine son, but they did as well participate with male priests in temple rites. Of course Hatshepsut as king (she took the masculine title, and even wore a false beard) was also priest, but remarkably, Nefertiti appeared alone or with her daughter, making offerings to her god, Aton. The wives of nobles and even the working women of Deir al-Medineh were very frequently called songstresses of Amun and were depicted in tombs bearing two symbols of this office, the sistrum and the *menit*-necklace, with which they provided musical accompaniment for rituals at both the great and the lesser temples. Women in general also served as *ka*-priests and professional mourners. In the late New Kingdom the wives of the high priests of Amun held the title of chief concubine of Amun-Re, but while it is known that they had a great deal of influence, it is not known precisely what religious responsibilities they had. Daughters of the first prophets of Amun were given the title of "God's Wife" in the twenty-first dynasty, and then, to assume greater control of the south, the Tanite kings gave this position to their own daughters. The next step in the process is the evolution of a new position, that of Divine Adoratress, from the office of God's Wife; the new position is clearly ranked above that of the high priest. Since the Divine Adoratress remains a virgin, she adopts her successor from among the daughters of the king.

The Egyptian temple was the mansion of the god, his abode on earth or, at least, the abode of his principal cult statue. The daily ritual for a god in his temple was limited to a few priests present, and consisted of their approaching the sanctuary, opening the shrine, removing the statue, undressing it, washing it, censing it, making offerings to it, clothing it in fresh garments, replacing it, sealing the shrine, and retreating, with care taken to sweep away their footprints. Although the faithful did not have the opportunity to participate in the daily ritual, they were able to see the god during special feasts, when the statue of the god would leave the temple. For the feast of Opet the statue and shrine of the god Amun-Re was taken from its sanctuary at the Karnak temple, placed on a bark held aloft by priests with carrying poles on their shoulders, and carried to its river transport for the two-mile voyage to the Luxor temple, the southern harem, for a sojourn there before the return voyage. The Beautiful Feast of the Valley involved Amun-Re's voyage across the river to western Thebes to visit the major temples there, but numerous stops were made at small temples and way stations along the route. In addition to these great feasts of Amun-Re recorded at the Luxor and Karnak temples, the mortuary temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu contains records of the festival processions of Min and Sokar illustrated in great detail.

MYTHOLOGY. Mythology is encountered in almost everything that survives from ancient Egypt. Texts, whether religious, historical, literary, medical, or legal, or merely personal correspondence, all contain mythological allusions. Art of all kinds and on all scales, and artifacts of all types, made use of easily recognizable mythological symbols. This does not mean that everything had a ritual purpose or that the Egyptians had narrow one-track minds, but it does show how mythology and religion had permeated the culture, and also how artisans and craftsmen could capitalize on this.

It is not surprising to find that the Egyptians' mythology was not detailed and collected in any one place, but surely the various traditions were handed down by word of mouth and were generally well known. Temple libraries, known in the Late period as "houses of life," certainly contained medico-magical texts, and also would have had many ritual, historical, and theological texts and treatises. Many of these contained mythological material, but none was entitled *Egyptian Mythology.* There may have been individual texts relating to the individual cults or sites, such as Papyrus Jumilac. The cosmogonical myths that were excerpted for use in the mortuary literature and that have been briefly summarized above were included in the Pyramid Texts to indicate the power of the king, his genealogy, or his goal, rather than to explain or justify the other gods. The temple texts of individual gods are remarkable for the little mythological information they contain and the vast amount of knowledge they presume.

Some texts, such as the *Story of the Two Brothers* and the *Blinding of Truth by Falsehood,* are in large part mythological without being mythic in purpose. The *Contendings of Horus and Seth* has a totally mythological setting, but it is a burlesque of the real myth, and perhaps a sophisticated attack on the entire pantheon as well. The *Myth of the Destruction of Mankind* is slightly more serious in intent, showing humans to be totally at the mercy of the gods if they cross them. In this myth Hathor was sent to slay men because they had plotted in the presence of Re, but Re decided to save them by making bloodlike red beer to deceive and distract her. The goddess became so drunk that she could not perceive humankind, and what had begun as a story about punishment for sin becomes an etiological explanation for drinking to the point of drunkenness at the feast of Hathor. Another remarkable document from the late Ptolemaic period is Papyrus Jumilac, which provides the entire religious history, largely mythological, of the otherwise little-known eighteenth nome of Upper Egypt.

SURVIVALS. Egyptian religion does not seem to have been greatly changed by any outside influences. In the New Kingdom several Asiatic deities were introduced into the Egyptian pantheon, including Reshef, Kadesh, Anat, and Astarte. The story of *Astarte and the Insatiable Sea* has been proposed as one example of Egyptian borrowing from the Ugaritic *Poem of Baal,* but the counterargument for the indigenous nature of most of the contents of this text posits that only the names of the principals were changed to those of well-known Semitic deities. The Canaanite god Baal was regularly identified with Seth, and later many Greek gods became identified with the older Egyptian gods (e.g., Hermes-Thoth, Hephaistos-Ptah, and Min-Pan). The Isis-aretalogies that survive in Greek have a few descriptions of the goddess that may be traced back to Egyptian antecedents, but for the most part the composition appears to have been primarily Greek. Many scholars have seen similarities between the Egyptian *Hymn to the Aton* and the biblical *Psalms,* the *Instruction of Amenemope* and *Proverbs,* or the collections of Egyptian love songs and the *Song of Songs.* If there were instances of borrowing (and this is not universally accepted), they would in each case have been from the slightly earlier Egyptian texts.

Among the religious survivals from ancient Egypt, the language used in the Coptic Christian liturgy down to the present time represents the latest stage of ancient Egyptian, but it is written in the Greek alphabet. The decoration of early Coptic textiles used as vestments had incorporated *ankh* signs as well as *udjat.* As noted above, the institution of monasticism in both its eremetic and cenobitic forms, and the earliest monastic rule, can be clearly traced to Egypt. Whether the late cult of Isis had any influence on the story of the Blessed Virgin, or whether the story of the death and resurrection of Osiris influenced the gospel narrative of Christ, would be hotly contested by many Christians. In doctrinal matters it has been proposed that the Egyptian triads (such as that of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu of Thebes) influenced the concepts of the Trinity and the Holy Family, and that descriptions of the Field of Hetep (paradise) and of places of torment in the afterlife were predecessors for the concepts of heaven and hell. Slightly less controversial would be the question of Egyptian influence on the doctrines of the resurrection of the body and the communion of saints. The traditional sites for the finding of the infant Moses at the river's edge, and the places visited by the Holy Family on their sojourn in Egypt, are indeed very old, but how accurate they are historically is questionable. Surviving traditions in modern Egypt include the use of mourners at funerals, visits to tombs, the leaving of food offerings, and the burning of incense at services. Modern beliefs in afreets or ghosts certainly have ancient roots, and the modern Luxor processions carrying boats on the feast of the Muslim saint Abul Hagag are clearly reminiscent of ancient festivals.

CONCLUSIONS. In general the Egyptians seem to have been very religious, believed in an afterlife, and devoted much of their energy to preparing for this. Their preparations included both the physical burial equipment and the spiritual: rites, temple services, offerings, good works, and avoidance of evil deeds. They believed that they were destined from birth to a particular fate, but they were also optimistic that they could, perhaps with the help of a god, change an unfortunate fate. They desired a long life and eventually a proper Egyptian burial. To a great extent they wanted to continue living after death a life very like their life on earth. They were clearly optimistic about vindication in a last judgment and their ability to attain the highest goals in the afterlife.

Two characteristic features of Egyptian religious literature are syncretism and a multiplicity of approaches, and these perhaps show steps in the process of developing doctrine. In the case of the descriptions of the afterlife, the Egyptians could on the one hand place separate, mutually exclusive descriptions side by side without indicating that one is better or more accurate than another; on the other hand, they could combine in the same document aspects from different traditions in a new, apparently superior, composite, and theoretically logical entity. Perhaps this was one way of dealing with the problem of conservatively maintaining the old while also accepting the new.

The Egyptians did not believe in the transmigration of souls, but among the hymns, guidebooks, offering texts, and rituals with which the deceased were buried are many spells for transformations—often into the form of birds, perhaps because of a desire to achieve their apparent freedom. Presumably, an Egyptian purchased the texts he wanted well in advance of his death. Some manuscripts could have been read in advance by their owners, but many texts are quite flawed in extant copies and might not have been intelligible even if the person had bothered to read them. Scribes also had serious problems understanding some texts, and in at least one case (*Book of Going Forth by Day,* chap. 17) a tradition of various interpretations is handed down in the form of glosses incorporated into the text.

Hymns are probably a good gauge of the religiosity and sophistication of the priest-scribes and theologians, as well as of the believers, of ancient Egypt. The short hymns, perhaps excerpts, found in the earlier mortuary literature eventually developed into carefully constructed, easily read, edifying, and glowing tributes to the gods that spell out the gods' links with nature and their special concern for humankind. The *Hymn to the Nile,* the *Hymn to Amun-Re,* the *Hymn to the Aton,* hymns found in nobles' tombs to the rising and setting sun, and the hymns to Osiris and to Re in the *Book of Going Forth by Day* might not be as exciting and different as the so-called *Cannibal Hymn.* But these were very proper and popular works, indicating a considerable refinement in ancient Egypt that is not often recognized and appreciated by historians of religion.

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EGYPTIAN RELIGION: THE LITERATURE

From the dawn of Egyptian history, and throughout the three and a half millennia of their currency, religious beliefs and practices were for practical purposes committed to written form. The singular phenomenon of the nation-state the pharaohs had created put far greater stock in the hieroglyphic script, the novel creation of a bureaucracy of wise men, than it did in any memory, individual or collective, that might serve as a repository for the important knowledge of the community. The scribal tradition, therefore, at an early date took precedence over the oral in Egypt, and the scribe became recorder and transmitter of all that was deemed important among the intellectual creations of pharaonic society. Egyptian religion was practiced according to beliefs and directives "as they were [found] in writing," and scorn was poured on anything that remained in an oral stage of transmission. The latter was "the narrative discourse of the people," and was considered to be unsophisticated, hyperbolic, and unreliable.

In the light of this it should come as no surprise to learn that the scribe in ancient Egypt was the kingpin in the running of the government, and the most respected member of the community (Williams, 1972). The "scribe of the god's book," later to become the sacred scribe, and the "lector-priest" (lit., "he who carries the book role") are found already in the Early Dynastic period (c. 3000–2650 BCE). Precisely what kind of sacred literature such worthies wrote, copied, and guarded at this early time is difficult to ascertain. As the vast majority of texts, both originals and copies, were written on papyrus, it is scarcely to be wondered at that none has survived from the Old Kingdom (c. 3000–2200 BCE), and very few from the Middle Kingdom (c. 2134–1660 BCE). Something of the early history of the sacred library can, however, be reconstructed from hieroglyphic records and from the known exigencies of the cult. Thus, the overriding importance of sacred monarchy demanded that rites concerned with coronation and jubilee be regulated by written directories, and the remarkable uniformity of relief-scenes and texts commemorating these ceremonies over three millennia argues the presence, already in the Old Kingdom, of written prescriptions.

Of equal, if not greater, importance to the ancient Egyptian community were two rites intimately connected with the funerary cult—the offering to the ancestors and the mortuary liturgy. The former called forth at the very dawn of Egyptian history the offering-list, a formal and comprehensive listing of foodstuffs and other requirements of the dead, together with name and titles of the ancestor and occasionally a formulaic text to be used orally (Barta, 1963). The mortuary liturgy became the starting point for that ever-burgeoning body of texts known to the Egyptians as *sakhu* ("[funerary] beatifications"), pronounced by the lector-priest on the day of the obsequies to assist the deceased in securing a glorified existence in the beyond. Any person for whom offering-list and beatifications had been provided could *ipso facto* be termed "a competent and equipped spirit."

MORTUARY LITERATURE. Although one must await the twenty-fourth century BCE for the first extensive texts of funerary purport, from that point the genre rapidly becomes one of the most frequent in the repertoire of Egyptian writings.

The Pyramid Texts. The corpus of religious literature called the Pyramid Texts comprises approximately 760 individual paragraphs, or "spells," inscribed on the walls of the tomb chambers and entrance corridors of Egyptian kings (and occasionally queens) from Wenis (c. 2410–2380 BCE) to Aba (fl. c. 2185 BCE). As such it represents the earliest, and in some respects the most interesting, body of sacred literature in the ancient world (Faulkner, 1969; Barta, 1981). In later times the material was sporadically revived and recopied; but the original exemplars reflect its heyday. (Even when first seen, however, the corpus was undergoing a rapid evolution: Much of the content of the Wenis texts is missing and has been replaced with additional material of like sort in the pyramid of Pepi II [c. 2290–2200 BCE].) The texts follow no special sequence, other than a general "order of service" from the arrival of the funeral cortege at the pyramid to the king's acceptance by the sun god in heaven. Broadly speaking, the intent is that of an apologia on behalf of the deceased in order to secure the gods' acquiescence to his eternal stay among them. The Pyramid Texts incorporate hymns to the gods, magical incantations, prayers for the dead, liturgical pieces, and ritual texts, and as such envisage rites of embalmment and purification, the "opening of the mouth" ceremony (to revivify the mummy and the mortuary statues), coronation, rites of passage, and the offering liturgy.

While this was not their primary intent, the Pyramid Texts provide an introduction to the cult and pantheon of the gods current in Egypt during the Old Kingdom. The texts were undoubtedly produced by the theologians and scribes of the great center of sun worship, Heliopolis, where lay the "great mansion" of the sun god, Re-Atum. Reflecting the amazing political unity the Egyptian state had achieved under pharaonic administration by the middle of the third millennium BCE, these Heliopolitan priests had synthesized the religion of the Nile Valley and Delta into a unified whole, and enlisted its aid in effecting the king's journey to the solar beyond (Anthes, 1959). The Pyramid Texts can, therefore, be used—with appropriate caution—as a source for Egyptian religion during the Old Kingdom.

The Coffin Texts. This body of literature, comprising more than 1,150 "spells" and called in Egyptian the *Book of Justifying a Man in the Realm of the Dead,* is known in numerous copies from the ninth dynasty through the thirteenth (c. 2150–1650 BCE). Although a few extant fragments make it plain that the original was written up in papyrus copies, the vast majority of examples are found written in ink in vertical columns (in apparent imitation of the Pyramid Texts), on the insides of the large, rectangular wooden coffins that were characteristic of the period (Faulkner, 1973–1978). Unlike the Pyramid Texts, of which they could be considered a later development, the Coffin Texts often precede a spell with a rubric docket giving the purpose of the piece, and follow it with another supplying directions for use. The latter might suggest use by cult initiates during life, and indeed the *Book of Two Ways* has been taken to be a manual of initiation. On the other hand, the rubric headings of spells most frequently point to their construing by the ancients as magical incantations designed to circumvent obstacles, combat dangers, and ensure the well-being of the deceased in the next life. Over half of the spells are concerned with mystical transformations of the deceased into animals, gods, objects, or desirable elements in nature (the Nile, grain, air, and so on), and in a large proportion of them magical effectiveness is ensured by the knowledge of esoteric mythology to which the deceased lays claim.

Much of the Coffin Texts derives from the Pyramid Texts, and belongs under the general rubric of "beatifications," but the content and atmosphere of the Coffin Texts sometimes differ markedly from the aristocratic or royal aura of the Pyramid Texts. Often a spell from the latter is distorted and misinterpreted, either to suit the new requirements of life in a different age or, more often, through ignorance of what it originally meant. Like the Pyramid Texts, the Coffin Texts come from the context of the sun cult, but yield more information on other cult centers, such as Abydos, Mendes, and Buto. For the first time in Egyptian religious literature, prominence is given to the concept of the judgment of the dead in the afterlife; and Osiris and his cycle, on the ascendant in the later versions of the Pyramid Texts, are very much to the fore in the Coffin Texts.

Book of Going Forth by Day. By the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty (c. 1569 BCE), the vast corpus of "beatifications" represented by the Coffin Texts was being pressed into service as a source for a new document of funerary use, the *Book of Going Forth by Day,* erroneously termed the *Book of the Dead* by moderns (Allen, 1974). Written most commonly on a papyrus roll that was placed in the coffin beside the mummy (of both royalty and commoners), the *Book of Going Forth by Day* derives nearly 60 percent of its material from the known Coffin Texts; but the spells were evolving under constant pressure of reinterpretation, and new incantations were being added. Their magical intent is clearer than ever: Each spell has a title, and most a prescription for use. All were, as is to be expected, intended for the well-being of the deceased in the next life, although, as is the case with the Coffin Texts, use by the living is not entirely excluded. The *Book of Going Forth by Day* continues and expands a practice begun on a small scale by the Coffin Texts, that of glossing selected spells with colored vignettes showing the deceased before various gods or engaged in cultic acts. Whereas for the New Kingdom spells are treated as individual units having little connection with other material and no fixed position in a canonical order, the "archaizing" revival of the Kushite-Saite period (712–525 BCE) produced a standard sequence of spells that survived into Roman times.

The *Book of Going Forth by Day* shows the concept of the Egyptian afterlife at a stage from which it developed little. The concept of the judgment, or psychostasia, is virtually full-blown, the trust in the efficacy of magic at its height. It now becomes standard procedure to place certain spells on "shawabtis" (servant figurines) to activate them, or on "heart scarabs" (beetle pectorals) to prevent the heart from testifying against its owner. Proper use of chapter 125 will ensure that the deceased emerges from the divine tribunal unscathed, whether he be "guilty" or not; the pious intoning of hymns to the sun at dawn and sunset will elicit divine indulgence for eternity.

Underworld literature. From the earliest period one can sense an antithesis between Re, the supernal sun god, *fons et origo* of the universe of light, and Osiris, the passive infernal hypostasis of the mystery of fertility, death, and the earth. Every night the sun passed through the perils of the infernal regions where Osiris dwelt, and it was only by magic and the prayers of the devout that it emerged whole in the morning. The "well-equipped" soul showed an ambivalence in its postmortem desires, now striving to accompany the sun boat in its eternal round through sky and the underworld for ever, now craving identity with Osiris, embedded forever in the life-giving soil. Preoccupation with these aims, ostensibly irreconcilable, conjured up in the New Kingdom (c. 1569–1085 BCE) an ever-increasing literature on the underworld and the mystery of the eventual union of Re with Osiris (Hornung, 1980). The very names of the books comprising this esoteric library reveal the nature of the realm described: the *Book of What Is in the Underworld,* the *Book of Gates,* the *Book of Caverns,* the *Litany of Re,* the *Book of Traversing Eternity.* Though they were genuine papyrus books whose origins in some cases possibly date before the New Kingdom, most of these pieces are known from hieroglyphic copies inscribed on the walls of the tombs of the kings at Thebes. They describe an underworld divided into twelve regions (corresponding to the hours of the night), peopled by fierce demons and fraught with dangers for gods and mortals alike. It is a place of punishment from which all people fervently pray to be saved. Concern for such salvation, as well as for well-being in life, led in the first millennium BCE to the practice of placing "decrees" in the mouths of the gods on behalf of other gods and individual human beings, and inscribing them on prophylactery strips of papyrus or on tablets.

The cosmic balance between Re and Osiris and the natural principles for which they stood were of great concern in the Late period (second half of the first millennium BCE). Underworld literature envisages a union of the two at a crucial point in Re's nightly passage through the underworld. In a curious ritual called the Rite of the House of Life, designed to preserve life in the universe and prevent the sun crashing to the earth, Osiris was united with Re in the form of a mummy.

Communications between living and dead. Central to Egyptian mortuary practices was the offering to the ancestors. The entire tomb in its layout and decoration focused upon the offering station with its stone table, libation stone, and sculpted or painted representation of the deceased. Here the dead met the living, as it were, and lively "conversation" was the result. At a very early date, certainly by the close of the third dynasty (c. 2650 BCE), tomb owners had begun to use the wall space in the tomb chapel to convey messages to posterity: personal identification (name and titles), legal contracts with mortuary priests, scenes from the life of the deceased, and formal addresses to the living. The last, introduced by the heading "He [the tomb owner] says . . ." and followed by direct speech, constituted a biographical statement, and throughout Egyptian history this statement became a major source not only for history but also for personal ethics and conduct in society. Very frequently the tomb owner used it as a vehicle to cajole or harangue the passerby into either making a formal offering or (more often) pronouncing the offering formula whereby the foodstuffs named were actualized for the deceased in the next life. The tomb owner sensed that his visitor might be reluctant to comply with his request, and so he presented arguments of convenience and self-interest; at times he all but threatened. The same type of text could be used as a means of warding off would-be violators of the tomb, usually by threatening them with a lawsuit at the court of the Great God in the Beyond.

Conversation of the living with the ancestors was also possible. This took the form of "letters to the dead," written on bowls, shards, or papyrus and placed in the offering chamber of the tomb, to be seen by the spirit when it emerged to partake of the food offerings. Frequently the letters incorporated complaints that the dead relative was interfering in the writer's life.

MYTHOLOGY. No myths have come down from ancient Egypt composed solely for the sake of the narrative itself (Schott, 1945). No practical need was felt to produce an *editio princeps.* But mythology was constantly used, so powerful were its archetypal protagonists and events felt to be as a basis for cult procedure, and mythology was drawn on as an inexhaustible source of prototypes and identifications in the realm of magic. Further, the cultic and magical act enjoyed a reciprocal influence on the myth, and the latter is found evolving and reproducing under the influence of a changing cult. This evolution, however, was not in the hands of the scribe. In the cult, indeed in everyday life, the spoken word predominated; and variant forms of myth are often found developing from like-sounding words or phrases. One senses a creative impulse here that derives from the common Egyptian belief that sound structure constitutes a powerful force throughout the elements of the created world.

Cosmogonies. There is no single text from the pharaonic period whose sole purpose is to set forth a creation myth; but allusions to creation motifs are legion in all types of religious literature. Four basic patterns manifest themselves, in all of which the act of creation is construed as the elimination of chaos and the ordering of preexistent elements: (1) the primeval ocean and the creator-god or creative element that appears within it; (2) the separation of earth from sky, both personified in a sexual union; (3) creation by means of a skilled craft (e.g., the ceramic expertise of Khnum, the plastic modeling of Ptah, or the weaving of Neith); (4) the conflict between hero-god and monster, out of whose carcass the world is created. Of the four the last is the least known, the motif in Egypt having been early carried over into a cosmic explanation of the continued integrity of creation. Thanks to its espousal by the dominant solar theology of Heliopolis, the first is by far the most common, but perhaps the most crass (expectoration, masturbation, and weeping being mechanisms involved).

A rather more sophisticated approach to the problem of creation was essayed at Hermopolis and Memphis. At the former site, the abstract qualities of the Primeval Ocean (Nun) are personified as four gods (with their consorts): Nothingness, Inertness, Limitlessness, and Darkness. At Memphis, Thought and Fiat are singled out as the essence of the divine, in this case the god Ptah, and are made the sole elements in the creation process. Wherever rationality and the capability of enunciating thought exist in the created world, there exists Ptah, sustaining and informing his creation. This doctrine is most clearly set forth in the *Memphite Theology,* a commentary on a dramatic text, appearing under Shabaka (712–697 BCE) as an inscription on stone but purporting to have been copied from a much older document (Sethe, 1928). Although the alleged antiquity of the text has been doubted, the same concepts it sets forth are clearly alluded to in New Kingdom religious literature. The claim, often made, that it does in fact date from the late third millennium BCE may yet prove correct.

Myths of kingship and fertility. These center upon two great cycles of myths, the Horus-Seth conflict and the death of Osiris. The former describes the struggle of Order with Chaos, variously cast as an act of revenge, a fight over the right to rule, or simply a natural struggle. When linked with the Osiris myth, the fight is sharpened and humanized: It is not only a son's act of revenge upon his father's murderer, but also the son's assertion of his legal and political rights. When the king adopts the role of Horus and performs the obsequies for his deceased father, "Osiris," the whole myth takes on heightened significance as the mythological underpinning of the monarchy (Anthes, 1959).

From an early period the whole is inextricably intertwined with the myth of fertility, and Osiris and those gods with whom he is associated become hypostases of the principle of fertility. While it may well be a skewing of the evidence through the haphazard of preservation, texts pointing to Osiris and his congeners as associated with the Nile, the fertile soil, and the crops tend to become more numerous as the Late Period approaches.

Like cosmogonies, fertility myths are not in ancient Egypt accorded any special archetypal publication. There was no need for one. No canonical version existed, and constant use in the cult and in everyday life continued to produce changes in detail. Seldom is the myth of Osiris epitomized in the literature of the pharaonic period from beginning to end (cf. as exceptions the eighteenth-dynasty hymn to Osiris in Louvre stele c. 286 and the Plutarch version, the latter in Griffiths, 1970). But allusions of widely varying length to fertility myths are legion in all types of religious literature.

Myths about the destruction of humankind. Another well-defined group of myths centers upon a feline deity dispatched by the gods to punish humankind for disobedience. Identified as the sun's "eye" (i.e., the fierce heat of the sun disk, personified) or the goddess of plague, she ranges far over the earth effecting the gods' will; but soon she exhibits a mind of her own and refuses to follow the directives of the head of the pantheon. The plot turns on the means used by the gods to subdue her and bring her back into the divine fold (Hornung, 1981).

Mythological stories. Several pieces of writing exist that can be broadly characterized as elaborations on a mythological theme. Most date from the New Kingdom and are written in the Late Egyptian dialect (current as a literary medium from c. 1320 BCE to nearly 1000 BCE), but sporadic references suggest the presence of the genre already in the Middle Kingdom. These works center upon a known incident in a myth and rework it into a coherent narrative, often with dramatic overtones, lending a charming, human cast to the divine protagonists. Favorite foci around which interest gravitates are the topos of Isis and baby Horus hiding in the marshes of the Nile Delta, and the conflict/trial of Horus and Seth. Some, like the stories of Papyrus d'Orbiney, Papyrus Chester Beatty I, or the Amherst Papyrus, constitute independent works; others are found only in secondary contexts, where they are used as magic spells. Occasionally in the New Kingdom, themes of Canaanite mythology appear in Egyptian translation (Simpson, 1973; Lichtheim, 1973–1980).

SPECULATIVE LITERATURE. The complete collapse of society and government in the obscure "revolution" that brought an end to the Old Kingdom (c. 2200 BCE) shook the Egyptians' confidence in traditional beliefs and procedures. In the literature of the First Intermediate period that followed (c. 2200–2050 BCE) a questioning tone may be sensed; Egypt, or at least a part of it, was engaged in a fundamental reappraisal of the nation's institutions and identity. While the continuum in the mortuary cult attested by the Coffin Texts shows the presence of a traditional "mainstream" in Egyptian thought, a surprisingly large number of pieces written during the period display a questing spirit prepared to break with the past and espouse heterodox views.

Dialogues and harpers' songs. An untraditional, indeed agnostic, view of humankind's prospects beyond the tomb was the contribution of a very special group of texts that must have had their birth in the First Intermediate period. In the genre of the dialogue, two proponents of differing (if not opposing) points of view engage each other in conversation, and the views expressed are startlingly heterodox. In one example, Osiris, typifying the soul on the point of entering the afterlife, gives vent to his fear of the unknown, in spite of centuries of confident mortuary practices; and Atum is obliged to offer him the assurance of eternal survival and union with the creator himself. Even more peculiar is the *Dialogue of a Man with His Soul* (a modern title—the ancient has not survived). In the sole surviving manuscript of this work, which lacks the first few pages, an unnamed man contemplates the prospect of death and declares his determination to pursue the traditional course of preparing a tomb, the funeral service, and an endowment. His soul, however, whose acquiescence in all this is crucial to the man's hope of future existence, expresses profound doubts on the efficacy of the customary procedure, on the alleged happiness of life in the beyond, and even on man's ability to attain an afterlife (Williams, 1962).

The note of doubt sounded in these works gives over into the advocacy of a hedonistic approach to life in a well-represented genre known as "harpers' songs" (Williams, 1981, pp. 4f.). Derived from the innocuous banquet song whose sole purpose is entertainment at a social event, the harpers' songs originated in the troubled times of the twenty-second century BCE as a vehicle for the expression of a profound disillusionment with traditional views of the afterlife. Recurring themes include the desuetude of tombs and mortuary installations, the impossibility of knowing what is beyond the grave, and the need to live life to the full here and now. Although most examples of the genre are today found on tomb walls in association with a scene of the harper before the deceased, there is good reason to believe that such songs enjoyed a primary *Sitz im Leben* among the living. The content of individual pieces tends to become cliché-ridden as time goes on, but the tone is always lively, with a tendency toward impiety. Harpers' songs remained popular for centuries, and their irreverent nature occasionally evoked a counterblast from the pious.

The pessimistic view of humanity's ability to forecast what will be met beyond the grave leads naturally, though illogically, to the proposition that the afterlife, in pointed contrast to what is expected by all, is in fact a realm of gloom and misery. A story of thirteenth-century date in which a pious priest encounters the spirit of one long departed who enlightens him on this score, sets forth this view, and a few mortuary stelae of later times elaborate on the same theme.

Discourse. The Egyptians, like many ancient peoples, identified one sort of wisdom with the ability to foretell the future under divine inspiration. The verb meaning "to foretell, to announce in advance" did not, however, give rise to a genre term. More often than not it is the wise man himself whose name is the identifying element, and the text goes under the label of "The discourse (lit., *the word)* of so-and-so." Broadly speaking, such declamations are grouped by the ancients under the general rubric of "teachings."

The turbulent years of the First Intermediate period were the heyday of the prophetic discourse, although as a "literary" phenomenon it had a longer life. In the main it constituted a lament over the sorry condition of the land, gone to ruin politically and socially, and could be cast either as a backdated prediction or a contemporary description (Junge, 1977). With the coming to power of the twelfth dynasty (c. 1991–1778 BCE) the prophecy was used as a powerful tool of propaganda to bolster the regime's claim to legitimacy; it might even be placed in the mouth of a god to support the pretensions of an individual ruler.

The discourses of the First Intermediate period frequently reveal themselves as vehicles of heterodox messages. Ipuwer, an otherwise unknown wise man of the past, rails in a lengthy tirade against none other than the creator god himself, and lays at his feet the blame for having allowed the land to go to ruin under unjust administrators. A peasant, wrongfully deprived of his possessions, goes to lodge an official complaint before the appropriate magistrate, and the result is a series of paeons adulating justice and decrying civil corruption. The theme of the petitioner in a lawsuit robbed of a just hearing turns up in several works of the period.

MAGICAL TEXTS. The Egyptians conceived of magic (*heka*) as a powerful element in the universe that, if controlled, could be employed to any end, even to the constraint of the gods themselves and the dislocation of the cosmos. So dominant was the preoccupation with this possibility that literature with magical intent constitutes the most common genre in the corpus of ancient Egyptian writings. Broadly speaking, magical texts can be divided into two subgroups on the basis of purpose, those concerned with the official cult and those for private use; but the Egyptians themselves never made this distinction. Incantations are introduced under several headings: "The protection against . . ." (*sau nu* . . .), "The spell of . . ." (*ra n* . . .), "The repelling of . . ." (*sehry*), "The book of . . ." (*medjat*), "The protection of . . ." (*meket*), "The protection book . . ." (*nehet*) (Redford, 1985, p. 104, n. 60). As in the case of mortuary literature, rubrics specifying use are sometimes included, but stories in which magicians appear as protagonists often reflect the procedures involved.

The purpose of magic spells varied. Most often they were designed to ward off external forces of evil, whether ethereal or concrete. Temple ritual invoked magic to ensure the integrity of the rites, the cult personnel, the paraphernalia, and the installation. So closely intertwined in the ritual was the magical incantation that frequently it is difficult to distinguish cultic prescriptions, prayers, and hymns from texts with purely magical intent. A perusal of the famous Edfu library catalogue, for example, will reveal the startling fact that much of what would pass as ritual is subsumed under magic! Private use was concerned with protection from disease, bodily harm, or demons who effect harm, and thus was closely associated with medicine. Very common were spells to ward off snakes, scorpions, crocodiles, and other noisome animals, or to neutralize the evil intent of people (often foreign), of the dead, or of the evil eye. Formal execration of foreign enemies, employing the ritual smashing of pots and figurines, was well known in the sphere of pharaonic statecraft. Productive, as opposed to prophylactic, magic is not well attested.

By his thorough training in magical lore, the magician—the Egyptians used such a word (*hekay*), but magic could be learned by anyone intelligent enough—could confront the most powerful hostile force and triumph. Most often the speaker identified himself in a spell with a god, or invoked a mythological incident as precedent. Numerous myths are in fact known only because they were considered efficacious enough to be used as spells! Identification of celebrant or victim with a divine figure, or the extensive use of homophonous words ("pious puns"), was considered useful in ensuring the effectiveness of the spell (Borghouts, 1978).

Great compilations of magical texts were copied on papyrus and kept in temple libraries, but few of these have survived, and one is often thrown back on "unofficial" copies. Private scribal libraries have occasionally yielded magical papyri, but casual copies on ostraca are more numerous. Of special interest are the prophylactic statues of mortals or gods in various poses, covered with magical spells and provided with the means of collecting water poured over them. These usually were installed in sanatoriums attached to the temples (especially in the second half of the first millennium BCE), where sufferers from various diseases came for healing. The magical stelae and *cippi* were intended for private protection, and often show representations of the child Horus and the creatures against whom protection is sought.

WISDOM LITERATURE. The word that in Egyptian approaches closest to the concept conveyed by the Hebrew *hokhmah* ("wisdom") is *sebayt* ("teaching"), but this word is so loosely used that it can scarcely point to a formal genre. Any text with broad didactic purpose could be grouped under this heading. Thus it is found used of collections of maxims (most frequently), but also of texts of occupational guidance, model letters for students, political pamphlets, word lists, and so on. Anything, in fact, within the purview of the teacher-scribe that could be used for instruction fell broadly under this rubric.

It is, however, to aphoristic literature that the term is most often applied. A piece will begin with some such introduction as "Here begins the life-teaching, the attestations to well-being, all instructions of executive deportment and the regular procedure of courtiers" or "Here begins the instruction that educates the heart and witnesses to the ignorant." The inclusion of "testimonies" and "sayings of the way of life" generally denotes the incorporation of a collection of proverbs. The usual context of wisdom literature is the father-to-son chat, in which fatherly advice is given to the young on how to win friends and influence people and, generally, how to lead a successful life. Much of the worldly wisdom set forth suggests an origin in everyday life and a primary oral transmission. Nevertheless, from the earliest period canonical versions of many books of wisdom existed, in which wording and sequence of pericopes were of paramount importance; and the motif of a wise man's words being taken down in writing at the moment of delivery is a commonplace in Egyptian literature.

Collections of wise sayings originate in all periods of Egyptian history. Purporting to be the work of a vizier of the fifth dynasty (c. twenty-fifth century BCE), the *Wisdom of Ptahhotep* is known in a complete text, while the wisdom writings under the names of Prince Hor-djedef and Vizier Kagemni, also known Old Kingdom figures, have survived in less satisfactory condition. From the First Intermediate period comes the *Instruction for Merikare* (c. 2075 BCE), a fascinating treatise on statecraft written by a king of the tenth dynasty for his son and successor on the throne. The twelfth dynasty has bequeathed a wealth of wisdom literature, including the posthumous *Instruction of Amenemhet,* a political tract "written" from the grave and placed in the mouth of the assassinated founder of the house; a "loyalist" treatise supporting adherence to the pharaonic government; a "satire" of the trades, an early schoolboy text advocating the scribal calling; and several minor collections of maxims. The teachings of Ani and the thirty wise sayings of Amenemope come from the later New Kingdom; and the first millennium BCE has preserved the *Wisdom of Onkhsheshongy* and Papyrus Insinger, both of which show traces of foreign influence.

Although very much akin in form and content to its biblical or Akkadian counterparts, Egyptian wisdom literature had only limited influence abroad. The *Wisdom of Amenemope* had long been considered (rightly) the basis of *Proverbs* 30, and Psalm 104 seems to be more than an echo of Akhenaton's "teaching," as represented in his hymn to the sun disk (fourteenth century BCE). But biblical, Mesopotamian, and Greek folklore with a "wisdom" element owe more to local themes and sources than to Egypt (Williams, 1972, 1981).

TEMPLE LIBRARIES. While the "House of the God's Book" was originally, in the Old Kingdom, a secular registry office for royal rescripts, by the Middle Kingdom the term *god* was being construed as a reference not to the king but to a member of the pantheon, and the expression was coming to mean "temple library" (Schott, 1972, 1977). Occasionally alternating with such terms as *chamber, office,* or *hall of writings* (the last a repository of more secular documents), this department of temple administration was overseen by librarians ("keepers of the writings"), and was open to lector-priests, scribes of the god's book, and temple scribes in general. Scrolls were copied out in an adjacent scriptorium and then deposited in the library in wooden chests, less frequently in jars. Associated with the sacred library but outside the temple proper was the "House of Life," an institution open only to the highest grade of skilled scribes and to the king. Here were copied and composed the most holy rituals, hymns, commentaries, and magical texts, and here also the most esoteric rites were performed in secret.

As an archive constantly referred to in all aspects of temple life and procedure, the temple library was treated by the Egyptians as their most precious textual resource. Thoth, the inventor and master of the hieroglyphs, was the library's patron, and Seshat, the goddess of books, presided over its contents. The scribes were proud of their ability to compose, copy, and edit texts, and were strictly enjoined not to let their "fingers tamper with the god's words." One senses a continuum in the life of temple archives over many centuries in the three and a half millennia of Egyptian history. Users could ferret out scrolls of high antiquity and marvel at the difficult syntax and archaic vocabulary. The most skilled scribes boasted of their ability to restore what was lost in lacunae in moth-eaten originals. Although many such references are cliché-ridden, there is every reason to believe that a priestly scribe such as Manetho, living in the third century BCE, had access to written sources ranging back through three millennia. In the present time, although no temple library has survived intact, the contents of a typical collection are easy to reconstruct from the copious references in inscriptions and from a few papyrus caches (Reymond, 1977; Redford, 1985).

Ritual texts. Several terms designate this broad genre. The oldest, which is attested already at the dawn of Egyptian history, is *hebet* ("ritual book"), the special preserve of the *chery-hebet* (lector-priest; lit., "he who carries the ritual book"). This was a sort of breviary or missal, giving the order of service and the texts that were to be read. Occasionally the book was identified with a particular cult, as "the *hebet* of the temple of Ptah." Slightly later terms, used of documents as well as in the abstract, were *net-ʿ* ("customary procedure, ritual"; also pressed into service to render the Akkadian word for "treaty") and *iru* ("cultic forms/acts"). Sometimes "book of " is substituted for *net-ʿ*. During the Middle Kingdom a compendious order of service was referred to as "the complete [guide]," and the requirements of the ritual and, curiously, the spells to be recited were contained in the "god's offeringbook." Among the few ritual papyri that have survived, one may cite a funerary ritual and a rite of succession from the Middle Kingdom, a daily offering liturgy from the New Kingdom, and rituals for various gods' festivals from the Late period. It is important to note that, whatever mnemonic devices a priest may have employed, a ritual was always performed "in accordance with that which is in writing."

Beatifications. The category of "beatifications" (*sakhu,* from a causative root meaning "to turn someone into a glorified spirit") encompasses texts intended to "actualize" the future glorified state of the deceased in the beyond. The term is often used in captions to a scene depicting the lector-priest reading from a scroll on the day of burial. Oblique references make plain the esoteric nature of the material in their allusion to "that secret writing of the lector-priest's craft," by which beatifications are undoubtedly meant. In all probability this is the rubric under which the ancients classified such collections of mortuary spells as the Pyramid Texts and the Coffin Texts, and there can be little doubt that they were intended to be read aloud.

Hymns. In Egyptian the hymn goes under several designations. Most common is *duau* ("adoration"); less frequent, *senemehu* or *sensu* ("supplication"). Often inscribed on stelae, this adoration of the deity is sometimes explicit in its purpose, "propitiating the spirit" of the gods or goddesses addressed. Hymns are often characterized by the recurrent refrain "Hail to thee!" followed by a direct invocation of the deity, replete with epithets. Less often the key words are "Praise to thee!" The genre includes such formal hymns as cultic supplications to individual gods, litanies, and even royal apologias; but it also encompasses the popular, private hymns to the sun god at dawn and sunset, and even the inscribed "testimonies" of the semiliterate class of workers, witnessing to healing and forgiveness. By extension *duau* may also be applied to the "adorations" of Hathor, goddess of love (i.e. to love poetry). The term can refer as well to the outburst of praise, spontaneous or formal, of the king by the people.

Several longer hymns, intended for temple service, were nonetheless didactic in nature. Such were the hymns to Re-Harakhty, Amun-Re, the sun disk, and Ptah, which are known from New Kingdom exemplars. These display a sophisticated universalism, and preach (in the case of the hymn to Ptah) the same syncretistic deism as is found in the *Memphite Theology.* The monotheism of the hymn to the sun disk is well known.

Most examples imply or state directly that the hymns are to be intoned, either by private individuals as pious acts of devotion, or in a temple context by a priest or a choir. In temple ritual the papyrus containing the order of service will often give only the *incipit* of a hymn; the choristers and the celebrant undoubtedly knew it by heart.

Mythological compendiums. The Egyptians loved to compile catalogs of the salient features of the cult(s) and of the gods and their mythology for a particular nome or group of nomes. Known especially from the first millennium BCE, the genre undoubtedly has an earlier history, which is today, unfortunately, not directly attested. Late hieroglyphic texts refer to the scroll of the *Directory of Mounds of the Early Primaeval Ones* and the *Reckoning of Every Cult Seat and the Knowing of What Is in Them.* Elsewhere one hears of the *Great Plan of the Two Lands,* which contained information on Egypt and its arable land.

Chronicles and narratives. Chronicles cannot be identified as a native Egyptian genre, the form being derived from Babylonia some time in the first millennium BCE. From the early Ptolemaic period (third century BCE) comes the so-called Demotic Chronicle, in actuality a tendentious interpretation of selected events in the recent past that in form and inspiration shows strong influence from Asia. Narratives are more common. The papyrus fragments from the library of the temple of Sobek in the Fayum (the lakeland immediately west of the Nile, about fifty miles south of present-day Cairo) contained a number of quasi-legendary romances, including stories of the magician Setna, the *Romance of King Petubastis,* the story of King Djoser and his Assyrian campaign, the Amazon romance, and the *Prophecy of the Lamb.* Similar material has been unearthed in temple libraries at Saqqara, the necropolis of Memphis (Redford, 1985, chap. 8).

King-lists and offering-lists. It is most probable that temple libraries possessed historical source material in the form of king-lists and offering-lists. The offering cult of the royal ancestors had been maintained in the chief temples in the land from the earliest dynasties, and had involved an "offering invocation" in which the spirits of the deceased kings and queens were called by name to the offering table. From the twelfth dynasty at latest there had existed a formal king-list, tracing the occupancy of the pharaonic seat from the creator Ptah through an unbroken line of divine and human incumbents. Such a king-list was known to and used by Manetho, the priest-scribe who wrote a history of Egypt in Greek (third century BCE), and the relative accuracy of his *Aegyptiaca* attests to its uninterrupted and sober transmission (Waddell, 1940; Redford, 1985).

Annals of the gods. Closely allied to the compendiums mentioned above is a type of document purporting to give an account of divine acts. Derived from an old word for "annals" used originally of the yearly records of the king, the "annals of the gods" first appeared in texts of the New Kingdom and, although examples are lacking, they probably contained cosmogonic and mythological material. These "mighty acts of the gods," which of course reflect the historicization of the world of the gods, were the special preserve of the House of Life. Examples are rare in the New Kingdom. The *Book of the Cow of Heaven,* though used as a set of magic spells in the extant versions, contains an etiological account of the reign of Re (Hornung, 1981). Both Ramses II (c. 1304–1237 BCE) and Ramses IV (c. 1167–1161 BCE) refer to certain books in the House of Life that contain cosmogonic material from the reigns of the gods. Late versions of well-known myths that might qualify for inclusion in this genre are the reigns of Shu and Geb from the *Wady el-Arish naos,* the myth of Horus of Edfu, and the *Expulsion of Seth.* In using these well-known pieces, however, it is well to remember that they were recast in a period of history (fourth century BCE) when xenophobia and paranoia because of foreign conquest lent a tendentious tone to theme and content.

Directories and prescriptions. Prescriptive manuals abounded, especially in the late period. One of the earliest was the *Great Inventory,* the standard compilation of directions for the manufacture of cult images and paraphernalia, the decoration of shrines, and so on. Manuals on the construction and decoration of temples were often ascribed to Imhotep, the almost-legendary savant of the reign of Djoser (twenty-seventh century BCE). Under the same heading are directories of purification, manuals of offering, and festival calendars.

Omen texts and related genres. *Omina* are not common in the Egyptian religious corpus because they are confined to the Late period, when contact with Mesopotamia was more frequent. Hemerologies and oneiromancies, on the other hand, enjoyed native popularity and development at an early stage of Egyptian history. The former were apparently called "That Which Is in the Year," though known exemplars assign a variety of specific titles. What is important is that the explanation of why a particular day was considered propitious or inimical was always assigned a mythological context (Brunner-Traut, 1981), and in the process a myth was often adumbrated. Egyptians, like most ancient peoples, took dreams seriously, and this is reflected in the literature.

Oracle texts. The belief that a god made his will known through oracular utterances can be traced back to a relatively early period in Egypt's history, but the practice of employing oracles as an administrative and juridical mechanism dates from the nineteenth dynasty (thirteenth century BCE). Whether in the seclusion of the shrine or at the public procession of the god in his sacred bark, eliciting the god's response to solve a problem became so common that a special scribal office was called into being, that of "the scribe of oracles," to keep the records. Examples of the questions put to the god (demanding affirmative or negative responses) are extant, as are the beautiful papyrus records of the petitioner's appeal and the results. Often, especially from the twentieth to the twenty-second dynasties (c. 1200–730 BCE), a hieroglyphic record of the oracle, including a vignette showing the petitioner(s) and the divine bark, might be set up in a prominent place in the temple to serve as a legal record.

Medical texts. The writing of medical prescriptions and procedures and of the pharmacopoeia was one of the earliest acts of scribal activity in ancient Egypt. Later traditions are unanimous in ascribing certain medical books to the kings and wise men of the Old Kingdom, and in some cases the archaic syntax and vocabulary of surviving papyri bear this out. Written and edited by the sacred scribes associated with the House of Life, the papyri that have survived are collections of cases and recipes more or less united in common areas of interest or practice. Thus there are papyri on gynecology (P. Kahun), obstetrics and pediatrics (P. Ramesseum and P. Carlsberg), surgery (P. Edwin Smith), and veterinary medicine (P. Kahun); in some of the longest papyri (P. Ebers and the Berlin and London papyri) there is a miscellany of prescriptions and recipes. References to works now lost show specialization in diseases of the heart, eye, and abdomen, in anatomy and hygiene. While many magical incantations are found throughout these papyri in greater or smaller concentrations, there is everywhere in evidence an insight into pathology and pharmacology that is based on objective diagnosis and scientific deduction.

Administrative texts. In ancient Egypt the temple was not only the "god's mansion" where he resided and was ministered to by his servants, the priests, but also the hub of a large landowning institution comprising a number of disparate organs of production. Tenant farmers, herdsmen, artisans, and merchants all worked for their master, the god, and the revenue they raised provided a sizable income for the temple estate. The business documents that recorded this commercial aspect of temple life formed a major segment of any temple's archives. One of the oldest caches of papyri extant today, the Abusir Papyri, reflects the contents of such an archive from the pyramid-temple of Neferirkare I of the fifth dynasty, spanning a period of approximately fifty years several generations after the death of the king (c. 2370–2320 BCE). Here are found inventories of temple furniture, daily records of income, monthly accounts of food distribution and expenditures, and duty tables. In the Middle Kingdom, temple daybooks put in an appearance. These record income and disbursements, letters received in the temple office, celestial observations, work assignments, lists of personnel, records of cultic celebrations, and so on, all organized simply by calendrical notation. Throughout most periods, temple libraries contained inventories of land, personnel, and goods receivable; priestly correspondence; and account texts. Taxation documents, specifying quotas levied on sharecroppers and herdsmen on the temple estates or placed under obligation by the crown, were also to be found in the library. Moreover, during imperial times lists of booty from foreign wars were delivered to the temples and deposited in papyrus form in the archives there. Any records of special importance to the temple community, such as royal decrees, inductions and promotions of priests, and lists of royal and private bequests, were often culled from their primary locus in daybooks and the like, and inscribed in more permanent form on stelae, walls, and architraves for ease of reference (Redford, 1985; Reymond, 1977).

In addition to the above textual classifications, many of the genres already discussed, such as wisdom literature and magical texts, were also represented in temple libraries. There is every reason to believe that information on such subjects as geography, mineralogy, and biology was to be found there as well, but it is difficult to say whether any ancient categories corresponded to these modern terms of disciplinary research.

TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS. The wall space provided by temple construction in ancient Egypt was used as a medium for didactic, reference, and propaganda purposes. Because the source for almost all of this textual and iconographic decoration was the temple library, temples that have survived provide a most precious record of genres whose originals have perished.

For the Old Kingdom the material is limited to a handful of royal mortuary establishments (pyramid-temples). Here the range of inscriptions is wider and more varied than was later to be the case. Decorated walls display scenes and texts recounting battles, the gathering of booty, the transportation of captives, construction, and famine, as well as singing, dancing, and royal processions. The celebration of festivals (especially the jubilee) is also present in the subject matter, but purely cultic commemoration is not as common as might be thought. The listing of townships and estates as part of the record of endowment of the temple takes the form of servant personifications, arranged in rows along the bases of walls.

While little remains from the Middle Kingdom—the eleventh-dynasty temples show *mutatis mutandis* a continuation of Old Kingdom themes, while the twelfth has left virtually nothing—the New Kingdom and later periods have bequeathed a wealth of inscriptional and iconographic evidence. As a rule, a New Kingdom "processional" (axial) temple will display on its wall surfaces texts appropriate to the status of those allowed to view them. Thus, those parts of the temple on view to the laity—external walls, pylon, and first court—are often decorated with vaguely "propagandistic" intent, and the repertoire tends toward stereotype. Here are scenes and texts of foreign wars, standard head-smiting scenes, lists of conquered places, and the welcoming of the king by the god (which continues as a major motif throughout the temple).

Most often, walls of inner courts and hypostyle hall are adorned with sequences of vignettes and accompanying texts showing the daily liturgy of waking, adorning, and offering to the god, with the king as celebrant, taken from the ritual books of the temple. Specific festivals, such as those of the jubilee, coronation, the gods Sokar and Min, the Opet feast, the foundation of the temple, and so on, are often elaborately depicted with large excerpts of accompanying texts. Processions of princes and princesses, personifications of townships, towns, and the Nile are used as decorative dadoes, or as scenes in their own right. Rooms for storage and the preparation of cult requirements are decorated with offering scenes of a "neutral" nature, which makes it difficult to ascertain the precise use of some rooms. Certain temples have preserved the records of rituals or beliefs peculiar to their localities. One may mention in this regard the Osirian rites recorded in the Sety I temple at Abydos, the Horian myths at Edfu, the ritual adapted for royal use in the Theban mortuary temples, and the jubilee rites at Soleb, Karnak, and Bubastis.

The temple courts and the immediate surroundings of the structure were deemed suitable for the display of texts set up for a variety of purposes. Prominence of place was given to royal inscriptions, either on freestanding stelae or on temple walls. These are records of royal acts or regulatory decrees affecting the temple (frequently the product of a king's speech delivered at a "royal sitting"), and often involve building inscriptions and offering endowments. The contents of such inscriptions, though rhetorically embellished for popular consumption, are usually derived from such official records as the "daybook of the king's house."

Another type of stele, set up before or just inside the temple, was inscribed with a royal encomium. Clearly associated with occasions of oral delivery, such adulations took the form either of stereotyped praise of the king in prose for his "mighty acts" or deeds, or, more often (especially in the later New Kingdom), a formal "song" to be sung to harp accompaniment, each strophe ending with the names of the king. Private individuals of high rank were allowed to set up, in an ambulatory within the temple, statues of themselves with lengthy inscriptions. Such statue inscriptions, while most often cast in the form of an address to the passerby, inevitably incorporate biographical and genealogical information of the highest importance. Citizens of low rank might, certainly in smaller temples, hope to be able to set up hymns, prayers, and testimonials to the gods on stelae where the god might see them and honor their requests.

The best-preserved temples in Egypt date from the fourth century BCE to the first century CE, and ultimately reflect the *risorgimento* of the cult during the Saite Period (664–525 BCE). In the main they follow the New Kingdom tradition, but with some modifications:

(1) Offering vignettes showing king or god before the divine owner of the temple or his guests, and derived from the daily offering liturgy, are now repeated on the walls, both interior and exterior, *ad nauseam.*

(2) The mystic birth of the god-child, offspring of the goddess of the temple, is given great prominence in text and iconography.

(3) The stone *naos* wherein the cult image resides has become a major focus of the rites, and its sides are covered with a representative list of all the divine denizens of the temple.

(4) One senses a tendency to inscribe large excerpts from ritual books, mythological compendiums, and hymns on the walls, wherever space is available, conveying a false sense of *horor vacui.*

These later temples contain a wealth of (local) mythological material, but the degree to which they reflect genuinely ancient beliefs and practices is unclear.

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EGYPTIAN RELIGION: HISTORY OF STUDY

The study of ancient Egyptian religion shows an enormous breadth and depth, varying over time with academic fashion and the interests of individual authors. It could be maintained that the history of the study of religion should begin in the Pharaonic period. During the long period of Egyptian history, the ancient Egyptian priesthood time and again studied and reinterpreted aspects of their ancient religious traditions. However, although evidence can be gleaned from this, there are not many actual accounts or treatises. Therefore, this survey starts with explicit evidence by several classical authors, followed by the accounts of early travelers, and concentrating on the results of modern scholarship. A distinction is made between research efforts that concentrate on the recording and publication of religious architecture and textual material on the one hand, and the analysis and interpretation of evidence for religious traditions, belief systems, and practices on the other hand. The second part is divided into several subsections, although many scholars have bridged a number of these.

RECORDING AND PUBLICATION. The accounts of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century travelers to Egypt are of great importance. Even though the authors could not decipher the hieroglyphs before the groundbreaking work of savants such as Thomas Young, and especially Jean Francois Champollion, around 1824, they have published detailed descriptions and drawings of monuments, reliefs, and inscriptions, many of which have since been damaged or completely destroyed. One of the earliest accounts is that of the English traveler, Laurence Aldersey (fl. c. 1581–1586), who visited Alexandria and Cairo in 1586. Aldersey's descriptions have been preserved by the collector of travel narratives, Richard Hakluyt (1552–1616, listed by Quinn, p. 410). Most travelers concentrated on the Giza pyramids and the sphinx, such as Pietro Della Valle (1586–1652), who also acquired Coptic manuscripts and grammars; George Sandys (1578–1644) published an account on the pyramids of Giza in 1615 (*The Relation of a Journey begun an. Dom. 1610*, in four books), which could not compete with the precise survey of John Greaves, published in 1646 (*Pyramidographia, or a Discourse of the Pyramids in Aegypt*).

The eighteenth century saw a marked growth in interest in ancient Egypt, and the increase in visitors is reflected in the number of very important collections of drawings and copies of reliefs and inscriptions. From 1743 to 1745, Richard Pococke, an English traveler, published an account of Upper and Lower Egypt, including the Valley of the Kings, in two volumes: *A Description of the East, and Some Other Countries.* Around the same time, N. Granger (d. 1733), a French physician, published the story of his travels in *Relation d'un voyage fait en Egypte en l'année 1730.* Richard Dalton (1715–1791), an English draughtsman published 131 plates in *Views and Engravings in Greece and Egypt* in 1790 and 1791. One of the great feats of Napoleon Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt from 1799 to 1801 was his involvement of a large number of scholars and artists, whose combined work was published in the *Description de l'Égypte* between 1808 and 1822.

The early nineteenth century witnessed a surge in travelers who, in many cases, went to Egypt with the explicit purpose of documenting the antiquities. Henry Salt (1780–1827) was the secretary and draughtsman to the Viscount Valentia, employed to illustrate *Voyages and Travels,* which appeared in 1809. Although Giovanni Belzoni (1778–1823) is mostly notorious for his rough approach to archaeology, he copied his discoveries diligently. His full-scale reproduction of the tomb of Seti I was exhibited in London in 1818, and he published many of his drawings in the *Narrative of Operations and Recent Discoveries* (1820). Sir Charles Barry (1795–1860) made plans and drawings of temples and tombs that are now in the Griffith Institute in Oxford. The British Museum has the collections of Robert Hay (1799–1863), comprising forty-nine volumes of drawings, plans, and copies of inscriptions and reliefs (Add. MSS. 29812-60) and no less than sixty-three volumes of drawings and plans of James Burton (1788–1862, Add. MSS. 25613-75). Baltzar Cronstrand (1794–1876) was a Swedish army officer and traveler, whose excellent drawings of Karnak temple, Medinet Habu, the Ramesseum, and the tombs of Beni Hasan are now in the National Museum of Stockholm and form an important source of information on temple architecture. Jean François Champollion organized an expedition to Egypt in 1828–1829. John Gardner Wilkinson (1797–1875) produced very precise plans and copies of hieroglyphic texts. His many publications and notes on contemporary and ancient Egypt comprise fifty-six bound volumes, which the Griffith Institute in Oxford has on loan. A brilliant draftsman and artist was Louis Maurice Adolphe Linant de Bellefonds, a French geographer and explorer (1799–1883). Copies of his notes can be found in the Louvre and the Griffith Institute in Oxford. In 1842, a well-equipped Prussian expedition set out to Egypt, directed by Karl Richard Lepsius (1810–1884). In three years' time, this expedition excavated and recorded an enormous number of individual monuments, concentrating on a precise copy of the hieroglyphic texts.

Systematic epigraphical work started in the mid-nineteenth century. The most famous and longest lasting endeavor is that of the epigraphic survey of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. The publication of the temple of Medinet Habu in eight volumes (1930–1970), of the temple of Karnak in four volumes (1936–1954), of the Khonsu temple in two volumes (1979–1981) and of the temple of Luxor in two volumes (1994–1998) all mark important milestones in the epigraphy of the Theban monuments. Other major and minor temple complexes have been published by the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO) in Cairo. The small but fascinating temples of Deir el-Shelwit, between Luxor and Armant, were described in four volumes by Christiane Zivie (between 1982 and 1992) and the description of the temple of el-Qa'la (north of Luxor in the village of Quft) was published by Laure Pantalaci and Claude Traunecker in 1990 and 1998. To date, seventeen volumes have been published on the temple of Dendara. Between 1870 and 1890, Auguste Mariette published six volumes, while the IFAO has published a series of eleven volumes by Émile Chassinat, François Daumas, and Sylvie Cauville. The IFAO also brought out eight volumes on the temple of Esna (between 1959 and 1982 by Serge Sauneron), and a 1995 publication on the temple of Kom Ombo (by Adolphe Gutbub). The temple of Edfu has been published in fourteen volumes, between 1897 and 1934 by Émile Chassinat and Maxence Chavet Marquis de Rochemonteix. A fifteenth volume and a second edition of the first two volumes have been published by Sylvie Cauville and Didier Devauchelle (1984–1990). The Egypt exploration society and the University of Chicago jointly published the temple of Sety I in Abydos in five volumes (in 1933 by Sir Alan Gardiner and Amice Calverley). From 1927 to 1951, Bertha Porter and Rosalind Moss published the seven volumes of their *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings,* revised and augmented from 1960 to 1972. Further revisions and the addition of an eighth volume on objects without provenance were published between 1978 and 2003 and were edited by Jaromir Malek.

Apart from texts on temple walls, funerary text collections are of great importance in the study of religion. Gaston Maspero collected the Pyramid Texts and published these between 1882 and 1893 in *Recueil des Travaux.* A publication that offered a comparison of different versions of the textual corpus was prepared by Kurt Sethe between 1908 and 1922. The fact that he transferred the columns into lines of hieroglyphs expresses that he saw the inner decoration of the pyramids mainly as textual evidence and not as an integrated composition with its own rules, orientation, word, and sign play. Sethe's rendering of the texts is very precise, but by now no longer represents all the textual variations that are known, due to the discovery of other inscribed pyramids. In 2001, the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale published the texts from the pyramid of Pepi I. The two volumes include a reproduction of the text by Isabelle Pierre-Croisiau, and a translation and explanation by Catherine Berger El-Naggar. In the previous edition of this encyclopedia, criticism was given to the order in which Sethe published the texts. One could say, however, that Sethe's numbering foreshadowed the later interpretation of Jürgen Osing's *Zur Disposition der Pyramidentexte des Unas* (1986): the text starts in the burial chamber, is read through the ante-chamber, and culminates towards the exit of the pyramid at the north side. The pyramid "entrance" now is interpreted as an exit toward the circumpolar stars. Thomas Allen's *Occurrences of Pyramid Texts* gives a good overview of the text publications prior to 1950, but is now outdated.

Translations of the Pyramid Texts have been published in French by Gaston Maspero and in German by Kurt Sethe (from 1935 to 1962). The first English translation was made by Samual Mercer in 1952. Alexandre Piankoff concentrated on the text from the pyramid of Unas and published an integral translation in French in 1968, while Raymond Faulkner's English translation from 1969 was based on Sethe's publication of the original hieroglyphic text.

The Middle Kingdom was heir to the religious tradition as reflected in the Pyramid Texts, which were written on the walls of the (mostly wooden) coffins. The variety of Coffin Texts is much larger than that of the Pyramid Texts: Faulkner's publication has 759 Pyramid Texts compared to the 1,200 Coffin Texts published by Adriaan de Buck. The work of the latter has provided an enormous service for the study of religious notions connected to the afterlife. As with the publication of the Pyramid Texts, the Coffin Texts are often considered without reference to their material context. The selection, order, and position of the texts on the wall of the coffins are rarely taken into consideration. An exception to this is Harco Willems's *Chests of Life,* which presents an excellent multi-disciplinary study of Middle Kingdom coffins.

Translations of the Coffin Texts have been published by Louis Speleers in *Textes des cercueils du Moyen Empire égyptien* (1947), which includes only the first two volumes of De Buck's collection of spells. Between 1973 and 1978, Raymond Faulkner published the translation in English of the entire corpus of De Buck in three volumes. A very useful publication is Leonard Lesko's *Index of the Spells on Egyptian Middle Kingdom Coffins and Related Documents* (1979), which shows the variety of texts incorporated and the order in which these texts occurred. Recently, a Web-based Coffin Text index has become available, which can be accessed through the Web page of the University of Göttingen at http://www.aegyptologie.uni-goettingen.de/. In 2000, Rami van der Molen published a dictionary to the Coffin Texts.

Collections and publications of texts of the *Book of Going Forth by Day*, also known as the *Book of the Dead* have been composed by several authors, the earliest of whom were Karl Richard Lepsius in 1842 (based on a Ptolemaic papyrus in the Turin collection) and Édouard Naville, who published many New Kingdom parallels in two volumes in 1886, following the order of Lepsius's publication. E. A. Wallis Budge published several manuscripts of the *Book of Going Forth by Day* from the collection of the British Museum. English language grammars and dictionaries generally refer to the publication of Budge by page and line number. Since his works have known several editions and reprints, this reference only works with the first edition of his *The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day* from 1898, a three-volume set of text, vocabulary, and translation.

Translations of the *Book of Going Forth by Day* have been published by Thomas George Allen in *The Egyptian Book of the Dead: Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum* (1960) and *Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day* (1974). These publications have translations of all the spells, but do not give the illustrations known as vignettes. Paul Barguet, on the other hand, incorporated the vignettes with his translation in French published as *Le livre des morts des anciens Égyptiens* (1967) and made use of parallels in the Coffin Texts to clarify difficult or garbled passages. Raymond Faulkner published a literal translation in 1972 in *The Book of the Dead*, which was reissued by Carol Andrews in 1985 as the lavishly illustrated *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*. The standard translation in German was published as *Das Totenbuch* by Erik Hornung in 1979.

In 1915, Günther Roeder published a survey of Egyptian religious documents in *Urkunden zur Religion des alten Ägypten*. Alexandre Piankoff's *The Tomb of Ramesses VI* (1954) and *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon* (1955) provide a partial publication of several of the guidebooks to the Underworld found in the New Kingdom Royal Tombs, such as the *Amduat*, the *Book of Gates*, the *Enigmatic Book of the Netherworld*, the *Book of Caverns*, the *Book of the Earth*, the *Book of the Day*, the *Book of the Night*, and the *Book of the Heavenly Cow*. Erik Hornung published *Das Amduat* (three volumes from 1963 to 1967), *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits* (1979), and a translation and commentary in his *Ägyptische Unterweltsbücher* (1972). The *Litany of Re*, published by Piankoff in 1964, is incorporated in Marshall Clagett's *Ancient Egyptian Science: A Source Book* (1989–1999), which also includes the *Book of Nut*.

Analysis and Interpretation. Herodotos traveled through Egypt in the fourth century BCE, Diodorus Siculus in the first century BCE, and Plutarch visited Alexandria in the first century CE. Their accounts reflect information provided by priests of a late, but living phase of Egyptian religion.

Before the first half of the nineteenth century, any theory on the religion of ancient Egypt was based on an interpretation of architecture and the depictions of the gods in the reliefs and tomb paintings. These early interpretations of ancient Egyptian religion focused on the most visible monuments and were intrinsically connected to biblical and koranic interpretations. In the mid-eighth century CE, Bishop Cosmas of Jerusalem maintained that he had identified the pyramids as the granaries of Joseph. The ninth century Patriarch of Antioch, who had entered a pyramid and stated that they were undoubtedly the tombs of kings, rejected this theory. In the early thirteenth century, Al-Idrisi described his visit to the pyramids with an envoy of King Friedrich II of Hohenstaufen. In his *Book of the Lights of the Pyramids*, he claimed that Latin inscriptions had been discovered in the pyramids, which he had translated into Arabic. Other Islamic scholars such as al-Maqrīzī, who lived 1364–1442, wondered whether the pyramids had been built before, or after, the Great Flood.

The German scientist and draftsman, Athanasius Kircher, wrote several works on aspects of Egyptian civilization, including its religion. His *Oedipus aegyptiacus*, published between 1652 and 1655, consisted of three volumes. His work is often ridiculed for the purely symbolic interpretation of the imagery of hieroglyphs, but his work is often misrepresented and, in hindsight, he had touched upon a relevant notion: associative sign play is an important part of the use of the Egyptian language in its religious context. Between 1750 and 1752, the German theologian and orientalist, Paul Ernst Jablonski, published three volumes on Egyptian religion, and the French priest and scholar, Antoine Banier, wrote a three-volume work on mythology and fables (expanded to eight volumes by the second edition), which was translated and published in four English volumes in 1739. Neither this work, nor the work on religion and history of Egypt by Jean François Champollion, published in 1814, was based on any translations of textual material.

Belief systems and general overviews. In most of the interpretations of ancient Egyptian religion, the implicit conviction that ancient Egypt was a high-standing culture can be discerned. The existence and form of polytheism has been explained and ordered in a wide variety of belief systems. In many cases, these seem to reflect the unconscious convictions of the modern writers and the problems they had with a multitude of gods, often in the form of animals or animal-headed human forms, rather than the core of Egyptian religion. Classical accounts and interpretations of ancient Egyptian religion led to theories of a high-brow mystery cult. The name of the god Amun, the hidden one, and the important position of his cult through much of Egyptian history, provoked theories of an inherent, but hidden, monotheism in contrast with the polytheistic, animistic, magic-ridden religion for the people. On the other hand, the worship of the Aten, in combination with biblical references to Egypt, led to theories that the cradle of Christianity stood in Egypt, while afrocentric literature emphasized the African roots of Western culture, via ancient Egypt.

Some of these theories were built on thorough scholarship, whereas others were not. Although the books of Wallis Budge are still for sale in cheap reprints, these volumes, such as *The Gods of the Egyptians* and his *Book of the Dead*, mostly serve as an example of imprecise transliterations, translations, and interpretations of the textual material. Other works that date to the same general period have withstood the test of time, and later scholarship are much better, mostly because they were written with a deeper knowledge and interpreted with a more careful approach. The oldest general overview of Egyptian religion that is still worth reading today is Adolf Erman's *Die Ägyptische Religion* (1905), later published as *Die Religion der Ägypter* (1934). In Erman's opinion, the drive behind Egyptian religion was mostly a practical, deeply felt fear of natural phenomena and an attempt to contain or control these. He disagreed strongly with the work of Alexandre Moret, who explained the multiplicity of gods from a totemic origin in which the Nome gods were united into one religious system with the political unification of Egypt (*From Tribe to Empire; Social Organization among Primitives and in the Ancient East,* translated by V. Gordon Childe from the 1923 French original, and published in 1926). In 1912, James Breasted published *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, in which he presented a wealth of detail and drew broad lines on how the Egyptian religion developed from the prehistoric period to the New Kingdom. He suggested the gradual democratization of the afterlife from the Pyramid Texts to the Book of the Dead. Although not all of his ideas still stand today, the information presented in the book, and in the revised edition of 1959, is still very useful.

A great name in the study of Egyptian religion, and representative of the accepted school of thought, is Hermann Kees, whose *Götterglaube im alten Ägypten* was published in 1941. Jacques Vandier's *Religion Égyptienne* (1944) gave an excellent broad overview and is one of the classic texts, because it drew together the work of many of his contemporaries and predecessors and had an extensive bibliography.

A more anthropological approach was presented by Henri Frankfort in *Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* (1946) and *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (1948). He suggested replacing Breasted's interpretation that Egyptian religion is, by definition, syncretistic with the notion of "multiplicity of approaches," the existence of parallel truths. Such an interpretation could only be given by an author who did not (un)consciously try to understand Egyptian religion from within the mental boundaries of the Judeo-Christian tradition. This notion did not truly reverberate until postmodern approaches to Egyptian religion began to take some hold in the 1990s. Siegfried Morenz, for instance, published a book in which the phenomenological approach shows a bias for "religions of the word" over "cult religions" (*Ägyptische Religion*, 1960, translated as *Egyptian Religion*, 1973).

Kurt Sethe stirred up considerable controversy with his discussion of the gods and their cults in prehistoric Egypt in his *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter* (1930). Recent work on the predynastic period put emphasis on the context, and clearly stressed the realization that an interpretation of the earliest phases of Egyptian religion cannot be based solely on the knowledge of religious thought and practice often centuries or millennia later. Barry Kemp touched upon this theme when he discussed the colossi of Koptos and ancient temple architecture in his *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (1989).

Sydney Aufrère has written some thought-provoking publications on the relation between religion and economics, as well as religion and landscape, well-rooted in the study of material culture. Perhaps the most encompassing are *L'Univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne* (1991) and the *Encyclopédie religieuse de l'univers végétal* (1999–2001).

The accepted approach of Egyptian religion in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries is one that stresses multivocality and development and change over time. Within this approach, several authors have highlighted specific aspects of Egyptian religion. The two names that dominate the field are those of Erik Hornung and Jan Assmann, the first in a much more concise fashion than the latter. In a relatively brief and yet stunningly complete overview published in 1973 (translated into English in 1983 as *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many*), Erik Hornung provided an outline of the academic consensus regarding the Egyptian belief system. With his impressive list of publications, Jan Assmann has determined much of the discussion. His incredible mastery of the source material enables him to set up original, at times almost esoteric, theories on the religion of ancient Egypt, which are always thoroughly rooted in the textual and iconographical evidence. Perhaps the best example is *Ägypten; Theologie und Frömmigkeit einer frühen Hochkultur* (1984), published in English as *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt* (2001).

For the Greco-Roman era, there is Harold Idris Bell's *Cults and Creeds of Graeco-Roman Egypt*, published in 1953, and the contributions in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (especially II 18.5, 1995). Other important publications are *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance* by David Frankfurter (1998) and the contributions in *Ancient Egyptian Religion, the Last Thousand Years*, published in 1998 in memory of Jan Quaegebeur whose important work was brought to an end by his untimely death.

The influence of women's studies on the study of Egyptian religion is limited and plays out mostly in literature on specific goddesses or the role of women in society. Publications that stress the African origins of Egyptian culture, including the religion, are mostly considered unscholarly by mainstream Egyptology. The fact that Egypt is located in Africa and that, especially in its earliest phases, the Egyptian religion was based on oral tradition and cattle culture is only taken into account in some publications. One of the few publications to address this issue explicitly is an essay by Ann Macy Roth titled "Building Bridges to Afrocentrism: A Letter to My Egyptological Colleagues" (Web publication 1995).

Afterlife and funerary rites. Apart from his general introduction into Egyptian religion, Hermann Kees also wrote an important treatise on the early mortuary literature and the guidebooks to the netherworld. *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter* was published in 1926 and a revised edition, in which some important corrections were made, came out in 1956. Matthieu Heerma van Voss published detailed analyses of several chapters of the Book of the Dead (cf. 1963). The great scholar of underworld books is Erik Hornung who gave an excellent overview in *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher ein einführender Überblick*, which was translated and published in English in 1999 as *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*. The question whether the chthonic or the celestial and solar aspects of the mortuary cult are the most ancient, has found several discussants. Jan Assmann explicated his viewpoints in *Tod und Jenseits im Alten Ägypten* (2001). Leonard Lesko purported in his publications on the *Book of Two Ways* (1969 and 1972) that the democratization of the netherworld should be explained in terms of solarization of the Osirian cult, rather than a gradual spread of chthonic aspects. This discussion was taken up by Edmund Hermsen in *Die zwei Wege des Jenseits: das altägyptische Zweiwegebuch und seine Topgraphie*. An important shift was the change from considering funerary texts foremost as theological treatises to interpreting them primarily as ritual texts. An example was James P. Allen's "Reading a Pyramid" (1994), in which he followed up on Osing's article from 1986 and used the orientation and place of the texts to interpret their function within the ritual context. The publication of the full texts of the Pepi I Pyramid Texts will enable future testing of his interpretation.

Temple ritual. The often-underestimated connection of text and context, the placement of texts and depictions on temple walls in relation to the words spoken and actions performed inside the spaces thus decorated, has been the subject of a number of important contributions to the understanding of Egyptian religion. Already in 1962, Dieter Arnold published his *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion in ägyptischen Tempeln des Neuen Reiches*. Other work focusing on the relation between space, wall reliefs, and ritual are Rosalie David's *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos* (1981) and Françoise Labrique's *Stylistique et Théologie à Edfou* (1992). An interesting approach was taken by Dimitri Meeks and Christine Favard-Meeks in *Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods* (1996 translation of 1993 French text).

Günter Dreyer's report on the Satet temple on Elephantine (1986) illustrated how archaeology can show immaterial aspects of religion such as the physical expression (in the form of a shaft) of the strong continuation in belief and ritual that connected the earliest shrine to each subsequent newly built temple phase.

Gods and goddesses. Treatises on the aspects of individual gods are found in a number of monographs, for instance in the Dutch tradition of Claas Jouco Bleeker (*Hathor and Thoth*, 1973) and Herman te Velde's *Seth, God of Confusion*, first published in 1967. Kurt Sethe discussed the Hermopolitan ogdoad in *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* (1929), while Karol Myšliwiec published two volumes on the god Atum (1978 and 1979). In the work on some of the goddesses, there is sometimes a more woman-centered approach to Egyptian religion, often written by female Egyptologists. Elise J. Baumgartel put an emphasis on the cow as the mother-goddess in her *The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt* (1947). Barbara Lesko concentrated on the female perspective in *The Great Goddesses of Egypt* (1999) and Alison Roberts specifically wrote about *Hathor Rising*, with two increasingly popularizing subtitles (1995, 1997). Thorough and concentrating on the Greco-Roman and Late Antique periods were R. E. Witt's books on Isis (1971, 1979).

An important source is Christian Leitz's *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* published in 2002, which presents an excellent overview in no less than seven volumes of the names, epithets, and cult centers of Egyptian gods and goddesses. It shows a painstakingly precise approach that undoubtedly will prove to be of considerable use for a large group of scholars.

Priesthood. Gustave Lefebvre emphasized the political and economic power of the Egyptian priesthood in *Histoire des grands prêtres d'Amon de Karnak* (1929). Serge Sauneron wrote a concise, but excellent book on priesthood in ancient Egypt in 1957, which was revised and republished in 1998, and translated for the second time into English in 2000 under the title *The Priests of Ancient Egypt.* He drew greatly on written sources from the Late Period and the Greco-Roman era. The Greco-Roman era had been discussed as early as 1905 by Walter Otto in *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten*, an extremely thorough work, that was reprinted in 1975 because it still had much to offer. There has been little attention to the role of women in ancient Egyptian religion. Gay Robins wrote a very useful chapter on women and the temple ritual in her book on *Women in Ancient Egypt* (1993), from which it is clear that female cult specialists exclusively occur in the realm of female goddesses. An exception is the highly politicized function of the "hand of Amun," or the Divine Adoratress / God's Wife of Amun, on which several works have been published.

Personal religion. Relatively scant attention is paid to this aspect, but *Religion in Ancient Egypt: Gods, Myths, and Personal Practice* (published in 1991, edited by Byron Shafer) did take it explicitly into account. Personal religion had a place outside the temples, in house shrines, during festivals, and especially in the realm of magic. On the latter subject, Joris Borghouts's *Ancient Egyptian magical texts* (1978) and Robert Ritner's *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (1993) should be highlighted. In her attempt to include social theory in an approach of Egyptian village life, Lynn Meskell put more emphasis on the agency of individuals in Deir el-Medina (1999 and 2002). Taking into account the personal choices and the mechanisms of coping of ordinary Egyptians was an important addition to the study of the religion and an aspect that had long been disregarded.

General reference works. Hans Bonnet composed the *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* in 1952, which covered almost all aspects of Egyptian religion in brief articles and included a thorough bibliography. Many of the entries of the seven volumes of the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, edited by Eberhard Otto, Wolfgang Helck, and Wolfhart Westendorf (1975), catalog an even more extensive collection of brief introductions into many aspects of ancient Egyptian religion by the most important specialists of the 1970s and 1980s. The brief bibliographies per subject provide a good entry for further study. The articles dealing with religion from the *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (edited by Donald Redford, 2001) have been published in identical form under the title *The Ancient Gods Speak: a Guide to Egyptian Religion* (2002). The guide does not give an extensive update on the literature, the more recent articles do not necessarily supersede their "predecessors" in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, but the fact that they are in English makes them more accessible to an English-speaking audience.

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Willeke Wendrich (2005)

EIDETIC VISION See PHENOMENOLOGY OF RELIGION

EIGHTFOLD PATH. The noble eightfold path (Pali, *ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo)* is among the earliest formulations of the Buddhist path of practice. The *Dhammacakkhappavattana Sutta* (Setting the wheel of *dhamma* in motion), traditionally regarded as the Buddha's first discourse, introduces the eightfold path as a middle way between two extremes: indulgence in sensual pleasure and self-mortification. Sensual indulgence is condemned as "gross, domestic, common, ignoble, and not conducive to the goal." Self-mortification is condemned as "painful, ignoble, and not conducive to the goal." The eightfold path, however, is praised as productive of vision, productive of knowledge, and conducive to calm, direct knowing, self-awakening, and *nirvāṇa.* These statements are best evaluated in light of the story of the Buddha's quest for awakening, which provides the path with both narrative and theoretical context.

Having enjoyed lavish sensual pleasures in his youth, the young *bodhisattva* (Buddha-to-be) realized that these pleasures—subject to aging, illness, and death—could provide no lasting happiness. So he left home and took up the life of a wilderness mendicant to see if a deathless happiness could be attained through human effort. After six years of exploring various dead-end paths, including extreme self-mortification, he happened upon a path whose central factor consisted of a focused mental absorption called *jhāna* (Skt., *dhyāna*). Developing this absorption to a level of pure mindfulness and equanimity, he applied his mind to developing three knowledges: knowledge of previous lifetimes, knowledge of the passing away and re-arising of living beings, and knowledge of the ending of *āsavas* ("effluents" or "fermentations" that defile the mind). Through this third knowledge, the *bodhisattva* gained release from the *āsavas* of sensuality, ignorance, and "becoming"—the process whereby craving and clinging lead to rebirth. With this release, he realized the deathless and was now a Buddha: an awakened one.

The Pali discourses state that the first two of the three knowledges contained elements in common with other religious teachings of the time, but that the second knowledge also contained an element distinctive to the Buddha: his insight that the level of an individual's rebirth was due to the quality of his or her intentional actions, or *kamma* (Skt., *karman*). Actions performed under the influence of right views led to a happy rebirth on the higher levels of becoming; those performed under the influence of wrong views, led to a painful rebirth on the lower levels. Thus, action leading to rebirth was of three types: skillful, unskillful, and mixed. However, the impermanence characterizing all levels of becoming meant that they caused suffering for anyone searching for lasting happiness. Seeing this, the *bodhisattva* then applied his insight to the role of views in shaping action to see what kind of views would condition a fourth type of action, leading to the end of action and thus to the end of becoming.

This question was answered in the third knowledge: A path of action based on viewing experience in terms of four categories—suffering, its cause, its cessation, and the path of action leading to its cessation—led to a realization of the deathless. Because this path could be perfected, he realized that it was a matter of skill, rather than of grace, fate, or coincidence. Thus, to teach that skill to others, he formulated the four view-categories underlying it as the four noble truths; and the fourth truth—the path of action leading to the deathless—he formulated as the eightfold path.

The Pali discourses repeatedly cite the Buddha's insights into the nature and scope of action as the primary teachings distinguishing Buddhism from other contemporary religions. The eightfold path, as the expression of these insights, is thus the quintessential Buddhist teaching. According to the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta,* the Buddha on the night of his passing away taught the eightfold path to his last convert in response to the question of whether teachers of other religions were also awakened. Only in a teaching that promoted the eightfold path, he maintained, could awakened people be found.

The first discourse lists the path factors without explanation: right view, right resolve, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration. Other Pali discourses classify these eight factors under three headings: the first two under *discernment*, the next three under *virtue*, and the last three under *concentration.* Still others define the factors in detail. Because the path to the deathless overlaps somewhat with the actions leading to happy results in present and future lifetimes, the path can be taken as a guide, not only to transcendent happiness, but also to mundane happiness. Thus each factor of the path has a mundane and a transcendent level.

Right view on the mundane level encapsulates the *bodhisattva's* second knowledge: that there is value in the act of giving; that skillful and unskillful actions bear, respectively, pleasant and unpleasant fruit; that there are other levels of being; and that there are people who, practicing rightly, have directly known these principles for themselves. Transcendent right view encapsulates the third knowledge: knowing in terms of the four noble truths.

Mundane right resolve aims at renouncing sensual passion, at freedom from ill will, and at freedom from harmfulness. Transcendent right resolve entails directed thought and evaluation as factors of right concentration.

Right speech abstains from lies, harsh speech, divisive speech, and idle chatter. This and the remaining factors are mundane or transcendent depending on whether they are informed by mundane or transcendent right view and right resolve.

Right action abstains from killing, from stealing, and from sexual misconduct (or from sexual intercourse, according to one of the discourses).

Right livelihood, for lay people, means not selling meat, poison, weapons, slaves, or intoxicants. For monastics it means not trying to attract material support by means of scheming, persuading, hinting, belittling, or offering material incentives.

Right effort tries to prevent unskillful mental states from arising, to abandon unskillful mental states that have already arisen, to give rise to skillful mental states, and to bring already-existing skillful mental states to the culmination of their development.

Right mindfulness entails four activities. The first is keeping track of the body in and of itself—ardent, alert, and mindful—putting aside grief and distress with regard to the world. The remaining three activities follow the same formula, replacing "body" with feelings, mind states, and mental qualities.

Right concentration consists of four levels of *jhāna*. The first is composed of directed thought and evaluation focused on a single object—a classic object being the breath—accompanied by pleasure and rapture born of seclusion. The second *jhāna* consists of mental unification, devoid of directed thought and evaluation, accompanied by pleasure and rapture born of concentration. The third *jhāna* is a pleasant equanimous state, devoid of rapture. The fourth *jhāna* consists of purity of mindfulness and equanimity, free from pleasure or pain. One discourse, in defining noble right concentration, adds a fifth factor to these four *jhānas*: the ability to step back from any level of *jhāna* to observe it. Another discourse states that one may use *jhāna* as a basis for awakening by observing its factors in terms of the four noble truths, so as to develop dispassion for those factors, and then inclining the mind to the deathless.

According to the *Bhūmija Sutta,* the rightness of these factors is an objective quality, determined by their ability to issue in the deathless when put into practice, regardless of whether one expresses a wish for that aim. This principle is illustrated with similes: trying to attain the deathless by means of wrong view, wrong resolve, and so on, is like trying to squeeze sesame oil from gravel. Following the path of right view, and so on, is like obtaining sesame oil by squeezing sesame seeds.

The Pali discourses depict the relationships among these eight factors in a variety of ways, in keeping with the complexity of early Buddhist teachings on causality. Individuals at different points in the causal patterns leading to suffering will need differing explanations of how to dismantle those patterns to meet their specific needs. Some discourses depict a linear relationship among the factors, but in two different patterns: one, following the order in which the eight factors are listed; and another beginning with the virtue factors, followed by the concentration and then the discernment factors. Other discourses suggest that specific factors—such as right effort or right mindfulness—when pursued in all their ramifications, incorporate all the other path factors as well.

The most complex treatment of the relationships among the factors is found in the *Mahācattārīsaka Sutta* (The great forty), which places right concentration at the heart of the path, with the other seven factors its "requisites." This discourse adds, however, that right view, right effort, and right mindfulness underlie the development of all eight factors. This same discourse also maintains that the eightfold path leads only to a preliminary level of awakening. Full awakening requires two further factors—right knowledge and right release—although these factors are nowhere defined in the Pali discourses.

The eightfold path was central to the teachings of all the early schools of Buddhism, but succeeding generations developed it in new directions. Before the early canons were closed, the question arose as to how a Buddha's path of practice might differ from that of his *arahant* (Skt., *arhat*) disciples. The various schools mined their *jātaka* stories (accounts of the Buddha's previous lives) to produce lists of perfections (Pali, *pāramī*; Skt., *pāramitā*) that constituted the Buddha's path. The Sarvāstivādins, whose list later formed the framework for the Mahāyāna *bodhisattva* path, found six perfections embodied in their *jātakas*: giving, virtue, energy, endurance, *dhyāna*, and discernment. Five of these perfections correspond directly to factors of the eightfold path: virtue to right speech, action, and livelihood; energy and endurance to right effort; *dhyāna* to right concentration; and discernment to right view and resolve. As for giving, it derives from mundane right view.

Over time, however, Mahāyāna discourses redefined the individual perfections. The *bodhisattva's* perfection of discernment, for instance, consisted of insight into the lack of essential nature in all phenomena. His perfection of virtue allowed him to kill, for example, if his larger motivation was compassionate. In this way, the *bodhisattva* path, while retaining some of the structure of the eightfold path, filled that structure with new elements. The Theravādin school, in its commentaries, made its own *de facto* changes in the eightfold path, redefining the practice of *jhāna* and treating it as an optional factor.

In modern times, two developments—the rise of Pali studies in Japan and the rise of lay meditation movements, based on Theravāda techniques, in Asia and the West—have prompted interest in using the structure of the eightfold path to provide a guide for lay daily life.

In these ways, succeeding generations of Buddhists, lay and monastic, have continued to mine the eightfold path for guidance in their quest for happiness.

SEE ALSO Four Noble Truths.

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EINSTEIN, ALBERT (1879–1955), was the originator of the theory of relativity and widely regarded as the greatest scientist of modern times. He was born at Ulm, Germany, of particularly loving parents who were said by friends to be "always on a honeymoon." Although Jewish by descent, the family was freethinking and cared little for religious tradition. Einstein was slow in learning to speak and was far from fluent even at age nine; his parents actually feared that he might be subnormal. Furthermore, the boy intensely disliked school and did well only in mathematics and science. He learned to play the violin in childhood and maintained a lifelong interest in music; at one point he seriously considered becoming a professional violinist.

In 1895, Einstein's plan to enroll at the Swiss Federal Polytechnic School in Zurich was frustrated when he failed the entrance examination. He managed, however, to pass the exam the following year and was graduated from the school in 1900. But formal study was so disagreeable to him that he did practically nothing for a year after graduation. He stayed in Zurich and supported himself by teaching part time, for he was unable to secure a regular academic post. In 1901 he became a Swiss citizen and also published his first scientific paper. The next year, he secured a probationary position at the Swiss patent office in Bern. There, he developed several important friendships that lasted throughout his life. Also during this period, he married a fellow student from his Zurich days.

The year 1905 was Einstein's *annus mirabilis;* while still working at the patent office, he published five papers in the *Annalen der Physik* that proved to be revolutionary. Three of the papers—among the greatest in the history of science—were, in the words of J. Robert Oppenheimer, "paralyzingly beautiful." One of them outlined Einstein's special theory of relativity, on the basis of which he derived later in the same year the well-known formula $E = mc^2$, expressing the precise quantitative relationship between a particle's energy and mass. Another of these publications was an important paper on Brownian motion, and yet another dealt with the photoelectric effect. In this work, Einstein introduced a fundamental concept of quantum physics—namely, that of quanta of light energy, which were later called photons. It was actually for his work on the photoelectric effect—not for the relativity theory—that he received the Nobel Prize for physics in 1922.

Ironically, it was on the basis of Einstein's work on relativity that the University of Bern had earlier rejected him when he applied for a place on the faculty. Only in 1908, after such great physicists as Max Planck and H. A. Lorentz had recognized his genius, was he given the position at Bern. After that, academic appointments came in quick succession: In 1909, Einstein was appointed to a professorship at the university at Zurich; in 1911, to a senior professorship at the German university in Prague; and in 1912, again a position at Zurich. It was there, in 1913, that he published his first paper on the theory of general relativity. This work was brought to completion in 1916, when Einstein was a professor at the Prussian Academy and director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Physics in Berlin. Another great physicist, J. J. Thompson, called Einstein's work on the theory of general relativity "perhaps the greatest achievement in the history of human thought."

Immediately after publishing his theory of general relativity, Einstein started working out its cosmological implications, including the idea that the cosmos is, on the whole, dynamic and expanding. Back from the many travels that ensued from worldwide fame, Einstein began his last great project, the search for a unified field theory. He worked on this until the last day of his life, but the project remained unfinished. Also, by the late 1920s, the main focus of interest in physics had shifted to quantum mechanics, which proved extremely fertile in application but which lacked, as far as Einstein was concerned, philosophical rigor and aesthetic beauty. He could never accept as complete and final the probabilistic interpretation of cosmic processes offered by quantum physics, and thus he was gradually estranged from the mainstream in his field.

Einstein was always a loner, often pursuing unfashionable paths. As he, in his well-known essay "Science and Religion," wrote, "It is strange to be known so universally and yet to be so lonely." He could not accept the probabilistic interpretation of nature because of his "deep conviction of the rationality of the universe." He called this conviction a "cosmic religious feeling" and regarded it as the "strongest and noblest motive for scientific research." His intuitive feeling for this rational order was offended by quantum mechanics. He wrote to the American physicist James Franck, "I can, if the worse comes to the worst, still realize that God may have created a world in which there are no natural laws. In short, a chaos. But that there should be statistical laws with definite solutions, i.e., laws which compel God to throw the dice in each individual case, I find highly disagreeable" (*Einstein: A Centenary Volume,* p. 6).

Throughout his life, and particularly after becoming a public figure, Einstein championed the causes of social justice, freedom of conscience, and peace. When in 1933 the political situation in Germany worsened and, as a pacifist and a Jew, Einstein became a double target for the Nazis, he decided to accept a position at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, New Jersey. He retired from the institute in 1945 but stayed on in Princeton, often working at the institute. In 1952 he was offered the presidency of Israel, which he declined. Einstein was active and mentally vigorous until the end. He said, a few days before his death on April 18, 1955, "Here on earth I have done my job."

Einstein described his religious feeling as one of "rapturous amazement at the harmony of natural law." Many people who knew him personally insisted that he was the most religious person they had ever met. But Einstein was not religious in any churchly or denominational manner. As he said many times and in many ways, "My religion consists of a humble admiration of the illimitable superior spirit who reveals himself in the slight details we are able to perceive with our frail and feeble minds. That deeply emotional conviction of the presence of a superior reasoning power that is revealed in the incomprehensible universe forms my idea of God."

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EISAI (1141–1215) was the founder of the Rinzai (Chin., Linji) school of Zen (Chin., Chan) in Japan. A scholarly monk and religious reformer, Eisai was also the popularizer of the practice of tea drinking in Japan. Although he began life in modest circumstances, he eventually gained the patronage of the shogun heading the warrior government, the *bakufu,* in Kamakura. With the shogun's backing he built monasteries in which Zen was fostered; he was also active in the rebuilding of monasteries of the older Buddhist schools. Eisai has been eclipsed in historical reputation by such later Rinzai monks as Daitō, Musō Sōseki, Ikkyū Sōjun, and Hakuin, and by the Sōtō monk Dōgen Kigen. In his day, however, Eisai was an important figure and played a major role in securing at least partial acceptance for Zen in the Japanese religious world. Together with his near contemporaries Honen (1133–1212) and Shinran (1173–1263), the founders of popular Japanese Pure Land Buddhism, Eisai can be counted among the figures contributing to the Buddhist reformation of the thirteenth century.

Eisai's full religious name is Myōan Eisai. (The characters are sometimes read Myōan Yōsai.) He was born into the family of priests at the Kibitsu shrine in Bizen, modern Okayama prefecture. Probably through his father's influence, he began to study Buddhist texts while still a child and took the vows of a novice in the Kyoto monastery of Enryakuji at the age of fourteen. Enryakuji was a center not only for the study of the scholastic Tendai (Chin., Tiantai) Buddhism introduced to Japan by the monk Saichō (767–822), but also for Esoteric (Taimitsu, in this case) Buddhist practices. The monastery, however, had lost the spiritual vitality evident in Saichō's day. While some Tendai monks still devoted themselves to prayer and study, others made light of their vows, engaged in political intrigue, and saw little amiss in the use of military force to promote monastic interests. In this degenerating spiritual environment some earnest young monks conceived the desire to restore Enryakuji and Tendai Buddhism to their earlier glory; Eisai too became convinced of the urgent need to revitalize Buddhism in Japan. Like many monks in the ancient period, he believed that the sources of this regeneration would be found in China.

In 1168, at the age of twenty-eight, Eisai made the first of two pilgrimages to China. In his travels he became aware of the influence of Chan, but as he was in China for only six months, he did not have time to delve very deeply into its teachings. On his return to Japan Eisai brought with him some sixty volumes of Tendai-related texts, gathered on Mount Tiantai and elsewhere, which he presented to the chief abbot of Enrya kuji. For the next twenty years Eisai divided his time between Kyoto and Bizen. He led an active life, writing commentaries on the *sūtra*s, lecturing on the *Lotus Sūtra (Hōkekyō)*, conducting Esoteric rituals for rain or relief from sickness, and establishing small communities of disciples. Most of this activity seems to have been devoted not to the propagation of Zen but to the reform of Tendai Buddhism.

In 1187 Eisai again set out for China. His hope was to journey on to India in pilgrimage to the sacred sites associated with the life of the Buddha, but because of disturbances on the borders, his request for a travel permit was rejected by the Chinese authorities. Frustrated, Eisai made his way to Mount Tiantai. There he met the Chan master Xuan Huaichang, under whose guidance he deepened his knowledge of the tradition. Just before returning to Japan in 1191, Eisai committed himself to the *bodhisattva* precepts and was granted a monk's robe and certificate of enlightenment by Xuan.

After his second visit to China, Eisai began to actively promote Zen. He established small temples on Kyushu and along the coast of the Inland Sea, where he combined the study of Zen with devotion to the *Lotus Sūtra.* This activity did not go unnoticed in Tendai Buddhist circles. In 1194 monks from Enryakuji, arguing that Eisai was heretically engaged in an attempt to establish a new branch of Buddhism in Japan, persuaded the court to issue an edict proscribing Zen. In an attempt to defend himself and justify his espousal of Zen, Eisai wrote *Kōzen gokokuron* (Arguments in favor of the promulgation of Zen as a defense of the country). In this long work Eisai offered four major arguments in favor of Zen: that it was the very essence of Buddhism; that it was not a new teaching but had been accepted by Saichō and other patriarchs of Tendai Buddhism; that it was based on the disciplined observance of the Buddhist precepts; and that its sponsorship would certainly lead to the rejuvenation of Buddhism in Japan and to the prosperity and security of the nation.

The defense of Zen offered by Eisai did little to assuage the hostility of the Buddhist establishment in Kyoto. In 1199 Eisai set out for eastern Japan, where he found powerful patrons in the Kamakura warrior regime. Here Eisai was presented with an opportunity to spread Zen in the heartland of warrior power, well away from the interference of Enryakuji. But while he presumably talked privately to his patrons about Zen, the record of his public functions reveals only the conduct of Esoteric rituals and prayer ceremonies in Kamakura.

In 1202 Eisai returned to Kyoto. There, with the shogun Yoriie's backing, he established the monastery of Kenninji, in which Zen was to be practiced in concert with Tendai and Esoteric Buddhism. The writings and activities of the last twenty years of Eisai's life all reflect his conviction of the importance of renewing a broadly based Buddhism deriving its strength from the strict observance of the rules of lay and monastic life. This is the message of his *Nippon buppō chūkō ganbun* (An appeal for the restoration of Japanese Buddhism), written in 1204. Before his death in 1215, Eisai made one last visit to Kamakura, where he presented to the shogun Minamoto Sanetomo a treatise on the efficacy of tea drinking, the *Kissa yōjōki.*

Had Japanese knowledge of Chan come to an end with Eisai, it is unlikely that it would ever have taken deep root in Japan. Although Eisai provided a vigorous intellectual defense of Zen, he did not seek to put it on an independent footing. This was to be the task of his successors, monks such as Dōgen, Enni of Tōfukuji, and the Chinese masters who came to Japan beginning in the mid-thirteenth century. Eisai, however, framed the terms of the debate that would continue over the acceptance of Zen, and whetted the curiosity of a small band of followers, some of whom would themselves go to China in search of a deeper understanding of Zen practice.

SEE ALSO Zen.

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EL. Originally an appellative that simply means "god" in common Semitic, El *(’il)* is the proper name of the grey-bearded patriarch of the Syro-Palestinian, or "Canaanite," pantheon. Although references to El are found in texts throughout the ancient Near East, this West Semitic deity plays an active mythological and cultic role only in the Late Bronze Age texts from the Syrian city of Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra). Here he is portrayed as a wise patriarch and the eldest of the gods, the grey-haired "father of years" (*ab šnm*). El is "the father of the gods" (*ab ilm*) and "the creator of creatures" (*bny bnwt*), while his consort, Athirat, is "the progenitress of the gods" (*qnyt ilm*). El is also credited with creating the earth in later Phoenician and Punic inscriptions, but Ugaritic texts do not include this tradition. Iconographic sources from Ugarit appear to present "beneficent El, the kindly one" *(ḷtpn ʾl dpid)* as an enthroned, bearded figure with his right hand raised in a benedictory gesture. As the "father of humanity" (*ab adm*), El is invoked to cure diseases and grant the blessing of children in Ugaritic epics.

Some scholars have argued that the Ugaritic texts portray El as an otiose deity who is replaced by the virile young Baal as the leader of the gods. Most scholars, however, now agree that El retains his authoritative position as the head of the pantheon even as the storm-god Baal exercises power over the earth on behalf of the gods. As "king" (*mlk*) and "judge" (*ṯpṭ*), El presides over the divine council, which meets at his own mountain home "at the sources of the rivers, amid the confluence of the deeps." It is El's perquisite to appoint and legitimize (*yknn*) the god who will serve as "king" (*mlk*), and so Baal rules only with the consent of the divine patriarch. El receives homage and obeisance from the gods, and apart from Anat's impetuous threats to her indulgent father, no deity openly challenges the authority of El without fear of losing his or her own position. Even Mot (Death), the "beloved of El," is subdued when the sun goddess Shapsh threatens him with El's displeasure: "Surely he will remove the support of your throne; surely he will overturn the seat of your kingship; surely he will break the scepter of your rule." The decree of El carries ultimate authority among the gods.

El's most common Ugaritic epithet is "bull" (*ṯr*), a symbol of his power and strength. One Ugaritic myth, "The Birth of the Gracious Gods," portrays El as a virile and lusty god who seduces two goddesses on the beach. Using "hand" *(yd)* as a euphemism for penis, the text states that "El's 'hand' grows as long as the sea" (*tirkm yd il kym*). He impregnates the two goddesses, who give birth to the gods Dawn and Dusk (*šḥr wšlm*). Similarly in the Baal Cycle, El welcomes the entrance of his consort to his throne room by playfully asking, "Does the 'hand' of El the King excite you, the love of the Bull arouse you?" Indeed, El can be a less-than-dignified character in Ugaritic myth. In one text, El drinks to inebriation at a divine feast (*mrzḥ*) and is berated by a god "with two horns and a tail" as he staggers home. El then collapses and apparently becomes incontinent, wallowing in his own feces and urine. (This text appropriately concludes with the recipe for a hangover remedy.) Some scholars also identify El with the "king of eternity" (*mlk ʿlm*), the divine leader of the underworld shades of deceased kings (*rpum*) in the Ugaritic corpus, but there is no consensus on this identification.

The Hebrew Bible frequently uses the word *ʾēl* as a reference to the Israelite god, both by itself and in combination with other epithets, such as El Olam, El Elyon, and El Shadday (e.g., *Gen.* 21:33; *Exod.* 6:2–3). Yahweh and El share many common features. Ugaritic El is "beneficent El, the kindly one" *(ḷtpn il dpid)*, while Yahweh is "a compassionate and gracious god" (*ʾēl raḥûm wĕḥannûn*) (*Exod.* 34:6). A Phoenician inscription from Karatepe invokes "El, the creator of the earth" (*ʾl qn arṣ*), similar to the biblical blessing of "God Most High, creator of the heavens and the earth" (*ʾē ʿelyôn qōnê šāmayim wāʾāreṣ*) (*Gen.* 14:19). Historically, El is probably identified with Yahweh in ancient Israel, as suggested by the phrase "El, the god of Israel" *(ʾēl ʾĕlōhê yiśrāʾēl)* in *Genesis* 33:20, and by the use of *ʾēl* as a common theophoric element in Hebrew names. Finally, El appears occasionally in Phoenician and Punic sources from the first millennium BCE, including the Phoenician history allegedly written by Sanchuniathon, which is partially preserved via Philo Byblius in Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica.*

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ELʿAZAR BEN ʿAZARYAH (late first and early second centuries CE), Palestinian tanna, was a rabbinic sage of the Mishnaic period. Elʿazar, whose traditions are recorded in the Mishnah and related texts, is described as a wealthy priest who was a direct descendant of Ezra. It is as a result of this status that Elʿazar was appointed to be the head of the academy in Yavneh during the brief period that Gamliʾel of Yavneh was removed from that position (J.T., *Ber.* 4.1, 7d and parallels). This event is already echoed in the Mishnah (e.g., *Yad.* chap. 4), but its full import is unclear. The Babylonian tradition claims that "on that very day [when Elʿazar was appointed] *ʿeduyyot* was taught . . ." (B.T., *Ber.* 28a). Some modern scholars have understood this tradition to mean that the Mishnaic tractate *ʿEduyyot,* which they take to be the earliest tractate, was composed on that day under the direction of Elʿazar. Internal evidence, however, does not support this assertion. Whatever the nature of the event, it is clear that it had significant contemporary impact.

The position of honor accorded Elʿazar is illustrated by his frequent appearance in the company of the most respected sages of his generation. Also central to Elʿazar's image is his moderation. This is the ideal that he advocates in the Mishnah (*Avot* 3.17), where in a list of similar statements he suggests that "if there is no flour there can be no Torah, if no Torah, there can be no flour." Such moderate tendencies are particularly meaningful against the background of his prestige and legendary wealth; he is described as being especially sensitive to the difficulty of supporting oneself in this world (B.T., *Pes.* 118a). Moderation may have also been one of the lessons in his replacement of Gamliʾel; Gam-liʾel was insensitive to the difficulty of making a living, and while Gamliʾel restricted entrance into the academy, Elʿazar opened the doors to all.

Elʿazar contributed to both the legal and exegetical traditions. His legal record reflects no overall agenda or philosophy, although in certain notable cases moderation is evident. In exegesis he is considered to have been willing to accept the simple meaning of scripture.

SEE ALSO Tannaim.

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ELʿAZAR BEN PEDAT was an amoraic authority of the third century. Of Babylonian origin (J.T., *Ber.* 2.1, 4b), Elʿazar made his career in the rabbinic academies of the Land of Israel, chiefly in Tiberias. Because both Elʿazar ben Pedat and the rather earlier Elʿazar ben Shammuʿa are frequently cited without their patronymics, some uncertainty about ascription is attached to traditions bearing their names. Nevertheless, it is clear that Elʿazar ben Pedat left Babylonia after having studied with Rav and Shemuʾel. In the Jerusalem Talmud he is once called the disciple of Hiyyaʾ bar Abbaʾ (J.T., *Qid.* 1.4, 60b), but he eventually came to be associated with Yoḥanan bar Nappahaʾ in Tiberias (J.T., *San.* 1.1, 18b). He ended his career as Yoḥanan's disciple-colleague (B.T., *B. M.* 84a) and spokesman in the academy (J.T., *Meg.* 1.11, 72b).

Possibly because of his Babylonian origins, Elʿazar was of great interest to the *naḥottei,* traveling scholars who went back and forth between Babylonia and the Land of Israel carrying reports of recent teachings of leading rabbis from one center to the other. (The work of these correspondents during the early generations of rabbinical activity in Babylonia was of great importance in preserving the unity and coordination of a movement that could have broken down into a number of relatively isolated national or regional branches.) Elʿazar's academy at Tiberias was a leading center for such exchanges of information. In the Babylonian Talmud, Elʿazar is called "the master of [or from] the Land of Israel" and the standard Babylonian formula "They sent from there" (i.e., from the Land of Israel) was understood by some as a reference to his teaching (B.T., *San.* 17b).

As a legal authority, Elʿazar was noted for his efforts to identify the masters whose teachings were incorporated without attribution in the Mishnah; he frequently sought to separate consecutive clauses of single Mishnaic pericope, saying, "Break it up; the one who taught this [part of the text] did not teach that" (B.T., *Shab.* 92b, *Ker.* 24b; see also *Bava Metsiʿaʾ* 51a). He was the author of many *aggadot* (nonlegal rabbinic teachings) but was remembered for his aversion to the esoteric lore of *merkavah* mysticism (B.T., *Ḥag.* 13a). According to the medieval *Epistle of Rabbi Sheriraʾ Gaon* (c. 992), Elʿazar died in the year 279, the same year as his master Yoḥanan.

See Also Amoraim.

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ELECTION. The concept of divine election appears in a number of religious traditions that espouse belief in an omnipotent and personal God. Although not unknown among certain religious groups in ancient Greece and India, it has had particular significance in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. In each of these faiths, one finds the claim that God, although universal, has freely elected or chosen a particular group of people for a particular destiny or relationship with him. While belief in the conditions and beneficiaries of election vary even within the traditions themselves, a common set of difficult, and in some cases, unanswered questions underlie this article. First, how can belief in the election of a particular group of people be reconciled with belief in a universal God? Second, does the concept of election necessarily imply belief in the superiority of the chosen? Third, what is the relationship between election, predestination, and free will? And finally, how, in the face of competing claims to election, can one know if one's own claim is true?

Judaism. Belief in God's having chosen Israel to be his *ʿam segullah* ("chosen people") has remained a central element of Jewish thought. Rooted in the biblical concept of covenant, it is developed further in the Talmud, in medieval philosophical and mystical writings, and in modern literary and theological texts. Although the concept of election is most closely associated with the Hebrew verb *baḥar* ("chose"), reference to election is often implied in other words. Indeed, belief in the election of Israel predates the introduction of the technical term *baḥar* in *Deuteronomy* (7:6, 14:2), a biblical text not written until the seventh century BCE. Underlying God's promises to Abraham and his descendants in *Genesis* 12, and those to Moses and the people of Israel in *Exodus* 19 as well, is the conviction that Yahveh has freely chosen a particular group of people to be "his people," thus making himself known as "their God." In the covenant that he establishes with Abraham, he promises to make of Abraham and his descendants a great nation, bringing them to a land that would be their own. The covenant that he establishes at Mount Sinai becomes a renewal and extension of the earlier, Abrahamic covenant. Establishing a special relationship with the Israelites as a whole, he here identifies himself not only as the "God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob" but also, more generally, as the "God of Israel."

The election of Israel, it seems, stems solely from God's love, not from any evidence of superiority or merit on Israel's behalf. Similarly, their election is one not of privilege but of obligation. "Let my people go," God repeatedly demands of Pharaoh, "that they may serve me" (*Ex.* 8:1ff.). In order to serve him, the Israelites are enjoined to refrain from worshiping or entering into a covenant with other gods (*Ex.* 20:3, 22:20, 23:32), and they are commanded to follow a clearly delineated code of moral and cultic behavior. Thus, by the eighth century BCE, the prophet Isaiah admonishes those who outwardly follow cultic prescriptions but fail to recognize either the proper intent with which sacrifices are to be offered or the kind of moral life that divine election entails. As a kingdom of priests and a holy nation, they, as the prophet Micah maintains, are to "do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with [their] God" (*Mi.* 6:8). They alone, the prophet Amos reminds them, have been known by God (*Am.* 3:2). Consequently, they bear a greater responsibility for their actions than do other people and will be punished by God for their transgressions. Nevertheless, as the eighth-century prophet Hosea insists, punishment does not negate their election. Comparing Israel to Gomer, the "wife of harlotry" whom the Lord commanded him to marry, he tells his listeners that while they have been "adulterous" in worshiping other gods and, like Gomer, will be punished for their actions, God will later renew his vow of betrothal, promising them, as Hosea promised Gomer, that if they return to him, he will "heal their faithfulness," turn aside his anger, and "love them freely" forever (*Hos.* 14:4).

According to the biblical view, certain Israelites are further elected for a specific role or office. Included are priests (*Dt.* 18:5, *1 Sm.* 2:28) as well as kings (*2 Sm.* 6:21, *Kgs.* 8:16). Emphasis is placed on the responsibilities that they are given. Here, as elsewhere, divine election clearly implies a setting apart for service.

In the sixth century BCE, following the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar, the destruction of the Temple, and the exile into Babylonia, the concept of election took on new and greater importance. Bereft of their holy sanctuary, with many exiled from their Holy Land, Israel, the people of God's promise, now known as Jews, came to identify suffering as a mark of their election. Although belief in the universality of their God, as expressed in the writings of the sixth-century "Second Isaiah," might have led them to conclude that their God, as God of the universe, had chosen another group of his creations to be his treasured people, their continued insistence that it was they alone whom God had chosen helped to create and nourish the hope that they would be redeemed in the future. In order to reconcile the particularity of Israel's election with the universality of God, prophets like "Second Isaiah" maintained that Israel had been chosen as a "light to the nations" (*Is.* 42:6). God had entered into a covenant with the people of Israel so that they might bear testimony to his reality, bringing others to recognize his greatness and to acknowledge that "besides [him] there is no god" (*Is.* 44:6).

The theme of Israel's election is reiterated throughout Jewish Hellenistic literature. In the Apocrypha, for example, *Ben Sira* describes the Lord as distinguishing between his creations, blessing and exalting some (i.e., Israel), cursing others (*Sir.* 33:12), while the author of *2 Esdras* specifically mentions Israel as the one people loved by God (*2 Esd.* 5:27). Philo Judaeus and Josephus similarly refer to the spiritual uniqueness of the Jews. As Philo writes in his *Life of Moses,* although "their bodies have been moulded from human seeds . . . their souls are sprung from Divine seeds, and therefore their stock is akin to God" (1.278–279).

A more exclusivist view of election appears in the writings of the Jewish schismatics living near the Dead Sea during the first centuries before and after the beginning of the common era. They alone, they claimed, were the true Israel. Pointing to the revelation of truth given by God to their Teacher of Righteousness, they saw themselves as the faithful remnant of Israel, the last in line of those whom God had chosen. They had been chosen, they believed, to receive both divine grace and eternal knowledge (*Rule of Community* 11). In return for these gifts and for the new covenant established with them, they were strictly to obey the teachings of Moses and the prophets and consciously to live their lives under the guidance of the spirit of truth. Members of the community identified themselves as sons of light, set apart and prepared for battle against the wicked sons of darkness. It was their contention that this battle would soon occur, in which they, as sons of light, would emerge victorious.

As Géza Vermès implies in his introduction to *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (1962), a predestinarian element seems to underlie the community's assertion that it was loved by God before creation, its members destined to become sons of light. Yet as Vermès further maintains, the Qumran community, like other Jewish groups, continually insisted that election was not an inherited privilege. Only through a freely taken oath of allegiance to God and to the teachings by which the community lived could one claim to be a member of the new covenant of grace that God had established. Only then could one claim to be a member of the elect, chosen by God "for an everlasting covenant" and for everlasting glory.

With the fall of the Second Temple in 70 CE and a Diaspora existence that forced Jews to live as a minority among people who often sought to oppress them, the concept of election continued to serve as a source of pride, strength, and hope for a better future. As rabbinic Judaism developed concepts that were to become normative for Jewish life, election remained, as Solomon Schechter (1909) notes, an "unformulated dogma" running throughout rabbinic literature. Beginning in the late first century CE with the teachings of Yohanan ben Zakkʾai, emphasis was placed not only on the close relationship that continued to exist between God and Israel but also on the life of Torah, by which Jews, chosen for holiness by God, were to live. Holiness, as ben Zakkʾai maintained, depended on neither state nor sanctuary (*Avot* 2.8) but on the fulfillment of the Torah that alone constituted what ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef identified as the essence of Jewish existence (*Sifrei Dt.* 11.22).

According to Benjamin Helfgott (1954), rabbinic emphasis on the election of Israel needs to be seen as part of a Jewish response to the Christian claim that Jews were no longer God's chosen people. While Helfgott admits that emphasis on Israel's election as a response to an anti-Jewish polemic predates the rise of Christianity and can be found as early as 300 BCE, one can justifiably argue that the Christian challenge to the Jewish concept of election was more severe than those that predated it because Christianity's identification of the church as the true Israel posed a direct challenge to the theological foundations of Judaism itself.

The rabbis of the Talmud met this challenge not by direct debate but by reasserting their own doctrine of election with renewed emphasis and vigor. They insisted that the bond between God and Israel was indissoluble (*B.T., Yev.* 102b, *Qid.* 36a). Moreover, they maintained that even the destruction of the Second Temple needed to be seen within the larger context of a universal divine plan that included the future fulfillment of those prophetic promises made to the people of Israel. Thus, even in the face of calamity, the rabbis retained an unqualified faith in God's continuing love for Israel and Israel's love for God. To underscore their contention that God's love for Israel was not arbitrary, the rabbis offered a number of explanations as to why Israel had been chosen. According to *Numbers Rabbah* 14.10, for example, Israel was chosen because no other nation, though offered God's Torah, was willing to accept its precepts, while according to *Genesis Rabbah* 1.4, Israel's election was predestined even before the world was created. Some rabbis pointed to the humility and meekness of the Israelites as making them worthy of election, while most remained silent as to the merits or attributes that might have led to Israel's becoming the treasured people of God. None, however, believed that merit alone was sufficient cause for election. Quoting scripture to support their claim, they attributed Israel's election to God's freely given act of love.

Faith in God's special love for Israel came to be expressed most clearly in daily prayer. Biblically based concepts of election were incorporated into the liturgy as expressions of gratitude to the God who had chosen Israel from all people, loved and exalted them above others, sanctified them by his commandments, and brought them "unto [his] service." One finds these ideas articulated further in the works of such medieval thinkers as Saʿadyah Gaon, Avraham ibn Daud, Ḥasdai Crescas, and Isaac Abravanel. They receive greatest attention, however, in the twelfth-century *Sefer ha-Kuzari* by Yehudah ha-Levi, a work in which the concept of chosenness plays a central role. Written as a defense of Judaism, it identifies religious truth with that that was revealed at Sinai. Consequently, it declares that the Jews, chosen to bear that truth, are alone able to grasp what transcends the limits of reason. As Henry Slonimsky writes in his introduction to *Judah Halevi: The Kuzari* (1964), the concept of Israel's election leads ha-Levi to claim, for the Jewish people and their history, a unique and supernatural character. Yet, according to Slonimsky, it is because ha-Levi wishes to eliminate from his concept of chosenness either hatred or intolerance that he assigns other historical functions to Christianity and Islam, maintaining that in the future they will be converted to religious truth.

The assigning of supernatural uniqueness to the Jewish people finds further expression in Jewish mystical works of the Middle Ages. One finds in qabbalistic literature, for example, the claim that only the souls of Israel are from God while the souls of others are base material, or *qellipot* ("shells"). Given the precarious position of the Jew in medieval Europe, such claims, it seems, became a means of making bearable, if not intelligible, the continued oppression of the Jewish people.

Yet by the eighteenth century, with the growing acceptance of Jews into European society, the question of how one could become part of the modern world while retaining belief in a concept that clearly differentiated Jews from their non-Jewish neighbors, needed new answers. Even if one could demonstrate that the traditional concept of election was intended to imply a consecration for service rather than a claim to superiority, did not the claim serve to separate the Jews from the very people of whom they wanted to be part? Although some, like the eighteenth-century philosopher Moses Mendelssohn in his *Jerusalem,* assured his non-Jewish readers that the election of Israel did not entail privilege but obligations that could not be dismissed, nineteenth-century religious reformers in Germany, America, and later in England, emphasized the universal nature of Israel's election, reiterating that the spiritual mission with which they had been entrusted would benefit humanity as a whole.

While, as Arnold M. Eisen (1983) convincingly demonstrates, the concept of election remained a preoccupation among twentieth-century American Jewish thinkers, some, most notably Mordecai Kaplan, founder of Reconstructionism, sought to eliminate the concept altogether. In his *Judaism as a Civilization* (1934), Kaplan suggested replacing the concept of election with that of vocation. Reflecting Kaplan's own rejection of belief in a supernatural God as well as his conviction that Jews could not hope to gain acceptance in American society as long as they maintained what, protestations notwithstanding, did seem to be a claim to superiority, his concept of vocation as the communal purpose that a specific group of people choose for themselves suggests that Jews are no more unique than others.

A number of theologians recently have sought to refute, either directly or indirectly, Kaplan's notion of Jewish "normalcy." Among them has been Michael Wyschogrod, who, in *The Body of Faith: Judaism as Corporeal Election* (New York, 1983), advances the provocative claim that in choosing Israel God chose a biological rather than an ideological people. Thus, he maintains, both religious and secular Jews are exclusively loved by God and have been chosen to enter into a covenantal relationship with him. No matter what the Jew does or believes, the fact remains that he or she has been chosen to serve as the vehicle through which God acts in history.

CHRISTIANITY. The Christian concept of election is rooted in the self-identification of the early church as the true Israel. While acknowledging that the Jewish people had originally been the chosen of God, early Christian theologians insisted that those Jews refusing to acknowledge Jesus as their Messiah could no longer claim the status of divine privilege. Viewing Israel as a community of the faithful rather than as the biological descendants of Abraham, Paul declares that "not all who are descended from Israel belong to Israel" (*Rom.* 9:6). His contention here, as elsewhere, is that the concept of election, though once referring solely to the Jewish people, the Israel of the flesh, had been superseded by a new concept referring to those Jews and Gentiles who, by accepting the church's teachings, can justifiably claim to be the true Israel of the spirit. Identifying the spiritual Israel with Isaiah's faithful remnant, Paul maintains that they alone are the heirs to God's promise of redemption.

Reinterpreting the biblical concept of covenant, Paul proclaims a new covenant of salvation, available to all who profess faith in the risen Christ. Given apart from the covenant with Abraham and his spiritual seed, it actually precedes the Mosaic covenant (obedience to the Torah), which, according to Paul, is a covenant of slavery (*Gal.* 4:2–31). Although Paul does not argue that Jews should no longer keep the Law, he does insist that the Law in and of itself cannot lead to salvation. Given to Israel as a means of curbing sin, the Law, Paul says, can only bring condemnation, while the new covenant of faith brings rebirth and freedom. Paul does not deny that the Jews remain chosen by God. Indeed, in *Romans* 11:29 he states that the "gifts and the call of God are irrevocable." Yet Paul equates the Mosaic covenant simply with Law, as opposed to spirit, and with privilege, as opposed to service. Given this understanding, he then distinguishes between the Law, which is irrevocable though ultimately ineffectual, and the privileged relationship between God and Israel, which, as John Gager argues in his *The Origins of Anti-Semitism* (New York, 1983), Paul believes to have been "momentarily suspended."

Paul's extension of the concept of election to include Jews and Gentiles served as both a stimulus to greater missionary effort and as a didactic vehicle through which the responsibilities and privileges of the Christian life were made clear. By the second half of the first century, however, as the rift between Judaism and Christianity deepened, giving way to a predominantly Gentile church, Christians focused their claim to election on the church (Gr., *ekklēsia,* "the chosen") alone, with some, like Stephen, insisting that the Israelites, in his view stiff-necked and resistant to the Holy Spirit, had actually never been God's chosen people (*Acts* 7:51). According to this view, the Mosaic covenant existed only to predict the true covenant of the future. In the Gospels and other New Testament texts, emphasis is placed not only on the elect, whose righteousness and faith reveal the workings of the Holy Spirit, but also on Christ as the elect one, the model of repentance and faith necessary to enter God's kingdom (*Lk.* 9:35, 23:35). Although election ultimately rests on an act of divine grace, proof of one's election lies in obedience to the call that Christ has issued. Indeed, as John maintains, using the image of Jesus as a shepherd gathering the elect of all nations, it is only through Christ, the "door of the sheepfold," that one gains access to the Father (*Jn.* 10:1ff.).

In the epistles of the first- and early second-century bishop Ignatius, emphasis is placed on the spiritual gifts, or privileges, that divine election entails. Although all people, he writes, enjoy such temporal blessings as food and drink, only baptism leads to the bestowal of both spiritual nourishment (i.e., the Eucharist) and eternal life. From the second through the sixth century, a number of works were written proclaiming the election of the church as a substitute for the election of Israel. Thus, for example, in his *Three Books of Testimonies against the Jews,* the third-century bishop Cyprian maintains that with the cessation of all tokens of the "old dispensation," a new law, leadership, prophecy, and election would occur, with Gentiles replacing Jews as God's chosen people. Rosemary Ruether, in her *Faith and Fratricide* (New York, 1974), views this literary tradition as part of an ongoing polemic against a Judaism that by its continued and active existence seemed to challenge many of the church's teachings. Moreover, she maintains, by establishing a number of contrasting images between the synagogue and the church—carnality versus spirituality, blindness versus sight, rejection versus election—the church was better able to affirm who it was and what it hoped to be. Although the church's anti-Judaism did not always lead to a position of anti-Semitism, the use of such biblical narratives as that of the older brother Esau's forfeiting his birthright to his younger twin brother, Jacob, to convey the relationship between Judaism and Christianity powerfully underscored the church's theological claim that it alone was the true "seed of Abraham," elected by God to enter the kingdom of heaven.

The schismatic Donatist church of North Africa, originating in the early fourth century and formally denounced as heretical in the year 405, advanced its own concept of election. Formed in opposition to those bishops who, in response to the Diocletian edict of May 303, surrendered their sacred books to the civil authorities, it began to consecrate its own bishops, beginning with Majorinus as bishop of Carthage in the year 312. Claiming that the *traditores* (surrenderers) and their successors did not possess the Holy Spirit and therefore could not validly administer the rite of baptism, it maintained that it alone represented the catholic (or universal) church of Peter. Those who developed Donatist teachings, and in particular Majorinus's successor Donatus, from whom the church took its name, viewed the world as the dominion of Satan represented by the wicked "sons of *traditores.*" Forced to separate from a church that had polluted itself through its alliance with worldly powers, they insisted that only they were pure, "without spot or wrinkle." As such, they believed, they alone were the elect of God. While the opposition of Augustine and others eventually curbed its influence and growth, Donatism persisted in North Africa through the sixth century and quite probably into the seventh century and the arrival of Islam.

Between the tenth and fourteenth centuries, a number of neo-Manichaean Christian sects similarly laid claim to election. Identified by orthodox Christianity as "Manichaean" because of their dualist worldview, their identification of the God of the Hebrew Bible with Satan, and their strict asceticism—all characteristics of the Manichaean religion founded in the third century by the Persian Mani—such groups as the Armenian Paulicians, the Byzantine Bogomils, and the Latin Cathari denied that they were either heretics or Manichaeans; rather, they insisted, they alone represented true Christianity. While the label neo-Manichaean reflects the recognition by contemporary historians that Manichaean elements were present in each of these groups, scholars disagree as to whether or not a direct connection can be established between the Manichaeism of Mani and its later Christian manifestations. In either case, however, like the early Manichaeans, these medieval Christian sects divided their members into different grades or classes, including the two primary classes of the "elect" and the "hearers." Like the early gnostic pneumatics (also identified as the elect), those who were initiated into the class of the elect claimed to possess true knowledge of the self, the world, and God. Among the Cathari, the neo-Manichaean group about whom there exists greatest knowledge and whose influence seemed to be most widespread, members of the elect dressed in black, carried a copy of the New Testament in a leather bag, and embraced a rigorous asceticism that was intended to free them from contact with the material world. Bound to chastity, poverty, and abstention from meat, milk, eggs, cheese, and presumably wine, they ate only one meal (of vegetables) a day, fasted several days a week and at particular seasons, regularly engaged in prayer, and yearly accepted one new piece of clothing. Prohibited from owning property, accumulating wealth, and working in any occupation, they were cared for by the hearers, whose confessions they heard and in whose religious instruction they were engaged.

For the Cathari, as for other neo-Manichaean groups, election implied purity, perfection, and knowledge. The elect saw themselves as superior to others in having nearly achieved a state of pure spirit during their lifetime; they claimed that they alone had the privilege of entering the Paradise of Light immediately after death. According to Malcolm Lambert (1977), both religious and social considerations led many to Catharism and to preparation for their future initiation as one of the elect. While some became Cathari solely out of religious conviction, many, especially among the rural aristocracy and the lower classes, turned to Catharism as a result of their rejection of what they perceived to be the growing luxury and corruption of orthodox Christianity and as a positive affirmation of self-sacrifice and poverty. In addition, Lambert maintains, the initial equality of men and women within the class of the elect attracted a significant number of women to Catharism and to the high ritual status that it alone afforded.

Within the reformed tradition, and especially within Calvinism, the concept of election came to play a particularly prominent role. Identifying the elect as those individuals predestined for salvation, John Calvin asserted that election was rooted in a divine purpose that predated the creation of the world. According to Calvin, humanity existed in a state of total depravation. Although God had sent his son to atone for human sinfulness, the efficacy of this atonement extended only to those whom God already had chosen. Rooted solely in God's love and mercy, election, in Calvin's view, was completely gratuitous, bearing no relationship to human merit. While the few who were elected into the "covenant of life" would be redeemed, the majority of humanity, rejected by God, would be condemned to eternal damnation. In his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536), Calvin describes the election of Israel as a first degree of election, superseded by a second degree in which God retains some of Israel as his children and freely adopts others. Through the preaching of the gospel and an accompanying "illumination of the spirit," the elect are called to membership in Christ, bound through their election to one another. Faith, Calvin maintains, is a seal of one's election that, together with the attaining of righteousness, becomes a confirmation to the individual that he or she indeed has been chosen.

English Puritans and their American descendants similarly placed the concept of election at the heart of their theology. Sharing Calvin's belief in a double predestination consisting of the election of the few and the condemnation of the many, they described in great detail the covenant of grace into which the elect had entered. Made possible through Christ's perfect obedience, this covenant held out both the assurance of forgiveness and the promise of salvation. According to the Puritans, this covenant needed to be appropriated in faith, with salvation subsequently mediated through established laws and institutions. Great emphasis was placed on the experience of regenerating grace as a sign of one's election. By the end of the seventeenth century, this experience became a necessary requirement for membership in both American and English Puritan churches. While the later institution of the halfway covenant enabled those who had been raised as Puritans but had not undergone the personal experience of conversion to retain their membership, Puritan churches in America continued to identify themselves as congregations of visible saints, called by God to a glorious future for which they had made elaborate preparation.

Greater awareness and appreciation of the religious beliefs of others has led a number of contemporary Catholic and Protestant theologians to reassess the traditional Christian concept of election. Ruether, for example, concludes her *Faith and Fratricide* by offering ways in which the Christian understanding of the new covenant as superseding the old might be relativized so as to acknowledge the legitimacy of ongoing Jewish claims. Similarly, Paul Van Buren, in his *Discerning the Way* (New York, 1980), suggests that Jewish and Christian concepts of election be seen as parallel claims that point toward a common hope for redemption. Sharing the concerns of both Ruether and Van Buren, Walter Bühlmann, in *God's Chosen Peoples* (Maryknoll, N.Y., 1982), suggests that chosenness be seen not as an exclusive privilege but as an inclusive model of human closeness to God. Distinguishing between a theology and an ideology of election, he warns against using religious convictions to generate and perpetuate a mentality of intolerance and supremacy.

ISLAM. Although the concept of election is not as fully articulated in Islam as it is in Judaism and Christianity, the Qurʾān frequently uses the word *ʿahd* ("injunction, command") to convey the agreement or covenantal relationship existing between Allāh and his prophets and believers. Occasionally used as a synonym for *ʿaqd* ("contract"), *ʿahd* implies the dynamic, religious engagement of the believer with Allāh, manifest through the obligations that the believer agrees to assume.

The Qurʾān affirms the election of both particular individuals, including Noah, Abraham, Moses, the Hebrew prophets, and Jesus, and their communities. It further affirms the election of God's last and greatest prophet, Muḥammad, and his community of believers. This community (the *ummah*) is identified in the Qurʾān with the biblical saving remnant. For the Muslims, other nations have sought after God, but it is the Islamic community alone that has drawn close to him. This community is not to be identified with any ethnic or social group but consists of all believers. While, according to John Wansbrough (1977), specific doctrines identifying Muslims as superior did not develop until later, the Qurʾān distinguishes Allāh's servants from others by identifying Muslims as the "purified ones" (*sūrah* 37:40) or, more simply, as "the elect" (38:47).

It is in Sufism, however, that the concept of election receives greatest attention. Developed during the ninth and tenth centuries CE, Sufism proclaimed that nothing exists but Allāh. The Ṣūfīs arrived at this claim not through intellectual knowledge but through mystical insight, or gnosis. The Ṣūfīs identified this insight as the inward essence of *islam,* or submission to God, an essence that, they maintained, could be penetrated only by the elect. According to the Ṣūfīs, the elect were those who not only experienced the divine directly but also, as Martin Lings (1961) notes, could pass with no transition from thought to action, from the "next world" and its mysteries to this world and all that it contained.

Believing that gnosis led one to attain the highest rank of human perfection, second only to the prophets, Ṣūfīs laid claim to sainthood. They based this claim not on personal merit but on Allāh's love or grace. To be chosen, then, was to receive the gift of sainthood, a gift that enabled one to penetrate into mysteries that could not be grasped through rational comprehension. Quoting a Ṣūfī poet, Lings describes the mystical intelligence of the Ṣūfī as a flawless jewel, an exquisitely beautiful gift that enables the elect to lift the veil from the "light of Allāh" and recognize that there is nothing but God.

The concept of election as a gift given to special souls even before their creation has led a number of scholars to associate the Ṣūfī claim to election with that of predestination. While these concepts are not identical with one another, the sense of being not merely called by God but overwhelmed by him, led early Ṣūfīs in particular to view their decision to leave the world and devote themselves to Allāh as a decision dictated or suggested to them. As Annemarie Schimmel writes in her *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1975), the mystic has been chosen (*iṣṭafā*) by God for himself, not only to become a vessel of his love but also to participate in the primordial covenant established even before the creation of Adam and to remain pure through the meticulous observance of both Islamic law and Islamic tradition.

SEE ALSO Free Will and Determinism; Free Will and Predestination.

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ELEPHANTS.

Indigenous to both Africa and India, the elephant is the largest of all living land animals. A peaceful herbivore, the adult of the species has no fear of any other animal, with the exceptions of the human hunter and small rodents that might crawl up its trunk. Because of its awesome strength and great size, the elephant—whether wild or tamed as a beast of burden—is commonly a symbol of power: both the brute force that supports the cosmos and its life forms and the majesty of royal power. At the same time, the wild elephant demonstrates numerous characteristics shared by human beings—such as longevity, social customs, and varied personality traits—which give rise to tales in which the elephant may be a companion to humans or may exhibit humanlike qualities such as fearfulness, rage, and stubbornness.

In India, the elephant-headed god Gaṇeśa has been widely revered as a remover of obstacles, hence as a bringer of success, among both Hindus and Buddhists. His enormous popularity is also attested outside India. As Indian culture spread, the cult of Gaṇeśa was enthusiastically accepted in Southwest Asia, and in China and Japan, Gaṇeśa became well known through the introduction of Tantric Buddhism to these lands.

Since ancient times, especially in India and North Africa, the elephant has been domesticated and trained as a beast of burden. The Carthaginians, for example, rode on elephants in their war against the Romans. In Hindu mythology, elephants hold up the four quarters of the universe: the earth rests on the back of elephants, which rest, in turn, on the back of a huge tortoise. According to the *Mahābhārata,* the divine elephant Airāvata was born out of the primeval milky ocean as it was being churned by the gods and demons. This elephant was destined to be the mount of Indra, the god of thunder and battle, protector of the cosmos.

The intimate connection in Hindu mythology between Airāvata and Indra indicates that the elephant is not simply a symbol for brute force but is also most broadly associated with the powers that support and protect life. Probably because of its round shape and gray color, the elephant is regarded as a "rain cloud" that walks the earth, endowed with the magico-religious ability to produce rain clouds at will. In present-day India, the elephant plays a significant part in an annual ceremony celebrated in New Delhi for the purposes of inducing rainfall, good harvest, and the fertility of human beings and their livestock. An elephant, painted white with sandal paste, is led in solemn procession through the city. The men attending the elephant wear women's clothes and utter obscene words, as if to stimulate the dormant powers of fertility.

Although in the period of the *Ṛgveda* elephants were tamed but little used in war, by the middle of the first millennium BCE, the owning of elephants had become a prerogative of kings and chieftains, who used them in warfare and on ceremonial occasions. Elephants, particularly albino ones, became the mounts of kings and, hence, symbolic of royal power. In the mythology of kingship, the white elephant appears as one of the seven treasures of the universal monarch (*cakravartin*), who rides upon it as he sets out on his world-inspection tours.

As the embodiment of perfect wisdom and royal dignity, the Buddha himself is often referred to as an elephant. According to the older, verse version of the *Lalitavistara,* the Buddha was conceived when his mother, Maya, dreamed of his descent from heaven in the form of a white elephant. This motif is depicted in a medallion on a balustrade of the Bharhut Stupa dating from the second or first century BCE, and from that time onward, it appears repeatedly in Buddhist iconography throughout India. The later, prose version of the *Lalitavistara,* followed by the *Mahāvastu,* states more emphatically that the Buddha descended into his mother's womb in elephantine form. In subsequent centuries, the Buddhist community has generally accepted the idea that a Buddha, either of the past or of the future, must enter his mother's womb in the form of an elephant.

Many of the myths from Africa about the elephant emphasize the ways in which elephants and human beings share certain characteristics. Perhaps it is because the African elephant remained wild in comparison to its Indian cousin that its natural habits had more effect on the form of its symbolism. For instance, wild elephants are very social, living in groups with definite customs. The life expectancy of the elephant is somewhere between sixty and seventy years. It is an intelligent creature and capable of complex emotions, even neurosis and insanity. These attributes indicate ways in which human beings and elephants are similar, and therefore it is no surprise that the elephant is often regarded as a special companion of the mythical ancestors. For example, the Nandi in East Africa recount the story of how one day, when Asista, the creator, arrived on earth in order to arrange the creation, or to prepare the present condition of things, he found three beings already there, living together: the thunder, a Dorobo (a member of a hunting tribe believed by the Nandi to be their mythical ancestors), and an elephant. A similar tale is told by the Maasai. According to the Yao, the first human being emerged from the primeval wilderness carrying an elephant on his shoulders. The elephant made him a great hunter by teaching him about the natures of all the animals, granting him wild honey for food, and training him in the art of killing. Moreover, the hunter found his wife in the land of the elephants, and together they became the primordial ancestors of the Yao. In southern Africa, it is widely believed that elephants can transform themselves into human beings and vice versa.

Apparently the elephant shares with human beings the capacity for antagonizing the gods: According to the Tim in central Togo, West Africa, at the time of the beginning, the god Esso and all the animals lived together in harmony. They even shared water from the same spring. But the elephant picked a quarrel with the god, who thereupon left the earth and its inhabitants and withdrew to his heaven so that he might enjoy peace and quiet.

SEE ALSO Gaṇeśa.

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MANABU WAIDA (1987)

ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES.

The most important mystery cult of the ancient world was that connected with the sanctuary of Demeter Eleusinia on a hillside outside Eleusis, about fourteen miles northwest of Athens.

ORIGINS AND HISTORY. The ritual of initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries preserves memories of an earlier phase during which the mysteries were the initiation ritual of a political and, at an earlier stage, clan community, especially in the initiation of the *pais aph'hestias,* the "boy from the hearth," the religious center of house and state: he was an Athenian boy chosen by lot who underwent initiation at the cost and on behalf of the *polis* of Athens. Other traces are preserved in the cult of Demeter Eleusinia, which was widespread throughout Greece. On the island of Thasos, it was still a clan cult in the fourth century BCE; in Laconia, it concerned especially the initiation of women. These local variations show that cults of Demeter Eleusinia existed in Greece before the local ritual of Eleusis developed into the mysteries. Contrary to previous belief, however, the cult at Eleusis has no demonstrable Bronze Age roots; Mycenaean walls that have been discovered under the later sanctuary belong to secular structures. The first archaeologically recoverable sanctuary shows traces of an apsidal or oval cult house enclosed by a wall, both from the eighth century BCE. It is debatable when Athens took control of the cult—either in or before the time of Solon (c. 600 BCE) or, at the latest, in the time of Peisitratus (mid-sixth century BCE), when the sanctuary underwent a fundamental restructuring that gave it the plan it was to have for the rest of its existence.

At this time, a monumental new gateway was constructed, looking not toward Eleusis but toward Athens, and a square initiation hall (*telestērion*) was erected, incorporating the innermost sanctum (*anaktoron*) of a Solonian temple. In the second half of the fifth century BCE, the sanctuary was expanded by Ictinus and other architects to its final form. A new *telestērion* was built, large enough to accommodate several thousand initiands (*mustai*), who during the initiation rites stood on steps along the four inner walls. In the center of the *telestērion* stood the *anaktoron* in its traditional location.

By the second half of the fifth century, in the Classical period of Greek culture, participation in the rites at Eleusis, previously restricted to Athenians, was open to all Greeks. In Hellenistic and imperial times, the mysteries gained even more prestige; they were now open to *mustai* from all over the Roman Empire. The eschatological hopes offered by the rites attracted philosophers and emperors alike. Marcus Aurelius, who was both, rebuilt the sanctuary after a barbarian invasion in 170 CE. The Christian emperor Theodosius (r. 379–395) interdicted participation in the mysteries, as in all pagan cults, and shortly afterward, in 395 CE, the invading Goths destroyed the sanctuary.

ORGANIZATION. Besides the priestess of Demeter, who lived in the sanctuary, the temple of Eleusis was attended by a host of officials, both religious and secular. The main religious official was the hierophant (Gr., *hierophantes;* lit., "he who shows the sacred things"), chosen from the Eleusinian family of the Eumolpides to serve for life. From the family of the Kerukes came the *daidouchos* ("torchbearer") and the *hierokerux* ("sacred herald"), the two officials next in rank.

IDEOLOGY. The Homeric *Hymn to Demeter,* composed before Athenian control (between 650 and 550 BCE), narrates how Demeter's daughter, Kore ("maiden"), also called Persephone, was carried off by Hades. After an unsuccessful search for Kore, Demeter in human disguise came to Eleusis and was engaged as a nurse to the baby prince Demophon, whom she tried to make immortal by immersion in fire. Found out, she revealed her divinity, ordered a temple to be built, and, by stopping the growth of crops, blackmailed Zeus into restoring her daughter, at least for half a year; the other half Kore had to spend in the underworld with her husband Hades. Demeter then restored life to the crops and revealed the mysteries to the Eleusinian princes.

This narrative uses a traditional theme—the rape and restoration of a maiden are elements of a fertility theme that appears in various Near Eastern mythologies—to account for the origins of the Eleusinian cult. It is the central text for the mysteries. To those "who have seen these things," it promises a better fate after death (Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* 480ff.). In Peisistratean times, Athenian mythmakers introduced an important change: Demeter was said to have given the cereal crops to the Eleusinians, who had not known them before, and Triptolemos, one of the Eleusinian heroes, was credited with teaching the art of agriculture to humankind. Vase paintings attest to the popularity of this myth from the late sixth century onward. Not much later, another change was introduced that gave more concrete forms to the vague eschatological hopes raised by the mysteries: the *mustai* could now look forward to a blessed paradise, the uninitiated to punishments after death. From the fifth century onward, both these changes are reflected in poems ascribed to Musaios (a hero related to Eumolpos, the ancestor of the Eumolpidai) and to Orpheus.

THE RITUAL. The initiation rites were secret. Current knowledge is restricted to scraps of information provided by those who dared to divulge them (especially converted pagans) and to those rituals that were public.

The initiation formed part of the state festival of the Musteria, or Greater Mysteries, in the Athenian month of Boedromion (September–October). Initiation at Eleusis was preceded by a preliminary ritual, at Agrai, just outside Athens, that took place in the month of Anthesterion (February–March). Pictorial sources show that this ritual, called the Lesser Mysteries, had a predominantly purificatory character: it contained the sacrifice of a piglet and purifications through fire (a burning torch) and air (by means of a fan). The Greater Mysteries themselves began with preparations in Athens: assembly of the *mustai* and formal exclusion of "murderers and barbarians" (on 15 Boedromion), a ritual bath in the sea (on 16 Boedromion), and three days of fast. On 19 Boedromion, the *mustai* marched in procession from Athens to Eleusis, guided by the statue of Iacchos, the god who impersonated the ecstatic shouts (*iacchazein,* "to shout") of the crowd and was later identified with the ecstatic Dionysos.

Toward dusk, the *mustai* entered the sanctuary at Eleusis. A secret password, known through a Christian source, provides information about the preliminary rites (Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* 21.8): "I fasted; I drank the *kukeōn;* I took from the chest; having done my task, I placed in the basket, and from the basket into the chest." The *kukeōn* is known to have been a mixture of water, barley, and spice, taken to break the fast (*Hymn to Demeter* 206ff.), but details of the rest of the ritual are obscure. Perhaps the *mustai* took a mortar from the sacred chest and ground some grains of wheat. They also enacted the search for Kore by torchlight (ibid., 47ff.).

The central rite is clear only in its outline. Crowded in the *telestērion* for the whole night, the *mustai* underwent terrifying darkness; then came a climax full of illumination, "when the *anaktoron* was opened" (Plutarch, *Moralia* 81d–e) and a huge fire burst forth. (Note the parallel to the motif of immersion in fire to gain immortality in *Hymn to Demeter* 239f.) Details of what followed are conjectural, based largely on the account of Hippolytus (c. 170–236). "Under a huge fire," he reports, "the hierophant shouts, 'The Mistress has given birth to a sacred child, Brimo to Brimos'" (*Refutation of All Heresies* 5.8). Perhaps "the mistress" is Demeter and the "sacred child" Ploutos (Plutus), or Wealth, symbolized by an ear of wheat, for Hippolytus describes another ritual thus: "The hierophant showed the initiates the great . . . mystery, an ear cut in silence" (ibid.).

The central rite must have evoked eschatological hopes by ritual means, not by teaching. (Teaching is expressly excluded by Aristotle, *Fragment* 15.) The symbolism of the grain lends itself to such an explanation, as does the symbolism of a new birth. A year after his initiation (*muēsis*), the *mustēs* could attain the degree of *epopteia.* The rituals of this degree are unknown; many scholars maintain that the showing of the ear belongs to this degree, on the strength of Hippolytus's terminology.

Initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries was, in historical times, an affair of individuals, as in the imperial mystery cults, but unlike them, it always remained bound to one place, Eleusis, and had presumably grown out of gentilitial cults of the Eleusinian families.

SEE ALSO Demeter and Persephone; Mystery Religions.

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ELIADE, MIRCEA [FIRST EDITION] (1907–1986), Romanian-born historian of religions, humanist, orientalist, philosopher, and creative writer. The career of Mircea Eliade, who served as editor in chief of this encyclopedia, was long and multifaceted. Since this article can give only a brief, general introduction, those who wish to know more of his life and work are referred to the works cited in the following bibliography.

STUDENT YEARS. Born in Bucharest, the son of an army officer, Eliade witnessed the German occupation of his homeland when he was only nine years old. His lifelong fascination with literature, philosophy, oriental studies, alchemy, and the history of religions began when he was still at the *lycée.* An early article entitled "The Enemy of the Silkworm" reflects the boy's intense interest in plants, animals, and insects. In fact he had already published his one hundredth article by the time he entered the University of Bucharest in 1925. At the university, he became a devoted disciple of the philosopher Nae Ionescu, who taught him the importance of life experience, commitment, intuition, and the spiritual or psychological reality of mental worlds. At the university Eliade became particularly interested in the philosophy of the Italian Renaissance, especially in Marsilio Ficino's rediscovery of Greek philosophy.

Eliade was blessed with the happy combination of an unusually keen mind, strong intuition, a fertile imagination, and the determination to work hard. Much of the structure of his later thought, and some of the paradoxes of his life, were foreshadowed during his student years. Simultaneously he was both a Romanian patriot and a world citizen. He was proud of Western civilization, although he lamented its provincial character, particularly its will to "universalize" Western ideas and values into the norm for all of humankind. Looking back, he could see that in his country previous generations had had no cause to question their historic mission to consolidate Romania's national identity. His own generation, though, had experienced World War I and seemed to have no ready-made model or mission for themselves. Eliade's plea was that his compatriots should exploit this period of "creative freedom" from tradition and should try to learn from other parts of the world what possibilities for life and thought there were. His ultimate concern was the revitalization of all branches of learning and the arts, and his great hope was to decipher the message of the cosmos, which to him was a great repository of hidden meanings. Judging from his diaries and other writings, it seems that Eliade always had a strong sense of destiny, from his youth until his last day in Chicago, calling him from one phase of life to the next, though he felt he was not always conscious of what lay in store for him along the way.

Concerning his preoccupation with the Italian Renaissance in his college days, Eliade later stated, "Perhaps, without knowing it, I was in search of a new, wider humanism, bolder than the humanism of the Renaissance, which was too dependent on the models of Mediterranean classicism. . . . Ultimately, I dreamed of rediscovering the model of a 'universal man'" (*No Souvenirs: Journal, 1957–1969,* London, 1978, p. 17). As though to fulfill Eliade's preordained destiny, the maharaja of Kassimbazar offered him a grant to study Indian philosophy with Surendranath Dasgupta at the University of Calcutta (1928–1932). He also spent six months in the ashram of Rishikesh in the Himalayas. To him, India was more than a place for scholarly research. He felt that a mystery was hidden somewhere in India, and deciphering it would disclose the mystery of his own existence. India indeed revealed to him the profound meaning of the freedom that can be achieved by abolishing the routine conditions of human existence, a meaning indicated in the subtitle of his book on Yoga: *Immortality and Freedom.*

The stay in India also opened his eyes to the existence of common elements in all peasant cultures—for example, in China, Southeast Asia, pre-Aryan aboriginal India, the Mediterranean world, and the Iberian Peninsula—the elements from which he would later derive the notion of "cosmic religion." In fact, the discovery of pre-Aryan aboriginal Indian spirituality (which has remained an important thread in the fabric of Hinduism to the present) led Eliade to speculate on a comparable synthesis in southeastern Europe, where the ancient culture of the Dacians formed the "autochthonous base" of present-day Romanian culture. (Dacian culture had been reconstructed by a Romanian philosopher-folklorist, B. P. Hasdeu.) Moreover, Eliade came to believe that the substratum of peasant cultures of southeastern Europe has been preserved to this day, underneath the cultural influences of the Greeks, the Romans, the Byzantines, and Christianity, and he went so far as to suggest that the peasant roots of Romanian culture could become the basis of a genuine universalism, transcending nationalism and cultural provincialism. He believed that the oppressed peoples of Asia and elsewhere might take their rightful place in world history through such universalism. "We, the people of Eastern Europe, would be able to serve as a bridge between the West and Asia." As he remarked in his autobiography, "A good part of my activity in [Romania] between 1932 and 1940 found its point of departure in these intuitions and observations" (*Autobiography: Journey East, Journey West*, vol. 1, 1981, p. 204).

EARLY LITERARY AND INTELLECTUAL ACTIVITY. In 1932 Eliade returned to Romania and was appointed to assist Nae Ionescu at the University of Bucharest in the following year. His publication of *Yoga: Essai sur les origines de la mystique indienne* (1936), in which he attempted a new interpretation of the myths and symbolism of archaic and oriental religions, attracted the attention of such eminent European scholars as Jean Przyluski, Louis de La Vallée Poussin, Heinrich Zimmer, and Giuseppe Tucci. He also plunged feverishly into literary activities. Many people were under the impression then that Eliade thought of himself primarily as a novelist, although he was strongly motivated to engage in scholarly activities as well. Eliade had made his literary debut in 1930 with *Isabel si Apele Diavolului* (Isabel and the Devil's Water), which was obviously colored by his Indian experience. According to Matei Calinescu, in his essay "'The Function of the Unreal': Reflections on Mircea Eliade's Short Fiction" (in Girardot and Ricketts, 1982), most of Eliade's fiction inspired by India was written between 1930 and 1935, and his earlier novels with Indian themes (e.g., *Maitreyi*, 1933) were strongly autobiographical. He also points out that Eliade's later novellas on these themes, such as *Secretul Doctorului Honigberger* (The Secret of Doctor Honigberger) and *Nopţi la Serampore* (Night in Serampore), both published in a single volume entitled *Secretul Doctoru-lui Honigberger* (1940), "deal with the major problem of the fully mature Eliade, that of the ambiguities of the sacred and the profane in their characteristical relationship"; Calimescu concludes that "Eliade had discovered the 'ontological' signification of narration" by 1940 (Girardot and Ricketts, p. 142).

Eliade once stated that young Romanians had a very short period of creative freedom, and fear that this observation might apply to himself compelled him to work against the clock. Accordingly, he published not only literary works but also a series of important scholarly studies on alchemy, mythology, oriental studies, philosophy, symbology, metallurgy, and the history of religions. In 1938 he founded the journal *Zalmoxis: Revue des études religieuses.* (Unfortunately, circulation ceased after 1942.) Eliade was also active in the so-called Criterion group, consisting of male and female intellectuals. This group was a significant collective manifestation of the "young generation" of Romanians, which sponsored public lectures, symposia, and discussion about important contemporary intellectual issues as a new type of Socratic dialogue. "The goal we were pursuing," Eliade said, "was not only to inform people; above all, we were seeking to 'awaken' the audience, to confront them with ideas, and ultimately to modify their mode of being in the world" (*Autobiography*, vol. 1, p. 237).

Meanwhile, Romania could not help but be touched by the political whirlwind that was rising in Europe, manifested in the conflicts and tensions between communism and democracy, fascism and Nazism. Following the assassination of Romanian Prime Minister Duca in December 1933, Eliade's mentor Nae Ionescu was arrested on suspicion that he was an antiroyalist rightist. Also arrested were the leaders of the pro-Nazi Legion of the Archangel Michael, commonly known as the Legionnaires or the Iron Guard, and some of Eliade's friends in the Criterion group. Of course the Criterion experiment ceased to function because it was impossible for Legionnaires, democrats, and communists to share the same platform. Thus, Romania entered a "broken-off era," as Eliade called it with fear and trembling. The tense political atmosphere, the cruelties and excesses of all sorts, find their echoes in Eliade's *Huliganii*, 2 vols. (The Hooligans; 1935), although he explicitly said that the hooligans in the novel were very different from the actual Romanian hooligans of the 1930s—those "groups of young antisemites, ready to break windows or heads, to attack or loot synagogues" (*Autobiography*, vol. 1, p. 301). What concerned Eliade was not only the sad political reality of his homeland. He wrote, "I had had the premonition long before . . . that we would *not have* time. I sensed now not only that time was limited, but that there would come a terrifying time (the time of the 'terror of history')" (*Autobiography*, p. 292). In 1938 the royal dictatorship in Romania was proclaimed; then came World War II.

EMIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT. In 1940 Eliade was appointed cultural attaché at the Royal Romanian Legation in war-torn London. In the following year he became a cultural counselor in Lisbon, in neutral Portugal. When the war was over in 1945, Eliade went directly to Paris, thus starting the life of self-imposed exile. Although he could write and lecture in French, starting a new life in a foreign country at the age of thirty-eight required considerable adjustment. On the other hand, by that time he was already a highly respected, mature scholar. "It took me ten years to understand," he said, "that the Indian experience alone could not reveal to me the universal man I had been looking for" (*No Souvenirs*, p. 17). For this task he acknowledged the necessity of combining the history of religions, orientalism, ethnology, and other disciplines. He wrote:

> The correct analyses of myths and of mythical thought, of symbols and primordial images, especially the religious creations that emerge from Oriental and "primitive" cultures, are . . . the only way to open the Western mind and to introduce a new, planetary humanism. . . . Thus, the proper procedure for grasping their meaning is not the naturalist's "objectivity," but the intelligent sympathy of the hermeneut. *It was the procedure itself that had to be changed.* . . . This conviction guided my research on the meaning and function of myths, the structure of religious symbols, and in general, of the dialectics of the sacred and the profane. (*No Souvenirs,* p. xii)

In 1946 Eliade was invited to serve as a visiting professor at the École des Hautes Études of the Sorbonne. He then proceeded to publish such famous works as *Techniques du Yoga* (1948), *Traité d'histoire des religions* (1949; revised translation, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, 1958), *Le mythe de l'eternel retour* (1949; revised translation, *The Myth of the Eternal Return*, 1954), *Le chamanisme et les techniques archaiques de l'extase* (1951; revised and enlarged translation, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, 1964), and so on. He was also invited by many leading universities in Europe to deliver lectures, and he appeared in a number of seminars and conferences, for example, the annual meetings at Ascona, Switzerland.

In retrospect, it becomes clear that during his stay in Paris (1945–1955) Eliade solidified most of his important concepts and categories, including those of *homo religiosus*, *homo symbolicus*, archetypes, *coincidentia oppositorum*, hierophany, *axis mundi*, the cosmic rope, the nostalgia for Paradise, androgyny, the initiatory scenario, and so on, all of which became integral parts of a coherent outlook or system that aimed at what Eliade later called a total hermeneutics. This may account for the impossibility of isolating, or even criticizing, any part of his system without disturbing the entire framework. Side by side with this development, one notices the shift in his personal orientation. Before World War II, his scholarly and literary activities had focused very much on Romania. In those years, he affirmed that "the orthodox heritage could constitute a total conception of the world and existence, and that this synthesis, if it could be realized, would be a new phenomenon in the history of modern Romanian culture" (*Autobiography*, vol. 1, p. 132). After the war, he continued to regard himself as a Romanian writer, but something new was added. The sense that his experience suggested the paradigm of the homeless exile as a symbol of religious reality for modern, secularized humankind. In this situation, his literary works, too, took on the "coloring of a *redeeming force* (*forta recuperatoare*)," to quote Eugen Simion (in Girardot and Ricketts, 1982, p. 136).

METHODOLOGY AND IMAGINATION. Like many other historians of religions—for example, Raffaele Pettazzoni (1883–1959) and Joachim Wach (1898–1955)—Eliade held that the discipline of the history of religions (*Allgemeine Religionswissenschaft*) consisted of two dimensions, historical and systematic. Characteristically, he worked first on the systematic dimension (using the "morphological" method, inspired by Goethe), as exemplified by his *Traité* (*Patterns in Comparative Religion*), which presents an astonishing variety of religious data and their basic "patterns." The book starts with certain "cosmic" hierophanies (i.e., manifestations of the sacred), such as the sky, waters, earth, and stones. Analyses of these manifestations are based on Eliade's notion of the dialectic of the sacred, in order to show how far those hierophanies constitute autonomous forms. He goes on to discuss the "biological" hierophanies (from the rhythm of the moon to sexuality), "local" hierophanies such as consecrated places, and "myths and symbols." Throughout the book, Eliade examines both the "lower" and "higher" religious forms side by side instead of moving from lower to higher forms, as is done in evolutionary schemes. He takes pain to explain that "religious wholes are not seen in bits and pieces, for each class of hierophanies . . . forms, in its own way, a whole, both morphologically . . . and historically" (*Patterns in Comparative Religion*, New York, 1958, p. xvi).

It is not surprising that Eliade's morphology of religion, which is his version of the systematic aspect of the history of religions, has much in common with the phenomenology of religion of Gerardus van der Leeuw (1890–1950), a Dutch historian of religions, theologian, ethnologist, and phenomenologist. Eliade wrote a very positive review of van der Leeuw's *Religion in Essence and Manifestation* in *Revue d'histoire des religions* 138 (1950): 108–111. Although Eliade is uneasy with van der Leeuw's starting point, he praises the book because it shows that human beings can and do find religious meaning even in the most banal physiological activities such as eating and sexuality, and the book portrays the entire cosmos with its most humble parts serving as grounds for the manifestation of the sacred. It should be noted that religion has two dimensions in van der Leeuw's scheme, namely, "religion as experience," which can be studied phenomenologically, and "religion as revelation," which is basically incomprehensible and thus can be studied only theologically. Furthermore, van der Leeuw never claimed that his phenomenological study is empirical, because to him empirical research is needed only to control what has been understood phenomenologically. Similarly, Eliade never claimed that the history of religions, including its systematic task, is empirical in a narrow scientific sense, even though it certainly has empirical dimensions.

Eliade always felt a need for the alternating modes of the creative spirit—the "diurnal," rational mode of scholarship, which he expressed in his French writings, and the "nocturnal," mythological mode of imagination and fantasy, which he continued to express in Romanian. In 1955, the French translation of his major novel, *Forêt interdite*, appeared. According to Mac Linscott Ricketts, who with M. P. Stevenson translated this novel into English (*The Forbidden Forest*, 1978), Eliade felt it would be more for this work and other fiction that he would be remembered by later generations than for his erudite scholarly works. *The Forbidden Forest* is in a sense a historical novel, dealing with the events and activities of the protagonist and his lovers, friends, and foes during the turbulent twelve years from 1936 to 1948, in Romania, London, Lisbon, Russia, and Paris. In another sense it is an original novel. Eliade skillfully creates characters, all of whom are caught by "destiny," as people often are in his other stories. All of them try to escape from the network of historical events and from destructive "time," which is the central theme of this novel. The tangled story begins on the summer solstice in a forest near Bucharest. After twelve years, again on the summer solstice but in a French forest near the Swiss border, the protagonist encounters his long-lost girlfriend, and he finds salvation, which is "a kind of transcendental love for a girl—and death" (Ricketts, in *Imagination and Meaning*, p. 105). To be sure, the novels were not meant to be literary illustrations of Eliade's theories, but he admits there are some structural analogies between the scientific and literary imaginations, such as the structure of sacred and mythical space, and more especially "a considerable number of strange, unfamiliar, and enigmatic worlds of meaning" (*No Souvenirs*, p. ix).

YEARS IN THE UNITED STATES. In 1956 Eliade was invited by the University of Chicago to deliver the Haskell Lectures, which were published under the title *Birth and Rebirth* (1958). In 1957 he joined the University of Chicago faculty and continued to live in that city after his retirement. At the time of his death in 1986, he was the Sewell L. Avery Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus.

Eliade's move to the United States at the age of forty-nine meant a second emigration for him, but he made an excellent adjustment to the new environment. The University of Chicago had traditionally been an important center for the study of the history of religions, and graduates trained by Eliade's predecessor, Joachim Wach, were scattered in many parts of North America and on other continents. Eliade's appointment at Chicago coincided with the sudden mushrooming of departments of religion or religious studies as part of the liberal arts programs of various colleges and universities in North America. Fortunately, his books and articles—mostly the scholarly ones and not his literary works—were beginning to be translated into English, and the reading public devoured them. Eliade made a deep impression on young readers with such works as *Cosmos and History* (1959), *The Sacred and the Profane* (1959), *Myths, Dreams and Mysteries* (1960), *Images and Symbols* (1969), *Myths and Reality* (1963), *Mephistopheles and the Androgyne* (1965), *Zalmoxis* (1972), *The Forge and the Crucible* (1962), *The Quest* (1969), and others. He also exerted a tremendous influence on more advanced students with *Yoga* (1958), *Shamanism* (1964), and *Australian Religions* (1973). The fact that Eliade was willing to use nonphilosophical and nontheological terms in an elegant literary style to discuss religious subjects attracted many secularized youths.

There were three new factors that helped Eliade's cause enormously. The first was the founding in the summer of 1961 of a new international journal for comparative historical studies called *History of Religion.* Wisely, Eliade suggested making it an English-language journal instead of a multilanguage one. For the opening issue, Eliade wrote the famous article entitled "History of Religions and a New Humanism" (*History of Religions* 1, Summer 1961, pp. 1–8). In it, he expressed his sympathy with young scholars who would have become historians of religions but who, in a world that exalts specialists, had resorted to becoming specialists in one religion or even in a particular period or a single aspect of that religion. Historians of religions, he said, are called to be learned generalists. He recognized the danger of "reductionism" in the history of religions as much as in the interpretation of art and literary works. He insisted that a work of art, for example, reveals its meaning only when it is seen as an autonomous artistic creation and nothing else. In the case of the history of religions he realized that the situation is complex because there is no such thing as a "pure" religious datum, and that a human datum is also a historical datum. But this does not imply that, for historians of religions, a historical datum is in any way reducible to a nonreligious, economic, social, cultural, psychological, or political meaning. And, quoting the words of Raffaele Pettazzoni, he exhorted readers to engage in the twin (systematic and historical) tasks of the history of religions. But to him, ultimately, the history of religions was more than merely an academic pursuit. He wrote:

> The History of Religions is destined to play an important role in contemporary cultural life. This is not only because an understanding of exotic and archaic religions will significantly assist in a cultural dialogue with the representatives of such religions. It is more especially because . . . the history of religions will inevitably attain to a deeper knowledge of man. It is on the basis of such knowledge that a new humanism, on a world-wide scale, could develop. ("History of Religions," pp. 2–3)

Second, Eliade took an active part as a member (and president for a term) of a small group of North American scholars called the American Society for the Study of Religion (ASSR), established in Chicago in 1958. It was through this group that much of Eliade's personal contacts with fellow historians of religions and scholars in related fields in North America were made.

Third, Eliade, who had previously worked either on "systematic" endeavors or on studies of "particular" religious forms (e.g., yoga, shamanism, Romanian folk religion, or Australian religion) always from the perspective of the history of religions, embarked during his Chicago days on a new genre, namely, a "historical" study of the history of religions. Initially he worked on a "thematic source book" entitled *From Primitive to Zen* (1968) dealing with religious data from nonliterate, ancient, medieval, and modern religions. Then he envisaged the publication of four volumes (though his health prevented his working on the fourth volume himself) entitled *A History of Religious Ideas* (1978–1986). Although the scheme of the series follows manifestations of the sacred and the creative moments of the different traditions more or less in chronological order, readers will recognize that these books reflect faithfully his lifelong conviction about the fundamental unity of all religious phenomena. Thus, in his historical studies as much as in his systematic endeavors, he was true to his hypothesis that "every rite, every myth, every belief or divine figure reflects the experience of the sacred and hence implies the notions of *being*, of *meaning*, and of *truth*" (*A History of Religious Ideas*, vol. 1, Chicago, 1978, p. xiii).

During the latter part of his stay in Chicago, fame and honor came his way from various parts of the world. By that time, many of his books, including his literary works, had been translated into several languages. He had his share of critics. Some people thought that he was not religious enough, while others accused him of being too philosophical and not humanistic enough, historical enough, scientific enough, or empirical enough. But, as hinted earlier, he held a consistent viewpoint that penetrated all aspects of his scholarly and literary works, so that it is difficult to be for or against any part of his writings without having to judge the whole framework.

Eliade's last major undertaking in his life was the present *Encyclopedia of Religion.* As he stated himself, what he had in mind was not a dictionary but an encyclopedia—a selection of all the important ideas and beliefs, rituals and myths, symbols and persons, all that played a role in the universal history of the religious experience of humankind from the Paleolithic age to our time. It is to his credit that various scholars from every continent cooperated on the encyclopedia to produce concise, clear descriptions of a number of religious forms within the limits of our present knowledge. As soon as he had completed the major portion of his work as editor in chief of the encyclopedia, he was already thinking of several new projects, among them ones that would develop the themes of cosmos, humankind, and time. Throughout his life, Eliade never claimed that he had the answer to the riddle of life, but he was willing to advance daring hypotheses.

Once Eliade paid a high tribute to his friend and colleague, Paul Tillich, at the latter's memorial service in Chicago, and if the name of Tillich is replaced with that of Eliade, it portrays the latter admirably: "Faithful to his vocation and his destiny [Eliade] did not die at the end of his career, when he had supposedly said everything important that he could say. . . . Thus, his death is even more tragic. But it is also symbolic" (*Criterion* 5, no. 1, 1968, p. 15).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Both as a scholar and as a writer, Eliade was prolific throughout his life, and his works have been translated into many languages. Thus, it is virtually impossible to list all his books and articles, even the major ones, although efforts were made to include the major titles in the foregoing text. Fortunately, there are some Eliade bibliographies in English that are readily available to readers, such as the one included in *Myths and Symbols: Studies in Honor of Mircea Eliade*, edited by Joseph M. Kitagawa and Charles H. Long (Chicago, 1969), and a more up-to-date one, edited by Douglas Allen and Dennis Doeing, *Mircea Eliade: An Annotated Bibliography*, (New York, 1980). One of the best introductions to Eliade's thought is his *Ordeal by Labyrinth: Conversations with Claude-Henri Rocquet* either in its French original (Paris, 1978) or in its English translation (Chicago, 1982). This book has the virtues of unfolding Eliade's own mature views about himself, and it includes "A Chronology of Mircea Eliade's Life," which calls attention to his major writings. There are also many articles and books in various languages on Eliade's scholarly and literary works, some critical, some sympathetic, and some favorable. The third section of the abovementioned *Myths and Symbols*, as well as *Imagination and Meaning: The Scholarly and Literary Worlds of Mircea Eliade*, edited by N. J. Girardot and Mac Linscott Ricketts (New York, 1982), and *Waiting for the Dawn: Mircea Eliade in Perspective*, edited by Davíd Carrasco and J. M. Swanberg (Boulder, 1985), make helpful references to his creative writing, although his scholarly side inevitably comes into the picture too.

There are many other works (mentioning only monographs) that readers should find useful. See Douglas Allen's *Structure and Creativity in Religion: Mircea Eliade's Phenomenology and New Directions* (The Hague, 1978); Thomas J. J. Altizer's *Mircea Eliade and the Dialectic of the Sacred* (Philadelphia, 1963); Guilford Dudley's *Religion on Trial: Mircea Eliade and His Critics* (Philadelphia, 1977); Jonathan Z. Smith's *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions* (Leiden, 1978); Ioan Petro Culianu's *Mircea Eliade* (Assisi, 1978); and Antonio B. de Silva's *The Phenomenology of Religion as a Philosophical Problem: An Analysis of the Theoretical Background of the Phenomenology of Religion, in General, and of M. Eliade's Phenomenological Approach, in Particular* (Uppsala, 1982).

JOSEPH M. KITAGAWA (1987)

ELIADE, MIRCEA [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS].

Since his death in 1986 Eliade's status has been problematic and the value of his contribution to the academic study of religion has been widely debated. His presence in the English-speaking academic world has diminished since the 1980s. Use of his work in graduate courses has declined, and there has been no repetition of the large-scale conferences on his views such as those held in connection with Carrasco and Swanberg's *Waiting for the Dawn* or Ricketts and Girardot's *Imagination and Meaning.* In the 1990s considerations of his contributions were rare at American Academy of Religion Conferences, and more interest in Eliade's literature was shown by the Modern Language Association, perhaps confirming Eliade's feeling that it would be mainly for his fiction that he would be remembered. However, most of his books remain in print and continue to sell strongly to the popular reader and to academic readers elsewhere in the world.

Despite the defense of his work mounted by some writers, criticism of his thought has been consistent and influential. Beyond the scholarly debate over the academic value of his analytic categories and theoretical approach, a wealth of historical material has become available, the implications of which have also been debated. Romanian and other archives have been investigated in detail, and several biographies have appeared, raising new considerations. Much of this work remains in other European languages and is only slowly becoming available to an English readership. It is worthy of note that despite strident condemnations of Eliade's political past, this material has so far revealed no incontrovertible evidence of egregious wrongdoing. Nevertheless, the case has important implications for scholars' reflexive understanding in the study of religions, emphasizing as it does the need for meticulous self-awareness of possible complicity with institutional power structures.

It might be suggested that since Eliade's death there has been a period in which the significance of the study of Eliade has superseded the significance of his studies of religions. Whether this period will eventually result in the rejection or the rehabilitation of his work remains to be seen, but it is clear that Eliade's legacy requires further investigation. Because of his position as an internationally successful synthesizer of studies of religion, his case has become emblematic of several key issues: the role played by the "great man" figure in the establishment of the academic discipline of the study and teaching of religions; the "insider/outsider" question in the study of religion; historiography and the interpretation of historical evidence in relation to ideology; and the interpenetration of lived experience, political activity, and theoretical categories. As was the case with Martin Heidegger and Paul de Man, later scholars need to understand clearly how scholars' specifically academic production is affected by other activities.

POLITICAL PROBLEMS. The attempt to unravel Eliade's political position is an exemplar of the task confronting the historian of religions. Unearthing as much data as possible does not complete our undertaking—beyond that, there is always the call to interpret the data and to reach some conclusion while remaining scrupulously conscious of what we ourselves introduce. Eliade's political involvement in interwar Romania was largely unacknowledged in the United States until the late 1980s. However, the works of Ivan Strenski, Adriana Berger, and Leon Volovici raised specific questions: had Eliade been a supporter of the Legion of the Archangel Michael, a militant Romanian, Orthodox/nationalist organization also known as the Iron Guard? Since this organization was openly anti-Semitic, had Eliade been, and did he remain, anti-Semitic himself? The work in French of Daniel Dubuisson and Alexandra Laignel-Lavastine is particularly critical in this respect.

Saul Bellow's 2000 novel, *Ravelstein,* added to these concerns. Bellow was a close friend from Eliade's Chicago years, and the book features a Romanian historian of religions apparently concealing an anti-Semitic past. The same year saw the publication in English of the journal of Eliade's friend of the 1930s, Mihail Sebastian. Sebastian was a Jewish writer who attributed the deterioration of his friendship with Eliade to the latter's politics. Some saw his testimony as conclusive proof that Eliade was, indeed, anti-Semitic. Public reaction is suggested by a letter to the *New Yorker* from Harvey Cox, professor at the Harvard Divinity School ("A Study in Fascism," October 30, 2000), who concluded that Sebastian's *Journal* put Eliade's "virulently anti-Semitic views . . . on the record for all to see."

Even given newly available information, a clear and unambiguous judgment remains difficult to attain. There remains significant doubt that Eliade ever was "virulently anti-Semitic." While Bellow's novel may be inspired by reality, it remains fiction, although Eliade did undeniably champion the Legion of the Archangel Michael. Between January 1937 and February 1938, when he was thirty, Eliade wrote more than a dozen articles in the Legion's support, and there is some evidence that he participated in electioneering for the Legion in December 1937. However, a distinction has to be made between an involvement with the politics of the right and anti-Semitism, and a brief period of political activity does not necessarily indicate a lifelong commitment.

Through the early 1930s Eliade took a deliberately "apolitical" stance in the specific sense of withholding allegiance from the increasingly radical popular parties of both left and right. He saw these parties as rootless, foreign, brutal, and uncultured, and he championed tradition, culture, and the intellect in opposition. However, he was increasingly drawn into a nationalist position whose dangers are now all too well known. After his return from India in 1931, Eliade participated in an intellectual group called Criterion, which brought informed debate of significant issues to the Bucharest public. There were suspicions that this group was crypto-communist, and it had at least two Jewish members, but it also had members whose sympathies were to the right, and in 1932 some of these founded a review called *Axa* (*The Axis*), which gave open support to the Legion. Eliade never contributed to that journal. In fact, in 1933, along with some thirty other intellectuals and artists, he signed a protest against the return to barbarism portended by anti-Semitic persecutions in Hitler's Germany. The same year his article "Racism in the Cinema" protested against "Aryan" racist apologetics, and he explicitly rejected the confusion of nationalism and anti-Semitism in an article objecting to the expulsion from Romania of the Jewish scholars Moses Gaster and Lazăr Şăineanu in 1885 and 1901 respectively. In 1934 he wrote (under the pseudonym "Ion Plăeşu") an article, "Against Left and Right," arguing against the totalitarianism of both political extremes. However, he remained reluctant to become directly involved with political allegiances, even as he sought to clarify their foundations.

In 1934 Sebastian's autobiographical novel on the contemporary position of Romanian Jewish intellectuals appeared. *De două mii de ani* (For Two Thousand Years) bore a preface by the actively right-wing Bucharest philosopher, Nae Ionescu. Ionescu had been the professor and mentor of both Eliade and Sebastian, and editor of the widely circulated review, *Cuvântul,* to which both men had regularly contributed before its prohibition in 1934. His preface was openly anti-Semitic, in theological rather than racial terms, but Sebastian retained it out of loyalty. Eliade responded in print, attempting to mediate between his friend and their professor and to reject the latter's anti-Semitism, again on theological grounds. However, it is obvious that Eliade opposed only the most obvious manifestations of anti-Semitism and failed to appreciate the dangers of other anti-Semitic rhetoric.

At the beginning of 1935 Eliade's journalism openly continued to denounce both Nazism and Communism as forms of modern idolatry that dissolve moral distinctions in favor of biological or social criteria. He maintained his "apolitical" stance, arguing that the greatest weapon of any writer is independence vis-à-vis every political group. Yet it is in this period that the beginnings of his slide into political involvement can be seen. Eliade's "apolitical" stance was criticized from both the left and the right and attracted scant appreciation. His appeal for cultural sophistication rather than the popularist barbarism of political mass movements was largely ignored. The somewhat inept and corrupt incumbent "liberal" government failed to increase financial support for cultural activity but rather increased taxation of authors, provoking censure from Eliade. Even though he was not engaged in Ionescu's political activities, Eliade's friendship with the philosopher and his former affiliation with *Cuvântul* sufficed to establish an initial connection to the right. One of Eliade's perennial themes of the period was the unhappy financial situation of writers in Romania. When the state introduced a duty on writers' royalties in 1935, Eliade was convinced that the money would not be used for cultural advancement and reacted badly. He accused not only the state but also the bourgeois-capitalist public of indifference. Shortly after, he was threatened with the seizure of his furniture in lieu of the duty on his royalties. The refusal of the incumbent government to found an institute of Middle Eastern and Oriental Studies made Eliade sharply aware of the contrast between, for example, fascist Italy, which had such an institute, and Romania, which did not.

Eliade's scorn for the political left at that time was based mainly upon his belief that the principal superstition of the modern period concerns single, universal explanations that effectively remove human freedom. Among these he counted Hegelian historicism, Freudianism, and Marxism. Unable to sympathize with either the left or the incumbent government, Eliade in earlier articles indicated no leanings to the right either. However, in December 1935 he noted that one "youth leader" described his mission as "the reconciliation of Romania with God." Here Eliade saw a religious appeal that called upon neither class struggle, nor political interests, nor economic instincts, nor biological distinctions. The leader was Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, the founder of the Legion of the Archangel Michael, a group formed in a split from the League for National Christian Defense. This was the earliest expression of Eliade's admiration for Codreanu, and it did not, at that time, extend to the movement itself. Eliade seems to have seen Codreanu's "religious" appeal as a means of popularizing the type of cultural creation that he had previously attributed to the intellectual and writer by appealing to deep traditional roots. In another article of the same year, Eliade made it clear that he considered creators of culture to be a country's most potent force—the most effective nationalists, thanks to whom a nation "conquers eternity. . . . No matter what happens in Italy now" he wrote in October 1935, "no historical power can remove Italy from her place in eternity. No revolution, no massacre, no catastrophe can wipe out Dante, Michelangelo, Leonardo" ("România în eternitate," *Vremea,* October 13, 1935). Eliade's disposition to see the Legion as a religious cultural movement was increased by his visit in June 1936 to England as Romanian delegate to the Oxford Group, a Christian revivalist movement. It was this "religious" and "traditional" aspect of the Legion that attracted his open support. (See Nagy-Talavera's work, cited in the bibliography, for a detailed history of the Legion.)

There is disagreement as to whether Eliade actually enrolled in the Legionary movement. No Legionary records remain and possibly none were ever kept. Government archives of the period indicate that the police suspected him of joining sometime in 1935 and belonging to a Legionary cell or "nest" led by Radu Demetrescu Gyr. However, most commentators think it very unlikely that he joined before 1937, and some insist that he belonged to a different nest associated with the journal *Axa.* Thus, police suspicions remain unproven, and no certain evidence of membership has ever been brought forward. What is certain is that he contributed his written support to the Legion and thereby supported an openly anti-Semitic movement whose leader proclaimed a Jewish conspiracy, and whose second-in-command, Ion Moţa, had translated the anti-Semitic propaganda, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion,* into Romanian.

Eliade's writings themselves express no anti-Semitism of this order. Only three of these "Legionary" articles mention Jews, and it is clear that his was, first and foremost, a rhetoric proceeding from a sentiment of general xenophobia commonly associated with nationalism. He continued to denounce elsewhere the intolerant, vulgar anti-Semitism he perceived around him. In June 1936 he had written an article in homage to Moses Gaster, who had made a large donation of old books and manuscripts to the Romanian Academy. Eliade opposed anti-Semitism that might reduce Romania's culture, as had Gaster's expulsion, but he seemed ready to accept anti-Semitism that would deny Jews equal status with ethnic Romanians. That he was also prepared to deny such status to ethnic Bulgarians and Hungarians hardly excuses this position, but it does put it into perspective: relations between ethnic and non-ethnic Romanians had been problematic since the founding of the nation in 1881.

The Legion was officially proscribed early in 1938, and Eliade's last supportive article appeared in February of that year. Codreanu was arrested in April and clandestinely executed in November. Eliade spent almost four months in a camp for Legionary sympathizers, from July to November, during which time he never acknowledged membership but refused to sign a declaration of separation from the Legion. After his release he ceased to express any sympathies for the Iron Guard but concentrated on his cultural productivity. He was appointed to the press services section of the Romanian Cultural Legation to London in April 1940. This appointment came from the royalist dictatorship that had ordered the execution of Codreanu and the massacre of some 250 Legionaries in 1939. Was Eliade's appointment a sign of his detachment from the remaining Legionaries or, on the contrary, was it a sign of the government's deliberate attempt at a rapprochement with them? That they still had considerable political influence became obvious in September 1940 when a "National Legionary State" was declared in Romania. In the legation in London, Eliade apparently boasted of his support for, and suffering on behalf of, the Legion, but the National Legionary State lasted only four months and Eliade did not benefit from it. In February 1941, when England broke diplomatic relations with Romania, he was posted to neutral Portugal. There he remained until the end of the war, after which he stayed in Paris until his employment by the University of Chicago in 1957. During his tenure as a functionary of the Office of Press and Propaganda of a country allied to Nazi Germany and a state enforcing openly anti-Semitic policies, Eliade produced neither anti-Semitic nor pro-Nazi rhetoric. Several commentators have also mentioned the fact that many colleagues and friends of Eliade's American years were Jewish and not one of them ever detected any sign of anti-Semitism in his deportment. Despite recent determined attempts to disclose anti-Semitism in Eliade's academic work, nothing indubitable has been established.

BIOGRAPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS. One factor that has exacerbated suspicions about Eliade's past is his occasional tendency to "mythologize" or "fictionalize" his autobiography. This has been most clearly established in relation to Eliade's period in India but appears to be true of other portions of his life. The sometimes confused relationship between his fiction and his biography perhaps became most pointed in 1994 with the publication in English of both his 1933 novel, *Maitreyi,* and the response to it, also in novel form, from Maitreyi Devi, *It Does not Die.* Maitreyi was the daughter of Eliade's Indian host, Surendranath Dasgupta, and provided the inspiration for the eponymous character in a novel that presented itself as being uncompromisingly realistic. The protagonist of the novel, a Romanian engineer, falls in love with a Bengali woman but loses his love after their clandestine sexual liaison is discovered. Eliade was, in fact, expelled from the Dasgupta household after some kind of romantic relationship between him and Maitreyi became known. The particulars of the accounts in each novel differ considerably, although both conform to that historical basis. The true details of this affair may never be known, and it is fruitless to speculate on them here. However, it is clear that the dividing line between Eliade's biography and his fiction is not always easy to draw.

The Romanian scholar Liviu Bordaş has convincingly demonstrated that Eliade's autobiographical accounts of his stay in India suffer from some confusion of fact and fiction in other respects. Particularly "mythologized" are the accounts of his stay at the ashram at Rishīkesh, implications of esoteric initiation, the account of his forced departure from India after three years in order to satisfy his military service, and the account of his intention to eventually return to a "cave in Himalaya." While the misrepresentation of fact is not radical—six months instead of the actual three at the ashram, the exaggerated "initiation" into Tantric mysteries, his determination to perform his military duty as opposed to his inability to avoid it, and so on—this is enough to cast unfortunate doubt on the veracity of autobiographical details in other instances. Such misrepresentation can only confuse history rather than clarifying anything.

THEORETICAL INFLUENCES. Related to all of the above has been the question of Eliade's formative influences. As already mentioned, he championed tradition against the novelties of modernism. In March 1938 a meeting took place in Bucharest between Corneliu Codreanu and Julius Evola, an ideologue of the Italian fascists and a champion of the idea of a single unified tradition supposedly at the base of all ancient civilizations. Eliade's role in that meeting is unclear. Evola claims that Eliade arranged the meeting; Eliade denied this—but he was involved somehow, and he did have some correspondence with champions of "traditionalist" metaphysics such as Evola and Ananda Coomaraswamy. Some commentators, notably Daniel Dubuisson and Steven Wasserstrom, have argued that this is the most significant single influence on Eliade's understanding of religions. Others (Liviu Bordaş, Natale Spineto, Mac Linscott Ricketts) have made the more convincing case against this, although all recognize that Eliade was certainly not ignorant of traditionalism. A closely allied concern is the role of Eliade's experience of India in the formation of his theoretical position. Once again scholars are divided in their conclusions. Sergiu Al-George, Douglas Allen, and Bordaş emphasize the transformative effect of Eliade's visit to the subcontinent. Ricketts, Wilhelm Danca, Ansgar Paus, and A. F. C. Webster have, on the other hand, emphasized the earlier formative influences of Eastern Orthodoxy on Eliade's thought.

ACADEMIC CONSIDERATIONS. All of the above issues have their impact on the scholarly evaluation of Eliade's work, which has left a series of questions with contending answers.

(The annotated bibliography can be consulted for specific scholars who consider the various questions and attempt their own answers.) The clarification of Eliade's political and biographical history, and of his theoretical and cultural influences, would have significant implications for the determination of the utility of his categories and methodology. What is of importance is not so much the putative source of Eliade's terms in Indian, Eastern Orthodox, or traditionalist thought but the degree to which authoritatively identifying such a source could clarify the meaning of his terms. The implication of this must be immediately recognized—these terms are not made entirely clear by Eliade's writings. It is a particularly trenchant criticism that the "literary" prose style that made his work appealing to so many readers, especially to nonspecialists, might make his categories so indeterminate as to be obscurantist rather than helpful. The question then remains and has attracted widely divergent answers—is his analysis of religion finally accurate and coherent, and does it bring any greater clarity?

Equally unclear in the Eliadean corpus is his personal theological position. Although early articles make clear his perhaps surprisingly credulous stance in respect of claims regarding supernatural phenomena and his later theoretical work makes plain his understanding of the sacred as the real par excellence, he has also expressed a modern skepticism concerning a historically incredible God (Ricketts, 1988, p. 123; Norman Girardot in Rennie, 2001). In a body of writing as extensive as Eliade's, it may be unrealistic to expect consistency, but the debate over Eliade's theological position has been perpetuated by such apparent inconsistencies. Some have seen a latent theological agenda in his work, while others have read a strictly phenomenological description of human behaviors. So the question remains: what did Eliade himself believe, and does his personal belief add to or detract from his value as a scholar of religion?

Closely related to the question of Eliade's personal belief are questions concerning the nature of the sacred in Eliade's thought and his normativity. What did Eliade take the sacred to be? An actual and autonomous power? Or does he, rather, describe the apprehension of such power by religious believers? In so doing does he transgress appropriate limitations by assuming the rectitude of his own observations and instructing his readers in what they ought to believe and how they ought to proceed?

Other closely connected questions arising from Eliade's work concern historicism and the ubiquity of religion. It has been one of the most repeated criticisms of Eliade that he is "ahistorical" or perhaps "ahistoricist." That is, his "morphology" ignores the historical context of religious realities, grouping and analyzing by superficial similarities, and also he grants effective agency to "sacred" categories that lack historical autonomy. Eliade's position, most clearly stated in *Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return* (1954), is that the modern evaluation of historical realities as the only source of significance, meaning, truth, and power is itself an ascription of a religious nature, brought about by developments in the history of religions. Thus, even modern historicists who limit all effective causality to historical realities can be classed as religious in this way. This gives rise to another of Eliade's widely critiqued claims: the ubiquity of religion. All human beings are religious according to the preface to *The Quest* (1969), and that the sacred is a ubiquitous category of human consciousness is his frequently repeated claim. Scholarly consensus is lacking with respect to these questions, too. Is it appropriate to describe all of humanity as religious? Is it at all helpful to redefine religion in such a way as to remove the possibility of entirely "nonreligious" people? Is it at all meaningful to recognize the active agency of "ahistorical entities"? Here the central question of reductionism appears. Eliade takes religion and religiousness to be irreducible realities. That is, they cannot be explained or defined without remainder in entirely nonreligious terms. Religion is thus a reality sui generis—of its own unique natural sort. These, too, are undecided issues in the study of religion.

The initial approach and institutional training of scholars of religion will never be disconnected from their answers to any of these questions. Those who prefer to conceive of the study of religion as an enterprise more closely allied to the social sciences than to the humanities will tend to avoid dependence upon empirically unavailable and thus "nonhistorical" concepts and categories and will be more ready to recognize a religious/nonreligious dichotomy determined along lines of dependence upon or independence from such concepts and categories. Those who prefer to conceive of the study of religion as a humanistic discipline more closely allied to a philosophical and cultural anthropology will be more open to the consideration of religious concepts and categories as the effective products of human culture whose "historical reality" may thus be constrained but is nonetheless factual. In this context the English-language distinction between the humanities and the sciences is less helpful than the Germanic distinction between *Geisteswissenschaft* and *Naturswissenschaft*. Eliade's history of religions clearly belongs to the former—on that one point at least consensus can be reached. Whatever is finally deemed to be the value of the Eliadean oeuvre, the clarification of the questions raised in its consideration can only serve to further clarify our understanding of religion and the processes involved in its study.

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Bryan S. Rennie (2005)

ELIʿEZER BEN HYRCANUS, also known as Eliʿezer the Great, but usually simply as Rabbi Eliʿezer, was a Jewish sage of the late first and early second centuries CE, the first generation of the tannaitic period. The legends surrounding Eliʿezer's beginnings, although contradictory, are united in seeking to create an aura of greatness. According to the dominant tradition, Eliʿezer, like ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef, was an adult before he began his studies. Despite this, he was soon found to be "explicating matters that no ear had ever before heard." Elsewhere, Eliʿezer is described as a child prodigy, and those who saw him as a child predicted that he would one day be a great sage. The legends about Eliʿezer convey a close association between him and Yoḥanan ben Zakkʾai, whom Eliʿezer and his colleague Yehoshuʿa ben Hananyah were entrusted to smuggle in a coffin from the embattled Jerusalem. The same association is emphasized in *Avot* (2.8), where Yoḥanan declares that Eliʿezer's great wisdom outweighs that of all the sages of Israel.

Eliʿezer's statements regarding himself reflect what might be termed an intense, even obsessive work ethic. He describes his extraordinary perseverance in Torah study (B.T., *Suk.* 28a), and in the same tradition he claims never to have uttered a profane word. Elsewhere Eliʿezer voices suspicion of sexuality. Most crucial, perhaps, is the claim of extreme conservatism in matters of tradition ascribed to Eliʿezer; he declares that he "never uttered a word that he did not hear from his teacher" (ibid.). Although not literally true, this accurately portrays the conservatism of Eliʿezer's legal opinions. Eliʿezer's legal concerns closely parallel those of his Pharisaic predecessors, to the extent that they can be reconstructed. His exegetical method is also often conservative, a tendency that sometimes leads him to conclusions that are harshly literal.

A picture of Eliʿezer's persona is derived to a great extent from reports of an event that led to his ban (*ḥerem*) from rabbinical circles. The traditions that describe the precipitating event (B.T., *B.M.* 59b; J.T. *Moʿed Q.* 3.1, 81c–d), composed long after it occurred, are not unified in their description, but they agree that the immediate dispute concerned the ritual purity of a certain oven ("the oven of ʿAkhnʾai"), and they appear to agree that Eliʿezer's refusal to submit to the will of the majority was the cause for his ban. This is a compelling explanation because contemporary conditions demanded cooperation with the new rabbinic center of power, the authority of which Eliʿezer was challenging. Still, other explanations for Eliʿezer's exclusion developed. One suggests that Eliʿezer's offense was his ascription to *beit Shammai* (the school of Shammai). Although widely repeated, there is no support for this conclusion in earlier sources. Another possible explanation is suggested by an enigmatic tradition that speaks of Eliʿezer's arrest for dealings with *minim* ("sectarians"; Christians?). Whatever the reason, the effect of the ban is felt in a wide variety of sources. This is particularly true in the traditions that describe Eliʿezer's death (where Yehoshuʿa arose and declared "the vow is annulled"), but it extends even to the Mishnah itself, where a few of Eliʿezer's views are explicitly suppressed.

Despite this, Eliʿezer's immense contribution to the rabbinic corpus is indicative of the respect that his genius commanded. Eliʿezer is mentioned by name in the Mishnah more often than any of his contemporaries. His opinions are often debated in the Talmuds, and despite his ban, they form the basis of halakhic (legal) decisions. Legend reflects the same conclusion. Even the text that describes the ban demonstrates heavenly support for Eliʿezer's view, support that is repeated elsewhere. Much later, respect for Eliʿezer led to the pseudonymous attribution of the Midrashic work *Pirqei de-Rabbi Eliʿezer* (ninth century) to him.

Eliʿezer's contributions are particularly prevalent in the areas of purity and sacrifice, perhaps a reflection of his belief that the Temple would soon be rebuilt. He was a zealot for the circumcision ritual, preparation for which he permitted even on the Sabbath. In matters of commandment and transgression he was concerned for the act, and not the intention.

SEE ALSO Tannaim.

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ELIJAH

ELIJAH (mid-ninth century BCE), or, in Hebrew, Eliyahu, was a prophet of the northern kingdom of Israel during the reigns of Ahab and Ahaziah and a leader in the opposition to the worship of Baal in Israel.

HISTORICITY OF ELIJAH. While few scholars doubt the existence of Elijah as a religious figure of great personal dynamism and conservative zeal and as the leader of resistance to the rise of Baal worship in Israel in the ninth century BCE, the biblical presentation of the prophet cannot be taken as historical documentation of his activity. His career is presented through the eyes of popular legend and subsequent theological reflection, which consider him a personality of heroic proportions. In this process his actions and relations to the people and the king became stereotyped, and the presentation of his behavior, paradigmatic. The politics of the reign of Ahab (c. 869–850 BCE) provided an appropriate occasion for cultural and religious conflict between conservative elements in Israel and the foreign Phoenician influence at the court in Samaria. But how closely the portrayal of that controversy in the biblical story of Elijah corresponds to the actual situation is an issue that cannot be easily resolved.

LITERARY SOURCES. The reason for the difficulty in assessing the biblical figure of Elijah lies in the nature of the literary sources that are contained in *1 Kings* 17–19 and 21 and *2 Kings* 1–2. (An additional story in *2 Chronicles* 21:12–15 about a letter from Elijah to Jehoram, king of Judah, is the Chronicler's invention and cannot be taken seriously as part of the Elijah tradition.) The stories about Elijah in *Kings* do not represent a unified tradition or the work of one author. Episodes narrated in *1 Kings* 20 and 22, involving two other prophets, interrupt the account of Elijah's career and give a somewhat different view of Ahab and the court. But even when these are bracketed, the resulting presentation can hardly be derived from one literary source or author. In fact, at least three separate sources may be identified: (1) *1 Kings* 17–19, usually regarded as the oldest story and the nucleus of the Elijah tradition; (2) *1 Kings* 21 and *2 Kings* 1, stories composed by the historian of *Kings* or extensively edited by him; and (3) *2 Kings* 2, an account of the transition of the prophetic office to Elisha, which is regarded as belonging to the collection of Elisha stories.

BIBLICAL TRADITION. The historian's view of Elijah in *1 Kings* 21 and *2 Kings* 1 is stereotyped. It represents the prophet as a spokesperson for the deity in issuing a reprimand and a word of judgment upon the king; Elijah's role here is similar to the role of other prophets in this source. The remarks in *2 Kings* 1:9–16 about Elijah calling down fire from heaven upon the king's soldiers present the prophet in a somewhat different role, that is, as a wonder-worker. But these verses seem superfluous; because nothing is altered by this activity, the unit has often been viewed as a later addition. Only the description of Elijah as an ascetic who wore haircloth and a leather girdle (*2 Kgs.* 1:8) suggests a distinctive tradition about an unusual personality. What is noteworthy, however, is that the historian's treatment of Elijah in *1 Kings* 21 and *2 Kings* 1 does not reflect any knowledge of the stories contained in *1 Kings* 17–19 or any suggestion of Elijah's miraculous powers.

The impression of Elijah as a major personality in Israelite history is based upon the stories in *1 Kings* 17–19. Here Elijah is a recluse and a solitary figure fed by ravens in a remote region, as well as a wonder-worker who can withhold or bring rain "by my word," who can feed a starving widow's family, and who can raise the widow's son from the dead. These stories are based upon the prophetic legend, some of them paralleling similar legends about Elisha. But all the scenes and episodes in *1 Kings* 17–19, whatever their origin, have been subordinated to the purpose of portraying the theological theme "Yahveh is God," which is also the meaning of Elijah's name.

The affirmation that Yahveh is God is demonstrated first of all by the announcement of the drought and the final coming of the rain, the events that frame and provide the background for all the scenes within chapters 17 and 18. Each episode represents a contest between Yahveh, the God of Israel, and Baal, god of the Phoenicians, whose worshipers regard him as god of the storm and the giver of rain and fertility. The contest comes to a head on Mount Carmel when the 450 prophets of Baal are unable to produce fire from heaven for their altar, while Elijah, the single prophet of Yahveh, produces fire for his altar and wins the people over. The prophets of Baal are slain, and then comes the rain. This struggle between Yahveh and Baal is not just for territory but is meant to convince Israel that Yahveh alone is God. The issue in the story is monotheism.

The flight of the prophet to Mount Horeb (*1 Kgs.* 19) takes up the theme of the faithful remnant who remains true to Yahveh as the only God in the face of great adversity. For this purpose the fear-inspiring prophet now becomes the fearful fugitive who must learn that God is not present to his people primarily in the theophany of a storm (as with Baal) but in the quiet voice of inner conviction. The faithful remnant are ultimately vindicated by the subsequent events of history.

Many scholars regard the stories in *1 Kings* 17–19 as early, even of the ninth century, and as an independent composition prior to its incorporation into the history of *Kings.* This, however, seems unlikely, because these chapters reflect nothing of the historian's editing and seem to be unknown to him. It is more plausible to suggest that *1 Kings* 17–19 is a later addition to the history of *Kings.* In it the author has portrayed the life of the prophet in such a way as to make him the medium for a theological message, one that expresses the major concerns of the exilic period. Whatever traditions lie behind these stories, they are now so thoroughly reshaped by the writer's theological interests that they cannot be recovered by a tradition history.

The story of Elijah's ascent to heaven in a chariot of fire while Elisha looks on and receives a portion of his spirit (*2 Kgs.* 2) presupposes both the reputation of Elijah as an exceptional "man of God" and the subsequent career of Elisha as wonder-worker. It was probably composed to bridge the two bodies of tradition but belongs more closely to the Elisha stories.

The manner of Elijah's ascension is so remarkable within the biblical tradition that it calls for some comment. Scholars have been quick to note that the chariot and horses of fire are strongly reminiscent of the fiery chariot of the sun so widely attested in antiquity and even in the Hebrew scriptures (*2 Kgs.* 23:11). Does this account suggest that Elijah was transported by the deity himself to a realm beyond death? Or is this an attempt to assimilate a foreign religious symbol by association with a great figure in Israel's own tradition? Whatever the explanation, the story is so exceptional in the Bible that it sets Elijah, along with Moses and Enoch, quite apart from all other mortals as one who did not die.

Finally, in *Malachi* 3:23–24 (Eng. version 4:5–6) Elijah is viewed as returning to Israel to bring the Israelites to repentance before the day of judgment. Perhaps this return is based upon the notion that Elijah never actually experienced death.

ELIJAH IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. The New Testament places special emphasis upon Elijah as the forerunner of the messianic age. It seems to have regarded John the Baptist and his ministry of repentance as performing in the "spirit and power of Elijah" (*Lk.* 1:17; cf. *Mt.* 11:14, 17:10–13) and as an appropriate preparation for the ministry of Jesus as the Messiah. Yet the writer of John's gospel has John the Baptist reject his identification with Elijah (*Jn.* 1:21) so as not to detract from the importance of Jesus' ministry.

Elijah also appears in a vision together with Moses at the scene of Jesus' transfiguration to speak about Jesus' own "departure" (*Mt.* 17:3–4, *Mk.* 9:4–5, *Lk.* 9:30–31). The fact that the scene is associated with prayer and a trancelike experience suggests a connection with a mystical tradition.

ELIJAH IN POSTBIBLICAL JUDAISM. The biblical tradition of Elijah received a great deal of attention in Judaism: in the apocalyptic tradition, in rabbinic *aggadah,* in Jewish mysticism, and in folklore (see Ginzberg, 1909–1938). It is remarkable how the figure of Elijah could become all things to all people.

As in Christianity, Elijah was the forerunner of the messianic age, the herald of Israel's redemption (Ginzberg, 1909–1938, pp. 233–235). He would cooperate with the Messiah as a conqueror of the world powers, he would solve all the halakhic problems that still remained to be dealt with (B.T., *Meg.* 15b; *Sheq.* 2.5; *B.M.* 3.4–5), and as the one to blow the last trumpet, he would be responsible for the resurrection of the dead. He would also restore the lost furnishings of the Temple and provide for the anointing of the Messiah (*Mekhiltaʾ de-Rabbi Shimʿon bar Yoḥʾai* 51b).

Not only is Elijah thought of in connection with the future, but he also continues to play an active role in this present age by virtue of the fact that he never actually died. Because he ascended to heaven in a miraculous way and was translated into a realm of existence akin to that of a divine being or angel, he seems to have been regarded as a special heavenly emissary who could appear in human form to righteous persons either to instruct them or to aid them in time of trouble (see Ginzberg, 1909–1938, pp. 201–203). The mystical tradition went so far as to suggest that Elijah was not human but an angel who appeared on earth for a time in human form. Perhaps as a counter to excessive veneration of the prophet, some rabbis argued that Elijah had died (B. T., *Suk.* 5a) in spite of the biblical tradition about his ascension. They were also critical of some aspects of his ministry (B.T., *B.M.* 85b; *Sg. Rab.* 1.6.1). But any efforts to downplay the prophet's reputation seem to have had little effect.

Elijah's mediation between the heavenly realm and the mundane world expressed itself in a variety of ways. To those engrossed in the study of the law Elijah might appear in a vision or dream as their counselor or teacher because he was known for his zeal for the law and the covenant (Ginzberg, 1909–1938, pp. 217–223). He was often compared with Moses, especially as one who had also received a revelation of God at Mount Horeb. A number of sayings in the Talmud are attributed to a "school of Elijah," perhaps a school founded in his honor. But in later times this notion developed into a large collection of *midrashim, Tanna de-vei Eliyyahu* (also known as *Seder Eliyyahu Rabbah* and *Zuṭaʾ*), which was believed to stem in some way from Elijah himself.

To the mystics of the Qabbalah Elijah was also a mystagogue who had access to the heavenly realm and could reveal its secrets (Ginzberg, 1909–1938, pp. 229–233). To others Elijah was a psychopomp who transported the souls of the righteous to paradise and the wicked to perdition (*Pirqei de-Rabbi Eliʿezer* 15). In Jewish folklore Elijah was regarded as one who still roamed the earth in the guise of a beggar or a peasant performing wondrous deeds to help the poor and the needy (Ginzberg, 1909–1938, pp. 202–211). On this level too Elijah became associated with the veneration of a number of places, either because they were identified with events in the biblical tradition or because they were places where Elijah had appeared to later generations and performed his miracles.

A number of customs are also connected with the figure of Elijah. At the ceremony of circumcision a chair is set for him in order to invoke his presence as "angel of the covenant" of Abraham to oversee and, by proxy, to carry out the requirements of the law. Elijah was also regarded as healer and guardian of the newborn because of his care for the widow's son. In this respect amulets containing the name of the prophet were good luck charms. At the Passover Seder a cup of wine is placed on the table as the cup of Elijah and is not drunk. This was interpreted eschatologically as an anticipation of the final deliverance from bondage.

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ELIJAH BEN SOLOMUN ZALMAN See ELIYYAHU BEN SHELOMOH ZALMAN

ELIJAH MUHAMMAD

ELIJAH MUHAMMAD (1897–1975), major leader of the American Black Muslim movement, the Nation of Islam, for forty-one years. Born Robert Elijah Poole on October 10, 1897, near Sandersville, Georgia, he was one of thirteen children of an itinerant Baptist preacher. He attended rural schools but dropped out at the fourth grade to become a sharecropper in order to help his family. In 1919 Poole married Clara Evans and in 1923 his family joined the black migration from the South, moving to Detroit. For six years, until the beginning of the Great Depression, he worked at various jobs in industrial plants. From 1929 to 1931 Poole and his family survived on charity and relief, an experience that was reflected in his later hostility toward any form of public assistance and in his strong emphasis on a program of economic self-help for the Nation of Islam. "Do for self" became his rallying cry.

In 1931 Poole met Wallace D. Fard (1877?–1934?, also known, among other aliases, as Walli Farrad and Prophet Fard), who had established the first Temple of Islam in Detroit. He became a totally devoted follower of Prophet Fard and was consequently chosen by Fard as a chief aide and lieutenant. Fard named him "minister of Islam," made him drop his "slave name," Poole, and restored his "true Muslim name," Muhammad. Fard mysteriously disappeared in 1934, and, after some internal conflict among Fard's followers, Elijah Muhammad led a major faction to Chicago, where he established Temple No. 2, which became the main headquarters for the Nation of Islam. He also instituted the worship of Prophet Fard as Allah and of himself as the Messenger of Allah. As head of the Nation of Islam, Elijah Muhammad was always addressed as "the Honorable." He built on the teachings of Fard and combined aspects of Islam and Christianity with the black nationalism of Marcus Garvey (1887–1940) into an unorthodox Islam with a strong racial slant. His message of racial separation focused on the recognition of true black identity and stressed economic independence.

Elijah Muhammad spent four years of a five-year sentence in federal prison for encouraging draft refusal during World War II. After his release in 1946 the movement spread rapidly, especially with the aid of his chief protégé, Malcolm X (1925–1965). During its peak years the Nation of Islam numbered more than half a million devoted followers, influenced millions more, and accumulated an economic empire worth an estimated eighty million dollars. Elijah Muhammad died on February 25, 1975, in Chicago and was succeeded by one of his six sons, Wallace Deen Muhammad.

See Also Malcolm X.

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Lawrence H. Mamiya (1987 and 2005)

ELIMELEKH OF LIZHENSK

ELIMELEKH OF LIZHENSK (1717?–1787), Hasidic teacher and leading theoretician of the *tsaddiq* concept. Elimelekh and his brother, Zusya of Hanipol, who lived for some time as wandering ascetics, were both attracted to the teachings of Dov Ber of Mezhirich (Międzyrzecz, Poland) and became his disciples. After his master's death, Elimelekh settled in Lizhensk (Lesajsk, Poland) and became the major disseminator of Hasidic teachings in Galicia. Most of the later schools of Polish and Galician Hasidism, including Prsyzucha, Kotsk (Kock), Ger (Góra), Sandz (Halberstadt), and Belz (Beltsy, Moldova), are ultimately derived from Elimelekh's influence, especially through his disciple and successor Yaʿaqov Yitsḥaq, the "Seer" of Lublin (1744/45–1815). The collection of Elimelekh's homilies, published as *Noʿam Elimelekh* (1787), was one of the most popular and widely reprinted volumes of Hasidic teaching.

These homilies are primarily concerned with the promulgation of a single concept, that of the *tsaddiq.* No matter what the weekly scripture reading, Elimelekh ingeniously leads his discussion back to this theme. The *tsaddiq,* or holy man, is the necessary link between heaven and earth; the community around him is dependent upon his blessing for both spiritual and material well-being. Using strands of tradition that had a venerable history in Judaism, Elimelekh wove a picture of a universe wholly sustained by the special divine grace called forth by these few charismatic individuals. Even prayer was to be directed heavenward by means of the *tsaddiq,* because only to him were the "pathways of heaven" familiar.

An important part of the *tsaddiq* idea was the notion of his descent, usually depicted as a voluntary movement, from the heights of contemplation and absorption in God in order to raise up those more ordinary mortals who awaited his aid. Sometimes, however, this descent was also viewed as a "fall," in which the sins of the world were of such overbearing power that they caused even the *tsaddiq* to fall from his rung. In either case, this was a "descent for the sake of ascent": As he returned to his elevated state, the *tsaddiq* would carry with him those souls and sparks of holiness that had turned to him in search of redemption.

This notion of repeated descents and ascents in the life of the *tsaddiq* was adapted by Hasidism from the earlier Shabbatean movement (seventeenth century), where the "fall" or "descent" of the *tsaddiq*/messiah was used to explain Shabbetai Tsevi's bouts with depression and ultimately also to justify his seemingly treasonous act of conversion to Islam. In Hasidism the notion has been "purified" of its element of intentional sin, which was particularly prominent in the Frankist version of Shabbateanism, also current in eastern Europe. The BeSHT (Yisraʾel ben Eliʿezer, c. 1700–1760) had spoken chiefly of the "uplifting of wayward *thoughts,*" portraying even the entry of a stray thought during prayer as sufficient taste of sin for the *tsaddiq.* In Elimelekh's work the rhythm of ascent and descent is also frequently used to assert the supremacy of the "revealed" *tsaddiq,* serving as communal leader, over the hidden one, who cultivates only his own mystical life. It is the *tsaddiq* serving as a public figure who "descends" in order to meet the people and can thus ascend to greater heights.

Elimelekh was known as a saintly and humble man who did not use his extreme views of the *tsaddiq*'s powers for personal gain. Abuses of this notion by later generations have often been unfairly attributed to him. During the last years of his life he withdrew from public leadership, and his disciple Yaʿaqov Yitsḥaq began conducting himself as a Hasidic master, causing some conflict between them. Others of his disciples include Yisraʾel of Kozienice, Mendel of Rymanów, and Naftali of Ropczyce.

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ELISHA (last half of the ninth century BCE) was a prophet of the northern kingdom of Israel. The prophet Elisha (Heb., Elishaʿ) is presented in the Hebrew scriptures not primarily as a spokesperson for God to king and people, as the other prophets were, but as a holy man and a wonder-worker. In a series of hagiographic tales (*2 Kgs.* 2–8), his unusual powers are portrayed by his control over nature, his multiplication of food and oil, his healing the sick or raising the dead, and his powers of extrasensory perception. Such stories are similar to the legends of Christian saints and Jewish rabbis.

Elisha is associated with prophetic guilds known as the sons of the prophets; he served as their leader, or "father." The social status and religious purpose of such communities are quite unclear from the texts, so they shed little light on the nature of Elisha's prophetic office. In some stories Elisha is an itinerant prophet, traveling from place to place with his assistant; in others, he is a city dweller and property owner. The tradition says nothing about his teaching or his social and religious concerns. Nor does it reflect any protest against political and religious authorities, such as in the case of Elijah and the eighth-century prophets.

While some scholars accept the biblical chronology and order of events, it seems more likely that the period of Elisha's activity should be placed entirely within the reigns of Jehu, Jehoahaz, and Jehoash (c. 842–786 BCE). This was a period of Syrian domination of Israel, a fact that is reflected in several of the stories. The historian of *Kings,* however, mistakenly placed the Elisha cycle in the time before the revolt of Jehu. In this way he extended Elisha's ministry back to the time of Ahab and made him a successor of Elijah (*1 Kgs.* 19:19–21, *2 Kgs.* 2), suggesting a tradition of regular prophetic succession. Thus two quite distinct prophetic traditions influenced each other in the final formation of the text.

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ELISHAʿ BEN AVUYAH

ELISHAʿ BEN AVUYAH (first half of the second century CE), also known as Aher (the "other"), a Palestinian *tanna* (sage), is unique among the Jewish sages of the first centuries of the common era. Even though he was thoroughly versed in rabbinic Judaism and had been the teacher of Meʾir (one of the leading sages of the latter half of the second century), Elishaʿ eventually rejected his heritage.

There are numerous accounts of the life of Elishaʿ as a rabbi and of his eventual rejection of the rabbinic teachings (B.T., *Ḥag* 14b–15b; J.T., *Ḥag* 2.1, 77b-c; *Ru. Rab.* 6.4; *Eccl. Rab.* 7.8). The Tosefta names Elishaʿ, along with Ben ʿAzzʾai, Ben Zomaʾ and ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef, as one who entered the "orchard" *(pardes)* where he "mutilated the shoots" (Tosefta *Ḥag* 2.3), a phrase explained in several different ways in Talmudic literature (B.T., *Ḥag* 15a; J.T., *Ḥag* 77b; *Sg. Rab.* 1.4; *Dt. Rab.* 1.4).

Many have attempted to explain the apostasy of Elishaʿ in terms of the philosophical schools of his time—Gnosticism, Epicureanism, and the like—while some have seen the story of his life as presenting an opposition between Jewish and non-Jewish thought. Talmudic sources give several reasons why Elishaʿ left Judaism. One source claims that when Elishaʿ saw that the righteous suffer while the wicked were rewarded, he decided that following the laws of the Torah was of no avail. Elsewhere, the Talmud explains that while Elishaʿ was in his mother's womb, she passed by a pagan temple and the odor of the incense being burned for the idol within affected the embryo in her womb.

Elishaʿ is accused of committing a variety of sins. He is charged with killing rabbis, discouraging their disciples from continuing their studies, exacting forced labor from the Jews on the Sabbath during the persecutions of Hadrian, riding a horse on the Sabbath, and interrupting a Torah lesson on another Sabbath. The results of his actions are described in dramatic fashion. Elishaʿ claims to have heard a voice from heaven that proclaimed that all would be forgiven except for Elishaʿ. After Elishaʿ was buried, fire came forth from heaven and burned his grave.

Although the sources are unanimous in their picture of Elishaʿ as an apostate, they do not place him completely outside the rabbinical circle. Meʾir never lost respect for his teacher and continued to discuss the law with him even after his apostasy. When the daughter of Elishaʿ sought charity after her father's death, the sages stated, "Do not look at his deeds, look at his Torah," and allowed her to be supported by the community (J.T., *Hag.* 2.1, 77c). In addition, *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* contains a collection of sayings attributed to Elishaʿ that emphasize the value of good deeds.

Elishaʿ, along with Ben ʿAzzʾai, Ben Zomaʾ, and ʿAkivaʾ, is said to have entered the "orchard," or *pardes* (Tosefta *Ḥag* 2:3). The ancient sages and scholars have interpreted this episode along three major lines: (1) it hints at the mystical practices in which these four sages were engaged; (2) it is a parable about these sages' investigations into a variety mystical practices; and (3) it points to various aspects of Torah study. The passage states that Elishaʿ "gazed and cut the shoots" and then cites *Qoh* 5:5. Generations of ancient sages and modern scholars have labored fruitlessly over this passage. The most commonly held scholarly opinion is that Elishaʿ became a Gnostic dualist. This is based on Elishaʿʾs confrontation with Metatron, presumably in Heaven, in which he seems to have referred to two ruling powers (B.T. *Ḥag* 15a–b). The ancient mystical traditions combine a good deal of imagery, so that Elishaʿ plays a minor role in both the Hekhalot traditions and the Merkabah traditions, based on his experience in *pardes* and his conversations with Metatron.

The story of Elishaʿʾs life, his grounding in Judaism during his youth, and his rejection of it during his adulthood resonated in the souls of a number of writers who confronted the impact of modernity following the Jewish Enlightenment. Meir Halevi Letteris (c. 1800–1871), Elisha Rodin (1888–1946), and Benjamin Silkiner (1882–1933) all utilize the image of Elishaʿ in their works. In addition, Milton Steinberg used the life of Elishaʿ as the basis for his novel *As a Driven Leaf,* in which the American rabbi raises the problem of Jewish identity in a non-Jewish environment and the importance of Jewish values in comparison with those of the secular culture.

SEE ALSO Tannaim.

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GARY G. PORTON (1987 AND 2005)

ELIXIR, a Latinized form of the Arabic word *al-iksīr,* is related to the Greek word *xerion,* denoting a dry powder used for medicine and alchemical transmutation. Elixirs are potions believed to have restorative and curative powers. The term was first used by alchemists to describe the substance (also known as the philosophers' stone) that was believed to transmute base metal into gold, cure disease, and promise immortality. The term is also used in medical pharmacy to mean "a sweetened hydroalcoholic solution containing flavoring materials and usually medicinal substances" (*Encyclopædia Britannica,* 1964, vol. 8, p. 288). Ambrosia and nectar are related terms, especially in classical Western religion and mythology, where all three are sometimes used interchangeably for the divine drink and food of the gods. In some senses they relate to the concept of a substance that confers immortality. There is the possibility, too, that the idea of an ingestible substance of divine origin or potency may have grown out of the early sense of wonder induced by the seemingly miraculous ability of the bee to produce honey. Honey is symbolically linked to divine power in *Deuteronomy* 32:13, "he [God] made him to suck honey out of the rock and oil out of the flinty rock."

CHARACTERISTICS AND SIGNIFICANCE. In religions, myths, and fairy tales, the hope has prevailed that there exists, somewhere, a plant, fountain, stone, or intoxicating beverage that rejuvenates the old, cures the sick, and confers wealth and eternal life on those wise, lucky, or cunning enough to snatch a bite, a sip, or a sniff. In the *Epic of Gilgamesh,* the mighty king of Uruk, Gilgamesh, sets out to discover the secret of eternal life and is fortunate enough to find the miraculous plant of immortality growing at the bottom of the sea. He plucks it, but carelessly leaves it unguarded, and it is stolen by a water snake.

The belief that humanity was once immortal, and should be still, is enshrined in the many myths that tell the disastrous tale of how death entered the world. Stories such as the one from the *Epic of Gilgamesh* mentioned above appear throughout the world; all are variations on a basic myth in which a serpent or sea monster guards the source of immortality, which can be represented as a sacred spring, a tree of life, a fountain of youth, golden apples, and so on. Behind these stories lies the fear that the gods themselves are jealous and wish to keep the elixir of immortality beyond the reach of mortal hands (see *Gen.* 3:22).

THE WATER OF LIFE. In Egyptian, Hindu, Greek, Babylonian, and Hebrew creation myths, life emerges from the waters, the primal substance containing the seeds of all things. In deluge myths, life returns to the waters (undifferentiated form), from which it can reemerge in new forms. As such, water becomes the supreme magical and medicinal substance. It purifies, restores youth, and ensures eternal life in this world or the next. This magical "water of life" has taken many different forms—*soma, haoma,* ambrosia, wine—each one a sacred beverage.

ANCIENT AND TRIBAL RELIGIONS. In ancient and tribal religions characterized by shamanism, elixirs are available to the community in the form of drugs. The use of hallucinogens, intoxicants, and narcotics is important for inducing the ecstatic visions that are regarded as being able to bring shamans and their followers into contact with a spiritual world more perfect and real than that in which they live. The *soma* ritual described in the *Ṛgveda* is the oldest recorded religious ritual involving the preparation and use of an elixir. Opinion varies as to what *soma* actually was. From the research of R. Gordon Wasson (1968), however, it now seems likely that *soma* was originally extracted from the mushroom *Amanita muscaria,* the juices of which are lethal at full strength but hallucinogenic when diluted. In the case of *soma,* the visions of immortality inspired by the drink became identified with the drink itself. *Soma* was deified and the men who drank it became immortal gods.

The use of *soma* disappeared by the end of the Vedic period. Some scholars attribute this development to the migration of the Indo-Aryans away from sites where the mushrooms grew.

***KAVA* ELIXIR.** Nevertheless, a remarkable use of a nonpsychedelic, mildly narcotic, soporific muscle-relaxant drug is notable throughout many Pacific islands up until today. In its imbibable form, this drug is referred to generically as *kava,* and is derived from a shrub, *Piper methysticum,* cultivated specifically for the preparation of the drink or "elixir." "Its active principles, a series of kavalactones, are concentrated in the rootstock and roots. Islanders ingest these psychoactive chemicals by drinking cold-water infusions of chewed, ground, pounded, or otherwise macerated kava stumps and roots" (Lebot et al., 1997, p. 1). In all the different regions of its use, local mythologies commonly link *kava* to female sexuality and death. Although the drinking of *kava* is generally—but now not exclusively—limited to sexually mature males in traditional societies, it is believed to give its drinkers access to the other world and to enable them to communicate with the dead. In fact, the location of traditional *kava* drinking areas in the community is sometimes associated with burial grounds to facilitate such communication with departed ancestors (Lebot et al., 1997).

WORLD RELIGIONS. As shamanism gave way to more organized religious worship, the ritual use of elixirs in the form of mind-altering drugs was gradually discontinued or replaced by symbolic rituals that were the province of the priestly hierarchy or other religious specialists. The ritual consumption of the sacred drink *kukeon* in the Eleusinian mysteries provides an example of the way organized religion created a communal event mediated by an ordained priest. Reference to this mediation does not completely explain the experience of the initiates at Eleusis, however, since the central secret of the Mystery is still unknown and may have been of a paranormal nature.

CLASSICAL HINDUISM. From the classical period onward (after c. 600 BCE), Hinduism, perhaps under the influence of Jainism, Buddhism, and other movements originated by ascetics such as Mahāvīra or Gautama Buddha, focused more on the mystical and psychological possibilities of human consciousness in its pursuit of elevated spiritual states. The complexity of this development defies a simple elucidation, but two examples are suggestive. In the first case, the practice of yoga in its different forms, but primarily *rāja* yoga, complemented by *haṭha* yoga, required a strict ascetic discipline so that the practitioner could realize in an internal state the identity of *ātman* or *puruṣa* with the highest transcendent state beyond all physical forms. To attain this identification, the male practitioner, according to the further example of Tantra yoga, might have to learn to transform the *semen virile* into the elixir of immortality by retaining it during coitus and forcing its power or *śakti* to ascend to the highest *cakra* of the mystical physiology. The various techniques of physical yoga, whether through sexual practices or otherwise, led to internal states of bliss and spiritual intoxication that were of a nearly ineffable nature, although the nineteenth century Bengali mystic Sri Ramakrishna attempted to describe them.

The second example, among many possibilities in what is called the *bhakti* yoga tradition, is drawn from the cult of the deities Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in medieval north-Indian Vaiṣṇavism. Their relationship is set forth in a story meant to evoke the ultimate beauty of paradise, which becomes accessible to the devotee through contemplation of the story's poetic descriptions and subsequently through rebirth in the company of the deities. Both on earth and in heaven, the goal of the devotees is to drink with their eyes the *rasa,* or elixir, as a spiritual intoxicant that fills them with unspeakable bliss in the contemplation of the divine union (White, 1977).

CHRISTIANITY. In the Christian sacrament of the Eucharist the promise of immortality implicit in the concept of an elixir is at the very heart of the ritual. According to the *Gospel of John* (6:51ff.) and other sections of the New Testament, the bread and wine—the matter of the sacrament—become the body and blood of Christ through the power of the ordained priesthood pronouncing the words of Christ recorded at the last supper. The communicant receiving the consecrated bread and wine under the right conditions is ensured eternal life. Ignatius of Antioch (c. 35–c. 107) described the Eucharist as the medicine of immortality and the antidote against death. Even though by a miracle the outward forms of the Eucharist—that is, bread and wine—remain sensible, the "substance," according to St. Thomas Aquinas and others, changes completely into the true Body and Blood of Christ. This is sometimes referred to as the Real Presence. The rite of the Eucharist may also be thought of as a reenactment of Christ's sacrifice upon the cross. Protestant Christians often interpret the Eucharist as being a memorial of the last supper, but much of the symbolism of the Eucharistic elixir is, notwithstanding, understood.

CHINESE RELIGIONS AND ALCHEMY. Eastern and Western alchemists alike claimed to have produced elixirs that rendered men immortal. But Chinese alchemists were more single-minded in their quest for physical immortality than Indian, Greek, or Western alchemists. Hence, Chinese religion is the *sine qua non* among religions with an alchemical dimension. The Chinese never made the invidious distinction between this world and the next so characteristic of Western thought, nor did they seek eventual liberation from the cosmos like Greek and Indian alchemists. For the Chinese, matter and spirit were part of an organic continuum, and the function of elixirs was to act as a kind of permanent glue, keeping body and soul eternally united, and thus preserving "spirit" *(shen).*

The Chinese were always interested in prolonging life, but the idea of an elixir of immortality appears to have first emerged in the fourth century BCE as a result of a literal interpretation of early Daoist philosophy. The term *dao* originally stood for the life force that makes material bodies develop and function. Over time, Daoist alchemists transformed this abstract principle into an edible elixir. The only difficulty lay in determining the material constituents of the *dao* and putting them in a digestible form.

The claim that the ore known as cinnabar was the ideal substance for the elixir rested on its color and chemical composition. Cinnabar is red, the color of blood, and, since cinnabar is mercuric sulfide, it can be transformed into mercury (quicksilver), the most "alive" of all the metals. The problem, of course, was that cinnabar is poisonous; but immortality was a powerful vision, and alchemists, like many others, accepted suffering as the necessary price. Between 820 and 859 CE, no fewer than six emperors were poisoned by the elixirs they took in the confident expectation that they would live forever. Joseph Needham (1947/1983) suggests that elixir poisoning was an important factor in the decline of Chinese alchemy after the ninth century. Mircea Eliade (1984), however, points out that the Chinese alchemical theories relating to the transformation of base metal into gold provide a three-part sequence: (1) the transmutation into gold; (2) the transmutation of gold into the elixir of immortality; (3) the materialization of the "immortals" who have attained the final transmutation. Access to the "immortals" on the mystical level remained a possibility throughout Daoist religious history.

MONGOLIAN RELIGION. In the related cultural area of Mongolia, the mysterious power of the world conqueror Chinggis Khan (1162?–1227) was attributed to the divine elixir that miraculously descended from the "Powerful God Khormusda" into Chinggis Khan's hands, as he sat alone in his tent-palace. The Mongolian chronicle states that he had earned the right to the elixir because of his intrepid pursuit of victory against his enemies (Bawden, 2000, p. 37).

ISLAM AND THE EUROPEAN MIDDLE AGES. In the Holy Qurʾān, the state of the blessed in heaven is linked to an elixir: "In the Gardens of delight. / On couches, facing one another; / A cup from a gushing spring is brought round for them. / White, delicious to the drinkers. / Wherein there is no headache nor are they made mad thereby.” (XXXVII, 43–47; see Pickthall, 1977).

The idea of an alchemical elixir came to the West via Islam in the early Middle Ages. The story of its permutations is linked to the medieval literature of Europe. One of the most beautiful expressions of the idea of the elixir is the story of the Grail or *Gral,* most strikingly rendered in the German version of Wolfram von Eschenbach. In Eschenbach's early-thirteenth-century epic poem *Parzifal,* the Grail or *Gral* is not the chalice of the Last Supper but a magical stone:

> It is called “Lapsit exillis.” By virtue of the Stone the Phoenix is burned to ashes, in which he is reborn.—Thus does the Phoenix moult its feathers! Which done, it shines dazzling bright and lovely as before! Further: however ill a mortal may be, from the day on which he sees the Stone he cannot die for that week, nor does he lose his colour . . . if anyone, maid or man, were to look at the Gral for two hundred years, you would have to admit that his colour was as fresh as in his early prime . . .—Such powers does the Stone confer on mortal men that their flesh and bones are soon made young again. This Stone is called “The Gral.” (White et al., 1990, p. 463)

THE COMTE DE SAINT-GERMAIN. The story of the Comte de Saint-Germain, also called Master Rakoczi, allegedly commences in the early eighteenth century, when Saint-Germain began to be noticed in different royal courts and countries of Europe; from that time onwards, the tales of his longevity and paranormal powers proliferated. In Isabel Cooper-Oakley's biography, *The Count of Saint-Germain,* which is based on eighteenth-century sources, a couple of incidents are mentioned: In the Court of France a friend of Madame de Pompadour claimed that “during her first stay in Venice, she received from him [Saint-Germain] an Elixir which for fully a quarter of a century preserved unaltered the youthful charms she possessed at 25” (p. 31). Another person reported, “Among a number of his accomplishments, he made, under my own eyes some experiments, of which the most important were the transmutation of iron into a metal as beautiful as gold, and at least as good for all goldsmith's work” (p. 43).

In time, the roles of the “masters,” who included Saint-Germain in their ranks, were extensively developed in the literature of the Theosophical Society. Other “New Age” movements were influenced by Theosophy or independently acknowledged Saint-Germain as their principal “Guide.” One of the groups of this type, perhaps the most significant, bears as one of its titles the name “The Saint Germain Foundation.” It is also referred to as the “‘I AM’ Activity,”and informally as the “‘I Am’ movement.” The founders of this religious organization, Mr. and Mrs. Guy W. Ballard, began their work in the early 1930s under the direction of Ascended Master Saint-Germain. During their lifetimes the Ballards received numerous communications from various masters, but the originating documents of the movement, *Unveiled Mysteries* and *The Magic Presence,* discuss in detail the plan of Saint-Germain for the new age, presented to Mr. Ballard in encounters in the western mountains of the United States. These writings further report that Saint-Germain gave an elixir and a kind of energy-charged food to Mr. Ballard—who was at times in an out-of-body state—as part of Mr. Ballard's initiation into the leadership.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the idea of the Elixir of Immortality is very much alive. There are thousands of links on the internet to consult, including links to individuals claiming either to have drunk the elixir themselves and to be hundreds of years old or to know someone else in that condition. Along with these are listed various scientific approaches to the indefinite prolongation of human life.

SEE ALSO Alchemy, overview article; Psychedelic Drugs; Soma; and Water.

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ALLISON COUDERT (1987)
CHARLES S. J. WHITE (2005)

ELIYYAHU BEN SHELOMOH ZALMAN

(1720–1797), known as the Vilna Gaon, was a scholar and theologian. Born in Selets, Lithuania, to a family renowned for its Talmudic erudition, Eliyyahu became one of the major intellectual and spiritual figures in Judaism, the preeminent representative of rabbinism in the eighteenth century. At an early age he displayed both a prodigious memory and a striking aptitude for analysis, which he applied to all branches of Jewish learning—the Torah, Mishnah, Talmud, Midrash, rabbinic codes, and Qabbalah. As a youth, his authoritative knowledge was acknowledged throughout Ashkenazic Jewry, and he soon became known simply as "the Gaon," the genius (an honorific title not to be confused with the title of the heads of the Babylonian *yeshivot* a thousand years earlier). After his marriage and a tour of the Jewish communities of Poland and Germany, Eliyyahu settled in Vilnius (Vilna), where he lived for the rest of this life except for a brief, and unsuccessful, pilgrimage to Jerusalem. In Vilnius, Eliyyahu was supported by the community although he eschewed public office and formal rabbinical positions for the life of the solitary scholar. After the age of forty, he began to lecture to a small group of disciples, who subsequently broadcast his scholarly and religious teachings through a network of Talmudic academies that was established in Lithuania and continues to this day in Israel and the United States.

At the heart of the Gaon's approach was his extreme intellectuality, his determination to reach truth through a rigorous, untrammeled study of the classics of the Jewish tradition. This belief in the supreme religious worth of study was expressed in the rabbi's quasi-ascetic regimen—he was reported to sleep only two hours a night and to forbid talk not devoted to the Torah—and, perhaps more fundamentally, in his dedication to acquiring all the skills and information essential to an elucidation of the sacred texts. Thus, following the example of a small minority of Ashkenazic sages through the centuries, Eliyyahu taught himself mathematics, astronomy, geography, and anatomy through the medium of medieval Hebrew science, and, in at least one case, approved the further transmission of scientific knowledge to traditional Jews by encouraging a student to translate Euclid into Hebrew.

Equally at variance with contemporary practice, although buttressed by precedent and authority, the Gaon opposed the practice of explaining textual problems in the Talmud through an overreliance on the hermeneutic techniques of *ḥilluq* or *pilpul* (dialectic reasoning). Instead, he insisted on a thorough study of all the cognate sources and especially the Jerusalem Talmud, which had been long neglected in favor of the Babylonian Talmud. On the basis of his mastery of classic rabbinics, but without access to manuscript variants, he was able and willing to suggest a large number of emendations and corrections in the Talmudic text, many of which resulted in contradicting the interpretations of post-Talmudic masters. This approach may be dubbed critical, and indeed Eliyyahu has been called "the father of Talmud criticism." But the Gaon's source criticism, as well as his investigations into scientific teachings, were grounded in and defined by an assumption of the infallibility of tradition. Textual emendations or astronomical charts were permissible as ancillary tools in exegesis, not as competing sources of authority. The Talmud and subsequent Jewish law could only be explicated by these devices, never overruled; indeed, the point of the endeavor was to demonstrate the eternal veracity of the biblical canon and rabbinic tradition as a whole, the possibility of understanding God's purpose through a life of uninterrupted study of his words.

This basic theological stance led the Vilna Gaon to spearhead the opposition to the new form of Jewish religiosity that emerged in his time, the Hasidic movement. Regarding the anti-intellectualism and spiritualism of Hasidism as a perversion of Judaism, Eliyyahu signed a writ of excommunication against the Ḥasidim in 1772 and refused to meet with a delegation of Hasidic masters including Shneʾur Zalman of Lyady. Under the Gaon's aegis, Vilnius became the center of anti-Hasidic propaganda and activity. The venom of the opposition was heightened in response to the publication in 1781 of one of the basic tracts of Hasidic doctrine, Yaʿaqov Yosef of Polonnoye's *Toledot Yaʿaqov Yosef,* which severely criticized the rabbinical leadership of the age and laid out the radical new doctrine of the *tsaddiq,* or "righteous man," a term referring to the Hasidic master. The Gaon again ordered the excommunication of the new sect and called for the burning of its literature. It was only after his death in 1797 that the breach between the two camps of traditional Jewry in eastern Europe could begin to be healed.

The Vilna Gaon's denunciation of Hasidism was in no way a rejection of mysticism on the part of a rigid rationalist—as it has often been portrayed in popular literature. On the contrary, the Gaon was a consistent student of Jewish mysticism, and he had an exceptionally vivid visionary life, although he consciously constrained his mystical graces and revelations from interfering in his legal and scholarly functions. He believed that true charisma inhered only in the Torah, not in its teachers. His students reveled in his personality and produced a bountiful hagiographic literature about him, and for over a century he was revered as a saint by masses of Jews in eastern Europe.

The Gaon never published his views. His writings, including notes and jottings not intended for the public eye, were published by his disciples after his death. These include commentaries on most of the Bible, the Mishnah, the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds, the *Mekhilta'*, *Sifrei,* and *Sifra'* (three halakhic *midrashim*); glosses on the *Zohar, Sefer yetsirah,* and other qabbalistic classics; treatises on mathematics, astronomy, and Hebrew grammar; and perhaps his most important work, his commentary on the *Shulhan ʿarukh.*

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Revised Bibliography

EMERSON, RALPH WALDO

EMERSON, RALPH WALDO (1803–1882), American essayist, poet, and lecturer, was a leading figure among the New England Transcendentalists. Born in Boston, Emerson was descended from a long line of Christian ministers. The son of a distinguished Unitarian minister and a deeply religious mother, he was heir to the dual legacy of Boston Unitarianism: liberalism in matters of theology and Puritan piety in matters of personal devotion, morals, and manners.

Emerson himself became a Unitarian minister, and by 1829 he had secured a desirable position as pastor of the Second Church of Boston. This followed an undistinguished four years at Harvard College, from which he graduated in 1817, and a period of study at Harvard Divinity School, during which he also worked, with little satisfaction, as a schoolmaster. With the pastorate of the Second Church, Emerson for the first time felt secure both professionally and financially. During this period he married Ellen Louisa Tucker, a younger woman of a sensitive nature and delicate health. Her death from tuberculosis, less than two years after their marriage, seems to have wrought important changes in Emerson's attitudes and thought. A rebellious strain in his character was perhaps strengthened; incipient attitudes were more strongly voiced. In his solitariness he found his faith in the primacy of the individual's relation to God strengthened, so too an impatience with the theological inheritance of received religion. He wrote in his journal in June 1831:

> I suppose it is not wise, not being natural, to belong to any religious party. In the bible you are not directed to be a Unitarian or a Calvinist or an Episcopalian. . . . I am God's child, a disciple of Christ. . . . As fast as any man becomes great, that is, thinks, he becomes a new party.

Emerson eventually gave up the pastorate of the Second Church, taking issue with the congregation's customary administration of the Lord's Supper; by 1838 he stopped preaching altogether.

Though Emerson would certainly always have considered himself a "disciple of Christ," his mature thought, as expressed in his essays and poetry, was not beholden to historical Christianity. He passionately sought for the essential spirit of religion a local habitation—temporally, geographically, and in the life of the individual. In the introduction to *Nature* (1833), which came to be his most widely read essay, he wrote: "The foregoing generations beheld God and nature face to face; we, through their eyes. Why should we not also enjoy an original relation to the universe? Why should we not have . . . a religion of revelation to us and not the history of theirs?"

Emerson was not a systematic thinker, and his ideas resist any ready summation. The essays are homiletic and aphoristic and have a cumulative power not dependent on force of logic. Certain strains can be identified, however, that undermine basic Christian conceptions. Emerson's worldview is essentially nonteleological. In his radical assertion that each individual soul must remake anew an original relation to the world, he puts the perceiving self at the center of that world. To borrow the terms of German idealist philosophy, to which he was deeply indebted, Emerson took the transcendental ego, posited as a merely formal, logical entity by Kant and subsumed under the collective will by Hegel, and made it an object of experience. In this he anticipated figures as distant as the philosophers Husserl and Sartre and the poet Wallace Stevens. That the experience of this transcendental ego is akin to mysticism as it had been known even within Christianity is apparent from this famous passage from *Nature:*

> Crossing a bare common, in snow puddles, at twilight, under a clouded sky, without having in my thoughts any occurence of special good fortune, I have enjoyed a perfect exhiliration. I am glad to the brink of fear. . . . Standing on the bare ground,—my head bathed by the blithe air, and uplifted into infinite space,—all mean egotism vanishes. I become a transparent eye-ball; I am nothing; I see all; the currents of the Universal Being circulate through me; I am part or parcel of God.

Though there is an aspect of passivity in this experience that is reminiscent of an experience of divine grace, the experience proceeds upward and outward, clearly centered in the perceiver. This spatialization is telling. Often called a pantheist, Emerson repeatedly asserted the unity of all individual souls with one another and with God. With God deposed from the pinnacle of this relationship, the world becomes not hierarchical but a plurality of parts in any of which the whole might be read: "A subtle chain of countless rings / The next unto the farthest brings."

The distance between his mature views and his Christian background seems not to have troubled Emerson, perhaps because he did not see the two as incompatible. As prophet to an age "destitute of faith, but terrified of skepticism," as his friend Thomas Carlyle characterized it, Emerson advanced his unorthodox views forthrightly and unapologetically, secure in his advocacy of "truer" religion. (We need only turn to Nietzsche, who admired the "cheerfulness" of Emerson, to be reminded of how free of anxiety the latter's writings are.) There is a consistent strain of optimism in his work that helped win him a wide audience and also has brought him some criticism, namely that he avoided any note of tragedy in his writings, even while his journal reveals that he was well acquainted with tragedy in life. Indeed his doctrine of "compensation" for evil and suffering is so philosophically ungrounded as to seem merely sentimental. But in the confidence with which Emerson forwarded his original and radical message, and in the audience he found, may be seen not merely evidence of an uncommonly balanced spirit and not merely the popular appeal of optimism; one sees the flowering of that America observed by Hegel, where "the most unbounded license of imagination in religious matters prevails."

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EMPEDOCLES

EMPEDOCLES of Acragas (Sicily), a Greek philosopher and sage who lived in the first half of the fifth century BCE (c. 495–435 BCE) and who ended his life, according to a widespread but apocryphal tradition, by jumping into the crater of the volcano Etna. The ancient biographical tradition made him a pupil both of Pythagoras and of Parmenides of Elea and ascribed to him several texts, among others a prose treatise titled "Medical Discourses" (*Iatrikoi logoi*), the hexametrical "On Nature" (*Peri physeos*), and "Purifications" (*Katharmoi*) (which has been preserved in fragments). Both sets of information reflect what the ancient tradition, from Aristotle onwards, already regarded as the somewhat disconcerting double character of Empedocles' work—the extant hexametrical fragments combine "modern" ontology and physics inspired by Parmenides with an anthropology and eschatology that derived in large part from Pythagoras's doctrine of reincarnation (groups of Pythagoreans were active in many places in Southern Italy and Sicily during Empedocles' lifetime).

Modern interpreters usually attributed Empedocles' physical and ontological fragments to the "modern" "On Nature," and the religious teachings to "Purifications" (see the standard edition of the pre-Socratic philosphers by Herman Diels of 1903 that has been many times since reedited). Such a reading was helped by the simplistic evolutionary model "from *mythos* to *logos*" that Wilhelm Nestle's 1940 book, *Vom Mythos zum Logos*, popularized. The discovery, in 1994, of new fragments in a Strasbourg Papyrus, however, makes it more likely that all extant fragments belong to one hexametrical poem only, whose two titles are later alternatives. Neither title is likely to go back to Empedocles' epoch. It goes without saying that this discovery challenges the traditional, Aristotelian way of understanding the development of Greek thought that has survived despite growing criticism.

The consequences for Empedocles' poem have yet to be determined.

Empedocles' Physics. In his physics, Empedocles reacts to Parmenides' radical separation between being and nonbeing and its concomitant rejection of the reliance on sense perception; Empedocles reasserts the validity of sense perception as a guide to humankind's understanding of nature. In a revolutionary move, he posits four "roots" of being, which he alternately calls Zeus, Here, Aidoneus, and Nestis (Diels and Kranz, 1934, 31 B 6), or, as later interpreters clarify (with disagreement in detail) fire, air, earth, and water. The divine names underline the fundamental nature of these elements. The existence of cosmos is dominated by the forces of "Friendship" (*Philotes*) and "Strife" (*Neikos*)—under their influence, the elements either congregate into bodies or disintegrate again in an eternal cycle, "and these things never cease their interchange" (Diels and Kranz, 1934, 31 B 17).

Due to its impact on later philosophers, especially on Plato and Aristotle, the theory of the four elements became fundamental in ancient, medieval, and early modern physics well beyond the revival of atomism among German doctors of the seventeenth century. Leucippus and Democritus, in turn, developed their atomism partly in reaction to Empedocles.

Empedocles' Anthropology. In his anthropology, Empedocles posits the divine nature of the soul; however, it does not seem to imply immortality (this would contradict his cosmology) but only a long duration of the soul's existence (Diels and Kranz, 1934, 31 B 115.5). In its original state, the soul was a *theios* or *daimōn*, "a divine being." Incarnation into a human body is an exile of the soul, due to some crime committed among the gods (Empedocles seems to draw a grim picture of human existence; Diels and Kranz, 1934, 31 B 120, 121). The aim of incarnation is punishment and purification in order to be able to return to its former divine abode. According to each life, the soul is reincarnated in a new terrestrian body that might be either a human, a plant, or an animal—the most noble plant is Apollo's laurel and the most noble animal is the lion (Diels and Kranz, 1934, 31 B 127).

A virtuous life is rewarded by a better reincarnation, the final one being that of a "seer or singer or doctor or prince among humans" (Diels and Kranz, 1934, 31 B 146). Given the range of possible incarnations, vegetarism is an inevitable consequence, as it was with the Pythagoreans, on whose doctrine Empedocles depends—he even bans the eating of some plants such as beans (again a Pythagorean prohibition) or laurel leaves (Diels and Kranz, 1934, 31 B 140). This anthropology led him to construct an evolutionary history of humanity that began in total harmony, under the reign of Aphrodite, in which humans refrained from bloodshed and from animal sacrifice (Diels and Kranz, 1934, 31 B 128). In Olympia, as is written in one anecdote, Empedocles is said to have offered an ox made of different spices.

Conclusion. The autobiographical statements preserved in his fragments confirm Empedocles' status as a charismatic. In a famous address to the inhabitants of Acragas, he understands himself as nearly being released from the cycle of reincarnations, as an "immortal god, no more mortal" (Diels and Kranz, 1934, 31 B 112.4). He describes how, on his arrival in the city, the people flock together and ask him for oracles and healing. He claims not only to know drugs that help fight disease—and even old age—but he also claims that he can command the weather—the wind, and the rain—and that he has an ability to call back the dead from Hades (Diels and Kranz, 1934, 31 B 111). The later biographical tradition agrees with these statements, although its reliability has always been a problem. Empedocles' pupil Gorgias claimed, however, to have seen him perform magic (*goēteuein*, Diogenes Laertius 8.59). Gorgias himself was the first highly influential teacher of rhetoric that Empedocles was said to have invented, and which some believe he may even have invented (Aristotle, in Diels and Kranz, 1934, 31 A 1.57). This ties in with other scholarship and materials that make Empedocles, against all odds, a staunch democrat, and once again underlines the complexity of his life and thought, defying easy assumptions about the development of Greek philosophy and religion.

See Also Afterlife, article on Greek and Roman Concepts; Demons, overview article; Dualism; Orpheus; Parmenides; Pythagoras; Reincarnation; Transmigration.

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EMPEROR'S CULT. Ruler worship was a characteristic statement of Greco-Roman paganism, reflecting its definition of godhead as a power capable of rendering benefits to the community of worshipers, and its ability to create an endless supply of cults in honor of new and specifically entitled manifestations of such beneficent divine power. The granting of cult honors to a ruler, living or deceased, was an act of homage made in return for his bestowal of specific benefits upon the community. It recognized him as the possessor of supernormal power and sought to regularize his beneficent relationship with the community by establishing the formal elements of cult, including feast days, festivals, priesthoods, and shrines.

Actual cult worship of the ruler was uncommon in pharaonic Egypt and extremely rare in ancient Mesopotamia. The Roman practice owed nothing to such Near Eastern antecedents. Rather, it was formed entirely under the impress of developments in the political and cult life of Greece. At first the Greeks offered posthumous cult honors to particular individuals distinguished for bravery or other personal prowess. Then, in the late fourth and third century BCE, it became common for individual cities to establish cults in honor of living rulers. Already in 218 BCE Roman state religion adopted the Greek practice of personifying and worshiping the collective personality of the citizen body in the cult of the Genius Populi Romani ("genius of the Roman people"). From the early second century BCE on, Rome's emergence as the dominant political force in the Greek world led individual Greek cities to establish cults in honor of Roman generals and provincial administrators who had rendered specific benefits to the community concerned. In the first century BCE, the last century of republican government at Rome, this practice of establishing municipal cults to Roman statesmen was intensified under the impact of such charismatic leaders as Pompey (d. 48 BCE) and Julius Caesar (d. 44 BCE).

After his assassination, Julius Caesar was deified. Within the context of the Roman religious mentality, this means that he was officially recognized by decree as a divine entity who had bestowed supernatural benefits upon the Roman people and in consequence had been granted immortality by the gods. Caesar was thus worthy to receive continuing cult worship from the Roman people and accordingly was adopted into the pantheon of the state religion with his own temple and feast day. With this development the imperial cult became an official part of Roman religion. The guidance and regularization of such cult expressions was a key feature in the monarchical system established during the long reign of Augustus (31 BCE–14 CE), and the forms that he established were determinative for later developments. During the first and second centuries CE, many cities throughout the empire founded cults in honor of successive emperors. The intensity of such worship began to diminish in the third century. In the fourth century, with the adoption of Christianity as the official religion and subsequent imperial prohibition of all pagan cult activity, the worship of emperors came to an end.

Under the Roman Empire there was no single imperial cult. Instead, there was a wide variety of cults of the emperors, which took three main forms: the official state cult of Rome, municipal cults of cities in the empire, and private cults.

In the Roman state cult, worship of the living emperor took the indirect form of the cult of the emperor's *genius,* the divine element and creative force that resided in the emperor and guided him like a guardian angel. Following the precedent established in the case of Julius Caesar, numerous emperors, such as Augustus, Vespasian (d. 79 CE), and Trajan (d. 117 CE), were recognized as divinities (*divi*) upon their decease; a formal ceremony and a senatorial decree attested to their apotheosis and new status as immortal. Following the tenets of Stoic philosophy and popular belief, such deification was regarded as an attestation of the "virtues" of the emperor; that is, the emperor had been the vehicle for the operation of divine and beneficent qualities like Peace, Abundance, Victory, Liberty, and Security, which through his person and activities had operated for the benefit of his fellow citizens. Under such names as Pax Augusta, Abundantia Augusti, Victoria Augusti, Libertas Augusti, and Securitas Augusti, these imperial virtues were themselves the object of widespread cult activity at both the official and the private level.

Quite apart from the official pantheon of the Roman people, cities throughout the empire established cults in honor of emperors both living and deceased. Moreover, cults of particular emperors were established by private individuals and especially by corporations. The emperor himself was the main object of cult worship; but in Roman cult, municipal cults, and private worship, deification of members of the imperial family was increasingly common from the time of Augustus on.

In founding cults, building shrines, and maintaining regular worship, the imperial cult was one of the most vital features of Greco-Roman paganism in the first two centuries of the Christian era. To be sure, there were those who criticized the worship of an emperor or of any mortal as an act of impiety; moreover, there is no real evidence that men and women turned to the divine emperor as they might to Apollo or Asklepios in time of sickness or personal crisis. But it would be wrong to dismiss the imperial cult as the empty product of political sycophancy or religious decay. The function of the emperor as divinity was not to alleviate illness or to intervene in personal crisis. His divine power functioned in the sphere of material benefits, the delivery of free grain to a famine-stricken region, gifts of money to victims of earthquakes, and the general securing of peace and prosperity throughout a vast empire. In these terms he was called and genuinely regarded as "savior and benefactor of the human race." He was regarded as a divine entity who had been chosen by the supreme god Zeus/Jupiter to rule humankind with beneficence as the earthly vicegerent of the gods. His reward for fulfilling this task was immortality. From this perspective, the imperial cult was a forceful and creative response to that need for a unity of shared belief that is essential to the integration and successful functioning of a pluralistic society. Fostered by a well-orchestrated and all-pervasive system of imperial propaganda, the image of the emperor as a divine savior sent by the supreme god and triumphant over fate and death played a seminal role in the development of the terminology and content of Christian soteriology.

SEE ALSO Apotheosis; Deification.

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Revised Bibliography

EMPIRICISM is best understood not as a single doctrine but as a cluster of theses, each of which affirms the primacy of human experience in the general area of epistemology. As used here, the term *experience* refers primarily to sense experience, but it must also be extended to cover introspective experience. Insofar as other types of awarenesses, such as feeling states, pains, pangs, and so forth, are not already included in one of these categories, they too should be separately included in the general class of experiences. Following are discussions of three theses usually associated with empiricism. The first two have had considerable impact on the history of Christian theology; the third has not.

The first thesis is that ideas are derived entirely from experience. For example, the idea of red is derived entirely from experiences of red things—in this case visual sense perceptions or impressions of red objects. A complex idea such as the idea of a desk or of a unicorn may be derived directly from complex sense impressions (e.g., perceptions of desks), or may be constructed out of other ideas that are, in turn, derived entirely from sense impressions. Assuming, for instance, that no one has ever seen (i.e., had a complex sense impression of) a unicorn, still there are no elements of this idea that are not themselves derived from sense impressions.

That ideas have their origin in perception is a view worked out in some detail by Epicurus (341–270 BCE) in his work *On Nature.* It is also a thesis held by Thomas Aquinas (*Summa theologiae* 1.84.3, 6, 7) who in turn claimed to find it in Aristotle. As a doctrine of importance in modern philosophy, however, it is identified primarily with the classical British empirical tradition of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as represented in the epistemological writings of Locke, Berkeley, and Hume. In contrast to the doctrine of innate ideas held by Descartes and other so-called rationalists, such as Leibniz, Locke insisted that all ideas are derived from experience. In its original state, Locke said, the mind is a blank tablet (tabula rasa) and, as such, does not possess ideas. Ideas are acquired either as a result of the operation of the sense faculties (the idea of red); or as a result of the mind's operation on the data supplied by the sense faculties (the idea of a unicorn); or as a result of introspection (what Locke called "inner sense"), observing the mind as it operates on materials supplied by the sense faculties (for instance, the idea of mind).

In Hume, the claim that all ideas are derived entirely from impressions served as the cornerstone of his empirical theory of meaning. Hume held that a word has meaning only when it is (to use his phrase) "annexed" to an idea. A term's specific meaning can be decided only by consulting the content of the idea annexed to it. But because, as Hume claimed, the content of any given idea is completely determined by the impressions from which it is derived, the meaning of a given word can be exhaustively analyzed by itemizing the impressions from which the idea annexed to that word is derived. Hume relied on this theory of meaning when he dismissed as meaningless a host of traditional metaphysical items such as the Aristotelian doctrine of substratum. With respect to the latter, Hume argued that because one has no impression of substratum, one has no such idea; thus the operative term used by metaphysicians when formulating this doctrine is without meaning. An argument of this sort was used to establish virtually all the doctrines usually associated with Hume's "skeptical" philosophy—for instance, his well-known analysis of "causation" and his highly controversial analysis of "mind."

In *Alciphron,* one of his last major works, Berkeley reviewed with approval a theory concerning the origin of the idea of God. According to the theory in question, the idea of God is a complex having as ingredients ideas generated from one's experience of creatures. Thus, for example, the idea of a being who has knowledge is derived from one's experience of finite beings like one's self. Though one does not have any direct experience of the perfect case, one can construct the idea of perfect knowledge by imagining away the imperfections (e.g., limited scope) that invariably attach to knowledge in imperfect cases. This provides the idea of omniscience, the exemplary version of knowledge. Ideas of the other so-called perfections standardly attributed to God (omnipotence, eternity, etc.) are derived by a similar process from the ideas one has of attributes possessed by finite beings. Berkeley said that this account of the idea of God is precisely the one given by Thomas Aquinas and developed by the Schoolmen under the title "analogy by proportionality." This interpretation of Thomas's doctrine of analogy is supported by a number of contemporary commentators as well (e.g., Copleston, *History of Philosophy,* vol. 2, chap. 38). It is an account that fits well both with Berkeley's and with Thomas's general empiricist stance concerning the origin of ideas.

Perhaps the most provocative empiricist account of the ideas operative in the area of religion is the one advanced by Friedrich Schleiermacher in *The Christian Faith* (1830) and subsequently expanded by his student Rudolf Otto in *The Idea of the Holy* (1917), which no doubt is the most influential study in the phenomenology of religion published in the twentieth century. According to Otto, the idea of God is derived from a complex "nonrational" (i.e., preconceptual) awareness that he referred to as "the experience of the Numen." Otto undertook to show how this primitive awareness is (as he said) "schematized" (i.e., conceptualized) in standard theological doctrines that give expression to its various ingredient feelings. Following Schleiermacher, Otto insisted that the content of the concept of God is determined by the preconceptual religious phenomena of which that concept is the schematization. Although this theory differs from the one given by Berkeley, it clearly reflects the influence of classical empiricist thought. Framed in the language of Locke or Hume, the claim is made that the idea of God comes directly from religious experiences. Berkeley (and Thomas) would disagree only with respect to the claim that the experiences in question are of a specifically religious nature.

The second thesis associated with empiricism is that human knowledge concerning matters of fact is grounded ultimately in experience. Because there is a distinction between an idea (e.g., the idea of red) and a statement (e.g., "Apples are red"), and because knowledge is formulated in statements, one must distinguish a theory concerning the origin of ideas from a theory concerning the source of knowledge. Unlike the former, the latter specifies conditions under which it can be legitimately claimed that a statement is true. These are conditions under which a knowledge claim is warranted. According to this second thesis, whatever may be the origin of one's ideas, one's knowledge of facts about the world is formulated in statements supported entirely by empirical evidence. This claim stands opposed to one made by Kant (and a number of other modern and medieval thinkers such as Descartes and Thomas Aquinas), namely, that some statements that describe facts about the world (e.g., "Every event has a cause") are known to be true a priori, that is, prior to or independent of experience. Such statements are sometimes described as self-evident. The empiricist's claim is that all factual knowledge is, by contrast, a posteriori, that is, posterior to and consequent upon experience. No factual statement is self-evident, if this means that the statement in question can be known to be true without consulting observational evidence.

It is important to note that the thesis just reviewed is explicitly restricted to knowledge about the world, that is, to knowledge of what Hume called "matters of fact." It is thus not extended to knowledge formulated in what Kant labeled "analytic" statements, that is, to statements whose truth values depend entirely on word meanings. As regards these latter statements, empiricists acknowledge that they are a priori. They add, however, that such statements are empty of factual content. This is to say that, while a priori statements may reveal something about the way one uses words or about what Hume referred to as "relations between ideas," they reveal nothing about the objects or circumstances to which these words presumably refer or to which one's ideas presumably correspond. This dichotomy between the factual a posteriori and the analytic a priori remains to this day a point of embarrassment for empiricists. The problem is not that the distinction is unintelligible or inapplicable, but rather that some knowledge statements do not fit comfortably into either class. As mentioned above, Kant thought that the statement "Every event has a cause" is of the kind last mentioned. He also thought that mathematical knowledge such as that formulated in the statement "2 + 3 = 5" defies classification in either of these categories.

The idea that knowledge about the world is grounded in experience is the hallmark of what is usually thought of as the "scientific" mentality. As such, it is antithetical to the traditional Christian insistence that revelation is the ultimate source of the factual knowledge codified in theological doctrine. Still, in the three centuries that have elapsed since the publication of Newton's *Principles,* Christian theology has exhibited some affection for the scientific style of theory construction. Largely inspired by the theological writings of Newton, eighteenth-century England was crowded with advocates of what Hume called "experimental theism," that is, theism entertained as a hypothesis and supported by reference to evidence provided by the appearance of design in nature. This trend stood in contrast to medieval methods for proving the existence of God by purely a priori considerations, as in Anselm's ontological argument, or by arguments making use of a priori (self-evident) factual premises such as the first three of Thomas's five proofs for the existence of God. Theism cast as a scientific theory and supported by the abductive logical procedures characteristic of the natural sciences reached its climax in the nineteenth century in William Paley's monumental work *Natural Theology* (1825). Although this approach to Christian apologetics is still practiced (witness Robert Clark's *The Universe: Plan or Accident,* Oxford, 1961), it is not widely held to be effective. A great many contemporary philosophers of religion think that Hume's *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* (1779) constitutes the definitive critique of theism as an explanatory hypothesis.

The third thesis associated with empiricism is that factual statements are meaningful only insofar as they are verifiable. If one assumes that all knowledge concerning matters of fact is ultimately grounded in experience, it follows that, except for statements whose truth values can be determined by reference to the meanings of the terms they employ, any statement known to be true is so only because it has been verified by experience. Given the same exclusion, it follows that, insofar as a statement affirms something knowable, to that extent it affirms something verifiable. Anything that cannot be verified cannot be known. Let a second assumption now be made, namely, that a statement is meaningful insofar, but only insofar, as it has a discoverable truth value. Restricting attention to statements whose truth values cannot be determined by reference to the meanings of their constituent words, this second assumption reveals that all meaningful statements affirm something that is knowable. This is so because, for any meaningful statement that is not contradictory (in which case its truth value can indeed be determined by reference to the meanings of its constituent words), there is some possible world in which it is true and in which it has been discovered (i.e., is known) to be true. It is, then, in principle knowable. But if a given statement is in principle knowable, then, by one's first assumption, it is also in principle verifiable. By this sequence of reasonings, the second empiricist thesis discussed above yields the following theory: The meaning of any statement whose truth value cannot be determined by reference to the meanings of its constituent words consists entirely of its empirically verifiable content. Of course, given this theory, any statement about the world for which no verifying observations could in principle be specified would not count as a genuine statement: it would be devoid of meaning. This is because according to the principle before us, any purported statement about the world is meaningful only to the extent that it is empirically verifiable.

This last principle, usually referred to as the verifiability principle, became the centerpiece of empiricism—called logical empiricism or more often logical positivism—during the second quarter of the twentieth century. It is important to see that it connects not only with the second of the empiricist theses treated above (as indicated in the last paragraph), but with the first as well. Here, for the second time, one is confronted with a theory of meaning. Of course the verifiability principle is not the same as the theory used by Hume. In fact, it differs on two counts: (1) it takes statements rather than individual words as the meaningful units; and (2) it requires empirical consequences rather than antecedently acquired empirical ideas as the conditions of meaning. Still, the verifiability principle is a recognizable cousin of Hume's empirical theory of meaning. It was also utilized by positivists such as A. J. Ayer, in a characteristically Humean program, to dismiss as meaningless a whole range of traditional metaphysical doctrines. At its height, positivism dominated the philosophical community, influencing as well trends in psychology (behaviorism) and in the physical sciences (operationalism). Burdened, however, by its own inability to provide a version of the verifiability principle acceptable to philosophers of science, at the end of the 1950s this theory vanished quite abruptly from the philosophical scene. It is now dead—or at least as dead as any philosophical theory can be.

As for the impact of logical positivism on theology or on religious studies more generally, there is little to say. That there exists a transcendent being who created the universe is one of the metaphysical doctrines that positivists typically dismissed as meaningless. Of course this was not atheism, if one understands atheism to be the view that God does not exist, that is, that the statement "God exists" is false. To have a truth value—that is, to be either true or false—a statement must have meaning. For positivists, the words "God exists"—being, as A. J. Ayer used to say "nonsensical"—simply did not have credentials enough to be false. As yet few (if any) religious thinkers have found this position worthy of serious attention.

SEE ALSO Logical Positivism.

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EMPTINESS SEE ŚŪNYAM AND ŚŪNYATĀ

EMRE, YUNUS SEE YUNUS EMRE

ENCHIN (814/5–891/2), posthumously known as Chishō Daishi, was the sixth patriarch (*zasu*) of the Tendai school of Japanese Buddhism and one of the so-called *nittō-hakke,* or "eight (Esoteric) masters who studied in China." Enchin, a distant cousin of Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi, 774–835), founder of the Shingon sect, was born on the island of Shikoku. From the age of fifteen he studied under Gishin, a direct disciple of Saichō (Dengyō Daishi, 767–822), founder of the Tendai sect, at the Enryakuji on Mount Hiei, the center of the Tendai monastic establishment.

Enchin was sent by the government to China, where he studied from 853 to 859, first on Mount Tiantai (center of the Tiantai sect), and then at the Qinglong Monastery in the capital, Chang'an, thus absorbing the teachings and practices of both Tendai and Esoteric Buddhism. Upon his return to Japan he was sponsored by the court (he established an initiation hall within the precincts of the imperial palace) and by the leaders of the Fujiwara clan, and took up residence in the Onjōji in Shiga prefecture, at the foot of Mount Hiei. In 868 he became *zasu* of the Tendai sect, a position he held until his death. Together with Ennin (Jikaku Daishi, 794–864), he was a central figure in the development of classical Japanese Tendai Buddhism.

Enchin's contributions gave rise to a movement that resulted in the complete esotericization of Tendai thought and practice, leading to the creation of "Tendai Esotericism" (Taimitsu, as opposed to "Shingon Esotericism," or Tomitsu). Enchin believed that the teachings of Tendai and Shingon were of equal value (in contradistinction to various hierarchical gradings fashionable at the time), but he also believed that the praxis of Shingon was superior (*ridō-jishō*). He also stated that the transcendental Buddha appearing in Tendai's major scripture, the *Lotus Sūtra,* was the same as Mahāvairocana, the main figure of the pantheon of Shingon Buddhism. Enchin was also the first proponent of the *hongaku* ("original enlightenment") theory, according to which all sentient and nonsentient beings are from the outset fully endowed with complete awakening. This theory played a central function in the evolution of Tendai doctrine and Buddhism at large, and was also instrumental in the theoretical interpretations of the associations between Shintō and Buddhist divinities (*shinbutsu-shūgō*). Finally, Enchin was also, according to the tradition, a key figure in the development of the Tendai branch of mountain asceticism (Shugendō), especially in the Kumano region.

In the generation after Enchin, the Onjōji came to be known as the Jimon branch of the Tendai sect, in opposition to the Sanmon branch located in Enryakuji. The Jimon branch was run by the disciples of Enchin, the Sanmon branch by Ennin's disciples. The patriarchs of the Tendai sect were to be chosen from either Ennin's or Enchin's lineage. This and other questions ultimately led to friction between the two institutions, and then to armed attacks, provoked largely by political considerations. During the late Heian period the so-called warrior monks (*sōhei*) of these great monasteries battled the government and each other mercilessly in a quest for privileges, land, domains, and power. This situation resulted in the demise of the Tendai institutions at the end of the medieval period, and in the total destruction of the monasteries by Oda Nobunaga in 1571.

Enchin had many disciples and composed a large number of doctrinal treatises, among which the *Dainichikyō-shiiki* (The final truth of the Mahāvairocana Sūtra) and the *Kōen-hokke-gi* (Lectures on the rites of the lotus blossom) are noteworthy. After his death, Enchin became the object of a cult centered around a sculptured representation holding his ashes.

SEE ALSO Shingonshū; Shugendō; Tendaishū.

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ENCYCLOPEDIAS.

Most generally, there are two ways of understanding *encyclopedia* (from Greek *kúklos*, "circle," and *paideía*, "education"), namely: (1) after Hippias of Elis, a Sophist of the fifth century BCE, as a term denoting a universal education, subsequently the everyday education that prepares for the universal education (Isocrates, 436–338 BCE). Since Marcus Terentius Varro (116–17 BCE) the encyclopedia is organized within the system of the *artes liberales* as a preparation and introduction to philosophy, in the Middle Ages also to theology (already in Jerome's *Chronicon* (380 CE). Rabelais, in *Pantagruel* (1532), still referred to encyclopedia as a formal education and complete system of learning. From the seventeenth century onward—mainly through the influence of the French encyclopedists—it was used to denote the entirety of human knowledge. (2) *Encyclopedia* is also common to indicate a presentation of the contents of knowledge, either in certain fields of interest or in a general way, along with a detailed description of respective subjects. While in earlier times the *systematic encyclopedia* was more prominent—that is, an encyclopedia structured according to themes and issues—since the eighteenth century the *alphabetical encyclopedia* gained the upper hand. The latter is often referred to as a "General" or "Universal Encyclopedia"; in German as *Realenzyklopädie, Reallexikon, Sachwörterbuch,* or *Konversationslexikon.* Although there are many overlaps and although the differentiation is debated among scholars, it is often argued that encyclopedias explicate subjects while dictionaries explicate words. In the end, however, subjects are also words, a fact that makes the differentiation difficult.

The aim to present principally everything that is known about a great variety of subjects and fields in one publication is an ambitious project (Cappelletti, 1983). It needs the collaboration of many people over a long period of time. And it "can hardly be done without some overarching goal, some hope of making a point, or at least without reflecting on the relationship of knowledge to truth and the impact of such truth on individual and social life and the direction of history" (Sullivan, 1990, p. 317). Indeed, since presenting the complete knowledge of humankind is a futile task, it is important to note that behind encyclopedic treatment of knowledge there stands a certain ideology that structures the pieces of knowledge in a way that fits a preconceived program or discourse. Given this subtext of the encyclopedic genre, it is astonishing that encyclopedias as discursive sources, *organizing* knowledge in a meaningful way, have only rarely been the object of scholarly scrutiny (but see Kircher, 2003).

It is noteworthy that the understanding of encyclopedias as representing the ultimate knowledge of humankind is a product of an ideology that viewed the cosmos as utterly decipherable. Vincent of Beauvais, for instance, entitled his seminal medieval encyclopedia *Speculum maius* (*The Greater Mirror*, 1244) because his book was thought to represent the perfect integrity and harmony of the universe. The same is true for the twelfth-century encyclopedia *Speculum universale* (*Universal Mirror*) by the French preacher Raoul Ardent. The world itself is a text, and its hidden truth—its texture—is made accessible to humankind by means of textual representation. The claim to present the entirety of human knowledge is also a claim to master the universe, a totalizing attitude that had its impact on discourses and power relations. With the early-modern growth of scientific knowledge and the encounter with formerly unknown regions and cultures, the encyclopedia as an instrument of power gained new momentum. Examples of this are Paul Scalich's *Encyclopaedia: seu, orbis disciplinarum, tam sacrarum quam prophanum epistemon* (*Encyclopedia; or [knowledge of] the world of disciplines, both sacred and profane*, Basel, 1559), a decisively Protestant publication that for the first time used the term "encyclopedia" to designate a book; and Francis Bacon's famous encyclopedia *Instauratio magna* (*The Great Renewal*, London, 1620), with a frontispiece showing a vessel that sails through the pillars of civilization into the wide open of unknown seas to be explored.

EARLY ENCYCLOPEDIAS. The beginnings of systematic encyclopedias are usually related to Plato's nephew Speusippus (c. 408–339 BCE), but of his encyclopedia only fragments remain. Varro compiled an encyclopedic reference work for stately affairs, including information about the people and geography of the Roman Empire, government, state, law, and religion (*Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum* [*History of Human and Divine Matters*]). In this tradition stood Pliny the Elder (23–79 CE) with his famous *Historia naturalis* (*Natural History,* 77 CE), in which he tackled geography, astronomy, meteorology, ethnography, anthropology, zoology, botany, medicine, dietetics, magic, mineralogy, and the arts. Along with the *Origines* or *Etymologiae* (*Etymologies*, in fact an encyclopedia with little use of etymologies in the modern sense of the word) of Isidore of Seville (560–636) and Jerome's *Chronicon*, the *Historia naturalis* remained the most influential encyclopedia for the Middle Ages.

Among the medieval encyclopedias reference must be made of the *Hortus deliciarum* (*Garden of Joy*) of Herad of Landsberg (c. 1125–1195), as this is the first encyclopedia compiled by a woman. Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum maius* had a tremendous impact on the high Middle Ages and the Renaissance; compiled from some two thousand sources, it deals with the issues of God and creation, or the human and the divine (physics, geography, agriculture, alchemy, botany, astronomy, language, grammar, logic, rhetoric, ethics, family, economy, politics, law, handicraft, architecture, war, sports, seafaring, medicine, mathematics, metaphysics, theology, history, culture). The *Compendium philosophiae*, compiled before 1320, is usually seen as the first modern encyclopedia because it mirrors the thirteenth-century merging of Aristotelianism with the Scholastic doctrine in the genre of encyclopedia; it strives for objectivity and wants to inform about the newest scientific developments. Most encyclopedias of that time were written in Latin. There are exceptions, however. The German *Buch der Natur* (*Book of Nature,* 1350) by Konrad of Megenberg and P. Königsschlacher's untitled encyclopedia (1472) were simplified works written for a lay public; they were based on Thomas of Cantimprés's *Liber de naturis rerum* (*Book of Things in Nature*).

Particularly in the Middle Ages, the Arabic and Chinese encyclopedic literature was blossoming. In "Sources of History," Ibn Qutayba (828–889) devoted a single volume of his ten-volume encyclopedia to the issues of sovereignty, war, nobility, character, education and rhetoric, asceticism, friendship, prayer, food, and women, respectively. The encyclopedia *T'ung-tien* by Tu Yu (eighth century) informed about the sciences, educational systems, government, customs, music, army, jurisprudence, political geography, and defense. As a matter of fact, the encyclopedia as a genre of its own has a tradition in China that exceeds the Western development. From the no longer extant *Huang-lan* (*Emperor's Mirror*, compiled in 220 CE) to the revised four-hundred-volume edition of the *Qing chao xu wen xian tong kao*, edited by Liujin Zao in Beijing in 1921, Chinese encyclopedias—as their Muslim fellow publications—followed an agenda of educating the civil servants (see Giles, 1911).

Early alphabetic encyclopedias. While alphabetic encyclopedias are dominant in modernity, there are only a few forerunners in antiquity. The most important is *De verborum significatu* (*The Meaning of Words*, early first century CE) of M. Verrius Flaccus, a dictionary of rare terms with grammatical and historical explanation that transmitted the findings of late Republican scholarship (Varro) to later generations.

In the seventeenth century, three encyclopedias were influential: L. Moréri's *Grand dictionnaire historique . . .* (1674), A. Furetièr's *Dictionnaire universel des arts et sciences* (1690), and P. Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1696–1697). The latter is seen as a modern encyclopedia already because it puts forward a new conception with clear, brief, critical ("enlightened") articles instead of uncritical compilations of quotations. Its influence is reflected in a number of translations, among them the German version of J. C. Gottsched (*Historisches und Critisches Wörterbuch* [1741–1744]). These works set the tone for the enormous encyclopedic projects that followed the European Enlightenment.

ENCYCLOPEDIAS AND ENLIGHTENMENT. In the eighteenth century the Enlightenment led to a new phase in encyclopedic publishing (Kafker, 1981). In all cultural centers in Europe projects were launched that by far surpassed the encyclopedias known from early modern times. The underlying rationale of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century encyclopedias was an ideology of enlightenment—sometimes in clear opposition to clerical truth claims—and of education of the masses or, rather, the middle class. Of paramount importance was the effort of the so-called encyclopedists in France.

The *Encyclopédie*. "Encyclopedists" is the name for the group of scholars that—under the direction of Denis Diderot and, in its mathematical part (until 1759), Jean le Rond d'Alembert—collaborated in the publication of the *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers par une société des gens de Lettres* (35 vols., 1751–1780; about 72,000 entries in seventeen volumes of letterpress, eleven volumes of engraved plates, five supplement volumes, and two index volumes). Taking up an idea of Leibniz, and building on the older English (e.g., Ephraim Chambers' *Cyclopaedia*, 1727) and French encyclopedias (e.g., Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique*), the encyclopedists intended to present the complete knowledge of the time (Lough, 1971). With its discussion of all relevant problems, from general philosophical to religious, scientific, historiographical, ethical, political, and social issues, along with Voltaire's writings the *Encyclopédie* is regarded as the climax of the French Enlightenment. Of the important authors who considerably contributed to the ideological framework of the encyclopedia, alongside the editors (see particularly d'Alembert's *Discours préliminaire*, which is still read in French schools today), special mention must be made of Voltaire, who collaborated until the letter *M* before he began his own *Dictionnaire philosophique*; Holbach with his articles about chemistry; Mallet, Bergier, and others for theology and history; Yvon for ethics and metaphysics; and Montesquieu and von Grimm. The political, philosophical, and religious positions of the authors vary, although they are united in a confrontation against radicalism and control of thought that were seen in the intolerant despotism of the ancien régime and the church. With regard to religion and theology, differences can be noticed between Diderot and d'Alembert on the one hand, and Mallet and his party on the other. While Diderot in his comparative articles on religion gives long excerpts from the works of English Deism (see his articles on *Christianisme, Foi, Raison, Révélation, Religion naturelle, Thé-*

isme, Théologie, etc.), Mallet shows a determined anti-Deistic polemic (see his *Bible, Dogme, Inspiration, Prophétie,* etc.).

Censorship (or the fear of it), however, had its influence on many of the articles, a problem that increasingly troubled the whole project (see Darnton, 1979). Even d'Alembert agreed to include the *petites orthodoxies* in the encyclopedia—albeit not without trying to undermine their content with *renvois*, that is, "allusions/suggestions." On July 21, 1757, he replied to Voltaire, who had grumbled about the meekness in matters theological: "We published bad articles about religion and metaphysics; but with theological censors and such a restrictive permission of publication, I beg you to write better ones!"

Other seminal contributions. The French *Encyclopédie*, although paradigmatic in its intentions, was not the only important encyclopedia of the eighteenth century. In England, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (3 vols., 1768–1771) gained international fame. In 1976, the entries were divided in so-called Macropaedia (that is, the major articles in nineteen volumes) and Micropaedia (that is, the smaller articles in ten volumes). The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* became a vital reference point for the Scottish Enlightenment. How important these publications were in religious-political discourse can be seen from the fact that historian of religion William Robertson Smith (1846–1894), who was involved in the ninth edition of the encyclopedia, lost his professorship and good reputation in the Free Church of Scotland because of his article "Bible."

In the nineteenth century other seminal encyclopedias followed. For philosophical discourse, of outstanding importance was G. W. F. Hegel's *Enzyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften* (1817), in which he presented his system of philosophy in three parts: Logic, Nature, and Mind. The most extensive European project to date, the *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste* by J. S. Ersch and J. G. Gruber (167 vols., 1818–1889) remained unfinished. The *Conversationslexikon* of K. G. Löbel was bought in 1808 by F. A. Brockhaus, who republished it one year later and (with additional material) in 1810–1811; to the fifth edition (1819–1820), with a new academic systematization, a number of important scholars contributed. *Der Große Brockhaus* became one of the leading encyclopedias in the German language, with more than 200,000 articles in its 1928–1935 edition. As a response to Brockhaus's Protestant dictionaries, Herder's *Konversations-Lexikon* (1853–1857) was published with a Catholic agenda.

J. Meyer published *Das Große Conversations-Lexicon für die gebildeten Stände* (46 vols., 1840–1855) with the clear political intention to educate the lower and middle classes and to enable them an intellectual emancipation. This agenda can still be found in encyclopedias of the early twentieth century. In addition, accompanying the emergence of the modern nation-state, encyclopedic projects were more and more absorbed by nationalistic interests, representing the "national culture" under the auspices of the academies of arts and sciences.

ENCYCLOPEDIC WORK IN RELIGIOUS STUDIES. Encyclopedias played a crucial role in the development and emancipation of various scientific disciplines, both in the humanities and the natural sciences (chemistry, medicine, technology, geography, linguistics, musicology, etc.). With the academic study of religion emerging as a separate area of scholarship, it comes as no surprise that there was a growing interest in encyclopedias that covered either the whole of religion or specific fields of study. This does not mean, of course, that religion was an issue of less importance in earlier encyclopedic discourse—quite the contrary. Not only did religious rationales influence the structure of almost all early encyclopedias (including the "enlightened" ones), but also the customs, religious traditions, and myths of people played a significant role in all these publications. In addition, from early on there existed published encyclopedias that gave special attention to customs and mythologies. As for mythologies, one may think of Antoine Banier's *La Mythologie et les fables expliquées par l'histoire* (3 vols., Paris, 1738–1740); Benjamin Hederich's *Lexicon Mythologicum* (Leipzig, 1724); John Bell's *New Pantheon; or, Historical Dictionary of the Gods, Demi-gods, Heroes, and Fabulous Personages of Antiquity* (2 vols., London, 1790); William Sheldon's *History of the Heathen Gods, and Heroes of Antiquity* (Boston, 1810); and Henry Christmas's *Universal Mythology: An Account of the Most Important Systems* (London, 1838).

When it comes to encyclopedias that specifically focus on religion, one of the earliest major contributions is the *Real-Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (26 vols., Basel 1854–1868) by the Swiss theologian J. J. Herzog. This publication of German-speaking Protestantism was countered by French Protestants with the *Encyclopédie des sciences religieuses* (5 vols., Strasbourg 1877–1882). The editor, F. Lichtenberger, openly referred to Herzog's encyclopedia as an inspiration and provocation, and it is clear that the Strasbourg publication was meant as a nationalistic answer to the Basel project. From the Christian perspective, a number of important encyclopedic contributions came from James Hastings, a Scottish cleric. His *A Dictionary of the Bible* (London, 1898–1904), *A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* (London, 1906–1908), *A Dictionary of the Apostolic Church* (London, 1915–1918), and—most influential—the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (reprint Edinburgh, 1955) were milestones in the formation phase of (theologically informed) religious studies.

Along with the emancipation of more specialized disciplines within the academic study of religions, other encyclopedias entered the stage, among them *The Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden, 1913–1936, new ed., 1960) and the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem, 1971–1972). German classical philology and historiography culminated in the *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften*, launched by August von Pauly in 1837 and revised by Georg Wissowa in 1893. In fact, the *Pauly-Wissowa* gained such fame that this encyclopedia was a main reason for earlier generations of scholars to learn German. Today, *Der Neue Pauly* and *Der Kleine Pauly* cling to this long-gone tradition of scholarship without really matching it.

Sometimes, a comparison between different editions of the same encyclopedia "offers a unique chance to have a look behind the scenes and to disclose elements of construction of an 'innocent' dictionary" (Kippenberg, 2003, p. 464), as Hans G. Kippenberg showed with regard to the celebrated *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*, of which the first edition was published 1909–1913 and the fourth edition is in the process of being published (since 1998; an English translation is in preparation). A similar case can be made of the seminal *Encyclopedia of Religion* that started in 1979 as a project that strongly reflected the particular phenomenological method of its editor, Mircea Eliade, but that subsequently grew into a landmark of scholarly discussion, mirroring a variety of different approaches to the study of religion (see Sullivan, 1990, pp. 333–339).

SEE ALSO Festschriften; Reference Works.

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KOCKU VON STUCKRAD (2005)

ENDOWMENTS, MUSLIM See WAQF

END TIME See ESCHATOLOGY

ENGAGED BUDDHISM. Engaged Buddhism, or "socially engaged Buddhism," denotes the rise of political activism and social service by Buddhist communities and organizations in Asia and the West since the 1950s. Paralleling a global increase of political involvement by religious groups within the Christian, Muslim, Jewish, and Hindu traditions, engaged Buddhists have supported campaigns for conflict resolution, human rights, economic development, national self-determination, and environmental protection. They have undertaken medical and pastoral care, educational programs, and community building among economically marginalized and low-caste communities, women and children, persons with HIV/AIDS, and prison inmates. They have insisted that Buddhist mindfulness, morality, and social action be integrated into all facets of daily life in both ordained and lay communities. Engaged Buddhists share the belief that mindful social action is consistent with traditional notions of Buddhist practice and its goal, the universal relief of suffering, and the awakening of human potential.

The term *engaged Buddhism* was coined by the Vietnamese Thiền (Zen) monk and teacher Thich Nhat Hanh (b. 1926), who founded peace-oriented educational and religious institutions during the Vietnam War, led antiwar protests, rebuilt villages, resettled refugees, lobbied internationally for peace talks, and published articles and books on the crisis facing his country and the Buddhist tradition. The governments of Saigon, Hanoi, and Washington opposed these actions, and thousands of Nhat Hanh's followers were killed or jailed. In 1963 photographs of a burning monk on a Saigon street appeared in the international media, illustrating the determination of the newly engaged Buddhists. After the war, Thich Nhat Hanh, exiled from his country, spread the practice and teachings of engaged Buddhism in more than eighty-five books of commentary, poetry, and meditation, through mindfulness retreats at Plum Village in southern France, and in public gatherings throughout the world (King, 1996; Hunt-Perry and Fine, 2000).

Since the 1960s Buddhist movements for nonviolent social change and human rights have proliferated in Asia and the West. In addition to the Vietnam peace movement, these include the Buddhist conversion and anticaste movement launched in 1956 by B. R. Ambedkar (1891–1956) among the *dalit* ("oppressed" or ex-untouchable) peoples of India; the Sarvodaya Shramadana (Universal Awakening through Cooperative Work) village development and peace movement of Sri Lanka, founded in 1958 by A. T. Ariyaratne; the struggle of the Tibetan people, both inside Tibet and in exile, led by the fourteenth Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, to reclaim the lands and culture devastated since the Chinese takeover of the country in 1959; the Pan-Asian movement to restore the Buddhist order of ordained women, or *bhikkhunī saṃgha*, in countries in which such ordination is opposed by male hierarchies; the three Nichiren-inspired "new religions" that took root in Japan after World War II and that have gained international followers for their peace and cultural renewal campaigns—Sōka Gakkai International (12 million members in 187 countries and territories), Risshō Kōseikai (6 million members worldwide), and Nipponzan Myōhōji (1,500 ordained and lay members worldwide); the Tzu-Chi Foundation (Fuojiao Tzu-chi Gongde Hui or Buddhist Compassionate-Relief Merit Society) founded in Taiwan in the 1960s by the nun Cheng-yen to defray medical expenses of the poor by collecting the equivalent of 25 cents per month from lay followers, which now claims 5 million members in 28 countries, runs 2 modern 900-bed hospitals, a university, a high school, and a TV channel in Taiwan, and directs $600 million in donations to medical relief projects in more than 30 countries around the world; in South Korea, the Buddhist Coalition for Economic Justice, the Jung To Society (environmental activism), Buddhist Solidarity for Reform (representing 40 civil organizations), and the Indra Net Life Community (representing 23 temples and Buddhist nongovernmental organizations); and the Thailand-based International Network of Engaged Buddhists, founded in 1989 by the Thai Buddhist writer and reformer Sulak Sivaraksa to provide a forum for the bourgeoning organizations and movements that share a socially engaged Buddhist perspective. (For surveys of engaged Buddhist movements in Asia, see Queen and King, 1996; and Queen, Prebish, and Keown, 2003.)

In North America, Europe, Australia, and South Africa, Buddhist organizations dedicated to social activism and service have also appeared with growing frequency. The California-based Buddhist Peace Fellowship, founded in 1977 by the Zen teacher Robert Aitken, coordinates programs for community development, prison reform, and international relief through chapters in the United States and its quarterly *Turning Wheel: The Journal of Socially Engaged Buddhism.* Peacemaker Circle International, headquartered in Massachusetts and founded in 1996 by Bernie Glassman, a former aeronautical engineer and lineage holder in the Japanese Sōtō Zen tradition, sponsors "bearing witness retreats" in centers of suffering and violence, such as the streets of lower Manhattan, the death-camp sites at Auschwitz-Birkenau in Poland, and Jewish and Palestinian communities in the Middle East. The International Campaign for Tibet, based in New York and Washington, D.C., coordinates public support for the refugee and exile communities of the Tibetan diaspora and organizes international pressure on the Chinese government to respect the human rights and cultural traditions of the Tibetan people, whom it has subjugated since 1959. Two engaged Buddhists have been awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace, Tenzin Gyatso, the fourteenth Dalai Lama of Tibet (1989), and Aung San Suu Kyi, the opposition leader in Myanmar (1991), and three others, Thich Nhat Hanh of Vietnam, Maha Ghosananda of Cambodia, and Sulak Sivaraksa of Thailand, have been nominated for the prize.

ORIGINS OF ENGAGED BUDDHISM. The canonical and extracanonical writings of Buddhist Asia, while focusing on monastic order, personal morality, spiritual practice, and philosophical analysis, also include teachings on service to others and social policies that promote general welfare. The Pali *Jātaka* and Sanskrit *Jātakamālā*, for example, illustrate the virtues of generosity and compassion through fables in which the future Buddha, born as a deer, a monkey, a parrot, or an elephant, risks or sacrifices his life to save others from harm. Didactic texts setting forth social ethics for laypersons include the *Cakkavattisihanada-sutta* and the *Kutadanta-sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, which argue that crimes of property and violence are often related to poverty, and that government (i.e., the righteous king) should intervene to provide farmers with grain, merchants with investment capital, and workers with fair wages in order to promote harmonious society. Indeed, instructions to the ideal monarch (Pali, *cakkavatti* or *dhammarāja*), such as the *Dhammapadāṭṭhakathā* (Buddha's advice to rulers), the "Ten Duties of the King" (*dasa-rājadhamma*, contained in the *Jātaka*), and later Mahāyāna texts such as the Indian philosopher Nāgārjuna's *Jewel Garland of Royal Counsels* (second century CE) and Japanese Prince Shōtuku's *Fourteen Article Constitution* (sixth to seventh century CE), find early expression in the rock-hewn edicts of the Buddhist king, Aśoka Maurya (reigned in northern India c. 270 to 230 BCE), promoting universal tolerance and social welfare and suggesting the pervasiveness of Buddhist ideal conceptions of a just and humane society (Harvey, 2000). The *saṃgha* (monastic order) founded by Siddhārtha Gautama, the historical Buddha, in the sixth to fifth century BCE, would appear to embody certain progressive values and social options associated with modernity in the West: equality of access to men and women of all classes and castes, a meritocracy based on personal attainment rather than birth or wealth, and a program of self-cultivation and community development based on rational analysis and practical training rather than esoteric knowledge and ritual. Furthermore, the career of the *bodhisattva* or Buddhist savior that marked the rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism in the centuries following Aśoka is based on a vow to save all sentient beings from suffering and calamity.

Yet it would be wrong to conclude that the social goals of engaged Buddhists in the early twenty-first century evolved directly from Buddhist teachings in the past. As the historian Bardwell Smith has observed,

> The primary goal of [traditional] Buddhism is not a stable order or a just society but the discovery of genuine

> freedom (or awakening) by each person. It has never been asserted that the conditions of society are unimportant or unrelated to this more important goal, but it is critical to stress the distinction between what is primary and what is not. . . . Even the vocation of the *bodhisattva* is not as social reformer but as the catalyst to personal transformation within society. (Smith, 1972, p. 106)

Since the time of the Buddha and Aśoka, many of the social and political ideals inscribed in the early literature and monuments of Buddhism have faded. Buddhist kings, such as the second-century BCE Sinhalese Duṭṭhagāmiṇī, have been as prone to wage holy war against the infidel, as were their non-Buddhist neighbors, while "Chinese and Japanese military forces have used Buddhist symbols, banners, *mudrās,* and *mantras* to empower their actions and intimidate opponents" (Harvey, 2000, p. 263). In medieval Japan, the largest monasteries supported standing armies as fearsome as those of the emperor, and as late as the twentieth century "imperial-way Buddhism" (*kōdō Bukkyō*), embraced by all schools, supported the nation's major wars: from those against China (1894–1895) and Russia (1904–1905) to World War II, when Zen temples sponsored meditation training camps for the armed forces, raised money to purchase new aircraft, and recruited and trained school boys for kamikaze missions for "love of Emperor and in service to Buddha" (Victoria, 1997, pp. 128–129).

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw a general decline of Buddhist institutions throughout Asia. As Ian Harris has observed: "It is difficult to point to any part of the contemporary Buddhist world that has not been massively transformed by at least one aspect of modernity, be it colonialism, industrialization, telecommunications, consumerism, ultra-individualism, or totalitarianism of the left or right. In this radically new situation Buddhists have been forced to adapt or risk the possibility of substantial decline" (Harris, 2001, p. 19). In country after country—notably China, Vietnam, Cambodia, Tibet, and Myanmar (Burma)—Buddhist leaders and institutions have been marginalized or assaulted by hostile regimes or changing social conditions. Even in nations in which the tradition was interrupted by colonialism, revolution, civil war, and invasion—such as Thailand, Sri Lanka, Japan, and Korea—the Buddhist *saṃgha* has not often been aligned with progressive politics, human rights, or social services.

Against this backdrop, progressive, nonviolent Buddhist activism has nevertheless appeared with growing frequency. "There is plenty of evidence of significant Buddhist involvement in anticolonial movements, particularly since the Second World War. Similarly, new or revamped Buddhist organizations with strongly nationalist, reformist, social-activist, therapeutic or reactionary-fundamentalist character are much in evidence throughout the 20th century," according to Harris (2001, p. 19). These spontaneous, often charismatic movements represent a marked departure from state-supported Buddhist establishments of the past. Engaged Buddhist movements of the twentieth century "direct their energies toward social conditions over which the state has legal authority, if not control; but their objective is to influence the exercise of temporal power, not to wield it" (Queen, 1996, p. 19). As Sulak Sivaraksa, Thailand's leading Buddhist intellectual and founder of the International Network of Engaged Buddhists, has written: "Buddhism, as practiced in most Asian countries today, serves mainly to legitimize dictatorial regimes and multinational corporations. If we Buddhists want to redirect our energies towards enlightenment and universal love, we should begin by spelling Buddhism with a small 'b'"—in contrast to the "capital-B Buddhism" that shares influence and favors with the power elite (Sivaraksa, 1993, p. 68).

Engaged Buddhism in Asia is thus an emerging grassroots movement that may be traced across national and sectarian boundaries—not a series of reforms instituted by local governments or religious hierarchies. Even when Buddhist movements and leaders have ties to temporal power, such as the Dalai Lama's dual role as spiritual and temporal head of Tibet, the Sōka Gakkai's affiliation with the Kōmeitō political party in Japan, and the "friendly relations" *(jie-yuan)* between the Taiwanese government and the Tzu Chi Compassionate Relief Foundation and the Foguang Shan sect of Pure Land Buddhism, each of these movements is both independent of state power (it is worth recalling that the Dalai Lama is the exiled leader of Tibet) and increasingly globalized in its relations with Tibetan, Japanese, and Taiwanese ethnic diasporas and with their nonnative members and supporters around the world. The transnational, transsectarian or nonsectarian character of engaged Buddhism often derives from the life experience of its leaders, charismatic personalities whose education and careers linked or blended Asian and Western influences. Ambedkar chose Columbia University in New York and the University of London for his graduate training; Thich Nhat Hanh studied and lectured at Princeton and Columbia, traveled to nineteen countries in Europe and North America in his quest for peace in Vietnam, and associated closely with the American religious leaders Thomas Merton and Martin Luther King Jr.; and the young Taiwanese Venerable Cheng-yen, founder of the Tzu Chi Foundation, rejected conversion to Christianity by convincing three Catholic missionary nuns of the universal compassion of the Buddha while at the same time acknowledging that Buddhists must emulate Christians in serving the poor by building hospitals and schools.

The cultural hybridity of the new Buddhism—as well as its activism and social service—may be traced to the interaction of Buddhists and Christians in the late Victorian era. Representative figures include the founders of the Theosophical Society, Henry Steel Olcott and Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, who publicly converted to Buddhism in Colombo in 1880, and their associate, the Sinhalese Buddhist activist Anagārika Dharmapāla (Don David Hewavitarne), who, with the Japanese Zen master Shaku Sōen and the Hindu swami Vivekananda, electrified crowds at the World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893 with their evangelical fervor for the wisdom of the East. By this time, Sir Edwin Arnold's romantic verse narrative of the life of the Buddha, *The Light of Asia*, had become a best-seller in the English-speaking world. Thomas Tweed remarked on the growing consensus among Buddhists and their admirers in the West regarding the social impact of religious faith: "With few exceptions, Buddhist apologists stood united with American critics, travelers, and scholars in implicitly or explicitly affirming the role of religion in stimulating effective economic, political, and social activity. Almost all participants in Victorian culture and contributors to the public discourse about Buddhism agreed: whatever else true religion was, it was optimistic and activistic" (Tweed, 1992, p. 155).

TEACHINGS OF ENGAGED BUDDHISM. Traditional teachings of the Buddhist *dharma* often find new meaning and application in the practice of engaged Buddhism. Familiar doctrines such as nonviolence, interdependence, selflessness, mindfulness, and compassion are interpreted in ways that address social and institutional dimensions of suffering in the world. Likewise, ethical guidelines such as right speech, right livelihood, and skillful means are understood in ways that acknowledge structural shifts in the economic life, geopolitics, and information technology of the early twenty-first century.

Sulak Sivaraksa interprets the traditional five precepts *(pancha shila)* to encompass institutional and transnational realities as well as interpersonal morality, for example. Nonharming is conceived in a global context:

> Hunger is caused only by unequal economic and power structures that do not allow food to end up where it is needed, even when those in need are the food producers. And we must look at the sales of arms and challenge these structures, which are responsible for murder. Killing permeates our modern way of life—wars, racial conflicts, breeding animals to serve human markets, and using harmful insecticides. (Sivaraksa, 1993, p. 74)

Likewise, non-stealing is treated in terms of economic justice ("right livelihood") and voluntary simplicity. Sexual misconduct concerns the global exploitation of women by male hierarchies, as well as the global traffic in pornography and prostitution. Avoiding false speech entails the responsible use of the mass media, education, and political discourse in order to rescue truth from propaganda and trivialization and to confront power elites with the effects of their policies. The fifth precept, against intoxicants, offers Sivaraksa the occasion to consider the economic addiction of Third World farmers to the production of heroin, coco, coffee, and tobacco as well as the use of related products that cloud the mind, for "in Buddhism, a clear mind is a precious gem" (Sivaraksa, 1993, pp. 75–79).

The twin virtues of wisdom and compassion are understood in similar ways by the Vietnamese Thich Nhat Hanh and the American Bernie Glassman, two influential voices of engaged Buddhism. In his "Tiep Hien Order Precepts," Nhat Hanh warns: "Do not think that the knowledge you presently possess is changeless, absolute truth. Avoid being narrow-minded and bound to present views. . . . Find ways to be with those who are suffering by all means, including personal contact and visits, images, sound. By such means awaken yourself and others to the reality of suffering in the world" (Nhat Hanh, 1987, pp. 90–91). Glassman Roshi invites his followers to follow the "Zen Peacemaker Order Tenets" (1998): "I commit myself to not-knowing, the source of all manifestations. . . . I commit myself to bearing witness fully by allowing myself to be touched by the joy and pain of the universe. I invite all hungry spirits into the mandala of my being and commit my energy and love to my own healing, the healing of the earth, humanity and all creations" (Glassman, 1998, pp. 68–89). In these teachings, wisdom is associated with a radical agnosticism in a world of violently competing ideologies in the hope that a mindful openness to the experience of others will result in a deeper identification and commitment to help. Likewise, both teachings illustrate a special concern for suffering beings (echoing the "preferential option for the poor" of the liberation theology of Latin American Catholicism), whereby the Buddhist vow of universal compassion is enacted in concrete programs of service and activism (Queen, 2002).

Buddhist environmentalism is a striking example of the adaptation of the traditional Buddhist worldview to contemporary modes of thought, specifically the findings of modern science. While the Buddhist teachings of the "wheel of life" and "dependent co-origination" were not based on modern theories of evolutionary biology, for example, their metaphorical expression in the ancient literature has resonated strongly for ecological activists in the early twenty-first century. Illustrating how the language of awakening and liberation may be projected from individual to ecosystem, Joanna Macy invokes the general systems theory of Ludwig von Bertalanffy and Ervin Laszlo to make the connection:

> Far from the nihilism and escapism that is often imputed to the Buddhist path, this liberation, this awakening puts one into the world with a livelier, more caring sense of social engagement. The sense of interconnectedness that can then arise, is imaged—in one of the most beautiful images of the Mahayana—as the jeweled net of Indra. It is a vision of reality structured very much like the holographic view of the universe, so that each being is at each node of the net, each jewel reflects all the others, reflecting back and catching the reflection, just as systems theory sees that the part contains the whole. (Macy, 1990, p. 61)

In practical terms, engaged Buddhist monks in Thailand have faced arrest for "ordaining" trees in the rainforests to protect them from clear-cutting by international timber cartels (Darlington, 2003), while members of the Buddhist Peace Fellowship have participated in nonviolent civil disobedience to prevent nuclear testing at the U.S. government test site in Nevada (Kaza, 2000).

Perhaps the most significant shift, or enlargement, of meaning in the practice of engaged Buddhism involves the central doctrine of suffering (Pali, *dukkha*). The Buddha is credited with saying, "In the past, *bhikkhus*, as well as now, I teach only *dukkha* and the utter quenching of *dukkha*" (*Alagaddupama-sutta*, *Majjhima-nikāya* [M.i.140], cited in Santikaro Bhikkhu, 1996, p. 156). As elaborated in the four noble truths, suffering is universal, it is rooted in psychological craving born of ignorance, it is "quenchable" in the peace of *nirvāṇa* (freedom from craving and other mental defilements), and it is subject to the benefits of the eightfold path: efficacious view, aspiration, action, speech, livelihood, exertion, mindfulness, and concentration. Yet the logic underlying this and other early teachings is that *dukkha* is both the experience and the responsibility of the sufferer. There can be no victims; every sufferer is held accountable for his or her own misery. Here the cure depends on the effort of the sufferer to tread the eightfold path or, in the case of the Pure Land tradition popular in central and East Asia, to entreat Amitābha Buddha to intervene on one's behalf. In the case of the Mahāyāna *bodhisattva* who vows to save all sentient beings, the mechanism remains a change of heart and behavior on the part of each being, never a group dispensation for all who are fortunate enough to hear the *dharma* and enact its injunctions or to receive the mercy of a buddha or *bodhisattva.*

The hallmark of engaged Buddhism, on the other hand, is its collectivist application of the teaching of interdependence (Pali, *paṭiccasamuppāda*) to the experience of suffering in the world. For if it is possible to suffer as a result of social conditions or natural circumstances that transcend one's psychological (or karmic) states of being—such as poverty, injustice, tyranny, or natural disaster—then *dukkha* must be addressed in a collective way to remove these conditions for all members of the affected group. Thus in Sivaraksa's interpretation of the five precepts is an abiding concern with all who are hungry and injured by wars, racial conflicts, environmental pollution, and economic conditions that favor the farming, manufacture, and marketing of deadly drugs. For Ambedkar and the 380,000 *dalits* who embraced Buddhism on October 14, 1956, the ceremony offered hope to millions oppressed by the Hindu caste system, while the college students, monks, and villagers who dig wells and build schools in more than 11,000 villages in Sri Lanka believe they embody the name of their sponsoring organization, Sarvodaya Shramadana (Universal Awakening through Cooperative Work).

This evolution of Buddhist ethics from one of individual discipline, virtue, and altruism to one of collective suffering, struggle, and liberation illustrates the cultural interaction and mutual sharing with religious and political ideas of the West, such as the notions of covenant community, social justice, and prophetic witness of the biblical Hebrews and Christians, and the secular conceptions of human rights, judicial due process, and democracy associated with Greek humanism, Roman and Anglo-Saxon law, the scientific and social Enlightenment of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe, and the pragmatism and progressivism of nineteenth- and twentieth-century America. In this regard, Ambedkar stands as an exemplar of the synthesis of the ancient and modern, intellectual and activist, and personal and institutional dimensions of engaged Buddhism. As one of the first untouchables to attend college in India, Ambedkar emulated the ecumenical tolerance of the Muslim-Hindu poet-saint Kabīr (c. 1440–1580), the anticaste activism of the Maharashtrian educator Mahatma Phule (1827–1890), and the social and spiritual reformism he found in the life and teachings of the Buddha. As a graduate student at Columbia University in New York from 1913 to 1916, Ambedkar absorbed the pragmatic philosophy of his mentor John Dewey (1859–1952) as well as the Social Gospel of Protestant theologians like Walter Rauschenbusch (1861–1918), who wrote that religion is "not a matter of saving human atoms, but of saving the social organism. It is not a matter of getting individuals to heaven, but of transforming life on earth into the harmony of heaven" (Rauschenbusch, 1964/1909, p. 65). And, as an activist for untouchable rights in the decades leading up to Indian independence and as law minister and chairman of the constitution drafting committee in Jawaharlal Nehru's first government, Ambedkar added to his emerging worldview the slogans of Western progressivism, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" and "Educate, Agitate, Organize," and the theories of law and government he encountered at the University of London and Gray's Inn. All of these influences were woven seamlessly into the traditional rendering of the Buddha's life and teachings in Ambedkar's final work, *The Buddha and His Dhamma* (1957)—a manifesto of engaged Buddhism that remains the bible for tens of millions of Ambedkar's Buddhists followers in the early twenty-first century.

CONCLUSION. When Ambedkar was asked by reporters what kind of Buddhism he would embrace at the mass Buddhist conversion in 1956, he replied: "Our Buddhism will follow the tenets of the faith preached by Lord Buddha himself, without stirring up the old divisions of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. Our Buddhism will be a Neo-Buddhism—a *Navayana*" (paraphrased from Keer, 1971, p. 498). Many teachings and practices of engaged Buddhism transcend the ancient *yanas* or sectarian "vehicles"—the Hīnayāna or "elite vehicle," the Mahāyāna or "universal vehicle," and the Vajrayāna or "diamond vehicle"—by drawing teachings and practices from them all and by adapting these in keeping with modern notions of suffering, human rights, social reform, and environmental sustainability. Accordingly, some observers have proposed that Ambedkar's *Navayana* ("new vehicle"), prefiguring the beliefs and practices of engaged Buddhism as a global movement today, represents the emergence of a "fourth *yana*" in the history of Buddhism; others argue that the patterns of thought and action of the "engaged" Buddhists fall comfortably within the purview of traditional Buddhism (Queen, 2000, pp. 22–26). Whichever interpretation meets the tests of history, the sharp rise of Buddhist social engagement and activism in the twentieth century and the pervasiveness of its influence on Buddhist institutions and ideology is not in dispute.

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CHRISTOPHER S. QUEEN (2005)

ENKI. Despite the name "lord of the earth," Enki is the god of the Abyss and is known as the "king of the Abyss." He is the poliad god of Eridu and the guardian god of Eengurra, which is built in the Abyss. Along with An and Enlil, he is part of the most powerful triad in the Sumerian pantheon and a permanent member of the assembly of the gods. He is third, after An and Enlil, and creates and organizes the world. Well-liked by Enlil, and An's favorite, he is the son of the king of heaven and earth and is Enlil's younger brother as well as the lord of plenty of the Anunna, their elder brother, and their leader. In the myth of Enki and Ninhursaga, Ninsikil is his wife, while later it is Ninhursaga or Nintu. In the myth *The Assault of the Demons on the Moon* Enki's close connection with magic and his incantations against the demons are emphasized.

SUMERIAN MYTH MAKING. The prologue of the *Debate between Bird and Fish* provides a different cosmogony from that given in many other texts. Although the three most powerful gods of the Sumerian pantheon are present, their respective roles are clearly defined. An and Enlil are the creators of the universe, but Enki, the god of wisdom, is its real organizing power.

Enki begins by creating the Tigris and the Euphrates, filling them with water, and providing irrigation channels. He then establishes the raising of livestock and a sedentary way of life with the foundation of cities, providing a king as ruler of the black-headed people. Finally, he organizes the marshy area, creating flora and fauna, which will be a blessing to humanity and the gods themselves. The text ends with the allocation of different tasks to the new creatures.

The myth *Enki and the World Order* describes the systematic organization of earthly life as the work of Enki. A thorough reading of the text makes it clear that Enki's actions have been requested by the god Enlil and that the god of wisdom has done everything to satisfy Enlil and his city Nippur. The text opens with the scribe's description of the god, in which the god is praised in terms of his relations with the other gods, with the earth, and with the human race, and as the provider of prosperity. A description immediately follows, set forth by Enki himself, praising the god's knowledge, which is fully appreciated in the divine world, and a second eulogy describes in a nutshell the role of the god in civilization and the surrounding environment. Enki decides to cross the sea in his boat and visit every country, but he especially wants to go to Sumer. After he has performed the rituals of purification, the god sails. In Sumer, Ur, Meluææa, Dilmun, and Martu, the land of nomads, he bestows his blessing and praises the progress already made. Enki addresses the natural environment and reforms human activities by putting a particular divinity in charge of each activity to oversee it and guarantee its future well-being. There follows a list of the spheres of activity and the divinities appointed.

Merely listing the activities mentioned in the myth is enough to understand and appreciate the work of the god of wisdom. But any change, by its very nature, produces some discontent, especially among those convinced that things were better as they were. This is the case with Inanna, who is displaced from her established functions. She is immediately critical of Enki's work and tries to ensure greater importance for the female goddesses of childbirth. Except for Nanshe, these goddesses were completely forgotten by Enki, and in a way Inanna completes Enki's task. Inanna continues her speech, however, stressing that her name has been totally ignored in the list given by Enki, and she asks him for a specific role. Enki answers her, listing all her spheres of activity and thus denying her a specific role in the new world order he has devised.

The events preceding the Flood are described next, starting from the observation that the human race in primordial times was not doing well. This explains the need to create the Sumerians and allow them to raise livestock and then to bestow the gifts of kingship and agriculture. When the text resumes after a lacuna, some of the gods seem perplexed by the decision. Enki broods over it and definitely does not agree. Devising a plan, he gives King Ziusudra advance warning of the Flood. The passage concerning the construction of the ship has been lost. When the text resumes, there is a description of the storm, which lasts for seven days and seven nights. At the end of the Flood, Ziusudra disembarks from the ship and offers a sacrifice to the gods. The final part of the story describes the decision of the gods to grant immortality to Ziusudra and his wife because they were the means by which the human race was saved.

AKKADIAN DEVELOPMENTS. An Akkadian incantation text is directly linked to the ritual of water purification and is directed at the river, whose waters must carry away every ill that afflicts humankind. The river bears the epithet "creator of everything" but is itself the work of the gods. In fact it is the work of the "major gods," who set all good things on its banks when they dug it out. Ea and Marduk bestowed its purifying qualities, together with "fire and rage, horror and terror" (Kramer, 1989, pp. 516–517). Because of its sacred nature, and because it runs through the innermost parts of sanctuaries, the river alone has the power of judgment over people, a privilege most often exercised in the form of trial by ordeal. After a request for quiet, it is exhorted to free humankind from sins and evil.

In another text the act of creation is attributed to two gods, Anu and Ea, with Enlil apparently not present, although he must appear in the second part of the document, which is now lost. Anu is only mentioned as the creator of the heavens and has no involvement in subsequent creative acts, leaving this to Ea alone. The title preferred by scholars, therefore, is "Ea the Creator." Ea, the main player, after creating Apsu, his home, uses a handful of clay to create Kulla (the architect god), building materials (reeds and wood), and divinities connected with the construction of sacred buildings. After making arrangements for the construction and adornment of these buildings, Ea takes care to ensure that the gods will be provided for through the production and collection of regular offerings. He thus assigns cult functions to a priestly class and entrusts the king with the provision of supplies. After establishing the divine organizational structure (building of temples, supplies for the gods, allocation of ritual and administrative responsibilities) the god finally proceeds with the creation of humankind, whose task is to carry out the work of the gods. The stress of the entire creative work is quite unique, even understanding that the theme of the passage concerning the gods and their temples, with all that it implies, was of primary importance in Babylonian religion. Hence the god of wisdom Enki carries out his creative work in an unusual order.

Various myths illustrate Enki/Ea in the role of benefactor, including the Flood narratives mentioned above and those concerning the journeys to the underworld by Inanna/Ishtar and Nergal. One text, however, seems at odds with the familiar theme of the kindness of Enki/Ea, and it tells how the god gave deceitful advice to his servant Adapa. The manuscripts that reconstruct the story of wise Adapa and how he opposed the South Wind belong to two periods of Mesopotamian civilization, the El Armana period (fifteenth century BCE and the neo-Assyrian period (seventh century BCE).

The story of Adapa is told in a Sumerian manuscript found at an Iraqi excavation at Meturan (Tell Haddad) in 1993. The text describes Adapa's normal everyday occupation as a pious, devout fisherman, his conflict with the South Wind, the summons by Anu to account for what he has done, and the advice of Ea not to accept any gifts from Anu but to curry favor with the two doorkeepers, Dumuzi and Ningizzida, at the gates of the pantheon. Finally, the ending leaves a sour taste when Anu does not intend to punish Adapa but rather to give him divine status. Adapa's refusal (as suggested by Ea) to accept the offer of divinity robs the wise man of a brighter future. At the end of the story Ea bestows a new destiny upon his favorite. Some scholars, brought out the supposition that the nature of Enki was ambiguous and supposed the figure of Enki as a trickster (Kristensen, 1947). Scholars have examined the problem of this myth and the difficulty of its interpretation, but the majority of them, despite extensive analysis from numerous angles, have not reached a satisfactory solution.

The direct link between the god Enki and water is clear in several myths. His emblem, as befits a god of water, is a fish, the mullet. But the so-called myth of Dilmun should not be ignored.

SEE ALSO Mesopotamian Religions, overview article; Ninhursaga; Tricksters, overview article; Water.

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Translated from Italian by Paul Ellis

ENLIGHTENMENT. In the context of Asian religious traditions, especially of Buddhism, what is often translated as *enlightenment* typically refers to that existentially transformative experience in which one reaches complete and thorough understanding of the nature of reality and gains control over those psychic proclivities that determine the apparent structures and dynamics of the world. As is consistent with a general South and East Asian notion that final truth is apprehended through extraordinary "sight" (hence, religious "insight" or "vision"), enlightenment is often depicted as an experience in which one is said to "see" things as they really are, rather than as they merely appear to be. To have gained enlightenment is to have seen through the misleading textures of illusion and ignorance, through the dark veils of habitual comprehension, to the light and clarity of truth itself.

The English word *enlightenment* usually translates the Sanskrit, Pali, and Prakrit term *bodhi*, meaning in a general sense "wise, intelligent, fully aware." Thus, *bodhi* signifies a certain "brightness" (again, a visual theme) to one's consciousness. The term *bodhi is* built on the same verbal root—Sanskrit *budh* ("awaken, become conscious")—as that from which derives the adjective *buddha* ("awakened one"). Thus, an enlightened being, a buddha, is one who has dispelled all of the personal and cosmic effects of ignorance and has become fully awake to reality as it truly is. From the word *bodhi* come also the terms *sambodhi* and *sambodha*, the "highest" or "most complete enlightenment."

The word *enlightenment* also, yet less often, translates other Sanskrit and Sanskrit-related terms from a variety of religious traditions other than Buddhism. The Jain notion of *kevalajñāna* (omniscience, knowledge unhindered by the karmic residues of former modes of understanding the world) describes in part the quality of an *arhat*, a person worthy of highest respect. The paradigmatic *arhats* in the Jain context are the twenty-four *tīrthaṅkaras*, those "fordcrossers" (the most recent being Vardhamāna Mahāvīra in the sixth century BCE) whose experiences of such enlightenment stand at the center of Jain religious history. Similarly, yogic Hindu traditions teach of the experience of *samādhi* ("absolute equanimity") and of *kaivalya* ("the supreme autonomous state of being free of ignorance"), both of which lead the yogin to the experience of *mokṣa*, the release from the hitherto ceaseless and painful cycle of transmigration.

But it is to Buddhist traditions that the experience of enlightenment is most pertinent. Although Buddhist lessons regarding enlightenment (*bodhi* and its correlatives, Chinese *pudi*, *wu*, or *jue*, Tibetan *byaṅ chub*, and Japanese *satori*) vary somewhat, Buddhism in general has stressed the key significance of that experience in which one fully and compassionately understands the world without discoloring or disfiguring it according to one's desires, expectations, or habits. The Buddhist insight into the nature of pain and suffering, of fear and doubt, of the feelings of insecurity and hopelessness, is that these states arise in one's ignorant mind as one selfishly tries to have reality the way one wants it rather than to know it as it is. The Buddhist way to freedom from the suffering these states cause, therefore, is to remove—usually through the practice of meditation or through the development of compassion—the conditions one places on the world, on other people, and on oneself. Thus, Buddhist enlightenment constitutes an experiential transforming and normative "deconditioning" of the self and of the world.

And what, from a Buddhist perspective, would people "see" when they have so deconditioned their response to, and analysis of, the world? Sanskrit and Pali accounts of Siddhārtha Gautama's enlightenment at the age of thirty-five as he sat under a tree near what is now the north Indian town of Bodh Gayā through the night of the full moon in the spring of *ca.* 538 BCE might well serve to summarize the elements early South Asian Buddhist understanding of the process and nature of enlightenment.

First, people would have to confront and defeat, as Gautama is reported to have done, all of the various temptations, selfish desires, and fears (sexual lust, faint-heartedness, physical weakness, passion, laziness, cowardice, doubt, hypocrisy, pride, and self-aggrandizement) that usually define and delimit their sense of identity, an exceedingly difficult task represented in Buddhist myth and iconography as Gautama's struggle in the late afternoon with the demonic and tempting Māra, the evil one.

Second—still following hagiographical accounts and traditional teachings as the paradigm—they would enter into four levels of meditative absorption (Sanskrit, *dhyāna*; Pali, *jhāna*. Technical terms will hereafter be given first in the Sanskrit, with Pali and other terms following when appropriate.) At the first level they would detach their attention from the objects of the senses and look inward into their own minds. Their thoughts would be discursive in nature, and they would feel relaxed but energetic. Entering the second level, their thoughts would no longer be discursive, but they would still feel great energy, comfort, and trust. At the third level the feeling of zest would give way to a sense of dispassionate bliss, and at the fourth level they would feel free of all opposites such as pleasure and pain, euphoria and anxiety. This fourth level of meditation would be characterized by pure and absolute awareness and complete calmness.

Gautama is said to have mastered all four of these stages of meditative concentration and could move from one to the other with ease. This was to be of central importance to his subsequent series of insights gained through the night, for through them he perceived what are known as the six types of extraordinary knowledge (*abhijñā*; *abhiññā*): magical physical powers, the ability to hear voices and sounds from all parts of the universe, the ability to know other people's thoughts, memory of his former lives, the ability to see all creatures in the world, and the extinction of all harmful psychological states. One would have to use these skills in order to understand the nature of suffering in the world, for not to do so would mean that one were merely a wizard or magician rather than a healer.

Third, having gained control over their entrapping emotions, and having mastered the four levels of contemplation, aspirants would endeavor through meditative analysis of their lives to comprehend how the present is determined by the sum total of their past actions. They would see that each person is responsible for his or her own personality and that others cannot be blamed for one's psychological predicament. This third stage of enlightenment finds narrative representation in traditional accounts of Gautama's ability to remember, in order, all of his former lives (*pūrvanivāsānusmṛti-jñāna*; *pubbenevāsānusatti-ñāṇa*) and to understand how all of those lives led to the present one. Gautama is said to have gained this insight during the first watch of the night.

Fourth, they would develop their ability to understand other people's idiosyncratic psychological and existential predicaments in the same manner as they have understood their's own. That is to say, they would be able to see how people have become who they are how they have created their own problems, even though they may not know it. Aspirants for enlightenment would then be able to respond fully and compassionately to any given situation with other people. Buddhist hagiographies say that Gautama gained such a skill during the second watch of the night, a time in which he attained the "divine vision" (*divyacakṣu*; *dibbacakkhu*) to see all of the former lives of all beings in the universe.

Finally, they would comprehend and destroy the source of all psychological "poison" (*āśrava*; *āsava:* "projection, befuddling outflow") and come to realize what are known as the four noble truths: (1) that conditioned existence is permeated by suffering (*duḥkha*; *dukkha*); (2) that this suffering has an origin (*samudāya*); (3) that, because it has its cause, this suffering, therefore, can come to an end (*nirodha*); and (4) that the way one brings an end to all suffering is to follow the Buddhist way of life, known as the Noble Eightfold Path. To tread this path, one practices: (1) the right view (*dṛṣṭi*; *ditthi*) of the true nature of things, (2) right thought, (3) right speech, (4) right action, (5) right livelihood, (6) right effort, (7) right mindfulness, and (8) right concentration.

Gautama is said to have realized the four noble truths during the third watch of the night, in the dark hours before dawn. Gaining these insights, he saw that one's ignorance of the fact that it is the thirst (*tṛṣṇā*; *taṅhā*) for sensual, emotional, or personal gratification that leads one to think and act in certain ways, and that those thoughts and actions then determine how one understands and lives one's life. In other words, it is people's desire to have the world the way they want it to be rather than to know it as it is, free of their preconceptions and demands, that leads to suffering. The cure for this disease, according to Buddhist tradition, is to relinquish one's attachment to the world as one thinks it is, or should be, so that one can be free to see it as it really is. One has to blow out the flames of one's unquenchable desires in order to know the cool waters of truth, of *dharma.*

This "blowing out" of conditioned existence, this *nirvāṇa* (*nibbāna*), is enlightenment. Gautama is said to have attained *nirvāṇa* as the sun came up, an appropriate time to be "awakened" to the nature of reality. Standing up from his place under the tree, Gautama then walked forth as the Buddha.

Theravāda Buddhism recognizes three different types of people who have gained enlightenment. The term *sāvakabodhi* ("enlightenment gained by one who has heard [the Buddha's lessons]") applies to the disciples of the Buddha; *paccekabodhi* ("enlightenment in solitude") refers to the enlightenment experienced by a person who has never actually heard the Buddha's teachings but, nevertheless, has understood in full the nature of reality. (Theravāda tradition does not recognize the teachings of a *paccekabuddha* but does not dispute the validity of his or her experience); *sammāsambodhi is* the complete and absolute enlightenment known by Gotama (Gautama) and other Buddhas in other world cycles.

Recognizing the important link between ignorance (*avidyā*; *avijjā*) of the way things are and the craving (*tṛṣṇā*; *taṅhā*) to have them otherwise, Theravāda Buddhist commentarial tradition has tended to equate the experience of enlightenment with that of the extinction of desire (*tṛṣṇākṣaya*; *taṅhākhaya*), and thus not only to *nirvāṇa* but also to the third of the four noble truths, namely, *nirodha* ("cessation"). Other near-synonyms for *nibbāna* appear throughout the earliest Pali texts: the abolition of passion (*rāgakṣaya*; *rāgakkhaya*), the cessation of hatred (*dośakṣaya*; *dosakkhaya*), the extinction of illusion (*mohakṣaya*; *mohakkhaya*), and uncompounded or unconditioned existence (*asaṃskṛta*; *asamkhata*) all restate the general connotations of the enlightenment experience.

The Mahāyāna tradition, too, has understood enlightenment to include the direct perception of things-as-they-are. According to the Mahāyāna, the enlightened being sees all beings in their "suchness" (Skt., *tathatā*, *yathābhūta*; Tib., *yaṅ dag pa ji lta ba bźin du*) or their "thatness" (*tattva*; Tib., *de kho na [ñid]*), this is to say, in their uncategorical integrity. Mādhyamika Buddhist tracts hold that to perceive all things in their suchness is to see that they are empty (*śūnya*) of any independent, substantial, essential, or eternal being. The Prajñāpāramitā (Perfection of Wisdom) school of the Mahāyāna holds that a person who is to understand the similar "emptiness" (*śūnyatā*) of the world—that nothing exists in its own nature independent of a multitude or even infinite number of interdependent causes and forces—must cultivate wisdom (*prajñā*), a wisdom that is identical with awareness of all things (*sarvajñātā*) and perfect enlightenment (*sambodhi*).

Virtually all schools of Buddhist thought recognize the key relationship between enlightenment and the practice of meditation, for it is through meditation that the mind is understood to become clear and focused enough to allow one's illuminating awareness to shine clearly. Indeed, for Dōgen, a thirteenth-century Zen master from Japan, the practice of meditation and the entry into enlightenment are one and the same thing, for meditation is a spiritual discipline that reveals one's already enlightened mind.

Buddhist though varies regarding how long it may take to gain enlightenment and whether if, once gained, it can be blurred or lost. Possible answers to these question may into some ways be represented by two attitudes toward enlightenment in the Zen tradition. In one, represented by the Chinese ideogram *kan jing* (Japanese *kanjō*), "paying attention to purity," the mind is understood to be continually fogged and distorted by various forces, so must be cleansed gradually over long periods of sitting meditation. In another, described as *jianxing* (Japanese *kenshō*),"seeing into one's true nature," there is the possibility of a sudden recognition of the awakened state that is one's inherent nature that may take place at any moment, no matter how long one has been sitting in formal meditation. In either case, enlightenment is directly associated the ability to see the "is-as-it-isness" (Japanese *kono-mama*) of the moment, free of the mind's categories, projections, habitual tendencies, desires, expectations, and demands. Indeed, according to Buddhist thought in general across its many schools, the unencumbered, direct perception into the true nature of things beyond all categorical modes of understanding, including the mind, constitutes awakened enlightenment itself.

Despite the many and long discourses on the subject, Buddhist sensibilities, particularly those associated with the various schools of the Mahāyāna, holds that the experience of enlightenment is an ineffable one, for what lies beyond all categories cannot itself be expressed in words. That it cannot be expressed, however, is part of its experience. The *Mumonkan*, a Zen Buddhist chronicle, recounts a story purported to appear in an as yet undiscovered sūtra that would exemplify this point: When asked about the nature of truth, the Buddha silently held up a flower in front of his followers. Nobody understood his point except for the venerable Kaśyapa, who said nothing but smiled softly. Seeing his smile, the Buddha knew that his disciple had understood, and declared Kaśyapa to be enlightened.

SEE ALSO Buddha; Four Noble Truths; Mokṣa; Samādhi; Śūnyam and Śūnyatā; and Truth.

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ENLIGHTENMENT, THE. The eighteenth-century European intellectual movement known as the Enlightenment was affiliated with the rise of the bourgeoisie and the influence of modern science; it promoted the values of intellectual and material progress, toleration, and critical reason as opposed to authority and tradition in matters of politics and religion. The eighteenth century itself is sometimes referred to as "the Enlightenment," but this appellation is highly misleading. For despite the patronage of a few powerful individuals (Frederick the Great of Prussia, Catherine the Great of Russia, Josef II of Austria, and Pope Boniface XIV), the Enlightenment was always a critical and often a subversive movement in relation to the established political and religious order. Its values may have dominated certain intellectual circles in the eighteenth century, especially in France, but they did not dominate the political structures or the religious life of eighteenth-century people generally; and though many political goals of the Enlightenment were largely achieved in the nineteenth century, few of them were achieved in the eighteenth. In the eighteenth century, moreover, there were other powerful movements, particularly religious ones, that diverged from and were sometimes decidedly hostile to the Enlightenment (among them, Pietism, Jansenism, and Methodism). It is also a mistake to suggest that the ideas and values of the Enlightenment were limited to eighteenth-century thinkers, for these values have had a prominent place in European thought down to the present day.

The Enlightenment has always been regarded as predominantly a French movement, but its influence was certainly felt elsewhere, chiefly in Germany, England, and the American colonies. The terms *éclaircissement* and *Aufklärung* were generally used by its proponents, but the English term *enlightenment* does not appear to have been widely used until the nineteenth century, when it had largely derogatory connotations associated with the continent. In Germany too, the movement's opponents frequently played on anti-French sentiments.

The way was paved for the French Enlightenment by the wide influence of Cartesian philosophy and science in the latter half of the seventeenth century. But it also took stimulus from philosophical and scientific advances elsewhere, particularly in England. Within France, the principal forerunner of the Enlightenment was Pierre Bayle (1647–1706), whose *Historical and Critical Dictionary* (1697) combined sharp wit, copious historical learning, and dialectical skill with a skeptical temper and a deep commitment to the values of intellectual openness and toleration, especially in religious matters. In the sciences, the Enlightenment owed much to the publicist Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle (1657–1757), whose long and active career brought the ideas of scientific philosophers, especially Descartes, Leibniz, and Newton, into currency in France. But the chief philosophical inspiration for the French Enlightenment was provided by John Locke (1632–1704), whose epistemology, political theory, and conception of the relation of reason to religion became models for French Enlightenment thinkers.

We may distinguish two generations of French Enlightenment thinkers, with the transition occurring around 1750. The principal representatives of the first generation were Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet, 1694–1778) and the Baron de Montesquieu (Charles-Louis de Secondat, 1689–1755). Montesquieu's chief writings were in social theory, political theory, and history. His *Persian Letters* (1721) and *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748) give the lie to the common charge that the Enlightenment perspective on society and history was shallow, naive, reductionistic, and ethnocentric. Voltaire's massive oeuvre includes poetry, plays, and novels, as well as philosophical treatises and innumerable essays on the most varied subjects. His interests were exceptionally broad, but perhaps his chief concern was with religion. Voltaire's famous motto *Écrasez l'infâme!* ("Crush the infamous thing!") accurately portrays his hostility toward the Roman Catholic Church and toward clericalism in all forms. His writings contain many eloquent pleas for religious toleration and numberless irreverent satires on the narrowness, irrationality, and superstition of traditional Christianity. Voltaire was characteristic of Enlightenment thinkers in that he was uncompromisingly anticlerical, but it would be wholly incorrect to describe him as an atheist and inaccurate to call him an irreligious man. His writings bear witness to a lifelong struggle to achieve a rational piety that might sustain a person of moral disposition in a world full of monstrous human crimes and terrible human sufferings.

The younger generation of French Enlightenment thinkers (or *philosophes*) represents a considerable variety of viewpoints, some of them far more radical politically and more antireligious than those of Voltaire and Montesquieu. The leading French philosopher of this generation was Denis Diderot (1713–1784), a versatile and gifted writer, and the principal editor of the massive *Encyclopedia*, unquestionably the greatest scholarly and literary achievement of the French Enlightenment. Diderot left no finished philosophical system, but rather a variety of writings that expressed an ever-changing point of view and covered many subjects—metaphysics, natural science, psychology, aesthetics, criticism, society, politics, morality, and religion. In religion, Diderot began as a Deist, but later abandoned this position as an unworthy compromise with religious superstition. Yet even as an atheist, he retained great sympathy for many aspects of religion, especially for the religious predicament of the conscientious individual moral agent. His atheism has sometimes been accurately (if anachronistically) described as existentialist in character. In his later years, he occasionally flirted with some form of theism, especially with a sort of naturalistic pantheism. Like Voltaire, he was adamantly opposed to the simpler and more direct atheism of materialists such as d'Holbach.

The first volume of Diderot's *Encyclopedia* was published in 1751, prefaced by the famous "Preliminary Discourse" by the scientist Jean Le Rond d'Alembert (1717–1783). Seven volumes were published by 1759, when the work was suppressed by royal decree as causing "irreparable damage to morality and religion." In the same year, Pope Clement XIII threatened those who read it or possessed copies of it with excommunication. Six years later, with tacit permission of the government, Diderot managed to publish the remaining ten volumes. The *Encyclopedia* contained articles by many distinguished French intellectuals: Voltaire and Montesquieu, Rousseau and Condorcet, Quesnay and Turgot. Some of the articles are anonymous, perhaps written by Diderot himself, or taken by him from other sources. (The article "Reason," for instance, is a close paraphrase of Coste's translation of Locke's *Essay concerning Human Understanding* [4.18.10–11], an eloquent part of Locke's treatment of the relation of reason to faith.) The *Encyclopedia* by no means disseminated a single "party line" on moral, political, or religious questions. Many of the articles on theological subjects, for instance, were by Abbé Claude Yvon (1714–1791), who, in his article "Atheists," attacks Bayle's view that atheism should be tolerated and that the morals of atheists are as high as those of believers. The real ideology behind the encyclopedia is its confidence that moral, political, and religious progress can be achieved in society by the simple means of "raising the level of debate" on these matters. It was precisely this, and not immoralist or antireligious propaganda, that aroused the fear of Louis XV and Pope Clement XIII.

The most important epistemologist and psychologist of the second-generation *philosophes* was Étienne Bonnot, abbé de Condillac (1715–1780), whose *Treatise on Systems* (1749) and *Treatise on Sensations* (1754) developed a theory of human knowledge grounded wholly on sense experience. It is probably in Condillac, in fact, together with David Hume (1711–1776), that we find the true beginnings of modern empiricism.

The *philosophes* also included some infamous philosophical radicals, particularly Julien Offroy de La Mettrie (1709–1751), Claude-Adrien Helvétius (1715–1771), and Paul-Henri Thiry, baron d'Holbach (1723–1789). La Mettrie expounded an openly materialist theory of the soul in *Man a Machine* (1748) and a blatantly hedonist ethics in *Discourse on Happiness* (1750). Helvétius's *On the Mind* (published posthumously, 1772) presents a thoroughgoing determinist and environmentalist psychology, together with a utilitarian ethical theory. D'Holbach's attack on religion was begun in his *Christianisme dévoilé* (1761; the title is cleverly ambiguous: "revealed Christianity" or "Christianity exposed"); it was continued in his materialistic, deterministic, and atheistic *System of Nature* (1770).

Elsewhere in Europe, the Enlightenment took more moderate forms. In Germany, the alleged religious unorthodoxy of the *Aufklärung*'s representatives often made them objects of controversy, sometimes victims of persecution. But in fact there was nothing more radical among them than a rather conservative form of Deism. The founder of the German Enlightenment was Christian Wolff (1679–1754). He was possessed of an unoriginal but encyclopedic mind suited to the task of exercising a dominant influence on German academic philosophy. And this he did during the whole of the eighteenth century, at least until its last two decades. Although Wolff's theology was orthodox to the point of scholasticism, his rationalistic approach to theology brought upon him the wrath of the German Pietists, who had him dismissed from his professorship at Halle in 1723. (He was reinstated by Frederick the Great, however, on the latter's accession in 1740.) Among the influential exponents of Wolffianism in the *Aufklärung* were the metaphysician and aesthetician Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten (1714–1762), the first to describe philosophy of art as "aesthetics"; the "neologist" theologian Johann Salomo Semler (1725–1791); and the controversial early biblical critic Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694–1768).

The *Aufklärung* flourished during the reign of Frederick the Great (r. 1740–1786). Himself a Deist and an admirer of the *philosophes*, Frederick refounded the Berlin Academy in 1744 and brought the distinguished French scientist Pierre-Louis Moreau de Maupertuis (1698–1759) to Berlin as its head, along with Voltaire, La Mettrie, and d'Alembert. The academy's nonresident members included Wolff, Baumgarten, Fontenelle, Helvétius, and d'Holbach. Beyond (or beneath) the patronage of Frederick, there were also the so-called popular Enlightenment thinkers, such as Christoph Friedrich Nicolai (1733–1811) and Christian Garve (1742–1798). By far their most distinguished representative, however, was the Jewish Deist Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786), a gifted German prose stylist, an early advocate of the disestablishment of religion, and the grandfather of composer Felix Mendelssohn.

One of the most independent and influential voices of the German Enlightenment was that of Mendelssohn's close friend Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781), a dramatist, critic, theologian, and admirer of Spinoza and Leibniz. Lessing's theological writings are powerful but enigmatic in content, perhaps because his aim was simultaneously to criticize the arid rationalism of Wolffian theology and to reject the irrationalism and bibliolatry of Pietism. (The term bibliolatry as an epithet of opprobrium was coined by him.)

In the second half of the eighteenth century, there arose several empiricist critics of Wolffianism in Germany, notably Johann Heinrich Lambert (1728–1777) and Johannes Nikolaus Tetens (1736–1807). But towering over them, and indeed over all other philosophers of the German Enlightenment, is the foremost critic of Wolffian philosophy, Immanuel Kant (1724–1804). It is often said that Kant's ethics displays signs of his Pietist upbringing. In fact, however, Kant's specific references to Pietist forms of religiosity (emphasis on devotional reading of the Bible and on prayer as means of raising oneself to an actual experience of grace and justification) harshly criticize them as fanaticism (*Schwärmerei*) subversive of moral autonomy. Kant's theology was always a form of Wolffian rationalism, his moral religion a form of Enlightenment Deism. Kant's famous avowal that he "limits knowledge in order to make room for faith" makes reference not to a voluntarist or irrationalist "leap," still less to a biblical faith. Kantian moral faith is a form of rational belief, justified by a subtle (and usually underrated) philosophical argument. Throughout his maturity, and even during his term as rector of the University of Königsberg, Kant refused on principle to participate in religious services (which he condemned as "superstitious pseudo-service" [*Afterdienst*] of God). His uncompromising anticlericalism and deep suspicion of popular religion ("vulgar superstition") are characteristic French Enlightenment attitudes. Kant's 1784 essay "What Is Enlightenment?" expressed wholehearted support for the movement and for the policies of academic openness, religious toleration, and anticlericalism pursued by Frederick the Great.

The Enlightenment in Britain is represented in theology by the tradition of British Deism (the position of such men as John Toland and Matthew Tindal) and in politics by Whig liberalism. Representative of both trends was the philosopher, scientist, and Presbyterian (and Unitarian) cleric Joseph Priestley (1733–1804). Other Britons displaying the impact of the Enlightenment included the utilitarian Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832), the economist and moral theorist Adam Smith (1723–1790), the historian Edward Gibbon (1737–1794), and the radical political thinker William Godwin (1756–1836). Hume is often regarded as an opponent, even a great subverter, of the Enlightenment, partly because of his political conservatism, but chiefly because of his skeptical attack on the pretensions of human reason. Hume was, however, personally on good terms with many of the *philosophes* and at one with their views on religious matters. To see Hume's attack on reason as anti-Enlightenment is to ignore the fact that it is carried on in the name of the other important Enlightenment ideal, nature. Along with Condillac and the *philosophes*, Hume views our cognitive powers as part of our natural equipment as living organisms and urges us to view our use of them as bound up with our practical needs. His skeptical attack on reason is an attack not on the faculty praised by the Enlightenment, but rather on that appealed to by vain scholastic metaphysicians and crafty sophists hoping to provide "shelter to popular superstitions" by "raising entangling brambles to cover their weakness." Far from being a critic of the Enlightenment, Hume is one of its most characteristic and articulate voices.

The founding fathers of the United States included prominent Enlightenment figures: Thomas Paine, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson. The Federalist suspicion of centralized state power and the hostility to clericalism motivating the complete separation of church and state in the new republic both reflect the influence of Enlightenment ideas.

Even today we still tend to view the Enlightenment through the distorting lens of nineteenth-century romanticism and its reactionary preconceptions. Enlightenment thought is still accused of being ahistorical and ethnocentric, when (as Ernst Cassirer has shown) the conceptual tools used by post-Enlightenment historians and anthropologists were all forged by the Enlightenment itself. Enlightenment thought is charged with naive optimism, despite the fact that some of the most characteristic Enlightenment thinkers (Voltaire, Mendelssohn) were historical pessimists. It is said that the Enlightenment had too much confidence in human reason, despite its preoccupation with the limits of human cognitive powers. Moreover, many of the Enlightenment thinkers who were most hopeful of salutary social change because of the progress of reason also expressed profound doubts about this (witness Diderot's posthumously published masterpiece *Rameau's Nephew*).

On the subject of religion, the common twentieth-century view—inherited from nineteenth-century romanticism—was that Enlightenment thinkers were shallow and arrogant, showing an irreverence and contempt for tradition and authority. Of course, any movement that (like the Enlightenment) sets out to deflate the pretensions of pseudo-profundity will naturally be accused of shallowness by those it makes its targets. It is equally natural that people who are outraged by crimes and hypocrisy carried on under the protection of an attitude of reverence for tradition and authority should choose irreverent wit and satire as appropriate vehicles for their criticism. In fact, the Enlightenment attack on religious authority and tradition was motivated by a profound concern for what it conceived to be the most essential values of the human spirit, the foundations of any true religion.

Kant defines "enlightenment" as "the human being's release from self-imposed tutelage"; by "tutelage," he means the inability to use one's understanding without guidance from another, the state of a child whose spiritual life is still held in benevolent bondage by his parents. Tutelage is self-imposed when it results not from immaturity or inability to think for oneself, but rather from a lack of courage to do so. Thus enlightenment is the process by which human individuals receive the courage to think for themselves about morality, religion, and politics, instead of having their opinions dictated to them by political, ecclesiastical, or scriptural authorities.

The battle cry of the Enlightenment in religious matters was toleration. The cry now sounds faint and irrelevant to us, partly because we flatter ourselves that we long ago achieved what it demands, and partly because toleration itself appears to be a value that is bloodless and without specific content. But on both counts we seriously misconceive the meaning the Enlightenment attached to toleration. Toleration is the beginning of enlightenment as Europe in the eighteenth century conceived it because it is the necessary social condition for people to use their own intellects to decide what they will believe. The Enlightenment's demand for toleration is thus the demand that people be given the opportunity to fulfill their deepest spiritual vocation: that of using their intellects to determine the faith they will live by. People miss this vocation whenever "faith" for them ceases to be a belief founded on their own evaluation of the evidence before them and becomes the submission of their intellect to some unquestioned authority. The Enlightenment's judgment on such a spiritually crippling, unenlightened "faith" was pronounced most eloquently by the father of Enlightenment thought, John Locke.

> There is a use of the word *Reason*, wherein it is opposed to *Faith*. . . . Only . . . *Faith* is nothing but a firm Assent of the Mind: which if it be regulated as is our Duty, cannot be afforded to any thing, but upon good Reason. . . . He that believes, without having any reason for believing . . . neither seeks Truth as he ought, nor pays the Obedience due to his Maker, who would have him use those discerning Faculties he has given him. (*Essay concerning Human Understanding* 4.17.24)

Enlightenment is release from tutelage. It is not surprising that a person who subjects himself to the authority of church or scripture or to his own fancies should be intolerant of others' beliefs and should attempt to impose his own upon them. "For," asks Locke, "how almost can it be otherwise, but that he should be ready to impose on others Belief, who has already imposed on his own?"

Kant, writing in 1784, did not claim to be living in an enlightened age, an age in which people had come to intellectual maturity and governed their own beliefs through reason; but he did claim to be living in an age of enlightenment, an age in which people were gaining the courage to free themselves from the spiritual oppression of tradition and authority. Before we dismiss Enlightenment thought as shallow or as irrelevant to our time, we should ask ourselves whether we can say even as much for our age as Kant was willing to say for his.

SEE ALSO Atheism; Cassirer, Ernst; Deism; Descartes, René; Doubt and Belief; Empiricism; Faith; Hume, David; Kant, Immanuel; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Lessing, G. E.; Locke, John; Mendelssohn, Moses; Methodist Churches; Pietism; Reimarus, Hermann Samuel; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Spinoza, Barukh; Theism; Truth; Wolff, Christian.

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ALLEN W. WOOD (1987)
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ENLIL, the "wind god," was the principal god of the Sumerian pantheon and poliad god of Nippur, the religious center of the country. Enlil was also guardian god of the temple Ekur ("mountain house") and the husband of Ninlil, or Sud. Together with An and Enki, Enlil was the third member of the great triad of the Sumerian pantheon and a permanent member of the assembly of the gods. When the cosmos was divided, Enlil took the earth for himself, while An ruled the sky and Ereshkigal was given the underworld. Enlil is the elder brother of Enki, whom he entrusted with the task of putting the world in order. After the great Flood, Enlil and An gave Ziusudra (the hero of the flood) "life, like (that of) a god." The Moon god (Nanna-Sin, Ashimbabbar), Nergal, Ninazu, and Enbilulu were born from Enlil's union with Ninlil. In the myth *The Assault of the Demons on the Moon*, when the demons besiege heaven and black out the moon, Enlil deals with the situation by having Enki, the god of magic, intervene.

Piotr Steinkeller (1999) and Piotr Michalowski (1998) have cast doubt upon the Sumerian nature of the god Enlil. They discuss the actual meaning of the name, equating the Eblaite I-li-lu with Enlil. Just how at variance this is with other Sumerian myths has been shown by Manfred Krebernik and M. P. Streck, and the epithet of Enlil in Sumerian literature is *kur-gal* (great mountain), suggesting origins in eastern Mesopotamia.

The myth of *Enlil and Ninlil*, who in Mesopotamian religious tradition were seen as the principal gods of Nippur, is both a sacred marriage text (or hierogamy), as well as a theogony, since it narrates not only the marriage but also the birth of four heavenly gods, one of them the Moon god. The story begins with an introduction praising Nippur, setting the scene where the action unfolds, and a description of the two main characters, Enlil and Ninlil. Well aware of the hot-blooded nature of the youth of the city, Ninlil's wise mother, Nunbarshegunu, advises her daughter not to bathe in the river because she could tempt one of the young men. When Ninlil disobeys her mother and bathes in the river, Enlil spots her and immediately makes advances to her, which Ninlil rejects. Enlil then sails on the river with the help of his herald Nusku, and renews his advances. This time the young woman is unable to resist, so the god has intercourse with her and impregnates her with Sin-Ashimbabbar. Enlil's scandalous behavior causes the gods to banish him from the city. When he leaves the city, Ninlil follows him and finds where he is hiding, having intercourse with him three more times and producing three more gods: Nergal, Ninazu, and Enbilulu. The text concludes with a doxology praising both divinities, after a hymn in honor of Enlil.

In contrast to the preceding myth, where the circumstances in which Enlil and Ninlil marry are somewhat perplexing, another version of the myth faithfully reflects the custom and practice of Sumerian society. The story begins by introducing the characters and establishing that Enlil is not yet married. On a journey through the land of Sumer, Enlil reaches Eresh, where he meets the young Sud. He engages in conversation with her, making clear his intentions, but the god has scarcely begun to approach her when Sud proudly slams the door in his face. Enlil, already enamored, turns to Nusku and entrusts him with the task of going to Eresh to ask Sud's mother Nidaba for the hand of her daughter. Nidaba consents, but on the condition of a journey by Aruru, Enlil's sister, to Eresh, followed by her journey to Nippur. When the messenger returns to Nippur and brings back the message, Enlil prepares lavish gifts, which are taken by caravan to Eresh. The gifts are received graciously, and preparations begin for the marriage and the actual ceremony. Enlil then blesses his wife and gives her the name Ninlil.

A series of documents tell of the *Journeys of the Gods* to obtain blessings and prosperity for the cities under their protection. The first of these journeys is undertaken by the Moon god Nanna, the poliad god of Ur and son of Enlil and Ninlil, who goes to the city of his birth, Nippur. After a eulogy of his city, in which he praises its antiquity, the god Nanna sends messengers throughout the country and also to other distant countries to collect the required materials so that he can build a boat. When he has constructed the boat, there is an inventory of the goods loaded upon it, and then begins the long journey to carry the god to the city of Nippur. The boat makes several stops en route, first at Ennegi, where the goddess Ningirida, hoping to receive Nanna's precious cargo, welcomes him, but he refuses her. The same thing happens at Larsa, the home of the goddess Sherida; at Uruk, home of the goddess Inanna; at Shuruppak, home of the goddess Ninunu; and at Tummal, home of Ninlil.

The boat finally reaches Nippur, where Nanna asks for and is granted permission to enter, and he sets down the gifts he has brought. His father Enlil joyfully welcomes his son and serves a sumptuous feast for him, which ends with a request for a general blessing for the city under his protection. A special request is then put to the sovereign, but his response is ambiguous. Two other journeys concern the guardian divinities of the city of Isin, the god Pabilsag and the goddess Nininsina; both of them travel to Nippur to beg for a blessing for themselves and their adopted city.

Enlil's active involvement with humankind is shown in various documents. In *The Song of the Hoe,* Enlil, after separating heaven and earth so that humans can cultivate the earth, makes an opening in the floor of the earth. He then creates a hoe, establishes the various kinds of labor, describes the qualities of the hoe in detail, and sets it in the place where the first human being will appear. When the human race springs from mold that had been placed in the hole, and when grass grows, Enlil gives the humans the hoe, while the gods express their wholehearted approval. It is interesting to note the writer's belief, already clear from these lines, that the first human being was Sumerian.

Another document, which dates to after 1100 BCE, is the only one in which blood is necessary for the creation of humans, an element completely absent in the Sumerian creation myths and probably derived from a Semitic tradition. The story links the creation of the human race to the very beginnings of the world, when the gods had come into being, heaven and earth had been separated, and the basis for life on earth had been established by digging rivers and channels so water could flow. At a meeting involving the three main gods and the Anunna (all the great gods), Enlil poses the question as to whether or not they want him to carry on with the act of creation. Their unanimous response is to let humankind emerge in the temple of Enlil by mixing clay with the blood of the god Alla. The new creatures, called Ullegarra and Annegarra, are given the task of manual labor, and they are to make the land rich in plenty, holding sumptuous feasts for the world of the gods. This is the law laid down by Aruru, the sister of Enlil, and the goddess Nisaba ensured that it was duly observed.

The prologue of the *Debate between Sheep and Grain* contains a cosmogonic allusion to the birth of two gods that were essential for human life, Ashnan (grain) and Uttu (the spinning of wool). The god An had not created them in the beginning, so the earth did not have grain, sheep, or goats, and human beings did not have bread or clothes and were living like animals. The gods put right the forgetfulness of An by making grain and sheep appear in their house on the sacred hill, and they ate and drank plentifully, but were not sated. At this point the gods decide to bestow their new creation on humankind, and Enki advises Enlil to give sheep and grain to humans as a gift. Thus, via the intervention of these two supreme gods, sheep and grain are brought from the sacred hill to the earth for the use of human beings.

Enlil, though, is not always beneficent to humans, and the negative aspects of divine behavior towards the human race are described in the myth of Atrahasis, as well as the myth of the Sumerian flood and the *Epic of Gilgamesh.* In the *Epic of Atrahasis,* Enlil is portrayed as one who, alarmed by the rapid growth of the human race (whose noise disturbs his sleep), attempts to reduce and eventually destroy humankind by plague, by drought, and finally by flood. In the *Lament for Ur,* the destruction of the city Ur is attributed to Enlil's storm "that annihilated the land." One petitioner bemoans in a prayer the fact that Enlil is "the storm destroying the cattle pen, uprooting the sheepfold; my roots are torn up, my forests denuded."

Commencing with the Old Babylonian period, Enlil occupied a less exalted position in the pantheon. Many of his attributes were assumed by Marduk in Babylonia and by Ashur in Assyria. Indeed, it is likely that Marduk's and Ashur's prominent roles in the great Mesopotamian national epic, *Enuma elish* (in the extant Babylonian and Assyrian recensions, respectively), originally belonged to Enlil.

SEE ALSO Ashur; Marduk; Mesopotamian Religion, overview article.

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ENNIN (794–864), posthumous title, Jikaku Daishi; was a Japanese Buddhist monk of the Tendai school. Ennin was born in north-central Japan. At fifteen he entered the monastic center on Mount Hiei, the headquarters of the Tendai school, where he soon became a favorite disciple of Saichō (767–822), the Japanese monk who transmitted the Tendai (Chin., Tiantai) teachings to Japan from China. In 814 Ennin became a full-fledged monk, after which he studied the Buddhist precepts at Tōdaiji in Nara for seven years. Eventually, a physical ailment forced him to retire to a hut at Yokawa in the northern part of Mount Hiei, where he waited quietly for death. According to legend, Ennin devoted himself to copying the *Lotus Sūtra* (Jpn. *Hōkekyō;* Skt., *Saddharmapuṇḍarika Sūtra*) for three years, and miraculously regained his health after experiencing a vision of the Buddha in a dream. The next year (835) Ennin petitioned the court for permission to visit China. He left Japan in 838 with the last official Japanese embassy to the Tang court. Unable to gain permission to visit Mount Tiantai, eponymous headquarters of the Chinese Tiantai school, he studied Sanskrit and received initiation into the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala and the Garbhakośadhātu Maṇḍala and other Esoteric (Mikkyō) doctrines and practices.

The following year he made a pilgrimage to Mount Wutai in northern China, a center of Pure Land practices. Here, Ennin studied Tiantai texts and Mikkyō, and participated in Pure Land practices. In 840 he went to the capital, Chang'an, where for six years he deepened his knowledge and added expertise in the *susiddhi*, an Esoteric tradition as yet unknown in Japan. Ennin survived the persecution of Buddhism under Emperor Wuzong and finally returned to Japan in 847 with hundreds of Buddhist scriptures from the Tiantai, Esoteric, Chan, and Pure Land traditions, as well as treatises on Sanskrit, Buddhist images, assorted ceremonial objects, and even rocks from Mount Wutai. These are listed in the *Nittō shingu shōgyō mokuroku*, a catalogue Ennin submitted to the court. Ennin also returned with a diary, the *Nittō guhō junrei kōki*, a scrupulously accurate account of his travels and of the China of Tang times, and with new knowledge and experience to lead the Japanese Tendai school to social and doctrinal preeminence in Japan.

His busy career after returning to Japan was a combination of hectic activity and prestigious official recognition. On Mount Hiei he founded centers for Pure Land and *Lotus Sūtra* practices. He presided over an initiation for a thousand people in 849, an initiation for Emperor Montoku and the crown prince in 855, and bestowed the Mahayana precepts on Emperor Seiwa in 859. Incumbency of the office of *zasu*, or abbot, of the Tendai school was granted him by the court in 853. Ennin died in 864 (some sources have 866). In 866 he was granted the exalted title Jikaku Daishi ("master of compassionate awakening"); Saichō was (posthumously) given the title Dengyō Daishi ("master of the transmission of the teachings") at the same time. This was the first use of the title Daishi in Japan.

The contributions of Ennin to Japanese Buddhism are as follows:

(1) The transmission of Pure Land practices from Mount Wutai. Although Saichō had already introduced a type of Pure Land practice, the verbal Nembutsu introduced by Ennin provided the foundation for the later independent Pure Land schools of the Kamakura period (1185–1333).

(2) Compilation of his diary of his journey to China, an extremely valuable and unique record of Tang China.

(3) Consolidation of Tendai Mikkyō. Ennin completed Saichō's limited transmission of Mikkyō so that the Tendai Mikkyō tradition, known as Taimitsu, could successfully compete with the Tōmitsu Mikkyō of the Shingon school transmitted and founded by Kūkai (774–835).

(4) Introduction of *shōmyō*, a melodious method of chanting the scriptures, and transmission of new Pure Land, Mikkyō, confessional, and memorial ceremonies; construction of many important buildings on Mount Hiei; and development of the Yokawa area of Mount Hiei.

(5) Strengthening of the position of the Mahāyāna precepts platform on Mount Hiei through his contacts with the imperial court. Ennin's *Kenyō daikai ron*, an important treatise on the subject, further contributed to the power and influence of the ordination center on Mount Hiei.

(6) Cultivation of many important disciples. Ennin's lineage, called the Sanmon-ha, although in competition with the Jimon-ha of Enchin (814–891), dominated the Tendai hierarchy for centuries.

Ennin's legacy thus includes the development of the doctrine, practices, and social prestige of the Japanese Tendai school to the point where it dominated the Japanese Buddhist world of the later Heian period (866–1185) and provided the basis for the Pure Land, Zen, and Nichiren schools. Ennin's meticulous diary is also the best source of information on the daily life and times of Tang China.

See Also Tendaishū.

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proach is historical rather than religious and does not cover Ennin's life and contributions after his return to Japan. The most detailed study and translation of Ennin's diary in Japanese is Ono Katsutoshi's four-volume *Nittō guhō junrei kōki no kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1964–1969). There are two volumes of collected essays concerning Ennin, *Jikaku Daishi sangōshū*, edited by Yamada Etai (Kyoto, 1963), and the more scholarly *Jikaku Daishi kenkyū*, edited by Fukui Kōjun (1964; reprint, Tokyo 1980), first published on the eleven hundredth anniversary of Ennin's death. There is no single collection of Ennin's works, which are instead scattered throughout various collections of Buddhist texts.

PAUL L. SWANSON (1987)

EN NO GYŌJA

EN NO GYŌJA (634?–701), literally, "En the ascetic (*ācārya*)"; famous Japanese mountain ascetic and *hijiri*. Details of his life have been recorded, *inter alia*, in the *Nihon ryōiki* (820) and in his biography, *En no Gyōja hongi* (724). He is also known as En no Ozunu, En no Shōzunu, Shōkaku, or simply as the Master En.

En no Gyōja was born to a family of Shintō priests in the village of Kuwahara in Yamato province (Nara prefecture). Although he converted to Buddhism as a youth, he decided to forgo ordination as a monk and to remain a layman. As a result, he is often referred to as En no Ubasoku, "the layman En," after the Japanese transcription of the Sanskrit *upāsaka* ("layman"). At the age of thirty-two he retreated to Mount Katsuragi (Nara prefecture) and adopted the severe life of a mountain ascetic, clothing himself in grasses and living on the bark of trees. In a cave on the mountainside he installed a copper statue of his patron the *bodhisattva* Kujaku Myō-ō (Skt., Mayūrīrāja), who is believed to assume the shape of a bird in order to dispense his mercies. For more than thirty years En no Gyōja practiced austerities and meditation in front of this statue. During this period he also forayed to other famous peaks, including the Omine range and Mount Kimbusen, which later became important centers of *yamabushi* activity. His experience of enlightenment, the culmination of years of ascetic practice, he recorded in this way:

> Long ago I listened to Shaka (i.e., Śākyamuni Buddha) himself as he was preaching on the Eagle mountain [Gṛdhrakūṭa]. Later I became an emperor of Japan and ruled the empire. Here I am now on this mountain in a different body, to engage in the work of saving sentient being. (Coates and Ishizuka, 1949, p. 18)

Tradition relates that with the attainment of enlightenment En no Gyōja became endowed with miraculous powers, including command of the winds and clouds and even of the indigenous *kami;* his use of a Buddhist spell (*dhāraṇī*) to exorcise the god Hitokotonushi offered vivid proof of the superior magical power available to the practitioner of Buddhism and went far to establish his reputation. Such episodes, however, brought him the disfavor of the public officials, who were chary of the potential for political and social disruption presented by such episodes, and so in the year 700 he was exiled to the island of Izu. The account in the *Nihon ryōiki* reports that during his exile he walked nightly from Izu to the mainland in order to ascend Mount Fuji. In 701 he was allowed to return to Kyoto, after which he traveled to Kyushu to continue his ascetic practices until his death later that year.

En no Gyōja's reputation as the prototypical mountain wizard, who commands the powers of nature and engages in prolific displays of magical prowess gained through his ascetic activities, led him to be canonized as the founder of the Shugendō sect of mountain ascetics. In his doctrines, En no Gyōja is recorded to have attempted to harmonize the Japanese respect for nature and belief in the sacrality of mountain precincts with the teachings of Buddhism. His followers in later generations came to recognize in certain mountain peaks and caves the indigenous equivalents of the Kongōkai (Diamond Realm) and Taizōkai (Womb Realm) *maṇḍala*s of the Tendai and Shingon esoteric traditions in Japan. En no Gyōja's legacy continued to inform the mind of Heian Japan (794–1185): instances of his legend may be found in the *Makurazōshi* (Pillow sketches) of Sei Shōnagon and in the *Konjaku monogatari* (Narratives of past and present). As late as 1799 he was awarded the honorary title Daibosatsu Shimben, "Great Bodhisattva of Divine Change."

SEE ALSO Shugendō.

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ENOCH

ENOCH, or, in Hebrew, Ḥanokh (from a Hebrew root meaning "consecrate, initiate") was the son of Jared, according to biblical tradition; righteous antediluvian; and the subject of substantial hagiography in the Jewish and Christian traditions.

IN THE HEBREW BIBLE. *Genesis,* in listing the descendants of Adam until Noah and his sons, mentions Enoch, the seventh, in ways distinct from the others: Enoch "walked with God"; he lived only 365 years, a considerably shorter time than the others; and at the end of his life he "was no more, for God took him" (*Gn.* 5:21–24). Modern scholars agree that a fuller tradition about Enoch lies behind the preserved fragment. They disagree, however, on whether that tradition can be recovered from depictions of Enoch in postbiblical Jewish literature of Hellenistic times and from parallel depictions of antediluvian kings, sages, and flood heroes in ancient Mesopotamian literature.

IN JEWISH LITERATURE OF SECOND TEMPLE TIMES. The Septuagint (the Greek translation of the Bible, c. 250 BCE), *Ben Sira* (c. 190 BCE), and the *Jewish Antiquities* by Josephus Flavius (37/8–c. 100 CE) all state that Enoch was taken by or returned to the deity. The *Wisdom of Solomon* (first century BCE) explains that God prematurely terminated Enoch's life on earth so that wickedness would not infect his perfect saintliness. Philo Judaeus (d. 45–50 CE) allegorizes Enoch so as to represent the person who is ecstatically transported (echoing the Septuagint) from perishable (physical) to imperishable (spiritual and intellectual) aspects of existence, and from mortality to (spiritual) immortality. Like the Greek version of *Ben Sira,* Philo describes Enoch as a sign of repentance for having changed from the "worse life to the better." Enoch is not found among the sinful multitude but in solitude. Philo contrasts Enoch's piety with that of Abraham, which is exercised within society rather than in isolation.

The portrayals of Enoch in contemporary writings displaying apocalyptic interests are considerably more laudatory of him and expansive of the underlying biblical text. Here Enoch is depicted as a medium for the revelation of heavenly secrets to humanity: secrets of cosmology, sacred history, and eschatology. The principal sources for these traditions are *1* and *2 Enoch, Jubilees, Pseudo-Eupolemus,* and previously unknown writings among the Dead Sea Scrolls. They span a period from the third century BCE to the first century CE.

Enoch's "life" and the secrets revealed to him are summarized in *Jubilees* 4:16–26 and detailed in the *Books of Enoch.* Enoch receives these revelations first in nocturnal visions, and then in a heavenly journey lasting three hundred years, during which he dwells with angels and is instructed by them in hidden cosmological and historical knowledge. After a brief return to earth to transmit a record of his witness to his descendants, he is removed to the Garden of Eden, where he continues to testify to humanity's sins and to record God's judgments of these sins until the final judgment. Enoch is also said to officiate in paradise at the sanctuary before God. Elsewhere, certain religious laws are said to have originated with Enoch and his books. In some later parts of this literature, Enoch himself becomes a divine figure who dwells in heaven and executes justice. In most traditions, however, he is an intermediary between the divine and human, even after his transfer to paradise. Thus, Enoch combines the functions of prophet, priest, scribe, lawgiver, sage, and judge.

ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN PARALLELS. For more than a century, scholars have argued that the biblical Enoch has his roots in Mesopotamian lore about similar antediluvian figures, and that the likenesses between Enoch and such figures reemerge in the depictions of Enoch in Jewish literature of Hellenistic times. Such parallels have most frequently been drawn with the seventh (or sixth or eighth) member of the Sumerian antediluvian king-list, Enmeduranna. According to some versions of this tradition, the king, associated with the city of the sun god Shamash, is received into fellowship with the gods and is initiated into the secrets of heaven and earth, including the art of divination, knowledge of which he passes on to his son. Other scholars, noting that no mention is made of Enmeduranna's transcendence of death, find Enoch's antecedents in the wise flood heroes Ziusudra and Utnapishtim, who are said to have been rewarded with eternal life in paradise. Most recently, scholars have argued that Enoch is modeled after the *apkallu* sages, who reveal wisdom and the civilized arts to antediluvian humanity, the seventh (*utuabzu*) of whom is said to have ascended to heaven.

IN CHRISTIANITY. The church fathers exhibit considerable interest in Enoch's transcendence of death as a paradigm for Jesus and the Christian elect. However, some stress that it was only with Jesus' resurrection that Enoch's ascension was consummated. In the second and third centuries, Christian writers (among them, Tertullian and Irenaeus) place particular emphasis on Enoch's bodily assumption in support of belief in physical resurrection. Some (Tertullian, Hippolytus, and Jerome) identify him as one of the two witnesses of *Revelations* 11:3–13 who battle and are killed by the Antichrist, are resurrected a few days later, and are taken to heaven. Ephraem of Syria (fourth century) stresses that Enoch, like Jesus, in conquering sin and death and in regaining paradise in spirit as well as body, is the antipode of Adam. Because Enoch precedes the covenant of law (he is said to be uncircumcised and unobservant of the Sabbath), his faith and reward are of particular importance to Christianity in its polemic against Judaism and in its mission to the Gentiles.

IN RABBINIC JUDAISM. Rabbinic exegesis is concerned less with Enoch's righteousness during life, questioned by some early rabbis, than with the nature of his end. The main issue of dispute is whether he died like other righteous people, his soul returning to God, or whether he was transported, body and soul (like Elijah), to heaven or paradise.

Some rabbinical circles, initially those responsible for the mystical, theosophical literature of Merkavah (divine chariot) speculation (our earliest texts are from the fifth to sixth centuries), adapted prerabbinic traditions of Enoch's transformation into an angel. This angel (now identified with the archangel Metatron) is said to rule the heavenly "palace," to have a role in the revelation of Torah and its teaching on high, and to guide the righteous in their tours of heaven. The tension between the mystical exaltation of Enoch and the more qualified praise of him and denial of his assumption continues through medieval Jewish literature.

IN ISLAM. In the Qurʾān (19:57–58, 21:85), Idrīs is said to have been an "upright man and a prophet," who was "raised to a high place." While Idrīs's identity within the Qurʾān is uncertain, Muslim writers, drawing upon Jewish sources that venerate him, have regularly identified him with Enoch (Arab., Akhnūkh). He is said to have introduced several sciences and arts, practiced ascetic piety, received revelation, and entered paradise while still alive.

See Also Apocalypse, article on Jewish Apocalypticism to the Rabbinic Period.

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ENTHUSIASM.

The history of enthusiasm is as much the history of the word as of the phenomenon it signifies. In the English-speaking world, the word came to prominence as a technical religious term in the seventeenth century, used always in reference to religious experience, and, for the most part, as a term of denigration. For about two hundred years, the usual usage was to denote ill-regulated religious emotion or, more specifically, fancied inspiration, the false or deluded claim to have received divine communications or private revelations. In the course of the last hundred years the technical religious meaning has been almost completely superseded by the more positive meaning now current (ardent zeal for a person, principle, or cause), though unfavorable overtones still cling to the derivative term, *enthusiast*, as connoting an impractical visionary or self-deluded person. It is, however, the technical religious term with which we are here concerned.

A discussion of enthusiasm is also a discussion of the word, in the important sense that disputes over its applicability were also disputes over the propriety and validity of any claims to divine inspiration and revelation. For those hostile to religion as such—or to any save a strictly rational religion—enthusiasm was no different from superstition, a charge which could be brought against the Jewish prophets of old, the apostle Paul, or Muḥammad with as much justice as against John Wesley (1703–1791). For members of the established church who were fearful of schism, enthusiasm was another name for sectarianism, and as such could be used of Francis of Assisi or Dominic, or "papists" in general, as well as the followers of George Fox (1624–1691) or Madame Guyon (1648–1717). For those suspicious of any display of emotion, particularly in religion, *enthusiasm* was synonymous with fanaticism. Only in the nineteenth century, under the influence of the Romantic revival, did a more positive sense of enthusiasm—as emotion deeply felt or the heightened perception of poetic inspiration—begin to free the word from the negative overtones of religious disapproval.

In a strict sense, then, the study of enthusiasm is the study of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Christianity, understood as the study of movements within Christianity that were regarded by their critics as peripheral and as threatening to the integrity of Christianity, although perhaps it could more properly be understood as the study of the attitudes of those who condemned such movements as "enthusiastic." In addition, it should be borne in mind that *enthusiast* was used as a translation of the German *Schwärmer*, a term used by Martin Luther to describe such radical reformers as Andreas Karlstadt, Thomas Müntzer, and the Anabaptists. Like the English "enthusiasts," the German Schwärmer pretended to divine inspirations and revelations and could be classed as fanatics and sectarians. As a technical religious term, therefore, *enthusiasm* denotes the diverse expressions of radical, spiritualist, or sectarian Christianity, particularly in Europe, during the three hundred years from the beginning of the Reformation to the nineteenth century.

RONALD KNOX'S ENTHUSIASM. It is this narrowly defined enthusiasm which Ronald Knox describes in his classic study *Enthusiasm.* "Enthusiasm did not really begin to take shape until the moment when Luther shook up the whole pattern of European theology" (Knox, 1950, p. 4). "Enthusiasm in the religious sense belongs to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; it hardly reappears without inverted commas after 1823" (p. 6). To be sure, Knox notes that the pattern of enthusiasm is one which recurs spontaneously throughout church history, and he presents brief studies of the Corinthian church, the Montanists, the Donatists, and some medieval sects, particularly the Waldensians and the Cathari. But Donatists are hardly a good example of enthusiasm, despite their zeal for martyrdom. Knox dismisses Montanism as "naked fanaticism" (p. 49) and the medieval movements as fed by an inspiration "alien to the genius of Europe" or as "sporadic and unimportant, freaks of religious history" (p. 4). All these are brought into the picture less as examples of enthusiasm requiring analysis in their own right than as foils to the subsequent descriptions of enthusiasm proper. Even the Anabaptists, the Schwärmer themselves, are given scant treatment and serve largely as a vehicle for Knox's Roman Catholic disapproval of Luther and the Reformation. In all this, it is clear that Knox's chief objection to enthusiastic movements is their tendency to schismatic sectarianism. "The enthusiast always begins by trying to form a church within the Church, always ends by finding himself committed to sectarian opposition" (p. 109).

Knox's somewhat more sympathetic depiction of enthusiasm begins with his treatment of Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends (Quakers). His attention naturally focuses on Fox's belief in "the inner light," as illustrated by Fox's interruption of a preacher at Nottingham: "It is not the Scripture, it is the Holy Spirit by which holy men of old gave forth the Scripture, by which religions . . . are to be tried" (p. 152, note 3). In the twofold implication of this assertion, the marks of the enthusiast are clearly evident: the claim to an immediacy of inspiration (comparable to that elsewhere readily acknowledged in, but otherwise confined to, the biblical writers) not to be confused with reason or conscience; and the claim that this inner illumination is the true source of authority above the letter of scripture, the creeds, and the ordinances of church and state. The violent tremblings which often accompanied and were thought to attest to the movement of the Holy Spirit, and from which the nickname "Quakers" was derived, apparently occurred only in the very early days.

The central section of Knox's monograph is given over to a treatment of Jansenism (mid-seventeenth to mid-eighteenth centuries) and quietism (latter half of the seventeenth century). Significant certainly for their challenge to the mainstream of Roman Catholic tradition, these movements should probably not be classified as examples of enthusiasm, at least in the technical sense of the word as used by Knox. Jansenism stressed the corruption of human nature by original sin and the power of divine grace. Rigorist in character—a kind of Roman Catholic Puritanism—it came closest to enthusiasm in the degree to which it understood grace in terms of experiences of "sensible devotion" (pp. 224–225). Quietism was a doctrine of Christian spirituality which sought to suppress all human effort, so that divine action might have full sway over the passive soul. It emphasized the immediacy of contact between the soul and God, but since it also denied that such contact need be a matter of conscious experience, quietism is better studied in connection with Christian mysticism than (Christian) enthusiasm.

The real targets of Knox's critique at this point are Madame Guyon and the convulsionaries at Saint Médard. Guyon, who did much to promote quietism, evidently epitomizes a good deal of what Knox regarded as detestable in enthusiasm: particularly her spiritual "smugness" and, not least, the prominent role of influential women in supporting enthusiastic movements. The convulsions at the Paris cemetery of Saint Médard in the early 1730s (including ecstatic dancing, many alleged cures, and speaking in unknown languages) were regarded by participants as the outpouring of the Holy Spirit expected in the last days. But for Knox they are a fitting expression of popular Jansenism and a terrible warning of what can happen to a movement which sits too loose to ecclesiastical authority. Similar to the Jansenist Catholic convulsionaries were the Huguenot Camisards in southern France (late seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries), among whom a form of ecstatic prophecy, involving prostrations, trancelike states, and glossolalia, was prominent, and who in exile in Britain (where they were known as "the French Prophets") converted Ann Lee, the subsequent founder of the North American Shakers.

The other main object of Knox's analysis is Wesley. Here Knox's critique focuses on the religion of experience.

An initial chapter examines the Moravian piety inculcated in Germany by Count Nikolaus Zinzendorf (1700–1760). Like the quietists, the Moravians practiced a piety of stillness. But unlike the quietists, Zinzendorf preached religion as felt experience and salvation "as an immediate and joyful apprehension of a loving Father" (Knox, 1950, p. 410), assurance not merely as a doctrine believed but as something felt, the sense of God's protective love. It was the importance of such experience which Wesley learned from the Moravians and emphasized in his own doctrine of assurance—assurance of present pardon, the inner witness of the Spirit of God. Wesley never abandoned this belief in the importance of feelings, of "heart-religion," though he did subsequently concede that the consciousness of God's acceptance was not an invariable or essential concomitant of that acceptance (p. 539).

These examples might seem to have represented relatively mild forms of enthusiasm. But it is the consequences of such emphases, when freed from the constraints of traditional discipline and ecclesiastical authority, which concern Knox. It was the place given to the nonrational in Wesley's scheme of things which incited the famous remark of Bishop Butler to Wesley: "Sir, the pretending to extraordinary revelations and gifts of the Holy Ghost is a horrid thing, a very horrid thing" (p. 450). So, too, under the heading "Wesley and the religion of experience," Knox describes the convulsions, weeping, and crying out which often accompanied Wesley's preaching. Wesley's willingness to recognize the work of God in such paroxysms and to defend their occurrence makes the charge of enthusiast harder for him to escape, though Wesley himself resisted the charge, was never carried away with such enthusiasm, and clearly perceived its dangers. The other aspect of his teaching which might seem to merit the accusation was his view of Christian perfection, since a belief in the possibility of achieving sinless perfection results inevitably in spiritual elitism and claims of special revelation. However, "sinless perfection" was never Wesley's own phrase: what he encouraged his followers to seek was renewal in love or entire sanctification; nor did he indulge in or encourage the more extreme ideas which his teaching sometimes precipitated.

Knox's survey concludes with a brief foray into the nineteenth century and a reference to the Irvingites, the Shakers, and Perfectionism. Under the ministry of Edward Irving in London in the 1830s, prophecy and speaking in tongues became prominent, understood as utterances in the vernacular and in unknown languages prompted by the Holy Spirit, comparable to the first Christian Pentecost. For Irving, these manifestations confirmed his belief that the second coming of Christ was imminent. The Shakers emerged in the second half of the eighteenth century from a branch of English Quakers who adopted the Camisards' ritual practice of devotional dance to induce states of inspiration (the "shaking Quakers"). Under Lee, who was convinced by revelation that the millennium had already dawned, the movement was transplanted to North America in 1774. "Perfectionism" is identified by Knox with three roughly contemporaneous movements in the first half of the nineteenth century—one in Prussia, one in England, and one in North America (the only other example of North American enthusiasm that Knox really considers). All three shared the belief that the experience of conversion made sin an impossibility.

From all this it is possible to derive a thumbnail sketch of the typical enthusiast in classical terms. The fundamental belief of the enthusiast is in the immediacy and directness of his experience of God. For the enthusiast, as distinct from the quietist, this experience is self-evident and self-authenticating: self-evident, because it will be marked by distinct inward impressions (a clear sense of God's presence or acceptance, and inspiration or particular revelations, including visions) or by outward bodily manifestations (trembling or prostration, inspired utterance, or miraculous healings); self-authenticating, because it bears greater authority than scripture (as usually interpreted), ecclesiastical creed, rite, or office—greater, even, than reason itself. The enthusiast knows God's will and acts as his agent, accountable only and directly to him. Such experiences will regularly lead the enthusiast to conclude (1) that he is more spiritual than other believers, or that he has reached a higher stage in the Christian life; (2) that a less restrained form of worship should be permitted or encouraged, one in which the outward manifestations of the Holy Spirit have proper place; and (3) that any forms and structures of traditional Christianity which stifle the Holy Spirit should be dispensed with. Not untypically, such convictions can have a strong eschatological tinge—a belief that the millennium has dawned or that Christ's second coming is imminent—which invests the enthusiastic individual or sect with universal significance and can thus justify strongly antisocial or revolutionary action.

TOWARD A BROADER EVALUATION OF ENTHUSIASM. Obviously, then, the classic view of enthusiasm has to a considerable extent been determined by the negative connotations attached to the word. Within Christianity, because of fear of superstition, fanaticism, and sectarianism, claims to inspiration and fresh revelation have repeatedly been labeled as "enthusiastic" without more ado. Even Knox, in this love-hate fascination with the subject, regularly allows his account of enthusiastic eccentricities to color the total picture. However, the very evolution in the meaning of the word itself, from censure to approbation, invites a broader evaluation of the subject matter, regarding both the range of phenomena covered (outside as well as inside historical Christianity) and the possibility of a less negative appraisal. In particular, a less value-laden approach to enthusiasm must view more objectively the fact that claims to inspiration and fresh revelation are a fundamental feature of most religions, not least of all Christianity itself. Such an approach should therefore include a fuller analysis of why some such claims are acceptable and others are not.

Outside Christianity. A history of religions approach, which looks beyond the traditional intra-Christian critique of enthusiasm, broadens the range of the phenomena studied and of the tools used in evaluation.

An obvious starting point is the context of Greek thought and religion, from which the word *enthusiasm* comes, and in which one could regard enthusiasm as something positive without being uncritical. According to Plato's Socrates, "our greatest blessings come to us by way of madness, provided the madness is given us by divine gift" (*Phaedrus* 244a). Socrates proceeded to distinguish four types of this "divine madness"—as E. R. Dodds has shown in his concise summary (1951): (1) prophetic madness, whose patron god is Apollo; (2) telestic or ritual madness, whose patron is Dionysos; (3) poetic madness, inspired by the Muses; and (4) erotic madness, inspired by Aphrodite and Eros. Madness (*mania*) is not synonymous with enthusiasm (*entheos*, "full of or inspired by the god"; *enthousiasmos*, "inspiration, frenzy"), but there is considerable overlap in meaning, since *enthusiasm* also designated the classic examples of the first two kinds of madness: the Pythia of the Delphic oracle, who prophesied in a state of possession, speaking in the first person as Apollo's voice, and the frenzied dancing of the Dionysian cult, through which the devotees sought the release of ecstasy. This early recognition of a dimension of experience beyond control of the human mind—of an inspiration experienced as coming from without, to which one must yield in order to experience its full benefit—is of lasting relevance in any critique of enthusiasm, as is the recognition of a continuity or similarity between poetic inspiration and sexual ecstasy on the one hand and enthusiasm on the other. And, while Christianity looks more to the Hebrew idea of prophecy than to the ecstatic prophecy of the Hellenistic world, the phenomenology of Hebrew inspiration is not so very different, as the visions and first-person oracles of the major prophets of the Hebrew scriptures clearly testify.

The association of enthusiasm with the ancient Bacchanalia was well known by those who first used the term in the seventeenth century, which explains their heavy note of disapproval. In the past hundred years, however, documentation of similar phenomena from other cultures has grown apace. Most striking of these is shamanism, defined by Mircea Eliade as a "technique of ecstasy."

By examining the religious interpretations and intentions of shamans who communicate directly with the supernatural world, Eliade argues for a more precise distinction between ecstasy and enthusiasm. In ecstasy, the soul is believed to leave the body during a trance in order to ascend to the sky or descend to the underworld, where it may retrieve the soul of sick persons and restore them to health. Enthusiasm, on the other hand, is a term more suitably applied to cases in which a supernatural being (divinity, ancestor, or demon) inhabits or possesses an individual's body or personality. As in the many instances already mentioned, the indwelling spirit is recognized by some unusual behavior, sentiments, or especially sounds. For a parallel to the group ecstasy of the Camisards or the Shakers, we need look no further than the Muslim fraternity known as the dervishes, who since the twelfth century have sought clearer apprehension of God and greater spiritual illumination through hypnotic-like trance culminating often in a whirling dance.

A further advantage enjoyed by present-day students of enthusiasm over their predecessors is the availability of developed analyses of the social functions and psychological mechanisms of enthusiasm: for example, the shaman's role in enabling a community to cope with the unknown or with sickness and death; the techniques by which ecstasy can be induced; or the way in which ecstasy can be manipulated to strengthen and legitimize a leader's authority or to voice the protest of a deprived section of society. It would be unfortunate, however, if such analyses were confined to the field of abnormal psychology or subordinated to theories of social and economic deprivation, as has often been the case. Enthusiasm in itself deserves neither praise nor blame; it can be as integrative for some individuals and communities as it is disintegrative for others. The extreme forms of enthusiasm are just that, extreme forms, and may be as much due to the hostility of those who feel threatened by any expression of enthusiasm as to the enthusiast's own lack of control. We can speak of the cathartic benefit of phenomena such as a Dionysian ritual (and not only for the less articulate) and compare it to the temporarily inhibition-loosening benefits of a festival like the Mardi Gras. Enthusiasm can bring to expression nonrational and unconscious aspects of the personality and thus provide both release and stimulus for the individual and the community if sympathetically handled. In a fully rounded assessment of enthusiasm, psychological and sociological categories should not be permitted to squeeze out the more theological categories of symbol and sacrament.

Christian enthusiasm. A broader evaluation of enthusiasm must also take full account of the extent of enthusiasm within the Christian tradition itself. Not least in importance is the fact that Christianity in its beginnings can properly be described as an enthusiastic sect within first-century Judaism. Jesus himself can hardly be called an ecstatic, but the immediacy of his experience of God as Father and of the power of the Holy Spirit, not to mention his healings and claims to eschatological finality, are clearly attested in Christian sources and have left their mark on subsequent spirituality as well as doctrine. However, so far as enthusiasm is concerned, much more influential has been the record, given in the *Acts of the Apostles*, of the Christian movement itself, from the first Christian Pentecost onward. According to this account, ecstatic visions (described on two occasions precisely in those terms) played a significant part in directing the course of the earliest Christian expansion. Regular reports are given of miracles, including healings effected by Peter's shadow or handkerchiefs touched by Paul. The Holy Spirit was understood to come upon, enter, and fill the individual Christian with a clear physical impact which included glossolalia. Experiences of inspired utterances were evidently prized, not least as evidence that the long withdrawn spirit of prophecy had been poured out in eschatological fullness. All this is the stuff of enthusiasm throughout the history of Christianity, so it is hardly surprising that the desire to recover or experience again the Pentecostal spirit of the primitive church is one of the most recurrent features of enthusiasm from the radical Reformation onward. Similarly, it should occasion little surprise that the canonical *Revelation to John* has provided a ready source of inspiration for apocalyptic and millenarian movements within Christianity down through the centuries.

Paul was no stranger to enthusiastic phenomena, including the ascent to heaven and speaking in tongues. But his approach to excessive enthusiasm, particularly in the church at Corinth, is marked by a rare balance of sympathy and firmness. In Paul, the older Jewish recognition of the need to "test the spirits" in cases of claimed inspiration achieves a degree of sophistication seldom matched before or since. To be accepted as a manifestation of the Holy Spirit, inspiration (1) must be in accord with the gospel, whose power constituted them as Christians, (2) must be consistent with and expressive of love for fellow Christians, and (3) should aim to provide beneficial service to the community. In short, Paul viewed enthusiasm as an aberrant phenomenon only when it offended the love of neighbor which Jesus so completely embodied.

A broader critique of enthusiasm, less dominated by Western rationalist perspectives, would also take fuller account of the whole phenomenon of Eastern Christian spirituality, including such early writings as the *Odes of Solomon* and the homilies of Makarios of Egypt, and such early movements as that of the Desert Fathers and Messalianism, the latter the only Christian sect to be explicitly called "enthusiast" by the church fathers. In the medieval period, mysticism as well as millenarianism provide overlapping phenomena, and with the fuller documentation now available, it is possible to achieve a more balanced view than that attained by Knox of both the prophetic impact of Joachim of Fiore (1145–1202) and the character of the radical Reformation.

Most striking of all, for an author writing in the mid-twentieth century, was Knox's neglect of enthusiastic features of North American Christianity during the nineteenth century, particularly camp meetings, revivalism, and the holiness movement, as well as his neglect of the emergence in Britain of primitive Methodism and "higher life" teaching. Nor should the role of claimed revelations and prophecies in the beginnings of the Church of Latter-day Saints (Mormons) and of the Seventh-day Adventists be ignored.

A prime example of enthusiastic Christianity is the twentieth-century Pentecostal movement, with its special emphasis on a second experience of the Holy Spirit distinct from and subsequent to conversion, on continued bestowal of spiritual gifts, and particularly on speaking in tongues. Within the history of Christian enthusiasm, the importance of Pentecostalism can hardly be overestimated. It is the form of Western Christianity which has been least influenced by the traditions of Western rationalism and most conducive to the emergence of indigenous forms of Christianity in Africa and South America, as illustrated especially by the profusion of independent African churches which are Pentecostal (i.e., enthusiastic) in character. This suggests, once again, that European antipathy to enthusiasm reflects as much the culture patterns particularly of northern Europe as it does the emphasis of enthusiasm on experience and emotion. Furthermore, since the 1950s, Pentecostalism has been increasingly recognized as a valid and vital expression of Christianity—the first formal recognition from within mainstream Western Christianity that the enthusiastic dimension should have a place within a fully rounded Christianity. Finally, while classical Pentecostalism was largely vulnerable to reductive psychological and sociological analyses, the spread of Pentecostal emphases into the older Christian denominations with the charismatic renewal which began in the 1960s has embraced a much broader range of society and undermined many analytic stereotypes.

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS. Enthusiasm should not be dismissed as a primitive throwback or marginal movement, whether in religion in general or in Christianity in particular. It expresses a fundamental aspect, an experiential dimension, of religion. Within the Judeo-Christian tradition, especially, it forms a strand as important as scripture, creed, or priesthood—an experience of the Spirit of God not restricted to mediation by holy book or holy ritual. The history of enthusiasm within Christianity strongly suggests that, unless given adequate expression within Christian worship and spirituality, it will burst forth sooner or later outside organized structures, often in exotic forms. This further suggests that, without checks such as those counseled by Paul, enthusiasm all too soon becomes the *reductio ad absurdum* of the religion of the Spirit. Here, too, the words of Jonathan Edwards on the similar theme of "religious affections" have continued application. "As there is no true religion where there is nothing else but affection, so there is no true religion where there is no religious affection" ([1746] 1959, p. 120).

SEE ALSO Ecstasy; Frenzy; Glossolalia; Inspiration; Moravians; Oracles; Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity; Prophecy; Quakers; Quietism; Shakers; Spirit Possession; Wesley Brothers.

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JAMES D. G. DUNN (1987)

ENUMA ELISH, the name given to the myth that contains the theological thoughts of Babylon in the first millennium, is so called from its opening words, "When above." The style and content of the poem indicate that it is indeed the authentic product of the new religious thinking that placed the god Marduk at the head of the pantheon. Manuscripts of this myth have been found at many different sites in Assyria and Babylon, covering a period from approximately 1000 to 300 BCE, so the date of composition is established with some certainty in the final period of Mesopotamian civilization.

In contrast to Sumerian mythology, which attributes the beginnings of the creation of the cosmos to two essential elements, heaven and earth, from which the gods and the human race both sprang, the *Enuma elish* myth places the origins of the cosmos before heaven and earth in a far-off time. Only primeval waters existed: salt water, called Tiamat, and sweet water, called Apsu, the first living things in the cosmos. Given the prominent part played by salt water (Tiamat) in the *Enuma elish* story, some have concluded that this myth must be non-Mesopotamian in origin, maybe Syrian or at least Semitic (Jacobsen, 1976, pp. 165–187; Durand, 1993, pp. 41–61). This theory is somewhat puzzling because the main god of the myth, Marduk, does not have the qualities of Adad, the main god of the Semitic-Occidental tale, who also appears in a different story in Assyro-Babylonian mythology.

The myth is taken from seven tablets and closes with the words of the "Hymn of Marduk" (VI.161). The hymn was certainly recited if not actually sung, as recorded in the ritual for the festival of the New Year at the temple Akitu. The festival record also notes the day on which the priest carried out the rite, the fourth day of the eleven set aside for the entire festival, which was celebrated in the month of Nisan.

THE PLOT. The document opens with a description of the situation in the beginning, when Apsu and Tiamat exist and mix their waters, from which emerges the first pair of primeval divinities, Lahmu and Lahama. In turn, Lahmu and Lahama produce Anshar and Kishar, from whom comes Anu, who produces Nudimmud, otherwise known as Ea, the god of wisdom (I.1–20). The new generation of gods make too much noise and disturb Apsu's sleep. Apsu becomes angry and wants to punish the young gods, but their mother Tiamat disagrees. The young gods, however, give no indication of being sorry, so Apsu, urged on by his herald Mummu, plans to destroy the troublemakers.

The young gods hear of these plans, and Ea decides to protect the new generation from Apsu's attack. Ea uses his magic to send Apsu to sleep and kills him (I.21–70). In this way Ea takes over the home of Apsu and settles in there with his consort, producing the hero of the myth, Marduk. Even at birth Marduk already demonstrates a physical strength that makes him superior to all the other gods (I.71–109).

In the meantime, Tiamat, even more upset by the noise of the young gods, seeks the help of the other primeval gods to put an end to the continuing disturbance. With the help of Æubur, who produces enormous dragons, she creates eleven giant, frightening monsters, and she engages in battle against her sons. Tiamat makes Kingu leader of her forces for the purpose, and she also marries him and entrusts him with the tablets of destiny. This news reaches of Ea, who informs the assembly of the gods (I.101–II.70).

Anshar, to whom Ea has turned, first rebukes him for killing Apsu and then sends the god of wisdom to Tiamat to calm her and thus forestall the catastrophe. Ea goes to Tiamat, who is enraged and refuses to accept his apologies, so the divine messenger returns empty-handed. Anshar tries again, sending his son Anu, who returns with the same result as Ea. A mood of dejection sets in throughout the divine world. As ever, Ea proposes the perfect solution—to call for Marduk's help. Marduk is warned in advance by his father and goes to Anshar to volunteer his services on condition that the gods grant him supreme power among the gods if he is victorious (II.71–162).

The gods hold an assembly and agree to grant Marduk the power he has requested so he can confront the hostile army straightaway (III.1–IV.34). Marduk dons his fighting gear and creates new weapons, including a spell to counteract Tiamat's poison. There is a titanic struggle, but Marduk's arrow strikes Tiamat's heart. She collapses to the ground while her army is captured (IV.35–128).

Marduk now begins his work of creation. He cuts Tiamat's body in two. With the upper part of her body he forms the heavens with all the established points, the year and the month, the sun and the moon. With the lower part he creates the earth with its mountains and rivers. Marduk receives praise and honor from all the gods. He then decides to create a suitable sanctuary for himself, which is called Babylon (IV.129–V.156). Marduk continues his work of creation, making the human race from the blood of Kingu, giving it the task of labor, and he reorganizes the pantheon into greater and lesser gods, who all sing a hymn to his glory in Babylon (VI.1–120). The poem ends with a litany of fifty names of Marduk and a doxology (VI.121–VII.162).

Directly linked to this, at least in terms of ideas, is an incantation that contains in its opening passage the story of the creation or an account of the way the earth was arranged. The god responsible for this creative process is Marduk, who has replaced the cosmic trio of Anu, Enlil, and Ea, upon whom this high honor and task is normally bestowed. This text is a forerunner of the great religious revolution by which the Babylonian priests placed their god at the head of the pantheon, a task completed by the creation of the poem *Enuma elish.*

The story may be divided into three quite distinct parts. In the first, it is clear that the earth was still untouched and all the lands still seas, so there were no cities or materials to build them, and thus no temples either (obv. ll.1–11). In the second part, Marduk intervenes and begins to separate the waters of the sea and to carry out the work that produces the present world order. He creates humanity and the animals of Sumukan, along with the entire environment, the flora and fauna, to make the world a pleasant place to visit. He of course pays a good deal of attention to Babylon and the Esagila, which the Anunna call "a pure city, home of the heart's desire" (ll.12–34). In the third part, once the earth has been made habitable, Marduk creates bricks and begins to build the Sumerian cities that had not existed previously along with their temples (ll. 35–39ff.). The cities concerned are Nippur with the temple Ekur, Uruk with the temple Eanna, Eridu with the temple Apsu, and the sacred cities of Enlil, Inanna, and Enki, the cities of the Sumerian principal gods. The symbiotic relationship between Eridu and Babylon, connected by the Esagila temple, forms the basis for the accession of Marduk to the head of the pantheon, which had once been Sumerian but has become Babylonian.

INTERPRETATION. The scribes had grasped that there were two possible ways to elevate their poliad god to a central position in the pantheon: either to link Marduk to the god of Nippur (Enlil) or, certainly more subtle, to relate him to the god Enki. It may be surprising that they chose to establish a father-son relationship between Enki and Marduk, because the former had never historically guaranteed the kingship. Yet the choice of the scribes shows a quite remarkable intelligence: they wanted to overturn historical reality and turn it to something of cosmic significance.

All the Sumerian traditions assigned the position of principal god in their pantheon to Enlil. But at the same time they emphasized that the first seat of the kingship before the Flood was the city of Eridu, the home of the god Enki, who was thus regarded as the first holder of royal power on earth. Hence the scribes decided to make Marduk the son of Enki. Their syllogistic reasoning thus becomes quite clear: if Enki the king is Marduk's father, then Marduk becomes the king. In addition, if Eridu is the home of Enki and the place of his kingship, then Babylon, the home of Marduk, is automatically the one true location of the kingship. So the words of Berossus (third century BCE) that the first royal capital on earth was Babylon explains how convincing the syllogism devised by the scribes of Babylon became for later generations.

One important indication of the process begun by Marduk's priests is the fact that among the various names of Babylon is Nun(ki), or Eridu(ki), the city sacred to the god Enki, the father of Marduk, and the first city established on earth according to Sumerian tradition. This tradition allows the Babylonian scholars to compare the two cities of Eridu and Babylon in the first instance, and then to replace the former with the latter. This is without doubt the first step in the slow development through which Babylon categorizes itself as an ancient city, dating from the earliest times and rising to the definitive status of the first city founded by the gods. The idea in the biblical story of the Tower of Babel that Babel was the first city the human race had tried to build has a perfect counterpart in a Babylonian mythological text. The Babylonian scholar responsible had subtly adapted the new reality to the earlier mythological situation. Here too, Eridu is the first city founded, but with subtle shrewdness a substitution takes place. No longer does Eridu—ancient Eridu, that is—hold the leading position, but Babylon and its main temple Esagila have become in this document the key to understanding the situation. Eridu is quite clearly an epithet of Babylon, it is Babylon where the gods decide to live, and it is Marduk, under the name Lugaldukuga, who creates the city and builds the temple dedicated to him, the Esagila.

With this delicate substitution the Babylonians manage to establish their city as the first human urban settlement, as one may deduce from the biblical narrative and, subsequently, from later literature. It is not by chance or by mistake that Berossus, when he deals in his *Babiloniaka* with the cities founded by the gods before the Flood, lists Babylon in first place, proving that the substitution effected by the Babylonians had by then become part of the accepted cultural heritage of the ancient world. The god central to *Enuma elish* is clearly Marduk, the principal god of Babylon, who was credited not only with the mythical foundation of the city but also with the creation of the other principal cities of Sumer.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS. The origin of the universe, as told in *Enuma elish*, has counterparts in the works of other Hellenistic and Syrian writers. A few of the surviving passages are mentioned below.

The first and the closest to the Babylonian account seems to be that in Eudemus (third century BCE), quoted by the later philosopher Damascius (fifth–sixth century CE), who put the matter as follows:

> Amongst the barbarians, it does not seem that the Babylonians talked of a single universal principle. They held the theory that there were two: Thaute and Apason, making the latter the husband of the former, whom they call the "mother of the gods." In the first instance they gave birth to a single baby, Moümis, who I suppose represented the intelligible world (derived from the two principles). Another generation followed, offspring of the same parents: Dachê and Dachos. Then a third, Kissarê and Assôros, who produced the trio Anos, Illinos, and Aos. Aos and Dauche brought into the world a son called Bel, and they say that he was the Creator. (Bottéro-Kramer, 1989, pp. 721–722)

Berossus, whose work has survived in fragments thanks to later writers, offers a vision of the origin of the world only partly similar to the Babylonian one. The principle appears to be water, more precisely salt water, called Thalatta, which had produced animals and monsters together with primitive people who lived like wild animals. Those people needed to be taught by a sage named Oan, who was half man and half fish. While these beings were living in a chaotic magma, Belos attacked and destroyed them. Belos rose up and cut Thalatta in two. With one half he made earth, with the other half, heaven. After he cut off her head, he mixed the blood that gushed out with earth and created human beings with their divine qualities, and then all the animals of the present world. These writers generally regard water as the primordial element.

The theological commentaries edited at Uruk in the final period of the cuneiform culture include accounts that would make even the most detached reader of Mesopotamian religious texts shudder. Almost nothing is known of the history of Babylon in this final time; that is, the Achemenid and Greek periods. Reading the fragments of Berossus, one is able to form the idea that the Babylonian religion centered around Marduk and that his son Nabu continued it. On the other hand little is known of the fate of the cosmic triad Anu, Enlil, and Ea, who are in a backroom position to say the least.

These commentaries, however, relate the violent end of these gods at the hands of Bel, the title assumed by Marduk when he became head of the pantheon, the greatest and most exalted of the Sumerian pantheon, to whom was attributed the creation and organization of the cosmos. The end is bloody, as subsequent texts reveal, for Marduk's father Ea, who is sent away to Apsu; for Enlil, banished to the underworld; and for Anu and his father Anshar. Ishtaran is also killed to hurt the goddess Ishtar, for reasons that remain unclear. Nabu is responsible for killing the eagle Anzu. The texts of course refer to these killings symbolically during the various ceremonies at the different festivals, especially at the most important one for the New Year. The same theological commentaries that mention the killing of the principal gods of the Sumerian pantheon, especially Anu, Enlil, and Ea, also mention the enemies of Marduk, the god of Babylon, who meet their end in the poem *Enuma elish.* The texts mention Tiamat and Kingu by name, along with their seven children and forty children respectively. Another recurring figure is Anzu. As emphasized above, the most powerful gods of the Sumerian pantheon, Anu and Enlil, along with their children, are victims of the same violent acts.

ENUMA ELISH **AND THE BIBLE.** Ever since the first publication of the work's text, comparisons have been drawn between *Enuma elish* and the Bible, particularly the first chapter of *Genesis.* Attention has been drawn to the parallels between the seven tablets of *Enuma elish* and the biblical seven days of creation. Both stories begin with primeval water, which in the Bible is called *tehom,* the Hebrew cognate of Tiamat; the biblical spirit (or wind) of God that hovered over the waters bears some similarity to the winds of Anu that roiled Tiamat. Both stories contain the notion of creative work: the biblical sky divides the waters above from the waters below, as the upper half of Tiamat's body is divided from her lower half by the sky, and both stories depict in the same way the origin and function of the sun and the moon. However, the differences between *Genesis* 1 and *Enuma elish* are so vast that there is no reason to talk of mythological similarity or literary dependence. The similarities are evidence only of a shared cosmology, a shared "science" that saw the world as beginning in water and surrounded by it, a concept also found in early Greece. The importance of *Enuma elish* to the study of *Genesis* 1 is to demonstrate that these concepts were in fact (and were almost certainly perceived to be) common Near Eastern lore rather than data of Israel's revelation, and that Israel used this lore to convey its own independent message.

The most striking parallels between *Enuma elish* and the Bible are not to *Genesis* but to the scattered poetic passages that allude to the Lord's defeat of the sea in primordial times. This defeat of the sea is often accompanied by mention of the kingship of God, the creation of the world, and sometimes the creation of the Temple. These themes present a fundamental biblical cluster of ideas, one that has striking similarities with ideas in *Enuma elish.* This does not mean that the motifs have a Babylonian origin. The defeat of the sea, the kingship of the god, and the building of the god's palace (but not the theme of creation) are also found together in the Ugaritic Baal epic, written circa 1500 BCE and therefore (it is believed) earlier than *Enuma elish.* This cluster is not found in earlier Mesopotamian sources; most probably it was an ancient West Semitic collection of ideas that found expression in Ugaritic literary works and the Bible and that at some point was brought into Mesopotamia.

SEE ALSO Akitu; Cosmogony; Marduk; Mesopotamian Religions, overview article; Polytheism.

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EOHESUS, COUNCIL OF SEE COUNCILS, *ARTICLE ON* CHRISTIAN COUNCILS

EPHRAEM OF SYRIA

EPHRAEM OF SYRIA (c. 306–373) was a theologian, biblical interpreter, teacher, poet, and hymnographer whose teaching activity and prolific writings have had lasting influence on the Christian tradition. Renowned for his hymns and poetic homilies, he is regarded as the preeminent Syrian father, a doctor of the universal church, and, according to Robert Murray, "the greatest poet of the patristic age . . . perhaps, the only theologian-poet to rank beside Dante" ("Ephrem Syrus, St.," in *Catholic Dictionary of Theology,* vol. 2, London, 1967, p. 222).

Born in Edessa (present-day Urfa, Turkey) in a Christian family (not a pagan household as some sources would have it), Ephraem lived for many years in Nisibis and taught at the catechetical school there. A town on the eastern Roman frontier, Nisibis was frequently pressed by the Persians. It was finally ceded to them in 363, at which time Ephraem, with the larger part of the Christian population, fled westward to Edessa, a partially Hellenized cultural center still in Roman hands. Ephraem's hymns on Nisibis reflect the vicissitudes of the Christian community there.

Edessa was a hotbed of heresies, where Arians, Manichaeans, Marcionites, and the followers of the famous Bardaisan (Bardesanes)—many of whom successfully spread their teachings through poems and songs—had confused and divided the Christians. It was here that Ephraem, perhaps ordained a deacon by this time, flourished as an orthodox teacher, effective apologist, and unifying leader.

Ephraem was called "the harp of the Spirit" by his contemporaries. His fame spread after his death, and he came to be venerated as a saint. His ancient biographers embellished his life with many accounts emphasizing his apologetic work against the Arians and highlighting the traditional view of Ephraem as father of Syrian monasticism. He is said to have visited the great monastic centers in Egypt; it is also told that upon his return he met with Basil of Caesarea, in whose presence he miraculously spoke Greek. Although Ephraem no doubt led a celibate life of evangelical fervor and simplicity and greatly admired contemporary ascetics, the traditional image of him as a monk does not fit his actual intense activity as a Christian teacher, public defender of the faith, and inspired poet who led people in song.

An immense legacy of writings in Syriac, Armenian, Greek, and Latin has been preserved under Ephraem's name, but much of it is spurious, especially the materials in Greek and Latin. Nevertheless, scholarship after World War II has uncovered an impressive body of authentic works in the original Syriac and also in Armenian versions.

Ephraem's writings consist of prose works, poetic homilies, and hymns. Of his prose works the most numerous are biblical commentaries (on *Genesis, Exodus,* the letters of Paul, and Tatian's *Diatessaron*). He also wrote prose refutations against Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan, as well as a number of prose sermons and ascetical works the authenticity of which is disputed. Ephraem's poetical homilies are metrical sermons intended for recitation rather than singing. Among them are the six *Sermons on Faith* deriving from the Nisibine period and containing references to the Persian danger. Many other similar metrical sermons on various topics attributed to him are of doubtful authenticity.

Ephraem's fame justly rests on hundreds of exquisite poetic hymns that interpret, defend, and celebrate the basic mysteries of the Christian faith: creation, incarnation, redemption, Christ, the Holy Spirit, Mary, the church, sacraments, and the kingdom of God. They are preserved in individual collections under such titles as *Hymns on Faith, Hymns against Heresies, Hymns on the Crucifixion, Hymns on Paradise,* and *Hymns on the Church.* Acknowledged as jewels of Semitic poetry, these hymns reflect Ephraem's superb talents in their diverse symmetrical forms, cascades of imagery, breathtaking parallelisms, and artistic wordplays, all extremely difficult to render in English. Although many are composed of multiple stanzas accompanied by refrains, others are cast in the form of dramatic disputations, for example, between Death and Christ or Death and Satan, a style with Mesopotamian precedents.

Although Ephraem used traditional Christian themes and known Semitic literary forms, his originality and freshness are striking. Some examples may indicate why he is hailed as one of the world's greatest religious poets. In one hymn to Christ, translated by Robert Murray in *Eastern Churches Review* 3 (1970), Ephraem vividly associates images of the Holy Spirit's descent on Mary, Jesus' baptism, Christian baptism, and the Eucharist:

> See, Fire and Spirit in the womb that bore You!
> See, Fire and Spirit in the river where you were baptized!
>   Fire and Spirit in our Baptism;
> in the Bread and the Cup, Fire and Holy Spirit!

In another incarnational hymn, Ephraem fashions extended imagery of Christ as the pearl. This hymn plays on the words *amoda* ("diver") and *amida* ("baptized"). The pearl is found by plunging into the water, but it must be pierced (a reference to Christ's suffering) before it can be set in its place of honor.

The form of the dramatic disputation is exemplified by several hymns on Christ's descent into hell that celebrate his cosmic victory over Death. In one such hymn, Death addresses Christ on the cross, challenging and taunting him in his apparent weakness. Then Jesus signals his own death with a loud cry ("Our Lord's voice rang out thunderously in Sheol"), and angels of light illumine the darkness of hell. Seized by terrible fear, Death repents of its prideful words, confesses Jesus as king, and submissively hands over Adam as the first fruits of death with the words: "As first hostage I give you Adam's body. Ascend now and reign over all, and when I hear your trumpet call, with my own hands I will bring forth the dead at your coming" (Brock, 1983, p. 44). The hymn ends in a crescendo of praise to Christ that is typical of Ephraem's poetry.

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EPICS are extended narrative poems that establish for their hearers and/or readers a particular universe of the imagination by means of cosmogonic and sacrificial mythologies, chronicles of kings and nobles, religious and philosophical teachings, and, above all, the heroic exploits of a past age. Where a living oral tradition persists, this bygone age of gods, goddesses, and heroes may be reactualized and experienced anew each time an epic is recited or sung and performed in ritual, festival, or secular contexts. The capacity of an oral epic to change is definitive, for it is continually re-created by singers, actors, audiences, and environments, and the sequence and length of its episodes remain fluid. By contrast, epics that have passed from oral to written poetry or heightened prose with no surviving performance traditions, and epics such as Vergil's *Aeneid* that were first composed in writing, have become records of particular worldviews, histories, and religious attitudes that now are modified only by various interpretations of them.

Because they are indeed "epic" in scope, there is scarcely a dimension of human experience that may be excluded from these versified repositories. The Sanskrit *Mahābhārata,* longest of oral-literary epics with its 100,000 verses in eighteen books, serves as a vast library of mythology, folklore, religion, and philosophy, compiled from oral traditions during a period of eight centuries in the formative age of classical Hinduism. Major narrative portions are still recited in Sanskrit all over India, and various regions have vernacular versions, as is the case also with the other great Sanskrit epic, the *Rāmāyana.* In the nearly sixty thousand verses of the Persian *Shāh-nāmah,* the poet Firdawsi, working from older sources, undertook nothing less than the history of Iran from creation to the Arab conquest in the seventh century. The effort required thirty-five years, but one poet produced the Persian national epic. Even the shortest of epics, folk or classical, oral or literary, suspends in its episodes the details of a worldview. A worldview may be articulated directly or obliquely, within the context of individual heroic quests or in the intricate relations of a diverse range of characters and subcultures, in a close-knit set of episodes and locales or on a heterogeneous scale that spans generations of time and worlds of space. Some epics speak directly from living religious traditions, although the faith of contemporary singers and audiences may vary markedly from that of distant epic origins. Other epics are cryptic memorials or vague signposts to religious traditions only dimly apprehended in their narratives, as is the case with suspected Anatolian expressions fossilized, but still undeciphered, in the linguistic, folkloric, and symbolic strata of Homer's *Iliad.*

Oral epics emergent to literary forms have almost everywhere been influenced and more or less reshaped by new religions, as well as by new literary tastes and conventions. Certain themes in ancient India persisted in oral form side by side with, but unrepresented in, the thousand-year textual production of Vedic religion, then surfaced in classical Sanskrit and Tamil epics, where they were given structure and redefinition by sectarian Hinduism. Similarly, mythic themes of Iran's ancient heritage, disguised by the monotheistic reforms of Zoroaster, found new expression in the epic of Firdawsi and other Persian narrative poetry, although this time within an Islamic ethos. And as Christian tradition rides lightly on the surface of the ancient heroic mythology preserved in *Beowulf,* so too does Muslim tradition appear only marginally in the Mandingo (Malinke) epic *Sundiata* of the Mali Empire.

Some epics, such as the vast Kirghiz cycle known as *Manas,* declare mythicized history, while others, such as the *Aeneid,* display cores that are historicized myths. But almost every epic immerses its hearers and readers in the largest of human questions: human nature and its destiny; the structure of society with its hierarchies and tensions; the character of supernatural beings and powers, of gods, goddesses, demons, and of the proper human response to each of them in ritual, devotion, propitiation, or defiance; the problems of evil and good, insurrection and authority, guilt and innocence, cowardice and valor, suffering and reward. Because epics are frequently dramas of great migrations and violent conflicts in the divine and human worlds, questions of theology and history, eschatology and fate, death, regeneration, and salvation are often posed in the context of cosmic warfare (the Akkadian epic *Enuma elish*), or cultural confrontations (the *Iliad*), or dynastic strife (the Japanese *Heike monogatari*), or a melding of all of these, as in the *Mahābhārata,* where the complex destinies of the heroes are assumed into the sacrifice and regeneration of the cosmos itself.

The great majority of known epics, whether oral in composition, oral-literary, or solely literary, have been heroic ones. They are dominated by heroes (rarely heroines) whose actions and fates not only dramatize particular human emotions, predicaments, and responses, but whose destinies reinforce essential religious statements and paradigms. Among these paradigms are certain roles of the hero as shaman, sorcerer, or warrior (or combinations of these); certain concepts of space, order, time, and deity; as well as all-important expressions of the meaning of death and salvation.

SHAMANS AND JOURNEYS OF THE SOUL. The hero as shaman-sorcerer and the religious significance of the journey of the soul are well known in the oral epics of northern and central Asia and appear in such diverse characters as Grandfather Qorqut in the oldest epic of the Oghuz Turks, the *Kitabi Dedem Qorqut;* Volkh or Vseslav in the epic song form known to Russian singers as *starina (bylina);* and Gesar in the Tibetan epic that bears his name. The sage Väinämöinen journeys as a serpent to Tuonela, the netherworld, and this magical transformation in a northern Eurasian shamanic episode survives into the late compilation of the Finnish national epic, the *Kalevala.*

Several scholars have noted that sources of epic poetry may in part be sought in the narratives of shamanic visions, ecstatic journeys, and initiatory ordeals. As Mircea Eliade has shown in *The History of Religious Ideas* (vol. 1, Chicago, 1978, p. 80), Gilgamesh undergoes several ordeals of an initiatory type, and the *Epic of Gilgamesh,* "the first masterpiece of universal literature," may be understood from one perspective as the dramatization of a failed initiation. His journey to the bottom of the sea to find the plant that restores youth, a plant he then loses to a serpent in the discovery of his mortal destiny, has numerous parallels in other epics in which heroes learn of their fates in descents to the underworld and combats with chthonic powers, or in magical flights to celestial realms. The popularity of such motifs in the epic genre has carried them far from the traditional loci of Asian shamanism.

Despite reworking in the direction of medieval romance conventions, the Germanic epic *Nibelungenlied* retains such a quest in narratives of Siegfried, better known as a warrior-hero, and one with older analogues in the Scandinavian Eddas and sagas. Siegfried journeys to the land of the Nibelungen and there discovers the sword and treasure that, like Gilgamesh's plant, hold not immortality but his fate. He also gains a magic cape, as well as invulnerability, from bathing in the blood of the dragon he has dispatched in combat. And in one of South India's great store of living folk epics, the Telugu *Epic of Palnāḍu,* a performance tradition eight centuries old, continues to dramatize with a mélange of shamanic motifs the heroes' prescient skills, their ascents by magical beasts, cosmic trees, or turbans; initiatory dismemberment and reconstitution by healing; descent to the underworld; combat with monsters; trance states; nurturance by and guises as animals. These motifs in the *Palnāḍu* and certain other South Asian and Southeast Asian oral epics and songs are all the more arresting in the context of contemporary performances in which individuals emulating the heroes undergo spirit possession and séances of self-immolation and regeneration. In a word, their ancient heroes, in roles as either shaman-redeemers or warriors, are alive today in ritualized epic time.

Warriors and Decisive Battles. More common in epic narrative than the high calling of the shaman who journeys to the other world and establishes defenses against demons, diseases, and death is the role of warrior in this world, often a hero of "outsiderhood" who must overcome great odds to gain or regain a heritage or position denied him or stolen from him. Strength, courage, and personal honor are his major assets. While the resourceful shamanic hero engages in fabulous struggles with death, the warrior hero stands up to its blood-red realities. At times the warrior seems to be locked in combat with himself as well as designated demons and enemies. This-worldly aspirations, the ambiguities of his morals and actions, limitations placed upon him by nature, fate, divine or human treachery, all balance out his superhuman traits and heroic pedigree (semidivine or miraculous birth, surrogate parenting by animals, discovery by shepherds or fisherfolk, precocious skills and strengths), and render him more accessible to the epic audience. There is a recognizable trajectory to his career after his astonishing youth, including confrontation with established authority, exile, return and conquest, heroic status, frequently an early death, and apotheosis. The popularity of the cult that succeeds this life cycle proves the value of his tragic death and the repeated singing of it.

It is sometimes stated that violent cultural changes and social upheavals attendant upon warfare and great migrations were productive of epic themes in a "heroic age." The history of China, however, as turbulent and war-scarred as that of any long, cumulative civilization, produced no surviving epic tradition, and only a few lines of the classic *Shi jing* (Book of poetry) recall the exploits of heroic ancestors. By contrast, a brief period of epics in the thirteenth century emerged directly from the brutal succession of wars that devastated early medieval Japan. These poetic-prose war tales (*gunki monogatari*), a genre with no counterpart in Chinese literature, were composed in the same period as the *chansons de geste* of medieval Europe and various regional battle epics of South Asia. More important than the common factor of war may have been a particular cultural glorification of the warrior. While China gave him little recognition in a social hierarchy that established the scholar-bureaucrat above peasants, artisans, and merchants, it was the epic age of medieval Japan that produced a warrior aristocracy, the samurai, and an elaborate warrior code eventually known as Bushido.

The best known of warrior cults, and prolonged epics in which their traditions are displayed, remain the Indo-European ones, and these derive from a deep and complex mythological base. Comparative studies, in particular those of Georges Dumézil and Stig Wikander, have revealed the religious significance of a Proto-Indo-European warrior tradition. Reconstruction from mythic and epic details dispersed from Iceland to India permits a vision of the parent culture as it may have existed six or seven thousand years ago, a culture in which the warrior occupied a key median position in a three-class hierarchy between the dominant priestly-sovereign class and that great bulk of society in the third estate, the producers.

Continuities between a divine tripartite trifunctional hierarchy and this human social hierarchy allowed for homologies between gods and heroes and, later, between mythic and epic themes. The fact that both the mythic human heroes and the epic warrior heroes are narrative continuations of the mythic warrior god is significant and enables us to understand certain configurations of the Proto-Indo-European warrior cult and mythology. The warrior enters, for example, a state of intoxication or heated fury, becoming invincible like fire, or he terrorizes enemies by assuming the form of a wolf or a bear, subsequent to initiatory ordeals undergone for acceptance into the warrior society. Combat with a three-headed monster, first sacrifice, and ritualized cattle raids are a part of this myth-ritual complex, as Bruce Lincoln has demonstrated for the Proto-Indo-Iranian tradition that is the backdrop to many themes of the later epics in India and Iran.

Many important themes have moved with the currents from Indo-European mythic to epic genres and surfaced in diverse regional literatures and languages (including some non-Indo-European ones), from the twelfth-century Danish historian Saxo Grammaticus's *Gesta Danorum* to Russian, Rajasthani, or Tamil oral poetry. One of Dumézil's special contributions to an ongoing profile of the warrior's "destiny" has been his study of the hero's programmatically untoward behavior that leads to self-destruction. The warrior may commit three successive sins against the three functional classes: betrayal of sovereign trust, strikingly uncharacteristic acts of cowardice within his own echelon, and crimes of avarice or rape. As a consequence he suffers successive losses of his spirituality, force of arms, and beauty or form, and dies the warrior's typical early, tragic death. Another recurrent theme is a tension between two types of warrior figures, one superhuman and aristocratic, a warrior who fights with proper weapons and, ideally, a code of chivalry (Arjuna, Sigurd, Aeneas), the other a subhuman, animalistic or monstrous hero who fights brutal, solitary battles without standard weapons or code (Bhīma, Starkad, Turnus). Still another characteristic Indo-European theme is the special relationship that may develop between the warrior and a goddess or heroine-goddess. Herakles and Hera or Athena, Camillus and Matuta, Arjuna and Draupadi (Śrī) have all provided complex illustrations of this liaison.

Divine warrior heroes such as Marduk in the Akkadian epic *Enuma elish,* the Canaanite Baal, the Hittite Taru, Zeus of the *Theogony,* or Indra of the *Ṛgveda* are all, in their respective single combats with Tiamat, Yamm, Illuyanka, Typhon, and Vṛtra, involved variously in cosmogonic acts or paradigmatic contests for celestial sovereignty. Human warrior heroes, by contrast, are most often revealed in epic action *in medias res,* preparing to defend a tribe or a nation in jeopardy. Such epics program their episodes toward decisive battles in which warrior heroes are driven to fulfill their destinies. Necessity becomes a standard impulse, as in Diomedes' terse proclamation in the *Iliad* when he and the Achaeans are backed up to the sea, their best warriors and leader Agamemnon disabled: "Let us return to the battle, wounded as we are. We must." This necessity bears the stamp of the mythic heritage: The hero, semidivine or blessed by divine guidance and the powers of order and justice, opposes an enemy, semidemonic or impelled by a hand from the powers of evil and chaos, and the tribe or nation defended represents the created world.

SPACES, TIMES, AND AUTHORITY. The notion of founding the world anew, reestablishing world space, time, and order through the holocaust of battle, is a widespread epic theme. Numerous cycles have been labeled "national epics," for they are the songs of peoples establishing identities, legitimizing traditions of particular places and events, and carrying an authority, certified by the blood of heroes, from past to present. In the singing of the epic, episode by episode, all of the true points of the world are connected once again. As Gene Roghair has said of the people who preserve the Palnāḍu epic, it "is the history of their land" and "seems largely sufficient to satisfy the local need for knowledge of the past" (Roghair, 1982, p. 70). All the features of the local villages, temples, crop fields, rivers, and roads have epic associations, and a rock inscription, for example, may be ascribed to a particular Palnadu hero, or to something done, quite simply, in "that time."

The recognition of the local region or kingdom as ordered space, and local history as ultimate time, leads also to the designation of outside space and time as disordered, wild, threatening. W. T. H. Jackson has considered the inside-outside dichotomy in European epics from Homer to *The Cid* as a theme of paradigmatic conflict between the intruder hero as mobile, active, unpredictable outsider and challenger, and the older, established king as settled, passive, predictable insider. Achilles and Agamemnon, Beowulf and Hrothgar, Siegfried and Gunther are among his examples, to which could be added for an enriched set of subthemes Arjuna and Yudhiṣṭhira, Rostam and Shāh Kāvus, the legendary Cyrus and Astyages, and others, as well as discussion of that seminal tension in Proto-Indo-European mythology between the sovereign and warrior ethos. Much of this conflict, according to Jackson, turns on the movement from an ageing king who upholds the social order to a challenger hero whose aims are personal honor and glory. What seems equally important in the structure of Indo-European epic tradition is the alliance of both ruler and heroes over against the agriculturalist-producers, and the resultant hierarchy of three ranked estates in interdependence under an ideal hero-king and divine mandate.

One of the richest themes concerning the values of space and time is that of the epic hero or heroine in exile. Banished to the wilderness or the seas, deprived of lands, family, status, and pride, the hero in exile is literally outside, in nature apart from culture. Gilgamesh as questing hero journeys outside purposefully, but the hero in exile is a wanderer. Rāma and Sītā, the Pāṇḍavas in their forest exile, and Odysseus during his nineteen years on the seas are such wanderers. The Bible, too, has been discussed in themes of exile (slavery in Egypt, the Babylonian captivity, Jesus in the wilderness or the tomb) and restoration (delivery, return, resurrection), occurring in what some have seen as a grand epic cycle of narratives moving from creation to apocalypse, and including the quest of the hero (Messiah-Christ), his early death, and apotheosis.

The importance of remembering exemplary events of the past was no doubt of central importance in the creation and preservation of epics. The compilation of the *Mahābhārata* was to some extent furthered by the demand for great cycles of songs in which local kings, performing Vedic royal sacrifices such as the Aśvamedha or the Rājasūya, were equated with victorious heroes and kings of past ages. Albert Lord's hypothesis that "the special, peculiar purpose of oral epic song at its origin . . . was magical and ritual before it became heroic" (Lord, 1960, p. 66) may not be provable, but nevertheless is cogent. In many regions of Africa and Asia today, particular epics are linked to seasonal festivals such as sowing or harvesting. Others involve not cosmic but personal time, such as those performed at life-cycle rites, in which births, puberty ceremonies or initiations, marriages, and deaths become the foci for narratives culled from mirror episodes in the life cycles of epic heroes and heroines.

DEATHS AND REGENERATIONS. It is India once again that provides the strongest drama of epic warfare as sacrifice, even cosmic destruction and renewal, although several sacred texts from Scandinavia and Iran also reveal the theme of final cataclysm. Behind them, as Wikander has shown, is a Proto-Indo-European eschatological myth in which the forces of evil and good confront one another in the decisive time. The Battle of Brávellir, an episode in Icelandic sagas and in Saxo's narratives, is the Scandinavian heroic parallel to the *Mahābhārata* eschaton.

And it is Kṛṣṇa in the *Mahābhārata,* sometimes the detached, transcendent deity Viṣṇu, beyond the tensions of battle and reconciliation, sometimes imminent counselor, involved in human time and space, who are reminders of the broad range of roles taken by deities in epics, from distant observers to randomly intrusive actors, and to immediate saviors and redeemers. Apollo moves once to restore the fallen Hektor, but cannot deter the moment of his fate. The Kirghiz Manas is in the act of prayer when his destiny traces him and, armorless, he is dispatched. Once served by fate, however, heroes may, like the world itself, be regenerated, and this is the special talent of Hindu gods and goddesses in both classical and regional epics. In the best known of Tamil literary epics, the *Cilappatikāram,* the heroine-become-goddess Kaṇṇaki restores her wrongfully executed husband, the hero Kōvalaṉ, by destroying the city (world) of injustice.

This sacrificial regeneration is perhaps the strongest of many links between classical and folk epics of South Asia and is reinforced by numerous active cults of heroes and heroines from the Sanskrit epics and uncounted regional ones. These include the enshrinement and ritual use of heroes' weapons and the sacrality of spirit residences such as caves and are reminiscent of ancient cults of heroes in Greece in which relic bones, weapons, and ships were preserved in sanctuaries, as the bones and weapons of medieval heroes and saints were kept in the churches of Europe. Unlike immortal gods, the heroes have died significant deaths and then have conquered time; their weapons are still a vivid point of contact for the religious experience of their return and, in the case of several oral epics of South India, spontaneous possession of members of the audience, whose dramatic "deaths" and revivifications while the epic is under way are undeniable proof of the living presence of the heroes.

The nearly universal appeal of the epic must reside in the charisma of an old and much-loved tale well told and the glimpse it provides into definitions of human existence. During its performance, the channels are open to a time and space that remain powerful, accessible, and paradigmatic. Heroes and heroines challenge, and thereby define, limitations placed by gods, fate, or self-absorption, as well as those social, political, economic, religious, and sexual roles by which humans divide themselves. To the audience the resolution may be clear at the outset, but the telling of the drama of transformation, sung now as it was in "that time," is itself a powerful form of renewal.

SEE ALSO Enuma Elish; Flight; Gilgamesh; Heroes; Mahābhārata; Quests; Rāmāyaṇa; Shamanism; War and Warriors.

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EPIPHANY

EPIPHANY is the Christian feast of the manifestation of Jesus Christ. Traditionally celebrated on January 6; it is also celebrated by the Roman rite in some places on the Sunday following the octave of Christmas. The feast is called Epiphania ("manifestation") among Western Christians and Theophaneia ("manifestation of God") among Eastern Christians. That the feast is of Eastern origin is indicated by the Greek origin of both names. Epiphany is one of the twelve major feasts of the Orthodox church year.

The origins of Epiphany are obscure and much debated. It was originally either a feast of Christ's baptism in the Jordan or of his birth at Bethlehem. The theory that the date of January 6 corresponded to an old date for the Egyptian winter solstice has been largely discredited. The date may have at first been observed as a feast of the baptism of Christ among the second-century Basilidian gnostics. In the fourth century it was certainly a feast of the nativity of Christ, celebrated with an octave, or eight days of celebration, at Bethlehem and all the holy places of Jerusalem.

At the end of the fourth century, when the Western feast of the nativity of Christ came to be observed in the East on December 25, January 6 came to be widely celebrated as the feast of Christ's baptism, although among the Armenians Epiphany is the only nativity feast celebrated to this day. As the feast of Christ's baptism, Epiphany became for Eastern Christians a major baptismal day, and hence it was given the Greek name Ta Phota ("the lights"); baptism itself was called *photismos* ("enlightenment").

At the same time as the East was accepting the Western Christmas, the Feast of Epiphany was being adopted in the West. Outside of Rome it was celebrated as the Feast of the Three Miracles, comprising the visit of the Magi, the baptism of Christ, and the miracle of changing water into wine at the wedding feast of Cana. In Rome, however, the feast concentrated solely on the visit of the Magi, connoting Christ's manifestation to the Gentiles. With their adoption of the Roman liturgy all other Western Christians eventually came to observe Epiphany as the Feast of the Magi.

Among Eastern Christians the celebration of Epiphany is notable for several reasons. At Alexandria the patriarch would solemnly announce the date of Easter for the current year on January 6. Throughout the East, Epiphany, together with Easter, was a special day for performing baptisms. The most enduring custom, however, has been the blessing of the waters on Epiphany. There are two blessings. The first takes place during the vigil of Epiphany in the evening and is followed by the priest's sprinkling of the town or village with the blessed water. The second blessing takes place on the day of Epiphany itself, when the local waters of stream, lake, or sea are blessed by having a cross thrown into them, after which young men dive into the waters to retrieve it.

The Western observance of Epiphany has centered on the figures of the Magi, popularly called the Three Kings. Their cult was especially strong at Cologne in the Middle Ages, for their supposed relics had been brought there in the twelfth century. The idea that the Magi were kings was derived from several verses of scripture (*Ps.* 71:10, *Is.* 60:3–6). The tradition that there were three of them was probably derived from the number of gifts mentioned in the biblical account of their visit (*Mt.* 2:1–12). The account of the visit of the Magi and of the miraculous star that guided them inspired several mystery plays during the Middle Ages. The story of their visit also gave rise to the custom of gift giving on Epiphany: In Italy gifts are given on that day by an old woman named Befana, and the feast is also an occasion for gift giving in Spanish cultures.

SEE ALSO Baptism; Gift Giving.

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EPISCOPALIANISM SEE ANGLICANISM

EPISTEMOLOGY.

EPISTEMOLOGY. This branch of philosophy studies the nature, origin, and validity of knowledge; it is sometimes called "theory of knowledge." Epistemology has been central to modern philosophy since the sixteenth century, although it originally developed in Greek philosophy in close relation to ontology (theory of being) and metaphysics. (It is an open question whether epistemology can be completely disentangled from metaphysics.)

In Greek philosophy, and especially in Plato and Aristotle, the two words used to mean "knowledge" are *epistēmē* and *gnōsis,* the former having the narrower, more scientific connotation in opposition to *doxa* ("belief"), the latter the wider one, covering also perception, memory, and experience. Plato and Aristotle relate these two conceptions to the terms *noēsis* ("thinking, intuition") and *sophia* ("wisdom"). The Western Christian tradition, however, has paid more attention to epistemology than to gnoseology; the latter plays a greater role in Eastern Christian philosophy and theology, and, it goes without saying, among the gnostics.

Among the various epistemological positions (that is, theories of knowledge in the narrower sense), realism, which is the claim—deriving from Plato and Aristotle—that forms and universals are objectively real (whether *ante rem,* "before things," as in Plato or *in re,* "in things," as in Aristotle) has had by far the longest tenure. In modern times, at least since William of Ockham in the fourteenth century, nominalism, or the view that forms and universals are only in language and in the mind, has held the field. The issue, however, is by no means dead and, oddly enough, returns in connection with modern philosophies of mathematics and even in the understanding of information theory.

A second, equally important epistemological question has been whether universal ideas are innate or only obtained through the senses. The two positions on this question were staked out by Plato and Aristotle respectively, the controversy continuing through the Middle Ages, with Augustine on the Platonic side and Thomas Aquinas on the Aristotelian. Modern philosophy begins with Descartes's emphatic support for the Platonic-Augustinian position. His contention that clear and distinct ideas are innate (a view often called epistemological idealism, to distinguish it from Plato's joint ontological and epistemological idealism) was challenged in turn by the British empiricists (Locke, Berkeley, and Hume), who sought to show that all ideas derive from the senses. Kant defined a new position by arguing the so-called presuppositional character of the "forms of perception" and "categories of understanding."

These epistemological controversies (which find remarkable—although still insufficiently studied—parallels in the histories of both Hindu and Buddhist philosophies) have had a close relation to religious practices and doctrines, not only among Christians, but also among Jews and Muslims. Thus, for example, realism appears to support the theological doctrine concerning the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Mass, while nominalism is more congruent with the Protestant idea of the last supper, or "meal of remembrance." Similarly, realism is helpful in harmonizing revealed and natural theology, while voluntarism and fideism are more naturally related to nominalism.

Christianity, like the other monotheistic religions, cannot submit knowledge about God to ordinary epistemic criteria. Nor can it, without abjuring the biblical conception of faith, accept the pretensions of unrestrained gnosis or esoteric accretions. The resultant difficulties have given rise to such theological maneuvers as the Averroistic "double truth" (one for the natural, the other for the revealed) and the Thomistic "analogy of being" (in which the possibility of a single univocal meaning for the word *being* is renounced). In attempting to escape the Scylla of fideism, in which knowledge ultimately has no place at all in religion, Western religions have always been in danger of running afoul of the Charybdis of gnosticism, in which there is no need or room for faith. And behind these doctrines lurk the still greater dangers of atheism and pantheism, as well as gnostic dualism.

Epistemological issues in modern times have tended to revolve around the question of the existence of God and whether it is possible to know this or to establish it by some kind of "proof." Thus Anselm's purely a priori "ontological proof" vies with Thomas Aquinas's "five ways," which allegedly derive from empirical experience. All such "proofs" were rejected by Kant in favor of a moral argument that finds God a necessary presupposition of the moral, or practical reason. Here epistemology once again is closely related to ethics, as it had been in a different way in Greek and medieval philosophy. If the medieval world culminated in Dante's visionary belief that knowledge is love, the modern world has been working out the quite different formula of Francis Bacon that knowledge is power. The limits of this power, now coming into view, suggest the limits of the conception of knowledge and perhaps the limits of the epistemological enterprise as a whole.

A word must be said also about mysticism as a way of knowing in religion, apart from both reason and ordinary experience. When, for example, the poet Henry Vaughan says, "I saw eternity the other night," or an otherwise normal and ordinary person reports, "In one moment I was liberated and knew the purpose of life," we do not have criteria for judging the validity of the "knowledge" involved. Epistemology tends to look at such matters in terms of psychology and ethics, rather than ontology and metaphysics.

Since the twentieth century there have been signs that the three-hundred-year-old predominance of epistemology in philosophy is giving way to a concern with semantics, semiology, and meaning. If epistemology cannot find its way out of either subjectivism (Cartesianism, psychologism, psychoanalysis) or objectivism (materialism, positivism, Marxism), it is perhaps because these are simply two faces of the epistemological attitude itself, which, because it begins with the separation of knower and known (and, as it were, makes this central), cannot get them back together except in these unsatisfactory ways. Seen in this light, epistemology may lose its central role in philosophy. Other ways of conceiving human involvement in the world may turn out to be more sensible and useful.

If religion has been on the defensive against science in the modern era, the difficulty may turn out to lie not so much in the differences between religious and scientific ways of knowing as in the epistemological stance itself. Important modern philosophers, particularly Martin Heidegger and Ludwig Wittgenstein, abandoned the epistemological or "representational" point of view itself in their later philosophies. And this is very likely to be the direction to which philosophy itself will go in the future.

SEE ALSO Metaphysics.

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EPOCHĒ SEE PHENOMENOLOGY OF RELIGION

EPONA

EPONA is a Celtic goddess associated with horses. Her name is attested in Gaul and throughout the Roman empire of the first three centuries CE by about 250 figurative monuments and more than 60 votive inscriptions. In fact, she is the Celtic divinity whose name, if not whose cult, appears beyond the Gaulish borders. It is also exceptional that her name has been retained by several Latin writers.

Her Celtic name is related to the general designation for the horse, *epos* (Irish, *ech;* Welsh, *ebol;* Breton, *ebeul,* "foal," from **epalo-s*), and a suffix of theonymic derivation, *-ona,* suggests that Epona was the goddess of horses, if not of stables. Actually, the Gallo-Roman iconography of Epona is divided into two main types of depictions: Epona on horseback and Epona between two facing horses. It is very likely that Epona represents a Celtic transposition and interpretation of the Hellenistic theme of the "lady of horses." The images are foreign, but the name is Celtic and has been applied to the great sovereign feminine divinity (often called Augusta and Regina in the Celtic-Roman inscriptions). There is no correspondence in the insular Celtic cultures.

Care must be taken not to see Epona as a hippomorphic divinity, that is, as one possessing equine attributes. Henri Hubert and Jean Gricourt have made comparisons—all fallacious—to insular deities, the Welsh Rhiannon ("great queen") and the Irish Macha ("plain"), eponym for Emhain Mhacha, residence of King Conchobhar in the tales from the Ulster Cycle, but neither of these mythic figures is any more hippomorphic than Epona herself. In the *Mabinogion* Rhiannon is the wife of Pwyll, and after being falsely accused of slaying her newborn son she is condemned to carry on her back the visitors to her husband's court for seven years. Macha is a war goddess of Irish tradition; after some imprudent bragging on the part of her husband, Crunnchu, Macha is forced, despite her advanced pregnancy, to run a race on a solemn feast day against the king's horses. She wins the race and then dies giving birth to twins, a boy and a girl. But before dying she hurls a cry to punish Ulates, and all the men of Ulster who hear her (and all their descendants for nine generations) are condemned not to have more strength during military encounters than a woman in childbed.

It is difficult to view Rhiannon as anything other than a queen or sovereign deity. As to Macha, she is a trifunctional divinity who also goes by the names of Bodb and Morríghan, warrior goddess of Ireland. The problem posed by Epona's plurality must be reexamined in light of these facts about Rhiannon and Macha.

SEE ALSO Horses.

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EQBAL, MUḤAMMAD See IQBĀL, MUḤAMMAD

ERASMUS, DESIDERIUS

ERASMUS, DESIDERIUS (1469?–1536), Dutch scholar, is called the "prince of humanists." Neither the date nor the place of Erasmus's birth is known with certainty; he was probably born in 1469 in Rotterdam (he styled himself Roterodamus).

LIFE AND WORKS. Erasmus's life was wholly dedicated to scholarship. After his early education, mainly in the school of the Brethren of the Common Life at Deventer (1475–1483), his guardians sent him to the monastery of the Augustinian canons at Steyn. Ordained to the priesthood in 1492, he entered the service of Henry of Bergen, bishop of Cambrai, who gave him leave to study theology at the University of Paris (1495–1498). A visit to Oxford (1499–1500) brought him into the company of such kindred spirits as John Colet (1466?–1519) and Thomas More (1478–1535). Later he visited the cradle of the Renaissance, Italy (1506–1509), and made further journeys to England, including Cambridge, before settling in the Netherlands, at Louvain (1517–1521). There, at the height of his fame, he intended to devote himself quietly to the cause of classical and sacred literature.

But from 1518, Erasmus's labors were increasingly overshadowed by the Lutheran Reformation. He could not but welcome the addition of Martin Luther's voice to his own outspoken criticisms of ecclesiastical abuses, yet he distrusted Luther's aggressive manner, which he feared could only harm the cause of learning and piety. His friends and patrons finally induced him to challenge Luther in print. The ostensible theme of his *De libero arbitrio* (On free choice; 1524) was the freedom denied by Luther's necessitarianism, but more fundamentally the book was a warning against theological contentiousness.

In 1521, driven from Louvain by the hostility of the Dominicans to the new learning, Erasmus moved to Basel, home of publisher Johann Froben (c. 1460–1527). When Basel turned Protestant, he moved to Freiburg im Breisgau (1529–1535), but it was in Protestant Basel that he died without the ministrations of the old church, which later placed his books on the Index.

In response to the requests of his friends, Erasmus himself drew up a "catalog" of his numerous writings in nine divisions. The items vary widely in literary form, from letters to treatises, and in readership intended, from schoolboys to princes. But many of them can be distinguished by certain dominant themes. Some embody Erasmus's research on the language, literature, and wisdom of classical antiquity. Others apply the tools of classical scholarship to the original sources of Christianity, this being what is generally meant by "Christian humanism." In 1516, Erasmus brought out the first published edition of the Greek New Testament, which he furnished with a new Latin translation, notes, and prefaces, including the famous *Paraclesis* (a prefatory "exhortation" to study the philosophy of Christ). In the succeeding two decades, his series of editions of Greek and Latin fathers appeared, beginning with Jerome (1516) and ending with Origen (1536), his two favorites.

In a third group of writings, Erasmus exposed to mockery the moral failures and religious abuses of the day, notably, in his *Moriae encomium* (Praise of folly; 1511), some of the *Colloquia familiaria* (Familiar colloquies; 1st ed., 1518) and, if he did indeed write it, the anonymous pamphlet *Julius exclusus e coelis* (Julius [the warrior pope] shut out of heaven; 1517). Finally, to a fourth group of writings, which present Erasmus's own Christian vision, may be assigned the *Enchiridion militis Christiani* (Handbook [or weapon] for the Christian soldier; 1503), a powerful plea for an inward, spiritual, and moral piety that does not lean on outward religious observances. The strongly pacifist vein in Erasmus's piety is reflected in his *Institutio principis Christiani* (Instruction for a Christian prince; 1516) and especially in *Querela pacis* (The complaint of peace; 1517).

THE ERASMIAN PROGRAM. A consistent humanistic program, in which learning assumes a moral and religious character, lends unity to Erasmus's many writings. The study of ancient languages and literature is propaedeutic to following the philosophy of Christ, which can be recovered in its purity only if the theologians will leave, or at least moderate, their endless squabbles and turn back to the sources of the faith equipped with the tools of the new learning. The program is not antitheological, but it is antischolastic: Moral utility, rather than dialectical subtlety and metaphysical speculation, becomes the test of genuine theology. Erasmus proposed a new ideal of the theologian as more a scholar than a schoolman, an ideal that made a profound impact on many who did not share the Erasmian view of the gospel, including the Protestants.

What Erasmus discovered in the New Testament was, above all, the precepts and example of Christ. To be a Christian is to enlist under Christ's banner. The philosophy of Christ is not speculation or disputation, but the good life—a philosophy not essentially different from the teaching of the best classical moralists, only conveyed with unique authority and made accessible to all. It would be a mistake, however, to reduce the Erasmian imitation of Christ to mere copying of an external model; in the scriptures, as Erasmus reads them, the Savior comes alive, and Christ's philosophy is nothing less than a dying and living in him.

The work of Erasmus marked an important stage in the course of biblical and patristic scholarship. It is true that his New Testament text rested on inferior manuscripts and had no lasting usefulness, but his biblical studies, even when vitiated by overeagerness to extract an edifying lesson from the text by means of spiritual exegesis, established a new emphasis on the human and historical character of the sacred text. No less historically important is the fact that he arrived, through his study of the Gospels, at a distinctive interpretation of Christianity and of religion generally.

Stormier religious personalities, such as Luther, have found the Erasmian outlook bland. They have judged Christian existence to be neither as simple nor as placid as Erasmus supposed, because God makes a Christian not by gently strengthening a feeble will but by putting to death a vigorous, arrogant will. But the recall of Christians to a simpler, more practical ideal of discipleship has continued to win friends for Erasmus among those who doubt the usefulness of the constant refinement of dogma.

Some have hailed the Erasmian dislike of dogmatism as one source of modern undogmatic Christianity, or even of religious skepticism. Historically, that is a correct estimate of his actual influence, or at least of one strand of it. No doubt, it must be qualified by Erasmus's own professed submission to the decrees of the church. But nothing he says has quite laid to rest the suspicion that, for him, the institutional church was not so much directly salvific as a condition of that outward order and peace without which scholarship and the gospel cannot flourish.

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Erasmus published about one hundred writings, some of which were very popular and went through several editions. Many have been translated into English. An English translation of his voluminous correspondence and all the major writings is being published as *Collected Works of Erasmus,* 40–45 vols. projected (Toronto, 1974–). Erasmus samplers are *The Essential Erasmus,* translated and edited by John P. Dolan (New York, 1964), and *Christian Humanism and the Reformation: Selected Writings of Erasmus with the Life of Erasmus by Beatus Rhenanus,* rev. ed., edited by John C. Olin (New York, 1975). Dolan has the *Enchiridion, Moriae encomium,* and *Querela pacis;* Olin includes the *Paraclesis,* perhaps the best statement of the Erasmian program. Other translations are *Ten Colloquies of Erasmus* (New York, 1957) and *The Colloquies of Erasmus* (Chicago, 1965), both translated and edited by Craig R. Thompson; *The Education of a Christian Prince,* translated and edited by Lester K. Born (New York, 1936); *The Julius Exclusus of Erasmus,* translated by Paul Pascal, edited by J. Kelley Sowards (Bloomington, Ind., 1968); and *Erasmus-Luther: Discourse on Free Will,* translated and edited by Ernst F. Winter (New York, 1961). An excellent biographical study is Roland H. Bainton's *Erasmus of Christendom* (New York, 1969), and a useful companion to Erasmus's writings is *Essays on the Works of Erasmus,* edited by Richard L. DeMolen (New Haven, Conn., 1978).

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EREMITISM is a form of monastic life characterized by solitariness. (The term derives from the Greek *erēmos,* "wilderness, uninhabited regions," whence comes the English *eremite,* "solitary.") In this type of life, the social dimension of human existence is totally or largely sacrificed to the primacy of religious experience. It is thus understandable that Christianity has traditionally regarded eremitism as the purest and most perfect form of a life consecrated to God. While other forms of monasticism or of the religious life have striven to bring religious experience to bear on human relationships (Western Christianity especially emphasizes external service), eremitism has always been purely contemplative in thrust. Hermits live only in order to cultivate their spiritual life in prayer, meditation, reading, silence, asceticism, manual work, and, perhaps, in intellectual pursuits. In eremitism, the celibacy characteristically practiced in monachism extends to the suppression of all social relationships. While Christian monks have always stressed charity in relationships within the monastic group and, in the Middle Ages especially, written treatises on Christian friendship, Buddhist monks have emphasized the necessity for freedom from every affective relationship that might hinder the achievement of enlightenment.

While isolation for a limited period of time is common in many religions, especially as part of a process of initiation or as a special time dedicated to prayer and reflection, eremitism as a permanent vocation or prolonged phase of asceticism is found only in those religions that grant monasticism an established and determinative role. The religions in question are salvation religions, whether in the sense of self-liberation or of redemption. In Buddhism, Jainism, and Christianity religiosity has a personal character as opposed to a merely societal character (religion as a series of beliefs and rites of a tribe, *polis,* or state). Buddhism, Jainism, and Manichaeism are essentially monastic religions, owing to the importance they attach to the pursuit of the self-liberation of the human being. Christian hermits, too, often went into the wilderness in hopes of finding there the answer to the all-absorbing question: "How can I attain salvation?"

However, the theme of personal salvation does not seem to be the deepest and most constant motive behind the eremitical vocation. The Ṣūfī mystics, as well as many Christian monks and nuns, have gone primarily in pursuit of union with God. Some of them, such as Teresa of Ávila or Thérèse of Lisieux, have consecrated their lives to interceding for the world. Monks who, like Thomas Merton, distance themselves even from their own monastery, do so not to assure their own salvation but rather to devote themselves to constant prayer. In the early Christian world it was commonly said that solitaries pursued an angelic life, because they wished to be, like the angels, always in the presence of God. It can be legitimately affirmed, then, that what really permits the birth of monasticism in general and of eremitism in particular is the desire to consecrate one's whole life to religious experience.

Historically, there have been two forms of eremitism. The more common form is that of the anchorite, a term derived from the Greek verb *anachōrein,* originally used to designate the act of draft dodging or tax evasion by fleeing to out-of-the-way places. In Hellenistic times, the word came to refer generally to those who moved far away from towns and particularly to sages who withdrew in order to devote themselves to contemplation. The less common type of eremitism is that of the recluse, who often remained in town but enclosed himself in a cell, communicating with the outside world only through a small window. In the Middle East during the early Christian period there were anchorites (male and female) who not only went into the wilderness but also became recluses, in a spirit of penitence. In their different ways both anchorites and recluses profess a life of solitude as a privileged situation for personal growth.

EREMITISM IN THE ANCIENT WORLD. Eremitism first appeared as a lifelong vocation in India among the numerous ascetics on the margin of Aryan society. The ascetics stood out from the general population by their long hair and distinctive dress, or by their wearing no clothes at all. Some lived in tombs, while others, the "ascetics of the forest," lived in the woods. From them is derived the most archaic strata of the Upaniṣads and the Āraṇyakas, dating from the eighth century BCE. The Aryan ascetics withdrew from society in order to pursue individual religious experiences that were fostered by a series of extraordinary renunciations. Their ascetical discipline was aimed to induce a state characterized by illumination and by the attainment of supernatural powers. The withdrawal of these ascetics seems to have involved a rejection of priestly mediation and can be interpreted as reflecting a crisis in a ritual system that had become somewhat fossilized.

The life of Siddhārtha Gautama, called the Buddha (the Enlightened One), established the paradigm for eremitism in Indian culture. After his conversion experience, Gautama determined to become a truth-seeker and placed himself under the direction of some famous sages. After this period of discipleship, Gautama withdrew to a lovely woodland grove, where he gave himself over to the practice of extreme asceticism and came to be surrounded by a small group of disciples. One day, Gautama observed to a certain adept that physical asceticism had not led him where he wished to go and that he had therefore given it up. Upon hearing this, his disciples, bound to the ascetical tradition, abandoned him. So Gautama remained alone, and alone he ultimately reached enlightenment. After attaining this fulfillment, the Buddha went forth to preach his message. His spiritual itinerary is an exemplary instance of the four stages (*āśrama*s) into which Hindu tradition divides the journey of a *brahman*: student, father of a family, forest dweller or solitary (*vānaprasthin*), and, finally, renouncer (*saṃnyāsin*), follower of an itinerant and often mendicant life. The withdrawal into solitude for a certain time is, thus, an integral part not only of Buddhist spirituality but of various forms of Hindu spirituality as well.

Withdrawal into solitude is likewise observable in other types of monastic movements that appeared in India from the sixth century BCE onward. It may also be observed in Jainism, begun by Pārśvanātha in the eighth century BCE and reformed by Mahāvīra in the sixth century BCE. Jainism aims at a life of communion with nature in places removed from the social mainstream. Both of the original great heroes of Jainism lived largely eremitical lives. Gośāla, the founder of the Ājīvikas in the sixth century BCE, began his ascetical life by withdrawing naked into the forest.

In the fourth century BCE, the conquests of Alexander the Great in the Middle East and his expeditions into India brought the Greek world into contact with Hindu philosophy and religion. Pyrrho of Elis, who took part in the Indian expedition, displayed afterward a strong inclination toward tranquil solitude, so much so, in fact, that he rarely presented himself even to the members of his household. It is said that he did so because he had heard a Hindu admonish Anaxarchos that the latter could hardly pretend to be good, let alone instruct others, because he frequented the court. Philostratus and Hippolytus later praised the asceticism of the Hindu philosophers. From about the first century BCE to the second century CE there arose in Hellenism the ideal of the sage as one who had achieved a personal contemplative relationship with the divine through the practice of solitude and certain ascetical techniques. Seneca recommended that Lucilius live a quiet and retiring life *("consistere et secum morari")*. Thus the way was paved for the emergence of the figure of the hermit. Plutarch in the first century CE speaks of a famous solitary who lived on the shore of the Eritrean Sea and communicated with others only once a year. Lucian tells of a recluse who had remained for twenty-three years in a subterranean temple, where he was instructed by Isis. Around the second century CE the verb *anachōrein* and the noun *anachōrēsis* underwent an evolution of meaning and came to indicate a withdrawal from social commitments in order to pursue inner wisdom.

The influence of these tendencies is observable also in Hellenistic Judaism. In Palestine, the Essenes withdrew from the sway of normative Judaism and created their own community of salvation with a strict, ritualized life. In Egypt, the Therapeutae mentioned by Philo Judaeus followed a predominantly eremitical form of life. They confined themselves to individual cells, where they devoted themselves to asceticism and meditation, coming together only on the Sabbath for community worship.

Ascetical renunciation became central to Manichaeism, the religion founded in Babylonia by Mani in the third century CE. Asceticism became so important because Mani attributed the material world to the workings of the principle of evil. Because the material world was thus to be shunned, this doctrine implied almost necessarily a monastic conception of life. There seems to have been some Hindu influence on the group, for its members were divided into the elect (monks) and the "hearers" (laity); the latter received the same name as was given to the laity in Jainism. The elect professed a radical poverty and sexual continence, which some carried to the point of castration. Among the elect, many were itinerant ascetics, although some of them withdrew into solitude.

PRIMITIVE CHRISTIAN EREMITISM. Tertullian, the celebrated African writer, stated in the second century CE that among Christians there were no naked philosophers, *brahmans*, or forest dwellers, but that all lived in moderation among the rest of those devoted to family and public life (*Apologeticum* 42.1). A century later eremitism launched a veritable invasion of Christian churches. What, one may ask, had happened to bring about this apparent reversal?

The radical commitment that Jesus asked of his disciples, involving faith, conversion, and suffering, was lived by his first followers within the context of a prophetic mission organized around the announcement of the imminence of the kingdom of God. This mission necessarily led them to involve themselves with society, and especially with those on its margins. In contrast to John the Baptist and his followers, Jesus neither practiced asceticism as a preparation for the judgment of God nor had recourse to solitude, except in decisive moments requiring prayer and reflection. It is significant, then, that the first Christian ascetics frequently invoked, not the example of Jesus, but rather that of Elijah or of John the Baptist. Early on, a group of wandering prophets who preached the imminent return of the Son of humankind seem to have taken quite literally the recommendations of Jesus on the need to abandon all things (*Didachē* 11.8). Their asceticism developed in the context of a prophetic mission, sustained by their hope in the end of the present world.

Only at a later date did this radical discipleship transform into an asceticism aimed at personal perfection or salvation. This step from commitment as a prophet to pursuit of individual asceticism—both expressions of Christian radicalism—came about simultaneously with the step from the eschatological dualism of Jesus (the "already" and the "not yet" of the kingdom of God) to the static dualism of the Hellenistic world (the world above versus the world below, spirit and body). The number of ascetics seems to have increased considerably throughout the third century. While some practiced asceticism in the cities, numerous others built cells near towns or villages and committed themselves to prayer in an early attempt at the solitary life. There were a few cases of ascetics seeking a more total isolation in the desert. Eusebius relates that Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem, weary of slanders against him and eager to embrace a philosophical life, retired to the wilderness around 212. The ecclesiastical writer Socrates mentions a certain Eutychianus, a hermit living in Asia Minor around 310.

But it was only toward the end of the third century in Egypt that Christian eremitism appeared in a definitive and exemplary manner. Once martyrdom, as an extreme test of fidelity to the gospel, ceased to occur and once the church with its bishops became recognized as part of the urban establishment, numerous men and some women fled to the solitude of the desert in search of God. There they defiantly faced the demons whom popular belief assigned to such solitary places. Thus arose a type of Christian life characterized by solitude, constant prayer, radical poverty, manual labor, and practices of mortification.

It should be noted that, since the time of Tertullian and Origen, the two great Christian writers of the third century, the idea of retreat to the desert had become emblematic of a new religious attitude. The gospel accounts of the time Jesus spent in the desert lent a profound significance to the biblical traditions of Israel's wanderings through the wilderness and the withdrawal of some of the Israelite prophets into solitude. Tertullian wrote to the Christian martyrs that their isolation from the rest of the world during their imprisonment might well engender the spiritual benefits that the desert or solitude had given the prophets and the apostles: a lively experience of the glory of God. Origen used the desert as a symbol of spiritual progress and also transformed it into an emblem of the solitude and peace that are necessary to encounter the word and wisdom of God. It is significant that the first translators of the Greek Bible into Latin coined the noun *eremus* ("desert"), which did not exist in profane Latin. Thus the desert, the *eremus,* had been converted into a symbol of a spiritual attitude, a reliving of certain incidents in the Christ event foreshadowed by the passage of Israel through the wilderness.

These precedents must be considered in any account of the origins of Christian eremitism. The first influential Christian eremite is Anthony, a Coptic Christian born around 250. Anthony was early converted to asceticism and then retired to the desert at about age thirty-five; he enclosed himself for the next twenty years in a small, ruined fortress. Athanasius describes this period of reclusion as the phase of Anthony's mystical initiation. At the end of this period, Anthony accepted a few disciples. Toward the end of his life, he withdrew alone to a place near the Gulf of Suez, although he continued to make periodic visits to some of his anchorite followers who dwelt nearby. He died in 356, his fame widespread. His biography, written a few years after his death by Athanasius and twice translated into Latin, enjoyed a remarkable success and inaugurated a new Christian literary genre. Jerome later used Athanasius's work as a model for his lives of Paul, Malchus, and Hilarion.

Very early on, even during the lifetime of Anthony, Egypt had a large number of anchorites. Paul of Thebes, the hero whose novelistic life was written by Jerome, lived as a solitary on Mount Colzim, near the Gulf of Suez. Amun of Nitria, who like Paul was a disciple of Anthony, began a colony of hermits in the Nitrian desert (today's Wadi el Natrun) to the east of the Nile Delta. There were also the two great hermits named Makarios: Makarios of Egypt and Makarios of Alexandria, both of whom died around 390. In the desert of Scete, forty miles beyond the Wadi el Natrun, lived the celebrated Arsenius (354–449), his contemporary Agathon (a disciple of the first abbot, Daniel), and later Isaias. The sayings of the principal solitaries were gathered into popular collections called *Apophthegmata Patrum* (lit., "sayings of the fathers," but referring specifically to the Desert Fathers). The collections were first set in alphabetical order according to author by compilers writing in Greek around 450. Not long after this an excellent collection was drawn up arranged according to subject matter.

There were as well three famous women who were desert solitaries, Theodora, Sarah, and Syncletica. From the beginning of Christian monasticism, there were anchoresses, although it is impossible to accurately assess their number. That the *Apophthegmata Patrum* include the sayings of some women, and that the lives of certain spiritual women were written, suggests that any apparent silence on women is most likely due to the fact that a relatively small number settled in the wilderness. One obvious reason for a relative dearth of anchoritic women would be the frequency with which bands of robbers and highwaymen attacked isolates in the desert; women were presumably in greater danger than men. It must be acknowledged, however, that the spirituality of the first Christian anchorites had a very masculine slant, for athletic and military terminology abounds in their biographies and writings. It is not surprising, then, that this quality influenced the anchoresses, who affirmed their spiritual masculinity. Sarah stated a number of times that although she was a woman as to her sex, she was not so in spirit and resolve. Syncletica also used terminology drawn from military life and athletic contests. The practice of some anchoresses of disguising themselves as men probably arose from their concern for personal security in a time and place that was extremely hazardous for all travelers.

The most celebrated anchoress was undoubtedly Mary of Egypt (344–421), who underwent a conversion while on pilgrimage to the Holy Land and went to live in solitude on the other side of the Jordan River, where she spent the next forty-seven years. Her life, first alluded to by Cyril of Scythopolis in his sixth-century *Life of Cyriacus,* became a legend. Alexandra, a serving girl who enclosed herself in a funeral grotto, receives mention in Palladius's *Historia Lausiaca.* Another legendary figure is Theodora, a married woman who abandoned her husband and, fearing that she might be recognized by him if she entered a nunnery, decided to disguise herself as a man and managed to enter instead a monastery outside Alexandria. In time the monks accused her of being the father of a baby boy whom an unhappy young woman had left at her doorstep and expelled her from the community. She was obliged to live with the boy in the wilderness for seven years. After that time she was readmitted to the monastery, where she became a recluse in a cell apart from the rest. Syncletica (sixth century), too, withdrew to a tomb not far from Alexandria; she has the distinction of being the first Christian heroine to be the subject of a biography. Sarah lived a solitary life for some seventy years on the eastern branch of the Nile. The sayings of Theodora, Syncletica, and Sarah may be found in the *Apophthegmata Patrum.*

These anchorites and anchoresses were not the only Christians to practice the eremitical life. Alongside them, from the beginning, existed another group of solitaries: the recluses. The latter separated themselves from the world not by going to some far-off place but by enclosing or immuring themselves in cells. The great Anthony spent his first twenty years of solitude as a recluse. The famous John of Nicopolis (fourth century) lived in the same manner. Likewise, the solitaries of the Desert of Cells, east of the Nile near Cairo, preferred to live a life of withdrawal in their caves, which were "like hyenas' dens."

Anchorites and recluses held one basic attitude in common: a radical lack of interest in the world, that is, in human society and history. They called this attitude *xenoteia* (from Gr. *xenos*), the condition of being a stranger, an alien, a passerby. Their disinterest was motivated by a desire for total self-commitment to God in contemplative quiet. The Christian anchorite was at the same time in pursuit of interior peace, which could be attained only through *apatheia,* or detachment from the passions. The experience of God in his mystical fullness was for the anchorite a return to the primordial condition of the human being. One could not return to this lost paradise except by way of a continual struggle with the demons that populate society, allusions to which appear in many personal accounts. The hermits often acquired a great analytical acuteness, yet numerous allusions to dreams and visions show some of the negative effects of a life of pure interiority. Although the dialectical orientation of human nature was safeguarded by the constant dialogue with God, the fact that this dialogue was almost completely interior may well have overintensified psychic activity.

It should be remembered that at the outset hermits could not count on the help of the Christian community. They were laypersons, who had separated themselves even from ecclesiastical society and were unable to participate in the common liturgy or the sacraments. The life of Anthony makes no allusion to the Eucharist. Soon the solitaries discovered the need to consult those who were more experienced and began to make visits to them, which began with a customary greeting, "Give me a word." They also felt the need of listening to the exhortations of the most famous holy men and of celebrating the liturgy together. This gave rise to colonies of hermits who gathered together on certain days of the week for the liturgy and conferences. Anchorites who periodically went to churches for worship (this became common at an early date) were allowed to bring the Eucharist with them to their retreats, so that they could receive daily Communion alone. From the beginning, however, it was the Bible that occupied the central position in the spiritual life of the Christian hermit. Even those who did not know how to read customarily memorized psalms and New Testament passages for recitation and meditation. They turned to the Bible whenever they needed a standard for conduct. Nevertheless, the anti-intellectualism of the majority led them to oppose all theological reflection on the sacred book.

Basil of Caesarea (329?–379) is the only father of the church who ruled out the possibility of a solitary life, basing his reasoning on both anthropological (the social dimension of the human being) and religious (the Christian vocation to communion) insights. Augustine also expressed reservations regarding the eremitical life, believing that Christian charity can never prescind from the neighbor. In general, however, the church continued to regard eremitism as the highest, though most difficult, vocation, one meant only for the strongest and best-formed personalities. The vast majority of the early anchorites were simple folk with little education. Many of those of Coptic origin were ignorant of Greek; indeed, many were illiterate. Early on, it became requisite that candidates for eremitism place themselves under the direction of an experienced anchorite before undertaking the solitary life. Later, once cenobitical monasticism (monks and nuns living in community) spread, a consensus arose that subjection to the discipline of a community was the best preparation for the eremitical life. The Palestinian laura, made up of a central monastery surrounded by a scattering of eremitical cells, is based on this idea. The Trullan Synod (692) decreed that future recluses should submit to at least three years of community discipline before going into reclusion. The canonists eventually extended this norm to all solitaries.

Although the first solitaries in Egypt and Syria were for the most part unlettered countryfolk, they developed a rich spiritual doctrine. Drawing on their own experience, their prayers and their temptations, they developed and orally transmitted the first art of spiritual direction, as well as the first analyses in Christianity of interior states. Toward the end of the fourth century, a number of scholars educated in Greek culture went to listen and learn from the solitaries. Rufinus of Aquileia, a famous sage at first admired but later attacked by Jerome, arrived in Egypt in 371. Evagrios of Pontus began his apprenticeship around 383. Palladius, the future historian of the desert, arrived there around 389. John Cassian spent ten years in Egypt toward the end of the fourth century. Later, he founded two monasteries, one for men and the other for women, in Marseilles. His *Monastic Institutions* (twelve books) and his *Conferences* exercised a lasting influence on Western spirituality.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT AND SPREAD OF EREMITISM. Eremitism spread rapidly throughout the Middle East. It was also developing, contemporaneously and independently, in Syro-Mesopotamian Christianity, where it assumed some quite original forms. Some eremites, the Dendrites, lived in trees or in hollow tree trunks; others lived always in the open air, either on a rocky height or in groves, while still others lived in huts. The celebrated Simeon (390?–459) mounted a pillar in order to escape the importunities of people who sought his prayers, inspiring numerous imitators (the Stylites). There were a great number of recluses who, like James and Sisinnius, dwelt in tombs or, like Thalalaeus, in hovels with roofs built so low that it was impossible to stand inside. Marana and Cyriaca loaded themselves with heavy chains. All the hermits practiced great mortifications. Some of their actions and words seem inspired by a Manichaean worldview, while others resemble the feats attributed to the Indian fakirs. Toward the middle of the fourth century, many hermits lived in the mountains near Nisibus, on Mount Gaugal in Mesopotamia, and in the mountainous region around Antioch. The origins of eremitism in Palestine are unknown; it is known only that around 330 Hilarion began a form of eremitism similar to that of the Egyptian anchorites. Throughout the fourth and fifth centuries, hermits were very common in Palestine. Around 390, the well-publicized pilgrim Egeria found them nearly everywhere.

In the West, the Latin translation of the life of Anthony seems to have given rise not only to numerous admirers but also to some imitators. Already in the second half of the fourth century, numerous hermitages appeared on the islands and islets surrounding Italy (Gallinaria, Noli, Montecristo), and a colony of Syrian hermits settled near Spoleto. By his own example Eusebius of Vercelli gave rise to a group in the mountains of Oropa. Somewhat later, there were hermitages on the hills about Rome. Ascetics had lived in France since the second half of the second century. One of the early martyrs of Lyon and Vienne had sustained himself on bread and water. But it was Martin of Tours (316?–397) who truly propagated eremitism in Gaul. His life, written by Sulpicius Severus, contributed effectively to the movement. Converted to the monastic life in Milan, Martin underwent his first anchoritic experience on the island of Gallinaria and later settled at Ligugé. There a number of disciples established their cells near his. Made bishop of Tours in 371 by popular acclamation, he alternated the exercise of his pastoral office with the life of a hermit, and in these solitary periods he was again joined by numerous disciples.

Between the fifth and eighth centuries, hermits abounded in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. In Spain, however, solitaries were not established until the sixth century. The bishops of the Iberian Peninsula took a dim view of asceticism as a result of their struggle with the ascetic rigorism of the monk Priscillian (340?–385) and his followers, who are said to have felt the greatest scorn for those Christians who would not embrace their austerities.

In the Eastern churches, eremitism has always enjoyed great prestige, although the spread of monachism in community (cenobitism) considerably reduced the number. Periodic reactions against cenobitism, in part inspired by Basil of Caesarea, have promoted a type of monastic life focused on contemplative quiet and personal prayer, rather than on liturgical worship. Among the proponents of hesychasm (cultivators of inner peace, or *hēsuchia*) were the Sinaitic school of the seventh century and Symeon the New Theologian (949?–1022). The laura of Mount Athos was founded in 963 by Athanasius, although solitaries had already been living on the mountain. Another famous laura is the Monastery of Saint John, founded in 1068 on the island of Patmos. Both still exist today. At almost the same time, monachism was introduced into Russia by Anthony of Kiev, who had formerly been a monk at Mount Athos. When he returned to Russia, he chose as his dwelling a cave on the side of a hill that faced the city of Kiev. Numerous disciples joined him there, thus giving rise to the Pecherskaia Laura, the Monastery of the Caves. Sergii of Radonezh (1314–1392), saint-protector of Moscow and all Russia, spent several years in complete solitude. Nil Sorskii (1433?–1508) spent a great part of his life in complete solitude, developing his version of the hesychasm he had learned during a stay at Mount Athos. Cornelius of Komel shared his love of poverty and solitude. In the nineteenth century the eremitic ideal held a strong attraction for a significant group of Russian personages who spent the last stages of their lives in solitude. From this time date Feofan the Recluse (1815–1894), translator of the *Philokalia,* who remained in strict enclosure from 1872 until his death, and Serafim of Sarov (1759–1833).

The Maronite church, founded by the Syrian monk Maron (fourth century), has always professed a particular devotion to monachism. Among the Maronites, too, has arisen the practice of solitaries situating themselves in the neighborhood of its monasteries. Two Maronite hermits, the brothers Michael and Sergius ar-Rizzi, became patriarchs toward the end of the sixteenth century. The last illustrious example of this tradition is Charbel Maklouf, a popular thaumaturge of the nineteenth century.

In the West, eremites were always less numerous than in the Middle East. The teaching of Augustine on the central value of fraternal communion in the service of Christ, the preference of John Cassian for cenobitism, and, above all, the gradual conquest of the West by the *Rule of Saint Benedict* all converged to impose community monasticism as the common form. Nevertheless, even in the European West there have always been hermits. The fact that the councils of Vannes (463), Agde (506), and Toledo VI (638) all gave rules for recluses indicates that they were not a rare phenomenon. In the days of the French queen and saint Radegunda (518–587), a liturgical ceremony celebrated the entry of recluses into their cells. Grimlac, a tenth-century hermit of Lorraine, wrote the first *regula solitariorum* known in the West. Further such rules were written in the twelfth century by Ethelred of York and, for the recluses of Cluny, by Peter the Venerable. Even in a community as well organized as that of Cluny, some monks were permitted to go into reclusion and separate themselves from community life after a certain number of years. The same practice was in effect in the Cistercian monasteries, despite the communitarian spirituality that had developed at Cïteaux.

These developments were varied manifestations of a tendency toward solitude that had been growing since the tenth century. The early eleventh century saw the founding in Italy of the monastic congregations of Fuente Avellana by Peter Damian and of Camaldoli by Romuald. These monastic congregations were made up of groups of mutually independent hermitages or monasteries, or of a monastery and a colony of hermitages united under the prior of the colony. Silence and individual solitude predominated. (These congregations were joined in 1569.) In 1084, Bruno of Cologne settled in Chartreuse, France, and established there a monastery where monks lived separately in small hermitages situated around a cloister and met only for liturgical prayer in the church. Around 1090, Stephen of Muret founded the Order of Hermits of Grandmont at Haute-Vienne, France. In a short time the order had spread widely. Small groups of solitaries began to multiply in Italy and became more common in the west of France during the twelfth century. Others appeared in Italy in the thirteenth century. Francis of Assisi, for example, was strongly attracted to the eremitical life and wrote a rule for it and for his disciples.

But there were also instances of an opposite phenomenon—groups of hermits who gave rise to orders characterized by a more communal way of life. The Carmelite order, for example, was started by hermits from the West who settled at Mount Carmel in Palestine during the twelfth century; as the order spread in the West it evolved into a conventual order. Something similar happened to the Servites, founded near Florence, and to the Hermits of Saint Augustine, an order formed by the coming together of various eremitic and semi-eremitic Italian groups.

Alongside the eremitic life organized within an institutional framework, the individual eremitic life has persisted sporadically. Instances from twelfth-century England include the solitaries Henry, Caradoc, Wilfrid, and Godric. Richard Rolle de Hampole, a hermit and director of recluses, was a spiritual master and esteemed writer of the fourteenth century. The most celebrated English anchoress was Julian of Norwich, whose *Revelations of Divine Love* remains a spiritual classic. In fourteenth-century Spain, John de la Pena was the founder of a colony of hermitages. In Switzerland, there is the celebrated case of Nicholas of Flüe (1417–1487), a layman who at the age of fifty left his wife and children to go into solitude, where he spent the last twenty years of his life. "Bruder Klaus," as he is affectionately known in Switzerland, was canonized in 1947 and is venerated there by both Catholics and Protestants because of the ecumenical guidance he gave from his hermitage.

In sixteenth-century Spain, the noblewoman Catalina of Cardona escaped from the ducal palace to take refuge as a hermitess on the banks of the river Júcar. Later she founded a convent of Carmelite nuns and then spent the rest of her life in a nearby cave. In the fifteenth century an unnamed woman supposedly lived disguised as a friar in the Franciscan hermitage of the Carceri near Assisi. Another woman, who died around 1225, lived in the same manner in Burgundy. Perhaps these women were imitating the legend of the desert eremite Theodora. Some scholars have suspected that the stories of these women are fictional legends that arose in the exclusively masculine environment of the monastery, where the presence of a woman disguised as a monk could easily have been felt as a threat to the monastic vocation. Another type of mitigated feminine eremitism was initiated by Teresa of Ávila (1515–1582) under the influence of the primitive ideal of the monastery of Mount Carmel and the example of her confessor and spiritual adviser, Peter of Alcántara (1499–1562), who built a separate hut for himself in the monastery garden. Something similar happened in a number of Poor Clare convents in Spain, again under the influence of Peter of Alcántara.

In the seventeenth century, there was a new flowering of eremitical spirituality. New editions of various writings of the Desert Fathers, as well as numerous paintings of the saints Anthony and Jerome and the penitent Mary Magdalene, reflect this interest. Notable among other eremitical foundations in Spain at the time was the hillside colony at Cordova, which continued to exist until the mid-twentieth century. In the eighteenth century there were still some hermits living in the vicinity of Rome, and some new groupings of hermits arose in Germany. In the history of Christian eremitism in the West, the nineteenth century was one of the most desolate periods. Significantly, in the 1917 Code of Canon Law for the Roman Catholic church, pure eremitism disappeared as an officially recognized form of monastic life because of the code's insistence on community life as an essential element of all monastic life.

In contrast, the twentieth century witnessed a reflourishing of the eremitical life, beginning with the withdrawal of Charles-Eugène Foucauld (1858–1916), a French cavalry officer, to the Sahara. He spent the last fifteen years of his life as a hermit. John C. Hawes (d. 1956), an Anglican missionary who later joined the Roman Catholic church, spent the last years of his life as a hermit on Cat Island in the Bahamas. Foundations of eremitical groups have been established in Germany, France, and Canada. The phenomenon seems to have been particularly intense in the United States. A strong current of mystical spirituality, together with a certain disenchantment with the life of many apostolic communities, has led a certain number of religious, especially women, to seek the solitary life. The Trappist monk Thomas Merton (1915–1968) influenced this movement to a great extent. After spending twenty years at the Abbey of Gethsemani in Kentucky in an atmosphere combining total silence and intense group life, Merton arrived at a paradoxical state: He had a keen and very open awareness of a pressing need for dialogue with the contemporary world, yet he withdrew for some time into profound solitude. In 1963, he obtained permission to withdraw periodically to a small hut on a hillside near the abbey. In October 1964, thanks to his efforts, a meeting of Trappist abbots modified the order's official attitude toward eremitism. The order now regards eremitism as a possible option for monks who have spent a certain number of years in community. As he grew older, Merton's recourse to solitude became increasingly continuous. At present, a certain number of Trappists follow the eremitical life.

The Church of England has also witnessed a revival of one of its ancient traditions, in a number of women solitaries. Prayer and silence predominate in the first purely contemplative Anglican community, the Sisters of the Love of God, founded by Father Hollings in 1906. In response to this strong trend the Roman Catholic church revised its official attitude toward eremitism, as stated in the 1917 Code of Canon Law. The new code (canon 603) officially recognizes the eremitical state, even among those who do not belong to any monastic institute.

EREMITISM IN ISLAM. In Islam, eremitism is regarded as an exceptional type of life. In general, the religious life is lived either in the bosom of the family or in a community made up of a master and a number of disciples. However, a radical form of Sufism is found among itinerant monks, who express their estrangement from the world in a manner somewhat reminiscent of Hindu or Syrian practitioners of pilgrimage. Many Ṣūfīs, even if they do not fully profess this type of life, spend a certain number of years traveling throughout the Muslim world in search of a spiritual master. The ideal of the Muslim spiritual masters is "solitude in the midst of the multitude" (*kalwat dar anjuman*), that is, a state of remaining habitually in the presence of God without being touched by the tumult of one's surroundings. As means for achieving this state spiritual masters recommend detachment, silence, and interior peace. Some Ṣūfī orders insist on both material and spiritual withdrawal or retreat.

Nevertheless, a commitment to serving God while remaining in his presence has led more than a few Muslim spiritual adepts to seek material solitude. In contradistinction to the *khalwah* ("retreat," i.e., the house of a man or woman of God), *rābiṭah* designates an isolated dwelling for a person committed to the cultivation of his or her spiritual life, that is, a hermitage. Ibn al-ʿArabī tells of an Andalusian mystic, Abū Yaḥyā al-Sunhājī, who often traveled along the coast looking for solitary places in which he could live. He also tells of a holy woman of Seville who lived in a hut built so low to the ground that she could hardly stand up straight within it. Although Muslims have always professed a lively devotion toward these servants of God, there has always been also a certain opposition to what is regarded as an extreme way of life. This ambivalence is expressed in the following story. One day, a Ṣūfī who lived in a city received a visit from a pilgrim who brought him greetings from a man who had fled to the mountains. The Ṣūfī replied, "A person should live with God in the bazaar, not in the mountains" (Javad Nurbakhash, *Masters of the Path,* New York, 1980, p. 80).

EREMITISM AND COMMUNION. Eremitism in its pure form is beset with a few serious difficulties, because the solitary life projects an image of spirituality exclusively in terms of interiority, an image involving individual prayer or meditation, intense inner struggles, and so on. What role does the believing community play in this conception of spirituality? Not surprisingly, the Buddha provided certain community horizons for the individual search for salvation in order to mitigate the extremes of ascetic traditions of his day. Nor is it surprising that many Muslim teachers note that materially suppressing outward "noise" is far less important than remaining open to inner silence, even amid the bustle of the marketplace. Pure eremitism encounters insuperable objections in relation to the Christian concept of community as the vehicle of salvation. What role do the sacraments play in such a scheme?

Are rites of all sorts only for "beginners," with the more developed not in need of such props? It is easy to discern in these questions a potential for Gnostic aberrations, such as were possible in the context of the total isolation of the primitive Christian anchorites. Understandably, total and sustained isolation soon disappeared in Christianity, and the eremitical life became limited to colonies or lauras, where adherents listened to the word and participated in the sacraments. Today Christian churches would not accept any form of total isolation.

In reality, the difficulties come not only from the communitarian vocation of the believer but also from the basic social orientation of human beings. People need others, with both their experience and their limitations, in order to grow. After nine years of austere solitude, Pachomius (290?–346) reacted angrily to a slight disagreement. Seven years of fasts and vigils had not taught him patience. Here, for the first time in the history of Christian monasticism, interpersonal relationship appears as a form of mutual purification. Dorotheus of Gaza (sixth century) affirmed: "The cell exalts us, the neighbor puts us to the test." The praxis of charity shows whether personal progress has been real or illusory, but interpersonal relationships are also a source of enrichment. Dorotheus repeats a traditional saying when he states, "To stay in one's cell is one half, and to go and see the elders is the other half."

EREMITISM AND HUMAN SOLIDARITY. The quest for personal salvation, carried out in a type of life withdrawn from society and history, does not seem to leave room for solidarity with the rest of humanity. Today, when human communion and interdependence are so strongly felt, eremitism might seem like little more than a form of solitary egoism, giving rise to serious doubts as to its basic morality. The Buddhist vision of history as pure illusion presents a different perspective. From the Buddhist point of view, no good results from immersing oneself in this illusion, in this flux of sorrows and joys. On the contrary, one would do better to put oneself beyond the contingent and illusory, thus giving others the testimony of one's victory and wisdom. It is significant that in the life of the Buddha, as well as in the Hindu tradition generally, a phase of itinerant monasticism follows the period of eremitism.

Christian anchorites, too, often consider themselves alien travelers who cannot afford to be concerned with earthly affairs. But Christian eremitism constantly encounters a serious difficulty. If the transcendent God of the Bible reveals himself in the often tortuous and painful history of the human race, can any Christian turn away from history in order to encounter God? Would this God really be the God of the Bible, or would he not be some remote god encountered only in a flight from the world? Many Christian anchorites reveal the tensive pull of this implicit dualism. Nevertheless, their deep sense of being pilgrims and exiles has not prevented many of them from feeling and identifying with the problems of their contemporaries. Athanasius left his solitude and went to Alexandria in order to defend the orthodox cause against the Arians. The church meant more to him than a quest for pure interiority. Other solitaries sold their produce at market, bought what they needed for survival, and distributed among the poor any surplus before returning to their hermitages. Anthony worked not only for his maintenance but also for the needy. Poemen recommended that the brethren work as much as possible so that they could give alms.

A famous saying of Evagrios of Pontus is often quoted: "The monk lives separate from all and united to all." Significantly, he places this saying in the context of a group of sayings that stress the solitary's communion with other human beings, rejoicing in their joys, seeing God and himself in them. This meant not simply that the solitary, in finding God, finds all good things, rather that through solitude he learns to see God in his neighbor. Peter Damian explains that hermits, although they celebrate the Eucharist alone, should always use the greeting "The Lord be with you," because the solitude of the hermit is a *solitudo pluralis,* a corporate solitude, and his cell is a miniature church. The whole church is present in the solitary, and the solitary is most present to the whole church. Teresa of Ávila would invite her daughters to pray for the divided church and to respond to the division among Christians (of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation) by intensifying their own fidelity to the gospel.

In the present era Thomas Merton has exemplified the possible ambiguity latent in the relationship between the hermit and the exterior world. Merton, who desired to devote his life to prayer in solitude, regarded the Trappist Abbey of Gethsemani as "the only real city in America" (*Secular Journal,* New York, 1959, p. 183). For years, his life involved total silence (the monks communicated their needs only by signs), common and individual prayer, and agricultural work. His first writings reflect an elitist view of contemplative monachism and a negative view of the secular milieu. In *Seeds of Contemplation* (1949) he said that whoever wanted to develop the interior life had no recourse other than to withdraw, to shun theaters, television, and the news media, and to retreat periodically from the city. In *New Seeds of Contemplation* (1979), however, he wrote that "solitude is not separation" and revealed total openness to the world. More paradoxically, during these years of growing openness he increasingly distanced himself from his community, becoming a virtual hermit.

SEE ALSO Deserts; Exile; Monasticism; Retreat; Saṃnyāsa.

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JUAN MANUEL LOZANO (1987)
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ERIUGENA, JOHN SCOTTUS (fl. 847–877), was a Christian theologian and philosopher. Eriugena was born in Ireland in the first quarter of the ninth century, and there he received his early education (which probably included some Greek). He appeared around 847 in France at the itinerant court of Charles the Bald. Later, in Laon, he found himself in the company of a number of Irish scholars who were distinguished for their knowledge of Greek, the most important of whom was Martin Scottus. Although a teacher, Eriugena may not have been a cleric. He was invited by Archbishop Hincmar of Reims and Pardulus of Laon to refute the predestinarian errors of the theologian Gottschalk of Orbais. In so doing, he produced his first work, *On Predestination,* which did not meet with the approval of Hincmar and Pardulus and which was condemned by the councils of Valence (855) and Langres (859). Nevertheless, he was invited sometime before 859 by Charles the Bald to attempt a new translation of the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite. This work, *Translation of the Works of Saint Dionysius the Areopagite,* he completed in the years 860 to 862. Subsequently, he translated into Latin *Matters of Question* and *Questions to Thalassios* of Maximos the Confessor (862–864), *On the Making of Man* of Gregory of Nyssa, and possibly some other Greek theological texts. The effect on him of such an immersion in Greek theology was profound and abiding. From then on his compositions, despite his dependence on and reverence for Augustine of Hippo, show a strong Neoplatonic influence. Apart from his writings little more is known of Eriugena, and one loses track of him altogether around 877. There remain, however, a number of well-known legends about him.

From 859 to 860 Eriugena composed a commentary on Martianus Capella's *On the Marriage of Philology and Mercury.* This was followed by the translations mentioned above. From 864 to 866 Eriugena wrote his great original work, *Periphyseon,* also known as *De divisione naturae* (The division of nature). This was followed between 865 and 870 by *Expositiones,* or *Commentary on the Celestial Hierarchy of Dionysius the Areopagite,* and by a homily and a commentary on the *Gospel of John.* Finally, he composed some verses of only moderate poetical quality. Other works are also attributed to him. The body of his works is to be found in the edition of H. J. Floss in J.-P. Migne's *Patrologia Latina* (vol. 122).

The theology of Eriugena may be seen most clearly in his *Periphyseon,* a work of some quarter of a million words divided into five books. Nature, or all existing things, is divided or distinguished into four parts: that which creates but is not created (God as source, book 1); that which is created and creates (the Word and the primordial causes, book 2); that which is created but does not create (the created universe, book 3); and that which does not create and is not created (God as end, books 4 and 5). The work therefore takes the Neoplatonic approach of the progression from and regression of all things to the Father. The primary division of nature, however, is into being and nonbeing, both of which can be considered in five different modes: according to the perceptibility of the object; according to its order or place on the descending and ascending scale between the creator and the creature; according to its actualization (as against mere possibility); according to its perceptibility by intellect or sense; and according to its realization as the image of God.

God does not come within any of the categories of nature. He cannot be seen, although the divine nature does appear to angels and has appeared and will appear to human beings in theophanies, or appearances. One cannot know what God is, only that he is. More is known about him through negative rather than affirmative theology: One can more truly say what God is not than what he is. The primordial causes, also called divine ideas or volitions, remain invisible in the Word. In these are established the unchangeable "reasons" of all things to be made. The biblical *Book of Genesis* gives the account of how creatures, and especially human beings, were made. One can say that all things always were, are, and always will be because they always had being in God's wisdom through the primordial causes: "We should not understand God and the creature as two things removed from one another, but as one and the same thing. For the creature subsists in God, and God is created in the creature in a wonderful and ineffable way, making Himself manifest, invisible making Himself visible."

The divine nature, however, is above being and is different from what it creates within itself: In this way pantheism is avoided. The return of all things to God is best seen in the human creature, who, being body, living, sensible, rational, and intellectual, is a harmony of all things. Originally, humankind was simple, spiritual, celestial, and individual. The division into male and female was caused by sin; it was something added to true human nature. Humanity will return by stages to become intellect (here Eriugena follows Gregory of Nyssa); the body will resolve into its physical elements; the human person in the resurrection shall recover the body from these elements; the body will be changed into spirit; that spirit will return to the primordial causes. Finally, all nature and its causes will be moved toward God; there will be nothing but God alone.

The influence of Eriugena has been important and continuous in philosophy and theology. Remigius and Heiric of Auxerre and Pope Sylvester II were his early followers. Those of a mystical disposition made great use of him: the school of Saint Victor, Meister Eckhart, Johannes Tauler, Jan van Ruusbroec, Nicholas of Cusa, and Giordano Bruno. His reputation, however, suffered from the enthusiasm of Berengar of Tours, Gilbert of Poitiers, Almaric of Bena, and David of Dinant, all of whose espousal of his doctrine led to its condemnation by the councils of Vercelli (1050) and Rome (1059) and in a bull of Honorius III (1225). His ideas, nevertheless, have persisted, especially among German philosophers, and a reawakening of interest in him and his thought has begun.

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JOHN J. O'MEARA (1987)

ERLIK, or Erlik Khan ("King Erlik"), is a deity of the Turkic peoples of Siberia (Yakuts, Altai-Sayan Turkic tribes, Tuvin) and of the Mongolian tribes (Mongols, Buriats, Oirats/Kalmucks). Generally, Erlik is considered to be lord of the lower world and judge of the dead.

It seems, however, that Erlik (possibly meaning "the mighty one," from the Old Turkic term *erklig*) originally was a celestial god. This role can be surmised from Erlik's character as Lord Spirit of the Blue Boundlessness in the religion of the Yakuts of northeastern Siberia, who separated from their Turkic and Mongolian kinsmen in early times. Erlik's heavenly origin is also attested by Altai-Sayan Turkic tradition. Here, however, he has already been degraded to a position second to Ülgen (Kudai), their supreme deity. He is the first man, Ülgen's brother or created by him, assisting him in the creation of the earth. Erlik wants to become equal to Ülgen, however; he wants to create land himself. He also tries to seize all human beings created by Ülgen, seducing them to take forbidden food from the first tree. As a result, Erlik is banished from the celestial realm.

Thus Erlik becomes the ruler of the lower world, the king of the realm of darkness, which is opposed to the upper world, the realm of light. Erlik, his sons and daughters, and a host of other mischievous spirits created by him cause all kinds of misfortune, sickness, and death. Animals must be sacrificed to pacify the evil forces, sometimes with the help of shamans who risk the dangerous descent into Erlik's world. Specific sites in this place of horror, such as the lake of tears and the bridge of one hair that must be crossed, as well as details of Erlik's sanguinary appearance, are vividly described in various myths.

Heavenly origin is also attributed to Erlik in Buriat, Tuvin, and Mongol traditions. In Buriat shamanism, Erlen (i.e., Erlik) Khan leads the cruel black or eastern spirits against the friendly white or western spirits. At the same time he is the king of the lower world.

Erlik's role, however, has not become completely negative, as can be seen from the special relationship between him and the souls of humans. In Altai-Sayan tradition Ülgen makes the body from soil and stone, and Erlik blows in the soul. When Erlik became the devil, he remained as subject to Ülgen as he had been when he assisted him in creation. Of course, he tries to force the souls of the deceased into his realm in order to make them his servants. Soon he becomes an agent of divine justice, however, the judge of the dead who administers his office by order of Ülgen. His judgment is not arbitrary, but just.

Erlik remained a figure in the religious thought of the Christianized Turkic peoples, and he became identified with the Mongolian Buddhist judge of the dead, the Tibetan Gsinrje, and the Indian Hindu-Buddhist Yama. Erlik, the bull-headed, dreadful "protector of the [Buddhist] religion" (*nom-un sakighulsun)* and "king of Dharma" (*nom-un khan*), judges the dead using his mirror and the count of white and black pebbles representing good and evil deeds. Those condemned to hellish punishments are tortured by Erlik's executioners. There can be no doubt that Erlik also preserves traits of the Indian Yama's Iranian counterpart Yima, who is regarded as primordial man and primordial king.

SEE ALSO Ülgen.

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Revised Bibliography

EROS. Eros was the ancient Greek god of sexual (either homosexual or heterosexual) love or desire. The word *erōs* is the ordinary noun denoting that emotion; it could be personified and treated as an external being because of its unfathomable and irresistible power over humans (and animals and gods). This was, however, a sophisticated, largely literary phenomenon without roots in popular religion. At Thespiae (Boeotia) a sacred stone, perhaps a menhir, was venerated as Eros, but it is doubtful how old the identification was. Otherwise cults of Eros do not seem to have been established before the Classical period. He was often honored in the gymnasia (sports centers), where adolescent males were constant objects of attraction for older men. The Spartans and Cretans are said to have sacrificed to Eros before battles because the soldiers' personal devotion to one another was recognized as an important military factor.

Eros is represented in Greek literature as a beautiful youth, or later as a young boy, and as the son or attendant of Aphrodite, the goddess who presided over sexual union. He is sportive and mischievous; he plays roughly with men; he shoots arrows into them (this first in the dramas of Euripides, c. 480–406 BCE). Poetic conceit may predicate of him whatever is appropriate to the effects he produced. He can be called blind, for instance, because he chooses his victims so indiscriminately. Sometimes, in and after the fifth century BCE, poets speak of the plural *erōtes*, corresponding to the many separate loves that are always flaring up.

Eros appears in art from the sixth century BCE but becomes much more common in that of the fifth. He is usually shown as winged and carrying a lyre and a garland, both appropriate to the symposium, at which he was always active. Often he hovers above scenes of amorous import. In the fourth century the sculptors Praxiteles and Scopas portrayed him in celebrated statues. Praxiteles's mistress donated one of these to the sanctuary at Thespiae.

Eros had a special significance in cosmogonic myth. Hesiod (c. 730–700 BCE) places him among the first gods to come into being, and several later poets echo this. As they saw cosmic evolution in terms of sexual reproduction of divine entities, Eros was needed from the start to provide the impulse. In a cosmogony composed under the name of Orpheus about 500 BCE, Eros (also called Protogonos, "firstborn," and Phanes, "manifest") came out of a shining egg created by Time; he fertilized the cosmic darkness, and Heaven and Earth were born. This account has connections with Semitic, Iranian, and Indian cosmogonies.

Although partially comparable with some figures (especially winged demons) belonging to the cults of the Middle East, Eros appears to be a peculiar creation of the Greeks. He is worshiped in an atypical way, with few sanctuaries (the most important of which was in the Boeotian town of Thespiae) and a scarce inventory of myths and ritual epithets. Unknown to the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the *Homeric Hymns*, Eros first appears in two passages of Hesiod's *Theogony*. In the first passage (vv. 120–122) he is presented as the most ancient god after Chaos and Gaia. He has the power to subjugate the mind and the will of both gods and men, and he has neither parents nor other deities for companions.

On the other hand, in *Theogony* (201) Eros (along with Himeros) is included in Aphrodite's retinue and accompanies her in the same way that the *paredros* of the Asian religions escorts Ishtar/Astarte. Such a subordinate figure appears different from the representation offered by Hesiod in the preceding verses (v. 120ff.), where Eros is described as a primeval, lonely, and very powerful deity.

This incongruity is only an example of the numerous contradictions in Greek literature, philosophy, and mythography dealing with Eros's character and genealogy. Pausanias (IX 27,3 = Sappho fr. 198, Voigt) claims that Sappho dedicated to Eros "a lot of poems not matching with each other." Evidence for this statement can be obtained by comparing Sappho from 159, where Eros is only a "servant" of the goddess, and Theocritus 13,1–2c (Wendel, p. 258; Sappho fr. 198b), which reports that Sappho described Eros as Aphrodites's son and attributed to him a father of such nobility as Uranus (the Sky); nevertheless it seems that, in a third poem (mentioned by Apollonius Rhodius III 26 = Sapph. fr. 198a), Sappho represented Eros as generated not by Uranus and Aphrodite but by Uranus and Mother Earth.

Different genealogies are suggested by later authors. According to Simonides (fr. 575 P.), Eros is the son of "the deceptive Aphrodite, who bore him to Ares, the contriver of frauds." In an inspired stasimon of the *Hippolytus*, Euripides says that Eros is a "son of Zeus" (v. 533). Before them, Alcaeus had suggested an original version of the matter by defining Eros as "the most terrible god, whom Iris with fine sandals bore to golden-haired Zephyr" (fr. 327 V). It is not easy to establish whether the poet drew inspiration from certain Lesbian cults or from his own imagination. If one considers the scarceness of concrete cultural evidence, it seems plausible that ancient Greek poets felt free to give personal interpretations of Eros's birth and nature.

Discordant points of view can also be found among historians and philosophers. Whereas Pherekydes (7 B 3 Diels-Kranz), Acusilaus (9 B 1 Diels-Kranz), and Parmenides (28 B 13 Diels-Kranz) seem to follow Hesiod's tradition in placing Eros in the first stage of the theocosmogonic process, Plato's reflection can be considered as a decisive turning point. In Plato's representation (*Symposium*, 203b–204a), Eros is the son of two figures suspended between myth and allegory, Poros (expedient) and Penia (poverty), and he partakes of the nature of both; he is neither a god nor a mortal, neither a sage nor a fool, but a paradoxical set of contrasting elements.

Plato's influence can be perceived in the Middle Comedy. For instance, a fragment of Alexis's *Phaedrus* (fr. 247 Kassel–Austin) describes Eros as a strange being, "neither female nor male, neither god nor man, neither foolish nor wise . . . but with a lot of aspects in one shape." It is worth noting that the iconographic type of Eros as a winged androgyne frequently appears in fourth-century South Italian pottery. A different representation is offered by Praxiteles, whose celebrated Eros looked like a young man with charming eyes.

In the same period the debate on Eros appears to attract the attention of the most important philosophical schools, giving rise to a great number of treatises on this subject. Academics, Peripatetics, Stoics, and Epicureans wrote works (mostly dialogues) with such titles as *On Love*, *Dialogue on Love*, and *The Art of Loving*. Although these works are almost completely lost (except for a few fragments), presumably they dwelt upon the ambiguous and contradictory nature of Eros, especially the god's habit of bringing, under different circumstances, either joy and happiness or grief and downfall (also in Cercidas's second *Meliamb*, probably influenced by Stoicism).

During the Hellenistic age, Eros was mostly represented as the little, naughty son of Aphrodite and became a stereotyped figure (see Apollonius Rhodius 3.91–99; Theocritus 19). However, he also became the hero of an inspired fable concerning his love story with a beautiful girl named Psyche. The tale probably originated within Platonic circles and owes most of its fame to a work written in the second century CE, that is, Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*, or The golden ass.

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ESCHATOLOGY

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
ISLAMIC ESCHATOLOGY

ESCHATOLOGY: AN OVERVIEW

The term *eschatology* means "the science or teachings concerning the last things." Derived from the Greek *eschatos* ("last") and *eschata* ("the last things"), the term does not seem to have been in use in English before the nineteenth century, but since then it has become a major concept, especially in Christian theology.

Most religions entertain ideas, teachings, or mythologies concerning the beginnings of things: the gods, the world, the human race. Parallel to these are accounts of the end of things, which do not necessarily deal with the absolute and final end or with the consummation of all things. The end may be conceived positively, as the kingdom of God, a "new heaven and a new earth," and the like, or negatively, for instance as the "twilight of the gods." Sometimes these accounts refer to events expected to take place in a more or less distant future. There is considerable overlap with messianism, which may, therefore, be considered as one form of eschatology.

An important distinction has to be drawn between individual and general, or cosmic, eschatology. Individual eschatology deals with the fate of the individual person, that is, the fate of the soul after death. This may be seen in terms of the judgment of the dead, the transmigration of the soul to other existences, or an afterlife in some spiritual realm. Cosmic eschatology envisages more general transformations or the end of the present world. The eschatological consummation can be conceived as restorative in character, for example as the *Endzeit* that restores the lost perfection of a primordial *Urzeit,* or as more utopian, that is, the transformation and inauguration of a state of perfection the like of which never existed before.

ASIAN RELIGIONS. Cultures that view time as an endless succession of repetitive cycles (as in the Indian notions of *yuga* and *kalpa*) develop only "relative eschatologies," because the concept of an ultimate consummation of history is alien to them. Individual eschatology means liberation from the endless, weary wheel of death and rebirth by escaping into an eternal, or rather timeless, transmundane reality that is referred to as *mokṣa* in Hinduism and *nirvāṇa* in Buddhism. Within the cosmic cycles there are periods of rise and decline. According to Indian perceptions of time, the present age is the *kaliyuga,* the last of the four great *yugas,* or world epochs. In various traditions these periods often end in a universal catastrophe, conflagration, or cataclysmic annihilation, to be followed by a new beginning inaugurated by the appearance of a savior figure, such as the *avātara* (incarnation) of a deity or the manifestation of a new Buddha.

Chinese Buddhism developed the idea of periods of successive, inexorable decline (Chin., *mofa;* Jpn., *mappō),* at the end of which the future Buddha Maitreya (Chin., Miluofo; Jpn., Miroku), who is currently biding his time in the Tuṣita Heaven, will appear and establish a kind of millennial kingdom and inaugurate a new era of bliss and salvation for all. "Messianic" and "millennial" movements in China and Southeast Asia, some of which became social revolts and peasant rebellions, have often been associated with expectations of the coming of Maitreya. Occasionally political agitation and ideologies of rebellion developed without Buddhist influences on the basis of purely Daoist or even Confucian ideas. But in these cases the ideology was "restorative" rather than eschatological in character; it announced the restoration of the lost original "great peace" (Taiping)—as, for example, at the end of the Han dynasty or in the fourth-century Maoshan sect—or propagated the message that the mandate of Heaven had been withdrawn from the reigning dynasty.

Daoism, like Buddhism, entertained notions concerning a postmortem judgment. According to Daoist belief, the judgment took place before a tribunal of judges of the dead who decided the subsequent fate of the soul and assigned it to one of the many hells or heavens that figured in the popular mythologies. Confucianism, however, has no eschatology in the narrow sense of the term; it has no doctrines concerning a day of judgment, a catastrophic end of this world, or a messianic millennium. Other Chinese ideas of individual eschatology were in part drawn from ancient lore and were later amalgamated with Buddhist and Daoist elements. Japanese Shintō has no cosmic eschatology and only vague ideas concerning the state of the dead. It is precisely this vacuum that was filled by Buddhism in the history of Japanese religion.

ZOROASTRIANISM. Individual and universal, or cosmic, eschatology merge when the ultimate fate of the individual is related to that of the world. In such a case the individual is believed to remain in a kind of "provisional state" (which may be heaven or hell, a state of bliss or one of suffering) pending the final denouement of the historical cosmic process. One religion of this eschatological type is Zoroastrianism, a religion in which world history is seen as a cosmic struggle between the forces of light led by Ahura Mazdā (Pahl., Ōhrmazd) and the forces of darkness led by Angra Mainyu (Pahl., Ahriman). This struggle will end with the victory of light, the resurrection of the dead, a general judgment in the form of an ordeal of molten metal (similar to the individual postmortem ordeal when the soul has to cross the Chinvat Bridge), and the final destruction of evil. Some of these Iranian beliefs, especially those concerning the resurrection of the dead, seem to have influenced Jewish and, subsequently, Christian eschatology.

BIBLICAL RELIGIONS. In the Hebrew Bible the terms *aḥarit* ("end") and *aḥarit yamim* ("end of days") originally referred to a more or less distant future and not to the cosmic and final end of days, that is, of history. Nevertheless, in due course eschatological ideas and beliefs developed, especially as a result of disappointment with the moral failings of the Jewish kings, who theoretically were "the Lord's anointed" of the House of David. In addition, a series of misfortunes led to the further development of these ideas: the incursions and devastations by enemy armies; the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple in 587/6 BCE; the Babylonian exile; the failure of the "return to Zion" to usher in the expected golden age so rhapsodically prophesied by the "Second Isaiah"; the persecutions (e.g., under the Seleucid rulers and reflected in the Book of Daniel); the disappointments suffered under the Hasmonean kings; Roman rule and oppression; and finally the second destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 CE, which, after the failure of subsequent revolts, initiated a long period of exile, tribulation, and "waiting for redemption."

The predictions of the Old Testament prophets regarding the restoration of a golden age, which could be perceived as the renewal of an idealized past or the inauguration of a utopian future, subsequently merged with Persian and Hellenistic influences and ideas. Prophecy gave way to apocalypse, and eschatological and messianic ideas of diverse kinds developed. As a result, alternative and even mutually exclusive ideas and beliefs existed side by side; only at a much later stage did theologians try to harmonize these in a consistent system. Thus there were hopes and expectations concerning a worldly, glorious, national restoration under a Davidic king or victorious military leader, or through miraculous intervention from above. The ideal redeemer would be either a scion of the House of David or a supernatural celestial being referred to as the "Son of man." Significantly, Jesus, who seems to have avoided the term *messiah,* possibly because of its political overtones, and preferred the appellation *Son of man,* nevertheless was subsequently identified by the early church as the Messiah ("the Lord's anointed"; in Greek, *christos,* hence Christ) and was provided with a genealogy (see *Mt.* 1) that legitimated this claim through his descent from David.

Redemption could thus mean a better and more peaceful world (the wolf lying down with the lamb) or the utter end and annihilation of this age, the ushering in, amid catastrophe and judgment, of a "new heaven and a new earth," as in the later Christian beliefs concerning a last judgment, Armageddon, and so on. The doctrine of the resurrection of the dead played a major role in the eschatological beliefs held by the Pharisees and was also shared by Jesus. The chaotic welter of these ideas is visible not only in the so-called apocryphal books of the Old Testament, many of which are apocalypses (i.e., compositions recounting the revelations concerning the final events allegedly granted to certain visionaries), but also in the New Testament.

CHRISTIANITY. The message and teachings of the "historical Jesus" (as distinct from those of the Christ of the early church) are considered by most historians as beyond recovery. There has been, however, a wide scholarly consensus, especially at the beginning of the twentieth century, that Jesus can be interpreted correctly only in terms of the eschatological beliefs and expectations current in the Judaism of his time. The Qumran sect (also known as the Dead Sea sect) was perhaps one of the most eschatologically radical groups at the time. In other words, he preached and expected the end of this world and age, and its replacement in the immediate future, after judgment, by the "kingdom of God." Early Christianity was thus presented as an eschatological message of judgment and salvation that, after the crucifixion and resurrection, emphasized the expectation of the imminent second coming. The subsequent history of the church was explained by these scholars as a result of the crisis of eschatology caused by the continued delay of the second coming. Some modern theologians have taken up the idea of eschatology as the essence of the Christian message, though interpreting it in a less literal-historical and more spiritual or existential manner. Karl Barth, for example, has portrayed the life of the individual Christian, as well as that of the church, as a series of decisions to be apprehended in an eschatological perspective. C. H. Dodd, in his conception of "realized eschatology," has stressed the present significance of future eschatology. Christian history has been punctuated throughout by movements of a millenarian, chiliastic, and eschatological character. Certain modern movements (e.g., Marxism) are interpreted by some thinkers as secularized versions of traditional utopian eschatologies.

ISLAM. The tradition of Islam absorbed so many Jewish and Christian influences in its formative period that it is usually counted among the biblical (or "biblical type") religions. While the eschatological aspects of these traditions were deemphasized in later Islamic doctrines, they undoubtedly played a major role in the original religious experience of the prophet Muḥammad, for whom the end of the historical process and God's final judgment were a central concern. The notion of "the hour," that is, the day of judgment and the final catastrophe, the exact time of which was known to God alone, looms large in his message and is vividly portrayed in the Qurʾān (see *sūrahs* 7:187, 18:50, 36:81, and 78:17ff.). As in the Jewish and Christian traditions on which Muḥammad drew, God will judge the living and the dead on a day of judgment that will be preceded by a general resurrection (*sūrah* 75). The agents of the final hour will be Gog and Magog (*sūrahs* 18:95ff. and 21:96), led, according to some sources, by the antichrist.

There is also a messianic figure, the Mahdi (the "rightly guided one"), and Mahdist, or messianic, movements have not been infrequent in Muslim history. The eschatological Mahdi is more prominent in Shīʿah than in Sunnī Islam. In the latter, belief in the Mahdi is a matter of popular religion rather than official dogma. As regards individual eschatology, Muslim belief in Paradise and Hell, in spite of much variation in detail, is essentially analogous to that of Judaism and Christianity.

PRIMAL RELIGIONS. In most primal religions eschatology plays no major role, because they are generally based on the notion of cyclical renewal rather than on a movement toward a final consummation or end. While it is hazardous to generalize on the subject, in such traditions eschatological or messianic beliefs and expectations are often due to direct or indirect Christian or Western influences, whether relayed through missionaries or through more general cultural contact. These influences can precipitate crises that result in so-called crisis cults (many of which are of a markedly messianic character); they can also introduce eschatological notions concerning conceptions of time and history.

For example, according to the ancient Germanic myths recounted in the Eddas and the *Vǫluspá,* in the fullness of time all things are doomed to final destruction in a universal cataclysm called Ragnarǫk, the "doom of the gods." During this cataclysm there will be a succession of terrible winters accompanied by moral disintegration, at the end of which the Fenrisúlfr (Fenriswolf) will swallow the sun and then run wild; the heavens will split, the cosmic tree Yggdrasill will shake, the gods will go forth to their last battle, and finally a fire will consume all things. There are some vague but inconclusive indications that this total doom may be followed by a new beginning. Scholars are at variance on the question of possible Christian influences on Germanic mythology. Of greater methodological relevance to the present considerations is the question as to what extent this mythology was a response to a crisis. In other words, Christianity may have to be considered not as a hypothetical source of "influences" but as the cause of crises within the non-Christian cultures it confronted. Thus the "doom of the gods" mythology may have developed as an expression of the sense of doom that engulfed the original Nordic culture as a result of its disintegration under the impact of triumphant Christianity.

The contemporary sense of crisis and fear aroused by expectations of imminent nuclear catastrophe and cosmic destruction has reawakened an apocalyptic-eschatological mood in many circles. Some Christian groups, especially those in the United States, calling upon their particular interpretations of biblical prophecies, are "waiting for the end"—it being understood that the believing elect will somehow be saved from the universal holocaust, possibly by being "rapt up" and transferred to other spheres. This phenomenon is not, however, confined to the Christian West. Some of the so-called new religions in Japan and elsewhere similarly exhibit millenarian and even eschatological characteristics, often related to the figure of Maitreya, the Buddha of the future.

SEE ALSO Afterlife; Cosmogony; Cosmology; Death; Heaven and Hell; Judgment of the Dead; Messianism; Millenarianism; Paradise; Resurrection.

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ESCHATOLOGY: ISLAMIC ESCHATOLOGY

In every area of religious life, the scriptural religions have developed along courses charted between the constraints and potentialities of their sacred texts and the expectations of the popular imagination. Nowhere has this process been more evident than in the development of Islamic eschatology, which has never been completely systematized. Many intertwining factors account for this situation. Like all scriptures, the Muslim sacred book is elliptical. The Qurʾān may hammer away at the inevitability of resurrection and the rewards and punishments of the afterlife, but of the period between death and resurrection, the topography of heaven and hell, the possibility of intercession, or the nature of redemption it says little indeed.

Furthermore, the otherworldly, radical dualism of the monotheistic scriptures has rarely existed in pure form; it has usually been blurred through interaction with popular ideas and practices. Special tensions arise in the handling of death, where this world meets the next; thus eschatology becomes particularly complex. Of the monotheistic faiths, Islam had perhaps the richest backdrop and the widest cross-cultural stage. Preceded by a rich pagan heritage, the pioneers of Islam also worked within a larger monotheistic environment: some actually entered Islam from Judaism, Christianity, or Zoroastrianism; others came into contact with the practitioners of those religions. The impact of Islamic eschatology on this and other types of exposure was particularly pronounced, as was the Islamic cast given even to the most closely shared elements. Finally, the natural temporal, geographical, and ideological variations of the first thirteen centuries of an expanding Islam have been joined in its fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by modernist rethinkings.

THE QURʾANIC FOUNDATION. Not even a casual reader could miss the Qurʾān's emphasis on the final reckoning and dispensation, or its parallel concentration on the homiletic and hortatory dimensions of the prophetic role itself; almost every *sūrah* refers to eschatology, particularly to the physical rewards and punishments of heaven and hell. However, one must always keep in view the larger ethical and monotheistic context that surrounds the Qurʾān's insistence on physical resurrection and consignment; taking this insistence out of context has led many modern Western scholars to confuse the sensuous with the sensual while they ignore the equally sensuous treatments of a Dante or a Bosch.

The Qurʾān's pervasive appeal to the senses—the concrete, graphic presentation of the two dispensations and most other matters as well—is consistent not only with its oral nature but also with its need for reiterated proof of the most persuasive kind. As a didactic as well as apocalyptic work, it must argue against an archaic Arabian cosmos in which fateful time determined the course of life and assured the finality of death, neither of which depended on the creator's intentions:

> And when they see a sign [from God], they would scoff. And they say, "This is nothing but manifest sorcery. What! when we are dead and become dust and bones, shall we indeed be raised up?" (37:14–16)

In contrast, the Qurʾān's caring creator, Allāh, is also the annihilating judge who will end the human world at his chosen time (Yawm al-Qiyāmah, the Day of Resurrection; al-Sāʿah, the Hour); resurrect humans, body and soul; judge them according to their acceptance or rejection of his clear signs as elucidated by the many messengers he has sent; and consign them to their eternal reward—the fiery suffering of Jahannam (Hell, Gehenna) or the easeful pleasure of Jannah (Garden, Paradise):

> And they [the unbelievers] say, "Woe, alas for us! This is the Day of Doom. This is the Day of Decision, even that you cried lies to." (37:20–21)

The distinction between these two is stark and unequivocal, much like the distinction between desert and oasis. Fire and the Garden are a pair of polar opposites, each being everything the other is not (dead/living, shady/hot, shadowy/light), just as the inhabitants of one are everything the inhabitants of the other are not (bestial/human, deaf/hearing, ignorant/understanding, blind/ sighted, living/dead, dumb/speaking, ungrateful/grateful, neglectful/mindful, uncharitable/charitable, indecent/chaste, faithful/idolatrous, prideful/humble):

> The unbelievers . . . shall be in the fire of Gehenna, therein dwelling forever; those are the worst of creatures. But those who believe, and do righteous deeds, those are the best of creatures. (98:6–7)

Jahannam is, like the desert, hot and dry, its inhabitants always thirsty; Jannah is cool and moist, its inhabitants never wanting. Irony informs the contrast. The denizens of Hell are given "drinks," but of molten metal or oozing pus that melts the contents of their stomachs; they are "cooled" by boiling water poured over their heads, new skins replacing the burned ones; and they are "sheltered" by columns of fire over their heads. They are "clothed," but in garments of pitch or fire; they eat, but like cattle:

> As for the unbelievers, for them garments of fire shall be cut, and there shall be poured over their heads boiling water whereby whatsoever is in their bellies and their skins shall be melted. . . . (22:19–20)

The Garden has rivers flowing underneath and fountains; its inhabitants recline on cushioned couches, clothed in brocade garments, peaceful, never fatigued, sheltered, eating fruits in a refined way, drinking a musk-perfumed wine that produces no sickness or intoxication, and enjoying the presence of the *ḥūr*, "wives" made pure and untouched. (Although the Qurʾān says that women gain entrance to the Garden, too, it describes no pleasure for women equivalent to the *ḥūr*.)

> See, the inhabitants of Paradise today are busy in their rejoicing, they and their spouses, reclining upon couches in the shade; therein they have fruits, and they have all that they call for. (36:55–57)

This marvelously wrought dichotomy underscores the need for humans to choose. Fire and Garden appear not for their own sake but as signs of God's mercy or wrath. Belief in the last day is only a small part of the total challenge (see, for example, *sūrah* 2:172–173). Although Adam's expulsion from the original Garden is acknowledged, it produced no original sin that must be redeemed, even if Iblis, the fallen angel, does constantly tempt humans to wrongdoing. One earns one's fate by choosing to adhere or not adhere to clearly specified spiritual and behavioral norms. Judgment is as fair as a business transaction: one's deeds are weighed in the balance, neither wealth nor kin availing. If one has been faithful and grateful, accepted his signs and messengers as true, prayed, and given charity, one is rewarded. If one has been faithless and ungrateful, given the lie to the signs and messengers, given God partners, prayed insincerely or not at all, and been selfish with and prideful of one's material goods, one is punished. In this instance of the radical transvaluation common to the monotheistic religions, what one valued is taken away, and what one did not value becomes an eternal reward.

The signs of the advent of the Day are equally frequent and graphic: people scattered like moths, mountains plucked like wool tufts and turned to sand, earth shaken and ground to powder, heavens split and rolled back, stars scattered, seas boiling over, and sun darkened. However, not every question is anticipated, and little attention is paid to the period between revelation and eschaton, even less to the time between death and resurrection, except to say that it will seem like nothing. As later Muslims took the Qurʾanic eschatological drama to heart, they interpreted it where is was specific and elaborated it where is was not.

POST-QURʾANIC VARIATIONS. This process of elaboration produced considerable variation, in scholarly discourse as well as in the popular imagination, where the rich folklore of millennia was enriched by the new religion and transmitted in elaborate detail.

Sunnī variations. The Sunnī majority turned to the elaboration of the Qurʾanic eschatological schema as soon as the *ḥadīth* (reports about the exemplary deeds, utterances, and unspoken approval of the Prophet) began to form; significant developments continued for centuries, especially in three topic areas: (1) the period between death and resurrection; (2) the role of eschatological figures; and (3) judgment, afterlife, and the mitigation of punishment.

1. In classical thought, the word *barzakh* came to stand for both the time and place of waiting between death and resurrection, even though the Qurʾān uses the word rarely and only in the sense of a barrier. By the time of the famous theologian al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), who wrote in detail about the *barzakh*, a clearer picture had emerged. At the moment of death, ʿIzrāʾīl, the angel of death, appears; then the soul slips easily from the body, borne upward by other angels. Subsequently, the angelic pair Munkar and Nakīr question the dead in their graves about their deeds. The interrogation is followed by pressure on all grave-dwellers and punishment of some. Whether this punishment prefigures or mitigates later punishment is unclear. According to some, the dead may interact with the living during the *barzakh*, particularly in their dreams.

2. The period between revelation of the Qurʾān and the Day of Judgment, as well as the eschatological figures who function therein, also received further attention. Key figures include al-Dajjāl, the false savior or "Antichrist," and the Mahdi, the divinely guided one. Al-Dajjāl, who appears in the *ḥadīth* but not in the Qurʾān, will emerge toward the end of time after a long period of social and natural disintegration, and he will conquer the earth until killed either by the returned Jesus or the Mahdi, another non-Qurʾanic figure. The latter, in this sense, is an unnamed reforming member of the family of the Prophet who will be sent to restore peace and justice on earth for a period of time before the end and to fulfill the mission of Muḥammad as his last temporal successor (caliph), as interpreter of his revelation, and as enforcer of Islamic law (*sharīʿah*).

However, not all Sunnī Muslims expect such a figure and the term has often been used more like the related *mujaddid*, that is, a divinely guided renewer who at any point may bring the Muslim community from deviation back onto God's straight path through intellectual, spiritual, or temporal leadership. Unlike *mahdī*, *mujaddid* has cyclical connotations; it has been applied to figures at the turn of each Muslim century, from the first to the most recent. Since the eschaton failed to arrive, and since Muḥammad was believed to have purified and sealed off revelation for all time, not to reappear until the Day of Judgment, other figures could frequently rise to importance.

3. According to many post-Qurʾanic commentaries, the Day of Judgment will be announced by two blasts from the trumpet of the archangel Isrāfīl, whereupon souls will be reunited with bodies in the graves, resurrected, and assembled, perhaps to wait for an extended period of time. Their deeds will be read out of the heavenly books and weighed in the balance. When they cross the bridge over the Fire, the reckoning will be verified: sinning believers will fall into the Fire temporarily; sinning nonbelievers, permanently. Saved believers will cross safely into the Garden, where some kind of "vision" of God may await them. According to many writers, each prophet will lead his own community, with the whole procession led in turn by Muḥammad and the Muslim community. At the pool or pond *(ḥawḍ),* the Prophet may intercede for some of the Muslim faithful in the Fire. However, some authors even argued that the Fire was a kind of purgatory for not only some but all its inhabitants.

The structure of Fire and Garden was delineated, too, with architectural models preferred, as in the Qurʾān. The Fire has seven concentric circles or layers, representing hierarchically arranged levels of punishment; the Garden has seven or eight layers, perhaps pyramidal, with the throne of God at the top. This kind of elaboration was promoted by the concomitant development of several genres of literature that detailed the Prophet's famous night journey to Jerusalem and ascension from there through the seven heavens.

Shīʿī variations. The informal structure of Sunnī eschatological figures has a formal analog in the Shīʿī imamate. Among the Twelver Shīʿāh, the cosmic order and the eschaton's arrival depend absolutely on a line of descendants of the Prophet through his daughter Fāṭimah and cousin ʿAlī. These imams, as they are called, are understood to have been conceived in God's mind from one beginning as the principle of good, to have been transmitted for centuries as light in the loins of the prophets and the wombs of holy women, and to have emerged in human form as the twelve vicegerents of Muḥammad (like the twelve assistants of all previous prophets).

They suffered, as had all the prophets, and their suffering and that of all previous and subsequent humanity culminated in the martyrdom of the third of their line, Ḥusayn, at the hands of the sixth caliph, Yazīd (680–683). Ḥusayn's suffering was the central redemptive act in the cosmic drama, shared in and made visible to all previous prophets and identified with by later followers. Its final avenging on the Day of Judgment will symbolize the triumph of good over evil, justice over injustice. The followers of the imams will be redeemed not only through Ḥusayn's actions but also by the identification with his suffering they demonstrate when they weep and when they visit Karbala, the site of his martyrdom, reenacting its drama (*taʿziyah*), and reciting poetic laments.

Before the Day, the twelfth and absent imam, al-Qāʾim, will have returned as Mahdi to prepare the way. The Mahdi will arrive at the end of a long period of disintegration culminating in the appearance of al-Dajjāl, whom he will kill, just as he will kill all the enemies of the family of the Prophet. By then Jesus will have returned and will rule for a time, after which the Mahdi (and perhaps Ḥusayn himself) will reign in peace and justice, fulfilling the mission of all the prophets. The family of the Prophet will participate not only in intercession but in judgment as well, in the persons of ʿAlī or Fāṭimah or Ḥusayn.

ṢŪFĪ VARIATIONS. Muslims who adopted a Ṣūfī orientation were led to special eschatological views as a result of their asceticism, their search for union with God in this life, and their extreme love of God. Early ascetics such as Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 728) stressed their fear of Hell and their desire for Paradise because they were ultrasensitive to their human sinfulness; they tended to seek the otherworld because they so strongly rejected this one. In Ḥasan's words, "Be with this world as if you had never been there, and with the otherworld as if you would never leave it." However, when love of God became a key element in Sufism, new views of the otherworld began to appear. For the earliest Muslim love mystic, the Arab poetess Rābiʿah al-ʿAdawīyah (d. 801), selfless love of God required the Ṣūfī to be veiled from both this world and the other by her vision of God, whom the Ṣūfī must love so much that Paradise and Hell are both forgotten. Ṣūfīs such as Yaḥyā ibn Muʿādh al-Rāzī (d. 871) replaced fear of punishment and hope of reward with complete trust in God's mercy and found death beautiful because it joined friend with friend. Others went much further. The Turkish poet Yunus Emre (d. 1321?) argued that the Ṣūfī must reject not only this world but also the next; some of his poems ridiculed a literal interpretation of the Qurʾān's eschatological details.

Among those Ṣūfīs who sought union with God and a vision of him in this life, that experience transformed conventional notions of Paradise and Hell. For them, the perfect Ṣūfī was not subject to changing states, including death, or concerned about created states, such as the otherworld. Some came to believe that having been touched by the primordial fire and light of God's love made them impervious to the fires of Hell, and that Paradise would provide pure experience of God, not the sensuous delights described in the Qurʾān. In the words of Shiblī (d. 945), "the fire of Hell will not touch me; I can extinguish it." Ṣūfī enlargements of Muslim eschatological thinking was not without its ironies: while popular Ṣūfī practice encouraged rituals that might increase the joys of Paradise, cultivated Ṣūfī thought discouraged hoping for Paradise even for the vision of God it might provide.

MODERN RESPONSES. Many modern Sunnī thinkers do not discuss the eschaton at all, apparently finding it too difficult to rationalize. The concerns of those who do treat the eschaton are unusually continuous with those of their premodern counterparts, but modern thinkers have also developed new emphases and rediscovered old ones.

Along the traditionalist end of the spectrum, thinkers such as Aḥmad Fāʾiz (d. 1918), Muḥammad ʿAwwād (d. 1980), Shaykh al-Islām Ibrāhīm al-Bayjūrī, Muḥammad Khalīfah, Muṣṭafā al-Ṭayr, and Ahmad Galwash tend toward various kinds of literalism, reiterating in modern language such concerns as the agony of death, questioning and punishment/reward in the grave, the awareness of the dead, and the physicality of resurrection and afterlife. At the other end of the spectrum are those, such as M. Sadeddin Evrin, who attempt to verify the Qurʾān with scientific research (the description of the signs of the eschaton, for example). Some, such as Ṭanṭāwī Jawharī (d. 1940) Muḥammad Farīd Wajdī (d. 1954), lean toward a kind of European-inspired spiritualism that posits a world from which the spirits of the dead think about and help the living. In between the two poles are various modernists who tend to downplay the traditional eschatological specifics in favor of a stress on the continuity between this life and the next, the naturalness of death and the likeness of the *barzakh* to sleep or semiconsciousness, and the nature of human responsibility and accountability. Many practice allegorical interpretations of the Qurʾān. For example, Syed Ameer Ali (d. 1928) sees a spiritual meaning in the Qurʾān's sensuous descriptions of Paradise and Gehenna. Abū al-Aʿlā al-Mawdūdī (d. 1979) stresses the practical value of Islamic eschatology in helping human beings deal with death and mortality. Muḥammad Iqbal (d. 1938), in *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, describes Paradise and Gehenna as states rather than localities.

Modernist thought has also taken forms much less consistent with received eschatological thinking. The founder of the Aḥmadīyah sect, Mīrzā Ghulām Aḥmad of Punjab (d. 1908), made eschatological claims of his own, asserting in 1880 that he was the Mahdi, at once the incarnation of Jesus, Muḥammad, and Kṛṣṇa. Aḥmadī Qurʾān commentaries, such as that of Maulana Muḥammad Ali (d. 1951), have continued to develop unusual eschatological views. For example, the opening of the graves is said to be prefigured by the opening of the earth to the mining of precious metals; the afterlife is seen as an example of the unceasing progress that also takes place on earth; the resurrection is presented as a new manifestation of hidden realities; and a heaven on earth is anticipated as well as a heaven after death.

The use of allegorical interpretation in the service of modernist rationalization has not been universal. Important modernists such as Muḥammad al-Mubārak, Sayyid Quṭb, Muṣṭafā Maḥmūd, and Muḥammad ʿAbduh have remained loyal to Qurʾān and *ḥadīth* in their rejection of allegorical interpretation but have also argued against literalism, finding both of them inadequate means of expressing the realities of the next world. Others have established a relationship between the eschaton and the widely perceived need for social reconstruction. For them, death and resurrection are most meaningful in the context of living an ethical life. They emphasize human accountability and focus on the ways in which considerations of the next world can promote morality in this one. These approaches have their parallel among those Shīʿī Muslims who, embarrassed by the supernaturalism of traditional eschatology, deny the return of the last imam and yet find meaning and a redemptive quality in Ḥusayn's death when it is understood as a protest against injustice and oppression. Such thinkers seem to have rediscovered ancient Qurʾānic priorities in their pursuit of modernization.

SEE ALSO Imamate; Messianism, article on Messianism in the Muslim Tradition; Miʿrāj; Nubūwah.

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dented survey, largely of Sunnī thought, clearly and simply organized and concisely presented, with unusual attention given to modern thinkers of several kinds. Fritz Meier's "The Ultimate Origin and the Hereafter in Islam," in *Islam and Its Cultural Divergence: Studies in Honor of Gustave E. von Grunebaum*, edited by Girdhari L. Tikku, (Urbana, Ill., 1971), pp. 96–112, is an awkwardly translated general survey with a useful comparison of Sunnī and Shīʿī concepts of revelation, their relationship to other forms of divinely inspired knowledge and leadership, and their place in eschatology. Annemarie Schimmel's *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1975) contains fascinating material on Ṣūfī eschatology throughout.

Works that address the issue of eschatology in the Shīʿī tradition in particular include S. Husain M. Jafri's *Origins and Early Development of Shīʿa Islam* (London, 1979), a straightforward, narrative, chronological account that stresses the ways in which pre-Islamic views of leadership informed various Shīʿī constituencies, concentrating on the centrist, legitimist Twelver Shīʿāh and the contributions of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq to their institutionalization. Mahmoud Ayoub's *Redemptive Suffering in Islam: A Study of the Devotional Aspects of ʿĀshūrāʾ in Twelver Shīʿism* (The Hague, 1978) is a moving and deeply felt rendering of eschatologically relevant piety, with suggestive comparative comments. A. A. Sachedina's *Islamic Messianism: The Idea of the Mahdi in Twelver Shīʿism* (Albany, N.Y., 1981) is a clear interpretive account of an important topic, with a particularly important analysis of the relationship between imam and prophet.

An important case study is Ignácz Goldziher's "Zur Charakteristik Gelâl ud-dïn us-Sujûtʿï's und seiner literarischen Thätigkeit," *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien* 69 (1871): 7–28, a rare history and analysis of the concept of *mujaddid*, with an emphasis on one important thinker's identification with the role. John B. Taylor's "Some Aspects of Islamic Eschatology," *Religious Studies* 4 (October, 1968): 57–76, is a selective comparison of Qurʾanic and Mongol-period views, with eschatological thought divided into three categories: didactic, apocalyptic, and mystical. Taylor's references to modern Muslim responses to the topic are unfortunately seriously outdated.

Useful information can be found also in the *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden, 1974), in the following articles in particular: "Barzakh," "al-Dadjdjāl," "Djahannam," "Djanna," "Firdaws," "Ḥawḍ," "Iblīs," "ʿIsā," "Isrāfīl," "ʿIzrāʾīl," "ak-Ḳiyāma," "al-Mahdī," "Malāʾika," "Munkar wa-Nakīr," "Shafāʿa," and "Yādjūj wa-Mādjūj." However, the articles are sometimes unclearly or elliptically presented or marred by the open display or subtle influence of many of the ethnocentric biases of earlier generations of scholars, especially as regards the allegedly derivative, irrational nature of Islam.

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Revised Bibliography

ESHMUN was a Phoenician healer god, later identified with Asklepios, the patron of medicine, by the Greeks and the Romans. He seems to be attested since the third millennium BCE in Syria, though his physiognomy becomes clear only in the first millennium BCE. The etymology of Eshmun clearly connects him with "oil," which had therapeutic and ritual functions (in relationship with the kingship ritual) in the ancient Near East. In the Ebla archives (middle of the third millennium BCE), the theophoric element sí-mi-nu/a is found in some personal names, written dì-giš in Sumerian, meaning "oil." In the ritual texts of Ugarit and Ras Ibn Hani, in the late Bronze Age (eighteenth century BCE), the god Šmn is also mentioned as a beneficiary of offerings (*Keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit* 1.164:9, 1.41:[45], 1.87:50). Unfortunately nothing is known about the functions or the role of this god in the Syrian pantheons, but his connection with oil must indicate that he was "the one who oils," and thus "the one who heals." This is surely the main reason why Eshmun was later assimilated to Asklepios/Aesculapius. His occasional *interpretatio* as Apollo (for example, in Carthage) is also based on the same background, because Apollo was also a salvific god. According to Philo of Byblos (Eus., *Praeparation Evangelica* I, 10, 38), Eshmun was Sydyk's son (Sydyk was the personification of Justice), while Damascius (*Vita Is.* ß 302) knows his father as Sadykos, who had first seven sons, the Dioscouri or Kabeiri, then an eighth son, Eshmun (Esmounos; the number 8 was a sign of election, of a special destiny). According to Pausanias (VII, 23,7–8), who refers a Sidonian testimony, Eshmun's father was Apollo, while the god himself was the Air, which brings health. According to Cicero (*Nat. deor.* III, 22, 57) and Lydus (*De mens.* IV, 142), Arsippos was the name of the third Aesculapius, that is, Rashap (Reshef), the semitic Apollo.

ESHMUN AND THE BAAL TRADITION. From a typological and historical point of view, Eshmun, though he is not a storm god, seems to be near to the Syrian Baal tradition, which emphasizes the salvific functions of the god, documented in Ugarit through Baal's connection with the Rapiu/Refaim ("the healers"=the dead). Eshmun's cult is documented not only in the sphere of public religion, but also on the level of private or popular beliefs, where the questions of health, wealth, and salvation were essential.

The earliest attestation of Eshmun seems to be the London Medical Papyrus, where we find, transcribed into Egyptian hieratic syllabic script, some short West Semitic magical texts, dated from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries BCE (Steiner, J. C., *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 51, 1992, pp. 191–200). One of them (no. 28) contains the name of Eshmun and probably also of Astarte, while the text of number 33 alludes to an anonymous "healer" *(rpy),* who is probably Eshmun.

ESHMUN IN PHOENICIA. The first epigraphical evidence related to Eshmun is the treaty (754 BCE) between Mati'el, the king of Arpad (North Syria) and Assurnirari V, king of Assyria, where Eshmun is mentioned in the group of the Syrian gods who warrant the treaty, together with Melqart (the Baal of Tyre; cf. State Archives of Assyria II, 1988, no. 2, VI, 22, p. 13). Both appear again in the treaty between Asarhaddon of Assyria and Baal of Tyre (675–670 BCE). The consequences are stated, should the Tyrian king not respect the oath: "May Melqart and Eshmun deliver your land to destruction and your people to deportation; may they [uproot] you from your land and take away the food from your mouth, the clothes from your body, and the oil for your anointing" (State Archives of Assyria II, 1988, no. 5, IV, 14–17, p. 27). The mention of the oil probably alludes to Eshmun's specific functions. The association of Melqart, Baal of Tyre, and Eshmun, Baal of Sidon, is not rare. For example, in Batsalos, near Kition (Cyprus), the double divine name, Eshmun-Melqart, indicates a strong cultural association between the two gods, who protected and defended the people.

Eshmun is also present in the onomastics of the Phoenicians who were deported to Assyria (Nimrud) in the seventh century BCE. In the fifth to fourth century BCE, Eshmun's cult is documented in Amrith, probably in connection with the salvific waters of the sanctuary (the so-called Maabed), where Melqart seems to be the major god, and in Sarepta, under the name of Asklepios (bilingual dedication made by a Cypriot in Greek and syllabic Cypriot writings, fourth century BCE). But the main center of Eshmun's cult is clearly Sidon: he is called Baal of Sidon in the famous funerary inscription of Eshmunazor II ("Eshmun has saved"), circa 475 BCE (*Kanaansische und aramsische Inschriften* [KAI] 14). He is also mentioned in the two series of Bodashtart's inscriptions (KAI 15–16), which record the restoration of the god's sanctuary, and in the inscription of the young prince Baalshillem (*Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions,* T III, no. 29). Eshmun was the most important god of Sidon, the dynastic god, the "holy prince" (*šr qdš*) of the city. He was associated, like Melqart in Tyre, with the goddess Astarte, who bore the title of *šm b'l*, "Name of Baal" (already mentioned in Ugarit). In Sidon, Eshmun had at least two sanctuaries: one in the city ("Sidon-on-the-sea") and one outside the city ("Sidon-in-the-countryside"), in Bostan esh-Sheikh, along the Nahr el-Awali (Bostrenus), near the Yidal source, where the god was associated with Astarte. Initially, in the neo-Babylonian period (sixth century BCE), a ziggurat was built, already associated with a sacral pool, probably for therapeutic rituals. The sanctuary was rebuilt in Persian times (fifth century BCE) in the Greek style. It was a very large sacral complex, with different shrines and cultural buildings. On a monumental and richly decorated podium (decorated with hunting scenes), built against the mountain, there was a sanctuary constructed of Greek marble that remained in use until the fourth century BCE. In the northwest part of the sanctuary the Eshmun's tribune (a big socle, or base, for a colossal statue or an altar) was built, seven meters high and decorated with dances and other "Apollonian" images. Another shrine, further down and located to the east, was associated with a cultic pool, and a stone throne decorated with sphinx and lions was dedicated to Astarte, the *paredros* of Eshmun. This temple complex was excavated beginning in the 1963–1964 period, and among the finds from the temple's *favissa* were votive statues dedicated to Eshmun, on behalf of children (1–2 years old) who may have been sick or were subjected to an initiation ritual (the so-called temple-boys).

Eshmun was also venerated in Berytos (Beirut), and as late as the rule of the Roman emperor Elagabalus (218–222 CE) coins of Berytos depict Eshmun on the back, usually with a caduceus or a border of snakes (symbol of healing). In the same region, according to Damascius, *Vita Is.* ß 302 (sixth century BCE), a young hunter named Asklepios was obliged to practice self-castration because of Astronoe's passion for him. The goddess, "mother of the gods," brought him to life again after the castration, using the "vital heat." This story presents several analogies with Attis's myth, but probably contains an authentically Phoenician mythical tradition. Like Melqart, a god dies and then returns to life through the actions of a goddess who gives him immortality and divine powers. It is worth noting that the Lebanese toponym Qabr Smun (Eshmun's Tomb) lies near Beirut. In this case, just like in Melqart's case, the Frazerian typology of the "dying and rising god," with its seasonal pattern, seems to be a reductive interpretation, though not completely wrong. (In *The Golden Bough* [1914], J. G. Frazer devised the category of "dying and rising gods," which included Adonis, Osiris, Attis, and others.) Besides, the fertility aspect is not the primary characteristic of Eshmun, who is first of all a healer, the Baal of the town. He is more obviously the heir of the Syrian Bronze Age traditions incarnate in Baal and the dead kings who are immortalized.

ESHMUN OUTSIDE PHOENICIA, IN THE NEAR EAST. Elsewhere in the Near Eastern world, Eshmun is attested through dedications or onomastics in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. The Nebi Yunis inscription (third to second century BCE), which mentions a *molk* (sacrifice) in honor of Eshmun, is probably false, while the presence of Eshmun's name on an ostrakon from Shiqmona (end of the eighth century BCE) is also questionable. In Cyprus, Eshmun's cult is well documented, especially in Kition, sometimes together with Melqart (at Batsalos), probably because these two Baals had salvific functions. In Kition a god named Baal Marpe, the healing Lord, is mentioned, who could be identical with Eshmun or with Eshmun-Melqart.

ESHMUN IN WESTERN CONTEXTS. In Western contexts, Eshmun is also an important god, especially in Carthage, where he was, according to Apuleius (*Florida* 18), the city's numen. Eshmun's temple in Carthage, on the Byrsa acropolis, was indeed very famous and very rich. The Senate's meetings took placed in this sanctuary. In 146 BCE, at the end of the Third Punic War, the last defenders of the city found refuge in this temple, which was destroyed by fire. Eshmun's temple and Eshmuns priests are often mentioned in the Carthaginian inscriptions. The god was probably venerated together with Astarte, as the divine name Eshmun-Astarte is mentioned in at least one inscription. In the Roman period, Eshmun, who was named Aesculapius, continued to play an important role in the religious life of Carthage. His *paredra* (divine feminine partner) was Caelestis, with whom Aesculapius is frequently associated in Roman Africa. The Carthaginians also venerated a golden statue of Apollo, which was taken away by the Romans and placed in front of the Circus Maximus in Rome. This god could be another *interpretatio* of Eshmun.

Eshmun, under the name Aesculapius or Apollo, is also documented in Bulla Regia, Maktar, Lambesa, Oea, and elsewhere, but it is not easy to distinguish between the possible Punic roots and the Roman manifestations. The toponym Rusucmona (Cape of Eshmun) is located near Utica, where there was an important and archaic temple to Apollo.

In Sardinia, the most important evidence of Eshmun is the trilingual dedication to Eshmun/Asklepios/Aesculapius, which appears in Punic, Greek, and Latin on a bronze altar at S. Nicolò Gerrei (second century BCE). Near Cagliari, a votive hand (ex-voto) was dedicated to "Eshmun who listens," the one who fulfills prayers and heals the ill. In Spain, there probably was an Eshmun's temple in Carthagena (on the Acropolis; Polybius X, 10, 8).

Eshmun is also very frequently found in onomastics in Phoenicia and in all the "colonies" (more than seven hundred just at Carthage). The verbs linked to Eshmun in the personal names stress the healing functions of the god, who "protects," "gives (life/health)," "saves," "delivers," and so on. In the Latin transcriptions, Eshmun's name can be written as Sum/n-, San/m-, and A/Ismun-.

On the basis of such documentation, it is obviously impossible to present Eshmun as a simple "vegetation god," as suggested in the works of W. Baudissin and R. Dussaud. Like the different Bronze Age Baals, who are related to the Syrian tradition on kingship, Eshmun or Melqart, the Phoenician Iron Age Baals, are complex personalities to whom people asked a large protection: for food, for health, for stability, for fertility, for peace.

SEE ALSO Asklepios; Phoenician Religion.

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ESKIMO RELIGION SEE ARCTIC RELIGIONS; INUIT RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS

ESOTERIC BUDDHISM SEE BUDDHISM, SCHOOLS OF, *ARTICLE ON* TANTRIC RITUAL SCHOOLS OF BUDDHISM

ESOTERICISM.

Esotericism has several meanings. After presenting a list of them, this article deals with the use of the term in scholarly parlance and with the various approaches toward this academic speciality in religious studies.

A VARIETY OF MEANINGS. The substantive esotericism seems to have first appeared in French (*l'ésotérisme*) in Jacques Matter's *Histoire critique du Gnosticisme et de son influence* (A Critical History of Gnosticism and Its Influence), published in 1828. Along with its adjective form *esoteric,* esotericism until the early twenty-first century has carried different meanings that overlap only in part:

1. Booksellers and publishers tend to group under this heading (or under that of the occult or even metaphysics) a plethora of domains concerned with the paranormal, exotic and particularly Eastern wisdom traditions, New Age literature, and magical literature.
2. *Esoteric* is used to designate teachings or doctrines that are purposely kept secret, generally with a view to distinguish between initiates and noninitiates (the former are supposed to respect the so-called discipline of the arcane).
3. *Esoteric* refers to the hidden meanings of apparent reality (i.e., of nature, history, and mythical narratives) and to the deeper, inner mysteries of religion as opposed to its

merely external or exoteric dimensions. In this understanding, esotericism tends to designate the ways likely to provide an access to these deeper meanings. Here *gnōsis* is often used as a synonym of esotericism.

4. Within the so-called perennialist discourses, notably those of the traditionalist school of religious studies (e.g., in René Guénon's and Frtijof Schon's works), "esoterism" (used rather than *esotericism)* is the doctrine according to which there is a transcendental unity of religions—sometimes called the primordial tradition—and the ways to try to recover it.
5. The term is often used in a rather broad sense as a near synonym of (again) *gnōsis*, understood as a mode of knowing that emphasizes the experiential, the mythical, and the symbolic rather than the dogmatic and discursive forms of expression.
6. Mainly since the beginning of the 1990s, esotericism, or rather Western esotericism, has been used in academic parlance to designate (from a strictly historical perspective) a speciality covering a number of currents and traditions that present some obvious similarities. *Western* here refers to the medieval and modern Greco-Latin world in which the religious traditions of Judaism and Christianity have coexisted for centuries, visited by those of Islam. In an even stricter sense, this speciality has developed into modern Western esotericism. This expression was chosen by scholars among other available ones (e.g., hermeticism or hermetic philosophy, which some other scholars conveniently use, but they do so in the same sense). It was a matter of choosing a term to designate a historical field. This latter corresponds to a specific phenomenon that appeared at the beginning of the early modern period (i.e., of the Renaissance) and is represented by a number of specific spiritual currents.

It is in this latter, stricter sense that esotericism is intended in the present article. It is to be understood as a historical construct, not as a type of religion but as a general label for some currents in Western culture that display certain similarities and are historically related. Although there is still some debate about the definition and the demarcation of this domain, notably of its historical scope, a widespread consensus has been reached about the main currents that form its core. They are mainly of the following ones (the list is not exhaustive):

1. the Renaissance revival of hermetism (i.e., the literature bearing witness to an intense, renewed interest in the Greek *hermetica* of late antiquity, in particular in the *Corpus Hermeticum* attributed to the legendary Hermes Trismegistus);
2. Christian Qabbalah of the Renaissance and post-Christian Qabbalah;
3. the so-called occult philosophy of the Renaissance (see, for example, Cornelius Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*, 1533) and its later developments;
4. alchemy of the fifteenth to the twentieth centuries, understood as a spiritual form of meditation and practice;
5. astrology (in its speculative more than its divinatory form);
6. Paracelsism (the philosophy of Paracelsus in the first half of the sixteenth century) and that of his followers bent upon giving a chemical or alchemical interpretation of nature;
7. Rosicrucianism, which began to flourish at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and its numerous varieties until the early twenty-first century;
8. theosophy (the current that began to flourish with Jacob Böhme) in the seventeenth century but also the history of the Theosophical Society since the end of the nineteenth century;
9. the so-called illuminist current (c. 1750 to 1820);
10. the occultist current (mid–nineteenth century to the first half of the twentieth century) and its related developments.

ACADEMIC APPROACHES: 1964–1990. *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (1964) by Frances A. Yates has been instrumental in calling attention to the importance and significance of hermetism in the history of the Renaissance and consequently to that of the esoteric currents that flourished at that time and later. Yates's book caused a flurry of debates over what Wouter J. Hanegraaff has felicitously called "the Yates paradigm" (Hanegraaff, 2001, p. 5). Indeed Yates has created a grand narrative, as it were, based on two main assumptions. First is the existence of what she called "the Hermetic Tradition," in which she saw a more or less covert reaction against both Christianity and the rise of scientific worldviews. Second, however paradoxical it may seem, is the claim that the essential tradition of magic—which Yates considered essentially nonprogressive—was an important factor in the development of the scientific revolution. Neither of these two tenets has proved resistant to close scrutiny, but this work paved the way for an ongoing academic recognition and institutionalization of modern Western esoteric currents as a specialty in their own right.

Even within the pale of academic scholarship, the Yates paradigm was used by a number of authors with a more or less religionist-esoteric persuasion within the intellectual climate of the counterculture of the 1960s and 1970s. Indeed they were prone to consider esoteric currrents in general as a form of counterculture, just as Yates's narrative portrayed the Renaissance magus as a rebel against the dogmas of the established churches and later against the claims of mechanistic science. Such an interpretation is illustrated, for example, by many scholars associated with the Eranos group, like Carl Gustav Jung, Mircea Eliade, Henry Corbin, Ernst Benz, or Joseph Campbell (see Wasserstrom, 1999; Hakl, 2001). Therefore, on the one hand, the Eranosian production was viewed with suspicion by scholars of a a strictly historical persuasion; on the other hand and more importantly, the study of Western esotericism found in Eranos a place in which precedence was given to a "phenomenological" even apologetical approach.

What seems to be the first methodological attempt proper was proposed in 1990 by Pierre Riffard. Starting from the idea that there is a universal esotericism, this scholar attempted to find what its invariables might be. He found seven: author's impersonality, distinction between the profane and the initiated, correspondences, the subtle, arithmology (the esoteric science of numbers), occult arts, and initiation. Given its universalizing aspect in terms of areas and eras, that is, its lack of precise anchoring in history, such a position evinces a tendency toward essentialism and religionism. Nevertheless it is not devoid of interest insofar as it is likely to be appropriable by anthropology and psychology.

ACADEMIC APPROACHES: 1991–EARLY TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY. Not until as late as the beginning of the 1990s did the study of modern Western esotericism begin to be seriously recognized as an academic field of study in its own right. In these years the Yates paradigm as well as its religionist interpretation from a countercultural perspective were challenged by a different paradigm introduced by Antoine Faivre that can be seen as encompassing the entire period from the Renaissance to the early twenty-first century while still clearly demarcating the field from nonesoteric currents. As a result during the 1990s Faivre's approach was adopted by many other scholars and tended to replace Yates's grand narrative as the major paradigm in the field.

In a number of publications in the 1990s, Faivre submitted an academic construct based on empirical observations (i.e., not on an essentialist or religionist position claiming to deal with the essence of esotericism, which he considered problematic). He proposed calling esotericism in the modern West a form of thought identifiable by the presence of six characteristics distributed in varying proportions. Four are intrinsic in that their simultaneous presence is supposed to be a necessary and sufficient condition for a discourse to be identified as esoteric (although of course no discourse turns out to be that only). With them are joined two others, which he calls secondary, that is, not intrinsic, but whose presence is frequent next to the four others. That said, it is clear that none of the six characteristics belongs to esotericism alone.

The four intrinsic characteristics are:

1. The idea of correspondences. There exist invisible and noncausal correspondences between all visible and invisible dimensions of the cosmos. This is illustrated, for example, by the old notion of macrocosm and microcosm and the principle of universal relationships between all things within the universe. The latter is a theater of mirrors, a mosaic of hieroglyphs to be decoded. Everything in nature is a sign, and the least object is hiding a secret. Occult relationships govern the metals, the planets, and the parts of the human body. There are also correspondences between nature and history on the one hand and the revealed texts (the myths of foundation or origin) on the other hand.
2. Living nature. The cosmos is not merely complex or plural, nor can it be reduced to a network of correspondences. It is also alive. Viewed as a seat of sympathies and antipathies, it is palpitating in all its parts, permeated and animated by a spiritual presence, a life force, or a light—a hidden fire that circulates through it.
3. Imagination and mediations. These two notions are complementary. Rituals, *maṇḍalas*, symbols charged with polysemia, and intermediate beings (like angels) are mediators that allow the various levels of reality to be (re)connected to one another. And imagination is understood here as a specific faculty (a magical one, as it were) of the human mind to use these intermediaries, symbols, and images for acquiring a higher knowledge. Imagination (often compared here with magnet, *mageia*, imago) is the tool of knowledge of the self, of the world, of myth—it is the "eyes of fire" that makes visible the invisible.
4. The experience of transmutation. This fourth element comes in to complete the first three. It adds to them the dimension of a living experience. It may be the transmutation of oneself through an illuminated knowledge that favors a second birth but also of a part of nature itself (such is the case of course in alchemy).

The two secondary characteristics include, first, the idea of concordance, which posits the existence of common denominators (a fundamental concordance) between several or all spiritual traditions, then studies these by comparing them, in the hopes of bringing out the forgotten hidden trunk of which each particular one would be only one visible branch. Second is transmission, which has become rather common since the eighteenth century. Transmission emphasizes the importance of channels; for example, transmission from master to disciple or initiatory societies (one cannot initiate oneself). Some insist on the authenticity of the regularity of the channels of filiation supposed to transmit what could not be obtained without them.

Some aspects and implications of Faivre's construct have been challenged. Hanegraaff (1996, 2004) has cogently argued that it applies mostly to the Renaissance occult philosophy and to the late-eighteeth-century and early-ninteenth-century illuminist and Romantic contexts but fails to fully account for developments within the spiritualist-pietist context since the seventeenth century and the secularization of esotericism over the long period of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Kocku von Stuckrad (2004) has suggested that the limitations of Faivre's concept of a form of thought could be overcome by a discursive approach. Furthermore the relation of Western esotericism to Christianity and to the other religions of the book lends itself to ongoing debates (Hanegraaff, 1995, 2004; Neugebauer-Wölk, 2003; Stuckrad, 2004). It seems likely that such discussions, which are already operating in several directions, will contribute to further developments in the study of Western esotericism.

THE ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF ESOTERICISM: A SHORT OVERVIEW. This long-neglected domain has been increasingly recognized in the early twenty-first century as an area of academic research and has gained a foothold in academia. It has been instrumental in bringing about a reappraisal of the understanding of Western culture in general and of its religious history in particular. Indeed even before methodological questions were seriously raised, the École Pratique des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences Religieuses (Paris, Sorbonne), created in 1964 the chair History of Christian Esotericism, which became in 1979 the History of the Esoteric and Mystical Currents in Contemporary Europe (in 2001 the adjective mystical was deleted). The University of Amsterdam in 1999 created a chair of the History of Hermetic Philosophy and Related Currents from the Renaissance to the Present, which encompasses a full academic curriculum, from the undergraduate to the doctorate levels. In Lampeter, United Kingdom, in 2001 another was established, History of the Western Esoteric Tradition. Within the American Academy of Religion, a program unit functioned from 1986 to 2000 under several titles, the latest one being Western Esotericism since the Early Modern Period. The International Association for the History of Religions held a conference in Mexico City in 2000, "Western Esotericism and the Science of Religion" (see Faivre and Hanegraaff, 1998), and another one in Durban in 2000, "Western Esotericism and Jewish Mysticism." Other similar examples could be adduced.

SEE ALSO Alchemy; Astrology; Hermetism; Nature; Theosophical Society.

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ANTOINE FAIVRE (1987 AND 2005)

ESSENES. The Essenes were a sect of Jews during the Hasmonean and Roman periods of Jewish history (c. 150 BCE–74 CE). This group was noted for its piety and distinctive theology. The Essenes were known in Greek as Essenoi or Essaioi. Numerous suggestions have been made regarding the etymology of the name, among which are derivation from Syriac *ḥaseʾ* ("pious"), Aramaic *asayyaʾ* ("healers"), Greek *hosios* ("holy"), and Hebrew *ḥashaʾim* ("silent ones"). The very fact that so many suggestions as to etymology have been made and that none has carried a scholarly consensus shows that the derivation of the term cannot be established with certainty. No Hebrew cognate appears either in the Dead Sea Scrolls, taken by many scholars to be the writings of this sect, or in rabbinic literature (the Talmuds and *midrashim*). Only with the Jewish rediscovery of Philo Judaeus (d. 45–50 CE) and Josephus Flavius (d. 100 CE?) in the Renaissance was the Hebrew word *issiyyim* (Essenes) coined.

HISTORICAL SOURCES. Until the twentieth century, the Essenes were known only from Greek sources. They are described twice by Philo, in *Hypothetica* (11.1–18) and *Every Good Man Is Free* (12.75–13.91). Both of these accounts were written by 50 CE and, in turn, drew on a common, earlier source. (Philo also described a similar sect, the Therapeutae, in *On the Contemplative Life.*)

Josephus describes the Essenes in passages of several of his books. In *The Jewish War,* written around 75–79 CE, there is a detailed account (2.119–161). *Jewish Antiquities* contains a shorter account (18.18–22). In his autobiography, written about 100 CE, Josephus relates that he investigated the Essenes, among other Jewish sects, in his youth (*The Life* 2.9–11). Scattered references to the Essenes occur elsewhere in the works of Josephus.

Pliny the Elder wrote about the Essenes in his *Natural History* (5.73), completed in 77 CE. *Philosophumena* (9.18–30), considered to have been written by Hippolytus, a third-century bishop, contains a description of the Essenes that, in part, is drawn from a no longer extant source that was also used by Josephus.

Since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran in 1947, a consensus has developed that identifies the sect of the scrolls with the Essenes described by Philo and Josephus. This view has led many scholars to interpret the Greek texts describing the Essenes in light of the scrolls from Qumran, and the scrolls in light of the Greek texts, although the term *Essene* is absent from the Qumran scrolls. To avoid this methodological pitfall, evidence for the Essenes will first be presented and then compared with the corpus of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

HISTORY. No solution to the question of the origins of Essenism is likely to emerge from the available sources. Suggestions of Iranian and Hellenistic influence are possible but cannot be documented.

Josephus (*Antiquities* 13.171–173) first mentions the Essenes in his account of the reign of Jonathan the Hasmonean (r. 161–143/2 BCE). There he briefly describes the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. He himself claims to have known of the three sects through "personal experience" (*Life* 2.10–11) in the mid-first century CE. He then mentions Judas, an Essene prophet, who was instructing his disciples in fortune-telling during the reign of Judah Aristobulus I in 104 and 103 BCE (*Antiquities* 13.311–313). Herod excused the Essenes from swearing a loyalty oath because, in the view of Josephus (or his source), Menahem the Essene had foretold a lengthy reign for Herod (*Antiquities* 15.371–378). A certain Simeon the Essene predicted dire circumstances for Archelaus, the son of Herod and ethnarch of Judah (4 BCE–c. 6 CE; *Antiquities* 17.345–348); clearly, the Essenes were known for their prediction of the future.

John the Essene was one of the Jewish generals in the great revolt against Rome in 66–74 CE (*War* 2.567). Josephus relates that the Essenes were tortured by the Romans during the great revolt (*War* 2.152–153); this may indicate further their participation in the war against the Romans. An entrance through the south wall of Jerusalem was called the "gate of the Essenes" (*War* 5.145). With the destruction of the province of Judaea following in the wake of the unsuccessful uprising against Rome in 66–74 CE, the Essenes disappear from the stage of history.

THE ESSENE WAY OF LIFE. There were about four thousand Essenes, according to the testimony of Philo and Josephus. They apparently were scattered in communities throughout Palestine, although some evidence exists that they avoided the larger cities. According to Pliny, there was an Essene settlement between Jericho and ʿEin Gedi on the western shore of the Dead Sea. This description has been taken by many scholars as indicating that the Qumran sect whose library was found at the shore of the Dead Sea is to be identified with the Essenes of Philo and Josephus.

Membership and initiation. Only adult males could enter the Essene sect. Sources tell of both married and celibate Essenes. It may be assumed that in the case of married Essenes, full membership was not extended to women. Rather, their status was determined by their being wives or daughters of members. Children were educated in the ways of the community.

The Essenes were organized under officials to whom obedience was required. Members who transgressed could be expelled from the community by the Essene court of one hundred. Aspiring members received three items—a hatchet, an apron, and a white garment—and had to undergo a detailed initiation process that included a year of probation. An initiate was then eligible for the ritual ablutions. Subsequently, he had to undergo a further two years of probation, after which time he was to swear an oath, the only oath the Essenes permitted. In this oath the candidate bound himself to piety toward God, justice to men, honesty with his fellow Essenes, the proper transmission of the teachings of the sect, and the preservation of the secrecy by which the sect's doctrines were guarded from outsiders. Among the teachings to be kept secret were the Essenes' traditions concerning the names of the angels. The candidate was now able to participate in the communal meals of the sect and was a full-fledged member.

Social system. The Essenes practiced community of property. Upon admission, new members turned their property over to the group, whose elected officials administered it for the benefit of all. Hence, all members shared wealth equally, with no distinctions between rich and poor. Members earned income for the group through various occupations, including agriculture and trades. (The Essenes avoided commerce and the manufacture of weapons.) All earnings were turned over to the officials, who distributed funds for purchasing necessities and for taking care of older or ill members of the community. In addition, the Essenes dispensed charity throughout the country, much of it to those outside their group. Traveling members were taken care of by special officers in each town.

Characteristic of the Essenes was their moderation and avoidance of luxury, as evidenced in their eating and drinking habits, their clothing, and the fact that they did not anoint themselves with oil, a practice common among the Jews of the Greco-Roman period. For them, wealth was only a means to provide the necessities of life. This asceticism also manifested itself among those Essenes who were celibate. On the other hand, it appears that in many cases this celibacy was embarked on later in life, after having had children, so that it was not absolute.

Religious life. The Essenes had an ambivalent relationship with the Jerusalem Temple. While they sent voluntary offerings to the Temple, they themselves did not participate in the sacrificial worship there.

The members of the sect began their day with prayer. After prayer, they worked at their occupations. Later, they assembled for purification rituals and a communal meal that was prepared by priests and eaten while wearing special garments. After the members took their places at the table in silence, the baker and cook distributed the food to each in order of his status. A priest recited a short prayer before and after the meal. The community then returned to work and came together once again in the evening for another meal. At the setting of the sun they recited prayers to God. (These prayers cannot have been directed to the sun, as some scholars suggest, in view of the Essenes' close adherence to basic Jewish theology, that is, to a biblical conception of God.)

Ritual purity was greatly emphasized. Not only were ablutions required before the communal meals, but they were also performed after relieving oneself, or after coming in contact with a nonmember or novice. Members were extremely careful in attending to natural functions, and in bathing and expectorating. The Essenes were accustomed to wearing white garments, and rules of modesty were very important.

THEOLOGY. The Essenes are said to have believed in absolute predestination. Probably related to this doctrine was their gift of prophecy. Josephus asserts that the Essenes seldom erred in their predictions. The name of Moses was held in high esteem, and the Essenes saw blasphemy of it as a capital crime. They studied the Torah and its ethics, and interpreted the scriptures allegorically. They were extremely strict in observing the Sabbath. Their teachings were recorded in books that the members were required to pass on with great care. The Essenes were experts in medicinal roots and the properties of stones, the healing powers of which they claimed to have derived from ancient writings.

Most notable among the doctrines of the Essenes was their belief in the immortality of the soul. According to Josephus, they believed that only the soul survived after death, a concept of Hellenistic origin. However, according to the *Philosophumena* (c. 225; generally ascribed to Hippolytus of Rome), the Essenes believed that the body survived as well and would eventually be revived.

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS. Since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the majority of scholars have taken the view that these documents were the library of the Essenes who, accordingly, were settled at Qumran. Indeed, many parallels do exist between the sect described by the Greek sources and the seat of the scrolls from Qumran. Similar initiation ceremonies exist for both groups, although the procedure described in the classical sources diverges in some respects from that of the Qumran texts. The Essenes seem to have eaten communal meals regularly. The Qumran texts, however, envisage only occasional communal meals. For the Essenes all property was held in common, whereas at Qumran private ownership prevailed, and only the use of property was common. The Essenes' observances of ritual purity, although paralleled at Qumran, were not uncommon among the sects of this period.

The main weakness of the identification of these two groups is the fact that the word *Essene* or its equivalent is not present in the Qumran scrolls. In addition, the texts have many small discrepancies. There is no evidence that the Essenes had the apocalyptic dreams of the Dead Sea sect. Nor is it known whether they adhered to a calendar of solar months such as that which the Qumran sect followed. Scholars usually account for these minor differences by saying that the classical sources, especially Josephus, were written with a Greek-speaking audience in mind and, therefore, described the sect in terms that would be understandable to such readers.

If, indeed, the Essenes are to be identified with the sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls, then the Qumran evidence may be used to fill in the picture derived from the classical sources. If not, scholars would have to reckon with two sects having similar teachings and similar ways of life. As a matter of fact, Palestine in the Second Commonwealth period was replete with various sects and movements, each contributing to the religious ferment of the times.

JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY. Although the Essenes are nowhere mentioned in the New Testament, certain parallels may indicate an indirect influence of this sect on nascent Christianity. It may be generally stated that the various sects of Second Temple Judaism provide important background material for understanding the rise of the new faith.

The end product of the ferment mentioned above, combined with the great revolt of the Jews against Rome and the resulting destruction of the land, was rabbinic Judaism. Some scholars have claimed that Talmudic sources refer to the Essenes; however, the term *Essene* is not mentioned. While definite evidence is lacking, one can speculate that Essene teachings must have contributed, at least indirectly, to the subsequent development of Jewish tradition regarding such topics as purity, cult, angelology, and the division of body and soul.

SEE ALSO Dead Sea Scrolls; Judaism, overview article.

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Revised Bibliography

ESTHER, or, in Hebrew, Ester; the daughter of Abihail, also called Hadassah; heroine of the biblical book that bears her name. Adopted and raised by her cousin Mordecai, Esther, whose name is derived from the Persian *stara,* "star," plays a crucial role in the event of persecution and deliverance of the Jews in the ancient Persian empire that the late biblical *Book* (or *Scroll) of Esther* purports to record. The story of this deliverance, which draws on ancient Near Eastern courtier motifs, wisdom themes, and, quite possibly, topoi from Mesopotamian and Persian New Year festivals, serves as a festal legend for the Jewish holiday of Purim.

The main outline of the *Book of Esther* is as follows. At the outset, the Persian ruler Ahasuerus has a grand feast that is spoiled when his wife, Vashti, refuses his demand that she perform before the assembled males. Vashti is banished, a decree is issued that all wives must honor their husbands, and the stage is set for a search to replace the defiant queen. The choice is Esther, a Jewess, who follows Mordecai's counsel not to reveal her ethnic-religious origins (*Est.* 2:1–18). While Esther keeps her secret at the court, Mordecai uncovers a plot to kill the king. Meanwhile, one of the viziers, Haman, is elevated to a position of high power. Piqued by the refusal of Mordecai to bow down in homage to him, Haman slanders the Jews to the king and, with the use of lots (Heb., *purim*), sets a date for their annihilation (*Est.* 3). Mordecai now enlists the help of Esther on behalf of her people (*Est.* 4:1–17). An initial soiree between the king and queen passes successfully. Several minor scenes follow dealing with Haman's plot to hang Mordecai (*Est.* 5:9–14) and Ahasuerus's insomnia, during which he learns of Mordecai's role in saving his life and determines to reward him, an event that provokes Haman's shame (*Est.* 6:1–14). A second soiree leads to the disgrace of Haman, the elevation of Mordecai, the disclosure of the plot against the Jews, and, finally, royal permission for the Jews to protect themselves on the day of the planned uprising (*Est.* 7:1–8:17), so that a day of national fasting and sorrow is turned into a time of joy and gladness (*Est.* 9–10).

Mordecai is presented as descended from Saul, the Benjaminite, and Haman, from Agag, the Amalekite; in this way, the novella dramatizes a typological repetition of the episode reported in *1 Samuel* 15 and recalls the divine exhortation never to forget the destructive deeds of Amalek (*Dt.* 24: 17–19).

Various additions to *Esther* have been incorporated into the Apocrypha and Septuagint, and there are numerous expansions in the Aramaic *Targum sheni.* In the Middle Ages, the role of Esther took on powerful symbolic dimensions among Jews for at least three reasons. First, Esther came to symbolize the court Jew who risked everything to defend the nation so often slandered, despised, and threatened. Second, Esther, as a "hidden" Jew (together with the frequently noted absence of an explicit reference to God in the scroll), symbolized in mystical circles the hiddenness of the Shekhinah (divine feminine presence) in the world and in the Jewish exile. And finally, Esther (and the festival of Purim) was a great favorite of the Marranos in Spain and in their far-flung dispersion; they saw in her disguised condition the factual and psychological prototype of their own disguised condition.

SEE ALSO Purim.

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ETERNITY
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EDITOR IN CHIEF

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Lindsay Jones, Editor in Chief

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED IN THIS WORK

abbr. abbreviated; abbreviation
abr. abridged; abridgment
AD *anno Domini,* in the year of the (our) Lord
Afrik. Afrikaans
AH *anno Hegirae,* in the year of the Hijrah
Akk. Akkadian
Ala. Alabama
Alb. Albanian
Am. *Amos*
AM *ante meridiem,* before noon
amend. amended; amendment
annot. annotated; annotation
Ap. *Apocalypse*
Apn. *Apocryphon*
app. appendix
Arab. Arabic
ʿArakh. *ʿArakhin*
Aram. Aramaic
Ariz. Arizona
Ark. Arkansas
Arm. Armenian
art. article (pl., arts.)
AS Anglo-Saxon
Asm. Mos. *Assumption of Moses*
Assyr. Assyrian
A.S.S.R. Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
Av. Avestan
ʿA.Z. *ʿAvodah zarah*
b. born
Bab. Babylonian
Ban. Bantu
1 Bar. *1 Baruch*
2 Bar. *2 Baruch*
3 Bar. *3 Baruch*
4 Bar. *4 Baruch*
B.B. *Bavaʾ batraʾ*
BBC British Broadcasting Corporation
BC before Christ
BCE before the common era
B.D. Bachelor of Divinity
Beits. *Beitsah*
Bekh. *Bekhorot*
Beng. Bengali
Ber. *Berakhot*
Berb. Berber
Bik. *Bikkurim*
bk. book (pl., bks.)
B.M. *Bavaʾ metsiʿaʾ*
BP before the present
B.Q. *Bavaʾ qammaʾ*
Brāh. *Brāhmaṇa*
Bret. Breton
B.T. Babylonian Talmud
Bulg. Bulgarian
Burm. Burmese
c. *circa,* about, approximately
Calif. California
Can. Canaanite
Catal. Catalan
CE of the common era
Celt. Celtic
cf. *confer,* compare
Chald. Chaldean
chap. chapter (pl., chaps.)
Chin. Chinese
C.H.M. Community of the Holy Myrrhbearers
1 Chr. *1 Chronicles*
2 Chr. *2 Chronicles*
Ch. Slav. Church Slavic
cm centimeters
col. column (pl., cols.)
Col. *Colossians*
Colo. Colorado
comp. compiler (pl., comps.)
Conn. Connecticut
cont. continued
Copt. Coptic
1 Cor. *1 Corinthians*
2 Cor. *2 Corinthians*
corr. corrected
C.S.P. Congregatio Sancti Pauli, Congregation of Saint Paul (Paulists)
d. died
D Deuteronomic (source of the Pentateuch)
Dan. Danish
D.B. Divinitatis Baccalaureus, Bachelor of Divinity
D.C. District of Columbia
D.D. Divinitatis Doctor, Doctor of Divinity
Del. Delaware
Dem. *Demaʾi*
dim. diminutive
diss. dissertation
Dn. *Daniel*
D.Phil. Doctor of Philosophy
Dt. *Deuteronomy*
Du. Dutch
E Elohist (source of the Pentateuch)
Eccl. *Ecclesiastes*
ed. editor (pl., eds.); edition; edited by

ʿEduy. *ʿEduyyot*
e.g. *exempli gratia,* for example
Egyp. Egyptian
1 En. *1 Enoch*
2 En. *2 Enoch*
3 En. *3 Enoch*
Eng. English
enl. enlarged
Eph. *Ephesians*
ʿEruv. *ʿEruvin*
1 Esd. *1 Esdras*
2 Esd. *2 Esdras*
3 Esd. *3 Esdras*
4 Esd. *4 Esdras*
esp. especially
Est. Estonian
Est. *Esther*
et al. *et alii,* and others
etc. *et cetera,* and so forth
Eth. Ethiopic
EV English version
Ex. *Exodus*
exp. expanded
Ez. *Ezekiel*
Ezr. *Ezra*
2 Ezr. *2 Ezra*
4 Ezr. *4 Ezra*
f. feminine; and following (pl., ff.)
fasc. fascicle (pl., fascs.)
fig. figure (pl., figs.)
Finn. Finnish
fl. *floruit,* flourished
Fla. Florida
Fr. French
frag. fragment
ft. feet
Ga. Georgia
Gal. *Galatians*
Gaul. Gaulish
Ger. German
Giṭ. *Giṭṭin*
Gn. *Genesis*
Gr. Greek
Ḥag. *Ḥagigah*
Ḥal. *Ḥallah*
Hau. Hausa
Hb. *Habakkuk*
Heb. Hebrew
Heb. *Hebrews*
Hg. *Haggai*
Hitt. Hittite
Hor. *Horayot*
Hos. *Hosea*
Ḥul. *Ḥullin*
Hung. Hungarian
ibid. *ibidem,* in the same place (as the one immediately preceding)
Icel. Icelandic
i.e. *id est,* that is
IE Indo-European
Ill. Illinois
Ind. Indiana
intro. introduction
Ir. Gael. Irish Gaelic
Iran. Iranian
Is. *Isaiah*
Ital. Italian
J Yahvist (source of the Pentateuch)
Jas. *James*
Jav. Javanese
Jb. *Job*
Jdt. *Judith*
Jer. *Jeremiah*
Jgs. *Judges*
Jl. *Joel*
Jn. *John*
1 Jn. *1 John*
2 Jn. *2 John*
3 Jn. *3 John*
Jon. *Jonah*
Jos. *Joshua*
Jpn. Japanese
JPS Jewish Publication Society translation (1985) of the Hebrew Bible
J.T. Jerusalem Talmud
Jub. *Jubilees*
Kans. Kansas
Kel. *Kelim*
Ker. *Keritot*
Ket. *Ketubbot*
1 Kgs. *1 Kings*
2 Kgs. *2 Kings*
Khois. Khoisan
Kil. *Kilʾayim*
km kilometers
Kor. Korean
Ky. Kentucky
l. line (pl., ll.)
La. Louisiana
Lam. *Lamentations*
Lat. Latin
Latv. Latvian
L. en Th. Licencié en Théologie, Licentiate in Theology
L. ès L. Licencié ès Lettres, Licentiate in Literature
Let. Jer. *Letter of Jeremiah*
lit. literally
Lith. Lithuanian
Lk. *Luke*
LL Late Latin
LL.D. Legum Doctor, Doctor of Laws
Lv. *Leviticus*
m meters
m. masculine
M.A. Master of Arts
Ma ʿas. *Maʿaserot*
Ma ʿas. Sh. *Maʿ aser sheni*
Mak. *Makkot*
Makh. *Makhshirin*
Mal. *Malachi*
Mar. Marathi
Mass. Massachusetts
1 Mc. *1 Maccabees*
2 Mc. *2 Maccabees*
3 Mc. *3 Maccabees*
4 Mc. *4 Maccabees*
Md. Maryland
M.D. Medicinae Doctor, Doctor of Medicine
ME Middle English
Meg. *Megillah*
Me ʿil. *Meʿilah*
Men. *Menaḥot*
MHG Middle High German
mi. miles
Mi. *Micah*
Mich. Michigan
Mid. *Middot*
Minn. Minnesota
Miq. *Miqvaʾot*
MIran. Middle Iranian
Miss. Mississippi
Mk. *Mark*
Mo. Missouri
Moʿed Q. *Moʿed qaṭan*
Mont. Montana
MPers. Middle Persian
MS. *manuscriptum,* manuscript (pl., MSS)
Mt. *Matthew*
MT Masoretic text
n. note
Na. *Nahum*
Nah. Nahuatl
Naz. *Nazir*
N.B. *nota bene,* take careful note
N.C. North Carolina
n.d. no date
N.Dak. North Dakota
NEB New English Bible
Nebr. Nebraska

Ned. *Nedarim*
Neg. *Negaʿim*
Neh. *Nehemiah*
Nev. Nevada
N.H. New Hampshire
Nid. *Niddah*
N.J. New Jersey
Nm. *Numbers*
N.Mex. New Mexico
no. number (pl., nos.)
Nor. Norwegian
n.p. no place
n.s. new series
N.Y. New York
Ob. *Obadiah*
O.Cist. Ordo Cisterciencium, Order of Cîteaux (Cistercians)
OCS Old Church Slavonic
OE Old English
O.F.M. Ordo Fratrum Minorum, Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)
OFr. Old French
Ohal. *Ohalot*
OHG Old High German
OIr. Old Irish
OIran. Old Iranian
Okla. Oklahoma
ON Old Norse
O.P. Ordo Praedicatorum, Order of Preachers (Dominicans)
OPers. Old Persian
op. cit. *opere citato,* in the work cited
OPrus. Old Prussian
Oreg. Oregon
ʿOrl. *ʿOrlah*
O.S.B. Ordo Sancti Benedicti, Order of Saint Benedict (Benedictines)
p. page (pl., pp.)
P Priestly (source of the Pentateuch)
Pa. Pennsylvania
Pahl. Pahlavi
Par. *Parah*
para. paragraph (pl., paras.)
Pers. Persian
Pes. *Pesahim*
Ph.D. Philosophiae Doctor, Doctor of Philosophy
Phil. *Philippians*
Phlm. *Philemon*
Phoen. Phoenician
pl. plural; plate (pl., pls.)
PM *post meridiem,* after noon
Pol. Polish
pop. population
Port. Portuguese
Prv. *Proverbs*
Ps. *Psalms*
Ps. 151 *Psalm 151*
Ps. Sol. *Psalms of Solomon*
pt. part (pl., pts.)
1Pt. *1 Peter*
2 Pt. *2 Peter*
Pth. Parthian
Q hypothetical source of the synoptic Gospels
Qid. *Qiddushin*
Qin. *Qinnim*
r. reigned; ruled
Rab. *Rabbah*
rev. revised
R. ha-Sh. *Roʾsh ha-shanah*
R.I. Rhode Island
Rom. Romanian
Rom. *Romans*
R.S.C.J. Societas Sacratissimi Cordis Jesu, Religious of the Sacred Heart
RSV Revised Standard Version of the Bible
Ru. *Ruth*
Rus. Russian
Rv. *Revelation*
Rv. Ezr. *Revelation of Ezra*
San. *Sanhedrin*
S.C. South Carolina
Scot. Gael. Scottish Gaelic
S.Dak. South Dakota
sec. section (pl., secs.)
Sem. Semitic
ser. series
sg. singular
Sg. *Song of Songs*
Sg. of 3 *Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men*
Shab. *Shabbat*
Shav. *Shavuʿot*
Sheq. *Sheqalim*
Sib. Or. *Sibylline Oracles*
Sind. Sindhi
Sinh. Sinhala
Sir. *Ben Sira*
S.J. Societas Jesu, Society of Jesus (Jesuits)
Skt. Sanskrit
1 Sm. *1 Samuel*
2 Sm. *2 Samuel*
Sogd. Sogdian
Soṭ. *Soṭah*
sp. species (pl., spp.)
Span. Spanish
sq. square
S.S.R. Soviet Socialist Republic
st. stanza (pl., ss.)
S.T.M. Sacrae Theologiae Magister, Master of Sacred Theology
Suk. *Sukkah*
Sum. Sumerian
supp. supplement; supplementary
Sus. *Susanna*
s.v. *sub verbo,* under the word (pl., s.v.v.)
Swed. Swedish
Syr. Syriac
Syr. Men. *Syriac Menander*
Taʿ an. *Taʿanit*
Tam. Tamil
Tam. *Tamid*
Tb. *Tobit*
T.D. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō,* edited by Takakusu Junjirō et al. (Tokyo,1922–1934)
Tem. *Temurah*
Tenn. Tennessee
Ter. Terumot
Ṭev. Y. *Ṭevul yom*
Tex. Texas
Th.D. Theologicae Doctor, Doctor of Theology
1 Thes. *1 Thessalonians*
2 Thes. *2 Thessalonians*
Thrac. Thracian
Ti. *Titus*
Tib. Tibetan
1 Tm. *1 Timothy*
2 Tm. *2 Timothy*
T. of 12 *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*
Ṭoh. *ṭohorot*
Tong. Tongan
trans. translator, translators; translated by; translation
Turk. Turkish
Ukr. Ukrainian
Upan. *Upaniṣad*
U.S. United States
U.S.S.R. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Uqts. *Uqtsin*
v. verse (pl., vv.)
Va. Virginia
var. variant; variation
Viet. Vietnamese

viz. *videlicet,* namely
vol. volume (pl., vols.)
Vt. Vermont
Wash. Washington
Wel. Welsh
Wis. Wisconsin
Wis. *Wisdom of Solomon*
W.Va. West Virginia
Wyo. Wyoming
Yad. *Yadayim*
Yev. *Yevamot*
Yi. Yiddish
Yor. Yoruba
Zav. *Zavim*
Zec. *Zechariah*
Zep. *Zephaniah*
Zev. *Zevaḥim*

* hypothetical
? uncertain; possibly; perhaps
° degrees
+ plus
– minus
= equals; is equivalent to
× by; multiplied by
→ yields

SACRED SPACE

A sacred space is any place recognized for its ability to direct the mind and body to holy matters. The basis for this power varies considerably. Sometimes spaces act like reliquaries—enclosures that mark the deposit of a saint's remains, or the site of an unusual event such as a vision or manifestation of divine power, or the place where a holy person preached or lived. Alternatively, sacred spaces are often built environments that seek to shape human consciousness toward states of worship or mindfulness. For example, Father Paul Matthias Dobberstein, an immigrant Catholic priest, constructed the Grotto of the Redemption in West Bend, Iowa (**a** and **b**), as well as seven other shrines and grottos in the midwestern United States, as spaces meant to awe and fascinate, but also to claim attention for the purpose of reflection and devotion. The beauty the priest admired in stone was dedicated to the spiritual beauty of Mary. Sacred space is therefore in many instances intended as an aesthetic shaping of consciousness as an act of adoration, an attempt to segregate the worshiper from other forms of life for the sake of cultivating a special dedication to a saint or deity. To that end, many sacred spaces are grand in scale and expensively appointed, particularly those associated with mass pilgrimage, such as the Buddhist temple district of Ayutthyā, Bangkok (**c**); the many cathedrals and public churches of Europe (**d**); or the Kaʿbah (**e**), the central pilgrimage site among the world's Muslims, who go there to visit the site where Muḥammad established

GROTTO OF THE REDEMPTION

(**a**) Grotto of the Redemption, West Bend, Iowa, begun 1912. *[©2003 Phillip Morgan]*

GLORY TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST

(**b**) Nativity, Grotto of the Redemption. *[©2003 Phillip Morgan]*

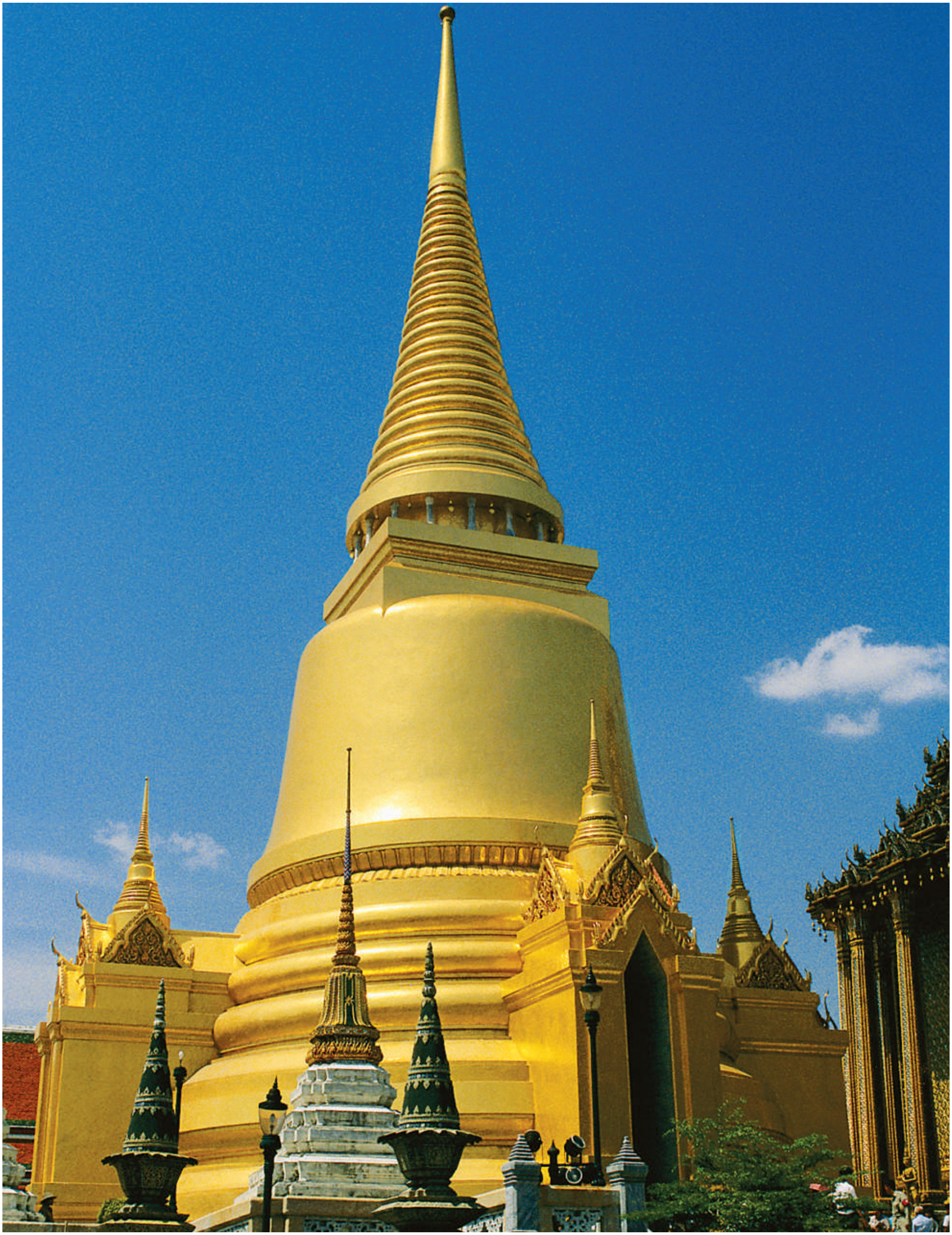

(c) Phra Sri Ratana Chedi, a nineteenth-century Buddhist stupa within the Grand Palace complex in Bangkok, Thailand. *[©Royalty-Free/Corbis]*

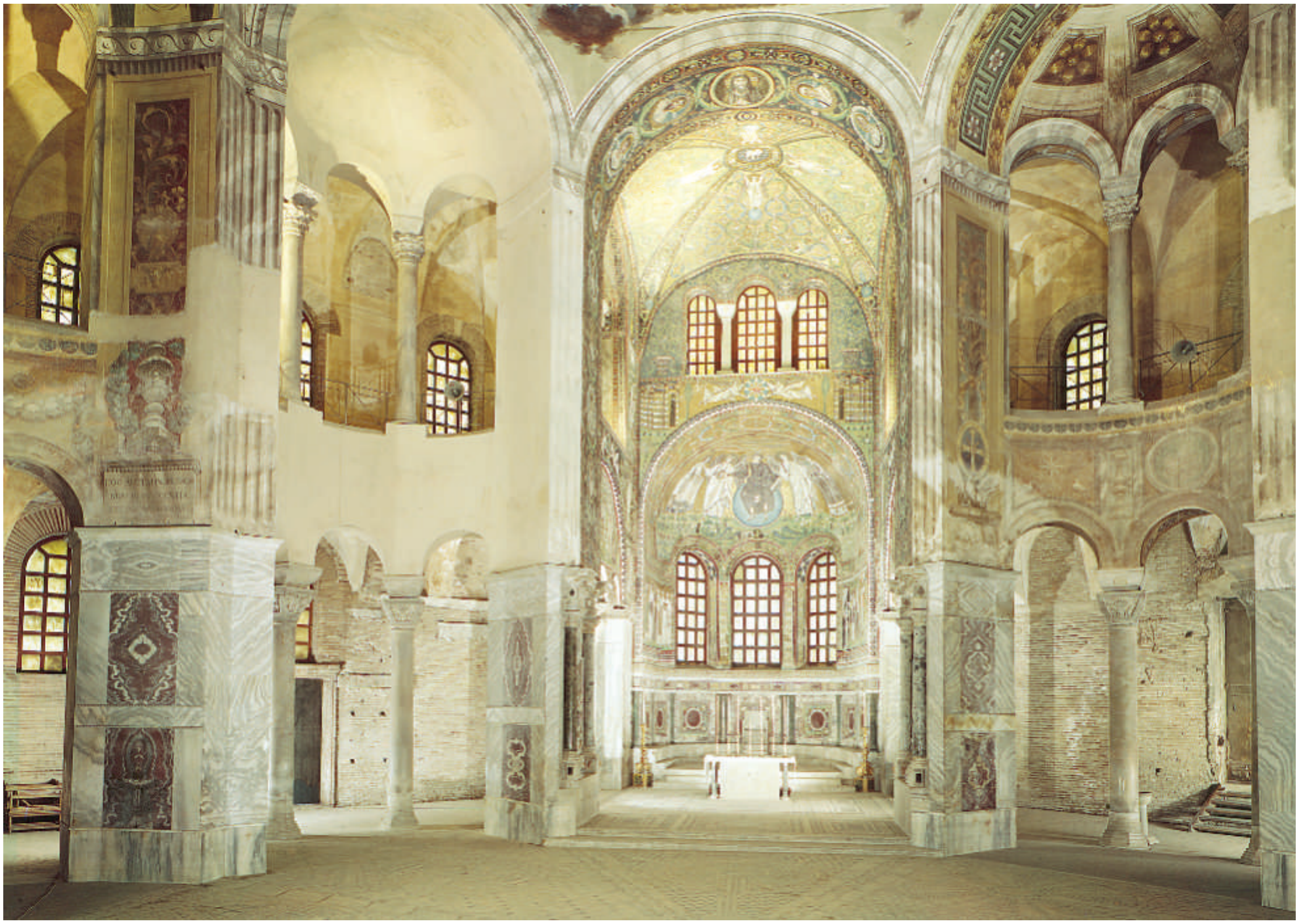

(d) The main apse of the Church of San Vitale, completed in the mid-sixth century, Ravenna, Italy. *[©Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.]*

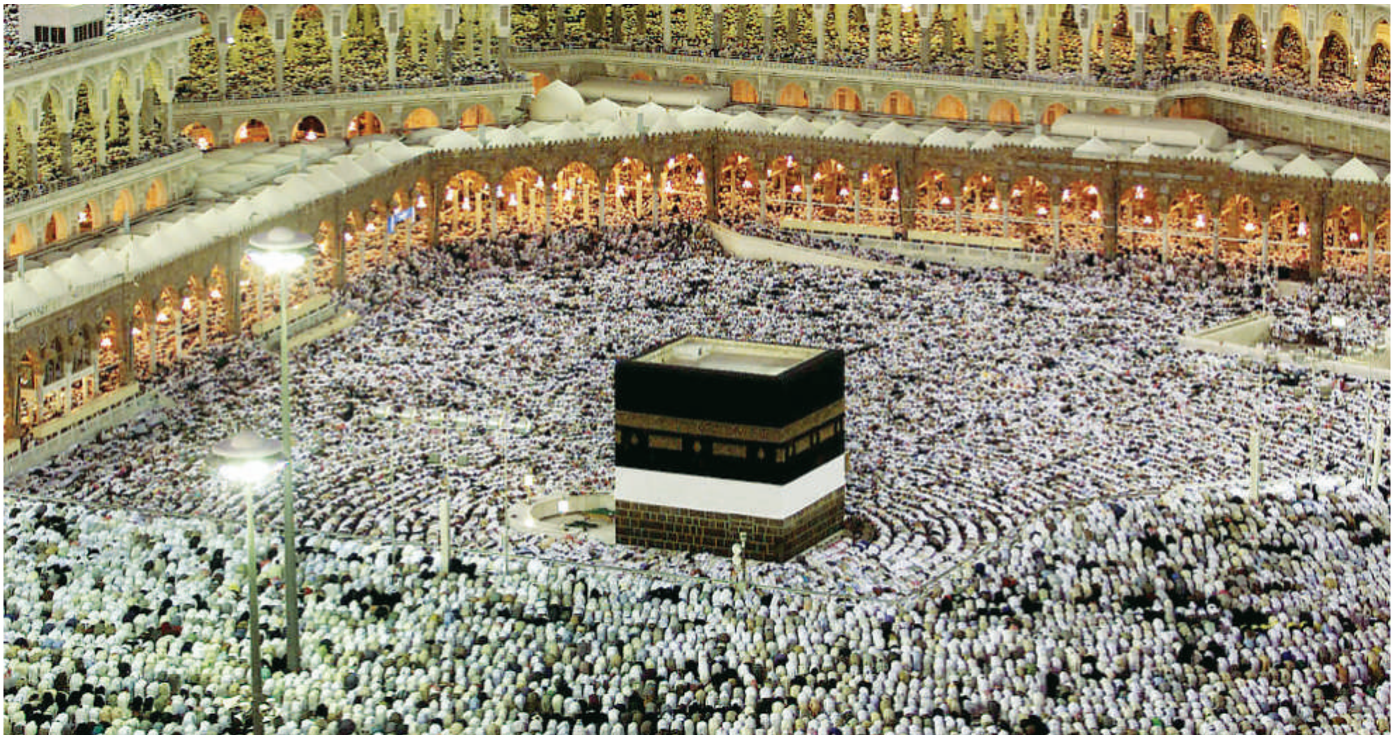

(e) The Kaʿbah, draped in black velvet, is the focal point of Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca, Saudi Arabia. *[©Reuters/Corbis]* the faith, a site believed to have been first consecrated by Abraham, and even by Adam. And when they are not at Mecca, Muslims pray each day in its direction, which is registered in every mosque's *miḥrāb* **(f)**, the niche in the wall that indicates the *qiblah*, Mecca's direction, and the place where the *imām* stands to address the assembled company of the prayerful. Although the ancient temple is completely gone, Jews visit the last trace of the installation, the wall in Jerusalem **(g)**, for prayer and devotion.

While many Protestants might feel uneasy about the idea of "sacred space" in their practice, the pride they take in building and maintaining their church buildings **(h)** suggests an enduring commitment to a place set apart, even if its sacredness consists more in the public statement the building makes. In addition to this, however, the interior space fashions a gathering site where the faithful experience a sense of community, which for many Protestants is the primary locus of the sacred. The material architecture, in other words, provides a shell in which the

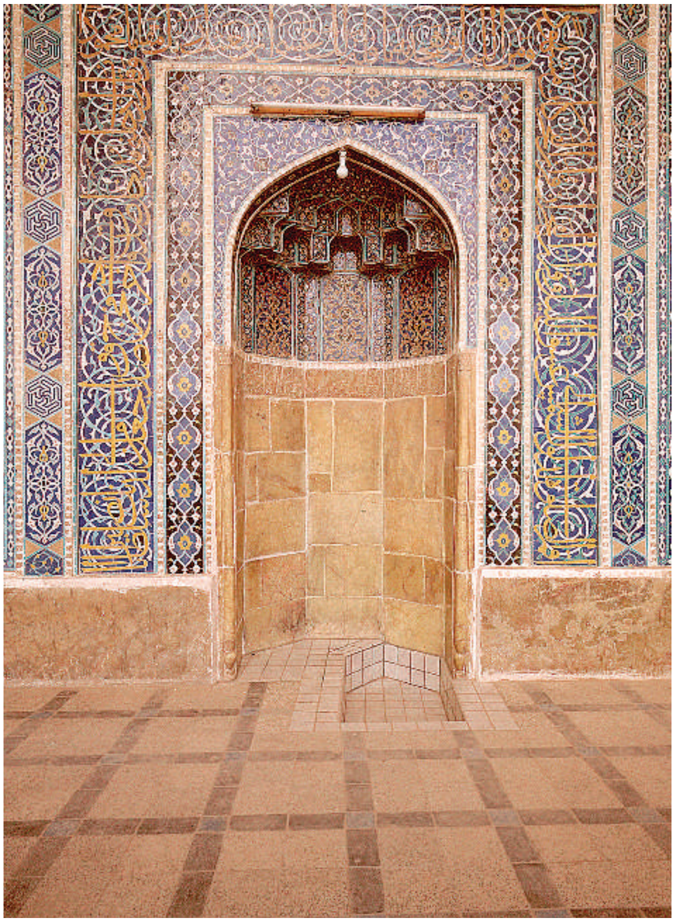

(f) A *miḥrāb*, a niche in the wall of a mosque indicating the direction of Mecca, at the Friday Mosque in Kerman, Iran. *[©Roger Wood/Corbis]*

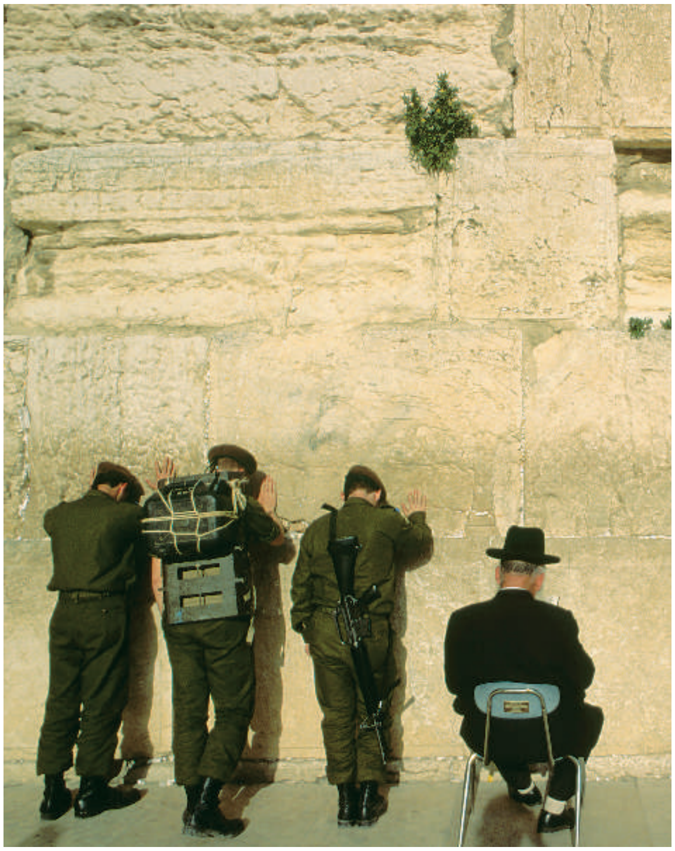

(g) An Orthodox Jew (right) and three Israeli soldiers pray at the Western Wall in Jerusalem. *[©David H. Wells/Corbis]*

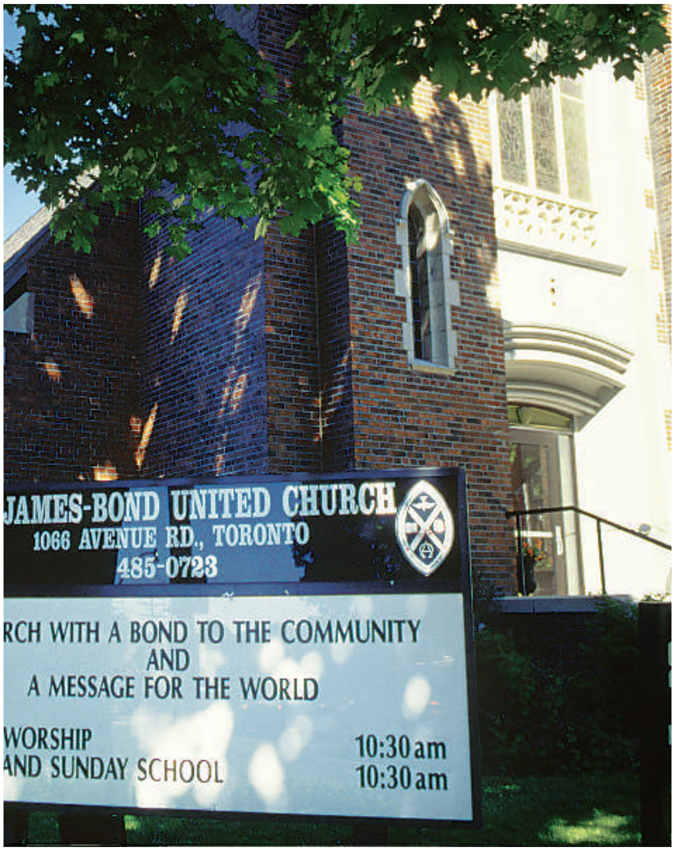

(h) The St. James-Bond United Church in Toronto, Ontario. *[©2004 Photograph by Neil Graham]*

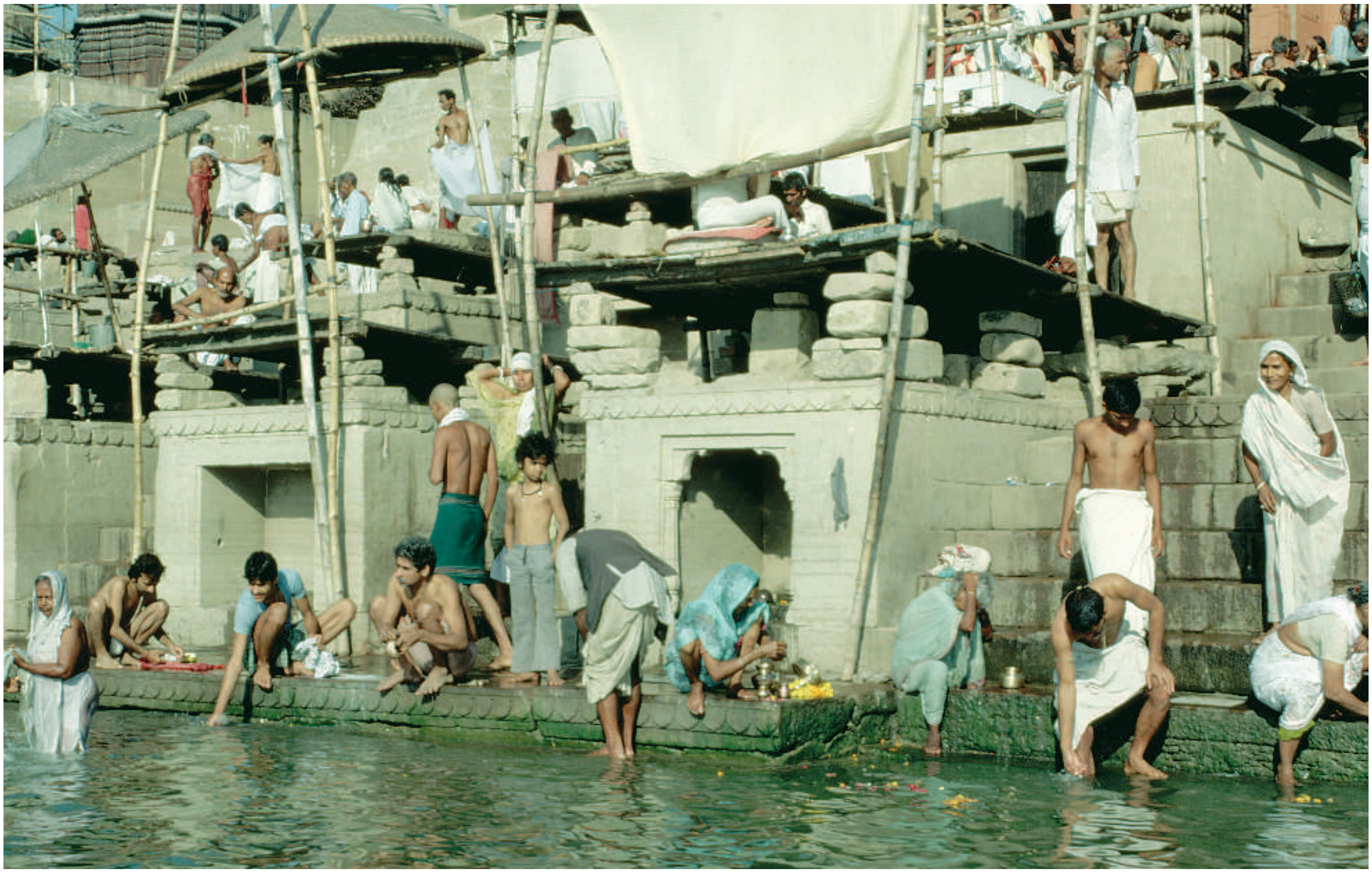

human architecture of ordered bodies performs the communal event of sacred assembly.

In addition to being built, sacred space is also found in the natural state of trees, rivers, mountains, canyons, or the ocean. The Ganges is the dominant symbol of Hindu piety and is the daily site of ablutions, prayer, burial, and offerings **(i)**. Tree shrines are also a familiar part of Hindu practice. The holy is not understood to be limited to one place or object, but pervades the entire locale, every aspect of the natural and built environment. But the divine may be addressed at one site, marked by a tree or sculpture or image, like the sacred tree reproduced here **(j)**, a station along the road where passersby stop to pray or make an offering or simply to remember the goodness of the deity honored there.

In other instances, sacred spaces are constructed from local materials, which allow for an international religious

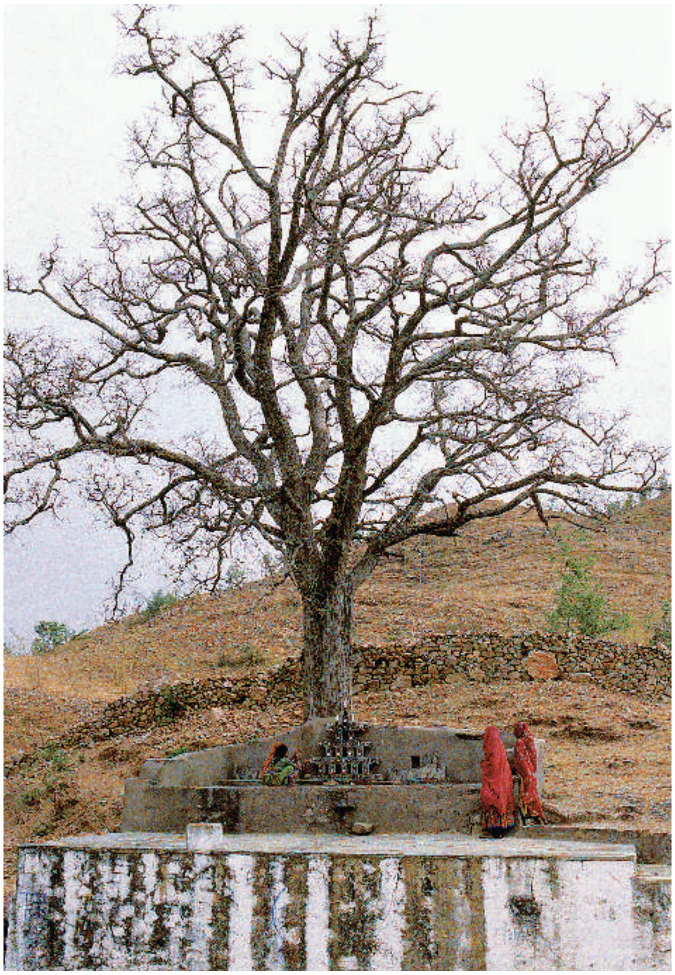

(i) Hindu pilgrims gather along the Ganges River in Vārāṇasī, (Banaras) an important pilgrimage site in northern India. *[©Brian A. Vikander/Corbis]* **(j)** A Hindu tree shrine, marked by a wooden sculpture, in the Udaipur district in Rajasthan, India. *[©Photograph by Stephen P. Huyler]*

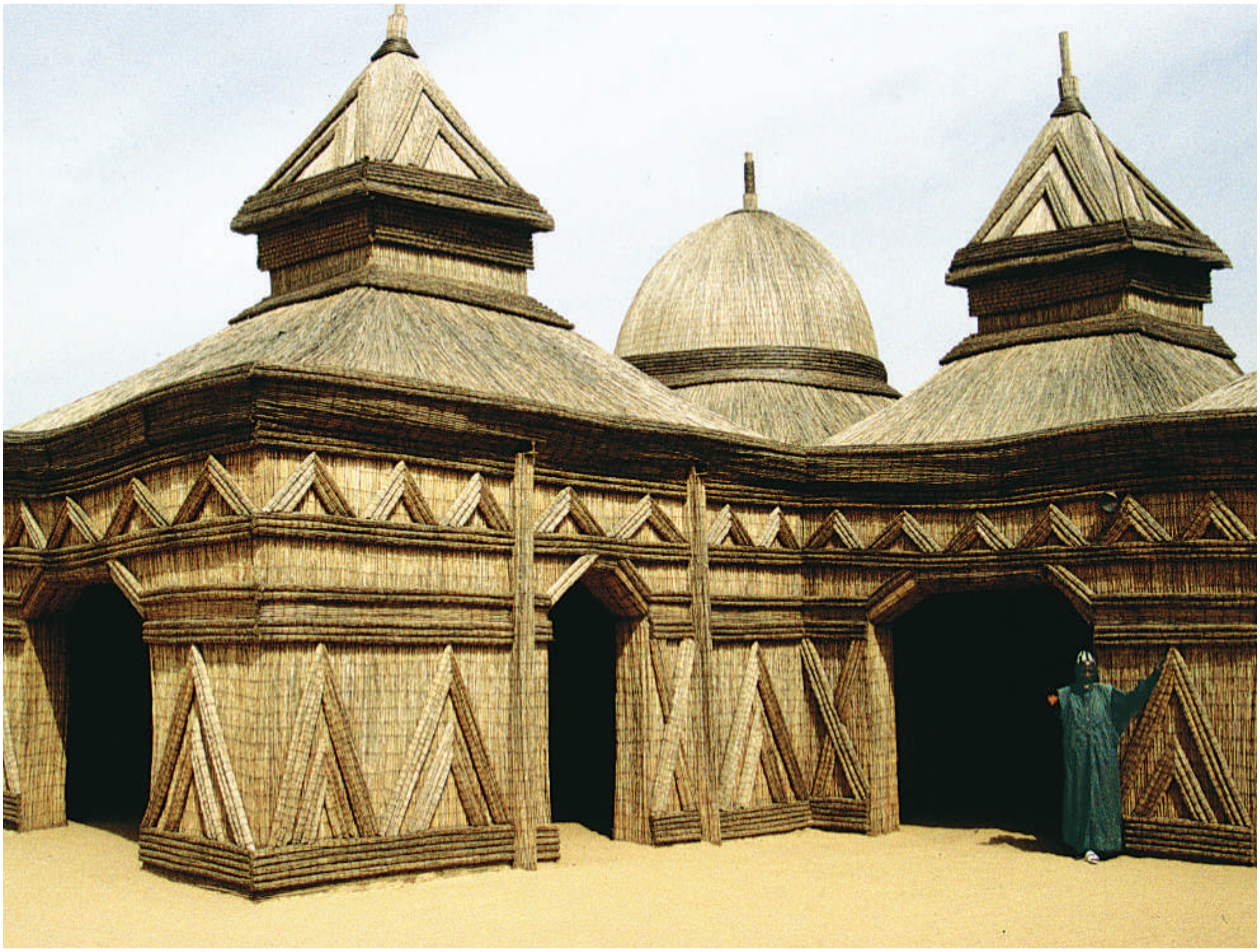

(k) An elaborate compound made from reeds by disciples of Serigne Omar Sy, a Sūfī holy man in Djourbel, Senegal. *[Photograph by Mary N. Roberts and Allen F. Roberts]*

tradition to assume indigenous roots. The elaborate reed construction of a compound **(k)** at Djourbel, Senegal, was built by the followers of a local Sūfī holy man, Serigne Omar Sy, from the same material used to make the pens that write the word of God. Serigne Sy explained that the reed appeared to him in a dream and asked to be honored. Like Father Dobberstein's grotto in Iowa, the reed compound proceeded as a labor of love, in which followers of the Sūfī *marabout* joined to bring the dream to realization.

Still other sacred spaces are designed to recall the natural state of their site or components, as in the Zen rock garden **(l)** at Ryōanji in Kyoto, Japan. The Japanese Zen aesthetic seeks to amplify the peculiar characteristics of objects such as trees, bushes, rocks, or streams by carefully cultivating their natural setting. By surrounding the rock garden with walls and raking the pebbles into long rows that caress the contours of island-like boulders, the garden evokes a kind of microcosm. Absorbed in meditation, Zen practitioners may experience many levels of reality in a stillness that undermines the mind-body and

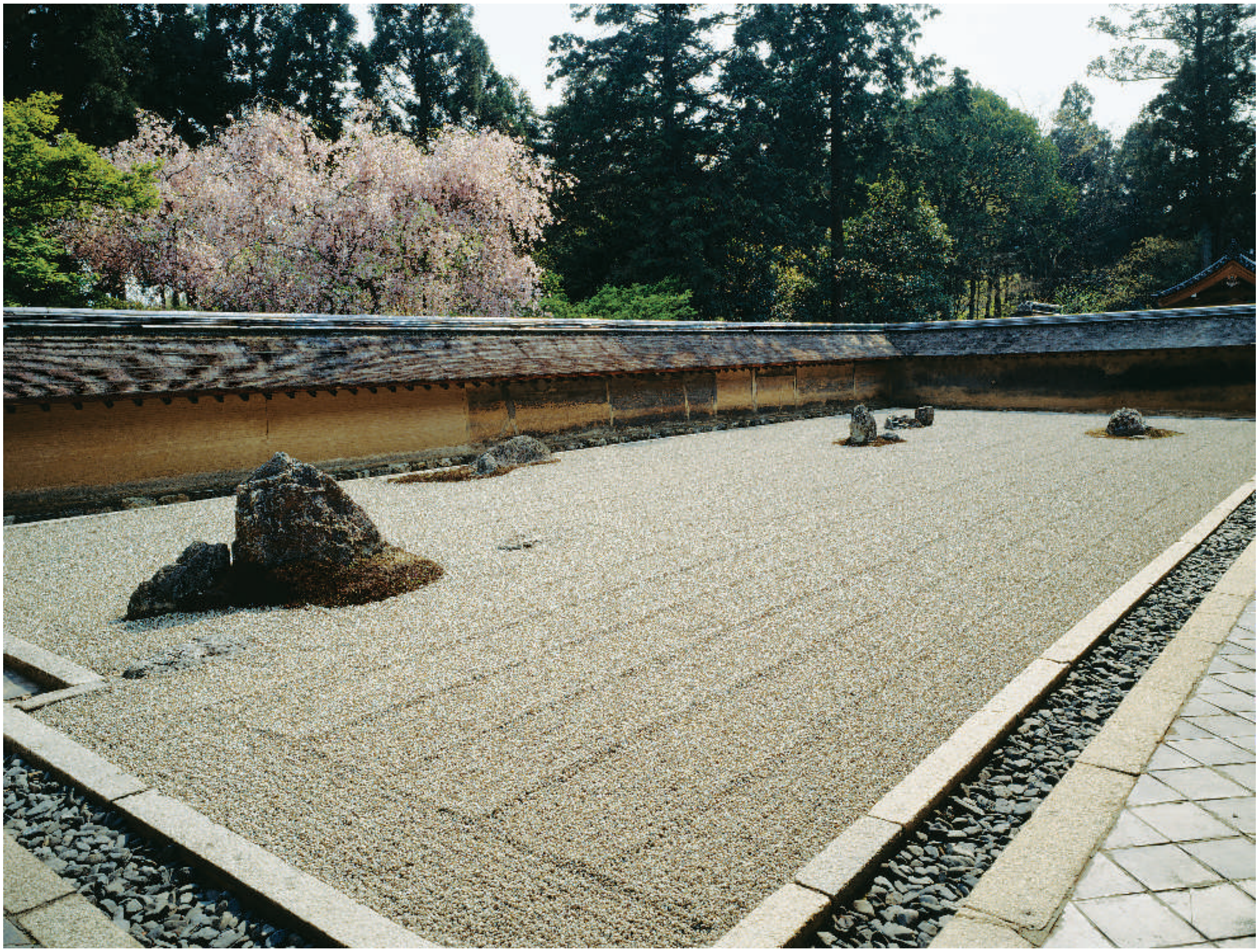

(l) A Japanese Zen rock garden, constructed in the 1480s, at Ryōanji in Kyoto. *[©Archivo Iconographico, S.A./Corbis]*

human nature dualities that Buddhists believe condemn human beings to suffering and illusion. There is no intrinsic or autonomous power in this space. Its elements may be changed, but when they are, it is in accord with an aesthetic sensibility that recognizes the power of forms to serve as suggestive prompts to meditation.

A final source for sacred space is appropriation: the adoption of a nonreligious form of built environment for sacred purposes. This occurs in modern urban societies with great frequency when small congregations or charismatic religious leaders acquire an abandoned store and convert it to a church or temple **(m)**. Given the expense of building anew, storefront churches are an affordable alternative. But convenience is not all they are about as sacred spaces. They offer congregants a space of their own that they modify to suit their practical purposes but also to act as public signage. And the appropriated spaces situate the sacred not in elaborate, dedicated structures, but in small, adapted environments that do not lose in most instances their connection to the surrounding secular world. Many storefront Christian and Spiritual-

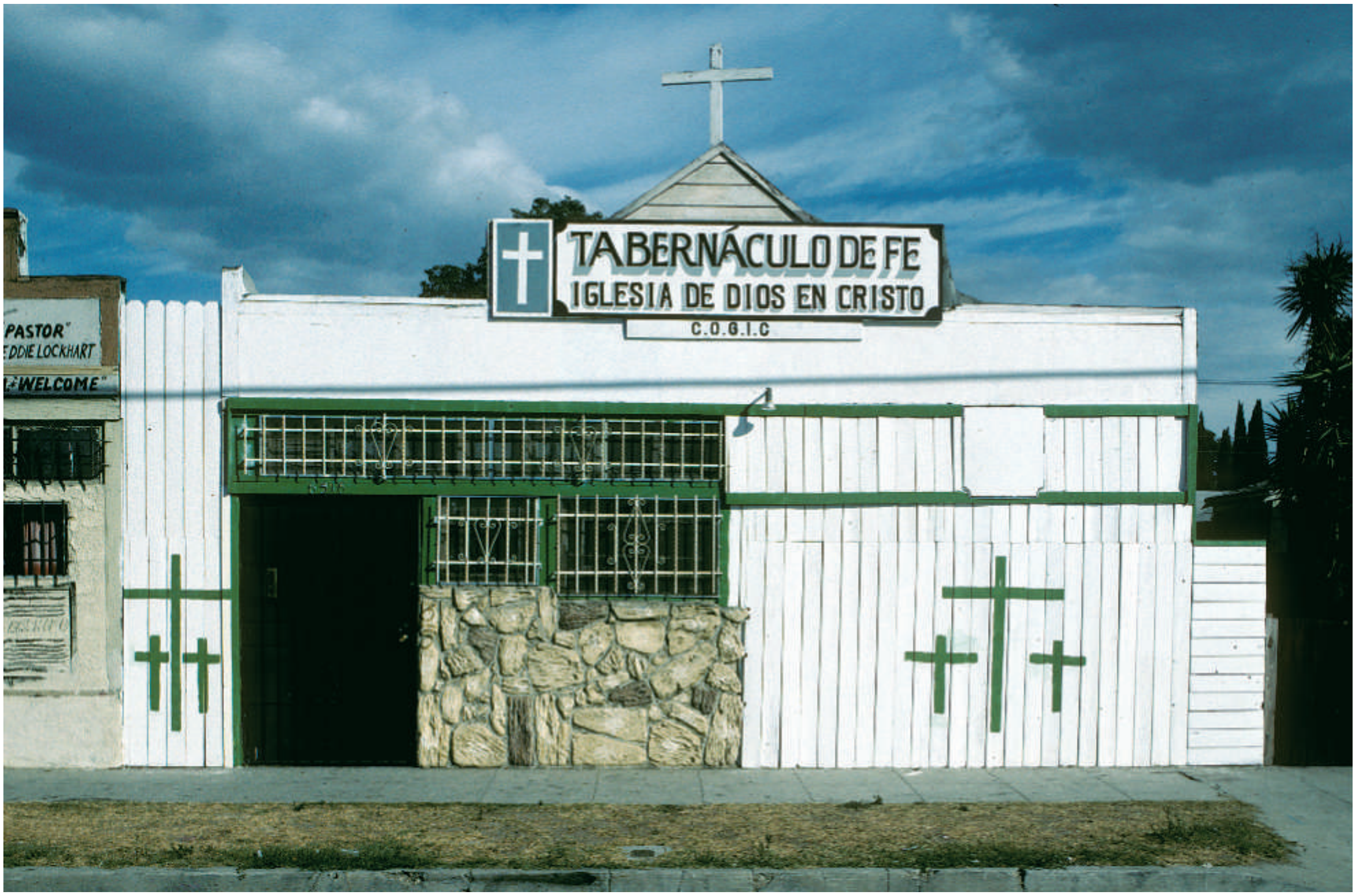

(m) Tabernáculo de Fe, Iglesia de Dios en Cristo (Tabernacle of Faith, Church of God in Christ), a storefront church in South-Central Los Angeles. Photograph by Camilo Vergara. *[©Camilo José Vergara. Reproduced by permission]*

ist churches in the United States operate ministries of outreach among the downtrodden and those who suffer from alcohol and drug abuse, broken homes, joblessness, poor health, and chronic poverty. While they might long for wealth, health, and homes in the suburbs, those who belong to or are served by storefront churches often find in them a supportive community organized around charismatic preachers and healers whose churches are outposts in a brutal and dangerous landscape. The sacred is not the space itself, but what happens there.

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DAVID MORGAN (2005)

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CONTINUED

ETERNITY is the condition or attribute of divine life by which it relates with equal immediacy and potency to all times. The notion emerges at the point of contact of three distinct religious concerns. The oldest of these is the question of the state of life after death, especially in light of the continuing presence of the dead among the living as acknowledged in the various forms of the cult of the dead. A later-developing speculative concern is the question about divine creation, especially when creative power is seen as the production in a divine mind of a world of ideas, a *logos* or paradigm made present in this world as in an image. Finally, there is the concern with contemplative or mystical experience, especially when regarded as a way of partaking of the divine life within the conditions of present existence. Reflection on these themes converges upon the notion of a dimension of life that is "vertically" related to the "horizontal" flowing of time, that transcends time without being apart from it.

Because eternity touches each and every time, it is easily confused with the closely related concept of what "always was, is, and will be," or, in a word, the everlasting. But in its own proper concept, the eternal only "is"; only in the present tense can it be said to be or act in any way. Exempted from all having-been and going-to-be, eternity is familiarly defined as timelessness, in distinction from the everlasting (sometimes also called the sempiternal). The everlasting antecedes and outlasts everything that begins and ends in time, but because it is just as much given over to being partly past, partly future as are things that come to be and perish, it is therefore just as much in time. Eternity, on the other hand, does not transcend finite spans of time extensively, but intensively. It draws the multiplicity of times into a unity no longer mediated by relations of precedence and posteriority and therefore, at least in this specific sense, no longer timelike.

Yet it oversimplifies to call eternity timelessness. Though eternity excludes pastness and futurity, it remains correct to speak of it as presence, which after all is one of the three fundamental determinations of time. In the Platonic tradition, which gave the concept its classical development and passed it on through Muslim and Christian theology

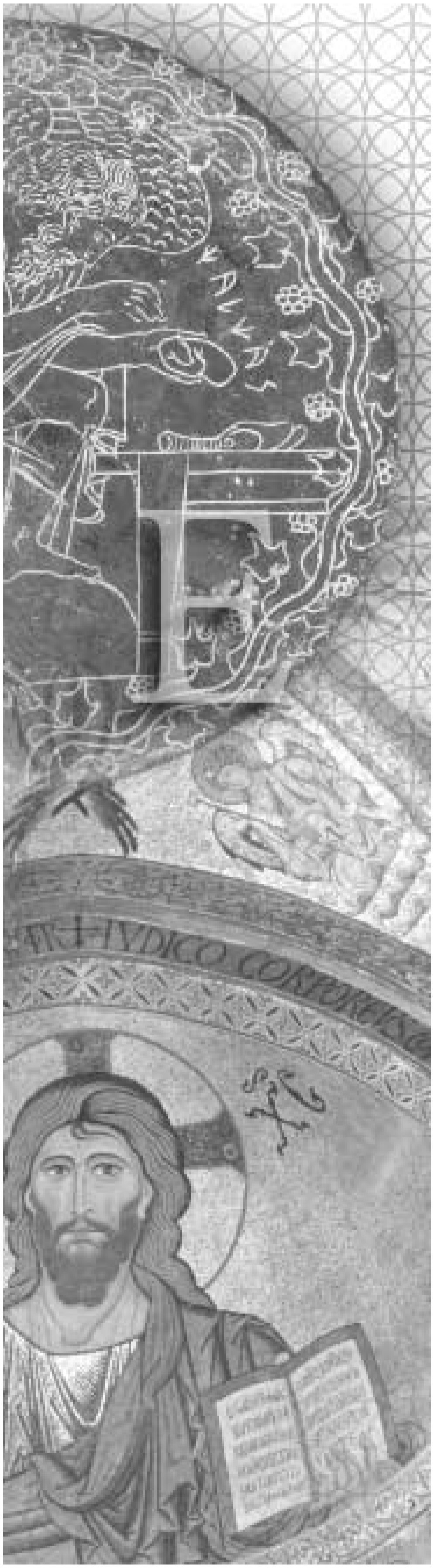

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT CORNER. Colossus of Ramses II at the Temple of Amun in Karnak, Egypt. *[©Gian Berto Vanni/Corbis]*; Coptic ceremonial fan depicting Ethiopian saints. *[©Werner Forman/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Reverse of an early-fourth-century BCE Etruscan bronze mirror showing the mythical seer Calchas dressed as an haruspex and examining an animal liver. Museo Gregoriano Profano, Vatican Museums. *[©Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Twelfth-century mosaic of Jesus as Pantocrator. Duomo di Cefalu, Sicily. *[©Adam Woolfitt/Corbis]*; Glazed pottery eagle from second- to third-century CE Italy. Museo Ostiense, Ostia. *[©Erich Lessing/Art Resource, N.Y.]* .

to modern European philosophy, the present tense retains its temporal sense in affirmations concerning eternity. In this way the Western notion of eternity differs from some Buddhist accounts of *nirvāṇa,* into which not just pastness and futurity but presence as well are dissolved. Platonic eternity by contrast is a paradigmatic presence, and the present in time is its partial but authentic image.

The present is called the "now." Latin metaphysics spoke therefore of eternity as *nunc stans,* a "standing now," and of time as *nunc fluens,* a "flowing now." Since the now of time, which is always experienced as having a certain duration, converges under logical analysis toward the limiting concept of the instantaneous, the dimensionless moment of transition, the problem arises whether the eternal Now is itself a kind of frozen instant, a durationless simplicity about which no experiences of life in time are instructive. Remarkably, the single feature most vividly affirmed of eternity by its classic expositors is that it is life, and not just life but divine life, "a god, manifesting himself as he is," as the third-century CE Neoplatonist mystic Plotinus says in one place (see the following). How does one incorporate a religious discourse in which eternity is divine life into the stark conceptual analyses of pure metaphysics, which seem to lead to a static, almost mathematical abstraction?

The synthesis of logical, psychological, and theological analyses into a rigorous conception of eternity is proprietary to the Platonic philosophical tradition, and is in many ways the single-handed achievement of Plotinus. There are rather complete analogies to the concept in some of the Upaniṣads in India, but in Asia one finds in the main only partial parallels; the metaphysical cake that is the complex Western idea is there cut apart in different ways, so to speak. Pending the outcome of more penetrating philosophical study than the Asian texts have so far received from Western translators and historians, the story of eternity remains at present the story of the Plotinian synthesis, its sources and its influences. The discussion that follows reflects this situation. It reviews, in decreasing detail (1) the classic Platonic conception of eternity as Plotinus understands it, (2) the place of this conception in its own, mainly European, spiritual history, and (3) those points in Indian and Asian philosophy where search for analogous intuitions most plausibly might begin.

PLATONIC ETERNITY IN PLOTINUS. In the Platonic tradition, eternity and time are regularly considered together. They make up in fact a single topic, in the old literary sense of the Greek term *topos* ("place"), where it refers to a particular place in a canonical text. The discussion of eternity invariably proceeds among Platonists as a meditation on the place in the *Timaeus* of Plato where eternity is described as "abiding in unity" and time as an "eternal image of eternity, moving according to number" (37d). At a minimum, this passage imposes the idea that eternity and time are in some respect comparable to one another. But Neoplatonism makes a stronger claim for a vision of eternity and time as extremes of a continuum. Life itself, the interior life of the soul, bridges the gap according to Plotinus, and this makes possible an account of the experience of eternity itself.

In some ways it is an extremely familiar experience. Consider reading a book that one finds completely compelling, that draws one along in apparently inexhaustible attentiveness and interest. Hours can pass unregistered; it can be shocking to discover how much time has passed, and how meaningless that fact seems compared with the inner composure and vividness of the interval. Any activity that is intensely self-collected, full of purposiveness and power, can generate this effect—not just intellectual but also aesthetic, even physical activity such as dancing or athletics.

Experiences of this kind are a threshold for the pure experience of eternity, contemplation. It is important to notice that they are not without duration, indeed they are rich in inner activity and movement. One experiences something like time in them, but a time that arises more than passes, that gives rather than takes. An inexhaustible power seems to well up within oneself. When, as is inevitable, the spell is broken, one speaks of having fallen away from that power, not of the power itself having lapsed.

Plotinus calls this power the life of the Mind, and in order to express its inexhaustibility says that it is infinite, limitless. In earlier Greek philosophy, to be infinite was to be indefinite, without form or intelligibility, wholly a negative condition. Plotinus too portrays the intelligible world of Platonic Ideas as finite, formally and structurally. But grasped within the living Mind that is its origin and substrate, it is limitlessly vivacious, a world "boiling with life" (6.7.12). The living and dynamic quality of eternal Mind is as central a theme in Plotinus as its simplicity and composure, and is expressed in a remarkable passage where he says that "its nature is to become other in every way," accomplished in a "wandering" (*planē,* as of the planets) within itself that is like a ceaseless adventure on the "plain of truth" (6.7.13).

For the soul that awakens to this presence of mind, the experience is like a homecoming, a coming into oneself rather than a journey to another self or state of existence. The old Platonic image of this movement as an *anamnēsis,* an unforgetting, depended on the Orphic mythical theme of the preexistence of the soul and was therefore easily understood to be a recollection from elsewhere and elsewhen, so to speak. But in Plotinus *anamnēsis* is altogether what it is in Augustine also, an interior conversion of the soul completed in contemplative immediacy—conversion both in the sense of a turning, from distracting cares to tranquil insight, and of a transformation, from the condition of life that is soul to that of pure intellectual apprehension or Mind.

Because the condition of the life of the soul is time, humans fall away from presence of mind in a recurrent downward movement that makes one's encounter with eternity multiple and episodic. Yet, "if you look attentively at it again, you will find it as it was" (3.7.5). In that contemplation one will be one's self again, self-possessed and self-contained, puzzled by the vulnerability to scatteredness and confusion into which the soul falls in time. A traditional term for the self-possession of eternal life is *stasis,* still used in English, and especially in the familiar complaint that the eternity of Greek metaphysics is "static." This is a fundamental misunderstanding.

Stasis means "staying, standing rather than falling, holding together rather than lapsing into dispersion." One can get the sense of eternal stasis best from the English word *homeostasis,* as used in biology to name the dynamic composure that the very diverse movements of metabolism and organic activity maintain within a living system. The simplicity and unity of eternal life is that of a homeostasis, a self-enveloping completion that is at the same time the space for an unlimited enjoyment of activity, purpose, and power.

"Hence," Plotinus writes, "eternity is a majestic thing, and thought declares it identical with the god." He goes on: "Eternity could be well described as a god proclaiming and manifesting himself as he is, that is, as being which is unshakeable and self-identical and always as it is, and firmly grounded in life." From this follows the definition: Eternity is "life that is here and now endless because it is total and expends nothing of itself" (3.7.5).

Familiar in the Latin West through the paraphrase of Boethius, "interminabilis vitae tota simul et perfecta possessio" ("the all-at-once total and perfect possession of endless life," *The Consolation of Philosophy* 5.6), the Plotinian experience of eternity marks the divine life as a presence and opens the route of human approach to this life through contemplative mysticism.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND CONSEQUENCE. The Greek term that translates as "eternity" in Plato and Plotinus is *aiōn,* and this has given many students of the history of the notion pause. *Aiōn* survives in English in the Latinized spelling *aeon,* and here retains much of its original meaning. *Aiōn* means "life, span of life, lifetime; epoch, aeon." While it never suggests duration simply on the level of measure or standard interval, even the Homeric places where it comes closest to meaning "inner life force" include strongly the suggestion of power to perdure, of life reaching out to take up its proper span of time. It seems a very timelike term, not only because of its connotation of span or duration, but because beginning, middle, and end belong so much to the kind of totality or completion it expresses still in English.

The term first occurs in surviving fragments of early Greek philosophy in the fifth-century BCE writer Heraclitus, in the gnome "*Aiōn* is a child playing a board game; the kingly power is a child's" (Heraclitus, B52). The translation "eternity" is clearly inadmissible; those translators who instead supply "time" have good cause. Heraclitus's theme is the spontaneity and immanence of the laws or patterns manifest in the give-and-take of natural processes; the intelligibility of constant change is not outside nature like a god, but the cosmos is in and by itself an "Everliving Fire, flaring up by measure, dying down by measure" (B30). Under the control of this ruling image, *aiōn* again means a form of completion embracing birth and death and the process that weaves them together.

It is not at all clear to what degree Plato distinguishes between the adjectival form *aiōnios,* "eternal," and another term *aïdios,* "everlasting." Because in fact he inclines to the (false) etymology that takes *aiōn* from *aei ōn,* "always being," he gives place to the very confusion the Neoplatonists are most concerned to prevent. In the very text in *Timaeus* that becomes decisive, he says of *aiōn* that "its nature is everlasting [*aïdios*]" (37d).

Among consequences of this situation is a protracted controversy among the Hellenistic Platonists of the centuries around the beginning of the common era concerning what is called "the eternity of the world." The question was whether, as Aristotle argues in the *Metaphysics* (12.6), the world is everlasting and has no beginning in time or whether, as *Timaeus* would suggest if its mythical form were given substantive import, the world began to be at some definite time. Alexandrian Jewish and later Christian Platonists tended to join the argument on the latter side, partly through their effort to coordinate the story in *Timaeus* with that of *Genesis.* It should be clear that once the rigorous nontemporal concept of eternity had been established, it was a mistake to call this question the question of the "eternity" of the world, but only Augustine (*Confessions* 11) diagnoses the category mistake with full philosophical precision.

The antecedents of the Neoplatonic conception of eternity lie not in the lexicography of the term's classical philosophical usage, but in the associations it takes on through the constant interaction of Platonic image and argument with popular religious consciousness. This includes first of all the concern with immortality and afterlife, the context for talk of the eternal life of the soul. Because this concern is profoundly rooted in the archaic, mythological sensibility and its experience of the structure that Mircea Eliade has called "eternal return," it made available the notion of another time, a transcending and divine time that could intersect with mundane time, embedding life in a dimension that surpasses birth and death. The eternity that can be abstracted from this archaic experience is an eternal past more than the eternal present of the proper concept; fundamental imaginative possibilities were appropriated from this origin. The mediating religious context was in large measure the emergence of the mystery religions in the Greco-Roman world, among them the mysteries of baptism and of table blessing central to Christianity.

Aiōn in the New Testament is principally an apocalyptic term, qualified as "this aeon" as against "the aeon to come" (synoptic Gospels, Paul). It shares with the rest of the apocalyptic scenario a Persian, Zoroastrian background, and in a few Pauline or deutero-Pauline places (e.g., *Col.* 1:26, *Eph.* 3:9) seems to be personified in the sense of an equation of Aion with Zurwān, an equation that sets the stage for the florid multiplication of such personified aions in the gnostic literature of the second century CE. Though there has been speculation that this kind of connection between Mediterranean and Near Eastern symbolism contributed to the emergence of the novel Neoplatonic sense of *aiōn,* it seems preferable to portray this as a digression.

A richer question is whether "eternal life" in the *Gospel of John* is consonant with the radical Platonic idea, or already on common ground with it. The predominance of present-tense statements by the glorified Son in that text ("Before Abraham was, I am," *Jn.* 8:58, et al.), its transformation of apocalyptic into realized eschatology, and its eucharist of epiphany and participation ("He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me, and I in him," *Jn.* 6:56) made it possible for Christian Neoplatonism of the Augustinian type to embrace the strict nontemporal eternity without sensing any violence in its interpretation of scripture.

The story of the appropriation of Plotinian contemplative mysticism by later Christian and Muslim theology defeats summary. Suffice it to say that the Neoplatonic system was adapted to biblical monotheism with considerable penetration and accuracy, especially by Augustine and the Latin tradition through Boethius and Bonaventure, by the apophatic tradition from Dionysius the Areopagite through John Scottus Eriugena to Meister Eckhart, and by Ṣūfī philosophy. The close connection between the theoretical role of eternity as an attribute or name of God and its experiential richness as an element of contemplative spirituality remained characteristic of these traditions.

A certain purely logical interest in the eternity/time contrast, detectable already in Boethius (responding more to Porphyry than Plotinus) and Thomas Aquinas, was amplified by the new mathematical spirit of the metaphysics of the seventeenth century, resulting in the reduction of eternal presence to a kind of schematic simplicity illustrated particularly clearly in the system of Spinoza. The effect was to dissociate the speculative notion from its experiential basis, producing in the end the degraded conception of eternity as lifeless stasis or logical tenselessness that has been the target of complaint in historicist, existentialist, and process theologies of the past century.

ETERNITY IN NON-WESTERN THOUGHT. It is a commonplace that the religious themes of afterlife, divine creation, and the nature of the soul are drawn together in different patterns by non-Western traditions. The Buddha is represented as holding that speculation on none of these furthers one toward enlightenment. It is no surprise to find that a concept like eternity, which emerges at the intersection of these themes in Platonism and then becomes influential precisely through its adaptability to biblical theology, does not always have strict analogies in other religious discourse.

The exegetical and hermeneutical complications that derive from this situation have not always been registered in the translations of non-Western sources. Only some preliminary pointers about other treatments of eternity are here appropriate.

The striking parallels that are being discovered between Neoplatonism and Vedānta philosophy appear to hold also in the case of eternity. The Sanskrit *nitya* can be translated "eternity" with some confidence already in Upaniṣads, especially at the point where "immortality," *amṛta,* is pressed beyond the popular image of outliving death, or life after death, to the radical notion of *mokṣa,* "liberation," deliverance from the cycle of birth and death itself. The fundamental conception in the Upaniṣads that the authentic self, the *ātman,* gathered into its own interior unity from the levels of psychic life, is one with *brahman,* the universal spirit, is developed in ways that regularly parallel the account of the authentic self on the level of the *Nous,* or divine Mind, in Plotinus. It is less clear, however, whether the eternal present, self-consolidated beyond all passage through birth and death, is to be found in the Vedas.

Buddhism presents a much more complex situation. The negative assessment of timelike continuity and the rejection of substantiality and causality that are frequent in Buddhist philosophy lead to descriptions of enlightenment that often have a Platonic ring. In Buddhism, the parallels are particularly pronounced in the meditative traditions that emphasize "sudden enlightenment," where the unconditioned and spontaneous quality of transcendental insight (Skt., *prajñā*) is stressed. In the Mahāyāna Pure Land tradition, the paradisical Sukhāvatī ("land of bliss") of the Buddha Amitābha is sometimes developed in ways reminiscent of the Platonic world of ideal presences, pervaded by divine mentality. If there is an authentic parallel here to the notion of eternity, this will have to be tested by careful analysis of the account of temporal presence itself, for it is this that is ascribed to eternity by Platonism, and in turn made the image of eternity and mark of authentic being for life in time. In those radical portrayals of *nirvāṇa* as release from all forms of temporal conditioning, not just pastness and futurity, but presence itself sometimes seems to be denied of awakened mind.

A focal problem in the search for analogy to eternity in Chinese thought is the proper account of the first line of the *Dao de jing,* often translated, "The Dao that can be spoken is not the eternal Dao [*chang dao*]." "Eternal" may overtranslate *chang;* the core meaning is closer to "steadfast," "constant," "abiding." The parallel seems strongest to *aiōn* at the stage it had reached in Heraclitus. It needs study whether the idealization found in the Vedānta or late Platonic pattern is appropriate for interpretation of this text.

Special wariness should be reserved for the use of the phrase "eternal life" in describing prephilosophical doctrines of immortality and afterlife, or "eternal return" for the transcendental relation of divine life to mundane in the experience of cyclical time that is fundamental in myth-using cultures. Most commonly what is meant by "eternal" in this context is "perpetual" or "everlasting." Whether the primordial time of beginnings, the transcendent past of divine creative action, is a predecessor of the eternal present is a separate question that needs careful consideration. While the proper notion of eternity may be very near the surface in Egypt, it is much less likely to exist in the preliterate cultures for which the cycle of death and rebirth is a naturalistic image more than a philosophical idealization.

SEE ALSO Anamnēsis; Plotinus; Sacred Time.

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PETER MANCHESTER (1987)
Revised Bibliography

ETHICAL CULTURE, a movement dedicated to the ethical improvement of society and the ethical growth of the individual, was inaugurated with the founding of the New York Society for Ethical Culture in May 1876 by Felix Adler and a group of his Jewish supporters. Adler was the son of Rabbi Samuel Adler of New York's Temple Emanu-El, and he was expected to succeed his father in this cathedral pulpit of American Reform Judaism. But having been exposed in German universities to nineteenth-century science, Kantian philosophy, and historical criticism of religion, he came to reject theism and the finality of Jewish theology even in its most liberal form. His new faith consisted of a passionate belief in the inviolability and power of the moral law and the duty to apply it to society, especially to the problems of industrialization, urbanization, and the working poor.

What initially began as a Sunday lecture movement, somewhat patterned after the Independent Church movement and free religious societies such as those of O. B. Frothingham, grew under Adler's leadership to become a vital organization spearheading social reforms and social reconstruction. Adler's personal magnetism drew a membership of well more than one thousand to the society by the early 1880s, mostly but not exclusively people of Jewish origin. He also attracted ethically idealistic and socially committed people of liberal Christian background whom he helped groom to be leaders of other Ethical Culture societies. The Ethical Culture movement took on a national flavor as Adler's apprentices organized new societies in other cities: William M. Salter, Chicago, 1883; S. Burns Weston, Philadelphia, 1885; Walter L. Sheldon, Saint Louis, 1886. The American societies federated as a national organization in 1889, the American Ethical Union, and over the years, new societies springing up in urban and suburban areas across the country (Brooklyn, Westchester County, Washington, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, Cleveland, Essex County, N.J.) were added to its roster. By 1930, membership in American Ethical Culture societies numbered about thirty-five hundred, and by the mid-1980s, membership in the more than twenty societies totaled approximately five thousand. (The largest society remains the New York branch, at about one thousand.)

Ethical Culture became truly international in scope in the 1890s. The London Ethical Society had been founded in 1886, with such distinguished thinkers participating as Bernard Bosanquet, Edward Caird, and Leslie Stephen, and British interest had been spurred when Stanton Coit, another Adler apprentice, arrived in 1887 and led London's South Place Chapel into the Ethical Culture movement. Coit subsequently created a British Ethical Union in 1896. The movement reached Germany, where a society was founded in Berlin in 1892, and societies also appeared in France, Austria, Italy, Switzerland, and Japan in this new decade. The various societies, each with its own nuanced organizational goals and ethical approaches, were in contact and quite cognizant of each other's activities. At a Zurich meeting in 1896 they created an international confederation, the International Ethical Union, which kept member organizations in touch with each other and which also convened world congresses devoted to specific themes, such as those in London (1908) and the Hague (1912). In the wake of World War II the union became moribund, but in 1952 humanist organizations joined with Ethical Culture societies led by the American Ethical Union to found the International Humanist and Ethical Union with member groups in North and Latin America, Europe, Africa, Asia, and Australia.

Whether or not Ethical Culture is judged a religion depends on one's definition of *religion* and one's inclination either to use or not use the word to designate an ethical humanist posture. Felix Adler did regard Ethical Culture to be a religion and in his later years tried to work out a metaphysic to express it. Still, he adamantly insisted that Ethical Culture embraced all in ethical fellowship regardless of diverse approaches and different names given to the quest for meaning in life. This openness has clearly persisted to this day. Nonetheless, the societies do assume the guise of a religious organization to some extent. (In the United States, many are incorporated as "religious and educational" institutions in their respective states.) A weekly meeting is usually held on Sunday morning or evening (in Germany, during the weekdays), consisting of music, an inspirational reading, and a major address on a topical issue, usually with an eye to its ethical implications. There are no symbols or ritual acts, although the English societies tend to be a bit more ceremonial. Ethical leaders officiate at life-cycle events such as marriage and funerals; they come individually from a variety of social and intellectual backgrounds and may have previous religious affiliations. There is no Ethical Culture seminary, but each prospective leader undertakes a personally tailored training program administered by the Leadership Training Committee of the American Ethical Union.

No established Ethical Culture ideology exists, although general principles certainly have been articulated. To a large extent, Adler's early motto, "Not the creed, but the deed," still serves as the unifying theoretical orientation of Ethical Culture, although with a deepened and richer meaning than Adler himself provided. Members are free to believe what they wish on all issues, including religion, but they generally subscribe to the following ideals: (1) the intrinsic worth of each human being, (2) the importance of seeking ethical principles as a guide to all aspects of life, and (3) the need to work for the material and spiritual betterment of society and humanity.

This last commitment to applied social ethics rather than to any theoretical formulation of an ethical approach has been the quintessential characteristic of Ethical Culture from its inception. In this regard, the Ethical Culture movement, particularly in the United States, has been quite successful, far beyond its limited membership. Its leaders in the first four to five decades—Adler, Salter, Weston, Coit, John L. Elliott, Alfred Martin, David Muzzey, Henry Newman, Algernon D. Black, among others—were actively involved in most of the progressive causes of social welfare and reform. They and their societies were pioneers in the areas of education for young and old, tenement reforms, settlement work, legal aid societies, boys' clubs, good government clubs, and visiting nursing associations. Many of their ventures—free kindergarten (1877), district visiting nursing (1877), the Neighborhood Guild (1886), the Bureau of Justice (1888), the Arts High School (1913)—served as models for similar undertakings by urban communities. In more recent decades, Ethical Culture, while not a leader as it once was, has nevertheless been involved with significant programs supporting liberal social causes, such as prison reform, drug rehabilitation, the right to abortion. The movement has also sponsored journals of popular and scholarly nature to reflect on the ethical domain as it relates to public policy and philosophy: *Ethical Record* (1888); *International Journal of Ethics* (1890); *Ethical Addresses* (1895); *The Standard* (1914); *Ethical Outlook* (1956); *Ethical Forum* (1965).

SEE ALSO Adler, Felix; Morality and Religion.

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ETHICS

SEE BUDDHIST ETHICS; CHRISTIAN ETHICS; JEWISH THOUGHT AND PHILOSOPHY, *ARTICLE ON* JEWISH ETHICAL LITERATURE; MORALITY AND RELIGION

ETHIOPIAN CHURCH.

The Ethiopian or Abyssinian church, on the Horn of Africa, is one of the five so-called monophysite Christian churches that reject the Council of Chalcedon (451) and its formula of faith. The church does not call itself monophysite but rather Tāwaḥedo (Unionite; also spelled Tewahedo), a word expressing the union in Christ of the human and divine natures, to distinguish itself from the Eastern Orthodox churches, which accept the formulas accepted at Chalcedon. For the Tāwaḥedo Orthodox Church of Ethiopia, both Nestorius and Eutyches are heretics. Although formally under the jurisdiction of the Coptic church of Alexandria until 1950, the Ethiopian Orthodox church has managed to retain its indigenous language, literature, art, and music. It expects its faithful to practice circumcision, observe the food prescriptions set forth in the Hebrew scriptures (Old Testament), and honor Saturday as the Sabbath. The church has its own liturgy, including an horologion that contains the daily offices (initially for each of the twenty-four hours of the day), a missal of over fourteen anaphoras, the Deggwā (an antiphonary for each day of the year), doxologies (various collections of *nagś* hymns), and homiliaries in honor of the angels, saints, and martyrs. The most innovative aspect of this church is the provision in the Deggwā for the chanting of *qenē* (poetic hymns) in the liturgy. There are several types of *qenē* varying in number of lines from two to eleven, which one of the clergy usually improvises during the service in keeping with the spirit of *Psalms* 149:1, "Sing unto the Lord a new song."

Until the Ethiopian revolution of 1974, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (the population of which was at least sixteen million in the early twenty-first century, according to the World Council of Churches) had been a national church defended by the political leader of the country. The monarch's reign had to be legitimized by the church at a religious ceremony where the new king swore allegiance to the church and committed himself to defend the Christian kingdom.

EARLY HISTORY. Historians disagree in assigning a date to the introduction of Christianity into Ethiopia, depending upon which Ethiopian king they think first adopted the faith. The conversion of the monarch, however, is a poor indication of the date of that introduction because not only was he by no means among the country's first converts, but also because until about 960, the monarchy changed hands so frequently that the ruler was not as consistently Christian as were certain segments of the population. We should also be wary of using the local tradition that the Ethiopian eunuch Qināqis (*Acts* 8:26–39) was martyred teaching Christianity in Ethiopia as evidence of the country's conversion. However, we do know that Adulis, the famous port of Ethiopia, and Aksum, the capital, were frequented by Christian traders from the Hellenistic world since the early history of Christianity. Some of these settled there, forming Christian communities and attracting to their religion those with whom they interacted daily.

Ethiopia officially joined the Christian world when Frumentius was consecrated its first bishop by Athanasius of Alexandria in about 347. The contemporary historian Rufinus (*Ecclesiastical History* 1.9) tells us how this came about. A certain ship was attacked while calling on one of the Ethiopian ports. Of the voyagers, only two Syrian boys from Tyre (modern-day south Lebanon), Frumentius and Aedesius, escaped death. The boys were taken to the palace, where the king made Frumentius his secretary and Aedesius his cupbearer. Frumentius used his influence in the palace to facilitate the building of an oratory by the Christians in the city. This center was also used as a school where children, even those from non-Christian families, came to receive religious instruction. As soon as the two foreigners received their freedom, Frumentius went to Alexandria to ask the archbishop there to consecrate a bishop for the Christians in Ethiopia. Athanasius thereupon chose Frumentius to be the bishop of Aksum. Rufinus says that he received this story "from the mouth of Aedesius himself," who became a priest in Tyre. Even though Rufinus, like some other historians, calls the country India, there is no doubt that the story deals with Ethiopia. A letter from the Arian emperor, Constantius II (r. 337–361), to the rulers of Ethiopia, Ezana (ʿĒzānā) and Sazana, concerning Frumentius is extant in Athanasius's *Apology to Constantine* (*Patrologia Graeca,* ed. by J.-P. Migne, 25. 636–637). From Ezana's rule to the middle of the twentieth century, the head of the Ethiopian church remained a Copt. It was only in the twentieth century that an Ethiopian, Bāsleyos (1951–1970), was consecrated patriarch. It must be noted, however, that the Coptic metropolitan was in charge primarily of spiritual and theological matters. The administration of other church affairs was the responsibility of a native official with the title of *ʿaqqābē saʿāt* and subsequently *echagē.*

MEDIEVAL PERIOD. The Ethiopian church took many significant steps forward between the fourth and the seventh century. It vigorously translated a great deal of Christian literature from Greek. This included the Old Testament from the Septuagint and the New Testament from the Lucianic recension (the Greek Bible revised by Lucian of Antioch, d. 312) used in the Syrian church. The Ethiopian Bible of eighty-one books includes the *Book of Jubilees* and the *Book of Enoch*, two books that have been preserved in their entirety only in Ethiopic. The *Synodicon* (a collection of canon law), the *Didascalia Apostolorum* (a church order), the *Testament of Our Lord*, and the *Qalēmenṭos* (an apocalyptic writing ascribed to Clement of Rome) are also part of the Ethiopian canonical scriptures. The number of churches and monasteries also grew quickly. Traveling through Ethiopian territories in the sixth century, a Greek monk, Cosmas Indicopleustes, was impressed to see churches everywhere.

It has been suggested that the *Rule of Pachomius* and the theological writings of the Fathers in the *Qērelos* (including writings from Cyril of Alexandria, Epiphanius, et al.) were brought to Ethiopia by the so-called Nine Saints who came from the Hellenistic or Mediterranean world, including Egypt, in the sixth or seventh century. But any of the many travelers and anchorites (such as Abbā Yoḥannes Kamā) who came to Ethiopia much earlier than the Nine Saints might have brought them along with several other works. Our historical knowledge about the Nine Saints is not firmly based even though they are highly revered in the church as the founders of monasticism in Ethiopia.

Unfortunately for the faithful, the young church suffered encroachment and harassment by Islam, starting in the eighth century. Locally, too, a vassal queen of one of the provinces, Gudit, revolted and devastated the Christian civilization, paving the way for another dynasty, the Zāgwē (1137–1270).

The Zāgwē kings were more interested in religion than in politics. Many of them were priests as well as rulers, and the last four of the dynasty are, in fact, among the saints of the church. The building of the several rock-hewn churches in Lāstā (central Ethiopia) is ascribed to them. The so-called Solomonic dynasty, which was to overthrow them, would boast of its alleged descendance from Solomon of Israel, while the Zāgwē attempted to reproduce the holy places in their own land, calling their capital Roha (after Edessa), their river Yordanos (after Jordan), and so on.

In 1270 the clergy, led by Takla Hāymānot, the founder of the Monastery of Dabra Libanos (in Shewa), and Iyyasus Moʾa, the founder of the Monastery of Ḥayq Esṭifānos (in Amhara), collaborated with Yekunno Amlāk to overthrow the Zāgwē and to found the Solomonic dynasty. Although the Solomonic kings did not always observe the church's teaching, it was nonetheless during this period that indigenous religious literature flourished, and Christianity spread into the south and west through the efforts of the monks of Dabra Libanos of Shewa, the twelve *neburāna ed*, chosen by the metropolitan according to the number of the apostles.

RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSIES. Late in the medieval period and afterward, religious controversies arose because of objections by some to the tradition of undue reverence for the Cross, icons of the Madonna and Child, and the king. We hear of these disputes during the reign of Yāqbeʾa Ṣeyon (r. 1285–1294), and they appear again in the days of Sayfa Arʿada (r. 1344–1372). The controversies became serious during the reign of Zarʾa Yāʿeqob (1434–1468), when an anchorite, Esṭifānos, succeeded in attracting to his teaching of rejection of the tradition many monks who, like him, refused to be shaken by the dreadful persecution that ensued. Another controversy, this time involving the Coptic church also, centered around the Sabbath observance of Saturday in addition to Sunday. Several monasteries, led by the monk Ēwosṭātēwos (d. 1369), successfully defied the decree of the king and the Coptic metropolitan that sought to abolish the practice of observing the first Sabbath (Saturday). But the most serious controversy dealt with the concept of the unity and trinity of God. The church taught that each being in the Trinity (three suns with one light) has a form or image, *malkeʿ*, which must look like that of a human because humans were created in God's image (*Gen.* 1:27). The heretics, followers of Zamikāʾēl, while admitting that God has an image, refused to define a form, quoting *John* 1:18—"No one has seen God." They also maintained a different theology of the unity and trinity of God (one sun with three attributes—disc, light, and heat). Another dispute developed when some monasteries objected to the use of the Deggwā in the liturgy; this intricate collection of antiphonary hymns recommends dancing while chanting during service (*Ps.* 150:4). The number of canonical books and the inclusion of the pseudepigrapha and the pseudoapostolic writings in the canon were also challenged.

RELIGIOUS CIVIL WAR OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. The chronic skirmishes between the Christians and the Muslims in Ethiopia took a different form in the sixteenth century when the latter, led by Imām Ahmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ghāzī (or Ahmad Grāñ), sought and received help from the Turks. By this time also the astounding wealth of the individual churches in solid gold, silver, and precious clothes had become an irresistible booty and the *grāñ* sacked the monasteries and burned the churches of the empire for about fifteen years (1527–1542). The Christians turned to Portugal for help. The army of the imām collapsed when he was killed in early 1543. But it was about this time that the Cushitic people the Galla, who call themselves Oromo, migrated into Ethiopia en masse, destroying a great part of the Christian heritage that had escaped the *grāñ's* devastation.

THE JESUITS' ENTERPRISE. The Portuguese came to help the church in its war against Islam with the assumption that the lost flock, the church of Ethiopia, would come back to the Roman Catholic Church. The Ethiopians, however, were never ready to abandon their faith. The pressure of the Jesuits, however, which started with missionaries sent by Pope Julius III (1487–1555), continued until the seventeenth century, when they succeeded in converting Emperor Suseneyos (r. 1607–1632) to Catholicism. In 1626 a Catholic patriarch, Alphonsus Mendez, came from Rome, and the emperor issued a decree that his subjects should follow his own example. However, the sweeping change that Mendez attempted to introduce into the age-old religious traditions of the nation met with stiff resistance. Led by the monastic leaders, tens of thousands of the faithful were martyred. The Catholic missionaries were finally asked to leave, and the emperor was assassinated, even though he had abdicated the throne to his son Fāsiladas (r. 1632–1667). Fāsiladas was magnanimous with the Jesuits despite the fact that they had attempted to overthrow him by courting one of his brothers.

Even though the Jesuits left, the controversy stemming from their theology of the two natures of Christ continues to the present, taking a local character and creating schism in the Ethiopian church. Overtly, this controversy is centered on the theological significance of qebʾat, *unction* (*Acts* 10:38), and bakwr, *first-born* (*Rom.* 8:29), when applied to Christ the Messiah, the only Son of God. But those who raised these questions were clearly attempting to show the monophysites the implication of a theology of one nature in Christ, by drawing their attention to the distinct presence of the human nature in him and its inferior position vis-à-vis his divinity. For one group, the Kārroch, or Tāwaḥedo (the Unionists of Tegrāy), whose position the church has held officially since 1878, *unction* means the union of divinity with humanity: Christ, who is the ointment and the anointed, became the natural Son of God in his humanity through this union. For the Qebatoch (unctionists of Gonder and Gojam), *unction* means that Christ in his humanity became the natural Son of God through the unction of the Holy Spirit: God the Father is the anointer, the Son the anointed, and the Holy Spirit the ointment. The third group, the Ṣaggoch (adoptionists of Shewa), who are accused of tending toward Catholicism, believe that Christ in his humanity became the Son of God by grace through the unction of the Holy Spirit either in Mary's womb at the Annunciation or at the baptism. They call the occasion when he became the Son of God by grace a third birth for Christ, in relation to the eternal birth from the Father and the temporal birth from Mary, hence the heresy of the three births condemned at the Council of Boru Meda in Welo (central Ethiopia) in 1878. The Ṣaggoch vehemently oppose the notion that Christ became the natural Son of God in his humanity. They are, however, in the minority.

THE CHURCH OUTSIDE AFRICA. Designed to express its spiritual message and to perform the services in the local culture, the Ethiopian church is strictly local and national. In its history it has not engaged in any missionary activities beyond the frontiers that political leaders claimed to be territories of their ancestors. King Kālēb's expedition to Najrān (southern Arabia) in about 525, to rescue the Christians from the persecution of a Jewish ruler and to reorganize the Christian communities there, may not be considered sustained activity by the church outside Ethiopia. Even the Ethiopian churches in the Holy Land could not be exceptions to this historical fact, since they were built to serve Ethiopian nationals who visited the holy places in Palestine and Egypt. Ethiopian monastic communities have lived in Jerusalem since the Middle Ages, and they were Ethiopia's main window to the outside world. In modern times, there were also Ethiopian churches in the former British Somaliland, Kenya, and the Sudan, but they too were serving Ethiopian nationals, refugees who fled the 1936 to 1941 Italian occupation of Ethiopia.

In the 1950s the Ethiopian church was faced with a most unusual challenge. The local church was called upon to respond to the need for cultural and racial identity of the oppressed black people in Africa and the Americas. Churches with the term *Abyssinian* as part of their name started to emerge in these continents. Although the historical link between the Ethiopian church and these churches is lacking, and the Ethiopian church was not economically, educationally, and politically up to the challenge, delegates consisting of clergy were sent from Ethiopia to East Africa (still under British rule), the Caribbean region, and North America. The inevitable problems were how to attract the middle class to an African church and how to adapt the culturally alien church services to English-speaking communities in Africa and the Americas, not to mention the question of rebaptism. The compromise reached was to retain some parts of the liturgy in Geʿez and conduct the rest in English. This compromise was not only unsatisfactory to both the church authorities and congregations, but it also meant training the clergy, Ethiopians and non-Ethiopians alike, in Geʿez and English. In spite of several problems, the church is gaining strength, especially in the West Indies and the Caribbean (e.g., Jamaica, Guyana, Trinidad, and Tobago). The number of the faithful in the United States (New York, Washington, D.C., and Los Angeles) grew because of the influx of Ethiopian refugees fleeing the military Marxist repression that started with the overthrow of the monarchy in 1974.

In 1987 Ethiopia officially became the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, but a rebel movement later overthrew the government and with it centuries of Amharic rule. Eritrea declared its independence from Ethiopia following a UN-sponsored referendum in 1993, and the Orthodox Church of Eritrea broke away from the Ethiopian Church. In 1991 the patriarch of Ethiopia, Abune Merkorios, accused of collaboration with the communist authorities, was removed by the Holy Synod. Merkorios was replaced by Abune Paulos in 1992. Paulos is recognized as the patriarch by the Holy Synod of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tāwaḥedo Church inside Ethiopia. Merkorios went into exile in Kenya and is upheld as patriarch by the Holy Synod in Exile. Efforts continue to avert a permanent schism of the church.

SEE ALSO Aksumite Religion.

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Getatchew Haile (1987)

ETHNOASTRONOMY.

This article is limited to discussion of the ethnoastronomies of native South America because of their primary importance in the development of this area of study.

Patterns. In the ethnographic literature on indigenous South American Indian populations, there is a considerable body of evidence attesting to the importance of ethnoastronomical beliefs. These beliefs, expressed with varying degrees of emphasis in mythology and ritual, bear witness to longstanding traditions of astronomical observations undertaken for a variety of purposes, ranging from the construction of precise calendar systems to the production of symbols and metaphors for expressing enduring relationships that characterize interactions between men and women, social groups, humans and animals, and so forth. While there are no universally shared astronomical symbols, several recurrent thematic patterns emerge from a comparative study of the ways in which different groupings of celestial bodies are interrelated in the mythology and ritualism of the Andean and Tropical Forest (Amazonian and Orinocoan) religious traditions.

Sun and Moon. A clear expression of the notion of the thematic patterning of relations in an astronomical mode is found in a number of origin myths, especially those in which the origin of humans is thought to have occurred virtually simultaneously with their separation into different—but complementary—kinship or social categories (e.g., siblings, spouses, clans, or moieties). The Apinagé of the Araguaya River of Brazil hold that Sun created the two moieties and localized one (the Kolti moiety) in his own northern half of the circular villages while leaving the other (the Kolre) with his sister, Moon, in the south. The Apinagé held ceremonies directed to Sun during the planting and harvesting periods, while they invoked Moon to help the crops mature (Nimuendajú, 1967, p. 164). The pairing of Sun and Moon as, respectively, brother and sister is also found among the Tapirapé (Wagley, 1940, p. 256) and the Conibo (*Handbook of South American Indians,* 1948, p. 595; hereafter referred to as *H. S. A. I.*). Among the Chiriguano (H. S. A. I., 1948, pp. 483–484), the Kogi (Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1982, p. 178), and the Inca, Sun and Moon are simultaneously brother and sister and husband and wife. For the Xerente, who once occupied several villages southeast of the Apinagé along the Tocantins River, Sun and Moon are "companions" (i. e., neither siblings nor spouses), although each is associated with one of the two moieties. Sun, who is referred to by all Xerente regardless of their moiety affiliation as "Our Creator," communicated with the Siptato moiety through a group of intermediaries, including Venus, Jupiter, the Belt of Orion, and k Orionis; the intermediaries between Moon and the people of the Sdakra moiety are Mars, Carrion Vultures, and Seven Stars (probably the Pleiades; Nimuendajú, 1942, pp. 84–85). Through the association of Sun and Moon with linked pairs of complementary, yet often asymmetric and hierarchical, social categories (e.g., husband and wife, brother and sister, and the moieties), astronomical phenomena are made to participate in the process of classifying human society on the basis of fundamental dichotomies and processes (e.g., alliance and reproduction) that occur throughout the natural world. The relations between Sun and Moon serve as the "charter" for cosmic and social order throughout the succession of the generations. Yet just as inevitably as social order is established and maintained within each society by rules governing relations among different groups of people, the rules are forever being broken and the right order of things momentarily threatened. The inevitability of disorder arising from the violation of rules and prohibitions has its celestial reminder in the spots besmirching the face of the full moon. Throughout the mythological traditions of the tropical forest, the spots on the moon are commonly associated with incestuous relations, especially between brothers and sisters. In a typical example of this theme, the Záparoan-speaking tribes of the Marañón, Napo, and Pastaza rivers say that Moon was formerly a man who, in the dark of night, had sexual intercourse with his sister. In order to identify her lover, the girl one night smeared his face with genipa (a blue-black vegetable dye). Out of shame, the man went away to the sky and became the moon, his genipa-covered face being reexposed to the Záparo every month (*H. S. A. I.,* 1948, p. 649; cf. Roth, 1908–1909, p. 255; Wagley, 1940, p. 256). Asocial (incestuous) sexual relations may generally be compared with unproductive sexual encounters, which are everywhere signaled by menstruation. Among the contemporary Quechua of the Peruvian highlands, Sun (Inti) is male and Moon (Killa) is female; menses is referred to as *killa chayamushan* ("moon coming, or arriving"). Sun and Moon are also often associated with brightly colored birds or with the plumage of such birds. For example, the Trumai and the Paresí (*H. S. A. I.,* 1948, pp. 348, 360) say that Sun is a ball or headdress of red parrot feathers, while they identify Moon as a collection of yellow feathers. In the Záparo myth discussed above, the wife of the incestuous man who became the moon was herself simultaneously transformed into a night bird. And in a congeries of these various bird images and relations, the Tapirapé of central Brazil, west of the Araguaya River, say that Moon was the sister of Sun and that the latter wears a headdress of red parrot feathers. Sun is said to have slapped Moon's face with his genipa-covered hand because of her sexual misbehavior. Moon was married to a culture hero who divided all birds into two groups. Among the Tapirapé, the two men's moities are subdivided into three age grades, each of which carries the name of a bird (Wagley, 1940, p. 256).

The Milky Way. Aside from the sun and the moon, one other celestial phenomenon is important throughout the ethnoastronomies of South America: the Milky Way. The Milky Way serves as a means for organizing and orienting the celestial sphere in the spatial, temporal, and mythological dimensions. The Quechua-speakers of the Peruvian Andes refer to the Milky Way as a river *(mayu)* composed of two branches. The branches originate in the north within the cosmic sea that encircles the earth. Water is taken into the Milky Way, and the two branches separate, flowing away from each other toward the south, where they collide in the heavens near the Southern Cross. The foam *(posuqu)* stirred up by their collision is seen in the bright clouds of the southern Milky Way from the Southern Triangle to the False Cross in Carina. The two branches of the celestial river alternately rise, pass through the zenith, and set; one branch, when it stands in the zenith, passes from the northeast to the southwest, while the other branch passes from the northwest through the zenith to the southeast (Urton, 1981, pp. 54–63). The Barasana, a Tucanoan-speaking group on the Vaupés River in Colombia, conceive of the Milky Way as divided into two "star paths"; one, called New Path, is oriented southeast-northwest, while the other, Old Path, is oriented northeast-southwest. New Path and Old Path are the sites of most of the constellations recognized by the Barasana (Hugh-Jones, 1982, p. 182). For the Desána, another Tucanoan-speaking group of the Vaupés region, the Milky Way, as a single construct, is likened to a river, a trail in the forest, an immense cortege of people, a cast-off snake skin, and a fertilizing stream of semen. In a dualistic image focusing on its cyclical, alternating axes, the Milky Way is imagined as two huge snakes: the starry, luminous part is a rainbow boa, a male principle; the dark part is an anaconda, a female principle. The shifting of the Milky Way, seen as a swinging motion made by the two snakes, punctuates the cycle of fertilizing forces emanating from the sky (Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1982, pp. 170–171). Using metaphors of human sexuality that recall the menstrual cycle of the moon, the Barasana, like the Desána, conceive of the Milky Way as participating in a cycle of fertilizing forces. The connection between the principle of fertility, the Milky Way, and the flow of menses is occasioned by the comparison of the menstrual and seasonal cycles. The rainy season is the menstrual period of the sky, which is personified by Woman Shaman, a creator who has a gourd of wax identified with the Pleiades, which are called Star Thing and are the principal aspect of the New Path of the Milky Way. The gourd is Woman Shaman's vagina; the wax, her menstrual blood; and the melting of the wax, her menstrual period, which is compared, as an internal, rejuvenating "skin change," to the rainy season, which begins in the Vaupés in April, as the stars of the Pleiades set. In Barasana cosmology, the internal skin change of Woman Shaman, associated with Star Thing (the gourd of melting wax), is contrasted with the external skin change of the constellation called Caterpillar Jaguar (Scorpius), which stands opposed to, and alternates with, Star Thing (Hugh-Jones, 1982, pp. 196–197).

Bright-star and dark-cloud constellations. Data from the Barasana and Desána introduce a final and far more complex recurrent theme, one that forms perhaps the core of ethnoastronomical symbolism among South American Indian societies. This theme concerns groups of interrelated metaphorical images built up out of animals, anthropomorphic beings, and constellations stretched along the bright path or paths of the Milky Way. The theme of animals and humans as constellations concerns a group of celestial phenomena located principally along, or within, the path of the Milky Way. In order to understand many of the references discussed below, it is necessary to see the Milky Way as visually composed of two distinct but interconnected elements: first, it appears in its overall form as a wide, bright band of stars; and second, it contains several dark spots and streaks formed by fixed clouds of interstellar dust that cut through the central path. Both of these galactic phenomena, the bright band of stars against the dark background of the night sky and the dark clouds cutting through the bright path of stars, are recognized as named celestial constructs in South American ethnoastronomical traditions. When viewed as a path, the Milky Way is often considered to be a road along which animals, humans, and spirits move. The Indians of Guiana refer to the Milky Way as both the "path of the tapir" and the path that is walked upon by a group of people bearing white clay, the type used for making pottery (Roth, 1908–1909, p. 260). The Chiriguano (H. S. A. I., 1948, p. 483) know the Milky Way as the "path of the rhea"; they identify the head of the rhea either with the Southern Cross or with the Coalsack, the dark spot at the foot of the Southern Cross. The Amahuaca say that the Milky Way is the trail or path of the sun, formed when a jaguar dragged a manatee across the sky. For the Trumai, the Milky Way is like a drum containing animals; it is the road to the afterworld and the abode of jaguars *(H. S. A. I.,* 1948, p. 348). Finally, the Tapirapé see in the Milky Way the "path of the shamans," by which shamans travel to the sky to visit celestial bodies (Wagley, 1940, p. 257). That many of the characters who move along the celestial path (or river) are animals reinforces the observation that the most common identifications of the dark clouds that cut through the Milky Way are with animals, birds, or fish. As mentioned earlier, among the Quechua of the central Andes, the Milky Way is seen as two interconnected branches of a river. Within the river, in the southern skies, are several animals, each identified as one of the dark clouds *(yana phuyu)*; these include a snake, a toad, a tinamou, a mother llama with her baby, and a fox that pursues the llamas (Urton, 1981, p. 170). The pursuit of a herbivore by a carnivore, as in the pursuit of the llamas by the fox, is a common element in the South American ethnoastronomical symbolism of the dark spots. Within the tropical forest, however, the carnivore is most often a jaguar rather than a fox. For instance, the Parecí and Conibo see a jaguar pursuing a deer in some dark spots in the southern Milky Way (*H. S. A. I.,* 1948, pp. 360, 595). Certain tribes of Guiana see, in the same general area, a tapir being chased by a dog, which in turn is pursued by a jaguar (Roth, 1908–1909, p. 260). The Tukuna locate the bodies of a jaguar and an anteater in dark clouds in the southern skies near the constellation of Centaurus; the two animals are locked in a nightly struggle, although in a Tukuna myth that describes a similar fight the anteater defeats the jaguar, rips open his stomach, and sucks out his liver (Nimuendajú, 1952, p. 143). The Campa say that a dark streak near Antares (in the constellation of Scorpius) is a digging stick and that the Coalsack below the Southern Cross is a bees' nest (Weiss, 1972, p. 160). The Múra, however, see in the Coalsack a manatee carrying a fisherman on its back (*H. S. A. I.,* 1948, p. 265). As is clear from the illustrations above, the identification of the dark clouds of the Milky Way with animals is a widely shared feature in South American Indian ethnoastronomies. Although the specific animals vary from tradition to tradition (as one would expect, given that the various ethnoastronomical data derive from societies in widely differing environmental settings), it is reasonable to suppose that the animals may be identified and interrelated according to similar classificatory principles and symbolic interests as one moves from one society to the next. That this may be so, in at least one respect, is suggested by the fact that the ethnographic literature contains several references to the belief that there is a conceived (if not perceived) relationship between an animal's reproductive cycle and the first appearance of that animal's celestial counterpart in the early morning skies (Urton, 1981, pp. 176–189). In addition, there are suggestions that the rising of the celestial representation of an animal or bird serves as an indication that the season to hunt the terrestrial version of that same animal or bird has arrived (Roth, 1908–1909, p. 261). These data suggest that in the process of establishing local calendar systems there is considered to be a temporal correlation between the appearance of a particular dark-cloud animal and the biological periodicity of, or the cycles of human activity in the exploitation of, its terrestrial counterpart.

CLASSIFICATION AND SYMBOLISM. Such a purely calendrically oriented interpretation of the significance of the animals located in the dark spots of the Milky Way should be augmented by two other considerations, one classificatory, the other symbolic. In relation to the former, the animals of the Milky Way may represent those forms considered to be classificatorily "prototypical," the most representative members of particular classes of animals. Alternatively, they may represent "marked" animals, ones that do not fit comfortably into a single class but that rather bridge two or more classes. That one or the other of these considerations may be significant in Quechua astronomy is suggested by the fact that the sequence of animals that stretches along, and within, the Milky Way includes a reptile (snake), an amphibian (toad), a bird (tinamou), a herbivorous mammal (llama), and a carnivorous mammal (fox). The classificatory significance of these life forms would therefore rest not only on the particular characteristics of each individual animal in turn but also on the relations between and among the various types as they are projected into the sky in a particular sequence (i.e., from a reptile to a mammal). Another classificatory factor that may be important throughout the various ethnoastronomical traditions is a consideration of the color of the animals in question. That is, many of the animals have either a dull, dark coloring (e.g., fox, deer, anteater), or else they are spotted or mottled (e.g., tinamou, toad, anaconda, rainbow boa, jaguar). The dark spots along the "body" of the Milky Way recall the dark or mottled coloring of the terrestrial animals.

In this regard, there may also be a conceptual similarity between the dark spots of the Milky Way and the spots on the moon. The latter, as mentioned earlier, are typically associated with asocial (e.g., incestuous) relationships.

Mythic oppositions. The symbolic significance of the dark-cloud animals will vary considerably from one ethnoastronomical tradition to another and can be understood only on the basis of a careful consideration of the particular characteristics of the celestial animals as they are portrayed in the mythology of each culture. In considering the mythological descriptions of celestial phenomena, however, it is essential first to turn to the material referring to those constellations that are composed of clusters or groupings of stars, since the mythological data for stellar constellations are more abundant, and explicit, than those for the dark spots of the Milky Way. The principal stellar constellations recognized in South American ethnoastronomies are, for the most part, also located near or within the Milky Way; these include the Pleiades, the Hyades, the Belt (and Sword) of Orion, Scorpius, the Southern Cross, and α and β Centauri. By far the richest ethnoastronomical material concerns the Pleiades, a small cluster of some six to ten stars (visible with the naked eye) in the constellation of Taurus. The Pleiades are referred to in a variety of ways, many of which emphasize the visual appearance of this cluster of stars as a group or "bunch" of things. In the tropical forest, the Pleiades are variously referred to as bees, wasps, a handful of flour spilled on the ground, parrots, white down, a bunch of flowers, and so forth (Lévi-Strauss, 1969, p. 222). Claude Lévi-Strauss pointed out an important principle in Tropical Forest ethnoastronomies when he argued that the Pleiades are typically classed together with, while at the same time opposed to, the nearby constellation of the Belt and Sword of Orion. The latter is referred to as a tortoise shell, a bird, a stick, and a leg (or a one-legged man; Lévi-Strauss, 1969, pp. 222–223; cf. Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1982, pp. 173–174). Lévi-Strauss's argument is that the Pleiades and Orion are diachronically associated, since they rise within a few days of each other, but that they are synchronically opposed, since the Pleiades represent, or are in the category of, the continuous, whereas Orion is in that of the discontinuous. For the Pleiades and Orion, respectively, he notes that "we have names that boil down to collective terms describing a chance distribution of . . . related elements: and on the other, analytical terms describing a systematic arrangement of clearly individualized elements" (Lévi-Strauss, 1969, pp. 222–223; cf. 1973, pp. 268–270). Throughout South America, it can be shown that the Pleiades are contrasted in various ways with other nearby star groupings (e.g., Orion and the Hyades), whereas, on another level, they are grouped together with these same nearby stars and contrasted with other constellations (e.g., Coma Berenices, Corvus, Scorpius, the Southern Cross, and α and β Centauri). These two groupings of stars are contrasted or deemed complementary in terms of their symbolic characteristics, and they are coincidental or alternating in terms of the phasing of the dates of their rising and setting (cf. Hugh-Jones, 1982; Zuidema, 1982; Wilbert, 1975). The questions to be addressed with regard to these observations are "On what bases are the Pleiades contrasted with other, nearby constellations?" and "On what bases are the Pleiades grouped together with these nearby constellations and contrasted with another, more distant group of constellations?" I suggest that the first question may be approached primarily through a consideration of the mythological data referring to social relations and social organization, whereas the second question can best be addressed on the basis of data referring to meteorological, seasonal, and, ultimately, economic concerns. As for the contrast between the Pleiades, the Hyades, and Orion, there are several myths that mention these three constellations in related mythological contexts. For instance, among certain Carib-speaking tribes there are myths of a woman (the Pleiades) who cuts off her husband's leg (Orion's Belt and Sword) and runs away with a tapir (the Hyades; Jara and Magaña, 1983, p. 125; cf. Roth, 1908–1909, p. 262). The Amahuaca of eastern Peru say that the V-shaped Hyades represent the jaw of a caiman that bit off the leg of a man who mistook it for a canoe; the leg is seen in the Pleiades, while Orion's Belt and Sword represent the man's brother holding the lance with which he killed the caiman (cf. Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1982, pp. 173–174). The Campa see in the Pleiades a Campa man and his family; the man's brother-in-law is the Belt and Sword of Orion. They also say that Orion is a Campa man who is being pursued by a warrior wasp and has received an arrow in his leg (Weiss, 1972, p. 160). The various myths that deal with the Pleiades, the Hyades, and Orion are centered on animals and people (or their body parts) who are related by ties of blood or, more commonly, marriage. In many cases, there are also characters present who are implicated in the violation of these kinship and marriage ties (e.g., the tapir who seduces and runs away with a man's wife). In this regard, it should be recalled that among the Xerente, who practice moiety exogamy, the belt of Orion and k Orionis are related to one moiety, while Seven Stars (the Pleiades?) are related to the other (Nimuendajú, 1942, pp. 25, 85). In addition to the "local" contrast between the Pleiades and the neighboring constellations of the Hyades and Orion, there are several references to the contrast between the Pleiades and constellations farther removed. In Barasana cosmology, the Pleiades (Star Thing) are associated with the dry season and opposed to Scorpius (Caterpillar Jaguar), which is associated with the wet season (Hugh-Jones, 1982, p. 197). The Pleiades and Scorpius are similarly opposed, and each is related to either the dry or the wet season, or to planting or harvest, in the cosmology of the Quechua (Urton, 1981, pp. 122–125) and the Chiriguano (*H. S. A. I.,* 1948, p. 483). Similar examples of the opposition of the Pleiades to other constellations (e.g., Corvus and Coma Berenices) appear in the timing of fishing cycles (Lévi-Strauss, 1978, pp. 36–40), honey availability (Lévi-Strauss, 1973, pp. 57–58, 268–272, 282–285), or both fishing cycles and honey availability (Lévi-Strauss, 1973, p. 114). The evening rising and setting of the Pleiades (which occur at different times of the year) are associated by the Barasana and the Desána with the fruiting periods of trees (Hugh-Jones, 1982, p. 190; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1982, p. 173). R. Tom Zuidema has shown that the critical dates in the Inca calendar system, a system that coordinated political, ritual, and agricultural events throughout the year, were determined by the times of the rising, setting, and the upper and lower culminations of the Pleiades in opposition to the Southern Cross and α and β Centauri. In Inca and contemporary Quechua astronomy, the Pleiades represent (among other things) a storehouse; the Southern Cross is important, as it stands just above the dark-cloud constellation of the tinamou; and α and β Centauri are the eyes of the dark-cloud constellation of the llama (Zuidema, 1982, pp. 221–224; Urton, 1981, pp. 181–188).

Mythic similarities. While particular contrasts between (1) the Pleiades, the Hyades, and Orion and (2) the Southern Cross, α and β Centauri, Corvus, Coma Berenices, and Scorpius vary over different parts of South America, the temporal relations between the two groups of constellations represent essentially similar seasonal oppositions regardless of which particular members of the two sets are contrasted. In terms of their celestial locations, the constellations in group 1 are located between right ascension three to six hours, while those of group 2 are between right ascension twelve to sixteen hours. Therefore, the members of one group will rise as the members of the other set. This temporal opposition, and its attendant symbolic and mythological associations, is one other important feature shared by the ethnoastronomies of South American Indians. Although the various Indian tribes of South America are situated in extremely diverse environmental regions, from the dense tropical forests of the Amazon and Orinoco basins to the high Andean mountains along the western side of the continent, there are a number of similarities in the ethnoastronomical traditions of these various groups. One source of similarities may lie in the fact that these cultures are all located within the tropics (see Aveni, 1981): the Amazon River is roughly coincident with the line of the equator. But beyond the similarities that are encountered in the observational phenomena viewed by these cultures, there are perhaps more fundamental similarities in the way in which the celestial bodies are described and interrelated in their mythological and religious traditions. There are fundamental principles that give meaning and coherence to ethnoastronomical beliefs concerning the sun and the moon, the Milky Way, and the two types of constellations. These are the same conceptual foundations that ground the various religious traditions. These basic premises revolve around relations between and among men and women, humans and animals, and beings on earth and those in the sky.

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ETHNOLOGY See ANTRHOPOLOGY, ETHNOLOGY, AND RELIGION

ETHOLOGY OF RELIGION. Human ethology is the biological study of human behavior. It emphasizes the notion that both the behavior of humankind and its physiological basis have evolved phylogenetically and should be studied as an aspect of evolution. Ethology overlaps other disciplines such as sociobiology, behavioral ecology, evolutionary psychology, human anthropology, and even consciousness studies, which in part employ similar strategies of research.

HISTORY OF ETHOLOGY. The historical roots of ethology can be traced to Charles Darwin's theory of evolution. In his book *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (1872) Darwin recognized that the role of instinct is just as important for the survival of the species as the adaptation of morphological structures in the course of their phylogenetic histories. During the following decades, however, the Darwinian approach continued to be disregarded. Instead, a scientific school with roots in psychology dominated the study of animal and human behavior. This behaviorism was based on the premise that psychology should be regarded as the science of behavior, rather than the science of mental life. Proceeding from the assumption that behavior is a product of learning, American behaviorists focused on the study of observable behavior and the ascertainable or contrived circumstances of its occurrence. As a result, behaviorists were successful in all kinds of research with regard to general laws of learning, but failed to take evolutionary approaches into account. Until the 1970s most behaviorists and sociologists were convinced that the behavior of humans and animals was mainly a product of their environment and education.

Within the scientific climate at that time, anthropology and the study of religions developed approaches of cultural relativism that considered human culture as phenomena upon which the biological heritage had no influence. This opinion first came into question when the experienced historian of religions Karl Meuli (1891–1968) was able to prove that religions as distinct from one another as the religions of ancient Greece, imperial Rome, recent arctic hunter-gatherers, and probably even prehistoric hunters, shared similar ritual customs. This observation was unintelligible from an environmental point of view. In spite of the prevailing paradigm, Meuli concluded that these similar manifestations of sacrificial practices must originate in an innate behavior pattern acquired during human evolution.

From a biological standpoint, the final impulses for the revision of the extremely environmentally oriented approaches came from zoologists like Konrad Lorenz (1903–1989) and Nikolaas Tinbergen (1907–1988). During the 1940s and 1950s, Tinbergen and Lorenz focused on the investigation of instinctive behavior in the animal's natural habitat, its meaning seen from an evolutionary point of view, and its physiological and genetic foundation. At the same time they assumed that similar action patterns had been developed to serve as social signals or releasers for appropriate behavior, not only among animal species but among humans as well. As a result, the study of human ethology attempted to apply ethological methods and the evolutionary perspective to psychological, sociological and, finally, even religious phenomena.

During the following decades the German zoologist Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt (1928–) and others contributed to this new discipline by studying expressive movements with signal functions. These behavior patterns are usually incorporated into more complex behavioral events for which the term *ritual* was introduced by Julian Huxley (1887–1975). As for the origin of behavioral patterns, a distinction can be made between phylogenetically evolved, culturally acquired, and individually invented signals. The criteria of homology are applicable to phylogenetically acquired, as well as to culturally acquired, signals. Expressive behavior and ritual behavior both serve the function of communication. As far as religions are concerned, two important remarks have to be taken into account: first, expressive behavior does not necessarily mean that a message is consciously intended; second, originally functional acts can change their function from goal-directed acts into symbolic acts, so that, in the end, even elaborate displays mainly serve the function of social bonding.

STRATEGIES OF INTERACTION. Darwin had already pointed out that a number of facial and bodily expressions are inherent to humankind. Evidence could be derived from studying the expressive behavior of those born blind and deaf, who were deprived of visual and auditory knowledge regarding the facial expressions of their fellow humans and who, nevertheless, exhibited the usual patterns of smiling, laughing, and crying. Besides such ontogenetic studies, cross-cultural documentation of human behavior and primate comparison confirm the assumption that certain human behavior patterns are the result of phylogenetic adaptations.

Eibl-Eibesfeldt's cross-cultural documentation contains many examples of universals in human behavior, which of course only occur in a very generalized form and may vary considerably from culture to culture. The display of the genitals, for example, originates in the sexual behavior of primates, in which erection of the penis expresses not only a willingness for sexual intercourse but also masculine power and vigor. Contrarily, the display of the female breasts is supposed to have an appeasing effect, while the act of raising the arm and showing the palm of one's hand is usually taken as a gesture of defense. All these gestures serve as signals that safely trigger certain responses from the recipient and are universally understood, even if not acted out but manifested in objects of art. The phallic sculpture, therefore, must be understood as a threatening object warding off enemies or evil forces. Phallic figures and signs are frequently used in a religious context to mark tribal territory or serve as a protective guardian of a house or temple. A similar gesture can be observed in patterns of female behavior. The obscene display of the vulva provokes a fear reaction and demonstrates superiority and dominance. At the same time, this threatening gesture of the female is combined with an encouragement for sexual intercourse, having an appeasing effect on the possible aggressor. As a result, the obscene female idols, amulets, and pendants that frequently occur in various cultures and religions can be understood as bearers of might, with the capability of protecting the owner from harm.

Unfortunately, ethological signs and figures are sometimes difficult to decipher or to encode. As human ethology has been able to prove, these behavioral signals are often portrayed in a devious manner. This form of communication media developed its own traditions, and the manner in which an object is portrayed will probably modify during history. Pictures will change into signs after several generations, signs into mere patterns. In human ethology, art history, the history of religions, and related fields of research, scholars have analyzed the historical development of symbols and patterns in pagan art and have achieved remarkable results. For example, Otto König's documentation of the patterns on the boats of Mediterranean fishermen exemplifies the change of the image of the protective "staring eye" from representation into an abstract symbol, and Karl von den Steinen (1855–1929) was able to explain the meaning of Marquesan tattoos by tracing them back to former portrayals of the skulls of the deceased.

Not only expressive behavior, but also the more complex rituals, serve the function of communication. In ritual, acts are fused into longer sequences that support strategies of social interaction. A functional equivalent of these ritualized sequences of action is language, where verbalized behavior takes the place of expressive gesture.

Ritualized human behavior as observed in greeting rituals and feasts usually displays a certain structure characterized by three successive stages: the opening phase, the phase of interaction, and the phase of parting. Each of these three phases is characterized by a set of verbal and nonverbal behavior patterns that not only correlates with a specific functional aspect of the phase, but also appears in repetition to deliver the same message through different channels and in different forms.

TOWARD AN ETHOLOGY (ANTHROPOLOGY) OF RELIGION. Any behavior pattern is adaptive in the sense that it contributes to the reproductive success or to the survival of the individual, the group, or the species. In that sense, as the historian of ancient religions Walter Burkert (1931–) points out, well-adapted religious activities promote the success of a culture. He refers explicitly to the results of human ethology when tracing rituals and other activities within the scope of religious behavior to their supposed biological origins. Several basic elements of religious practice and thought, and, in particular, sacrifice, have to be seen as being inherited from the animal world, where they may contribute to the survival of the individual or the group in dangerous situations.

The anthropologist Marvin Harris (1927–2001) raises the question of whether or not religious behavior should be understood as the result of the adaptation of a culture to its specific ecological niche. For example, Harris describes the Aztec religion, with its focus on human sacrifice and religious cannibalism. Because population growth and the depleted condition of the natural fauna led to a lack of animal foods, it is assumed that the Aztecs pursued a strategy of religious cannibalism to achieve the necessary amount of proteins, vitamins, and minerals. Their religious beliefs, therefore, reflected the importance of a high-protein diet and the lack of natural resources in their habitat. The occurrence of rites of passage, especially seen in male initiation, can also be traced to biological roots. A low-protein diet makes prolonged nursing a necessity. This, however, results in a postpartum sex taboo that leads to polygyny. The resulting mother-child households, together with prolonged nursing, lead to an intensive bonding between mother and child and, finally, to cross-sex identification. Severe male initiation ceremonies that include circumcision or other forms of ritual torture and mind control are then required to break the prepubescent identity in order to allow for later identification with fathers and other males.

A different concern with issues of function and structure shaped the work of the anthropologist Roy Rappaport (1926–1997). As Rappaport points out, ritual and language have coevolved, with ritual providing a necessary counteraction to language-created problems that may otherwise lead to social disorder and violence. Ritual contains self-referential messages that supply information about the size, density, or strength of the group, and similarly serve the purpose of competition by supplying information about the social status and psychophysical characteristics of the participants. By participating in ritual, in which invariable words and actions recur, men and women assume wider commitments—the so-called ultimate sacred postulates—which are forged at a deeper level of the psyche. Even if these postulates are ideally untestable and have no immediate consequences, they cannot be questioned and hold a key position in the governing hierarchy of ideas. Rituals, therefore, as religion's main components, form the concepts that people consider to be religious, and therefore they have been central in the adaptation of the human species as part of a larger ecological whole.

While Burkert, Rappaport, and Harris mostly refer to the adaptive values of religious behavior and thought, the Indologist Frits Staal focuses on the analysis of ritual and mantra by adopting an ethological approach in order to explain the origin of religion. Far from sharing the common scholarly opinion that ritual is a symbolic representation of what people believe, he emphasizes that rituals have to be understood without reference to their supposed religious background. Staal's careful investigation and documentation of

Vedic rituals result in the statement that rituals are pure activity without any meaning or goal, in which only faultless execution in accordance with the rules counts. Staal draws the conclusion that the origins of religion lie deep in inborn behavior patterns. Religions, which do not necessarily have doctrines and beliefs, originate in ritualization as observed in animal behavior. Only later does ritual become religious in the Western and monotheistic sense of the word, when provided with a religious interpretation that includes doctrine and the belief in an afterlife.

For the anthropologist Weston La Barre (1911–1996) religion is the result of the adaptation of human beings to their ecological niche and is shaped by both biological and cultural evolution. In particular, human biology with neoteny (i.e., the persistence of larval features in adult animals) and the resulting need for domestication leads to psychological responses that establish the basis for the capacity and the propensity for magic and religion in men. Belief in God, therefore, is the result of male-fantasized omnipotence as acquired by being locked into a lifelong phallic paranoid state. When vatic personalities, such as priests and their more primitive counterparts, shamans, speak with the voice of God, it is nothing but an expression of the self, deprived of its psychosexual maturity.

According to La Barre, religion first emerged when an early shaman, as depicted in the Stone Age cave of Les Trois Frères, proclaimed to have magic power over game and, after his death, became the supernatural helper of later shamans and, finally, the master of animals. Shaped by Paleolithic belief, shamans persisted as gods into protohistoric and historic times, where they were transformed to suit the needs of an agricultural society. In discovering the human nature of their gods, the Greeks resecularized their nature deities into mere heroes, while the Hebrews sacralized their patriarchal sheikhs and shamans into a moral and spiritual god, who, due to the influence of Greek crisis cults, developed into the Christian God.

Although ethological approaches to the study of religions have helped to gain insight into the ways multiple cultural systems are related to the biology of the human species, heavy criticism has been heaped upon an approach that is accused of being materialistic and nonhistoric—and of working with unnecessary complex and nonverifiable models of social dynamics. The assumed structural parallels of religions with biology, consciousness studies, and linguistics suggest a scientific character that aims at a natural truth underlying conventional scholarly results. As the anthropologist and scholar of religions Benson Saler (1930–) points out, the reference to universals existing in all cultures leads to definitions of universal categories that are so vague and abstract they are nearly useless and, furthermore, contradict the archaeological and anthropological records. The stress on universals, therefore, runs the risk of deflecting attention from the characteristics of a given religion that make it a solitary system of conceptions and deeds acquired throughout the course of history. According to the historians Carlo Ginzburg (1939–) and Jean-Pierre Vernant (1914–), the specific history of a society and its religion shapes the spiritual universe of a people and modifies certain psychological attitudes, which have retroactive effects on religious behavior and thought.

Anthropological approaches stressing the results of ethological research are undoubtedly of great value as starting points for new and interesting inquiries, but in abandoning the historical method such approaches partially miss the goal of ethology. Because the emphasis of ethology has been based on the notion that the behavior of humans and its manifestations in religion have evolved throughout history, ethological inquiry must consider the historical circumstances under which the custom in question developed. To make matters perfectly clear, the theory of evolution has made biology into a historical science. Methodologically speaking, the descriptive techniques used by both ethologists and historians of religions are now fairly sophisticated, and they should be put to use by scholars surveying the religious behavior of closely defined groups. Comparative studies can be a fertile source of ideas and data if they avoid the implication that one group of people is just like another, and instead provide principles whose applicability to the religion under question can be assessed. Finally, the basic scientific issues of ethological research have to be taken into account, as there are questions of causation, ontogeny, function, and evolution (history). It would be desirable to include not only ethological theory and terminology, but also ethological method, especially in small-scale research. Such an approach would surely lead to remarkable results in future research.

SEE ALSO Ecology and Religion; Evolution; Prehistoric Religions; Sociobiology and Evolutionary Psychology.

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ETRUSCAN RELIGION.

Between the beginning of the eighth century BCE and the end of the fifth century BCE, Etruria was the dominant power in central Italy. The Etruscans had built up profitable commercial relations with the Phoenicians and the Greeks, established on the island of Pithecusa (modern Ischia) in Campania, then on the mainland in the town of Cumae around 750 BCE. This wealth and these relations allowed them to develop a much more advanced level of civilization than other peoples of the region. One indication of this is that Rome was under the rule of Etruscan kings between 616 and 509 BCE. Yet it is not this image of a military and political power that the Romans retained concerning their northern neighbors; as the historian Livy remarked at the time of Emperor Augustus, they were "the people most dedicated to matters of religion" (Livy 5.1.6). Thus the Romans saw the Etruscans' intense religious nature as their distinctive characteristic.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON THE ETRUSCAN RELIGION.

This appreciative judgment concerning Etruscan religion might appear surprising in that the Etruscan religion seems to be simply a rather ordinary polytheism with gods like those in the Greek or Roman pantheon. This is the picture that comes through from the majority of the existing sources.

These sources are restricted. Apart from divination, a subject this article will return to, Greek and Latin writers give few details, and Etruscan literature that could provide this information has not survived. As for Etruscan inscriptions, they make a limited contribution. The majority are epitaphs, which yield only the name of the deceased, while the votive plaques placed in temples reveal only the name of the divinity to which they were dedicated. Admittedly, some longer documentary sources are available, which could be of greater interest concerning the subject, but the continued inability to understand the language means that they are only partially understood. This is the case with the two longest extant Etruscan texts: the Capua Tile, a terra-cotta plaque bearing three hundred legible words, and the Liber Linteus (Linen book) of Zagreb, a text of twelve hundred words. The story of the latter's survival is amazing. It was written in ink, as was the practice in ancient Italy, on a linen cloth that was taken to Egypt, where it was cut into strips and used as the wrapping for a mummy now preserved at the Zagreb Museum. These texts are both ritual calendars, in any case.

Some archaeological finds exist. Even with these, however, what can be deduced remains limited. The results of excavations of many Etruscan temples are known, and they confirm the statement of the Roman architect Vitruvius that the Etruscans were responsible for the spread of the "Tuscan temple" that, in contrast to the Greek temple from which it took its inspiration, was raised on a high podium, dominating the town the god protected. However, it is impossible to be certain that, as Latin authors claim, the main city temples were dedicated to triads (groups of three gods). Only certain temples at Veii (Portonaccio), Orvieto (Belvedere), or Marzabotto (temple C) demonstrate evidence of a triple structure. It is not impossible that the idea of triadic temples was inferred from the Roman Capitol built by the Etruscan kings (the Tarquins), where Jupiter was flanked by two goddesses, Juno and Minerva.

There remains an extensive amount of iconography on tomb or vase paintings, statues, stone and terracotta reliefs, and engravings on bronze mirrors. From its beginnings, however, Etruscan art was suffused with Hellenic influence. Often, Etruscan documents portray scenes from Greek mythology. Nonetheless, this has one advantage: these Etruscan documents provide the names of the gods corresponding to their Greek equivalents, using the process of interpretation that consists of identifying a Greek god with the local god whose functions are most similar.

THE ETRUSCAN PANTHEON.

In this way, scholars have some idea of the Etruscan pantheon. It included a heavenly chief god, analogous to the Greek Zeus or the Latin Jupiter, whom they called Tin or Tinia, which means "the shining day" (like the names Zeus and Jupiter). Just as with the Greek Zeus, this god is portrayed as a majestic bearded figure armed with thunderbolts. This Tinia is associated with a female consort, Uni, identified with the Greek Hera or the Latin Juno (whose name is perhaps related). Other female divinities are known, sometimes with names of Greek origin, such as Phersipnai, who is the Etruscan equivalent of the Greek Persephone. She appears enthroned at the side of her husband Aita (an Etruscan transcription of the Greek god of the underworld, Hades) in paintings on the tomb of the Orcus at Tarquinia and the Golini tomb at Orvieto. Another underworld divinity, Vei, has a purely Etruscan name, however. This name, which must be part of the name of the town of Veii, remains obscure. This is not the case with another indigenous underworld goddess, Culsu, who is depicted on the sarcophagus of Hasti Afunei at Chiusi as placed at the entrance of the underworld. She is its guardian, and the Etruscan word *culs*, meaning "gate," derives from her name. The indigenous name Lasa is given to a series of minor female deities with various names who appear to be associated with more important goddesses, such as Achavisur, Alpanu, and Zipna, and who can be seen on mirrors assisting Turan, the goddess of love, the equivalent of Aphrodite, in getting dressed. The Etruscans also recognized a powerful chthonic goddess, Cel ati; the two parts of her name mean "earth" and "mother." She is a "Mother Earth," analogous to the Greek Demeter and the Latin Terra Mater. Mention should also be made of Menerva, derived from the Latin Minerva, goddess of the intellect (*mens*).

Among the male gods is a god of water, Nethuns, and a god of the forest, Selvans, corresponding, respectively, to the Latin equivalents Neptune and Silvanus. Other gods with Latin equivalents include Satre, corresponding to Saturn; Velchans, corresponding to Vulcan (Volcanus); Vetis, corresponding to Jupiter of the night and the underworld, Vediovis. On the other hand, Apulu, a Greek name, is the god Apollo, whom the Etruscans adopted under this name along with his myths. The *Apollo of Veii* statue from the end of the sixth century BCE in the temple of Portonaccio shows him fighting with Hercules in the episode of the capture of the Cerynian hind. Yet many other gods have local names. Several are the equivalents of figures in the Greek pantheon, including Turms, portrayed as the messenger of the gods Hermes; Sethlans as the blacksmith god Hephaistos; Usil as the sun god Helios, with rays coming from his head; and Fufluns as the god of the wine, Dionysos (and sometimes given the epithet Pachie, a transcription of the name Bacchus). However, several gods had no Greek equivalents. This is the case with Suris, who seems to have been an infernal and war god, like the mysterious Pater Soranus of Mount Soracte in Capena, in the territory of the Sabines, to which the name seems related.

This list shows Greek religious influence. Certain gods, such as Apollo, were borrowed from the Greeks, whereas on another level the success of the hero Hercules, whom they called Hercle, is noteworthy. A large number of statues and statuettes, evidence of his cult, have been found in Etruria. One should also be aware of the deities with Latin or Italic equivalents, including Nethuns, Selvans, Velchans, Vetis, Menerva, and certainly Uni and Satre, who bear names that may be explained as derived from Italic forms (and not the other way around). This shows that the Etruscan religion was formed in the same mold as the religions of the other peoples of the peninsula in prehistoric Italy at the end of the second and the beginning of the first millennium BCE.

THE PERSISTENT ORIGINALITY OF THE ETRUSCAN RELIGION: THE VISION OF THE UNDERWORLD. This does not, however, mean that the Etruscan religion is not original. Leaving aside divination, Etruria made its mark on what it borrowed from others. This can be seen most obviously in their portrayal of the underworld, where Greek influence is evident. The sacred books dealing with these matters were called the Books of Acheron, after the underworld river in Greek mythology, from which the Etruscans took the infernal boatman Charon. But Charon, who is called Charun, appeared on tomb paintings brandishing a huge hammer with which he made ready to strike those who were about to die, an element not found in the Greek original. More generally, the Etruscans created an entire demonology that was perhaps inspired by certain Greek pieces (such as the depiction of the underworld by Polygnotus in the Cnidian Lesche at Delphi) but that, starting from the first paintings, such as the Tomb of the Blue Demons at Tarquinia from the fifth century BCE, certainly underwent considerable development. Another male demon is Tuchulcha, depicted with a hooked beak and pointed ears with two snakes rising on his head. Female demons also exist. They are often depicted on funerary urns to indicate that the person shown alongside is going to die. In particular, the female demon Vanth is a winged woman, bare-breasted or even completely naked, brandishing a torch, sometimes with snakes, at other times with a roll of parchment on which the fate of the deceased was written.

ETRUSCAN WOMEN AND RELIGION. It is true that the Etruscans were original in one aspect in which their civilization differed from those of Greece and Rome; that is, the accepted position of women in society. The Etruscan woman enjoyed much greater freedom than her Greek and Roman sisters. She can be seen lying alongside her husband on the same banqueting couch. This would have been unthinkable in Greece, where the banquet was an entirely male affair and only prostitutes were present, with lawful wives remaining in the *gynaeceum.* One might therefore expect that Etruscan women would occupy a privileged religious position.

However, this is not apparent in the evidence. Women are more often found in classical roles without particularly high status, such as mourners who, on the fifth-century BCE funerary reliefs at Chiusi, are seen weeping at the scene of the laying out of the dead. Maybe there were female priestesses, but the only definite instance involves a bacchante, who is depicted lying on the lid of a fine marble sarcophagus at Tarquinia holding a thyrsus and a vase with handles with a doe beside her. This woman appears in a religious role on the fringes of the official religion of the city.

However, the restricted role played by women in what the sources reveal concerning Etruscan religion need not be at variance with real life. Even if Etruscan women had more rights than Greek or Roman women, one must be careful not to overrate their social role. One should not take at face value what Greek and Latin writers say about Etruscan women. As peoples who had been the Etruscans' enemies, they were inclined to be critical of them. Thus, the liberty, at least in a relative sense, that the Etruscans allowed their women might be taken by these writers as loose living. They also tended to exaggerate everything they said about them, stating that they gave themselves shamelessly to lovemaking with anyone at all during banquets. The same exaggeration occurred in the religious sphere. Whereas Roman tradition holds that Tanaquil, the wife of L. Tarquinius Priscus, was an expert in divination and interpreted the omens from which her husband and the young Servius Tullius benefited, this is more a matter of Roman imagination than Etruscan reality. The haruspices known from the epigraphic or literary sources are exclusively men.

PROPHETS OF THE ETRUSCAN RELIGION AND THE *ETRUSCA DISCIPLINA*. Even so, there is one sphere in which the Etruscans developed their own myths, and these reveal what is truly original about Etruscan religion and why the Romans considered them the most religious of peoples. They had created what the Romans called *Etrusca disciplina*, using the Latin word *disciplina* to mean a "science." In their case it is a religious science centered around divination and rituals. The Etruscans did not view this *Etrusca disciplina* as the work of human beings. It was the result of a revelation given by gods to human beings at the beginning of their national history. This revelation, committed to writing, was the basis for the Etruscan religious sacred books.

Several competing traditions existed. The most famous was from Tarquinia. According to this version, the *Etrusca disciplina* was owed to a divine child called Tages. As a newborn, he was discovered by a plowman on the outskirts of the town. He had obviously been born from the earth, and no sooner had he been born than he began to speak and issue a revelation. He set out the basic principles of religious science, which those present eagerly committed to writing. Then he disappeared as mysteriously as he had appeared.

The story seems ridiculous, and Cicero, who relates it in his treatise *On Divination*, is openly contemptuous. As a good Roman he did not believe the gods could intervene directly in human affairs and rejected mythology as puerile stories. But the legend may be analyzed in terms of standard motifs. There is the autochthonous myth, in which a being is described as earthborn, produced like a plant. This is how the Athenians described their origins. This motif is coupled with the combination of old man and infant, fusing in one person the physical characteristics of infancy and the wisdom of old age. These are standard legendary motifs; what is interesting is that, in the Etruscan case, they are not used for the tale of a hero or the story of the origin of a people but to establish the founding myth of the national religious science. This proves its importance to the Etruscans.

THE HARUSPICES. The revelation issued by Tages (or by Vegoia) gave rise to an entire sacred literature, the "Etruscan books," which set out the substance of the national religious science that Latin writers frequently describe. This means that, for once, scholars are relatively well informed. These books were the mark of the specialists of the Etruscan discipline, the haruspices. These haruspices—whose name originally applied to one of their specialities, the inspection of the liver of sacrificial victims, but then took on a more general meaning—could be recognized by their distinctive dress. They wore a tapering, pointed hat. Sometimes this hat is seen on sarcophagi on top of a kind of folded sheet, which is in fact a linen book (like the one from the Zagreb mummy). This was the particular mark of the haruspex of the dead, who carried out his duties wearing this headgear while consulting his books.

These haruspices, at least in Etruria, were high-ranking individuals. Thus Cicero tells that one of his Etruscan friends, Caecina, was an expert in the national religious science and belonged to one of the most important Tuscan aristocratic families. Haruspices considered the Etruscan discipline as their exclusive possession and handed down the books from one generation to the next, fathers taking care to instruct their sons in their use. This instruction was deadly serious, conveying the scientific aspect, at least to ancient eyes, of the Etruscan discipline. Etruscan haruspicy, concerned with ritual or even with divination, did not allow itself to be guided by what the Greeks called *mania*, the god entering the body and soul of the person acting as the intermediary between the gods and human beings. Etruscan haruspicy studied the phenomena set before it with the help of the classifications laid down in its books. This required seriousness, the exact opposite of the trances of soothsayers possessed by divine inspiration. A famous fifth-century BCE mirror from Vulci shows Calchas, the soothsayer of the Greek army at Troy, as an Etruscan haruspex examining the liver of a victim. He is bent over the organ, which he is studying carefully, looking at the slightest variations in shape, texture, and color. It is quite correct to talk of a science, the term for the rigorous deductive method based upon detailed observation by which the haruspex formed his opinions. The Etruscan discipline even involved experimental science. Far from becoming a closed corpus, fixed once and for all by the initial revelation of Tages, Etruscan sacred literature was enhanced by observations of haruspices of later times. Cicero says they noted in their books new phenomena they observed and thus managed to enlarge upon the basic principles contained in the religious literature handed down to them.

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE ETRUSCAN RELIGION. According to Cicero, Etruscan religious literature was divided into three kinds of books: the books of thunderbolts, the books of haruspicy, and the books of rituals. The extensive role of divination is clear, since the first two categories were dedicated to it. The *libri fulgurales* dealt with divination by thunderbolt and lightning, or brontoscopy; and the *libri haruspicini* with divination by inspecting the livers of sacrificial animals, or hepatoscopy; whereas in the *libri rituales* certain other kinds of divination are also considered, such as omens.

The books of thunderbolts. The Etruscans were not the first to be interested in thunderbolts; the phenomenon has always seemed to be of divine origin. In observing them, the haruspices demonstrated their analytical abilities. Seneca, in his *Natural Questions*, and Pliny the Elder, in his *Natural History*, drawing on Etruscan sources, show the fine distinctions the Etruscans made, establishing minute, generally complex classifications, distinguishing thunderbolts by their color, their shape, and the effect they had when they hit the ground. This theory of thunderbolts gave rise to a vision of the way the world worked. The Etruscans maintained that the principal god Tinia had three kinds of thunderbolts. The first, the most benevolent, was used to issue warnings; he used this on his own authority. The effects of the second were more serious; it brought only misfortune. However, the god could only hurl this on the advice of a council of twelve deities, six gods and six goddesses. The third left nothing untouched and changed the way the world was organized. Tinia only used this on the instructions of mysterious divinities—masters of destiny—gods said to be hidden or superior, whose names, numbers, and gender remained unknown.

The Etruscans did not consider the workings of the world the result of the whims of a god, however, even the chief god Tinia. Even he was subject to a destiny more powerful than he. This idea was developed in certain *libri rituales*, the books called *fatales*, concerning *fatum* (destiny). For the Etruscans the history of the world did not unfold by chance but was divided into a certain number of *saecula* (a period of varying length, calculated according to the lifespan of the longest living individual of a particular generation, so *saecula* could consist of 123 or 119 years). Each nation was entitled to a given number of *saecula*, ten in the case of the Etruscans, after which it would disappear, its destiny fulfilled.

The Books of Haruspicy. The *libri haruspicini* dealt with another classical kind of divination, hepatoscopy, which was particularly well known among the ancient peoples of the Middle East and based upon the study of the livers of animals offered to the gods in the central cult ceremony, the bloody sacrifice. Scholars are relatively well informed on Etruscan hepatoscopy. In 1877, in a field near Piacenza in Emilia, a bronze model liver was discovered. Subsequently known as the Liver of Piacenza, it had a box diagram on its surface, each section marked with the name of a god. This model liver was used to teach young haruspices. Thus they learned a particular interpretative grid, which they then used as a gauge for the actual livers they examined. If they found a particular feature in one of the boxes in the diagnostic diagram, they knew the god named in that box had sent this sign and needed to be placated.

The Liver of Piacenza allows still further understanding of the Etruscan religious system. The apparently unsystematic arrangement of boxes on the surface of the liver is in fact amenable to a certain organization. The two halves of the organ are separated by the anatomical division, the *incisura umbilicalis*. The right side, which literary sources call the *pars familiaris*, with neatly arranged square boxes, contains the heavenly gods, such as Tinia, who are relatively benign. In contrast, the left side, which sources describe as *pars hostilis*, arranged in a circle, has the names of infernal gods, such as Vetis, or unsettling gods, such as Satre or Selvans. Above all, the circumference of the organ has a series of sixteen boxes in a band around the object. This ties in with a detail known from elsewhere: Etruscan haruspices divided the vault of heaven into sixteen sectors according to the cardinal points, beginning from the quadrant going from north to west.

This allows an understanding of the theoretical basis of Etruscan hepatoscopy. By reproducing the sky with the abodes of the gods who live there, the liver is a microcosm reflecting the macrocosm of the universe, whose workings the gods oversee. It logically follows that the gods imprint in the microcosm signs that correspond to their actions in the macrocosm. And it is not a matter of indifference that these signs are passed down to the human race using the liver of a sacrificial animal.

According to a thorough analysis of the portion given to the human beings and the portion given to the gods in Greece by Jean-Pierre Vernant and Marcel Detienne and a group of their pupils, published in *La cuisine du sacrifice* in Paris in 1979, the liver reverts to the gods, to whom it is conveyed, when burned upon the altar. Considered by the ancients as the life center of the animal, it reverts by right to the immortal gods, masters of the life of every living creature. Yet if, as this work has emphasized, the Greek sacrifice in this way stresses the difference between the gods and human beings, in the Etruscan sacrifice it was their association, the exchange effected between them, that was considered crucial. The Etruscan sacrifice was defined by ancient authors as consultative: the consultation, involving the examination of the liver by the haruspex, was considered a fundamental part of the ceremony. What mattered to the Etruscans above all was the examination performed on the liver by the haruspex. The organ became the place of exchange between human beings and the gods, and the divinatory signs the gods placed there were their responses to the offering made.

The books of rituals. The third category of books, the books of rituals, is not a single whole. These books discuss divination as regards omens and destiny, the subject of the subcategory *libri fatales*. Nevertheless, rituals are also a significant subject for a religion that regarded the exact performance of ceremonies of vital importance, the slightest error potentially provoking the anger of the gods and leading to disaster. Many Etruscan rituals were brought to Rome. The foundation rite that Romulus is said to have followed when he founded Rome in 753 BCE is universally considered of

Etruscan origin. Romulus invited specialists from Etruria, who explained to him how to draw the sacred boundary of the city, the *pomerium*, by digging the *sulcus primigenius*, the first furrow, with the help of a plow pulled by a white bull and a white cow.

These books also describe other rituals. The subcategory called the Books of Acheron describes certain sacrifices offered for the dead, who it was believed were thus able to become actual gods, called *dei animales*, where *animales* means "created from a soul" (*anima* means "soul" in Latin). The process was simply ritual: it was sufficient to sacrifice certain animals and offer their blood to certain deities. This may seem childish; however, compared to the specifically Roman religion, which said nothing concerning human prospects after death, the Etruscan religion had an infinitely richer view of the future of human beings in the afterlife.

ROME AND ETRUSCAN HARUSPICY. Far from disappearing after the Roman conquest between 396 BCE, the date of the fall of the first Etruscan city, Veii, and 264 BCE, when the last remaining independent city, Volsinii, fell, this aspect of Etruscan religion continued to exist in a world that had now become a Roman one. The Romans were impressed by the practical benefits of the Etruscan discipline.

An ancient state could not be secular. One of its most important tasks was to ensure good relations between the city and the gods. If human beings were to blame for some misdeed or some oversight on their part, what was called the *pax deorum* (peace of the gods)—that is, the harmonious state of relations between the gods and the city—was broken. The gods showed their anger, which risked turning into the worst of disasters, visible in terms of events that indicated a break in the natural order of things, omens, and the outbreak of the supernatural in the normal course of existence. Faced with such signs, it was vital that the city understand what it had done wrong and what action should be taken. Confronted by such divine signs, Roman religion, in terms of its national heritage, was powerless. Faced with disasters, such as earthquakes or epidemics, heavenly signs, such as comets or hailstorms, or even mere curious happenings, such as the birth of a hermaphrodite child or a sheep with two heads, it was necessary to consult the Etruscan haruspices, who would discover in their books what needed to be done.

Rome was not slow to employ the skills of Etruscan specialists in matters of rituals and divination. Probably from the time they had completed the conquest, the Senate organized the Order of Sixty Haruspices, drawn from young nobles of various Etruscan cities, who could be consulted as soon as some event seemed to require the use of the Etruscan discipline.

THE SPREAD OF HARUSPICY IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE. In these circumstances the integration of Etruria into the Roman sphere, far from signaling the disappearance of the Etruscan discipline, enabled new expansion. Individuals also took advantage of the knowledge of the Etruscan soothsayers for their own personal needs. Some important people had their own haruspex in their retinue: Spurinna, Caesar's haruspex, unsuccessfully warned him of the danger on the Ides of March. Many generals were accompanied by a haruspex, and subsequent emperors had their own specialized staff for Etruscan divination.

These were important figures. Spurinna belonged to one of the most important Etruscan aristocratic families, and an imperial haruspex like Umbricius Melior, who in turn served Galba, Otho, and Vespasian, was important enough for the town of Tarentum to be honored by his patronage. Yet not all haruspices were such highfliers. Many were poor scoundrels trading on public gullibility. Cato, in his treatise on agriculture, warned the steward of the ideal farm he described to be wary of the haruspices who roamed the countryside. A number of Latin authors, including Cicero, the comic playwright Plautus, and the philosopher-poet Lucretius, denounced low-grade haruspices as nothing more than charlatans. This did not prevent them from flourishing; inscriptions indicate their presence throughout the Roman Empire.

HARUSPICES AND THE DEFENSE OF TRADITIONAL ROMAN RELIGION. Henceforth the Etruscan religious tradition no longer seemed like a foreign body differing from the national Roman tradition, the *mos maiorum*, as the Romans called their ancestral traditions. Etruscan religion was fully integrated into the heart of Roman religion and had an officially recognized place. It even seemed to be a key element. For Emperor Claudius, who reorganized the ancient collegium of sixty haruspices in 47 CE, it represented the the most distinguished part of traditional Roman religion.

Claudius justified his actions by the need to combat "foreign superstitions," namely all those religious systems not part of traditional Greco-Roman paganism, including the developing Christian religion. The old Etruscan tradition was called upon to play its part in the defense of the *mos maiorum*, and the place held by haruspicy in the religious functions of the Roman res publica meant that at times haruspices were effectively in the forefront of the struggle against the Christians. Thus, the Great Persecution of Diocletian, decreed in 303 CE, the gravest crisis the young religion had faced, was embarked upon following an incident, reported by the Christian writer Lactantius, in which haruspices played a key part. Lactantius stated that Christian slaves present at the celebration of an imperial sacrifice disrupted it, causing the anger of the gods. Consequently Diocletian decided to persecute the Christians.

DEVELOPMENT OF ETRUSCAN RELIGIOUS TRADITION UNDER THE EMPIRE. It would be misleading, however, to see in the attitude of the haruspices toward new religions, and particularly in their hostility to Christianity, nothing more than narrow-minded conservatism. On the contrary, it is notable that the knowledge of the development of Etruscan beliefs during this period demonstrates the haruspices' adaptability to contemporary expectations—including, if need be, features borrowed from their rivals. An amazing text, preserved in the Byzantine lexicon the *Suda*, presents a supposedly Etruscan account of creation, which is simply a copy of the biblical story in *Genesis*. As noted, the Etruscan discipline was not closed and inward-looking. The scant evidence of its later condition shows that it evolved and adopted ideas that would have originally been totally alien in the early days, such as the idea of the world being created by God. The Etruscan tradition contained within it an ability to adapt, which other forms of Greco-Roman religion did not possess.

ETRUSCAN RELIGION AND THE DEFENSE OF ROMAN PAGANISM. The main explanation of the genuine revival enjoyed by the Etruscan religious tradition in the late days of the Roman Empire is that, compared to other religions, it appeared firmly rooted in the most authentic Roman tradition. In an age when, as that great defender of traditional Roman religion in fourth-century Rome, the senator Symmachus, remarked, all religions were considered of equal value in approaching the ineffable mystery of God, the Etruscan tradition retained an enormous advantage over the others. It seemed to be from Italy and thus something with which the Romans should urgently reconnect. This is stated in a letter from a pagan priest, Longinianus, to Augustine, who had asked him about his beliefs. This has been preserved in the letters of the bishop of Hippo. In the letter, Longinianus outlined a theory of revelation, explaining that every part of the world has its own particular prophet and that for Italy this prophet had been Tages, the child-prophet of Tarquinia, to whom the Romans should turn back as a matter of urgency. Here is the trump card of the Etruscan religious tradition: it could put forward prophetic figures, like those required in Judeo-Christian traditions, and it was based upon sacred books setting out the teachings of these prophets. With Tages and the sacred Etruscan books as part of their national heritage, the Romans had no need of the Bible or of a prophet born in a remote corner of Judaea.

These aspects of Etruscan religious tradition ensured that it played a part in the task of defending ancient religion, which occupied philosophers at the end of paganism. A Roman writer of the second half of the third century, Cornelius Labeo, put it forward in his writings, notably in a treatise in which he described the doctrine of the transformation of the souls of the dead into gods, as mentioned in the Books of Acheron. His works have not survived, but they had some influence because this Etruscan doctrine is one of the pagan doctrines concerning the afterlife that Christian writers felt it necessary to attack.

Nonetheless this intellectual volte-face was unable to prevent the imminent disappearance of the last vestiges of the Etruscan religion. These vestiges were closely bound to traditional Roman religion, and they were even, because of the place given to haruspicy in the official religion, bound up with the position of the ancestral religion in the workings of the res publica. As soon as the Empire abandoned these religious practices and, with the edicts of Theodosius in 391 and 392 CE, banned public celebration of the pagan cult, the old Etruscan tradition, which was too directly bound up with the official cult, was doomed to die out. Whereas one can hear echoes in Proclos, the "last pagan" who ran the school of philosophy at Athens between 430 and 485 CE, and even later in the work of John the Lydian, who in the time of Justinian was interested in the ancient religious customs of Etruria in that last outpost of Rome, Byzantium, they were nothing more than nostalgia for a past long gone.

SEE ALSO Divination; Portents and Prodigies.

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DOMINIQUE BRIQUEL (2005)
Translated from French by Paul Ellis

EUCHARIST. The Eucharist, also known as the Mass, Communion service, Lord's Supper, and Divine Liturgy, among other names, is the central act of Christian worship, practiced by almost all denominations of Christians. Though varying in form from the very austere to the very elaborate, the Eucharist has as its essential elements the breaking and sharing of bread and the pouring and sharing of wine (in some Protestant churches, unfermented grape juice) among the worshipers in commemoration of the actions of Jesus Christ on the eve of his death.

The word *eucharist* is taken from the Greek *eucharistia,* which means "thanksgiving" or "gratitude" and which was used by the early Christians for the Hebrew *berakhah,* meaning "a blessing" such as a table grace. When Christians adopted the word from the Greek into other languages, the meaning was narrowed to the specific designation of the ritual of the bread and wine.

HISTORY. The ritual attributed to Jesus by the writers of the New Testament is portrayed as a Jewish Passover seder meal in which Jesus reinterprets the symbolism of the traditional celebration (Paul in *1 Cor.* 11:23–26, *Mk.* 14:22–25, *Mt.* 26:26–29, and *Lk.* 22:14–20). Passover commemorates the liberation of the Hebrews from slavery in Egypt, which was the first step in their becoming a people in covenant with God. It is celebrated to this day by a lengthy ceremonial meal with prescribed foods, in which the story of the deliverance is symbolically reenacted (see *Ex.* 12:1–28). Selecting from the many symbolic foods customary in his time, Jesus takes only the unleavened bread (the bread of emergency or affliction) and the wine. The tradition of the early witnesses is that Jesus asks the traditional questions about the meaning of the ritual and answers, first about the bread he is breaking, "This is my body, broken for you," and then about the wine, "This is my blood, the blood of the covenant, which is to be poured out for many." It is clear that Jesus refers to his death and is interpreting the significance of that death in terms of the symbolism of the Exodus story and the Passover ritual. He invites the disciples to repeat the action frequently and thus enter into his death and the outcome of that death. By placing his death in the context of Passover, Jesus interprets it as a liberation bringing his followers into community as one people in covenant with God (see *1 Cor.* 11:17–34).

In the earliest Christian times, Eucharist was celebrated rather spontaneously as part of an ordinary meal for which the local followers of Jesus were gathered in his name in a private home. By the second century it is clear that there were strong efforts to regulate it under the authority and supervision of the local church leaders known as bishops. By the fourth century, Eucharist was celebrated with great pomp and ceremony in public buildings, and the meal was no longer in evidence. At that time, solemn processions emphasized the role of a clergy arrayed in special vestments. The form of the celebration included several readings from the Bible, prayers, chants, a homily, and the great prayer of thanksgiving, in the course of which the words and actions of Jesus at his farewell supper were recited, followed by the distribution of the consecrated bread and wine to the participants.

The Orthodox and other Eastern churches retained this general format with some variations. The liturgy of the Western churches, however, went through a long period of accretion and elaboration of secondary symbolism which obscured the meaning of the action and tended to leave the congregation passive spectators of what the clergy were doing. During the Middle Ages there also emerged the private Mass, a Eucharist celebrated by a priest without a congregation of worshipers present.

The sixteenth-century reformers took action to strip away all accretions and elements that did not seem to be in accord with the text of the Bible. Zwingli and Calvin were more radical in this than Luther. The Roman Catholic church also instituted extensive reforms of the rite in the sixteenth century, leaving a uniform pattern later known as the Tridentine Mass. This, however, was very substantially revised after the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), allowing more spontaneity and congregational participation as well as offering more variety.

THEOLOGY. Eucharist is understood by all Christians to commemorate the saving death and resurrection of Jesus, and to mediate communion with God and community among the worshipers. Beyond this basic concept, the theology of the Eucharist varies very widely among the Christian denominations and has often been a cause of bitter dispute between them.

Both Orthodox and Roman Catholic Christians understand the presence of Christ very concretely, taking seriously the so-called words of institution, "This is my body . . . this is my blood." However, the Orthodox insist that while there is an actual change in the bread and wine that justifies these words, the manner of the change is a mystery not to be analyzed or explained rationally. Since medieval times Catholic Christians have attempted to give an intellectually satisfying explanation, focusing on the notion of a transubstantiation of bread and wine. While the eucharistic theology of the various Protestant churches varies widely, they are united in finding a theology of transubstantiation not in harmony with their interpretation of scripture.

The meaning and effect of the Eucharist have also been discussed in Catholic theology under the term *real presence.* This emphasizes that the presence of Christ mediated by the bread and wine is prior to the faith of the congregation. Protestant theology has generally rejected the term *real presence* as one liable to superstitious interpretation.

Orthodox and Catholic Christians also agree on an interpretation of the Eucharist in terms of sacrifice; that is, a renewed offering by Christ himself of his immolation in death. Again, there have been determined efforts in the Catholic theological tradition to give intellectually satisfying explanations of this, while Orthodox theology tends to tolerate a variety of explanations at the same time as it insists on fidelity to the words of the liturgy itself. Protestants believe the theology of sacrifice lacks biblical foundation and doctrinal validity, and prefer to emphasize the role of the Eucharist as a memorial.

It is paradoxical that the Eucharist is the sacrament of unity for Christians yet is a sign and cause of disunity among denominations. In general denominations exclude others from their eucharistic table, usually on account of theological differences. Contemporary initiatives reflect attempts to reconcile some of these differences and to experiment cautiously with "intercommunion" among the churches. Such initiatives appear to be far more extensive among laity than in the official legislation of the churches.

SEE ALSO Beverages; Bread; Food; Leaven; Passover.

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EUCLID (c. 300 BCE) was a Greek mathematician. Plato described mathematics as a discipline that turns one's gaze from the Becoming of the sensible world to the Being of the intelligible. The great value of mathematics is to prepare the mind for the apprehension of pure ideas. After Plato's death, geometry flourished among his students. One of the few details known about Euclid's life is that he studied under Plato's followers. Subsequently he founded the great school of mathematics at Alexandria, Egypt. He wrote on mathematics, optics, and astronomy.

Euclid's *Elements* is the most influential work in all of mathematics. Though other "Elements" were produced before Euclid, his work organized and completed that of his predecessors, who are now known chiefly by reference. As the letters (Gr., *stoikheia;* "elements") of the alphabet are to language, so are the *Elements* to mathematics, wrote the Neoplatonist Proclus in the fifth century CE. The analogy is apt. In thirteen books Euclid goes from the most elementary definitions and assumptions about points, lines, and angles all the way to the geometry of solids, and he includes a theory of the proportions of magnitudes, number theory, and geometric algebra. His procedure epitomized the axiomatic-deductive method and became a paradigm for philosophical and scientific reasoning. The greatest works in the history of astronomy imitate the *Elements:* Ptolemy's *Almagest* (c. 150 CE), Copernicus's *De revolutionibus* (1543), and Newton's *Principia* (1686). There is no greater example of Euclid's influence in philosophy than Spinoza's *Ethics* (1675), which scrupulously reproduced Euclid's method of definitions, axioms, and propositions.

The *Elements* became the elementary introduction to mathematics in Hellenistic civilization. Translated into Arabic in the ninth century and into Latin in the thirteenth, it became the foundation of Islamic, medieval, and Renaissance mathematics. It standardized the body of mathematical knowledge well into the twentieth century. The *Elements* was not translated into Sanskrit until the 1720s, though there is evidence of some prior knowledge. The Chinese may have known Euclid in the thirteenth century, but it did not affect the development of their mathematics until 1607, when the Jesuit Matteo Ricci produced a highly praised translation of the first six books of the *Elements* as part of the Jesuit missionary strategy in China. The use of the *Elements* as *the* textbook of mathematics over millennia is the source of the often repeated claim that, second only to the Bible, the *Elements* is the most widely circulated book in human history.

Euclid's religious significance can be seen in two ways. First, Euclid fulfilled the value Plato saw in mathematics. Euclid's masterpiece remains the enduring testament of the human capacity to construct a transparently intelligible system of relations grounded in logic and capable of extension to the physical world, though not derived from it. He demonstrates with lucid brevity how reason can successfully operate with purely intelligible objects such as points, lines, and triangles, and discover new and unforeseen truths with them. Such exercise frees the mind from the appearances of the senses and initiates it into an intellectual realm that Plato referred to as the realm of Being. In Neoplatonism such exercise had a paramount spiritual value. Augustine of Hippo, in his *Soliloquies* (386), written the year before his baptism, esteemed mathematics as a preparation for the soul's ascent to God. The mind perceives necessary truths first in mathematics and is then prepared to pursue eternal, divine truth. Having tasted the sweetness and splendor of truth in mathematics and the liberal arts, the mind actively seeks the divine. A millennium later, the Christian mystic Nicholas of Cusa wrote in his *Of Learned Ignorance* (1440) that the most fitting approach to knowledge of divine things is through symbols. Therefore he uses mathematical images because of their "indestructible certitude" (bk. 1, chap. 11).

Second, Euclid's geometry implicitly defined the nature of space for Western civilizations up to the nineteenth century. That "a straight line is drawn between two points," Euclid's first postulate, is also a statement about the space that makes it possible. Conceptions of space have religious repercussions because they involve matters of orientation. Isaac

Newton (1642–1727) reified Euclidean space in his physics. He identified absolute space and absolute time, which together constitute the ultimate frame of reference for cosmic phenomena, with God's ubiquity and eternity. Euclid's fifth postulate stipulated the conditions under which straight lines intersect, and, by implication, when they are parallel. To his continuing credit, Euclid presented the conditions as assumptions. For millennia mathematicians tried unsuccessfully to prove them. But, because Euclid's postulates were only assumptions, other conditions were possible. Thus in the nineteenth century Nikolai Lobachevskii, Farkas Bolyai, and G. F. B. Riemann were inspired to develop non-Euclidean geometries. These were crucial to Einstein's theories of special and general relativity (1905, 1913) and, hence, to the present cosmology, wherein a straight line cannot be drawn between two points. The conclusion that space and time are inseparable in the mathematical and physical theories of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries owes its existence to the force of the Euclidean tradition.

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Revised Bibliography

EUGENICS. The term *eugenics*, from the Greek meaning "good birth," was coined by British scientist Francis Galton (1822–1911). As Galton defined it in *Essays in Eugenics* (1909), eugenics is "the study of agencies under social control which may improve or impair the racial qualities of future generations" (p. 81). Eugenics seeks to improve the human gene pool by encouraging reproduction among "desirable" members of society (positive eugenics) and by discouraging reproduction among the "undesirable" (negative eugenics).

THE ORIGINS OF EUGENICS. Influenced by his cousin Charles Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection, Galton researched the ancestry of eminent men in Great Britain and believed that the characteristics that led to their success—especially disposition and cognitive ability—were inherited. Environment might have had some influence, but for Galton heredity was central to an individual's traits and personality.

In addition to believing that talent and character could be inherited, Galton recognized that society was interfering with natural selection. Though evolution by Darwinian natural selection had produced humanity, developed society was drastically altering its course. In nature, natural selection eliminated the weak and the sick, allowing only the swift and strong to survive. In civilized societies, however, weak and "feebleminded" persons were cared for and provided for through charities, government programs, and religious groups, so that natural selection was no longer operating on humanity. Galton believed that if nothing were done, society would suffer the deleterious effects of having "fit" traits diluted by "unfit" traits.

Consequently, Galton believed that civilized human society ought to take control of its own breeding practices by encouraging eugenic behavior that promoted the future health of society. He suggested that, much as farmers breed only the best livestock, humans should promote reproduction among only the best of the human stock. Only then would the human race be able to maintain its level of civilization and prevent the regression of humanity toward greater feeblemindedness and greater physical weakness. Galton's solution to the problem was to encourage individuals in the upper classes—whose success Galton attributed to inherited traits—to have more children.

After 1900, when the work of the Austrian monk Gregor Mendel (1822–1884) was rediscovered, the true impact of heredity permeated both the scientific community and society, and eugenics seemed to gain momentum. In his experiments with pea plants, Mendel had shown how individual characteristics such as pea color and plant height were inherited according to a regular pattern. Eugenicists applied Mendel's results to human trait inheritance, assuming that intelligence, attitude, and other complex human behaviors were the result of a clear-cut pattern of inheritance. Examining an individual's pedigree, then, could yield powerful clues about what traits that individual's offspring might inherit.

Building on this apparently solid scientific foundation, eugenic scientists in both the United Kingdom and the United States attempted to persuade governments and society to embrace eugenic measures. Established in 1910 by Charles Davenport (1866–1944), the Eugenics Records Office in Cold Spring Harbor, New York, served as the central clearinghouse for family pedigree information and eugenic research in the United States. Davenport and his colleague Harry H. Laughlin (1880–1943), superintendent of the Eugenics Records Office, developed pedigree surveys and trained fieldworkers to gather family pedigree information for hundreds of individuals. Based on their examination of such pedigrees, Davenport and Laughlin became convinced that the nation's gene pool faced threats on two fronts. Internally, "feebleminded" individuals were outbreeding the graduates of Ivy League universities, lowering the overall intelligence of the gene pool. Externally, waves of new immigrants from eastern and southern Europe threatened to overtake the Anglo-Saxon stock in the United States. Both problems were "dysgenic" because they caused a decline in the quality breeding population, so urgent action was required to prevent the further deterioration of society.

In dealing with the dysgenic effects of immigration, the Eugenics Records Office was influential in convincing the U.S. Congress to pass restrictive new laws. Psychologist Henry H. Goddard (1886–1957) had performed intelligence tests on immigrants at Ellis Island that seemed to support the eugenic argument that immigrants were of lower intelligence than native stock. Using Goddard's research as well as his own, Laughlin testified before Congress that the waves of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe were diluting the "purity" of older American immigrant populations from northern Europe, as well as costing taxpayers millions of dollars in social services. Heavily influenced by the eugenicists' arguments, Congress passed the Immigration Act of 1924, which set immigration quotas based on the 1890 census. Consequently, immigrants of "eugenic" stock from northern and western Europe were admitted in larger numbers than the "dysgenic" stock from southern and eastern Europe.

In addition to its work with the U.S. Congress, the Eugenics Records Office provided model sterilization laws for states trying to implement "negative" eugenic measures. Scientists and fieldworkers from the Eugenics Records Office offered expert testimony in sterilization and institutionalization cases for those who had been diagnosed with a range of inherited "defects," such as alcoholism, pauperism, criminality, feeblemindedness, and insanity. Yet even before the coordinated efforts by the Eugenics Records Office, states began passing eugenic sterilization laws, beginning with Indiana in 1907. Other states soon followed, including California in 1909. In 1913 and 1917, amendments to the California law expanded the state's power to involuntarily sterilize the "feebleminded," certain prisoners, and criminals with more than three convictions.

In 1927, the U.S. Supreme Court heard an appeal by a seventeen-year-old woman from Virginia named Carrie Buck. Buck, along with her mother Emma, had been labeled "feebleminded" and placed under the care of the Virginia Colony for Epileptics and Feebleminded. After the unmarried Carrie Buck gave birth to a baby girl who was diagnosed as "feebleminded" at eight months of age, the superintendent of the institution ordered her sterilization under a new Virginia law. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court, who, having heard testimony in favor of sterilization from eugenic experts including Laughlin, ruled that the state of Virginia did indeed have the constitutional right to involuntarily sterilize Carrie Buck. In the majority opinion (*Buck v. Bell* 274 U.S. 200, 1927), Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes argued that the public good demanded that action be taken to sterilize Carrie Buck, because "three generations of imbeciles are enough."

The Supreme Court ruling in *Buck v. Bell* allowed states to continue forcibly sterilizing and institutionalizing those deemed unfit for reproduction. California had involuntarily sterilized nearly twenty thousand individuals by the time its sterilization law was overturned in 1951, more than had been sterilized in any other state. All told, over sixty thousand people in thirty-three states were sterilized for a variety of inherited "defects."

In Germany, the eugenics movement (*Rassenhygiene*) gained momentum as the Nazis rose to power and passed forced sterilization laws beginning in 1933. Nazi scientists and politicians approvingly cited the American experiment with eugenics, particularly in California, in their arguments for broader powers in determining who should be sterilized. When the horrors of the Nazi regime's racial hygiene program were fully revealed, eugenics programs in the United States and elsewhere were largely discredited. Some have argued, however, that though state-sponsored eugenics is now roundly condemned, eugenic attitudes persist in less overt forms.

RELIGION AND EUGENICS. Galton recognized the potential power of eugenic ideals and the necessary conditions for their acceptance. He wrote in 1909 in his *Memories of My Life*, "I take Eugenics very seriously, feeling that its principles ought to become one of the dominant motives in a civilized nation, much as if they were one of its religious tenets" (p. 322). The success of eugenics lay not only in its ability to present pertinent information in support of eugenics, but also in its ability to influence one's entire way of living. Thus, the eugenicists appealed not only to the science behind their efforts but also to religious sensibilities by providing an ultimate explanation for an individual's existence: responsibility to the future of the gene pool. Eugenics required an attitude of individual submission, an ethical orientation toward the greater good. To many scientists who argued for eugenic measures, religion motivated ethical behavior better than any other social phenomenon. Hence, eugenicists went to great lengths in analyzing and appropriating religion for eugenic ends.

Davenport grounded religious belief on the apparent science of eugenics in a lecture he delivered in 1916, "Eugenics as a Religion." Noting that every proper religion has its own statement of belief, Davenport proceeded to annunciate a twelve-point creed to serve as the basis for the new religion of eugenics. For Davenport, believing in eugenics meant believing that one is the "trustee" of one's genetic material; that one believes in the power of pedigree over environment; that one should have four to six offspring; that immigration should be limited to weed out the "socially unfit"; and that one is responsible ultimately to the race. Davenport's eugenic religion required that one be responsible both to one's genetic past and to society's genetic future. Along with Davenport's creed, the American Eugenics Society provided *A Eugenics Catechism* (1926) in question-and-answer form. The catechism assured readers that eugenics was not antagonistic to the Bible, for eugenics was concerned with the well-being of the totality of humanity. The catechism also promised immortality through one's genetic inheritance, passed on from generation to generation.

Likewise, Paul Popenoe and Roswell Johnson's *Applied Eugenics* (1933) gave immortality a firm grounding in scientific knowledge. In a passage describing the long line of human descent, Popenoe and Johnson argue that one's genetic makeup is immortal because genes, as the factors that determine who one is, can be passed on to innumerable generations. The authors argue that immortality is no longer merely hope but a real possibility. Even as the body dies, the genes that contain the information to produce the body live on in one's offspring. Popenoe and Johnson conclude, "To the eugenist, life everlasting is something more than a figure of speech or a theological concept—it is as much a reality as the beat of a heart, the growth of muscles, or the activity of the mind" (p. 41). Popenoe and Johnson go so far as to argue that one passes on one's soul from generation to generation by the propagation of the genetic material; religion has but speculated about the nature of the soul and its immortality, but eugenic science has proven their relationship. According to eugenics, then, an individual passes on his or her very soul to his or her offspring. As Davenport had argued in his creed, the proper attitude is one of submission to the greater good of society and to the precious inheritance of genetic material.

Popenoe and Johnson devote an entire chapter to the subject of eugenics and its relationship to religion. Interestingly, Popenoe and Johnson begin by asserting that "natural selection favors the altruistic and ethical individual because he is more likely to leave children to carry on his endowment and his attitude" than the merely selfish, shortsighted individual. As Galton had first observed, modern society has interfered with the operation of Darwinian natural selection. But unlike Galton, Popenoe and Johnson see the problem not only in society's failure to eliminate the weak and unintelligent, but also in its failure to rid itself of selfish and shortsighted individuals. They argue that selfishness creates problems for eugenicists since eugenics is based on placing the good of the race ahead of the good of the individual. Thus, the eugenics movement requires a structure for encouraging altruism and selflessness, a structure provided by religion.

For Popenoe and Johnson, science can offer religion a solid basis for ethics, one amenable to eugenic ideals, as well as present a rational explanation for the immortality of the soul. Religion need not retreat from the field of ethics; instead, religion should reexamine its ethical groundings. Dogmatic moral injunctions are no longer tenable in a eugenic world. Popenoe and Johnson conclude that the success of eugenics depends on the individual placing the present and future good of humanity above the good of the individual. Though many societal organizations foster selfless giving, the church is the most effective at encouraging altruism. Religion and the church can be a driving force behind eugenic change if they will but base their ethical systems on a science.

The "Report and Program of the Eugenics Society of the United States of America" (1925) pointed to the central role that religion had played in fostering both dysgenic and eugenic attitudes. Still, the society wondered whether the social value of religion could be used to further eugenic ends. No doubt, religion influenced dysgenic behavior by encouraging charity and providing social services. But like Popenoe and Johnson, both of whom sat on the Eugenics Society's advisory council, the society recognized religion's potential to influence individual behavior toward eugenic ends. The Eugenics Society concluded that if further research showed that religion were in fact primarily dysgenic, then eugenics had to devise a means of using religion's moral authority while altering its message.

One way in which the Eugenics Society encouraged religious engagement with eugenic principles was by sponsoring a sermon contest for clergy. Submissions were judged according to their ability to present eugenic ideals in clear and coherent fashion. Most did so by interpreting religious teachings in light of eugenic ideals. One sermon claimed that the Bible was a book of eugenics because it chronicled the lineages of important leaders and prophets. Jesus was seen as the product of the highest religious and moral stock of priestly and prophetic individuals. Another sermon claimed it a sin to bring feebleminded and diseased children into the world. Finally, one sermon argued that Jesus endorsed eugenics in saying that it would have been better if Judas had never been born (*Mt.* 26:24; *Mk.* 14:21). In this view, eugenics could be a crucial tool in bringing about the ordered society of which Jesus seemingly spoke.

Because marriage was an important focus of eugenic measures, some clergy took the initiative to aid the eugenic movement by enforcing a version of "negative" eugenics. In 1912, W. T. Sumner, the dean of the Episcopal Cathedral of Chicago, announced that he would not marry couples who failed to produce a physician's certificate of good health, a move endorsed by two hundred clergy. The hope was that the clergy would aid eugenicists by preventing unprofitable unions that would pass on undesirable traits.

Eugenic scientists embraced religious language even as they critiqued the dysgenic impact of various religions. Still, they recognized religion's unequalled social power in influencing individual behavior and in urging action. Even as they criticized the dysgenic effects of unconditional religious charity and threatened to take over the entire field of ethics, eugenicists urged religion to incorporate scientific analyses into its ethical systems and embrace eugenic ideals.

EUGENICS IN RECENT HISTORY. Interest in the history of the eugenics movement has increased markedly since the 1980s as new genetic technologies have been developed and as the Human Genome Project has completed the map of human DNA. Prenatal screening for genetic disorders, along with the legalization of abortion in the United States and the United Kingdom, has increased the debate over the social consequences of genetic knowledge. Debates have swirled around the proper use of such new technologies and the social consequences of their availability. Key concerns include the difference between notions of treatment versus notions of improvement. For example, if it becomes possible, should the genes for Tay-Sachs disease or cystic fibrosis be removed from the gene pool? Would such action constitute eugenic improvement or disease prevention?

The history of eugenics has also been invoked in debates surrounding the connection between intelligence and race. Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray's *The Bell Curve* (1994) worries about the dysgenic effects of variable breeding rates because, the authors argue, racial groups with lower intelligence levels are reproducing at a higher rate than races with higher IQs. Critics of *The Bell Curve* assert a more environmental explanation for variations in intelligence and argue that genetics are not decisive in determining an individual's intelligence.

Other scholars have maintained that the use of new genetic technologies tends to support existing social hierarchies and vested economic interests. They worry that economic interests will determine for whom and for what purpose genetic technologies will be used, which will in turn reinforce social stratification as those unable to afford genetic enhancements are left behind. If the means for enhancement are available, some argue, parents will demand that such technology be used. In this case, consumer demand, not government control, will drive a new eugenics based on the desire for "designer babies." Though they recognize the eugenic dangers, a number of theologians and ethicists have endorsed certain forms of genetic research because of their potential to relieve human suffering. For them, the promise of healing offered by genetic therapies outweighs the concerns over the misuse of new technologies and new therapies.

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EUHEMERUS AND EUHEMERISM. Euhemerus, a Greek (c. 340–260 BCE), achieved fame as the result of an imaginative story he wrote that speaks, in a certain fashion, about the origins of divinities. After his death, Euhemerus's name became identified with a special, widely discussed and disputed way of interpreting religion. Euhemerism had an impact for many centuries. Even today, no one dealing with the history of scholarship of religion will leave Euhemerus unmentioned. Very little is known about Euhemerus himself. What is known is precisely what tradition has made him: the originator of *euhemerism*, an elucidation of religion that explains the gods as elevated images of historical individuals whose acts were beneficial to those around them.

The term *euhemerism* came to refer to a method of empirical explanation applied to the accounts of gods found in sacred traditions. Indeed, Aristotle, the first great Greek thinker with an empirical sense of inquiry, was part of the generation that preceded Euhemerus. There is no reason to believe that Euhemerus was an empiricist or that he shared Aristotle's analytical views concerning traditional religion. Euhemerus's turn of mind went elsewhere. In Euhemerus's day, well before Strabo (c. 63 BCE–c. 24 CE), geography was far from the accurate discipline it would become. Traveling, however, was a most attractive topic, and travel stories were told everywhere, from China to the shores of the Mediterranean. Euhemerus achieved renown in his own time as the teller of a travel story.

The title of a novelette Euhemerus wrote has come down to us as *Hiera Anagraphē*, a title that is usually rendered as "Treatise on Sacred Matters." It is not known whether this title was given by Euhemerus himself or by someone later, nor is it known whether this title renders Euhemerus's own intentions. In fact, a real impediment to modern access to Euhemerus is the fact that no version of the text he wrote exists. (The understanding of *hiera* as "sacred" might be misleading; one might just as well translate the title as "treatise on religious matters.") All that exists are summaries of much later date. The two most extensive writings about Euhemerus come from the Christian apologist Lactantius (c. 260–340 CE) and, earlier, Diodorus Siculus (died after 21 BCE), who wrote a world history and is one of our best sources for the history of antiquity.

Hiera Anagraphē tells of a voyage to an island in the east called Panchaia, from which—according to the story—on clear days India could be seen. On this island stood a golden pillar with a golden engraving on it. The pillar recounted the life of Zeus, and also of the rulers of Panchaia before him: his father, Kronos, and his grandfather, Ouranos. Zeus, according to this story, traveled through the world, and wherever he went the worship of the gods became established. But Zeus and the kings before him were rulers who bestowed benefits on the inhabitants of Panchaia. The people came to worship them as gods. In other words, Zeus, his father, and his grandfather were royal rulers who were made gods because of their acts on behalf of human beings.

What Euhemerus wrote differs considerably from older, didactic traditions, such as that of Xenophanes of Colophon (sixth century BCE), who is known for his emphasis on the difference between gods and men: "But the mortals think that the gods are born and dress, speak and look just like they themselves do," (Diels and Kranz, 1934, fragment 14), and "there is only one single God, the supreme among gods and people, unlike the people both in appearance and in thought," (Diels and Kranz, 1934, fragment 23).

Euhemerus wrote as a storyteller. Storytelling can be a way of conveying the sacred, of speaking about the sacred, which we find in virtually all places and all times. Yet Euhemerus's narrative came to be viewed as an early attempt to find some rational basis of religion, and its author came to be seen as a sort of rationalist explainer. From the time of the early church fathers on, certain trends in Western thought caused theologians and other scholars to approach Euhemerus as if he were a critic or debunker of the gods. Nevertheless, euhemerism lost little of its prestige. The French scholar Abbé Banier (1673–1741) used it eagerly in his work *La mythologie et les fables expliqués par l'histoire* (Mythology and fables explained by history). From the age of the Enlightenment onward, scholars, among them many a classicist, looked upon Euhemerus as a debunker whose work represented a rational critique of religion. This element of "desacralization" was admired by some and regretted by others—but both sides of that argument were missing the boat. Few of Euhemerus's contemporaries were likely to have felt Euhemerus as a critical force. Greek religion was imparted primarily in storytelling.

The classical historian Truesdell S. Brown quite rightly stressed a simple fact many of his peers had overlooked: the Greek gods were unlike the God of the Bible (and of the Qurʾān, the holy book of the third Abrahamic tradition). Brown emphasized that the entire known Greek religious heritage consists in stories (that is, myths), whereas the vast majority of biblical writings, apart from notable exceptions like the *Psalms*, present themselves neither as unmythical, or as history. Moreover, the Greeks did not have "holy scripture" or "church dogma."

The Germanist and historian of religions Jan de Vries was more in keeping with certain of his colleagues when he called Euhemerus "a clear example of the triviality to which the fourth century sank in explaining the gods." Joseph Fontenrose, a classicist, by contrast, lauded Euhemerus for his "rationalism" and for the position that mere people are at the root of divinity. These positions of De Vries and Fontenrose nicely exemplify those disagreements regarding Euhemerus wherein both sides miss the point that matters by missing the storytelling structure of the religion of the Greeks.

Augustine of Hippo (354–430) accomplished a fateful reunderstanding of Euhemerus (as did many of the early Christian thinkers). Augustine was familiar with Euhemerus's ideas, and for him they only indicate that the "pagans" themselves were of the opinion that their gods were mere people. Moreover, Augustine was convinced that those individuals who were elevated to divinity gained that status as a result of their stupendous evil—and this inversion, we can see, is precisely the opposite of what Euhemerus said. This *Euhemerismus inversus* of the early Christians had great persistence. Since the nineteenth century (when most missionary societies were established), many a missionary has held the opinion that "pagan" gods are demons. This opinion is an offshoot of those early Christian theologies.

Among more "secular" scholars, it is remarkable that a number have taken Euhemerus very seriously as a rationalist, and some have even developed theories that resemble his supposed rational reductionism. The theory of "animism" proposed by E. B. Tylor (1832–1917) lingers to this day—for example, in the writings of journalists who need a shorthand label ("animist") to identify the religions of peoples in remote parts of the world, peoples who once would have been called "savage," "pagan," or "primitive." Tylor's theory concerns the origin of religion and displays a mechanical cause-and-effect rationalism, which many thought they saw (and liked) in Euhemerus.

Turning away from rationalizing and theorizing about the origins of religion, one can confront the fact of the extraordinary importance of storytelling. The medieval world, Christianized as it was, told stories and performed plays in which Jesus, Joseph, and Mary, and of course the devil, spoke with one another. And, of course, there were songs. And institutions or authorities did not condemn storytelling and songs.

It remains true that most of the time in most of the world the myths of each religious tradition have been *stories*. Certainly in Greece and in antiquity in general, doctrines of "faith" were inconceivable. The sloppy habit of equating *religion* with *faith* is a modern deviation, a by-product of Christian church history; *faith* cannot be translated, for example, into the languages of classical India or China.

See Also Animism and Animatism; Apotheosis; Atheism; Deity; Fetishism; Hellenistic Religions; Manism; Utopia.

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Kees W. Bolle (2005)

EUSEBIUS

EUSEBIUS (c. 260/70–c. 339), a Christian bishop of Caesarea in Palestine from 314, was a leading early Christian historian, exegete, and apologist. A disciple of Pamphilus at Caesarea, Eusebius wrote a life of his master and called himself "of Pamphilus." He traced his intellectual descent to Origen, and with Pamphilus wrote a defense of Origen against the theological and personal criticisms current during the persecution of 303–313. Little is known of Eusebius's early life, but it seems clear that he wrote his *Historia ecclesiastica* (History of the church) at Caesarea during the persecution, possibly though not certainly after composing at a slightly earlier date a first draft of it as well as a first draft of his *Chronicon* (Chronicle). At the end of the persecution, in spite of occasional slanders concerning apostasy spread by his enemies, he became bishop of Caesarea. During this time he continued to update his *Historia* and composed other significant works, such as the *Demonstratio evangelica* and *Praeparatio evangelica.* He gradually became involved in the Arian controversy; his defense of a traditional subordinationist Christology partly resembling Origen's was criticized by many fellow bishops. Indeed, a synod held at Antioch in 324 or 325 condemned him and a few others, though he was given the right of later appeal. At the synod held at Nicaea Eusebius set forth the local creed of Caesarea but accepted the Alexandrian term *homoousios* ("of the same substance"), which transformed the creed's meaning. Thereafter he helped drive the pro-Nicene bishop Eustathius out of Antioch, acted as a judge when Athanasius was brought before several synods, and attacked Marcellus of Ancyra as a Sabellian. At the celebration of Constantine's thirtieth anniversary Eusebius delivered a panegyric on the emperor and his divinely inspired deeds. Similar themes appear in his *Life of Constantine,* written after 337. Eusebius died before the synod of Antioch in 341.

Eusebius is known less for his deeds than for his multitudinous writings, some of which are lost. Constant revision and the transfer of materials from one work to another make his development as a writer difficult to assess. He was an exegete, an apologist, a historian, and a panegyrist, but his various roles cannot be completely separated.

As exegete he followed the example of Origen in his textual criticism and made some use of the latter's works in his commentaries on *Isaiah* and *Psalms.* In addition, he produced "canons" for finding gospel parallels and wrote an introduction to theology (*General Elementary Introduction,* of which parts survive in his *Eclogae propheticae*). Biblical exegesis recurs throughout the *Demonstratio,* primarily in regard to Old Testament prophecies of Christ and the church.

Eusebius's apologetic is implicit throughout the *Historia* and explicit in the *Praeparatio* (sages and seers anticipated Christianity, although inadequately), the treatise *Against Hierocles* (Christ superior to Apollonius of Tyana, a first-century wonder-worker), and the twenty-five lost books against the Neoplatonist philosopher Porphyry, who had written against Christians and criticized Origen. A treatise that survived only in a Syriac version is titled *On the Theophany;* it combines materials from other books.

As historian, Eusebius is best known for his ten books on the history of the church from its divine origin to Constantine's defeat of the pagan emperor Licinius in 324. The work does not discuss the later conflicts over Arianism, Melitianism, and Donatism, or the synods of 324 and 325. A late edition deletes Eusebius's expectation that Constantine's son Crispus would be the emperor's heir; the deletion must have been made after Crispus's execution in 326. The main sources of the *Historia* lay in the church archives and libraries at Caesarea and Jerusalem, where there was no documentation for the churches of the West or for many churches of the East. Eusebius seems to have known little about the church of Antioch and had the good sense to refuse translation there in about 330. His strong emphasis on Alexandrian Christianity results from his love for the school of Origen.

Eusebius's panegyrics usually start from his own experiences. Thus his work *The Martyrs of Palestine* (two editions) was based largely on his own acquaintance with the persecution in 303–313; he visited Egypt perhaps in 312, where he witnessed mass executions of Christians. He praised also other martyrs (especially of Gaul), the benefactors who rebuilt the ruined church at Tyre, and above all the emperor Constantine as the divinely appointed champion of Christianity.

It may be that Eusebius's major contribution was as librarian or bibliographer. To him is owed the collections of Origen's letters and the stories of "ancient martyrdoms." The *Chronicon, Historia, Praeparatio,* and *Demonstratio* are essentially collections of collections or even source books without very full annotation. In other words, his materials may be more important than what he did with them. Although one has to watch for deletions, misconceptions, and other errors, Eusebius does not usually falsify his materials, but his changing attitudes have left strange juxtapositions in the text of the *Historia.*

He was conciliatory toward pagan philosophy and politics but hostile toward pagan religion, in which he could see a main cause of the Great Persecution. In this regard he was aligned with Origen, but he underestimated the ultimate force of the newer Alexandrian theology and its preference for orthodoxy over the harmony that Eusebius, like Constantine, had supported. During his lifetime he enjoyed good fortune. He was in imperial favor at least during his last decade, and by 340 his opponent Eustathius was dead, Athanasius in exile, and Marcellus about to be deposed. The question of his supposed Arianism has agitated historians of doctrine for centuries, but it cannot be answered without greater knowledge of the theology of the early fourth century.

His place in the history of Christian learning and literature was high during his lifetime and continued so for centuries. Those who wrote the history of the Eastern church in the fifth and sixth centuries invariably refered to his work as basic and irrefutable. Less innovative or skilled in philosophy than Origen, he was more concerned with tradition, and this concern led him to an exegesis often more sober and literal. It was this concern, also, that led to his search for early Christian documents. Perhaps he succeeded to the headship of Origen's school at Caesarea. It is possible that the lost life of Eusebius by his successor Acacius resembled the panegyric that a disciple, probably Gregory Thaumaturgus, addressed to Origen. If so, there must have been significant differences. A disciple of Eusebius would have insisted on the importance of history, not philosophical theology, as the key to exegesis and apologetics.

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ROBERT M. GRANT (1987)

EUTYCHES (c. 378–454), was the archimandrite and founder of the monophysite heresy. Eutyches was born in Constantinople and was archimandrite of a monastery near there. As sponsor of the eunuch Chrysaphius, Eutyches was very influential in the imperial court. Chrysaphius was one of the more powerful counselors of the emperor Theodosius II.

Eutyches was the originator of an extreme form of monophysitism that came to be called Eutychianism. In reaction to the separationist Christology of Nestorius (who accepted two distinct natures in Christ), Eutyches concluded that there was in Christ a single nature. When Theodoret of Cyrrhus wrote the *Eranistes* against Eutyches' opinions, Flavian, the patriarch of Constantinople (446–449), sent Eutyches to the Council of Constantinople (448) for judgment.

Eutyches appeared at the council but refused to accept the existence of two natures in Christ and was on that account condemned and deposed. Flavian's successor on the throne of Constantinople, Cyril, was, however, sympathetic to Eutyches' teaching, which corresponded to the general framework of the teaching of the Alexandrian school, rather than that of the Antiochene school. Because Cyril assumed that Flavian was a representative of the Antiochene school, he opposed the measures taken against Eutyches. Cyril promoted the convocation of a synod that later became known as the Robber Synod (449), which restored Eutyches and condemned and deposed Eusebius of Dorylaeum—who also opposed the heresy of Nestorius—as well as Flavian. Despite this, and on account of the loss of imperial favor because of the death of Theodosius II (450), Eutyches was expelled from his monastery. The new emperors, Pulcheria and her consort Marcian, convoked an ecumenical council at Chalcedon in 451, which denounced the Robber Synod, excommunicated Dioscorus (patriarch of Alexandria who had presided over the synod), restored the expelled bishops, and condemned Nestorianism, as well as Eutyches along with his teachings.

Eutyches believed that after the union of the divine and the human in Christ, there were no longer two natures but one, and this one nature was a mingling of the two. After this blending, only the divine nature remained, because the human nature was absorbed by the divine. The Council of Chalcedon, by contrast, affirmed that within Christ there are united, without confusion or division, two natures that are wholly God and wholly human.

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Theodore Zissis (1987)
Translated from Greek by Philip M. McGhee

EVAGRIOS OF PONTUS (345–399), also known as Evagrios Pontikos; Greek theologian and mystic. Evagrios was surnamed Pontikos because he was a native of Pontus, in Asia Minor. He was born to a prosperous, educated family. His father was a *chorepiskopos,* a bishop, of an area adjacent to the family estates of Basil of Caesarea. Evagrios studied under Basil, who ordained him a reader. When Basil died in 379, Evagrios became a disciple of Gregory of Nazianzus, who ordained him deacon and took him under his aegis. Under the Cappadocian fathers, Evagrios became a skilled theologian. Directly or indirectly influenced by the thought of Origen and Gregory of Nyssa, he viewed Hellenism as an enrichment rather than as a corruption of Christianity.

When Gregory of Nazianzus moved to Constantinople as patriarch, Evagrios was invited along. There he participated in the deliberations of the Council of Constantinople (381), which brought the Arian controversy to an end and established the Nicene Creed in its final form. The young deacon impressed many in the council with his brilliant mind and skillful debating.

When Evagrios fell in love with a married woman, he decided to leave the capital and seek peace and salvation in the monastic life. He traveled to centers of monasticism in Egypt and Palestine, where he was the guest of Melania, the Roman aristocrat who ran a hospice on the Mount of Olives for Christian pilgrims. He also became acquainted with Rufinus, who had founded a monastery near the Mount of Olives. Later he moved to Egypt, where he spent two years in the mountains of Nitria and fourteen in the nearby Desert of the Cells (a settlement where six hundred anchorites lived). In Egypt, he came under the influence of the Macarii monks, known as the Makroi Adelphoi (Long Brothers), champions of Origenism. Early in his life among the Egyptian monks he encountered their hostility. They did not like "the cultured Greek living in their midst." Still the Desert Fathers exerted a significant influence on Evagrios's spirituality. He was to live among these monks until his death.

Evagrios was a prolific author of theological and ascetic essays, biblical commentaries, and letters. Some of his writings survive in the original Greek but most have survived only in Syriac, Armenian, or Latin translations. His writings reveal his indebtedness to Origen, the Desert and the Cappadocian fathers (Gregory of Nyssa in particular), and his concern with mystical and ascetic theology.

Among some fourteen authentic works by Evagrios is a trilogy: the *Praktikos,* the *Gnostikos,* and the *Kefalaia gnostika.* The first is a comprehensive exposition of his ascetic philosophy in short chapters intended for simple monks; the second is a continuation of the *Praktikos* for educated monks; and the third, the most important, known also as the *Problemata gnostika,* develops his cosmological, anthropological, and philosophical thought. It is here that Origen's influence on Evagrios is most apparent. This work was used for Evagrios's condemnation by the Second Council of Constantinople (553). Evagrios's most important essay, known as "Chapters on Prayer," is preserved in its original Greek under the name of Nilus of Ancyra.

Evagrios is acknowledged as an important spiritual influence on Christian spirituality and Islamic Sufism. He influenced Maximos the Confessor, Dionysius the Areopagite, and John of Klimakos (John Climacus) and became the forerunner of the hesychasts of later Byzantium. Through Rufinus and John Cassian, Evagrios's ascetic and mystical theology influenced John Scottus Eriugena as well as Bernard of Clairvaux and other Cistercian mystics.

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EVANGELICAL AND FUNDAMENTAL CHRISTIANITY.

The term *evangelicalism* usually refers to a largely Protestant movement that emphasizes:

(1) the Bible as authoritative and reliable;

(2) eternal salvation as possible only by regeneration (being "born again"), involving personal trust in Christ and in his atoning work;

(3) a spiritually transformed life marked by moral conduct and personal devotion, such as Bible reading and prayer; and

(4) zeal for evangelism and missions.

Among Lutherans the term *evangelical* has long had a more general usage, roughly equivalent to *Protestant,* and some neo-orthodox theologians have used the term in its broad sense of "gospel believer." In the Spanish-speaking world, the term *evangélico* roughly parallels the Lutheran usage, referring in general to non-Catholic Christian groups of any stripe, although historically most *evangélicos* have in fact been evangelicals as more narrowly defined above. In the English-speaking world, evangelical designates a distinct movement that emerged from the religious awakenings of the eighteenth century and that by the early nineteenth century had taken clear shape in the United States, in England and the British Empire, and in many mission fields.

Fundamentalism is a subspecies of evangelicalism. The term originated in the United States in 1920 and referred to evangelicals who considered it a chief Christian duty to combat uncompromisingly "modernist" theology and certain secularizing cultural trends. Organized militancy was the feature that most clearly distinguished fundamentalists from other evangelicals. Fundamentalism originated as primarily an American phenomenon, although it has British and British Empire counterparts, is paralleled by some militant groups in other traditions, and has been exported worldwide through missions.

Whereas *fundamentalism* and *fundamentalist* continue to be useful terms for historians, they are less useful as terms descriptive of any particular group, in part because the term has become so pejorative in Western culture that only the extreme right wing of evangelicalism would welcome being labeled as such. In addition, the distinction between fundamentalist and evangelical is not always an easy one to make, and what can be said of fundamentalists can often be said, at least in part, of some (even most) evangelicals. Nevertheless, the term is applied with some usefulness to the more theologically and culturally conservative wing of evangelicalism, although the precise parameters of that wing are open to conjecture.

The two characteristics by which fundamentalists are most easily recognized represent both an engagement with Western culture and a rejection of it. Fundamentalists challenge Western culture in an organized, militant battle over secularizing cultural trends even as they appropriate the latest advances in technology and technique in an evangelistic struggle for human hearts. In an attempt to nurture their constituents, especially their children, within their own subculture, fundamentalists withdraw from Western culture into communities and institutions of their own creation that often parallel the communities and institutions of secular culture. Both evangelicalism and fundamentalism are complex coalitions reflecting the convergences of a number of traditions.

EMERGENCE OF EVANGELICALISM.

Although evangelicalism is largely an Anglo-American phenomenon, its origins give it ties with European Protestantism. The central evangelical doctrines, especially the sole authority of the Bible and the necessity of personal trust in Christ, reflect Reformation teachings. Seventeenth-century Puritanism solidly implanted these emphases in a part of the British Protestant psyche, especially in the North American colonies. In the eighteenth century this heritage merged with parallel trends in continental pietism. The influence of the Moravians on John Wesley (1703–1791) best exemplifies this convergence. Wesley's Methodist movement in the mid-eighteenth century was part of a wider series of awakenings and Pietist renewal movements appearing in Protestant countries from the late seventeenth century through much of the nineteenth century. In England the awakenings were manifested in Methodism, in evangelical renewals among nonconformists, and in the rise of a notable evangelical party in the Church of England. By the mid-nineteenth century, evangelicalism was the most typical form of Protestantism in Great Britain.

In the United States, evangelicalism was even more influential. Evangelical religion had fewer well-established competitors than in the Old World. The rise of the United States as a new nation and the rise of evangelicalism coincided, so the religion often assumed a quasi-official status. Evangelical emphasis on voluntary acceptance of Christianity also was well matched to American ideas of individual freedom.

The character of American evangelicalism began to take shape during the Great Awakening of the eighteenth century. This movement, really a series of revivals throughout the middle decades of the century, brought together several movements. These included New England Puritanism, continental Pietism, revivalist Presbyterianism, Baptist anti-establishment democratic impulses, the Calvinist revivalism of the Englishman George Whitefield (1714–1770), and Methodism (which surpassed all the others after the Revolutionary era). During the first half of the nineteenth century, evangelicalism developed a strong populist base and became by far the most common form of Protestantism in the United States. Evangelicalism had many denominational varieties but tended to blend Calvinist and Methodist theologies, to emphasize conversion experiences evidenced by lives freed from barroom vices, to vigorously promote revivals and missions, and to view the church as a voluntary association of believers founded on the authority of the Bible alone.

By the early nineteenth century evangelicals in Great Britain and the United States had established a formidable network of nonsectarian "voluntary societies" to promote their causes. Of these the various missionary societies, founded around the beginning of the century, were the most prominent, providing, together with denominational agencies, the home support for the most massive worldwide missionary effort ever seen. Home missionary endeavors were comparably vigorous, supported by a host of agencies for promoting evangelism, founding Sunday schools, distributing Bibles and religious tracts, establishing schools and colleges, and bringing the gospel to various needy groups. Revivalism spearheaded such efforts, exemplified best in the extensive campaigns of Charles Finney (1792–1875) both in the United States and in England. These mission and evangelistic efforts were accompanied by campaigns, organized by voluntary societies, for charity and social reform. On both sides of the Atlantic evangelicals played leading roles in combating slavery; in Great Britain, especially under the leadership of William Wilberforce (1759–1833), they were influential in bringing about its abolition throughout the empire. Evangelicals promoted other reforms, including Sabbatarian and temperance legislation, prison reform, and the establishment of private charities. Such reforming spirit was usually part of a postmillennial vision of steady spiritual and moral progress leading to a millennial age of the triumph of the gospel throughout the world, after which Christ himself would return. When linked in the popular mind with notions of the progress achievable through science, the focus brought by romanticism to the possibilities inherent in individuals, and the manifest destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race on the North American continent, this evangelical vision lent itself to a triumphalist view of what could be achieved by Americans in the New World. The downside of this heady brew of evangelicalism and patriotism was at times a nativist impulse that fed both racism and anti-Catholicism.

THE LOSS OF CULTURAL DOMINANCE. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the vigorous evangelicalism that had grown so successfully in the early industrial era found itself in a new world. The concentrated new industrialism and the massively crowded cities tended to overwhelm the individualistic and voluntaristic evangelical programs. Conceptions of dominating the culture became more difficult to maintain. Evangelicals accordingly increasingly stressed those aspects of their message that involved personal commitment to Christ and personal holiness rather than social programs, although aspirations to be a major moral influence on the culture never entirely disappeared. The evangelicalism of Dwight L. Moody (1837–1899) exemplified this trend. Moody, like Finney before him, had great successes in both the United States and Great Britain. He omitted entirely, however, Finney's postmillennial emphasis on social reform, stressing instead the importance of rescuing the perishing from the sinking ship that was the condemned world. This increasing sense of evangelical alienation from Anglo-American culture was reflected in Moody's premillennialism and in the growth of premillennialism among most of the newer evangelical movements of the day. Premillennialists looked to the second coming of Christ as the only cure for the world's social and political woes. New emphasis on personal holiness, notably exemplified in the rise of the Keswick holiness movement in Britain after 1875, reflected similar tendencies. Keswick teaching, which spread widely among American evangelical and later fundamentalist followers of Moody, stressed personal victory over sin, personal witnessing about the gospel, and support of missions as chief among Christian duties. Keswick was only one of several new holiness movements that flourished among evangelicals in the mid- and late nineteenth century. Most of these movements had generic ties with Methodism and Wesley's teachings concerning Christian perfection. Some holiness groups, most notably the Salvation Army, founded in England in 1865, combined their evangelism with extensive charitable work among the needy. Others among an emerging number of holiness denominations emphasized more the personal experience of being filled by the Holy Spirit. Such emphasis in heightened forms was apparent in the rise in the United States after 1900 of Pentecostalism, which also brought separate denominations and almost exclusive emphasis on intense personal spiritual experience. By the early twentieth century, evangelicalism was thus subdivided into a variety of camps on questions of personal holiness and the nature of spiritual experience.

Equally important during this same era, from the later decades of the nineteenth century to World War I, was that evangelicals found themselves in a new world intellectually. Darwinism became the focal symbol of a many-faceted revolution in assumptions dominating the culture. Some of the early debates over Darwinism left an impression, damaging to evangelicalism, that modern science and biblical Christianity were inherently opposed. A deeper issue, however, was a broader revolution in conceptions of reality and truth. Rather than seeing truth as fixed and absolute, Western people were more and more viewing it as a changing function of human cultural evolution. Religion, in such a view, was not absolute truth revealed by the deity but the record of developing human conceptions about God and morality. Such conceptions were devastating when applied to the Bible, which in the higher criticism of the late nineteenth century often was regarded as simply the record of Hebrew religious experience.

The widespread evangelical consensus was shaken to its foundations. The absolute authority of the Bible as the source of the doctrine of salvation was widely questioned, even within the churches. Moral absolutes based on Scripture were also questioned; again the questioning was often from within the churches. The result was a profound split in most of the denominations that had been at the center of the mid-nineteenth-century evangelical alliance. Liberals, sometimes called "modernists" in the early twentieth century, adjusted Christian doctrine to fit the temper of the times. God's revelation of his kingdom was not so much in startling supernatural interventions as in working through the best in the natural processes of the growth of civilization and morality. Essentially, Christianity was not so much a doctrine of eternal salvation for another world as a divine revelation of a humane way of life for this world. Sometimes liberals advocated a "social gospel," based on the progressive politics of the early twentieth century, to replace the individualism of older evangelicalism's conceptions of salvation. Many traditionalist evangelicals, on the other hand, resisted these trends toward more naturalistic, relativistic, and modern conceptions of the heart of the gospel, continuing rather to preach traditional evangelical doctrine of a miraculous Bible whose revelation centered on describing the means of divine rescue from sin, death, and hell.

THE RISE OF FUNDAMENTALISM. Fundamentalism arose in this context. It combined an organized militant defense of most traditional evangelical doctrines with some of the revivalist evangelical innovations of the nineteenth century. The most important of these innovations, eventually accepted by most fundamentalists, was the elaborate system of biblical interpretation known as *dispensationalism.* Dispensationalism was a version of the premillennialism popularized among revivalists in the late nineteenth century. Originated in England especially by the Plymouth Brethren leader John Nelson Darby (1800–1882), dispensationalism was developed and promoted in the United States principally by Bible teacher associates of Moody, such as Reuben A. Torrey (1856–1928), James M. Gray (1851–1935), and C. I. Scofield (1843–1921), editor of the famous dispensationalist *Scofield Reference Bible,* published in 1909.

Dispensationalism is a systematic scheme for interpreting all of history on the basis of the Bible, following the principle of "literal where possible"; biblical prophecies, especially, are taken to refer to real historical events. This approach yields a rather detailed account of all human history, which is divided into seven dispensations, or eras, of differing relationships between God and humanity (such as the Dispensation of Innocence in Eden or the Dispensation of Law, from Moses to Christ). The last of these eras is the millennium, which will be preceded by the personal return of Jesus, the secret "rapture" of believers who are to "meet him in the air," a seven-year period of wars among those who remain on earth (resulting in the victory of Christ), the conversion of the Jews, and the establishment of a kingdom in Jerusalem, where Jesus will reign for exactly one thousand years before the Last Judgment. Such exact interpretations of prophecy committed dispensationalists firmly to a view of the Bible as divinely inspired and without error in any detail. The "inerrancy" of Scripture in scientific and historical detail accordingly became the key test of faith for fundamentalists. This doctrine, while not entirely novel in the history of the church, was also given a new and especially forceful articulation by nondispensationalist Presbyterian traditionalists at Princeton Theological Seminary, especially Benjamin B. Warfield (1851–1921), who for a time was allied with dispensationalists in battles against liberal theology and higher criticism of the Bible.

The other major innovation widely accepted by fundamentalists was the Keswick holiness teaching. The same groups of Bible teachers who taught dispensationalism widely promoted Keswick doctrine as well. These leaders established regular summer Bible conferences and, more important, founded a network of Bible institutes for training lay workers in evangelism. These institutes, together with local churches and agencies directly promoting revivalism, such as those of Billy Sunday (1862–1935), provided the principal institutional base for fundamentalism.

Fundamentalism was also a mood as much as a set of doctrines and institutions. It was a mood of militancy in opposition to modernist theology and to some of the relativistic cultural changes that modernism embraced. This militancy provided the basis for a wider antimodernist coalition that emerged as a distinct movement in the United States during the 1920s. The immediate occasion for the appearance of fundamentalism was the sense of cultural crisis that gripped the United States after World War I. Reflecting this mood, fundamentalism gave focus to the anxieties of Protestant traditionalists. This focus was directed first of all against the modernists in major denominations, most notably the major Baptist and Presbyterian churches in the northern United States. Especially in the years from 1920 to 1925, fundamentalists led major efforts to expel such liberals from their denominations, but these efforts met with little success. The other focus was American culture itself. The United States seemed to many evangelicals to have lost its Christian and biblical moorings. World War I precipitated this sense of alarm, for the war sped up a revolution in morals that, despite the rearguard action of Prohibition legislation, replaced Victorian evangelical standards with the public morals of the Jazz Age. The international crisis also generated fears of social upheaval at home, particularly alarm about the rise of bolshevism and atheism in the United States during the "red scare" of 1919 and 1920. Many Protestants also remained concerned about the social and moral impact of the immense immigration of the preceding half century and were antagonistic to the spread of Roman Catholic influences.

Fundamentalists saw all these factors as signs of the end of a Bible-based civilization in the United States. Their chief social anxieties, however, centered on the question of evolution. During the war, extreme propaganda had convinced most Americans that Germany, the homeland of the Reformation, had lapsed into barbarism. The same thing might happen in the United States. The "will to power" philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900), said the propagandists, had destroyed German morals. Fundamentalists contended that this was an evolutionary philosophy and that evolutionary and relativistic ideas had long been incorporated into German theology, now taught by liberals in America's churches. Under the leadership of William Jennings Bryan (1860–1925), fundamentalists campaigned to bring the

United States back to the Bible by banning the teaching of biological evolution in public schools. This crusade brought organized fundamentalism into the American South, where homegrown Protestant antimodernist tendencies had been strong since the Civil War. The fundamentalist antievolution campaign reached its peak in the 1925 trial of John Scopes (1900–1970) in Dayton, Tennessee, for teaching biological evolution in a high school. At the highly publicized proceedings, Bryan debated the lawyer Clarence Darrow (1857–1938) concerning the authenticity of biblical miracles. Bryan was ridiculed in the world press, and his death shortly after the trial signaled the beginning of a decline of early fundamentalist efforts to control American culture. During the late 1920s the strength of fundamentalist efforts to purge major northern denominations also declined dramatically. During this era organized fundamentalism had some branches in Canada and some relatively small counterparts in Great Britain.

In the United States, fundamentalism was only the prominent fighting edge of the larger evangelical movement. During the decades from 1925 to 1945 the public press paid less attention to fundamentalist complaints, but the movement itself was regrouping rather than retreating. During this time fundamentalism developed a firmer institutional base, especially in independent local churches and in some smaller denominations, although considerable numbers of fundamentalists remained in major denominations. The revivalist heritage of the movement was especially apparent in this era, as it turned its strongest efforts toward winning the United States through evangelization. In addition to traditional means for evangelization, fundamentalists developed effective radio ministries. Particularly prominent was Charles E. Fuller's (1887–1968) *Old-Fashioned Revival Hour,* which by 1942 had a larger audience than any other radio program in the United States.

Fundamentalist evangelicals also founded new sorts of ministries, such as Youth for Christ, begun in 1942, which soon had hundreds of chapters across the country. Bible institutes, such as Moody Bible Institute in Chicago and the Bible Institute of Los Angeles, remained important centers for the movement, training and sending out evangelists and missionaries, conducting Bible conferences, establishing effective radio ministries, and publishing many books and periodicals.

THE NEW EVANGELICALS. A sharp tension was developing in the fundamentalist-evangelical movement that survived the controversies of the 1920s. This tension led eventually to a deep split between "fundamentalists" and "evangelicals." The fundamentalists kept in the forefront the militancy that had characterized the movement in the 1920s. Furthermore, they followed the logic of their military metaphors by adding ecclesiastical separatism as a test of true commitment. This separatist stance sometimes also reflected the influence of dispensationalism, which taught that the Bible prophesied the decline and apostasy of the major churches during the present era.

Another element in the generation that had been raised on the fundamentalist controversies of the 1920s sought to bring the movement back toward a broader evangelicalism. Without rejecting entirely their fundamentalist heritage, they nonetheless softened the militancy and often moved away from dispensationalism. Repudiating separatism as a test of the faith, they especially emphasized positive evangelism. By the early 1940s a distinct movement with these emphases was apparent, signaled by the founding of the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) in 1942. In contrast to the smaller, militantly separatist American Council of Christian Churches, founded in 1941 by the fundamentalist Carl McIntire (1906–2002), the NAE included Pentecostal and holiness denominations as well as individual members who remained in major American denominations.

Following World War II, some younger leaders, notably Harold John Ockenga (1905–1985), Carl F. H. Henry (1913–2003), and Edward J. Carnell (1919–1967), organized a "neoevangelical" movement with the explicit purpose of moderating and broadening fundamentalist evangelicalism. Joined by Fuller, they organized the Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, California, in 1947. Their efforts were vastly aided by the emergence of Billy Graham as America's leading evangelist after 1949. This group in 1956 also founded *Christianity Today* to provide a solid periodical base for the movement.

The final break in the fundamentalist-evangelical movement came with Graham's New York crusade in 1957. Graham accepted the cooperation of some prominent liberal church leaders. Separatist fundamentalists such as Bob Jones Sr. (1883–1968), founder of Bob Jones University; John R. Rice (1895–1980), editor of the influential *Sword of the Lord;* and McIntire anathematized Graham and the neoevangelicals as traitors from within. Neoevangelicals in turn soon ceased altogether to call themselves fundamentalists, preferring the designation "evangelical."

In the meantime, Graham's crusade in Great Britain in 1954 set off a small flurry of ecclesiastical debate known as the "fundamentalist controversy" in England. This designation confused the terminological issue, since in England the friends of Graham, rather than just his more conservative enemies, were called fundamentalists. (British parlance of the era often lacked the distinction between fundamentalist and evangelical that developed in the United States after the late 1950s.) In any case conservative evangelicalism remained a factor in British church life, especially in the evangelical party in the Church of England. Influenced considerably by the long-standing university ministry of the Inter-Varsity Fellowship, and less a product of the sensational promotional competitions that characterized American revivalism, British evangelicalism was often more sophisticated and less militant than its American counterparts and played an important role in the intellectual leadership of the international movement. Throughout the English-speaking world there are also counterparts to the more strictly fundamentalist, holiness, and Pentecostal groups found in the United States.

THE REEMERGENCE OF EVANGELICALISM IN THE PUBLIC EYE. Evangelicalism was indeed a widespread international phenomenon, even if its Anglo-American manifestations provided its most focused identity as a distinct movement. The Pietist varieties of worldwide Protestantism were scarcely distinguishable from Anglo-American evangelicalism. Moreover, nearly two centuries of massive missionary efforts had planted evangelical communities in most of the nations of the world. The sense of identity of an international evangelicalism was evidenced in world conferences, notably the 1966 World Congress on Evangelism in Berlin and the 1974 International Congress on World Evangelization in Lausanne, Switzerland. Such gatherings were initially organized primarily by Anglo-American friends of Graham, but they also marked the emergence among evangelicals of significant voices and leadership from developing nations. The Lausanne congress, for instance, included over two thousand participants from 150 countries. Traditional evangelical emphases on the reliability and authority of Scripture and on the urgency for world evangelization were apparent, but so was emphasis on the necessity of social and political concern for aiding the poor and victims of injustice.

In the United States, in the meantime, evangelicalism reemerged on the public scene with renewed vigor. During the 1970s the American media suddenly discovered that evangelicalism was a major force in American life. Evangelicalism had in fact been growing steadily for many years, so the numbers of evangelicals had grown to at least forty or fifty million, whereas other Protestants and Roman Catholics were declining in numbers. Once evangelicals were discovered, they became conspicuous in the media, boasting many sports and entertainment stars. Being "born again" suddenly became a political asset, evidenced in 1976 by the victorious presidential campaign of Jimmy Carter, and evangelicalism was reckoned as a powerful if mysterious political force.

The discovery of evangelicalism reflected not only real growth and change in the movement but also the power of a concept. Numerous strands in American religious life were now viewed as part of a more or less unified "evangelicalism." Such a perception was at once helpful and deceptive. It was helpful in pointing to a large phenomenon: Christians who shared fundamental evangelical beliefs. It was deceptive, however, in its implication that their movement was more unified than it actually was. Certainly evangelicalism as a movement that could claim forty or fifty million adherents was much larger than the consciously organized evangelical movement that had grown out of fundamentalist evangelicalism and that was led by associates of Graham. For instance, black evangelicals, including most of black Protestantism, had little to do with that fundamentalist evangelicalism, even though most of their beliefs and emphases were closely parallel. The same was true, but to a lesser degree, of much of the Southern Baptist Convention, the largest of American evangelical groups. Most holiness denominations and evangelical Methodists were only tangentially related to the organized fundamentalist evangelical movement. So also were most Pentecostals and charismatics, who sponsored some of the largest television ministries and set the tone for much of the evangelical resurgence. Peace churches were generally evangelical in doctrine but preserved a heritage distinct from fundamentalist evangelicalism. Confessional denominations, such as the Missouri Synod Lutheran and the Christian Reformed Church, were close allies of evangelicals but always kept enough distance to preserve distinct doctrinal heritages.

Many evangelicals were in major American denominations, such as Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, Disciples of Christ, or Episcopal, but might be as much shaped by the distinctiveness of their denomination's history as by a conscious evangelical identity. Others in such denominations might identify closely with the doctrines and emphases of a parachurch evangelistic agency, such as Campus Crusade, founded by Bill Bright in 1951. Such variety within evangelicalism, compounded by many denominational and regional differences, suggests that generalization about the movement is hazardous.

Such hazards are especially great concerning evangelicals' political stances. Whereas one important strand of nineteenth-century American evangelicalism was politically progressive and reformist, in the twentieth century most fundamentalist evangelicals and other white evangelicals were politically conservative. After the 1960s, however, more variety reappeared, especially among spokespersons of the sort who hold conferences and issue declarations. Evangelical voices have been heard across the spectrum of political options, although most of the evangelical constituency is at least moderately conservative.

THE CONTINUING IMPACT OF FUNDAMENTALIST EVANGELICALS. Most hard-line fundamentalists went their separate ways after about 1950, reorganizing themselves loosely in a number of fellowships or smaller denominations. The largest fellowship was the Baptist Bible Fellowship, founded by fundamentalists who split with the volatile Texas fundamentalist F. Frank Norris. By the early 1980s this fellowship claimed to represent two to three million members. During this era some local fundamentalist pastors built huge churches, claiming both membership and Sunday school attendance of over ten thousand each by the 1970s. Prominent among these were Jack Hyles's First Baptist Church of Hammond, Indiana, Lee Roberson's Highland Park Baptist Church in Chattanooga, Tennessee, and Jerry Falwell's Thomas Road Baptist Church in Lynchburg, Virginia. Typically, such ministries were structured as small, individually run empires, including branch chapels, a college, publications, radio and television broadcasts, missionary work, and specialized ministries. The total number of members of strictly separatist fundamentalist churches in the United States by 1980 was perhaps around five million, although the number of evangelicals leaning toward fundamentalism was probably much greater. Moreover, such militant fundamentalism spread throughout the English-speaking world, and active missions carried its doctrines to every nation where Christian missions were permitted.

Soul winning and church growth are the fundamentalist's first concerns, as they are for most evangelicals. In addition, extreme militancy against theological liberalism led many fundamentalists to emphasize separation even from other evangelicals, especially neoevangelicals, charismatics, and members of large groups, such as the Southern Baptist Convention. The question of separation also divided fundamentalists among themselves. Some fundamentalist leaders, especially those associated with Bob Jones University, advocated "second-degree separation"—that is, separation even from fellow fundamentalists who are not strict fundamentalists. In the 1970s, for instance, Bob Jones III attacked the noted fundamentalist evangelist Rice for publishing materials by Southern Baptists in his widely read paper the *Sword of the Lord.*

Most fundamentalists are militant dispensationalists, usually claiming that the signs of the times indicate that within a few years the dramatic events surrounding the return of Christ will bring the present era to a violent end. The dispensationalist heritage has made most fundamentalist evangelicals sympathetic to the state of Israel, whose existence as a nation is viewed as the fulfillment of prophecy and a key trigger of end-time events. Dispensationalists also take literally the biblical promises of blessing to countries that support Israel. This sympathy by large numbers of evangelicals has had a considerable impact on American foreign policy. During the 1970s, dispensationalist prophetic views attracted wide interest, as indicated by the popularity of Hal Lindsey's book *The Late Great Planet Earth* (1970), of which some ten million copies were printed during the decade. The graphic dispensationalist vision for the end times continued to attract interest far beyond the fundamentalist or even evangelical communities. The pastor and author Tim LaHaye's *Left Behind* series of novels, essentially a fictionalization of the events described earlier by Lindsey and any number of dispensational prophecy teachers, became phenomenal best-sellers in the 1990s and early 2000s. The books regularly debuted at number one on the *New York Times* best-seller list, and over forty million copies (fifty million counting the graphic novels and children's versions) had been sold by 2003.

Until the later 1970s most separatist fundamentalists were not active politically. Some prominent fundamentalist leaders, such as McIntire and Billy James Hargis, were in the forefront of anticommunist crusades during the decades following World War II, but such activists probably did not represent the majority of the movement. Fundamentalists emerged as a considerable force in American political life with the formation of the Moral Majority in 1979. This political coalition of fundamentalists and some other political conservatives was led by Falwell and benefited from his large television ministry. Some strict fundamentalists condemned such efforts because they involved cooperation with Roman Catholics, Orthodox Jews, neoevangelicals, and other alleged apostates.

Nonetheless, the Moral Majority brought together several long-standing fundamentalist concerns with political issues of the time. Most evangelicals and almost all fundamentalists, for instance, had long held conservative views on the role of women, on the family, and on questions related to sexuality. Sparked by the legalization of abortion in 1973, the women's movement and the proposed Equal Rights Amendment, legislation proposing increased rights for homosexuals, and general permissiveness, many fundamentalist and conservative evangelicals expressed alarm. The Moral Majority focused such sentiments and organized them politically. Reaching a constituency well beyond fundamentalists and fundamentalist evangelicals, its program included endorsement of American conservative political ideals: smaller government, larger military, patriotism, and freedom for businesses. Fundamentalists, supported by the Moral Majority, also successfully revived the antievolution crusade, introducing legislation into a number of states that would require the teaching of fundamentalist "creation science" (arguments that the earth is no more than ten thousand years old) whenever biological evolution is taught in public schools.

Perhaps the closest parallel to such late-twentieth-century American political fundamentalism was the militant Protestantism in Northern Ireland led by Ian Paisley. Paisley, an avowed fundamentalist with connections to American leaders such as Jones and McIntire, mixed conservative Protestantism with aggressive political anti-Catholicism. The long history of the Irish conflict, however, has given Irish fundamentalism a character more violent than its American counterparts. A far more genteel political action movement with some evangelical leadership was England's Festival of Light, an organization prominent in the 1970s and 1980s in its efforts to maintain public decency, particularly in matters concerning sexuality. In general, evangelicalism in Great Britain was less political and less confrontational than in the United States, put relatively more emphasis on evangelism and missions, operated more through traditional denominations, and was a much less influential force in the culture at large.

In the United States the organized political coalitions of the Christian Right had their greatest influence in the period from 1980 to 1994. Contributors to the Republican electoral victory of Ronald Reagan in 1980, they were nonetheless frustrated by the mainstream positions of Reagan on cultural issues. In 1988 the television evangelist Pat Robertson entered the Republican presidential primaries and gained considerable early attention by mobilizing approximately 10 percent of the Republican vote in the states where he ran. Robertson's Christian Coalition reached its greatest strength in the 1990s, when conservative Christians were instrumental in electing a strongly Republican House of Representatives led by the outspoken Speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich. Despite these advances, conservative Christians continued to find most of their political goals frustrated. Perhaps most important, the Christian Coalition marked the consolidation of a culturally conservative wing of evangelicalism solidly entrenched in the Republican Party. By the 1990s, conservative politics were taken for granted in many of the largest evangelical and fundamentalist churches and organizations, although there were always exceptions.

A high-water mark for fundamentalist-leaning evangelicals in church life was the 1990s, when they completed a long campaign to take over control of the central agencies and theological seminaries of the Southern Baptist Convention, the nation's largest Protestant denomination, essentially winning the kind of denominational battle they had been losing since the early twentieth century. Although some Southern Baptist leaders resisted following the lead of what they considered "Yankee-based evangelicalism," they now found themselves fighting over issues such as inerrancy, battles that had been fought among fundamentalists and evangelicals in the North and the West several decades previous. In response to losing control of key institutions, Southern Baptist moderates took advantage of the decentralized Baptist polity to form their own organizations.

The influence of Pentecostal and charismatic models of church life is another key development within Western evangelicalism after 1970. If fundamentalist militancy set the tone for much of evangelicalism in the era from the 1920s through the 1960s, the charismatic and Pentecostal churches set the tone after that. This is especially true in styles of worship and methods of ministry. The 1960s created an atmosphere in which visionary evangelical pastors began experimenting with new ways of reaching out to the broader culture. Many churches initially developed during this period became megachurches, pulling in thousands every Sunday and spawning virtual denominations of like-minded churches around the country and the world. Churches such as Calvary Chapel and the Vineyard in southern California or Willow Creek in the suburbs of Chicago, whereas conservative theologically, managed to engage the mainstream of American culture and influenced countless other evangelical churches in the process. By 2003, for example, there were over 825 Calvary Chapels in the United States with another 210 around the world. Over 7,200 churches around the world were at least loosely affiliated with Willow Creek. Typically, these churches use contemporary or Pentecostal styles of worship, highly value lay leadership and small group ministries, and are led by low-key but charismatic and visionary individuals who often have little to no advanced training. Willow Creek has pioneered "seeker" oriented services that use drama, contemporary music, video, and sermons focused on common life problems to attract people who might be alienated by more traditional service styles. With churches like these leading the way, the number of evangelicals in the United States, although difficult to pinpoint with accuracy, remains high. Polls conducted in the late 1990s reveal that, whereas 13 percent of the U.S. population self-identify as either fundamentalist or evangelical, 33 percent of the U.S. population are members of or attend conservative Protestant denominations that theologically, at least, fall within the evangelical camp.

In addition, evangelicalism in all its forms became one of the West's leading cultural exports as North American missions came to dominate the world missionary movement. By the end of the twentieth century, as liberal Christians either lost the missionary impulse or transferred it to social welfare agencies, such as the Peace Corps, evangelicals took over the missionary enterprise. Fundamentalists and evangelicals founded "faith missions" by the score in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. These agencies, modeled on J. Hudson Taylor's (1832–1905) influential China Inland Mission (1865), refused to pay salaries or to raise funds in any overt fashion. Influenced by Keswick piety, which promoted slogans such as "Let go and let God," the new missions professed to rely solely on God to supply recruits and the necessary funds. After enduring some difficult times, they learned to supplement faith in God with aggressive publicity within the evangelical community. By midcentury many of these agencies had high profiles in the evangelical community and routinely attracted some of the most committed evangelical young people. By the end of the twentieth century, roughly 90 percent of American foreign missionaries were evangelical. American missionary efforts helped spark the huge growth of evangelical Protestantism in Latin America and Africa. Aided largely by the massive growth of Pentecostal and charismatic churches, whose adherents number in the hundreds of millions worldwide, most of worldwide Protestantism developed a distinctly evangelical character.

SEE ALSO Christian Social Movements; Millenarianism, overview article; Modernism, article on Christian Modernism; Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity; Protestantism.

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EVANGELIZATION SEE MISSIONS, *ARTICLE ON* MISSIONARY ACTIVITY

EVANS, ARTHUR (1851–1941) was an English archaeologist who excavated the ruins of Knossos in Crete, center of an early civilization he called Minoan. Son of Sir John Evans, a wealthy Victorian polymath and active amateur archaeologist, Arthur Evans began his work in 1899 at Knossos, which established his fame and for which he was knighted in 1911. Seeking evidence for an early system of writing, Evans uncovered an inscribed clay tablet in his first week of excavation and soon amassed a large archive written in two syllabic scripts now known as Linear A and Linear B. (The latter was deciphered as an early form of Greek by Michael Ventris and John Chadwick in 1952.) The treasures of the palace at Knossos, which Evans named for the legendary King Minos, included many objects that he interpreted as possessing religious significance. In the palace, a building of great size and complex plan, images of bulls' horns, the motif of the double ax, and depictions of young men and women performing acrobatic feats with bulls furnished attractive parallels with Greek legend: *labrus* means "ax," so that *labyrinthos* suggests "the place of the ax," to which, according to legend, seven young men and seven young women were sent from Athens each year to encounter the Minotaur. Evans interpreted the double ax as symbolizing, or marking the presence of, the Cretan Zeus, a deity of quite different type from the Indo-European sky god of the same name with whom he became identified. The Cretan Zeus died and was reborn in an annual cycle. Also important in Minoan religion was the association of trees and pillars as cult objects, a theme Evans discussed in works published in 1900, in the earliest days of the excavation, and in 1931.

Evans faced the usual difficulties of interpreting religious objects in the absence of verbal evidence. (The Linear B tablets, which proved to be records of tribute paid and other stocktaking records, have added very little.) In the manner of his day, Evans was an evolutionist and comparatist, and he drew heavily on the folklore and practice of other cultures. Evaluations of his interpretations vary, but in the field of Greek religion, as in other branches of classical studies, his importance rests on the abundance of material he excavated and assiduously published.

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EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. E. (1902–1973), was an English anthropologist. Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard was the son of a clergyman of the Church of England. He took a degree in history at the University of Oxford and in 1927 a doctorate in anthropology at the University of London, where he was supervised by C. G. Seligman. His thesis was based on field research undertaken from 1926 to 1930 among the Azande of the Sudan. He carried out research among the Nuer, another Sudanese people, intermittently between 1930 and 1935 and also for brief periods among the Anuak, the Luo, and other East African peoples. During World War II he worked at intervals, when free from military service, among the bedouin of Cyrenaica. In 1944 he joined the Roman Catholic church. He taught at the University of London, Fuad I University in Cairo, Cambridge University, and finally Oxford, where in 1946 he succeeded A. R. Radcliffe-Brown as professor of social anthropology. He retired in 1970, was knighted in 1971, and died in Oxford in September 1973.

Evans-Pritchard's work in religion is unique. It is based on brilliant, sensitive, and meticulous field research, on his mastery of languages (he was fluent in Arabic, Zande, and Nuer), and on his deep knowledge and understanding of the work of his predecessors, in particular those sociologists (Durkheim et al.) associated with *L'année sociologique.* Most of his writings on religion fall into one of four main categories: works on the Azande, the Nuer, the Sanusi, and comparative and theoretical topics.

Each piece of Evans-Pritchard's research and writing is based on certain central problems in anthropology, although never limited to them in a narrow sense. His work among the Azande, a cluster of kingdoms of the southwestern Sudan, led to the publication of *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande* (1937), perhaps the outstanding work of anthropology published in this century. It is concerned essentially with questions asked, although hardly answered in any convincing manner, by Lucien Lévy-Bruhl in his writings on "primitive" and "scientific" modes of thought. The questions as to whether there are differences between these two modes of thought and, if so, what they are and how they might function in social contexts are basic to anthropology, and Evans-Pritchard's discussion of them has changed the nature of anthropological inquiry. He writes about Zande notions of magic, witchcraft, and divination, that is, their notions of natural and supernatural causation and interference in people's everyday lives. He shows that Zande ideas are rational and systematic; given certain premises of knowledge they are closed and self-perpetuating, and they are not held in isolation but are consistent with forms of authority and power found in Zande society. This is essentially a study of rationality and corrects all earlier views about the "irrationality" of so-called primitive peoples. Later Evans-Pritchard published an immense number of Zande texts, in both Zande and English, with commentaries. This work is probably the greatest single corpus of the myths and tales of an African culture that has yet been published and confirms one of his strongest beliefs: that "primitive" texts are not quaint "folkloristic" stories but are as worthy of careful analysis as those of literate cultures.

Evans-Pritchard's *Nuer Religion* (1956) is the final volume of a trilogy on the Nuer of the southern Sudan (the others are *The Nuer,* 1940, and *Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer,* 1951). In this book he presents Nuer religious thought and ritual as a system of theology that has a subtlety and profundity comparable to those of literate cultures. Here he takes up another basic problem raised by Lévy-Bruhl, that of "mystical participation" between human beings and what in ethnocentric terms are called the supernatural and the natural. This problem is examined within the context of a series of related aspects of Nuer religion: conceptions of God, spirits, the soul, and ghosts; symbolism; sin and sacrifice; and priesthood and prophecy. Because of Evans-Pritchard's great skill in unfolding the complexity of Nuer religious thought, never since has it been possible for scholars of comparative religion to dismiss a nonliterate religion as "primitive" or as a form of "animism." Throughout this work, as in that on the Azande, Evans-Pritchard stresses what he considered to be the central problem of anthropology, that of translation—not the simple problem of translation of words and phrases in a narrow linguistic sense, but the far more complex question of translation of one culture's experience into the terms of another's.

Evans-Pritchard's other "ethnographic" work on religion is rather different, taking as its basic problem the relationship between prophets (a topic raised earlier in his work on the Nuer) and forms of religious and political authority as exemplified in the history of the Muslim Sanusi order in Cyrenaica (*The Sanusi of Cyrenaica,* 1951). Here he was able to use written records as well as his own field research, and he produces a model account of religious history and change.

Evans-Pritchard's last achievement in the study of religion is his many critical writings on the history of the anthropology of religion, of which the best known is *Theories of Primitive Religion* (1965). It is a superb and sophisticated study of the relations between thought, ideology, and society.

The influence of E. E. Evans-Pritchard's writings in the anthropological study of religion has been immense. There has been little later analysis made of modes of thought, systems of causation, witch beliefs, sacrifice, notions of sin, and ritual symbolism that has not been influenced by, if not based upon, his work. In addition, much recent research on the philosophy of knowledge has leaned heavily on his book on the Azande. Evans-Pritchard's influence upon younger anthropologists has been great. The anthropological, historical, and comparative study of religions owes more to him than to any other anthropologist.

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EVE, or, in Hebrew, Ḥavvah; the first woman in the creation narratives of the Hebrew Bible, according to which she was formed from one of the ribs of Adam, the first man (*Gn.* 2:21–23). In this account the creator god wished for Adam to have a mate and so brought all the beasts of the fold and birds of the sky before him to see what he would call each one (*Gn.* 2:19). However, among these creatures the man found no one to be his companion (*Gn.* 2:20). Accordingly, this episode is not solely an etiology of the primal naming of all creatures by the male ancestor of the human race but an account of how this man *(ish)* found no helpmeet until a woman was formed from one of his ribs, whom he named "woman" (*ishshah; Gn.* 2:23). This account is juxtaposed with a comment that serves etiologically to establish the social institution of marriage wherein a male leaves his father and mother and cleaves to his wife so that they become "one flesh" together (*Gn.* 2:24). The matrimonial union is thus a reunion of a primordial situation when the woman was, literally and figuratively, flesh of man's flesh.

Such a version of the origin of the woman, as a special creation from Adam's body, stands in marked contrast to the creation tradition found in *Genesis* 1:27b, where there is a hint that the primordial person *(adam)* was in fact an androgyne. Alternatively, this latter half-verse may have been concerned with correcting a tradition of an originally lone male by the statement that both male and female were simultaneously created as the first "Adam."

This mythic image of a male as the source of all human life (*Gn.* 2:21–22) reflects a male fantasy of self-sufficiency. The subsequent narrative introduces a more realistic perspective. Thus, after the woman has succumbed to the wiles of the snake, eaten of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, and shared it with her husband, she is acknowledged as a source of new life—albeit with negative overtones, since the narrative stresses the punishment of pain that must be borne by Adam's mate and all her female descendants during pregnancy and childbirth. In token of her role as human genetrix, the man gave to the woman a new name: she was thenceforth called Eve—"for she was the mother of all life" (*Gn.* 2:19).

This new name, *Eve* (Heb., *Ḥavvah*), is in fact a pun on the noun for "life" (Heb., *ḥay*), since both *ḥavvah* and *ḥay* allude to old Semitic words (in Aramaic, Phoenician, and Arabic) for "serpent," as the ancient rabbis noted. Another intriguing cross-cultural pun should be recalled, insofar as it may also underlie the key motifs of the biblical narrative. Thus, in a Sumerian myth it is told that when Enki had a pain in his rib, Ninhursaga caused Nin-ti ("woman of the rib") to be created from him. Strikingly, the Sumerian logogram *ti* (in the goddess's name) stands for both "rib" and "life."

According to one rabbinic *midrash,* Eve was taken from the thirteenth rib of Adam's right side after Lilith, his first wife, had left him (*Pirqei de-Rabbi Eliʿezer* 20). Other legends emphasize Eve's susceptibility to guile and persuasion. Christian traditions use the episode of Eve to encourage the submission of women to their husbands (cf. *2 Cor.* 11:3, *1 Tm.* 2:22–25). Several church fathers typologically compared Eve with Mary, the "new Eve" and mother of Jesus: the sinfulness and disobedience of the former were specifically contrasted with the latter. The temptation motif and the banishment of Eve and Adam are frequently found in medieval Jewish and Christian illuminated manuscripts and in Persian iconography. The theme is also found in medieval morality plays and in the apocalyptic tract *Life of Adam and Eve*.

SEE ALSO Adam; Lilith.

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EVIL. If there is one human experience ruled by myth, it is certainly that of evil. One can understand why: the two major forms of this experience—moral evil and physical evil—both contain an enigmatic element in whose shadows the difference between them tends to vanish.

On the one hand, it is only at the conclusion of a thoroughgoing critique of mythical representations that moral evil could be conceived of as the product of a free act involving human responsibility alone. Social blame, interiorized as guilt, is in fact a response to an existential quality that was initially represented as a stain infecting the human heart as if from outside. And even when this quasi-magical representation of a contamination by an external or superior power is replaced by the feeling of a sin of which we are the authors, we can feel that we have been seduced by overwhelming powers. Moreover, each of us finds evil already present in the world; no one initiates evil but everyone has the feeling of belonging to a history of evil more ancient than any individual evil act. This strange experience of passivity, which is at the very heart of evildoing, makes us feel ourselves to be the victims in the very act that makes us guilty.

On the other hand, it is also only at the conclusion of a comparable critique of mythical representations that physical evil is recognized as the effect of natural causes of a physical, biological, and even social nature: sickness, which often takes the form of great epidemics ravaging entire populations, simultaneously attacks each person in the very depths of his existence by making him suffer and is spontaneously experienced as an aggression, at once external and internal, coming from maleficent powers that are easily confused with those that seduce the human heart and persuade it to do evil. Moreover, the sort of fate that seems to lead the sick and aging to the threshold of death tends to make mortality the very emblem of the human condition. From this, it is easy to take the next step and consider suffering and death as punishments. Do not guilt and mortality constitute the same enigma?

The persistence of mythical representations of evil can be explained by a third phenomenon, namely the extraordinary way in which guilt and suffering remain intertwined with a stage of development in which the human mind believes it has freed itself from the realm of mythical representations. To declare someone guilty is to declare that person deserving of punishment. And punishment is, in its turn, a suffering, both physical and moral, inflicted by someone other than the guilty party. Punishment, as suffering, therefore bridges the gap between the evil committed and the evil suffered. This same boundary is crossed in the other direction by the fact that a major cause of suffering lies in the violence that human beings exercise on one another. In fact, to do evil is always, directly or indirectly, to make someone else suffer. This mutual overlapping of evil done and evil suffered prevents the two major forms of evil from ever being entirely separate and, in particular, from ever being entirely stripped of their enigmatic character. An essential opaqueness in the human condition is therefore bound up with the experience of evil, which is continually carried back to its darkness, its obscurity, by the exercise of violence, always unjust, and of punishment, even when it is held to be just.

This invincible connection of moral evil and physical evil is expressed on the level of language in the specific "language game" designated by the general term *lamentation.* Lamentation, indeed, is not confined to the moanings rising up from the abyss of suffering, announcing the coming of death. It encompasses the guilty and the victims, for the guilty suffer twice over, first by blame, which states their unworthiness, and then by punishment, which holds them under the reign of violence. With lamentation, the experience of evil becomes heard. The cry becomes a voice, the voice of the undivided enigma of evil. Lamentation forms a bridge between the evil committed or suffered and the myth. And indeed it connects suffering to language only by joining a question to its moaning. "Why evil?" "Why do children die?" "Why me?" In turning itself into a question, lamentation itself appeals to myth.

MYTHS OF EVIL. How does myth reply to the enigma of evil? It provides the first explanatory schema available to humanity. Myth replies to "why?" with "because"—which claims to fulfill the request for sense that is the mediation of lamentation. We shall discuss, in conclusion, why this claim is doomed to fail. But first we must discuss the power of myth.

Before stressing the fantastic, legendary, and even delirious side of myths, three features must be noted that define myth, at least provisionally, as an appropriate response to the "why?" that rises up from lamentation. The first characteristic of myth is to state an order indivisibly uniting ethos and cosmos. By encompassing in a single configuration celestial and terrestial phenomena, inanimate and animate nature, seasons and festivals, labors and days, myth offers a privileged framework of thought within which to link together moral evil and physical evil, guilt and mortality, violence and punishment: in short, a framework that preserves, in its answer, the unity of the enigma of evil as a question.

Next, the ambivalence of the sacred, as Rudolf Otto describes it, confers upon myth the power of taking on both the dark and the luminous sides of human existence. Many myths point to a primordial sphere of existence that can be said to be beyond good and evil. Finally, myth incorporates our fragmentary experience of evil within great narratives of origin, as Mircea Eliade has stressed in his many works on this topic. By recounting how the world began, myth recounts how the human condition reached the wretched and miserable form that we know it to take. Theogony, cosmogony, and anthropogenesis therefore form a single narrative chain that scans the "great time" of origin. Order, ambivalence, and omnitemporality are thus the major features of myth, owing to which the mythical explanation can claim to provide an all-encompassing framework for evil.

This is all we can say about myth in general, however, without running the risk of applying to one precise category of myth characters belonging solely to another. This is not to imply that we must cease to speak of myth in general: the case of myths of evil is exemplary in this respect. It appears, in fact, that myth, considered as a type of discourse, draws a certain unity from the place it assumes in a hierarchy of levels of discourse that can be organized according to stages of increasing rationality. Myth constitutes in this regard the lowest level, coming before wisdom and gnosis, which leads to the threshold of the rationalizing theodicies of philosophy and theology. One must be aware, however, that the ordering principle thus alleged is the offshoot of a certain idea of reason that was, in the West, born with philosophy itself. A purely comparativist approach could never assume unreservedly this "prejudice of reason." On the other hand, if we bracket it completely—and doubtless this must be the case in a purely descriptive history of religions—then we expose ourselves to the inverse danger, which is that the universe of myths will splinter into an infinite number of parts.

It is precisely this feature that prevails in the case of myths of evil when we bracket, at least for a while, the question of the place of myth in an ordered series of levels of discourse. Order, ambivalence, and omnitemporality then appear only as inconsequential abstract and formal elements in relation to the explanatory schemas that mythical thought has produced throughout space and time. Nowhere else as much as in the area of the explanation of evil does myth reveal itself to be this vast field of experimentation, which is unfolded in the literature of the ancient Near East, India, and the Far East. In this immense laboratory everything occurs as if there were no conceivable solution that had not been tried at one point or another as a reply to the enigma of evil. It is precisely here that the myth forms the great matrix in which are rooted the sapiential, Gnostic, and properly speculative modes of the great discourse proffered by humankind in the space opened up by lamentation between the cry and utter silence. In this sense, myth remains the schema for all subsequent speculation. The question then arises whether, outside any hierarchical order of discourses, this great phantasmagoria of evil lends itself to some typology that will not do violence to its proliferating diversity.

A prudent reply is needed to this methodological question: on the one hand, myths of evil lend themselves to classification by virtue of their narrative character, mentioned above as the third general feature of the mythical universe. Narratives of origin are presented as dramas recounting how evil began; it is therefore possible to apply a structural analysis to them that reduces them to a relatively limited number of ideal types, in Max Weber's sense—that is, of paradigms constructed by comparative science midway between the clearly transcendental *a priori* and empirical proliferation. The ideal types are those of an exemplary story, organizing segments of action, characters, fortunate and unfortunate events, as in the great epics that take place in our time, after the beginning.

The proliferation of myths can thus be mastered to a relative degree by a typology of dramatic paradigms. On the other hand, individual myths contain so many inconsistent elements, which convey a desperate attempt to explain the unexplainable in order to give an account of what is inscrutable, that they prove to be in large part hostile to all classification. At the most they present "family resemblances" that cause a number of overlaps between types of myth. There is no myth that, in some way or other, does not coincide with another myth. In this way we are prevented from working out a table of the strict play of differences and combinations among myths. In *The Symbolism of Evil*, I proposed a typology limited to the ancient Near East and to archaic Greece, that is, to the cultural memory of the European. (I shall discuss below a vaster typology that will take into account Indian and Buddhist mythology.)

The ancient Near East and Archaic Greece. The restricted typology of *The Symbolism of Evil* verifies the two opposing characteristics mentioned above. On the one hand, the attempt to classify myths in terms of a limited number of paradigms is relatively successful; on the other, the overlapping that occurs shows that every paradigm implies in some aspect or another a very different paradigm.

For a static analysis of the myths of evil, the myths of the cultural sphere considered can be divided fairly easily into four great paradigms.

1. In the myths of chaos, illustrated most strikingly by the Sumerian-Akkadian theogonic myths but also by the Homeric and Hesiodic theogonies, the origin of evil that strikes humans is included within the larger narrative of the final victory of order over chaos in the common genesis of the gods, the cosmos, and humanity. The great creation epic, *Enuma elish*, makes the appearance of man the final act in a drama that begins with the generation of the gods. One can truly speak in this connection of an epical ontogenesis to describe this sort of total narrative. As regards evil in particular, it is noteworthy that chaos precedes order and that the principle of evil is coextensive here with the generation of the divine. The poem does not hesitate to characterize as evil the hates, the plotting, and the murders that mark not only the primitive struggles among the most ancient gods but also the victory of the younger gods—Marduk, for example, in the Babylonian version of the myth.

Evil therefore precedes humankind, who finds it already present and merely continues it. Evil, in other words, belongs to the very origin of all things; it is what has been overcome in setting up the world as it now is, but it, too, contributed to this state of affairs. This is why order is precarious and its genesis must continually be reenacted by cultic rites. If, in this family of myths, the fall is mentioned, it is never in the sense of the unprecedented emergence of an evil that would be simply "human, all too human," but as an episode in the drama of creation. In the same way, the failure of the quest for immortality, recounted in the famous *Epic of Gilgamesh*, is tied up with the jealousy of the gods, who trace out the boundary between the sphere of mortals and that of immortals by an act of violence placed beyond good and evil.

2. An evil god and a tragic vision of existence are depicted in the second paradigm of evil in European culture. Here, evil is in a way shared by humankind and gods. It calls, on the one hand, for a figure with the stature of a hero, possessing higher qualities than ordinary men but who commits a grave error, which can be said to be neither the effect of mere ignorance, in the Socratic sense, nor the result of a deliberately bad choice, in the Hebraic sense. Moreover, the overwhelming error that precipitates his fall is deplored by the tragic chorus and by the hero himself as a blindness that has crept over him as a result of the jealousy of the gods; thus the hubris of the tragic hero is at once the cause and the effect of the wickedness belonging to the plane of the divinities. Aeschylus's *Prometheus Bound* is the frightening document of this tragic theology and this tragic anthropology in which the hero in a sense cooperates in a loss, the origin of which is superhuman. It is important to note that the tragic myth produced a spectacle, rather than a speculation, a spectacle that makes the spectators participate in the tragic drama through the catharsis of the emotions of terror and pity.

3. The third type is illustrated by Archaic Orphic myths, which are continued in Platonism and Neoplatonism. This can be termed the myth of the exiled soul, imprisoned in a foreign body. It assumes a radical distinction between a soul, akin to the gods, and a body, perceived as a prison or a tomb. Life itself appears as a punishment, possibly for some fault committed in a previous life. Evil is therefore identified with incarnation itself and even, in certain Far Eastern mythologies, with reincarnation. The model of the body-as-prison, extended by that of the repetition of reincarnations, is further darkened by the model of infernal punishment, as if life in the body were the image of hell. Life is then a death, which calls for a death that will be true life. Only through purification, at once ethical, ritual, and meditative, can the soul be delivered from this quagmire of bodily existence, which itself mirrors hell. In a sense, this myth alone can properly be termed a myth of the fall, for the incarnation itself marks the loss of an infinitely superior condition and so a loss of height, of altitude, which is precisely what the word *fall* signifies.

4. Compared with these three paradigms, the biblical myth of paradise lost differs in three ways. First, the Adamic myth is purely anthropological, excluding any drama of creation in which evil would originally be included: creation is good, very good; humankind alone initiates evil, although tempted, to be sure, by the serpent (an important feature discussed below); but the serpent too is a creature. Next, evil is clearly ethical, in the sense that it results from an act of disobedience. It therefore cannot be a matter of hubris, which like disobedience would represent a blindness sent down by jealous gods, although "Second Isaiah" does not hesitate, after the difficulties of exile, to make his confession in the form of God's own self-presentation, as in prophesy: "I form light and create darkness, I make weal and create war, I am the Lord, who does all these things" (*Is.* 45:7). Finally, evil is not the result of the fall of the soul into a body; it consists of a gap, a deviation of humankind as a whole, of the flesh, which is unaware of the body-soul dualism.

The Adamic myth is therefore anthropological in the strongest sense of the term, to the extent that Adam is Man, neither a Titan nor a captive soul but the ancestor of all humankind, of the same nature as all the generations springing from him. If the Adamic myth nevertheless deserves the title of myth, this is inasmuch as the narrative in which it consists is incommensurate to the historical time in which the exemplary adventure of the people of Israel takes place. The myth elevates to the level of exemplary and universal history the penitential experience of one particular people, the Jewish people. All the later speculations about the supernatural perfection of Adam before the Fall are adventitious interpretations that profoundly alter the original meaning; they tend to make Adam a superior being and so foreign to our own condition. Hence the confusion over the idea of the Fall.

The intention of the Adamic myth is to separate the origin of evil from that of good, in other words, to posit a radical origin of evil distinct from the more primordial origin of the goodness of all created things; humanity commences evil but does not commence creation. However, it is in the form of a story that the myth accounts for this catastrophe at the heart of the goodness of creation; the passage from innocence to sin is narrated as something that took place. That is why the explanation given here of the origin of evil is not yet elevated to the plane of speculation, as will later happen with the dogma of original sin, but remains an etiological myth involving legendary characters and fabulous events.

With respect to its structure, the myth takes on the form of a twofold conflict: on the one hand, that between the central figure, Adam, and the Adversary, represented by the serpent, who will later become the Devil, and on the other hand, that between the two halves of a split figure, Adam and Eve. From this complex configuration the Adamic myth receives an enigmatic depth, the second pair adding a subtle psychological dimension and an internal density that would not have been attained by the confrontation between Man and his Other alone. In this way the myth universalizes the penitential experience of the Jewish people, but the concrete universal that it forges remains caught up in the gangue of the narrative and the symbolic.

The protohistorical myth is the only vehicle for a speculation akin to sapiential literature. In order to state the discordance between a creation that is fundamentally good and a historical condition that is already bad, the myth has no other resources than to concentrate the origin of evil in a single instant, in a leap, even if it stretches out this instant in a drama that takes time, introduces a series of events, and involves several characters. In this way the myth reflects in its very structure, in which the concentrated instant and the extended drama confront one another, the structure of the phenomenon of evil as such, which at one and the same time commences with each evil act and continues an immemorial tradition.

The etiological character of the myth is further reinforced by the narrative of the maledictions that ensue, following the initial act of disobedience: every human dimension—language, work, institutions, sexuality—is stamped with the twofold mark of being destined for the good and inclined toward evil. The power of naming all beings is so deeply perverted that we no longer recognize it except in reference to the division of speech into different tongues. Work ceases to be a sort of peaceful gardening and becomes hard labor that places man in a hostile relation to nature. The nakedness of innocence is replaced by the shame that casts the shadow of concealment over all aspects of communication. The pain of childbirth tarnishes the joy of procreation; death itself is afflicted by the malediction of the awareness of its immanence. In short, what the myth recounts is how it happened that human beings are obliged to suffer the rule of hardship as we know it in our present condition. The myth's "method" is always the same: stretching out in the time of a narrated drama the paradoxical—because simultaneous—aspects of the present human condition.

This is the restricted typology that we can construct in the limited sphere of the archaic state of the European. Before attempting to move into other cultural spheres, it is important to do justice to the contrary aspect stressed above concerning the level of the typology of myths of evil: the paradigms, we said, are not simply distinct from one another in the sense of Weberian ideal types but they overlap with one another to such an extent that we can discover in each one some aspect that lends it a family resemblance to the others. The danger of the structural approach we have followed up to now lies in giving an exaggerated cohesiveness to narratives of origin that also possess a composite, paradoxical, even extravagant character, well suited to the heuristic function of myth, when myth is considered as a thought experiment that unfolds in the region of the collective imagination. This is why the static analysis of myths, governed by the search for and the description of ideal types, must be completed by the addition of a dynamic approach to myths, attentive to the internal discordances that make them overlap in places and in this way outline a vast narrative and symbolic cycle.

If we take the Adamic myth as a point of reference, we find in it the muted echo of all the others and vice versa. We can therefore speak of a tragic aspect in the Adamic myth, expressed in the deep and shadowy psychology of temptation. There is a sort of fatalistic side of the ethical confession of sins. But there is also an irreducible remainder of the theogonic combat, which can be seen in the figure of the serpent and in other biblical figures related to the primordial chaos. What is more, the essentially ethical affirmation of God's saintliness can never entirely rid us of the suspicion that God is somehow beyond good and evil and that for this very reason he sends evil as well as good.

This is why later speculation will continually return to what is at once an unthinkable and an invincible possibility, namely that the deity has a dark and terrible side, in which something of the tragic vision and also something of the myth of chaos is preserved and even reaffirmed. If this admission shows itself to be so persistent it is precisely because the human experience of evil itself contains the admission that, in positing the existence of evil, humankind discovers the other side of evil, namely that it has always existed, in a paradoxical exteriority that, as stated above, relates sin to suffering within the undivided mystery of iniquity. The acknowledgment of a nonhuman source of evil is what continually gives new life to theogony and to tragedy alongside an ethical vision of the world.

The same thing should be said with respect to the typological distance between the Adamic myth and the myth of the exiled soul. It is not by sheer chance that, under the influence of Platonism and of Neoplatonism, the Adamic myth has almost fused with the myth of the Fall. There was most likely in the original myth a tendency that led it to confuse the quasi-external character of evil as already present with the body, understood as the sole root of evil. In the same way, the Babylonian exile provided the model of banishment, which continues with that of the expulsion from the garden of paradise. The symbols of captivity and of exodus that underlie the Adamic myth thus lend themselves to contamination by the symbolism, coming from another source, of a fallen "soul." Elevating the figure of Adam above the condition of ordinary mortals doubtless facilitated the reinterpretation of the myth of disobedience in terms of a myth of the Fall: when Adam is represented as a sort of superman endowed with all knowledge, beatitude, and immortality, his degradation could be represented in no other way than as a fall.

This play of overlappings could be considered from the perspective of each of the four myths that structure the symbolic imagination in the Western world: there is no myth of chaos that, at one moment or another, does not include the confession of sins by a repentant sinner; there is no tragic myth that does not admit the deep fault tied to a hubris for which humankind recognizes itself to be guilty. And would the fall of the soul be such a misfortune if humankind did not contribute to it at least through consent?

Hindu and Buddhist mythologies. The division into four great paradigms that we apply to the vast—although restricted—domain of Semitic archaism and Hellenic archaism, which, together, structure the cultural memory of the West, itself constitutes only a restricted typology. What happens when Westerners attempt to extend their vision to a wider field? Does the typology offer the same features of relative order and of multiple overlappings when we try to pass from the restricted form to a generalized form? For anyone who undertakes the perilous task of incorporating into his or her own vision the universes of thought that entertain complex relations of distance and proximity with one's own cultural memory, two warnings should be taken into consideration: first, it is senseless to seek to be exhaustive; there is no Archimedes point from which one could attempt to raise the totality of mythical universes. We must always confine ourselves to limited incursions into the regions that we intuitively suspect will contain treasures likely to enrich our cultural memory, and from this results the unavoidably selective nature of the itinerary of these incursions.

Second, we must give up the hope of any simple taxonomy, such as a distribution into monisms, dualisms, and mixed forms of these. These distinctions are practically useless on the mythical level itself, assuming they have a less debatable validity on the level of more speculative discourse. The two examples we have chosen, Hindu mythology and Buddhist mythology, taking into account the first warning, also raise issues related to the second warning: Hindu mythology perhaps more than Buddhist mythology confronts us with a profusion of explanatory frameworks requiring a taxonomical refinement that challenges any classificatory principle. Buddhist mythology, perhaps more than Hindu mythology, shows us how the same "solution" can oscillate among several planes of expression, from the level of legend and folklore to that of a metaphysical speculation. This profusion and this variation of levels constitute fearsome challenges for any attempt at typology.

If we admit that theodicy is not restricted to monotheism but forms the touchstone of all religions, when the existential need to explain suffering and moral evil is brought to the level of language, then we can seek and find theodicies in all of them. If, moreover, we admit that Vedantic Hinduism, in which the problem of evil is dismissed rather than resolved by a refined speculation on the relation between suffering and ignorance, is not the same as all systems placed under the vast heading of Hinduism, we can, following Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty in *The Origins of Evil in Hindu Mythology* (Berkeley, 1976), class the expression of theodicies on the clearly mythological level as Puranic Hinduism. These figurative and narrative theodicies lend themselves to a certain classification of different conceptual attitudes toward evil, a classification that struggles with the proliferation of myths to the point of succumbing under their weight.

O'Flaherty, our guide through this labyrinth, observes that four characters can assume the role of the villain in the drama: mortals, fate, demons, and gods. The first type of myth, which recalls the Adamic myth, seems surprising if one considers the doctrine of *karman*, according to which our present experience is the direct result of the good or bad actions of previous existences to be the Indian solution to the problem of evil. Neither gods nor demons are then to blame, and even blame itself is obliterated by the recognition of an eternal cycle in which everything is justified and finds its recompense. The paradox lies in the fact that the feeling generated by rumination on past faults opens the way for all sorts of speculation on the moral responsibility of humankind for the origin of evil, nuanced by the attitude that human beings are always as much victim as guilty party (as we see in the myths of the loss of a golden age).

After all, the very doctrine of *karman* posits that the links in the endless chain of evil are our desires and our sins; Buddhism takes this as its starting point. The paradox, however, is reversed when a primordial fall is evoked; then it is fate rather than humankind that is to blame. This forms a second cycle of myths, where we see God or a god create evil as a positive element in the universe, whether he acts as a willing or unwilling instrument of fate or whether he himself decides that evil must come to be. Logical thought tends to see a contradiction here between being constrained or deciding freely to create an ambivalent universe; Hindu thought, however, moves effortlessly between what ultimately appears to be two variants of a *dharma* that abolishes the distinction between what is and what ought to be.

The opposite is no less true: it is because a doctrine like that of *karman* proves to be emotionally unsatisfactory in certain ways while remaining valid in the eyes of the wise that mythology continually reworks the variants, producing new divergences. It is then not surprising that mythical speculation turns toward gods and demons. Myths placing guilt on the shoulders of gods or demons proliferate, all the more so as ethical and cosmic dualism, illustrated in its purest and most coherent form by Manichaeism, was never victorious in India: the ambiguous nature of the demons, and even of the gods, served to thwart this clear and radical distinction. India prefered to struggle with the paradox of superhuman entities, which are almost all of the same nature and which are distinguished and opposed to another only by their combat. Those who always win are gods, but because their adversaries are never really eliminated, the kinship of the gods and the demons always resurfaces.

Here the guide we have chosen to follow remarks with irony that as a consequence of these reversals the gods reputed to be good are more wicked than we might expect and that the demons reputed to be evil prove to be good demons. This gives rise to a reflection on the demonic as such, in which power overrides benevolence, thus verifying the extent to which myths operate as depth probes sounding the ambivalence of the human condition itself, while on the surface they seem to operate as explanations. By recounting our origins, where we come from, myths describe in a symbolic way what we are: the paradox of the good demon and that of the evil god are not merely playful fantasies but the privileged means of unraveling the tangled skein of passions belonging to the human heart. When the myth tells, for example, how the gods corrupted the demons, something is said about the hidden perversity of the "higher" part of ourselves. When the myth recounts the birth of death, it touches the secret thread of our fright in the face of death, a fright that in fact closely links together evil and death and confronts death as a personified demon.

The fact that myths are indifferent to logical coherence is attested to by another cycle of myths, characteristic of *bhakti* spirituality, where we see a god create evil (for example, a fallacious heresy) for the good of humanity, a lesser malediction freeing a graver one. The cycle is then complete: submitted to this stringent economy, humankind is carried back to the problem of its own evil, as in the theory of *karman.* This cycle, however, is considerably vaster than that of the restricted typology with which we began. It is also more loosely knit. And it is truly in the mythic theodicies of India that we see verified the notion suggested at the beginning of this article, namely that the mythical world is an immense laboratory in which all imaginable solutions are tried.

This acceptance of multiplicity by the same culture confirms one of the conclusions arrived at by our restricted typology (restricted to the archaic Semitic and Greek worlds)—namely, that in every myth, owing to its own incoherence, we discover a sketch in miniature that another myth will develop on a much larger scale. The feature that has not received sufficient attention, however, has to do with the difference in level that allows us to go beyond a lower truth (for example, the struggle between gods and demons or the corruption of demons and mortals by the gods) by means of a higher truth (for example, *karman*), which, far from eliminating the prior truth, confirms it in its subordinate place. This is what Buddhism forcefully demonstrates.

Buddhism poses a singular problem for any careful investigation, not only with respect to the multitude of mythical figures of evil, but also to the oscillation between different levels of discourse. On the one hand, indeed, no religion has gone so far toward a speculation stripped of any narrative or figurative element on behalf of a doctrine of inner illumination. On the other hand, Buddhism seldom appears in a form completely cut off from popular beliefs and from their characteristic demonology, especially in the cultural universes previously shaped by Hinduism. What is more, Buddhism has generated within its own midst, if not a new demonology, at least a mythical figure of evil, Māra, somewhat comparable to Satan in late Judaism and in early Christianity. Buddhism reinforces in this respect the hypothesis according to which one can speak of the origin of evil only by way of myths. At the same time it appears to constitute a counterexample to this hypothesis, because mythology seems at first to be so incompatible with the purified form of spirituality characteristic of Buddhism. It is, to be sure, in the Pali canon and not in the Mahāyāna documents that T. O. Ling, in his *Buddhism and the Mythology of Evil* (London, 1962), finds the most striking illustration of this phenomenon, which at first sight seems paradoxical.

To begin with, one must admit that a wide gap exists between pure Buddhist doctrine and popular mythologies concerning the origin of evil. The latter are characterized basically by the radically external nature they attribute to demonic powers, represented as threatening, terrifying, devouring creatures. In addition, as is not the case in Iranian dualism, these demons form a swarm in which it is difficult to distinguish the forces of evil from the forces of good. Finally, the principal resource of humans in defending themselves against these external forces is an action itself turned toward the outside, whether this is a propitiatory sacrifice, an invocation addressed to higher powers or the manipulation of hostile forces through magical actions, or even the constraint that is supposed to be exerted on the gods by self-mortification.

On the other hand, if, following T. R. V. Murti in *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism* (London, 1955), we take as our criterion for Buddhism the "philosophical" section of the canon, that is the Abhidhamma Pitaka and, more precisely, Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* (Path of Purification), which in the Theravāda school is at once its conclusion and compendium, then we are correct in speaking of a Buddhism without mythology, as Ling does. The thinking behind this radical position is easy to understand. In the first place, the doctrine is entirely directed toward the purely mental conditions of the evils of existence. These conditions are analyzed, catalogued, and hierarchized with the most extraordinary care; they are also submitted to an exploration of the "dependent origination" of the lines of interdependence, which allows the sources of evil to be tracked down in their deepest hiding places. What the analysis exposes are not external forces but, basically, ignorance, which itself results from false views of the world, generated in their turn by an overestimation of the self. Popular demonologies are precisely the crudest sort of expression of these false points of view.

The second reason for incompatibility with mythology is that the analysis itself, in certain schools, is confined to scholasticism, due to the subtlety of its distinctions and derivations, and is placed in the service of a wisdom aimed at establishing a state of emptiness, a void. This state is entirely separate from the familiar realities of everyday existence and wholly unrelated to the fantastic creatures produced by desire and, even more so, by fear. Demons vanish along with all external reality as a result of the purifying meditation that deserves the name of enlightenment.

And yet, it is not simply a matter of making concessions to popular beliefs if the Pali canon assigns a place in its teachings to the Evil One and gives him the name of Māra. This entity can be termed mythical due to his resemblance to the demons of popular belief and, more precisely, due to his personification of original evil. Ling confirms here the earlier analysis of Ernst W. Windisch in *Māra und Buddha* (Leipzig, 1895). According to both of them, this figure is finally not foreign to the central core of Buddhism to the extent that it is part of the very experience of the Buddha's enlightenment, as a force that threatens, attacks, and seeks to distract the individual from contemplation—a force that the wise person must address, confront, and finally conquer.

Specialists in this field argue whether this confrontation with the threat of distraction is characteristic only of the first stage in the spiritual adventure or whether it is present up to the end; they argue whether the proliferation of legends that attribute to this figure of evil the status of a demon result from subsequent contamination by the surrounding demonologies or whether they develop a mythical core inherent in the pure doctrine. The essential point is that the figure of Māra in its barest signification is the product of Buddhism. Ignorance driven out by knowledge; shadows dissipated by that enlightenment, are experienced as an inner adversity that is spontaneously personified in the figure of an adversary. As is not the case in popular demonology, however, Māra is personified by a single figure, symbolizing the internal enemy, namely the adversary of meditation.

If Buddhism seems to confirm in such a paradoxical fashion the thesis that one can speak only in mythical terms of the origin of evil, this is because the source of evil, however much it may be interiorized, retains a certain hostile nature that calls for a figurative approximation in terms of externality. Expressed in external terms, the myth gives a symbolic expression to the interior experience of evil.

BEYOND MYTH? Myth, however, is not alone in using language to deal with the enigma of evil. I mentioned above that there exists a hierarchy of different levels of discourse within which myth takes its place. We can go beyond myth in two directions, that of theodicy and that of wisdom. These two paths often intersect but they conform to two distinct series of requirements.

The path of theodicy. Theodicy replies to a demand for rational coherence. This requirement stems from lamentation itself, inasmuch as it carries within it an interrogation: "Why? Why must my child die? Why must there be suffering and death? How long, O Lord?" But it also stems from myth itself, inasmuch as it brings the reply of a vaster and more ancient order than the miserable condition of humankind. This reply, however, suffers at once from an excess and from a defect: an excess resulting from a proliferation that staggers the imagination (the mythical world, Lévi-Strauss observes, is a world that is too full); its defect is due to the mutual incompatibility of myths, to their internal contradictions, and, finally, to their narrative form itself: to tell a story is not to explain. Rationalization has taken a number of different forms: in India, this involves the grand speculations on *karman*, on the degrees of being, on the order of things placed beyond good and evil. In Buddhism, this concerns speculation on the tie between ignorance and suffering and, above all, on the tie between wisdom, which I shall discuss below, and suffering. In Greece, myth was surpassed by philosophy, which essentially separates the question of origin in the sense of foundation from the question of the beginning in the sense of theogonies and genealogies. By virtue of this fundamental clarification, Plato prefers to say that God is the cause of good alone rather than to say, along with myth, that the gods are bad or that they are beyond good and evil.

In the Christian sphere, rationalization takes place within theology, mainly at the time of the confrontation with gnosis, which is still no more than a rationalized myth, and in connection with an overall hellenization of speculation. In this regard, the doctrine of original sin in Augustine offers at once the features of an antignosis as a result of what its conceptual framework borrows from Neoplatonism (being, nothingness, substance, etc.) and the features of a quasi gnosis, and hence of a rationalized myth, due to the way it mixes together the legal model of individual guilt and a biological model of contamination at birth and of hereditary transmission. This is why such rationalization was continued beyond this quasi gnosis in onto-theologies to which we owe the theodicies as such, in Leibniz and, finally, in Hegel. To these theodicies we owe, if not a solution to the enigma of evil, at least the transformation of the enigma into a problem, namely whether or not we can maintain the following three propositions at once: God is all-powerful. God is absolutely good. Evil exists. This is not the place, however, to weigh the success or failure of rational theodicies.

The path of Wisdom. Assuming that a coherent reply could be given to the enigma that has been raised in this way to the level of a rational problem, there could still be no exclusive means for explaining it. The question of evil, indeed, is not simply "Why does evil exist?" but also "Why is evil greater than humans can bear?" and, along with this, "Why this particular evil? Why must my child die? Why me?" The question is also posed, then, to wisdom.

It is Wisdom's task first to develop an argument on the basis of this personal and intimate question that myth does not treat, since it invokes an order that does not concern individual suffering. Wisdom thus forces myth to shift levels. It must not simply tell of the origin in such a way as to explain how the human condition reached its present miserable state; it must also justify the distribution of good and evil to every individual. Myth recounts a story, Wisdom argues. It is in this sense that we see the *Book of Job* question explanation in terms of retribution in the name of the just man who suffers. If the *Book of Job* occupies a primary place in world literature, it does so first because it is a classic of Wisdom's argumentative mode. But it is so because of the enigmatic and even perhaps deliberately ambiguous character of its conclusion. The final theophany gives no direct reply to Job's personal suffering, and speculation must be made in more than one direction. The vision of a creator whose designs are unfathomable may suggest either consolation that has to be deferred until the eschaton, or that Job's complaint is displaced, even set aside, in the eyes of God, the master of good and evil, or that perhaps the complaint has to stand one of the purificatory tests to which Wisdom, itself grafted on a certain *docta ignorantia*, must submit so that Job can love God "for nought" in response to Satan's wager at the beginning of the tale.

This final suggestion reveals the second function of Wisdom, which is no longer to develop arguments or even to accuse God but to transform, practically and emotionally, the nature of the desire that is at the base of the request for explanation. To transform desire practically means to leave behind the question of origins, toward which myth stubbornly carries speculative thought, and to substitute for it the question of the future and the end of evil. For practice, evil is simply what should not but does exist, hence what must be combated. This practical attitude concerns principally that immense share of suffering resulting from violence, that is, from the evil that humans inflict on their fellows. To transform desire emotionally is to give up any consolation, at least for oneself, by giving up the complaint itself. It is perhaps at this point that Job's wisdom coincides with that of Buddhism. Whatever can be said of this meeting of two such remote traditions of wisdom, it is only at this point that myth can be surpassed. But it is not easy to give up the question "why?" to which myth attempts—and fails—to reply.

SEE ALSO Chaos; Devils; Fall, The; Myth; Sin and Guilt; Suffering; Theodicy; Wisdom.

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PAUL RICOEUR (1987)
Revised Bibliography

EVOLA, JULIUS. Giulio Cesare Andrea Evola (Julius; 1898–1974) was a cultural, religious-historical, philosophical, esoteric, and political author. Evola was born in Rome, most likely to Sicilian aristocracy, and was raised Catholic. He came under the early spiritual influence of Arthur Rimbaud (1854–1891), Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900), Carlo Michelstaedter (1887–1910), and Otto Weininger (1880–1903). After returning from service in Word War I, Evola experienced an existential crisis, which almost ended in suicide. According to his own statement, he was rescued by a sentence from the Buddhist Pali canon. Psychological experiments under the influence of ether led Evola to a transcendental experience of his self (Ego), which transformed him completely. He experienced his self as all-comprising and identical with the highest spiritual power in the universe. During this time he became friends with the futurist Giovanni Papini (1881–1956), who interested Evola in the Eastern wisdom teachings and the mystic Meister Eckhart (c. 1260–1328), whose extreme clarity always remained a model for Evola. Evola was also well acquainted with the futurist theorist and author Filippo Tommaso Marinetti (1876–1944), who might even have introduced him to Benito Mussolini.

Soon, however, Evola turned towards Dadaism and became friends with its main proponent, Tristan Tzara (1896–1963). Due to the quality of his paintings, poetry, and writings on the theory of modern art, Evola is considered the main representative of Italian Dadaism. He saw art as flowing from a "higher consciousness." All of Evola's work is incidentally characterized by his effort to elevate mere human existence to a supramundane level and to concentrate on transcendental principles. This concentration is marked, however, by a militantly active aspect, which drove the contemplative into the background.

In 1922 Evola abandoned his artistic activities, and in the same year, when he was just twenty-four, he completed a translation of the *Dao de jing*, influenced by idealist philosophy; he completely revised this translation in 1959. Evola dedicated himself subsequently to the construction of his own philosophical system, which he called "magical idealism," after Novalis (Friedrich von Hardenberg, 1772–1801). Based upon German idealism (mainly Friedrich Schelling, J. G. Fichte, and Novalis) and complemented by his own transcendent "ego experiences," as well as teachings from the Far East, Evola eventually formulated the notion of an "absolute self," related to the idea of the Hindu *ātman.* He postulated the "absolute self" as being free from all spiritual or material constraints, wherein freedom, power, and realization form a unity.

In 1926 Evola abandoned his extensive philosophical studies because he was searching for an actual breakthrough to transcendent "initiatic" levels. He had already formed close contacts with Ultra, an independent theosophical group in Rome, through which he got to know the most important Italian scholar of Asian religions, Giuseppe Tucci (1894–1984). He also came into contact with Tantrism, which he studied intensively, drawn by its practical emphasis and promise of direct transcendental experiences. Evola soon entered into correspondence with John Woodroffe (Arthur Avalon; 1865–1936), who had brought Kuṇḍalinī Yoga and Tantrism to the West. Evola's *L'Uomo come Potenza* (Man as power, 1925) followed. Although still having a strong Western philosophical tendency, this work was based on Woodroffe's research and translations from Sanskrit sources, and it thus became the first work to make Tantrism known in Italy.

At that time, through René Guénon (1886–1951), Evola received his first exposure to Integral Tradition, according to which all fundamental religions and cultures are said to arise out of a primordial tradition of transcendent origin. From 1927 to 1929, he led the magical-initiatory Group of Ur, in which both esotericists and representatives of general Italian spiritual life, including Emilio Servadio (1904–1995), the "father of Italian psychoanalysis," participated anonymously. The goal was complete human self-transformation and integration into transcendental regions by way of an experimental path, which Evola called *initiation*; the Daoist *wei wu wei* (nonintentional doing) was a precondition for effective magical actions. The group's magazine published, besides its own reports, first Italian translations of the ancient Mithraic *Apathanathismos*, as well as excerpts from Avalon's texts, the Buddhist Pali canon, the biography of the Tibetan Mi la ras pa, the Chinese *Tract of the Golden Flower*, and an article by the French Orientalist Paul Masson-Oursel (1882–1956). After the Group of Ur disbanded, Evola founded the political and literary journal *La Torre*, which published, among others, an article by Paul Tillich (1886–1965) about the demonic and several excerpts from writings by Johann Jakob Bachofen (1815–1887). However, because of its uncompromising positions, *La Torre* had to cease publication at the behest of Mussolini after only ten issues.

Evola's acquaintance with the then most important Italian philosophers, Benedetto Croce (1866–1952) and Giovanni Gentile (1875–1944), led to a collaboration on the *Enciclopedia Italiana.* In the 1930s Evola busied himself intensely with alchemy, a critical analysis of the then prevailing esoteric groups, and the myth of the Holy Grail. His underlying traditional philosophy did not see historical-cultural development as advancement, but rather as decay, a view that reflected Indian and ancient teachings on the cosmic cycles, at the "gloomy" end of which, known as the *kaliyuga*, people live today.

At the same time, Evola traveled throughout Europe to meet with representatives of political views that corresponded to his own sacral-holistic, antiliberalist, and antidemocratic ideas, including the revolutionary conservative Edgar Julius Jung (1894–1934), who was later murdered by the Nazis, the Catholic monarchist Karl Anton Prinz Rohan (1898–1975), and the founder of Romania's Iron Guard, Corneliu Codreanu (1899–1938). During his visit to Romania in 1937, Evola met Mircea Eliade (1907–1986), who belonged to the Iron Guard. Evola and Eliade had corresponded since the second half of the 1920s, but only several of Evola's and none of Eliade's letters have survived because Evola destroyed letters he received after answering them. Evola wrote five contributions for the German cultural journal *Antaios*, published by Ernst Jünger (1895–1998) and Eliade between 1960 and 1970. Evola's influence on Eliade is undeniable, even if Eliade cannot be regarded as belonging to the Integral Tradition school of thought. The parallels to Evola are particularly evident in Eliade's early alchemic works. After World War II, Evola introduced Eliade to Italian publishers and translated some of his works. Evola was also acquainted with Angelo Brelich (1913–1977), who published two articles (one about Jupiter and the Roman idea of state) in 1937 and 1940 in *Diorama Filosofico*, Evola's cultural supplement to the *Regime Fascista* magazine. The article on Jupiter and Rome testifies to Evola's great interest in Roman religion, which formed the spiritual foundation of the *Imperium Romanum*, which Evola hoped to see reestablished. Letters from Evola preserved in the archives of the great historian of religion Raffaele Pettazzoni (1883–1959) and the mythologist Karl Kerényi (1897–1973) show that he was also in contact with them.

Before and during World War II, Evola concentrated intensely on Buddhism, which he described as a path to spiritual freedom that maintained its validity even in modern times. Evola almost exclusively referred to the Pali canon, and he pointed out that the historical Buddha was a member of the warrior caste. Evola rejected the widespread teaching of modern Mahāyāna Buddhism, which sets peacefulness and universal love in the foreground, instead of clear initiatory knowledge through asceticism and exercise. Nevertheless, Anagarika Govinda (1898–1985), who was the first Westerner to receive the title of lama, praised Evola's work.

In 1940 Evola wrote an article for the magazine *Asiatica*, published by Tucci. This work was later continued in the subsequent renowned journal *East and West*, which Tucci also managed. Another well-known Orientalist with whom

Evola had been closely connected since his youth was Pio Filippani-Ronconi (b. 1920) who taught at the University of Naples. A close friendship on the basis of common esoteric interests connected Evola with the Egyptologist Boris de Rachewiltz (1926–1997). He was also well acquainted with the historian and researcher of ancient Roman religion, Franz Altheim (1898–1976).

Evola's ambivalent attitude towards fascism, which he hoped would lead Italy back to a heathen-sacral *Imperium Romanum*, but which lacked any transcendent basis, led him closer to National Socialism, and in particular to the *Schutzstaffeln* (SS), which he considered a fighting spiritual order, at least in the beginning. However, by 1938 he was denounced as a "reactionary Roman and visionary" in an SS document, which led to an order that Evola's behavior was to be observed. Starting in the mid-1930s, Evola was heavily involved with questions of race, and he hoped that official recognition and influence would result from this work. After all, Mussolini had expressed positive thoughts about Evola's theses of "spiritual" racism, with which he wanted to oppose the "material-biologic" racism of Hitler's Germany. When American troops marched into Rome in 1944, Evola fled to Vienna, where he suffered a severe spinal injury in a bomb attack in 1945. He was confined to a wheelchair for the rest of his life.

After spending three years in hospitals and sanatoriums, Evola returned to Rome in 1948. In 1951 he was accused of being a "spiritual instigator" of secret neo-fascist terror groups and arrested. Following six months of investigative lockup, he was acquitted. Evola's political tendencies changed thereafter more and more into what he called "apolitia," by which he meant a firm spiritual-political position far above daily politics. He also became more heavily involved with Zen Buddhism, which he made widely known in Italy, especially after he began publishing other Zen Buddhist authors. In his last years of life he translated the first volume of *Essays in Zen Buddhism* by D.T. Suzuki, for which he also wrote the introduction. The other two volumes of these *Essays* appeared later on in the book series *Orizzonti dello spirito*, which Evola had founded and for which he selected works from Avalon, Eliade, Tucci, Scholem, and Lu K'uan Yu, among others.

Evola's efforts in popularizing Asian religions helped improve the European image of Asia at a time when a positive view of Asia was not customary. However, his quest was not scientific, although he remained as true to original sources as was possible at the time. For him, as in the case of his esoteric writings, his work in comparative religion was more about revealing paths that could extract modern humans from rampant materialism and lead them to spiritual freedom. Therefore, Evola's religious-historical works examine only selected aspects corresponding to this quest, and they are unsuitable as surveys. This can be seen most clearly in Evola's handling of Hinduism, where he highlighted only the warrior and ascetic aspects of the *Bhagavadgītā*. The same is true for Islam. Despite this intentional one-sidedness, his books are still appreciated in Orientalist circles, and such experts as Jean Varenne, Filippani-Ronconi, or Silvio Vietta have written forewords to new editions of his works. Academic circles have become increasingly interested in Evola, as evidenced by the numerous books, essays, conference proceedings, and dissertations written about him, and the many translations of his writings.

Although he was never a party member, Evola's involvement with fascism, National Socialism, and racism continues to make him an extremely controversial figure. Controversy has also resulted from the numerous anti-Semitic comments that he made, mainly in the fascist daily press, and from the introduction he wrote in 1937 for the Italian version of the forged *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Evola saw in Judaism the modern materialist and economic dominance that he fought against, although he highly valued Orthodox and qabbalistic Judaism.

Evola passed away in 1974. He had expressly refused a Catholic burial, and his ashes were scattered in a crevasse of Monte Rosa.

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Hans Thomas Hakl (2005)

Translated from German by Marvin C. Sterling

EVOLUTION

This entry consists of the following articles:

THE CONTROVERSY WITH CREATIONISM
EVOLUTIONISM
EVOLUTIONARY ETHICS

EVOLUTION: THE CONTROVERSY WITH CREATIONISM

Perhaps no topic evokes a greater visceral reaction among both scientific and religious communities than that of the treatment of Darwinian evolution in Western society. On the one hand, scientists realize that this model of how the observed complexity of the living world likely arose seems, at this point in its history, almost self-evident. On the other hand, the media attention engendered by the vocal elements in opposition, whether motivated by creationism or intelligent design, pushes the churchgoing public to think that evolution (and by extension all of science) and religion are "at war." This caricature of the relationship is not only misleading but also mistaken. Ian Barbour, in his seminal work "Religion and Science" (1997) has shown convincingly that the warfare or conflict mode is one of four archetypes for the relationship between science and religion. In fact, the conflict mode represents the reaction of the extremes in both fields. In order to understand the true nature of this conversation as well as the specific positions taken by Darwinists and creationists, it is necessary to review both the science and the history of biological evolution.

Darwin and His Times. It is important to place Charles Darwin within the framework of both the English society of the nineteenth century and the scientific culture of western Europe and the United States during that time. Darwin was a product of the British intellectual class in every sense of the word. His father and his grandfather were both physicians. In addition, Erasmus Darwin, his paternal grandfather, was among those naturalists (now called biologists) who, at the end of the eighteenth century, challenged the notion that species were "fixed," that they existed in the same form in which they were originally created. Thus the concept of species changing over time was a part of Charles Darwin's personal history.

Darwin's voyage on the HMS *Beagle* from 1831 to 1836 became the means by which the Cambridge-educated student cemented his interest in biology and severed his path toward the theological training to which he seemed destined. He returned to England with his notebooks full of observations but with the ideas that would become his major work still unformed. By 1838 his interaction with the London society of naturalists resulted in the first formulations of his model.

After the voyage, Darwin did not leave England again. His marriage to Emma Wedgewood in 1839 and their life together at Down House in Kent were the stage for the remainder of his life. From that place, in the setting of a country squire and consummate Victorian intellectual, Darwin published the works through which he is known.

At Down House, perhaps taking one of his famous meditative strolls along the Sandwalk, Darwin decided to publish his book *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection.* His work on this had been ongoing since his return to England on the *Beagle.* The final stimulus to publication was a paper by Alfred Wallace, a young naturalist working in the Far East. The similarity of their conclusions led Darwin to finally complete his book for release in November 1859. *Origin of Species* was released in a total of six editions, all overseen by Darwin. The sixth, published in 1872, was his last. Darwin died in 1882.

THE DARWINIAN MODEL. Darwin's great contribution was to provide a physical explanation for the observed complexity of the living world. Rather than assume that all things were created in the form in which they now occur (preformationism), he posited that everything arose by descent with modification from a common ancestor. The driving force of this, he proposed, was natural selection. His choice of terms for this force was not accidental. In fact, he was referring by comparison to the commonly understood agricultural practices of his day, by which desired traits of plants or animals were selected artificially by breeding. He argued that, in a similar fashion, favorable traits are selected in the natural world and that this selection results in the complexity of species.

John Maynard Smith put forward a convenient statement of the Darwinian model in 1991:

1. Population of entities (units of evolution) exist with three properties: (a) multiplication (one can give rise to two), (b) variation (not all entities are alike), and (c) heredity (like usually begets like during multiplication).
2. Differences between entities influence the likelihood of surviving and reproducing. That is, the differences influence their fitness.
3. The population changes over time (evolves) in the presence of selective forces.
4. The entities come to possess traits that increase their fitness. (Smith, 1991, p. 27)

It is important to note the emphasis on reproductive fitness in this model. When Darwin used the term *fitness* in *Origin of Species*, he meant it in this sense. That is, those traits that increase the likelihood of the organism reproducing are defined as making the organism more fit. In trying to clarify his meaning about this in subsequent editions, Darwin eventually came to rely on a phrase penned by Herbert Spencer, his contemporary and one of the great figures of Victorian England. In chapter three of the sixth edition of *Origin of Species*, Darwin wrote: "I have called this principle, by which each slight variation, if useful, is preserved, by the term Natural Selection, in order to mark its relation to man's power of selection. But the expression often used by Mr. Herbert Spencer, of the Survival of the Fittest, is more accurate, and is sometimes equally convenient" (1872, p. 32).

The image of "nature red in tooth and claw," to use Alfred, Lord Tennyson's oft-quoted line (*In Memoriam*, 1850, verse LVI), comes from a misreading of this epithet from Spencer. Nonetheless, it is true that Darwin's model does propose that some individuals are less reproductively fit than others and that this will inevitably entail the die-off of species. It is from this consequence of his model that the theodicy problem arises. Darwin was keenly aware of the theological impact of his own physical interpretations. He wrote in an 1860 letter to the American naturalist Asa Gray that he had trouble reconciling a loving God with some of what he observed in nature. In particular, referencing a species of wasp who lays her eggs in the living body of a caterpillar, whose flesh is then used as nourishment for the wasp's offspring, Darwin wrote, "I cannot persuade myself that a beneficent and omnipotent God would have designedly created the *Ichneumonidae* with the express intention of their feeding within the living bodies of Caterpillars, or that a cat should play with mice" (Darwin, 1860).

This theological challenge became a part of the catalyst that led to the reaction against the Darwinian model in a minority of Christian communities in the United States. The larger issue, as discussed below, is that of the completely materialistic interpretation of nature that scientific descendants of Darwin make, especially in the modern era.

THE MODERN SYNTHESIS: NEO-DARWINISM AND TWENTIETH-CENTURY BIOLOGY. The decade from 1859 to 1869 saw three scientific achievements that, nearly one hundred years later, were intimately related in the modern paradigms of biology. The first was the publication of Darwin's masterwork in November 1859. During this time Gregor Mendel, an Augustinian monk working in Brün (now Brno), Austria, developed a quantitative understanding of inheritance. He presented his work to the Brün Academy of Sciences in 1868 and published it in the academy's journal a year later. In 1869 Johann Fredriech Miescher, a Swiss chemist working at the time in Tübingen, isolated a substance from white blood cells found on used bandages. He named this material nuclein. It is now known as DNA.

In the nineteenth century, no one had any idea that these three events were related in any way. Certainly both Mendel and Miescher, as active scientists, were aware of Darwin's work and the implications of his model. However, virtually no scientist of the day even read Mendel's paper or appreciated the shift it signaled. In addition, no one could foresee that the genes whose behavior Mendel described and whose variants were the selectable traits Darwin's model relied upon would be found to be sequences of nitrogenous bases making up the structure of Miescher's nuclein.

In 1942 Julian Huxley, the grandson of Thomas Huxley, Darwin's champion, published *Evolution: The Modern Synthesis*. Huxley proposed that the Darwinian model, which had been relatively neglected by biologists (although popular with social scientists), could now be "rescued" by linking it with Mendelian genetics. Mendel of course had been rediscovered at the beginning of the twentieth century, when his experiments were repeated and shown to coincide with the behavior of cells as observed by more powerful microscopes than were available in the 1860s. The power of genetics was evident in the impressive data produced with model organisms such as the fruit fly. In addition, the field of biochemistry added to this new formulation with a search for what the chemical nature of the gene might be.

The search culminated in 1942 with the discovery by Oswald Avery and his colleagues that DNA was indeed the genetic material. Although it took another ten years for this idea to be accepted completely, the stage was now set for a full statement of what has come to be called the neo-Darwinian synthesis. This formulation includes the following features:

- Genes: information in the form of the linear array of bases that make up the DNA molecules of chromosomes.
- The traits of an organism (phenotype): direct expression of the information found in the genes (genotype).
- Variations: result of subtle differences in this information (changes in base pairs).
- Changes in genes: mutational events that occur in a "random" way. Random here means that it is not possible to predict which nitrogenous base changes within the DNA. However, the nature of the change is predictable, given the mutagenic stimulus.
- A population of entities: will have variations in traits that are the result of mutational events (genetic drift).

In this new world of biology, the variant genes are acted upon by natural selection. Variants with a greater likelihood of allowing the organism to reproduce and pass these traits on to the next generation have a positive selective advantage and are said to be more fit.

ENCOUNTERS BETWEEN EVOLUTION AND THEOLOGY. Immediately after the publication of Darwin's book there was a theological reaction within the Abrahamic religions, mainly the Protestant Christian denominations. At first glance it would seem that the problem was with the challenge to the *Genesis* account of creation. However, it must be understood that the fixity of species had also been assumed by science as well. After all, the eighteenth-century Swedish naturalist Carl von Linné (Carolus Linnaeus), whose taxonomic classification system is still used in the early twenty-first century, assumed that the species he was describing in his work had existed in their present forms since the beginning. Even in Darwin's day this was the predominant model for many biologists, although challenges had already been mounted before 1859. Therefore, while this issue was a problem for theology, it was also a problem for many scientists as well.

A larger theological issue concerned the explanation itself. Darwin consciously wrote his book with earlier models in mind, especially the natural theology of William Paley. In 1802 the Reverend Paley published his view of the origin of life's complexity in a volume called *Natural Theology; or, Evidences for the Existence and Attributes of the Deity, Collected from the Appearances of Nature*. In this book Paley presented his famous watch and watchmaker metaphor. This theistic use of nature ultimately led the modern evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins to title his challenge to theism *The Blind Watchmaker* (1986).

Darwin, in response to Paley's model of an interventionist God creating all things at the beginning, offered instead a naturalistic and materialistic explanation: descent with modification from a common ancestor through the nonsupernatural force of natural selection. While this model does not assume the absence of a God, it certainly does not invoke God's action in any direct way in its presentation. Darwin was not unaware of the effect his model had among theologians and religious communities. In fact, in the second edition of *Origin of Species* he added the following statement, somewhat in his own defense:

> I see no reason why the views given in this volume should shock the religious feelings of any one. It is satisfactory, as showing how transient such impressions are, to remember that the greatest discovery ever made by man, namely, the law of the attraction of gravity, was also attacked by Leibnitz, "as subversive of natural, and inferentially of revealed, religion." (p. 239)

Darwin's view of the transience of the problem is certainly touching in light of the debate that still seems to rage in some circles over his "volume." Nonetheless, in this short and somewhat disingenuous statement he was attempting to make the case for two ideas: the need for science to be seen as not in contradistinction to religion, and the need for theology-religion to take into account the latest scientific advances.

In spite of Darwin's position that there was no threat to religion, the interpreters of his model had other ideas. Thomas Huxley, one of Darwin's chief defenders, saw the evolutionary model as something that went beyond the biology it described. He called for the development of a social philosophy, akin to and as a substitute for religion, based on the Darwinian principles. For Huxley, the highest goals and values of humanity could be seen as the continuing evolution of the human species. Herbert Spencer also used Darwinian principals to develop a philosophical and political framework but wanted to apply the survival of the fittest model to the evolution of social systems. Finally, Francis Galton, Darwin's first cousin, used the model to advocate for the purposeful direction of the evolution of humans, a process he called eugenics.

Among theologians of the time there were some who tried to cling to the strict interpretative view of creation as described in *Genesis,* which was not at odds with the model of many naturalists of the day. Others took the new model to heart and attempted to make theological sense out of this new view of the living world. Those theologians who embraced the new idea were already, in some sense, committed to a new kind of biblical criticism that was beginning to supplant literalism among some of the more liberal Christian thinkers. This movement, rather than Darwinian evolution per se, gave rise to the fundamentalists.

THE FUNDAMENTALISTS. It is commonly assumed that antievolutionism is synonymous with Christian fundamentalism. While many Christians who identify with fundamentalism are antievolutionist, the origins of this strain of Christian thought did not include this tenet. When the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church met in 1910 to approve those beliefs that would be considered fundamental to being a Christian, the following five were adopted:

1. the inerrancy of the Scriptures in their original documents;
2. the deity of Jesus Christ, including the virgin birth;
3. substitutionary atonement;
4. the physical resurrection of Christ;
5. the miracle-working power of Jesus Christ.

Nowhere in this list is there any reference to Darwinian evolution. In fact some of the theologians involved in the formulation of these basic tenets accepted evolution although they were still believing Christians. Thus, at its very foundations, fundamentalism was not antievolution.

How is it then that the modern understanding of a fundamentalist includes this anti-Darwinian posture? Certainly over the years since the establishment of these basic tenets of belief as essential some things have changed. The first fundamental is the inerrancy of Scripture. As originally argued, this tenet was directed against the liberal Protestant theologians who were coming to rely more and more on historical methods of criticism in biblical hermeneutics. The reaction was not against the scientific enterprise itself. The first fundamental deals with the divine authority of Scripture, juxtaposed against the view that these writings were but the historical works of humans. The intent was to defend the purity of the teaching against internal disagreement within the Christian community, as opposed to direct challenges from science.

The move from this position to one that espouses the literal meaning of *Genesis* as a description of how creation actually took place is a matter of only a few steps. In the face of the growing social movement of secular humanism, itself a spin-off of the scientific enterprise, it is not surprising that some elements of the fundamentalist community began to react against the Darwinian model itself. What developed from this reaction is the theological stance called biblical creationism, which rejects the scientific models completely and relies upon Scripture as the sole source for understanding how the natural world arose.

SCIENTIFIC CREATIONISM. A visit to the Institute for Creation Research (ICR) in the foothills east of San Diego, California, is quite instructive. It is clear that this is a facility that celebrates rather than rejects science. The founding members, such as Duane Guish (biochemistry) and Henry Morris (geology) are trained in science, not theology. One is surrounded by evidence that scientific instruments and techniques are employed in their work. And yet their interpretation of their investigations is given one and only one direction: scientific support of the creation story as given in the *Book of Genesis.*

The ICR founder and president, John Morris, posted the following introduction to their mission on the institute's website:

> Our world, our church, our schools, our society, need the truth of creation more than ever. We see the wrong thinking of evolution having produced devastating results in every realm. Our passion at the Institute for Creation Research is to see science return to its rightful God-glorifying position, and see creation recognized as a strength by the body of Christ; supporting Scripture, answering questions, satisfying doubts and removing road blocks to the Gospel. The Institute for Creation Research Graduate School exists to train students in scientific research and teaching skills, preparing effective warriors for the faith.

Morris and others see themselves as scientists whose duty is to correct the errors of the recent past and allow science to resume its "correct" relationship with religion as support for the truths revealed in Scripture. They are not theologians, nor do they pretend to any theological insights whatsoever. Their focus is on the instruments and methods of science and how these can be brought to bear on the questions related to the natural world as seen through the words of *Genesis.* They apply the term *young earth creationism* to their view of the world, and they support six principles:

1. *Creatio ex nihilo* by divine action, without any subsequent development. Everything was created as it exists now.
2. Mutation and natural selection cannot explain the subsequent development of all living things. This is a rejec-

tion of the idea that gradual change (variations) can confer selective advantages that lead to new species.

3. Speciation does not occur. That is, changes happen within a species (within a "kind" in their usage), but new species do not develop from preexisting species.
4. There is no descent from a common ancestor. With respect to human origins in particular, this rejects the notion that humans and other primates have an ancestral link.
5. The geology of the earth is a result of catastrophism rather than evolution. In particular, much of what is seen can be explained by positing a great flood, as described in *Genesis.*
6. The earth is less than ten thousand years old.

All of these principles—especially the last one, with its rejection of all modern dating techniques as inherently flawed—put the scientific creationists in complete disagreement with any natural scientists and with most mainstream theologians. This then raises one of the principle ironies of scientific creationism. Its proponents embrace the methodology of science but reject the standard interpretation of those results. To say that their science is influenced by their religious belief is perhaps self-evident from the conclusions they draw. However, a careful reading of their literature reveals that they take themselves to be scientists and that their argument is with what they view as the incorrect interpretations of the data. This of course leads them into dangerous waters, both scientifically and theologically. For instance, the young earth creationists cannot deny the geological data that leads to the 4.5-billion-year age of the earth. Rather, they argue that God created the earth to have the "appearance" of age, when in reality it is only ten thousand years old. In *Finding Darwin's God* (1999) Kenneth Miller, a Brown University cellular biologist, argues that this is incorrect from the standpoints of both science and theology. He writes that their rejection of evolution leads them to characterize God as a "schemer, trickster, even a charlatan" (Miller, 1999, p. 80).

In the end, the controversy is not really between science and faith but between one kind of science and another. True, creation science assumes that the *Genesis* story is the literal description of the origin of the natural world. However, it contends that science would also agree with this if only it sharpened its interpretive powers and admitted the errors of the Darwinian model.

INTELLIGENT DESIGN. The controversy between creationism and evolution has spilled over into society, mainly in the form of debates about what should or should not be included in the educational curriculum taught in elementary and secondary schools. The classic case of the so-called Scopes monkey trial in 1925 was just the beginning of these questions. Even into the twenty-first century, school boards are constantly beset with requests to include "both sides" of the story in any curriculum discussing the origins and subsequent development of the natural world. As such, even the word *evolution* becomes suspect as soon as such deliberations are opened. The antiscientific and, perhaps, anti-intellectual position of biblical literalism can usually be set aside as not appropriate to be taught in the same course of study as the methods of science. Even scientific creationism, with its appeal to those very methods, cannot make the cut as "science" in most school board meetings or courtrooms. However, the new contender for attention is neither of these, but rather the intelligent design movement. Intelligent design is best understood as the contention that the living world has features that can only be explained by the action of an intelligent designer. For instance, Michael Behe, in *Darwin's Black Box* (1996), argues that there are examples of cellular function that could not have arisen as the result of gradual mutational change under the pressure of natural selection. He calls such features "irreducibly complex" and gives a list of six examples from his understanding of the biochemistry of living systems. Of course, his position eventually devolves into a "god of the gaps" argument. In this sense, as soon as an explanation for what appears to be irreducibly complex is presented with a naturalistic basis, his designer disappears from the scene. However, this is not the only issue at stake in this discussion. William Dembski, in *Intelligent Design* (1999) and *No Free Lunch* (2002), takes aim at the philosophical underpinnings of the modern scientific method. He proposes the concept of "specified complexity" to describe features of living systems that infer design. At issue for Dembski is not so much the god of the gaps problem, but rather what he believes to be an insufficiency within the scientific enterprise itself. He argues that science by definition is opaque to the idea of purpose or design. This goes back to the original Aristotelian-Thomistic uses of teleology as the fourth or final cause of a thing. The problem here is that the philosophical assumptions of modern science derive from those post-Cartesian thinkers who rejected teleological explanations as a part of their methodology. On the one hand, this allowed for a more objective approach to understanding nature, opening the way for the experimentalists. On the other hand, the philosophical analogy imbedded in Aquinas's fifth way of understanding God, the so-called argument from design, seemed no longer valid. Dembski and the intelligent design movement push for a fundamental shift in the philosophy of science. In this way they are distinct from the scientific creationists. They are modern scientists in every sense of the word. However, they would argue that a model of origin and complexification for the living world must include a recognition of purpose, and through this a sense that some features require the action of a designer. Therefore these features would be characterized as specified or irreducible complexity. There is no challenge to current science from the notion of irreducible complexity in itself, in the sense that the properties of complex systems are not explainable as the sum of the parts. This is, in fact, the hallmark of the move to networks and complexity analysis in biology. However, when this complexity is seen to be "specified" by a designer with intent, the issue is joined. The need for a designer then leads to the question of who this designer might be and necessarily becomes a theological problem, not a scientific one. Most commentators prefer to see intelligent design as just another form of scientific creationism. However, a closer reading of advocates such as Behe and Dembski reveals some distinct differences. Those most closely associated with the scientific arguments for intelligent design are not in any sense rejecting evidence for the age of the earth or other features of the geological record. The scientific creationists accept the methodology of science as given, with its reductionism in place, but have a different interpretation of the data based of course on their view of the *Genesis* description. Nonetheless, both movements fall within the same anti-Darwinian camp. As such, the conversations that concern curriculum focus on the inclusion of intelligent design rather than scientific creationism in the science classroom.

THEISTIC EVOLUTION. Given the fireworks surrounding the media reporting of creationism-evolution discussions, it is no wonder that the general public, and indeed a fair portion of the scientific community, believe it is one or the other; one is either a Darwinian or a Christian. However, for the majority of both theologians and scientists, the truth lies in between these two artificial extremes.

To see this middle position clearly, it is necessary to understand the nature of the scientific enterprise and its self-imposed limits. Science restricts its investigations to the collection of data and the building of physical models of explanation for natural phenomena. It is never the function of science to say that certain data prove or disprove the existence of God. However, it is natural for a scientist, once having derived a model such as Darwin's, to speculate on its meaning beyond the data itself. While this is normal, the scientist is at that point engaging in philosophy or even theology. The confusion arises when a particular scientist or scientific commentator attempts to make the data apply directly to the philosophical point. Thus Daniel Dennett, in *Darwin's Dangerous Idea* (1995), argued that Darwinian evolution "proves" that God does not exist.

The result of this confusion has been the polarized view that many have of these issues. A more reasonable understanding of the possible positions is in John Haught's *God after Darwin* (2000) and Michael Ruse's *Can a Darwinian Be a Christian?* (2001). Theistic evolution is not one position but rather a group of related positions. Theistic evolution accepts the facts leading up to and supporting the Darwinian model and concludes that this model is the most likely explanation for those facts. However, theistic evolution also accepts the idea of divine action in all of creation and sees the Darwinian model as one way in which divine action might have operated.

For the theistic evolutionist there is no inconsistency in this stance. It is a combination of scientific understanding and faith. Haught, as a theologian, argues that theology must respond to the facts of evolution with introspection. The theodicy issue that Darwin saw as a part of his model must be encountered, Haught proposes, with a full acceptance of the evolutionary history of the world.

CONCLUSION. Modern biology relies upon the neo-Darwinian model as a central paradigm of the discipline. While modifications are proposed to the structure of the model, nothing appears in the early twenty-first century to be a rejection of the model in the sense that the scientific creationists wish to see. As a result, the so-called controversy between science and theology that this represents must be thought of as a conversation waiting to be explored.

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EVOLUTION: EVOLUTIONISM

Evolutionism is a term commonly employed to designate a number of similar, usually nineteenth-century anthropological theories that attempt to account for the genesis and development of religion. Although the term *evolutionism* could be used to describe a collection of theologians such as Pierre Teilhard De Chardin (1881–1955) and others belonging to the school of theistic evolution, this article will focus strictly on the uses of the term within the development of anthropological science.

Evolutionist theories of religion's origin hold in common a presupposed "psychic unity of mankind"; that is, they assume that all human groups are possessed of a more or less common developmental pattern (though the shape of this pattern differs from theorist to theorist) and that therefore significant clues as to how religion originated—and in turn as to what religion essentially is—can be detected through a study of the religious lives of the world's "primitive" peoples. If evolutionist assumptions are correct, it should follow that commonalities displayed among groups at each level of development will reveal, when set in diachronic order, a necessary "psychic history" of the human race.

INFLUENCES ON EVOLUTIONIST THOUGHT. Evolutionist anthropological theories represent one manifestation of the nineteenth century's enthusiasm for developmental schemata that find their bases in what might loosely be called a philosophy of history. This philosophy of history declares that human development is rectilinear and progressive and that the mind tends necessarily toward greater and greater rationality and complexity. The idea of progress, especially in its component notion that history is unidirectional and proceeds by way of identifiable stages, is older certainly than the beginning of the nineteenth century. Indeed, one may speculate that there is a nascent "evolutionism" at work already in the Pauline formulation that, with the appearance of Christ, an age of grace supplanted and rendered obsolete an earlier age of law. (To trace "scientific" evolutionism's origins to the beginnings of Christian historiography provides some insight regarding the apologetic purposes that evolutionist thinking seems always to serve.) But for convenience one may point to the philosophical work of G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831) as having planted the seed that led, by the nineteenth century's close, to the full flowering of the evolutionist creed among those who considered themselves the first truly scientific investigators of the phenomenon of humans.

In his *Phenomenology of Spirit* (1807), Hegel launched a revolution in thinking about the human past. Put simply, the Hegelian system declares that history (by which Hegel and his followers mean the history of the world as a whole) reveals the progressive manifestation of *Geist* (spirit) in the world: a process that leads eventually to spirit's self-actualization and to human self-understanding. History, according to Hegel, propels itself forward through a dynamic process, within which each successive age "resolves and synthesizes" the antagonisms of earlier eras. Each historical period therefore not only results from what has gone before, but also in some sense contains within itself the self-understanding of earlier eras. Locating anthropological evolutionism's foundation in Hegelian philosophy may therefore help one comprehend what amounts to a "genetic obsession" on the parts of the participants in the debates that raged during the late nineteenth century, debates that had as their crux a question concerning what constitutes the essential—that is, the originary—form of religious consciousness. To identify this originary form would be to uncover an essential element of human beings, for it was generally held among evolutionist theorists that religious belief was the distinguishing characteristic setting the human apart from the animal. This endeavor may seem odd given much of the later history of scientific anthropology, but it makes sense when placed within the context of a fledgling scientific discipline that had not yet weaned itself of philosophical anthropology.

More directly influential than Hegelian philosophy upon the development of scientific anthropological evolutionism, however, is the work of Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), the English polymath and, with the Frenchman Auguste Comte (1798–1957), cofounder of the discipline of sociology. Even before Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* (1859) revolutionized biological science, Spencer had landed on evolution as the principle that accounts for all change, whether inorganic, organic, or mental (if one may so characterize the quality that separates the development of human societies and individuals from mere organic growth). In his essay "Progress: Its Law and Cause" (1857), Spencer first gave voice to what may be called the essential element of anthropological evolutionist dogma:

> The advance from the simple to the complex, through a process of successive differentiations, is seen . . . in the evolution of Humanity, whether contemplated in the civilized individual, or in the aggregate of races; it is seen in the evolution of Society in respect alike of its political, its religious, and its economical organization; and it is seen in the evolution of all those endless concrete and abstract products of human activity. (Spencer, 1914, p. 35)

Having thus laid the theoretical groundwork for his never-to-be-completed "natural history of society," Spencer nevertheless managed to construct the first systematic sociology of religion in English, one of the tasks undertaken in his three-volume *Principles of Sociology* (1876–1896). In this work he identifies the origin of religion (which, Spencer says, supplanted an aboriginal atheism) in what he perceives to be the universal practice among primitive peoples of worshipping the ghosts of their ancestors. He then goes on to trace the further evolution of religious consciousness through polytheism and monotheism. According to Spencer, religion culminates in agnosticism—a metaphysical position girded by the "positivist" epistemological principles that are the earmarks of the scientific age and of the scientific historiography, epitomized in Spencerian sociology—that helps to inaugurate this new era of human development. That Spencer considered agnosticism a genuinely religious position bears noting insofar as one may be tempted to see the work of Spencer and other evolutionists as antagonistic toward religion. It is nearer the case to say that at least some of these thinkers sought, among other agendas, to defend what they found to be the "spiritual maturity" of the age of science to which they belonged.

TYLOR AND HIS CRITICS. Among theorists of religion, E. B. Tylor (1832–1917) perhaps best deserves to be called an "evolutionist." Tylor's work, more than that of any other scholar, invites one to identify evolutionism with British "armchair" anthropology of the late nineteenth century. Influences on Tylor include Spencer (whose "ghost theory" of the origin of religion closely resembles the animistic hypothesis forwarded by Tylor) and F. Max Müller (1823–1900), the German-English philologist whose etymological investigations helped inspire Tylor's researches into the *Urgrund* (primeval ground of being) of religious consciousness.

Before proceeding to a description of the theory of religion's origin advanced by Tylor, one should note what is perhaps the most significant characteristic of Tylor's (and indeed of other evolutionist theorists') manner of thinking about religion. It goes without saying that "religion" is, for these writers, at root one thing. But beyond this it is worth emphasizing that in this framework religion is essentially of an intellectual or cognitive kind. Evolutionist theories of religious development proffer histories of religions within which religion is single-mindedly construed as belief; the affective dimensions of religious experience are simply elided or are written off as so much superstructure.

This intellectualist approach to anthropological research is clearly seen in Tylor's famous "minimum definition of Religion" as "belief in Spiritual Beings." Tylor's intellectualism—and that of his contemporaries—has been harshly derided and largely superseded by twentieth-century anthropologists. And yet this at least ought to be said in its favor: for all their concern to distinguish between modern, Western rationality and the "primitive" mentality of "savage" or "low" races, it is yet the case that the nineteenth-century initiators of anthropological discourse were the first Europeans to conceive of the human race as a single entity; they were the first, that is, to accord to "savages" human minds. Though they were termed "primitive," the religions of "low races" were recognized as religions. (It is clearly a part of Tylor's purpose to put the lie to what he considered the slanderous reports of missionaries and adventurers concerning the godlessness of the tribal peoples they encountered.) Moreover, in so doing, the evolutionists—who, through their examinations of "primitive" people, hoped to uncover keys to human nature per se—helped overturn the privileged position of the European scientific observer, no matter how far such an outcome may have been from their intention. Certainly the work of Tylor and others, especially James G. Frazer (1854–1941), was instrumental in revolutionizing classical studies and thus in altering forever the picture of antiquity, and hence of the West's own intellectual heritage.

Tylor's name has come to be identified with the term *animism* or, as he also called it, "the doctrine of souls." He first proposed this as the most rudimentary stage of religious belief in a paper titled "The Religion of Savages," published in the *Fortnightly Review* in 1866. Tylor's monumental influence upon succeeding generations of students of religion can be measured by the fact that, although Tylor's theory of religion's origin has long since been discredited, the term *animism* is still widely used to describe the religious beliefs of those peoples who have as yet resisted conversion to one or another of the "great" missionary religions. In articulating the concept and the conceptual basis of animism, however, Tylor did not mean to describe an obsolescent form of religious consciousness but rather to identify the constant center or core of religious belief. The following passage, extracted from Tylor's masterwork *Primitive Culture* (1871), both points up the universality of animistic belief and identifies the conceptual maneuver responsible for engendering the animistic hypothesis:

> At the lowest levels of culture of which we have clear knowledge, the notion of a ghost-soul animating man while in the body, and appearing in dream and vision out of the body, is found deeply ingrained. . . . Among races within the limits of savagery, the general doctrine of souls is found worked out with remarkable breadth and consistency. The souls of animals are recognized by a natural extension from the theory of human souls; the souls of trees and plants follow in some vague partial way; and the souls of inanimate objects expand the general category to its extremest boundary. . . . Far on into civilization, men still act as though in some half-meant way they believed in souls or ghosts of objects. (Quoted in Waardenburg, 1973, pp. 216–217)

Tylor's doctrine of "survivals"—that is, his claim that, although they may over the course of time lose much or even most of their original meanings, elements of the primitive worldview perdure within and continue to exercise influence upon the mindsets of more advanced cultures—is also hinted at in the foregoing passage. For Tylor, as for perhaps the latest of his heritors, Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), the child is truly father to the man. Both of these thinkers depended, whether consciously or not, upon the Hegelian principle that ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny. For Tylor, as well as decades later for Freud, the investigation of the mental life of primitive races provided insight into the psychic infancy of humankind and so to the inevitable hurdles that must be overcome in order for the human species to achieve psychic adulthood.

Within British anthropological circles, criticism of Tylor's animistic hypothesis came from two corners. The first of Tylor's critics was the Scottish folklorist Andrew Lang (1844–1912). Though Lang's constructive contributions to anthropological science were minimal, he dealt a devastating blow to the notion that animism represented the earliest stage of religious consciousness. In his book *Myth, Ritual, and Religion* (1887), he pointed to the overwhelming evidence of what he termed "high gods" among many of those peoples who until then had been characterized by anthropologists as being too primitive to be able to conceptualize so abstractly as to arrive at any notion resembling that of an omnipotent, creative deity. Though Lang turned his attention toward other interests during the remainder of his career, his critique of Tylor laid the foundation for the massive researches into the topic of "primitive monotheism" that were later conducted by Wilhelm Schmidt (1868–1954).

The second blow to the animistic hypothesis was struck by R. R. Marett (1866–1943), Tylor's disciple, biographer, and successor to the position of reader in social anthropology at Oxford University. In an essay titled "Preanimistic Religion" published in the journal *Folklore* in 1900, Marett, drawing on the ethnographic data compiled in Melanesia by the Anglican missionary R. H. Codrington, advanced the claim that animism had been preceded by a pre-animistic stage of religious consciousness characterized by belief in an impersonal force or power that invests persons and objects, rendering them sacred. Marett, borrowing from the Melanesian vocabulary supplied by Codrington, termed this "electric" force *mana.* In accord with the evolutionist principles outlined earlier, belief in mana possesses, for Marett, both diachronic and ontological priority. One hears an echo of Tylor in Marett's proposition, in the article "Mana" that he contributed to James Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, that mana and taboo (which Marett conceives of as mana's "negative" complement) together constitute "a minimum definition of the magico-religious"

While neither Lang nor Marett disavowed evolutionist principles, it is worth noting that the criticisms leveled against Tylor by these writers eventually had the effect of helping to undermine the cogency of evolutionist explanations of the origin and development of religion, insofar as the work of each served to invite anthropologists to a closer examination of actual ethnographic data.

FURTHER HISTORY OF EVOLUTIONIST THEORIES. The early twentieth century saw the demise of "armchair" approaches to anthropological research as anthropologists began to conduct detailed, long-term studies of tribal peoples within the contexts of these peoples' actual habitats. One effect of this focus on field research was the production, especially during the middle decades of the twentieth century and within the Anglo-American anthropological tradition, of great numbers of immensely detailed monographs on the day-to-day lives of primitive societies. The quest for a comprehensive and systematic natural history of humankind was gradually abandoned.

This abandonment undoubtedly found one of its sources in an awakening to the theoretical inadequacies of the evolutionist approach to human culture. It began to become clear to anthropological researchers that the systematic theoreticians of humankind's development employed, in their search for the unvarying laws underlying what they perceived to be the relentless progress of human societies toward ever more complex and rational forms, a logic that was wholly circular. In the mere designation of some societies as "primitive" and others as "advanced" a host of culturally engendered presuppositions were employed, and a host of significant theoretical questions were begged. Another inadequacy of evolutionist thinking that began forcibly to strike the notice of scholars of religion was the fact that this mode of explanation ignores the trading of cultural elements, which so evidently has always figured importantly in the change, and especially the complexification, of human societies. (It should be noted that few evolutionists adhered strictly to a doctrine of absolute rectilinear evolution. Spencer admitted the possibility that racial differences accounted for the multiple and apparently irreconcilable directions taken by different cultures, and even the archevolutionist Tylor, in his early work, proposed "diffusionist" explanations for the puzzling appearance of "high" cultures among the Indians of Mesoamerica.) This insight alone was responsible for the instigation of what one may loosely term a school of thought regarding the origins and development of religious phenomena: that of the so-called diffusionists.

Twentieth-century anthropological science also saw the interest in religion as an (or the) essential element in the life of human societies fall out of fashion. From the 1920s through the 1960s, many anthropologists, especially those who received training in England or the United States, focused their attention on kinship relations, economic arrangements, and the like—aspects of society, that is, that they considered more tractable to the "hard," objective studies they were intent upon pursuing. (There were of course exceptions to this trend—E. E. Evans-Pritchard [1902–1973] and Raymond Firth [1901–2002] stand as two of the more important—but even these scientists concentrated their efforts on conducting meticulous examinations of the religious lives of particular societies.) It may not be too inaccurate to generalize to the effect that the nineteenth-century obsession with origins (as a concomitant of the grandiose quest to discover the foundational design of human progress) was replaced in the twentieth century, at least among Anglophone anthropologists, by an obsession with "objectivity."

But to generalize in this manner is dangerous insofar as it ignores, first, the continuing influence of evolutionist anthropological theory on continental anthropological science, and second, the powerful, hardly diminishing influence of evolutionist theory upon Western culture generally. Though there is too little space in this brief treatment to do more than mention them, one may list Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) and Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (1857–1939) as among the continental heritors of evolutionist theory. The debate concerning the nature of "primitive" as opposed to "civilized" (or rational) forms of mentation that was refueled by Lévy-Bruhl continues, though in different, structuralist guise, even in the early twenty-first century.

Though his work represents what many consider a dead end in terms of a continuing influence on anthropological thought, James G. Frazer (1854–1941) produced what must count as the single most imposing monument of evolutionist theory, *The Golden Bough* (1890), which in its third edition (1911–1915) ran to twelve volumes. Not only the most prolix of evolutionist theorists, Frazer was also the most doctrinaire, convinced that human culture's development is governed by unvarying natural laws and that the human race has evolved, mentally and physically, in uniform fashion. Frazer's temper was utterly intellectualist; his evolutionary scheme, which posits the successive replacement of an aboriginal magical mode of thought by first a religious and then a scientific mode, finds its basis in Frazer's conviction that human culture's development is effected as later generations of human beings awaken to the errors and the resultant practical inefficacy of their predecessors' worldviews. (A reading of *The Golden Bough* prompted Ludwig Wittgenstein's [1889–1951] trenchant remark to the effect that, when Frazer reports on a primitive European peasant woman pulling a doll from beneath her skirt during a fertility rite, he seems to think that she is making some sort of mistake and actually believes the puppet to be a child.)

The influence of Frazer's work on later anthropological theory has been negligible, aside perhaps from the significant impact it had on classical studies. Yet Frazer's *Golden Bough* rates as one of the century's most celebrated books because of its profound effect on the literary and artistic dimensions of Western culture, and because of its formative influence on psychoanalytic theory, which with Marxism (itself utterly dependent upon evolutionist assumptions regarding history) stands as a ruling ideology of the twentieth century. Though the axioms of the psychoanalytic model for understanding the human mind and its cultural products probably owe more to evolutionist biology and its philosophical antecedents than they do to British anthropological theory, it is nevertheless the case that the work of Freud (especially his late work) drew heavily upon that of Frazer. Frazer's *Totemism and Exogamy* (1910) was a direct influence upon Freud's *Totem and Taboo* (1918). The latter, *The Future of an Illusion* (1928), and *Civilization and Its Discontents* (1930) constitute Freud's contribution to evolutionist theory. Seeking to demonstrate the logical coincidence of the behavior of neurotics with the "obsessional" practices of primitive peoples, Freud aimed to map a theory of culture whose purposes are both descriptive and prophylactic, insofar as (in the manner of clinical psychoanalytic method) to understand past conflicts that live on within an unconscious realm—whence they continue to exert control over human destiny—is to take a sure step toward resolving these conflicts and thereby achieving psychic health or emotional (and by implication political) maturity. It may need no pointing out that Freud identifies the coming of the race's adulthood with the waning of religious belief.

Freud's influence on anthropological science during the middle decades of the twentieth century was minimal, but Freudian-based anthropological theory seemed to experience a rejuvenescence in the late twentieth century, as Melford E. Spiro's *Oedipus in the Trobriands* (1982) demonstrates. As for the medical import of Freud's program for human destiny, it again is instructive to observe that evolutionist theory has consistently coupled a descriptive aim with an apologetic and heuristic intention. This has remained true of evolutionism from its modern origins in the thought of Hegel and Spencer down through its modern embodiments both in Marxist historiography and political practice and in Freudian theory and psychoanalytic technique.

MODERN PERSPECTIVES: SOCIOBIOLOGY AND EVOLUTIONARY PSYCHOLOGY. The application of the neo-Darwinian model prevalent in modern biology to the evolution of human behaviors and social structures was brought to the fore with the publication of *Sociobiology* by Edward O. Wilson of Harvard in 1975. Wilson's observations of behavior among the social insects became the focal point of his theoretical approach to understanding the origin and evolution of human institutions. At the heart of this theory is the assumption that human behaviors at both the individual and group levels must confer a reproductive advantage if they are to be preserved over evolutionary time. Furthermore, it is assumed that, in order for selection to take place (in the Darwinian sense), such behaviors must in fact be genetically determined. It is only fair to say that Wilson, contrary to his most vocal critics, is not as strict a reductionist or genetic determinist as this sounds. Nevertheless the use of Darwinian principles for understanding the origins and continued existence of human behaviors flows naturally out of Wilson's approach.

Religion was not discussed per se in Wilson's 1975 book. However, in his later book *Consilience* (1998) he devotes an entire chapter to the origins of ethics and religion. He subscribes to the same kind of primitive-origin hypothesis as did Tylor and Frazer. Wilson argues that the development of religious instincts is encoded in the genes and that such genetic material conferred a reproductive survival advantage on those groups who exhibited it. He suggests that tribal religious systems served to unify those groups that employed them, and that such systems spring from the inevitable result of the human brain's genetic evolution.

The Darwinian approach taken by Wilson and others to understanding the origins of human behavior finds even greater application in the emerging field of evolutionary psychology. Led by Leda Cosmides and John Tooby at the University of California, Santa Barbara, this field attempts to derive Darwinian models for the origins of all human behaviors.

One of the principle tenets of evolutionary psychology is that the current form of the human brain took shape during a period called the environment of evolutionary adaptation, or EEA. While most place this era in the late Pleistocene, the EEA is really thought of as a composite of selective pressures that served the adaptation of humans' present brain structure. It is thought that during this period of evolutionary history those physical components of human brains that resulted in specific behaviors conferring reproductive advantage or fitness were under selective pressure. In this view, the origins of religious impulse would also be accounted for as a product of the EEA.

The physical nature of the religious experience has been investigated by neuroscience. A number of investigators have reported that the religious impulse could be located to the temporal lobe of the brain. In these studies the link to religious feelings and brain structure go hand in hand with the idea that the adaptation of the brain includes the origin of religion per se.

The work of sociobiology and evolutionary psychology has been critiqued by several evolutionary biologists, including Stephen Jay Gould (1941–2002). Their argument is that the research agenda of both fields is entirely too reductionistic and deterministic. Gould in particular took issue with the conclusions of evolutionary psychology, writing that "the chief strategy proposed for identifying adaptation is untestable and therefore unscientific" (quoted in Rose and Rose, 2000, p. 120).

Nonetheless in this modern version of evolutionism one sees the same process as that which motivated Spencer, Tylor, and Frazer in the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. The motivation to give an anthropological and even materialist explanation for the occurrence of religions persists in the early twenty-first century.

SEE ALSO Animism and Animatism; Durkheim, Émile; Dynamism; Freud, Sigmund; Kulturkreiselehre; Lévy-Bruhl, Lucien; Müller, F. Max; Power; Schmidt, Wilhelm; Structuralism; Supreme Beings; Teilhard de Chardin, Pierre.

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EVOLUTION: EVOLUTIONARY ETHICS

Evolutionary ethics attempts to use the biological theory of evolution as a foundation for ethics. As such, its history is closely linked with the development and popularization of evolutionary theories starting in the nineteenth century. To a large extent, the history of evolutionary ethics is associated with efforts to find alternatives to religion as a foundation for moral law. The growth of industrialism, the establishment of German biblical criticism, and the rise of science all contributed to growing secularism during the middle of the nineteenth century. Like other attempts to extend an understanding of biological evolution to the human situation, evolutionary ethics has been highly controversial. Although various evolutionary ethics were proposed throughout Western countries, its greatest popularity was in the Anglo-American world. The history of evolutionary ethics is divided into three phases, the initial Darwin and Spencer period, an early-twentieth-century period, and a contemporary period.

INITIAL PERIOD: DARWIN AND SPENCER. When Charles Darwin published his *Origin of Species* in 1859, he avoided discussion of human evolution as well as the implications of his theory for an understanding of human society. He was fully aware, however, that others would immediately extend his theory to cover human evolution and that the implications of his work would be discussed. In his *Descent of Man* (1871) Darwin tackled these issues directly. Of central concern to him was the "moral faculty," the possession of which he considered the most important difference between humans and all other "lower animals."

Darwin's theory of evolution attempted to understand the origin of contemporary animal and plant life in naturalistic terms, that is, without reference to any supernatural causes. Since humans, according to his theory, were considered to have had a natural origin, Darwin approached the problem of the origin of the moral faculty as he did other physical and mental traits. His general approach in trying to understand the origin of complex traits, such as the human eye, was to depict them as part of a continuum—instead of focusing on their unique or unusual aspects, he depicted them as part of a series. In the case of the eye, for example, he constructed a series of traits starting with simple, light-sensitive cells on the skin of a primitive organism and ended with the highly complex vertebrate eye. This allowed him to illustrate how, over time, a trait could change by small increments from one end of a spectrum to the other, from simple to complex. He used this approach with the moral faculty and claimed that it was the natural development of the intellectual capacity of social animals.

Any social animal, according to Darwin, that attained an intelligence that was close to human intelligence would develop a moral faculty. He explained the moral faculty in the following manner: With increased intelligence, early humans attained the capacity for various sentiments (e.g., courage, sympathy), and these gave advantages to the group. Groups with these sentiments survived better than those without them. Over time, one of these sentiments evolved into a moral sense that helped consolidate the group and gave it increased survival value. Darwin was aware of the ethnographic literature of his day, which suggested that all human groups had sets of ethical beliefs, and he felt that in time people would understand the adaptive value of these beliefs. Darwin did not attempt to justify moral beliefs by reference to their origin. He was primarily concerned with how they came about.

In contrast, Darwin's contemporary Herbert Spencer sought justification for ethical positions. Spencer elaborated an ethical theory that he believed had evolved from nature, and he argued that his system was natural and prescriptive. In his *Social Statics* (1851) Spencer derived a basic principle for ethics: "Every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man" (p. 121). This principle allowed individuals to seek what gave them pleasure, and in his later *Principles of Ethics* (1879–1893) he elaborated an evolutionary philosophy to explain how seeking pleasure (and avoiding pain) drove the evolutionary process in biology and psychology and was therefore a natural principle on which to base ethics.

Spencer's evolutionary ethics was more Lamarckian than Darwinian. That is, he did not stress the adaptive value of the moral sentiment but rather emphasized the inheritance of acquired characteristics and thought of nature as moving to a predetermined goal. For Spencer, a natural process was moving human evolution toward a state where duty became pleasure, mutual aid replaced competition, and the greatest possible individual freedom existed.

Contemporaries did not always carefully distinguish between Darwin's ideas and those of Spencer. And numerous supporters of evolutionary ethics combined ideas in new and novel combinations. Consequently, evolutionary ethics varied considerably. In the United States, John Fiske emerged as the most energetic supporter of evolutionary ethics. Fiske was an admirer of Spencer, but he believed that evolutionary ideas opened up the path to a new, reborn Christianity. Fiske's religious orientation was somewhat unusual in the evolutionary ethics tradition. Leslie Stephen in England was more Darwinian, and he believed that evolution provided the foundation for an agnostic, liberal morality. Other important supporters of evolutionary ethics were Woods Hutchinson in the United States and Benjamin Kidd in Britain.

Evolutionary ethics had support, but also a number of critics. Two of the period's major evolutionists, Thomas Henry Huxley and Alfred Russel Wallace, were strongly opposed to the position and wrote critical works arguing against it. Huxley, citing David Hume, argued that describing what "is" does not give one the authority to proscribe what "ought" to be (the famous IS/OUGHT distinction). Wallace took a quite different approach in his critique and was drawn to a spiritualist view of moral thought. He rejected both Darwin's and Spencer's positions on ethics and contended that evolutionary biology could not provide a foundation for ethics.

Of greater importance, the philosophic community was nearly unanimous in its rejection of evolutionary ethics. The leading figure at the time in ethics, Henry Sidgwick of Cambridge University, dismissed evolutionary ethics in his major work, *Methods of Ethics* (1874). He wrote that the justification of evolutionary ethics depended upon one of two arguments. The first, going from a description of a moral belief to a belief in its validity, he rejected because he contended that such an argument merely tells about a custom and is of no value to ethics. The second specifies a hypothetical "natural state" of humans and society and goes on to use that state as a foundation for ethics. He rejected it because he felt it was a confused position; any impulse, desire, or tendency can be considered "natural." How can one deem a particular one significantly natural without some prior justification? According to Sidgwick, ethics is a systematic examination of beliefs about what is right or wrong, with the goal of constructing a rational system of moral ideas. From his perspective, evolutionary ethics was not an ethical system but merely a discussion of how ethical systems may have come into being or a discussion of various held beliefs. It was not to be taken seriously as constructive ethics.

In the early part of the twentieth century, Sidgwick's condemnation of evolutionary ethics was repeated and extended by the Cambridge philosopher G. E. Moore. His arguments are the ones most often cited in criticism of evolutionary ethics. In his *Principia Ethica* (1903), Moore rejected evolutionary ethics along with other forms of naturalistic ethics, all of which he claimed were based on the "naturalistic fallacy." He meant by this that attempts to explain the "good" by reference to some property were not valid. The "good" is a simple notion that cannot be defined as pleasure or an evolutionary adaptation. Moore's critique was aimed at more than just evolutionary ethics, and his writings served to redirect ethical writing. American philosophers were no more accepting of evolutionary ethics than the English. William James and John Dewey, both sympathetic to and influenced by evolutionary ideas, rejected evolutionary ethics.

EARLY-TWENTIETH-CENTURY PERIOD. Evolutionary ethics entered a new phase in the early twentieth century due to changes in evolutionary science itself and the extension of evolutionary ideas into a broad worldview. The most outspoken supporter was Julian Huxley, grandson of Thomas Henry Huxley (who had been so critical of the position in the previous century). Julian Huxley is famous for being one of the architects of the Modern Synthesis, the neo-Darwinian theory that stressed Darwin's original insight that natural selection of small random variations were the central driving force in evolution. The new theory built on the dramatic new genetic understanding of variation as well as careful work in natural history on geographic variation. Huxley played a key role in synthesizing this knowledge and in popularizing it. Equally important, Huxley believed that the new evolutionary theory provided a foundation for a new humanist philosophy that had important implications for social policy and ethical thought. He elaborated on his version of evolutionary ethics in his Romanes Lecture in 1943.

At the heart of Huxley's argument was his contention that evolution was a progressive process with three different stages: cosmic, biological, and psychosocial. The process of evolution had led to the emergence of humans, the highest and most advanced species, one capable of cultural evolution and ultimately of a sense of moral obligation. To explain the origin of moral obligation, Huxley made reference to psychology, in particular Sigmund Freud's concept of the superego, an internalized authority that allows one's sense of guilt to repress aggression and that is the source of one's senses of "wrong" and of "duty." Moral obligation evolved over time, as did human ethical standards, the ethics accepted by social groups. Huxley argued that the direction of moral progress was toward greater human fulfillment and the realization of values that had "intrinsic worth" (rather than adaptive worth). Only a society that respected individual rights, stressed education, encouraged responsibility, and promoted the arts could realize those goals.

Huxley's scientific humanism enjoyed a limited popularity with the general public in the decades after World War II, as did the writings of C. H. Waddington, who argued along similar lines in his 1960 book *The Ethical Animal.* Waddington departed from Huxley, however, in emphasizing that the "good" in evolutionary ethics had to be viewed in terms of what furthers human evolution. Their version of evolutionary ethics rested on a new and widely accepted theory of evolution, but the old criticisms raised by Sidgwick and Moore remained. Moreover the philosophy community by this time had moved onto other approaches to ethics. Some, like Charles Stevenson, stressed language; others followed A. J. Ayer and his logical positivism, which tended to dismiss ethics as merely expressions of feeling and not having any truth value. None of these newer approaches to ethics accepted evolutionary ethics, and by the 1970s the position had few supporters.

CONTEMPORARY PERIOD: EVOLUTIONARY ETHICS AFTER 1975. With the appearance of Edward O. Wilson's *Sociobiology* in 1975, a new chapter in the history of evolutionary ethics began. Wilson's text synthesized research on the Modern Synthesis with population biology and animal behavior. The central argument of the book is that behavior should be regarded as adaptive and can be understand best from an evolutionary perspective, not just animal behavior but human behavior as well. *Sociobiology* had a short section on ethics, and in it Wilson claimed that the time had come for ethics to be removed temporarily from the domain of philosophy and moved into biology. The study of the biological basis of social behavior promised, according to Wilson, to provide a new Darwinian foundation for ethics and for an understanding of social sciences and humanities.

Wilson followed up his suggestion with his Pulitzer Prize–winning book *On Human Nature* (1978), in which he elaborated on his evolutionary understanding of ethics. Unlike Darwin, who had relied on a view of group selection to explain the origin of the moral sentiment, Wilson built on the work of William Hamilton, who argued for understanding "altruistic behavior" as an activity that can promote passage of a greater number of an individual's genes to the next generation. Hamilton, in a set of classic papers in 1964, showed that an "altruistic act" can have selective value if it leads to the survival and reproduction of near relatives with whom one shares common genes. Because a person shares half of his or her genes with a sibling and an eighth with a cousin, if a person acts in a manner that sacrifices his or her life but that more than doubles the reproductive rate of a sibling, then copies of that person's genes will increase in the next generation. From an evolutionary perspective, an individual passing on his or her genes is of central value. The individual who passes on genes has a greater impact on the next generation than one who does not. Hamilton's ideas were popularized by Richard Dawkins in his *The Selfish Gene* (1976), which argues that all supposed selfish acts are ultimately selfish in a genetic sense.

Wilson used Hamilton to explain how an action that "appears" altruistic, that helps another at one's expense, in the long run can work for its carrier's "benefit" and therefore have a selective value. But what actions "ought" one take? Here Wilson also utilized the central, modern evolutionary principle, the survival and reproduction of genes. He argued that what promotes survival and reproduction of the gene pool is "good" and what negatively affects it is "bad." Atomic warfare, from this perspective, is bad. Wilson in fact derived an entire set of "good" actions and "bad" actions based on their effects on the gene pool. Ultimately, Wilson concluded, science will provide a more powerful mythology than religion, and humans will be able to construct meaningful and moral lives from a totally secular perspective.

Although a few biologists and other intellectuals, particularly evolutionary psychologists, have embraced this new evolutionary ethics, the position has drawn considerable criticism. Philosophers and historians have noted that the new ethics, which draws on evolutionary theory, although up-to-date in its biology, suffers from the same flaws that were first raised by Sidgwick and other early critics. The emphasis on genes and their survival has also raised the question of how deterministic the view is. After all, if people do not have any free will to make decisions, if people are hardwired to act in certain ways, how can one claim that actions are "good?" Wilson has grappled with the issue and argued that genes and culture interact, but that individuals have "tendencies" that predispose them in certain ways. Others see culture as more independent. Richard Alexander, an animal behaviorist, argued that evolutionary analysis can reveal quite a lot about the origin and development of laws and ethical opinions but cannot reveal which ones are "right." Such views undercut the value of evolutionary ethics, because they underscore its inadequacy of providing a guide for action.

As with the earlier versions of evolutionary ethics, supporters of modern theories of evolutionary ethics have made little headway toward gaining acceptance. Evolutionary ethics has long had an attraction for some. It serves as an essential subject for worldviews based on evolution and has provided a secular foundation for moral beliefs. Unfortunately, it has suffered from a set of serious philosophical flaws, and it has failed to meet the challenges posed by philosophers.

SEE ALSO Ethology of Religion; Sociobiology and Evolutionary Psychology, article on Sociobiology of Religion; Spencer, Herbert.

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PAUL LAWRENCE FARBER (2005)

EXCOMMUNICATION.

To excommunicate means "to cut off from communion" or "to exclude from fellowship in a community." In a Christian setting, the term *excommunication* also applies to exclusion from Holy Communion, or the Eucharist.

Historically, religious practice admitted some form of putting a person outside the community. Any community claims the right to protect itself against nonconforming members who may threaten the common welfare. In a religious setting this right has often been reinforced by the belief that the sanction affects one's standing before God, inasmuch as it entails being cut off from the community of the saved. In religious traditions in which nonconformity was punishable by death, excommunication was introduced as a mitigation of the death penalty. In medieval Christendom and during the early years of the Reformation, excommunicated persons were turned over to civil authorities, who could inflict the death penalty upon them.

With the shift in modern times to considering religious affiliation a matter of free choice, doubts have been expressed about the meaning and value of excommunication. Although practiced less frequently today, some current examples include the *ḥerem* in Orthodox Judaism, "shunning" among some traditional Christian bodies, withdrawal of membership by congregation-based communities, and "excommunication" as practiced by Mormons, Roman Catholics, and some other mainline Christian churches.

In the Western Christian tradition, excommunication is seen as based on practice reflected in scripture, especially Paul (see, for example, *1 Cor.* 5:1–13, *2 Cor.* 2:5–11, *2 Thes.* 3:14–15). Theoretical justification is taken from the command to bind and loose (*Mt.* 18:15–18). This same passage supplies key elements of procedure, including advance warning and attempts to lead the delinquent to conversion.

Early Christian practice mixed liturgical excommunications, which were part of the nonrepeatable public penitential practices, with disciplinary ones that could culminate in a person being declared anathema. In the thirteenth century Innocent III specified excommunication as a disciplinary penalty distinct from other punishments, characterizing it as specifically medicinal, intended to heal the delinquent. The number of crimes for which excommunication could be incurred increased steadily through the eighteenth century, but a marked reduction in their number began with the reforms of Pius IX in 1869 and continued with the promulgation of the Code of Canon Law in 1917.

As a medicinal, or healing, penalty, excommunication under Roman Catholic law may be incurred only if a serious sin has been committed, or if the person is obstinate in a position after being given formal warnings and time to repent. Reflecting medieval and later developments, some excommunications are automatic (*latae sententiae*), incurred by committing a specified act, such as abortion or physically striking the pope. Other excommunications are imposed (*ferendae sententiae*) after an administrative or judicial investigation. Excommunication must always be lifted as soon as the delinquent repents and seeks peace with the church.

A distinction used to be drawn between major excommunications, which cut a person off from all participation in community life, and minor ones, which prohibited participation in the sacraments, especially the Eucharist. Current canon law has dropped this distinction, although the 1917 code did characterize some excommunicates as *vitandi,* with whom contact must be completely avoided. Under the 1917 code all others were *tolerati,* and contact with them could be permitted.

An excommunicated person loses basic rights in the church, but not the effects of baptism, which can never be lost. In the revision of the code carried out after Vatican II the effects of excommunication were clarified, and the distinction of *vitandi* and *tolerati* was dropped. Instead, all are treated as *tolerati* so far as the effects are concerned. These depend on whether the excommunication was imposed by a public declaration or sentence of condemnation, or was incurred automatically but without much public notice.

Generally, a person who is excommunicated is denied any role in administering the sacraments, especially the Eucharist. He or she may not receive any of the sacraments or administer sacramentals, such as burials, and is forbidden to exercise any church offices or functions. If the penalty has been declared or imposed by a sentence, any liturgical actions the excommunicate attempts are to be suspended until he or she leaves; the excommunicate loses any offices or other functions in the church; and may make no claim for income or other benefits from the church.

Under the reform of the law, automatic excommunication can be incurred in only six instances, including abortion. It may be imposed for a limited number of other crimes against faith, the Eucharist, or the seal of the confessional in the sacrament of penance. If imposed by a sentence or public declaration, excommunication can be lifted only by a public authority in the church, usually the local diocesan bishop. Otherwise, it can be lifted by a priest during the sacrament of penance, but unlike the 1917 code the revised rules require that in all cases the bishop be contacted afterward for the reconciliation to remain in effect.

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EXEGESIS SEE BIBLICAL EXEGESIS; HERMENEUTICS; TAFSĪR

EXILE.

Often prompted by historical conditions, the concept of exile appears in various religious traditions as a symbol of separation, alienation, and that which is unredeemed.

IN JUDAISM. With the Babylonian invasion of Judah and the subsequent destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 587/6 BCE, the concept of exile (Heb., *golah* or *galut*) came to reflect both a historical reality and a communal perception. Forced into exile in Babylonia, members of the upper classes found themselves uprooted from their national and spiritual homeland. Literally, then, the term *exile* came to describe the forced dispersion of the Jewish people and their subjugation under alien rule. Although according to Jewish tradition (*Jer* 29:10) the Babylonian exile was only seventy years in duration, the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE and the triumph of Rome caused a national uprootedness that lasted for almost two thousand years. Historically, one can thus maintain that the exile of the Jewish people from the land of Israel began in the sixth century BCE and came to an end in 1948 with the establishment of the state of Israel and the restoration of Jewish political independence.

Metaphorically, however, the term *exile* was and is still used as a symbol of alienation, reflecting the Jews' separation from the land of Israel, from the Torah by which God commanded them to live, from God, and from the non-Jew and the non-Jewish world in general.

To the biblical prophets, exile was a symbol of divine retribution. As Isaiah makes clear (44:9–20), in worshiping other deities, the people of Israel revealed a lack of fidelity to their God and to the covenant that God had established with them. Their punishment, then, was the destruction of their spiritual center, Jerusalem, as well as of the Temple in which sacrifices were offered, and the forced removal of many from the land that had been promised to them. At the same time, however, exile became a symbol of judgment. Those who remained religiously faithful, becoming, in Isaiah's words, God's "suffering servants" (43:10), would reap the rewards of righteousness and ultimately be redeemed.

According to the prophet Ezekiel (14:3ff., 21:31ff.), exile was a trial through which God tested Israel's faithfulness to God and God's teachings. It was also a symbol of Israel's election, with the Babylonians, and later the Romans and all those under whose rule the Jewish people were subjugated, acting as instruments of a divine schema through which, as Isaiah writes, God's "faithful remnant" (27:31ff.) would be redeemed. Exile thus became a metaphor of separation not only from God but also from righteousness. As such, it was associated with a pre-messianic, pre-redemptive era. In exile, as John Bright maintains, one was to purge oneself of sin in order to prepare for the future, to "return," that is, to remember that God, the Creator of the world, chose Israel to be God's people. Obeying the divine commandments given to them was therefore a way out of exile both historically and spiritually. On a historical level, the Jewish people would be led back to the Land of Israel, with the Temple rebuilt and political independence restored, while on a spiritual level, as Isaiah writes (51:6), the righteous would attain eternal salvation.

Throughout the Middle Ages, the concept of exile gave theological significance to the continued political, social, and economic oppression of the Jewish people. The tenth-century philosopher Sa'adyah Gaon, in his *Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, emphasized the importance of exile as a trial and as a means of purification, while according to an anonymous contemporary, exile, as a divine gift and a "blessing of Abraham," served as a mark of Israel's election. According to this view, exile was not a punishment for sin but an opportunity given by God to bring God's teachings to all of humanity. After fifteen hundred years of Jewish settlement in Spain, characterized by a social, economic, and political integration unknown elsewhere in the medieval world, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella's edict of expulsion in 1492, left generations of Spanish Jewry feeling doubly exiled. As Jane Gerber notes, the exiles and their descendents viewed Spain as a second Jerusalem. Their expulsion, therefore, "was as keenly lamented as was exile from the Holy Land," leading to "both a new dynamism and a heightened sense of despair."

To many medieval Jewish mystics, exile took on additional significance as a metaphor describing on the divine level what historically had befallen the Jewish people. One finds in the thirteenth-century *Zohar*, for example, the claim that with the destruction of the Second Temple both the Jewish people and the tenth emanation of God, identified as *shekhinah* (God's visible presence in the world), went into exile. Thus, the separation of the Jewish people from the Land of Israel became mirrored in the alienation of God from a part of Godself. This idea is reiterated and broadened in the writings of the sixteenth-century mystic Isaac Luria (1534–1572), in which the exile of the *shekhinah* is said to reflect the exile or "fall" of humanity as a whole into the domination of demonic powers.

Finally, on a psychological level, the concept of exile served to reinforce the national self-consciousness among a people who no longer shared a common culture, language, or land. Exclusion from non-Jewish society, coupled with a Jewish liturgy and calendar that reinforced the notion of the Land of Israel as home, underscored the alien nature of the Jew in the non-Jewish world. After the seventeenth century, however, as European emancipation came to afford growing numbers of Jews the opportunity to participate more fully in non-Jewish society, many began to feel that the Diaspora did not necessarily have to be equated with exile. One sees this most clearly in the writings of nineteenth-century religious reformers who, insisting that Jews were members of a religious community but not of a specific nation, maintained that it was possible for Jews to view any country as home.

Since 1948, it is debatable whether Jews choosing to live outside the state of Israel historically are still in exile. Yet one can argue, as does Arthur Hertzberg in *Being Jewish in America*, that on a psychological level the concept of exile remains a compelling symbol. Hertzberg maintains that even in the United States, where Jews have gained great acceptance and freedom, the Jew continues to be an alien. As an externally and internally imposed sense of self-identification, exile thus reflects the conviction of many Jews that the Diaspora can never truly be seen as "home."

IN CHRISTIANITY. The metaphor of exile appears in Christianity in two separate ways: first, as that reflecting the historical and spiritual conditions under which the Jewish people have lived since the fall of the Second Temple, and second, as descriptive of life in this world as opposed to life in the kingdom of heaven.

Like their Jewish contemporaries, the Fathers of the early church attached theological significance to the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 CE. They maintained, however, that its destruction was not caused by sinfulness in general but by one particular sin, namely the rejection by most of the Jewish community in Palestine of Jesus as the Messiah for whom they had been waiting. Thus, the historical exile of the Jewish people was seen to mirror the spiritual exile—or alienation—of the Jews from God. To "return" in the Christian sense came to imply not only repentance but also acknowledgement of Jesus as savior.

In the New Testament *Gospel of John,* one sees that which is usually identified as a more Gnostic understanding of exile. Jesus here identifies himself as one who is "not of the world." Those who are "of the world," he says (*Jn.* 17:16), are those who have not acknowledged that he is the Christ (Messiah), sent by his father, the one true God, in order to redeem his people. To be "not of the world," he continues, is to be with God in the Divine spiritual kingdom, possible even before death. Exile thus functions here as an individual rather than a collective metaphor of alienation or separation from God. Not surprisingly, John's understanding of "return," rooted in an individual declaration of faith, is also personal in nature.

IN GNOSTICISM. The concept of exile comes to play a central role in a number of early Gnostic texts. Set within a dualistic framework of spirit versus matter, light versus darkness, goodness versus evil, exile again functions as a symbol of alienation. Here, however, it is not a particular people that are said to be in exile or the nonbeliever per se but the human soul. Belonging to the spiritual realm of light but trapped in the world of matter or darkness, it depends upon the "saving knowledge" of the Gnostic to begin its journey home.

The *Apocryphon of John*, written probably in the late second century CE, the third-century *Gospel of Thomas*, and the fourth-century *Pistis Sophia* are among several Gnostic Christian texts that depict Jesus as having been sent down to earth to impart this saving knowledge to others. Reminding his listeners of their heavenly origin, he tells them that the soul can be set free only through this insight, or *gnōsis*. To be in exile is to be unredeemed, ignorant of one's origins and of the nature of the human soul. In these and other texts, knowledge thus becomes the necessary key to salvation.

Yet having attained this knowledge, the Gnostic cannot help but experience life in this world as "alien." Hans Jonas maintains that this experience serves as the primary symbol not just of Christian Gnosticism but of other forms of gnosticism as well. Life in this world is depicted as a descent into darkness and captivity, a life of exile for which, as the Mandaeans claimed, the only "day of escape" is death. As a metaphor, then, exile takes on personal rather than communal significance, reflecting the experience of the Gnostic who, alienated from and in revolt against the cosmos, longs to return home.

Among the Ismaʿiliyah, an Islamic movement of radical Shiʿah founded in the late third century AH (ninth century CE), one again finds the concept of exile serving as a central symbol of alienation. Here, it is the imam who leads the gnostic away from the world of darkness. Possessing the esoteric knowledge of the soul's true spiritual birth, the imam offers this knowledge to his disciple as a "salvatory revelation." Having attained this revelation, the disciple is freed from exile and reborn as a "being of light."

THE ISHRĀQĪYAH. Revealing the influences of Zoroastrianism, Gnosticism, Persian mysticism, and Neoplatonism, the illuminative philosophy of the twelfth-century thinker Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyá Suhrawardī (Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyá ibn Ḥabash ibn Amīrak Abū al-Futūḥ Suhrawardī; AH 549–587/1170–1208 CE) uses exile as a symbol of ignorance of one's true spiritual nature and of reality in general. "Home," in the Ishrāqī school, is metaphorically identified with the world of light, while exile is described as entrapment within the realm of darkness. In order to journey homeward, the Ishrāqīyun need to move beyond rational inquiry to the imaginal world and illumination *(ishrāq).* Only then can the souls of the Ishrāqīyah attain mystical union with the inner divine presence, experiencing an ecstatic separation from the physical body and an anticipation of death. Thus to journey out of exile is to overcome the separation of the soul from the divine and to become inflamed by what Henry Corbin labels the "divine fire."

Suhrawardī's understanding of exile is developed most fully in his *Recital of the Western Exile*, a spiritual autobiography that describes the struggles of the "man of light" to free himself from darkness. Associating ignorance with the West and illumination with the East, Suhrawardī begins his tale with the exile of the soul to the western city of Kairouan. Forgetting his origins and eventually taken captive, the man of light slowly comes to an awareness of his true identity and sets out on the long journey home. Thought at first he is forced to return to the West, he is finally set free. Stripped of the "fetters of matter," his soul becomes possessed by an angel who helps it return to its celestial condition. Thus beginning its heavenly ascent, it leaves the world of exile forever.

In Contemporary Tibetan Buddhism. Forced to live in exile since 1959, the XIV Dalai Lama, religious and secular head of Tibet, along with well over 100,000 Tibetan refugees, have sought refuge in India, in the Himalayan town of Dharamsala. With the Chinese military annexation of Tibet, the systematic attempt to destroy Tibet's religion, and the massive influx of ethnic Chinese, Tibetan Buddhists have lost their land, temples, monasteries, and most of their religious leaders. Consequently, they also risk losing their identity.

Recognizing the difficulty of returning to Tibet as a free people, the Dalai Lama has created in Dharamsala a Tibetan Government in Exile. In an effort to rebuild the refugees' shattered lives, it features new governmental departments of Education, Rehabilitation, Information, and Security, as well as new Offices of Religious and Economic Affairs. It also features a monastery built in 1968 and a temple built in 1970, leading to what the Dalai Lama has described as a "thriving monastic community of over six thousand strong." The Library of Tibetan Works and Archives opened in Dharamsala in the late 1960s. Housing over forty thousand original Tibetan volumes and involved in published English language and Tibetan books, it has become a world-wide center of Buddhist research and study.

In an effort to preserve the religion and culture of the six million Tibetan Buddhists that he represents, while promoting world peace through nonviolence, the Dalai Lama has devoted himself to building a strong Tibetan community in exile. He also has engaged in dialogue with political and religious leaders throughout the world.

Among them has been a group of rabbis and Jewish scholars first invited to meet with the Dalai Lama in 1989, the same year that he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. According to Rodger Kamenetz, "in the Dalai Lama's eyes, and to many of the Tibetans, Jews are survival experts. The idea that Jewish history, with all its traumas, is relevant to another exiled people was inspiring." So was the Jewish observance of home rituals; the preservation and renewal of religious culture and tradition; and most importantly, the Jewish emphasis on remembrance, including the memory of exile.

For over four decades, Tibetan Buddhists have experienced exile as a political and geographical reality. Yet despite the longing of exiled Tibetan Buddhists to return to their home, holy spaces are primarily symbolic in the Buddhist imagination. Since ultimately, they come from an individual's inner spiritual power, they can be transported. Thus Tibet in-and-of-itself is not as central to Tibetan Buddhism as Jerusalem is to Judaism. Nor, for that matter, is the concept of physical exile. Nonetheless, ongoing attempts by the Dalai Lama to free Tibet from Chinese control and to keep Tibetan Buddhism alive, even in exile, have helped differentiate Tibetan Buddhism from other forms of Buddhist belief and practice. So have the efforts by hundreds of resident scholars and monks at the Tibetan Library in Dharamsala to preserve and help translate original Tibetan manuscripts, including rare ones smuggled out of Tibet over the past forty years.

See Also Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Tibet; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism; Dalai Lama; Gnosticism; Ishraqiyah; Shekhinah; Soul.

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Ellen M. Umansky (1987 and 2005)

EXISTENTIALISM is a type of philosophy difficult to define because it does not have any agreed body of doctrine;

it is rather a way of doing philosophy in which life and thought are closely related to each other. Thus, while some existentialists have been theists and others atheists, they have arrived at their different results by rather similar processes of thought. The existentialist who believes in God does so not as a result of intellectual demonstration—he or she is more likely to say that the attempts to prove God's existence are a waste of time, or even harmful—but on the grounds of passionate inward conviction; likewise the atheistic existentialist rejects God not because of being persuaded by argument but because the very idea of God poses a threat to the freedom and autonomy of the human being, and so to the integrity of humanity. But if such nonrational factors are allowed their say, is it not a departure from philosophy altogether? Perhaps not, if one thinks that reason has become so ambitious that it ceases to perceive its own limitations and so becomes misleading. The all-embracing rational system of Hegel provoked not only Kierkegaard's existentialism but also the skepticism of the left-wing Hegelians and neo-Kantian positivism. The existentialists of the twentieth century emerged about the same time as the logical positivists, and both groups shared doubts about the omnicompetence of reason. The existentialist would still claim to be a philosopher, in the sense of a thinker, but, in Kierkegaard's expression, an "existing thinker," that is, a thinker who is always involved in the reality being thought about, so that the thinker cannot take up the purely objective attitude of a spectator; also, the thinker is always on the way from one matter to another, so that as long as the thinker exists he or she never has a complete picture. So existentialism stands opposed to all those grand metaphysical systems that profess to give a comprehensive and objective account of all that is. Significantly, Kierkegaard titles two of his most important writings *Philosophical Fragments* and *Concluding Unscientific Postscript,* and these titles implicitly contrast his work with that of philosophers who aim at a comprehensive system.

Though some earlier writers, such as Blaise Pascal (1623–1662), who criticized the theistic proofs and contrasted the God of the philosophers with the living God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, have been seen in retrospect as forerunners of existentialism, the movement belongs essentially to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855) is usually regarded as its founder. His philosophy is inextricably entangled with his struggle over what it means to become a Christian. Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) is in many ways at the opposite extreme from Kierkegaard, but his proclamation of the death of God was just as passionate as Kierkegaard's fascination with the God-man paradox. Some Russian thinkers of the same period showed similar existentialist tendencies, notably Fyodor Dostoevsky (1821–1881) and Vladimir Solov'ev (1853–1900). All of these profoundly influenced the existentialists of the twentieth century, among whom may be counted Miguel de Unamuno (1864–1936), Karl Jaspers (1883–1969), Martin Heidegger (1889–1976), and Jean-Paul Sartre (1905–1980), though it should be noted that the term *existentialist* had, in popular usage, become so widely applied and covered so many differences that most of the philosophers mentioned were unwilling to accept it. The Jewish thinker Martin Buber (1878–1965) had existentialist affinities but criticized the individualism of the typical existentialist. Nevertheless, all the philosophers mentioned above share a number of "family resemblances" that make them existentialists in a broad sense.

It is sometimes suggested that existentialism is a thing of the past, that it was a phenomenon called into being by the specific events of the times in which these thinkers lived but that humanity has now moved into new times with new problems. Up to a point, this may be true. The very fact that the existentialist is an *existing* thinker means that he or she has a concrete relation to the events of his or her own time. Yet there are some characteristics of the human condition that seem to belong to all times or to recur at different times, and some of the insights of the existential philosophers into what it means to be human have a permanent value and are likely to provoke new thought and new investigations in the future.

SOME DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS. As the name implies, existentialism is a philosophy of existence. It should be noted, however, that the word *existence* is used in a restricted sense. In ordinary speech, one says that stars exist, trees exist, cows exist, men and women exist, and so on of everything that has a place in the spatiotemporal world. The existentialist restricts the term to the human existent. By doing this, there is no intention to suggest that stars, trees, cows and the like are unreal. The existentialist only wants to draw attention to the fact that their being is quite different from the being of a human person. When an existentialist speaks of a human being as "existing," he or she is taking the word in what may be supposed to be the original etymological sense of "standing out." Stars and the like have their being simply by lying around, so to speak. Their nature or essence is already given to them. The human being exists actively, by standing out or emerging through the decisions and acts that make this person the unique being that he or she is. In Sartre's famous definition, *existence* means that the human person begins as nothing, and only afterward does that being become something and form its essence through its chosen policies of action.

Although existentialists use the word *existence* in the sense just explained, it retains something of its traditional meaning. In the history of philosophy, existence (referring to the fact *that* something is) has usually been contrasted with essence (referring to *what* something is or the basic properties of that thing). Philosophies of essence (Platonism is the great example) concentrate attention on the universal properties of things, properties which remain the same in all circumstances and at all times. These universals are amenable to the operations of thinking, so that the essentialist tends to end up as an idealist, holding that thought and reality coincide. The philosopher of existence, on the other hand, concentrates attention on the concrete, individually existing reality, but this has a particularity and contingency that make it much more resistant to the systematizing tendencies of thought, so that, for such a thinker, reality does not conform to thought, and there are always loose ends that refuse to be accommodated in some tidy intellectual construction.

It should be noticed too that the existentialist finds room for dimensions of human existence other than thinking. For several centuries, Western philosophy has been deeply influenced by Descartes's famous pronouncement, "I think, therefore I am." The existentialist would claim that this accords too much preeminence to thinking. Humans are also beings who experience emotion, and these emotions are not just transient inner moods but rather ways of relating to the world and becoming aware of some of its properties that do not reveal themselves to rational observation. Equally important is the will. One learns about the world not just by beholding it and reflecting upon it but rather by acting in it and encountering its resistances.

It follows from this that existentialism is also a philosophy of the subject. Kierkegaard declared that truth is subjectivity. At first sight, this seems a subversive statement, one which might even imply the abolition of truth. But what Kierkegaard meant was that the most important truths of life are not to be achieved by observation and cannot be set down in textbooks to be looked up when required. They are the kind of truths that can be won only through inward and perhaps painful appropriation. The truths of religion are the most obvious case—they cannot be learned from books of theology but only by following the way of faith that is one with the truth and the life (*John* 14:6).

IMPLICATIONS FOR RELIGION. The existentialist recognition of the distinctiveness of human existence as over against the world of nature, together with the claim that the truth of human existence is to be reached by the way of subjectivity, is significant for the philosophy of religion. The tendency in modern times has been to treat the human person as one more natural phenomenon, to be understood objectively through human sciences which model their methods on that of the natural sciences. Existentialists, however, believe that human nature can be understood only from the inside, as it were, through one's own participation in it. The phenomenological analysis of consciousness, developed by Husserl, has been adopted by existentialist philosophers, but long before Husserl similar methods were being used, for instance, by Kierkegaard in *The Concept of Anxiety.*

One obvious result of the application of such methods of inquiry to the human person is the claim that freedom is essential to being human. Decision, conscience, and responsibility are major themes in existentialist writers, in opposition to the determinism or near-determinism characteristic of supposedly scientific views of humanity. Perhaps it would not be going too far to say that freedom is the supreme value among the existentialists. Human existence is said to be "authentic" when the individual freely chooses who and what he or she will become. The freedom to choose and decide is, of course, never absolute. The human being is finite, inserted at a given position in space and time and therefore subject to all the constraints and influences that operate at that point. Thus one's freedom is always threatened. One may simply reflect the values of one's culture, without ever deciding one's relation to those values, or one may be caught up in the race for money or pleasure, though these may be inimical to the development of one's finest potentialities.

Thus all human existence is lived in the tension between finitude and freedom. This tension can also be expressed as that between freedom (the areas that are still open for choice) and facticity (those elements in existence which are simply given and reduce the area of free decision). It is because of this tension that freedom is always accompanied by anxiety. Existentialists, from Kierkegaard on, have laid great stress on anxiety as a basic emotion or state of mind which illuminates the human condition. In the case of Kierkegaard and other Christian existentialists, the experience of anxiety may predispose toward the life of faith by awakening the need for salvation; but among atheistic existentialists, anxiety points rather to despair, for the inner contradiction in the human being is taken to be incapable of resolution, so that human existence is always on the verge of absurdity. Part of human finitude is the fact that existence will in any case come to an end in death. But here too there are differences in interpretation. Heidegger believes that the fact of death, by closing off the future of existence, makes it possible to achieve a unifying and meaningful pattern in that existence. Sartre, on the other hand, thinks that death, by canceling out all achievement, is the ultimate indication of the absurdity of existence.

The criticism is sometimes made that there is something morbid in the existentialists' preoccupation with anxiety and death, and this criticism also impinges on those Christian theologians who have used these ideas to urge the need for faith and dependence on God. But it should be noted that there is another and more affirmative side to existentialism. Many writers of the school speak also of "transcendence," and by this they do not mean the transcendence of God, as commonly understood in theology, but the transcendence of the human existent moving constantly beyond itself into new situations. Those who stress transcendence believe that the goal of human life is to realize more and more one's authentic possibilities. Whereas the early Heidegger believed that this is to be achieved by human effort, by a steady "resoluteness" in the face of facticity and death, Christian writers such as Gabriel Marcel have thought of human transcendence as a transcendence toward God, and have taught that this is to be achieved not just through human effort but through the assistance of divine grace.

Most existentialists have had a bias toward individualism. This was true of Kierkegaard, who was alarmed by the tendencies toward collectivism in Hegel's philosophy. It is also true of Sartre, who depicts interpersonal relations as essentially frustrating. On the other hand, Marcel claims that a relation to others is essential to an authentic human existence, while Heidegger sees "being-with-others" as an inescapable dimension of the human being. Critics of existentialism have reckoned its individualism as a defect, on the ground that it prevents the development of a political philosophy, but others have praised the stress on the individual as a defense of human freedom in face of the totalitarian pretensions of the modern state. Nietzsche and Heidegger have both sought to go beyond the biography of the individual to the outlines of a philosophy of history. In this, they oppose the so-called scientific history that seeks to establish objective facts. Nietzsche speaks scornfully of the "antiquarian" type of historian who seeks to reconstruct the past. He prefers the "monumental" historian who goes to some great creative event of the past in order to discover its power and to learn its lessons for the present and future. Heidegger likewise is uninterested in the history that confines itself to the analysis of past events. History, he claims, is oriented to the future. The historian goes to the past only in order to learn about such authentic possibilities of human existence as may be repeatable in the present. This view of history was very influential for Rudolf Bultmann's existential interpretation of the "saving events" of the New Testament, an interpretation succinctly expressed as "making Christ's cross one's own."

The stress on human freedom together with the bias toward individualism raises the question of the significance of existentialism for ethics. The existentialist has no use for an ethic of law, for the requirement of a universal law ignores the unique individual and conforms everyone to the same pattern. So one finds Kierkegaard defending Abraham's decision to sacrifice Isaac, for although this meant the "suspension" of ethics, only so could Abraham be true to his own self and be "authentic." Similary Nietzsche is found claiming that the "superman" must create his own values to supersede traditional values, while Heidegger claims that what is ordinarily called "conscience" is only the voice of the mediocre values of society and that the true conscience is the deep inward summons of the authentic self. In each case, the value of an action is judged not by its content but by the intensity and freedom with which it is done. Such an ethic is too formless for human society and represents an overreaction against the cramping restraints of legalism. Nevertheless, this extremely permissive ethic has seemed to some Christian thinkers to be compatible with Jesus' teaching that love rather than law must guide one's conduct, and it is reflected in the various types of "situation ethics" that flourished for a short time.

Finally, although existentialism turns away from the attempt to formulate any detailed and inclusive metaphysic, its adherents seem to find it impossible to avoid assenting to some ontology or theory of being. Kierkegaard and other Christian existentialists assume (but do not seek to prove) a theistic view of the world as the setting of human existence; Sartre is frankly dualistic in opposing the free but fragile being of humankind (the *pour soi)* to the massive unintelligent being (the *en soi)* of the physical world; there are mystical elements both in Heidegger's talk of "being" and Jaspers's of "transcendence." Existentialist theologians have also found that the reconstruction of Christian theology in terms of human possibilities is inadequate and needs the supplementation of a theistic philosophy.

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EXORCISM.

The English word *exorcism* derives from the Greek *exorkizein*, a compound of *ex* (out) plus *horkizein* (to cause to swear, or to bind by an oath). Whereas in Greek the word sometimes is used simply as a more intensive form of the root, meaning "to adjure," English derivatives usually designate a "swearing out" of invasive spiritual forces from the body in a formal rite of expulsion. Thus exorcism cannot fully be understood without reference to the concept of spirit possession, the state that it redresses.

The spirits to be exorcised most commonly are conceived either as demons or as restless ghosts. These evil spirits penetrate into the bodies of their victims and completely control, or at least strongly influence, their actions. Possessing spirits may also cause physical illness by interfering with the body's normal physiological processes or mental illness by affecting the will, intellect, and emotions. Yet in many cultures, spirit possession is diagnosed only retrospectively. That is, the victim often must display abnormal behavior for some time before friends and family diagnose her as possessed by a spirit. Both cross-culturally and transhistorically, spirit possession afflicts women more often than men. This pattern has been the subject of much discussion among specialists who study the phenomenon.

The forms and prevalence of exorcism within a given culture are intimately related to the question of how the invading spirits are conceived. In certain contexts, possession by neutral or beneficent spirits is highly valued, and in these settings exorcisms are unlikely to be an important constituent of the local culture. Within other religious contexts, however, spirit possession is understood as the work of evil spirits or demons dedicated to the downfall of humanity, and exorcism thus is viewed as a vitally important form of healing. Lastly, many cultures, both historically and worldwide, consider possessing spirits to be the ghosts of the dead. Responses to possession in these cases may involve ambivalent attitudes toward the invading spirit. Communities invariably wish to heal the victim through exorcism but also may feel compassion toward the dead spirit that has invaded the living. Moreover witnesses to exorcisms of ghosts frequently use the occasion to interrogate the spirit about the details of the afterlife.

Exorcisms vary widely. Whereas some rites are purely verbal formulae, many employ objects, gestures, and actions thought to be of particular power against invasive spirits. In some contexts, exorcism may be accomplished simply through the charismatic power of a particularly powerful or righteous individual. Many cultures use dance and music as essential elements of exorcism rituals. In this article, the word *exorcism* may refer either to the procedure itself or to its end result, the liberation from spirits that it accomplishes.

CHRISTIAN EXORCISM.

From its origins, Christianity has included a strong belief in spirit possession by demons, understood as primordial forces of evil and followers of the devil. Thus exorcism has a long history within Christianity, particularly (though not exclusively) among Catholics. These traditions continue to the modern day.

In the New Testament.

The Greek verb *exorkizein* appears only once in the New Testament, in *Matthew* 26:63, where the high priest "adjures" Jesus to reveal whether he is the Christ. Yet the action of expelling demons frequently does appear in the New Testament canon. Exorcism is among Jesus' favorite miracles in the Synoptic tradition, comprised of the *Gospels of Mark, Matthew,* and *Luke,* yet no exorcisms appear in the latest gospel, *John.* The *Acts of the Apostles,* by the same author as the *Gospel of Luke,* also recounts exorcisms by Jesus' followers after his death and employs the noun *exorkistes* to refer to some Jews who attempt to cast out demons using Jesus' name (*Lk.* 19:13). Indeed in respect to exorcism, the emerging Jesus Movement was much in accord with developments in other Jewish sects of the period, many of which had begun to place a greater emphasis upon exorcisms and charismatic forms of healing than had been the case in earlier Jewish tradition.

In the earliest gospel, *Mark,* an exorcism is Jesus' first miracle:

> And immediately there was in their synagogue a man with an unclean spirit; and he cried out, "What have you to do with us, Jesus of Nazareth? Have you come to destroy us? I know who you are, the Holy One of God." But Jesus rebuked him, saying, "Be silent and come out of him!" And the unclean spirit, convulsing him and crying with a loud voice, came out of him. (*Mk.* 1:23–26)

Mark subsequently presents Jesus as famed for his exorcism ability, pairing this miracle with Jesus' eloquence in preaching as his two main sources of appeal throughout his travels in Galilee (*Mk.* 1:39). Mark's gospel thus uses exorcism as a way of demonstrating Jesus' uncanny power as a complement to his teaching: Jesus is shown as battling against malign spiritual forces both physically and pedagogically.

The most complete account of exorcism is that of the Gerasene demoniac, recounted in all three synoptic gospels (*Mk.* 5:1–20; *Mt.* 8:28–34; *Lk.* 8:26–39). The tale concerns Jesus' encounter with a man possessed by a multitude of evil spirits. The man was living in the cemetery on the edge of a city—among the tombs of the dead—because his disordered state of mind and superhuman strength rendered him unfit for the society of the living. Jesus interviews the spirits inside the man, which speak through his mouth, and elicits their collective name, Legion. Jesus then commands the spirits to depart from the man but gives them permission to enter into a herd of pigs foraging nearby. The possessed pigs then plunge themselves into the sea and drown, prompting the local herdsmen to flee and tell the story throughout the city. A group of people then come out to Jesus and ask him to leave. The passage reveals much about conceptions of possession and exorcism in this time period, including the disruption of identity and of bodily control characteristic of demoniacs; the importance of learning the demons' names in order to gain power over them; and Jesus' charismatic use of a simple verbal command to accomplish the expulsion. However, the conclusion of the tale suggests that Jesus' action is regarded with considerable fear and ambivalence by the local community.

The Synoptic Gospels report that during his lifetime Jesus empowered his disciples to cast out demons as well. Yet upon occasion this power failed them, as in the case of a dumb and deaf spirit that had entered a child, tormenting him with convulsions. After the disciples proved unable to heal the boy, Jesus successfully completed the task through prayer and fasting (*Mt.* 9:17; *Mt.* 16; *Lk.* 9:40). Jesus' followers continued to perform exorcisms after his death. The *Acts of the Apostles* describes several cases accomplished through a noteworthy diversity of means. Paul exorcises a slave girl through a verbal rebuke similar to those used by Jesus (*Acts* 16:18), but Peter heals the possessed simply by having them gather in his shadow (*Acts* 5:16). Paul also exorcises spirits through handkerchiefs impregnated with his power of supernatural healing (*Acts* 19:11–12). Simply invoking the name of Jesus was considered a powerful method of exorcism, one even employed by non-Christians, according to *Acts.* Chapter nineteen describes some Jews in Ephesus who attempt to cast out demons in Jesus' name, though without success.

Late antiquity and the Middle Ages. As in Jesus' own early career, exorcism was an important element in winning new converts for the early generations of the Jesus Movement. The second-century Christian apologist Justin Martyr characterized exorcism as a particularly impressive gift among Christians, noting that any demon, no matter how powerful, became submissive when conjured in Jesus' name. Indeed exorcism became a competitive arena in which Roman Christians claimed triumph over Jewish and pagan rivals, suggesting that their conjurations of demons were more efficacious than any other form of healing. Peter Brown has shown in "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity" (1982) that the essential mark of the early Christian holy person was his or her charismatic ability to exorcise, and Christian saints became closely associated with this activity. Thus when a little girl in fourth-century Syria wished to parody a monk in order to entertain her companions, she did so by pretending to exorcise them with all due solemnity.

With the Christian community growing in numbers, the church began to require the exorcism both of adult converts and of infants at baptism. The earliest Catholic baptismal liturgy incorporated exorcisms; one function of godparents, in cases of infant baptism, was to answer for the child when the exorcist asked, "Do you renounce the devil and all his works?" In consequence of this development, by the third century a designated exorcist was required in every Christian community. Documents from this time period make note of a formal order of exorcists that constituted a lowly step on the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The Fourth Council of Carthage in 398 CE is the first surviving text to prescribe the rite of ordination for an exorcist: "When an Exorcist is Ordained: Let him accept from the hand of the priest the little book in which the exorcisms are written, and let the priest say to him, 'Take this and memorize it, and may you have the power of laying on hands upon an energumen, whether baptized or a catechumen'" (Caciola, 2003, p. 229).

As Christianity spread into northern Europe and became a dominant institution in the medieval west, exorcism practices continued to evolve. Whereas the order of exorcists slowly declined in importance and eventually disappeared from view, descriptions of exorcisms performed by saints vastly increased. Medieval hagiographies frequently mention exorcisms performed during their subjects' lifetimes as well as postmortem exorcisms accomplished by the saints' relics or tombs. This development accelerated after the twelfth century, when accounts of demonic possession saw an exponential increase in hagiographical texts. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153 CE), for example, was credited with many personal exorcisms, whereas Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179 CE) provided detailed advice on how to exorcise a possessed woman in one of her letters. Some of the best surviving accounts of exorcisms during this time period are set at saints' tombs, and certain shrines became known as centers of exorcistic healing. The arm relic of John Gualbert of Florence (999–1073 CE), for example, was famed for its exorcistic properties, and the miracle accounts recorded at his shrine in the later Middle Ages include a number of healings of the possessed. In some cases, families traveled considerable distances for an exorcism of a relative, vowing particular devotion to the saint if he or she provided aid to the possessed at the end of the pilgrimage.

Exorcisms by living saints or their relics were not the only means of casting out demons, however. Medieval people also employed a number of other techniques, often in a somewhat improvisational manner. Friends, family, and religious professionals might try to cast out the demon through prayer and fasting; by showing the demoniac religious paintings; by placing relics or books of Scripture on the victim's head or body; through anointing with holy water, holy oil, or blessed salt; or by giving the demoniac a consecrated Eucharistic wafer.

Medieval popular culture included its own notions of spirit possession and of appropriate remedies as well. Many contemporary texts attest to the northern European belief that demons could invade dead bodies, animate them, and use them for nefarious purposes. In such cases, the preferred solution to the problem was to destroy the corpse as fully as possible. In Mediterranean regions, the spirits that possessed the living were often identified as ghosts rather than as demons. As for cures, the possessed sometimes were immersed in a running body of water as a form of cure. In some areas local men made names for themselves as secular exorcists and healers, each with his own unique formula, rhyming jingles, and other procedures. Thus medieval cultures held diverse notions of spirit possession and exorcism in addition to purely ecclesiastical definitions.

The emergence of a liturgical rite in the fifteenth century. The fifteenth century marked an important turning point in the history of exorcism within the Catholic Church. At this time, as Caciola (2003) has shown, the church began to use formal scripted, liturgical exorcisms, numerous examples of which are preserved in manuscripts. The change likely stemmed from a desire on the part of the Catholic hierarchy to standardize practices of exorcism at a time when the number of reported possessions remained high. In so doing the church also arrogated control over the process of exorcism to the ecclesiastical hierarchy rather than allowing decentralized and improvised practices of exorcism to persist.

Liturgical exorcisms are a species of *clamor,* a family of ritual forms that cry out to God for aid against oppressors. Other examples of this kind of ritual include excommunications, humiliations, and maledictions. These exorcisms also are intimately related to the baptismal liturgy, repeating verbal formulations from the baptismal rite as well as other elements, such as the blessing of salt and water. A third textual precedent for these rites is Jewish conjurations, particularly the inclusion of exhaustive compendia of the names of God. Indeed liturgical exorcisms are rife with lists of all kinds: those that recount events from the life of Jesus; that call upon the aid of all the saints and the hierarchy of angels; that cast the demon forth from each body part; and that imagine vivid apocalyptic scenarios of demonic defeat and eternal torment. Several manuscripts of exorcism suggest the use of demonic language in order to gain control over the possessing spirit, incorporating brief spells composed of unintelligible words that are said to have been personally composed by the devil. After conjuring the demon in its own language, the exorcist may then proceed to inquire into its precise status, its reason for invading the victim, and its requirements for a successful expulsion. The following quotation from a manuscript held in Munich gives a sense of how a typical liturgical exorcism begins:

> Take the head of the possessed person in your left hand and place your right thumb in the possessed person's mouth, saying the following words in both ears: ABRE MONTE ABRYA ABREMONTE CONSACRAMENTARIA SYPAR YPAR YTUMBA OPOTE ALACENT ALAPHIE. Then hold him firmly and say these conjurations: I conjure you, evil spirits, by the terrible name of God Agla. . . . I also conjure you by the great name Pneumaton and by the name Ysiton, that you ascend to the tongue and give me a laugh. If they do not respond, then know that they are mute spirits. The exorcist should diligently discover and require whether it is incubi, or succubi, or even dragons that possesses the obsessed person; whether they are attendants of Pluto, or servants of Satan, or disciples of Astaroth; if they are from the east or the west; from noonday or evening; from the air, earth, water, fire, or whatever kind of spirit. (Caciola, pp. 248–249)

It was believed that once the demon was made to answer questions about itself (either through use of the demonic language or through some other constraint) it would be easier to exorcise.

The liturgy continues with insults to the demon, commands for it to depart, and prayers for divine aid, as well as Bible readings interspersed with lists of body parts, saints, angels, and the names of God. Throughout the rite, the exorcist is frequently directed to make the sign of the cross over the victim or to sprinkle him or her with holy water. The rite usually concludes with a prayer of thanksgiving and a plea for future protection against similar attacks. This basic template was to persist as the basis for the liturgy of exorcism for centuries.

The Reformation and beyond. The Reformation period saw a notable increase in demonological phenomena, most notably the witch hunts that came to a peak in this time period. Whereas the reformers accepted the possibility of demonic possession, they nevertheless opened a vigorous debate over the efficacy of liturgical exorcism as a remedy. Protestant texts satirized the splashing of holy water and frequent crossing of demoniacs performed by Catholic exorcists, deriding them alternately as "superstition," "empty rituals," or "magic." Yet beneath this general atmosphere of rejection lay a diversity of attitudes toward exorcism. Some reformers, like John Calvin (1509–1564) and Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531), rejected all ritual exorcism; others, however, were less radical in their approaches. Martin Luther (1483–1546), for example, defended the use of traditional rites of exorcism during infant baptisms, deeming them a kind of prayer on behalf of the infant for divine protection. Most Protestant groups eschewed liturgies of exorcism for adults but did not reject simpler forms of exorcism through prayer and fasting, viewing them as acceptable pleas for divine aid against possessing demons.

Among Catholics, belief in the benefits of ritual exorcism continued to flourish unabated. Many elements of the liturgy that was formulated in the fifteenth century were codified in 1614 in the official Roman Ritual. Also during this time period, plural possessions and group exorcisms became a common Catholic form of the phenomenon, usually in a convent setting. The most famous case is the 1634 account of possessed nuns of Loudon studied by Michel de Certeau in *The Possession at Loudon* (1996), but plural possessions also occurred in Spain, Italy, the Low Countries, and France from the mid–sixteenth century through the early seventeenth century.

Some possession cases became closely bound up with the witchcraft persecutions; demonological literature taught that witches could send demons to possess their enemies. The priest of Loudon, Urbain Grandier (1590?–1634), ultimately was convicted of having bewitched the nuns. For this crime, he paid with his life. Likewise the eighteenth-century Puritan witchcraft trials in Salem, Massachusetts, originated with charges that the witches had caused their young accusers to be possessed.

A significant aspect of exorcism in this time period is the degree to which spectacular cases of possession and exorcism entered into public discourse and became causes célèbres. Due to the spread of print technology, for the first time such events could be widely known about and discussed. The publicity provided by pamphlets and broadsides, combined with the fractious confessional politics of the day, made exorcism a vehicle of Catholic polemic against Protestants and Jews. This dynamic was first noted by Daniel Pickering Walker in *Unclean Spirits* (1981). Thus Nicole Obry, a young Catholic woman who became possessed in 1565 and was publicly exorcised in the city of Laon, regaled the vast crowds attending the event in the voice of her possessing demon, which confessed that it was close friends with the Huguenots (preferring them even to the Jews) and that it sustained the greatest torment when young Nicole was given the Eucharist. Here insults to other religious traditions were combined with an endorsement of the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation.

Nicole's case was widely copied, most notably in the subsequent generation by the famous demoniac Marthe Brossier (1573–16??). Protestant groups were unable to engage in widespread counterpropaganda, however, because they rejected exorcism for the most part. In England, the Protestant minister John Darrell became famed in the 1590s for exorcisms achieved through prayer and fasting, but the accounts of these cases lack the explicitly propagandistic elements of the Catholic cases. In a slightly different polemical vein, a sixteenth-century Catholic exorcist conjured the demons afflicting a group of young Roman girls who had been converted from Judaism. These demons explained their presence as the result of a curse laid upon the girls by their fathers who, angry at the loss of their children, summoned forth demons to possess them.

Exorcism declined in Europe during the eighteenth century, though it never entirely disappeared. Indeed professional exorcists like German Johann Joseph Gassner (1727–1779) continued to appear. Among the educated classes, however, symptoms that traditionally had led to a diagnosis of demonic possession increasingly came to be regarded as indicators of natural pathologies like hysteria, epilepsy, or melancholia. Although naturalistic diagnoses for "possessed behaviors" had been available since the twelfth century, the eighteenth century saw a more definitive shift in favor of medical epistemologies. In consequence exorcism was less frequently indicated as a cure.

The contemporary Christian Churches. Perhaps the best-known modern image of the rite of exorcism derives from the 1973 film *The Exorcist*, based on the 1971 novel of the same title by William Peter Blatty (b. 1928). Though the account is fictionalized, Blatty's story of a demonically possessed little girl was based upon a 1949 case of prolonged exorcism of a young Lutheran boy by a Catholic priest. The film spurred a revival of interest in exorcism in the United States, and Catholic bishops began receiving more and more requests for the procedure. Only a small proportion of such requests were granted because twentieth-century Catholic officials regard genuine demonic possession as an extremely rare phenomenon that is easily confounded with natural mental disturbances. In recognition of this stance, the Vatican in 1999 updated the ritual of exorcism for the first time since 1614, advising consultation with doctors and psychologists in order to rule out organic pathologies; however, the twenty-seven-page exorcism ritual was left largely intact.

Whereas the Catholic hierarchy preaches restraint in regard to exorcism, certain Catholic communities reject this stance along with many other features of the modern church. The most active Catholic exorcists of the late twentieth century belonged to conservative groups that rejected the reforms of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), especially the abandonment of the Latin Tridentine Mass. These exorcists contended that the new Mass left the faithful unprotected against demonic attack and believed that as a result of Vatican II, the number of possessions had increased exponentially.

Some modern American Protestant groups have become interested in possession and exorcism as well. The beginnings of modern Pentecostalism in the early twentieth century fostered a broad, interdenominational movement of Christian charismatics who placed direct spiritual interventions at the center of their theology. Some modern charismatics practice exorcism or "deliverance," as documented by Michael Cuneo in *American Exorcism*. Although deliverances can take many different forms according to the individual practitioner, the majority are simple prayer sessions for the victim's relief. The most extensive deliverances include a clairvoyant discernment of spirits, in which a specialist intuits what type of demon is afflicting the individual: a demon of lust, stubbornness, greed, or other sin. In rare cases, the demon may be identified as an entity of "intergenerational evil," an inherited demon dedicated to afflicting a particular bloodline; such a diagnosis is particularly likely when the individual requesting deliverance has a family history involving violence or mental illness. More formal rites of deliverance often begin with a binding of the devil, in which the indwelling demon is adjured, in the name of Jesus, to remain calm and desist from thrashing about inside the victim. Next is the prayer phase, which may be accompanied by fasting and a laying on of hands. As with Catholic traditionalists who practice exorcism, Protestant charismatics interested in deliverance tend to be social conservatives opposed to the increasing theological liberalism of the mainline churches.

JUDAISM. Judaism does not have a strongly attested focus on spirit possession and exorcism before the middle of the sixteenth century. At that time belief in possession by reincarnate spirits of the dead began to emerge in the Sephardic Jewish community of Safed in the Galilee. These ideas eventually were disseminated to eastern European Jewish communities, becoming particularly vigorous among eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Hasidic groups. The most familiar term for the possessing spirit, *dybbuk*, came into use only in the late seventeenth century, but it is employed by scholars of Judaism to refer to possession by a ghost even in earlier epochs.

Early history. The earliest account of an exorcism in Jewish tradition is *1 Samuel* 16:14–23. The text recounts how after the spirit of YHWH departed from King Saul, an evil spirit began to torment him. Saul's counselors suggest that music may be able to soothe his affliction, and David is brought to him to play the lyre. The sweet strains of the music succeed in exorcising the spirit from Saul whenever he feels invaded by its presence.

This is the sole account of spirit possession and exorcism in the Hebrew Bible. By the Second Temple period, however, the invasions of demons and forms of spiritual healing had become more prominent within Judaism. These phenomena were central features of the career of Jesus, for instance, as he traveled through the Jewish communities of first-century Palestine. The Qumran texts likewise place significant emphasis upon demonic attacks and human counterattacks, often in the form of protective spells, whereas scattered tales in rabbinic literature recount exorcisms by particularly righteous Jewish teachers.

Surviving bits of material culture testify to the contemporary interest in exorcism as well, particularly a number of bowls inscribed with Aramaic exorcisms that utilize a legalistic language of divorcing the spirit. Josephus (37–c. 100 CE) provides a story about contemporary Jewish exorcism techniques that he ascribes to traditions originating with King Solomon. According to this author, an exorcist named Eleazar gained fame for the efficacy of his cures and even was called upon to demonstrate his prowess before the emperor Vespasian (9–79 CE) along with all his court and army. Eleazar's secret was to draw the demons out from the possessed person's body by employing a certain root, discovered by Solomon, which was encased in a ring. By holding the ring to a demoniac's nose, he allowed that person to inhale the scent of the root, then he extracted the demon from the victim's body through the nostrils.

Accounts of exorcism are rare in medieval Jewish sources, although—as attested in the articles collected by Matt Goldish in *Spirit Possession in Judaism* (2003)—many scholars believe that the practice itself persisted. Medieval Catholic exorcisms include elements drawn from Jewish tradition, such as the use of lists of the names of God and the acronym AGLA (for *Atah Gibbor Le-ʿolam Adonai*, "You are mighty forever, my Lord"). This interreligious borrowing may suggest that Jewish exorcism traditions remained in common use. An early-sixteenth-century compilation of Jewish magical and exorcism texts, the *Shoshan Yesod ha-ʿOlam*, testifies to a vigorous tradition of spiritual healing; the book likely incorporates many older traditions that are not attested in surviving earlier literature. The exorcisms here are liturgical in character, involving verbal conjurations of demons and commands to depart. One formula adjures the demon, by the seventy-two names of God, to reveal its own name and parentage, then requires it to depart from the human body and enter into a flask that the exorcist is directed to have handy.

The emergence of dybbuk possession in the sixteenth century. In the sixteenth century spirit possession underwent a significant resurgence and evolution within Jewish thought. Beginning with the case of a young boy in the 1540s, the Galilean village of Safed became the epicenter of a new series of sensational possessions and exorcisms, several of which were associated with the circle of the qabbalist Rabbi Isaac Luria (1534–1572). Not only was possession suddenly a renewed topic of reportage, but the terms in which it was envisioned seem to have shifted. Whereas earlier Jewish attestations of exorcism usually refer to the possessing spirit as a demon, the cases in Safed (which in the early twenty-first century have received sustained treatment from Jeffrey H. Chajes in *Between Worlds* [2003]) constitute the first detailed descriptions of possessing spirits conceived as transmigratory souls of the dead.

Already in the late fourteenth century, Spanish qabbalistic literature had begun to explore the notion of *ʿibbur*, "pregnancy," as a form of spirit possession. The term was used to designate the invasion of a living human being by the transmigrating spirit of a deceased person, thus suggesting the coexistence of two souls within a single body. The sixteenth-century Safedian qabbalists expanded upon this tradition significantly. Although *ʿibbur* could involve either benign or maleficent dead spirits, the concern here is with the latter.

The qabbalists explained that the soul of a sinful person might not be permitted to enter into Gehenna directly upon death but instead would wander, disembodied and subject to beatings from angels of destruction. Seeking refuge from the angels, such a spirit would seek to enter into a physical body—either animal or human—for shelter; human bodies could be made vulnerable to such invasion through certain sins. Exorcism of the spirit should ideally be conducted in the presence of witnesses, a *minyan* of ten men. Because the ritual did not follow an invariant form, elements such as extensive suffumigation of the victim with strong incense, the blowing of the *shofar* (ram's horn) into the possessed's ear, and invocation of the names of God were used to force the *dybbuk* to reveal its own name and background. Once the identity of the spirit was established, the exorcist might converse with it, asking questions about its own former life and sins as well as seeking information about the afterlife. The *dybbuk* was often adjured to exit the victim by the big toe, lest the victim choke if it left via the throat. After the departure, the victim was to be given a protective amulet to wear to fend off further spiritual infestations. Texts recounting famous exorcisms served hagiographic functions, glorifying the rabbi who performed a successful expulsion. This is true not only of sixteenth-century Safed but of the later history of the *dybbuk* phenomenon as well.

It is notable that, in cases of *dybbuk* possession, the compassion of rabbinic exorcists was directed not only toward the possessed victim but also toward the possessing spirit. Because the latter was conceived as human, it too merited a degree of concern and healing. Thus even as the exorcist cast the demon out from the body it possessed, he often sought to discover how to help the *dybbuk* achieve *tikkun*, or rectification. If the spirit were permitted to enter Gehenna, it could then find rest and cease tormenting other living beings. This sympathetic feature of Jewish *dybbuk* exorcism could not find a counterpart in earlier Jewish traditions or in Christian traditions, which conceive of the possessing spirits as unredeemable and demonic.

Later developments. The *ʿibbur* form of possession appeared in 1575 in Ferrara, Italy, where the spirit possessing a Jewish woman claimed it was the ghost of a recently executed Christian. Scholars are divided as to whether this and subsequent Italian cases resulted from a dissemination of Lurianic notions of possession and exorcism or arose from other contingencies. In the seventeenth century the Italian rabbi

Moses Zacuto (1625–1697) became well known as an exorcist, engaging the topic repeatedly in his correspondence.

By the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries *dybbuk* possession had become common in eastern European Hasidic communities; the term *dybbuk* is first attested in a Yiddish pamphlet published around 1680 in Volhynia. Sholom Anski's (1863–1920) 1910s play *The Dybbuk;* or, *Between Two Worlds*, which is set in a Hasidic context, popularized and romanticized the notion of ghostly possession. Like Blatty's *The Exorcist*, the story ultimately may have influenced the course of the religious phenomenon on the ground. Cases of *dybbuk* possession reminiscent of Anski's narrative have been reported in modern Israel and have begun to be studied by modern folklorists and anthropologists.

COMPETING EXORCISM FORMS IN EGYPT. In modern Islamic Egypt, spirit possession may be managed by one of two means: through Qurʾanic healing or participation in a *zār* cult. Islamic demonology is extensive, and the choice of which form of healing to pursue is in part a reflection of how the inhabiting spirit is identified.

Zār. *Zār*, a relatively recent invention dating only to the 1870s, is a form of participatory ritual group healing found in several East African countries. Dominated by women, *zār* cults involve regular meetings at which participants dance to drumming with the goal of entering into individual trance states. Islamic authorities in Egypt often denounce *zār* as a vulgar superstition held by women too ignorant to realize that their actions are un-Islamic. Participants, however, regard the meetings as fully compatible with Islamic tradition.

Strictly speaking, the *zār* cult is not a complete form of exorcism but rather a recurrent form of pacification. The goal of the ceremony is to learn to coexist with the spirit, or *zār* master, by temporarily lessening the intensity of the spirit's hold upon the individual. As documented by Gerda Sengers in *Women and Demons* (2003), the beginning of involvement with *zār* is customarily a private initiation ceremony paid for by the possessed victim and attended by friends, family, and other women who are possessed. After an opening prayer drawn from the Qurʾān, several different drum bands perform in sequence; their purpose is to get the participants dancing and help spur the onset of a trance. The new "*zār* bride," dressed in a long white tunic, is led by the *kudya*, a *zār* specialist who has assisted in the diagnosis of the victim's illness and identification of her invading spirit, or *zār* master. These may be of several kinds, including (among others) Gado, master of the toilet; the atheist *zār* master known as the Red Sultan; the Sultan of the Sea, who affects the brains; and even Christian *zār* masters. (The latter are easily identified because they make their victims desire alcohol, which normally is forbidden to Muslims but allowed to those possessed by Christian *zār* masters at *zār* ceremonies.) *Zār* masters often have negative qualities and cause distress or illness, but they are distinct from the more purely evil Islamic demons and devils known as *jinn* and *shayatin.*

Participants in the *zār* dance not with one another but with their individual *zār* masters. Thus the action, while collective, is not truly communal. After the private *zār* ceremony—sponsored by the family of the new initiate—the initiate will likely join a regular public *zār* group or *hadrah*. The *hadrah* meets regularly, usually on a weekly basis, and each participant contributes funds to pay for the drummers and to support the *kudra*. The repetition of the dance ritual each week keeps the *zār* master quiet within the victim, allowing her to pursue her normal life in all other ways.

Qurʾanic healing. Qurʾanic healing is a true exorcism that definitively drives out the invasive spirits, which in this case are often *jinn* or *shayatin*, though they can be *zār* masters as well. The healing usually is conducted by a *sheik* who specializes in Qurʾanic exorcism on the grounds of a mosque, perhaps in an upstairs room or other chamber; as with *zār* ceremonies, these usually are group meetings with several possessed persons in attendance at once. Paticipants are segregated by sex, either by some form of barrier or by designating different days of the week for gatherings of men and of women. Nevertheless in Egypt—as in other parts of the world—spirit possession tends to afflict women more often than men. Qurʾanic healers consider themselves as a more orthodox alternative to the *zār* cult, which they tend to deride as superstitious, corrupt, and anti-Islamic.

The rite begins with a rapid sequence of prayers, recited either by the *sheik* himself, one of his assistants, or the whole group. As the prayers go on, some of the possessed are likely to become excited and to begin writhing and crying out. At this point the assistants direct their prayers more loudly and forcefully at that individual; they may strike her with a stick while repeatedly shouting at the *jinn* to get out immediately. Eventually the exorcist or his assistant conjures the demon, asking its name, other details of its identity, and its reasons for possessing the victim. One may be possessed by a *jinn* for a variety of offenses, including such sins as hitting a cat. If the demon turns out not to be Muslim, it is given the chance to convert. The spirit is then required to enter into the possessed person's finger and to indicate its presence there by lifting that digit. The exorcist then pricks that finger with a needle, drawing a drop of blood and forcing the spirit out with it. After the rite, the victim is often counseled to adopt a higher level of piety in everyday life by, for example, dressing more modestly or praying more often.

REGIONALISM ON THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT. The linguistic and cultural diversity of the Indian subcontinent is paralleled by a wide degree of variance in exorcism practices. Certain spirit possession beliefs are widespread in India, such as the frequency with which ghosts as well as demons possess the living; the predominance of women among the possessed; the belief that possession may sometimes be caused by another person's act of sorcery; and the retrospective diagnosis of the onset of possession as occurring at a moment when the victim was alone and felt a sudden fear. Regional variations in possession beliefs—and especially in exorcism techniques—however, are legion. Indeed even within a single locale there may be several different exorcism techniques in play.

North India: The Balaji temple. The North Indian town of Mehndipur, Rajasthan, is home to the Balaji temple, dedicated to the monkey god Hanumān. The latter deity is an apt choice for a divine exorcist, for he is a heroic figure drawn from the epic *Rāmāyaṇa*, which recounts his devoted service to Rāma during a protracted battle with the Sri Lankan demon Rāvaṇa. The Balaji temple is famed throughout Rajasthan and neighboring states for its successful exorcisms, attracting the possessed from as far away as Delhi. Indeed the Balaji temple has long been a popular pilgrimage destination: it invariably is filled with supplicants come to ask the monkey god for release from possessing spirits of the dead, from demons of the Hindu pantheon, and even sometimes from Muslim *jinn*.

Exorcisms performed at the temple are collective in character. Together caregivers and temple priests intone prayers to Hanumān, with the goal of initiating the victims into an altered state of consciousness or trance *(peshi)*. Though the latter often involves convulsions, loud shrieking, and other extreme behaviors, *peshi* is held to be a prerequisite for healing. Victims may return to the temple for several successive days before achieving *peshi*, but once the catharsis of trance is achieved and then exited, the victim is likely to be considered on the road to complete healing. The process may be swift or slow, depending on the number and nature of the possessing spirits. After the exorcism, the newly healed individual may report having received from Hanumān a protective spirit, or *dut*, to help guard against future attacks.

South India. In South India, possession most frequently afflicts new, young brides; the spirit usually (though not invariably) is described as the ghost of a young man. Thus the possession state frequently has a sexual aspect that is explicitly articulated within the local understanding of these events. The ghosts or *peys* that afflict the victims often died unmarried; indeed a common reason for becoming this type of restless, possessing spirit is suicide because of unfulfilled love. These lonely ghosts of the untimely dead may become attracted to a lovely young bride with a still-fresh scent of sexual initiation about her and try to "catch" or possess her, often gaining entry through the woman's hair. Afterward the spirit becomes jealous and impels the woman to reject the sexual advances of her husband: this act often is the initiating event in a diagnosis of possession.

The exorcism ritual used to cure such afflictions usually involves a controlled, benign counterpossession. Here exorcists are specialists in dance techniques that enable them to enter into a state of trance, during which they incarnate a female deity like Kālī or Ankalaparamecuvari. The rite is known as "dancing the goddess." Because these deities are of superior power to the possessing ghost or demon, once the medium has become voluntarily possessed, the incarnate goddess is able to drive out the *pey* through a combination of supernatural threats and material sacrifices. The negotiation between the two possessed individuals may consume many hours, with the goddess-exorcist demanding that the *pey* leave and hurling insults at it and the ghost attempting to retain hold of the possessed woman and requiring various gifts or sacrifices before agreeing to exit. The exorcists who "dance the goddess" may resort to physical violence against the *pey*, beating the possessed or pulling her hair in order to convince the spirit inside that it must acquiesce and depart. This form of exorcism conceives of the struggle for healing as properly a battle between supernatural beings—the ghost versus the goddess—who nonetheless act through and on human bodies. The long hours of music, the dance, the confrontation between the two possessing personalities, and the ultimate triumph of the goddess-exorcist provides healing for the possessed victim as well as entertainment for the local village.

This counterpossession model of exorcism is supplemented by local practices with a more restricted geographic range. In the South Arcot District of Tamil Nadu, for instance, exorcisms sometimes are conducted by troupes of musicians known as *pampaikkarar*. The exorcism in this instance begins with a singer attempting to lure the possessed woman into a state of trance, after which the ghost who is possessing her may be interviewed. The details of its biography, death story, and the circumstances surrounding its possession of the victim are elicited; indeed the ghost is encouraged to explain its restlessness and its desires. As the music continues into the night, it is not uncommon for bystanders to dance the goddess, thus combining the better-known ritual with the more localized practice.

After the possessing spirit and its grievances have been identified, the musicians negotiate with it, promising a sacrifice in return for its pledge to depart. The spirit is asked to identify the specific lock of the victim's hair in which it resides; this tress is then tied into a knot over the protestations of the *pey*, which may complain that the action is painful. Afterward the sacrifice, a chicken, is offered, with its severed head being placed in the victim's mouth. This action shocks and frightens the *pey* and represents the beginnings of the actual expulsion. The possessed is then handed a large stone, said to represent "the weight of the *pey's* desire," and is herded toward the nearest tamarind tree. After the possessed person reaches the tree, the rock is laid at its roots, and the knotted lock of hair that contains the spirit is cut from the possessed woman's head and nailed to the trunk. Following this the exorcism is complete and the victim is considered healed. The culminating actions of the exorcism have been interpreted by Isabelle Nabokov in her article "Expel the Lover, Recover the Wife" (1997) as representing the final "divorce" of the lonely ghost from its victim and its "remarriage" to the tamarind tree, understood as a female entity in Tamil culture. When the *pey's* desire is given to the tamarind and the *pey* is severed from the woman and united with the tree, the affections of the lonely ghost are thereby redirected to a nonhuman object.

Scholarly Interpretations of Exorcism. Exorcism has long attracted attention from academics, thus becoming a category of scholarly analysis as well as of religious practice. The comments below identify some major strands in the interpretation of exorcism emanating from within the disciplines of anthropology, psychology, and history. Many of these analyses have tried to address the question of why women predominate in reports of possession and exorcism.

Anthropology. In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, the foundational literature of cultural anthropology gave prominent place to divergent cultural conceptualizations of spirits, their capabilities, and human responses to them. This focus was characteristic of the early anthropological approach to so-called "folk" religions, viewed as largely indistinguishable from culture, in contradistinction to "historical" religions, based on scriptural canons and textual precedents. Thus the anthropological literature on spirit possession and exorcism has a long and complex history within the discipline.

A well-known modern anthropological analysis of spirit possession and exorcism is I. M. Lewis's important 1971 work, *Ecstatic Religion.* Lewis was struck by the frequency with which socially marginal groups, particularly young women, were involuntarily overtaken by spirits, a phenomenon he termed "peripheral possession." He further noted that, while in a state of possession, the women often gained prestige and were able to act in more assertive ways than was the case in their regular daily lives. Thus they might openly critique their husbands or relatives, shirk household duties, or act in ways deemed immodest or inappropriate for their cultural settings. Lewis suggested that the reason for women's predominance among the spirit possessed in nearly all cultures is related to a covert desire for status enhancement. Women's possessing spirits allowed them to articulate resentments and desires that they normally would have had to suppress while simultaneously permitting them to disavow personal responsibility for their transgressive actions. This dynamic only reached its fullest expression, however, in the process of exorcism, which in many cultures takes the form of bargaining with the spirits to depart. The spirit may demand a series of concessions before agreeing to leave, often in the form of material gifts of direct benefit to the possessed woman: a feast, new clothes, or some other special treat.

Many scholars have suggested alternatives to Lewis's analysis or raised critiques to his approach. Bruce Kapferer, in his 1983 study of exorcism in Sri Lanka, *A Celebration of Demons*, argued that Lewis overvalued individual motivations and self-determination and undervalued broader cultural forces that symbolically align women with the sphere of the demonic and the unclean. Other scholars, including Janice Boddy in her review article "Spirit Possession Revisited" (1994), have called for a reframing of the question that moves "beyond instrumentality" to discuss broader notions of gender, body, and social organization that mitigate a narrowly functionalist view. Others, like Isabelle Nabokov (1997), have vigorously disputed the notion that exorcism acts to advance the interests of marginal groups, interpreting its symbolism as, rather, a means of asserting the hegemony of dominant cultural values. Nevertheless Lewis's "social deprivation analysis" remains a dominant influence in anthropological studies of exorcism. Lewis renewed his analysis in a follow-up study published in 1986, *Religion in Context*; this work in turn was reissued in an expanded edition in 1996.

Psychology. The interest of psychologists in possession and exorcism originates with Sigmund Freud, who in the 1920s wrote about the seventeenth-century case of the painter Christopher Haizmann. (A translation of this work is in Brian Levack, *Possession and Exorcism* [1992].) Regarding accounts of Haizmann's possession as descriptions of a "demonological neurosis," Freud presented an elaborate interpretation centered on Haizmann's depression due to the death of a close relative, whom Freud assumes to be Haizmann's father. The devil, Freud writes, entered into a contract with Haizmann in which he agreed to serve as the painter's father figure for a term of nine years. Freud argues that the use of the number nine in relation to a span of time reveals Haizmann's adhesion to a feminine aspect in relation to his father, indeed "a long-repressed phantasy of pregnancy" (nine being the number of months of gestation), combined with a strong castration anxiety (Levack, 1992, p. 90). Haizmann's eventual release through exorcisms and a pilgrimage to a shrine to the Virgin Mary signal Haizmann's salutary turn toward another substitute parent, the mother. Through maternal intervention, Haizmann is sufficiently healed to enter into a religious order, thus finding a more appropriate father substitute in these "fathers of the church."

Nevertheless Freud's interest in these phenomena set the stage for further psychohistorical and ethnopsychological investigations into possession and exorcism. Understandings of spirit possession as a culturally constructed idiom for expressing repressed or illicit desires, as forms of wish fulfillment, as involving supernatural parent or lover substitutes, or as representative of sexual anxieties and identity disturbances are now a significant component of the scholarly literature. Once again the predominance of young women among the possessed has proven particularly provocative to scholars because the notion of physical penetration by a spirit, often conceived as male, lends itself both to a psychosexual analysis and also potentially to a diagnosis of disturbed gender identity.

Exorcisms have been regarded as having therapeutic value in part because they are couched in the same idiom as the patient's own expression of neurosis while nonetheless orchestrating the same kind of emotional buildup and catharsis that underlay Freud's early psychoanalyses. The emphasis upon social reintegration that is central to many exorcism rites has been seen as a cipher for the reintegration of the individual sufferer's psychic or sexual self: "the expulsion of the masculine and the resumption of an unfragmented conventional sexual identity," according to Lyndal Roper in

Oedipus and the Devil (Roper, 1994, p. 191). Conversely, the psychological commonplace of "exorcising inner demons" forces a convergence between religious and psychoanalytic idioms. Exorcism and therapy are thereby defined as different terms for the same healing process.

History. Historians have turned their attention to spirit possession and exorcism relatively recently as part of the movement toward cultural history (sometimes called history of mentalities). Whereas the dominant anthropological and psychological interpretations of exorcism focus upon the victim's experiences and desires, the leading historians working on this problem emphasize the societal power relations deployed in the performance of exorcism. (Indeed Freud's psychoanalysis of Haizmann has been sharply criticized by Eric Midelfort in his article "Catholic and Lutheran Reactions to Demon Possession in the Late Seventeenth Century" [Levack, 1992] as anachronistic and individually overdetermined, with too little consideration given to the structure of the contextual society.) Thus the focus of historians has been less on the person who is the object of the exorcism and more on the ways practices of exorcism fuel larger social processes. It has been seen then as either a dynamic or a static social force, depending on the context.

An example of exorcism's potential to propel change is provided by the many scholars who have elucidated its value as a catalyst for conversion. These historians have pointed out how successful public exorcisms can be instrumental in recruiting new believers to the religion of the exorcising group. The rite often seems to have functioned in this way when practiced within a context of intense competition among rival religious systems. As a visible, materially enacted battle with supernatural referents, exorcism easily can become a testing ground for the power of one deity, doctrine, or practice over another. In other cases, however, exorcism may be used to reaffirm a potentially threatened continuity with the past. Thus as noted above the fifteenth-century rise of liturgical exorcism has been shown to be linked to a broader struggle on the part of the Catholic hierarchy to reaffirm its traditional authority at a moment of significant instability and stress. Here innovation in the performance of exorcism acted to reinforce the institutional prerogatives of the Catholic Church.

Perhaps the most elegant historical study of exorcism has been penned by the French social theorist Michel de Certeau. The author's article "Language Altered: The Sorceror's Speech" in *The Writing of History* (1988) focuses on the ways in which early modern exorcists reasserted the hegemony of written traditions by turning to them for neat categorizations of the untidy, real-life possession cases unfolding before them. Certeau begins by noting that a diagnosis of possession was usually applied to a woman soon after she manifested a "disturbance of discourse." No longer an individual, well-bounded subject, the possessed woman was viewed as displaced from herself. The invading spirit disrupted the continuity of the victim's selfhood by speaking through her mouth: her lips and tongue pronounced the spirit's sentiments and experiences. Thus for Certeau, the speech of the possessed woman was a logical paradox that existed outside normally comprehensible speech patterns. The speaking entity was both male and female, mortal and immortal, powerless and powerful, the victim and the Other.

The processes of exorcism and conjuration of the spirit, Certeau suggests, were a means of resolving this logical paradox by identifying the indwelling spirit. Thus the first goal of an exorcism always was to categorize the speech of the victim as the discourse of a specific, indwelling demon known in advance from exorcistic and demonological literature: Beelzebub, Asmodeus, Leviathan. Through this process, the exorcism transformed the garbled speech of the possessed woman into the recognizable voice of a well-known demon. Naming the demon in turn gave the exorcist power over it: the conjuration could then proceed as a series of conversations between the exorcist and the indwelling demon. Hence the exorcist only can gain mastery by identifying the speech of the victim with a specific demonic name, but in the process the possessed woman's identity is occluded. Exorcism is an assertion of power, Certeau suggests, insofar as it superimposes traditional categorizations over the creative potential of a paradox. It thus acts as a potent tool of social control.

SEE ALSO Biblical Literature, article on New Testament; Christianity, overview article; Christianity and Judaism; Dybbuk; Egyptian Religion, overview article; Jesus Movement; Judaism, overview article; Qurʾān, overview article.

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NANCY CACIOLA (2005)

EXPERIENCE, RELIGIOUS See RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

EXPIATION See ATONEMENT; CONFESSION OF SINS

EXPULSION.

Expulsion can be harmful but also beneficial, depending on the purposes toward which it is directed. Associated concepts are alienation, banishment, excommunication, exile, exorcism, expurgation, purification, repentance, scapegoating, defilement, and cleansing. Greeks, Romans, and Indians practiced expulsion as a means of exerting social control over individuals or groups over millennia. Against that cultural background, religious communities adopted and adapted expulsion to their own purposes and provided some of the most dramatic instances of one or another form of expulsion.

The story in the book of *Genesis* in the Hebrew Bible of Yahweh sending Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden as punishment for their disobedience of his commands is an archetypal story of expulsion that is widely known, particularly in the West. One widespread and persistent interpretation of the story asserts that ever since that momentous expulsion humans have been estranged and alienated from their proper relationship with the divine. Religious communities often seek to provide means to restore the relationship, sometimes through rituals, sometimes through recommended ethical behaviors, sometimes through doctrines said to articulate the proper understanding of the divine-human relationship to which intellectual assent by believers is required.

Further narratives abound in the literature of many other religions indicating that similar experiences occur within their residual memories of the realm of human relations as individuals are estranged from and by other individuals. Humans also experience alienation from themselves and from their feelings and thoughts, sometimes referred to as "self-alienation." This underscores the necessity to attend to spiritual and psychological dimensions to provide a rounded account of expulsion.

Being alienated from family, friends, communities, organizations, and nations happens as a result of beliefs, actions, and even attitudes that run counter to prevailing norms. Although sometimes voluntary, when for principled reasons a person goes into exile, more often it is a punishment imposed by others. Think of Alexandr Solzhenitsyn, banished by Soviet Union in the 1970s for his books criticizing communism. In Solzhenitsyn's case the demise of the communist regime in the early 1990s enabled him to return to his beloved country freed from the dictatorial power that had expelled him.

EXILE. A person can be excommunicated from a community for denying beliefs held to be central to that community or for actions judged unacceptable by the community. In such instances a prescribed path is sometimes offered to enable the excommunicant to return to the community. Instances of such banishment and subsequent restoration are in the histories of such groups as the Amish, the Mennonites, and the Hutterites. Expulsion from such groups is often the penalty for some member becoming too "modernistic" in belief or action. A return is sometimes achieved by the person's renouncing or recanting her or his offending beliefs or practices. In such instances the power and authority of the community and its traditions is affirmed first by the expulsion and then by its allowing the offender to return on terms the community establishes. Temporary expulsion is a form of ostracizing a person or group for a time of chastisement.

Thus a person can either voluntarily enter into exile to protest a turn of events within a community, often a nation in which a person has held a position of leadership, or one can be banished and thereby become an exile. In the instance of voluntary exile a person makes a principled move aimed at calling attention to, and seeking allies to oppose, whatever is objectionable. In either case, if the situation changes in the community or nation, the person in exile sometimes returns, even triumphantly. A prominent historical instance of this is the case of Martin Luther (1483–1546), who was declared a heretic by the Roman Catholic Church after the Diet of Worms in 1521 and simultaneously was declared an outlaw by the Holy Roman Empire. However, Luther was protected by Prince Frederick the Wise against any move Emperor Charles might have made to enforce the death penalty pronounced against him.

After two years in hiding, Luther returned to Wittenberg, the university city in which he had written his critique of many of the central beliefs and practices of papal Roman Catholicism. That Luther made this return and lived there until his death in 1546 demonstrates that the power and control of both the pope and the Holy Roman emperor were insufficient to make Luther's expulsion effective. He freely moved about in those Germanic territories in which he lived. His banishment by and from Catholicism had no practical consequences for him in that Luther defied both church and Empire and lived to tell the story. In addition, his actions and thoughts led to the emergence of a new interpretation of Christianity called Protestantism.

BANISHMENT. Expulsion is neither voluntary, as exile sometimes is, nor is there usually any possibility of return, as excommunication sometimes offers. Expulsion is a decision made by people holding power to enforce the judgment against a person or group based on a claim that the larger community will be improved or enhanced by ridding itself of those objectionable or corrupting people. Such a draconian judgment leaves those expelled without the support of a society or institution. Thus expulsion is synonymous with irreversible banishment. It is one of the cruelest acts that can be perpetrated against humans, for it is a deliberate cutting off of individuals or groups from the social, economic, spiritual, and other resources of the expelling community. It is a sentence of "social death."

The ideology of expulsion rests upon two bases. First, those who hold sufficient power to impose expulsion typically regard themselves as the sole authentic power center of the institutions over which they rule or within which they hold authority. Any opponents who are perceived to hold views antithetical to those held by the rulers are regarded as threats to the established status quo, and thus as dangerous. This justifies the decisions to rid the institution, the community, or the nation of the purported threat. "Away with them," is the response. Second, those who impose the expulsion reduce those who are victims in some way or another to either a real or virtual subhuman characterization. This attitude dehumanizes those who thereby become "others" and both allows and legitimizes cruelty and banishment of those "heretics" or infidels. Sometimes such practices are forms of creating a scapegoat, which is the practice of identifying an innocent person, group, or even animal to bear the guilt and blame that rightly belongs to others (cf. *Lv.* 16 in the Hebrew Bible). Scapegoating is the false accusation of an offense that results in the persecution or even murder of those so accused.

One of the most widely known instances of a collective expulsion is that of Jews being driven from Spain in 1492, ironically the date that also marks the voyage of exploration of Christopher Columbus. The notorious Tomás de Torquemada (1420–1498) persuaded King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella to expel the Jews. He argued that the Catholic faith was in peril due to the corrupting presence and influence of the false converts from Judaism (and from Islam as well) who were called *conversos* or, even more insultingly, *marranos*, the Hebrew word for pig. This dogmatic and literalistic perspective insisted on one and only one interpretation of Christianity. It overruled any vestige of Christian charity and forced a major eastward movement of Jews. In the twentieth century the Holocaust perpetrated by Nazi Germany focused its horrendous persecution and extermination upon the Jews in many European countries. The goal was the annihilation of all Jews everywhere. This is quantitatively one of the most radical instances of expulsion and destruction in history.

The powerful residual memory of this expulsion contributed significantly to the idea of Jewish immigration to the "promised land" of Zion. In the nineteenth century some Jewish thinkers, such as Theodor Herzl (1860–1904), developed the ideology of Zionism. The combination of the Holocaust and Zionism propelled the migration of Jews from many nations to Palestine and the creation of the State of Israel in the twentieth century.

PURIFICATION. There are, however, other considerations pertaining to expulsion. The eminent twentieth-century historian of religions Mircea Eliade notes that expulsion is not always a negative or reactive matter, at least in connotation. Rather, he convincingly demonstrates that in many cultures and religious traditions expulsion is a rite of purification incorporated into rituals of regeneration. He observes that "demons, diseases, and sins" are all subject to expulsion by ritual actions and that they are regarded as evils that must be expelled in order for the cleansing to be complete (Eliade, 1959). If one recognizes these "expulsions" as having contemporary analogues, this positive connotation takes on a deeper resonance. For example, in the practice of scientific medicine, prescriptions of certain medicines are precisely meant to expel symptoms and the disease they manifest. Further, certain surgical interventions are designed to remove diseased organs or intrusive growths that are compromising the health of a person's body.

Confession of sins is a prominent dimension of certain modern religious practices. Confession leads to repentance and, in some traditions, to the requirement that the penitent person engage in certain actions designed to purge the sins that have been confessed. This is a kind of expulsion that is accomplished in the combination of confession and penance.

The idea of demons still awakens deep anxiety and even fear in large numbers of people. "Demon possession" is a diagnosis not confined to persons but also applied to physical places, such as buildings and homes. The depth of this sensitivity gives rise in some traditions to the practice of exorcism. Two definitions of *exorcise* are to expel (an evil spirit) by, or as if by, incantation, command, or prayer; and to free from evil spirits or malign influences. Popular culture bears witness to the power of the ideas of demon possession and exorcism through both the novel and the movie from the 1970s entitled *The Exorcist.* The extraordinary longevity of both book and movie and the remarkable breadth of their popularity demonstrate that demons still occupy a lively place in the contemporary human imagination.

Thus, if diseases, sins, and demons are regarded as realities in the lives of humans from antiquity until the twenty-first century, then means for expelling them—and thereby purifying and regenerating their hosts—will also predictably be of widespread interest and concern. Such instances of expulsion are valued and sought after.

Finally, another form of expulsion is manifest in the act of expurgation that aims to remove or expel objectionable material from a book or magazine or some other word-based medium before it can be published. This, like exorcism, aims to cleanse or purify a text of some kind or other as targeted material. In text-based religious traditions great care is expended by designated guardians who comb earlier editions to identify any items that need expurgation to ensure that new editions of the sacred writings are as accurate and error-free as possible. This practice demonstrates another instance of expelling what is objectionable and unwanted by participants in a community who are committed to living in conformity with the pure words of their texts.

In the contemporary world, formal religious expulsion, or even expurgation, is comparatively rare, in large measure owing to the heterogeneity of modern societies. People are less confined to participation in only one social, or even religious, grouping. Thus the power of expulsion is reduced to a degree. But informal and powerful instances of ostracizing or banning people still persist in some communities. To the extent that such practices are employed under any circumstances, they serve to demonstrate that expulsion resonates, even in the contemporary world, as a tool of imposing conformity of beliefs, attitudes, and actions.

SEE ALSO Excommunication; Fall, The; Scapegoat.

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JAMES B. WIGGINS (2005)

EYE.

The eye is one of the most widespread symbols in all religious representation. As the active organ of visual perception, it is closely linked with light. Without light, the eye could neither see nor discern clearly. It is therefore only natural that in most cultures the eye is the symbol of intellectual perception and the discovery of truth. The eye knows because it sees. As early as the fifth century BCE, Democrites thought that certain images exist already in the body and that they emerge from the gaze of certain persons. Pliny the Elder explained that the small image inscribed in the pupil is a sort of miniature soul (*Natural History* 21.12.51). Similarly, the Bambara of West Africa say that the image perceived by the eye is, in fact, the double of the object or being that is seen: "Man's world is his eye." Thus the eye is often considered the mirror of the soul, the body's window, which reveals each person's deep thoughts by means of his gaze. As the mirror of the interior, the eye is the place where the mysterious life of the soul is glimpsed. In seeking to discover the reality behind the physical appearances it perceives, the eye becomes the locus of inner revelation. The expression "His eyes were opened" means that a rational or religious truth has been unveiled.

According to the symbolic conception of man as microcosm, which is found in the most ancient cultures, the eye is likened to the sun. Like the luminous star, it sees all, shines, and sparkles. Its glances are rays that pierce like arrows. Among the Semang, the Boshiman, and the Fuegians, the sun is the eye of the supreme god. This isomorphism of the eye and the sun reveals moral and religious values according to which all vision introduces clairvoyance, justice, and righteousness. Just as the sun illuminates by projecting its light everywhere, the eye seeks to discover and see everything, even faults and crimes. It thus becomes the emblem of a superior being who punishes and takes vengeance. To be all-seeing is to become omnipotent. Such valorization of the eye sometimes leads to its sacrificial oblation, which results in a supernatural second sight that replaces and sublimates simple, corporeal vision. This second sight is like the inner eye, or the "eye of the heart," so common among mystics who perceive the divine light.

THE EYE AS DIVINE ATTRIBUTE. In Egypt, as in the most ancient cultures of the eastern Mediterranean Basin, the presence of a symbolic eye signifies the power of the supreme divinity to see and know everything. Thus "the eye of Horus" appears on the stelae of Memphis, and eyes are engraved on a Cretan ring in the Ashmolean Museum (Oxford University), the symbol of an anonymous divinity who looks at and listens to men. The sacerdotal myths and traditions of ancient Egypt testify that the eye has a solar nature and is the fiery source of light and knowledge. Re, the sun god, is endowed with a burning eye and appears in the form of a rearing cobra with dilated eyes. In the cult of Harmerti, Re and Thoth are the two eyes of Horus, the god of the sky. One Harmerti story relates the struggle between Horus and Seth; Seth pokes out the eye of Horus, who is later cured by Thoth. The healed, healthy eye is the *oudjat* eye that shines in the dark and vanquishes death. *The Book of Going Forth by Day* (17.29ff.) recapitulates that mythical episode in a formula that is said to the dead person by the one playing the role of Thoth: "I restore to the eye the fullness it possessed on the day of the fight between the two adversaries." This means that light and darkness, life and death, are reconciled in the beyond. This *oudjat* eye was painted on the inner sides of the coffin, on each side of the head, and an inscription affirmed that they were hereafter the eyes by which the dead person would see in the afterlife and which would permit him to follow the spectacle of the exterior world while remaining in his tomb. The *oudjat* eye was provided for the dead person "in order that he be animated by it" (Pyramid Texts 578). This is why Horus's eye made an excellent amulet.

At Tell Brak in eastern Syria, the excavation of a sanctuary going back to 2500 BCE has revealed the worship of a divinity with a thousand eyes. In this temple consecrated to Inanna (Ishtar), hundreds of statuettes with multiple eyes have been found, votive offerings or apotropaic images attesting that the eye was the emblem of that all-seeing and omnipresent feminine divinity. Analogous finds have been made at Ur, Lagash, and Mari. Inanna's brother Shamash is the sun god, whose eye sees everything and who knows the most secret thoughts. He can reward or punish deliberately. In Babylon, Shamash was invoked before every divination, for he was the one who wrote the signs in the entrails of sacrificial victims. Without his help, the diviner could not see them.

The Indo-European world attached the same value to the eye as to the sun and to the gods, that is, the quality of being able to see everything. In the *Ṛgveda,* the god Sūrya, son of Dyaus, is called "the eye of the sky" (10.37.2) and "the eye of Mithra and of Varuna" (1.115.1, 7.61.1, 10.37.1). He sees from afar and everywhere, and spies on the whole world. Varuṇa, the celestial god, is described as *sahasrāta,* god of a thousand eyes, for he sees everything. According to the hymn of Puruṣa (*Ṛgveda* 10.90), the sun was born from the eye of the cosmic giant Puruṣa so that at death, when a man's soul and body return to the cosmic primordial man, his eye will go back to the sun. It is understandable why, in the *Bhagavadgītā* as well as in certain Upaniṣads, eyes are identified with the two celestial lights, the sun and moon, which are the eyes of Viśvakarman, the divine architect with multiple eyes who ordained everything. The Tamil caste of the Kammalans, who claim to descend from him, have as their main task painting the eyes of divine statues according to a ritual as sacred as that of the *oudjat* eye, the eye of Horus, in Egypt. In Iranian tradition, the sun is also the eye of Ahura Mazdā (*Yasna* 1.11), whereas in the tenth *Yasht* of the Avesta, Mithra is called the "master of vast plains who has a thousand ears and ten thousand eyes," thus assimilating him to the sun.

For the Greeks, the gods "with piercing gaze" saw everything belonging to the past, present, and future in a single, unified vision. This *panopteia* is the very mark of their divinity. Thus there is Kronos, who has four eyes, two in front and two in back; Zeus, whose "vast gaze" pierces through to the most secret things (Hesiod, *Works and Days* 240, 265); Apollo, the solar god, who sees everything (*Iliad* 3.277, *Odyssey* 11.109); and Dionysos, whose Bacchic hymn repeats that he "shines like a star with his eye of fire that darts its rays over the whole earth" (Diodorus of Sicily, 1.11.3). All the Greek gods cast a sovereign and pure gaze on man. The gaze of Athena Glaukopis shines and fascinates; the eye she fixes on her enemies is "a sharp one, an eye of bronze." When Achilles, driven by rage, tries to kill Agamemnon, Athena seizes him by his hair and forces him to look at her. The hero cries out, "It is terrifying to see the light of your eyes" (*Iliad* 1.200), for the light in her eyes is the light of reason. In Greek poetry, the image of the eye or the pupil is used to mark the quality of a person and the affection one feels for him: "Where is the eye of my beloved Amphiaraos, this hero who was both a seer and a valiant warrior?" (Pindar, *Olympian Odes* 6.16.7). The Greek religious experience consisted primarily of a vision. Since Homeric times, an indissoluble relationship has existed between knowing and seeing: knowledge is based on sight, on an optical intuition. In his *Metaphysics,* Aristotle speaks of that joy of seeing, which makes a better basis for knowing than any other perception. The joy of sensitive contemplation is the climax of the initiation into the great mysteries of Eleusis, the *epopteia,* and the very source of all philosophy, repeats Plato (*Timaeus* 47a). For the knowledge of truth rests on a vision that moves upward from tangible realities to timeless and eternal things: "Holy is the man who has the gods before his eyes" (scholium on Pindar, *Pythian Odes* 4.151b).

The Germanic and Celtic worlds also valued the magical power of the eye. Óðinn (Odin), god of war and magic, is a one-eyed god, for he voluntarily gave an eye in payment to the sorcerer-giant Mímir, or Memory. In return, Óðinn was permitted to drink every day at the spring of knowledge and thus to learn the science of the runes. The loss of an eye is therefore the means of acquiring superior vision and the supernatural powers that flow from it. After the Vanir killed Mímir, Óðinn practiced divination by interrogating the head, which he succeeded in preserving (*Ynglingasaga* 4, 7). This theme of knowledge acquired as a result of blindness—even ocular mutilation—is found elsewhere in other Indo-European traditions. Thus, the Greek diviner Tiresias attains the ability to see the future by becoming blind; Oedipus learns the will of the gods by blinding himself; and the blind king Dhṛtarāṣṭra in the *Mahābhārata* has special powers. Blindness, or voluntary mutilation of the eyes, becomes the sign of the superior sight possessed by the druids and the diviners. Indeed, this quasi-magical power of the eye is found again in Celtic myths. The god Lugh keeps only one eye open. He makes a tour of the enemies' camp, hopping and singing in an act similar to Óðinn's during the battle between the Æsir and the Vanir. The same attitude is found in the Celtic hero Cú Chulainn, who, when seized by furor, closes one eye and enlarges the other, or sometimes swallows one eye and places the other on his cheek to frighten his adversary. Many Gallic coins show a hero's head with an eye disproportionately enlarged.

Other myths also valorize the magical power of the one-eyed person, as if the reduction of vision to a single eye increased the intensity of the gaze. Thus a glance from Medusa's single eye petrifies anyone who crosses its path, for it is the glance of death that leads to Hades. To overcome it, Perseus must first escape the other two Gorgons and hide the one eye they share between them. He conquers Medusa only by making use of Athena's mirror, which allows him to see the monster without being seen by her.

THE EVIL EYE AND MAGIC. The belief in the unlucky influence of the evil eye is universal. It rests on a valorization of the gaze reputed to be harmful because the eye is abnormal (eyes of different colors, double pupils, squinting); such a gaze magically reveals the malevolent intention of the soul whose window the eye is. The evil eye, cast for vengeance or out of envy, is an invisible threat against which one must protect oneself with countermagic, as, for example, in this Babylonian incantation: "Take the eye, attach its feet to a bush in the desert, then take the eye and break it like a pottery vase!" In Egypt it was common practice to bear apotropaic names, wear amulets, and recite formulas. In the Roman world, fear of the *fascinum* was constant. Many mosaics have as a central motif a dangerous eye pierced by an arrow, surrounded by animals, and defended by an owl (the bird of evil omen) perched on its eyelid. Against this danger, people resorted to amulets picturing an eye or a phallus. Eyes were even painted on the prows of boats.

Ever since the time of the apostle Paul (*Gal.* 3:1), Christian preachers never ceased to raise their voices, in vain, against the belief in the evil eye. Some rituals of the Greek Orthodox church as found in the *Mikron Euchologion* contain a formula for exorcism against *baskania* ("witchcraft") similar to that found in certain Babylonian curses. The same belief is found in pre-Islamic Arabia and in the Muslim world. Muḥammad himself recited incantations to preserve his grandson from the evil eye, reviving the formulas that Abraham made use of in order to protect Ishmael and Isaac, the legend says. One Arabic proverb states that "the evil eye empties houses and fills tombs." The eye frequently occurs in the magical preparations of certain African ethnic groups as well as in the Eastern Orthodox world, where the eyes of the figures in icons were poked out and crushed and then made into a magical powder.

RELIGIOUS AND MYSTICAL VALUES OF THE EYE. The word *eye* recurs 675 times in the Hebrew scriptures (Old Testament) and 137 times in the New Testament; this indicates the richness of its symbolic meanings. It designates, first, the organ of vision fashioned by the creator for the good of man (*Ps.* 94:9, *Prv.* 20:12), for "it is a joy for the eye to see the sun" (*Eccl.* 11:7). But the eye is also a privileged organ of knowledge that scripture always associates with the characteristics of the wise and learned: for example, Balaam, the diviner whose eye is closed to the terrestrial realities that surround him but is open to the hidden and the invisible once he meets the All-Powerful (*Nm.* 23–24). The Targum Yerushalmi makes Balaam a one-eyed seer, thus taking up again the theme of a second sight superior to normal corporeal vision. Symbolically, the eye designates the consciousness of man that Yahveh opens to the knowledge of his law and therefore of good and evil (*Dt.* 29:3, *Is.* 6:10). For Yahveh sees all (*Ps.* 14:2); he is the witnessing God from whom nothing escapes (*Ps.* 139:7–8). This ability to see all is an essential characteristic of his transcendent sovereignty, and the divine eye is the administrator of justice: before it the just man can find grace (*Dt.* 31:29, *Jb.* 11:4). But it is also the paternal eye of Providence, "who turns toward those who fear him" (*Ps.* 33;18), like Nehemiah praying night and day for the people of Israel (*Neh.* 1:6, *Lv.* 16:2, *Nm.* 4:20).

But however great his desire, man may not see God face to face (*Ps.* 42:3), for no one can see Yahveh without dying (Ex. 19:21, *Lv.* 16:2, *Nm.* 4:20). Even Moses saw only the back of the glory of God (*Ex.* 33:20–23). If some prophets have had a vision of divine glory, it is in a fugitive and symbolic fashion, through a cloud or in human shape. Thus Zachariah (c. 520 BCE) saw Yahveh put before the high priest "a single stone decorated with seven eyes," symbol of God's vigilant presence in his temple. They are the seven planets, or seven divine eyes that sweep over the earth without resting. Likewise Ezekiel, in his vision of the chariot evoking Yahveh's throne, sees wheels whose rims are decorated with open eyes (*Ez.* 1:18), signs of Yahveh's omniscience.

Although, as the apostle John says, "No one has ever seen God" (*1 Jn.* 4:12), Jesus promised the pure in heart that they shall see God (*Mt.* 5:8). This beatitude makes of the eye a symbol of inner purity (*Mt.* 6:22–23); otherwise the eye, as the opportunity for scandal, ought to be plucked out and thrown far away. Early Christian preaching insists on the opposition between the eyes of flesh and those of the spirit; in Paul's case, physical blinding symbolically preceded the opening of the eyes of the heart (*Acts* 9:18). Furthermore, the function of the Son is to render visible his Father: "Whoever sees me has seen the Father," says Jesus to Philip (*Jn.* 14:9). But at the end of time, full vision will be given to everyone and "man's eyes will contemplate the glory of God just as he is" (*1 Jn.* 3:2). Gnosticism especially retains the Pauline theme of "the eye of the heart," an image already frequent in the writings of the Greek philosophers and the Hebrew rabbis. For the gnostic, "the eye is the inner light to the man of light" (*Gospel of Thomas,* logion 24), and the prototype of the man of light is "the eye of light" *(Sophia of Jesus Christ).*

In numerous philosophical and religious traditions, the inner eye allows access to wisdom. Plotinus explains that the eye of the soul dazzled by the light of understanding is fixed on pure transparency; the soul therefore sees the light found at the interior of his own gaze, and the eye of understanding contemplates the light of *nous* by participating in the very light of this sun-spirit (*Enneads* 5.3[17].28). Recalling that the wise man is he who sees and that the fool is blind, Philo Judaeus explained that formerly the prophets were called "seers" (*1 Sm.* 9:8). For him, wisdom is not only what is obtained by the vision of the inner eye, just as light is perceived by the carnal eye; but wisdom also sees itself, and this is the splendor of God, who, in opening the soul's eye to wisdom, shows himself to man (*De migratione Abraham* 38).

In Hinduism, the god Śiva is endowed with a third eye, the frontal eye that gives him a unifying vision. His look of fire expresses the pureness of the present without any other temporal dimension, as well as the simultaneity of beings and events, which he reduces to ashes in revelation of the all. Likewise Buddha, the "awakened one," received inner enlightenment through the celestial eye, which permitted him to see the life of all beings simultaneously and gave him the knowledge of the chain of the fundamental forces of existence as well as its previous forms. This eye of wisdom, *prajñācakṣus,* is found at the limit of unity and multiplicity, of emptiness and creation; it permits the wise man to grasp them simultaneously. The organ of inner vision, it is the very sign of Buddhist wisdom.

But the inner eye is the organ of wisdom only because it is capable of actually experiencing the divine. Every revelation presents itself as a veil that has been pulled back before the gaze of religious man, for whom the beatific vision and the contemplation of God are the very essence of eternal life. The eye of the heart is thus a frequent theme in spiritual and mystical literature. Just as the eye can neither see nor discern its object without light, so the soul cannot contemplate God without the light of faith, which alone opens the eyes of the heart. "Man must therefore become entirely eye"; such is the teaching of the Desert Fathers reiterated by Symeon the New Theologian (*Hymns of the Divine Loves* 45), for the soul's eye, relieved of carnal passions, can perceive the divine light that opens up on the heavens. Following Origen and his theory of spiritual senses, Gregory of Nyssa, Augustine, Bernard of Clairvaux, and all the Fathers state that it is God who, by opening the heart's eye, makes one see. Meister Eckhart again picks up this teaching *(Sermons),* and Teresa of Ávila specifies that what we know otherwise than by faith, the soul recognizes at sight, although not by eyesight. Leon Bloy writes in his *Journal* (June 6, 1894) that "we must turn our eyes inward" in order to speak our desire for a vision of truth, for the carnal eye only allows us to see "in enigma and as in a mirror." The eye of the heart is therefore man seeing God and, at the same time, God looking at man; it is the instrument of enlightenment and inner unification: "We shall find the pearl of the kingdom of heaven inside our hearts if we first purify the eye of our spirit" (Philotheus of Sinai, *Forty Chapters on Spiritual Sobriety* 23).

SEE ALSO Sun; Visions.

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MICHEL MESLIN (1987)
Translated from French by Kristine Anderson

EZEKIEL (sixth century BCE), or, in Hebrew, Yeḥezqeʾl, was a Hebrew prophet. A hereditary priest, Ezekiel is known primarily from the biblical book of prophecy named after him that contains first-person reports of revelations made to him. For example, the opening verse of *Ezekiel* reads: "In the thirtieth year, in the fourth month, on the fifth of the month, when I was among the exiles on the Chebar canal [in the vicinity of the Babylonian city of Nippur], the heavens opened and I saw a divine vision" (a description of God's majesty borne on the divine "chariot" follows). The time of his prophesying is fixed by some fifteen dates scattered through the book, which, apart from the obscure first one cited above, belong to the era of "our exile"—that is, the exile of King Jehoiachin of Judah, his courtiers, and his administrative staff, in 597 BCE); it may be inferred that Ezekiel was among those deported to Babylon with the king. The dates fall between 593 and 571, all within the reign of the Babylonian king Nebuchadrezzar II (605–562), who is mentioned several times in the book as a world conqueror. No references to events subsequent to the reign of that king are made, nor does the editorial work on the book necessitate assumption of later hands, so that its contents—internally consistent though literarily varied—may be considered the record of a single author's career. The only personal details given of Ezekiel's life are his priestly descent and the death of his wife in exile. That the enigmatic "thirtieth year" of the opening verse (cited above) alludes to the prophet's age at the start of his vocation is an unsupported guess that goes back at least as far as Origen.

Two determinants of the prophet's outlook stand out in his prophecies: his priesthood and his exile. The former is reflected in his schooling in the full range of Israel's literary traditions (legal, prophetic, historiographic), his manner of expression (echoing the Priestly writings of the Pentateuch), and his preoccupations (the Temple, God's holiness, offenses against his worship). The response to exile is reflected in Ezekiel's anguish and rage at what he perceives as God's rejection of his apostate people. Ezekiel's prophecy is characterized by a leaning toward systematization; he propounds doctrines permeated by a severe logic that centers on the injury Israel inflicted on the majesty of God and its reparation rather than on the piteous situation of the people. The *Book of Ezekiel* may be divided into three sections:

- Chapters 1–24 are composed mostly of dooms against Jerusalem that date before its fall in 587/6 BCE. (Chapter 33 is an appendix related to this section.)
- Chapters 34–48 contain prophecies of the restoration of Israel, composed, presumably, after the city's fall. The first six of these chapters are rhapsodic, the latter nine legislative.
- Chapters 25–32 link the two main divisions in the form of prophecies against Israel's neighbors, settling accounts with them for their exploitation of, or participation in the collapse of Judah.

No other prophetic book shows so thorough a working through of principles in its arrangement, pointing to the hand of this prophet.

MAIN THEMES OF EZEKIEL'S PROPHECY. The chief burden of Ezekiel's pre-586 prophecies (chaps. 2–24) was that Jerusalem was inevitably doomed to destruction by Nebuchadrezzar. This contradicted the mood both of the exiles and of the homelanders, among whom prophets of good tidings were at work (chap. 13). Patriotism, faith in the security offered by God's presence in the Jerusalem Temple, and the encouragement by Egypt of anti-Babylonian forces in Judah combined to rouse the people's hopes, indeed their expectation that subjection to Babylonia was ephemeral; that the exiles would shortly return home; and that resistance to the overlord, supported by Egypt, would be successful. Like Jeremiah, his contemporary in Jerusalem, Ezekiel regarded such hopes as illusory; worse, they revealed spiritual obtuseness in their blindness to the divine purpose realizing itself in Judah's plight. As Jeremiah and Ezekiel saw it, the people's idolatrous infidelity to their covenant with God, reaching back to the beginnings of their history and peaking during the reign of King Manasseh of Judah (*2 Kgs.* 21), had finally outrun God's patience. And alongside apostasy was the corruption of the social order (idolatry and immorality were bound together in the minds of biblical authors): the oppression of the governed by their rulers, the trampling of the poor, the unfortunate, and the aliens by the people at large, until not one righteous person could be found in Jerusalem to stem the onset of God's retributive fury (*Ez.* 22). Another form of infidelity to God that Ezekiel denounced with particular vehemence was the resort of Judah's kings to Egypt for help against Mesopotamian powers (Assyria, Babylonia), instead of trusting in divine protection. These offenses are set out in bills of indictment ending in sentences of doom: God had resolved to abandon his Temple (desecrated by the people) and to deliver his city and land to be ravaged by the Babylonians (chaps. 8–11, 16, 23). In listing the evidences of Jerusalem's guilt and stressing the unavoidability of its fall, Ezekiel sought to disabuse his fellow exiles of their misplaced hopes, turn their minds to consider their evil ways, and lead them to repentance. (Because his dooms are addressed rhetorically to Jerusalem, it has been thought that they were intended to dissuade the Judahite court from pursuing its rebellious policy against Babylonia, but their emphatic unconditionality could hardly serve that end.)

Ezekiel conveyed his messages in deeds as well as words, making much use of dramatic and symbolic acts. He arrayed toy siege works against a representation of Jerusalem drawn on a brick; he lay on his side eating scant siege rations for many days; carrying an exile's pack on his shoulder, he acted out the clandestine flight of the king from the fallen city; he repressed his sighs of mourning for his dead wife to presage the stupefaction of those who would live through the coming carnage (chaps. 4–5, 12, 24)—all these and more. No prophet went to such lengths to impress his audience because none was so convinced of their imperviousness to his message (chaps. 2–3). Still, although at his commissioning he was forewarned of his audience's adamant hostility, in actuality he became the cynosure of exiles in his hometown, Tel Abib: indeed, he complains that they flock to him as to an entertainment but fail to act on his admonitions (chap. 33).

To the exiles he addressed calls for repentance. For their conversion he propounded the doctrine of the eternal availability of divine forgiveness, thus countering the despair that was bound to follow on acceptance of his interpretation of events. For if Israel indeed lay under a generations-long accumulation of guilt—Ezekiel once went so far as to describe Jerusalem as congenitally depraved (*Ez.* 16:3–45)—so overwhelming it caused God to forsake his Temple and his land, what future had they to look forward to? Ezekiel met despair with the twin doctrines of the moral autonomy of each generation—that is, the nonbequeathal of guilt from fathers to sons and God's ever-readiness to accept the penitent wicked. God judges each according to his own ways, not those of his ancestors, and he judges him as he is now, not as he was yesterday. Hence each generation may hope for reconciliation with God, and anyone can unburden himself of a guilty past by renouncing it and turning a new leaf. God does not desire the death of the wicked person but his or her repentance, so that they may live (chaps. 18, 33).

As Jerusalem suffered under the protracted siege that was to end in its fall (in 587/6), Ezekiel began to deliver his oracles against foreign nations; the first is dated in 587, the last in 585 (except for an appendix dated to 571, in chap. 29). Judah's small neighbors, formerly co-rebels with it, abandoned it in the crisis. Some gloated over its fall; Edom seized the occasion to appropriate some of Judah's territory. These countries are denounced for their hubris and their show of contempt toward their downfallen neighbor, and their own ruin is predicted (chaps. 25–28). On the other hand, Egypt, which had encouraged Judah to revolt, is condemned to temporary exile and permanent degradation for having proven to be a "reedy staff" in the hour of need, collapsing when Judah leaned on it (chaps. 29–32). When God punishes his own so ruthlessly, the perfidy and contemptuousness of their neighbors will not be ignored. Some of the most vivid passages in the book occur in these prophecies: a unique list of the Phoenecian trade (Tyre's imports and exports and the nations with which it traded); a mythical depiction of the king of Tyre as the denizen of Paradise, expelled from it for his sin; and a picture of the underworld realm of the dead receiving Pharaoh and his defeated army.

The fall of Jerusalem gave rise to a new concern: the only nation on earth that acknowledged the one true God (however imperfectly) had suffered a crushing defeat on the field and the cream of its population had, for a second time, been deported. However justified these punishments were in terms of Israel's covenant with God, to the world they could only signify the humiliation of Israel's God—or so at least Ezekiel portrayed it in chapter 36. The extreme measures taken to punish Israel for flouting God (in Ezekiel's words, for "profaning God's name") resulted in a still greater "profanation": the nations pointed to the exiles and jeered, "These are the Lord's people and from his land they have come forth!" It followed as an ironbound consequence that God must now vindicate his authority by restoring Israel to its homeland and so redeem his reputation. This key idea of chapter 36 is the motive of the rhapsodic restoration prophecies of chapters 34–39. All is done for the greater glory of God: Israel's "dry bones" are vivified and the miraculously re-created people are gathered into their land; the former two kingdoms (Israel and Judah) are united under the rule of a new David; the land is blessed with peace and unprecedented fertility. The crowning transformation is in the very nature of the Israelites: their "heart of stone" will be replaced with a "heart of flesh." God's spirit will animate them to observe his laws effortlessly, thus averting forever the recurrence of the terrible cycle of sin, punishment, exile, and profanation of God's name among humans. Moreover, because the restoration of Israel will not be for their sake, but for the sake of God's name (reputation), it will not depend on Israel's taking the initiative to reform itself but will happen at God's initiative. Israel's self-recrimination and remorse over its evil past will follow, not precede, its salvation (chap. 36). To impress his sovereignty finally on the minds of all, God will, after restoring Israel, engineer an attack on them by the barbarian Gog of Magog. Attracted by the prospect of plundering the prospering, undefended cities of Israel, Gog and the armies mustered from the far north under his banner will descend on them, only to be miraculously routed and massacred. Then all will realize that the misfortune that befell Israel was punishment for their sins (not a sign of God's weakness!), and their restoration, a "sanctification of God's name" in the sight of all humankind (chaps. 38–39).

The last major section of the book is legislative and prescriptive: a unique series of revisions of certain Israelite institutions designed to maintain the sanctity of the Temple precinct. The section consists of a vision of the future Temple climaxed by God's return to it (chaps. 41–43:12), and instructions for righting past misconduct in relation to it so that it would never again be abandoned (chaps. 43:13–48).

The future Temple is envisaged as laid out with a well-defined gradation of sacred areas, access to which is rigorously controlled in accordance with grades of personal holiness. The corps of Temple servants is restructured, with a sharp division between priests and nonpriests, the latter being strictly excluded from access to the highest grades of holy space. The role that the future king (archaically entitled "chief") is to play in worship is so defined as to prevent him, a layman, from trespassing on the areas of highest sanctity (as preexilic kings were accustomed to do), while at the same time making allowances for his superior dignity. New periodic sacrifices of purgation are instituted to keep the inevitable contamination of the sanctuary by the natural impurities and inadvertencies of the people from accumulating dangerously. Finally, the land is redistributed among the ingathered population, archaically defined as the twelve tribes, with boundaries derived from the ancient idea of the promised "land of Canaan" rather than from the actual boundaries of the land under the monarchy. The disposition of the tribes is such as to isolate the Temple from contact with the profane by cordons of sacred personnel surrounding it. God will dwell forever in his holy city, renamed accordingly *YHVH Shammah,* "The Lord is there" (replacing *Yerushalayim,* "Jerusalem").

LATER INFLUENCES. In later times, Ezekiel's justification of the collapse of Israel influenced the revision of the old history of the monarchy (the *Book of Kings*) undertaken under Persian rule embodied in the *Book of Chronicles.* The Chronicler's story of the conduct of the last Judahite kings (from Manasseh on) shows the effect of Ezekiel's doctrines with particular clarity. On the other hand, Ezekiel's rhapsodic descriptions of restoration were far removed from the modest dimensions and achievements of returned exiles. And their mood of repentance (surely owing at least in part to Ezekiel's teachings) kindled in them a resolve to adhere scrupulously to the ancient covenant laws of Moses rather than to Ezekiel's newfangled revisions (which anyway supposed a very different geodemographic reality from that of the postexilic community). Ezekiel had to give way before Moses, and his program was relegated to messianic utopia. His vision of the divine "chariot" (chaps. 7, 10) was to play a decisive role in Jewish mystical experience from Second Temple times onward.

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MOSHE GREENBERG (1987)
Revised Bibliography

EZRA (late fifth and early fourth centuries BCE) was known for his restoration of the Law of Moses in the postexilic period and is generally regarded as the founder of Judaism.

LITERARY SOURCES. The account of Ezra's activity is contained in *Ezra* and in *Nehemiah* 8–9. The history covered by *Ezra* is a continuation from *2 Chronicles* and is probably by the same author. It begins with the edict of Cyrus (538 BCE), which permitted the return of exiles from Babylonia to their homeland and the chance to rebuild the Temple. Using some independent sources whose chronology is not clearly understood, the author attempts to trace the history of the Jerusalem community down to the time of Ezra (Heb., 'Ezra'), which begins only in chapter 7. Within chapters 7 to 9 there is a first-person narration by Ezra, often considered to be a separate source, "the memoirs of Ezra," although it cannot easily be separated from its context in 7:1–26 and chapter 10, where Ezra is referred to in the third person. It appears to have been composed after the style of the so-called Nehemiah memoirs.

On the basis of the Greek version (*1 Esd.*) it appears that *Nehemiah* 8 originally followed and was a part of *Ezra,* so that the climax of the history was Ezra's reading of the law book to the Jerusalem community. A later editor who wanted to make the activity of Ezra and Nehemiah appear contemporary transposed this part of the history to its present position. *Nehemiah* 9, the prayer of confession of Ezra, also fits badly as a continuation of chapter 8 and is a later addition. At any rate the biblical portrait of Ezra is not a contemporary record but, in my view, is Hellenistic in date and must be used with caution in any historical reconstruction of the period.

BIBLICAL TRADITION. Ezra's introduction, in *Ezra* 7:1–5, identifies him as a priest and gives him a pedigree back to Aaron. But he is especially known as "the scribe of the law of God." The account indicates that he was given a special commission by the Persian king, Artaxerxes, to promulgate the Law of Moses not only in Judah but in the whole of Syria-Palestine. He also received considerable monetary support for the cult in Jerusalem. Ezra set out from Babylon with five thousand companions and great treasure and arrived in Jerusalem safely five months later. Shortly after he returned to Jerusalem he discovered that many Jews had intermarried with non-Jews, and after much soul-searching he set about to dissolve all the mixed marriages. In the second year after his arrival, in the seventh month, at Sukkot, Ezra brought forth the Law and read it to the people in a great public ceremony (*Neh.* 8). This is now followed (in *Neh.* 9) by a fast on the twenty-fourth day of the seventh month, in which Ezra leads the people in a great confession of sins and a covenant renewal (*Neh.* 10) by which the people commit themselves to the support of the sanctuary, the observance of the Sabbath, and other laws of the Torah.

There are various layers in the biblical tradition concerning Ezra. The one that identifies Ezra as the scribe who brought the Law to the restored community in Jerusalem is clearly the oldest tradition. Many scholars believe that this tradition reflects the introduction of the Pentateuch into, and its formal acceptance by, the Jewish community in Jerusalem. For this reason the figure of Ezra represents a new era in which the community stands under the Law and its interpreters and becomes, in this view, a religion "of the book," so that it is often regarded as the beginning of Judaism. However, any notion of a radical discontinuity with the religion of the Jews in the late monarchy or exilic periods is quite unwarranted, because the Pentateuch itself embodies much from these periods.

Nevertheless, the mission of Ezra is now seen in the Bible through the eyes of the Chronicler, who considered his presentation of the Law as the climax of his history, and later Judaism did much to further enhance the significance of this event. Already within the biblical account the later levels of the Ezra tradition that portray him as a judge and reformer (*Ezr.* 9–10), or as an intercessor and covenant mediator (*Neh.* 9–10), cast him more and more in the image of a second Moses.

HISTORICAL PROBLEMS. The exact dating of Ezra's activity within the Persian period and especially his relationship to his near contemporary Nehemiah have long been matters of disagreement among scholars. The *Book of Ezra* dates the beginning of Ezra's activity to the seventh year, and Nehemiah to the twentieth year, of Artaxerxes. If these dates refer to the same king, then Ezra would be prior to Nehemiah, as the present biblical tradition suggests. But there is reason to believe that Ezra should be dated to the reign of Artaxerxes II (404–359 BCE) which would put him about 397 BCE, well after Nehemiah. Ezra's return seems to presuppose a revitalized Jerusalem community with protective walls (*Ezr.* 9:9), while Nehemiah seems to know nothing of the large band of exiles that returned with Ezra. It also seems most unlikely that Ezra waited thirteen years after his arrival before promulgating his law if this was his primary commission. Another possibility is to view Ezra as coming during Nehemiah's second term of office, in the thirty-seventh year of Artaxerxes I, but this involves a textual emendation for which there is little justification.

Another area of debate is how to understand the law book that Ezra brought to Jerusalem from the Babylonian exile. Was it a particular part of the Pentateuch, such as the so-called Priestly code, or was it a more complete form of the Torah, much as it is today? And just exactly what was the nature of Ezra's commission from the Persian court and the scope of his authority? The way in which one answers these questions greatly affects one's understanding of the history of the restoration and the development and interpretation of the Pentateuch.

THE APOCALYPSE OF EZRA. Also known as *4 Ezra,* the *Apocalypse of Ezra* is a Jewish work of about 100 CE that presents Ezra (also called Salathiel) as a prophet who experiences dreams and visions of an apocalyptic nature in the thirtieth year after the destruction of Jerusalem. In addition, just like Moses he hears the voice of God speaking from a thornbush and then withdraws from the people for forty days to receive a revelation from God. This revelation includes not only the Law of Moses that had been lost in the destruction of Jerusalem but also the complete twenty-four books of the Hebrew scriptures and seventy secret books for the "wise." Like Moses, Ezra also experienced an assumption to heaven.

How this earlier Ezra the prophet was thought to relate to the later Ezra the scribe is problematic. The common element is Ezra's association with the Law of Moses and his portrayal as a second Moses. This seems to have been carried to the point where in one form of the tradition, Ezra, like Moses, never got back to the land of Palestine. This extracanonical form of the tradition received great elaboration in the medieval period.

EZRA IN JUDAISM, CHRISTIANITY, AND ISLAM. The Jewish *aggadah* regarded Ezra with great honor. He was not just a priest but the high priest and a second Moses. He was especially revered for restoring the Law of Moses, which had been forgotten, and for establishing the regular public reading of the Law. He is also credited with setting up schools for the study of the Law. The law that Ezra brought to the people was not only the written Law of Moses but included the unwritten law as well. In addition, he is also credited with writing parts of *Chronicles* and the *Book of Psalms* and is identified by some as the prophet Malachi.

Following *4 Ezra* early Christian authors regarded Ezra as a prophet who under inspiration recovered all the ancient scriptures that had been destroyed by the Babylonian invasion—not just the Law of Moses. Some extracanonical works such as *Enoch* are also attributed to his prophetic recollection. Whether there were two Ezras, the prophet and the priest-scribe, or just one was a matter of debate.

The Qurʾān contains only one curious remark about Ezra, that the Jews believed him to be the son of God (*sūrah* 9:30). The basis for this statement is not clear and not reflected in any extant Jewish source.

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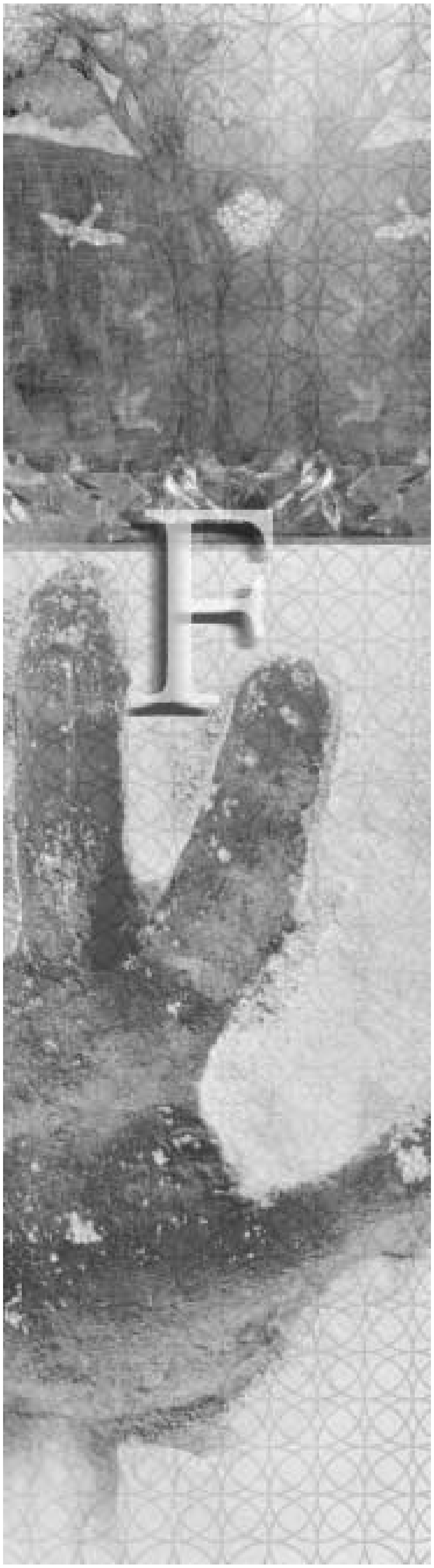

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FACKENHEIM, EMIL (1916–2003) is best known for his sustained commitment to refashion Judaism in the shadow of the Nazi holocaust. He was born in Halle, Germany, on June 22, 1916. In 1935 he moved to Berlin where he entered the rabbinical program at the *Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums*; he also began a degree in philosophy at the University of Halle. Fackenheim's academic career in Germany was interrupted by *Kristallnacht* and internment for several months in Sachsenhausen. In the spring of 1940 he fled to Aberdeen, Scotland, and matriculated in a degree program in philosophy at the university. A year later Fackenheim and other refugees were interred in camps and then dispersed throughout the British Empire.

Fackenheim traveled by ship to Canada, spent months in a camp in Sherbrooke, Ontario, and was eventually released, whereupon he went directly to the University of Toronto and was accepted into the doctoral program in philosophy. Fackenheim received his degree in 1945 with a dissertation on medieval Arabic philosophy and its classical antecedents. From 1943 to 1948 he served as rabbi for congregation Anshe Shalom in Hamilton, Ontario. Invited to teach philosophy at the University of Toronto in 1948, he remained there until 1983, when he retired as University Professor. He and his family then immigrated to Israel in 1983. He taught at the Institute for Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem for several years. Fackenheim died in Jerusalem on September 19, 2003.

FACKENHEIM'S 614TH COMMANDMENT. In the postwar period Fackenheim pursued two intellectual interests. First, he began a philosophical examination of faith and reason from Kant (1724–1804) to Kierkegaard (1813–1855), with special attention to Hegel (1770–1831). Second, he explored the role of revelation in modern culture, in particular dealing with Jewish faith, autonomy, the challenge of naturalism and secularism, and the defense of revelation in the thought of Martin Buber (1878–1965) and Franz Rosenzweig (1886–1929).

Until 1966 Fackenheim largely avoided dealing with the Nazi assault on Jews and Judaism and the atrocities of the death camps. On March 26, 1967, at a symposium titled

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CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT CORNER. Stone relief of the Buddha's footprints on a pillar at the Great Stupa in Sāñcī, India. *[©Adam Woolfit/Corbis]*; *Saint Francis Preaching to the Birds* by Giotto di Bondone (c. 1267–1337). S. Francesco, Assisi, Italy. *[©Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; The hand of Fāṭima, an Islamic good luck symbol. *[©Bernard and Catherine Desjeux/Corbis]*; Fifteenth- to sixteenth-century bronze of Atropos, Greek goddess of fate. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. *[©Erich Lessing/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Thirteenth-century French painting of God creating the universe. *[©Bettmann/Corbis]* .

"Jewish Values in the Post–Holocaust Future," convened by the American Jewish Committee and organized by the editor of its journal *Judaism*, Steven Schwarzschild, Fackenheim first formulated and presented his imperative for authentic Jewish response to the Holocaust, what he called the 614th commandment: "The authentic Jew of today is forbidden to hand Hitler yet another, posthumous victory." He elaborated the reasoning that led to this imperative and its hermeneutical content in "Jewish Faith and the Holocaust," which appeared in *Commentary* and, in a slightly different form, in the introduction to his collection of essays, *Quest for Past and Future* (1968). His argument appeared in its most developed form in the third chapter of *God's Presence in History*, published in 1970 and based on his 1968 Deems Lectures at New York University.

In these central writings, Fackenheim argues that although no intellectual response—historical, political, theological, or psychological—to the evil of Auschwitz is satisfactory, an existential response is necessary. But neither philosophy nor theology is capable of framing what a genuine response should be. One can and must turn to actual lived experience, during and after the event, to grasp how Jews have responded and hence how one ought to respond. Such ongoing Jewish life, Fackenheim claims, can be interpreted as a response to a sense of necessity, and this necessity takes the shape of a duty to oppose all that Nazism sought to accomplish in its hatred of Jews and Judaism and in its rejection of human dignity. Although for secular Jews, such a duty has no ground but is accepted as forceful without one, for believing Jews, the only ground that is possible is the voice of a commanding God. Hence for them, it has the status of a divine command, alongside but not superseding the other, traditional 613 biblical commandments. It is, in his famous formulation, a 614th commandment.

Fackenheim's route to this imperative of resistance to Nazi purposes capitalized on several crucial insights. One was that after Auschwitz, as he put it, even Hegel would not be a Hegelian, that is, that Auschwitz was a case of evil for evil's sake and was therefore inassimilable into any prior conceptual system. Even the most systematic philosophic thought was historically situated and was ruptured by the horrors of the death camps. The second was his commitment to existential–dialectical thinking about the human condition and to its hermeneutical character. The third was the recognition that although Auschwitz threatened all prior systems, ways of life, and beliefs, Judaism must and could survive exposure to it. The work of Elie Wiesel (b. 1928) and Wiesel himself, a survivor and a novelist, confirmed this hope and this realization.

TO MEND THE WORLD. In the 1970s Fackenheim's thought extended the lines of thinking summarized above. On the one hand, he applied this framework to a variety of themes—most notably to the State of Israel, its reestablishment and defense, but also to the belief in God, the relationship between Jews and Christians, and the necessity of struggling against all attempts to diminish human dignity and the value of human life (see essays collected in his *The Jewish Return Into History* and selections in Morgan [ed.], *The Jewish Thought of Emil Fackenheim*). On the other hand, he turned to important philosophical problems with his existential and hermeneutical argument. The crucial one had to do with the possibility of performing the imperative of resistance or, as one might put it, the possibility of confronting the radical threat of rupture and not giving way to total despair. This was to become the central problem of the book he always took to be his magnum opus, *To Mend the World*, first published in 1982. In the earlier period, culminating in 1970, Fackenheim had argued from the necessity of the commandment or imperative to its possibility, either on Kantian grounds, that duty entails the freedom to perform it, or on Rosenzweigian grounds, that along with the commandments that God grants in an act of grace, he also gives humankind out of the same love the freedom to perform them. By the late 1970s Fackenheim had come to see how both responses failed to respect the victims of the Nazi horrors. In the crucial chapter of *To Mend the World*, he systematically and dialectically explores the agency of evil and its victims, in order to arrive at a moment of lucid understanding that grasps the whole of horror and reacts in opposition to it with surprise, and he confirms this intellectual grasp with an emblematic case of a victim of the atrocities who both sees clearly what she is being subjected to, what the evil is, and senses a duty to oppose it in her life. This episode constitutes an ontological ground of resistance. Judaism, through the idea of a cosmic rupture and a human act that respects and yet opposes it, what is called in the Jewish mystical tradition (*Qabbalah*) *tikkun olam*, provides philosophy with a concept essential to grasp this moment of horrified surprise and recovery from it, the possibility of genuine post-Holocaust life. *To Mend the World* proceeds to apply these lessons in three domains—philosophy, Christianity, and Jewish existence—in each case locating an emblematic case of *tikkun* (mending or repair) that respects the evil of Auschwitz as a total and unqualified rupture and yet finds a route to hope and recovery.

In the last two decades of his life, Fackenheim once more extended the lines of this argument: with a book on the Bible and how it ought to be read by Jews and Christians, together, in a post–Holocaust world (*The Jewish Bible after the Holocaust*, 1990); with a survey of Jewish belief and practice of Jews in the 1980s (*What Is Judaism?*, 1987); and with a number of essays on the State of Israel as a paradigmatically genuine response to the Nazi assault, that is, as a unique blending of religious purposes and secular self-reliance, combining a commitment to a homeland for Jews against the most extreme assault and to its defense.

Fackenheim's philosophical commitments were deeply immersed in existential and concrete realities, most notably the historicity of philosophical and religious thought, the hermeneutical and situated character of human existence, and the unprecedented evil of Nazis and the death camps.

Auschwitz led him to expose philosophy, culture, and religion unconditionally to historical refutation; yet his deepest yearnings were to find continued hope and to avoid despair, to appreciate the necessity of Jewish life and the defense of human value and dignity. These dispositions, however, were what one might call "rationally defended yearnings" and hence necessities (duties and obligations) only in a deeply contextual sense. In this respect, Fackenheim bears some similarity to the contemporary Anglo-American philosophers such as Charles Taylor, Hilary Putnam, Richard Rorty, and even the French philosopher Emmanuel Levinas (1906–1955), although except for Levinas, the motivation for Fackenheim's philosophical and theological work was the experience of Auschwitz and not theoretical considerations. In this respect, in the twentieth century, his thought is distinctive and significant and in Jewish life and thought virtually unique.

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FA-HSIEN SEE FAXIAN

FAIRIES.

Fay, the old word for "fairy," is thought to come from the Latin *fata,* which signifies the Fates, supernatural women who appear beside the cradle of a newborn infant to decide its future. The fairies invited to Sleeping Beauty's christening are an echo of this belief. During the Middle Ages *fairy* meant the state of enchantment and the land of enchanted beings as well as those who live in it.

Fairies are found under various names in many countries, but they are more typical of Europe and Asia than of the Americas and Africa. To some extent their social organization reflects the world of humans. In *Irish Fairy and Folk Tales* (1893) the poet William Butler Yeats distinguished between trooping fairies and solitary fairies. The trooping fairies appear in medieval Arthurian legend and romance and are most popular in the literature of Elizabethan England; since that time stories about them have ceased to be written. They are handsome, aristocratic, and beautifully dressed, and they take part in the Fairy Ride. Like their human counterparts, they hunt and hawk, trotting in procession behind their king and queen, who ride white horses decorated with silver bells. Their fairy realm, which is centered on their royal court, is noted for the excellence of its music, dancing, and feasting as well as for the beauty of its women. The Irish Tuatha Dé Danann ("people of the goddess Danu") are trooping fairies; they are immortal and live in Tír na n'Og, the Land of Youth.

The nonaristocratic, solitary fairies are described as ugly and often ominous and ill-natured. Some are engaged in trade, like the Irish leprechaun shoemaker, who is quite harmless. A third category of fairy comprises those who live in family groups. They work the land, hold their own markets, and visit human fairs.

Nature fairies are spirits of streams, lakes, and trees. The Russian *rusalki* are water nymphs, who take the form of young maidens. Dryads are tree spirits. So are oak men; hence there is a saying, "Fairy folks are in old oaks." In England, hawthorn is haunted by the fairies, especially if it grows near fairy hills, and the Gooseberry Wife, in the form of a great hairy caterpillar, stands guard over the fruit bushes.

Tutelary fairies, the family guardians and domestic spirits, look after the fortunes of a particular household. The Scottish MacLeods on the island of Skye were given a fairy flag by their supernatural guardian. Germans call their house spirit *der Kobold* ("gnome"), an unreliable creature whose name survives in the modern *cobalt.* (German miners called this slightly magnetic element after the famous sprite because they found it tiresome and difficult to use.) Danes have their *nis;* the French their *esprit follet;* the Spaniards their *duende;* and the Faeroese Islanders, in the North Atlantic, their *niagruisar.*

Russians call their domestic spirits *domovois,* after *dom* ("house"). Legend says that these creatures were rebellious spirits who opposed God and so were thrown down from heaven, falling on people's roofs and into their yards. They are amiable and live in the warmth near the hearth. Because it is considered important to please the *domovoi,* peasants leave egg pancakes for him on the threshing floor. When a peasant family moves, they put a piece of bread beside the stove in hopes that the *domovoi* will come with them. In his autobiography *Childhood* (1913), the Russian writer Maxim Gorky describes how his family moved from their house: His grandmother took an old shoe, held it under the stove, and called to the household spirit, asking him to ride in the shoe and bring the family good luck in their new home.

English brownies are also associated with the hearth. They are active at night and do work that the servants have neglected: cleaning and drawing water for the house, tending farm animals, reaping, mowing, threshing, and churning butter. Families can leave food, such as a bowl of cream or little cakes spread with honey for the brownies, but direct gifts, such as money or clothes, will drive the spirit away.

Domestic spirits can be very tiresome. A folktale well known all over Europe tells of a farmer so bothered by the pranks of a boggart (or mischievous brownie) that he decides to move. The family packs their household belongings and loads the cart. As they are leaving, a voice from inside the milk churn says, "Yes, we're moving!" It is the boggart. The family gives up and decides to stay, for what would be the point of moving if the creature was coming too? In other versions of the story the boggart immigrates with the family to the United States.

The most tragic tutelary fairy is the banshee, an Irish and Highland Scottish spirit of death. The word means a woman (*ban*) of the fairy folk (*sídh,* pronounced "shee"). This apparition materializes when someone is about to die. In Scotland the banshee is seen washing the doomed person's graveclothes or bloodstained garmets and can be heard wailing and lamenting, her eyes red with tears. Mélusine, daughter of the fairy Pressina, became the banshee of the house of Lusignan in France. When the family was wiped out and its castle fell to the crown, she appeared, foretelling the deaths of the kings of France.

Some supernatural creatures are closely associated with a particular historical era or geographic area. The gnomes of Europe, for example, were a product of the ancient Hermetic and Neoplatonic doctrine from which medieval medicine and science derived. According to medieval thought, all mortal creatures are a blend of earth, air, fire, and water, and the four elemental beings are gnomes (who inhabit the earth), sylphs (who inhabit the air), salamanders (who inhabit fire), and nereids (who inhabit water). The *Oxford English Dictionary* suggests that the word *gnome* is an elision of the Latin *genomus* ("earth dweller"). Paracelsus (1493–1541), the Swiss physician and alchemist, provides in his *De nymphus* the first description of gnomes as elemental beings of the earth. According to tradition, gnomes live underground and are treasure guardians. Also known as dwarfs, they are skilled metalworkers, supplying medieval knights with armor and weapons that they themselves forge. They are also often associated with mines.

The knockers are said to live in the tin mines of England's Cornwall. They are friendly creatures and will knock on the mine walls to indicate veins of ore. An anti-Semitic legend claims that they were the ghosts of Jews who had been sent to work the mines as a punishment for taking part in the Crucifixion. Richard, earl of Cornwall (1200–1272), is said to have put the Jews to work in the Cornish tin mines, and Robert Hunt, in his *Popular Romances of the West of England* (1865), claims that the tin mines were farmed out to the Jews in the thirteenth century. But Jewish merchants had very little connection with the tin trade, and no evidence supports these improbable suggestions.

Pixies are another group of fairies belonging to English west-country tradition. They are found in Somerset, Devonshire, and Cornwall. Anna Eliza Bray first brought them to the attention of the public in a series of letters to the poet Robert Southey that were published under the title *The Borders of the Tavy and the Tamar* (1836). The chief characteristic of pixies is that they mislead travelers; as recently as 1961, a woman claimed to have been misled by pixies in a wood near Budleigh Salterton. Local tradition says that pixies are the souls of those who died before Christ was born or of unbaptized children.

Closely related to the pixie and its habit of leading travelers astray is the will-o'-the-wisp (Fr., *le feu follet;* Ger., *das Irrlicht*), also called jack-o'-lantern or *ignis fatuus* ("foolish fire"). This sprite appears in the folklore of many countries and is often an omen of death. In England the will-o'-the-wisp is also identified with the mischievous sprite Puck, or Robin Goodfellow. Traditional legends about this spirit who lures folks to their death in the bog may be an attempt to account for marsh gas, which emanates from rotting organic matter and is ghostly in appearance.

Other malevolent spirits are also linked with the environment. The malicious yarthkins of Lincolnshire, England, another damp area, disappeared when the fens were drained.

The English *goblin,* or *hobgoblin,* is a generic term for evil spirits. It is difficult to distinguish between goblins and imps, however. Originally *imp* referred to an offshoot or a cutting, but in its sense as a supernatural creature it means a small demon, an offshoot of Satan. In England the Puritans thought all fairy creatures were devils, and thus the preacher John Bunyan, in his famous book *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678), numbers the hobgoblin and the "foul fiend" among the forces of evil to be resisted.

Elves reached England from Norse mythology, where they were known as *huldre* folk, closely resembling fairies. The girl elves are very beautiful but they are hollow behind and have long cow's tails. Trolls are another Norse group of supernatural beings. Originally they were thought of as giant ogres, but in later Swedish and Danish tradition they become dwarfs who live in hills and caverns. Like the German dwarfs, they are fine craftsmen and treasure guardians, noted for their stupidity. In the Shetland Islands, north of Scotland, where Scandinavian influence is strong, these beings are called *trows.*

Not all mischievous, supernatural creatures are of ancient origin. The gremlin, a supernatural being who causes trouble for pilots and aircrews, dates from World War I. An explanation for human error, flight fatigue, and high-altitude pressures, the gremlin may originate from the Old English word *gremian* ("to vex").

The relationships that fairies enjoy with human beings has varied considerably. Some can be very helpful; such helpfulness is said to be how the MacCrimmons, the most distinguished Scottish pipers, learned their skill. As mentioned, guardian spirits look after the families in their care, and brownies do household chores. But they become malevolent if badly treated—or simply disappear. Anybody who spies on them is severely punished.

In folk tradition human beings are sometimes abducted by the fairies. Thomas the Rhymer (Thomas of Erceldoune), the poet and prophet, lived in thirteenth-century England. His tale is told in *The Ballad of True Thomas* and by Sir Walter Scott in *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802). Legend says that Thomas received the gift of prophecy from the Queen of Elfland, who loved him and took him away to live with her for seven years.

Stories of fairy brides are common and usually end in tragedy. The lovely creature marries a mortal and imposes some taboo on him. When it is broken, the fairy bride returns to fairyland, deserting her husband and children. Seal-maidens and swan-maidens are usually captured against their will by the theft of their skin or feathers. As soon as they can retrieve the stolen item, they escape.

When a mortal visits fairyland, the result is often equally tragic. The visitor cannot escape and becomes the victim of the supernatural passage of time, whereby one day represents hundreds of years. King Herla was able to return home with his knights, but when they dismounted they crumbled into dust because they had been away for three hundred years.

Although fairies lead independent lives, there are many examples of their dependence on mortals. Narratives tell of midwives summoned to help a fairy in labor and of fairies anxious to possess human children. Stories of the theft of babies continue from the Middle Ages to the present time. Typically the fairies steal an unbaptized child and leave an ugly fairy baby in its place. If the changeling is surprised, it will speak, revealing its true identity; then it can be driven away. Various methods may be used to trick the spirit, such as serving him beer brewed in eggshells. In German tradition the creature would exclaim, "I am as old as the forests of Bohemia, and I've never seen beer brewed in an eggshell before."

These legends conceal much human suffering and cruelty to children. Malformed babies were put over a fire in order to pressure the fairies into returning the supposedly stolen child. Such cases have been recorded as late as the early twentieth century in Ireland. Until recently it was thought that a defect in a child resulted from a defect in the parents. Basically, changelings were sickly, backward, or deformed children. Simple people, unwilling to accept that such a child could be theirs, maintained that the fairies had stolen the real baby and left this wretched thing in its place.

Belief in fairies thus has an aetiologic function: It provides an explanation for mysterious objects and events that are otherwise not understood. The remains of earlier civilizations, which puzzled the uneducated in days gone by, are another obvious example. The ancient Pictish areas of Scotland contain the remains of brochs, round, hill-shaped farmhouses with stone walls and a turf covering. These structures are often referred to as fairy knowes. Burial mounds have also been linked with fairyland. Sudden, disabling illness, such as that caused by a stroke, was traditionally considered to be the result of an elf shot, a wound from one of the flint arrows that are found in low-lying areas, and many Anglo-Saxon charms meant to protect against such attacks have been preserved. Various other illnesses whose origin seemed puzzling centuries ago, such as a slipped disk, rheumatism, and anything that deforms the body, were attributed to invisible blows from the little creatures. Paralysis, skin disease, wasting illnesses such as tuberculosis, and animal disorders such as swine fever and brucellosis have all been blamed on the fairies.

Unusual topographical features are also sometimes attributed to fairies. Those curious, dark green circles that appear on grassy lawns and meadows, often surrounded by a circle of mushrooms, are known as fairy rings, and it is considered very unlucky to damage them in any way. They are in fact caused by *Marasmius oreades,* a type of fungus, but people believe that they are spots where the fairies dance.

Sometimes supernatural origins are attributed to exceptionally large or beautiful objects. There are various stories of a cup stolen from the fairies. The "Luck of Eden Hall" in Cumberland, England, is a lovely green glass goblet, a talisman that was supposed to preserve the Eden family's fortunes. Legend says that the goblet was snatched from the fairies by a servant; if it broke, the family would be destroyed. Eden Hall was pulled down in 1934, but the "Luck" is preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.

In the thirteenth-century Church of Saint Mary at Frensham in Surrey, England, stands a huge caldron, measuring one yard across. Local tradition says that it was borrowed from the fairies who lived on nearby Borough Hill and was never returned. Probably it was employed in parish feasts and celebrations and then this early usage was forgotten.

Sightings and eyewitness accounts of fairies are common. A striking example was provided by Robert Kirk (1644–1692), a folklorist who became the subject of a fairy tale. Kirk was a Gaelic scholar and a minister of the Scottish church. Evidently his parishioners disapproved of his researches in the supernatural, for when he died and his body was found lying beside a fairy knowe, rumor said that he was living with the fairies inside it. This legend is recorded by Scott in his *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* (1830). Kirk's own account of fairy beliefs in the Scottish Highlands, *The Secret Commonwealth of Elves, Fauns and Fairies,* was not published until 1815, long after his death. The brilliant and eccentric English painter and poet William Blake (1757–1827) claimed to have seen a fairy funeral. The body, he said, was laid out on a rose leaf and carried in procession by creatures the size and color of grasshoppers.

In Ireland, places once associated with fairies are pointed out and treated with great respect. To interfere with them is thought to bring bad luck. More than once new roads have been rerouted for such a reason. Recently a fairy bush was cut down in front of a Dutch-owned factory in Limerick. Dutch workmen performed the task because local workers refused. When the works closed not long after and well over a thousand jobs were lost, the disaster was blamed on the removal of the fairy bush.

Traditionally, the fairies dress in green. Green is their color, and even today, many people regard it as unlucky and will not wear it, although they no longer remember the reason.

Various theories have been put forward to explain the origins of the fairies. A British tradition suggests that fairies represent memories of an ancient Stone Age race. When the Celts arrived in England from central Europe in about 500 BCE, the earlier inhabitants were driven back into the hills and hid in caves. They lived underground and were so adept at hiding in the woods that they seemed to be invisible. The popular belief that iron provides protection from the fairies is in line with this view, for the Celts possessed iron weapons, whereas the earlier inhabitants used objects of bronze or stone. The many stories of fairies' borrowings and thefts also lend weight to this theory, for it was thought that these earlier inhabitants borrowed grain and implements, and one can easily imagine a conquered people in hiding, creeping anxiously about to see what they could steal or borrow from their conquerors.

Another view suggests that fairies originated as memories of ancient pagan gods and heroes. They are small in stature because their significance has been reduced. Still another theory sees fairies as personified spirits of nature. Modern supporters of this argument believe that spirits fertilize plants and care for flowers. But this explanation excludes other types of fairy, such as the family guardians and the fairy communities with their elaborate social organization. A fourth suggestion is that the fairies are ghosts. Certainly there are many connections between fairies and the realm of the dead: They live in burial mounds, and many are obviously ghosts and are described as such. None of these theories is entirely adequate, and the answer may well lie in a blend of them all, coupled with the natural desire to find an explanation for puzzling phenomena throughout the world.

SEE ALSO Celtic Religion; Demons; Germanic Religion.

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FAITH, in probably the best-known definition of it, is "the assurance of things hoped for, the conviction of things not seen." Although this definition itself comes from the Christian scriptures, specifically from the anonymous epistle to the Hebrews in the New Testament, it can, *mutatis mutandis,* be applied across a broad spectrum of religions and religious traditions. Whether or not the term *faith* appears in those traditions is, at least in part, a matter of how various terms are translated into modern Western languages. More importantly, however, *faith* is used, even in Judaism and Christianity (where it has been the most successfully domesticated), to cover an entire cluster of concepts that are related to one another but are by no means identical. If there is truth in the contention that *faith* is the abstract term with which to describe that attitude of the human mind and spirit of which prayer is the concrete expression, then one or more of these concepts may probably be said to play some part in every religious tradition, and in that sense at least, "faith" may likewise be said to appear there. Hence an enumeration of these discrete concepts, each of them in some way a synonym for *faith,* may serve to provide, if not a logical definition, then at any rate a cumulative description, of it.

FAITH-AS-FAITHFULNESS. In its most fundamental meaning, faith has been defined as faithfulness, and as such, it has been taken as an attribute both of the divine and of believers in the divine. The Latin adjective *pius,* for example, was used in Vergil's *Aeneid* to describe *pius Aeneas* or *pius Achates,* but it also appeared there in such a phrase as *pia numina* to characterize the reciprocal fidelity that the gods manifested in their dealings with human beings; something of both senses, presumably, attached to the word when it became a standard part of the official title of the Roman emperor, most familiarly in the case of Antoninus Pius (r. 138–161 CE). *Pius* went on having both meanings also in postclassical Latin, as the usage of the "Dies Irae" attests. The reciprocity implied in the concept of faith when predicated of human social relations, where (as in the notion of "keeping faith" with someone) "faith" has become almost synonymous with "loyalty," has carried over likewise into its use for the divine-human relation. Wherever the gods were said to promise something in that relation, *faith* would seem to be an appropriate term for their keeping or fulfilling the promise. Conversely—and much more customarily—it was the appropriate term for the loyalty or "fealty" (that English word is indeed derived, via medieval French, from the Latin *fidelitas*) that the gods in turn rightly expected of mortals. In those religions in which the initiates received a mark on their body as a sign of their special bond with the divine, these marks have often been seen as a pledge and a reminder to those who wore them that they were expected to remain faithful to the terms of that special bond. The consequences of a breach of faith-as-faithfulness formed the basis for practices of discipline, punishment, and in most traditions possible reinstatement, though only after a period of purgation and testing (see "The Community of Faith," below). Even where the other connotations of "faith" discussed below have appeared to predominate, this emphasis on faith-as-faithfulness, both divine and human, has never been absent, pertaining as it does to the very concept of adhering to the practices, structures, obligations, or beliefs of any particular way of having faith. When it has been divorced from some or all of those other connotations, however, faith-as-faithfulness could all too easily be reduced to the formalism and external propriety that the prophets and critics in many religious traditions have attacked.

FAITH-AS-OBEDIENCE. Faith as faithfulness has expressed itself not only in loyalty but in obedience, yet obedience has meant even more than faithfulness. The precise content of such obedience has varied enormously with the content of what was perceived to have been the divine will or law. Obedience, therefore, carried both liturgical and moral connotations. An imperative to reenact, periodically or once in a lifetime, the acts of the divine model required the obedient and meticulous observance of the demands that those acts had placed upon the believer. Initiation into the faith involved learning the specific methods of such ritual observance, with rites of passage frequently serving as the occasion for such learning. Where the divine will was conceived of as having laid down rules not only for ritual actions but for ethics, the obedience of faith meant moral behavior in conformity with divine commands; thus in Hinduism, *dharma* as moral law required righteous conduct. Ordinarily there was no explicit antithesis between ethics and ritual action, which together were the content of authentic obedience, often enjoined in the same gnomic saying or story. But the declaration of the prophet Samuel in the Hebrew scriptures, "Has the Lord as great delight in burnt offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the Lord? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams" (*1 Sm.* 15:22), articulated the awareness, which other religions have shared with Judaism, that faith-as-obedience was above all a compliance with the moral imperative. Presupposed in those words was the belief, central to Judaism, that the moral imperative had been made known in the historical revelation of the word of God to Moses, and through him to the people of Israel. But they have been no less applicable in those religious and philosophical traditions that have emphasized the inner imperative of conscience rather than the outer imperative of law as the norm of ethical action: Here, too, faith has been above all obedience, in Immanuel Kant's formula, "the recognition of all our duties as divine commands." Even where faith has been defined primarily as trust or as worship or as creed (see below), obedience was inevitably a constitutive element of it.

FAITH AND WORKS. The definition of faith as obedience, and yet as somehow not reducible to obedience, points to the perennial and unavoidable problem of the relation between faith and works. On the one hand, even the most theocentric versions of faith have found themselves obliged to assert, often in self-defense against the charge that they were severing the moral nerve, that they were in fact reinforcing ethics precisely by their emphasis on its vertical dimension: It has been a universal conviction of believers, across religious boundaries, that "faith without works is dead." On the other hand, those religious systems that have appeared to outsiders, whether critical or friendly, to equate faith and works and to be indifferent to any considerations except the "purely" moral ones prove, upon closer examination, to have been no less sensitive to the dialectic between works and faith. Especially since the Enlightenment, Western critics of traditional supernaturalism have taken Confucianism as the ideal of a religion that eschewed metaphysical subtleties to concentrate on the one thing needful, and they have either criticized traditional Western religions for not conforming to that ideal or reinterpreted them in accordance with it. For in the *Analects* Confucius repeatedly professed ignorance about the mysteries of "Heaven" and avoided discussing the miraculous phenomena in which conventional faith had sought manifestations of supernatural power; even the question of personal immortality did not admit of a clear and definite answer. Rather, he concentrated his attention on works of piety and of service to others, preferring generosity to greed and virtue to success. All of this Confucius (like many other religious teachers) called "the way," but it is an unwarranted modern reductionism to see in this attitude a moralistic preoccupation with works alone, at the expense of "faith." For "Heaven," which he said had "infused the virtue that is in me," was the authentic source of the works themselves, as well as the ultimate foundation for the serenity that made the works possible. The faith of Confucius may have been less detailed than that of some teachers in its information about the ontological status of "Heaven" and similar speculative questions, but he knew and expressed a confidence in its providential care as the basis for the works with which he and his disciples were to serve the will of "Heaven."

FAITH-AS-TRUST. Such a confidence in the providential care of "Heaven" underlies the definition of faith-as-trust. In the classic formulation of Martin Luther, "to 'have a god' is nothing else than to trust and believe him with our whole heart," because "it is the trust and faith of the heart alone that makes both God and an idol" (*Large Catechism*). Many of the conventional metaphors for the divine in various traditions, from "rock" and "mountain" to "mother" or "father," have served as representations of the conviction that "the trust and faith of the heart" could appropriately be vested in such an object, and that the divine object would prove worthy of human trust. Conventional practices like divination and prayer may likewise be read as expressions of the belief that the divine will—if it could once be known, or perhaps even if it was mysterious and ultimately unknowable—deserved trust. The historic triad of faith, hope, and love (best known from the New Testament, but paralleled elsewhere) has made it necessary for expositors to clarify the distinction between faith and hope as they were both applied to the expectation of future blessings. However, the definition of faith-as-trust has been a way of focusing such expectation on the reliability of divine providence in both prosperity and failure: For good or ill, the ways of the divine will could be counted on, even though the details of their specific intent might not be discernible at any given moment. Such faith-as-trust even in the inscrutable goodness of the divine order presupposed a pattern of divine guidance in the past, which made it safe to conclude that there would be a continuity of such guidance into the future. Historically as well as psychologically, therefore, it is difficult to conceive of faith-as-trust in the absence of such a pattern, be it the outcome of the individual's own cumulative autobiography or of the history of the community to which the individual has come to belong (or of both). Once established on the basis of this pattern of divine guidance, faith-as-trust has implied that the vicissitudes of the moment could not, or at any rate should not, undermine the confidence that ultimately the object of that trust would be vindicated. As Johann Wolfgang von Goethe said in his autobiography, *Dichtung und Wahrheit,* "Faith is a profound sense of security in regard to both the present and the future; and this assurance springs from confidence." In the choruses of the Greek tragedians or in the reflections of the Muslim mystics or in the discourses of Job, the ambiguities and difficulties of such confidence in the face of concrete reality have served to deepen the understanding of trust and to transform Pollyanna-like optimism into mature faith-as-trust.

FAITH-AS-DEPENDENCE. This combination of mystery and reliability in the divine will, even after that will has made itself known, has introduced into the definition of faith the element of dependence and submission. For if obedience to the divine will was the completion of the circle of faith in the moral realm, dependence on the divine will was the way faith-as-trust affirmed the relation of human weakness to divine power. In those traditions in which the divine has been seen as creator and/or preserver, faith-as-dependence has been, in the first instance, an affirmation of the origin and derivation of humanity and of its world; in those traditions that have tended not to distinguish as sharply between "being" as applied to the divine and as applied to human beings, dependence has been the basis for identifying the locations of both the divine and the human within the "great chain of Being"; in those traditions that have emphasized the recurrence of patterns known to be embedded within the very structure of the cosmos, dependence has made it possible for the community and its individual members to participate, through myth and ritual, in such patterns; and in those traditions that have interpreted human history as the arena in which the will and way of the divine could above all be discerned, dependence has employed the recitation of the decisive events in that history to reinforce the sovereignty of God as the one who was active and knowable within, but always transcendent over, such saving and revelatory events. Thus in Islam (a term that is commonly translated into English as "submission," but that might perhaps as well be translated as "dependence"), the saying of the Qurʾān, "God causes whom he wills to err, and whom he wills he guides; and you shall assuredly be called to account for your doings," gave voice to the Prophet's conviction that the believer must depend on the divine will regardless of circumstances, but that such dependence did not preclude human accountability. In Islam, the Five Pillars of Faith were the specific moral and cultic duties for which every Muslim believer would be held accountable, yet the first two Pillars (the recitation of faith in the oneness of God and the daily prayers) were declarations of the paradoxical affirmation that God was not dependent on creatures or their performance of these duties but would be sovereign regardless. That paradox has been central to the definition of faith-as-dependence in many religious traditions, with theories ranging all the way from thoroughgoing determinism to apparent moralism (for example, to use the terms familiar to the Western tradition, all the way from Calvinism to Pelagianism) as efforts to come to terms with both poles of a dialectical truth.

FAITH-AS-EXPERIENCE. In one way or another, each of these definitions of faith has been derived from faith-as-experience. For even the most transcendent notions of the mystery of the divine will have, by their very act of affirming the mysteriousness of that mystery, laid claim to an experience in which the individual believer or the community tradition has caught a glimpse of just how mysterious the divine could be. Although mystics and prophets—and, following their lead, historians and philosophers of religion—have often spoken of such experiences in isolation from the continuum of human consciousness, that is not, of course, how they have actually occurred. From the biographies of seers and saints it is obvious that these experiences often came in response and in reaction to specific moments of exaltation or depression, in feverish intensity or in the excitement and release of love and death. That inseparability of faith-as-experience from all the other experiences of life has persuaded some observers of the phenomenon to see it as in fact the sublimation and "supernatural" reinterpretation of an essentially "natural" event. Ludwig Feuerbach, both as historian and as philosopher, penetrated deeply into this aspect of faith-as-experience; and Freudian psychology has been especially successful in explaining religious experience in its relation to the totality and complexity of how the human mind has attempted to cope with all the data of its experience. But in opposition to the reductionism that has frequently been represented as the only acceptable conclusion from this quality of faith-as-experience, the philosophical interpretation of religion, systematized perhaps most effectively by Rudolf Otto, has sought to identify what was distinct about this experience even if it was not separate from other experience. Otto's formulation, which has since become all but canonical, is "the experience of the Holy." He called it "a category of interpretation and valuation peculiar to the sphere of religion," and declared that "there is no religion in which it does not live as the real innermost core, and without it no religion would be worthy of the name." Yet precisely because faith's experience of the holy has upon further reflection come to include the recognition of its inherent ineffability, the language of faith has drawn upon other experience—aesthetic, moral, intellectual—to be able to speak about the unspeakable at all.

THE COMMUNITY OF FAITH. In the sacred literatures of religious faith, faith-as-experience has often been described in highly individualistic terms: How the poet or prophet has come to know the holy in personal experience has dominated how he or she has described that experience for others, so that they in turn, one at a time, might also come to share in such an experience and duplicate it for themselves. Individualism of that kind underlay, for example, the recurring definition of religion as "what one does with one's solitariness." Except for passing moments of intense mystical rapture, however, such individualism has been shown to be illusory. And except for occasional glossolalia, the very language in which the individual has spoken about faith-as-experience has been derived from the history of the community, even when that language has been aimed against the present corruption of the community or when it has been directed toward the founding of a new and purer community. When examined in its total context, moreover, it becomes apparent that the individualized experience of faith has repeatedly taken place during or after corporate worship: The setting of the private vision has often been the temple itself; or when the vision has come in the solitude of the desert or in the privacy of the soul, it has come as a consequence of participation in the ritual of the temple or as a response to instruction in the lore of the community's tradition. Just as the distinction between the experience of faith and general human experience has engaged the interest of psychologists of religion, so sociologists of religion have probed the connection (in the formulas of Joachim Wach) between "religion and natural groups," as well as then the "specifically religious organization of society." The community of faith, as coextensive with the family or tribe, has conferred its authority on that social organization in marriage, war, and commerce, and has derived its sanctions from it in turn. Then exclusion from the believing community was identical with ostracism from the natural community. But with the more sophisticated identification of the specific nature of faith has come a distinction between the two, often through the emergence of an *ecclesiola in ecclesia* as a more precisely delineated community of faith or (using a pejorative word in a nonpejorative sense) a "sect."

FAITH AND WORSHIP. The community of faith has always been a community of worship; in fact, worship has been far more explicitly a part of its definition than has faith. Western observers of "primitive" societies have sometimes been prevented from recognizing this, either (as in the case of some Christian missionaries) by too particularistic an understanding of worship or (as in the case of some modern anthropologists) by too reductionistic an understanding of ritual. One of the most important scholarly sources for the new and deeper recognition of faith-as-worship has been the investigation of the interrelation between myth and ritual: Myth came to be read as the validation, in the deeds of the ancients or of the gods, of what the ritual now enjoined upon believers; and ritual acquired a new dimension by being understood as not merely outward ceremonial performed *ex opere operato* but as the repetition in the believers' actions of what the myth recited in words about the divine actions that had made the world and founded the community. Amid an infinite variety of ritual forms and liturgical prescriptions, therefore, worship has defined "faith." For example, the fourth and last of the Four Noble Truths of Buddhism as formulated by Gautama Buddha himself was the recognition of the methods by which the believer could overcome the inner yearning for pleasure out of which the misery of *dukkha* sprang. Similarly, the eighth and last part of the Eightfold Path of Buddhism consisted in proper meditation, which was inseparable from the first seven. Methodologically, the task of discovering the specifics of the faith expressing itself in a particular worship ritual continues to challenge the ingenuity of historians of religion, as is manifested by their disputes over the meaning of (to cite an example present in several traditions) the ritual of circumcision. Even the widely shared assumption that the ritual antedated the myth, which in turn antedated the theological explanation of both, must be modified by the repeatedly attested rise of new rituals out of the composition of the myth or after the adoption of the theological doctrine. Yet in the absence of any verifiable statistical data it does seem a safe generalization to suggest that, even more than faith-as-obedience to a moral imperative or commandment, faith-as-worship has defined faith for most of the human race through most of its history. Even the term *orthodoxy,* which has acquired the meaning "right doctrine" in most of the languages where it appears and which carries that meaning also when it is used in a secular sense for political or literary theories, really means "right worship," as the Russian translation of the word, *pravoslavie* ("the right way to celebrate"), demonstrates.

FAITH-AS-CREDO. Yet *orthodoxy* does mean primarily "right doctrine" now, and one of the definitions of "faith" is "credo" (which is the Latin for "I believe"). Because so much of the history and interpretation of world religions has been the work of Christian thinkers trained in the doctrinal theology of the several Christian churches, early scholarship in "comparative religion" regularly consisted of a review, doctrine by doctrine, of what the various religions were perceived as having taught. As often as not, such reviews were organized according to the schema of categories devised by Thomistic or orthodox Lutheran and Reformed systematic theologians, even, for example, in so sensitive a treatment as Karl Friedrich Nägelsbach's *Homeric Theology* (1840) and *Post-Homeric Theology* (1857). The artificiality and arbitrariness of imposing these categories from the outside on literary and religious traditions having an integrity of their own led later generations of scholars to employ greater caution in claiming to have discovered "doctrinal" meanings (in the sense in which Christian theology spoke of "doctrines") in non-Christian religions, even sometimes in postbiblical Judaism. Significantly, however, one outcome of the tensions that have arisen between various of those religions and modern thought (see "Faith and Knowledge" below) has been the development, within the traditions themselves and at the hands of their own faithful devotees, of something very like systematic doctrinal theology, which has included comparative judgments about their relation to other traditions and their "doctrines." As already suggested, nevertheless, the definition of faith-as-credo has been especially prominent in Western and Christian thought.

In medieval usage, for example, the Latin word *fides* must commonly be translated as "*the* faith" rather than simply as "faith," because it referred in the first instance to the content of what was believed (*fides quae creditur*) rather than to the act of believing (*fides qua creditur*), and specifically to one of the orthodox creeds of the church, generally the Apostles' Creed or the Nicene Creed; once defined, orthodox doctrines were binding *de fide,* by the authority of the faith. To "have faith," then, meant first of all to "hold *the* faith" as this had been laid down in the apostolic "deposit of faith" and legislated by church fathers, councils, and popes. And even the repudiation of the medieval system by the Protestant Reformation, a major plank of which was Luther's elevation of faith-as-trust over the Roman Catholic faith-as-credo, still retained, and in some ways even intensified, the insistence on right doctrine, a knowledge of which and an assent to which were the necessary presupposition for a correct faith-as-trust.

FAITH AND TRADITION. Acceptance of a "deposit of faith" has implied some notion of tradition as that which has been *traditum,* first "handed down" and then "handed on." Although the thinkers of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment drew a sharp distinction between "traditionary religion" and "natural religion," vastly preferring the latter to the former, it was in fact only the former that was to be found in the history of religion; eventually even the "natural religion" of the Enlightenment acquired a certain traditional content and was transmitted from one generation to the next by way of an intellectual tradition. "Traditionary religion," therefore, has defined itself and its faith on the basis of received tradition. The myth of how holy things have happened; the ritual of how holy acts were to be performed; the rules of conduct by which the faithful were expected to guide their lives; the structure through which the holy community was founded and governed; the doctrine by which the community gave an account of the myth and ritual—all these expressions of faith have been the subject and the content of the holy tradition. In all those religions that have ascribed normative status to a holy book, the question of faith-as-tradition has taken a special form, as they have sought to deal with the question of the relation between the revelation in the book, as given once and for all, and the continuing revelation in the tradition. Reformers in each of those groups have drawn an antithesis between the purity of the original scripture and the accretions of later tradition, which needed to be expunged, while defenders of tradition have posited a continuity between the scripture and the tradition, sometimes by characterizing them as "two sources of revelation" but sometimes by describing the ongoing tradition as the process through which the properly validated authorities had gradually made explicit the content of the faith already implicit in scripture. Thus a twentieth-century Russian Orthodox thinker, Vladimir Lossky, defined tradition as "the life of the Holy Spirit in the Church, communicating to each member of the Body of Christ the faculty of hearing, of receiving, of knowing the Truth in the Light which belongs to it, and not according to the natural light of human reason." By setting faith into the framework of such a theory of tradition, Lossky and his counterparts in other faiths (who could have used much of the same language, substituting other proper names) have sought to combine the static view of tradition as a "deposit of the faith" in the past with a dynamic view of tradition as "living faith" in the present and future.

FAITH AND KNOWLEDGE. Whether it has been interpreted as a second channel of revelation for faith or as the development of a truth already implicitly present in the original deposit of faith, tradition has been a way of knowing the truth. Faith, therefore, has been taken to be a species of knowledge, differing from ordinary knowledge by its superior claims: An arcane character, a transcendent content, privileged channels of communication, or divine certainty (or all of the above). So long as such claims remained publicly uncontested, faith could stand as objectively sure, even when subjectively the individual believer might question or doubt it. There is no reason to suppose that such existential questioning and doubting have ever been absent from the experience of faith, and plenty of reason to find evidence of their presence in the artifacts and literary remains of various religious faiths from the past. What has made the situation of religious faith in the present unique, however, is the gravity and the universality of the tension between faith and knowledge. One by one, each of the world faiths has been obliged to confront the competing truth claims not only of other faiths, as it had perhaps done before, but of other forms of knowledge that seemed to render any faith-as-knowledge, regardless of which faith was involved, superfluous or absurd. The identification of faith with accounts of miracles and similar wondrous events that a later generation has found to be, quite literally, incredible has undermined the authority of the faith itself. Orthodox methods of harmonizing away contradictions in the authoritative tradition through allegory or a theory of multiple meanings have not been able to withstand the pressures of the historical method of dealing with the tradition. The discovery or invention of alternate means of dealing with those crises of life and needs of society for which faith had served as the divinely prescribed cure relegated it to a secondary status as a superstitious nostrum still needed only by those who did not know any better. When Immanuel Kant said in his *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781) that he had "found it necessary to deny *knowledge* of God, freedom, and immortality in order to find a place for *faith,*" he was speaking for believers in many traditions who have salvaged faith by making it invulnerable to the claims and counterclaims of knowledge; but in so doing, they have also brought into question most of the other functions of faith. At the same time, the very challenge of knowledge to faith has produced a clearer understanding both of faith's relation to other aspects of human experience and of its distinctive meaning and power.

SEE ALSO Doubt and Belief; Knowledge and Ignorance; Obedience; Orthopraxy; Physics and Religion; Tradition.

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FAKHR AL-DĪN AL-RĀZĪ SEE RĀZĪ, FAKHR AL-DĪN AL-

FALL, THE.

The concept of the fall appears in myths, traditions, and religions of a great many peoples and presents a number of interrelated themes of primary importance in the history of religious thought. In general, the fall is to be thought of as an accident that arose after the creation or genesis of the world bearing consequences for the present human condition; this accident explains a new situation in the world that is recognized as a decline or degradation when contrasted to the original state of humankind and the cosmos. This fundamental conception of the fall takes different forms in different cultures and religions.

PERSPECTIVES ON MYTHS OF THE FALL. The theme of the fall may be considered from the perspective of (1) historical time and its unfolding; (2) theogony; (3) cosmogony; and (4) anthropogony, which encompasses the creation of humanity and its present condition.

Historical time. Considered temporally, the fall takes place between *Urzeit* and *Endzeit,* between the beginning and the end of creation. Within historical time, it is very close to the beginnings of time conceived as a golden age in contrast to which the fall and its consequences represent a break or degradation. This temporal and historical conception of the fall can be found in various popular traditions as well as myths of the golden age and paradise lost.

Theogony. The theogonic aspect of the fall deals with the degradation of the divine and is found in the numerous myths concerning the origin of the gods, of their victory over chaos, or of the victory of the more recent forces of divinity over older ones. Coextensive with the creation, the fall as presented in theogony implies the identification of evil and chaos on the one hand and of salvation and creation on the other. This conception of the fall is found especially in Sumero-Akkadian theogonic myths that recount the victory of order over preexisting chaos; it is found also in the Egyptian myth of the battle between Seth and Horus. Strictly speaking, these theogonic myths are not true myths of the fall, but two of their recurrent themes justify their inclusion in a typology of myths of the fall. First, they emphasize the ritual celebration of the maintenance of the creation and cosmic order, as in the festival of Akitu in Babylon. Second, they present, through a variety of mythologies, the theme of the degradation of divinity that results from the fall of some portion of the divine substance into matter, body, or darkness. This theme is central to the three most important forms of religious dualism: Orphism, Gnosticism, and Manichaeism.

Cosmogony. From the perspective of cosmogony, the fall is seen as an accident occurring after the genesis of the world that affects cosmic forces and explains the present condition of earth or the universe. Myths that tell of the progressive degradation of the universe and its destruction and recreation in successive cosmic cycles exemplify this cosmogonic view of the fall. The flood is an important example of this type of fall, and numerous myths of the flood are found among religious traditions of the world.

Anthropogony. Anthropogony, however, offers the most important perspective on the fall. From this perspective, the contemporary human condition—a condition of degradation in contrast to that of the golden age of humanity—is explained as the consequence of a fall, a tragic event that bursts into human history. Around this event are clustered those myths and symbols that seek to explain the origins of illness and death and the tragic nature of the human condition after the fall.

From these four perspectives, it is possible to develop a typology through which the myriad myths of the fall in cultures throughout the world become comprehensible. Furthermore, these perspectives illuminate the fundamental aspect of the concept of the fall and the inherent meaning that emerges from these myths: The present human condition is explained by the accident that occurred after creation and ended the golden age.

Myths of the fall clearly show three essential elements: (1) the concept of a golden age in the beginning, (2) the accident that is a break or degradation of original harmony, (3) the explanation of the present human condition. From these three elements, it is possible to trace a historico-phenomenological picture of the traditions dealing with the fall. One final remark needs to be added, however, before proceeding to an analysis of this picture. An understanding of the complexity of the problems related to the concept of the fall must not lose sight of the intimate relationship of this concept with the problem of evil; any conception of the fall has implications concerning the origins of evil, as well as intimations of a possible overcoming of evil through a recovery of the state that existed previous to the fall. Thus a philosophical and ethical dimension is grafted onto, and is coextensive with, the idea of the fall and forms an important part of a hermeneutical approach that tries to come to terms with its relationship to guilt or fault. The scope of this article, however, does not permit an envisage of these other aspects of the fall.

ARCHAIC RELIGIONS AND ORAL TRADITIONS. The myth of an earthly paradise, where humans are immortal, is an integral part of cosmogony and descriptions of the world's beginning in many cultures. That primordial person enjoys a bliss and freedom that it lost as the result of a fall is the dominant theme of this myth, a theme offering many variations.

The Jorai cosmogony of the autochthonous peoples of Indochina gives an idyllic description of original humanity. Living with the god Oi Adei, humankind enjoyed a deathless existence in a paradise where one could fly like a bird and talk with plants and animals, where bundles of wicker grew on trees and shovels turned over the earth by themselves. Man had only to feed his tools; but he got drunk and did not do so, and the tools revolted. In the Sre cosmogony of Indochina, humans had no need to work in the earthly paradise, because the god Ong Ndu had made them immortal; but when the primordial couple refused the god's command to dive into a well, they were punished for their disobedience by suffering, old age, and death.

The cosmogonies of Bantu speakers from the Mayombe region north of the Kongo River, the cradle of the old Kongo civilization, contain significant stories of the fall. In the Yombe tradition, humankind's golden age was brought to an end by Nzondo, a spirit whose magic also created the Zaire River after a flood. Nzondo drove people from their original home, dispersing them over the earth and setting in motion the chain of disasters that have since befallen the race.

In a Dogon myth from Mali, heaven and earth were originally very close to each other. But God separated them and made men mortal, after being disturbed by the noise of the women crushing millet. Similarly, in a myth from Cameroon and Burkina Faso (Upper Volta), the vault of heaven was originally within humanity's reach, but when a woman who touched the vault with a load of wood she was carrying on her head asked God to move it out of her way, he moved it so far that he abandoned humankind to death. These myths tell of a paradise lost; but they also stress the theme of God's rejection of a disobedient humankind, of his consigning humanity to death as punishment for a variety of sins, that is, for violating a divine prohibition, for lying or theft, for domestic rivalries, for lack of charity. Death is explained as divine punishment prompted by human disobedience. Similar myths are found among the Diola in Senegal, the Nupe in Nigeria, the Bena Kanioka in Zaire, and the Anyi in the Ivory Coast.

Myths of the fall as fate, though less frequently encountered than those of the fall as punishment, are also significant in sub-Saharan Africa. These myths involve an archetypal badly delivered message—a divine message of immortality that reaches humanity either too late or in abridged or altered form. Here, the original separation of heaven and earth replaces the earthly paradise where God and humans live together; from heaven, God sends messages to people on earth. In a Tsonga myth, a chameleon carries the message of eternal life, while the giant lizard Galagala carries the message of death. The lizard, moving faster, arrives first, and humanity so becomes mortal. In a Bete version of the same myth, from the Ivory Coast, the lizard advises the chameleon to walk slowly. Animals are always the messengers in these myths, and the message of mortality always arrives first. Other myths emphasize the change and deterioration of the message in the course of its transmission; myths of this sort are found among the Mossi in Burkina Faso, the Ashanti in Ghana, the Kabiye in Togo, and the Kikuyu in Kenya.

In Australia, the Aranda regard their totem ancestors as the heroic forgers of civilizations who gave form to the countryside, who allotted individual lives to humans by creating separate embryos, who lived in a mythical golden age where they were untouched by the woes of contemporary humankind. These totem ancestors were immortal, and those among them who apparently died in battle in fact went to heaven, where they became *tjurunga*s, sacred beings who were powerful and creative, traveling to and fro above or below the earth.

Exhausted when they completed their creative work, and seized by an overwhelming lassitude, these mythical ancestors sank into the earth. But before they disappeared they laid down, by some of their actions, the rudiments of death; thus, the first people knew both death and the pains of the human condition. The myth of the magpie Urbura explains the permanence of death. When the first mortal tried to leave his tomb, Urbura struck at him with her claws, thrust a spear through his neck, and nailed him to the ground, establishing forever humanity's mortal condition.

Common to myths of the fall and to nostalgia for a lost golden age is the view that the original human condition was a condition of paradise. Heaven lay close to the earth, and people could go there merely by climbing a mountain, a tree, a ladder, or a vine (Eliade, 1960). Enjoying the friendship of both the gods and the animals—and speaking their language—man enjoyed a life that was immortal, free, spontaneous, and perfectly happy.

That this paradise was lost as the result of the fall is a second commonly held view. Often, the fall is an accident, as in Australia, where myths of the Aranda tribe merely record it. In various African traditions the accident is equated with sleep: The god had asked humans to remain awake through the night to await a message from him, but when it arrived they were asleep. If sleep is understood as a symbol for death, the accident of sleep explains both the precarious human condition and the establishment of death.

The fall may also result from human failings. Once again, the most important documentation is found in sub-Saharan Africa. A Maasai myth known in both Africa and Madagascar tells of a package that humans were given by God but forbidden to open; driven by curiosity, they opened it and let loose sickness and death. The divine prohibition takes other forms in other traditions. In a Pygmy story of central Africa, it is against looking at something; in a story of the Luba in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, it forbids the eating of certain fruits; in a Lozi myth found in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Malawi, it prohibits the taking of wild game.

Sometimes humanity's fault is best understood anthropologically, as in myths describing theft or lying, or those that stress lack of charity, or the race's capacity for domestic violence, as in a Chiga myth from Uganda. The curiosity of the primordial couple who aspire to the secrets of the gods is a frequent mythical theme in Africa, where myths of the fall also emphasize the cohesiveness of individual and group (Thomas, 1982, pp. 32–48).

ANCIENT CIVILIZATIONS.

Important approaches to the theme of the fall are found in the great civilizations of antiquity. This section examines those myths and traditions found in the civilizations of Egypt, Sumer and Babylonia, ancient India, ancient Iran, and ancient Greece.

Egypt.

Egyptian religious thought also shows an awareness of a golden age existing at the beginning. The study of archaic texts has prompted the hypothesis that this age was thought to have had two stages, the first of which was *Urzeit,* primordial time before the creation. The idea of a primordial time is expressed by such formulas as "that did not yet exist" (*nhprt*) or, in the wording of Pyramid Texts 1040 and 1043, "When the heavens did not yet exist . . . there existed neither death nor disorder." In contrast to this mythic primordial time is the time that follows it, the time of creation and of creator gods such as Re and Osiris (Otto, 1969, pp. 96–99).

Whatever the validity of this hypothesis, the time of creation, the *Schöpfungszeit,* was definitely considered a golden age. A variety of texts make it possible to assert this interpretation with certainty. "Law was established in their time. Justice (Maat) came down from heaven to earth in their age and united herself with those on the earth. There was an abundance on the earth; stomachs were full, and there was no lean year in the Two Lands. Wall did not collapse, thorn did not prick in the time of the primeval Gods" (Kákosy, 1964, p. 206). An inscription from the temple of Idfu speaks in the same way: "There was no sin on the earth. The crocodile did not seize prey, the serpent did not bite in the age of the primeval Gods." This golden age is depicted in other temple inscriptions and is found again in the Coffin Texts; it is, in fact, a very ancient doctrine in which myths of a golden age and fall are tied to the problem of death.

Three great Egyptian cosmogonies explain the creation of the world. In the Memphis theology, the word of the god Ptah created all things; at Heliopolis, the creation takes place with Re-Atum's separation of heaven and earth; at Hermopolis Magna, the creator is the god Thoth, who fashions an egg from which the sun, organizer of the cosmos, emerges. The Memphis theology makes it clear that, by putting the cosmos, the gods, and the gods' images and cults in place, Ptah established a definitive cosmic order in which Maat, the principle of order, replaced disorder (Pyramid Text 265.1775b).

The myth of the celestial cow, a myth of archaic origin, although known from a text of the New Kingdom, is the most important witness to the Egyptian doctrine of the fall. It tells of insults hurled by humans at the god Re (variously called "silver-boned Re," "golden-limbed Re," "Re of the lapis lazuli hair") and of Re's attempt to determine their punishment in a secret council of the gods held in the Nun, or primordial chaos. From his throne, Re glared fixedly at the rebellious humans, as the gods had advised; immediately, his eye became the goddess Hathor, henceforth called Sekhmet, the Powerful; she organized a massacre of the rebels as they fled into the desert. Re, however, preferred to save remaining humankind; ordering that pomegranates be brought to him, he extracted their juice, and at dawn carried the juice to the flooded area of humanity's impending extermination. There he determined to spare the human race; but he also withdrew to the highest place in heaven, and sat on the back of Nut, the vault of heaven transformed into a cow, assigning to Thoth the role of scribe and the task of civilizing humanity.

The *Book of Going Forth by Day* is another witness to the Egyptian doctrine of the fall. Chapter 17, alluding to Re's enemies, declares: "I was All when I was in the Nun, and I am Re. . . . When Re first appeared as king of all that he had created, when the uprisings of Shu did not yet exist, he was on the hill that is at Hermopolis and at that time the children of the fall at Hermopolis were delivered over to him." To this passage, which tells of the revolt against Re, correspond the lines at the beginning of chapter 175, which speak of the disorder created by the children of Nut: "O Thoth, what is to be done with the children of Nut? They have fomented war, they have provoked quarrels, they have caused disorder, they have massacred. . . . They have brought low that which was great in all that I created. Show strength, Thoth, says Atum. . . . Shorten their years, cut off their months. For they have secretly destroyed all that you created."

From such texts, it is clear that pharaonic Egypt was acquainted very early with a doctrine of a golden age, an age followed by the fall that explains the *Jetztzeit,* the present human condition of death and degradation. Nevertheless, the Egyptian theology that viewed royalty as a divine continuation of Maat, the cosmic and moral order, had a paramount influence on three thousand years of Egyptian history under the pharaohs and the Ptolemies, and although each great historic era ended in a period of disorder, the disorder itself gave rise to the reestablishment of Egyptian society under renewed pharaonic rule. Life and survival were inseparable in Egypt, and the optimism running throughout Egyptian culture is made obvious by the absence of traditions dealing with great cosmic disasters such as the flood.

There was also, however, a darker side to Egyptian thought, one that does relate that evil, incarnate in the god Seth, existed before the creation of humans. Hence some Egyptologists interpret the verses quoted above from chapter 175 of the *Book of Going Forth by Day,* referring to the children of Nut, as an allusion to a quarrel among the gods and evidence of a primordial sin that stood at the origin of the fall.

Sumer and Babylonia. The numerous Mesopotamian traditions dealing with the origins of the gods, the cosmos, and humanity go back to the Sumerian period, well before the third millennium BCE, and become completely intermixed over time with Sumerian, Akkadian, and Babylonian myths. Thus, it is possible to present these traditions coherently by selecting characteristic examples from these three groups of myths.

Samuel Noah Kramer (1981) finds the first document of the Golden Age in the Sumerian story called *Emmer-kai and the Lord of Aratta.* The story speaks of "an earlier time," before the fall, when humankind lived in peace and harmony, without fear and without rival. During that time, before the creation of snake or scorpion, hyena or lion, wolf or wild dog, all peoples of the universe worshiped the same god, Enlil. But the gods brought about humankind's fall when Enki cast an evil spell and stole Enlil's empire.

The creation poem *Enuma elish,* which dates from 1100 BCE but actually goes back to the first Babylonian dynasty at the beginning of the second millennium, relates the genesis of the gods before it describes the genesis of the world or humanity, and shows that strife and murder existed among the gods from the moment of their creation. The younger gods banded together against their mother, Tiamat; they behaved riotously and spread fear throughout the dwelling places on high. The goddess Ea caused the god Apsu—who would himself have murdered the other gods, had his scheme not been betrayed—to fall into a deep sleep, then undressed him to take away his strength, and finally put him to death. The Atrahasis myth, dating from the reign of the Babylonian king Ammisadaqa (1646–1626 BCE), gives another version of these events, in which the gods declared war on Enlil and gathered in arms before his temple for the decisive battle.

In these two myths, evil is coextensive with the first generation of the gods, and disorder begins in the divine world itself when the younger gods kill their mother, Tiamat (who in any case had planned to murder them). From this perspective, the gods are responsible for evil, and order appears among them only with the advent of the god Marduk, the principle of an ordered divine world. Hence, humans simply find evil in the world; they are not the cause of it.

Both the Atrahasis myth and the poem *Enuma elish* show that the gods created humans with the intention of imposing burdensome tasks upon them: food gathering, the building of waterways, dikes, canals, and so forth. In the Atrahasis text, the god Weilu is killed by the other gods, who then mix his flesh and blood with clay to make humankind, upon whom they immediately impose the gods' "basket" (i.e., workload); in a story dating from the seventeenth century BCE and found in a bilingual text from the reign of King Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076 BCE), An, Enlil, and Enki kill the Alla gods and from their blood create humankind, which they also charge with tasks previously borne by the gods.

In these texts, and in many others that echo them, it is clear that Mesopotamian thought saw the human condition as one of total subordination to the gods, who were absolute masters of the world. This dualistic thought presents a humanity fashioned both from the blood of a murdered god and from mere clay, a humanity knowing no primordial fall but only a destiny of submission to the gods and subordination to divine power. The gods reserve a deathless, happy life for themselves, imposing on humanity a precarious existence that ends in death, itself a divine decision. The dead lead only a shadowy existence in the realm of the god Nergal.

Two ancient texts provide Akkadian and Babylonian versions of the Mesopotamian flood. The earlier, dating from the beginning of the third millennium, was found on a Sumerian tablet unearthed in the ruins of Nippur; the other is found in tablet 11 of the *Epic of Gilgamesh.*

The Sumerian tablet describes the creation of the world and humans and the building of the first cities, including Eridu and Shuruppak. The rather fragmentary story of the flood tells of how the gods decided upon a deluge, from which only the pious king Ziusudra was spared. After the disaster, Ziusudra sacrificed an ox and a sheep to the sun god Utu and thereby reconciled the gods and humankind.

In the Babylonian version, from the *Epic of Gilgamesh,* the man saved from the flood was Utanapishtim, to whom the gods gave immortality. After the flood, the quarrel that had divided the gods started up again, and Enlil, the lord of earth and sky who had been the cause of the flood, wanted to destroy its sole survivor; but Ea and Ishtar, protectors of humankind, intervened and Utanapishtim was saved.

In neither version of the flood does the question of human responsibility for the cosmic disaster arise; as in Mesopotamian stories of humanity's creation, the stories of the flood deal only with theogony and with quarrels of the gods. The Atrahasis myth does indicate the gods' motive for the flood—the noise and disturbance produced by the ever-increasing number of humans—but this motive is analogous to that behind the gods' first quarrel. Thus, whatever the reason for the gods' displeasure with humanity, the human failings that appear at the time of the fall are simply part of a divinely ordained chaos. In the final analysis, myths of the fall in Sumero-Babylonian thought are intimately tied to theogonic and cosmogonic myths in which the fall, like everything else that happens, results from the will of the gods.

Ancient India. In India, which has experienced its past far more through myths than through historical interpretation of actual past events, the most important documents of mythic history are the Purāṇas, or "ancient tales." One part of the speculations of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* treats the four *yuga*s, or ages, of the world. The present age, the fourth *yuga,* is called the *kaliyuga.* The first age, named *kṛtayuga* or *satyayuga,* is described in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* as a golden age when Prajapati created all things from a superabundance of light and intelligence.

During this *yuga,* a perfect age that lasted four thousand years (plus an additional four hundred for its dawn and dusk), all creatures lived in a state of spiritual perfection, doing as they pleased, free from heat and cold, fatigue and suffering, ignorant alike of justice and injustice. Possessing similar forms, their pleasures, their life span, and their ever-youthful bodies ensured a life of abundant happiness, joy, and light, knowing neither classes nor different ways of being. Whatever was sought after by the spirit sprang from the earth, and all enjoyed truth, forbearance, satisfaction, and contentment.

The *Vāyu Purāṇa* does not describe a fall, but simply a decline, from this golden age. The second age, *tretāyuga,* was still, at its beginning, part of the golden age; beings still lived without suffering, joyous and satisfied. With time, however, they became greedy; they laid waste the fruit trees and the honey that had fed them in ease. Afflicted now by wind, heat, and cold, people built houses, then villages and cities. Now too rains came, bringing streams, rivers, and rank vegetation. Humans were divided into four classes: *brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya,* and *śūdra;* and, because humans no longer fulfilled their duties, the *brāhmaṇa*s assigned specific functions to each class. The *brāhmaṇa*s were to make sacrifices on behalf of others, to read the Veda, to receive offerings; the *kṣatriya*s were to exercise power, make war, and dispense justice; the *vaiśya*s were to raise livestock or practice agriculture or commerce; the *śūdra*s were to practice the various trades. The *brāhmaṇa*s likewise introduced and named the four stages of life: first, the quest for knowledge, followed by domestic life, the retreat into the forest, and, finally, renunciation.

It is clear from the *Vāyu Purāṇa* that by the end of the second *yuga* the conditions of humanity and the cosmos were such that the golden age had been lost, the victim not of a fall in the usual sense but of a progressive decline, and of the negative effects of time. As differences appeared among them, humans lost their original vitality, turning to passion, vice, and greed, and ceasing to carry out their duties faithfully. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* emphasizes the role of human responsibility in this cosmic and social decline.

From the sixth century BCE on, the idea of *karman,* specific to Hindu religious thought, was used to explain the decline of the human condition. Linked to the idea of *sāṃsara,* the incessant whirlpool of rebirths, the ethical idea of *karman,* gradually replacing older Vedic ritual notions, placed the human soul under the necessity of being reborn in animal, human, or divine forms. Thus humanity by its actions was made responsible for its decline and for the repercussions of that decline in the cosmos. Holding humankind accountable for his position in the universe, the law of the *karman* became a law of just retribution for actions.

The Indian idea of the flood, of "cosmic disaster," appears within a cyclical conception of time—a conception analogous to the idea of the *karman* involving the periodic destruction and rebirth of the cosmos. The oldest of numerous Indian versions of a cosmic fall in the form of a flood is that of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.8.1; it presents the story of Manu, the first man and the survivor of the flood, in a typically Vedic context. Warned of the flood by a fish, Manu takes the fish under his protection and then is saved by it as the waters rise and carry away all other creatures. Left alone, Manu offers the *pāka* sacrifice, and, after a year, a woman—his daughter, called Iḍā, the offering—is born; through her Manu will create his posterity, the renewed humanity.

Ancient Iran. The Avesta preserves ancient Iran's memories of the golden age that existed in the beginning, during the reign of the first king, Yima (*Vendidad* 2.1–20, *Yasna* 9.4–5, *Yashts* 9.9, 13.130, 15.15, 17.29, 19.32). According to *Yasna* 9.4, Yima, the good shepherd, the most glorious of mortals ever born, looked benevolently on all creatures; his reign was one with neither drought nor heat nor cold, when food was always plentiful, and when people and animals lived without want or old age or death. The *Vendidad* (2.7) says that Ahura Mazdā brought Yima the two implements symbolizing a prosperous reign, a golden seal and a sword encrusted with gold. Yima also asked for a thousand-year reign of immortality in the world created by the Lord. For three hundred years after the creation, the world filled up with humans and animals; then Yima, advancing in the path of the sun, smote the earth with his seal and pierced it with his sword, and the earth increased in size by a third; he did this again after six hundred winters, and again the earth became a third larger; when he had repeated this act yet again, the earth was enlarged to three times its original surface (*Vendidad* 2.7, 2.8–9, 2.10–11, 2.17–19). Thus ends the story of the paradise of Yima, a paradise that in a Pahlavi text, the *Dēnkard* 8.1.24, is compared to the highest heaven.

The Avestan text *Yashts* 19.34–38 describes the fall that marked the end of this felicity. When Yima began to take pleasure in false and deceitful speech, the *khvarenah*—the celestial light, the mark of divinity, the sign of the elect and of power—at once abandoned him. He thus lost the three marks of glory associated with the *khvarenah,* the marks of the priest, the warrior, and the agriculturalist-herdsman. Seen in the context of Indo-Iranian thought, the loss of these marks represents the loss of the three great Aryan functions of sovereignty, power, and fecundity. Confounded and distraught, Yima fell to earth and became mortal.

The cause of the fall, the "lie against the truth," is stressed in *Yashts* 19.34; this lie deprived Yima of his aura of light and delivered him over defenseless to the Evil Spirit, who hounded him with demons and forced him to flee. Yima actually made two mistakes: The first was "the lie and the error," or *druj,* condemned by the entire Mazdean tradition and still decried in Manichaeism, for Mani taught that lying and deceit constitute the evil that resides in matter and darkness; the second mistake was the offense to God caused by pride (Widengren, 1968, p. 72). Because, in this very ancient myth, Yima is the archetype of the cosmic king who holds sovereignty over the gods and humans, the king of the three functions that correspond to the three classes of society, his fall will mark both the cosmos and the human condition.

Describing Yima's meeting with Ahura Mazdā, *Vendidad* 2.21–22 mentions hard winters of bitter cold and heavy snow; in *Bundahishn* 7, there is a story of what appears to be a flood; and al-Masʿūdī (d. 957) relates how, according to one tradition, the flood came during Yima's time. In the nineteenth century, scholars such as C. P. Tiele, François Lenormant, and A. V. Rydberg saw an allusion to the flood in this evidence; but early in the twentieth century, Nathan Söderblom, in a lengthy discussion of the question, showed that it is impossible to know whether the devastating winters mentioned in these passages were considered part of a real past before they came to symbolize the end of the world later incorporated into Mazdean eschatology. Söderblom leaned toward a strictly eschatological meaning of the myth of the *vara* of Yima and the winter of Mahrkuska; more recently, Geo Widengren has observed that in the few traces of a flood linked to the myth of Yima two different themes have been combined: one of the golden age of Yima, the other of a period when the more fortunate of humankind took refuge in the *vara* because winters threatened their existence (Widengren, 1968, pp. 70–71). Going over the evidence once again, Mary Boyce still finds the narrative of the *vara* of Yima puzzling; but she argues that, because the editing of the *Vendidad* in the Parthian period is comparatively recent, the Avestan story very probably was contaminated by the Mesopotamian and biblical stories of the cosmic flood (Boyce, 1975, pp. 92–96).

Ancient Greece. The term *golden age* (Gr., *chruseon genos*) comes from the ancient Greek world. In *Works and Days,* Hesiod provided the myth of the Golden Age to which later Greek and Latin poets would return again and again, a myth of five races of humans to which correspond five ages of the world: ages of gold, silver, and bronze, of heroes, and, finally, of iron. Created when Kronos reigned in the heavens, the race of gold lived as gods on the earth, perfectly happy and secure, sheltered from all woe, fatigue, pain, or illness. The earth gave forth abundantly all things that people desired, and although this first race of humans was not immortal, its death was a mere going to sleep. This age of paradise, when humans enjoyed the blessing and friendship of the gods, ended with the fall of Kronos; then Zeus made benevolent gods of these first humans.

Plato elaborated on the conditions of this golden age in the *Politics* (271c,d–272a); in that age, he says, the gods were responsible for different parts of the cosmos, and demons served as shepherds for the various species and groups of animals; the earth's climate was always temperate, and everything was designed to serve men, who lived on fruit picked from trees. There were neither cities nor even women or children, because they were reborn from the earth without any memory of earlier lives.

Horace, Vergil, and Ovid later take up this theme, adapting it to the legendary history of Rome; thus Kronos will become Saturn and Latium will have the name Ansonia during the golden age—a time when, according to the Latin poets, springtime was perpetual, and, because lying and theft did not yet exist, houses had no doors.

Four races will follow that of the golden age. Extremely slow in coming to maturity, the silver race will lose the qualities of life that characterized the previous age. Although created by the Olympian gods, the people of this race could not refrain from foolish excesses, even refusing to sacrifice to the gods, and Zeus buried them, transforming them into the spirits of the underworld. He then created the fearless and warlike race of bronze, a race so given to violence that it destroyed itself and was followed in its turn by the race of heroes, heroes who founded famous cities, fought beneath the walls of Troy and Thebes, and ended their days in the Isles of the Blessed. At last came the present race of humans, the race of iron, whose ephemeral and vulnerable existence is plagued by illness and want.

The myth of the races of humans, which recalls the Indian myth of the four *yuga*s, is, like it, a myth of decline rather than fall; like the text of the *Vāyu Purāṇa,* the Hesiodic text emphasizes progressive degeneration. Gradually humanity loses the virtues and qualities of the primordial period; its strength and endurance diminish, and finally it loses the longevity of the first age. Recent analyses of this myth have also laid stress on the evil pointed out by Hesiod: human pride, the hubris that makes humans refuse to sacrifice to the gods and to defy *dike* ("justice").

In his *Theogony,* Hesiod describes the triumph of an ordered world over chaos and proclaims the sovereign power of Zeus, who imposes himself upon both the universe and the other Olympian gods, to whom he distributes functions and privileges. In *Works and Days,* before recounting the myth of the races of humankind, he tells the story of Pandora, the first woman, created by Zeus's command to bring punishment upon the human race. All the Olympians joined in making this special gift to humans. Zeus sent her to the naive Epimetheus, who was seduced by her beauty and married her.

At pains to stress how humans had originally enjoyed the earth free from troubles, weariness, or illness, Hesiod now relates that Pandora had barely arrived on earth when she was devoured by curiosity to learn the contents of the vase she had brought with her and lifted its lid, thus sending throughout the world all the present and future afflictions and woes of humankind, leaving only hope at the bottom of the vase when she replaced the lid. Henceforth, innumerable miseries will plague humanity, and thus, Hesiod concludes, none can escape the plan of Zeus (*Works and Days* 90–102, 105). In the myth of Pandora, the themes of hubris and fate come together, and the description of the fall shows the fundamental link between divine will and human fate.

Orpheus seems to be a figure of the archaic religious type that, in certain traditions, is thrown back to the earliest time; he stands in sharp contrast to the Olympian gods. Hesiod's theogony and cosmogony oppose an ordered world upon which Zeus has at last imposed himself to an earlier, primordial chaos; Orphic theogony, on the other hand, presents a primordial Eros, or Protogonos ("firstborn"), or Phanes ("light"), that itself creates night, Ouranos, Kronos, Zeus, and, finally, Dionysos.

Orphic anthropogony, in sources that date from later antiquity, recounts the myth of a Dionysos torn apart and cut to pieces by the Titans, who then divided the dead god among themselves and ate him. Zeus hurled lightning bolts at them as a punishment and killed them; he then created the present race of humans from their ashes. Thus, humans possess both the evil nature of the Titans and the divine nature of Dionysos whom the Titans had assimilated by eating him. The Neoplatonist Proclus talks of three races of humans: the race of gold ruled by Phanes, the god of the beginning of things; the silver race over which Kronos was lord; and the Titanic race, created by Zeus from limbs of Titans whom he had punished for their crime. Plato himself had already referred to this race, Titanic in origin, who likewise refused to obey both laws and parents, refused to abide by oaths, and despised the gods. Both Diodorus Siculus and Firmicus Maternus repeat these basic elements of the Orphic myth; and the dualism of Orphic anthropogony, in which the story of the Titans is presented as an etiological myth accounting for the present human condition, has been further confirmed by the discovery, in 1962, of the fourth-century Dervani Papyrus.

Orphism explains the human condition through the dualistic myth of the exiled soul. Humankind is composed of a divine soul, daughter of heaven, and of an evil, Titanic nature; the tragedy of his condition comes from this mixture, itself the outcome of an earlier, prehuman crime. Evil is the legacy of an event that stands at the origin of the mixed human nature; it originates in the murder of Dionysos, but that murder signifies both the death of the god and the participation of his slayers in his divine nature. The original sin, the sin of the fall, is murder, and with the murder of Dionysos the soul experiences a brutal descent into a body that becomes its prison (see Ricoeur, 1960, pp. 264–279).

The myth of Deukalion and Pyrrha presents the Greek version of the flood, but the fragmentary Greek texts do not give Zeus's reasons for suppressing humankind. However, as Roman mythology disappeared, it absorbed Greek mythology (a phenomenon discussed by Georges Dumézil, *La religion romaine archaïque,* 2d ed., Paris, 1974, pp. 63–75), and it is therefore legitimate to seek Zeus's reasons in Roman mythology, especially in Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* which provides a fuller account of the Greek version of the flood (*Metamorphoses* 1.230, 7.352–356). Taking up the Hesiodic theme of the ages of the world, Ovid emphasizes that humans were progressively perverted by crime and lust. Zeus, before humanity's destruction, visited Lycaon, king of Arcadia, who served him a feast of human flesh; outraged and at the end of his patience, Zeus swept away all creatures, cities, almost the whole of earth itself, in the flood. Only one couple, Deukalion and his wife, Pyrrha, were saved, and from them Zeus re-created the race.

WORLD RELIGIONS. Each of the world religions discussed in this section—Gnosticism and Manichaeism, and the three great monotheisms, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—lend great richness to the concept of the fall.

Gnosticism and Manichaeism. From the second century CE onward, Gnosticism, a religious movement composed of a number of different sects, came to maturity throughout the Mediterranean world and in the Near East. The central element of Gnostic metaphysical speculation is a dualistic doctrine according to which humanity possesses a divine spark that, although originating from on high, has fallen into matter, into body, which holds it prisoner in the lower world. The myth of the fall, therefore, is an integral part of Gnostic teaching. Each Gnostic sect offered salvation through its specific creed and rites of initiation into these dualistic mysteries. These constituted its particular gnosis. Understood only by adherents who were gradually initiated into it, the gnosis brought about an identity of the initiate with the means of his salvation and with divine substance.

Because it claims to possess the most perfect gnosis, Manichaeism holds a special place in the spectrum of gnostic thought. Its founder, Mani (216–276), taught that, as the transmitter of the gnosis, he was the greatest of the prophets and the ultimate revelation, sent by the Holy Spirit, after the trials and failures of his predecessors—most notably Zarathushtra, the Buddha, and Jesus—to establish the church of the end of time, the church of light, and to provide the definitive revelation that would enlighten all people. According to Mani, the soul, a spark detached from divine light and held prisoner by matter, must tear itself away from the darkness of the body in order to return to the realm of light where it had originated.

The Manichaean gnosis offers the clearest conception of the beginning, the middle, and the end, the three divisions of time. In the beginning, there existed two radically opposed natures, darkness and light, eternal and unborn principles. These two natures created two earths, two different realms. The realm of light is located on high, in a city of incomparable beauty, in the house of the Father of Greatness; the breath of the spirit breathes life and light throughout this realm, where all things exude blessing and peace. But beneath this realm, and separated from it by an impregnable border, lies the realm of darkness, the domain of matter and of demons, a realm governed by the Prince of Lies. Obviously, the Manichaean gnosis presents the golden age within a context of radical gnostic dualism.

In other forms of gnosis, dualism appears against a monistic background, because the world on high—everlasting, immutable, and incorruptible—is held to have existed before the lower world. Indeed, many gnostic writings speak of the Pleroma, of the world on high in all its plenitude, emanating from a being that is the source of all things. The gnostic Pleroma is the union of the Aeons that emanate from the All and constitute, with the First Father, the harmonious universe of peace and light.

The symbol of the fall is omnipresent in gnostic texts; indeed, the precosmic fall of a portion of the divine principle is the underlying reason for the genesis of the cosmos and humanity (Jonas, 1963). In the different metaphysical speculations that explain this fall, it is generally held that the divine principle descended voluntarily, and that guilt came into being as the Aeons turned toward the lower world. Turning toward matter by a burning desire to know it, the soul then sank into it and was swallowed up. Hence, the fall that gave birth to the cosmos also imprisoned the soul in matter.

In Gnostic writings, important groups of symbols suggesting captivity describe the tragic fate of this dualistic, imprisoned soul. One group of symbols suggests pain or danger: violence, fear, and the wounds and bites of animals; another suggests the soul's forgetfulness: torpor, sleep, death, darkness, drunkenness, lack of conscience, ignorance. As a snake's bite causes an infection that debilitates the body, so the poison of darkness causes an infection of the soul that makes it lose awareness of its divine origin. In a frequently used image, the soul falls asleep in matter, and the gnostic message strives to awaken it; hence, gnosticism attaches great importance to its call. Also characteristic of gnostic writings are the images used by Valentinus when describing the behavior of Sophia ("wisdom") after she had fallen into error. The youngest Aeon of the Pleroma, Sophia was the cause of her own fall, through the passion that carried her away—the origin of a fall that brought about the lower world of the Demiurge, who created the material world.

A true religious genius endowed with uncommon imagination, Mani brought together a number of Eastern cosmogonic myths and from them produced a synthesis in which the entire range of dualistic cosmogony, soteriology, and eschatology is included.

In the beginning, Mani taught, the Prince of Darkness, jealous and envious of the Father, hurled a war cry against the realm of light, signaling the beginning of a gigantic cosmic conflict. Primordial Man, the first emanation of the Father, marched against the forces of darkness, but he was wounded and defeated and fell among the archons (cosmic rulers). This was the fall, the moment when the living soul, the divine portion of Primordial Man, was engulfed by darkness; it was also the beginning of the second division of time, the middle, when divinity fell into matter and humanity's mixed nature became fixed. Henceforth, salvation became an imperious necessity. The liberation of Primordial Man from this fallen state is the prototype of the salvation of each soul; and the second emanation of the Father, the Living Spirit (also called the Friend of Light or the Great Architect), extends his right hand to Primordial Man and leads him back to the realm of light. But the fall has permanent consequences, because a part of the light remains captive in the lower realm.

The first moment of middle time, the moment of the fall, is followed by the moment of the creation and the freeing of another part of light, as part of the punishment of the archons. The Living Spirit chained down the archons and cut them to pieces; from their skins he made the vault of heaven, from their bones the mountains, from their flesh and excrement the earth, and from the light taken from them he created the sun, moon, and stars. When a Third Messenger descended from on high in the form of a luminous virgin, the semen of the archons excited by this apparition fell on the earth and produced trees and vegetation. Animals were next created, and finally the first couple was born, the work of demons. This couple was Adam and Eve, creatures of mixed nature whose posterity nonetheless carried with it the greater part of light.

The third moment of middle time is the moment of the messengers of the gnosis, the moment of true and divine hypostasis brought about by the fourth emanation of the Father, Jesus the Splendid, a transcendent, cosmic being, fifth Greatness of the Realm, the life and salvation of humanity. Messengers of the gnosis have followed one after another from Sethel, the son of Adam, to Jesus (here considered as a historical figure), who both announced and sent the final messenger, Mani. Hence, everything was made ready for the third division of time, the end, when all things will become as they had been at the beginning, and the total separation of the realms of darkness and light will be reestablished.

The Eastern myths of the fall brought together by Mani constitute one great myth of the fall and redemption of the divine soul. Each human soul is part of the divine soul that is partly imprisoned in bodies, partly in plants, trees, and earth; in all its imprisoned parts, that divine soul is the soul of the world and the third representation of Jesus, *Jesus patibilis.* In the great Manichaean myth of the fall is found the gnostic myth of the exiled soul; but, in contrast to most gnostic creeds, in Manichaeism the soul is not responsible for its fall and exile in the body, because that exile is a part of a greater, cosmic fall of light. To this cosmic myth of the fall corresponds the cosmic salvation by a gnosis accessible to individual souls in a church that is both the location and the means of individual salvation, a church charged with proclaiming the message of the fall and issuing the call to salvation, as well as awakening human souls and initiating them into the dualistic mysteries.

Judaism. Central to the biblical message is the view that the creation of humankind and the cosmos is the work of a unique and transcendent God who freely willed and effected a creation that also marks the beginning of time.

Two different stories of the creation are given in *Genesis.* The Bible opens with the so-called sacerdotal account of the creation, "the work of six days" (*Gn.* 1:1–31, 2:1–3). In this cosmogony, primordial chaos is replaced by order through the creative power of God's word. The sacerdotal account emphasizes the transcendence of the creator God and presents his creative activity in an order of ascending importance; although the creation of the world and of animal and vegetable life are all deemed "good," the crowning work in the beginning is the creation of humankind.

The second, so-called Yahvistic, creation story (*Gn.* 2:4–25) does not talk of the creation of the earth and sky but rather of a desert made fertile by Yahveh; it stresses God's action, his fashioning the first man from clay and breathing the breath of life into his nostrils. It is in the Yahvistic story that God plants a garden in Eden, where humans are the creatures of unequaled importance, the rest of creation being made in relation to them. Together, the two stories of creation provide genetic explanations of important aspects of the human condition; in both, huamity occupies a privileged position in creation. The biblical stories stress that humanity is free and not controlled by fate.

In Hebrew, the word *gan*—*paradeisos* in Greek (related to the Iranian *paridaida*)—designates the place where, according to *Genesis* 2:8, God placed humanity. The Yahvistic creation story speaks of an arid land on which Yahveh caused rain to fall, after which he took man and placed him in the garden of Eden, created especially for him. This paradise appears as an oasis in the Oriental desert, although its name is linked by some scholars to the Sumerian word *edin,* for which several Assyrologists read "plain" or "countryside." The word *paradeisos* adopted by the Greek Bible denotes the pleasure gardens and royal hunting lands of Iran and Asia Minor. For the Greek reader the word suggests a garden of fruits and fruit trees. Certainly the biblical garden is the archetype of all regions of luxuriant vegetation (*Gn.* 13:10, *Is.* 51:3, *Ez.* 31:8).

The text of *Genesis* 2:10–14, which mentions the four rivers flowing out of Eden, is clearly intended to locate the garden symbolically at the center of the cosmos; a story in Mesopotamian mythology also places a divine residence at the source of rivers. The biblical text seeks to establish a relationship between a divine garden and a human earth, thereby emphasizing the marvelous fertility of humanity's first home. The garden of Eden is also characterized by the presence of two special trees—the tree of life and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (*Gn.* 2:16–17). The tree of life is part of a larger Mesopotamian group of symbols, known through a number of texts. The tree of the knowledge of good and evil, however, has no parallel in any other ancient text; it is specific to the Yahvistic story of creation and stresses the relationship between life and obedience to God.

Adam and Eve enjoy a life of paradise in the garden, living together in harmony and at peace with the animals, as in Mesopotamian myths of the golden age. Both the Yahvistic and the sacerdotal text stress the privileged situation of humans in Eden—their intimacy with God, their hope of immortality, suggested by the tree of life—and evoke the harmony that exists there, seen in humanity's relations with the rest of creation and its life of ease. The presence in Eden of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil shows that obedience to God is essential to maintaining this privileged situation. The biblical text emphasizes considerations that are absent in all other myths of the golden age—considerations of freedom, of moral choice in the face of good and evil. Through a choice of its own, humanity decides its standing before God and at the same time the direction of its destiny.

The testing of humanity in Eden is related to the problem of human freedom. In mythical language, *Genesis* 2–3 describes the situation of humans in the world and in the face of God. The garden of Eden is the place where humanity lives in easy familiarity with God, but it is also the symbolic microcosm where its has been given mastery, and where it enjoys the free use of all other created things; thus the conquest and humanization of the world will become the condition of its vocation. The prohibition against eating from the tree of knowledge belongs to another order, for it deals with the basic human appreciation of the value of earthly things and of the human situation before God (*Gn.* 3:5–6). It will bring about humankind's fall from paradise.

The story of Eden stresses the primordial couple's disobedience to God and their expulsion from the garden, and it emphasizes that they lost the privileged status of Eden for themselves and for their descendants. Thus, their sin is presented as the prototype of that part of human sin that is universal. The essence of hubris is the desire to be like God; when this desire becomes action, the fall takes place and ushers in the woes of humankind. The Yahvistic document asserts both directly and symbolically that human experience of evil had an absolute beginning, a beginning that coincides with the beginning of human history, the history of freedom. Although the first exercise of that freedom resulted in disaster, through it humanity inaugurated the drama of choice that gives particular significance to human life and its relationship to God. Subsequent biblical books and apocryphal texts repeatedly return to these lessons of the fall (*Ez.* 28; *Dt.* 30:15–20; *Prv.* 3:2, 3:22, 6:15, 10:25; *Sir.* 37:3; *Wis.* 1:13–14, 10:1–2).

The editors of chapters 4–11 of *Genesis* saw in the fall of humanity in Eden not only the loss of paradise and the transformation of the human condition but also the source of a whole series of evils that subsequently beset humankind. Thus, at each stage in the rise of civilization and the institutionalization of the social developments that formed human lives in antiquity, the biblical text notes humanity's corruption, variously described as fratricidal war, polygamy, desert warfare, or the division of nations and tongues (*Gn.* 4:8, 4:19, 4:23–24, 11:5–9). Since the fall, evil is born in the hearts of humans and always remains at the heart of history, an inevitable force in human affairs.

The most important biblical event having the characteristics of a universal fall is the flood (*Gn.* 6:5–8:14). The story of Noah in the Bible reinforces elements of the *Epic of Gilgamesh,* but its editors have taken over and reinterpreted Mesopotamian themes in order to transform them into an episode in sacred history and to show the progressive degeneration of humanity that justifies the flood. In both its Yahvistic and its sacerdotal forms, the biblical story is very different from the Mesopotamian one. The latter sees in the flood simply the decree of gods annoyed with a despised humanity. In the Bible, the memory of the flood serves as the prototype of God's judgment against a sinful humankind; the human situation as a responsible being is stressed, and humanity is not abandoned to the blows of blind destiny. In this myth of the universal fall, a new alliance is foreseen, in which *Urzeit* leads to *Endzeit.*

Genesis 6:1–4 contains the story of the *benei Elohim* who take the daughters of humans as wives. This unusual text presupposes an oral tradition and possibly other written texts. It appears as a preface to the flood and may be interpreted as further evidence of the sins that will provoke the flood, but it is also the starting point for numerous speculations about the fall of the angels. The rabbinical interpretation has seen in the *benei Elohim,* "the sons of God," angels who sinned with the daughters of humans and were for that reason shut up in the depths of the earth; at the last judgment, they will be thrown into the fire.

Christianity. Allusions to humanity's fall appear throughout the New Testament, although the Gospels speak of it only in *Matthew* 19:4–6, *Mark* 10:6–8, and *John* 3:5 and 8:41–44. It was Paul who was especially interested in the relationship between the fall and sin. In chapters 1–3 of *Romans,* he asserts that no one can escape the domination of sin, and in chapter 7 he gives a lengthy description of the human condition in the earthly paradise, where as yet humans knew neither covetousness nor death, and contrasts this with the actual condition to which they have been reduced by sin and death. He asserts that the actual human condition comes from the first sin, the sin of Adam and Eve in the earthly paradise (*Rom.* 7:13–15); and in *1 Corinthians* 15:21–22, he opposes the first Adam, the author of death, to Christ, the second Adam, the author of life. In general, Paul sees in the story of Eden not only humanity's hereditary punishment of suffering and death but also its hereditary fallen state, a state of sin transmitted to all humankind.

Islam. The Qurʾān demonstrates the importance Islam attaches to the idea of God the creator, the all-powerful. God is the creator (*al-khāliq*), the creator par excellence (*al-khallāq*); all things are created by virtue of the divine resolution that precedes their appearance. The Qurʾān describes a God who creates through his word, a word that is creative, eternal, and ever present (*sūrahs* 11:9 and 41:8–11).

God created humankind and called it *khalīfah,* vicar or viceroy (2:28). Adam, *khalīfat Allāh,* vicar of a God who had placed him at the center of the world, is the preeminent creature, although, made of mud and clay, it owes everything to God (15:26). Many verses of the Qurʾān stress the preeminent dignity of humanity; even the angels must bow down before humankind (2:32), and when the evil angel Iblīs refuses to do so, God damns him and Iblīs falls, followed by other angels (15:26–35, 17:63–67). The continuing work of creation is also stressed by the Qurʾān; because every person is made by God, the activity of God the creator is permanent.

God put Adam and his wife in the midst of a garden where they could take fruit from the trees, but he forbade them to approach one tree, under pain of falling among sinners (2:33). But the demon made Adam and his wife sin by eating fruit from that tree and thereby caused their expulsion from the place where God had placed them. God said to them, "Leave the garden. You are now enemies one of another, and on earth you will have only brief enjoyment, and brief lives" (2:34). The episodes in the Qurʾān concerning Adam are reminiscent of *Genesis:* his creation out of earth, his title of vicar, his temptation, fall, and expulsion from paradise. Only the episode of Iblīs is not found in the Bible.

Sūrah 7 mentions the story of the fall and punishment (7:21–24). Here it is the demon who suggests that humans break the divine prohibition in order to obtain immortality. After Adam has sinned, God declares that henceforth men born of the first couple will be enemies one of another (2:34, 7:23, 20:21), and the Qurʾān relates the first fratricidal struggle, between two unnamed sons of Adam whom later Muslim authors call Qābīl and Hābīl.

Noah appears in the Qurʾān as a great prophet who opposes unbelievers (11:27–36, 23:23–26). He receives from God the command to build an ark in order to survive the flood; but, contrary to *Genesis,* which stresses the universal character of the flood, the Qurʾān appears to restrict divine punishment to Noah's own people, who had become impious. The Qurʾān treats their punishment as both a warning and a sign.

CONCLUSION. Reflection on the fall is a constant preoccupation of *homo religiosus.* In his "nostalgia for beginnings," he turns instinctively toward a primordial, sacred history, where he finds a golden age that corresponds to what humankind must have been in the beginning. He sees that humanity's present situation no longer corresponds to that of the golden age, and he strives to explain the accident that has taken place and the consequences of that accident, of that break with primordial harmony.

This article has sought to present the theme of the fall as it appears in the religious thought of the greater part of humankind, although it has been necessary to limit the discussion of myths of the fall to those that describe the fall in relation to a supposed golden age—an age that has haunted human memory—and that locates humanity's fall and its present condition between *Urzeit* and *Endzeit.* Most of this article's attention was given to myths of the human fall; but, when pertinent, myths of a cosmic fall, or of the fall of lesser deities, have also been considered.

Nostalgia for the beginning of things is clearly a permanent feature of humankind's collective memory, and representation of a golden age provides the archetype through which that nostalgia is repeatedly expressed. As can be seen by the study of various peoples and cultures, peoples everywhere sought to explain their present condition through the contrast it provides to their supposed primordial condition; in light of that contrast, they have also classified and interpreted their mythical, historical, and symbolic heritage and related these to sacred history.

SEE ALSO Ages of the World; Death; Evil; Flood, The; Gardens; Golden Age; Paradise.

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FALSAFAH.

The term *falsafah* is the Arabized loan word from the Greek *philosophia,* "love of wisdom," and hence in its general sense simply means "philosophy." It is, however, also used (as it will be in this account) in a more specific sense as an abbreviation of the expression *al-falsafah al-islāmīyah,* "Islamic philosophy." Similarly, the general Arabic word for "philosophers," *falāsifah* (sg., *faylasūf),* is used more specifically as an abbreviation for the expression *al-falāsifah al-islāmīyūn,* "the Islamic philosophers."

Because for many Muslims, past and present, *falsafah* remains at best doctrinally suspect, the sense in which it will be referred to here as "Islamic" requires clarification. This term, as applied to *falsafah* and *falāsifah,* will first of all be used in a broad cultural sense, for *falsafah* was developed within an Islamic cultural milieu by men whose culture was Islamic. This cultural use of the term *Islamic* is implicit in medieval Arabic usage. Thus, for example, one famous intellectual who condemned some of the *falāsifah* as "infidels" nonetheless referred to them as "Islamic," while another included among the Islamic philosophers the Christians of Baghdad who wrote in Arabic. This latter example calls for a narrowing of the sense in which *Islamic* will be used, however, for in addition to being "Islamic" in the cultural sense, the *falāsifah* were "Islamic" in that they regarded themselves as Muslims, claiming that their conceptions of God and the world were consistent with the Qurʾanic view. Most of them attempted to demonstrate the harmony between their respective philosophies and Islamic revelation, and whether such attempts proved convincing or not, they represent a characteristic feature of *falsafah.*

It should be stressed that while the *falāsifah* were theists, they were not theologians. For a proper understanding of *falsafah,* it must be distinguished from *kalām,* Islamic speculative theology. Both disciplines used reason in formulating their respective conceptions of God and his creation, but they differed in approach and motivation. The starting point of *kalām* was revelation. Reason was used in defending the revealed word and in interpreting the natural order in conformity with a Qurʾanic view of creation. With *falsafah,* the starting point was reason; the motivation, the quest after "the true nature of things." The *falāsifah* maintained that this quest led them to a demonstrative proof of the existence of a first cause of the universe, which they claimed was identical with the God of the Qurʾān—a claim contested by the Islamic theologians, particularly those who followed the school of *kalām* of al-Ashʿarī (d. 935). At issue between *falsafah* and *kalām* was not the question of God's existence; rather, the question was the nature of God.

Another difference between them was historical. *Kalām* antedated *falsafah*; its beginnings are traceable to the period of the Umayyad caliphate (AH 41–132/661–750 CE) and more definitely, to the second half of the eighth century. Moreover, it arose out of religious and political conflicts within Islam. Although subject to foreign influences, particularly Greek thought, *kalām*'s modes of argument and perspectives remained to a great extent indigenous. *Falsafah,* on the other hand, was the direct result of a concerted effort to translate Greek science and philosophy into Arabic beginning early in the ninth century. The first Islamic philosopher, al-Kindī, it should be noted, died around 870.

Falsafah was thus rooted in Greek philosophy, or more accurately, Greek philosophy in its translated form. The *falāsifah* regarded themselves not only as guardians of the truths arrived at by the ancient Greek philosophers but also as participants in a continuous quest after truth: As al-Kindī expressed it, the attainment of truth is difficult and requires the cooperative efforts of generations past and present. Thus, the *falāsifah* did not simply accept ideas they received through the translations. They criticized, selected, and rejected; they made distinctions, refined and remolded concepts to formulate their own philosophies. But the conceptual building blocks, so to speak, of these philosophies remained Greek.

THE TRANSLATION MOVEMENT.

Although there are indications that some translations of Greek scientific works were made in the period of the Umayyad caliphate, the translation movement properly speaking took place during the caliphate of the Abbasids, who came to power in 750. Translations were undertaken sporadically just after the establishment of Abbasid rule but flourished in the ninth and tenth centuries. The ruler who gave this movement its real impetus was the caliph al-Maʾmūn, who ruled from 813 to 833, and his active sponsorship of the translation of Greek philosophy and science into Arabic was continued by his successors and by families attached to the caliphal court. The *Bayt al-Ḥikmah* (House of Wisdom), a center for scientific activity and translations that al-Maʾmūn built in Baghdad, symbolized this Abbasid sponsorship of the translation movement.

The motives for this concern with translations were varied. There were practical considerations, such as the need for medical and astronomical knowledge. There was also the probable motive of prestige: The Byzantines could boast of the Greek philosophical and scientific tradition, and the Abbasids likewise wanted to avail themselves of the intellectual treasures of the ancients. This was also a period of intellectual ferment and genuine interest in learning, and scholars were available to undertake the task of translation. In particular, within the Abbasid realm and close to the heart of their empire were the Syriac-speaking people, a culture within a culture who were themselves partly Hellenized. The utilization of this rich intellectual resource by the intelligent leaders of the Islamic state seemed natural.

Apart from the Syriac-speaking scholars, who were mostly Nestorian and Jacobite Christians, there were scholars in the north Syrian city of Harran who also undertook translations. The Harranians adhered to the Sabian sect, a religion that included star worship but also had a Greek philosophical base. Among the Christian scholars, there were two traditions of scholarship. One was the tradition of the medical and philosophical school of Alexandria; members of this school seem to have moved in the Umayyad period to Antioch and then in the Abbasid period to Harran and finally to Baghdad. The other tradition was that of the medical school and hospital of the Nestorians of Jundīshāpūr in Persia. Originally a camp for Roman captives built in the third century CE by the Sasanid emperor Shāpūr I, Jundīshāpūr became a refuge for Nestorians after the deposition of their patriarch, Nestorius, at the Council of Ephesus in 431. The school flourished in Sasanid times, and although little is known about it in the Umayyad period, it became prominent under the Abbasids as well; from 765 to 870, its Bakhtīshūʿ family provided court physicians for the caliphs.

Among the early translators, mention must be made of Yaḥyā ibn al-Biṭrīq (d. 830?); Astat (Eustathius), about whom very little is known, but who made a translation of Aristotle's *Metaphysics,* a work known to al-Kindī; and Ibn Naʿīmah al-Ḥimṣī (d. 835), who translated the very influential if apocryphal *Theology of Aristotle.* The best-known and most influential of the translators was the Nestorian physician and scholar Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq (d. 873), who was known for his translations of medical works but who was responsible for translating logical and philosophical treatises as well. Unlike earlier and some later scholars, Ḥunayn knew Greek; he followed a system of collating Greek manuscripts before translating and undertook revision of earlier translations from the Syriac. He worked with a team of other translators, who included his son Isḥāq, his nephew Ḥubaysh, and ʿIsā ibn Yaḥyā. Among the Harranians the most important translator was Thābit ibn Qurrah (d. 901), who also wrote a commentary on Aristotle's *Physics.* Later translators included Qusṭā ibn Lūqā (d. 912?), also noted for his treatise *The Difference between Soul and Spirit,* Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd al-Dimashqī (d. 900), the logician Abū Bishr Mattā (d. 940), Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī (d. 974), Ibn Zurʿah (d. 1008), and Ibn al-Khammār (d. 1020).

The three ancient philosophers who conditioned the rise and development of *falsafah* were Plato, Aristotle, and Plotinus. As with medieval western Europe, Aristotle was the most authoritative figure; his influence lay in the realms of logic, physics, and metaphysics. Plato, whose thought was known largely through the expositions of others, particularly the translated works of the physician Galen, had his greatest influence on the political philosophy of the *falāsifah.* Plotinus was likewise known indirectly, through two main works, the Neoplatonic *Theology of Aristotle,* a paraphrase of books 4, 5, and 6 of the *Enneads,* and the work based on Proclus known in Arabic as *Fī maḥḍ al-khayr* (On the pure good), which was translated into medieval Latin as the *Liber de causis.*

A substantial body of commentary, particularly on Aristotle, was also translated. Thus such commentators as Themistius, Simplicius, and Alexander of Aphrodisias were influential in the development of *falsafah.* There was knowledge of pre-Socratic philosophy and late Stoic philosophy and logic, and the translations also included a body of medical works, particularly those of Galen, and mathematical and scientific works such as Euclid's *Elements* and Ptolemy's *Almagest.*

AL-KINDĪ AND AL-RĀZĪ. The philosophical venture in medieval Islam was pioneered in different ways by two remarkable thinkers, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb al-Kindī and the physician-philosopher Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (d. 926). Their philosophies, particularly in their doctrines on the world's creation and the nature of the Creator, differed radically from the thought of the major philosophers who succeeded them. As *falāsifah,* they were atypical; moreover, they differed radically from each other.

Ironically, al-Kindī was atypical because his philosophy conformed with fundamental, generally accepted Muslim beliefs. Thus he argued vigorously and at great length to prove that the world was created ex nihilo and at a finite moment of time in the past relative to the present. He also upheld the doctrine of bodily resurrection. At the same time, his writings were thoroughly philosophical in approach and spirit. "We must not," he insisted, "be ashamed of deeming truth good and of acquiring truth from wherever it comes, even if it comes from races remote from us and nations different from us" (*Rāsaʾil al-Kindī al-falsafīyah,* ed. M. A. A. Abū Rīdah, Cairo, 1950, p. 103). Al-Kindī was born around the year 800 in Kufa. Little is known about his education except that he was associated with Christian translators and the caliphs who sponsored the translation movement. He alights on the philosophical scene quite unexpectedly, yet with full confidence, betraying none of the hesitancy of the novice. Like the Islamic philosophers who succeeded him, he was also a physician and a scientist, and the range of his learning was encyclopedic.

Of his numerous writings, only a few treatises, philosophical and scientific, have survived. Fortunately, these include the very important work *On First Philosophy,* a relatively long treatise consisting of four chapters. In the first, al-Kindī offers an introduction to philosophy, which he defines as "knowledge of things in their true nature, to the extent of man's capability." The chapter is also a justification and promotion of its pursuit: Philosophy's ultimate concern, he argues, is the quest after "the True One," the supreme good, the cause of all things.

The chapters that follow constitute a remarkable piece of vigorous, sustained argument. Most of the second chapter is devoted to proving the creation of the world ex nihilo at a distant but finite past. The argument rests on a basic premise, the impossibility of an infinite magnitude. Al-Kindī begins by arguing that an infinite body is impossible. If one supposes the existence of such a body, he maintains, then theoretically it is possible to remove from it a finite part. What remains would also be infinite, but less than the original infinite by the amount of the finite body removed. The consequence would then be the existence of two unequal infinities, amounting, for al-Kindī, to a contradiction. But if a body must be finite, he then tries to show, time and motion must also be finite. The temporal existence of the world could not then go back to infinity; it must have a temporal beginning. Moreover, he argues, creation in time cannot simply mean that a static world (and hence a world outside time) was put into motion at some past finite moment relative to the present. A body by definition, he argues, must be in motion; a static world is a contradiction in terms. Hence not only did the world begin at a finite moment in the past, but it came into being out of nothing.

Having proved the doctrine of creation ex nihilo to his own satisfaction, al-Kindī then offers a proof for the existence of God, "the True One," and an investigation of the nature of this oneness. The Neoplatonic influences on this part of the treatise are very manifest, particularly in al-Kindī's exposition of the nature of divine oneness. The proof for God's existence is a causal one, based, however, on the phenomenon of plurality and unity in the world. The proof, given in a short version and a lengthy one, is quite elaborate. The fundamental point al-Kindī makes is that the unity that one experiences in things and that is the cause of plurality does not belong essentially to things; it is a derivative, accidental unity. He then argues that it must derive ultimately from a being who is essentially one and the only being who is essentially one. This is the True One who bestows accidental unities on things. The giver of this unity is the giver of existence.

In this and other treatises, al-Kindī also makes statements about prophecy and the nature of revelation. These are not detailed statements, but the ones concerning prophecy are suggestive of the kind of developed theories encountered later on in the thought of al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna). Thus, anticipating Ibn Sīnā, al-Kindī argues that prophetic knowledge is received "instantaneously," requiring neither intellectual exertion on the part of the prophet nor the disciplines of mathematics and logic. In conformity with generally accepted Islamic belief, al-Kindī maintains that the inimitability of the Qurʾān lies in the excellence of its literary expression, in the way it conveys divine truths directly and succinctly.

Although al-Kindī had followers, notably al-Sarakhsī (d. 899), properly speaking it cannot be said that he founded a school of philosophical thought. The same is true of the major *faylasūf* to succeed him, al-Rāzī. Abū Bakr Zakarīyāʾ al-Rāzī (Rhazes), one of the foremost physicians of medieval times, was born in 865 in the Persian town of Rayy, and he practiced medicine there as well as in Baghdad. Very few of his philosophical works have survived, and consequently, much of his philosophical thought has to be reconstructed from medieval Islamic accounts that are, for the most part, highly critical of his ideas.

In his cosmogony, al-Rāzī was greatly influenced by Plato's *Timaeus.* The world, he holds, was created at a finite moment in time, but not out of nothing. As with Plato, creation for al-Rāzī means the imposing of order on disorder. He subscribes to the doctrine of the five eternal principles: atomic matter, space, time, the world soul, and the Creator. The atoms, flitting about in disorder, are given order by God at a moment in time. The now-organized atoms allow the world soul to join matter and to become individuated by it, forming individual living beings. Just as this ordering of the atoms, that is, creation, came about at a finite moment of time in the past, the order will cease at a finite moment of time in the future when the five eternal principles revert to their original state. Al-Rāzī offers discussions of atomic matter, absolute space, and absolute time that are scientific in spirit and approach. But when it comes to explaining ultimates, namely, the reason for the world's creation, he resorts to myth, and his philosophy is noted for its myth of creation.

For al-Rāzī, creation poses two related questions: Why is it that the world was created at one particular moment of time and not at any other, and why was the world created at all? In answering the first, al-Rāzī holds that it is precisely because all the moments of time are similar that God's choice of one moment rather than another was utterly free. If the moments of time were not similar, then his choice of one moment rather than another would have been determined by "a giver of preponderance" (*murajjiḥ*) outside him. Hence it is because the Creator's will is utterly free that he arbitrarily chooses one moment for his creation to take place. It is in his answer to the second question that al-Rāzī provides his famous myth.

The world soul became infatuated with matter and sought union with it. To achieve this union, the soul endeavored to give disorganized matter form. Matter, however, resisted this forming activity of the soul, leaving the latter in sorrow. God, being powerful and compassionate, then intervened to help the soul and introduced form, order to the material atoms; in other words, he created the world. In creating humankind, God endowed humans with reason, an emanation of his very essence, so that the soul would awake from its bodily slumber and seek a return to its original eternal existence. This, for al-Rāzī, is salvation. At some finite moment in the future, all people's souls, awakened by philosophy, will shun their bodies. The individual souls then will reunite with the eternal world soul, and the atoms will resume their chaotic state for eternity.

Salvation, as defined by al-Rāzī, is possible only through philosophy. He thus maintains that there is no need for prophets. All people are capable of pursuing truth through reason. The fact that many do not pursue this rational course is not due to inability, but to willful choice. He further argues that it would also be unjust for the Creator to favor either one individual or one nation with prophethood. The mistaken belief that God has favored individuals and nations with prophets has caused nothing but strife, so that, al-Rāzī maintains, for the most part wars are caused by religion. If to this is added that al-Rāzī also subscribed to a theory of the transmigration of souls, one can see why his ideas did not find favor within Islam. Nonetheless, he helped the fermentation of philosophical ideas, and the responses to his philosophy constitute a body of intense argument, philosophical and theological.

Apart from the intrinsic interest of their philosophies, both al-Kindī and al-Rāzī showed in their respective ways how philosophizing is possible within medieval Islam, and thus they prepared the ground for the flowering of *falsafah* in medieval Islam.

AL-FĀRĀBĪ AND IBN SĪNĀ. In the tenth and early eleventh centuries, Islamic philosophical thought was dominated by two intellectual giants, al-Fārābī (d. 950) and Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037). Their philosophies have much in common, but remain quite distinct. Al-Fārābī, born shortly after 870 in Transoxania, studied and taught in Baghdad until 942. He studied logic with the Nestorian logician Yuḥannā ibn Haylān (d. 910) and was associated with Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus, who was another renowned Nestorian logician. He also studied Arabic grammar with Ibn al-Sarrāj (d. 929), a leading grammarian of the period. In 942, for reasons not fully known, he left Baghdad for Syria, and he seems to have lived the remaining years of his life in relative seclusion in Damascus, where he died.

The foremost logician of his time, al-Fārābī wrote commentaries on Aristotle's *Organon* and on other works of Aristotle and other Greek writers. He was medieval Islam's greatest musical theorist and musicologist and is reputed to have been a skilled instrumentalist. He developed a Neoplatonic emanative scheme that greatly influenced the development of emanative systems by his Islamic successors. But perhaps above all else, he was the founder of a Platonic theory of the state that was adopted (with variations) by the major *falāsifah* who succeeded him. It should be noted, however, that his philosophical writings pose problems of dating and raise the question of whether they always reflect his real views.

For al-Fārābī, the world is an eternal emanation from God, forming a hierarchically ordered series of existents with the closest to him being the highest in rank. This highest existent is a first intelligence, overflowing directly from God. From it the emanative process continues in the form of dyads: The intelligence undergoes two acts of cognition, an act of knowing God and an act of self-knowledge, from which in turn proceed two existents, a second intelligence and a body—the outermost body of the universe. The second intelligence undergoes a similar act of knowing God and knowing itself, resulting in the emanation of a third intelligence and the sphere of the fixed stars. Successive intelligences repeat this cognitive process, causing the existence of the spheres of the planets, the sun, the moon, and finally, from the last of the intelligences, the Active Intellect, which is this world, the world of generation and corruption.

This entire cosmic order is rational and harmonious, with each sphere governed by an intelligence. Humanity in the world of generation and corruption, endowed with reason and free will, must actualize its potentialities and attain the highest good, happiness. This is achieved when in their way of life people emulate the rational cosmic order, but they can only do this in the society of others. Hence they must strive to form a society that is itself in tune with the rational cosmic order, a hierarchical society ruled by reason, where the various ranks actualize their potentialities in harmony.

In order to achieve this ideal political order, which al-Fārābī refers to as "virtuous," its first ruler must be both a philosopher and a prophet, an individual who receives the revealed law. Because this law is received from the Active Intellect in the form of images that symbolize universal philosophical knowledge or represent particular examples of it, revelation is the "imitation" of philosophy, a copy of it in images and symbols that the nonphilosopher can understand. Revelation and philosophy are thus in total harmony. Another necessary condition for achieving a virtuous political regime, however, is that the philosopher-ruler must be endowed with exceptional practical powers, for it is necessary to persuade, lead, and educate a majority of citizens incapable of philosophical understanding. In fact, the philosopher-ruler must not address the nonphilosophical majority in philosophical language.

Al-Fārābī's political philosophy is comprehensive, detailed, and subtle. It includes, for example, detailed discussion of the existence of nonvirtuous states, the majority of which he characterizes as "ignorant" because they are led by people who are ignorant of the true nature of happiness. While his view is certainly Platonic in its essentials, one meets in al-Fārābī a tendency toward universalism that is less perceptible in Plato. Thus al-Fārābī does not speak only of the virtuous "city" but also of a desirable nation consisting of virtuous "cities" and of a desirable world consisting of virtuous "nations." He also maintains that inasmuch as people in different parts of the world differ in language and in their symbols, it is quite possible that the differences among religions are merely differences in symbols, not in what is being symbolized.

It was on the foundations laid by al-Fārābī in logic, metaphysics, and political theory that his successor, the renowned Ibn Sīnā, built his imposing philosophical system. Born in 980 near Bukhara and largely self-taught, Ibn Sīnā was one of medieval Islam's leading physicians, an astronomer, and a scientist. He held positions as court physician, sometimes as vizier as well, in various Persian principalities until his death in 1037.

Of his numerous writings, mostly in Arabic, but some in Persian, two in particular were very influential in Europe, namely, the encyclopedic *Al-qānūn fī al-ṭibb* (Canon of medicine) and his major philosophical work, the voluminous *Al-shifāʾ* (Healing). His writings include short mystical narratives and treatises where the language of symbolism is used. This mysticism, encountered in his writings, is not inconsistent with his "rationalism." The mystic's journey to God is the journey of the rational soul to the ultimate source of all reason. God, for Ibn Sīnā, is pure mind *(ʿaql maḥḍ).*

Ibn Sīnā's philosophical system is "rationalist." He maintains that in addition to the self-evident first principles of logic, not dependent on one's sense perception of the external world, there are self-evident intuitive concepts, also not dependent on sense experience. These intuitive concepts include the "existent," the "thing," and the "necessary," the last with its correlates, the "possible" and the "impossible." A rational consideration of these concepts is sufficient to yield a demonstration of God's existence. In itself, an "existent" is either necessary or only possible. If it is necessary in itself, Ibn Sīnā then tries to show, it must be the only such existent, devoid of multiplicity and uncaused. If it is only possible in itself, he then argues, it must be necessitated by another existent, the latter by yet another, and so on, forming a chain that must be finite, having as its beginning the existent necessary in itself. Hence each alternative affirms the existent necessary in itself, which is God.

But what does it mean to say that every existent other than God is in itself only possible? This is the distinction on which Ibn Sīnā's philosophy rests, the distinction between the quiddity or essence of the possible and its existence. From what a thing is, one cannot infer that it exists, because existence is not included in the definition of the possible existent. The quiddity considered in itself excludes not only existence, but unity and plurality, particularity and universality. From this concept of the quiddity considered in itself, Ibn Sīnā develops a theory of universals (where universality is something added to the quiddity as such) that is of intrinsic philosophical interest and one that had great influence on medieval Latin thought.

Although the existent, other than God, is in itself only possible, it is necessitated by another. Ibn Sīnā uses this concept of the possible in itself but necessary through another to transform al-Fārābī's dyadic emanative scheme into a triadic system. God, the existent necessary in himself, undergoes an eternal act of self-knowledge that necessitates the existence of a first intelligence, an existent in itself only possible, but necessary through another. This intelligence then undergoes three acts of cognition: knowledge of God, knowledge of itself as a necessitated being, and knowledge of itself as a possible being. These three acts produce three other existents respectively: another intelligence, a soul, and a body, the outermost body of the universe. This process is repeated by each successive intellect, giving existence to the various heavenly spheres, each with its soul and intelligence, until from the last of the celestial intelligences, the Active Intellect, the world of generation and corruption emanates.

The human rational soul, an emanation from the Active Intellect, is immaterial, becomes individuated when it joins the body, and retains its individuality as an immortal soul when it separates from the body after death. Good souls, untarnished by having succumbed in their earthly existence to animal passions, live an eternal life of bliss contemplating the celestial intelligences and God; bad souls live an eternal life of misery, being deprived from such contemplation yet forever seeking it. All theoretical knowledge is received from the Active Intellect. This knowledge consists of primary intelligibles, which are the self-evident logical truths and primitive concepts received by all people without the need of experience and learning. It also consists of the secondary intelligibles (received only by those capable of abstract thought), namely, deductions from the primary intelligible as well as more complex concepts. Normally the reception of these intelligibles from the Active Intellect requires preparatory activities of the soul such as sensation, memory, imagination, and cogitation and the learning processes associated with them. Only the prophets do not require these preparatory activities of the soul; they receive all or most of the secondary intelligibles directly and instantaneously, and this theoretical knowledge is then translated through the prophet's imaginative faculty into symbols and images that the nonphilosopher can understand. These constitute the revealed word, which is in total harmony with philosophy, and here Ibn Sīnā embraces al-Fārābī's doctrine that religion is the "imitation" of philosophy.

Ibn Sīnā thus believes in the oneness of God, the prophethood of Muḥammad, and the individual immortality of the soul. His philosophical interpretations of these beliefs, however, were found unacceptable by his chief critic, al-Ghazālī.

Al-Ghazālī's Critique of the Falāsifah. *Falsafah,* as represented by al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, received its most severe rational criticism at the hands of Islam's great religious thinker, the lawyer, Ashʿarī theologian, and mystic Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). Tension between *kalām* and *falsafah* had existed prior to al-Ghazālī's critique of the *falāsifah,* although it was expressed in reciprocal, but on the whole, muted criticism. Underlying this tension were differences in starting point and ethos, which crystallized in irreconcilable metaphysical outlooks.

Kalām in its Ashʿarī form was atomic in its theory of matter and occasionalist in its interpretation of causal sequences. Accordingly, the temporal and transient conglomerates of atoms forming the physical world were not seen to interact causally with each other in reality. Causal efficacy resided with God; what appear as natural causes and effects are in reality concomitant events created directly by God. The uniform order of nature has no intrinsic necessity but is arbitrarily decreed by the divine will; the divine act is not the outcome of any necessity within the divine nature. Causal action proceeds only from a living, willing, powerful agent, not as the necessary consequence of an existent's nature or essence. By contrast, al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā embraced the Aristotelian theory of matter as potentially infinitely divisible. Moreover, Ibn Sīnā maintains quite explicitly that the world proceeds from God as the necessitated effect of God, the supreme cause of all other existents, and this doctrine seems implicit in al-Fārābī's emanative scheme as well. God, in his essence an eternally active, changeless cause, necessarily produces an eternal effect—the world.

It is the conflict between these two worldviews that al-Ghazālī makes explicit in his attack on philosophy. Between 1091 and 1095, while teaching Islamic law in Baghdad, he made a systematic study of *falsafah,* particularly that of Ibn Sīnā. It should be emphasized that al-Ghazālī was greatly impressed by Ibn Sīnā's logic and wrote a number of works explaining this logic to his fellow theologians and lawyers, urging them to adopt it. He considered this discipline doctrinally neutral, a mere tool of knowledge, nothing more, a view that he expresses in one of the four introductions to his incisive critique of al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, *Tahāfut al-falāsifah* (The incoherence of the philosophers). In these introductions he asserts that his concern is only with those philosophical theories that contravene religious principle and that he will show how, contrary to their own claims, the *falāsifah* have failed to demonstrate such theories. Moreover, he states that in this work he will not adopt any particular doctrinal position, his task being only to refute, and it is true that in the *Tahāfut,* for the sake of arguing against the *falāsifah,* al-Ghazālī sometimes adopts non-Ashʿarī views. It can be shown, however, that for the most part the premises underlying his attack on *falsafah* remain Ashʿarī.

Al-Ghazālī directs logical arguments against twenty philosophical theories, seventeen of which he regards as heretical innovations and three as utter Islamic unbelief. His method is to present the opponents' position clearly, object to it, raise possible objections to his objection, answer these, and so on, until he is satisfied that the theory in question has been refuted. Thus, before condemning these theories, he strives to show on rational grounds either that they have been unproven or that they are outright inconsistent. The three theories he condemns as utterly irreligious are those of the world's pre-eternity, Ibn Sīnā's theory that God knows the particulars in the world of generation and corruption only in a universal way (which means that he does not know every individual in the terrestrial world), and the doctrine of the soul's individual immortality, which denies bodily resurrection.

The most detailed of his discussions is the first, in which he attacks the theory of the world's pre-eternity. The main thrust of his attack is that such a theory is based on the unproven premise that God's acts proceed by necessity, a premise that, in effect, denies the divine attribute of will. Further, Ibn Sīnā's theory that God knows terrestrial individuals only in a universal way is unproven and contrary to the Qurʾanic pronouncements that God knows all things. The denial of bodily resurrection is also a denial of divine power, al-Ghazālī argues; bodily resurrection is not logically impossible, and what is logically possible is within God's power.

In the Seventeenth Discussion of the *Tahāfut,* al-Ghazālī argues for the possibility of certain kinds of miracles that are rejected as impossible by the *falāsifah,* who base their rejection on a theory of natural, necessary causal connection. Al-Ghazālī first tries to show that this theory is provable neither logically nor empirically—observation shows only concomitance, not necessary causal connection. In this he voices the Ashʿarī position that all change is caused directly by God and then suggests another possible causal theory, modifying the philosophers' theory to allow the possibility of the miracles the philosophers reject. In the *Tahāfut,* he declares that both these theories are possible, but in his *Iqtiṣād fī al-iʿtiqād* (Moderation in belief), the theological work that complements the *Tahāfut,* he reaffirms the Ashʿarī occasionalist position as the only true one.

Al-Ghazālī's attack on *falsafah* put it on the defensive, more so than it had hitherto been. At the same time, his attack made *falsafah* better known, because in order to refute the *falāsifah,* al-Ghazālī had to explain them to the nonphilosophers. In the same way, he legitimized and popularized the study of Ibn Sīnā's logic, and this had the effect of making Greek modes of thinking accessible to the more traditional Muslims. Finally, his criticism evoked replies, the most important of which came from Islamic Spain.

FALSAFAH IN ISLAMIC SPAIN. In the intellectual history of Islamic Spain, or al-Andalus, as the Arabs called it, *falsafah* was a latecomer. A lone Andalusian *faylasūf,* Ibn Masarrah (d. 931), appeared relatively early, but he was a shadowy figure who made no real philosophical impact. The first major Andalusian *faylasūf* was Ibn Bājjah (Avempace, d. 1138), and he was followed by two major thinkers, Ibn Ṭufayl (d. 1185) and Ibn Rushd (Averroës) (d. 1198), the greatest of the Andalusian *falāsifah.* The late flowering of *falsafah* in Spain was partly due to its geographic remoteness from the centers where the translation movement took place. Scientific and philosophical ideas, however, did travel from the Islamic East to Spain, stimulating a very significant scientific and philosophical movement.

A number of Ibn Bājjah's philosophical treatises have survived, including his *Tadbīr al-mutawaḥḥid* (Governance of the solitary), a major work in the tradition of al-Fārābī's metaphysical and political thought. It expands on a theme that appears in al-Fārābī almost in passing, namely that of the philosopher in a corrupt political state. Al-Fārābī had stated that such a philosopher should immigrate to a virtuous city, but that if no such city existed at the time, the philosopher would be "a stranger in the world, live poorly in it, death for him being better than life" (al-Fārābī, *Fuṣūl muntazaʿah,* ed. F. M. Najjār, Beirut, 1971, p. 95). Ibn Bājjah, however, argues that if no virtuous city exists at the time, the philosopher must be isolated from society, associating with others only to ensure survival, and must be devoted to inner intellectual and moral growth. Ibn Bājjah discusses psychology, epistemology, ethics, and metaphysics as he outlines the path the solitary philosopher must pursue to attain the highest good, the state of union with the Active Intellect. The philosopher's isolation, Ibn Bājjah admits, is "essentially" an evil, because one by nature is a social or political animal. Under the circumstances of the philosopher's having to live in a corrupt political regime, however, such isolation becomes "accidentally" a good.

Most of the writings of Ibn Bājjah's successor, Ibn Ṭufayl, physician, astronomer, and administrator at the court of the Almohad (al-Muwaḥḥid) dynasty then ruling al-Andalus, are lost. The notable exception is his masterly philosophical story, *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān,* written as an answer to a friend (real or fictitious) who asks Ibn Ṭufayl to divulge to him the secrets of Ibn Sīnā's mystical philosophy. In the introduction, which includes criticisms of al-Fārābī, al-Ghazālī, and Ibn Bājjah, Ibn Ṭufayl answers, in effect, that because the mystical experience is ineffable, he can only suggest to his friend the sort of thing its pursuit involves by narrating the story of Ḥayy.

Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān (literally, "the living, son of the awake") is the name of the story's hero. In a lush equatorial island, uninhabited by humans, a baby boy, Ḥayy, comes on the scene. (The author gives two possible explanations for his being there.) A deer that had lost its young discovers the infant, suckles him, and rears him. Ḥayy then undergoes a process of self-education, learning how to clothe himself and fend for himself, but he continues to live with his mother, the deer. She eventually dies, and in his anguish, Ḥayy tries to bring her back to life by dissecting her, only to realize then that his real mother was spirit, not the material body that died. At this point his education takes a reflective turn: Through observation and rational thought, he discovers that every event must have a cause, that an actual infinity of causes is impossible, and hence that there must be one cause of all existents, which is God. He now seeks knowledge of God, and through contemplation, asceticism, and spiritual exercises he achieves his goal: direct experiences of the divine and of the emanative chain of being descending from him. Meanwhile, on a nearby island, a community ruled by the revealed law, which is a replica of philosophical truth, there are two brothers named Salāmān and Absāl (or Āsāl) who have different attitudes toward scriptural language. Salāmān and the rest of the community accept it literally, being incapable of comprehending its inner meaning. Absāl, on the other hand, pursues its inner meaning. Finding no one on the island who understands his quest, he seeks seclusion on a deserted island, which turns out to be Ḥayy's abode. The two meet. Absāl teaches Ḥayy language and discovers that Ḥayy is an unusual philosophical mystic who, unaided, has attained the highest truth, of which Absāl's own religion gives symbolic expression. For his part, Ḥayy recognizes Absāl's religion to be true and believes in its prophet. Both return to Absāl's island, where Ḥayy endeavors to teach some of its religious citizens the inner meaning of their religion. In this he fails because they are incapable of understanding him. He then adjures them to forget everything he has told them and to continue to take their religion literally. He and Absāl leave for their deserted island to live their mystical existence to the end of their days.

This story, amenable to a variety of interpretations, gives dramatic illustration of two of al-Fārābī's principles: that religion is the "imitation" of philosophy, and that the nonphilosopher ought not be addressed in philosophical language.

It was Ibn Ṭufayl who introduced Ibn Rushd to the Almohad court. Born in 1126 in Cordova, Ibn Rushd was the son and grandson of noted Islamic judges. Trained in medicine, philosophy, and Islamic law, this most Aristotelian of the *falāsifah* was a noted Islamic lawyer and, according to medieval accounts, an authority on Arabic poetry. In 1169 he was appointed judge in Seville and in 1171, chief judge of Cordova. He then became attached to the Almohad court, serving its philosophical ruler Abū Yaʿqūb until the latter's death in 1184, and then his son, al-Manṣūr, for another ten years. Largely because of the opposition of conservative religious scholars, as it seems, al-Manṣūr exiled Ibn Rushd in 1194 but reinstated him soon afterward. The philosopher died in the service of this monarch in 1198.

Ibn Rushd is noted in the history of philosophy for his substantial body of commentaries, largely on Aristotle but also on other thinkers. These commentaries had great impact on medieval Latin philosophy as well as the philosophy of the Italian Renaissance. Although Ibn Rushd never set out to formulate a philosophical system of his own, from his commentaries, and perhaps more so from his philosophical reply to al-Ghazālī's criticism of *falsafah,* an Aristotelian philosophical view emerges, informed by Ibn Rushd's individual insights and stamped by his personality. The view is powerful and compelling.

Al-Ghazālī's attack on *falsafah* in his *Tahāfut,* although logically incisive, was theologically motivated. Moreover, his condemnation of al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā as "infidels" was a pronouncement in terms of Islamic law. Thus Ibn Rushd's reply to al-Ghazālī encompasses the legal, the theological, and the philosophical. The legal and theological replies are embodied in two main works that are relatively short, namely, the *Faṣl al-maqāl* (Decisive treatise) and the *Kashf ʿan manāhij al-adillah* (Expositions of the methods of proof); the philosophical reply to al-Ghazālī's *Tahāfut* is the *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* (Incoherence of *The Incoherence*), a much larger book.

In the *Faṣl,* Ibn Rushd raises the general question of whether Islamic law commands, allows, or prohibits the study of philosophy. He answers that the law commands its study but that this command is incumbent only on the one class of scholars, the demonstrative class (i.e. scholars who understand and use Aristotle's demonstrative method in acquiring knowledge), capable of understanding philosophy; nonphilosophers must not pursue it. Ibn Rushd's position is essentially that of al-Fārābī, but it is now couched in Islamic legal language. The *Faṣl* also includes a theory of scriptural interpretation and a defense of the *falāsifah*'s three doctrines against al-Ghazālī's charge that they were irreligious. The *Kashf* complements the *Faṣl* but offers more specific criticisms of Ashʿarī theological principles.

In the *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut,* Ibn Rushd quotes almost all of al-Ghazālī's *Tahāfut,* commenting on it paragraph by paragraph. Although his main criticisms are directed against al-Ghazālī, at times he criticizes Ibn Sīnā, particularly for his Neoplatonism. Ibn Rushd's *Tahāfut* is a sober work of criticism that tracks down ambiguities, draws distinctions, reformulates positions, corrects misunderstandings, and offers analyses. It reasserts and defends an Aristotelian causal view, arguing incessantly against the Ashʿarī conception of divine causality and against their denial of natural causes.

Ibn Rushd's writings on the hereafter, however, pose the question of what he actually believes on this matter. His "technical" discussions of the question of the soul's immortality—whether in his commentaries on Aristotle or in those parts of the *Tahāfut* where he is highly critical of Ibn Sīnā's doctrine of the soul's individual immortality—leave no room for a theory of the soul's individual immortality, to say nothing of a doctrine of bodily resurrection. In the *Kashf,* however, he affirms a doctrine of individual immortality, whether this is confined to the soul or involves bodily resurrection. Again, at the end of the *Tahāfut* (where the discussion is not technical) he seems to affirm a doctrine of bodily resurrection. The indications are that in these conflicting statements he is practicing what he preaches as a follower of al-Fārābī's political thinking. In other words, he is addressing the philosophers philosophically and the nonphilosophers in language they can understand. He also seems to be protecting himself against charges of unbelief.

Falsafah did not end with Ibn Rushd. But the period from al-Kindī to Ibn Rushd witnessed some of its greatest practitioners and established a rich philosophical tradition on which later Islamic thinkers, men of originality and genius, were to build and enrich *falsafah* even more. The majority of these thinkers came from Persia and were in a real sense the spiritual descendants of Ibn Sīnā. But some came from other parts of the Islamic world—Spain and North Africa, for example.

Persia became noted for its mystical philosophy of illumination, *al-ishrāq.* The founder of this tradition was al-Suhrawardī (d. 1191), a contemporary of Ibn Rushd. The basic idea of his philosophy is that reality consists of light of varying degrees of intensity. Light, which for al-Suhrawardī is neither material nor definable, proceeds from the Light of lights (*nūr al-anwār*), God. Its emanation and diffusion at various levels constitute the created world. In this metaphysics of light and illumination, he harks back to the old religions of Persia. He is also noted for criticizing the Aristotelians for their rejection of the Platonic doctrine of eternal forms. From the thirteenth century onward, al-Suhrawardī was succeeded by a series of Persian philosophers who either adopted his doctrine of *al-ishrāq* or, such as the philosopher-scientist Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 1274), were greatly influenced by it. Those who adopted it included such leading thinkers as Mīr Dāmād (d. 1631), Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1640), and the latter's commentator, Sabzawārī (d. 1866), to name but a few.

Of al-Suhrawardī's successors, Mullā Ṣadrā is generally recognized as the most important and most original. Although he adopted al-Suhrawardī's metaphysics of illumination, he disagreed with him on a basic idea concerning the relation of essence to existence. Al- Suhrawardī had argued for the priority of essence over existence. Mullā Ṣadrā maintained the reverse, arguing for the priority and "primacy of existence" *(aṣālat al-wujūd).* By "existence," he meant real existence as distinct from the static concept of existence in the mind. Real existence is grasped intuitively, the act of intuiting it being itself part of the flow of existence. The key idea governing his whole philosophy is that of existence as a dynamic process. This manifests itself in his theories of motion and time. Motion is not simply the rotation of forms over a static substratum, but is inherent in the substratum itself. Similarly, time is not merely the measure of motion: Physical body has an inherent time dimension. There is an ever upward moving process of existence (imperceptible to humans) that is irreversible, a manifestation of God's ceaseless creative impulse.

In Western Islam, philosophical mystical thought attained its heights with two thirteenth-century thinkers, both from Murcia, Spain. The first was the great philosophical mystic Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1240), noted for his doctrine of the unity of being *(waḥdat al-wujūd),* which exerted a very great influence on Persian mystical thought. The second was Ibn Sabʿīn (d. 1270), a mystic-philosopher who expounded a doctrine of the unity of being in terms of Aristotle's concept of form. A much more empirical approach is encountered in the thought of the Tunisian-born historian-philosopher Ibn Khaldūn, one of Islam's most original minds. He served various Islamic rulers as ambassador, envoy, and chief judge. Combining a thorough legal, theological, and philosophical education with firsthand experience in politics, he utilized this background to write his universal history, best noted for its *muqaddimah* ("prolegomena"). It is in this *muqaddimah* that he sets forth his conception of history as a science concerned with the causal explanation for the rise, decline, and fall of civilizations and that he probed the rise and development of social institutions. In doing this, he realized, in effect, a philosophy of history.

Both Ibn Khaldūn and Mullā Ṣadrā in their very different ways are examples of philosophers who broadened the dimensions of *falsafah.* They certainly made advances over the thought of their predecessors. But these were advances within a rich philosophical tradition whose first foundation stone was laid in the ninth century by al-Kindī.

SEE ALSO Ishrāqīyah; Kalām.

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MICHAEL E. MARMURA (1987)

FALSIFICATION SEE DOUBT AND BELIEF; LOGICAL POSITIVISM

FALUN GONG.

Falun Gong, also known as Falun Dafa, is a Chinese spiritual movement founded in 1992 by Li Hongzhi (1951–). Although most Western scholars would classify it as a "new religious movement," Li and his followers understand Falun Gong not as a religion but as a "cultivation system," based on principles of *qigong* that are widely accepted in China. Falun Gong rapidly became very popular in China, attracting millions of followers in the years immediately after its founding. For complex reasons, Falun Gong soon ran afoul of the Chinese state, and a massive protest in Beijing by Falun Gong practitioners against media censure at the end of April 1999 led to a harsh crackdown by the Chinese government on the grounds that Falun Gong was a dangerous "heterodox sect."

QIGONG AND THE _QIGONG_ BOOM. To understand the rise and popularity of Falun Gong, it is essential to understand the rise and popularity of *qigong.* In Chinese, *qi* means "vital breath" or "energy" and refers to a force existing in nature that can be harnessed for a variety of purposes. *Gong* means "skill" or "technique," and the two characters together mean "the cultivation of *qi* energy." *Qigong* practice includes a variety of techniques, some stressing physical movement, some stressing meditation or visualization. The goal of practice is self-healing, stress reduction, and the cultivation of supernormal powers.

The practices and principles of *qigong* are drawn from traditional Chinese medicine, folk healing, martial arts, and popular religion, many varieties of which have claimed magical healing powers. These practices did not, however, exist as a coherent whole prior to the Communist revolution of 1949, nor did the notion of *qigong* exist as such. Ironically, given the state's later opposition, *qigong* was created and nurtured by the Chinese government in the 1950s as part of an effort to preserve traditional Chinese medical practices in the face of a massive importation of Western medicine. The goal of those who "invented" *qigong* in the 1950s was to separate pure *qigong* technique from its traditional spiritual underpinnings so as to preserve the scientific benefits of *qigong* while discarding its dangerous and "superstitious" wrappings. The first "consumers" of *qigong* were high-level cadres of the Chinese government, who practiced *qigong* in sanatoria run by the Chinese traditional medical establishment.

After the death of Mao Zedong in 1976, *qigong* became a mass phenomenon in the freer, less politically charged atmosphere of post-Mao China. One important element of this transformation was the emergence of charismatic *qigong* masters who in the late 1970s and early 1980s took *qigong* out of the sanatoria and into the public parks of urban China, where *qigong* was taught to any and all who were interested. As the popularity of *qigong* grew, masters sought larger venues, even renting sports stadiums at the height of the boom and selling tickets to eager followers. The credibility of *qigong* was enhanced by the "discovery" by well-known Chinese scientists that *qi* was a material substance and that the development of supernormal powers based on the mastery of *qi* had a scientific foundation.

Encouraged by the scientific endorsement of the reality of *qi* and *qigong,* the Chinese government lent its support to the *qigong* movement. From a practical point of view, mass practice of *qigong* promised to improve the health of the Chinese people and reduce demands on the health care system at a time when the leadership hoped to economize by shrinking its investment in public health. In addition, after the failure of Mao's Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), the post-Mao Chinese leadership sought legitimacy as much in Chinese nationalism as in Marxism-Leninism, and the government was pleased that many Chinese people were becoming reacquainted with China's traditional culture through their practice of *qigong,* which *qigong* masters linked to China's rich cultural heritage. China's leaders were equally proud to tout *qigong* to the world as China's contribution to modern science—yet another manifestation of post-Mao Chinese nationalism. At the same time, China's leaders sought to regulate *qigong,* and to this end set up the Chinese Qigong Scientific Research Association in April 1986.

Over the course of the 1980s and 1990s, China went wild for *qigong* in what was known as the "*qigong* boom." Hundreds of millions of people participated, and thousands of articles on *qigong* appeared in official media, as well as in newly created journals and newspapers wholly devoted to *qigong.* Hundreds of *qigong* masters competed for public attention. The most visible symbol of the *qigong* boom was the appearance of nationwide networks of *qigong* practitioners, all of whom were organized around charismatic *qigong* masters, who gave lecture tours, appeared on television, and published and sold books and cassettes. Chinese interest in *qigong* had become a mass movement, which began to take on the character of a new religious movement. Masters, in their explanations of the workings of *qigong,* began to elaborate theories that went beyond the technical aspects of *qigong* practice and the achievement of physical well-being; they linked *qigong* to morality, spirituality, the meaning of life, and the meaning of the universe. In addition, *qigong* practitioners began to fall into trances, experience visions, and suffer "possession," and a widespread enthusiasm for the pursuit of supernormal powers through *qigong* practice signaled the embrace of *qigong* as a force capable of altering ordinary reality.

LI HONGZHI AND FALUN GONG. Li Hongzhi and Falun Gong emerged as part of the *qigong* boom. Both were initially embraced as part of the movement, and Falun Gong was welcomed into the Qigong Scientific Research Association, which sponsored and helped to organize many of Li's activities between 1992 and 1994. Notable among those activities were fifty-four major lectures given throughout China to a total audience of some twenty thousand. Like other masters, Li published books of his teachings, which achieved such success that he was soon able to offer his lectures free of charge.

Still, if Li Hongzhi and Falun Gong owed their initial success to their kinship with other *qigong* masters and schools, there was something different about Li Hongzhi. Li condemned other *qigong* schools for their crass materialism, in effect accusing them of fraud. More fundamentally, he reproached the entire *qigong* establishment for an unhealthy obsession with healing and supernormal powers, which came, in his view, at the expense of a deeper spiritual orientation. To Li, Falun Gong was *qigong* taken to a higher plane. Falun Gong, he claimed, could heal illnesses and confer supernormal powers, but the more important objective was to arrive at a physical transformation of the body and a fundamental transformation of one's understanding of the composition of the universe and one's role therein. These transformations were to be effected through Falun Gong practice, which, like other styles of *qigong,* included physical movements, but which also accorded an importance to scripture (i.e., Li Hongzhi's writings). This emphasis on the master's writings was unusual in the context of the *qigong* movement. Unlike other *qigong* schools, Falun Gong also stressed the miraculous, godlike powers of Li Hongzhi (i.e., the ability to assure the health and welfare of all of his followers at all times) in a way that differed from other *qigong* schools.

Li's teachings are an eclectic mixture of Buddhism, Daoism, popular religion, and "scientism." His theology draws largely on Buddhism, and he calls on followers to sever all "attachments," be they to meat, alcohol, medicines, material possessions, or other human beings. Practitioners are to be compassionate to all, but such compassion should not engender attachments that detract from salvation. Li frequently evokes the traditional Buddhist concept of karma—the notion, linked to reincarnation, that the merits and demerits of one's present life will be reflected in one's status at the moment of rebirth in a future life. The "scientistic" cast of Li Hongzhi's message is reflected in its conception of karma, which in Falun Gong literature has a material basis: karma is a black substance present in the body, which can be transformed by suffering and virtuous practice into a white substance. The transformation, according to Li, occurs at the molecular level and accounts scientifically for the improved health of Falun Gong practitioners. Indeed, the promise of improved health has been the primary attraction of Falun Gong for many practitioners, who consider disease a form of karma to be eliminated through suffering and cultivation. Most Falun Gong practitioners avoid doctors, hospitals, and medication.

Another aspect of Li's teachings concerns world destruction and renewal. He argues that the world has been destroyed and re-created eighty-one times, and that signs indicate that another cycle of world destruction and renewal is imminent. Li drew these ideas from traditional strains of Chinese apocalyptic thinking, found especially in popularized versions of Daoism and Buddhism. Interestingly, Li did not stress this teaching prior to the Chinese government's suppression of Falun Gong.

Li argues furthermore that truth *(zhen),* benevolence *(shan),* and forbearance *(ren),* the three cardinal principles of

Falun Gong practice, are in fact the forces that make up the physical universe. Falun Gong practitioners achieve oneness with cosmic reality in cultivating truth, benevolence, and forbearance in their personal lives. Rather than present scientific arguments to illustrate his contentions, Li claims to have transcended science and thus to understand all of reality from another, higher level. His writings are full of scientific (or parascientific) references (his reflections on the proper understanding of gravity, for example), which his followers take as seriously as the rest of his writings.

Falun Gong practice is simple, albeit time-consuming. The exercises, described in the book *China Falun Gong* (1993), are to be performed on a daily basis if possible, alone or with other practitioners. The more important aspect of Falun Gong practice is the reading and rereading of Li Hongzhi's most important work, *Zhuan Falun* (The revolving wheel of the Buddhist law), first published in Chinese in 1995. This work is held to be the source of all truth; many practitioners report having read it in a single sitting and having experienced an immediate revelation. In China prior to the suppression of Falun Gong, a nationwide network of practice centers brought practitioners together on a regular basis, which allowed for the rapid diffusion of the Falun Gong message to interested parties. The centers offered no worship services, however, and Li Hongzhi forbids anyone to speak in his place; all "teaching" is thus carried out via books or video and audio recordings, or via other materials made available on the Falun Gong websites.

This same basic structure has been copied on a smaller scale outside of China. Many followers exercise daily and meet weekly with other practitioners to read Li Hongzhi's works and to exchange experiences. Large "experience-sharing conferences" are an important part of the North American Falun Gong experience. These are regional events, held on a rotating basis in cities where there are significant numbers of Falun Gong practitioners. Such events add witness statements to the Falun Gong repertoire of exercises and reading of scripture; practitioners deliver prepared statements of their experience before and after coming to know Falun Gong. Li Hongzhi frequently appears at such events, the only occasions at which ordinary members can see the master.

Chinese practitioners in North America are in general highly educated and reasonably wealthy, in part because American and Canadian immigration procedures attempt to filter out the poorly educated and those who are likely to become wards of the state. In China, Falun Gong, like *qigong,* appealed to a broad range of the population—rich and poor, educated and uneducated, powerful and powerless, urban and rural, women and men, as well as members of the Communist Party.

FALUN GONG'S CONFLICT WITH THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT. In his pre-1999 writings, Li Hongzhi appears to be nationalistic and patriotic, but largely apolitical. Nevertheless, while other *qigong* leaders took care to cast their message in such a way as to avoid conflict with the authorities, Li seems to have worried little about the response his writings might evoke. *Zhuan Falun,* for example, teems with references to spirit possession, the destruction and re-creation of the word, extraterrestrial interference in the affairs of humankind—in short, a host of references unlikely to please Communist authorities.

As a nationwide mass movement organized around a charismatic leader who largely ignored the Chinese Communist Party, Falun Gong represented a potential threat, but as such it was not much different from other *qigong* schools. What distinguished Falun Gong as an organization was its propensity to react quickly and vigorously to perceived slights from the media, a practice that rapidly became "political," since most media outlets in China are little more than mouthpieces for the government. Sources hostile to Falun Gong report more than three hundred such instances, beginning in the summer of 1996, none of which were violent and all of which essentially demanded that "erroneous" information about Falun Gong be corrected. Falun Gong practitioners later likened their protests to those of Mahatma Gandhi in India or Martin Luther King Jr. in the United States. But China has little tradition of civil rights demonstrations, and actions such as surrounding the state-owned and state-run Beijing television station, which Falun Gong practitioners did in May 1998, were perceived as audacious, if not seditious, in the Chinese setting.

Criticism of Falun Gong in the official media suggested that the movement had detractors in high places. Indeed, official opinion about Falun Gong, and about the *qigong* movement in general, was divided. At various points during the *qigong* boom, some critics expressed concern that *qigong* and Falun Gong were little more than a return to "feudal superstition" and that organizations built on such foundations were not to be trusted. It was probably due to such criticisms that Li Hongzhi decided to leave China for the United States in 1996, roughly the same time that Falun Gong "protests" began in China. Subsequently, problems over Falun Gong's continued recognition as an "official" *qigong* organization signaled that the Chinese government was particularly worried about Falun Gong.

The Falun Gong encirclement of Communist Party headquarters in Beijing in 1999 was sparked by a media affair in the neighboring city of Tianjin, and should thus be understood as a continuation of previous protests. The huge demonstration on April 29, 1999, when some ten thousand practitioners surrounded party headquarters at Zhongnanhai, was surely designed to draw the attention of the authorities to the ongoing criticism of Falun Gong in the media. The demonstration may even have been intended to suggest the power of Falun Gong (it was the largest protest China had experienced since the student democracy movement of 1989), and it apparently came as a complete surprise to China's leadership.

If Li Hongzhi expected the Chinese authorities to back down, he must have been sorely disappointed, for the state responded to the demonstration with a fierce campaign against Falun Gong. Laws passed during the summer and fall of 1999 defined Falun Gong as a "heterodox sect" and authorized confiscation of Falun Gong books, recordings, and other paraphernalia. Consistent with their tradition of protest, Falun Gong practitioners—encouraged, one assumes, by the Falun Gong leadership—sought out Chinese authorities at all levels, insisting that Falun Gong was benevolent. The most visible of these Falun Gong protesters were the practitioners who demonstrated in Beijing's Tiananmen Square, in essence demanding a confrontation with the authorities in China's central political space. Confrontation ensued, as the state arrested, imprisoned, and tortured tens of thousands of Falun Gong practitioners beginning in the fall of 1999.

After the campaign against Falun Gong, Li Hongzhi's message began to change. Li largely disappeared from circulation between the spring of 1999 and the fall of 2000. When he reemerged, delivering impromptu addresses at experience-sharing conferences in North America and Europe, he emphasized the apocalyptic aspects of his discourse in ways he had not done prior to April 1999. He began, for example, to depict the suppression of the Falun Gong movement in China as a part of a "final trial," and he seemed to promise that those who martyred themselves to the cause would receive instant "consummation" or enlightenment, the final completion of their cultivation efforts.

Falun Gong practitioners outside of China began to organize during this period, both to ensure that the truth about Falun Gong and about the suppression reach China, and to bring pressure on Western governments to condemn the actions of the Chinese state. These efforts, particularly those addressed to Western governments, achieved considerable success. However, an important moment in this conflict was the alleged self-immolation of a number of Falun Gong practitioners in Tiananmen Square in late January 2001. Although doubts persist as to the identity of those who set themselves on fire (Falun Gong practitioners insist that the event was staged by Chinese authorities), the incident marked an important public relations victory for the Chinese government within China. Many Chinese who had remained neutral to that point came to share the authorities' view that Falun Gong was indeed a dangerous heterodox sect. The Chinese authorities succeeded in suppressing Falun Gong, as well as other *qigong* schools, within China, but at great cost in terms of the regime's international prestige and the loss of money and energy that could have been more usefully invested elsewhere.

SEE ALSO Chinese Religion; New Religious Movements, overview article.

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DAVID OWNBY (2005)

FAMILY is vitally important to most religious traditions in two closely interconnected ways: Various ritual processes enacted by, to, and for the family help to create and sustain it as well as give it meaning, and it functions as an important symbol of deity. Historically and cross-culturally, family in various forms has (until the late twentieth century in postindustrialized cultures) been so basic to human existence as to be a universal symbol of ultimacy.

DEFINITION. Exactly what constitutes family is not always clear. Some scholars equate family with household, another imprecise construct that variously includes all permanent members such as servants or else excludes unrelated householders. Further confusion results because most anthropologists posit two basic kinds of family: the nuclear family, consisting of mother, father, and unmarried children, and the extended family, typically including mother, father, all unmarried children, and one or more sons with their wives and children. Numerous complicated variations exist, including different polygynous arrangements in which two or more co-wives live under the same roof. A few domestic groupings, such as those of the Nayar of India, whose men never live with their wives, defy all categories. Nonetheless, family, in some variant, is considered universal.

Also confusing is the fact that all married people simultaneously belong to two different families. Family as seat of origination stresses ties of blood, whereas family as affiliation emphasizes bonds of marriage. To keep separate these two different kinds of family, some anthropologists designate the first as "kin" and the second as "family." Kin are those who share common ancestors, as do mother and child (in contrast to mother and father, who do not). Strictly speaking, although family incorporates kin, the reverse is not true because, excepting incestuous marriages, spouses usually are not blood relatives.

Consequently, family is basically a reconciliation of many different opposites: female and male, life and death, ascendants and descendants, kin and affines (relatives by marriage), biology and culture, freedom and servitude, corporation and individuality. The differing ways in which family contains these opposites represent diverse systems of order in which family roles are valued according to accepted local religiocultural belief and custom. Valuation of all members is almost never equal; therefore, family as a whole embodies and symbolizes order of a particular sort—hierarchy.

In its entirety this "natural" order of human relationships, presumed to have evolved out of earlier hominid bands of approximately thirty, has frequently been deified, with members typically reflecting family as experienced in a particular culture. Thus Kwoiam, the warrior hero of Mabuiag, an island off New Guinea, lives with his mother, her brother and sister, and his sister's son in a matrilineal "family" (technically, a kin system) that omits the father. Very different is the Homeric extended patriarchal family of Zeus and Hera, which includes variously begotten offspring. The smaller nuclear family is symbolized in various cultures, as for example the Egyptian Osiris, Isis, and Horus; the holy family of Christianity consisting of Joseph (or God the Father), Mary, and Jesus; and the holy triad of the Yurak Samoyed: Nyebyehaha, the mother deity; Wesako-haha, her spouse; and Nyuhaha, their son. Curious variants appear in the enneads (triple triads) so characteristic of dynastic Egypt.

In its smallest possible configuration (apart from the single individual sometimes defined as family in the postindustrialized West)—as husband and wife—family appears in almost all mythologies. Universally, tales of the *hieros gamos* tell of the sacred marriage of Heaven and Earth from whom humanity springs, as illustrated by the Zuni Awitelintsita, the fourfold-containing Mother Earth, and Apoyan Ta 'Chu, the all-covering Father Sky. Often such etiological stories of how the world came to be tell how one or more of the children produced by the union separate the pair, often forcibly, to form the realms of earth and sky. Such is the case in the Vedic account of Dyaus and Prthivi.

ANCESTORS. Probably no members so fully embody both the ritual and the symbolic significance of the traditional extended family as do ancestors. From the Paleolithic period to the present, many cultures have venerated ancestors to varying degrees, although Herbert Spencer's theory that ancestor worship stands behind all religious practice has been generally discarded. For example, almost all Native American tribes believe that spirits of tribal ancestors return to earth to warn, protect, and instruct the living, although only specially trained shamans are capable of seeing them.

Babylonian mythology and artifacts incorporate important motifs of ancestor veneration. The failed attempt of the hero Gilgamesh to escape mortality by visiting his ancestor Utanapishtim, the Babylonian Noah who did escape it, indicates the salvific role hoped for from ancestors. Between the third millennium BCE or earlier, when sacrifices were offered to the departed kings Shulgi and Gudea, and about 2500 BCE, when Grimalsin of the second dynasty of Ur appears to have been deified while still living, two other important themes emerge: Ancestor worship by actual descendants tends to merge with homage paid by a whole people to departed rulers or "fathers." Thus, in many cultures ancestors function variously as objects of domestic and state devotion, a situation that became pronounced in the Roman Empire. Attribution of divine ancestry has been common for kings, as notably in post-Meiji Restoration Japan, where the emperor was officially proclaimed a direct descendant of the sun goddess Amaterasu Ōmikami. Such ancestry has even been assigned to whole peoples, as repeatedly shown in epic poetry.

So important are the honored ancestors in cultures such as those in China, Japan after Chinese contact (seventh century CE), and areas of Aryan influence, particularly India and Rome, that the traditional family often seems to exist more for their sake than for that of the living. This point indicates one theme present in the traditional family, its orientation toward death. Furthermore, because typically in these cultures ancestors collectively overpower and stifle the individuality now common in the Western world, ancestor veneration also highlights a second important theme: Family as corporate entity strongly opposes the individuality of its members.

Emphasis on ancestors indicates that family is not only the matrix within which an individual enters life but also the means by which he (less commonly she) achieves a kind of immortality. Paradoxically, this denial of death that leads to ancestor veneration makes the family a kind of perpetual cult of the dead enacted by the living.

CHILDREN. In contrast to dead family members, who are almost universally venerated, children are often treated ambivalently. Though desired in the abstract for perpetuating the family, children may be abused or even denied life, as in the ancient classical world. Hippocrates illustrates this point when he asks, "Which children should be raised?" The essentially universal theme of infanticide is clearly present in the biblical stories of Isaac and Moses, who were saved. To this day the practice continues sporadically for girls in parts of India and China, as historically had been the case almost worldwide.

The countertheme of life orientation surfaces most strongly in connection with those newborns elected to survive. Yet even here the tension of opposites is strained, for only some attain family membership. Commonly thought of as "natural," family construction is actually often highly artificial.

Birth, mating, and death, the three natural methods of creating, maintaining, and pruning families, are simultaneously both biological and socioreligious events. Successful delivery of a live baby does not guarantee the existence of a new family member. In many cultures, once a child is born (notably, in patriarchal Hellenic Greece or even contemporary China or India), the father must determine whether or not to keep it. Then it must be incorporated into the family. The contemporary Islamic Malays illustrate one variant of this once nearly universal practice: First, the father whispers into the infant's ear the Islamic call to prayer; next, a specially selected person touches certain objects to the baby's lips to guard against future lying and gossiping; then, forty-four days later, the father buries the placenta beneath a coconut palm seedling. These and other birth rituals help place the child in its familial and socioreligious context. Thus a new family member is "created" only in the most superficial way by its actual birth. Subsequent actions of family members, often other than the mother, bring the child fully into family life.

As a symbol of deity, the divine child appears in various traditions. Archaeological finds such as vase paintings and figurines depicting infancy themes and rituals place this concept at least as far back as the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods (c. 7000–3500 BCE) in Old Europe (roughly, southeastern Europe from Czechoslovakia to the Aegean). Motifs of birth and maturing of the infant later took shape mythically and cultically in many variations that recount the passion of the young god of vegetation. Representative is the cult of the infant Dionysos, originally Boeotian and Cretan but subsequently almost universal in Greece, in which the infant Dionysos-Zagreus is dismembered. According to myth, the Titans lured the child with rattles, knucklebones, a top, a ball, and a mirror, then cut him to pieces, cooked him, and devoured him. In some versions he is resurrected by the earth mother, Rhea. This death and resurrection theme, common to the complex of images central to agrarian religion, finds in the child (or alternatively in the seed) an appropriate image of renewal.

Worship of the divine child was originally shared by or even predominantly directed to the mother goddess, as in the case of Ishtar, Astarte, and Cybele, whose son-consorts were of secondary importance. With time, however, the child, originally of either sex as suggested by numerous Sumerian female Marduks, ceases to be merely the child or sacrificial consort and becomes more and more an object of veneration in its own right. Christianity epitomizes this process whereby the divine child eclipses its mother.

In a very different form, images of the divine child as divine hero are also common in Native American mythology. This pattern is typified by the Haida story of Shining Heavens. One day a Haida woman was digging on the beach. Hearing a cry from a cockle shell, she uncovered it and found the baby Shining Heavens. She took him home and soon discovered his supernatural power, manifested in his ability to grow up almost immediately. This common motif of the wonder child who grows almost instantly from baby to strong youth or man is also illustrated by the Siouan Young Rabbit and the Algonquian Blood-Clot Boy. Sometimes the child-hero even makes plans in the womb, as do the Iroquoian twins Good Mind and Evil Mind. Such "unnatural" capabilities illustrate the power of godhead to transcend nature.

Such capability is even more apparent in the Vallabha and Caitanya sects of Hinduism, in which worship of the cowherd Kṛṣṇa as the divine child has been popular from at least 900 CE. In the spontaneity of his laughter, pranks, dancing, disobedience, and play, the child Kṛṣṇa symbolizes the unconditional nature of divinity. In such activity, engaged in for no purpose beyond sheer joy, the play of the child metaphorically expresses an aspect of divinity less easily rendered by "adult" personifications.

MOTHERS. So important is a woman's role as mother in most societies that the biblical Hebrews, for example, insisted that a wife who failed to bear children was obligated to provide her husband with a concubine (*Gn.* 16:2). According to popular Islamic tradition, the main duty of a woman is to obey and serve her husband respectfully; her second duty is to give him male heirs. In traditional China with its strong Confucian ethic, life was meaningless without sons. Without sons, a wife could count on a second wife essentially replacing her.

Theorists assume that the discovery of stockbreeding and planting taught humans about male reproductive capability. That means that for only about twelve thousand of the million years of hominid existence have humans understood paternity and reckoned male as well as female lineage. Thus was the ancient mother-child kin tie challenged by the familial tie. The nineteenth-century belief in mother right, espoused by J. J. Bachofen, Robert Stephen Briffault, Henry Maine, and others, whereby women were thought to have held social and political power during a prepatriarchal era, has long been invalidated; but current scholarship makes indisputable the existence of a practice of prehistoric mother worship in Europe and Asia Minor.

Material evidence in the form of large numbers of "Venuses," often with exaggerated secondary sex characteristics and pregnant bellies, as exemplified by the well-known Venus of Willendorf, firmly roots the idea of divine motherhood in the Upper Paleolithic period in Eurasia (c. 22,000 BCE). By the time of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods (c. 7000–3500 BCE) in Old Europe and the Near East, the Great Mother, with her accumulated Paleolithic traits, is well established in the variant forms that generally characterize her in agricultural societies around the world. (In patrilineal totemic and patriarchal nomadic cultures she figures less prominently, as an adjunct to the dominant sky god.) Under various names she appears almost universally wherever agriculture develops—as Ishtar (Babylon and Assyria); Astarte (Canaan); Isis (Egypt); Cybele (Phrygia); Rhea, Gaia (pre-Hellenic Greece); Pṛthivī (Vedic India); Di (ancient China); Pachamama (Inca); and so on.

In cultures such as those of Old Europe, pre-Hellenistic Greece, and pre-Vedic India (Harappa, Mohenjo-Daro), which were not dominated by nomadic pastoral peoples, motherhood is typically aligned with a concept seemingly opposed to it—that of virginity. But this belief reflects the archaic notion that birth results from parthenogenesis, an understandable belief for those unaware of the male role. Far from being a moralistic concept, as it subsequently became in patrilineal and patriarchal cultures, it originally reflected an understanding of woman as creator and powerful figure in her own right.

Earth and related vegetal phenomena such as grains are not the only natural elements associated with motherhood. Water, the medium from which humans originally emerge onto land, also functions this way, as with the ancient Mexican goddess of the waters, Chalchiuhtlicue, and the water mother common to the ancient Karelians and other Finno-Ugric peoples. Sometimes, as with the Japanese sun goddess Amaterasu, or the pre-Islamic mother of the heavens Allat, or the Egyptian sky goddess Nut, the traditional association of earth with motherhood and of sky with fatherhood are reversed; consequently, the predominant associations do not always hold, as when the concept "down," normally affiliated with earth and motherhood, attaches to a male chthonic deity. The variant son-consorts of the mother goddess, such as Adonis and Tammuz, reflect this phenomenon.

Various interconnected processes particularly affect the ways motherhood is represented in divinity and vice versa. Specialization tends to separate qualities originally mixed together in a single great goddess figure into different embodying images, as exemplified by the goddesses of the Homeric pantheon. Artemis and Aphrodite, for example, both lose their original fullness of personality to become mainly associated with the hunt and with erotic love, respectively. In this way motherhood, especially in Western cultures dominated by monotheism, has typically been strictly separated from all other potential and actual attributes of womanhood. Thus hunting, wisdom, sex, and war, all attributes of the undifferentiated goddess, come to appear totally divorced from each other.

A related process polarizes "good" and "bad" qualities into beneficient and terrible goddesses. Such terrible mothers of death and destruction as the Hindu Kālī, the Aztec Tlamatecuhtli, and the Greek Medusa typify this process. Such splitting dichotomizes the originally unified cycle of birth and death, in which Mother Earth gives birth (often quite literally, as in the Greek story of Erichthonius and in the many Native American myths that portray humanity emerging from the womb of the Earth) and later takes back her dead for burial (as in the Pueblo belief that Shipapu, the underworld, is also the womb of the earth goddess, Natya Ha ʾAtse.) With polarization come goddesses of the underearth realm such as the Greek Persephone and the dread Sumero-Akkadian Ereshkigal, who are separate from beneficent counterparts such as Demeter and Ishtar.

In a variant process the single goddess multiplies, usually into a triad, as in the case of the Scandinavian Norns, the Greek Fates, or the strange *matres* and *matrones* figures from the Celtic and Germanic provinces of the Roman Empire. Such trinitarian representations often involve different stages of motherhood, as in various ubiquitous virgin-mother-crone triads (the Hindu Pārvatī, Durgā, and Umā and the Celtic Macha, Morríghan, and Badhbh, for example).

FATHERS. Next to ancestors and frequently amalgamated with them conceptually, fathers hold the greatest power in traditional patriarchal families, whether or not their fatherhood is biological. This paradox is logical when fatherhood is divided into three categories: The genetic father fertilizes the ovum; the genitor contributes to the child's growth in the womb, as when the Holy Ghost causes Mary to conceive through her ear; and the social father, known as the *pater,* dominates family life. Whether as genetic father, adoptive father, or maternal uncle, the *pater* supplies the child's social position.

In a patrifocal extended family the *pater,* as oldest living father in a direct line of descent, firmly heads the family hierarchy. This pattern was thoroughly worked out in the Roman family, where patriarchal power was so complete that, until he died, the father retained limitless authority over unmarried daughters and grown sons and their children. A married daughter customarily joined the household of her husband and so came under the authority of his father. Such extreme paternal power distinguished the Roman father from fathers in other societies in degree, but not in kind.

In contrast to motherhood, which results from pregnancy and childbirth, fatherhood is not immediately self-evident. Nor can fatherhood be as readily represented in images. Development and evolution of the concept are consequently less certain and less easy to follow. Almost everywhere, the most archaic manifestation of divine fatherhood is the "high god" located in the sky. Typically this "father" is originally a creator whose traits include goodness, age (eternity), and remoteness from the world of human affairs. So transcendent is he that he often abdicates his role of creator, handing it over to a successor-demiurge. Consequently, he is seldom reverenced in cult and may even disappear entirely. Representative examples are the Australian All-Father deities Baiame, worshiped by the Kamilaroi, and Bunjil (of the Kulin tribes); the Andamanese Puluga; numerous African father gods such as Nzambi of the Bantu-speaking peoples and Nyan Kupon of the Tshis. Existence of a sky god of this sort is evident from Neolithic times on and may well go back to Paleolithic times, but hard material evidence to prove it is currently insufficient. Aside from images suggesting the bull-roarers universally associated with father gods, no images comparable to the Paleolithic Venuses have been discovered.

The fatherhood of such archaic deities is often less specifically biological than creative, as reflected by the terms *Bawai* and *Apap,* applied respectively by the African Chawai and Teso, which convey the fatherhood of God relative to creation. In this sense the supreme being is a "father" whether or not he creates in the well-known *hieros gamos* of Mother Earth and Father Sky or through powers entirely his, as Baiami does.

By contrast, in many less archaic mythological and ritualized conceptions, divine fatherhood is unmistakably biological. Here the archaic mating of Mother Earth and Father Sky, originally an abstract description of creation, becomes far more concrete. The sovereign father is typically eclipsed by his son, as is the Greek Ouranos by Kronos, the Australian Baiami by Grogoragally, the Tiv Awondo by the Sun. Thus, one theme typically connected to divine fatherhood in most mythologies is the generational conflict of fathers and sons. As the archaic father god recedes, the son who replaces him, even as he himself achieves fatherhood, seldom attains the stature of his own progenitor. This is indicated by his characteristic shift from sky god variously to solar or weather god (as when the weather god Zeus replaces Kronos) or agricultural deity (as when the Babylonian Marduk, both a solar and a vegetation deity, eventually supplants the Sumerian great triad of sky gods Anu, Enlil, and Ea), all of which lack the majestic connotations universally ascribed to the sky.

Particularly in the Chalcolithic cultures of the Near East (e.g., Sumer, Babylonia), where worship of the Paleolithic goddess developed strongly into the historic period, this shift is apparent. Here earth as mother, rather than sky as father, typically symbolizes the supreme being, rendering fatherhood a less exalted concept. The god is father solely as fecundator, being more often lover than spouse. Such vegetation gods as Adonis, Tammuz, and their myriad counterparts function this way.

In marked contrast to this biological, often chthonic, fatherhood is the refinement of sky-oriented fatherhood apparent in the monotheistic religions—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—and in dualistic Zoroastrianism, all of which developed out of patriarchal nomadic herding societies that retained more of the archaic religion than did their matrilineal agricultural counterparts. The biblical Yahveh, for example, is thought to have emerged from the celestial West Semitic deity known as Ya, Yami, or Yahu.

One of the attributes frequently credited to father-gods in almost all patriarchal cultures is that of giving birth: The biblical God creates life without aid from a female deity; Zeus produces Athena from his brow and gestates Dionysos in his thigh; the Scandinavian giant Ymir and the Aboriginal Australian Great Father, Kakora, both give birth from their armpits; and the Egyptian Khepri variously spits and masturbates to produce Shu and Tefnut, respectively.

In ritual, too, fathers often mimic the maternal role. Particularly among various Australian Aboriginal groups, initiation rites for boys, frequently reveal the fathers of a tribe functioning as male mothers, as they ritually mimic menstruation and "giving birth" to the young male initiates. Such sexual crossing over introduces into the concept of fatherhood several conflicting themes. Variously, fatherhood is as self-contained as motherhood in its parthenogenetic form; or it projects a "maternal" nurturing quality far different from the remoteness of the archaic sky god; or sometimes it deemphasizes sexual differentiation by blurring, a theme explicit in fertility figures such as Marduk, whose sex changes. These are just some of the ways in which concepts of fatherhood and divine fathers have developed their complexity worldwide.

SIBLINGS. Symbolically, relationships between siblings are almost as central to religion and mythology as those between parents and children. This is partly because brothers and sisters are frequently also spouses, like Zeus and Hera, especially in creation myths, making the theme of incest a common universal mythologem. Almost universally, cross twins (those of opposite sex) are believed to have been the first humans from whom all others descend.

The first couple of the ancient Egyptian ennead were the twins Shu and Tefnut; the second were the brother and sister Geb and Nut, the father and mother of the Osirian gods. The Vedic twins Yama and Yami and the Norse Askr and Embla functioned similarly.

Some idea of the possible meanings of sibling "marriage," whether of twins or not, is evident from the Japanese myth of Amaterasu Ōmikami, the Heaven-Illuminating Goddess, and her brother Susano-o no Mikoto, the Valiant-Swift-Impetuous Hero. The rule of the universe was divided between these two: The realm of light, including heaven and earth, was presided over wisely by the sun goddess, while the ocean and the domain of hidden things was ruled widely by her stormy brother. In consequence of her brother's evil behavior, Amaterasu hid in a cave, plunging the entire world into darkness. When she emerged, light triumphed over dark, and her brother was banished to a remote region.

Most variants of this rivalry show the siblings as two brothers, often twins, as in the ancient Persian Zoroastrian myth of the twins Ōhrmazd ("light") and Ahriman ("darkness") or in the Iroquoian myth of Ioskeha, the creator and preserver, and Tawiskara, the deadly winter god. Unlike the Iroquoian pair, however, the Persian dyad, representing the principles of good and evil, respectively, set the stage for a dualistic system of thought in which both principles are equal.

Often sibling rivalry incorporates the theme of fratricide, as in the case of the Egyptian Seth who kills Osiris or the Greek brothers Ismenos and Kaanthos through whom fratricide was first introduced into the world. This common theme dramatizes the invidious distinction most cultures make between elder brothers and all other children. An Australian creation myth about two brothers traveling together at the beginning of time vividly dramatizes this distinction. When the elder brother desires a wife, he operates on his sibling, making him into a woman. The younger brother-turned-wife simply continues in the subordinate position he had occupied all along, making clear the equivalent impotence of younger brothers and wives.

All these sibling tales ring changes on certain important familial themes. Battling twins represent identity altering into difference; fighting sisters and brothers depict familial opposition; cohabiting sisters and brothers embody familial unity; and battling brothers symbolize the struggle between equality and hierarchy, as brotherhood gives way to the rights of the elder brother, the patriarch-to-be.

SERVANTS. Of all the traditional family members, none so emphasizes the way family functions as both example and symbol of a hierarchical order as does the servant, the hired or enslaved person contributing to family life and economics in both agrarian and commercial settings. Particularly in its most extreme form, as slavery, servitude emphasizes the hierarchical nature of the traditional family. In ancient Hawaiian culture, for instance, one outcast social group, the *kauwa,* were designated to serve the chiefs and touch them directly. They alone were exempt from the *kapu* ("taboo") that prohibited touching the chiefs on pain of death. Yet these *kauwa* were themselves untouchable: It was not proper to eat with them or sleep close to them. At the death of their masters, they were buried alive, often as sacrificial atonement for *kapu* violations committed by others. While extreme, this example, like others involving Indian untouchable servants, American black slaves, and Middle Eastern eunuchs, clearly embodies the themes of scapegoating, sacrifice, and hierarchy common to families in general.

Certain religious traditions overtly take up the themes implicit in servitude, stressing them as positive rather than negative attributes, as in the cases of Hanuman, the perfect Hindu servant, and Christ, understood as fulfilling the promise of the servant poems of "Second Isaiah." Others simply portray servitude as an institution as natural to divinity as to humanity: In Japanese mythology, for example, the fox functions as the messenger of the god of harvests, Inari, much as Hermes serves the Greek Olympians. Among the Haida of the Northwest Coast, Old-Woman-under-the-Fire serves as messenger of the supernaturals, going between this world and that of the spirits. Servitude, exemplifying a humility appropriate to worshipers, characterizes many traditions; thus the Vedic Hindus feel like slaves in the presence of Varuṇa (*Ṛgveda* 1.25.1).

SEE ALSO Ancestors; Child; Deus Otiosus; Domestic Observances; Goddess Worship; Hieros Gamos; Home; Sky; Supreme Beings; Twins; Virgin Goddess.

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Of the hundreds of recent works on family studies, *Household and Family in Past Time,* edited by Peter Laslett with the assistance of Richard Wall (Cambridge, 1972), is most representative of the controversial demographic approach. In this work Laslett presents his provocative, ground-breaking argument that the nuclear family preceded the industrial revolution and hence was causative rather than resultant. Also representative of the new demographic scholarship on family is Michael Mitterauer and Reinhard Seider's *The European Family: Patriarchy to Partnership from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Chicago, 1977). For those who wish to pursue the historical aspects of family in depth, particularly by looking at small numbers of people in very precisely documented areas, the *Journal of Family History* (Worcester, Mass., 1796–) presents the most recent work.

Among numerous excellent sources of information on the mother goddess, two stand out for their lucidity: E. O. James's *The Cult of the Mother-Goddess: An Archaeological and Documentary Study* (New York, 1959) and Marija Gimbutas's *The Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe, 6500–3500 B.C.: Myths and Cult Images* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982). Somewhat more difficult to trace for lack of early material evidence and fewer books devoted exclusively to the subject is the concept of the father god. Helpful sources include E. O. James's *The Worship of the Sky-God: A Comparative Study in Semitic and Indo-European Religion* (London, 1963); Wilhelm Schmidt's *The Origin and Growth of Religion: Facts and Theories* (1931; New York, 1972), considered by many the *locus classicus* for its topic; and Mircea Eliade's *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (New York, 1958), in which see especially chapter 2, "The Sky and Sky Gods," and chapter 3, "The Sun and Sun-Worship." A helpful discussion of Kṛṣṇa as divine child appears in David Kinsley's *The Sword and the Flute: Kali and Kṛṣṇa, Dark Visions of the Terrible and the Sublime in Hindu Mythology* (Berkeley, 1975). Much useful information on siblings appears in Donald J. Ward's *The Divine Twins: An Indo-European Myth in Germanic Tradition* (Berkeley, Calif., 1968).

New Sources

The *Histoire de la famille,* edited by André Burguière, Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, Marin Segalen and Françoise Zonabend (Paris, 1986), is the basic work of reference. It contains historical chapters on Mediterranean antiquity, European Middle Ages and ancient Asia as well as anthropological surveys on family in today's Western and Eastern world. The three prefaces by an historian such as Georges Duby and two anthropologists such as Claude Lévi-Strauss and Jack Goody are very inspiring from the methodological point of view.

The well-organized bibliographies and the ample indexes are very helpful. Among the classics, N. D. Fustel de Coulanges, *La cité antique* (Paris, 1872) and Edward Westermarck, *A Short History of Marriage* (London, 1926) are still worth reading as well as various essays on society and religion by Talcott Parsons. Philip Ariès, *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime* (Paris, 1960); J. L. Flandrin, *Familles. Parenté, maison, sexualité dans l'ancienne société* (Paris, 1976); and Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500–1800* (London, 1977) have been innovating historical studies. *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe* (Cambridge, U.K., 1983) and *The Oriental, the Ancient and the Primitive. Systems of Marriage and the Family in Preindustrial Societies of Eurasia* (Cambridge, U.K., 1990) by Jack Goody are provoking comparative surveys of premodern family institutions throughout the world who challenge many traditional assumptions.

Günther Kehrer, "Familie" in *Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe,* vol. 2, edited by H. Cancik, B. Gladigow and M. Laubscher (Stuttgart, Germany, 1990), pp. 404–414 is one of the very few accounts of the relationship between family and religion, written from the perspective of social scientific studies. Marzio Barbagli, "Famiglia. 1. Sociologia," in *Enciclopedia delle scienze sociali,* vol. 3 (Rome, 1993), is particularly useful for his ample bibliography.

For religions (especially religions of the Book) in the contemporary situations of American families, see the site of the "Religion, Culture, and Family Project," directed by Don Browning at the University of Chicago Divinity School (http://divinity.uchicago.edu/family/index.html), which addresses marriage, sex, and family issues from a range of theological, historical, legal, biblical, and cultural perspectives.

KATHRYN ALLEN RABUZZI (1987)
Revised Bibliography

FAMILY, THE. The religious movement that calls itself "the Family" (though it has also been called the Children of God since its inception) began in the 1960s as the ministry of a particular family and the related musical evangelism called Teens for Christ. Positioning itself in radical opposition to the mainstream churches, which it scorned as worldly "churchianity," it rapidly recruited young adults from the 1960s counterculture and spread beyond its origins in the United States to establish communes around the world. Its visibility made it a target both for secularists aligned with the psychotherapy movement and for some conventional Christians who assumed its unusually high levels of member commitment were caused by brainwashing. Thus, members of the Family were the first victims of forcible "deprogramming," and over a period of years fully six hundred of the group's children were seized by authorities, inadvertently traumatized by their captivity, then returned after the legal basis for holding them proved spurious. The Family remains an intriguing challenge for scholars and social scientists, because it claims to be authentically Christian yet rejects the standard denominations' limits on erotic and spiritual communion, practicing a form of free love and professing to communicate on a regular basis with Jesus and with deceased persons.

ORIGINS. David Brandt Berg, founder of the Family and variously called Moses David or Father David, was the grandson of John Lincoln Brandt, a leader in the Disciples of Christ, and the son of Virginia Brandt Berg, a radio evangelist and faith healer in the Christian and Missionary Alliance, part of the Holiness movement. After serving as a minister of the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Arizona, Father David worked for a decade in the Soul Clinic, a Pentecostal movement. A break with the Soul Clinic and a "Warning Prophecy" channeled by his mother at the end of 1967 delivered Berg and his family to Huntington Beach, near Los Angeles, where they encountered the hippie movement.

A cultural historian might say the Family was an amalgam of the Holiness movement and the hippie movement, both of which stressed intense, intimate spiritual experiences. However, this analysis may be too facile, because not all the new recruits could be described as hippies and much of the religious inspiration came from the personal experiences of Father David rather than merely reflecting his denominational background. For example, from its formative period in California, the Family has always been profoundly millenarian, yet Father David had no connections to Adventism, and his Holiness tradition was not millenarian. Possibly inspired by the quite different millenarian quality of the hippie movement and the revolutionary anarchism of the associated New Left, Father David studied the books of *Daniel* and *Revelation* to develop his own perspective on the imminence of the apocalypse.

Soon Father David's growing movement was staging colorful public protests, marching in red robes while pounding seven-foot staves on the ground in tempo with shouts of "Woe!" or arguing with ministers of conventional churches during their sermons. A few horrified parents sought the aid of Ted Patrick and other deprogrammers to rescue their sons and daughters from the group, thereby giving birth to the American anticult movement. In 1970 Father David flew to Israel for a temporary visit (his subsequent whereabouts were usually secret, but outside the United States), and his followers began moving first into Europe and then across Asia and Latin America. The highly committed membership living in communes and supporting themselves entirely through missionary work and donations reached ten thousand in 1983 and remained at about that level through the remainder of the twentieth century.

THE LAW OF LOVE. After a celibate period during its formation, the Family developed a theology that endorsed giving erotic satisfaction to other people and sharing sexual experiences beyond marriage with the consent of all parties. In 1969, in a tract called "Scriptural, Revolutionary Love-Making," Father David argued that the biblical *Song of Solomon* was sacred instruction for sexual intercourse. From other parts of the Bible (for example, *Matt.* 22:36–40; *Gal.* 5:14, 22–23; *Titus* 1:15) he derived the Law of Love: that any harmless sexual act can be good if performed in God's love and with the agreement of those people involved. In 1974, while living in Tenerife in the Canary Islands, Father David developed a new method of witnessing for Jesus, called "flirty-fishing" or "Ffing," in which women of the group offered themselves sexually to selected nonmember men as samples of the Lord's love.

Over the next few years this practice spread to many, but by no means all, of the far-flung communes and became a significant part of the group's relationship with the surrounding world (in some geographic areas more than others) before being abandoned in 1987. Some former members claim they were sexually exploited during this period, but their testimonies are somewhat lacking in detail, and the central organization has generally had difficulty imposing policies on the highly dispersed local groups except through example and exhortation. Interviews by social scientists with women who had engaged in flirty-fishing reveal a variety of relationships with the men involved, and many of them seem to have been sincere supporters of the group. By one internal estimate, 200,000 men received flirty-fishing, but only a vanishingly small fraction became committed members afterward.

In the 1990s, strict rules were instituted to limit sexual contact outside the Family and, at times, even outside the particular communal group. Perhaps in compensation for these limitations, insiders were encouraged to share erotically beyond the married dyad. A questionnaire was administered to 1,025 members of the Family in 1997, based on items from the General Social Survey that had earlier been administrated to a random sample of American adults. One battery of items inquired about various sexual relationships, including, "What about a married person having sexual relations with someone other than his or her husband or wife?" (Bainbridge, 2002, p. 125). Of American adults, 78 percent said this would always be wrong, compared with only 1 percent of members of the Family.

Ritual, in the conventional sense of the term, is almost completely absent in the Family, except for giving thanks at meals and occasional spontaneous communion experiences within a home (in spontaneous communion somebody will, on impulse, suggest passing a cup of wine with prayers). Ritual's function is taken by various forms of emotional sharing among members, including not only eroticism but also an extensive repertoire of member-created music, a vast internal literature provided by the central organization, and (since the death of Father David in 1994) a remarkable flood of explicit communications that members believe they receive directly from the supernatural.

SPIRITUAL COMMUNICATION. During the years he led the Family, Father David claimed to be in constant communication both with Jesus and with lesser spirit guides. The core leadership who lived with him accepted these claims and fully expected to receive his gift of prophecy after his passing. To their surprise, at first they had difficulty receiving messages from the spirit world, but prayer, experimentation, and patience eventually prevailed.

In general, established religious organizations discourage their membership from engaging in direct communication with the supernatural, reserving this function either for the priesthood or for ancient prophets of bygone days. The Family, however, encouraged all members to receive prophecies. The 1997 survey of members found that 95 percent "received prophecy, visions, or messages from the spirit world" (Bainbridge, 2002, p. 81). Interviews with members revealed that individuals mean a great variety of things by *prophecy*—all the way from literally seeing and hearing the voice of Jesus or a deceased relative to a vague intuitive sense of communion or guidance.

Members frequently write up the prophetic messages they receive and send them to the central organization, which is called World Services. It publishes selected examples within the group. Some of these messages ostensibly come from recently deceased loved ones, who report they are extremely happy in the afterlife, which grieving believers find quite comforting. Remarkably, other messages have been entire posthumous works of literature attributed to deceased authors of the past, including William Shakespeare, C. S. Lewis, and Sir Walter Scott.

THE END-TIME. The Family believes that the world has entered the end-time, and members frequently compare biblical passages with the latest news, identifying what may be signs and portents of the coming end. Although for a time they speculated about whether the antichrist might possibly establish his world government around 1985 or 1986, they have never confidently set a date, and they do not accept early Adventist traditions that it is possible to deduce the date through close analysis of the Bible. The group's image of the millennium and the paradise to follow is quite detailed, asserting, for example, that the holy city, New Jerusalem, will be a pyramid fifteen hundred miles along each edge. According to the beliefs of the group, all true members and others who sincerely accepted Jesus as their savior will be resurrected in spiritual bodies, enjoying all the pleasures of the flesh but suffering no sin.

For the first quarter century of its existence, the Family expected the consummation of the end-time at any moment. When members first began having children, they did not imagine the children would have the time to grow up. As the years passed, they began educating the children at home rather than enter schools operated by the detested "system." Second-generation adult respondents to the 1997 survey reported, on average, a total of ten years of home schooling but only one year of schooling outside the home, and 63 percent said they had never attended a non-Family school. This survey also revealed that only 3 percent of members have full-time jobs, other than their missionary work with the Family, and thus the overwhelming majority look toward the future not in terms of a secular career but in terms of saving souls in preparation for the end-time.

Over the years the Family has been able to maintain what sociologists call high tension with the surrounding sociocultural environment, living apart from the institutions of secular society and estranged from the conventional churches. It has done so by periodically launching revivals it calls revolutions and by refusing to compromise with the ambient culture. By placing high demands on membership, it sustains commitment but makes it difficult for people to join. The scholars and social scientists who have followed the Family over its history agree that it entered the twenty-first century facing some difficulty in keeping second-generation members as they enter adulthood and in preventing local schisms. The cultural milieu in which it was formed, California of the late 1960s, is long past, but comparable recruitment episodes may arise in one or more of the roughly ninety nations in which the Family's missionaries are seeking to save souls. Thus it is impossible to predict how much longer the Family will be able to sustain its revolutionary ministry.

There is no evidence that members of the Family consider that the continued existence of the sinful world contradicts their millenarian prophecies. Rather, the sin and misery of life on earth prove to them that each person must urgently accept Jesus. They note that the world does end for the thousands of people who die every day, and they stress that each person should not waste a single day further. In their worldwide ministry they tend to measure success in terms of the many people who kneel in prayer with them to let Jesus into their hearts, not in terms of recruits to Family membership. Social scientists have found the Family to be a veritable treasure trove of research challenges, and it will be interesting to see whether historians and theologians also benefit by studying this radical movement over the coming decades.

SEE ALSO Jesus Movement.

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WILLIAM SIMS BAINBRIDGE (2005)

FANGSHI. The *fangshi* ("specialists in occult prescriptions"), also called "magicians" and "recipe masters," and later known as *daoshi* ("specialists in the Way") were important contributors to the development of religious Daoism. They were experimental philosophers and occult technicians who, in the course of their observations of nature and search for physical immortality, created a body of prescientific knowledge that formed the basis of Chinese medicine, pharmacology, chemistry, astrology, divination, and physiological alchemy. A major part of this knowledge was later incorporated into the Daoist religion.

The origin and precise meaning of the term *fangshi* are far from certain; but they may have developed from the *wu*, shamans or sorcerers who were involved in mediating between the human and spiritual realms from the earliest times in Chinese court and village life. By the second century BCE the term was used to refer to a group of practitioners of various esoteric arts who were generally outside the literati mainstream. These practitioners apparently maintained their own texts and lore and transmitted their knowledge from master to disciple, yet they have never been regarded as constituting a distinct philosophical school. This is perhaps due to the fact that, while early historians respected their arcane skills, they did not hold them in very high regard and only recorded events in which these abilities were used to strive for political power. The *fangshi* were most influential in China during a period of roughly six hundred years beginning in the third century BCE.

While in later times they came from various areas on the periphery of the empire, the *fangshi* were first associated with the coastal states of Qi and Yan (now Shantung), and it is here in about 330 BCE that we hear of them encouraging local rulers to set out to sea in search of the holy immortals (*xian*) who possessed the potions of immortality. Though their exact relationship to the Naturalist school first systematized by Zou Yan (340–270 BCE) remains unclear, we know that they took the ideas of this school as the philosophical basis for their observations of nature and their various experimental techniques. According to this Naturalist philosophy, all phenomena are infused by one of the Five Phases (*wuxing*) of Energy (*qi*), namely, Earth, Fire, Water, Wood, and Metal. Phenomena infused with the same phase of energy influence and resonate with one another, and these phases themselves spontaneously transform according to their own inherent laws, and so influence all things from the succession of seasons to the succession of dynasties.

When the first emperor of China, Qin Shihuangdi, united the country in 221 BCE, *fangshi* from Qi and Yan flocked to his court. Their influence there is clearly attested to by the historical records. The emperor believed that he had come to power because the energetic phase of water had gained ascendancy in the world, and so he adopted water as the symbol of his reign. He also sent expeditions to search for Penglai, the Isle of the Immortals, and was himself devoted to the quest for immortality.

In the succeeding century and a half, the cult of immortality flourished, and its principal proponents, the *fangshi*, were influential among the ruling elite. Their power reached its zenith under Han Wudi (140–87 BCE), who appointed a number of them court officials when they promised to contact the immortals and to provide him with their secrets of avoiding death. On the advice of these specialists in occult prescriptions, the emperor undertook expeditions both to the eastern seacoast and to the sacred Kunlun mountains in the west in quest of these secrets. He also reinstated ancient sacrifices to the spirits, the most important of which were the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices on Mount Tai. According to the *fangshi*, the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices had last been performed by their patron and ancestor, the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi), who thereupon had achieved immortality. The ultimate failure of these endeavors was discouraging to Emperor Wu, and after his reign the influence of these esoteric masters declined considerably on a national scale.

On the local level, however, the *fangshi* were still powerful at the courts of a number of vassal states. The most notable was the state of Huainan, whose ruler, Liu An, was sponsor and editor of the important philosophical compendium the *Huainanzi*. Liu An died in 122 BCE after his presumed rebellion was discovered by imperial authorities, but according to legend, the *fangshi* gave him and his family a potion of immortality and they all ascended to heaven to live forever. It is interesting to note that rulers of several other vassal states in which the specialists in occult prescriptions were influential during the next two centuries also plotted (unsuccessful) rebellions and that a number of them were associated with Wang Mang, who seized the reins of the empire for fifteen years early in the first century CE.

The surviving records show the *fangshi* to have been involved in a wide range of experiments aimed at lengthening life and avoiding death. Their experimentation with transmuting cinnabar to mercury and gold in the search for the potion of eternal life is regarded as the origin of Chinese alchemy and chemistry. Their creation of various plant and animal compounds for health and longevity is the basis of the long Chinese pharmacological and medical traditions. Their respiratory and gymnastic techniques, methods of dietary hygiene, and various "bedroom arts" are among the earliest examples of physiological alchemy. The *fangshi* were also adept at shamanistic trance and at contacting and influencing spirits and demons. Mantic practices were also an important aspect of their tradition. Some of the large cache of medical and divinatory texts excavated at Mawang dui in 1973 are likely representative of *fangshi* writings.

Ultimately a large part of the knowledge and practices of the *fangshi* found their way into the Daoist religion. Their occult practices and philosophies included breath cultivation and a cosmology of the Dao that are also the hallmarks of the famous foundational works of the Daoist religion, *Laozi* and *Zhuang Zi*, as well as some lesser known texts such as "Inward Training" (*Nei-yeh*), a fourth century BCE poetic work included in the *Guan Zi* that contains the oldest extant Chinese discussion of meditation and its results. The *fangshi* maintained their own independent learning centers throughout the Han dynasty and their lore and practices formed the foundations of the organized Daoist religion that coalesced around a few charismatic *fangshi* leaders between 140 and 184 CE. The oldest source of religious Daoism, the *Taiping jing*, is said to have been authored by *fangshi* and was presented to the imperial court by one in 140 CE. They also wrote a collection of now lost subaltern commentaries on the Confucian classics, the *Zhanwei* ("Wei Apochrypha") that were also transmitted outside government sanctioned circles. Because the rise of Daoism as a religious and political force during the second century CE took place largely outside the purview of the official historians who are our main sources, the precise role of the *fangshi* in the beginnings of the Daoist religion is difficult to clarify. However scholars have been able to identify textual influences between Han dynasty *fangshi* works and the later Shang qing ("Highest Clarity") and Lingbao ("Numinous Treasure") Schools of Religious Daoism.

SEE ALSO Alchemy, article on Chinese Alchemy; Daoism, overview article; Liu An; Xian; Yinyang Wuxing.

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HAROLD D. ROTH (1987 AND 2005)

FĀRĀBĪ, AL-. Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tarkhān ibn Awzalagh al-Fārābī (258–339? AH/870–950? CE) was a Hellenized Muslim-Arabic philosopher *(faylasūf),* known in the Islamic tradition as the "Second Teacher" (second to Aristotle); in Latin, al-Fārābī was called Avennasar or Alfarabius. His Arabic biographers called him the first great logician; modern scholars have declared him the chief political philosopher of Islam and the founder of Islamic Neoplatonism. More than one hundred works are attributed to him, not all of which have survived.

While the details of his life are unclear, with the historical accuracy of many later biographical accounts suspect, the following reconstruction has a reasonable degree of certainty. Al-Fārābī was of Turkish origin, born in Fārāb in Transoxiana; he studied logic in Abbasid Baghdad under Nestorian Christian scholars Yuḥannā ibn Ḥaylān (d. 910) and the prominent translator of Aristotle into Arabic, Abū Bishr Mattā (d. 940); his most famous student, too, was a Christian, the Jacobite Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī (d. 974), another important translator and logician. After having crossed the age of seventy, he left for Syria and attached himself to the court of the Shīʿī ruler, the Hamdanid Sayf al-Dawla; his writings do show some Shīʿī leanings. After having traveled to Aleppo and Egypt, he finally returned to Damascus, where he died.

There seem to be good reasons why al-Fārābī enjoyed the prestigious stature of the "Second Teacher" after Aristotle, for in the history of Hellenized philosophy in Islam, he is the first system-builder and one with a heightened sense of curricular organization and rigor. Thus the various elements of his philosophical discourses constitute a coherent body of thought in which every identifiable proper part seems to be related to every other. This monumental synthesis was carried out in an Aristotelian manner but supplemented, modified, and controlled by a peculiar brand of Platonism, Neoplatonism, and Islamism. One of his celebrated works, *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿUlūm* (Enumeration of the sciences), that was also known to medieval Europe in its Latin translation, contains a comprehensive didactic account of the hierarchical relationship he saw between different kinds of sciences—rational, linguistic, theological, and juridical—and their subdivisions, establishing the precise order in which they should be studied.

It is a testimony to the integrative power of al-Fārābī's system that in his works different branches of philosophy begin to display inherent interconnections that are both unexpected and, to a good degree, original in their construction. For example, his theory of prophecy, revelation, and religion is inextricably linked to and makes sense only in the fuller context of his logic and philosophy of language on the one hand, and epistemology and metaphysics on the other, and all of this is related to his psychology and philosophy of mind. But then, quite unexpectedly, his discourses on metaphysics are largely to be found not in isolated treatises on this subject, but in his political writings, in particular *al-Madīna al-Fāḍila* (The virtuous city) and *al-Siyāsa al-Madaniyya* (Civil polity). Likewise, he hardly dedicates separated treatises to psychology and philosophy of mind; his discussions on these disciplines are again to be found in his political works. Does it mean that political writings form the core of al-Fārābī's system? The answer to this question cannot be straightforward.

The complexity arises because al-Fārābī's system has multiple cores at once, each core having been worked with equally uncompromising forensic diligence. Logic forms one of these cores, where he surpassed Syriac logicians by going beyond the traditionally limited number of Aristotle's specific logical works they read and commented upon, and pioneering the study of the entire range of Aristotle's logical treatises, a corpus known as the *Organon*, as well as *Rhetorics* and *Poetics.* This is a major event in the history of philosophy. Apart from his epitomes of and commentaries on Aristotle's individual logical texts, al-Fārābī also wrote his own *Kitāb al-Ḥurūf* (Book of letters) and *Kitāb al-Alfaẓ al-Mustaʿmala fi'l-Manṭiq* (Book of utterances employed in logic), both of which concern logic and its relationship with language. Given this, these two books can also be considered discourses in linguistic philosophy. Here it would seem that al-Fārābī is trying to reduce all else in his philosophical universe to logical-linguistic problems. And it is this reductionism that makes logic one of the core components of his system.

But on both historical and philosophical grounds, al-Fārābī's discourses on prophecy and religion can legitimately be considered yet another core of his system. For if all true philosophers bear the onus of communicating their philosophy to the masses, as al-Fārābī believes, following Plato; and if attainment of happiness through the establishment of a just civil society is the very aim of philosophy, and—speaking metaphysically and psychology as he does in his *Taḥṣīl al-Saʿāda* (Attainment of happiness)—human happiness ultimately consists in the soul's assimilation with the "agent intellect" *(al-ʿaql al-faʿʿal)*, being the supreme and the last in the hierarchy of four intellects that he posits in a Neoplatonic vein; then by virtue of his own doctrine, the ideal philosopher and the true prophet receiving revelation become practically identical. Indeed in the *Taḥṣīl* al-Fārābī does argue for the real and conceptual identity of the philosopher and the lawgiver (that is, the prophet), and so writing about philosophy and reason—which was al-Fārābī's fundamental trade—was effectively writing about prophecy and religion.

While neither consistent nor neat on this issue, al-Fārābī says repeatedly that true prophet is an ideal philosopher—for true prophecy, like the religion that it generates, is the symbolization and imitation of those very truths that are known demonstratively and discursively to the philosopher. This symbolization of philosophical truths is accomplished by the prophet through his supremely keen imaginative faculty that has *muḥākāh* (mimesis) as one of its functions. By means of *muḥākāh*, the prophet is able to represent objects with the images of other objects and to depict even immaterial realities. In this way philosophical truths, imaginatively symbolized, are communicated to the members of the general public who thereby receive abstract intelligibles from the prophet in a concrete form that they are able to grasp non-philosophically.

Historically too, al-Fārābī's concern with prophecy and religion can be considered a core of his system, with every other element of his thought appearing to be anchored in this concern and reduced to it. For it would seem that he was engaged fundamentally in addressing what happened to be a historical contingency—namely, Islam's encounter with Hellenism. The phenomenon of Islamic religion had become too massive to be ignored by him; he took it seriously and took it upon himself to give it an all-embracing philosophical respectability, while at the same time creating a niche for Hellenistic rational philosophy in an Arabic-Islamic milieu. Indeed, it is al-Fārābī who established the classical tradition of Arabic philosophers' attitude to revelation. It has been observed that his interest in types of rationality, modes of discourse, hierarchy of intellects, imagination, poetics, and the relations between ordinary and philosophical language all reflect that very core concern with revelation.

And yet it is possible to identify many other cores in al-Fārābī's philosophical world, and this only shows the richness, range, intricacy, and coherence of the system he built and the intellectual control that guided this grand task.

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S. NOMANUL HAQ (2005)

FAREL, GUILLAUME (1489–1565), was an early Protestant reformer of western Switzerland. Born in Gap in the Alps of southeastern France of a poor but noble family, Farel studied in Paris and there came under the influence of the Christian humanist Jacques Lefèvre. Through Lefèvre, Farel was introduced to Paul's epistles and to the doctrine of justification by faith alone. Lefèvre and his students left Paris for Meaux, where they had the support of Bishop Briçonnet, a mild reformer and also a student of Lefèvre, and of Marguerite of Navarre. Farel and others were authorized to preach in the surrounding territory. Neither Briçonnet nor Lefèvre saw a need to renounce Catholicism, and Farel's ideas and preaching were soon forbidden as too radical.

After leaving Meaux, Farel became acquainted with most of the leading reformers. In 1526 he settled in Aigle under the control of Bern, taking part in that city's religious reformation, and in 1529 he introduced the Reformation to Neuchâtel. In 1532 he visited the Waldensians and was present at the synod when they adopted the principles of the Protestant Reformation and began their alignment with Reformed Protestantism.

Farel's most significant work for the future of Protestantism took place in Geneva, which he first visited in 1532. Opposition to the Reformation was strong, but Farel persisted under the protection of Bern. Geneva came to a full acceptance of the Reformation on Sunday, May 21, 1536.

Expelled, along with Calvin, in 1538 from Geneva, Farel returned to Neuchâtel and devoted the last twenty-seven years of his life to building up this church. He continued his preaching missions in neighboring territories almost to the time of his death in 1565. It remained for Calvin, whom Farel had compelled to serve the Reformation in Geneva, to make that city the center of Reformed Protestantism.

Farel's primary contribution was that of a preacher and advocate of the Reformation. He was an intense man of passionate conviction and a powerful preacher who commanded the attention of audiences and elicited opposition as well as conviction. He is best known for his work in Geneva and the support he gave to Calvin until the latter's death. As a writer, he left 350 to 400 letters that, together with those of other reformers, played an important part in the Reformation. He was also the author of various polemical and practical tracts. His liturgy, "The Manner Observed in Preaching When the People Are Assembled to Hear the Word of God," was, according to Bard Thompson in his *Liturgies of the Western Church,* the "first manual of evangelical worship in the French language." Farel's best and most important work was *Sommaire: C'est une brieve declaration d'aucuns lieux fort nécessaires a un chacun chrestien pour mettre sa confiance en Dieu et a ayder son prochain,* the first summary of the evangelical faith in the French language. It was published in six editions during Farel's lifetime; the last was corrected and completed in conformity with Calvinist theology.

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FASTI (from *fasti dies,* "the divinely authorized days") were the calendars of the ancient Romans. They are the only known form of a graphical representation of all days of the year from the ancient Mediterranean world. By usually displaying twelve columns of the days of the single months, the *fasti* offered the standard pattern for Christian calendars from late antiquity and ultimately for all representations of the Julian and Gregorian calendars. The listing of the days was organized by the recurring letters A to H (for a continuous week of eight days) at the beginning of every entry. The main information concerned the juridical character of the day, especially indicating whether it was *fas* (right) to open processes in front of the Roman praetor or not (*nefas*). The terminologically divine sanction had other consequences, too: The *comitia,* the Roman legislative body of the people, could not meet on *dies nefasti*; and, probably at the beginning of the third century BCE, a special class of *dies comitiales* that could not be used for the opening of legal cases but could be used for the holding of assemblies was established.

The distribution of days in the known late republican calendars was obviously the outcome of different political and juridical practices; at least from the second century BCE onwards the regulation as a whole was attributed to the codifications of the mid-fifth century (Twelve tables). Religious traditions, too, were integrated: *feriae,* a special class of days given to the gods as property (and hence free from every mundane activity) were marked in a particular way; that is, as *dies nefasti* whose violation made piacular sacrifices necessary (marked by the letters *NP* and abbreviations of the festival names). Obviously, the featuring of this type of religious information helped to enhance the legitimacy of the rigid systematization of temporal rules when published from within the college of the pontiffs (*pontifices,* priests), who formed an important body for the development of legal ruling and procedural guidelines during the early and middle republic. An important tradition attributed the publication to Gnaeus Flavius, probably aedile in 304 BCE and scribe of the pontifical college.

Scholars of Roman religion took a particular interest in the list of the *feriae* as transmitted by early imperial *fasti,* and they postulated a regal "calendar of Numa" as its ultimate source (Theodor Mommsen, 1817–1903). Hence, the *fasti* gained the status of the single most important source for early Roman history (Georg Wissowa, 1859–1931). Yet, even if the list contained some very old traditions, it is not possible to read it as a coherent archaic system. A large number of festivals for Mars and the dedications of the former festivals of the full moon, the *(e)idus,* point to a complex history.

The legal and political institutions regulated by the *fasti* gradually fell into disuse under the Empire. Two developments, however, gave them high importance as a visual medium. Within the growing interest in a systematic reconstruction of Rome's past during the third and second centuries BCE, the *fasti* were discovered as a medium for a display of historical achievements. When shortly after 179 BCE Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, assisted by the poet Ennius, dedicated a painted calendar to the temple of Hercules and the Muses, the temporal pattern of the year was used to add the dates of the dedications of other temples, usually events caused and financed by successful warfare. Days of iterated disaster, too, could be memorized, thereby rendering the year into a temporal "mnemotope." Additionally, a list of the highest Roman magistrates, including the consuls used in dating ("eponyms"), was added. This practice was frequently imitated, hence the term *fasti* was used for many lists of magistrates. Not infrequently, such lists could be enlarged to short chronicles by the addition of important dated events (e.g., the *Fasti Ostienses*). Whereas the text of the calendar—even if displayed in middle Italian townships—is cautiously restricted to events in the city of Rome, the lists could present (or add) local magistrates and connect local history with the history of the hegemonial city of Rome.

The dictatorship of Caesar, his divinization, and the religious restoration under Augustus witnessed a second development. A new class of *feriae* was born: festivals celebrating imperial victories and dynastic events. Without clear assignation of a divine owner, these days were given the status of *feriae* and meticulously documented in the *fasti.* Suddenly the ordinary medium of temporal coordination, the calendar (recently reformed by C. Iulius Caesar), was an indicator of recent political developments. Within a few years, the fashion of producing calendars in the form of large (and expensive) marble inscriptions spread over Rome and the center of Italy, even reaching to Taormina (Sicily), an area practicing an alternative form of lunar time-reckoning. The earliest known (and fragmentarily transmitted) marble calendar stems from the grove of Dea Dia, the sanctuary of the priesthoods of the Arval Brethren, reorganized by Octavianus/Augustus around 30 BCE and in particular dedicated to the cult and welfare of Roman emperors. Soon copies were to be found on public places or in the assembly halls of voluntary associations. Probably without larger practical usage (papyrus calendars must have been widespread), such inscriptions demonstrated loyalty to the emperor and his political as well as religious program.

The new interest in the calendar was not restricted to stonemasons. Parallel to the spread of inscribed *fasti,* commentaries on the *fasti* were written. The antiquarian interest of late republican writers like Marcus Terentius Varro (116–27 BCE) in the institution of the Roman year was intensified. Varro, who pursued the initial stage of a political career, entertained vast historical interest, paying particular attention to the history of language and literature. Although philosophical originality is denied to his eclecticism, even his main antiquarian work, the *Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum,* is controlled by an academic-skeptical outlook. Human society (as the title indicates) precedes its religious institutions, and festivals, like the notion of specific gods and their worship, arise under specific and partly reconstructable historical circumstances. These premises are reflected in Varro's etymological dealing with the calendar in his *De lingua Latina 6.*

It is noteworthy that the versified commentary of Publius Ovidius Naso (43 BCE –17 CE) explicitly declared the same interest that could be detected in the temporal pattern of the spread of inscriptional *fasti.* The emperor is shown as an inseparable part of Roman history and religion; his (extraconstitutional) power is naturalized by his integration into the cosmic scheme of the rising and setting of stars that is part of Ovid's poetic project and easily linked to the traditional calendar by the Julian reform. At the same time, the calendrical scheme offers a convenient pattern for a description of Roman ritual, of those festivals and temples that form the visible part of Roman religion. From Varro's *Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum* and Verrius Flaccus's lexicon on the "meaning of words" down to Macrobius's fifth-century *Saturnalia* dialogue, this pattern remained attractive for the historical or nostalgic description of contemporary or past religion. Ovid himself, who finally ended up in exile, stresses the contemporary commemorative and entertaining functioning of urban festivals. Augustus, to whom the first edition (in 4 CE or shortly before) was dedicated, gets his due share of attention and praise. Yet, Ovid deliberately stops his poem by the end of June—that is, before dealing with the dynastically named and festival-laden months of Iulius and Augustus. It is rather in the epic *Metamorphoses* (fifteen books), published a few years later, that Ovid gives a teleological account of universal and Roman history leading down to Caesar's divinization.

Even if the fashion of epigraphic *fasti* was restricted to the early Principate, the graphical form of the *fasti* remained attractive for wall paintings, as well as for luxury book calendars. The Chronograph of 354 CE forms an ensemble of lists and chronicles around the kernel of contemporary *fasti,* still featuring the pagan festivals and dynastic anniversaries of the mid-fourth century. At the same time, processes that de facto and de jure replaced traditional holidays by attributing the characteristics of *feriae* to Christian festivals continued and renewed the *fasti.* The Jewish-Christian week of seven days, already marked in a calendar of Augustan times as the astrological week of the seven planets, replaced the Roman nundinal week of eight days by the second half of the fourth century. Even if it was difficult to graphically insert the complex determination of the festival of Easter into a calendar intended to be in use for a couple of years, the "birthdays" (*dies natales*) of martyrs and other saints, commemorated on the fixed days of the Julian calendar by the Western church, could easily slip into the graphical (and mental) pattern of the Roman calendar.

SEE ALSO Calendars, overview article; Roman Religion, article on The Early Period.

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FASTING, that is, complete or partial abstinence from nourishment, is an almost universal phenomenon within both Eastern and Western cultures. Although fasting has been and continues to be subscribed to for a variety of reasons, the present article deals with it as a phenomenon evoked for religious reasons, that is, by ideals or beliefs that consider it a necessary or advantageous practice leading to the initiation or maintenance of contact with divinity, or some supranatural or transcendent being.

Although the origins of fasting as a moral or religious discipline are obscure, the custom or practice of fasting is attested in many ancient cultures. The fact that it was in some cultures connected with rites of mourning has led some scholars to equate its origins with the custom whereby friends and relatives leave with the dead the food and drink that they (the living) would normally consume, so that the deceased might have nourishment in an afterlife.

Others consider fasting in earlier cultures to have arisen as a result of the discovery that it could induce a state of susceptibility to visions and dreams and hence give the practitioner direct access to a spiritual world. As such it became for some a discipline creating the proper state necessary for some degree of participation in divinity. It gradually became an integral part of a purity ritual with definite religious intent. In some of the more archaic religions fasting became part of the discipline ensuring both a defense against taboo powers and a means of obtaining *mana,* or sacred power.

Within certain Greco-Roman philosophical schools and religious fellowships (e.g., the Pythagorean), fasting, as one aspect of asceticism, was closely aligned to the belief that humanity had originally experienced a primordial state of perfection that was forfeited by a transgression. Through various ascetic practices such as fasting, poverty, and so forth, the individual could be restored to a state where communication and union with the divine was again made possible. Hence, in various religious traditions a return to a primordial state of innocence or bliss triggered a number of ascetical practices deemed necessary or advantageous in bringing about such return. For such groups the basic underlying assumption was that fasting was in some way conducive to initiating or maintaining contact with some divine power or powers. In some religious groups (for example, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam) fasting gradually became a standard way of expressing devotion and worship to a specific divine being.

Although it is difficult to pinpoint a specific rationale or motivation for an individual's or a group's fasting, in most cultures that ascribe to it at least three motivations are easily discernible: (1) preliminary to or preparatory for an important event or time in an individual's or a people's life; (2) as an act of penitence or purification; or (3) as an act of supplication.

PREPARATORY FASTING. In addition to the basic underlying assumption that fasting is an essential preparation for divine revelation or for some type of communing with the spiritual (what is above or beyond the natural for humans), many cultures believe that fasting is a prelude to important times in a person's life. It purifies or prepares the person (or group) for greater receptivity in communion with the spiritual. In the Greco-Roman mystery religions, for example, fasting was deemed an aid to enlightenment by a deity, and an initiate into most of these religions had to abstain from all or certain specified foods and drink in order to receive knowledge of the mysteries of the specific religion.

Within some of the mystery cults, fasting was incorporated as part of the ritual preparation for the incubation sleep that, by means of dreams, was to provide answers to specific questions and needs of the person. Dreams and visions were viewed as media through which spiritual or divine revelations were made manifest. Philostratus (c. 170–c. 245 CE), for example, presents the view that since the soul was influenced by diet, only by frugal living and the avoidance of meat and drink could the soul receive unconfused dreams (*Life of Apollonius* 2.37). Both Greek philosophers (e.g., Pythagoreans and Neoplatonists) and Hebrew prophets believed that fasting could produce trancelike states through which revelations would occur. Plutarch narrates how the priests of ancient Egypt abstained from meat and wine in order to receive and interpret divine revelations (*Isis and Osiris* 5–6), and Iamblichus tells how the prophetess fasted three days prior to giving an oracle (*Egyptian Mysteries* 3.7).

Among the Eastern traditions Hindu and Jain ascetics fasted while on pilgrimage and in preparation for certain festivals. Within classical Chinese religious practice, *chai,* or ritual fasting, preceded the time of sacrifices. By contrast, later Chinese religious thought, particularly Daoism, taught that "fasting of the heart" (*xinzhai*), rather than bodily fasting, was more beneficial to arriving at "the Way" (*dao*). Confucianism followed the practice of Confucius in approving fasting as preparation for those times set aside for worship of ancestral spirits. Although the Buddha taught moderation rather than excessive fasting, many Buddhist monks and nuns adhered to the custom of eating only one meal per day, in the forenoon, and they were obliged to fast on days of new and full moon. Among modern-day Buddhists it is more common to fast and confess one's sins four times per month.

Within the Judaic tradition only one day of fasting was imposed by Mosaic law, Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement (*Lv.* 16:29–34), but four additional days were added after the Babylonian exile (*Zec.* 8:19) to commemorate days on which disasters had occurred. The Hebrew scriptures set fasting within the context of being vigilant in the service of Yahveh (e.g., *Lv.* 16:29ff.; *Jgs.* 20:26), and it was considered important as a preliminary to prophecy (e.g., Moses fasted forty days on Sinai; Elijah fasted forty days as he journeyed to Horeb). Judaism allowed for individual voluntary fasts, and there is evidence that Mondays and Thursdays were set aside by some Jewish communities as special days of fasting. According to Tacitus, fasting had become so characteristic of the Jews of the first century that Augustus could boast that he fasted more seriously than a Jew (*Histories* 5.4).

Although formalized fasting was spoken against in the New Testament (*Mt.* 6:16–6:18), it eventually became the favorite ascetic practice of the desert dwellers and monastic men and women who saw it as a necessary measure to free the soul from worldly attachments and desires. Within the Christian tradition there gradually developed seasonal fasts such as the Lenten one of forty days preparatory to Easter; Rogation Days in spring in supplication for good crops; and Ember Days, days of prayer and fasting during each of the four seasons of the year. There were also weekly fasts on Wednesdays and Fridays and fasts prior to solemn occasions celebrating important moments in people's lives (e.g., baptism, ordination to priesthood, admission to knighthood, and reception of the Eucharist).

In the Islamic tradition Muslims continue to observe the ninth month, Ramaḍān, as one of rigorous fasting (*ṣawm*), during which days no liquid or food is allowed between dawn and sunset, as stipulated in the Qurʾān (2:180ff.). Some of the stricter Muslim groups fast each Monday and Thursday, and the Qurʾān recommends fasting as a penance during a pilgrimage, three days going and seven returning (2:193). Ṣūfīs recommend additional fasting for the purpose of communing with the divine, and the Shīʿī Muslims require fasting as one of the ways of commemorating the martyrdom of ʿAlī, the son-in-law of the Prophet, and his two sons.

Basic to the beliefs of many Native American tribes was the view that fasting was efficacious for receiving guidance from the Great Spirit. Generally, a brave was sent off into the wilderness on a fast in quest of such guidance, which was usually revealed through a personal vision. The young man's vision was often viewed as necessary for his future success in life, indicating a personal relationship between himself and his guardian spirit. Lakota braves, for example, were advised in their search for a vision of Wakantanka, the supreme being, to "walk in remote places, crying to Wakantanka, and neither eat nor drink for four days." Within many of the tribes there was a period of ritual fasting prior to a boy's reaching puberty and a girl's first menstrual period, considered times of growth into adulthood. In New South Wales, Australia, boys had to fast for two days at their *bora* ceremonies. In the Aztec culture the ritual training required of one who aspired to become a sacrificing priest included fasting as one form of abstinence. While fasting was often viewed as a disciplinary measure that would strengthen the body and character of the individual, prolonged fasting and other austerities were also undergone so that the individual might see or hear the guardian spirit who would remain with him or her for life.

FASTING AS PENANCE OR PURIFICATION. Ancient Egyptian and Babylonian customs included ritualized fasting as a form of penance that accompanied other expressions of sorrow for wrongdoing. Like people of later times, these nations viewed fasting as meritorious in atoning for faults and sins and thus turning away the wrath of the gods. In the *Book of Jonah,* for example, the Assyrians are depicted as covered with sackcloth, weeping, fasting, and praying to God for forgiveness (*Jon.* 3:5ff.).

For the Jews, fasting was an outward expression of inner penitence, and on various occasions a general fast was proclaimed as a public recognition of the sin of the people (*1 Sm.* 14:24, *1 Kgs.* 21:9, *Jer.* 36:9). Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement, is such a day of fasting and praying for forgiveness of sins. But fasting is also viewed as a means of orienting the human spirit to something or someone greater. According to Philo Judaeus (25 BCE–50 CE), the Therapeutae, a group of Jewish contemplatives living in community, fasted as a means of purifying the spirit so that it could turn itself to more spiritual activities such as reading and study (*On the Contemplative Life*). The Essenes, a Jewish group who followed their "righteous teacher" into the wilderness at Qumran (c. 135 BCE–70 CE), in their *Manual of Discipline* prescribed fasting as one of the ways of purification, of preparing for the coming of the "end of days."

Although fasting as a means of atonement and purification is evident in other traditions, it was among the Christians that fasting became a predominant feature. Already in the first and second centuries it began to appear as one of the many ascetic practices that became widespread in the Middle Ages. With the rapid growth of ascetic movements that incorporated Greek dualism into their thought patterns, fasting became an important means of ridding the body of its attachment to material possessions and pleasures, thus freeing the person for attaining the higher good, the love for and imitation of Christ. The prevailing notion was that whereas food in moderation was a necessary good for maintaining health, abstention from food was particularly effective in controlling the balance between body and spirit. Like the Pythagoreans with their elaborate taboos on food (sixth to fourth century BCE), the early Christians saw such ascetic practices as fasting, praying, and almsgiving as means of reducing or eliminating the tension between the earthbound body and the divine, spiritual soul. Although it is true that for some individuals or groups fasting became an end in itself rather than a means to an end, most monastic manuals or rules warn the monastics to avoid excessive fasting, which could bring harm to both body and soul. Though the practice of fasting varied in different countries, most Christian manuals of instruction and worship began to regulate more strictly the times for obligatory fasts (cf. *Didachē* 7ff.; Justin Martyr, *1 Apology* 61). But it was with the growth of monastic communities in the fourth century that fasts began to be more universal.

Modern-day Christian denominations display a considerable diversity of opinion and practice in regard to fasting. For most Protestant denominations, except for some of the more evangelically oriented groups, fasting is left to the discretion of the individual. Although within the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches prescriptions still govern both individual and corporate practices, rigid fasting practices have been abolished. Roman Catholics still practice partial fasting and abstinence from meat on Ash Wednesday and Good Friday. Within the Greek Orthodox church fasting is usually one of the acts of purification preparing one for participation in the liturgical mysteries.

Although Buddhists generally favor restraint in taking food, and many consider fasting a non-Buddhist practice, it is listed as one of the thirteen Buddhist practices that can serve as an aid to leading a happy life, a means of purification (*dhutanga*). Therefore, many Buddhist monks have the custom of eating only one meal a day, often eating only from the alms bowl and declining a second helping. For other Buddhists enlightenment was considered more easily attainable by renunciation of wrong ideas and views rather than by fasting. Within Jainism there is the belief that certain ascetic practices, like fasting, are purificatory in that they can remove the accumulation of *karman* that weighs down the life-monad. Fasting could therefore carry people upward along the path to liberation from *karman.* Within the Islamic tradition fasting is viewed as one of the "good works," one of the recognized duties of the devout Muslim, and is considered efficacious in pardoning an individual from all past sins (Tibrīzī, *Mishkāt al-maṣābīh* 7.7.1).

Within some of the Native American tribes, the practice of fasting was considered conducive to purifying the body prior to some great feat or challenge. The Cherokee Indians believed that prior to slaying an eagle the individual had to undergo a long period of prayer and fasting that purified the body, strengthening it for the necessary combat. Siouan-speaking Indians believed that before both hunting and war the body had to be purified through fasting for these noble tasks. Among the Incas, fasting from salt, chili peppers, meat, or *chicha* (beer made from maize) was one of the ways of preparing the body for an important event and also for a public form of penance.

FASTING AS SUPPLICATION. Although it is difficult in many instances to distinguish clearly between fasting as a means of penitence and fasting as a means of supplication, within certain traditions the latter has widespread usage. Within Judaism, for example, fasting was one way of "bending the ear of Yahveh," of asking God to turn to the Jews in mercy and grant them the favor requested. Ahab, for example, fasted to avert the disaster predicted by Elijah (*1 Kgs.* 21:27–29, cf. *Nm.* 1:4, *2 Chr.* 20:3, *Jer.* 36:9). Because penitence and supplication were often dual motivational forces for fasting within Judaism, fasting emerged as both conciliatory and supplicatory. As in the Christian and Islamic traditions, the Jewish notion of fasting reflected an attitude of interior sorrow and conversion of heart. Within the Christian ascetic circles, fasting was viewed as one of the more meritorious acts, which exorcised demons and demonic temptation from the individual's consciousness. Therefore, fasting emerged within Christianity as a potent force in calling down God's mercy and aid in ridding the individual of temptations against "the world, the flesh, and the devil." Fasting was a means of calling God to the struggling Christians' side in order to be both strength and encouragement in the battle against sin. In the Qurʾān fasting as supplication to God is considered of merit only if one also abandons false words and deeds. Otherwise, God pays no heed to the supplication (see, e.g., *sūrah* 2:26).

Within other groups fasting was also viewed as meritorious in obtaining rewards from higher powers. In the Intichiuma ceremonies of the tribes in central Australia fasting was practiced to assure an increase in the totem food supply. Young Jain girls fasted as one means of requesting the higher power to give them a good husband and a happy married life. Fasting frequently accompanied or preceded the dance rituals of certain tribes who prayed for a renewal of fertility and a productive harvest from the earth (e.g., the Dakota Sun Dance; the Cheyenne New Life Lodge; the Ponca Sacred Dance, or Mystery Dance).

In summary, from earliest records to contemporary society, fasting has been a common religious practice, serving as both a prelude to and a means of deepening the experience of transcendence of the material or bodily state. The voluntary abstinence from nourishment has been for many an ideal means of expressing human dependence on a higher power, or a liberation from those things that stifle aspirations toward a "higher" form of existence. Fasting has often served as a sign and symbol of the human conversion toward something beyond the everyday, a turning toward the spiritual, the transcendent, the Great Spirit, God, and so on. In modern times the therapeutic value of fasting has been adopted as a good health practice that has often taken on the aspect of religious ritual.

SEE ALSO Asceticism; Ṣawm.

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ROSEMARY RADER (1987)
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FATE.

Derived from the Latin *fatum* (something spoken, a prophetic declaration, an oracle, a divine determination), the term *fate* denotes the idea that everything in human lives, in society, and in the world itself takes place according to a set, immutable pattern. *Fatalism* is the term for the submission by human beings to fate in resignation. Fate and fatalism should not be confused with the idea of determinism propagated by nineteenth-century philosophical positivism, which was convinced that science was on its way to uncovering that law of all cause and effect relationships in the world. The assumption of determinism was that a complete set of scientific laws was within reach of the human mind, and that all these would reside in the public domain and be transparent to inquiring reason. By contrast, the notion of fate, in whatever variation, language, or shade of meaning it occurs, always retains a basic element of mystery. Fate may be in the hands of some powerful, superhuman being; it may be superior to the gods; it may be accessible to some select individuals. But, in contrast with philosophical determinism, not only is a certain knowledge possible vis-à-vis fate, but so is a certain "negotiation" with, or even a staving off of, fate's decrees.

There are no religious traditions in which a notion of fate is supreme, exclusive, and all-powerful. Furthermore, the effort to define fate in a universally valid way cannot go much further than the formal lines drawn above. Only in psychological terms can generalizations be added. The more problematic, and at the same time more fascinating, issues arise when one confronts the variety of notions about fate in cultures and historical eras.

PSYCHOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS. In the intellectual mood of the modern age, it is natural to think of the notion of fate first of all in psychological terms. Some remarks can certainly be made here, although they do not help a great deal in understanding fate in the ways in which it is presented in specific religious contexts.

The idea that fear is a root cause of all religions was already proposed in antiquity, and through the ages thinkers have tried to revive the idea, though with little success. With respect to fate and fatalism, however, the function of a psychological ambivalence in many human situations seems hard to deny. Especially in the case of fatalism—that is, the full surrender to fate—an attitude of defeat is in evidence in the belief that the future is as inevitable and fixed as the past. One's acts become acts of a higher power, and Sigmund Freud's observation concerning a death wish as the ultimate motivation may be fully applicable in many instances. Such ambivalence consists of the renunciation of one's own reason (hence also of one's own responsibility) and the hypothesis of a rational coherence of events in another order.

Examples of a grisly sort of fatalism became familiar in the twentieth century. During World War II the suicidal Japanese torpedo attacks and the suicides in SS (Schutzstaffel) quarters during Adolf Hitler's regime occurred in response to a notion of destiny *(Schicksal)* supposedly far beyond the value of individual human lives. Well known are the endeavors to inculcate soldiers in the Nazi years in Germany with fatalism—in the dubious certainty that this was an ancient Germanic warrior stance. In the 1980s, religiously inspired suicidal attacks on targets conceived as threats to Islam, especially in the cause of Shīʿah, became an almost regular feature in the Middle East, and many more suicidal missions have been undertaken in various areas of the Middle East, not only among traditionally different factions within Islam, but particularly against the State of Israel. It is important to look at these phenomena as instances of fatalism. Indeed, there are many phenomena in the present world that have far more than a superficial resemblance to "fatalism." Wars have devastated the lives of soldiers and civilians in Korea, Vietnam, many African nations, and Iraq, where fatalism came to reign supreme, leaving soldiers and citizens with inner, indeed fatal, devastation, even when they survived. One should not dismiss such matters from an inquiry into "fate," for one needs the reminder that cults of fate can revive much more easily than one may imagine. An example, if not of fatalism per se, then of tendencies in this direction in the modern West, began after World War II with the wave of astrology in general literature, as a rubric in most newspapers, and, perhaps more basically, as a way of filling up the empty space of an underlying uncertainty.

The cluster of fear, escape from fear, and dismissal of one's responsibility as a fundamental cause in the formation of certain conceptions of religion and fate is suggested both in the recent past and in ancient civilizations. The fear of rulers, wild animals, foes, disease, and many things under the rubric *nature* has had its influence on the formulation of religious ideas, even in the earliest times. Samuel Noah Kramer translated a few expressive lines from a Sumerian poet who obviously had meditated on some golden age as a time that contrasted with a fateful present. Characteristically, he thought of that age as one without fear:

> Once upon a time, there was no snake, There was no scorpion, There was no hyena, there was no lion, There was no wild dog, no wolf, There was no fear, no terror, Man had no rival. (Kramer, 1963, p. 262)

It would be wrong to conclude that the idea of fate could be fully explained as a projection of basic human fears or uncertainties. The most striking fact militating against this explanation is that certain periods and cultures that knew many fears and reasons for fear have little to tell us of fatalism.

EARLIEST EXPRESSION IN AGRICULTURAL CULTURES. There is no evidence of any religiously central preoccupation with fate in cultures preceding the earliest civilizations based on the cultivation of cereals, nor is there any special religiously significant place provided for notions of fate in hunting cultures. One looks in vain for a significant role or clear expression of "fate" in truly archaic or preliterate societies in general. Everything points to the relative comfort of a grain- or rice-producing culture as a minimum condition for a religious articulation concerning fate. At the same time, it seems obvious that the chance of crop failures by itself does not create a notion or cult of fate.

DIFFUSION OF ASTROLOGY. One complex of a fatalistic type, though certainly not among the earliest ones, has clearly passed beyond the borders of its land of origin and through many different language areas as well, and that is astrology. Two reasons may be given for its spread

First, it is possible to look upon endeavors to relate celestial observations to the course of human destinies as a special modification, under certain historical conditions, of the macrocosmic-microcosmic correspondence that seems to occur with the structure of human religious symbolization everywhere. In a sense, astrology is not an altogether new phenomenon but rather a transplantation within a common matrix when it appears and is diffused in late antiquity, grafted onto existing cosmogonic and cosmological traditions.

Although astronomical calculation had risen to great heights in ancient Babylon, full-blown astrological systems were first produced in the Greek language of the Hellenistic period. Nevertheless, it is important to realize that astronomy in early antiquity was not what would today be called an exact science, distinct from religion and the humanities. Details such as the linkage of the five classical planets plus the sun and the moon to different celestial spheres were accepted in all parts of the world that had any contact with the ancient Middle East. In all probability, this diffusion of ideas began well before the Hellenistic Age. Cosmological ideas among Siberian tribes, as well as architectonic expressions as far east as the Borobudur temple on Java, show the powerful influence of discoveries from the ancient Middle East. This leads to the second reason that astrology passed so easily from one cultural area to others that were on a lower level of civilization than Mesopotamia.

From the outset—from the earliest appearance of astronomical and mathematical tables in Babylon—formulas tracing and predicting the course of the heavenly bodies had never taken the form of a scientific enterprise in isolation. In the ancient Middle East this science was presented together with the invocations of deities—the clay tablets and other writings with astronomical and calendar data frequently show religious symbols at the same time. In Siberian and Mongolian shamanism, the shaman, the person with expert knowledge and experience of the traffic between this world and the other world, travels in his or her ecstatic journey from earth to heaven passing through the heavenly spheres in between, each as a rule represented by notches in the very real pole the shaman ascends; all the while the shaman is narrating to the community's people, who witness the events, what is happening from heaven to heaven. In India, the Vedic texts make frequent use of calendrical numbers, of months or days in the year, and equate them with ingredients necessary for traditional sacrifices and other rituals.

Thus each religious system did what was natural to it; rather than adding "scientific" information to its body of traditional lore, each appropriated the new discoveries as further revelations of religious reality and inserted them in the religious tradition as was fitting. That human life was intrinsically and harmoniously related to the cosmos was beyond doubt. The ground was well prepared for the waves of astrological influences that followed. As a result, the line separating astronomy from astrology is not easy to draw in the ancient and classical worlds. Astrology was accepted as a way to gain knowledge of details in the general macro-microcosmic harmony. It became possible to ascertain the relation of a person to the course of the heavenly bodies on the basis of the time of that person's birth and the celestial sign under which the birth had taken place. In principle, it became possible also to alter destiny. It is not difficult to see that astrology functions by and large in the same way in very different religious traditions and cultural areas. In Hinduism, the astrologer's counsel is taken very seriously—for example to determine the appropriate day for a wedding ceremony. In the world of Judaism and Christianity, astrology cannot boast of such integration in the religious tradition. The Greek philosophers were generally critical of astrology, and that tradition continued and was reinforced under the influence of the biblical tradition. Setting store by astrology's expertise was obviously not in harmony with God's supreme judgment and his power over human destiny. Nevertheless, wherever astrology functions, it remains based on the same principles of ancient science, and in that respect we may speak of a certain sameness, a homogeneity in the astrological complex throughout history.

ANCIENT AND CLASSICAL CONCERNS. Wherever there are clear references to fate in religious documents, the expressions demonstrate immediately that one cannot speak of fate as a single concept. The assumptions and inquiries commonly used in logic, psychology, or sociology do not suffice. Within the history of religions, statements should depend on a clear recognition of the intentions shown by the traditions being investigated. It is beyond the scope of this entry to survey all religions, yet a number of different tendencies within their symbolic contexts can be indicated. The following points present some strands and specific meanings of *fate*. Without exaggerating their importance, they do point to "moments," in the sense of elements that are constituents of well-delineated notions of fate.

Fate that is relatively independent within a religious tradition. Not only moderns who consider themselves secularized, and in some manner "objective" in their views of religious traditions, but also the ancients, among them the Greeks and Romans, have had difficulty defining *fate*. The religious documents themselves show ambivalence. The documents show, however, that such ambivalence is not mere intellectual uncertainty but often an intentional compromise of distinct views, each of which is unassailable. In the case of fate, such necessary ambiguity is much easier to fathom than it is in most other symbolic complexes (e.g., sacrifices or forms of worship).

In the *Theogony,* Hesiod (eighth century BCE) collected and tried to classify ancient and even some pre-Homeric traditions. The Moirai, the goddesses of fate, together with some others, are called by Hesiod daughters of Night (*Theogony* 211–225), although he immediately adds that they punish transgressions by both men and the gods (217–222). When Zeus, king of the gods, has firmly established his rule, the role of the Moirai (together with the Horae, that is, the three goddesses Eunomia, Dikē, and Eirene) is that of dispensers of good and evil. In the new context they function as goddesses of fate, and they are also called the honored daughters of Zeus. The ambivalence, therefore, of their descent from Night and also from the supreme god, whose veneration is certainly the major theme of Hesiod's work, cannot be satisfactorily explained as a conflict of different traditions. It is, of course, possible that such supposed separate traditions existed, but then the major problem still remains: how did such very different pedigrees for the representations of fate come about? The ambivalence is no doubt likely to be related to the nature of fate: on the one hand, there exists an origin of darkness, if not of uncanny supreme independence; on the other, the central god cannot be depicted as subordinate to fate but must be seen as, in fact, generating it.

In the famous epics of the classical traditions, we find this view confirmed in detail. Homer (eighth century BCE) presents a series of dramatic scenes in *Iliad* 16 that establish the case of a purposeful ambivalence. Under the guidance of Patroclus, the Danaans win a mighty victory over the Trojans. Patroclus kills several heroes in succession. Then the Trojan warrior Sarpedon attempts to turn the battle and attacks Patroclus, only to meet with death by his opponent's spear. However, before this fight ensues, Zeus looks down on the battlefield. He has good reason to be concerned, for Sarpedon is his son. Zeus asks his wife Hera whether he should remove Sarpedon from the scene of battle and thus preserve his life, or allow him to be killed. Hera answers with a moving argument: Mortals are doomed by fate. At the same time, however, Zeus can do as he pleases, though once he takes action to save his son, every one of the gods might do the same for a son in battle, for each one loves his son. The best thing, she concludes, is to let Sarpedon be killed by Patroclus, then let him be sent back to his homeland in Lycia, where his family and friends can conduct a proper funeral. In this argument, a highpoint in the religion of the Olympians, Zeus remains supreme; yet in perfect harmony with his supremacy, fate is accepted.

The Roman poet Vergil (70–19 BCE) brings fate even closer to the supreme god in the story of Dido and Aeneas in the fourth chapter of the *Aeneid.* Aeneas, who according to Jupiter's plans must go to Italy to lay the foundations of the Roman state, is delayed in his journey by the charms of the love-stricken Dido. Juno, Jupiter's consort, contrives to have the two marry to make the relationship legal. But Venus counsels Juno to inquire into Jupiter's plans. Jupiter, thus alerted, sends Mercury to Aeneas to remind him of his real goal: to establish rule over Italy. Thematically less subtle than Homer, Vergil leaves no doubt concerning the supremacy over destiny of the king of the gods. Even Venus, known for her truly fateful power, here victimizing Aeneas as much as Dido, is no match for Jupiter's determination of fate.

This purposeful ambivalence has early roots in the classical world. The classicist William Chase Greene, who studied the subject of fate extensively, attributes much to human dependence on nature, expressed in Greece in the figure of Mother Earth, Gaia. Was she, on whom everything depended, identified with fate? Greene touches the heart of the matter in summaries of earlier classicists (notably Jane E. Harrison) and in his own study of texts by explaining that Gaia's way is the way of *Dikē*. *Dikē* (justice, but also judgment or punishment) is a term akin to fate, although the documents do not allow an unambiguous identification. Often the texts also speak of Themis as a goddess; she is "the right tradition" and also "the right dispensation." It is true that she is sometimes identified with Gaia (earth [the Titan goddess Gaia-Themis is the mother of Prometheus]). However, in the myths this goddess is not a supreme deity but rather the guardian of ancient sacred customs when their solidity is shaken.

Comparable to Themis, or right tradition, *dharma* in Hinduism occurs as a divinity, the god Dharma. Typically, however, this god is not identified with any supreme deity; rather, he occurs in legends and myths as the embodied reminder of what should be done. In the epic *Mahābhārata,* the hero Yudhiṣṭhira is also known as Dharmarāja. He is the son of the god Dharma, and his name implies his justness as a ruler. This heroic character has been divinized and enjoys a cult in a number of minor popular traditions in South India. However, the complexity of these cults also involves other divine and divinized characters who play significant roles in myth and ritual. Although *dharma* (the maintenance of right tradition) and a hero/god are drawn together, this popular tradition also refrains from identifying any notion of fate with a divine power.

Much earlier, in the period of the Vedas and in Brahmanism (from c. 1200 to 600 BCE, but also in later texts), we find the term *ṛta*. It may be rendered as "truth," and in that sense it is commonly used in later times. Nevertheless, its earliest meaning, never completely lost later on, is closer to "cosmic balance." *Ṛta* is the power or function that preserves the world in its proper order. Its kinship to the generic term *fate* is evident, but this case is also preserved in its own mystery. Two deities, Mitra and Varuṇa, are called the guardians of *ṛta* in the Vedic texts, but not its owners. No deity appropriates it, owns it, or is identical with it.

In Greece, the Moirai (fate) personified in three goddesses, are sometimes called by individual names: Clotho, who spins the thread of life; Lachesis, who measures it; and Atropos, who cuts it off. The symbolism of weaving is eloquent: a tapestry of life is created and by itself does not imply the design of a superior deity. Homer, as we have seen, does not identify Zeus with fate, but he speaks in several places of one single Moira, whose decisions are irrevocable and to whom even the gods are subjected. Moira's inscrutable nature is not evil; indeed, a wholly evil deity does not occur in Homer, unless it be the goddess Atē (the Romans called her Discordia), but her role is not significant within the structure of classical Greek religion.

The act of weaving (not only cloth but also baskets) has been a source of symbolism concerning fate in many times and places. Urðr (Urd) in Old Norse literature is a personification of fate: a female figure, seated at a source under the world tree, determining destiny. Her name is related to the verb *verða,* akin to Latin *vertere* ("to turn," including the turning and twisting of the thread of destiny). Norse mythology has much to say about fate, including the inevitable destruction of the world (Ragnarǫk). Conceivably, the sources for this mythology, which for the most part are very late, show a certain obsession with destiny under the impact of changes brought about by Christianity.

In Germanic heroic poetry the role of goddesses of fate is largely played by the valkyries, nine in number. They are servants of Óðinn (Odin), and their name indicates their activity in war. In ancient Norse there are the three *valkyrja,* who are associated respectively with the past, the present, and the future, and whose name refers explicitly to their task of determining who will be slain in battle. According to the sagas, Óðinn will employ the valkyries in the final battle before Ragnarǫk. Thus, in the Germanic world, one detects a certain, no doubt purposeful, ambiguity regarding fate: those who determine fate are somehow independent and even beyond the gods, and nevertheless their activity jibes with the supreme god's will.

In Sanskrit literature, the most common word for fate is *daiva,* an adjectival form of *deva* (god). It is "the divine" in a most general sense, for it refers to what is beyond human beings and human ken. A term that took on far greater significance in the sphere of fate in Indian religious history is *karman,* which owes its principal force to the context in which it first occurs in Vedic sacrificial texts. Vedic sacrificial proceedings, the heart of early Indian religious life as we know it from the texts, are acts that by definition could not be in vain; a ritual was an act (*karman*) par excellence. While it is difficult to define the purpose of those acts, this is a modern reader's problem. The texts agree that all power (and in fact everything that one might want to cover with the word *religion*) was concentrated in the act performed, whether by gods or people, the act that could not miss the mark.

In later Vedic texts (the Upaniṣads), in the Indian epics, and in Yoga literature, the term *karman* absorbs the meaning of the manner in which life is determined by previous acts, or acts in a previous existence. In Buddhism, *karman* becomes the term used for the law of causality determining the cycle of *saṃsāra,* that is, the continuous flow of all finite existences. This meaning of *karman* has become dominant in virtually all Indian religious tradition. this notion, in spite of its philosophical contexts and subtleties, can obviously be understood as an expression of fate and fatalism. The religious center, however, from which its meaning derives, is not immutable destiny itself, but the access in human existence toward *mokṣa* or *nirvāṇa;* that is, freedom from bondage to the law of *karman.* Notably, certain Indian religious traditions with archaic Indian roots, such as the *bhakti* cults of the south, are relatively unaffected by ideas concerning the law of *karman.* The loving devotion (*bhakti*) to a gracious god or goddess is so central and so strongly supported by ancient local temple traditions as to make theories concerning laws of causality recede in significance.

Fate beyond the gods. In the Mediterranean world in late antiquity, notions of fate did not disappear, yet new views began to prevail, at least in certain circles, and ancient notions began to be understood in a modified way. The new mood is the same as that which provided a ready acceptance of astrological data and Gnosticism. Tyche in Greece and Fortuna in Rome are goddesses who enjoyed worship, though their names do not seem to indicate much more than "chance," "fortune," and "good luck." Fortuna was invoked under several names, for example, Annonaria (referring to her function of providing food), Muliebris (womanhood), Primigenia (she who is first born, the original one), and Virilis (she who is strong and masculine). Her greatest sanctuary was in Praeneste, the oldest part of which was built in approximately 200 BCE. Fortuna came to be identified with Tyche (fate, or chance) and was a tutelary deity of the state in Hellenistic times. Her cult became very popular.

It is true that earlier times had deities of fate whose names did not seem personal in the strict sense of the word. *Moira* and *daiva* are examples. The Greek term *anankē* may also be mentioned here. *Anankē* does not denote a deity but is a general world for "necessity," yet necessity of a more than physical nature; it is seen as the antithesis to freedom (and forms an important subject for Plato in, for example, his *Timaeus*). The term *anankē* preserved its mysterious, dreadful meaning throughout Greek history. Rather different, *Moira* was fate personified from the earliest times, in spite of the clear, abstract etymology of the word. The name *Moira* is related to a verb of which the participial form *heimarmenē* meant, and continued to mean in later times, "fate" proper. The term *heimarmenē* is a feminine past participle form of a verb meaning "to attribute" or "allot," and hence the meaning "what has been allotted" seems clear—if it were not for the unexpected feminine form. The relationship to Moira is not transparent. By contrast, the personification in the Hellenistic period of other feminine deities such as Fortuna is quite distinct. Fortuna's veneration is symptomatic of a certain obsession with chance and fate. Typically, the Roman poet and philosopher Lucretius (c. 96–55 BCE) begins his work *De rerum natura* (The way things are) with an invocation of Venus, the classical goddess of love, who in that capacity is closely associated with chance and fate. It is she who embodies control over all things, but Lucretius's poem makes a strong case for chance (and in doing so does not conceal the author's critique of all established religion).

Specific epithets for several goddesses who enjoyed worship at the time, including Venus, all refer to the same fundamental concern with chance or fate. The epithets for Fortuna all amount to a transparent naming of the mysterious power that determines the course of nature and history. The great classical gods seem to recede to the background. In roughly the same period, and well into the Middle Ages, during the time in which Indian influences extended into Southeast Asia, the god Kāma ("love," in the sense of erotic love) came to be much celebrated.

Autonomous fate and divinities holding fate in their power. The eventual victory of Christianity over the Hellenistic religions signifies a change in the religious occupation with fate. The idea of "fate" or "chance" as an independent or supreme force in the universe became a major enemy for many Christians. One might even argue that a prevailing mood shifted from one extreme to another. Later Western philosophers, such as Barukh Spinoza (1632–1677) and David Hume (1711–1776), still found it necessary to go to great lengths to refute Lucretius's rational reflections on chance. Generally, the Abrahamic religions—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—looked askance at every semblance of a fate that could be ascertained apart from God.

Martin Luther (1483–1546) dismissed all the serious claims of astrology, since it had "neither principle nor proofs" (*Tischreden* 3.2834b, Weimar ed., 1914). The predestination of John Calvin (1509–1564) is often mistaken for a form of determinism or fatalism, but it is in fact something very different, and Calvin took great pains, with all the philosophical means at his disposal, to explain ultimate human destiny as God's decision, made within the mystery of God's eternity, inaccessible to the inquiring mind of human beings (*Institutes* 3.21–23, 1559 ed.). In contrast to the biblically rooted religions, it is striking that in Hinduism, which was not affected by these historical religious developments, astrology continued to flourish unabated, integrated into the Hindu religious structures themselves.

Before the emergence of the religion of Israel, there occured in Mesopotamia eloquent depictions of fate held in a god's hands. The Akkadian creation epic known as *Enuma elish,* written down about 1000 BCE but much older in origin, tells of the "tablets of fate" given to Marduk, the leading warrior and king of the gods. The presentation of these tablets is the seal of his sovereignty. He may be said to determine fate. At the same time, religious practice in the Middle East was multifarious, and a dogmatic definition of *god* and *fate* is not given. Among the terms for fate are the early Sumerian *me* or *mu* and the Akkadian *shimtu* (pl., *shimatu*). *Shimatu* (destinies) can somehow be manipulated; this is literally true according to the documents. The tablet of destinies (*tupshimati*) is a cuneiform tablet; it controls the world, and the myths tell us that it could change hands. A lesser god, Anzu, once stole the tablet, thus endangering the order of the universe. Although the *Enuma elish* has destiny firmly planted in Marduk's power, another text (the *Exaltation of Inanna*) tells of the goddess Inanna hanging the *mes* (destinies) on her head like jewels. On one occasion, Inanna tricked Enki (the Sumerian name of Ea, Marduk's father, who had formerly held fate in his power) into handing over the destinies.

One cannot do justice to the Babylonian notions concerning fate by explaining them, because of the highly developed art of divination, as a central item in a world of magic; divination was not a mere superstition but rather an attempt to understand and control reality (Buccellati, 1982). Furthermore, Mesopotamia never developed a cult of fate. The Mesopotamian notion of fate can perhaps best be seen as parallel to the notion of necessity (*anankē*) in Plato, and there is no reason to oppose the art of gaining knowledge of the laws controlling the universe to Greek philosophy as if the former were more "primitive" than the latter. In any event, a divine autonomy over destiny is a prevailing theme in ancient Mesopotamia, and this certainly differs from Plato's tendency to oppose *anankē* to God's *nous* (mind) that created the world and human beings.

Historical continuations may be difficult to demonstrate in detail, yet in the Middle East the world of Islam seems to have preserved a number of very ancient ideas concerning destiny. These ideas found their way into the text of the Qurʾān. Specific terms are set in human life: sex, happiness, misery, the amount of one's sustenance, and the time of death (a point especially emphasized for soldiers). Qurʾān 9:51 states that nothing will happen to a man but what God has written down for him. Fate in God's hands here seems to come close to determinism, although it is just as likely, as in Calvin's predestination, that it was more of a stimulus to truly trust God. Certainly, as in the ancient Middle East of many centuries earlier, rational lucidity is not the issue. In Islamic teachings, beginning with the Qurʾān, rewards and punishments in this world as well as in the hereafter are far more significant, and their logic is not always immediately evident. In the history of Islam, theologians and lawyers have struggled with problems that have arisen from the text. Unjustly, many outsiders looking at Islam have considered all Muslims fatalists. God, the almighty, is at the same time the compassionate one. The religious "inconsistency" here in the handling of fate is no more conducive to a monolithic conceptualization than representations of fate elsewhere.

In the Hebrew Bible, the tendency is to associate fate with the will of God. Joseph and Daniel are the outstanding examples of dream readers, but their stories make it clear that they can look into the future through their art only under the inspiration of God. A complementary story of a man interested in necromancy who is not presented as a man of God is that of Saul consulting a woman of Endor, who conjures up the ghost of the dead Samuel (*1 Sm.* 28:8–25).

The problem of fate beyond God or gods. The theme of a destiny that is in harmony with a supreme divinity or ultimately dependent on that divinity's will is widespread and has many variations, yet some periods have also seen inroads on this general rule. The clearest examples come from situations of great intellectual concern and from an overflow of mystical craving. The conception of a god can "dry up," as it were; it can become a pale, rational reflection in the history of a tradition. In the expression of great mystics, such a development can be translated into a frightening reality, a horror that is too great to be endured. It would be overly simple to suggest that the conceptualization of the idea of God causes mysticism, but as a historical factor there is little doubt that it plays a role. In both Jewish and Christian mysticism certain stark phrases and terms, though they certainly do not sum up the whole of the mystic's vision, may be understood in part as reactions to a world of abstract propositions. Among these are the *deus absconditus;* certain metaphorical, not to say euphemistic, names in early Spanish Qabbalah, especially *Ein Sof;* "the dark night of the soul" of John of the Cross (1542–1591); and "the abyss of the deity" of Johannes Tauler (1300–1361). In the history of Buddhism, the tenacious process of negation in the meditations of Nāgārjuna (second century CE) may also serve as an example. In all these cases traditional concepts are forced to yield to a higher reality, a vision the tradition supposedly intended but had not disclosed hitherto. In the history of Islamic mysticism such use and interpretation of and reaction to traditional concepts have often led to open conflict and to the seer's condemnation and execution, as in the famous case of al-Ḥallāj (d. 922).

There is a compelling reason to relate these trends in heterogeneous forms of mysticism to the subject of fate: in all instances something higher and more powerful than what tradition allowed or was capable of understanding is posited as absolute. The term *fate* falls short of this highest element, which is often called ineffable. And yet, in intellectual circles that are not (or not necessarily) inclined toward mysticism, the desire to point to and name the power beyond what the tradition tolerates does occur. The Christian theologian Paul Tillich spoke of a "God who is Being itself," who as such would transcend "God who is *a* being." Tillich intended this idea as a bulwark against any fatefulness of the sort that he thought threatened Greek religion in the form of a fate above Zeus, and he made his case with the help of the mystic vocabulary concerning God as ground and abyss of every being. In late antiquity, Gnostic doctrines of salvation show patterns that bear striking resemblances to a fate beyond God. The traditional image of God is rejected as in fact inferior to the real God, who is truly supreme, and who is the source of salvation. The person's self is instructed to consider itself ultimately as alien to the world as is the real, truly transcendent God. Thus, here also, something is posited beyond that which the tradition had declared supreme, and this something higher is that which really determines the world.

OTHER THEMES OF FATE. What follows are points pertaining to some pronounced "moments" in expressions of fate.

Greece and Rome. Practical, down-to-earth ways of handling fate occur nowhere so markedly as in ancient Roman religion. "Signs" are read to interpret the uncertainties of life, signs that are very common, such as sneezes or twitches of the eyelids, or signs that are completely beyond human reach, such as celestial phenomena or the flights of birds. Messages (*omina*) can be deduced from all such signs. As a rule, one has already set out on an enterprise, and then the signs are observed, and precisely this custom preserves a practical human freedom. There seems to have existed a great certainty that the interpretations were of use to the actions undertaken. The Roman situation differs considerably from that of the Greeks, who exhibit a much more encompassing interest in the drama of the future. The Greek oracles, such as the renowned oracle at Delphi, did not provide "yes" or "no" answers to an inquiry; rather, each oracular event was itself a mystery in need of interpretation. All major trends in Greece show a good deal of respect for the nature of fate, and nothing that might resemble a trivialization. Quite strikingly, Plato, in his last work, *Laws,* conceives a heavy penalty for those who are of the opinion that the gods can be caused to change their minds (10.909a). From the perspective not only of the Greeks, but of most traditions with explicit concerns for fate, the Roman customs may perhaps seem trivial.

China. The practicality in conceptions of fate in China differs markedly from ancient Roman customs. On a wider scale of comparison, the religions of China seem generally much less concerned with theory and very much down-to-earth. This difference is visible in expressions touching on fate and fatalism. Typically, the philosopher Wang Chong (probably first century CE) compared the significance of a person to that of a flea or louse in the folds of the garment of the universe. In neo-Daoist literature, expressions with a fatalistic ring occasionally occur. The *Liezi,* written in the third century CE, contains a dialogue between Effort and Fate. At a moment when Fate seems all-powerful, Fate's reply to the question of whether the way things are is indeed under its control is surprising: "Since I am called Fate, how can I have control?. . .All things come naturally and of themselves. How should I know anything about them?" (6.1a). Dao, the Way, shows its force in preventing Fate itself from reaching sovereignty. In Confucian tradition, strict fatalism is difficult to detect. In ordinary life, however, Confucian scholars have, as a rule, declined to instruct anyone who did not give them the respect they deserved, thereby leaving unwise decision-makers to their own "fate." This practical "fatalism" is clearly only a by-product; it does not tell us much about the essentials of Confucius and Confucianism.

Iran. The singular place of ancient Iran in the general history of religions is also reflected in ideas concerning fate. Zoroastrianism conceived of a set period of duration for the world. In the end, the forces of good would triumph over those of evil. Human life has its significance on the stage of this world drama. Both good and evil ultimately follow the course of destiny. In later Zoroastrian orthodoxy, fate was often identified with time; a system approaching determinism developed. In effect, all power of Ahriman or Angra Mainyu (the evil spirit), as well as of Ōhrmazd, or Ahura Mazdā (the wise lord), was thus dissipated. This later period is commonly referred to as Zurvanism, after Zurwān, in whom Infinite Time is personalized and mythologized. (Zurvanites were the predominant sect in Iran in the third century BCE.) The identification of fate and time has no prototype in other or earlier Iranian religion. One later text, known as the *Epistle of Tonsar* (probably from the end of the sixth century BCE) condemns both people who trust exclusively in their own efforts and people who entrust themselves exclusively to fate. Manichaeism was strongly affected by Zoroastrian thought in its ideas about time, fate, good, and evil. In its turn, Manichaeism influenced the teachings of Gnostic and Christian traditions, in particular from the third to the seventh centuries.

Zurwān (time) is a late development from the ancient Iranian tradition of the Avesta. The great original opponents, Ōhrmazd and Ahriman, were the two antipodes of heaven, Ōhrmazd being the absolute good one, and Ahriman the absolute evil one. In Avesta mythology, all gods and people will eventually participate in a final battle between the two parties, but the good will triumph. When in the course of time the religion of the Avesta became the established religion, new transformations occurred. One such transformation amounts to the "heresy" of Zurwān (Puhvel, 1987). What is most striking is that Zurwān is transformed into the father of both Ahura Mazdā and Ahriman, which would seem to justify the designation of "heresy."

The travel of destinies. A subject that does not always get the attention it deserves is the movement of ideas over wide areas, often as a result of conquest. The death of Alexander in 323 BCE is normally seen as the beginning of the Hellenistic Age. Not only did Greek become the major language of communication from Egypt to Rome, in a manner of speaking "Greek" also became the language of the world—in the sense that a world of ideas, of communication, opened up and endured for a long time. Eventually both the Islamic East and the Christian West came to lean on Greek ideas. And without the rediscovery of the Greek thinkers—a rediscovery made by the Islamic world—history might have taken a very different course. The Renaissance, for example, would have been unthinkable.

The end of the Hellenistic Age is generally set at 31 BCE, with the end of the Roman Republic and the ascension of Emperor Augustus (27 BCE). History, especially political history, sets its signposts explicitly, but the flow of ideas is a different matter.

Fate, as we have seen, is a notion that can emerge anywhere. However, it is always the context that gives it its special touch. Traveling ideas can have a great impact. It is striking that during the first several centuries of the common era, ideas touching on fate seem to have traveled frequently and over considerable distances. It was a period in which Greek philosophical ideas—from Aristotle and Plato, the Stoics, Epicureans, Skeptics, Cynics—moved from country to country. The influence of Plotinus (third century CE), the greatest of the Neoplatonists, crossed borders—as he himself did. Plotinus eventually settled in Rome, where he taught and was eminent in intellectual life. This was the time of the early Christians, who also had ideas about fate, most of them rejecting it, for it would belittle the almightiness of God. Nevertheless, there was much ongoing discussion of the subject.

When the religion of the Avesta became the established religion (under the Sassanian rulers from the third to the seventh centuries CE), new manifestations occurred. One of these was the "heresy" in which Zurwān becomes the father of Ōhrmazd and Ahriman. This is precisely the "solution" that came to appeal to many further west; for example, in Greece and Rome. Particularly striking in this regard are the references to Zoroaster, especially in Gnostic texts. The tendency to understand time as the all-devourer became an obsession in various circles. In art, time becomes a monster, gruesome to behold.

The world of ideas is endlessly fascinating. Neoplatonism did not merely survive, but flourished. But even though the thought of Plato and Plotinus survived, much of the argument of this period is lost to us. The religious turmoil of that time is no longer easy to fathom. Nevertheless, that turmoil was considerable. Quite rightly, Gregory Shaw begins his book *Theurgy and the Soul: The Neoplatonism of Iamblichus* (1995) with a moving description of the agitation of Greek peasants when the temples that guaranteed their lives and their crops were being ruined.

Fates of nations and empires. National fate should not be left unmentioned, since it cannot be separated from the subject of religion. China's "mandate of heaven" was interwoven with the religious mandate of kingship. And it was thought to determine China's, and indeed the entire world's, lot. We have seen above that Jupiter decided the founding of Rome. In modern history, manifest destiny, the American doctrine that gained great popularity in the nineteenth-century age of nationalism, held that it was the duty and fate of the Anglo-Saxon nations, particularly the United States, to dominate the Western hemisphere. Closely related to manifest destiny is the appeal of the British poet Rudyard Kipling in his poem "The White Man's Burden" (1899), which calls on the "white man" to persevere through hardships in his heroic efforts to protect, instruct, and lead to a truly civilized existence his "new-caught, sullen peoples / Half devil and half child." Equally fraught with pseudo-religious pathos is the *Schicksal* verbiage indulged in by the leaders of Nazi Germany.

TENACITY OF NOTIONS OF FATE. The complexity of notions of fate and their varying frames of reference should not prevent us from observing the force of certain underlying ideas over very long periods of time. Faithful to his theistic inheritance, the mathematician Isaac Newton (1642–1727) interpreted his astronomical observations and calculations in terms of God's design. A Japanese religious movement, Tenrikyō (which came about late in the nineteenth century), is in most ways eclectic and has freely borrowed from theistic systems, but its ideas concerning fate are in perfect harmony with prevailing and popular Buddhist ideas of *karman.*

In moments of crisis that hit the individual, the charm of astrology tends to disappear, and earlier ideas of fate reemerge. This is not altogether surprising, as astrology was never accepted in the dominant Western religious traditions. Everything points to the remarkable religious tenacity of deep-seated convictions touching on fate, destiny, chance, and related problems. Even when certain conservative religious phenomena submerge or change, as for instance when funeral ceremonies are replaced by other means of disposing of the dead, basic assumptions about fate and images of fate seem hard to repress in social and private life. When occupying German authorities forced Jewish professors to step down, students in Amsterdam published in November 1940 a farewell message concluding: "In this heavy trial brought on you, we implore the Almighty to support you, Him in Whose hands your and our destiny lies, and whose decisions rule the course of existence for all of us." As in the case with other symbolisms, individuals do not make up their own novel ideas about fate. Instead, old ideas dominant in cultures come to the surface from time to time. They may appear new and striking, yet on closer scrutiny they are like irrepressible sounds made when old strings vibrate anew.

SEE ALSO Astrology; Chance; Fortuna; Free Will and Determinism; Free Will and Predestination; Oracles; Webs and Nets.

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KEES W. BOLLE (1987 AND 2005)

FATHER DIVINE. The Harlem-based minister known as Father Divine (1879–1965) became famous during the Great Depression for feeding the hungry and drawing thousands of disciples (white as well as black) who venerated him as God on earth. A short, balding man of great energy and charisma, Divine promoted racial integration in his Peace Mission movement at a time when nearly all American congregations were segregated. He summed up his religious crusade for social justice, saying, "If God cannot prepare a heaven here for you, you are not going anywhere."

Born George Baker in Rockville, Maryland, in 1879, Divine grew up in a southern black farm-laborer's family. As a young man he traveled through the South preaching to poor blacks. Citing *1 Corinthians* 3:16, "the spirit of God dwelleth in you," he declared that all people were godly and so deserved equal rights and dignity. But after several arrests and detention in an insane asylum, Divine left the Jim Crow South and, in 1915, settled in New York City, then emerging as a center of African American culture amid an influx of migrants from the rural South.

In 1919, Baker, calling himself the Reverend M. J. Divine, relocated to Sayville, Long Island. Living with a few followers who pooled their funds, he distributed books on New Thought, such as Robert Collier's multivolume works, *The Book of Life* (1925), *The Secret of Gold* (1927), and *The Life Magnet* (1928), which taught that everyone could achieve earthly success by visualizing positive images and tapping an inner spiritual power. Disciples also strived for unity with God by renouncing carnal temptations such as tobacco, alcohol, drugs, and sexual relations.

As Divine's communal movement continued to prosper after the onset of the Great Depression in late 1929, his free Sunday banquets attracted blacks from Harlem and Newark, plus a growing minority of whites. These interracial gatherings, though, led to "Father's" arrest in 1931 for "disturbing the peace," and he was convicted the following June after a blatantly racist trial. Yet even before the verdict was overturned in January 1933, Divine found his messianic aura enhanced when, three days after sentencing and censuring Divine, the judge suddenly died. Relocating to Harlem, Divine presided over a burgeoning movement called the Peace Mission, which was clustered in northern ghettos but also featured predominantly white branches in California and other states.

Divine's Peace Mission became a melting pot of the discontented. A majority of Divine's followers were poor black women, often widowed or divorced, and generally from the lowest strata of ghetto society. But others, men and women, held well-paying jobs and were highly educated, including a substantial minority of affluent whites who were drawn to Divine out of idealism or spiritual seeking. In New York and New Jersey, states that contained the heart of Divine's support, the following was 85 to 90 percent black. In states farther west the proportion of blacks in the movement often dropped sharply, but almost never fell below a third of the disciples in any Peace Mission center.

Estimates of the total Peace Mission membership during the 1930s varied sharply. At its peak in the mid-1930s, the movement had perhaps ten thousand hard-core followers who believed fervently in Father Divine's divinity, gave their possessions to the Peace Mission, and lived in one of the more than 150 movement centers. This conservative count excludes many ghetto residents who disdained notions of Father Divine's godhood yet admired his leadership as a philanthropist and champion of racial equality.

Divine pioneered in the growing struggle for equal rights and opportunity. He encouraged integration of "light and dark complected" followers (the words *Negro* and *colored* were forbidden) and used whites as secret emissaries to circumvent restrictive housing covenants and acquire homes, hotels, and beach fronts for his followers in northern white neighborhoods. The Peace Mission proved the vitality of cooperative enterprise by becoming the largest landowner in Harlem and operating businesses with an estimated value of $15 million. In January 1936 the Peace Mission's "Righteous Government Convention" in Harlem called for the abolition of segregation, lynching, and capital punishment, and also urged an expanded government commitment to end unemployment, poverty, and hunger.

After 1940 the Peace Mission sharply declined in numbers and influence as the return of prosperity lessened its philanthropic appeal, and it evolved from a mass movement to a formal sect featuring a half-dozen incorporated churches. In 1942 Divine left Harlem for Philadelphia, and four years later he announced a "spiritual" marriage to a 21-year-old white disciple, Edna Rose Ritchings, thereafter known as Mother Divine. When Father Divine died in September 1965 after a long illness, disciples were stunned and saddened, but not to the point of mass desertion. He had been largely out of public view for several years, during which time Mother Divine had prepared followers for the day when "Father will not be with us personally."

Since the late 1950s Mother Divine and her secretarial staff have administered the Peace Mission from a 72-acre estate called Woodmont, outside Philadelphia. Although the Peace Mission's membership has dwindled to perhaps a few hundred and most of its properties have been sold off, disciples still save a place for "Father" at their banquet tables. They pay special homage to Woodmont's Shrine to Life, a structure designed by Mother Divine: it surrounds a red marble crypt that holds the body of Father Divine. Followers believe that "Father" did not die, but rather cast off his mortal body in order to rule the universe through his spirit.

SEE ALSO New Thought Movement.

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ROBERT WEISBROT (2005)

FĀṬIMAH BINT MUḤAMMAD (d. 11 AH/633 CE) was the youngest and best-known daughter of the prophet Muḥammad and his first wife Khadījah. His bloodline continues exclusively through her.

BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS. The sources give Fāṭimah's date of birth as falling between 609 and 614 CE. She is described as having been greatly beloved of Muḥammad, and in turn was completely devoted to him. Her mother Khadījah's death while Fāṭimah was still very young filled her with great grief. She shared her father's travails during his years of persecution in Mecca before the emigration (*hijrah*) to Medina in 622 CE.

Shortly after the *hijrah*, two close associates of the Prophet, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar (who later became the first and second caliph), asked for Fāṭimah's hand in marriage. Muḥammad refused both of them, and instead encouraged his cousin ʿAlī, despite his greatly impoverished circumstances, to propose marriage to his daughter. ʿAlī, at the Prophet's behest, sold his shield and thereby obtained a sum of roughly 480 *dirhams* to offer as the bridal gift. Fāṭimah was between fifteen and twenty-one and ʿAlī twenty-five years of age at the time of marriage. A modest wedding feast was arranged and the couple moved into a home close to the Prophet's residence. They lived in grinding poverty, especially for the first several years of their marriage; the sources depict them as often having very little to eat. To earn a meager living, ʿAlī would draw water from the wells and water other people's lands, and Fāṭimah did all the housework herself, being unable to afford servants. Despite this, Fāṭimah is well-known for her highly charitable disposition, and before her marriage had tended to the *ahl al-Ṣuffah* (people of the bench), a group of destitute Muslims who took refuge in the Prophet's mosque in Medina.

The two famous sons of Fāṭimah and ʿAlī, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, were born within the first four years of their marriage. A third son, Muḥassin (or Muḥsin), was stillborn. Two daughters followed, Umm Kulthūm and Zaynab, who were named after Fāṭimah's elder sisters.

There was apparently friction between Fāṭimah and ʿAlī, and she would complain to her father about the latter's harshness to her. Muḥammad is said to have been distressed by this lack of conjugal harmony and intervened on such occasions to effect a reconciliation between the sparring couple. A serious rift threatened to erupt between the couple when ʿAlī began to actively consider taking a second wife. The Prophet came to the defense of Fāṭimah and forbade ʿAlī from contracting a second marriage unless he were to divorce her first. Muḥammad's affection for his daughter was codified in a *ḥadīth* he uttered on this occasion: "Fāṭimah is a part of me and whoever offends her offends me." ʿAlī was thus dissuaded from taking a second consort. This event is sometimes invoked to point to the Prophet's preference for monogamy over polygamy, in the absence of extenuating circumstances.

Both the Sunnīs and the Shīʿah venerate Fāṭimah greatly as the beloved daughter of the Prophet, through whom his descendants are traced. She is one of the five members of the Prophet's family (*ahl al-bayt*; literally "family of the house [of the Prophet]"), which includes additionally, besides Muḥammad, ʿAlī and their two sons, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. The term *ahl al-bayt* is a highly charged term, particularly for the Shīʿah. It occurs in a significant verse in the Qurʾān (33:33), which states, "O People of the House, God wishes only to remove from you uncleanliness." To whom precisely *ahl al-bayt* refers has remained unresolved to this day. Many Sunnī commentators have understood this verse to include not only the five members indicated above but also all the Prophet's wives. But Shīʿī commentators, and a number of pro-ʿAlid Sunnī exegetes, have interpreted *ahl al-bayt* as referring only to the five members, and have stressed the Qurʾanically mandated privileged status thereby accruing to them. An "occasion of revelation" is frequently recounted in connection with this verse, which further anchors this circumscribed meaning of *ahl al-bayt.* The sources relate that during an event that has come to be known as *al-mubāhalah* (mutual adjuration), the Prophet gathered ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn under a cloak before a Christian delegation from Najrān as a proof of his prophethood, according to one version. "The family of the cloak" (*ahl al-kisāʾ*), as they are referred to after this incident, tends to become conflated with *ahl al-bayt* in Shīʿī exegetical works in particular.

Another *ḥadīth*, known as the *ḥadīth al-thaqalayn* (the Prophet's statement regarding the two weighty [things]), underscores the high status of the *ahl al-bayt* and is recorded in both Sunnī and Shīʿī standard *ḥadīth* compilations. In this report, Muḥammad says, "Indeed, I am leaving behind two weighty [things] among you: the Book of God and my kindred, the *ahl al-bayt.*"

The family of the Prophet is greatly revered by both Sunnīs and Shīʿah alike—although among the Shīʿah, allegiance to the *ahl al-bayt* becomes a religious tenet. Both Sunnī and Shīʿī sources attest to the special bond of affection and closeness that existed between Muḥammad and Fāṭimah in particular. She is said to have closely resembled him in appearance and manner. Fāṭimah's usual epithet, *al-Zahrāʾ*, means "the radiant one." It is worthy of note that the most famous and oldest institution of higher learning in the Islamic world, al-Azhar (masculine form of al-Zahrāʾ) in Cairo, Egypt, is named after her. This mosque-university was built in 969 CE by the Ismāʿīlī dynasty from North Africa, known, once again after Fāṭimah, as the Fāṭimids.

Fāṭimah died in 633, about four to six months after her father. ʿAlī prepared her body for burial, and she was laid to rest in the family cemetery of Baqīʿ al-Gharqad in Medina.

THE CULT OF FĀṬIMAH The cult of Fāṭimah grew as the Shīʿah became more confirmed in their oppositional role to the majoritarian Sunnīs. As the former progressively came to stress over time that legitimate and just leadership of the Muslim polity could only be exercised by a descendant of Fāṭimah and ʿAlī, her status, as the only daughter of the Prophet to produce heirs who lived into adulthood and thus continue his line, grew accordingly. In Shīʿī sources, Fāṭimah, in addition to al-Zahrāʾ, is given eight other names: al-Baṭūl (the Chaste/Virgin), al-Ṣiddīqah (the Truthful), al-Ṭāhirah (the Pure), al-Mubārakah (the Blessed), al-Zakīyah (the Pure), al-Raḍīyah (the One Contented [with God's pleasure]), al-Marḍiyah (One with whom [God is] pleased), al-Muḥaddathah (the One Spoken to [by angels]), and Umm Muḥammad/Umm Abīhā (Mother of Muḥammad/Mother of Her Father). The last epithet invokes the memory of the occulted Twelfth Imām in Imāmī or Twelver Shīʿī belief, whose name was Muḥammad, like the Prophet of Islam. In this sense, Fāṭimah is the "mother" of her distant descendant, and thus "of her father" who bears the same name.

In Shīʿī hagiography, the name *Fāṭimah* itself is glossed as "One who was weaned [by God from the Fire];" those who love her will also be saved from it. Fāṭimah is the Pure and Chaste one because she was not subject to the blood of menstruation and parturition on account of having been created from the waters of paradise. The Qurʾanic verse (33:33) cited above is taken by the Shīʿah as a proof-text attesting to Fāṭimah's *ʿismah,* or "[moral] impeccability" or "sinlessness" (and that of other members of the family of the Prophet as well). Fāṭimah is moreover believed to have been entrusted with a special "scroll," known as *Maṣḥaf Fāṭimah,* brought to her by Gabriel to console her on the death of her father. The cult of Fāṭimah has been likened to the cult of the Virgin Mary in Roman Catholicism; there are indeed many parallels to be observed. Like Mary, she is virginal, despite being a wife and mother; and she is a tragic yet powerful female figure, eliciting the greatest loyalty from those devoted to her. The Shīʿah often refer to Fāṭimah as Maryam al-Kubrá (the Greater Mary).

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FA-TSANG SEE FAZANG

FAUST.

In sixteenth-century Europe, Faust was reviled as a godless man who, as a consequence of making a pact with the Devil, met a gruesome yet appropriate fate. By the nineteenth century, he had become the archetypal Romantic hero; the term *Faustian,* coined by Oswald Spengler (1880–1936), was taken as a positive epithet to describe those tormented, defiant individuals who strive for more than is humanly possible. Whether condemned or condoned, Faust is the protagonist of an enduring story that embodies fundamental religious and philosophical questions about humanity's place in the universe, the nature of good and evil, and the limitations of human knowledge.

THE HISTORICAL FAUST. Between 1507 and 1540, numerous references appear in German diaries, letters, and records to an unsavory character with the last name of Faust. The picture that emerges is of a fairly well educated man: He may have been the Johann Faust listed in the matriculation records of the University of Heidelberg for 1509, or he may have been the Georg Faust who received a hostile reception at the University of Erfurt. In any event, he traveled extensively, and he was viewed with a mixture of fear and contempt by his contemporaries, who describe him variously as a magician, a necromancer, a charlatan, an astrologer, an alchemist, a braggart, a sodomite, a gourmand, and a drunkard. His evil reputation, enhanced by his boast of having made a pact with the Devil, is confirmed by references to his expulsion from various cities. According to contemporary accounts, Faust died mysteriously. Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560) says he was strangled by the Devil in a rural inn in Württemberg on the day their pact fell due.

ORIGIN OF THE FAUST LEGEND. The development of the Faust legend began in 1540, shortly after contemporary references to his activities ceased. The legend, a by-product of the Reformation, originated in Lutheran circles as a reaction against Roman Catholicism and Renaissance magic and science. It illustrates the anti-intellectual strain within the Christian tradition that has erupted periodically in campaigns of censorship and denunciations of "forbidden" knowledge. Faust became a convenient symbol of deviant religious, scientific, and philosophical thought. He was identified with several of the most controversial thinkers of the sixteenth century: Paracelsus, Trithemius, and Agrippa.

LITERARY TREATMENT OF THE FAUST LEGEND. The earliest printed collection of Faust stories, known as the *Spies Faustbuch,* was published by Johann Spies at Frankfurt in 1587. Enormously popular, it was reprinted eighteen times in the next ten years. Before the end of the century, translations appeared in English, Dutch, and French. The German text went through several revisions, the last of which, republished frequently in the eighteenth century, was probably known to Goethe.

The basic story presents Faust as a scholar whose intellectual arrogance prompts him to abandon the legitimate study of theology for the forbidden science of magic. In return for a specified number of years of power and knowledge, Faust sells his soul to the Devil. He performs astonishing magical feats, conjures up the dead, flies over the earth, and eventually captivates the most beautiful woman in the world, Helen of Troy, by whom he has a son. When the pact expires, he is carried off to Hell.

The two most famous literary treatments of the story are Christopher Marlowe's *The Tragicall History of Doctor Faustus* (1604) and Goethe's *Faust* (1808, 1832). Marlowe based his play on the English *Faustbook.* His version of the story is in the tradition of morality plays, but he adds the specifically Protestant theme that Faust's damnation was due to his despairing fatalism and his refusal to accept justification by faith.

The first recorded performance of Marlowe's play was in Graz, Austria, by a company of English players. The play became a staple of German puppet theater, where it was seen by both Lessing and Goethe as children. As adults, both used the Faust story in plays of their own. Faust's defiant attempt to transcend the limits of human existence appealed to both men and fit in with the repudiation of Enlightenment rationalism that characterized the *Sturm und Drang* movement to which they belonged.

Only fragments of Lessing's proposed Faust dramas exist, but Goethe's two-part drama is considered the greatest work of Germany's greatest poet. By emphasizing the tragic elements only hinted at in earlier versions and by making them the source of Faust's salvation rather than his damnation, Goethe transformed the story of a venal, vainglorious magician into that of an inspiring, tragic hero. In Goethe's drama, God has the last word in the prologue: Striving and error go hand in hand ("Es irrt der Mensch, solang' er strebt"), but only those who dare to cultivate the divine spark within can hope to be saved ("Ein guter Mensch in seinem dunkel Drange / Ist sich des rechten Weges wohl bewusst").

The Faust story continued to be popular throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Among the many authors attracted to the legend were Lenau, Klinger, Chamisso, Grillparzer, Heine, de Nerval, Valéry, and Mann. Most of them, however, rejected Goethe's optimistic conclusion and stressed instead the danger inherent in Faust's insatiable thirst for knowledge.

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FAXIAN (fl. 399–418), Chinese Buddhist monk, translator, and the earliest successful Chinese Buddhist pilgrim to India. Faxian's family name was Gong; he was born in Wuyang in Pingyang Prefecture (in Shanxi province). After being fully ordained at the age of twenty, Faxian recognized that the Buddhist monastic rules (the Vinaya) available in China at the time were incomplete and confused and thus vowed to journey to India to search for Vinaya texts. After years of preparation he organized a party of five monks, who left Chang'an in 399 and passed out of China through Qiangui, Zhangye and Dunhuang (all in northwestern China). From Dunhuang they proceeded along the southern marches of the Tarim basin to the central Asian kingdoms of Shan-shan, Agni, and Khotan, where they watched the religious procession of the Buddha's image. From there they traveled to Chakarka, crossed the Pamirs and Agzi, and finally arrived at the kingdom of Uḍḍiyāna in North India, via Darada and the Indus River valley. So long and arduous was their journey that it took three years for the Chinese pilgrims to reach North India from China.

Faxian spent a summer retreat in Uḍḍiyāna then traveled to the south, passed through Suvastu, Gandhara, Takṣaśīla (Taxila), and arrived at Puruṣapura. There, three members of the mission decided to return to China. Faxian and the others continued the journey, traveling to Hilo and paying homage to the Buddha's shadow at Nagārhara. They crossed over the Lesser Snow Mountain, where Huijing, one of the three members of the party, died. Faxian then traveled to Lakki, where he had the summer retreat in 403, after which he went on to Mathura via Harana and Uccha. He passed the summer retreat in 404 at Śaṃkāśya. Turning southeastward, he then passed through Kanyakubja (Kanauj), Vaiśākha, the Jetavana grove at Śrāvastī, and the birthplace of the Buddha at the Lumbinī near Kapilavastu on the Indo-Nepal border. From there he traveled eastward to Rāmagrāma, Kuśinagara, Vaiśālī, and finally arrived at Pāṭaliputra, the capital of Magadha kingdom. After a short stay at the city, Faxian went to the southeast. In Rājagṛha he performed a rite of worship at the top of Gṛdhrakūṭa. He worshiped the bodhi tree at Bodh Gayā, visited other places nearby, and returned to Pāṭaliputra. From there he went westward, made a pilgrimage to Vārāṇasī, the Mṛgadava, or the Deer Park at Sarnath, and concluded the trip with a visit to Kauśāmbi.

Between the years 405 and 407, Faxian stayed at the Mahāyāna monastery of Pāṭaliputra, concentrating on the study of the Sanskrit language and Buddhist scriptures. From the monastery, he obtained a collection of the widely observed monastic discipline of the Mahāsāṃghika school. He also obtained a condensed version of the monastic rules according to the Sarvāstivāda school along with several other texts, including the *Saṃyuktābhidharma-hṛdaya Śāstra* in six thousand verses, the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* in two thousand five hundred verses, the *Vaipulya-parinirvāṇa Sūtra* in five thousand verses, and the Abhidharma collection of the Mahāsāṃghika school. Although most of these texts seem to have been copied by Faxian himself, at least one was presented to him by a lay Buddhist named Jialuo at the Mahāyāna monastery as a token of appreciation for Faxian's journey to India.

After the completion of his study at Pāṭaliputra, Daozheng, the other remaining member of the mission, declared his intention to stay in India permanently, leaving Faxian alone to complete his mission. In 407 he left Pāṭaliputra for Tāmraliptī via Champa. He remained at Tāmraliptī for two years (408–409), after which he traveled to Sri Lanka. He stayed on the island for two years, made pilgrimages to the holy places, and attended lectures delivered by an Indian monk. He also obtained additional scriptures there, including the Vinaya of the Mahīśāsaka school, the *Dīrghāgama*, the *Saṃyuktāgama*, and the *Zazang jing*, none of which was available in China. In 411 he embarked on a merchant ship and sailed for home with the Sanskrit manuscripts he had collected during the trip. Ninety days later, after being blown off course by a typhoon, the ship arrived at the kingdom of Yavadvipa (South Sumatra island). The monk remained on the island for five months, then embarked on another ship for Guangzhou (Canton). A month into the voyage another typhoon disrupted the journey. After nearly ninety days the ship landed at a place that the travelers later discovered was Laoshan in Zhangguang prefecture (Shandong Peninsula). The year was 412. Eventually, Faxian went to Jiankang (Nanjing) and began to translate the Sanskrit texts he had collected in India and Sri Lanka. He had traveled to approximately thirty kingdoms in fifteen years, and was the first Chinese Buddhist monk to successfully journey to India and return with Buddhist scriptures.

In 416, Faxian was asked by his colleagues to write an autobiographical account of his journey. The resulting chronicle, known as *Foguo ji* (A record of the Buddhist countries), is an important historical and religious document for South Asian history and for the Buddhist tradition. Five of Faxian's translations are extant. All of them have been translated jointly by Faxian and Buddhabhadra (d. 429), an Indian Buddhist missionary. Two of these translations are of the Vinaya of the Mahāsāṃghika school (T.D. nos. 1425 and 1427), two are Mahāyāna scriptures (T.D. nos. 376 and 745), and one is a Hīnayāna scripture (T.D. no. 7). According to one catalog, a translation bearing the title *Za ebitan xinlun* in thirteen fascicles is also ascribed to him and Buddhabhadra, but the book has been lost. Two other Sanskrit texts brought back to China by Faxian have been translated into Chinese by Buddhajīva (T.D. no. 1421) and Guṇabhadra (T.D. no. 99) respectively. Faxian continued to translate until the time of his death in 418 at the Xin Monastery of Jingzhou (in Hubei province). His successful journey to India and his search for an authentic tradition of Buddhism remained a source of inspiration for later generations of Chinese Buddhists.

SEE ALSO Pilgrimage, article on Buddhist Pilgrimage in South and Southeast Asia.

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FAZANG (643–712), also known as Xianshou; third patriarch and systematizer of the Huayan school, a Chinese Buddhist tradition centered around exegesis of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra.* His surname, Kang, indicates that his family was originally from Samarkand in Central Asia. Fazang was a son of Mi, a high-ranking army officer in the Tang dynasty. When he was sixteen years old he burned off one of his fingers as an offering to the Buddha before an Aśoka stupa in which relics of the Buddha were enshrined. After seeking without success for a satisfactory teacher, he entered Mount Taibei, where he studied Mahāyāna Buddhism in seclusion. Some years later, hearing that his parents were ill, he returned home to Chang'an, where Zhiyan (later reckoned the second Huayan patriarch) was lecturing on the *Huayan jing (Mahāvaipulya-buddhagaṇḍavyūha Sūtra)* at the Yunhua Si. Yan Zhaoyin, Fazang's biographer, described the meeting of these two as a "smooth acceptance, like pouring water into a vessel, a harmonious condition compared to mingling milk and water." Subsequent to this encounter, Fazang became Zhiyan's disciple.

In 668, when his master Zhiyan passed away, Fazang was still a layman. When he was twenty-eight, Empress Wu Zetian built a new temple named Taiyuan Si in memory of her mother, Yongguo. It was at this time that Fazang was ordained and became a monk at this temple, probably at the empress's request. In 684, he met Divākara, a monk from middle India, at Xitaiyuan Si and studied Śīlabhadra's and Jñānaprabha's *jiaopan* (classification of Buddhist teachings). The next year he joined with Divākara for the translation of that portion of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (an independent sūtra comprising the last chapter of the *Huayan jing*) that was missing from Buddhabhadra's translation of the text. He also frequently assisted such excellent translators as Devaprajñā, Śikṣānanda, and Yijing.

Fazang is best known as the systematizer and propagator of Huayan Buddhism; he is said to have given more than thirty lectures on the *Huayan jing.* His principal works are (1) *Huayan jing zhigui* (The essential meaning of the *Huayan jing;* T.D. no. 1871); (2) *Huayan wujiao zhang* (Outline of the Huayan Five Teachings Doctrine; T.D. no. 1866); (3) *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* (Plumbing the profound import of the *Huayan jing;* T.D. no. 1733); (4) *Dasheng qixinlun yiji* (A commentary on the *Awakening of Faith;* T.D. no. 1846); (5) *Panruoxin jing lüeshu* (A brief commentary on the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya Sūtra;* T.D. no. 1712); (6) *Rulengqie xinxuan yi* (The essential meaning of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra;* T.D. no. 1790); (7) *Fanwan jing pusa jieben shu* (A commentary on the bodhisattva precepts in the *Brahmajāla Sūtra;* T.D. no. 1813); and (8) *Huayan jing chuanji* (On the tradition of study of the *Huayan jing;* T.D. no. 2073).

According to legend, Fazang was a miracle worker who sought merit for the people. One of his miracles allegedly caused both Emperor Zhongzong and his successor Ruizong to receive the *bodhisattva* precepts and provide government support to establish five temples for the propagation of Huayan Buddhism. When Fazang died in November of 712, the emperor Xuanzong bestowed upon him the honorary title of Hongluqing, director of palace ceremonies.

Fazang is credited with three major advances in Huayan doctrine. The first is his classification of Buddhist teachings in "five grades and ten qualities." Through this classification Fazang tried to show that Huayan Buddhism should be regarded as the acme of Buddhist teachings, superior even to the Faxiang (Yogācāra) school newly imported by Xuanzang. The second achievement is his advocacy of a doctrine known as *sanxing tongyiyi* ("the original way of explaining the doctrine of the three kinds of existence"). Using this theory, he insisted that ultimate truth and deluded consciousness are not mutually exclusive and that consequently even deluded consciousness can penetrate into the very root of truth. Fazang's third achievement is his clarification of the ultimate modality of *pratītya-samutpāda* ("dependent origination"). That is to say, Fazang elaborated upon Zhiyan's philosophy of *fajie yuanqi* ("*pratītya-samutpāda* in the True Realm") so as to emphasize that matter was no different from the truth *(lishi wu'ai).* According to Fazang, when seen from the viewpoint of the Buddha, all phenomena not only depend upon each other but also enter into each other infinitely *(shishi wu'ai).*

SEE ALSO Huayan.

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FEASTING See FOOD; SEASONAL CEREMONIES; WORSHIP AND DEVOTIONAL LIFE

FEET are multivalent symbols. In some mythologies the rays of the sun—as depicted, for example, in the figure of the swastika—are likened to feet. C. G. Jung finds the foot frequently phallic in significance; others believe it is sometimes a symbol of the soul, an idea rarely directly substantiated but indirectly confirmed when lameness is taken to symbolize some defect of the spirit, as in the cases of Hephaistos, Wieland the blacksmith, Mani, and Oedipus.

The heel of the foot is both suitable for and vulnerable to attack; it may dispatch a serpent or it may be the locus of a fatal wound (Achilles, Sigurd, and Kṛṣṇa). In the Hebrew scriptures, Jacob grasps Esau's heel in order to defeat him. In Celtic legend, Gwydion masters Arianrhod by grasping her foot.

Feet are also vulnerable because of their contact with the earth. Vital and sacred forces can be drained away through them. For this reason, the Aztec ruler Moctezuma II was carried on the shoulders of noblemen, and members of the royal family in Uganda were carried on the shoulders of men of the Buffalo clan. An emperor of Japan, it is said, would have been deprived of his office had his feet ever touched the earth. The Irish hero Oisín, who had lived in the Land of Youth for three hundred years, could remain young upon revisiting the land of his birth only if he did not touch his feet to the ground.

The foot is also a symbol of humility because it touches and is besmirched by the dust of the earth. Victory and subjection are represented by the conqueror placing his foot on the neck of the vanquished or using him as a footstool. Worshipers all over the ancient world removed their shoes before entering sanctuaries and temples, as Muslims, Hindus, and Jains do today before entering places of worship. Foot washing has commonly served as part of rites of purification.

Foot washing as an act of hospitality was also widespread throughout the ancient world. The Christian ritual of foot washing was derived from this practice, and especially from Jesus' washing his disciples' feet (*Jn.* 13:5). As such, the ritual does not focus on cleansing but on humility, and on the Christian ideals of willing service and penitence.

Footprints of divine or holy figures may symbolize the way to the truth, or the salvation offered by them. Footprints of both Viṣṇu and the Buddha appear all over India. Such physical evidence of the earthly presence of divinity is a way of picturing what is wholly transcendent. This is probably the intended symbolism in depictions of Christ's ascension, found especially in eleventh-century English art, where only the feet and part of the legs show at the top of the picture. On a carved medieval bench-end from Launcells in Cornwall, the feet of Christ are seen vanishing into clouds while footprints are left on a rock. Similarily, pilgrims to Palestine can see footprints in the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives.

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Elaine Magalis (1987)

FEINSTEIN, MOSHE (1895–1986), was an American Orthodox rabbi and Jewish legal authority. Born to a rabbinical family in Uzda, Belorussia, Feinstein prepared for a career in the rabbinate under the tutelage of his father, David Feinstein, and subsequently as a student in the leading Talmudic academies of that region. Upon his arrival in the United States in 1937, Feinstein became dean of the Talmudic academy Metivta Tiferet Jerusalem in New York, a position that he held until his death. He played a prominent role in both the Union of Orthodox Rabbis and Agudat Yisraʾel, the world movement of Orthodox Jewry.

Feinstein enjoyed worldwide recognition by Orthodox rabbis and laity alike as a leading interpreter and decisor of Jewish law. His *responsa* (legal decisions) have been published in a work entitled *Iggerot Mosheh* (Letters of Moshe). Students of Jewish law have enthusiastically hailed the appearance of *Iggerot Mosheh* because it offers a Jewish legal perspective on numerous issues relating to contemporary scientific, technological, and sociological developments. The topics Feinstein covers include heart transplants, autopsies, brain death, experimentation with live human tissue, intrauterine devices, the use of electric blankets and transistor microphones on the Sabbath, adoption, life insurance, labor unions, and sex manuals. Thus, the subject matter of *Iggerot Mosheh* dramatizes Feinstein's concern to use the technical capability of Jewish law to address ongoing changes in social reality.

Moreover, a number of Feinstein's rulings reflect a creative and bold flexibility, particularly in the realm of Jewish family law. In one controversial decision, Feinstein permitted, with qualification, artificial insemination even from a donor other than the husband. In a series of rulings regarding the status of a marriage solemnized in either a civil or non-Orthodox ceremony, Feinstein permitted the subsequent remarriage of either spouse without the prior granting of a *get*, a Jewish writ of divorce.

It would be inaccurate, however, to characterize Feinstein as a liberal interpreter of Jewish law. A staunchly traditionalist work, the *Iggerot Mosheh* contains numerous rulings of a conservative nature as well. In the final analysis, then, the Jewish legal process as reflected in the *Iggerot Mosheh* demonstrates both receptivity and resistance to changing sociocultural circumstances. Feinstein's profound and encyclopedic grasp of Jewish law and his legal creativity were coupled with an outstanding reputation for personal piety and selflessness. It is because of these qualities that his halakhic rulings are considered authoritative by a wide cross-section of Orthodox Jewry.

SEE ALSO Agudat Yisraʾel.

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FEMININE SACRALITY.

Attributing gender to manifestations of sacred power in the world is a longstanding human practice. Such manifestations generally are said to be "feminine" when they function in ways analogous to women's most common modes of physiological or cultural activity. Hence that which contains, as in a womb, is often considered feminine, particularly if the containment can be perceived as gestation (e.g., the gestation of seeds in the earth). That which nurtures by providing food and shelter or spiritual sustenance, as a mother offers milk and refuge to her child, may also be considered feminine. That which changes may be feminine, especially if it changes periodically, as a woman's body changes through its monthly cycle, swells in pregnancy, or replaces childhood smoothness with the fullness of maturity and later with the flaccidity of old age. Similarly, that which works changes on materials outside itself may be feminine, just as a woman's care changes her infant into a self-sufficient child or a woman's processing changes raw materials into food and clothing.

Feminine symbols and divinities were especially prominent in religious systems of ancient cultures, and they have remained important in certain Asian cultures and among small-scale agricultural and hunting peoples. Although overshadowed in the West for many centuries by male deities and imagery, they have undergone a renaissance in Neopagan, feminist spirituality, and environmentalist movements.

FEMININE SACRALITY IN NATURE. Perhaps the best-known and most frequently cited forms of feminine sacrality are those connected with that portion of the world at large that produces and reproduces itself without human intervention. Many peoples have experienced this "natural" world as a constellation of powers and realities that both limit humans and open human opportunities. Often such powers and realties in nature are perceived as female. In fact, the entire natural realm may be experienced as female; people in modern Western cultures acknowledge such an experience when they speak of "Mother Nature." But the experience of the "feminine" in nature is more commonly restricted to certain sectors.

The earth. "According to [alchemist] Basilus Valentinius, the earth . . . is not a dead body but is inhabited by a spirit that is its life and soul. All created things, minerals included, draw their strength from the earth spirit. This spirit is life, . . . and it gives nourishment to all the living things it shelters in its womb" (Jung, 1968, p. 342). Throughout history many peoples have taught that the earth is a living organism and the source of all other life that inhabits its surface and crevices. As such, it is the ultimate womb and mother of all.

A poet of ancient India celebrated the earth as "the mistress of that which was and shall be" and declared that "the earth is the mother, and I the earth's son." She is the "womb of all," pouring forth milk for her offspring (*Atharvaveda* 12.1.1, 10, 12, 43). A poet of ancient Greece sang to the earth as "mother of all things, feeding upon her soil all that exists"(Homeric *Hymn to Earth*). The Oglala of the upper Great Plains in North America were solemnly taught: "For the Earth is your Grandmother and Mother and she is sacred. Every step that is taken upon her should be as a prayer" (Brown, 1953, pp. 5–6). Thus they prayed, "O you, Grandmother, from whom all things come, and O You, Mother Earth, who bear and nourish all fruits, behold us and listen" (Brown, 1953, p. 133).

When represented iconographically, the earth takes the form of a buxom, mature woman. Hindu temple sculptors have portrayed her in this way when illustrating the story of her rescue by a great boar that dives in pursuit after a demon carries her to the bottom of the ocean; she clings demurely to the boar's tusk as he rises from the waters. This boar is a form of Viṣṇu, great Lord of cosmic order. The earth also appears beside Viṣṇu in temple images as his consort the goddess Bhū, "She Who Becomes." Buddhist art offers a more revealing portrayal in scenes where the Buddha-to-be calls the earth to witness to his generosity as he strives to repel the attack of Māra, the god of death and desire. Here, the goddess appears as torso only, rising from the ground. The lower portion of her body—her "womb"—must be understood as the earth itself, of which the anthropomorphic torso is just a temporary projection. The earth goddess Gaia of ancient Greece was similarly portrayed as torso only.

The earth's motherhood is often understood quite literally. Across the world, myths have asserted that humans and other beings first emerged from a womb within the earth's depths. Bronislaw Malinowski's famed 1948 Trobriand Island studies found that residents of each village traced their ancestry to a sister and a brother who emerged from a nearby hole in the ground. In West Africa, the Ashanti likewise claimed that their ancestors first came from holes in the earth. Among native peoples of North America, 120 versions of human emergence from the earth have been recorded. The Oglala tell how their people were initially tricked into leaving the earth womb as the result of a conspiracy between Inktomi, the trickster Spider, and Anukite, the double-faced Deer Woman. The two enticed the people to the surface with gifts of meat and clothing and a promise of unending plenty. Then winter came, the buffalo grew scarce, and the people could no longer find their way back into the cave womb. In the Southwest the Navajo and Pueblo peoples developed complex emergence myths describing how the people evolved into higher and higher levels of refinement as they ascended through a series of wombs before exiting onto the earth's surface.

How are earth's offspring first engendered? The earth need not have a partner to help her produce her children. The Trobriand myths cited above make no mention of a genitor who fertilizes their great genetrix. According to Malinowski, Trobrianders themselves did not believe that children came through sexual fertilization. Like the earth from which they ascended, Trobriand women received departed ancestral spirits into their wombs and returned these spirits to life as children. Hence both earth and women accomplished a form of parthenogenesis (virgin birth).

In many cultures, however, the earth is paired with a male fecundator, usually Sky Father. Before the known world is created, she and he are a single entity, locked together in a lasting embrace. Then the embrace is broken, and earth and sky separate, allowing light and motion to enter the intervening realm. Sometimes this separation is voluntary, as in the long cosmogonic cycle of the North American Zuni, where Earth Mother pushes Sky Father away after she becomes pregnant. Often, however, the separation is forced. In a version of this myth told by the Arawa tribe of New Zealand, the children of the primeval parents Ranga and Papa separate their parents because they have grown weary of the darkness. After several fruitless attempts, the son—Tanemahuta, "father of forests" (a great tree)—shoves them apart. In the Mediterranean world the act becomes still more violent; according to the version retold by the Greek poet Hesiod, the primeval mother and father, Gaia and Ouranos, separate after their son Kronos castrates his father with a sickle.

If the earth is a sacred mother, it follows that the act of tilling her is also potentially an act of violence. The violence implicit in gardening is vividly acknowledged in a myth from the island of Ceram in Indonesia. A pubescent maiden named Hainuwele is slain and dismembered as her people perform a spiral dance. When planted, her body parts yield the yams that are the islanders' chief staple food and gardening product. Because her murder brings death into the world, the violence that brings the yams also costs Hainuwele's people the paradisal life that they had known before.

Reluctance to violate the earth and seize her products can also be seen in a frequently cited speech by the American Indian prophet Smohalla. Told that his people should become farmers, Smohalla responded: "You ask me to plough the ground. Shall I take a knife and tear my mother's breast? Then when I die she will not take my bosom to rest. You ask me to dig for stone. Shall I dig under her skin for her bones? Then when I die I cannot enter her body to be born again. You ask me to cut grass and make hay and sell it and be rich like white men. But how dare I cut off my mother's hair?" (Mooney, 1896, p. 721).

The cave as earth womb. If humans are children of earth, born from a womb in her depths, the significance of caves in religious belief and practice becomes apparent. Often a people identifies some cave within its ancestral territory as its own place of origin. For example, the Oglala say their ancestors emerged at Wind Cave in the Black Hills of South Dakota. The belief that caves are the original earth wombs may have been responsible for the great cave sanctuaries of Paleolithic times in Europe. Sections that bear splendid paintings of animals and the hunt are all hard to reach and are located at a distance from the entrance. Some scholars have argued that these caverns may have been utilized for another sort of "birthing" from the earth—namely rituals of initiation—such as those that often feature a symbolic "return to the womb." In this case the return would have been literal, as initiates worked their way back into the bowels of the earth from which their ancestors had ascended.

Another sort of return to the earth mother is accomplished when humans encounter death. The land of the dead is often located in a cavern beneath the earth. In the Latin epic *Aeneid,* the hero Aeneas descends to the land of the dead via a cave at Cumae, west of present-day Naples. The Greeks similarly located their Erebus or Tartarus in a subterranean region, as did the Hebrews their She'ol. Muslim texts portray the underworld as the huge fiery crater Jahannam, into which the unrighteous are thrown after judgment. Dante borrowed from such concepts when he portrayed his Inferno as a fiery pit whose nadir is deep within the earth's bowels.

The classical Mediterranean underworlds described above are not explicitly defined as female. Nor do females alone rule them; in Greek and Roman sources a goddess (Greek, Persephone; Latin, Proserpina) shares the throne of the dead with her consort (Greek, Hades; Latin, Pluto). In ancient Sumeria, however, the netherworld's queen was a lone goddess, the dread widow Ereshkigal. Similarly, the Germanic goddess Hel was her underworld's sole ruler. In Japan the counterpart was the primeval ancestress Izanagi, who became the first being to die (after giving birth to fire). Among the Maori of New Zealand, the ruler of the dead was Hine-nui-te-po (great goddess of darkness), a former dawn maiden who fled in shame to the underworld after learning that her husband was also her father.

Alternatively, a dread female guards the underworld's entrance; she is often less a woman than a female monster. Perhaps the most interesting example is a figure prominent in myth and ritual of the island of Malekula in the archipelago of Vanuatu. Malekulans say the wind blows the released soul across the waters of death. On the farther side, by the underworld's entrance, the soul encounters the monstrous female Le-hev-hev. Before her on the sand is the design of a maze or labyrinth, half of which she erases as the soul approaches. The soul must restore the missing half of the drawing in order to enter the land of the dead. If the soul fails, the guardian devours it. Mastery of this labyrinth thus becomes a central feature of Malekulan initiation rites.

Feminine sacrality and water. Note that the Malekulan myth perceives the journey of death not only as a passage into a female underworld but also as a voyage that crosses water. Water appears often in stories of human descents to and emergences from subterranean regions. The Greek who entered the underworld land of the dead had to cross the river Styx. Called by Hesiod the "awful goddess hated by the other gods," the Styx was a branch of the ocean stream that coiled around the world (*Theogony* 12.775–778). According to Plato, a soul returning to the earth for rebirth had to cross and drink from another river, Lethe, the stream of forgetfulness (*Republic* 10.620). In some regions of rural Europe, even during the twentieth century, the souls of children were said to emerge not only from caves but also from grottoes, pools, and springs. Versions of the Native American emergence myth replace the usual cave of emergence with a lake, or a subterranean flood drives the people to the surface.

Waters are not merely an amniotic presence within the earth womb; in many cosmogonic accounts they also become the very matrix from which the earth is born. Even the resolutely male-centered Judeo-Christian Creation myth acknowledges their presence: in the beginning the spirit of God hovers upon the face of the waters. In the ancient Near East, where this account originated, other stories of the world's origin depict a process of evolution from primeval waters. According to the Babylonian creation epic *Enuma Elish*, waters alone existed in the beginning. The sweet and potable waters called Apsu that now lie beneath the earth were then commingled with the primal sea Tiamat. As the two lay together, early generations of the gods were born, culminating in the lord Ea. Then Apsu plotted to kill his children, because their clamor disturbed him. But Ea overcame Apsu and established a dwelling place for himself upon Apsu's waters. Thus the first separation of waters occurred. The second followed after Tiamat, angered by the loss of her consort, gave birth to an army of monsters that attacked her divine children. The latter then found a new hero, Ea's son Marduk. Following a ferocious battle, Marduk slew Tiamat and split her body in a second separation of waters. Half of that body was cast upward to become the waters of the sky. A gap in the text prevents an understanding of what became of the other half, but presumably it transformed into rivers and oceans, whereas Ea's dwelling, the land, was extended as homes for other gods were added. Finally, humankind was created to serve the gods in their new shrines.

According to one Hindu version of the cosmogony, the world's source is a giant male who sleeps upon a serpent in primal waters. A lotus or tree grows from his navel; both are symbols of the cosmos. Alternatively, an egg is born from the waters and then breaks apart, its two halves evolving into heaven and earth. In the Finnish epic *Kalevala* a bird lays the cosmic egg on a knee that the Mother of Waters raises to give the bird a place to build her nest.

Waters preceding the earth's birth become even more explicitly amniotic in "earth diver" myths common in Siberia and on the west coast of North America. In a gesture reminiscent of sexual intercourse, a male animal dives beneath the waters to secure a few scrapings of soil that will become the germ of the land. The land is then stretched out from a central point, just as an embryo grows from its navel. Often the diver in such stories is a duck or a turtle. The boar who rescues the earth and takes her as consort in the Hindu story cited earlier is an alternative form of the Siberian earth diver transplanted onto Indian soil.

Just as waters that give birth to the earth or nourish nascent life beneath its surface are often female, so also are waters flowing over the earth's surface. India is the preeminent land of sacred female watercourses; all of its rivers are goddesses, the first of them being Gangā Mātā (Mother Ganges). Female deities guarded rivers in China, above all in the South. Especially prominent in ancient times, they often had dragonlike characteristics. In ancient Mexico all rivers belonged to the goddess Chalchiuhtlicue (jade skirt). The face of the Mediterranean world was dotted by springs, pools, and streams inhabited by water nymphs or dryads. Similar lesser female deities connected to local waters are found across Eurasia. Sometimes, like the little mermaid of Hans Christian Andersen's celebrated folktale, they venture forth on the earth seeking human lovers or husbands. The child born of such a liaison may become a great king or hero.

Mounds, rocks, and mountains. Rivers are not the only manifestation of the feminine upon the earth's surface; any protuberance or extension of the earth may be viewed as a special concentration of the feminine. Mounds are often associated with the feminine sacred and honored as earth navels—places where the earth first rose above the waters. The famous omphalos (navel) at Delphi, where the Pythia sat to receive visions of the future, was such a mound; appropriately, like the mound itself and the earth from which it erupted, the priestess-seer of the oracle was also female. Rocks may also manifest female power. In village shrines of South India small rocks or heaps of stones are icons for the *ammas,* local goddesses who protect the villages. When the goddess Cybele was moved to Rome from her initial home in Anatolia, she traveled in the form of a sacred black stone. Again, a mountain or volcano may be the visible form of a goddess or her dwelling place or birthplace—a good example is the Hawaiian volcano Kilauea, venerated as home of the goddess Pele.

Vegetation. In the varied mythologies of the world, sacred plants and vegetation deities have been both male and female. Nonetheless, plants are conspicuously connected to both the earth and the waters and often linked with female powers. Popular images of a goddess who is a source of life and fertility may show her seated under a tree or clinging to a branch with her hand, or her body becomes the tree's trunk while its branches rise from her shoulders. Female spirits often haunt trees. Herbs too may be female: a hymn of India's *Yajur Veda* exclaims: "O herbs! Oh, you who are mothers! I hail you as goddesses!" (4.2.6). Sacred plants that grow in swamps are often female; India's lotus, closely associated with Lakṣmī, goddess of prosperity, is an excellent example.

Staple food plants too are sometimes manifestations, gifts, or transformations of feminine sacred powers. This concept was mentioned above in the myth of the murdered maiden Hainuwele—the yam is the transformed maiden. In North America a similar story is told about the origin of corn, which many Native Americans revered as Corn Mother. According to one version of Corn Mother's story, the slain goddess was killed and dragged along the ground to fertilize the land where corn would emerge. An alternative version claims the goddess gave the corn and its rites to the husband who pursued her after she ran away from home.

Lady of the animals. Given the central role of the earth and waters in crop production, it is not surprising that forms of feminine sacrality are often prominent among peoples who practice gardening and agriculture. Except for the earth mother, honored widely among all people who depend on her products, important feminine powers are found less often among hunting peoples. Occasionally, however, a goddess appears among the category of deities known as "lords of animals." Such deities control the supply of animals essential to the hunting economy, either by creating them, corralling and releasing them to produce scarcity and abundance, or restoring them to life after they have been slain. One such lady of animals is the ill-tempered Sedna of Inuit (Eskimo) legends. Deprived of her fingers and drowned by her father, this once-human maiden tends the seals at the bottom of the ocean. Misdeeds of the Eskimo foul her hair, which she cannot comb for lack of fingers. She then becomes angry and withholds the seals, releasing them only after a shaman descends to comb her matted hair. A far more positive figure is the White Buffalo Calf Woman of the Oglala Lakota. Appearing either as a white buffalo or as a beautiful young woman, this deity brought the sacred pipe to the Lakota and taught them how to summon the Great Spirit with it. She is a prototype not only of the buffalo but also of Oglala women, who were initiated at puberty by a rite in which they imitated movements of a buffalo cow.

Darkness, night, and moon. The earth's dark crevices are often perceived as the womb of an awesome feminine power, and by extension darkness of any kind may be perceived as female. Hence night becomes a female deity, often of awesome power—according to the Greek epic *Iliad,* even Zeus, king of the gods, dared not displease Night. Night may replace the waters as preformal matrix in accounts of the birth of the cosmos. An Orphic myth recounts how Night laid a silver egg in the womb of Darkness. Eros, or desire, was born from that egg and set the universe in motion. In most mythologies of the world, however, Night is relegated to the background of dramatic action; her principal luminary, the moon, receives far more attention.

The moon is most simply perceived as a complement to the sun—as spouse, lover, or sibling. As the gentler of the two lights, the moon is often, but not always, the female partner. Myths of marriage between the sun and the moon are legion, as are etiological accounts explaining why they do not travel the sky at the same time. The most common cause of their separation is some kind of falling-out. An African myth reports, for example, that the moon tired of the sun and took a lover after she had borne many children (the stars) with her husband. The sun then divided his possessions with her and drove her and her children away from his home. A similar myth of the Oglala tells how Moon and Sun were assigned to separate realms after the woman Face usurped the Moon's place beside her husband at a banquet.

Perhaps because she is so often a prototypical spouse, or perhaps because her body swells periodically, the moon is closely linked to pregnancy and childbirth. Lunar goddesses often preside over childbirth or protect married women during their childbearing years. Examples include Juno, a powerful goddess of ancient Italy who became queen of the Roman pantheon, and Mama Quilla, sister and wife and second in command to Inti, the sun god of the Inca Empire. In many areas of the world, mothers hold newborn babies up to the light of the moon, believing that this act brings blessings upon the children. Even when portrayed as a masculine power, the moon retains its connection with childbearing; many peoples tell tales of women made pregnant by moonbeams.

The moon is also cyclic, and the connection between lunar and menstrual cycles has often been noted. The Mbuti (Pygmy) peoples of Africa call menstrual blood *matu* (moon maiden), while the Iroquois of North America have maintained that all menstrual periods occur when the moon is new. Both the association with childbearing and this link to the menstrual cycle seem to generate a special bond between the moon and pubescent women. The Ceramese story of Hainuwele—the maiden whose murder results in the first yams (see above)—has a striking variant in which a rape precedes the murder and the murdered maiden becomes the moon. In this version an ugly rash-covered sun man named Tuwale seeks to marry the maiden, here called Rabia. After he passes harsh tests that her parents set to dissuade him, the parents allow the wedding but place a dead pig in the marriage bed instead of their daughter. The angry Tuwale pursues his fleeing bride and claims her so violently that he pounds her into the ground and no one can free her. As she sinks into the earth, she asks her parents to perform a three-day funeral ritual for her, substituting a dead pig for her missing body. On the third night, she says, she will reappear, shining down upon them as a light from heaven.

The myth of Rabia points to a third important aspect of lunar sacrality, its ties to cycles of death and regeneration. The moon constantly dies and is as constantly reborn. Thus the moon may be a source of immortality, or the home of a goddess who possesses some life-sustaining nectar. The Chinese say, for example, that the moon goddess Ch'ang-o was once a woman who stole the elixir of immortality from her husband; she then fled to the moon to escape her husband's anger. Women and children honored this goddess in one of China's three great annual festivals.

Finally, lunar cycles mark off the passage of time and help to weave the tapestry that is human history. The moon is linked to goddesses who determine human fate, such as the Greek Moirai or the Germanic Norns. Like the moon herself, such goddesses are often portrayed as spinners and weavers; two of the Norns spin and twist the thread of life, while the third cuts it off. Lunar goddesses of fate are commonly portrayed in triple form, corresponding to the waxing, full, and waning moon, as well as to past, present, and future or to youth, adulthood, and old age.

Sun and fire. In its journeys through the sky, the sun has also woven human time and cosmic rhythms. The sun may therefore also be a weaver, as in Japanese tales of Amaterasu, one of the rare female solar divinities to become the focus of a significant cult. Amaterasu was the ancestress of Japan's imperial lineage; a priestess from the imperial family still serves her shrine at Ise. According to the chronicles *Kojiki* and *Nihongi,* Amaterasu emerged from the right eye of the primal ancestor Izanami as he cleansed himself in a river after an abortive attempt to rescue his consort Izanagi from the land of the dead. Amaterasu's most famous myth describes how she fled from the earth and hid in a cave, from which she was coaxed by the sight of her own shining reflection in a mirror. She hid after her obstreperous brother Susano-o polluted her sacred weaving hall by heaving into it a piebald colt skinned backward. One weaving maiden startled by this stabbed her genitals with a shuttle and died (according to one version of the story, Amaterasu herself was this maiden).

Like the sun, fire is usually understood to be a masculine power, but there are some noteworthy exceptions. In the ancient Mediterranean world, the hearth fire was a goddess (Greek, Hestia; Roman, Vesta). In ancient Rome this goddess had a special temple at which a perpetual fire burned. Priestesses who tended this fire had to remain celibate—to lose one's virginity (and hence pollute the vestal fire) brought a penalty of death. The hearth fire was also a goddess among the Ainu people of Japan. This Old Goddess of the Hearth, named Fuji like Japan's most famous volcano, was not only a means of cooking and the source of a family's warmth but also a psychopomp, guiding souls of the dead back to the land of spirits from which they had come. Another apparent connection between the fire of the hearth and volcanic fire is found in one of the many Polynesian tales about the trickster Maui. Maui steals fire for the use of humankind from his ancestress Mahui-ike, who lives in the underworld and hoards the fire in her fingernails. Fire likewise emerges from a tellurian woman's body in the Japanese story (cited above) of the ancestress Izanagi, who dies as she gives birth to her fiery son.

FEMININE SACRALITY IN CULTURE. In his massive study of feminine symbols and divinities titled *The Great Mother* (1963), the Jungian psychologist Erich Neumann points to two fundamental aspects of feminine power that such symbols and divinities manifest. On the one hand, feminine power is source, giving rise to the multiple forms of life, whereas on the other hand it is process, an agent of growth and transformation. Both aspects of the feminine can be recognized in the natural manifestations described in the preceding section. But it is the second, the transformative, that becomes most prominent in the modes of feminine sacrality associated with cultural activities and institutions. For the production of culture itself is a process of transformation: that which comes to humans "raw" from the natural realm is "cooked" and made fit for human consumption.

Feminine sacrality can enter at virtually any point in this transformative process. In rituals of initiation, for example, where initiates must leave one mode of human existence and enter another, the transition may be accomplished by passing them through the womb of a female power. The postulated relationship between this practice and the cave sanctuaries of western Europe were noted above. Both men and women may evoke feminine powers in rituals of this sort, although the ways in which they utilize them are likely to differ.

Gardening, weaving, baking and cooking, and pottery. However, certain transformative processes seem so inherently female that some cultures assign them usually or solely to women. The underlying premise here seems to be that the women who bear life and nurture it into growth are better attuned than men to the powers that achieve these transformations. Hence they are better qualified to channel such powers.

Gardening is perhaps the simplest example of a process in which women work with a power construed as feminine to capture a segment of the wild natural world and tame it for human appropriation. In some societies only women practice gardening, especially if other activities, such as hunting, give men alternative economic functions. Among the North American Iroquois, for example, not only were women responsible for all practical functions of gardening, but they also summoned and supervised all calendrical rites connected to gardening and "owned" all of the songs with themes related to food crops. Weaving is another transformative skill often located within the special province of women. Celestial powers that mark off time, such as the moon and the sun, are regarded as spinners and weavers of human destiny. The women who shape human destiny on earth by bearing and nurturing children may appropriately be accounted mistresses of spinning and weaving. Indeed, the two processes may influence each other. Thus people of rural Sweden once believed that if a woman who had just finished weaving rode away carrying a stick she had stuck in her web, she would conceive a child of the same sex as the first person or animal she met. If her husband cut her web from its loom quickly and efficiently, his horses would deliver foals with ease. The power of the weaver's web to alter the world around it also explains the many weaving enchantresses of the world's folklore.

Cooking and baking also tap the transformative powers characteristic of feminine sacrality and of women. A striking illustration is found in the Navajo Kinaaldá ceremony, which completes a girl's transition to adulthood after the appearance of her menses. During the ceremony the girl impersonates and becomes Changing Woman, a complex mythical being who empowers all growth and transformation in the cosmos. As a focal act of the long and taxing ritual, the girl and the women who sponsor her prepare an enormous corn cake. It is then baked in a pit in the earth for an entire night, during which time the girl and her helpers must not fall asleep. The cake is cut on the following day, and the girl hands out pieces to guests at the ceremony. Because many aspects of the ceremony test the girl's ability to function as a woman, it seems appropriate to assume that the cake is also a test. It tests her ability, as representative of Changing Woman, to take the corn that is sacred to the Navajo and change it into food.

The story of Changing Woman's own Kinaaldá asserts that the cake represents Mother Earth. The cake is, in fact, born of the earth, a product of the corn and the pit in which it is cooked. Transformative powers of cooking and baking are often linked to the earth, for the various pots, cauldrons, and ovens in which these processes are accomplished are made of the clay or iron that constitute the earth's own substance. Thus pots, cauldrons, and ovens are doubly feminine, both as extensions of the earth and as sources of nourishment. It is no wonder then that pottery making is sometimes restricted to women, as it is among the Pueblo peoples of North America. Nor is it surprising that pots can substitute for the earth or earth goddesses in myths and rituals. A story of the Dinka in East Africa recounts how the Creator grew the first humans to full size in a pot after he had made them—the pot clearly represents the earth womb. Pots are often used as movable images of goddesses during various rites and festivals of India.

Spiritual transformations. The province of the feminine sacred is not restricted to material transformations. Processes of spiritual growth and transformation may also tap powers perceived as feminine.

Institutions offering spiritual nourishment and the promise of renewed life are often described through feminine metaphors. The Christian Church has been called the mother of Christ's flock, nourishing his children with her milk. Such maternal imagery is partly an extension of the metaphor in the New Testament *Letter to the Ephesians* (5:23–32) portraying the church as a "wife" of Christ. For Jews, the life-giving bride is not the community itself but the radiant Sabbath that arrives to restore it each week. "Come, my friend, to meet the bride; Let us welcome in the Sabbath" begins the sixteenth-century song *Lecha Dodi* by Solomon Alkabets, still sung at Friday evening Sabbath services. Nor is this concept of the Sabbath bride merely a literary image; during medieval times in Europe, Jewish qabbalists dressed in their best clothes on the Sabbath eve and went to the fields to welcome the incoming beloved.

Alternatively, the knowledge, insight, or wisdom that brings spiritual maturation may be assigned feminine gender and portrayed iconographically by female images. In Hindu India the goddess Sarasvatī is the patron of knowledge, honored especially by scholars and students. For Buddhists of the Mahāyāna tradition, also Indian in origin, the term for liberating insight *(prajñā)* was likewise feminine; its ultimate form *prajñāpāramitā* (perfection of wisdom) is called the "Mother of Buddhas" and is represented iconographically as a goddess. In writings of Hellenistic Judaism and of Greek Orthodox Christianity, Sophia, saving Wisdom, was at times identified as the female aspect of an androgynous God.

The compassionate figure who intervenes to aid the needy struggler for salvation may likewise be female. The bodhisattva Kuan-yin of Pure Land Buddhist sects in China is an especially interesting example, because her prototype, the Indian Avalokiteśvara, was male. This personification of the Mahāyāna virtue of compassion came to escort the faithful to paradise at the hour of death. But he or she also offered other, lesser, varieties of salvation by extinguishing fires, stilling waves, calming storms, freeing those condemned to prison or slavery or execution, disarming enemies, blinding demons, even bringing healthy babies to imploring women. Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Christians are familiar with the compassionate intervening female in the form of the Virgin Mary.

THE TERRIBLE SIDE OF THE FEMININE SACRED. Concepts of the earth as feminine power also include a more daunting aspect. The power who brings forth life also reabsorbs it into herself as the dread goddess who rules the subterranean land of the dead. Moreover, the terrible aspect of certain female deities is not merely a product of association with the bowels of a feminine earth; rather it is the other side of the processes of growth and transformation that so many female deities represent. Life and growth inevitably entail death and decay, while misdirected spiritual striving readily deteriorates into madness.

Perhaps the most infamous of the deadly goddesses is Kālī, the awesome Black Goddess of India, born from the wrath of her demon-slaying mother Durgā. Kālī's teeth are fangs; her tongue lolls out of her devouring mouth like that of a wild dog or tiger. One of her many hands brandishes an upraised sword, another lifts a bowl of blood made from the sliced-off cap of a human skull. Kālī wears a necklace of human heads and a skirt of lopped-off human arms; sometimes she stands, squats, or dances on the corpse of her consort, the great Lord Śiva. Kālī is time and death, but also life, and may be adored as a loving mother. She is also the illusion inherent in life's pleasures, so affirming her for what she is can sustain her worshiper on a liberating path.

Still more gruesome than Kālī was a trio that reflected the horrors implicit in the Aztec cult of war and human sacrifice. To recognize their role as the terrible side of the same process that generates life, one must understand the Aztec presuppositions that human sacrifice was necessary to replenish the swiftly waning vitality of the cosmos and that war was also essential to provide victims for the sacrifice. Coatlicue (snake skirt) was mother to the war god Huitzilopochtli. She wears a skirt of writhing snakes, from which she derives her name; her hands are the heads of serpents; her feet have the claws of a predatory bird. She is headless and twin spurts of blood gush from her neck into the mouths of waiting rattlesnakes. Closely related to Coatlicue is Cihuacoatl (snake woman), said to "preside over and personify the collective hunger of the gods for human victims" (Brundage, 1979, p. 170). She was also sometimes called the war god's mother, for she incited the wars over which Huitzilopochtli presided. In Aztec iconography the lower jaw of Cihuacoatl's gaping mouth is that of a bare human skeleton. Her clothes and body are the chalky white of a heap of bleached bones. She prowls at night, braying and screaming insanely; on her back is the knife of sacrifice, swaddled like an Aztec baby. The knife is a transformation of the third terrible goddess, Itzpapalotl (obsidian knife butterfly). This knife is one of the fragments into which this goddess shattered after antagonistic gods cast her into a fire. She wears a skirt fringed with knives and has the wings and tail of a bird; similarly, her hands and feet have a predatory bird's sharp talons.

Cihuacoatl sometimes was said to change into a beautiful young woman. She would seduce men, who withered and died after they had intercourse with her. She has counterparts in the sirens and seducers recurring in folk songs and legends throughout the world—the seduction that lures men to death or madness is a common characteristic of the awful feminine sacred. Dreadful female powers may also be patrons of witches, like Hekate, the triple-headed goddess of ancient Greece. In the dark of the night, Hekate prowled the world with a pack of bitches, hunting souls to take to her friend Persephone, queen of the dead.

FEMININE SACRALITY IN WOMEN. This same ambiguity of response to feminine sacrality—the recognition that it holds both constructive and destructive potential—is found in conceptions of the sacrality of ordinary women. Women themselves have been viewed as repositories of creative and transformative power throughout human history and within a wide variety of cultural contexts. This concept is inherent in the belief that women are better attuned than men to transformative procedures, such as weaving and cooking. The next section explores further this concept of feminine powers linking women to other aspects of the cosmos. This section examines two different ways in which women's sacrality has been imagined.

According to one prominent conception, women are sacred under specific physiological circumstances: sacred power resides in the condition rather than in the woman. For example, menstruation and childbirth often render a woman taboo and dangerous, because she produces blood, an extremely potent substance. Pregnancy may likewise bring danger: in rural Taiwan a pregnant woman is a threat to brides and children. Virginity evokes purity, and virgins may be essential to certain ritual roles, such as cutting the sacred tree during the Lakota sun dance or tending the vestal fire in ancient Rome. Menopause may endow women with magical or healing powers; hence older women are subject to accusations of witchcraft but are also often solicited for special ritual functions.

A different conception of women's sacrality perceives women as repositories of a single power that they manifest and channel throughout their lives. But this power becomes alternatively beneficent or destructive depending on whether or not it is properly disciplined. For example, all women of Tamil Nadu in South India are understood to be vehicles for *śakti*, a natural energy essential to all action and prosperity. A married woman who controls her *śakti* via faithfulness to her husband is extremely auspicious. Considered a living incarnation of Lakṣmī, the goddess of good fortune, she blesses her family not only while she is alive but even after her death. More capricious but still beneficent is the virgin female who is not yet married—her *śakti* is an unrealized potential. Negative and potentially dangerous figures are widows, unmarried mothers, barren women, and women who die in pregnancy and childbirth. The awesome power of a disciplined *śakti* is most dramatically displayed in the Tamil epic

Cilappatikāram. The faithful wife Kannagi, widowed by miscarried justice, destroys not only the king responsible for her suffering but also his capital city Madurai. No matter how conceived, women's sacrality is often said to be prior to powers that men hold or channel. A myth acknowledging this priority has been recorded in regions of the world as disparate as Africa, Australia, and Tierra del Fuego. Once upon a time, it asserts, women had control of the sacred symbols and rituals. One day, however, the men stole these symbols and rituals (according to some versions, because women were abusing their power). An Australian version of the story points to the counterbalancing reserve of sacrality that compensates the women for their loss. When the Djanggawul sisters realize what has happened, they say: "We know everything. We have really lost nothing, for we remember it all, and we can let them have that small part. For aren't we still sacred, even if we have lost the bags? Haven't we still our uteri?" (Berndt, 1953, pp. 40–41).

FEMININE SACRALITY AS UNIFYING POWER WITH MULTIPLE MANIFESTATIONS. While surveying the wide variety of forms through which feminine sacrality has been manifested, it is important to remember that the powers called "sacred" and "feminine" are not always related to these forms in the same way. People who speak of the earth as their sacred mother sometimes intend this statement quite literally: the earth itself is the awesome power that sustains them. But they may also refer to a generative and transformative power that resides within the earth. The same is true of other manifestations. The moon may be a deity, discrete and specific to the ever-changing orb that paces the night sky. Or a deity may show herself or himself through the moon. This distinction between manifestation and power is reflected in the common assertion that the moon—or mountain, cave, or spring—is the deity's "home." Such an assertion leaves open the possibility that the deity will have another home, or possibly many homes—that is to say, the power that is the deity may have many modes of manifestation. In fact, many of the great goddesses not explored in this article represent powers of birth, transformation, and death that show themselves in many different ways. The celebrated goddesses of the ancient Near East were all multiple-mode deities of this order. The Egyptian Isis, for example, was the deified throne, which in turn extended and concentrated the power of the earth. But she was also known as the "mother of stars," or Night, and her tears produced the Nile's annual and fructifying flood. She could bring life out of death—and did so when she awoke her dead husband Osiris and secured from him the child Horus. Yet she was also death, as is shown by her title "queen of the west"—west being the direction of the underworld. Isis even became the compassionate savior who bestows wisdom and immortality upon the faithful when the Greeks and Romans converted her cult into a mystery religion. Changing Woman of the Navajo, Durgā of India—even the Virgin Mary of Christianity—all are feminine powers with multiple modes of expression.

In some cases even the deity herself is understood to be a form of some more abstract energy that she shares with other manifestations. South India's multiple goddesses—Durgā, her extension Kālī, the many village "mothers"—are all modes of *śakti*, which, as demonstrated, is also manifested in ordinary women and in all forces of increase and prosperity. This inherently female energy may in turn be located within some overarching schema that juxtaposes it against a complementary energy identified as male. The Chinese concept of yin and yang is a classic example: yin predominates in everything that is dark, shaded, cool, wet, waning, bending, earthy, and female; whereas yang is bright, hot, dry, waxing, stubborn, aggressive, heavenly, and male. Despite the high level of abstraction that has generated these concepts, one recognizes in yin several components that have been associated with feminine sacrality in many eras and cultures: the earth, the dark, the waters, the changing, and the dying.

More frequently the concept of a common power remains unarticulated; only the network of symbols clustered together in myth or ritual reveals the presumption that they somehow share a common essence. Earth/waters/moon/women/root crops is one such cluster, often found in horticultural societies, that links together the sources and manifestations of growth and transformation. But the complex need not be the same in all cultures. The ethnographer Joseph Bastien (2001) has studied a complex in Andean Bolivia that clusters women, river, wind, and rats—all powers sharing the capacity to flow or erode, and therefore bring about change.

CONTEMPORARY FEMININE SACRALITY. Many beliefs and customs cited above have faded as the people who have carried them slip under the influence of modern secular culture. Some, however, have gained new prominence as the result of twentieth-century movements grounded in political or countercultural protest. During the later years of British colonial rule in India, for example, nationalists striving to rouse Hindus to resistance did so by evoking ancient images of land-linked goddesses and *śakti.* India was a goddess, they taught, a once-generous and loving mother currently battered and starved by oppressive rulers. Nonetheless, *śakti* newly awakening in the world could empower Mother India's progeny to free her and restore her. One by-product of such rhetoric has been a revival of Hindu interest in female deities, female symbols, and holy women.

In English-speaking countries of the Western world, renewed interest in female sacred imagery has been largely a product of three separate but intertwined movements: contemporary paganism, especially the several strands of Wicca ("wise one"; also called "the Craft"); the closely related "feminist spirituality" movement; and the environmental or "green" movement. The first documented coven of the movement called Wicca began meeting in England in 1948 under the leadership of occult enthusiast Gerald Gardener. Gardener claimed he was reviving pre-Christian ritual traditions that had been preserved in secret over the centuries by lineages of practitioners who, during the Middle Ages, had been burned as witches. Intended to bring worldly benefit and healing, these ancient rituals drew on sacred powers grounded in the natural realm. Central to these were a horned god and an awesome goddess said to have been worshiped since Paleolithic times, as well as assignment of priestly roles to women. Portrayals of the goddess reflected ideas current in popular and academic literature of the time. She manifested in three modes (maiden, mother, and crone), was immanent in all nature, and had special links to earth and moon, fertility and transformation. Certain Wiccan traditions emerging after Gardener's further emphasized roles of both the goddess and of women—so-called Dianic Wiccans honor the goddess alone and initiate only women into their covens.

The feminist spirituality movement is an offshoot of a critique of patriarchy in religion that began among woman theologians in the late 1960s and the 1970s. Although some feminist theologians chose to work for change within traditional religious frameworks, others aligned themselves with Wiccans in embracing feminine symbols and constructions of deity. Proponents of feminist spirituality seek to empower women, to help them draw on their own strengths and value their own bodies, and to turn women's energies toward working for a more humane and sustainable world. In doing so they have drawn on many ideas and images described in this essay: images of female deity immanent in the world and natural processes; mythic images of divine maidens, mothers, and crones that reveal different modes of female potentiality; and positive values placed on transformation, nurture, and interdependence.

Many contemporary pagans and proponents of feminist spirituality strongly support environmental movements, asserting that their beliefs promote reverence for nature and resistance to earth's exploitation. An important link between these groups and environmentalists has been the "Gaia hypothesis," first published in *Gaia: A New Look at Life on Earth* (1979) by the scientific writer James Lovelock. Lovelock argues that earth and the natural environment should be viewed as a single massive organism, which he calls Gaia, the ancient Greek name for the goddess Earth. To Lovelock, the image of earth as goddess is a metaphor meant to change attitudes toward the matrix in which humans live. Neopagans and spiritual feminists sometimes interpret his image more literally, however.

But this need not be the case, for precise nuances of belief within such movements vary widely. Goddesses may be understood literally as powerful sacred beings external to humans, as powers of growth and transformation surging within the world and humans, and as metaphors for human potentiality. Some groups honor the Wiccan threefold goddess and address her by Celtic or classic names; some may study and call upon female figures from all the world's mythologies; or some may say that, in the end, all goddesses are one. All assert that imageries of feminine sacrality affirm life, connection, the female body, sexuality, and change; that they aid in dealing with death; that they promote creativity and respect for nature; and that they counteract exploitation not only of nature but also throughout human society.

SEE ALSO Durgā Hinduism; Earth; Gender and Religion; Lady of the Animals; Lotus; Moon; Mountains; Phallus and Vagina; Sexuality; Shabbat; Stones; Textiles; Water; Webs and Nets; Wisdom.

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FEMINISM

This entry consists of the following articles:

FEMINISM, GENDER STUDIES, AND RELIGION
FRENCH FEMINISTS ON RELIGION

FEMINISM: FEMINISM, GENDER STUDIES, AND RELIGION

Very few academic fields have remained untouched by the emergence of feminist and gender theory as critical tools for reflecting on, and challenging, the legitimacy of regnant epistemologies. The study of religions is no exception, although it has been slower than other fields to incorporate the insights of contemporary feminist and gender discourses. This entry provides a brief survey of the development of feminism and gender theory and their place within the field of religious studies, and also discusses their critique of traditional methodologies and concepts within the context of the (predominantly Western) study of religious traditions.

FEMINISM AND GENDER STUDIES: AN OVERVIEW. As with many terms, defining *feminism* presents an immediate difficulty, as it suggests a homogeneity that is belied both by the history of its development and the diversity of its articulations and forms. The multiplicity of feminisms that together constitute feminism—whether early suffrage campaigns, discursive analyses of gender hierarchies, or lesbian activism, for example—indicates subtle differences of emphasis and context. Most feminisms are concerned, nonetheless, with promoting political and theoretical programs that address the secondary status of women. In this entry, the term *feminism* will be deployed to refer to a broad set of common themes and concepts, however differently expressed, that articulate a critical analysis of gender relations at meta-theoretical and empirical levels. Feminist theory, as the intellectual conduit of a diversity of feminisms, engages with an array of concerns, all of which reflect an accumulated fund of knowledge and experience that is situated in an ongoing teleological and etiological analysis of gender inequalities and identities in all social and cultural arenas. The possibility of conceptual and political transformation is thus at the heart of feminist practices, theories, and methodologies.

It is common to discuss the development of feminism in terms of the three main "waves." First wave feminism, from the mid-1850s to the publication of Simone de Beauvoir's ground-breaking book *The Second Sex* in 1949, was characterized by materialist debates and political activism concerning universal suffrage, women's rights to self-determination, access to higher education, and ownership of property. Second wave feminism refers to the reemergence of feminist political activism and literature in the late 1960s. It was largely defined by its liberal agenda; its vision of female solidarity; political interventions in the spheres of reproduction and sexuality, employment, and cultural representation; and theorization of patriarchy. It was during the second wave that feminist theory emerged as a field of cultural critique and began to make its presence felt in a wide variety of academic disciplines. These decades saw the establishment of a large number of women's studies departments, an innovation that sought to address the absence of women in the androcentric intellectual history of most academic fields by developing women-focused syllabi and research programs.

While many of the concerns of the second wave continue to be important, feminist activity in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries is referred to as third wave feminism, or *post-feminism.* It marks both a self-reflexive turn and a mature phase in feminist theorizing as it seeks to critique the previously hegemonic assumptions of the second wave. This stage registers a shift in the common preoccupations that have informed many of the debates between feminists. Most notably, third-wave feminists have moved away from the denunciation of gender inequalities towards the theorization of discursive, dialogic constructions of gender. In addition, influenced by poststructural, postcolonial, and queer theories of identity formation, third wave feminists advocate the rejection of oversimplistic and essentialist descriptions of female and male identity. This includes a sustained examination of hegemonic representations of masculinity, and a more nuanced understanding of the often significant differences between men and women in the contexts of class, ethnicity, sexuality, and economic status. In academic circles, the focus has shifted from women's studies to gender studies.

FEMINIST THEORY, GENDER THEORY, AND THE STUDY OF RELIGIONS. The emergence of the feminist study of religious traditions has paralleled the three-wave pattern of feminism's development. Much pioneering feminist scholarship in the 1960s and 1970s was concerned with mapping women's lives and experiences within religious traditions in order to render them analytically visible. In addition, feminist scholars challenged the androcentrism of the field's epistemological foundations and outlined alternative methodologies. The early emphasis on women contributed to the tendency of methodological and epistemological evaluation by feminist scholars to be rather narrowly focused. While it was crucial for identifying the unique place of female expression within religious traditions, it was marginalized in broader methodological debates. Feminist scholars therefore developed multiple critiques of the history of religious studies and, from the 1980s onwards, gender theory was increasingly applied not only to the analysis of religious phenomena but also to the disciplinary paradigms that sought to understand them. Feminist and gender theory began to be articulated in terms of offering the possibility of a paradigm shift, one that would generate conceptual change and renewal within the discipline and provide a necessary corrective to its androcentric foundations (see King, 1995, pp. 1–38). Accordingly, gender-critical scholarship has since been conceived of as a supplementary discourse.

For Jacques Derrida, a supplement is something "added on," seemingly deliberately, to a prior term in order to address an omission within it, although it appears to be exterior and secondary to the primary term it supplements. Derrida, however, argues against the metaphysical logic that places the supplement in a secondary or derivative position. He suggests that if the supplement is necessary to compensate for the absence it reveals in a prior term, then it is not so much an external extra as a necessary constituent of the term it supplements: "The *supplément* is neither a plus nor a minus, neither an outside nor the complement of an inside, neither accident nor essence" (Derrida, 1981, p. 43). An example of supplementarity that provides a useful parallel for understanding the role of feminist and gender theory in the study of religions is the emergence of the field of "women's history." As Joan Scott has argued, "there is a troubling ambiguity inherent in the project of women's history for it is at once an innocuous supplement to, and a radical replacement for, established history" (Scott, 1991, p. 49). As the study of women is added to the discipline of history it also occasions its rewriting. Gender theory, applied to the study of religions, similarly attends to the exclusion of female and non-elite male perspectives at the level of data gathering and analysis, and, further, queries the epistemological and conceptual formulations that enable such exclusion in the first place. Feminist interventions have thus insisted on the implementation of a series of critical adjustments to traditional concepts and theories in the study of religion's methodological paradigms.

FEMINIST AND GENDER THEORY: TRANSFORMING METHODOLOGIES. June O'Connor, in her influential article "The Epistemological Significance of Feminist Research in Religion" (1995), usefully summarizes the epistemological framework of feminist and gender theory in the context of the study of religions. She identifies five moments that define the contours of feminist research (p. 46):

1. Application of a hermeneutics of suspicion that recognizes the androcentric content and context of sources;

2. Attention to the retrieval of the religious history of women, alongside other marginalized groups;
3. Critique and transformation of established concepts, particularly universal and androcentric notions of human subjectivity;
4. Rejection of exclusionary modes of scholarship;
5. Self-reflexive scrutiny of assumptions and ideological commitments in order to avoid the assertion of new orthodoxies.

These steps constitute the basis for the critical transformation, by feminist discourses, of the epistemological grounds of the study of religions, a task that has been taken up vigorously.

Feminist scholars have identified central androcentric biases in the formulation of core disciplinary questions that were, historically, defined from the perspective of predominantly white, educated men. It is for this reason that feminists have been quick to criticize the textual bias of traditional studies for unthinkingly replicating elite, male perspectives and rendering the participation of women in religious traditions as either invisible, or as defined only in androcentric terms. Moreover, categories like *homo religiosus* and the insider/outsider debates have been censured for further enacting the marginalization of women. Rosalind Shaw argues, for example, that the *homo religiosus,* as representative of a religious collective, is generally "undifferentiated by gender, race, class or age, or defined explicitly as male" (1995, p. 67). The insider/outsider formulation also falls down on its failure to account for the "outsider" status of women within their own religious traditions. From the perspective of feminist analyses then, the main consequence of biased, androcentric scholarship has been the production of distorted, partial scholarly accounts that contain serious deficiencies at the basic level of data-collection and interpretation, as well as in the subsequent development of theoretical paradigms (see Gross, 1974, p. 7).

Randi Warne points out, however, that the partiality of traditional epistemological models is not solved by simply adding the study of women to existing scholarship: "Women were not simply 'omitted' through a[n] . . . act of scholarly absent-mindedness; women were excluded from . . . scholarship, as from 'significant' subject matter, as from positions of authority and power, when the basic ideas, definitions, principles and facts were being formulated" (2001, p. 150). A key feminist strategy for confronting gender bias has thus been to revisit traditional methodological debates and to propose critical adjustments to their fundamental premises. Grace Jantzen, for example, in her book *Becoming Divine* (1998), has argued that the traditional philosophy of religion, and Western thought more generally, has wielded theoretical categories that are considered neutral—for example, rationality, objectivity, truth, and God—but which are undeniably biased towards male values, authorizing masculine master-discourses at the expense of female perspectives. A first step in confronting this bias and correcting its glaring lacunae has been to undertake what Jantzen calls "a radical deconstruction of both religion and secularism to make evident their unacknowledged dependence on alterities of race, gender, and sexuality" (Jantzen, 1998, p. 2). Subsequently, Jantzen seeks to develop alternative epistemologies that celebrate difference, acknowledge the subjective basis of knowledge production, and promote a variety of new models from a feminist perspective, including an emphasis on metaphors of natality and human flourishing as foundational principles.

Feminists have also challenged the conceptual assumptions of the phenomenology of religion, particularly its claim to undertake disinterested observation of religious phenomena and to replicate scientific empiricism at the methodological level. Given the feminist critique of the androcentric nature of the traditional study of religions, the claim of methodological disinterestedness is both demonstrably false and theoretically naive. Although the attempt to justify such a methodology on the grounds of the autonomy of disciplinary boundaries is understandable, feminism's metatheoretical orientation suggests, instead, a fluidity of critical perspectives and the benefits of multidisciplinarity.

Related to the rejection of "disinterested" research and the rigid policing of disciplinary boundaries has been the development, by feminist scholars of religion, of a cooperative relationship with feminist theology. There are two main reasons for this: firstly, feminist theology, with its emphasis on the primacy of female experience for assessing the validity of religious doctrines and authority, offers both an academic method and a social vision with regard to the position of women within religious traditions; secondly, the hermeneutic orientations of many feminist theologians provide a promising and well-trodden pathway for the analysis and critique of patriarchal religious symbols, narratives, and discourses. Importantly, the affiliation with feminist theology has occurred at a time when many scholars of religious studies have made a concerted effort to delineate between their own nonconfessional, secular approach and the confessional stance of Christian theology. As feminist scholars of religion have sought to make connections with feminist theologians, they have called into question both the clarity of disciplinary boundaries and the purportedly secular orientation of religious studies.

Some scholars of religion have criticized the tendency of feminist scholars to reduce religious phenomena to their interrelation with cultural forms such as gender and class. Feminists have replied to the charge of reductionism by arguing that the acknowledgment of the social and political constitution of religious phenomena is a vital frame of reference for adequately theorizing difference in religious contexts. As Shaw has noted:

> Attempting to understand a woman's experience of religion in terms of (not just "in the context of") her position within a male-dominated religious tradition is reductionist only if we have severed "religion" from

> "power" in the first place. On the contrary, it would be a "reduction"—in the rather different sense of a diminished and distorted representation of her experience—to bracket off "male dominance" and "gender asymmetry" as a mere biographical backdrop to, but not really part of, the experiences which she calls "religious." (Shaw, 1995, p. 70)

Feminism and gender studies offer innovative epistemological tools for scholarly reflection on the processes and politics of academic knowledge production, as well as for the understanding of religious phenomena. They insist on conceptual transformation in order to account for the fluid, heterogeneous, and polymorphic dimensions of religious expressions, and further maintain that the topography of religious studies must be mapped within a cultural arena that accounts for, and acknowledges, the contradictions and contexts that attend cultural symbolizations. The breadth and depth of feminist scholarship in the study of religions holds out the promise of a much-needed paradigm shift, one that is slowly, but surely, being realized.

SEE ALSO Gender and Religion, overview article and article on History of Study.

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SÎAN HAWTHORNE (2005)

FEMINISM: FRENCH FEMINISTS ON RELIGION

French feminism, understood here to refer to a variety of feminisms of sexual difference that have evolved in France since 1968, has become increasingly influential in religious studies in the late twentieth century and the early twenty-first century. While the term *French feminism* has been criticized widely as a construct of Anglophone academic feminists—a construct that ignores the majority of movements for women's rights in France—it has nevertheless become entrenched in common parlance in the English-speaking world, and the "French feminist" movement is widely understood to include such theorists as Hélène Cixous, Catherine Clément, Luce Irigaray, Julia Kristeva, and Monique Wittig. Unlike many Anglo-American feminists, these French thinkers are less concerned with liberal projects such as equal rights for women than with articulating the problematic of sexual difference that they perceive as fundamental to all forms of cultural expression in the West. The "French feminists," while representing diverse perspectives on this problematic, can be seen to be engaged in an ongoing conversation based on a set of shared premises that each adopts or critiques to varying degrees.

Although all of the French feminists are at least somewhat critical of the work of the French psychoanalytic theorist Jacques Lacan, most are influenced by his theories of subject formation and gender construction (the notable exception to this being Monique Wittig, who rejects psychoanalytic feminism as inherently apolitical). Central to much French feminist theory is the Lacanian view that the subject is linguistically constructed and that the earliest forays into language position the subject within an Oedipal, paternal order (governed by what Lacan calls the "Law of the Father" and symbolized by the phallus). Further, the French feminists tend to follow Lacan in seeing both gender and sexuality as effects of the sociolinguistic foundations of subjectivity. Where most differ from Lacan is in their view that the "phallocentric" Law of the Father is not the only possible social order and that feminist interventions in the linguistic and symbolic structures of both Western and non-Western cultures might open a path to a new, postpatriarchal world.

Additionally most of the French feminist theorists are influenced by the deconstructive literary-critical methodology and the philosophical thought of Jacques Derrida—although again not without reservations. Of particular significance is Derrida's strategy of examining texts for the hidden meanings that both supplement and challenge any explicit signification as well as his claim that the Western philosophical and theological traditions have organized reality into opposing and hierarchically ordered binaries (e.g., presence/absence, good/evil, spirit/body, writing/speech), with man/woman serving as the paradigmatic example. Derrida's notion of *différance*, an unending play of differing and deferring that both underlies and disrupts the "logocentric" production of univocal meaning, is also useful, as is his view that "woman" is the privileged site of *différance* (although this latter notion is also seen as somewhat problematic).

Beginning from their various understandings of these two thinkers then—and further influenced by such figures as Ferdinand de Saussure, Louis Althusser, Emmanuel Levinas, Roland Barthes, and Claude Lévi-Strauss—the French feminists have articulated a profoundly important body of philosophical and critical thought about the role of sexual difference in the Western tradition, and their work has many implications for the study of religion. The religious discourses of the West emerge as key instances of the "phallogocentrism" of Western thought (that is, of the central role occupied by the phallus and the written word), with the Jewish and Christian Father-God appearing as a symbol with even more power than those marshaled by the state to found a repressive model of subjectivity. The exclusive maleness of the Trinitarian divinity—God conceived as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—is seen as paradigmatic of the "logic of the same" that the French feminists, and many other French theorists of the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century, trace from Plato through Hegel. This model of God comes under censure both for its eclipsing of the central importance of the mother in the process of (re)producing life and for its underwriting of a patriarchal model of the subject that reduces the feminine to the inferior "other" of the masculine. However, French feminist religious thought is as noteworthy for its constructive impulses as for its critique of established religions and is characterized, especially in later works, by attempts to imagine new ways of being religious that would allow the repressed feminine to find expression.

In this context French feminists have explored such areas of interest as the necessity for honoring (and sacralizing) mother-daughter genealogies; the relationship between divinity and subjectivity; the affinity of women for mysticism; the nature of Jewish and Christian notions of defilement and sin; and the resources offered to Western feminists by non-Western religious traditions. What follows below is merely a suggestion, in somewhat arbitrary order, of the ways these themes find expression in the work of the French feminists, based primarily on the ways in which their work has been taken up by feminist scholars of religion. Further it should be noted that many aspects of French feminist theory that have no direct bearing on religion have found such wide acceptance in religious studies that the French feminists, especially Julia Kristeva and Luce Irigaray, are frequently referenced in feminist religious scholarship.

MATERNITY AND MOTHER-DAUGHTER GENEALOGIES. The issue of the erasure of mothers and daughters from the religious traditions of the West—and the necessity for reworking those traditions in ways that allow maternity to emerge as sacred in its own right—has generated much comment from the French feminists, and their thought in this area has in turn sparked much interest from feminist scholars of religion. In her 1987 "Stabat Mater" and *In the Beginning Was Love*, for example, Julia Kristeva offered a psychoanalytic reading of maternity intended to undermine what she saw as the phallocentrism of Lacan's theory of subject formation, a reading that has implications for patriarchal understandings of Christianity as well. In questioning the primacy accorded to the father by Lacan, Kristeva also challenges the appropriation of the Virgin Mary within the Catholic and Orthodox traditions, arguing that that appropriation erases the bodily nature of motherhood and domesticates maternity within a patriarchal order. For Kristeva, the bond between mother and infant is the precursor of the infant's ability to relate to an Other, so that maternal love is the necessary condition of Christian agape.

Although Luce Irigaray too is very much influenced by psychoanalytic methods, she tends to approach her discussion of motherhood genealogically, sifting through the myths of the Western tradition for lost images of sacred mothers and daughters. In such essays as "The Forgotten Mystery of Female Ancestry" (1994), for example, she explores the story of Demeter and Persephone for what it has to tell the modern world about the ways the mother-daughter relationship, seen by Irigaray as the paradigmatic relationship between women, has been co-opted and subverted by patriarchy and argues that the re-sacralization of such relationships is essential to establishing social justice for women.This approach has not been uniformly welcomed by feminist scholars of religion, many of whom see it as yet another attempt to reclaim or reimagine goddess traditions that fail to intervene effectively in the male-centeredness of the Western religious traditions. Alternatively then in "When the Gods Are Born" (1991), Irigaray turns to Friedrich Nietzsche to show how the maternal function is appropriated both by the Greek gods Apollo and Dionysos, with whom Nietzsche was so fascinated, and by Nietzsche himself in his quest for a revaluation of all values. Behind this metaphorization of motherhood, Irigaray claims, lies a betrayal of the body that is all too often repeated in Christian thinking about embodiment, although in her view it need not be.

SUBJECTIVITY AND DIVINITY. In *Speculum of the Other Woman* (1985) Irigaray examined psychoanalytic and philosophical theories of subjectivity to mount a critique of what she saw as the implicit masculinity of the Western subject. Although she paid little attention in that text to religion, her argument that Freudian and Platonic conceptions of knowledge function to render true sexual difference invisible was quickly taken up by feminist scholars of religion who saw in it a valuable resource for intervening in the patriarchal legacy of the Christian and Jewish traditions. In a subsequent and widely cited essay, "Divine Women" in *Sexes and Genealogies* (1993), Irigaray returned to this theme to assert the importance for women of a feminine conception of divinity. Borrowing from Ludwig Feuerbach's claim that God is the idealized expression of "man's" potential, Irigaray suggested that the Father-God of Christianity could only perform this function for men and that women need a feminine divine to ground the specifically feminine mode of subjectivity that she envisions.

In spite of her many theoretical differences from Irigaray, Monique Wittig implicitly follows this same line of reasoning in her radical lesbian interventions in the mythic and religious imagery of the West. Wittig rejects the psychoanalytic foundations of Irigaray's project, and yet she too wants to reimagine divinity in a feminine mode, as is clear in such novels as *Les Guérillères* (1971), in which, for example, the Eve of the *Genesis* creation myth emerges as a superhuman solar goddess who willingly eats the forbidden fruit to gain divine knowledge, and *The Lesbian Body* (1975), in which the biblical *Song of Solomon* is reworked as a hymn of divinized love for another woman. In both of these texts Wittig creatively appropriates masculine gods from a wide range of religious traditions of the world to recast them as goddesses who then function as idealized images of the power of women to free themselves from masculine oppression and to become autonomous subjects in their own right.

WOMEN AND MYSTICISM. The importance of mystical religious experience as an expression of repressed elements of Western culture has long been a favorite theme of Catherine Clément. For Clément, who is strongly influenced by Lacanian psychoanalytic theory, every culture necessarily excludes from representation certain aspects of its own experience, and Western culture, with its demand for rationality, tends to exclude the nonrational. Because women have historically been excluded from full participation in society, they have borne the burden of representing these excluded, nonrepresentable elements. In *The Newly Born Woman* (cowritten with Hélène Cixous, 1986) it is primarily the witch and the hysteric who capture Clément's attention in this context, but in such later books as *Syncope: The Philosophy of Rapture* (1994) and *The Feminine and the Sacred* (cowritten with Julia Kristeva, 2001), Clément increasingly offers Asian mystics, especially practitioners of Tantric and other forms of Yoga, as examples of the marginal figures who haunt and destabilize the masculine social order but do not have the power to overturn it. For Clément, these figures represent a privileged relationship to the sacred, outside of the confines of any form of organized religion.

Irigaray too has expressed interest in female mystical experience; indeed the essay "La Mystérique" in *Speculum* was one of her first interrogations of religious experience. In this essay she argued that mysticism was properly feminine because of its preference for embodied modes of knowledge over reason. She also suggested that in Christianity the relationship of mystic to God is essentially specular—that is, that the mystic attempts to obliterate her own imperfect identity in order to mirror divine perfection. In this way, for Irigaray, the role of the female mystic echoes the role of women in patriarchal society, where women are expected to mirror men's selves to them to sustain the masculine illusion of self-sufficiency. Since *I Love to You* (1996), however, Irigaray has increasingly turned her attention to Yoga and to a lyrical appreciation of the importance, especially for women, of cultivating the breath, which she sees as having the power to undo such binaries as inside/outside, matter/spirit, and the like. In *Between East and West: From Singularity to Community* (2002) she offers her most extended consideration of the discipline of Yoga, contrasting it with Christian mysticism and suggesting that it might provide a key to rethinking the patriarchal religious traditions of the West.

DEFILEMENT AND SIN. Kristeva is widely known, both within and outside the context of religious studies, for her theorization of abjection—the quality of repulsiveness that haunts human experience of bodily fluids, seen as waste products with the power to defile whomever they touch. First elaborated in her *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection* (1982), Kristeva's interest in the abject is clearly related to her interest in the effacement of the maternal body in Western culture; as she sees it, the mother's body must be abjected, or cast away, if the subject is to enter into the symbolic order of language. To the great interest of many scholars of religion, Kristeva has developed some of the religious implications of this theory in her psychoanalytic reading of the Levitical prohibitions in *Powers of Horror* and in the later "Reading the Bible" in *New Maladies of the Soul* (1995) and has linked the sacrificial logic of Judaism and Christianity with the primal matricide that she sees, pace Sigmund Freud, as underlying both culture and the individual subject.

Hélène Cixous's approach to the problem of sin is intimately bound up with her notion of *écriture feminine*, a feminine practice of writing that reaches beyond what she sees as a masculine fear of otherness to enable new modes of relationship between self and other. For Cixous, writing is, or has the potential to become, a process that instantiates both the feminine (otherwise lost in the patriarchal order of Western culture) and God. This is so because writing participates in what Cixous calls the feminine economy, in which the self gives with no thought of return. To illustrate this notion, Cixous has at several points taken up the *Genesis* creation story, reworking it so that it reveals the feminine economy underlying Eve's eating of the apple. For Cixous, that is, Eve eats the apple not in spite of the prohibition against doing so but precisely because of that prohibition; in choosing the pleasure of taking the fruit into herself over obedience to divine law, Eve enacts the economy that risks the loss of self to open the self up to the other. Eve is also exemplary of Cixous's notion, articulated in "Grace and Innocence: Heinrich von Kleist" (1991), that the only innocence worth having is a second innocence that comes after knowledge and guilt, after paradise is lost. For Cixous, in other words, the possibility of relationship with the other is of paramount importance, and the law that punishes Eve for pursuing that possibility is itself the source of "sin."

NON-WESTERN RESOURCES. As suggested above, several of the French feminists are especially noteworthy for their interest in what they see as the resources offered by non-Western religious traditions. In *Les Guérillères* and *The Lesbian Body*, for example, Wittig has mined Hindu and Buddhist mythologies as well as those of ancient Africa and Mesoamerica both for potentially feminist forms of religious worship and for goddesses, such as Kālī and the Aztec solar goddess Cihuacoatl, who represent the fierce, self-sustaining qualities of women, qualities that would help bring into being the radical lesbian culture that Wittig envisioned. As is the case when she invokes various figures from Judaism and Christianity, she freely appropriates from Asian traditions to suit her own purposes rather than to shed any light on those traditions as they are practiced.

Clément's consideration of non-Western traditions is arguably more respectful, although she has been criticized by some scholars for being overly romantic in her appreciation of those traditions. As noted above, *Syncope* reveals a fascination with Tantra and other forms of Yoga, practices that produce moments of rapture that, for Clément, are among the deepest expressions of both the sacred and the feminine. In the novel *Theo's Odyssey* (1999) too she explores such diverse traditions as Hinduism, Zen Buddhism, and African tribal religions to show what she sees as the healing power of ecstatic experience, a power linked in the narrative of the novel to being able both to mourn and to recapture the lost feminine.

It is in the work of Irigaray, perhaps, that the most dramatic turning to the East emerges. In such texts as "Practical Teachings: Love—Between Passion and Civility" in *I Love to You*, *The Age of the Breath* (1999), and *Between East and West*, Irigaray elaborates the value of Yogic discipline, specifically cultivation of the breath, for feminist religious practice. Here the breath is seen as paradigmatic of what Irigaray refers to as the "sensible transcendental," that is, the breath is both transcendent (of each individual's limitations) and immanent (in the body). Thus learning to practice the art of breathing offers a path out of the binaries of self/other, body/spirit, immanent/transcendent that haunt Western thought and underlie the repression of the feminine and the oppression of women.

FRENCH FEMINISM AND RELIGION: THE POSSIBILITIES. In its multifaceted approach to the problematic of sexual difference, French feminist thought is clearly a valuable resource for the study of religion. Indeed many of the themes sketched out above have yet to be extensively mined by feminist scholars of religion, and the work of only two of the thinkers discussed—Irigaray and Kristeva—has found wide acceptance in religious studies. Clearly though Clément, Cixous, and Wittig also have much to offer in the domain of religious thought, and it is certain that a further investigation of their work will shed light on the place of women in the patriarchal religious traditions of the West.

SEE ALSO Gender and Religion, overview article and article on History of Study; Goddess Worship; Mary.

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JUDITH L. POXON (2005)

FEMINIST THEOLOGY

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
CHRISTIAN FEMINIST THEOLOGY

FEMINIST THEOLOGY: AN OVERVIEW

Theology, as rational exploration of the nature and traits of God or deity, is central to Christianity. While other religions, by definition, include some theological assumptions, exploring the nature of deity does not have the same prestige or importance in any other religion, including the other monotheistic religions. Therefore, it is sometimes claimed that explicit and deliberate attention to theology by adherents of other religions is more an imitation of Christianity than an indigenous pursuit. For Buddhism and other nontheistic religions, the term is especially awkward, and some commentators refuse to use the term even if they wish to do critical and constructive reflections on their traditions. Nevertheless, by extension, many non-Christians do use the term for their own reflective work.

Feminist theology originated among Christians in late 1960s and early 1970s, though Jewish feminist commentators quickly joined the discussion. But while Christian feminist theologians took up questions about the implications of feminism for traditional concepts of deity as a major concern, feminists in many other traditions bracketed the question of language and imagery of deity, claiming that other issues, such as women's status under religious law, were much more pressing for women.

When discussing feminist theologies other than Christian feminist theology, the term *feminism* is equally problematic. In much of the world, the term has extremely negative connotations; people think it means an anti-men and anti-family movement that imposes Western values on other cultures. (This assessment of feminism tends to be promoted by religious conservatives who do not want women in their traditions to take a critical stance vis-à-vis the tradition.) Therefore, most people avoid the term, even if the work they are doing would qualify as feminist according to the Western use of the term. The term *feminist* implies taking a critical and constructive approach that centers on questions of women's well-being and agency to a religious tradition. Such critical and constructive tasks can involve changing or reinterpreting the tradition when it is found that women's well-being is compromised by traditional teachings and practices. The practice of feminist theology can also involve highlighting aspects of a tradition that have been largely neglected, but that do promote women's well-being. However, scholarship that simply provides more information about women's religious lives without invoking any critical perspectives does not qualify as feminist theology.

Feminist theologies generally take up two separate but interrelated tasks (these same tasks are also major topics in Christian feminist theology). Feminist reflection within a religious tradition is usually first sparked by women's resentment of their secondary and peripheral status in all the world's major religious traditions. This discovery leads to many explorations. The history of the tradition is reexamined to search out forgotten but more inspiring role models for women; sometimes this research leads to the conclusion that the religion actually had feminist values originally, but that these values gradually eroded under the weight of convention and tradition. The scriptures are examined anew to see if the traditional patriarchal interpretations are the only possible interpretations; many feminist interpreters of their scriptures claim that the scriptures do promote women's dignity, equality, and well-being, but that traditionalists have focused on a few passages, often taken out of context, that seem to promote male dominance. Rituals and liturgies are studied to see if they can be practiced in ways that are more inclusive of women. Sometimes this involves advocating the actual presence of women in the ritual spaces that were formerly closed to them. Sometimes it involves changing liturgical language to be gender-neutral and gender-inclusive. Sometimes it involves creating new rituals that meet women's religious needs more adequately. Finally, religious institutions are critiqued. Are women kept out of leadership roles? Is study of their tradition difficult for them? Do the laws and customs favor men over women? Feminists find traditional institutional set-ups quite inadequate if one defines the purpose of religious institutions as promoting the well-being of women equally with that of men.

Such questions are all part of the first agenda for feminist theology—reforming the tradition so that it serves women's needs more adequately. However, feminist theological reflection does not always take up the second, more comprehensive and challenging task. Is the whole religious worldview implicated in the male dominance of the tradition and in its typical disregard for women's well-being? This question is extremely threatening to many religious people, regardless of their specific religious tradition, because a positive answer would involve rethinking the most fundamental assumptions of the tradition. Nevertheless, some feminist theologians have explored this question. One notable example is the critique of the assumed maleness of the deity, which has been made mainly by Jewish and Christian feminist theologians. Lurking behind the assumed maleness of the deity, some feminist theologians have also found questionable assumptions about the relationship between the deity and the world, as well as about many other basic theological issues. This question has not been raised so thoroughly in other religious traditions, though some feminists have questioned some basic Buddhist assumptions. The *guru* or religious teacher is usually male, raising the question of whether this practice limits Buddhist women in the same way the maleness of the deity is claimed to limit Jewish and Christian women? Would women *gurus* highlight teachings and practices that have been largely downplayed by male *gurus*? How helpful is the strong feminine imagery prevalent in some forms of Buddhism for women?

FEMINIST THEOLOGY IN JUDAISM AND ISLAM. Judaism and Islam are similar to each other in many ways. Both are strictly monotheistic and often use male imagery and language for the deity. Both value religious law over theology and pride themselves on providing a comprehensive overarching way of life for their followers. Both regard the sexes as complementary; each sex has its distinctive sphere, and it is often claimed that these separate spheres are of equal value. Both regard public religious observance as a male preserve and see women's roles as being centered in home and family. Both look extremely male-dominated by standard feminist assessments.

There have been strong women's movements in both traditions, but the movements are quite different, in part because the Jewish feminist movement is quite critical of the tradition, whereas Muslim women's movements often seek to educate women about rights they have under Muslim law that are often not fully observed. These differences are also due to the fact that the Jewish women's movement is centered in North America, where feminism is part of the culture, whereas Muslims must constantly deal with the accusation that any attempts to critique or reform Muslim practices surrounding gender are inappropriate forms of "westernization" and should be resisted.

Jewish feminist theology takes the form of both an attempt to include women in all aspects of traditional Judaism from which they have previously been excluded and an attempt to radically rethink the basic categories of Judaism, such as God, Torah, and Israel. Women have been ordained as rabbis in all forms of Judaism, except the Orthodox movement. Jewish education for women and girls has grown exponentially since the 1960s, with the result that women insist on participating equally in the synagogue roles for which they are trained, and many women have taken on the obligations of daily prayer that are required only of men. But such egalitarian reforms do not go far enough, according to some Jewish feminists, who argue that Jewish theology must be entirely reconceptualized. For example, in addition to insisting that female imagery and language of deity is appropriate, many wish to challenge traditional images of the deity as a ruler with power over humanity and develop partnership models of the relationship between deity and humanity.

Muslims, both feminist and nonfeminist, insist that Islam improved the status of women over what it had been in pre-Islamic Arabia. Muslims also insist, correctly, that Islam gave women rights that women in Christian and Western countries have obtained only recently, even if these rights may seem inadequate from a contemporary feminist point of view. Many Muslims also insist that the primary problem for women is lack of education, not lack of rights. Women may not know what rights they have under Islamic law, and local customs have often eroded whatever rights they have. Some Muslim feminists have shown that many traditional beliefs about women's inferiority have no basis in genuine Muslim thought. The customs that feminists find most problematic, such as female circumcision, honor killings, and even veiling, have no basis in the Qurʾān, though modest dress is required for both women and men. However, the traditional practices of sexual segregation and the requirement of separate spheres for women and men have not been challenged consistently. Traditional theology and concepts of God have not been subjected to feminist analysis.

FEMINIST THEOLOGY IN HINDUISM AND BUDDHISM. The agenda for feminist theology has been largely determined by its Western and Christian practitioners. Some of their concerns merge well into the Hindu and Buddhist contexts, but others find no parallels in Hinduism and Buddhism. Generally, concerns about male-dominated religious institutions and women's access to prestigious religious practices are central to feminist critiques of these traditions. However, many of the more theological issues involving claims about the deity simply do not translate into Hindu or Buddhist contexts.

Hinduism, an umbrella term for extremely varied religious beliefs and practices in India, is as formally male-dominated as religion could possibly be. However, feminist commentators frequently point out that there are the formal law codes on the one hand, and there is religion as it is actually practiced on the other. In India, the former are usually more stringent than the latter. For example, women should not study the Sanskrit Vedas, but they do; a son is needed to light the parent's funeral pyre, but in the absence of a son, daughters sometimes light the fire. Especially in the twentieth century, most areas formerly closed to women were at least formally opened to them. Nowadays, Sanskrit learning is largely accessible to women, and some *gurūs* have transmitted their lineages to women disciples, who now hold positions of the highest religious authority. Additionally, offsetting the male dominance of much public religious practice, Hindu women have always had a rich repertoire of rituals for women led by women. The problem of the male deity does not exist in Hinduism, not because there are no male deities, but because there are also numerous female deities, many of them fierce and strong. Hinduism is largely a theistic religion, but it traditionally includes an almost unlimited number of ways to imagine deity. For all these reasons, as well as a general Asian reluctance to use the term *feminism,* there has been little feminist theology, per se, in the Hindu context, and few organized movements to improve women's status in religion. Nevertheless, women are quietly doing virtually everything religiously in Hinduism, at least in some places.

For Buddhism, the situation is somewhat different. Because of Buddhism's growing popularity in the West, it has encountered more direct feminist critiques and reconstructions. There is also a worldwide Buddhist women's movement. Its agenda is restoring the *bhikkhunī* (nuns) ordination in places where it has been lost and improving the education and status of nuns everywhere, but it also addresses women's concerns more generally. Buddhist teachings are remarkably gender-neutral and gender-free, probably more so than those of any other religion. That is because all Buddhist teachings point to the ultimate irrelevance of gender and to the fact that, like all phenomena, gender lacks substantial reality and is, in that sense, illusory. Buddhism is also a nontheistic religion, so the problem of the male deity does not exist. The plentiful anthropomorphic imagery found in Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna Buddhism features many prominent and popular female representations, as well as male ones. The problem in Buddhism has been its institutional setup, which historically has been extremely male-dominated and much more favorable to men than to women. Thus, Buddhist feminists primarily point to this internal contradiction within Buddhism rather than suggesting profound changes in its worldview. Regarding institutional reforms, progress in Asia is slow, but things are definitely changing. In North America, which in many ways can take a fresh start, the situation is different. Many of the best-known Western teachers of Buddhism are women, as are about half the senior teachers. However, most of these women teachers do not explicitly deal with feminist issues.

FEMINIST THEOLOGY IN EAST ASIAN RELIGIONS. The major religions of East Asia—Confucianism and Daoism—are religions under stress due to the influence of missionaries and other Western critics of Chinese religion, as well as to the hostility of the Chinese Communist government to religion in any form. Consequently, there has been little feminist analysis or reconceptualization of these religions. A few Western-educated Chinese scholars have compared the teachings of these religions with the claims of modern feminism and have found much room for dialogue between Daoism and feminism, but less consonance between Confucianism and feminism. It remains to be seen if these religions regain their former influence, but Daoism in particular does seem to be making a comeback and is also attracting non-Chinese followers. If they do make a comeback, these religions will also undoubtedly receive more attention from feminist theologians.

CONCLUSION. *Feminist theology* may or may not be an appropriate term for the feminist analysis that is done in nonmonotheistic or nontheistic contexts. But it is important to recognize that critical and constructive work regarding gender has been done and is appropriate in those religious contexts. Too often in North American theological and academic studies of religion, the process of Christian theologizing is thoroughly discussed, whereas other religious traditions are presented only as static, completed systems of thought. The term *theology* does acknowledge that all religious traditions are changing and responding to current issues, including those brought about by the various feminist critiques of male-dominated religions and societies.

However, feminist theologies in the various religions are much more complex and nuanced than could be indicated within the limits of this short article. It is also important to note that even though several major religions have been discussed, many others, including all the world's indigenous traditions, have been omitted from this short survey.

SEE ALSO Dialogue of Religions; Feminism, article on Feminism, Gender Studies, and Religion; Gender and Religion, overview article, and article on History of Study; Religious Diversity; Theology, articles on Christian Theology, Comparative Theology.

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RITA M. GROSS (2005)

FEMINIST THEOLOGY: CHRISTIAN FEMINIST THEOLOGY

Christianity's encounter with feminism might be one of the most significant revolutions ever to happen within the Christian tradition, rivaling the impact of the early councils or the reformation in its implications for the future of Christian belief and practice. Although feminism continues to be marginalized, ignored, or condemned by many Christians, its effects are felt across the whole spectrum of contemporary Christianity.

Feminist theology emerged in the United States during the 1960s when so-called second wave feminism was making an impact on academic ideas as well as on western politics and culture. European feminists have made their own distinctive contribution. In the last forty years, feminist theology has become a global movement representing a wide range of cultural, political, and religious perspectives. The Ecumenical Association of Third-World Theologians (EATWOT) has provided a significant forum for the development of feminist theologies in engagement with a wide range of women's concerns and experiences from all five continents.

However, it is also true that women have been doing theology since the early church, and the task of feminist theologians is as much about retrieving the neglected voices of women of the past as it is about formulating new theological symbols and values for the present and the future. *The*

Woman's Bible, a critique of Christianity produced in the 1890s by American suffragist Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815–1902), is regarded as an important founding moment in Christian feminism. Today, feminist theological reflection includes academic scholarship as well as literature, music, liturgy, and a range of insights drawn from the exploration of women's experiences in many different contexts. Although feminist theology is not simply another form of liberation theology, its challenge to the oppression and exploitation of women gives it a strongly liberationist perspective.

The publication of Valerie Saiving's article in 1960, "The Human Situation: A Feminine View" (Saiving, 1992), has with hindsight been recognized as a key event in the contemporary development of feminist theology. Saiving asked the extent to which Christian concepts of sin (pride, ambition, self-centeredness) are influenced by masculine perspectives so that they do not reflect feminine sins (self-denigration, triviality, lack of focus). Feminist theology thus began to question much of what had gone before, not only in terms of women's place in the church, but more generally in terms of the gendering of theological ideas and in the implicit and explicit privileging of the masculine over the feminine at every level of Christian doctrine and practice.

The encounter between feminism and theology was given added impetus by the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), which encouraged Roman Catholics to enter into a positive engagement with the non-Catholic world. Pioneers such as Rosemary Radford Ruether, Mary Daly, and Elizabeth Johnson were Catholics working in the initially optimistic climate that followed the council. Daly's 1968 book, *The Church and the Second Sex*, offered a hard-hitting feminist critique of Christian misogyny, but still expressed hope that the church could be transformed. Later editions include disclaimers in which Daly makes clear her subsequent rejection of Christianity as irredeemably patriarchal (Daly, 1985). Daphne Hampson has come to the same conclusion about the impossibility of reconciliation between feminism and the Christian tradition (Hampson, 1996).

Nevertheless, feminist theology brings together academics, activists, and believers from all denominations, men as well as women, who believe that the Christian faith, however problematic, can be transformed and continues to offer a message of hope for the world. While it is impossible to do justice to the full range of feminist theological reflection in a short survey, this is an overview of general trends and significant developments in a field of study that is constantly evolving as new perspectives emerge.

WOMEN'S EXPERIENCE. In 1983, Ruether defined "the critical principle of feminist theology" as "the promotion of the full humanity of women" (Ruether, 1992, p. 18). This definition has inspired a process of theological reflection that begins with women's experience, in recognition of the fact that theology has been almost exclusively informed by the experiences of men. Although theology as a discipline is concerned with reflection upon the nature of God as revealed in scripture, the natural law, and the prayerful use of human reason (described by St. Anselm as "faith seeking understanding"), feminists point out the extent to which theological knowledge is shaped by the cultural context and bodily specificity of the theologian, including his or her gendered embodiment. Strictly speaking, therefore, the appeal to women's experience need not be seen as an attempt to construct a theory of God from the starting point of woman but rather as a corrective to the androcentrism of existing theological discourse. If Christianity recognizes the ultimate mystery and unspeakability of God, it also believes that it can and, indeed, must speak of God in the language and concepts of human embodiment because it believes that God is supremely and (for some) uniquely and exclusively revealed in the human person of Jesus Christ and in the Bible. If male and female are both made in the image of God (*Gen.* 1:27), then the human understanding of God requires the theological participation of both sexes. To bring women's perspectives into theology is not simply to "add women and stir," but to introduce a catalyst capable of initiating radical transformation.

Nevertheless, the appeal to women's experience has been criticized by some feminists and by some antagonistic to feminism. An early and significant critique came from those who argued that the work of theologians such as Ruether and Daly was premised on the experience of white Western women, and that the category of "woman" did not reflect the plurality and diversity of women's experiences in different contexts. As a result, feminist theology now embraces a wide range of perspectives and methods. In seeking to express both a relationship to and a distance from Western feminism, these diverse theologies use a variety of names, including, among others, womanist theology (arising out of the experiences of black North American women), *dalit* women's theology (which explores the situation of low-caste Christian women in India), concerned African women's theology (primarily focusing on the encounter between African culture, Christianity, and feminism), *minjung* feminist theology (Korean women's theology from the perspective of the poor and the marginalized), and *mujerista* theology (informed by the experiences of Hispanic-American women) (King, 1994). This plurality means that methods and sources extend far beyond those regarded as theological in the strictly academic sense, including, among others, oral traditions, literature, art, biography, and autobiography.

While these theologies are often based on a liberal or liberationist approach, since the early 1990s a growing number of feminist theologians have adopted a postmodernist perspective informed by the deconstructive and poststructuralist approaches of secular feminist theory, and by the work of critical theorists such as Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Luce Irigaray, and Julia Kristeva (Chopp and Davaney, 1997; Kim, St. Ville, and Simonaitis, 1993). From this perspective, the appeal to women's experience is problematized by the recognition that all experience is socially constructed and linguistically mediated, and it is argued that feminist theology needs to concern itself with the analysis of theological language and symbolism. Although this approach has gained some currency, there has been considerable debate over the extent to which political concerns for justice become marginalized if feminist theology aligns itself too closely with theory at the expense of practice. As Janet Martin Soskice notes, "Feminism in theology may lack the theoretical framework of some of its sister subjects, but its prospect for reaching millions of lives, including those of the world's poorest women, is immense" (Soskice in Soskice and Lipton, 2003, p. 8).

Another critique of the appeal to experience comes from those who argue that theological reflection cannot begin with the individual subject but must take the form of a prayerful encounter with the revelation of God. From this perspective, while it is right to criticize excessive androcentrism as a failing in the theological tradition, the corrective is not to introduce another foundational form of gendered subjectivity but to rediscover the importance of doing theology in a space of communication between human awareness and divine revelation within the context of the Christian community (Martin, 1994). Feminists such as Linda Woodhead and Susan Parsons have raised similar concerns, arguing that feminist theology risks the sacrifice of a vital transcendent perspective of faith and hope in favor of a more modernist and individualistic rhetoric of women's liberation (Woodhead, 1997; Parsons, 2000).

THEOLOGICAL LANGUAGE. Potentially the most challenging aspect of feminist theology is its questioning of Christian concepts of God. At one level, this involves the recognition that theological language is almost exclusively masculine, with God being referred to in concepts associated with fatherhood and maleness, and never with images that evoke maternal feminine characteristics. Although the idea of referring to God as "mother" or "she" is anathema to many modern Christians, theological language was in the past much more fluid in terms of gender, frequently referring to God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit in maternal metaphors and symbols. Feminist theologians whose work is informed by critical theory reject the appeal to inclusive language as masking rather than resolving the problem of androcentrism. They would argue that symbols and language must be deconstructed in order to identify the dynamics of power, dissimulation, and ideological manipulation that are encoded within the structures, values, and relationships of theological narratives.

The critique of masculine theological language also challenges the privileging of the Father-Son relationship between God and Jesus Christ, and the representation of the relationship among the three persons of the Trinity, perceived as masculine. Catherine Mowry LaCugna, in *God for Us*, argues that western theology constructed its doctrine of the Trinity around a hierarchy of relationships that in turn lends justification to social hierarchies based on submission to patriarchal authority figures. She seeks the reclamation of a more interpersonal understanding of the Trinity through an appeal to pre-Nicene theology, particularly that of the Cappadocians, arguing that the doctrine of the Trinity is practical and has radical social implications (LaCugna, 1992). Elizabeth Johnson, in her influential book *She Who Is*, argues that the mystery of God as Trinity can only be expressed through a rich plurality of images and associations, including both male and female terms (Johnson 1992).

While these constitute feminist refigurations of, rather than departures from, traditional theology, some radical feminist theologians (sometimes referred to in the feminized form as thealogians) would associate the Judeo-Christian tradition with the triumph of patriarchal monotheism over the more matriarchal goddess religions. They would advocate the reclamation of goddess worship and symbolism as a resource for women's spirituality. While for some this entails the transformation rather than the rejection of Christianity, including the reclamation of the Virgin Mary as the goddess of the Christian tradition, others would see it as a form of post-Christian feminist spirituality that liberates women from the constraints of patriarchal religion (Baring and Cashford, 1991).

THE BIBLE. Feminist biblical criticism has in its short history exhibited a dynamic and innovative capacity for scriptural interpretation, discovering in the biblical narratives a multifaceted resource for the critique of patriarchy and for the reclamation of women's stories of redemption. Feminist hermeneutics entail the recognition that the meaning of a text depends both upon the context in which it was written and the context in which it is interpreted. To consciously read the Bible as a woman and to resist dominant, androcentric readings is to discover previously unrecognized challenges and meanings. This also involves the acknowledgment that the authors of scripture were male and that the Bible, like every other text, is situated within particular cultural and historical contexts that reflect the perspectives of its authors. The quest for revelation thus becomes a struggle with the text, and a resistance to authoritative readings that justify the subordination or oppression of women. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza pioneered a hermeneutical approach that seeks to reclaim the lives of the women around Jesus and in the early church, arguing that the first Christian communities were radically egalitarian and that women shared roles of discipleship and leadership with their male counterparts (Schüssler Fiorenza, 1994a and 1994b). No less influential is the rhetorical criticism and exegesis of Phyllis Trible, whose readings of the Hebrew scriptures challenge existing orthodoxies, particularly with regard to the construction of sexual hierarchies through an appeal to the story of *Genesis* 2–3 (Trible, 1978).

The participation of women from many different cultural perspectives also brings rich new insights to biblical interpretation (King, 1994, pp. 183–242). The Womanist theologian, Delores Williams, proposes a reading of the story of Hagar in *Genesis* 16-21 as one in which Hagar, the Egyptian slave woman persecuted and sexually exploited in the patriarchal household of Abraham, reflects the experiences of black women in the United States (Williams, 1993). The women disciples of Jesus and those who feature in the Pauline letters have been the focus of extensive feminist study, as have the Pauline injunctions on marriage and on women's behavior in church.

While all feminist biblical criticism is to some extent deconstructive, in recent years there has been a significant shift in some feminist approaches to the Bible, through the adoption of a more theoretical linguistic approach to the study of texts. This includes asking to what extent women in ancient literature are in fact ciphers employed by male writers rather than reliable historical accounts. From this perspective, the attempt to reconstruct women's histories from biblical and early Christian texts becomes a more challenging task than has previously been recognized (Clark, 1998).

EMBODIMENT, SEXUALITY, AND NATURE. The position of the female body in Christian worship, language, and ethics is a central concern of feminist theology (Isherwood and Stuart 1998). Again, the ways in which this is addressed vary widely according to different theological perspectives and contexts. For some, the belief that God became incarnate in Jesus Christ raises a fundamental question about the place of the female body in the doctrine of salvation, summarized in Ruether's question, "Can a male savior save women?" (Ruether, 1992). For Ruether, the answer is dependent upon the recognition that Christ's maleness is a contingency of his humanity, and does not have doctrinal significance. Sarah Coakley analyzes the representation of sexuality and the body in Christian texts to show the ambiguity and inherent instability of theological concepts of gender (Coakley, 2002). Others explore the significance of the Virgin Mary as one who bodily participated in the incarnation in a way that has redemptive significance for the female body (Beattie, 2002).

Related to questions about the masculinity of Christ are questions about the role of the female body in relation to Christian symbols and sacraments. Given the relationship between the shedding of Christ's blood, the doctrine of salvation, and the doctrine of the Eucharist, some women theologians ask what symbolic associations might be discovered between the body of Christ and the body of women in terms of their capacity to nurture, to bleed, and to give new life. From an anthropological perspective, Nancy Jay's work has been influential in exploring the relationship between religious concepts of sacrifice and taboos against women priests associated with fears of menstruation and childbirth (Jay, 1992). Bynum has shown that there was a close association between female embodiment and the body of Christ in medieval women's devotions, based on the belief that the divinity of Christ derived from God the Father, but his humanity derived from the female flesh of his mother (Bynum, 1992).

Another area of widespread concern to feminist theologians is the question of female sexuality, which has almost universally been portrayed in negative terms in Christian writings. While obedient and chaste women modeled on the Virgin Mary have been seen as worthy exemplars of Christian womanhood, female sexuality associated with Eve, temptation, sin, and death has been viewed with fear and condemnation. Christian feminists seek the celebration of sexuality in general and female sexuality in particular as a God-given dimension of human embodiment. For some, this includes the affirmation of lesbian sexuality and its capacity to express Christian love and friendship between women (Stuart, 1995). For others, the primary concern is the extent to which women and children continue to be victims of sexual violence and abuse, both with regard to the ongoing problem of domestic violence and to the burgeoning problem of the global sex trade (King, 1994, pp. 105–79).

Questions about the theological significance of the female body open into wider concerns regarding Christian attitudes toward nature, given the long-standing association between female embodiment and nature. Women's theologies are thus often deeply influenced by the arguments and ideas of eco-feminism, seeking a way beyond modern attitudes of domination and exploitation in order to rediscover a sense of the goodness of creation and the interdependence of the relationship between humankind and the natural world (McFague, 1993).

At a time when many secular academics regard the whole pursuit of theology as moribund or anachronistic, it is in the field of feminist studies that this discipline continues to develop with vitality and intellectual vigor, exposing the extent to which the practices and methods of Christian scholarship have been intellectually limited by the unacknowledged biases of patriarchy and androcentrism. To say this is not to dismiss the legitimate criticisms that have been made of some feminist arguments, nor is it to deny that feminists too bring their own ideological presuppositions and cultural assumptions to their task. Feminist theologians face complex challenges, not least in accommodating the perspectives of those women who resist some or all of their claims because they still find in traditional forms of Christianity a deep source of meaning and inspiration. The challenge is to sustain a sense of the Christian community as inclusive, interactive, and mutually responsible for the creation of a materially significant culture of redemptive hope, while continuing to work for the transformation of a tradition that is also associated with a long and tragic history of violence, sexual oppression, and abusive power relations, which have been both sanctioned and challenged by the Christian understanding of God.

SEE ALSO Androcentrism; Biblical Exegesis, article on Christian Views; Ecology and Religion; Feminine Sacrality; Feminism, article on French Feminists on Religion; Gaia; Gender and Religion, overview article, articles on Gender and Christianity, History of Study; Gender Roles; God; Goddess Worship; Gynocentrism; Human Body, article on Human Bodies, Religion, and Gender; Liberation Theology; Mary; Patriarchy and Matriarchy; Priesthood; Sexuality; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady; Thealogy; Virgin Goddess; Women's Studies in Religion.

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TINA BEATTIE (2005)

FÉNELON, FRANÇOIS (1651–1715), was a French philosopher, theologian, and educator, and Roman Catholic archbishop of Cambrai. Born in the Château de Fénelon in Périgord, François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon, an aristocrat by birth and upbringing, spent the first years of his education at home. After the death of his father in 1663, he was sent to study with the Jesuits at the University of Cahors; then, in 1665, he went to Paris, where he studied philosophy and theology at the College of Le Plessis. Finally, probably in 1672, he entered the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice to prepare for the priesthood.

Ordained at the age of twenty-four, Fénelon worked in the parish of Saint-Sulpice from 1675 to 1678. In 1678 he became superior of the Convent of New Catholics (a position he held until 1689), where he strengthened the faith of young women recently converted to the Catholic church. In August 1689 Louis XIV chose him to be private tutor to his grandson, the duke of Burgundy, a post Fénelon held until 1699. In 1693 he was elected a member of the French Academy and in 1695 was nominated archbishop of Cambrai. Fénelon spent the final years of his life as a successful administrator and zealous bishop.

Fénelon's writings concern pedagogy, literature, politics, philosophy, and theology. In his *Traité de l'éducation des filles* (1687), for example, foreshadowing Rousseau's *Émile,* one finds his educational philosophy. His literary ability and political ideas are felicitously woven together in his *Les aventures de Télémaque* (1699), a mythological novel written for the instruction of the dauphin. Here allegory dissimulates the real import of his views. Fénelon depicts the confused ideal of a monarchy at once absolute, aristocratic, and urbane, while condemning indirectly the despotic and bellicose reign of Louis XIV. The views expressed in this novel redounded inevitably to his discredit in the eyes of the king and his loss of favor at court.

It is the controversy over quietism, however, that has weighed most heavily on the memory of Fénelon, making it difficult to give an objective assessment of him. His undulating and generous nature had made him adopt the principle of the "dévotion idéale" professed by Madame Guyon (1648–1717), a mystic Fénelon had met and befriended in 1688: The soul, completely absorbed by the love of God, becomes indifferent to everything, even its own life and salvation. Feeling obliged, however, to justify himself before the public, Fénelon formally disowned the excesses and consequences of quietism in his *L'explication des maximes des saints sur la vie intérieure* (1697). Nevertheless, in 1699 the Holy See decided to condemn twenty-three propositions extracted from this book.

Yet, with his aristocratic cast of mind and his poetic makeup, Fénelon exercised a strong influence on his contemporaries and left a mark on the history of spirituality. Original insofar as he adopted a scale of values that was personal to him, he provided a philosophical justification for his attitude toward spiritual matters by establishing as the basis of his spiritual system two notions directly connected with each other: pure love and indifference, the latter being the psychological state in which pure love is born.

Fénelon's life and works witness to the more human and subtle exigencies of French spirituality. He was aware of his own defects yet was too deeply committed to the world to have the courage to deny it. His troubled and sublime spirit needed more the experience of God and less the life of the intellect; more freedom for the soul, more spontaneity, and less dedication to the rewards of piety.

SEE ALSO Quietism.

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E. GERHARD CARROLL (1987)

FERGHUS MAC ROICH.

Tradition has it that Ferghus mac Roich was king of the Ulaidh, or Ulstermen, but was driven from his throne by Conchobhar mac Nessa, the king of Ulster, during the momentous events related by the epic *Táin Bó Cuailnge* (The cattle raid of Cuailnge) and other tales. Ferghus went into exile to Cruachain, the court of Ailill and Medhbh of Connacht, and this is why he and his companions were in the Connacht camp when Ailill and Medhbh made their famous incursion into Ulster. An alternative, and probably secondary, explanation for his absence from Ulster is provided by the Old Irish tale *Longes mac nUislenn* (The exile of the sons of Uisliu), which is really the story of the tragic heroine Deirdre: acting on Conchobhar's behalf, Ferghus offers to the Sons of Uisliu safe conduct back from their exile in Scotland, and when Conchobhar slays them despite these assurances, Ferghus wreaks carnage at Emhain Mhacha, capital of the Ulstermen, before going into exile himself.

Both elements of his name suggest physical power: *Ferghus* is a compound word meaning "manly vigor, excellence" and *Roich* (originally disyllabic *Roïch*) is the genitive of *ro-ech* ("great horse"). His virility was proverbial and measured in heptads: he ate seven times as much as an ordinary man and had the strength of seven hundred men; his nose, mouth, and penis were seven fingers in length, and his scrotum as large as a sack of flour; finally, he needed seven women to satisfy him when separated from his wife Flidhais, a goddess who ruled over the beasts of the forest. This is reminiscent of the description of Indra in the *R̥gveda* (6.46.3) as *sahasramuṣka* ("with the thousand testicles"), an epithet which, as Georges Dumézil remarks, alludes to the *supervirilité* which all peoples freely attribute to warriors and warrior gods (*Heur et malheur du guerrier*, Paris, 1969, p. 64). As late as the nineteenth century the famous Lia Fáil, the standing stone at Tara which in early times was reputed to cry out on contact with the man destined to be king, was known to local people as *bod Fhearghusa* ("the phallus of Ferghus"). It is particularly appropriate, therefore, that the much-mated Medhbh, queen and goddess of sovereignty, whose sexual capacity is a commonplace of the early literature, should have cuckolded her husband Ailill with Ferghus, as recounted in *Táin Bó Cuailnge.*

Ferghus had a famous sword called Caladhbholg (the Irish counterpart of the Welsh Caledvwlch, later to become the Excalibur of Arthurian romance), and with it he lopped off the tops of three hills in the province of Midhe when in the grip of his battle rage. According to T. F. O'Rahilly, this is the lightning sword of the great otherworld deity with whom he identifies Ferghus and other mythic-heroic figures (*Early Irish History and Mythology*, Dublin, 1946, p. 68). In several archaic genealogical poems a number of tributary peoples in the province of Munster are assigned descent from Ferghus, and it is clear that the substance of the tradition embodied in the Ulster saga of *Táin Bó Cuailnge* was already familiar in the southern province in the early seventh century. The name *Ferghus* is borne by several pseudohistorical kings of Emhain Mhacha (the royal center of the province of Ulster), and one of these, Ferghus mac Leide, who is the hero of a submarine adventure, is very probably a doublet of Ferghus mac Roich.

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Further information on Ferghus can be found in Rudolf Thurneysen's *Die irische Helden- und Königsage bis zum siebzehnten Jahrhundert,* 2 vols. (Halle, 1921), the classic study of *Táin Bó Cuailnge.*

PROINSIAS MAC CANA (1987 AND 2005)

FESTIVALS SEE SEASONAL CEREMONIES; WORSHIP AND DEVOTIONAL LIFE

FESTSCHRIFTEN.

Festschrift or *Festgabe* (plural, *Festschriften, Festgaben*) is the German word for a collection of articles written in honor of a scholar or high-ranking person (poet, politician, etc.) on the occasion of an anniversary (birth, award of doctorate, term of service, or death) or other important event, usually written by colleagues, pupils, or friends of the honoree. A list of publications may also be part of a Festschrift, as well as unpublished articles by the honored person. In addition, it has become customary to provide a picture of the honoree as the frontispiece of the volume. The first German Festschriften were published in the 1840s. Subsequently, the German word was taken over into other languages, although these also developed their own words or expressions for this academic genre: English *Studies in hono(u)r of;* French *Mélanges* or *Hommage;* Italian *Studi in onore di* or *Omaggio*; Russian *Sbornik statej*, etc. While Festschriften for the anniversaries of such institutions as universities or cities may also contribute to academic discussion, this is not necessarily the case with Festschriften for anniversaries of such societies as fire brigades or sports clubs, which became very popular in German-speaking countries. An example of this nonacademic type of commemorative collection would be the Festschrift produced in 1882 for the twentieth anniversary of the *Mitteldeutsche Pferdezucht-Verein* (Central German Horse-Breeding Association).

Hence, the genre of Festschriften is a typical product of nineteenth-century German *Gelehrtenkultur* (culture of the educated), with its peculiar social structure and habits, that took on new characteristics after having been introduced into academic milieus outside Germany and Austria. After World War II, particularly in the 1960s, Festschriften lost much of their former prestige and were often regarded as old-fashioned, but this trend was reversed in the 1990s. Once again it became very fashionable to present Festschriften to older scholars—in fact, to precisely those scholars who had been most opposed to this academic custom when they were students.

FESTSCHRIFTEN AS HISTORICAL SOURCES. The academic merit of this particular genre is an open question. When the historian Theodor Mommsen received a Festschrift on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday in 1877, he said it would take him months to disprove the nonsense that had been said. Because a Festschrift is an occasion to honor rather than critique, to which friends rather than academic enemies are invited to contribute, and because articles are not usually peer-reviewed, these collections are of mixed academic quality. On the other hand, Festschriften gained a status of their own within academic debate as an appropriate tool in order to call attention to the research of a particular person—at times ironically known only through the Festschrift—and to expand on his or her theories, apply them to other fields, or discuss them in a friendly atmosphere. Festschriften are thus important resources for historians of science because they reflect the contemporary discourse on a given subject and the influence of certain theories on subsequent generations of scholars. In addition, from an anthropological perspective Festschriften tell a lot about the "family relations" within the academic community: Who contributes to a given volume and who does not? Although contingencies are involved in the selection of authors, the field of religious studies—particularly in such small academic communities as those of Germany, the Netherlands, or France—can be described and analyzed according to the names of the contributors to Festschriften.

EXAMPLES. Not all major scholars in the broad field of religious studies received Festschriften. In fact, so many lacked a respective volume that the absence of a Festschrift should not be interpreted to their discredit. Eminent scholars in the field who did not receive Festschriften include Johann Jakob Bachofen, Auguste Comte, Henry Corbin, Wilhelm Dilthey, Émile Durkheim, Sir James George Frazer, Jane Ellen Harrison, Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, Bronislaw Malinowski, Robert Ranulph Marett, Marcel Mauss, J. H. Mead, Friedrich Max Müller, Raffaele Pettazoni, Friedrich Schleiermacher, William Ramsey Smith, Nathan Söderblom, Ernst Troeltsch, Victor Turner, and Joachim Wach. Judging from extant Festschriften, however, one can easily find examples of the characteristics mentioned earlier. A Festschrift tells something about the transition of theories from one generation to another; to name but one example, Robin Horton edited a Festschrift for E. E. Evans-Pritchard (1973). That Festschriften may serve as instruments comparable to conference proceedings for putting themes on the scholarly agenda may be exemplified with Gershom Scholem (1967), Carsten Colpe (1991 and 1994), or Antoine Faivre (2001).

When scholars receive more than one Festschrift on different occasions, a comparison of these collections may illuminate progress or changes of interest in their research. The work and impact of Carl Gustav Jung, for instance, is reflected in the five Festschriften dedicated to him between 1935 and 1975, from his sixtieth to his hundredth birthday. The 1945 Festschrift, published as volume 12 of the *Eranos-Jahrbücher,* may be read as an attempt to cope psychologically with the catastrophe of the Second World War. The preface to the volume, written by O. Fröbe-Kapteyn, spoke of an "archetypal situation of transition between ending and beginning, death and rebirth on all fields." Explicitly harking back to the "psychological universe" of the "wisdom of the endlessly gifted antiquity," W. Wili's *Geleitwort* (foreword) presented Jung's archetypal theory as a cure for the "epidemic of sadism" that swept over Germany and its concentration camps, as well as the east and Europe, "as apocalyptic riders," against the "soul-pestilences" of the twentieth century, and against the "terrible force of the neuroses of the politically leading persons." Other Festschriften listed in the collection below likewise reflect their *Zeitgeist* both with regard to the cultural context and the particular scholarly fashions of the time.

SEE ALSO Encyclopedias; Reference Works.

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A Collection of Major Festschriften

The following overview is intended to provide the reader with examples of the characteristics of Festschriften discussed in the article. It focuses on important figures in the history of religion and well-known contemporary scholars. The honorees are listed in alphabetical order.

Carsten Colpe received two Festschriften: Elsas, Christoph, and Hans G. Kippenberg, eds. *Loyalitätskonflikte in der Religionsgeschichte. Festschrift für Carsten Colpe* (Würzburg, Germany, 1991); and Elsas, Christoph et al., eds. *Tradition und Translation. Zum Problem der interkulturellen Übersetzbarkeit religiöser Phänomene. Festschrift für Carsten Colpe zum 65. Geburtstag* (Berlin and New York, 1994). Mircea Eliade's Festschrift is a rigorous collection of a few articles from a large pool of interested authors: Kitagawa, Joseph M., and Charles H. Long, eds. *Myths and Symbols: Studies in Honor of Mircea Eliade* (Chicago and London, 1969). Edward E. Evans-Pritchard received two Festschriften: Cunnison, Ian, and Wendy James, eds. *Essays in Sudan Ethnography, Presented to Sir Edward Evans-Pritchard* (London, 1972); and

Horton, Robin, and Ruth Finnegan, eds. *Modes of Thought: Essays on Thinking in Western and Non-Western Societies. Collection dedicated to Sir Edward Evans-Pritchard* (London, 1973). The voluminous Festschrift for Antoine Faivre fostered the study of Western esotericism: Caron, Richard, Joscelyn Godwin, Wouter J. Hanegraaff, and Jean-Louis Vieillard-Baron, eds. *Ésotérisme, Gnoses et Imaginaire symbolique. Mélanges offerts à Antoine Faivre* (Leuven, Belgium, 2001). Among the major Festschriften for Sigmund Freud is Alexander, Franz, ed. *Freud in der Gegenwart. Ein Vortragszyklus der Universitäten Frankfurt und Heidelberg zum 100. Geburtstag* (Frankfurt am Main, Germany, 1957). A Festschrift for Friedrich Heiler that clearly reflects his theological agenda was edited by Christel Matthias Schröder: *In Deo omnia unum. Eine Sammlung von Aufsätzen, Friedrich Heiler zum 50. Geburtstage dargebracht* (Munich, Germany, 1942). Karl Hoheisel was also honored with a Festschrift: Hutter, Manfred, et al., eds. *Hairesis. Festschrift für Karl Hoheisel zum 65. Geburtstag* (Münster, Germany, 2002).

William James received two important Festschriften: *Essays, Philosophical and Psychological, in Honor of William James . . . , by His Colleagues at Columbia University* (New York, 1908); and Kallen, Horace Meyer, ed. *In Commemoration of William James, 1842–1942* (New York, 1942). The five Festschriften for C. G. Jung are: Alm, Ivar et al., eds. *Die kulturelle Bedeutung der komplexen Psychologie. Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Carl Gustav Jung* (Berlin, 1935); Fröbe-Kapteyn, Olga, ed. *Studien zum Problem des Archetypischen. Festgabe für C. G. Jung zum siebzigsten Geburtstag 26.7.1945* (Zürich, Switzerland, 1945); Fröbe-Kapteyn, Olga, ed. *Aus der Welt der Urbilder. Sonderband für Carl Gustav Jung zum 75. Geburtstag, 26.7.1950* (Zürich, Switzerland, 1950); C.-G.-Jung-Institut Zürich, ed. *Studien zur analytischen Psychologie Carl Gustav Jungs. Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von C. G. Jung.* 2 vols. (Zürich, Switzerland, 1955); Dieckmann, Hans, et al., eds. *Aspekte analytischer Psychologie. Zum 100. Geburtstag von Carl Gustav Jung 1875–1975* (Basel, Switzerland, 1975).

Among the important recent Festschriften is one for Hans G. Kippenberg: Luchesi, Brigitte, and Kocku von Stuckrad, eds. *Religion im kulturellen Diskurs. Festschrift für Hans G. Kippenberg zu seinem 65. Geburtstag / Religion in Cultural Discourse. Essays in Honor of Hans G. Kippenberg on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (Berlin and New York, 2004); and one for E. Thomas Lawson: Light, Timothy, and Brian C. Wilson, eds. *Religion as a Human Capacity: A Festschrift in Honor of E. Thomas Lawson* (Leiden, Netherlands, 2004). Gerardus van der Leeuw received a Festschrift that reflected a strong theological commitment: Kooiman, W. J., et al., eds. *Pro regno–pro santuario. Een bundle studies en bijdragen bij de 60. verjaardag van Prof. Dr. Gerardus van der Leeuw* (Nijkerk, Netherlands, 1950). Of interest for religious studies is also a Festschrift for Karl Löwith: Braun, Hermann, and Manfred Riedel, eds. *Natur und Geschichte. Karl Löwith zum 70. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart, Germany, 1967); and one for Johann Maier: Merklein, Helmut, et al., eds. *Bibel in jüdischer und christlicher Tradition. Festschrift für Johann Maier zum 60. Geburtstag* (Frankfurt am Main, Germany, 1993). Gustav Mensching's Festschrift was edited by Rudolf Thomas: *Religion und Religionen. Festschrift für Gustav Mensching zu seinem 65. Geburtstag, dargebracht von Freunden und Kollegen* (Bonn, Germany, 1967).

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Kocku von Stuckrad (2005)

FETISHISM. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (1893–1897) defines *fetishism* as the "superstition of which . . . the characteristic feature" is "an inanimate object worshipped by savages on account of its supposed inherent magical powers, or as being animated by a spirit." This fetish is distinguished from an idol "in that it is worshipped in its own character, not as the image, symbol, or occasional residence of the deity." The only problem with this definition is that neither fetishism nor the fetish exists as such. There are indeed material objects believed to be imbued with force or power, the nature of which varies with object and culture, and that are used with the intention of achieving particular ends. Consider the list offered by Mesquitela Lima:

> diviners' implements (i.e., the figurines contained in the diviner's basket, most of which are carved from any one of a variety of materials); figurines sculpted in clay or in termite secretion; small dried trees or even parts of a tree, such as roots, twigs, leaves, branches, and fruit; coarsely sculpted tree trunks; small dolls clothed in net; miniature musical instruments or miniature agricultural or hunting implements; a large number of figurines carved in wood, bone, or ivory in the shape of human beings, animals or even abstract forms; horns, nails, or claws, or bits of human or animal skin; small tortoise shells; sacred rocks or minerals; crucifixes, medals, or images used in Christian cults; philters or magic substances and medicines. (Lima, 1987, p. 315)

However, these objects and their use by no means constitute a system or the entirety of any culture's religious practices and beliefs. Moreover Wyatt MacGaffey, in his analysis of Kongo religious practices surrounding what have been considered the exemplary fetish objects known as *minkisi*, has demonstrated the inadequacy of any notion of fetish that entails the personification of material cultic objects. Supplementing Marcel Mauss's dismissal of the ethnographic significance of "fetishism" as "nothing but an immense misunderstanding between two civilizations, the African and the European" (Mauss, 1905–1906, p. 309), MacGaffey placed the ethnographic data against the characteristic components of the fetish as determined by William Pietz, whose analysis of discourses about fetishism is the standard against which contemporary discussions of this topic take their measure (MacGaffey, 1994a). Pietz delineated the four primary attributes of the fetish as:

1. irreducibly material and not representing an immaterial, elsewhere located spirit,
2. fixing previously heterogeneous elements (e.g., an object and a place) into a novel identity,
3. embodying the problem of the nonuniversality of value, and though separate from the body,
4. functioning at times as though it were in control of it. (MacGaffey 1994a; cf. Pietz 1985, 1987, 1988, 1993)

In his studies MacGaffey finds fundamental disjunctions between Kongo *minkisi* and the fetish so defined.

Consequently this article will focus on how the signifier *fetishism* has come to delineate a discursive space in which the often misrecognized attempt is made to mediate difference(s) by means of material objects (or persons). Simultaneous epistemic and value crises are often provoked by persistent contact with otherness. An inadequacy of extant categories and a disproportion of ascribed values distinguish this ongoing encounter and are met by both avowal and disavowal of that difference. The threatened party finds the ever-deferred resolution of these dilemmas by displacing the recognition of difference upon an object that in its material opacity embodies even as it screens the ambiguity. Correspondingly, ambivalent affect is directed at, even as significance is affixed to, the object. Thus localized and materialized, otherness can be marked and mastered while the marking individual or group's identity is rendered the norm. The seemingly incommensurable differences between European and non-European, colonizer and colonized, capitalist and worker, male and female are articulated during contact in terms of oppositions, including religion and nonreligion, science and superstition (the absence of science), rationality and irrationality, spirit and matter, necessity and accident, subject and object, order and chaos, culture and nature, human and animal, public and private.

Since its emergence in the contact zone of European-African encounter, no other signifier in the history of the study of religions has been appropriated by so many secular discourses. This article will follow how fetishism has traversed from mercantile encounter to rationalist anthropology to philosophy to positivist sociology to political economy to sexology to psychoanalysis to aesthetics to postcolonial analysis. During its journey "fetishism" functioned as a camera obscura, projecting an inverted picture of Euro-America upon the screen of a number of persistent others, including the non-Euro-American, the woman, the Jew, and the insane.

THE INVENTION OF FETISHISM. While the term *fetishism (fétichisme)* was coined in 1760 by Charles de Brosses in his *Du culte des dieux fétiches* (The cult of the fetish gods), the purported practices and beliefs to which the term referred as well as the family of Portuguese words related to *feiticaria* or witchcraft from which it emerged had long been in circulation. Indeed the philological genealogy of *fetishism* in many ways anticipated the series of oppositions the term would eventually mediate. *Feiticaria* finds its roots in the Latin *facticius* (manufactured), which also had the occasional pejorative connotation of artifice or something factitious (without an original). In medieval Christian discourse such objects were associated with the manufactured amulets, images, and potions employed for witchcraft (as opposed to the talismans, remedies, relics, and other sacramental objects given legitimacy by the church) and, in medieval Portuguese, came to be known as *feitiços*. *Feitiços* were distinguished from *idolos* as witchcraft was from idolatry or more generally as magic was distinguished from those religions—Christianity, Judaism, Islam, and paganism or idolatry—that could found an orderly society. An additional distinction was that *feitiços* were concerned with material bodies rather than souls. In contradistinction to such magical objects, the object of idol worship was the immaterial demon or false god that the idol represented and who acted upon the soul of the worshiper.

As the Portuguese developed a trade zone along the west coast of Africa from what is now Senegal to Angola, *feitiço* rather than *idolo* came to be the dominant Portuguese ascription of the "religious" practices of the cultures encountered in this series of spaces. As trade grew the related pidgin term *fetisso* became affixed by all involved parties to sacramental objects, traded commodities, political emblems, medical preparations, and women's ornaments that circulated among the various populations who peopled these areas of cross-cultural exchange. The travel accounts of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European traders, Protestant Dutch and English as well as Catholic Portuguese and French, frequently referred to material objects held to be endowed by the African populations with magical powers or animated by spirits. Attribution of religious value by Africans to a wide range of material objects was correlated with their apparent inability to recognize the proper value of the commodities involved in trade with the Europeans as well as their inability to maintain proper distinctions between public and private, male and female, animal and human. Ironically the same anecdotes that illustrated the moral depravity of fetishists depicted anarchic polities ruled exclusively by the principle of interest—projecting upon the other the forces and values that shaped European society. Moreover that the Africans were said to arbitrarily associate these *fetissos* with the accomplishment of some desired end appeared to confirm the European assumption of the Africans' allegedly deficient mental abilities.

By the eighteenth century, as the *fetisso* began its migration from the exclusive reserve of travel literature to the emergent rationalist critique of clericalism and superstition, it was rechristened as the *fétiche* (fetish). The scene shifted from the zone of contact where Europe fashioned itself against its non-European other to the emerging zone where the secular fashioned itself against its religious other. Anecdotes from those travelogues, especially Willem Bosman's *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea* (1704) and its analogy of fetish worship with Roman Catholicism, became illustrations of the irrationality and immoral consequences of ascribing supernatural or teleological qualities to material objects rather than recognizing physical and mechanical causality.

Just after mid-century a new term to describe and generalize fetish worship, *fetishism*, emerged with the publication of Charles de Brosses's *Cult of the Fetish Gods.* Fetishism would become the zero degree of the Enlightenment taxonomy of its other, religion. Rather than sui generis, African fetish worship became only the foremost surviving variant of a variety of worldwide practices relating to cult objects: from the biblical Urim and Thummim to Egyptian obelisks to Native American manitous. Fetishism was distinguished from polytheistic idolatry and provided a deeper wedge for cracking open the theological monopoly on the definition of religious origins. From the privilege ascribed to theistic belief and the human-divine relation, a discourse emerged in Bernard Fontanelle and David Hume that located the source of religion in faulty epistemology, childlike intellects, imagination, fear, and desire. Where natural causality would be, there were the gods. With de Brosses, a stage of human and religious development that preceded polytheism was recognized. Neither beliefs in invisible beings nor amorphous nature initiated that development, rather the forces behind the gratification of human desires or the realization of human fears lay in supernaturally endowed "material, terrestrial entities": fetishes (Brosses, 1988, p. 11).

Although in the wake of Brosses's work the primitivity and primordiality of fetishism became a truism, its material and magical dimensions, in contrast to the spiritual and social dimensions of polytheism and the three monotheisms of Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, led to the question whether fetishism indeed represented the original religion or was instead the stage preceding religion. Complicating the theological and philosophical questions over the relationship between the material and the spiritual were the demands of colonialism (and later imperialism). Indigenous religion was a fundamental tool for maintaining control of the colonized. Consequently, as David Chidester argues, "fetish worship" would be characterized as a religion, not as a consequence of "prolonged exposure, increased familiarity, acquired linguistic competence, intercultural dialogue, or participant observation," but as a result of Europeans achieving political and economic control of the particular region (Chidester, 1996, pp. 16–17). The Europeans did not perceive themselves as supplanting some other legitimate sovereign entity, rather European control was imposed upon an anarchic situation ruled by arbitrariness, irrationality, and desire. On a more fundamental level the distinction between order and disorder represented the distinction between the human, defined as the *zoon politikon* (political animal), and the nonhuman, pictured as the demonic or savage that found its confirmation in the distinction between religion and fetishism since, as Ludwig Feuerbach, drawing upon René Descartes and Thomas Hobbes (and before them John Calvin), asserted in the opening of his *Essence of Christianity,* "Religion has its basis in the essential difference between man and the brute" (Feuerbach, 1989, p. 1).

CONTACT, CONQUEST, AND CRISIS: FETISHISM AND THE HUMAN SCIENCES. As a consequence of its delineation and appropriation by French philosophes, fetishism disseminated throughout European philosophic discourse. In his *Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone* (1793) Immanuel Kant analogized clericalism to fetishism in order to distinguish between true moral religion and false religion, between autonomy and heteronomy. Such labeling allowed Kant to discredit his opponents, render them "irrational," without ascribing either evil intent or demonism to them.

> Now the man who does make use of actions, as means, which in themselves contain nothing pleasing to God

> (i.e., nothing moral), in order to earn thereby immediate divine approval of himself and there with the attainment of his desires, labors under the illusion that he possesses an art of bringing about a supernatural effect through wholly natural means. Such attempts we are wont to entitle sorcery. But (since this term carries with it the attendant concept of commerce with the evil principle, whereas the above mentioned attempt can be conceived to be undertaken, through misunderstanding, with good moral intent) we desire to use in place of it the word fetishism, familiar in other connections. (Kant, 1960, p. 165)

By extending materiality from particular objects to all means, fetishism, or "fetish-faith," came to extend beyond the borders of Africa to encompass everything in the realm of religion—including, in a clear allusion to Moses Mendelssohn's *Jerusalem* (1783), the Jews—except for "purely moral" religion (Kant, 1960, p. 181–182).

G. W. F. Hegel, by contrast, limited the extent of fetishism to sub-Saharan Africa, where it came to exemplify the historical development or lack thereof of a continent and its peoples. Fetishism was emblematic of the African character, which

> is difficult to comprehend, because it is so totally different from our own culture, and so remote and alien in relation to our own mode of consciousness. We must forget all the categories which are fundamental to our own spiritual life, i.e. the forms under which we normally subsume the data which confront us; the difficulty here is that our customary preconceptions will still inevitably intrude in all out deliberations. (Hegel, 1975, p. 176)

The people characterized by fetishism were outside history and substantial objectivity, outside God and morality; they were ruled by caprice, by the arbitrary rule of the individual projected outward onto a misrecognized natural form. This religion of "sensuous arbitrariness" was the lowest form of religion, immediate religion. If religion it was: "A fetish of this kind has no independent existence as an object of religion, and even less as a work of art. It is merely an artifact which expresses the arbitrary will of its creator, and which always remains in his hands" (Hegel, 1975, pp. 190, 181). This debasement of consciousness mirrored the debasement of social life: fetishism was one with cannibalism and slavery. Fetishism embodied the origin that future development would disavow; it was the threshold moment when humanity separated itself from bare life, from animal nature.

Though Samuel Taylor Coleridge analogized fetishism with vulgar empiricism, the proponent of scientific positivism Auguste Comte would determine it to be the first developmental stage of human intelligence and world history. In his *Course in Positive Philosophy* (1830–1842) Comte posited three universal stages of human development—theology, metaphysics, and science (scientific positivism)—with the first, the age of theology, itself assuming a triadic structure: fetishism, polytheism, monotheism. For Comte, in the stage of fetishism "primitive man" endows all external objects with agency and therefore rises above sheer animal inertia. While Comte later reevaluated "fetishism," or rather "pure fetishism," as a necessary component of his new positivist religion of humanity, his implicitly (r)evolutionary scheme was most influential. While the primacy he ascribed to fetishism as the first religion (evolving from a primal atheism) was asserted by John Lubbock in his *Origin of Civilisation and the Primitive Condition of Man* (1870) and by representatives of the German school of ethnopsychology (*Völkerpsychologie*) among others, its primordial status was contested by animism, animatism, totemism, *Urmonotheismus* (primal monotheism), and other claimants.

In the 1840s Brosses's work not only influenced Comte's positivist musings, it was also picked up and excerpted by the young Karl Marx, who was in the midst of an extensive ethnographic reading program that also included other discussions of fetishism by Karl Böttiger and Benjamin Constant. These early studies of what Marx called "the religion of sensuous desire" were soon relocated from the colonial periphery to a metropole itself divided into secular and religious spheres as well as into exploiting capitalist and exploited proletariat classes. Marx began his analysis of value in contemporary capitalism in the first volume of *Capital* with a discussion of the fetishism of commodities: that which was viewed as most primitive came to characterize the seat of civilization, and that which was viewed as the most secular of activities—political economy—was unveiled as the religion of everyday life. In a dialectically materialist appropriation of Feuerbach's theory of religion, the value borne by the fetishized commodity was the culmination of the alienation and objectification of human labor. In contrast to Marx's earlier construction, fetishism, as the fetishism of commodities, is directed at "a thing which transcends sensuousness." With the circulation of commodities, "the definite social relation between men themselves . . . assumes here, for them, the fantastic form of a relation between things" (Marx, 1977, pp. 163, 165). As in the fetishism described in his early readings, Marx analogizes, "The products of the human brain appear as autonomous figures endowed with a life of their own, which enter into relations both with each other and with the human race" (Marx, 1977, p. 165). Even as it expropriates use value from the fetishist other, capital reproduces the misrecognitions that it ascribes to that other.

Just as the fetish had come to figure and facilitate the debasement of social life—whether in the form of slavery according to Hegel or proletarianization for Marx—and of society-sustaining morality, so it became associated with the fears of degeneration that haunted the Europeans of the last decades of the nineteenth century. In a France that was experiencing a decline in both its colonial reach and its European position, the perceived source of the threatening physical and moral debilitation and consequent devirilization and depopulation, of cultural crises of national, sexual, and gender difference, was sexual perversion. The psychiatrist Alfred Binet

(1887) gave the cause of individual and national decay a name: fetishism. Like the people under French colonial domination, French men were seeking the satisfaction of their sensuous desires not by the real (here: "natural" acts of genital sexuality) but by fixing their attention upon objects (or body parts) whose value accrued from some past accidental encounter. Fetishism was characteristic of a perverse predisposition, just as Hegel had suggested that the fetishistic behavior of Africans was inherent to their character. Yet even as the fetish was displaced from the religious to the sexual, Binet felt compelled to analogize different levels of fetishism with those other religious stages with which fetishism had previously been contrasted, polytheism and monotheism. He compared normal love, which is composed of a myriad of fetishistic excitations, with polytheism and fetishism, previously associated with the base of the pyramid of religious forms, in its most singular and perverted form with monotheism, the pinnacle. In a world gone upside down, the civilized were going native. Within four years after the publication of Binet's 1887 "Le fétichisme dans l'amour" (Fetishism in Love), the authoritative compendia of sexual pathology, Richard Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathis Sexualis* declared fetishism the general form of sexual pathology.

Unlike totemism, fetishism came under Sigmund Freud's scrutiny in his analyses of sexuality and not of the genesis of religion. Instead of the perception of fetishism as the sign of a crisis of difference, the degeneration feared by the French medical community, such a crisis was its source: the little boy's encounter with sexual difference disrupting his narcissistic enjoyment of an undifferentiated, self-contained world. According to Freud, the discovery that women do not have penises leads the little boy to fear for his own. Fetishistic object choice—a symbolic substitute for the mother's (nonexistent) penis—is one way by which the boy mediates his desire to elide difference (and its feared causes and consequences) with the actuality of that difference; the mother's castration is both disavowed and affirmed. With the crisis surmounted, the boy not only assumes a gendered and sexualized identity, he is inserted into the social order.

As psychoanalytic and materialist analyses interpenetrated, most influentially with Walter Benjamin's criticism of the work of art and the political symbol in which "traces of the fetishist" are at play in the object's "aura" and "authenticity," the discourse of fetishism became a prime weapon in the critical armory of cultural studies (Benjamin, 1969, p. 244). With the later admixture of postcolonial analysis to the phantasmagoric study of fetishism, what went around came around. The discourses about the colonized and dominated other, including those about the (non)religion of fetishism, were recognized as themselves fetishistic attempts to mediate the possibly incompatible differences between social and cultural forms. The cultural analyst Homi Bhabha read the racial stereotype in its multiple and contradictory shapes of colonial discourse in terms of fetishism. As extended by Jay Geller and others, such as Anne McClintock, the colonial stereotype often entailed the Euro-Americans' discursive fixation upon a part of the other's body. The fixated-upon body part was often one that had been subjected to some discipline, practice, or technique: the circumcised penis, the bound foot, tattooed skin. This overvalued mark or member uncannily conjoined the natural and the cultural. This ambiguous conjunction of two (culturally) differentiated orders of being contributed to both the fascination and the horror evoked by such body techniques. Further, through such corporeal metonymies, discourses in which historical difference was naturalized as race and in which natural difference was figured by sex combined to construct the ethnic, gender, and sexual identity of the other. These fetishistic constructs provided symbolic substitutes for and objectified representations of the otherness—both the indigenous heterogeneous populations of modern Euro-American society and the different peoples contacted in colonial expansion—which undermined the narcissistic phantasy of Euro-American wholeness, of autonomy and dominance.

In sum, fetishism has come to signify the apotropaically monumentalized negotiations at the internal and external borders of culture. That is, it signifies the stuff that helps one think (or more likely misrecognize) the alienations, ambiguities, and contradictions that make up everyday life.

SEE ALSO Transculturation and Religion.

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JAY GELLER (2005)

FEUERBACH, LUDWIG (1804–1872), German humanistic philosopher of religion and influential spokesman for the Young Hegelians. Born into a gifted Bavarian family, Ludwig Andreas Feuerbach studied theology at the University of Heidelberg before transferring to Berlin, where he became an enthusiastic convert to Hegelianism. In 1828 he completed his doctoral work at the University of Erlangen, where he remained as a docent until he was denied tenure, having been identified as the author of the anonymously published book *Thoughts on Death and Immortality.* In it he argued that the Christian doctrine of personal immortality was a form of egoism incompatible with a belief in the Absolute as infinite love. The book was especially offensive because of the sarcastic epigrams about pietistic Christianity appended to the text. Never again was he offered an academic position.

In 1837 Feuerbach married Bertha Löw, and the income from a porcelain factory of which she was part owner supported him until it went bankrupt in 1860. Although in the early 1830s he contributed to the principal journal of the Young Hegelians, the *Hallische Jahrbücher für deutsche Wissenschaft und Kunst,* he shunned political activity and, except for a brief appearance in the Frankfurt Assembly in 1848, lived in studious seclusion in Bruckberg. He became famous in the early 1840s for his atheistic interpretation of religion in *The Essence of Christianity* (1841), as well as for his attacks on Hegelian philosophy in two monographs, *Vorläufige Thesen zur Reform der Philosophie* and *Grundsätze der Philosophie der Zukunft,* which influenced the young Karl Marx. Although Feuerbach returned again and again to the interpretation of religion, his later writings were relatively ignored. He maintained a prolific correspondence with friends all over Europe and America, and when the porcelain factory went bankrupt, he and his wife were sustained by the generosity of friends. When the social democratic press reported that he had suffered a stroke in 1870, contributions poured in from Europe and the United States. He died in Nuremberg in 1872.

Feuerbach's *Essence of Christianity* can best be understood against the background of his two fundamental criticisms of Hegel's speculative idealism. The first was of Hegel's basic tendency to treat abstract predicates—reason, thought, consciousness, and being—as entities. For example, having established that thought was of the essence of humanity, Hegel then transformed this predicate into a metaphysical entity, a subject. Thus whatever truth there was in Hegel's thought could be appropriated by inverting once again the subject and the predicate, so as to make thinking and consciousness the predicates of existing individuals. The second criticism of Hegel concerned his preoccupation with thought in contrast to the actual sensuous existence of human beings. Hegel, together with classical philosophy generally, believed that the ultimate criteria of the real is its capability of being thought. For Feuerbach, the real is that which offers resistance to the entire sensuous being of the person—to sight, feeling, even love. Consequently, human existence is existence with others—it is communal.

Feuerbach's inversion of Hegel's basic metaphysical vision informs *The Essence of Christianity.* If Hegel regarded nature and history as the self-objectification of the Absolute, Feuerbach regarded God, the Absolute, as the reification of the essential predicates of human existence: reason, feeling, and love. The idea of God is the idea of the species characteristics of humankind involuntarily and unconsciously projected as an object of thought and worship. God is, so to speak, an acoustical illusion of consciousness. Hence the history of religions, of which Christianity is the culmination, is the childlike, collective dream of humanity in which it worships and contemplates its own essential nature. Just as Hegel argued that the Absolute must become reconciled with its alienated objectifications (the finite), so too Feuerbach argued that human well-being depends on the reappropriation of the real content contained in the alienated idea of God. The inner meaning of Christian theology is anthropology.

The first part of *The Essence of Christianity* attempts to show that all the major Christian doctrines—especially those of God and the incarnation—can best be understood as anthropology. The second part is more negative, seeking to establish that Christian theology is full of contradictions if these human predicates are attributed to a single, metaphysical being.

Feuerbach's book is still regarded by many as one of the seminal works of the nineteenth century and the first comprehensive projection theory of religion. Religion is not dismissed merely as superstitious belief, but seen as a necessary stage in the development of human self-consciousness. Moreover, the book is the first systematic attempt to develop a body of principles for interpreting Christian doctrine in its entirety. Christian doctrines are profound insights when taken as anthropological truths, but a mass of contradictions when taken as objective theological propositions.

Feuerbach modified his theory of religion in a small book, *The Essence of Religion* (1845), which in turn was amplified in *Lectures on the Essence of Religion* (1848). In these books he emphasized the role of external nature in the development of the religious consciousness, as well as the causal role played by wishes, needs, instincts, and desires. The basic drive of the self to preserve and develop all its powers (*Egoismus*) is said to be the hidden subjective cause of religion, while nature, falsified by the imagination, is said to be its objective ground.

Feuerbach stated that his first and last thoughts were about religion, and he turned to it once again in *Theogonie,* first published in 1857 and again, with a slightly altered title, in 1866. This work attempts to explain morality, culture, and religion in terms of a basic drive for happiness (*Glückseligkeitstrieb*), with arguments drawn from classical Greek, Hebraic, and early Christian sources. The gods are said to be the reified wishes of humankind. Since all wishes are fraught with a haunting sense of their contingency and possible failure, the imagination seizes upon the idea of a being that is not subject to limitation and death. Although Feuerbach regarded this book as his finest, it has generally been ignored.

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VAN A. HARVEY (1987 AND 2005)

FICHTE, JOHANN GOTTLIEB (1762–1814), was a German Idealist philosopher and religious thinker. Usually remembered mainly for his part in the development of German Idealism from Kant to Hegel and for his contribution to the rise of German national consciousness, Fichte is also an important figure in European religious thought at the end of the Enlightenment. Born in Rammenau (Lausitz), he enrolled in the University of Jena as a student of theology when he was eighteen. During his studies and a subsequent period as a private tutor in Zurich, he was apparently unacquainted with Kant's philosophy and seems to have been a determinist who admired Spinoza. Returning to Leipzig in 1790, he began a study of Kant that led to his conversion to Kantian practical philosophy. His fragmentary "Aphorismen über Religion und Deismus," written at this time, reveals his concern with the tension between simple Christian piety and philosophical speculation.

A fateful turn in Fichte's life and career came in 1791, when he traveled to Königsberg to meet Kant. Hoping to attract the master's attention, Fichte set out to write his own letter of introduction in the form of a Kantian-style "critique of revelation." When financial hardship cut short his stay in Königsberg, Fichte asked Kant for a loan to finance his return to Leipzig but got instead an offer to arrange publication of Fichte's manuscript with Kant's own publisher. Delayed for a time by the Prussian state censor, Fichte's *Attempt at a Critique of All Revelation* made its debut at the Leipzig Easter Fair in 1792 under puzzling circumstances. The publisher, perhaps deliberately, omitted both the author's name and his signed preface. The book was widely assumed to be Kant's long-awaited work on religion and received laudatory reviews in the leading journals. When Kant announced the true authorship, Fichte became an important philosopher virtually overnight. The book appeared in a revised second edition the following year, with Fichte's name on the title page, and in 1794 he was appointed to a chair of philosophy in Jena.

Like Kant's *Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone* (published a year later), Fichte's *Critique of All Revelation* argues that a valid revelation must conform to the moral law, which is purely an internal concern of reason. Fichte maintains that a revelation in external nature is nevertheless possible because some people are so enmeshed in the sensuous that God can advance the moral law only by presenting it in sensuous terms. When Fichte published his own Idealist system in 1794, titled *Wissenschaftslehre* (Science of knowledge), he abandoned his explicit dependence on Kant's philosophy while claiming to remain loyal to its fundamental aims. By giving up the Kantian "thing-in-itself" (*Ding an sich*), Fichte overcomes the duality of theoretical and practical, deriving all knowing from the activity of the transcendental ego (*das Ich*). He thereby inaugurates the transformation of Kant's critical philosophy, which culminates in the absolute Idealism of Schelling and Hegel. Fichte's essay on the divine governance of the world, published in 1798, led to the famous Atheism Controversy, which resulted in the loss of his position in Jena and his move to Berlin. Fichte's religious position at this time could be more accurately described as ethical pantheism than as atheism, for he equated the human inner sense of the moral law with God's governance of the world. Convicted of teaching "atheism," he was dismissed from the University of Jena in 1799.

During the last period of his life in Berlin, Fichte developed his political and economic views in the *Speeches to the German Nation,* while continuing to revise and develop his *Wissenschaftslehre* in lectures and in print. Ironically, the man who lost his position for being an atheist moved in an increasingly mystical and theosophical direction in his later years.

Fichte died in 1814 of a fever caught from his wife, who was nursing victims of an epidemic. His writings exerted a continuing influence not only on philosophers but also on theologians, including Friedrich Schleiermacher. Fichte stands as a Janus figure between the religious rationalism of the Enlightenment, which he embraced in his youth, and the new currents of Idealist and Romantic thought, to which he contributed original impulses.

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GARRETT GREEN (1987)

FICINO, MARSILIO (1433–1499), was the most eminent philosopher of the Renaissance. Ficino employed Neoplatonism, the characteristic form of Renaissance philosophy, as a support for Christianity. Cosimo de' Medici, impressed with Ficino's precosity, gave him the opportunity to learn Greek and presented him with his country house at Florence, the Villa Careggi, where Ficino presided over his "Platonic academy."

Ficino edited the complete works of Plato, translated Plato's *Dialogues,* wrote a commentary on the *Symposium,* and edited and translated various works of Neoplatonists such as Plotinus (the *Enneads*), Proclus, Iamblichus, Porphyry, and Dionysius the Areopagite. He also translated from Greek to Latin various second- and third-century mystical and gnostic texts (*Poimandres*) ascribed to Hermes Trismegistos.

In 1473, after an extended period of melancholy, Ficino became a priest. His own best-known works are *On the Christian Religion* and *Platonic Theology,* the latter an elaborate statement of his Christianized Neoplatonic philosophy. Ficino's "pious philosophy" or "learned religion" presupposed an epistemology of poesy and faith. Divine poetry and allegory serve as a veil for true religion, for the rhapsodic and the mystical express religious truth, which cannot be expressed by simple intellectual formulas. A religious syncretist and universalist, Ficino believed that truth has been transmitted through a long tradition from the ancient philosophers and that wisdom has been revealed in many forms. Plato and the Neoplatonists, he believed, encompassed in their thought all the elements of the "ancient philosophy of the gentiles." Ficino envisioned everything within the cosmos as a great hierarchy of being. The One (God) is the absolute and uncontradicted original essence prior to the plurality of finite things, the ultimate unity of all things. The lesser orders are brought into being by emanations proceeding from the One. The way of ascent to the eternal One moves from bodies, through qualities, souls, and heavenly intelligences, with humanity at the center of this great chain of being, for humans are bound to the world of matter by their bodies and linked to the realm of the spirit by their souls. Humanity is assured of its own divinity, since God is immanent in humans through emanation. Ficino added a Christian patina to this Neoplatonic theodicy by identifying the demiurge, or intermediary, between the One and the subdivided spiritual and material world with the divine Logos, Christ, through whom the world was made and who "became flesh and dwelt among us." The church through dogma and sacrament keeps its people in touch with the spiritual world. Someday the immortal human soul, freed from the prison house of the body, will enjoy the beatific vision of God without mediation.

All parts of the universe, Ficino taught in his treatise *On Light,* are held together by bonds of sympathetic love. The highest form of love, Platonic love, moves the true lover to love another for the sake of God. This love guides humanity in its choice of good over evil and of the beautiful over the unlovely. Ficino's close association of goodness and truth with beauty appealed to the aesthetic sense of the Renaissance and influenced literature and art as well as philosophy and theology.

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LEWIS W. SPITZ (1987)

FICTION

This entry consists of the following articles:

HISTORY OF THE NOVEL
THE WESTERN NOVEL AND RELIGION
LATIN AMERICAN FICTION AND RELIGION
CHINESE FICTION AND RELIGION
JAPANESE FICTION AND RELIGION
SOUTHEAST ASIAN FICTION AND RELIGION
AUSTRALIAN FICTION AND RELIGION
OCEANIC FICTION AND RELIGION
AFRICAN FICTION AND RELIGION
NATIVE AMERICAN FICTION AND RELIGION

FICTION: HISTORY OF THE NOVEL

The novel has long been considered a literary form existing apart from religion, even if religion as social and moral fact may enter into the lives of its characters from time to time. The belief that the novel, our term for a lengthy work of fiction in prose, is solely the product of the period currently (if unhappily) labeled "Early Modern" has helped to sustain the belief that the novel is a triumphantly modern and secular form of literature. We dwell on authorship and prose style, but ignore earlier problematic points of development, including the eventual advent of the author as an individual "maker" instead of inspired recipient of divine information (see Finkelberg, 1998); in modern literature departments we rarely pause to inquire into the rise of prose itself as a significant and perhaps intrinsically democratic medium (see Goldhill, 2002).

THE HISTORY OF THE NOVEL AND ITS HISTORIANS.

Claude de Saumaise. The English history of the novel, born in the eighteenth century and placing its conception and birth in that century, flew in the face of another history composed by scholars on the Continent. The noted scholar and political theorist Claude de Saumaise (Claudius Salmasius; 1588–1653) in 1640 proposes a line of transmission in succinct prefatory essays to his edition of the Greek text of Achilles Tatius's novel, here presented as *Erotikon, sive de Clitophontis et Levkippes Amoribus* (Erotic stories, or the Loves of Kleitophon and Leukippe). In his dedicatory *Praefatio* and the address *Ad Lectorem* (To the reader) Salmasius tacitly picks up a suggestion made by Miguel de Cervantes (1547–1616), when the Spanish novelist's unnamed frame-narrator of *Don Quixote* describes the finding of the mysterious manuscript written in Arabic by Cide Hamete Benengeli, for which he must find a (Muslim) Arab-speaking translator, although officially there are no such persons left in Spain after the ethnic cleansing of the Catholic kings. (The initial act of censorship is massacre and expulsion.) Salmasius proposes that the novel's origins lie in the East, "The Persians first affected this kind of amorous literature. . . . You will not find it hard to believe that of old they introduced the beginning [*originem*] of Milesian fables in Asia [i.e., Asia Minor] which they ruled. Certainly they gave to the Arabs the fashion of this same kind of writing and the genius for it. The Arabs then transmitted it to the Spanish. From the Spanish we Gauls in turn took it, and from them indeed it also went elsewhere."

Salmasius traces a clear line of transmission: antique fiction comes from the Persians into Asia Minor and thence into Greek and Roman writings; modern European prose fiction derives from Arabic fiction already influenced by Persians and Greeks and then transmitted through the Moors to Spain and thence to the rest of Europe.

Pierre-Daniel Huet. A few years after Salmasius succinctly propounded this theory, Bishop Pierre-Daniel Huet (1630–1721) wrote his *Traité de l'origine des romans.* This important work was first published in 1670 as a preface to

Zayde, a novel about an Oriental woman written by a woman, though issued under the name of a male writer (Segrais). Huet's treatise (in the form of a letter to Segrais, a respectable male-male discussion) was soon reprinted and amplified as a book. Huet argues that in composing histories of this kind of writing we have stuck too close to home, "It is neither in Provence nor in Spain, as many believe, that we must hope to find the first beginnings of this agreeable amusement of good idle folk [*cet agréable amusement des honnestes paresseux*]; we must go to seek them in the most distant countries and in the most remote antiquity."

Huet's history makes the novel an arena of cultural anxiety and contestation. By 1674 Nicolas Boileau (1636–1711) was forced to take into account the implications of Huet's *Traité*. Boileau initiated the brilliant strategy of attacking the novel not only as a feminine and effeminating kind of literature, but also as a "bourgeois" form. For Huet, the novel existed before such modern social or literary classifications, springing as it does from the deep past and from diverse sources in folk traditions and various aristocratic cultures. It was an international—one could say "multicultural"—form of literature. The English definers of the novel tradition were trying to wrest the form from Huet and from contamination by the alien. Their strategy entails ignoring Continental fiction almost entirely at least, until after the "rise" of the novels of Daniel Defoe (1660–1731), Samuel Richardson (1689–1761), and Henry Fielding (1707–1754) ensured the establishment of the "new" form as of English growth. Such a story of the novel has been freshly established in Ian Watt's *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding* (1957). In this English-manufactured account, only *Don Quixote* of all Continental works is allowed a place. Unlike Salmasius and Huet, English claimants to the invention of the novel do not see in *Don Quixote* a tribute to the Oriental sources of this literature, but rather a handy repudiation of all Continental forms of novelistic fiction. *Don Quixote* becomes an honorary British fiction, a herald of the realistic and commonsensical novel that remained for the English to invent and perfect. (Too bad for Cervantes that such an account made it necessary to suppress all reference to his last work, *Persiles y Sigismunda*, a prose romance manifesting the devices and tropes that Cervantes is supposed to have killed off.)

Development of the term *novel*. The word *novel* is a relatively modern invention; in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the term was in use but functioning much like our term *novella*, referring to a short fiction. A long fiction in prose, like long fictions in poetic narration, was termed a *romance*; the word *romance* indicated simply and basically a work written in the vernacular (one of the romance languages, such as French, Italian, or Spanish) and had no negative significance—save to those who disliked all made-up stories. To this day, Continental languages have stubbornly adhered to the basic terms *il romanzo* (Italian), *le roman* (French), and *der roman* (German). For the English the term became suspect by the mid-eighteenth century, and the term *history* was more generally employed to describe a full-length work of prose fiction, for example, Fielding's *The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling*. This influenced Continental usage; see, for example, Antoine-François Prévost d'Exiles's (1697–1763) *L'Histoire d'une Grecque moderne*.

ANCIENT NOVELS. We must admit, along with Huet, that the novel in the West has much longer and less certainly "Western" roots. Certain prose fictions by authors writing in Greek and Latin from about the first century BCE to the third century CE continued to influence Western literature both in the Byzantine regions and in Roman Europe. Their influence was renewed in the Age of Print; some of these novels were among the earliest fictional works to be printed, such as *Asinus aureus* (The golden ass) by the second-century author known as Apuleius (c. 124–c. 170), first printed in 1469. Many of these works, rendered familiar to readers of the Renaissance, acted as decided influences on the development of new fictions in the vernacular, including novelists writing in English in the eighteenth century and later. The influence of *Aithiopika*, to take but one example, can be seen not only in the *Arcadia* by Sir Philip Sidney (1554–1586), but also in Cervantes' *Persiles y Sigismunda*, and in Richardson's *Clarissa.*

What were these early Western novels? We must be leery of writing stories of "origins" at least in the sense of finding an exact terminus. We do not know when the first of the Greek stories of love and adventures (such as used to be called "Greek romances") was written. Possibly the earliest of those surviving in full is Chariton of Aphrodisias' (first or second century CE) *Chaireas and Kallirhoe*, which some wish to date as early as 50 BCE, though others would put it as late as the second century. One piece of literary evidence indicates that there were a number of such novels in existence by the early first century CE. If we accept the standard equation of Petronius the author with Petronius Arbiter, his work on the *Satyricon* was finished by the date of his enforced death in 66 CE. This novel plays with the tropes of the Greek novels: with wandering lovers separated, much roaming from place to place, impediments resulting from offenses committed against the gods, the temporary enslavement of the central characters, a sea journey and shipwreck, and so on. If Petronius is able to treat the material of the novel as well known and to play thus with it, the genre must have been fully established by the mid-first century, though the best of the surviving examples come to us from the second and third centuries.

Latin novels. Only two major novels in Latin have come down to us. Petronius' *Satyricon*, if early in the temporal sequence, is ultrasophisticated and its fragmentary state adds to a sophistication in montage creatively imitated by writers like François Rabelais (1483–1553), Laurence Sterne (1713–1768), and James Joyce (1882–1941). Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* has an ascertained author and a fairly clear date (c. 160 CE). Shorter works in Latin include the late *Ephemeris Belli Troiani* (Diary of the Trojan War), presented as a found manuscript by an invented narrator "Dictys Cretensis" or "Dictys of Crete" (traditionally, all Cretans are liars). There were many other fictions, now lost; Apuleius wrote a second novel that—sadly—has not come down to us. Apuleius' extant novel is based on the Greek novel *Onos* (The ass), which was once attributed (wrongly, we now think) to Lucian of Samosata (c. 120–c. 190), who is, however, certainly the author of that fine parodic work of science fiction, known as *Vera Historia* (True story; c. 170 CE).

Greek novels. There are many more extant examples of ancient novels in Greek, including the novella *Chion of Heraklea* (c. 100 CE), which demonstrates that the classical world had already invented epistolary narrative. There are five works of substantial length; one, *Ephesiaka* (The Ephesian story; c. 150 CE) by Xenophon of Ephesus (dates unknown), may be partly a paraphrase. The other four are complete texts (given a few cruxes and some missing sentences): *Chaireas and Kallirhoe* by Chariton; *Kleitophon and Leukippe* (c. 150 CE) by Achilles Tatius; *Daphnis and Chloe* (c. 200 CE) by Longus; and *Aithiopika* (The Ethiopian story) by Heliodorus of Emesa (date uncertain; estimates have ranged from the second to the late fourth century, but it is most tempting to believe it belongs to the period of rule of the African emperor Septimius Severus (r. 193–211 CE). All these have named authors (though whether these are the genuine names of the writers has been challenged) and all are referred to in varying titles, sometimes naming the heroine alone: Achilles' *Leukippe* and Heliodorus's *Charikleia.*

The dating of these works is vexed, and we should be warned by the errors of great scholars of the past such as Erwin Rohde (1845–1898) not to put too much faith into our own current temporal schemata. Scholars used to be attracted to the late classical self-definition of the period of the "Second Sophistic," in which rhetorical play of a kind partly associated with the East (including Alexandria) enjoyed a recrudescence in new works. Plays of ideas and words, an understanding of how to interpret and describe works of visual art, clever and unexpected uses of literary allusions, and a self-conscious stance in relation to the literary tradition—all mark works of the Second Sophistic. These qualities, however, can be found outside the second-century temporal zone.

The term *Second Sophistic* was coined in reference to a presumed "First Sophistic," the period of the late fifth and early fourth century BCE, in which rhetoricians had flourished in Athens. "Sophists" were repudiated as pseudo-wise and dangerous by Socrates (c. 469–399 BCE) and Plato (c. 428–348 BCE). Sophists, Plato believed, pervert the truth with ingenious twisting of words and undermine aristocracy by the employment of verbal techniques that they could make available to anyone who pays. Proponents of the Second Sophistic consciously reversed Plato, declaring there is value in this *préciosité.*

The Sophists were often foreign to Athens—men such as Gorgias of Leontini, who came to Athens as an ambassador in 427 BCE, or Hippodamos of Miletus (fifth century BCE), one of the foreigners who brought the scientific spirit of Ionia to the marketplace of Athens. Dangerous if attractive representatives of alien cultures were introducing moral relativism, disrespecting tradition, and undermining the independent city-state, the polis. The democratizing of power through rhetoric probably did herald the end of an idealized enclosed and aristocratically controlled polis. After the polis had been fundamentally altered in the Hellenistic age and then subsumed into the Roman Empire, gentlemen from different regions shared a common educational syllabus, including training in rhetoric. Athens had become a kind of university where wealthy young males from various parts of the Roman Empire could meet, instilling in themselves the Hellenic—or Hellenistic—sense of the beautiful and true. The writers of our novels arose out of this colonial matrix, sharing something of the culture of the center. Yet, they were capable of going beyond the Hellenistic- and Roman-adapted mental world. By and before the second century CE writers and readers were evidently interested in finding ways of understanding and assimilating influences that did not emanate from Rome or Athens as Rome interpreted it. By this time the Hebrew scriptures had become available in the Greek Septuagint to non-Jewish readers. Christianity was becoming a force to be reckoned with, though it was only one of many strange religions. Christian, Jewish, and "pagan" authors sought new narrative forms, visible to us in works like the Apocrypha, the Gospels, and the *Acts;* some recent studies attend to the relation between Christian writings and the early novels (e.g., Thomas, 2003). Christian imagination found expression in a number of works, including the Greek *Poimen* (*The Shepherd of Hermas*), a sometimes novelistic text that once had practically canonical standing). *Recognitiones* (Recognitions; c. 150–250), the Latin Christian novel, has as its narrator Clement, the future second pope; here, he is a young man, who becomes a convert and a member of the circle around Saint Peter (d. c. 64 CE) during the conflict with Simon Magus.

There is at least one Jewish novel, aside from works like *Judith* and *Daniel. Joseph and Asenath* perhaps existed in the first century BCE, if rewritten later, so as to convey a Christian perspective. The Egyptian heroine Asenath, based on a personage crisply alluded to in *Genesis* 41:50, is the center of the story. Amusingly, she is at first utterly contemptuous of Joseph (her future husband), seeing him as an alien fortune-teller who (she has heard) lay with his mistress. (She will be converted to Joseph and to Judaism.)

Cultural variety of novelists. One thing is as clear to us as it evidently was to Huet: the authors of the Greek novels were not Hellenes from the mainland of Greece. These authors came from the conquered eastern areas of the Roman Empire. They were Syrians like Lucian and Heliodorus (who came from a town in modern Iraq), or they came from inland Asia Minor like Chariton or from the intellectually and materially rich coastal region, like Xenophon of Ephesus and Longus, who appears to be from the Lesbos he describes. Petronius alone has the credentials of a man of the center of Italy, a genuine Roman citizen, but Apuleius, in marked contrast, is a North African, a Berber from Numidia who after much travel settles in Carthage.

The same pattern of diverse authorship appears when we consider the novels in Greek that exist only in fragments or in paraphrase. Substantial pieces of a number of these have been found, though the fullest account of some can be gathered only from the paraphrases prepared by Photios (c. 820–891), Patriarch of Constantinople, who composed a sort of reader's diary. Called *Bibliotheke*, it gives a fairly full account of the books he liked including novels, offering not only his opinion of style and substance, but also detailed plot summaries. His commentary and paraphrase gives us a fairly full if muffled rendition of Iamblichos' (second century CE) *Babyloniaka* (The Babylonian story) or Antonius Diogenes' *Apista hyper Thulen* (Wonders beyond Thule). Exact dates for these works and others surviving in fragments are not known; see the scholarly edition of *Ancient Greek Novels* by Susan Stephens and John J. Winkler (1995).

Photios provides manuscript sources of about six pages' worth each of *Semiramis and Nisus* (a love story set in an exotic past with historical characters, perhaps written as early as 100 BCE) and of *Metiochos and Parthenope* (c. 150 CE), a story surviving in fragmentary papyrus emanating from the Fayum in Egypt. The novels were certainly read in Egypt—but we know from the evidence of expensive mosaic illustrations that a wealthy house owner in Syrian Antioch wanted to surround himself with images from these two novels. Despite disdainful assumptions on the part of some that these early novels could have been perused only by women and the semiliterate, evidence indicates a wide readership, socially and geographically, definitely including wealthy males, that was able to pay not only for full-length manuscript copies, but even for costly artwork illustrating the stories.

Different styles of Greek novels. A strange work that has recently come in its fragmentary way to light is *Phoinikika* (The Phoenician story; first published in 1972) by Lollianos. The discovery of this lively comic novel put an end to our earlier theory that only Latin novelists penned realistic, sexually explicit, and comic works of fiction, whereas the Greek novelists were romantic and sentimental. It is more likely that the authors choosing to write in Latin took up forms and comic styles from works in Greek, and it is probable that works in Latin of a more romantic style are now lost to us. Other works of Greek fiction that have come into view include *Herpyllis*, whose surviving passage deals with a storm at sea, a trope beloved of novelists; *Sesonchosis*, with Egyptian characters and themes; and *Chione*, about a heroine whose name could be translated as "Snow White" (Stephens and Winkler, 1995).

THE DEEP TRADITION: FICTIONS OF BABYLON, SYRIA AND ELSEWHERE. It is apparent from the previously mentioned titles that the Greek novels are interested in dealing with material related to various regions that were not Roman. Nor should the resort to Babylon, Phoenicia, the Assyria of Ninus, or the Egypt of Pharaoh Sesonchosis be thought of as mere "exoticism." Readers and writers alike came from these regions. A matter capable of future examination is the possible influence on the novel of literatures of even more ancient cultures than those that we customarily mean in referring to "antiquity"—a passé label. When Renaissance scholars first seriously published commentaries on these fictional texts, they lacked almost completely any real information (aside from Hebrew scripture and the Apocrypha) about the literature of Babylon, Assyria, and Egypt. Slowly, more is coming come to light.

Consider, for example, the incursion of *Gilgamesh* on our literary studies in the late twentieth century. This epic is not an action-epic like the *Iliad* or *Aeneid*, nor a story of wandering, discovery, loss, and restoration like the *Odyssey* (which, however, can strike one as having some Egyptian strands). *Gilgamesh* begins as an action story but becomes a story of love, death, grief, and loss—of coming to terms with something that will not allow a victory. The central character in his coming to grips with the hard fact of death and bereavement becomes a hero of the interior life. *Gilgamesh* might guard us against rash suppositions about regularly progressive development, of the sort that Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) negatively imagines in *The Birth of Tragedy* (1871), when he propounds an original fall from the Dionysiac perfection of ancient theater to the degenerate rationalism and individualism signaled in Socrates and the works of the ancient novelists, in which a sublime communal experience has been exchanged for individual self-consciousness and emotional self-attention.

Our desire for linear progression leads us to render literary history in a rather simplistic mode: first there was the folktale, then there was the epic, reflecting national and group consciousness shaped by an aristocratic class; then, in a new development (progressive or degenerative, according to taste), the epic action became the story of an unimportant individual, and the action turned inward, toward consciousness and what Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller (1759–1805) termed the "sentimental," away from the first "naive" strength. Poetry gave place to prose, and action to sentiment, as we move (sadly, perhaps) from Homer (eighth century BCE) to Henry James (1843–1916). So attractive is this line of progress or regress that we are unwilling to notice how this plotline can be changed. At any moment, what we call "folk" material can reenter the picture and refresh the narrative—as with the advent of the folk tales of Jacob Grimm (1785–1863) and Wilhelm Grimm (1786–1859). Poetic narrative can reassume the telling elsewhere associated with prose fiction as in *Evgeny Onegin* (1823–1831) by Aleksandr Pushkin (1799–1837).

One text that challenges the paradigm is the Cretan narrative poem *Erotókritos*. This heroic love story is a narrative poem written by a Venetian Cretan Vitzéntzos Kornáros (seventeenth century). Kornáros's work, drawing on the material of novels, is also epic and nationalistic, a defense not only of Greek Orthodox personages against the Ottomans, but also of Cretan identity. This novel-based literary work of an individual Renaissance artificer becomes for Cretans their genuine national epic. It folds itself back into folklore and folk motif, with many tellings and popular, even homemade, graphic depictions of the hero and heroine, into at least the twentieth century. *Erotókritos* challenges many of our assumptions, as it seems in so many ways to go "backward"—from novel back to epic and then back to folktale. But our surprised impression of an almost unnatural reversal arises from our adaptation of a linear notion of a "progress" and certain staid, if recent assumptions about absolute divisions between literary culture and popular culture.

Eastern and African influences on the novel. If we question our linear representations of such "histories," we may be willing to admit into the novel written and not just folkloric "influence" from non-Hellenic sources, as Huet divined. It is tantalizing to know that Babylonians of Chaldea had libraries (destroyed by Sennacherib [c. 704–681]) and that the Assyrians followed suit, with libraries of books in clay tablets open to the public. The Chaldeans invented systems and discovered much mathematical knowledge, including geometrical figures; when the Greeks fell in love with geometry as a training for the mind, they were really imbibing the discoveries of Mesopotamia, as transmitted through the cultures of coastal Asia Minor. Much of what we call "literature" could have followed a similar route.

Punic Carthage had philosophies, a priesthood, and a library—all was wrecked by the invading Romans, save for one useful treatise on agriculture. Yet, it seems hard to believe that so much thought could altogether disappear; and elements of Phoenician and more particularly Carthaginian thought and style may be lurking in a number of texts, invisible to us. By contrast we can now pick out the bright red thread of Egyptian thinking, style, and concerns. Since the late nineteenth century we have possessed a collection of classic Egyptian fiction, and poetic stories like *The Story of Sinuhe* or *The Shipwrecked Sailor* seem strongly related not only to some biblical material, but also to many elements in our own fiction. More saliently visible is the influence of the Egyptian religion. The story of Isis (Isis/Osiris) is everywhere alluded to in the ancient novels, and Isis worship forms an extensive part of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses.* The other and older central Egyptian religious story, that of the solar boat in its journey through the underworld during the twelve hours of darkness, was elaborated by Egyptian thinkers and artists, so that it becomes the basic story of all ordeals—and of all twelve-step programs.

The Egyptians are strongly attracted to stories of an ordeal (of Isis, or of the solar voyager) that develops through multiple sequent phases. A number of the "Gnostic gospels," written around the same time as our novel texts, betray decided signs of Egyptian influence, especially in the love of progressions through the twelve stages. Dante Alighieri's (1265–1321) *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio* both have an ultimately Egyptian ancestry. Journeying is important to the Egyptian ordeal, loss of self, loneliness in the midst of an unmarked world momentarily completely alien, and the encounter with the monster or the monstrous. Yet, in "classic" Egyptian fiction of the two millennia BCE, redemption seems almost always possible, as does some new negotiation of the relation between authority and its subject, as between divine and human.

When we look at the longest and most sophisticated of our Greek and Latin "early" and "Western" novels, *Metamorphoses* and *Aithiopika*, we can see that the writers are very conscious of the possibilities of multicultural narratives. Different traditions are signaled in the introduction of different kinds of story within the main or frame story. We meet characters of varying national or ethnic identities. People establish relations who have no original familial or even ethnic connection with each other. A young Sicilian woman, once in the power of the Persian Great King, develops a friendship with the Persian queen, and on returning to her native Sicily urges the queen "write to me often." A chatty young Athenian walks on the banks of the Nile with an elderly Egyptian priest and hears the story of the trials of an Ethiopian family. A blond young Greek male from Attica, sentenced to the harshness of the Roman games in Corinth, is spared and consoled by the ministrations of an Egyptian priest and becomes fully a convert to the Egyptian religion of Isis.

Poetry, drama, folk tale and the novel. Traditional or "classical" Hellenic stories are mixed in with new styles and materials from other sources. As examples of the interweaving of different forms of narrative, we may take Heliodorus' inclusion of the "Phaidra and Hippolytus" kind of story told by a young and somewhat silly if good-natured Athenian young man who is the Hippolytus of his tale; we can note how his story contrasts with the story about himself told by the dignified Egyptian priest Kalasiris, a story that has some resonance with the early Christian semifictional *The Shepherd of Hermas.* In *Metamorphoses* Apuleius sets within with his hero's comically painful autobiography a miniature epic-cum-love elegy, the charming and puzzling story of "Eros and Psyche," and then includes sex stories both grim and ribald, told with a twist, and set in a heavily marked social context, the sort of thing medieval writers were to call *fabliau.* Folk material of magic, ghosts, and werewolves mingles with reference to elegantly written literature, and realistic observation of behavior exchanges places with magical transformation, as in *realismo magico.* We do not here forget the presence of alien and oppressive power. Apuleius strikingly describes the way the brutal soldier piles his weapons on top of his dunnage so as to strike terror in the hearts of the ordinary people. Perhaps Apuleius is the first to employ the word *terror* in such an ideologically critical manner. Certainly, he is aware throughout the entire novel of the accoutrements of power used by an oppressive ruler and daily encountered by the vanquished.

NOVEL AND POLITICAL RESISTANCE. The novels of the first centuries CE reflect a tacit resistance to Roman (or Greco-Roman) domination, a search for an imaginative home free of the oppressive dominion of the present. It may have been prudence that dictated that most of these novelists should give their works a historical setting, in an era safely past, customarily when Persia was the ruler of the world. (Persians could be safely criticized.) The political implications of ancient novels have been underemphasized. This may be because of our own allegiance to Rome and our reluctance to realize that its presence could be felt—not only in Judea but elsewhere—as an unjust weight. We do not customarily hear in school, for instance, about the overt expressions of revulsion against Roman rule, as in 88 BCE when the people of Ephesus, with the assistance of the king of Pontus, Mithradates VI Eupator (120–63 BCE), revolted against the Romans, first overthrowing Roman statues and then massacring the Italians found in the region. (Freedom was short lived; the Romans inevitably exacted a strong penalty.) If analyzed, almost every one of these novels is capable of bearing an interpretation of resistance to imposed power. The theme of resistance is strongest in *Chion of Heraklea*, where the student-hero becomes a tyrannicide. Less overtly, the theme of resistance also becomes clear at the end of Chariton's novel *Chaireas and Kallirhoe*, when Chaireas invites all those of his fellow warriors, hitherto living among the Persians and fighting for the Great King of Persia, to join him in coming to Sicily, here imagined as a land of the free (book 8, cap. 2). The hero is willing to include his former enemies, Egyptian fighting men, as well as the Greeks, but only with their own free will; each person is to be asked individually: "*hina monon tous hekontas paralabomen*" (so that we take up only those who are willing).

Slavery and choice. "Choice" is at the center of the morality pursued or invented by the novels—of all kinds. Aristotle notably gave great weight to choice, but only a few people (educated free males) in his view had the power of real choice. Slaves represent human entities who are not persons and absolutely lack choice. In the novels, however, most of the central characters experience enslavement and degradation—in a sense it is true to say that all the central characters are both rulers and slaves. The characters, however low their circumstances, are never without significance, and never, even in enslavement, without the concept of choice—which is proclaimed and presented through their attention to their own inner lives. This is a monumental, not to say monstrous, departure from the classical ordering of the social world. In the novel the individual matters most. The definition of a set cannot be the ultimate measure of a person. A personage is first of all a person—and not first of all, slave or free, Greek or Egyptian, or even male or female. Barriers between civilized and barbarian are set aside. The identity we now call "racial," the difference between "black" and "white" persons, becomes in *Aithiopika* a gigantic conundrum; the heroine proves to be both "black" and "white." Whether Heliodorus' Charikleia is Greek or Ethiopian is less important than that she is Charikleia.

Individual life. These novels consistently show the life of the individual as central; the individual casts off, overtly or secretly, the restrictions of familial authority, arranged marriage, and custom. Individuality encompasses an inner life. From this individual inner life spring new apprehensions of morality, new orderings of society, and new religious insights. New perceptions and actions may be deeply spiritual, but the central religion is no longer the religion of the state. Public religious ceremonies indeed figure—often as a means for the lovers to lay eyes on each other—but the most loved deity has intercourse with the individual spirit, as Isis makes herself known to asinine Lucius. Epic must not put the individual at the center; the heroic individual, like an Aeneas, is simply and grandly at the service of his clan or nation, and the enticements of a Dido must be got over. It cannot be possible for Aeneas to have a new revelation as to how to live. In the novels, individuals constantly make new cultural adjustments and experience new revelations.

Women and freedom. Another great change from the traditional Greco-Roman view of things is the installation of the female at the center of the story. Many of the Greek novels were called simply by the name of the heroine: *Kallirhoe*, *Leukippe*, and *Charikleia*.

The story of courtship in the Greek novels sets aside the reality of marriage in most parts of the empire. Traditionally, a good Greek marriage consisted of the union of a young girl of fifteen or so—who had nothing to say in the matter—with a man of about thirty. The two were not equal and were not meant to be so. Love as a practical affection was supposed to grow between a married pair, though given the limitations of the female and her patent inferiority, the role of the erotic was to be limited in marriage; in illegitimate heterosexual connections, the desirable female (slave or freedwoman) was usually a prostitute, well below the male in class, and not officially important. When the Greeks—especially the Athenians—of the classical period wrote about what we recognize as romantic love (e.g., in the *Symposium*), they treat the homosexual connection of an older man (the lover) with a youth (the beloved). (Or, in the poems of Sappho [late seventh century BCE], the pull of an older woman toward a nubile girl.)

As David Konstan points out, the traditional Greek equation of love is always unequal, the relation asymmetrical; thus, the novels make a great leap in boldly imagining courtship between equals. The hero and heroine in any of the new novels are both young and near in age, and each is both lover and beloved. There is no division between agent and patient. The two have chosen to love each other—despite their families. The woman consistently has a choice about what she or even they will do, and both display intelligence and courage (and sometimes dull-wittedness and timidity). This equal couple escapes the confines of family and city, roaming through the world. In the course of their wanderings they make friends who are by all traditional standards unsuitable (in any case, it is traditionally unsuitable for the woman to have friends outside of home, her *oikos*). The rule of the household, the rule of the polis, and the rule of the empire are all challenged in this representation, which offers a new definition of what freedom might mean.

Hero and heroine together overthrow the "citizen" as an ideal. Love takes them away from convention and into discovery. They are not unguided, for there is a tutelary deity, perhaps several; the deity presiding over many of these novels, however, is a female god: Artemis, Aphrodite, or Isis. (Ephesus, the center of the worship of powerful Artemis, "Diana of the Ephesians," figures incessantly in the novel as locale and reference.) The novels can be seen as explorations of the relation with the goddess rather than with the god. The goddess endorses freedom, love, experience, and searching. The goddess also implicitly endorses the significance of both the physical life of the body (which must include death) and the life of consciousness. The goddess recurs in modern novels as much as in ancient ones, and may be lurking in surprising haunts; one critic (Brown, 2004) convincingly traces the pattern of Celtic myth and the role of the fierce Celtic mother goddess Mor Rigan in *Mrs. Dalloway* (1922) by Virginia Woolf (1882–1941).

RELIGION AND THE NOVEL IN THE WEST. Unlike tragedy, comedy, or epic, the novel has traditionally been supposed to have arisen without religious affiliation. That view was challenged by some twentieth-century scholars, most notably by Karl Kerényi in *Die Griechish-Orientalische Romanliteratur in Religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung* (1927) and by Reinhold Merkelbach in *Roman und Mysterium in der Antike* (1962).

Kerényi emphasizes the connection between novelistic and Christian perceptions; the central character(s) of the ancient novel imitates on the human level the trials of a divine being. Merkelbach proposes that the early novels embody and encode a mystery ritual, a sequence of experiences initiated ultimately by the divine power. Merkelbach considers that these Greek and Latin novels present to us and their readers the actual images and practices of the mystery cults and are close to the religions of Demeter and Isis. The characters, like the mystery initiates, undergo tests and trials—being beaten, imprisoned, and even left for dead; they eventually encounter various important figures of consolation and enlightenment, including the shepherd or herdsman and the fisherman. From a near-death or seeming death (*Scheintod*) they are resurrected to new life.

Merkelbach applies his discovery only to the ancient novels, but it can be applied to novels beyond this temporal range. The novel, if we look at the templates suggested by the ancient novels, embodies a sequence of experiences that not only the character, but also the reader follows in a sequence of initiation. These "tropes of the novel" take the reader through a participatory ritual. It is the reader as well as the character who undergoes the shock and excitement of entering the new, being cut off from past life at an initial critical moment, and crossing a borderland of marsh or muddy margins. The reader vicariously undergoes a kind of baptism, walks the labyrinth, gazes on enigmatic images demanding interpretation and understanding, descends into the abyss, and is resurrected. The hidden pattern of initiatory ritual and enlightenment within each novel makes it possible for us to read novels, which would otherwise fly apart under the pressure of their novelty, becoming abstract kaleidoscopes of words, or mere journalism. The goddess presides over this new life, this metamorphosis and grappling with the phenomenal—*phainomena symbola*, to use a term from the opening of *Aithiopika.*

That the "goddess" presides can be explained in another fashion. Under the sign of the male we have placed the creation of what is abstract and enduring: a philosophy, a law, and a work of art—monuments more lasting than bronze. The sphere of the female is more lowly; women create what is temporary and consumed: cakes, fabric, and babies. The novel is the only form that consistently summons the goddess because it is the form that centrally deals with the sacredness of daily transitory and physical life. It respects the fundamental equality of all human beings and their relation both to the animal and spiritual worlds. The novel never ignores the perishable and transient things such as food, lovemaking, dreams, conversation, fabric, babies.

Plato opposed the changeable, and even Aristotle saw our love of change as a weakness, but the novel gives over the search for steadfast rest and permanence, celebrating the capacity to change. Every novel could really bear the title of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, because all characters are metamorphosing—Elizabeth Bennet, Anna Karenina, or Gregor Samsa. And all are journeying, through space and time. The title *Journey to the West* could apply to all—the journey to enlightenment is simultaneously a journey toward sunset and the grave.

RELIGION AND THE NOVEL IN THE EAST. Both Chinese and Japanese fiction display qualities and patterns remarkably similar to those found in Western novels. The orderly disorder of birth/death, muddying, eating, contemplating images, plunging into the depths and arising—all these ritual experiences can be found. There is perpetual contestation between the political public male-ordered world and the world of private experience.

The earliest collection of poems in Chinese literature may be read as personal lyrics of love and longing, or as coded references to political affairs. The personal can be set against the ideal of order—even the ideal of political order, so central to Chinese thinking and endorsed by Confucianism. Rebellion is a topic, as in the fourteenth-century *Outlaws of the Marsh*, where we follow the individual lives of bandit-heroes, who dwell on the muddy margins. One of them, Song Jiang, is given three heavenly books by the goddess-like Mystic Queen of the Ninth Heaven, who exhorts him to remember justice and bring peace to the people. In the sixteenth-century classic known as *Journey to the West*, a complex narrative of a pilgrimage from China to the borders of India to find the original Buddhist scriptures and bring them to China, the heroes are often aided by a divine female, the *bodhisattva* Guanyin, who gave them their assignment. By contrast with the refreshment of her rare presence, monasteries encountered en route seem abodes of greed and inertia, masculinity without heart and without spirit. Spiritual life develops in the lived life. The insertion of Monkey, the famous mischief-making hero, reinstates the body and the life of desire in a story that both supports and questions Buddhism itself, as it also questions the Dao that supplies so many of this narrative's fascinating systems of contrasts and affinities. At the end of the novel, the importance of "sacred text" becomes subtly ironic—the truth is within, so a blank page is as good as any other. This strange ending also suggests that the real story is always about to be—that the religious truth can be encountered only in the experience of seeking it.

In the high flowering of the Chinese novel, the feminine moves to a central place, countering both the worldly orderliness of Confucianism and the sense-rejecting purity of Buddhism. One of the greatest of the world's novels is *Hong Lou Meng* (*Dream of the Red Chamber*, or *Story of the Stone*) by Cao Xueqin (c. 1715–1763). Generations have marveled at and wept over the complex and fated loves of Bao-yu and Dai-yu. Divine discontent has never been more subtly or powerfully revealed in a novel teeming with multifaceted characters and taking time to deal with many developments over half a lifetime. Its only rival in representing the subtleties of consciousness in relation to love and loss is the great Japanese novel *Genji Monogatori* (*The Tale of Genji*), written at the turn of the eleventh century by a woman author called Murasaki Shikibu (late tenth to early eleventh century). In both of these novels, love is at the center, love and the yearning of desire, which is constantly faced by the great fact of Death. In contemplating loss and absence, the soul stirs. Individual life is experienced in a world full of social, financial, and moral complexity, with much bustle and comedy, as well as beautiful and ugly objects; yet, amid the welter of experience the spirit knows an inalienable loneliness, sharpened by the metamorphoses demanded by living. The quest for love can awaken and enlighten the spirit, but is not soothing.

These Eastern novels have extraordinarily fine and subtle endings, endings that dramatically make the reader experience that what is desired cannot be grasped; it is the experience of the desire that educates the soul and continually kills and gives rebirth to the self. The self, too, is something not capable of being fully known, even to the self. These are religious revelations, but they cannot be precisely squared with Dao or Buddhism, however much is to be learned from these. What is most approachable is the feminine deity, the goddess of compassion and of the senses, who makes constant change bearable. There is in both Western and Eastern novels an allusion to something that endorses our eagerness to live—and not only to live but to satisfy curiosity and to undergo change in ourselves—which means living through perpetual dying (and very dangerous that may be). In living our lives and in reading a novel we pursue a mystery that lies deeper than any plot.

CONCLUSION. The novel is really a religiously developed form. It quietly sets itself in opposition to political and religious conventions and traditions to plunge itself and its reader into a closer apprehension of the sacredness that imbues the individual person and the world. It may at times appear dismissive of what is called religion, or it may appear fascinated by religions, but it is not orthodox and will never yield humbly to orthodox authority—even when an author tries to do so. The novel is secular—secular in the original sense, having to do with the *saeclum*, that is, with *time*. Novels, more than any other form, show the individual dealing with experience in time—including not only biological time, but also a particular social and political era (historical or imaginary). The novel pays heed to the importance of time and space, in which the phenomena of matter manifest themselves. It draws on each reader's bodily and temporal experience; the smell of jasmine or urine, the feeling of spring rain, and the taste of honey are supplied by the reader's sensuous knowledge. The novel exhibits characters living with the biological body amid a welter of detail and necessities (including food and money). To live so realistically is not to be subordinated to things, but to have an arena for spiritual experiment, and the novel displays consciousness itself as a major experiment, in harmony with the expedient that is each individual novel.

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MARGARET ANNE DOODY (2005)

FICTION: THE WESTERN NOVEL AND RELIGION

While a foremost contemporary American writer of fiction asserts that "the literary artist, to achieve full effectiveness, must assume a religious state of mind" (Updike, p. 239), there is no denying that the novel is a genre of literary art that rarely takes religion as its obvious and principal theme. Among the more prominent twentieth-century theorists of the novel, one viewed it as "the epic of a world that has been abandoned by God" (Lukács, p. 88), and another considered it the genre in which "the absolute past" of the gods, demigods, and heroes is "contemporized" and "brought low, represented on a plane equal with contemporary life, in an everyday environment, in the low language of contemporaneity" (Bakhtin, p. 21).

Some books that read like novels do overtly take religion as their theme, but they are better described as works of edification—although they may possess grace of style or persuasive power, their inspiration is not artistic but propagandist. A true novel, even in modest categories of this genre, seeks to show the human being in society; any teaching that may be inherent in it, or any moral conclusion it may point to, is secondary to this artistic impulse. The great novelists frequently write on themes that have religious implications, but these are approached indirectly and shown in action or reflection rather than direct admonition. To form any notion of the connection between the novel and religion, we must look below the surface of the work of art, and we must not expect wholehearted assent to any version of orthodoxy.

This is not to set the novel at odds with religion, if we accept the latter word in terms of its derivation as implying the careful consideration of forces, laws, ideas, or ideals that are sufficiently powerful to inspire awe or devotion. The novel seeks to show the human being, confused and fallible, meeting the complexities of life, among which are likely to be those elements describable as numinous. If, indeed, humans are naturally religious, the novel cannot avoid religion, though its principal theme will continue to be the human being.

Although it is actually an ancient genre (Doody, 1996), the novel in its most recognizable current form developed in the seventeenth century as a successor to the epic, which dealt with humans as heroic beings, and the romance, which was free of any necessity for its characters to obey the broad laws of probability, or for stated causes to bring their usual consequences. Conditioned by the Renaissance and strongly influenced by the Reformation, the modern novel required that a story should be, in broad terms, probable, and its characters believable in terms of common experience. The novel was expected to be a story about what most readers would accept as real life, and as ideas of real life are inseparably associated with what human beings, at any period of history, are inclined to take for granted without much reflection, the novel became a mirror of society, and thus a mirror of the nature of the era for which it was written. Although the novel does not seek to avoid issues that are properly religious, its principal energy in this area is better described as moral.

The morality put forward by Western novelists may be reduced to a number of broad precepts. "God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap" (*Gal.* 6:7); "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord" (*Rom.* 12:19); "The dog is turned to his own vomit again; and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire" (*2 Pet.* 2:22); "For if a man think himself to be something, when he is nothing, he deceiveth himself" (*Gal.* 6:3). These are but a few of the more minatory precepts found in the Bible that underlie scores of novels. That these general laws may be seen at work in daily life, in the uttermost variety of circumstances, and that they are psychological truths, makes them natural guides of the novelist, who must be, like any artist, an undeluded observer. The novelist may deal with these grim truths humorously, and some of the most truly religious novels are seen by the world as funny books, but their underlying morality is far from funny.

This encyclopedia treats the history of the novel in a separate entry, but it is useful here to begin with *Don Quixote* (pt. 1, 1605; pt. 2, 1615), by Miguel de Cervantes, often spoken of as the first truly modern novel. Its story is of the fortunes of a Spanish gentleman whose wits have been turned by reading old books of romance and chivalry. He equips himself absurdly as a knight and rides forth in search of adventures, and in a rambling and sometimes coarse and perfunctory tale he is mocked, beaten, and humiliated until, on his deathbed, he understands the folly of his delusion.

The book is often read superficially, or not read at all, by many people who are nevertheless aware of it, as the story is familiar from stage, film, and operatic adaptations, and as the word *quixotic,* meaning "actuated by impracticable ideals of honor," is in common use. A careful reading of the novel reveals the mainspring of the book's extraordinary power. It is the first instance in popular literature of the profoundly religious theme of victory plucked from defeat, which has strong Christian implications. The Don, who is courteous and chivalrous toward those who abuse or mock him, and who is ready to help the distressed and attack tyranny or cruelty at whatever cost to himself, is manifestly a greater person than the dull-witted peasants and cruel nobles who torment and despise him. Many readers love him because his folly is Christlike—his victory is not of this world.

The theme is repeated in countless novels, including a lineage of works in which the quixotic protagonist undergoes a discernible process of "sanctification" that runs counter to the more oft-discussed secularizing tendency of modern literature. Three of the most notable examples are Henry Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* (1742), Fyodor Dostoevsky's *The Idiot* (1869), and Graham Greene's *Monsignor Quixote* (1982), with their respective depictions of Parson Adams, Prince Myshkin, and Father Quixote. In these novels, the modes of living, acting, and speaking as a good-natured man (Adams), a holy fool (Myshkin), or a Roman Catholic priest struggling with faith and doubt (Father Quixote) reflect different aspects of the Christian ideal, though they also call to mind the mad delusion of Cervantes's hero by virtue of their discrepancy with the predominantly profane or secular currents of the modern West (Ziolkowski, 1991).

Among the greatest literary adaptations of the Quixote theme is Charles Dickens's *Pickwick Papers*. The titular hero, whom we first meet as a foolish and almost buffoonlike character, is deepened by an unjust imprisonment to a point where he is truly aware of the misery that is part of the society in which he lives. It is of importance to our theme that Mr. Pickwick is dependent on his valet, Sam Weller, as Don Quixote is dependent on his peasant squire, Sancho Panza, for a measure of common sense and practical wisdom that saves him from disaster. Faith, hope, charity, justice, and fortitude are exemplified in the masters, but without the prudence and temperance of the servants they would be lost. A character who possessed all the seven great virtues would never do as the hero of a novel, but when a hero who has most of them is complemented by a helper and server who has what he or she lacks, great and magical fiction may result.

As the mighty virtues appear in numerous, though often disguised, forms in great novels, so also do the capital sins. To provide an equivalent for each suggests a list that inevitably means the exclusion of many others equally cogent. When we think of pride, however, we remember how brilliantly it is deployed in Dickens's *Domby and Son* (1846); wrath recalls Dostoevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov* (1880) and Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* (1851); envy is the mainspring of Honoré de Balzac's *La cousine Bette* (1846); lust has many exemplars, some of them presenting the vice in a refined form, as in Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa Harlowe* (1747), and others explicit, as in John Cleland's *Fanny Hill* (1748–1749); gluttony is a less popular theme, though drunkenness, which might be regarded as one of its forms, is very common and is explored in Émile Zola's *L'Assommoir* (1877); avarice is popular, and Balzac's *Le cousin Pons* (1847) shows it in the guise of the collector's mania, linked in Sylvain Pons with a greed that exemplifies gluttony in the guise of gourmandise (the gourmet's refinement of the uglier word); sloth recalls Ivan Goncharov's *Oblomov* (1857), in which that sin is explored to its depth. This list is certainly not meant to be definitive, and the Seven Deadly Sins do not include cruelty, of which Dickens affords many examples, nor stupidity, which Gustave Flaubert displays subtly in *Madame Bovary* (1857), nor snobbery, which, though hardly a sin, is a deep preoccupation of the bourgeois world and has never been more searchingly anatomized than in Marcel Proust's *À la recherche du temps perdu* (1913–1927). Virtually any attribute, when exaggerated, may become a vice, and in some circumstances vice may take on the color of virtue. This makes heavy work for the moralist but is the delight of the novelist, who thrives on delicate distinctions and on that *enantiodromia*, or tendency of attributes and emotions to run into their opposites, which is familiar in psychology.

The novel has proved effective in depicting what, from the traditional Jewish or Christian perspectives, would be ultimate acts of human evil: rebellion against God through an effort to be God's equal (cf. the biblical tale of Babel), and the human conversion of life in this world to a hell on earth. The preeminent example of the first theme is Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818), which represents the effort of a scientist to, in effect, usurp God's role as creator and conqueror of death. To affirm the jointly Hellenic and Hebrew roots of this theme, Shelley dubbed her titular protagonist "the Modern Prometheus" and included in her narrative explicit references to the rebellious Satan of John Milton's *Paradise Lost*. *Frankenstein* crystallized a distinctly Gothic dimension of early nineteenth-century Romanticism, some of whose exponents displayed an irrepressible fascination with medieval legends about the Devil (Mephistopheles) and lore of the demonic. In the twentieth century, in contrast, the theme that emerged of the human-made, terrestrial inferno, where countless innocents suffer and perish, was an immediate outgrowth of historical reality. The theme is thus chiefly exemplified in novels by actual survivors of the pogroms, the "concentration-camp universe," the gulag, and other forms of genocide that marked the century. Elie Wiesel's *La Nuit* (1958) and Jerzy Kosinski's *The Painted Bird* (1965) are among the most haunting novelistic testimonies to the horrors of the Nazi Holocaust, while Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's *The First Circle* (1968) and his multivolume *The Gulag Archipelago, 1918–1956: An Experiment in Literary Investigation* (1973–1978) expose unforgettably the infernal dimensions of the Soviet slave-labor camps. As memory is the capacity that is *sine qua non* for any novelist, and perhaps especially for those who record atrocities, the novels of Toni Morrison have represented most poignantly the abomination of human slavery and its psychological and spiritual legacies in America.

When novelists choose churches and churchmen as their theme, they frequently dwell on faults that are undeniable, but paint an ungenerous picture of the whole. This is particularly the case when the sort of religion portrayed is of the evangelistic, nonsacramental kind. In such religion, popular opinion expects that the evangelist or the parson will exemplify in himself the virtues he urges on others; in Sinclair Lewis's term, he is a Professional Good Man. His failure to be wholly good makes diverting reading, for hypocrisy provides livelier fiction than virtue. In Lewis's *Elmer Gantry* (1927), all the shams of vulgar religiosity are exposed, and its appeal to naive and unreflective people held up to ridicule. Set likewise during the first half of the twentieth century, but focusing upon a particular African American family against the bleak backdrop of a racist, segregated America, James Baldwin's *Go Tell It on the Mountain* (1953) presents the deacon Gabriel Grimes as the quintessential religious hypocrite. Having once thought himself divinely promised to father a saintly lineage, Gabriel espouses a harshly moralistic brand of Pentecostalism while mistreating his own family (especially his good stepson John, the novel's central protagonist) and concealing his own past moral lapses, most notably his having fathered another son out of wedlock and then abandoned him and the mother.

A variant depiction of the religious life as it is lived by well-intentioned but not spiritually gifted priests is to be found in the novels of Anthony Trollope. In *The Warden* (1855), the principal character, the Reverend Septimus Harding, is a good man, but timid and weak, and his dilemma when he is accused of holding a sinecure is a choice between Christian precept and the way of the world; obedient to public opinion, he resigns his wardenship. In its sequel, *Barchester Towers* (1857), we meet the warden's son-in-law, Archdeacon Grantly, who dearly longs to succeed his father as bishop, for he is a man of strong worldly ambition; but in the first chapter of the book Grantly must decide whether he desires the bishopric at the cost of his father's life. His decision is made in terms of his faith rather than his ambition. The scene in which he prays for forgiveness at his father's bedside is moving and finely realized. Not a crumb of religiosity or false sentiment is to be found in it. Grantly is no saint, but he is a man of principle.

In the same fine novel we meet the bishop's chaplain, Mr. Slope, who cloaks inordinate ambition under evangelistic piety, and the Reverend Dr. Vesey Stanhope, who draws his salary as a clergyman but lives a fashionable life in Italy, leaving his work to curates. Trollope parades before us a wide variety of clergy, some of whom are saved from moral ignominy by the fact that the Church of England, through its catholicism, separates the priestly function from the man who discharges it (though abuse of this distinction is frowned upon). But such characters as Mr. Harding, the warden; the Reverend Francis Arabin, an exemplar of the scholar-priest and intellectual; and the Reverend Josiah Crawley, in whom his creator combines pride with humility, manliness with weakness, and acute conscience with bitter prejudice, redeem Trollope's clergy and emphasize his very English, very Victorian conviction that a clergyman is not required to be a saint but should unquestionably be a man of principle and a gentleman. This is a long way from Elmer Gantry, who was neither.

No discussion of this subject can escape some consideration of the part the intellectual and artistic character of the novelist plays in his depiction of religion, and its influence on his characters. All generalizations are suspect, but it may be stated broadly that the temperament that makes a writer a novelist is unlikely to be friendly to orthodoxy, and that the Manichaean struggle between darkness and light is more friendly to the novelist's purpose (the depiction of the human being in society) than is an unwavering adherence to a creed. Inevitably, there are important exceptions. Calvinist predestination is the mainspring of James Hogg's fine *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (1824). There is no mistaking the Roman Catholic thought behind all the work of James Joyce, Graham Greene, and Anthony Burgess, or the monolithic Russian Orthodoxy that informs the novels of Solzhenitsyn. Likewise the novels of Chaim Potok are thoroughly saturated by the world of Orthodox Judaism in modern urban America, highlighting the tensions between the everyday, worldly Orthodoxy and a more stringent form of Hasidism.

More often, however, the theme of Don Quixote is repeated: the good man or woman exhibits, and is betrayed by, weaknesses, but the forces that oppose him or her—which are more likely to be stupidity, conventionality, and self-seeking than determined evil—succeed in the short view. It is the reader who understands and appreciates the goodness of the hero, and whereas in a work of inferior artistic merit this may simply flatter the reader's ego, in a great novel it may leave readers with a larger vision of life and an appreciation of the weight of religious feeling that they did not have before.

Good novelists manage this by indirect means; the aim of such novelists is not to teach but to entertain, and thus to persuade. Their chief purpose, from which they stray at their peril as artists, is to depict life as they see it, and whatever they touch will be colored by their own temperament. The temperament of the artist is not unwaveringly noble—wholeness of spirit, not perfection, is the artist's aim. Many novelists, of whom Sinclair Lewis may serve as an example, are disappointed idealists, angry with life because it does not conform to the best they can conceive, and their strictures on religion, as on other great themes, are apt to be bitter. The calm observation of Trollope is a rarer gift.

Examples could be cited to the point of weariness, without achieving very much. Let it suffice to say that a turbulent and tormented spirit such as Dostoevsky will not see religion as it is seen by a stronger, more deeply and often more narrowly moral writer such as Tolstoy. Neither exhibits the philosophical, ironic, but finally positive spirit of Thomas

Mann. To look for what is called "real life" in the novels of these and countless others is to search for something definable only in vague terms. Vladimir Nabokov once described a fictional masterpiece as an "original world" that is unlikely to fit the reader's own world. Serious readers enter such an original world as they encounter any work of art—in search of enlargement and enlightenment. If the novel has this effect, the reader's concept of "real life" has been changed.

Serious readers, however, are not a majority, nor are serious writers. We must beware of the critical error that tries to define art solely in terms of the best. Below the level of greatness are innumerable novels that cannot be dismissed as having no merit; they may be lesser works of art, or on a level below that, or they may be widely popular and thus, in some measure, influential. The best-seller should not be brushed aside simply because many people like it; its very popularity is a strong clue to what a multitude of people will accept as a depiction of the human being in society, and therefore as an indication of what those people believe society to be. Even more than what these readers believe to be true, popular literature displays what they wish were true, about religion as well as many other things. Thus, having appeared at a time when idealistic discussions of social and economic "globalization" are persistently defied by the realities of international conflicts or tensions that are often rooted in religious differences, Catherine Clément's international best-seller *Le Voyage de Théo* (1997) tells of a boy taken on a tour of the world's religions, traveling literally from one continent to the next, and arriving finally at the simple morale that one should be at peace with God, whatever one conceives God to be. In one sense, *Le Voyage de Théo* seeks to exploit the same function that numerous profounder novels have fulfilled in illuminating forms of religious life largely unfamiliar to "mainstream" Western readers. The portrayals of Brahmanic and Buddhist asceticism in Hermann Hesse's *Siddhartha. Eine indische Dichtung* (1922), and of Chippewa traditions in the novels of Louise Erdrich, are but two examples that come immediately to mind.

What many readers seem to wish is that religion should not obtrude into a novel, either directly or in some awareness of the numinous. Writers who ignore their wish feel the lash of their resentment. Aldous Huxley, who seemed to a large and eager group of readers to be the perfection of the cynicism of the period following World War I, astonished and displeased them when, in 1936, he published *Eyeless in Gaza*, in which the voice of the moralist and explorer of faith that had been earlier evident in *Brave New World* (1932) could no longer be ignored. A similar experience befell Evelyn Waugh, whose works, being both witty and funny (for the two are not interchangeable terms), had secured him a delighted following of readers who, although they knew him to be a Roman Catholic, did not appreciate how determinedly Catholic he was until 1945, when *Brideshead Revisited* demanded that Catholic orthodoxy be taken with the uttermost seriousness. The deathbed repentance of the earl of Marchmain was ridiculed by those critics who could not bring themselves to believe that it might be true. That the wit, the funnyman, should also be religious was unbearable to multitudes of religious illiterates, many of them critics.

It is significant that when Huxley revealed the quester beneath the cynic he was forty, and that when Waugh forced his readers to face an embarrassing fact he was forty-two. Both men had reached the midpoint in life, when radical psychological change presents problems that can no longer be dismissed or dissembled before the artist's audience. The lives of virtually all novelists of the serious sort reveal some such alteration in the thrust of their work. If not religion in some readily identifiable form, the religious spirit of awe and a moral conviction asserts itself and shows in the work that is most characteristic.

In fiction on the most popular level, that of the best-seller, religion or the trappings of religion may be used (not necessarily cynically) by an author to induce in readers an impression that they are thinking about and weighing serious problems. The familiar tale of the priest who falls in love lies beneath many plots, an example of which is *The Thorn Birds* (1977), by Colleen McCullough, hailed as admirable and even profound by innumerable readers. The priest cannot deny his love, for to do so would be to reject something necessary to his wholeness. In time, as a cardinal, he receives his unacknowledged son into the priesthood.

There may lie beneath McCullough's book, and others like it, something that should not be ignored: Christianity has never wholly accepted human sexuality as a potentially noble part of the human makeup. Such books are a protest against that attitude, a demand that religion include sexuality and the distinctively feminine element in the human spirit as it shows itself in both sexes. The conflict between a high feminine spirit and a torturing, wholly masculine morality is finely explored in Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* (1850); Hester Prynne's greatness is opposed to the orthodoxy of her secret lover, the Reverend Arthur Dimmesdale, and there can be no doubt which spirit is the more truly religious.

Innumerable books have dealt with this question in a manner that may have been the best possible to their authors but that can only be called slight and, in some cases, cynically frivolous. An early example is *The Monk* (1796), the immensely popular novel by Matthew Gregory Lewis, in which the externals of Catholicism are exploited in a tale of nymphomania, murder, magic, and unappeasable lust. Unquestionably it is lively reading, but its notions of numinosity reach no higher than scenes of the Inquisition and a trumpery pact with the Devil. (For a fine example of the theme of the pact with the Devil, one may turn to Thomas Mann's *Dr. Faustus*, 1947.) Lewis's Gothic shocker is mentioned here because it is the forerunner of many such tales in which religion serves indecency in the manner Shakespeare describes as "to have honey a sauce to sugar" (*As You Like It*, 3.3.26–27). But they are popular, and it cannot be denied that they represent what religion means to many people. Victor Hugo's *Notre-Dame de Paris* (1831) offers an artistically superior example. Eugène Marie-Joseph Sue's *Le Juif errant* (1844–1845) is a lesser work in which the supposed unscrupulous intellectualism of the Jesuits is exploited.

Some reference must be made to the large category of books that make use of the occult as part of the paraphernalia of their stories, employing a romantic Satanism to produce an atmosphere of evil and decadence. Two works of Joris-Karl Huysmans have been admired: *À rebours* (1884), in which Catholicism is embraced as a remedy against a blighting pessimism, and *Là-bas* (1891), in which the hero searches for a consoling faith through the path of black magic. On a lower level of artistic achievement is the long-lived romance by Bram Stoker, *Dracula* (1897), in which the popular theme of vampirism is the mainspring of the action (among today's popularizers of this theme, the foremost is undoubtedly Anne Rice). These books are relevant to any discussion of religion and the novel inasmuch as they are evidence of a yearning in a large reading public for something to balance the apparent spiritual barrenness of the world that has emerged from the industrial, scientific, and technological revolution. That the public responds to the negative spirit of black magic rather than to something more hopeful is not surprising. Where religion loses its force, superstition is quick to supplant it, and it would need a strong new religious impulse or revelation to reverse that movement.

It is not surprising that when religion appears in this class of literature it is usually Catholicism, Orthodoxy, or Jewish mysticism (Qabbalah) that accommodate naive or unevolved religious feeling more sympathetically than Protestantism. The reformed versions of Christianity in their eagerness to banish superstition appear sometimes to have banished any sense of the numinous along with it, and it may be argued that the human being cannot live comfortably without some elements of belief that a stern moralist would class as superstitious. The human psyche cannot relate wholly toward the positive and the light side of life; it must have some balancing element of the dark, the unknown, and the fearful.

It is because of this unrecognized pull toward the numinous in its dark side that it is so difficult, even for a great literary artist, to portray a wholly good and admirable character. Dickens's villains have a power not found in his good men and women, and the great artist usually provides a balance, as he does in *The Old Curiosity Shop* (1841), where the innocent and saintly Little Nell is opposed to the grotesque villainy of the dwarf Quilp. This opposition provides the tension that gives the novel life and would slacken if Nell had things too much her own way. In *The Brothers Karamazov* (1880), Dostoevsky cannot, by his finest art, make the saintly Alyosha as real to us as the man divided between his good and evil, his brother Ivan. Modern human beings are aware of this tension as a demanding element in their own lives and respond to it in fiction.

When Tolstoy wrote *War and Peace* (1868) and *Anna Karenina* (1878), his powerful depiction of this tension made him a literary artist of the highest achievement, yet when he was impelled later to write works determinedly improving in tone, that splendor did not survive. But we must sympathize with Tolstoy's deep conviction that art should be religious in its impulse and make religious feeling at its highest available to a public neither devout nor philosophical. This is a conviction recognizable in many novels of the first rank.

In vast areas of popular literature a defensible, if sometimes crude, morality asserts itself, greatly to the satisfaction of its readers. In Westerns, the Good Guy—and the values he stands for—triumphs over the Bad Guy, who is corrupt, cruel, and frequently cynical in his attitude toward women. For the Bad Guy to win in the struggle would topple the myth of worthiness and decency that readers of Westerns value. The same simple morality informs much science fiction and fantasy literature (e.g., C. S. Lewis's "Space Trilogy" [1938–1945] and his "Chronicles of Narnia" [1950–1956], with their overarching Christian cosmology), and even J. K. Rowling's wildly popular Harry Potter novels of alternate worlds and sorcery.

This is significant. In the words of G. K. Chesterton, "men's basic assumptions and everlasting energies are to be found in penny dreadfuls and halfpenny novelettes" (*Heretics*, 1905). Great numbers of readers of detective stories are, without ever defining their attitude, devoted to the morality of "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord," or the bleaker law of *Exodus* 21:23–24: "If any mischief follow then thou shalt give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot." Who is the instrument of the Lord's vengeance, who brings the murderer or the thief to his just reward? The Great Detective, of course. Be he the cold reasoning-machine Sherlock Holmes; the man of pity, Chesterton's own Father Brown; the high-born, donnish Peter Wimsey, or the immobile, intellectual Nero Wolfe; he—or she, as in the cases, say, of Agatha Christie's Miss Marple or Sara Paretsky's V. I. Warshawski—is always the figure recognizable from medieval religious drama, sometimes called Divine Correction. He or she is the restorer of balance, the dispenser of justice, working on behalf of a higher authority.

The same pattern is observable in the spy story, which is the main rival of the detective novel. However attractive or extenuating may be the temptations that make the spy betray his country, and however plodding, weary, disillusioned, and dowdy the spy-catcher may be, in the end the betrayer of the highest values must be found and brought to some sort of justice. Often the tone is cynical; often the secret service is represented as no more than a game; but behind every game lies the desire to win, and thereby to establish or reaffirm some superiority. What superiority? That of an overriding morality.

How far is morality from religion? To the novelist it sometimes looks like the religion that people profess who wish to ignore God—or keep him behind a veil as being too grand for common concerns. It may be the religion of people who find an ever-present God embarrassing company, because they are aware that they cannot live always on the heights, and they do not believe that God understands their insufficiencies. But to support a system of morality without some reference to numinous values is uphill work for a philosopher, and beyond the scope of even a highly intelligent general reader.

The novel, at its best, is a work of literary art and a form of entertainment at all levels, concerned with human beings in every aspect of their lives, including, but not necessarily approving, their religious life. That its connection with religion should be, in the main, through morality rather than through faith or revelation should therefore surprise no one. Whatever pinnacles it may achieve in morality or philosophy, its character remains secular.

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Many books of criticism that deal with the novel make passing reference to religious concerns when these are relevant, but not all critics are even-handed in their treatment of religion, and some of them seem almost to be religious illiterates, who either stand in foolish awe of what they have not examined or ignorantly decry it. The reader who wishes to pursue the train of thought suggested in the preceding entry might well reread the novels mentioned, with special attention to their religious implication. The following list confines itself to those critical works cited in the article:

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FICTION: LATIN AMERICAN FICTION AND RELIGION

As in most places in the world where different cultures and religions have come together as the result of political conquests, in Latin America, fiction, religion and history are inseparably connected. In *The Invention of America: An Inquiry into the Historical Nature of the New World and the Meaning of History* (1961), Edmundo O’Gorman makes substantiated claims that the New World was already an invention in the European imagination before 1492. Early documents about the conquest and colonization of the Americas tell the story of such invention and of the theological conflicts caused in Western Christian thought by the encounter of a New World different from the known world of Europe, Asia and Africa. The zeal of evangelization, which accompanied political and economic expansion, resulted in theological schisms within the Church that lasted for centuries, vestiges of which can be seen today in the figure of revolutionary priests such as Camilo Torres and Ernesto Cardenal, Liberation Theology and, in various forms, in nineteenth and twentieth century Latin American literary discourses. Christian theology, Judeo-Christian messianic literature, and medieval legends and myths colored the way Europeans perceived the New World. Even Christopher Columbus, who believed he had arrived in India, also claimed in his fourth diary to have found the entrance to Paradise: a claim that the Postmodern Argentinean writer, Abel Posse, humorously engages in his novel *Los perros del paraíso* (1983). Augusto Roa Bastos, in *Vigilia del Almirante* (1992), and Alejo Carpentier, in *El arpa y la sombra* (1979), return to the figure of Columbus to question foundational *truths* in the history of the New World.

In an attempt to understand native religions, and as a vehicle for teaching Christian faith, Humanist Christian missionaries in the New World established analogies between indigenous religions and Christianity. Even as late as the eighteenth century the association was made between Christ’s Apostle Thomas and Viracocha, the white deity of the Incas, and between Thomas and the Aztec wind god Quetzacoatl. Christian theology, fused with pre-Columbian and African myths, and infused with Erasmus’s theological treaties on human liberty, dignity, and pure spirituality (*De libero arbitrio*, 1524), created the conditions for the emergence of messianic movements of different religious and political orders. Some announced an apocalyptic second-coming of Christ colored by indigenous New World and African religions; others longed for political messiahs. Alejo Carpentier’s novel *The Kingdom of This World* (1957), and Gabriel García Márquez’s *One Hundred Years of Solitude* (*Cian años de soledad,* 1967), find in these religious prophesies a metaphor for a cosmic revolution that, like the Arawak and the Quiché Maya deity Huracán, destroys an old order of things. The already archetypal image in Latin America of the cosmic wind of destruction and creation (*Popol Vuh*), brings together in these two novels the Judeo-Christian story of the Flood, the Christian prophesies of a Judgement Day, as well as the Maya-Quiché stories in the *Popol Vuh* about the gods’ destruction of their first creation. In his monumental 1981 novel *The War of the End of the World (La guerra del fin del mundo),* Mario Vargas Llosa records the tragic destruction of one such movement in the hinterlands of Bahia, Brazil. The novel is based on Euclides da Cunha’s accounts in his 1903 Brazilian Classic *Rebellion in the Backlands (Os sertoes),* about the war the Republic of Brazil waged against Canudos and its messianic spiritual leader. Both texts are meditations on religious and political fanaticisms in Latin America.

Sixteenth-century political and religious conflicts have attracted the attention of twentieth-century Latin American writers. The writers often return to the foundational texts of this period in order to explore the conflictive religious thoughts that participate in the formation of Latin American cultures, and the imprints those thoughts left in local memories and in those cultures. Mario Vargas Llosa's novel, *El hablador* (1987) is the story of a modern Peruvian of Jewish and Christian background who becomes involved in the life of an Amazonian tribe. He eventually becomes an itinerant tribal storyteller who blends into the traditional tribal tales he narrates, Western literature and Judeo-Christian myths. The novel is a metaphor for the religious and cultural syncretism that has taken place in Latin America.

An example of the religious exchanges that have attracted writers in Latin America, especially in the second half of the twentieth century, is the apparition in Mexico of the dark-skinned Virgin of Guadalupe in 1531, to an Indian man, Juan Diego. This is the single most important religious event for modern Mexico, as she is a symbol of national identity and religious consciousness. Guadalupe served as an icon for the Mexican war of independence, for the Chicano movements in the 1970s, and for the Zapatista movement in the 1990s. What is of interest for contemporary Mexican writers is the fact that, as Jacques Lafaye points out, the Christian Virgin of Guadalupe appeared at the same site, in *Tepeyac,* where the Aztec mother goddess Tonantzin was worshipped prior to the arrival of the Spanish. Like other contemporary Latin American writers, Mexican fictional literature dwells on the significance of such syncretisms in modern Mexico. Carlos Fuentes's work places a special emphasis on the relationship between pre-Colombian religions and modern Mexico. In his novel, *La región más transparente* (1958), his novella, *Aura* (1964), and in his short story, "Chac Mool," Fuentes explores the duality of a pre-Colombian realm masked by modern Mexican culture. In *Aura*, we find a contemporary Mexican historian, and in "Chac Mool," a modern day collectionist of pre-Colombian art, both drawn into a mythical Aztec-Maya cyclical time of death and renewal. Fuentes is interested in exploring the religious ambiguities of modern Mexico in relationship to the concepts of death and sacrifice. Based on the Aztec notion that time is a living entity rejuvenated through sacrifice, Fuentes establishes a contrast between the Christian veneration of Christ's sacrifice for the salvation of humanity and the Aztec veneration of sacrificial death as a mode of collective salvation. Syncretism, as a literary trope, can be found in Mexican literature as far back as the seventeenth century when Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, a Mexican nun and a major writer of the Baroque period, made the association in her play *El divino Narciso* between Christ, the Classical figure of Narcissus—who through metamorphosis transcends his humanity—and the Aztec God of the Seeds, who is reborn after death.

The image of a self-sacrificial crucified Christ and the idea of redemption through death appear frequently in Latin American fiction as a literary trope for social inequality and political injustice. However, the Brazilian writer Clarisse Lispector offers a different metaphor for the *Christi* sacrifice remembered in the Christian rite of the Eucharist. Clarisse's 1964 novel, *The Passion according to G.H.,* represents an allegorical communion between an artist, the writer, and the very origins of life, through the self-sacrificial act of ingesting a roach. Lispector metaphorically associates the ingested insect, which represents a lower but primal form of life in contemporary urban society, with the sacred Egyptian beetle, also a symbol of life and rejuvenation. In another Brazilian Classic, *Grande Sertão: Veredas* (1958), João Guimarães Rosa explores the universal struggle between good and evil, from the syncretic gaze of Christian theology and Asian thought, while at the same time proposing that the act of writing is an alchemical search for a higher truth that can only be intimated through imagination. In *Grande Sertão: Veredas,* the hinterland of Brazil is the stage for the universal battle between good and evil. At the end of the novel, good and evil destroy each other, resulting in a state of nothingness, a *nonada* that reduces humanity's universal saga to the ritual act of memory, and to a repetitive imaginary act of recovery through fiction. Guimarães Rosas's novel also records, reconstructs, and reinvents a way of thinking in the hinterlands, characterized by the fusion of indigenous, African and Christian religions.

AFRICAN RELIGIONS IN LATIN AMERICAN FICTION. Ritual allows its participants to experience and be a part of the source of creation. In Latin American fiction, writers often turn to the representation of ritual in order to record the importance of African traditions in the development of Latin American cultures. The Cuban writer Alejo Carpentier proposes in *The Kingdom of this World,* that the unwavering faith in the African *loas* in Haitian Vodou is what gave Haitian slaves the will power and spiritual strength to defeat the French and to gain independence. Twentieth-century Caribbean and Brazilian fiction demystify the demonic image that African religions have endured since the sixteenth century, while recording the drama of African gods in an American context, colored by Christian and Classical myths.

Caribbean and Brazilian writers may refer to a given *orisha* or *loa,* with the name of a saint, a religious characteristic or a symbol without referring directly to the deity. For example, terms like *red, sun, fire* and *double ax,* may refer to the *orisha Shango,* while images of yellow, copper, cinnamon, honey and fresh waters, may refer to *Oshun.* Jorge Amado's title for his novel, *Gabriela, Clove, and Cinnamon,* alerts the reader to the association in the text between Gabriela and the *orixá Oshun.* African languages also survived in the Caribbean and in Brazil due to their ritual importance, and to the fact that ritual words that define religious concepts, like *ashe* or in Cuba *aché,* do not find exact correspondences in Western thought. The presence of these words in Latin American vernacular languages and in fiction, disrupts, but also enriches the dominance of Western traditions in Latin America by slowly inscribing in them different ways of conceiving life, humanity, and the divine.

African religious thought conceives the cosmos as a dynamic play of forces in which human beings are also players; therefore, through a ritual process of give-and-take, sacrifice, divination, and offerings, human beings can control those forces. This is also the dynamic realm of the *orixás,* which the Brazilian writer Jorge Amado represents in his novels, always in the syncretic cultural setting of Salvador, Bahia. In *Donna Flor and Her Two Husbands,* Amado constructs an invisible realm of popular African traditions and beliefs that coexist in Brazilian society with Christianity in a cultural and religious dynamic interchange. This is a process Fernando Ortiz calls *transculturation* (in Bronislaw Malinowski's introduction to Ortiz's *Cuban Counterpoint, Tobacco and Sugar,* 1940, 1995) to differentiate it from the concept of syncretism.

In Cuba, Lydia Cabrera's work carved out a sacred space in Cuban studies and literature for the religious Afro-Cuban concept of *monte,* meaning jungle, forest, mount, countryside and backyard, as the space where the dynamic forces of the cosmos are at play; where the give-and-take between human beings and natural forces takes place. In her short stories and fables, from *Cuentos negros de Cuba* in 1936 to *Ayapá. Cuentos de Jicotea* in 1971*, monte* is the creole Olympus where the drama of the Afro Cuban deities takes place, mirroring the strengths and weakness, desires, longings, faith and politics of creole society.

A unique representation of African religions and of a greater African consciousness in the Americas can be found in the 1984 novel by the Colombian writer Manuel Zapata Olivella, *Changó el gran Putas.* The novel turns to sixteenth-century Latin American history in order to reinvent America from the gaze of African thought. Here the history of America, including slavery, is the providential design of *Shango,* the ancestral Yoruba *orisha*-king of Ọ̀yọ́, lord of lightning, thunder and fire, whose American counterparts in Zapata's novel are the Aztec wind-god Quetzacoatl, and the Supreme Fire-Father Sun, Inti, of the Incas. Zapata's choice for choosing Shango as the Supreme African Patriarch, is based on the historical fact that Shango is one of the most important African deities in the New World (Bascom, *Shango in the New World,* 1972): a cultural African and African American hero and deity, whose strengths and powers are always balanced by his human-like weaknesses.

In order to place the act of writing within an African tradition from which to retell the same, but different, story of the Americas from the gaze of a triethnic writer, Zapata follows the structure of African ritual recitations and Afro-Caribbean rituals. The novel begins with the act of summoning African and Afro-Indo-American ancestors and *orishas.* As we find in Zapata's novel, in Afro-Caribbean rituals Legba, or Elegua in Cuba, lord of the crossroads, doors, roads and the Word, is the first one and the last one to speak in all rituals. From a postmodern perspective the novel questions and breaks away from the strictures of literary genres and Western epistemology, and also resists the hegemony of Western thought in Latin American literature and history. It also brings together as one Bantu and Yoruba traditions with Haitian Vodou, in which, significantly, Legba is associated with Christ, in order to propose a greater African, Afro-Indo-American consciousness conceived in Zapata's novel from the gaze of African religious thought. Zapata also collapses the conceptual and rhetorical differences between fiction and religion by claiming that he wrote this novel under the spiritual guidance of Ifá: a system of divination of African Yoruba tradition brought to the New World by African slaves that serves as a spiritual guide to those who follow it. In and through Ifá the natural divine forces speak to humans through a system of letters or figures made by the position in which cowrie shells or kola nuts thrown by the priest or *Babalawo* fall on the divining table. Each position forms an *Odu,* or road, of positive or negative outcomes. There are numerous anecdotes with each *Odu* that the *Babalawo* recites as part of the divining process. The anecdotes related to Ifá constitute a sacred oral tradition in Africa. In the Caribbean, the anecdotes of Ifá, and those of a similar divining system known as *Diloggun,* form a written corpus of religious literature (known in Cuba as *Pataki)* that records the survival of an ancestral African consciousness in America. This consciousness is what Zapata defines in his novel as *Muntu.* As in Zapata's novel, the drama of the African deities in Latin American fiction provides a record of African religious traditions, while at the same time recording and retelling the greater story of the Indo-African experience in America.

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FICTION: CHINESE FICTION AND RELIGION

This essay examines five genres or subgenres of Chinese fiction, namely the *zhiguai*, *chuanqi*, *bianwen*, vernacular short story, and vernacular novel (premodern and modern). Each genre contains works that have themes or structures with religious dimensions. Readership and religious functions of later fictional works will also be mentioned, although these aspects of early works should not be neglected.

ZHIGUAI. The birth of what is usually rendered as Chinese prose fiction (*xiaoshuo*) remains a subject of debate. In defining Chinese fiction in a strict sense, most literary historians trace its origin to the *zhiguai* (records of anomalies), fictional narratives in classical language, in the Six Dynasties period (220–589 CE). These narratives are characterized by an outlook and context rooted in the supernatural world replete with themes such as immortality, the afterlife, the causal relation between merit and punishment, magic, shamanism, and alchemical theories and procedures. In composing these tales, many authors assumed the serious mission of proving the actual existence of the supernatural. Whether or not they succeeded in convincing their readers, this intent along with the general subject matter constitutes the religious dimensions in *zhiguai* tales. Definitive examples in the genre like the *Soushen ji* (In search of the supernatural) of Gan Bao (fl. 320) all represent this tendency.

Zhiguai narratives with religious dimensions can be divided into the modes of *fangshi* magicians, Daoist, and Buddhist. Some *zhiguai* collections of the Six Dynasties, especially the early ones, were perhaps composed by *fangshi* magicians. They are reminiscences of *fangshi* magicians, diviners, and healers as well as of their erudition and expertise.

Zhiguai anthologies of mainly Buddhist and Daoist origins were apparently put together by those who maintained and practiced the religious faith shown in the works represented. The most explicit are the collections focusing on biographies of Daoist immortals (*xian*) and Buddhist miracle tales. Narratives belonging to the Daoist mode tell of ascension, meditation, and autonomy, all laying claim to the Daoist authority. They emerged predominantly out of the immortality cult and the alchemical practices common to popular Daoism.

Regarding the Buddhist mode, these Buddhist miracle tales are largely of the following three general types: (1) accounts of divine intervention and supernatural power in times of need, usually wielded by Avalokiteśvara (Guanyin); (2) illustrations of piety and sincere belief, often through descriptions of the inexorable workings of the law of karmic retribution; and (3) remarkable deeds of monks or laypeople, serving to demonstrate their high spiritual attainments.

Zhiguai tales stress communication between humans and supernatural beings. Whether it is a man's union with a female deity or a human's sojourn in the immortal territory, the stories invariably embody a state of transcendence for which Daoist practitioners yearn. One of the motifs is communication between the living and the dead. Still many *zhiguai* stories are about retributive phenomena.

CHUANQI. *Chuanqi* (transmission of the extraordinary) as a genre refers to fictional narratives in the classical language, longer than *zhiguai*, that emerged during the Tang dynasty (618–907 CE). Tang *chuanqi* tales were overwhelmed by a curiosity about traffic with the transcendent world of gods, immortals, and numinous beings or with the world beyond the grave. Compared to the Six Dynasties *zhiguai*, what distinguishes Tang *chuanqi* lies not so much in what kinds of supernatural themes are presented in a tale, as in how they are represented. With its particular narrative method and polished style, the concern of *chuanqi* is mainly on human motivations and on the exemplary side of human nature. In other words, the supernatural tends to be less arbitrary and arrogant but more benevolent and accessible in its relationship with humans. Their sympathy lies with those who have withdrawn from the official life or shown a tendency to a religious life.

While half of the *chuanqi* tales are determined by the theme of the supernatural, the other favorite subject is love, which is sometimes amalgamated with religious elements. In terms of depiction of supernatural beings, *chuanqi* brought several innovations. First, supernatural beings could become psychologically complex and sympathetic. The common topoi in *chuanqi* tales include the predestined marriage made in heaven, in which the romance with a nonhuman woman was particularly suited to the *chuanqi's* combination of the emotional with the extraordinary. In some tales black magic transforms humans into beasts, including the self-motivated transformation of Daoists and Buddhists. Some tales present the process of alchemical formation as a psychological trial of dangerous experiences. Dragon lore in Tang *chuanqi* highlights human involvement in the dragon family. Some tales are about the predestination or revelation of a person's future, likely because of the belief given by the Buddhist doctrine of karmic retribution. Some tales narrate new kinds of oddity involved in dream phenomena and put into service essentially the Daoist-Buddhist ideas concerning the illusory nature of life and the vanity of striving after worldly gain. A great number of tales provide ideal knight errantry that possesses supernatural and fantastic elements, with the Daoist propensity to having the *xia* (swordsman) hero or heroine retire from the human world after his or her mission is accomplished. And again many tales tell of communication with ghosts.

Although the *zhiguai* from the Six Dynasties and *chuanqi* from the Tang are the most well known, later collections of *zhiguai* and *chuanqi* are also numerous. Some of them, such as Hong Mai's (1123–1202) *Yijian zhi* (Records of the listener), have been used extensively by historians of Chinese religion as a source book for delineating religious beliefs and ritual practice at that time. In the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) *Liaozhai zhiyi* (Strange tales from make-do studio) by Pu Songling (1640–1715) is the most celebrated collection of supernatural tales in the entire canon in the Chinese tradition, which alone contains almost five hundred stories. It is viewed as the pinnacle of the *zhiguai* and *chuanqi* traditions. *Liaozhai zhiyi* is especially famous for the depiction of female ghosts and fox spirits.

BIANWEN. *Bianwen* (transformation texts) of the Tang dynasty and the Five Dynasties periods (907–960 CE) from the Dunhuang caves are narratives written in semicolloquial Chinese in a prosimetric style. These texts, as a type of storytelling, were performed, intending to represent a miraculous event for the purpose of enlightening the audience with Buddhist teachings. Transformation texts are believed to have been used in combination with visual images for performances in Buddhist temples or in certain ritual services. The performers of these transformations were professional entertainers, and the copyists of the extant manuscripts were mostly lay students studying a largely secular curriculum in schools run by Buddhist monasteries.

Some transformation texts with Buddhist subject matter excel in conjuring vast *maṇḍalas* of fantastic beings, divinities, or demons surrounding the central Buddha and vistas of other worlds. *Bianwen* have their roots in Buddhist literature, though the genre quickly became a secular form of entertainment, adopting Chinese historical and contemporary themes. As an example of the Buddhist influence on Chinese thought and writing, *bianwen* stimulated Chinese fiction with many new forms and themes (prosimetric form, greater extension, and relinquishment of the claim that verifiable historical facts are being recorded) and provided an immeasurable variety of stories and figures.

VERNACULAR SHORT STORIES. Chinese vernacular fiction has its origins in the professional storytelling of the Song (960–1279) and Yuan (1206–1368) periods. Scholars debate what the precise categories of storytelling are in Song records. There were at least two schools of storytelling, among four or six, related to religious phenomena: first, *xiaoshuo* or short stories that included such supernatural themes as ghosts and marvels, and second, Buddhist scriptural narration, monastic tales, and scriptural parodies. In the Yuan, professional storytelling *xiaoshuo* is divided into eight classes. Of the eight, three are primarily concerned with religious themes: spirits and demons, sorcery, and gods and immortals. All these types of the Song-Yuan storytelling continued to appear in later written stories.

With this background in mind, *huaben* should be considered next. *Huaben*, or the vernacular story, refers to a short story from the Song to the Qing dynasties that is written in the vernacular. Many *huaben* stories dealt with the lives of the middle to lower classes, focusing on down-to-earth concerns like preservation of family or lineage and the quest for worldly success. Some, however, treated Daoist and Buddhist themes, emphasizing the emptiness of mundane glory as well as the happiness of reclusion and transcendence.

The development of vernacular stories can be divided into three periods. In the early period (the Yuan and early Ming dynasties, up to 1450), the themes of these early stories include demons, ghosts, and religion. The demon stories normally tell how a young man encounters an animal spirit or a ghost in the guise of a young girl, makes love to her, discovers his danger, and calls an exorcist, usually a Daoist master, to subdue her.

One distinctive story type of the middle period (mid–Ming dynasty, 1400–1575) pertains to the Buddhist stories. They tell of priests, their deaths, and sometimes their reincarnations, combining themes involving the priesthood with that of karmic causation. The stories are concerned above all with the priest's vow of chastity and the temptations to which he is subjected, but they also possess a certain religious meaning. The stories of the middle period are either Buddhist in inspiration or reveal a down-to-earth morality that inevitably links deeds to punishments.

The stories of the late period (after 1550) were written by literati who often fused Confucian principles with popular religious ideas. Many stories in the "Three Words" (*sanyan*), three forty-piece collections of stories compiled by Feng Menglong (1574–1646), have a strong Buddhist flavor. A representative *sanyan* story has its plot building on Buddhist beliefs, its narrative furnished with Buddhist lore, and its conclusion engaging the mediation of Buddhist deities or the attainment of buddhahood.

Among storywriters of this period, Langxian's stories stress reclusion and religious beliefs. They are devoted to

Daoist themes, such as the attainment of immortality, more than any previous stories. Yet the Daoism of Langxian's works was not a rigid doctrine but one of the sentimental and artistic.

Confucian literati also described religious phenomena in their short stories. Ling Mengchu (1580–1644) in *Paian jingqi* (Slapping the table in amazement) and in *Erke paian jingqi* (Slapping the table in amazement, second collection), two collections of stories commonly known as "Two Slappings" (*erpai*), described many religious people and motifs. These stories are ultimately related to the typical example of the *Shanshu* (morality books).

VERNACULAR NOVELS. *Zhanghui xiaoshuo*, a term that is used for full-length vernacular fiction, from premodern times, is customarily translated as "vernacular novel." When *novel* is used in the premodern Chinese context, however, it does not imply a secular literary genre. Nor does it necessarily project humans in society as the novel in the Western counterpart.

Lu Xun (1881–1936), in his pioneering *Zhongguo xiaoshuo shilue* (Brief history of Chinese fiction), defines *shenmo xiaoshuo* (novels of gods and demons) as a subgenre with religious or supernatural subject matters. There are over one hundred extant novels in this category. But religious or supernatural elements are not limited to these novels. Any novel without a religious or supernatural element would be rare. The Buddhist imagery and its underlying ideology in Chinese novels are obvious. Among the most important Buddhist motifs in Chinese novels are karmic retribution, rebirth, heavens and hells, miraculous transformations and manifestations, and illusion and dream. In many novels the theme, plot, structure, mode of expression, psychological conflicts, and finale are shaped by Buddhist epistemic-soteriological models, especially by the quest for enlightenment as prescribed by the Chinese Mahāyāna tradition.

Honglou meng (Dream of the red chamber; or, The story of the stone) by Cao Xueqin (1715?–1763 or 1764) is the universally acknowledged masterpiece in the Chinese novel. The relationship between Bao-yu and his cousin, Dai-yu, can be interpreted as the narrative enactment of their karmic reciprocity, origin, and destiny. The novel shows the Buddhist complication of desire, as exemplified by Bao-yu's long journey to the Gates of Emptiness. *The Story of the Stone* deals with important Buddhist images of dreams and mirrors. It also represents the paradox of Mahāyāna Buddhism: only in the world of suffering can one find deliverance. That a full-length novel centers its plot on the protagonist's desire for liberation from his emotional sufferings and on his final determination to become a monk has few precedents. While the affirmation of the Buddhist view of reality is but one side of the novel, its success lies in the author's masterful translation of the mythic and religious into the aesthetic and realistic. *The Story of the Stone* in this light can be read as a book of enlightenment through love.

Besides *The Story of the Stone*, Dong Yue's (1620–1686) *Xiyou bu* (Supplement to journey to the west) manifests Buddhist psychology. In *Jin Ping Mei* (Plum in the golden vase) and *Xingshi yinyuan zhuan* (The bonds of matrimony; or, Marriage destines to awaken the world), the Buddhist vision based on merit-making and karmic retribution is apparent. One type of Buddhist novel is the hagiographical fictional work, such as *Qiantang hu yin Jidian Chanshi yulu* (The recorded sayings of the recluse from Qiantang Lake, the Chan master Crazy Ji; 1569).

Most Chinese novels begin with an account of the initial cosmogony. In these novels this familiar Chinese creation myth is immediately followed by an embodiment of the general patterns in specific mythical-historical processes. This pattern of cosmogony is of Daoist character. Indeed Daoism provides the Chinese novel with a soteriologic and narrative structure. In many novels the heroes (or heroines) usually have divine origins (*chushen*) in heaven or paradise, and because of their own mistakes they are banished to or reborn in the human world to experience suffering, redemption, and self-cultivation (*xiuxing*) and to accumulate merits by rescuing other sentient beings, saving the world, or subduing demons. After they accomplish their mundane missions, they return to their primordial heavenly positions or reattain immortality. All works of "fiction of gods and demons" and many other novels share this pattern of development. While *The Story of the Stone* can be read undoubtedly as a profound Buddhist allegory, the same novel can also be read as a Daoist myth in which the male and female protagonists as heavenly immortal beings are banished to the human world to repay their debts of love. After they fulfill their long-cherished wish of falling in love with each other as an experience of the vicissitudes of life, they have no other way but to return to their origins.

In *Shuihu zhuan* (Outlaws of the marsh; or, Water margin) the 108 bandits are 108 stars who are released by accident. They finally vanish in the world because of their redemption and accomplishment. The same sort of Daoist frame of previous origins is present in the Ming novel *Pingyao zhuan* (The quelling of demons), Luo Maodeng's (fl. 1597) *Sanbao taijian xiyang ji tongsu yanyi* (Journey to the western ocean), Li Baichuan's (c. 1720–after 1762) *Lüye xianzong* (Trials of immortals in the green wilds), and Li Ruzhen's (c. 1763–1830) *Jinghua yuan* (Flowers in the mirror) and is used more ironically in Wu Jingzi's (1701–1754) *Rulin waishi* (The scholars). Even for the historical novel *Sanguo yanyi* (Romance of the three kingdoms; c. 1400–1500), its antecedent *Sanguozhi pinghua* (Stories from the records of the three kingdoms; c. 1321–1323) still retains this supernatural episode. In a majority of erotic novels, toward the end the protagonists forgo their practice and attain immortality, centering on the Daoist art of love and pursuit of longevity. Of course one of the best-known Daoist novels is *Fengshen yanyi* (Investiture of the gods). Despite Buddhist influence, this novel exhibits the most explicit Daoist framework and elements by changing a historical novel into a "novel of gods and demons." The Daoists participate in the transition between the Shang and the Zhou from the beginning to the end. The war between the two Daoist sects in the novel represents a hierarchical struggle in Daoism: the official Daoism and folk Daoism. In fact the wars launched in the human world are envisioned as part of the divine cosmogonic process, that is, the "investiture of the gods."

Some novels even have the flavor of popular or sectarian religion. Pan Jingruo's *Sanjiao kaimi guizheng yanyi* (The romance of the three teachings clearing up the deluded and returning them to the true way; 1612–1620) reveals the mentality behind morality books, a lay religious movement. The moral motif of the novel was also stimulated by the Religion of the Three Teachings, a syncretic popular religious sect founded by Lin Zhao'en (1517–1598). Liu E's (1857–1909) *Laocan youji* (The travels of Laocan; 1907) intends to show the author's religious vision based on the Taigu school, an esoteric philosophy-turned-religious society with a syncretic creed, that embodied elements from Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism, and probably even Manichaeism. Episodes in the novel, especially in chapters eight to eleven, which constitute the central part of the twenty-chapter work, were modeled after the Taigu school and its main figures, including a Taigu version of worldly paradise, a religious vision and cosmology of the Taigu school, the transcendental realm of this sectarian movement with its cultivation arts, and its prophetic faith in and eschatological problems with history and Chinese culture as well as its political criticism.

The religious novel par excellence is *Xiyou ji* (Journey to the west; or, Monkey), which is attributed to Wu Cheng'en (c. 1500–1582). Religious themes and rhetoric permeate the entire work. *Journey to the West* contains many references to *yinyang* and five-phases (*wuxing*) terminology, *Yijing* (Classic of change) and alchemical lore, and various other Daoist, Buddhist, and Confucian ideas and practices. For more than three centuries the principal concern of criticism on the novel has been to decipher the allegory by separating the narrative surface into moral, religious, and philosophical meanings. While the novel can be read as a tale of travel and adventure or Confucian rectification of the mind and moral self-cultivation, it can also be read as a religious allegory. The immense appropriation of the teaching from the Three Religions (*sanjiao*) is what makes *Journey to the West* a unique text in the history of the Chinese novel. On the Buddhist side, *Journey to the West* consistently projects a distinctly Buddhist worldview. There are countless allusions to Buddhist concepts and legends structured in the narrative. Although there may be no systematic discourse of one particular Buddhist doctrine in the narrative, certain themes and figures, such as karmic laws, merit making, Buddha's mercy, and the paradoxical connection between mind and buddhahood, do receive consistent development. Viewing the text this way, *Journey to the West* can be read as a story of Buddhist *karma* and redemption or enlightenment.

The story of *Journey to the West* raises a rather perplexing phenomenon, that is, that the narrative provides astonishingly few details traceable to specific Buddhist sources, although its story is built on the historical pilgrimage undertaken by Xuanzang (596–664 CE), one of the most famous Buddhist personalities in Chinese history. It is rather noteworthy how extensively the Daoist themes and rhetoric appear in every part of the work. In the novel Daoist elements function not merely as means of providing commentary on incidents and characters in the narrative but often as an aid to disclose the true nature of the fellow pilgrims, to help characterize their essential relationships, and to evolve the narrative action itself. Moreover *Journey to the West* on the whole presents a complete process of internal alchemical cultivation, both the cultivation of nature (*xinggong*) and cultivation of life (*minggong*), including various stages in a proper sequence. Besides the Buddhist notion of salvation or enlightenment and the neo-Confucian rectification of the mind, the author now adds immortality as the distinctive goal of the pilgrimage.

Religious functions. Many authors, editors, and publishers of novels intended their works to be read as religious scriptures, and many readers accepted this claim. In this light *Journey to the West* is one of the three most important Daoist texts for adepts to study in their self-cultivation as a modern Quanzhen (Complete Perfection) Daoist asserts. Indeed many Chinese novels serve as religious texts, namely, morality books. Certain novels and morality books were printed together as two parts of the same work, making the former the exemplar and the latter the tenet. Many temples have printed and issued several novels as morality books or religious texts. There are always some messages at the end of these novels encouraging distributing these novels as merit making. Thus the readers, with their shared value and understanding of the devotional intent of the novels, constituted a religious community by disseminating and receiving these devotional novels in the same temples.

Some of these novels were not only devotional in nature but also revelatory as well. They have their origins in a context of religious revelations. At some point of their transmission, the novels may have been associated with a personage or group with techniques of revelation, such as spirit possession, shamanism, and spirit writing. In this case perhaps either the patron deities of the cults revealed the text or the mediums that the deities possessed "delivered" the text in spirit writing of planchette séances (*fuji*). The appendixes at the end of *Dongyou ji* (Journey to the east) reveal that it was obviously an output of the planchette spirit writing. New novels, such as *Dongming baoji* (A precious record of the mysteries of outlying realms), were uttered by the deities through this technique of spirit writing.

The novels that functioned as vehicles for their protagonists' cults can also affirm these cults' existence. Thus it may well be that a proselytizing purpose probably underlies at least some "novels of gods and demons." For example, *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* has had an enormous impact on secret societies, and its character Lord Guan (Guan Yu) was deified as a universal god in Chinese religion. With respect to *Journey to the West*, Monkey exerts its influence on folk religion, making the Monkey cult in southeast China and Hong Kong one of the most popular cults. Many popular deities are drawn from *Investiture of the Gods* as well. Sometimes the influence of popular novels has had imprints on the monastic attitude toward the saints or deities. And some novels themselves were even canonized by the Buddhist or Daoist institutions.

Many novels, such as *Plum in the Golden Vase,* provide vivid pictures of Daoist and Buddhist rites. More important the novel has had a closer affinity with religious ritual. The ritual appendix found at the end of *Beiyou ji* (Journey to the north) stipulates the rules of worship. The readership was thus anticipated not to read the novel passively but to actively perform rites in honor of the novel's protagonist, God Perfect Warrior. In Jiangxi province in the early twenty-first century a Daoist ritual called "Breaking the Yellow River Trap" is directly from a battle described in chapter fifty of *Investiture of the Gods*.

Martial arts novels. *Wuxia xiaoshuo* or martial arts novels as a genre of popular fiction emerged in the popular urban press of the 1920s and 1930s and was later produced in the 1950s in Hong Kong and Taiwan (also encompassing the genre's thematic predecessors in earlier literature). In the 1920s and 1930s Huanzhulouzhu (1902–1961), in *Shushan jianxia zhuan* (Swordsmen of the mountains of Shu), narrates amazing tales of flying swordsmen, monsters, and magical combat largely drawn from Buddhist, Daoist, and popular religious fantasies. The "New School" of martial arts novels since the 1950s, represented by Liang Yusheng (Chen Wentong; 1922–), Jin Yong (Zha Liangyong; 1924–), and Gu Long (Xiong Yaohua; 1936–1985), inherits religious fantasies as the central plots and structures. But these novels also explore the religious meanings and truth behind martial arts, especially in Jin Yong's novels.

Modern fiction. Foreign cultural influences are particularly noticeable in fiction by and for the intelligentsia in the wake of the vernacular literature movement and the May Fourth New Culture movement. Influenced by the Enlightenment spirit, most modern Chinese fiction writers maintained an antireligion attitude. Given the Western cultural impact, however, some writers more or less tended to borrow Christianity in their fictional works. To most of the May Fourth writers, such as Lu Xun (1881–1936), Guo Moruo (1892–1978), and Mao Dun (Shen Yanbing; 1896–1981), Christ's teachings and lifestyle epitomize a spiritual force that can guide the individual in his or her pursuit of wholeness. Thus, in the minds of these writers, the individual should not adhere to Christ through religious faith but must follow his teachings in a basically humanistic fashion. Besides, Buddhism also exerted certain influence on modern fiction. As China was devastated by civil wars, foreign encroachment, and internal corruption, authors such as Fei Ming (Feng Wenbing; 1901–1967) accepted the Buddhist philosophy and acknowledged the imperfectness of this world and the sadness of human life; others like Yu Dafu (1896–1945) were pessimistic romantics, taking refuge in the *nirvāṇa* of love. Among modern Chinese fiction writers, Xu Dishan (1893–1941) had a strong interest in religion, including Buddhism and Christianity. What distinguished Xu Dishan from his contemporaries was his concern with the basic religious experience of charity or love and endeavor, which manifests in nearly all his stories to show its pervasive presence in human lives.

The decades from the 1990s onward saw a revival of interest in folklore and awareness of religion in Chinese fiction. Jia Pingwa (1952–), in his short stories, particularly the collection *Taibai* (1991), demonstrates a return to the classical tale tradition and its fascination in mystical and numinous phenomena, including religious magic. Gao Xingjian (1940–), the 2000 Nobel literature laureate, is more outstanding in this respect in his quest for individual spiritual freedom. In his best-known epic novel *Lingshan* (Soul mountain, 1990), Gao Xingjian makes manifest his sincere pursuit of religious values. Much of *Soul Mountain* explores or imagines a Chinese tradition counter to the orthodoxy and gives a reference to Daoism, which provides a moral baseline and cultural ground. It marks not only the first Chinese winner of the Nobel Prize for literature but also the fading of scorn for religion among most modern Chinese intellectuals and their literature, including fiction.

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RICHARD G. WANG (2005)

FICTION: JAPANESE FICTION AND RELIGION

Like its Western counterpart, modern Japanese fiction is predominantly secular. Despite the ostensibly heavy Buddhist overtone in premodern Japanese literature, modern Japanese fiction reflects the rapid westernization and modernization brought on by the Meiji Restoration (1868) and betrays a deliberate break from the premodern when literature was at times used as a vehicle for conveying Buddhist thoughts and teachings. Modern Japanese fiction, in its predominantly introspective mode, can be seen as an extended quest for a god that is not there rather than a testimony of religious faith. Ichirō in Natsume Sōseki's (1867–1916) *The Wayfarer* (*Kōjin*, 1912–1913) is the prime example of the frustrated spiritual quest of a modern intellectual. In a moment of existential angst, he proclaims that the three choices open to him are "religion, suicide, and madness" and proceeds to hover in a state of mental breakdown, knowing in fact that religion as a choice was foreclosed to him. Another character who personifies the futile quest for solace in religion is Sōsuke in Sōseki's *The Gate* (*Mon*, 1910) who, in a moment of intense guilt and spiritual exhaustion, knocks in vain at the closed gate of a Buddhist temple. It is as if the modern ego is told to look somewhere else for spiritual redemption, if such an option exists at all.

To recognize the difficult and elusive relationship between religion and modern Japanese fiction from the onset is not to deny the relevance of a religious quest in writers ranging from Kitamura Tōkuku (1868–1894) to Kunikida

Doppo (1871–1908) in the Meiji era (1868–1912), from Arishima Takeo (1878–1923) to Miyazawa Kenji (1896–1933) in the Taisho era (1912–1926), and from Endo Shūsaku (1923–1996) to Sono Ayako (b. 1931) in the Shōwa (1926–1988) and Heisei (1988–) eras. In the following sections, we will examine some representative works in the different eras and explore the following aspects: the intellectual and spiritual reaction generated by the encounter between a pantheistic mode of religion (Shintoism and the legendary gods in the *Kojiki* [712]) and a monotheistic mode; the interpretation and exploitation of Buddhist imagery and shamanism; and the intersection between religion and modern Japanese fiction.

MEIJI ERA. The Japanese government lifted the ban on Christianity in 1873, and many Meiji writers absorbed the influence of Christianity in various degrees as part of the drive for "Enlightenment and Civilization" (*bunmei kaika*). Among them, Kitamura Tōkoku, Shimazaki Tōson (1872–1943), Kunikida Doppo, and Tayama Katai (1871–1930), all Christian converts in their youth, contributed significantly to the Meiji literary movements of Romanticism and Naturalism. Tōkoku was baptized by Iwamoto Yoshiharu (1863–1942), the founder and editor of *Jogaku Zasshi*, a women's magazine whose goals and contents were defined by his Christian faith and idealism. While Tōkoku kept his Christian faith throughout his short life, shifting from Presbyterianism to Quakerism, he was soon disenchanted with Iwamoto's moralistic and utilitarian view of literature and religion. In 1893, along with Tōson, Hoshino Tenchi (1862–1950, also a Christian convert), Hirata Tokuboku (1873–1943), and Togawa Shūkotsu (1870–1939), Tōkoku separated from *Jogaku Zasshi* and founded *Bungakukai,* one of the most influential literary magazines in the Meiji era. *Bungakukai* carried a terse announcement that summed up the break between literature and Christianity: "Literature is literature and religion is religion. *Bungakukai* is made up of a group of people with literary aspirations; they are not necessarily religious adherents. Furthermore, it is not limited to Christians or to Christian beliefs" (Brownstein, 1980, p. 335).

Disappointment with the external trappings of the church led Tōkoku toward a more internal form of Christianity, and his spiritual quest is evident in his essays and poetry. In "Essay on the Inner Life" (*Naibu seimei ron*, 1893), he argues that "The great difference between the cultures of the East and West is that in one there is a religion which preaches life and in the other there is not" (Mathy, 1964, p. 102). Perhaps in reaction to centuries of feudalism marked by an underevaluation of the individual and an overevaluation of society, Tōkoku celebrates love (*rabu*) in "The Pessimistic Poet and Womanhood" (*Ensei shika to josei*, 1892): "Love is the secret to life. Only after love came into being did human society exist" (quoted in Keene, 1987, p. 195). But above all else, Christianity provides Tōkoku with a language for a new poetics. He defines "inspiration" as an aspect of the Divine (*shin*), and, in Tōkoku's view, as one enters the Divine, language and self dissolve into a state of the sublime (Brownstein, 1990). Thus, Christianity provides a context and language for Tōkoku and his contemporaries to define spiritual freedom, love, and aesthetic and poetic ideals crucial to Japanese Romanticism.

Kunikida Doppo was a leading voice in Naturalism (*shizen shūgi*, 1906–1910), a literary movement marked by an intense inward search for the individual in the form of the confessional novel (*watakushi shōsetsu*). Unlike Tōson in *Spring* (*Haru*, 1908) and Tayama Katai in *The Quilt* (*Futon*, 1907), who wallow in their own sins and confessions, Doppo considers his role as a poet to be a heaven-sent mission. "I am to a be a poet of God," Doppo declared, and one of his famous poems begins: "Freedom is found in the mountains and forests./ As I recite this verse I feel my blood dance./ Ah, freedom is found in the mountains and forests behind" (1897) (quoted in Keene, p. 231). Like many of his contemporaries, Doppo experienced some ambivalence with his adopted faith, and his works betray not so much the influence of a monotheistic culture as the romantic notion that he is an instrument through which the splendor of God's creation is conveyed. He says that the aim of his work is "to describe with my pen all that my independent soul has been able to learn, observe, and feel" (1893) (quoted in Keene, p. 233).

Like Tōkoku, Doppo is under the heavy influence of the English Romantic poets, and his fiction is a testimony of the magnificence of nature. "Old Gen" (*Gen-oji*, 1897) captures a Wordsworthian stormy sea, while "Unforgettable People" (*Wasureenu hibito*, 1899) resembles a painted scroll of impressionistic scenery in which human existence is marked by its insignificance and randomness. In his later works, such as "The Bamboo Fence" (*Take no kido*, 1908), Doppo shows a great capacity to understand human suffering and despair.

In the historical context of scientific and social enlightenment and technological advancement after 350 years of feudalism and isolation, the Nietzschean modern man in Sōseki's fiction remains skeptical of religion, and the rational physician/scientist in Mori Ōgai's (1862–1922) fiction (e.g. *Kompira*, 1909) doubts yet fears the power of folk religious practices. These texts are moral inquiries into the soul of the modern individual: What becomes of him or her when the whirlwind of change brought on by modernization creates a spiritual vacuum in which old Confucian morality and feudal order are swept away while a new morality and a new faith is not in sight? What happens when the individual commits a grave sin? Unlike Dostoevsky, for whom, according to R. B. Blackmur, "a true rebirth, a great conversion, can come only after a great sin" (quoted in Irving Howe, *Politics and the Novel*, 2d ed. [New York, 1987], pp. 55–56), Sōseki knows no such religious assurances, so he would eliminate his protagonists before they commit a potential crime—for example, Takayanagi in *The Autumn Wind* (*Nowaki*, 1905)—or condemn the sinner to face the dark abyss of his guilt and choose death—for example, Sensei in *Kokoro* (1914).

Izumi Kyōka (1873–1939) explores the religious imagination from a purely aesthetic angle by tabbing into a twilight zone populated by divine beings, ghosts, and monsters in his fiction, including *The Holy Man of Mount Kōya* (*Kōya hirjiri*, 1900). If a religious imagination is marked by an ability to envision a world other than that which one inhabits, then the twilight world in Kyōka's fiction expresses that imagination most eloquently. In "The Taste of Twilight" (*Tasogare no aji*, 1900), Kyōka speaks of a "twilight" aesthetics in which day meets night and engenders a subtle dimension beyond ordinary sensations, an otherworldliness in which modern individuals come in contact with their innermost being and experiences a sense of wonder and mystery.

TAISHŌ ERA. Arishima Takeo received his early education in a mission school, attended Sapporo Agricultural College (founded by the Christian educator William Clark), lodged with Nitobe Inazō (a renowned Japanese Quaker), and became a close friend to a disciple of the samurai-Christian preacher and pacifist Uchimura Kanzō. An intensely spiritual and sincere Bible-reading Protestant Christian, Arishima eventually bent under the puritanical and austere ideals he imposed on his life, and his encounter with the poetry of Walt Whitman made him long for individual liberation and personal independence. *A Certain Woman* (*Aru onna*, 1919) is "an attack on conventional Christians" (Strong, 1978, p. 18) and an exploration of human nature in the raw. True to his Protestant upbringing, Arishima shows a moral imagination that is strictly confined to a puritanical dimension; after the rejection of Christianity, the fate that awaits his heroine is moral and physical degeneration, sin, and death: "She was not a woman any longer, only a nameless, grotesque, animal contorted with suffering" (p. 380). Like the protagonist in *The Descendants of Cain* (*Kain no matsue*, 1917), there is no atonement after the fall.

In the broad canon of Japanese fiction, perhaps Miyazawa Kenji possesses the most creative religious imagination. As Giles Gunn pointed out, if "what typifies religious man's experience of the sacred, of that which he takes to be of the essence of life, is its 'otherness,' its differentiation (though not necessarily alienation) from his own mode of being" (1975, p. 107), then Miyazawa's poetry and tales reveal a special ability to access this "otherness." A devout Buddhist of the Nichiren sect who recites the *Lotus Sūtra* daily, Miyazawa wrote tales (often featuring animals and nature and written in the guise of "children's stories") that are meditations on birth, suffering, sorrow, death, and rebirth. The mysterious "A Stem of Lilies" (*Yomata no yuri*, posthumous) is itself a Buddhist fable, while the description of dying in "The Bears of Nametoko" (*Nametoko no kuma,* posthumous) explores the dimension of "otherness" when death bodies forth in life. Embedded in Miyazawa's tales is poetry whose piercing beauty introduces an epiphanic moment of wonder and amazement, as in the following from "The First Deer Dance" (*Shishi-odori no hajimari*, 1921): "Now the sun's behind its back,/See the leafy alder tree/Like a mirror crack/And shatter in a million lights" (in *Once and Forever*, translated by John Bester, 1997, p. 54). Miyazawa's indebtedness to Christianity is also evident in the description of a transcendental world in his famous *The Night of the Milky Way Express* (*Gingatetsudō no yoru*, posthumous) and the nighthawk's transfiguration and ascension to heaven in "The Nighthawk Star" (*Yodaka no hoshi*, posthumous). Miyazawa also alludes to Japanese folklore, legends, myths, and ethnographical studies to create a cosmology distinguished by its structural beauty and integrity as a profound alternative reality.

SHŌWA AND HEISEI ERAS. The atrocity and calamity of the Fifteen Years' War (1931–1945), ending in the nuclear destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, stirred up feelings of guilt, incomprehension, and pain, compelling a whole generation of writers to embark on soul-searching literary journeys to understand what Ibuse Masuji, in "The Crazy Iris" (*Kakitsubata*, 1951), called a "crazy age." The list of Christian writers is substantial, ranging from the famous and prolific Endo Shūsaku, Ariyoshi Sawako (1931–1984), Inoue Hisashi (b. 1934), Miura Ayako (b. 1922), and Sono Ayako, to the serious and contemplative Shimao Toshio (1917–1986) and Shiina Rinzō (1911–1973) (Gessel, 1982, pp. 437–457). Some writers handle religious themes and issues directly in their works, while some refer to Christianity only at an oblique angle. Some texts are hopeful and optimistic (Shiina) while others have a darker shade of sin and guilt (Shimao). Endo Shūsaku is most forthright about his identity as a Catholic author and consistently thematizes Japanese church history in his fiction, earning himself the appellation of the "Graham Greene of the East." Francis Mathy points out that Endo contrasts a pantheistic Japanese world that is "insensitive to God, sin and even to death" to the monotheistic Christian world of the West that affirms the judgment and salvation of a supreme being. In some texts, Christianity is swallowed up or transformed in the metaphorical swamp that is Japan—for example, *Yellow Man* (*Kiiroi hito*, 1955), *Silence* (*Chinmoku*, 1966)—while in others, such as *Wonderful Fool* (*Obakasan*, 1959), Christ-like characters appear to lift others out of the non-Christian mud swamp (Mathy, 1992). Endo's description of Christ in *A Life of Jesus* (*Iesu no shōgai,* 1973) is a sad figure to whom "a yellow man" can relate to, much like the earthy figure of the Virgin Mary in "Fumie," whom illiterate Japanese peasants worship. Despite his tremendous output as a writer on religious themes, many of Endo's works use church history as a pretext for telling exotic tales with the suggestion of a distorted form of Orientalism and are wanting in theological or spiritual depth.

Among Catholic writers in the Shōwa era, Sono Ayako is noteworthy for the spiritual strength, humanity, and sincerity in her work. Sono received seventeen years of Catholic education at the Sacred Heart Girls School and College, and the strength of her faith is revealed in her boldness in creating intelligent, humane, yet fundamentally questioning characters who challenge the certitude of a divine order. In doing so, she posits a world of incertitude in which believers and nonbelievers alike have to struggle to make sense of suffering and death that often elude understanding. In *Watcher from the Shore* (*Kami no yogoreta te*, 1979–1980), Dr. Nobeji, a gynecologist whose work in artificial insemination, delivery, and abortion forces him to confront life-or-death decisions daily, finds himself struggling to understand the will of God. Without providing comforting answers to moral issues raised in the novel but adhering to a sympathetic treatment of the protagonist's incertitude, Sono forces the reader to reflect upon faith and moral judgment in an imperfect world. Sono's tremendous output in fiction and essays is a continuous quest of the place of humanity in the larger scheme of God.

Among modern Japanese writers, Mishima Yukio (1925–1970) uses various religious thoughts and iconography most lavishly in his stories. Yet the frequent evocation of religion is for the most part a pretext to summon a remote and exotic other world that provides an alien and fantastical setting for the fermentation of his aesthetic theories. The biblical iconography of the Madonna, Sodom and St. Sebastian in *The Confessions of a Mask* (*Kamen no kokuhaku*, 1949) sets up a triadic tension among the purity of spirit, the corruption of flesh, and martyrdom as the ultimate vision of beauty in Mishima's aesthetic world. The references to sacred space in *The Temple of the Golden Pavilion* (*Kinkakuji*, 1956) and the three holy shrines of Kumano in "Acts of Worship" (*Mikumano mode*, 1965) are instances in which famous Buddhist and Shintō sites are borrowed as convenient locales for the protagonists to confront their hopeless search for an ever elusive beauty and the all too nagging presence of their selfishness, desires, and physical ugliness or deterioration. The Buddhist idea of reincarnation, so prominent a plot mechanism in his tetralogy *The Sea of Fertility* (*Hōyū no umi*, 1965–1970), is no more than a device for him to indulge in the longing of eternal youth and a beautiful death, a destiny privileged to his chosen casts of iconic references, ranging from the sailor in *The Sailor who Fell from Grace with the Sea* (*Gogo no eikō*, 1963) to Joan of Arc and St. Sebastian in *The Confessions of a Mask*, and Kiyoaki and his reincarnated selves in *The Sea of Fertility.* To his credit, Mishima's references to Christian, Buddhist, and Shintō thoughts and iconography are articulate and serve as points of interest to the student of religious practices and tradition, most impressive of which being the reference to the five signs of angelic decay in his last novel *The Decay of the Angel* (*Tennin gosui*, 1970). Yet the final negation in his last novel of the tenet of suffering and rebirth in Buddhist thought—ideas that underlie the construction of the tetralogy—testifies the nihilistic view of a man who is tired of exploiting popular religious beliefs as an excuse for horror and extravagance, and has left not a trace of serious engagement in a dialogue of literature and religion.

Non-Christian Japanese writers also explore religious imagery for various purposes in their texts. Abe Kōbō's (1924–1993) vision of an apocalypse and a surviving ark of humanity in *The Ark Sakura* (*Hakobune no sakura*, 1984) transforms his fiction into a continuous quest of existential meaning in a world without God. Enchi Fumiko (1905–1986) explores the world of shamanism and spiritual possession in a number of her novels, including *Masks* (*Onnamen*, 1958) and *A Tale of False Fortunes* (*Namamiko monogatari*, 1965), a theme that ostensibly links her fiction to the phantoms and rituals of the Heian past. However, Enchi's spiritual world is not meant to be a space for philosophical or religious contemplation but a device that effectively ties her to the legacy of the literary past and an excuse to explore the psychology of her female characters. Nakagami Kenji (1946–1992) wades even deeper into the spiritual realm in such novels as *The Immortal* (*Fushi*, 1984) and *Gravity's Capital* (*Jûryoku no miyako*, 1981) by setting his fiction in the sacred spaces of Kumano and linking his texts, linguistically and temporally, to the world of the mythical gods in *Kojiki.* Yet Nakagami uses the spiritual realm fundamentally to create a postmodern space of multiple realities in order to address political and social problems of the discrimination of the *burakumin.* In that sense, religious imagery is a convenient pretext for Abe, Enchi, and Nakagami to examine existential, feminist, and political issues, while their writings remain fundamentally secular.

In the contemporary literary scene, when the novel has to compete with other forms of more readily consumable media stimulation, a few writers continue to grapple with religious and spiritual issues. Kaga Otohiko (b. 1929), a medical doctor who practiced psychiatry and taught psychology, wrote novels and essays about World War II, including *Riding the East Wind: A Novel of War and Peace* (*Ikari no nai fune*, 1982), and death row inmates (*Love and Light on the Brink of Death; Letters from Death Row* [*Shi no fuchi no ai to hikari*, 1992]) as a means to understand humanity and come to terms with his faith. Suga Atsuko (1929–1998) wrote stories and essays that capture the lives of Catholic saints with great persuasion. A simple metaphor in "The Life of St. Katalina" (*Shiena no seijo: sei Katalina den*, 1957) helps to illuminate the connection between Japanese fiction and religion: "Prepare a secret little chamber in your soul, and enter the chamber when it is ready. Find yourself, and find God" (*Suga Atsuko zenshū,* 8: 187). If the quest for divine understanding can be undertaken by way of a quest for the self, then the majority of Japanese fiction, itself a continuous process of introspection and reflection, is very close to a spiritual and religious quest, despite its predominant secular nature.

Religion intersects with modern Japanese fiction in various ways and serves, on the one hand, as a channel for a new poetics, a romantic quest for individual liberation, and moral inquiries, and on the other hand, as a pretext for generating exotic modern tales. There is no master narrative that governs the relationship between religion and modern Japanese fiction, but perhaps the following scene of mass cremation in Ibuse Masuji's *Black Rain* (*Kuroi ame*, 1966), a novel about the aftermath of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, expresses most eloquently the place of religion in modern

Japanese fiction. As the protagonist Shigematsu wanders among the mounds of dead bodies, the only expression that comes to him, an atheist who survived the atomic bomb and finds himself acting as a surrogate priest to offer prayers for the dead, are words from the Buddhist "Sermon on Mortality": "Sooner or later, on this day or the morrow, to me or to my neighbor. . . . So shall the rosy cheeks or morning yield to the skull of eventide. One breath from the wind of change, and the bright eyes shall be closed" (*Black Rain*, 1988, p. 277). Religion intersects with modern Japanese fiction most intimately in addressing the spiritual need to understand the mystery and inscrutability of life and death, and a larger force that exists beyond humanity.

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ANGELA YIU (2005)

FICTION: SOUTHEAST ASIAN FICTION AND RELIGION

The term *Southeast Asia* was coined during World War II to refer to the part of the continent of Asia that lies south of China and east of India. The region can be divided into two sections.

There are the "mainland" states: Myanmar (Burma), Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam. The distinct cultures of these states remain strongly influenced by Theravāda Buddhism and elements of South Asian religious traditions. In addition, Vietnam has been strongly influenced by Chinese culture, including Taoism, Confucianism, and Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Below the latitude of approximately seven degrees north of the equator as marked on the Malay Peninsula are the "island" states of Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei, and the Philippines. Although the cultures of these states also accepted the influence of Hinduism and Buddhism, from the thirteenth century CE onward they were strongly influenced by the spread of Islam. The northern part of the Philippines was converted to Catholicism after 1535.

TRADITIONAL RELIGIOUS NARRATIVES. The traditional narrative literature of both parts of the region can be divided into two levels. There is the mass of folk literature, which varies from one country to another, and often extensively within each country as well. Being oral literature, this is not available to historical inspection. There is also the written literature produced in the various courts and religious centers; records of some of this, but only a small amount, has survived. From the religious perspective, this written literature dealt in different ways with the stories of the past lives of the Buddha, known as the *jataka* tales, and with the two Indian epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata.*

Cambodia was the site of the earliest kingdom in Southeast Asia, called Funan (first century CE). As the area developed with a variety of religious influences through the Angkor period, it came to incorporate areas that are now known as Laos, Thailand, and parts of Burma and Vietnam. Around the ninth century the Burmans settled in the area known today as Myanmar, where they came into contact with earlier settlers, the Pyu, whose ancient cities attest to the influence of Hinduism and Buddhism. By the mid-eleventh century the pagan dynasty was founded, ushering in a golden age of art and the popularization of Theravāda Buddhism, a trend also occurring in Angkor, whose glory would finally be eclipsed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by the Thai kingdom of Ayutthaya, itself destroyed by the Burmese in 1767.

In Myanmar palm leaf manuscripts were used for religious, grammatical, literary, historical, legal, and other major texts. The earliest surviving examples of prose, which date from the twelfth century, took the form of folding paper books that included illustrated scenes from the life of the Buddha and the *jataka* stories. Some similar manuscripts were probably also used in Cambodia, Thailand, and Laos. In Myanmar 8 of the 10 greater *jataka*, and all 537 minor *jataka*, were translated by two monks during the second half of the eighteenth century.

The first recorded prose text in Thailand is the aristocratic Phya Lithai's *Trai Phum* (Sermon on the Three Worlds; 1345). The sermon contains many illustrative stories on Buddhist cosmology; its teachings also served to legitimate the role of the Buddhist king *(cakkavatti).* Although there are no remaining *jataka* tales to be found in island Southeast Asia, the stories are included on the wall sculptures of the great eighth-century central Javanese shrine, the Borobodur, and were presumably common at that time.

Both mainland and island Southeast Asian countries developed their own versions of the two epics. The *Rāmāyaṇa* has its parallels in the Cambodian *Ramakerti*, the Lao *Phra Lak Phra Lam*, and the Thai *Ramakian.* These are not translations but are distinctive retellings of the story that vary in significant ways from the Indian original. For example, Thailand's *Ramakian* includes a remarkable infusion of Buddhist elements.

In Java the earliest surviving narrative poem is the *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa*, which is considered by later generations to be the first and finest classical Javanese narrative poem. It was probably written during the second half of the ninth century. The whole of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* was rendered into Old Javanese *parwa* (prose texts), beginning a century later (i.e., after 1000 CE). These texts were later transferred to Bali and preserved there, following the fall of Majapahit, the major inland Javanese kingdom, after 1350.

The stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* were not only read; they were also appreciated by cultivated audiences in the forms of religious architecture, as well as in dance and shadow-puppet theater (*wayang*). Scholars have divided the repertory of the puppet theater into four cycles: (1) those with animistic themes, (2) stories of Arjuna taken from the *Rāmāyaṇa,* (3) stories based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and (4) the majority, stories from the *Mahābhārata.*

The earliest prose fiction from Vietnam, *Linh-nam trich quai*, is a collection of fables written in Chinese and dating from the fifteenth century. The collection reveals a mixture of animistic beliefs and Chinese influence and includes the Daoist theme of mortals forming relationships with immortals. There are also records of storytelling in the vernacular for entertainment at palace gatherings during the Tran dynasty (1225–1400). This Chinese style of literature at the court and in the government bureaucracy was ultimately transformed by an indigenous rich narrative to produce a uniquely Vietnamese style of fiction by the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when prose began to acquire more importance as a literary medium.

TRADITIONAL ISLAMIC NARRATIVE LITERATURE. Unlike Java and Bali, all surviving texts in Malay are written in an adaptation of the Arabic script and therefore date from after the coming of Islam to the peninsula. There are still many surviving manuscripts based on the stories from the two Indian epics, but they have all been modified to give them a superficial Muslim flavor. For example, the *Hikayat Seri Rama* (The Story of Seri Rama), last copied before 1590, begins with references to Allah and Adam, the first prophet.

There are five types of Muslim narratives in traditional Malay literature. Some deal with the life of the Prophet Muhammad, from his archetypal existence (*Hikayat Nur Muhammad),* to his life and miracles (*Hikayat Isra'* and *Mikraj*), and to his death (*Hikayat Nabi Wafat*). Also included in this first category are works that deal with members of the prophet's own family (e.g., the *Hikayat Nabi Mengajar Anaknya Fatimah*, describing the Prophet's instructions on the duties of women, as given to his daughter Fāṭimah). There are further chronicles about the other great prophets of Allāh, such as Joseph, Moses, Solomon, and Zachariah. (A major anthology of these stories is the *Qisas al-Anbiya.*) The stories of the "Companions" of the Prophet Muḥammad include not only his close disciples (*Hikayat Abu Bakar* and *Hikayat al-Mu'minin Umar*), but also his son-in-law, ʿAlī, and ʿAlī's two sons who were later martyred, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (e.g., *Hikayat Ali Kahwin*, on the marriage of Ali). This is a strong indication of the importance of Shiite influences in early Malayan Islam. Works in the next category, chronicles of the great warriors of Islam, present some of the great commanders during the time of Muḥammad (*Hikayat Muḥammad Hanifiyah*), but also include Alexander the Great (*Hikayat Iskandar Dzulkarnain*) and the Yemeni warrior Saif al-Lizan (*Hikayat Saif al-Lizan*). The devout men and women whose lives are described are variously ascetics and mystics, kings and judges. The *Hikayat Ibrahim ibn Adham* tells of a king who renounces his throne to devote himself to a life of prayer; the *Hikayat Raja Jumjumah* tells of an evil king who was restored to life by the Prophet Jesus and thereafter committed himself to constant contemplation.

It is important to note that although all these narratives—Hindu, Buddhist, and Muslim—may, from one perspective, be considered imaginative works, they are definitely not considered as "fictional" (in the sense of "untrue") by those who do, or did, believe in the sacred stories they tell.

THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN GENRES. Modern narrative fiction proposes an imagined personal description by a named author of contemporary society and the complexities of psychological description. Such writing was a product of Western influence, which began in the late sixteenth century but made its real impact following the nineteenth century. The consequent vast changes in social and economic structures, and the attendant human problems and situations, were represented to readers through the spread of printing and mass literacy. Such writing often combined with other preexisting factors, including religious literary influences and oral folktale traditions. While much "modern" writing has a secular emphasis, religious themes are also still to be seen in literary works produced throughout the region. Some writings are critical of traditional practices. Others occasionally still use major characters from both of the traditional Indian epics as a device to indirectly criticize political corruption, social inequity, or the loss of traditional values.

THE MAINLAND BUDDHIST STATES. In Burma the first presses were established during the 1800s by Christian missionaries who pioneered a translation and printing of the Bible. British colonial rule began in 1862 and with it the gradual development of modern Burmese prose fiction influenced by British literature. Religious themes, sometimes critical of Buddhism, occur in Myanmar's modern fiction. Thein Pe Myint's novel *Tet Hpon-gyi* (Modern Monk; 1937) criticized corruption in the Buddhist Sangha, causing a great uproar among the monks. Zaw-gyi's memorable short story "Thu maya" (His Spouse, 1960) involves a husband who decides to enter monkhood in order to avoid family responsibilities. Ne Win Myint's short story "Thadun" (1995) is a political satire based on one of the crucial events in the Buddha's growth toward Enlightenment. Despite considerable state censorship, Myanmar has a vibrant contemporary literary culture.

Modern fiction appeared in Thailand from the 1880s, written largely by young male aristocrats who had studied abroad. One of the first published short stories was Krom Luang Phichit Prichakon's popular and controversial "Sanuk nuk" (Fun Thinking; 1885). Set in a famous Bangkok temple, the story describes an imaginary conversation between four young Buddhist monks about their futures and the pragmatic advantages and disadvantages of remaining a monk. Further episodes were banned. With a growing educated middle class, women also became interested in the art of prose fiction. From the 1930s socially concerned fiction with its ethnographic quality became part of the literary landscape that included Thai Buddhist culture. Khammaan Khonkhai's popular 1978 ethnographic novel *The Teachers of Mad Dog Swamp* reveals the village cycle of Buddhist rituals as a backdrop to the struggles of the protagonist Piya. Having received his university education in Bangkok while living in a *wat* (temple or monastery), Piya returns to the countryside as a young idealistic teacher. He is spurred into action against the politicians and business elite who are illegally logging the area and have lost their sense of Buddhist morality. Writers of the American era (1965–1973), like Si Dao Ruang (Wanna Thappananon) in "Mother of Waters, Thaokae Bak, and a Dog" (1977) and Sujit Wongthet in "Second Nature" (1967), criticize the commercialization of Buddhist festivals. Si Dao Ruang has a cycle of stories including "Sita Puts Out the Fire" (1984), which relocates characters from the *Rāmāyaṇa* within the modern urban setting of Bangkok.

Laos and Cambodia lag behind the other countries of Southeast Asia in the development of prose fiction. Both countries were colonized in the mid-1800s by the French, who delayed the introduction of printing presses and public education until the early 1900s. In Cambodia traditionalist monks resisted the printing of Khmer script since hand-copied manuscripts were considered sacred. Their objections were overcome by Venerables Chuon Nath (1883–1969) and Huot Tath (1891–1975), who enabled the printing of a variety of Khmer texts. In fact, most of the early fiction writers were educated monks. The journal *Kambuja Suriya* (1926) of the Buddhist Institute, established by the French, was the first to publish modern novels in serialized form.

Early prose writers, such as Rim Kin in *Sophat* (1938) and Nou Kan in *Tun Jhin* (1947), were naturally influenced by Cambodian religion. The cultural milieu for their fiction includes magic, ghosts, sages, Hindu deities, Buddhist monks, and pagoda schools. In her novella *Gu san mitt min drust mitt* (1947), Sou Seth, the first woman writer of modern prose, develops a complex love story in which the male protagonist renounces secular life to become a monk. Nhok Them in *Kulap pailin* (1943) and Kim Hak in *Dik Danle Sap* (1941) make use of the Buddhist themes of impermanence, karma, and self-determination. In *Dik Danle Sap* a corrupt former monk is finally discredited when his moneymaking meditation scam is discovered. Because of the lingering impact of the Pol Pot era (1975–1979) in Cambodia and government control over literature in Laos, both countries are still struggling to establish strong modern literary traditions.

Vietnam. The development of the modern novel and short story in Vietnam began in 1862 with French colonial control. The influence of the Chinese-language based literati slowly waned as the French modernized the Vietnamese language by employing a romanized script, *quoc-ngu*, originally developed by the French Jesuit Alexandre de Rhodes (1591–1660) in 1651. *Quoc-ngu* was popularized by Vietnamese Roman Catholic writers at the end of the eighteenth century. The most famous of these, Paulus Cua (1834–1907), is credited with developing modern Vietnamese prose. Some of the first publications of prose were collections of tales: *Truyen giai buon* (Stories to Dispel Sadness; 1880) and *Truyen giai buon cuon sau* (More Stories to Dispel Sadness; 1885). The popularity of tales continued throughout the modern period, for example, Nguyen Dong Chi's *Kho tang truyen co tich Viet-nam* (Treasury of Ancient Vietnamese Stories; 1958). Many of these tales show Chinese and Buddhist influence. *Su-tich 18 ong la-han* (Story of the Eighteen Arahats), for example, tells of eighteen thieves who renounce their profession, commit suicide, and become arahats (enlightened monks). Other stories relay the deeds of various bodhisattvas including Kuan-yin or are reminiscent of stories in the *Dhammapada.*

With modernization, the spread of education, and a growing middle class, both male and female writers experimenting with prose fiction emerged from all social levels. From the early 1900s until 1975 writers split over the aesthetics of literature as art for society's sake or art for art's sake. After 1975 social realism became the officially stipulated style for literature until the *Doi Moi* (renovation) policy implemented in 1986, which allowed for greater freedom of expression.

The most internationally well-known Buddhist fiction writer and poet of this modern period is Thich Nhat Hanh, a Thien Buddhist monk who was exiled from Vietnam in 1966, having been banned from participating in antiviolence protests. *The Stone Boy and Other Stories* (1996) is a collection of his short fiction that incorporates tales of monks, bodhisattvas, compassion, and loving kindness in the Vietnamese Buddhist tradition. Among the many *Doi Moi* era writers, two should be mentioned. Nguyen Huy Tiep, a master of the psychological tale, is considered by some to be a postmodernist writer because of his narrative approach to storytelling. In *The General Retires and Other Stories* (1992) and his other fiction themes include decadent Confucianism and Buddhism in a society that seems to have lost its moral compass. Duong Thu Huong lyrically explores the spiritual malaise of failed political ideology in many of her novels, including *Novel without a Name* (1995).

Malaysia and Indonesia. Despite sharing a common language, Indonesian/Malay, and a common religion, Islam, the island regions between the British and the Dutch were divided during the early nineteenth century, leading to the development of two distinctly different modern literary traditions. Both of these owe their origins to the rise of popular printing presses. In Malaya and Singapore the presses had strong connections to the Middle East and frequently published translations of Arabic stories. In an increasingly plural society (Malay, Chinese, and Indian) being a Muslim was seen as part of the definition of being a Malay. In the Dutch East Indies the presses belonged to Chinese and Eurasian settlers; after 1908 the colonial government also established its own publishing house, Balai Pustaka, to promote a modernizing and secular literacy. Islam has, therefore, played a more obvious role in Indonesian literature than in Malay.

Hikayat Faridah Hanum (1925), by Syed Sheikh bin Ahmad Al-Hadi (1867–1934), is often considered the first modern Malay novel, even though it is entirely set in the Middle East. A love story, the novel promotes female emancipation and Islamic reformism in general and criticizes more traditional Muslim figures wherever possible. Following the consolidation of prose in the 1950s, Malay literature was caught up into the Islamic revival movement of the 1970s and a serious prolonged debate about the nature of a "Muslim literature" followed. The main spokesman was Shahnon Ahmad. Shahnon highlighted the natural place of Islam at the heart of rural Malay life and the importance of its morality in maintaining a moral society.

For a long time Islam seemed marginal to modern Indonesian fiction. One exception was the pre–World War II author Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah. His first novel *Di bawah lindungan Ka'abah* (Beneath the Protection of the Ka'abah; 1938) tells of a young man forbidden to marry his true love because of local custom, who flees to Mecca and finds refuge there and eventually death. The later novel *Tuan Direktur* (The Director; 1939) contrasts the material values of the businessman with the simple piety of the villager Pak Yasin. After the war *Atheis* (The Atheist; 1949), by Achdiat Karta Mihardja, explores the spiritual struggles of a young West Javanese man, raised in a repressive and superstitious Islam, that arise when he is confronted with the secularism, rationalism, and self-centered life styles of the capital, Jakarta. The debate about a Muslim literature began in Indonesia only in the mid-1980s and had a much greater influence on poetry than on prose. With the continuing increasing importance of Islam in Indonesian public life, however, a new genre has arisen since 1998: Islamic youth literature. These stories focus on the daily lives of young Muslims and are written in an unselfconscious contemporary Indonesian. A major author in this field is Helvy Tiana Rose. In *Segenggam Gumam*, a collection of her essays published in 2003, she argues that an Islamic literature should be written by a pious Muslim, that it should be informed by a serious knowledge of the teachings of the faith, and that it should encourage readers to dedicate themselves to God and the Muslim community.

Philippines. Before Spanish influence, prose narratives in the Philippines consisted largely of origin myths, hero tales, fables, and legends. The native syllabary, possibly influenced by an Indic script, was replaced by the Roman alphabet introduced by the Spaniards in 1565. As the number of Christianized Filipinos grew, old manuscripts on perishable material were left to disintegrate or were destroyed by missionaries "who believed the indigenous pagan culture was the handicraft of the devil himself" (Lumbera and Lumbera, 1982, p. 3). Resistance to the colonizers or isolation from them allowed for some survival of indigenous literary forms during a period when Christianity spread rapidly under the influence of the Spanish friars.

Filipino literature during the 333 years of Spanish rule was "predominantly religious and moral in character and tone" (San Juan, 1974, p. 4). Ladino writers began to compose in mixed Tagalog and Spanish. The power of the Catholic Church grew to such an extent that all literature had to be approved for publication. In 1856 the Permanent Commission of Censors was established, which included four religious members out of a total of nine.

During the late 1800s the *Ilustrados* of the Propaganda movement emerged in response to this repression. One of them, the great novelist José Rizal (1861–1896), whose literary brilliance would continue to inspire writers throughout the modern period, exposed the sexual misdeeds and the political intrigues of the powerful Catholic friars in his *Noli Me Tangere* (1887) and its sequel *El Filibusterismo* (1891). Realizing that their campaign for reform was failing, these reformist writers shifted from Spanish to Tagalog in the hope of reaching a wider audience. Their nationalistic attempts, which did establish the beginning of a self-conscious Filipino literature, would be further frustrated by the American colonization of the area from 1898 to 1945, an age when the short-story genre would fully develop and women would also become accomplished writers.

The cultural landscape of Catholic influence, with its resonant church bells and solemn rituals, forms part of the aesthetic setting for many romantic or socially critical stories and novels during the modern and contemporary periods, from Paz Marquez Benitez's (1894–1983) "Dead Stars" (1925) to Cristina Pantoja Hidalgo's (1944–) "The Painting" (1993). The appetites of the friars who abetted Spanish colonial oppression are a theme taken up by the next generation of socially critical authors now writing in Tagalog. These include Gabriel Beato Francisco (1850–1935), in his trilogy *Fulgencia Galbillo* (1907), *Capitan Bensio* (1907), and *Alfaro* (1909), and Iñigo Ed. Regalado (1888–1976), with his anticlerical and anticolonial discourse in *Madaling-Araw* (1909). In contrast, Faustino Aguilar (1882–1955) focuses on the subjective blindness of Filipino religious belief in his novel *Pinaglahuan* (1907). The popular novelist Lazaro M. Francisco (1898–1980) in his last two novels, *Maganda Pa Ang Daigdig* (1956) and its sequel *Daluyong* (1962), portrays a progressive priest whose humanity illustrates the positive role religion can play in society. The theme of "priest as social reformist" is also expressed in Paulino Lim's political novel *Requiem for a Rebel Priest* (1996).

SEE ALSO Burmese Religion; Lao Religion; Mahābhārata; Rāmāyaṇa; Southeast Asian Religions, article on Mainland Cultures; Thai Religion; Vietnamese Religion.

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FICTION: AUSTRALIAN FICTION AND RELIGION

Evidence of indigenous habitation of Australia dates back some forty or fifty thousand years before European settlement. As Mudrooroo (previously Colin Johnson, b. 1939) noted in *The Indigenous Literature of Australia*, Aboriginal oral literature contains accounts of the wanderings of the creative ancestors who shaped the land and people, but the most sacred aspects of these stories were reserved for initiates. As the white Australian governments of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries discouraged Aboriginal communities from following their cultural and religious practices, many sacred secret stories were lost. Other, more public, stories often suffered in translation from Aboriginal languages, their mythological dimensions reduced to the status of fairy tales or simplistic creation stories for children.

INDIGENOUS FICTION AND RELIGION. Aboriginal people were introduced to the Roman alphabet by the British following their landing at Sydney Cove in 1788. Christian missionaries were zealous educators, and their influence has been seen in the "strong current of Christianity" that runs through Aboriginal writing (Mudrooroo, 1997, p. 10). The first acknowledged Aboriginal writer, David Unaipon (1873–

1967), was raised on a Christian mission and wove biblical values and classical allusions into traditional Ngarrindjeri stories in his booklet *Native Legends* (c. 1929). European Australians, including Ronald and Catherine Berndt and T. G. H. Strehlow, compiled major collections of oral Aboriginal literature.

White children were introduced to indigenous characters and mythology by white writers, most notably novelist Patricia Wrightson (b. 1921) in *The Rocks of Honey* (1960) and the Wirrun Trilogy (1977–1981). Although Wrightson tried to dispel the white blindness that denied Aboriginals their human dignity, and although she was scrupulous in her research, indicating where she had invented material, this aspect of her work has since polarized opinion: did it hasten white appreciation of Aboriginal spirituality, or did it obscure the nature of that spirituality?

In 1964, against a background of increasing demands for justice and Aboriginal land rights, Kath Walker (later Oodgeroo Noonuccal, 1920–1993) published a book of poetry, *We Are Going*, now credited as the beginning of a new phase of Aboriginal writing, one which spoke directly to white Australians. Much contemporary Aboriginal writing is concerned with retrieving and reclaiming the past and with establishing individual and communal identity, as demonstrated by the popularity of the autobiographical and biographical forms. The first indigenous novel to be published, *Karobran* (1978) by Monica Clare (1924–1973), was based on the author's experiences growing up in welfare institutions and white foster homes.

The disintegration of Aboriginal community life because of (and despite) white intervention, the physical and emotional illnesses caused by disregard of sacred rituals, the saving power of the old ways, and the critical importance of the land to the health of the community and the individual are all played out in Kim Scott's novel, *True Country* (1993). In his story of Billy, a part-Aboriginal schoolteacher who is posted to a remote settlement in the far north of Australia, Scott (b. 1957) casts an unflinching eye over the corrupt behavior of both whites and Aborigines who ignore the presence of the sacred and refuse to honor their obligations. There is a suggestion that, for Aboriginals and whites alike, Christianity might survive if the concept of God were to change, if God were to be thought of "as a great spirit, a creator spirit, an artist. A creative force behind the world, living in the world, and giving ceremony and the land." "Maybe," Scott's sympathetic white Catholic priest says, "they, we, will end up with a new God here, some sort of major spirit from the Dreaming or whatever, who named everything and us—or should I say the Aborigines?—and created this special relationship. People, creation, the land" (Scott, 1993, p. 221). Billy's own moment of understanding, his acceptance into the Aboriginal spirit community and the true country, comes as he nearly drowns, swallowed by the snakelike river, the Rainbow Serpent, the Aboriginal figure of divinity. In this spiritual rebirth the abiding presence of the law, the unity of nature and spirit, and the possibility of hope are affirmed.

POSTSETTLEMENT RELIGION AND FICTION. Since the arrival of the Europeans, Christianity has been the dominant religious influence in Australia, although the number of Australians claiming to be Christian declined throughout the twentieth century. In the 2001 census 68 percent of the population claimed Christian affiliation, but church surveys suggest that only around 20 percent of these people attend religious services. The fastest-growing religions in Australia between 1996 and 2001, according to the census, were Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam, but they accounted for only 3.9 percent of the population. Much of their growth has been the result of immigration from Southeast Asia and the Middle East.

The Australian attitude to Christianity is ambivalent, stemming from the origins of the colony as a penal settlement where the church was expected to enforce good order among the inhabitants. The brutality of the penal system was graphically illustrated in the novel *For the Term of His Natural Life* (1874) by Marcus Clarke (1846–1881). Early writers such as Clarke, Joseph Furphy (1843–1912) and Henry Lawson (1869–1922) had no sympathy for institutionalized Christianity in their fiction, praising instead Christlike behavior among the convicts, settlers, and bushmen who were battling to survive. The concept of mutual support among men became enshrined as a quasi-religious nationalist creed known as mateship, which has been cited as evidence of widespread Australian adherence to Christ's teaching of love for one's neighbor. Attempts by some theologians in the late 1970s and the mid-1980s to use mateship as the foundation of a specifically Australian Christianity failed, however, because the concept is fundamentally secular and is vulnerable to misuse by sexist, racist, and anti-intellectual interests.

Historically, the Christian churches did little to win the minds of Australians. In 1977 Richard Campbell complained of the lack of "a substantial and continuous intellectual tradition" in Australian religion, noting the absence of great theological colleges, the reliance on imported theologians, and the emphasis on vocational training, rather than "intellectual critique of the church's language about God" (p. 179). In the late 1970s, theologians, tired of making do with a derivative European religion, turned to literature and the arts to find ways to address God in the vernacular. Two of the pioneering commentators, Dorothy Green (1915–1991) and Veronica Brady (b. 1929), were practicing literary critics.

Although a body of novels addresses the experience of growing up within a restrictive religious tradition—Catholic, Greek Orthodox, fundamentalist, Jewish—these works have been overlooked in discussions about Australian theology. Also overlooked have been books by internationally oriented novelists such as Morris West (1916–1999), whose Vatican trilogy was published 1959 and 1990, and Colleen McCullough (b. 1937), author of *The Thorn Birds* (1977), and works of Holocaust and refugee literature, including *Schindler's Ark* (1982) by Thomas Keneally (b. 1935).

Of most interest have been "literary" writers and works set in Australia that have been seen to comment on the nature of God and the individual's relationship with God, the individual's behavior towards others, and the role of nature as an agent of redemption and as a sign of God's presence. At the heart of these works has been the wish to demonstrate the continuing relevance of Christianity, or, at least, to find a way of expressing the sacred within the context of a (post-) Christian culture.

RELATING TO GOD. In 1976 Dorothy Green detected the presence of religion and religious feeling in the work of most important Australian novelists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, even "amongst those who would describe themselves as atheist, agnostic or indifferent" (p. 9). She was able to come to such a generous assessment because she was looking for evidence of adherence to the second Great Commandment, that is, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" (*Matt.* 12:31).

Had she concentrated exclusively on a literary preoccupation with the nature of God, or even on works that bore witness to the first Great Commandment, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul and with all thy mind . . ." (*Matt.* 12:30), the result would have been different, for few Australian writers have been prepared to engage directly with God across a body of work. Green argued for Martin Boyd (1893–1972) as the author who most completely represented the fusion of the two commandments, an author who believed that "the Christian story corresponds with man's experience on earth" (p. 25). Boyd, however, spent most of his adult life in Europe, and although his novels comprising the Langton tetralogy (published between 1952 and 1962) used Australian material, his ongoing influence on Australian theological thinking has been negligible compared with that of Patrick White.

It is Patrick White (1912–1990) whom Christian commentators most often regard as Australia's preeminent religious author, although White wrote (in a letter dated August 15, 1985) that he could not see himself as a "true Christian. My faith is put together out of bits and pieces. I am a *believer*, but not the kind most 'Christians' would accept" (Marr, 1994, p. 604). White did not write novels for the benefit of theologians. Claims, for example, that his novel *Voss*, about an ill-fated desert expedition by a German explorer, represents the archetypal Australian Christian parable of suffering and redemption are at odds with White's own description of Voss as a "megalomaniac explorer" with "delusions of divinity" (September 11, 1956, Marr, 1994, p. 107). White does not comfort his readers but challenges them, as he wrote on May 10, 1970: "I suppose what I am increasingly intent on trying to do in my books is to give professed unbelievers glimpses of their own unprofessed faith. I believe most people have a religious faith, but are afraid that by admitting it they will forfeit their right to be considered intellectuals" (Marr, 1994, p. 363).

While the academy has been unable to deny the intellectual scope of White's writing, some of its members mistrust religious readings of his works. Ambiguity is one of White's strengths and also a reminder that any article on religious themes in literature is entirely subjective. This can be illustrated by a key scene from White's *The Tree of Man* in which the old man, Stan Parker, cornered by a young evangelist who is pressing him as to whether he believes in God, points to a gob of his own spittle "glittering intensely and personally on the ground": "'That is God,' he said" (p. 476). The scene has been read both as proof that Stan has moved to agnostic secularism and as verification that he has achieved illumination.

The most thorough exploration of religious elements in White's novels *The Tree of Man* (1955), *Voss* (1957), *Riders in the Chariot* (1961), and *The Solid Mandala* (1966) can be found in Peter Beatson's *The Eye in the Mandala* (1977). Beatson argues that to make sense of White's work, it is necessary to accept the presence of a Hidden God behind the material world. White's characters, through "their emotional responses and the assumptions of their cultures," try to comprehend the nature of the Hidden God. But although they always fall short of the truth, this is not to say that God is completely remote from his creation: on the contrary, "every encounter in the human and natural worlds is potentially a moment of dialogue between the individual and God. . . . Union with the Hidden God is not achieved in White's novels by withdrawal from the things of the senses, but by acquiescence to all the conditions of the fallen world in which man finds himself" (pp. 9–10).

RELATING TO OTHER PEOPLE. Christ-figures are generally absent in Australian literature, despite the remarkable presence of Mordecai ben Moshe Himmelfarb, Patrick White's Orthodox Jewish post-Holocaust refugee in *Riders in the Chariot*. Blamed for Christ's crucifixion, he is himself "crucified" by his Australian workmates; he dies on Good Friday and is given a Christian burial: White's point is that all men are the same and all faiths are one.

Himmelfarb, like other characters who might evince Christlike attributes, is not complete in himself: he cannot be redeemed until he learns to accept and give love. In Australian literature the way to God is usually not through excessive penance and self-purification, but through loyalty, compassion, and loving kindness. This is seen clearly, for instance, in the fiction of Thea Astley (b. 1925).

Astley is usually depicted as a social satirist, but she was raised a Catholic and has been a consistent critic of the institutional church, most often Catholic, but of any denomination that demands mindless adherence from its followers. In her early books she criticized the church hierarchy for its pomposity and insincerity, implying, as she did in her first novel, *Girl with a Monkey* (1958), that true spiritual experience was to be had not at a mass rally with an unctuous bishop but with a small group gathered with a Franciscan priest in a community dance hall amidst tropical undergrowth, where humanity and nature come together to partake of the eternal mystery, the transcendent made immanent in the mass. Her later books, including *Vanishing Points* (1992), attack the patriarchal restrictions of church leadership.

The most sympathetic characters in her novella "Inventing the Weather" (in *Vanishing Points*) are three elderly nuns who, against the wishes of the church, are living with and working for a remote Aboriginal community. Above the kitchen sink is a wall plaque that reads: "Where there is no love, put love and there you will find love" (p. 182). In Astley's fiction love is the paramount virtue. Love is not necessarily found in the church (the pettiness and legalism of the church crushes the vocations of the most humane religious in *The Slow Natives* [1965] and *A Boat Load of Home Folk* [1968]) but is more likely seen in transactions between fallible human beings in acts of kindness. Astley is critical of those who seek individual salvation, removing themselves from the responsibilities of daily life: in her books the divine is found through community.

Despite Astley's use of Catholic imagery, her critique of religion, and her passionate commitment to issues of social justice, her work has been ignored in discussions about developing an Australian theology. She is not alone in this, however, as the writings of other women, including Elizabeth Jolley (b. 1923), Helen Garner (b. 1942), and Marion Halligan (b. 1940), who also value the practice of *caritas* over individual salvation, are similarly ignored, except by exponents of feminist theology. It would seem that because their work fails to reproduce certain "sacred" stereotypes, they are thought to have nothing to contribute to religion in Australia.

NATURE AND THE SACRED. The first European settlers found themselves in an alien landscape that could not be captured in conventional language and imagery. European expressions of Christianity were similarly inadequate in a place where nature seemed superior—and indifferent—to human beings. The gradual shift over time, in both theology and literature, from depicting the country as hostile wilderness to sacred site is a measure of people's increasing spiritual at-homeness.

Veronica Brady, in her treatment of Clarke's *For the Term of His Natural Life*, notes how the novel, "like many substantial works of Australian fiction, echoes the psalms and the prophets of the Old Testament" in its awareness of the sheer power of nature (1981, p. 5). And there is a thread in Australian theology that posits the wilderness, most often figured as the desert, as a place representing humanity's fall from grace, a place of suffering that may purify the individual pilgrim. More recently, and perhaps under the influence of Aboriginal spirituality, the desert is seen as a repository of the sacred, a site where, freed from the distractions of the everyday, one might encounter God. Reverence has been afforded novels that use a desert setting (White's *Voss*, Randolph Stow's *To the Islands* [1958], Thomas Keneally's *Woman of the Inner Sea* [1992]), but until Tim Winton (b. 1960) started writing novels set in riverside Perth and coastal Western Australia, little attention was paid to spiritual readings of the moist or settled areas.

It was Winton's overwhelmingly popular saga, *Cloudstreet* (1991), set between the 1940s and 1960s, that caused theologians to look seriously at the playing out of religious values among suburban families. Commentators such as Michael Goonan have picked up on the way in which Winton likens the house on Cloud Street, the home of two battling families, the Pickles and the Lambs, to the Australian continent, a "vast indoors," a "big emptiness" that almost paralyses them "with spaces and surfaces that yield nothing to them" (Winton, p. 41). As Goonan notes, a crucial question underlies the text of *Cloudstreet*: whether it is possible for non-Aboriginal Australians to belong to the land. For Goonan, resolution comes when the key characters follow the advice of the enigmatic Aboriginal man who appears at crucial moments in the story, most often urging them to return to the house at Cloudstreet, not to sell it, impressing upon the Lambs and the Pickles the importance of family. It is as though Winton is opening up the possibility for spiritual healing of white Australians, should they be prepared to acknowledge key aspects of Aboriginal culture and spirituality, the centrality of land and community.

In his tribute to the Western Australian coastline, *Land's Edge*, Winton has written that "everything that lives is holy and somehow integrated" (p. 50). Other writers might be less forthright in speaking of their beliefs, but, nevertheless, their work can refresh the religious imagination and realize the hope of reconciliation.

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ELAINE LINDSAY (2005)

FICTION: OCEANIC FICTION AND RELIGION

Oceania names the lands of the South Central Pacific. It is an area bounded to the west by the east coast of Australia, to the north by Hawai'i, to the east by Easter Island (Rapanui), and to the south by New Zealand (Aotearoa). Spanish explorers had charted Pacific Islands in the early seventeenth century, and James Cook discovered parts of New Zealand in 1769 and both Hawai'i and the east coast of Australia in 1788. However, oral narrative began in Oceania long before there was any contact with European culture.

In Australia two migrant groups existed—one arriving some 70,000 years ago, almost certainly from Indonesia, and the other about 50,000 years ago, most likely from southern China. Modern Aborigines are the descendents of these groups, although precise lines of descent cannot be drawn. Nor is it known how Aboriginal religious practices derive from the migrants. Yet it is correct to speak of Aboriginal religions, not religion. It was the arrival of the European culture that changed the perception of the indigenous population and made its beliefs and cultures appear more homogeneous than they likely were. The first narratives on the continent take the form of song cycles, which are not well translated by either the term *fiction* or *poetry*.

With the exception of Easter Island, which was reached from South America, the Pacific Islands were settled by Asians. Between two and three thousands years ago, migrants used Melanesia as a base and branched out from there to Fiji and Tahiti. The Hawaiian islands appear to have been settled by Polynesians, who set out from Tahiti about 1,600 years ago. In New Zealand migrants started to arrive some 1,500 years ago from Melanesia, and by 1300 CE a significant Polynesian settlement appears to have been in place. Hawai'i and New Zealand share legends of gods and goddesses that originated in Tahiti. Stories of Maui, who fished for islands, and Tawhaki, who visited the heavens, can be found on many islands. The notions of *mana* and *tabu*—on which so much twentieth-century speculation about religion depends—derive from Polynesia and influence the stories told about the spirit world. Unlike the polytheistic islanders, the Aborigines follow totemic religious practices. Yet, on neither side of the Tasman Sea is it possible to recover a pristine sense of beliefs before European colonization. With the European settlers came Christianity. The first Anglican service in Australia was held in 1788. Not until 1814 did Samuel Marsden (1764–1838) establish a mission in New Zealand, whereas missionaries arrived in Hawai'i in 1820, following a royal decree for the natives to give up paganism. Throughout Oceania, narrative fiction followed only on Christian settlement.

RELIGIOUS NARRATIVE FICTION. A narrative fiction oriented to religious themes began in Australia in 1838 with John Curtis's *Shipwreck of the Stirling Castle.* It turns on the tale of Elisa Fraser, shipwrecked on K'gari (now Fraser Island) in 1836. Mrs. Fraser's faith—like that of the Children of Israel (and like Jesus in the wilderness)—is put to the test. Her story is retold by Patrick White in *A Fringe of Leaves* (1976) but with the female character, Ellen Roxburgh, who has lost her faith in the Christian God and is supported solely by a faith in life itself.

Aboriginal religion appears briefly in James Tucker's *Ralph Rashleigh* (1845?) but is quickly dismissed as infantile, a matter of warriors' ghosts. Tucker's character Rashleigh is aware that the Aborigines regard certain sites as sacred but interprets their awe simply as fear of supernatural beings. About the same time, Charles Rowcraft's novel *The Bushranger of Van Dieman's Land* (1846) at least admits—albeit somewhat patronizingly—that the black people have souls. Not until White's *The Tree of Man* (1955) and *Voss* (1957) is there an authentic sense that Aborigines discern a true spirit in the land. Randolph Stow, especially in *To the Islands* (1958), casts Aboriginal spirituality as superior to imported

Christian beliefs. The character Stephen Heriot, a sixty-seven-year-old missionary, loses his faith and with the help of an Aboriginal guide gains a visionary understanding of the Kimberlies. His spirit eventually merges with that of the land.

Returning to the nineteenth century, Christian moralism is strongly felt in the stories of Mary Vidal collected in *Tales for the Bush* (1845). As with Curtis's Elisa Fraser, the perspective is female. However, now decency rather than survival is the pressing concern. Christianity reveals itself mainly in the need to keep the working people honest and the Sabbath holy. A stronger evangelical current is felt in Caroline Leakey's *The Broad Arrow* (1859), which, like *Ralph Rashleigh*, is set in Tasmania. The heroine is sentenced to life imprisonment there, becomes a "fallen woman," and then finally repents. In the mid-twentieth century there is still interest in the Hobart of convict times, although it is characteristic of the times that Hal Porter's novel *The Tilted Cross* (1961) appeals to Christianity for its symbolism rather than for its spiritual discipline. Throughout the nineteenth century and well after, Australia is represented as a dangerous place for inexperienced Europeans, and more often than not, the land punishes their innocence. Thus there are many stories of children lost in the bush, the best known of which remains Marcus Clarke's "Pretty Dick" (1869). The poor boy dies in the unforgiving landscape, but when at story's end the reader is informed "God had taken him home," the narrator's tone is hardly comforting.

A skeptical attitude toward religion, combined with an anticlerical attitude, gain force in the late nineteenth century. Both can be felt in *The Bulletin* in the 1890s, the magazine's heyday. Only among Catholic writers are clerics at all well regarded; elsewhere, it is remembered that the established Church was rarely a friend of the poor. The Victorian era continues to attract contemporary novelists. In *Oscar and Lucinda* (1988), Peter Carey shows an Anglican minister of that time who, like Pascal but with rather less spirit, regards the religious life as a bet on the existence of God. It is more indicative of the late-twentieth than the nineteenth century, however, that when Oscar dies he begs forgiveness for his part in the death of Aborigines.

Two geographical figures largely organize the plane of religious experience in Australian fiction: the island and the desert. Neither is simple. If the island can be a site of suffering (as it is for Curtis and White), it can also be a metaphor for death transfigured by native understanding (as it is for Stow). It can also be a new Eden. So it is in Martin Boyd's *Nuns in Jeopardy* (1940) and Thea Astley's *Girl with a Monkey* (1958). In *Voss* and *To the Islands*, the desert is a metaphor for a spiritual quest, whereas for Kim Scott in *True Country* (1993), the Outback stands for the sacred. In the middle of this plane of religious experience, a variety of figures can be found: White's Stan and Amy Parker in *The Tree of Man* as a new Adam and Eve; a sense of the divine in the landscape in Elizabeth Jolley's *Palomino* (1980), as well as a folding of the notion of pilgrimage in her *Mr. Scobie's Riddle* (1983); and a discernment of vocation in David Malouf's *Remembering Babylon* (1995).

DENOMINATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES. Of the Christian denominations, the Catholics have spent most time exploring the institutional dimension of religion in Australia. Thomas Keneally's *Three Cheers for the Paraclete* (1968) is set in a seminary and casts a comic eye on ecclesial politics and theological niceties. In New Zealand, Elizabeth Smither also attends to post-Vatican II perplexities in her story "Sister Felicity and Sister Perpetua" (1994). A novelist of ideas, the Australian Morris West has gone the furthest in Church politics in his "Vatican series": *The Shoes of the Fisherman* (1963), *The Clowns of God* (1981) and *Lazarus* (1990). Gerard Windsor examines an Australian salesman in Ireland hawking religious accessories in his novella *That Fierce Virgin* (1988) and hints at mystical depths older than Christianity. The theme of Catholic childhood, often guilt-ridden, has received ample treatment in twentieth-century Australian fiction. Gerald Murnane's *Tamarisk Row* (1974) and *A Lifetime on Clouds* (1976) represent the strain at its most enduring.

Predominantly Christian since settlement, Australia also has sizable—and growing—numbers of Buddhists and Muslims. Yet, of the non-Christian faiths, only Judaism figures to any extent in Australian fiction. It does so significantly in White's fiction, beginning in *The Living and the Dead* (1941), and then with more force in *Riders in the Chariot* (1961), *The Solid Mandala* (1966) and *The Eye of the Storm* (1973). In *Riders in the Chariot*, Judaism and Christianity are confronted when Mordecai Himmelfarb, maker of bicycle lamps and a Jewish mystic, is crucified on a jacaranda tree in Sydney. Keneally's *Schindler's Ark* (1982) tells the story of Oskar Schindler who risks his life to help Polish Jews. Could a new religion be formed in the New World? Nevil Shute considers the possibility in *Round the Bend* (1951), in which a Malayan aircraft mechanic becomes the leader of a new religious movement. In *The Fortunes of Richard Mahoney* (1930), Henry Handel Richardson shows a grieving hero succumbing to spiritualism, and Kylie Tennant casts a wry eye on Southwell Vaughan-Quilter of the Order of Human Brotherhood in her novel *Ride on Stranger* (1943). Helen Garner's *Cosmo Cosmolino* (1992) treats New Age spirituality in the character of Maxine who shares a house in Carlton, Melbourne, with a fundamentalist, a skeptic, and a visiting angel. Garner is not the only Pacific writer interested in divine messengers: New Zealander Elizabeth Knox has an angel as a central character in her novel *The Vintner's Luck* (1999).

Patrick White saw Puritanism as a flaw in the Australian character. More so than in Australia, though, a strong strain of twentieth-century New Zealand fiction has been a diagnosis of and rebellion against a narrow-minded and unimaginative religious conservatism. It too is identified as Puritanism, although, as for White, the word indicates a belated Victorian prudery, loosely regarded as required for progress, rather than the fierce religious impulse of the early New Englanders. Jane Mander is the first to treat the theme in her *The Story of a New Zealand River* (1920), and Frank Sargeson approaches it in his early short stories, "A Good Boy" (1936) and "Good Samaritan" (1936), as well as in the novel *I Saw in My Dream* (1949). Joy Cowley's story "God Loves You, Miss Rosewater" (1978) should also be mentioned for its amused look at puritan sexuality. However, Maurice Gee provides the most pointed critique of the dolorous world, beginning with *In My Father's Den* (1972) and then in his "Plumb trilogy," especially the first volume, *Plumb* (1978).

RELIGIOUS THEMES. Religious themes appear from time to time in other works by New Zealand writers. Sargeson's story "Tod" (1938) poignantly evokes the human need to call on God. Allusions to Maori myths can be found in Witi Ihimaera's *Tangi* (1973), Kerri Hulme's *The Bone People* (1983) and Patricia Grace's *Potiki* (1986). Note should also be made of Apirana Taylor's story "Carving up the Cross" (1990), which examines an artist's thwarted desire to combine Maori and Christian symbols. Michael Brown examines the transmigration of souls in his *The Weaver's Apprentice* (1986), whereas Vincent O'Sullivan observes a French nun who works among the poor in *Believers to the Bright Coast* (1998). As in Australia, a consciousness of a spirit in the land surfaces from time to time. Sargeson's story "Gods Live in Woods" (1943) is an instance, whereas Roderick Finlayson's story "Wi Gets the Gospel" (1937) sympathetically notes the loss of *mana* from the land for Mauris Ihimaera's story "The Greenstone Patu" (1977) identifies a powerful spirit in a *patu* (hand club). Special mention should be made of *Tales of the Tikongs* (1983), stories by the Tongan writer Epeli Hau'ofa that examine the ways in which the Bible has saturated the local culture.

Missionary activity in Hawai'i is the focus of Ruth Eleanor McKee's *The Lord's Anointed* (1934), a novel that stirred up controversy among descendents of the original missionaries. Jonathan and Constancy Williams are missionaries who came to the island in 1820; they exist side by side with historical characters and serve to highlight the hardships of daily life. Constancy relates in her diary that she feigned her conversion when smitten by Jonathan. *The Return of Lono* (1956) is O. A. Bushnell's historical novel about James Cook's last voyage to Hawai'i. John Forrest, the narrator, is the medium in which tensions between the faith exemplified by William Bligh and enlightened reason embodied in Cook are played out partly, if unknowingly, within himself. Without the slightest trace of original sin, the natives have nonetheless fallen victim to local priestcraft, he thinks. Hawai'i is at once a horrible place, filled with cruel gods and terrible injustices, and a paradise of graceful, generous people, an Eden that is soon to be lost by dint of the very presence of the white man. A clash between ancient Hawaiian spirituality and contemporary values is explored through the character of Mark Hull in John Dominis Holt's novel *Waimea Summer* (1976).

SEE ALSO Christianity, article on Christianity in Australia and New Zealand; Cosmology, article on Oceanic Cosmologies; Oceanic Religions, overview article and article on Missionary Movements.

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KEVIN HART (2005)

FICTION: AFRICAN FICTION AND RELIGION

Although storytelling is a universal human activity, the term "African fiction" refers to a European genre of storytelling—comprised of secular novels and short stories—that Africans have adopted and adapted to represent continental African realities in the wake of nineteenth- and twentieth-century European colonialism and post-colonialism. The genre will provide a unifying thread throughout the many oral and written traditions in African as well as European languages.

Although an ancient practice in Africa, as witnessed in pharaonic Egypt, writing in African languages began in Muslim and Christian missionary activity, some of which dates back to pre-modern times, as is the case for Geez or Amharic in Ethiopia. Other African languages such as Sesuto, Xhosa, Zulu, and Yoruba, began in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Euro-Christian missionary schools and feature allegorical novels inspired by Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress.* But the tension between Euro-Christianity and African tradition is apparent in the Yoruba novels of Fagunwa (Nigeria), such as *The Forest of a Thousand Daemons,* in which references to a Christian God are imposed on Yoruba mythology. Modern Muslim missionary activity gave rise to Arabic script literatures in languages such as Wolof, Swahili, and Hausa. European-language writing in French, English, and Portuguese is a result of modern colonialism.

African writers of fiction use the genre to enter into dialogue with African and European religious traditions alike. Drawing on oral myths, epics and tales, these writers oppose representations of Africa found in European fiction, as well as in European governmental, missionary, and commercial reports. In the process African writers also rewrite and rework oral traditions.

African oral traditions reflect hierarchies of power in ways parallel to European fiction. At the top of the hierarchy are such works as ceremonial ritual religious poems or the great Dogon cosmogonic myth, according to which the universe originates from a single seed. Next are the great chanted epics such as the Malian epic of Sundiata or the Mwindo epic, which feature shamanic heroes, founders of their society. The great oral praise songs for outstanding men and women are formal lyrics that use epic materials. On a more common level are occupational poems, sung to accompany an activity such as farming, fishing, hunting or smithing. Even these lower forms recall religious functions of individuals or callings.

Short narrative tales may use mythic and epic materials more informally to explain the origins of a people, the founding of a dynasty, or the nature of divine beings, as well as phenomena such as the behavior of certain animals or the origins of geographic details. However, the genre is derivative rather than authoritative, drawing on chanted epics and ceremonial ritual religious poems, praise and occupational poetry. The narrative tale has a more realistic bent. A prominent theme is that of the trickster-hero, who succeeds through cleverness rather than through morality. Recalling the Yoruba (Nigeria) god Eshu-Elegba, the hero may be human or an animal such as the hare (source of the African American Br'er Rabbit), the hyena or the spider. In such tales, might or cleverness makes right and the outcome is not always moral. Shorter forms that one finds frequently used in African fiction are proverbs ("the palm oil with which words are eaten"), epigrams and riddles.

Written African fiction draws on this tradition in many ways in terms of characters, themes, motifs, and formal structures. In terms of religion, most significant is a "vitalist" ontology according to which being is a dynamic vital force that pervades everything much like a fluid as opposed to a collection of static, discrete entities. Hence Western distinctions between human, animal and divine, or the living and the dead do not necessarily apply. Because of vital force human beings have totemic relationships with animals with which they share the force of being. For example, the epic hero Sundiata draws totemically on the power of the buffalo through his mother, Sogolon, and on the power of the lion, which bears a totemic relationship with his male ancestors. In this way, departed ancestors exercise their force through the living.

In the epic, such ontology is portrayed in an unproblematic synthesis with Islam. For example, Sundiata's male ancestors trace their lineage back to Bilali Bounama, a servant of the Prophet Muḥammad.

A second religiously important structure that pervades African literature, as Mohammadou Kane has observed, is the initiatory journey, usually presented in three stages: a hero leaves home as a child, goes on a series of adventures and returns as an adult. The epic of Sundiata is an example. The young Sundiata, who after a long period of lameness stands up to walk, must go into exile and face a series of trials, which he overcomes. Then he returns home to found the empire of Mali. This outcome is never in doubt from the day that Sundiata's father sacrifices a red bull and lets its blood soak into the ground. Yet, all is seen as in the hands of the "Almighty." As the family griot, Gnankouman Doua, observes, "The Almighty has his mysteries . . . The silk-cotton tree emerges from a tiny seed" (Kane, p. 16).

That such traditional African elements are portrayed in an unproblematic synthesis with Islam is a witness to the fact of the gradual infiltration of Islam, which was adapted by various groups of society, usually merchants first, then the ruling classes, and finally the people at large. Works such as *Sundiata* reveal ways in which ruling classes gradually combined Islamic and pre-Islamic elements to build the foundation of their power. A similar approach may be seen in the European Renaissance when the French *rex christianissimus* traced his lineage to Hector; the Catholic Hapsburg emperors, and to Jason and the Golden Fleece.

One also finds a relatively syncretistic harmony in autobiographical works such as the Guinean Camara Laye's *The Dark Child* or the Nigerian Wole Soyinka's *Ake*. Although not syncretistic, African language allegorical novels in the tradition of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* are pre-modern in that they assume a classic religious orthodoxy.

Modern and post-modern African fiction tends to portray fault lines and conflict such as in the Nigerian Fagunwa's Yoruba novel mentioned above or the Kenyan Ngugi wa Thiongo's bitingly satirical Gikuyu, *Devil on the Cross*.

Eschewing heroes, African fiction, like its European models, foregrounds main characters in what Northrop Frye (*Anatomy of Criticism*) calls the "low mimetic" and "ironic modes." Frye defines these modes not according to the morality of the main character but rather according to his or her "power of action" (Frye, p. 33). As opposed to a Sundiata, who is invincible, the "low mimetic" mode represents characters less powerful than other people or their environment. Characters in the "ironic mode" are inferior to the reader in either power or intelligence, and often the brunt of comedy.

The question of power is particularly pertinent to Africans, for whom colonialism created new and problematic conflicts between the ideal, moral, and practical aspects of religious experience, calling into question the traditional hierarchies and values implied in the oral tradition. For the most part, African fiction in which religion is a significant theme works out issues of colonial and post-colonial (dis)empowerment, and features not only inter-religious tensions but also conflicts between religion and secular forces often imperfectly understood. On the one hand is a traditional religious mentality according to which religion accounts for an approach to visible and invisible reality that does not observe the Western distinction between natural and supernatural. As Robin Horton observes in *Patterns of Thought in Africa and the West*, such traditional religion provided ways to explain, control and predict events in the visible universe as well as establish communion with an invisible being or beings. On the other hand is a purely secular mentality according to which events unfold due to impersonal political, social, and psychological forces unleashed by the European conquest and occupation.

Novels leading up to African independences in the 1960s underscore such tensions, but retain a faith in a possible future for the continent and for the world. In the Senegalese Cheikh Hamidou Kane's *Ambiguous Adventure* the lure of European technology causes the complicity between Islam and traditional political power to break down. In another time the royal and spiritually gifted Samba Diallo may have been left to pursue a path of spiritual greatness in the hands of his Ṣūfī spiritual director Tierno or become a kind of priest/king. His family decides instead to tear him away from the ascetic discipline of renunciation and send him to Europe on a kind of "initiatory journey" to learn how "better to join wood to wood" (Kane, p. 29), so as to bring his people into the modern world. The experiment fails, however. Once in Europe Samba Diallo decides to study philosophy, and on his return home is killed by his spiritual director. This death, however, brings Samba Diallo into a Ṣūfī mystical communion with God. Even though Samba Diallo's death marks the failure of his initiation into the ways of secular Europe, this death may also be considered an extreme form of world renunciation, in which the young man's spiritual vocation is fulfilled.

Although renunciation of this world has always been commonplace in mystical traditions, the split between a European technological material world and Islamic spirituality reflects a limited orientalist view of Islam that overlooks medieval Muslim scientific and technological advances and prowess. It also plays into theses of Negritude that try to rehabilitate orientalist dichotomies in calling for a "universal civilization" that combines spiritual, intuitive and rhythmical "Black" culture in harmony with nature, on the one hand, with analytic and technological "White" culture, on the other.

In works such as the novel *God's Bits of Wood* and the short-story collection *Tribal Scars*, the Senegalese writer Ousmane Sembène eschews the sentimentality of Negritude. Mystical Islam is portrayed as ineffective and its clergy accused of complicity with colonial rule and patriarchal exploitation of women. For Sembène, the only way out of the colonial impasse is through a Marxist-inspired collective political action of the working classes. In *God's Bits of Wood*, it is only in a railroad workers strike that dignity is regained. For example, learning to act collectively without hatred, the brutish, stammering Tiémoko is released to sing the epic of Sundiata. Formerly sacred royal power is now in the hands of secular working people.

While French West African fiction is presented in the terms of concepts of universal pretensions such as Islam, Marxism and Negritude, the novels of the Nigerian Chinua Achebe (*Things Fall Apart*; *Arrow of God)* and the Cameroonian Mongo Beti (*The Poor Christ of Bomba*; *King Lazarus*) and Ferdinand Oyono (*Houseboy*; *Old Man and the Medal*) are more local in scope, in that theirs is a context of forest people such as the Ibo, who live in loose federations or small chiefdoms. These novels denounce the abuses not so much of Christianity as the Christian mission enterprise, which is seen as a source of European violence and conquest. Behind the missionaries come the merchants and the military. Church, hospital, schools and prisons are seen as European institutions in complicity with one another. In *Things Fall Apart*, the missionary prepares the way for the colonial administrator. In *The Poor Christ of Bomba*, the R. P. Drumont who cannot manage to reform the sexual mores of his converts sadly realizes that his efforts result in softening up his "faithful" for exploitation in the colonial labor force.

In these novels Christian conversion is seen to be based on misunderstandings and to yield ludicrous harmful results. King Lazarus converts on his deathbed only to get well and have to face a diplomatic crisis, as he must now choose only one among his many wives. In *Old Man and the Medal*, Meka, who has converted to Christianity and given up his lands to the Catholic mission, embarks on what turns out to be a mock initiatory journey from his community to the administrative center of the Whites. He finds himself standing in the middle of a stadium in a chalk-drawn circle under the hot sun, in ill-fitting shoes and having a strong urge to urinate as he waits for the French colonial administrator to pin a medal on him for his contributions to the community. In such a time of trial only the memory of the pain he endured at his circumcision gives him the courage to withstand heat and burning pain. The true meaning of this medal is revealed when later, Meka is brutally beaten and thrown into jail by the police, who do not recognize him. Here too he resorts to his totemic relations with panthers to muster up the necessary strength.

In both cases, the caricatural evocation of traditional religion is tragi-comic, revealing the comical ineffectiveness of the tradition in the new setting of colonialism. On his return home, Meka is chastened and cynical about his Christian faith and relation with the whites. But his "initiation" leaves him with little new knowledge except for a relief to be back among the grasses and animals of his home. Here unlike the West African novels, there is no faith in an overarching scheme of things. There is also an unremitting satirical criticism implied of African traditions. The indulgent humor of the narrator, who laughs with as well as at the characters, leaves the reader with the conviction of the inherent dignity and resilience of African people.

In all of these works the narrative voice often plays against sliding conceptions of the distinction between the secular and the sacred. In *Things Fall Apart* and in *Houseboy*, child converts whom Christians believe that God has touched are in fact fleeing abusive fathers. In Achebe's novels the fact that Europeans trample sacred forests and kill sacred animals with impunity is taken to be a sign of divine intervention. In fiction such as this, even where there is an implied criticism of African tradition, the overriding message is that the abuse of European colonialism must stop, so that Africans may regroup and take charge of their own fate.

Post-colonial fiction is marked by a turn toward an African audience to address African problems. The multiple consciousness of several sides to a story is taken to new heights with a dialogical representation of reality from an even more complex, pluralistic perspective. Fama, the last of the royal line of Doumbouya in the Ivorian Ahmadou Kourouma's *Suns of Independence* also sets off on a tripartite journey. He leaves the capital for a funeral in Togobala, a seedy village that is all that remains of his family's ancient capital, and he returns home only to be thrown into prison. This tripartite structure, inspired by the initiatory journey is a failure, but can be seen from three equally valid perspectives. The Doumbouya decadence is (1) an eschatological sign of Muslim last days; (2) the result of disrespect for the ancient fetishes; (3) or a secular working out of post-colonial corruption. But no matter how the sequence of events is explained, there is an overriding angry irony at the corruption of contemporary society. Kourouma's novel, *Allah n'est pas obligé*, is even angrier, as he portrays an Africa sinking deeper into crisis under the eyes of an indifferent God. The latter is among what Lilyan Kesteloot calls novels of chaos, novels written in despair of a spectacle of an Africa racked by such corruption, famine and genocide that it seems to be without a God. One bears in mind the Rwanda writers' project, in which several African writers such as Boubacar Boris Diop (Senegal) or Véronique Tadjo (Ivory Coast) committed themselves to write about the genocide in that country. One can also contrast Ngugi wa Thiong'o's *Devil on the Cross*, which brutally satirizes Christianity, to his earlier novels such as *The River Between*, which portrays the protagonist Waiyake (Kenyatta) as a Christ figure.

A dialogical pluralism similar to Kourouma's may be found in the Nigerian Buchi Emechetta's *Joys of Motherhood*. In this book the protagonist, Nnu Ego, lives out a miserable existence that may be seen as the result of a combination of traditional patriarchy and European colonial exploitation which leave women particularly vulnerable. On the other hand, Nnu Ego's sorry fate may be consistently explained down to its smallest details as the unremitting curse of her *chi*, who in a previous life was forced to be buried alive at her husband's funeral.

Dialogical pluralism of Kourouma and Emechetta is but an extreme example of the tendency of African fiction to call into question constructions, not only of Christianity and Islam, but also of anthropological accounts of local religions. Through devices of irony and comedy the main characters belong yet do not belong to European and African religious traditions. In this respect, one should mention V. Y. Mudimbe's *Entre les Eaux*, in which the priest, Pierre Landu fails to bring together Christianity and Marxism. He is an example of what Wim van Binsbergen calls "Central African clerical intellectualism," an intellectualism of a certain category of Catholic clerics who have little to do with traditional African religion.

Other fiction of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s continues this trend toward pluralism, emphasizing intrareligious more than interreligious difference, especially with reference to Islam. In response to Islamic fundamentalism, postmodern fiction from Northern Africa (always a cross-roads of many cultures and religions) reaches back to Islamic traditional means of interpretation in the *ḥadīth* to reveal the suppressed voices of the religion. Novelists such as the Moroccans Driss Chraïbi (*La Mère du Printemps*), and Fatima Mernissi (*Le Harem politique*), the Algerian Assia Djebar (*Loin de la Médine*), and the Egyptian Nawal El Sadaawi (*God Dies by the Nile*) question Islamic patriarchy and oppose such concepts as *jihad* (holy war, but also self-discipline) and *itjihād* (interpretation).

The Somalian novelist Nuruddin Farah goes even further than most of the fiction writers here. In *Maps* he criticizes not Islamic practices or traditions but the internal morality of the religion itself and its nefarious effects on Somalian society, although he falls more into the main line in his *Close Sesame*, which emphasizes the gap between ideal Islam and the way it is played out in society.

One sees a similar process in South Africa, where a novel such as Rayda Jacob's *Confessions of a Gambler* portrays a freer, postmodern Islam in the person of the protagonist, an emancipated Capetonian Islamic woman who gambles. Writers such as Zoë Wicomb (*You Can't Get Lost in Cape Town*; and *David's Story*) and Zakes Mda (*The Madonna of Excelsior*), on the other hand, criticize hypocrisy of the abusive Christianity brought by the Dutch Calvinist settlers. These settlers claim South Africa as a land promised to them by God, and are portrayed in Afrikaner novels such as André Brink's *A Dry White Season*.

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George Joseph (2005)

FICTION: NATIVE AMERICAN FICTION AND RELIGION

Given the many geographical, cultural, and spiritual differences among indigenous peoples in North America, compiling a historical narrative of religious themes in American Indian fiction is a complicated enterprise. Native groups do share common traditions of oral storytelling and episodes of contact with waves of colonizing Europeans. Themes that manifest themselves in this fiction include colonialism and postcolonialism, identity and alienation, the loss of land, relocation, memory, healing, religious freedom, the repatriation of sacred objects and skeletal remains, experience with missionaries and boarding schools, cultural continuity, and community building. Native authors are politically and historically conscious, and, in a very real sense, their characters are struggling to survive in the modern world.

Native spirituality encompasses many traditions of belief, from Laguna creation stories to Ojibwa trickster tales, from the Sun Dance to the Ghost Dance, from puberty ceremonies to vision quests to peyote ceremonies at the Native American Church. Native religions embody worldviews without explicit creeds and principles. Vine Deloria Jr. defines tribal religions as "complexes of attitudes, beliefs, and practices fine-tuned to harmonize with the lands on which the people live" (1994, p. 70). "Every factor of human experience is seen in a religious light as part of the meaning of life," Deloria continues (p. 195). This further complicates the analysis of religious themes in American Indian literature, for spirituality pervades every aspect of the work. Further, works of fiction in English by Indian authors are inherently postcontact narratives and thus also address experiences with Christianity. As Kimberly Blaeser notes, much of Native literature compares Native beliefs to Christianity, rhetorically critiques Christianity, or focuses on the Christian/Native religious conflict (1994, p. 16). For many peoples, becoming Christian did not mean giving up tribal beliefs and customs. Often, the most favorable aspects of each religion have been combined in a syncretic or hybrid manner, and sometimes these religious variations cause irreparable rifts in communities and families. Since the 1970s, however, there has been a resurgence of traditional tribal practices.

The Roots of Storytelling. That American Indians are competent storytellers is no surprise: entire histories and mythologies have long been passed on through story. Prayers, chants, and songs performed during ceremonies are also part of this tradition. LaVonne Ruoff writes, "Because sacred oral literature is so closely interwoven into the fabric of traditional Indian religious life, it is difficult to distinguish between literature and religion" (1990, pp. 141–142). Oral storytelling provides not only pleasure to an audience, but it often passes on knowledge, history, culture, and rules for living. Stories teach "abstract notions of behavior, cosmology, and ways of seeing or thinking about things" (Beck et al., 1995, p. 59). In Pueblo culture, explains writer Leslie Marmon Silko, no distinctions are made "between types of story—historical, sacred, plain gossip" (1996, p. 53). There are as many oral traditions as there are indigenous groups. Pomo author Greg Sarris points out that "it is as impossible to generalize about 'oral discourse' as it is about 'culture'" (1993, p. 47). "Storytelling is a communal act," writes Joseph Epes Brown (2001, p. 54). As it is the nature of oral tradition to take audience and circumstance into account for each telling, the storyteller can appeal to changing pities and fears—and incorporate contemporary elements.

In his essay "The Native Voice in American Literature," Kiowa writer N. Scott Momaday writes that the "unconditional belief in the efficacy of language" resides "at the heart of the American Indian oral tradition" (1997, p. 15). Creek scholar Craig Womack concurs: "Native artistry is not pure aesthetics, or art for art's sake: as often as not Indian writers are trying to *invoke* as much as *evoke.* The idea behind ceremonial chant is that language, spoken in the appropriate ritual contexts, will actually cause a change in the physical universe" (1999, pp. 16–17). The same can be said for contemporary American Indian writing. With the introduction of the written word, storytelling was transformed, but orality was never abandoned. Oral tradition continues to inform Native expression, whether in poetry or the European form of the novel.

Early American Indian Fiction. In many ways, Native novelists have followed the trends of Euro-American literature. In the late 1800s when Anglo- and African American women took up the sentimental plot, often for political purposes, Native women did the same. Three examples are S. Alice Callahan's *Wynema: A Child of the Forest* (1891), Zitkala-Sa's *American Indian Stories* (1921), and Mourning Dove's *Co-ge-wea* (1927), all of which address the "Indian problem." Other important early writers include John Joseph Mathews, an Osage writer whose novels include *Wah'kon-tah: The Osage and the White Man's Road* (1932) and *Sundown* (1934), and Lakota author Ella Cara Deloria, whose novel *Waterlily* was written in 1944 (but not published until 1988). In general, early Native authors were concerned with Euro-American contact, missionaries, and loss of land and language and culture. At the same time, they were working against the mainstream notion that their people would indeed become extinct.

The first known published work of fiction by a Native woman is *Wynema* by Callahan, a mixed-blood Muscogee (or Creek). Written in 1891 for a non-Native audience, the book was out of print until 1997. Like much early Native fiction, *Wynema* addresses the impact of colonization and missionization. Unfortunately, Callahan does not provide much description of traditional Creek culture (and, in fact, never mentions the word *Creek* in the text), a move that Susan Bernardin describes as an effort to write "a generic Indian story" that is "putatively pantribal" (2001, p. 4). However, Womack faults Callahan for "purposefully, not accidentally, misrepresenting culture" (1999, p. 115). He calls *Wynema* "a document of Christian supremicism and assimilation" (1999, p. 107). Callahan's most detailed ethnographic passage describes the green corn ceremony, which is practiced in this community even after the adoption of Christianity. There is also a funeral scene that combines Creek and Christian rituals. But, for the most part, Creek culture is completely negated by Methodism. The novel follows Wynema Harjo, a full-blood Muscogee woman who befriends Genevieve Weir, a Methodist teacher from Alabama, the place from which the Muscogees were removed on the Trail of Tears in 1830. Genevieve eventually marries the local Methodist minister, Gerald Keithly, while Wynema marries Genevieve's brother Robin. In many ways, Genevieve is the novel's heroine, for it is she who must overcome stereotypes and develop as a character. Although Genevieve begins as a model Indian reformer, Gerald points out that acculturation is reciprocal. *Wynema*'s domestic plot is infused with social commentary from the two young women, who often combine suffragist concerns with Indian affairs. At the end of the novel, Callahan shifts her focus from the plots at hand to a wider view of current events in Indian Country. The final two chapters give voice to Lakota rebels and Chikena, a sole survivor of the massacre of Wounded Knee in 1890. When a missionary tells one of the rebels, "Place yourselves in a submissive attitude and the government will protect you," he replies, "peace is not the watchword of the oppressed" (Callahan, 1997, pp. 80, 82). The reader is left with a vision of this very recent horrific carnage at the hands of the U. S. government and a critical voice on the doctrine of Christian submission.

D'Arcy McNickle's novel *The Surrounded* appeared in 1936 and was reprinted in the 1970s. Like other works of this era, *The Surrounded* is told in the mode of social realism. As McNickle explains in an epigraph, the title for the book is taken from the name of his Montana setting, *Sniél-emen,* or "Mountains of the Surrounded," referring to the proximity of the settlers. The story follows the homecoming of Archilde Leon, a mixed-blood whose mother Catherine is Salish and father Max is Spanish. While his mother practices mostly traditional Salish religion, which includes public confession and whipping, Archilde's father is Catholic. Enacting modes of oral tradition, McNickle recounts three versions of how the Salish compelled the Jesuit missionaries to come to them. Father Grepilloux, who is characterized as a good-hearted man, tells Max Leon, "It was inevitable that a new age would come" (McNickle, 1994, p. 108). Archilde has learned the Catholic traditions and plays violin at the church. His nephews attend the mission school. In a crucial scene, Archilde recalls seeing a cross in the sky while at boarding school (p. 103). When he notices that a bird does not recognize the cross as a "sign" from God, Archilde begins to question the authority of the Catholic Church. After having a series of dreams, Archilde's mother renounces her baptism. In her dreaming, Catherine goes to white heaven, but there are no Indians there. She goes to Indian heaven, but they will not accept baptized Indians. Although the novel ends with uncertainty, Archilde's own doubts about Christianity remain constant. As Laird Christensen points out, McNickle's novel questions Christianity's impact on the "cosmology, values, and economy" of this Salish community. In particular, the "Christian concept of eternal judgment [acts] as a wedge that forces the Salish out of traditional patterns of relating to family, society, and ultimately the more-than-human world" (1999, pp. 2–3). McNickle's second novel, *Wind from an Enemy Sky,* was published in 1978.

THE NATIVE AMERICAN RENAISSANCE. The beginning of what Kenneth Lincoln has called the Native American Renaissance is marked by the 1968 publication of *House Made of Dawn,* for which N. Scott Momaday won the Pulitzer Prize in 1969. Momaday's novel begins with Abel's return home to his grandfather in Walatawa, New Mexico, after serving in the Korean War. Abel's grandfather Francisco is a tribal elder and a sacristan of the Catholic Church in this Pueblo. Soon after Abel's return, which coincides with the Feast of Santiago, he sleeps with Mrs. Angela Grace St. John, a white woman who comes to Walatawa for its healing waters, and he murders the albino man who is to represent the figure of Santiago during the festivities. The novel follows Abel to Los Angeles, where seven years later he lies in a ditch with broken hands. During a vision quest of sorts, he thinks about his childhood and his time in the city, which includes sermons by Reverend Tosamah, a Native preacher whose grandmother attended the last Kiowa Sun Dance. Abel once again returns home, and his grandfather dies seven days later. After preparing Francisco's body in the traditional way, Abel goes to town to inform the priest, then joins the Jemez dawn runners on the mesa.

Many critics have discussed the religious strains in *House Made of Dawn.* Kenneth Lincoln, for example, has argued that the murder of the albino is a reversal of the biblical murder of Abel. Harold S. McAllister contends that Angela St. John represents the Virgin Mary and shows Abel "the way to salvation" (1974, p. 115). Not all critics focus on the Catholicism in the novel, however. Robert Nelson focuses on the role of place in Abel's healing process, a relationship inherent to Pueblo spirituality. Susan Scarberry-Garcia discusses "Abel's illness in relation to Navajo theories of disease and his restoration in light of both Navajo song texts and Navajo, Kiowa, and Pueblo ritual patterns" (1990, p. 86). Bernard Hirsch describes Reverend Tosamah, a Priest of the Sun and Coyote figure, as "a priest whose saving message, because he has divorced his religion from his everyday life, has an ironic as well as a revelatory dimension" (1983, p. 319). Momaday's fiction also includes *The Ancient Child* (1989).

Leslie Marmon Silko's *Ceremony* (1977) offers a more overt affirmation of Pueblo mythology over Christian dogma. Incorporating traditions of oral culture, Silko begins *Ceremony* with a poem about Thought-Woman, who in Laguna cosmology created the world. The novel traces World War II veteran Tayo as he returns to his home in Laguna Pueblo. Like Momaday's Abel, Tayo is alienated and in need of healing. He feels responsible for the death of his cousin Rocky during the war. Because he cursed the rain that made Rocky's injury worse, Tayo is certain to have caused the drought that plagues Laguna. Suffering from postwar trauma, Tayo participates in a healing ceremony arranged by his grandmother. When Ku'oosh, the local shaman, cannot heal him, Tayo is taken to Gallup to see Betonie, a Navajo who uses a hybrid method of healing. In the mountains, Tayo encounters Ts'eh, a seemingly mythical woman reminiscent of Yellow Woman, who helps Tayo recover his uncle's lost cattle.

Silko's novel focuses on the necessity of achieving balance in the world, of remembering the stories and knowing one's place in them, and of recognizing the relationships between all things, as Robert Nelson proposes. Much *Ceremony* scholarship focuses on aspects of Native spirituality—healing rituals, medicine wheels, witchery, star maps, and the function Ts'eh (see Lincoln, 1983, and Mitchell, 1979). Some critics have focused on the religious syncretism or hybridity in the novel (see Gianferrari, 1999). Jace Weaver points to the importance of community as religious practice in the novel—and that "Tayo is able to achieve wholeness only in re-membering himself in the collective" (1997, p. 134). That sense of community, of working toward communal values, is an outward manifestation of traditional beliefs. One of Silko's short stories, "The Man to Send Rainclouds" (1981), also takes up the conflict between Christianity and Laguna spirituality. Silko's other novels include *Almanac of the Dead* (1991) and *Gardens in the Dunes* (1999).

Other novels published in the 1970s include James Welch's *Winter in the Blood* (1974) and *The Death of Jim Loney* (1979), and Gerald Vizenor's *Darkness in Saint Louis Bearheart* (1978).

THE 1980S AND BEYOND. The 1980s saw a proliferation of American Indian novelists, Louise Erdrich included. Erdrich's first novel *Love Medicine* (1984, revised in 1993)—and later *The Beet Queen* (1986), *Tracks* (1988), *Tales of Burning Love* (1990), *The Bingo Palace* (1994), *The Antelope Wife* (1998), *The Last Report of the Miracles at Little No Horse* (2001), and *The Master Butcher's Singing Club* (2002)—follow certain Ojibwa, German, and mixed-blood families in North Dakota from historical times to the present. Throughout these novels, Erdrich also chronicles the relationship between the Ojibwa and the missionary Jesuits near the fictional town of Argus. *Love Medicine* is told through the voices of multiple narrators and spans fifty years, 1934 to 1984. The novel begins "the morning before Easter Sunday" when June Morrissey decides to walk home from Williston, North Dakota (1993, p. 1). A blizzard unexpectedly begins, and June dies in the snow: "June walked over it like water and came home" (p. 7).

Louis Owens has called June "the feminine Christ-figure resurrected as trickster" (1992, p. 196). Kimberly Blaeser agrees: "By intermingling the symbolism from both religions in June's story, Erdrich seems to challenge not only the exclusiveness of religious myths, but also the exclusive nature of religious ideas themselves" (1994, p. 28). During the remainder of the novel, the community works on coming to terms with June's death. Among the numerous plot lines is Marie Lazarre's experience with Sister Leopolda at the Sacred Heart Convent in 1934. Marie's back is scalded and her hand stabbed by Sister Leopolda, who is trying to save young Marie from the "Dark One." "Christ has marked me," Marie says ironically (p. 60). Marie describes the sisters as *windigos*, half-starved creatures from Chippewa lore, again in a combination of religious imagery (see Jaskoski, 2000). Sister Leopolda is in fact Pauline Puyat, Marie's own mother, which is revealed in *Tracks*. Traditional Ojibwa religion does not go unscathed, however. The love medicine of the title, which Lipsha Morrissey creates to reunite Marie and Nector Kashpaw, ends up choking Nector to death. When Nector Kashpaw had once yelled his prayers at Mass, Lipsha agreed that "God's being going deaf" for years, or that maybe Chippewas "just don't speak its language" (pp. 235–236). Critic Dennis Walsh discusses this "spiritual failure of Catholicism" in the novel (2001, p. 125). Two later chapters also carry enormous religious significance. In "Crown of Thorns," alcoholism is just that for Gordie Kashpaw. In "Resurrection," Marie reclaims her Ojibwa spirituality by speaking the language and preparing to pass down Nector's ceremonial pipe to Lipsha. In *Love Medicine*, Erdrich enacts what Patricia Riley calls "mythological synergy," a move beyond religious syncretism that offers a counternarrative to the story of the vanishing Indian and ensures the survival of her mixed-blood characters (2000, p. 14). Erdrich certainly questions the beneficence of Catholicism throughout her work. In a 2001 interview, Erdrich explains, "Missionary work is essentially tragic. Those who enter the field from the religious side often do so out of love, and out of love they destroy the essence of the people they love."

Like many contemporary Native novels, Greg Sarris's *Grand Avenue: A Novel in Stories* (1994) takes place off the reservation, which for Sarris is Santa Rosa, California, where families of Pomo descent have relocated. The Pomos have created an "in-town reservation" (Sarris, 1994, p. 198). By transporting traditional ceremonies and familial ties to the city, Sarris offers a different type of narrative. He highlights the traditional as a reclaiming of what has been lost to missionizing and time. Sarris's focus on community and the need for healing in a displaced locale makes *Grand Avenue* what Jace Weaver calls a "communitist" text. The character Nellie Copaz (based on Mabel McKay, a renowned Pomo basketweaver and medicine woman who helped raise Sarris) demonstrates the delicate balance between surviving in the city and preserving tradition. Nellie is the firmest believer in communal values and is sought in times of illness. The two strongest cultural practices in this novel are traditional basketmaking and healing, which are both performed by Nellie.

In the chapter "Waiting for the Green Frog" Nellie recalls hearing the singing frog near her shed on ancestral land. The frog is not specific to tribal lands, for he follows Nellie wherever she moves, including Santa Rosa. Mary Mackie argues that "the green frogs serve as predictors of change, foretellers of a new healer, and the continuance of Pomo culture" (2001, p. 216). Nellie's medical instruments are a combination of the traditional and the modern: "the old canoe basket, the flint piece, a tobacco pipe from a mail order catalog, and a cocoon rattle" (Sarris, 1994, p. 78). When Nellie teaches young Alice Goode how to make baskets, she is performing an act of healing. Nellie also tells Alice how and where to collect the materials, making connections to geographical and ancestral space. Although Alice is often quiet during these lessons, Nellie tells stories. In the last scene, Alice is visited by the green frog, signaling her future as a healer. Even in the direst of circumstances, Sarris imagines the continuity of Pomo traditions. Sarris's second novel, *Watermelon Nights*, which follows many of the same families, was published in 1998.

American Indian fiction has grown dramatically in recent decades. Novels published in the 1980s include Paula Gunn Allen's *The Woman Who Owned the Shadows* (1983), Janet Campbell Hale's *The Jailing of Cecilia Capture* (1985), James Welch's *Fools Crow* (1986), Michael Dorris's *A Yellow Raft in Blue Water* (1987), and Anna Lee Walters's *Ghost Singer* (1988). Novels of the 1990s include James Welch's *The Indian Lawyer* (1990); Linda Hogan's *Mean Spirit* (1990), *Solar Storms* (1995), and *Power* (1998); Gerald Vizenor's *Dead Voices* (1992); Louis Owens's *The Sharpest Sight* (1992) and *Bone Game* (1994); Ray Young Bear's *Black Eagle Child* (1992) and *Remnants of the First Earth* (1996); Betty Louise Bell's *Faces in the Moon* (1994); Susan Power's *Grass Dancer* (1994); Adrian C. Louis's *Skins* (1995); Sherman Alexie's *Reservation Blues* (1995) and *Indian Killer* (1996); and Diane Glancy's *Pushing the Bear* (1996). Novels of the first decade of the twenty-first century include James Welch's *The Heartsong of Charging Elk* (2000), LeAnne Howe's *Shell Shaker* (2001), and Adrian C. Louis's *Bone and Juice* (2001). Short story collections include Anna Lee Walters's *Sun Is Not Merciful* (1985); Adrian Louis's *Wild Indians and Other Creatures* (1992); Sherman Alexie's *Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven* (1993), *The Toughest Indian in the World* (2000), and *Ten Little Indians* (2003); N. Scott Momaday's *In the Bear's House* (1999); and Susan Power's *Roofwalker* (2003).

SEE ALSO North American Indian Religions, article on Mythic Themes; Poetry, article on Native American Poetry and Religion.

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LAURA FURLAN SZANTO (2005)

FIDES. The Roman goddess Fides is the personification of an idea that in itself is secular: the idea of "confidence" (*fides*) and, especially (in a more derivative sense of *fides*), the "good faith" or "trustworthiness" that inspires confidence. Fides made her appearance in the Roman pantheon in the third century CE, about 250, when a temple was dedicated to her by A. Atilius Calatinus. This temple stood on the Capitol, directly next to the temple of Jupiter. But there must have been an earlier sanctuary of Fides (tradition says the cult was established by Numa, the second king of Rome), and the temple built by Calatinus was probably erected on the same site.

The site of the temple of Fides, next to that of Jupiter, is indicative of her origin, for everything points to her having emerged from the supreme deity by a process of hypostatization. In this light, it is easy to understand why Jupiter is guarantor, not only with Fides but also with Dius Fidius, of the observance of oaths and compacts (*federa*). In fact, Dius Fidius, as "patron of good faith," is a first, archaic hypostatization of Jupiter. He is the god of oaths taken *sub divo,* that is, "in the open air." His temple, open to the sky, was located on the Quirinal, where it was situated on the *Capitolium vetus* ("old Capitol," or place of headship), next to the *sacellum Iovis, Iunonis, Minervae* ("chapel of Jupiter, Juno, Minerva"). Fides, for her part, appears in the wake of Jupiter Capitolinus. Her powers are broader and more flexible than those of Dius Fidius and include in particular the guaranteeing both of secrets and of the virtue (the interior disposition) of trustworthiness.

The goddess was honored by a special ritual: Each year some *flamines* (priests) journeyed to her temple in solemn fashion, riding in a covered cart. The sacrificing priest—the *flamen* of Jupiter—celebrated the cult with his right hand wrapped in a piece of white material. The right hand was shielded in this way because it was considered as consecrated when used to swear fidelity. For this reason it was liable to the wrath of heaven if the fidelity was violated. Mucius Scaevola, who lost his right hand after swearing a false oath, is a mythical illustration of this belief. The rite of the veiled hand is also attested in Umbria in connection with the god Fisu Sakio, who closely resembles Dius Fidius. At Rome, too, it was the *fidius* aspect of Jupiter that was honored in this way in the person of Fides.

The temple of Fides stood on the *area Capitolina* (the level top of the Capitoline Hill), probably right against its southern edge. Its importance was considerable, because the goddess was patroness of all agreements entered into with a gesture of the right hand. From her commanding position, visible from many points in Rome, she also stood as guarantor of political accords and economic contracts; she encouraged the trustworthiness of citizens toward one another as well as that of the Roman people toward other nations. Her religious function was to procure confidence, credit, and hence often, albeit indirectly, wealth for her trustworthy disciples. (Her temple stood immediately next to that of Ops, a goddess of fertility and plenty.)

The cult of the goddess Fides, suspended during a good part of the first century BCE, was probably restored by the emperor Augustus. Treaties and military documents were posted on the wall of her temple at least until the end of the first century CE. The many representations of Fides on coins minted after that date show that her influence extended well beyond the first century of the common era.

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GÉRARD FREYBURGER (1987)

Translated from French by Matthew J. O'Connell

Revised Bibliography

FILARET OF MOSCOW (1782–1867) was a metropolitan of Moscow and Russian Orthodox church leader.

Filaret was born into the clerical "caste." He became a monk in 1808 and was ordained a priest in the following year. By 1812 he was rector of the Saint Petersburg Theological Academy. He became archbishop of Moscow (1821), then metropolitan of Moscow (1826); he served in the latter office until he died. Meanwhile Filaret had become a member of the Holy Synod (1819), the governing body of the Russian Orthodox church. Whether active participant or (from 1842) estranged consultant, he was to dominate its work for almost half a century. In the process he was able to demonstrate that the church need not be as subservient to the state as successive lay procurators-general of the synod expected it to be.

Filaret was barred from participation in the deliberations of the synod after 1842 largely because of the ban imposed on a privately circulated translation of the Old Testament. This translation was held suspect for two reasons: It was made from the Hebrew, rather than the Septuagint (considered normative by the Orthodox church), and it was made into modern Russian. Filaret had early been a proponent of exactly such a translation, and he had participated in the Russian Bible Society's work on the New Testament and *Psalms* (published 1818–1823). This work, discouraged after 1824, was not resumed until 1858. The publication of a complete (and, until the late twentieth century, standard) Russian translation of the Bible was begun in the year after Filaret's death. But it was associated with his name.

Filaret also supported the pioneer translation into Russian of patristic literature. This translation had an impact far beyond the boundaries of those academic centers in which it was undertaken. The freshly uncovered wisdom of the Fathers was to inform and transmute the thought, even the piety, of the Russian church and to rescue it from its previous "Babylonian captivity" to Western theological patterns. Filaret himself was prominent among the beneficiaries of this rescue operation.

Filaret gave much thought to the reform of theological schooling and stressed that Russian Orthodox scholarship should "develop its own models in the true spirit of the apostolic church." He produced a standard text, *Longer Catechism* (1823, revised 1839), to help the clergy with its work. Of more lasting importance were his carefully considered sermons, which mark him as an exceptionally subtle theologian, always willing to have his personal and profound experience tempered by Orthodox tradition.

Filaret's posthumous publications include a vast range of memoranda, opinions, and correspondence. They show him to have been a statesman as well as a hierarch of the church. They also demonstrate his curious mixture of determined liberalism with cautious conservatism. He was ill at ease with "democratic principles." But whatever his limitations in the secular sphere, he reinvigorated the Russian church at every level of its life and, in the fullest sense, reoriented it.

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Sergei Hackel (1987)

FILLMORE, CHARLES AND MYRTLE. Myrtle (Mary Caroline) Page Fillmore (1845–1931) and Charles Sherlock Fillmore (1854–1948), a married couple, were the founders of Unity, the largest and most distinctly Christian movement in the New Thought tradition. They are the most notable students of New Thought's founder, Emma Curtis Hopkins (1849–1925). From its inception, Charles Fillmore was the leader of the movement and the primary force in the development of Unity's theological system and institutional structures. Although less visible than her husband, Myrtle Fillmore was equally important to the emergence and early expansion of the movement, with the healing of her tuberculosis in 1888 precipitating the movement's founding.

Myrtle was born in Pagetown, Ohio, the eighth of nine children. Her parents were prominent members of the local Methodist Episcopal Church. Unity biographical literature describes her as "not robust" and at times "seriously ill," but also "active and enthusiastic." Before entering college, she worked briefly as a newspaper writer. In 1868, after a year of study at Oberlin College, she was licensed as a teacher and began a career as a teacher in Clinton, Missouri. In an effort to maintain her fragile health, a result of suffering from both tuberculosis and malaria, in 1874 she relocated to Denison, Texas, where she established a private school.

Charles was born on a Chippewa reservation near Saint Cloud, Minnesota, the oldest of two sons. He had little contact with his father, who separated from the family when he was seven. Charles remained close to his mother until her death in 1931. Although his mother was a devout Episcopalian, she and her sons seldom attended church services. At the age of ten, Charles suffered a severe hip injury, which disabled him for two years and resulted in permanent damage to his right leg. As a result of his physical challenges and the necessity of finding employment to support the household, Charles's formal education ended when he was fourteen, although he did receive tutoring throughout his teens from Caroline Taylor, a graduate of Oberlin College. His studies with Taylor included readings in philosophy and theology. In 1874 Charles left Saint Cloud for the frontier town of Caddo in what is now Oklahoma. Shortly after his arrival he moved to Denison and took a job with the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad.

Myrtle and Charles met in Denison in 1876 and were married in Clinton, Missouri, in 1881. From 1881 to 1884, the Fillmores resided in Pueblo, Colorado, where Charles Fillmore was a real-estate partner with Charles Small, the husband of Alethea Brooks Small (1848–1906), who later played an important role in the founding of Divine Science. Following opportunities in the West's volatile real-estate market, the Fillmores moved to Omaha, Nebraska, and after a brief residency there they moved to Kansas City, Missouri. It was there that they founded Unity in 1889.

Before beginning their religious work, the couple had pursued livelihoods common to persons living in the nineteenth-century Midwest. Myrtle had been a teacher, and prior to his real estate career, Charles had held jobs as a printer's assistant, railroad freight inspector, mule-team driver, insurance salesperson, and assayer. They were active in the temperance movement, attended Methodist and Episcopal churches, and were exposed to Spiritualism and perhaps Theosophy. They had three sons—Lowell (1882–1975), Rickert (1884–1965), and Royal (1889–1923), each of whom was active in the Unity movement, with Lowell succeeding his father as president of Unity School of Christianity.

In 1886, at the same time the Kansas City real-estate market was beginning to decline, Myrtle experienced a flare-up of her tuberculosis. Seeking relief, she and Charles attended a lecture by E. B. Weeks, a mental healer from Chicago. Charles was not impressed with the lecture, but Myrtle was, specifically by Weeks's statement, "I am a child of God and therefore I do not inherit sickness." Using the statement as a healing affirmation and applying other mental healing techniques, Myrtle recovered, pronouncing herself healed in 1888. During this time, she also began to pray with others, who reported healings as a result. Myrtle's healing and her assistance in the healings of others awakened Charles's interest, and he began to practice mental healing rituals himself. His health improved and denominational histories report that his hip became stronger and his right leg began to lengthen.

As a result of their healings, the Fillmores became interested in the emerging mental healing movement, which was then identified as "Christian Science" (used in a generic sense) but would, by the turn of the century, be called New Thought, to distinguish it from the religion of Mary Baker Eddy (1821–1910). Their interest brought them into contact with Emma Curtis Hopkins, with whom they studied in Chicago and through correspondence from Kansas City. The Fillmores were ordained by Hopkins as ministers in 1891. Hopkins was the single most important influence on the Fillmores' religious development prior to their founding of Unity. Her impact is evident in the Fillmores' teachings (especially Charles's idealistic theology) and the organizational strategies they used in the early years of the Unity movement.

In 1889 (the year Unity recognizes as its founding), the Fillmores embarked on their first organizational endeavor, the publication of *Modern Thought*, a periodical "devoted to the spiritualization of humanity from an independent standpoint." The following year, Myrtle's healing talents led to the formation of a prayer ministry, the Society of Silent Help (later renamed Silent Unity). The success of *Modern Thought* (later absorbed into *Unity* magazine) and the Society of Silent Help served as the impetus for the emergence of Unity as a denomination.

Unity histories report that the couple did not desire to establish a religion, but in 1903 they formed a religious organization, the Unity Society of Practical Christianity, and they were members of the first group of ordained Unity ministers in 1906 (W. G. Haseltine, the president of the board of the Unity Society, performed the ordination). In 1914, they incorporated Unity School of Christianity, which continues to the present as the movement's most representative institution.

Myrtle's role in the leadership of Unity began to decline as the movement became more institutionalized. She left the office of editor of Unity's children's magazine, *Wee Wisdom*, in 1907, and in 1916 she relinquished her post as director of Silent Unity. In her later years her primary activities consisted of correspondence with Unity followers and assistance to Charles. Myrtle died in 1931, the year of the couple's fiftieth wedding anniversary.

In 1933 Charles married Cora Dedrick, who had been his secretary. He gradually relinquished control of the movement to his sons, especially Lowell, who succeeded him as president of Unity School. Charles and Cora traveled extensively, and he spent considerable time in California. He continued to lecture and write until the last few years of his life. His thirteen books are still printed and distributed by Unity School.

SEE ALSO Hopkins, Emma Curtis; New Thought Movement; Unity.

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Dell deChant (2005)
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FILM AND RELIGION.

While the academic study of "film and religion" as a subfield within religious studies has only come of age since the late 1980s, the connection between film and religion is as old as film itself. As film theorist André Bazin once put it, "The cinema has always been interested in God" (Bazin, 1997, p. 61). Indeed, if one accepts the now-standard origin of cinema to begin with the Lumière brothers' first public screening for a paying audience in December 1895, then the first decade of cinema saw at least a half dozen filmed versions of the life and passion of Jesus Christ, including those made by the inventors of film themselves, Thomas Edison and Louis Lumière. The figure of Jesus Christ has continued to be a popular topic for film and a touchstone for cinematic controversy throughout the twentieth century, with such directors as Sidney Olcott, D. W. Griffith, Cecil B. DeMille, George Stevens, Pier Paolo Pasolini, Norman Jewison, Martin Scorsese, and Mel Gibson offering various theological perspectives. Jesus is not the only religious figure to appear on screen, however, and religious issues, practices, characters, and conflicts are presented on a frequent basis in films around the world. The first half of this entry will thus offer a global survey of examples of films since the mid-1980s that deal with matters of interest to religious studies.

It is not only the content of film that connects film and religion, for as a number of critics have observed, one can find religious interests and implications in the formal style of film, as well as in the cinematic experience of viewing film. As another early film critic and director, Jean Epstein, once said, "I would even go so far as to say that the cinema is polytheistic and theogonic" (Abel, 1988, p. 317). Film, and the experience of viewing film, may be religious in and of itself, creating its own gods, goddesses, and myths, and film does not merely represent or reflect an already established religion. So, while not mutually exclusive categories, film studies and religion studies can be usefully divided into three key approaches, and the second half of this entry will examine the various scholarly responses to the connections between film and religion: religion in film, religion as film, and the cinematic experience and ritual.

Religions and Cinemas around the World. While an all-inclusive list would be impossible to include here, there are a number of international filmmakers since 1985 (approximately since the entry on film was written for the first edition of *The Encyclopedia of Religion*) who have dealt with religious issues in myriad ways. Many films in world cinema that touch on religious themes often do so by presenting religion in conflict. The most common conflicts arise when older religious values are challenged by the social, political, economic, and religious realities of modern life, especially in a postcolonial environment. There is conflict when, due to modern life and the aftereffects of colonialism, religious people from differing traditions are placed side by side and forced to get along (or not). And conflict arises when individual gender, sexual, and ethnic identities meet socioreligious identities. This list is in no way comprehensive, but is intended to display the number of directions that the study of film and religion can go in without treading across the same territory of previous studies. There is little or no critical literature from a religious studies standpoint in English on the films mentioned in this entry, and these films are mentioned precisely for this reason, to show the breadth of possible subject matter for religious studies scholars interested in film.

East Asian cinema has seen the development of several movements since the 1970s, as filmmakers have experimented with new styles and modes of production. In the wake of Akira Kurosawa and Yasujiro Ozu, Japan has continued to be a prominent producer of films dealing with key religious themes. Toshihiro Tenma's *Kyosono Tanjo* (Many happy returns, 1993) explores new religious movements in Japan; Hirokazu Koreeda's *Maborosi* (1995) utilizes a "Zen aesthetic"; and two films produced in 1989 examine the life of the Zen Buddhist tea master Rikyu: Kei Kumai's *Sen no Rikyu* and Hiroshi Teshigahara's *Rikyu.* Also vibrant in Japan is the work of anime writers and directors, including Hayao Miyazaki's *Princess Mononoke* (1997) and *Spirited Away* (2001), Hideaki Anno's two *Neon Genesis Evangelion* films (1997), and Katsuhiro Ôtomo's *Akira* (1988). Ôtomo also wrote the screenplay for *Metropolis* (2001), directed by Taro Rin. A number of Korean directors have infused Buddhism into their films, including Bae Yong-gyun in *Why Has the Bodhidharma Left for the East?* (1989), Im Kwon-Taek in *Sopyonje* (1993) and *Come Come Come Upward* (1989), and Chang Sonu in *Passage to Buddha* (1993).

China's New Cinema movement has had a huge impact on the international film scene since the mid-1980s, occasionally incorporating Daoist and Confucian elements. Daoist issues arise in Chinese director Chen Kaige's *King of the Children* (1987), while critiques of Confucian ethics are seen in Zhang Yimou's *Ju Dou* (1990). In Bangladesh, Tareque Masud's *Matir Moina* (The clay bird, 2002) tells the story of the emergence of the nation of Bangladesh, offering a sympathetic yet critical look at Islam in the midst of the move toward political independence.

Notable films with religious interests from New Zealand include the work of Jane Campion: *Angel at My Table* (1990), *The Piano* (1993), and *Holy Smoke* (1999). Cross-cultural conflicts between Maoris, whites, and others get taken up in Lee Tamahori's *Once Were Warriors* (1994) and Gregor Nicholas's *Broken English* (1996). In Australia, films such as Nicholas Parsons's *Dead Heart* (1996) and Tracey Moffatt's *Nice Coloured Girls* (1987) deal with Christian-

Aboriginal cultural conflicts. From another standpoint, David MacDougall's ethnographic films of Aboriginal culture, such as *Transfer of Power* (1986), offer intriguing examinations of cultural differences, and MacDougall has been prolifically thinking through the issues of visual representation in his films and writings.

South Asian cinema, because of its enormity (Mumbai's yearly production dwarfs Hollywood's) and because mythological themes are so intertwined in Indian cultures, is almost impossible to classify. Indian film history is steeped in mythological themes and stories of Hindu saints, and today's *masala* films often incorporate many of these narratives, weaving them into song and dance routines, domestic drama, and action-adventure sequences. Some films with themes of interest to the religious studies scholar might include the *Mahābhārata* retelling in Arjun Sagnani's *Agni Varsha* (2002), the postcolonial religion/cricket epic *Lagaan* (2001) by Ashutosh Gowariker, and the Muslim-Hindu religious conflicts dealt with in Kamal Haasan's *Hey Ram* (2000), Khalid Mohamed's *Fiza* (2000), and Deepa Mehta's *Earth* (1998). Films about the Indian diaspora and consequent cross-cultural challenges figure prominently in newer Indian films; important among these are the story of a wedding in Sooraj R. Barjatya's *Hum Aapke Hain Koun* (Who am I to you? 1994) and Subhash Ghai's coming of age story, *Pardes* (Abroad, 1997). And apart from Western filmmakers looking at Tibetan Buddhism, including Jean-Jacques Annaud's *Seven Years in Tibet* (1997) and Martin Scorsese's *Kundun* (1997), former Tibetan monk Khyentse Norbu made *The Cup* (1999), a prime film for teaching religious studies, as it deconstructs an exoticizing gaze.

The most productive site in western Asia for film production is Iran, where the films of Abbas Kiarostami (e.g., *A Taste of Cherry* [1997], *The Wind Will Carry Us* [1999]); Mohsen Makhmalbaf (e.g., *A Moment of Innocence* [1996], *The Gabbeh* [1996], *The Silence* [1998]); Majid Majidi (e.g., *Children of Heaven* [1997], *The Color of Paradise* [1999]); and Jafar Panahi (e.g., *The Mirror* [1997], *The Circle* [2000]), among others, all reflect everyday life in postrevolutionary Iran. Faced with heavy censorship, Iranian filmmakers have continued to produce some of the most critically acclaimed films in the world. While the religious studies scholar may wish to see more explicit images of Islam, there are a number of ways to read these highly allegorical films that point toward a Persian-Islamic worldview. And while Islam may not always be present, these films are peopled with Muslims, and it is crucial, as always, not to confuse an essentialist term like *Islam* for the people who actually practice the religion.

Toward the Mediterranean, films from Israel have shown the conflicts between gender and religion (as in Amos Gitai's *Kadosh* [1999]), sexuality and religion (as in Sandi Simcha Dubowski's *Trembling Before G-d* [2001]), and between the orthodox and the secular, with a good dose of Qabbalah (as in Yossi Somer's *The Dybbuk of the Holy Apple Field* [1998]). In Palestine, Elia Suleiman's *Divine Intervention* (2001) portrays conflicts through the mixing of theology and politics.

The continent of Africa has experienced a strong increase in film production since the 1970s, with films confronting postcolonial situations that pit the traditional against the modern; in sub-Saharan Africa this often includes the conflict between Christianity and indigenous beliefs and practice. Egypt is the "Hollywood of the Arab World" and has garnered the attention of the international film world, especially since Youssef Chahine's *Destiny,* a film set in twelfth-century Islamic Andalusia, was nominated for the Golden Palm at the Cannes Film Festival in 1997. Other Egyptian standouts dealing with religious-political conflicts include Daoud Abdel Sayed's *Land of Fear* (1999) and Atef Hetata's *Closed Doors* (1999).

Elsewhere in Africa, examples of the modern-traditional debate with reference to Islamic, Christian, and indigenous religions include Drissa Toure's *Haramuya* (1995) and Dani Kouyaté's *Keita: Heritage of the Griot* (1994), both from Burkina Faso; Amadou Thior's *Almodou* (2000) from Senegal; Nouri Bouzid's *Bezness* (1992) from Tunisia; and Saddiq Balewa's *Kasarmu Ce* (The land is ours, 1994) from Nigeria. Perhaps the best-known and most prolific filmmaker in Africa is Ousmane Sembene from Senegal, whose many films include *Guelwaar* (1992), which offers a critique of interreligious conflict. Like Sembene, director Med Hondo of Mauritania self-consciously makes films that offer an alternative aesthetic to that of Western filmmaking; one example is *Sarraounia* (1986), about a warrior-queen who leads her people in the challenges posed by the colonizing French. In western Africa, there has been a boom in film production through new, inexpensive video technologies that are used to produce "videofilms" that have a mass appeal, many of which are produced by Pentecostal religious groups. The African diaspora is the topic of many films produced in and out of Africa, and can be seen, for example, in such films as Julie Dash's *Daughters of the Dust* (1991), Felix de Rooy's *Desiree* (1984), and Haile Gerima's many films, especially *Sankofa* (1993), as well as a number of Latin American films discussed below.

In southeastern Europe, in the midst of decades of political upheaval, film production has been strong. Of particular note is Milcho Manchevski's *Before the Rain* (1994), which tells of Orthodox Christian and Muslim communities and their conflicts in the former Yugoslavia. Romany/Gypsy cultures are seen in a number of productions, including the great Bosnian director Emir Kusturica's *Time of the Gypsies* (1989) and Tony Gatlif's *Latcho Drom* (1993) and *Gadja Dilo* (1997), the former created without any dialogue, only music and movement.

The works of western European directors have been well-traversed by religion scholars, and are only mentioned in passing here. In many ways inspired by former countrymen Carl Theodor Dreyer and Søren Kierkegaard, Danish filmmaking has consistently returned to existentially religious themes. Such films include Thomas Vinterberg's *Celebration* (1998), Roy Andersson's *Songs from the Second Floor* (2000), and the works of Lars von Trier, especially *The Kingdom* (1994, 1997), *Breaking the Waves* (1996), and *Dancer in the Dark* (2000). In Poland, the late Krzysztof Kieslowski's religiously inspired films include the *Three Colors* trilogy (1993–1994), *Decalogue* (1988), and the posthumous project eventually directed by Thomas Tykwer, *Heaven* (2002). In Spain, Julio Medem shies away from depicting religion explicitly, yet his style evokes a mystical aura in ways akin to the magic seen through early film theory, especially in *Tierra* (1996), *Lovers of the Arctic Circle* (1998), and *Sex and Lucia* (2001). And Pedro Almodóvar, as a descendant of Luis Buñuel's surrealism and Roman Catholic satire, continues to utilize critical, yet not unsympathetic, portrayals of nuns and the institution of the church in such films as *Matador* (1986), *Live Flesh* (1997), and *All about My Mother* (1999). A number of French films through the 1990s updated the existentialist quest for meaning in life, notably Benoît Jacquot's *School of Flesh* (1998) and Danièle Dubroux's *Diary of a Seducer* (1996), while the cross-cultural clashes of suburban Paris are seen in Mathieu Kassovitz's *Hate* (1995).

Themes of religion in Central and South America have tended be critical of Roman Catholicism, or have delved into the hybrid religions of Afro-Catholic mixings. Cuba has been a fertile site for film production since the 1959 revolution, with Santerian practices showing up, for example, in Gloria Rolando's *Oggún* (1991), Tomás Gutiérrez Alea's *Guantamamera* (1994), and Humberto Solás's *Honey for Oshun* (2001). Films from Mexico include critiques of Roman Catholicism in Carlos Carrera's *Crime of Father Amaro* (2002) and Nicolás Echevarría's *Cabeza de Vaca* (1991). In Brazil, Tania Cypriano's documentary *Odô yá! Life with AIDS* (1997) portrays the importance of Candomblé in education about AIDS, and her short, *Ex-Voto* (1990), is a devotional expression to the patron saint of Brazil. One of the masters of Brazilian Cinema Novo is filmmaker Nelson Pereira dos Santos, whose many films include *Jubiata* (1987), which deals with interracial, interclass issues with a strong dose of Afro-Brazilian religious practice. Vodoun is probably the most slighted religion in the history of film, but can be seen in a somewhat objective light in Maya Deren's posthumously produced documentary *Divine Horsemen* (1985) and Alberto Venzago's documentary *Mounted by the Gods* (2000).

Independent filmmakers in the United States continue to weave religious themes into their works, often improvising on ancient myths and mythic structures, and examining the ways narratives construct the communal and personal identities of Americans. Of note in this regard are the films of Jim Jarmusch (e.g., *Dead Man* [1995], *Ghost Dog* [1999]); Hal Hartley (e.g., *Henry Fool* [1997], *The Book of Life* [1998], *No Such Thing* [2001]); and John Sayles (e.g., *City of Hope* [1991], *Lone Star* [1996], *Limbo* [1999]). The annual Sundance Film Festival gives evidence to the continued presence of religious interests among young filmmakers, and religious matters have been taken up, for example, in Sarah Rogacki's debut, *Rhythm of the Saints* (2002); Jonathan Kesselman's comedy, *The Hebrew Hammer* (2002); Larry Fessenden's mythic *Wendigo* (2001); and Greg Watkins's relationship comedy, *A Sign from God* (2000). Intriguing insights into the spirituality of rave culture can be seen in Greg Harrison's *Groove* (2000) and Jon Reiss's documentary, *Better Living through Circuitry* (1999).

In Canada, Egyptian-born director Atom Egoyan, whose films include *Calendar* (1993), *Exotica* (1994), *The Sweet Hereafter* (1997), and *Ararat* (2002), continually plays with the ambiguous relation between historical time and memory—specifically in reference to loss, tragedy, and the possibilities of redemption—in ways inherent to the medium of film. The mature works of David Cronenberg, including *Crash* (1996), *eXistenZ* (1999), and *Spider* (2002), deal with issues of identity and relationships in ways that probe the depths of what it is to be human, developing existential questions in a postmodern age.

SCHOLARLY APPROACHES TO FILM AND RELIGION. There are three key scholarly approaches to the relationship between film and religion. The first might be called "religion *in* film," a way of analyzing the religious dimensions of film by focusing primarily on its narrative content. "Film *as* religion" is the second key approach, and is based on formal parallels between the aesthetic styles of film and religious practices. Finally, there is an interest in "cinematic experience and ritual," where a focus on spectatorship and its relation to ritual takes precedence. These categories often overlap in individual studies, and are charted here for heuristic reasons. The key question that divides these approaches seems to revolve around the location of meaning: Is religious meaning found in the subject matter of the film, in the aesthetic form of the film, or in the experience of viewing the film?

Religion in film. Whether a film plot is based on a messiah, a saint, a bodhisattva, a pilgrimage, a reenactment of a sacred text, or whether religious performances are displayed in documentary film, religion shows up in film on a regular basis. This way of thinking about the relation between film and religion seems to be the most apparent to the textual and narrative bias of most religious studies, and it has therefore become the most prominent method of examining the relationship. As with so much of the study of religion itself, a vast majority of these studies have been based in Christian theology and display a Euro-American outlook.

P. Adams Sitney's contribution to the 1987 *Encyclopedia of Religion* ("Cinema and Religion") came along at the end of what might be called the first wave of religion-in-film criticism, a loose canon of publications roughly extending from the 1960s to the late 1980s. Book-length studies during this period typically offered broad approaches, and they often worked from the standpoint of existential theology: film could be religiously instructive because it taught about the human condition, providing stories and images that struggled for meaning. John R. May should be credited as the key person in the development of the interdisciplinary field—especially for amassing and publishing the work of other scholars interested in the topic—as a legitimate focus of study within religious studies.

As most of the publications in this first wave made clear, the connection between film and religion was primarily to be found in European cinema, particularly in the work of directors such as Pier Paolo Passolini, Carl Theodor Dreyer, Robert Bresson, and Ingmar Bergman (Japanese directors Yasujiro Ozu and Akira Kurosawa were the two key non-Westerners). Relevant U.S. productions included work by D. W. Griffith and Cecil B. DeMille in the early years of cinema, with Alfred Hitchcock adding a few flourishes mid-century, and George Lucas, Stanley Kubrick, and Martin Scorsese providing a religious flavor to film in the 1960s to 1990s. During this period, religion-in-film scholars tended to shy away from popular films, choosing instead to focus on what would later be called "art house" films. This probably does not reflect an elitist attitude on the part of this first wave of scholars so much as it reflects the struggle they faced in getting others in the academy take their work seriously. After all, who could argue against the seriousness with which Bergman or Kurosawa portrayed religious matters?

The study of film and religion became solidified through the decade of the 1990s, as evidenced by the upsurge of publications in the field, the establishment of a program unit on film and religion within the American Academy of Religion, and the launch of the online *Journal of Religion and Film.* In many ways reacting to the earlier paradigm that found film and religion only in "serious" art house films, the 1990s witnessed the next wave of film and religion criticism, which self-consciously took popular Hollywood film as its primary focus. Biblical scholars and theologians began to take a second look at popular culture, and found a wealth of resources in film, particularly in popular film. Christian theologians reworked Reinhold Niebuhr's and Paul Tillich's thoughts on the relation between Christianity and culture, and decided that there must be an engagement with culture, with film being one of the cultural expressions par excellence in modern life. The prevalence of the ideas of Tillich and Niebuhr in film and religion studies, a half-century after their writing, attest to these theologians' keen insights in relating religion and culture, though it probably also attests to the need for new theories of culture, since the culture of the first half of the twentieth century looks less and less like that of the twenty-first.

This second wave is also marked by a number of explicitly Christian theological studies, in contrast to the tendency to use existentially universal language evident in many of the first-wave publications. Studies through the 1990s include the relation of film to Christian, and occasionally Jewish, understandings of the Bible; the relation of film to doctrines of Christian theology; and a plethora of works on Christ figures in film. While there are a variety of interests indicated in these works, they can be seen collectively through their examination of popular film, by their chiefly Christian theological orientation, and ultimately by the ways they see religion in film, paying scant attention to the specificities of the medium or the role of spectatorship.

Since the mid-1990s there have been several attempts at historicizing, categorizing, and hence legitimizing the subfield. One of the more influential and useful schemas for the approach to religion in film is found in Joel W. Martin and Conrad E. Ostwalt's edited volume *Screening the Sacred* (1995). In the introduction, Martin lays out three ways of viewing film from a religious studies standpoint: theological criticism, mythological criticism, and ideological criticism. Not meant to be exclusive categories, Martin points toward a "future" synthesis of these modes, implying that such a synthesis has not yet occurred. A wide variety of films can be included under the three categories, yet the actual studies within the book itself all primarily function from the understanding that religious meaning is found within the film story or characters. Following on these categories, in *Film as Religion* (2003) John Lyden rightly notes that most film and religion studies are either too theological or too ideological: the former remains bound by presuppositions as to what constitutes "religion" (i.e., Christianity), and the latter tends to be so focused on critiquing the power structures that it neglects some of the more positive understandings of religion. Lyden goes on to develop a more nuanced approach that draws heavily on the myth and ritual theories of Clifford Geertz, supplemented by the theories of Wendy Doniger and Jonathan Z. Smith. By investigating "religion as film," Lyden's work crosses over into the second category of film and religion approaches.

Religion as film. Early film theorists, chiefly because of the visual prominence of silent film, emphatically stressed formalist understandings of cinema. They argued about the psychological and social effects that the medium of film has on its audience due to its rearranging of "normal" space and time through cinematography, mise-en-scène, and editing. In the 1920s in France, film theorists (in particular, Louis Delluc, Jean Epstein, and Léon Moussinac) developed the idea of *photogenie,* the cinematic transformation of reality through the technological properties inherent in the form of film itself. Because of its emphasis on the formal properties of filmmaking, much of this early film theory did not depend on narrative film, and indeed often triumphed nonlinear, nonnarrative films. Thus, through the camera's ability to slow down or speed up "real time," or to juxtapose images in ways that display new relations, or to zoom in on particular segments of visual reality, the world itself is reconfigured and viewers are given a brand new outlook, a new "world-view." Representation became a means for knowledge, "revealing" the truth of the world in an altogether new form. And even though debates eventually emerged between the realists and antirealists in film theory, both arguments have implications for a religious view of film form.

From a religious studies perspective, what is interesting about film's capacity to rearrange the "world-as-it-is" is the frequent use of religious language to justify the theory. Epstein has already been quoted as seeing the theogonic properties of cinema, and others spoke of cinema as "revelation," as "magic," and as a "miracle." Recapping many of these ideas in her book *Savage Theory* (2000), Rachel Moore argues that early film theorists and filmmakers (especially Walter Benjamin, Sergei Eisenstein, Vachel Lindsay, Siegfried Kracauer, and Bazin) saw in film a potential re-enchantment of a modern world that had lost language's expressive ability (explicated in Ferdinand de Saussure's account of the arbitrariness of the sign) and that experienced a general mode of alienation due to industrialized, modern life. In the early 1960s, avant-garde filmmaker Stan Brakhage would continue this language, expressing the religious possibilities of film form in his quasi-manifesto "Metaphors on Vision" (1963). For Brakhage, film artists are "essentially preoccupied by and deal imagistically with—birth, sex, death, and the search for God" (Mast, Cohen, and Braudy, 1992, p. 72).

Later, director and screenwriter Paul Schrader's 1972 *Transcendental Style in Film* examined the "aesthetics of sparseness" in the films of Ozu, Bresson, and Dreyer. Even though these directors had differing religious backgrounds, Schrader sees them each using a filmic style that emerges through pared-down filmmaking techniques, including austere cinematography, unexpressive acting, and light-handed editing. Thus, the properties specific to filmmaking itself allow access to the transcendental; a long take of a close-up of an expressionless face, no matter whose face it is, can evoke an experience of transcendence.

From another angle, the religious dimension to film form and style can also be seen in relation to the contemplative emphasis of various religious traditions, and here film becomes a new medium in a long list of visual media, from icons to yantras to *thangka* paintings, designed to facilitate meditation. Francisca Cho, for example, discusses the relation of Korean Buddhist films to a "cultic mode" of viewing heavily dependent on the aesthetic choices made in the making of film (see Cho in Plate and Jasper, 1999). And as with each of the examples given here regarding "film as religion," Cho's cultic mode of viewing film implicitly suggests that meaning cannot simply be found in the film form, for there must also be an audience that views the edited juxtapositions, the austere lighting, or the slow movement of actors.

The cinematic experience and ritual. Apart from the formal style, the plot, and the characters of film, there is also the cinematic experience—the reception of film—which is a critical point of interrogation for the scholar of religion. While theorists of film and religion continually mention the importance of audience reception, very little work has been done in this area. Scholars often theorize about the effect of editing, for example, but seldom do they do any ethnographic work to find out how audiences actually do react. More complicated still would be a study that gauged the responses to a particular film in varying locations, times, and cultures, thereby reorienting the location of the meaning of film to the cinematic event.

The religious implications of film reception are most obvious when the experience is understood and analyzed in terms of ritual; this is not to say that every screening of every film is a ritual, for that would make both terms meaningless, but that the cinematic experience can become a ritual. We can see this when viewers perform *pūja* (devotional offerings) before screenings of mythological films in South Asian theaters; when young people in the United States, wearing specific clothes, line up for a "midnight mass" on Saturday night to watch *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* again and again; or when films are televised, and family and friends in North America gather in living rooms to watch the annual broadcast of *It's a Wonderful Life* at Christmas, *King of Kings* at Easter, or *The Wizard of Oz* in July. In these ritualized performances, the religious content of the film is beside the point. Rather, what is crucial is the way these activities occur at special "set apart" times (often in seasonal cycles) and in special places (whether the living room of the family home or in the film theater) in which there is an emphasis on a communal experience and on the aesthetics of seeing and listening (and usually eating as well), and on interacting with other viewers and with the film. Whatever else a ritual is, it certainly aims to be an activity that promotes attentiveness and sensual focus, and film form enables just that.

In this approach to the relation of film and religion, social-scientific approaches become prominent, and such newer fields as media studies and cultural studies offer useful methodologies. Nonetheless, communications and media studies, even when discussing the ritual dimensions of audiovisual media, usually neglect film and spend most of their time evaluating audience reception of television shows and news media. The work of Stewart Hoover, Lynn Schofield Clark, and Eric Rothenbuhler, among others, has offered interesting studies on the ritualized reception of media (mostly television and news media), analyzing many of the parallels between ritual and media, and the methods of these scholars can be useful to film and religion studies. Perhaps the most vital new field that provides a "third term" in linking film and religion is that of visual-culture studies, which combines the formalist interests typical of the humanities with the reception interests typical of the social sciences. Inherent is also an interest in the cross-cultural dimensions to visuality, to see the cinematic experience located within particular cultures, at particular times, paying attention also to the gendered, ethnic, sexual, and religious differences of the activity of seeing. Thus, visual culture offers a way to think through all three of the approaches to film and religion listed here.

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURES. The subfield of film and religion has gradually gained acceptance in religious studies, and prominent theorists of religion now regularly incorporate discussion of films into their analyses of myth, ritual, and other aspects of religion. Alongside this development are newer modes of religious inquiry that utilize material and visual artifacts as primary evidence, rather than "illustration," of religious belief and practice. As part of a broader movement within religious studies that is increasingly paying attention to visual- and material-culture studies (and concomitantly emphasizing religious practice rather than merely belief), film and religion studies can continue to play a vital role in the shaping of religious studies and not merely be an appendage to the discipline. Along these lines there are two key directions that the field is beginning to take (and will likely keep elaborating on). First, film and religion studies is moving beyond the Christian-Hollywood matrix and displaying the varieties of global religious experiences and traditions as mediated through film. Second, religious approaches to film are helping to point out the constructed nature of vision by making links between visual representation and the creation of socioreligious, worlds with all their attendant myths, ideologies, and practices.

Because postmodern, postcolonial life consists of multicultural and interreligious encounters on a regular basis, there is an obvious need to branch out beyond the Hollywood centrism evident in a majority of film-and-religion studies in the past. Films made outside of Hollywood do not conform to the same aesthetic standards that capitalist, industrial film relies upon, and by looking at films made in South America, Africa, and Asia, for example, and through attention to film form and reception, the student of film and religion begins to see the ways other worlds are visually constructed, not excluding religious worlds.

In so doing, the religious studies scholar may begin to develop what might be called an "ethics of vision" that is attentive to the differences in cultures, races, classes, genders, sexualities, and a host of other identity factors. Seeing is an activity that humans learn how to do; it is not an innate ability. Among other factors, this sensual activity is shaped by visual technologies such as film, television, video games, and the Internet, as well as ever more powerful telescopes and microscopes. Thus, by moving beyond the search for religious characters in film, scholars can look at the larger religious questions involved in the social construction of reality through visual terms.

Finally, as Sitney ended his 1987 *Encyclopedia of Religion* entry with a nod to avant-garde film, so will this entry. There remains much promise for religious studies in the avant-garde films of Stan Brakhage, Maya Deren, Kenneth Anger, and Hollis Frampton, among others, and it should not be too easily overlooked. While there is often a strong religious content, albeit obscure, in avant-garde works, there is a religious dimension to the formal style of these films that is perhaps more important. Sitney's own study of the avant-garde, *Visionary Film* (2002), is now in its third edition, and his analysis highlights many engaging relations between film and religion. While avant-garde films remain difficult to watch, they nonetheless help to point out the constructed nature of vision itself. As Brakhage put it in "Metaphors on Vision": "Suppose the Vision of the saint and the artist to be an increased ability to see—vision" (Mast, Cohen, Braudy, 1992, p. 71).

SEE ALSO Art and Religion; Media and Religion; Niebuhr, Reinhold; Popular Culture; Tillich, Paul Johannes; Visual Culture and Religion.

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There have been few studies of religion and film outside Christianity and outside European and North American productions. Occasional articles in edited collections, such as John May's *New Image of Religious Film* (Kansas City, Mo., 1997) and several of the chapters in S. Brent Plate and David Jasper's *Imag(in)ing Otherness: Filmic Visions of Living Together* (Atlanta and Oxford, 1999), as well as Plate's *Representing Religion in World Cinema: Filmmaking, Mythmaking, and Culture Making* (New York, 2003), deal with non-Christian, non-Hollywood films. *The Journal of Religion and Film,* available from http://cid.unomaha.edu/~wwwjrf, has also published a number of articles dealing with world cinema.

Significant among the first wave of "religion in film" studies dealing with broad, existentially religious themes are Neil Hurley's *Theology through Film* (New York, 1970), Ernest Ferlita and John May's *Film Odyssey: The Art of Film as Search for Meaning* (New York, 1976), and Ronald Holloway's *Beyond the Image: Approaches to the Religious Dimension in the Cinema* (Geneva, 1977). Some of the second wave of studies that turned toward popular film yet retained a broad understanding of religion can be seen in Joel Martin and Conrad Ostwalt's edited *Screening the Sacred: Religion, Myth, and Ideology in Popular American Film* (Boulder, Colo., 1995) and Margaret Miles's *Seeing and Believing: Religion and Values in the Movies* (Boston, 1996). The second wave also includes many works dealing explicitly with Christian theology, including Clive Marsh and Gaye Ortiz's edited *Explorations in Theology and Film: Movies and Meaning* (Malden, Mass., 1998), and an overabundance of books dealing specifically with images of Jesus and "Christ figures" on screen, including Roy Kinnard and Tim Davis's *Divine Images: A History of Jesus on the Screen* (New York, 1992), Lloyd Baugh's *Imaging the Divine: Jesus and Christ-Figures in Film* (Kansas City, Mo., 1997), and Christopher Deacy's *Screen Christologies: Redemption and the Medium of Film* (Cardiff, UK, 2001). There are also many works dealing with relations of the Bible to film, such as Robert Jewett's *Saint Paul at the Movies: The Apostle's Dialogue with American Culture* (Louisville, Ky., 1993), Bernard Brandon Scott's *Hollywood Dreams and Biblical Stories* (Minneapolis, 1994), George Aichele and Richard Walsh's edited *Screening Scripture: Intertextual Connections between Scripture and Film* (Harrisburg, Pa., 2002), and Erin Runions's *How Hysterical: Identification and Resistance in the Bible and Film* (New York, 2003). For an updated theory (beyond Tillich and Niebuhr) of the relations of Christianity to culture, see Kathryn Tanner's *Theories of Culture: A New Agenda for Theology* (Minneapolis, 1997).

For overviews of some of the studies dealing with religion in film, see chapter 1 of John C. Lyden's *Film as Religion: Myths, Morals, and Rituals* (New York, 2003) and Steve Nolan's "The Books of the Films" in *Literature and Theology* 12, no. 1 (1998): 1–15.

Studies focusing on "religion as film" come from a variety of perspectives, including Lyden's religious studies orientation in *Film as Religion.* For a film studies perspective see Paul Schrader's *Transcendental Style in Film: Ozu, Bresson, Dreyer* (Berkeley, 1972) and P. Adams Sitney's *Visionary Film: The American Avant-Garde, 1943–2000,* 3d ed. (Oxford, 2002). Many of the early film theorists took this approach as well; see the sources listed above.

Scholarly work relating the "cinematic experience" to religion and ritual is still in its early stages, but see, for example, the work coming out of the social sciences, such as Patrick Kinkade and Michael Katovich's essay "Toward a Sociology of Cult Films: Reading *Rocky Horror*" in *Sociological Quarterly* 33, no. 2 (1992): 191–209. Paul Nathanson's *Over the Rainbow: The Wizard of Oz as a Secular Myth of America* (Albany, N.Y., 1991) and several of the articles in Plate's *Representing Religion in World Cinema* deal with the religious reception of films. Film and religion are usefully brought together by the use of such third terms as cultural studies, media studies, or visual culture. From a media studies perspective, see Eric Rothenbuhler's *Ritual Communication: From Everyday Conversation to Mediated Ceremony* (Thousand Oaks, Calif., 1998) and Stewart Hoover and Lynn Schofield Clark's edited *Practicing Religion in the Age of Media: Explorations in Media, Religion, and Culture* (New York, 2002). David Morgan, while not dealing with moving images, nonetheless develops useful methods for seeing the relations between religion and visual culture, particularly in his *Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images* (Berkeley, 1998).

S. Brent Plate (2005)

FINNISH RELIGIONS.

The scope of what is covered by the phrase Finnish religion(s) varies according to the different meanings of Finn, Finnish, and Finland geographically, linguistically, and historically.

Finland is, with Iceland, the world's most northerly country. Its location on the Gulf Stream allows for the economic diversity that supports its population, which has been quite small throughout history and totaled around 5.2 million in 2004.

Despite the fact that Finland is less Arctic than parallel territories in Russia, Canada, and the United States, being only partly under permafrost, the north is crucial in the religions of the Sami (ca. 8,000 in Finland) and Finns, the two indigenous peoples of Northern Europe. The Latin word *fenni,* first found in Tacitus's *Germania* (98 CE), comes from Germanic speakers who defined their northern and eastern neighbors as Finns. Tacitus describes barbarian people somewhere in the northeastern Baltic region, living "in unparalleled squalor and poverty." As the nomadic *fenni* lifestyle differed from that of the Germanic peoples, who lived a more settled existence, the term *Finn* might have referred to the way of life these people followed. Thus, the word *fenni* may have encompassed the ancestors of both Finnish and Sami speakers, who shared a common "Lapp" nomadic way of life. Old Norse sagas and chronicles by Saxo Grammaticus and Adam von Bremen make a distinction between two types of Finns, those who were settled down and the nomads known as *Scridfinni.*

The word *Finn* (Finnish, *suomalainen*) means citizen of Finland, an independent country since 1917. Despite joining the European Union in 1995, increased international activity, and a trend toward multiculturalism, Finland today is more monocultural than a century ago; the 2004 census reveals a population that is over 90 percent Finnish *(suomi),* around 6 percent Swedish, and 0.5 percent Russian. Finland has older immigrant populations, such as Rom, Tatar Moslems, and Jews, and since the 1990s approximately 100,000 immigrants speaking more than 100 languages have arrived.

Recent development have brought new diversity to the religious life of Finland, which now has a population of around 20,000 Muslims, but the general picture has remained as monotonous as in other Nordic countries, with Evangelical Lutheranism serving as the state church and "ethnoreligion." Loyalty to the established church is characteristic of Finnish civil religion; the five main revivalist movements have remained within the Lutheran Church. Despite a certain loosening of the situation following the freedom of religion law of 2002, the position of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, to which around 85 percent of Finns belong, is strong. The position of the Orthodox Church of Finland, which is an independent national church with four bishops, is stronger than its 1.2 percent membership would suggest, due to Finland's long history of Karelian roots.

Historically, the concept of *Finland* is newer and less complicated than that of the *Finn.* From the Middle Ages, Finland (proper) was one of the three to seven provinces of the Kingdom of Sweden. It became a state in 1809 when, as a Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire, it was granted autonomy, with Helsinki as the new capital. This autonomy favored nation-building ambitions that had been impossible during Finland's long history of Swedish control. The resultant nineteenth-century nation-building process was fed by Finland's notion of the uniqueness of its history, by the celebration of the epics in the *Kalevala,* and by nationalist identification with the Finnish *(suomi)* language.

A new Finnish self-esteem expressed by the historian Yrjö Koskinen (1830–1903) was based on the notion of language as the property shared by Finnish-related peoples in Russia; Finland, Koskinen wrote, stepped "into the light of history quite late because of the country's extremely peripheral location beside the sea of the Russian peoples." Identification with national roots was strengthened by research. Matthias Alexander Castrén's fieldwork among the Finno-Ugric peoples during the 1840s became the cornerstone of Finno-Ugristics. At the same time, a scientific study of the paradigmatic forms of Finnish religion was initiated.

Castrén's fieldwork stressed Finnish nationalism over Finno-Ugric identity. Castrén returned from his second expedition in 1849, after Lönnrot published his longer version of the *Kalevala,* the *(New) Kalevala,* which became recognized as the only proper version of the Finnish epic. It soon replaced the *(Old) Kalevala* of 1835, which in 1841 had been translated into Swedish by Castrén. The influence of Romanticism and a surge of nationalism inspired by the French Revolution of 1848 led to a completely new interpretation of the *Kalevala.*

The *Old Kalevala* had been compiled by Lönnrot as a compendium of Finnish myths and was intended to replace and expand upon the *Mythologia Fennica* (1789) of Christfried Ganander. The *New Kalevala* was declared to be the sacred history of the Finns, in a foreshadowing of the later Finnicized National Romanticism. A new historical interpretation of the *Kalevala* projected on to it a linear conception of time tied to the development of Christianity. In this rereading, *Kalevala's* history began with biblical creation and ended with the voluntary death of its hero, Väinämöinen, after he had been humiliated by the son of Marjatta, the Virgin Mary—the son being none other than Jesus Christ, who now replaced the old hero. Thus, the pre-Christian Finnish worldview was displaced by the faith of the new era. In spite of the consequent linear structure of the epic, the shamanic, cyclic worldview of the rune singers, with its circulation of life and death, is found in the single runes of the *Kalevala* and in the oral poetry that inspired it.

In the new conceptualization of the *Kalevala,* the frightening land of Pohjola, the Northern Land, became the Underworld. In the preface of the *New Kalevala* by Lönnrot, its plot was explained as the war between "us," the Finns and the Karelians, and "them" in the North, the Lapps in Pohjola. This war of two related peoples filled the social need for a narrative of the heroic Finnish past, following the model of the Viking Age war epic. The war culminated in the robbery of the Sampo from Pohjola, from out of the hands of the evil Lapps. The singing competition of two shamans, Väinämöinen and Joukahainen, was reinterpreted as the battle between "our" *noita* who, of course, was mightier than that of the Lapps. The theory was even advanced that the Sami (Lapps) had no epic poetry, and that Anders Fjellner's narrative *The Son of the Sun's Courting Journey to the Land of the Giants* (1849) was inauthentic. Research in the 1990s has shown that this theory is false; there is indeed a Sami style of epic shamanic *juoiggat.*

The profound changes in the interpretation of the *Kalevala* are related to Romantic nationalist ambitions, which got the upper hand in Lönnrot's work. Lönnrot himself played an active role in the process of transforming the *Kalevala* into a nationalist symbol. For the new Finnish political establishment, the *Kalevala* became the symbol of a Finnish national religion, expressed in paintings, music, solemn national holidays, and so on.

The discipline of folklore was established under the sway of this nationalistic spirit, and did not achieve true academic acceptance until the 1960s. Uno Harva (formerly Holmberg), Martti Haavio, and Lauri Honko are the three Finnish scholars who did the most to establish comparative religion as a serious field of study in Finnish universities. Harva and Haavio both had broad expertise on Finnish folk belief and traditional oral genres. As Honko wrote in Haavio's 1973 obituary: "Folkloristics and comparative religion were always intertwined in Martti Haavio's scholarly work" (*Temenos* 9, p. 148). Harva, Haavio, Honko, and others emphasize the power of words in Finnish religion, at first recognized by Domenico Comparetti, an Italian scholar of the *Kalevala.* The general perspective of the Finnish phenomenology of religion school is regionally Finnish—or Finno-Ugric. Broad phenomenological comparisons over space and time are made between Finnish words and Finno-Ugric myths; at the same time, parallels are drawn with elements of other religious systems, placing Finnish myths into the framework of global religious traditions.

Finnish cosmology includes elements typical of the symbolic structures shared by northern cultures in general. The region inhabited by humans was regarded as an island surrounded by a stream. Above earth stood the mighty vault of the heavens, the celestial sphere around the Polar Star as its cosmic column, surrounded by Orion, the Great Bear, and Perseus. The cosmic mountain is located in the center of the universe, and is its pillar. The cosmos was divided into three zones: the upper world, the human middle world, and the underworld. This tripartite structure of the universe is one of the oldest north Eurasian folk beliefs. The role of the shaman is to act as a mediator between the three levels of the universe. The kingdom of the dead (Finnish, *Tuonela*) is sometimes thought of as being in the Northern (Pohjola) village, with its iron gate and powerful female figures, such as Louhi, mistress of Pohjola. Another conception is that of the nether world, with its underworld inhabitants *(manalaise),* or *vainajat,* the spirits of the ancestors.

SOURCE MATERIALS. The first evidence concerning Finnish religions is archaeological, such as the graves indicating ancestor worship and the approximately one hundred pictograph fields dating from between 4500 and 500 BCE. A new interpretation of these pictographs is provided by Juha Pentikäinen and Timo Miettinen in their *Pyhän merkkejä kivessä* (2002); the joint study of an archaeologist and a scholar of religion, this book deciphers the hidden messages painted or carved on rocks, and analyzes them in relation to shamanic systems of thought and oral poetry.

Mythologia Fennica, published in 1785 by Christfried Ganander, Vicar of Rantsila (1741–1790), was the pioneering study of comparative mythology in Finland. It consisted of a dictionary of Finnish and Lapp sacred and historical vocabulary, accompanied by oral poetry transcriptions and mythology texts. Typically enough, it was concerned with the mythology of both the Finns and the Lapps.

Fragments of Lappish Mythology, published by Lars Levi Laestadius (1800–1861), is a reconstruction of folk beliefs. An important distinction is made between the religious and cultural knowledge of the average person (today defined as collective tradition) and the esoteric secret wisdom of the experts, called *noaidis* ("shamans") in Sami. Laestadius strongly criticizes the nature mythology of Carl Axel Gottlund, a contemporary scholar who did his fieldwork among the Forest Finns throughout Scandinavia.

SEE ALSO Castrén, Matthias Alexander; Donner, Kai; Finno-Ugric Religions; Haavio, Martti; Harva, Uno; Honko, Lauri; Laestadius, Lars Levi; Reguly, Antal; Shamanism; Tuonela.

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JUHA PENTIKÄINEN (2005)

FINNO-UGRIC RELIGIONS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
HISTORY OF STUDY

FINNO-UGRIC RELIGIONS: AN OVERVIEW

The Finno-Ugric peoples constitute a family of scattered nations and populations in northern Eurasia in an area that reaches from northernmost Scandinavia and Finland to western Siberia and from the Volga-Kama Basin to Hungary. They speak approximately thirty cognate languages, which, with four Samoyed languages, form the Uralic family of languages. It is mainly the linguistic affinity that links these peoples and cultures; the cultural and religious affinities between them are more difficult to ascertain, spanning as they do considerable geographical distance from each other and over 5,000 years of only partly shared history through which each of them had contacts with different peoples. An "original" Finno-Ugric religion postulated by various scholars thus remains hypothetical, but the religious beliefs and practices of the Finno-Ugric peoples have provided an interesting case for comparative methodology in the history of religions, or rather regional phenomenology of religion masterly covered by experts on Finno-Ugric religions.

GENEALOGY OF LANGUAGES, PEOPLES, AND CULTURES. Theories of linguistic descent are usually based on the concept of a protolanguage and its subsequent differentiation. The real development, however, probably consisted of complex processes of multiple integration into and differentiation from cognate languages, with the interpenetration of noncognate languages in a given region also playing a role. According to the generally accepted chronology, the Uralic protofamily of languages began to split up into Finno-Ugric and Samoyed protolanguages around 4000 BCE. In the twenty-first century the Samoyed languages are spoken by some thirty-five thousand people living on the shores of the Arctic Ocean and along the banks of rivers flowing into it between the Taymyr and Kanin Peninsulas. The early Uralic and Finno-Ugric settlements were presumably located in the south, somewhere between the Ural Mountains and the middle reaches of the Volga River. After the differentiation of the Ugric branch around 3000 BCE, and its subsequent division into the Ob-Ugric (Khanty and Mansi in the north) and into a more southerly ethnos that later became the Hungarian branch, the rest of the Finno-Ugrians either stayed near the Volga and developed into the Mari (Cheremis) and Mordvin peoples of today or moved to the north or the northwest. The northern group, the Permian settlement, persisted over two millennia and became divided only a little over one thousand years ago into the Komi (Zyrians), living in the region between the upper reaches of the western Dvina, the Kama, and the Pechora Rivers; and the Udmurts (Votiaks), living between the Kama and Vyatka Rivers. The northwestern group reached the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea, became intermingled with the former inhabitants in contemporarary Finland and Scandinavia, and linguistically developed into what we now know as Sami (Lapps), Finns, Karelians, Ingrians, Votes, Veps, Estonians, and Livonians. The development was far from unilinear and regular, as is shown by contemporary linguistic groups within the Ugric branch range from fourteen million Hungarians to small populations of Mansi (Voguls) and Khanty (Ostiaks) in the northern Ural Mountains and along the Ob River. Similarly, among five million Finns and one million Estonians traces of almost extinct Votes and Livonians have been found. The most recent censuses and maps on the numbers and distribution of the Finno-Ugric peoples indicate radical changes that have taken place in the former Soviet Union and Russia, where most Finno-Ugric people are at least bilingual, as well as among the five almost extinct Sami languages out of nine to ten altogether.

Finno-Ugrians once inhabited most of northeast Europe. It was relatively late that the Slavic expansion changed the picture from the medieval era, and in Siberia from the sixteenth century onward. Another impact was made by the Turco-Tatar tribes and by the Bulgar empire in the Middle Ages, which particularly affected the culture of the southeastern Mari and Udmurts. Western influence was strongest in the Baltic sphere, where early loanwords were adopted from the Baltic- and Germanic-speaking people from the third to the first millennium BCE. Some remote groups of Finno-Ugrians were able to preserve their autochthonous religious traditions fairly late, even until the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, because the discipline of Eastern Christianity was rather ineffective or permissive and more tolerant toward folk belief than in western Finland, for instance, where Western Christianity, such as Roman Catholicism from the medieval era onward and, later, Lutheranism, abolished sacred groves (Finnish *hiisi*) and several other archaic expressions of religious phenomena that had survived in the Russian Orthodox east (eastern Finland, Karelia, and Ingria) the southeastern Finno-Ugrians the traditions of their Islamic neighbors left marks on the folk religion.

Since the history of Christian missions and crusades is fairly long—the first signs and words from Eastern Christianity in Finland are from around 800 CE and Catholic crusades began in the twelfth century among the western Finns and in the fourteenth century among the Komi, for example—and trade relations with Christianized cultures existed much earlier, it must be assumed that the survival of early folk belief, myth, and ritual among the Finno-Ugrians is partly an example of the coexistence of great and little traditions; that is, Eastern and Western Christianity or Islam versus ethnic religions. The same people who were devout Christians could also perform ancient rites and hold beliefs that did not necessarily contradict Christian doctrine because they were so skillfully adapted and integrated into each other. Indigenous religion began to adopt Christian elements before formal missionizing took place, and long after it had established its position as the official religion, the Christian religion found itself in a symbiosis with pagan belief and custom, at least at the level of folk religiosity.

METHODS OF COMPARISON. The development of and variation in the religions of the Finno-Ugrians must be seen as an interplay of phenomenological, ecological, and historical aspects. At the phenomenological level the question asked by Lauri Honko, for example, is: Are there any typically Finno-Ugric contributions to the phenomenology of religious universals? The answer is: The wide natural-geographical and cultural-historical scale, ranging from mobile hunting and fishing communities in the Arctic north to stable farming and cattle-breeding societies in the south and from remote pockets of religious tradition to the crossroads of Byzantine and Roman influence, permits one to examine the relative importance of linguistic continuity in cultural variation. To reconstruct a true proto-Finno-Ugric religion may be impossible, as the religious systems have changed so many times, but some structural or systematic elements may be discerned, irrespective of whether they belong to a vertical tradition. There are similarities in cosmological belief, in the system of spirits, and in ancestor worship that may not occur as frequently among non-Finno-Ugrians. From the phenomenological point of view, however, dissimilarities may turn out to be as important as similarities, and in the area of language we must remember the existence of the superstrate and substrate area of traditions; that is, the language of a population may change while the traditional content is retained. Under Slavic linguistic form we may find substrata of Finno-Ugric tradition, especially in the north of Russia.

Ecological comparisons may help to explain similarities that are not based on historical contact and interaction between cultures. Ecological comparison often turns out to be regional: Similar trends become discernible among all or most cultures in a given zone, regardless of linguistic affinities. There are different "ecologies" to be observed: those that are based on the natural environment, those that are dependent on the sociocultural development or stage of development in the societies to be compared, and those that refer to the morphology of the religious tradition itself. Finno-Ugric material provides interesting points of departure for attempts to understand the extent to which physical environment, the stage of societal development, and the morphology of the tradition may interact with each other or with linguistic or regional factors.

The third and most common level of comparison has been the historical one. Most recent findings on rock art, pictographs, and petroglyphs in Russia, Karelia, the Kola Peninsula, and Finland have revealed new materials found from the territories occupied by the Finno-Ugric populations or their genetic or maybe even linguistic ancestors. This means that early historical sources and archaeological findings in the field of Finno-Ugric religion are more abundant and illuminating than suggested by Honko in the first edition of this entry. Although the testimonial value of these sources may be rather scanty and problematic, they should be carefully studied in the long chain starting from the archaeology of the petrified language on rock, painted by red clay or carved with hammer by a Neoloithic man, regardless of the language he spoke. Comparison may be made of the shamanic paraphernalia (e.g., *sejd* and other anthro- and zoomorphic stones, drums, dress, and so on) found in the shamans' graves, such as in Karelia (Elk Island on Lake Onega) and northern Finland (Kuusamo).

Tradition-historical analysis shows how the historical assumptions may be based on the evidence of relatively late documents of oral tradition. The assumption usually is unidirectional: One people has borrowed beliefs or rituals from another. Interaction in cultural contact or dissimilar functions of similar traits (or similar functions of dissimilar traits) in different tradition systems are rarely discussed. In spite of this, interesting evidence of early historically connected strata in Finno-Ugric religious tradition has been dectected, as for instance in the case of bear killing and the bear feast of the Ob-Ugrians, Karelians, and Sami. There are also phenomena that can only be explained historically, such as the revival of dirge ceremonies in Russian and Karelian areas because of the sufferings caused by World War II.

MORPHOLOGY. One way to organize the Finno-Ugric religious traditions is by the occupations of hunting and fishing, cattle breeding and nomadism, and agriculture and subordinate handicraft industries. These forms of subsistence do not normally occur alone, however, but in various combinations. It is the skillful combination of many different sources of livelihood and the calendar cycle based on these that characterizes most Finno-Ugric groups and their religious tradition. Three calendar systems basically contribute to the formation of the cycle: the calendars of nature, of human work, and of the church (saints' days and so on). The cycle requires new roles of the individual and the re-creating of different social worlds of the community; specialists exist, but the division of labor rarely allows specialists of one domain only. The calendrical cycle expressed by calendar rites is crucial for the cohesion of society and its communal economic activity.

Another important organizing factor of ritual life is the human life cycle from birth to death and the accompanying rites of passage. Through these it is possible to express and legitimize changes of social status and reinforce the prevailing social structure. The early Finno-Ugric communities do not seem to have developed elaborate ceremonies of initiation—even the shamanic initiation did not involve large audiences—but the idea of initiation can be seen in small rituals such as the wrapping of a newborn child in his or her father's sweaty shirt, bringing "tooth money" to the new child (Karelia), dressing the bride, guiding the deceased to their relatives in the otherworld, and so on. Weddings and funerals, along with feasts of the agricultural year, comprise the most developed ritual dramas.

Religion of hunters and fishermen. True hunting communities have survived longest in the Arctic and sub-Arctic zones, but traces of their mythology and religious rites continue to survive in various combined economies where hunting or fishing has played a subsidiary role. Finno-Ugric materials demonstrate a special sensitivity to and knowledge of nature. In the world of the hunter, who generally works alone, animals, plants, and rocks possess a character of their own and must be addressed properly. The hunter sees himself as an interloper on someone else's territory; the animals and features of the forest communicate promises, warnings, and threats. It is not enough for the hunter to know about the best fishing and hunting places and seasons. He must also know about the being who rules over the forest and its inhabitants, the forest master or mistress; he must understand the ways of the "lord of the animals," who determines the movement and fate of all the living creatures in the forest, and of the special guardian spirits that watch over particular animal species. The territorial aspect is also important, in that different formations of nature possess their own local spirits. No less important is the annual cycle, especially the beginning and the end of a season, which later on came to be marked by Christian saints' days. The Lapp way of life meant an annual cycle: The Sami were called the People of the Eight Seasons (after Ernst Manker's 1975 book) because they patterned their lives after their knowledge of the resources of the environment on the annual migration of the wild deer and elk; the spawning and mating cycles of the salmon, trout, and other fish, ptarmigan, swan, goose and other birds; the harvest season for berry picking; and so on.

The most venerated animal in their Arctic and sub-Arctic territories was the bear, seen by the Sami and Ob-Ugrians as their totemic ancestor and as the son of the sky god Num torem. Several myths that recount either the marriage between the first bear and a human girl or the heavenly origin of the bear and its descent to earth and relate how it was slain and returned home to the celestial father after special ceremonies seem to be of common Finno-Ugric origin. These myths were recited in bear ceremonies, during both the killing and the feast itself, events that abound in dramatic and verbal elements. The Ob-Ugrian Khanty and Mansi still perform the complex bear ceremony lasting seven days—with each day pertaining to one of the seven stars in the Great Bear constellation—which has been developed into actual theater performances; hundreds of ritual and semiprofane plays and dances are performed during the feast. The totemic element is apparent in the Ob-Ugric moiety system, which consists of the *mós* (the heavenly people, who are hunters and eaters of raw meat) and the *por* (the underground people, who are wizards and eaters of cooked meat); these phratries observe different norms concerning bear hunting. Although the bear is the object of rites and veneration among most of the northern peoples of Asia and America, there are few ritual dramas comparable to the bear ceremonies of the Ob-Ugrians, Finns, and Sami. Even during the course of the more normal hunting of game, the verbal component—prayers, spells, and songs—is well developed among the Finno-Ugrians. The spirits are usually designated by compounds such as "forest-man," "forest-father," or "forest-master." The system of "fathers" and/or "mothers" of territories, places, buildings, and so on was common.

Religion of cattle breeders and nomads. Cattle breeding is an important subsidiary means of livelihood especially among the Finno-Ugrians of the north, where agriculture is constantly threatened by the climate. The religious profile of cattle breeders is not as clear-cut as that of the hunters and farmers; it also appears in symbiosis with the beliefs of those who practice agriculture. As a means of subsistence, nomadism is also subsidiary, not only to agriculture, but also to hunting. When the flocks of wild reindeer grew thin, the Arctic hunters of both Fennoscandia and the Kanin Peninsula developed reindeer herding, which in some places, such as Sweden, led to full domestication and a dairy economy. Only the reindeer was capable of finding its food even under the snow, and it soon became an indispensable draft and slaughter animal. Another area for wide-scale herding was the Hungarian plains, where the swampy land was unsuitable for farming but provided excellent pasture.

The yearly cycle of the cattle breeder is roughly divided into two halves: the indoor period and the outdoor period; only in Hungary is there some outdoor herding all year round. In the winter horses and cows are under the rule of the owner/cattle breeder and his or her supranormal counterpart, the stable or cowhouse spirit. In the summer the herdsman, often an employee, takes over and the supranormal guardianship is transferred to the forest spirit or other spirits in the landscape. The cattle owner and herdsman observe many rituals, which tend to accumulate at the beginning and the end of a season; minor prayers and offerings that relate to such events as imminent danger or bad weather are also performed during the season.

In the Balto-Finnic areas Saint George's Day (April 23) marks the sending of the cattle to pasture; the ritual has to be performed even if it was too cold for outdoor herding. The animals were encircled by people who walk around the flock carrying an icon of Saint George, an ax, burning coal, gunpowder, churchyard dirt, quicksilver, a hymnal, and a bear's tooth, among other items. Magic signs were drawn on the animals, doorposts, or the cattle's intended route. Food offerings were brought to the forest spirit, and an egg was thrown over the flock. The cattle owner asked the herdsman, the victorious dragon-slayer Saint George, and the forest mistress to join forces to protect the cattle against bears, wolves, and other dangers.

In October the cattle were taken indoors; the autumnal season was brought to an end by slaughtering a sheep or cow around Michaelmas (September 29) or All Saints' Day (November 1). This was the first "New Year" festival, during which dead relatives visited one's home, and, in northern Karelia, the myth of the slaying of the Great Ox was sung. Many southern Finno-Ugric peoples combine their cattle breeding cult with summer feasts and offerings organized primarily as part of the agricultural cycle. In long prayers presented on these occasions cow luck, horse luck, and so on is asked from many gods of the sky and the earth.

Religion of farmers. The society and religion of hunters and cattle breeders is competitive; among the latter, especially, the rites are directed against fellows and neighbors. Even if the principle of "limited good" (one's success means another's loss and vice versa, because the sum of good is constant) is valid in agriculture, the atmosphere is clearly more social and collective than in cattle husbandry. This social atmosphere is clearly expressed in the great rural ritual feasts of the southern Finno-Ugric peoples: the Mordvins, the Mari, and the Udmurts. The traditions of the last two groups derive to a large extent from their Turco-Tatar neighbors, whereas the Mordvins have adopted more from the Russians; regardless, all three have used Finno-Ugric and other traditions of their particular region in creating their agricultural cycles. A broad social approach, in which success is sought not only for the individual or his family, but also for the whole village or a larger population, especially the poor and disabled, prevails in the long prayer recitations performed in connection with animal and food offerings to dozens of gods and spirits. A Mari prayer from the Kazan area lists what is valued in the following order: family, cattle, corn, bees, money, long life, and great happiness. Another value often stressed in prayer is "harmony"; that is, avoidance of quarrels and disruptive feelings, which is seen as a condition to be met before addressing the gods.

The central mythologems of the farmer are the earth and the sky. These parts of the cosmos or their personifications alternately are manifest in the prayers and rites. Earth is above all the female progenitor, Mother Earth; as such, she is sometimes represented as the generic Corn Mother, and sometimes as the mother or guardian of a particular kind of grain or field. The sky god is closely associated with rain, wind, and other types of storms. Thought of as male, he begets the earth. The myth of *Hieros gamos,* the matrimony of heaven and earth, has been preserved in epic poetry and in connection with rainmaking rituals of the Balto-Finnic area. Importance is also attached to the patron saints of agriculture, among whom Elijah and the Saints Peter and Nicholas are the most central. Various feasts may be observed during midsummer, the period of growth, when the working routines are laid still and the crops are at the mercy of the weather, insects, forest animals, and other natural factors. The Finno-Ugric farmer's worldview is oriented toward peace and harmony, every kind of growth and fertility, personal health, social good, and avoidance of misfortune. The farmer enumerates all the gods to avoid offending any of them and bows to them all; a Mari or Udmurt bows "upward," sacrificing a white animal to the sky, and "downward," sacrificing a black animal to the ancestors, thus placing himself in the middle of a three-storied universe.

Cosmology. Two well-known myths of the origin of the world are found among Finno-Ugric peoples, those of the earth diver and of the world egg. In the diver myth, God orders the Devil (originally a water bird) to bring earth from the botton of the primeval sea; on the third attempt, he succeeds but tries to hide some of the earth in his mouth. When God scatters sand and the earth begins to grow, the deceit is unmasked; from the earth found in the cheek of the Devil the mountains and hills are formed. The myth is known from the Ob River to Finland and to the Mordvins in the Volga area. The eastern Finnish variant contains an interesting introduction: God stands on a golden statue in the sea and orders his reflection in the water to rise; this reflection becomes the Devil. The global distribution of the world-egg myth is equatorial, but its northernmost occurrence is found in Finland and Estonia. A water bird or an eagle makes a nest on the knee of the creator (Väinämöinen), who is floating in the sea. It lays an egg, which rolls into the water, and pieces of it become the earth, the sky, the moon, and the stars. Myths concerning the creation of humans are found in various forms among the Mansi, Volga Finns, and Karelians; the Karelian version typifies the basic scenario: A hummock rises from the sea, a tree stump on it splits open, and the first human couple steps forth.

Cosmogonic myths function as powerful protomyths: The origin of any phenomenon must be linked to the central cosmographic symbols, and various etiological continuations to these basic myths are therefore abundant. According to the cosmography of the Finno-Ugrians, a stream encircles the world, which is covered by the canopy of the heavens, the central point of which is the North Star (the "nail of the sky" on which the sky rotates); this star is sometimes associated with the world pole that supports the sky. A world tree—often the tree of life—and a world mountain rise at the center of the universe; there is a world omphalos deep in the center of the earth and a corresponding abyss of the sea that swallows ships. On the backs of three fish rest the foundations of the earth; the movements of these fish cause floods and earthquakes. Another possible cause of the destruction of the world is that the world pole collapses and the heavens—sometimes described as being seven- or nine-storied—tumble down.

Much of this symbolism is well known in other parts of the world, but some details may be exclusively Finno-Ugric. An example is the belief that the sun, moon, and stars are found on the branches of the world tree, usually a great oak. Cosmographic symbols also occur frequently in contexts outside the rituals, in folk poetry.

SANCTUARIES AND OFFERINGS. The home sanctuary of the Udmurts is called the *kuala.* It is a small log cabin in the corner of a square building formation that constitutes the house. In the back corner of the *kuala* is a shelf, on which are branches of deciduous trees and conifers, and above them is a *vorsud,* an empty box with a lid. This is a family shrine for weekly offerings, but if the master of the house is the head of a large family, children may come from afar on certain days to worship here. A new *kuala* can only be founded with earth and ashes from the father's *kuala.* It is believed that in former times the *vorsud* was not empty but contained effigies of spirits. This tradition still continues among Finno-Ugric peoples. Juha Pentikäinen's field research in North Eurasia (1989-2003) includes several examples on shamanic practices of the mobile Ob-Ugric hunters who still carry their spirit effigies in a special sleigh when migrating.

Another Udmurt sanctuary is the *lud*—a fenced-off area in an isolated place in the woods. In the middle is a table for offerings that are made by the family to dispel diseases, to mark calendric observances, and so on. In addition, there are fenced-off sanctuaries for the offerings of the village; these sanctuaries are sometimes situated near the cornfields. Somewhat similar arrangements are found among the Volga Finns (the *keremet* of the ancestors) and in the Balto-Finnic area where, when slash-and-burn agriculture spread into virgin land and distances grew between pioneering families, village groves were replaced by sacrificial stones (with gouged cups on the surface) and sacred family trees near the dwellings.

Among the nomadic, reindeer-breeding and fishing Sami, the *seita* was a place for sacrifices; it was a cave, a tree stump, or a stone, often clearly visible because of its peculiar (natural) shape, usually chosen near difficult places along a reindeer trail or at some good fishing spot. Offerings were made to enhance the safety of reindeer, good fishing, and so on. Many a sanctuary was only temporary, used for one or two offerings only, and founded mainly to mark a good hunting or fishing ground and to guarantee future luck by giving the first piece of game to the gods.

SHAMANS AND OTHER MEDIATORS. Religious professionalism manifested as priesthood is rare among the Finno-Ugrians. The cults and rites discussed earlier were conducted by those in occupational roles, in some instances as head of a family or working team. Ancestor worship as the predominant cultic form tends to support this kind of arrangement as well. A division of labor took place so that washing and dressing the body as well as lamenting throughout mortuary ceremonies is female work, but shamanic visits to lift up bodies from graves, for example, usually belong to the male ritual repertoire of the shamanic society. Religious performance then becomes part and parcel of working routines and role performance in general.

There is, however, one important exception: the *noita* (shaman or sage). Since *noita* is spoken only in Finnish, Sami, and Mansi, the word is hardly Finno-Ugric. According to scholarly opinions, expressed by Vilmos Diószegi, Honko, Mihály Hoppál, and so on, the early stratum of Finno-Ugric religion must have contained shamanism, although pure shamanism has been documented only in the far north among the Sami and Samoyeds. Indirect evidence supporting this hypothesis is based on the form of similar oral traditions and officiants (from the Finnish *tietäjä* to the Hungarian *taltós*), who experience a kind of "verbal ecstasy" and display comparable shamanic symbols in their outfits. Although scholars argue that the Finno-Ugric shamans were many things, including diviners, healers, priests, and experts in various technical skills, it may not be proper to deal with all divine or priestry roles as expressions of shamanim. Rather, there were different types of experts among different Finno-Ugric peoples who held the highest authority on crisis rites and defended the society against malevolent forces by exercising counter-magic and performing rites of propitiation. Their interpretation became the guideline in times of uncertainty.

Cult priests like the Udmurt *tuno* or the Mari *kart* have accordingly been dealt with as representations of relatively late specialization under the impact of foreign culture, whereas the designation for shaman that is found from Finland (Finnish *noita*; northern Sami *noaidi*) to the Ob River (Mansi *najt*) speaks for a more original stratum (the term has many interesting parallels in these languages). Ancient Finnish folk poetry, Hungarian fairy tales, and other such material have been interpreted as carriers of shamanic motifs, and even if some assumptions prove faulty, the general picture has been regared as likely to persist. Although the old Scandinavian *saga* and *Edda* traditions also include a similar stratum, other European parallels should be considered. Sami drum and jojk singing is a clear parallel to Siberian and Ob-Ugrian shamanhood. Even though no drums have been found from the Finns, the fact remains that until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the Finnish and Karelian *tietäjä* still fulfilled many functions and used many techniques and expressions in his charms and vocabulary reminiscent of shamanic practiuces and folklore in Siberia.

To balance the picture, Honko introduces the female counterpart of the *tietäjä,* the lamenter (Finnish *itkijä*), who with her ecstatic performance was able to set the entire audience at a funeral or a memorial feast in the socially proper mood and prepared a catharsis from uncertainty and grief for her community. Lamenting was customary in the rites of departure (conscription, weddings, and funerals) and the lamenter became a kind of psychopomp who with her intensive empathy and metaphorical language guided the helpless object of the rite. This tradition lived with the indirect support of the Russian Orthodox Church much longer than most traditions discussed earlier and is still practiced in certain parts of Soviet Karelia.

SEE ALSO Castrén, Matthias Alexander; Dömötör, Tekla; Finnish Religions; Haavio, Martti; Harva, Uno; Honko, Lauri; Hungarian Religion; Khanty and Mansi Religion; Mari and Mordvin Religion; Sami Religion; Samoyed Religion.

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FINNO-UGRIC RELIGIONS: HISTORY OF STUDY

The ways of life and customs of peoples inhabiting the northern regions of Europe concerned even the earliest historiographers, such as Herodotos (c. 484–between 430 and 420 BCE) and Tacitus (c. 55–120 CE). Nevertheless, the first genuinely valid data regarding peoples of the Finno-Ugric language family can be found only much later, in the works of writers living from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries: Mathias de Miechow, Sigismundus Herberstein, Olaus Magnus (1490–1557), Michael Agricola (1508–1557), Alessandro Guagnino, Nicolaes Witsen (1641–1717), Johannes Schefferus (1621–1679), Nicolaie Spataru (1663–1708), and Adam Olearius (1603–1671), among others. The information conveyed by these writers in their religious, geographical, ethnographical, or historical texts has proved to be a valuable contribution not only to social history and ethnography, but to the history of their religion(s) as well.

FOUNDATIONS OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY STUDY. The eighteenth century was a time of great journeys and discoveries as well as the publication of travel literature based on eyewitness accounts on respective areas. At this time the peoples of northern Eurasia and Siberia among others became objects of genuine scientific interest. Several authors of travel accounts, namely Y. E. Ides, D. G. Messerschmidt, P. J. Strahlenberg, Johann Georg Gmelin (1709–1755), and J. G. Georgi, made interesting observations not only about the languages of northern Eurasian peoples, but also about their customs and religious cults. These writings also established the basis for the eventual recognition of Finno-Ugric as a language family. Two German scholars, Johann Eberhard Fischer (1697–1771), who was a member of the Russian tsar's academy, and August Ludwig von Schlözer (1735–1809) played especially important roles in this discovery by summarizing in their scholarly works the available information concerning Finno-Ugric peoples: Fischer in *Sibirische Geschichte* (1768) and von Schlözer in *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte* (1771). In Hungary Finno-Ugric comparative linguistic research was initiated by the study *Demonstratio: Idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem esse* (Proof that the languages of the Hungarians and the Lapps are the same; 1770), by Janos Sajnovics (1733–1785), and the study *Affinitas linguae Hungaricae cum linguis fennicae originis* (Relationship of the Hungarian language to languages of Finnic origin; 1779), by Samuel Gyarmathi (1751–1830).

The first Finno-Ugric studies were thus written simultaneously with, and not independently of, respective studies in Indo-European comparative linguistics. Progress in Finno-Ugric studies was slower than that of Indo-European studies because of the more remote distance between peoples themselves as well as scholars studying them. In the same way as the three Finno-Ugric peoples of Europe—Finns, Estonians, and Hungarians, who later on became the only ones to be able to found the national states where Finno-Ugric languages are in majority—lived far from one another, so their scholars also lived in scientific isolation without knowing too much about each other's scientific works and results.

Nevertheless, both the Finns and the Hungarians were able to complete their first mythologies in the last decades of the eighteenth century. In Finland, Henrik Gabriel Porthan (1739–1804), learned professor of rhetorics at Turku Academy, was familiar with theories on Finno-Ugric peoples in Germany. He advocated the publication of Erik Christian Lencquist's doctoral dissertation, *De superstitione veterum Fennorum theoretica et practica* (Superstition in belief and practice among the ancient Finns; 1782), which was based on data collected from people. Another Finnish scholar, Christfried Ganander (1741–1790), a Lutheran pastor in Rantsila, northern Ostrobotnia, created a network of over one hundred ministers and officials around Finland while gathering data for his huge Finnish-Swedish dictionary—until 1997 available in three facsimile volumes only—and Finnish mythology (*Mythologia Fennica*, 1789). The latter is a kind of Finnish-Lappish comparative mythology since it provides an alphabetical listing of Finnish and Lappish (Sami) mythological terms and concepts with historical and other information related to entries. The work is a valuable source of the original runic poems of the eighteenth century and the foundation of the comparative mythology school in Finland. Since it worked as Elias Lönnrot's (1802–1884) model for his further collecting of poems in the field, it was the primary basis for the whole creation of the idea of the Finnish epics. Typically enough, the first editions of the Finnish-Karelian epics compiled by Lönnrot carried the title *The Mythology of the Finnish People edited by Old Poems* before the book was finally named as the *Kalevala* in 1835, with a geographical reference to a mythical dwelling place of Kaleva's gigantic sons—in Lönnrot's thinking, Kaleva was the king of Finland.

Hungarian mythology was introduced in Europe by Daniel Cornides (1732–1787), who lectured on ancient Hungarian religion at the University of Göttingen in 1785. Basing his arguments on medieval chronicles, he compared the remains of ancient pagan Hungarian religion with elements of the ancient Jewish, Greek, and Scythian religions. Later on, in his short study *Commentatio de religione veterum Hungarorum* (Comments on the ancient religion of the Hungarias; 1791), he compared ancient Hungarian religion to Persian religion.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY NATIONAL MYTHOLOGIES. During the first decades of the nineteenth century there was a romantic interest in folk tradition many parts of Europe, especially in Germany. Under stimuli of Indo-European comparative linguistics and mythological research, the collection of folk poetry and the exploration of narrative folk traditions began. Two seminal works of the period were published in 1835. The first was *Deutsche Mythologie* by Jacob Grimm (1785–1863), which subsequently served as a model for reconstructing mythologies of several peoples, among them the Finns, the Estonians, the Sami, and the Hungarians. The other, the *Kalevala* by Lönnrot, contributed to the study of Finnish mythology by compiling folk poetry on the basis of epical songs. In accordance with its initial names, this (Old) *Kalevala* with thirty-two songs was the mythology of the Finns on the basis of the epical poems. Its second, enlarged edition published in 1849 contained almost a double amount of verses, 50 songs with 22,759 lines in all. After Grimm's speech in 1845 at the Academy of Berlin, the (New) *Kalevala* was now offered by Lönnrot as the national epic of the Finns, not as their mythology any more, but as the sacred history of the new nation. The European readers at large only became acquainted with the (New) *Kalevala* through its German translation published in 1852.

The discovery that the Finns, a people small in number, had produced heroic epic poetry comparable with the Homeric epics profoundly impressed the scholars of other Finno-Ugric nations as well. Encouraged by Lönnrot as early as the 1840s, Reinhold Kreutzwald (1803–1882) began collecting Estonian narratives and epic songs about Kalevi-poeg, a gigantic folk hero of exceptional strength. While the first prototext of about twelve thousand lines was completed by 1853, the reconstructed epic itself, *Kalevi poeg: Üks ennemuistene Eesti jut: Kaheskümnes laulus* (Kalevi-poeg: An ancient Estonian legend in twenty songs), was published considerably later (in 1862), in Estonian, even though it appeared in Finland. Meanwhile, Kreutzwald worked on reconstructing Estonian national mythology and published the study "Über den Charakter der estnischen Mythologie" in the journal *Verhandlungen der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft zu Dorpat* (1850).

The romantic quest for Pan-Finnish identity, to find related peoples and an ancient, common land of origin (where the forebears of related peoples had lived together), prompted scholars of the mid-nineteenth century to undertake long journeys of exploration. For example, Matthias Alexander Castrén (1813–1852) collected valuable material during his repeated Siberian travels and described his research in *Reiseerinnerungen aus den Jahren 1838–1844: Nordische Reisen und Forschungen* (Travel recollections, 1838–1844: Nordic travel and research; 1833). Castrén's lectures on Altaic (i.e., Finnic) mythology, given during the last years of his life, were published in translation from Swedish under the title *Vorlesungen über die finnische Mythologie* (1853).

Meanwhile, Castrén's Hungarian contemporary Antal Reguly (1819–1859) went on a research trip among the Ob-Ugrians and presented the results of his research in *Ethnographisch-geographische Karte des nördlichen Ural-gebietes* (Ethno-geographical map of the northern Ural region; 1846). Only some two decades later did Pál Hunfalvy (1810–1891), one of the founders of Finno-Ugric comparative linguistics, publish Reguly's collection, which contained valuable folk literature—primarily texts of Mansi (Vogul) heroic epics—in *A vogul föld és nép* (The Vogul land and its people; 1864).

For the sake of proper chronology, one must mention here the first comprehensive collection of Hungarian mythology, *Magyar Mythologia* (1854), published during the romantic era of reform after the Hungarian revolt against Austria (1848–1849). Its author, Arnold Ipolyi (1823–1886), a learned Roman Catholic bishop, collected folk tales, legends, and folk beliefs of the region. At the same time he was intimately familiar with the contemporary scholarly literature dealing with comparative mythology. As he pointed out, his work was greatly influenced by the mythological studies of Jakob Grimm, Georg Friedrich Creuzer (1771–1858), and Joseph von Görres (1776–1848), but he also quoted the Finnish studies by Lencquist, Ganander, and Castrén. Ipolyi's study, more than five hundred pages long, is a genuine comparative-mythological survey, though its assertions should today be looked on from a critical distance. A few years later, Ferenc Kállay (1790–1861) compiled another work, though more modest, about the religion of the pre-Christian Hungarians (*A pogány magyarok vallása,* 1861), in which he described the major figures of ancient Hungarian mythology.

For the one-thousandth anniversary of the Magyar conquest of Hungary, Kabos Kandra (1843–1905) prepared the third edition of *Magyar Mythologia* (1897). Although Kandra was in a position to build on the findings of contemporary Finno-Ugric linguistics, his work is basically the last romantic attempt at reconstructing the system of Hungarian mythology. While the most important text among the materials used for purposes of comparison is the *Kalevala*, the *Mythologia* also depends on quotations from the studies and text collections of Bernát Munkácsi (1860–1937). Munkácsi's fieldwork among the Udmurt (Votyaks) and Mansi (Voguls) took place in the second half of the 1880s. He published his own and Antal Reguly's findings in four thick volumes, with copious notes on mythology, titled *Vogul Népköltési Gyüjtemény* (Vogul folklore collection; 1892–1902). He also published studies on comparative mythology in Hungarian and German.

While there are early and finely detailed descriptions concerning the ancient religion of the Sami, for example, Ioannus Schefferus's *Lapponica . . . de origine, superstitione, sacris magicis* (1673), the first real reconstruction and description of Sami mythology *(Lappisk Mythologi, Eventyr og Folkesagn)* was published in Christiania (later Oslo) as late as 1871 by Jens Andreas Friis (1821–1896). Lars Levi Laestadius's *Fragments on Lappish Mythology* were written earlier in 1840–1845, but remained unpublished until the 1990s.

As the national self-awareness of the ethnic minorities of tsarist Russia began to increase during the last decades of the nineteenth century, collecting texts of folklore also started among them. One should mention Serafim Patkanov (1856–1888), who did research among the southern groups of Khanty (Ostyaks), and Ivan Nikolaevich Smirnov (1856–1904), a professor of the University of Kazan, Russia, who collected valuable materials among the Finno-Ugric peoples of Perm and along the Volga. Smirnov published several books on his findings concerning the Cheremis (Mari), Votyak (Udmurt), and Komi Permyak: *Cheremisy* (1889), *Votiaki* (1890), and *Permiaki* (1891), respectively. Several chapters in these volumes are devoted to the gods and religious customs of the Finno-Ugric peoples living by the Volga, and they serve as useful source material for comparative research.

EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY COMPARATIVE RESEARCH. Around the turn of the twentieth century, Finno-Ugric studies became strengthened by scientifically planned fieldwork. For the most part it was carried out by well-trained linguists, who in the process of their fieldwork also recorded materials valuable for folklorists and students of mythology. In this context one should mention the Hungarian József Pápay (1873–1931) as well as the Finns Heikki Paasonen (1869–1919), Yrjö Wichmann (1868–1932), Kai Donner (1888–1935), and Artturi Kannisto (1874–1943). Their authentic text collections made it possible to reconstruct the belief systems of certain Finno-Ugric peoples and consequently to prepare comprehensive comparative studies. Since, unlike research on Indo-European mythology, Finno-Ugric comparative mythological research is based almost entirely on folkloric material, it was logical to study it in this context and to describe the mythology of particular peoples as accurately as the circumstances would allow.

In 1908 Kaarle Krohn (1863–1933), the first professor of folklore at the University of Helsinki, and Aladár Bán (1871–1960), a Hungarian scholar, jointly published *A finnugor népek pogány istentisztelete* (Pre-Christian god worship of the Finno-Ugric peoples) in Hungarian; with Bán's supplement, this work essentially became the first Finno-Ugric study of comparative religion. The book is based on *Suomen suvun pakanallinen jumalanpalvelus* (The heathen worship of Finnish tribe; 1894), which included posthumously published lectures of Julius Krohn (1835–1888), Kaarle Krohn's father, who was a docent at the University of Helsinki in 1884. In the first chapter, the history of research, the sources, and the scholarly literature are reviewed, and in subsequent chapters sacred places of sacrifice, sacred images, activities of shamans, and actual sacrificial rituals are discussed. What renders this volume valuable even today is its rich use of contemporary Russian scientific literature that is now not readily available.

The second major summary of the religious beliefs of the Finno-Ugric peoples, *Die Religion der Jugra-Völker* (The religion of the Ob-Ugrians; 1922–1927), a three-volume study, was written by Kustaa Fredrik Karjalainen (1871–1919). This monumental work based on the complete literature available at the time was combined with the author's original field research at the turn of the twentieth century. It remains the most detailed overview of the religious beliefs of the Finno-Ugric peoples to date. At the end of the 1920s, Uno Holmberg (later Harva, 1882–1949) published yet another summary, "Finno-Ugric Mythology," in the fourth volume of *The Mythology of All Races* (1927). Here, Holmberg methodically reviews beliefs in the soul, the cult of the dead, hunting magic, and veneration of nature spirits (spirits of stones, water, forest, and fire), of home spirits, of the lord of the sky, and of heroes revered as gods. He devotes a separate chapter to the description of sacrifices and the examination of questions concerning shamanism he found to be characteristic of the Finno-Ugric peoples.

STUDY ON FINNO-UGRIC RELIGIONS DURING THE SOVIET ERA. During the two generations of researchers from World War I and the October 1917 Revolution until the brief period of openness in the spirit of glasnost and perestroika under Mikhail Gorbachov's era at the end of the 1980s, most Finno-Ugric territories inside the borders of the Soviet Union remained closed from scholars living in Finland. Studies on Finno-Ugric languages and religions, however, continued; the rich archival materials gathered by the scholars on the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were now carefully analyzed and published as linguistically transcribed collections in the Memoirs and Journals of the Finno-Ugric Society in Finland (founded in 1883) by experts on respective Finno-Ugric languages.

The topic of religion, labelled the opium of the people by Karl Marx (1818–1883), was taboo in the Communist empire of the Soviet Union. In spite of this, research on religion to a certain extent went on under the umbrella of Soviet ethnography. In 1931 there appeared in the Soviet Union, where most Finno-Ugric peoples lived, a collection of texts about the religious beliefs of the Soviet peoples (*Religioznye verovaniia narodov SSSR*). The sole value of this two-volume collection is that it quotes passages from older Russian publications. In the 1930s particularly, and for many decades following its publication, the monopoly of Marxist critiques of religion practically halted all religio-scientific and mythological research in the Soviet Union.

As far as the position of the Finno-Ugric peoples and the research on their cultures and religions in particular are concerned, World War II meant radical changes to the period between the two world wars. Estonia was annexed (formally as a republic) to the Soviet Union until 1991, and Hungary, although still independent, was occupied by Soviet troops as a part of the Eastern block, which divided Europe during the Cold War. Throughout the Cold War, several prominent scholars escaped from Eastern Europe to conduct their research on Finno-Ugric themes in western Europe and in the United States. Gradually, the Finno-Ugric territories inside the Soviet Union became targets for fieldwork organized by Estonian and Hungarian universities and academic research institutes.

Encyclopedic handbooks began to be published elsewhere, and summaries of research appeared every ten years or so. Of these, the overview written by Ivar Paulson (1922–1966), an Estonian emigrant scholar of religion in Sweden, should be mentioned. It provides a phenomenological synthesis of the religions of northern Eurasian hunting nations and uses the new ethnographic and archaeological data. Paulson's study was published in the third volume of *Die Religion der Menschheit* (1962). A second modern overview, written by Lauri Honko, was published in the first volume of *Das Handbuch der Religionsgeschichte* (1971). In its shortened English version titled "Finno-Ugric Religion," written for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1974), Honko made this kind of observation: "Today there is general agreement that a hypothetical reconstruction representing the 'original religion' of a single language family is virtually impossible."

The second volume of the encyclopedic undertaking of Soviet researchers on myths of the peoples of the world (*Mify narodov mira,* 1982) includes an entry by V. Ia. Petrukhin and E. A. Helimski, who do not even attempt to provide a comprehensive picture, but instead discuss the mythologies of different peoples separately. This is in accordance with the notion that Finno-Ugric languages are distantly related, as are their folklore and religions. Despite the difficulties on editing folkloric texts constituting the basic sources, a few exceptional monographs have been produced that, though not aiming at a reconstruction of the whole system, nevertheless enable us to engage in comparative studies of certain topics. These topics include, for example, lower-order spirits, totemism, and the cult of idols (Haekel, 1946), hunting rituals and the bear cult (Edsman, 1957), and concepts of the soul of the northern Eurasian peoples (Paulson, 1958).

LATE TWENTIETH-CENTURY RUSSIAN RESEARCH TRENDS. In the latter part of the twentieth century, some new results were gained in certain areas, especially in the Soviet Union as a result of an effort to involve other sciences in comparative mythological research and thus to revive its methodological tools. Soviet researchers turned to archaeology, which is "materialistic," and to the cataloging of decorative art objects, which were seen as products of the mythological consciousness of ancient peoples. A characteristic monograph of these times is S. V. Ivanov's work about the folk arts of the peoples of Siberia. This book reviews museum collections assembled around the turn of the twentieth century (*Materialy po izobrazitel'nomu iskusstvu narodov Sibiri XIX-nachalo XX. V.*, 1954). This study, which contains both Finno-Ugric and other material, becomes especially interesting when read with the study by Dmitrii K. Zelenin (1878–1954) of Siberian idol cults and beliefs in spirits (*Le culte des idoles en Siberie,* 1952).

Russian archaeologists have been able to contribute most significantly to the reconstruction of ancient beliefs, and thus of Finno-Ugric mythology, by interpreting the highly diverse physical evidence. A few of the valuable works containing such analyses are Vanda Moshinskai's *Drevniaia skulptura Urala i Zapadnoi Sibiri* (Ancient sculptures of the Ural and western Siberia; 1976); Leonilla A. Golubeva's *Zoomorfnye ukrasheniia finno-ugrov* (Finno-Ugric zoomorphic decorative art; 1979); and Liubov S. Gribova's *The Animal Style as One of the Components of Social-Ideological System of Totemism and Stage in the Development of Fine Arts* (1980).

Soviet archaeologists can be credited with the discovery of another important source group: petroglyphs, or rock art. During the last decades, remains of rock art have been extensively uncovered (mostly in the form of engravings) in northern Eurasia. In this discovery Aleksandr P. Okladnikov (1908–1981) had a particularly outstanding role; with his coworkers he has published a series of monographs that contain more than ten thousand Siberian rock drawings and include valuable notes on the history of religions. His major contribution to Finno-Ugric research, written with A. I. Martinov, is *Sokrovishcha tomskikh pisamits* (Treasures of petroglyphs around Tomsk; 1972).

Aleksandr Zolotarev (1907–1943) began his research in the 1930s, under the influence of Marxist conceptions of ancient history and society, but his study of the mythology of ancient society, *Rodovoi stroi i pervobytnaia mifologiia* (Tribal system and ancient mythology; 1964), could be published only after his death. In this study, Zolotarev bases his arguments on a large body of source materials and shows that the dualistic cosmological myths and the dualistic societies of Siberian peoples reflected one another; basically, this recognition resembles Georges Dumézil's position. Zolotarev arranged his materials within a firm theoretical framework. Because of his recognition of the system of dual oppositions, he can be considered a forerunner of structuralism, though his work remains unknown to the West.

COMPARATIVE FINNO-UGRIC MYTHOLOGY AND SHAMANHOOD RESEARCH TRADITIONS. The introduction by Soviet scholars of structuralist and semiotic methods to mythological analyses at the beginning of the 1970s proved to be a methodological turning point. These scholars were independent of the West European (primarily French) structuralists in that they formed their own theories, basing them on their structuralist predecessors—for example, Roman Jakobson (1896–1982), Ol'ga Freidenberg (1910–1954), Vladimir Propp (1895–1970), and Mikhail Bakhtin (1895–1975). Their most important contention was that mythology is explicable as a system of signs and that it is one of the texts or codes of a culture (Ivanov and Toporov, 1973; Meletinsky, 1973). In his description of the Finno-Ugric mythological system, Mihály Hoppál employs this method. The hierarchy of the gods is described with the aid of dual oppositions functioning as distinctive features (Hoppál, 1976), and consequently mythological structures clarified through semantic characteristics are compared more accurately than before (Toporov, 1974).

Another current trend is related to comparative mythology emphasized by such Finnish scholars of phenomenology of religion and folk belief in the Finno-Ugric context as Martti Haavio, Lauri Honko, and Juha Pentikäinen. The research is related to the fact that in studying certain topics, scholars have moved outside the narrow Finno-Ugric confines and are analyzing particular topics within a wider Uralian or even Eurasian context, as in, for example, the investigation of the question of a supposed ancient Eurasian mother cult, bear and other expressions of animal ceremonialism, as well as shamanism in a Finno-Ugric, Arctic, and comparative context. Pentikäinen's *Kalevala Mythology* (1999) emphasizes the significance of shamanic poetry as the basis of the epical singing. Instead of shamanism, a concept of shamanhood (Russian *samanstvo*) has been introduced by him since he believes that shamanism is not a dogmatic religion, but rather a way of life.

The examination of shamanism has an especially old tradition among Hungarian scholars. Géza Róheim (1891–1953), the founder of psychoanalytic anthropology, devoted an interesting chapter to the question of Ob-Ugrian shamanism in *Hungarian and Vogul Mythology* (1954). Another study of this subject was written by Vilmos Diószegi (1923–1972), who explored the residues of shamanism in Hungarian folklore in *A sámánhit emlékei a magyar népi müveltségben* (1958). Two further studies on the question of Siberian shamanism have been published: *The Rite Technique of the Siberian Shaman* (1978), by Anna-Leena Siikala, and *Obriad i fol'klor v sibirskom shamanizme* (Ritual and folklore in Siberian shamanism; 1984), by Elena S. Novik, who analyzes the syntagmatic structure of shamanic ritual and of narrative folklore.

In summary one could say that, because Finno-Ugric peoples are generally not numerous, and because most of them have constituted ethnic minorities within the Soviet Union and Russia, their search for common roots and mythology, expressed in the language of folklore, has been one way of establishing their own identity and of buttressing their national self-consciousness. Finno-Ugric mythology and folklore will remain as areas of interest for many years to come. Apart from sociopolitical considerations, naturally, the strictly scientific-philological aspects are no less compelling, a fact that renders the prospect of comparative Finno-Ugric mythological research in the future exceptionally interesting in terms of methodology as well, precisely because of the still insufficiently clarified relations among Finno-Ugric peoples, because of their divergent lines of cultural progress and because of their varied relations with neighboring peoples.

SEE ALSO Castrén, Matthias Alexander; Donner, Kai; Haavio, Martti; Honko, Lauri; Indo-European Religions, article on History of Study; Laestadius, Lars Levi; Lönnrot, Elias; Sami Religion; Study of Religion, article on the Academic Study of Religion in Eastern Europe and Russia.

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FIQH SEE UṢŪL AL-FIQH

FIRE. In early stages of civilization, humans learned to create fire by striking flint, drilling wood, and focusing solar rays. Myths attributed this wondrous, crucial acquisition to the daring of a culture hero, theft from a primordial bird or animal, burglary of heaven and obstinate gods who withheld it, emanation from the vagina of an old woman, or sometimes the outright gift of a divine being. Recognized as ambiguously creative and destructive, life-giving and life-taking, fire appeared in multiple mysteries of transmutation: of environs from cold, dark, and dangerous to warm, light, and secure; of food from raw to cooked; of substance from putrid to pure; of fields from sterile brush to fertile earth; of earth from ore to metal; of human bodies from disease to health; of spirits from profane to sacred; and of speech from babble to wisdom. Fire was identified in animals, plants, earth, air, and water. The human body contained its own fires of digestion, sexuality, and wrath, with fires in the blood, breath, semen, mind, heart, and spleen.

As the alchemist liberated secret interior fires from certain minerals, so with fire the smith accelerated nature's process by cooking and molding minerals into precious goods. Fire was appropriated by the shaman in the sweat lodge, by the *yogin* meditating as a fifth fire between four others, by the Australian aboriginal novice symbolically roasted and purified over a pit-fire, by the hero whose fury incinerated enemy warriors. In ancient India the hearth was said to be a womb and a householder was not born until he and his wife established sacrificial fires. Chinese esoteric alchemists spurned the smelting fire of the exoteric alchemist because a quest for immortality demanded the superior fire in the mind. Certain Native American tribes believed their ritual fires regenerated the sun and their new fires rekindled the new year. In modern Scandinavia some farmers of the old school still drilled new fire by hand to cure sick cows. Many religious traditions, ancient and contemporary, foresee a celestial or cosmic fire that will destroy the world, as it has in the past.

Fire has been adopted as a metaphor—for some, the only metaphor—of sublime, ineffable, transformative experiences in the spiritual quests of specialists of the sacred, and in works by mystics, philosophers, and writers as disparate as Richard of Saint-Victor, Dante Alighieri, and Blaise Pascal. Understanding across times and cultures responds to an early fourteenth-century voice, that of Richard Rolle de Hampole: "when settled in devotion . . . my soul is set on fire." Western ascetics and saints gained renown as living flames, like legendary salamanders with miraculous immunity to fire, while different traditions of Asia produced similar handlers of fire, and walkers on fire, who demonstrated superhuman status in kinship and seeming unity with the powerful element.

The cultic dimensions of fire are varied and countless. Some societies chose to center tradition on domestic hearths and community fire altars, with extensive links to sacred oral or written texts, while others held fire in supporting mythic and ritual roles. The discussion that follows must of necessity be selective and illustrative, not comprehensive.

ANCIENT INDIA AND IRAN AND SUBSEQUENT TRADITIONS. The oldest and most coherent body of myths, rituals, and symbols of fire is found in the Vedas of ancient India and the remnant Avestan and Pahlavi texts of ancient Iran. There are parallels in both domestic and community cults of fire, and between Indic *soma* and Iranian *haoma* (Indo-Iranian **sauma*), both essential offerings to deities poured into sacrificial fires. These, along with other key names and rituals, indicate an Indo-Iranian tradition of fire maintained by nomadic pastoralists in West Asia several centuries before and after 2000 BCE. Oral mythologies and ritual references collected in the *Ṛgveda* and *Atharvaveda* from around 1400 to 1000 BCE include some 200 hymns addressed to the god of fire, Agni. The opening verse of the *Ṛgveda* addresses him as Purohita, a hearth deity who is domestic priest within every household as well as priest for all the gods. In other Vedic Saṃhitās such as the *Yajurveda,* there appeared elaborate ritual schedules based on the identity of fire and the householder-sacrificer. Subsequent Brāhmaṇa texts explored the nature and function of this fire cult, which remained a focus for both household and expanded cooperative ritual programs. The tenth book of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is *Agni Rahasya,* the "mystery of the fire altar," an esoteric text that set a precedent for philosophical speculations in the Upaniṣads.

In turn, by around 700 BCE these Upaniṣads generated a new worldview for Vedic Hinduism. Each of the two earliest contains the same teaching on *saṃsāra* (transmigration). After death, one not released from rebirths returns from the moon and passes through five sacrificial fires, the fourth being a man who offers his semen into a woman; the fruit of this fifth sacrifice is a new embryo. In the same period compendia of manuals known as sūtras systematized schedules of cooperative *(Śrauta)* and then domestic *(Gṛhya)* fire sacrifices that have lasted to the present time. Also in this pivotal era various techniques of asceticism grew into prominence, including the production of inner heat *(tapas)* by means of various austerities. Cosmic-human bodily correspondences were explored in yet another way with these new expressions of fire and heat.

As the god Agni himself is a cosmic triad, so there should be three fires set in every household, and still in India today there are *āhitāgnis,* secluded maintainers of Agni in their houses as *āhavanīya* (offering fire), *gārhapatya* (preparatory fire), and *dakṣināgn*i (protective southern fire). The *agnihotra,* morning and evening offerings of hot milk, comprise the basic domestic sacrifice. These now-rare three-fire sacrificers are eligible, as in ancient Vedic practice, to advance to the sacrifice of *soma* and then selected other *śrauta* rituals. The *yajamāna* (sacrificer) carries a terra-cotta bowl of fire in identification with Agni and with another Vedic god, Prajāpati, as world-creator. Solemn rituals include the forty-day *pauṇḍarīka,* employing seventeen priests with both animal and *soma* offerings in a type of *agnicayana* fire sacrifice reintegrating time and space in a cosmic construction of Agni. Five layers of thousands of bricks shape a gigantic eagle with the *ātman,* the Self, at the center, indicating that the sacrificer and fire are one. A striking feature of these contemporary survivals of ancient practice is the generation of Agni by friction from *araṇis* (male and female wooden drilling sticks). These have a capacity to absorb all three fires into themselves for transport if the *āhitāgni* and *patnī* (wife) must travel away from the house and constant tending of fires.

Confirmation of a belief in the identity of householder and fire is found both in the Vedic cremation ritual, in which the sacrificer or his wife is burned with the three sacrificial fires, literally absorbed by them in *antyeṣṭi,* a "final sacrifice," and, in another direction, in the vow to become a *saṃnyāsin,* a renunciant ascetic. *Saṃnyāsa* calls for the interiorization of fires, ritual deposition of fires in the self, and therefore an end to the external sacrifices that have previously structured life. Since the *saṃnyāsin'*s breaths are the five cosmic fires, his *agnihotra* becomes the constant offering of *prāṇa* (breath).

Great Vedic fire sacrifices such as the *agnicayana, aśvamedha* (royal horse sacrifice), or *rājasūya* (consecration of a king) have not been a prominent feature of Hinduism since the late medieval period, and the god Agni himself has been reduced to minor status since the emergence of the Sanskrit epics and Purāṇas. But the role of fire in Hinduism has never diminished. Life-cycle rites *(saṃskāras)* are an array of ceremonies from conception and birth to cremation, the last still defined by the final offering of the body to Agni Kravyād, consumer of the deceased, on the funeral pyre. *Saṃskāras* depend on ritually kindled fires with domestic priests or householders themselves reciting either Vedic mantras or Sanskrit verses. As a complement to household worship, which is usually focused on images or symbols of favorite goddesses and gods assembled close to the kitchen hearth, Hindus may go to neighborhood temples and shrines for *devapūjā,* public worship. Inside temples housing a form of Devī, Viṣṇu, Śiva, or another deity, priests conduct on behalf of the visitor a schedule of worship, invariably including *ārati,* the waving of a lighted lamp or burning incense before the sacred image.

There are numerous fire festivals with bonfires, lamps, and fireworks in Hinduism. Dīvālī (Dīpāvalī) is a popular occasion for setting out multitudes of burning lights *(dīpas)* in October–November. In honor of *pitṛs* (ancestors), tiny bamboo boats carry hundreds of burning lamps down the nearest river. Torches are carried in rural communities in circumambulation around the entire village for certain festivals, and passage of all residents under arches of burning straw may be practiced at harvest time. A favorite vow in villages and towns of South India and Sri Lanka is firewalking, at times featuring hundreds of people crossing in single file a thirty-foot-long pit of glowing embers to the sounds of thunderous drums and shrill flutes. At other times a single person, possessed by a deity or the deified dead, may walk on coals, "play" with fire, dance with burning skewers, swallow burning charcoal, or hold burning camphor on the palm of the hand, all as demonstrations of divine power and grace. Devotion to a fierce goddess such as Pattini, Draupadī, Mārīamma, Poleramma, or some other manifestation of Amma (Mother) is thereby tested, and the unscathed devotee gains the goddess's protection against epidemic diseases and other misfortunes. Firewalking is performed by Fiji Island migrant Hindus in the South Pacific, by Buddhist as well as Hindu devotees of the popular god Kataragama (Skanda) in Sri Lanka, and by Shīʿī Muslims in South Asia, particularly during the annual festival of Muḥarram.

This sketch of South Asia over four millennia may be paralleled in greater Iran, where spiritual identifications of humans with fire occur on similar levels: individual, family-household, village, and in the case of kingship rituals, state. However, by comparison with India's still enduring oral traditions and Vedic-Hindu historical continuity in ritual, evidence for ancient Iranian cults of fire is limited first by a break in oral traditions and loss of much of the early written record, then by dispersal of Zoroastrians themselves during the medieval advance of Islam. What survives, however, indicates the centrality of the household hearth *(ātash dādgāh),* along with extended community *(ātash ādarān)* and royal or primary fires *(ātash bahrām)* and sacrifices similar to the pattern of Vedic Indo-Aryans to the east. A cosmic five-fire worldview, again as in India, complemented this basic triad, all based on a system of correspondences between natural fire and ritual fire. Among several major differences, however, was the emergence in Iran of permanent temples, "houses of a fire" enthroned on raised pedestals, perhaps under the influence of surrounding temple-building cultures of urban West Asia. Although fireplaces have been excavated in Bactria and Margiana (northern Afghanistan and southern Turkmenistan), in sites in the path of Indo-Iranian migrations from around 2500 to 1500 BCE, other than traces of ephedra (possibly *haoma*) there is little evidence regarding the beliefs and rituals of those who used them. It was not until the fourth century BCE that Achaemenid rulers of greater Iran erected temples of perpetual fire. Barely surviving two millennia of political and religious warfare, temples with fire in metal containers still serve today as spiritual centers for remnant Zoroastrians in Iran and for Parsis in western India who maintain eight *bahrām* fires.

Fire emerged as the basic symbol of Zoroastrianism, the religion that developed in the first half of the first millennium BCE, probably from the teachings of Zarathushtra in the *Gāthās.* The ancient Indo-Iranian deities were submerged into a cult of one "Wise Lord," Ahura Mazdā, although they resurfaced as his entities or qualities in a set of six *Amesha Spentas* (Beneficent immortals). Most prominent among them is Asha, the equivalent of Vedic *ṛta* (cosmic order). Asha, a quality of Ahura Mazdā—at one point recognized as an independent deity, Asha Vahishta—symbolizes truth and justice, and was represented by fire. The sun and light are visible forms of Ahura Mazdā, but above all he is fire. An ethical dualism presented a clear opposition in which the symbols of *asha*—fire, light, purity, and goodness—are on the side of Ahura Mazdā against *druj* (the lie), associated with darkness, impurity, and evil. In meditation, personal piety, and sacrifice (*yasna,* Avestan parallel to Vedic *yajña*) a worshiper relates to fire and participates in this cosmic, but also immediately human conflict. The offering into fires of sacrificial animals, particularly their fat, and of pressed *haoma* juice was suppressed by Zarathushtra, but these age-old rituals resurfaced in a later period. Among Parsis today only *haoma* is sacrificed. A symbolic libation of fat occurs only in funerals.

Aside from permanent fire temples, other features distinguish the Iranian fire cult from its Vedic-Hindu counterpart. The sovereign Vedic god Varuṇa governs *ṛta* (cosmic order), while in the case of Varuṇa's Avestan complement, Ahura Mazdā, *asha* is itself the representation of fire. In Iran, disposal of the dead was not by cremation, as in India, but rather by exposure, as seen with the famous stone towers still used today by Parsis in India. Fire burns nearby, but birds and beasts of prey are allowed to clean flesh from bone, thus protecting sacred fire from the pollution of death. Even human breath is polluting, and mouth-veils are worn by sacrificing, fire-tending priests, the only persons who may approach the altars.

Regarding fire, yet another distinction from Indo-Aryan tradition pertains to time. Vedic sacrifices reveal a cyclic pattern, as in the Rājasūya sacrifice used to consecrate kings, in which one performance, when completed, is immediately followed by preparations for another. The Purāṇas continued this model with the *pralaya* principle, based on an endless repetition of dissolutions and re-creations of the cosmos, destructions being total incineration by one or another form of Agni. Zoroastrianism, on the other hand, introduced a sense of final time and divine judgment, with eschatological fire expected on the last day in a one-time cataclysm. In historic time, judgment occurs routinely, as in ordeals by fire to test veracity and loyalty, but the day of final judgment awaits the future after resolution of the conflict of *asha* and *druj,* the light of truth and darkness of the lie, in favor of Ahura Mazdā and his eternal flame.

THE ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN. A fire altar *(bomos)* in a sacred precinct *(temenos)* was an essential feature of ancient religious practice for Greeks. The cult depended, as in India and Iran, on sacrifice to deities with commensal sharing of victims. Hesiod and Homer speak of the fat-wrapped thighbones of an ox, cuts of meat, and wine offered on the altar fire. Open fire pits opposite a temple entrance were standard, although some older temples had interior hearths. Hestia burned perpetually in her temple at Delphi, as a flame and with no image necessary to represent her. And in every home the hearth was the sacred center, a site of offerings, and a space where none could be violated.

In Hesiod's *Theogony,* Prometheus deceives and angers Zeus during a sacrifice of ox bones by stealing an ember from the altar and kindling the first fire to burn on earth. The Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* preserves an archaic legend of Eleusinian mysteries, the goddess Demeter's attempt to deify the boy Demophoon by secretly holding him in the hearth fire at night. That ritual, interrupted by the terrified mother, Metaneira, fails and the boy remains mortal. Again, as in India and Iran, cosmic correspondences exist between fire, breath (*pneuma,* Latin *spiritus*), and mind. The worldview of Heraclitus of Ephesus (c. 540–480 BCE) began with fire, an uncreated, eternal substance, essence of the universe, and medium of creation, associated with logos, mind, reason, and wisdom. The Pythagoreans, Parmenides of Elea, and Empedocles were other philosophers placing elemental fire in prominence.

The bare patch of ground on the Palatine Hill may not be "the hearth of Romulus," as claimed by today's tour guides, but ancient Rome did have its dual fire cults of domestic hearth, which received part of the meal before the family dined, and public altar (*ara* or *altaria*) with its own adjoining hearth. Vesta, Roman parallel to Hestia, was in a uniquely round temple without an image, her eternal flame being sufficient representation on what was essentially the hearth of the city, tended—like any domestic hearth—by females, six appointed Vestal Virgins tasked with kindling a new fire by friction every New Year's Day, March 1. On April 21, Pales, goddess of herders and their animals, was honored through the staging of Parilia, a festival including the racing of men and animals through burning straw, similar to one occurring in India today. The temple of Volcanus stood outside the city walls, a reminder of other fires: the dangerously destructive one sleeping in the heights of Vesuvius and Aetna, and the summer fires of cropfields and granaries.

Two centuries after Heraclitus, Stoic philosophers, including Zeno, Cleanthes, and others, elaborated Heraclitus's belief in fire as a basic element associated with logos as universal reason and regulative principle. The doctrine of seminal logos *(logos spermatikos)* led to belief in individual beings as immortal sparks from a divine fiery unity, a view adopted with modifications by Jewish, Christian, Gnostic, and other philosophical traditions. In the new Hellenistic culture acquainted with the wider world of Asia, several elements derived from early Upaniṣads (c. 700 BCE) are evident, including the notion of the individual soul, destined eventually to rejoin that original fiery unity, departing this earth for the moon.

ANCIENT ISRAEL, JUDAISM, CHRISTIANITY, AND ISLAM. To a limited extent scriptures of the two biblical traditions and Islam consciously separated the supreme being from the natural phenomenon of fire. And yet all three employed numerous symbols, beliefs, and folklore concerning the element of fire and associated phenomena of light. Only ancient Israel had a cult of fire maintained for animal sacrifices on a temple or open-air altar in the pattern of West Asia and, to a lesser extent, Egypt. With the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem in 70 CE, sacrificial fire—along with the Temple and the altar—became eschatological symbols. Early Christian churches with wooden tables as altars for the symbolic sacrifice known as Eucharist, and Islamic mosques as houses of prayer, like synagogues, had place for discreet lamps but not open fire. The Shabbat lamp and the altar candle still serve as fire in miniature.

To a degree, all three religions were influenced by Zoroastrianism, as is particularly evident in postexilic Judaism and in a widespread belief in opposing angels and demons. Most important were apocalyptic and other eschatological imprints in the notions of a fiery last day of judgment, of hell as a place of flaming torment, and of a God who pursues the unrighteous with punishing fire. On the other hand, all three faiths produced mystics of independent and solitary vision and experience, some associated with sublime expressions of fire, heat, and love.

When Solomon prayed before the bronze altar "fire came down from heaven and consumed the burnt offering and the sacrifice and the glory of the Lord filled the temple" (*2 Chron.* 7:1). In a striking theophany Moses saw the angel of the Lord in the midst of a burning bush that was not consumed (*Exod.* 3:2), and in the flight from Egypt through the wilderness the Lord led the people of Israel in a pillar of cloud by day, a pillar of fire by night (*Exod.* 13:21–22). Believers are protected from destructive fire: "When you walk through fire you shall not be burned, and the flame shall not consume you. For I am the Lord your God" (*Isa.* 43:2). Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego were not harmed when thrown into a fiery furnace for refusing to worship an image of gold (*Dan.* 3:1–30). "A chariot of fire and horses of fire" took Elijah "up by a whirlwind into heaven" (*2 Kings* 2:11). "My heart grew hot within me," says David in Psalm 39.3, "as I meditated, the fire burned; then I spoke with my tongue."

In the New Testament the sound of a mighty wind accompanied the arrival of the Holy Spirit that appeared to the apostles of Jesus as "tongues of fire, distributed and resting on each one of them" (*Acts* 2:1–4). Peter's second letter instructs that heaven and earth will be burned up on the day of the Lord (3:10), and *Revelation,* the Apocalypse of John, warns sinners of an end "in the lake that burns with fire and brimstone, which is the second death" (21.8). Early Christian desert saints of Egypt such as Abba Joseph of Panephysis, continuing the imagery of the Holy Spirit, were witnessed as flaming fires. The third-century church "father," Origen, foresaw a purification on the last day: Jesus will stand in a fiery river to baptize by fire all who enter paradise.

Fire and light play prominent roles in the extra-canonical literature of Judaism and Christianity, and in Gnostic texts, particularly in various apocalypses. Developing traditions of Jewish mysticism and collections of Jewish legend (Haggadah) were significant in this regard. In a Haggadah account of creation it is said that the preexistent Torah was written with black fire on white fire, as she (the Torah) was lying in the lap of God. The *Gospel of Thomas* quotes Jesus as saying, "He who is near me is near the fire" (82), but also "I have come to cast upon earth fire, sword and war" (16), and the *Apocalypse of Peter* reveals the day of God with cataracts of fire, "a fierce fire that shall not be put out and it flows for the judgment of wrath" (4). Given the influence of Iranian traditions, it is not surprising to find parallels to cosmic conflict in the Qumran scroll "The War of the Sons of Light with the Sons of Darkness" and in the Gnostic "Paraphrase of Shem," with its visions of chaotic fires.

Elijah's chariot of fire, reminiscent of both Vedic and ancient Iranian chariots of fire-sacrificers, and Daniel's vision of "a throne of fiery flames with wheels of burning fire" (7:9) became foundational images of the divine throne-chariot *(merkabah)* for many centuries of mystical texts and schools. Enoch's vision, similar to Daniel's, records a heavenly throne of fire in a blazing mansion, with the Lord speaking to him from streams of fire. He is also given a tour of Hell with its rivers of fire *(I Enoch).* The thirteenth-century Zohar, the seminal text for Qabbalah, identifies the ten *sefirot,* primordial numbers and emanations of light and power from the divine unity, a process later believed by qabbalists to include dissemination of sparks from that one source.

Inspirational to generations of Ḥasidim are stories of charismatic *rebbes* such as Baʿal Shem Tov (c. 1700–1760), known as the BeSHT. Once an overnight guest in his house, awakened at midnight in terror by a great flame rising from the hearth, fainted upon realizing it was the BeSHT. Another Hasidic *rebbe,* the Maggid of Mezeritch (1704–1772), sent his followers fleeing in panic by appearing suddenly as a being of fire.

The mystics of European Christianity often spoke and wrote of being consumed in ecstasy by *incendium amoris,* "the fire of love." Saints Augustine of Hippo (354–430), Gregory I (the Great) (c. 540–604), John of the Cross (Juan de la Cruz, 1542–1591), Catherine of Genoa (1447–1510), and Teresa of Ávila (d. 1582), the hermit Richard Rolle de Hampole (c. 1290–1349), and the philosopher Jakob Boehme (1575–1624) all used a language of fire and heat to convey the impact of mystical transformations or unitive states. Rolle speaks for many: "[T]he heart that truly receives the fire of the Holy Ghost is burned wholly and turns as it were into fire; and it leads it into that form that is likest to God" (*Incendium amoris,* ch. 17).

In some Greek villages today, devotees of Saint Constantine (the Great) and his mother Saint Helena believe they are protected by the pair when performing a firewalk after sacrificing a bull and sharing the feast of Anestanaria. Brought to the United States by immigrants, this ritual was soon swept into the 1970s New Age practice of firewalking, with its goals of self-realization and experimentation rather than ritual or worship. Today the American firewalking movement holds workshops in scores of states and some universities offer courses on firewalking.

Several times the Qurʾān recounts Moses' theophany of fire, but most references are warnings to those who reject the truth and deserve horrendous flame and molten brass on the day of judgment. Anecdotes of the Prophet preserved in popular bazaar tracts include such miracles as the moment when Muḥammad halted the sun in its course. A rich hagiographical literature, particularly in association with the Ṣūfīs, details the experiences of *awliyāʿ* (friends) of Allāh, saints, and mystics included in collections from the eleventh and following centuries. Examples of Ṣūfīs handling fire or using a language of fire bring to mind the mystics of Christianity. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (642–728) caused a "fire-worshiping" Zoroastrian to convert to Islam by thrusting his own hand into a fire and leaving it there unburned. Rābiʿah al-ʿAdawīyah (d. 810), Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī (d. 874), Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273), and Najm Dāyā Rāzī (thirteenth century) all broke restraints of law, theology and proper behavior to identify Allāh and fire, and at times themselves with both. Union with fire readily lent itself to the contested notion of *fānaʾ,* mystical annihilation. One Ṣūfī complained that he could not sleep because of his fear of hell-fire. Rābiʿah was said to have carried a torch and a pail of water, explaining that she intended to burn Paradise and douse Hell in order to eliminate both hindrances to a pure vision of Allāh. One dark night in Basra she had several visitors. Having no lantern, she blew upon her finger, which then lighted the room until sun-up. In the famous account of his "ascension" according to the Tadhkirat al-Auliyaʾ, Abū Yazīd, founder of the "drunken" school of mystics, spoke from his dark night of the soul: "In my intoxication . . . I melted my body in every crucible in the fire of jealousy." And Rūmī, ecstatic poet of Persian odes and originator of the Mevlevi (Mawlawīyah) whirling dervish dance, sang to his divine beloved, Shams al-Dīn: "Face like fire, wine like fire, love afire . . . soul . . . lamenting 'Whither shall I flee?'" (136.6).

SEE ALSO Light and Darkness.

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DAVID M. KNIPE (2005)

FIRTH, RAYMOND. Raymond Firth (1901–2002) was born in New Zealand and grew up in a rural area on the edge of Auckland. He attended Auckland Grammar School, where, at the age of fourteen, he found a copy of F. E. Maning's *Old New Zealand,* which, he said, laid a foundation for his interest in the indigenous Polynesian people of New Zealand, the Maori. As a schoolboy he also discovered the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* in the Auckland Public Library, became a reader, and later a contributor. In 1925 he published an article in the journal on a Maori *pa* site, and seventy-six years later, at the age of one hundred, an article by him on Tikopia dreams was published in the same journal.

Growing up in New Zealand, Firth had Maori friends and learned their language, which helped him acquire fluency in the cognate language of Tikopia, where he later carried out anthropological fieldwork. His interest in Maori ritual and belief laid a foundation for his later work on religion in Tikopia.

In 1921 Firth graduated in economics from what was then Auckland University College, and in 1924 he wrote a masters thesis on the kauri gum industry. He arrived at the London School of Economics in 1924 to work towards a doctorate in economics, intending to focus his work on the frozen meat industry in New Zealand. However, he came under the influence of the then professor of social anthropology Bronislaw Malinowski and changed the direction of his work. His thesis, *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori,* was published in 1929.

In 1928 Firth set out for Tikopia, a small Polynesian outlier in the Solomon Islands, where he would carry out his first truly anthropological fieldwork. He would return to the island several times. His publications about Tikopia provide a corpus of work about a small preliterate society that is probably unrivaled, comprising nine books and some one hundred articles. His ethnography of the island, *We, the Tikopia* (1936), has been reprinted many times. It introduces Firth's analysis of traditional Polynesian religion, which he developed in later publications, including *The Work of the Gods in Tikopia* (1940), *History and Traditions of Tikopia* (1960), *Tikopia Ritual and Belief* (1967), and *Rank and Religion in Tikopia* (1970).

Firth has provided a unique record of traditional Polynesian religious thought and practice. In general, missionization of the Pacific had been successfully carried out on the majority of island groups, beginning in the early 1800s. Therefore, a record of traditional beliefs often remained only in the journals of early missionaries, who regarded as benighted or inferior the religions they were replacing with Christianity. Tikopia escaped the earliest onslaught of missionaries because of its isolation. The Tikopia themselves were also extremely resistant to outside intrusion and successfully kept both missionaries and colonial government at bay until the early 1900s.

The first missionary to settle on the island in the 1920s was not European; he was a man from the Banks Islands working for the Melanesian Mission (Church of England). This man, Pa Pangisi, later married a Tikopia woman, and his more sympathetic view of traditional beliefs probably contributed to the fact that by the time Firth carried out his first fieldwork in Tikopia, fewer than half the inhabitants of the island had converted to Christianity, and only one of the four chiefs had done so. Firth, therefore, had the opportunity to record ritual practices firsthand, and his excellent knowledge of the language allowed him to translate the allusive and complex words of the various rituals.

Firth himself had been brought up a Methodist and taught Sunday school as a young man, but at the London School of Economics his opinions changed to a humanistic rationalism and he regretted the proselytization of Tikopia. In *We, the Tikopia* he wrote, "what justification can be found for this steady pressure to break down the customs of a people against whom the main charge is that their gods are different from ours?" (1936, p. 50). His sympathy and respect for the customs of Tikopia persuaded the chiefs of the island to share their ritual knowledge with him, and they later recalled Firth's distaste for the missionary habit of referring to traditional beliefs and paraphernalia as "things of darkness."

On return visits to the island in 1952 and 1966, Firth was able to record Tikopia's final conversion to Christianity. *Social Change in Tikopia* (1958) records the pragmatic decisions taken by the remaining three pagan chiefs, which led to all non-Christian Tikopia (with the exception of one old woman) converting to Melanesian Mission practice.

After Firth's initial period of fieldwork, he served as acting professor at Sydney University from 1930 to 1932, after which he returned to the London School of Economics, where he became a lecturer (1932–1935), reader (1935), and professor (in 1944). He remained there, with brief interruptions, until his retirement in 1968. While Tikopia remained central to his publications, he also carried out fieldwork in Malaya and in London, as well as writing more generally on topics of theoretical and anthropological interest. He received many honors during his long and distinguished career: he was knighted in 1973 and appointed Companion, New Zealand Order of Merit, in 2001. In 2002 the British Academy announced it was awarding him the first Leverhulme medal to be given to scholars of exceptional distinction in recognition of his "outstanding and internationally acknowledged contributions to 20th century anthropology." Raymond Firth died in February 2002.

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FISH. Inherent in fish symbolism is the sacred power of the abyss, the reciprocities of life and death. Paleolithic fish figurines have been found with the spiral of creativity carved on one side and the labyrinth of death on the other, evincing the spiritual world of early humankind in which fish represented propagating and perishing, killing and consuming, life renewed and sustained.

In the ancient Near East and the Mediterranean world, fish were associated with the great goddesses, archetypal images of femininity, love, and fertility. Astarte was worshiped in the form of a fish; Atargatis named her son Ichthys, Sacred Fish. In ancient Greece, Rome, and Scandinavia, the goddesses Aphrodite, Venus, and Frigg were assimilated to fish, and on Friday, the day sacred to them, fish were eaten as a way of participating in their fecundity. In many parts of the world—India, Greenland, Samoa, and Brazil—virgins were thought to be made pregnant by the gift of a fish, while a "fishing dance" was a common fertility rite in the women's societies of Africa. The dual nature of the symbol was manifested, and fish were regarded as unclean, wherever the goddess was characterized as libidinous and devouring. Fish gods were venerated as creators and vivifiers among Sumero-Semitic peoples and represented phallic power. An Assyrian seal of about 700 BCE depicts "Fish Gods Fertilizing the Tree of Life." Babylonian seals bear the image of a great fish with a vase from which fish stream.

A ubiquitous food in much of the world, fish are a universal motif of plenty. They are an emblem of abundance and good augury on Buddhist altars and are cited as one of the five boons in the Tantric text *Vāmācāris.*

At ritual meals in the temples of Babylon, fish was the sacred food of the priests. In Judaism, fish was regarded as the food of the blessed in paradise and was eaten at the Sabbath meal. The old Jewish Passover was in the month of Adar, the Fish, and the traditional symbol of the national restoration that is to come with the advent of the Messiah is the great fish on which the righteous will feast. Sabbath utensils and the chalice of benediction are often decorated with images of fish.

Sacred fish occur in Syrian and Iranian myths. Throughout the dynastic period in Egypt, they were regarded as the manifestation or abode of a god. Hapi, father of the gods, was "Lord of the Fishes," and a fish denoted the phallus of the dismembered god Osiris. An attribute of the sea god Poseidon (or Neptune), fish were associated with lunar power, and when represented with an ax, as in Crete, designated both lunar and solar power. Pisces, the twelfth sign of the Zodiac, is a pair of parallel fishes pointing in opposite directions, symbolizing spiritual and temporal power, the upper and lower worlds, past and future, involution and evolution, the ending of one cycle and the beginning of another. A pair of fishes on Chinese Bronze Age vessels signifies creative power. The Japanese believed that the world was supported by a mighty fish. Among the primitive societies of Oceania, Africa, and North and South America, fish were sacred totemic figures, emblematic of the power of the clan. Peruvian Indians believed that the original fish had engendered all others; they worshiped the species that was caught in the greatest numbers. Sea gods riding on a fish signified freedom; shown on the footprint of the Buddha, a fish meant emancipation from attachment and desire.

A corollary of the fish as blessing is its assimilation to a savior. The alchemical sign for *Salvator mundi* is a fish. The Hindu god Viṣṇu, transformed into a fish by Brahma, recovered the Vedas from the flood, saved humankind, and started a new race. Christ was symbolized by the fish, as seen in carved inscriptions in the catacombs of Rome; in Greek, the initial letters of "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior" form the Greek word *ichthus* ("fish"). The depiction of Jesus standing in water confirms the metaphor of a fish drawn from the deep to bring salvation to humanity. The feeding of the multitude by the miraculous multiplication of the loaves and fishes is the prototype of the Eucharist; the fish, like the bread, symbolizes the body of the Lord. The concept of Christ as both sacrificed and sacrificer is inherent in the Mass. Three fish with one head, or three intertwined fish—found in the iconography of ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, India, and Persia, and even down to modern times—is a universal symbol for unity in trinity, and came to represent Christian baptism. Christ's disciples and the newly baptized were denoted by the sign of a fish, and a neophyte in fish garb is depicted on early Christian lamps. In Christian mortuary painting, on pagan sarcophagi, and in representations of Chinese feasts of the dead, fish relate to resurrection and regeneration.

The experience of entering the belly of a whale or big fish, as in the Jonah story, is equated to a religious idea that informed the initiatory mysteries and rituals of death and of rebirth through newfound wisdom. Variants of this transition symbol are found worldwide, from the initiation rites of Oceania, West Africa, Lapland, and Finland to the North American Indian tale of Hiawatha, who was swallowed by the King of Fishes.

Fishing symbolizes both looking for souls and looking into the soul, that is, drawing the treasure of wisdom from the sea of the unknown. The Babylonians considered the sea the source of wisdom, and a mystic fisherman called "Warden of the Fish" is represented on a seal of the second millennium BCE. The mythical hero Ea-Oannes, half man, half fish, rose from the waters to bring culture and wisdom to mankind. The figure evolved into a fish god, Lord of the Deeps, whose priests wore fish skins and a fish headdress and whose image was ultimately transmuted into the miter of Christian bishops. The name *Orpheus* derives from a term for "fish," and one of the figures on an Orphic sacramental bowl of the third or fourth century BCE shows Orpheus as a fisher of men, with a fish and pole at his feet. The Celtic god Nodon was a fisher-god, and the Welsh god Bran the Blessed was called "Fisher of Men." His counterpart is the Grail King whom Parsifal found fishing as he waited for his deliverer. According to Augustine, Christ's exhortation "Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men" implied that the world is a sea of fish to be converted. For the tenth-century Ṣūfī mystic Niffari, the sea of spiritual experience through which the mystic passes on his journey to God is full of strange and frightening fish.

Many forms of sea life embody specific religious symbols. The dolphin was regarded as a divine intermediary between the upper and lower worlds; as a guide to departed souls, he was depicted on Greek vases bearing warriors to the Isles of the Blest. The dolphin as psychopomp, or guide of the souls of the dead, is also represented in Christian art. The octupus was a favorite motif in the ceramic arts of ancient Crete, allied to the spiritual in symbolizing the mystic center and the unfolding of creation. In the Celtic legend of Finn, the hero eats the Salmon of Wisdom, which endows him with the foreknowledge of the gods. The European Stella Maris, or starfish, is a symbol of the Virgin Mary and the Holy Spirit.

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Ann Dunnigan (1987)
Revised Bibliography

FLACIUS, MATTHIAS

FLACIUS, MATTHIAS (1520–1575), known as Matthias Flacius Illyricus, was an Italo-Croatian scholar and polemicist; a creative, fiery theological leader of the late Lutheran Reformation. Born in Albona, Istria, Flacius was trained in the humanist schools of Venice under the influence of his uncle, the Franciscan provincial Baldo Luperino, who was sympathetic to Lutheranism. Flacius studied at Tübingen before moving to Wittenberg, where Luther's intervention in a personal religious crisis confirmed Flacius as his passionately committed disciple. The defeat of Lutheran princes in the Smalcald War ended Flacius's career as a Hebrew instructor at Wittenberg and propelled him into the leadership of the Gnesio-Lutheran party, formed by Luther's more radical disciples in opposition to the imposition of the Augsburg Interim (1548) and the compromise settlement worked out by other Lutheran leaders, the Leipzig Interim (1548). Flacius's historical and liturgical research, as well as his biblical, lay-oriented argumentation, led him to criticize both settlements, attacking the Leipzig Interim as a betrayal of Luther's Reformation. As a private scholar at the center of resistance to both interims, Magdeburg (1548–1557); as a professor and counselor at Jena (1557–1561); and later as a consultant and private scholar in Regensburg, Antwerp, and Strassburg, Flacius provided theological leadership and inspired controversy.

Among his major contributions are his pioneering work in Protestant biblical hermeneutics, which climaxed in *Clavis scripturae sacrae* (1567), and in Protestant historiography, which culminated in his own *Catalogus testium veritatis* (1556) and in the *Magdeburg Centuries,* composed by members of a research team that he helped organize and manage.

According to his modern biographer, Oliver K. Olson, Flacius's theology can be described negatively as a program of "de-hellenization," that is, a turning away from Platonism and Aristotle, and positively as an insistent prophetic witness to correct biblical teaching *(pura doctrina).* That witness led him to fight for the independence of the church from the state and to reject many aspects of medieval ecclesiastical custom and polity. Above all, it led him to defend Luther's doctrine of salvation by God's grace through faith in Christ in controversies with other Protestant theologians, especially his formidable antagonist Philipp Melanchthon. These controversies concerned, most importantly, the role of good works in salvation and the role of the human will in conversion. In the controversy over human will Flacius defined original sin as the formal substance of the fallen sinner, who, he argued, is the image of Satan. This position was misinterpreted even by some fellow Gnesio-Lutherans and contributed to his alienation from most of his contemporaries at the end of his life, when agents of leading Lutheran princes prevented him from finding a permanent home.

Flacius's ardent polemics in defense of Luther's message at a time when it was seriously menaced by political and ideological forces contributed much to its preservation, and his intellectual contributions in liturgics, hermeneutics, church history, and dogmatics greatly enriched Protestant orthodoxy.

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Oliver K. Olson provides a superb overview of Flacius's thought and life and a sketch of his two-volume biography, as well as an extensive bibliography, in his essay "Matthias Flacius Illyricus, 1520–1575," in *Shapers of Religious Traditions in Germany, Switzerland, and Poland, 1560–1600,* edited by Jill Raitt (New Haven, Conn., 1981), pp. 1–17. The classic treatment of the subject to date is Wilhelm Preger's *Matthias Flacius Illyricus und seine Zeit,* 2 vols. in 1 (Erlangen, 1859–1861). In addition to Olson's articles and dissertation, contemporary studies of Flacius include Günter Moldaenke's *Schriftverständnis und Schriftdeutung im Zeitalter der Reformation,* vol. 1, *Matthias Flacius Illyricus* (Stuttgart, 1936), and Lauri Haikola's *Gesetz und Evangelium bei Matthias Flacius Illyricus* (Lund, 1952).

Robert Kolb (1987)

FLAMEN.

FLAMEN. The city of Rome presented itself as a community of people and gods, and the institution of the priesthood was necessary to mediate between those two spaces, to interpret the will of the gods and to ensure accuracy in the performance of rites. The *flamines*—etymologically, the "dispensers of the sacred" (Isidorus, *Etymologiae* 7.12.17)—were the *sacerdotes* of a particular deity (Cicero, *De legibus* 2.20). They stood in contrast to the pontiffs, who were learned men and men of law, and to other colleges of priests that acted in the name of the community.

The etymology of the word *flamen* is not clear. Based on the common etymology of the words *flamen* and *brahman* established by Georges Dumézil, Henri Le Bourdellès (1970) pointed out that the term—also recorded in the Messapic and Persian languages—designated the priest as invocator or minister of the word. But the functional duties of the Latin *flamen* and those of the Sanskrit *brahman* are far from similar, and the explanation that the Romans themselves offered for the term, relating it to the band of wool (*filum*) that wrapped around the *flamen's* cap (Varro, *De lingua Latina* 5.84), has been defended by Jens H. Vanggaard (1988).

The literature speaks of fifteen *flamines:* three major ones (*maiores*) and twelve minor ones (*minores*). Several authors, such as Vanggaard (1988, pp. 105ff) and Domenico Fasciano and Pierre Séguin (1993, pp. 22–23), have challenged the traditional thesis that the *flamines* were the specific priests of a certain deity. Fasciano and Séguin point out that the term *flamen* was applied to the *flamen* of the Arvals (*flamen Arvalium*) and to the priests of the thirty curiae into which archaic Rome was divided (*flamines curiales*), suggesting that the twelve *flamines minores* represented, in some way, certain sectors of the population, while the three *flamines maiores* represented the people as a whole, as the common sacrifices to the goddess *Fides* (a symbol of Rome's "faith"), mentioned by Livy (1.21.4), would illustrate. Such a thesis would also be supported by the common invocation in the conclusion of a treaty by the college of the *fetiales* (Pol. 3.25.6) and in the formula of the *devotio*, the oath taken by a Roman general vowing his life to the gods of the underworld (Livy 8.9).

The differences between the *flamines maiores* (instituted by King Numa) and the *flamines minores* would be due, according to the traditional interpretation (after Georg Wissowa), to the various levels of importance of the gods each *flamen* served. Thus, the *flamines maiores* were in the service of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus, the archaic triad that, according to Dumézil, represented the trifunctional Indo-European ideology of sovereignty, war, and production (with parallels to a similar triad among the Umbrian peoples: Jovius, Mars, and Vofionus). But such an explanation was challenged by Vanggaard (1988, pp. 46ff), for whom this distinction should be understood in terms of social differences along patrician-plebeian lines. He also rejects the possibility that the *flamines minores* could be patricians. Vanggaard has pointed at the relationship between the *flamines* and certain family groups (*gentes*), showing the predominance of the *gens* Cornelia and, in a secondary way, of the Postumius Albinus and the Valerius Flaccus families (Vanggaard, 1988, pp. 70ff).

Of the three *flamines maiores*, we know especially well the duties of the *flamen Dialis* thanks to the taboos (*caerimoniae, castus*) to which he was subject. These were cataloged in the pontifical books at the end of the third century or the first half of the second century BCE, and collected by the poet Aulus Gellius in the second century CE (*Noctes Atticae*, 10.15). One text from the Augustan antiquarian Verrius Flaccus, transmitted by Festus (198–200 L) in the second century CE places the priest of Jupiter at the head of the Roman priestly hierarchy, below the *rex sacrorum* and above the priests of Mars and Quirinus, who also outranked the *pontifex maximus.* The positions of *rex* (who is *potentissimus*) and *flamen Dialis* (said to be the priest of the entire world: "*universi mundi sacerdos*") represent the two types of sovereignty—warring and priestly—characteristic of Rome's "magical-religious" horizon. In the republican era, the more "political" figures of the magistrate and the pontiff replaced that pair (Marco Simón, 1996).

The cultic functions of the priest of Jupiter are well known: participating in the *confarreatio* marriage ceremonies (offering the couple the spelt bread that it would share), sacrificing a lamb to Jupiter on the day of the full moon (*Idus*), introducing the yearly wine harvest (*Vinalia*), and participating in the feast of *Lupercalia* on February 15. Together with the other two *flamines maiores* (the *flamen Martialis* and the *flamen Quirinalis*), he partook in the sacrifice to the goddess Fides. The *flamen Martialis* supposedly partook of the holiday of the October Horse, and the *flamen Quirinalis* in several rituals—*Quirinalia, Robigalia, Consualia,* and *Larentalia.*

The restrictions imposed on the *flamen* (*caerimoniae, castus*) defined his position. For the *flamen Dialis*—as for the virgins consecrated to Vesta—every day was holy (*cotidie feriatus*) because he symbolized the "stability" of the city itself. Four types of prescriptions insured that stability (Marco Simón, 1996): (1) restrictions that ensured his basic freedoms, including the prohibition to swear oaths or to wear symbolic constrictions such as rings or knots on his clothes; (2) restrictions aimed at ensuring his constant presence in Rome (*adsiduitas*), such as the prohibition from leaving his bed, which had to be in contact with the soil of the city, for more than three consecutive nights; (3) rules that established the symbolic role of the *flamen Dialis* in his double relationship with Jupiter (of whom he was a living image) and with society as a whole; and (4) restrictions that, because of the third category of rules, aimed at preventing contamination (*pollutio*) of the *flamen Dialis* by animals or any elements associated with the underworld or the world of the dead.

The wife of the *flamen Dialis* (*flaminica Dialis*) formed with him a sacred union that was an example to all Romans; it was unbreakable except by death, and she was under the same restrictions as her husband, according to Aulus Gellius (10.15.26), since she was the symbol for the fertility of Rome. She could not wash or comb her hair on certain dates that were associated with the Salian and Argean rites and with the cleaning of the Vestal temple.

One consequence of the taboos applied to the Jupiter priesthood (which prevented the priest from leaving Rome) was that the flaminate had little political appeal in comparison to other priesthoods, such as the augurate or the pontificate, which later served as stepping stones for political gain achieved through war. This led to a relaxation of the rules for the other two *flamines*, to whom, originally, the same restrictions had applied. This explains why the flaminate of Jupiter was vacant for seventy-five years after the suicide of Cornelius Merula in 87 BCE (Appian, *Bellum civile* 1.74; Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae Romanae* 2.22.2). Young G. Julius Caesar apparently was nominated for the post in 86 BCE, but he was never installed to it.

Only ten of the names of the twelve *flamines minores* are known. The first four were named after the most prominent gods: the *flamen Carmentalis* (Carmenta is a goddess associated with water and the human birthing process, destiny, and prophecy); the *flamen Volcanalis* (Volcanus is the god of celestial fire); the *flamen Portunalis* (Portunus is god of harbors and entrance ways), and the *flamen Cerialis* (Ceres is the goddess of growth and agriculture). The names of the last six *flamines* are known thanks to Ennius (in Varro, *De lingua Latina* 5.84); they served less eminent deities, associated especially with agriculture. They included the *flamen Volturnalis* (Volturnus is a deity associated with rivers and the wind); the *flamen Palatualis* (Palatua is probably the goddess of the Palatine and is identified with Pales); the *flamen Furrinalis* (Furrina is a goddess of wells and underground water), and the *flamen Floralis* (Flora is the goddess of the blossoming of wheat and orchards). The *flamen Falacer* was the only one bearing the same name as his god, not the adjective epithet. Finally, there was the *flamen Pomonalis* (Pomona is a goddess that protects orchards). Fasciano and Séguin (1993, pp. 141–146) suggest that the names of the two missing *flamines minores* were the *flamen Neptunalis* (Neptunus is the god of fresh water and humidity) and the *flamen Fontinalis* (Fons, or Fontanus, was the god of springs), whose deities were assimilated into Poseidon and the nymphs during the Hellenization of Roman religion.

In imperial times, the *flamines* were in charge of maintaining the cult of the emperor. The law that defined provincial priesthood in the Narbonensis province suggests that the statutes and prerogatives of the *flamines* were drafted following the model of the *flamen Dialis* (*CIL* XII 6038). These Augustal, municipal, and provincial *flamines* played an important role, since the imperial cult was a first-rate symbolic element in maintaining the political unity and cohesion of the vast and heterogeneous Roman Empire. The priests of the imperial cult received the title of *flamines* in the Hispanic provinces (Hispania Citerior, Lusitania, and Betica), in Gallia Narbonensis, the Maritime and Cottian Alps, Numidia, and the two Mauritanias (Caesarean and Tingitana), while the title *sacerdotes* (which is characteristic of the Flavian era,) prevails in the inscriptions of the altar of the Temple of the Three Gauls in Lugdunum (Lyons), and in the African provinces, Sardinia, and the Danubian region (Fishwick, 1987–2002).

SEE ALSO Roman Religion, article on the Early Period.

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FLIGHT.

The image of a human being escaping the bonds of earthly life to float and soar about the skies unencumbered and free appears in religious myths, mystical tracts, ritual dramas, and imaginative expressions around the world, from the most archaic to the most contemporary of cultures. While of course their specific historical circumstances and motivations vary, one still feels that in some ways the imagination of the Paleolithic cave dweller who painted the figure of a man with a bird’s head on the walls of the caves at Lascaux is not so different from the imagination that created the ancient Greek story of Icarus yearning to fly to the sun or that of the poets of Vedic India who sang praises of the long-haired ascetic who “flies through the air, looking on all shapes below, the friend to all the gods” (*Rgveda* 10.136.4). Perhaps, too, this imagination is not so different in the end from that which helped lift the Wright brothers into the air above Kitty Hawk.

Accounts of human flight are at times quite dramatic, as in the neo-Hebraic text the *Apocalypse of Moses,* which tells of Moses’ ascension into the various heavens, each one inhabited by frightening and dreadful angels who breathe fire and lightning and whose sweat flows into a mighty burning river. Other tales of flight convey a mood of peacefulness, as in the nineteenth-century accounts of Sister Mary of Jesus Crucified, a Carmelite nun who floated about the yard of her nunnery for hours at a time, sometimes perching softly in the treetops like a bird. Some accounts are quite charming, like the medieval Sanskrit text that tells neophyte yogins that a person trying to master the art of levitation may have some difficulty at first and so will bounce across the ground like a jumping frog, but after increased practice will fly about with ease (see *Yogatattva Upaniṣad* 53–55).

Rituals as well as myths also frequently include references to or enactment of aerial travel. Alchemists and Daoist priests in ancient China, for example, clothed themselves with feathered wings while performing various religious ceremonies so that they might fly about the skies with the immortals. Similarly, at one point in the Vedic Vajapeya rite the priest and the ritual's patron are instructed to climb the sacrificial pillar, at the top of which they spread their arms as if flapping their wings and proclaim, "We have come to the heavens, to the gods we have come! We have become immortal" (*Taittīriya Saṃhitā* 1.7.9). The Vedic ritual system as a whole is often described in ornithological terms. The performance of the Agnicayana (fire ritual), for example, revolves around the construction of an altar in the shape of a bird, suggesting that the ritual transports its oblations to the heavens the way a bird soars through the skies.

DIMENSIONS OF MAGICAL FLIGHT. Scholars have offered a variety of theories regarding the origin and meaning of humanity's fascination with magical flight. Some, such as Arthur Maurice Hocart, an anthropologist, have seen in this theme remnants of an archaic solar worship and reverence for the king (who was felt to be the sun, or the son of the sun), who was always carried about on the shoulders of his subjects and thus "flew" everywhere he went. Others, such as Geo Widengren, a scholar of Near Eastern religions, have seen in myths and rituals involving flight distinct elements of religious ideologies based on divine kingship; the protagonist exemplifying such ideologies (originally the king, but later also a prophet or savior) is said to ascend to the realm of the high god in order to receive the sanction to rule the earthly community below. Some theorists feel that the theme represents elements of initiation and rites of passage: The flight typifies the state of being in which the initiate stands between the old and the new modes of existence. Some psychologists, especially those influenced by the theories of Sigmund Freud, have argued that the desire to fly is really a subliminal desire for sexual power, and that the feelings accompanying such an experience are repressed aspects of sexual arousal. Students of other disciplines in the social sciences maintain that magical flight expresses a person's search for a legitimation of authority over other people, or a wish to be free of personal limitations.

There is no doubt that to fly is to have power, and some theorists have held that the search for power is the central motivation common to all religious experience and expression. Whether or not this means, however, that themes of magical flight in religious myths and rituals derive from specific modes of power (such as royal prestige, prophetic influence, personal gratification, or existential autonomy) will remain open to debate. The issue is complicated by the fact that many types of persons—sovereigns, saints, visionaries, magicians, priests, ascetics, mystics, lovers, philosophers—have been said to undergo such uplifting experiences. Since the 1950s Mircea Eliade has argued that it would be a mistake to conclude that the mythic theme of magical flight derives from only one source, or that it reflects only one stage in human cultural or personal development. According to Eliade, magical flight and its related symbolism (learning the language of birds, the cultivation of ecstasy, rapturous mystical images, and so on) reflect an experience of abolishing everyday ways of knowing the world, the desire for which is expressed in images of transcendence and freedom. Eliade further maintains that this desire is, in fact, constitutive of humanity itself. If this interpretation is correct, then symbols of magical flight not only derive from a moment in human history but also reveal a structure of human consciousness, an existential dimension to the human imagination that "must be ranked among the specific marks of man" (Eliade, 1960, p. 106).

The point is well taken. Studies in the history of religions have repeatedly emphasized that *Homo sapiens* is *homo symbolicus,* defined in part by the ability to make and be moved by symbols, especially symbols of various extraordinary modes of being. At the start of the twentieth century James G. Frazer and Julius von Negelein, among others, noted that religions from around the world have used the image of the bird to signify the human soul, suggesting that celestial and aerial symbols often represent sublime emotions and spiritual ideals. One might recognize such themes in Augustine's account in his *Confessions* of his experience at Ostia when he and his mother, both radiant with spiritual love, soar up to the heavens from where the celestial bodies shine onto the earth. One finds similar themes in traditional Islamic accounts of Muḥammad's *Miʿrāj,* in which the Prophet ascends through the seven heavens of the vertical cosmos to learn sacred lessons from his predecessors in the prophetic lineage who now live in each heaven and draw near to the throne of Allah. This ascension has become a mythic and poetic paradigm for the practices and ideals of Ṣūfī mysticism. Tales of a person's flight through the skies frequently include an emotional tone of longing to be free of the bonds that tie humanity to the ways of the world. A similar longing perhaps enlivened the imagination of the Hebrew psalmist who sang, "Oh that I had wings like a dove! for then I would fly away and be at rest" (*Ps.* 55:6).

Protagonists who fly through the air do so for more than emotional and mystical reasons. They may assert their ability to rise above the laws of the physical world and thus to gain control over what may be experienced as an oppressive universe. This may be inferred from the South Asian use of such Sanskrit terms as *kaivalya* ("autonomy") to describe one of the goals of yogic practice, which is marked by such autonomous acts as flying through the air (see Patañjali's *Yoga Sūtra,* chap. 4 and its commentaries). Similarly, the Theravāda Buddhist tradition teaches that an adept monk can fly cross-legged through the atmosphere "like a bird in flight" (see *Majjhima Nikāya* 1.33, etc.).

At other times, the world is understood to reflect the beauty and wisdom of the divine plan; to fly about it, then, is to see more of it than is normally possible. This may be part of what the Persian Ṣūfī Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭar longed to do when, in his epic poem *The Conference of Birds,* he expresses a wish to fly through the air to all regions of the earth in order "to enjoy all beauties."

At other times, people may want to fly in order to see into the future (movement through vertical space is often associated with movement through time); to escort dead people to their new lives in the unknown world; to obtain valuable medicinal or cultic knowledge from various spiritual beings; or to locate souls that have become lost in the different layers of the universe. While the religious specialist most adept at such divination is the shaman of north-central Asia, the ecstatic experience characterized by such flights appears throughout the world.

The ability to fly through the air therefore often includes an ethical or normative dimension, for the protagonist who can travel to the future, as well as to other worlds, can see what kinds of lives people on earth can expect to have in other realms after they die. Subsequent to such a flight, the aerial traveler can return to earth to tell people how to act so that they may live in the more comfortable or prestigious afterworlds. Such is the case, for example, in the Zoroastrian tale told in the *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag,* in which the priest Virāf falls into an ecstatic sleep after drinking a cup of *mang* and travels through the heavens and hells that are the respective postmortal homes of the pious and the infidel members of the priestly community. Having gained this knowledge, he then returns to his colleagues on earth and tells them what he has learned so that they can adjust their religious practices accordingly.

TYPES OF MAGICAL FLIGHT. The various scenarios in the world's myths and rituals involving extraordinary aerial flight are so numerous that one could distinguish any number of forms and interpret their individual meanings in an equal number of ways. To arrive at a universal typology of flight, then, is to generalize in a way that might make even thoroughgoing structuralists somewhat wary. The following schema is intended to be comprehensive, but does not pretend to include all variations.

Autonomous this-worldly flight (levitation). Hagiographies from religious traditions around the world often include depictions of various saints, mediators, devotees, and other exemplary figures who are able at certain times to float up off the ground without visible assistance and without injury. Sometimes these experiences are intentional and desirable, as is implied in a lesson from the *Yogatattva Upaniṣad* (117): "Thrusting the tongue into the back of the throat and focusing one's eyes on the spot between the eyebrows, one sits in the posture in which one gains the power to float up into the air." At other times, these experiences seem to catch the community by surprise, as in a story about Alfonso Liguori, who, while giving a sermon one day, offered himself to an image of the Virgin and, stretching out his arms (like a bird?), floated several feet off the platform, whereupon the two thousand people listening were amazed and filled with admiration. While most traditional hagiographies express wonder at such events, many also include implicit or explicit criticism of people who willingly drift about in the air in front of others, since such behavior is either physically dangerous or distracting to the normal person's religious concentration or constitutes an arrogant display of spiritual authority. The Ṣūfī tradition, for example, criticizes those who undertake a magical levitation in order to enact a miracle or gain a vision, for to do so is comparable to making the pilgrimage to Mecca merely for the sake of business or pleasure.

The Bollandists' *Acta Sanctorum* uses such descriptive terms as *a terra levabatur* ("raised above the surface of the earth"), *corporalite elevatus est* ("he or she was elevated bodily"), and *raptus* ("taken up") to describe those events in Roman Catholic history in which a person is reported to have floated up off the ground while deep in prayer, during moments of deep emotion, or while performing devotions. Since the classical period in India, Sanskrit texts have used such technical terms as *laghuman* ("lightness"), *utkramaṇa* ("stepping upward"), and *gauravahīnatā* ("gravity destroying") to describe the power a yogin gains while learning to meditate properly. Islam distinguishes two types of mystics, those who are passively "drawn upward" (*majdhūb*) and those who actively stride (*sālik*) upward through the spheres by their own arduous reflection and effort. But such technical terms, among any number of others from the literatures of the world's religions, seem too specialized for comparative use. The English and French word *levitation* has been used since the nineteenth century by European hagiographers to describe such events in their respective traditions. While the term seems somewhat clumsy, it might suit the comparativist who has recognized such themes in other religions as well.

Levitations may be intentional or unintentional, repeated or unique, momentary or long-lasting. They may take the person over an extensive geography or they may involve rising just an inch or two above the ground. In any case, the adept remains independent of external assistance and, while he or she may be said to alter the physical laws of the world, never leaves the physical structure of the cosmos.

Although levitations are often depicted as strange and astounding events that arrest people's attention and thrill the storytellers, they are of themselves rarely if ever soteriologically transformative and do not constitute an ultimately valuable experience. Rather, tales of levitation mark the esteem that the particular tradition holds for the central figure, or they serve as a means by which the tradition recognizes those specific practices and attitudes (spiritual integrity, strength of will, loving purity and devotion, self-discipline, obedience to the divine, etc.) that it holds to be most valuable.

Dependent this-worldly flight. To the category of dependent magical flights belong those instances in which a person is lifted up off the ground by a flying animal, spirit, or divine creature of some sort and is escorted through the skies over a wide area of the earth and sometimes at great height. These flights are similar to autonomous levitations in that the protagonists never leave the realm of the atmosphere and thus remain within the worldly cosmos, the realm of human activity and community. They differ from levitations in that the protagonists are dependent on another being or outside agent to bring them into the skies.

Sometimes these flights allow a hero to escape in a horizontal direction and at great speed from a situation of great anxiety or terror, often from death personified. Accordingly, the emotional tone of such stories is fervent and fearful. Folklorists have used the German term *magische Flucht* to describe such a flight from a frightening predicament and have found the theme in cultures all over the world. Eliade has noted that "it is important to distinguish one essential element [in such horizontal high-speed flights]: the desperate effort to be rid of a monstrous presence, to free oneself" (Eliade, 1960, p. 104).

At other times, this-worldly flights escorted by a supernatural being reflect less frightening feelings and signify less anxious situations. Sometimes they bring the central character to a new and highly desirable land or a more satisfying life in a distant earthly paradise. Sometimes they free him or her from the drudgery of daily chores long enough to add new wonder to their understanding of the world. Sometimes they show the character the superiority of his or her religious tradition over another, for to fly over the heads of the followers of another tradition is to be better than they are.

In general, tales of escorted this-worldly flights either express a notion that escape or existential change is possible no matter how bleak things look, or help the members of the religious community reaffirm the worthiness of their tradition and encourage people from other traditions to become part of their own. As such, many tales of an escorted this-worldly flight serve conversion as well as self-affirming functions.

Otherworldly flights (ascensions). A third general category of magical flights involves a protagonist's journey to dimensions or levels of the sacred cosmos other than the earthly one. These journeys may be solitary and autonomous or they may be guided by supernatural beings. In either case, otherworldly flights, or ascensions, necessarily involve a radical transformation of one's being, a change in ontological status so powerful that one moves from one mode of existence to another. This transformation is typically depicted as being of ultimate value and is considered soteriologically efficacious. Such experiences reward specific people for their commitment to religious practices, their transformative state of mind, or their embodiment of respected personality traits. The central axis of these aerial journeys tends to be a vertical one, although there are instances of horizontal travels to other worlds as well. Whereas stories of the *magische Flucht* type of this-worldly flight evoke emotions of release, freedom, safety, or personal power, narratives of ascent evoke emotions arising from the transcendence of this world and a concurrent disjunction with normal reality and personal existential situations. If this-worldly flight gets one out of the grasp of something horrible or above the heads of everybody else in the world, ascension gets one out of the world altogether.

Myths of vertical travel to the heavens above the skies are often associated with the protagonist's previous or subsequent descent along the same axis to the hells or otherworlds below. Therefore, ascensions, like other religious forms of magical flight, often include divinatory and ethical elements. However, unlike levitations and this-worldly flights (which involve travel across the geographies of the terrestrial world), an ascension takes one beyond the dimensions of human space and history, since vertical movement is often synonymous with movement through, or the abolition of, time. Ascensions are typologically different from levitations and this-worldly flights in that ascensions often include apocalyptic or eschatological themes. Thus, although they appear in other traditions as well, it is in Zoroastrianism, apocalyptic Judaism, Christianity, and Islam that myths of ascension are most prevalent, for it is in these traditions that the end of history is most consistently associated with the ascension of a savior into the vertical heavens above the terrestrial realm.

Figures from the world's religions who ascend to other worlds—prophets, visionaries, saints, founders, perfected beings, and so on—sometimes return to earth with new power or knowledge that is of soteriological benefit to the community as a whole. Such an ascending and returning mediator might well function, then, as a shaman. In other instances, he or she remains in the sacred world above, never to return. Such a person might then serve as a model for others in their religious practices and attitudes, or as an example of a new and transformed being.

SEE ALSO Ascension; Birds; Shamanism.

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Students interested in the varieties of magical flight (more specifically, varieties of the *magische Flucht* of this essay's typology) in the world's folktales should look to Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk Literature,* 2d ed., rev. & enl., 6 vols. (Bloomington, Ind., and Helsinki, 1955–1958). Sample motifs include the following: D670, Magic Flight; E372, Soul in Form of Bird; F61, Person Wafted to Sky; F62, Bird Carries Person to or from Upper World; F1021, Extraordinary Flights through the Air. Folklorists would also want to see Antti Aarne's *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen,* translated and enlarged by Stith Thompson as *The Types of the Folk-Tale* (1928; reprint, New York, 1971), entries 313–314, "The Magic Flight," or Aarne's *Die magische Flucht* (Helsinki, 1930).

Those who wish to find traditional accounts of levitations, magical flights, and ascensions in the lives of Christian saints have no better place to turn than the *Acta Sanctorum,* a mammoth collection (64 volumes) of hagiographies edited by the Bollandists in a project that was begun in the seventeenth century by Johannes Bollandus and was carried on by Godefridus Henschenius and subsequent editors from the Society of Jesus in Belgium (Brussels, 1643–1931). A less imposing collection, and one centering exclusively on aerial events in the lives of the saints, is Olivier LeRoy's pedantic yet still somewhat amused *Levitation: An Examination of the Evidence and Explanations* (London, 1928). For accounts of celestial travel, usually by the soul after death, in antiquity, see Josef Kroll's *Die Himmelfarht der Seele in der Antike* (Cologne, 1931). A recent work that in a way complements LeRoy and Kroll is Ioan P. Culianu's "Le vol magique dans l'antiquité tardive," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 198 (January–March 1981): 57–66; a short study of instances in late antiquity when people who are supposed to be able to fly fail to do so.

For views of the soul as a bird, see James G. Frazer's *The Golden Bough,* part 2, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul,* 3d ed., rev. & enl. (London, 1911), or Julius von Negelein's "Seele als Vogel," *Globus* 74 (1901): 357–361, 381–384. Arthur Maurice Hocart's notion that magical flight derives from an ancient solar worship appears in his "Flying through the Air," *Indian Quarterly* (1923): 28–31 (also in *Indian Antiquary* 52 [1923]: 80–82). Readers will find Geo Widengren's ideas on divine kingship and the aerial motif in his *The Ascension of the Apostle and the Heavenly Book* (*King and Savior III*) (Uppsala, 1950) and *Muḥammed, the Apostle of God, and His Ascension* (Uppsala, 1955).

For a study of Zoroastrian notions of ascension, see Martin Haug's *Über das Ardâi Virâf nameh* (Munich, 1879). For a collection and discussion of Jewish, Christian, Gnostic, Greek, Roman, and Persian apocalyptic tales of ascension, see *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre,* edited by John J. Collins, special issue of *Semeia* 14 (1975).

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FLOOD, THE. Many peoples relate that floods accompany the end of a world. According to one Egyptian text, the world will disappear in the Nun, the divine water where the first god was formed (*The Book of Going Forth by Day* 175). For the Aztec and the Maya, the universe goes through several eras, separated from each other by the invasion of waves. India has successive creations, in which everything is abolished by a vast expanse of water; this water then constitutes the ocean from which the next creation will arise (*Mahābhārata* 3.188.80, 3.189.42).

Several tales associate humans with this universal drama. The god Faro of the Bambara holds back the waters that will one day submerge the earth, to make way for the future world; warned of this occurrence, people must arm themselves with objects that will ensure their salvation. Iranian texts evoke the snows and floods that will cover the world at the end of a cosmic millennium; in anticipation of this crisis, Yima brings together a number of men in a hidden domain; they will survive and ensure the rebirth of humanity in the next millennium (*Vendidad* 2.22–41). A famous tale from the *Mahābhārata* makes Manu, the very symbol of man, the sole survivor of the flood; it is he who, through his spiritual austerities, will become the author of the new creation (*Śathapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.8.1–6; *Mahābhārata* 3.190.2–56; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 8.24).

The most numerous narratives, however, deal with another sort of flood. They are more limited and find the full sense of their meaning in the history of mankind. They constitute one of its major expressions; for mankind, there is an antediluvian and a postdiluvian world.

The Antecedents of the Flood; Its Causes. Blunders sometimes characterize the beginning of a cosmogony, for example, the first union and first births of the Japanese deities Izanagi and Izanami, in the *Kojiki.* In an Indonesian myth, divine patriarchs came down one day from the heavens to the earth that was emerging from the waters. The first of them perched himself on the southern extremity and unbalanced it, so that it was inundated by the waves. The second placed himself at the other extremity as a counterbalance, but it folded up; the northern part plunged into the waves while the middle rose up. It was not until the last two patriarchs settled down in the central region that the earth recovered its flatness and stability.

In an equally awkward way, the gods began several times to create humanity on several occasions; floods are one of the means that they used to destroy the unfortunate results of their initial endeavors. After creating the heavens and the earth in darkness, say the Quechua peoples of South America, the god Viracocha made human beings too big; he turned some into statues and destroyed the rest with a flood. In the *Popul Vuh,* the sacred book of the Maya, formative or progenitor spirits create the first animated mannequins. These lived and procreated, but "this was only a trial, an attempt at humanity." They disappeared in the course of a complex series of events, in a vast inundation (*Popol Vuh* 3–4). Instead of annihilating an imperfect humanity, sometimes the creator god tries to improve it; he eliminates the defective humans by use of a flood. When everything seemed to be complete, say the Desána of South America, a number of plagues overcame the world, and evil beings ravaged humankind. Seeing the suffering of those he had created, Sun brought on a flood that drowned all the living, and then a fire that burned everything. There were survivors, however, and the god had them brought up.

In most of the myths, the flood occurs after a more complex series of events in which human behavior plays a decisive role, although humans are not necessarily at fault. In one Philippine story, the god of the sky causes a flood to destroy humanity because it was becoming too numerous. In a Mesopotamian myth, the growth of humanity is accompanied by a perturbation that tires out the gods; to destroy it, they unleash several catastrophes, the last of which is a flood (Lambert and Millard, 1969). Usually, however, humans commit some characteristic error. They refuse to give a god what he asks of them, show almost no compassion for the unfortunate, take to evil, or disobey religious and moral laws. In *Genesis*, it is because of the evil in humans that God wished to wipe them out (*Gn.* 6:1–7, 6:17).

THE SURVIVORS. In myths where the flood is supposed to destroy the original, defective humankind, sometimes the latter disappears completely. In other cases, there are one or more survivors.

The existing tales do not state what all the qualities are that earned the survivors this privilege. The more explicit stories, however, attribute particular traits to them. The Greek Deukalion was a son of the god Prometheus (Lucian, *De dea Syria* 12ff.). A close relationship joins Atrahasis or Utanapishtim to the Mesopotamian god of waters, the sage Enki-Ea (*Epic of Gilgamesh*, tablet 11; Lambert and Millard, 1969). Furthermore, they themselves seem to possess an eminent wisdom. The merits of the survivors are more evident elsewhere. Alone among humans, they give the gods what they ask. In Hindu myth, Manu is a great *ṛṣi*. A lengthy practice of asceticism raises him above his fellow mortals; he is able to recognize and save the divine being who, in the form of a fish, requests his protection. The biblical Noah by contrast is the only just man in an evil humanity.

THE POSTDILUVIAN WORLD. It has been seen that when the flood destroys a world and all of humanity, it sometimes precedes the creation of a new universe. It appears to separate two successive eras within a cyclical time. On this point, however, matters are not always clear. Although the Egyptian Nun, into which the world will disappear, is identical to the primordial waters, it is not clear that another world will ever emerge from it. A Carib myth says that humans will one day disappear with the entire universe, which does not seem to leave any hope of a new beginning; a flood that has already taken place to punish human evil simply warns them of the final catastrophe, for which humankind will also be to blame.

What happens when floods are linked more specifically to the fate of mortals? In some cases, the gods, after completely destroying the original human species, create another one; in other cases, the survivors themselves must ensure the survival of the human race.

This is not always a matter of course. When only one person escapes death, a miracle is needed to provide that person with offspring. In a Jivaroan myth, the solitary man plants a part of his own flesh in the earth; from this a woman is born, with whom he couples. Other South American Indians relate that the woman came from bamboo. After the destruction of the world in Hindu myth, Manu feels the desire for posterity. He gives himself over to ascetic practices and offers a sacrifice. In the year that follows, a woman is born, approaches him, and says, "I am your daughter." He begets upon her the race of his descendants by practicing more spiritual austerities.

Things are less unusual when either a couple or numerous individuals escape death; in this case the conditions of natural procreation are fulfilled. However, it may be observed that the salvation of the survivors is in itself a marvel; in many cases, they owe their survival to divine intervention. In Australian Aboriginal myth, only the ancestors survive the flood: By eliminating their evil descendants, the inundation permits a return to origins, from which humankind will be able to start anew. Many myths attribute qualities to the survivors that set them apart: Their descendants will be the products of a process of selection. In short, even when the present humanity issues from antediluvian mankind, it constitutes a second race.

Thus, in the history of humankind, just as it sometimes happens in the history of the cosmos, a destructive flood precedes a sort of new creation. The story of *Genesis* is a good example; Yahveh repeats to Noah's family the words he had spoken to Adam and Eve: "Be fecund, multiply on the earth and rule it" (*Gn.* 9:1ff.; cf. 1:28). But this new beginning is unique; when on the scale of humanity, there no longer cyclical time. This is evident in the biblical concept: The flood takes place within a linear history that goes from an absolute beginning to a definitive end.

THE POSITION OF POSTDILUVIAN HUMANITY. When the flood is supposed to correct the effects of an initial blunder, it fulfills a positive function and is part of progress. In this case, however, it must be noted that the second race is imperfect; it commits errors and undergoes many vicissitudes. In Quechua myth, the new men ignore Viracocha and do not venerate him. This is why the god causes a fire to fall from the heavens, which burns the earth; only those who beg for mercy are spared. The position such myths ascribe to present-day humanity is similar to that found in the other types of stories.

The flood sometimes appears to be a part of a more general degradation. On the original earth, say the Guaraní of Paraguay, people lived close to the gods. Then incest unleashed a series of events, after which the flood wiped out humanity. A new earth was then created, the land of evil reserved for humans. This pessimistic viewpoint is not common. More typically the flood follows a period of degradation and puts an end to it.

In all types of the myth, the new humanity exhibits traits that distinguish it from the old. Not only is it civilized, but many tales associate the flood with the origins of civilization itself. Viracocha teaches the rudiments of civilization to the second Quechua race he has just created, and the *Popul Vuh* relates how Maya civilization developed during the second humanity. In a myth of the Desána of Colombia, the sun god sends his daughter among the survivors of the flood to teach them the rules of living. Similarly, after a flood and other catastrophes, in a myth of the Fali of Chad and Sudan, the high god makes an ark descend from the heavens with the rain. This ark contains the symbol of all plant species, of wild and domesticated animals, and of the metals and tools of the smithy. Even in the pessimistic Guaraní myth, the man who survives the flood makes manioc, maize, and sweet potatoes appear.

In other narratives, the culture hero and the being who saves humanity from the flood are one and the same. This dual role appearsin stories told among African peoples and among American Indians. In Greek myth, Prometheus is not only the hero who gives fire to humans and teaches them the arts of civilization; it is also he who teaches Deukalion how to escape the flood.

Several peoples undoubtedly knew of the existence of an antediluvian civilization. The Mesopotamians list the kings prior to the cataclysm, while the Hebrews tell the story of those who, compelled to work, have succeeded each other on the earth up to Noah. But in these cases too, the flood is associated with the history of civilization. Ea, the god who saves Utanapishtim, had been the protector of the wise men of old, to whom Utanapishtim himself could be related; Gilgamesh, who met him, transmitted an antediluvian wisdom to humanity. The survivor of the Sumerian flood, Atrahasis, takes "the master craftsmen" with him in his ark. Noah is "the farmer." After the flood, his family receives moral laws: This is when homicide is clearly prohibited, when meat as well as plants are offered as food to humankind, and when the rules of slaughter are prescribed.

In addition, humanity finds itself in a new position vis-à-vis the gods. According to the Guaraní myth, before the flood people lived with the gods on earth; on the second earth, they are alone. For many Australian peoples, the flood coincides with the withdrawal of the "*dema* deity," who abandons earth for a celestial dwelling. In the biblical tale itself, the flood is the culmination of events that begin with the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise; it follows the murder by Cain and other occurrences. In mentioning these misfortunes Yahveh repents for having created humanity.

The Greek myths make a correlation between this rupture and the origin of civilization. The events that include the flood give rise to both of them. Prior to them, humans received everything that was necessary for their subsistence from the gods and did not have to work at all. Separated from the gods, they must now toil in order to live, but they have learned the arts that will let them provide for their own needs.

The separation that accompanies the flood is not absolute, however. At the end of the inundation, there is a new sort of relation flourishing between humans and gods. Those who beg mercy of Viracocha while he burns them acknowledge his divinity, whereas before they had neglected him. The procedures of the cult of the *dema* deities are defined after their separation, at the end of the Australian floods. Furthermore, the aurora borealis then becomes a sign for humankind of the *demas*' disposition. The daughter whose birth is brought about by Manu's spiritual austerities bears the name of a ritual offering and also symbolizes it. By committing the act that unleashes the entire process of separation between humans and gods—the unequal allotment of a bovine—Prometheus makes a gesture to which the ritual of the great Greek sacrifices will refer: By bringing fire to mortals he gives them the instrument necessary for the burning of victims. At the end of the flood, his surviving son, Deukalion, celebrates the first sacrifice, and several traditions see in him the founder of cults. When the Mesopotamian flood has ended, Utanapishtim makes a sacrifice whose ritual is described in detail by the myth. Similarly, "Noah built an altar to the Lord, and took of every clean animal and of every clean bird, and offered burnt offerings on the altar" (*Gn.* 8:20). In addition, Yahveh makes an agreement with him that encompasses all of humankind to come, and of which the rainbow will remain a sign visible to the eyes of humans.

THE FORMS OF THE FLOOD AND THE FUNCTION OF THE DILUVIAL WATERS. The flood is not the only catastrophe with which the gods threaten to wipe out humanity. As the Egyptian wise men supposedly told Solon, "Men were destroyed and will be destroyed again in many ways; fire and water were the instruments of the most serious destructions" (Plato, *Timaeus* 22c). In some tales the flood itself is associated with other scourges, especially the burning of the earth. In the epic of Atrahasis it follows a plague and terrible droughts. Nevertheless, the myths return to the image of destruction by water, with particular frequency.

The diluvial waters are not just any water. As has been seen, the water into which the world disappears at the end of its existence coincides with the primordial water. The earth that the Indonesian patriarch unbalanced is an insular earth, located in the original ocean whose waves invade it.

If the flood takes the form of rain, as is often the case, this rain comes from the heavenly waters and can be accompanied by a brutal ascent of underground waters as well. "Nergal tears the beams from the heaven, Ninurta makes it unlock its dams . . . the foundations of the earth are broken like a shattered jar," reads a passage in the *Epic of Gilgamesh. Genesis* continues: "All the fountains of the great deep burst forth and the windows of the heavens were opened" (*Gn.* 7:11). The Greek poet Nonnus (early fifth century CE) expresses the same notion. The world is thus submerged by the waters that surround it on all sides. According to some myths, these cosmic waters are the very same primordial waters that were thrown back to the periphery of the universe at the creation.

The diluvial waves thus possess the virtues of water in all their original vigor. It is not only that they can be destructive, as when at the end of the world they reduce everything to a state of original indifferentiation. They are also capable of fulfilling an amniotic function, when a new creation succeeds this annihilation. Perhaps their cathartic nature can be seen in their elimination of the bad elements of the human race. Their generative strength is manifested in the marvelous rebirth and proliferation of a purified humanity. They can, finally, play a role in the immortalization of heroes who have lived through the flood and survived. The brother and sister whose incestuous union provoked the flood of the Guaraní myth went into the water, in animal form, and were deified. The Mesopotamian survivors, Utanapishtim and his wife, also became immortal.

CONCLUSION. The influence peoples have exercised over each other in the course of history is not enough to explain why myths of the flood are present on every continent. In order to account for this, some authors have supposed that everywhere people preserve the memory of distant prehistoric catastrophes that destroyed the universe or vast regions of the earth. Such an explanation strikes this writer as misguided. For it to be pertinent, one would have to be able to explain in similar fashion the other mythic scourges that have imperiled humanity: the burning of the earth, for example, or the rage of a goddess in the form of a lion, as in an Egyptian myth about the destruction of humankind.

By resorting to this type of explanation, one also neglects the very thing that makes the flood so significant: the return of the world to its original state, in the case of cosmic destructions, and, in the case of destructions that have a special impact on humankind, the idea of an original intimacy between humans and gods, the idea of their separation, and, finally, the belief that a relationship unites them despite this separation. Mythic thought uses the narrative to express these basic intuitions and elaborate on them. Commonplace occurrences, such as epidemics, ravishing fires, droughts or floods, the fear of wild animals, furnish it with vehicles for this purpose. Among such vehicles, the symbolic richness of water confers a special status to the image of the flood.

SEE ALSO Water.

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JEAN RUDHARDT (1987)
Translated from French by Erica Meltzer
Revised Bibliography

FLORENSKII, PAVEL (1882–1943/1950s?), was a Russian Orthodox priest and theologian. Florenskii was born in Evlakh, Azerbaijan, in Transcaucasian Russia. His engineer father was Russian, perhaps half-Georgian; his mother was Armenian. Religion did not play more than a cultural role in the Florenskii family. Young Florenskii was a child prodigy during his elementary school years in Tiflis (present-day Tbilisi), Georgia. He was sent to study mathematics at Moscow University, where he also became intensely interested in philosophy. At the university he studied with the famous Sergei Trubetskoi and L. M. Lopatin, falling under their religious influence. At this time, with his friends V. F. Ern and A. V. Elchaninov, who was to become a famous émigré Russian Orthodox priest in Western Europe after the Russian Revolution, Florenskii founded the utopian Christian Brotherhood of Battle, an organization that worked for social reforms in Russia and a new church-state policy that would give freedom to the church along the lines of the theocratic philosophy of the sophiologist Vladimir Solov'ev. Upon graduation from the university, Florenskii gave up a research fellowship in mathematics to enter the Moscow Theological Academy on the advice of his spiritual guide, Bishop Antonii Florensov. After completing his studies at the academy in 1908, Florenskii was elected to the academy's faculty of the history of philosophy. He married Anna Mikhailovna Giatsintova on August 17, 1910, and was ordained a priest of the Russian Orthodox church on April 24, 1911.

As a priest, Florenskii never held a formal pastorate, although he served in one of the chapels at the Saint Sergius Trinity Monastery (at present-day Sergiyev Posad), where the Moscow Theological Academy was located, and he was always eager for pastoral work. His good friend Sergei Bulgakov, who returned to Christianity through Florenskii's ministry and became a famous Russian Orthodox archpriest and theologian, testified in his memoirs to the pastoral zeal of his spiritual guide. So also did the renowned, although very different, philosophers N. O. Lossky and Vasilii Rozanov, who also recovered their religious faith through his ministry, both the latter, however, would come to express serious doubts about their mentor's philosophical vision.

Florenskii wrote only one book of theology, the highly debated and generally considered epoch-making collection of twelve essays on theodicy titled *Stolp i utverzhdenie istiny* (The pillar and bulwark of the truth). Published in 1914 in a special typeface selected especially by the author, the book consists of more than eight hundred pages, with more than four hundred footnotes and commentaries touching upon virtually every area of human study: theology, philosophy, philology, history, mathematics, medicine, art, the various sciences, and even the occult. It is written in the form of intimate letters to a friend which Nikolai Berdiaev, among others, criticized for its pretentious aesthetical and lyrical stylization. The chapters, each introduced by a literary vignette, bear such titles as "Doubt," "Friendship," "Triunity," "Sophia," "The Comforter," "Light of Truth," "Contradiction," "Sin," and "Gehenna."

Stolp i utverzhdenie istiny is not a systematic work. Its controlling intuition is expressed in its opening sentence: "Living religious experience [is] the sole legitimate method for understanding [religious, and certainly Christian] dogma." The author's fundamental claim is that ultimate truth, which is religious, comes from the liturgical, spiritual, and ecclesial experience of the whole person within the community of faith and worship of the Orthodox church; this experience fundamentally is the gracious realization by creatures of the indwelling divine life of the trinitarian godhead: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Following such thinkers as Solovʾev, Aleksei Khomiakov, and Ivan Kireevskii, and interpreting the theology of the Eastern Christian church fathers and the liturgical hymnography and iconography of the Orthodox tradition in their light, Florenskii forges a magnificent, and extremely complex, worldview. At the heart of Florenskii's worldview lies the experience of free and joyous communion in truth, love, and beauty. This communion is perfected by all creatures made in the image of the uncreated Trinity of divine persons. The eternal being and life of the Trinity provides the archetypal structure for human existence and fulfillment.

The work that formed the basis for *Stolp i utverzhdenie istiny* was accepted by the Moscow Theological Academy as an orthodox expression of the faith of the Russian church, albeit in highly individualistic and idiosyncratic form, and Florenskii was granted his doctoral degree after its presentation. However, careful analyses of the finished and published product, accomplished almost exclusively outside of Russia after the Revolution, have questioned the work on virtually every point. Classical Orthodox theologians and scholars such as Vladimir Lossky and Georges Florovsky have rejected it as an expression of church dogmatics, and philosophers such as Nikolai Berdiaev have faulted its philosophical argumentation. So also have philosophical interpreters such as Vasilii Zenkovskii and N. O. Lossky, the latter of whom, as has been seen, was greatly influenced in his return to Christianity by Florenskii. In all cases, however, the brilliance of the gifted thinker, the fundamental correctness of his guiding intuition, and his rejection of a rationalist approach to religious and specifically Christian thinking, indeed, to any truly metaphysical reflections on the ultimate nature of things, have been applauded by all who have had the courage to labor through his prodigious creation.

After the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 Florenskii was inducted by the regime into scientific service, often embarrassing the new rulers by appearing at scientific conferences and classes in his priestly cassock, wearing the cross. He worked for the Highest State Technical-Artistic Studios and the Commission for the Electrification of Soviet Russia. A member of the Academy of Sciences and editor of the Soviet *Technical Encyclopedia,* he was honored for several important scientific discoveries, one of which had to do with the refining of oil. He also wrote standard textbooks for Soviet schools. At the same time, he preached against the excesses of the regime whose fundamental worldview was contrary to his own. It is believed that Florenskii was imprisoned permanently during the Stalinist terror in 1933. According to Soviet records, he died in 1943, but other sources indicate that he may have survived into the 1950s. In 1956 the Soviet government formally rehabilitated the memory of the man who was called by many critics of his work the "Russian Leonardo da Vinci."

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THOMAS HOPKO (1987)

FLOWERS.

The blossom, or reproductive part, of trees, shrubs, and other flora is known as the flower. This part of a growing plant takes on very special and often sacred meanings in every culture and religion of the world. The symbolism of flowers is often determined by a flower's natural properties: its color and smell, where it grows, and the length of its blooming period. While each kind of flower may be assigned a special meaning, flowers in general symbolize beauty and the transitory nature of life. Flowers are often used to represent the cycle of life and are an important part of rituals and ceremonies that celebrate birth, marriage, death, and the promise of regeneration. Flowers also serve as offerings or as a means of communicating with a deity or other sacred being. They are frequently sacred gifts bestowed as signs of welcome or in celebration of victory. Flowers represent certain deities and are associated with cultural beliefs regarding heaven or the afterlife.

It is not just the bloom of a plant that holds these special meanings. Several different plants may be combined to create a "flower" for sacred purposes. In some societies other parts of a living plant may be referred to as a "flower." In Japan, maple leaves are considered to be flowers even though they are not the bloom of the maple tree. And even sea coral was treated as a flower in nineteenth-century Christianity in the United States and was believed to represent heavenly love. Palms and evergreens are often included in the general category of flowers and are used in sacred contexts.

Flowers are used to teach general religious principles. The Japanese myth *Mr. Butterfly and His Flowers* teaches that all creatures are destined to become Buddhas. In this story a hermit is visited by a number of women who are actually the spirits of the flowers from his garden, which he had left behind in his search for enlightenment. These flowers, as spirits of women, had come to share his Buddhist attainment because flowers too are on the path to enlightenment.

The art of flower arrangement in Japan is called ikebana ("living flowers") and has spiritual significance. The word for flower is *hana* and includes blossoms, branches, foliage of trees, as well as individual flowers and grasses. The art of arranging these "flowers" expresses the Buddhist ideals of content, calm, and piety. Religious spirit, restraint, serene disposition, and respect for humankind are qualities the flower arranger must possess as he or she strives to portray the growth cycle of the plant from bud to maturity. The Daoist concepts of *in* (Chin., *yin:* female, passive, earth, moon, darkness, coolness, silence) and *yo* (Chin., *yang:* male, heaven, sun, action, power) must also be combined in the flower arrangement.

The lotus is used in many cultures to stand for the ideal of purity and perfection. The plant grows in muddy water and yet remains pure. The flower itself is most frequently believed to symbolize the oneness of Buddhist instruction and enlightenment.

FLOWERS AND DEITIES.

Flowers are connected to the sacred realm through their association with gods and goddesses. Flora, the Roman goddess of springtime and flowers, brings beauty and fragrance to blossoms, sweetness to honey, and aroma to wine. The Aztec god Xochipilli Cinteotl was one of thirteen day lords. He was the prince of flowers—the god of beauty, love, happiness, and youth. His female twin Xochiquetzal ("flower feather") was also the goddess of love. The Hindu love god, Kāma, is represented riding a parrot with a bow and arrow made of flowers. Ko-no-hana-sa-kura-hime ("the lady who causes trees to bloom") is a supernatural being of Japan, a fairy represented by the cherry blossom. The Japanese *tennyo* (like the Indian *devatā*s) are female deities of the sky. They play music and scatter flowers and the aroma of celestial perfume. The *tennyo* surround pious Buddhists like angels, they appear as decorations in Buddhist temples, and some have their own shrines. The *tennyo* may be identified with Shintō goddesses. In Zoroastrianism, thirty different species of flowers are associated with the thirty *yazata*s, or deities, that preside over the thirty days of the month.

Flowers may be created through the actions of gods. Almost every culture credits the presence of all forms of life, including flowers, to the sacred realm. The ancient Greek and Roman religions include several tales of creation. Jupiter, wishing to render Hercules immortal, placed him at the breast of the sleeping Juno. Some drops of her milk fell to the earth from which sprang the white lily.

The Muslims consider the rose a sacred plant that had sprung from the drops of perspiration that fell from the Prophet during his heavenly journey. Among the Indian cultures of Latin America the geranium is believed to have grown from drops of Christ's blood that fell as he ran from Satan. And the lily of the valley is called "Our Lady's Tears," because this plant grew from the tears the Virgin Mary shed at the cross of Christ.

Flowers are also associated with the birth or creation of deities. Ancient Egyptian religion described the fixed stars in the heavens as gods or souls, and also as fields of heavenly flowers and plants, believed to be the dwelling place of the blessed dead. It was from these fields of flowers and souls that the gods were created. Ancient Egyptians also believed that the sun was born every day from a blue lotus in the celestial ocean. In Asia the lotus is the flower on which Brahmā alighted when he sprang from the navel of Viṣṇu. From this beginning Brahmā ordered the existence of all worlds.

Flowers and deities together may protect human birth. In China the *bodhisattva* Guanyin is known as "the lady who brings children." Sitting on a lotus flower and holding a child in her arms, she is a goddess of fertility and aids in the treatment of all sickness. Her image is found in most homes. Kishimojin (Hariti) is a female divinity of Japan who was converted by the Buddha. She is the protector of children and women in childbirth. This goddess is portrayed standing with a baby at her breast and holding the flower of happiness.

Important symbolism is attached to flowers through their appearance with a sacred being. Many times this connection arises because of particular characteristics of the flower or the season of the year in which the bloom appears and the relation of this blossoming to the religious calendar of the culture. Artists have depicted the angel Gabriel coming to Mary with a spray of lilies in his hand to announce that she will be the mother of Christ. Many flowers are connected to Mary. These flowers all stand for virginity and purity: the annunciation lily, the flowering almond, the madonna lily, the gillyflower, the snow drop, and the rose. The thorns of the rose allude to the suffering of Mary as the mother of Christ. Christ's crown of thorns is believed to have been formed from the acanthus, bramble, or rose-briar. The hawthorn is also believed to be a symbol of Jesus, because it blooms at Christmastime. Because the Easter lily blooms at Eastertide, it is a symbol of Christ's resurrection.

FLOWERS AND RITUALS. Flowers as a link between humankind and the deities are presented as offerings to the sacred world, as food for the gods, or even as a reward from the gods. Deities may be appeased and worshiped through the singing of hymns, the anointing of images, the use of lights and incense, and through the offering of foods and flowers. In India flowers are said to have dropped from heaven to express the joy of the gods.

The religions of Latin America are a mixture of sixteenth-century Catholicism and native Indian religions. In many areas the seven most important saint's days are celebrated in festivals lasting three days. The first day of the festival is spent renewing flower decorations and offerings for house and church altars. The flowers used on this day, and throughout the year, are important offerings to the saints and to God. The last day of the festival falls on the saint's day as declared in the Roman Catholic calendar.

Among the Sherpas of Nepal, the high gods have achieved salvation and bliss and are utterly fulfilled and self-contained. Following traditional Buddhist beliefs, these gods have obtained enlightenment partly through conquering the delights of the senses. The high gods are unconcerned with humans and must be drawn down to aid humankind through a complex ritual involving sacred offerings. The god is "trapped" or seduced by the various offerings, each designed to appeal to one of the senses. The flower used in this ritual tempts the god to use his sense of smell.

Rites of passage. A rite of passage is a vehicle for transforming an individual, or a group of individuals, from one way of being to another through a series of culturally recognized stages. In most cultures, these transitions are marked or given meaning through the ritual use of flowers.

The earliest evidence for the use of flowers in a rite of passage is connected with a Neanderthal burial in the Shanidar Cave in Iraq. This burial site dates from sixty thousand years ago and reveals that the Neanderthals covered the body of the deceased with at least eight species of flowers.

The association of flowers with rituals of death occurs all over the world. The Greeks and Romans covered the dead and their graves with flowers. The souls of dying Buddhists in Japan are carried upward on a lotus, and the gravestones in cemeteries may rest on carved lotuses. Lotus leaves are also constructed out of gold or silver paper and are carried at Japanese funerals. Tahitians leave bouquets wrapped in ferns by the body after death and then pour floral perfume over the corpse to ease its passage into the sacred afterlife.

In Zorastrianism, the "rite of flowers" is performed by two priests; it invokes the blessings of the sacred and includes vows to the deceased. The priests conduct a complicated exchange of flowers accompanied by prayers and gestures. These flower exchanges symbolize the exchange of life between this world and the world after death. The ritual is also concerned with good and evil and the importance of good thoughts, words, and deeds.

Flowers are used in marriage rituals as an expression of fertility, virginity, purity, and to represent the sacred union of the bride and groom. Christian weddings in the United States include flowers for the altar, a bridal bouquet that represents the bride's fertility and the children that will result from the marriage, and flowers for virtually all the ritual participants. A Roman Catholic bride often lays her bridal bouquet at the foot of a statue of the Virgin Mary at the conclusion of the wedding ceremony as a dedication of her virginity to the mother of Christ.

The marriage ceremony of Java is a syncretism of Hinduism, Islam, and folk religion. This ceremony is completed only when the bride and groom exchange the *kembang majang* ("blossoming flowers") that represent their virginity. These "flowers" are large composite plants. The stems are from a banana tree trunk, the "blossom" consists of leaves, and the entire "flower" is wrapped in coconut branches.

Flowers and the afterlife or paradise. Not only are flowers used to express cultural beliefs about the changes in the life cycle, but they are also connected to ideas of life after death and paradise. Chinese Buddhists believe that at the hour of death the Buddha will appear to them, and their souls will be placed in a lotus. The souls will remain there until they are cleansed of all impurities, and then they will go to the Land of Extreme Felicity in the West, a paradise of all delights where showers of blossoms fall to the ground. The Aztec paradise was located above the ninth heaven and was called Xochitlicacan, the "place of flowers." The Huichol Indians of northwest Mexico call their paradise Wirikúta, a land of many flowers and much water. It is there that the ancient ones dwell, the ancestors and deities of the Huichol. These ancestor deities are called *neyeteurixa,* from *yeteurixa,* a thistle plant that flowers and then becomes the dry burrs found in the everyday world. Through the ingestion of peyote, or the five-petaled "flower," these Indians are able to journey to Wirikúta and to meet and join their ancestors amid the flowers of paradise.

SUPERNATURAL POWERS OF FLOWERS. Flowers are believed to possess powers that arise from their connection to the sacred realm. Greek and Roman religion held the amaranth as a sacred flower and associated it with immortality. In Switzerland it is believed that if this flower is worn on Ascension Day, it will render the wearer invisible. The peony is valued for medicinal properties and is named in celebration of Apollo, who as Paeon healed the wounds received by the gods in the Trojan War.

The Maya Indians of Zinacantan perform an illness-curing ceremony called "he enters in the flowers." This ritual includes visits to the ancestor/deity mountain shrines that surround the city of Zinacantan, as well as a ceremonial circuit of the sacred Roman Catholic churches within the town itself. This ceremonial circuit is called "great vision," referring to the number of gods visited during the ceremony, or "big flower," named for the large number of flowers necessary for the success of the procession. These flowers include not only the blooms of plants but also the sacred tips of evergreen trees. These tips are considered to be natural crosses, and two are erected alongside a permanent wooden cross to form the *calvario,* or calvary. This re-creation of the three crosses present at Christ's crucifixion is necessary for many rituals, including curing ceremonies.

PERFUME, THE ESSENCE OF FLOWERS. Flowers may also be present at sacred times in the form of incense or perfume. The aroma of the blooms is believed to reach into the sacred sphere.

The people of Mayotte in the Comoro Islands have two religious systems that exist side by side. The public and male religion is Islam, while the religion of the private domestic sphere of women is a complex system of possession by spirits. Flowers, and especially the perfume made from them, are used to celebrate the sacred in both realms. The flowers are selected for their fragrance, not for their color or form. The cologne made from these flowers is used to mark and give meaning to several occasions: the onset of puberty in women, rituals of curing, and the anointing of the bride and groom during and after their wedding, as well as of the other major participants in the marriage ceremony. Every household keeps a supply of cologne and generously sprinkles the fragrance on body and clothing on all major holidays and Fridays at the weekly mosque service. Cologne is also offered to the mullahs at family rituals, especially during *mawlid* celebrations of the month of the Prophet's birth. Perfume contacts and pleases the sacred and enables prayers to travel more quickly.

The Zoroastrian Dhup-sarvi ("ceremony of the perfumes") involves the use of fragrant flowers, flower water, and other perfumes. These are passed out to the people, who are assembled to honor the dead, and they symbolize the fragrance and joyful nature of the path that righteous souls take to the afterworld.

The meanings attached to flowers, indeed the definition of *flower* itself, vary from culture to culture. The religious significance of these blooms is a very important part of the definition of *flower* for most societies. There is power in all life, especially in this form of nature that almost universally stands for beauty, purity, and the transitory nature of life.

SEE ALSO Gardens; Incense; Lotus; Paradise; Rites of Passage.

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FLOW EXPERIENCE.

All major world religions, as well as most sects and tribal cults, are said to produce on occasion, among their faithful, states of ecstasy or altered states of consciousness. Such experiences constitute for many believers one of the main attractions of religion, if not a proof of its ability to mediate the supernatural. In cults and sects such experiences are often induced by chemical substances ingested in ritual contexts; by fasting; by various hypnotic trances, or by what Émile Durkheim called "collective effervescence," a condition engineered by rhythmic music, dance, and ritual movements.

Remnants of such direct sensory means for inducing altered experiential states can still be found in the major religions. The use of music, chanting, lighting, and scent in liturgy and of fasting and ritual feasting clearly derive from earlier methods for producing ecstasy. But the great religious traditions have become gradually less dependent on sensory means, while at the same time they have developed the ability to induce ecstasy through cognitive disciplines. Prayer, meditation, *satori, samādhi,* despite the tremendous variety of cultural differences represented in their settings, are all mechanisms for providing a sense of mystic union with a sacred, transcendent force.

Is the ecstasy reported in religious practices and rituals unique to religion, or is it a species of a broader genus of experiential states? At least since the writings of William James, psychologists have supported the latter hypothesis. It is assumed that there is no qualitative difference between the unusual states of consciousness occasionally experienced in religious contexts and analogous states reported in a variety of secular contexts. The task for the scholar is to describe the experiential state precisely, and to explain why it occurs in the context of religious practice.

Perhaps the state of consciousness that most closely resembles accounts of religious ecstasy is the "flow experience," so named because many people have used the word *flow* in describing it. This subjective state has been reportedly experienced by creative artists when working, by athletes at the height of competition, by surgeons while performing difficult operations, and by ordinary people in the midst of their most satisfying activities. In other words, states of optimal experience in a wide variety of context, including meditation, prayer, and mystical union, are described in terms of very similar subjective parameters. The subsequent experience is "ecstatic" in that it is characterized by a sense of clarity and enjoyment that stands out from the blurred background of everyday routine.

The flow experience is characterized by the following phenomenological dimensions:

(1) a narrowing of the focus of consciousness on a clearly delimited stimulus field;
(2) exclusion from one's awareness of irrelevant immediate stimuli, memories of past events, and contemplation of the future; hence a focusing on the unfolding present;
(3) merging of action and awareness, also described as absence of doubt and critical reflection about one's current activity;
(4) awareness of clear goals and unambiguous feedback; so that one knows one's standing with reference to the goals;
(5) lack of concern regarding one's ability to control the situation;
(6) loss of self-consciousness, which in turn may lead to a sense of transcendence of ego boundaries and of union with a larger, transpersonal system.

When these conditions are present in consciousness, the experience is usually interpreted by the individual as being enjoyable and autotelic (worth seeking for its own sake). Activities available in everyday life form a continuum in terms of their capacity to induce flow. At the lowest level are "microflow" activities such as doodling, pacing, or smoking, which provide fleeting experiences of ordered existence. At the other extreme are "deep flow" activities that provide relatively lasting and totally absorbing experiences, as in creative endeavors, complex symbolic or religious thought, or the heights of physical performance.

Whether an activity is capable of providing flow depends in large part on the kind and degree of challenges (opportunities of action) that it makes available, and on the actor's skill (capacity to relate to them). When these two are in balance, flow occurs. If challenges overshadow skills, anxiety ensues; if skills are greater than the opportunities for using them, boredom follows. The complexity of a flow experience—or its ability to provide deep flow—is a function of the extent of challenges the activity presents and of the actor's skills. Games, spectacles, and rituals are structured so as to provide the maximum of flow experience.

Religious action-systems present a wide variety of opportunities for action, ranging from microflow-like repetitive physical rituals (e.g., the spinning of Tibetan prayer wheels) to the purely cognitive sequences of doctrinal exegesis. Religions occasionally are able to transform a person's entire life activity into a unified action-system with clear and congruent goals. It might be argued, for instance, that the religion of the early Puritans was an all-embracing flow activity that focused the consciousness of believers on the necessity of attaining salvation and prescribed a productive vocation as a means for attaining *certitudo salutis.* In this process Puritanism had to exclude many pleasurable experiences from the consciousness of the faithful, but within the limitations of its goals and rules it provided an all-embracing and enjoyable field of action.

In general, however, flow experiences—religious ones included—are liminal in terms of the dominant patterns of consciousness required by social existence. Prayer, ritual, meditation, or the reading of sacred texts establishes interludes of flow in a stream of consciousness that otherwise tends to be structured either too loosely or too rigidly. These activities are occasionally able to provide concrete experiences of a mode of existence more conducive to the expression of individual potentials than the socially restricted historical reality is capable of doing.

SEE ALSO Consciousness, States of; Ecstasy; Religious Experience.

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FOGUANGSHAN. Founded in 1967, Foguangshan (Buddha's Light Mountain) had by the beginning of the twenty-first century developed into one of the most influential Buddhist organizations in Taiwan (the Republic of China, ROC) and had opened more than 150 temples in nearly thirty countries around the world. Approximately 1,300 clerics were within the Foguang ranks in 2004, and the order's lay society, known as the Buddha's Light International Association (BLIA), had a membership in the hundreds of thousands. Activities sponsored by Foguangshan and BLIA draw more than three million participants annually.

The order's founder, Master Xingyun, was born in 1927 in Jiangsu province of mainland China. He took his vows of renunciation at age twelve in Qixia Temple, Nanjing. Ten years later he accompanied the Nationalist army as it retreated to Taiwan. Unlike most monks who had come from the mainland, Master Xingyun did not remain in Taipei (the province's capital), but instead took charge of a small temple in a more rural location and eventually established Foguangshan in Kaohsiung county. For his followers, the master symbolizes the transmission of a revitalized version of traditional Chinese culture from the mainland to Taiwan. He has kept tenuous ties with the mainland through the years, returning to his ancestral temple in 1989 and again in 2000.

Foguangshan is regarded as a leading exponent of Humanistic Buddhism (*renjian fojiao*), by which is meant a refocusing of daily practice to more directly deal with the challenges of contemporary life. The this-worldly pragmatism that serves as the focal point of Humanistic Buddhism significantly affects Master Xingyun's interpretations of Chan (Jap., Zen) and Pure Land practice. Although a forty-eighth generation holder of the Linji *dharma* scroll, only in recent years has the master encouraged devotees to make formal meditation an important part of their cultivation. Up through the 1980s, he considered Pure Land recitation a more suitable expedient means (Chin., *fangbian*; Skt., *upāya*) to attract lay followers, given their busy lives, low education level, and scant understanding of the *dharma.* Clerics were similarly dissuaded from spending too much time in the Chan hall, for to do so was regarded as contrary to the *bodhisattva* spirit of serving all beings, not just attending to one's own liberation. Only in the early 1990s, when many lay Buddhists (and even non-Buddhists) were turning to meditation as a means to relieve stress, did Master Xingyun more actively discuss the value of such practice, backing up his rhetoric by constructing Foguangshan's beautiful Chan hall.

The form of meditation that Master Xingyun considers to be most compatible with Humanistic Buddhism is "active Chan" (*dongzhong chan*). Master Baizhang's maxim "A day without work is a day without food" has been broadened radically so that, rather than only justifying farm work as suitable for monastic life, at Foguangshan it has become a paean exalting industriousness as an essential part of religious practice. "Work is nutrition," exclaims the master, while "the most miserable person in this world is one who does not have any work; the greatest privation in life is the loneliness of boredom." Foguang laity are therefore exhorted to maximize productivity in their occupation as a means to serve society and, through generously contributing the resulting wealth, to support Buddhism. For Foguang clergy, active Chan occurs through vigorously attending to the multitudinous projects initiated by monastery leadership to promote the *dharma.* In the view of Foguang monastics, it is they—and not those clerics who sit in absolute silence for hours on end in some isolated monastery—who practice in such a way as to attain the most profound level of Chan realization.

The Humanistic Buddhist perspective has led Master Xingyun to regard the teachings of the Pure Land school in a new way as well. Rather than exerting their energies toward being reborn in a pure land in a different dimension of the universe, as is usually advocated by the Pure Land school, people are urged to transform our own immediate world into a Pure Land and thereby personally embody the *bodhisattva* aspiration for universal enlightenment. Master Xingyun pronounces that advances in science, technology, and medicine, as well as the global trend toward democracy and human rights, all foster the conditions of security, peace, and well-being required for cultivation. The notion of humanity's steady progress through history to ever-higher levels of comfort, freedom, ethical consciousness, and rationality is a central feature of the master's philosophy. Master Xingyun believes that radical, confrontational reforms are not an effective method for achieving such progress, since such tactics create too much suffering and remain within dualistic thinking. Instead, he espouses gradual amelioration through each person engaging in a daily regimen of contemplation, meditation, and self-reflection, while simultaneously devoting his or her energy to improving the welfare of others. Hence, Foguangshan periodically leads large-scale campaigns aimed at societal regeneration through moral persuasion and sponsors a variety of civic enterprises, including an orphanage, a medical clinic, several preschools, a high school, and a liberal arts university.

Although improving people's material and societal conditions is seen as essential to establishing a Pure Land on earth, the key to realizing such a utopia nonetheless remains cultivating people's wisdom and compassion through exposure to the *dharma.* Naturally, the master sees Buddhism in general, and Humanistic Buddhism as propounded by Foguangshan in particular, as being at the forefront of this movement. Each Foguang temple is regarded as a miniature Pure Land whose wholesome influence will slowly radiate outward to positively influence its surroundings, until eventually the entire world can be transformed into a realm of bliss.

Master Xingyun asserts that the key to extending such purity—or as he would phrase it, "spreading the Buddha's light,"—is implementing effective educational programs, both for the clergy who guide the process and for the laity who assure its widespread dissemination. Foguangshan is therefore especially well known in Taiwan for its system of monastic colleges and its publishing empire. By 2000, Foguangshan had a dozen seminaries with more than five hundred students enrolled. While most of the students come from within the Foguang ranks, a variety of smaller temples around Taiwan also send their novices to these seminaries for training. Foguangshan's publications include an edition of the Buddhist canon (with punctuation added), a six-volume encyclopedia of Buddhism, and scores of books, cassettes, videos, and CD-ROMs explicating Master Xingyun's version of Humanistic Buddhism. The organization also devotes considerable resources to maintaining its many websites and television station.

Foguang projects are typically undertaken in cooperation with political and corporate leaders. Large-scale Foguang activities in Taiwan, which can attract tens of thousands of participants, often take place at government facilities and have as the guests of honor top political officials, military brass, and business elite. Because of this, Master Xingyun's detractors have saddled him with the pejorative labels of "political monk" and "commercial monk." The former epithet gained especial salience after the master publicly endorsed one of his disciples in 1996 in the Republic of China's first open election for the presidency and then, later that same year, hosted U.S. vice president Al Gore at a banquet at Hsi Lai Temple (Hacienda Heights, California) for what turned out to be a fund-raiser for the Democratic National Committee. The label "commercial monk" came about not only because of the master's many wealthy devotees, but also due to his penchant to create high-profile, glitzy facilities and events. Foguang headquarters' eight-story-high statue of Amitābha Buddha, its Pure Land Cave (which was modeled on Disney's "It's a Small, Small World"), and its annual New Year's Festival of a Myriad Lights have over the years attracted millions of pilgrims and tourists. Master Xingyun is of the firm opinion that attracting society's elite to Buddhism and providing wholesome entertainment with a Buddhist theme are both effective expedient means for spreading the *dharma.* Nonetheless, partially in response to adverse press concerning his organization's forays into more secular spheres, the master decided in 1997 to henceforth allow only groups of Foguang devotees participating in organized pilgrimages to enter the headquarters' compound. Since that time the general public has been welcome to visit Foguangshan's many branch temples, but the headquarters in Kaohsiung has largely remained off limits.

Master Xingyun and his organization are not only influential in Taiwan, but since the early 1990s have played an increasingly prominent role in providing religious instruction and a sense of cultural identity to overseas Chinese. The beginnings of Foguangshan's globalization are to be traced to the master's visit to the United States in 1976, at which point he recognized the great potential for serving the rapidly expanding Chinese-American population. Twelve years later, the master opened the doors of Hsi Lai Temple, the largest Buddhist monastery in the Western hemisphere. In less than a decade after founding that temple, Foguangshan opened ninety-five overseas branches: twenty-seven in Asia (excluding the sixty temples in the ROC), thirteen in Australia and the Pacific Islands, nineteen in Europe, seven in Africa, five in South and Central America, and twenty-four in North America (nineteen in the United States and five in Canada). By the close of the twentieth century, Master Xingyun had decided to hold off on constructing other centers, so the number of Foguang temples has remained fairly steady since that time. This network is supplemented by the Buddha's Light International Association, which in 2000 had some 110 chapters worldwide.

Foguang temples may be found virtually anywhere a relatively large expatriate population from the ROC has coalesced. The reach of BLIA is still farther, extending to areas with even small communities of Taiwan emigrants. The only Chinese Buddhist organization with a comparable overseas network is Ciji Hui, which at the beginning of the third millennium had offices in twenty-eight countries. The two organizations differ from one another in that Foguangshan has stationed clerics, and therefore opened temples, while Ciji Hui has relied upon its impressive array of lay leaders to establish "offices." Foguangshan's international network of temples exceeds not only that of other Chinese Buddhist institutions, but is one of the most extensive of any Buddhist group.

Although the vast majority of devotees in Foguang branch temples outside of Taiwan are overseas Chinese Buddhists (with most having emigrated from Taiwan, although small numbers have come from mainland China, Vietnam, and Hong Kong), the organization has also devoted considerable energy to bringing others into its fold. Hsi Lai Temple, Nan Tien Temple (Wollengong, Australia), and Nan Hua Temple (Bronkhorstspruit, South Africa) have been at the forefront of Foguangshan missionary endeavor. Hsi Lai Temple and Nan Tien Temple both maintain BLIA chapters serving several dozen non-Chinese members. Nan Hua Temple has undertaken the ambitious task of establishing a seminary and orphanage. In the early years, at least, Foguangshan's efforts to attract non-Chinese to its lay membership or monastic corps has had only limited success.

Foguangshan gave formal symbolic imprint to its self-avowed role as leader of the global Buddhist community in 1997, when it sponsored an international Triple Altar Ordination in Bodh Gayā, India (site of the Buddha's enlightenment). One hundred and fifty novices representing Theravādin, Tibetan, and Mahāyāna lineages flew in from countries around the world to take the three sets of vows. The vast majority of participants were women, a significant fact since neither Theravādin nor Tibetan Buddhism provides women with the opportunity to take the necessary precepts for full ordination as a *bhikṣuṇī* nun. In the following years, Foguangshan sponsored several other ceremonies in which dozens more such women underwent *bhikṣuṇī* ordination. Only time will tell whether this campaign will gain momentum and have a noticeable impact on Theravādin and Tibetan Buddhist communities.

Master Xingyun and Foguangshan remain highly influential in Taiwan, enjoy a significant following among overseas Chinese, and to a more limited extent have influenced non-Chinese Buddhists around the world.

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FO KWAN SHAN See FOGUANGSHAN

FOLK DANCE See DANCE, *ARTICLE ON* POPULAR AND FOLK DANCE

FOLKLORE. Folklorists have been interested in religion as an area of research since the beginnings of the discipline in the nineteenth century, although early folklorists often conceived the beliefs of folk cultures not as religion but as superstition or magic. Many folklore scholars were grounded in scientific rationalism to the extent that they dismissed the beliefs of the folk as ignorant superstition, even if these beliefs were part of systems that functioned in ways similar to organized religion. By the early twentieth century, folklorists and other social scientists recognized the link between religion and folk belief, but condescended toward both. From the positivist perspective of folklore studies as a "historical science," superstition and religion were both considered prescientific. In 1930 Alexander Krappe stated in *The Science of Folklore*: "Superstition, in common parlance, designates the sum of beliefs and practices shared by other people in so far as they differ from our own. What we believe and practice ourselves is, of course, Religion" (p. 203). Krappe implies the dichotomy that later folklorists called folk/elite, with the folk an invention of an intellectual elite who always defined *folk* as inferior because they were construed as rural, isolated, and uneducated.

On the other hand, folklorists were part of a larger intellectual tendency to romanticize the folk, including idealizing certain beliefs and practices associated with folk culture. Folklorists' attitudes towards the folk were similar to anthropologists' attitudes toward the primitive. According to George E. Marcus and Michael M. J. Fischer in *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences* (1986), anthropologists have idealized the primitive since the nineteenth century: "They—primitive man—have retained a respect for nature, and we have lost it . . . they have sustained close, intimate, satisfying communal lives, and we have lost this way of life . . . and they have retained a sense of the sacred in everyday life, and we have lost this [spiritual vision]" (p. 129). Folklorists were similarly nostalgic about the folk and their beliefs, imagining some folk beliefs as representing a spiritual connection to nature that civilized people had lost and perceiving the folk as leading more sacred lives than people in modern urban environments. This romanticized construction of folk belief was maintained simultaneously with the opposite academic construction of folk belief as pathological. For instance, in the United States folklorists represented Appalachian people as a folk in ways that sometimes reinforced the stereotype of the irrational superstitious hillbilly and at other times projected the image of the wise old mountain healer who was spiritually close to nature.

SUPERSTITION AND RELIGION. Most folklorists made a distinction between superstition and religion, even when evidence indicated a close connection between beliefs and practices assigned to different categories. The religious orientation and theoretical approach of the researcher were factors in making this distinction, as were issues of race and class. A comparison of the 1920s and 1930s research of white folklorist Newbell Niles Puckett and black folklorist Zora Neale Hurston illustrates the complexity of the cultural representation of folk belief and religion in folklore scholarship. Puckett and Hurston viewed the African American tradition of hoodoo or conjuration in very different ways: Hurston as a religion and Puckett as superstitious behavior. Puckett was still theoretically grounded in the outdated nineteenth-century concept of cultural evolution, while Hurston was trained in the then current school of cultural relativism. Puckett, in his extensive collection *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro* (1926), associates superstition with "uncultured and backward classes of society" (p. 6), people who had not advanced up the ladder of cultural evolution as far as the educated elite. He therefore saw such African American folk practices as midwifery as "murderous lore" that "should be replaced by modern scientific knowledge."

Hurston rejected Puckett's pathological view and saw hoodoo and conjuration as a systematic religion comparable to Christianity. In a 1929 letter to the poet Langston Hughes quoted by Robert Hemenway in his "Introduction" to Hurston's *Mules and Men* (1935), Hurston writes "I am convinced that Christianity as practiced is an attenuated form of nature worship" (pp. xix–xx). After citing several Christian rituals that contain nature symbolism, she proclaims, "Sympathetic magic pure and simple. *They have a nerve to laugh at conjure.*" She accepted the spiritual efficacy of hoodoo to the point that she studied with a hoodoo priest and was initiated into the practice and came to believe that conjuration worked in particular instances. She argued against the pathological perspective toward folk belief, but in order to present a more positive picture of African American folk belief, she tended to romanticize black southern folk culture as closer to nature and more spiritual than modern societies. Hurston's subjective position as an African American ethnographer caused her to see her own culture in a more positive light than Puckett as a white sociologist/folklorist born and brought up in a southern racist society could. Despite their differences, Hurston and Puckett confronted the same problem that scholars had encountered since the invention of the *folk* in the eighteenth century: how to differentiate folk religion from other forms of religion.

FOLK RELIGION. In his seminal 1974 essay "Toward a Definition of Folk Religion," Don Yoder points out that "the discovery of folk religion in Europe had come at the time of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, when rationalist clergy attacked folk 'superstitions' in sermons and ministerial periodicals" (p. 3). By the nineteenth century, German scholars had included religion as an important component in the study of *Volkskunde* (folklife), and by 1901 a German Lutheran minister used the term *religiose Volkskunde* (religious folklife) for the first time. In the twentieth century, European folklorists conducted extensive research on the religious beliefs and practices of folk groups throughout Europe among both Roman Catholics and Protestants. To German and other European scholars, the folk were uneducated peasants living in isolated rural areas, so that folk religion could be differentiated from other forms of religion on the basis of the elite/folk hierarchy: folk religion was simpler, contaminated by superstition, and often at variance with official church dogma. Yoder used this long-standing dichotomy as the basis for his definition of folk religion as "unofficial" and "relatively unorganized" in opposition to official organized religion: "Folk religion is the totality of all those views and practices of religion that exist among the people apart from and alongside the strictly theological and liturgical forms of the official religion" (p. 4).

The same basic dichotomy worked for folklorists and anthropologists as they began to study the religious life of peoples in the New World. Folklorists especially were looking for the equivalent of the European peasant in new environments so that any isolated, rural, and relatively uneducated people were designated folk, and folklorists began to collect such religious expressions as hymns, sermons, customs, and rituals from them. The definition of folk religion as religious practices of peasants persisted well into the twentieth century; William A. Christian Jr., who wrote the entry on "Folk Religion" in the original 1987 edition of *The Encyclopedia of Religion,* directed his attention to "past and present-day sedentary cultivators and pastoralists of Asia, North Africa, southern Europe, and Latin America, and historically to sedentary cultivators in northern Europe and North America as well" (vol. 5, p. 370). His definition of folk as pastoral leads him to conclude that the folk had disappeared from North America and northern Europe as a result of urbanization and industrialization, in contrast to such folklorists as Richard M. Dorson, who answered "yes" to the question posed in the title of his 1970 article, "Is There a Folk in the City?" Many of Dorson's examples came from European immigrants and southern rural migrants in heavily industrialized Gary, Indiana, so that the peasant idea was still underlying the conceptualization of folk.

Folklorists and anthropologists also conducted field research on religious folklore in both urban and rural areas in

Central and South America, where their theoretical concern was with cultural syncretism. They examined the way native religions merged with official religions. Yoder cites the "example [of] the mélange of African primitivism and Roman Catholicism that is in Haiti called 'Voodoo,' or the syncretism between Catholicism and native Indian religious beliefs and practices in Central and South America" (1974, p. 2). The fieldwork of Hurston offers an example of how syncretism also influenced folklore field research in the southern United States, since she recognized the Catholic elements in hoodoo in New Orleans. Anthropologists and folklorists still considered religious folklore in socioeconomic class terms as associated with peasants, although some had migrated to cities bringing their religion with them.

Throughout the history of folklore scholarship on religion, the folk/elite dichotomy has been a basic underlying principle, whether in the study of European peasants, African Americans, Appalachian whites, or people whose religions merge native and European elements. This began to change for some folklorists in the 1960s when they started to study urban and suburban folklore and gradually expanded their research to include educated people of a higher socioeconomic class, recognizing that folklore had adapted to technology so that new genres such as "xerox lore" became the subject of scholarly books. Finally, Alan Dundes could answer the question asked in his 1980 article "Who Are the Folk?" by saying that, in essence, we all are: a folk group is any group with any one linking factor. Once the folk/elite dichotomy had been undermined, folklorists who conducted research on religion were freed to reconceptualize it in nonhierarchical ways.

In 1995, Leonard Norman Primiano, in an important essay entitled "Vernacular Religion and the Search for Method in Religious Folklife," challenged the assumption of folk as inferior: "Scholars within the discipline have consistently named religious people's beliefs in residualistic, derogatory ways as 'folk,' 'unofficial,' or 'popular' religion, and have then juxtaposed these terms on a two-tiered model with 'official' religion" (p. 38). This implies the existence of a "pure" religion that is "contaminated" by the folk in their everyday religious practices. In order to correct the problems inherent in this hierarchical dichotomy, Primiano suggests a new term and a new theoretical concept: "Vernacular religion is, by definition, religion as it is lived: as human beings encounter, understand, interpret, and practice it" (p. 44). There is no opposition here between folk and elite since all religious practitioners would be included no matter what their socioeconomic class: every individual interprets religion within the context of his or her everyday life (the vernacular dimension of life). Priests, rabbis, prophets, shamans—no matter how high in the hierarchy of their respective religions—would all practice vernacular religion in the sense that they make individual interpretations of religious meaning and practice in everyday circumstances. This approach avoids the condescension of the old elite/folk dichotomy and attempts to treat religious practices with respect by concentrating on the experiential aspects of religion. Primiano recognizes that *vernacular* contains some of the same pejorative connotations as *folk*, and some folklorists prefer to continue using *folk religion* as the scholarly term, but the theoretical concept of *vernacular religion* has been widely accepted in folklore studies.

FOLKLORISTIC APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF RELIGION. Concepts of the folk and definitions of folk religion have had a basic influence on theoretical approaches folklorists have used in the study of religion, and as these concepts and definitions have changed, so have the approaches. Since most folklore studies are grounded in field research, the best way to understand theoretical approaches in folklore scholarship is by examining representative individual studies since the early 1900s. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, antiquarians were interested in religious folk customs as survivals of previous savage or barbarian times; they thought collecting the beliefs and customs of peasants could provide an understanding of the past. The concept of cultural evolution that was the basis for the survivalist approach had been discredited by the late nineteenth century, but some anthropologists and folklorists continued to base their interpretations of folk beliefs and religion on it well into the twentieth century. Puckett clung to cultural evolution as an explanation of African American folk beliefs in the 1920s, and Ovidiu Birlia used cultural evolution as the basic approach for his entry on "Folklore" in the 1987 edition of *The Encyclopedia of Religion.* However, for most anthropology and folklore scholars, cultural relativism had replaced cultural evolution by early in the twentieth century. The history of anthropological and folkloristic studies of religion continued to overlap as the new paradigm of cultural relativism developed models that then became dominant influences on the study of religious folklore.

Especially important was the anthropological approach that came to be known as functionalism. Bronislaw Malinowski's fieldwork among Trobriand Islanders became the basis for the functional explanation of magic belief and related behavior that he articulated in a 1931 essay, "The Role of Magic and Religion." His "anxiety ritual theory" influenced the anthropological and folkloristic study of a wide range of behaviors, from primitive magic to everyday superstitions to rituals in religious settings. He invited this widespread application by suggesting that such behaviors were found in both primitive and modern life: wherever there is uncertainty in human endeavors, there will be magic and ritual to help relieve the anxiety that arises from that uncertainty. Rituals, whether they are as mundane as not walking under a ladder or as elaborate as Catholic priests blessing fishing fleets, function to give a psychological sense of control over uncertainties in life. The functional approach was grounded in scientific rationalism as a way of explaining what seemed to be irrational behaviors; a functionalist might say that when modern educated people base their actions on "magico-religious" beliefs, their behavior is analogous to primitives. As folklorist Bonnie Blair O'Connor pointed out in her 1995 book, *Healing Traditions: Alternative Medicines and the Health Professions*, the functionalist approach is implicitly condescending to the people whose beliefs are being studied; "they" are not capable of understanding their own behavior the way "we" educated researchers are. This was a submerged problem as long as the subjects were classified as "primitive" or "folk," but as the concept of folk expanded beyond rural, isolated, relatively uneducated groups, the issue emerged as politically significant.

In retrospect, present-day scholars can see that condescension toward research subjects was a theoretical problem all along for folklorists, including those conducting research on folk religion in the United States. Most American researchers in folk religion concentrated their field research on fundamentalist Christians in the rural South. These American versions of European peasants were conceived of as the folk, and if a researcher wanted to study the full range of their traditional life, then their religion had to be included—a circular way of defining folk religion, but it went uncontested throughout most of the twentieth century. Despite the fact that there were a range of religions to study in the South, folklorists concentrated on the most conservative fundamentalist and evangelical Christian denominations, undoubtedly because they were large in number but also because they fit preconceived notions about the folk. The very conservatism of their religion made it seem more traditional, and from the educated perspective of the folklorist, fundamentalists were seen as more exotic than mainstream religions that were in many cases closer to the folklorists' own religious background.

In the 1960s and 1970s, folklorists studying fundamentalist Christian conversion experiences began to use such theoretical approaches as the one Victor Turner described in his 1969 book, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. One of the first folklorists to use ritual process theory was William Clements in his 1976 article "Conversion and Communitas"; he identified Turner's ritual states of "liminality" and "communitas" in the experiences of fundamentalists he interviewed in Arkansas. Clements posits that since "many folk Christians are poor, uneducated, and without social prestige," their experience of communitas functions "in a compensatory manner" to make up for their lack of "social commodities" (pp. 44–45). Following Clements, Patrick B. Mullen discerned the same ritual pattern in conversion narratives among evangelicals in "Ritual and Sacred Narrative in the Blue Ridge Mountains" (1983), and Jeff Todd Titon applied Turner's theory to religious expression in *Powerhouse for God: Speech, Chant, and Song in an Appalachian Baptist Church* (1988).

Unfortunately, ritual process theory continued the tendency toward condescension in the study of folk religion by applying it mainly to lesser-educated religious groups. Although folklorists concentrated fieldwork on lower socioeconomic fundamentalist religious groups in the rural South, Turner's ritual pattern can be seen across a wide spectrum of religions among various socioeconomic classes and in rural, urban, and suburban contexts. There was also a residual effect of scientific rationalism in this approach in that ritual process suggests social and psychological explanations for religious conversion experiences, rather than considering the possibility that they are spiritual experiences. A valuable corrective to the tendency to condescend toward fundamentalists was the 1988 collection of essays *Diversities of Gifts: Field Studies in Southern Religion*. The editors, Ruel W. Tyson Jr., James L. Peacock, and Daniel W. Patterson, and the contributors self-consciously tried to counter stereotypes by depicting fundamentalist religion as complex beliefs and behaviors in closely observed cultural contexts.

Folklorists theoretically refined the ritual process approach by applying it to contexts that required multiple interpretations, recognizing that communitas and liminality have significance beyond their religious meanings. A good example of this is Sabra Webber's study of the Islamic tradition of Ramaḍān. In "Ramadan Observed" (1984) she synthesizes Turner's ritual theory with cultural politics, seeing Ramaḍān as a space for the negotiation of religious and political meanings. She bases her study on her own fieldwork in Tunisia and on other ethnographic accounts from North Africa, where Ramaḍān combines elements of ritual and festival. Ramaḍān is a lunar month-long fast in which the breaking of the fast at the end is an important element. Webber sees Ramaḍān as a local liminal event that must be examined within a larger "liminal period in North African and Arab-world history" (p. 187), a publicly recognized awareness of great change between more stable periods. "Ramadan at its most basic . . . has become a paradigm that various political and social groups, as well as individuals, are seeking to use to represent their values" (p. 188). This multivocality complicates the concept of communitas: "while at a community level a kind of *communitas* is achieved, at the individual level it provides, for some people, an opportunity for intensification of pious or recreational behavior" (p. 191), and for others an opportunity for coming of age, an expression of Muslim identity in opposition to other religions, a statement of acceptance or rejection of modernity, and even, for some, a declaration of revolution. Webber's field research indicates an ongoing negotiation by Muslims about the meaning of Ramaḍān. Unlike the research on ritual among fundamentalist Christians, where the interpretation comes from outside observers, Webber's use of ritual theory incorporates interpretations from within the group, thus avoiding condescension.

Webber's research is one indication of a broader shift in the study of folk religious behavior from the nineteenth century to the present: a movement away from considering the folk and their beliefs as inferior. Folklorists accepted the underlying elite/folk hierarchy for a very long time, but once that was questioned, resistance to it created an effort to remove pejorative judgments from the documentation and analysis of folk religion. One result of this movement is folklorist David J. Hufford's "experience-centered" theory, which tries to avoid prejudging religious experiences. In a book and a series of articles, Hufford has identified the condescension toward and dismissal of spiritual experiences as a major scholarly problem in folk belief and folk religion studies. He began to formulate his approach to such phenomena in his 1982 book, *The Terror That Comes in the Night: An Experience-Centered Study of Supernatural Assault Traditions*, by researching the cross-cultural "old hag" or "Mara" tradition in which people wake up paralyzed in the night thinking that some supernatural entity is pressing down on their chests. The experience transcends religious difference with reports from Jewish and Christian believers, as well as from Islamic sources, where the experience is related to the *jinn*, an evil or mischievous spirit that visits during the night.

Hufford has also applied his approach to other spiritual phenomena, such as out-of-body experiences and visitations from the dead, in his essay "Beings without Bodies: An Experience-Centered Study of the Belief in Spirits" (1995). His approach to these experiences is grounded in phenomenology: he is critical of preconceived assumptions that explain the behavior in psychological or cultural terms, as, for instance, having Freudian symbolic meaning. Rather, his approach concentrates on the experience itself as reported firsthand by the person involved, opening up the possibility that the experience was an actual contact with another dimension.

Many folklorists who study religion have accepted Hufford's theoretical model as a useful balance to the social construction of reality that might view all such spiritual experiences as "deconstructed 'situated hallucinations,'" a phrase used by Margaret Mills in a 1993 article in which she urges folklorists to strive for a sense of what "feels real" in the lives of the people that they study. On the other hand, Patrick B. Mullen in his 2000 essay, "Belief and the American Folk," points out that researchers can never determine the exact nature of the "core experience" itself, that the experience is always mediated by the person in the act of telling it to the researcher. Mullen argues that folklorists should not just be interested in the core experience but also in the "examination of *narrating*, the process of communicating a supernatural or spiritual experience in a specific cultural context" (p. 137). A folklorist does not have to accept or reject a spiritual experience as real in order to examine the cultural process whereby the experience was communicated to others. This suggests that the performance approach, which has been a major component of folklore studies since the 1960s, still has relevance for the study of the expressive dimension of folk religion today.

PERFORMANCE APPROACHES. Performance theory was part of a 1960s and 1970s paradigm shift in folklore studies that incorporated the contextual analysis of anthropology with the ethnography-of-speaking approach of sociolinguistics and the Kenneth Burke rhetorical approach of literary critical theory in order to examine folklore not as static text but as part of a dynamic cultural process. The emphasis was on the specific situation in which the folklore was communicated, the performance context. Richard Bauman defined performance in 1992 as "an aesthetically marked and heightened mode of communication, framed in a special way and put on display for an audience" (p. 41). This certainly describes many cultural expressions that occur within a religious context, and although folklorists concentrated on verbal art in secular storytelling at first, it was not long before theoretical principles from the performance approach were being used to interpret narrating in religious contexts.

Kirin Narayan's 1989 book, *Storytellers, Saints, and Scoundrels: Folk Narrative in Hindu Religious Teaching*, is based on field research in India, where she observed and participated in storytelling sessions conducted by a Hindu holy man, Swamiji. Narayan employs performance and other approaches to analyze the way Swamiji uses storytelling to teach people who come to him seeking spiritual guidance. She focuses on eight folk narratives in specific performance situations, taking into account the personality and character of the storyteller and dynamic interactions with his audience in order to explain how religious "truths . . . are made comprehensible and persuasive . . . through the medium of stories" (p. 243). Swamiji's stories communicate general religious principles, "yet by telling a story instead of making a generalizing statement, Swamiji endows these principles with a vital immediacy" (p. 244). Narayan's study of Hindu storytelling has application to storytelling in a wide range of other religious settings.

The performance approach mainly concentrated on narratives, but it has been applied more broadly to sermons, hymns, rituals, and other religious expressions. One of the first studies of religious expression as performance was Bruce Rosenberg's *The Art of the American Folk Preacher* (1970), but he goes back to an earlier model, the oral-formulaic approach, for his primary theoretical focus. In many ways, the oral-formulaic approach of Albert B. Lord and Millman Parry was a precursor of performance theory because of its emphasis on oral performance. In *The Singer of Tales* (1960), Lord formulated the oral-formulaic thesis based on fieldwork he and Parry had conducted on performances by South Slav epic poets that provided the evidence of certain oral formulas that also occur in written poetry. Rosenberg identified similar themes and formulas in improvised oral sermon performances by American preachers. Gerald Davis later argued in *"I've Got the Word in Me and I Can Sing It, You Know": A Study of the Performed African American Sermon* (1985) that formulas are indeed part of the African American preacher's performance, but they are culture specific and related to rhythmic patterns that are not the same as those used by epic poets. In both studies, belief is not so much an issue as the artistic dimension of the performance, and this gets at one of the problems that folklorists have faced in using a performance approach to religious expression: such studies contextualize traditional religious communication in terms of the specific circumstances of performance, but tend to leave out the dimension of belief.

As Diane E. Goldstein states in her 1995 article, "The Secularization of Religious Ethnography and Narrative Competence in a Discourse of Faith," many researchers treat "belief issues as essentially external to the scope of research. The folklorist's concern with verbal artistry provides grist for such an approach in that it often lays stress on 'the verbal' and 'the art' to the neglect of the underlying cognitive aspects of culture" (p. 23). We are reminded of Mills's concern that folklorists are leaving out the felt experiential nature of belief and practice in ethnographic descriptions. Goldstein points out that scholars tend to separate language from religion in order to avoid belief as a factor, and consequently they have not fully understood the cultural meaning of religious experience. She says that the performance approach concentrates on art in a way that leaves out the performer's sense of the divine, thus secularizing religious communication and making the approach inadequate as a means of understanding the cultural process being examined. The term *performance* suggests a metaphor underlying the theory, which prompts Goldstein to ask, "Why would you use the dramatistic metaphors of stages and actors if you knew about religious experience?" (p. 29).

Some folklorists respond that no matter how divinely felt the experience itself is, it is communicated from one human to another in social contexts that sometimes require the speaker to engage a listener through artistic means. The specific context of communication must be taken into account; some contexts require performance techniques and others do not. As most performance scholars recognize today, an effective theoretical approach to folk religion would combine performance and culturally based theories. The "keys" that define performance in Bauman's *Verbal Art as Performance* (1977) are culturally relative, so that a specific religious performance situation must be examined within its larger cultural frame, including the role of belief. The researcher needs to be "fluent" in the keys of the particular culture being studied. Goldstein points out that this has not been the case in many performance studies of folk religion, but this is not the result of a flaw in the theory, but in its application.

Goldstein's example from her own fieldwork illustrates the importance of taking the group's beliefs into account when examining communication about religious experience. She compares testimonies by two different women in an evangelical worship service; one seems to the researcher to be more articulate and effective and the other halting and ineffective, but to people in the congregation the inarticulate testimony was deemed more sincere and ultimately more authentic and divinely inspired, at least partially because it was not a smooth performance. Their belief system privileged effect over style: "touching the hearts" of people in the congregation was thought to be a sign of divine inspiration. In Bauman's terms, the competency of performance was not evaluated on the basis of artistic keys, but on authenticity of belief. Performance theory still seems relevant here: even if the qualities of performance are lacking in one testimony, they are made apparent by the presence of performance keys in the other. The important thing is for the researcher to be familiar with the relationship between aesthetics and belief in the particular religious culture under scrutiny.

CULTURAL STUDIES APPROACHES. Performance approaches to folk religion concentrated so much on the aesthetic dimensions of a specific situation that they neglected larger cultural and ideological issues that informed the performance itself, as J. E. Limon and M. J. Young point out in their 1986 critique of performance studies in general, "Frontiers, Settlements, and Development in Folklore Studies, 1972–1985." Limon and Young also criticized folklorists doing performance studies for their concentration on verbal art and neglect of material culture. These imbalances were partially corrected by the growing influence of cultural studies on folklore scholarship in the 1970s and 1980s.

Folklorists using cultural studies approaches helped fill in the gaps by examining power relations within folk religion contexts, including numerous studies of both oral traditions and material culture. For instance, in the 1993 essay "Multivocality and Vernacular Architecture: The Our Lady of Mount Carmel Grotto in Rosebank, Staten Island," Joseph Sciorra traces the history of a neighborhood grotto built by a group of Italian-American men in New York. He interviewed some of the builders to situate the tradition within local culture, and he also placed his study in the larger context of the history of Catholic grottoes in Europe and elsewhere. His research indicates the social and political reality of the official/unofficial dichotomy in folk religion. This may be an imagined construct, but it was manifested in the exercise of power by local church authorities in an attempt to keep religious activities within the control of the priests after local parishioners started their own neighborhood processions and grottos. The struggle took place over many years, but the folk parishioners were able to maintain the Mount Carmel grotto that still stands today as an attraction for thousands of visitors to an out of the way neighborhood on Staten Island.

A similar study by Suzanne Seriff in 1991, "Homages in Clay: The Figural Ceramics of José Varela," focuses on a Mexican-American folk artist whose clay figures often depict religious themes. Like Sciorra, Seriff's theoretical approach to folk religion is grounded in cultural politics and ethnic identity, focusing on power relationships between dominant and minority cultures. Seriff, Sciorra, and other folklorists concerned with cultural politics see religious and spiritual issues not just in aesthetic terms, but also within ideological contexts. Varela's folk art can be understood best through his "concern for community and his passion for the past as a fortification against the spiritual and cultural isolation of being Mexican in an Anglo-dominated world" (p. 162). Varela worked for low pay at an Anglo-owned brick and tile factory in a small Texas town; he "surreptitiously" used clay from the factory to create his figures and fired them in the factory kiln. Some of these he gave or sold to friends, and later in life he sold them at markets in San Antonio. He also donated his time to the local Catholic Church in order to build an outdoor grotto to the Virgin of Guadalupe, who "symbolizes the sacred essence of the Mexican community" (pp. 148–149). Varela "has created a productive niche for himself and his fellow Mexicans . . . in part by creatively manipulating the conditions of his own oppression—that is, by transforming the materials of the factory in which he works into familiar and fantastic forms to be circulated . . . among members of his own community" (p. 163). Folklorists often assume the role of advocates for the people they study, and Seriff and Sciorra's research suggests that they have defined the folk as oppressed and disenfranchised within the context of their religious practices in order to argue for their rights.

FEMINIST APPROACHES. Feminist approaches to folk religion share the political perspective of cultural studies while providing a more specific ideological focus. Seriff and another folklorist, Kay Turner, conducted field research that produced the 1987 essay "'Giving an Altar': The Ideology of Reproduction in a St. Joseph's Day Feast." "This woman-centered altar tradition provides a splendid case in point for understanding folklore practice and performance through a feminist orientation" (p. 446). Their approach combines performance and feminist concerns by viewing the feast of Saint Joseph as a creative symbolic expression of women's power of reproduction. The feast "gives dramatic and aesthetic recognition to the sustaining values of nurturance, care, comfort, and support—the birthright of the mother," but it moves from the religious to the ideological in that "religious belief is specifically wedded with the ideology of reproduction. . .it is through the care and nurturance shown to the Holy Family on this day that the importance of women's daily caretaking of the earthly family is sacralized" (p. 458). This study indicates how folklorists have gone beyond performance in a narrow aesthetic sense by viewing religious artistic communication within a broader ideological frame including feminist principles, and beyond verbal art to consider foodways and other aspects of material folk culture. Turner expanded the scope of her research in folk religion to include a variety of women's altars across cultures in *Beautiful Necessity: The Art and Meaning of Women's Altars* (1999).

Susan Starr Sered uses a similar feminist perspective to examine an entirely different religious group in *Women as Ritual Experts: The Religious Lives of Elderly Jewish Women in Jerusalem* (1992), and the principle of women's empowerment underlies her research as well. She moves beyond the focus on one genre of religious expression to consider a range of expressions and behaviors including life stories, rituals, nonverbal gestures, and everyday experiences. As in other feminist folklore studies, Sered analyzes women's religious activities within the context of a dominant patriarchal culture and identifies strategies whereby these largely illiterate women become experts at rituals that are concerned with maintaining the wellbeing of their families. She traces their empowerment in terms of both gender and age: "The Jerusalem women describe a shift from relative ritual powerlessness when young, to intense ritual respect and involvement in old age and especially widowhood" (p. 138). By focusing on illiterate women, Sered may be reinforcing the old concept of the folk as an oral culture, but this reinforces her feminist ideological perspective by concentrating on a group that is socially marginalized in the modern world.

Like Sered, Elaine J. Lawless began her scholarly research by concentrating on subjugated women within an already marginalized culture in *Handmaidens of the Lord: Pentecostal Women Preachers and Traditional Religion* (1988), but then she switched to more middle-class religious cultures in *Holy Women, Wholly Women: Sharing Ministries of Wholeness through Life Stories and Reciprocal Ethnography* (1993). The development of her research over those years illustrates a broader shift in folk religious studies from rural, relatively uneducated, fundamentalist religions to urban and suburban, educated, "mainstream" religions. In *Handmaidens of the Lord*, Lawless examines the process whereby women in a religion that considered them inferior and submissive to men could become respected preachers and leaders in their congregations. She concentrates on their life stories and sermons using both feminist and performance approaches. She analyzes preaching styles in performance terms, but the keys to performance reveal images directly related to their experiences as women. These stylistic devices then become verbal strategies that work to secure leadership roles for women in the church; specifically, the reproductive images used in women preachers' sermons are seen as part of a "maternal strategy" to reinforce the role of preacher as "Mother" to the congregation. As with other cultural studies approaches to folk religion, power relationships are the focus within a religious setting.

Lawless used her research in fundamentalist churches to begin to formulate the concept of "reciprocal ethnography" in which the field-worker is obliged to share her research findings with the subject. This collaborative research process requires an ongoing relationship between the folklorist and the person providing information about his or her culture, including discussion between ethnographer and subject on possible scholarly interpretations, and then incorporating the consultant's response in the final report. This approach is complicated by differences in levels of education, socioeconomic class, and religious belief between researcher and subject. Lawless writes in a 1992 essay, "'I Was Afraid Someone Like You . . . An Outsider . . . Would Misunderstand': Negotiating Interpretive Differences Between Ethnographers and Subjects," that she failed to take her consultants' responses into account in the published version of *Handmaidens of the Lord*, but she began a dialogue with one of the preachers later. This woman felt that because Lawless was a religious outsider she had misinterpreted her sermons, and Lawless herself came to believe that the preacher's responses should have been included in the book in order to make the scholarly interpretation fuller and richer.

Holy Women, Wholly Women is a product of reciprocal ethnography, taking into account the detailed responses of the women preachers who were the subjects of the research. However, in this case, the women were closer to Lawless in terms of education and religious beliefs, making the reciprocal process less difficult and the results more collaborative. Lawless uses feminist and performance approaches, but this time with mainstream, more highly educated preachers, again interpreting figurative language in their sermons, especially metaphors of nurturing, as revealing particular views and strategies of women. Differences in class and education have been transcended by gender in her two studies, and in both cases Lawless has situated herself subjectively within the study of religion.

Reflexive Ethnography. Subjectivity has taken on increasing importance in folk religion studies, developing from the earlier "invisible ethnographer" of "objective" research to the visibly foregrounded first-person narrator of reflexive ethnography. David J. Hufford has made the most comprehensive statement of the significance of reflexivity in folklore studies of belief in his 1995 essay, "The Scholarly Voice and the Personal Voice: Reflexivity in Belief Studies." Hufford argues for the necessity of the researcher situating himself or herself subjectively within the ethnographic enterprise, saying that this is especially important in studies of belief and religion because of the need to make clear the influence of the researcher's assumptions on the representation of the religious belief system of an "other." He points out that all too often the "objective" stance masks a position of disbelief in religious ethnography. "A reflexive analysis of our scholarship enables us to distinguish among the beliefs of our informants, our scholarly knowledge, our personal beliefs and our occupational ideology. This permits coherent discourse and various warranted moral actions" (p. 71). Instead of hiding one's own beliefs, the scholar should make them clear, thereby allowing different interpretations, including moral or ideological ones, to be stated directly, rather than implied as subtext.

Reflexivity in religious ethnography also opens up the possibility of fieldwork and analysis by members of the religious group, and this is a growing approach in folk religion studies. The "native" perspective is another position among many subjectivities and is legitimate as long as it is recognized reflexively; no longer can the insider's position be seen as less objective than the outsider's since they are both subjective. A good illustration of this is Nikki Bado-Fralick's *Coming to the Edge of the Circle: A Wiccan Initiation Ritual,* in which she uses her dual perspectives as a Wiccan priestess and as a scholar trained in folklore and religious studies to examine a Wiccan religious ritual. Bado-Fralick frames her study in terms of her subjectivity, allowing her to explore such ethical problems as dealing with secrecy and to examine processes of identity formation from within. Her research also indicates how folklorists have blurred the line between folk and popular religion, recognizing that both are systems of belief and practice as complex and worthy of study as the more academically privileged mainstream organized religions, and thus resisting the dismissal of such religions often implied in terms such as *New Age.*

Another study of what might be classified as New Age religion is Roseanne Rini's 1997 dissertation, "Elizabeth Kelly: Contemporary Spiritual Teacher and Healer," which was based on extensive interviews with a healer and psychic, Elizabeth Kelly, who was widely respected and consulted by well-educated people in the small college town of Yellow Springs, Ohio. Rini initially contacted the woman healer for personal advice and came to know her as a friend and to consult with her on a regular basis. Their personal relationship gradually expanded to include a researcher/consultant dimension, and Rini was able to gain a greater understanding of Kelly's belief and practice from a perspective that included her roles as scholar and believer. Reflexive ethnography has legitimized this kind of research within one's own religious groups in ways that were unimaginable in the past.

These examples of research in New Age religion illustrate that the scholarship in folk religion has expanded well beyond the old paradigm of the folk as peasant, and these and other examples from folklore scholarship since the early twentieth century indicate that the theoretical approaches have grown from simple survivalism to a complex pluralism of choices. The folk are now conceived as any group of people with any linking factor, although approaches grounded in cultural politics tend to focus on disenfranchised and oppressed minority groups as the folk. Folkloristic approaches to the study of religion have developed along similar lines as the general shifts in postmodern theory, with a special emphasis on performance, cultural studies, and feminism. Underlying all the various definitions and approaches used by folklorists to study religion is the ongoing concern for individual experience within specific everyday situations and broader cultural contexts.

See Also Anthropology, Ethnology and Religion; Folk Religion, overview article; Popular Religion.

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Patrick B. Mullen (2005)

FOLK RELIGION

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
FOLK BUDDHISM
FOLK JUDAISM
FOLK ISLAM

FOLK RELIGION: AN OVERVIEW

Peasant populations (i.e., sedentary agricultural groups forming part of larger, more complex societies) have probably existed since 6000 BCE in southwestern Asia, since 3100 BCE in Egypt, and since 1500 BCE in southeastern Mexico. Unlike agricultural entrepreneurs who are active economic agents or semisubsistence cultivators practicing ritual exchange and barter, peasants are farmers whose surpluses are redistributed to urban centers by more powerful groups. In practice it is not always easy to decide who actually is or is not a peasant, especially in the case of farmers who hold factory jobs, modern European family farmers, contemporary North American small farmers, or cash crop slash-and-burn cultivators of South America and Africa. For the purposes of this article, this term applies to past and present-day sedentary cultivators and pastoralists of Asia, North Africa, southern Europe, and Latin America, and historically to sedentary cultivators in northern Europe and North America as well.

Because sedentary farming emerged independently at different times and in different parts of the world, taking radically different forms (including short-term fallowing with animal-drawn plows, alpine pastoralism, and permanent cultivation by means of hydraulic systems), the search for an original, universal religion based on agriculture seems doomed to wishful speculation. Attempts nevertheless have been made, concentrating on such notions as matriarchy, Earth Mother goddesses, and moon worship.

Yet peasant societies do, by definition, have features in common that set the requirements and limits on the kinds of religion that will serve their members: (1) peasants depend on a particular ecosystem; (2) most live in similar social environments (household-based, on dispersed farms or in small settlements); and (3) they depend on the larger society for which they produce food. Their religion usually provides them with ways to deal with the local natural and social world, as well as the wider social, economic, and political network of which they are a part.

To manage the ecosystem, peasants, like other people, mark the cycles of nature, day and night, the lunar cycle, the solar year, the life cycles of animals and plants—all hold particular importance for cultivators. Many peasant cultures have rituals and routines for transitions relating to equinoxes, planting, germination, and harvest. And because landscape and climate vary widely, peasants tend to establish locally distinct sacred places, times, and divinities. Whether it is at a spring, cave, mountaintop, riverbank, or a special tree, peasants come to pay homage to their divinities according to the calendar, and in times of crisis to seek solutions to such major agricultural threats as drought, hail, and insect plagues.

In terms of social relationships, peasant life is characterized by endemic disputes among households over such matters as inheritance, property boundaries, and irrigation; and yet as cultivators, peasants must normally undertake a certain amount of cooperative work with their neighbors (such as harvesting, herding, and maintaining roads and irrigation ditches), as well as provide mutual aid in time of crisis. To a lesser extent, these tensions and dependencies apply also between adjacent settlements, particularly when pasture or water rights are involved. In this context, religious devotion can facilitate the unity of households within a settlement (mutual fealty to a common divinity) and solidarity between settlements (worship at common shrines). On the other hand, religions also provide the source, pretext, or rallying cry for chronic and intractable conflict between settlements. With regard to patterns of authority and division of labor, the role of religion (through divine models of hierarchy, justice, and emotion) appears to be much the same in peasant as in nonpeasant societies.

Because the household is the critical social and economic unit, peasants pay special attention to consecrating the identity of household members at birth, the alliance of household economic units through marriage, and the reorganization of the household at death. In many peasant societies, elaborate care for the souls of deceased household members corresponds to the idea that the social personality of the house or farm endures beyond the lives of any particular inhabitants. Consequently, there are reasons why this relationship of religion and identity should be stronger with peasants than with others.

As a local phenomenon, peasant religion only rarely can be studied well from a distance, or by relying on surveys or written sources (aside from the rare documents of oral testimony). The ways that it consecrates relationships with nature, society, and identity must be lived to be understood. Context is crucial, for it gives meaning, often of a particularly local variety, to religious behavior that might otherwise appear to be universal.

Indeed, for most people, not just peasants, beliefs are more acted out (in the sense of worship or ritual) than they are thought out. Only when challenged are such beliefs formulated or declared by any but the religious specialist or exceptional devotee. Much of the study of religion as lived, therefore, is the study of that which is taken for granted, that which goes without saying. As a result students of peasant religion have adopted some of the methods used by anthropologists in studying tribal societies; they have stayed for extended periods in rural communities, paying special attention to public religious acts, local interpretation, individual biography, and the range of opinion and doubt.

But the religion of peasants does not address only local agricultural and human concerns, for by definition peasants are only specialists in a wider network of trade and power in which, given the vulnerability of agricultural life, they generally find themselves in a subordinate position. One of the vital tasks of government is to ensure an adequate food supply for its cities; peasant societies are geared for this purpose, for which they are both protected and exploited. Not coincidentally, there is always a major component of religion in peasant society that is held in common with city dwellers and that generally extends to even wider intersocietal or international exchange systems as well. Such religions include divine beings, sacred sites, rituals, and usually church organizations, all of which are common to peasant and nonpeasant alike.

One therefore can no more speak of a radical separateness of peasant religion than one can speak of a radical separateness of peasant society. Peasant religion is an integral part of wider religions, which provides a common frame of reference in the cosmic and ethical sense, a framework that sets the terms for regular social and economic interaction. Indeed, since peasants often do not experience the specifically agricultural features of their religion as something distinctly different or apart, it is usually incorrect to speak of peasant "religion" in any sense other than religiosity, for peasants are almost always Christians, Muslims, Jews, Buddhists, Daoists, or of some other religion that transcends their immediate arena.

The presence in peasant society of religious specialists trained in a broader social context provides a never-ending source of new techniques, ideas, and images, which the peasant society may adapt for specifically local purposes. And much of what anthropologists following Robert Redfield have called the "little tradition" of the peasantry is what survived of a "great tradition" in the countryside long after it was rejected or forgotten by urban theologians and administrators.

Because of the long-term stability of the peasants' physical and social landscape, some aspects of their religions have had a remarkable and perhaps misleading permanence, although the peasants themselves and the greater political and religious systems affecting them have undergone many changes. For example, present-day cult paintings and statues throughout the world contain elements from earlier, now extinct religions; places of veneration are located at the same kinds of sites as earlier devotions; and in many areas, vows and votive offerings have not essentially changed in over two thousand years.

Such apparent permanence, however, is often superficial, masking major changes in attitude and identity. Say that one finds that a given group of peasants who are self-confessed, practicing Muslims also leave offerings to images of cows, contrary to the teachings of the Qurʾān. It would be a distortion to think of them as covert pagans. For empirical studies have broadened the notion of religion to include both what believers profess and what they actually do and feel. Thus Islamic religion, for instance, can only be fully understood as the sum of the religious acts and beliefs of Muslims. Or, put another way, major world religions are, in practice, coalitions or mosaics of widely differing local adaptations that share a common core of beliefs, rituals, and organization.

While peasant religion may be composed of what may appear to be different kinds of elements and survivals from different traditions, in practice these elements usually form an indivisible, functional whole for believers. Where the notion of survivals exists among peasants themselves, it is often the result of church efforts to stigmatize nonapproved behavior as superstitious, or because of the spread of findings of early folklorists bent on unraveling the different strands of peasant religion according to "high" or "low" origin. More recent scholarship has concentrated on seeing how these strands work together as a whole.

A problem facing students of peasant or folk religion has been finding something with which it can be compared. One tack has been to treat it as "popular" religion and to compare it with the prescribed norms of the larger church or doctrine, much as the "little" tradition is compared to the "great." But such comparisons have not always proved fruitful, for they involve comparing two very different things—on the one hand, a religion as lived and, on the other, a set of norms that hardly represents a way of life and that, in fact, may not be lived strictly by any kind of person, peasant or nonpeasant.

A refinement on this method has involved observation of the practical impingement of the institutions of a central religion on the religious life of peasants—the extent to which peasant religion is effectively regulated, updated, and revised from without. For Europe, this has been done through longitudinal studies using field-work, church visitation, and government records.

An alternate approach compares the peasant religion to that of lay nonpeasants in the larger society, as in Clifford Geertz's studies in Java and much of the recent work on China. As yet little is known about urban or nonpeasant lay religiosity, so it is difficult to be sure that the religion of peasants, apart from its attention to the natural landscape, was in a given time and society fundamentally different from that of urban laypersons. At least for some places and times, a distinction between peasant and nonpeasant religiosity has not proved particularly revealing.

For when studied with care and sufficient evidence, peasant religiosity has been found to share many of the characteristics hitherto considered the domain of the "civilized." For instance, peasant religion is not necessarily homogeneous. Even when there is a single religion practiced, there is likely to be a wide range of doubt, opinion, and speculation, whether in a thirteenth-century French village or a twentieth-century Chinese hamlet. Nor is peasant religion particularly fixed or stable. Throughout history peasants have converted, have been converted, or have attempted to convert from one religion to another. And peasants are not invariably and instinctively religious. There are areas where peasant religious indifference has long been common, and recently entire age and gender groups have been known to abandon religion enthusiastically under militantly atheist governments.

Indeed, radical changes in the world political economy since the mid-nineteenth century have affected the terms in which peasant religion can be studied. Urban and rural industrialization, as well as the growth of the service sector, has brought an increased homogeneity in peasant and urban lifestyles. As a result of socialist, communist, and anarchist movements, active, militant disbelief may be an overt or latent presence in rural areas. Seasonal migrations to the cities, increased visiting in the cities with relatives, peasant participation in the international workforce, and the tremendous growth in literacy, as well as the spread of radio and television, have all helped to diffuse new religious styles and cults more rapidly among the peasantry.

In most places this broadening of horizons has made peasants more aware of their "otherness" in religious matters, so that it is they themselves who internalize behavioral distinctions proposed by the dominant culture. Some scholars refer to this process as "biculturalism": acting in different ways at different levels (the local and the metropolitan), clearly distinguishing between the two, and segregating behavior appropriately.

As a corollary to this bicultural insecurity, there is intense religious and political competition for the allegiance of the peasants whose religion has been devalued or rendered impractical. There exists a global religious competition, in keeping with the global economy in which peasants are now involved, in which the competitors are missionaries, again both religious and political. Among Peru's Altiplano peasantry one finds several lifestyles based on models and aid from American and European religious organizations. Indeed, some of the class/clan factionalism that unitary religions once served to ease is now expressed with rival religions from the wider world.

Yet it is not that peasants must choose only from the great religions; on the contrary, as the anthropologist Eric Wolf pointed out, there have been many instances of peasant religious innovation, through creative imitation or the inspiration of visionaries and prophets. Some have taken the form of millenarian movements, others as radical purification sects. (Some religiously innovative groups, such as the Mormons and the Mennonites, created peasants as much as they were created by them.) And as tribespeople become peasants in African nation-states, new sects and cults spring up that speak to the new conditions, most of which, true to form, are not just local but national or international in scope.

In the context of the nation-state, peasant religion is quite easily politicized. Two overlapping factors are at work. First, human-divine relations serve to consecrate and are thereby tied up with personal identities in the family, village, and nation. Second, the year-in, year-out give-and-take that characterizes peasant devotions to divine figures accumulate great emotional power. Both the investment of identity and the emotional power are generally located in divinities with relatively bounded territories of grace, presenting a permanent temptation to governments, political parties, and to the churches themselves. And if effective channels of political action are blocked by authoritarian regimes the local religion, its shrines, divine protectors, and priests, can embody the entire peasant way of life. Thus through religion, peasant discontent finds a charismatic expression. By the same token, in the face of all-pervasive regimes such as China during the Cultural Revolution, early modern Spain, or Spanish-occupied Peru, private religious acts and beliefs provide some peasants with a margin of independent identity and action, a buffer against the politicization of private life.

Often peasant religion is mobilized or exploited by non-peasant leaders. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, literary romanticists, folklorists, and nationalists alike have seen in local peasant religion a source of indigenous virtue, the survival of an earlier local culture and identity in the face of foreign domination. In Ireland, Brittany, Poland, the Basque country, Greece, Yugoslavia, Armenia, the Baltic states, as well as in many of Europe's colonial empires worldwide, independence and autonomy movements have fed on an exaltation of peasant religion that on a superficial level involves a kind of ruralization of the urban elite. An extreme but symptomatic example is Mohandas Gandhi's religious transformation from lawyer to peasant. In response to this kind of demand, rural gurus and seers circulate from city to city and nation to nation servicing devotees; they also spread their messages by the internet.

This type of idealization represents the obverse of metropolitan religious doctrines that long held much of peasant religiosity to be pagan superstition, an attitude shared by enlightened secularizers as well. For both clergy and sophisticates, peasant religion has represented an "other" against which both orthodoxy and civilization could be measured.

These seemingly contradictory points of view, by their emphasis on tradition, survivals, and stability, all draw attention to peasant religion's past rather than its dynamics of change or its present roles. Idealization and stigmatization both tend to attribute an integrity and homogeneity to this religion that it rarely possesses, and simplify a more complex, perhaps less manageable reality.

SEE ALSO Agriculture; Anthropology, Ethnology, and Religion; Dance, article on Popular and Folk Dance; Indo-European Religions, article on History of Study; Popular Religion.

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FOLK RELIGION: FOLK BUDDHISM

Religious traditions are, by their very nature, complex. One the one hand, the symbolize the highest aspirations of the human mind and spirit; on the other, they sanctify and give meaning to the most ordinary and commonplace human needs and activities. The complexity of religion and its functions have been analyzed in various ways. There has been a tendency, however, to distinguish between those aspects created by and appropriate to the educated elites, for example, priests and rules, and those that help the uneducated, common folk cope with the uncertainities and exigencies of life. Scholars have sometimes referred to this distinction as obtaining between "great" and "little" traditions or between "elite" and "folk" traditions. It must be kept in mind that these formal distinctions do justice neither to the multiplexity of religious traditions nor to the organic unity that characterizes them, even though such categories may serve a useful function.

"Folk" Buddhism may be understood as a persistent, complex, and syncretic dimension of the Buddhist tradition characterized by beliefs and practices dominated by magical intent and fashioned with the purpose of helping people cope with the uncertainties and exigencies of life. Its varied expressions emerge along the wide spectrum between the normative Buddhist ideal represented quintessentially but not exclusively by the Buddha and the concept of *nirvāṇa,* and the indigenous magical-animistic and shamanistic traditions of the given culture in which Buddhism becomes institutionalized. Consequently, some aspects of folk Buddhism (e.g., the figure of the Buddha, the person of the monk, and the practice of meditation) appear to be closely affiliated with the normative ideals of Buddhism, while others are barely distinguishable from native, non-Buddhist religious forms. Folk Buddhist institutional structures, religious practices and practitioners, and oral and written literatures reflect this variation.

Buddhism has had a folk or popular dimension since its inception. Early Buddhist scriptures challenge the view of a "golden age" of pure monastic practice dedicated to the pursuit of *nirvāṇa* unencumbered and undisturbed by the needs and expectations of a simple, uneducated laity. That the

Buddha and his followers were supported by laypersons for reasons of material gain and magical protection, as well as for spiritual benefit, cannot be denied. Even meditation, the *sine qua non* of monastic practice, was perceived as leading not only to equanimity and enlightenment but also to the acquisition of magical power. The *Mahāvagga* of the Theravāda Vinaya Piṭaka depicts the Buddha not simply as an enlightened teacher, but as a yogin who wins followers through his magic. Moreover, although the source is later commentary, it is significant that the future Buddha, just prior to his enlightenment, was said to have been offered food by a woman who mistook him for a tree deity. In general, Buddhist scriptures readily intermesh doctrinal exposition with magical and animistic figures and elements ranging from *deva*s (gods) to *mantra*s (sacred utterances).

To be sure, folk Buddhism became a more dominant aspect of Buddhist institutional and cultural life as the religion grew in size and cultural significance throughout Asia. In India, Aśoka's strong support of the Buddhist monastic order in the third century BCE proved to be crucial to its growth and diffusion, and the appropriation of folk elements from different cultures was a means by which Buddhism spread and accommodated itself to the cultures of Asia from at least the beginning of the common era. Indigenous folk religions, therefore, were the major media through which Buddhism became a popular religion not only in India, but in Southeast, Central, and East Asia as well. The fact remains, nevertheless, that the folk element within Buddhism has been a part of the tradition since its inception, and has persisted in different forms to the present.

Folk Buddhism has several different facets that reflect various modes of interaction between normative, doctrinal-institutional Buddhism and native religio-cultural traditions. In some cases, the normative Buddhist tradition made only inconsequential adjustments; in others, Buddhism emerged as a thinly veiled animism. The major ingredient of folk Buddhism is usually referred to as animism or magical-animism, that is, the belief in benevolent and malevolent supernatural powers and the attempt to avoid them or to enlist their aid. These powers range from spirits of the living and the deceased to deities of regional or even national jurisdiction associated with non-Buddhist (e.g., Brahmanic) pantheons. The dialectical relationship between Buddhism and indigenous animism such as the Bon of Tibet led to the parochialization of Buddhism, but also changed the face of those native traditions encountered in Tibet, Korea, Japan, and elsewhere. For example, Shintō, rooted in an autochthonous animism, developed in Japan in competition with the more sophisticated traditions of Chinese Buddhism, just as religious Daoism in China institutionalized, at least in part, in response to Indian Buddhist influence.

The complex nature of folk Buddhism can be analyzed in various ways, but the method should do justice to its common or generic elements as well as the uniqueness of distinctive religio-cultural environments. Folk Buddhism as an essentially syncretistic phenomenon can be seen in terms of three types or modes of interaction between Buddhist and non-Buddhist elements: appropriation, adaptation, and transformation. These categories are intended to characterize particular historical instances as well as describe general types. Although they have overlapping qualities, they point to the variety within folk Buddhist belief and practice as well.

APPROPRIATION. In many cases, folk Buddhism merely appropriated and subordinated indigenous symbols, beliefs, and practices with very little change in meaning. This is particularly true in the incorporation of a wide range of supernatural beings and powers into the Buddhist system. Generally speaking, these supernaturals, whether gods or spirits, malevolent or benevolent, were subordinated to the dominant Buddhist symbols and motifs. Most often they played a protective role, standing guard at a sacred Buddhist precinct, be it temple or *maṇḍala,* or functioned in an appropriately subordinate way in relationship to the Buddha. In Sri Lanka, for example, a kind of divine pantheon evolved, a hierarchy of gods and spirits ranging from the most localized guardian spirits of village and field to the suzerainty of regional gods the likes of Skanda and Viṣṇu with the entire structure under the sway of the Buddha. In Tibet the gods of the everyday world (*'jig rten pa*) became protectors of the *dharma,* obeying the commands of the great teachers. While they are so numerous and indeterminate as to defy a fixed ordering, they generally are divided according to the traditional Indian tripartite cosmology of heaven, earth, and the intermediate realm. In Burma (Myanmar) the indigenous *nat* spirits are incorporated into Burmese Buddhism as *deva*s. Thagya Min, for instance, is assimilated into Sakka (the Brahmanic Indra), and resides in Tāvatiṃsa Heaven as king of the *deva*s, but is also said to be ruler of the "thirty-seven *nat*s." In Thailand various supernaturals including *devata, cao,* and *phī* have a complex relationship to Thai Buddhism involving linkage, hierarchy, and instances of both opposition and complementarity. In Japan, Buddhism absorbed native Japanese deities or *kami.* In many cases the *kami* are taken as manifestations of Buddhas or *bodhisattva*s (the theory of *honjisuijaku*), although a uniform set correspondence did not develop. A similar story can be told for Buddhism in China, Korea, and other parts of Asia. While the specific list of supernaturals appropriated into the Buddhist system varies from culture to culture, these beings represent a hierarchy of powers and suzerainties dependent on, under the authority of, or even in tension with, Buddhist figures, symbols, and motifs.

These supernaturals have been assimilated into the Buddhist cultus as well as into Asian Buddhist worldviews; they are amalgamated into orthodox ritual activity or become a distinct ritual subset. Throughout Buddhist Asia the guardian spirits of a temple precinct, such as the *phī* in Thailand or the *kami* in Japan, may be propitiated prior to an auspicious ceremonial event. In Tibet, Tantric ritual has provided a framework for customary religious practices in which Tibetan deities exist side by side with Indian Buddhist ones.

In Sri Lanka, devout Sinhala Buddhists paying respects to the Buddha at the famous sanctuary of Lankatileke outside of Kandy will make offerings before images of the Hindu deities enshrined in *devale*s around the perimeter of the building. In Thailand, Brahmanic deities (e.g., Viṣṇu) may be invoked during a customary Buddhist ritual, and offerings are made to the guardians of the four quarters as part of the New Year celebration at a Buddhist monastery (*wat*).

Of special significance in folk Buddhism have been the belief in the soul (the existence of which is scarcely maintained in scripture), or spirit element(s), of the individual, and various rituals associated with this belief, especially life-crisis or life-transition rites. The role of Buddhism in the conduct of mortuary and death anniversary rites for the souls of the dead in China, Korea, and Japan is well known. In Japan, the Obon festival celebrated in the seventh month honors the return of the souls of the dead. Graves at Buddhist temples will be cleaned in preparation for the spirits' return, and the household altar (*butsudan*) will be decorated with flowers, lanterns, and offerings of fruit. In Burma, mortuary rituals are performed to prevent the soul of the deceased from remaining in its former haunts and causing trouble. In Thailand, soul-calling (*riag khwan*) rites are performed at life-transition times such as weddings and even as part of ordination into the monkhood.

ADAPTATION. In assimilating indigenous magical-animistic and shamanistic religious beliefs and practices, Buddhism itself has changed. This process of adaptation and parochialization has been part of the Buddhist tradition from its outset: the Buddha as teacher but also miracle-worker, meditation as the vehicle for the attainment of insight and supernatural powers, the monk as *nirvāṇa*-seeker and magician. In the Theravāda traditions of Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia the miraculous power of the Buddha is attested to not only in supernatural feats of magical flight, prognostication, and the like, but also in the cult of Buddha relics and Buddha images that typifies ritual practice in this region. The Mahāyāna and Tantryāna traditions elaborated the salvific function of the Buddha through the proliferation of Buddhas and *bodhisattva*s. In China, Dao'an (312–385) popularized Buddhism by promoting Maitreya as a savior Buddha, the god of Tuṣita Heaven, an earthly paradise accessible to all. Huiyüan (334–416) did for Amitābha Buddha and his Pure Land (Sukhāvatī) what Dao'an did for Maitreya and Tuṣita Heaven. Both Maitreyism and Amidism became fundamental to folk Buddhism. In Japan, one of the specific adaptations was the assimilation of popular elements into the figure of the *bodhisattva* Jizō (Skt., Kṣitigarbha), who thereby came to occupy an even more important place than did his Chinese counterpart, Dizang. Not only does Jizō deliver souls from hell, but he also helps women in childbirth and, like Kannon (Chin., Guanyin), another popular savior, is seen as the giver of healthy children and a guide to the Western Paradise of Amida.

The supernormal powers associated with meditation adepts has a close association with shamanism. Monks have become famous for their skills as alchemists, for their ability to communicate with the spirit world, and for their prognostication of future events, activities that conflict with the Vinaya. The biographies of such Tantric adepts as Padmasambhava and Mi la ras pa attest to this type of parochialization, and even the lives of the Chan (Zen) patriarchs are not exempt from supernatural hagiographic elaboration. In Sri Lanka, ascetic monks are revered not only for their piety but for their magical prowess as well, and in Thailand a significant cult of monk-saints has developed. Popular magazines attest to their extraordinary deeds, their advice is sought for everything from lottery numbers to military ventures, and their amulets are worn for protection against danger and disease.

TRANSFORMATION. Buddhism appropriated magical-animistic and shamanistic religious forms and adapted its own beliefs and practices to this type of cultural milieu. The degree to which assimilation and adaptation has occurred has led to profound transformations of the tradition. While decisive turns in the development of Buddhism have taken various forms, popular sectarian movements have provided one of the most fruitful contexts for this kind of transmutation. Examples abound throughout Buddhist Asia. In Burma and Thailand messianic Buddhist groups emerged in the modern period centered around charismatic leaders often claiming to be Maitreya Buddha. In China, Buddhist sectarian groups led by "rebel monks" split off from monasteries in the Northern Wei kingdom (386–535) as early as the fifth century. The best known is the White Lotus movement, a complex of rebel eschatologies active from the twelfth to the nineteenth century. Other major sects include the Maitreya, White Cloud, and Lo, or Wuwei. These groups were lay-based, heterodox, and syncretistic, and were often politically militant. The White Lotus sect developed its own texts, a married clergy, hereditary leadership, and by the mid-fourteenth century a full-blown eschatology derived from both the Maitreyan tradition and Manichaeism. By the late sixteenth century the principal deity of the White Lotus groups was a mother goddess. Eventually, by the late nineteenth century, the Buddhist elements were so extenuated that they had become congregational folk religion rather than a distinctive form of folk Buddhism.

In Japan as early as the Heian period (794–1185) holy men (*hijiri*) developed a folk Buddhism outside the orthodox ecclesiastical system. In the tenth and eleventh centuries Amida *hijiri* and Nembutsu *hijiri,* preeminent among whom was Kōya, a layman of the Tendai sect, taught universal salvation through the repetition of the Nembutsu (the formulaic recitation of the name of Amida Buddha). The Nembutsu came to be seen as a powerful form of protection against the spirits of the dead and evil spirits (*goryō*) and a means to release them into Amida's paradise. While the founders of the orthodox Pure Land sects, Hōnen and Shinran, rejected the animistic and magical aspects of the Nembutsu, the attitudes of the common folk did not substantially change. The Amida *mantra* was considered a causally effective means to attain the

Pure Land after death as well as a magical spell for sending evil spirits to Amida. Popular sectarianism has continued to develop into the contemporary period. Some of the so-called new religions (*shinkō shūykō*) in Japan represent a unique form of folk Buddhism. Arising in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in a period of political and social crisis, these religions, which developed around strong, charismatic leaders, are syncretistic and often utilize magical ritual practices. Two of the best known are Risshō Kōseikai and Sōka Gakkai. Both are indebted to the *Lotus Sūtra*-Nichiren tradition. Through its political wing, Sōka Gakkai has become a sometimes militant force in Japanese politics.

The Buddhist encounter with folk religion, which has taken the forms of appropriation, adaptation, and transformation, has not occurred without conflict. In Southeast Asia stories abound of the Buddha's encounter with indigenous supernatural beings who are only eventually subdued and made to vow their allegiance to the *dhamma.* Other heroic figures exemplify a similar pattern. Especially noteworthy is Padmasambhava's propagation of the *dharma* in Tibet. The key to his success, in contrast to the previous failure of the great teacher Śāntirakṣita, was Padmasambhava's magical prowess in subduing the powerful Tibetan deities. Such conflict may be mirrored in Buddhist ritual as well as in myth and legend. In northern Thailand, for example, offerings of buffalo meat to the guardian spirits *(phī)* of Chiang Mai are made as part of the New Year celebration; however, this ritual activity has no formal connection with the elaborate ceremonies occurring at Buddhist sanctuaries in the area.

The practitioners of folk Buddhism likewise present a great diversity. Those most closely tied to the autochthonous animism may be likened to shamans, for they function in a shamanlike manner. They have the power to enter into the realm of the supernaturals, an act often symbolized by magical flight; they may also become possessed by supernatural beings or function as a medium between the supernatural and human realms, and have the knowledge to enlist or ward off their power. In Tibet, *mdos* rituals are performed by wandering lamas (Tib., *bla ma*s) or exorcists (*snyags pa*) for protection against dangers, hindrances, injuries, illness, and obstacles caused by evil powers. The person who carries out exorcistic rituals (*gto*) must be an expert in meditating on his *yi dam* or tutelary divinity. The *yamabushi* or mountain ascetics of Japan, while affiliated with the Tendai and Shingon sects, perform exorcisms and function as village magicians. The Chinese shaman (*wu*), who exorcised spirits of evil and illness and danced and chanted to ward off disasters, influenced the popular conception of the charismatic leadership of folk Buddhist sects in China. Often, lay Buddhists are the principal practitioners of the folk traditions, especially because many of the magical practices associated with folk Buddhism are either forbidden or discouraged by the orthodox Vinaya. In the Esoteric schools of Buddhism (e.g., Shingon), as well as in sectarian movements, the differentiation between mainstream beliefs and practices and those of the folk dimension are more difficult to perceive. Even in the Theravāda countries of Southeast Asia, however, actual monastic custom and practice may be far removed from the strict ideal of monastic discipline, which discourages fortune telling, alchemy, and the like.

The texts of folk Buddhism also reflect the ways in which the normative tradition has appropriated, adapted, and been transformed by indigenous folk religion. An important genre of folk literature is the miraculous tale, often purporting to be an episode from the life of the Buddha or a famous Buddhist figure such as Maudgalyāyana or Vimalakīrti. Included in this literary genre are the Jātakas, which are themselves examples of the appropriation of folktales, mythic accounts of heavens and hells (e.g., *Petavatthu*), legendary elements in chronicles, lives of the saints in various Buddhist traditions, and vernacular collections such as the Chinese *pien-wen* (texts of marvelous events). Other texts, such as the *paritta* (scriptural passages that, when chanted, are said to have apotropaic power) in the Theravāda tradition, function in a magical manner in Buddhist ritual, even though the content reflects the highest ethical and spiritual ideals of the normative tradition. The *Bar do thos grol* (Tibetan *Book of the Dead)*, although at the center of the Tantric technique of liberation, certainly incorporates shamanistic elements. Another type of folk Buddhist literature includes those texts specifically related to the practice of astrology, fortune telling, and animistic rituals.

In the final analysis, folk Buddhism should not be seen as a later degeneration of the normative Buddhist ideal. Rather, it is a complex dimension of the tradition, present from its origin, that has provided the tradition with much of its vitality and variation from culture to culture.

SEE ALSO Arhat; Avalokiteśvara; Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, article on Celestial Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; Chinese Religion, article on Popular Religion; Hijiri; Honjisuijaku; Japanese Religions, article on Popular Religion; Kṣitigarbha; Mahāsiddhas; Millenarianism, article on Chinese Millenarian Movements; Nats; New Religious Movements, article on New Religious Movements in Japan; Nianfo; Popular Religion; Priesthood, article on Buddhist Priesthood; Worship and Devotional Life, articles on Buddhist Devotional Life.

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works of Abram Kardiner) of Melford E. Spiro's *Buddhism and Society: A Great Tradition and Its Burmese Vicissitudes,* 2d ed. (Berkeley, Calif., 1982). A dominant theme in anthropological studies is the nature of the interrelationship between the folk or "little" tradition and the "great" tradition. In various ways this theme is addressed in Michael M. Ames's "Magical-Animism and Buddhism: A Structural Analysis of the Sinhalese Religious System," in *Religion in South Asia,* edited by Edward B. Harper (Seattle, 1964), pp. 21–52; Gananath Obeyesekere's "The Great Tradition and the Little in the Perspective of Sinhalese Buddhism," *Journal of Asian Studies* 22 (February 1963): 139–153; Manning Nash's *The Golden Road to Modernity: Village Life in Contemporary Burma* (New York, 1965); and A. Thomas Kirsch's "Complexity in the Thai Religious System: An Interpretation," *Journal of Asian Studies* 36 (February 1977): 241–266. This theme figures in studies of the religious systems in Central and East Asia as well. See, for example, J. H. Kamstra's *Encounter or Syncretism: The Initial Growth of Japanese Buddhism* (Leiden, 1967), Alicia Matsunaga's *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation: The Historical Development of the Honji-Suijaku Theory* (Rutland, Vt., and Tokyo, 1969), and Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf's *Morals and Merit: A Study of Values and Social Controls in South Asian Societies* (London, 1967).

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FOLK RELIGION: FOLK JUDAISM

In the course of its millennial history, biblical and Jewish folk religion has found its expression in beliefs in male and female deities other than God; in angels, devils, demons, ghosts, and spirits; in saints and holy men; in the "evil eye" and other baleful influences; and in rites and practices such as magic, witchcraft, divination, and the use of amulets, charms, and talismans. Manifestations of Jewish folk religion were found from earliest biblical times and continued to appear, until in the nineteenth century it waned in those European countries in which the Jews came under the influence of the Enlightenment. In the Middle Eastern Jewish communities folk religion retained its vitality until 1948, after which the people of these communities were largely transplanted to Israel.

BIBLICAL PERIOD. In a few cases the biblical authors refer to folk beliefs and rites without condemnation. These "naive" references pertain mostly to cosmic origins or to the early history of mankind, the Hebrew patriarchs, and the people of Israel. Thus *Genesis* 6:1–4 clearly reflects a folk belief in the existence of "sons of God"; *Isaiah* 14:12–15, in a rebellious angel who was cast down into the netherworld; and various passages in *Isaiah*, *Psalms*, and *Job*, in sea dragons and other monsters who dared to oppose God. *Terafim*, small household gods taken by Rachel from her father's house (*Gn.* 31:19, 31:30–35), and larger versions of the same kept by Saul's daughter Michal (the wife of David) in her chambers (*1 Sm.* 19:13, 19:16), are clear examples of folk belief.

In sharp contrast to these uncritical mentions of folk religion are the condemnatory references to the popular (as well as institutional) worship of gods other than Yahveh contained in the historical and prophetic writings of the Bible. But these scornful references are, at the same time, also testimonies to the popular worship in Israel of several male and female deities (such as Baal, Kemosh, Milcom, Asherah, Astarte, and the Queen of Heaven) from the time of the Judges to the destruction of Israel and Judah in 722 and 587/6 BCE and even later (see *Jer.* 44:15–19). These biblical data are supplemented by archaeological discoveries of small figurines of goddesses (Asherah, Astarte) in many excavated Israelite homes from the biblical period all over the country.

Demons. With reference to demons the biblical evidence shows a similar duality. On the one hand, there are prohibitions of witchcraft and all trafficking with, or consultation of, demons, ghosts, and spirits, which practices are considered capital sins punishable by death (*Ex.* 22:17, *Dt.* 18:10–12), and historical notes tell of the attempted extermination by royal decree of "those that divined by a ghost or familiar spirit" (*1 Sm.* 28:3). On the other, there is ample testimony to the belief, shared by the Yahvist historians and prophets with the common folk, in the existence of demons and their power to harm people's bodies and minds (*Gn.* 32:25ff.; *Lv.* 16:10; *Is.* 13:21, 34:14; *1 Sm.* 16:15, 16:23; *1 Kgs.* 22:22–23; *Ps.* 91:5–6). Israelite folk religion seems to have made room for species of demons (*shedim, seʿirim*), as well as individual demons, for example ʿAzʾazel. Most of the latter are known from the religions of the neighboring peoples as gods, thus, for example, Lilith, Mavet ("death"), and Reshef ("pestilence"). From the late biblical and apocryphal literature are known the devil-like demons called Saṭan, Masṭemah, Belial (Beliyyaʿal), Asmodeus (Ashmedʿai), while both in the New Testament and in rabbinic literature demons are referred to as "unclean" or "evil spirits." In the three synoptic gospels the prince of demons has the name Beelzebul (Baʿal Zebub). These demons, generic and individual, are all reflections of Jewish folk belief.

Magic and divination. The Bible repeatedly condemns action taken to influence the mysterious forces of nature and the spirits. *Deuteronomy* 18:10–11 decrees, "There shall not be found among you any one that . . . useth divination, a soothsayer, or an enchanter, or a sorcerer, or a charmer, or one that consulteth a ghost or a familiar spirit, or a necromancer." *Exodus* 22:17 rules explicitly, "Thou shalt not suffer a sorceress to live" (cf. *Lv.* 20:27). Passages such as these indicate that the biblical authors shared with the common people the belief in the reality and efficacy of magic, but, in contrast with the common folk, condemned it as an act of unfaithfulness to God (cf. *Dt.* 18:12–13).

Recognizing the assurance divination provided, biblical legislation, while outlawing it in the form practiced by the Canaanites, supplied a substitute for it in the mantic activity of prophets, whose legitimacy, it states, would be proven by subsequent events (*Dt.* 18:14–22). The people, it seems, turned to the prophets primarily in order to profit from their mantic powers (*1 Sm.* 9:6; *1 Kgs.* 14:1ff., 22:5ff.; *2 Kgs.* 3:11). Divination included the questioning of the Urim and Tummim (*1 Sm.* 23:9–12), consultation of the *terafim* (*Jgs.* 17:5, 18:14; *Hos.* 3:4; *Ez.* 21:26; *Zec.* 10:2), the use of goblets (*Gn.* 44:5), arrows (*Ez.* 21:26), spoken words (*Gn.* 24:14, *1 Sm.* 14:9–10, cf. v. 12), and the interpretation of the liver (*Ez.* 21:26), stars (*Is.* 47:13, *Jer.* 10:2), and dreams (*1 Sm.* 28:6). The hold diviners had over the people is best illustrated by the story about King Saul: he "cut them off the land," but when in trouble sought out one of those who remained (*1 Sm.* 28:3–25).

The persistence into the first century BCE of magic as a part of popular religion is attested by *2 Maccabees* 12:40, which tells about the Jewish warriors who wore under their tunics amulets (*hieromata*) taken from the idols of Yavneh. This practice was condemned by the author because of the pagan derivation of the amulets. On the other hand, in *Tobit*, an apocryphal book of the first century BCE, a method of exorcising a demon from a possessed person with the help of fumigation is described as having been taught by the angel Raphael, that is, as a religiously orthodox act.

TALMUDIC PERIOD. After the Babylonian exile, Jewish folk religion found its expression, partly under the impact of Babylonian, Persian, and, later, Hellenistic influences, in a proliferation of angels, demons (some of whom had figured already in the Bible), evil spirits, the evil eye, and so on, and in practices aiming at the invocation of beneficial superhuman powers and the propitiation of, or protection against, those with evil intentions. While in the Jerusalem (Palestinian) Talmud only three categories of demons (*mazziqim, shedim,* and *ruḥot*) are mentioned, demonology is more prominent in the Palestinian midrashim. However, it is the Babylonian Talmud (completed c. 500 CE) that is the richest source for Jewish folk religion in general and demonology in particular.

For Talmudic Judaism the number of demons was legion. Ashmedʾai was their king, while their queen, Iggrat the daughter of Mahalat, went about with a retinue of 180,000 "angels of destruction" (B.T., *Pes.* 112b). The Talmudic sages fought valiantly, not against the popular belief in demons, but against the demons themselves. Thus Ḥaninaʾ ben Dosaʾ and Abbaye succeeded in restricting the activities of Iggrat to certain times and places. Other sages conducted conversations with demons. Most dangerous was the female demon Lilith, who seduced men at night and strangled babes, and who could be kept away only by means of protective charms.

Since both Talmuds and the *midrashim* record the sayings, rulings, and acts of the sages, and not of the common folk, our knowledge of folk religion is largely confined to its reflection in the recorded words and deeds of the rabbis, and it is on them that we must base our conclusions as to the religious beliefs and acts of the simple people. Thus, for example, the Mishnah (*San.* 6.4) and the Jerusalem Talmud (*San.* 6.9, 23c) tell about the leading first century BCE Palestinian sage and head of the Sanhedrin, Shimʾon ben Sheṭaḥ, that he had eighty witches hanged in the port city of Ashqelon. Such a report is, of course, evidence of the existence of a belief in witches among both the people and their spiritual leaders.

Occasional references in the Mishnah and Talmud indicate that *kishshuf*, witchcraft, was widespread, especially among women (*Sot.* 9.13, *Avot.* 2.7; B.T., *San.* 67a), despite the fact that it was a capital offense (*San.* 7.4, 7.11; B.T., *San.* 67b), punishable by stoning. Persons accused of witchcraft were frequently brought before the judges, who therefore were required to have a thorough familiarity with the workings of magic (B.T., *San.* 17a). They also had certain criteria by which they were able to differentiate between witchcraft and mere trickery (B.T., *San.* 67b).

Of several sages it is reported that they themselves practiced and taught magic (B.T., *San.* 67b–68a), as did the daughters of at least one of them (B.T., *Git.* 45a). Some women engaged in faith healing (B.T., *Sot.* 22a, cf. Rashi). One of the pious men of the first century BCE, Honi the Circle Maker, practiced rain magic (*Taʿan.* 3.8). The use of incantations and the recitation of magic formulas for curative purposes was widespread (B.T., *Shab.* 67a).

As for amulets (sg., *qameiʿa*), in Talmudic times two kinds were in vogue: those written on and those containing roots and leaves. They were dispensed by physicians to cure ailments, and also used by people for protection against the evil eye and demons, and to make women conceive (*Kel.* 23.1, *Shab.* 6.2; B.T., *Shab.* 61a–b, *Pes.* 111b; J. T., *Shab.* 6, 8b top; *Gn. Rab.* 45; *Nm. Rab.* 12; et al.). (Whether the biblical *dudaʿim* [mandrakes] found by Reuben in the field were ingested by the sterile Rachel or used by her as an amulet is not clear. See *Gn.* 30:14–15, 30:22–23.) An amulet was usually put around the neck of a child soon after its birth (B.T., *Qid.* 73b), which custom has remained alive until modern times in Middle Eastern Jewish communities. Amulets that had proven their efficacy were allowed to be worn outside the home even on the Sabbath, although on that rest day the carrying of all objects was prohibited (*Shab.* 6.2).

Divination (*niḥush*) continued in the Talmudic period as an integral part of popular religion, despite rabbinic prohibition and its punishment by flogging. The influence of Jewish and Babylonian folk religion on the Babylonian amoraim (Talmudic sages of the third to fifth centuries) can be seen in the permission they gave to use *simanim* (signs or omens) in trying to foretell the future. Very popular in Talmudic times was the divinatory use of biblical verses randomly recited by children (B.T., *Ḥag.* 15a–b, *Ḥul.* 95b). There were so few people who refrained from practicing some kind of divination that those who did were considered more meritorious than the ministering angels (B.T., *Ned.* 32a).

MIDDLE AGES AND LATER TIMES. The medieval development of Qabbalah constituted a favorable environment for the further proliferation of the belief in demons. Folk belief and the teachings of Qabbalah mutually reinforced each other. The sexual seduction of humans by demons was considered an imminent danger, resulting in the birth of additional demons. Many illnesses were believed to be the result of spirit possession, and consequently the exorcism of spirits (dybbuks) became an important method of popular medicine. While the exorcists seem to have been men only, the persons considered possessed were mostly women. Childlessness—generally considered the wife's "fault"—gave rise to a wide variety of folk cures, including the ingestion of substances of animal origin prohibited by *halakhah* (traditional Jewish law).

Much of medieval Jewish folk religion expressed itself in rites and ceremonies performed at the three major stages of human life: birth (including circumcision), marriage, and death. On these occasions the demons were believed to be especially aggressive and dangerous, and the protection of the principals as well as the attendants was a major concern that gave rise to numerous folk rites.

Features of folk religion are also present at the celebrations of the official Jewish holy days, despite repeated attempts by rabbinical authorities to suppress them. The Tashlikh rite (the symbolic casting of one's sins into water on Ro'sh ha-Shanah, the Jewish New Year) and the Kapparah (the symbolic transference of one's sins onto a hen or a cock on the eve of Yom Kippur) are two examples of practices that Jewish folk religion introduced into the High Holy Days celebrations over the objection of the rabbis.

Of special interest for the historian of religion is the extent to which Jewish folk religion succeeded in being accepted by the leading Jewish religious authorities, who, by including numerous folk beliefs and customs into their halakhic codes, made them part of official Judaism. The *Shulḥan ʿarukh*, the law code that governs Jewish traditional life to this day, contains rulings that show that its author, the Sefardi Yosef Karo (1488–1575), and his chief annotator, the Ashkenazi Mosheh Isserles (1525–1572), believed in the power of the evil eye to harm a person even in the synagogue, in the efficacy of amulets, in the influence of the stars on human life, in omens, in incantations to subdue demons and dangerous animals, in the magic prevention or cure of illness, in consulting the dead and the demons, and so on.

The veneration of saintly men and, more rarely, women, expressed mainly in visits to their tombs with appropriate offerings in the hope of obtaining various benefits, has been an integral part of Jewish folk religion, especially in Islamic countries, for centuries. Occasionally the same Jewish or Muslim saint has been venerated by both Jews and Muslims.

Although several leading medieval rabbinical authorities (including Moses Maimonides, 1135/8–1204) objected to the use of amulets, charms, and magic remedies, their popularity could not be checked, and after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 they spread to eastern Europe. Prepared by rabbis, healers, or holy men for a fee, they were believed to save the wearer or user from all types of harm; to cure his (or her) ailments; to protect him from demons; and to provide good luck, health, and many other kinds of benefits. The amulets, widely used especially in the Middle East down to recent times, whether written on paper or made of silver, brass, tin, or iron, are often decorated with magic triangles and squares, the Magen David (Shield of David), or menorahs. The metal amulets typically have the shape of a circle, a square, a rectangle, a shield, a hand (the most frequent shape), and, rarely, a foot. They are inscribed with divine and angelic names, brief quotations from the Bible, and magic combinations of letters or obscure words. Often the amulet states the name of the person for whom it was prepared and the name of his or her mother.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in central and eastern Europe a magician who prepared such amulets was called *Ba'al Shem*, that is, "Master of the Name," because he was an expert in the use of holy names for magico-religious purposes. The founder of Hasidism, Yisra'el ben Eli'ezer, known as the Besht (acronym of Ba'al Shem Ṭov), was, in his early years, such a provider of amulets. The popular belief in the efficacy of amulets was so strong that numerous rabbis openly supported their use and wrote treatises in their defense. While practically all the Hasidic *rebeyim* (as the miracle-working saintly leaders were known) were men, at least occasionally women functioned in the same capacity.

Divination continued to be a widespread practice among the Jews down to modern times. More recent methods resorted to include the lighting of candles, the observation of shadows, opening the Bible at random, casting lots, gazing at a polished surface, incantations, and consulting with the dead. The interpretation of omens developed into a veritable folk science to which frequent references are found in medieval and later rabbinic literature. It also led to a literary genre of its own in Hebrew, *sifrei goralot*, "books of lots," which contain instructions and rules for the predictive use of names of animals, birds, the twelve tribes, the twelve signs of the Zodiac, cosmic phenomena, the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet, and so on. These books, which, as a rule, are of southern European or Middle Eastern origin, are the counterpart in the field of divination to the even richer assortment of books on charms and magic remedies, some of which were composed or reprinted as late as the twentieth century.

MODERN PERIOD. The spread of the Haskalah (Jewish Enlightenment) in the nineteenth century resulted in a decline of both Jewish folk religion and Jewish orthodoxy. By the second half of the twentieth century folk religion remained a significant element only in the culture of a diminishing sector of unsecularized ultraconservative Jews. Those of Middle Eastern extraction transplanted into Israel colorful customs connected with the life cycle and the ritual calendar, as well as features such as the Moroccan Maimuna feast that commemorates the death of Maimonides and the veneration of other saints, similar to the long-established Lag ba-'Omer festivities at the tomb of the second-century tanna Shim'on bar Yoḥ'ai in Meron. In Israeli *kibbutsim* and in some circles in the United States, attempts are being made to endow traditional religious ceremonies (such as the Passover Seder) with contemporary religious, social, and political relevance. In the United States, outside Orthodox circles, traditional Jewish folk religion is largely moribund, but the transformation of the synagogue into a "center" of social, educational, cultural, and charitable activities and the proliferation of men's clubs, sisterhoods, youth groups, and *ḥavurot* (egalitarian religious fellowships) can be interpreted as a new departure in the realm of folk Judaism. Manifestations such as these can be taken as indications that folk religion, which has always been a significant aspect of Jewish religious life, is still alive and can be expected to produce as yet unforeseeable developments.

SEE ALSO Alphabets; Hasidism, overview article; Pilgrimage, article on Contemporary Jewish Pilgrimage; Prophecy, article on Biblical Prophecy; Talmud.

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RAPHAEL PATAI (1987)
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FOLK RELIGION: FOLK ISLAM

The dichotomy implied by the terminology of "folk" or "little" versus "orthodox" or "high" religious traditions has been challenged in various ways by folklorists, sociologists, and historians of Islam and other world religions. In recent decades folklorists have argued that all religion, at the point of enacted belief, may be considered "vernacular" and "oral." Yet at the same time, both within and across religious traditions and academic disciplines, debates rage on about the viability of terms like "folk" and "orthodox." The manifest vitality of abundant local variations on religious practice, and the debates that ensue among believers about their authenticity or permissibility, continue to fuel concern beyond the academic.

South Asia, more particularly India, provides a poignant example. Imtiaz Ahmad in the 1970s and early 1980s produced a series of volumes documenting and arguing the indigenous "Indianness" of South Asian Islamic belief and practice. His ethnographic approach was criticized by the religious historian Francis Robinson for being unduly synchronic and thus missing an overall, gradual trajectory of "Islamicization" (also noted by anthropologist Clifford Geertz) from more localized or "syncretic" practices and beliefs toward "perfection" in the form of closer adherence to a "high" religion as articulated in the entexted and canonized law, *sharīʿah.* Robinson further argued that the eighteenth-century decline of Muslim states (for example, Mughal in India, Ottoman in southwest Asia and North Africa) itself inspired the major Islamic revival movements active down to the present, which moved the believing community away from local "folk" practice toward greater orthodoxy even in the face of the weakening of Islamic state institutions. Robinson in turn was engaged by Veena Das and Gail Minault, arguing against an overly monolithic model of religious practice. Though this debate took place in the 1980s, it deserves new attention in the face of Hindu religious nationalism, which like Robinson's vision of Islam, develops a concept of religious orthodoxy that would reject arguments like those of Imtiaz Ahmad for the indigenous nature of South Asian or other regional Islam(s). Robinson criticized Ahmad as harboring a political motive for arguing the indigenous nature of South Asian Islam, reflected in its abundant vernacular or "folk" practices, with their rapprochement to Hindu devotional forms. Robinson was concerned that Ahmad's vision of South Asian Islam, arguing for an equilibrium between transnational orthodoxy and local practice, was weak on history. In the ensuing twenty years, however, the emergence of the Hindu right wing in India has made abundantly clear the lethal potential for politicization of essentialist distinctions among religious traditions as well.

More recently, and also with specific reference to South Asian local religious practice, Tony Stewart and Carl Ernst (2003) have mounted a trenchant general criticism of the whole notion of syncretism in religious discourse. They reject the concept of syncretism (a pejorative view of borrowing, mixing, or hybridization across distinct religious traditions) as founded on an untenably essentialist concept of discrete religious traditions in general, for "on examination, every 'pure' tradition turns out to contain mixed elements" (p. 586). The idea of the canonical or orthodox, they argue, entails a historically untenable concept of a pristine, clearly bounded, originary or primordial form to which later enactments strive to conform. Local or folk practice and belief are then implicated in a pejorative concept of syncretism or "mixing" to the extent that the local deviates from this timeless and placeless ideal.

While academic debates continue to swirl around critiques of essentialism and relativism in studies of the "folk," vernacular, or local belief and practice over against the canonical or orthodox, it is fair to say that within believing communities, reform movements operate along parallel lines of debate over the pure and the mixed, the authentic and the "tainted." Insofar as religious thought is based on a mythic vision of an *illud tempus* in which the terms of human existence were established, whether by act of creation or by prophetic revelation, it is hard to avoid some form of originary or essentialist logic. Folklorists simply grant this sense of the ideal to all believers, holding that all who believe find their beliefs to be legitimate and orthodox. This is not to say, however, that beliefs are not malleable through experience or critique. In religious belief and practice, as for the general notion of tradition held by contemporary folklorists, tradition is not fixed but dynamic, consisting of the creative responses of individuals in communities to the preexisting culture-specific materials of their received knowledge base, in dynamic interaction with the emerging conditions of their physical lives. Thus, the same person, over the course of a lifetime, without necessarily experiencing a definitive crisis of faith, may radically change her interpretation of her own spiritual experience: “Mādar Ẓher,” whom I met as a woman of twenty-eight in Afghanistan in the mid-1970s, attributed an earlier episode of severe psychological distress in her life to the interference of *jinn* who had seen her and become interested in her. Eighteen years later, she attributed the same period of mental illness (*divanegi* in Persian) to stress and at least in part to the stern constraints of purdah imposed on her by her husband at that period of her life. Nonetheless, while her idea of the etiology of her illness had changed, both at the time of her illness and more than two decades later she considered that the appropriate cure for such illnesses was religious, through the prayerful intervention of an effective local saint (*pir*). Islam, whether orthodox or mystical, recognizes that human understandings of religious truths are partial and emergent, such that intention (*niyat*) or sincerity is the touchstone of true religion and acceptability to God, over and above the state of knowledge (*ʿerfān*) one has attained.

Such an operating principle may in practice, if not in principle, admit of a wide variety of religious views and activities and facilitate a gradualist or accommodationist approach to missionary work, as has been observed in the adjustments to local and preexisting religious beliefs and social practices in the poetry and preaching of Ṣūfī mystics and other lead missionaries on the frontiers of Islam, from South Asia to sub-Saharan Africa (Eaton, 1974; Horvatich, 1994; Lambek, 1990; Robinson, 1984). Yet even in the absence of an active reform movement, diversity of practice may also be the focus for pejorative group identifications, for religious *blason populaire* and scandalous migratory legends. One example is the “murdered saint” legend, ascribed to at least two local shrines in Afghanistan and Pakistan, respectively, alleging that the local population, hearing that a saint who had arrived in their midst would confer great blessings on the community in which he died and was buried, hastened to secure that benefit to themselves by killing him and building him a shrine. Another story, told as a joke to this author in Pakistan, is that of the “Pashtun *sayyed*,” in which a Pashtun who has come to town advertising himself as a *sayyed* (a descendant of the Prophet, whose prayers and other healing interventions may be regarded as especially efficacious) is asked to bring a witness to his *sayyed* status. The witness he produces says, “Of course I can attest that he’s a *sayyed,* I remember the day he became a *sayyed.*” Thus, the ethnic slur takes the form of casting aspersions on the legitimacy of a Pashtun’s religious status claim. A third, large class of such marginalizing discourses is anticlerical humor and folktales, in which clergy are alleged to be more avaricious, lustful, or stupid than the general run of humanity. The ambidexterous genre of Mullā Naṣr ud-Din jokes (Hodja Nasruddin in Turkish), in which the famous clergyman is a scapegrace, a greedy fool when interacting with those less powerful than himself, and a foolish-wise underdog and trickster when interacting with those more powerful, offers additional rich examples of popular ambivalence toward clerical and other authorities. However tenuously these humorous forms may seem to connect with serious matters of belief and religious practice, they articulate fault lines in both the concept of the ideal community of the *ummah* (the total community of believing Muslims) and the trustworthiness of others’ religious views and practices.

Folk poetry may articulate differential or contested religious identity in more specifically theological terms. Hassan Poladi (1989, p. 134) quotes a folk rhyme in Dari (Afghan Persian) that is both a statement of orthodox Sunnī faith and directed against the Shīʿah Hazara, who are thought to deny the legitimacy of the first three caliphs who led the community after the Prophet’s death and to see only Alī, the Prophet’s cousin and son-in-law, as his legitimate successor:

> Saram khāk-e rāh-e Chahār Sarwar,
> ʿOmar, Abubakr, ʿOṣmān wa Ḥaidar,
> Abubakr Yār-e Ghār, ʿOmar Mir-e Durrah-dar
> ʿOṣmān Shāh-sawar ast, ʿAli Fatḥ-e lashkar ast.
> Har ki az in Chahār Yār-e Rāh khilāfa nadānad
> Kamtarin-e khers wa khuk wa Yahudān-e Khaybar ast.
>
> My head be in the dust of the path of the four Knights [the first four caliphs of Islam]
> ʿOmar, Abu Bakr, ʿOṣmān and Ḥaidar
> Abubakr, Friend of the Cave, the Prince who possesses the pearl,
> Oṣmān is the Royal Knight, ʿAli is the Victorious Warrior
> Whosoever denies the caliphate of the Four Friends [of the Way],
> He is less than a bear, a pig, or the Jews of Khaybar [who rejected the Prophet’s revelation].

The Jews of Khaybar are cited as the archetypal recalcitrant skeptics but are nonetheless regarded by Muslims as “People of the Book,” who received a revelation of their own in the legitimate line of prophecy. In a situation of Sunnī-Shīʿī tension in upland Afghanistan, where Jews were few and far between, the Shīʿah were portrayed as worse than the Jews for having rejected the worldly successors of the Prophet, but at another time, in urban Herāt, where both Sunnīs and Shīʿahs coexisted with an ancient Jewish community until the post-1948 migration of that population to Israel, Afghan Sunnīs and Shīʿahs may agree to portray Jews as trying to sow dissension between otherwise (notionally) solidary Sunnī and Shī’ī Muslims (Mills, 1990).

Yet in other instances, shared veneration of a religious personage may dramatically cut across sectarian lines, as in the case of the Bengali figure of Satya Pir, whose Muslim devotees regard him as a somewhat cantankerous saint while his Hindu devotees consider him a god. The competing origin stories for Satya Pir are copresent and available for comparison by his devotees, as is also the case for Skanda, the deity of the great Kataragama Buddhist shrine in Sri Lanka, who is revered as the Prophet Khizr by Muslims who can visit the mosque located on the site.

Parallel practices may be less obvious to practitioners, as is the case with votive activities distributed across Muslim and Hindu southwest and south Asia. The votive offering called *nāẓir* in Arabo-Persian has a complex history in Shīʿī Iran, apparently connected also with Zoroastrian (pre-Islamic Iranian) practice (Jamzadeh and Mills, 1984). In local women's practice, the votive activity may involve the ritual performance of various kinds of oral narrative from legends of Shīʿī saints (called *rowzeh*) to international folktale variants (Betteridge, 1980; Mills, 1982) and be seen as marginal by clergy and by orthodox-aspiring women alike. Not all Muslim *nāẓir* rituals entail narrative recitations; from the data at hand this seems more common among Shīʿī than Sunnī *nāẓir* offerants. Indian Hindus have parallel practices in votive rituals called *vrat katha* ("vow stories"), conducted by women as domestic rites or more formally by male Brāhmaṇ priests, which indeed require the ritual performance of origin stories articulating the rite's relationship to the deity addressed (Wadley, 2003). While Muslims and Hindus share certain shrines in South Asia (as do, or did, Muslims and Jews in North Africa; see Ben-Ami, 1983), it is not clear that either the practitioners or the scholars have dwelt on the specific parallels in narrative-based *nāẓir* and *vrat katha*. Within Islam, the veneration of saints and shrine pilgrimage, a pervasively popular practice that is not limited to women, though often attributed primarily to them as religiously marginal, comes in for criticism from some of the orthodox, specifically as a form of *shirk* (worshiping personages other than God, which violates a basic tenet of the faith), whereas in Hinduism, *vrat katha* is a staple of worship.

Both *nāẓir* (with or without narrative) and *vrat katha* also involve a food offering or charity food distribution. In foodways in particular, one can see regional or local practices most closely tied to local ecology. In a wide belt from Anatolia across Central Asia to northern Pakistan, the staple grain is wheat, and wheat products are featured as the blessed elements in ritual meals. In particular, sprouted wheat porridges or fudgelike *halva*s figure in Spring New Year rituals predating Islam on the Iranian plateau but now included as part of Muslim festival cycles from Kurdish Turkey across Iran to Central Asia and the Karakorum. For several of these dishes, wheat must first be ritually sprouted, then dried and ground into flour and cooked to make a naturally sweet (because malted) ritual food called *samanu* or *samanak* in Persian (and by other names, for example, *shoshp* in the Khowar language). In many *nāẓir* rituals outside the context of the Spring New Year, various kinds of wheat bread are the sanctified food, sanctified before it is cooked because the saint is believed to visit and touch wheat flour laid out in advance for the rite if the offerant's petition is acceptable. Among Thai and Javanese Muslims, for whom folk ritual feasts are prominent as part of death memorial ceremonies, and as such also to some extent contested by the orthodoxy, the central ritual food, not surprisingly, is rice (Burr, 1983; Woodward, 1988).

An overview of the vast topic of folk Islam or Muslim vernacular religion can at best offer snapshot views both of actual devotional activities and of articulations of perceived differences in practice and belief within the community, that is, of Islamic folk religion and of Muslim folklore, through which Muslims reflect on being Muslims by alleging practices and beliefs of others that may or may not actually occur. Such differences only partly fall along sectarian lines. Gender and ethnicity also figure in Muslims' perceptions of insider and outsider, orthodox and heterodox, and differences in religious practice within the confessional community that defy the doctrinal ideal of equality before God for all pious believers. Vernacular practice provides scope for personal devotionalism, some of it of a highly local nature, for members of the community who may be otherwise marginalized (for example, women, who are not expected or encouraged to be regular mosque attendees in some Muslim communities). Perceptions of solidarity, of difference, or even of apostasy may be cast in absolute and ideal terms, but they also can be observed to vary dramatically at different times and places and to reflect and in part constitute political relationships or rifts that are in turn susceptible to community critique. As with other forms of folklore, vigorously held "folk" beliefs and practices may not be perceived as local or idiosyncratic by their adherents, or, on the contrary, they may indeed be espoused as part of local identity work, as in the case of the many instantly recognizable, locally distinctive, elaborated versions of modest dress for both men and women. Further, this identity work, a staple of folk process, may be viewed as benign, or as antireligious if it divides the community in the face of some perceived external threat. Not only practices but also the interpretations put upon them are emergent in terms of consciousness as ties and schisms among Muslims or between Muslims and non-Muslims wax and wane. Academically speaking, the jury remains out as to the overall and longer-term trajectory of universal Islamization (the goal of Islamic reform movements) versus the elaboration of local practices. From the viewpoint of non-Muslim venues, the globalizing trends of a new orthodoxy appear more influential at present, but on closer inspection, local vernacular (also known as "folk") practices (such as conventions and styles of women's modest dress) appear to thrive, to be invented, reinvented, and often enough, contested, even in diaspora populations.

SEE ALSO Domestic Observances, article on Muslim Practices; Islamic Religious Year; Oral Tradition; Rites of Passage, article on Muslim Rites.

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FOMHOIRE. The Fomhoire are a hostile supernatural race who warred for control of Ireland against both gods and men. Descriptions of the Fomhoire vary widely in different texts and apparently reflect several distinct traditions. The Fomhoire are sometimes depicted as misshapen or half-animal in form, disproportionately female in numbers, or having only one leg, one arm, and one eye. In other sources, the Fomhoire resemble and intermarry with the gods, the Tuatha Dé Danann (The Tribes or Peoples of the Goddess Danu). Later Irish and Scottish Gaelic folklore know the *fomhóir* (Scottish Gaelic, *famhair*) as raiders from the sea or marauding giants, and throughout Irish literature the Fomhoire manifest both sea connections and supernatural origins. For example, "the cattle of Tethra"—an early poetic kenning about the Fomhorian king Tethra—refers to the waves, and in an eighth-century tale the people of Tethra dwell in a timeless realm of peace and abundance across the sea. The name Fomhoire is of uncertain derivation, meaning perhaps "undersea people" or "sinister supernatural beings." Suggested etymologies include taking the word as comprising *fo* (under) and an element meaning *sea.* Alternatively, the second element may be related to the *mare* of the English word *nightmare.*

ORIGINS OF THE FOMHOIRE. References to the Fomhoire appear in *Leabhar Gabhála Éireann* (The book of the taking of Ireland), a pseudohistorical compendium of medieval prose and poetry linking pre-Christian Ireland to the chronology of the Hebrew Bible and presenting gods and mythical ancestors of the early Irish as mortals descended from Noah. In this system, the Fomhoire are identified as descendants of Cain or of Noah's unfilial son Ham. Other sources include mythic and epic tales, glossaries, and place-name lore. In *Leabhar Gabhála* the Fomhoire (sometimes in the form of misshapen demons) repeatedly attack Ireland's colonists. After defeating two groups of settlers, they reduce a third, the people of Nemhedh, to one boatload of refugees, who survive to become ancestors of two later groups, the Fir Bholg and the Tuatha Dé Danann.

The Fir Bholg rule Ireland successfully without Fomhorian interference but are eventually dispossessed by the Tuatha Dé Danann. According to *Cath Maige Tuired*: *The Second Battle of Mag Tuired*, which includes language as early as the ninth century, once established in Ireland, the Tuatha Dé contract a marriage alliance with the Fomhoire and offer kingship to the half-Fomhorian Bres, son of Elatha. However, Bres's reign proves disastrous: He is greedy, self-centered, and oppressive, enforcing demands for tribute from his Fomhorian relatives. When the Tuatha Dé restrain his behavior, he flees to his powerful Fomhorian kin to gather an army. Demands for tribute by Fomhorian kings outside of Ireland (including Tethra, Elatha, and Indech, son of Dé Domnann, who ruled islands off Ireland and Scotland) are reminiscent of Viking control of these peripheral areas and may reflect legends surrounding Viking claims to overlordship.

Lugh, who ultimately leads the Tuatha Dé to victory in the Second Battle of Magh Tuiredh, is the half-Fomhorian product of the marriage alliance between the two peoples. The unsuccessful king Bres (Fomhorian on his father's side) is the product of an acknowledged but less formal union.

The theme of Fomhorian kinship amidst hostilities recurs in epic, recalling widespread traditions in other cultures of ambivalent relations between distinct but intermarrying groups. Lugh's son, the epic hero Cú Chulainn, can only marry the daughter of Forgoll Monach (a nephew of the Fomhorian Tethra) by abducting her against her family's armed opposition.

MYTHICAL STRUGGLES. Theomachy—the mythic struggle between gods and their supernatural opponents—is another theme shaping the relationship between the Fomhoire and the Tuatha Dé Danann. In comparative Indo-European terms, as enemies of the gods, the Fomhoire resemble the Asuras (in relation to the Indic Devas)—often monstrous in form but nonetheless blood relations. The ultimate victory of the Tuatha Dé Danann follows Lugh's single combat with his maternal grandfather, the Fomhorian Balar, who has a baleful eye of monstrous size and power. The contest is famous in the popular folklore of Mayo and Donegal.

Another mythic theme that may influence the role of the Fomhoire in the Second Battle of Magh Tuiredh—especially the conflict between Bres and his Tuatha Dé kin—is the struggle between divine representatives of functional aspects of social order. These functions are identified as: (1) the sacred and sovereign, associated with kingship, priesthood, and magical power; (2) physical, especially martial, force; and (3) fertility and abundance. Each of the three is linked to a social class or stratum (i.e., the priestly class, including the king; the aristocratic warrior class, from which kings may be drawn; and the class of ordinary free landowners or farmers) represented within both human and divine societies. The mythic struggle between representatives of the first two functions and those of the third leads to a resolution in which the powers of all three functions are available to society as a whole, although the nature of that resolution varies. For example, Bres's powers evoke fertility and abundance, his name ("The Beautiful") becomes a byword for beauty, and he is the husband of the Tuatha Dé goddess Bríǵh (patroness of domestic animals). When suggesting possible ransoms for his life to Lugh after the Tuatha Dé Danann victory, Bres includes the well-being and growth of crops and herds. Lugh's acceptance of Bres's final offer integrates the power of fertility, bringing the Tuatha Dé perpetual success in plowing, sowing, and reaping.

SEE ALSO Celtic Religion, overview article.

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ELIZABETH A. GRAY (2005)

FON AND EWE RELIGION. The Ewe and Fon, related linguistically and culturally, live along the coast and in the hinterland of Benin (formerly Dahomey), Togo, and eastern Ghana in West Africa. They number some three million; depend on fishing, intensive farming, and crafts (especially weaving); and live mostly in towns and large villages.

Europeans in contact with the Fon of Dahomey late in the seventeenth century left an exotic and exaggerated picture of kings, wealth, women soldiers ("Amazons"), brutal human sacrifice, and slave trading; such a picture has fallen into disrepute. Today the seat of the royal family is still centered in the towns of Abomey and Kana, which differ somewhat in both social organization and religion from the hinterland. The people today are organized into dispersed patrilineal clans in each of which the oldest living man is said to be "between the two worlds" of the living and the dead. There was traditionally a complex hierarchical organization from the compound to village chief to king. The kingdom has now lost its former political prerogatives but still retains many traditional ceremonies required by worship of the royal ancestors.

The Ewe of Togo and Ghana, historically representing the outposts of Fon civilization, share a sense of identity and history of migration (ultimately from Oyo in Nigeria) that is commemorated annually. The northern inland Ewe lack centralized political authority and have localized clans, while the coastal groups (known as Anlo Ewe) have a tradition of weak kingship, dispersed clans, and ancestral shrines that are of central importance in the religious life of the community. In each Ewe lineage there is a carved wooden stool, which is the locus of the cult of the lineage diety. During rituals this stool is the place to which ancestral spirits may temporarily be summoned.

FON. The ancestral cult, believed to be necessary for the perpetuation of the clan, is the focal point of Fon social organization and of much religious activity. Funeral ceremonies for dead adults are concluded three years after their death so that their souls are not lost to the clan. Every decade or so the ancestors are "established," that is, they are deified as *tovodu* (family gods) by a rite in which a local group head must name all the dead group members from the most recently dead back to the earliest. At this rite an ancestral shrine (*dex-*

oxo) is built. There, the *tovodu* are annually "fed" and honored with dancing and praise songs. The individual who is seen as the human founder of a clan is also a deified ancestor; because of this status, the founder is worshiped by a cult of priests and initiates who do not necessarily belong to that particular clan. Royal clan members, however, may worship only their own ancestral deities and cannot be cult-initiates of "public" pantheons of gods; ancestral worship is their only form of religious affiliation.

More powerful than the *tovodu* are the spirits of those who lived so long ago that their names are no longer known by their descendants: these ancestors, personified by Dambada Hwedo, are important because a "forgotten" ancestor is angry and dangerous. Also in the *tovodu* category are the spirits of twins, of children born after twins, and of malformed and aborted children. These last spirits are considered very powerful as they guard the rivers over which the spirits of the dead must pass to reach the other world. Furthermore, the world of the dead reflects that of the living, with local rank there being established by priority of birth in the land of the living.

The Fon have a number of variant cosmologies, and some disagreement exists concerning the identities of the various deities. Some say that the world was created by one god, Nana Buluku, both male and female, who gave birth to twins named Mawu and Lisa; the first, female, was given command of the night, and the second, male, was associated with the day. Opinion varies as to the identifying characteristics and even the relationship between the twins, whose names are often merged together in everyday speech as though they were a single deity, Mawu-Lisa. In addition to being siblings, Mawu and Lisa are also spouses. Other public gods who represent the forces of nature that affect all humans alike include Sagbata, the earth deity who watches over the fields and waters of the earth and punishes offenders with smallpox, and Sogbo, or Xevioso, the thunder and sea god who sends fertilizing rains but also punishes with his "ax," the thunderbolt. Under each of these is a pantheon of named deities (*vodu*) ranked according to their birth order, each with differing tasks. Worship of each pantheon of these gods is in the hands of an associated priesthood. None of these three pantheons of deities has universal worship.

No single god is all-powerful, not even Mawu who is the parent of the others and controls life and death. The "writing" of Mawu is called Fa, the destiny of the universe. A highly specialized system of divination (derived from the Yoruba), administered by officials known as *bokono,* permits humans to know what destiny has been decreed for them. Only the divine trickster Legba, who is the youngest son of Mawu, can change a person's destiny. His worship is universal (unlike that of the other major divinities) and individual, with neither priests nor cult houses. Other forms of divination are practiced, including mirror-gazing and the study of entrails. Finally, most widespread of all forms of divination are magical charms (*gbo*) of many and various kinds. These are said to be given to humans by Legba and Sagbata, and especially by the *aziza,* small hairy creatures who live in anthills and silk-cotton trees (*Eriondendron anfractuosum*).

EWE. The Ewe share many aspects of culture, religion, and art with the Fon and indeed occasionally travel to Benin to obtain shrines and spiritual aid. They share many gods, including Mawu, the remote creator god associated with the sky, and Torgbi-nyigbla, the head of the nature gods (*tro*) associated with war and thunder (and thus with Xevioso). Similar, too, are the practice of Afa divination and the Legba cult, including both *dulegba* and *alegba* (town and individual protective deities). There is, however, ambiguous usage among the Ewe of such key terms as *vodu, dulegba, tro,* and *dzo* (amulets), which are often confused. Most of these deities come from outside Eweland and each is thought of as a discrete entity; this inconsistent usage probably reflects differences in the history of migration and introduction of the cults.

RELIGIOUS CHANGE. Vast numbers of slaves were taken from the Fon-Ewe coast to the New World and they took many aspects of their religion with them. Syncretized with Catholicism in Haiti, Brazil, Cuba, and Jamaica, Fon and Ewe religions contributed important influences to the formation of many cults in the New World, including Voodoo (*vodoun*) and the cult of Shango, among others.

Christian missionaries have worked among the Fon and Ewe since the mid-nineteenth century. Today the vast majority of people declare themselves to be Christian, although most Ewe are involved in both Christian and traditional religious practices. In the north, reportedly, many rites of passage are now abandoned; traditional funerals, especially in the south, however, are still very important.

SEE ALSO Mawu-Lisa.

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FOOD.

Historians of religion and cultural anthropologists face an extraordinarily difficult task when they attempt to analyze food customs on a worldwide basis. Dietary laws, food taboos, and the religious and social environments that have molded them are as varied as humanity itself.

Although there are no universal food customs or food taboos, such things are part of daily life in every society. Societies of every sort have restricted what their members may eat, specified the circumstances in which certain types of nourishment may be taken, and made use of food in religious ritual. Rules and practices regarding food constitute languages that express the values a culture teaches regarding nature, God, the sources of social authority, and the purposes or goals of life. In different religious systems, the same foods—milk, oil, blood, wheat, or rice, for example—may cleanse or defile, signify death or rebirth, give nourishment to gods or convey the power of gods to worshipers, depending on the contexts in which these foods are used.

FOOD TABOOS. Because food is a universal human need, the act of making some foods taboo is particularly revelatory of the values that distinguish one culture from another.

Judaism. No religion has such a complex set of food taboos as Judaism. Jewish dietary law begins with the Torah (also known as the Pentateuch, including the biblical books of *Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers,* and *Deuteronomy*), which according to Orthodox Jews was given to Moses on Sinai; modern scholars date the final version of the Torah to the Babylonian exile, after 486 BCE. Since Roman times, rabbis have greatly expanded the food taboos of the Jews through commentary designed to show how the laws of the Torah may be kept.

Oldest among Jewish food taboos is the prohibition on eating blood, which forms part of the covenant between God and Noah in *Genesis* 9. From this prohibition grew the practice of kosher butchering, which emphasizes killing the animal with a quick cut of the neck and draining its blood. Jews also salt and boil meat to remove blood, broil organ meats in which the blood collects, and cook meat very thoroughly to eliminate blood. The taboo on blood and the laws of butchering mean that no animal killed by hunting can be eaten by an observant Jew.

Elaborating on a law repeated three times in the Torah, "Thou shalt not boil a kid in its mother's milk" (*Exod.* 23:19, 34:26; *Deut.* 14:21), the rabbis developed rules to prevent contact of meat and milk. Observant Jews not only abstain from cheeseburgers and avoid milk for some time after eating meat but also maintain two sets of dishes, pots, and utensils for meat and dairy meals. Restaurants observing *kashrut* (kosher) law limit themselves to serving either meat or dairy meals. Fish and vegetable oil fall into an intermediate class, known as pareve, that can be consumed with either milk or meat.

The Jewish taboo on pork has become famous because the pig is so popular as a source of protein in Europe and Asia, but Jews also abstain from a long list of animals found in *Leviticus* 11 and further defined by the rabbis. Only animals that have hooves (not claws) but also part the hoof (like cows and sheep, unlike horses) and chew the cud (ruminants, capable of eating grass) can be eaten. These restrictions eliminate such common food animals as rabbits, dogs, bears, horses, and camels as well as pigs, which divide the hoof but do not chew the cud. Predatory birds and swarming insects are also forbidden. Among sea creatures, only fish with fins and scales can be eaten; clams, lobsters, eels, squid, scallops, shark, sturgeon (with their caviar), porpoise, and whale are all forbidden, and swordfish are an object of dispute, since they are scaled only as juveniles.

During the eight days of Passover, the spring holiday commemorating the deliverance of ancient Israel from slavery in Egypt, Jews observe a taboo on leaven, which is ordinarily ubiquitous in bread and other products containing wheat. The observance of Passover can lead to a Jewish family owning a third and fourth set of dishes and pots for meat and dairy during Passover, or even a third kitchen, in order to avoid leaven. Not all prepared foods that are certified by rabbinical boards as kosher are also kosher for Passover, because some kosher foods may have been prepared with or in the presence of leaven. Even wine, which might have been thought to be exempt from laws regarding blood, milk, meat, forbidden animals, and leaven, must be certified as kosher or kosher for Passover depending on rabbinical supervision of the conditions of manufacture.

It should be noted that today, only about 10 percent of Jews keep the kosher laws strictly. Among Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist Jews, and among the large numbers unaffiliated with a synagogue, there was a strong movement away from keeping kosher during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Recently, a return to modified practice, sometimes called "kosher style," has gained ground among liberal Jews. Jewish food taboos have undoubtedly had one effect announced in the Torah: they have fostered solidarity among Jews by separating Jews from others, making "a distinction between the clean and the unclean" (*Lev.* 11:47) so that Israel may be "holy" (related to the word for "separate") as its God is holy.

Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism. Although the earliest Sanskrit scriptures indicate that the Aryan ancestors of modern Indians ate beef and sacrificed horses, Hinduism quickly (by about 1000 BCE) developed a taboo on meat for the three upper castes (the Brahmin or priestly, Kshatriya or warrior, and Vaisya or merchant). The cow became particularly sacred, so that only the outcaste or untouchable could work with leather or eat beef, but chicken and fish were also avoided by those who wished to maintain purity. Another powerful taboo involves saliva; a cook must not taste food during preparation because of the danger that saliva will come in contact with the food. Caste differences entailed general taboos on eating food prepared by someone of a lower caste, so that a demand arose for Brahmins willing to serve as cooks. Unlike in Judaism, where food taboos created solidarity among adherents of the religion, in Hinduism these taboos have emphasized difference. The purpose of abstaining from meat and avoiding impurity for Hindus is to avoid collecting *karma,* the attachment to the world that causes reincarnation after death. The same motive causes many Hindus to abstain from alcohol, although there is no absolute rule in the tradition against it, and ancient texts describe the ritual use of an intoxicating substance called soma, the identity of which is uncertain. Some traditions depict the Hindu god Śiva drinking a mixture of yogurt and *cannabis indica*, an Asian variety of marijuana.

During the sixth century BCE, the movements of Jainism and Buddhism gained adherents in India among those who sought freedom from castes and rituals and a more direct means of escape from reincarnation. Following their teacher Mahāvīra, Jains abstain both from meat and from plants that must be killed to be consumed. Their ideal diet consists of fruit that ripens on the tree and grains that dry of themselves; they avoid root vegetables that must be destroyed in the harvest.

Mahāvīra arose from the warrior caste to reject Brahmin rules, and so did Siddhārtha Gautama, who became known as the Buddha (the one who awoke). Not as strict as the Jains, Buddhists sought a middle way between indulgence and asceticism. The Buddha advised the monks whom he sent to spread his teaching not to allow anyone to kill an animal especially for them, but to eat if the animal had already been killed. In Buddhism the *karma* that binds humans to the wheel of rebirth has nothing to do with divine will, material pollution, or with the influence of matter on spirit, but depends entirely on attitude and can be dispelled by awareness. Buddhists have commonly counted the profession of a butcher as a forbidden means of livelihood, like that of gambler or prostitute, because a butcher causes suffering to sentient beings; yet Buddhism has adapted to many cultures in which meat eating is allowed. Some of the most traditional Buddhists, such as the Theravādan monks of Thailand, who go into the street to beg each day at dawn and eat nothing at all after noon, are not vegetarian. The Chan monks of China have normally followed a vegetarian diet themselves but only recently have begun to preach the virtues of vegetarianism to the laity. Tibet, where Buddhism has dominated for more than a thousand years, has never become vegetarian, although some of its religious leaders have. In Japan, the traditional diet of rice and seafood remained despite Buddhism, although the influence of Buddhist ideals of compassion helped to keep meat eating from gaining much favor until modern times. Although the Buddha forbade intoxication, Buddhists have disagreed as to whether this meant abstinence from all alcohol; with the exception of the Theravādan monks of South Asia (Sri Lanka, Burma [Myanmar], Thailand, Vietnam), most Buddhist cultures have not prohibited alcoholic drinks.

Christianity. The New Testament shows that early followers of Jesus struggled with questions of how far to continue Jewish food taboos and whether to compromise with Roman rituals of offering food to their ancestors and their gods. Although *Mark* 7:19 says that Jesus "declared all foods clean," it seems evident from the story of Peter and the Roman centurion Cornelius in *Acts* 10 that the disciples of Jesus had not begun to eat nonkosher food or to share meals with non-Jews even after taking up their mission of preaching the gospel. An argument between Peter and Paul mentioned in Paul's letter to the Galatians shows that the question of food taboos seemed very urgent two decades after the crucifixion. *Acts* 15 recalls a letter sent by agreement of the apostles to all non-Jewish Christians, telling them to abstain from blood, from anything strangled rather than butchered quickly, and from food consecrated to Roman ancestors or gods. In the *Book of Revelation,* Christians who have decided to eat at the same table where Roman food offerings were made are consigned to the pit of sulfur created for Satan and his angels. After the Roman Empire became Christian in the fourth century CE, this issue disappeared—until recently, that is, when it has demanded a decision by Christians who have friends or relatives who practice Chinese, Wiccan, Yoruba, or other traditions involving the offering of food to spirits. Except for the Coptic Christians of Egypt, who continue to follow some Jewish laws, and the mild restrictions on meat observed by Roman Catholics and Orthodox Christians during Lent and Advent, most Christians now observe no food taboos, and Christianity remains remarkable for its lack of such rules. In the nineteenth century, Adventists in the United States rediscovered the prohibition of *Acts* 15 on blood and went beyond it to vegetarianism; many Christians, especially Protestant evangelicals, Mormons, and Christian Scientists, adopted a taboo on alcohol; but most Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, and Protestant Christians remained free, in theory, to eat and to drink anything.

Islam. The Qurʾān, the book of revelations to Prophet Muḥammad, explicitly forbids eating animals that have died of themselves, blood, pork, and food over which the name of a god other than Allah has been invoked (*sūrah* 2:173). Islamic slaughtering rules resemble those of Judaism with regard to cutting the neck and drawing the blood, but many Muslims also refuse any meat not killed by a Muslim, since only then can they be assured that an invocation of Allāh has accompanied the slaughter. Though abstinence from alcohol does not appear in the Qurʾān, the traditions (or *ḥadīth*) connecting such abstinence to the prophet Muḥammad are so strong that most Muslims believe that their religion forbids all alcohol, even if (as in Muslim countries like Morocco or Turkey) there are public places in which Muslims drink. Many Muslims avoid mozzarella cheese because of the rennet, sometimes derived from the stomachs of pigs, involved in its manufacture.

Chinese traditions. It is part of the genius of China to make use of everything edible, if not as food then as medicine. However, Daoist wisdom does teach the avoidance of some combinations of foods because Daoist cosmology has led people to think that the combinations would be poisonous. Such combinations include garlic and honey, crab and persimmon, dog meat and green beans, and mackerel and plums.

Indigenous (or primal) traditions. Religions that remain limited to particular ethnic groups and places do not tend to develop general food taboos, such as the Jewish ban on pork or the Hindu reverence for the cow, which apply in all times and all places. Food taboos in these religions focus on specific times during which certain foods may not be eaten or specific people who may not eat certain foods. Even cannibalism, the strongest candidate for a universal food taboo, may be allowed or even encouraged or required at certain times; among the Hua of New Guinea, funerals involve children eating the parent of the same sex to recycle the limited supply of life force, or *nu.* Before death, Hua adults transmit *nu* to children by rubbing them with spit or other bodily secretions.

FOOD IN SYMBOL, MYTH, AND RITUAL. In some religious traditions, a particular food may stand for the whole identity of the group. The Hopi of southwestern North America say that their first act upon emerging into this world was to choose the short blue corn that expresses the hard but enduring life of their people. Since the purpose of Hopi ritual is to continue a cycle in which cloudlike ancestors (called *katsinas*) come from the mountains to nourish corn, which feeds the Hopi who eventually die and return to the mountains, the Hopi have sometimes said that "We are corn." Similarly, the Lakota of the northern Plains sometimes describe themselves as the descendants of "buffalo people" who emerged from under the Black Hills and gradually became human, never losing their kinship with the primary animal they hunted. This identification of food and people is not necessarily limited to small nations. Each year in Japan, the first planting of rice by the emperor, who is the living embodiment of Ninigo-no-mikoto, the god of the mature rice plant, is photographed for newspapers. When a bad harvest and World Trade Organization pressure caused the Japanese government to lower barriers against imported rice in 1993, the action caused a reaction that went beyond economics to the spiritual, and imported rice is still considered inferior and unclean by many Japanese.

Myths often associate death with the gift of food. The inhabitants of Ceram, an island in the Indonesian archipelago, tell the story of a quasi-divine young girl whose body produced tubers after it was cut up and buried. Among the Iroquois of northern New York, one variant of the creation story describes a girl who fell from the sky, then died and produced beans from her fingers and toes, squash from her stomach, corn from her breasts, and tobacco from her forehead. In Tongan mythology, Eel was condemned to death for allegedly causing the pregnancy of a virgin who shared his Samoan bathing pool. Villagers who planted Eel's severed head, as he had requested, testified that the coconut tree first appeared on that spot. Another Polynesian myth affirms that the breadfruit tree emerged from the plot where a woman buried the head of her husband.

As religions develop more philosophical perspectives, they distance themselves from myth, but food retains symbolic meanings and important roles in ritual and in healing.

Judaism. The story of Eden implicates a fruit in the beginning of death and of agricultural work (through the curse on Adam). According to *Genesis,* people were vegetarians in Eden but became carnivorous in the aftermath of the Flood; the offering of blood to God in the Temple remained as testimony that animal life still belonged to the creator. Jewish practice included a sacrificial lamb at Passover until the Temple was destroyed by the Romans. Even now, elements of the Passover include a bone to stand for the lamb and other elements such as an egg, salt water, and green herbs that point to a festival of rebirth with foods appropriate to the spring. Foods celebrated in Jewish stories include the manna, said to resemble coriander seed, that fell from heaven each day to feed Israel during its wandering in the wilderness and the cakes brought by ravens to feed the prophet Elijah when he fled into the desert from the wrath of Jezebel. According to Orthodox Jews, the coming of the Messiah will include the return of manna from heaven and a great banquet.

Daily Jewish practice includes a ritual blessing over bread and wine performed at home. On the Sabbath, it is a *mitzvah* (religious duty or good deed) to drink wine and to eat meat. Synagogue services now also commonly include a blessing and sharing of bread and wine. Holidays involve symbolic foods such as the *matzoh* (unleavened bread) of Passover and the round loaves of bread and apples with honey that are eaten to promote continuity and good fortune at the New Year.

Hinduism and Buddhism. Temple worship among Hindus involves large quantities of food because every statue of a god must be fed three times a day and bathed, not only in water but also in substances such as milk, sesame oil, coconut water, grain, and clarified butter. The bathing of a god with milk, oil, and colorful spices can make a striking visual impression. The primary duty of most temple priests is not to instruct but to perform this washing and feeding with correct prayer; people come to observe and to offer their own prayers as these ceremonies proceed, or they visit the gods at other times and make food offerings of their own. Food offerings include rice, curds, clarified butter, oil, many kinds of vegetables and fruits, almonds and other nuts, betel leaves, and combinations of spices including turmeric, salt, and pepper. Among Vaisnavites (worshipers of Viṣṇu and his avatars, such as Kṛṣṇa and Rāma), food offered to the gods is commonly shared by all worshippers under the name of *prasāda,* which may be taken home from the temple and eaten. Śaivites (worshipers of Śiva and his wife Parvati) consume only what has washed the *linga* and *yoni* statues that are his primary symbols, leaving the food offerings to the priests. On festivals (which often entail fasting), Hindus may bring large quantities of *prasāda* home and subsist on it for some days.

At home and in other areas outside the temples, Hindus hire Brahmin priests to perform fire sacrifices that also involve food. At a wedding or at the *brahmacharya* ritual that marks a son's beginning study of the scriptures, the priest will offer clarified butter, rice, and other foods in a fire while chanting appropriate prayers. In the temple, offerings of food enable worshipers to seek protection and favor from the gods, but in fire sacrifices, the food becomes fuel in the same economy of energy that created the gods and the universe itself; this cosmic energy is released by the fire and directed by the priest to the purpose for which he performs the ritual.

Although Buddhists do not hire priests for Brahmin rituals or bathe the Buddha's statues in food, they continue to leave offerings of fruit before these images. Food offered to the Buddha is not eaten by devotees but thrown away in compassion to animals or (in some cases, if there are large amounts) given to beggars. The tradition that the Buddha himself lived and taught as a beggar remains important in the Theravādan tradition that prevails in South Asia, where Thai monks usually receive food or flowers, not money, in the begging bowls they bring to the streets each morning.

Both Hindus and Buddhists sometimes use violations of food taboos as spiritual practices. For example, the *sannyasi,* or renunciates, of India always eat leftover (or symbolically leftover) food, violating the Hindu taboo on saliva; some yogis go so far to teach and to experience the reality of reincarnation as to eat their own excrement. Hindu ritual purification may entail eating a mixture of the cow's five products, which are milk, ghee (clarified butter), curds, urine, and dung. Tibetan Buddhists may remind themselves of emptiness and insubstantiality by drinking from cups made of the skulls of monks. Among those who practice the Tantric traditions of Hinduism and Buddhism, eating meat and drinking alcohol sometimes form part of secret rituals meant to teach that all things eventually contribute to deliverance.

Christianity. Building upon the blessing of bread and wine from Jewish mealtime, Sabbath, and Passover rituals, Christians have often made the sharing of bread and wine during Communion (or Eucharist) into the center of their ritual lives. During the Middle Ages, Roman Catholic theology defined this ritual meal as the miracle of transubstantiation, during which bread and wine are miraculously transformed into the actual body and blood of Jesus of Nazareth, who is the incarnation of God; Thomas Aquinas taught that the substance of Christ's body is then concealed under the appearance of bread and wine by another miracle in order to prevent disgust among the communicants. Although Protestants later rejected this doctrine, it still prevails among Catholics. One famous convert to Catholicism, the English writer Evelyn Waugh, was said to have converted because only Catholics offered the opportunity to "eat God."

Few symbolic foods are used by Christians today, but the Easter egg and its chocolate and candy variants are widely recognized; as in the Passover meal, the egg indicates the primordial roots of Easter in spring festivals of rebirth. Ethnic groups like the Italians, many of whom seek a meal of twelve types of seafood on Christmas Eve, often associate particular foods with Christian holidays. Some Protestants in the United States have substituted grape juice, which was invented for this purpose by a Methodist named Welch, for sacramental wine in many churches. Meanwhile, Protestants have made a virtual sacrament of coffee, with after-worship coffee hours following services at most churches. The coffeepot has become the unofficial symbol of Alcoholics Anonymous, a nondenominational spiritual group that grew from the Protestant ethos.

Chinese traditions. Daoist cosmology, and the traditional Chinese wisdom that precedes formal Daoism, sees all foods (and all things in the world) as composites of yin (dark, moist, soft, bland, feminine) and yang (bright, dry, hard, spicy, masculine), which in turn express the basic force of *qi* (breath, spirit) that inheres in all things. For Chinese tradition, every meal has symbolic and medical aspects, and every food establishes a direct and definable connection between the eater and the forces that move the stars. A typical Chinese menu seeks to balance yin and yang, cooling and heating properties, and so to have many ingredients offered in small portions over many courses. Folk traditions associate many symbolic foods, such as round cakes called mooncakes at the New Year, with holidays. Daily ancestor worship, the central practice of Chinese religion, involves offering food by placing it before tablets containing the names of ancestors, sometimes accompanied by pictures. Failure to perform this duty, which can only be done by the eldest son, will result in ancestors becoming hungry ghosts who cause disharmony in the home. For about three thousand years before 1911, the emperor of China offered animal sacrifice to the imperial ancestor and to the heavenly beings at least three times a year, on the Altar of Heaven at the capital; this ritual, which was also performed at times of crisis, was held to keep both the natural world and the nation in harmony.

Islam. Islam stands out among religions by involving no food or drink in its ordinary services of worship. Eating plays an important ritual and social role in the fasting month of Ramadān, when each day ends at sunset with an *iftar* meal that breaks the fast; these meals traditionally begin with figs, following the example of the Prophet. In Muslim countries like Egypt, *iftar* meals stretch into the night and create a festive atmosphere during the month. One of the main holidays of Islam, the ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā during the month of pilgrimage to Mecca, involves the sharing of food because each Muslim household is obligated to sacrifice a goat, sheep, ram, cow, or camel and distribute one-third of the meat to the poor.

In the United States, where many Muslims and others do not enjoy eating goat, it has sometimes been difficult to arrange for this meat to be used. The Muslim vision of Paradise involves both food and drink: the Qurʾān often pictures those in Paradise enjoying "fountains" and "fruits, any that they may select," with "flesh of fowls, any that they may desire" (*Sūrah* 56:18–21).

Yoruba (Vodou, Santeria, Condomble) traditions. The West African religion of the Yoruba and Fon peoples, native to such modern nations as Nigeria, Cameroon, Benin, and Dahomey, has spread through slavery and immigration throughout the Americas, becoming known as vodou in Haiti and Louisiana, as Santería in Cuba, and as Condomble in Brazil, bringing its own symbolic and ritual uses of food while integrating Christian elements into its African heritage. Here food is offered to the gods so that they descend into the community performing the ritual, taking possession of some participants and inducing trance, while communicating with and healing others. Each deity has favored foods and drinks and animals of sacrifice. For example, Elegba, the god of the crossroads who is invoked to begin any service, favors palm oil, fruits, nuts, roasted corn, and yams; he is drawn to the sacrifice of roosters and male goats; Oya, goddess of storms and cemeteries, enjoys red wine and purple grapes, eggplant and rice and beans; hens and female goats are sacrificed to her. Shango, companion of Oya, is a former human, a deified ruler of the Yoruba who has become the god of lightning and retribution; he is called upon with plantains, green bananas, and bitter kola nuts, and enjoys rum; rams and red roosters are sacrificed to him. The list of *orishas* (or *loa,* divinities) runs to the dozens, each with a set of preferences in food, drink, and sacrificial animal.

FOOD AND SACRIFICE. There is a vast body of literature on the origins and meaning of sacrifice and the role it has played in human history. With relation to food, farmers have often sacrificed the first fruits of the harvest, while shepherds have sacrificed the firstborn of each female in their flocks. Ancient Israelite tradition continued these sacrifices and added the substitution of a sacrifice or monetary gift for a firstborn son. Animals sacrificed at the Jerusalem Temple included bullocks, rams, lambs, pigeons, and doves; other foods included cooked and uncooked dough, prepared with oil and salt, and wine poured like blood at the foot of the altar.

After the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple, Jews gave up on sacrifice, but the Jewish and Gentile followers of Jesus, faced with the need to understand the crucifixion, gradually transmuted the traditional blessings of bread and wine into a sacrificial meal. Not only were the bread and wine understood as transubstantiated into the body and blood of Jesus, and hence of God, but the act of offering the bread and wine was held to have the effects of a sacrifice, releasing power that could gain favor for the living and shorten the punishment of souls in purgatory. Although the most dramatic examples of purely sacrificial worship—for example, the priests who did nothing but offer the sacrifice of the Mass in private—have been eliminated by reformers, Roman Catholics today still buy Mass Cards and give money so that Jesus may again be offered to God the Father, under the appearances of bread and wine, for the intentions of those who make the donations.

The most prevalent form of food sacrifice is the offering of food to ancestors, which takes place daily at millions of home altars in China, Korea, and Japan, under the influence of Confucian and Shintō traditions. Practitioners of the Yoruba and other African traditions also give food and drink to ancestors, as the ancient Greeks, Romans, and Egyptians did in their time. The Shintō priests of Japan offer food sacrifices—clean, fresh whole foods, fish, and fruits and rice—to the *kami,* or divinities who are said to inhabit eight million places in the islands of Japan. Regular worship takes place at striking waterfalls, impressive rocks, and dignified trees where the *kami* are believed to dwell; along with presentations of food, petitions from local people are read to the *kami.* At the center of the Shintō system are offerings of rice planted by the emperor to Amaterasu, the goddess of the sun and ancestor of the imperial house.

FASTING AND DIETING. One of the most universal of religious practices, fasting can be done for reasons that range from repentance for sins to the cultivation of mystical experience. For Muslims, fasting during the month of Ramaḍān stands as the fourth among five pillars of Islam. Muslims may not eat, drink, smoke, or engage in sex between sunrise and sunset during the month of Ramaḍān; those who are sick or traveling are supposed to fast an equal number of days at another time. The fast commemorates the month in which the first revelations of the Qurʾān were given to Muḥammad; Muslims often teach that the hunger and thirst of this month makes them more sensitive to the needs of the poor and more aware of their dependence on God.

Jews undertake two briefer, but more intense fasts, also abstaining from drink and sex as well as from food: from sunset to the next sunset on the Day of Atonement, Yom Kippur, which completes the New Year's holiday in the fall, and during the summer on Tisha B'Av, to commemorate the destruction of the Temple. Roman Catholics and Orthodox Christians fast for forty days called Lent, between Ash Wednesday and Easter, every spring; among Catholics, the rules of this fast have been relaxed in recent years. Lent involves no periods of complete denial of food and drink, but only abstinence from meat on certain days and a commitment to eat less every day. Among the devout, there is a tradition of voluntarily giving up a favorite food or drink, both to repent for sin and to provide money for charity. A celebration called Mardi Gras (French for "fat Tuesday") or Carnival often precedes the beginning of Lent, especially in Latin countries.

In many religions, monks and nuns and ascetics use restricted diets as a means to heighten awareness in prayer or meditation and to lessen the passions of the body. Under the Christian Rule of St. Benedict, each monk was allowed one pound of bread per day and a pint of wine, but meat was not recommended except for the sick. Monks in Thailand do not eat after noon, in imitation of the Buddha.

Many holidays that involve fasting from grain and beans for periods of two or three days punctuate the Hindu calendar. On those days, Hindus may subsist on milk and fruits that have become *prasāda* by being offering at a temple. In the twentieth century, Mahatma Gandhi added a political dimension to the Hindu tradition of fasting by his hunger strikes, which Gandhi employed both in order to convince the British to set India free and to convince the people of India to stop a religious war between Hindus and Muslims. Going beyond politics to spirituality, Gandhi taught that people should always eat according to a standard of "meagerness," keeping a perpetual fast in which they took food as medicine, in the interests of promoting clear thinking. Calling a "full" meal "a crime against God and man," Gandhi urged his followers not to allow food to make them sensual.

Late in the twentieth century, the rise of industrialized food production and marketing led to an epidemic of obesity, especially in the United States, which led in turn to a proliferation of diet plans and programs. Many of these programs take on spiritual connotations. Compulsions to diet, in the forms of anorexia and bulimia, have killed many young women and attracted attention from historians of culture. A historian of Christianity, Caroline Walker Bynum, pointed out that medieval ascetics like Catherine of Siena, though she may have killed herself with fasting, did so in order to gain power and control, while modern anorexics are driven by social pressure to their unhealthy behavior.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES. In an attempt to make sense out of the array of food customs that have been documented in both ancient and modern societies at all stages of their development, scholars have traveled many different roads seeking common elements that would justify the organization of food customs into intelligible categories. For example, writers since Moses Maimonides (d. 1204) have suggested that hygiene motivated the Jewish food taboos. Maimonides said that pork contained too much moisture and so caused indigestion and denounced the filthiness of pigs; moderns have pointed to the danger of trichinosis from undercooked pork. The facts that parasitic diseases were not recognized until the nineteenth century and that permitted foods may also bear disease work against this perspective, though the experience of consequences as a factor in food taboos also forms part of an evolutionary perspective that could have some validity.

On the other hand, China developed a system of food wisdom even more elaborate than that of the Jews, and just as concerned with health and with spiritual well-being, without any taboos at all. As anthropologist Marvin Harris has said, the Jewish law could have completely eliminated trichinosis by outlawing undercooked pork. Clearly, the social structure and circumstances of each society need to be considered in understanding how the world's religions regulate food.

In *Purity and Danger* (1966), Mary Douglas focused on spiritual pollution as a common element in food taboos. Following the perspective of Émile Durkheim, Douglas argued that religions provide their adherents with a sense of identity. Identity is constructed through patterns of social behavior, such as those involved in the production, preparation, and consumption of food. Cleanliness, in this context, becomes an attribute of anything that strengthens group identity by contributing to the order of the universe. Applying this perspective to Judaism, Douglas saw the law of Moses as dividing the world into three types of creatures: those whose natural environment is either land, sea, or sky (see *Lev.* 12 and the creation story of *Genesis).* Creatures that seem "mixed," such as flightless birds or animals that live in the sea without fins (or with legs, like lobsters and crabs), are taboo.

Following this reasoning, pork becomes "unclean" because it violates another category, that dividing Israel from its neighbors. Douglas noted the command to be holy that surrounded the passages on food in the Torah, and she observed that the root meaning of the Hebrew *kadosh*, translated "holiness," is "to set apart or to cut off." According to the Torah, holiness is an attribute of God, and God wants Israel to be holy; therefore, Israelites must not eat the pork (or many other foods) that their Canaanite and Egyptian neighbors ate. The prohibition of pork would then be one of many laws, such as those prohibiting intermarriage with Canaanites or prohibiting any image of Israel's God, that were meant to keep the identity of Israel cleanly defined, or "holy." Though this argument has some force, it remains true that Israel borrowed many things, such as the architecture of the Temple and the words of many Psalms, from Canaanite models. The modern sense of ancient Israel's uniqueness may reveal as much about the work of later rabbis and the need of Christians to find heroic origins for their own religion as it does about the reasons for ancient Israelite law.

Observing that Muslims also do not eat pork, though they do eat camels and other animals prohibited by the Torah, Marvin Harris offered an evolutionary perspective on this law, contending that religions tend to promote behaviors that help their followers to survive. At first this would seem paradoxical with regard to a pork taboo, because the pig is a very efficient source of protein, converting food to meat much more quickly than other animals. However, Harris noted, in arid climates the pig becomes very expensive with regard to water; he finds that the Christian-Muslim divide in the Balkans corresponds to a divide between heavily forested land, friendly to pigs, and dry regions. Harris used the same reasoning to explain why the Aryans, who ate cattle before entering the dry Indian subcontinent, came to revere "mother cow" and to use her only for plowing and hauling and for milk as Hinduism developed.

Psychoanalytic explanations for food customs have begun from the infant–mother bond in nursing and the instinctual relations that this may establish between eating and sex. Many cultures, from the Lele of West Africa to modern

Orthodox Jews, have forbidden women from cooking during menstruation; the Bemba of central Africa keep children from eating food prepared by those who have not purified themselves by a ritual after sex. Perhaps the command of the Torah not to boil a kid in its mother's milk arose in order to forbid a kind of culinary incest that Canaanites practiced to promote fertility. Japanese menus still offer a "mother-child udon," or bowl of noodles that contains both chicken and egg, and the title still makes some diners cringe.

Seeking a psychological root for food rules in the realms of cognition and linguistics, Claude Lévi-Strauss proposed that all thought and language begins with binary oppositions such as self/other, human/animal, and nature/culture. In the domain of food, objects are classified according to the binary of cooked/rotten, between which the midpoint is raw. Lévi-Strauss classified the processes of food preparation, beginning with roasting, boiling, and smoking, along the continuum between cooked and rotten. He concluded that roasted food remained most similar to the raw and therefore was understood as possessing the most natural strength and prestige, while boiled food stood closer to rotten, weaker but more civilized, because boiling required a pot rather than a spit, and also more closely associated with rebirth (as in the cauldron of immortality that appears in many cultures). Lévi-Strauss thought that processes like frying, baking, and smoking, with variation depending on oils and spices, could be located along the same continuum between cooked and rotten in every civilization.

Abandoning the quest for universal systems, such functional anthropologists as A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, Bronislaw Malinowski, and Franz Boas have emphasized that every social group must be understood on its own terms, and that food forms part of a system that both expresses and reinforces the roles people play in helping the group to function. For example, they would say, women who contribute large dowries and exercise authority tend to eat with men of the same social status and to eat the same foods, while women in polygamous families who exercise no authority eat with the children and eat different foods. From this perspective, taboos on menstruating women preparing food arise from the definition of women by their availability for sex and for childbirth. Taboos on specific foods may reflect the low status (or the status as enemies) of people who possess that food.

Anthropologists have also observed symbolic uses of food that seem suitable to societies at various levels of social and technological development. Research has revealed, for example, that hunter-gatherer societies have much in common, whether they live in desert regions, the Arctic, India, or Africa. According to Joseph Campbell, one of the earliest analysts of world mythologies, hunter-gatherers tend to address prayer and sacrifice to a cosmic force (or a god) that stands apart, acting as master of the game animals. Campbell went on to say that when a group takes up agriculture, rituals and myths appear in which the cosmic force or god dwells within the object sacrificed, so that the sacrifice brings forth its own effects. The development of large communities with formal political authority brings another stage, at which large festivals and more serious sacrifice (often demanding human victims) begins to be seen as necessary to renew the supply of food each year. The human sacrifices of ancient China before the Shang dynasty, of ancient Rome in the arenas, and of the Incas and Aztecs in America lend some plausibility to this view.

FOOD IN THE RECENT HISTORY OF RELIGIONS. Since the worldwide distribution of foods that began with Columbus after 1492, and especially since the emergence of the empirical science of chemistry around 1650, a revolution has taken place with regard to the values placed upon food, at least in the Western world. Before then, both life and digestion were thought of as processes that resembled cooking, and the foods considered best were those that had cooked longest, with the most complex sets of ingredients, so that they could balance the humors of the body. The blancmange and the puddings of England and France, served with cooked drinks and spiced wines, the moles and sauces of Latin America, and the samosas and curries of India survive from those days. But after the seventeenth century, fermentation became the model of life, and high value was placed on fresh and roasted foods that could spoil quickly. Roasted meats, salads, fruits, and clear or sparkling wines came to dominate the tables of the West.

The goal of diet wisdom shifted from maintaining balance to returning to nature. Sometimes food became the means to a spiritual goal, expressed in terms of returning to nature or even regaining the innocence of Eden. Especially in the United States and in England, partisans of "diet reform," a program that advocated whole-grain flour, a minimum of cooking, and often vegetarianism, attempted to engage the conscience of the Christian world. Religious leaders like Sylvester Graham, a former minister and inventor of Graham flour, and John Harvey Kellogg, physician and inventor of the corn flake, profoundly influenced eating habits. Whole denominations, such as Kellogg's Seventh-day Adventists, emerged to embrace vegetarianism. Pledges against all use of alcohol prevailed among the Methodists, Baptists, Mormons, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and even some Roman Catholics of the United States, until the nation passed a constitutional amendment prohibiting alcohol in 1919. The failure of Prohibition did not end the connection between diet and righteousness for American Christians. As Daniel Sack has documented, the menus of church suppers shifted from steak, brandy, and cigars in the 1890s to a mixture of ethnic foods in the 1950s to tofu and sprouts in the 1970s and then to starvation dinners, dramatizing the problem of world hunger, in the 1990s.

FOOD AND SOCIAL JUSTICE. In the twentieth century, many Christians, especially in the United States and England, began to see food as a primary field of social action and ethical responsibility. The Salvation Army, the Catholic Worker movement, the Universal House of Prayer, and many individual churches made soup kitchens and pantries for the poor into the center of their mission. Such organizations as CARE, Oxfam, and Bread for the World—a specifically Christian lobbying group, incorporated in Washington to influence U.S. policy—tried to ameliorate the unequal distribution of food in the world. Theorists including Arthur Simon of Bread for the World and Francis Moore Lappe, author of *Diet for a Small Planet,* argued that meat consumption stole grain from the starving and pointed out the inequities of a world market in which such food-exporting countries as the Philippines sent fruit to the United States while their own people starved. Several boycotts of food engaged religious groups and had clear effects: a boycott of California grapes in the 1960s helped to organize farmworkers; a boycott of Nestlé products in the 1980s modified the company's policy of promoting infant formula to women who could not get clean water; a boycott of Campbell's soup led to the company negotiating with its workers. Concern for animal rights led to a new kind of vegetarianism, in which people abstained from meat not because they were fasting or avoiding bad *karma,* but because industrial farm conditions seemed inhumane or because animals were seen as sentient beings whose right to live equaled that of a human.

GLOBALIZATION. The profusion of meat, potatoes, tomatoes, and corn from the Americas added new whole foods to the world's diet. Industrialization and modern transportation, refrigeration and freezing, petrochemical fertilizers, and hydrogenated fats and genetically modified crops have made vast resources available to the rich and the middle classes of all nations, while the world market in food has sometimes exacerbated inequities and hunger. Millions who once lived in stable, subsistence economies now work in industry for more money but run the risk of famine.

Resistance against and adaptation to globalization have sometimes taken religious forms. In 2003, U.S. military actions in the Muslim world sparked both a boycott of American products and the development of substitutes, such as Qibla Cola and Mecca Cola. Globalizing corporations have also shown a willingness to adapt to religious preferences: in India, McDonald's offered an extensive vegetarian menu, including the Maharaja Mac and eggless mayonnaise, prepared in separate kitchen areas by staff wearing green aprons. Even the nonvegetarian section served no beef but only chicken burgers and curry. Meanwhile in Israel, at the start of the twenty-first century, all 110 McDonald's guaranteed kosher beef, while seven were actually kosher restaurants, serving no dairy and closing on the Sabbath. Seventy-one McDonald's were operating in Saudi Arabia in the early twenty-first century, including two in Mecca, observing Muslim food laws. Both Detroit, Michigan, and Sydney, Australia, had *ḥalāl* McDonald's, where potatoes are fried without animal fat and all meat is slaughtered by Muslim butchers. Increasing numbers of immigrants and people exploring their heritage in every part of the world have given evidence that food customs often provide the most enduring forms of religious practice.

SEE ALSO Agriculture; Beverages; Bread; Cannibalism; Fasting; Kashrut; Leaven; Sacrifice; Salt; Taboo.

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FOOLS, HOLY See CLOWNS; DRAMA; HUMOR AND RELIGION

FORTUNA was the Latin (and perhaps also the Sabine) goddess of the incalculable element in life. Her name is derived from the Latin word *fors* ("luck"). Cults dedicated to various manifestations of Fortuna existed throughout Latium—attes ted atTusculum, Signia, Cora, Ostia, and especially at Praeneste—as well as in Rome and Antium. Etruscan civilization also included worshipers of Fortuna; the Etruscans placed a great deal of importance on the idea of fate.

In Rome, Fortuna did not belong to the oldest stratum of cults traditionally connected with King Numa Pompilius. She is one of the Sabine divinities listed by Varro in his *De lingua Latina.* King Servius Tullius considered Fortuna to be his special patron and friend; consequently, he built two of the oldest temples dedicated to her in Rome. One of these temples, in the Forum Boarium, was associated with the temple of Mater Matuta; the other, on the right side of the Tiber River, was specifically known as Fanum Fortis Fortunae.

Scholars believe the sanctuary of Fortuna in the Forum Boarium dates back to the very beginning of urban life in Rome. Recent excavations have shown that sacred life in the Forum Boarium began around 575 BCE, when the first floor of the forum was laid. The ancient house of worship consisted solely of an open area with an altar in the center; the first actual temples identified with the temples of Mater Matuta and Fortuna were not built until the end of the sixth century BCE and later reconstructed by Camillus in 395 BCE.

Fortuna was also related to the goddesses of childbirth and fecundity, the Matralia, whose feast day was celebrated on June 11. Two other temples were dedicated to her in 293 BCE and 17 CE. In general, Fortuna appealed to the lower classes of Roman society, particularly to slaves; they considered her a benefactor, rather than a menace. The cult often prayed for fertility or for success in certain endeavors.

Married women worshiped Fortuna Muliebris, whose sanctuary was located at the fourth milestone on the Via Latina. She also played a part in the legend of Coriolanus, which attributed the founding of the temple to Coriolanus's mother and wife. On April 1, all women worshiped Fortuna Virilis, associated with Venus, by praying and taking ritual baths in men's bathhouses. This goddess is known only from the *fasti* and literature, especially from accounts of the aforementioned particular rite; this custom must have occurred relatively recently, however, because public baths were built in Rome during the second century BCE. Originally, Fortuna Virilis probably was the guardian spirit of men, *viri.* In addition to protecting the sexuality of men, she was supposed to help women to obtain the men's love.

Most scholars doubt the existence of a special cult of Fortuna Virgo. According to Wissowa, the Fortuna of the Forum Boarium was indeed a women's deity, but Fortuna Virgo may be a later name. This goddess eventually came to be called *Virgo* or *Virginalis,* but only three ancient writers recorded the epithet.

Fortuna Equestris received a temple of her own in 173 BCE, after a victory of the Roman cavalry; similarly, a temple to "Fortune of this day" (Fortuna Huiusce Diei) celebrated the victory by Q. Lutatius Catulus at Vercellae in 101 BCE. Chapels and altars to Fortuna Bona, Fortuna Mala, Fortuna Dubia, Fortuna Publica, and others multiplied, along with dedications to the Fortuna of certain localities. These minor monuments took more notice of the negative aspects of Fortuna. Later imperial temples, constructed in Rome and elsewhere, connect Fortuna, always positively, with the emperors (Fortuna Augusta, Fortuna Redux).

The sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste (modern-day Palestrina) presented Fortuna as *filia primigenia,* or "first daughter" (of Jupiter?), a most unusual notion in a Latin context. Scholars have speculated about a possible Indo-European, Etruscan, or Greek influence. In his *De divinatione,* Cicero adds to the confusion by describing the Fortuna of Praeneste as Jupiter's nurse. The building, excavated by Italian archaeologists, dates to approximately the second century BCE, but the cult itself, famous for its oracle, is certainly much older. After a period of friction with Roman authorities, the cult of Fortuna Primigenia was introduced from Praeneste to Rome toward the end of the Second Punic War, where it became very popular. The first temple to Fortuna Primigenia erected on the Quirinal was soon followed by two other temples built on the same hill. Another famous center of the cult of Fortuna with an oracle was located in Antium. Here, for unexplained reasons, people worshiped two Fortunas.

The diffusion of the cult of Fortuna throughout Italy and the Latin West was influenced by the corresponding Greek cult of Tyche. This connection is evident in the iconography of Fortuna, who is often represented, as was Tyche, as a standing woman with a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopia in her left hand. Furthermore, both Tyche and Fortuna were sometimes depicted as possessing several attributes of Isis. The influence of Tyche is also clear in literary texts (for instance, in works by Horace and Seneca) that try to clarify the nature of Fortuna. Whereas in cult, her most typical attributes—the cornucopia, the rudder, and the globe—symbolized Fortuna as the giver of material blessing and as the arbiter of human destiny, in literature, her symbols accentuated fickleness and unreliability. Thus, the wheel was a common literary attribute of Fortuna, a symbol of her ever-changing nature. Other ways authors alluded to Fortuna's fickleness in literature included: portraying her as standing upon a stone or upon a sphere; as possessing wings, with which she could easily fly away; as roaming in the world without settling anywhere; and as expressing her ever-shifting favor or disfavor by her countenance, her smile, and her thundering voice. Goddess Fortuna was occasionally identified with Nemesis and associated with Felicitas and Bonus Eventus.

Two varieties of Fortuna came to have a great importance during the Roman Empire: Fortuna Augusta or Augusti, the guardian spirit of the Emperor, an equivalent of his Genius; and Fortuna Redux, the power that guarded the return of the Emperor from dangerous foreign journeys. Both deities were recorded on numerous votive inscriptions and coins; the honor paid to Fortuna Augusta and Fortuna Redux expressed loyalty to the state and to the reigning emperor. Though Christianity as a doctrine was incompatible with the pagan idea of Fortuna, the entity did not quite disappear; rather, she evolved into both an inherited literary figure and a pagan deity.

See Also Chance; Fate; Roman Religion, article on the Early Period.

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FORTUNE See CHANCE; FATE

FOUCHER, ALFRED (1865–1952), was a French Indologist and specialist in Buddhist archaeology. Alfred C. A. Foucher studied in Paris, under the guidance of Sylvain Lévi, and in India (1895–1897), where he combined philosophical training at the Sanskrit College of Banaras with "militant" archaeology through extensive pilgrimages to several places of historical interest.

Foucher was a pioneer in the area of religious archaeology with his study of the relation between artistic representations and their doctrinal and literary background. His field of predilection was the area known as Gandhara (roughly, those portions of Afghanistan and Pakistan between the Hindu Kush mountains and the Indus River), where the Indian and Greek worlds had been in contact at around the beginning of the common era. The publication of Foucher's *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra: Étude sur les origines de l'influence classique dans l'art bouddhique de l'Inde et de l'Extrême-Orient* extended over half a century and comprised three volumes: volume 1, *Introduction; Les édifices; Les bas-reliefs* (1905); volume 2, *Images* (1922); and volume 3, *Additions et corrections; index* (1951). Though criticized for some of its conclusions regarding chronology and style, this work remains the most accurate sourcebook on early Buddhist iconography.

Foucher's interest in Gandhara received a new impulse when Afghanistan opened its frontiers to archaeological investigation. Foucher, who was then working at the Archaeological Survey of India (1919–1921), was immediately *à pied d'œuvre* as the first director of the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan (1921–1925). In Afghanistan, as previously in Northwest India, his habit of methodically following the itinerary of Xuanzang, his natural gift for observation, and his archaeological insight led Foucher to remarkable discoveries in Haḍḍa, Kāpiśī-Bēgrām, Bāmiyān, Balkh, and the Lampaka-Laghmān region. The gist of these discoveries is expressed in a work accomplished with the collaboration of his wife, Eugénie Bazin-Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila* (2 vols., 1942–1947). Foucher also collaborated with John Marshall in editing the three huge volumes of *The Monuments of Sanchi* (1939), a work focused on the main Buddhist site of central India.

The clear-sightedness of Foucher as an archaeologist was no doubt the result of his deep penetration of the Indian tradition. Foucher, who used old texts as guides in his archaeological researches, in turn used monuments for a better understanding of Buddhism and especially of its founder, Śākyamuni Buddha. Foucher's best-known book, *La vie du Bouddha* (1949; English trans., 1963) is, significantly, subtitled *D'après les textes et les monuments de l'Inde.* Foucher was aware of all the difficulties of such a biography. In 1894 he had translated from German into French Hermann Oldenberg's study of the Buddha's life (*Le Bouddha, sa vie, sa doctrine, sa communauté,* 2d ed., 1903), which remains the best "positive" history of the Buddha following the Pali sources. At the same time, Foucher was much in contact with Émile Senart, who had proposed a mythical interpretation of the life of the Buddha. In the 1930s, Foucher had also witnessed the brilliant attempt at a new interpretation of Buddhism through archaeology and sociology made by his young contemporary Paul Mus. It was only at the end of his life that Foucher's own biography of the Buddha came to maturation. This book shows the geographical (centers of pilgrimages) and historical (superposition of hagiographical patterns) influences on the tales surrounding Śākyamuni. It remains the most satisfactory approach toward the personality of the historical Buddha as he has been seen through the Asian tradition.

Though deeply original in his method and his achievements, Foucher cannot be isolated from a golden age of French philological studies of which he is a typical representative. Even if different in spirit, his *La vie du Bouddha* recalls the much earlier *Vie de Jésus* (1863) by Foucher's fellow Breton, Ernest Renan. Foucher's systematic inventory of architectural remains and iconographical documents as an approach to an understanding of Buddhism has a parallel in the encyclopedic research on Christian symbolism done by his contemporary Émile Mâle.

Besides his already mentioned sojourns in India and Afghanistan, Foucher lived for a time in French Indochina (1901 and 1905–1907), where he succeeded his friend Louis Finot as the director of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient, and in Japan (1925–1926), where he established with Sylvain Lévi the Maison Franco-Japonaise.

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HUBERT DURT (1987)

FOUNTAIN.

The word *fountain* derives from the Latin *fons,* meaning "source." As physical phenomena serving as the material basis of hierophanies (appearances of the divine), fountains may be described as the flowing of pressurized water up and out through an aperture from some hidden depth below the earth's surface. As hierophanies, they manifest locally the flowing of diverse creative, recreative, or transformative potentialities from depths beyond the ordinary or profane plane of existence. There is no single sort of potentiality attributed in common to all sacred fountains in the world's religions, but a number of potentialities are severally attributed to them, for example, healing powers, oracular powers, rejuvenating powers, and so forth. Likewise, no single divinity is regarded as a manifestation common to all fountains; the various named and nameless gods, spirits, and nymphs of fountains are particular to individual instances. Furthermore, sacred significance is attributed seemingly no less to artificial than to naturally occurring fountains.

The typical attributes of fountains reflect diverse metaphoric images expressive of the principal water potentiality, the cosmogonic; cosmogonic water is viewed as pristine, as formless, as eternal, as receptive, as living, as chaotic. For example, the creative power of fountains can be understood as one manifestation of the world-creating power itself, and the water of fountains as homologous to the cosmogonic water from which creation arises and into which it dissolves, like the Babylonian waters of Apsu or the Vedic watery source of all things and all existence.

Some fountains are sacred as sources of divine power. In times of drought, for example, the priest of the god Zeus Lykaios in Arcadia cast an oak branch into the mountainside spring, activating the spring's power to make rain.

Again, some fountains restore to an original or pristine condition those who bathe in them or drink from their waters. It was thought, for instance, that when the goddess Hera or the members of her cult bathed in the Nauplian spring, they became virginal again. The pristine state is homologous to the virginal aspect of the cosmogonic waters before the creative act. Thus, fountains of youth manifest a forever self-renewing potentiality for creation. In Brahmanic legend the fountain of youth typically renews power or vigor, but it does not bestow immortality. However, in other legends immortality is granted. In the Greek romance of Alexander by Pseudo-Callisthenes, Alexander's cook accidentally discovers a fountain that bestows immortal life. In Islamic folklore, the figure Khidr is mentioned as the only being who gained immortality by drinking from the fountain of life, which represents the principle of eternal existence.

Some fountains function as principles or causes of life itself. For example, in the prophet Ezekiel's vision of Yahveh's regenerated Temple, a spring flows out from under the Temple. Its waters cause perpetually bearing fruit trees to spring up at once along its banks. This water demonstrates two additional potentialities attributed to certain sacred fountains, namely, healing and fructifying powers. "Fish will be very plentiful, for wherever the water goes it brings health, and life teems wherever the river flows" (*Ez.* 47:1–12).

In Babylonian religious thought, Apsu, the water of creation, is called "house of wisdom," or the house of Ea, god of wisdom. Wisdom, supernatural insight, oracular vision, and poetic inspiration are other typical attributes of various sacred fountains. For example, the gods in Germanic mythology determine the world's fate beside the Spring of Mímir, and the Germanic tribes had "springs of justice" where justice was meted out. Among the Romans, the priestess of Carmentis sang of the newborn child's destiny after drinking from a spring, and likewise the Greek priestess of Apollo at Delphi delivered oracles after drinking from the Castalian Spring. The Greek muses, goddesses of inspiration, were originally nymphs connected with springs.

Finally, the dissolving power of a fountain's water, its chaotic quality, is the typical attribute manifested by both those fountains having the positive potential for sacred cleansing and also those bringing insanity or terrible loss. The Greek term *numpholēptos,* meaning "insane, senseless, beside oneself with fright," is related to the poetic word for water, *numphē.* Similarly, in Germanic folklore the female spirits of certain springs stole children or seduced their human lovers to destruction.

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FOUR NOBLE TRUTHS.

All strands of the Buddhist tradition recognize in the four noble truths (Skt., *catvāry āryasatyānī;* Pali, *cattāri ariyasaccāni*) one of the earliest formulations of the salvific insight gained by the Buddha on the occasion of his enlightenment. For the Theravāda tradition, the discourse on the four truths constitutes part of the first sermon of the Buddha, the *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta,* delivered in the Deer Park near Banaras to his five original disciples. The standard formulaic enumeration of the four truths as found in this discourse is as follows:

> This, monks, is the noble truth of *dukkha* ["suffering"]: birth is *dukkha,* old age is *dukkha,* disease is *dukkha,* dying is *dukkha,* association with what is not dear is *dukkha,* separation from what is dear is *dukkha,* not getting that which is wished for is *dukkha;* in brief, the five groups of grasping [i. e., the five *khandha*s; Skt., *skandha*s] are *dukkha.* And this, monks, is the noble truth of the uprising [*samudaya*] of *dukkha:* this craving, which is characterized by repeated existence, accompanied by passion for joys, delighting in this and that; that is to say, craving for sensual desires, craving for existence, craving for cessation of existence. And this, monks, is the noble truth of the cessation [*nirodha*] of *dukkha:* complete dispassion and cessation of craving, abandonment, rejection, release of it, without attachment to it. And this, monks, is the noble truth of the path [*magga*] leading to the cessation of *dukkha;* just this Noble Eightfold Way; that is to say, proper view, proper intention, proper speech, proper action, proper livelihood, proper effort, proper mindfulness, proper concentration. (*Saṃyutta Nikāya* 5.420ff.)

These four noble truths (formulaically, *dukkha, samudaya, nirodha, magga*) constitute a "middle way" between rigorous asceticism and sensual indulgence. The twin foci of truths are craving (Skt., *tṛṣṇā;* Pali, *taṇhā*) and ignorance (*avidyā*), craving to hold that which is impermanent, grasping for substantiality where there is no abiding substance, and not knowing that this orientation inevitably yields unsatisfactoriness (Pali, *dukkha;* Skt., *duḥkha*). Hence the twin foci draw attention to the fundamental cause (*samudaya*) of *dukkha,* and meditation on *dukkha* leads to a discernment that craving and ignorance are its matrix.

The eightfold path, the fourth of the four noble truths, provides a means especially adapted to lead one into salvific insight, a way conforming completely to the Buddha's own salvific realization. In this sense, the eightfold path is the proper mode of religious living, one that subsumes ethics into soteriology.

Although some uncertainty remains among scholars as to whether the passage quoted above indeed represents the earliest formulation of the Buddha's teaching, in the early phase of the Buddhist tradition in India (the so-called Hīnayāna phase) the four noble truths played a major role in shaping the fundamental orientation to religious living on the part of Buddhists. Early Buddhist schools in India differed in their interpretations of the four noble truths, but uniformly regarded its underlying thematic structure as one informed by metaphors of healing: symptom-disease, diagnosis-cause, elimination of cause, treatment or remedy. With the rise of the Mahāyāna tradition the four noble truths became less central as a fundamental statement of the life situation and one's mode of engagement in a soteriological process, but continued to be revered as a fundamental part of the Buddha's early teachings.

THERAVĀDA INTERPRETATIONS. The Theravāda Buddhist tradition is prevalent in contemporary Sri Lanka, Myanmar, and Thailand. For at least two millennia it has regarded the four truths as constitutive of its central soteriological doctrine. As a result, considerable effort has been expended in the tradition on its exegesis. In an extended discussion on the four noble truths, Buddhaghosa, in his fifth century CE classic, *Visuddhimagga* (The path of purity), comments at one point on the meaning of the term *sacca* ("truth"):

> For those who examine [truth] closely with the eye of salvific wisdom [*paññā*], it is not distorted, like an illusion, equivocated, like a mirage, and of an undiscoverable inherent nature, like the self among sectarians, but, rather, it is the pasture of noble gnosis [*ñāṇa*] by means of its actual, undistorted, authentic condition. Just like [the characteristics of] fire, like the nature of the world, the actual undistorted, authentic condition is to be understood as the meaning of truth. (*Visuddhimagga* 16.24)

Among the many interpretations offered by Buddhaghosa for the existence of four, and only four, truths is the Buddha's realization that the evolution of suffering, its cause, the devolution of suffering, and *its* cause are fully comprehensive of an analysis of the human condition and the way to liberation through it. (See *Visuddhimagga* 16.27.) Other analyses of the four truths suggest that the first Truth relates to the basis of craving; the second, to craving itself; the third, to the cessation of craving; and the fourth, to the means to the cessation of craving. Similarly, the truths may be viewed as pertaining, respectively, to the sense of attachment, delight in attachment, removal of attachment, and the means to the removal of attachment. (See *Visuddhimagga* 16.27–28.) According to the *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta,* the practitioner is to cultivate a fourfold awareness of the four truths in which *dukkha* is to be fully understood; the origin of *dukkha,* abandoned; *nirodha,* realized; and *magga,* cultivated. The Theravāda commentarial tradition has maintained that the soteriological moment arises in the simultaneity of this fourfold awareness. (See *Visuddhimagga* 22.92.)

Although the tradition continued to elaborate analyses of the four truths arranged according to various numerical configurations (most frequently with the number sixteen), it has held to the conviction that when the truths are fully penetrated and soteriologically known it is by one knowledge, through a single penetration, and at one instant. This knowledge of the four truths, they aver, is in and of itself salvific.

The Theravāda has continued to interpret the Eightfold Path as comprising three basic elements deemed integral to religious living at its fullest: *sīla* (Skt., *śīla*), or moral virtue; *samādhi,* or meditative concentration; and *paññā* (Skt., *prajṇā*), or salvific wisdom. Proper view and intention are classed as salvific wisdom; proper speech, action, and livelihood are classed as expressions of moral virtue; and proper effort, mindfulness, and concentration are classed as forms of meditative concentration.

Finally, the tradition has utilized the notion of "emptiness" (Pali, *suññatā;* Skt., *śūnyatā*) in the analysis of the four noble truths. Buddhaghosa wrote:

> In the highest sense, all the truths are to be understood as empty because of the absence of an experiencer, a doer, someone extinguished, and a goer. Hence this is said:
>
> For there is only suffering, no one who suffers,
> No doer, only the doing is found,
> Extinction there is, no extinguished man,
> There is the path, no goer is found.

Or alternatively,

> The first pair are empty
> Of stableness, beauty, pleasure, self;
> Empty of self is the deathless state.
> Without stableness, pleasure, self is the path.
> Such, regarding them, is emptiness. (*Visuddhimagga* 16.90)

MAHĀYĀNA INTERPRETATIONS. Although the Theravāda tradition applied the notion of "emptiness" in negating permanence, abiding happiness, and substantiality as legitimate descriptions of sentient life, it is within the Mahāyāna that one finds emptiness as a designation of reality in the highest sense. As part of the general critique of "substantiality" carried out by the Prajṇāpāramitā literature, even the four truths are declared void of real existence. In this analysis, suffering, the origin of suffering, the cessation of suffering, and the path to the cessation of suffering are themselves "empty."

In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika Sūtra (Lotus Sūtra),* the old standard formulas of the epithets of the Buddha and characteristics of *dharma* are repeated for the Tathāgata Candrasūryapradīpa and his preaching, but the four noble truths are only mentioned by title—there is no elaboration. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarika* proclaims that such teaching is taken up and absorbed into the one comprehensive and central soteriological message (i.e., the "single vehicle"; *ekayāna*) of the sūtra.

Although the four noble truths are not featured in their earlier formulation in many Mahāyāna texts, the basic theme nonetheless persists: Life is awry, craving and ignorance are the cause, one's life can be changed, and a way or means that brings this about is available. For example, the verse text of Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* does not contain the complete formula of the four noble truths. Prajṇākaramati, a commentator on this great text, even points to the one verse (chap. 9, verse 41) where he finds a contrast clearly presented between the four noble truths and the "teaching of emptiness." Yet even though a fundamental shift in the understanding of the path to liberation has taken place in this and other Mahāyāna texts, the underlying assessment as to the cause of suffering, that is, the basic thematic structure of the four truths, remains unchanged.

In the *Madhyamakakārikā,* Nāgārjuna provides an incisive, penetrating analysis of the four noble truths. He maintains that *duḥkha,* which evolves from the interplay of the constituents of individuality and the objects of perception, can no longer be seen as having any fundamental ontological status, even in *saṃsāra,* the fleeting "whirl" of repeated existence. The same is true, for that matter, of *saṃsāra* itself, or even of *nirvāṇa:* All is emptiness (*śūnyatā*).

Thus, the older-formulated Eightfold Path, which provided the remedy for the disease (*duḥkha*) of undisciplined and uninformed human existence, yielded with this shift in worldview to another formulation of the soteriological process, to another religious orientation that is also to be cultivated—the *bodhisattva* path. Although the ontological interpretation of the four noble truths underwent change in the cumulative development of the Buddhist tradition, as in the case of the great Chinese Buddhist thinker Zhiyi (538–597), the fundamental theme that the inadequacy of human life results from craving and ignorance, which can be eradicated by following the path to enlightenment taught by the Buddha, has continued.

SEE ALSO Eightfold Path; Soteriology.

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FOX, GEORGE (1624–1691), was the chief founder and early leader of the Quakers, a popular movement without clergy, ritual, or sacraments, gathered from among English Puritan Separatists. Despite frequent imprisonments, he traveled throughout Britain, North America, and northern Europe, calling hearers to experience directly the Spirit of God, met as "the Light of Christ" or "Truth" within each person. Those who were open and obedient to the Light he called upon to gather as "Children of Light" and to bear witness to God's power, which was to conquer the world without outward violence in "the Lamb's War." Fox also gave structure to gatherings, or Meetings of Friends, and wrote 270 tracts and 400 "epistles."

Fox was the son of a Puritan weaver of Fenny Drayton in Leicestershire. As a young man he was apprenticed as a cobbler and shepherd; his sensitivity to temptations caused him intense strain, which in 1643 drove him away from his family and then from a series of prominent Puritan clergy and congregations whom he had sought out in the Midlands and in London. By contacts with Separatist and Baptist groups, and perhaps also among Ranters and Familists, he acquired beliefs about the inward nature of heaven, the Last Judgment, the sacraments, and Christ's "heavenly body." He experienced in 1646 and 1647 a series of "openings," or insights, into the Bible, much of which he knew by heart: namely, that true ministers are not made at universities; that Christ within "can speak to thy condition"; that Christ too experienced and conquered temptation; that the source of temptation is the evil within human hearts. Notably, Fox saw evil in his own heart, where "there was an ocean of darkness and death, but an infinite ocean of light and love, which flowed over the ocean of darkness."

Having faced his dark impulses, he called others to "the witness of God within them," which would "judge and guide them"—not into a vicarious righteousness but into a total purging and obedience. When he began preaching in the Midlands he was jailed at Derby in 1650–1651 for blasphemy, having glimpsed perfect holiness as he "was come up in spirit through the flaming sword into the paradise of God." He refused a captaincy in Oliver Cromwell's army, because he "lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars." In 1651 he preached through northern Yorkshire, winning his chief colleagues, Nayler, Dewsbury, Farnworth, and Aldam. In 1652 he went northwest by way of Pendle Hill, where he had a vision of "a great people to be gathered," and he went on to win to his cause several groups of Separatists who met on Firbank Fell and in villages around the English Lake District. Swarthmoor Hall, home of Margaret Fell and her family, became the center for a mass movement throughout the poorly served moorland parishes of Westmorland and Cumberland, despite jailings and mob violence in several towns. In 1654, a "valiant sixty" of the newly won Quaker men and women, mainly yeomen farmers, spread out on foot throughout Britain as "publishers of Truth," announcing "the Day of the Lord."

Fox recalled them that winter to plan their further work and to have them agree to report their travels to Swarthmoor. In 1655 Fox was sent as a prisoner to London, which had already become a Quaker center through casual contacts and earlier missions. Freed by Oliver Cromwell, Fox talked sympathetically with him, attempting without success to persuade him to end the parish system.

While traveling through southern England to Lands End, Fox was jailed in Launceston's "Doomsdale" dungeon for a harsh winter, during which his colleague James Nayler let some women disciples stir up a breach between the two leaders and stage in Nayler's honor a reenactment of Palm Sunday at Bristol. Nayler was tried for blasphemy before Parliament and savagely punished, but this episode, offending England's growing conservatism from 1656 through 1658, cast a shadow over the Quakers. To rally them, Fox encouraged older Quakers to visit the struggling meetings already gathered for weekly worship in silence, while younger Friends carried the Quaker message overseas to Ireland, continental Europe, and the American colonies. Fox was mainly near London as the Puritan Commonwealth fell apart, and he went through weeks of doubt and exhaustion when the Quakers were asked by a radical Puritan government to provide Commissioners of Militia to protect twenty years' gains in justice and freedom. Fox's warning against reliance on arms became a standard to which Quakers could point after the returning Royalists in 1660 accused Friends of plotting rebellion against Charles II. Fox also organized weekly meetings of Quaker men and women leaders in London and wrote piecemeal his only long theological book, *The Great Mistery* (1659). Between and after two more long imprisonments for refusing the Oath of Allegiance (and all oaths) and defying the 1664 Conventicle Act, Fox again visited Quaker meetings throughout England and Ireland to set up a network of men's and women's monthly and quarterly meetings for local groups and for counties. At Bristol on October 17, 1669, he married Margaret Fell, eleven years a widow; though his letters to her were curiously formal, he began to express to her the affection and humor others had loved in him.

After the 1670 Second Conventicle Act, when Fox and thousands of "Nonconformists" to the Anglican church were again arrested, the Indulgence of 1672 freed him to sail with twelve other Quakers to visit Quaker groups in the American colonies. They proclaimed their Christian orthodoxy to the governor of Barbados and gathered into regular meetings the Friends of Jamaica and Chesapeake Bay and later those in New England and Virginia. Guided by Indians through the forests of New Jersey, Fox would urge Quakers to colonize there in 1675. Returning to England in June 1673, Fox was again imprisoned and seriously ill at Worcester in December. Later, recovering his health slowly at Swarthmoor Hall, Fox dictated to Margaret's son-in-law Thomas Lower the text of his *Journal.* In 1677 Fox traveled with William Penn and Robert Barclay to visit small Quaker groups in Holland and northwestern Germany. Fox revisited Holland in 1684 but spent most of his last years in or near London, where he died on January 13, 1691. Penn witnessed that "abruptly and brokenly as sometimes his sentences would fall from him . . . it showed that God had sent him, that he had nothing of man's wit or wisdom, so that he was an original, being no man's copy. He had an extraordinary gift in opening the Scriptures. But above all the most awful, living, reverent frame was his in prayer."

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HUGH BARBOUR (1987)

FOXES. The fox has enjoyed immense popularity as a character in the fables of many cultures, from those of Aesop to those of "Uncle Remus" to Leoš Janáček's opera *The Cunning Little Vixen.* It was once believed in Wales and Germany that witches assume the form of foxes. In fact, foxes were sometimes burned in the midsummer fires.

In the mythology of the North American Indians the fox as a male animal character is well known for its craftiness and slyness. Especially among the California Indians the fox plays a prominent role in trickster and other tales. In many instances Fox is a trickster's companion, and at times he deceives Coyote and eats the food that Coyote has procured for himself. The fox also appears as a female animal in a cycle of fox tales widespread among the North American Indians. A poor man, living alone, comes home at night to find his house in order and his dinner on the fire. He discovers that every morning a vixen comes to his hut, sheds her skin, and becomes a woman. Having stolen the skin, he makes her his wife. They live in happiness for many years until she discovers the skin, puts it on, and runs away. This scenario of the "mysterious housekeeper" is also found among the Inuit (Eskimo) in Greenland and Labrador, as well as among the Koriak of northeastern Siberia.

In Inner Asia, among the Buriats, the fox is known as a guide to the land of the dead; when the hero Mumonto lifts up a large black stone and shouts "Come here," a fox appears in the opening under the stone and says, "Hold fast to my tail."

Chinese folklore is rich in the motif of the fox who transforms itself into an attractive woman and seduces young men. Foxes are capable of this transformation through the study of Chinese classics or through erotic tricks. Foxes who study the classics acquire first the power to become humans, then immortals, and finally gods. In many stories, young foxes are depicted as sitting in a circle, listening to an old white fox at the center expounding the classics. Foxes can assume human form, if at first only briefly, through the absorption and accumulation of the *semen virile* of a male sex partner; by seducing humans, usually young men, foxes steal life essence and add it to their own. For example, an ambitious young man who has retired to a deserted cottage or temple to prepare for the state examinations is visited at dusk by a beautiful young woman who becomes his mistress. Her erotic skill is such that he becomes exhausted and dies. Fox-women sometimes sincerely love their human paramours and help them with their studies, but they seldom return the life essence they have stolen. Occasionally, the parents or friends become aware of the situation in time and call in either a shaman or a Faoist specially trained in fox exorcism and drive her away.

Folk belief in the fox is still alive in Japan; the fox is considered to be most skillful of animals in transforming itself into human form, often female. It is feared as a wicked animal that haunts and possesses people. But, at the same time, the fox is respected as the messenger of *inari*, the beneficent rice goddess Uka no Mitama, of Shintō religion.

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MANABU WAIDA (1987)
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FRANCISCANS is the common designation for a number of religious communities professing to live according to the ideals of Francis of Assisi (1181/1182–1226). In 1206 Francis withdrew to the margins of society to adopt the life of a penitent hermit. His vocation received a decisive focus in 1208, when others joined him and he was inspired to "live according to the pattern of the Holy Gospel," as he called it, "following the footsteps and teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ" (*Testament*, 14; *Earlier Rule*, 1.1 [*Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, I: 63-64, 125]). Within Francis's lifetime his followers organized into three distinct but related orders: his own Lesser Brothers; communities of contemplative women under the leadership of Clare of Assisi (d. 1253), known now as Poor Clare nuns; and the Brothers and Sisters of Penance, laypersons who wished to remain in the midst of society, later commonly known as the Third Order. Although they differed in their manner of expression, all were based on Francis's vision of a gospel way of life. The concrete implications of this vision have often led to bitter internal dissension over the course of Franciscan history.

The Order of Lesser Brothers (the literal meaning of Ordo Fratrum Minorum, commonly translated as Friars Minor) began as a largely lay movement of hermits and itinerant preachers. They lived on a mere subsistence level, without any permanent residences, supporting themselves by whatever trade they knew or by begging. Despite the radical nature of this way of life, Francis and his companions received initial papal approbation in 1209/1210. However, the new order underwent a rapid transformation over the ensuing decades. First of all, its phenomenal growth—by 1221 there were about three thousand brothers—demanded greater internal discipline and organization. At the same time the papacy recognized in the movement a potent instrument of church reform and increasingly intervened to oversee and channel its growth. Cardinal Hugolino di Segni, later Pope Gregory IX, played an important role in these developments. Historians have long debated Francis's own attitude toward this process, already evident in the definitive 1223 version of his rule. In any event by midcentury the friars were primarily engaged in the official pastoral ministry of the church, especially preaching and hearing confessions. The friars increasingly abandoned their hermitages to settle down in urban residences attached to a church, where they adopted more traditional patterns of religious life and pursued theological studies. In light of the new demands placed upon them, the brothers' rigorous observance of poverty was relaxed by several papal interventions. The houses of the order at such academic centers as Paris and Oxford soon produced some of the greatest masters of Scholastic theology, such as Bonaventure, John Duns Scotus, and William of Ockham.

Within the order, however, there was a significant resistance to these new directions. Toward the end of the thirteenth century, various minority factions, known collectively as Spirituals, demanded a literal observance of the rule and refused to submit to the modifications accepted by the majority of friars. The increasingly bitter internal conflict eventually led to the outright persecution of the Spirituals, culminating in a decision by John XXII in 1323 to brand as heretical the opinion that Christ and his apostles had led a life of absolute poverty. The Friars Minor thus gradually conformed to the practice of common ownership of property that was standard among other religious orders.

During the latter part of the fourteenth century, however, a reaction set in, with small groups of friars receiving permission to retire to remote houses to observe a more primitive form of Franciscan life. This movement, known as the Observant reform, gained momentum in the next century under such leaders as Bernardino of Siena, ultimately achieving virtual autonomy within the order. Nevertheless, relations between those friars who accepted this reform and those who did not, known as Conventuals (from the *conventi,* or large houses, they favored), grew increasingly acrimonious, leading Leo X in 1517 to divide the order into two independent congregations.

Over the course of the sixteenth century, the contemporary zeal for church reform continued to spawn new movements within the order, motivated by the desire for even stricter forms of Franciscan life. The largest of these, the Capuchins, so called because of the distinctive hood (*cappuccino*) of their habit, played a prominent role during the Counter-Reformation as popular preachers; they achieved the status of an independent congregation in 1619. Other groups of stricter observance—Discalced, Recollect, and Reformed friars—attained a large measure of autonomy while remaining under the leadership of the Observant general. Despite this fragmentation, the Friars Minor prospered between 1500 and 1750, a period that also witnessed a vast missionary effort by Franciscans, who accompanied Spanish, Portuguese, and French colonial expansion. By 1760 the Friars Minor had reached their peak membership, totaling 135,000 in their three branches.

Franciscans, especially the Conventuals, suffered greatly during the years 1760–1880, when secularizing government policies in Europe and Latin America restricted traditional religious orders. However, in the latter part of the nineteenth century a revival took place, accompanied by critical research into early Franciscan sources. Also, under papal initiative, the various groups within the Observant branch were reunited in 1897 under the simple name of the Order of Friars Minor. After 1965, Franciscans experienced a period of profound renewal and transition in the wake of the Second Vatican Council, which emphasized a return to the founding vision of Francis. In 2002 there were 16,300 Friars Minor, 10,800 Capuchins, and 4,500 Conventuals. There is also a small community of friars, the Society of Saint Francis, in the Anglican Church.

The Poor Clares, sometimes referred to as the Second Order, date from 1212, when Clare, of a noble Assisi family, renounced her social status and received the habit from Francis. Under his direction, Clare and her companions followed a simple form of life, but Cardinal Hugolino intervened in 1219, prescribing regulations that emphasized monastic observances, such as a strict cloister. Clare managed to gain approval for her own rule embodying her vision of poverty in 1253. Because each monastery of Poor Clares is largely autonomous, practices have varied greatly. A reform, analogous to the Observance among the friars, was begun by Colette of Corbie in the fourteenth century. In 2002 there were more than eight hundred monasteries of Poor Clares with fourteen thousand nuns.

Francis can be called the founder of the Brothers and Sisters of Penance, or Third Order, only in an analogous sense. His preaching of gospel conversion moved many of his hearers to reform their lives, and so he sought to prescribe for these individuals a way of life appropriate to their respective social conditions. Some became hermits, whereas others continued to live in their own homes but formed confraternities for mutual support. Rules for these local groups were developed in 1221; the fraternities developed closer relations with the friars over the course of the century. This Order of Penance was characterized by a simple way of life, engaging in works of charity, and the refusal to bear arms. The tertiaries were a potent religious and social force in late medieval society. In the latter part of the thirteenth century, some of these Franciscan penitents began living together in communities, eventually binding themselves under religious vows. The rule of this Third Order Regular received definitive form in 1521. During the nineteenth century there was a veritable explosion of congregations of women following this rule devoted to teaching, nursing, and other charitable activities. In 2002 there were over 450 distinct congregations of Franciscan sisters, with approximately 100,000 members and about 1,500 male members of the Third Order Regular. Meanwhile, the secular Franciscan fraternities continued to expand, but their countercultural way of life increasingly conformed outwardly to general societal norms; they numbered over one million in 2002. After Vatican II both branches of the Third Order revised their rule of life, attempting to return more closely to their original inspiration.

SEE ALSO Francis of Assisi.

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DOMINIC V. MONTI (1987 AND 2005)

FRANCIS OF ASSISI (Giovanni Francesco Bernardone, 1181/2–1226) was a Christian saint and the founder of the Franciscans. John was Francis's baptismal name, but a fondness for France on the part of his merchant father and an acknowledgment of the national origin of his mother prompted the parents to call him Francis. Endowed with a jovial disposition and the means to pamper it, Francis enjoyed the good life of his times; this life was, however, interrupted when his hometown warred with neighboring Perugia. Inducted, imprisoned, and then released, Francis returned home with his military ambitions dampened. A business career with his father held no attraction.

Francis's conversion was the culmination of a period of prayerful reflection in a local grotto, an encounter with a leper, an invitation from God to repair Assisi's abandoned chapel of San Damiano, and Francis's study of *Matthew* 10, which imparted to him a sense of irreversible dedication to the kingdom of God. Within a few months (by April 1208) others asked to share his life, and thus a brotherhood was born.

In 1209 Francis journeyed to Rome to seek papal approval for the brotherhood. After some hesitation, Innocent III gave verbal assent to the rule authored by Francis, who then returned to Assisi and remained at the chapel of the Portiuncula; from there the brothers, two by two, preached gospel renewal. Intent on extending this preaching, Francis departed for Syria, but bad weather hampered the venture. Later a more successful journey took him to meet the sultan in Damietta. In 1212 Francis offered the religious habit to the young noblewoman Clare, and quickly other young women from Assisi sought to share her way of life at San Damiano, forming the order known as the Poor Clares. In 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council promulgated reforms championed in his preaching.

In 1220 Francis resigned his post as head of the Franciscans. Still, with more than five thousand brothers, his involvement continued. After reworking his rule, Francis submitted it to Pope Honorius III in 1223, and it received written approval. That same year Francis presented a living Christmas crèche at Greccio, which encouraged the popularity of that custom in subsequent centuries. At Alverna he received the stigmata (the wounds of Christ crucified), thereby reflecting outwardly that which he interiorly imitated.

Though suffering serious illness in his last years, Francis composed his intensely joyful "Canticle of Brother Sun." The closing strophe addresses "Sister Death," whom he welcomed on October 3, 1226. Within two years Francis was proclaimed a saint. In 1939 he was officially offered to Italy as its patron; in 1979 he was recognized by Pope John Paul II as the patron saint of ecology.

As Francis's brotherhood increased in size, his work encompassed the nurturing of followers including the Poor Clares and the Secular Franciscans (laymen and -women who wished to follow Francis). Franciscans were not committed to one particular work but engaged in whatever labors their travel and presence brought them. Francis's work and thought indicate a living, ecclesial faith that seeks to be for and with the poor.

Central to every aspect of his life was Francis's experience of the trinitarian God. He wanted to reveal the Father to all by imitating the Son through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Like his Lord, he was eager to make his way back to the Father and to summon all creation to accompany him on that painful but peaceful journey. An adult innocence aided him in transcending the spirit-matter dichotomy, making him a sublime example of both the spirituality of matter and the materialization of spirit.

Francis embraced voluntary poverty because he wanted to imitate his Lord, who had made himself poor (*2 Cor.* 8:9). In this poverty Francis found a freedom that fostered fraternity. The poor, in their more evident dependence on God, reminded Francis of the mystery of divine sympathy and of each creature's intrinsic poverty. In the spirit of poverty he urged his brothers to renounce their desire to dominate, and though called to minister to all, to favor labor among the lepers and farmhands.

Aware that the Roman Catholic church was capable of taming the gospel, Francis persisted in the belief that Christ was to be found in this institution, especially in the Eucharist. He sought a cardinal protector for the Franciscan order and acknowledged the pontiff to be the final arbiter in spiritual matters. Although Francis's relations with the Curia Romana may have weakened his project, the majority of scholars submit that his relation to the hierarchy was loyal, challenging, and constructive.

Movements for peace and for the marginalized have in Francis a ready patron. He sent his brothers out, not against but among the Saracens, and he required that all his followers (lay included) not bear arms. His pursuit of Lady Poverty inspires those of every age who seek simplicity. His fondness for animals and nature has deepened humanity's understanding of the interrelatedness of all creation grounded in a creator whose richness it reflects.

Francis managed to steer a course that avoided the excesses of feudal authority and of the bourgeois pursuit of money. In his rule he taught his followers to use only that which was needed, to own nothing, and to renounce any desire to dominate; he insisted that authority for the *minores* (those who wished to lead a biblically inspired simple life) meant fraternal service. The church, although initially cautious, soon adopted some of his insights for its own apostolic strategy; between 1218 and 1226 six papal bulls were issued relating to aspects of his vision. The Holy See recognized that the manner of his preaching touched the lives of the people; it also gave the vernacular a new respectability and provided themes for artists such as Cimabue and Giotto. Though no intellectual, Francis's emphasis on humanity inspired the deeply incarnational systems of Bonaventure and of Duns Scotus.

Francis's legacy to the Christian tradition was a revitalized gospel that clearly perceived many forms of brotherhood: with superiors—once, having been denied by a bishop the right to preach in his diocese, Francis exited, paused, reentered, and resubmitted his petition successfully; with strangers—in his rule of 1221 he calls for a simple, nonpolemical style of missionary presence; with the underclass—when a brother asked if it were proper to feed some robbers, he responded affirmatively, for in every person he saw a possible thief and in every thief a possible brother or sister; with nature—he urged his brothers when establishing the boundaries of their shelters not to build walls but to plant hedges. The movement founded by Francis offered the church a new form of gospel commitment. It combined a contemplative life with an apostolic work that was mobile, diverse, and urban. Although it was a consecrated life, it was not removed from daily concerns.

SEE ALSO Franciscans.

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RAYMOND J. BUCHER (1987)

FRANCKE, AUGUST HERMANN (1663–1727), was, after Spener, the major spokesman for early Lutheran Pietism. Francke was born in the Hanseatic city of Lübeck on March 22, 1663. Both his father and his maternal grandfather were prominent jurists, and young August was more or less expected to take up a learned career. Because the Francke household was pervaded by the piety of Johann Arndt (1555–1621), it was quite natural for August to prepare himself for the Lutheran ministry. Accordingly, he studied at Erfurt and Kiel, and finally received his master of arts degree from the University of Leipzig. For religious reasons he refused further academic preparation, though much of his time continued to be spent in private study. Thus he emerged from his student career superbly prepared not only in philosophy, theology, and biblical studies but with considerable competence in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, French, and English, besides his native German.

As the result of an experience of a conscious religious awakening (1687), Francke joined the circle of Spener's followers and eventually became the leader of the Spenerian renewal movement of continental Protestantism. The University of Halle, to the faculty of which he was appointed in 1691, quickly became the intellectual center of Lutheran Pietism. His pioneer work in establishing an imposing array of educational and charitable institutions attracted much attention in Europe. His extensive system of connections included a large segment of European nobility as well as several European courts. The periodic reports of his work, such as *Segensvolle Fußstapfen* (translated into English in 1706 under the title *Liber Pietatis Hallensis*), spurred educational, charitable, missionary, and ecumenical impulses not only on the continent but in England and in the English colonies of North America. Under Francke's guidance the Canstein Bible Institute, begun in 1710, satisfied the ever-increasing need for cheap Bibles and devotional aids. The theological works issuing from Francke's pen and from Halle were a major factor in substituting biblical for dogmatic theology and ethically oriented concerns for purely theological discourses in Protestant pulpits. At the zenith of his career Francke was widely respected as an innovative pastor, theologian, educator, organizer of charitable institutions, promoter of domestic and foreign missions, and advocate of a new vision of ecumenical cooperation.

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F. ERNEST STOEFFLER (1987)

FRANK, JACOB. Yakov ben Lev (1726–1791), cynosure of the last large Jewish messiah-event, took the surname Frank at his baptisms in Poland in 1759 and 1760, when he also added the name Joseph and became Jacob Joseph Frank. The surname had become attached to him as an epithet that in Yiddish denoted a Turkish Jew and in Turkish denoted a European Jew. He himself never explained which he was, contenting himself with the ambiguity of the reference. Frank acted out the role of a Jewish messiah in the territory of the Ottoman Empire in Poland and in Bohemia and Germany from about 1750 until he died in a fit in Offenbach, to be succeeded by his daughter, Ewa.

Though Frank presented himself as the inheritor of Shabbetai Tsevi (1626–1676) and Barukhya Russo (d. 1721), his forerunners in this tradition, he did not do so in their urban Turkish environment, nor was his doctrine theirs. Frank defined both of them to his inner circle of disciples, the twelve Brothers and fourteen Sisters, as predecessor messiahs in the tradition of failed messiahs, and he discarded the entire qabbalistic system associated with them and their messianic roles in favor of an original mythology and cult management whose major characteristics were duplicity and a tyrannical authority shrouded in mystery. To the false conversions to Islam of Tsevi and Barukhya in Turkey, Frank added a false conversion to Roman Catholicism in Christian lands. He gave his name to three separate movements known as *Frankist*—the first being a community of Polish Shabbateans who had been adherents of the Dönmeh sect in Salonika into which he inserted himself in Turkey and, thereafter, in Poland; the second, his personal following; and the third in Bohemia, in which he played no active part.

Shortly after his own conversion, the Inquisition had him imprisoned for thirteen years in the fortress shrine of Częstochowa under suspicion of perpetrating a hoax and an attempted insurrection. His closest followers remained faithful to him. While Frank promoted a combination of obedience to himself and disingenuous behavior towards those outside his circle, many of his followers either sought their way back to Judaism or became Christians within his own lifetime, excepting those who had been part of the original company of adherents or who were with him at his courts in Brno and Offenbach after he regained his freedom and left Poland at the time of the Russian invasion in 1773.

In Brno and especially in Offenbach, Frank played the part of a noble maintaining a large court and retinue, and he sought to interfere in European politics in the West and East. Before his conversion he had persuaded Turkish powers that he would bring the Jews to Islam and promote the interests of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, and he had gained government support. After his entry into western lands, he sought, with the same degree of sincerity, to serve the interests of Prussia and Austria. Here his performance achieved greater success. His daughter Ewa served as a social and sexual pawn to attract social prestige, and Frank gained for a time the backing of Joseph II of Austria, among others.

In the intellectual and political society of early modern Europe, Frank was a familiar figure. To enlightened Christians and proselytizing millennialists he was a Jew converted to Christianity and a freethinker typified by mysterious connections and magic and secret riches. He was also seen as a herald of liberation from the oppression of gender, class, regime, religion, and mores, including sexual ones. To some Jews, he augured assimilation, enlightenment, political power, and millennial redemption. To other Jews, especially rabbinic figures, Frank was not just one more in a colorful crew of anomians or antinomians, leaders of the gullible from the time of Jesus through the contemporary movement of Hasidism—he was a catastrophe; the ultimate false messiah; the ruin of hope, faith, and religion; the diabolic climax of that history.

Frank served anti-rabbinic belligerents as their figurehead in two debates (Kamieniec, 1757; Lwów, 1759), though he did not seek these opportunities out; the debates were produced by the Polish Catholic authorities together with the remnants of Shabbatean followings. The theses argued in these debates—the last great public Christian-Jewish disputations, the first concluding with the last major public burning of Jewish books before the modern period—included old themes, such as the falsity of the Hebrew Bible in its rabbinic interpretation, as well as the blood libel and some novelties. The Frankists sought to achieve a separate existence and maintain for themselves many elements of Jewish culture while converting to Christianity and proclaiming the truth of the *Zohar* and its ostensible Trinitarianism. Frank wanted to establish the anti-rabbinic disputants as his own followers and gain a separate and autonomous community. The neighboring village of Iwanie was actually granted to them by Augustus III following the first disputation. The history of Frankism as Polish Shabbateanism ends here and is well documented in the recent work of Pawel Maciejko.

From the time in Iwanie through the years of his imprisonment, the establishment of his court in Brno and then in the palaces of the prince of Isenburg in Offenbach, Frank taught his own doctrine to the circle of the Brothers and Sisters, and records of the history of the group were kept. A lot of these materials remain and have received some study. The conduct of the sect can be studied through entries in the internal history, the *Chronicle;* Frank's own doctrine is found in the *Collection of the Words of the Lord*. In these works one sees Frank's talent in adapting himself to changing circumstances and persuading his followers to remain steadfast. The *Collection* displays Frank's prowess as the innovator of several literary forms, including threefold (allegorical) tales. Other contemporary observers have left a large body of accounts of his peculiar activities and self-presentation during this period, and these have been employed by later scholars. There are clear connections between this Frankism and developments in Hasidism in terms of the configuration of its leadership, as well as its characteristic literary modalities.

The third branch of Frankism in Bohemia, especially Prague, before, during, and after the disputations was, like the first, rooted in the continuation of Shabbateanism and can be associated with modernizing movements in Judaism, including assimilation. This variety knows almost nothing of Frank, his deeds, or his teachings.

SEE ALSO Messianism, article on Jewish Messianism; Shabbetai Tsevi.

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HARRIS LENOWITZ (2005)

FRANKEL, ZACHARIAS (1801–1875), was the founder, in Germany, of Historical Judaism, the forerunner of Conservative Judaism in America. A member of the first generation of modern rabbis, Frankel fashioned a multifaceted career as pulpit rabbi, spokesman for political emancipation, critic of radical religious reform, editor, head of the first modern rabbinical seminary, and historian of Jewish law.

Frankel was born in Prague, then still the largest Jewish community in Europe, into a financially comfortable family with a distinguished lineage of rabbinic and communal leaders. His education combined traditional immersion in Jewish texts with systematic exposure to secular studies in a manner that was still far from typical. In 1830 he received his doctorate from the University of Pest and in 1831 acquired the post of district rabbi of Litoměřice, becoming the first Bohemian rabbi to hold a doctorate. His advocacy of changes in the synagogue service, the education of the young, and the training and role of the rabbi brought him, in 1836, an invitation from the government of Saxony to occupy the pulpit in Dresden as chief rabbi of the realm. Despite several subsequent offers from the much larger and rapidly growing Jewish community of Berlin, Frankel stayed in Dresden until 1854, when he was called to become the first director of the new rabbinical and teachers' seminary in Breslau. By 1879, four years after his death, the seminary had instructed some 272 students and had placed nearly 120 teachers, preachers, and rabbis in the most important Jewish communities in Europe.

A self-styled moderate reformer in matters of religion, Frankel formulated his program of "positive, historical Judaism" in the 1840s to stem the rising tide of radical religious reform. Against the Reform movement's unbounded rationalism, Frankel defended Judaism's legal character, the sanctity of historical experience, and the authority of current practice. The term *positive* pointed to prescribed ritual behavior (*halakhah*) as the dominant means for the expression of religious sentiment in Judaism, while the term *historical* designated its nonlegal realm, sanctified by time and suffering.

What gives Frankel's definition its dynamic quality is the role of the people. Genuine reform evolves organically from below and not by fiat from above. It is for this reason that Frankel repudiated the innovations of the three rabbinical conferences of the 1840s; whether dictated by political considerations or the canons of reason, their measures did violence to prevailing sentiment and practice.

On a popular level Frankel tried, as author and editor, to deepen Jews' loyalty to the past by offering them a brand of heroic history that stressed cultural achievement. As a scholar Frankel was the preeminent modern rabbinist of his generation, and he devoted a prolific career to introducing the concept of the development of Jewish law over time. Using the method as well as the ideology of Friedrich C. Savigny's *geschichtliche Rechtswissenschaft,* Frankel tried to recover and analyze the stages of legal evolution, from Alexandrian exegeses of scripture to medieval rabbinic *responsa.* In the process he left enduring contributions to the modern study of the Mishnah and the Palestinian Talmud.

Frankel's undogmatic research on the Mishnah challenged the traditional image of the ancient rabbis as transmitters rather than creators of the oral law and provoked a bitter assault in 1861 from the Neo-Orthodox camp of Samson Raphael Hirsch. Growing religious polarization served to clarify denominational lines and forced Frankel to occupy the middle ground.

Two institutions created by Frankel embodied, amplified, and disseminated his vision of Historical Judaism. *Die Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums,* which he edited for eighteen taxing years (1851–1868), provided its readers with a balance of high-level popularization and critical scholarship, setting the standard for all later nineteenth-century journals of Jewish studies. Similarly, the Breslau seminary, which he led for twenty-one years, transformed rabbinic education by integrating modern scholarship with traditional piety and requiring its graduates to be both spiritual leaders and practitioners of *Wissenschaft.*

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ISMAR SCHORSCH (1987)
Revised Bibliography

FRANKFORT, HENRI (1897–1954), was an archaeologist and historian of religion. Frankfort began his studies at the University of Amsterdam, where he studied history, but he transferred to the University of London in order to work under Flinders Petrie in Egyptian archaeology. He always preferred, however, to designate himself as a historian.

In 1922, Frankfort became a member of Petrie's expedition to Egypt, and from 1924 to 1925, he studied at the British School of Archaeology in Athens. He obtained his M.A. from the University of London in 1924 and his Ph.D. from the University of Leiden in 1927. From 1925 to 1929 he served as director of the excavations of the Egypt Exploration Society at Tell al-ʿAmarna, Abydos, and Erment. In 1929 he accepted the directorship of the Iraq expedition of the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute, which he held until 1937, when excavations were discontinued. In 1932, Frankfort was appointed research professor of Oriental archaeology at the Oriental Institute and associate professor of the ancient Near East at the University of Amsterdam. He served as acting chairman of the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures at the University of Chicago during World War II. In 1949 he accepted the post of director of the Warburg Institute in London and was appointed professor of the history of preclassical antiquity at the University of London.

Frankfort's first major work, *Studies in Early Pottery in the Near East* (1924–1927), was of fundamental importance for Near Eastern archaeology. He was the first to classify and date ancient Near Eastern ceramics and thus to make it a basic means of periodization and relative dating. Of similarly fundamental importance was his later study of cylinder seals, for which he identified characteristic features for successive periods, thereby establishing a relative dating system for this important and very numerous class of objects. The resulting study, *Cylinder Seals: A Documentary Essay on the Art and Religion of the Ancient Near East* (1939), is not only important to archaeologists but also presents the student of religion with a wealth of data on mythology and ritual.

The results of the various expeditions directed by Frankfort in Egypt and Iraq were published in a series of preliminary and final reports, partly by Frankfort alone, and partly by him and members of the staff. Among the former, the valuable volumes *Sculpture of the Third Millennium* B.C. *from Tel Asmar and Khafajah* (1939), *More Sculpture from the Diyala Region* (1943), and *Stratified Cylinder Seals from the Diyala Region* (1955) should be mentioned. Of more general purview are the important studies *Archaeology and the Sumerian Problem* (1932) and *The Birth of Civilization in the Near East* (1951). An overview of ancient Near Eastern archaeology is given in his *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (1954).

Of special interest to historians of religion is *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* (1946), which was later reissued under the title *Before Philosophy* (1963). The lecture series on which this book is based was organized by Frankfort, and he and his wife contributed the introductory and concluding chapters, "Myth and Reality," a penetrating and clear analysis of the logic of mythopoeic thought, and "The Emancipation of Thought from Myth," which traces the road from mythical to genuinely philosophical thought. During the time that Frankfort initiated and contributed to these lectures, he finished the two larger studies, *Ancient Egyptian Religion: An Interpretation* (2d ed., 1949), and the influential *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature* (1948). Frankfort's method of approach is that of phenomenology of religion, which respects the religious commitment and values reflected in the data studied. The aim of the latter work is well expressed in the subtitle, and the treatment of both Egyptian and Mesopotamian materials, with attention both to their characteristic similarities and to their differences, lends depth to the study. Frankfort was deeply aware that an understanding of religious data can be gained only in terms of the general culture in which the religion in question is embedded and from which the specific meanings of its symbols are derived. This position is given its most complete methodological statement in his Frazer Lecture of 1951, published as *The Problem of Similarity in Ancient Near Eastern Religions* (1951), where he argues cogently against a comparative method that would emphasize general similarities and neglect specific differences, for it is the latter that hold the true clues to understanding: "Once again, then, our danger lies in the similarities themselves, for it is—as always—the cultural context which holds the secret of their significance."

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New Sources

The three lectures mentioned above have had a seminal influence on the comparative study of Near Eastern religions. They have been collected together and published in a book, Henri Frankfort, *Il dio che muore. Mito e cultura nel mondo preclassico* (Florence, 1992), Italian translation by Gabriella Sacandone Matthiae, with an important introduction by the archeologist Paolo Matthiae.

THORKILD JACOBSEN (1987)
Revised Bibliography

FRASHŌKERETI.

The Avestan term *Frashōkereti* ("making wonderful" or "rehabilitation" of existence) corresponds to *Frashgird,* the Middle Persian term for the Last Judgment, or final day of humanity's existence. The Avestan term derives from the expression "to make existence splendid." The concept is eschatological and soteriological and, already present in the *Gāthās,* is at the basis of Zoroastrian doctrine. With this concept Zarathushtra (Zoroaster) abolished the archaic ideology of the cosmic cycle and of the eternal return modeled on atemporal archetypes, proclaiming the expectation of, and hope for, an *eschaton.* He thus introduced a linear conception of cosmic time, an innovation in religious thought that had an enormous influence on humanity's subsequent spiritual history. According to his doctrine, the final event will be completed not because of a cosmogonic ritual but by the will of the creator: the resurrection of the body and last judgment are essential and significant aspects of the Frashōkereti.

In the *Gāthās* the Frashōkereti is felt to be near, but later Zoroastrianism developed an eschatological doctrine situating it further off in time, within the concept of a Great Year divided into three periods, each a millennium in length and each beginning with the coming of a Saoshyant, a savior born of the seed of Zarathushtra. The last of these will be the Saoshyant par excellence, the maker of the final Frashōkereti.

The Frashōkereti is described in one of the hymns of the Avesta (*Yashts* 19). It declares that *druj,* the "lie," the principle or deity of evil, will be brought down; the *daiva* Aēshma, "fury," will be destroyed by a bloody mace; the *daiva* Aka Manah ("bad thought") will be overcome; hunger and thirst will be defeated; and the great god of evil, Angra Mainyu, deprived of his power, will be driven to flight.

The Pahlavi literature of the ninth and tenth centuries CE furnishes further details. The Frashgird will be announced by positive signs: the abolition of meat as a food for humans and its gradual replacement by an increasingly spiritual diet, without milk, water, or plants; the progressive fading of concupiscence; and so forth. Finally, after the resurrection of the body and after a test by molten metal, through which all, both just and unjust, must pass, there will take place a great, eschatological sacrifice of a bull. Its fat, mixed with white *haoma,* will make the drink of immortality for all humankind.

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GHERARDO GNOLI (1987)
Translated from Italian by Roger DeGaris

FRAVASHIS, beneficent and protective guardian spirits whose services must be secured by means of ritual offerings, are an essential element of the religious structure of Zoroastrianism. They play an important role in the frequency of rainfall and are responsible for guaranteeing the prosperity and preservation of the family. As the spirits of the dead, they are the protagonists in a great feast held on the last night of the year. They are thought to preexist human beings and to survive them.

The *fravashi*s do not appear in the *Gāthās*. In the Avesta, the first mention of them occurs in the *Yasna Haptanhāiti,* and an entire hymn (*Yashts* 13) is dedicated to them.

The conception of the *fravashi* has all the characteristics of an archaic, pre-Zoroastrian belief that was later absorbed and adapted by the tradition. Examples of these characteristics include their identification with the spirits of the dead (Söderblom, 1899, pp. 229–260, 373–418) and their warlike nature.

As the spirits of the dead the *fravashi*s have often been compared to the Roman *manes* or to the Indian *pitaraḥ;* as warlike beings, they have been compared with the Germanic valkyries or to the Indian Maruts, the company of celestial warriors. In particular, in the context of the Indo-European tripartite ideology, the *fravashi*s are seen as a Zoroastrian substitute for the Maruts (Dumézil, 1953); both are linked to the concepts and ethics of the Aryan *Männerbund.* Most likely, Zoroastrianism absorbed this ancient concept, typical of a warrior society, through its ties to the cult of the dead and reinterpreted the *fravashi*s as combatants for the rule of Ahura Mazdā. We find such a zoroastrianization in the myth told in the third chapter of the *Bundahishn* (Book of primordial creation), which relates that the *fravashi*s chose to be incarnated in material bodies in order to fight Ahriman and the evil powers instead of remaining peacefully in the celestial world.

The etymology of the word *fravashi* is uncertain. Originally it may have been used to designate the spirit of a deceased hero who was endowed with **vṛti,* "valor" (Bailey, 1943, pp. 107ff.); or it may have expressed the theological concept, fundamental to Zoroastrianism, of choice, **fra-vṛti* (Lommel, 1930, pp. 151, 159–163) or that of the profession of faith (Hoffmann, 1979, p. 91; Schlerath, 1980, pp. 207ff.).

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GHERARDO GNOLI (1987)
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FRAZER, JAMES G. (1854–1941), was a British anthropologist and historian of religion. James George Frazer, the eldest of four children, was born in preindustrial Glasgow, the son of a successful pharmacist. His parents were devout members of the Free Church of Scotland, a conservative sect that in the 1840s had broken away from the (Established) Church of Scotland on matters of church governance. Accordingly Frazer was raised in an atmosphere of deep piety, which, be it noted, he later said that he did not find oppressive.

Frazer early showed academic promise and entered the University of Glasgow at the then not unusually early age of fifteen. There, he writes in a genial memoir composed at the end of his life, three important things occurred: He conceived his lifelong love of the classics, he came to see that the world is governed by a system of unvarying natural laws, and he painlessly lost the religious faith of his childhood.

Frazer did brilliantly at Glasgow but soon realized that although Scottish education gave him a broader background than an English one would have, its standards were not as high. After taking his degree at Glasgow he therefore matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1874 for a second baccalaureate. He took second place in the classical tripos of 1878. A dissertation on Platonic epistemology gained him a fellowship at Trinity in 1879, which after three renewals was granted for life; he was a fellow of Trinity for more than sixty years.

In 1896 Frazer married Mrs. Elizabeth (Lilly) Grove, a French widow with two children who had become a writer out of economic necessity. She wrote an early and important volume on the history of the dance, along with many playlets in French for schoolroom use. She soon became convinced that the academic world was overlooking her husband's merits and strove mightily to advance his career (he was the stereotype of a research scholar, unworldly and shy). She also arranged for his work to be translated into French, which meant that Frazer was very well known in France after the war. Frazer was knighted in 1914, became a fellow of the Royal Society in 1920, and was awarded the Order of Merit in 1925.

Frazer's first scholarly writing, from which his interest in anthropology can be said to date, came about through his friendship with William Robertson Smith (1847–1894), the eminent Scottish theologian and comparative Semiticist. More than any other person, Smith was responsible for disseminating the results of German biblical scholarship in Great Britain at the end of the century. For his pains he became the defendant in the last significant heresy trials in Great Britain. Although he was exonerated, Smith had become too notorious for provincial Scotland and therefore accepted an appointment in Cambridge. Among his many other activities, he was editor of the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and as such was always looking for likely contributors. Meeting his countryman Frazer at Trinity, Smith soon set him to work. Because in those days encyclopedias were brought out a volume at a time, and because the volumes through the letter *O* had already appeared. Frazer was assigned articles beginning with *P* and subsequent letters. Thus it was that he came to write the important entries "Taboo" and "Totem," which launched him into the then sparsely populated field of anthropology.

In 1889 Frazer wrote to the publisher George Macmillan offering him a manuscript on magic, folklore, and religion in the ancient world. Macmillan accepted *The Golden Bough,* and it was published in two volumes in the following year. It was generally well received, the reviewers noting Frazer's impressive erudition and stylistic gifts. As soon as he had brought out the first edition, Frazer began preparing an enlarged second edition, which duly appeared in three volumes in 1900. The third and final edition, in twelve volumes, came out from 1911 to 1915. It is this massive version that Frazer himself abridged in 1922; he produced a thirteenth volume, *Aftermath,* in 1936.

The Golden Bough merits special attention because it remains Frazer's best-known work, but it hardly exhausts his contribution to the historical and anthropological study of ancient and "primitive" religion. In 1898 he published *Pausanias's Description of Greece*—a translation of Pausanias's report of his travels—accompanied by five volumes of commentary, maps, and plates, all of which represented fifteen years of work. Pausanias, who in the second century CE prepared this guidebook to his country, was especially curious about religion and inquired ceaselessly about artifacts and rituals that had survived in the countryside but were no longer extant in Athens. Pausanias's record is frequently the only surviving witness of many phenomena of ancient Greek folk religion. His travels constituted an ideal text for Frazer, permitting him to use his classical as well as his comparative anthropological knowledge.

Among Frazer's other major productions in the history of religion are *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship* (1905); *Totemism and Exogamy* (1910), which gave Freud much data as well as the idea for a title (*Totem and Taboo,* 1911); *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament* (1918), which arose out of Frazer's study of Hebrew; and an edition of Ovid's *Fasti* (1929). The *Fasti* is a narrative poem organized around the cycle of the Roman holidays, and, like *Pausanias,* it gave Frazer an opportunity to employ the whole of his considerable scholarly equipment.

The Golden Bough was noteworthy because it offered something that had not been done before in English: a treatment from the philosophical, evolutionary point of view, delivered in sonorous and untechnical language, of the beliefs and behavior of the ancient Greeks and Romans as if they were those of "primitives." By the end of the nineteenth century, the classical world had lost much of the privileged status it had enjoyed since the Renaissance as the origin and repository of the greatest that had ever been thought and said. Indeed eighteenth- and nineteenth-century classical historiography was largely demythologizing in its impulse. But because of the centrality maintained by the classics in the educational curriculum and thus in the training and habit of mind of the governing classes in Great Britain, it came as a shock to a cultured reader when Frazer insisted on the ways in which life and thought in classical antiquity strongly resembled, overall and in detail, those of the "primitives" (or "savages") who had become well known to Europeans as a result of the imperialist expansion of the eighteenth and especially the nineteenth century.

Although many scholars have disagreed with some or all of it, the argument of *The Golden Bough* may fairly be said by now to have become part of the basis of modern culture (at least on the level of metaphor), and many educated people who employ its argument are unaware of its origins. Briefly, the work purports to be an explanation of a curious ritual combat that took place, according to ancient sources, in classical times in the town of Aricia outside Rome. In a grove at Nemi a "priest" stood guard at all times, awaiting a challenger to his supremacy. The rule of the place was that any runaway slave who managed to reach the grove would gain his freedom if he succeeded in killing its guardian; with such success, however, came the obligation to assume the role of priest, and to kill or be killed in turn. In Frazer's view, this combat cannot be understood solely or wholly in terms of Roman religion; instead its elements must be analyzed comparatively (by adducing examples of analogous behavior from other "primitive" societies). He asserts that the guardian of the grove was a priest-king, who, like all such in primitive societies, literally incarnated the well-being of the community and thus had to be kept alive and well at all costs. This leads to a discussion of the strategies, both actual and symbolic (such as taboo, magic, sacrifice, and scapegoats), that such communities undertook to keep the king from weakness or death. At the heart of the work is a lengthy analysis of the complex of myth and ritual in the religions of the ancient eastern Mediterranean, all of which turn on death and resurrection and whose themes are often played out in seasonal combats and other fertility ceremonies. The main rites discussed are those of Attis, Adonis, Osiris, and Dionysos, all of whom Frazer understands as divine protagonists in the same, ubiquitous, recurrent vegetational drama.

The actual goings-on in the grove at Nemi are, Frazer finally admits, merely pretexts, for he is in fact interested in something more important: nothing less than the laws that describe the workings of the "primitive mind," which by definition is less well developed than the norm. Although this mind is inaccessible directly, it may be studied nevertheless, by adopting (from the work of the pioneering German folklorist Wilhelm Mannhardt) "the law of similarity": when customs are similar in different societies, one may then infer that the motives of the people performing them are also similar. This follows from the then generally accepted idea (advanced by E. B. Tylor) that the human race has evolved in a uniform fashion, mentally as well as physically. Further, because in Frazer's view the mentality of the primitive "Aryan" was still extant in that of the modern European peasantry because the peasantry still participated in a mental universe untouched by modern thought, it was therefore appropriate to compare the behavior of these so-called modern primitives (peasants and underdeveloped tribal societies) with that of historical societies of the ancient world in order to extract laws of primitive mental functioning.

Finally, however, Frazer was interested in even bigger game than primitive epistemology. For although in his survey of the dying-and-reviving gods of the eastern Mediterranean Frazer never mentions the name of Jesus, only the slowest of his readers could have failed to make the comparison between the pagan rites that result from an imperfect (because irrational) understanding of the universe and contemporary Christianity. Frazer employed the "objective," scientific comparative method as a weapon to finally dispatch Christianity as an outworn relic of misunderstanding, credulity, and superstition. There can be no doubt that his subliminal message was successfully delivered: The many uses of Frazerian arguments and images in the literature and cultural analysis of the post-World War I period (the most well-known of which is T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*) are ample testimony to that. (In addition, the Frazer papers in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, contain many unsolicited letters from readers, educated and otherwise, that thank Frazer for having finally dispelled the veil of illusion from before their eyes as to the "real" nature of Christianity.)

As time has passed, Frazer's affinities are increasingly seen to be with those polymath scholars who, periodically since the Renaissance, have had the vision and industry to attempt a description and interpretation of the entire phenomenon of religion. Living when and where he did conferred several advantages on him. First, only by the end of the nineteenth century had European imperialism gone far enough to open up virtually the entire tribal world. Thus Frazer's was the first generation for which the data existed to permit a credible, anthropologically based worldwide conspectus of religious behavior. Second, the triumph of Darwinism automatically promoted as self-evidently correct any explanatory model that was based on evolutionary premises. If mind had developed in a linear fashion, as Frazer (and Tylor) believed, then a rigid, uniform progression from magic through religion to positive science seemed a plausible description of the pathway toward understanding that humanity had in fact taken.

From a current point of view, however, viewing Frazer from the other side of a gulf produced by a nightmarish century and by many years of anthropological fieldwork and much greater philosophical and methodological sophistication, he seems himself to be a relic of a habit of thought that, if not exactly primitive, then is at least of long ago and far away. His extreme empiricism and antitheoretical inclination made him a victim, finally, of his mountains of data. At the same time, he could never have presented such a stirring picture of the long evolutionary struggle of humanity toward self-understanding had he not been so willing to use simple categories under which to organize his data.

Frazer's professional descendants are many and various, as are their evaluations of his work. For English-speaking anthropologists, he is seen mainly as a horrible example of the "armchair school" of anthropology that was swept away by the advent of fieldwork. Historians of religion hold him in higher esteem, probably because the comparative method (of which his work is the greatest exemplar) is still in guarded use in that discipline. Finally, his name stands highest among literary critics and cultural historians, to whose field he made no explicit contribution.

It may be most reasonable to situate Frazer in a grand tradition—one that understands religion humanistically and therefore regards it as a perennially appropriate subject for discourse with the educated reader—that has been eclipsed in the present day as a result of the aspirations to scientific status of anthropology. One may see him, then, despite his obvious limitations, as a scholar whose vision and literary gifts ensure him a permanent place in the ranks of those who have expanded the modern idea of the mysterious past of humanity.

SEE ALSO Smith, W. Robertson.

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For further biographical information see my *J. G. Frazer: His Life and Work* (Cambridge, 1987). Two memoirs by Robert Angus Downie, *James George Frazer* (London, 1940) and *Frazer and the Golden Bough* (London, 1970), are sketchy. Theodore Besterman's *A Bibliography of Sir James Frazer, O. M.* (London, 1934) offers a useful guide to Frazer's complex oeuvre. E. O. James's obituary notice in the *Dictionary of National Biography, 1941–1950* (supp. 3), R. R. Marett's in the *Proceedings of the British Academy* 27 (1941): 377–492, and H. J. Fleure's in the *Obituary Notices of Fellows of the Royal Society* 3 (1941): 897–914, are helpful. See also Bronislaw Malinowski's "Sir James George Frazer: A Biographical Appreciation," in his *A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1944), pp. 177–221 combines lucid criticism with appreciation of Frazer as founder of modern scientific anthropology and great humanist.

New Sources

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ROBERT ACKERMAN (1987)
Revised Bibliography

FREEMASONS. The name for members of Freemasonry, the largest fraternal organization in the world, Freemasons are linked to numerous other rites, degrees, and orders collectively termed *Masonic.* Originally two words, *Free Mason*, the compound *Freemason* became standard by the nineteenth century. The term stands for "free and accepted mason," an accepted or "honorary" mason who is both freeborn (not bonded in servitude) and "free" from the original "operative" definition of *masonry*, the trade of stonecraft used to build churches and cathedrals throughout medieval Europe. Although there are records of noncraftsmen or "nonoperatives" joining earlier operative guilds, such as that of Elias Ashmole and Christopher Wren of Oxford, purely nonoperative "lodges" where Freemasons met were not publicly disclosed until the formation of the Grand Lodge of England in London in 1717. A Freemason (or simply "Mason") from about this time, and as outlined in the official *Constitutions* (1723 and 1738), was basically a "speculative" mason who, having undergone three degrees of initiation, lived a moral life devoted both to teachings derived from a symbolic understanding of the stonemason's craft and to the three great Masonic principles of brotherly love, relief, and truth.

Secrecy—and a certain mystique—has surrounded and continues to surround the Freemason rituals of initiation and moral instruction, yet Freemasonry, or "the Craft," is not in principle a "secret society" in the subversive social or political sense, since respect for lawful authority is a hallmark of Masonic teachings. Though sometimes viewed as representing a specific or even "revolutionary" political agenda, Freemasons have been found on both sides of major political and social conflicts in modern times. Moreover, information regarding the history, rituals, and proceedings of Freemasonry is readily available in public libraries, in bookstores, and on the Internet. In certain instances, the names of members and even the existence of the order in some parts of the world where Freemasonry has spread were withheld from political authorities that were undemocratic, dictatorial, or generally inimical, such as those of Nazi Germany, Communist Russia, Fascist Italy, Catholic Spain, and most Islamic countries today. On the other hand, political groups, such as the nineteenth-century Grand Orients in Spain and Portugal, have sometimes masqueraded as Freemasons.

As modern fraternal orders in secular societies, Masonic lodges and related organizations are open to public scrutiny, and membership is publicly displayed in almost all cases. Secrecy aside, one of the most engaging contemporary issues is whether Freemasonry is a "religion" or not. Membership requires a belief in a supreme being and the immortality of the soul, and there are ample references, albeit symbolic, to religious symbols, personalities, and places in the rituals. Yet while the order testifies to its own archaic religious and even mythical roots, Freemasonry today resists the appellation of "religion" in the sectarian sense, encouraging only "that religion to which all men agree." Also, not claiming tax exemption as a religious body, the order aims to transcend individual religious differences and unite men of diverse backgrounds in common cause under a symbolic notion of God as the great architect of the universe. Religious tolerance and liberty of conscience have been among the principles of Freemasonry since its inception.

Despite the great importance of Freemasonry and other secretive societies in any accurate description of the rise of Western civilization, few historians of religion have undertaken a comprehensive study of the history and cultural significance of Freemasonry in its various dimensions. In recent years, social scientists and historians of ideas (Clawson, 1989; Carnes, 1989; Jacob, 1991) have sought to understand the significance of Masonry within the larger spheres of religious fraternalism, gendered cultural systems, and the rise of modern democracy and civil society. In addition, competent historians within the fraternity (Hamill, 1992 and 1994; Roberts, 1961) have maintained active lodges of research with accessible archives. And as a wider net of scholars begin to tap the formidable amount of archival material available on Freemasonry worldwide, its significance as a vital factor in Western cultural history will be further appreciated. In addition, the rich symbolism found in Masonic rites can provide a treasure trove for ritual specialists, semioticians, phenomenologists, and gender scholars.

HISTORY. Recent scholarship has placed the historical emergence of Freemasonry either in England or Scotland between 1600 and 1717. Yet the origin of Freemasonry is still perceived by the lay observer as a tangled web of mystery and opacity, due partly to the institution's use of ancient legendary history in its rituals and ceremonies, and to the fragmentariness of the early records of Masonic meetings, many of which may have been destroyed in the Great Fire of London in 1666. The confusion is heightened by a surfeit of origin theories—propounded by both Masons and non-Masons—that are largely untenable, such as proposals that the order has roots in the Druids, Gnostics, Egyptian pharaohs, the mysteries of Isis and Osiris, Phoenicians, Dionysiac Artificers, Vedic Aryans, Zoroastrians, Rosicrucians, the Jewish Qabbalah, Hermeticism, Essenes, or the Crusades. While aspects of these traditions permeate some Masonic rites and derivative orders, their direct influence during the seventeenth century is elusive and has been difficult to document. In fact, the precise historical circumstances of the transition from a medieval operative guild system, largely Catholic in orientation, to a nonoperative, gradually de-Christianized, nondenominational fraternity still remains to be adequately described and analyzed. Notwithstanding these conditions, it is perhaps most useful to divide Masonic history into two parts: legendary, the period for which there is virtually no authentic documents but only myths and legends; and historic, the period for which authentic documents appear (c. fourteenth century and after).

Legendary Masonic history. The legendary period of Masonic history as outlined within the tradition is founded upon a unique blend of biblical, Greco-Roman, and Afro-Asiatic personalities, places, symbols, and events. James Anderson's *Book of Constitutions* of 1723 and 1738, with nearly 150 pages of Masonic "history" tracing Freemasonry from Adam right up to Anderson's own time, was a benchmark in establishing and perpetuating the more influential aspects of the legendary histories, including the Temple of Solomon. Anderson, a Scottish Presbyterian minister, drew upon earlier manuscripts known as *Old Charges* that were associated with operative guilds from the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries. From the perspective of these sources, stonemasonry was viewed in ancient times as nearly synonymous with geometry and architecture, knowledge of which was a privileged or secret possession available only through direct transmission between craftsmen. The legendary origins of stonemasonry, or the "royal art," as it was called by Anderson and understood by medieval craftsmen, formed the basis upon which modern speculative Freemasonry was constructed. As such, the following may be construed as a linear account of the legendary history of Freemasonry as understood by members of the Craft in the eighteenth century. While also historically untenable, this scenario follows what the mainstream tradition had more-or-less accepted within its ranks as representing the most effective means to convey symbolic teachings pertaining to Masonic truths and virtues.

The almighty architect (God) created the universe according to the principles of geometry, and lastly created Adam in his own image. Possessing the divine knowledge of geometry as delivered to him, Adam built the first temple or place of worship in Eden, and lived in an innocent state. Then, despite his fall from grace, Adam retained this wisdom and taught his sons Cain, who built a city, and Seth, who taught his offspring. Later, the sons of Lamech perfected the arts of metallurgy, music, and tent construction; Enoch, anticipating a cataclysm (flood), built two pillars and engraved on them the sciences of geometry and masonry. According to the oldest manuscripts of the *Old Charges*, it was Hermes in Egypt who recovered one of the pillars and was able to restore the art of geometry by passing it on to the Egyptian pharaohs. But, according to Anderson, it was Noah who built the ark by the principles of geometry and, with his sons and their descendents, brought masonry into the postdiluvian world after settling on the plain of Shinar (Tigris and Euphrates). Anderson refers to a mason as a "true Noachite," since the universal religious principles taught to Noah by God in the Bible represented important Masonic teachings. The descendants of Shem built the Tower of Babel under the direction of Nimrod who allegedly presided over the first Masonic organization in Babylon. After the destruction of the tower and the confusion of languages, the masons were able to preserve their teachings by devising a system of signs and passwords, and Nimrod succeeded in building an empire in Assyria at Nineveh, and passing on the wisdom to the Chaldean Magis of Persia. The descendants of Ham brought masonry into Egypt and Canaan, and the descendants of Japheth brought it into Greece, Italy, Great Britain, and America. The names of Pythagoras and Euclid are also included in these legendary histories, as well as the role of the mysteries of Osiris and Isis as prototypes for the use of symbolism in initiatory rituals.

Abraham, schooled in the builders' art in ancient Mesopotamia, answered God's call and moved his family to Canaan, where he taught geometry to the Canaanites, as well as to his own offspring. Their descendants, the Hebrews, were eventually enslaved in Egypt but rose up under Moses, who was learned in Egyptian masonry. After leading his people into the wilderness accompanied by an ark that was designed by divine geometrical instruction, Joshua and the Israelites established the masonic arts once again in Canaan, where preparations were later begun under King David for a magnificent temple to their God.

The biblical aspects of Freemasonry that relate to King Solomon's Temple reflect a closer alliance with recorded history. Though Solomon is briefly mentioned as part of the Masonic chain in the earliest manuscripts of the *Old Charges*, Solomon and his Temple are central to Anderson's account in which the Masonic lodge itself becomes a symbolic replica of the Temple, influencing successive generations of Freemasons. Anderson portrays King Solomon as the Grand Master of Jerusalem who was assisted in the construction of the Temple by "masons" and carpenters sent by Hiram, King (or Grand Master) of Tyre. Among the workers is the chief architect, Hiram Abif, a stonemason. In the biblical books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* (*1 Kgs.* 7:13–50; *2 Chr.* 4), there is mention of a Hiram from Tyre who is "filled with wisdom and understanding" and is primarily a worker in brass and metals. Building upon the biblical story, the Masonic version portrays Hiram Abif as a master mason who was murdered before completion of the Temple by ruffians for not revealing the secret master's word (i.e., password and signs). The legend of Hiram Abif, including his murder and "resurrection," became a death-and-rebirth allegory that is dramatized within the third degree ritual of today's Craft. The initiated master mason is imparted with the master's word and continues the line of succession, protecting this "intellectual property" into the future.

After describing events surrounding the destruction of the Second Temple, and its rebuilding under Herod, Anderson continues in his narration with Jesus Christ as the Grand Master of the Christians who rose again from the dead. Then he focuses primarily on the architectural achievements of the Romans and how the Royal art was then preserved through the Middle Ages by the patronage of the British monarchy, right up until the time of the stonemasons and the first nonoperative lodges.

Historic period. The Historic period of Freemasonry has been traced by scholars (Clawson, 1989; Jacob, 1991; Hamill, 1992 and 1994) to these same periodic gatherings and confraternities of operative stonemasons engaged in the building of medieval churches and cathedrals in England and Europe. The earliest manuscripts associated with the work and moral symbolism of the stonemasons, the *Old Charges*, date from the late fourteenth century and are also called the "Gothic Constitutions." Besides tracing the legendary history of the Craft of masonry, as shown above, they contain specific moral instructions that are enjoined upon members as apprentices, fellow craftsmen (or journeymen), and master masons. It is probable that secrecy dates from this period, when knowledge of the building techniques of individual master masons was restricted to guild members.

Freemasonry as an official public institution is normally dated from the establishment of the first national Masonic organization, the Grand Lodge of England, a result of the combination of four smaller lodges of nonoperative (noncraftsmen) masons at the Goose and Gridiron Alehouse, London, on June 24, 1717. While nonoperatives were included in operative masons clubs or guilds, no cooperative network of nonoperative lodges had been formally announced. The history of Freemasonry during this period is documented primarily through publications, private diaries, journals, minutes, and newspaper accounts. The Craft attracted royal patronage by 1720, and many of its early members in London were also connected to the Royal Society and the circle surrounding Isaac Newton.

The Masonic lodge became a radically new blend of aristocrat, commoner, Catholic, Protestant, and Jew, by which new ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity were celebrated. Many Masons in Europe at this time were distinguished figures of the Enlightenment, including Voltaire, Edward Gibbon, Goethe, Johann Herder, Johann Fichte, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Joseph Haydn, Alexander Pope, Jonathan Swift, and John Theophilus Desaguliers, an Anglican priest of Huguenot ancestry who became the order's third elected Grand Master. Mozart wrote an entire set of Masonic musical works for his lodge, as well as *The Magic Flute* (1791), an opera rich in Masonic symbolism.

The introduction of Freemasonry into France by 1725 signified the transition from a largely nonpolitical organization into a body that was also identified with the Jacobite cause for the restoration of the Stuart monarchy in England (King James). The descendants and followers of the exiled James II, who had died in1701, found sympathizers on the continent, especially in Catholic France, who viewed Masonry as a means of infiltrating themselves back into English society. Though the Grand Lodge of France was nominally in control, there was a proliferation of new Masonic orders and exotic degrees that went beyond expectation. Under the direction of Chevalier Michael Ramsay, a Scottish pro-Stuart Catholic Freemason, the initial three-degree ritual of the English Craft tradition was enlarged into a system of *hautes* *grades,* or high degrees, which greatly influenced the nature of the fraternity. In order to align Freemasonry with Scotland and the Stuarts, Ramsay made the claim in a famous speech that Freemasonry really originated from the Knights Templar, a monastic order protecting the Crusades that had been disbanded and persecuted by the pope in the fourteenth century, but which had sought asylum in Scotland until it resurfaced as Freemasonry. The Templar origin theory continues today in the works of John Robinson and Michael Baigent, as well as in some recently popular novels and films. Appealing to the French taste for high-sounding titles and rituals, and the continental aversion toward building trades, Ramsay initially contrived a series of three chivalric degrees that initiated the candidates into a kind of knighthood unknown to the British lodges. Numerous degrees were later added that included Rosicrucian, Gnostic, qabbalistic, and Hermetic elements (Knight of the Sun, twenty-eighth degree in the Scottish Rite), so that by the end of the nineteenth century there were literally hundreds of degrees offered by various Masonic and quasi-Masonic organizations, many of which were open to women.

Regarding certain occult aspects of Freemasonry, recent scholarship has shed light on the Hermetic and possibly Rosicrucian influences on the historical founding of Freemasonry. Building upon the work of Francis Yates, David Stevenson has shown plausible connections between early Freemasonry in Scotland, Hermeticism, Rosicrucian "invisible" brotherhoods (Lutheran mystical groups), and the ancient art of memory in the sixteenth century. According to Stevenson, the art of memory, originally a technique for improving the memory by visualizing rooms in a building, became, under the influence of the sixteenth-century Hermeticist Giordano Bruno, a magico-religious art for the ascent of the soul, and it was adapted into Masonry to fix the mind on images and symbols in the Masonic temple. As such, late Renaissance fascinations with Egyptian hieroglyphics, alchemical searches for immortality, Neoplatonism, and architecture were all persuasive factors in the genesis of the fraternity.

The higher degrees that survived into mainstream Freemasonry were later grouped into two principal rites, or systems: the Scottish Rite of thirty-three degrees, which was originally derived from the French but flourished in America; and the York Rite, a system of advanced degrees said to originate in York, England. The Scottish Rite, built upon the earlier Rite of Perfection of twenty-five degrees, was brought to the West Indies by Stephen Morin and formally established in the United States by 1801 in Charleston, South Carolina, where it was enlarged to thirty-three degrees. Albert Pike (1809–1891) rewrote all of these degrees during his term as Supreme Commander of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite.

British Freemasonry, organized into separate Irish, Scottish, and English grand lodges, remained nonpartisan during the political-religious disputes of the eighteenth century. While there were some Protestant Christian advocates among the members, the order removed any requirement that its initiates be Christians with the adoption of the *Constitutions* of 1723, revised in 1738 by James Anderson. Largely as a result of British imperial expansion, initially among the military, lodges of Freemasons were established in North America, India, the West Indies, and throughout the world.

During the latter half of the eighteenth century, a rival grand lodge was formed by disaffected Irish and Scottish Masons that divided English-speaking Freemasonry for sixty years. Calling themselves "Antients" and the others "Moderns," this schism was finally healed in 1813 with the formation of the United Grand Lodge of England under the leadership of the duke of Sussex, who had been Grand Master of the Moderns. This division had led to the addition of the Holy Royal Arch to the basic three-degree system. While not of the highly imaginative character of continental degrees, the York Rite or Royal Arch provided Freemasons with a set of degrees that proposed to impart the ineffable name of deity to the degree's recipient. This rite was incorporated into the British Masonic system and also included Knights Templar and Knights of Malta degrees. Initially an Antient invention, the York Rite won wide acceptance throughout the Masonic fraternity in the nineteenth century.

The vital contribution of Freemasonry toward the establishment of the United States is confirmed by modern scholarship. Founding fathers like George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, John Hancock, and James Monroe, as well as the Marquis de Lafayette and a host of others, played key roles in making the ideals of Freemasonry a reality by creating America as a kind of Masonic "Temple of Virtue" that produced model citizens. Many of the principles laid down in the United States Constitution are essentially Masonic principles: liberty, freedom of conscience, religious tolerance, pursuit of happiness, and separation of church and state. Most federal and state government buildings were consecrated with Masonic ceremonies. In addition, Freemasonry became almost synonymous with patriotism toward America's "civil religion." Famous patriotic Masons like Irving Berlin ("God Bless America") and John Philip Sousa ("Stars and Stripes Forever") wrote stirring songs and marches, while lesser-known Masons designed the capital city of Washington, D.C., created the Statue of Liberty, and sculpted the faces on Mount Rushmore.

Freemasonry in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries continued to develop along the lines established by the differing English and French models. English, Irish, and Scottish Freemasonry shaped the fraternity and its teachings in Canada, the United States, the West Indies, India, and much of Africa. The impact of the French tradition, with its rationalistic and politicized emphasis, was more deeply felt in Austro-Hungary, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Latin America. By 1877, communication between these two groups had virtually ceased, when the Grand Orient of France removed the requirement that its initiates declare a belief in the existence of God as the "Great Architect of the Universe." In English-speaking areas, Freemasonry has in general prospered as a support to constitutional, democratic government.

One notable blemish on the Craft was the anti-Masonic episode in the United States. The abduction and suspected murder of William Morgan of Batavia, New York, in 1829 caused a widespread reaction against Freemasonry throughout the country. Morgan had published an exposé of its rituals and had brought considerable wrath upon himself from the fraternity, yet no solid evidence of his murder has been brought forward. Other secret societies, including Phi Beta Kappa and college social fraternities that are derived from the Freemasons, were also publicly affected, largely as a reaction against the perceived influence of political and social elites. This situation also precipitated the first American political party convention, that of the Anti-Masonic Party in 1832.

MASONIC TEACHINGS. Since 1717, Masonic teachings have retained a remarkable continuity and consistency. Membership in Freemasonry is comprised essentially of three steps or "degrees." The prospective candidate, after initial screening and interviewing, is initiated into the first degree as "entered apprentice," passed to second degree as "fellowcraft," and raised to the third degree as "master Mason," usually within a year. In place within Masonic ritual by 1730, the completion of all three degrees in succession made a man a full Mason, with all the rights and privileges of lodge fellowship, but also with expectations of participation in leadership succession, charitable work, and submission of dues. As part of the transformation from operative to speculative (initiated and living according to Masonic virtues) Masonry, each of the three degrees has employed within its structure "working tools" of the operative stonemasons, transformed from raw implements into symbols of Masonic teachings. The entered apprentice degree uses the 24-inch gauge and the common gavel, the former symbolic of dividing the hours of the day into three periods of service to God, charity, and rest, and the latter symbolic of removing vices and superfluities of life (i.e., forming the perfect ashlar out of the rough or imperfect stone, itself symbolic of the new candidate). The fellowcraft degree utilizes the plumb, square, and level to symbolize walking upright before God and fellow humans, honesty ("fair and square"), and equality ("on the level"). The third degree of master Mason utilizes the trowel in order to spread ("the cement of") brotherly love. In this degree, the legendary architect of King Solomon's Temple, Hiram Abif, is portrayed in a drama whereby he is symbolically slain by ruffians for not revealing Masonic secrets, and then "resurrected," thus serving as a paradigm for the rebirth of the candidates into a new life.

In addition to the above tools, there are three immovable "jewels" of the lodge, the rough ashlar (unpolished state of noninitiation), the perfect ashlar (ideal "polished" state of Masonic life), and the trestleboard (the rules and designs given by the "Great Architect of the Universe," the symbolic name for God). Each implement as used in the lodge both illustrates and confers specific Masonic teachings and obligations that are spoken as part of a "catechism" memorized by the candidate for each degree. All Masonic degrees are related to the transformation of the human personality from a state of darkness to light ("light in masonry"), symbolic of a higher level of human moral perfection destined to reach the "celestial lodge above," the term used for immortality beyond death.

Because Freemasonry has transposed a system of moral and noetic teaching upon a graded institutional structure, it has often been deemed a threat to confessional and orthodox religion. The basis for such assumptions is the fraternity's use of symbols that describe the change of personal moral character and human awareness by stages or degrees. These degrees have been interpreted as a plan for spiritual redemption without penance and forgiveness of sin. A study of the basic ceremonials and teachings, however, suggests that the goal of Masonic initiation is not actually redemption in the literal sense, but rather a shift in the initiate's perception toward the betterment of his personal moral character.

The lack of central authority and the multitude of Masonic degrees and ceremonials make it impossible to state unequivocally that Freemasonry is religious in any final or conclusive sense. Since Pope Clement XII's encyclical *In eminenti* in 1738, the Roman Catholic Church has proscribed Masonic affiliation for Catholics, with excommunication as the penalty. The emancipation of Jews was one of the by-products of the Enlightenment, and was ascribed to Masonic influence. As such, the free admission of Jews into lodges of equal fellowship with Christians evoked further condemnation by the Roman Catholic Church. Moreover, the identification of major southern European and Latin American revolutionary leaders, such as Giuseppe Mazzini, Giuseppe Garibaldi, Simón Bolívar, Bernardo O'Higgins, and José Julián Martí y Pérez, with Freemasonry created more tension by the end of the nineteenth century, especially during the First Vatican Council (1869–1870). More recently, the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod and the Southern Baptist Convention in the United States and the General Conference of the Methodist Church in England and Wales have legislated claims that Freemasonry is a system of faith and morals outside of the Christian tradition.

Beside suspicions of philo-Semitism, including the fictional notion of a worldwide Jewish-Masonic conspiracy, Christian opposition to Freemasonry stems from the alleged elements of deism, natural religion, and Neoplatonism in Masonic rituals that suggest the perfectibility of humanity rather than its sinful nature and need of redemption in Christ (see Whalen, 1958). However, many churches that maintain a less exclusive understanding of revelation have been much more tolerant of Freemasonry's belief in a universal brotherhood of humanity under the fatherhood of God. Many Christians today continue to enjoy both Masonic and Christian fellowship. Moreover, in parts of the world where religions other than Christianity prevail, the volume of sacred law used in Masonic lodges corresponds to the prevalent book or scripture: in India, the Vedas or *Bhagavadgītā;* in Muslim countries where Masonry is permitted, the Qur'ān; and in Israel, the Torah. As such, Freemasonry does not advocate deism or any other specific religious doctrine, stressing that members pursue their religious life outside of the fraternity, yet live a moral life according to universal principles of brotherly love, relief, and truth.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Freemasonry has a worldwide membership of approximately seven million people. It is governed by independent national grand lodges, except in the United States, Canada, and Australia, where grand lodges are organized by state or province. All Freemasons maintain membership in a specific lodge, yet are welcomed as fellow Masons in most places of the world where Freemasonry thrives.

Freemasonry has also provided a working structure or model for secret organizations. During the nineteenth century, many new fraternal orders were created that in some way were derivative of Freemasonry. The Knights of Columbus is a Masonic-like order for Catholics only, and the Order of B'nai B'rith has a Jewish clientele. There is an endless list of these, including Odd Fellows, Elks, Moose, Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, and Eagles. Even such occult groups as Gardnerian Witchcraft, the Theosophical Society, and the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn are not without Masonic influence.

More closely within the Masonic fold are the groups that require initiation into the three Craft degrees. Beside the Scottish and York Rites, there is the Ancient Arabic Order of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine (Shriners), which has a visible Islamic theme to its rituals, and, along with the Grotto, provides a recreational dimension to fraternity life that is also strongly committed to charity in the form of burn clinics and hospitals for crippled children. The Order of DeMolay is designed for young men, and Acacia is the name for the Masonic college fraternity.

Freemasonry is by no means an exclusively male concern. Since ancient times, women have also bonded together into sisterhoods, both religious and secular. The Eleusinian Mysteries in ancient Greece, and the various women's orders in the Roman, medieval, and Renaissance periods, are precursors for what came to be referred to as adoptive Masonry, established in France about 1775. The Adoptive Rite, designed for wives, sisters, widows, and daughters of Freemasons, consisted of four degrees: apprentice, companion, mistress, and perfect mistress. Numerous Masonic rites and orders that included women proliferated in the nineteenth century, including Co-Masonry.

The most famous and successful of the adoptive or androgynous orders (orders that include both men and women) emerged in the United States in 1868 under the guidance of Robert Morris, an active Freemason. This group is called the Order of the Eastern Star, and it has over two million women members worldwide. Their rituals, utilizing a five-pointed star, consist of five degrees drawn from the examples of five biblical heroines: Adah (Jephtha's daughter; *Judges* 11:29–40), Ruth, Esther, Martha, and Electa (alluded to in *2 John*). Florence Nightingale was one of their famous patron members. Other Masonic orders for women include the White Shrine of Jerusalem and the Order of Amaranth, with Job's Daughters and Rainbow Girls for young women. Beside these, there are now several full-fledged women's grand lodges in the United States, which are independent of male Freemasonry. These groups, like most Masonic organizations, engage in various charitable activities. While Freemasonry is racially mixed, there are also independent, largely black, grand lodges. The largest of these African American lodges is Prince Hall, named after a freed slave in eighteenth-century Massachusetts who received a charter from London. Many notable African Americans, such as Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois were Prince Hall Masons, as were jazz musicians Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, Count Basie, and Nat King Cole.

FAMOUS MASONS. Any assessment of the Masonic fraternity must acknowledge the wide range of membership that cuts across religious, ethnic, cultural, and racial lines. The list below includes names of some Masons who have distinguished themselves in service to both Masonry and the society in which they lived.

Stephen Austin, "Father of Texas"; Luther Burbank, American naturalist; Robert Burns, Scottish poet; Marc Chagall, Russian artist; Walter Chrysler, American car manufacturer; Winston Churchill, English statesman; Ty Cobb, American baseball legend; Davy Crockett, American frontiersman; Cecil B. De Mille, American filmmaker; Arthur Conan Doyle, English author; W. C. Fields, American comedic actor; John Glenn, American astronaut; Pasha Ismail, Egyptian viceroy and builder of the Suez Canal; Jerome Kern, American composer; Rudyard Kipling, English writer; Charles Lindbergh, American aviator; Charles H. Mayo, American physician and co-founder of the Mayo Clinic; Andrew Mellon, American industrialist; Motilal Nehru, Indian politician and father of Jawaharlal Nehru; Norman Vincent Peale, American Protestant clergyman; Pedro I, first king of Brazil; Paul Revere, American Revolutionary War hero; Sugar Ray Robinson, American boxing champion; Roy Rogers, American actor; Antoine Sax, Belgian inventor of the saxophone; Walter Scott, Scottish novelist and poet; Jean Sibelius, Finnish composer; Arthur Sullivan, English composer; Leo Tolstoy, Russian author; Swami Vivekananda, Hindu ascetic and philosopher; John Wayne, American actor; and Oscar Wilde, Anglo-Irish writer.

United States presidents who were Masons include George Washington, James Monroe, Andrew Jackson, James Polk, James Buchanan, Andrew Johnson, James Garfield, William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, William H. Taft, Warren G. Harding, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, Lyndon B. Johnson, Gerald R. Ford, and Ronald Reagan.

See Also Esotericism; Rosicrucians.

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FREE WILL AND DETERMINISM.

Free will is a moral, religious, and social concept that is central to philosophy and most religions. It has been argued that the basis of freedom lies in the contingency of natural events. Though this line of reasoning has been by and large abandoned, for freedom to exist at all the concept of strict universal causality will have to be suspended, at least in the moral sphere. Another line of thought sees the foundation of freedom in spirituality: The soul, as immaterial, is not subject to the deterministic laws of nature. Whatever the explanation, belief in free will amounts to the conviction that, as individuals, human beings are endowed with the capacity for choice of action, for decision among alternatives, and specifically that, given an innate moral sense, humans can freely discern good and evil and choose the good, though they often do not. Determinism is the philosophical view that, given certain initial conditions, everything that ensues is bound to happen as it does and in no other possible way; thus nothing in nature is contingent, nor is there any room for human freedom. The partisans of a "hard" determinism hold that none of one's actions is free, but only appear to be so; consequently, moral responsibility is an illusion as well; "soft" determinists, or compatibilists, believe that while one's actions are indeed caused, one is nevertheless free, since causality does not compel one's will.

Philosophical Interpretations. In Greek antiquity the idea of free will was clearly derived from the difference between free individuals and slaves, in modern times from the political structures of rising democratic electoral systems. A whole lineage of philosophers tried to reconcile the idea of determinism, the theological one in particular, with that of free will as uninhibited intentional action. Early Greek thought regarded free will as the denial of all intrinsic limitations upon the pursuit of voluntary goals. Plato shows in the *Republic* that social structures and moral conventions can be masterminded and manipulated at will. Both Socrates and Plato shifted the locus of freedom from the power to affect external events to the inner exercise of will and conviction. For Aristotle the power of free will lies in the capacity of thought to harmonize itself not only with God but with the good and the good life (*On Interpretation,* chap. 9). To be free meant to be rational. According to Augustine of Hippo *(On Free Will)*, God's foreknowledge of events does not curtail the capacity to choose and indeed the necessity of doing so, since God's knowledge of eternity is somewhat akin to that of a ubiquitous present. The will is certainly free and there is no reason to believe that God's knowledge of the object of the will should impair its freedom in any way. Humanity's freedom is to love God and act upon its own will. In accordance with the same line of argument, Boethius (*On the Consolation of Philosophy*) defined eternity as "the simultaneous and complete possession of infinite life." Thomas Aquinas similarly held that God's eternal vision could in no way cause one's actions (*Summa theologiae* 1.14.13).

Modern philosophers struggled with the dilemma of divine foreknowledge and human freedom by redefining the latter, for instance, as "lack of constraint" (Hobbes); others, for example, Descartes, emphasized the infinity of the will in espousing the true and rejecting the false even though human understanding may be limited. Spinoza conceived of human free will as self-determination; Leibniz, as a form of uncaused spontaneity, which was later to be equated with "freedom from indifference." It followed from these views that God could never be blamed for human errors. Yet this concept of a mind causally undetermined, inexplicably free, was found unsatisfactory and was replaced by Locke's concept of preference as cause (opposed to the previous idea about the irrelevance of judgments to one's will), and by Hume's argument that a free action is one that could have been avoided. For Kant, determinism is phenomenal and freedom is noumenal, since the pure practical reason upon which one freely acts lies outside the realm of causation and makes up the essence and autonomy of moral life. Hegel and his left-wing followers looked upon freedom and necessity as two sides of the same coin, two ideas dialectically interconnected through "knowledge" or "understanding": Freedom is necessity understood. Other nineteenth-century idealists, called libertarians, tended to postulate a special entity, the "self," which uses the body as a causal instrument while being itself immune to causation. The materialists, to the contrary, had favored since antiquity an almost total subordination of freedom to the necessary or contingent play of natural and social forces outside of both individual and divine control.

RELIGIOUS INTERPRETATIONS. The essential presupposition of most major religions is that humans are born with freedom of choice. Free will is the capacity to choose among courses of action, objectives, things, desires, and so forth, and also to assume full moral responsibility for them. For the will to be free it is therefore necessary that there be no direct coercion, serious compulsion, or distortion of truth (for example, through propaganda or brainwashing) and also that alternatives for choice be at hand. A variety of conditions in society will allow for a variety of beliefs and the free exercise of human choice. Classically, this idea is defined as the absence of obstacles to the realization of various freedoms; it has a negative aspect, *freedom from* (want, fear, et al.), and a positive one, *freedom for* (worship, creativity, symbolic acts of speech, et al.). Religious freedom, including, but not reducible to, freedom of worship, illustrates the inseparability of these aspects, being at the same time freedom from spiritual coercion (for example, forcibly inculcated atheism, active proselytism) and freedom for the consciousness to believe, the individual to practice, and the community to exercise the rules of conduct and rituals of its own tradition.

The principle of determinism, which claims that the states of the universe, including human volition, are to be rigidly deduced from previous causes, and that nothing could be other than it is or was, is a negation of free will. To the extent that they involve moral responsibility, all religions must recognize that a human being is a free agent. However, the presupposition of monotheistic religions that the one God is not only omnipotent but also omniscient seems to annul the power of free decision in humanity, which leads to the contradiction of one being held responsible for some courses of action for which one is actually not responsible.

Most religions have sought a theological solution to this dilemma. In Hinduism, even though the blame for evil is usually cast upon the god who causes human imperfections and thus dooms humanity to downfall, people are still held morally responsible for their woes, as they are for corrupting other human beings; parents are considered morally responsible for their children's—even physical—constitution. A concept present across the board in Asian religions, from Jainism and Brahmanism to Buddhism, Sikhism, Parsi, and animistic religions, is *karman,* which mainly points to action and reaction in the long series of reincarnations but is erroneously understood sometimes as rigid universal determinism, fate, or even retributive justice. Actually *karman* encompasses the unity and interrelatedness of all phenomena, their fundamental contingency, and the acts or rituals (*karman*) capable of destroying the bonds of transmigration. Under the law of *karman* an individual is essentially free to accept or to attempt to change the chain of cosmic events. There are many oscillations (from myth to myth and scripture to scripture) and ambiguities concerning the status of the individual in the cosmos: On the one hand, he or she might be considered as a passive entity subject to the laws of the universe, now weakened and contaminated, now strengthened and purified, by the flow of events; on the other hand, the individual enjoys a certain amount of spontaneous freedom. In any case, the goodness to which one should aspire is the integration and the harmony of ambivalent features rather than their dissociation. This is what makes the Hindu concept of free will radically different from the Judeo-Christian one.

There are two main concepts designating freedom in Indian philosophy: The one is *svāraj* (self-rule), which appears already in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* and has definite social, political, and moral connotations; the other is *mokṣa*, which has the psychological and metaphysical connotations of deliverance, emancipation, and release. There is both a tension and a synthesis between the two, out of which the real notion of freedom in Hinduism emerges. *Mokṣa* is, however, the ultimate goal of Hindu religion. It is freedom from *karman* and bondage, which in turn is freedom from ignorance, a freedom to be attained not after death but here and now through physical and mental discipline. Biological and social freedom is a necessary yet not sufficient condition for its achievement.

In Judaism, a person is born free because he or she is created in the image of God (who is free). Also, it is God's goodness that is reflected in human freedom. The faithful are to abolish completely their will in favor of God's. Yet, according to the teachings of the Bible, human obligations flow from two sources: divine law and the voice of inner conscience. In the Talmud, the *mitsvot* appear as absolute prescriptions, that is, decrees to be followed by man. Jewish philosophers, nevertheless, and particularly those influenced by Hellenism (e.g., Philo Judaeus and Josephus Flavius), insist on the heteronomous nature of the *mitsvot,* which are also an explicit expression of natural law. Judaism offers little evidence for the idea that events in the life of an individual might have been "fated" (in the Greek sense of *moira*); yet the major collective occurrences in the life of the people of Israel were commanded and predetermined by God. As lord of history and judge, God both rules over nature and determines the end result of human deeds and conflicts. God may sometimes be portrayed in the Hebrew scriptures (*Is.* 34:17) as a caster of lots. In the rabbinical period, the belief emerged that God did predetermine major events such as the dates of birth, death, and marriage in the individual's life. Outside of these, however, there was no predetermination. Nothing could abolish the free will and therefore the moral responsibility of the person.

Islam holds the belief that major events are fated and decreed by God; this allows one to affirm the underlying uniformity and rationality of the universe. The concept of fate, however, was borrowed from pre-Islamic Arabic literature, especially from poetry that was not necessarily religious. It became subordinated in Islam to a divine predestination that by itself does not preclude the actual freedom of the individual's will. More and more, Islamic theologians shun the attribute of fatalism bestowed upon the Muslim religion. "Fate" is often a label given after the fact; to say that something is fated is to give an easy and weak explanation to an otherwise inexplicable event. The argument is that while in God's mind everything is determined in advance, the active believer is wholly ignorant of this determination and therefore enjoys fully the freedom to choose.

Christianity is among the major religions that emphasize the freedom of humanity to the last consequence. Even the existence of evil in face of the omnipotence of God is justified in terms of the supremacy of humankind's essential freedom to adopt its own goals and to choose its own course of action. The controversy between Augustine of Hippo and Pelagius as early as the fifth century set the scene for what was to be an ongoing theological debate in Western Christianity. To Augustine's almost exclusive emphasis on indwelling grace, Pelagius, a British monk who lived in Africa and was condemned for heresy by two synods, opposed the notion that the human, unassisted free will acts in a sovereign way in bringing about or jeopardizing human salvation. In the sixteenth century, Erasmus of Rotterdam defended the church doctrine of free will against Martin Luther's aggressive denial of it and Luther's affirmation of humankind's complete dependence upon God's grace. Protestant theology with Zwingli, Wyclif, Calvin, and their followers steadily upheld the soteriological and metaphysical doctrine of predestination.

In Mādhyamika Buddhism, freedom from pain, which implies a complete, blissful regeneration of humankind, is achieved by the elimination of all conceptual constructions at their very roots: the duality between "is" and "is-not." The spiritual discipline of attaining enlightenment or achieving Buddhahood through the resolution of the painful conflict between the private and the social good is conducive to wisdom, *prajñā,* which is itself liberating. To achieve freedom is mainly a negative process consisting in the elimination of hindrances that obscure the real, such as attachment, aversion, and all mental fictional constructions. *Śūnyatā* as the intellectual intuition of voidness is equated with freedom.

Avowedly the relationship between free will and determinism is one of paradox, that is, of mutual implication and repulsion occurring simultaneously. This paradox can more or less be dissolved by relegating free will to the realms of spiritual awareness, psychologically lived reality, and practical (moral) action; whereas determinism and predestination would belong to the actual ontological and existential givenness of things and events in the world. Attempts at solving this paradox have led some theistic process philosophers and theologians (e.g., Charles Hartshorne) to want to weaken the divine attributes of omniscience and omnipotence. It is not God's unsurpassable power but his monopoly on it that is denied. This should allow for openness and indeterminacy in the future in which humanity's options can be exercised freely. The present stage of the philosophical discussion of free will and determinism in relation to both cosmology and individual existence involves sophisticated epistemological arguments from the theory of explanation, causality, the symmetry of past and future, and the theory of human action.

SEE ALSO Conscience; Existentialism; Fate; Free Will and Predestination; Israelite Law; Karman; Materialism; Mokṣa; Morality and Religion; Naturalism; Pelagianism; Prajñā; Soteriology; Śūnyam and Śūnyatā; Theodicy.

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ILEANA MARCOULESCO (1987)
Revised Bibliography

FREE WILL AND PREDESTINATION

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
CHRISTIAN CONCEPTS
ISLAMIC CONCEPTS

FREE WILL AND PREDESTINATION: AN OVERVIEW

Free will and predestination constitute a polarity in many of the religions of the world: is salvation determined by a divine choice or is it a matter of personal self-determination? *Free will* in this article does not refer to the general philosophical problem of the will's freedom but to the specific meaning and function of willing and self-determination in the process of salvation. Some religious thinkers have sharply distinguished between the will's freedom in the material and civil affairs of life and its freedom or unfreedom with regard to the spiritual life, and it is with the latter that this article is concerned.

At least two ways of thinking about the freedom of the will in spiritual matters have been common: free will as a freedom of choice, whereby one does freely what one has also had the power to choose to do, and free will as the absence of compulsion, whereby one willingly does what one does without actively choosing what is done. The latter has been described as voluntary necessity. In the first of these meanings of freedom, freedom seems incompatible with divine determination; in the second, it does not, and is opposed not to causality but to constraint.

Predestination as it is treated in this article is separated from the general consideration of providence, determinism, and fate, and refers only to the voluntary divine choice of certain groups or individuals for salvation. Sometimes predestination is considered as a part of divine providence, namely, that aspect of the divine determination of all things that refers to the supernatural end of souls, as opposed to the determination of persons with regard to all else or of the natural order. But predestination is to be sharply distinguished from some forms of determinism and from fatalism, which do not necessarily involve the theistic concept of a personal deity making conscious choices. *Determinism* may mean any one of a number of systems claiming that all events cannot occur otherwise than they do, sometimes without reference to deity. *Fate* suggests an impersonal determining force that may even transcend the gods.

The terms *election* and *reprobation* have meanings related to predestination. One traditional use of these terms considers predestination the larger divine act, which encompasses the separate decrees of election (predestination to salvation) and reprobation (predestination to damnation). *Reprobation*, however, is seldom used now, and *election* is more commonly simply substituted for *predestination*, because it seems more positive in its connotations. In biblical studies, *election* has been the preferred term for referring to divine choice.

Predestination has been considered not inevitably contradictory to free will. Sometimes both are held together as paradoxical, yet complementary, aspects of truth; but more classically, free will is understood not as freedom of choice but as voluntary necessity. That is, where freedom means the absence of compulsion, necessary acts determined by God nonetheless can be freely done. Almost all predestinarian theologies have therefore maintained that the predestined will acts freely and with consequent responsibility for its actions, even though it lacks the power to choose its actions. In this sense of freedom, even the decree of reprobation has been seen as compatible with responsibility and not as entailing a divine compulsion to do evil. This compatibility of free will and predestination has historically been a commonplace of Augustinian and Calvinistic theology in Christianity, and of Islamic theology through its doctrine of acquisition. Even such a materialistic determinist as Thomas Hobbes thought that necessary acts were entirely voluntary and therefore responsible acts. It is this that sharply distinguishes predestination from fatalism, which may entail compulsion to act in a certain way. Roman Catholic theology refers to any predestinarian doctrine that proceeds without reference to the will's freedom as the error of predestinarianism. Only in rare cases in Christian and Islamic theology has that way of understanding predestination appeared.

OCCURRENCE IN THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS. The issue of free will and predestination in relation to salvation arises in those religions that believe in a personal, omnipotent God, and thus has appeared mainly in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. But it has also occurred in ancient Greece and India among certain groups that have had a similar religious understanding.

Ancient Greece. Ancient Greek monotheism, centering on the figure of Zeus, came near to personal theism in Stoicism, particularly among the later Stoics who believed in immortality. They considered Zeus a universal mind and will determining all things, including the virtue by which good persons resigned themselves to the inevitable; through this providence elect souls triumphed over the sufferings of earthly existence.

Judaism. In Judaism, the Deuteronomic tradition especially accents Yahveh's choice of Israel as his people. In the Hebrew scriptures, the stories of Moses, Samuel, Isaiah, and Jeremiah show God's choice of particular persons to fulfill special offices. But this election, whether of persons or of the group, is grounded by the Hebrew scriptures in the divine initiative, not in the chosen object, and involves special tasks and responsibilities more than special privileges. The will's freedom of choice in obeying God's commandments is clearly asserted in many passages of the Hebrew scriptures, as, for example, in *Deuteronomy* 30:15–20. The apocryphal book of *Ben Sira* asserts that God does not lead persons astray but created them with the freedom not to sin (15:11–17).

Josephus Flavius, in describing the Pharisees to his Hellenistic audience, said that they considered all events predetermined but still did not deprive the human will of involvement in decisions about virtue and vice. The Sadducees he described as rejecting determinism altogether (*Jewish Antiquities* 13.171–173; *Jewish War*, 2.162–166). The Essenes were the most predestinarian of the Jewish groups, if the Qumran texts are to be attributed to them. The Qumran literature teaches that God created the spirits of men to be cast in the lots of either good or evil and that salvation is divinely initiated and based on God's choice. Nonetheless, the Essenes also maintained human accountability for evil. Elsewhere in the Judaism of the Hellenistic age, Philo Judaeus upheld the will's complete freedom.

Rabbinic literature taught both God's foresight and providence directing all things and human freedom of choice with respect to the doing of good or evil. A saying of ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef juxtaposes them: "All is foreseen and yet freedom is granted" (*Avot* 3:15). Some rabbinic sayings suggest that everything about a person's life is determined by God except for the soul's obedience to God (B. T., *Ber.* 33b, *Meg.* 25a, *Nid.* 16b). This matter did not become a serious question for Jewish thinkers until contact with Islamic speculations in the tenth century, when Saʿadyah Gaon took up the problem. He and all the medieval Jewish philosophers maintained the will's freedom of choice. But Maimonides alluded to the view of "uninformed" Jews that God decrees that an individual will be either good or evil when the infant is being formed in the womb (*Mishneh Torah*, Repentance 5.2).

Christianity. Predestination has had a more central place in Christian thought. The theme of predestination to salvation appears strongly in the Pauline literature, especially the *Letter to the Romans*. For Paul, predestination results from the divine initiative and is grounded in grace, so that no one may boast of being saved by his own efforts. Paul also speaks of God's hardening of the hearts of unbelievers (*Rom.* 9:18).

In spite of the numerous New Testament references to predestination, patristic writers, especially the Greek fathers, tended to ignore the theme before Augustine of Hippo. This was probably partly the result of the early church's struggle with the fatalistic determinism of the Gnostics. Augustine, writing against the Pelagians, taught that God predestined to salvation some out of the mass of sinners, passing by the rest and thus leaving them to just condemnation for the sins they willingly committed. Augustine thought that the will was unable to do the good that God commanded unless aided by grace. To do evil willingly was a slavery to sin from which grace rescued those whom God had chosen. Augustine had many medieval followers in this doctrine, including Gottschalk in the ninth century, who stated the doctrine in an extreme fashion, and Thomas Bradwardine in the fourteenth century, who opposed those he considered his Pelagian contemporaries. Thomas Aquinas was also a predestinarian, but he treated the doctrine in the context of God's providence as a whole. On the other hand, such medieval Scholastics as John Duns Scotus and William of Ockham sought to reconcile God's prescience with human freedom of choice.

In the Renaissance and Reformation there was a revival of predestinarian thinking. Lorenzo Valla was the main representative of determinism among Renaissance philosophers, while almost all of the major Protestant reformers found the doctrine of predestination useful in their insistence upon the primacy of divine grace in salvation. Luther (and Lutheranism, in the Formula of Concord) soon backed away from the extreme predestinarian teaching of his early *Bondage of the Will* and taught only election to life, with the possibility of falling from grace. The Reformed churches, following their teachers Huldrych Zwingli, Martin Bucer, John Calvin, and Peter Martyr Vermigli, gave the doctrine an important role in the defense of grace in salvation and also taught double predestination, but still insisted on the freedom of the will, which they understood in the Augustinian sense of voluntary necessity. Later Scholastic Reformed theologians, such as Theodore Beza, William Perkins, and Franciscus Turretinus, gave the doctrine of predestination a central role in their theological systems. An important eighteenth-century defense of the Reformed view of predestination and the freedom of the will came from Jonathan Edwards in colonial Massachusetts. The Church of England adopted the predestinarian theology of the Reformers in its Thirty-nine Articles and in the first century of its existence generally taught the Reformed view of the matter.

The Roman Catholic theology of the same period, especially that of the Jesuits, stressed human responsibility in the process of salvation, with Luis de Molina maintaining the position of "congruism," that is, of grace as efficacious according as the will cooperates with it. Countering this was a revival of Augustinian theology, represented by the Spanish Dominican Domingo Bañez and by Cornelis Jansen in the Netherlands. The Jansenists in France, including Blaise Pascal, considered the Jesuits Pelagian. Predestination has not been an important theme in more modern Roman Catholic theology, and Catholic treatments of Augustine tend to focus on other aspects of his thought.

In the later history of Protestantism, emphasis upon predestination has generally declined, and freedom of choice in salvation has frequently been asserted. From the beginning, few of the Anabaptists were predestinarian. Some of the early Protestant reformers, including Heinrich Bullinger and Theodor Bibliander, were cautious in their treatment of predestination, and the Dutch Reformed theologian Jacobus Arminius (1560–1609) asserted that God predestined to salvation those whom he foresaw would believe. This assertion of the will's freedom of choice in salvation came to be known as Arminianism and gained ground among English Protestants throughout the seventeenth century. In the next century John Wesley adopted it as the theology of Methodism, and it generally made headway among evangelicals who wanted to be able to make straightforward appeals for conversions. Thus its avowal by the nineteenth-century American evangelist Charles G. Finney influenced many in the formally Calvinistic Presbyterian and Congregationalist denominations, although his contemporary, the Princeton theologian Charles Hodge, continued to uphold double predestination in its Scholastic form. The liberal Protestant theology of the nineteenth and early twentieth century usually rejected any form of predestinarian theology. But in the twentieth century, two Reformed theologians, Emil Brunner and Karl Barth, have attempted reformulations of predestination while abandoning its more unpalatable features.

Islam. Free will and predestination have been important issues in Islamic thought. Basic to Muhammad's religious experience was a sense of God's power, majesty, and judgment. The Qurʾān exhorts submission before the divine sovereignty and declares even that "God leads astray whom he pleases and guides whom he pleases" (*sūrah* 74:34). But the Qurʾān also presupposes choice on the part of persons who have been summoned by revelation. Early in the history of Islam, the predestinarian emphasis was reinforced by a general Arab cultural belief in fate, and some Muslims thought that God permitted Satan's irresistible incitement to evil. But one of the first groups of Islamic philosophers, the Muʿtazilah, argued that, however much other events were determined beforehand, there was a free human choice of good or evil. Later Muslim theologians, emphatically teaching predestination, nonetheless tried to reconcile it with free will through varying interpretations of the doctrine of acquisition. According to this doctrine, man is regarded as voluntarily willing his actions and thus "acquiring" them, even though God has created these acts so that they occur by necessity. Such a viewpoint has many parallels with Augustinianism, and generally Islam is no more fatalistic than is Christianity.

Hinduism. The main traditions of Hinduism and Buddhism do not posit a personal deity with an omnipotent will, and thus the polarity of free will and predestination in relation to the salvation of souls has not been so prominent as in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The doctrine of *karman* can constitute a kind of determinism whereby an individual's lot in life is determined by his behavior in past lives, but the doctrine can also imply that a soul is in charge of its future destiny; its modern proponents therefore sometimes consider the doctrine to imply freedom more than fatalism. But in either case, *karman* is usually seen not as the willing of a personal deity but as the workings of an impersonal force.

However, some schools of Hinduism maintain personal theism and an omnipotent God and consequently wrestle with the problem of free will and predestination. For example, the Vaiṣṇava sect of Madhva (1238–1317) believed that Viṣṇu predestined some souls to blessedness and others to damnation, simply for his good pleasure and not because of the merits or demerits of the souls themselves. A more cautious theology of predestination appeared in the interpretation of the Vedanta by Rāmānuja (fl. c. 1100). He taught that the souls of some persons were led to repentance by a divine initiative, but he also held that the choice of good or evil nonetheless included personal acts performed by means of a God-given freedom. Rāmānuja's followers divided over the extent to which divine power controlled souls. The Teṅkalai, or "cat school," taught that God's irresistible grace saves some souls the way the mother cat carries her young by the nape of the neck, while the Vaṭakalai, or "monkey school," taught that God's grace and the human will cooperate in salvation the way the infant monkey clings to the mother.

As a Phenomenon of Religious Experience. The notion of the freedom of the will in relation to salvation arises out of the everyday experience of free choice and personal responsibility. There seems to be a human need to feel in control of one's life. Modern experience has been especially characterized by a sense of autonomy, and this has abetted the assumption of the will's freedom of choice with reference to salvation.

Belief in predestination, on the other hand, represents and abstracts from the experience of creatureliness before the majesty of the divine. It was Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834) who first looked at predestination as a transcript of subjective piety, concluding that it was an element in the religious person's consciousness of dependence upon God. Following Schleiermacher, Rudolf Otto attempted a phenomenology of the "creature feeling" that he thought lay behind the doctrine of predestination. As Otto interpreted it, the idea of predestination was rooted not in speculative thought but in religious self-abasement, the "annulment of personal strength and claims and achievements in the presence of the transcendent," and thus was "an immediate and pure expression of the actual religious experience of grace." The one who receives grace feels that nothing has merited this favor, and that it is not a result of his own effort, resolve, or achievement. Rather, grace is a force that has grasped, impelled, and led him. Predestination is thus a numinous experience of awe in the face of the *mysterium tremendum.*

Besides being rooted in the human sense of createdness and of grace, predestination as a religious phenomenon also depends on a sense of trust and confidence in the reliability of the divine and in its power to complete what has been begun in the creature. Such belief in an ordered world and rejection of the sheer fortuitousness of things is an important element of much religious consciousness and leads to a sense of assurance about God's purpose and about one's own spiritual security. Ernst Troeltsch thought that it was in the interest of the assurance of salvation that predestination became such a central doctrine in Protestant theology.

Belief in predestination may also be regarded as arising from the search for a purely spiritual religion, for it has the effect of stripping away all concrete mediation and leaving the soul alone before God. It was this that led Max Weber to consider belief in predestination as functionally related to the process of the elimination of magic from the world. This aspect of predestinarian religion has been greatly attractive to religious reformers, for the doctrine can become a means to sweep away much accumulation of religiosity.

Another aspect of belief in predestination as a matter of religious experience is that it has had the effect, not (as might be supposed) of giving rise to fatalistic acquiescence, but of energizing the will for the fulfillment of divinely assigned tasks. Thus Calvinist theologians spoke of predestination as election to holiness.

As a Problem of Religious Thought. While beliefs concerning free will and predestination may be rooted in religious experience, they are also connected to certain intellectual concerns and puzzlements. One motive for such reflection has been the simple observation that some believe while others do not—is this fact the consequence of personal freedom of choice or of divine predetermination?

Reflection on divine omnipotence has led to the inference that the divine choice must be the determining factor in salvation. If some things were excepted from the general principle that all things occur by virtue of a divine causality, then God would seem to lack the efficacy to bring his purposes to fruition. Even the bare acknowledgment of divine foreknowledge seems to entail determinism, for if God knows what will happen from eternity, it must necessarily happen in that way or else his knowledge would be rendered erroneous. And though it may be argued that God foresees actual human choices, nonetheless when the time for those choices arrives, they cannot be other than they are; this is precisely what identifies an event as predetermined. Opponents of this viewpoint have maintained, however, that foresight is not a cause and that therefore a foreseen event need not be a determined one.

Still, the doctrine of predestination has probably been rooted primarily not in this kind of consideration but in the theological need to maintain the gratuitousness of salvation. To connect this with predestination effectively rules out any possibility of human merit.

Theologies that have asserted the will's freedom of choice in salvation have, on the other hand, focused on different theological needs, primarily those of preserving human responsibility in the process of salvation and God's goodness and justice in the governing of his creation. If salvation is entirely God's gift, how can those left out be held responsible? In the modern period, the Augustinian definition of freedom as absence of constraint has not been widely persuasive, in spite of the fact that many elements of contemporary thought, especially in relation to heredity, have provided some basis for considering human freedom in this way.

The problem of theodicy, in Christian thought in particular, seems almost inevitably to rely on the assumption of human freedom of choice in salvation. Even the Puritan poet John Milton, in seeking to "justify the ways of God to man," fell back upon an assertion of such freedom.

Several considerations may be brought forward in religious thought in order, if not exactly to solve, then at least to extenuate this problem. One approach is simply to acquiesce to the polarity of free will and predestination as a paradox. Another consideration is Augustine's argument that God exists not in time but in the qualitatively different state of eternity. Thus since for God there is no past or future, there is no priority of time for his foresight or decree in relation to the events of salvation; priority is implied only by our inadequate language. A further Augustinian consideration is that, since the evil of an evil act is a deficiency of being, it requires no divine causality at all. Evil is only a falling away from the good (and from freedom) and hence needs no positive causality.

SEE ALSO Election; Fate; Free Will and Determinism; Grace; Justification; Theodicy.

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FREE WILL AND PREDESTINATION: CHRISTIAN CONCEPTS

In an effort to explain the roles of human and divine agency in the accomplishment of salvation, Christian theologians have formulated concepts of free will and predestination. The concepts entered the creeds of the churches. The notion of predestination introduces the matter of time-order in affirming that God made a decision or decree about who over the course of the ages would be saved by Christ *prior* to any decision or action that those who are saved might take during their lifetime in relation to their own salvation. Following Augustine and Paul, theologians and the creeds have usually maintained that God's decision occurred "before the foundation of the world." In the face of this emphasis on God's previous power of decision, the notion of free will affirms the human role that might appear to be overridden thereby, and acknowledges the power of human decision within the process of salvation. The two notions exist in a paradoxical relationship with each other, and they turn on an understanding of history.

A widely held but mistaken opinion identifies the notion of predestination as a concept peculiar to Calvinists since the sixteenth century, asserting that Calvinist traditions have denied or rendered irrelevant the notion of free will. On the contrary, all Christian traditions that honor the ancient creeds have in some way affirmed both free will and predestination. They have, however, meant very different things by these concepts and have given them different roles in relation to each other. In recent times, churches have tended to mute their references to predestination, allowing the discourse to continue in a new form outside of ecclesiastical and theological milieux as a debate about freedom and determinism.

THE ISSUES AND THE SCRIPTURES. That the question arises—and that it persists—may be attributed to the human experience of being able to choose responsibly among real options while at the same time being overwhelmed by forces apparently beyond human ability to choose. Christians have used the doctrines of free will and predestination as their means of expressing these contrary experiences—on the one hand, the certitude of salvation as God's act; on the other hand, the human responsibility to believe and do what is right.

Christians have related these two concepts to many others, including God's sovereignty and grace, divine foreknowledge of future human acts, divine election in relation to human merits, eternity and time, causation, and the process of salvation. They have raised periodic warnings against trying to penetrate the mystery of salvation, against impugning the justice or the mercy of God, and against making God the author of evil.

Advocates of all positions have appealed to the Bible, even though the biblical scriptures do not contain what one might call doctrines or concepts of free will and predestination, nor even these words. The Latin term *praedestinatione* derives from the creation of an abstract noun from the translation of the Greek verb *proorizo,* which refers to deciding or setting limits on something beforehand. The word occurs six times in four passages in the New Testament: *Acts of the Apostles* 4:28, *Romans* 8:28–30, *1 Corinthians* 2:7, and *Ephesians* 1:3–14. The King James translation of the Bible renders the *Romans* passage this way: "For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son. . . . Moreover whom he did predestinate, them he also called. . . ." In constructing the concept, theologians had to piece together the several passages in keeping of some sense of logic, and the ways they did this led to differences. Commonly they linked *proorizo* with a time metaphor from *Ephesians* 1 about God "choosing us" "before the foundation of the world." This they augmented with Paul's references in *Romans* 9 to one Old Testament passage about God's "hardening the heart of Pharaoh" and another about God choosing Jacob instead of Esau even before these twins were conceived. Over the ages, through this process of turning verbs into nouns and metaphors into concepts, theologians have built a logical edifice of considerable magnitude. The process has passed through four phases so far.

FROM SCRIPTURE TO EARLY AUGUSTINE. Paul's writings in the Bible formed the basis of all future treatments. For three hundred years after Paul, theologians were content to produce commentaries on the pertinent passages. Following the lead of Clement of Alexandria (fl. c. 200 CE), however, they interpreted *proorizo* as depending upon *proginosko* (foreknow)—those whom God foreknew would believe, God decided upon beforehand to save. The chief concern was to combat the concept of fatalism and affirm that humans are free to do what is righteous. Thus Origen fought the Gnostics toward the middle of the third century, and Augustine wrote *On Free Will* against the Manichaeans (c. 397). Origen asserted that humans were created with free will in the sense "that it is our own doing whether we live rightly or not, and that we are not compelled, either by those causes which come to us from without, or, as some think, by the presence of fate."

AUGUSTINE THROUGH THE 1400S. Augustine changed his emphasis as a result of a challenge from Pelagius, who sought to defend human free will against Augustine's apparent denial of it in his *Confessions* (400): "Grant us what you [God] command, and command us what you will." In numerous treatises written over the succeeding two decades against Pelagius and those later called semi-Pelagians, Augustine gradually created the doctrine of predestination and established the terms in which virtually all subsequent discussions have carried on. He stated that God created humans with the free will to choose between good and evil. By choosing evil they lost their free will fully to do God's will, and thereafter needed God's grace to be saved and to live righteously. In *On the Predestination of the Saints* (428–429) Augustine claimed that God's gift of grace is prepared for by God's prior decision from eternity to predestine some to salvation. On this view, grace then comes as the effect of that predestination. God supremely predestined Christ to be the Son of God and called all those predestined for salvation to become members of Christ's body. Those so elected do indeed choose by their free will to believe, but since they are the elect, their "will is prepared by the Lord." In Augustine's view, none of this depends on divine foreknowledge of future human merits. In the *City of God* (413–426) he claims that God has "a plan whereby he might complete the fixed number of citizens predestined in his wisdom, even out of the condemned human race." God decides on the plan in eternity (an everlasting present) and foreknows in one sweeping vision the whole of time (the course of the past, present, and future). In *Enchiridion* (421) Augustine taught what came to be called "double predestination," that God not only in his mercy predestines some to salvation but in his justice predestines the rest to damnation or reprobation.

A succession of church councils culminating in the Council of Orange (529) elevated Augustine's position to the status of orthodoxy. Thereafter the view not quite accurately attributed to the Pelagians—that original sin has no power to keep humans from using their free will to gain their own salvation—was deemed unacceptable. The Council of Quiercy (853), responding to the concept of double predestination as elaborated by Gottschalk (848), declared that view unacceptable as well. The council held that while God surely preelects some to salvation, he merely leaves the remainder of humanity in their freely chosen sin with its predestined consequence of eternal punishment.

Between roughly 1050 and 1450, numerous theologians worked in Augustine's lineage to construct logical definitions of free will or predestination. They included Anselm of Canterbury (d. 1109), Peter Lombard (d. 1160), Duns Scotus (d. 1308), William of Ockham (d. 1349?), John Wyclif (d. 1384), Lorenzo Valla (d. 1457), and others. In his *Summa theologiae* (1266–1273), Thomas Aquinas gathered and elaborated a great array of logical distinctions to explain the concepts of free will and predestination: sufficient and efficient grace, habitual and actual grace, operating and cooperating grace, unconditional and conditional necessity, antecedent and consequent will, primary and secondary cause, and so on. According to Thomas, predestination was "the planned sending of a rational creature to the end which is eternal life." It "presupposes election, and election [presupposes] love." Thomas believed that his logic would show that none of this impairs free will.

REFORMATION THROUGH THE 1800S. The rupture of Latin Christendom called the Reformation led to a proliferation of positions roughly analogous to the pluralism of ecclesiastical traditions produced after the 1520s. A brief statement by Martin Luther (1520) that appeared to deny free will prompted Desiderius Erasmus to write *On the Freedom of the Will* (1524) in the hope of settling the matter simply. Instead of a resolution, however, the ensuing debate initiated a controversy lasting four hundred years. By the time it ended, theologians in virtually all traditions had attempted definitions of the concepts of free will and predestination, and every major church tradition had built some statement of the concepts into its creed.

Erasmus picked up a concept that Thomas and others had used about cooperating grace and brought the analogous concept of cooperating will or assisting will into the discussion. Erasmus asserted that the will of God "preveniently moves the [human] will to will." Yet, humans do indeed will and achieve something. He concluded that *Philippians* 2:12–16 "certainly teaches that both humans and God work." Luther retorted with *On the Bondage of the Will* (1525), denying any possibility of cooperation between God and human will. The term *free will,* he claimed, applies only to God or to the "lower choices" that humans make about everyday matters. All matters pertaining to salvation "depend on the work of God alone," the only power able to free the will from bondage to sin. Luther adopted Augustine's position on predestination. The Lutheran Formula of Concord (1576) stated: "The predestination or eternal election of God extends only to the good and beloved children of God, and this is the cause of their salvation." Concerning the nonelect, the formula urged caution when speaking of reprobation.

Caution had become necessary, the Lutherans thought, because of John Calvin's views. In his *Romans* (1540) and *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Calvin adopted Augustine's views and followed Luther in rejecting the notion of divine and human cooperation in salvation. By the final edition of the *Institutes* (1559), however, he defined predestination expansively to include double predestination: "By predestination we mean the eternal decree of God, by which he determined with himself whatever he wished to happen with regard to every person. All are not created on equal terms, but some are preordained to eternal life, others to eternal damnation." A succession of Reformed creeds, including the French Reformed Confession (1559), the Scots Confession (1560), the Belgic Confession (1561), and the Second Helvetic Confession (1566), adopted Calvin's teachings, excepting the notion of the nonelect. On this point they urged caution or, as in the Belgic Confession, affirmed that God was "just, in leaving others in the fall and perdition wherein they have involved themselves." Of the Reformed creeds, only the Westminster Confession (1647) adopted double predestination. The Canons of Dordt (1619) condemned the formulation presented by Jacobus Arminius and the Remonstrants' creed (1610) concerning God's assisting or cooperating grace. Arminius had characterized predestination as God's eternal decree by which he determines to save through Christ "those who, through the grace of the Holy Spirit, shall believe on this his Son Jesus" and who by cooperating grace are enabled to persevere to the end. Many generations later Jonathan Edwards wrote his *Freedom of the Will* (1754) against the Arminians. The mainstream of the Baptist tradition sided with the Calvinists against the Arminians in adopting the New Hampshire Confession (1833) and the Louisville Abstract of Principle (1859).

In the Anglican tradition, the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England (1563, 1571) followed Calvin on both free will (article 10) and predestination (article 17), but not on double predestination. The Irish Articles (1615), written by James Ussher, included double predestination. Anglican theologians, from Richard Hooker (1590s) to J. B. Mozley (author of *Predestination*, 1855) sought various ways to affirm both predestination and free will.

For the Roman Catholic tradition, the Council of Trent treated the matter in its Decree on Justification (1547). The decree spoke of God's prevenient grace and associated it with predestination. But the council took issue with Luther and Calvin, declaring that God disposes people "through his quickening and assisting grace, to convert themselves to their own justification, by freely assenting to and cooperating with that grace." Certitude about being among the predestined came only when salvation was complete for those who persevered to the end. The Jesuit Luis de Molina expanded upon Trent in his *Concordia* (1588), in which he presented the concept of the concurrence of assisting grace with free will. Predestination, for Molina, depends on a *scientia media* by which God, when preordaining some to salvation, takes into account how each person would use free will in all possible circumstances. Cornelis Jansen wrote *Augustinus* (1640) to combat Molina, Trent, and the logical distinctions devised by Thomas Aquinas and the Thomists. He proposed a revival of Augustine's views in order to defeat any suggestion of concurrence and cooperation between divine and human will. A papal bull condemned Jansenism in 1653.

Among Eastern Orthodox, the Russian Orthodox Confession (1643) and the Confession of Jerusalem (1673) responded to the Lutherans, Calvinists, and Trent by reaffirming the pre-Augustinian belief that God predestines some to glory and others to condemnation solely because "he foreknew the one would make a right use of their free will and the other a wrong." They affirmed synergism, the working together of God's prevenient grace and human free will throughout a lifetime of perseverance.

In 1784, John Wesley, founder of what became the Methodist tradition, prepared the Articles of Religion, a revision of the Anglican Thirty-nine Articles. In them he omitted reference to predestination but retained a notion of divine "prevenience," i.e., the human free will to believe depends on "the grace of God by Christ preventing [i.e., going before] us." In *Predestination Calmly Considered* (1752) and other writings, Wesley himself had affirmed predestination in the form of what he called conditional election, God's eternal choice of some to be saved, based on foreknowledge of their future belief. He contended that unconditional election not based on such foreknowledge is really the same thing as double predestination.

THE TWENTIETH AND TWENTY-FIRST CENTURIES. In 1920, Max Weber pronounced predestination to be the cardinal doctrine of Calvinism and gave impetus to the view that the attached the notion to Calvinists in particular. Throughout the twentieth century, however, theologians as diverse as William Temple (Anglican), Karl Rahner (Roman Catholic), Karl Barth and G. C. Berkouwer (Reformed), and Wolfhart Pannenberg (Lutheran) gave significant attention to the concepts of free will and predestination. Church statements from Vatican II and the Lutheran-Roman Catholic dialogue in the United States to the Synod of the Christian Reformed Church referred positively to both concepts. At the same time, many Christian thinkers let the subject drop, in keeping with the declaration by the World Conference on Faith and Order (1937) that theories about how the truths of

God's grace and human free will might be reconciled are not part of the Christian faith. In any case, over the ages the vast host of Christians, not being theologians, have apparently had little awareness of, or concern about, what the theologians said on the subject. As Christians have become more appreciative of metaphor and the nuances of history, and more wary of logical abstraction, philosophers not thinking as Christians have filled the void with their own concepts of freedom and necessity, free will and determinism.

SEE ALSO Atonement, article on Christian Concepts; Free Will and Determinism; Grace; Justification; Merit, article on Christian Concepts.

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FREE WILL AND PREDESTINATION: ISLAMIC CONCEPTS

Free will and predestination has been a prominent topic in Islamic religious thinking. For Muslims, the basis of the discussion is found in the Qurʾān and to a lesser extent in *ḥadīth* (reports from and about Muḥammad often called "traditions"), some of which reflect pre-Islamic Arab beliefs.

PREDESTINATION IN PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA. Something is known of the outlook of the pre-Islamic Arabs from what has been preserved of their poetry. In this we find a strong belief that much of human life, especially misfortune, is determined by time (*dahr, zaman*). It has sometimes been thought that time here is the same as fate, but since the same determination of human life is sometimes attributed to "the days" or even "the nights," the idea of time must be uppermost. Time here is not something to be worshiped but rather a natural fact, not unlike "the course of events."

In particular, it was believed that a person's *ajal,* the term or the date of the person's death, was determined or predetermined. A person destined to die on a certain day would die then, no matter what he or she did. It was also believed that a person's *rizq,* "provision" or "sustenance," that is, food, was also determined. This fatalistic attitude helped the nomads to survive in the harsh conditions of desert life. In the Arabian deserts the regularities of nature experienced elsewhere tended to be replaced by irregularities. One who tried to take precautions against all eventualities would become a nervous wreck, but a readiness to accept whatever happened fatalistically reduced anxiety and thus was an aid to survival. It is to be noted, however, that in the belief of the nomads it is the outcome of human actions that is determined, not the actions themselves.

PREDESTINATION IN THE QURʾĀN. The belief of the pre-Islamic Arabs in the control of events by time is described in the Qurʾān (*sūrah* 45:24): "There is only our present life; we die and we live, and time [*dahr*] alone destroys us." The conception of the *ajal,* or term of life, also occurs several times, but it is God who both fixes the *ajal* beforehand and then brings about the person's death: "He is the one who created you from clay, and then fixed an *ajal"* (6:2); "God will not defer [the death of] any person when his *ajal* comes" (63:11). There is thus a sense in which God takes over the functions of time; indeed, there is a *ḥadīth* that reports that the Messenger of God said that God said, "The sons of Adam insult *dahr,* but I am *dahr.*" There are also several passages in the Qurʾān in which it is stated or implied that humankind's fate is not merely determined by God beforehand but also written down: "No misfortune has happened either in respect of the land or of yourselves but it was in a book before we [God] brought it about" (57:22). A clear statement of the uselessness of trying to avoid what has been predetermined is given in a passage about those who criticized Muḥammad's decision, when attacked in Medina by the Meccans, to go out to Mount Uhud to fight: "If you had been in your houses, those for whom killing was written down would have sallied out to the places of their falling" (3:154). The Qurʾān also speaks of God as the source of man's *rizq,* or provision: "He lavishes *rizq* on whom He wills, or stints it" (30:37); this may be regarded as a reflection of the common experience in desert life that one tribe might have plenty while a neighboring tribe was starving.

Just as the pre-Islamic Arab did not believe that his acts were predetermined, but only their outcome, so this seems to be all that is implied by the Qurʾanic statements about *ajal* and similar matters. All Muslims hold that human freedom in some sense and human responsibility in acting are implied in the Qurʾanic teaching that God judges mortals on the Last Day and that their good and bad deeds are weighed in balances. Human freedom is not necessarily contradicted by such verses as: "Do not say of anything, I am doing that tomorrow, without [adding], If God wills" (18:23); " . . . to him of you who wills to go straight; but you will not [so] will, unless God wills" (81:28). Such verses may be understood as expressing God's control of the outcome of acts. But a number of verses also speak of God guiding and aiding people or of leading them astray and abandoning them: "If God wills to guide anyone, He enlarges his breast for Islam" (6:125); "He leads astray whom He wills and guides whom He wills" (16:93), so that those whom he guides become believers and those whom he leads astray become unbelievers.

Other verses, however, assert that this guiding or leading astray is, as it were, in recompense for what the people in question have done previously: "Those who do not believe in God's signs, God does not guide" (16:104); "He leads astray none but the wrongdoers" (2:26). The phrase "leading astray" might be compared with God's "hardening of the heart" of the pharaoh and others in the Bible. One verse (18:28) specifically points to the ability of humans to choose to believe or not. It states, "The truth is from your Lord, so let him who will, believe; and let him who will, disbelieve." Verses such as 90:9–10, "Have we not created for him two eyes and a tongue and two lips and guided him in the highways, but he will not attempt the steep," and 4:31, "God wishes to explain to you and to guide you into the ordinances of those who were before you," also suggest human choice in responding to God's guidance. The numerous verses in the Qurʾān that exhort humans to ponder the "signs" of nature around them that reflect God's majesty and power and to draw moral lessons from the fate of previous generations are also suggestive of human choice in and responsibility for their actions.

UMAYYAD APOLOGETIC AND QĀDARĪ OPPOSITION. Most modern students of Islamic history have tended to suppose that the Umayyad dynasty, which ruled from AH 41 to 132 (661–750 CE), was not very religious. This view is based, however, on the acceptance of pro-Abbasid, anti-Umayyad propaganda and is not borne out by documents of the Umayyad period such as the poems of Jarir and al-Farazdaq. In these it becomes clear that the Umayyads, besides justifying their rule on traditional Arab lines, had a theological defense of their legitimacy: they held that the caliphate had been bestowed on them by God in the same way as the Qurʾān (2:30) described the bestowing of a caliphate on Adam. This meant taking the word *Khalīfah,* or caliph, in the sense of "deputy" rather than of "successor," which it can also mean, and from this they argued that to oppose their decisions was to oppose God.

It was because of this theological position of the Umayyads that some of their opponents adopted what came to be known as the Qādarī heresy. This includes various slightly different formulations, all asserting human free will in some form. One version held that a person's good acts came from God and his bad acts from himself. From this it would follow that the bad acts of an Umayyad caliph were from himself and not from God, and thus good Muslims could oppose such acts without making themselves unbelievers. The first to subscribe to the Qādarī heresy is usually said to have been Maʿbad al-Juhani, who participated in an armed revolt that began in 701, and who was executed three years later upon the collapse of the revolt. Many of the participants in this revolt, however, were not among the Qādirīyya. Another person frequently mentioned as holding Qādarī views was Ghaylan al-Dimashqi. For a time he was a government official and was friendly with more than one caliph, but his political program, while including Qādarī ideas, went beyond it; in 730 the caliph Hisham became suspicious of the program and had Ghaylan executed. For the next twenty years there are many references to Qādarī opponents of the Umayyad regime, especially in Syria. After the replacement of the Umayyad dynasty by the Abbasid in 750, the Qādarī movement lost much of its political raison d'être and either faded out or was absorbed into the rationalist Muʿtazili movement.

Earlier scholars attributed the belief in free will to Christian influence; Ghaylan was indeed of Coptic origin, while Maʿbad was said to have derived his views from a Christian. From what has just been said, however, it would appear that the doctrine of free will was brought into Islamic discussions not primarily because it was held to be true but because it served a useful purpose in internal Islamic political discussions.

AL-ḤASAN AL-BAṢRĪ. The most important name connected with these theological questions is that of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 728). From his own lifetime or shortly afterward scholars debated whether he was a Qādarī or not, and both views were vigorously asserted. Distinguished Western scholars early in the twentieth century continued the debate. In 1933, however, there was published a long *risāla,* or epistle, written for the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik by al-Ḥasan in defense of his views on this topic. From this treatise it is possible to give an account of what he believed. The Qurʾān is central for him and is the source of his arguments. Against the predestinarians who quoted verses about God's leading astray, he replies with other verses that imply that those led astray were already wrongdoers and had in some form chosen evil. He also contends that the fact that God knows that some people will disbelieve is only descriptive; that is, he knows that by their own free choice they will disbelieve, but his knowledge does not predetermine their unbelief. He holds that the verse quoted above about misfortunes being in a book (57:22) applies only to wealth and material things and not to belief or unbelief, obedience or disobedience. He further holds that when the Qurʾān speaks of people acting or willing, they really do so, and their acts are not predetermined. He takes verse 33:38 to mean, "God's command [*amr*] is a determination [*qadar*] determined," and then argues that God determines human behavior only by commanding certain acts and prohibiting others. In this way, he can maintain that God creates only good and that evil comes from human beings or from Satan.

Politically al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was critical of the Umayyads. The later scholar Ibn Qutaybah (d. 889) thought him a Qādarī in some respects and told how some of his friends would say to him, "These princes [the Umayyads] shed the blood of Muslims and seize their goods and then say, 'Our acts are only according to God's determination [*qadar*].'" To this Ḥasan would reply, "The enemies of God lie." Ḥasan's remark must be understood in the light of his identification of God's determination with his command, but the Umayyads were doubtless taking *qadar* in the traditional sense of prior effective determination. Despite his critical attitude al-Ḥasan resolutely refused to join any insurrection against the Umayyads and urged his friends and disciples to do likewise. In view of all these facts, al-Ḥasan's position might fairly be described as moderately Qādarī.

A more extreme form of Qādarī doctrine may be encountered in the positions adopted by the Khārijī group known as the Shabibiyya about two decades after al-Ḥasan's treatise. They went as far as to say that God has no foreknowledge whatsoever of the actions of humans and their destinies and humans are left entirely to their own will and discretion. This kind of extreme position was attacked by the Umayyad caliph Umar II (d. 720) in an epistle he composed against Qādarī beliefs.

PREDESTINATION IN THE *ḤADĪTH* (TRADITIONS). Western scholars formerly thought that all *ḥadīth* were predestinarian and saw in this the reason why al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī based his arguments on the Qurʾān and not on *ḥadīth*. There are indeed a few *ḥadīth* that express an opposite view, but the most likely reason for the absence of *ḥadīth* from al-Ḥasan's arguments is that at the time he was writing they were not regarded as having the authority later ascribed to them and perhaps were not widely known and circulated. Had they been generally regarded as authoritative, he would surely have had some argument against them. It was the jurist al-Shāfiʿī, about a century after al-Ḥasan, who gave *ḥadīth* an assured place in Islamic thought as one of the "roots of law," and by his time, the study of *ḥadīth* had become much more extensive.

It will suffice here to mention some of the best-known predestinarian *ḥadīth*. One was the report that the Prophet had said, "The first thing God created was the pen; then he said to it, 'Write all that will happen until the Last Day.'" Another group of sayings of the Prophet speaks of an angel being entrusted with the child in the womb and asking God to determine whether it is male or female, whether it is to be fortunate or unfortunate, what is its *rizq* and what its *ajal*. Again, in connection with the act of a Muslim fighter at the Battle of Uhud, who took his own life when his battle wounds became unbearable, the Prophet is reported to have said, "One man will work the works of the people of Paradise until he is only an arm's length from it, and then the book will overtake him, and he will work the works of the people of Hell and enter it," while in the case of another man the reverse will happen. Associated with such *ḥadīth* were some reported remarks by early Muslims to the effect that, if one wants to avoid hell, one must believe that God determines both good and bad, and that what reaches one could not have missed one, and what misses one could not have reached one.

It will be noticed that these predestinarian *ḥadīth* to some extent reflect pre-Islamic attitudes.

THE MOVE AWAY FROM QĀDARĪ THOUGHT. In the last half-century of the Umayyad period it seems likely that many of the religious scholars who were critical of the rulers were also sympathetic with at least a moderately Qādarī view, while those who supported the rulers inclined to predestinarian views. Among such views, however, two levels may be distinguished: (1) the belief that what happens to people is predetermined, but not their own acts; (2) the belief that both what happens to them and their own acts are predetermined. At a later period emphasis came to be placed less on God's predetermination of happenings and acts than on his present control of them.

Although something of the old pre-Islamic Arab predestinarianism was still strong among many Muslims and, because associated with God, felt to be part of Islam, it was difficult to express this sentiment under the Umayyads without seeming to approve all their actions. With the coming of the Abbasids, however, all this was altered. Belief in human free will lost most of its political relevance, and the expression of predestinarian views no longer suggested approval of an unjust government. Although those Qādirīyya who were primarily political were located chiefly in Syria, the main academic discussions took place in Basra among the followers and disciples of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, where two opposing trends can be discerned, one toward more libertarian views, the other toward predestinarianism. Just as in pre-Islamic times belief in a predetermined *ajal* and similar matters helped to reduce anxiety, so the belief that God was in control of all events and that no disaster could happen to one except by his will relieved anxiety and gave confidence. The trend toward predestinarianism grew stronger not only in Basra but throughout the Islamic world, and some form of belief in God's control of events became an article in Sunnī creeds.

As this happened and as Qādarī views came to be regarded as heretical, there was a rewriting of history. Those with strong predestinarian or determinist views were unhappy to think that many great earlier scholars, their intellectual predecessors, had been tainted with heresy. They therefore emphasized the role of Maʿbad al-Juhami and Ghaylan al-Dimashqi in the origination and spread of Qādarī ideas, since these were men who had been rebels and also under foreign influence. A little later stories were spread to discredit one particular member of al-Ḥasan's circle, ʿAmr ibn ʿUbayd, and to suggest that he was worse than his contemporaries: besides being the leader of the libertarians among al-Ḥasan's followers, he had been elevated to the position of a founding father of the Muʿtazilah.

The Arabic name of the sect, Qādirīyya, itself bears witness to the struggle between the two trends among religious scholars generally. Like most early names of sects it is a nickname, but the curious point is that it is those who hold that the *qadar* is man's and not God's who are called "*qadar-*

people." Texts now published show that there was a time when each side in the dispute called the other "Qādarī." In his book on sectarian views, al-Ashʿarī (d. 935) mentioned that his own party had been called "Qādarī," but continued, "the Qādarī is he who affirms that the *qadar* is his own and not his Lord's, and that he himself determines his acts and not his Creator." There was no Qādirīyya, properly speaking, after the Umayyad period, but some scholars used the name as an offensive nickname for the Muʿtazilah.

Even in the heyday of the Qādirīyya there was never a single clearly defined Qādarī sect. What made one a Qādarī was one article of belief, either that defined by al-Ashʿarī or something like it, but this belief could be combined with a variety of beliefs on other matters. When the Abbasids came to power, many continued to believe in human free will but at the same time had views on the new political problems, and it was chiefly on the basis of these other views that sectarian names were bestowed. As a result the name Qādarī gradually died out, and after the first half-century of the Abbasid period is hardly found except as an alternative to Muʿtazili.

MUʿTAZILAH AND ASHʿARĪYAH. By the time of the caliph al-Maʾmun (r. 813–833), the Muʿtazilah had defined their sect as based on five principles, of which free will was only one. At the same time, some of the leading Muʿtazilah had important positions at the caliphal court. Just after 847, however, official policy changed abruptly; the Muʿtazilah fell from favor, while the government abandoned their doctrine of the createdness of the Qurʾān and on that and other points supported the central Sunnī position. The Muʿtazilah are chiefly remembered as the group that first developed the discipline of *kalām,* that is, the use of Greek philosophical concepts and methods of argument. Gradually, however, some scholars realized that *kalām* could be used also to defend more generally acceptable doctrines than those of the Muʿtazilah. The creation of a nonheretical Sunnī *kalām* is traditionally attributed to al-Ashʿarī, but it is now realized that in this he had several predecessors. Most of our information, however, is about the debates between Muʿtazilah and Ashʿarīyah.

Within the discipline of *kalām* the discussions about free will took a new direction and were chiefly concerned with God's control of human acts in the present. This did not imply abandoning the belief that God had predetermined these acts, since it could be held that in controlling them in the present he was acting in accordance with his foreknowledge of what he had predetermined. The Ashʿarī view was that God created human acts by creating in the agent at the moment of action the power to do the particular act. The Muʿtazilah agreed that the act came about through a power created by God, but held that this power was created by God before the act and was a power to do either this act or its opposite. In this way they left a place for the agent's choice.

For the Muʿtazilah in general, God's justice (theodicy) was a main concern of their discussions on free will and determinism. The notion of divine justice, influenced by Greek logic, militated against the idea that God could create and condone evil or unjust acts. Such acts are rather to be attributed solely to human choice and will. This belief was further linked to God's role as judge in the afterlife when he will reward or punish humans for their commission of good and evil deeds. The Muʿtazilah argued that if God sent people to hell as punishment for predetermined acts for which they were not responsible, he would be acting unjustly, and this was unthinkable. Their position was rooted in Qurʾanic verses such as 3:104: "God does not wish injustice to the worlds;" 22:10, "God is not unjust to His servants;" and 4:81, "Whatever afflicts you of bad is from yourself."

The Ashʿarīyah met this argument with the formula that human acts are God's creation and the agent's "acquisition" (*kasb*); this term could also be translated as "making one's own" or "having credited to one." In effect the Ashʿarīyah were saying that, although the act is God's creation, it is also in some unspecified way the human agent's act. The term *kasb* and the derivative *iktisab* hark back to Qurʾān 2:286, which states, "God will not burden any soul beyond its capacity. It will enjoy the good which it has acquired and bear the evil for the acquirement of which it labored." The term's usage in the context of free will and predestination is attributed to an early figure, Dirar b. ʿAmr, one of the Muʿtazilah, who is somewhat of an obscure character. Other scholars, even Sunnī theologians like the Māturīdīyah, found the term *kasb* obscure and unsatisfactory and called the Ashʿarīyah "determinists" (*mujbirah*). The eponym of the Māturīdīyah, Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī (d. 944) from Samarkand, Transoxiana, steered a middle path between the total predestinarian stance of the Jabriyya and the total free will of the Muʿtazilah, a position that became better known and more influential in the later period. He was essentially in favor of the doctrine of free will, with the qualification that God as the sole creator of the universe creates all acts as well. However, according to his school of thought, humans possess the freedom to choose their actions before their commission, so that they "acquire" these actions by virtue of the choices they make. This notion of "acquisition" is different from al-Ashʿarī's, since the latter proposed that humans acquire the capacity to perform their actions at the very moment of their commission. *Kasb* continues to have its place in general Sunnī thought and fresh generations of scholars have introduced new subtleties.

SHĪʿĪ VIEWS. Early Shīʿī views tend to diverge considerably from later "orthodox" points of view on free will and determinism. The eighth-century Shīʿī theologian Hisham b. al-Hakam (d. 795–796) maintained that human acts are created by God. He also believed that God has no foreknowledge of human actions or of things because his knowledge does not exist until the object of it exists.

An early Shīʿī belief attributed changeability to God's will, referred to in Arabic as *badaʾ* ("mutability"), which allowed for change in an earlier divine ruling. Such beliefs were considered by the later Imamiyya to be "extremist," particularly since the concept of *badaʾ* had to be squared with God's omniscience. Thus, to effect a reconciliation, mainstream Imāmī thought proposed the idea that God in his dealings with humans is motivated by considerations of what is most expedient (*al-aslah*) and the best for humankind. Therefore, badaʾ can be explained as pointing to the susceptibility of the divine will to change should circumstances change, requiring a different determination.

The Imāmīs, in general, subscribe to the doctrine of divine determination with a nod in the direction of free will; Ismāʿīlī views are not dissimilar. The Zaydī Shīʿī are closer to the Muʿtazilah in their views.

MODERNIST VIEWS. Modernist Muslim commentators insist that the Qurʾān should be read holistically. Taking certain verses out of context and interpreting them atomistically has been conducive to the view that the Qurʾān encourages belief in predestination. Read as a whole, the Qurʾān endorses, however, the concept of human freedom in choosing one's belief and of human responsibility for their actions. God has foreknowledge of human actions, but this divine knowledge does not compel humans to commit sin. Muʿtazili influence is detected in these positions, tempered by an acknowledgment of God's creative power over everything, including all human acts. Muḥammad ʿAbduh (d. 1905), and Fazlur Rahman (d. 1988), for example, were prominent exponents of the modernist view.

SEE ALSO Ashʿarīyah; Fate; Kalām.

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FRENZY.

The English word *frenzy* comes through the Latin *phrenesis* from the Greek *phren,* meaning the midriff, the heart, the upper part of the body, the diaphragm, the lungs or pericardium—that is, that part of the body held responsible for passions and thought. The ultimate derivation of the word is from the Indo-European **gwhren-,* meaning the diaphragm, the seat of intellect, understanding, and thought. The term will be used in this entry in its restricted sense, to refer not to mental derangement, madness, or folly generally but to a seizure of violent agitation or wild excitement, to uncontrollable rage or to delirious fury.

Although "frenzy" is not an established category in religious studies, the term occurs frequently in the description of a number of religious states and activities, and its occurrence is often interpreted in religious terms. It is related to such categories as "enthusiasm," "mania," "fury," "inspiration," "intoxication," "spirit possession," and "ecstasy," and, like these states, it is characterized by a certain spontaneity, an autonomy, as if beyond the control of the individual, as if coming from without or from deep within him. In the *Phaedrus* (244ff.), Plato distinguishes several types of frenzy (*mania*) that impart gifts to humans: the frenzy of the seer who reveals the future; that of the consecrated mystic who absolves one from sin; that of the poet possessed by the Muses; and that of the philosopher. In common parlance, however, *frenzy* usually has an aggressive connotation.

Three manifestations of frenzy will be considered here: frenzy as the result of combat (furor), frenzy as a symptom of certain culturally specific psychotic syndromes (amok), and frenzy as a stage of trance understood as spirit possession. The juxtaposition of these three manifestations of frenzy should not be considered synthetic. The term *frenzy* should, in my opinion, be used descriptively in specific contexts and not isolated as a separate and separable category of religious experience.

FUROR. It has been reported in both legend and history that in the heat of battle certain warriors enter into a delirious fury, attacking anyone in their reach. Moroccan Arabs recount, for example, that Sīdinā ʿAlī, the prophet Muḥammad's son-in-law, whom they regard as the ideal warrior, was once in combat with the Jews. Blood flowed up to his stirrups, so great was his prowess. When he had killed all of the Jews, he turned on his own people and would have slaughtered them too, had not one of them, a beggar, asked him for a crust of bread (*barakah,* lit., "blessing"). This request cooled down his frenzy (*ḥashimīyah*), for he knew that only an Arab was fool enough to beg from him in his state. Roman legend has it that after one of the Horatii had defeated three enemy brothers, the Curiatii, he turned in furor on his sister, who, in mourning for one of them, had revealed the "feminine" weakness of a lover's grief.

In an analogous Celtic tale, Cú Chulainn, the hero of the Ulster legend, while still a child defeated the three sons of Nechta, the enemy of his people, and returned to his capital still in a frenzy. There he spurned the queen, who tried to divert him by making crude sexual advances. As he was momentarily distracted, his men seized him and threw him into a vat of cold water to cool him down. From then on Cú Chulainn kept his furor in reserve for battle. Georges Dumézil suggests that this tale of initiatory combat relates to the domestication of savage frenzy—the ideal of prehistoric Italic, Celtic, and Germanic warriors—and its submission to legionary discipline. To the psychoanalytically oriented, the tale is concerned with the conversion into disciplined military aggression of the warrior's uncontrolled rage toward his mother, or toward women more generally, and, by extension, toward his own weakness symbolized by women.

AMOK. There are a number of culture-bound reactive syndromes, the so-called ethnopsychoses, that involve frenzied behavior. The best known of these "hypereridic rage reactions" is amok, which occurs primarily in Malaysia and Indonesia. The *pengamok,* the person who runs amok, usually suffers from neurasthenia, chronic illness, or a loss of a sense of social order and, with time, comes to experience an increasingly threatening external pressure that frightens or enrages him. Suddenly, as if to escape this pressure, he runs wild, attacking people, animals, and objects around him, even himself. He then falls into a stupor and awakes depressed and without any memory of his having run amok. Amok has occurred among warriors dedicated to self-sacrifice, and it has been explained as an escape from the pervasive Malay-Indonesian sense of fatalism and concern for propriety (*alus*). As the occurrence of amok peaked in the nineteenth century, with Western contact, it has been regarded as a transitional reaction to modernization.

Similar hypereridic reactions have been reported elsewhere, for example, in New Guinea (wild-man behavior, *negi negi, lulu*), in Malawi (*misala*), and in Puerto Rico (*mal de pelea*). Just as frenzied behavior occurs in certain hypermanic disorders, so it occurs in other culture-bound reactive syndromes. Ainu women of northern Japan afflicted with *imu* burst out aggressively or flee in panic after seeing a snake and then, within minutes, fall into catalepsy, echo those about them, and execute orders automatically. Inuit (Eskimos) suffering from *piblotko,* or Arctic hysteria, tear off their clothing, run around, throw things, and imitate animals. Northern Algonquian-speaking Indians of Canada who are possessed of a *windigo* spirit are overcome with a frenzied craving for human flesh and are said to pounce on men, women, and children and devour them ravenously. Frenzied behavior is often interpreted as spirit possession or as the result of sorcery.

SPIRIT POSSESSION. Frenzy has often been associated with spirit possession. The herdsman's description of the Bacchantes, worshiping Dionysos, in Euripides' *The Bacchae* (ll. 677–774) is a classic example. Having himself escaped attack, the herdsman watches as the possessed women attack the villagers' grazing cattle.

> And then
> you could have seen a single woman with bare hands
> tear a fat calf, still bellowing with fright,
> in two, while others clawed the heifers to pieces.
> There were ribs and cloven hooves scattered everywhere,
> and scraps smeared with blood hung from the fir trees.
> And bulls, their raging fury gathered in their horns,
> lowered their heads to charge, then fell, stumbling
> to the earth, pulled down by hordes of women
> and stripped of flesh and skin more quickly, sire,
> than you could blink your royal eyes. Then,
> carried by their own speed, they flew like birds
> across the spreading fields along Asopus' stream
> where most of all the ground is good for harvesting.
> Like invaders they swooped on Hysiae
> and on Erythrae in the foothills of Cithaeron.
> Everything in sight they pillaged and destroyed.
> They snatched the children from their homes. And when
> they piled their plunder on their backs, it stayed in place,
> untied. Nothing, neither bronze nor iron,
> fell to the dark earth. Flames flickered
> in their curls and did not burn them.
> (*The Bacchae,* trans. Arrowsmith, ll. 736–758)

Euripides' description has become a model in Western discourse for literary descriptions of Dionysian worship (e.g., Thomas Mann's in *Death in Venice*) and indeed for scientific description of the frenzy of the spirit possessed.

In many exorcistic rites the spirit-possessed moves from a gentle, "dreamy," somnambulistic trance into a frenzied one in which he or she loses all control of behavior. Thus, in Balinese folk dramas (*sanghyangs*) an entranced dancer will imitate, say, a pig, lumbering about on all fours, grunting and groveling, and then suddenly, often on provocation from the audience, he will fall into frenzy, darting, leaping, thrashing about, wallowing uncontrollably in the mud, shaking in convulsions, and struggling against those who try to pin him down. Doused with water, he grows quiet. The frenzied stage of trance possession is usually followed by torpor and exhaustion. Such frenzies, as in *The Bacchae,* seem to be facilitated by group participation and excitement.

SEE ALSO Berserkers; Ecstasy; Enthusiasm; Healing and Medicine; Omophagia; Spirit Possession.

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VINCENT CRAPANZANO (1987)
Revised Bibliography

FREUD, SIGMUND (1856–1939), originator of psychoanalysis, a method of treating those mental disorders commonly designated as the neuroses. Psychoanalysis began as a method of healing, but became also a psychological theory of personality or mind and a general theory of culture—of morality, group life, society, history, art, and religion. When treating his patients, Freud found it necessary to emphasize their unconscious feelings and thoughts, which, precisely because they were unacknowledged, created symptoms. Freud believed that dreams and dream symbolism were keys to his patients' unconscious thinking, and also to their symptoms. It was therefore inevitable that his method of treatment would generate theoretical concepts important for understanding the human mind, and that these in turn would lead him to psychological conclusions about the cultural meanings of the symbols found in religious myths, beliefs, and rituals. Freud's psychoanalytic theory is widely accepted by scholars in many different fields, and Freud is commonly ranked with Karl Marx, Max Weber, Friedrich Nietzsche, and Émile Durkheim as one of the architects of the modern world. But scholars of religion also acknowledge that Freud has made a lasting contribution to their understanding of the religious thought and life of humankind.

LIFE AND PRINCIPAL WORKS. Freud's personal beginnings contain little to suggest his later achievements. Born into a large Jewish family of modest means in Freiberg, Moravia (now Pribor, Czech Republic), he was four when his father, a wool merchant, moved the family to Vienna, where Freud spent all but the last year of his life. As a youth, he received an excellent education that emphasized both classics and science. For a while he contemplated a career in law or in politics, but finally decided upon scientific work and attended medical school at the University of Vienna, from which he graduated in 1881. A year later he became engaged to Martha Bernays, whom he subsequently married.

Partly for financial reasons and partly on account of official anti-Semitism (it was customary for the university to pass over Jewish candidates for research positions), Freud shifted his career goals to the medical practice of psychiatry. He became interested in hysterical patients, and began to collaborate with the eminent Viennese physician Josef Breuer.

Freud and Breuer discovered that the symptoms of hysterical patients diminished as they were encouraged to talk about the intense feelings they held toward those close to them. Freud also noticed that dreams were included in these reports, and he began to evolve his theory that both dreams and hysterical symptoms disguised deeply felt and deeply feared thoughts and feelings. At the end of his period of collaboration with Breuer, Freud began to write his first and most famous book, *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900). This work contained the essence of all his major ideas about the neuroses, about dreams, and about psychoanalytic treatment—and also the essence of his theory that religious symbols and myths are modeled upon dreams.

In the 1910s and 1920s, Freud's reputation grew. New patients came, and he continued to publish papers and to gather students about him. Many of these men and women underwent psychoanalysis with Freud, and studied his ideas. Among the more eminent were the Swiss psychiatrist Carl Gustav Jung and the socialist Alfred Adler. In 1908 the first international congress in psychoanalysis was held in Salzburg, and in 1909 Freud and Jung gave lectures at Clark University in Massachusetts. The most important of Freud's many publications during these decades were *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis* (1915), which explained psychoanalytic theory and practice to a lay audience; *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* (1921), in which Freud analyzed the psychological forces beneath the group behavior of armies and churches; and *The Ego and the Id* (1923), a theoretical treatise on the fundamental psychological structures of the human mind.

Although Freud throughout his life created new works of psychological observation and interpretation, which brought him ever greater recognition, the 1920s produced a major shift in his person and thought, one whose effects persisted to his death. The aftermath of World War I, the death of a beloved daughter, and the discovery of a cancerous growth in his jaw, all forced upon him a reflective and resigned attitude, which in turn fueled his most profound studies of culture and religion. Taking up arms in the time-honored conflict between science and religion, Freud asserted (in *The Future of an Illusion,* 1927) that psychoanalysis was but the latest and most compelling scientific argument against the consolations of religion. Three years later, in *Civilization and Its Discontents,* he addressed the oppressive quality of contemporary social life, arguing that society itself carried within it the mechanisms that created neurotic conflict. In his last major work, *Moses and Monotheism* (1939), written in sections over the 1930s, Freud returned to his own Jewish origins and searched for a positive estimate of that religion, arguing—paradoxically—that Western monotheism was an ascetic force that supported the renunciations required by scientific endeavors.

When the Nazis persecuted the adherents of psychoanalysis and forced Freud to leave his home, he fled to London, where—aged, ill, persecuted, and famous—he died on the eve of World War II.

PSYCHOANALYTIC THEORY. While Freud's psychoanalysis is really a threefold discipline—clinical treatment of neurotic conflict, general theory of personality, and theory of culture and religion—it is important to realize that he generalized from the first to the second and from both to the third. Therefore, all expositions of his thought about religion should begin with the psychoanalytic method and its clinical context, usually referred to as the analytic situation.

Two concepts form the foundation of the analytic situation, the unconscious and childhood. All deliberate, intentional, and conscious life, for the healthy adult and the neurotic alike, is constantly subject to influence by an unconscious dimension of feeling, willing, and intending. Freud often referred to the unconscious as a portion of mental life split off from, and existing alongside of, the system of conscious mental processes. This separation first occurs during the years of childhood. Because of the prolonged and at times virtually total dependency of the infant upon caretakers, some of the strong feelings of love, hate, envy, and jealousy—in short, portions of all the fundamental wishes and fears of living and being—are forgotten or forced out of awareness. These thoughts and feelings, which Freud described as repressed, live on in the normal activities of the adult, making their appearance symbolically in dreams, slips of the tongue, jokes, and love relationships. The normal adult is capable of introspection and self-analysis when unconscious wishes and thoughts press for attention.

However, under conditions of stress produced by the various tasks and responsibilities of living, even the healthy adult can falter. In such cases, the mental organization of the person returns to earlier patterns of regulation, a process known as regression, and neurotic symptoms (for example, phobias or irrational fears, obsessional ideas, or compulsive acts) serve to defend against the return. Because persons in this condition can no longer control portions of their behavior, psychoanalytic treatment is helpful for them. In the analytic situation the patient allows his or her thoughts and feelings, and especially dreams, to flow freely (in "free association") without moral or intellectual control and in doing so forms an intense, irrational, emotional bond with the doctor. Freud called this bond "transference." Because the transference relation embodies old and forgotten childhood memories, the doctor can interpret the bond in the light of dreams and fantasies, gradually bringing the repressed wishes back under the control of conscious life.

THEORY OF CULTURE AND RELIGION. Contrary to much opinion on the subject, Freud recognized religion as a complex phenomenon, and his estimate of it was both appreciative and skeptical. He was more interested in religion than he was in any other manifestation of culture. He rarely approached religion in the abstract, instead always seeing it in the context of culture as a whole—the social arrangements and systems of symbols that integrate a community of people. Understood as a system of authoritative beliefs about the world, which includes moral guides and the consoling sense of specialness that authoritativeness confers, religion is the historical force that energizes the forms assumed by culture. Freud therefore wrote about art, humor, morality, fairy tales, legends, myths, and rituals, without always attempting to make sharp distinctions among them.

The key to Freud's appreciative stance toward religion lies in his psychology of myth and in particular in his theory that myths are to be understood after the fashion of dreams, although they are collective rather than individual dreams. By noting parallels between dreams and myths, Freud transformed the model of dream interpretation into a tool for research into the psychological character of culture. Both dreams and myths, he felt, are imaginative structures composed of symbols organized along a narrative line. Both are produced by unconscious forces, for myths as well as dreams are experienced as given to individuals, rather than as being created by them. As such, both display mechanisms of symbol formation, whereby figures in dreams and myths take on shifting roles and significances. Both are therefore creative activities of the human mind.

But Freud also observed that dreams expressed the wishes, desires, and fantasies of his patients and were closely related to their motives and intentions. He concluded that myths are collective or group fantasies. Behind the apparent diversity of human societies and cultures there persist certain primordial or typical human situations—the conflicts between parents and children and between the children themselves, conflicts surrounding perennial human issues such as sexuality, death, envy, gratitude, hate, and love. Because these psychological constants or universals are shared by all people, and because they are so pervasive, powerful, and threatening, they are repressed to some degree by everyone, but they reappear for all to see in the myths of each society. A myth, then, represents the shared unconscious wishes of a group, and the psychological interpretation of myth discloses the nature of these wishes.

For example, in fairy tales a king and queen can represent shared unconscious ideas and fears about fathers and mothers, just as princes and princesses represent those held by sons and daughters. A witch can symbolize a hateful, unempathic mother, and a savage monster may suggest aggressive wishes too powerful for individual consciousness or an individual dream to support. Of the world religions, Freud was especially interested in Judaism and Christianity. The idea of God the Father in Judaism represents shared unconscious wishes for a totally powerful and morally perfect group father. Christianity's devotion to Jesus Christ, the Son of God, expresses the Western preoccupation with the anxiety sons experience in relation to their fathers. Catholicism's adoration of the Virgin discloses an intense idealization of motherhood, which Protestant families subsequently rejected. The omnipresence of explicitly sexual themes in the myths of Indian religions contrasts with their absence in Western religious traditions, whose asceticism betrays anxiety over bodily desires.

Freud's skeptical attitude toward religion derived from his training in physiology, neurology, and medicine, which emphasized causality, energy, and rigorous objectivity. But these scientific ideas also served a moral purpose for Freud. He believed that the most profound unconscious human wish was for a grandiose sense of specialness, which he called "narcissism," and that both science and psychoanalysis could reduce or modify this narcissism, or self-love. On the other hand, religion indulged and encouraged self-love by conferring upon people the illusion that they were special or privileged by virtue of their relation to an all-powerful and all-loving god. Freud cited the Western discovery that the earth revolved around the sun. As a result of that scientific insight, people could no longer think of themselves as central points in a divine drama. The theory of evolution deprived people of the wish to see themselves as special beings created by an omnipotent god. And Freud believed that his own discovery of the unconscious shattered the grandiose belief in the supreme capacities of human reason. Each scientific discovery was a blow to human narcissism and to the religious doctrine that supported it. Freud concluded that belief in an all-powerful divine being with whom one had a special relationship forestalled, rather than facilitated, new knowledge about the world—for in each case religious leaders had mounted the strongest objections to these discoveries.

CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF RELIGION. Because of Freud's appreciation of the power of religious symbols, and despite his skeptical stance toward religion, his theories exercised an important influence upon the religious thought of post–World War II Europe and, especially, America. By this time his ideas had become widely acknowledged, and the leaders of religious communities wanted to use them and to respond to his challenge. In particular, Paul Tillich and Mircea Eliade deserve mention here.

Paul Tillich was convinced that an overly rational society had cut the Christian faith off from its historic depths and from its role as a shaper of culture. He hailed the secular Freud's concept of the unconscious roots of religious reality as an attempt to restore what he called a depth dimension to human reason and cultural life. Even Freud's skeptical side Tillich incorporated into theology, arguing that modern churches had become authoritarian and oppressive to human depth, and that Freud's objections to religion were in this sense well founded. Tillich likened Freud to a biblical prophet whose attacks on the idolatry of the faithful were mounted in the service of a deeper, more transcendent reality.

Alongside Tillich's theological analyses of culture, a second movement emerged, led by the renowned historian of religions Mircea Eliade. Like Tillich, Eliade believed that contemporary culture was excessively rational and technological and that a renewal of a religious kind was essential. But unlike Tillich, Eliade turned to primitive religions and to Eastern traditions and myths to renew the life of modern humans. Eliade wrote that Freud's view of myth as an unconscious imaginative structure and the links he had built between dreams and myths would enrich the dry, technical tones of modern life, and that both could be used to reinstate a religious view of humanity. In fact, Eliade described the history of religions as a metapsychoanalysis, by which he meant that religion added a dimension to the foundations supplied by Freud.

Yet neither Tillich nor Eliade could tolerate Freud's skepticism, his view that once the unconscious meaning of a religious myth was disclosed, then the consoling sense of specialness that belief conferred would necessarily be given up in the interest of a broader psychological self-understanding. The task of advancing this thought was left to the sociologist Philip Rieff, who devised the term *psychological man,* to describe a new type of person in modern society, one who had accepted Freud's interpretations and had accordingly adopted a psychological rather than a religious ethic. Rieff's view called attention to the roles of religion and psychoanalysis as competing social forces in Western history, a focus ignored by Tillich and Eliade, who had centered their efforts on the more speculative aspects of Freud's theories of religion.

However, Freud's contribution to the study of religion did not end here. A new generation of scholars working with post-modern understandings has advanced quite different readings of Freud and his contribution to the study of religion. These scholars teach and write in universities and colleges rather than in seminaries and theological facilities, as did Tillich and Eliade, and the topics and methods they choose belong to the humanities and the social sciences. But there is also irony in these new developments. As noted, neither Tillich nor Eliade could tolerate Freud's skepticism about religion—his theories of religion were helpful, but only up to a point. On the other hand, post-modern scholars of religion make no such distinction and instead submit all of his writings to a generalized cultural critique, sometimes finding that what was "skeptical" for the theologian may be meaningful to the scholar of religion.

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The best single book on Freud's life, social circumstances, and major ideas is Peter Gay, *Freud: A Life for Our Time* (New York, 1988). Philip Rieff's careful, thorough, and clearly written book *Freud: The Mind of the Moralist* (1959; 3d ed.,

Chicago, 1979) remains the best overall discussion of Freud's social, philosophical, and religious ideas. Rieff also analyzes the impact of psychoanalysis upon both the Western religious heritage and contemporary society. An excellent illustration of the use of Freud's approach to dream symbolism to interpret social and cultural symbols is Bruno Bettelheim's *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales* (New York, 1977). The best theological discussion of Freud's theory of religious experience is to be found in Paul Tillich's *The Courage to Be* (New Haven, 1952). The many implications of psychoanalysis for the historical study of religious myths are clearly stated by Mircea Eliade in *Myths, Dreams and Mysteries* (New York, 1960). A postmodern reading of Freud's thought as a whole with an emphasis upon the interplay between his psychology of religious faith and his theory of femininity is Judith Van Herik's *Freud on Femininity and Faith* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982).

PETER HOMANS (1987 AND 2005)

FREYJA ("Lady"), the daughter of Njǫrðr (Njord) and sister of Freyr, is the main Scandinavian goddess of the group of gods known as the Vanir. Although no extant source tells how she came to the world of the Æsir—the dominant group of gods—allusions to her arrival in their citadel Ásgarðr (Ásgard) suggest that there was a myth about this that has since been lost. According to Snorri Sturluson (1179–1241), Freyja is the noblest of goddesses, equal in dignity to Óðinn (Odin)'s wife Frigg. She lives in a grand hall, shares dominion over the dead with Óðinn, and travels in a cart pulled by cats. People often invoke her in matters of love. Incestuous marriage was usual among the Vanir, and it is likely that Freyja was married to her brother. The Æsir frowned on this practice, and once Freyja becomes a member of their community, she takes a different husband, Óðr (Odr). The name of this obscure deity is related to *Óðinn,* and the pair Óðr/Freyja may be a doublet of Óðinn and his wife Frigg. Freyja bore Óðr two daughters, Hnoss ("jewel") and Gersimi ("treasure"). These names are synonyms and most likely are later poetic reflections of the goddess herself. Freyja and Óðr's marriage was apparently not a happy one, as Óðr disappeared on long journeys, and Freyja wept tears of red gold in his absence. She looked for him in many countries and assumed various names in her wanderings. She is said to have owned a garment that allowed its wearer to take the shape of a falcon. Like her brother Freyr, Freyja rides a boar; hers is named Hildisvíni ("battle swine"). It has shining golden bristles and was made for her by the dwarves. Pigs are sacred to her as they are to Freyr, and one of her names is Sýr ("sow").

Freyja is often in demand as a bride. The Æsir agree to give away Freyja, the sun, and the moon to the master builder of Ásgarðr if he finishes by the first day of summer, and when the giant Hrungnir becomes drunk at a feast at Ásgarðr, he threatens to destroy the citadel and all its inhabitants except for Freyja and Þórr's wife Sif, whom he will keep for himself. The giant Þrymr (Thrymr) steals Þórr's hammer Mjǫllnir in order to have something of enough value that the Æsir would exchange Freyja for it. The gods ask Freyja to go to Þrymr, but she indignantly refuses, saying that such a journey would make everyone think that she was eager for sex. Þórr retrieves Mjǫllnir himself by going to Þrymr dressed as a bride and taking his hammer when it is brought out as part of the wedding ceremony.

Freyja's personality is complex: she is said to enjoy "love poetry," an erotic genre that was forbidden in Iceland under threat of banishment (Ström, 1975, p. 151). Her lustfulness is often stressed, not only by Loki, who denounces her as incestuous and grossly promiscuous (*Lokasenna* sts. 30 and 32), but also in other eddic poems such as the *Hyndluljóð* (sts. 30–31), where she is described as "running through the night in heat like [the goat] Heiðrún [Heidrun]." Her unfaithfulness to her husband is accentuated as well: "Under your apron still others have crept" (Hollander, 1962, p. 135). *Sǫrla þáttr,* a story in a late fourteenth-century manuscript, tells how she slept with four dwarfs in order to obtain the famous necklace Brísingamen, which they had forged. Such behavior is in keeping with the personality of a fertility goddess, but the story as a whole is a Christian creation intended as a demonstration of the evils of paganism, and its depiction of Freyja as a malicious near-giantess and as Óðinn's mistress is much more likely to be the author's invention than a reflection of authentic pagan tradition. Freyja's association with the cat is another hint at her lasciviousness, since the cat was considered by Norsemen to be a most lascivious animal. In the case of Freyja, the feline is the equivalent of the lions and panthers associated with such ancient Near Eastern fertility goddesses as the Dea Syria or Cybele.

Freyja also goes under such other names as *Hǫrn,* a term often occurring in skaldic kennings for "woman" and related to the Old Norse term *hǫrr* ("flax" or "linen"); it also occurs in a few place-names and points to the worship of the goddess as deity of the flax harvest in eastern Sweden (Vries, 1967, p. 331). As *Mardǫll* she appears in poetic circumlocutions for "gold" such as *Mardallar tár* ("Mardǫll's tears"). She is also known as *Gefn,* a name derived from the verb *gefa* ("give") and referring to the concept of the fertility goddess as the generous dispenser of wealth, goods, and well-being. This term is also preserved in the name of the Matronae Gabiae and Dea Garmangabis, recorded in the Rhineland in Roman times. Freyja has therefore been connected with Gefjun, who plowed the island of Sjælland away from the Swedish mainland with the help of her four sons. There are indeed some striking parallels between Freyja and Gefjun, as suggested by Loki's reference (*Lokasenna,* st. 20) to Gefjun's seduction of a "fair-haired lad" (possibly Heimdallr) who gave her a necklace (presumably Brísingamen) in exchange for her favors. Though the Eddas treat them as separate deities, Gefjun can hardly be anything but a local incarnation of the omnipresent fertility goddess. Another possible hypostasis of Freyja is the beautiful Menglǫð ("necklace-glad"), who lives in the company of nine maidens on top of the Lyfjaberg (the "mount of [magical] healing herbs"), surrounded by a wall of flickering flames (Vries, 1967, pp. 328–329).

Freyja's association with the dead has been understood as an expression of the opposition between physical death and fertility. Together with her shape-changing garment, this association also suggests a connection with shamanism. Another connection with shamanism is *seiðr,* a special kind of sorcery Freyja practiced that allowed her to see the future and do harm to others. The possession by the spirits that this entailed was considered to be too much like sexual penetration to be appropriate to men, so Freyja taught *seiðr* only to the Æsir goddesses and to Óðinn, who was willing to risk shameful effeminacy for its power. Sagas describe *seiðr* rituals performed by women in a variety of Norse communities.

Although one might expect that the goddess of love would be worshiped in private ceremonies, in fact the cult of Freyja was a public one. According to the testimony of Nordic place-names, the cult was comparatively old and was widely dispersed over Scandinavia, though it is not always easy to determine whether the toponyms refer to Freyr or to Freyja (Vries, 1967, pp. 308–310). The greatest concentration seems to be along the west coast of Norway and in the Swedish Uppland, and the name of the deity is joined with terms meaning "lake," "grove," "hill," "field," and "meadow," as well as "sanctuary" and "temple." An anecdote about the tenth-century Icelandic poet Hjalti Skeggjason throws light on Freyja's important position in heathen religion: at the general assembly in 999 he composed this mocking verse, "I don't like barking gods; I consider Freyja to be a bitch," and was promptly outlawed for blasphemy.

SEE ALSO Germanic Religion; Óðinn; Sagas; Snorri Sturluson.

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EDGAR C. POLOMÉ (1987)
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FREYR (Lord), the son of Njǫrðr and the brother of Freyja, is one of the Vanir hostages in Ásgarðr and is the main fertility god of ancient Scandinavia. According to Snorri Sturluson (1179–1241), Freyr is said to be handsome and powerful. The noblest of the gods, he rules over rain, sunshine, and growing plants. People invoked him for peace, good crops, and wealth. He made women happy and freed captives (*Lokasenna,* st. 37). He is a courageous fighter, and his name occurs in poetic circumlocutions for *warrior,* such as "spear-Freyr." He is represented as the ancestor of the Swedish kings under the name *Yngvi-Freyr* (Yngvi is the eponym of the royal family of the Ynglings), a name also associated with *Ing* (Gmc. Ingw[az]) in the Old English *Runic Poem* and the eponym of the Germanic tribal group the Inguaeones, but the relationship between Freyr, Yngvi, and Ingwaz is not fully understood.

Among Freyr's prized possessions is the dwarf-made ship Skíðblaðnir (Built of Slats; *Grímnismál,* st. 44); according to Snorri, it can be folded up and carried in a pouch, but, when needed, it can carry the whole company of the Æsir, weapons and all, and always sails with a favorable wind. The motif of the wonderful boat is significant because of the close association of ships with fertility cults, from their representation on Scandinavian Bronze Age rock carvings to medieval rites. Another important present from the dwarfs is Freyr's golden boar, Gullinbyrsti (Golden Bristle) or Slíðrugtanni (Razor Tooth), who runs faster than a horse and shines brightly at night.

IN MYTHOLOGY. Freyr is involved in few myths. The best known is told in the eddic poem *Skírnismál* (The lay of Skírnir). Seeing the beautiful giantess Gerðr, daughter of Gymir, from a promontory overlooking all the world, Freyr falls deeply in love with her. Pining away, he sends his servant Skírnir (possibly a double of Freyr, who is elsewhere described as *skírr* [bright, shining, pure]) to woo her. The journey to Gymir's home is hazardous, and Skírnir reaches it only because Freyr's horse, which he is riding, can jump over the circles of flames protecting the property. At the gate, Skírnir finds savage dogs and a shepherd sitting on a mound, who tells him he must be either doomed or dead to have come so far. Skírnir is nevertheless greeted by Gerðr, who offers him mead. As he begins his plea for her love on behalf of Freyr, he tries to entice her with presents—the apples of eternal youth, a magic arm ring, and Freyr's invincible sword—but he meets with refusal. Switching from blandishments to threats, Skírnir ominously warns Gerðr that she will be exiled and will waste away, ugly and desolate and plagued by lust, for having incurred the wrath of the Æsir; worse still, he will deliver her by magic to a three-headed fiend from hell, to quench her thirst with "stalings of stinking goats" (Hollander, p. 72). Intimidated, Gerðr gives in and promises to meet Freyr after nine nights in a "trysting glade" called Barri.

This myth seems quite archaic, and even if one sets aside the interpretations associating the story with any fertility ritual, there can be no doubt that sex and fertility lie at its core. The myth has also been interpreted as reaffirming the patriarchal structure of Old Norse society, depicting a male-female struggle for power and providing a matrix for resolving conflict between different families through a system of exchange and intermarriage. One of the conditions imposed on the Vanir hostages was that they give up their custom of incest, which left only giantesses for Freyr and his father to marry, as the Æsir did not want the male Vanir to marry upward, into their own group. However, the incorporation of giantesses into Ásgarðr imposed strains on the Æsir's social hierarchy, and at the gods' last battle at Ragnarök, Freyr is killed by the giant Surtr because he did not have his sword, contributing to the defeat of the Æsir as a whole. The loss of the sword, with which Loki insults Freyr (*Lokasenna*, st. 42), emphasizes the separation of the fertility function from the warrior function and implies the weakening effects of sexual obsession. Snorri's *Ynglingasaga* calls Gerðr the wife of Freyr and mentions their son Fjölnir, but this may be a post-pagan development undertaken to create a coherent dynastic origin.

Besides Skírnir, Freyr has two other servants (*Lokasenna* sts. 43–46): Byggvir, meaning "grain of barley" (as suggested by the reference to the quern [a hand-turned grain mill] in stanza 44), and Beyla, whose name Georges Dumézil interpreted in 1973 as a diminutive of the Germanic word for "bee," in spite of insuperable phonological difficulties. Such names would make these figures symbolic of beer and mead, the inebriating beverages used in ceremonial activities. However, it may be more correct to connect Beyla with the Old Norse *baula* (cow) and to see the couple as representatives of the two aspects of Freyr's functional domain: agriculture and animal husbandry.

Freyr and Gerðr have been identified as the man and woman depicted on Viking Age gold plates from Jæderen, Norway. She holds an object that could be a branch with leaves and a flower, and the man touches her cheek or her breast with his hand in a gesture of endearment. The clear erotic elements in this depiction seem to be entirely in keeping with the sexual connotations of fertility cults.

FREYR WORSHIP. Little is known directly about the worship of Freyr, but it held a prominent place in Sweden, where he was the principal god as well as the divine ancestor of the royal house. Adam of Bremen (IV:26), writing around 1070 and using eyewitness accounts, describes the triad of gods worshiped at the time in the temple at Uppsala. He notes that the statue of Freyr is endowed with a huge sex organ and adds that all kinds of "lewd practices that remain better unmentioned" accompanied the ceremonies of Freyr's cult. One version of the king's saga about Olaf Tryggvason includes a tale about a fugitive Icelander who joins the priestess of Freyr as she travels from farm to farm in Sweden in a chariot with a statue of Freyr in a wagon; this was believed to bring good harvests. The young man soon takes the place of the statue, and when the priestess becomes pregnant, the people take it as a sign of divine favor. Although this episode is probably intended to mock paganism, the practice it describes is confirmed from other sources, such as Tacitus's account of the procession of Nerthus. A late Icelandic saga (*Vatnsdæla saga*, ch. 10) notes that one devotee of Freyr carried an amulet of the god around with him in a bag, a practice substantiated by the find in Rällinge, Sweden, of a small yet phallic Viking Age statuette.

Toponymy supplies strong evidence of the spread of his cult: place-names incorporating *Freyr* are numerous in Sweden, especially in the agricultural area of Svealand. Similarly, the god's name combines with words for fields, meadows, and so on in agricultural regions of Norway, and it appears in a few places in eastern and southeastern Iceland. Here the traditional elements preserved in the Icelandic saga about a chieftain named Hrafnkell attest to the veneration of Freyr; he was a "priest of Freyr" (Old Icelandic *Freysgoði*), to whom he had dedicated a stallion. When a servant desecrated the horse by riding it in spite of Hrafnkell's stern warnings, Hrafnkell killed him. However, Hrafnkell's enemies captured the stallion and pushed it over a cliff after covering its head with a bag, as if they were afraid of the power in its eyes. Desecration of horses belonging to Freyr is also attributed to the missionary king, Olaf Tryggvason, who destroyed a sanctuary of the god in Norway.

The horse is not the only animal closely associated with Freyr; several sources relate the offering of a bull or an ox to Freyr. The boar was also considered suitable for sacrifice to Freyr, particularly at Yuletide, a critical period when the forces of fertility needed to be stimulated. Adam of Bremen (IV: 27) reported that at times up to seventy-two bodies of men, horses, and dogs would hang together in a grove near the temple at Uppsala, but he did not say which victims were dedicated to which gods.

The rationale for these sacrifices was presumably concern for good crops; this is suggested by the story of the death of the euhemerized Freyr related in *Ynglingasaga* (ch. 10). When "King Freyr" succumbed to long illness he was secretly buried, and people were made to believe he was still alive. For three years, their tribute—first of gold, then of silver, and ultimately of copper coins—was poured into Freyr's funeral mound, and good seasons and peace endured. This story has often been compared to the occultation of the Thracian god Zalmoxis, but as Mircea Eliade showed in *Zalmoxis, the Vanishing God* (1972), this comparison is not valid.

SEE ALSO Boats; Eddas; Germanic Religion; Loki; Njǫrðr; Sagas; Snorri Sturluson.

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EDGAR C. POLOMÉ (1987)
ELIZABETH ASHMAN ROWE (2005)

FRICK, HEINRICH (1893–1952), German religious thinker. The term *religious thinker* characterizes Frick as a scholar who endeavors to combine two potentially conflicting attitudes: Christian theological piety and the ability to analyze in a religio-historical way his own religion and the religions of others.

Born in Darmstadt, Hesse, Frick during his childhood belonged to Bible youth groups. He studied Protestant theology and Arabic in Giessen and Tübingen. He received his licentiate in theology in 1917 from the University of Giessen and joined the Lutheran ministry in Darmstadt. In 1918 he earned his doctorate, also at Giessen; his thesis was *Ghazalis Selbstbiographie: Ein Vergleich mit Augustins Konfessionen* (Al-Ghazālī's *Autobiography:* A Comparison with Augustine's *Confessions;* 1919). Frick began his academic career in 1919 as privatdocent in *Religionswissenschaft* and missiology at the Technische Hochschule, Darmstadt. He moved to the University of Giessen in 1921, from which he was called to Marburg as successor to Rudolf Otto, whose professorship in systematic theology was, for Frick, extended to include *Religionswissenschaft* and missiology. In addition, he became director of the Religionskundliche Sammlung, a collection of religious materials from many religions of the world that had been founded by Otto in 1927.

Frick's bibliography contains more than 150 items, most of them articles, reports, prefaces, lectures, speeches, sermons, and statements. Of his few books, only one pertains to *Religionswissenschaft* proper, that is, *Vergleichende Religionswissenschaft* (Comparative study of religions; 1928). Here he lucidly develops his typology of religions, analyzing parallels between historical religions of different origin, as well as their respective "peculiarities." He concludes his argument by presenting three fundamental typological phenomena as essentially characteristic of religion: the Catholic-Protestant dissension (religio-historical); the polarity of mystical and believing piety (religio-psychological); and, crucial to the "quality" a religion has, the alternative of symbolization in space or time (religio-philosophical). The book aims at demonstrating that comparative religion is an "indispensable branch of effective theology" (p. 134), in that it proves the necessity of choice between several religious possibilities and offers empirical arguments for a "clear answer to the question why we cling to the gospel in spite of all the parallels and in spite of all the attractions in non-Christian religion" (p. 132).

This theological intention did not prevent Frick from developing, here and in other publications, points of comparison between religions that have since been generally accepted. It was an approach he had already adopted in his thesis comparing al-Ghazālī with Augustine, and again in his reviews and articles on special problems, for example, "Der Begriff des Prophetischen in Islamkunde und Theologie" (The concept of the prophetic in Islamic studies and theology), in *Festschrift P. Kahle* (1935); and in his programmatic writings, two examples: *Das Esvangelium und die Religionen* (The Gospel and religion, 1933); and in his article "Christliche Grundbegriffe in ihrer Besonderheit gegenueber Fremdreligionen" (Fundamental Christian ideas in comparison with other religions), *Evangelische Missionzeitschrift* (1944): 193–205, 233–255.

Motivated by a lifelong sensitivity to secularistic tendencies and the "crisis of religion," Frick summed up his views on *Religionswissenschaft* near the end of his life in two lectures on *Religionsphaenomenologie* (1950) and *Religionswissenschaft* (1951). Casting doubt on the moral right of neutrality in the field of *Religionswissenschaft* at a time when modern humanity had become more and more irreligious, Frick called upon his colleagues to search for a synthesis of the venerable religio-cultural traditions and modernity. In his opinion the "most important task of present *Religionswissenschaft* and related fields in all the scholarly faculties is to fulfill its modest but irremissible part in this."

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MARTIN KRAATZ (1987 AND 2005)

FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF See QUAKERS

FROBENIUS, LEO

FROBENIUS, LEO (1873–1938), was a German ethnologist and philosopher of culture. Leo Viktor Frobenius was born July 29, 1873, in Berlin, where he spent his early years. Even in his youth he devoted himself enthusiastically to the investigation of African cultures, collecting all available written and pictorial material that dealt with particular ethnological motifs. (Later, these materials became the matrix for an Africa archive that Frobenius assembled.) Despite the fact that he never received a high school diploma and did not complete a university program, Frobenius achieved extraordinary success in his scientific pursuits.

Stimulated by the work of Heinrich Schurtz (whom Frobenius claimed as his teacher), Friedrich Ratzel, and Richard Andree, Frobenius was responsible for introducing a new way of scientific thinking into the field of ethnology. His new concept, hinging on the term *Kulturkreis* ("culture circle"), first appeared in his 1898 work *Der Ursprung der afrikanischen Kulturen* (The origin of African civilization). Unlike other scholars, who put the term to one-dimensional uses, Frobenius developed the concept of *Kulturkreis* into an all-encompassing cultural morphology. His method involved the notion that individual elements of culture should be investigated according to their placement within the organic whole of which they are parts. According to Frobenius, this method provides a way for understanding the complex, historical nature of cultures.

Frobenius's primary concern was for the investigator's recognition of the essence of culture in general. Frobenius found that cultures display "biological" characteristics similar to those of living organisms. He drew parallels between a culture's stages and the elements of an organic life cycle, using terms such as *Ergriffenheit* ("emotion," by which Frobenius meant to signify a culture's youth), *Ausdruck* ("expression," or a culture's maturity), and *Anwendung* ("utilization," its old age). Every culture, argued Frobenius, possesses laws that determine its process independently of the individual human beings who participate in the culture. He labeled this inherent power with the Greek word *paideuma* ("what is acquired by learning") and devoted an entire book, *Paideuma: Umrisse einer Kultur- und Seelenlehre* (Outline of a theory of culture and spirit; 1921), to this theme. *Paideuma* is also the title of a periodical, established by Frobenius in 1938, devoted to the problem of cultural morphology. Although the philosophy of culture espoused by Frobenius has been disputed, he is still considered an ethnological field-researcher of the first order.

Frobenius went on twelve research expeditions to various parts of Africa to document the lives of tribal peoples. In addition, he studied the most important rock-painting sites of both northern and southern Africa. The results of his ethnological researches were presented in a work entitled *Und Afrika sprach,* 3 vols. (1912–1913; translated as *The Voice of Africa,* 2 vols., 1913). He also published a series of twelve volumes of folk tales and poems under the general title *Atlantis* between 1921 and 1928; these have proved to be particularly rich source materials for historians of religions. He summarized his research in *Kulturgeschichte Afrikas* (1933).

Frobenius's impact upon the world outside his professional field is demonstrated by the fact that the Senegalese politician and poet Léopold Senghor has credited Frobenius with helping to foster a revitalization of self-awareness among present-day Africans. The materials collected on Frobenius's many expeditions were brought together in 1922 to be housed at the newly founded Institute for Cultural Morphology in Munich. In 1925 the institute was removed to Frankfurt, where Frobenius received an honorary lectureship in the department of ethnology and cultural studies at the university. In 1934 he was appointed director of the Municipal Ethnological Museum in Frankfurt. Shortly after his sixty-fifth birthday, Frobenius died at his residence on Lake Maggiore in Italy.

See Also Kulturkreiselehre.

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Otto Zerries (1987)
Translated from German by John Maressa
Revised Bibliography

FROGS AND TOADS.

FROGS AND TOADS. The frog or toad is a lunar animal par excellence. Its shape or behavior is reminiscent of the moon; it swells and shrinks, submerges under water but emerges again, and hides under the ground in winter but reappears in spring. The frog lives according to the lunar rhythm. In fact, a great many myths speak of a frog in the moon. According to the Chinese, the moon has not only an evergreen cassia tree and a rabbit but also a frog inside it. Thus the *Tianwen* section of the *Chuzi* (fourth or third century BCE) asks: "What is the peculiar virtue of the moon, the brightness of the night, which causes it to grow once more after its death? What does it advantage to keep a frog in its belly?"

The frog, then, is naturally associated with all sorts of aquatic elements such as water, rain, ocean, and flood. Frogs are said to croak incessantly before it rains, or to announce or bring rain by croaking. They are usually mentioned in the innumerable rites for inducing rain. North American Indians see in the moon the primeval toad, which contained all the waters and caused the flood by discharging them over the earth. According to the Kurnai of southeastern Australia, once upon a time all the waters were swallowed by a huge frog; the other animals tried in vain to make him laugh until the eel danced about, twisting itself into the most ridiculous contortions, whereupon the frog burst into laughter and the waters rushed out of his mouth and produced the flood. The frog sometimes plays a part in the precosmogonic period when there is nothing but water. A Huron myth narrates how several animals descended in vain into the primeval waters, until the toad returned successfully with a little soil in its mouth; the soil was placed on the back of the tortoise, and the miraculous growth of the land then began.

Significantly, the frog is also associated with the principles of evil and death. According to Altaic beliefs, the creation of man and woman by the god Ülgen was marred by the devil Erlik. Consequently, the god decided to destroy them, but changed his mind when a frog proposed that humankind exist under the curse of mortality. In Iranian mythology the frog appears as a symbol or embodiment of the evil spirit or the most important of its creatures. In Inner Asian cosmogonic myths—apparently colored by Iranian influence—frogs are among those animals that, together with lizards, worms, and mice, come out of the hole made in the earth by the satanic figure. In Africa the frog emerges sometimes as the messenger of death. At the time of beginning, say the Ekoi of Nigeria, the duck was charged by God with a message of immortality to humankind, whereas the frog was given a message of death. The frog got to the earth first, delivered his message, and thus brought death to humankind.

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Revised Bibliography

FRYE, NORTHROP.

FRYE, NORTHROP. The reputation of Northrop Frye (1912–1991) as a literary theorist was originally based upon his *Anatomy of Criticism* (1957), a book that sought to provide a structural framework for the study of literature through an analysis of its various modes, symbols, myths, images, and genres. The *Anatomy*, heralded for a generation as a twentieth-century *Poetics*, had a large following in the 1960s and 1970s, and twenty years after its publication it was the most frequently cited book in the arts and humanities by a writer born in the twentieth century. Seventeen translations of the *Anatomy* into thirteen languages (as of 2003) attest to its international standing. But some thirty books followed in the wake of the *Anatomy*, and the scope of Frye's work as a whole has come into focus with the publication of his collected works. While *Anatomy of Criticism* will remain an important twentieth-century study of literary conventions, it seems likely that Frye's major contribution will be defined by the books that serve as bookends of his career: at the beginning, *Fearful Symmetry: A Study of William Blake* (1947), and at the end, his two books on the Bible and literature, *The Great Code* (1982) and *Words with Power* (1990)—as well as his posthumous *The Double Vision* (1991).

Frye grew up in a Methodist environment in Moncton, New Brunswick. Although he rejected at an early age what he saw as the constraining features of fundamentalism and the oppressive demands of Methodist moral piety, he never abandoned his Protestant roots, particularly its low-church, dissenting traditions and the Methodist emphasis on experience. In 1929, at age seventeen, he entered Victoria College in Toronto as a "church student," and on completing his undergraduate honors degree in philosophy, he enrolled at Emmanuel College, the theology school at Victoria University. The papers he wrote at Emmanuel, collected in *Northrop Frye's Student Essays* (1997), show how deeply he immersed himself in the comparative mythology of James Frazer (1854–1941), Oswald Spengler's (1880–1936) theory of the organic rhythms of cultural history, Reformation theology, and the Romantic cultural revolution. Several of these essays also addressed the relationship of religion and art. Frye's basic insights came to him early, and these student essays contain an embryonic form of many of the deductive frameworks he subsequently developed. At age twenty-two Frye wrote, "religion and art are the two most important phenomena in the world; or rather the most important phenomenon, for they are basically the same thing" (*Correspondence*, 1966, vol. 1, pp. 425–426). This was an insight that Frye spent the next fifty-six years exploring.

Frye's interest in religion is, therefore, in many ways obvious: he became an ordained minister in the United Church of Canada; early in his career he wrote an extraordinary essay on American civil religion and another one on the relation of the church to society; at Victoria College, where Frye spent his entire career, he taught a course on the Bible for forty-four years; and he addressed religious subjects on numerous occasions (*Northrop Frye on Religion* [2000] contains forty-three texts, including a number of eloquent sermons and prayers). But having an interest in religion would be not be unusual for any thinker who engaged as expansive a range of literary, social, and cultural issues as Frye did. That would be the weak claim. The strong claim would be that religion was absolutely central to practically everything he wrote, the base upon which he built the massive superstructure that was his life's work. The reasons for the strong claim have become more insistent and the argument more convincing with the publication of Frye's notebooks, diaries, and other manuscripts.

Frye remarked on several occasions that all of his ideas derived from William Blake (1757–1827), a deeply religious poet, the code of whose "prophecies" Frye was more responsible than anyone else for deciphering. The most important thing Blake taught Frye was the religious vision of radical immanence. Blake insists, says Frye, that "everything God does comes through man—the consciousness and imagination of man. . . .God becomes man in order that we may be as he is" (Cayley, 1992, p. 54). Theologically, this is the doctrine of the incarnation, though Frye was not inclined to speculate on such paradoxes in theological terms—in what he called the second-phase language of discursive thought with its emphasis on subjects and objects. His approach was through the first-phase language of metaphor. "The metaphorical approach," he said, "moves in the direction of the identity of God and man" (Cayley, 1992. p. 183). This means that the principle of identity, which makes the paradoxical claim that two different things are the same thing, lies behind Frye's speculation on both religion and art. Identity is also a principle of myth: in our earliest stories, which are stories about gods, the gods are themselves identified with forces in nature. In such hyphenated words as *sky-god* or *river-god* the hyphen really functions as an equal mark, identifying the sky or the river *with* the god. *Mythos* or narrative, moreover, has to do with the loss and regaining of identity, or recognition of self by both literary characters and readers, which is the general topic of *The Secular Scripture* (1976).

Metaphor and myth, then, lie behind Frye's imaginative approach to the Bible in *The Great Code* and *Words with Power* and in the lectures on the Bible that he gave at Victoria College, published in *Northrop Frye's Notebooks and Lectures on the Bible and Other Religious Texts* (2003). The Bible for Frye was the primary text in the Western literary imagination, becoming for him a touchstone for studying what he called "positive analogies" in nonbiblical stories and images. His approach always moved away from the historical and doctrinal toward the poetic. But although he was known primarily as a literary critic, his lifelong project took the form of a religious quest and the structures he built for containing his expansive vision were fundamentally religious. "I am an architect of the spiritual world," Frye wrote in his *Late Notebooks* (2000, vol. 1, p. 414).

The architecture of this world was formed by a number of key terms that appear throughout Frye's work—what he called his "verbal formulas." Chief among these are (1) *interpenetration*, an idea that developed from his reading of Spengler, Alfred North Whitehead (1861–1947), David Bohm (1917–1992), and the sūtras of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and that, like *identity*, represented the erasing of the subject-object duality; (2) the *participating apocalypse* or revelation, which was the final stage of the reading process, opening up "myths to live by and metaphors to live in" and the gospel of love; (3) *kerygma*, the voice of proclamation that comes from the other side of the poetic; (4) *purgatory*, which represents the pilgrimage that serves as a crucible for the purified mind and the emancipated vision; (5) *anagnorisis* or recognition, which Frye associates with rebirth and renewed visionary perception; and (6) the *dialectic of Word and Spirit*, the goal of which was to reach spiritual insight.

Frazer and other comparative mythographers, including Carl Jung (1875–1961) and Mircea Eliade (1907–1986), were important in Frye's early work in helping him define the principles of myth, archetype, and ritual. In his late work such thinkers are displaced by G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831), whose *Phenomenology of Spirit* (1807) Frye saw as the great philosophic statement of *anabasis*. Both Frye and Hegel climb a spiraling ladder to a higher level of being, except Frye moves upward by way of the language of myth and metaphor. Frye said, "If Hegel had written his *Phenomenology* in *mythos*-language instead of in *logos*-language a lot of my work would be done for me" (*Late Notebooks*, 2000, vol. 1, p. 192). About the same time he wrote, "The rush of ideas I get from Hegel's *Phenomenology* is so tremendous I can hardly keep up with it" (*Late Notebooks,* 2000, vol. 2, p. 631). Blake remained Frye's guiding light throughout his career, but Stéphane Mallarmé (1842–1898) was another important presence in his visionary poetics. In Mallarmé, Frye discovered a completely metaphoric and symbolic world, a world where divinity can be expressed only by the poetic word but which ultimately moved beyond the poetic. In his various accounts of Mallarmé the distinction between literature and religion tended to collapse.

Frye never escaped from his Christian roots, nor did he want to: the words *Christian* and *Christianity* appear more 3,400 times in his work. But he had more than a passing interest in Eastern religious traditions, and his notebooks reveal that he was deeply engaged with esoteric and mystical religious traditions. His library contains more than 250 annotated books that can be labeled *esoterica*, ranging from Alexandrian hermeticism through the medieval mystics to various forms of the occult, including alchemy, astrology, Gnosticism, magic, mysticism, Rosicrucianism, channeling, the tarot, numerology, astral projection, New Age science, Theosophy, synchronicity, and qabbalism. Frye had no interest in these traditions as matters of belief, but they did confirm his contention that poetic thought is schematic, and they contained grammars of literary and religious symbolism. He was drawn to the esoteric traditions only to the extent that he could make imaginative use of them.

Frye was a schematic thinker (he could hardly put pen to paper without a diagram in mind), but he was also a dialectical thinker, his mind repeatedly moving back and forth between opposing poles of reference: knowledge and experience, space and time, stasis and movement, the individual and society, tradition and innovation, Platonic synthesis and Aristotelian analysis, engagement and detachment, freedom and concern, *mythos* and *dianoia*, the world and the grain of sand, immanence and transcendence, and hundreds of other oppositions. A second feature of Frye's expansive body of work was its drive toward unity—an effort to get beyond the oppositions that he repeatedly introduced. He always resisted the Kierkegaardian either/or solution. But unity was not achieved at the expense of variety, and he never tires of insisting that opposites are never resolved by reconciliation, harmony, or agreement. They are typically resolved, rather, by the process of the Hegelian *Aufhebung*, a dialectic in which oppositions are, in the triple meaning of the term, canceled, preserved, and raised. The movement of passing through negation to another level of vision is present in the conclusions of each of the eight chapters of *Words with Power*, and it is operative as well in the final pages of each of the four chapters of *The Double Vision*.

Frye's own purgatorial journey, as he called it, took the form of a quest romance. The goal of this quest—the existential vision that came from the other side of the poetic—was for Frye, the Everlasting Gospel, in Blake's phrase, or the gospel of love. Charity or *agapē* is the note that is sounded in the conclusions of Frye's last three books. But the structural poetics that Frye developed in *Anatomy of Criticism* remained with him to the end. Therefore, to see Frye as a religious visionary and architect of the spiritual world is to consider his work less in revisionary terms than in expanded ones.

SEE ALSO Literature, article on Literature and Religion.

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ROBERT D. DENHAM (2005)

FUDŌ, the "Immovable One" (Skt. Acala, also Acalanātha Vidyārāja), is one of the most popular esoteric Buddhist deities in contemporary Japan. Fudō is most frequently colored black or dark blue and portrayed as sitting or standing on a large stone which, according to the commentary by Śubhākarasiṃha (637–735), represents both the heaviness of the obscurations (Skt. *kleśa*) and the immovability of the thought of awakening (Skt. *bodhicitta*). This ambiguity is typical of tantric thought in which the obscurations are nondually identical with awakening (Jpn. *bonnō soku bodai*).

Fudō is encircled by flames that are produced by his state of concentration. These flames themselves are described as being "garuda-headed," that is, shaped like the head of the mythic garuda bird, said to be able to eat snakes without harm. For this reason, the garuda is taken as a symbol of the power of Buddhist teachings to transform the three poisons of ignorance, greed, and hatred. Fudō's hair is braided and hangs down on one side of his face, his eyes are crossed or bulging from anger, and two fangs emerge from his mouth—usually one pointed up, the other down. He holds in his right hand a *vajra* (a ritual implement representing a thunderbolt) sword that cuts through the delusions of sentient beings. Sometimes a dragon is coiled around the sword. In his left hand he holds a noose which is used to pull sentient beings toward awakening. His *mantra* is "*naumaku sanmanda bazaradan senda makaroshada sowataya un tarata kan man*" (Skt. "*namaḥ samanta vajrāṇāṃ caṇḍa mahāroṣaṇa sphoṭaya hūṃ traṭ hāṃ māṃ*"), meaning "Praise all *vajras,* Violent and Exceedingly Wrathful One, destroy (all delusions)." The *mudrā* (yogic hand position) used in ritual for Fudō is formed by extending the fore- and middle fingers of both hands straight out, and curling the thumb, ring and little finger into the palm. The right hand is held palm down, and the left hand palm up. This represents Fudō's *vajra* sword and its scabbard, respectively.

He is considered to be the chief of the five Kings of Wisdom (Jpn. Godai Myōō, Skt. Vidyārāja, also translatable as "*Mantra* Kings" given the ambiguity of the Sanskrit *vidya*, meaning both wisdom and *mantra*), who appear wrathful in their function as protectors of the *buddhadharma.* The other four Kings of Wisdom are Trailokyavijaya (Jpn. Gōzanze), Kuṇḍalin (Jpn. Gundari), Yamāntaka (Jpn. Daiitoku), and Vajrayakṣa (Jpn. Kongoyasha). Fudō frequently appears accompanied by children, most commonly two (Jpn. Kongara and Seitaka), or eight children.

Fudō appears in both of the two *maṇḍalas* of the Shingon tradition, the Matrix Maṇḍala (Skt. *garbhakośadhātu maṇḍala*, Jpn. *taizōkai mandara*) described in the *Mahāvairocana sūtra,* and the Diamond World *Maṇḍala* (Skt. *vajradhātu maṇḍala*, Jpn. *kongōkai mandara*) described in the *Vajraśekhara sūtra.* In the former, below the central assembly is the "mansion of the mantra holders," within which Fudō is central.

The temple of Tōji ("Eastern Temple," Kyōtō) as redesigned by Kūkai beginning in 839 has as its altar a sculptural *maṇḍala.* One of the three groupings is that of the five Kings of Wisdom. Fudō is in the center, with Gōzanze to the east, Gundari to the south, Daiitoku to the west, and Kongōyasha to the north. These directions are symbolic, rather than literal, and are associated with specific colors according to the Chinese system of five elements.

Fudō also appears together with the other Kings of Wisdom at the center of the *maṇḍala* used in the *Ninnō-kyō Hō*, an elaborate esoteric rite centering on the recitation of the *Benevolent Kings Sūtra* (Jpn. *Ninnō-kyō*). In this *maṇḍala* he is shown seated, with a *vajra* sword in his right hand, and a *dharma* wheel (Jpn. *hōrin*, Skt. *dharmacakra*) in his left. Much more commonly performed today, however, is the protective fire ritual (Jpn. *sokusai goma*) with Fudō as the chief deity. In the training for Shingon priests this is the final ritual practiced.

Fudō is considered to be the wrathful manifestation of Mahāvairocana Buddha, the central cult figure of Shingon Buddhism. Under the theory of "original form, trace manifestation" (Jpn. *honji-suijaku*), Fudō is identified with Amaterasu, the sun goddess who is the ancestress of Japan's imperial family.

Fudō is linked with the widespread practice of cold water austerities, the practice of bathing in cold water, thought to stimulate internal energy, during which his mantra is commonly recited; the cult of Shugendō, mountain ascetics who engage in the practice (along with other austerities) are one vehicle for the spread of Fudō's popularity. Shugendō practitioners also construct large, outdoor fire rituals (Jpn. *saito goma*) in which Fudō plays a central role. Such rituals continue today, both in traditional Shugendō settings and in such new religions as Agon shū.

The association of cold water austerities with Fudō is found in the literary record. For example, the *Heike monogatari* tells of the cold water austerities of the warrior Mongaku, who vows to stand under the waterfall at Kumano in midwinter for twenty-one days, reciting the *mantra* of Fudō. After eight days, Mongaku collapses a second time and is revived by Kongara and Seitaku, who reassure him that Fudō, who is residing in Tuṣita heaven, has heard his invocations. Now reinspired, he returns to the waters which, because of the divine protection that has been extended to him, now feel warm, though winter gales blow around him. He is able to successfully complete the twenty-one days as he had vowed.

Whereas the iconography of Fudō became fairly standardized in Japan, his appearance is more varied in the Indian sources. In addition to the one-faced and two-armed form found, for example, in the *Sādhanamālā*, there is a one-faced and six-armed form and a three-faced and four-armed form (both found in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī)*, and a three-faced and six-armed form (found in the *Piṇḍīkrama-Sādhana*). In a painting from central Tibet (c. 1200), Fudō is the central figure, depicted kneeling in a position that has his right foot and left knee on the ground (Skt. *acalāsana*), and with three eyes.

Fudō is also named Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa (the "fierce and greatly wrathful one"), the main figure of the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa* tantra, classified in the Tibetan system as one of the *anuttarayoga* tantras. In this text he teaches his consort while they are in sexual union, and is identified as a manifestation of Akṣobhya, whose quality is an unshakable resolve to attain awakening. It has also been suggested that Fudō is related to Śiva, for whom Acala is an epithet. They share the attribute of immovability, and the iconographic detail of dark blue or black color.

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RICHARD K. PAYNE (2005)

FUJIWARA SEIKA (1561–1619) was a Japanese Confucian scholar of the early Tokugawa period. Once regarded as the founder of Tokugawa neo-Confucianism, Fujiwara Seika is today understood increasingly as a transitional figure in the development of an intellectually self-contained Confucianism out of the Zen-flavored Confucianism that flourished in the Gozan Zen temples of the Muromachi period.

Seika was a twelfth-generation descendant of the thirteenth-century court poet Fujiwara no Teika, but his immediate forebears were small local lords in the Harima area (present-day Hyōgo prefecture). A younger son, at the age of seven or eight he was sent to study at a Zen temple in the area where, it so happened, the priests were interested in Confucianism. When he was eighteen, his father and elder brother were killed in battle, and the family's ancestral lands were lost. Through the mediation of two uncles who were priests at important Zen temples in Kyoto, Seika, who had taken refuge in the capital, became a priest at the major Zen center of Shōkokuji. There, as was common practice, he pursued the study of Confucian texts as an adjunct to his training as a Zen priest. Gradually he formed a deeper commitment to Confucianism, and in his mid-thirties he left the temple and devoted himself to the study of Confucianism.

In 1596, at the age of thirty-five, Seika attempted to go to China to study Confucianism with an authentic master. The attempt was unsuccessful, but he was able to broaden and deepen his understanding of Confucianism through contact with Korean scholars captured by Japanese troops during Toyotomi Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea and brought back to Japan. At his urging, the captive scholars were set to copying out the Four Books and the Five Classics, while he punctuated the copied text in Japanese according to the Song and Ming neo-Confucian commentaries. Individual classics had been punctuated previously by Japanese scholars using the neo-Confucian interpretations, but this was the first instance in which one person systematically punctuated all the central texts of Confucianism. Seika's plan to make his punctuated edition available in published form went unrealized, but the plan itself and his comprehensive rather than piecemeal approach to the basic Confucian texts stand as landmarks in the history of Confucianism in Japan.

In other ways, too, Seika took steps to establish Confucianism as a self-sufficient intellectual tradition independent of Buddhism. For some time after leaving Shōkokuji Seika continued to dress as a priest, but in 1600 he formally manifested the shift in his intellectual allegiance by adopting a style of dress patterned after that of the Chinese scholar-official class. The same year he lectured on Chinese historical works before Tokugawa Ieyasu, founder of the Tokugawa shogunate, and engaged the Zen monks present in a debate over the respective merits of the Confucian and Buddhist approaches to life. Seika refused an invitation to serve Ieyasu on a permanent basis, but he maintained informal ties as a scholar with a number of daimyo.

Although Seika took action that contributed to the development of Confucianism as a public teaching (in contrast to the "secret transmission" tradition of medieval scholarship) institutionally independent of Buddhism, his writings on Confucianism reveal lingering traces of Zen ideas. Seika objected to the otherworldly orientation of Buddhism, but his emphasis on "stilling the mind" so as to allow it to return to its original state of good reflects the influence of the Zen concept of enlightenment and of the views of late Ming scholars such as Lin Chaoen, who had attempted a fusion of Zen, Confucian, and Daoist teachings. For this Seika was criticized by later Confucian scholars, including his disciple Hayashi Razan.

SEE ALSO Confucianism in Japan.

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FULANI RELIGION SEE FULBE RELIGION

FULBE RELIGION. The Fulbe are groups of pastoralists, semipastoralists, farmers, and city dwellers who constitute large minorities in the Sahelian countries stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to the Red Sea (Mauritania, Senegal, Gambia, Guinea, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, Nigeria, Chad, Cameroon, and Sudan). Also called Fulani, Fellata, and Peul, these people (with an estimated population in the early twentieth century of around twenty-five million) have played a significant role in West African history and attracted the attention of European observers of African societies. While a majority had become Muslims from the eighteenth century, they possess a strong cattle-herding tradition that antedates their Islamic allegiance.

The Fulbe speak Fulfulde (also called Pulār), a language of the West Atlantic branch of Niger-Congo languages. The northern section of the West Atlantic branch includes Wolof, Serer, and Fulfulde, which are the dominant languages of Senegal but were in earlier times spoken farther north, in today's Mauritania. The early Fulbe probably left some of the rock paintings of cattle and herders in the area that gradually became the Sahara. In the last millennium largely nomadic Fulbe have progressively migrated from this location to the east, as far as Cameroon and Chad. In recent centuries they have spread into the Sudan. Until the eighteenth century most of these Fulbe maintained a pastoral lifestyle and had relatively little attachment to Islam.

The intensive Islamization of the Fulbe since the eighteenth century makes it difficult to recapture pre-Islamic Fulbe religion. However, the Malian Fulbe intellectual Amadou Hampaté Ba and the French ethnographer Germaine Dieterlen, who recorded an initiation text from a Senegalese informant and made a French translation and commentary titled *Koumen*, have provided a very suggestive statement. Koumen, the initiation ceremony, consists of twelve chapters, or clearings, in which the first human herder acquires knowledge of cattle and the world. The world is governed by the eternal and all-powerful God. God designates Canaba, who usually takes the form of a serpent, to be the guardian of cattle, and Koumen to be Canaba's herder. It is Koumen, often in the form of a child, and his wife Foroforondu who actually provide instruction to the novice Sile (a local variation of Sulayman or Solomon). At the end of the story Sile becomes the first *silatigi*, master of the bush and pastoral life. The story reveals the close ties among men, cattle, land, and vegetation—the trees, vines, and creeping plants that supply the staffs, cords, calabashes, and other vital instruments, as well as the shrines where Sile must demonstrate his attachment to God and the numerous spirits that populate the universe. A rich symbolism of color and number runs throughout the text. Yellow, red, black, and white correlate respectively with fire, air, water, and earth; with east, west, south, and north; and finally with the four original lineages of the Fulbe: Jal or Jallo, Bâ, Sō, and Bari. Sile gradually learns to read the symbolism and to use the configuration of cattle of different coats to divine the proper course of action.

While the Koumen ritual is quite specific to the Fulbe, many of its features recall the religious beliefs and practices of other people living in the region of Senegal and Mali. The *silatigi* resembles a priest-king. His progress in understanding parallels the learning process that takes place in other initiations. The serpent Canaba recalls the importance of serpents in Soninke and Mandinka symbolism, and his path down the Niger River repeats the trajectory of Mande creation myths. The story also suggests the importance of military leadership, the social stratification characteristic of the Western Sudan, and through the evocation of Solomon, the influence of the Jewish, Islamic, and Christian heritage. A blacksmith who is a member of an artisan caste aids Sile in his initiation. Sile is expected to demonstrate *pulaaku*, the Fulbe code of honor, shame, and restraint. This code is often defined in contrast to the behavior of slaves, who do not have an affinity for cattle and do not know how to act in general. The slave is seen to be crude, naive, irresponsible, and dark in color; he or she resembles the other black, non-Fulbe populations of West Africa. *Pulaaku* resembles the codes of a number of other stratified societies in West Africa who distinguish sharply between the conduct that one may expect of the noble and free strata and the behavior that one must tolerate from slaves and the people of caste—the hereditary corporations of blacksmiths and other trades. In general, *pulaaku* and the whole ritual of Koumen are consistent with pastoral Fulbe custom across the Sahelian zone. In the present state of knowledge they can be considered representative of pre-Islamic Fulbe beliefs and practices.

Until the eighteenth century the Fulbe were not in the forefront of forming states or practicing Islam in the western and central Sudanic region. The Timbuktu scholars who wrote the chronicles called the *Taʾrīkh al-Fattāsh* and *Taʾrīkh al-Sudān* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries regarded some Fulbe as the enemies of Islam, agriculture, commerce, and cities. Beginning in the eighteenth century Fulbe in several locations took the lead in establishing specifically Islamic states and societies. They used the process of *jihād,* or war against unbelievers, to reverse regimes that they considered pagan or nominally Muslim, appoint leaders who were knowledgeable in the faith, and erect educational and judicial systems in which Islamic law would be learned and practiced. While they failed to implement all of their ideal, they did spur, for the first time, the permanent development of an Islamic culture in the countryside outside of the capitals and commercial centers. The leaders in this process were scholars and sedentary Fulbe who were already at some distance from the predominantly pastoral pre-Islamic tradition. Over time they developed new genealogies where the four original Fulbe lineages were all descended from ʿUqba, usually identified with ʿUqba ibn Nāfiʿ, the Arab conqueror of much of North Africa in the seventh century CE. This origin is widely accepted by Fulbe of all persuasions today.

The first two of these Islamic revolutions occurred in the eighteenth century in the two Fūtas, regions fairly close to the Atlantic Ocean. The leaders in Fūta Jalon, the mountainous zone of Guinea, created an elaborate system of Islamic instruction in Fulfulde as well as Arabic. The Fulfulde system, based on a modified Arabic alphabet, was designed to reach the women, pastoralists, and others who were unlikely to acquire the ability to read and write for themselves. The people of Fūta Tōro, the middle valley of the Senegal River, became known as the Tokolor, a word that served to distinguish them from the Fulbe who were less committed to the establishment of an Islamic state and culture.

The most important revolution occurred in Hausaland, or northern Nigeria. In the early 1800s Usuman (also called Uthman or Usman) dan Fodio, his brother ʿAbdullāh, and his son Muhammadu Bello launched the *jihād* against the ruling class of the Hausa state of Gobir. Dan Fodio's students and allies then carried the campaign against other states and established new settlements beyond Hausaland. By 1812 a vast new confederation had emerged with its principal center at Sokoto, in northwest Nigeria. Dan Fodio and his associates wrote a large number of influential treatises that became the standard texts for the practice and spread of the faith in the western and central Sudan.The last revolution occurred in the middle delta of the Niger River, between the towns of Segu and Timbuktu and created the caliphate of Hamdullāhi around 1820. The movement led by ʿUmar Tāl put an end to this regime in 1862.

Fulbe scholars also played an important role in spreading the Qādirīyah and Tijānīyah Islamic orders, which could be practiced in the countryside, away from the large mosques, schools, and courts of the towns. One can say that the Fulbe supplied the most important agents of Islamization in West Africa in the nineteenth century.

Many Fulbe have remained relatively marginal to these processes of state formation and Islamization. Despite devastating droughts in the 1980s, they have tried to sustain their pastoral economy and lifestyle in the regions of West Africa that are more suited to grazing than to agriculture. For all public purposes they are Muslim; they observe the obligations incumbent on all members of the faith. In their family life and relationship to cattle, they observe the customs and values reflected in the Koumen ceremony.

See Also Dan Fodio, Usuman; ʿUmar Tāl.

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FUNCTIONALISM is the analytical tendency within the social sciences—most notably, sociology and social anthropology—that exhibits a particular interest in the functions of social or cultural phenomena. In its most traditional form, functionalism has claimed that all items and activities in a system should be explained in reference to their objective consequences for the system as a whole. Thus the pivotal meaning of *function* is the objective consequence of an activity or phenomenon for the system of which it is a part. A secondary—but nonetheless significant—meaning of *function* in social science is similar to the use of the term in mathematics. When it is stated that *x* is a function of *y,* it is meant that *x* varies in direct proportion to variation in *y.* In social science this perspective on the concept of function has to do with interrelatedness. The dominant and the secondary meanings are linked as follows. The notion of function as consequence for the state of the system suggests that all phenomena in the system are considered, at least initially, as being relevant to the system's persistence. It is then but a small move to the postulate that all phenomena in a system are interrelated and that a change in one aspect will have implications for all others and for the system as a whole.

THE EARLY FRENCH SCHOOL. The functional analysis of religion played quite an important part in the development of the functional orientation in social science as a whole. Of more immediate relevance, however, is the fact that the functional analysis of religion has also played a very significant part in the development of the sociology and anthropology of religion. The functional orientation has a long history, but it was during the French Enlightenment of the eighteenth century that the seeds were fully sown for the explicit crystallization of sociological functionalism in the second half of the nineteenth century. Many eighteenth-century French philosophers and protosociologists were interested in the possibility of a form of society that would operate according to principles of rationality and enlightenment, without what they saw as the impediments of religious dogma and clerical predominance. On the other hand, many of these thinkers were also concerned with what could take the place of religious faith and practice in a prospective rational-secular society. Thus one of the earliest and most influential of the Enlightenment philosophers, Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), maintained that a society needed a civil religion—a religion concerned not with the traditional matters of faith and practice in relation to a supernatural being or realm but rather with the generation and maintenance of involvement in, and respect for, the society as such. He, like a number of his contemporaries, was well aware that religion had, among other things, traditionally performed significant functions of legitimation. In fact, at the end of the eighteenth century the leaders of the French Revolution made a great effort to replace traditional Catholic symbols and rituals with "secular-religious" ones.

The awareness of crucial links between religion and politics grew in a period when, in many parts of Europe, there was a widespread challenge to the intrinsic validity of religious belief and the traditional church (above all in predominantly Catholic countries). Yet despite the conviction that traditional religion had had deleterious consequences for society, it was affirmed that the functions supposedly performed by religion still had to be met. One particularly significant version of that perspective was provided in France by Claude Henri, Comte de Saint-Simon (1760–1825), who maintained that religion was a society's most significant political institution. That idea was later developed by Alexis de Tocqueville (1805–1859), who studied the relationship between religion and democracy. Tocqueville's particular interest was in the prospects for democracy in France, given the predominance there of Catholicism and the conviction of many intellectuals that democracy and religion were incompatible. Tocqueville tried to show that American evangelical Protestantism fostered the American democratic spirit. In so doing, he sought to disprove the claim that religion necessarily inhibited or disrupted democracy, and subsequently argued that, with modification, Catholicism could support democracy in France.

While Tocqueville did not argue explicitly in terms of what came to be called functionalism, he helped crystallize the sociological view that religion performs vital social functions. In the case of Saint-Simon, however, the functional orientation had been somewhat more explicit. After having celebrated the emergent industrial order and noted its antipathy to religion, Saint-Simon concluded that a "New Christianity" was necessary to provide commitment and vitality to the new industrial type of society. With Saint-Simon's protégé, Auguste Comte (1798–1857), an even more calculated functional orientation appears. Often spoken of as the father of sociology, Comte advocated a secular science of society, to be based on a "positive" philosophy that had been made possible by the epochal demise of theological and metaphysical modes of thought. Sociology should become the cognitive keystone of modern societies. Sociology and sociology-based ethics were to take the place of religion. However, late in life Comte—in parallel with Saint-Simon—restructured his views and argued that a "religion of humanity" was required in order to guarantee commitment to and respect for society. In that regard Comte made elaborate proposals for France concerning festivals, rituals, functionaries, and symbols for the religion of humanity.

Spencer. It was the work of the English philosopher Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) that gave the concept of function and the functional orientation in sociology their first fully explicit renderings. Spencer argued that societies are organisms and that one should conceive of the former in the same terms as the latter. Thus he articulated the two main principles outlined earlier: the interrelatedness of all items in a system (most importantly the whole society) and the referring of items within a system to the functioning of the system as a whole. Spencer was, moreover, an evolutionist, which at that time implied, among other things, a belief that as societies progressed to an advanced evolutionary condition, they relied less and less on religious thought and practice. For Spencer, the main institutions of an advanced society were incompatible with religion, while the society as a whole operated increasingly in terms of contractual relationships among individuals (although Spencer did believe that the evolutionary engine was driven by a mysterious force that gave purposeful direction to societal change).

Durkheim. Unlike Saint-Simon and Comte, Spencer never showed signs of retreating from his own views concerning the (unproblematic) demise of religion. And it is in terms of this difference between Spencer and Saint-Simon that the seminal work of the French sociologist Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) can best be approached. Durkheim's work was based partly on a rejection of Spencer's highly secular conception of modern societies, even though it maintained some features of Spencer's methodological functionalism. At the same time, Durkheim was taken with the ways in which Saint-Simon and Comte had come to appreciate the functional significance of religion. He believed, however, that they had erred in first seeing society as bereft of religion and then attempting to add religion to it. What Durkheim sought, most elaborately in *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1912), was a way in which to ground religion in society itself.

In his early methodological work Durkheim argued that the sociologist should work with two basic explanatory concepts: function and cause. *Function* had to do with the general needs of the societal organism that a social phenomenon served, while *cause* referred to those features of society that more directly facilitated a phenomenon. Durkheim was eager to dissociate himself from those who closely related function to ends or purposes. He insisted that there is no mysterious final cause of societal patterns or change and that one should not think of function as having to do with the intentions lying behind the establishment of institutions. (On the latter point Durkheim argued that social phenomena do not generally exist for the useful results that they produce.) In his early writing on the forms of social solidarity, Durkheim reacted to Spencer by maintaining that all contractual relationships must be based on *pre*contractual elements of society. His interest in religion developed largely in the attempt to comprehend precisely what those precontractual elements are. From the outset, Durkheim had been concerned with the issue of morality in modern societies. While seeking a sociological understanding of the foundations of morality, he endeavored to show that, for moral principles to have social weight, they must be more than logically persuasive. Durkheim contended that the principles of moral reason adumbrated by Immanuel Kant in the eighteenth century could be socially operative only insofar as they were socially imperative. He wanted to know, in other words, on what the obligatory character of morals rest.

Durkheim eventually reached the full-fledged conclusion that the primary function of religion lay in its distinction between the sacred and the profane. Religion, said Durkheim, has to do with sacred things. It is "the serious life." Religion is crucial in providing individuals with freedom from unchecked desire, in highlighting the moral character of the collectivity, and in binding individuals together within the latter. Durkheim is often interpreted as having simply emphasized the positive, integrative functions of religion. That was indeed a significant aspect of his theory of religion (which was at the same time a theory of society), yet Durkheim was also deeply concerned with the social sources, the causes, of religious belief and practice, as well as with the larger ramifications of religion in human life. Although Durkheim's work was almost certainly the most vital contribution to the functionalist orientation in sociology and to the functionalist analysis of religion in sociology and social anthropology, his ideas were developed in specific reference to what he perceived as a moral crisis in modern societies. This is true even though his major work on religion referred mostly to the primitive religious life of Australian Aborigines and even though he was greatly inspired by the writing of the French historian Fustel de Coulanges on religion in ancient Rome and Greece and by that of the Scotsman W. Robertson Smith on ancient Semitic religion.

Because, in terms of Durkheim's own definition of religion as involving the distinction between the sacred and the profane (rather than being defined, more narrowly, as belief in supernatural beings), religion had been ubiquitous in all civilizations, Durkheim concluded that it must have been functionally essential to all societies. Yet he was acutely aware that traditional religious faith had become increasingly fragile. In articulating his own theory of religion, Durkheim emphasized at the outset that religion, in contrast to magic, is fundamentally a collective phenomenon and that, in religion, ritual is as important as belief. In those terms he set about showing how, at least in primitive societies, the basic categories of religious belief are established and maintained through the collective experience of social structure. In religious ritual individuals experience acutely a dependence upon society; indeed, religious worship can be thought of as the celebration of that dependence. In his most radical terms, Durkheim suggested that the real object of religious worship is society, not God. His main point, however, was that it is from one's experience of society that one obtains the sense of something transcendent and authoritative. Yet Durkheim denied that he was making a judgment about the intrinsic validity of religious belief. Rather, he concentrated upon showing both the social conditions and the social functions of religion. As far as modern societies are concerned, Durkheim asserted that there is now a need for new religious forms that would perform the same kind of function as traditional religion but in a less spiritualistic way. In the tradition of Rousseau, Durkheim argued the need for new forms of civil religion and saw religion as critical in the periodic regeneration of societies.

MALINOWSKI AND RADCLIFFE-BROWN. Durkheim's writing had a great effect on those social anthropologists of the 1920s and 1930s who sought to redirect anthropological inquiry away from speculatory evolutionism toward more analytically rigorous fieldwork. The two major figures in that regard were the Polish-born Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942) and the British-born Alfred Radcliffe-Brown (1881–1955), both of whom employed functional orientations in the study of primitive societies, including the religious aspects thereof. Malinowski's functionalism centered upon two claims: first, that any particular society is a unique, functioning whole, and, second, that the social arrangements and cultural forms obtaining in a society have functional significance in relation to the psychological needs of individuals. Thus in spite of his interest in the functional interrelatedness of social institutions and practices, Malinowski saw their most fundamental functional significance in their meeting the psychological needs of individuals. In contrast, Radcliffe-Brown took a more self-consciously Durkheimian position. He advocated a systematic science of society, involving comparative analysis of the structural patterns of societies with respect both to their overall cohesiveness and to the functional requirements of societies as systemic wholes. Both Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown wrote about religion in their respective functional terms.

PARSONS AND HIS CRITICS. Among those sociologists and anthropologists of religion who have written entirely within the twentieth century, the most prolific analyst of religion was the American Talcott Parsons (1902–1979). Deeply, but by no means only, influenced by Durkheim, Parsons in the 1950s acquired the reputation of being the functionalist par excellence. From Durkheim, Parsons took the basic idea that religion is a universal feature of human life. However, he expressed strong reservations concerning Durkheim's attempt to talk not merely about the functional significance of religion but also about its social-structural bases. In the latter regard, said Parsons, Durkheim was often a reductionist, in the sense of reducing religion to society. In contrast, Parsons himself considered religion to be the pivotal aspect of the realm of cultural values, beliefs, and symbols. According to Parsons, patterns of culture operate in varying degrees of independence from social structure and certainly cannot be reduced to the latter. Culture provides meaning, general morality, expressive symbols, and basic beliefs to systems of social action and to individuals. Religion also relates systems of human action to what Parsons called "ultimate reality." He maintained that questions concerning the ultimate boundary of human action and interaction constitute a universal attribute of human life. Parsons's attempt to establish what for a long time he called a structural-functional form of general sociological theory has met with considerable criticism from the late 1940s onward. One of Parsons's most influential critics has been the American sociologist Robert Merton (1910–2003), who has attempted to systematize functional analysis so as to overcome what he has regarded as its weaknesses. Religion has figured strongly in his discussion.

Merton argues that many functionalists have singled out the integrative functions of religion—mainly in reference to certain primitive societies—while neglecting its potentially disintegrative consequences, or dysfunctions. They have also, he maintains, confused two issues: whether what is indispensable to society is the phenomenon, such as religious belief, or only the function supposedly met by such a phenomenon. Merton emphasizes the dangers of viewing the phenomenon itself as indispensable and suggests that sociologists develop a clear conception of functional alternatives. As an example of such an alternative, he proposes that the positive functions of religion might well be provided by something other than religion in its conventional sense (e.g., secular ideology).

Merton also raises the question as to whether functionalism is—as many of its critics have charged—inherently conservative. His conclusion is that it is not. Even though the main modern tradition of antireligion—Marxism—regards religion as a consequence of an economically exploitative society, it also looks upon religion as performing integrative functions in precommunist societies. Religion, in Marxist perspective, inhibits social change. Thus functional analysis can be used from both conservative and radical standpoints. Indeed, since the 1960s a clear strand of Marxist functionalism has concerned itself with the persistence of capitalist societies and the function religion plays in that persistence.

Issues arising from the long debate about the functional form of analysis have been central to the controversy concerning the degree to which the modern world is characterized by secularization. For the most part, functionalists have resisted the thesis of extensive secularization, on the grounds that the functions performed by religion are essential to all societies. Thus Parsons tended to argue that even though a society may manifest ostensibly atheistic sentiments, it is still subject to the functional imperative of relating to ultimate reality. It was the hallmark of Parsons's approach to religion (and here he followed Durkheim) that one should not be overly constrained by the particular, substantive forms that religion has taken historically. In contrast to Spencer, Parsons argued that religion does not lose significance as human society evolves; rather, religion takes on increasingly general forms as societies become more differentiated and complex.

RECENT FUNCTIONALIST THEORETICIANS. A particularly radical type of functionalism was proposed by the German sociologist Niklas Luhmann (1927–1998). Luhmann argued that religion can no longer provide an overarching set of integrative values to a society. Unlike Parsons, who maintained that religious values and beliefs become more general but still remain overarching as societal evolution proceeds, Luhmann insisted that the social differentiation central to societal evolution has now gone so far that religion is but one subsystem among many. Religion is now "free" to concentrate on its primary function of answering purely religious—as opposed to social, economic, political, and scientific—questions.

Some of Luhmann's ideas overlap with those of the British sociologist Bryan Wilson, an adamant proponent of the secularization thesis. Wilson's argument hinges upon his claim that the historically latent functions of religion—*latent* is Merton's term for hidden, unrecognized functions—have become increasingly manifest (i.e., consciously recognized) and are now fulfilled by other social agencies, while historically manifest functions of religion—those providing guidelines for salvation—have been undermined. The main process that has both undermined the manifest and made manifest the latent functions of religion is the supplanting of communities by rationally organized, impersonal, and functionally specialized societies.

CONCLUSION. Even though functional analysis has been a frequent target of hostile critique, it has been continuously pivotal in the sociological and anthropological analysis of religion. And while there have undoubtedly been phases of crude functionalism—expressed in bland statements concerning the universality of religion and its beneficial consequences, as well as attempts to reduce religion to its societal consequences—it is nonetheless impossible to address the topic of religion in social-scientific terms without careful attention to its functional significance vis-à-vis other aspects of human life. Indeed, that perspective has pervaded modern consciousness, in the sense that religion is increasingly discussed and assessed in relation to its consequences for individuals and societies.

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FUNDAMENTAL CHRISTIANITY SEE EVANGELICAL AND FUNDAMENTAL CHRISTIANITY

FUNERAL RITES

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
MESOAMERICAN FUNERAL RITES

FUNERAL RITES: AN OVERVIEW

Death is not only a biological occurrence leaving the corpse as a residue that must be administered to; it is also, and more importantly, a sociocultural fundamental because of the beliefs and representations it gives rise to and the attitudes and rituals it brings about. It is of course understood that rites are the immediate extension of beliefs, and that funeral rites, in particular, are the conscious cultural forms of one of the most ancient, universal, and unconscious impulses: the need to overcome the distress of death and dying.

This article will take the word *rite* in its anthropological sense; that is, in a larger sense, quite apart from liturgical or theological concerns. A rite, then, is a ceremony in which behaviors, gestures and postures, words or songs uttered, and objects handled, manufactured, destroyed, or consumed are supposed to possess virtues or powers or to produce specific effects. Centered on the mortal remains or its substitute, then on whatever survives of those—material traces or souvenir relics—funeral rites may reveal three finalities. First, it is believed that they preside over the future of the departed, over both the metamorphosis of the corpse and the destiny of the person, whenever death is defined as transition, passage, or deliverance. Second, they attend to the surviving close kin, mourners who must be consoled and reassured. Finally, they participate in the revitalization of the group that has been disturbed by the death of one of its own. Very often in traditional societies, in Africa and more often in Asia (notably in China), the funeral rites are presented as a theater of renewal, with acted parts, mimes, dancers, musicians, and even clowns.

Funeral rites are so important that the presence of the participants becomes a strict obligation, particularly in traditional societies. In traditional Africa, funeral rites are the most resistant to the pressure of acculturation. A function of the rite essential to the social group is easily seen; after all, numerous psychiatrists affirm that many problems derive from the guilt arising when one hurries over obsequies or comes out of mourning too soon.

CHIEF MOMENTS IN FUNERAL RITES. Funeral rites may comprise numerous ceremonies. The Toraja of Sulawesi (Celebes) see four fundamental stages. During the first, the deceased is said to be ill: Washed, dressed, and adorned, he may be nurtured for as long as a year. Then comes the first festivity, lasting from five to seven days, with sacrifices, lamentations, songs, and dances; this marks the difficult passage from life to death and ends with a provisional interment inside the house. During the following intermediary period, these festivities increase. Finally the ultimate ceremony is performed, requiring several months of preparation during which winding-sheets, cenotaphs, and, most notably, an effigy (the famous *tau-tau*) are employed, not without ostentation; it concludes with the burial and the installation of the deceased in the beyond.

The succession of funerary acts sometimes takes on a bureaucratic tone, particularly in Chinese Daoism, where the main part of the rite is devoted to drawing up documents and contracts with the gods. Especially noteworthy are the consultation of cosmic forces in order to determine propitious days and places for the rites; the *gongde,* or acquisition of merits for the deceased; the *pudu,* or offerings for wandering souls; and the ritual for liberating the soul.

Nevertheless, to determine the chief moments of funerals, anthropologists use the formulation, however incorrect, of the double funeral, which implies rites of separation followed by intervals varying from a few weeks to several years, followed by rites of integration that put an end to the mourning.

Separation rites. In most traditional societies, the passage from decay to mineralization dictates the two chief moments in the funerary ritual. The first funeral, or separation rite, is for the purpose of "killing the dead," as the Mossi of Burkina Faso say—in other words, killing what remains alive in the dead person by breaking the emotional bonds that unite him to the community. While the corpse decays, simultaneously corrupt and corrupting, it is terribly vulnerable and dangerous. Two attitudes, contradictory yet complementary, orient the conduct of the living toward the dead: solicitude and rejection, shown in a symbolic or realistic manner according to points of view that vary with each ethnic group.

Solicitude begins immediately after death, tinged with commiseration and fear: The dead person is given food, gongs are sounded to scare away evil spirits, the corpse is washed and purified, and its evolutions are watched, especially if the body lies in state for a long time (from three to twelve days among the Miao of Southeast Asia). It is dressed, its natural orifices are stopped, and, most important, the wake is organized. This can be the occasion for big reunions and a large-scale ritual. For the Maori of New Zealand it is an intensely dramatic ceremony, the key moment of the funeral rite, accompanied by songs, cries, lamentations, elegies, and more or less generous meals, depending on the fortune of the deceased. To multiple meals the Inca of Peru added games of dice with very complex symbolism. The outcome of the game was supposed to orient the soul of the deceased so as to help him attain heaven. The dead person participated by influencing the manner in which the dice fell, thereby revealing whether he was well or ill disposed toward the player. The deceased's possessions were divided according to the results.

When respectful solicitude has soothed the dead, rejection asserts itself. Once the last homages are rendered, the deceased is invited to rejoin his ancestors or to prepare for his afterlife (metamorphoses, reincarnation, sojourn with God, etc.). To overcome his hesitation, a number of methods are used: One may tie him down securely or mutilate him (poke his eyes out, break his legs); lose him by returning suddenly from the cemetery by a detour; or arrange to deposit him at the foot of a mountain or on the far side of a river he cannot cross. In compensation, sometimes an effigy remains at home as a substitute for him, or he may be promised an annual invitation. Because the decaying of the corpse constitutes a risk that its double will prowl in the village, the relatives submit to the constraints of mourning, which puts them outside the social circuit. The specific purpose of these interdictions is to separate all those contaminated by the corpse's decay. Curiously enough, in India the Toda have a single term, *kedr,* which simultaneously designates the corpse, the state of mourning, and the interval between the first and second funerals. A statement made by a dying Maori chief to his son likewise clarifies the problem: "For three years your person must be sacred and you must remain separated from your tribe . . . for all this time my hands will be gathering the earth and my mouth will be constantly eating worms . . . then when my head falls on my body, awake me from my sleep, show my face the light of day, and you shall be *noa* [free]" (Hertz, 1970, p. 33). Therefore, when mineralization, whether natural or artifically accelerated, sets in, it is a sign that the deceased has fulfilled his posthumous destiny. He has passed the initiatory tests imposed on him; he has rejoined the ancestors or the gods; or perhaps he is ready for metempsychosis or reincarnation.

Rites of integration and the cessation of mourning. In almost all traditional societies, double funerals are held. After a delay varying from a few weeks to ten years, according to the ethnic group and the resources at the family's disposal, a final ceremony takes place that confirms the deceased in his new destiny and confers on his remains a definitive status. Like the integration of the dead person, this ritual consecrates the reintegration of the mourners into the group: Order is reestablished and interdictions are lifted. As a rule, the bones are exhumed and then treated in different ways according to local traditions: Washed, dried, sometimes covered with ocher, they are preserved as visible relics, placed in containers, buried again, or even pulverized and mixed with ritual beverages. In sub-Saharan Africa, the latter custom is quite prevalent, especially among Bantu-speaking peoples. Among the Bamileke of Cameroon, the inheritance of skulls according to rigorous rules symbolically secures the collective memory and the continuity of the clam. In Madagascar the Famadihana (which has been wrongly translated as "turning over the corpses") gives way to costly festivities: When a family decides to celebrate the cult of its dead, they proceed from opening the tombs and changing the winding-sheets to rewrapping and reburial with great ceremony, before an audience in a state of great jollity. For two days songs, dances, music, processions, and festivities punctuate the ritual manipulations.

In Borneo, the Olo Nyadju give themselves up to analogous states on the occasion of Tiwah. Along with some degree of fasting, the majority of Indonesian ethnic groups do the same thing. This bone cult, which is generally referred to as an ancestor cult, flourishes among the American Indians, in China, and elsewhere, and still has its equivalent in Europe. There is hardly any difference between the old Chinese who carefully brushes his ancestor's bones and the skeleton washer of Neapolitan cemeteries who, two years after the burial, when the corpse has dried out, washes the bones in front of the families before putting them in a marble urn. In the French provinces, the custom of the anniversary meal and mass is clearly a response to the same fantasies of reestablishing order.

Indeed, the ritual of secondary obsequies ending in definitive burial has a twofold justification in the imagination. First of all, the transfer of the bones to another place completes the purification process. It is as if the earth has been corrupted by the decaying body, necessitating the removal of the purified bones to an unsullied location. Second, although the provisional inhumation is always individual, the final burial is very often collective. Such is the custom of the Goajiro Indians in Venezuala: Three years after death, the bones are sorted and dried, then exposed during a funeral wake. They are then transferred into a large urn, where the remains of all the dead from the matriclan or the matrilineage are gathered together. Thus, communal reunion of the sublimated remains follows the isolation of impure decay.

On the other hand, Western ossuaries, by virtue of their anonymous character, have hardly any impact on an individualistic society. At the very most, as "display cases" they provide the "exposition of the bones" as an aid to meditation. "Let us come to the charnelhouse, Christians; let us see the skeletons of our brothers," says a Breton song. In any case, if inhumation in a common ditch is judged shocking and infamous by us, the collective ossuary does not scandalize anyone. In fact, it can be seen as a solution to the problem of cemetery space and an orientation for a new cult of the dead. The possibility has even been raised of reintegrating the sacred into cemeteries in the form of an "ossuary-necrology" that would reassemble the community of the dead and make the living sensitive to the bonds uniting them to the past.

With the second funeral, therefore, the fate of the deceased has been settled. To borrow the vivid language of the Mossi of Burkina Faso, the ritual of integration "makes the dead live again." From then on, grief no longer has reason to exist. The marginal period has permitted the mourning work to be finished. But, in any case, is not ritualization, like elegance, a way of charming anguish? At this stage, interdictions are always relaxed. After undergoing purifying baths and multiple reparation sacrifices, the mourners are reintegrated into the group. Thanks to the symbolic support of the bone, life on every level henceforth reasserts all its rights—both the life of the metamorphosed deceased and the life of the group from which he emerged. Once the decaying flesh and the signs of death have disappeared, the imperishable vestige is left with its charge of symbols. Funeral rites thus have the capacity "to reduce any object at all to significance, let it pass over to the other side of the gulf" (Maertens, 1979, p. 236). This can be clearly seen in the following set of processes: decay? mineralization; excluded mourners? reintegrated mourners; oversignificant corpse? hypersignificant remains.

In Vietnam, ritual constitutes what is called the "transfer of life": While the body is buried in a tomb defined according to the rules of geomancy, the soul, set on a tablet that itself is enclosed in a box covered with a red and gold case, becomes the protective ancestor that one venerates and prays to at the family altar.

A qualifying remark must be inserted: The conditions of death (place, moment, means) orient the meaning of the rite. The evil dead person, for example, can be deprived of a funeral, or may have the right to only a truncated or clandestine funeral; he will never become an ancestor or know happiness. Status, age, and sex also play a determining role in the elaboration of ceremonies.

SOME KEY RITES. Only a few fundamental rites concerning the good death will be considered, because of their quasi-universality and the depth of the fantasies that they express.

Attendance at death, certification of death, and interrogation. If to die far away from home or to die a violent death is usually equivalent to a bad death in traditional societies, it is not only because uncertainty is alarming but also, and more importantly, because the dying cannot be helped. Mothering, making secure, and taking charge of the dying person, who is consoled, caressed, and helped to die for the same reason he was helped to be born, is a universal constant. This attitude has a religious aspect. To take only one example, the importance to elderly and very sick people of the Christian last sacraments is known, including the purifying aspersion that evokes baptism and redemption through the passion and the resurrection, as well as the profession of faith and, when possible, the Eucharist. As for the anointing of the sick, recall that this new ritual, although it abandons the expiatory aspect and gives only a circumstantial role to the effacement of sin, nevertheless insists on help by grace.

It is important to make sure that the deceased is really dead. Besides interpreting tangible signs such as the stopping of the breath and the heart, one can call on the diviner, the priest, or the doctor. There are also other ways of making sure: Right after the death of a Chinese, one of his close kin climbs the roof of the house to "call back his soul"; if it does not return, there is no doubt about his death. While for the Toraja of Sulawesi the deceased is not dead but only ill (as noted), among the Tibetans and the Miao (Hmong) the deceased must be informed that he is really dead because he does not know that he is: "The illness fell on the rocks and the rocks could not bear it. Then it slid into the grass, but the grass could not carry it. And that is why, O Dead One, the illness has come to you. The earth could not bear the illness, so the illness reached your soul. That is why you have found death" (Georges, 1982, p. 183). Then, with great kindness and consideration, they explain to him what he needs for the great journey: bamboos to communicate with the survivors or the gods, the "wooden house" (coffin), the hemp shoes, alcohol, food, and the cock that will show him the way. The announcement of the death also obeys precise rules. Women's lamentations punctuated by cries, drums, and bells, as well as symbolic formulas and the sending of messengers, are the most frequent practices.

In traditional societies, another notable belief is that the corpse is simultaneously alive and dead. It no longer has a voice, but in its fashion it speaks. No one hesitates to question it in order to learn why it died or, sometimes, its desires concerning the transmission of its possessions; only little children and fools escape this rite, because "they don't know what they say." Among the Diola of Senegal, the dead person, tied to a bier, is supported by four men, and people take turns asking it questions. If the corpse moves forward when questioned, the response is positive; if it moves backward, it is negative; if it wavers in the same place, it is indicating hesitation. Among the Somba of Benin, "no" is expressed by a rocking from left to right, and "yes" by a rocking from back to front. For the Senufo of the Ivory Coast, leaning to the left indicates the deceased's agreement, and leaning to the right, his disagreement. It sometimes happens that the dead person bears down on one of those present in order to demand that questions be put to him (the Diola) or requires that the carriers be changed in order to pursue the rite (the Lobi of Burkina Faso). Substitute objects sometimes replace the corpse at the time of the interrogation, on condition that they participate in its vital forces. An assegai with the hair of the deceased is an adequate substitute for the Boni of Guyana, while a tree trunk containing his nails and body hairs suffices for the Bete of the Ivory Coast. If the death was willed by God or the ancestors, a frequent occurrence among the Ẹgba of Benin and the Orokaiva of New Guinea, the group feels reassured. But if it resulted from a crime, witchcraft, or violation of a taboo, the fault must be immediately atoned for and the guilty punished. In its way, by its voiceless word the corpse plays an important role in social regulation.

Laying out the dead: purification and mothering rituals. The funeral rite proper begins with the laying out of the corpse, which, in its essential aspect, is equivalent to an authentic purification, a symbolic prelude to rebirth. A holy task among the Jews and especially in Islam, it is a matter of divine obligation, thus of *ʿibādāt,* involving a relationship with God and not just a social function. Laying out the corpse is universal and rigorously codified in ancient societies. In the West Indies, especially in the Antilles and in Haiti, this ritual is reminiscent of that of the midwife. Death, like birth, demands a certain ceremonial that is no less than the "transitory reintegration in the indistinct," to borrow Mircea Eliade's expression. By placing, for example, a vat of water underneath the couch where the corpse is lying, one symbolically reestablishes the sources of life (amniotic fluid). One is again assured that the soul, which has just left the body, will not disappear into nothingness, and that the deceased, thus purified, will be reborn in another world.

Among the Agni-Bora of the Ivory Coast, there is a similarity between the grooming of the newborn baby and the grooming of the deceased: Holding the naked body on their knees, old women wash it with three successive rinses, perfume it, and dress it. For the baby, the rite is always accompanied by singing; the washing is done from the head to the feet with the right hand. In the case of the deceased, however, the rite is executed in silence with the left hand, and proceeds from the feet to the head. This is because birth is an arrival, and rebirth a departure. In the European countryside the laying out is still the work of the "woman who helps" (the midwife), who is also the "woman who does the dead." The laying out of the dead is again an act of mothering.

Among the Miao, the deceased is rubbed with a warm towel without being undressed; then is dressed in new clothing finished off with a richly decorated kimono. The head is wrapped in a turban, and—an important detail—the feet are shod in felt or leather shoes with curled tips, like those sold by the Chinese. Sometimes the duty of one of the relatives is to make these shoes. The dead must depart with good shoes for the trip about to be undertaken. A harquebusier comes up to the deceased and forewarns deferentially: "Now we are going to fire a few shots that will accompany and protect you for the whole length of your trip. Don't be afraid."

Display of the deceased: the corpse detained. Aside from punitive exhibition (desecration of the corpse) in the case of a bad death, when a devalued dead person is deprived of a funeral, the display of the corpse reflects the noblest intentions (valorization of the corpse).

In traditional societies, where death is a public affair involving the whole community, display of the corpse is almost a general rule. It is stretched out on a mat, on a funeral bed, or in a coffin, placed in the mortuary in a special case or in the open air, or suspended at the top of a tree or on a scaffold in the middle of the village square. Sometimes it even presides over its own funeral. The presentation varies according to places and beliefs, but most often it is done in state, with all the symbols that recall the deceased's social function. In Senegal, the dead Diola appears much as if he were alive, but with his most beautiful clothes, his bow and arrows if he was a good hunter, his farming implements and sheaves of rice if he was a good farmer. The horns of cows he sacrificed during his life and heads of cattle are exhibited to emphasize his wealth. The ostentatious display of belongings is frequent. Sometimes the dead person is displayed in the midst of his herd, as among the Karamojong of Uganda and certain Indians of North America. The length of time for displaying the dead and his goods may vary according to his wealth: Among the Dayak of Borneo, it ranges from one to six years. Another custom, peculiar to the Sioux, is to suspend the head and tail of the dead person's horse on the same scaffold on which he is exposed. Display of the dead seems to serve a double function: to show the dead that he is being rendered the homage due him by offering him to view in his best light, and to show him as a model of the role he played in the group. The dead person is glorified as having accomplished his mission, and the aura with which he is endowed is reflected on the collectivity, which thus reaffirms the identity and cohesion it so needs upon losing one of its members.

In southern Sulawesi, the Toraja still use the effigy, or *tau-tau,* especially for the deceased of high rank. This figure, made of breadfruit wood according to strict rules, must resemble the deceased as much as possible (same sex, height, face), though often with improvements. Dressed in the dead person's clothing and adorned with jewels, necklaces, and bracelets, it is the object of numerous rites whereby it is in turn animated and made to die, wept over and consecrated. At the end of a very long ceremony, the corpse, swathed in its winding-sheets, is raised on a platform below which is placed the *tau-tau.* Both then preside over the buffalo sacrifices and receive their part of the offerings. Finally, when the corpse goes back to the sepulcher for the last time, its representative is permanently exhibited as near as possible to the tomb. For the Toraja, the effigy becomes more than a ritual object associated with death; it is, if not the deceased, at least its visible double.

In the West today, the embalmed corpse lies in state in funeral homes. It is still a matter of rendering homage to one no longer alive, and of facilitating the mourning work by conserving a better image of the departed: The mortician's work spares the dead person the stigma of death for a time and gives the impression that the deceased is sleeping in peace. The essential thing is that the dead person should be present, recognizable to his or her family (to a certain extent, a disfigured corpse is tantamount to an absent one). The certainty of the person's death can be borne more easily than the uncertainty surrounding his or her absence and silence.

In this respect, wakes have a soothing value, supposedly for the departed and certainly for the survivors. The sacred and the profane are mixed. In Spain, rosaries and responses are recited. People speak of the deceased, because to speak of the deceased is to be with the deceased again. And if sometimes the conversation turns to funny stories, this does not imply a lack of respect for the dead but a pleasant relationship with the deceased. At one extreme, these wakes are almost feast days. Perhaps this is because in some villages, like the Aragonese village of Leciñena, the immediate neighbors cook the celebrated *tortas,* a kind of brioche made only on feast days (the Feast of the Virgin, a marriage) and for a death wake.

When there are mourners, especially female ones, display of the dead facilitates the sincere and organized expression of emotions through praise of the departed, invitations to return among the living (visits, possession, reincarnation), reproaches or invectives concerning his cruelty in leaving his close kin, and advice for his posthumous destiny. This is how the rhapsodist addresses the deceased Miao after the ritual offering of the cock: "Take it and eat. Henceforth you will have the cock's soul with you. Follow it. Hurry and look for the silk suit you wore at birth. You will find it hidden under the earth [an allusion to the placenta of the newborn, which is always carefully buried near the house in which he was born]. Now leave" (Georges, 1982, p. 187). Again dressed in his silk garment and guided by the cock, the soul of the dead person then sets out on the long journey the singer is chanting about. Finally, before the final farewells, the dead person may be transported into the village and the fields, visiting for the last time the places where he lived, and communing with himself before the altars where he made sacrifices.

Food given to the dead and in homage to the dead. This article will mention only briefly the offering of victuals to the dead, whether during the funeral or at the moment of burial. To help the deceased on the long journey, the Aztec burned food with the deceased—usually a fat little dog with a tawny coat—to help him or her cross the rivers on the infernal route. This rite, common to almost all cultures, corresponds to a widespread belief: The offerings are the indispensable viaticum that permits the dead to survive the transitory journey into the world of the ancestors. The sacrifices offered simultaneously play the same role, albeit symbolically.

Better yet is the common meal that accompanies funerals almost everywhere. A practical necessity justifies it: Those who have come to honor the dead and console the close kin must be fed. The importance of the feast is often such that it takes on the dimensions of a potlatch: In numerous ethnic groups, brief rites are initiated at the time of death, and the funeral services are deferred until sufficient reserves of rice, palm wine, and cattle have been set out. In the view of traditional mythologies, it is a communal event in which the dead person participates: A seat, plate, or part of the food (often the best) is reserved for the deceased, or a descendant represents the deceased, or the table is set in the presence of the corpse—diverse customs showing an intention to intensify the relationship with the deceased and to persuade the group that he or she is not completely dead. In Western societies, the funeral meal is a means of appeasing grief by reinforcing the bonds that unite the living in the absence of the dead. The meal following the death is like a birth for the talkative and hungry community of the living, which has been wounded, split up, and interrupted by the death.

But all these reasons are valid only on an obvious level. On the symbolic level, the funeral meal is a way of retaining the dead person, and on these grounds, it is a substitute for the cannibalistic meal. In Haiti, the funeral meal is appropriately termed a *mangé-mort,* just as in Quebec, where the expression *manger le mort* is still in use. In fact, the manducation of the corpse is connected to a universal fantasy that psychoanalysts neatly term "the exquisite corpse" (an expression borrowed from surrealist poetry). Obeying the pleasure principle, the fantasy mechanism of the exquisite corpse responds to the trauma of loss through the desire for incorporation of the lost object. Amorous fusion with the other is then achieved in an exaltation that, in the real world, would perhaps be secret. The dead person is fixed and assimilated in their best features; one who devours the deceased makes the deceased one's own in spite of all taboos. In this connection, there is a strange Mexican custom that does not even disguise the necrophagic intention. On the Day of the Dead, an extraordinary commercial activity mobilizes the whole population: Superb confections are sold that represent the skulls and skeletons of the dead, ravishing or burlesque in appearance, with first names engraved in order to help the customers make their choices.

CONTROLLING DECAY. Decay is the justification for all funeral rites. Everything is brought into play in order to tame it (display of the corpse), hide it (winding-sheets, the sarcophagus), forbid it absolutely (embalming and mummification, incineration, cannibalistic ingestion), retard it (corporal attentions), or accelerate it (towers of silence; see below). A profound need underlies all these approaches to decay: to stabilize the deceased in an indestructible medium—a stage marking the reconciliation of the community with his death. These remains—mummy, relic, ashes, or bones—all civilizations, without exception, persist in preserving.

Tamed or accelerated decay. Conditions of exposure may eventually accelerate the mineralization of the corpse. Sunlight and even moonlight, as well as a smoky fire, are believed to contribute, but the body is sometimes also offered to birds of prey and other carnivores, or to ants. In the Tibetan tradition, corpses were torn apart by the *ragyapas* ("dismemberers") and thrown to the dogs, so that the bones would be stripped much faster. But the most spectacular example is given by the towers of silence built in the seventeenth century, particularly in Iran by the Zoroastrians. According to the sacred texts of the *Zand,* the corpse is the essence of impurity. It is therefore out of the question to pollute "the things belonging to the good creation" by carrying out the final burial of a decomposing body. Hence the custom of exposing the body in a remote location known to be frequented by carnivorous animals. Vultures, in particular, are the purifiers that disencumber the dead person of rotting flesh, the medium of demonic infection. From this came the practice, which spread little by little, of building towers of rock especially designed to isolate corpses and avoid their contaminating presence during the purification process. The interior of the "tower of silence," or *dakhma,* consists of a platform inclined toward a central pit. Cells (*pāvis*) hollowed out in three concentric circles receive the corpses—men in the outer zone, women in the middle zone, and children toward the central pit. In this case, in which the custom of second obsequies no longer takes the symbolic form of the commemorative meal, the dried bones are thrown down twice a year into the depths of the pit. There, under the combined effect of the sun and the lime that is spread there, the bones are transformed into dust. The pit branches into four canals for the evacuation of rainwater, which is received and purified in four subterreanean pits where carbon and sand clarify it. Formerly, the remains were removed periodically, to be kept in an ossuary: Cleansed of all impurities, they testified that the soul was ready for the final ceremonies.

Decomposition accepted but hidden. Obviously, the cemetery is a place where remains are preserved and concealed. The feminine and maternal valence of the earth responds to a universal fantasy: "Naked I came out of the maternal womb; naked I shall return there" (*Jb.* 1:21). In African cosmogonic thought, burial in Mother Earth, the source of fertility and dwelling place of the ancestors, takes on a quasi-metaphysical significance. The same symbolism serves for other forms of interment, such as the deposit of the corpse in grottos or in funeral jars that evoke the uterine cavity. The earth is indeed the place *par excellence* for transformations. Not only does one plow seeds into it at the time of sowing, but it is also a mediator in all rites of passage: The corpse is entrusted to it at the time of the funeral, as are neophytes' nail clippings, hair, and other fleshly remains from initiation rites and the placenta and umbilical cord at birth. Burial can also, in a sense, transform the land. Thus the Hebrews did not begin to bury their dead until as a people they became sedentary; burial is always connected to the ownership of land, that is, to the appropriation of a "promised land," without doubt, a way of salvation.

One could go on forever describing the infinite variety of types of cemeteries (mass burial sites or scattered individual crypts, as in Madagascar; at the heart of the village or farflung) and types of tombs (simple ditches to elaborate mausoleums to modern, efficient columbaria for cremated bodies). In many systems of burial the distinction between social classes is still, as it were, heavily felt.

The corpse's position in the tomb is no less variable: seated; stretched out on its back or side; in the fetal position; even on its stomach, as was once the case in Western cultures for adulterous women; or standing, in the manner of some military men or heroes of the American West. The orientation of the body can also be important. For some emigrant groups, it is toward the country of birth. For populations that traditionally ascribe birth to sunrise and death to sunset, the deceased must have the head to the east in order to be in position for rebirth. On the other hand, medieval Christians who wanted to be buried facing the direction from which salvation came placed the head toward the west so that the deceased could face Jerusalem. Similarly, Muslims are buried on their right side, turned toward Mecca.

The necropolis does not exist in India or Nepal because ashes are thrown into the sacred rivers, nor is it commonly of importance in sub-Saharan Africa. But where it does exist, the cemetery is still a symbol charged with emotion, sometimes arousing fear and melancholy, sometimes calm and reflection. In this regard one must praise Islamic wisdom, by which the very texture and functions of the cemetery maintain a state of relative osmosis between the living and the dead. The cemetery (*maqbarah*) is often designated by the more euphemistic term *rawḍah* ("garden"). Certainly, its ground has often been consecrated to that use by a pious tradition, but it is not closed. The dead rest there on the bare ground in a simple winding-sheet, thus returning to the elements. In both senses of the term, it is open to nature. But it is open to society, too. The belief prevails that bonds exist with the bodies of the deceased before the Last Judgment and that for the living to visit the tombs is a praiseworthy act and, what is more, a deed that will be considered in their favor then. The cemetery is also a traditional place to go for a walk: Women often meet there on Fridays.

Prohibited decay. Setting aside the still rare phenomenon of cryogenation (in which the deceased wait in liquid nitrogen until the time when people will know how to restore them to life), there are three common forms of prohibited decay.

Cannibalism, decay, and mineralization. Robert Hertz (1970) has emphasized the particular function of cannibalism that spares the dead person the horror of a slow and ignoble decomposition and brings the bones almost immediately to their final state. This is obviously true for endocannibalism, when it is practiced on revered dead persons. There is no doubt that the purpose of cannibalism is to prohibit rotting. On the one hand, consumption of the flesh occurs as soon as possible after death, and, because the flesh is usually cooked, putrefaction does not begin in the course of consumption. On the other hand, inquiries among populations with a tradition of cannibalism clearly reveal the finality of the act: "In this way, we knew where he [the dead] was and his flesh would not rot," said the Australian Turrbals (Hertz, 1970, p. 24, n. 1). This is also the view expressed by the Merina, according to a historical Malagasy document of the last century: "Our kinsman is dead; what shall we do with his body, for he was a man we loved?" Some answered, "Since he is dead, let us not bury him but let us eat him, because it would be sad to see him rotting in the ground." (ibid., p. 28).

Cannibalism promotes mineralization, but intentions toward the corpse in this regard differ according to whether endocannibalism or exocannibalism is involved.

Endocannibalism refers us back to the traditional scheme of the double funeral: On the first occasion, the dead person is buried in the earth or, similarly, in the belly, where human digestion prepares its accelerated passage to mineralization; on the second occasion, the remaining bones are handled with respect and receive the final obsequies. The destruction resulting from the manducation is only a mutation of forms that symbolically achieve a kind of conservation: incorporation. In a sense, ingestion could be interpreted as embalming transferred to the oral register. As for exocannibalism, however, the situation is different, at least concerning the treatment of the remains. The cannibal feast undoubtedly implies incorporation and, by its reference to myths of origin, it can take the form of a veritable primitive mass in which the bread and wine are really flesh and blood. But whereas the vital force animating the enemy's corpse is assimilated, his bones and uneaten parts may be abandoned or held up to ridicule. The Ocaina Indians of the Peruvian Amazon suspend the enemy's penis from a necklace worn by the victor's spouse; the mummified hands are used as spoons, the bones as flutes, and the painted and exposed skull serves as a ritual bell.

The cremated corpse. According to many mythologies, the purifying fire is above all liberating. In Bali, as long as the fire has not reduced the corpse to ashes, the dead person is impure; he continues to wait, his spirit not yet separated from his body. According to many beliefs, fire is the promise of regeneration and rebirth. Through fire, a superior level of existence can be attained. According to Greek mythology, Herakles stretched himself out on the pyre of Mount Oeta, while Zeus announced to the other gods that Herakles was about to become their equal: The fire would relieve him of his human part, immortalize him, and make him divine. The same theme is found in the Upaniṣads, the classic texts of Hinduism. It is therefore not the impurity of the corpse that is implicated in the cremation ritual, but the impurity of the body and the human condition. Ashes are the proof of that impurity; if the body were perfect, it would burn without ashes.

The destiny of the remains varies. In Japan, the bones are traditionally divided between two containers, one of which is buried at the place of cremation and the other in the natal village of the deceased. In Thailand, part of the remains are collected in an urn kept at home, while the remainder is buried at the foot of the pyre, kept in a reliquary monument, or even thrown into a river. In India, custom formerly demanded that the ashes be deposited in a tomb. Later a rule was imposed that still persists today: Because fire is the son of the waters, funeral rites should summon first one and then the other. Also, the ashes and noncalcinated bones are sprinkled with water, and cow's milk and coconut milk as well, before being thrown into the Ganges, the sacred river that flows from Śiva's hair. The same procedure is followed in Nepal and in Thailand, where other sacred rivers conduct the deceased downstream toward his celestial residence. In Bali, the remains are thrown into the sea after having been meticulously sorted by the relatives, washed in sacred water, arranged on white linen, and inserted into a dried coconut adorned with flowers. Finally, there is the particular case of the Yanoama Indians of Venezuela, who crush the remaining bones after the incineration of their warriors, in order to consume them mixed with game dishes or beverages in the course of a communal meal.

Cremation can be assimilated to all other modes of provisional burial, and people who burn their dead conform in many respects to the classic scheme of the double funeral, but with different means and a shortened duration. The first funeral, corresponding to the ritual of the exclusion of the dead, soothes the corpse and leads it to a purification that can be accomplished only by the process of decay. Those who cremate the dead find the equivalent of the first funeral in the rites that accompany the handling of the body during the generally short period between death and combustion on the pyre. The second obsequies, which concern the charred and purified remains, correspond to the rites of integration of the dead in his status in the beyond, while mourning is lifted for the survivors.

Preservation of bodies. Egyptian embalming practices are famous. The long, difficult techniques only make sense, however, in the framework of the osirification ritual that makes the dead person a god through assimilation with Osiris. Before, during, and after the technical manipulations, an extremely complicated ceremony took place, which undoubtedly explains the long duration of the treatment and the great number of participants. Invocations, readings, and prayers punctuated each act of the embalmers, whose very gestures were strictly regulated. Afterlife was not possible unless the liturgy was observed in its minutest details. "You will not cease living; you will not cease to be young, for always and forever," cried the priest at the end of the embalming. Then the last ceremony could be performed: the opening of the mouth. In the purification tent or at the entrance to the tomb, the gestures of the officiating priest were accompanied by aspersions, offerings, and sacrifices, fumigations with incense, and magico-religious formulas. With the end of his adz the priest touched the dead person's face in order to reintroduce the vital energy.

In addition, mummies discovered in South America and the testimony of Spanish chroniclers affirm that the Inca, for example, embalmed their dead. The technical success of their mummies seems not to have been as spectacular as that of the Egyptian mummies, especially if one remembers that the Inca empire occurred relatively close to the current time (at the end of the Middle Ages). The body was treated with different ingredients (honey, resin, and herbs) and painted with *roucou* (a vegetable dye); the viscera, preliminarily removed, were prepared and kept separate in a receptacle. The dry climate and the burial methods (a hole in a rocky wall, or a funeral jar) were favorable for preservation. Like the pharaohs, the sovereigns were the objects of particular care. An illustrated story from the sixteenth century, whose author, Huaman Poma, was of Inca origin, recounts the royal funeral ritual: The embalmed Inca, adorned with his emblems, lay in state for a month; at his sides were placed women and servants, likewise embalmed, to serve him in the other world. Although the techniques were rudimentary, there is good reason to assume that a very precise ritual was used to increase efficacy. Thus, the funeral offerings deposited next to the body appeased the maleficent spirits that caused decomposition. Indeed, because the life principle (the *aya*) remained in all parts of the corpse, rotting involved the destruction of the individual. On the other hand, if the body was preserved, the spirit of the dead could be reincarnated in a descendant. This belief in a second birth appears to explain the fetal position of corpses found in tombs and funeral jars.

Whatever the modalities, one can agree with Robert Hertz that it is legitimate "to consider mummification as a particular case derived from provisional interment" (Hertz, 1970, p. 20). If the interval separating death from final burial corresponds to the duration necessary for mineralization or desiccation, then a symmetry exists between the Egyptian rite and that of certain archaic ethnic groups. It is only when the embalming is concluded "that the body, having become imperishable, will be conducted to the tomb, that the soul will leave for the country of Ialou, and that the mourning of the survivors will come to an end." The waiting period, that is, the time necessary to achieve mineralization, can be reduced only by a manipulative intervention; it has not changed meaning at all, even if in this case the corpse is the equivalent of the body in its apparent totality (a mummy) or in part (a trophy head), rather than the residue of bones and ashes.

CONCLUSION. This article has, as it were, painted a composite picture of funeral rites, in which it can be seen that they border on the *stricto sensu* sphere of the sacred. It may in fact be argued that, thanks to rites—those of former times especially, and to a lesser degree those of today—everything is brought into play in order to put death (even if accepted) at a distance, and eventually to make fun of it or tame it by permitting the community, when it feels concerned, to pull itself together. This is why funeral rites can shift the drama of dying from the plane of the real to that of the imaginary (by displacements and metonymy, symbols and metaphors), and it is in this that their efficacy resides. To reorganize the society disturbed by death and to console the survivors even while the deceased is being served and his or her destiny oriented—these are the two fundamental aims of funeral customs. In all regions, then, such rites are simultaneously defined first as liturgical drama with its places and scenes, its actors and their scripts, and also as individual or collective therapies (one might recall Nasser's moving funeral). In this respect, traditional cultures have inexhaustible resources of rich symbolism that the modern world has forgotten.

Indeed, modern life, especially in an urban milieu, entails multiple mutations that are probably irreversible on the level of ritual, and perhaps disquieting for the psychic equilibrium of one's contemporaries. Many practices are simplified or omitted: The wake is impossible at the hospital or in tiny apartments; condolences and corteges are practically eliminated. Consider, for example, today's laying out of the dead: For the impurity of former times, the pretext of hygiene is substituted; for respect for the corpse as subject, obsession with or horror of the corpse as object; for family deference, the anonymity of an indifferent wage. In the same way, the signs of mourning have fallen into disuse—society has passed from "mourning clothes in twenty-four hours" to twenty-four hours of mourning!—and it is unseemly to show one's sorrow. People care less and less about the deceased, who sink into the anonymity of the forgotten; fewer and fewer masses are said for the repose of their souls, while the scattering of ashes eliminates the only possible physical support for a cult of the dead. If, at least on the imaginary plane, rites once primarily concerned the deceased, today they primarily concern the survivors. Thus, to take only one example, the new Roman Catholic ritual of anointing the sick tends to deritualize and desacralize death itself as an essential mutation. It is truly the disappearance of death, considered as a passage, that is witnessed by others.

Without a doubt, humankind today is condemning itself to a dangerous cultural void concerning rites and their symbols. One may well ask if funerals, expedited in the "strictest intimacy," do not dangerously deprive people of a ritual that would help them to live.

SEE ALSO Ancestors; Ashes; Bones; Cannibalism; Dakhma; Death; Fire; Rites of Passage; Tombs.

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FUNERAL RITES: MESOAMERICAN FUNERAL RITES

Mesoamerican peoples practiced a rich variety of funeral rites based on a fundamental and widely shared vision of death as a regenerative social and cosmic power. Several types of sacred practices associated with death existed from the Preclassic period (2500 BCE–200 CE) until the arrival of the Spanish. The discussion that follows will survey two general kinds of rites associated with the dead; *funerary rites* and *mortuary rites.* Funerary rites were those actions performed after the death of an individual. Their goal was to dispose of the body, ensure the arrival of the soul to the netherworld, and socialize the loss. *Mortuary rites,* on the other hand, equipped individuals with an *object* or *offering.* The more common examples are sacrificial offerings, which were performed since very early times.

A third type of death ritual appears in the archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence during the late Postclassic period (900–1521 CE). In this ritual practice the remains of the deceased were not actually present. These were divinatory rites aimed at either causing the death of an enemy or rival, as well as rites aimed at protecting someone from magical aggressions and bad omens. A large numbers of rites dedicated to deities associated with death and dying were also widely practiced throughout Mesoamerican history.

FUNERALS IN AGRICULTURAL SOCIETIES. The first agricultural settlements were consolidated during the Preclassic period. Archaeological representations of skeleton-like beings in motion and images that show the duality of life and death date from this period. These are the earliest references to a belief in life after death.

Tlatilco, in the central highlands, is one of the settlements showing the most complex funerary practices. In this site, which flourished around 1000 BCE, bodies were buried under inhabited rooms, a practice that has been interpreted as an attempt at preserving the force of the deceased in the domestic space. The bodies of the dead were accompanied by funerary goods of different qualities, and in some instances the remains of a dog were buried next to the deceased.

In western Mexico, funerary practices were unusually important; most interesting is the construction of "shaft tombs," which consisted of a vertical tunnel leading to one or more funerary chambers excavated in volcanic tuff. The region has been sacked by grave robbers, and only a few intact graves have been explored, such as the one found in Huitzilapa, Jalisco, dated to 65 CE. The excavation of that site revealed a seven-meter-deep shaft and two funerary chambers. Three individuals had been laid in each of them, together with extraordinary pottery. Researchers have speculated that this was the burial shaft of an important family.

Other findings in western Mexico are also important, such as those in Chupícuaro, in the Mexican state of Guanajuato, a settlement characterized by its funerary arrangements. The remains of dogs were found next to human skeletons in excavated burial sites, suggesting that, since earlier times, these animals were considered as companions in the journey to the netherworld. Similarly, various offerings consisting of garments and tools the deceased may have used while living were found next to adults, while necklaces and musical instruments were placed in the tombs of children.

In the Maya region, individuals were buried near domestic spaces or ceremonial buildings. The bodies were laid in graves or funerary chambers and in some cases placed inside pots. While some burial sites contain a single individual, others contain several, with articulated skeletal remains and disarticulated bones. This variety could be attributed to regional funerary variations and to the identity of the dead. Offerings of varying quality were usually placed in the sites, and on special occasions the bodies were covered with red paint or a green stone was placed in the mouth of the deceased. The latter custom lasted into later periods.

As for mortuary rites, the collection of "trophy skulls" seems to begin at this time, as evidenced in the Maya region, the Toluca Valley, and Tlatlico. Bone fragments found at the latter site present evidence of cuts, showing that bodies were also used for other purposes. With time, such practices would become fundamental throughout Mesoamerica.

FUNERARY RITES IN THE CLASSICAL CITIES (200–600 CE). Important cities were created during this period including the magnificent cosmopolitan center, Teotihuacan, which was built as a replica of the sacred universe. During an era of splendor, known as the Classic period, Teotihuacanos practiced elaborate funerary rituals. Archaeological records show the careful preparation of the deceased body, primarily in the form of funerary bundles and offerings. Typically, individuals were buried under the floor of homes of both commoners and elites, and the tombs included funerary offerings. Cremations took place in some areas of the city, a funerary practice associated with the élite.

Archaeological work in Teotihuacan has revealed that it had political and cultural relations with many others parts of Mesoamerica. For example, different funerary patterns existed in various parts of the city, especially in what is referred to as the Oaxaca barrio. Excavations have uncovered a number of tombs placed under the floor of domestic areas. The graves, in the style of the great Monte Albán culture that flourished far to the south of Teotihuacan, were characterized by the presence of an access with doorjambs and glyphs carved in the stone. Precious figurines and urns done in the Oaxacan style also accompanied the burials of human beings.

The tradition of the shaft tombs continued in the western regions of Mesoamerica, while new ritual forms also began to emerge. One example of such a change can be found in Loma Alta and Loma Guadalupe, funerary islands located in Michoacán. In the former, individual were buried, and in some instances the rites included the cremation and subsequent pulverization of the bones. Loma Guadalupe served as a sort of cemetery, and several central tombs were surrounded by a series of smaller ones. The sepulchers could be used several times, and in some instances bones were removed to be transported elsewhere. An area devoted to food preparation has also been identified in the complex, perhaps associated with a ceremony that complemented the burial.

Classic Maya culture developed the elaborate practice of constructing royal tombs. In Calakmul, in the Mexican state of Campeche, the tomb of the ruler known as Jaguar-Claw was explored by a multidisciplinary team that concluded that the funeral bundle had been set on a wooden frame and finely decorated with marine elements. The exploration was performed so carefully that it allowed for the recovery of residues of lime, canvas, palm, and resins that accompanied the body of the individual, which had been adorned with jadeite jewels and a funerary mask. Jaguar-Claw was buried with two companions, a male child and a woman wearing a headdress, a funerary treatment associated with the élite.

Two examples of luxurious tombs were found in Palenque: the tomb of King Pacal and that of the so-called Red Queen. In the first site, the remains of the ruler were set in a monolithic sarcophagus; the cover was carved with the image of a character from whose chest grew a maize plant. The king was dressed in a luxurious green stone mask and was accompanied by several offerings and by the remains of individuals sacrificed at his burial. The monumental funerary pyramid was built specifically to house his tomb. The Red Queen was also buried in a monolithic sarcophagus with treasures made of jade, pearls, and shells. Her body was covered with cinabrio, a red mineral that colored the grave. Access to the site was through a set of stairs, and several companions were also sacrificed in her honor. The identity of the Red Queen still remains unknown, and she could be related to King Pakal.

Oaxaca was another area where funerals played an important role. Monte Albán, one of the main sites in the region, is characterized by burial sites placed in yards or rooms. The quality of the burials was a function of the identity of the deceased, since tombs range from very simple ones to those showing complex funerary architecture, including underground structures. Offerings were of great quality and included urns with figurines representing the gods and remains of dogs. The tombs were reused, and each time a new body was placed in them the skeletal remains already there were piled up to make more room.

The lavish funerary architecture developed for the ruling Zapotec class seems to re-create the opulence of the palaces. A classic example is the tomb at the archaeological site known as Huijazoo, an important underground complex. Nine steps lead to a vestibule that opened into two chambers and a yard that culminated with the main funeral chamber. Mitla is another Oaxacan city famous for its lavish funerals and the cross-shaped tombs placed under its palaces. Centuries later, in the Postclassic period, Zapotec tombs were reused by the Mixtecs, who used them to inter their leaders with offerings that are veritable treasures. Such is the case of the famous "Tomb Seven" in Monte Albán.

Oaxacan evidence related to domestic settings is also interesting because human burials were placed under the floors of homes that continued to be inhabited by the descendants of the deceased. The living and the dead shared a daily common space linking generation with generation.

Regional Capitals and Funerary Rites. Upon the fall of Teotihuacan during what has become known as the Epiclassic period (650–900 CE) a process of decentralization in Mesoamerica led to the formation of potent, regional city-states such as Xochicalco, Cholula, and Tajin. Xochicalco, in the state of Morelos has yielded impressive sepulchers inside religious buildings and domestic settings. In the context of sacred architecture, the persons were buried with fine anthropomorphic plates and other green-stone jewelry, while domestic burials included ceramic offerings. The site is also known because of an artificial terrace called "the cemetery," where twenty-one burial sites and a "trophy skull" were found.

Cholula was another important city in the highlands where funerals had great importance. Archaeological findings have revealed that funerary practices were carried out in relation to age, gender, and possibly the social occupation of the deceased. The city showed an increment in cremation practices, as demonstrated by thirty urns filled with the remains of bones that had been exposed to the fire and placed on the southern end of the great pyramid.

Another majestic city of that time was Tajín, on the Gulf of Mexico. Besides funerary sites, the evidence from the city exemplifies the importance of sacrifice and postmortem treatment, especially decapitation, which played a fundamental role in ritual ball games.

Archaeology, Historical Sources, and Funerals. During the Postclassic period (1200–1521 CE) war became uncommonly important, as did expansionism and sacrificial practices. There is ample evidence of funerary practices from this period, such as the ample historical record devoted to describing the funerals of the ruling class. Just as there are coincidences in the beliefs in an afterlife throughout the Mesoamerican region, there are also some similarities in funerary practices among the three most powerful groups of the period: the Maya, Tarasc, and Mexica, or Aztec. For the three peoples, two variables determined the type of funerary rite to be followed: the cause of death and social position. In the case of the Mexica, the *teyolía,* or soul, of the deceased had four basic destinations. Mictlan, the underworld, was the destination of those who died of common illnesses or old age. Those who died for a reason associated with water traveled to Tlalocan, a place of plenty that was presided over by Tláloc, the god of rain. It was believed that the soul of nursing children traveled to the place known as Chichihuauhcuahco, where they were fed by a nursing tree. Warriors who fell in battle went to the Sun Heaven, as did women who died giving birth. It was believed that the former received the sun at dawn and drove it towards its zenith, where they handed it over to the latter. To each form of death there was a corresponding funerary geography and a special treatment for the corpse.

Those who died of common illness or old age were cremated or buried, depending on their place in the social hierarchy. Upon the death of an individual, the body was washed and a green stone was placed in its mouth to symbolize the heart of the deceased, where the soul was located. The body was covered with blankets that were tied, forming a funerary bundle that received offerings useful in the journey to the afterlife, while the geographic instructions that would allow the soul to complete its cosmic destiny were detailed. If the deceased was a member of the élite, the body was cremated and placed next to offerings in a wooden funerary pyre that included a red dog. If it was a ruler, companions were sacrificed next to him, and their hearts were cast into the fire. The ashes were collected and placed in a container that was to be buried. Archaeological evidence from the Great Temple in Tenochtitlan shows that cremated remains of the dignitaries could be divided into several urns and buried in different places. On the other hand, historical sources suggest that when the individual was a commoner, the body was buried with very simple offerings.

The bodies of those who died by water were clad with paper adornments and had seeds placed in their mouths. The body was buried directly into the earth, as if it were a seed. Apparently, nursing children were also buried. It was believed that the nursing tree that would care for them was located in Tlalocan.

When a woman died in labor, she received a particular funerary arrangement. Her body was washed, dressed in new garments, and taken to a special temple for burial. The body had to be cared for, since some of its parts were believed to have magical powers. The bodies of warriors fallen in battle were also treated differently, even though their soul journeyed to the sun just like those of laboring women. Warrior funerals were collective acts and included processions and dances performed by the relatives of the deceased. Usually, the corpses were left in the battlefield, while bundles of wood representing the deceased were built in Tenochtitlan; the bundles were cremated after receiving offerings and orations, and the ashes were buried in a special place. These effigies of the funerary bundle allowed for the socialization of the death.

Funerary goods offered to the deceased can be classified as follows: (1) objects that were part of the funerary dowry; these objects signified the sacred exchange of energies between the life and death of the individual and Mexicas believed that this items could help the soul in the journey; (2) offerings to be handed to the deities of the netherworld once the deceased arrived there; (3) goods that functioned to make the ritual work effectively, such as the wood used in cremation. In more elaborated funerals, sacred practices such as music and ritual dance were common. It is also evident that some élite funerals included the sacrifice and self-sacrifice of special companions of the deceased. Ethnohistorical documents relate that the immediate and extended aftermath of a funeral was regulated by ritual. There were impositions of specific periods of mourning as well as the crafting and delivery of elaborated speeches aimed at consoling the family of the deceased.

Several tombs found in the Maya area had been set in places of worship, temples, and under living spaces. Similarly to what transpired in the central highland, the historical record confirms the preparation of the body and the placing in the mouth of a stone or maize kernels. Also, some offerings seem to be associated with the needs of the deceased in the journey to the netherworld. Although individuals were usually buried, other treatments have also been documented depending on the identity, occupation, or cause of death. The tombs of commoners were usually dug under homes or behind them, and the dwellings were abandoned, unless they were inhabited by many people. The deceased could be buried with the tools they had used in life for their occupations; for example, priests were buried with their sacred books.

Among the Maya, cremation was a late practice that extended into colonial times and was reserved for the élites. Friar Diego de Landa, who made a vast historical record in Yucatan during his labor of evangelization, wrote about the cremation of the Lords of Izamal and how their ashes were placed in pots, with temples were built above them. He also tells how the ashes of dignitaries were kept as relics inside of statues. As for the Lords of Cocom, de Landa records an unusual treatment for the bodies, which were decapitated, cooked, and defleshed; the ritual culminated with the modeling, in bitumen, of the likeness of the deceased over its bones. The archaeological record shows variation in funeral practices, often associated with religion or the identity of the individual. Thus it is possible to find graves, caves, funeral constructions, funerary chambers, sarcophagi, and vessels, all used as graves for the inhabitants of the Maya region.

In the powerful western state of Michoacán, funerals were very similar to those of the Mexica. When a dignitary died, the body was prepared and richly clad. A second funerary bundle was prepared with blankets and placed over the deceased. According to the colonial account of Friar Jerónimo de Alcalá, during the funeral of the king some forty individuals were sacrificed to serve their lord in the netherworld. The body was cremated and the ashes collected in blankets and adorned with a turquoise mask and other jewelry. This bundle was buried at the foot of the most important temple. The ritual was very solemn, and on subsequent days a large portion of the population was in mourning. In contrast, commoners were buried with simple offerings that reflected their social status.

The great diversity and wealth of the Mesoamerican funerary rites contrasts with the standardization imposed by the Christian religion after the arrival of the Spanish. Death in war and epidemics, together with the imposition of funeral taxes and the prohibition of crematory practices, were difficult to assimilate for the indigenous population. With time, syncretism developed and new funerary practices emerged. Today, it is still possible to identify in some communities some elements associated with pre-Columbian beliefs, such as the notion of the dog as a companion to the underworld, the tradition of processions and ritual games, and the offering of food, copal, and other gifts. These elements, combined with some that are typically Spanish, and the new ritual forms represent the wealth of funerary customs of modern Mexico.

See Also Mesoamerican Religions, articles on Classic Cultures, Formative Cultures, Mythic Themes, Postclassic Cultures, Pre-Columbian Religions.

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Ximena Chávez Balderas (2005)
Translated from Spanish by Fernando Feliu-Moggi

FUSTEL DE COULANGES, N. D.

(1830–1889), was a French historian, best known as author of *La cité antique* (1864). Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges would perhaps be surprised to find himself the subject of an entry in this encyclopedia. He entered the École Normale Supérieure in Paris in 1850, and chafed under the strictly conventional classical education imposed by the regime of Napoléon III; if the revolutionary movements of 1848 left him with a lasting fear of civil war and violence, as expressed above all in his thesis on Polybius's approval of the Roman conquest of Greece (1858), the counterreaction engendered his equally persistent anticlericalism.

Fustel taught in Strasbourg from 1861 to 1870, then in Paris at the Sorbonne and the École Normale, of which he was director from 1880 to 1883. He saw himself as a scientific historian, examining evidence systematically and without preconceptions. Throughout his life, the main target of his critical scrutiny was the belief that primitive society was democratic. In *La cité antique* Fustel criticized the view that the concept of personal liberty was born in the ancient city-state and that in early Greek and Roman society there was no private ownership of land. Later, in the first volume of his *Histoire des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France* (1875), Fustel asserted that the determining influence in French history did not come from the Frankish invaders but from the Roman legacy in Gaul; finally, in his book *Recherches sur quelques problèmes de l'histoire* (1885), he argued that the primitive, democratic village community, which held land in common, could not be found even in Germany.

Fustel's reputation as a founding father of the sociology of religion is based largely on his assertion that religious ideas could have a decisive effect in the formulation of a society's social and economic structure. In *La cité antique* Fustel argues that the practice of worshiping ancestors determined the form of the family and the patrilineal form of lineage (*gens*) that grew out of it. The private ownership of land was derived from ancestor worship. A man was buried in the fields he had farmed, and because his descendants were obliged to care for his tomb they could not allow the land that contained it to pass out of the family. Religion tied culture and social structure to nature. To care for family tombs was natural and needed no explanation (or so it seemed to Fustel and his contemporaries, though the cemetery had only recently become a place of pilgrimage in their own time). At more complex levels of social organization religion was linked to nature in a different way: People worshiped gods who were believed to control physical forces and whose rites could be shared by a wide circle.

Pagan religion thus followed the contours of social organization. The paganism of the Gauls merged easily into that of the Romans as the Gauls became latinized. Fustel dismisses druidism as a brief interlude; he viewed the druids as professional religious specialists whose doctrines and practices did not arise naturally from social life. The power of the druids had been based on a close alliance with the native political elite who turned away from them after the Roman conquest.

Fustel's treatment of Christianity is more complex. Early Christianity, he thought, was truly democratic in its organization. With its incorporation into the empire, the structure of the church became more hierarchical, mirroring the structure of political society. Fustel became somewhat torn between his dislike of priestly hierarchy and his desire to see the church as the vehicle by which Roman social organization was preserved and transmitted to medieval France. Because it was separate from the state and grew up initially without official recognition, the church constituted an alternative source of authority on which the conception of the individual's rights against the state could be based; but contraposition to the state also turned the church into a political organization. In his early *Mémoire sur l'île de Chio* (1856) Fustel showed how the opposition between the Roman Catholic and the Greek Orthodox churches became the focus of hostility between Greeks and Franks.

Émile Durkheim and the structural-functionalists followed and extended Fustel's insight into the relation between religion and social structure. Louis Dumont has revived his idea of a link between Christianity and individualism in his *Essais sur l'individualisme* (1983). Fustel's complex attitude toward the priesthood and his interest in the relation between church and state form part of a chapter of nineteenth-century intellectual history that has yet to be written.

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FYLGJUR are fetches and guardian spirits in Old Norse literary tradition. The term apparently derives from the Old Norse verb *fylgja* (to accompany), but it is homonymous with, and perhaps identical to, the word for "afterbirth" or "placenta." The singular noun *fylgja* denotes two distinct groups: fetches in animal form and guardian spirits in female form.

Fylgjur in animal form are most often wolves or bears, but many other animals are attested, such as oxen, boars, and such birds as eagles, falcons, and hawks. These figures appear to people primarily in dreams and warn of impending death, danger, or some future event. Frequently the *fylgja* is that of the doomed or threatened man's enemy.

These conceptions appear to reflect notions, common in Norse and later Scandinavian tradition, of the soul operating out of the body. In their textual context they must be viewed as part of a broader tradition of portents and dreams, but the animal form of the *fylgjur* may relate to the phenomena of the werewolf and the man-bear. The emphasis on beasts of battle suggests the cult of Óðinn, the most important shape-changer of Scandinavian myth and religion. Óðinn was known for his ability to send his soul out from his body and for sending his companion ravens out into the world as scouts. The animal form of Óðinn's berserkers may also be relevant.

The female fylgjur share many features with *idísir* and *hamingjur,* and more distantly with *landvættiræ,* Norns, and valkyries; there is little terminological consistency. Unlike the animal *fylgjur,* they are not the alter egos of individuals. Their actions are to some extent comparable to those of the animal *fylgjur* in that they sometimes appear in dreams and portend death or foretell the future, but they generally act in sympathy with a central individual rather than in enmity, giving counsel, good fortune, or aid in battle. These *fylgjur* may attach to a single individual or an entire family. They may be related to the cult of the *matronae,* attested from the Roman period in Germany.

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JOHN LINDOW (1987 AND 2005)

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GADJERI. The name *Gadjeri (Gadjari, Kadjeri)* is known over a wide area of northern Australia. It means “old woman,” implying status and not necessarily age. Gadjeri is also the “sacred mother,” or “mother of us all,” and the theme of birth, death, and rebirth is pervasive throughout all of the myths concerning her. She symbolizes the productive qualities of the earth—of all natural resources, including human beings. But it is people, and not natural species, who came from her uterus in the creative era of the Dreaming. Among a number of language groups from the Roper River westward, she is called Kunapipi (or Gunabibi), which means “uterus,” “penis incision” (and, by extension, “vagina”), and “emergence” (referring to rebirth). In that same area she is also called Mumuna or Mumunga, a bull-roarer that, when swung, is her voice. In the northwest, on the Daly River and at Port Keats, as in the central-west part of the Northern Territory, she is also a bull-roarer named Kalwadi, although the term *Gadjeri* is more generally used; at Port Keats her local name is Mutjingga (“old woman”). In the southeastern Kimberley and southward into the Western Desert, she is known as Ganabuda. Mostly the Mother is a single mythic being, but in some cultural areas she may be identified with two females of equivalent characteristics, while the term *Ganabuda* may refer to a mythic group of women.

Gadjeri is often associated with two or more of her daughters, the Munga-munga, or Manga-manga, who play an important role in the mythic constellations of men and women in both secret-sacred and open-sacred ritual activities. The Munga-munga are sometimes referred to as the Kaleri-kalering, a name also used for a group of mythic men. The Mother’s husband is Lightning or Rainbow Snake.

Baldwin Spencer (1914, pp. 162, 164, 213–218) first mentioned the term *Kunapipi* as the name of a bull-roarer used by people living in the areas of the Katherine and Roper rivers. The myth he recorded relates to a “big man” named Kunapipi who carries about with him woven bags containing spirit children. At one place he removes male children and places them on grass in an enclosed area surrounded by a raised mound. After decorat-

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Clockwise from top left corner. The Court of the Lions in the Alhambra in Granada, Spain. *[©E.O. Hoppé/Corbis]*; Sixth-century BCE marble relief of Aphrodite, Artemis, and Apollo from the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi, Greece. Archaeological Museum, Delphi. *[©Erich Lessing/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Eleventh-century Byzantine mosaic of the Madonna and Child at Hosios Loukas Monastery in Boeotia, Greece. *[The Art Archive/Dagli Orti]*; Gaṇeśa, twelfth to thirteenth century, from Mysore, India. De Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco. *[©Werner Forman/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; The Parthenon on the Acropolis in Athens, Greece. *[©Bettmann/Corbis]* .

ing them as circumcision novices, he divides the children into two groups (moieties) and into subsection categories and gives them "totemic" affiliations—instituting present-day social organization. He also carries out circumcision and subincision rituals that attract visitors from outlying areas. When the rituals are over he kills and eats some of the visitors, then vomits their bones—not whole bodies, as he had expected. Two men who escape from him go in search of their relatives, and together they all return to kill Kunapipi. When they cut open his belly, they find two of his "own children," who are recovered alive. Spencer recounts an additional myth relating to a woman whose Dreaming is Kunapipi and who possesses a Kunapipi bull-roarer: She too is responsible for leaving spirit children at particular places. Together with a number of other women of the same mythic affiliation, she performs rituals. These are observed by a mythic man who sees that the women have a bull-roarer and takes it from them. As a result, the women lose their power to carry out this form of secret-sacred ritual.

Actually, Spencer seems not to have been referring to Kunapipi as a male at all, but as a female. In the Alawa language group, Gadjeri is said to have emerged from the sea to rest on a sandbank at the mouth of the Roper River (Berndt, 1951, p. 188) and then to have proceeded upstream. In one Mara version, Gadjeri, as Mumuna, eats men who were enticed to her camp by her daughters, the Mungamunga. She swallows them whole but vomits their bones; she had expected them to emerge whole and to be revived. This happens on a number of occasions with different men, each time without success. Eventually, she is killed by relatives of the men she has eaten (Berndt, 1951, pp. 148–152). A crucial point here is the one made by the Aborigines who told this myth: "They didn't come out like we do, they came out half and half." That is, in Kunapipi ritual men enter the sacred ground, which is the Mother's uterus, and leave it reborn. The myth here emphasizes not cannibalism but the dangerous nature of this ritual experience.

When the Kunapipi cycle entered eastern Arnhem Land, it was adapted to local mythology (see Warner, 1958, pp. 290–311; Berndt, 1951, pp. 18–32ff.). In western Arnhem Land, two mythic Nagugur men, smeared with blood and grease, are credited with bringing the Kunapipi ritual complex. As they travel about the country they carry with them a Rainbow Snake (Ngalyod, in female form) wrapped in paper bark. In the rituals carried out in this area, a trench (*ganala*) symbolizes the Mother's uterus and is identified with Ngalyod; snake designs are incised on its inner walls (Berndt and Berndt, 1970, pp. 122–123, 138–142).

W. E. H. Stanner (1960, pp. 249, 260–266) gives a Murinbata (Port Keats) version of the Old Woman, or Mutjingga, myth. She swallows children whose mothers have left them for her to look after. Once the mothers return, they find the children missing and search without success; two men, Left Hand and Right Hand, eventually find Mutjingga hidden under the water. When she emerges, they kill her, open her belly, and remove the children, still alive, from her womb. They clean them, rub them with red ocher, and give them headbands, which signify that an initiation ritual has taken place. Although the myth differs from the Mara account in content, it is symbolically the same. Stanner, however, interpreted it as pointing to a "wrongful turning of life"; to him, the killing of Mutjingga was a kind of "immemorial misdirection" which applied to human affairs, and living men were committed to its consequences (see Berndt and Berndt, 1970, pp. 229, 233–234). Evidence from other cultures does not support the contention that "a primordial tragedy" took place in the myth. On the contrary, its format is consistent with that of other Kunapipi versions: It concerns the symbolism of ritual death and rebirth. Mutjingga is also linked in myth, but not in ritual, with Kunmanggur (Rainbow Snake), whom Stanner (1961, pp. 240–258) regarded as "the Father," complementing Mutjingga as "the Mother." In Port Keats, Kunmanggur dies in order to ensure that fire is available to human beings.

This pervasive theme of birth, death, and rebirth receives constant emphasis in the central-western Northern Territory Gadjeri. In drawings, for instance, the Mother is depicted with men and women "flowing from" her into a "ring place" (the sacred ground). She may also be shown as a composite structure of poles and bushes, decorated with meandering designs of feather down and ocher and wearing a pearl-shell pubic covering suspended from a hair waistband (see Berndt and Berndt, 1946, pp. 71–73). Furthermore, unlike many other deities or mythic beings, she does not change shape: She is not manifested directly through a natural species. Human birth is transferred to the nonhuman dimension through divine intervention, made possible through human ritual; that is, human ritual releases the Mother's power to make species-renewal possible. The central-western Gadjeri complex is quite close to the mainstream Kunapipi cultic perspective of the Roper River, except that the Mother's death is mentioned only obliquely in the central-western interpretation. For example, in regard to subincision, which is an integral part of her ritual, it is said that the blood which results from the regular opening of the penis incision is symbolic of that shed by the Mother when she was killed. But blood is also life-giving, and through this the Mother lives on spiritually and physically in her daughters, the Mungamunga.

In the northern and central-west areas of the Northern Territory, Gadjeri is ritually dominant, with or without the presence of the Rainbow Snake. In the fringes of the Western Desert her rituals focus mainly on other mythic beings. The Walbiri are a case in point. Their major mythic beings are the male Mamandabari pair. While this mythic constellation is classified under a Gadjeri heading and called "Big Sunday" (Meggitt, 1966, pp. 3ff.), and its ritual paraphernalia and symbolism are specific to Gadjeri, there is no reference either to the Mother or to her daughters. She is treated almost as a presiding deity who stands some distance away from ritual performance. The Mamandabari are similar to the two mythic Nagugur (of western Arnhem Land) who act as intermediaries. But what the Nagugur do is carried out in the name of Kunapipi, and this is not the case with the Mamandabari. Nevertheless, an important clue to the relationship between the Walbiri and Mara Kunapipi versions is to be found in a number of songs they hold in common (Meggitt, 1966, pp. 26–27).

In the southeastern Kimberley, Gadjeri is represented by the Ganabuda group of women, who are included in several of the mythic and ritual Dingari cycles. These Dingari are made up of an accretion of myths that are not necessarily woven into an integrated pattern. In them, the Ganabuda move from one site to another, either following or preceding a group of Dingari men who are concerned with initiating novices (see Berndt, 1970, pp. 216–247). In one excerpt, the Munga-munga walk ahead of the Ganabuda women, who are burdened with sacred *daragu* boards. During the course of their travels, they encounter a mythic man, who is astonished to see not only what they are carrying but also that they are swinging bull-roarers—because the men had none of these things. At night he sneaks up and steals their power, which resides under the armpits of the Ganabuda. In that way, men obtained ritual power.

In another excerpt, Dingari men sit within their ring place while the Ganabuda remain some distance away in their own camp. The women discover that some young men (novices) are among the older men. They meet some of the young men and have intercourse with them. When the older men find out about this, they become angry. They light a bush fire, which sweeps across the countryside, burning many of the young men to death. The Ganabuda escape the fire by submerging themselves in a lake. When the fire has passed by, they discover what has happened. Overwhelmed by grief and anger, they go in search of the older men and kill some of them in revenge.

Again, this last mythic incident represents, symbolically, a typical initiatory sequence: removal of novices from the authority of their "mothers," their seclusion from women (that is, their ritual death, expressed in their mythic death by fire), and the grief of the women at the loss of the young men (the women take revenge on the older men). In short, the Mara myth provides a glimpse of the Kunapipi Mother who has not perfected the ritual process of death and rebirth. She must therefore die in order to live spiritually in the form of her emblematic representation. In the Mutjingga myth the process is taken a step further, with the removal of the children alive from her womb. The central-western Northern Territory example gives assurance that Gadjeri has perfected the ritual process of death and rebirth: She is the epitome of all physical and spiritual renewal.

The Ganabuda mythology, on the other hand, poses a paradox which is not so easily explained. The answer lies in the nature of Western Desert mythology and ritual, which, although it emphasizes seasonal renewal and the growth of all species, also underlines the essential unpredictability of natural phenomena and the vulnerability of human beings. Gadjeri's womb is still fertile, but there are still many dangers associated with the ritual (and human) implementation of her life-giving power.

SEE ALSO Djan'kawu; Rainbow Snake.

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RONALD M. BERNDT (1987)

GAGE, MATILDA JOSLYN. Matilda Joslyn Gage (1826–1898), suffragist, abolitionist, and religious radical, was born March 24, 1826, in Cicero, New York, and spent her entire life within a thirty-mile radius of nearby Syracuse, raising her family of four with her husband, the merchant Henry H. Gage. Gage was the youngest member of the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) leadership triumvirate (with Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony), presiding over the Executive Committee of the NWSA for most of the 1870s and 1880s while heading the New York State Suffrage Association. The three women, editors of the first three volumes of the *History of Woman Suffrage* (1881–1887), "will ever hold a grateful place in the hearts of posterity," predicted the *Woman's Tribune* in 1888.

A prolific writer and thorough researcher, Gage edited a suffrage newspaper for four years (*The National Citizen and Ballot Box*, 1878–1881) and contributed as correspondent to newspapers across the country. She wrote about the superior position of Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) women while she supported native sovereignty and treaty rights. Gage was a chief architect of the campaign of nonviolent civil disobedience in the 1870s that saw NWSA women refusing to pay their taxes, voting illegally, and petitioning Congress for relief from their political disabilities. Gage dropped out of the suffrage cause after what she perceived as a conservative takeover of the woman's movement in 1889, which she unsuccessfully moved to prevent.

The greatest danger at the time, Gage believed, was an attempt by Christian fundamentalists to place God in the Constitution and prayer in the public schools. Turning to what she believed was her grandest, most courageous work, Gage formed the Woman's National Liberal Union (1890) to challenge the religious right's drive to merge church and state. The organization, which lasted only a year, also strove to free woman from the "bondage" of the church, which "enslaved her conscience and reason."

Gage published her magnum opus, *Woman, Church, and State* in 1893, and Anthony Comstock, the press censor of the United States Postal Service, immediately banned the book from public school libraries, threatening to arrest anyone who made the book available to children. A powerful indictment of the church's primary role in the oppression of women, the book also exposed the institutionalized sexual abuse of women and children by the priesthood and documented gynocidal witch-burnings (nine million European women, Gage estimated, murdered by the church and later the state over a 500-year period). Gage argued that the early church had accepted the equal feminine nature of the divine, and women served at the altar and administered the sacrament until 824, when the Council of Paris removed women from religious duty. Women were then slowly forced out of the priesthood and the female in the godhead was removed.

Beginning in the 1870s, Gage charged in her writing and speeches that the foundation of the Christian church became the theory that woman brought sin and death into the world. The result was idolatry, a worship of the masculine, Gage told the International Council of Women in 1888. God punished Eve's sin by putting woman in subordination and servitude to man; women's second-class position in all areas—political, legal, educational, industrial, and social—resulted from this mythological story, Gage explained. The church required women to pledge obedience to their husbands in the marriage ceremony. When canon law became the foundation for common law, married woman's subordinate position rendered her "dead in the law," without rights or even legal identity.

The great underlying creative principle is female, Gage reasoned, a fact recognized by all ancient nations, where goddesses were seated everywhere with gods, and often considered superior to them. Gage believed that returning the motherhood of God to the place of sacredness from which it had been removed by the patriarchal Christian overthrow was critical to elevating the position of women. Women were not the only victims of Christianity; the authority of the Bible had been used to justify slavery and oppose science, art, invention, and all reform movements. Considering religious belief tantamount to the death of the soul, Gage celebrated the greatest lesson of her life—to think for herself—given in childhood by her father. She embraced moral relativism, believing that no absolute moral standard exists, but that what is considered right changes over time and from culture to culture.

While nominally a church member throughout her life—she joined the Baptist Church in childhood and her name stayed on the church rolls until shortly before her death—Gage's religious journey took her through membership in the American Theosophical Society (1885) and a serious investigation of the paranormal.

A contributor to the *Woman's Bible*, which Elizabeth Cady Stanton edited (1895–1898), Gage moved from her interpretation of the Bible as history or mythology to a reading of it as an occult work of ancient mysteries written in symbolic language. She suggested that the *Book of Revelation*, understood from this perspective, may be read as a work about woman's spiritual powers.

Gage remained hopeful about the future of women who were rising up against the "tyranny of Church and State" in the most important revolution the world had yet seen. It "will shake the foundations of religious belief, tear into fragments and scatter to the winds the old dogmas upon which all forms of Christianity are based," she predicted at the conclusion of *Woman, Church, and State*. The result "will be a regenerated world."

Gage died March 18, 1898, and was buried in the Fayetteville, New York, cemetery under a tombstone blazing her motto: "There is a word sweeter than mother, home or heaven. That word is Liberty."

SEE ALSO Gender and Religion; Politics and Religion.

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SALLY ROESCH WAGNER (2005)

GAIA theory was first proposed by the English scientist James Lovelock in 1979 to explain how and why, as life appeared on the planet and grew abundant, its evolution and the earth's evolution merged into a single dynamic system he called *Gaia*. Lovelock was aware that this was the Greek name for a primordial cosmic goddess who was also a primal earth deity. He used the name and has continued to use it, in spite of criticism from some scientists, because of its metaphoric power. It conveys, he says, the idea of a superorganism composed of all life tightly coupled with the air, the oceans, and the surface rocks. By the end of the 1980s there existed sufficient evidence, models, and mechanisms to develop the theory further through transdisciplinary scientific research in cooperative projects between those working in such apparently disparate fields as practical ecology, ocean science, evolutionary biology, biochemistry, geology, and climatology.

Continuing this research, Lovelock and others have shown that Gaia self-regulates at a global scale through life-environment interactions, and that as a result the earth has remained in a habitable state over billions of years. The theory suggests that its habitability results from three intrinsic properties and one extrinsic property of living organisms. First, all organisms alter their environment by taking in free energy and excreting high-entropy waste products in order to maintain a low internal entropy. Second, organisms grow and multiply, potentially exponentially, thus providing an intrinsic positive feedback to life (the more life there is, the more life it can beget). Third, for each environmental variable there is a level or range at which the growth of a particular organism is maximum. Extrinsically, the fact that organisms both alter and are constrained by their environments in these ways means that feedback between life and its environment is inevitable.

In 2001 more than one thousand scientists signed the Amsterdam Declaration on Global Change, which states: "The Earth System behaves as a single, self-regulating system comprised of physical, chemical, biological and human components." This view sees the earth as a unified whole and humans as organic members of the entire community of life on earth. There is no question of human life being external to or independent of the planetary system's self-regulatory functioning, or of its common environmental resources, climatic variables, or ecosystem constraints. That being so, we need to take account of how we rely on and use those resources and adapt to those constraints. As Lovelock himself says, perhaps the greatest value of Gaia theory lies in its metaphor of a living earth. This reminds us that we are part of it and that human rights are constrained by the needs of our planetary partners.

Some religious implications follow from perceiving the earth and ourselves in this way. First, whatever is deemed sacred or holy in life cannot be separated out in any absolute sense from whatever we understand as the whole of existence. It may instead be seen as the internal transcendence of every living being. But as that cannot be divorced from the environment that supports life or from the interactions in which each being is connected with all others, so we cannot reduce the sacred to any one manifestation of being but must extend the concept to the whole dynamic system of relationships between God and the world. Lovelock says that Gaia, like life, is an emergent phenomenon, one that is comprehensible intuitively but difficult or impossible to analyze by reduction. Similarly, sacredness is an emergent property of life, one that cannot be analyzed reductively by separating it out or cutting it off from the interactions of daily life.

Second, if we accept that our species evolved in the same way as every other species, we cannot assume that we were created at a particular moment in time outside the processes or flow of evolution. Neither can we claim absolute privileges for our species in respect of our use of the earth's material resources. Nor can we assert that we alone know, through some divine revelation extraneous to or cut off from daily life, how our species began or what will happen to us at the end of time. Practically, we cannot assume that the earth and its resources evolved and now exist solely for our use.

Gaia theory therefore raises critical questions about the anthropocentrism of major Christian doctrines where they infer that: (1) the earth was created solely for our sake, so that its creatures and resources exist primarily for our benefit; (2) the revelation of God is fully contained in human words addressed to and historically recorded by humans; (3) death was brought into the world as punishment for one man's sin rather than being an evolutionary necessity; or (4) the life and death of Jesus is solely "for" human salvation from sin and death.

It also puts in question the traditionally vertical nature of hierarchical Christian imagery. This places God above angels, men, and women in descending order of value and importance, so that the earth and its creatures are presumed created in a position of subservience to human beings because they are of less value to God. The metaphoric power of the religious language of dominance based on this valuation system authorizes human domination over the entire household of life and claims it in God's name. The intrinsic value and sacredness of the more-than-human world in the sight of God is implicitly negated or at best reduced.

The practical effects of such claims to human exceptionalism are now evident in the exploitation through industrialization and technologization of the earth's resources. The scale of their extraction and the extent of their use and consequent waste far outstrip that of their natural replacement or disposal. Seen within the context of a relational understanding of human interactions with the environment, and of human rights constrained by those of our planetary partners, the implications of this exploitation for social justice are far-reaching.

The implications are of particular concern to four classes of people singled out in the documents proceeding from the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development as being most at risk from environmental degradation, most vulnerable to its effects, and most powerless to do anything about it: women, children, indigenous peoples, and the poor. Yet the dominant free-market model of development and continuing growth presupposes that the resources needed to sustain it are and will be available, and that thanks to science and technology, together with the spread and improvement of education, we shall be able to hand on a better global situation than the one we inherited. The presupposition behind this expectation is, of course, that the global biophysical environment will sustain this growth. Numerous research projects into the health of that environment, however, show precisely the opposite. Decline in fish stocks and freshwater supplies are well-publicized examples. The fact too that many of the poorest human communities live in battle zones, or are refugees from territories devastated by war, offers them little hope of redress for the loss of their pastures and access to clean water.

Yet human interdependence within Gaia means that we are all in some way implicated in and diminished by the contemporary expansion of militarist regimes and the consequent destruction of biodiversity and loss of material resources. Arms industries today use the chemical, physical, and biological resources of the planet to produce sophisticated weapons through the expenditure of billions of dollars and massive amounts of human energy. In 1994 the amount of weapons available was computed at twenty thousand kilograms of explosive for every person on the planet. By the year 2000 the available weapons-grade plutonium was the equivalent of a million atomic bombs. This waste of planetary resources is compounded by the fact that such weapons exist solely to destroy life and its support systems within Gaia.

Commitment to as nonviolent a lifestyle as possible is, therefore, an obviously appropriate response to a deepening understanding of the single, self-regulating planetary system within which we belong. Religions such as Jainism and Buddhism have made a nonviolent ethic an inherent and coherent part of a religiously inspired worldview. Now, Gaia theory is reminding Christians that Jesus—believed by them to be the authentic revelation of God—taught love of enemies, forgiveness, and nonretaliation for insults. He claimed that God has a direct interest in sparrows and in each flower of the field, was renowned for healing bodies, and died on a cross erected by military power, his own body pierced and broken after death by military weapons.

If, therefore, as Lovelock asserts, we each contribute, according to our kind, to the continuous and consistent relationships between organisms and their environments that constitute the support system of all life on earth, the adoption of as nonviolent a lifestyle as possible is a positive contribution to Gaia from a religious, ethical, and scientific perspective. This nonviolence is more than the negation of violence. It is a rational and spiritually powerful commitment to living in a way that asserts the sacredness of Gaia.

SEE ALSO Ecology and Religion; Evolution; Goddess Worship; Nonviolence.

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ANNE PRIMAVESI (2005)

GALEN (130?–200? CE, or later) was a Greek physician and philosopher. The last and greatest medical scientist of antiquity, Galen exercised an unparalleled influence on the development of medicine. Galen was born in Pergamum (modern Bergama, Turkey), an important city in western Asia Minor, the only son of Nikon, an architect and geometer. He was educated by his father until the age of fourteen, when he began to attend lectures in philosophy. When Galen was sixteen his father decided that he should become a physician and thereafter spared no expense in his education. After studying under prominent medical teachers in Pergamum, Galen traveled to Smyrna in western Asia Minor, Corinth in Greece, and Alexandria in Egypt, to study medicine.

At the age of twenty-eight he returned to Pergamum, where he was appointed physician to the school of gladiators. This position provided him with broad medical experience that laid the foundation of his later career. In 161 Galen left Pergamum for Rome, where he quickly established a reputation as a successful physician and made many prominent acquaintances. He returned to Pergamum in 166, claiming as the reason the envy of his colleagues, but more probably to escape a severe plague. Shortly after his return, however, he was summoned by the emperor Marcus Aurelius to Aquileia (at the head of the Adriatic), where he was engaged in preparations for war against the Germans. Galen followed the emperor to Rome in 169 and avoided further military service by gaining appointment as physician to the emperor's son Commodus. His position gave him the leisure to pursue medical research, writing, and lecturing, which he did with great success. Not much is known of Galen's later career. He continued to attend Commodus after he ascended the throne in 180 as well as Septimius Severus, who became emperor in 193. The date of Galen's death is uncertain. One source states that he died at the age of seventy, which would be about 200 CE. However, according to Arab biographers, he lived to be more than eighty, which would place his death later than 210.

Galen was one of the most prolific authors of classical antiquity. He wrote more than four hundred treatises. Many of his works have been lost, including a large number of his philosophical treatises that were destroyed in a fire in the Temple of Peace at Rome in 191. Nearly 140 works in Greek that have survived either in whole or in part are attributed to Galen. Some are of doubtful genuineness and others are spurious. Still other works, while lost in Greek, are extant in Latin and Arabic translations. His writings are extremely diverse and include works on anatomy, pathology, therapeutics, hygiene, dietetics, pharmacy, grammar, ethics, and logic, as well as commentaries on Hippocrates and Aristotle. Most of his extant works deal with medicine. Galen wrote clear Attic Greek, but he was prolix and diffuse and his works are not easy to read. Moreover, he was vain, tactless, and quarrelsome, and his writings are often characterized by a polemical tone.

Galen was a brilliant student of anatomy. His exactness in dissecting primates and other animals (from which he drew inferences for human anatomy) was unequaled in the ancient world. His understanding of the human body and medicine followed traditional lines. He admired Hippocrates, whom he regarded as the repository of medical wisdom, and he claimed merely to reproduce his doctrines. Thus he accepted humoral pathology, which viewed health as the product of an equilibrium of the four humors. The basic principle of life for Galen was the *pneuma* ("spirit"), which he thought responsible for many vital processes. Galen's medical theory is deeply indebted to philosophy, the study of which he believed was essential to the education of a physician. He did not follow exclusively the teachings of any one philosophical school, though he was deeply influenced by Aristotle. As an eclectic, he borrowed freely from most philosophical schools with the exception of the Skeptics and Epicureans, whose doctrines he opposed.

Galen's writings reveal a strong teleological emphasis. He believed that everything had been made by the Creator (or Demiurge) for a divine purpose and that the entire creation bears witness to his benevolence. In his treatise *On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Human Body* he expresses the belief that true piety lies in recognizing and explaining the wisdom, power, and excellence of the Creator rather than in offering a multitude of sacrifices. He accepted the Aristotelian principle that nature does nothing in vain and he attempted to show that every organ was designed to serve a particular function. In the minutest detail the human body exhibits its divine design.

Although Galen believed in one god, his depiction of him as a divine craftsman was drawn not from Judeo-Christian sources, but from Plato's *Timaeus,* as was his argument from design. He criticized Moses for holding (in the account of creation in *Genesis*) the doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo* and the belief that nature was created as an act of God's sovereign will. Galen was acquainted with both Jews and Christians and he refers several times in his philosophical and medical works to their beliefs. He was the first pagan writer to treat Christianity with respect as a philosophy rather than, like most educated Romans, as a superstitious sect. He admired Christians for their contempt of death, sexual purity, self-control in regard to food and drink, and their pursuit of justice: in all of which he regarded them as not inferior to pagan philosophers. He criticized Christians and Jews, however, for their refusal to base their doctrines on reason rather than solely on faith and revealed authority. A group of Roman Christians in Asia Minor, led by Theodotus of Byzantium, attempted in the late second century to present Christianity in philosophical terms. They are said to have admired Galen and it is likely that they were influenced by his philosophical works. They taught an adoptionist Christology, and for this and other heresies they were excommunicated by church authorities.

Galen enjoyed an enviable reputation in his own time both as a physician and as a philosopher. Soon after his death he came to be recognized as the greatest of all medical authorities. His eclecticism, which permitted him to take what was best from all medical sects, his claim to reproduce the ideas of Hippocrates, the encyclopedic comprehensiveness of his medical works, and his greatness as a scientist were largely responsible for his influence. Because his writings were voluminous they were summarized in handbooks, synopses, and medical encyclopedias. The pre-Galenic medical sects gradually disappeared and were replaced by an all-embracing Galenic system that united medicine and philosophy and came to dominate medicine for over a millennium. As anatomical and physiological research ceased in late antiquity, medicine became increasingly scholastic and was taught from a selection of Galen's works.

Galen's direct influence was initially greater in the Byzantine East, where his ideas were relayed by medical encyclopedias, than in the Latin West. In the ninth century many of his works were collected and translated into Arabic and Syriac by Hunayn ibn Ishaq, a Nestorian Arab physician, and his school. In the course of the eleventh century they were translated from Arabic into Latin and Hebrew and came to dominate medicine in the West just as they had dominated Byzantine and Arabic medicine. The authority of Galen was regarded as second only to that of Aristotle. Although a pagan, he appealed equally to Jews, Muslims, and Christians, who found his teleology and monotheism compatible with their own faiths. The appearance of his collected Greek works in the sixteenth century spurred new interest in Galen and led to a revival of medical experimentation. It was during the Renaissance that his reputation reached its apex, but it soon began to be challenged by new discoveries, particularly in the fields of anatomy and physiology. Nevertheless, ideas championed by Galen (particularly humoral pathology) continued to influence medical theory until the nineteenth century.

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GALILEO GALILEI (1564–1642) is considered to be the father of modern science. Born at Pisa, Italy, Galileo received some of his early schooling there. He then was sent to the ancient Camaldolese monastery at Vallombroso, where, attracted by the quiet and studious life, he joined the order as a novice. His father, however, wished him to study medicine and took him to Florence, where Galileo continued his studies with the Camaldolese monks until he matriculated at the University of Pisa in 1581. During his student years at Pisa, Galileo is said to have made his celebrated observation of the sanctuary lamp swinging like a pendulum from the cathedral ceiling and to have thereby discovered that the time taken for a swing was independent of the size of the arc, a fact that he used later for measuring time in his astronomical studies.

Finding that his talents for mathematics and philosophy were increasingly being recognized, Galileo gave up his medical studies and left the university in 1585, without a degree, to begin lecturing at the Florentine academy. There he published an account of his invention of the hydrostatic balance (1586) and then an essay on the center of gravity in solid bodies (1588), which won him a lectureship at Pisa. In 1592 he was appointed professor of mathematics at the renowned University of Padua, where he remained for eighteen years. There, in 1604, he published his laws of motion of falling bodies in his book *De motu.*

In 1597 Galileo wrote to Johannes Kepler that he had been a Copernican "for several years." Having heard in Venice of the newly invented telescope, Galileo immediately constructed one of his own and in 1610 announced many astronomical discoveries. These included his discovery that the Milky Way is made up of innumerable stars and his observation of the satellites of Jupiter. He also made observations of sunspots and of the phases of Venus. Thus he vastly expanded astronomical knowledge and challenged the established natural philosophy, which was based on Aristotelian ideas that had been reconciled with Christian doctrine by Thomas Aquinas. Shortly after the publication of these discoveries, Galileo was appointed philosopher and mathematician to the grand duke of Tuscany.

In 1613, Galileo's *Letters on Sunspots* was published. Its preface claimed that Galileo had been the first to observe sunspots, an assertion that generated bitter resentment among some Jesuit scholars (who had an arguable claim to priority of observation) and that eventually had serious consequences for Galileo. In this book, he first stated in print his unequivocal acceptance of Copernican astronomy, challenging a basic postulate of the Aristotelian view by insisting that all celestial phenomena should be interpreted in terms of terrestrial analogies. Furthermore, Galileo wished to make science independent of philosophy by his assertions that the essence of things cannot be known and that science should concern itself only with the properties of things and with observed events. It was the philosophers rather than the theologians who were the early opponents of the Copernican system and, insofar as he supported it, of Galileo's work. No doubt they were also put off by Galileo's extremely high opinion of himself, and they exploited personal jealousies and resentments against him and tried to enlist the aid of theologians in condemning both Copernican ideas and Galileo's advocacy of them.

Not until 1616, seventy-three years after the publication of Copernicus's *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* (On the revolution of the heavenly spheres), did the Theological Consultors of the Holy Office declare it "false and contrary to Holy Scripture" and recommend that Copernicus's book be "suspended until corrected." Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino had earlier written to Galileo warning him to confine himself to the realm of hypothesis until demonstrative proof could be produced. When Galileo went to Rome to defend his position, he was officially cautioned neither to hold nor to defend the Copernican ideas. And Galileo, good Catholic that he was (and remained), agreed.

Throughout, Galileo maintained that the purpose of scripture is not to teach natural philosophy and that issues of faith and issues of science should be kept separate and should be settled on different grounds. He quoted Tertullian approvingly: "We conclude that God is known first through nature, and then again, more particularly, by doctrine; by nature in his works, and by doctrine in his revealed word." He also cited Cardinal Cesare Baronius, a contemporary, who had quipped, "The Bible tells us how to go to Heaven, not how the heavens go."

The appearance of the great comets in 1618 stirred up much controversy, which Galileo joined by writing his *Discourse on Comets,* annoying the philosophers still further because of his anti-Aristotelian bias. In 1623, Galileo published *The Assayer,* which he dedicated to Urban VIII, the new pope, who was much more favorably disposed toward intellectuals and their work than his predecessor had been. In 1624, Galileo visited Rome and had six audiences with the pope. In 1632, Galileo published his *Dialogue on the Two Great World Systems.* Having intended this book to be "a most ample confirmation" of the Copernican opinion, Galileo in effect had ignored the spirit of the instructions given him by the church in 1616. Nevertheless, during the trial that followed the publication of the *Dialogue*, Galileo maintained that he had obeyed the instructions to the letter.

Galileo's trial in 1633 marked the beginning of what has since become a cliché—namely, the idea that science and religion must inevitably be in conflict. Also, Galileo is often seen as science's first martyr in the perennial battle between the church and the spirit of free inquiry. There is no question that the church took a wrong position (contrary to its own tradition in such matters as established by Augustine and Thomas Aquinas); this much was acknowledged by a statement made by John Paul II in 1979, and it was underscored by the Vatican's publication, in 1984, of all documents from its archives relating to Galileo's trial. However, a considerable amount of blame for Galileo's persecution must also fall on the philosophers. Indeed, the decree of sentence issued by the Holy Office was signed by only seven of the ten cardinal-judges.

Unlike innumerable martyrs who have accepted torture or even death for the sake of their convictions, Galileo chose, most unheroically, to abjure his beliefs. (The myth that he, on leaving the tribunal, stamped his foot and said, "Yet it [i.e., the earth] does move," was invented by Giuseppe Baretti in 1757 and has no basis in fact.) Galileo's sentence was then commuted; there was no formal imprisonment. He was allowed to move back to his country estate near Florence, where he resumed his writing. His *Discourses concerning Two New Sciences,* regarded by many as his greatest scientific contribution, was published in 1638.

SEE ALSO Bellarmino, Roberto; Copernicus, Nicolaus.

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Revised Bibliography

GALLICANISM. The political dominance of the papacy during a period of the high Middle Ages was necessarily a temporary phenomenon. In central Europe the political fragmentation that followed Charlemagne's attempt at imperial restoration was not reversed by the efforts of successive German dynasties to establish hegemony and to extend their power beyond the Alps. But in western Europe, territories were consolidated that would ultimately become national states. Their growth in size and complexity, together with developments in secular education, favored the employment of laity rather than ecclesiastics in public office. As the opportunity to build larger state units increased, so did the state's determination to assert its power over agencies within its territory. On the international level this would limit the papacy's capacity to intervene in temporal conflicts; within states, it led to a tightening of lay control over the church's tangible assets.

These changes in the relations of power inevitably brought conflict. In England tensions between crown and church are visible in the twelfth century; in France the harangue of King Philip IV (the Fair) before the first meeting of the Estates General in 1302 is a dramatic statement of the rights of the crown over against the church. In the aftermath of the schism that split the papacy between popes and antipopes, Charles VI spoke of "the traditional liberties of the French church." The fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Spanish monarchy combined centralization with control of the church, and the popes surrendered many ancient prerogatives. In some countries the process of realignment of power culminated in the total control of the church during the Protestant Reformation; in other countries it could promote or retard Catholic reformation. In Roman Catholic countries the doctrine of the state's ascendancy over the church received a variety of names: Gallicanism in France, Febronianism in the German states, cameralism or Josephism in the Habsburg lands, and regalism in Mediterranean countries.

Generically, this swing back to lay dominance in public affairs was a corollary of the growth of modern state power. An early formulation in a decree of the French king Charles VII—the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, 1438—contains the major elements that subsequently would be emphasized first, the supremacy of the king over the pope in the temporal affairs of the French church, with a rejection of the pope's right to intervene in these matters; second, the supremacy of regularly convened general councils over the papacy; and third, the cooperation of the crown and the episcopacy in settling French ecclesiastical issues.

Because the boundary between temporal and spiritual is never unambiguous, and because various interest groups interpreted these "Gallican liberties" to meet their specific needs, it is proper to distinguish several Gallicanisms. Royal Gallicanism sought the extension of state power over ecclesiastical appointments and properties, generally through negotiation. Academic Gallicanism usually enlisted a majority of Sorbonne doctors, who strongly defended the independence of the church and the dignity of the papacy but saw the need for some limitations to papal power. The episcopal Gallicanism of the bishops insisted on the control of their dioceses while accepting the crown's full temporal sovereignty in church affairs and the pope's full sovereignty in spiritual matters. Finally, the parliamentary Gallicanism of the superior courts claimed that the Pragmatic Sanction represented the constitution of the French church and that they were its guardians and interpreters; hence no papal document or agent could enter France without prior approval of the Parlement of Paris, which could also declare its jurisdiction over all church issues (*appel comme d'abus*).

The classic statement of Gallicanism appeared in a conflict between King Louis XIV and Pope Innocent XI involving royal financial control over vacant dioceses. The assembly of the French clergy in 1682 sought to reestablish peace by clearly defining the respective powers of pope, king, and bishops. The Four Gallican Articles, drawn up by the very orthodox bishop Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet of Meaux, were intended to be conciliatory. In substance they declared that (1) kings are not subject to any ecclesiastical power in temporal matters; (2) the reservations of the Council of Constance (1414–1418) on the spiritual supremacy of the pope still apply; (3) the pope is obliged to heed the customs and canons of the Gallican church in the exercise of his functions; and (4) the pope is supreme in matters of faith, but his decisions are not final unless they are confirmed by the judgment of the episcopacy. Although the popes ignored these decrees, Gallicanism retained considerable influence in eighteenth-century France and was generally taught in the seminaries. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy (1790), so decisive in fixing the religious pattern of the French Revolution, had a strong Gallican flavor, as did the seventy-seven Organic Articles unilaterally appended to the Concordat of 1801 by Napoléon.

The clearest example of parliamentary Gallicanism was its use by the Jesuits' Jansenist enemies, who employed it skillfully in securing the suppression of the Society of Jesus in France in 1764. Although many factors contributed to this condemnation, it could not have happened without the strong Gallican—and hence anti-Jesuit—orientation of the judicial bodies.

Gallicanism reached the flood tide of its political influence in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic eras; thereafter its strength ebbed. The sufferings and occasionally the heroism of the popes during this prolonged crisis evoked wide sympathy, not exclusively among the Roman Catholic populations. The disappearance or weakening of the Old Regime monarchs, who had been friendly to Catholicism while striving to control it, created a new political atmosphere in which isolated or persecuted Catholics turned to the papacy for protection. Improvements in communications and other features of modernization assisted. Nearly everywhere in the nineteenth century, ultramontanism, the antithesis of Gallicanism, triumphed. It is ironic that during the century when European nationalism reached its culmination, official Catholicism moved toward greater accent on its international features. Although the early stages of the modern national state system favored the development of Gallicanism, the maturation of the national state saw its virtual disappearance.

SEE ALSO Ultramontanism.

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JOSEPH N. MOODY (1987)

GAMALIEL OF YAVNEH SEE GAMLI'EL OF YAVNEH

GAMALIEL THE ELDER SEE GAMLI'EL THE ELDER

GAMBLING.

The religious significance of gambling is, in effect, twofold. Many religious traditions, especially the great religions, in their works of legislation and codification, promote as their orthodox norm a prohibition against, or at least discouragement of, gambling. On the other hand, in many cultures gambling takes on religious significance in connection with myths and rituals.

This twofold simplification, however, addresses gambling only insofar as it takes on overt religious significance. No discussion of gambling would be complete, however, without acknowledging its covert religious significance, particularly in cultures that prohibit it or, having adopted a secularized attitude, look upon it as something nonreligious or merely "cultural." Although beyond the main focus of this essay, it is evident that much of what goes on in the name of secular, cultural, or even legalized gambling is both enhanced by the flaunting or circumvention of traditional prohibitions and heightened by ritualized procedures too numerous to mention, by special "sacred" and "liminal" times (the American Superbowl) and places (casinos in remote or international spots), and by a cast of mythological characters and aspirations (the cool, passionate, roving, or desperate gambler; the jackpot winner).

In definitional terms, religious gambling is not easily separated from games and divination. Because gambling cannot be discussed without reference to games, this article shall deal with games only where they are the focus of wages and stakes. As for divination, the use in certain cases of similar implements (lots, bones, dice) and the occurrence of similar attitudes to unseen forces are not sufficient to support the frequently aired view that gambling derives from divination (Tylor, 1871). One does not, in fact, need implements or games at all to gamble. This article shall, however, refer to the drawing of lots and other forms of divination where their use is similar or related to that of gambling practices.

GAMBLING IN TRADITIONAL CULTURES. Unless one adopts a diffusionist perspective and attempts to derive all forms of gambling from ancient Near Eastern or other Asian prototypes, the prevalence of gambling rites and myths in archaic cultures strongly suggests that the origins of religious gambling are irretrievable. Archaeologists have suggested that the painted pebbles found in the Mas d'Azil caves in the Pyrenees, from the Mesolithic period, are gambling implements. The earliest known dice and board game is that found in the Sumerian royal tombs at Ur, from about 2600 BCE. Gambling can only be assumed here, as with Indus Valley dice from about 2000 BCE and Egyptian (1990–1780 BCE), Cretan (1800–1650 BCE), and Palestinian (c. sixteenth century BCE) finds, some of which resemble cribbage boards. Evidence of ball games and gaming boards from Mesoamerican cultures, of types that continue to be played in that area today, is also traceable to about 1500 BCE. And *Ṛgveda* 10.34 provides the first gambler's lament in its "Hymn to Gambling" (c. 1200 BCE). The games of ancient cultures appear not only to be similar to those found in recent and contemporary field contexts but to have had in some cases—such as the Mesoamerican—remarkable continuity from past to present. As the religious significance of gambling is clearly more in a state of living "expression" than belated "application" (Jensen, 1963, pp. 59-64) in contemporary tribal cultures, such cultures present the best evidence for understanding the religious dimensions of gambling in general.

Unfortunately, ethnographic discussion of "sacred" gambling is uneven. There is sufficient documentation to be confident that it is found on all continents and probably among most, if not all, tribal communities. Many games and implements have been described and collected from around the world, but few studies have examined the cultural and religious significance of gambling at the field level in any detailed way. The only thorough field research on gambling seems to be Geertz's study of the Balinese cockfight, and in that situation its rather covert religious significance is tied in with the Balinese version of popular Hinduism (Geertz, 1973). Nonetheless, Geertz's findings and insights are illuminating with respect to a wider view of religious gambling.

Generally, one finds two models for understanding the archaic religious significance of gambling: Geertz's notion of "deep play," a consuming passionate involvement drawing on deeply ingrained cultural codes and strategies, and the pervasively cited notion that gambling games draw on "cosmic symbolism," or have "cosmic significance." Because Geertz mentions calendrical and cosmological ideas that bear upon the choice and placement of cocks (p. 427), it is evident that the two approaches are not antithetical. In fact, the "cosmic significance" clearly lends itself to the "deepening" of the play.

The cosmological significance of gambling games was maintained by Culin, author of several monumental works on games. In his book on North American Indian games, he summarizes the common pattern of references to gambling games in the origin myths of numerous tribes:

> They usually consist of a series of contests in which the demiurge, the first man, the culture hero, overcomes some opponent, a foe of the human race, by exercise of superior cunning, skill, or magic. Comparison of these myths . . . discloses the primal gamblers as those curious children, the divine Twins, the miraculous offspring of the Sun. . . . They live in the east and the west; they rule night and day, winter and summer. They are the morning and evening stars. Their virgin mother, who appears also as their sister and wife, is constantly spoken of as their grandmother, and is the Moon, or the Earth, the Spider Woman, the embodiment of the feminine principle in nature. Always contending, they are the original patrons of play, and their games are now played by men. (Culin, 1907, p. 32)

In Culin's Zuni example, the emblems of the Twin War Gods, their weapons, are classified fourfold in accord with the four directions and are interchangeable with their gaming implements. Thus, for example, stick dice are arrows, shafts, or miniature bows (ibid., p. 33). A correlation between dice and weapons is also made in the Hindu *Mahābhārata* epic.

It is not, in fact, difficult to advance the principle that every game, ancient or modern, creates a miniature cosmos, its arena, rules, apparatus, and players comprising a unique spatiotemporal world that reflects and symbolizes aspects of known and accepted cosmological structures. This is as true of Monopoly, football, or cricket as it is of more traditional games such as snakes and ladders, which in its Indian context symbolized a difficult ascent to heaven (Grunfeld, 1975, pp. 131–133). There are many examples from American Indian cultures of counting boards, playing boards, and ball-game courts having "gateways" or quadrants that correspond to the four directions; to the alternating seasons; to the equinoctial points; to tribal divisions such as men versus women, married women versus single women, old men versus young men; and to moiety divisions identified with heaven and earth, changes in the seasons, or other cosmological referents (Culin, 1907, pp. 34–208 passim). In his careful study of the Mesoamerican ball game, Humphrey (1979) thus allows that "there seems to be no question" that it "was based on a kind of cosmic symbolism." He suggests that the movement of the ball represented the course of heavenly bodies through dualistically conceived upper and lower worlds, the two sides thus enacting the struggle between light and darkness, summer and winter, life and death. The ancient Chinese game of pitchpot (see Yang, 1969, pp. 138–165) may rely on cosmological notions of the pot (or, sometimes, the gourd) as a container of the world and symbol of primal chaos. Also striking in this connection is the ancient Aztec board game of *patolli,* which has evident formal similarities with the South Asian game of *pachisi.* Arguments over whether the similarities are due to diffusion or independent use of similar cosmological structures have remained unresolved since the late nineteenth century. In any case, Beck (1982, pp. 199–205) has argued cogently for the cosmological significance of *pachisi.* The pieces move around the four-armed board, representing the world quarters, in a way that follows the reverse (counterclockwise) movement of the sun through the houses of the zodiac. The four-sided dice are identified with the four Indian ages (*yugas*). The goal of returning to the center thus suggests a triumph over spatiotemporal conditions.

Geertz's discussion of the Balinese cockfight draws its concept of deep play from Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832), the English economist and philosopher, who uses the term to refer to situations in which stakes are so high that participation is irrational. At the cockfight, two kinds of bets are made: even-money center bets between the two cock owners and their allied supporters, and side bets on odds made among the assembled crowd. As a rule, the larger the center bets, the more even are the odds reached in the crowd. Interest and "depth" are thus enhanced by making the outcome appear as unpredictable as possible. But the size of the center bet also "deepens" the stakes for the cock owners. For the stakes here are not just material, but are matters of honor, esteem, status, and, also, delight in bringing oblique affront to the opponent. Except for addicted gamblers, who are drawn—usually to their ruin—to the small center bet and long odds matches, real status remains largely unaffected, because victories and losses tend to balance out. But the deep play at status reversals and reclamations of status is real enough in its psychological and social impact. Only men play, while on the periphery of the cockfight, roulette and other gambling games of sheer chance are operated by concessionaires for women, children, the poor, and others who find themselves excluded.

"Deep-play" cockfighting is thus for "the solid citizenry" and resembles an *"affaire d'honneur"* (Geertz, 1973, pp. 435–436). Moreover, it pits not merely individuals against each other, but corporate groups—most notably, whole villages and patriarchal descent groups. Support money for the central bet comes from other members of the group, and even side-betting against the cock of one's group is considered disloyal. The cock owners thus have not only their own status at stake, but their status within their respective groups and that of the groups themselves.

All of this is displayed "in a medium of feathers, blood, crowds, and money" (ibid., p. 444) that arouses the deepest passions but is rounded off with furtive payments that affirm a cultivated embarrassment at such personal identification with the world of demonic and animal violence. For the cockfight is also, fundamentally, an encounter with the demonic: "a blood sacrifice offered, with the appropriate chants and oblations, to the demons in order to pacify their ravenous, cannibal hunger" (ibid., p. 420). The fights are regularly performed in connection with temple festivals and as collective responses to such natural evils as illness, crop failure, and volcanic eruptions.

A correlation between status—in the largest sense—and deep-play gambling can certainly be found. The importance of status is reflected in the fact that gambling is frequently the province of kings, heroes, and aristocrats: the models of what comes down to the present as the genteel bettor. Humphrey (1979, pp. 141–146) has applied Geertz's categories to the aristocratic patronage of the Mesoamerican ball game. But still better confirmation for such an analysis comes from descriptions of the North American Huron Indian dice games collected by Culin (1907, pp. 105–110). Sacrificial offerings of tobacco to the spirits of the game precede the action. Sometimes whole townships and even tribes contend. In one eight-day game between townships, every inhabitant of each party threw the dice at least once. Players with lucky dreams were sought out for the casting:

> At this game they hazard all they possess, and many do not leave off till they are almost stripped quite naked and till they have lost all they have in their cabins. Some have been known to stake their liberty for a time. . . . The players appear like people possessed, and the spectators are not more calm. They all make a thousand contortions, talk to the bones [i. e., throw the dice], load the spirits of the adverse party with imprecations. . . . They quarrel and fight, which never happens among [them] but on these occasions and in drunkenness. (ibid., pp. 105–106)

Women and girls play the same game, but only separately and under inferior conditions: with different numbers of dice, and throwing by hand on a blanket rather than with a dice box or basket as the men do (ibid., p. 107).

Gambling on one's freedom is an ultimate status wager and is a type of bet instanced in many cultures. Another suggestive feature of deep play that emerges here is the significance of "stripping," for being willing to gamble all one possesses may both literally and figuratively involve such an outcome. Loss of status is thus potentially far more than just loss of face. As Geertz remarks, there is both a literal and a metaphoric significance—sustained by the Balinese language as in the English—to the Balinese cockfighter's identification with his cock (Geertz, 1973, pp. 417–418). I shall note important recurrences of this gambling-stripping correlation, which has a wide range of effects, from deep humiliation to eroticism. Obviously, strip poker is a "secular" example of the latter orientation.

Ritualized gambling thus seems to rely on both its cosmological significance and its character as deep play. The forces of chance draw the contestants into deep involvement in a context that allows for both the regulated breakdown and the creative redefinition of the structural roles by which society and cosmos operate—a context that the games reflect. The games thus have the character of liminal passage rites, or ordeals (Humphrey, 1979, p. 144), as well as of reiterations of the cosmogony, the reestablishment of cosmos out of chaos. Such initiatory and cosmogonic overtones have been detected in the dice match that concluded the ancient Indian sacrifice of royal consecration, or *rajasuya.* In playing dice on even terms with members of different castes, the king overcomes the forces of chance, chaos, and confusion by his triumph (Heesterman, 1957, pp. 140–157). As is often the case in ritual gambling, the game is rigged to assure the desired outcome. But the important point is that the participants submit to the principles of the game. Similar initiatory and cosmogonic overtones are found in contexts where gambling is performed for the sick, over the dead, or at turning points in the seasons (for examples, see Culin, 1907, pp. 108–115; Hartland, 1924–1927, pp. 168–169; Jensen, 1963, p. 60).

PROHIBITIONS ON GAMBLING. The principles by which different religions have denounced or prohibited gambling are revealing on two fronts. First, they reflect the axiomatic theological and cultural values operative in the respective traditions. Second, they often provide theologically and culturally attuned indications of what it is that is so appealing about what they seek to oppose. Not surprisingly, cosmological significance and deep-play involvement are among the condemned attractions.

In *Isaiah* 65:11–12, gambling is thus one of the ways by which Israel provokes the Lord: "[You] who set up a table for Fortune and fill cups of mixed wine for Destiny, I will destine you to the sword." Gad (Fortune) and Meni (Destiny) were gods of fortune, possibly of Syrian or Phoenician origin. The polemic against gambling is thus made in the same terms as that against idolatry, which in turn is a polemic against involvement in false cosmologies ruled by false gods. The context also suggests that such gambling was, at least to the mind of the prophet, one of the alluring vices of acculturation besetting Israel. This attitude persists in Talmudic and rabbinic prohibitions against a variety of games, from the Greek Olympics to cards and chess, which Jews regarded themselves as having adopted from their neighbors. But it is particularly those games that involve gambling that are singled out for condemnation. The Mishnah declares twice that dice players and pigeon racers are disqualified from appearing as witnesses in a court of justice (*R. ha-Sh.* 1.8; *San.* 3.3), and the medieval Sefardic philosopher Mosheh ben Maimon (Maimonides, 1135/8-1204) extends the ban to include those who play chess for money (Commentary on *Sanhedrin* 3.3). This disqualification rests on the principle that gamblers are guilty of facilitating acts of robbery and are thus, in effect, criminals. Curiously, gamblers are similarly disqualified in Hindu law books, joined to thieves, assassins, and other dangerous characters for being "incompetent on account of their depravity" and persons in whom no truth can be found (*Narada Smrti* 1.159, 1.178; *Bṛhaspati Dharmaśāstra* 7.30).

The passage from *Isaiah* also introduces another strain of condemnation: Using the same Hebrew root in two words, Yahveh "destines" to the sword those who tempt "Destiny." Such a scene is, in fact, played out in another passage from *Isaiah,* where the *rabshakeh* (field marshal) of the Assyrian king Sennacherib challenges Israel to a wager over horses, and to an additional (though implied) theological wager—expressed by boasts referring to Yahveh as a fallible god like those of the surrounding nations—that Yahveh cannot deliver Israel. The wager over the horses is ignored, but the arrogant theological presumption of the affront to the Lord results in the salvation of Jerusalem and Sennacherib's death by the sword (*Is.* 36–37).

If gambling was denounced in the Bible, however, the casting of lots was not. The throwing of lots with the Urim and Tummim (Yes and No), articles kept in the priest's apron, was accepted as a means of discerning the divine will. Thus Saul was chosen by lot to be king (*1 Sm.* 10:20–21); rural priests were chosen by lot to serve in Jerusalem (*1 Chr.* 24–25); and Matthias was selected by lot to become Judas's successor as the twelfth apostle (*Acts* 1:26). In these instances, the casting of lots cannot be called gambling. But it is also evident that Israel knew of the use of lots for gambling, though the references suggest that it was only other nations that so employed them. In *Joel* 3:1–3, Yahveh speaks of bringing judgment upon the nations for "having divided up my land" and "cast lots for my people." And in *Psalms* 22:16–18, the psalmist, seeing himself dead, describes the "company of evildoers" who "divide my garments among them, and for my raiment cast lots." It is this latter passage that is taken in *John* 19:23–24 as a prophecy of the scene at Jesus' crucifixion, where the Roman soldiers divide up the crucified Christ's garments and gamble for his seamless tunic. Here the symbolism of stripping and gambling accentuates the deepest humiliation and suffering (see *Mk.* 15:16–20, 25; *Mt.* 27:28–29, 36).

Early Christian canon law condemned gambling in no uncertain terms. Two of the so-called Apostolic Canons (41, 42) prohibited both laity and clergy, under pain of excommunication, from engaging in games of chance. And at the Council of Elvira (306 CE), the seventy-ninth canon decreed a year's banishment from communion for anyone guilty of gambling. But restrictions of later councils were directed toward the clergy, and only certain games (especially cards and dice) were forbidden (Slater, 1909, pp. 375–376). Such relaxing of restrictions on lay gambling has facilitated church sponsorship of bingo and lottery games in fund-raising efforts. The same is true in Orthodox churches.

Christian condemnations of gambling gather their fullest force in Puritan writings. According to the doctrine of predestination, because every action is foreordained, matters of so-called chance are in the hands of God alone. To invoke God in the name of fortune is to offend him "by making him the assistant in idle pleasures" (Knappen, 1939, p. 439). Similarly, man is but a steward of his goods, which ultimately belong to God. Thus he must not wager what is truly God's (Paton, 1924, p. 166). Furthermore, losers at gambling tend to express themselves in curses.

A rather practical Islamic stance is expressed in the Qurʾān when Muḥammad discourages wine and a form of gambling with arrows in which the loser pays for a young camel that is slaughtered and given to the poor: "In both there is sin and profit to men; but the sin of both is greater than the profit of the same" (Palmer, 1880, p. 32).

The Hindu law books are full of cautionary remarks on gambling. As noted already, gamblers are judged incompetent witnesses in matters of law. There are statements that gambling makes one impure, and that the wealth obtained by gambling is tainted. Most significant, however, is a passage from the *Laws of Manu* concerning the duties of kings: Of the royal vices, ten are born of pleasure and eight of anger, and all end in misery; of the ten that "spring from love of pleasure," the most pernicious are drinking, dice, women, and hunting (7.45–50). This list of four vices recurs in the *Mahābhārata* (3.14.7) in the mouth of the divine Kṛṣṇa when he denounces the epic's famous dice match. Kṛṣṇa adds that gambling is the worst "desire-born" vice of all. Thus one seems to have here a condemnation of gambling as deep play. This correlation between gambling and desire is at the very heart of the Indian meditation on gambling, for actions born of desire are binding to this world. Yet in Hindu terms it is also the things of desire—including the four just mentioned—that draw people to the divine. Thus, whereas Kṛṣṇa here warns of gambling's dangers, when he reveals his "supernal manifestations" in the *Bhagavadgītā* he claims to be identical with the game of dice itself: "I am the gambling of rogues" (10.36).

Buddhist tradition sustains the same critique of gambling without such accent on the ambiguity. In the sixteenth chapter of the *Parabhava Sutta,* the Buddha includes addiction to women, strong drink, and dice as one of eleven combinations of means whereby men are brought to loss. The text contrasts these eleven roads to ruin with the one path to victory: loving the *dhamma,* the Buddha's teaching. Elsewhere, monks are warned that numerous games and spectacles—including combats between elephants, horses, buffalo, bulls, goats, rams, and cocks; various board games; chariot racing; and dicing—are addictive distractions and detrimental to virtue (*Tevijja Sutta, Majjhima Sīlam* 2–4).

GAMBLING GODS, DEMONS, AND HEROES. Yet even the gods—not to mention their demonic adversaries—are wont to gamble. Yahveh makes an implied wager with Satan that Job will remain blameless and upright when deprived of all he has (*Jb.* 1:6–12). In Christian traditions, the devil continues to gamble for the human soul, as in Stephen Vincent Benét's story *The Devil and Daniel Webster* (1937). In Tibet, an annual ceremony was performed in which a priest representing a grand lama played dice with a man dressed as a demonic ghost king. With fixed dice, the priest won, chasing the demon away and confirming the truth of the teaching (Waddell, 1895, p. 512). In India, the two lowest of the four dice throws are demonic. Thus in the epic story of Nala and Damayantī, one demon (Dvāpara) enters the dice, and the other (Kali) "possesses" the hero, dooming him to lose all he has won (*Mahābhārata* 3.55–56). But the Hindu gods play anyway, and are even, as we have seen, identified with gambling. This is true not only of Kṛṣṇa but, more decisively, of Śiva, who is from very early times the lord of gamblers, and who plays dice in classical myths with his wife Parvati.

As noted, Indian dice are named after the four ages (*yugas*), which "roll" four by four a thousand times within the larger time unit of the *kalpa.* The dice play of the divine couple thus represents the continuity of the universe and their absorption with and within it. This "deep play" is one expression of the theological concept of *līlā,* literally "divine play" or "divine sport." The game's disruption holds the implication of the end of the universe (the *mahāpralaya*), while its resumption holds the implication of the recreation (the cosmogony). But insofar as the game is associated with the rise and fall of the *yuga*s, it is played ritually at liminal temporal junctures in which the continuity of the universe is imperiled. Śiva and Pārvatī thus provide the mythic model for those who play dice ritually at the festival of Dīvālī (Dīpāvalī), which marks a traditional new year. And it is at the mythic juncture of the Dvāparayuga and the Kaliyuga that the great dice match of the *Mahābhārata* occurs.

One of the most important themes that unites the dice play of Śiva and Pārvatī with the dice match of the *Mahābhārata* is that of stripping. The stakes for which Śiva and Pārvatī play are their clothes and ornaments. When Śiva loses his loincloth, he gets angry, goes off naked, or refuses to pay up. Pārvatī points out that he never wins, except by cheating (O'Flaherty, 1973, pp. 204, 223, 247). Thus it never comes to pass that both of them are reduced to nakedness, which would imply their merger as Śiva and Śakti, Puruṣa and Prakṛti, at the *mahāpralaya.* What is striking about the dice match in the *Mahābhārata* is that after the five Paṇḍava brothers have gambled away everything, even their freedom and their wife-in-common, Draupadī, the culminating act is the attempt by the winners (the Kauravas) to disrobe the heroine in front of her husbands and the whole assembly. As Draupadī is an incarnation of the Goddess, the miraculous intervention by Kṛṣṇa that prevents her stripping is a sign that the dissolution of the universe will not occur in untimely fashion during the intra-*yuga* period in which the story is set.

It is seen, then, that divine gambling involves persistent encounters with the demonic. Hindu materials carry this theme to great depths, accentuating a continuum between demonic possession and divine rapture. In South Indian *terukkūttu* ("street-drama") folk plays that enact the epic story, the attempts by the Kaurava Duḥśāsana to disrobe Draupadī result in his demonic possession, while Draupadī at the same time experiences the most sublime *bhakti* ("divine love"). On the divine-demonic turf of gambling, in fact, no hero can hope to win without recourse to the powers that hold the demonic in check. The hero is thus the one who is willing to take the risk, even against the seemingly highest odds. It is striking how many epics include episodes of gambling, and even more striking how frequently the "good" hero loses, awaiting final triumph or vindication elsewhere. This occurs not only in the *Mahābhārata* but in Indian folk epics as well. In the Tamil folk epic *The Elder Brother's Story,* the twin brothers play six games of dice with Viṣṇu at intervals preceding dramatic turns of fortune, the last of which is their death (Beck, 1982, p. 143). In the Telugu epic

The Heroes of Palnāḍu, a cockfight wager divides irreparably the two camps of half brothers, and a game of tops and a dice match between another set of younger brothers in the heroic camp foreshadow the events that lead to their death. In recent years, actual cockfights have been outlawed at the festivals at which these stories are recited (Roghair, 1982, pp. 30 and 62–295 passim). In the Tibetan epic of Gesar of Ling, the hero repeatedly plays *mōs* (see Waddell, 1895, pp. 465–474), a game of divination using colored pebbles, before his adventures. Here the lots fall out in the divine hero's favor. In the Mwindo epic of the Nyanga people of the Congo Republic, the hero Mwindo plays *wiki,* a gambling game with seeds. Mwindo plays in the underworld against the supreme divinity of fire, first losing everything and then winning it back, in an effort to reclaim his antagonistic father from the underworld with a view toward their reconciliation.

Yet there is another dimension to the stance of the heroic gambler that figures, at least metaphorically, in all the great religions of faith: that of the person who may lose everything, or be stripped like Job or Draupadī, but will not gamble away salvation. In positive terms, this is the wager that God exists, the famous wager that Pascal set forth with such precision in his *Pensées* (1670):

> But here there is an infinity of infinitely happy life to be won, one chance of winning against a finite number of chances of losing. That leaves no choice; wherever there is infinity, and where there are not infinite chances of losing against that of winning, there is no room for hesitation. You must give everything. And thus, since you are obliged to play, you must be renouncing reason if you hoard your life rather than risk it for an infinite gain, just as likely to occur as a loss amounting to nothing. (Krailsheimer, 1966, p. 151)

Pascal is thus at pains to show that the central bet, as in the Balinese cockfight, is for even money.

SEE ALSO Chance; Divination; Games.

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GAMES are analytically distinguished from other forms of contest by being framed as "play" and from other forms of play by their competitive format and the institutional—public, systematic, and jural—character of their rules. The

American anthropologist Gregory Bateson (1972, pp. 177–193) has described the universal semantic process by which behaviors are framed as play. Conventionalized signals create a "metamessage" that instructs players not to take the behaviors they engage in as denoting what those behaviors would denote in other, nonplay, contexts. In this sense, game actions are "untrue." A nip is not a bite, a bullfight is not a hunt, a checkmate is not a regicide, a soccer match is not a war, a wrestling bout or footrace is not a cosmogony or theogony, regardless of overt similarities in the words, objects, gestures, emotional states, or social categories of persons involved. The framing of contests as play makes them self-referential in several ways, shifting attributed motivation to intrinsic enjoyment and sociability, turning means into ends in themselves, and understanding extrinsic outcomes as "mere" contingencies.

Yet, paradoxically, as Bateson and many other theorists of play have noted, the prior and consensual assertion of untruth, in the sense of disconnection from standard meanings, makes assertions of truthful correspondences between the worlds of nonplay and play possible, likely, and even predominant over a discourse of "set-apartness." Like other play forms, games are about boundaries and the boundaries between boundaries. Games create, in the phrases of the English psychoanalyst D. W. Winnicott (1971), a world of "transitional objects," a realm of the "not-not-true." Freedom from denotation makes rich freedom for connotation, for human individuals and groups to re-represent their lives to themselves in "experimental" ways. Alternative or virtual realities, including those asserted by religion, can thus be tested against what the phenomenologist Alfred Schutz termed "the paramount realities of everyday life."

PLAY IN CULTURE: THE RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF GAMES. Contest and representation are basic aspects of play, argued the Dutch historian Johan Huizinga in his manifesto *Homo Ludens*, and they may "unite in such a way that the game 'represents' a contest or else becomes a contest for the best representation of something" (1955, p. 13). The materials of games are drawn from the sociocultural world and at the same time stand in figurative relations—metaphoric, analogical, symbolic—with it. "The more profound, double sense of 'social game,'" said the German sociologist Georg Simmel, "is not only that the game is played in a society (as its external medium) but that, with its help, people actually 'play' 'society'," including the society of the gods (1950, p. 50). Particularly where enjoyment, competition, and gambling supply strong motivations to attend to the progress and outcome of games, this setting of the empirical world in juxtaposition with "another" world can lead to an interrogation of their relationship sufficient to involve ultimate epistemological questions and functional necessities of human existence. On this general ground, the appearance of game forms in the religious mythologies and cults of various peoples has been explained by writers and scholars, some of whom have gone on to find in the ludic process a mode of transcendence and, therefore, an essential aspect of the religious imagination itself.

Among Western humanists, Huizinga has perhaps been the boldest in this regard. In *Homo Ludens,* he argued for "the identity of play and ritual" and even claimed, on the authority of Plato, that the sacred can be comprised in the category of play (pp. 18–19). "God alone is worthy of supreme seriousness," so Huizinga translated Plato (*Laws* 7.803), "but man is made God's plaything, and that is the best part of him. . . . What then is the right way of living? Life must be lived as play, playing certain games, making sacrifices, singing and dancing, and then a man will be able to propitiate the gods, and defend himself against his enemies, and win the contest." Whether Plato really meant to identify "play and holiness" so thoroughly can be disputed. Moreover, as the final clause of Huizinga's reading of Plato suggests, classicists have found reason to doubt that the "for-their-own-sake" character Huizinga believed crucial to "true play and games" was really present or developed in classical Greek ideology.

From the famous stadium games to the isomorphic agonistic ethos and format in other cultural domains, elements that together comprise what historians and sociologists from Jakob Burckhardt (1898–1902) to Alvin W. Gouldner (1965) have styled the "Greek contest system," functional requirements, inextricably civic and religious, do not appear to have been culturally "bracketed off" as contingencies in the classical world, as they have been in that stream of European thought that Huizinga so well represented. In Greek mythology and theology, in notable contrast to Christianity, the gods themselves played games, chartered the games of human beings, and intervened in them as "co-players." In athletic games—as the poetry of Pindar makes evocatively plain—individual fate, the polity, and the divine world found a preferential idiom of communication in archaic and classical Greek culture, such that an *axis mundi,* in the sense discussed by Mircea Eliade, could be created in the person of the victorious athlete.

The Olympic games, the Delphic oracle, and Homeric poetry emerged together in the eighth century BCE as pan-Hellenic institutions, just as the segmentary and rivalrous city-state was arising as the dominant form of social organization within the Greek world. Relations among these key institutions are apparent in the traditions of the ancient Olympic games. Homeric theology and hero cults came to inform the charter myths of the games at Olympia, and a famous oracle at Delphi (where crown games were also celebrated) "renewed" the sanction from Zeus, to whose worship the Olympic festival was devoted. The great games gave rise to practices seeking to distinguish Greek from non-Greek (*barbaroi* were not to compete at Olympia) and to mediate between Greek mythic and human time. Though its significance is much debated, the reckoning of dates according to the formula "in the second year of the Olympiad in which so-and-so won the *stade*" provided Greece with her main calendar of historical time beyond city-state and regional limitations.

One mythic tradition ascribes the foundation of the Olympic games to Idean Herakles, another to Pelops's victory over King Oenomaus in a chariot race for the latter's daughter Hippodamia ("horse woman"). Here, as in the related story of Atalanta in the Greek corpus and in other Indo-European contexts, comparative mythologists such as James G. Frazer, Georges Dumézil, Eliade, and Bernard Jeu have recognized a repeated pattern associating sacred marriage (*hieros gamos*), an implicit theogony (often of newer gods over older ones), the acquisition of transforming technology (fire, the horse, metallurgy, the chariot), the domestication of invader kings ("Dorians" in the Greek case), and the athletic race that embodies, mediates, and "resolves" these generative contests between vigorous and dying god-kings, male and female, earth and heaven, nature and culture, cosmos and history.

Games transform ambiguous, perturbed, or disputed potentials and conditions into certain outcomes, and this is one reason for their widespread association, in myth or in practice, with such ritualized natural and social transitions as seasonal cycles, birth, initiation, marriage, funerals, and warfare. Furthermore, games necessarily incorporate a dialectic between hierarchy and equality, two central organizing principles of human social arrangements and cognitive functioning. From an (at least asserted or presumed) equality before the rules of the game results a ranked hierarchy of outcomes. Societies and theologies differ in the relative valuation placed on hierarchy and equality in human and divine affairs and, thus, differentially emphasize one or the other pole in games. Yet for all known social types, games appear, in the expression of the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, to be "good to think with" and, as the present-day Olympic games forcefully illustrate, may permit highly diverse and rivalrous social formations to compete cooperatively. If games have been seen as "the moral equivalent of war," it is because warfare and other means of political and ideological domination, including religion, have their moral dimensions.

Ingomar Weiler (1981) finds the "contest system" not limited to Greece but widespread in the ancient Mediterranean world, and scholars like Huizinga emphasize parallels to the Greek and Roman materials in non-Western warrior-states. In the Hindu *Mahābhārata,* the world is conceived as a game of dice between Śiva and his queen (8.2368, 8.2381), and a dice match for the kingdom sets off the conflict between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas that organizes the epic. "I am the dicing of tricksters," says Kṛṣṇa in the *Bhagavadgītā* (10.36), and forms of *līlā,* or sacred play, are widely associated with this god and his worship. According to Marcel Granet (1930), the Chinese cosmic duality of *yin* and *yang* replayed important social dualisms; festal, magical competitions of many sorts were both the central agencies for regenerating life in the early "tribal" period and a means by which the later transformation to state institutions was accomplished. The Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset likewise argued for the "sportive origin of the state" out of primitive institutions of ritual contest involving both cosmological and social sanctions.

The ethnology of nonliterate "primitive" societies provided further rich material for such humanistic speculations. In his elaborate compendium *Games of the North American Indians,* Stewart Culin observed the common occurrence of game motifs in the origin myths of a wide variety of linguistically and culturally unrelated tribes. The complementarity in rivalry of the "divine twins"—associated with oppositions between night and day, winter and summer, east and west, morning and evening stars, consanguinal and affinal kin—or of a demiurgic First Man or First Woman with monsters, nature, or each other is a widespread motif. In folklore, culture-creating heroes—Coyote, Raven, or Spider—are frequently trickster beings whose fondness for games, as with other supernaturals, is both a source of their power and a means by which they can be manipulated for human moral or material purposes. As to adult human games, which he divided into those of "chance" and those of "dexterity," Culin concluded that "In general, [they] appear to be played ceremonially, as pleasing to the gods, with the object of securing fertility, causing rain, giving and prolonging life, expelling demons, or curing sickness" (Culin, 1975, p. 34).

THEORIES REGARDING THE "DESACRALIZATION" OF GAMES. This stress on the religious character of games in the cultures of exotic or prestigiously ancestral "others" was generated by and contributed to those broader evolutionist trends of European thought variously styled "rationalization," "modernization," and "secularization." Huizinga and other philosophers of history, while seeking to show the essential unity of humankind in play, nevertheless saw games as becoming progressively "secularized" through "universal cultural history." British classicists, most notably Jane E. Harrison, proposed the view that games—like such other forms of cultural expression as theater, dance, music, and poetry—had separated from an original religious ritual matrix in the primitive and ancient worlds. Where games were seen to retain magical or religious elements, such as peasant Shrovetide football matches in the "folk cultures" of early modern France and England or the grand *sumō* tournaments of Shintō Japan or the various martial arts competitions in monastic communities of the Near and Far East, these were interpreted as backward "survivals" of an archaic past in "fossil" social structures still partially attuned in cult to cosmological and agricultural rhythms. Such views fit well with the nineteenth-century development of Western social science, centered around a purported evolutionary passage—"of potentially universal significance," as Max Weber put it—from "traditional" to "modern" societies under the impact of the industrial revolution and modern science. From important means by which communities represented their ultimate concerns to themselves and engaged in imitative worship, games became associated, in such Western eyes, with the sphere of secular leisure, recreation, mass entertainment:

"mere games" of undoubted commercial or social value but of little sacred or spiritual significance.

While still very influential, the "modernization" point of view has been criticized as Eurocentric and imperialist. Moreover, social history has shown that in the West itself religion has not regularly and inevitably declined and that the cultural history of forms like games has not followed any simple unilinear pattern. As symbolized by the emperor Theodosius's suppression of the Olympic games as a "pagan rite," early Christianity did indeed oppose itself to Greek (and certainly Roman) traditions of public games, save in the appropriation of athletics as an ascetic metaphor by canonical writers like the apostle Paul. A centuries-long tradition culminating in continental and English "puritanism" did seek to suppress games, gambling, and other forms of folk amusement as "works of the devil" that turned the Christian away from sober religious duty, the social predominance of the churches, and disciplined labor. Through much of the twentieth century, religious leaders and sociologists alike have attributed declining church attendance, where it has occurred, in part to the increasing popularity of sports events and other kinds of mass recreation on the Sabbath.

Yet contrary trends are everywhere in evidence. In the Middle Ages, the church may have turned against the cult of the body in athletic games, but it attached itself to the medieval tournament. In the contemporary *palio* horse race of Siena, Italy, which dates back to the eleventh century, the cult of the Virgin Mary and priestly blessings of the rival *contrade* are central features of the ritual contest. In nineteenth-century England, devout Anglican schoolmasters and Christian socialists, like Thomas Hughes and Charles Kingsley, played the central role in elaborating the ideology of "muscular Christianity," that combination of athletic games, virility, fair play, courage, and defense of the weak associated with a new *imitatio Christi,* on the one side, and with English colonialism, on the other. Many contemporary English soccer clubs are descended from church organizations, and missionaries in the British Empire sought not only to suppress the indigenous games of conquered peoples, particularly those with overt sexual and magical content, but to replace them with cricket, soccer, hockey, and running as "schools of Christian character." Upon decolonization in "new nations"—as East African long-distance running, Trobriand and Caribbean cricket, and Indian field hockey indicate—these game forms have often been retained, but transformed to reaccommodate indigenous cultural values or to serve "civil" or "national" religion, whether in the form of an explicit cult of the state or a more diffuse "functional equivalent" of traditional religious institutions. In dialectical concert with enduring ludic forms bent to "nativist" purposes—West African wrestling, Native American running (see Nabokov, 1981), central Asian *buzkashi,* Japanese *sumō,* or the Balinese cockfight made famous by the anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1972)—such transformations of imposed forms illustrate the inadequacies of any unilineal or evolutionary theory of world history and the place of games within it. Again in the Judeo-Christian context, home of such theories, present-day developments—from a skiing pope, decorated with the Olympic Order, to the incipient interlock between the directorates of the World Council of Churches and the International Olympic Committee, to the widespread activity of Christian athletes in domestic and foreign missionizing—further illustrate the labile relations between religion and games. Nor are such relations limited to practical and institutional exigencies. The recent "theology of play" movement in Christian religious circles (see Moltmann, 1972), with its rebellious attempt to reshape the image of the deity and its arguments that in the freedom and joy of games and festivity humans achieve a foretaste of the kingdom of heaven, suggests how the potentials for transcendence in play must ever draw religion into a dialogue with ludic form and experience. Even religions whose orthodox or mainstream versions may find less explicit place for play in their theophanies, cults, and ethics—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, perhaps in contrast to Hinduism, Buddhism, and many tribal religions—must preoccupy themselves with what comparative religionist David L. Miller (1970, p. 14) calls "the game game," that effort to discover, articulate, and conform to an "ultimate reality" that sets a limit to divine and human manipulation.

GAMES AND SOCIAL LIFE. Dissatisfaction with evolutionist or modernization perspectives has led to closer attention by theorists to the types and internal properties of games. The French sociologist of religion Roger Caillois suggested in *Man, Play, and Games* (1961) that games can be usefully placed along a continuum from *paidia* (relatively unstructured, spontaneous, labile forms typified by many children's games) to those of *ludus* (more conventionalized, jural, and elaborated forms). All true games, however, minimally involve specification of a goal for action, delimitations of space and time, selection of some subset of possibilities in a total action field as relevant and permissible (the "moves" of the game), rules for the initial apportioning of resources and roles and their reapportioning in the course of play, and criteria for evaluating the outcomes (success or failure, winning or losing). By selectively emphasizing features of this core structure of games, a number of classification schemes have been generated to reveal dominant metaphysical assumptions and to model theoretically how individuals and groups "play society."

Like most continental game theorists, Caillois focused on the experiential aspects of game types. Seeking not merely a sociology of games but a "sociology derived from games," Caillois subsumed all games under four categories: agon (competition), *alea* (chance), mimicry (simulation), and *ilinx* (vertigo). This scheme is helpful in parsing the religious functions associated with types of games: cosmological, eschatological, moral contests; divination; imitative magic and ceremonial; altered states of consciousness. But it has generated little insight of a truly comparative nature. Actual games contain combinations of these aspects—all games are in some sense competitive, for example—and all religions accommodate these functions. The insights of psychoanalysis, which sees in play and games the disguised representation of unconscious conflicts and a compulsion to repeat "primitive" traumas so as to master them, have been limited by inattention to cultural context and to the complexity and variety of game forms. Continental structuralism of the psychological sort associated with Piaget finds an important place for children's games in characterizing mental development, and the anthropological sort associated with Lévi-Strauss (1966, pp. 30–33) has revealed much of the symbolic "logic of the concrete" that connects games to myth, ritual, and kinship. Yet in the search for universal structures of mind these theories also overlook social and historical context, and their contributions have been largely methodological.

British and North American social scientists, on the other hand, have largely focused on the strategic and role-playing aspects of games, exploring them from the functional standpoint of social integration, decision making, and value transmission. "Game theory" in the social and information sciences has produced taxonomies of rational calculation and strategic choice among individual actors seeking to maximize their payoffs in the face of uncertainty and limited resources. Critics, however, have found "game theory" to be a fundamental misnomer, since play, under its aspects of intrinsic motivation and Batesonian framing, is missing or unaccounted for in such understandings of social action. "Game theory" has contributed little to the analysis of specifically religious institutions.

Social psychologists have focused on the role playing and socialization features of games to construct fundamental questions about the organization of the self itself. George Herbert Mead pointed to the youngster's ability to play a single position in a baseball game while articulating that role with all of the others on the field as a sign of and a means toward development of a "reflexive self," incorporating the expectations of others in the context of the "generalized other" represented by the total game. Erving Goffman (1967, 1974) still further stressed the aspects of role-playing, mimicry, dissimulation, and the "rules for breaking the rules" in building an explicit theory from the now popular metaphorical utterance, "social life is a game." The human self is seen by Goffman to be endlessly preoccupied with "the arts of impression management," ludic yet ever-watchful to define situations so as to prevent embarrassment to oneself and others. Like formal "game theory," social psychologies built from the model of games have contributed less to the understanding of social institutions per se, including religious ones, than they have to understanding individual and small-group processes of negotiation. At the same time, such theories do implicitly challenge authoritative ontologies and conventional understandings of divine affairs in Western cultures.

While games undoubtedly serve to reproduce or to rebel against dominant social structures and ideologies, they have been seen by recent anthropologists as speculative enterprises as well, means by which human communities discover their dominant values in the first place and formulate alternatives to them. Victor Turner—who like Huizinga saw cultural life as a process of passage from institutional structure to ludic, "antistructural" recombination, to the incrustations of structure once again—extended analysis of religious ritual to understand play forms in this way (1974). Clifford Geertz (1972), who sees the interpretation of experiences as in and of itself a human necessity, argues that the Balinese cockfight is a form of "social metacommentary," a "story the Balinese tell about themselves," a function likewise ascribed to religious ritual. Other anthropologists (Don Handelman and I, for example) find it important to stress the differences between games and ritual as collective hermeneutics. On the Batesonian level of metacommunication, ritual does seem to be framed differently from play. Ritual asserts a priori that all statements within it are true and not untrue and creates a world of "let us believe" rather than of "let us make believe."

Such distinctions make it possible to recognize complex performance types that incorporate both rite and game, like the *palio* or the Olympics, and depend for their power on moving actors and audiences back and forth from frame to frame. Then too, activities are reframed through the course of a people's history. Alexander Lesser (1978) has shown how the Pawnee hand game passed from a form of amusement to a religious salvation ritual and back again between 1865 and 1930, a process reminiscent of athletics in nineteenth-century England. What is discovered as possible (or impossible) in play and given organized display in games may be asserted by ritual as undeniable. Whether this is the essential relation between games and religion we will not know until greater conceptual clarity and theoretical sophistication are brought to bear on the vast new findings in the ethnology and social history of games, such that a ludic equivalent to Max Weber's comparative "economic ethics of the world religions" is achieved.

SEE ALSO Gambling; Martial Arts; Play; Reflexivity.

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GAMLIʾEL OF YAVNEH, also known as Gamliʾel II, was a Palestinian tanna, rabbi, patriarch (*nasiʾ*), and head of the academy at Yavneh in the late first and early second century. In contrast to contemporary authorities, who either bear no title or, more often, are referred to by the title *rabbi,* Gamliʾel was accorded the apparently honorific title *rabban,* which he shares with other leaders of the patriarchal house (see *Avot* 1.16, 1.18). His traditions are recorded in the Mishnah and related texts.

Gamliʾel bore major responsibility for the centralization of rabbinical authority at Yavneh following the war with the Romans in 66–70. Succeeding the apparent founder of that academy, Yoḥanan ben Zakkʾai, Gamliʾel was in a position to guide the rabbinical effort in the reconstruction of a nation that had seen its spiritual center in the Jerusalem Temple destroyed, a nation that lacked clear leadership. To address this challenge, Gamliʾel supported the religious ascendency of the Yavneh academy and the political and religious authority of a Sanhedrin reconstituted under his leadership. He was later believed to have had a hereditary claim on the patriarchate.

It it reported that Gamliʾel sometimes conducted this campaign in an undiplomatic manner, but he won the support of contemporary rabbinical authorities. To assure a centralized authority, he insisted on the power of his court to fix the calendar for all of Jewry, to ensure the consistency of observance. To similar ends he demanded that individuals bow to the decision of the collective rabbinate in disputes, an insistence that in one instance is believed to have led to the ban on Eliʿezer ben Hyrcanus (B.T., *B.M.* 59b) and in another caused Yehoshuʿa ben Ḥananyah to transgress what by his reckoning was Yom Kippur (*R. ha-Sh.* 2.8–9). Nevertheless, he is described as declaring that this demand was not to assure his own honor, but to assure that "disputes not be multiplied in Israel" (B.T., *B.M.* 59b).

In response to the vacuum left in the wake of the Temple's destruction, tradition bears witness to Gamliʾel's activity in establishing ritual and prayer norms. His academy formalized the eighteen-benediction prayer (Shemoneh ʿEsreh) that has been employed in various forms to this day. Perhaps to facilitate its acceptance as the core of Jewish daily worship, he allowed formal representatives to recite the prayer for untutored individuals. In addition, Gamliʾel contributed significantly to the formulation of a post-Temple Passover Seder.

Appropriately to the image of patriarch, Gamliʾel is described as having had extensive exchanges with "philosophers" and others outside the Judaic tradition. Gamliʾel's son Shimʿon reports that "in my father's house five hundred [children] studied Greek wisdom . . . because they were close to the authorities" (B.T., *Sot.* 49b; Tosefta, *Sot.* 15.8). Sources relate that Roman authorities were sympathetic to Gamliʾel and the Judaism that he taught, and that Gamliʾel occasionally reciprocated their sympathy.

Gamliʾel's status is enhanced by the stories of his extensive travels, including a trip to Rome. He is also described as wealthy and spoiled, and his relationship with his righteous slave, Tabi, is legendary.

Gamliʾel was apparently a person of great piety and sensitivity. He was strict with himself, even when lenient with others, and he refused to excuse himself from his responsibilities to heaven for even one moment. To alleviate the immense burden put upon surviving relatives who had to see to the burial of their deceased, Gamliʾel had himself buried in simple shrouds, a practice followed by Jews to this day.

Gamliʾel's traditions are outstanding for the relatively high proportion that are set down in narrative form. This is probably connected to his patriarchal authority at a crucial period in history. He came to serve as a model for the rabbinic community. Also notable is the absence of significant contributions to criminal statutes, reflecting perhaps the diminished authority of the early patriarchate in this area.

See Also Sanhedrin; Tannaim.

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David Kraemer (1987)
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GAMLIʾEL THE ELDER

GAMLIʾEL THE ELDER (fl. first half of the first century CE), properly Rabban ("our teacher") Gamliʾel the Elder; the first Jewish teacher with this title. Gamliʾel was a son or grandson of Hillel and likewise was regarded in rabbinic tradition as a *nasiʾ* (head of the court). He is designated "the Elder" in Talmudic literature apparently to distinguish him from Gamliʾel of Yavneh (Gamliʾel II) with whom he is often confused, and he is referred to as a Pharisee and "teacher of the Law" in *Acts of the Apostles* (5:34).

Gamliʾel appears frequently in tannaitic sources, where his various *taqqanot* (enactments) are recorded. The following examples from Mishnah *Giṭṭin* (4.2–3) were considered "for the general welfare":

1. A man who wishes to invalidate a divorce document that he has already sent to his wife must convene a court in her town rather than elsewhere. Otherwise she may mistakenly believe the document is still valid and remarry.
2. Both parties to a divorce are required to use all of the names by which they are known when signing the document.
3. All witnesses to the delivery of the document must sign it.

These *taanot* were especially intended to benefit women. Similarly, Gamliʾel permitted a woman to remarry based on the testimony of one witness to the death of her husband, rather than the two generally required by Jewish law (*Yev.* 16.7). Of special interest are the letters that Gamliʾel is reported to have dictated on the steps of the Temple (Tosefta *San.* 2.6 and parallels). Those sent to "our brethren" in the upper and lower south (Daroma) and in the upper and lower Galilee contained reminders pertaining to tithes. Another directed to "our brethren" in Babylonia and Media and to all other exiles of Israel announced the leap year. It was said (*Soṭ.* 9.15) that "when Rabban Gamliʾel the Elder died, the glory of the Torah ceased and purity and abstinence perished."

In *Acts* (5:34ff.), Gamliʾel (Gamaliel) pleads with fellow members of the Sanhedrin to free the apostles. Elsewhere in *Acts* (22:3), Paul states that he was brought up "at the feet of" Gamliʾel from whom he gained knowledge of the "ancestral law." The tendency has been to view these traditions in the context of Luke's apologetic. The later, apocryphal Christian tradition transformed Gamliʾel into a secret Christian (*Ps. Clement. Recog.* 1:65–67) and into a martyr who died in the process of trying to defend and protect Stephen (*Discourse of Gregory, Priest of Antioch*). There is also an apocryphal, *Gospel of Gamaliel,* which relates events pertaining to Good Friday.

See Also Jewish Religious Year; Pharisees.

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GĀṆAPATYAS

GĀṆAPATYAS are a sect of Hindus who regard Gaṇeśa (Ganapati) as their supreme object of devotion. They view

Gaṇeśa, the elephant-faced son of Śiva and Parvati, as the form of ultimate reality (*brahman*) that is accessible to the senses, the mind, and (through devotional practices) the heart. Most Hindus worship Gaṇeśa along with other deities because he is the god who overcomes obstacles and makes rites and other undertakings effective. Gāṇapatyas share this view but extend it to make Gaṇeśa their central deity, either as their family or clan patron-god (*kuladevatā*) or their personal lord (*iṣṭadevatā*). Devotion in the first case tends to be more formal and take place during specific ceremonies and festivals, while the second form of devotion is more likely to be personal, informal, and intense.

Although Gāṇapatyas may be found in many parts of India and from many castes, the sect has found its most articulated cultic expression in western India, in the Marathi-speaking region of Maharashtra, among high-caste Hindus. The sect rose to prominence in the region between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries CE, during the rule of the Marathas. Gaṇeśa worship is also important in South India, where a number of temples are dedicated to him.

Gāṇapatya groups first appeared between the sixth and ninth centuries CE, and worshiped their deity in various forms according to the prevailing Brahmanic and Tantric practices. Two Sanskrit Purāṇas, the *Gaṇeśa* and the *Mudgala,* date from the twelfth and fourteenth centuries CE, respectively. These Purāṇas recount and celebrate the myths of Gaṇeśa's triumphs over demons on behalf of the gods and his devotees. They also include instructions for ritual performance and hymns of praise. Since the seventeenth century there has been a steady flow of devotional literature in both Sanskrit and Marathi.

In Maharashtra, devotion to Gaṇeśa has centered around eight shrines (*aṣṭavināyaka*s) clustering around the city of Poona (Pune) and the nearby village of Cincvad, and associated with Gaṇeśa's most famous devotee, Morayā Gosāvi (d. 1651). For the past three centuries Cincvad has served as the administrative center for the sect in the region. The Gāṇapatya tradition enjoyed the patronage of Hindu, and at times Muslim, kings. The *brahman* Peshwas, the hereditary rulers of the Maratha empire after the death of its founder, Śivajī, contributed substantially to the construction of shrines and financing of rituals during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. That patronage continued for a while under British rule, but gradually diminished and has been replaced by contributions from the faithful. As Gaṇeśa's popularity among the masses of Hindus has increased in contemporary times, the Gāṇapatya shrines have prospered.

The sect regards Morayā Gosāvī as its spiritual progenitor. Tradition holds that Morayā migrated from southern India to the Gaṇeśa shrine at Moragaon (70 kilometers southeast of Poona), where he experienced a series of visions of Gaṇeśa. In one vision Gaṇeśa told him that he would incarnate himself in his devotee and remain in his lineage for seven generations. Morayā Gosāvī's own religious charisma and the tradition of living deities in the shrine at Cincvad contributed largely to its religious significance in the region. In 1651 Morayā Gosāvī underwent *jīvansamādhi,* or entombment while alive, in a chamber beneath the shrine, and thereby passed out of visible existence. Devotees believe he attained release (*mokṣa*) from rebirth and that his presence continues to endow the shrine with sacred significance. Several of Morayā Gosāvī's descendants are likewise enshrined at Cincvad. Devotees come there both to honor the image of Gaṇeśa and receive its auspicious sight (*darśana*), and to worship the shrines of Morayā Gosāvī and his descendants.

Twice each year the priests at Cincvad, along with thousands of devotees, take an image of Gaṇeśa from this shrine to the temple at Moragaon, where Morayā Gosāvī received his visions, about a hundred kilometers to the southeast. The second annual pilgrimage coincides with the intensely popular Gaṇeśa festival that is celebrated particularly in the towns and cities of Maharashtra in August and September.

Many Gāṇapatyas make periodic pilgrimages to receive the auspicious viewing of Gaṇeśa at his eight shrines. Devotees maintain that it is particularly salutary to visit all eight shrines in a single pilgrimage.

SEE ALSO Gaṇeśa; Marathi Religions.

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PAUL B. COURTRIGHT (1987)

GANDHI, MOHANDAS

(1869–1948), political leader, social reformer, and religious visionary of modern India. Although Gandhi initially achieved public notice as a leader of India's nationalist movement and as a champion of nonviolent techniques for resolving conflicts, he was also a religious innovator who did much to encourage the growth of a reformed, liberal Hinduism in India. In the West, Gandhi is venerated by many who seek an intercultural and socially conscious religion and see him as the representative of a universal faith.

RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES ON GANDHI. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born into a *bania* (merchant caste) family in a religiously pluralistic area of western India—the Kathiawar Peninsula in the state of Gujarat. His parents were Vaiṣṇava Hindus who followed the Vallabhācārya tradition of loving devotion to Lord Kṛṣṇa. His father, Karamchand Uttamchand, the chief administrative officer of a princely state, was not a very religious man, but his mother, Putalibai, became a follower of the region's popular Prānāmi cult. This group was founded in the eighteenth century by Mehraj Thakore, known as Prānaṇāth ("master of the life force"), and was influenced by Islam. Prānaṇāth rejected all images of God and, like the famous fifteenth-century Hindu saint Narsinh Mehta, who came from the same region, advocated a direct link with the divine, unmediated by priests and ritual. This Protestant form of Hinduism seems to have been accepted by Gandhi as normative throughout his life.

Other enduring religious influences from Gandhi's childhood came from the Jains and Muslims who frequented the family household. Gandhi's closest childhood friend, Mehtab, was a Muslim, and his spiritual mentor, Raychandbhai, was a Jain. Early contacts with Christian street evangelists in his home town of Porbandar, however, left Gandhi unimpressed.

When Gandhi went to London to study law at the age of nineteen he encountered forms of Christianity of quite a different sort. Respecting vows made to his mother, Gandhi sought meatless fare at a vegetarian restaurant, where his fellow diners were a motly mix of Theosophists, Fabian Socialists, and Christian visionaries who were followers of Tolstoi. These esoteric and socialist forms of Western spirtuality made a deep impression on Gandhi and encouraged him to look for parallels in the Hindu tradition.

When, in 1893, Gandhi settled in South Africa as a lawyer (initially serving in a Muslim firm), he was impressed by a Trappist monastery he visited near Durban. He soon set up a series of ashrams (religious retreat centers) supported by Hermann Kallenbach, a South African architect of Jewish background, whom Gandhi had met through Theosophical circles. Gandhi named one of his communities Tolstoi Farm in honor of the Christian utopian with whom he had developed a lively correspondence. While in South Africa Gandhi first met C. F. Andrews, the Anglican missionary to India who had become an emissary of Indian nationalist leaders and who eventually became Gandhi's lifelong friend and confidant. It was through Andrews that Gandhi met the Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore in 1915, after Gandhi had returned to India to join the growing nationalist movement. Tagore, following the practice of Theosophists in South Africa, designated Gandhi a mahatma, or "great soul."

GANDHI'S RELIGIOUS THOUGHT. Although the influences on Gandhi's religious thought are varied—from the Sermon on the Mount to the *Bhagavadgītā*—his ideas are surprisingly consistent. Gandhi considered them to be Hindu, and in fact, they are all firmly rooted in the Indian religious tradition. His main ideas include the following.

1. *Satya* ("truth"). Gandhi equated truth with God, implying that morality and spirituality are ultimately the same. This concept is the bedrock of Gandhi's approach to conflict, *satyāgraha,* which requires a fighter to "hold firmly to truth." While Gandhi did not further define the term, he regarded the rule of *ahiṃsā* as the litmus test that would determine where truth could be found.
2. *Ahiṃsa* ("nonviolence"). This ancient Indian concept prohibiting physical violence was broadened by Gandhi to include any form of coercion or denigration. For Gandhi, *ahiṃsa* was a moral stance involving love for and the affirmation of all life.
3. *Tapasya* ("renunciation"). Gandhi's asceticism was, in Max Weber's terms, "worldly" and not removed from social and political involvements. To Gandhi, *tapasya* meant not only the traditional requirements of simplicity and purity in personal habits but also the willingness of a fighter to shoulder the burden of suffering in a conflict.
4. *Swaraj* ("self-rule"). This term was often used during India's struggle for independence to signify freedom from the British, but Gandhi used it more broadly to refer to an ideal of personal integrity. He regarded *swaraj* as a worthy goal for the moral strivings of individuals and nations alike, linking it to the notion of finding one's inner self.

In addition to these concepts, Gandhi affirmed the traditional Hindu notions of *karman* and *dharma.* Even though Gandhi never systematized these ideas, when taken together they form a coherent theological position. Gandhi's copious writings are almost entirely in the form of letters and short essays in the newspapers and journals he published. These writings and the accounts of Gandhi's life show that he had very little interest in what is sometimes regarded as emblematic of Hinduism: its colorful anthropomorphic deities and its reliance upon the rituals performed by Brahmanic priests.

It is not his rejection of these elements of Hindu culture that makes Gandhi innovative, however, for they are also omitted by the leaders of many other sects and movements in modern India. What is distinctive about Gandhi's Hinduism is his emphasis on social ethics as an integral part of the faith, a shift of emphasis that carries with it many conceptual changes as well. Gandhi's innovations include the use of the concept of truth as a basis for moral and political action, the equation of nonviolence with the Christian notion of selfless love, the broadening of the concept of *karmayoga* to include social service and political action, the redefinition of untouchability and the elevation of untouchables' tasks, and the hope for a more perfect world even in this present age of darkness (*kaliyuga*).

Gandhi's religious practices, like his ideas, combined both social and spiritual elements. In addition to his daily prayers, consisting of a simple service of readings and silent contemplation, he regarded his daily practice of spinning cotton as a form of mediation and his campaigns for social reform as sacrifices more efficacious than those made by priests at the altar. After Gandhi retired from politics in 1933, he took as his central theme the campaign for the uplift of untouchables, whom he called *harijan*s ("people of God"). Other concerns included the protection of cows, moral education, and the reconciliation of Hindus and Muslims. The latter was especially important to Gandhi during the turmoil precipitated by India's independence, when the subcontinent was divided along religious lines. It was opposition to Gandhi's cries for religious tolerance that led to his assassination, on January 30, 1948, by a fanatical member of the Hindu right wing.

GANDHI'S LEGACY. Since Gandhi's death, neither Indian society nor Hindu belief has been restructured along Gandhian lines, but the Gandhian approach has been kept alive in India through the Sarvodaya movement, for which Vinoba Bhave has provided the spiritual leadership, and Jaya Prakash Narayan the political. Gandhi has provided the inspiration for religious and social activists in other parts of the world as well. These include Martin Luther King, Jr., and Joan Baez in the United States, E. M. Schumacher in England, Danilo Dolci in Sicily, Albert Luthuli in South Africa, Lanza del Vasto in France, and A. T. Ariyaratna in Sri Lanka.

Over the years, the image of Gandhi has loomed larger than life, and he is popularly portrayed as an international saint. This canonization of Gandhi began in the West with the writings of an American Unitarian pastor, John Haynes Holmes, who in 1921 proclaimed Gandhi "the greatest man in the world today." It continues in an unabated flow of homiletic writings and films, including David Attenborough's *Gandhi,* one of the most widely seen motion pictures in history. At the core of this Gandhian hagiography lies the enduring and appealing image of a man who was able to achieve a significant religious goal: the ability to live simultaneously a life of moral action and spiritual fulfillment. For that reason Gandhi continues to serve as an inspiration for a humane and socially engaged form of religion in India and throughout the world.

SEE ALSO Ahiṃsa; Bhave, Vinoba; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Tagore, Rabindranath.

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GAṆEŚA ("lord of the group") is the elephant-headed Hindu deity. Also called Vināyaka ("leader"), Gajānana ("elephant-faced"), Gaṇādhipa ("lord of the group"), Ekadanta ("one-tusked"), Lambodara ("potbellied"), Vighnarāja ("lord of obstacles"), and Siddhadāta ("giver of success"), he is the son of Śiva and Pārvatī, and leader of Śiva's group of attendants (*gaṇa*s). His special province within the Hindu pantheon is to remove and create obstacles to various undertakings. His images are found both in temples dedicated exclusively to him and, more frequently, as doorway guardians of temples to other deities, especially Śiva and Pārvatī. Gaṇeśa enjoys widespread devotion from Hindus of various sectarian affiliations and ranks. Hindus who regard him as their principal deity of devotion are called Gaṇapatyas; they are located primarily in southern and western India.

Gaṇeśa's historical origins are obscure. Early Vedic literatures refer to a Gaṇapati ("lord of the group") and to Hastimukha ("elephant-faced"), and devotees regard these references as evidence for Gaṇeśa's Vedic roots. It is more likely that these epithets refer to Bṛhaspati, Indra, or Śiva. Numismatic evidence suggests that Gaṇeśa originated in the first century CE. Sculptural evidence places his entry into the Hindu pantheon about four centuries later. Literarily and iconographically, Gaṇeśa is well established in myth and cult by the fifth century within the general framework of Saivism, although he receives worship by Hindus of various devotional and sectarian orientations for his general role as the overcomer of obstacles.

Gaṇeśa's mythology centers on several themes: his birth, beheading and restoration, lordship over the *gaṇa*s, associations with demons, and powers as creator and remover of obstacles. Stories in the Purāṇas and vernacular folklore traditions tell of occasions when Pārvatī created Gaṇeśa out of the substance, sometimes called *mala* ("dirt") or *lepa* ("rubbing"), rubbed off the surface of her body and formed into the shape of a handsome youth. Once, while Śiva was absent and deep in meditation, Pārvatī commanded this young man to guard her private quarters from all intruders. When Śiva returned and sought entry into Pārvatī's presence, the young man barred the door. During the battle that followed, Śiva beheaded the youth. Pārvatī became angry and demanded that Śiva restore him at once. Śiva sent out his group of attendants (*gaṇa*s) to find the first available head, which happened to belong to an elephant. Śiva restored the youth with the elephant's head and gave him command over his group of *gaṇas,* thus naming him Gaṇapati or Gaṇeśa, Lord of the Group. Śiva also told all gods and brahmans that Gaṇeśa must be worshiped first before all other undertakings, ritual or otherwise, or else their efforts would come to ruin.

Gaṇeśa is also called Vināyaka, meaning "leader." The early Dharmasūtra literature, predating the above-mentioned myths of Gaṇeśa, describes rituals prescribed to ward off *vināyaka*s, evil demons who possess their victims and cause them to act in strange and inauspicious ways. Gaṇeśa's dwarfish torso resembles the iconography of these *vināyaka*s. Some scholars have suggested that Gaṇeśa may originally have been a member of this class of demons but gradually achieved brahmanical recognition and gained admittance into its pantheon as the son of Śiva and Pārvatī.

In receiving the head of the elephant, Gaṇeśa also takes on some of the symbolism associated with elephants in Indian culture. Elephant motifs frequently are found at the bases of temples, appearing to hold up the massive edifices. Elephants guard the doors of temples and serve as the vehicles for deities and royalty. Gaṇeśa also serves in these protective capacities as the remover and placer of obstacles.

SEE ALSO Elephants; Gaṇapatyas.

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GANGES RIVER.

The Ganges (Gaṅgā), considered the holiest of India's rivers, is 1,560 miles long. Rising at Gangotri in the Himalayas, this great river flows through the North Indian plain and into the Bay of Bengal. To Hindus, the Ganges is the archetype of all sacred waters; she is a goddess, Mother Gaṅgā (Gaṅgā Mātā), representative of the life-giving maternal waters of the ancient Vedic hymns; above all, she is the symbol *par excellence* of purity and the purifying power of the sacred. These affective and symbolic values of the Ganges hold true for all Hindus, irrespective of sectarian differences.

CELEBRATION OF THE GODDESS-RIVER. According to Hindu belief, the Ganges purifies all that she touches. Her entire course is a pilgrimage route for the faithful. Millions of Hindus visit the preeminent *tīrtha*s ("crossings," places of pilgrimage) that mark her path: the source at Gangotri; Hardwar (also called Gaṅgādvāra, "gateway of the Ganges"), where the river enters the plain; Prayāg (present-day Allahabad), where she joins both the holy Yamnuā (Jumna) and the mythical river Sarasvatī, thus earning the name Triveṇī ("river of three currents"); Kāśī (Banaras), abode of the god Śiva and the holiest city of the Hindus; and Gaṅgāsagar, where the Ganges enters the sea. Pilgrims go to these places to bathe in the Ganges, to drink her water, to worship the river, and to chant her holy name. Especially in Banaras, many come to cremate their kin, to deposit the ashes of the dead in the river, or to perform religious rites for their ancestors. Some come to spend their last days on the banks of the river, to die there and thus "cross over" the ocean of birth and death. Holy men, widows, and others who have dedicated themselves to the contemplative life live in numbers in the sacred places along the Ganges. They in turn attract millions who congregate at periodic festivals and fairs, the greatest of which is the Kumbha Melā, celebrated every twelve years in Prayāg. All who come to the Ganges come in the firm belief that bathing in this river, even the mere sight of Mother Gaṅgā, will cleanse them of their sins, taking them a step nearer to final release (*mokṣa*). Those who cannot make the trip can partake of the river's sacred water from the sealed jars that pilgrims carry home. Ganges water is given to participants and guests at weddings, as well as to the sick and the dying; it validates Hindu oaths; and in an ancient daily rite, every devout Hindu invokes the Ganges, along with the other sacred rivers, to be present in the water in which he bathes. The purifying powers of the Ganges are great indeed.

THE GANGES IN MYTHOLOGY AND ICONOGRAPHY. The Vedic Aryans celebrated the Indus, not the Ganges, and her tributaries as their "seven sacred rivers." It is in the epics *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* (roughly fourth century BCE), which reflect Aryan settlement in the Ganges Plain, that the Ganges takes her place at the head of seven holy rivers that are now geographically spread over all of India. The principal myths of the Ganges are found in the epics and the Purāṇas (mythological texts that include the lore of sacred places), and in Sanskrit hymns of praise such as the *Gāṅgālaharī* (The waves of the Ganges) by the seventeenth-century poet Jagannātha. The central myth of the Ganges is the story of her descent (*avatāra, avataraṇa*) from heaven to earth, a story narrated with variations in several texts (*Rāmāyaṇa,* "Bāla Kāṇḍa" 38–44; *Mahābhārata* 3.104–108; *Skanda Purāṇa,* "Kāśī Khaṇḍa" 30). In response to the great and steadfast penance of King Bhagīratha, the sky-river Ganges agreed to descend to earth in order to purify the ashes of the sixty thousand sons of Bhagīratha's ancestor Sagara, who had been burned by the wrath of a sage (Kapila) whom they had offended. The great ascetic god Śiva caught the falling stream in his matted hair in order to soften the blow on earth; the Ganges followed Bhagīratha to the sea, whence she flowed into the netherworld to fulfill her mission. This myth explains several of the Ganges's names, including Bhāgīrathī ("she who descended at Bhagīratha's request") and Tripathagāminī ("she who flows through the three worlds"). The descent of the Ganges is the subject of a famous seventh-century rock sculpture at Mahabalipuram in South India.

In the Vaiṣṇava version of the descent myth, the Ganges is said to have descended when Viṣṇu, as Trivikrama who measured heaven and earth, pierced the vault of heaven with his upraised foot. The association of the river with both great gods of Hinduism points to the universality of the Ganges in Hinduism. In minor myths the river is portrayed as the mother of the *Mahābhārata* hero Bhīṣma and the mother of Skanda-Kārttikeya, who was born from Śiva's seed flung into the Ganges.

The Ganges' most sustained association is with the god Śiva himself. Not only does she flow through his hair, she is considered to be his wife, along with Pārvatī, the other daughter of the god of the Himalaya, Himavat. As powerful river and goddess-consort, the Ganges is *śakti,* the feminine energy of the universe, and the female aspect of the androgynous Śiva. Like Śiva and the ambrosial moon on his head, the Ganges—whose life-sustaining ambrosial waters flow from the realm of the moon—is connected with both life and death.

The themes of purification, life, and death that appear in the myths and rites associated with the Ganges are also expressed in her iconography, especially in the representation of the Gaṅgā and Yamnuā as goddesses carved on either side of the entrances of Hindu temples of the medieval period (roughly from the fifth to the eleventh century CE). Ancient symbols of fertility (trees, vegetation, overflowing pots, the female herself) appear in these images; yet the Ganges rides on a *makara* ("crocodile"), who represents the dangers of death as well as the abundance of life. As "goddess of the threshold" the Ganges no doubt initiates, purifies, and blesses with worldly prosperity the devotee who enters the sacred realm of the temple; at the same time, in the esoteric symbolism of Yoga and Tantra, the river-goddess is said to represent *iḍā,* one of the *nāḍī*s (subtle channels) through which one's energy is activated in order to achieve the supreme realization of the self—final release from worldly existence. However, in the last analysis, for the average Hindu it is not a matter of esoteric interpretation but of simple faith—reinforced by popular texts—that the goddess-river Ganges is the most accessible and powerful agent of salvation available to him or her in the *kaliyuga,* the present dark and degraded age of humankind.

SEE ALSO Banaras; Kumbha Melā; Śiva.

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INDIRA VISWANATHAN PETERSON (1987)

GANJIN (Chin., Jianzhen; 688–763) was a Buddhist Vinaya master from China who introduced procedures for ordaining Buddhist clergy into Japan and who established the Risshu, or Vinaya school, of Buddhism there. Ganjin's birthplace was Yangzhou, a prosperous shipping town in eastern China. There he underwent tonsure at a local temple in 701. Four years later he received the *bodhisattva* precepts, a set of vows administered as a sign of devotion to Mahāyāna Buddhist principles.

At the age of nineteen, Ganjin traveled to China's traditional capitals of Luoyang and Chang'an to study at the major centers of Buddhist learning. His primary field of training was Vinaya, the ancient rules and procedures governing the life and behavior of Buddhist priests and nuns. Interest in the Vinaya had peaked in China a century earlier, and a formal school, the Lüzong, was established to preserve and promote clerical practices based on the *Sifenlü* (T.D. no. 1428), the version of the Vinaya inherited from the Dharmaguptaka school of India. This Vinaya, which lists 250 precepts for priests and 348 for nuns, was Hīnayāna in origin, but it became the basis for ordination and clerical discipline in the overwhelmingly Mahāyāna schools of China and Japan. Ganjin himself took the 250 precepts at the time of his full ordination in 708, a year after his arrival in Chang'an. In 713, at the age of twenty-five, he returned to Yangzhou and began his own career as a Vinaya master. Over the next thirty years Ganjin distinguished himself as one of the most eminent Buddhist teachers in central China. He is said to have ordained more than 40,000 priests during his career and to have conducted formal lectures on the Vinaya on 130 occasions.

In 733 the Japanese imperial court sent two Buddhist priests, Eiei and Fushō, to China to enlist Vinaya masters to administer ordinations in Japan. There was great concern in Japan that all the ordinations performed up to that time were not valid, because the requisite number of duly ordained priests prescribed by the Vinaya had never been present to officiate. The Japanese felt it important to rectify this breach. Authentic ordination, they believed, made the clergy legitimate heirs of the Buddha's teachings and endowed them with religious and worldly power to act in behalf of Buddhism. Eiei and Fushō first succeeded in recruiting a young Vinaya master named Daoxuan from Luoyang. He arrived in Japan in 736, but was hampered in conducting ordinations for lack of the required number of ordained participants. In 742 they went to Yangzhou to seek Ganjin's assistance. He too was sympathetic, and he resolved to travel to Japan himself to oversee ordinations. But the path leading Ganjin to Japan was long and treacherous, involving five unsuccessful voyages thwarted by pirates, shipwreck, and arrest by civil authorities. During the course of these events Ganjin lost his eyesight and Eiei lost his life. Finally, in 753, on his sixth attempt, Ganjin reached the shores of Japan accompanied by twenty-four disciples whose participation would validate ordination ceremonies. Ganjin was sixty-five years old at the time.

In early 754 Ganjin and his entourage were welcomed into the Japanese capital of Nara with great fanfare. Within weeks he set up a temporary ordination platform at the Tōdaiji, the imperial temple in the capital, and performed the first proper ordination on Japanese soil. The following year he established a permanent ordination platform at the Tōdaiji, all according to the meticulous specifications of the Vinaya tradition in China. The establishment of specific locations for ordination had the effect of tightening control over the clergy, because entrance into the priesthood could be regulated by those overseeing ordination. This centralizing of authority, as well as the Vinaya's emphasis on strict discipline, suited the government's desire to harness Buddhism for its own interests. Ganjin, as the preeminent figure in this ordination process, was named to the Sōgō council, the ecclesiastical body responsible to the government for Buddhism's activities. He served in this capacity from 756 until his resignation in 758. A year later Ganjin was granted land on which to build his own temple. He constructed the Tōshōdaiji and spent the remaining four years of his life there instructing priests in the intricacies of the Vinaya. These followers formed the core of the Risshu in Japan. Ganjin died at the Tōshōdaiji in 763 at the age of seventy-five. His great contribution to Japan was the institution of ordination procedures and the delineation of clerical discipline. This model of discipline was later challenged by Saichō, who sought to substitute the *bodhisattva* vows of Mahāyāna for the clerical precepts of Hīnayāna. Nonetheless, Ganjin's system persisted alongside Saichō's as the traditional path of ordination in early Japanese Buddhism.

SEE ALSO Saichō; Vinaya.

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JAMES C. DOBBINS (1987)

GARDENS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
GARDENS IN INDIGENOUS TRADITIONS
ISLAMIC GARDENS

GARDENS: AN OVERVIEW

Gardens are enclosed spaces, distinguished from the fields where staple crops are grown and from the rocks, forests, marshes, and tundra of the wilderness. There are zoological gardens, and parks for animals, but plant gardens do not usually find room for more than a few colorful birds and fish. The transcendental feelings inspired by ornamental gardens may be divided into Western and Eastern categories, with "Western" understood broadly as encompassing traditions associated not only with Christianity but also with Islam, and with the geographical line dividing Western from Eastern running through the subcontinent of India. In the West, nature has traditionally been conceived of as something to be conquered, and religious thought runs to extremes: the Day of Judgment, the triumph of the good, and the annihilation of evil. In the East, many religious traditions have sought to accommodate human beings to the world around them and to comprehend dualisms within an overarching whole. These differences find expression in the formal gardening of the West and in the landscape gardening of the East, and perhaps also in the fact that Western gardens are made for walking in, while Eastern ones are for sitting in, with separate pavillions for painting, composing poetry, practicing one's calligraphy, and (in recent centuries) drinking tea.

WESTERN RECREATIONAL GARDENS. The religions that inherited the traditions of the Old Testament, namely, Islam and Christianity, were founded in the desert. Their scriptures dwelt on the life-giving properties of water, foliage that was refreshing to the eye, and shade that was restful for the body. A man was blessed by being told he would be "like a watered garden" (*Isa.* 58:11) and cursed with the prospect of becoming "as a garden that hath no water" (*Isa.* 1:30). Wells and fountains quickened plant growth, and the trees that water brought to life provided both nourishment and fuel. Christians valued green herbs for their medicinal properties, and in seventeenth-century England Andrew Marvell envisaged paradise as "a green thought in a green shade." Green became the color of Islam itself, and a just king, as the Mughal emperor Akbar said when he invaded Kashmir in 1585 BCE, enabled his subjects to sit in the shade of tranquillity. Above all, the influence of the desert environment appeared in the way in which, in the West, the garden was seen as an oasis, in stark contrast to the barren wastes outside. The sense of the faith, or of the church, as an enclosure, a refuge from a hostile environment, was paramount (though a missionary church might be described as a garden without walls). Confusingly, there was another more puritanical tradition in which the roles were reversed, and the garden, with its luxury, was condemned as the scene of temptation, while the wilderness was celebrated as the true garden.

Gardeners, inspired by the supposition of a Garden of Eden at the beginning of history, aimed to re-create the conditions thought to have existed in the original garden, with its mild climate and its never-failing supply of flowers and fruit. The gardener brought order out of chaos, and gardens were laid out in regular patterns, with right angles and straight lines to extend humankind's dominion over fallen nature. Both the Garden of Eden and the future Heaven were commonly conceived of as formal gardens. The tradition that Eden was watered by four rivers led Muslim gardeners from Persia to Spain tenaciously to reproduce the *chahar bagh,* a rectangular enclosure divided into four quarters by two streams crossing at right angles. It was an approach that combined easily with humanist ideas—derived from the classical civilizations of Persia, Greece, and Rome—of the regular pattern as the triumph of human intelligence and of abstract principles of mathematics and law. In Europe, plans of grounds attached to a Roman villa, to a medieval monastery, or to a Renaissance palace are not dissimilar, and it is not always easy to disentangle spiritual influences from secular ones, though it seems safe to say that the inspiration behind the greatest of all geometrical gardens, at Versailles, was at least half worldly.

Where religious influences predominated every plant was imbued with symbolic spiritual meaning. Trees opened their arms in the gesture of the prayer of supplication, and the branches of an orchard bowed toward God. The silver on the topside of the leaves of the poplar reflected the light of heaven, while the dark side beneath served as a reminder of earth—or hell. The cypress (represented in so many central Asian carpets) stood both for mortality, because it did not sprout when felled, and for everlasting life, because it was evergreen. The violet genuflected. The lily epitomized the purity and the pomegranate the fruitfulness of a woman. Muslims believed that the rose, which enjoys primacy of esteem among Western gardeners, had been created from a drop of perspiration that fell from the Prophet's forehead as he was carried up into Heaven. The rosebush prayed standing upright, and the fragrant flowers budding among its thorns were interpreted as tokens of God's mercy emerging from God's wrath. In both Islam and Christianity this kind of imagery led writers like Rābiʿah al-ʿAdawīyah (d. 801 CE) to speak of "the real gardens and flowers" being "within." It was only when people's stonelike nature had been broken down into dust by affliction that their hearts could become gardens blessed by rain and have roses grow out of them.

The early symbolism of the garden in Islam ran parallel to that in Christianity, though the Muslim Paradise, with its *ḥūrīs,* its green brocades, and its nonintoxicating wines, was painted in more literal detail than the Christian Heaven. Where Christian tradition diverged from Islam was in the identification of the garden with specific occasions in the life of Christ. The "garden enclosed" of the *Song of Songs* was interpreted to refer to the Virgin Mary, whose womb was an oasis so select that none but the Holy Spirit could enter in. Adam had been a gardener. Through Adam, death came into the world. Christ, who had conquered death, therefore made his first appearance after the resurrection dressed in a gardener's clothes.

EASTERN COSMIC GARDENS. In China and Japan, both the awesome mountains and the streams that issued from them were thought to be possessed by spirits, and they were considered to be alive, like plants, animals, and human beings themselves. Space was organized from the center outward, and gardens were designed by professional geomancers, who surveyed the spiritual contours of the sites according to the science of *feng-shui.* The selection of rocks was a matter for the connoisseur. Everything was conceived within a mindset that has been called *universisme,* and the primary objective of landscape gardening was to raise people's understanding to the level of the cosmos. This was achieved through the art of *shan shui.* Rocks, pools, and streams were said to represent the physical geography of a region, such as the mountains of Central Asia and the seas of the eastern coast, or (in Daoist philosophy) the skeleton of the whole earth and the arteries that nourished it. To the Buddhist, the garden furnished a lesson on time. The flowers opened and withered within in a month. The seasons revolved. But stone decayed on a far longer time scale that turned the present into a moving infinity. The symbolism was as varied and extensible as the clouds that gathered around the mountain peaks.

The garden contained both friendly and unfriendly spirits. But threatening spirits were not persecuted as they might have been in the West: they were either left undisturbed (for example, by not digging the ground too deeply) or frustrated (as in the case of the demons who traveled in straight lines, who were thwarted through the construction of zigzag bridges). The universe, like the garden, was influenced by rival but related forces. The Chinese spoke of the *yin* and the *yang,* the Japanese of the *in* and the *yo. Yin* was female, passive, and weak; *yang* was male, active, and virile. In China, mountains were male, pools female; hence a mountain stood for intelligence, a lake for feeling. In Japan the more stylized gardens sometimes contained both male and female rocks—five erect, four recumbent. In both countries, gardens expressed conceptions about youth and age, growth and decay.The trunk of the tree upon which the "youthful" plum blossom hung resembled an old person's body, crooked and bent. Flowers were esteemed for being "as lovely in their withering as in their first florescence," and the samurai were compared to the blossom of the cherry—having a short life and an exquisite end. The *Yuan Ye* (a treatise on gardening, dating from the end of the Ming period) records that "when a remarkable tree was about to bloom," people moved their beds outdoors in order that they might be able to observe how the flowers expanded "from childhood to maturity and finally faded and died."

Nowhere is the contrast between East and West more apparent than in their respective attitudes to night and moonlight. In the West, day was connected symbolically with good, night with evil. The creatures that moved by night, such as bats, owls, and foxes, were repellent, ominous, or crafty, and the moon was contemned as a second-rate luminary. In China, on the other hand, day and night were accorded equal status, and night was said to raise men and women to the stars. Pavilions were built and furnished for the contemplation of the moon, Chinese poets sang of the moonlight "washing its soul" in the garden pool, and the *Yuan Ye* encouraged its readers to look forward to the day when they might even "dig in the moon[light] on the top of a mountain."

In the East a miniature garden might be esteemed as highly as an estate, and (as in the West) it was sometimes said that it was not necessary to own a property at all. Fictive gardens were held in high regard, and the most perfect garden of all was "the garden that isn't really here"—the one that existed only in the imagination. Real or imaginary, the garden was recognized as a representation of people's own lives containing symbols of the qualities respected in a human being. The cedar, resisting the storm, represented the beholder's own struggle with adversity, and the chrysanthemum, which braved the autumn frosts, was admired for its courage. Death itself lost some of its terrors when understood in the context of a continuous cycle of decay and regrowth. Much of Chinese gardening sought to encourage acceptance of humanity's lot. But gardens in the East could also express a yearning for transcendence. Daoists spoke of the Blessed Isles of the Eastern Sea, and many Buddhists have believed in a land, presided over by the Amida (*Amitābha*) Buddha, where lotus flowers holding the souls of the faithful bloom upon the waters of a brilliant lake—paradisal concepts for which there have been parallels in the West. More often than not, however, Buddhists have thought in terms of *nirvāṇa,* or a release from the cycle of reincarnation, and for this there is no Western equivalent. The Indian youth of the *Matsya Purāṇa* (c. 500 CE), who had passed through lives by the thousand and who had in his time been a beast of prey, a domestic animal, grass, shrubs, creepers, and trees, looked forward not to a better world but to release from self. In China the highest aspiration open to a landscape gardener was to imitate the Hang painter Wu Daozi, who is said to have entered into the scene he had created, merged with his masterpiece, and been seen no more.

SUBSISTENCE GARDENS. In recreational and cosmic gardens, long-lived trees, graceful foliage, and fragrant flowers have provided abundant material for religious symbolism. Orchards and fruit gardens, in which beauty and utility are combined, have also inspired their share of spiritual imagery, and the Bible contains many allegories concerning vines, figs, olives, and palms. Herb gardens and physic (medicinal) gardens have contributed their quota. But the kitchen garden, which supplies so much, does not seem to feed the imagination, and the Bible includes only one reference to the cucumbers, melons, leeks, onions, and garlic that the Israelites remembered having eaten in Egypt (*Num.* 11:5). The planting at Villandry shows how even the dominant tradition of classical French parterre gardening can be reinterpreted in terms of the potager. But this is an exception. In both West and East, class values have prevailed. The norm among aristocracies, and even among the middle classes, has been to place the vegetable garden out of sight. Historically, priests of all religions have kept their hands clean and been supported from the surplus created by the population at large. Monastic communities, withdrawn from the world, are the only ones to have embraced manual labor as a providential discipline. In both West and East, Benedictine and Zen Buddhist monks have placed gardening upon a par with prayer and meditation and supported themselves by growing their own food. Much of the virtue lies in the humble nature of the work.

Real-life peasants and laborers, on the other hand, with families to feed, know that in temperate latitudes the skills involved in planning and maintaining a subsistence garden are greater than those called for in a recreational or cosmic garden, because most of the edible plants are annuals. There is little time to compensate for failures, and sowings must succeed or the family will go without. The labor is unremitting, and, understandably, the rewards are associated with the satisfaction of the stomach rather than the refinement of the soul. Things are different in parts of the tropics where three crops may be harvested in a year and the division between extensive fields and intensive gardens breaks down. There, the subsistence garden may assume an idealized form. All over Southeast Asia, where high levels of light, heat, and moisture; the rapid growth of plants; and recycling of vegetable and animal waste allow a family to produce all their own food and fuel upon a tiny holding, there are self-reliant peasants living in ecological harmony with a bountiful nature. In Melanesia a twentieth-century study of the Trobriand Islanders found that even their staples (yams and taro) were grown in aesthetically pleasing gardens, and that skill in gardening determined social rank. Every stage from the clearing of the land, through the sowing, weeding, and thinning, to the gathering and display of the produce was carried out with the aid of the appropriate magic, and the spirits of the dead were invited to attend the harvest feast.

ALTERNATIVES. Sensuality has always wrestled with spirituality for the soul of the garden. In the West, Priapus and Venus presided over Greek and Roman gardens, and remain better known, to this day, than Saint Phocas and Saint Fiacre, the patron saints of gardening. No amount of Marian imagery could conceal the erotic meaning of the *Song of Songs,* and in the thirteenth century the *Roman de la Rose* contraposed a garden of courtly manners and passionate love to the ecclesiastically approved one of lowered eyes and chaste thoughts. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Voltaire challenged and Darwin overthrew the concept of gardening as an innocent activity. The struggle for survival is every bit as wasteful, and as blind (or cruel), in a garden as it is in the wilderness. The difference is that there are more human interventions. Even these do not appear, since Freud, as blameless as they once did. Gardeners are autocrats who draw arbitrary distinctions between plants and weeds. Except, perhaps, in India, they wage chemical warfare and carry out mass exterminations. Many—like the Chinese mandarins who were encouraged, when they fell from favor, to retire and take up gardening—are in denial, working off their frustrations by philosophically rationalizing the pleasures of an enforced rural retreat.

In addition to its literal sense, the word *garden* has frequently been used as a literary term, to mean an anthology. More than one collection of improving stories or homilies has been titled *A Garden of Flowers,* and others in this vein have been titled gardens of "consolation," "repose," or "contentment." But the word has become detached from its religious context. Many people no longer agree with Dorothy Frances Gurney that they are "nearer God's Heart in a garden than anywhere else on earth." J. M. Brinnin, who began writing poetry when he was a student at Harvard in the 1930s, thought of "garden" as "tragedy up to its generous eyes." Faced with the rise of the Fascist dictators, "even the illiterate snake," he wrote, must know "the garden is political" (the title of a collection of his poems published in New York in 1942). Within the last half-century others have offered readers gardens of disorder, evil, ignorance, illusion, lies, malice, poisons, and scandal. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the meanings and associations of the word are still being contested.

SEE ALSO Flowers; Geomancy; Paradise.

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JOHN PREST (1987 AND 2005)

GARDENS: GARDENS IN INDIGENOUS TRADITIONS

Gardens are of economic importance and also of aesthetic and social significance for indigenous peoples who sustain themselves by the cultivation of vegetables and grains. They may be the subject or locus of myth, and they are regularly the focus of ritual. Where subsistence gardening is the major economic activity, people usually have some food gardens close to their homes and others farther afield. In many societies, gardening is complemented with hunting and/or fishing.

Among the Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) of North America, cultivation of the "Three Sisters" (corn, beans, and squash) provided vegetables, while the hunting of deer and other animals provided meat. Moreover, the Iroquois grew sacred tobacco for use in ceremonies. Like the Three Sisters, sacred tobacco is said to have first grown from the body of the Corn Mother, the woman who died after giving birth to Right-Handed Twin (the Creator) and the Left-Handed Twin. Iroquois gardening and hunting were supported by and celebrated in an annual ritual cycle that attended to the sun and moon and seasonal changes and gave thanks for both wild and domesticated fruits. These calendrical ceremonies included Bush Dance, Maple, Seed Planting, Moon, Sun, After Planting, Strawberry, Blackberry, Bean, Thunder, Little Corn, Green Corn, Our Sustenance, Harvest, End of Summer, and Midwinter (Sturtevant, 1985, p. 147). (Some of these ceremonies continue to be celebrated in Iroquois communities.) Iroquois ceremonies acknowledged the thunder spirits. In the American Southwest, among the Hopi, Zuni, and Navajo, the rain spirits were even more signficant. They were entertained in festivals and were encouraged to provide the moisture that the land and the people needed. Ceremonies for rain spirits remain an important focus in the agricultural cycles of the Southwest.

In colonial and postcolonial situations, subsistence economies have coexisted with cash economies, and gardening is no longer the only means of obtaining the food necessary for life. People may have income from wage labor or from an introduced form of gardening—cash cropping. Cash cropping often destroys traditional subsistence, because land once used for subsistence gardens may be taken over for the growing of crops such as coffee and tea to the detriment of a people's self-sufficiency. As well as being a primary source of food, the garden is also a metaphor for the meeting of life's needs. In Papua New Guinea, for example, a worker refers to his or her pay packet as *gaden bilong mi* (my garden). Similarly, gardening may be seen as homologous with other cultural domains such as marriage, exchange, speech, and weaving. Metaphors from gardening may be used to discuss sexual relations, and the maintenance of social alliances may be described in terms of planting and weeding.

Gardening includes not only practical endeavors such as clearing land, tilling soil, planting, and weeding, but also symbolic processes: rituals performed at crucial stages in the gardening process, spells or prayers recited to encourage plant growth and to ward off pestilence, and festivals to celebrate the harvest. Both the manual labor and the ritual activities are "work" for gardens. Rituals usually accompany the seasonal cycle of the crops, and ritual interventions to address crises such as disease or drought are made as warranted. Some societies employ garden specialists to carry out rituals; in others the gardeners themselves perform the necessary rituals or there may be a sharing of rituals. The practical side of gardening in indigenous societies has changed over time with the introduction of new crops, implements, and gardening techniques. Similarly, the spread of religious traditions such as Islam, Christianity, and Buddhism has occasioned changes in the ritual processes performed for the benefit of gardens. In many parts of Oceania and Africa, Christians include prayers for gardens in their church services, and they pray to God as they plant, weed, and harvest. The understanding that both practical work and religious work are necessary for successful outcomes continues to pervade the practice of subsistence gardeners around the world, whether they rely on their indigenous religion, on an introduced religion, or on both. Their welfare depends upon engaging the powers of garden fertility.

Probably the best-known ethnographic account of gardening is Bronislaw Malinowski's *Coral Gardens and Their Magic* (1935), which describes the gardening techniques and rituals of the matrilineal people of the Trobriand Islands, whose livelihood depends on gardening and fishing. In the communities Malinowski studied from 1915 to 1918, the garden magician is an hereditary specialist who coordinates a series of rituals that parallel stages in the gardening cycle and encourages people in the communal labor necessary for the gardens. "Gardening," Malinowski writes, "is associated with an extremely complicated and important body of magic, which, in turn, has its mythology, traditional charters and privileges. Magic appears side by side with work, not accidentally or sporadically as occasion arises or as whim dictates, but as an essential part of the whole scheme" (vol. 1, p. 55). He continues, "Gardening, and effective gardening at that, with a large surplus produce, lies at the root of all tribal authority as well as of the kinship system and communal organization of the Islanders. The gardens of the community are not merely a means to food; they are a source of pride and the main object of collective ambition" (vol. 1, p. 66).

Throughout Oceania the vegetables that make up the daily diet are grown by the family. Gardens are devoted to yams, taro, bananas, green leafy vegetables, beans, corn, and other crops. Flowers, which are used for body decoration, as part of traditional rituals, and to decorate churches for Christian services, may be grown at the border of the vegetables or in separate plots. Tobacco is frequently grown at the edge of gardens. In general, agricultural labor is divided between the sexes so that a man does the work of clearing land (e.g., felling trees, breaking up the soil), making drainage ditches, and fencing, whereas his wife plants and weeds. In many places a woman uses a digging stick for planting, weeding, and harvesting. Before planting, the couple performs a ritual to ensure a good crop. For example, in parts of the Papua New Guinea highlands it is common to bury egg-shaped fertility stones in the garden and to rub digging sticks with pig fat. In some places a couple may have sex in a new garden before planting takes place, and for some communities the garden is the regular place for sexual activity. Generally, women plant, tend, and harvest the sweet potatoes and green leafy vegetables, and men care for trees that provide fruit and nuts and tend the sugarcane and corn. In some areas men are also responsible for taro and yams. Women need to work in their gardens every day and to harvest tubers each day to feed their families and pigs; men's crops require less attention. It is common for crops to be designated as male or female according to who cares for them and in relation to their physical characteristics.

Writing of the Kuma of the Wahgi Valley in the New Guinea highlands as they were in the 1950s, anthropologist Marie Reay describes how during preparations for a major ceremony, a small rite is performed with the overt intention of promoting garden fertility. The men and boys carry toy bows and arrows, of the kind used in rites expressing traditional hostilities, and give them to a sorcerer, who holds them against a bundle of fresh leaves from the sweet potato vine. An orator announces that the fathers and grandfathers of all who are present are to be honored in the dance about to begin. Then the sorcerer returns the bows and arrows to the owners, each with a piece of sweet potato vine, which is later planted. Garden fertility is expressed both verbally and in the handling of sweet potato leaves. Traditional hostilities are implied in the use of toy bows and by the presence of the sorcerer. Thus, the rite for garden fertility is linked not only to the physical environment but also to the social situation. The Kuma expect their clan to prosper if they continue their fathers' and grandfathers' hostilities (Reay, 1959, p. 158).

In much of sub-Saharan Africa, gardens are dedicated to staple grain crops and tubers. Flowers may be grown either within the vegetable or grain garden or in separate plots. Flowers are cultivated for medicinal or culinary use or, less often, for decoration. Depending upon the particular culture and its contemporary religious patterns, prayers for gardens may be addressed to God, to nature spirits, or to spirits of the dead. In southern Africa among the Nguni, the myth of *Inkosazana yase zulweni* (the Princess of the Sky) describes a mythological figure who personifies vegetation and fertility. She is goddess of the corn and presides over the growth of the grain. It is said that from her the people learned how to brew beer. Moreover, she has the power to bring rain. She is said to visit the earth in the spring, and her visit is celebrated with festivals. People appeal to her for alleviation of misfortune and for protection from disease. In the summer (December) the Nguni hold a first fruits ceremony when the corn and other vegetables are ready to eat (Krige, 1950, pp. 197–200).

Rain-making specialists are common in Africa, where so much of the country is dry and the lives of people and crops depends upon rain (Mbiti, 1991, p. 134). As in Oceania, there are rituals for making new fields, for planting and weeding, for first fruits and for harvest (Mbiti, 1991, pp. 135–136). African gardening, like Oceanian gardening, is part of a total way of life and is related to other cultural processes. The Dogon cultivate land in squares following the pattern of the flat roof of the celestial granary of Dogon myth. Traditional cultivation, according to Ogotemmêli, the wise man who related his understanding of the Dogon world to the French anthropologist Marcel Griaule, "is like weaving; one begins on the north side, moving from east to west and then back from west to east. On each line eight feet are planted and the square has eight lines recalling the eight ancestors and the eight seeds" (Griaule, 1965, p. 77). "Moreover," says Griaule, "weaving is a form of speech, which is imparted to the fabric by the to-and-fro movement of the shuttle on the warp; and in the same way the to-and-fro movement of the peasant on his plot imparts the Word of the ancestors, that is to say, moisture, to the ground on which he works, and thus rids the earth of impurity and extends the area of cultivation round inhabited places" (p. 77). The original French title of Griaule's work, *Dieu d'Eau: entretiens avec Ogotemmêli* (Water god: Conversations with Ogotemmêli), points to the central importance of moisture in the world of Dogon gardeners.

Food and fertility are foci of all religions. Supplicants ask for their daily bread and pray for the fruitfulness of the land, the fecundity of flocks, and the flourishing of human beings. The emphasis on food and fertility is most obvious among those who tend gardens for their livelihood. Their myths and their rituals tell of their dependence on the powers of fertility, and through practical work and symbolic work they assert what control they can over their garden-world.

SEE ALSO Agriculture; Ecology and Religion, overview article; Food.

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MARY N. MACDONALD (2005)

GARDENS: ISLAMIC GARDENS

Islamic gardens represent cultivated spaces across the diverse span of Muslim history and geography, created and set apart from wilderness of various kinds. They were designed to enhance the humanly constructed environment, to ornament the landscape, and to symbolize cultural and religious values and aspirations. As such, they are together with architecture and the arts among the most significant and enduring of Muslim expressions of the role and relationship of nature in its broader sense to human beings. Gardens and landscape architecture in Muslim societies have been an important expression of ethical assumptions about stewardship, ecology, and beauty. This heritage of spaces and values has in recent times come under increasing pressure because of very high levels of demographic change, desertification (the degradation of formerly cultivated land), burgeoning urban growth, and general neglect.

GARDENS IN THE QURʾĀN. The Arabic word for garden (*jannah*) is used in the Qurʾān for paradise, the reward of the hereafter. There are a number of other references to the notion of the garden in the Qurʾān: *al-firdaws* (Q 23:11) originating from the Old Persian (*paridaiza*), and *al-rawda* (Q 30:15 and 42:22), with reference to the lush greenery of the garden. One of the settings in the Qurʾanic narrative of creation (Q 2:34, 7:19) is the primordial garden where the first-created pair of human beings is placed. The garden is therefore also among God's creations and the theater in which the initial human drama unfolds. On one level it represents the ideal environment in which the first humans can subsist, close to God and in balance and harmony with nature. In an Arabic term referring to a Qurʾanic verse, the word *ayah* also signifies a sign from nature. The human trespass, the act of disobeying God's command, results in dismissal from the garden and a sojourn on earth. The promise of the return to the garden—that is, the promised abode of the hereafter—is held out as the goal of human life; but until the return, the garden remains an aspiration and expectation, even a memory, that human imagination might be able to recreate on earth. Among the main features of the garden in paradise is water, an oft-repeated reference. The Qurʾān refers to the four rivers that flow in paradise (47:15)—rivers of water, milk, honey, and wine. Springs are mentioned and named, the best-known being *kawthar* (108:1) and *tasnīm* (83:27), from which the righteous may drink. Trees with fruit are to be found in abundance. Among the trees specifically designated is the lote-tree, a symbolic reference, which in Muslim tradition signifies the tree of life and knowledge marking the boundary of the "garden of refuge" (53:14–15); the *tūbā,* the tree of blessing; and fruit-bearing trees producing grapes, pomegranates, and other fruits.

This evocative, subtle, and richly symbolic historicized garden is the promised home of the righteous; in it the once-living share eternal joy among beings of great beauty, male and female. The latter, which are called houris, are compared to pearls and are eternally virgins, providing companionship, solace and love. The dominant themes that mark the lives of the garden's inhabitants are peace, reunion with families and communities, security, intimacy, luxury—and overwhelmingly, the joy of knowing that they have pleased God and that he is pleased with them. According to the Qurʾān, the return to God is the supreme joy of the righteous.

ISLAMIC GARDENS IN HISTORY. Muslim rule and territorial control expanded rapidly during Islam's first two centuries, eventually encompassing significant areas around the Mediterranean Sea as well as former Byzantine and Sassanian-ruled territories in North Africa, Spain, the Middle East and Central Asia. This diversity of landscapes, climates, and geographical settings influenced the utilization and development of land. Patterns of existing use and the availability of water were major factors in transforming the landscape to mirror the changes in control, settlement, and cultural values.

Persia had a long history of gardens that predated Islam, a tradition that Muslims adopted and continued. Many of the earlier examples of Persian gardens have not survived; recent excavations, however, provide evidence of the extensive development of gardens under successive dynasties. The original Persian garden (*bāgh*) was irrigated by canals diverted from a river or stream. The new towns and cities under Muslim rule, including capital cities like the Baghdad of the Abbasids, contained several gardens influenced by the Persian pattern. Rulers continued to build gardens in newly established population centers, using existing water installations or creating new channels for irrigation. Muslim travelers' accounts from the medieval period describe a profusion of richly endowed gardens, public and private, with fountains and pavilions. One of the patterns that came to dominate the design of these gardens, though not exclusively, was the *chahār-bāgh*—the foursquare garden, often linked to the Qurʾanic allusion to the four rivers of paradise. The Safavid gardens, particularly in Isfahan, are a fine example and extension of this foursquare style.

The Muslim Umayyad rulers of Andalusia continued Roman and local Spanish traditions in order to develop exquisite gardens, some of which survive in the early twenty-first century, as in the Alhambra. The excavations of the Umayyad palace city, Madīnat al-Zahra, destroyed in the eleventh century, reveal the presence of gardens, fountains, and pavilions. Most of these structures were created to reflect a symmetrical design, organized to present dramatic vistas, and also to afford a sense of privacy, intimacy, and leisure. It has been suggested that these gardens were framed within a geometrical pattern intended to reflect order, authority, and symmetry in nature as well as in society, thus simultaneously evoking religious, aesthetic, and political meanings. Another historical example of extensive garden construction is that of the Mughal period in Central and South Asia. Several of these gardens have survived in Afghanistan, India, and Pakistan. They illustrate connections with new landscapes combined with visions of spaces that mark transitions to the afterlife and the rich imagery of the Qurʾān.

The Qurʾanic image of the garden and the rich enhancement of landscape throughout Muslim history have made these concepts a fertile source for Muslim poetry and literature. Two of the classics of Persian literature, Sa'di's *Rose Garden,* or *Gulistân* (c. 1256 CE), and his *Fruit Orchard,* or *Bustan* (c. 1257), are inspired in their form as well as their imagery by garden motifs. Much of Muslim mystical poetry builds on the symbolic meanings of the garden, its geometrical design, water, profusion, greenery, the budding of the rose, the bee among the flowers, the harmony of form and essence, and the transient and created nature of the earthly garden. The archetypal space is the site of the meaning of human life, its exalted destiny as well as the focus of its memory. The garden may represent both the place of transition as well as arrival, and of ultimate repose in the world or an anticipation of the hereafter.

ISLAMIC GARDENS IN MODERN TIMES. Pressures resulting from population growth, urbanization, climate change, and economic underdevelopment have led to the neglect, degradation and even extinction of public and private green spaces across the Muslim world. Many of the emerging Muslim nation-states and societies have sought to restore and revive their gardens through local initiatives or assistance from global organizations committed to preservation, restoration, and recreation. The erosion of the heritage is now balanced by such new efforts as the landscaping around the airport in Jakarta, the Bagh-e-Ferdowsi in Tehran, the reforestation project on the campus of a university in Ankara, and the Al-Azhar Park project in Cairo. There are many other cases that need to be addressed to repair both natural and human-made disasters. The heritage of gardens is inseparable from the vitality of culture in the Muslim world and the ecological aspirations of human beings that transcend time and space.

SEE ALSO Architecture; Geometry; Islam, overview article; Paradise.

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AZIM NANJI (2005)

GARIFUNA RELIGION.

The Garifuna are an ethnic group numbering roughly 300,000 with communities in some 40 villages dotting the Caribbean coasts of Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala, and Belize. Their traditional ancestor-focused religion presents a multilayered confluence of Amerindian, African, and Roman Catholic influences.

HISTORY. The Garifuna are descendants of Africans and Amerindians (Carib and Arawak) who shared the island of Saint Vincent beginning in the second half of the seventeenth century. *Garifuna* is properly the name of their language, which is affiliated with the Arawak linguistic family. The term is derived from *Kalinago,* the ethnic title used by Island Carib Amerindians to describe themselves but misrecognized by Christopher Columbus as "Carib." Europeans called the Garifuna "Black Caribs" because of the group's apparent African ancestry. That appellation was in common usage until the shift to Garifuna as a standard ethnic name after the middle of the twentieth century.

The African presence on Saint Vincent derived in part from survivors of a slaver shipwreck near the island dated to 1635. Most probably, then, their African origins derived from the slave trade out of the ports of west central Africa. The African presence also derived from Carib raids that carried slaves from European colonies and from the arrival of fleeing African maroons from neighboring Barbados and elsewhere. By 1674, according to accounts from the Jesuit missions, the "Black Carib" numbered as many as the "Red" Island Carib on Saint Vincent. Reports from 1700 indicate that they had already founded settlements separated from the Island Carib Amerindians.

After 1783 Saint Vincent became a permanent British colony and was slotted for sugar production. Following a period of military resistance in the Second Carib War (1795–1797), a British naval convoy deported approximately five thousand Garifuna to Roatan, an island just off the coast of Central America. Though half of those deported died in transit, their survivors settled the Central American coast early in the 1800s. This became the new homeland, the site of their reconstitution as a distinct ethnic group with its own specific set of religious practices.

RELIGIOUS TRANSCULTURATION. Garifuna religion provides a stunning example of the religious transculturation that occurred throughout the Caribbean Basin during the colonial period. Seventeenth-century missionary accounts of the Island Carib Amerindians describe religious leaders known as *piaye* or *boyé.* These were shamans who used gourd rattles and tobacco to cure patients of illnesses attributed to malignant spirits through their mastery and mediation of tutelary ancestral spirits. They are also recorded as performing divination. The "Black Caribs" adopted this religious office and techniques from their Saint Vincent hosts. Garifuna religion continues to rely upon the leadership of such shamans, still called by the similar title of *buyei.* They orchestrate and direct sophisticated ritual performances under the influence of the helping spirits of benevolent ancestors *(hiuruha).* Other aspects of early Island Carib Amerindian religion, like the belief that a person is constituted by multiple souls, including the "heart-soul" (*uwani*) as the seat of agency and will and the "spirit double" *(afurugu)* that may wander during dreams and after death, remain a vital part of contemporary Garifuna religion as well. These bear witness to the legacy of Island Carib Amerindian societies, many of them now nearly assimilated or extinct, in Garifuna religious life.

Traditional west central African religious practices also left their mark on Garifuna religion. The most elaborate ritual performances, called *dügü*, utilize three drums to guide dances that culminate in spirit possession by returning ancestors, called *gubida*, who are feted as they dance and consult with the living. Drummers' use of polyrhythmic meter for dances like the *punta*, once a funerary dance, and the *junkunnu*, a mask dance, punctuate and offset the use of monorhythms like the *amalihani*. These complex drumming patterns recall in music and dance the west central African legacy.

Catholicism also played a key role in Garifuna religion as it assumed its current form after 1797. All traditional Garifuna religious actors also consider themselves to be Catholic, and Catholicism provides the overall mythic structure within which the ancestor religion is maintained. Malignant *(mafia)* spirits, for example, typically associated spatially with "the bush" *(el monte),* are considered manifestations of the devil, while positive spirits are regarded as agents of the high God *(Bungiu).* Postmortem rituals (see below) begin with "masses" *(lemesi)* adapted from official Roman Catholic liturgy and continue with novenas (ninth-night masses) and anniversary masses performed to remember and appease the dead. Catholic saints are prominent on Garifuna altars, and specific saints like Esquipula and Anthony are called upon as sources of solace and assistance.

SMALL-SCALE RITUAL EVENTS. Since the overall mythic and ethical structure of Garifuna religion is provided by Roman Catholic Christianity, the distinguishing characteristics of Garifuna religion are found in its sophisticated complex of ritual practices. Moreover since specific beliefs and ethical postures vary widely in relation to popular adaptations of Catholicism, correct ritual practice is particularly crucial to Garifuna religious identity. Myths and belief remain largely implicit, embedded in ritual performance.

In general, rituals are focused on the problem of death and the transfer in status from living human being to exalted ancestor *(gubida).* Though the dead remain a source of power for the living, they must also be helped by living family members as they take the steps from this world to their status as recently departed spirits *(ahari)* and then to one of finally becoming *gubida* in the otherworld. The otherworld is called *Sairi*, the home of the ancestors, and is often physically located on Saint Vincent. The postmortem journey is simultaneously one of progressive spiritual advance and one of geographic traverse, or return, to the lost homeland. The ritualization of death is therefore in part an expression of diasporic consciousness, a means of looking back to a paradise lost.

Insofar as the ritual obligations to the dead are not adequately performed by the living, ancestors register their complaints through signs experienced by the living as nightmares, bad luck, accidents, and unexplained illnesses. Garifuna religion is in this sense rigorously this-worldly. It is concerned with alleviating concrete material problems by contemplating them and acting upon them as ruptures in the relations between of the living and the ancestors. These crises are addressed through a sequence of ritual interventions that demand progressively more serious investments. The ability to prosper in the material world is therefore understood as directly related to and contingent upon the attention devoted to the family ancestors' "advance" through the spirit world.

Veluria. When a member of the community dies, the corpse of the deceased is placed in a coffin and laid out in his or her house for public viewing. Candles are lit and placed at each corner, and near the coffin a simple altar is erected on a low table, including holy water and statues of Catholic saints. Crepe-paper streamers are hung in a canopy over the body. Friends and relatives arrive at the wake and hold vigil through the night, drinking coffee and rum (*aguardiente* or *guaro*), playing cards, and talking. At dawn the corpse is interred in a graveyard that is nearby yet spatially removed from the village. The burial is accompanied by wailing laments and the pouring of rum into the grave by family members and friends.

Amuidahani. Between six months and several years after the death, the family "bathes" the deceased. A small pit is dug immediately adjacent to the home, and a fresh change of clothes for the departed is suspended above it. Family members and intimate friends pour liquids into the pit, variously including freshwater, saltwater, strained cassava water, herbal infusions, and favored beverages like coffee and rum. Tobacco and favorite foods may be offered as well. Following the "bathing" of the deceased, the pit is closed. The ritual is small and intimate in nature, of short duration, and does not require the presence of the *buyei* as officiant.

Lemesi. Around a year following death, as well as later if called for by the ancestor through divination by the *buyei*, a "mass" is held for the spirit of the deceased *(ahari),* who is viewed as still present in the village. The occasion marks the end of a period of mourning for the spouse who survives the dead and, as an occasion marking the return to everyday life, is conspicuously festive. Food and beverages are served, and the celebrative *punta* dance is drummed and danced in the yard. The *punta* is typically comprised of a circle into which a man and a woman enter in pairs, two at a time. The dance entails the rhythmic oscillation of the hips while holding the upper body perfectly still and the facial expression calm. It celebrates both the life of the deceased and the ongoing force of the community despite the loss of one of its members.

Women gathered for the purpose sing “women’s songs” *(abaimahani),* standing in a line with little fingers linked and thrusting the arms forward in rhythmic concert, a gesture suggestive of shared labor. The song lyrics recall the struggles of family life and loyalty and sometimes speak from the perspective of the ancestors, pleading to not be forgotten. Men’s songs *(arumahani)* are ideally presented in similar fashion, though since the twentieth century it has become increasingly challenging to find a choir of males able and willing to perform the old songs. This is because of a common male pattern of leaving the village for long durations in order to find work. The lyrics of men’s songs often recall the necessity and dangers of travel for labor far from home and the longing to return.

In addition traditional tales *(úruga)* may be told, often humorous trickster-like narratives. The festivities continue until dawn.

MAJOR RITUAL EVENTS. While the foregoing are required in all cases, the most elaborate postmortem rituals, the *chugu* and the *dügü*, are called for only when specifically requested by an ancestral spirit. When a family member suffers unusual misfortune, recurring nightmares, or unexplained illnesses or pains, he or she may consult a shaman *(buyei).* With the patient seated before the *buyei’*s altar *(gule),* the *buyei* lights a candle, smokes his or her pipe, and summons his or her tutelary spirits *(hiuruha)* by blowing the vapor of rum from the mouth over the altar. This activates it. Blowing smoke over the head of the patient, he or she consults with his or her spirits to “read” the nature of the problem at hand, depending on the movement of the smoke and the insights granted by tutelary spirits *(hiuruha).* This ritual act is called *arairaguni*, “bringing down the spirits.” If the problem is one caused by the ancestors *(hasandigubida),* he or she negotiates with the afflicting spirit to decipher what it requires. This may be a *misa,* a *chugu,* or in the most serious of cases, a *dügü.* Together with the patient, and taking account of the family’s financial resources, the shaman then plots the course of action.

Chugu. The *chugu,* literally the “feeding” of the dead, is a one- to two-day ceremony officiated by a *buyei.* In addition to all of the elements included in a “mass,” it entails the assembly of a greater number of relatives and the preparation of large quantities of food offerings, including roosters *(gayu)* offered for sacrifice. Since a more intimate communication with the dead is required than in a “mass,” the *buyei* erects his or her personal altar *(gule)* in the house where the *chugu* will take place. There he or she places the symbols of his or her key helping spirits as well as the implements of the shaman’s vocation: the maracas *(sirisi)* used to call the spirit, the wand *(murewa)* used to communicate with and control the spirit should possession trance occur, and bottles of rum and tobacco used to purify the room and to activate, or “heat,” the altar. Traditional foods are prepared, including most importantly the sacrificed roosters *(gayu)* and cassava bread *(ereba),* to present an abundant table to the dead. Women’s and men’s songs are performed at length, and the spirit may also be celebrated with *punta* dancing. Much rum is consumed to create the atmosphere of exuberance and generous abundance believed to be favored by the ancestors.

At the conclusion of the day’s events, the *buyei* concocts a nog of beaten eggs and hot rum *(furunsu).* Each participant places his or her full cup upon the altar while making requests of the ancestor before exchanging the cup with another participant. The exchanged communal drink unites the group. Finally, the *buyei* “burns the table,” pouring rum over its surface and igniting it in flame. A strong blue flame reveals the ancestor’s approval of the offering and indicates that the precipitating symptoms of bad luck or illness that evoked the *chugu* should subside.

Dügü. Just as the *chugu* contains all the elements of the “mass,” the *dügü* contains all the elements of the *chugu,* such that the larger ritual encompasses the smaller in the style of Chinese boxes. *Dügü* is short for *adugurahani,* “mashing down the earth,” perhaps referring to the long periods of dance that are required of participants. It is regarded as the fullest expression of Garifuna religion and is a major ritual event that is prepared for a full year and performed over a week’s duration. It typically occurs many years after the death of a family member and only when mandated by a *buyei* and his or her spirit helpers. Announcements about the *dügü* circulate for at least a year to insure that sufficient funds can be raised for sacrifices of roosters, pigs, and sometimes a cow and to feed a crowd of participants that may number in the hundreds for a week’s time. All family members, even those residing in the United States, are obligated to attend. Indeed the ritual’s efficacy depends on a complete demonstration of family unity to resolve the perceived crisis. It is arguably the emotional dramatization of family unity itself that provides in part the experience of the ritual as a healing cure.

First, a ceremonial house (*gayunere* or *dabuyaba*) must be constructed in “traditional” palm-thatch style on the beach. The *dügü* formally begins with the “return of the fishermen,” a group sent three days prior to catch fish in the “traditional” way in the offshore cays. They arrive at dawn, attired as Garifuna ancestors wearing helmets of woven palm, and are greeted with exuberant songs by family members attired in matching red-dyed uniforms. They are given rum and cigarettes and are laid in hammocks, just as the ancestors will be later in the ritual when they are incorporated in living bodies of dancers through spirit possession.

Over the next two days follows a sequence of dances both to honor the ancestors and create the conditions for their arrival in possession. First are the *amalahani,* dances to honor the ancestors. These continue for up to four hours at a time, brought to crescendo by the shaman, who exhorts the large group until some are possessed by ancestors. Transformed into known figures from the past, they make requests and are soothed with rum and food. Living family members may ask questions, in response to which the ancestors give counsel.

Throughout the second and third day, the food offering *(chugu)* is prepared. Roosters—one required from each attending nuclear family—are sacrificed, massive amounts of rum assembled, and tables loaded with the most traditional Garifuna foods. The food is piled high on a wooden table and left for the ancestors' consumption. After the spirits "eat," the assembled participants also take their fill, rejoicing in the luxurious abundance far exceeding that of everyday life. At the close of the day, what remains of the spirits' food is buried in the ground or returned to the sea, taken by canoe and deposited in the deeps.

Finally, the shaman guarantees the ancestors' acceptance of the offerings. Pouring rum on the table, he or she feeds the flame and tips the table to all sides, as in the *chugu.* There is great joy, and all rush to wipe the sacralized liquor on their bodies as a balm for all pains. Reunited family groups run to enter the sea together in a temporary moment of *communitas.*

As the *dügü* summons and placates ancestors, it also reinforces family bonds among the living. This has become increasingly important as a third of the Garifuna have emigrated to the United States since the middle of the twentieth century. The *dügü* takes on new import and meaning for those residing abroad, serving the purpose of communicating the experience of home through the dense, compact form of ritual performance. Territoriality, or consciousness of place, is fortified above all in this central ritual performance. With increased migration, the *dügü* appears to be gaining in the frequency of its performance rather than suffering a decline.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS. Migration to cities like New York has sparked a new identity consciousness of the Garifuna's African roots. Religious leaders in New York have begun to conceive of their traditional practices within the purview of other African diaspora religions like Cuban Santería and Haitian vodou. This new form of indigenous syncretism justifies a view of the Garifuna as a dramatically innovative religion, especially as it is reshaped in the new contexts of U.S. urban centers. As Garifuna religious leaders in the United States return periodically to perform rituals in Honduras, Belize, and Guatemala, they carry with them a new identity consciousness. This will likely have transformative effects on homeland religious performance as well.

The second key contemporary issue of Garifuna religion is the rise of evangelical Christian sects since around 1980 in homeland villages. Converts to the new churches disavow all connections to traditional practices, which are regarded as diabolical. The use of dance, tobacco, rum, and altars are vehemently rejected, leading to the dismissal not only of Catholicism but of virtually all traditional rites. This creates friction within families and between village factions and generates new conundrums for traditional practices like the *dügü,* since in that ritual all members of the family are required to be present. When evangelicals refuse to attend such events, they are accused of jeopardizing the rituals' efficacy and therefore also the physical safety of everyone in their kin group. While such disputes are divisive, they also serve as explanations of future accidents, bad luck, and illnesses. The disputes therefore incite ritual as much they compromise it.

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PAUL CHRISTOPHER JOHNSON (2005)

GARVEY, MARCUS. Marcus Mosiah Garvey (August 17, 1887–June 10, 1940), the founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), led the largest mass movement among African Americans and can be regarded as one of the founding fathers of Pan-Africanism and the Black Consciousness movement.

Garvey was born in Saint Ann's Bay, Jamaica. During the first decade of the twentieth century, he was involved in the labor movement and advocated for labor reforms in his paper, the *Watchman.* But he quickly became disillusioned and grew skeptical about the ability of unions to bring about meaningful improvements in the lives of blacks, and about the willingness of whites to cooperate in achieving such a goal. After a brief stint working for the United Fruit banana plantation in Costa Rica, he moved to London, where he came under the influence of Duse Muhammad Ali and wrote articles for his paper, *Africa Times and Orient Review.* While he was in London, Garvey was inspired with a new vision after reading Booker T. Washington's *Up from Slavery.* When he returned to Jamaica in 1914, Garvey quickly formed the UNIA, whose purpose was to unite Africans from all over the world in a common purpose of uplift.

Following Washington's Tuskegee model, Garvey's first program was the establishment of a trade school. This effort never enjoyed success, however, due primarily to lack of financial resources. Washington invited Garvey to visit Tuskegee but died a few months before Garvey arrived in New York City in March 1916. Garvey began introducing himself at different churches and sharing his vision. By 1918 he had started a weekly, the *Negro World* that grew in circulation to fifty thousand. By 1919 Garvey had raised enough funds to purchase an auditorium on West 138th Street in Harlem called Liberty Hall, where throngs came to hear his spellbinding oratory. The popularity of Garvey and his movement grew exponentially after he launched his project to purchase ocean steamers to trade with Africa and take black people back to Africa. Blacks purchased stocks in his company, the Black Star Line, at five dollars per share. Over half a million dollars was raised, and the first ship was purchased in the first year. The UNIA's first international convention, attended by thousands of delegates from every part of the world, was held at Liberty Hall and Madison Square Garden in August 1920. The convention proclaimed Garvey the provisional president of the Republic of Africa and adopted a Declaration of the Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World.

Garvey's movement also had a religious component. Garvey did not think blacks could ever acquire a strong sense of self-esteem while worshipping a white God and a white Savior. He argued that God, Christ, and Mary were black. In 1921 the UNIA's chaplain general, George Alexander McGuire, formed the Good Shepherd Independent Episcopal Church and authored *The Universal Negro Catechism* and *The Universal Negro Ritual.* McGuire and Garvey disagreed over forming a separate denomination, and McGuire then formed the African Orthodox Church.

The Black Star Line's financial difficulties contributed significantly to Garvey's demise and the decline of his movement. The ships purchased were unsound, and the organization lacked the resources to repair them after two disastrous ventures. By 1921 two of Garvey's ships were inoperable. African American critics of Garvey's movement, including the leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, W. E. B. Du Bois, instigated Garvey's arrest for mail fraud. Garvey was tried and convicted in 1923; he was sentenced to five years in prison and fined $1,000.

Garvey was pardoned by President Calvin Coolidge in 1927 and was deported to Jamaica, where he tried unsuccessfully to rebuild his movement. In 1935 he moved to London and published a periodical, the *Black Man.* He died of a stroke in June 1940. Even though he achieved few of his goals, Garvey's name is still revered among black nationalists.

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JAMES ANTHONY NOEL (2005)

GASTER, THEODOR H. Theodor H. Gaster (1906–1992) was a renowned Semiticist and follower of James G. Frazer. He was born in England, the son of the folklorist Moses Gaster, who was Romanian by birth and a legendary linguist and scholar of Judaica. When the family immigrated to England, Moses Gaster became chief rabbi of the Sephardic Jewish community in London. He was also a leading Zionist, and Theodor "recalled that the first draft of the Balfour Declaration [which announced the British aim of creating a homeland for Jews] was prepared in his father's home. For a time, Theodor, along with his young friends Abba Eban and Isaiah Berlin, would go from door to door in London soliciting donations on behalf of this future homeland" (Hiers and Stahmer, 1995, p. 64).

Theodor Gaster was educated in private schools in London. He received an undergraduate degree in classics from the University of London in 1928 and a master's degree in Near Eastern archaeology, also from the University of London, in 1936. His master's thesis, a preview of his key work, was titled "The Ras Shamra Texts and the Origins of Drama." His mastery of languages was extraordinary, and he was "one of the last generation of scholars equally at home in Classical, Ancient Near Eastern, and multiple modern languages" (Hiers and Stahmer, 1995, p. 65).

With few academic positions open to Jewish scholars, Gaster held a series of museum and library appointments for the first part of his professional life. His first major appointment came in 1928, as curator in the Department of Egyptian and Semitic Antiquities at the Wellcome Research Institution and Museum in London. He served there until 1932 and again from 1936 to 1939. In 1935 he became literary editor of the *Jewish Daily Post,* contributing an array of scholarly and popular articles almost daily during the nine months of its existence.

In 1937 Gaster became lecturer on biblical and Near Eastern archaeology at New College and Institute of Archeology of the University of London, where he served until 1939. In the 1930s he published innumerable scholarly articles on Ras Shamra and the Bible.

In 1939 or 1940 Gaster moved from London to New York and began work on a Ph.D. at Columbia University. While pursuing his doctorate he continued to publish prolifically. In 1941 and 1942 he was editorial secretary for the Institute of Jewish Affairs of the American Jewish Congress, and in 1943 he was executive secretary for the Conference on Jewish Relations. From 1943 to 1945 he was managing editor of *Jewish Social Studies* and frequently contributed articles on Judaica, the Bible, and the ancient and modern Near East. In the mid-1940s he also began contributing to *Commentary,* and in the mid- to late 1940s he published articles on the Bible in the *Jewish Quarterly Review.*

In the early 1940s Gaster apparently missed securing a professorship in Jewish learning at Duke University because his comparativist bent was considered insufficiently traditional. In 1942 he began teaching part time in the graduate school at Columbia University, and in 1945 he also began teaching part time at Dropsie College, in Philadelphia. From 1946 to 1950 he was a lecturer on Semitic civilization at New York University. From the mid-1940s until the mid-1960s, he was a visiting professor at many colleges and universities in the United States and three times at the University of Leeds.

Gaster's first full-time American post came in 1945, when he served for a year and a half as chief of the Hebraic Section of the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. In 1951 and 1952, he was a Fulbright Professor in the history of religions at the University of Rome, and in 1961 he was a Fulbright Professor in biblical studies and history of religions at the University of Melbourne.

Most of the books for which Gaster is best known were published in the 1950s, including his translation of the Dead Sea Scrolls, widely admired for its felicitousness; *Thespis,* his application of the Frazerian myth-and-ritual theory to the ancient Near East and beyond; and his abridgment and updating of James Frazer's *The Golden Bough* (*The New Golden Bough* [1959]), in which he retained the theory but updated the data. This abridgment was of Frazer's third twelve-volume edition of his opus, which Frazer himself had abridged into one volume in 1922. Gaster's final major work, the two-volume tome *Myth, Legend, and Custom in the Old Testament* (1969). was similarly an abridgment and updating of Frazer's *Folk-lore in the Old Testament.*

Only in 1966, at the age of sixty, did Gaster secure a permanent full-time academic post, as professor of religion at Barnard College, the women's undergraduate division of Columbia University. He helped revamp the curriculum and served a term as chair. He continued to lecture widely, and from 1971 to 1981 he was professor of religion and director of ancient Near Eastern studies at Dropsie College, by then renamed Dropsie University. Upon his retirement from Barnard, he was once again a visiting professor at many American universities. He relocated to Florida to teach for several years at the University of Florida. He died in Philadelphia, where he had moved in 1988.

As a theorist, Gaster's main contribution was his distinctive brand of myth-ritualism—the theory that connects myth to ritual. Gaster assumed that existing versions of the theory downplayed myth in favor of ritual, and he strove to accord myth the same importance as ritual. Certainly the original version of myth-ritualism, that formulated by William Robertson Smith, made myth secondary to ritual, but it is debatable whether succeeding versions of the theory did.

Gaster's myth-ritualist scenario, which he painstakingly sought to reconstruct for the ancient Near East, derives from Frazer, whose dual and ultimately incompatible versions of myth-ritualism Gaster sought to combine. In Frazer's first version, the king is human and merely plays the role of the god of vegetation, who dies and, through the imitation of his rebirth, is magically reborn. In Frazer's second version the king is himself divine and is killed outright and replaced, with the soul of the god of vegetation thereby automatically transferred from the incumbent to his successor. For Gaster, the king either is god or merely represents god. It is simply not clear which he is asserting. On the one hand, according to Gaster, the king is literally or symbolically killed and replaced annually. Here Gaster is using Frazer's second version. On the other hand, according to Gaster, the killing and replacing of the king parallels the death and rebirth of the god of vegetation and, by magical imitation, causes the rebirth of the god. Here Gaster is using Frazer's first version. Followers of Frazer other than Gaster have also become confused in trying to reconcile actual regicide (king as divine) with magical imitation (king as human).

For Frazer, the myth of the death and rebirth of the god of vegetation explains the ritual. It is the script of the ritual. For Gaster, the myth does more than explain the ritual. By itself, the ritual operates on only the human plane. Myth connects ritual to the divine plane. The renewal sought thereby becomes spiritual and not merely physical. Rather than simply explicating the inherent, physical meaning of ritual, as Frazer did, Gaster saw myth as giving ritual its spiritual meaning. In this sense he accords myth a status at least equal to that of ritual. To do so, he must in fact be confining himself to Frazer's first myth-ritualist scenario, for only here is the myth of the god to be found.

SEE ALSO Frazer, James G.; Myth; Myth and Ritual School; Ritual.

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GATEWAYS SEE PORTALS

GAUḌAPĀDA, Indian philosopher, was the reputed *para-ma-guru* ("teacher's teacher") of Śaṅkara. Information about Gauḍapāda is scant and has been subject to scholarly controversy. In what is now regarded as a fantastic thesis, Max von Walleser professed in his *Der ältere Vedanta: Geschichte, Kritik und Lehre* (Heidelberg, 1910) that Gauḍapāda never existed at all. However, both V. Bhattacharya (1943) and T. M. P. Mahadevan (1969) have argued convincingly that Gauḍapāda was a real person, the author of what is called *Āgama Śāstra* or *Gauḍapādīyakārikā,* or simply *Māṇḍūkyakārikā.*

The name *Gauḍa* indicates that he must have come from Gauḍadesá ("Gauḍa country"), or Bengal. On the authority of the *Śārīrakamīmāṃsābhāṣya-vārttika* of Bālakṛṣṇananda Sarasvatī (seventeenth century CE), it is known that in the country of Kurukṣetra (north of present-day Delhi), near the Hīravatī River, there lived a group of people who had migrated from Bengal (and hence were called Gauḍas); the most eminent among them was one Gauḍapāda. Exactly when Gauḍapāda lived has also been a matter of controversy. Some scholars place him in the fifth century CE, but this theory contradicts the traditional belief that he was Śaṅkara's teacher's teacher, for Śaṅkara is generally assumed to have flourished somewhere between 788 and

820 CE. Another assumption is that Gauḍapāda was a contemporary of Apollonius of Tyana, who traveled to India in the first century CE. This, however, is highly conjectural, and would place Gauḍapāda at an earlier, and even less likely date.

According to Ānandagiri (a pupil of Śaṅkara), Gauḍapāda lived the final part of his life in Badarikāśrama, the holy residence of Nara-Nārāyaṇa, and spent his time in deep meditation on the lord (Nārāyaṇa-Kṛṣṇa). Greatly pleased with Gauḍapāda, the lord thus revealed to him an insight into the quintessence of Upaniṣadic wisdom, which he recorded in his *Māṇḍūkyakārikā.* Commenting on Gauḍapāda's *Āgama-Śāstra,* a certain Śaṅkara (perhaps identical with the great Śaṅkara) remarked that nondualism had been recovered from the Vedas by Gauḍapāda in order to refute the dualism of the Sāṃkhya masters.

The *Āgama Śāstra* is divided into four *prakaraṇa*s, or chapters. It is regarded as a commentary on the brief, enigmatic Upaniṣad called *Maṇḍūkya.* Only in the first chapter are the *mantras* of the *Maṇḍūkya* discussed. Then the author goes on to establish the Advaita ("nondual") doctrine by arguing against the dualists, such as the Sāṃkhya philosophers, and the pluralists, such as the Nyāya philosophers. His doctrine is called the *ajātivāda,* or the "theory of nonorigination." The paradox of permanence and change is invoked to show that causation or origination of new things is unintelligible. The Sāṃkhya philosophers who say that the cause persists in, and is identical with, the effect (*satkāryavāda*), and the Nyāya philosophers who say that the cause creates the effect, which was nonexistent before (*asatkāryavāda*), oppose each other and both, thereby, are refuted; this then points toward the truth of the view of nonorigination, that is, that nothing can originate. Creation is only an illusion; the diversity of the world has only a dreamlike existence, for the ultimate reality is a nondifferential unity.

It is believed that Gauḍapāda was strongly influenced by Buddhism, especially by the Yogācāra school. It has even been suggested that the *Āgama Śāstra* is actually a Buddhist text. But while the influence of Buddhist doctrines and arguments upon Gauḍapāda is undeniable, it would be wrong to conclude that he was a Buddhist. The fourth chapter of the *Āgama Śāstra* undoubtedly includes much Buddhist material. But it is still safe to conclude that Gauḍapāda was an early Vedāntin who must have influenced Śaṅkara in the development of his celebrated nondualism.

SEE ALSO Nyāya; Sāṃkhya; Śaṅkara.

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Revised Bibliography

GAUTAMA SEE BUDDHA

GE HONG (283–343) was a Chinese writer on alchemy and Daoism. Although a number of works have been attributed to Ge Hong, the only incontestable source for his thought is his *Baopuzi* (The master who embraces simplicity). This consists today of twenty "inner chapters" on Daoist themes, fifty "outer chapters" on more Confucian topics, and an account of his own life. In both portions of his work Ge demonstrates an encyclopedic eclecticism that has caused later scholars a certain amount of difficulty in assessing his ideas.

To understand Ge Hong's intellectual orientation, it is necessary to know his cultural situation. Ge was a member of the old aristocracy that had lived in the lands south of the Yangtze since the Han dynasty and had served in the separatist kingdom of Wu that in 222 succeeded the Han in South China. The Wu state was conquered from the north by the Jin in 280, but the expulsion of the Jin court from North China by barbarian invasions in the early fourth century forced this new regime to transfer its capital to present-day Nanjing. This demoralizing cultural invasion further accentuated the southern aristocrats' loss of independent political power, for the southerners saw themselves as the true heirs of Han civilization, unlike the northern immigrants, who had abandoned much of the Han heritage. Ge at first had some hopes of a political career under the Jin, but the premature death of his patron forced him to turn increasingly to a life of scholarship. As a consequence, his writings manifest an urge to collect the various strands of the old culture of pre-Jin times and make from them a compendium of southern intellectual conservatism. Dominant in this is a defense of local occult traditions against introduced religious and philosophical ideas.

To what degree Ge, the political outsider, managed to compensate for his disappointments by becoming a master of the occult is not clear. Recent scholarship has preferred to see him as an enthusiast who derived his knowledge from written sources more than from initiation into secret lore. But Ge used this knowledge to the full to defend his thesis that any person may become a genuine immortal. In arguing against those who interpreted immortality as a symbol of liberation from human limitations and against those who believed that immortals where born, not made, Ge provides a treasure trove of information on ancient techniques for achieving immortality. Ge's references to the alchemical preparation of elixirs of immortality have attracted the attention of modern historians of science, but he provides information on much else besides: sexual and other physiological practices, the use of talismans, herbal aids to longevity, lists of occult texts, and heterodox cults to be avoided. Because by the end of the fourth century, the religious situation in south China had been transformed totally by outside influences and internal developments, the *Baopuzi* constitutes virtually the only source for this type of lore at an earlier period.

Although the exact date of the *Baopuzi* is unknown, it would appear to have been substantially completed by 317. The Jin court bestowed on Ge honorary, politically powerless appointments in the following decade, but thereafter Ge seems to have sought to distance himself from court life in favor of alchemical pursuits. He managed eventually to obtain a posting to the far south (present-day North Vietnam) in order to search for the ingredients of the elixir of immortality. He was detained en route in present-day Guangdong and remained there, on Mount Luofu, until his death. His contemporaries readily believed that this was a feigned death and that he had in fact reached his goal of immortality.

Despite the philosophical Daoist underpinnings that he provides for his repertory of techniques, Ge Hong's contributions to the development of Daoism were in a sense negligible. His approach to the beliefs that he recorded remained a purely individual one, and his writings, in all their contradictory richness, can in no way be taken as representative of the religion of any particular body of believers. Indeed, the group religious practices of his day seem to have fallen largely outside the scope of his research. Nonetheless he may be seen as the first of a number of southern aristocrats with similar concerns. Such later figures as Lu Xiujing (406–477) and, especially, Tao Hongjing (456–536), though priests in the mainstream of Daoist belief, maintained Ge's emphasis on broad erudition and surpassed him in critical scholarship. But for Daoists and non-Daoists alike, the *Baopuzi* remained one of the most widely cited apologies for the pursuit of immortality.

See Also Alchemy, article on Chinese Alchemy; Daoism, article on Daoist Literature.

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GEIGER, ABRAHAM (1810–1874), rabbi, foremost exponent and idealogue of Reform Judaism in nineteenth-century Germany and outstanding scholar of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* (the modern scholarly study of Judaism). Geiger was born in Frankfurt, where he received a distinguished, traditional Talmudic education. He was also attracted to secular studies and in 1833 received his doctorate from the University of Bonn for a work entitled *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen* (What did Muḥammad take from Judaism?), a study that measured Judaism's influence on early Islam. In 1832 Geiger became rabbi in Wiesbaden, and there he set out to rescue Judaism from medieval rabbinic forms that he regarded as rigid, unaesthetic, and unappealing to Jews of contemporary cultural sensibilities. He did this by initiating reforms in the synagogue service and by calling, in 1837, for a conference of Reform rabbis in Wiesbaden. Moreover, he hoped to show how the academic study of the Jewish past could be enlisted as an aid in the causes of Jewish political emancipation and religious reform through the publication of the *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für jüdische Theologie* (1835–1847).

Geiger became embroiled in controversy in 1838 when the Breslau Jewish community selected him as *dayyan* (religious judge) and assistant rabbi over the strong protests of the Breslau Orthodox rabbi, Solomon Tiktin. Indeed, because of this opposition, Geiger could not accept the position until 1840. Upon Tiktin's death in 1843 Geiger became rabbi of the city. There he continued his activities on behalf of Reform, playing an active role in the Reform rabbinical conferences of 1845 and 1846, held respectively in Frankfurt and Breslau.

Geiger's undiminished commitment to the academic study of Judaism and his belief in the need for a modern rabbinical seminary to train rabbis in the spirit of modern Western culture and *Wissenschaft des Judentums* led, in 1854, to the creation of the Jüdisch-Theologisches Seminar in Breslau. Geiger was bitterly disappointed, though, when the board of the seminary decided to appoint as principal the more conservative Zacharias Frankel instead of himself. It was not until 1872, two years after Geiger had come to Berlin as a Reform rabbi to the community, that his dream of directing a modern rabbinical seminary came to fruition. For in that year the Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums was established, with Geiger at its head. He remained director of this center for the training of Liberal rabbis until his death.

Geiger's scholarship was prodigious and profound. His most influential work, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel* (The original text and translations of the Bible; 1857), advocated the methodology of biblical criticism, and a host of other scholarly and polemical articles and books displays his broad knowledge of all facets of Jewish history and culture. These publications reveal his determination to make Judaism an integral part of Western culture and indicate both his theological bent and his ability to employ historical and philological studies in the cause of religious reform.

Geiger's work, carried out in the context of *Religionswissenschaft,* pointed to the evolutionary nature of the Jewish religion and, under the influence of Schleiermacher, allowed him to focus on the inwardness of the Jewish religious spirit. Having thereby mitigated the force of tradition, Geiger was able, in terms borrowed from Hegel, to view Judaism as a universal religion identified with the self-actualization of the Absolute. He therefore downplayed nationalistic elements in the Jewish past, denied them any validity in the present, and justified Jewish separateness in the modern world by speaking of Judaism's theological uniqueness and spiritual mission. Nevertheless, Geiger, unlike his more radical colleague Samuel Holdheim, represented a moderate approach to Reform. He refused to serve a Reform congregation that separated itself from the general Jewish community, he observed Jewish dietary laws, and he urged the retention of traditional Jewish laws of marriage and divorce. In addition, he favored the observance of the second day of the festivals and, like his more conservative peer Frankel, spoke of "positive-historical" elements in Judaism.

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GELUGPA See DGE LUGS PA

GE MYTHOLOGY.

Before Brazilian expansion diminished their territories, the widely scattered, generally independent and isolated groups that speak languages of the Ge family occupied a large expanse of the Brazilian interior, from approximately 2° to 28° south latitude, and from 42° to 58° west longitude. They are usually grouped into three branches on the basis of linguistic similarities: the northern Ge (the Kayapó, Suyá, Apinagé, and the various Timbirá groups in the Brazilian states of Pará, Mato Grosso, Goiás, and Maranhão), the central Ge (the Xavante and Xerente, in the states of Mato Grosso and Goiás), and the southern Ge (the Kaingán and Xokleng, in the states of São Paulo, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul).

In addition to their language affiliation, the Ge-speaking groups share a tendency to occupy savanna or upland regions away from rivers, to live in relatively large semipermanent villages, and to subsist on extensive hunting and collecting and some degree of horticulture. Compared with other lowland groups in South America, the Ge have a fairly simple material culture and very complex forms of social organization involving moieties, clans, and name-based groups. Their rites of passage are long and elaborate. Several non-Ge-speaking groups on the Brazilian central plateau also have some of these traits. Among the most important of these are the Boróro and Karajá.

The French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss has convincingly demonstrated that similarities among the myths of the Americas do exist. Ge mythology is, however, significantly different in content and emphasis from that of other large language families in lowland South America (the Tupi, Arawak, Carib, and Tucanoan). The complexity of Ge and Boróro social organization, the elaborateness of their rites of passage, and the apparently secular nature of many of their narratives have challenged scholars to explain the importance of their myths. Lévi-Strauss uses Ge and Boróro myths as a point of departure in his four-volume *Mythologiques* (1964–1971; translated as *Introduction to a Science of Mythology,* 1969–1981), and some of his most careful critics have used those myths to discuss his work or to investigate the sociological context of myths in general. Ge mythology thus occupies an important place in the study of South American mythology both because of the challenges the narratives themselves present and because of the ways a number of distinguished scholars have confronted them.

NARRATIVE STYLES. Most anthropologists who write about lowland South American mythology use the word *myth* to refer to any narrative, be it cosmogonic, historical, or apparently anecdotal, because genre distinctions are difficult to establish for cosmologies that have no deities. The Ge have many different styles of oratory, formal speech, and song; the narration of myths constitutes only a small part of this repertoire. The word *myth* covers a number of distinct narrative styles, which vary from the relatively fixed chanted texts of some Xokleng myths to fairly flexible narrative forms that closely resemble the European folktale in style and content. The definitions of genre differ from group to group. Among the Xavante, story, history, and dreams are apparently equated; other groups separate events of the distant past from those of the more recent past and again from the experience of dreams.

With the exception of some ritualized performances among the southern Ge, myths are neither secret nor restricted as to the time or place they may be told. They are often recounted at night, by men or women, to children or adults, and mix adventure, humor, ethics, and cosmogony in a way that delights the audience regardless of its age. The narrator imitates sounds and the voices of the characters with considerable musicality, and his or her gestures often add dramatic impact. Many myths have parts that are sung. Questions are often interjected by the audience, and in response the narrator may expand upon some point or another.

Ge myths published in collections are almost exclusively in the third person, but in performance they are not restricted to that format. Performance style varies greatly, which reflects the difference between an oral narrative and a written text. Many performances are almost entirely in dialogue form with a minimum of narrative explanation; the context is largely implicit, and the narrator presumes the audience has previous knowledge of the story. Members of the society have heard the stories from birth, and any given performance is an ephemeral event and so not preserved.

CONTENT AND SETTING. Compared with the mythology of the other major language groups in Brazil, Ge mythology exhibits in its subject matter little elaboration of the spirit world, an absence of genealogical myths about ancestors, and little cosmological complexity. Here Ge cosmology must be distinguished from Ge mythology. Ethnographies of the Ge societies report beliefs in several types of spirits, in an afterlife in a village of the dead, and in shamans who travel to the sky. Ge mythology, however, rarely describes either these beliefs or their origins.

One of the difficulties scholars have had in interpreting Ge myths is their apparent unrelatedness to other aspects of society, including the elaborate Ge ceremonial life. Some South American societies explain the present by referring to the way the ancestors behaved; but among Ge speakers myths rarely make direct reference to the present in their description of events that involve ethical dilemmas and social processes central to the society. No detailed native exegesis of the stories has been reported; the Ge rarely use a myth to interpret anything other than the narrative itself.

Ge mythology generally focuses on the relationships between the social world of human beings and the natural domain of the animal and the monstrous. The main actors are humans, animals, and beings that are both human and animal. The setting is usually the village and surrounding jungle, although some myths relate a visit to the sky or to a level below the surface of the earth. Because the subject of the myths is the tension between correct social behavior and incorrect or animal-like behavior, rather than the establishment of a given character as a deity or ancestor, the actors of one myth very rarely appear in another. Recurrent features are not individuals but rather relationships (brothers-in-law, siblings, parents and children, formal friends), settings (the villages or the forest), and animals (deer, jaguars, tapirs, wild pigs). All these appear regularly in the myths. An exception to this singularity of character is a series of stories about Sun and Moon found among the northern and central Ge.

TRANSFORMATION MYTHS. The central event in a Ge myth is usually a transformation, involving, for example, the change of a continuity into discontinuity, as in the origin of night and death; or the acquisition of an object that transforms society, such as fire, garden crops, and ceremonies that humans are said to have obtained from animals.

The origin of fire. A good example of a transformation myth is that of the origin of fire, versions of which have been collected from most Ge communities. Lévi-Strauss (1969) and Turner (1980) have analyzed it extensively. The following version was recorded among the Suyá; for the complete version, see Wilbert (1984).

> A long time ago the Suyá ate meat warmed in the sun because they had no fire. One day a man takes his young brother-in-law into the forest to look for fledgling macaws to take back to the village, where they will be raised for their feathers. The two walk a long way. The man sets a pole against a rock ledge, and the boy climbs up to look at a nest. When the man asks the boy what the young birds in the nest look like (i.e., whether they have enough feathers to survive in the village), the boy shouts down, "They look like your wife's pubic hair." (This insulting response is a very funny moment for Suyá audiences, who always laugh heartily and repeat the question and response several times for effect. The exact incident that results in the boy's being left in the nest varies among the different Ge groups.) Angered, the man throws aside the pole and leaves the boy up in the nest, where he grows very thin and is gradually covered with bird excrement. After some time a jaguar comes walking by. Seeing the boy's shadow, the animal pounces on it several times, then looks up and sees the boy. The boy tells the jaguar of his difficulty, and the jaguar asks him to throw down the fledglings. The boy does so, and the jaguar gobbles them up. Then it puts the pole against the cliff and tells the boy to descend. Although terrified, the boy finally climbs down and goes with the jaguar to its house. When they arrive, the boy sees a fire for the first time. It is burning on a single huge log. The jaguar gives the boy roasted meat to eat. A threatening female jaguar arrives. (The degree of threat varies among the different Ge groups.) The jaguar gives the boy more meat and shows him the way home. When he arrives at the village, he tells the men that the jaguar has fire. They decide to take it from the jaguar. Taking the form of different animal species, the

> men go to the jaguars' camp where they find the jaguars asleep. They place hot beeswax on the eyes and paws of the jaguars, which then run screaming into the jungle. The men-animals pick up the fire log and run with it back to the village, in the style of a burity-palm log relay race. First a rhea carries the fire log, then a deer, then a wild pig, then a tapir. The frog wants to carry the log and in spite of objections is allowed to do so. The log is so hot the frog runs with it to the water and drops it in. The fire goes out. "The fire is dead!" everyone shouts in consternation. Then the toucan, the curassow, and other birds run up, their head and neck feathers bright red because they have been swallowing the live coals that have fallen from the log. They vomit the coals onto the ashes, and the fire starts up again. The tapir picks up the log again and runs with it all the way to the village. When they arrive, the men return to human form and divide the fire among all the houses. Ever since then the Suyá have eaten roasted meat.

The origin of the Savanna Deer ceremony. The myth of the man who is turned into a savanna deer by a jealous rival, representative of another type of transformation story, is cited as the origin myth of a ceremony still performed today by the Suyá; for the complete version, see Wilbert (1984).

> Once, before the Suyá had learned the Savanna Deer ceremony, they were painting and preparing for a Mouse ceremony. In this ceremony the adult men take a few young women for collective sexual relations. While some of the men leap, dance, and sing, others choose the women who will take part in this activity, and take them to the men's ceremonial camp. One man is very possessive about his young wife. To prevent her from being taken as a sex partner for the ceremony, he sings standing next to her in the house. He does not leave her to sing in the men's house. Another man wants to have sexual relations with the woman and is angered by the husband's attentiveness. The angry man is a witch who can transform people or kill them. He decides to transform the woman's husband. The husband begins to sweat as he dances. His dance cape sticks to his head and will not come off. He tries to pull it off, but it has grown on and has begun to stick to his neck and back as well. "Hey!" he shouts, "I am being transformed into something bad!" He leaves his wife and goes to the men's house, where he sings all night along with the other caped singers. The next morning the singers' sisters strip them of their capes, and so the men stop dancing and singing, but the husband keeps on (he cannot stop, for his cape will not come off). The men shout at him to stop singing. He keeps dancing and singing. Suddenly he rushes off into the forest, still singing. Later his relatives go off to find him, and after several days they find him near a lake, his body bent over. The rattles tied to his legs have begun to turn into hooves. Antlers fan out above his head. He is singing. (Here the narrator usually sings the song the man-deer is supposed to have been singing.) The men who find him listen to his song. One man tells the others, "Listen and learn our companion's song," and they sit and listen. (Here the narrator usually sings the rest of the man-deer's song.) Then the husband becomes a forest deer. He still lives there at the lake. People have seen him there recently. Today the Suyá sing his songs in the Savanna Deer ceremony.

THE ANALYSIS OF GE MYTHOLOGY. Early collections of Ge myths were usually appended to ethnographic accounts of the societies, with little commentary. With the appearance of Lévi-Strauss's *Mythologiques,* however, scholarly interest in Ge mythology increased dramatically. These four volumes have engendered tremendous controversy, but they nonetheless provide an entirely new perspective on the mythology and cosmology of the Americas.

Lévi-Strauss argues that certain empirical categories, such as raw and cooked, fresh and decayed, and noisy and silent, are conceptual tools that the native populations of the Americas use to elaborate abstract ideas and to combine these ideas in the form of propositions. Amerindian mythology is thus a kind of philosophical speculation about the universe and its processes, but one that uses principles quite foreign to Western philosophy. These propositions are best discovered through an analysis that treats myths as elements of a nearly infinite body of partial statements, rather than through an analysis that isolates individual narratives. According to Lévi-Strauss, myths should be interpreted only through other myths, to establish similarities or differences. He further argues that the myths of one society can be interpreted through the myths of surrounding societies, or even through those of distant societies on the same or another continent.

Lévi-Strauss's work must be evaluated in two distinct ways. First, one must consider his comparative method. While the debate on structural analysis in anthropology and literature is extensive, much of the criticism of *Mythologiques* has centered on Lévi-Strauss's removal of myths from the contexts of the societies in which they are told, and on his preferring instead to compare them with the myths of very different societies. Lévi-Strauss (1981), writing in defense of his method of analyzing the native cosmologies of the Americas as a whole (rather than what he claims are individual manifestations, i.e., the myths of a particular society), defines his objective as being that of attempting to understand the workings of the human mind in general.

Second, one must consider whether those categories that Lévi-Strauss highlights as central to cosmologies across the Americas actually are important to specific societies. There is general agreement that they are, and some of the categories delineated by Lévi-Strauss have even proved to be keys to the analyses of the cosmologies of groups about which Lévi-Strauss had no information whatsoever. There is no doubt that the study of South American societies has been revolutionized by Lévi-Strauss's analyses of myth.

Although Lévi-Strauss's work is highly suggestive, his analyses do not answer the questions social anthropologists usually pose about myths: Why is it that a given people tells a given story and how does the mythology relate to other aspects of the society? Few anthropologists are satisfied with analyses that treat myth, religion, and cosmology as isolated phenomena. An alternative tradition of interpreting Ge myths derives from the founders of sociological and anthropological theory: Karl Marx, Max Weber, Émile Durkheim, and their followers. A number of important works have examined the relationship between Ge myths and other features of Ge-speaking societies. These authors often use some version of a structural method derived from Lévi-Strauss, but they employ it to quite different ends. They either analyze a myth of a single Ge society or compare a myth found in different groups to show how variations in the myth are paralleled by variations in specific features of the social organization. In this way they support the argument that myths and social processes are related in particular ways.

The most systematic and challenging of these alternative analyses is the work of the American anthropologist Terence Turner (1977, 1980), who combines his reanalysis of a Kayapó myth of the origin of fire with an extensive critique of Lévi-Straussian structuralism. Turner shows that every event, object, and relationship in the fire myth has particular relevance to specific features of Kayapó social organization, social processes, and cosmology. He argues that, for the Kayapó, the telling of myths plays an important part in their understanding of their lives.

Other analysts have related myth to general ethical propositions (Lukesch, 1976), to issues of domestic authority (DaMatta, 1973), to messianic movements, and to the ways in which the Ge societies have confronted conflict and contact with Brazilian society. All these analyses take into account the social, political, and ethical contexts of which Ge myths are always a part, and they have considerably advanced the understanding of the role of myths in tribal societies.

The two very different traditions of scholarship this article has described—the study of myths as logical propositions using categories found throughout the Americas and the study of myths within their specific social context—have stimulated the study of Ge narrative itself and have also resulted in the increasingly careful collection and greater availability of adequate texts. With improved recording technology, greater interest in the performative aspects of verbal art, and the contributions of missionaries who are themselves specialists in textual exegesis, there has been a vast improvement in the accuracy of published narratives. While early collections of myths were usually narrative summaries derived from dictation in Portuguese, more recent works have included exact transcriptions of longer Portuguese versions, careful transcriptions of recordings made in the native languages, collections recorded and translated by the Indians themselves, and bilingual publications designed for use as primers by the groups who tell the myths. These improved collections will allow specialists and nonspecialists alike to better understand the myths and evaluate analyses of them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The outstanding English source for Ge myths is Johannes Wilbert's *Folk Literature of the Gê Indians,* 2 vols. (Los Angeles, 1979, 1984). In addition to assembling and translating the major published collections, Wilbert has indexed the 362 narratives using the Stith Thompson folk-literature motif index, which may aid comparative work. Texts collected and translated by Indians at a Salesian mission appear in Bartolomeu Giaccaria and Adalberto Heide's *Jeronomo Xavante conta mitos e lendas* and *Jeronomo Xavante sonha contos e sonhos* (both, Campo Grande, Brazil, 1975). Anton Lukesch presents an analysis of the major propositions of Kayapó mythology in *Mythos und Leben der Kayapo* (Vienna, 1968), translated as *Mito e vida dos índios Caiapós* (São Paulo, 1976). For ethnographic background on the Ge, see Curt Nimuendajú's *The Eastern Timbira* (Berkeley, Calif., 1946) and David Maybury-Lewis's edited volume *Dialectical Societies: The Gê and Bororo of Central Brazil* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979). Nimuendajú gives a detailed description of a single society, and Maybury-Lewis provides a good background on the sociological issues among the northern and central Ge. Claude Lévi-Strauss's four volumes on Amerindian mythology, published originally in French (Paris, 1964–1971), have been translated into English as *The Raw and the Cooked* (1969), *From Honey to Ashes* (1973), *The Origin of Table Manners* (1978), and *The Naked Man* (1981). My own *Nature and Society in Central Brazil: The Suya Indians of Mato Grosso* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981) demonstrates that many of the ideas and categories Lévi-Strauss discovered through the analysis of Ge mythology are indeed to be found in other aspects of the cosmology, social organization, and values of the Suyá, one of the northern Ge groups. For a critique of Lévi-Straussian structuralism and a reanalysis of one of the Ge myths, see Terence S. Turner's "Narrative Structure and Mythopoesis: A Critique and Reformulation of Structuralist Concepts of Myth, Narrative and Poetics," *Arethusa* 10 (Spring 1977): 103–163; and "Le dénicheur d'oiseaux en contexte," *Anthropologie et sociétés* 4 (1980): 85–115. Roberto DaMatta's "Mito e autoridade domestica," in his *Ensaios de antropologia estrutural* (Petrópolis, Brazil, 1973), is an excellent example of how the analysis of a single myth common to two societies can reveal differences in their social organization.

ANTHONY SEEGER (1987)

GENDER AND RELIGION

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
HISTORY OF STUDY
GENDER AND HINDUISM
GENDER AND JAINISM
GENDER AND BUDDHISM
GENDER AND SIKHISM
GENDER AND CHINESE RELIGIONS
GENDER AND JAPANESE RELIGIONS
GENDER AND JUDAISM
GENDER AND CHRISTIANITY
GENDER AND ISLAM
GENDER AND ZOROASTRIANISM
GENDER AND ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN RELIGIONS
GENDER AND ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN RELIGIONS
GENDER AND CELTIC RELIGIONS

GENDER AND AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS RELIGIONS
GENDER AND OCEANIC RELIGIONS
GENDER AND AFRICAN RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS
GENDER AND NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN RELIGIOUS TRADITION
GENDER AND MESOAMERICAN RELIGIONS
GENDER AND SOUTH AMERICAN RELIGIONS

GENDER AND RELIGION: AN OVERVIEW

The subtle patterns and dynamic of gender pervade all areas of religion, both explicitly and implicitly, whether fully recognized or unacknowledged. Widely debated and often misunderstood, gender concerns have immense significance in contemporary culture as they are part of the international political and social agenda of most countries in the world. The Gender Development Index has recorded the global monitoring of existing gender gaps since 1996, and it provides clear evidence of how much still needs to be done before a truly equitable gender balance is reached. Critical gender perspectives have made a significant difference to most academic fields, including the study of religion. Yet many scholarly publications on religion still seem to give little or no recognition to the profound epistemological, methodological, and substantive changes that contemporary gender studies, especially women's scholarship and feminist theories but also the growing field of men's studies in religion, have produced over the last thirty years. Sometimes seen as profoundly threatening, or disdainfully dismissed because of ignorance, misunderstanding, or other factors of personal and institutional resistance, the engendering of religions and their study provides a great challenge to contemporary scholarship.

The symbolic order and institutional structures created by religions have deeply affected and inspired human existence over millennia; they continue to do so for countless people in today's postmodern world. Their abiding importance is too great not to be affected by the transformations caused by the emergence of critical gender awareness as a genuinely new development in the history of human consciousness. This entry provides a general introduction to the most frequently debated issues and complex patterns that pertain between gender and religion, followed by a series of articles dealing with area- or tradition-specific discussions of gender.

WHAT GENDER MEANS AND DOES NOT MEAN. It needs to be made clear right at the start that "gender" is not a synonym for "women," although it is often mistaken as such for two reasons: first, gender studies originally developed out of women's studies and draw to a large extent on feminist scholarship in different disciplines; second, gender studies in practice remain necessarily more concerned with women than men because of the need to overcome the deeply entrenched, traditional invisibility and marginalization of women in history, society, and culture. It is essential, however, to recognize that gender studies always concern men as well as women, their respective identities, representations, and individual subjectivities, as well as their mutually interrelated social worlds and the unequal power relations between them. Although there exists a growing movement of "men's studies," inspired by the theoretical and practical developments of women's and feminist studies, it has as yet less momentum and commands less urgency to pursue profound political and social changes, given continuing widespread male dominance and the almost universal privileging of males in most societies of the world. Thus, there often exists a considerable cognitive dissonance between women's and men's understanding of "gender studies."

Equally widespread is the failure to problematize gender and recognize its radical, multidimensional potency. Although "gender" is now a widely used term, its complex and changing meanings are seldom fully grasped or critically reflected upon. Religion and gender are highly contested fields, and both need careful mapping to bring their manifold interactions into people's awareness and into the practices of scholarship. This does not happen spontaneously but involves decisive effort and agency, requiring what has been aptly called "making the gender-critical turn" (Warne, 2000b), since gender-critical thinking is neither "natural" in the current social context nor has it been historically available before the modern era. Thus, gender awareness is grounded in a self-reflexive, critical consciousness that has to be acquired.

Gender studies first developed in the social sciences during the late 1960s and 1970s through the investigation of human sexual differences and roles. A new binary distinction came into existence in which "sex" was associated with the biological differences between women and men, whereas "gender," previously used a grammatical term for distinguishing nouns, was transferred from a linguistic to a social context in order to distinguish the historically and culturally developed interpretations of what it means to be a man or a woman in different societies and cultures. Biological sex was seen as naturally given, whereas gender was understood to have been historically and socially constructed, often influenced by dominant religious teachings.

From then on the word *gender* has been fiercely debated and given multiple meanings, leading to a plethora of theoretical positions. From gender being taken as a sociobiological category to being completely deconstructed or simply understood performatively and discursively, the transformation of gender from its former merely grammatical application to nouns into a major analytical category in the study of history and society has spurred so many analyses and specialized studies that a newcomer can get thoroughly confused. Numerous rhetorical stances of great abstraction and abstruseness have been adopted, often appearing to obfuscate more than help, with the result that the distinction between sex and gender is now less clear than first assumed. Not only is gender a "useful category of historical analysis," as Joan Wallach Scott (1996) has so persuasively argued, but it is now also a category beset by pitfalls and problems, as Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* (1990) and many others have clearly demonstrated. "Gender" is the title of one of twenty-two conceptual essays in *Critical Terms for Religious Studies* (ed. Mark Taylor, 1998). In this essay Daniel Boyarin states that now,

> when we study gender within a given historical or existing culture, we understand that we are investigating the praxis and process by which people are interpellated into a two- (or for some cultures more) sex system that is made to seem as if it were nature, that is, something that has always existed. The perception of sex as a natural, given set of binarily constructed differences between human beings, then, is now seen as the specific work of gender, and the production of sex as "natural" signifies the success of gender as a system imposing its power. (p. 117)

A lucid discussion of different subsets within the category of gender, and of different frameworks and strategies affecting its interpretation, is found in Randi R. Warne's article "Gender" in *Guide to the Study of Religion* (2000a, pp. 140–154; see also Juschka, 1999, 2001), describing the relationship between sex and gender as either homologous, analogous, or heterogeneous. What emerges from all these discussions is that the sex-gender distinction, however understood, is linked to binary oppositions, hierarchical ordering, and unequal access to power and resources, so that one can speak of a rigid "gender system" that has operated in most societies in the past and still exists in many in the present. The different roles and images associated with both sexes, and gender-differentiated patterns of power, status, and authority, vary enormously in different cultures, but if these have been created as well as changed in the past because of changing material and ideological conditions, it must also be possible to transform gender inequalities and gender relations in the present (Bonvillain, 1998; see chap. 8, "Gender and Religion"). This is a powerful argument for individual and societal gender transformation within a new global context of pluralism and diversity. It is this alternative—some may say utopian—vision of a different kind of reality, of greater justice and equality for all human beings of whatever sex, that has inspired social reformers and women campaigners since the onset of modernity, and some individuals much earlier than that.

GENDER STUDIES AND RELIGION. Gender studies have arrived rather later in the study of religion than in most other fields. At present there still obtains a harmful "double blindness" in which most contemporary gender studies, whether in the humanities, social sciences, or natural sciences, remain extraordinarily "religion blind," whereas far too many studies in religion are still quite "gender blind." It can be legitimately asked, however, what relevance contemporary gender insights may possibly have for the age-old beliefs of religion? To what extent can the study of religion benefit from the nuanced and highly sophisticated theoretical arguments of current gender debates? To give a satisfactory answer to such questions requires much conscious effort and many practical changes. Neither gender nor religion are stable, transhistorical categories; both function within specific sociohistorical contexts and large semantic fields. The complex controversies surrounding the meaning of both prove that we are dealing here not only with definitional minefields or merely academic matters but with issues of advocacy, personal commitment, ethical engagement, and fundamental choices about the nature of one's life and society.

Many religious teachings and practices, especially scriptural statements, religious rites, beliefs, theological doctrines, institutional offices, and authority structures, are closely intertwined with and patterned by gender differences, even when gender remains officially unacknowledged and is deemed invisible (to untrained eyes). The existing social and religious arrangements are considered "natural" or normatively prescribed by sacred scriptures and other religious teachings, handed down by tradition from the ancestors or "God-given," and thus unalterable. It is only since the Enlightenment and the onset of modernity that the existing gender arrangements of traditional societies and religious institutions have been radically called into question, leading to the emergence of the modern women's movement.

The first wave of this women's movement, from the late eighteenth through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, forms an essential part of the great transformations of modernity. Increasingly, historical studies provide new evidence that the motivation for women seeking greater freedom, equality, and participation in all areas of society, including religion, did not stem from secular philosophical and political developments alone but was also rooted in biblical teaching, shared by Jews and Christians, that women and men are created in the image of God. This was reinterpreted in a new, strongly egalitarian way, never understood in this manner in the past (Børresen, 1995). Theological ideas impacted women reformers far more than has hitherto been acknowledged; that applies even to so radical a thinker as Mary Wollstonecraft (Taylor, 2003), and similarly radical theological reflections can be found in the writings of Florence Nightingale (Webb, 2002). Nineteenth-century Europe and America witnessed the parallel development of women's organized social and political movements and, at the same time, the expansion of their religious activities, opening up new religious roles for women. The religious roots of the struggle for women's rights (Morgan, 2002; Zink-Sawyer, 2003) and the complex historical dynamic operating between religious faith and feminist consciousness are increasingly receiving more attention. Existing studies have so far focused mainly on women in Christianity and Judaism, with a growing focus on Islam as well. But a great deal more comparative research is needed to show the strength of motivation arising from concurrent secular and religious commitments of women from many different religious traditions engaged in working to abolish the traditional social and religious constraints of women's lives.

The second wave of the women's movement, which emerged during the latter part of the twentieth century, took a strongly self-reflexive, theoretical, and critical turn, expressing itself in militant feminist theory and politics and celebrating "global sisterhood." Feminism aims to overcome the universal oppression of women and to achieve their full humanity, so that women can speak with their own voices, from their own experience, their own subjectivity, agency, and autonomy—all terms that by now have become thoroughly theorized but also further problematized. Some argue that these concepts of autonomous subjectivity are themselves derived from the inherently androcentric, liberal worldview of post-Enlightenment Western thought and that they cannot be applied universally across boundaries of gender, culture, race, and class, but always function pluralistically.

There also exists a third wave feminism, sometimes referred to as "postfeminism," not meaning the end of feminism but accepting a multiplicity of feminisms, linked to theoretical reflections on femininities as well as masculinities. A more self-critical theorizing developed under the influence of psychoanalysis, poststructuralism, postmodernism, and postcolonialism, which also affected the development of gender studies that, in turn, had evolved out of women's and feminist studies. Feminist epistemology and theory as well as practical feminist strategies have opened up new experiences and questions that bear on gender relations in terms of both women and men. To work for greater gender justice, however understood, requires profound social, political, economic, religious, and cultural transformation for both sexes. At a practical level, therefore, gender studies impact on education and politics, on social work and care, on development work, on ecological and peace issues, on the media, and on academic scholarship. Like religious studies, gender studies are characterized by a pluralistic methodology and complex multidisciplinarity. It might even be more appropriate to speak of *transdisciplinarity,* because gender patterns are so pervasive in their potential implications that they transcend traditional disciplinary boundaries. Gender studies have also a strong international orientation, and while recognizing existing social, racial, ethnic, and sexual diversities as well as many individual nuances, their central insights are immensely important and relevant across traditional national, cultural, and religious boundaries. The basic ideas of women, feminist, and gender studies first emerged in Western societies; by now they have become globally diffused and have also been considerably transformed in their intellectual and practical applications to a wide range of social and religious issues within very diverse local contexts around the world.

CENTRAL CONCEPTS AND CONCERNS. Much of the feminist critique of society and culture focuses on patriarchy and androcentrism. Although the word *patriarchy* often refers to diverse theories of history and society, now often discredited, in the widest sense patriarchy means an all-male power structure that privileges men over women. Most religions still conform to this pattern in terms of their institutional organization and official representation. Moreover, most religions were founded by men, although there also exist a few women-led religions, especially among marginal, small-scale, and tribal groups (Sered, 1994). In most religions male religious figures (whether ascetics, monastics or yogins) and male religious communities are normally given more public recognition, respect, authority, and power than women's religious groups, however numerous and large. Similarly, traditional religious texts are almost exclusively the creation of men, and male interpretations of these texts hold authoritative status. The experience of men has been taken as normative without taking into account the experiences and thoughts of women, who are relegated to subordinate roles or, at worst, are completely suppressed in many foundational religious texts and excluded from significant religious rites. It is worth mentioning that the word *patriarchy* itself is of religious provenance, since it originally described "the dignity, see, or jurisdiction of an ecclesiastical patriarch" and "the government of the church by a patriarch or patriarchs" before it came to mean "a patriarchal system of society or government by the father or the eldest male of the family; a family, a tribe or community so organized" (*Oxford English Dictionary*). Patriarchy can also be understood as the structuring of society around descending hierarchies of fatherhood, whether understood as Father God, the supreme authority of a king, a lord, or *paterfamilias.* In recent theoretical debates, especially those influenced by Freudian psychoanalysis and French feminist theorists, much use is made of the concept of "phallocentrism," referring to the structuring of society around the values of the phallus as the ultimate symbol of power and activity, so that women represent absence, lack, and passivity. Another term is "phallogocentrism," that is to say the *logos,* word and thought, is centered on phallic male categories. Other debates have contrasted the historically dominant patriarchies across the world with earlier social structures of matriarchies, probably largely hypothetical, symbolizing alternative values and power structures linked to the authority of the mother rather than that of the father and centered on the worship of the Goddess. Today's feminist scholars generally regard the term *matriarchy* as misleading while discussing with renewed interest whether *prepatriarchal* societies ever existed and to what extent Goddess worship correlates with women's religious and social leadership (Gross, 1996; Raphael, 1996).

Religious beliefs, thoughts, and practices are not only profoundly patriarchal but often also thoroughly *androcentric,* that is to say predominantly, if not exclusively, shaped by male perspectives and experiences. Androcentrism, a term first introduced by the American sociologist Lester F. Ward in 1903, not only refers to the privileging of the human male, especially in language and thought, but also means that male experience has been one-sidedly equated with all human experience and taken as a universal norm by men and women alike, without giving full and equal recognition to women's knowledge and experience. The use of *man,* the male and masculine, as a universal category for the generically "human," is exclusionary since it erases women as subjects. The opposite of androcentrism is *gynocentrism,* the privileging of female experience and perspective, which is comparatively rare. Another widely used term is *sexism,* referring to the organization of social life and attitudes that not only sharply differentiates between different gender roles but also privileges and values one sex over the other. Juschka (2001, pp. 2–3) makes a helpful distinction between *androcentrism* as a falsifying male perspective and actual *misogyny* as an active negative attitude toward women as *female.* The inherent androcentrism of the study of religions was pointed out early in the pioneering collection of essays *Beyond Androcentrism* (Gross, ed., 1977).

Whereas sex is usually understood in a binary way, as consisting of two mutually exclusive categories of male and female, feminists have used gender in association with difference and diversity, in terms of multiple, rather than single, versions of femininities and masculinities that call into question general claims about women and men. Thus "the concept of gender has served as a flexible container for difference. . . . Lacking any stable content, the categories 'women' and 'men' acquire meaning through their use in particular contexts" (Bondi and Davidson, 2002, p. 336). As gender is not a stable essence but a fluid category linked to identity creation, world building, and boundary maintenance of social roles, it may be preferable to use an active, dynamic verb rather than a noun. "Engendering" is an action linked to perceiving, performing, reflecting, and enacting, and it is therefore more appropriate to speak about "(en)gendering religion" (Warne, 2001) or "doing gender in religion" than to speak about gender *and* religion in an additive manner. Religion and gender are not simply two parallel categories that function independently of each other; they are mutually *embedded* within each other in all religions, suffusing all religious worlds and experiences. It is because of this deep hidden embeddedness that gender is sometimes so difficult to identify and separate out from other aspects of religion until one's consciousness is trained into making a "gender-critical turn."

In terms of intellectual developments, a double paradigm shift has occurred. The first happened when women's studies—descriptive, phenomenologically and empirically oriented—developed into more critical, self-reflexive, and theoretically oriented feminist studies. The second paradigm shift has taken place with the further development of feminist studies into gender studies. But "paradigm shift" is too tame an expression for what is really happening, which is a shaking of foundations, a radical remapping of our intellectual, academic, and social landscapes. It has become increasingly obvious that it is not simply a question of bringing women's experience and knowledge into view but of radically restructuring the existing balance between genders. As in many other fields, we are not simply dealing with a reinterpretation of texts and traditions but with a complete repositioning of bodies of knowledge, a rearrangement and remapping of everything that relates to religion, society, and culture. As women's studies and feminist studies of religion have gained more institutional recognition over recent decades, some women scholars feel resistant toward gender studies because their development may mean the loss of some of the recent gains made. But feminist separatism apart, many female, and some male, scholars now work within a gender-critical framework and use gender-inclusive rather than exclusive models in their thinking. Strongly articulated gender theories possess considerable explanatory power and potential for the study of religion. Gender studies can of course be appropriated for conservative ends, even fundamentalist purposes (Hawley, 1994; Jeffery and Basu, 1998), or they can be used to reinforce androcentric bias through focusing on the analysis of masculinity without taking feminist theoretical insights into account. Gender studies in religion thus represent a complex field of many contradictory parts still in need of much further development, but they also hold much promise for new creative perspectives and approaches in religious scholarship.

NEW METHODOLOGIES AND SCHOLARSHIP. The introduction of feminist perspectives into the study of religion has been celebrated as an epistemological as well as a spiritual revolution. The rise of feminism relates both to an academic method and a new social vision (Gross, 1993, pp. 291–304). Female religion scholars have developed a practical "participatory hermeneutics," involving advocacy and personal engagement, as well as a theoretically sophisticated "hermeneutics of suspicion," which critically examines all traditional knowledge and practices of religion. These have to be thoroughly analyzed and deconstructed so that unequally weighted gender differences become clearly visible and reconstructed in a different way. June O'Connor (1989) has defined this task as "rereading, reconceiving and reconstructing religious traditions." By "rereading" she means that religious phenomena have to be examined with regard to women's presence and absence, their words and silences; "reconceiving" requires the retrieval and recovery of lost sources and suppressed visions, the reclaiming of "women's heritage"; "reconstructing" the past draws on new paradigms for thinking, understanding, and evaluating it differently. These expressions point to a dynamic of transformation, indicating that a profound change in thought and social structures is deliberately sought and worked for.

The development of women's studies in religion thus counteracts the deficiency and partiality of scholarship by retrieving women's forgotten histories and buried voices, their unacknowledged experiences hidden in the official histories of the past. Critical feminist theories were developed, based on the specificity and difference of women's experience, leading to endless debates, especially as some forms of "cultural feminism" claimed that women's experience is not only different from men's but morally and perhaps even spiritually superior to that of men, a theme that goes back at least as far as the Romantics.

Critical gender studies in religion have conclusively demonstrated that there are no gender-neutral phenomena. Everything is subtly, and often invisibly, patterned by a gender dynamic operating in language, thought, experience, and institutions. Traditional religiously defined and socially prescribed gender roles, if rigidly enforced, can become dehumanizing prisons, even though anthropological, historical, and comparative studies provide overwhelming evidence that gender roles are also remarkably fluid across different religions and cultures. At the present stage of humanity's global experience it is no longer possible to work with exclusive, hegemonic models of language, thought, or anything else, derived from only one gender. Historical descriptions, analyses, and theories need to take all genders and their differences into account, whether shaped by race, class, culture, religion, sexuality, or other identity markers. The theorization of multiple voices, of subjectivity and agency, of difference and identity, of standpoints and positionality, of liberation and transformation, is central to feminist thought. Its debates have anticipated several of the critical stances of postmodernism in destabilizing categories and in arguing against essentialist and universalist stances. Feminists have pioneered new epistemological insights, not only in terms of *what* we know but *how* we come to know, how knowledge is constructed, psychologically as well as socially. These theoretical advances of feminist theory have deeply influenced men's studies, leading to a new understanding of the construction of maleness, manhood, and masculinities. Both women's studies and men's studies, although approached from different gender perspectives, have to work in a gender-inclusive rather than gender-exclusive way in order to achieve further intellectual and social breakthroughs. At present, however, maleness has not yet been theorized to the same extent as femaleness.

Women's and men's studies in religion are both marked by critical and constructive approaches. There is the question of what remains *usable* of the past when religious texts and histories are reread from a critical gender perspective. The impact of gender analysis, coupled with an ethical commitment to gender justice, will lead to a deconstruction as well as a reconstruction of religious traditions and practices. At present this process has barely begun, and setbacks are unavoidable. Moreover, the deconstruction of an essentialist understanding of masculinity is only in its early stages (Doty, 1993; Berger, Wallis, and Watson, 1995). "Men doing feminism" (Digby, 1998), though still a largely Western project, is bound to gain momentum and widespread diffusion across contemporary cultures. More inclusive, critical "gender thinking" will therefore dislocate individual and social identities, creating the possibility for new social arrangements and new religious developments across the globe. Men's studies in religion have produced innovative research on religion and masculinities, male sexuality and spirituality, and male identities and bodies in relation to the gender-sensitive understanding of God and divinities (Eilberg-Schwartz, 1994; Boyd, Longwood, and Muesse, 1996; Krondorfer, 1996; Bradstock, Gill, Hogan, and Morgan, 2000), but there is still a long way to go before these developments catch up with women's studies in religion.

Yet further thinking is represented by queer theories, primarily debated within gay, lesbian, and feminist theologies dealing with sexuality and the production of raced and gendered bodies, much influenced by Michel Foucault's influential work on the history of sexuality. Such theories call into question how what counts as "normal" heterosexuality comes into existence, is legitimated and maintained as well as transgressed and subverted, so that concepts of identity, power, and resistance have to be critically reexamined. The "queering" of religion raises many ethical and theological questions, not fully discussed at present, so that it is still too early to predict whether queer thinking will have the same influence as feminist theories on what is a complex new field of scholarship in the study of religion (sometimes also called LGBT studies, relating to lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered people) with far more resources on the web than in existing gender studies on religion. For an introduction to these discussions see *Fear of a Queer Planet* (Warner, 1993) and *Religion Is a Queer Thing* (Stuart, 1997).

Such studies from radically different perspectives highlight in a new way how monotheistic systems are male dominated and heterosexually structured (Boyarin, 1997) and how the "queering" of the body relates to wider issues of ordering gender relations, society, and configurations of power linked to ambiguous religious histories and teachings. It is therefore to be welcomed that new body theologies are being developed from both male and female perspectives (Nelson, 1992; Raphael, 1996; Isherwood and Stuart, 1998). These have their roots mainly in Christian thinking, but many other religious traditions possess rich resources for constructing alternative approaches to the body and its religious significance. For Asian perspectives see the SUNY (Albany) series on "Body in Culture, History, and Religion" edited by Thomas P. Kasulis and his colleagues. Contemporary Western discussions, marked by fluid postmodern instabilities and much experimentation, are continuously evolving in this area, so that new concepts such as "transgender" and "omnigender" are created to illuminate, and perhaps even to overcome, the multiple but still oppositional meanings of gender (Mollenkott, 2001).

Women's religious lives and roles in different religious traditions across the world, previously rarely examined at all, have now been studied from many different perspectives. A pioneering publication was *Unspoken Worlds: Women's Religious Lives* (Falk and Gross, eds., 2001, originally published in 1980 and subtitled Women's Religious Lives in Non-Western Cultures), followed by many others on women's roles and rituals in different religions, the records and writings left by women, and their exclusion or participation in religious rites and institutions. *An Anthology of Sacred Texts By and About Women* (Young, ed., 1994) was another milestone, presenting important scriptural sources on women in the major religious traditions, including women's own voices. Several recurring themes reveal the ambiguities affecting the image of women cross-culturally, such as the widespread association of women with both evil (through their body, sexuality, menstruation taboos, and death) and wisdom; sex role reversals in mythical and other stories of gender conflict; the figure of the ideal and exceptional woman; and the existence of many female religious experts, recognized for their charismatic authority without, in most cases, holding official institutional roles. Further evidence of casting women into particular stereotypes and make them submit to the moral rules of male-dominated society, often enforced by the teachings of religion, is provided by *Female Stereotypes in Religious Traditions* (Kloppenborg and Hanegraaff, eds, 1995). An absolutely indispensable reference work, and pioneering achievement, is the two-volume *Encyclopedia of Women and World Religion* (Young, ed., 1999), reflecting the diversity and richness of current theoretical debates and empirical data in contemporary scholarship on women's, and to some extent also men's, studies in religion. There exists no comparable reference work yet that offers a similar summation of gender studies and men's studies in religion.

Several feminist scholars have attempted feminist reconstructions of religious traditions as different as Judaism, Buddhism, and Sikhism, as well as Christianity, and the number of gender-critical studies on Islam and other traditions is also steadily growing. Some essay collections reflect constructive efforts in reinterpreting several religious traditions (Cooey, Eakin, and McDaniel, 1991), but most feminist challenges have been addressed to Judaism and Christianity, especially in North America and Europe. The rise of ever newer forms of feminist theologies has spawned remarkable voices of difference, from womanist to *mujerista* and Asian-American theologies, which have given birth to women doing Christian theology around the whole world, from Asia to Africa, Australia to Latin America, Europe to North America. The most challenging theoretical questions facing feminism and gender studies, admittedly from a largely Western point of view, are discussed in *Feminism in the Study of Religion: A Reader* (Juschka, ed., 2001). The pluralism of methods and interpretive strategies in current gender thinking on different religious experiences, texts, histories, and practices is evident from *Gender, Religion and Diversity: Cross-Cultural Perspectives* (King and Beattie, eds., 2004). By taking up a self-reflexive, critical position, several contributors to this volume, both female and male, show that these debates are more than sophisticated academic arguments; in practical terms they involve a strong commitment to gender justice and social transformation, whether in Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Christianity, or Islam in different parts of the world.

This is not the place to pursue a trenchant critique of the androcentrism and defectiveness of previous scholarship, but the above examples provide ample evidence that now, when women are no longer merely occasional objects of male inquiry but have acquired the necessary academic education, professional training, and expertise to pursue the study of religion at all levels, they have increasingly become scholars in their own right who critically examine themselves as objects of analysis and debate. This historically recent development has led to new questions in the study of religion, which in turn have produced masses of new data and theories, opening up yet more new research fields. With the arrival of gender studies, this process has crossed yet another threshold of complexity that will contribute to an eventual thorough remapping of the entire field of religion and radically alter some of its underlying research presuppositions. The influential paradigm established by Mircea Eliade, reflected in the very existence of this encyclopedia, has received much scholarly comment and criticism, but these have not yet thoroughly addressed the hidden gender imbalances and implicit androcentrism of his entire *oeuvre.* Except for some brief essays (King, 1990; Christ, 1991, 1997: pp. 80–86), the defective construction of his *homo religiosus,* who remains quite literally "religious man" without including the religious worlds of *femina religiosa,* has not been sufficiently critiqued, and the specific dynamic of gender relations underlying his *Patterns in Comparative Religion* also awaits further deconstruction.

SIGNIFICANT RESEARCH THEMES. A critical analysis of religious texts, histories, and historiographies in terms of their embedded "lenses of gender" (whether androcentrism, essentialism, or gender polarization) raises some intriguing issues. These can be grouped into three systematic clusters of research themes that contemporary scholars pursue from historical, phenomenological, philosophical, and comparative perspectives. Related to external and internal aspects of religion, these topics reveal the interstructured personal and institutional dynamics of power, authority, and gendered hierarchies that have patterned religious life in many different and often subtly invisible ways throughout history.

The first cluster concerns primarily, though not exclusively, the social and institutional aspects of religion with regard to the respective roles and status that different religious traditions accord to men and women. What access do women have to full participation in religious life, to religious authority and leadership, when compared with that of men? Have women formed distinct religious communities and rites of their own where their independent authority is acknowledged and not abrogated by male hierarchical structures? Are specific religious rites gender inclusive or exclusive, and which are the ones that exclude either women or men? Do both sexes have the authority to teach and interpret the foundational texts and central practices of the tradition? Comparative historical studies show that generally women hold higher positions in archaic, tribal, and noninstitutionalized religions than in highly differentiated traditions that have evolved complex structures and hierarchical organizations over a long period of time. Women magicians, shamans, healers, visionaries, prophetesses, and priestesses are found in primal and ancient religions, and in tribal and folk religions today. Comparative studies also provide much evidence that, during the formative period of a religion, at the time of a new religious founder or prophet when a "discipleship of equals" (Schüssler-Fiorenza) may exist, women often have a more egalitarian position, greater influence, and even leadership, whereas subsequently they are often relegated to secondary roles, losing much of their independent agency. Examples are found among women in early Buddhism, in the Jesus movement and early Christianity, or among the women associated with Muḥammad's work, or with nineteenth-century Christian missionary movements. Women religious founders and leaders are comparatively rare. They are more prominent in new religious movements that have come into existence in quite different religious and cultural contexts since the nineteenth century (e.g., Miki Oyasama and Mary Baker Eddy, founders of Tenrikyō and Christian Science, respectively; other examples are women leaders in African and South American new religions). Women can rise to religious leadership more easily within small religious groups outside the mainstream tradition, but modernity has also created space for many new religious roles within the mainstream (Wessinger, 1996). The charismatic, rather than institutional, authority of women is recognized in both traditional and new religions, but today a greater number of women religious leaders and teachers exist than in the past (Puttick, 1997; Puttick and Clarke, 1993). Several Christian denominations now ordain women as priests, and modern Hinduism knows of many women gurus, such as Ananda Mayi Ma and others.

The second cluster of research themes centers on the fluid area of religious language and thought, raising challenging questions about the entire symbolic order and the role of the imaginary in religion. How are male and female gender differences discursively constructed, culturally inscribed, and socially reproduced? Do different sacred scriptures and religious traditions project images of women as strong and powerful as those of men? Or does their language remain exclusive and androcentric, subordinating, disempowering, excluding, and oppressing women? What are the gendered patterns and symbols of their language of creation and salvation? How are the sacred, ultimate reality and the divine conceptualized, and how is feminine and masculine sacrality understood and valued? The evaluative gender hierarchy of religious language is equally inscribed in religious attitudes to the body, sexuality, and spirituality (for Jewish perspectives on body, sexuality, and gender see Eilberg-Schwartz, 1994; for Christian perspectives see Brown, 1988; Thatcher and Stuart, 1996; the gendered patterns of relations between sexuality and the sacred are richly documented by Nelson and Longfellow, 1994; Raphael, 1996). The widespread sacralization of virginity, and the spiritually privileged position accorded to asceticism and monasticism in many religions, especially in Jainism, Buddhism, and Catholic Christianity, have fueled profoundly misogynist views in the gender dynamics of numerous religious traditions, but a comparative-critical study of these phenomena from a self-reflexive gender perspective still remains to be written.

The narrow prison of gender symbols encloses the historically and socially located human perceptions of divine immanence and transcendence. Dominant androcentric images of God have been symbols of power and oppression not only for many women but also for many colonial people. Now recognized as limiting rather than liberating, they are radically called into question by contemporary theologians of both sexes, especially Jewish and Christian feminists. Where are the symbols and images of a feminine Divine, the female figures of wisdom, of the Spirit? Analyzing religious texts and teachings from a female gender perspective can lead to surprising new insights into human experience of the Divine, whether in gendered patterns of mystical experience or in the intimate presence of the Spirit within our bodies and in the natural world, as recognized by contemporary ecofeminism and the new ecofeminist spirituality (Adams, 1993; Cuomo, 1998). Discussions about the possibility and necessity of a divine feminine, accompanied by a revalorization of the body and the maternal, take central place in the lively debates of contemporary critical philosophers and theologians (Jantzen, 1998). These have been much influenced by the linguistic turn of postmodernism and the rise of psycholinguistics, especially its revolutionary use by French feminist theorists (Irigaray, Kristeva, Cixous, and others), which has strongly impacted Western philosophers of religion (Anderson, 1998; Jantzen, 1998; Joy, O'Grady, and Poxon, 2002, 2003). Feminist philosophers of religion are now engaged in sharply critiquing a traditionally almost exclusively male discipline shaped by problematic biases of gender, race, class, and sexual orientation. Different feminist theologians and biblical scholars have also taken up the topic of gender with much vigor (see Sawyer, *God, Gender and the Bible,* 2002).

A third cluster of research questions relates to the usually least visible (except for outward religious practices, and perhaps also spirit possession), the most internal, personal aspects of religion, that is to say religious and mystical experiences. How far are these differently engendered? To what extent are their occurrences, descriptions, images, and symbols gender specific? Are men's perception and pursuit of spirituality often quite different from women's spirituality? These questions can be applied to both the continuing and cumulative experience of ordinary day-to-day religious practice and to the extraordinary experiences of religious virtuosi, such as saints and mystics. Most religions seem to validate the ordinary lives of women in terms of domestic observances and family duties rather than encourage their search for religious knowledge and spiritual perfection. How far do different traditions prohibit or encourage women to seek a spiritual space of their own and follow demanding spiritual disciplines in the same way as men? By rejecting traditional sociobiological gender roles through becoming ascetics, yoginis, *sannyasinis,* or nuns, Jaina, Buddhist, and Christian women have pursued nontraditional, and sometimes extraordinary, paths of spiritual devotion and attainment, although the gendering of Hindu renunciation is a mostly modern phenomenon (Khandelwal, 2004). Women had to struggle to create their own religious communities; their gender always provoked male resistance to their claim to autonomy and power, so that their activities remained controlled and constrained by male hierarchies. Nowhere is this more evident than in the rich lives of Christian nuns in whose cloisters and convents appeared outstanding women scholars, mystics, artists, political activists, healers, and teachers over many centuries, whose biographies often reflect intensive gender struggles over power and authority (McNamara, 1996), also evident from the critical study of Christian mysticism (Jantzen, 1995).

It is especially the area of women's religious experience, in both the ordinary sense of religious devotions and duties and the special sense of a particular religious calling, that provides a rich field for contemporary research. It is important to investigate also the strongly affirmative and life-sustaining resources that countless women have found through the ages, and still find today, in a faith transmitted to them through the beliefs, practices, and spiritual heritage of a specific religious tradition. Such research provides a counterbalance to the more restrictive and oppressive role that religion has played in many women's lives.

Moving from religious experience and practice to the systematic articulations of faith that produced a wealth of philosophical and theological learning in all religious traditions, we largely meet worlds *without* women, as is all too evident from sacred and scholarly literatures, official histories of religious institutions, and more recently the historiographies and research monographs of Western scholars of religion (King, 1993). Women's religious worlds, experiences, and thought have on the whole made few contributions to these developments until the modern period. Gender studies and other intellectual advances have awakened us to such important themes as self and subjectivity; human identity and representation; authority and power relations; masculinity and femininity; body, sexuality and spirituality; and how to think and speak of ultimate reality and human destiny, of individuals and community, in a newly gendered, and sometimes transgendering, way. Feminist theologians and thealogians have reimaged God and Goddess or explored affinities with process thought (Christ, 2003); they have suggested alternative conceptualizations using androgynous and monistic models for ultimate reality; they have reshaped religious rites and invented new ones through creating either separate women's rituals or more inclusive liturgies. Many contemporary changes in religious practice are the result of an altered gender awareness, but many further social and institutional transformations of a more substantial kind are still needed. Discussions about the relationship between immanent, contingent gender experiences and perceptions of transcendence and divine otherness, or the nature of the sacred and numinous, continue unabated. However, too often these are still predicated on an essentialist dualism between the spirit as masculine and the body, whether female or male, as feminine, and they often perpetuate the traditional appropriation of the realm of transcendence and the spirit by men.

The above discussion of a wide range of research themes shows that a rereading of religions from a critical gender perspective reveals the existence of gendered texts and traditions, gendered hierarchies of power, gendered symbols of the sacred, gendered bodies and minds. The analysis of this wealth of new material is a truly daunting task and remains an ongoing one. There also arises the central question of whether gender studies in religion will be able to make a significant contribution to creating a postpatriarchal world by moving from dualistic and exclusive gender constructions to new social projects of gender reconciliation, implying profound personal and social transformations.

PROMINENT CONTEMPORARY DEBATES AND NEW DIRECTIONS. The relationship between gender and religion is still made more complex through debates about diversity and difference, a concept much hyped by postmodernism ever since Derrida's "*différance*" highlighted the disjuncture between objects of perception and their meanings as symbols or representations. Difference can mean many things; among others it can stand for a multiplicity of voices and meanings, for varied subject positions of the same individual, or it can negate the possibility of any particular authoritative account. It thus undercuts any essentialist position in debates about race, gender, and ethnicity. "Diversity" is sometimes used interchangeably with "difference," but they are conceptually distinct:

> Difference carries negative value baggage, while diversity differentials are captured by difference. The trick is to recognize difference as a fragmentation into insignificant units of resistance. By holding onto a concept of difference nuanced by a concept of diversity, significant political and intellectual action against oppression remains effective. (Juschka, 2001, p. 430).

The recognition of diversity has led to the realization that everywhere pluralities abound whereas singularity is rare. Thus, gender studies, feminisms, feminist theologies, sexualities, spiritualities, and many other categories are now more often expressed in the plural rather than the singular.

Difference is also correlated with "otherness," not only that of different experiences and social locations, of gender orientations and identities, but the multiple "otherness" of religious differences within and across specific cultures; there is the diversity of methods and approaches in understanding such differences; there is the "otherness" of one gender to another, especially the "otherness" of women for men, as traditionally understood. The social and political violence exercised by the West toward the "otherness" of "non-Western" cultures, whether through imperialism, orientalism, or neocolonialism, has come under fierce criticism that also impacts the gender and religion debate (Armour, 1999; Donaldson and Kwok, 2002). The history and concerns of feminist theory have to some extent paralleled those of postcolonial theory. Writing from the perspective of postcoloniality, feminist researchers perceive woman as a "colonized" subject relegated, like subject people of former colonies, to the position of "other" under various forms of patriarchal domination. The "epistemological violence" of Western religious and theological discourse toward other cultures and religions has come under fierce critique, as have debates about racial differences, which are being subverted through critiquing whiteness and its false neutrality, theorizing white also as "race" or deemphasizing the importance of the category of "race" altogether. The essentialist understanding of race characterizes what is now called Whitefeminism, and new critiques of limited, essentialist perspectives of Whitefeminist theory and Whitefeminist theology, as well as religious studies theory, are being developed (Armour, 1999; Keller, 2004). One can argue, especially from the universalist, inclusive vision inherent in many religions, that there exists only one race, and that is the human race. One of the most significant issues is who has been counted as "human" in the past and who was marginalized as "other," "outsider," "barbarian," and "nonhuman." This raises the burning question of what it really means to be a human person today in the light of critical gender thinking (Nelson, 1992; Smith, 1992) and when taking into account all the other differentiations that pattern our multicultural, multiracial, and religiously plural global world.

Contemporary discussions are deeply affected by the processes of globalization, which produce transformative resources for religious worldviews, interreligious contacts and communication, and the international study of religions. Many of these depend on the globally diffused use of English, criticized by some as neocolonial form of dominance. These arguments are also present in gender debates, since more writings and scholarly communications about gender and its relevance for religion take place in English than in any other language. In postcolonial writing the "alchemy of English" (Kachru, 1986) is widely debated. Its usefulness as a non-native medium of communication is its perceived "neutrality" in that it cannot be automatically aligned with particular indigenous religious or ethnic factions, and therefore can be used just as much for imparting local, non-Western values as Western values. Thus, it is rather one-sided to see this hegemony of one Western language above others mainly negatively, for the global use of English can also be valued positively as an enabling means of wider communication and an empowering challenge for social and personal transformation. In the gender debate, people whose mother tongue is not English may initially feel at a disadvantage, but native English speakers are not necessarily better off, because a critical gender awareness always requires a new perception and the learning of a new vocabulary, linked to new attitudes and changed practices. Learning to make the "gender-critical turn" is an ongoing self-reflective process that everyone who embarks on the exciting journey of gender exploration must undergo, whatever their language.

These multiple new perspectives, now increasingly subsumed under "postcolonial studies," have spawned lively controversies on race, gender, ethnicity, nationalism, orientalism, discourse, body, and other topics, creating numerous formulations of hybridity rather than genuinely correlative or integral frameworks. These controversial ideas have also considerably influenced religious studies theory, although it is presently impossible to assess whether this tendency to identify ever more differences will have any lasting intellectual or practical impact on gender and race relations. Concepts of difference and diversity are also much discussed by feminist theologians seeking to account more appropriately for religious diversity and pluralism in feminist theological discourse.

Many further issues, whether theoretical or praxis-oriented, can only find brief mention. The influential critical theory of the Frankfurt School has itself been critiqued by feminists for its gender essentialism, although its male practitioners provide valuable insights into woman-as-object of masculine thought. Challenging the oversights of critical theory, Marsha Hewitt (1995) contends that it nonetheless possesses considerable emancipatory potential for feminist theology and religious theorists. Yet one can also argue that excessively complex theoretical elaborations remain ultimately barren and are just another example of the violence of abstraction. Faith-engaged activists in different religious groups and basic communities are consciously praxis-oriented in fighting the gendered pattern of violence against actual human beings, so starkly apparent in numerous contemporary conflict and war situations. The study of gender, religion, and violence has attracted increasing interest, and so has the topic of human rights and religion, including a growing awareness of women's human rights in relation to their religious traditions and cultures, whether Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim, or other (Jeffery and Basu, 1998; King, 2004; Svenson, 2000). The Malaysian scholar-activist Sharon Bong argues that although problematic in challenging the secularity of human rights discourse, it is essential, in fact "a moral and political imperative to negotiate women's human rights with cultures and religions," in order to complement other strategies for their empowerment (Bong, 2004, p. 241).

Also of great concern is the topic of religious fundamentalism, where research is only beginning to pay attention to gender differences, especially how women are affected by fundamentalist teachings and practices of different religions (Hawley, 1994; Howland, 1999) and the efforts made by conservative and Christian evangelical groups in redefining traditional gender roles in the light of changing social practices (DeBerg, 1990).

Randi Warne concludes one of her gender articles by saying:

> As long as we distinguish humans as "women" and "men," and as long as these distinctions carry symbolic meaning and cultural authority which shape human life possibilities, the concept of gender will be essential to any adequate analysis of religion. Gender as an analytical category, and gendering as a social practice, are central to religion, and the naturalization of these phenomena and their subsequent under-investigation have had a deleterious effect on the adequacy of the scholarship

> that the scientific study of religion has produced. Until the scientific study of religion becomes intentionally gender-critical in all of its operations, it will unwittingly reproduce, reify and valorize the nineteenth-century gender ideology which marks its origins, rendering suspect any claims to the scientific generation of reliable knowledge it seeks to make. (2000a, p. 153)

This is a bold statement, except that religion and gender do not concern the production of reliable knowledge alone. The reworking of language, thought, and theories, of knowledge and scholarship, are essential, but not sufficient, for creating a profoundly different, more gender-just and equitable world for all humans peopling this globe. To rethink sex, gender, and religion, we have to imagine that creative alternatives are available and that a nonhierarchical, more caring and participatory world can come into existence that is not aligned along a single, masculine model of sameness, but offers more spaces for rich cultural and religious differentiation. I agree with Christine Delphy that "perhaps we shall only really be able to think about gender on the day when we can imagine non-gender" (quoted in Juschka, 2001, p. 422).

The rich variety of gender entries on specific religious traditions that follow this article amply demonstrates that critical, transformative gender perspectives now affect the study of all religions and are consciously being taken up cross-culturally by scholars of both genders. Their research has created challenging perspectives of enquiry and produced a wealth of new scholarly work, as is evident from the following bibliography and those supplied on each religious tradition.

SEE ALSO Androcentrism; Domestic Observances; Ecology and Religion; Feminine Sacrality; Feminism, article on Feminism, Gender Studies, and Religion; Feminist Theology; Gaia; Gender Roles; Globalization and Religion; God; Goddess Worship; Gynocentrism; Homosexuality; Human Body, article on Human Bodies, Religion, and Gender; Human Rights and Religion; Mary; Masculine Sacrality; Men's Studies in Religion; Menstruation; Monasticism; Mysticism; Neopaganism; New Religious Movements; Nudity; Nuns; Ordination; Patriarchy and Matriarchy; Phallus and Vagina; Priesthood; Rites of Passage; Ritual; Sexuality; Shamanism; Shekhinah; Thealogy; Virgin Goddess; Virginity; Wicca; Wisdom; Witchcraft; Women's Studies in Religion.

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Reference Works

Maggie Humm, *The Dictionary of Feminist Theory,* 2d ed. (Upper Saddle River, N.J., 1995) helps to clarify many basic concepts and theories of the social sciences that have impacted the study of religion. For historical and descriptive details on women in different religious traditions, see the series edited by Arvind Sharma and Katherine K. Young, *The Annual Review of Women in World Religions* (Albany, N.Y., from 1991 onwards). Theoretical and methodological issues are addressed in *Feminism and World Religions,* edited by Arvind Sharma and Katherine K. Young, (Albany, N.Y., 1999) and in *Methodology in Religious Studies: The Interface with Women's Studies,* edited by Arvind Sharma (Albany, N.Y., 2002). Much historical data on religion, women, and men are found in the five volumes of *A History of Women in the West,* edited by Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot (Cambridge, Mass., 1992–1994).

Often-cited readers that have assumed the status of classics, with mostly material on Judaism, Christianity, and new religions in the West, are *Womanspirit Rising: Feminist Reader in Religion,* 2d ed., edited by Carol P. Christ and Judith Plaskow (San Francisco, 1992); *Weaving the Visions: New Patterns in Feminist Spirituality,* edited by Judith Plaskow and Carol P. Christ (San Francisco, 1989); and *The Politics of Women's Spirituality. Essays by Founding Mothers of the Movement,* 2d ed., edited by Charlene Spretnak (New York, 1994).

Other Works

Darlene M. Juschka, ed., *Feminism in the Study of Religion: A Reader* (London and New York, 2001). An indispensable collection of articles dealing with wide theoretical issues, from women doing the study of religion to critical discourses, race, gender, sexuality, and class. Key texts from the last thirty years, grouped thematically, and introduced by excellent discussions on the impact of feminism on the study of religion. Serinity Young, ed., *An Anthology of Sacred Texts By and About Women* (New York and London, 1994). A wide-ranging selection of textual sources on women in different sacred writings. Serinity Young, ed. *Encyclopedia of Women and World Religion,* 2 vols. (New York, 1999). A superb reference work for first orientation; contains rich bibliographical sources on the fast-growing field of women's and feminist studies in religion. The premier journal disseminating feminist scholarship in religion is the *Journal of Feminist Studies* *in Religion,* published twice a year since spring 1985. It now invites "a variety of contributions that focus on women's experience or on gender as a category of analysis, and that further feminist theory, consciousness, and practice" (Spring 2003).

Individual Monographs and Multiauthor Volumes

Chosen from a large range of publications on gender studies in religion, the selection of the following titles was guided by several criteria: 1. use of theoretical and comparative gender discussions as well as reference to both genders; 2. cross-cultural and comparative examples from a wide range of religious and cultural traditions, by authors from different nationalities writing in English; 3. primary emphasis on the most significant works published since 1990, most of which include substantial bibliographies listing important earlier publications.

Adams, Carl J., ed. *Ecofeminism and the Sacred.* New York, 1993. The word *ecofeminism,* coined only in 1974, covers a wide, and sometimes contradictory, range of interests in the revaluation—and resacralization—of woman and nature, reflected in this collection of essays.

Ahmed, Durre S., ed. *Gendering the Spirit: Women, Religion, and the Post-Colonial Response.* London and New York, 2002. Fascinating postcolonial articles on feminism, religious traditions, and spirituality from South Asia. Includes section on violence against women in Hinduism, Christianity, and Islam.

Anderson, Pamela Sue. *A Feminist Philosophy of Religion: The Rationality and Myths of Religious Beliefs.* Oxford and Malden, Mass., 1998. Uses feminist psycholinguistics, standpoint epistemology, the idea of the philosophical imaginary, and a modified Kantianism to challenge the premises of Anglo-American analytical philosophy and to construct a daring, new feminist philosophy of religion.

Armour, Ellen T. *Deconstruction, Feminist Theology and the Problem of Difference: Subverting the Race/Gender Divide.* Chicago and London, 1999. Sophisticated deconstruction of "race" and "difference," critiquing Whitefeminist theology and theory.

Bong, Sharon A. "An Asian Postcolonial and Feminist Methodology: Ethics as a Recognition of Limits." In *Religion, Gender and Diversity: Cross-Cultural Perspectives,* edited by Ursula King and Tina Beattie, pp. 238–249. London and New York, 2004. Based on research into the standpoints of Malaysian female and male faith- and rights-based activists to change the lives of women. A fuller account of the same argument is found in Sharon Bong, "Partial Visions: Knowing through Doing Rights, Cultures and Religions from an Asian-Malaysian Feminist Standpoint Epistemology," Ph.D. diss., Lancaster University, 2002.

Børresen, Kari Elisabeth, ed. *The Image of God: Gender Models in Judaeo-Christian Tradition.* Minneapolis, 1995. Provides rich historical evidence from early Jewish, Christian, medieval, and modern writers to show that the understanding of God is closely interrelated with and dependent on dominant gender models prevalent during specific historical periods.

Boyarin, Daniel. *Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man.* Berkeley, Calif., 1997. In contrast to the prevailing warrior and patriarch image, this book offers a valuable alternative model of masculinity in terms of the ideal of a gentle, receptive male. Originating from the Talmud and further developed in other Jewish texts, this model provides helpful resources for constructing alternative gender norms.

Boyarin, Daniel. "Gender." In *Critical Terms for Religious Studies,* edited by Mark C. Taylor, pp. 117–135. Chicago and London, 1998. Succinct summary of some leading gender theoreticians, with discussion of some biblical texts and their rabbinic and Christian interpretations of gender differences.

Boyd, Stephen B., W. Merle Longwood, and Mark W. Muesse, eds. *Redeeming Men: Religion and Masculinities.* Louisville, Ky., 1996. Hailed as a groundbreaking book at publication, this book examines the dynamics of power and the role of religion in shaping masculine identities. It established men's studies in religion as a serious scholarly field.

Bradstock, Andrew, Sean Gill, Anne Hogan, and Sue Morgan, eds. *Masculinity and Spirituality in Victorian Culture.* Basingstoke, U.K., and New York, 2000. Contemporary Western gender relations still owe much to norms set down by Victorians, so far mainly studied in terms of their construction of femininities. Written by historians, these essays explore the alternative construction of masculinities, drawing on Christian (and one Jewish) examples from nineteenth-century England. Particularly fascinating is the concept of the "Christian soldier," a man fighting for his nation as well as his God.

Brown, Peter. *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity.* New York, 1988. A magisterial work on attitudes to sexuality and the body, and on sexual renunciation, in early Christianity.

Christ, Carol P. "Mircea Eliade and the Feminist Paradigm Shift." *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion,* vol. 7, no. 2 (1991): pp. 75–94. Through examining Eliade's *A History of Religious Ideas,* Christ shows the androcentric bias of its author and the lack of recognition given to the importance of women and Goddesses in the history of religion.

Christ, Carol P. *Rebirth of the Goddess. Finding Meaning in Feminist Spirituality.* New York, 1997; repr. 1998. Drawing on feminist Christian and Jewish sources this book articulates a feminist thealogy and ethics. It includes a discussion of the resistance to Goddess history and a critical analysis of Eliade's work (pp. 80-86).

Christ, Carol P. *She Who Changes. Re-Imagining the Divine in the World.* New York and Basingstoke, U.K., 2003. A creative philosophical synthesis reflecting on Goddess/God in conversation with the process philosopher Charles Hartshorne, this book argues for the adoption of a "feminist process paradigm" in approaching the Divine.

Clark, Elizabeth A. "Engendering the Study of Religion." In *The Future of the Study of Religion: Proceedings of Congress 2000,* edited by Slavica Jakelić and Lori Pearson, pp. 217–242. Leiden and Boston, 2004. This article traces the development from women's studies in religion to gender studies and men's studies in religion. Profusely referenced, it provides clear evidence for the transformative impact of gender analysis on contemporary studies of religion, with the majority of examples drawn from Christianity.

Cohen, Jeffrey Jerome, and Bonnie Wheeler, eds. *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages.* New York and London, 2000. A title that breaks new ground in deconstructing male identities in the

Middle Ages. Drawing on gender, feminist and queer theories, the contributors to this volume examine how sexuality, society, and religious worldviews shaped the medieval Christian and Jewish understanding of different masculinities.

Cooey, Paula M., William R. Eakin, and Jay B. McDaniel, eds. *After Patriarchy: Feminist Transformations of the World Religions.* Maryknoll, N.Y., 1991. In looking for a postpatriarchal age, the female and male authors of this book reveal how far-reaching the transformations of world religions must be in order to find a liberating core that will be emancipatory for all.

Cuomo, Chris J. *Feminism and Ecological Communities: An Ethic of Flourishing.* London and New York, 1998. Argues persuasively for an ecological feminism that links theory and practice. Questioning traditional feminist analyses of gender and caring, the author asks whether women are essentially closer to nature than men, and how to link the oppression of women, people of color, and other subjugated groups to the degradation of nature.

DeBerg, Betty A. *Ungodly Women: Gender and the First Wave of American Fundamentalism.* Minneapolis, 1990. Shows how issues of sexual identity and gender-differentiated behavior are central to the emergence of American fundamentalism. Not only analyzes women and femininity but also sheds much light on how fundamentalist men understand their own masculinity in relation to shaping their families and church communities.

Donaldson, Laura E., and Kwok Pui-lan, eds. *Postcolonialism, Feminism and Religious Discourse.* London and New York, 2002. Cross-cultural perspectives that combine postcolonial thinking on religion, culture, and feminist discourse. Theoretical essays are supplemented by case studies from Hinduism, Islam, Judaism, and black American women's cultural and religious experience.

Eilberg-Schwartz, Howard. *God's Phallus and Other Problems for Men and Monotheism.* Boston, 1994. This study, which has been called a masterpiece, uncovers the inherent anxieties regarding male identity and sexuality in ancient Israelite religion and modern Judaism and provides a gender-sensitive critique of the God concept of monotheism.

Eilberg-Schwartz, Howard, and Wendy Doniger, eds. *Off with Her Head! The Denial of Women's Identity in Myth, Religion and Culture.* Berkeley, Calif., 1995. A fascinating collection of essays on women in Hinduism, Judaism, Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam based on the argument that the objectification of women as sexual and reproductive bodies results in their symbolic "beheading" and practical relegation to silence and anonymity.

Falk, Nancy Auer, and Rita M. Gross, eds. *Unspoken Worlds: Women's Religious Lives.* 3d ed. Belmont, Calif., 2001. First published in 1980, these essays deal with women's religious roles and experiences, their agency, power, and innovation, and their religious strategies in coping with male-dominated systems in a wide range of different religious traditions.

Gross, Rita M. *Buddhism after Patriarchy: A Feminist History, Analysis, and Reconstruction of Buddhism.* Albany, N.Y., 1993. The first feminist reconstruction of the Buddhist tradition, this book contains two theoretically challenging methodological appendices: a) "Here I stand: Feminism as Academic Method and as Social Vision"; b) "Religious Experience and the Study of Religion: The History of Religions."

Gross, Rita M. *Feminism and Religion: An Introduction.* Boston, 1996. Provides an excellent overview of the whole field of feminist research and women's studies in religion, using a large comparative framework rarely found in other publications.

Gross, Rita M., ed. *Beyond Androcentrism: New Essays on Women and Religion.* Missoula, Mont., 1977. Influential set of essays on methodology criticizing the prevailing androcentrism in the study of religions.

Hawley, John Stratton, ed. *Fundamentalism and Gender.* New York and Oxford, 1994. Extensive discussion of the meaning of fundamentalism, but no analysis of the concept of gender itself, which is, as so often, applied exclusively to women, with studies on American fundamentalism, Indian Islam, Hinduism, Japanese New Religions, and modern Judaism.

Hewitt, Marsha Aileen. *Critical Theory of Religion: A Feminist Analysis.* Minneapolis, 1995. A perceptive analysis of the theoreticians of the Frankfurt School, which highlights the androcentric and misogynistic aspects of their work while drawing on their new insights for developing a feminist critical theory of religion.

Howland, Courtney W. "Women and Religious Fundamentalism." In *Women and International Human Rights Law,* edited by Kelly D. Askin and Dorean M. Koenig, pp. 533–621. Ardsley, N.Y., 1999. Meticulously researched article on the challenge of different religious fundamentalisms to the liberty and equality rights of women. Includes a vast number of references to other publications on this important theme of great international relevance.

Isherwood, Lisa, and Elizabeth Stuart. *Introducing Body Theology.* Sheffield, U.K., 1998. Helpful survey on current discussions about embodiment, embodied theology, spirituality, and ecology, as well as the "queering of the body" and gender relations from a largely Christian perspective.

Jantzen, Grace M. *Power, Gender and Christian Mysticism.* Cambridge, U.K., 1995. Considered to be the first deconstructionist approach to Christian mysticism, analyzing the differently structured gendered rhetoric of male and female mystics. Argues for the plurality of Christian mysticisms and against its essentialist, experiential understanding, but sees mysticism rather as sets of social relations and representations informed by gender-differentiated power structures.

Jantzen, Grace M. *Becoming Divine: Towards a Feminist Philosophy of Religion.* Manchester, U.K., 1998. Drawing on Irigaray, Derrida, and Levinas, Jantzen explores the possibility of a new imaginary of religion that would replace a masculinist symbolic preoccupied with mortality and death by a feminist one based on natality and flourishing.

Jeffery, Patricia, and Amrita Basu, eds. *Appropriating Gender: Women's Activism and Politicized Religion in South Asia.* New York and London, 1998. Explores the paradoxical relationship of women to religious politics in India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh. Different gender identities emerge according to social, local, and political context in the struggle for national self-definition.

Joy, Morny, and Eva K. Neumaier-Dargyay, eds. *Gender, Genre and Religion: Feminist Reflections.* Waterloo, Ontario, 1995.

Challenging collection of gendered reflections on methodological perspectives, disciplinary discourses, and substantive issues of religious practice across different religious traditions.

Joy, Morny, Kathleen O'Grady, and Judith Poxon, eds. *French Feminists on Religion: A Reader.* London, 2002. Contains selections from the works of Irigaray, Kristeva, Clément, Cixous, and Wittig, with helpful introductions.

Joy, Morny, Kathleen O'Grady, and Judith Poxon, eds. *Religion in French Feminist Thought: Critical Perspectives.* London, 2003. This selection of articles by different authors complements *French Feminists on Religion* (2002). It deals with Irigaray, Kristeva, Cixous and Clément, and Wittig.

Juschka, Darlene M. "The Category of Gender in the Study of Religion." *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 11, no. 1 (1999): 77–105. Lucid discussion of some major feminist theorists, followed by reviews of Ursula King, ed., *Religion and Gender* (Cambridge, U.K., 1995) and J. Stratton Hawley, ed. *Fundamentalism and Gender* (New York,1994).

Kachru, Braj B. *The Alchemy of English: The Spread, Functions and Models of Non-Native Englishes.* Oxford, 1986. Examines the uses of English in postcolonial countries, showing how English is often still perceived as a language of prestige, power, and opportunity, without some of the limitations attributed to native languages, and with the additional potential for developing attitudes of neutrality and new forms of creativity.

Kasulis, Thomas P., Roger T. Ames., and Wimal Dissanayake, eds. *Self as Body in Asian Theory and Practice.* Albany, N.Y., 1993. Investigates the relationship between self and body in the Indian, Japanese, and Chinese philosophical traditions, with some attention given to gender differences.

Kawahashi, Noriko, and Masako Kuroki, eds. "Feminism and Religion in Contemporary Japan." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 30, nos. 3–4 (Fall 2003). The articles provide an overview of feminist debates on religion in Japan; deal with women in Japanese new religious movements, but also in traditional Buddhism and Christianity. They also mention that women's studies research was introduced into Japanese universities from the 1980s onwards, but since the 1990s the emphasis has increasingly moved to gender studies. Volume 10, numbers 2–3 (1983) of the *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* were devoted to "Women and Religion in Japan."

Khandelwal, Meena. *Women in Ochre Robes: Gendering Hindu Renunciation.* Albany, N.Y., 2004. A great contribution to the understudied topic of female renouncers in the Hindu tradition; through examining contemporary *sannyasinis* and women gurus, it reveals alternative models of Hindu femininity and sheds light on South Asian gender constructs.

King, Ursula. "Women Scholars and the *Encyclopedia of Religion.*" In *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 2, no.1 (1990): 91–97. Critique of the implicit (and sometimes explicit) androcentrism underlying some of the entries of the first edition of the *Encyclopedia* (1987) and the invisibility of past women scholars of religion.

King, Ursula. "Rediscovering Women's Voices at the World's Parliament of Religions." In *A Museum of Faiths: Histories and Legacies of the 1893 World's Parliament of Religions,* edited by Eric J. Ziolkowski, pp. 325–343. Atlanta, 1993. Highlights the historical contributions of women to the emergent interfaith movement. Discusses the nineteen women plenary speakers (out of a total of 190) and examines four of these in detail. More historical research is needed to recover women's considerable contributions to the historic World's Parliament and its impact on the development of the academic study of religion, and thereby make good a missing dimension in the historiography of the discipline.

King, Ursula. "Hinduism and Women: Uses and Abuses of Religious Freedom." In *Facilitating Freedom of Religion or Belief: A Deskbook,* edited by Tore Lindholm, W. Cole Durham, Jr., and Bahia G. Tahzib-Lie, pp. 523–543. The Hague, 2004. Published in a substantial reference work on religious freedom in relation to human rights, including the status and rights of women, this article highlights the tensions between the right to freedom to live a life of human dignity and worth and the freedom of an ancient religious tradition, sometimes practiced in denial of the human rights of Indian women.

King, Ursula, ed. *Religion and Gender.* Oxford and Cambridge, Mass., 1995. Based on the Religion and Gender Panel of the XVIth International Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions (Rome, 1990), this volume contains challenging theoretical reflections and empirical investigations on gender in the study of religion, as examined by an international group of women scholars.

King, Ursula, and Tina Beattie, eds. *Religion, Gender and Diversity: Cross-Cultural Perspectives.* London and New York, 2004. Discussion by an international group of scholars of a wide range of gender-sensitive issues in the contemporary study of religion. Includes among others postcolonial, race, gender, and class perspectives; gender archaeology; biblical gender strategies; feminist theological approaches to the Holocaust; the gendering of missionary imperialism; questions of Muslim women's identity; of Christian *Dalit* women; of male thealogical reflections; and debates about different sexual orientations.

Kloppenborg, Ria, and Wouter J. Hanegraaff, eds. *Female Stereotypes in Religious Traditions: Studies in the History of Religions.* Leiden, 1995. A fine discussion of remarkably widespread, ambiguous stereotypes used to control women in male-dominated societies, whether in the religions of ancient Israel and Mesopotamia, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, medieval Christianity, Islam, Indian Sufism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Tibetan religions, or even modern Neopaganism.

Krondorfer, Björn, ed. *Men's Bodies, Men's Gods: Male Identities in a (Post)Christian Culture.* New York, 1996. An excellent collection of essays that reflects the increasingly self-critical and theoretically sophisticated stances of the growing field of men's studies in religion.

Marcos, Sylvia, ed. *Gender, Bodies, Religions.* Adjunct Proceedings of the VIIth Congress for the History of Religions. Cuernavaca, Mexico, 2000. Contains a cross-cultural set of papers on methodological concerns in the study of gender and religion, approaches to bodies and reproductive issues in religion, and several case studies grouped under culture, religion, and gender.

McNamara, Jo Ann Kay. *Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns through Two Millennia.* Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1996. A highly acclaimed study of the history of Catholic nuns in the Western world. Women created their own space in religious communities where they could evolve spiritually, intellectually, and emotionally, but also continually had to struggle against male church hierarchies and the restrictions of their gender roles by society.

Mollenkott, Virginia Ramey. *Omnigender: A Trans-Religious Approach.* Berkeley, Calif., 2001. Carefully constructed gender boundaries are dismantled here, and sex-gender binaries are replaced by a new "omnigender" paradigm, a rainbow of varying degrees of genderedness among humanity. Written from a Christian perspective.

Morgan, Sue, ed. *Women, Religion, and Feminism in Britain.* Basingstoke, U.K., and New York, 2002. A collection of essays written from a variety of Christian and Unitarian approaches, which through their discussion of specific female figures highlight the complex interaction between religious belief and feminist activism.

Nelson, James B. *Body Theology.* Louisville, Ky., 1992. Discusses the theological and ethical authenticity of the human body as sexed body and deals with sexual theology, men's issues, and biomedical ethics. A masterful construction of what may well be a major shift in Western understanding of what it means to be a human person.

Nelson, James B., and Sandra P. Longfellow, eds. *Sexuality and the Sacred: Sources for Theological Reflection.* Louisville, Ky., 1994. Excellent essays from a Christian theological perspective that views sexuality as part of divine revelation and considers sex as integral to spirituality. Includes material on gender orientation, gender relations, and women's and men's experience, but also rare discussions of sexuality in relation to disability, aging, HIV, and AIDS.

O'Connor, June. "Rereading, Reconceiving and Reconstructing Traditions: Feminist Research in Religion." *Women's Studies* 17, no. 1 (1989): 101–123. A frequently cited article that discusses how religious texts, histories, and traditions have to be reinterpreted from a gender-critical perspective.

O'Grady, Kathleen, Ann L. Gilroy, and Janette Gray, eds. *Bodies, Lives, Voices: Gender in Theology.* Sheffield, 1998. Deals with women's voices rather than more inclusive gender theory, deemed as "modish" (p. 267) in this volume. Discusses representations of women in sacred texts and theologies; the need to recover the heritage of women; and the relevance of feminist theory for canonical texts. With the exception of Tamil Christian *Dalits,* this is an entirely Western, white-feminist study with no attention to cross-cultural issues or to religious diversity.

Puttick, Elizabeth. *Women in New Religions: In Search of Community, Sexuality and Spiritual Power.* Basingstoke, U.K., and New York, 1997. Challenges the view that women, who make up more than half the members of new religious movements, are exploited by charismatic male leaders; discusses interrelated issues of sexuality, spirituality, and power.

Puttick, Elizabeth, and Peter B. Clarke, eds. *Women as Teachers and Disciples in Traditional and New Religions.* Lewiston, Ky., 1993. Wide-ranging case studies of women's religious leadership, from early Christian Egypt to contemporary new religious groups in Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam, to Bahian Candomblé, esoteric groups in Italy, and modern paganism.

Raphael, Melissa. *Thealogy and Embodiment: The Post-Patriarchal Reconstruction of Female Sacrality.* Sheffield, U.K., 1996. Important study of goddess feminism and female sacrality. Drawing on many feminist writers, it looks at the female body as a medium of divine creative activity and discusses the ethical implications of taking female sacrality seriously.

Sawyer, Deborah F. *God, Gender and the Bible.* London and New York, 2002. Illuminating discussion of Hebrew and Christian scriptural texts in the light of postmodern ideas about gender and power; shows that both maleness and femaleness are constructed in the light of divine omnipotence and that biblical writers use female characters strategically in order to undermine human masculinity and elevate the biblical God.

Schüssler Fiorenza, Elisabeth. *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins.* New York and London, 1983. A classic of feminist biblical interpretation, which presents the history of Christian women in the early Jesus movement as a "discipleship of equals" with men.

Sered, Susan Starr. *Priestess, Mother, Sacred Sister: Religions Dominated by Women.* New York and Oxford, 1994. Looks at twelve cross-cultural examples of religions where women take a leadership role in religious practices and are often also the major participants, concluding that these occur mostly in matrifocal societies and that such practices focus especially on women's concerns as mothers.

Stuart, Elizabeth. *Religion Is a Queer Thing: A Guide to the Christian Faith for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgendered People.* Sheffield, U.K., 1997. An example of a distinctive, radical Christian queer theology questioning the assumptions that underlie many doctrines and practices of the tradition.

Svenson, Jonas. *Women's Human Rights and Islam: A Study of Three Attempts at Accommodation.* Lund, Sweden, 2000. Examines Muslim participation in the international debate about women's human rights by analyzing the methods employed in interpreting religious sources in the works of the religious studies scholar Riffat Hassan, sociologist Fatima Mernissi, and legal studies and human rights scholar Abdullahi Ahmed an-Na'im. Different versions of Islam compete for recognition as the "true" representation of the divine will.

Taylor, Barbara. *Mary Wollstonecraft and the Feminist Imagination.* Cambridge, U.K., 2003. This scholarly study of Wollstonecraft's thought provides a fascinating account of her intellectual world and personal history and gives for the first time careful attention to the role that religion played in her work, thus opening a new chapter in feminist studies of this influential thinker.

Thatcher, Adrian, and Elizabeth Stuart, eds. *Christian Perspectives on Sexuality and* Gender. Grand Rapids, Mich., and Leominster, U.K., 1996. Contains a wide-ranging set of essays on Christian attitudes to the body, sexuality, and gender, with a primary focus on contemporary issues rather than historical discussions.

Warne, Randi R. "Gender." In *Guide to the Study of Religion,* edited by Willi Braun and Russell T. McCutcheon, pp. 140–154. London and New York, 2000a. Very accessible conceptual clarification of the key features, historical development, and associated subsets of the category of "gender," including a critical assessment of its contribution to the scientific study of religion.

Warne, Randi R. "Making the Gender-Critical Turn." In *Secular Theories on Religion: Current Perspectives,* edited by Tim Jensen and Mikael Rothstein, pp. 249–260. Copenhagen, 2000b. Illustrates brilliantly how gender thinking is neither natural nor neutral, and argues that a radical shift in thinking is required to make a "gender-critical" turn in all areas, including the study of religion.

Warne, Randi R. "(En)gendering Religious Studies." In *Feminism in the Study of Religion,* edited by Darlene M. Juschka, pp. 147–156. London and New York, 2001. A passionate, but measured and well-supported, plea to implement the radical implications of gender-critical thinking to all theoretical and practical areas of religious studies.

Warner, Michael. *Fear of a Queer Planet: Queer Politics and Social Theory.* New Brunswick, N.J., 1993. Anthology of essays described as pioneering in trying to push gay identity politics beyond its limitations in gay and lesbian studies, and highlighting the involvement of both political and religious figures in regulating sexual conduct.

Webb, Val. *Florence Nightingale: The Making of a Radical Theologian.* St. Louis, 2002. Carefully crafted study of Nightingale's little-known religious works that shows that her one aim in life was to organize religion, not hospitals. This analysis reveals her as an amazingly original woman thinker who anticipated feminist and process theological insights, applying gender criticisms far ahead of her time to Victorian society and the Christian churches.

Wessinger, Catherine, ed. *Religious Institutions and Women's Leadership: New Roles inside the Mainstream.* Columbia, S.C., 1996. Focused on the United States, the essays in this volume demonstrate how a growing number of new leadership roles have become available for Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish women. This is an ongoing process, slowed down by women hitting what has been called a "stained-glass ceiling." Contains a comprehensive chronological survey (pp. 347–401) of key events for women's religious leadership in the United States during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Zink-Sawyer, Beverly. *From Preachers to Suffragists: Women's Rights and Religious Conviction in the Lives of Three Nineteenth-Century American Clergywomen.* Louisville, Ky., and London, 2003. By studying the religious rhetoric and theological ideas of Antoinette Brown Blackwell, Olympia Brown, and Anna Howard Shaw, three of the earliest women to be ordained in the United States, the author examines the religious roots of the women's rights movement, so often primarily understood as a secular movement.

URSULA KING (2005)

GENDER AND RELIGION: HISTORY OF STUDY

Any consideration of the historical development of gender and religion as a field of enquiry over the late twentieth century and the early twenty-first century must acknowledge the central role of feminism. From the beginning of the feminist movement a strong connection was made between the status of women and the authorizing function of religion (specifically Christianity) in maintaining gender inequalities. At the same time, however, attention was paid to its emancipatory potential. For example, campaigns for the abolition of slavery and extension of political rights to women were motivated by Christian ethical teachings. Furthermore moves to improve the status of women within ecclesiastical hierarchies were made: in 1853 the Congregational Church in New York ordained the first female minister, the Reverend Antoinette Brown (1825–1921), and in the early 1840s Oberlin College in the United States enrolled a small number of women into its theological school, having started admitting women to higher education in 1837. As Ursula King has noted, "Women's admission to theological studies [was] the most important contributory factor in making women theologically literate, thus enabling them to contribute to theological debates on their own terms" (Ursula King, 1990a, p. 278).

Despite these positive initiatives, a number of prominent suffragists highlighted the oppressive role of Christianity in maintaining the inferior status of women. For example, in 1893 Matilda Joslyn Gage (1826–1898) published *Woman, Church, and State,* which is generally accepted as the first attempt to offer a historical account of the subordination of women within the Christian tradition. She was, however, viewed by many within the suffrage movement as dangerously radical and was marginalized in historical accounts of the movement. Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815–1902) suffered a similar fate following her publication of *The Woman's Bible* (1895–1898)—coedited by Gage and Susan B. Anthony (1820–1906)—a reworking of the Christian Bible in which all recognizably "antifeminist" passages were excised in order to demonstrate its marginalization of women. Despite the negative reception of her work among fellow suffragists, the significance of her contribution is seen by contemporary feminist theologians to lie in her initiation of a "long overdue process of biblical interpretation by and for women" (Isherwood and McEwan, 1993, p. 50). This work was taken up vigorously from the 1960s onward in the context of the women's liberation movement.

FEMINISM AND RELIGIOUS STUDIES: 1960–1990. The 1960s saw a number of rights-based movements emerge: black liberation and the Civil Rights movement, sexual liberation, gay liberation, the anti–Vietnam War movement, and the women's liberation movement or second wave feminism. Throughout the decade the women's liberation movement established itself as a major political force across Europe, North America, India, and elsewhere. Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) heralded the beginning of the women's liberation movement in the United States. Friedan identified what she called "the problem that has no name"—a "mystique" she defined as the sense of worthlessness that women experienced due to their financial, intellectual, and emotional dependence on men.

Context: The women's liberation movement. By 1970 women's liberation had come of age in North America. In the same year the first British conference on women's liberation was held in Oxford marking the founding of the British movement; Germaine Greer published *The Female Eu-*

nuch, arguing that sexual liberation was the key to women's liberation; Shulamith Firestone published *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution,* in which she identified "sex class"—the condition of women as an oppressed class—and articulated a central tenet of radical feminism, that men's domination of women is the fundamental form of oppression; and Kate Millet published *Sexual Politics,* an analysis of patriarchy as a socially conditioned belief system that masquerades as the natural order.

The defining concerns of the feminist movement were quickly apparent. Firstly, feminists agreed that in every society that divided the sexes into bifurcated cultural, economic, or political spheres women were less valued than men. Secondly, key concepts like "patriarchy," "androcentrism," "sexism," and "misogyny" were formulated to explain the universal oppression of women. The idea of misogyny was a fundamental concept for the women's movement, seen as a lens through which all cultural and social practices, both historical and contemporary, could be viewed and explained, while patriarchy was viewed as the ubiquitous structure that enabled the elaborate expression of misogyny across a wide range of cultural, political, and intellectual systems. Thirdly, feminists critiqued the paradigms that placed men above women or represented them as the norm. Fourthly, feminists theorized an autonomous female identity where women's bodies and feminine activities were prioritized and represented as positive in contrast to the centuries-old portrayal of femininity as a source of danger, impurity, and evil. Finally, feminist activism was organized around the principle that women could collectively change their social position and identity by advocating equal employment and reproductive and sexual rights and by resisting all forms of gender-based discrimination.

However, despite broad agreement regarding the feminist assessment of the position of women, the women's movement was challenged by black feminists who experienced both sexual and racial discrimination (see Hull, Scott, and Smith, 1982; see also Ware, 1992, which shows that racism infected relations between white and black women even in the earliest stages of the feminist movement), and by lesbian feminists (see Myron and Bunch, 1975). Both groups argued that second wave feminism was overdominated by white, middle-class, and heterosexual agendas that were visibly unable (or even unwilling) to account for and challenge the multiple axes of oppression produced in the intersections between class, race, and sexuality. In other words, the plurality of women's material realities was mistakenly conflated with the universal and homogenous category "Woman," and this had the effect of erasing important differences between women. The failure of the leaders of the women's liberation movement to take the challenges of their fellow feminists seriously and to integrate their concerns resulted in the splintering of the movement.

If feminism was losing its way as a unified political movement, it was increasingly making its presence felt in universities as feminists recognized the powerful role of educational institutions in shaping cultural values and meanings. Women's studies departments and programs were established from the late 1960s onward as academic feminists sought to transform the androcentric basis of knowledge production and to challenge the omission of female perspectives. By the early 1980s women's studies had been an established field for over a decade, despite considerable hostility from those feminist activists who viewed it as a regrettable alliance with establishment values and a depoliticization of feminism. However, feminist theory did distinguish itself from mainstream academic scholarship by emphasizing its overtly political nature and its commitment to social, epistemological, and material change; feminist religious studies were no exception.

Content: Feminism and religious studies. Ursula King has noted the invisibility of religious studies within feminist and women's studies curricula and anthologies, and this can be attributed to the prevalent assumption among feminists that religion had little to offer women (Ursula King, 1990a, p. 275; 1995, pp. 219–220). Nonetheless some scholars working in the 1970s and 1980s, influenced by the insights of the women's liberation movement, began to examine religious traditions critically, at first in confessional contexts and then in the secular study of religions. June O'Connor has summarized their efforts as "rereading, reconceiving, and reconstruction" informed by questions regarding "women as subject," "sensitivity to and criticism of the manner in which [religious] traditions . . . have been studied and . . . formulated," and a concern with "our scholarly angles of vision, our research methods and approaches" (O'Connor, 1989, pp. 101–102). Accordingly four main preoccupations characterized work in the field during this period:

1. scholars exposed the androcentrism and misogyny of the Christian and, to a lesser extent, the Jewish traditions;
2. women were identified as a legitimate category of analysis as well as active agents of religious practice and study, with women's experiences being promoted as a credible and corrective hermeneutical tool;
3. new forms of female-centered religiosity were explored;
4. epistemological and methodological tools were developed in order to challenge the androcentric bias of mainstream scholarship in theology and religious studies.

Scholars began theological reflection from an engaged, although expressly critical, stance and initiated a movement away from the presentation of divinity as male within Christianity and Judaism. The quest was initially a personal and religious one: a question of finding, reshaping, and transforming symbols of divinity that would legitimize women's experiences and produce a positive sense of female identity.

Mary Daly's *The Church and the Second Sex* (1968) was a milestone, inaugurating a new era of feminist theological reflection marked by the systematic critique and reformulation of Christian doctrine from the perspective of women's experience. Following Daly, writers like Rosemary Radford Ruether (1983b, 1985), Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza (1983), and Judith Plaskow (1990) contributed to a lively and wide-ranging discourse based explicitly around the spiritual needs of contemporary women and the need to reform Christianity and Judaism from the standpoint of feminism.

However, Daly quickly moved to question whether or not Christianity was capable of reform or in fact irredeemably sexist. In 1971, as the first woman preacher at the Harvard Memorial Church, she spoke on the theme "The Women's Movement: An Exodus Community," inviting women in the congregation to leave the church together as a way of symbolically rejecting women's subordination within the church:

> We cannot really belong to institutional religion as it exists. It isn't good enough to be token preachers. It isn't good enough to have our energies drained and co-opted. Singing sexist hymns, praying to a male god breaks our spirit, makes us less than human. The crushing weight of this tradition, of this power structure, tells us that *we do not even exist*. Let us affirm our faith in ourselves and our will to transcendence by rising and walking out together. (Daly, 1972, p. 335)

Daly followed this up in 1973 with *Beyond God the Father,* marking the start of a protracted debate among feminist theologians regarding the extent to which religious commitment could be compatible with feminist goals and beliefs. Those who, like Daly, suggested that the only feasible option for Christian feminists was to abandon the tradition and create a new one based on women's contemporary religious experience were described as post-Christian feminists or as separatists (see Hampson, 1996). Other feminist theologians responded to Daly's work by offering their own critiques of the Christian tradition but, rather than rejecting it, affirmed that it was capable of reform (see Ruether 1974, 1981; Trible, 1978). They worked to produce new models that could act as correctives to oppressive ideologies and were broadly characterized as reformists. However, as with the broader women's movement, the issue of how to define women's experience became a contested area with the emergence of the distinctive voices of black and Womanist, Asian, Latin American *(mujerista)*, and lesbian feminist theologians, which, while present from the beginning, began to find fuller expression in the 1980s.

The analysis of misogyny as well as the forms and conceptual underpinnings of patriarchy were related preoccupations in the area of feminist religious studies in the 1960s and 1970s. Feminist writers maintained that women had been deprived of their history (conceived of as originally matriarchal), that their unique religious contributions had been excised through a series of patriarchal interventions, and that the promotion of God as male in many religions had damaged women's relationships to both divinity and each other. A feminist project, known broadly as the Goddess movement or Feminist Spirituality, aimed to re-create and reimagine women's history and religious experience utilizing myth, folklore, and the archaeology of material culture. It was predicated on the conviction that what was lost in history could be recovered and would create a space for a feminine spirituality that centered on the Goddess and women's experience. Writers within the movement attempted to redefine the relationship between masculine and feminine aspects of deity by inverting their relative status so that the feminine was viewed as more originary and relevant to women's spiritual expression.

The Harvard archaeologist Marija Gimbutas's work provided a scholarly framework for the Goddess movement's account of matriarchal prehistory, giving it both an imprimatur of authenticity and a credible historical genealogy. She focused on the prehistoric cultures of Southeast Europe, featuring discoveries in "old Europe" of numerous "female" statues in stone, bone, ivory, and clay (some with pregnant bellies, large, exaggerated breasts, and stylized vulvae), as evidence for matriarchal societies in the Paleolithic and Neolithic eras (Gimbutas, 1982; 1989). The Goddess movement as well as Gimbutas's work have been severely critiqued from a variety of disciplinary perspectives, all of which have challenged the historical verifiability of its claims and have leveled charges of essentialism and reversed patriarchy (see Wood, 1996; Goodison and Morris, 1998; Eller, 2000).

In spite of the work highlighting women's historical subordination within religious traditions, feminist theologians as well as scholars of religions also drew attention to women as active agents and religious innovators in their own right. Within the context of feminist theology, this concern was a response to the contemporary controversy over the role of women in the church, particularly over the ordination of women. Much early scholarship was therefore concerned with women's leadership in the church in different historical periods. An important example was *Women of Spirit: Female Leadership in the Jewish and Christian Traditions* (Ruether and McLaughlin, 1979), which argued that although women had been excluded from institutional leadership roles, in the past they had held important positions. It was thus important to present women's involvement in the history of the Christian tradition as a way of contributing to its reformation. Studies exploring exceptional religious women, such as Clarissa Atkinson's *Mystic and Pilgrim: The Book and the World of Margery Kempe* (1983) and Elizabeth Dreyer's *Passionate Women: Two Medieval Mystics* (1989), also appeared.

Cross-cultural studies in the field of feminist religious studies also kept pace, investigating the relationship between the treatment of women within religious traditions and their position in wider social systems, demonstrating how women's strategies of resistance and innovation emerged within a multitude of religious traditions, and assessing the ambiguity of feminine symbolism within many religious systems. Notable among these were Carol P. Christ and Judith

Plaskow (1979), Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad and Ellison Banks Findly (1985), Clarissa W. Atkinson, Constance H. Buchanan, and Margaret R. Miles (1985), Caroline Walker Bynum (1987), Judith Plaskow and Carol P. Christ (1989), and Ursula King (1989).

A further trend was scholarship that addressed the neglect of women's perspectives and data within religious studies. The first of these—*Women and Religion*, edited by Judith Plaskow and Joan A. Romero—appeared in 1974, followed by Denise Lardner Carmody's *Women and World Religions* (1979). The first truly cross-cultural, nonconfessional volumes were published by Nancy Falk and Rita Gross (1980) and Ursula King (1987). Falk and Gross aimed to locate women's religious lives in a variety of traditions at the center of their study rather than the periphery, as was traditionally the case in religious studies. Numerous publications rendering women's participation in religious traditions more visible quickly followed (for example, Sharma, 1987). Studies focusing on the position and roles of women within single traditions were also produced (for example, Paul, 1979; Jacobson and Wadley, 1977; Al-Hibri, 1982).

The field of "Women and Religion" now gained limited recognition at the institutional level. Harvard Divinity School established a women's caucus in 1970, preparing the ground for the introduction of the Women's Studies in Religion program in 1973; the American Academy of Religion (AAR) introduced the "Woman and Religion" section to its annual conference; the Fourteenth International Association of the History of Religions (IAHR) Congress in Winnipeg in 1980 included a panel on "Femininity and Religion"; the British Association for the Study of Religion (BASR) titled its 1989 conference "Religion and Gender"; and Lancaster University established the first master's program in Women and Religion in the United Kingdom in the same year (Ursula King, 1990a, pp. 279–280). Although this work was vital for the recognition of female agency within religious traditions, it was generally ineffectual in challenging the androcentric bias of religious studies. Instead, a women-centered approach was seen within the field to be of concern only to women and with little to contribute to broader methodological debates. This was clear from the lack of integration of feminist perspectives in core syllabi, the comparatively low volume of publication in the area, the unsatisfactory profile of the subject at international conferences, the struggle to encourage university libraries to stock copies of relevant publications, and the underrepresentation of academics researching women in university departments (see Ursula King, 1990a; 1995a).

Feminist scholars in the study of religions thus began to offer methodological reflections in order to confront the androcentrism of the field. Rita Gross's pioneering article "Methodological Remarks on the Study of Women in Religion" (1974) and her book *Beyond Androcentrism: New Essays on Women and Religion* (1977) were the first to promote a feminist methodology in religious studies. Rosemary Ruether contributed her article "The Feminist Critique in Religious Studies" (1983a) to a volume on the impact of feminist studies in academia, and the *Encyclopedia of Religion* (Eliade, 1987) commissioned two articles on the topic: "Women's Studies" by Constance Buchanan and "Androcentrism" by Ruether (however, see King 1990b for a critique of the encyclopedia's failure to integrate feminist perspectives and for presenting an androcentric view of religion).

It was because of the entrenched marginalization of female perspectives at the empirical and institutional levels that the inclusion of feminist theory in the mainstream development of religious studies began to be framed in terms of offering a paradigm shift. Carol P. Christ (1987; see also 1989, 1991) was the first to suggest that the integration of feminist scholarship could ensure conceptual change and renewal within the discipline and would provide a necessary corrective to its androcentric foundations. Randi Warne (1989) also characterized the growth of women's studies in religious studies as "a brave new paradigm," drawing attention to the epistemological significance of the feminist challenge to the foundational premises of religious studies. Warne further made a connection between institutional structures, the feminist study of religions, and the status of women working within the field, suggesting that religious studies "must ensure that its departments are materially constructed in such a way that the presumption of male privilege is not maintained" (Warne, 1989, p. 43).

GENDER AND RELIGION FROM THE 1990S. The analysis of "male privilege" had of course been a central preoccupation of much feminist scholarship from the 1960s onward. However, a shift in emphasis emerged as scholars increasingly recognized the need to consider critically not only constructions of femininity and female identity but also the way they interacted with notions of maleness, especially insofar as they were articulated and promoted in social systems. The development of gender studies as an adjunct to women's studies was a result of this recognition. Feminist scholars from the 1970s onward thus theorized gender as a system of signs or signifiers assigned to sexually dimorphic bodies that acted to distinguish the social roles and meanings those bodies could have. They argued that gender was a social construct configured, enacted, and maintained in social systems and institutions rather than being biologically innate. Peggy Reeves Sanday and Ruth Gallagher Goodenough, for example, signaled discomfort with the decontextualized study of women found in much feminist work. They preferred instead to examine "gender meaning and gender representation" in order to draw out the "contradictory and variable views of maleness and femaleness" in different cultures (Sanday and Goodenough, 1990, p. 5). It also became problematic to discuss female and male relations and roles without taking into consideration the influence of cultural and social variables such as class, race and ethnicity, and sexuality as well as the colonialist distortion of knowledge production in the West.

Context: Gender theory. The emergence of gender studies in the 1990s as a separate field of enquiry was also the result of an increase in epistemological reflection informed by the critiques of poststructural, postcolonial, and queer theory, each of which problematized the dominant (European) humanist presentation of identity as homogenous, universal, and self-evident. Feminist scholarship was not exempt. For example, Chandra Talpade Mohanty, keen to develop a culturally contextualized "formulation of autonomous, geographically, historically, and culturally grounded feminist concerns and strategies," offered a powerful criticism of the "colonialist move" in some Western feminist scholarship on women in the third world, particularly insofar as it appropriated the "production of the 'third world woman' as a singular monolithic subject" (Mohanty, 1991, p. 51).

Another intervention in gender studies was signaled by Judith Butler, who sought to unmask the ways binarized gender categories supported inequitable gender hierarchies and compulsory heterosexuality. She asked, "What new shape of politics emerges when identity as a common ground no longer constrains the discourse on feminist politics? And to what extent does the effort to locate a common identity as the foundation for a feminist politics preclude a radical inquiry into the political construction and regulation of identity itself?" (Butler, 1999, p. xxix). Butler's work was instrumental in the foundation of a new area of inquiry, queer theory, that attended to the social construction of normative and deviant sexual behavior. Queer theory followed feminist and gay-lesbian studies in rejecting the idea that sexuality was determined solely by biology. Instead, sexuality was seen as a complex array of social codes and forces, individual activity, and institutional power-shaping ideas of sexual normativity or deviancy (see Sedgwick, 1990; Jagose, 1996; Warner, 1999).

Another significant shift that contributed to the move from women's studies to gender studies was the emergence of critical and self-reflexive masculinity studies that historicized and analyzed dominant constructions of maleness and was attentive to the differences among men. Pioneering studies were by Harry Brod (1987a, 1987b); Michael S. Kimmel (1987); David D. Gilmore (1990); William G. Doty (1993); and Roger Horrocks (1994).

Content: Gender theory and religion. The study of religions was certainly, if belatedly, influenced by the emergence of gender studies, and studies emerged that embraced the shift from a women-centered approach to the consideration of gender as a central category for critical reflection. The first scholars to acknowledge the potential of gender theory to illuminate the complex interrelationship of male and female roles within religious traditions were Caroline Walker Bynum, Stevan Harrell, and Paula Richman (1986). Studies exploring the connections between gender and religion, with a new theoretical sophistication, rapidly appeared, most notably by Bynum (1991), Leila Ahmed (1992), Grace M. Jantzen (1995), and Ursula King, whose groundbreaking edited volume *Religion and Gender* (1995) offered wide-ranging critiques of the gender-blindness of religious studies, reflections on the gendered nature of research, gender-critical perspectives on the empirical study of women in a variety of religious traditions, and reconsiderations of feminist spirituality.

Critical studies of masculinity and religion were inaugurated by Stephen B. Boyd, W. Merle Longwood, and Mark W. Muesse, who offered a comprehensive and provocative insight into masculinities and male experiences as specific and varying sociohistorical and cultural formations. The editors acknowledged their "tremendous debt to the influence of feminist theory," and the essays were built on the assumption that the construction of dominant forms of masculinity within religious traditions was problematic and in need of revision (Boyd, Longwood, and Muesse, 1996, p. xiii). Several other notable books in the area followed (Capps, 2002; Raines, 2001; Putney, 2001; Moore, 2001; Monti, 2002), and it is likely to prove an increasingly fruitful area of research in the coming years.

Issues regarding sexuality and religion also received attention, building on the earlier work of gay and lesbian theologians. Richard Hasbany's *Homosexuality and Religion* (1989) was a pioneering work exploring the dilemmas institutional religion posed for gays and lesbians. In the late 1990s studies of sexuality developed a new heuristic cogency as explorations were extended to issues of embodiment and corporeality (Coakley, 1997; Grovijahn, 1998; Carrette, 2000), the insights of gay-lesbian and queer theory (Schippert, 1999; Neitz, 2000), the place of homosexuality within religious traditions (Bouldrey, 1995; Stuart, 1997; Shallenberger, 1998; Rogers, 2002), gay-lesbian perspectives on the study of religions (Johnson, 2002; Althaus-Reid, 2001; Gill, 2004), and the intersections of race, sexuality, and gender (Carrette and Keller, 1999; Hayes, Porter, and Tombs, 1998).

Theoretical reflections on the conceptual underpinnings of the study of religions from the standpoint of gender theory were another influential trend. Marsha Aileen Hewitt (1995), Grace Jantzen (1998), and Pamela Sue Anderson (1998) offered impressive epistemological reflections on the discursive ideologies operating within the study of religions. Attention was also increasingly paid to the theories of the poststructural "feminist" scholars—Julia Kristeva, Hélène Cixous, and Luce Irigaray among others—as a means of reflecting on and critiquing the gendered nature of religious discourse (see Crownfield, 1992; Joy, O'Grady, and Poxon, 2002, 2003).

The most important and timely theoretical perspectives to emerge, however, were those of postcolonialist scholars critical of the ethnocentrism of the field of gender and religion. Their interventions have paralleled broader debates regarding the colonialist legacy of the study of religions (see McCutcheon, 1997; Flood, 1999; Richard King, 1999; Fitzgerald, 2000) and have led to accusations of the complicity of gender-theoretical scholars in the social, political, and epistemic violence exercised by the West toward non-Western cultures. Research challenging Western gender-critical scholars to reflect upon the relationship between scholarship and the ethics of representation from the perspective of non-Western "others" has proliferated (see Durre Ahmed, 2002), and Western scholars are beginning to respond to these critiques. Ursula King and Tina Beattie's volume *Gender, Religion, and Diversity* (2004) testifies to a new willingness to engage in dialogue, to challenge core assumptions, and to learn from the perspectives of non-Western gender-critical scholars. It is clear, however, that much work remains to be done. As Chandra Mohanty has suggested, "Western feminist writing on women in the third world must be considered in the context of the global hegemony of western scholarship—i.e., the production, publication, distribution and consumption of information and ideas" (Mohanty, 1991, p. 55).

Gender-critical scholars are therefore faced with the daunting task of dismantling and reforming the certainties of key feminist insights in order to ensure that the perspectives of postcolonial theorists are heard and acted upon. Given the scope and passionate engagement of gender scholarship in the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century, it is to be hoped that the task is taken up with the same commitment to social justice and transformation that has guided the field from its beginning.

SEE ALSO Androcentrism; Feminine Sacrality; Feminism, articles on Feminism, Gender Studies, and Religion, and French Feminists on Religion; Feminist Theology, overview article; Gage, Matilda Joslyn; Goddess Worship, article on Theoretical Perspectives; Gynocentrism; Human Body, article on Human Bodies, Religion, and Gender; Masculine Sacrality; Men's Studies in Religion; Patriarchy and Matriarchy; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady; Women's Studies in Religion.

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SÎAN HAWTHORNE (2005)

GENDER AND RELIGION: GENDER AND HINDUISM

There are many ways to approach women's and gender studies in Hinduism. A more-descriptive, less-analytical approach usually deals with the traditional scriptural injunctions relating to women, the concept of *strīdharma*, feminine archetypes, symbolic structures, divine manifestations, and the ways these matters impact both male and female religious practices and identities. For example, the image of Hindu women (a supposedly homogeneous group essentially different from both Hindu men and non-Hindu women) is often derived from two categories of sacred texts: the Vedas, the oldest and most authoritative Indian texts (c. 1500–600 BCE) and *Manusmṛti*, the best-known prescriptive text and the most commonly cited source of Hindu *dharma* (c. second century BCE–second century CE).

WOMEN IN THE ANCIENT TEXTS. The first group of texts confirms that there were women seers in the Vedic age (approximately 1 percent of the hymns of the *Ṛgveda* are attributed to women) and women philosophers capable of debating with men (Gārgī and *Maitreyī* in the Upaniṣads), that the sacrificer's wife played an instrumental (if far from equal) role in public rituals, and that a woman's primary function was to be the mother of sons. According to the much later text, *Manusmṛti*, women were denied access to learning altogether. Marriage for a woman was equated with religious initiation (*upanayana*) for a man, the service she offered her husband was equated with his religious studentship, and her performance of household duties was equated with his worship of the sacrificial fire (*Manusmṛti* 2.67); that is, her domestic duties constituted her religious life. The importance of procreation gave rise to the image of her womb as a field. The passivity of the field was assumed: The husband sowed the seed, which determined the crop, and because he was (ideally) the owner of both field and produce, it was essential to guard both from other men. The subordination of the wife was ensured by the criteria for choosing a bride. Men were advised to marry girls considerably younger than themselves (the ideal gap was sixteen to eighteen years) from families of the same or lower status and from families with which there were no existing kinship ties to soften her experience of isolation.

Whereas the religious life (*dharma*) of a man was usually described in terms of his class (*varṇa*; i.e., according to his membership of the priestly, ruling, mercantile, or servant class) and stage in life (*āśrama*; i.e., according to whether he was a religious student, a married householder, a hermit, or a renunciate), that of a woman focused solely on the cultural expectations of the good wife (*strīdharma*). Thus the narrative and prescriptive literature is full of glorifications of the ideal wife often startlingly juxtaposed with dire pronouncements regarding the inherently wicked nature of women (*strīsvabhāva*). That this was a strategy for the control of women is evidenced by the total lack of a parallel opposition between the ideal husband and the essential wickedness of all men. Cultural archetypes reinforce these patterns. In the *Rāmāyaṇa,* for example, male figures include Rāma (exemplar of the ruling class) and Hanumān (exemplar of the devoted servant). Conversely, for women, Sītā represents the perfect wife, and Kaikeyī stands for the inherent wickedness of women.

There are, however, other representations of the male–female relationship. According to Saṅkhya philosophy, for example, all existence is derived from two principles: *puruṣa* (the irreducible self—male, aloof, and perfect) and *prakṛti* (the manifest world, defined as female, needing attention, longing to serve, and the cause of the male self's entrapment in existence). The *puruṣa-prakṛti* dichotomy is clearly intended to apply to all existence and all individuals, including women. However, the cultural stereotypes underlying the philosophical message are undeniable, as is the implication that the truly religious man must abandon both women and the world if he is to attain his goal. In the context of devotional religion *(bhakti),* the male-female relationship receives a different emphasis: God is supreme, the only male in a world of devotees represented as feminine. In the worship of Kṛṣṇa, for example, male devotees imagine themselves as women in their devotion to their Lord, whereas female devotees have the advantage of being naturally subservient in their devotion.

Another twist is provided by the concept of the divine feminine *(śakti* or *pakti).* Although many goddesses are depicted as consorts rather than as independent deities, there is the widespread notion that divine power is feminine (*śakti*, meaning "power," is a feminine noun). According to this view, without *śakti*, the gods are powerless, and the ultimate power of the universe is that of Devī, the Great Goddess.

A more critical and reflective approach reveals that the very discussion of women and, more recently, gender in Hinduism has evolved within the context of and in specific response to complex historical developments from the early nineteenth century onward. Generally speaking, the history of women's studies and gender studies tends to follow a three-phase pattern. In the first phase, scholars look for and research sources and key individuals that can in some sense add women to a preexisting framework, the latter sometimes referred to as men's studies to emphasize the need for the missing component of women's studies. In the second phase, there is a movement away from the "men's studies plus women" approach toward finding ways to analyze and challenge the gender ideology inherent in the dominant discourses defining both women and men within the relevant patriarchal structures. In the third phase, the focus shifts once more, this time away from an exclusive focus on gender toward an articulation of more nuanced discourses that take into account issues of race, class, and ethnicity as well as gender.

This three-phase pattern may also be applied to the study of Indian religions and, more specifically, to the study of gender and Hinduism. In the Indian case, however, it is essential to realize that an acute interest in the role and position of women, at this point referred to as the *woman question*, predated the women's studies phase by more than one hundred years. The primary context of the woman question was political of course, but the relevance of these discussions to the study of religions is unambiguous. Indeed it is always important to view the debates on Indian and Hindu women against the background of the political paradigms dominant in India at the time: the discourses accompanying the British colonial enterprise, the narratives embedded in the Indian nationalist project, or the impassioned rhetoric of fundamentalism. A coherent history of the study of women and gender in relation to the study of Hinduism emerges only when these two models (i.e., the woman question and women's and gender studies) and these two disciplines (i.e., religion and politics) are made to work together.

THE WOMAN QUESTION. The woman question arose directly from India's encounter with colonialism. As Ashis Nandy noted in his groundbreaking work *The Intimate Enemy* (1983), colonial powers consistently viewed colonized peoples as weak and effeminate. Accordingly, to justify their particular colonial enterprise, the British portrayed the entire indigenous population of India as feminine, that is, as requiring protection. The need for vigorous intervention was further supported by what, in colonial discourse, was widely agreed to be the lamentable position of Indian (primarily Hindu) women. Whereas Hindu women were perceived to be in urgent need of social reform or uplift, Hindu men were believed to be innately incapable of providing it—hence the need for British intervention to achieve the necessary reforms. Examples of this type of discourse may be found in numerous publications ranging from James Peggs's *India's Cries to British Humanity* (rev. ed., 1830) to Katherine Mayo's polemical *Mother India*, a best seller in England and the United States from its publication in 1927.

The list of women-related social reforms advocated by the British is long: the eradication of child marriage, especially the marriage of child brides because of the high probability that they would become child widows; the remarriage of widows; the abolition of female infanticide, sati (the death of a woman on her husband's funeral pyre), and *kulīn* polygamy in Bengal (where the need for high-caste brahman girls to marry before they reached puberty and to marry only high-caste men had led to the practice of *kulīn* men of all ages being paid to marry large numbers of prepubertal *kulīn* girls without further economic obligation); and the education of women. Some of the reforms were counterproductive. For example, the regulations introduced in the Bengal presidency in 1812 distinguished between two categories of sati: voluntary sati (considered legal, perhaps even praiseworthy) and coerced sati (deemed illegal and to be condemned). Widely interpreted as a sign of government approval, this intended reform in fact led to a temporary increase in the incidence of sati in Bengal. What was less clear was how relevant these reforms were to most Hindu women, especially in the rural areas and among the urban lower classes. Most of the reforms involved only the urban middle classes, often substituting a restrictive British model of womanhood for traditional Hindu norms. The formation of the *bhadramahila* (gentlewoman), the concept of the ideal feminine as constructed by the Westernized male sections of the Bengali middle classes and largely internalized by their female counterparts, is paradigmatic in this respect.

It is significant that this early focus on women in India partly coincides with first-wave feminism in the West (c. 1850–1950) and shares many of the latter's attributes. In particular many Victorian feminists (e.g., Harriet Martineau [1802–1876], Annie Besant [1847–1933], and Josephine Butler [1828–1906]) constructed their own images both of British imperialism and of Indian Hindu womanhood, reserving a special place for what they believed was (British) women's essentially caring role in the imperial project. For most of these early feminists, the plight of Indian women was merely an extension of their own political campaigns for women's rights in the West. By stressing the Otherness and what they saw as the essential dependence of Indian women, Victorian feminists used the example of Indian women to bolster their own aspirations. At the other end of the spectrum of first-wave Western feminism stood the feminism of articulate, often Western-educated, Hindu women. Examples include Pandita Ramabai (1858–1922), author of *The High-Caste Hindu Woman* (1887) and herself a high-caste child widow; Cornelia Sorabji (1866–1954), who read law at Oxford before returning to Calcutta to work on behalf of women living in purdah (the confinement of women to the inner rooms of the home and to the invisibility of a palanquin when outside it); twenty-four-year-old Rukhmabai, whose determination not to live with a husband to whom she had been married at the age of eleven (case filed in 1884) sparked off a major political debate in both England and India; and the formidable Tarabai Shinde, who wrote a tract in Marathi in 1882 in response to the celebrated case of Vijaylakshmi, a young brahman widow condemned to death for the murder of her illegitimate baby. These remarkable individuals provided both a link between Western feminism and indigenous women's organizations and living models that resisted Victorian constructions of Indian women.

There was also the widespread idea, in Britain and among the emerging elites in India, that the position of women in a given culture was a mark of its degree of civilization, hence the significance attributed by both British colonizers and colonized Indians to social reforms relating to women. This idea has recurred throughout the history of the study of women and gender in India. As many scholars have argued, women figure in these public debates as symbols (or indeed as one monolithic symbol, "Woman") of the moral health of the Hindu tradition as discussed by men rather than as owners of views and voices in their own right. The battle between tradition and modernity continues to be fought over the bodies, minds, and images of women.

Unsurprisingly the Indian response was to produce positive historical accounts of the position of women. This was in part a defense of Indian masculinities (by distinguishing between the sexes) and in part a defense of Indian culture (by expounding the past or potential glories of Indian womanhood). The recovery of Indian culture, or tradition, from colonial slurs came to mean the construction of the "traditional woman" as adapted from a fixed eternal past encapsulated in religious texts. In the early stages of the nationalist movement, especially in early- and mid-nineteenth-century Bengal, the woman question sat center stage. For its reformist wing, accused by its opponents of being overly influenced by Western liberalism, the low status of women was seen as one of the two great evils of Hindu society (the other was caste).

Ram Mohan Roy campaigned against sati. Vidyasagar fought to promote widow remarriage (1855) and—as a *kulīn* brahman himself—the abolition of *kulīn* polygamy (1871, 1873). In the 1870s the Brahmo Samaj, a society dedicated to the reform of Hinduism, was twice divided on the marriage laws and the age of consent. In the ensuing debates on a range of issues relating to women, both sides sought their evidence within the textual sources of Hinduism, that is, in ancient Sanskrit religious texts composed and disseminated by the male brahman elite. Most of the works written during this period belong to the nationalist school. The prime example is A. S. Altekar's still influential and often reprinted overview, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation* (1978/1938). A common starting point for such accounts was the conviction that Indian Hindu women had once enjoyed high status and that therefore contemporary problems must be the result of centuries of oppression by a series of invaders, notably the Muslims. These studies tended to glamorize the position of women in the supposedly glorious Vedic age, to focus on high-caste Hindu women within the family setting at the expense of other castes and other settings, and to exhibit a particular interest in sensational practices (now deemed essentially non-Hindu) such as female infanticide, child marriage, polygamy, seclusion, the deprivations of enforced widowhood, and sati. Particularly disturbing are the frequent overtones of both casteism (i.e., the denigration of low-caste women in favor of the higher castes) and communalism (i.e., anti-Muslim rhetoric). Although the simplistic explanatory framework of these early publications is flawed, the work that went into this phase constituted a useful foundation for the study of gender in Hinduism. Indeed scholars working in this area in the twenty-first century continue to respond to and critique discourses relating to the woman question.

WOMEN'S STUDIES. After Indian independence was achieved in 1947, the number of studies on women's roles within the family and on educated middle-class urban working women increased. Until the late 1960s, however, when the women's movement in the West gained momentum (known as second-wave feminism), there was little interest in rural or lower-caste women or in asking questions about the varieties of women's experiences and perspectives. Early examples of scholarly work in this phase include *Bengali Women* (1972), Manisha Roy's account of the lives of upper- and middle-class Hindu women in Calcutta, and *Women in India* (1977), the now-classic study by Doranne Jacobson and Susan S. Wadley of themes relating to Hindu women both in ancient tradition and in the lives of real women in contemporary India.

The term *women's studies*, borrowed from the West in the early 1970s, was used increasingly after the United Nations declaration of 1975 as International Women's Year and of the period 1975 to 1985 as International Women's Decade. The Committee on the Status of Women in India was appointed in 1972. The report on its findings revealed that "large masses of women in this country have remained unaffected by the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution and laws enacted since Independence" (Committee on the Status of Women, 1974, preface). In 1979 the feminist journal *Manushi* began publishing articles on women in Indian society and culture, including items relating to religion. By the 1980s the link between women's studies and the women's movement, and thus its feminist agenda, was firmly established. Although the primary focus of women's studies was the rights of Indian women, there was a general consensus among scholars working in the field that religious ideology played a powerful role in maintaining the status quo. Madhu Kishwar, a prominent Indian activist and (with Ruth Vanita) one of the founders of *Manushi*, explained:

> The pervasive popular cultural ideal of womanhood has become a death trap for too many of us. It is woman as selfless giver, someone who gives and gives endlessly, gracefully, smilingly, whatever the demand, however unreasonable and however harmful to herself. She gives not just love, affection and ungrudging service but also, if need be, her health and ultimately her life at the altar of duty to her husband, children and the rest of her family. (Kishwar and Vanita, 1984, p. 6.)

The key to understanding the roles and images of both historical and contemporary Indian Hindu women was seen to lie in the precepts, rituals, myths, and narratives of a patriarchal religious tradition or complex of traditions: Hinduism in its broadest sense. This gave rise to a range of woman-centered studies of Hindu beliefs and practices in the 1980s. Examples include Susan Wadley's volume on the "powers" of Tamil women (1980); Lina Fruzzetti's study of the "gift of a virgin" in Bengali Hindu marriage rituals (1982); Lynn Bennett's work on the religious lives of high-caste Hindu women in Nepal (1983); Meredith Borthwick's exploration of the *bhadramahila* model of femininity in late-nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century Bengal (1984); and Julia Leslie's analysis of the religious behavior of women (*strīdharma*) as prescribed in an eighteenth-century Sanskrit text (1989). The main aim of this phase was to make women more visible within Hinduism, both the experiences and perspectives of Hindu women themselves and what the various Hindu traditions said about them. Like the woman question before it, the women's studies approach remained an integral part of the study of gender and Hinduism (e.g., Leslie, 1991; Bose, 2000).

POSTCOLONIAL CRITICISM. The publication of Edward Said's celebrated *Orientalism* in 1978 is usually regarded as the start of postcolonial theory. Although Said himself was criticized for his lack of attention to women, postcolonial criticism in general may be seen to act as a bridge in the transition from Indian women's studies to the study of gender in Hinduism. A prime example of this phase is the work of Lata Mani on the colonial discourse on sati. Mani argued:

> Tradition is reconstituted under colonial rule and, in different ways, women and brahmanic scripture become interlocking grounds for this rearticulation. Women become emblematic of tradition, and the reworking of tradition is largely conducted through debating the rights and status of women in society. Despite this intimate connection between women and tradition, or perhaps because of it, these debates are in some sense not primarily about women but about what constitutes authentic cultural tradition. (Mani, 1989, p. 90)

This article was included in the groundbreaking volume *Recasting Women*, edited by Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid (1989). In seeking to reveal the relationship between colonial and indigenous patriarchies and between both patriarchies and feminism, these essays on Indian women in the context of the colonial history of India set the pattern for this phase.

The 1980s also saw the emergence of a school of history referred to as subaltern studies. Often regarded as the most significant achievement of South Asian cultural studies, the focus of this collective enterprise was to contest dominant modes of knowledge and knowledge production. What was previously regarded as a history of Indian elites was now construed as a history of subaltern groups. The inclusion of women among these subaltern groups gave rise to an unclear and uncomfortable relationship between subaltern studies and feminism. Kamala Visweswaran (1996), for example, distinguished between the figure of Woman (universalized and essentialized) as subaltern and "subaltern women," locating her own argument in the nonessentialized subject.

Alongside the feminist challenge to subaltern studies, feminist historiography focused on questions of voice, agency, and resistance with a particular interest in the oral histories of women. Examples include Malavika Karlekar's (1993) use of biographies, memoirs, and letters to present the "voices" of some remarkable women in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Bengal and Rosalind O'Hanlon's (1994) translation and analysis of Tarabai Shinde's 1882 diatribe on the ways men have silenced and disempowered Indian women.

This transitional phase was one of critique and revelation. Patriarchal constructions of Hindu women—whether those of the colonial British, those of Indian nationalists, or those of what may be termed Hindu "traditionalists"—were closely analyzed, whereas the perceptions of real Hindu women were brought into the foreground. This approach too became an integral part of the study of gender and Hinduism.

GENDER STUDIES. Overlapping with the initiatives already described, the study of gender rather than women dates from the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century. In line with this shift in focus, *Samya Shakti*, the journal of women's studies edited by Malavika Karlekar and first published by the Centre for Women's Development Studies in Delhi in 1983, was in 1994 renamed the *Indian Journal of Gender Studies.* This phase was marked by a continuing concern with the explosive mix of religion and politics and an increasing interest in the gendered aspects of nationalist and communalist rhetoric (e.g., Sarkar and Butalia, 1995). In addition greater attention was paid to the diversities of women's religious and cultural experiences and to racial, ethnic, caste-related, regional, economic, and life-cycle differences (e.g., Malhotra, 2002). New research interests emerged too: women as subjects rather than as objects of study (e.g., Kumar, 1994); Hindu notions of masculinity (e.g., Sax, 1997); the androgyne, eunuch, or third sex (e.g., Zwilling and Sweet, 2000); Third World and Indian feminisms, usually defined in opposition to Western feminism (e.g., Gedalof, 1999); the vexed question of who speaks for whom (whether texts or informants for the subjects of study, researchers for texts and informants, men for women, higher castes for lower castes, Western women for Hindu women, or educated middle-class urban feminists for rural and low-caste Hindu women); and gender theory, especially in relation to the Other.

An interesting development in this phase was the publication of a particularly large number of edited volumes with gender as their focus. This type of publication made it possible to arrange a comprehensive collection of essays on a broad topic, taking advantage of the work of scholars in a wide range of disciplines and fields and giving rise to new levels of sophisticated thought. As some of these volumes demonstrated, there was also an increased contribution from male scholars researching aspects of gender and Hinduism.

THE IMPACT OF WOMEN'S AND GENDER STUDIES. The impact of women's and gender studies on the scholarly understanding of the Hindu tradition has been dramatic. Part of this change may be traced to the numbers of women scholars joining the ranks of the predominantly male disciplines of Indology, anthropology, and Indian studies generally. Textual and text-historical studies showed an increasing awareness of the implications of the (usually but—as became clear—not exclusively) high-caste male brahman authorship of the texts under discussion and allowed the subaltern perspectives of both women and lower castes to emerge. Strikingly different examples include Wendy Doniger's extensive work on gender and myth in ancient India (e.g., Doniger, 1973, 1980, 1999); a wealth of writing by women in thirteen Indian languages brought to the attention of the English-reading public for the first time by Susie Tharu and K. Lalita (Tharu and Lalita, 1991, 1993); and the application of the tools of feminist theory and those of the Hindu tradition to the study of women in the textual traditions of Hindu India (Patton, 2002). As a result of these and other works on women, men, and gender, scholarly interpretations of religious texts and ideas expanded to include more nuanced sociocultural and gendered understandings of prescriptive utterances, ritual implications, and soteriological paths.

In the fields of the anthropology and sociology of Indian religions, a new awareness of the significance of the sex of both scholar and informant, together with an increasing number of studies by women of women, radically altered understandings of the Hindu tradition. An earlier tendency to attribute a coherent group identity to Hindu women (and, to a lesser degree, Hindu men) was replaced by a greater awareness of individual, caste, class, and regional differences in the communities studied. North India was particularly well served. For example, *Listen to the Heron's Words*, an ethnographic study of some North Indian villages published in 1994 by Ann G. Gold and Gloria G. Raheja, challenged local ideologies of gender and kinship that routinely subordinate women to men. In Rajasthan, Lindsey Harlan (2003) examined narratives relating to Rajput masculinity, the hero as protector, sacrificial victim, and devoted "goddesses' henchman." In Maharasthra, Anne Feldhaus (1995) considered the feminine imagery associated with rivers and the special relationship between water and female divinity in the gendered religious meanings of Hinduism. Studies of South India include Anthony Good's (1991) focus on female puberty rituals in Tirunelveli, linking them with notions of female sexuality, myth, and religious tradition in southern India and Sri Lanka, and Karin Kapadia's (1995) analysis of the impact of caste and class on concepts of gender among so-called "untouchables" in a village in Tamil Nadu.

This new awareness of the implications of gender was also felt in specific subject areas. In relation to Hindu goddesses, for example, there was an outpouring of academic works. The earlier publications focused on descriptive material, locating sources, distinguishing the names and attributes of different goddesses, explaining the associated myths and symbols against a largely Pan-Indian background (e.g., Kinsley, 1986). Foundational text-historical studies focused on, for example, the *Devīmāhātmaya* (Coburn, 1984); the tension between the independent goddess Devī and what Lynn Gatwood (1985) calls the "spouse goddess"; the feminine principle and its relation to the rise of goddess worship (Pintchman, 1994); the South Indian folk goddess Draupadī as presented in oral and classical epics (Hiltebeitel, 1999); and Tantric goddesses (Kinsley, 1997). There were also several wide-ranging edited volumes on Hindu goddesses and female divinities (e.g., Hawley and Wulff, 1996; Pintchman, 2001). Although some of these authors did not focus on the implications of their work for Hindu women, some did. For example, William S. Sax's 1991 research on Nandādevī, a goddess worshipped in high-altitude Hindu villages in the central Himalayas of North India, revealed that her widespread popularity derived from the fact that her mythology paralleled—and therefore provided emotional, cultural, and religious support for—the daily lives of local women. Some studies were more gender-critical, even overtly feminist, than others. For example, Ellen Goldberg's (2002) analysis of the *ardhanārīśvara* form of the god Śiva, carefully defined as "the Lord who is half woman," combines both traditional Indian and contemporary feminist approaches. Finally, there was a new interest in the appropriation of Indian goddess mythology by the West. For example, a volume of essays exploring the ways in which the goddess Kālī is worshipped and understood in South Asian and Western settings and discourses (McDermott and Kripal, 2003) and another examining how far Hindu goddesses may be seen either to empower women ("Is the Goddess a Feminist?") or to serve the interests of patriarchal Hindu culture (Hiltebeitel and Erndl, 2000).

Early studies of ritual tended to favor the public or formal arena involving male priests and actors. As interest in women and gender issues increased, greater attention was paid both to the apparently marginal roles of women in ancient public rituals (e.g., Jamison, 1996) and to the changing religious roles of women in modern forms of Hinduism (e.g., Heller, 1999). Of particular interest were women's domestic rituals: their seasonal performance of vows (*vrat*, *vrata*) to maintain the health and well-being of their husbands and families, their periods of fasting, their special *pūjā*s (e.g., Pearson, 1996). Accounts of sexuality in the context of Hinduism began with general explorations of Hindu culture (e.g., Kakar, 1989) and led in time to more in-depth studies such as the analysis of menstruation and female sexuality in early Indian texts (Leslie, 1996), an exploration of sexuality and mysticism in the life and work of the male saint, Ramakrishna Paramahamsa (1836–1886) (Kripal, 1998), and a collection of essays on same-sex sexuality and cultural identity in South Asia (Vanita, 2002). The implications of gender theory and postcolonial criticism for the study of dowry and dowry deaths allowed research in this area to move on from text-historical analysis and data collection to more sophisticated critical approaches (e.g., Oldenburg, 2002). Studies of sati continued apace, each generation of scholars adding a new angle or approach to the ongoing discussion. Similarly widowhood was studied by historians, text specialists, and anthropologists, resulting in both empirical data and conceptual insights. Whereas male saints, *ṛṣī*s (seers), ascetics, and gurus were already visible in scholarly research, their female counterparts now emerged in a range of accounts of women saints and female ascetics (e.g., Khandelwal, 2004) as well as in studies of key individuals, such as Lopāmudrā (Patton, 1996) and Ānandamayī Mā (Hallstrom, 1999). There was also a growing interest in the gender implications of male asceticism (e.g., Chowdhury-Sengupta, 1996). The changing, often conflicting, approaches of the emerging discipline of gender studies in relation to Hinduism was especially highlighted by the scholarly treatment of the temple woman or *devadāsī*. Blanket denunciations of what in colonial times was seen as a form of sexual slavery were replaced by explorations of ritual power, eternal auspiciousness, individual agency, and postcolonial presentations of *devadāsī* reform in colonial India (e.g., Marglin, 1985; Orr, 2000; Kannabiran and Kannabiran, 2003).

The increasing significance in the twenty-first century of nationalist politics in India, and of diaspora Hinduism generally, suggests that the study of gender in relation to both these topics will continue to develop. Other areas that will no doubt attract further research include the dominance of Western (especially American) metanarratives and the Othering of non-Western women in the scholarly writing of Western feminists; the impact on both Sanskrit studies and the study of Hinduism of the greater numbers of Hindu women entering these disciplines; the gendering of philosophical ideas; the representation of ambiguous sexualities; relationships between myth, text, or ritual on the one hand and historical or contemporary social realities on the other; and the integration of critical and gender theory into existing approaches to the study of Hinduism.

The study of gender in Hinduism has progressed through a series of overlapping yet transformative phases: the woman question, women's studies, postcolonial criticism, and a more full-fledged gender studies proper. Each phase emerged from and grafted itself onto what preceded it with the result that, although everything has changed, there is little that has been entirely lost. With such radical shifts in perspective accomplished, it is hard to anticipate where the next hundred years will lead in this particularly challenging aspect of Hindu studies.

SEE ALSO Bhakti; Dharma, article on Hindu Dharma; Goddess Worship, article on The Hindu Goddess; Hinduism; Ramabai, Pandita; Roy, Ram Mohan; Sati; Vedas; Women's Studies in Religion.

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Julia Leslie (2005)

GENDER AND RELIGION: GENDER AND JAINISM

The birth act for the study of gender concerns in Jainism is undoubtedly the publication of Padmanabh S. Jaini's *Gender and Salvation*: *Jaina Debates on the Spiritual Liberation of Women* (1991). Jaini's monograph goes to the heart of the Jain tradition by dealing with a gender-based issue that is crucial to it and that marks one of the clearest differences between its two main ideological currents, the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara Jains (born from a split that probably took place in the beginning of the common era). Some of the other factors that encouraged reflecting on the place of women in the Jain tradition in the last 15 to 20 years, which run parallel to the general trend of developing reflection on the role of women in all traditions, are the following: an increasing interest in Jainism among female scholars (e.g., anthropologists, philologists) who, in the Indian context, have easier access to nuns or laywomen than their male colleagues; an interest for Jainism explicitly motivated by a gender-based approach; a growing consciousness of the immense wealth of tradition and issues represented by women in Jainism; and an increasing number of publications, especially in the United States, on the broad topic of women and religion. Before this, many of those who studied Jainism had noticed the numerical potential represented by women, especially in the monastic orders of the Śvetāmbara Jains, without really exploring the topic.

Women and Salvation. The Jain religious discourse shares universal prejudices against women, who are viewed as temptresses and symbols of attachment, fickleness, and, above all, treacherousness. Acts of deception (*māyā*) are considered a woman's main characteristic, to the extent that deceitfulness comes to be adduced as an explanation for sex-differentiation: "As a result of manifesting deception a man in this world becomes a woman. As for a woman, if her heart is pure, she becomes a man in this world" (Maheśvarasūri, *Nānapancamīkahā* 3.17, tenth century).

However, the main question is whether the basic inequality between man and woman as such can be neutralized. The most original contribution of the Jains to world religions undoubtedly concerns the theological consequences of their image of woman and their vivid debates about women's ability to gain salvation. The position on this radically separates the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbara and is linked to the correlated question of nudity viewed, or not, as a prerequisite. For the former, whose name means "sky-clad," acceptance of nudity by the mendicants is a symbol of their perfect detachment from everything, whether material possession or any moral defilement.

Because the underlying idea is that a woman can by no means go naked because of her specific physiology and innate impurity due to the presence of numerous subtle microscopic beings in her body, she is not considered to be able to reach emancipation as a woman. She has to be reborn as a man first. This perspective may be one reason why nuns are less numerous than monks among the Digambaras. The "white-clads," on the other hand, focus on a more internal approach: Provided an individual is able to fulfill the right faith, right knowledge and right behavior, which are the only necessary conditions for attaining the ultimate goal, gender does not matter. From the beginning of the common era up to the twenty-first century, this debate about female religiosity has been continuously sustained in many texts—all written by male ascetics. Authors from the two groups have done their best to provide logical arguments and closely conducted discussions in favor of their respective opinions, trying to go beyond mere postulates. Some, for instance, have devised a fine analysis of the notion of *gender*, which they see as different from *sex*, through a Sanskrit term (*veda*) meaning, in fact, *libido*, thus transcending the physiological sex distinction.

Women and Mythological Categories: The Jinas. Theological debates on women and emancipation are mirrored in the construction of gender in myth. Basically atheistic, the mythology of the Jain tradition centers around the lives of its Ford-makers (*Tīrthaṃkaras*, or Jinas), who number twenty-four. Like other humans, the Jinas are beings who have gone through the world of transmigration and have been born under different shapes among gods, animals, or human beings. In their last incarnation, they are human beings who soon leave the worldly life and become religious mendicants to entirely devote themselves to the practice of asceticism, which results in perfect knowledge (*kevala-jñāna*) and finally emancipation. Accounts of the Jinas' biographies are an important part of the literary tradition. Both Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras agree that twenty-three out of these twenty-four Jinas are men, but they disagree about number nineteen, named Malli (linguistically an ambivalent form because *i* nominal stems can be masculine and/or feminine). The Digambaras unanimously tell that Malli (or Mallinātha) was a boy who lived the ordinary career of a Jina and occasionally consider the absence of any feminine image as a proof that Malli is masculine. The Śvetāmbaras, on the other hand, state that Malli became a Jina during her last birth as a woman. The Śvetāmbara narrative enhances the ambivalence of the woman status as seen by this religious group: Malli had to be a woman as a kind of atonement for some act of deception committed in a former existence, but, at the same time, she had earned a type of *karman* leading to become a Jina. The fact that the Śvetāmbaras include in their canon a specific text narrating the life of Malli, whereas all Jinas are not provided with a full-fledged individual biography, indicates their desire to stress their sectarian specificity regarding this point. However, there are linguistic and stylistic features that show that even Śvetāmbaras may not have wished to insist too much on Malli's femininity as such. Once she has decided to renounce the world because she was considered only as a sexual object by several young men who all wanted to marry her, she follows the same path as other Jinas and is given the same masculine titles (e.g., Mallijina, Mallinātha, *bhagavant*, *arahant*, *svāmin*). In other words, a woman can gain emancipation, but the nonemphasis on femininity is the way to reach it. This could explain that (except for a dubious case) no visual representation of Malli with any feminine sexual characteristic is available. This fact is, to some extent, in accordance with the idea that Jinas are pure emancipated souls who cannot be shown as human beings, but is in contradiction with the sexually marked sculptural representations of naked Jinas.

WOMEN IN THE LIFE OF MAHĀVĪRA. The fundamental theological difference between Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras—the latter having a basically negative view of women—explains their divergence of thought regarding the role of women in the life of their teacher, Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth Jina. The Digambaras' position suffers no compromise: Mahāvīra cannot be conceived as subjected to women in any way. Albeit the young handsome son of a princely family, he renounces the world as perfectly chaste and never surrenders to the delights of love, thus embodying the perfect ascetic. On the contrary, several features underline the key role of women in this Jina's biography as told by the Śvetāmbaras: (1) although reluctant to do so, Vardhamāna (Mahāvīra) accepts his parents' command to get married; (2) he fathers a daughter; and (3) she becomes the wife of Vardhamāna's elder sister's son (instance of cross-cousin marriage documented in western India) and her husband is responsible for an important schism in the community. This probably intentional stress on feminine lineage may be a part of a strategy meant to underline sectarian identity against the Digambaras (and perhaps also against the Buddhists because Gotama is said to have fathered a son). The desire to describe Mahāvīra as a perfect householder before he renounces the world is perhaps a way to make the ideal he represents closer to the ordinary man and is a less extremist view more in accordance with the accepted current social patterns.

WOMEN IN WORSHIP: MYTHICAL FIGURES. In worship, female mythical figures, connected with grammatically feminine concepts, occupy a central place. Iconography testifies to a fairly ancient cult rendered to the mothers of the Jinas, and especially to Marudevī, the mother of the First One, who is said to have been the first emancipated soul. Knowledge, a cardinal concept in Jain doctrine, takes shape in figures that are all feminine. This applies to the goddess Sarasvatī, who is as important for the Jains as she is for other Indians, to the *vidyādevīs*, who are representations of various sciences (*vidyā*, a feminine noun), and to the "eight mothers" (*mātṛkās*; a group of eight basic notions of Jain ethics). The main feminine deities of the Jain tradition, however, are the female attendants (*Yakṣiṇīs*) attached to the main Jinas. Among them, Cakreśvarī, Padmāvatī and Ambikā (respectively connected with the twenty-second, twenty-third, and twenty-fourth Jina) have gradually become independent figures and occupy an outstanding place, being invoked by devotees who seek their protection on specific occasions of their daily lives. While the Jinas appear as distant spiritual ideals, these female deities are nearer to the human world and its difficulties and could have a role more prominent than their male counterparts (the *Yakṣas*).

HEROINES. Storytelling, an important pedagogical means of Jainism that takes various forms in various languages, functions significantly in the construction of gender. The lives of female legendary protagonists inform the minds of Jain women by providing identification patterns to be followed or avoided. In the virtually inexhaustible gallery of portraits, the Jinas' mothers and the sixteen *Mahāsatīs* are prominent. In short, the following key roles are illustrated by female characters: (1) willing or unwilling donor of alms (to be viewed in the light of the importance of food); (2) strong and faithful adherents to the basic principles of Jainism and propagators of the Jain faith to adverse members of the family; (3) virtuous and faithful wives despite dangerous situations putting life-safety at risk; and (4) renouncers of domestic life (e.g., the famous Rājimatī, dear to all Jain hearts; as her future husband renounced worldly life on the day of his marriage, she overcame her suffering, decided to become a nun, and later resisted the seductive attempts of her husband's elder brother).

WOMEN AND SOCIETY: RELIGIOUS ORDERS. Gender does not seem to have ever been an issue as far as the creation of a female order is concerned. When the community was structured by Mahāvīra, the main expounder of the doctrine (around the fifth century BCE), it was right away described as fourfold, including women as two of its components: laywomen (*śrāvikā*) and nuns (*sādhvī*), beside laymen and monks. This is recognized by all Jains, whether Śvetāmbara or Digambaras, and has not given rise to any discussion or embarrassment whatsoever (contrary to what happened in the beginnings of the Buddhist tradition).

Whether in ancient scriptures or in modern times (at least among Śvetāmbaras), statistics are clear: Nuns largely outnumber monks. However, higher number does not mean higher rank. In the specific texts devoted to the exposition of the monastic code developed by the Śvetāmbaras as a part of their canon, no explicit inequality between monks and nuns is recognized, but the patterns of redaction rest on the underlying thought that a woman, being unsteady by nature, needs more control. General rules applying to monks and nuns are largely similar, but there are additional and stricter rules that are meant to restrict options open to nuns in activities connected with their daily routine—especially food regulations. On the other hand, their independence and freedom are limited by a general subordination to the monks: (1) Even when having a long religious life, they may be under the authority of junior monks; (2) they need more years than their male colleagues to reach high positions in the religious hierarchy; and (3) nuns have their own religious titles that imply an inferior rank than those of monks.

NUNS AND LEADERSHIP. This last point is best exemplified in the organization of the Terāpantha movement, a modern subsect of the Śvetāmbaras mostly active in Rajasthan. When it originated in the eighteenth century, a single teacher (*ācārya*) was the head of both monks and nuns. The regular increase of nuns resulted in the institution of a female head (*pramukhā*) who commands smaller units. However, her role is that of a coordinator; she is not considered as the female counterpart of the *ācārya*, who is the decisional authority, and she remains subordinate to him. In fact, Jainism does not know of any female as a leader of a religious group of some significance. The only exception to this is very recent, rather marginal and locally based in Gujarat. It is represented by the case of Campābahen Mātājī (1918–1993) who became the leader of the Kānji Svāmī Panth, a twentieth century neo-Digambara movement, after the death of its founder in 1980 and who is credited with quasi-divine powers and knowledge of previous births.

NUNS AND SOCIETY. To some extent, monastic tasks are gender-based and tend to reproduce the distribution of domestic tasks in the secular world (e.g., sewing, mending of robes and other objects). Still, the fact that "religion serves as both a creative and conservative force in women's lives" (Vallely, 2002, pp. 21, 215.) accounts for the appeal that monastic life does have for young Jain women. In addition, "the value of chastity is one way concepts about women and renunciation combined in a manner favorable to female renunciation in Jainism. This connection between Jain wives and renouncers is strong enough, when combined with various other factors, to encourage more women than men to renounce in the Jain tradition" (Fohr, 2001, p. 1). The assymetries between nuns and monks in the communatarian hierarchy and the domestic roles assigned to nuns are not enough to alter this tendency.

In the modern context, the educational level of Jain nuns is a prominent issue. Theoretically, there is no avowed distinction between nuns and monks as regards access to sacred scriptures. Jainism (as well as Buddhism) basically admits access for all and differs, in this respect, from the orthodox Hindu tradition, in which women were traditionally refused access to the Vedas. However, in practice, all the orders within Jainism do not have the same position. Although some of them (e.g., Terāpanthins and Sthānakvāsins) claim that monks and nuns can study all texts, others (e.g., part of the Mūrtipūjaks) state that the nuns' abilities are less and prevent them from being in a position to study certain difficult or controversial canonical texts, especially those connected with the monastic code.

The efforts of some prominent nuns, who try to make use of their prestige and influence to promote women's education, must however be underlined. They profess that before getting religious initiation, the young girls must undergo a probational period during which they will be given at least basic knowledge not only in Jainism but also in grammar or literature. Promoting women's education is moreover an important point of the Terāpanthin subsect. It is being implemented through a special category of nuns who are officially free from certain rules restricting their movements and can visit distant institutions in India or abroad to pursue academic research. Although nuns are allowed to hold public sermons, not many of them do so. More often, they are seen surrounding the preaching monk and carefully listening to him: "*Sadhvis* are regarded first and foremost as 'devotees.' . . . The *sadhvi* is still evaluated according to the *pativrata* virtues of devotion, surrender, and self-sacrifice. These traditional virtues prescribed for women are not substituted for but rather supplemented with values more accordant with those of the ascetic ideal" (Vallely, 2002, pp. 215, 218).

Study of history also shows that in the past scriptural sources are essentially authored by or ascribed to male renouncers or are male-oriented. The few female religious figures whose names have come to us are sources of inspiration for men (e.g., Yākinī-mahattarā for Haribhadra, c. eighth century). In recent times, a few highly charismatic nuns have been able to express themselves through their autobiographies (e.g., Āryikā Jñānamati, 1990) or through the redaction of religious pamphlets, but no really breaking-through dogmatical treatise is known to have been composed by any woman of the tradition. A further dissymmetry appears in the field of worship. Worship of female deities or deified concepts is one thing; worship of human female teachers another one. Whereas images of male renouncers of some importance are common, at least in some groups, this is still an exceptional fact in the case of nuns.

ROLES FOR LAYWOMEN. As for Jain laywomen, their roles are mostly oriented toward the two areas in which the otherwise prevalent gender hierarchy is at least partly reversed: preparation of food and performance of rituals, for which the men are completely dependent on them. In a tradition such as Jainism, food is far from being a minor question. The observation of specific dietary rules is one of the clearest means to ensure sectarian identity. Thus the woman at home functions as a guardian or a modifier of the tradition through the various roles ascribed to her. She is the one who offers alms to the begging Jain mendicants who come at her door, which implies that she masters a minute sequence of actions and rules. She is also the one who prepares the meals for the family and decides whether a rule like the one that forbids eating after sunset will be observed or not, and she knows which type of food has to be cooked depending on the day (i.e., festival, ordinary). Finally, the woman is also the one who has a full command on the complicated calendar and typology of fasts that regulate the Jains' lives. Fasting is actually the true women's penance and a way for them to gain a high reputation of religiosity.

Reproduction of the community is in their hands through the handling of marriages and the imparting of basic teachings to young generations. This latter task is mainly done through the telling of Jain legends and stories, the old stock of which is continuously kept alive thanks to new versions, which the women mainly come to know in translations or rephrasing in modern languages, or by interaction with the religious order (e.g., sermons or personal conversations). Religious hymns form another category of literature in which women are quite proficient.

Creating such hymns, chanting, and reciting are manifestations of feminine religiosity at work in domestic as well as in temple rituals. Again, the risk of oversimplifying the situation is to be avoided: Differences exist among subsects as to whether women are to be allotted the same rights as men in worshiping the images. Fundamentalists hold that they should never be allowed to enter the innermost sanctuary and to touch the idols because they can never reach the indispensable degree of purity to do so, whereas others restrict direct contact to certain circumstances or temporary impurity only. The groups among the Jains who do not worship images, however, lay more stress on internal worship. Hence, their conceptions are more egalitarian. Recent studies have underlined that women have the real authority as far as conduct and performance of ritual itself are concerned, an area of religiosity in which they assess their power against the male sponsors.

Thus gender issues are indeed prominent both in Jain history and its contemporary realization. The construction of gender appears as a complicated process. In mythology and soteriology there is a clear and apparently irreconcilable divergence between the two main sects, although the woman-favoring tendency of Śvetāmbara Jainism should not be emphasized too much. Moreover, there is a true conception of gender that goes beyond physiological characteristics. At an institutional level, Jainism is basically man-centered, but there are signs to show that the numerical pressure of female renouncers may lead to an interesting evolution. Jain laywomen also have a key role both as reproducers of traditional values and as dynamic factors in Indian society in general.

SEE ALSO Asceticism; Jainism; Mahāvīra; Nuns, overview article; Sādhus and Sādhvīs; Sarasvatī; Soteriology.

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Nalini Balbir (2005)

GENDER AND RELIGION: GENDER AND BUDDHISM

Early in the history of Western scholarship about Buddhism, several well-known women scholars wrote significant studies about the role of women in early Buddhism. C. A. F. Rhys Davids's translation of the *Therīgāthā* (The songs of the female elders) was published in 1909, and in 1930 I. B. Horner published the very significant book, *Women under Primitive Buddhism.* However, by the mid-twentieth century, these works had been largely forgotten and scholars almost never discussed how gender affects Buddhists' lives or the practice of their religion. Scholarship had become almost androcentric, giving us knowledge only about what men thought and did, proceeding as if women were not part of the religious community. Furthermore, these studies rarely discussed cultural and religious attitudes toward women, or the presence of female divine beings. Such omissions were typical of scholarship in general, not only Buddhist studies or religious studies.

When the second wave of feminism began in the mid-1960s, people did not immediately regard scholarship about religion as a feminist issue, but by the late 1970s a small group of scholars, mainly women, were keenly aware of the inadequacies of androcentric scholarship and its failure to provide a complete or accurate picture of whatever religion was being studied. In addition, many people were discussing the perceived injustices of male-dominated religions, including Buddhism. After a hiatus of almost fifty years during which no significant studies of gender and Buddhism had appeared, in 1979 Diana Y. Paul published her translation and commentary, *Women in Buddhism: Images of the Feminine in Mahāyāna Tradition.* In the following decade, interest in the topic of gender and Buddhism increased greatly, in keeping with scholarship in general and the culture at large. Many significant and provocative articles appeared, and in 1988 Sandy Boucher published *Turning the Wheel: American Women Creating the New Buddhism*, a semipopular account of American women Buddhist reformers of the tradition. By then concerns about gender and Buddhism had become an issue not only for scholars of Buddhism but also for Buddhist practitioners, who were, if anything, more aware of and more concerned about the issues than were the scholars. The first comprehensive book-length account of gender and Buddhism written by a scholar-practitioner appeared in 1993 when Rita Gross published *Buddhism after Patriarchy: A Feminist History, Analysis, and Reconstruction of Buddhism.* In the following ten years, a significant number of books, some scholarly, some more oriented to Buddhist practitioners, appeared. During that same period, scholars began to pay more attention to gender in their research and in general surveys of Buddhism and introductory textbooks.

An Overview of Buddhism and Gender. There is a certain ambiguity in the study of gender in general, not just in Buddhist studies. Do scholars genuinely mean *gender*, or do they, in effect, say *gender* but mean *women*? Writings on Buddhism and gender will always discuss women's roles and images of women, but they may have little to say about how the gender discriminations found in all religions affect men. And unless the term *gender* is in the title of a book or chapter, it usually does not contain much information about how gender practices affect either women or men.

In Buddhism's 2,500-year-long history, several generalizations about gender stand out. First, it could be argued that the most significant distinction within the Buddhist community is not between women and men, but between monastics and laypeople. In ancient India at the time of the Buddha, it was commonly believed that the householder lifestyle was simply too distracting and busy, filled with children and work, for a person to be able to make any significant progress toward deep understanding of reality and the consequent peace brought by such knowledge. The Buddha himself renounced his wealth, family, and social position for a life of religious seeking, and he ordained many followers as monks and nuns throughout his life. The prestige of the monastic lifestyle has never diminished in Buddhism, with the possible exceptions of Japanese Buddhism and newly converted Western Buddhists. Given the centrality of monasticism in Buddhist life, the presence or absence of a nuns' order is a significant gender issue in Buddhism. Though many Buddhist sources report the Buddha's initial hesitation to initiate a nuns' order, it did begin and has persisted, with many ups and downs, in most parts of the Buddhist world. Restoring the nuns' ordination in those parts of the Buddhist world where it has been lost, or to which it never was transmitted, is an important contemporary issue in Buddhism.

A second generalization is that there have been two radically different opinions about gender, and especially about the status of female rebirth in the Buddhist world, in all periods of Buddhist history, and in all forms of Buddhism. One opinion states that gender does not matter, that gender is irrelevant because both women and men can uncover the true nature of enlightened mind and that enlightened mind is not one iota different in women than it is in men. The other opinion states that gender does matter a great deal and that it is much more fortunate to be reborn as a man because of the social privileges that go with male rebirth. Monks always had more prestige than nuns and were better supported. The major institutions of Buddhism, including the nuns' order, have always been male dominated, though that is changing in contemporary times, especially among Western converts to Buddhism. Modern reformers have pointed out that these two well-entrenched traditional attitudes about gender are incompatible, for if gender is irrelevant, there can be little basis for awarding men social privilege and domination of Buddhist institutions.

EARLY INDIAN BUDDHISM AND DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH ASIA. Regarding gender, the most significant debate about early Buddhism, the Buddhism of the Buddha's day and the next three to five hundred years, is whether or not its basic view is misogynistic, that is, hating and fearing females and everything female. Male monasticism tends to produce literature, directed to monks, about the dangers of contact with women, and these are plentiful in the literature of this period. Some commentators interpret these passages as evidence that early Buddhism had strongly negative views of women. Others, however, argue that these remarks directed to monks are not the whole story, and that these passages about the dangers of contact with women are more about the weakness of men's discipline than about the inherent faults of women. The latter argument is bolstered by the existence of flourishing and highly accomplished nuns in early Buddhism, and by the high regard in which laywomen donors were held. Certainly nuns were not equal to monks in the modern sense of the term, but they nevertheless had a degree of freedom and independence that was rare in the ancient world. Their lifestyle is well represented in the *Therīgāthā*.

Almost every account of early Buddhism also tells the story of the Buddha's reluctance to allow women to ordain as nuns at all, along with that story's depressing coda about the eight special rules that subordinate all nuns to all monks, even the newest novice. Most also include the prediction that the Buddhist religion would only endure half as long as it otherwise would have because women had been admitted to the order. But scholars who have done textual analysis on these passages have expressed doubts about the origin of these stories and comments. Some suggest that they more likely came from a later period, some hundreds of years after the life of the Buddha when Buddhism was splitting apart into several mutually incompatible denominations, not from the Buddha himself or his times.

Buddhism first spread to Sri Lanka as a result of missionary efforts on the part of Emperor Aśoka of India in the third century BCE. It is said that Aśoka's daughter herself initiated the nuns' order there, and it was Sri Lankan nuns who went to China in the fifth century CE to initiate the nuns' order there. These Chinese nuns' ordination lineages are the source of most lineages for nuns' ordination in the contemporary world. However, after the eleventh century CE, Sri Lankan Buddhism saw the demise of the nun's order. The consensus of scholarship is that nuns' ordination never reached other Southeast Asian countries.

In the contemporary Theravāda world, reviving nuns' ordination is a hotly contested issue, though those in favor of reviving it may be slowly winning the battle. Conservatives argue that the Buddha did not want to ordain nuns in the first place and that the nuns' order can be revived only by the next Buddha—who is not expected to appear anytime soon. But women from Theravāda countries receive ordination from Chinese and Korean lineages and return to their Southeast Asian homes as fully ordained nuns. Though the nuns often face severe censure, especially in Thailand, gradually nunneries are being reestablished anyway. The first nuns' ordination to occur in a Theravāda country in over a thousand years took place in Sri Lanka in 1998.

MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHISM. The origins of Mahāyāna Buddhism are still debated, but all would agree that it was present by five hundred years after the time of the Buddha, about the beginning of the common era. It is also often claimed that Mahāyāna Buddhism was more inclusive of laypeople and women than other forms of Buddhism found in India at that time, but there is little evidence for this claim in Buddhist institutional practices of the period and no historical women stand out in accounts of Mahāyāna Buddhist history. However, Mahāyāna literature sometimes also presents a very different picture of possible or ideal roles for laypeople, and especially for women. They are sometimes the heroes of Mahāyāna texts, and they are then portrayed as far more knowledgeable than their male opponents, who are representatives of the more established schools of Buddhism. Furthermore, texts that portray women as knowledgeable heroes are not minor, unimportant texts, but are among the most popular and influential texts. Such texts are also quite numerous.

Portrayals of accomplished women and girls range from those in which the woman changes her female body into a male body as a sign of her superior understanding, to portrayals in which she teaches unchallenged by anyone for taking on what is usually understood as a male role. The most famous episode in which a female transforms herself into a male occurs in the *Lotus Sūtra*, an Indian text that became especially important in East Asian Buddhism. The heroine is the eight-year-old daughter of the Nāga king, an improbable candidate for high spiritual attainment not only because of her gender but because of her age. Mañjuśrī, an important *bodhisattva* in the Mahāyāna pantheon vouches for her, and she proclaims that she will teach the *dharma* (Buddhist teachings), but Śaripūtra, one of the most important elders and disciples of the Buddha in the literature of older forms of Buddhism, objects that a female could not possibly be able to teach. After some debate with Śaripūtra, as the text delicately puts it, her "female organ disappeared and the male organ became visible."

This passage has been interpreted and commented upon many times. More conservative commentators have claimed that this passage indicates that women cannot become enlightened, but must first change into men, a rather common Asian Buddhist claim. If even the Nāga princess must change into a man, they would argue, surely all other women must become men before they can become enlightened. For most women, of course, this sex change will not happen until a future life, but the fact that "deserving women" will be reborn as men is claimed by some as proof that traditional Buddhism does not practice sex discrimination. However, more recent feminist commentators on this text have claimed that the problem pointed to by this text is not the Nāga princess's femaleness, but the obtuseness of Śharipūtra and the other male naysayers. Only something as abrupt and unlikely as an instantaneous sex change can convince these ideologically fixated, conservative men, who simply cannot hear true *dharma* when it comes out of a woman's mouth. The fact that the Nāga princess has the ability to magically change her sex as a last resort to demonstrate her skill to these men only enhances her claim to superior understanding. While Buddhist stories frequently include the motif of magical powers resulting from high meditative attainments, only the most advanced practitioners can accomplish such feats.

Another famous passage occurs in the *Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa Sūtra.* Śaripūtra is again debating with a highly accomplished woman, a so-called goddess who has been studying for twelve years in Vimalakīrti's palace. Śaripūtra is impressed with her knowledge and comments that someone who knows as much as she does should be a man. He then challenges her to change herself into a man. She replies that she had been looking for the innate characteristics of the female sex for twelve years, without success, so there was nothing that could be changed. When Śaripūtra persists with his objections, she suddenly changes him into a woman and herself into a man. The goddess, now a man, asks the female Śaripūtra if she (he) can find the essential nature of his newly female sex. A confused Śaripūtra replies that he cannot even figure out how he became a woman. Then the goddess changes Śaripūtra back into a man and herself back into a woman and asks Śaripūtra about the "female form and innate characteristics." A much chastened and wiser Śaripūtra replies, "The female form and innate characteristics neither exist nor do not exist," an answer much more in accord with Mahāyāna teachings on emptiness.

A final motif found in Mahāyāna texts portrays women teaching the *dharma*, but male challenges are defeated purely with logic, without recourse to sex changes. The logic is that, because emptiness of any essence is the only trait common to all things, no specific traits, such as maleness or femaleness, have true existence. They are only appearances. A woman named Jewel Brocade is challenged by a male elder who claims that supreme perfect enlightenment, which is very difficult to attain, cannot be attained in a woman's body. She replies that if enlightenment cannot be attained in a female body, then it cannot be attained in a male body either. Why? Because the thought of enlightenment is neither male nor female, and that which perceives through emptiness is neither male nor female. The text in which this story is embedded then concludes that "the *dharma* is neither male nor female."

It is difficult to assess the impact of these passages and ideas upon the actual lives of Buddhist women until we have more historical data and research. Although we know that monastic ordination lineages disappeared in many parts of the Buddhist world, it survived in China, one of the most important early sites for the development of Mahāyāna scriptures and ideology. Although androcentrism and misogyny continued to mark much of the Mahāyāna monastic world, exceptional women were, on occasion, able to found flourishing nunneries and to have influence in both religion and politics. Several collections recording the lives of nuns in East Asia survive, and recent work on nunneries in Japan has produced intriguing evidence of the multiplicity of contexts in which Buddhist women could thrive.

TANTRIC BUDDHISM IN TIBET. A late development in Buddhism, often called "Tantric Buddhism" or Vajrayāna, is of special interest to the question of the place of women, since it advocated sexual practice as a means to advance spiritually. Tantric Buddhism in India has only begun to be studied as a historical phenomenon, and there are many difficult interpretive questions for that study, given the often shockingly antinomian practices that the Buddhist tantric scriptures sometimes recommend. Scholarly knowledge is on somewhat firmer ground in its study of Tibetan Buddhism, and it is useful to consider that case in this context, since Vajrayāna Buddhist literature and practices had exceptional durability in Tibet throughout its Buddhist period.

Buddhism came first to Tibet from north India in the seventh century CE. A second dissemination gained momentum in the eleventh century. Women figure to some extent in both disseminations, and the Vajrayāna Buddhism that dominates Tibet often portrays female figures in art. There are also several important women in Tibetan Buddhist historical accounts.

Though there were many novice nuns in Tibet, most scholars think that full ordination for nuns never reached Tibet. In Tibetan Buddhism, however, a third, less well-known option of being a forest recluse, who has not taken monastic vows but who has taken on much more serious spiritual obligations than the average layperson, has always been prestigious and popular. Many women opted for this alternative, which gave them more freedom and prestige than they had in male-dominated monastic universities. (There were no equivalent educational institutions for women, and novice nuns were often trained only in chanting and other minor disciplines.) These people often lived alone in caves or retreat huts or with a small group of companions, both male and female, and women were much more likely to receive serious training in meditation as forest recluses than in the monastic universities. However, it would be inaccurate to claim that women and men were equal in the modern sense of the term.

A famous female figure in Tibetan Buddhism was Ye shes mtsho rgyal (Yeshe Tsogyel), who is thought to have lived in the seventh century CE. She became the partner and colleague of the Indian Padmasambhava, often considered to be the founder of Tibetan Buddhism, though he was not the first Indian to propagate Buddhism in Tibet. Though modern scholars are not convinced that Ye shes mtsho rgyal actually existed, she is given a prominent place in many Tibetan historical narratives, and liturgies that invoke Padmasambhava usually also invoke her. She is regarded as fully enlightened, no less realized than any of the great male teachers revered by Tibetan Buddhists. Another woman, Ma gcig lab sgron (Machig Labdron, c. 1055–1149), was important during the second transmission of Buddhism to Tibet. Her story is complex, but she is often credited with initiating *gcod (chöd)* practice, an important Vajrayāna practice designed to destroy clinging to one's selfhood, which is key to attaining enlightenment according to Buddhist teachings. It is also claimed that this is the only practice that went from Tibet to India, reversing the usual pattern.

The most controversial aspect of Vajrayāna Buddhism is its widespread use of sexual symbolism and its purported use of sexuality itself as a religious ritual. There is no doubt that sexuality is one of the central symbols of Vajrayāna Buddhism, which means that feminine symbolism is much more prominent in Vajrayāna Buddhism than in any other form of Buddhism. The basic meaning of this symbolism is nonduality or inseparability, one of the central teachings of Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna Buddhism. Within that dyadic unity, the female often symbolizes wisdom and the male often symbolizes compassion; their union symbolizes the inseparability and equality of wisdom and compassion. Likewise, the female symbolizes emptiness and the male symbolizes form. Their union symbolizes the inseparability of form and emptiness, or relative and absolute truth.

As for sexuality itself, both Ye shes mtsho rgyal and Ma gcig lab sgron are said to have had several sexual partners, and the stories of many great Tibetan teachers include accounts of their consorts. Their sexual experiences are considered part of the meditation practice rather than a purely secular or mundane activity. Evaluating the status of the female partners has been controversial. Many modern scholars think that the women were usually mere ritual implements used by male practitioners to enhance their meditative attainments, although some have argued that the women truly were partners and equals of the men. Despite great curiosity about these practices, they are closely guarded by Tibetans.

BUDDHIST FEMALE FIGURES. Several important females figure in the stories from the earliest period of Buddhism—the Buddha's mother, his wife, the woman who encouraged him to eat after severe fasting, the daughters of Māra who tempted him, the earth goddess who witnessed his generosity, Prajāpatī, the first nun, and other female disciples. Mahāyāna Buddhism developed a pantheon of deified figures, and in Vajrayāna Buddhism there are countless meditation deities whose status is often equal to that of a buddha. Many of these are female. In Mahāyāna Buddhism, there are also mythic *bodhisattvas* on the way to full enlightenment or enlightened buddhas of other eras and world systems. The mythic *bodhisattvas* are far more advanced than any human beings, but they are still on the path. Often they are models of key Buddhist virtues, such as wisdom and compassion. These too are sometimes female.

It is noteworthy that as soon as Buddhists began to imagine and pray to such Buddhist mythical figures, they began to invoke female as well as male figures. One of the first major female enlightened figures to develop was Prajñāpāramitā, the personification of wisdom and emptiness. She is cast as the "mother of all the buddhas," because to become enlightened, a buddha had to realize the wisdom she represented. Another important female *bodhisattva* is Tārā, a personification of compassion and one of the most popular figures in Tibetan Buddhism. She is frequently invoked by ordinary people. She is extremely compassionate and effective; she can save one from any kind of danger or provide any kind of benefit and is often called upon to do so.

In Vajrayāna Buddhism, mythic females are at least as numerous as male mythic figures, and they participate in all the same activities as their male counterparts. The importance of sexual symbolism, if nothing else, would translate into the presence of many mythic females. However, females also function independently as meditation deities and as *dharma* protectors, the two main functions of "deities" in Vajrayāna Buddhism. While they are often portrayed as beautiful and gentle, they are just as likely to be portrayed as wrathful and ugly, by conventional standards. If equality between male and female mythic figures is sought, Vajrayāna Buddhist iconography is perhaps one of the places where it is found.

It is important, however, to remember that high regard for mythic females does not necessarily translate into high status, freedom, or equality for human women. One of the most common mistakes in discussing gender and religion is to answer questions about gender with information about female deities and other mythic females. While such information is an important part of the topic of gender and religion, it is often used to gloss over and ignore inequality between women and men and the suppression of human females. This mistake is especially common in discussions of Vajrayāna Buddhism, probably because its intense regard for mythic females is so unusual.

MODERN BUDDHISM IN ASIA AND THE WEST. Two reform movements are especially significant in modern Buddhism—the increasing importance of lay meditation and the engaged Buddhist movement. Both are important in all forms of Buddhism, but Western Buddhism is almost entirely a lay movement, something very unusual in the history of Buddhism, and the engaged Buddhist movement is more prominent in Asia, though there are many Western counterparts.

Regarding attention to gender, the engaged Buddhist movement is somewhat disappointing, as it rarely engages in gender analysis or critiques male-dominant gender arrangements, whether within the Buddhist world or outside it. Every other major current social issue is discussed, and activists try to reform many economic and social injustices. But, like many reform movements throughout history, male dominance is exempted from such criticism. This is the case with both Asian and Western versions of the engaged Buddhist movement.

The lay meditation movement does not explicitly focus on gender either, but many laywomen do participate in meditation intensives, which would have been unusual in earlier forms of Buddhism. It would be expected that Western Buddhism, still in its infancy, would largely be a lay movement; the economic basis to support monastics and monasteries, so well developed in Asia, is completely lacking in the West. Extensive participation in meditation practices by laypeople in modern Asian Buddhism is also on the rise. Until recently, it was thought that laypeople did not have the time or the discipline to engage in meditation, but many Asian teachers are now willing to instruct laypeople, both women and men. In addition, there is a worldwide Buddhist women's movement. Several newsletters are devoted to this topic and one of the organizations, Sakyadhita, holds international conferences every two years. Central issues have included reinstating the nuns' order in countries where it has been lost and improving the education of nuns in other countries. Credit for the reintroduction of the nuns' order in Sri Lanka and support for nuns in other Theravāda countries goes to this movement. The education of Tibetan nuns has also been vastly improved, and nuns have begun to engage in practices that were never done by earlier nuns, such as debating and drawing sand *maṇḍalas*. Chinese and Korean nuns' orders are stronger than ever, and nuns usually outnumber monks.

The beginnings of large-scale conversion to Buddhism by Westerners coincided with the second wave of feminism, and many early converts also had feminist consciousness. Explicitly feminist loyalties were controversial for many Buddhists, but the way Western Buddhism has taken shape owes a great deal to feminism nevertheless. From the beginning of the movement in the 1970s, women participated in all aspects of Buddhist life and practice in equal numbers with men. This was a new experience for Asian male Buddhists who were teaching in the West, but they did nothing to discourage their women students and gradually began to empower them to teach, just as they empowered male students. As a result, by the mid-1990s almost half the Western *dharma* teachers were women, something totally unprecedented in the history of Buddhism.

SEE ALSO Ani Lochen; Buddhism, overview article; Feminism, article on Feminism, Gender Studies, and Religion; Magcig Lab sgron (Machig Labdron); Nuns, article on Buddhist Nuns; Tārā; Ye shes Mtsho rgyal (Yeshe Tsogyal).

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RITA M. GROSS (2005)

GENDER AND RELIGION: GENDER AND SIKHISM

Although Sikh scripture offers valuable insights on gender, Sikh scholarship has not paid enough attention to this topic. The Sikh religion originated and developed within a "doubly" patriarchal milieu. Between the birth of the founder (Gurū Nānak in 1469) and the death of the tenth gurū (Gurū Gobind Singh in 1708), the Hindu society of North India succumbed to Muslim rulers from outside—Turks, Afghans, and Mughals. In the old Hindu caste society women were completely subjugated to their husbands, and under the new Muslim regime women had to stay in purdah. As a result all women, both Hindu and Muslim, ended up suffering from both forms of subjugation. Witnessing the multiple oppression of Indian women, the Sikh gurūs empathized with them and emphasized gender equality in sublime verse. They tried to open up a window of opportunity for women. But the ideals of the Sikh gurūs have been distorted because their lives and their words were recorded, interpreted, and taught primarily by male elites. And so gender becomes a complicated and convoluted issue for Sikhism.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT. Gurū Nānak's close association with his mother (Tripta), sister (Nānaki, after whom he was named), and wife (Sulakhni) was crucial in shaping his social and religious consciousness, which was then carried on by his nine successor gurūs. Though Sikh scholarship scarcely mentions these female figures, the simple *janamsākhī* narratives highlight the subtle awareness these women possessed. Mata Tripta is a noble woman who understands her son and can see into his unique personality—much more so than his father Kalu. Even the midwife Daultan is struck by the extraordinary qualities of the child she delivers. And like Mary Magdalene, who was the first woman to have witnessed the resurrection of Christ, Nānak's sister Nānaki is the first person to recognize Nānak's enlightenment. Sulakhni's role, however, is ambiguous, as if the *janamsākhī* authors did not quite know how to deal with Nānak's "wife."

Women became equal partners in the first Sikh community established by Gurū Nānak in Kartarpur. Both men and women participated in formulating the fundamental Sikh institutions of *sevā* (voluntary labor), *langar* (community meal), and *sangat* (congregation). Sikh men and women listened and recited sacred hymns. Together they cooked and ate *langar*. Together they formed a democratic congregation without priests or ordained ministers.

The pattern of inclusivity set up by Gurū Nānak in Kartarpur continued on, and women were not excluded by any of the Sikh gurūs from any aspect of religious life. In fact their vital participation in varied dimensions is deeply etched in popular memory. For example, Mata Khivi, wife of Gurū Angad (Nānak II), is fondly remembered for her liberal direction of *langar*. With Mata Khivi's generous supervision and her plentiful supply of *kheer* (rice pudding), *langar* became a real feast rather than just a symbolic meal. Gurū Amar Das (Nānak III) even assigned leadership roles to women. In order to consolidate the growing Sikh faith, he created a well-knit organization and set up twenty-two *manjis* (groups) covering different parts of India. Along with men, women served as supervisors of these communities.

Bibi Amaro, the daughter of Gurū Angad and Mata Khivi, became a liaison between the second and the third gurūs. A popular narrative recounts that a contemplative Amar Das was totally mesmerized by a verse of Gurū Nānak recited from the lips of Bibi Amaro. When he expressed his wish to meet the gurū who had been invested with such a rich legacy, Bibi Amaro enthusiastically escorted Amar Das to her father, Gurū Angad. Amar Das immediately became Gurū Angad's disciple and eventually succeeded him to the guruship, becoming Nānak III.

Gurū Amar Das's daughter Bibi Bhani had a tremendous impact on the historical development of Sikhism. Gurū Amar Das composed the Sikh wedding hymn (*lavan*) for her marriage with Ram Das and later chose Ram Das to be the fourth Sikh gurū. Bibi Bhani is also important because she donated the site of Amritsar to the Sikh community. She had been given this site by Emperor Akbar. It was on this land that her son Arjan, the fifth Sikh gurū, built the Harī Mandir and enshrined the sacred *Gurū Granth Sāhib*.

Mata Jitoji and Mata Sahib Devan are remembered as vital protagonists in the rite of *amrit* initiation. Mata Jitoji was Gurū Gobind Singh's first wife. When Gurū Gobind Singh was stirring water with his double-edged sword in the accompaniment of scriptural recitations at Anandpur during the 1699 spring festivities of Baisakhi (the first day of the Indian New Year), it was Mata Jitoji who added sugar puffs to the bowl. The *amrit* prepared by the gurū and Mata Jitoji fed the new family of the Khālsā and continues to nourish generations of Sikhs, physically and psychologically. When initiates sip the drink, they renounce their past with all its caste, class, and professional restrictions and claim their new identity with Gurū Gobind Singh and Mata Sahib Devan as their two equally important parents. Mata Sahib Devan was Gurū Gobind Singh's third wife. Tradition has it that their marriage was not physically consummated. Though she was not a biological mother, Sahib Devan became the spiritual mother of the Khālsā.

Gurū Gobind Singh's mother, Mata Gujari, and his second wife, Mata Sundari, are also important in Sikh history. The ninth gurū was often absent and was martyred when his son was only nine. So Mata Gujari had to raise Gurū Gobind Singh as a single parent. She imparted great wisdom and heroism not only to him but also to her grandsons. After the tenth gurū's death, it was Mata Sundari who provided guidance to the Sikhs. She appointed Bhai Mani Singh to manage the sacred shrines at Amritsar and commissioned him to collect the writings of Gurū Gobind Singh. Edicts issued under her seal and authority (*hukamnamas*) were sent out to Sikh congregations. Mata Sundari boldly rejected schismatic groups who tried to claim succession to guruship.

With Gurū Gobind Singh one also has the inspiring case of Mai Bhago. She was a courageous woman from the Amritsar district who rallied men to fight for the gurū against the imperial forces. She herself fought for the gurū in the battle at Muktsar in December 1705 and was injured. Thereafter she accompanied Gurū Gobind Singh as one of his personal bodyguards. Sikhs have built shrines in memory of her.

Sikh history is thus replete with excellent paradigms of women leading Sikh institutions of *sangat* and *langar*, reciting sacred poetry, fighting boldly against oppression and injustice, and generating liberating new rituals. But this feminizing process was not limited to the family members of gurūs; it was not just for women closely associated with them or for women of the elite. Rather, the Sikh faith opened up a wide horizon for all women, irrespective of caste, class, or marital status. They were all equal partners with men in Sikh practices and spiritual growth.

SCRIPTURAL CONTEXT. Sikh scripture, the *Gurū Granth Sāhib*, promotes gender equality in numerous ways. By designating the divine as numeral "One" at the very outset, it discards centuries-old images of male dominance and power and opens the way to experiencing the transcendent One in a female modality. The text offers a vast range of feminine symbols and imagery: the ontological ground of all existence is *mata,* the mother; the divine spark within all creatures is *joti*, the feminine light; the soul longing to unite with the transcendent One is *suhagan*, the beautiful young bride; the benevolent glance coming from the divine is the feminine *nadar,* grace. Sikh scripture continuously provides readers with a multivalent and complex feminine imagery. This variety in turn presents a host of options through which men and women can become who they choose to be.

Images of conception, gestation, childbirth, and lactation are unambiguously and powerfully present. Again and again scriptural verses remind Sikhs that they are created from the mother's blood, lodged in her womb, and first nurtured by her milk. The *Gurū Granth Sāhib* is unique in world scriptures in celebrating the centrality of menstrual blood (*Gurū Granth,* 1022, 706). Shunned as a private, shameful process, menstruation is acknowledged in Sikh scriptures as an essential, natural, creative process. Life itself begins with it. In fact Gurū Nānak reprimands those who stigmatize as polluted the garment stained with menstrual blood (*Gurū Granth,* 140). The *Gurū Granth Sāhib* also condemns pollution associated with childbirth and customs of purdah and sati.

The Sikh gurūs were men, but they expressed their love for the divine in the female gender. They do not repress or stunt themselves in male-female dualisms. Feeling the infinite intensely within, they openly identify with the female person, her psyche, her tone, her sentiments, and they trace the transcendent as both father and mother, male and female. Inspired by the infinite One, their verse spontaneously affirms woman's body, her activities, her dressing up, her tenacity, her longing. Throughout the *Gurū Granth Sāhib*, she is the model in forging a sensual and palpable union with the transcendent. In both praxis and poetry, the Sikh gurūs created an opening through which women could achieve liberty, equality, and sorority.

CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT. Unfortunately the empowering scriptural message has not been heeded. The radically uplifting female concepts, symbols, and images permeating the *Gurū Granth Sāhib* are simply neglected. The fundamentally patriarchal culture of the Punjab has continued to reproduce malestream interpretations, and other factors have produced androcentric attitudes in Sikh society. For instance, during the flamboyant regime of Māharājā Ranjit Singh, male dominance increased, and the practices of purdah and sati, which were condemned by the gurūs, found their way into the upper echelons of Sikh society. The British admiration for the "martial" character and the strong physique of the Sikh men (who were recruited into the British imperial army in disproportionately large numbers) generated a vigorous new patriarchal discourse—attaching patriotism and paternalism to the "brotherhood of the Khālsā." And twenty-first-century globalization is accelerating old patriarchal customs.

Sikh ethics is oriented toward this world. It affirms the body and the primacy of human relationships. There is no priesthood in Sikhism, so both men and women are free to read and recite the sacred verse at home or in public, and anybody from within the *sangat* (congregation) can be chosen to lead worship. The written laws of the Sikh religion grant full equality to men and women in all spheres—religious, political, domestic, and economic. But it is the unwritten laws that govern daily life, and these are quite different.

Public worship. Women play an active role in devotional practices at home, but leading pubic worship is a privilege restricted to men. Daily ceremonies like *prakash* (opening of the *Gurū Granth Sāhib*) and *sukhasan* (putting it to rest in the evening) in *gurdwaras*, the annual celebrations of Baiskahi and *gurpurabs* (birthdays or death anniversaries of the gurūs), and all rites of passage for Sikh men and women are conducted and administered almost exclusively by men. Gender distinctions do play a significant role because the superior role and privilege of men in public is unconsciously taken into the home, with the result that male domination is reproduced in the family, home, and Sikh society at large.

Rites of passage. In Sikhism there are four rites of passage: name giving, *amrit* initiation, marriage, and death. Though these rites are theoretically the same for both men and women, they end up being quite different in Sikh practice. For example, both male and female children are named in consultation with the holy book. Sikhs do not even have different names for boys and girls: the addition of the name *Kaur* (meaning "princess") for girls and *Singh* (meaning "lion") for boys indicates the gender of the child. This is another great feature traceable to Gurū Gobind Singh, for he freed women from the lineage of fathers and husbands. But this liberating phenomenon is buried under ancient discriminations against girls. The "same" name-giving ceremony ultimately depends on the "biology" of the child: the celebrations are more elaborate and joyous, with huge *langars*, for his name giving but not for hers.

Sikh initiation is also open to both men and women, and both are to wear the same five symbols. However, Sikh identity has been monopolized by masculinity, for it is the Sikh male, with his topknot or turban, who has come to represent all Sikhs. Boys are privileged in all spheres of Sikh life. Calendrical festivals, like the Punjabi winter ritual of Lohri, are celebrated only in Sikh homes where a boy is born. While parents and grandparents of a boy happily dole out money and gifts around crackling bonfires, the parents and grandparents of a girl remain sad during the cold dark nights of Lohri. Affluent Sikh families have also begun to celebrate the *dastar bandhan* (turban tying) with great pomp and show. This tying of the turban for the first time is becoming a popular rite of passage for boys.

The obsession for sons is so great among Sikhs that modern technology is abused to abort female fetuses. Ultrasound and other technologies are misused to preserve the legacy, business, property, and status of fathers and their sons. From the moment of birth the son and daughter are chartered out different roles and given a whole different set of obligations. Victims of false consciousness themselves, mothers and grandmothers continue to perpetuate double standards.

Sikh marriages are traditionally a simple and profound affair, but they have become extremely opulent, with extravagant dowries and exorbitant gifts to the daughter and her in-laws for every rite, ritual, and festival. The Sikh scriptural verse stating that "bride and groom are one spirit in two bodies" has no significance. It is taken for granted that the daughter leaves her natal home and joins her husband and his family. When there is a death in the family, it is the mother or wife's natal family that must offer a turban (in the case of a male) or a *dupatta* (in the case of a female)—and cash accompanies both modes of accoutrement. When a daughter dies, no matter what age or stage of life she may have been at, it is her natal family's responsibility to supply the meal following the cremation. From her birth till her death the daughter is a debit in the family economy.

Sikh *Rahit Maryada*. In its attempt to formalize the message of the gurūs, an ethical code called the *Rahit Maryada* was developed by Sikh reformers in the middle of the twentieth century. This code provides several rules to combat female oppression. Twice it makes the point that Sikh women should not veil their faces. It prohibits infanticide and even association with people who would practice it, although there is no prohibition against abortion. It allows widows to remarry and it underscores that the ceremony be the same as that of the first marriage. According to the Sikh *Rahit Maryada*, Sikhs should be free of all superstitions and not refuse to eat at the home of their married daughter. Dowry is prohibited.

Again many of these explicit rules are simply not followed. Out of "respect" for their daughters, Sikh parents will not accept a penny from their working daughter nor sip water in her married home. She is their prized "object," and so the ancient gender codes dating back to the Hindu *Manusmṛti* text continue to govern Sikh life.

Gender issues in global society. With their enterprising spirit and love of adventure, Sikhs travel to distant corners of the world. At first only men migrated, but after the elimination of U.S. national quotas in 1965, there has been a dramatic surge in the Sikh population, both male and female, all across North America. Sikh women arrive not only as wives, mothers, daughters, and sisters but also independently to pursue education or enter a variety of careers. Like their male counterparts, they are energetic and enterprising, but even in the New World the talents and potential of many Sikh women continue to be stifled by age-old societal norms. How to preserve Sikh identity in the contemporary world is a vital concern for Sikhs across the globe. Threatened by modernity and affluence, patriarchal formulations become even more stringent. Since women are literally the reproducers of the community, the preservation of "Sikhness" falls primarily on them. As a result Sikh women are subjected to manifold restrictions. Control over their reproductive rights leads to the reproduction of the family's identity and that of the Sikh community at large. "Honor" or *izzat,* which is identified with manliness and belongs to hierarchical and patriarchal systems, has come to be a central code of the Sikhs. Being a model community, Sikhs try to cover up female feticides, physical and psychological abuse, dowry deaths, and even "honor killings."

The economic and social demands of Sikh masculinity are so strong and pervasive that the teachings of the gurūs against objectionable treatment of women go unheeded. The egalitarian and liberating message of Sikh scripture has yet to be applied in daily lives and fully experienced by men and women alike.

SEE ALSO Ādi Granth; Gurū Granth Sāhib; Menstruation; Sati; Sikhism.

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NIKKY-GUNINDER KAUR SINGH (2005)

GENDER AND RELIGION: GENDER AND CHINESE RELIGIONS

Chinese religious history opens with a shocking gender anomaly: a powerful priestess-class of shamanesses speaking the gods' own voices in the high court ritual of the Shang dynasty (c. 1766–1027 BCE) Through ritual performance these women conducted purifications, summoned the rain and healed the ills of the state, and, as one ancient dictionary, the *Shuowen jiezi,* stated, "caused the gods to descend into them through the medium of dance." Nor were these powerful mystics honorary men. By virtue of their female and sexual natures they served as the proper conduit for the divine. Through ritual exposure of their breasts to the sun they bought the rain, and, if later poetic recastings of the rites were true, they legitimized the king with a sexual encounter that mimicked a divine marriage with the goddess. They were, as E. H. Schafer phrased it, "the kingdom's rightful rainmakers" (1951, p. 137). Of course, it would seem as if little in the way of customary assumptions about Chinese religion would allow for such a class of women. Bureaucratic, imperial, hierarchical, canonically rigid, clerical, and masculine—these are the frequently named features of Chinese religion. But, if Mircea Eliade is right in his observations made on religion over 50 years ago (that religions encode not just one pattern of human-divine contact, but rather the "multiple modalities of being in the world" [1957, p. 15] and that religion reveals a world that is "transpersonal, significant and sacred" [1957, p. 18], whose sanctity can be revealed to the worshiper through the theurgic summons in "rites of ecstasy"), then the figure of the feminine ecstatic should not be impossible. And, indeed, this survey of gender in China's religions will reveal that the hierarchical, bureaucratic model is a limited paradigm, and that ecstatic communication by female officiants, as well a varied cast of women mystics, adepts, religious teachers, and goddesses all share the religious stage with the sober deities of a divine bureaucracy.

The major concerns of gender studies in China have been several: the excavation of lost voices within competing narratives (especially feminine voices), the methods of suppression of marginalized voices, cultural tautologies and the demonization of the feminine, the complicity of women in these tautologies, and, more recently, the theory of agency, whereby constructs of the feminine are not defined exclusively by larger power structures that victimize women, but as constructs that offered limited freedoms within the framework of masculine definition. The history of gender studies in the field begins explicitly with one of these issues, namely, suppressed narratives. Chinese philologists of the Republican Period (1911–1949), eager perhaps to overturn the radically conservative philological thrust of the Manchu, with its court-approved manipulation of the Confucian tradition, rigorously explored the counter-traditions and subtexts of Shang and Zhou (c. 1150–256 BCE) cultures. They hoped to establish the ways court-centered expositions of sanctity and legitimacy suppressed alternative constructs of the divine. They reconsidered epigraphy, the Confucian classics, and ancient poetry to retrieve the lost practices of popular and local cultures. Chen Mengjia, Wen Yido, Gu Jiegang, Marcel Granet, Edward Erkes, and Henri Maspero were among the first to uncover the significance of the goddesses Chang E, the lunar goddess; Nü Wa, the snail woman; and Xi He, the sun goddess, as well the authority of divine conduits called *wu* or shamanesses. A second generation of academics (e.g., E. H. Schafer, David Hawkes, Wolfram Eberhard, and Chang Kuang-chih) also retrieved the buried references to feminine sanctity in language, myth, and folklore.

The most important development in the field of gender studies, however, has come not from methodological innovation but from the exploitation of previously under-used materials. In some real sense, even into the 1950s, Qing dynasty (1644–1911) scholarly and political conservativism dominated much academic consideration of literary, cultural, and religious studies. The "little tradition," in all its manifestations, was considered beneath consideration, and consequently the vast issues of what shaped the culture beyond the walls of the court were neglected. But with the advent of research into uncensored documents with foci on regional, urban, and rural life—resources not winnowed, organized, and reproduced in the great Qing dynasty compendia—the construct of gender in religion has opened up. Recent scholars have exploited these sources, finding a canon of the counter-tradition and thereby remade the map of both male and female religious practice and ideation. They have, in particular, explored a plethora of sources that came with the expansion of the publication industry beginning in the Song dynasty (960–1279): mirabilia, Precious Scrolls, Goodness Books, ballads, pious tales, vernacular fiction, dramas, and popular songs as well as classical sources such as private journals (*biji*), classical fiction, hagiography of the sectarian cults, gazetteer accounts of regional practice, temple records, accounts of secret societies and lay organizations, hagiography, and poetry religious canon. All these sources are now used by scholars to open up the consideration of both masculine and feminine narratives in China's religious history.

Parsing China's religious life into the major religious traditions of Confucianism, Daoism, Buddhism, and popular religion has served bibliographers well. Worshipers and the worshiped, however, have found these neat divisions to be permeable. Popular religions have shaped Daoism, Indian Buddhism saw extraordinary shifts and elaborations as it became subject to the gravitational pull of local religions, and both sectarian and syncretic religions have thrived in complete ignorance of denominational categories; all, in fact, have given the lie to the neatness of the four categories. Considerations of gender further disturbs these categories for it is in looking at feminine and masculine icons of, for example, the sacred fool and the ecstatic, the divine marriage and ascetic, that we will find more of Eliade than the Qing bibliographer. But for the purposes of an overview we will yield to the familiar and exploit these four divisions as our method of organization.

POPULAR RELIGION. Popular religion—also referred to as folk religion, lay religion or diffused religion—is a vast aggregation of practices that includes shamanism, calendrical holiday festivals, ancestor worship, geomancy, ritual practices to assuage demonic influence, apotropaic practice tied to chronology and calendar, and prediction based on physical features of the human anatomy, the landscape, the detection of randomly heard voices, patterns of bird migration, and so on. Often this diffuse religion is defined by negatives: It lacks a centralized, clerical hierarchy, a large corpus of written, canonized texts, court affiliation, and an institutional identity. It is polytheistic to say the least, including door guardians, stove gods, a spirit of the privy, drought demons, avenging ghosts, a god of wealth, protectors of childbirth, drunken rebel-gods, astral spirits that cause disease or family strife, and ghosts, sprites, or demons of specific features of the landscape, whether mountain, roadside, river way, or neighborhood. There are many divine narratives: journeys to paradise or hell, supernatural visitations, and stern karmic principles of divine revenge. The connection to the divine can be through a class of mediums or through direct and personal discernment of the numinous. In the aggregate, popular religion is a kind of highly articulated and fully annotated animism. It mystifies the specific features of daily life and defines spirituality as a kind of esoteric knowledge of the divine signatures in nature, conveying, with a stunning degree of confidence, that life is, in some sense, sacramental.

Governing elites tend to favor a cooperative leadership class, the unimpeded collection of resources, and a religious practice that, in proving the connection of the state to the divine, legitimizes the state's efforts to perpetuate itself. Popular religions, however, reenact the powerful concerns and uncensored dramas of micro-cultures of individuals, families, clans, towns, regions, covenant affiliations, and ethnic groups. In the cults that thrive in such subcultures, views of sexuality, love, and lineage, of death and grief, of prosperity, production, and harvests, as well as of family continuities, community conflicts, and the connection (or lack of connection) between individual and state all find expression with some degree of autonomy from elite mandates. For women, who are excluded explicitly from the sites and definitions of power, as well as for men who may be rebels or misfits, it is in local religious practice that more complex and varied expressions of sanctity and identity are found than in centrally monitored religious practice. Thus, assessing these cults and practices, myths, and beliefs from the perspective of gender helps provide an astonishing illumination of the observer's field of vision, exposing a primordial soup of feminine archetypes and narratives and of feminine symbolic structures and thaumaturgic practices. Gender issues tend to reveal that official practice, although an efficient veneer, yet masks a powerful religious substrata.

Feminine sanctity and feminine religious power assert themselves vividly in popular religion, for however patriarchy may be lauded or reviled in elite tradition, in popular religion it is in some aspects blithely ignored. In popular religion, women are the domestic ritualists, the mediums, the warrior-saints, the magical adepts, and mystics. Female divinities benefit or terrify at every level, from the plethora of local ghosts appeased at uncountable numbers of riverside shrines to the great goddesses such as the Celestial Empress and the Eternal Mother. Yet this powerful aggregation of feminine practice and ideation has struggled as well, subjected to censorship and banishment. In the case of one of these practices—shamanism—we can see, in fact, a clear dialectic of the competing narratives of a vernacular feminine religious discourse eclipsed but never silenced by the orthodoxies of elite discourse. This dialectic, however, tells us much about how constructs of feminine sanctity survive without benefit of orthodox canon and centralized sponsorship, and proves not only the innate resiliency of the iconography of the feminine, but reveals as well the cultural mechanisms that help sustain the narratives.

Shamanism—condemned as heterodox and licentious, banned and declared illegal, denied the ample support accorded many religious cults—represents the prototypical suppressed feminine voice. Shamanism begins before either Daoism or Confucianism takes shape, in the Shang dynasty. It was central to court ritual, as the female—and to a lesser extent male—shamans constituted a class of divine conduits who revealed the voices of the gods through rituals of divine possession and the performance of ecstatic dance and speech. In the Shang dynasty shamanesses were the chief officiants in a court scapegoat drama, whereby the sins of the community were expiated through harsh sacrifice (often by maiming, drowning, or exposure to fire). Their ritual disfigurement or deaths purified the land in times crisis, especially times of drought and perceived astronomical anomalies. Nor were they mere ritual actors, but honored members of a ruling caste, serving as great officers of the court. During the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) through the Tang dynasty (618–907), due specifically to the influence of Confucianism, shamanism increasingly became a cultural outlaw, practiced in the breech. Wide-scale suppression of the cults relegated shamanic practice to the status of licentious rites, although literati noted that its "foolish rituals for healing the sick continued to delude the people" in more remote regions of the empire (Cass, 1999, p. 50).

The efforts of literati and court not withstanding, however, shamanism was consistently practiced and is known today throughout South China and in Taiwan and Hong Kong. In her research on the cult of the Medieval shamaness Chen Jinggu, titled "The Woman at the Water's Edge," Brigitte Baptandier found shamanic practice to be a solid feature of the local religious landscape. Like the shamanesses of the Shang period, the shamaness is "of the waters" (i.e., "the Woman at the Water's Edge"), and her help is sought times of drought, conception, and childbirth. She is a warrior-saint as well, pictured in statues and texts on horseback, armed with sword and whip, accompanied by her divine generals. Her current worshipers insist that her avatars have fought in many wars, including the Vietnam War and the Gulf War. Thus, despite banishment, shamanic practice has survived intact in local cultures. The survival of this regional voice has seemed surprising to some, as court orthodoxies, preserved in written instruments, should logically dominate regional cultures. Yet recent scholarship has proven that person-to-person, oral transmission is as effective as court methods of perpetuation; indeed, local religious practice thrives on the oral, the intimate, and the immediate. Popular rituals and vernacular entertainments preserve iconography faithfully, pilgrimage and religious teachers convey practice among temple networks, and merchant culture spreads folk traditions through merchant associations along expanding canal and sea routes. Thus, notwithstanding the efforts of the Tang court (618–906) to abolish shamanesses as heterodox, of the Qing court (1644–1911) to eliminate warrior-adepts as treasonous, of the courts of the People's Republic of China to eradicate local female mediums as feudal superstition, a multitude of feminine religious expression are surviving—if not thriving—at the local levels. In other words, as Baptandier has pointed out, if all the mediums in a town in Fujian were arrested, the practices would reassert themselves after the cadres left.

Shamanism has not, however, been limited to local practice, but has found re-expression in multiple features of the cultural landscape, surviving as one of the most powerful archetypes in Chinese mythology, The shamanic iconography of the feminine is explicitly concerned with the ambiguous power of the feminine, allying the feminine with the polarities of both fertility and danger. The iconic imagery of her mythos epitomizes her ambiguity; she is allied with water, blood, and the yin polarity. In religion, this elaboration of the feminine is often repeated, seeping through the boundaries that separate one religion from another. Shamanic constructs of the feminine inform as well the rhetorical streams that feed both the arts and cultural myths. In poetry, history, fiction, and drama, as well as in sex-based archetypes, the contours of shamanism are seen repeatedly. In fiction, in particular, this watery, lethal, and sexually powerful woman, often allied with snakes or water-borne creatures, thrives; she is seen in vernacular and classical stories, expatriate fiction from all over the globe, and finally recast in film and television.

CONFUCIANISM. Confucianism, allied with the imperial court, presents the greatest contrast with popular religions. It has a meticulously maintained written canon, an institutional hierarchy with a rigorously apprenticed and centrally selected membership consisting of officiants and practitioners, and speaks generally with a unified voice—thus, firmly occupying center stage in the official version of China's religious history. It evolved during the Zhou dynasty (c. 1150–256 BCE) from an aggregation of practices centered around the aristocratic cult of ancestor worship. Beginning in the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) Confucian beliefs were rigorously inculcated through the institution of what became the Examination System whereby entrance to political life required memorization of the Confucian canon. Confucianism was interlocked as well with the state cult, a set of theocratic practices sanctifying both the living family and the ancestral line of the emperor. Essential to Confucianism, especially in the late imperial periods—Song (960–1279) through Qing (1644–1911)—was the development of practices centered around the concept of the sacred lineage, or *zong*. A natural outgrowth of the cult of ancestor worship and the principles of piety, the practices of the sacred lineage formulated the family as a cult space. By this construct ancestors maintained active watch over the conduct of the living sending benefits or crises depending on the worth of the family's actions. In turn, individuals of the family lived consecrated lives, with all the myriad details of domestic life measured by the compass of family piety, examined carefully for ritual flaws.

The requirements of the sacred lineage created powerful resonances in constructs of both masculine and feminine sanctity. In Confucianism the ideal exemplar for both women and men was extreme self-sacrifice. For men, ideals of sanctity were rigorous. Men were idealized as lie, ardently heroic, or fiercely dedicated. The perceived magical connection to the ancestors required scarring personal sacrifice and an intense moral standard. Men realized the ideal through suicide in times of severe national crisis and through bold and dangerous challenges to corrupt power. Nor were these heroes of Confucianism simply icons of the state orthodoxy but exemplars told of in popular literature. Novels, drama, and short fiction lionized Confucian heroes who sacrificed their lives, configuring absolute dedication to the values of piety, loyalty, humaneness, or propriety as heroic feats of personal glory equal to the daring accomplishments of knights errant and warriors.

For women the pattern of divinity was extremely harsh; once a woman was engaged or married, her obligations to the sacred lineage (*zong*) of her fiancé or husband redefined her as a consecrated vessel dedicated to the continuation of the line. Women realized Confucian forms of sanctity through motherhood, through the role of the family matriarch, and through stern maintenance of the teachings of the *Ju*. Much has been made of the idealization of the masculine and the patriarchal in Confucianism; but, Confucianism also greatly mystified and idealized motherhood and the mother-son dyad. In fact, in novels and confessional journals women often appear as more powerful, more dedicated, and more memorable than men in a Confucian family. The apotheosis of the feminine ideal was achieved through the notion of martyrdom, whereby a daughter, fiancée, wife, daughter-in-law, or niece sacrificed herself to resolve the crisis occurring to the lineage. In the case of the death of the spouse, the martyred wife or fiancée committed suicide or dedicated her life to widow-solitude. If an elder in the family was ill, the cult required a woman to concoct from pieces of her own flesh a magically healing soup to be consumed by the ill patient. She thus became a *zhen nü*—literally, a sacred woman, often translated as filial, martyred, or chaste woman. Nor did these acts simply express moral ideals but were considered acts of transcendence that could serve the community as sources of divine efficacy. Locals worshiped at the shrines erected to commemorate the sacred woman, and it was believed the spirits of martyred women could relieve droughts or ward off disasters. This cult was of less significance in the ancient and medieval periods, but became highly influential in the late imperial periods, as the concept of the *zong*—or sacred lineage—became more fully articulated.

Despite the importance of these women as local cult figures, their worship was by no means purely a matter of local customs, however. As Katherine Carlitz (1997), Jonathan Chaves (1986), and Mark Elvin (1984) have pointed out these cults functioned in state worship. The female martyrs were publicly acknowledged as talismans of imperial legitimacy and as emblems of the state's connection to the ancestral line. They were recognized with imperial shrines and parades of local officials and immortalized in the historical canon. Nor was the state naïve about the pragmatic implications in these local cults. Martyred women cults functioned explicitly as vehicles for imposing centralized Confucian values on the local mores of distant localities. The court explicitly used the martyred women cult and the worship of the city-god to manipulate local worship and local loyalties. Fear of the power wielded by popular feminine cults may be a factor as well in state sponsorship. In some cases, it is clear that the government deliberately adapted local popular cults dedicated to female ghosts: the Bureau of Rites co-opted local worship of the waterside divinity and declared them to be *zhen nü* and a riverside ghost became, by imperial decree, a Confucian martyred woman. It may seem that the local river-ghost is a distant cousin of the harsh exemplar of family piety; yet. they share certain features. Drought relief, maiming and physical sacrifice, and the accretion of local worshipers were the patterns of feminine sanctity of both the martyred wife and the shaman.

DAOISM. Daoism, like Confucianism, arose out of Zhou-era (c. 1150–256 BCE) ritual and beliefs, centered possibly around rituals of healing, alchemy, and the arts of longevity. Early Daoism of the Zhou period was articulated first by the two elliptical and brilliant writers known as Master Lao and Master Zhuang. They emphasized nonpurposive action and rejected the worldly, the hierarchical, and the mundane, celebrating intuitive insight over reason and suggesting the existence of specific esoteric practices that lead to the state of transcendence. From the late Han (206 BCE–220 CE) and through the Six Dynasties period (220–589) Daoism sees elaborate articulations of practice and belief: the growth of large centers of worship centered around the teachings of the celestial master Zhang Daoling, the growth of a Daoist monastic movement, the development of a Daoist church with hierarchy and canon, the elaboration of the teachings of inner and outer alchemy, and the affiliations of secret societies and millenarian rebellious movements. Daoism is still practiced throughout Asia, especially in Taiwan, Southeast China, and Hong Kong. The celestial master in Taiwan is head of the Daoist church.

As with Confucianism, there is an elaborate hierarchical structure of officers and rigorously compiled and edited canon and codified ritual practice. Yet unlike Confucianism, Daoism has been pervasively shaped by the feminine discourse of the divine, for in the case of Daoism, a centralized hierarchical religion has not become a vehicle for masculine ideations of the divine. One reason for the richness of feminine narratives is precisely Daoism's long and profound connection to popular religion. Daoism has had a porous border with the rituals and beliefs of popular religion, especially shamanism. Exorcisms, purification rites, illness as punishment for ritual flaws, escorting the souls of the dead, and maimed mediums speaking in trance the words of the spirit world are all practices that have traveled from local practice to Daoist practice as easily as the skilled exorcist traveled to the realms of the dead. Daoism, in fact, mined popular practice, for, as Kenneth Dean noted, "Daoism seeks to channel the energies of the shamanic substratum" (1993, p. 9). Likewise, K. Schipper observed, with radical simplicity, "Daoism is the written tradition of local cults" (cited in Dean, 1993, p. 12).

Of course, many Daoist clerics have been eager to distinguish their practices from popular practice (especially blood sacrifices) but the liturgist's contempt for local practice reflected more a kind of sibling rivalry than structural distinctions between separate species. The implication for gender is obvious—popular religion is veined through and through with feminine narratives of the divine.

Even at the earliest stages of the formation of Daoism, in the earliest cosmological constructs, clear ideations of the feminine existed. Specifically the Zhou era texts of Laozi and Zhuangzi have multiple references to the great female, the dark valley, and, of course, the polarities of yin and yang. Analyses of these early texts to establish the significance of the feminine have, however, provided only limited satisfaction. The problem is not that such analyzes are groundless, because clearly the duality of yin and yang did profoundly shape the construct of Daoist iconography and beliefs, but that the texts are so terse, oracular, and elliptical, with little in the way of contemporaneous philological context, that the issue of the feminine in early Daoism is difficult.

The problem of inadequate context, however, is mitigated in the Han and Six Dynasties, in which texts are found presenting the pantheon, prayers, and ritual description, as well as texts recommending the religious, social, and domestic functions for both men and women. In these articulations of belief and practice, the role of the feminine becomes explicit, and feminine narratives are present in cosmology, myth, hagiography, and in descriptions of ritual practice and church leadership. Beginning with texts appearing in the third century, women appear alongside men as officers of the church, as female masters—both married and unmarried—who take on female disciples. Women in these texts have direct access to transcendence, govern in local parishes, and join religious organizations. Some women of the Dao are described in the domestic context as well. Wives and mothers are registered in the church as women dedicated to the Dao, proving that, even in the confines the family, "a woman could have a complete religious status of her own" (Overmyer, 1981, p. 100).

If women in the Daoist church had explicit importance, female saints and divinities ranked importantly in the Daoist pantheon. The Jade Girl, the Plain Girl, divine emissaries, immortals, and saints of the alchemical arts such as the Furry Woman and the Woman of the Great Polarities all had dedicated followers and temples throughout the empire. Daoist worshipers in the thousands gathered as well to worship the Goddess of the Azure Clouds, Bixiyuanjun, at her temple near the top of Mount Tai in Shandong. Indeed, a healthy portion of the Daoist pantheon was female. One of the most powerful goddesses was the Queen Mother of the West. Suzanne Cahill (1993) traced this cult of this goddess of kingship rites and of longevity. The Queen Mother of the West was patron saint of artists and of aristocratic women and was especially important to mystics and adepts who practiced astral travel. Many dedicated their lives to her at Daoist monasteries and abbeys.

As with the saintly women of Confucian practice, female mystics and divines were important to the court; many were brought to the capital to serve as "living auspicious omens," signs that the dynasty was blessed by the Dao. Some mystics gathered adherents in monasteries and hermitages in remote mountain sites; these teachers were maintained in monastic life by contributions from all classes of society from the poor to the aristocratic. Female religious leaders could gather worshipers even at their own homes in urban areas; the mystic Tan Yang Zi in the late Ming dynasty (1368–1644) gathered thousands of adherents in the city of Suzhou, and many of her followers were high-ranking members of the official class. Woman warriors were often allied as well with Daoist practice; the demon-quelling sword of the Daoist exorcist was her typical weapon. But these mystic-warriors summoned up dangerous political currents in her cult, and they were often allied with millenarian rebellions. As with popular practice Daoism has found drama, poetry, and fiction to be useful allies. From the medieval period come the Capeline Cantos, the songs of Daoist priestesses, as well as paens to goddesses. In the Late Imperial periods vernacular dramas, stories, and chantefables spread the mythoi of the goddesses and saints through urban areas. Daoism has provided one of the fullest possible articulations of feminine sanctity in China's religious history.

BUDDHISM. If Daoism opened its gates to the feminine, Buddhism, when it was first introduced to China, was less hospitable. The same groundswell of feminine archetypes that radiated through popular religion and Daoism, however, was no less active in Buddhism, and where Buddhism touched those ancient assumptions about the sanctity of the feminine, it found a feminine voice impossible to ignore. As Buddhism grew in China, it did not spread its influence like vat of dye spilled on the landscape, coloring all local practice and iconography in its path; rather, it transmogrified, changing and adapting to Chinese cultural assumptions, to local practices and native Chinese religious imperatives. And these changes in Buddhism tell, in turn, about the power of local religious narratives and, again, about the authority of native feminine ideations of the divine.

Buddhism entered China during the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) and dominated the religious landscape in the northern kingdoms of the Six Dynasties (220–589) period. Buddhist theocracies in northern China ensured that Indic Buddhism grew solid roots. Beginning in the Tang dynasty (618–906), Buddhism took firm hold empire-wide and, by the time of the Song dynasty (960–1279), had important centers in both the North and South. For both men and women, Buddhism presented problems specifically allied with gender. One debate centered on the configuration of feminine sanctity, or lack thereof. Women in Indic Buddhist doctrine were, as Diana Paul described it, "secular, powerless, profane and imperfect" (1985). Indian Buddhist construction of the divine was explicitly masculine; women's bodies were impure. "There are neither hell-beings, hungry ghosts, animals or women in the Pure Land," observed the Qing theorist Peng Shaosheng (cited in Grant, 1994, p. 77). Passage through karmic reincarnations—whereby a woman shed her female form—was required before a woman could, as a man, enter the Western Paradise. Both Indian Mahāyāna texts and Chinese Pure Land texts were explicit on the contaminated nature of the feminine.

If women were constructed as impure and incapable of divinity, however, the worshipers of popular Buddhist cults neglected to notice. Setting dogma aside, they implicitly reconfigured the feminine in Buddhism as sacred. The major example of this reconfiguration occurs in the change in the worship of the Indic god, the *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara. Chinese worshipers seized the notion of a god of mercy and, over time, over the course of the Tang and Song eras, recreated him as a goddess. Chün-fang Yü detailed brilliantly the change whereby Avalokiteśvara becomes the Goddess of Mercy, Guan Yin. Yü found that Buddhism was specifically changed through contact with native cults and, like Daoism, definitions of divinity were profoundly shaped by the gravitational pull of feminine narratives. Yü traces the transformation of god to goddess by "examining the relationship between Buddhism and indigenous cultural and religious traditions" (2001, p. 489), finding that the male god of mercy adapted to local beliefs, in which female divinities brought rain, watched over children, and relieved suffering. Thus, the male god of mercy became a white-robed goddess for Chan monks, a water-moon goddess for the literati, protectress of sailors for coastal worshipers, and finally a child-giving goddess for common folk. Orthodox monks of the monastic centers—like the disapproving clerics in the Daoist church—were quick to criticize the transformation of the god from male to female as heterodox practice, yet the pull of local belief proved too strong. The Goddess Guan Yin did, finally, redefine Buddhist sanctity as feminine; she became, in fact, one of the major Buddhist ideations of divinity. Ultimately, in the sectarian religions in late imperial China, she dominated in the pantheon, regarded as holding supreme position as creator and ruler of the universe. Ironically, it is just through such radical recalibrations of notions of the divine, attended by increased numbers of devotees to her cult, that Buddhism in Asia survived and still thrives. Her cult center on Putoshan Island, off the Yangzi Delta coast near Ningbo, was expensively and massively refurbished by donors from all over Asia at the beginning of the 1990s.

Chinese definitions of the domestic sanctity (i.e., idealized concepts of motherhood) also shaped Buddhist rituals and narratives. The Buddhist ritual drama of Mulian, one of the most popular ritual-narratives in China, reshaped Buddhist configurations of female impurity. Mulian was a saint whose chief work was the rescue of his mother from hell—a hell ordained for her by the doctrine of female corporeal corruption. Yet the ritual drama enacted to large audiences at temples and holiday congregations was, in effect, an enactment of the rituals of filial piety. Audiences seemed rather more interested in notions of the son's dedication than the mother's contamination. The tale of a mother's corporeal contamination was a weak shadow plot, inherently less interesting than the tale of piety for the mother. Thus Chinese concepts shaped the narrative which, in turn, helped resolve the inherent cultural conflict between Confucian piety toward motherhood and Buddhist revulsion for the female body. Elite Buddhist practice was no less subject to native reconfigurations. Chan (or Zen) Buddhism altered important aspects of gender-based sanctity. Beatta Grant (1996) has pointed out that although Pure Land Buddhism was explicit on feminine corporeal contamination, because Chan emphasized enlightenment, rather than passage to Paradise, Chan was more receptive to female students and masters. In fact, from the Chan *yulu* (discourse records of disciples) it is known that women served as teachers, pupils, and even "holders of the lineages" in Chan Buddhism.

In the late imperial period—Song through Qing—lay organizations contributed importantly to the expansion of feminine divine narratives and patterns of feminine worship. Beginning in the twelfth century, lay organizations began in affiliation with monastic organizations, but by the sixteenth century lay organizations were independent of monasteries, often located in urban areas of the South. These organizations had large numbers of female worshipers and an independent female leadership structure, they practiced economic support through tithing, and the members participated in a host of devotional activities: convocation and pilgrimage, large scale donation to build and sustain temples and monasteries, gathering at festivals to see ritual drama, reading or listening to vernacular tales and hagiography, and listening to teachers in public or in private. Whatever the regulations may have been for the cloistered woman—and many literati were at pains to remind women of these regulations—public congregation, study, religious dedication, travel, and even marriage-resistance societies were among the ideals for lay Buddhist worshipers. In addition to the practices allied with lay organizations, ritual dramas and vernacular hagiographies also expanded the constructs of feminine worship and sanctity, specifically offering women an ideal distinctly different from the ideal of domestic confinement. The immensely popular story of Miao Shan—celebrated in pilgrimage, ritual, and popular literature—articulates the conflict between family piety and devotion to Buddhist practice, offering an exemplar of Buddhist sainthood. Miao Shan converts her father before achieving apotheosis as the incarnation of Guan Yin.

In considering gender in Chinese religions the lines of two competing narratives can be clearly traced: the hierarchical, masculine, institutionalized, often state-sponsored paradigm and, in contrast, the regional paradigm that is, in varying degrees, charismatic, vernacular, and often feminine. Of course, these vernacular narratives are not fully transparent for court and state cultures do not typically condone variant constructs of sanctity. Indeed, the female narratives, in particular, often exist in competition with the hegemonic elaboration of sanctioned orthodoxies. The court and now the Communist Party regularly attack these micro-religions, measuring the competition they offer to mandarin pieties. But these religious narratives are linked to a thriving undercurrent of religious cultures and are a vigorous subcategory of the transpicuous in China, their cults summoning widescale support among both male and female worshipers and, in some cases, dominating regional subcultures. Thus the feminine and regional paradigm does not present a small voice in the religious chorus; rather, it is animated, energetic and forceful—able, in fact, to alter radically the orthodoxies of institutional religious traditions. Moreover, this dialectic between competing paradigms of sanctity unveils something useful about Chinese cultural history, revealing not only the elaborate and protean panorama that is Chinese religious history, but also enabling us as well to confront the bland assumptions made in ignorance of conflicts of interpretation that China is unchanging, monolithic, dynastic, imperial, and masculine.

SEE ALSO Ancestors, article on Ancestor Worship; Buddhism, article on Buddhism in China; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Chinese Buddhism; Chinese Religion, overview article and article on Popular Religion; Confucianism, overview article; Daoism, overview article; Folk Religion, article on Folk Buddhism; Gender Roles; Patriarchy and Matriarchy; Shamanism, overview article.

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VICTORIA CASS (2005)

GENDER AND RELIGION: GENDER AND JAPANESE RELIGIONS

The history of the study of gender in Japanese religion could be characterized by the observation made by Ursula King, concerning religious studies in general, that the field has remained resistant to important disciplinary changes brought about by gender studies and feminist thought (King, 2002, p. 372). This tendency seems stronger in the Japanese academic field, where introducing concepts of gender and feminism is often seen as insinuating a particular political agenda or a lack of scholarly neutrality. From an academic gender and feminist perspective, in turn, religion is seen as a tool of patriarchy that is still used to oppress and alienate women (see, e.g., Ōgoshi, 1997). In this sense, gender and feminist studies maintain an awkward relationship with religious studies in Japan.

One is, however, beginning to see the impact of gender and feminist studies on Japanese religions. Japanese religious circles have been informed by gender studies and feminism since the mid-twentieth century, and movements to reform religious organizations are taking root as a result. These movements have commonalities with feminist theology movements in Europe and the United States that use feminism for critical leverage to reform male-dominated Judeo-Christian religions (Kawahashi and Kuroki, 2003).

Space constraints prevent this entry from tracing women's roles and how they were perceived in Shintō, Buddhism, Confucianism, or other religious traditions. Rather, this overview of gender in Japanese religions will identify important debates and isolate points that deserve greater attention in terms of both methodology and empirical research.

IMPACT OF GENDER STUDIES. Barbara Ruch (2002) and Bernard Faure (2003) have written essential studies for considering the impact of gender studies on Japanese Buddhism. Studies of women and Buddhist history have shifted significantly away from a focus on institutions and activities of male priests. Questions are posed in ways that reveal this reversal. Instead of asking how the "Buddhism" of patriarchs, Buddhist orders, and doctrines viewed women, the approach informed by gender studies asks, from a woman's viewpoint, how women perceived Buddhism, how they were marginalized, and what roles women fulfilled and aspired to within their various social constraints and limitations. This signifies, above all, a project to consider how women's religious activities influenced the history of Japanese Buddhism (Katsuura, 2003, p. 2). Ruch presents the collaboration of Japanese and American scholars who examined women in premodern Japanese Buddhist history from that perspective.

Such research examines how gender has informed the world and history of Buddhism. Thus Faure aims to explicate Buddhist conceptions of women and gender in order "to see how the history and doctrine of Buddhism were changed because of its relationship with women" (Faure, 2003, p. 14). Such an approach, he finds, also reveals how "ascetic religion" and male-dominated Buddhist communities were feminized and domesticated.

As Faure attempts to demonstrate, Buddhist women's history does not progress teleologically from oppression to emancipation. Japanese Buddhist historians' rereadings of historical sources substantiate his point. The linear notion that elitist ancient Buddhism denied women salvation, which was later extended to them for the first time by more democratic Kamakura Buddhism, is mistaken (Yoshida, Katsuura, and Nishiguchi, 1999). The *Nihon ryōiki*, a ninth-century collection of didactic tales, already depicted a Buddhism that did not reject women and vividly described women living within that faith (Nakamura, 1973). The *henjō nanshi* doctrine that women experience five obstructions and cannot achieve salvation in a female body became widespread by the medieval period. However, women were not strictly constrained by the Buddhist view that women had to be taught by men (Katsuura, 2003, p. 61). Not just passive recipients of patriarchal Buddhist teachings, women also resisted and appropriated those teachings. There is a need to examine relationships between Buddhism and various types of women, including nuns, lay followers, the mothers and wives of priests, and folk shamanic practitioners, from this perspective.

Similarly, Confucian tradition was often generalized as an ideological and cultural force that made the women of Asia victims of patriarchy, but modern studies show that women resisted patriarchal norms. Dorothy Ko, Jahyun Kim Haboush, and Joan Piggott (2003) affirm that women in Confucian cultures should not be portrayed merely as suffering victims or heroic rebels but also as "agents of negotiations who embraced certain aspects of official norms while resisting others" (Ko, Haboush, and Piggott, 2003, p. 1).

This perspective also applies to the experiences of women in Japan's new religions. The new religions are sustained by their women memberships. These women are commonly represented as a troubled category, and new religions generally teach them to step back and humble themselves in order to achieve this-worldly benefits. Such strategies religiously sanction traditional, existing gender roles and therefore do not lead to an amendment of gender role assignments.

Helen Hardacre (1984) terms these "strategies of weakness" by women who are economically dependent upon male householders. Hardacre further asserts that features of gender ideology found in fundamentalist religion also exist in such Japanese new religions as Reiyūkai and Seichō-no-Ie. These religions take a "characteristically conservative stance in regard to family, gender, and interpersonal relations" that she finds analogous, in its sexual discrimination, to fundamentalist religion, which places women in positions subservient to men and forces them to be self-sacrificing (Hardacre, 1994, pp. 113, 119). However, this generalization is countered by newer studies. Women in the new religions have adopted a strategy of working from traditional domestic roles sanctioned by their religions and may also appear to lack critical attitudes toward the oppressed positions assigned them. Further studies, however, expose the error of concluding that these women simply accede to submissive positions in male-controlled institutions without taking any interest in criticizing or reforming their religious communities (Usui, 2000, 2003).

Usui Atsuko argues against a conventional view that sees women in new religions as a special category in modern society dealing with some kind of problem caused by their disadvantageous and relatively deprived social standing. To depict women in new religions as supporting male-dominance ideology in order to compensate for their feelings of deprivation, Usui says, leads to the experiences of these women being erased (Usui, 2003, pp. 221–222). She describes religious groups that emphasize the development of psychic or spiritual powers without essentializing gender categories, presenting these as instances of how, even in new religions, traditional gender ideology does not lead to the exclusion of women's religious experience.

As this implies, the experiences of women in the new religions are characterized by diversity. It may be difficult to claim agency by self-assertion in a context like religion, where self-transcendence is valued and emphasis is placed on new communal groups based on self-transcendent relationships. Nevertheless, future researchers would do well to conduct detailed fieldwork while attending to the agency of female believers. Theories relating to women's agency will no doubt require refinement. It is necessary to consider, for example, how women are able to enact values traditionally associated with femaleness without succumbing to their own subordination. This is not to counter the conventional model of victimized women by reifying exceptional, heroic figures in history, needless to say.

Throughout Japanese religious history, women's religious roles have been inextricable from belief in the "spiritual power of women." This was brought to light with the publication of *Imo no chikara* (Women's power) in 1940 by Yanagita Kunio, the founder of Japanese folklore studies. Yanagita viewed women as innately possessing a mystical spiritual power that originated in their reproductive capability. He believed that, by virtue of "female-specific physiology and emotional nature," women possessed various religious abilities. Carmen Blacker (1975) describes female shamanic practitioners who fit this view.

Critics point out, however, that Yanagita's view of women's spiritual endowment actually obscured discriminatory practices against them. They criticize Yanagita for imposing the view, based on biological essentialism, that women's spiritual power is inherent, natural, and universal in all women. In other words, Yanagita, who identified that mystical power with women's unique reproductive function, is indicted for essentialist views of female gender (Kawahashi, forthcoming [a]). Tanaka Takako shows how Yanagita excessively emphasizes women's reproductive power, which is linked with worship of female deities. Used uncritically, she states, this approach risks generating the facile fantasy that all women are worshipped as goddesses (Tanaka, 1996, p. 182).

Kuraishi Atsuko (1995) also criticizes Yanagita and other male folklorists for overemphasizing women's spiritual power. Although Yanagita writes that "in the past, the women in each household invariably served the deities, and it appears that the wisest among the women was the most superior priestess [*miko*]," he does not discuss specifically how ordinary housewives functioned as priestesses in their households (Yanagita, 1990, p. 25). According to Kuraishi, Yanagita's notion conveys his image of the ideal housewife. Citing Yanagita's statement that "women must make it their first precept to do everything possible to take care of the home, bear and rear good children, and never fail in performance of the memorial rituals for the ancestors," Kuraishi suggests that Yanagita's actual motive here was to turn women into the reservoir of Japanese traditions (Kuraishi, 1995, pp. 94–97).

The research done by Yoshie Akiko (1996) is important for understanding the ritual roles of women in Japanese religious history and their relationships to male ritual specialists. Contrary to Yanagita, who claimed that ritual observances were intrinsically the unique province of women, Yoshie points out that this cannot be verified throughout history and stresses that ancient rituals were performed by women and men acting together. Yoshie explains that the sexual union of women and men was considered an important aspect of ritual, and rituals for fertility were sustained by faith in the primal power of such sexual union (Yoshie, 1996, p. 20). Moreover, as she points out, women's ritual participation in this kind of sexual practice raises the possibility of a connection with the crucial role women played in agricultural labor. Consequently, as Yoshie suggests, the dramatic advances in farming technology and the structural changes in agriculture that took place toward the end of Japan's medieval period conclusively depreciated the significance of women's specific functions in the labor of farming and other such endeavors. At the same time, the practice of invoking fertility by means of sexual ritual also lost its importance (Yoshie, 1996, pp. 250–251).

It would, of course, be a mistake to think that Japan's folk religious tradition uniformly oppressed women, denying them opportunities to participate in religious activities or activate their spiritual nature. It would also be a mistake, however, to interpret the interaction between women and religion entirely within the framework of "women's power" or the "supernatural endowment of women," ignoring the locality and the particularized contexts of individual experience.

Okinawa, as one such context, has received increasing attention. Situated midway between Kyushu and Taiwan, Okinawa is Japan's southernmost prefecture, and Okinawan religion has been largely treated as a subset of Japanese religion. Yanagita, for example, derived his thesis of "women's power" from Okinawa. He actually borrowed this key term, which he used to describe indigenous Japanese beliefs, from the Okinawan context, thus fostering an illusory notion of Okinawa as representative of Japan's ancient past. Subsequent studies, however, have highlighted the distinctive gendered nature of Okinawan religious culture and its allocation of authority to females. These studies have also recognized Okinawa's value in world religious history. The fact is that in Okinawa, unlike the Japanese mainland, it is an everyday occurrence for housewives to act as priestesses, praying to the *hinukan* hearth deity enshrined in the kitchen to appeal for the family's well-being and happiness. Women nearly monopolized priest-like roles in village communities and kin groups and even at the state level during the time of the Ryukyu kingdom, which lasted until 1879. The Okinawan belief in *onarigami*, where sisters become the spiritual guardians of their brothers, is another characteristic distinguishing Okinawan from Japanese culture (Kawahashi, 2000; Wacker, 2003). Also unlike the Japanese mainland, Okinawa has almost no pollution beliefs associated with women, who are thus not excluded as unclean from ritual sites.

FEMALE GENDER AND RITUAL UNCLEANNESS IN JAPANESE RELIGIOUS CULTURE. While women were seen in Japanese religious history as possessors of spiritual power, there was also a view that women are polluted and must be kept apart from sacred things. Shintō notions of women's pollution, for example, are discussed in Yusa Michiko (1994). These are implicated in *nyonin kinsei* and *nyonin kekkai*. *Nyonin kinsei* is the practice of forbidding women to enter, reside, or perform religious practice in temples, shrines, sacred mountains, and ritual sites. *Nyonin kekkai* demarcates the boundary of a ritual space that women cannot enter. Some sacred mountains that traditionally upheld *nyonin kekkai* have been opened to women, while others, such as Mount Ōmine in Nara, maintain the exclusion. This is the subject of ongoing dispute, as demonstrated, for example, by a signature drive in 2004 demanding the lifting of *nyonin kinsei* at Mount Ōmine. Suzuki Masataka (2002) acknowledges criticism of *nyonin kinsei* as discriminatory, maintaining that his stance is not to condemn the practice but to clarify the processes whereby it came into being and to delineate its changes, if any (Suzuki, 2002, p. 4). Suzuki seems to be distancing himself from the polarization in accounts of *nyonin kinsei* as either discriminatory or religiously meaningful. Indeed, some suggest *nyonin kinsei* is an important ritual mechanism for male religious practitioners to acquire spiritual power. Yet the argument that sacred mountains had to be sealed off from women for the sake of male acquisition of spiritual power naturally raises the question of why men took priority over women. Ushiyama Yoshiyuki (1996), examining this problem as a Buddhist historian, identifies three basic reasons for the origination of *nyonin kinsei*: (1) the notion of women's blood pollution; (2) adherence to Buddhist precepts; and (3) the disdain shown to women in Buddhist scriptures. Ushiyama holds that while conventional accounts overemphasize pollution, the focus should instead be on the Buddhist precept against sexual indulgence, which is applicable to both genders, and suggests that the notion of blood pollution was a later development (Ushiyama, 1996, pp. 75–78).

In any event, researchers must attend not only to the logic and history underlying the practice but also to the perception of women themselves vis-à-vis the practice. It is necessary to examine how the perpetual or temporary exclusion of woman from a locus of cultural value is implicated in the situations of women in the early twenty-first century.

Another important issue in interactions between religion and gender in Japan is *mizuko kuyō* (memorial rituals for aborted fetuses and miscarried or stillborn babies), interpretation of which has occasioned various exchanges among researchers (Kawahashi, forthcoming [b]). The study of gender issues in Japanese religion, as in other traditions, must be positioned within a dialectic between research to refine existing theories of gender and feminism on the one hand and thoroughgoing fieldwork and rereading of historical texts on the other. It must also take into account contemporary maneuvers by Japanese women (and men) to reform religious communities as well as influences on Japanese society at large from religions that have been changed by feminist thought.

REFORM MOVEMENTS. One example is a women's movement that formed in Japanese Buddhist circles during the 1990s (Kawahashi, 2003). This is a diverse group that includes, among others, wives of male priests, female priests (nuns), women who are a combination of both, and women who do not belong to any particular Buddhist order. Their project is to amplify the voice of women in the Buddhist community by a variety of means, including workshops and the publication of workshop findings. They also aim to form networks across sectarian boundaries for information exchange. They seek, by means of women's participation, to transform present-day Buddhism to provide gender equality. The commitment of these women extends beyond the boundaries of any particular school. They envision a new Buddhism that empowers the women of the early twenty-first century, and their project necessitates reinterpretation of conventional, male-centered Buddhist history and doctrine in light of their own experiences.

These women, who find it natural to resist gender-discriminatory constructions, are building a fuller awareness of how patriarchal Buddhist orders have thwarted women's realization of their own religiosity. This is not to say that Buddhism is a primary cause of Japanese patriarchal structures, nor does their criticism make such a claim. This project seeks rather to find truths in Buddhism that point a way to freedom for women, and this is their rationale for redirecting Buddhism toward affirmation of women's experiences in their own life context.

The discipline of religious studies remains rather unaware of its habit of reducing other religious traditions to fit into Western categories. It is important to recognize, however, that the rise of non-Western feminism makes it necessary to consider feminisms in the plural. Researchers who categorize Japanese women as silenced victims of patriarchy and their religious experiences as strategies of the weak will be called on to be reflexively aware and critical of whether their own interpretations are imposing a Western (or some other) agenda on their subject. At the same time, the religious world in Japan must no longer dismiss the study of gender issues in Japanese religions as a problem for women, and therefore secondary, but instead improve the quality of researchers and raise the level of work in the field through institutional reform.

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KAWAHASHI NORIKO (2005)
Translated from Japanese by Richard Peterson

GENDER AND RELIGION: GENDER AND JUDAISM

Feminist studies of gender and Judaism widely agree that, at least until the late 1970s, it is masculinity that has been almost exclusively generative of Judaism's authoritative religious and historical knowledge and leadership. Underpinning and perpetuating the secondary status of Jewish women are a male God, the male "founder," Abraham, and leader, Moses, a traditionally male rabbinical establishment historically subsequent to a hereditary male priesthood, and a male messiah in the times to come. Until the late twentieth century, most women (even those in relatively liberal circles) have known communal Judaism and Jewish thought from the perspective of the marginal other. Despite the existence of women of outstanding piety throughout Jewish history, and a very few instances of female scholars in the rabbinic and early modern periods particularly, women have not been the speaking subjects but the silent objects of Jewish discourse. They have not been the rabbinic commentators, decision makers, theologians, mystics, or philosophers. Matters concerning women have been discussed by male practitioners, usually in texts written by men and for men as problems or exceptions to what is normally the (masculine) case. The male Jew has been the normative Jew, and remains so in Orthodox communities. It is further arguable that recent change in the religious educational and devotional opportunities for Orthodox women is only to a degree and of a kind permitted by men within an essentially masculine dispensation.

JEWISH FEMINISM AND THE FEMINIST STUDY OF RELIGION. Judaism is founded on principles of justice and compassion that have driven social change through three millennia. It is therefore not surprising that the political impetus and methodological presupposition of the study of gender and Judaism have been loosely situated within the Jewish feminist movement and feminist criticism of intrareligious discrimination against Jewish women. The latter's foundational prophetic call that Judaism should institute an eleventh commandment—"Thou shalt not lessen the humanity of women"—that would be faithful to its own ethical judgment on the world remains as powerful a motivation today as it did when it was first articulated in 1979 by Cynthia Ozick.

Ozick's "eleventh commandment," which is intended more socially than theologically, nonetheless underpins all subsequent Jewish feminist theology. Jewish feminist theology is a critical theology that subjects Jewish texts, images, and practices to feminist analysis. In particular, it has been noted that biblical, rabbinic, and mystical Jewish theology includes images of the divine that are at least nominally feminine, such as Hochmah, Wisdom, and Shekhinah, the in-dwelling presence of God. The qabbalistic understanding of Shekhinah as a feminine element within God through whom God interacts with the world has recently been explored by Elliot Wolfson (1995). The mystical longing for a reunion of the male and the female elements within God has inspired Jewish feminists to envision the mending (*tikkun*) of history and of the cosmos itself. The more gender-neutral terms for God, such as *HaMakom* (the Place) and *HaShem* (the Name), also help to ground Jewish feminist theological reflection in the tradition. However, Judaism is a practical religion before it is a doctrinal religion, and therefore few Jewish women would ascribe a central place to theology in feminist Jewish Studies.

But Jewish feminism, like other feminisms, has a first as well as second wave period. After the rise of Jewish modernity in the early nineteenth century, the Reform movement's insistence on the freedom to choose the type and degree of one's Jewish commitment led to the creation of several types of Jewish feminism interconnected by their emphasis upon justice and relational values. Before the Holocaust, Jewish women's proto-feminist or first wave activism was channeled through political, educational, and welfare organizations that were often maternalist in character. The second wave Jewish feminism of the late 1960s was as much the result of disenchantment with early twentieth-century Jewish politics in the trade union, communist, and Zionist movements in Europe and North America and in the new settlements in Palestine, all of whose political radicalisms had largely failed to offer women the leadership roles their rhetoric of equality had seemed to promise them. By the end of the 1980s Jewish feminism had become a significant movement found across the spectrum of observance, bar that of the more closed communities of Ultra-Orthodoxy.

The different types of Jewish feminism fall into three categories. Jewish feminism within modern Orthodoxy seeks to adapt Jewish law to better serve women's interests, though only so far as Torah might permit; liberal Jewish feminism seeks equality with Jewish men through the ethical reform of tradition; and ultra-liberal or "postmodern" Jewish feminism offers a woman-centered approach (as in Gottlieb, 1995) that might include elements of the contemporary Goddess feminist spirituality considered to be historically continuous with ancient Israelite women's syncretistic practice. However, Judaism has tended to be a practical and social religion before it has been a speculative one and the view that Jewish feminist goals will be achieved by *halakhic* reform rather than through a revised or reformed theology has predominated.

By the end of the twentieth century, the study of gender and Judaism was no longer as politicized as it had been through the 1970s and 1980s by the Jewish feminist project. The question of whether Judaism either oppresses or liberates women had given way to the more nuanced study of gendered and intra-gendered difference. Two key insights have tempered the recent feminist study of gender and Judaism. The first of these is the recognition that Jewish women's experience is historically, socially, geographically and culturally diverse. Second is the observation that throughout the history of Judaism, women have led different types of authentically Jewish lives within and sometimes despite the constraints of their gender roles. Since what a young Jewish woman from London or New York may consider liberating may not be what an older Jewish woman from a Kurdish or Ethiopian Jewish community in Israel might consider liberating, the study of gender and Judaism has had to ask more nuanced questions of its subjects and no longer presumes to judge on behalf of other (non-academic) women whether Judaism is a source of fulfillment for them or not. Western religious detraditionalization also contextualizes the study of gender and Judaism. The spiritual "turn to the self" and the shift in late modern religious observance into what is effectively a lifestyle choice are reflected in feminist studies of Judaism that are concerned with decentralizing the position of canonical texts and studying the individual woman as an autonomous religious agent, defining and controlling the meanings of a Jewish life for herself.

Inevitably, studies in gender and Judaism have sought to correct Jewish scholarship's obliviousness to its own traditionally male perspective and have focused instead on the neglected particularities of women's experience of and representation in Judaism and Jewish culture. However, it is important to note, as Daniel Boyarin (1997) has done, that the interrelation between Jewish constructions of masculine and feminine roles, virtues, and symbols is a complex one, and it is not only popular anti-Semitic discourse that has "feminized" male Jews. Judaism in the post-biblical Diaspora presented an ideal Jewish male whose receptivity and orientation towards the family has challenged and continues to challenge Western assumptions of masculine dominance and aggression and which has made him an object of desire for Jewish women. The ideal male Ashkenazic Jew in the years before the establishment of the State of Israel and still in some Ultra-Orthodox circles today, while never effeminate, has been studious, otherworldly, and compassionate. Jewish masculinity is not traditionally defined economically by a man's being the main breadwinner or by macho physical prowess, but by the prestige of his religious scholarship. The people of Israel have also been feminized in being cast as God's (sometimes adulterous) wife. Conversely, it is widely argued that the Israeli establishment has legitimized its militarism by "feminizing" diasporic victims of persecution, especially survivors of Nazism, and defining the male Jew as the tough Israeli soldier—a secular reincarnation of the Israelite warrior of the biblical period.

JEWISH WOMEN'S HISTORY. Early Second Wave Jewish feminist historiography, in common with other such feminist historiographies, was something of an exercise in "contribution" history whose purpose was to rescue exceptional Jewish women's achievements from undeserved obscurity. Two such women who have become relatively well-known by these means are the nineteenth-century Hasidic female *tsaddiq* (a Hasidic leader noted for piety and learning) Hannah Rachel Verbermacher (also known as the Maid of Ludmir) and Regina Jonas, who in 1935, before her death in Auschwitz, was privately ordained as a Reform rabbi. Gradually, however, Jewish feminist historiography has yielded a sense not only of the contributions of women but also of the precedent and diversity of their experience, enabling scholars to question received periodizations of Jewish history and to redraw the boundaries of Jewish tradition.

The historiography of Jewish women begins with that of the biblical period. The picture that emerges from a wealth of popular and scholarly publications on the historical and literary roles of women in the Hebrew Bible is a mixed one of female vulnerability, oppression, rivalry, deceit, courage, loyalty, and wit. The picture changes over time as monarchical government replaces the political dispensation of ancient Israel around 1050 BCE. In some narratives, the Bible suggests that women in ancient Israel could, even if only exceptionally, enjoy the roles of prophet (such as Miriam in *Exodus* 15:20, Huldah in *2 Kings* 22:14, and Noadiah in *Nehemiah* 6:14); judge, prophet, and military leader (such as Deborah in *Judges* 4–5); and wise women (such as the "witch" of En-Dor in *1 Samuel* 28:3–25). The bonds of loyalty between women are poignantly expressed in *Ruth* 1:16–19, and the power of sisterly solidarity in the story of the daughters of Zelophehad (*Numbers* 27). Yet other narratives present highly sexualized images of female power as seductive rather than authoritative, as in the story of Jael in *Judges* 4:17–22 and in the stories of the matriarchs, where women are the biological rather than religio-political movers of Jewish redemption history and the narrative emphasis is on the birth and lineage of sons, not daughters.

Rather differently, scholars on the Jewish academic and spiritual left have used biblical texts and archaeological studies of the ancient Middle East to show that Israelite religious practice—especially that of women who were gradually excluded from the public cult of Yahweh during the monarchical period—was syncretistic and accommodated the local goddess cult of Asherah (see *2 Kings* 23:7). This body of research has funded feminist theological moves towards more gender-inclusive models of the Jewish God.

In its study of the post-biblical period, Jewish feminist historiography, like Jewish feminist anthropology, has challenged the normativity and centrality of *halakhic* Judaism in androcentric Jewish studies by noting the many local exceptions to its rule. Despite periods of intense persecution and ghettoization, Jewish women's lives have been led in complex interaction with non-Jewish religious and cultural communities. Ross Kraemer, for example, has argued that although Hellenization is generally regarded by Jewish historians in a negative light, diasporic Jewish communities in this era may have been less sexually segregated than later ones and may have offered (elite) women more access to public life than those more closely regulated by rabbinic law. Bernadette Brooten's now classic research into Greek and Latin inscriptions (1982) suggesting that women held leadership positions in late antiquity has also fuelled the argument that the legislation of gender roles in rabbinic law and custom has not necessarily prevailed in all parts and periods of the Jewish world. More generally, since Jewish studies has privileged the study of formal, communal masculine practice over female religious practice, feminist historians such as Chava Weissler (1998) have attended to how women have effectively integrated their ordinary relational and practical concerns with their spirituality and messianic hopes.

The study of gender and the Holocaust has been gaining momentum and prominence since the mid 1980s. Feminist historians have shown that the "Final Solution" was not gender-blind; women's gender-specific experience of the Holocaust cannot be subsumed into that of men. Without in any sense ranking women's suffering above men's, feminist historians such as Joan Ringelheim and Myrna Goldenberg were among the first to ask how Nazism placed Jewish women in "double jeopardy" as objects of both its anti-Semitism and its misogyny so that they endured, in Myrna Goldenberg's well-known phrase, "different horrors in the same hell." As mothers of future Jewish generations and less adaptable to the grueling physical requirements of slave labor than men, women and their children were the immediate targets of the Nazi genocide. Although women's chances of survival were generally greater in the early years of the Holocaust, by 1942 women were more likely than men to be deported to the death camps where, especially if pregnant or accompanied by children, women were also more likely than men to be selected for immediate death. Diverse recent studies (such as those of Nechama Tec [2003] and Melissa Raphael [2003]) have explored the ethical, spiritual, and theological dimensions of women's resistance to dehumanization through care of others during the Holocaust.

THE ROLE AND STATUS OF WOMEN IN RABBINIC JUDAISM. The corpus of rabbinic law and ethics in the Mishnah and, later, the Talmud, was complete by approximately 700 CE. This literature is not of merely antiquarian interest: through continual reinterpretation it has continued to provide a religious framework that regulates, if to widely varying degrees, the familial, economic, and social life of the whole Jewish community other than that of secular Jewry.

Rabbinic Judaism's understanding of the female role as one centered around the marital home can be summarized in the three positive commandments (sometimes regarded as punitive reminders of Eve's disobedience) that remain women's gender-specific obligations in Orthodox Judaism today. These are to light the Sabbath candles (*nerot*), to separate and burn a portion of the dough when baking the Sabbath loaf (*hallah*), and to observe the laws of menstrual or family purity that regulate physical contact between husbands and wives (*niddah*). Women are also obligated to observe the Sabbath, the dietary laws, and all other *halakhic* prohibitions.

There is no doubt that rabbinic literature contains misogynistic texts that enumerate women's supposed vices, derogate them as sources of sexual temptation and menstrual impurity, classify them as subordinated, immature, or defective others, and show a marked preference for the birth of sons over daughters. In rabbinic Judaism, women's testimony is generally inadmissible in a religious court as it is classed with, among others, that of minors, slaves, and the deaf and the blind. (Though since the 1951 Equality of Women's Rights Act in Israel, at least there has been some easing of the disqualification under Israeli civil law.)

Nonetheless, Judith Romney Wegner (1994) has shown that the late second-century Mishnah does not accord the same status to women throughout their lives, and it distinguishes between dependent girls and wives and relatively autonomous women, the latter being those divorcees, widows, and unmarried adult daughters who could control their property and arrange their own marriages, relatively free of male authority. While rabbinic patriarchy subordinates women to men and has on this and other grounds been rejected by liberal Jews as archaic, rabbinic Judaism is, then, more flexible than might be immediately apparent.

Admittedly on its own terms, rabbinic law respects the practical, emotional, and embodied interests of women and accords them rights to finance, medical care, and sexual satisfaction. Most notably, rabbinic law adjusted the more rudimentary biblical law so as to better protect women's interests. The classic case of a Western rabbinic ruling that broke with biblical and previous rabbinic law (a *takkanah*) was the ban on polygyny (actually already sharply in decline) ascribed to Rabbi Gershom ben Yehudah in the tenth century CE. (Orthodox feminism regards this *takkanah* as a precedent for sexually egalitarian proposals that appear to abrogate the law.) Other *takkanot* ascribed to Gershom ben Yehudah also tempered the inequalities of biblical marital practice, especially arbitrary divorce against a woman's will and without financial settlement. The rabbis were also generally opposed to wife-beating and permitted contraception to wives in certain medical circumstances. Although "acquired" from their fathers, wives are not, under rabbinic law, the purchased property of husbands; it is rather that marriage makes them unavailable to other men. Although, to this day, Orthodox Jewish law gives men alone the right to initiate divorce since it was they who have created the marriage bond, the *ketubah* or marriage "contract" describes a husband's financial and other duties to his wife. The case of the *agunah* or "anchored" woman who no longer lives with a husband who will not grant her a divorce is, however, an inequality to which some Orthodox rabbis have sought to provide solutions and against which feminists are still campaigning.

Generally speaking, the degree to which legal alleviation of sexual discrimination is permissible varies according to whether the community understands the whole Torah—written and oral—as the direct ordination and self-revelation of God (the Orthodox and especially Ultra-Orthodox view) or as divinely inspired but historically conditioned and of human authorship (the Reform perspective).

THE ROLE AND STATUS OF WOMEN IN ORTHODOXY. Orthodoxy—itself a spectrum of observance and cultural orientation—broadly continues to resist any construal of gender equality other than that summarized by the apologetic formulation "equal but different." Largely excluded from active participation in public ritual, women's traditional role is a supporting, enabling one (see BT Berakhot, 17a). Men and women's religious practice and orientation is considered complementary. Women are, by custom, not law, responsible for nurturing a sense of Jewishness in young children and for the infusion of a Jewish atmosphere and peace (*shalom bayit*) into the home. (Indeed, sociologists have sometimes argued that Jewish women's emotional and practical investment in family identity and continuity has made them rather less susceptible to secularization and assimilation than men.)

With certain important exceptions, such as eating unleavened bread at Pesach or reading the Megillah at the festival of Purim, Orthodoxy exempts women from those positive commandments whose observance is ordained for a specific time. So, for example, a woman is obligated to pray, but not at the times set for certain prayers and services. A woman's presence cannot be counted towards the quorum of ten men required for communal prayer. The classic rationale for such gendered exemptions or cultural prohibitions-in-effect can be either pragmatic or theological. Pragmatically, since women's first duties are to the welfare of husbands and children, the performance of religious duties cannot also be expected of them. Theologically, appeal may be made to the divine ordination of the gendered economy. Critics, however, have claimed that women's exemption from most time-bound positive commandments effectively privatizes a woman's religious life and subordinates her spirituality to the material needs of others. That women have also been strongly discouraged from the observance of certain commandments, such as those of religious study, that are not time-bound has also been questioned.

In response to such criticism, Orthodox commentators point out that after the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE, Jewish sacred space relocated from the Temple to the home, study house, and synagogue. As a locus of the holy, the post-biblical home has sacralized a woman's religio-domestic labor, namely the sustenance of relationships with her husband and children, her maintenance of a kosher kitchen, and her preparation for the Sabbath and other home-based religious festivals. Orthodox women's lives are, arguably, comprehensively spiritualized by their observance of *halakhah* (daily law) since this regulates rather than denigrates bodily needs and appetites.

Although regarded with skepticism by most feminists as a compensatory rhetorical strategy that safeguards male dominance and impoverishes Jewish women's religious lives, Ultra-Orthodox apologetics also consider women to be on a higher and more intuitive spiritual plane than men who must therefore shoulder a greater burden of religious duty in order to approach God. After the manner of the virtuous, tireless woman *(eshet chayil)* of *Proverbs* 31, wives are idealized or—from the Ultra-Orthodox perspective—esteemed as those whose "innate" spirituality needs no special training and allows them a more immediate relation to God.

While the requirements of feminine modesty (*tzniut*) may be interpreted by feminists as a means of controlling female sexuality, the traditional Jewish attitude toward sex is not prudish. While some periods of Jewish history have produced male devotional groups with ascetic tendencies, sexual abstinence plays no role in contemporary Jewish spirituality; celibacy is not considered vocational or meritorious, and men (not women) are commanded to procreate. In Hebrew, marriage (*kiddishin*) means sanctification, and marital sexuality is a sign and symbol of the covenant of love between God and Israel. Of course, Orthodox Judaism imposes clear moral restraints upon the sexual urge, and its satisfaction is exclusively heterosexual and marital. Nonetheless, pleasure is both legitimate and desirable. Men are obligated to satisfy the sexual needs of their wives. Indeed, the rabbinic laws of *onah* (women's sexual rights) schematize the husband's religious obligation to give regular sexual satisfaction to his wife. While he must never force himself upon her, she is entitled to sexual pleasure regardless of whether she is fertile, pregnant, or postmenopausal.

Only the most traditional of Orthodox Jewish women observe the laws of menstrual purity that require the physical separation, but not the seclusion, of women from men for roughly twelve days a month—as well as a period following the birth of a child (fourteen days followed by a further sixty-six days for a girl, and half of that—seven days plus thirty-three days—for a boy). While a boy child enters into the covenantal relation between God and the people of Israel by circumcision on the eighth day after birth, the birth of girl children is now usually celebrated in synagogue on her first Sabbath, though it is the father who recites the blessing of thanksgiving.

The laws of sexual segregation in worship intensified from the end of the third century of the common era and are still observed to varying degrees in Orthodox communities. Among the Ultra-Orthodox, there is also sexual segregation at communal celebrations that would involve the social mixing of men and women. While Judaism does not require the seclusion of women in the home (especially not in communities residing in non-Islamic countries), the vocation of Ultra-Orthodox women is largely confined to the rearing of large families and, in some cases, to paid work within the community where women may be employed to teach or care for young children. Orthodoxy does not necessarily confine women to the private sphere insofar as the customary equation of the private and domestic spheres does not straightforwardly apply to religious Jewish life. The domestic, familial sphere is not that of women alone: men practice Judaism in the domestic sphere, as well as in the public spheres of worship and study. In Judaism, the private sphere is essentially the secular sphere of the individual, while it is the religio-communal sphere of ritual, congregational, and legal leadership that is the public one. This means that Orthodox Jewish women have historically undertaken paid work and conducted business in the secular public sphere since this is classed as a private transaction.

Perhaps what is most significant to the study of gender and Judaism is the gendered inequality of power signaled by the language of male permission in relation to change; Orthodox women remain the dependent objects of male rulings. For the foreseeable future at least, it seems unlikely that Orthodoxy will permit systemic change as that would entail no less than a reconfiguration of divinely ordained gender roles in the Jewish home and family that would be considered inimical to the revelation and spirit of biblical and rabbinic tradition.

The matter can be summarized as follows. On the one hand, the revitalization of Orthodoxy in resistance to secular modernity has seen the reinforcement of an ideology of traditional sexual complementarity and an emphasis on the role of the Jewish family in rebuilding the worldwide Jewish community after the Holocaust. As Lyn Davidman points out (1991), this re-inscription of gender difference has been strongly supported by Orthodox women who can find stability, security, identity, continuity, authenticity, and respect for motherhood and homemaking in conservative ideologies of Jewish femininity. On the other hand, and irrespective of the conflict between traditional and progressive Jews over the role of women in Judaism, concerns for the survival of Judaism have focused Orthodox attention on giving women just some of the communal roles and responsibilities the contemporary Western sexual-political climate would lead them to expect.

GENDER AND JEWISH EDUCATION. As itself an act of worship, the study of Torah is integral, not supplementary, to Jewish practice. In post-biblical Judaism, where study of the Torah replaced cultic worship as the means of knowing and observing God's commandments, it has been the father's obligation to teach his son Torah. Just as women were not priests, so too they were not to be scholars. By custom rather than law, women were and are urged to induct children, especially girls, into the ambience and domestic practicalities of the tradition. Women and girls are exempt from the study of Torah on the grounds that women are exempt from acts that a father is obligated to undertake for his son, namely teaching him Torah (BT Kiddushin 29a). In fact, the Talmud records some disagreement over Rabbi Eliʿezer's somewhat extreme opinion that the education of girls unravels the meaning of Torah into nonsense or obscenity, and it records the names of several learned rabbinical wives and daughters, best known of whom was Beruriah, wife of Rabbi Meʾir of the second century CE.

The religious educational opportunities for girls and women are clearly not equal to men's. Yet the degree of gendered inequality has differed according to women's class, economic standing, geographical location, and historical period. Scholarly Jewish women in the wealthy Sephardic families of the early modern period were, for example, more numerous than those of affluent Ashkenazic families in central and eastern Europe who, as the centuries progressed, were more inclined to offer girls a high level of secular rather than religious education.

It is not only feminist criticism that has produced a widespread change in attitudes toward women's religious education across the spectrum of Jewish Orthodoxy. It is also recognized by Orthodoxy that arresting the widespread contemporary decline in Jewish observance and population is in part at least dependent on women's informed commitment. To prevent the influence of secular values (especially those of Jewish feminism, which is widely misread as a secular project), the end of the twentieth century saw Orthodoxy making new provision of role-specific religious education for women—one that was both a product and cause of Jewish women's increased historical, textual, and linguistic competence in Judaism. (Note though, that like Ultra-Orthodox men, Ultra-Orthodox women do not normally participate in secular higher education.)

Orthodoxy is now seeking to redress some of the gendered inequalities of opportunity in Jewish religious education, though not to remove them entirely. In contemporary Israel, the cultural and economic influence of American Jewry has encouraged the establishment of religious educational establishments offering Jewish women from all over the world opportunities to study to ever higher levels of *halakhic* competence and to train as advocates for other women in religious courts, particularly in cases of divorce. A more advanced Jewish education has also enabled women to conduct prayer services even if modesty requires those to be conducted only for other women. However, such services are still not permitted in synagogues in Great Britain and parts of the American Orthodox community. Women in Orthodox communities are also not called up to recite the blessings accompanying the chanting of a portion of the Torah or to read from the Torah itself, since that might suggest that the men of the community are not proficient to do so.

REFORM AND CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENTS. The religious emancipation of Jewish women in liberal Jewish communities was subsequent to the humanistic ethic of Haskalah (Jewish Enlightenment) and to the civic emancipation of Western European Jewry. Over time, women in Reform communities have come to enjoy equal access to positions of educational and synagogal leadership and full participation in Jewish rites of passage. Since 1972 in the United States and 1975 in Britain, women have been ordained as rabbis. In the United States, the Conservative movement—a middle way between Orthodoxy and Reform—has also gradually instituted the equality of women and men and has given women access to rabbinical training since 1983. However, Conservative Judaism has a greater concern for maintaining continuities with Jewish law, and its congregations vary in their attitude to change. Other than in the most progressive communities on the liberal spectrum, marriage and ordination are still refused to Jewish lesbians and gay men.

Sexist language has been either tempered or eliminated from liberal liturgies, though the evocation of the divine as "God-She" remains controversial in all but the alternative quarters of progressive Judaism. As well as giving women equal access to the rituals marking religious maturity (bar mitzvah for boys, bat mitzvah for girls) new rituals have been devised in Britain and the United States by women rabbis and others to change the self-image and consciousness of women. Such rituals solemnize gender-distinctive life-changing events—whether these be traumas such as mastectomy or miscarriage or celebrations such as menarche and childbirth—to which the tradition, so often concerned with the ownership and control of women's sexuality and reproductivity, has not previously attended. Despite such attention to female difference there has been some feminist concern that in gaining equality with men, Reform and Conservative Jewish women have become, in effect, honorary men, while men have not become honorary women. The most prominent leadership roles are also still most commonly held by men, partly in ecumenical deference to the Orthodox community, with whom Reform and Conservative Judaism wishes to maintain cooperation and dialogue.

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MELISSA RAPHAEL (2005)

GENDER AND RELIGION: GENDER AND CHRISTIANITY

Christianity has always been a gendered tradition—as indeed have most religions—insofar as sexual difference has formed an organizing focus for its doctrines, practices, and institutions. This has been more evident in Catholic and Orthodox forms of Christianity than in Protestantism, but the gendered hierarchies that have prevailed in Christian institutions from the time of Saint Paul persisted largely unchallenged until the middle of the twentieth century. Since then churches have faced a widespread intellectual challenge to their understanding of gender, arising partly out of the influence of feminism but primarily generated by a significant number of women becoming academic theologians and biblical scholars for the first time in history. Rosemary Radford Ruether's pioneering work of feminist theology, *Sexism and God-Talk*, first published in 1983, asks, "Can a male savior save women?" (Ruether, 1993, p. 116).

As a growing number of feminist theologians and, more recently, gender theorists have developed ever more refined forms of analysis in their studies of Christian doctrine, history, spirituality, and ethics, Ruether's question opens into a complex landscape in which the sexed human body occupies a central but often veiled position, inviting both redemptive and critical readings of tradition. Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza's (1983) advocacy of "a hermeneutics of suspicion" has influenced two generations of biblical scholars whose increasingly nuanced methods of interpretation are transforming the ways in which biblical texts are understood and applied with regard to gender constructs and sexual relationships. Although Western in origin, these intellectual revolutions have impacted non-Western cultures, so the question of Christianity and gender has become one of far-reaching significance for the doctrines and practices of the churches worldwide.

However, feminist and gender studies have so far been more thorough in their analyses of femininity and womanhood than of masculinity and manhood, so much of what still passes for normative humanity in Christian texts and practices is in fact male humanity, misleadingly represented as the generic human being. Until this masculine particularity is acknowledged, the Christian understanding of the human condition will continue to be shaped by implicitly androcentric perspectives. Despite forty years of feminist scholarship, the theological establishment remains, for the most part, highly conservative, and perspectives informed by feminism or gender theory are either ignored or marginalized in the majority of theological curricula.

If traditional Christian beliefs and practices have been problematized by feminism and gender studies, the question also arises as to how far these academic debates reflect the concerns of people's daily lives as they seek to live out their Christian faith in different contexts. For many, traditional forms of Christianity provide a bulwark against what are perceived to be the corrosive effects of secularization and materialism on religious values, and this generates considerable resistance to feminism. Given that a majority of women worldwide continue to regard the family as their most significant area of responsibility and commitment, the Christian defense of the family might in many situations be an important factor in the struggle for gender justice. In other situations, however, Christian beliefs associated with marriage, motherhood, fertility, and sexuality define women too narrowly in terms of domestic roles and responsibilities, so Christian family values can be experienced as repressive in terms of gender justice and human flourishing. Such questions feed into the larger question about what is meant by "the full humanity of woman" and what kind of transformations of belief and practice are necessary for Christianity to create a spiritual and social environment in which both sexes are able to live out the belief that human beings, male and female, are made in the image of God and are called to participate in the creative activity of God in sustaining, healing, and shaping the world (Ruether, 1993, p. 18).

The phrase *gender and Christianity* therefore opens into a kaleidoscopic range of insights that is constantly refigured as new perspectives come into view. As the scholarship of gender becomes more critically refined, early feminist critiques of religious traditions are being supplanted by methods that seek greater sensitivity to questions of historical, cultural, sexual, racial, and economic diversity. There is also a growing attentiveness to issues of gender at the more conservative end of the Christian theological spectrum, so the study of gender, sexuality, and embodiment is by no means the exclusive preserve of feminist scholars. What follows then is a brief overview of a picture that is in an ongoing state of development, so summarizing general trends necessarily risks some misrepresentation of the individual lives and communities that make up the gendered dimensions of the Christian story.

DOCTRINAL AND SOCIAL PERSPECTIVES. The Christian tradition has been marked by deep ambivalences with regard to the significance of human embodiment and gender in terms of both sexual and social relationships. Christianity has always affirmed the goodness of the material world, including the human body, as having been created by God and redeemed by Jesus Christ. However, Christianity has also tended to adopt a negative attitude toward the body in recognition of its susceptibility to suffering and death, which are associated with sin. The original goodness of creation is believed to have been distorted by the effects of humanity's rebellion against God, and thus the body is a site of particular struggle and conflict in the Christian's desire to be reconciled to God. In terms of sexuality this has become deeply bound up with issues of temptation, sin, and fallenness, symbolically associated with Eve's temptation in the Garden of Eden, so a great deal of Christian anxiety has been focused on human sexuality in general and female sexuality in particular. Given the opaque and sometimes inscrutable relationship between gender constructs and sexual embodiment, this makes the task of unraveling Christian beliefs about gender particularly difficult, because embedded deep within these one often encounters a cluster of unacknowledged fears to do with the female body. In this Christianity may not be different from many other religions, but the Christian doctrines of the incarnation of Christ and the resurrection of the body mean that, in theory at least, this should be the most body-affirming of all religions. That its legacy has been more ambiguous is at least partly bound up with the ongoing failure of some parts of the Christian tradition to fully incorporate human sexuality into their vision of the goodness of creation.

The Christian understanding of human nature is premised on a belief in the dignity and equality of every human being in the eyes of God, and the Christian community of the baptized has been represented as one in which all divisions are overcome. Thus in his Letter to the Galatians, Paul writes, "There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus" (*Gal.* 3:28). However, for most of Christian history women have occupied positions of subordination to men, being subject to restrictions that have precluded the full participation of both sexes in the formation of Christian faith and practice.

The New Testament texts and Apocryphal literature of the first three centuries attest to a struggle by male authority figures to control and delineate the role of women in Christian life and worship, suggesting a trend toward women holding positions of authority in some parts of the early church and a resistance to this trend in other parts. Whatever equality women may have enjoyed in these early centuries, however, their roles soon became circumscribed within authority structures modeled on the social order of imperial Rome. As a result, the institutions, beliefs, and practices of the Christian tradition have been constructed around the values of a patriarchal hierarchy, in which the authority of a Father-God is mediated through descending ranks of paternal leadership, from kings, princes, and bishops to lords, leaders, husbands, and fathers. Some feminist theologians argue that this patriarchal structure is consolidated and perpetuated in the centrality of the Father-Son relationship to the Christian understanding of Jesus as the Son of God.

However, this largely homogenous master narrative needs to be understood in relation to the diverse contexts that have allowed a plurality of beliefs, devotions, and relationships to flourish within Christian traditions. If gendered hierarchies have been carefully preserved in the texts and institutions of the church, attentiveness to the practices of Christianity suggests a more complex reality of shifting sexual relationships and values. For example, Christian men whose writings express misogynistic ideas have often enjoyed close relationships with women in the roles of spiritual director, confessor, and friend, suggesting a level of social and sexual interaction that may not be reflected in the textual legacy. Women such as Teresa of Ávila (1515–1582), whose writings suggest the internalization of sexual stereotypes, often used these as rhetorical devices to challenge male authority figures. Moreover, although the body has always been more determinative for women than for men and female embodiment continues to function as a basis for exclusion rather than inclusion, for example, with regard to ordination in the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches, gender was understood symbolically rather than biologically in the premodern church. So in different contexts maternal or feminine characteristics have been attributed to men and masculine characteristics to women to express certain social functions or personal characteristics. Moreover theological relationships between God, creation, Christ, the church, and Mary are described in a range of nuptial and familial metaphors and analogies, so it is impossible to identify any straightforward binary opposition between male and female when one analyzes the dynamics of Christian gender symbolism.

The separation between Eastern and Western Christianity since the eleventh century has also produced different concepts of the significance of gender. The Orthodox Church, influenced by thinkers such as Origen (c. 185–254) and Gregory of Nyssa (c. 335–c. 395), holds that matter, including the sexual human body, is a secondary feature of creation. Sexual embodiment is contingent upon the coming of death into the world and the need for procreation, so sexual difference does not have ontological significance and will not be a feature of the resurrected person. From the time of Augustine (345–430), the Roman Catholic tradition has understood the material world, including the sexed human body, as part of the original goodness of creation and therefore as ontologically significant. The resurrected body will be male or female, just as it was in the beginning. In the Orthodox Church, the Virgin Mary represents an iconic and mystical maternal presence at the heart of liturgy and prayer, symbolizing both awe and compassion but dissociated from later Western ideas of maternal femininity. Catholic representations of Mary have been influenced by cultural stereotypes associated with humanism, the Renaissance, and Romanticism, so that they have become heavily invested with changing ideals of motherhood and femininity. These symbolic representations both reflect and shape social values and meanings, so many different ways of seeing and relating are encoded within them in terms of gender, society, and doctrine. Since the Reformation, the increasing diversification of Christianity has led to multiple ways of understanding gender relations. Whereas the mainstream Protestant denominations have tended to uphold traditional gender distinctions and hierarchies, at least until the latter part of the twentieth century, movements such as Quakerism have been more egalitarian in their ideas and practices. Protestantism has by and large placed less emphasis on the symbolic or philosophical significance of sexuality, and therefore its representation of sexual difference has been expressed more in biblical and moral terms than in terms of eschatology, ontology, and symbolism.

THE BIBLE AND THE EARLY CHURCH. The Bible is a necessary but not a sufficient starting point for any study of Christianity and gender. From as early as the first century CE the Christian belief that God had become human in Jesus Christ was interpreted according to the symbolism of the *Genesis* narrative of creation and the Fall. This means that the story of Adam and Eve in *Genesis* 1–3 has had a formative influence on Christian beliefs about the divine image and the relationship between the sexes, understood both in terms of the original relationship among God, nature, woman, and man and in terms of the fall and its aftermath.

Christ is described as the Second Adam in the Pauline epistles, and by the end of the first century this imagery had been extended to include the Virgin Mary as the New Eve in the writings of Justin Martyr (c. 100–165 CE) and Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons (c. 130–200 CE). According to this interpretation, just as the first woman, Eve, brought death to the human race by disobeying God and eating the forbidden fruit, so the New Eve, first woman of the new creation in Christ, brought life to the human race by obeying God by agreeing to become the mother of the savior, Jesus Christ. This identification of Mary with Eve became invested with the language of sexuality, seduction, and sin associated with Eve and purity, obedience, and grace associated with Mary in a way that introduced a dualistic tendency into the Christian understanding of woman. In addition the Christian belief that patriarchal hierarchies are ordained by God for the good ordering of society has been justified through an appeal to the order of creation in *Genesis* 2, in which God created the woman after the man to be his helpmate.

The influential biblical scholar Phyllis Trible challenges this interpretation by offering a careful analysis of the language and meanings of the Hebrew text, and there is now widespread scholarly acceptance that a pervasive ideology of gender has shaped Christian readings of *Genesis*. Biblical writings about God, humankind, and sexual difference have also been interpreted by Christians through the lens of the Greek philosophical tradition, so the *Genesis* narrative has been overlaid with concepts about the essential nature of femininity and masculinity that are alien to the tradition of the Hebrew Scriptures. Thus Christianity has to a large extent constructed its understanding of gender not only around the Bible but around philosophical beliefs that associate masculinity with reason, transcendence, virtue, and divinity and femininity with emotion, immanence, moral weakness, and the body.

Although the interpretation of *Genesis* is crucial for an understanding of the symbolic construction of gender in Christianity, the New Testament offers numerous insights into the historical role of women as well as men in the ministry of Jesus and the early church. The Gospels, in particular the Gospels according to Luke and John, represent women as faithful disciples of Jesus, participating in his public ministry in a way that may have defied the sociosexual conventions of first-century Palestine. Figures such as Martha and Mary of Bethany, Mary Magdalene, the Samaritan woman at the well, and Mary the mother of Jesus feature at significant moments in the Gospel stories not as silent and submissive followers but as women who often appear to challenge or question Jesus and to contribute to a deeper understanding of his mission. Saint Paul's letters name a number of women who were leaders and patrons of early Christian communities. They include Prisca, Phoebe, and Junia, the latter two referred to as a deacon and an apostle respectively (*Rom.* 16). However, the Deutero-Pauline and Pastoral epistles represent a more complex picture with regard to gender relations. They include instructions to women to submit to men's authority in the church (compare *1 Tm.* 11–15) and to be subject to their husbands (compare *Col.* 3:18, *Eph.* 5:22) while enjoining husbands to love their wives as Christ loves the church (compare *Eph.* 5:25).

Studies of the early church suggest that women had considerable influence in the formative years of Christianity, with Apocryphal literature of the second century, such as the Acts of Thecla and the Gospel of Mary, providing rich additional sources to the biblical text. Whether these stories are rooted in history or legend, they are indicative of a complex process of negotiation and conflict around issues of gender and leadership in early Christianity.

The first four centuries after Christ saw the transition of Christianity from a marginal and persecuted minority to the official religion of the Roman Empire. In her study of patristic theology, Virginia Burrus argues that the conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity created a crisis of identity for the church's male leaders, who found themselves having to occupy positions of authority defined according to imperial criteria of manliness. She suggests that this identity crisis had a lasting influence on Christian gender constructs in terms of masculine subjectivity, feminine alterity, and the fatherhood of God.

THE MIDDLE AGES. If women lost some of their early influence with the growing institutionalization of the church, they nevertheless continued to play a significant role in Christian leadership and theological reflection in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Although this was an era when the lives of the vast majority of men and women escape the historical record, evidence exists that women were included among the educated elite who ran the monasteries and religious institutions of the early medieval world. Abbesses such as Hilda of Whitby (d. 680), Lioba (700–780) and Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179) were responsible for mixed monasteries in which women as well as men were educated in the context of religious life. The emergence of women's historians since the 1960s has seen a growing body of scholarship devoted to the recuperation of these neglected historical figures.

However, the eleventh-century Gregorian reforms marked the beginning of an era in which power in the church became more centralized and clericalized, which made it more difficult for women to gain access to theological education or positions of religious authority.

The establishment of the schools and universities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries restricted theological education to celibate male scholars, and the institution of compulsory priestly celibacy intensified misogynistic attitudes toward women and female sexuality, assisted by the widespread dissemination of Aristotelian philosophy through the influence of Scholasticism. Women became more closely associated with the affective, devotional life of faith expressed in the vernacular, whereas male clerics became the custodians of theology and doctrine expressed in the highly stylized Latin of Scholasticism, signaling the beginning of a linguistic and conceptual division between Christian theology and spirituality that would have considerable implications for the understanding of gender.

Yet these changes also brought new opportunities for the expression of women's spirituality that appealed not to the authenticating norms of theology for its legitimacy but to a direct encounter with divine revelation. The next few centuries saw the emergence of women mystics, such as Julian of Norwich (1342–c. 1416) and Catherine of Siena (1347–1380), whose ideas have had an enduring influence on the Catholic tradition. The Beguines, a lay movement of women that flourished across northern Europe from the late twelfth century, produced a number of women spiritual writers, such as Mechthild of Magdeburg (c. 1212–1282), author of *The Flowing Light of the Godhead*, Hadewjich of Antwerp (thirteenth century), and Marguerite Porete (1280–1310), author of *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, who was burned at the stake for heresy. The Beguines were condemned at the Council of Vienne (1311–1312) and had virtually disappeared by the early fifteenth century, attesting perhaps to the vulnerability of women's religious visions and practices in male-dominated traditions. Their male counterparts, the Beghards, were numerically less significant, but they too fell under suspicion of heresy and immoral practices.

The twelfth century also saw the emergence of a new trend in Christian spirituality that affected both men's and women's devotional writings. From the time of Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), the *Song of Songs* became a key text for the expression of the Christian longing for Christ, leading to forms of prayer and devotion in which the soul is represented as the feminine beloved and bride of Christ, expressing "herself" in sometimes highly eroticized metaphors of feminine desire. This constituted a significant change in the Christian understanding of gender, which had until then associated femininity unambiguously with frailty, moral weakness, and carnal susceptibility, with masculine virtue being the Christian ideal for both sexes. The emergence of a more positive understanding of femininity in Christian spirituality was partly due to the influence of the courtly love tradition, with the language of the troubadours being appropriated to express the feminine soul's desire for Christ or the celibate male's devotion to the Virgin Mary. Much work remains to be done on the ways in which this feminized language of prayer and mysticism bears the marks of sexual difference, but scholars such as Caroline Walker Bynum (1992) and Grace Jantzen (1995) see a tendency to focus more directly on the body and on physical manifestations of devotion associated with the Eucharist and with practices of asceticism and self-mortification in women's writings. Bynum suggests that the medieval belief that associated the soul with masculine divinity and the body with the female flesh coupled with belief in the virgin birth, which eliminated the male body's role in the conception of Christ, led women to identify Christ's humanity with their own female embodiment.

The medieval church was part of a complex social world that offered limited opportunities to women but that also celebrated motherhood as a flourishing social institution. The church itself was a Holy Mother whose sacraments were woven into the practices of everyday life, including women's domestic activities associated with pregnancy, childbirth, and motherhood. The image of the Virgin Mary as a solitary and unique example of womanhood, "Alone of All Her Sex," to quote the title of Marina Warner's (2000) influential book, is challenged by medieval art and devotion that suggest a more communal sense of female sainthood, with the Apocryphal figure of Saint Anne, mother of the Virgin Mary, occupying a position in fifteenth-century devotion second only to that of her illustrious daughter. Toward the end of the fifteenth century the cult of Saint Joseph, the putative father of Christ, began to eclipse that of Saint Anne, so the matriarchal groupings of medieval art and devotion were gradually replaced by the more modern grouping of the Holy Family comprising Mary, Joseph, and the infant Christ.

However, the fifteenth century also brought a new threat to women in the form of the witch hunts, which altogether spanned some four hundred years of Western history, from 1400 to 1800. It is impossible to calculate how many witch trials there were, but conservative estimates are in the range of 60,000 to 100,000 people killed, of whom two-thirds were women, including Joan of Arc (1412–1431). Recent scholarship suggests that these women were victims not primarily of medieval Catholicism, as has often been believed, but of the combined forces of science, rationalism, and religion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which recorded the greatest number of witch trials. It is impossible to calculate the impact of the witch hunts on the development of Christian thought and practice when one considers that the tens of thousands killed were probably among the most creative and independent-minded of Europe's Christian women, and the fate they suffered must have silenced many others who may otherwise have written and spoken out. It must, however, be borne in mind that this wave of destruction spanned the late medieval and early modern period, and therefore, from the historical perspective of women, to some extent it overshadows the Reformation.

THE REFORMATION AND THE ENLIGHTENMENT. The Reformation saw the emergence of new forms of Christianity, in which the sacramentality and symbolism of the medieval Catholic Church yielded to a more literate and moralistic form of Christianity based on the authority of Scripture and on individual faith in Jesus Christ. Although this did little to destabilize the gendered hierarchies of Christian theology and practice, it did provide limited opportunities for women to play an active role in the development of new Christian communities and churches. Reformers such as Martin Luther (1483–1546) and John Calvin (1509–1564) rejected the Catholic belief that celibacy was a higher ideal than married life, so marriage came to be understood in more positive terms as a partnership of love and mutual support. However, the vocation to religious life had provided medieval women with an alternative to the often oppressive demands of marriage and motherhood, and some scholars, including William Monter (1987) and Merry Wiesner (1990), argue that women after the Reformation became more narrowly identified with the domestic sphere, with a subsequent loss of public influence and visibility. Moreover the Reformation purged Protestant Christianity of maternal feminine imagery associated with the Virgin Mary, the women saints, and the maternal church, contributing to the emergence of a culture that was more vigorously patriarchal and masculine in its values, politics, and beliefs. With the transition to an increasingly scientific and rationalized worldview after the seventeenth century, the symbolic and spiritual significance of gender began to yield to a more literalistic understanding of human sexuality, so the sexed body increasingly became positioned not in terms of its sacramental and social significance but in terms of scientific definitions and moral prescriptions.

The Enlightenment constituted a change from a social order grounded in the appeal to divine revelation and scriptural authority to a vision of society informed by a belief in reason, personal liberty, and the social contract. This did not immediately change the status of women, and indeed its initial impact on women's lives may have been far from positive, but it laid the foundations for the liberal democracies in which women have ultimately gained a degree of social and political recognition that they were never able to achieve under the theocracies of the Christian tradition. Yet if the male philosophers of the Enlightenment saw a fundamental conflict between reason and faith (even though their ideas remained deeply rooted in Christian theology), it is by no means certain that women shared this perception. Gerda Lerner, in the introduction to the second volume of her study of *Women and History* (1993), describes how she discovered "the significance to women of their relationship to the Divine and the profound impact the severing of that relationship had on the history of women. . . . The insight that religion was the primary arena on which women fought for hundreds of years for feminist consciousness was not one I had previously had" (Lerner, 1993, pp. vii–viii). Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797), widely recognized as an early pioneer of the feminist movement, based her appeal for women's equality not only on Enlightenment values of reason, education, and the individual's right to political and social participation but on her faith in the compassion, wisdom, and mercy of God. If in the early twenty-first century those Enlightenment values are in their twilight years and new, as yet unpredictable, forms of social organization are appearing on the horizon, it remains to be seen to what extent Christianity may continue to offer women a language of divine wisdom to counter the political and social prejudices of powerful men.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. The industrial revolution and the rise of capitalism in Protestant societies saw the establishment of what in the early twenty-first century some refer to as the traditional Christian family, although in reality this modern concept does not reflect the diverse social arrangements of the premodern family. Working-class life has rarely allowed men and women the luxury of playing out gendered stereotypes, but the image of Christian family life became identified in the nineteenth century with the clearly delineated gender roles and relationships of the middle classes. While the husband went out to work in commerce and industry where Christian ideals were inevitably compromised, the wife and mother, the "angel in the home," upheld Christian faith and values in the domestic realm. Thus nineteenth-century Protestant piety was to some extent associated with the sphere of femininity, with a gentle Jesus reflecting a domesticated ideal embodied in the good wife. Indeed during the nineteenth century church congregations were increasingly made up of more women than men, suggesting a gradual withdrawal of men from religion. The mid-1850s saw the emergence of "muscular Christianity," associated with writers such as Thomas Hughes and Charles Kingsley and later influencing American ministers such as Thomas Wentworth Higginson. This trend, which emphasized the masculinity of Christ and the manly virtues of the Christian faith, may have been a backlash against the perceived feminization of the churches and against the nascent women's movement.

However, these dominant social paradigms should not be allowed to eclipse the more radical opportunities that Christianity continued to offer to women. Josephine Butler (1828–1906) and Florence Nightingale (1820–1910) were activists whose work was rooted in a radical Christian theology and a profound personal piety. Butler's work with prostitutes exposed and challenged the trenchant hypocrisies of Victorian England, a society in which a rigid morality defined by Christian values masked the widespread exploitation and abuse of the poor and a flourishing sex trade in the cities. Evangelicalism afforded nineteenth-century Western women a public space from which to speak as missionaries, social reformers, and educators, even if their activities continued to be defined and restricted by men. The nineteenth century also saw the emergence of new women's religious communities in the Catholic Church, with the formation of religious orders committed to mission, education, and health care. Again these belonged within ecclesial and social structures governed by men, but they provided a means by which women could make a significant contribution to the public dimension of Christian life, extending their influence beyond the domestic sphere and allowing for considerable levels of social mobility and spiritual influence. In the United States the woman's suffragist Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815–1902) pioneered what one day became feminist biblical criticism, and Harriet Tubman (1819/1820–1913) was one of many African American women whose triumphs over slavery inspired later generations of Christian theologians and writers. The emergence of independent African American churches in nineteenth-century America created a form of Protestant Christianity enlivened by the rhythms and gestures of African music, dance, and spirituality, which has afforded African American men and women a space in which to express their Christian faith free from the oppressive influences of racism and white domination. American feminist theologians and gender theorists in the twenty-first century work at a complex intersection of questions having to do with gender, race, and class in their explorations of the relationships among slavery, gender injustice, and Protestantism in the formation of modern American social values.

CHRISTIANITY AND GENDER IN CONTEMPORARY CULTURE. The twentieth century saw the widespread demise of the Christian faith across much of Western society, at least in its traditional and institutionalized forms, accompanied by a rapid growth in Christianity in some non-Western cultures, most notably in Africa and South Korea. The changed horizons opened by feminist and postcolonialist perspectives have brought new challenges and opportunities to Christian theology, as some of its most fundamental doctrinal and ethical claims have been called into question. The emergence of the contemporary women's movement in Western society coincided with the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), an epoch-making event in the Catholic Church that opened the way to a much greater degree of participation by women and other previously excluded groups in theological reflection and formation. The result has been the ongoing transformation of Christian theology and practice, as theologically educated men and women address questions of doctrine, sexuality, social justice, and gender relations from an increasingly wide spectrum of cultural, economic, and intellectual localities. By the end of the twentieth century women were being ordained as priests and ministers in numerous Christian denominations, including the Church of England, with women bishops being ordained in some parts of the worldwide Anglican communion, and the issue of women's ordination became an increasingly divisive question in the Roman Catholic Church. According to the religioustolerance.org website, one in every eight American clergy is a woman, and in 1997 women constituted 30 percent of North American theology graduates (see http://www.religioustolerance.org/femclrg6.htm). Christian beliefs about marriage and sexuality have been challenged by the decline in marriage and rising divorce rates in Western societies. This has been accompanied by a growing desire for religious recognition and affirmation at all levels of church life by gays and lesbians in Western churches, to the consternation of many non-Western Christians who remain committed to a more conservative understanding of Christian sexual values.

These challenging new movements have provoked a backlash, with the reassertion of conservative values in both the Catholic and the Protestant churches and the emergence of fundamentalist Christian movements that tend to adopt a highly literalist approach to biblical teachings on questions of sexual ethics and gender relations. In the United States the organization Promise Keepers seeks to reestablish Christian family values by appealing to men to accept their responsibilities as husbands and fathers, with the concomitant expectation that women should perform their roles as dutiful wives and mothers. In Roman Catholicism the papacy of John Paul II has been remarkable in many ways, but it has seen the reassertion of traditional sexual values and gender stereotypes over some of the liberating tendencies of the postconciliar church. Perhaps the most traumatic event in this context was the publication of the papal encyclical, *Humanae Vitae*, by Pope Paul VI in 1968. This set out a vision of marriage that was revolutionary in its affirmation of the value of married love and sexuality but that, in its reiteration of the Catholic Church's opposition to artificial birth control, provoked an ongoing crisis of authority in the Catholic Church.

The social, demographic, and intellectual developments of the twentieth century mean that Christianity is undergoing a continuing crisis in its understanding of gender and sexuality, calling into question beliefs, practices, and authority structures that have prevailed almost unchallenged since the fourth century with regard to the different roles of men and women, the significance of human sexuality, and the ways in which these have been inspired and legitimated by the Christian understanding of God. It is impossible to predict what the church of the twenty-second century may look like or to what extent it will make sense to speak of the church at all. Some may see the future as a series of schisms, reformations, and revolutions that will lead to a global plurality of movements, sects, and cults loosely rooted in the Christian tradition, whereas others may have a more positive view of the Christian potential for unity and reconciliation after centuries of conflict and division. But it is likely that, whatever other changes take place, the Christian understanding of what it means to be male and female created in the image of God is one of the most urgent and complex questions of this age, and the ways in which Christians respond to that question will shape the churches of the future in profound and unforeseeable ways.

SEE ALSO Church; Enlightenment; Feminist Theology, article on Christian Feminist Theology; Heresy; Human Body; Incarnation; Mary; Mary Magdalene; Masculine Sacrality; Men's Studies in Religion; Mysticism; Nuns; Protestantism; Reformation; Resurrection; Sexuality; Teresa of Ávila.

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TINA BEATTIE (2005)

GENDER AND RELIGION: GENDER AND ISLAM

During the twentieth century a new gender discourse focusing mostly on women's roles and rights in Islam emerged in various parts of the Muslim world. As is the case in the West, this gender discussion is not uniform, and it is greatly influenced by local cultures and conditions. The division between men and women pervades Muslim culture from the teachings of the Qurʾān to its language of Arabic, which carefully distinguishes between male and female. Based on the assumed asymmetry between the sexes, gender discourse in Islam concerns itself mainly with issues of power and inequality caused by patriarchal hierarchies that over time were strengthened by the religious, social, and cultural environment. Only recently and in a few places (e.g., in the writings of the American scholar Scott Siraj al-Haqq Kugle [2003]) has gender discourse started to include marginalized women and men, such as homosexuals. However, Muslim scholarship has always recognized the existence of hermaphrodites, who upset the division between the sexes.

Those involved in contemporary gender discourse operate from various ideologies. Their activities are manifold and include creating public awareness concerning gender issues, reforming laws and policies that are detrimental to women, and rediscovering women's histories. They find their inspiration in varying sources, from the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights to Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*). This movement has become wide-ranging, and it addresses, for example, women's health issues, domestic and public violence against women, the rights of women to education and work, democratic rights, children's rights, and human rights. In many Muslim countries some of these issues are still considered taboo.

The perceptions of Islam of those involved in gender activities are not monolithic. What binds most of them, however, is that their religion provides the core existential ground for their understanding of gender discourse. The theological reinterpretation of authoritative religious texts is in most cases fundamental to developing new understandings about gender in Islam. Revision of male-centered readings is unavoidable, since these were often influenced by the surrounding culture, which led to a gap between women's reality and the teachings of the Qurʾān that promote gender equality.

Since many Muslim countries continue to be governed by regimes that fail to provide basic needs for their citizens, those fighting for gender equality often face insurmountable difficulties. In spite of this reality, critical voices have come into existence that connect across the Muslim world, nowadays via the internet; they are developing a discourse on human rights, religious rights, and civil society that seeks social change for men and women, and empowerment of women in the public and religious sphere. The awarding of the 2003 Nobel Peace Prize to the Iranian Muslim human rights activist Shirin Ebadi (b. 1947) was a victory for all involved in this new gender discourse, for she is a living example of their agenda.

HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF GENDER CONCERNS. The process of rethinking the roles and rights of women in Islam first surfaced at the end of the nineteenth century in disparate places within the Muslim world. At that time, calls for changes in women's conditions emerged in countries ranging from Iran, to India (Bengal), Egypt, and Turkey. Women's voices (among others, Aisha Taymour [1840–1902], from Egypt) became heard via poems, stories, and essays, while women and men (e.g, Rokeya Sakhawat Hossein [1880–1932], from Bengal) started to demand education for girls and to question the practices of veiling, segregation, and polygyny. Qāsim Amīn's *Taḥrīr al-Marʾa* (The liberation of woman, 1899) stressed the need for women's education. As Leila Ahmed (1992) has pointed out, these objectives were not pursued for the sake of women, but served as a tool to resist colonialism and to transform society into modernity.

The Egyptian Muslim scholar Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1849–1905) entered the debate when he called for a correct understanding of Islam by returning to its original sources—the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*. He interpreted these sources using the method of *ijtihād* (independent investigation of the religious sources), and when necessary he bypassed the teachings of the four legal schools of Islam, the *madhhabs*. Using this method, described as *modernist,* Muḥammad ʿAbduh placed Qurʾanic verses about women's comprehensive veiling and seclusion, polygyny, and the husband's unilateral divorce rights in their original social and cultural contexts, and he argued that because those contexts had changed, their application in modern times had to be adapted as well.

ʿAbduh's new hermeneutical methods presented an alternative to traditionalist scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*), and opened the way for equality between men and women based on Islamic teachings. The *ʿulamāʾ* used the method of *taqlid* (that is, to follow the opinions of established scholars of the Muslim past), and applied the teachings of jurisprudence (*fiqh*, the interpretation of the *sharīʿah*) via the four *madhhabs* of Islam. Traditionalist scholars are still prevalent in many Muslim countries, and their views on women often resemble those of Islamist or fundamentalist Muslims. They teach gender-polarized roles, male authority in the public realm, complementary roles for men and women, and equity but not equality in women's roles vis-à-vis men.

By the early twentieth century, the intellectual, educational, and philanthropic activities of upper- and middle-class Muslim women translated into organized associations, such as the Egyptian Feminist Union set up by Huda Shaʾrawi (1879–1947), who in 1923 publicly removed her veil upon her return from a gathering of the International Women's Alliance in Rome. Union members were the first women who wrote about women's rights based on the Qurʾān; they argued that veiling the face was not a Qurʾanic injunction.

In 1917, the Muḥammadīyah-related organization for women called ʿAisyiyah started in Indonesia, with efforts focusing on the religious and secular education of women. Education and journalism were women's most successful ways to advance their cause. Periodicals discussed the veil, women's segregation, Islamic rules, and issues of personal status law, including polygyny. Men welcomed these activities because they considered women to be actors in the national struggles for independence, and in many Muslim countries (Egypt, Turkey, Indonesia), the gender discourse on women remained connected to issues of secular nationalism and national advancement until these countries gained independence from colonial powers.

Around the 1960s, the focus of gender discourse changed. After independence, social reforms by the new nation-states provided education for all and a certain degree of legal protection for women via reformed legal codes. The 1979 revolution in Iran and the rapid transformation of economic and social structures in many Muslim countries triggered a process of redefining Muslim identities that led, among other things, to the ascendancy of Islamist groups. Saudi Arabia encouraged this development by using its oil wealth to spread the puritanical Wahābī interpretation of Islam. Gender discourse regressed in countries where Islamists took control of the government, such as Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sudan. For example, the government of Omar Hassan al-Bashir (who came to power in 1989) in Sudan dismissed women from public employment and limited their mobility by enforcing the rule that they must be accompanied by a *maḥram* (male guardian), and the Taliban in Afghanistan prevented women's access to education and healthcare altogether.

Concurrent with these new forces, the feminist movements that emerged in several countries started to take new directions, more or less becoming divided between secular and Muslim activism. Women benefiting from state-provided education acquired the intellectual tools to address issues, such as women's legal position, health, and work, without the assistance of men. In 1972, the Egyptian medical doctor Nawal El Saadawi published the book *Al-marʾa wa al-jins* (Women and sex), which dealt with sex, religion, and women's circumcision. The book raised awareness about women's sexual oppression across the Muslim world, unleashing intense reaction, especially from the conservative *ʿulamāʾ*.

Programs emerged that focused on local customs particularly detrimental to women. Women in such African countries as Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Ghana, and Kenya started to question the practice of female genital mutilation, while honor killings became an important topic in the gender debate in Egypt, Jordan, Palestine, and Iraq. These practices were virtually unknown in Southeast Asia and most parts of sub-Saharan Africa. Other groups in Algeria, Nigeria, Iran, Sudan, Pakistan, and Malaysia started to fight the imposition of *sharīʿah* and research its consequences for women.

Awareness about gender issues was also raised by international initiatives such as the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979) and the United Nations Decade for Women (1975–1985). Later, the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo (1994) and the World Conference on Women in Beijing (1995) helped boost networking among women activists all over the Muslim world.

Seminal works by Muslim scholars such as Fatima Mernissi and Leila Ahmed analyzed the conditions and mechanisms of women's oppression and exposed the ambiguity of interpretations of Islamic texts and jurisprudence. These writers called for just readings of those texts, readings that were sensitive to the point of view of women. Several women scholars of Islam took up this challenge and the phenomenon of Muslim feminism was born. The early modernist movement positioned women's rights within a program of renewal in Islamic society. It removed many roadblocks for women; however, as several scholars have observed, it did not fundamentally change unequal gender relations and left the system intact. Others argued that by ignoring jurisprudence, the modernist focus on the Qurʾān failed to address the underlying law system of the *fiqh* that directly ruled women's lives, for example, in matters of marriage and divorce. In order to bring about fundamental changes in the Muslim injunctions concerning women, they proposed a reinterpretation of the rules of the *fiqh,* which were formed in the ninth century and are susceptible to flaws caused by human intervention.

By the 1990s, broadly speaking, three approaches of feminism (*nisāʾīyyah*) shaped Muslim discourse: secular, Muslim, and Islamist.

Secular feminism. *Secular feminism* is an amorphous term in the Muslim world. It seldom indicates religious indifference (or atheism), although feminists such as Nawal El Saadawi have insisted on their secular identity. *Secular* refers to those whose activism is not directly based on the Islamic tradition but who struggle for women's rights within the framework of universal values and principles. To them, religion should be restricted to the private and spiritual domains. It also carries reference to the type of activities undertaken. Secular feminists do not have a unified, clear agenda, but in many Muslim countries their efforts to improve women's conditions are met with accusations that they are tarnishing local culture and religion with Western ideas.

To be secular does not necessarily mean "rejecting Islam." In order to underscore this reality, Margot Badran (2002) speaks of "feminism with Islam."

Most women's organizations in the Muslim world are secular in approach, and their agendas are manifold. For example, the Arab Women's Solidarity Association, formed in 1982, which gained headlines in 1992 when it had to move from Egypt under pressure from Islamists, focuses on eliminating honor killings. Egypt is also home to the FGM (female genital mutilation) Task Force, formed in 1994, as well as a coalition of about seventy organizations and individuals under the umbrella of the Egyptian Commission for Population and Development. Some movements congregate under the umbrella of human rights: for example, Women for Women's Human Rights in Turkey. There are too many such organizations to mention, but they form important sources of women's empowerment and civil resistance. For example, the Turkish Women's Movement against Sexual Assault was the first group in an Islamic country to offer legal assistance to victims of sexual assault. The Network of Women Living under Muslim Laws in southern France and the Pakistani Action Forum, founded in 1981, were formed in response to the introduction of the *sharīʿah* penal code in various countries. Apart from these grassroots activities, political parties often have women's branches that pursue a specific agenda to advance conditions for women in certain areas of life.

Muslim feminism. The term *Muslim feminism* emerged in the 1990s and was used in the writings of Muslims to describe a new gender paradigm. It refers to Muslim men and women who ground their methods and ideas in Islamic knowledge, and most of them articulate that the true spirit of the Qurʾān teaches gender equality and social justice. Some Muslim feminists, however, follow the view that women and men complement each other rather than being equal. Muslim feminists reinterpret the Qurʾān in a woman-centered fashion using the methodologies of *ijtihād* and *tafsīr* combined with the tools of social science, psychology, history, anthropology, medicine, and so on. In doing this, as Azza Karam (1998) has observed in Egypt, women who wish to engage in the official discourse of the *ʿulamāʾ* have met with great resistance.

Some scrutinize the various formulations of *sharīʿah* (Lebanese Aziza al-Hibri, Pakistani Shaheen Sardar Ali), or re-examine the *ḥadīth* and Qurʾān (Moroccan Fatima Mernissi, Turk Hidayet Tuksal, Riffat Hassan, and Asma Barlas, the latter two originally from Pakistan). In principle, these feminists follow modernist methodology. This has caused the pendulum to swing back to traditionalist methodologies that focus on *fiqh.* Muslim scholars such as Khaled Abou El Fadl argue that true gender equality has been obscured by the patriarchal thinking of Islamic jurisprudence as consolidated in the ninth century. A narrow modernist focus on the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth* only avoids the real problems that are inherent to the legal system. Hence the advice of Kecia Ali that "progressive Muslims cannot afford to ignore jurisprudence" (2003, p. 182). This approach requires extensive knowledge of the Islamic sources.

In Indonesia, the traditionalist organization Nahdlatul Ulama started to apply this method in the 1980s to promote an agenda of justice and social change. Inspired by Abdurrahman Wahid, religious leaders teamed up with feminists to organize the first Islam-based program in the world that advocated women's reproductive rights. Women's groups related to Nahdlatul Ulama, such as the Yayasan Kesejahteraan Fatayat, followed this method, focusing on other aspects of Islamic rights for women. This trend also emerged in Iran with representatives such as Hojjat al-Eslam Seyyed Mohsen Saʾidzadeh (who is prominent in Ziba Mir-Hosseini's *Islam and Gender,* 1999), and the journals *Farzanah* and *Zanan.*

These neo-traditionalists are especially interested in reinterpreting the regulations of Muslim personal status law, which is part of the *sharīʿah* and regulates marriage, divorce, and inheritance. They argue that, for example, in order to address the inherent inequalities within the marriage contract, one has to understand the mind frame of the jurists who interpreted the *sharīʿah* and saw it as a contract of ownership of the husband over the wife in exchange for a dower. This involved rights of the husband over the wife (he could, for example, forbid her to leave the house). Neo-traditionalists argue that it does not advance the cause of women to narrowly focus on the rights assigned to her by the Qurʾān and ignore the fact that, based on jurisprudence, the majority of Muslim men still see marriage as a modified contract of ownership.

Many Muslim feminists strive to align the Qurʾanic teachings about justice with those of universal human rights. The agenda of this philosophy includes such issues as women's reproductive rights, violence against women, domestic violence, homosexuality, prostitution, democratic rights, and the rights of children and of religious minorities in Muslim countries. Some of these issues still form unspeakable taboos in many parts of the Muslim world. Ironically, all groups discussing gender, from Islamists to progressive feminists, agree that the greatest challenge facing women in Islam is their lack of religious expertise. Where women have gained access to Islamic institutions of higher learning, they can participate in the rereading of the classical religious texts that traditionally were interpreted by men. Women with the required religious knowledge have moved into positions of religious authority, and they have become scholars of Islam and judges. This is still rare in most Muslim countries, and can mainly be witnessed in Indonesia and the United States, and increasingly in Iran.

Examples of Muslim feminist organizations are the Sisters in Islam in Malaysia; Rifka Annisa, Indonesia's first Islamic-based center for women suffering from domestic violence; the women's branches of Muḥammadīyah and Nahdlatul Ulama; and groups centered around the Iranian journals mentioned earlier.

Islamist feminism. Islamist feminism has grown with the onset of Islamist organizations; it stresses complementarity between men and women, rather than equality and male authority over women. This approach bases women's rights on the Islamic *sharīʿah* and favors an Islamic state. Islamists especially reject what they consider to be influences from the West. Both male and female Islamists extol a woman's role as mother and wife. They rely on the ideas of male ideologues, such as the Egyptian Sayyid Quṭb (1906–1966), who viewed the family, with a division of labor between husband and wife, as the basis of society. This philosophy led, for example, to women in secular Turkey demanding the right to wear the veil in universities and public offices, and to Muslim women in former Soviet republics calling for the application of polygyny as a tool for achieving women's protection and for allowing the surplus of women to give birth and fulfill their roles as mothers. This view, however, does not mean that all Islamists reject political roles for women.

Islamists claim a return to the fundamentals of faith and to a pure tradition unpolluted by modern influences. Islamists can be intolerant of other views and seek power to impose their ideology by, among other things, controlling women and their sexuality, especially their reproductive faculties. This is accomplished by, for example, denying them access to any form of birth control. Mernissi (1991a, pp. 98–99) has observed that since the 1980s Islamism has displayed a growing obsession with women's bodies and social roles, and has promoted texts by misogynist Islamic scholars from the thirteenth through nineteenth centuries. Some Islamists promote practices such as polygyny and early marriage as a means of preventing immorality. For the latter reasons the Shīʿī practice of *mutʿah* (temporary marriage) has increased in some Sunnī communities. In order to safeguard women's modesty, Islamism imposes dress codes that vary from the face veil of *ḥijāb* to the *chador* that covers a woman from head to toe.

Younger Islamists such as Heba Raouf (b. 1965) from Egypt argue that while being faithful to their roles as wives and mothers, women can occupy the highest public functions as long as they are qualified. Egypt produced the earliest and most prominent women Islamist activists: Zaynab al-Ghazālī (b. 1917), who in 1936 set up the Muslim Women's Association for Islamist women, lauding women's family duties and obligations; Safinaz Qazim (b. 1939), who vigorously campaigns for an Islamic society; and Heba Raouf, who is active in the Muslim Brotherhood–Labor Party Alliance, writes a woman's page in its newspaper, *Al-Shaʿb,* and is one of the founders of the *Islam Online* website. These activists combat women's oppression and see Islam as the main tool of liberation. They publicize their views via writing, campaigning, and advising, while considering Western feminism as divisive and individualistic.

GENDER DISTINCTIONS IN THE QURʾĀN. The Qurʾān presents a double message concerning the status and rights of women. It considers women and men equal in their religious observance (Qurʾān 33:35); they can both, for example, lay claim to paradise (40:8). The Qurʾān also states that both males and females share the same origin because they were created from the same spirit (*nafs*) (4:1, 6:98, 7:189). The Qurʾān does not acknowledge original sin because both Eve and Adam were equally tempted by Satan (7:20–22). It refers to husband and wife as each others' "garments" (2:187), recognizes a mother's burden of childbirth (46:15), and comments on the age of weaning (2:233). In principle, the Qurʾān assigns to women considerable rights: they retain their financial independence after marriage and are entitled to maintenance, a dower, and inheritance.

However, these egalitarian texts have counterparts, such as verse 4:34, which some interpret as allowing men to beat their wives in cases of disloyalty, disobedience, or ill conduct. Prejudiced interpretation of this verse can lead to severe domestic violence. The same verse contains the much debated phrase that "men are in charge of [or the protectors of *qawwāmūn ʿalā*] women because God has given the one more than the other, and because they support them from their means." Traditionally this verse has been explained as referring to a man's superiority over women. However, feminist interpretation has pointed out that *qawwāmūn* refers to the fact that men should provide for their wives in their role as mothers. Apart from the Qurʾān there is an abundance of traditions, alleged to be from the Prophet, that confirm women's secondary position, stating, for example, that the majority of those entering hell are women.

The original interpreters of the Qurʾān were Middle Eastern men. Muslim feminists argue that these interpretations, as transmitted via the *fiqh,* are replete with instances where universal teachings from the Qurʾān were confused with local customs and values. Muslim feminists consider this to be most detrimental to women. Like the Qurʾān, most of the *fiqh* discussions are in principle ungendered; apart from distinctions with regard to menstrual purity, both men and women follow the same rules of purity, and there are no gender distinctions in the ritual obligations. The main gender differences concern the areas of marriage, divorce, inheritance, and child custody. Together these form the so-called personal status law, which is part of the *sharīʿah*-based Muslim family law that is widely debated in the Muslim world.

MUSLIM FAMILY LAW. Muslim family law is based on Islamic law, and in principle it is meant to improve the status of Muslim women. Early Egyptian reformers reinterpreted the law, trying to adhere to classical legal principles in the light of modern conditions, in an attempt to improve women's rights. The most widely followed code used to be based on the Hanafī school. Important contemporary changes in the legal code allow women to enter stipulations in the marriage contract and to protect their position in case of divorce. Tunisia's code (1957) provides the strongest rights for women; it bans polygyny, repudiation (*ṭalāq*), forced marriage, and the requirement that male guardians act on behalf of women. Many countries follow a middle course by including a minimum age for marriage, expanding women's rights to divorce, and restricting a man's right to polygyny. Because legal changes still comply with local patriarchal cultures and the demands of the conservative religious establishment, the rules of the personal code remain a central issue in the gender debate. For example, based on the Qurʾān (2:226–237; 65:1), many countries preserve the husband's unilateral right to divorce while Muslim women can only apply for a divorce on specific grounds.

With the rise of Islamism, there have been attempts to abandon family legal reforms under the banner of "return to the *sharīʿah.*" For example, after the revolution in 1979 in Iran, reforms introduced by the previous regime—increasing the minimum marriage age, restricting men's access to polygamy and unilateral divorce—were repealed. After Muslim activists protested that the new laws caused women great injustice and suffering, many of the abandoned reforms were brought back gradually. In 1992, the Iranian parliament amended the divorce laws to give women better protection in marriage, and in 2002 it increased the minimum age of marriage for girls from 9 to 13.

A few differences stand out between classical Sunnī and Shīʿī law. Divorce is more difficult under Shīʿī law because it requires the presence of two witnesses in pronouncing the divorce statement (*ṭalāq*). While Sunnī marriage only ends through death or divorce, Shīʿī law allows a man to contract an unrestricted number of temporary marriages. Activists consider this union detrimental to women because it leaves them without legal rights; for example, they are not entitled to the husband's inheritance.

Shīʿī inheritance law, however, is more favorable towards women. While Sunnī law in the absence of a son allows the daughter only half of the estate, or in some cases gives precedence to agnates, Shīʿī law allows a daughter to inherit the entire estate.

RELIGIOUS AND DOMESTIC OBSERVANCES IN SUNNĪ AND SHĪʿĪ ISLAM. Domestic Muslim observances vary greatly depending on local cultures and traditions. Women are expected to fulfill the duties that are believed to form the basic obligations of all believers. They have to suspend these duties when ritually impure because of the flow of blood. Apart from that, the Qurʾān and *fiqh* do not differentiate male and female rules of worship. Depending on the country, a woman's state of impurity leads to restrictions in mosque attendance and recitation, learning, or touching of the Qurʾān.

The roles of women in religious or cultural-religious activities vary greatly over the Muslim world. Women's activities can include participating in religious vocations as preachers, specialists of the Qurʾān, or teachers of religion, or leading folk religious events such as the *zār*, a trance ceremony of healing for those who are possessed by spirits. Women also fulfill semi-religious roles in rituals connected with pregnancy, birth, and early childhood.

Although women live secluded in some places such as Bangladesh, northern Nigeria, and northern Sudan, this practice is virtually unknown in other regions. Ideas about seclusion shape women's public role in society, sometimes resulting in the denial to women of the most basic education.

Depending on the local culture, a certain code of conduct for women is identified with Islamic religion. Handbooks concerning duties and good manners instruct women, for example, on how to behave toward their family, neighbors, and other social contacts. Some teachings of such books gained a degree of religious authority after they were adopted into local *fiqh* texts. The moral code for women varies accordingly; while in the Middle East issues of honor and virginity are central to a family's reputation, they do not feature as such in public discussions in Southeast Asia.

MOSQUE ATTENDANCE. According to a *ḥadīth*, the prophet Muḥammad condemned those who sought to prevent women's attendance at the mosque. He also encouraged women to attend the liturgical events associated with the two main Islamic festivals: ʿĪd al-Fiṭr after Ramaḍān, and ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā after the *ḥājj*. In addition, women who were menstruating or unmarried and kept from public view were allowed to attend mosque (although menstruating women did not perform the prayer). Later scholars banned young women from mosques, eventually extending this rule to older women as well, fearing deleterious consequences and quoting a *ḥadīth* that a woman's prayer is more meritorious when performed at home.

Women's mosque attendance differs from country to country and may even differ between rural and urban areas. Although in the main mosque in Mecca men and women pray together, mosques mostly have separate women's sections, and few women attend the Friday prayers. In some cases, women have built their own houses of worship (Indonesian: *musholla; Arabic, muṣallan*); Indonesian Muḥammadīyah women built *musholla* as early as the 1920s. Nowadays, many mosques include women who preach (but not the Friday sermon) and teach Islamic lessons for other women. Islamic boarding schools for girls (in Indonesia, Pakistan, Iran, and Iraq) provide extensive religious education and opportunities for women to worship, with women leading daily ritual and *tarāwīḥ* prayers during Ramaḍān. Women preachers are gaining popularity due to information technology. Cassettes with their sermons are widely sold, and women preachers even appear on television. Some women who have memorized the Qurʾān are allowed to recite on television and in mosques during nonritual gatherings. For example, in Indonesia Maria Ulfa, who won the 1980 national Qurʾān reciting competition, regularly appears on television.

WOMEN ṢŪFĪS, SAINTS, AND SANCTUARIES. In the formative period of Islam, women had distinctive roles in Sufism as disciples of Ṣūfī masters or as masters themselves. The most famous of them was Rābiʿah al-ʾAdawīyah (d. c. 801) whose poems and sayings were published in 1928 by Margaret Smith (2001). While her legacy is well-known, many Ṣūfī women have vanished from history as their voices were incorporated into men's writings, but Muslim women scholars such as Rkia Elaroui Cornell have begun to rediscover them. In spite of their muffled voices, there have always been women who were regarded as saints, such as the Afghan mystic Hazrat Babajan (d. 1931) and Hagga Zakīyya of Cairo (1899–1982). Believers were healed through their prayers or consoled by their gift of clairvoyance.

Women's participation in Ṣūfī rituals diminished as public opinion accepted traditions about their spiritual and intellectual inferiority to men. Concurrent with the diminishing of their role in official Islamic discourse, with some exceptions, women were pushed to the margins of Ṣūfī rituals and ceremonies. At the same time, women have continued to play significant roles in rituals surrounding the graves of saints, and women have traditionally been the majority of those visiting shrines to seek blessing or help in solving such problems as infertility. But they do not participate in the *dhikrs,* and they confine their activities to seeking blessings or participating in public festivals (*maulids*). In some places in South Asia women can be itinerant singers or poets and keepers of saints' shrines. Some women saints remained famous after death; the shrines of Zaynab, the Prophet's daughter, in Cairo, Lalla Imma Tifellut in Algeria, and Mai Supran in Punjab continue to attract visitors.

THE IMPACT OF GENDER STUDIES. The impact of gender studies in the Muslim world is undeniable and expresses itself in numerous ways. After gaining independence from colonial powers, Muslim nation-states strove to strengthen the public and private position of women by revising personal status law, improving women's education, and providing opportunities for work.

The modernist approach to interpreting the Qurʾān as proposed by Muḥammad ʿAbduh influenced numerous scholars throughout the Muslim world. Interpretations sensitive to the needs of women forced the traditional ʿ*ulamā*ʾ to reconsider their positions. Both sides defended their respective points of view in a plethora of books on gender and Islam. Muslims on all sides of the spectrum started to rediscover the social and historical contexts in which the interpretation of the Qurʾān and *fiqh* were developed. Some have proposed that the way to avoid the influence of negative human interference with the holy texts is to discern the divine, universal principles from within the human interpretations that arose from a cultural and geographic context.

Voices of women have penetrated the public domain and have influenced the academic study of Islam and general attitudes concerning women. On the Aljazeera television channel women are partners in debates about Islam. Women have also set up their own Qurʾān study groups and begun searching for their own histories. They have even started to participate in the reinterpretation of holy texts, the final bastion of male power.

In spite of the fact that gender debates remain controversial in many parts of the Muslim world, their influence reaches beyond issues of male and female. Muslim feminists such as Riffat Hassan, who wrote about equality and justice in Islam, are now engaged in studies on the compatibility between Islam and basic human rights. In some countries (e.g., Indonesia) advocates of women's rights also increase awareness of such issues as economic conditions and poverty, the plight of prostitutes, and debates on democratic rights. As women have become active agents in reflecting on the rules and guarantees granted by Islam, they have triggered a wave of self-reflection that can range from progressive Islam to Islamist expressions. Although in some countries women have had to cope with setbacks in the gender debates, their higher levels of education have opened doors that can never be closed. Women are not only recapturing their own history, they are also shaping it, now that they can read for themselves what the Qurʾān and the holy texts teach. This means that in spite of contrary images in some countries, gender discourse has changed and is still profoundly changing Muslim societies in all parts of the globe.

SEE ALSO Dhikr; Ḥadīth; Human Rights and Religion; Islam, overview article; Menstruation; Mosque, article on History and Tradition; Pilgrimage, article on Muslim Pilgrimage; Qurʾān, article on Its Role in Muslim Practice and Life; Spirit Possession, article on Women and Possession; Sufism.

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NELLY VAN DOORN-HARDER (2005)

GENDER AND RELIGION: GENDER AND ZOROASTRIANISM

The extant documents produced by members of the faith and the nontextual materials influenced by Zoroastrian beliefs substantially represent religious manifestations of male discourses. Those writings and items helped contour feminine parameters within a society that was largely patriarchal. Yet, if the present is any guide to the past, religious issues must have been viewed and interpreted differently by members of each gender. Likewise, ritual acts must also have been practiced differentially by members of each gender because some female-specific rites still persist despite lack of sanction by the magi or male clergy who oversee most canonical ceremonies.

HISTORY OF THE STUDY. When gender issues were initially addressed in scholarly studies of Zoroastrianism, a picture quite different to societal realities was generated. Zoroastrianism was depicted as a faith embodying many Enlightenment and Protestant values, whose male and female followers had long been equal. The female gender was routinely held in a most dignified position, and any negative statements or imagery were deviations from orthodox tradition. So when women were discussed, directly or inter alia, the tone reflected laudation for gender equality. That conclusion became well entrenched in scholarship and continues in more recent studies. When it has come under question, there have been staunch defenses tinged with apologia. There are more traditional discussions of gender-related questions, as well. Some such works are broadly based. Others focus on narrower themes such as the Achaemenid period, the Sassanid dynasty, and modern times or on such issues as religious archetypes, rituals, iconography, incest, law, clothing, and art.

On the other hand, certain recent expansive examinations—on trends in Zoroastrianism, contemporary Parsis communities in India, and doctrines of purity and rites of purification—are informed by gender theory and methodology. Furthermore, studies on misogyny within scripture and theology, differential ritual requirements and actions, access and goals of education, and present-day demographic patterns are gradually reshaping the parameters for research on Zoroastrianism. So too are studies on classical stereotypes influencing views of ancient Iranian society.

INFLUENCE OF DOCTRINE. Gender-based aspects in Zoroastrian doctrine are multifaceted, complex, and at times contradictory. Study of the religion's ancient history through its earliest texts is complicated by the Avestan language's root nouns being grammatically feminine. But the religion's earliest practitioners began anthropomorphizing abstract concepts and attributing biological or natural genders to those concepts. As a result, the divine and demonic spirits of Zoroastrianism display gender-specific characteristics that shaped how devotees viewed their societies and the roles of men and women.

The basic doctrinal dichotomy within Zoroastrianism is between *asha* (*arta*, *ardā*) or "order" equated to "righteousness," opposing *druj* or *drug* (*druz*) "confusion," equated to "evil" (*Gāthās* 30.3–6, 45.2). *Asha* is grammatically neuter, whereas *druj* is feminine. Two primordial eternal entities are believed to have chosen between order and confusion: Spenta Mainyu (Spēnāg Mēnōg) or the holy spirit, equated with Ahura Mazdā (Ōhrmazd), "the wise lord," or creator—now regarded as God—for making the religiously appropriate choice, and Angra Mainyu (Ahreman, Ahriman, Ganāg Mēnōg), "the angry spirit," or destroyer—now regarded as the devil—for not deciding rightly. The grammatical gender of Ahura Mazdā/Spenta Mainyu, and Angra Mainyu/Ganāg Mēnōg were transformed into biological gender as male during personification of the concepts that each represented—and depicted as such on rock reliefs commissioned by Sassanid monarchs.

Druj also became a designation for demonic creatures in general—that is, those spirits who had chosen to do harm—and for specific manifestations of evil. In its broadest sense, that word was utilized both in masculine and feminine grammatical gender; yet many of the *druj* were regarded as female. One specific materialization was supposed to be Drukhsh Nasush (Druz ī Nasush), or the ghoul of corpses and carrion. Zoroastrians in antiquity, the Middle Ages, and premodern times clearly viewed her as a demoness who preyed upon humans, polluted their bodies after death, and spread that pollution to the living. Grammatically feminine, Drukhsh Nasush would still be denounced in the late seventeenth century as "the most impudent, constantly polluting, and deceptive of all the demonic spirits" (New Persian *Farziyāt nāme*, *Book of Obligatory Duties,* p. 10). By the eighteenth century, the hold that *druj* had on Zoroastrian diabology had begun to decline in the wake of science. Yet even today, the notion of *druj* persists as a symbol of evil among Zoroastrian generally, while Drukhsh Nasush is still regarded as a potential source of impurity that vitiates rituals.

Another fundamental aspect of doctrine where gender dichotomies emerged was the heptad known as the *amesha spentas,* or holy immortal spirits linked to Ahura Mazdā. Among them, Haurvatāt (Hordād, Khordād), "integrity, wholeness," and Ameretāt (Amurdād, Awerdād), "immortality, rejuvenation," were the female spirits thought to counter thirst and hunger plus heal and restore all good creatures to order, through their personification of liquids and vegetation respectively *(Tishtar Yasht* 8.47, *Zamyād Yasht* 19.96). By medieval times their gender affiliation began shifting toward neuter entities whose function was society's "protection through wholeness and immortality" (*Dēnkard*, "Acts of the Religion," ninth century, pp. 415, 416). Spenta Ārmaiti (Spandarmad, Aspandarmad), who personified "holy devotion," serves as the spiritual mother of life and an ensurer of fertility. Veneration of all three—Haurvatāt, Ameretāt, and Spenta Ārmaiti—still remains central to both male and female Zoroastrians.

Opposing the *yazatas,* spirits worthy of worship in Zoroastrian belief, stand *daēvas* (*dēws*) or demonic spirits allied with Angra Mainyu. Prominent among those evil entities is thought to be Āzi (Āz), "concupiscence, lust." Although bearing a grammatically masculine epithet, "demon-spawned," in the *Avesta,* by medieval times Āzi had come to be regarded as the mistress of demonic hordes that ravage humanity. By then, she was firmly associated in Zoroastrian cosmogony with the downfall and demise of the primeval androgyne named Gayō Maretan (Gayōmard). She was denounced by medieval Zoroastrian writers as the "most malcontent and rapacious" and "most oppressive of demonic spirits" whose "covetous eye is limitless." Only with the advent of modern science has the Āzi's hold on Zoroastrian piety declined to simply a word for greed, paralleling use of the term *āz* in New Persian. Perceived as even more dangerous an embodiment of lust was a *daēva* known as Jahikā (Jēh). Mentioned only briefly in the *Avesta,* during the Sassanid period (third to seventh centuries) she was transformed by the magi into the mistress and assistant of Angra Mainyu. It was the Jēh who supposedly reinvigorated Angra Mainyu after the initial battle with Ahura Mazdā, then introduced lust to humanity. Therefore, this demoness came to be viewed as the primordial *jēh,* "whore."

IMPACT OF MYTHOLOGY. The dualism between order and confusion that shaped both doctrines and gender perceptions left its imprint on cosmogony, apocalyptic, and eschatology as well. The first human couple, Mashya, or man, and Mashyāna, or woman, who were born from Gayō Maretan's semen, are believed to have succumbed to lying and worshiping *daēvas,* resulting in their damnation. Mashyāna, in particular, was blamed for the act of demon worship. This tale, influenced in part by the biblical story of Adam and Eve, resulted in words of admonishment directed at all women—past, present, and future—attributed to Ahura Mazdā: "If I had found another vessel from which to produce man, I would never have created you." That rebuke also urged women to be wary of Jahikā because "sexual intercourse is for you [women] like the taste of the sweetest food." Jahikā was said to have mated with Angra Mainyu to "defile women so that they in turn could corrupt men and cause abandonment of appropriate duties."

Such ideas justified a medieval misogyny. Therefore, although men were enjoined that the ideal women were physically persons whose "head, buttocks, and neck are shapely, feet are small, waist is slender, breasts are like quinces, eyes are like almonds, and hair is black, shiny, and long," they were also urged to ensure that wives were "chaste, of solid faith, and modest" (*Pahlavi Texts* 117).

Negative attitudes toward women based on glorification of female physicality and denunciation of female sexuality shaped Zoroastrian ideas on the afterlife. According to one late Young Avestan text, the soul of a righteous Zoroastrian will be greeted by his religious *daēnā* (*dēn*), "conscience," in the form of "a beautiful girl, glorious, well-shaped, statuesque, with prominent breasts" who would lead him to paradise or heaven (*Hadōkht Nask* 2.9), a theme echoed in Middle Persian exegesis. The soul of an unrighteous Zoroastrian would encounter his *daēnā* "in the form of the naked Jahikā" who was described as a noxious creature. Beauty and sensuality became rewards, together with palaces, gardens, and fountains, for those men who upheld *asha* while alive. No premodern scriptural or exegetical passages refer directly to women encountering their *daēnās* after death. Only in modern Zoroastrian thought, with the breakdown of gender-particular ideas about the afterlife to more abstract notions, has it become acceptable to assume that women too encounter their consciences as manifestations of good or bad deeds.

Ancient Zoroastrian writings about the afterlife also included the idea of judgment after death preceding consignment to heaven, limbo, or hell. During medieval and premodern times, Middle Persian commentaries and miniature paintings on the inhabitants of heaven and hell presented a disproportionate number of women condemned to suffer at the hands of demons in hell until the final resurrection. Those images reinforced the notion that women were more prone to evil behaviors, including sexual profligacy, adultery, impurity, idolatry, sorcery, and strife. The popularity of such ideas began to attenuate only in the twentieth century, as part of a larger decline in diabology and religious-based misogyny among economically, educationally, and socially upward-mobile Parsis and Irani (or Iranian) Zoroastrians.

CONSEQUENTIAL REGULATIONS AND RITUALS. Owing to the impurity associated with corpses through the demoness Nasush, and because Zoroastrians regard earth, fire, water, and earth as holy creations by Ahura Mazdā, bodies would not be buried at land or sea nor cremated. So, the magi developed a disposal system in which human corpses would be given final rites, including purification, then exposed—initially in remote areas, subsequently in funerary towers open to the sky—until the flesh had been desiccated or consumed by wild animals (as first noted by Herodotos, the fifth-century BCE Greek historian). These practices continued among many Zoroastrian communities until the eighteenth century but have declined—except in large Indian cities like Mumbai and in the Pakistani city of Karāchi—in favor of inhumation because of an attenuation in diabology and an inability to practice exposure of corpses in Iran and Western countries.

The origin of a female biological process, menstruation, came to be explained by medieval diabology rather than physiology. Menstruation was said to have begun when Jahikā revived Angra Mainyu in hell after the devil had been initially defeated by Ahura Mazdā. Upon being comforted by Jahikā, the devil "arose from his stupor, kissed her face, and the pollution called menstruation appeared on her" (*Bundahishn* 4.5). Using lust as a tool, Jahikā supposedly transferred menstruation to Mashyāna and all subsequent generations of women. Consequently, menses became in religious terms a periodic sign of women's affliction by evil. Likewise, because blood and afterbirth tissue were also feared as falling under Drukhsh Nasush's control and becoming pollutants, procreation—which was otherwise regarded as a religiously meritorious function for bringing new devotees to life—took on negative aspects. To prevent women from ritually polluting men and precincts during menstruation and after childbirth, they were isolated, then underwent purificatory ablutions. These customs have largely fallen into disuse in modern times.

The most dramatic consequence of associating female physiology with demonology was the exclusion of women from all ranks of the magi or hereditary male clerical class. The barrier against ordination into the priesthood still remains firm worldwide. Texts have even suggested that married women fulfill obligatory prayers through daily service to their families. As a result, women's religiosity has been channeled into female-specific rites such as the ever-popular visiting of *pirs,* or shrines, and making of *sofres,* or votive offerings in Iran. Among the Parsis of modern India, women religious leaders have emerged within the Ilm-e Khshnum mystical movement and, further from the mainstream, in a Nag Rāni, or cobra queen, cult.

CHANGING GENDER RELATIONS WITHIN SOCIETY. In ancient times, authority within the home lay with the elder male of each household. It was prayed that a wife would give birth to illustrious sons, a practice continued by traditionalist Parsis and Irani women today through recitation of the *Hōm Yasht,* "Devotional Poem to Haoma." By the age of fifteen, all boys and girls would be initiated into the religion and regarded as adults for religious and legal purposes—still standard among all Zoroastrian communities worldwide. At that age, girls were also regarded as marriageable. Marriage involved obtaining the consent of a woman's parents. During the Achaemenid period (seventh to fourth centuries BCE), the *taumā,* or family, continued as the central focus of domestic life. Women's participation in Zoroastrian religious rites before fire altars is attested by very occasional images on seals. Yet women were not always required to follow the faith of their husbands. So non-Zoroastrian women married to Zoroastrian noblemen seem to have continued their own devotions. Private intergender relations in Parthian (third century BCE to third century CE) and Sassanid (third to seventh centuries) times seem to have conformed largely to previously established tenets. Women were expected to have remained virginal until marriage. Induced abortions were forbidden because children were regarded as new devotees. Sexual intercourse with a pregnant woman was forbidden in case harm occurred to the developing fetus.

In late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, Zoroastrian women were generally not required to veil themselves when venturing outside their residences. Nor did the art of the Sassanid period depict specific women with overt sensuality—they were usually depicted modestly wearing flowing robes. However, generic representations of women on metalwork and stonework in particular were highly sensual, with figures often partially clad or nude. Under the laws of Sassanid Iran, based on medieval Zoroastrian beliefs, each woman's consent had to be obtained at least technically prior to a marriage contract being entered into on her behalf by a male guardian. A wife's legal standing within her husband's household depended, among other factors, on her own social class prior to marriage, the stipulations of the marriage contract, and whether she gave birth to sons for her husband. Ranks among wives included those of *pādixshāy,* or "lawful, main wife"; *chagar,* or "dependent, levirate wife"; *xwasrāy,* or "self-sufficient, independent, wife" who had chosen her own husband; and *ayōkēn,* or "ancillary wife," specifically a woman whose male children through the marriage were legal successors to her father or brother. While polygyny as a religiously sanctioned practice was attested among Zoroastrians from ancient times, the evidence for polyandry, on the other hand, is so meager as to demonstrate its observance was highly unusual among Zoroastrians. Polygyny was phased out by the faith's leaders during the early 1900s as a practice no longer in conformity with modernity.

Most taxing on medieval Zoroastrian women were the beliefs equating menstruation with impurity, and the isolation practices involved. These seem to have been some factors that influenced Irani Zoroastrian women's conversion to Islam between the eighth and thirteenth centuries CE. Another factor was that of Zoroastrian women adopting the faith of their Muslim husbands.

Attitudinal change, spurred on by secularization and westernization, has produced new challenges for orthodox religious practices. One main issue of recent concern to Zoroastrians is the status of children born to women married to men of other faiths. The traditional, patriarchal structure of Zoroastrianism has generally accepted the children of a Zoroastrian father and non-Zoroastrian mother, but not vice versa. Many Zoroastrian women in the United States, Canada, England, and Australia have begun raising their children as Zoroastrians, taking them to religious classes and fire temples and having them initiated into the faith by liberal magi. Such initiations are not recognized by a majority of Zoroastrian clerics and laypersons in India, however, where the issue remains highly controversial.

The status of Zoroastrian women, first among the Parsis and then among the Iranis, began major reorientation through access to Western-style secular education in the nineteenth century. Initially, girls were educated at home by tutors. School-level education became widespread for both genders in India by the early 1900s and quickly extended to the university level. Among the Parsis in particular, English became the language of rapidly urbanizing and secularizing families. By 1931, 73 percent of Parsis women were literate. By the 1980s, 68 percent of Parsis women held university degrees. Educated Parsis women began entering the economic workforce, mingling with both Zoroastrians and non-Zoroastrians on a regular basis. Similar processes took place among Iranis in the twentieth century. These women have began choosing professional careers over marriage and domesticity, resulting in close to a quarter of them remaining unmarried by the 1980s. Both within the traditional homelands—Iran and India—of Zoroastrianism and within the new diaspora communities in the West that formed in the twentieth century, women remain the predominant sustainers and transmitters of religiosity from one generation to the next. More Zoroastrian women (75 percent) practice religious rites daily than do men (60 percent). Additionally, through prominent roles in the lay leadership at communal centers and through service as editors of the most widely read and influential Zoroastrian newsletters—such as *FEZANA Journal* in North America and *Parsiana* in the Indian subcontinent—they play a major function in directing attention to socioreligious issues impacting on both genders and in championing religious reform.

SEE ALSO Ahura Mazdā and Angra Mainyu; Eschatology, overview article; Indo-European Religions; Iranian Religions; Menstruation; Parsis; Purification; Zoroastrianism.

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GENDER AND RELIGION: GENDER AND ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN RELIGIONS

The remarkable continuity of Mesopotamian civilization can be traced in its literature, public architecture, and city planning from the late fourth millennium BCE, when, almost simultaneously, urbanism and writing appeared, to 323 BCE and the death of Alexander the Great in Babylon. Mesopotamia's economic base was agricultural, but the social foundation was the city, embodied by the temple of the city god or goddess. Prosperity depended on a two-way relationship in which divine benevolence was encouraged by correct human ritual and ethical behavior. The largest temples owned much of the city's lands and employed thousands of people. From the end of the third millennium, kings asserted enough control over temples that important religious establishments became political extensions of the palace. The religious lives of common people, however, revolved around the patriarchal family's ancestral spirits and patron god or goddess.

The earliest writings from Mesopotamia are in Sumerian, a linguistic orphan unrelated to any known language. By the middle of the third millennium, however, Akkadian, a Semitic language related to Hebrew, began to displace Sumerian. Cuneiform, a wedge-shaped script written on clay tablets, was invented by the Sumerians but adapted for writing Akkadian. Some half-million cuneiform tablets recovered from ruined cities, supplemented by archaeological discoveries, have been the main sources of information about ancient Mesopotamia.

Ugarit on the northeastern Mediterranean coast is one of several Bronze Age cities in north Syria (also among them are Ebla, Emar, and Alalakh) with rich caches of cuneiform texts written in Akkadian or Ugaritic, a Semitic language related to Hebrew. Each Syrian city and its temples reflect a mix of Mesopotamian, Hittite, north Syrian, and local traditions. In Syria as in Mesopotamia, family religion centered on a patron deity and ancestral spirits.

GENDER IN ANCIENT NEAR EAST STUDIES. A systematic study of gender and religion in Mesopotamia or northern Syria has yet to be written. Assyriology, the technical (albeit imprecise) term for the study of ancient Mesopotamia, has been only minimally affected by gender analysis. Beyond innate conservatism, the abundance of available data, especially textual data, can daunt the most stouthearted of Assyriologists. The genealogy of gender studies in Assyriology begins in the 1970s with feminist scholars who focused on the retrieval of women's lives in textual and archaeological sources. Studies of women at Ugarit and other north Syrian cities have barely ventured beyond this level of inquiry largely because so much data is still lacking. Although only men are mentioned as praying at Ugarit, one cannot conclude women did not pray, for example.

Since the late 1980s a growing number of Assyriologists have demonstrated an awareness that gender and sexuality are human creations, or "constructions," operating within a social matrix of power relations, a matrix in which religion is an active ingredient. Assyriologists have begun to question their own scholarly assumptions, categories, and methodologies, acknowledging that even ostensibly objective works—the standard dictionary of Akkadian, for example—exhibit gender bias. As such, gender theory promises to open up new directions of inquiry. For example, gender is not marked in Sumerian; however, in literary Sumerian, goddesses use a distinct dialect called *Emesal* whose dynamics might be clarified by the application of gender theory. Archaeologists, too, have set aside their earlier confidence that artifacts are value-neutral, for they are aware that ideology and biases of many types inform the questions asked in the process of excavation and data analysis.

THE NATURE OF THE EVIDENCE. Textual sources for goddesses and the religious experience of women in Mesopotamia include traditional mythological texts, liturgical hymns and temple liturgies, god lists, offering lists, omen lists, votive dedications, seal inscriptions, and personal and place names. With far fewer texts from north Syrian cities such as Ugarit, Alalakh, or Emar, the application of gender theory there constitutes a greater challenge.

Writing was invented to manage and control economic records. However, almost simultaneously, writing became an instrument for managing and controlling society. Thus, texts preserve traditions about deities and kings, but they do not necessarily represent the experience or mindset of the average Mesopotamian or Ugaritian whose temples were run by the city's upper class. Cuneiform texts generally reflect the concerns of an exclusive group of male elites from royal, administrative, and/or land-holding circles who either could read themselves or employed scribes. Few women, even in the third millennium when the goddess Nisaba was the patron of scribes, were literate, and still fewer became scribes. Nevertheless, the same administrative system that produced the texts affected every level of society.

Archaeologists' interests have in the past mirrored the subjects of the texts they excavated: temples and palaces, city plans and fortifications, elite burials. However, beginning in the 1960s, archaeologists began to investigate the ecology of the cultivated countryside, diet, domestic architecture, and gendered space in the farmhouses, city neighborhoods, temples, and palaces. These new avenues of inquiry complement the data from cylinder seals, amulets, votive sculpture, and figurines that provide a visual record of gendered imagery in the ancient Near East. Mesopotamian grave goods, personal ornament, body image, and nudity have all been subjects of gender theory-based studies.

GODDESSES, WOMEN, AND POWER. Twentieth-century scholars under the influence of Sir James Frazer's *The Golden Bough* believed that ancient Near Eastern religion centered on a "cult of fertility" characterized by lurid sexuality, an impression informed more by the fantasies of male scholars than by the data, although, to be fair, this view derived ultimately from biblical discourse against non-Israelite religion and from Herodotos. Fertility is now considered to be one of many interwoven principles in ancient Near Eastern religion, just as scholars recognize three interconnected spheres of religious activity: temple/priest religion, royal religion, and folk/popular religion. Of the three, popular religion seems to have been the primary locus of female religious activity. Also untenable today are claims (uncritically endorsed by the contemporary "goddess movement") that ancient Near Eastern goddesses could be equated with one original divine "Mother," or that all goddesses' powers derived from their biology. Across the ancient Near East, both male and female deities bestowed fertility.

Four deities of one family consistently lead Mesopotamian god lists: An/Anu (father and sky god); Ellil/Enlil (god of kingship and executive action); Enki/Ea (god of wisdom and fresh water); and Inanna/Ishtar (goddess of sexual love and war). In the third millennium there were a multitude of prominent goddesses besides Inanna, some with family-based roles such as mother (e.g., Ninhursaga), spouse (e.g., Ninlil), or sister (e.g., Geshtinanna). Other goddesses supervised activities such as grain cultivation, sheep herding, writing, weaving, and pottery and jewelry making. Gula was one of several healing goddesses (male gods brought pestilence); divination, purification, and supplication all had patron goddesses. The queen of the underworld was Ereshkigal, Inanna's sister.

In the old Akkadian period (2350–2150 BCE) some 39 percent of city deities were female. Yet by the middle of the second millennium, most of the leading goddesses seem to have been eclipsed by male gods. The tradition of goddesses as creators did not disappear, but, except for Inanna/Ishtar, male deities came to dominate the world of the gods. The reasons for this are debated; a leading theory connected the transformation with the rising power of Semitic populations whose chief deity was the warrior storm god. More recently, scholars suspicious of ethnic arguments and aware of the role gender can play in the discourse of power have looked instead to changes in political structure with the rise of militarism. When Sargon of Akkad (2334–2279 BCE) united the Mesopotamian cities into the first empire, a new imperialist/royalist discourse, in which human women and goddesses had less influence, entered the Mesopotamian consciousness. The exclusion of women may relate to their exclusion from warfare; Inanna/Ishtar's continued prominence is explained by her association with war. It is unclear, however, whether the disappearance of goddesses from texts of this period reflects a change in popular perception, or a conscious attempt to shape a new "imperialist" ideology.

The three most prominent north Syrian goddesses in the second millennium texts—Asherah, Anat, and Astarte—are usually described as fertility goddesses. Asherah was consort of the high god, El; Anat, sister and consort of the storm god, Baal, was also goddess of war. Baal was also paired with Astarte. At Ugarit, unlike in Mesopotamia, the sun was a goddess, Shapshu, who was associated with wisdom and life and death transitions and also controlled human fate and ruled the world of lesser divinities. The goddess Usharaya supervised oaths, justice, and divination, the latter an exclusively male profession in the human realm. Ugaritic texts mention only royal women as sacrificing or otherwise officiating in the cult, reinforcing the impression, from a probably skewed text-base, that official religion reinforced the ideology of royal religion.

As the second millennium progressed in Mesopotamia, even royal women lost their former high positions in the cult, just as so many goddesses seem to have lost theirs. Inanna/Ishtar's ongoing popularity has been attributed not only to her martial qualities but also to her gender-transgressive nature; in her physical violence, insatiable sexual appetite, freedom from pregnancy, and flouting of patriarchal family mores, the divine Inanna defines by negative example the proper behavior of mortal women in a patriarchal society—a dynamic that also underlies the Greek Amazon tradition. In first-millennium Assyria, for example, Ishtar was preeminent, but women were not. In the visual record, too, women appear less often.

The Babylonian *Enuma elish*, the most famous Mesopotamian creation myth (dating to the second half of the second millennium), serves as a central witness to this so-called marginalization of the goddesses. This was an essentially political myth exalting Babylon, its god Marduk, and kingship.

In the myth the gods are created first, beginning with a sexual mingling between the goddess/matrix Tiamat (salt water) and the god Apsu (fresh water). In the second part of the myth, the active younger generation of gods disturbs the more passive Apsu and Tiamat and, roused to anger, Apsu tries unsuccessfully to destroy them. Tiamat marches out with her army to avenge her spouse's defeat. As the other younger gods quail, Marduk taunts them for fearing to fight a woman, and he becomes king by single-handedly battling Tiamat to the death. His victory is narrated in language reminiscent of rape, with phallic arrows flying into Tiamat's mouth to pierce her distended belly. Marduk creates the ordered universe from Tiamat's carcass and sets up a barrier to confine Tiamat's waters, now considered to be the embodiment of chaos. Goddesses are absent from all the creative activity that follows the killing of Tiamat. Tiamat, acknowledged at one point in the myth as "she who gave birth to them all," may represent the religious order of Mesopotamia's past when goddesses and women enjoyed more power.

Nevertheless, it is far from clear whether Mesopotamian worship of powerful female deities correlates with higher status for mortal women. On the one hand, in Sumer each city god or goddess was "married" to a human of the opposite sex called an *En* who administered the temple. There is also evidence for women (notably Enmebaragesi of Kish) ruling in their own name rather than as wife of a king. On the other hand, according to Sumerian and Akkadian royal ideology, the king ruled by virtue of being the chosen spouse of Inanna, a case of a man empowered by a female deity. A woman could achieve priestly power and status as *En* of a prominent male—not female—city god. Enheduanna, daughter of Sargon of Akkad and perhaps the first named author in history, was the *En* of Nanna, the moon god at Ur, and supervised his temple. On a contemporary votive disk from Ur she oversees a ritual, accompanied by a male priest and two male attendants. Yet Enheduanna's authority, like that of her *En* grandnieces, must also be assessed through the lens of her royal status and Sargon's political policies.

Sacred marriage (*Hieros gamos*), perhaps the most famous Mesopotamian religious ritual, represented an empowering union of the human and the divine. It served politically to demonstrate the king's leading role in mediating social and political harmony, of which fertility was one essential aspect. Into the early second millennium the ritual may have involved an actual act of sexual intercourse between the king and a human representative of the goddess Inanna. However, the failure of scholars, despite their best efforts, to determine the identity of Inanna's surrogate suggests the ritual may have been a poetic metaphor. In later centuries the sacred marriage rite flourished, but as an explicitly symbolic encounter centered on the cult statue.

Several Ugaritic ritual texts (all of the second millennium) hint at a symbolic sacred marriage between the king and Pidray, daughter of the royal family's patron deity, Baal. The marriage, as in Mesopotamia, served the political purpose of affirming an alliance between the human and divine royal families. In Emar, the Nin-Dingir priestess, chosen from a leading family, "married" the storm god, but only through symbolic ritual gestures, and here, too, the marriage ritual reinforced social integration among the elites of the city.

SEXUALITY, FERTILITY, AND CREATION. In Mesopotamian mythology creation comes about by procreation or by manufacture. The *Enuma elish* includes both techniques. In the earliest Sumerian sources of the third millennium, creation resulted when the god An (heaven) and the goddess Ki (earth) "talked" to each other; a slightly later text celebrates the goddess Nammu (subterranean waters) as the creator "who gave birth to the universe." Another story tells how Enki created the world by modeling bits of clay, the same technique used by mother goddesses Nammu and Aruru to create humans. Different Mesopotamian myths credit various male and female deities with the creation of humans; in the *Enuma elish* the god Ea (Sumerian Enki) fashions humans to free the gods from work. Two Sumerian myths, "Enki and Ninmah" and "Enki and Ninhursag," describe a fertility contest between Enki and a mother goddess. The first story ends by acknowledging the necessity for semen and womb alike, but Enki, the male principle, triumphs in the second.

In Syria, too, both goddesses and gods are associated with creation and fertility. Although no Ugaritic creation myth has yet been identified, El was creator of all and Asherah was progenitress of the gods. In mythic texts Baal and El rather than fertility goddesses bestow children on their human (male) protégés. Anat, like Inanna/Ishtar, transgressed gender conventions with her extravagant violence and exuberant sensuality.

Among gods and humans fertility depended upon male sperm and divine blessing, yet goddesses and female spirits ensured safe pregnancy and childbirth in both Mesopotamia and Ugarit. Mesopotamian divination texts and women's petitionary prayers for pregnancy—to deities of both sexes—express an anxiety that sin on the woman's part has caused her infertility. On the other hand, men were likely to blame their own sexual dysfunction on women, perceiving dangers from female power out of proportion to women's marginal status; the problem could be the Evil Eye, a female bird-like creature, or it could be gender-inappropriate behavior, such as the woman on top in sexual intercourse, or it could be witchcraft, a power associated with women as well as foreign men or other socially marginal groups.

A careful reading of mythological texts reveals distinctive sexualities for men and women. The lyrics of the Sumerian Love Songs celebrating the courtship of Inanna and her consort, Dumuzi, arguably speak in a "woman's voice," employing a feminine discourse of sexuality that exults in the pleasures of the vulva. Popular (male) expressions of sexuality are more evident. In Sumerian texts gods (notably Enki/Ea) satisfy their supercharged sex drives by raping goddesses. Therapeutic metaphors based on animal sexual behavior predominate in male potency incantations. Frustrated by love, a man could resort to sexually explicit love magic, and despite claims to the contrary in modern anthologies, no such texts can be interpreted unambiguously as expressions of female desire.

THE COMPLEXITIES OF "PATRIARCHAL" CULTURE. In Mesopotamia and Syria the patriarchal family (*bit abim*—"father's house") was the essential construct of social order, operative no less in the king's court or divine households. Families were patrilinear (descent traced through the father) and patrilocal (the wife lives with her husband's family). In contrast to the modern concept of the person as an independent individual, each man or woman shared a family group identity, a notable factor when considering gender and sexuality. The *paterfamilias* maintained and managed the family's property, which included the sexuality and fertility of its women as well as family honor, an essential, if intangible social currency. Although society condemned a wife who engaged in sex outside of marriage, married men could resort to prostitutes of both sexes without legal sanction.

Marriage, even the sacred marriage, was a social and economic contract between two families. Religion played a role in the wedding ceremonies, most visibly when the bride relinquished her own family gods and ancestors along with her family identity to realign herself with her husband's family and gods. The veilings that ritualized the bride's transformations demonstrate how gendered clothing (the veil) symbolized both identity and male-female dynamics within a marriage. Similarly, at Emar, the "marriage" of the Nin-Dingir priestess to Baal required a veil, shaving, and anointing.

Gender roles followed expected patriarchal trajectories, with women's lives centered on home and family. For most women, status and security depended on marriage and fertility, and in the Mesopotamian textual record, women's religiosity is most apparent in these contexts. Across the ancient Near East, women were particularly visible and active in connection with birth and death: as midwives skilled in magic, medicine, and purification; as birth goddesses and spirits; as female mourners, both familial and professional. By being "not-male" and thus possibly less "human," women possessed a liminality that could mediate between modes of being. They participated in but did not lead the domestic cult of the family god or goddess and spirits of foremothers and fathers. Yet these spirits and divinities required feeding with food prepared by family women, a phenomenon which points to complex interconnections between food, religion, and gender.

Public position and power were primarily male prerogatives, although in the third millennium and in the Old Babylonian period (early second millennium) women are more visible in the textual and visual record and seem to have enjoyed greater access to recognized positions of power. Only men inherited prominent priestly offices or owned a share in lucrative priestly prebendaries ("time-shares"). Nevertheless, women comprised a sizable portion of the workforce in vast temple and palace complexes that functioned essentially as wealthy extended households. These institutions were usually headed by men, but women—both enslaved and free—contributed as agricultural workers, craftspeople, and cultic functionaries, particularly dancers and singers. (At Ugarit, nonroyal women appear only as cult musicians.) Temples also supported destitute widows and the poor who had "given" themselves to the deity. How these women's "professional lives" should be understood in the context of the patriarchal family is unclear.

Whereas scholars formerly saw female "sacred prostitutes" all over the Near East, they now detect a complex range of female cultic offices whose exact nature remains elusive. Terms once thought to refer to "sacred" prostitution are now understood to describe women who worked in the cult establishment. Some may have been prostitutes not because the cult required ritual sex but because of monetary vows women, even married women, had made to the deity in exchange for a pregnancy, cure from illness, or other favor. Some female cult functionaries, such as the Sumerian female *Ens* or Old Babylonian *naditu* priestesses, were "dedicated to the god" and barred from childbearing.

In Mesopotamia and north Syria, only men were professional incantation priests, exorcists, or diviners, although there were female prophets at Mari. Male practitioners scorned the female diviners, necromancers, and other women skilled in magic arts to whom unsatisfied clients or the poor could turn. (Although the practice of folk religion by women at Ugarit or Emar is probable, no texts mention them.)

The dynamics of gender and sexuality in Mesopotamia often preclude simple binary oppositions such as male-female, wife-prostitute, or domestic-public. Categories for men and women might seem fixed in Mesopotamian legal texts, but they were more nuanced in real-life situations. For example, the stereotyped *harimtu* of literature (e.g., the harlot Shamhat in *Gilgamesh*) was in real life not a prostitute but a single woman independent of the patriarchal household and thus a person whose sexuality was not regulated. Her nonconformity to conventional gender expectations comes across in the primary texts as disturbing and problematic.

Gendered status fluctuated for men and women along a spectrum of innate and acquired characteristics including age, marital status, class, and race. At birth a Mesopotamian child's gender had to be ritually fixed by placing a spindle and hair ornament before a baby girl, a baton or axe before a baby boy. Besides male and female, Mesopotamian gender categories included also the castrated male and even a nonmale/nonfemale. Female homosexual activity is unrecorded, but male homosexual intercourse is well attested, although treated in omen and legal texts with ambivalence. Male functionaries in the cult of Inanna/Ishtar (goddess of love and war) practiced ritual transvestitism. Cross-gendering discourse makes a striking appearance in Assyrian treaty curses and war rhetoric: defeated soldiers are said to "turn into women"; from the male perspective, a man's gendered identity turns upon the public perception of his honor, itself a social construction.

IMAGERY. In Mesopotamian art, images of the male and female bodies—clothed or unclothed—reflected and reinforced concepts of gender. In the third millennium, somewhat squat-figured nude or seminude male priests pour libations or carry offerings while a clothed woman priestess/official (*viz.*, the Warka Vase; the Enheduanna disk) may preside but not visibly "act." The priests are gendered male by their genitalia or distinctive short skirt; the women not so much by the subtle swell of breasts as by clothing and hairstyle. For male priests, the shaved head and beard signal ritual purity, a state from which women were excluded by virtue of their biological "lack."

Depending on the context, male nudity could mean purity, quasi-divine heroism with a touch of the erotic, or humiliation and death. From the later third millennium on, the tall, nude, bearded male hero with rippling muscles who kills monsters is physically indistinguishable from male gods in "Battle of the Gods" scenes, hence the convention of clothed but godlike, "hypermasculine" kings who mediated between humans and the divine (e.g., the Naram Sin stele or Assyrian royal stelae). Across the ancient Near East, the only passive/submissive nude males are defeated, dead, and/or captive enemy soldiers whose bodies lack the careful definition of divine or "noble" males.

Votive portrait statues commissioned by elite Sumerian women to serve as substitute selves in the temple before the statue of the deity embody elite Sumerians' ideals of conventional womanhood. Like male votives, they are clothed with no emphasis on sexual attributes. Male votives are more plentiful, but access to the god seems to have been equally available to these male and female stand-ins. Only Inanna/Ishtar (or associated goddesses) was shown nude or semiclothed. Rather than fertility *per se*, female nudity seems to have represented the mysterious divine power (Sumerian: *me*) of eroticism and sexuality, arguably a female-gendered symbol of access to or proximity to the divine. Unfortunately, no one has yet satisfactorily determined whether the countless frontally nude female figurines of popular culture represent goddesses or mortals. Textual evidence confirms that images of female nudity could serve to stimulate male libido. By contrast, when a woman or goddess is clothed, her breasts and torso are hardly articulated at all. In the first millennium, clothed women appear only as captives on Assyrian reliefs, in whose gendered visual language "woman" signified humiliation.

Although Ugarit and north Syria shared close cultural affinities with Mesopotamia, their artistic repertoire was Egyptianizing. Ugaritic bronze figurines of the seminude "smiting god" (probably Baal) recall pharaonic images that shared Mesopotamia's visual discourse of heroic maleness. Kings, both human and divine, are clothed. Female imagery consists primarily of small pendants and plaques with a frontally nude female figure reminiscent of the Egyptian goddess Hathor but of uncertain identity, although she is often identified as Asherah.

CONCLUSION. Precisely because modern Western culture conceives itself as the direct heir of biblical and classical cultures, feminists and gender theorists in these fields have pursued an open agenda of exposing—"deconstructing"—ancient discourses of oppression in order to identify similarly unacknowledged discourses in the contemporary world. The perceived remoteness of Mesopotamia from modern culture (with the exception of the contemporary goddess movement) may diminish the urgency with which similar issues are addressed by assyriologists; nevertheless, representations of femaleness, maleness, and even transgenderedness within the complex cultures of Mesopotamia and north Syria have a role to play in the ongoing human quest for self-understanding.

SEE ALSO Astarte; Baal; El; Feminine Sacrality; Goddess Worship, article on Goddess Worship in the Ancient Near East; Hieros Gamos; Homosexuality; Human Body, article on Human Bodies, Religion, and Gender; Inanna; Marduk; Marriage; Masculine Sacrality; Mesopotamian Religions, overview articles; Nudity; Patriarchy and Matriarchy; Temple, article on Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean Temples; Thealogy; Witchcraft, article on Concepts of Witchcraft.

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MARY JOAN WINN LEITH (2005)

GENDER AND RELIGION: GENDER AND ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN RELIGIONS

Scholars reading ancient texts from a feminist stance have long identified the problematic of studying women's experience through men's records of history and male accounts of religious beliefs and practices. In naming the problem, or deconstructing how history has been presented, the way is made open to allow for reconstructions that are not necessarily inscribed with the "male gaze." Knowledge of the ancient world is fragmentary not only because it lacks a credible picture of women's lives but also because there is a void when it comes to those who belonged to anything other than an elite class or to specific geographical areas. In attempting to overcome these restraints, a variety of methodologies need to be employed to read the variety of ancient ethnographic evidence available to reconstruct women's experiences. The method of "reading against the grain," for example, can be employed to examine prohibitive legislation aimed at women's behavior and ask what were women actually doing that prompted such prohibitions. In addition certain types of evidence (e.g., epigraphic data from tombs, art, and artifacts; domestic archaeological finds) become central rather than peripheral. These can be studied as primary sources alongside written texts.

A pioneering classical scholar in the field of gender and religion and in the use of alternative methodologies for research was Jane Ellen Harrison (1850–1928). She argued, for example, in her original thesis (1882) that the evidence from ancient Greek vases offered commentaries on myth and ritual comparable with that of Homer's *Odyssey.* As second-wave feminism began to make inroads into the academic world from the late 1960s and to gain credence in the disciplines of the humanities and social sciences, studies of gender in the ancient Mediterranean world began to emerge. The publication in 1975 of Sarah B. Pomeroy's social history text *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* set a milestone for the subject and clearly demonstrated how religion cannot be separated out and studied in a vacuum apart from other matters, family, economics, politics, law, and so on. Religion in all its forms was an intrinsic part of life, intertwined with the seasons, birth, marriage, and death, and it resonated with the hopes and fears of men and women throughout their lives. *The Roman Mother* by Suzanne Dixon and *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives* by Beryl Rawson are examples of subsequent studies that demonstrate this intimate relationship among religion, family, and society. Mary Beard's work on Roman religion, particularly the cults of Magna Mater and Vesta, marks the convergence of the "third wave" in terms of gender study and classical studies. Informed by contemporary gender theory, Beard has uncovered the complexity of gender roles and how they were constructed, both male and female, in antiquity and demonstrated their divergence from the bipolarity of gender as played out or at least recounted in modernity.

In attempting to reconstruct women's lives in the ancient world in the light of sparse hard evidence, religious cults and their accompanying myths and rites represent a vital piece in the jigsaw. Religions reflect the experiences and expectations, fulfilled and unfulfilled, of their adherents and thus present mirror images of particular times and places, albeit on a cosmic scale. Religion thus can offer another insight into women's lives in the ancient world as the rich variety of beliefs and practices in effect act out society, politics, and legislation of the day.

The rich variety of beliefs and practices that make up the religions of the ancient Mediterranean reflects a long relationship of intermingling of the Egyptian, Hellenistic, and Roman worlds. This intermingling can be traced to the ascendancies of the great empires of the ancient world, beginning with Alexander the Great in the fourth century BCE and the engagement between Egyptian and Hellenistic cultures and seen to culminate in the rich tapestry of religion that was woven during the zenith of the Roman Empire. Some of the oldest beliefs and practices of the ancient Mediterranean stem from Egypt, and these reappear throughout ancient history as they are adopted and adapted for new contexts across the various empires.

GENDER IN THE ANCIENT WORLDS. When one examines Egypt itself, one discovers that the evidence is particularly scarce regarding the lives of women in ancient Egypt except for those at the pinnacle of this highly stratified society. In the time of the Middle Kingdom (2125–1650 BCE), for example, the wives and mothers of the pharaohs could wield significant influence and power, as witnessed by the evidence from their tombs. From the early dynastic period the pharaoh was identified with the sky god Horus and the son of the sun god Re. His Great Royal Wife was fully human, and her role of producing the royal heir was of supreme importance. The future king would be endowed with the unique divine–human nature that would enable him to act on behalf of both gods and human beings. In the time of the New Kingdom (1650–1069 BCE), Queen Hatshepshut succeeded in claiming the throne on the death of her husband and half brother. She based her claim to the throne on her own divine birth, which is detailed on the walls of her mortuary temple at Deir al-Bahri. The mural shows how the god Amun-Re, in the form of her father, Thutmose I, approaches her mother Ahmose, who conceives the goddess-king, the female Horus. Hatshepshut was depicted in the same manner as a male pharaoh, with a bare chest and short skirt (a guise used in the Hellenistic period to depict Cleopatra VII).

Less specifically, ancient Egypt was a rich resource for later empires that wished to broaden their religious as well as territorial boundaries, and the Roman Empire in particular was eager to import Egyptian religious practices into its cities across the empire and into the heart of Rome itself. Thus Egyptian myths with their accompanying cults offer windows into the lives and expectations of men and women not only in ancient Egypt but also throughout the ancient world. Their influence lasted until accession of Christianity as the dominant religion (but also beyond that time, when their influence on that religion is taken into account). A key example is the myth of Osiris and Isis, which can be traced back at least to the time of the first dynasty (beginning of the fourth century BCE).

Within the Hellenistic world, women in ancient Greek society led secluded lives, residing in the private domestic sphere and protected from the public arena. In the upper echelon of Greek society women who were not slaves and who were married to a head of a household led lives of seclusion away from male company, spending most of their time in the *gynaikonitis,* the women's quarters. However high their social ranks, women had no political voice or means of participation as citizens. Religious rituals, however, were an exception to the norm and provided a public function for women and a context in which they could contribute to the welfare of the city-state. Moving down the social ladder, one finds the sexes mingling more freely in the public arena, where female slaves, for example, worked alongside and served men. Foreign women worked as entertainers for male audiences, providing music, dancing, and escorts as well as sexual pleasures.

In contrast to at least the women of high social rank in Greek society, women living under the sociopolitical system of the Roman Empire enjoyed relative freedom. In the third century BCE the notion of "free marriage" as one of the legal forms of marriage was introduced. In this new system a woman remained attached to her former family, she retained her own property, and she had the freedom to divorce her husband. This is in contrast to earlier types of marriage in ancient Rome, *in manu,* for example, which literally means "in the hand of," that is, a wife was under the full control of her husband. A Roman wife could have a high profile not only in household management, where she had the task of overseeing male servants and slaves, but also in the education of her children. Prior to coming of age, sons and daughters of noble families were educated together, but as adulthood approached a sharp distinction was made between the sexes when boys were prepared for citizenship and a public career. Roman society remained patriarchal to the core, but in negotiating its boundaries, women within the nobility could realize a limited emancipation that blurred the distinction between domestic and public. A woman could develop a home-based industry in a larger household, for example, managing slaves in the production and distribution of cloth. Furthermore the Punic Wars of the third century BCE resulted in a huge death rate among men of the Roman Empire and left many women the sole heirs of the father's, brother's, or husband's estate. However, a noblewoman's power, wealth, education, and relative freedom were a world away from a slave woman's powerlessness, poverty, illiteracy, and servitude. For many women living in Roma society, life was little different from women in ancient Greek society, and thus the myths and rituals of the gods and goddesses resonated with their life experiences and their hopes and fears.

DEMETER AND PERSEPHONE. One goddess cult of ancient Greece that belonged to the great mystery religions and was particularly popular with women, although not exclusively so, was that of Demeter. Athenians celebrated the mysteries of this great cult at Eleusis as well as in the ancient Greek colonies of Sicily and southern Italy. This religion tended to remain limited to the religious experience of Greeks and Greek colonists possibly because the central myth and ritual of the cult reflected so closely the lives and expectations of women in Greek society. This feature is illustrated by the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, composed most probably in the late seventh century or early sixth century BCE at Eleusis, which describes a young girl's journey from puberty to womanhood. It describes how Demeter grieves for her daughter Persephone (also called Kore, "maiden"), who was first abducted by Hades and taken to the underworld and then given to him in marriage by Zeus. The stricken mother deserts Olympus, the sphere of the gods, for the world of mortals and goes to Eleusis, where she asks the people to build a temple for her. Unappeased, Demeter brings devastation to crops and cattle, ignoring the intercessory pleas from Zeus's divine envoys. She asks only for a glimpse of her daughter. Zeus has no choice but to agree to Demeter's terms, and he sends his messenger Hermes to the underworld to negotiate with Hades. Hades agrees to allow Persephone to see Demeter. Persephone pours out her heart to her mother and is consoled. Zeus decides to let mother and daughter remain together for two-thirds of each year, but Persephone must return to Hades for the remainder of the year. Content, Demeter allows the earth to be fertile once more, and the people of Eleusis continue their worship of her.

The importance of the Demeter and Persephone myth to Greek religion has been thought to stem from its connections with the seasons and the crucial issue of fertility. The centrality of female characters reflects the obvious links between women and birth. The depiction of marriage as beginning with rape is a common feature of Greek myth, as is the traumatic separation of young daughters from their mothers. The fathers are usually the instigators of this painful process, and although the anguish is well documented, marriage itself as the normative institution within society is not questioned.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE. The actual content of the Eleusinian mysteries remains hidden from the scrutiny of modern scholars, but there is evidence for many religious activities and devotions that focused on Demeter, some of which continued in popularity down into the Roman Empire. The Demeter myth reinforces traditional Greek practices regarding women's lives, in particular their rite of passage from daughter to wife, mirrored by the Demeter myth. The myth is a commentary on the way life is in Greek society, and by remembering it in the religious rites and devotions associated with it, the values of that society are reinforced.

Whereas the Demeter and Persephone devotions served the needs of women progressing from girlhood to womanhood, the devotions to Artemis and Hera focused on protection and success in childbirth and these cults were prohibited to slaves and foreigners. The third age of womanhood is represented by the goddess Hecate, regarded in negative terms as a haggish, cronelike demon and in positive terms as a goddess who could protect, grant success, and act as an advocate.

In contrast, the Greek myth of the Amazonian women seems then to contradict one general presumption concerning the lives of Greek women. It is about women who reject marriage and the confines of domesticity. It describes a society that prefers matrilineal descent to patrilineal and a society in which liberated women even engaged in active warfare. In its earliest forms the myth may have functioned as a mirror of a preclassical society. For instance, in the archaic epic of the sixth century the Amazons are described as female warriors who, with their Queen Penthesilea, who was killed by Achilles, battled against Bellerophon and Herakles. However, the status of the Amazon stories clearly changed by the fifth century as they began to fulfill a role within Athenian society of representing an inversion of the natural and preferred status of women. The Amazon women are now depicted as the female counterparts of the centaurs, the mythical, bestial, and violent rapists. Their representations in later centuries depict how alien such ideas would be to the patriarchal nature of Greek society. They are said to live in a totally female society, only venturing out for sex so they can conceive children. Only female babies are welcome, male offspring are offered for adoption or castrated or even killed. Diodorus Siculus, writing in the first century BCE, describes how Amazon men behave like women—tending home and children and cultivating women's skills, such as weaving. Thus the Amazonians are held up as the antithesis to Athenian society.

ADONIS AND DIONYSOS. The popularity of the Demeter and Persephone myth and the religious devotions associated with them as goddesses testifies both to the close bonds between women in Greek society and to how society sacrificed those bonds to the "higher" cause of marriages arranged by men. The participation of women in the male cults of Adonis and Dionysos could suggest a certain dissatisfaction among women with their given status and role. Neither Adonis nor Dionysos belongs to the essentially Greek hierarchy of gods, the Olympians; both have foreign pedigrees. Adonis has a Semitic name and is regularly associated with the dying and rising deities of the ancient Near East. In the male cults gods were closely associated with goddesses, Adonis with Aphrodite, his consort, Dionysos with Semele, his mother. Some of these cults had ceremonies designed to encourage women to be uninhibited. Dionysos, for instance, was the god of wine, and his worship naturally provided occasions for uninhibited behavior. Rituals associated with Dionysos range from the rather sedate Lenaia (from *lenai*, another name for Dionysos's devoted maenad), in which food and drink offerings accompany the ceremonial entry of the god's mask into the sanctuary for worship, to the more erotic Anthesteria, the winter wedding festival between Basilinna, the wife of the *archon basileus*, and Dionysos.

THE RITES OF *THE BACCHAE*. More extreme, however, were the rites recorded in *The Bacchae*, a play written as early as the late fifth century BCE by Euripides (c. 480–406 BCE). The Bacchae are the women followers of Dionysos, and they are also known by the more pejorative term *maenads,* from the verb *mainomai*, meaning "to be driven mad." The myth of Dionysos is recounted in many ancient sources, but Euripides drew the classic description of Dionysiac ecstasy, the source for accounts in later centuries.

According to Euripides' *Bacchae*, Dionysos introduced his rites in Thebes to avenge the injustices perpetrated against his mother Semele, who had been dishonored by the lies spread about by her sisters, Agave, Autonoe, and Ino. On hearing that Semele was pregnant, the sisters discounted her own truthful account that she had conceived through Zeus and instead told the story that she had been impregnated by a mortal. They said that her father, Cadmus, had persuaded her to lie and say it was Zeus. This, the sisters explained, was why Semele had been struck dead by one of Zeus's thunderbolts. However, Dionysos explains that his mother had in fact been the victim of the jealous Hera's thunderbolt. This was shot while his father Zeus grabbed him from his mother's womb, saving him from being a victim of Hera's jealous plot.

The revenge of Dionysos for his mother's honor is directed at his aunts. He induces insanity on them, and they and bands of women followers dance off to the countryside, wearing fawn skins with snakes around their necks, leaves and branches in their hair, and each with a wand (*thyrsos*) in her hand. They feed wild animals with their breast milk before they behave wildly—ripping animals apart, wrecking villages, abducting children. They are impervious to the missiles hurled at them by the men of the villages, who suffer terrible wounds from the women's wands. There are many such details recounting the anarchic behavior of the Bacchae as they maniacally devour the countryside.

Dionysos's revenge reaches its climax when his aunt Agave dismembers what she perceives to be a wild animal but is actually her own son Pentheus in disguise. She is allowed to regain her sanity in time to recognize the torn body of her son just as she brings it to her father. The outcome is that the dynasty of Cadmus is destroyed, Agave is exiled, and the city of Thebes becomes a center for the worship of Dionysos.

The account of Euripides implicitly details many of the features associated with Dionysiac rites known from artistic impressions on vases down the centuries—the lively dancing and dressing up in animal skins and various types of vegetation. The actual ceremonies remained the secret knowledge of initiates, and this secrecy motif was intensified by the rites being practiced at night, attracting many rumors and exaggerated imaginings from those outside the cult. The sexual nature of these rites seem to belong to the fantasies of external perception rather than the reality of the religion itself.

Classical scholars have had to weigh the evidence of the written accounts of the Dionysiac myths against what has been discovered from classical representations in various artworks. There is insufficient external evidence from Euripides' time to determine whether he based his account of the myth on the actual practices of the Dionysos cult as he knew it. It may be that his work actually provided the descriptions on which later rites were based. According to the myth, women are the main participants, the Bacchae. Pentheus is the only man mentioned, and he appears not as a man but disguised as a wild beast.

THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD. The evidence increases during the Hellenistic period. Plutarch (before 50–after 120 CE) refers to women's ecstatic rites associated with Dionysos, describing how some women got trapped in severe weather while they were celebrating winter rites for Dionysos. He also described how a group of maenads, in their ecstatic state, had strayed in to the territory of the enemy, but thanks to the protection of the women of that town, Amphissa, they survived. It is also at this time that the cult of Dionysos spread to Italy and then to Rome, noted later, in negative terms, by Livy (59 BCE–17 CE). Livy's account of one particular episode that occurred in 186 BCE gave Bacchae-type rites their debauched, orgiastic, and corrupt reputations. Livy recounts how a young man had to flee to avoid initiation into the cult at the shrine of Semele, which had introduced male participants. Livy's descriptions of the Dionysian Bacchae included the practice of male self-castration and gross ornamentation for its male priests. Livy wrote his account some 150 years after the events he described, and it is heavily dependent on the work of earlier Roman historians, conservative characters such as the elder Cato (234–149 BCE). Livy's later reconstruction of the bacchanalian scandal betrays many traces of the moral outrage of his historian forefathers.

ISIS. Isis was the focus of another Oriental cult imported into Roman culture. It had particular associations for women in terms of both its priesthood and its popularity. The Egyptian myth that lies at the heart of the rites of Isis is a familiar one of sibling rivalry. According to Plutarch's version, a king of Egypt, the god Osiris, has a brother, Typhon, and two sisters, Isis and Nephthys. Typhon conspires against his brother to gain power, luring him into an ornate treasure chest, which he then seals and throws into the Nile. Isis, who has been incestuously involved with Osiris since they shared the same womb, goes looking for her lost brother. In her search she discovers that Osiris has also been on sexual terms with their sister Nephthys, who has given birth to a son. Nephthys left this baby exposed to die because she was actually married to her other brother, the villain Typhon. Isis saves the child, named Anubis, who remains with her and becomes her attendant and protector. Continuing her search for Osiris, Isis finds the treasure chest on the river shore at Byblos, and she becomes pregnant, presumably by her dead brother, or she may have already been pregnant by him (Plutarch does not clarify this detail). Their child is Horus, a popular and significant figure in the rites associated with Isis and Osiris. Meanwhile Typhon comes across the treasure chest again, opens it, and cuts up his brother's body into fourteen pieces, which he scatters over the waters of the Nile. Distraught with news of this act, Isis combs the river marshes for the pieces and finds them all save for the penis, which some fish have eaten. Osiris then returns from the underworld and trains his son Horus to avenge Typhon on his behalf.

During the Hellenistic period, the Greeks identified Isis with Aphrodite, although she was much more than the goddess of love. Transported to Rome, the Isis and Osiris rites understandably lost their connections with the Nile. One dramatic rite in which the image of the river setting survived, however, was the March festival of Navigium Isidis, richly described by Apuleius (c. 123–c. 170 CE) toward the end of the second century CE. A great procession of women and men, mostly dressed in white linen, followed by priests carrying the sacred objects and the gods themselves (i.e., a person dressed as Anubis and a cow representing Isis) made their way to a nearby riverside (in Apuleius's account it was at the port of Cenchreae). A grand sailing boat was then purified by the high priest and launched by the devotees. Other rites (e.g., the Festival of Isia) retained the clear pattern of the myth, reenacting the death of Osiris and the mourning and searching of Isis, culminating in the joy of resurrection. In addition to the festivals there were daily rituals at the temple in which the figure of Isis was cleaned and dressed.

The Isis cult was not exclusive to women, but because two of the central characters, Isis and Nephthys, were female, women were given prominence in any ceremony that reenacted the myth. Apuleius's description from the second century CE makes it clear that the cult of Isis was popular among women of all classes in Italy and the western provinces: "Then followed a great crowd of the Goddess' initiates, men and women of all classes and every age, their pure white linen clothes shining brightly" (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses,* 18, in Graves, 1951). Pictorial evidence also exists. For example, in a first century CE wall painting from Pompeii, a ritual at a temple of Isis is depicted, and the popularity of this cult among women is reflected by the number of female figures represented.

The central focus of the cult of Isis is the relationship between a man and a woman. Its incestuous nature serves to intensify the bond. It embodies perfect heterosexual love that triumphs even over death, and as such it supports the Greco-

Roman ideal of the foundation of the family. It is tempting to interpret civic support of this cult as an attempt to endorse the family and the status quo of society and women's devotion to it as their acquiescence. Alternatively the cult so perfectly represented the expectations of Greco-Roman women that it provided sanction and sanctification for their lives. Another factor to explain the cult's popularity among women may have been linked to the countless military campaigns that characterized the years of the late republic and early empire, which left so many married women as widows. Living in that reality, rites that focused on a couple separated by death yet reunited by a love stronger than death would surely have special significance for women.

MAGNA MATER. The goddess Magna Mater, or Cybele, was imported into Rome from Pessinus in Asia Minor in 204 BCE and became one of Rome's foremost cults. It was equally popular among men and women, although its rituals, which revolved around the jealously of the goddess over her lover's infidelity, more explicitly reflect women's experiences. As was the practice in the case of foreign cults, it was given legal status in Rome through recourse to the Sibylline Books. It was a cult traditionally associated with the city of Troy, to which the origin of the Roman race was traced, and therefore could be regarded almost as an ancient Roman religion. In Rome an image of Magna Mater was set up in the heart of the city on the Palatine Hill. Although not her consort, Attis is the individual most closely associated with the goddess. The central theme of the many and varied legends describing Attis's relationship with Magna Mater focuses on the young mortal Attis, caught up in an ecstatic frenzy instigated by the goddess because she was jealous of his relationship with another woman. When in this frenzy Attis castrates himself and dies, the goddess brings him back to life.

One well-recounted aspect of the Magna Mater cult was the taurobolium, the killing of a bull. This was a particularly gory practice in which the animal was sacrificed in such a way to ensure the sacrificer was spattered with its blood. This messiness distinguishes the Magna Mater cult from the normal cultic practice of Roman religion in which the priest remained unstained throughout the sacrificial slaughter.

VESTAL VIRGINS. In the context of women's participation in religion in the Greco-Roman world, Vestal Virgins have furnished popular images and language down the centuries of Western culture, and this familiarity has tended to give them a prominence out of keeping with the religious situation of their time. Their numbers, for example, were minimal—six in total. They were a crucial factor, however, in Roman perceptions of the relationship between their city and the deities who protected it. The Vestal Virgins were chosen for their unique office before they had reached puberty, between the ages of six and ten. Once chosen they were celibate for thirty years and devoted to the task of tending the sacred fire of the round temple of Vesta at the center of the Forum. This shrine was the oldest of the Forum and—according to the account of Pliny the Elder (23–79 CE) who noted, however, that as a man he would have had no access to the shrine—it had no image of the goddess Vesta but contained a sacred phallus *(fascinum),* the Di Magni (i.e., household gods of Troy), and a sacred Trojan image of Athena known as the Palladion. The Vestal Virgins as a group are unique in social, political, and religious terms. Beard (1980), in recognizing their distinctive status, has noted similarities between them and aristocratic males as well as affinities with unmarried women and matrons. The celibacy of the Vestal Virgins was jealously guarded, and Plutarch described that if any of their number was discovered to have broken her vow, she was ceremonially buried alive.

The high priest of the cult was male. In fact the first emperor, Augustus (c. 27 BCE–14 CE), was elected high priest in 12 BCE, and when this happened he created a shrine to the goddess Vesta in his own home on the Palatine. Even the emperor, as high priest of the cult, could not enter the shrine—that privilege was reserved for its female virginal attendants. He could as high priest, however, carry out their execution. This office could be seen as yet another element in Augustus's search for infinite power and immortality.

The power of the Vestal Virgins was a visible reality in many aspects of the lives of these females, but these were in effect young women without any sexual autonomy. They were offered in the selection process for the Vestal Virgins at the age of six by their parents, and if chosen they were committed to that life for a minimum of thirty years. As noted, their sexuality was controlled or rather restricted by the state, and any independent act to exercise their own wills in this respect was met with execution by the hand of the male high priest. They did receive abundant privileges, such as attending senatorial dinner parties, going to the theater with the imperial women, and guarding precious documents of state. These privileges reflect the belief among Romans that these women were the true guardians of Rome, its purity and its potency.

BONA DEA. Another popular cult in Rome, associated with Roman matrons, was the cult of Bona Dea, the "good goddess." Her proper name was Fauna, understood as the daughter or sometimes the wife of Faunus, otherwise known as Pan. She was worshipped exclusively by women, and her official annual nocturnal rite was celebrated in early December in the house of the chief magistrate, led by his wife and assisted by the Vestals. This was a cult particularly associated with the *matronae,* who were distinguished as a group by their respectability; that is, they were legally married and therefore able to produce rightful heirs, and they were freeborn. They wore particular clothes: a long dress (stola) and a distinctive headband. They were involved in many religious festivals in Rome, but the Bona Dea cult was a particular focus for them. In fact the Bona Dea cult seems to have been elitist not only in terms of gender but also in terms of its popularity among the freed classes. Knowledge of the Bona Dea cult is, as so often, restricted to male descriptions, which are suspect because men were excluded from all the preparations and celebrations. One detailed account comes from Cicero (106–43 BCE), who was directly involved because his residence as magistrate was the venue for the December rite. His account is highly subjective because at the time (63 BCE) he was involved in a political struggle, and he interpreted particular happenings as signs to himself from the goddess. The next year a man tried to infiltrate the festival, this time at the house of Julius Caesar, who held the praetorship that year, by disguising himself as a female harp player. The infiltrator was recognized as Clodius, a prominent member of Roman elite society whose aim, it was alleged, was to seduce Caesar's wife during the celebrations. He denied the charge and was found not guilty, a result, according to Cicero, that came from a bribed jury.

This event formed the basis of Juvenal's (c. 55–130 CE) lively and erotic pastiche, which may be seen as a lurid undermining by male commentators of female religious practices (Juvenal, 1991, Satire 6). It would seem to be the case, however, that these rites did allow women an opportunity to behave in a more free and unrestrained manner than public events would normally allow. Hendrik H. J. Brouwer paints a convincing picture from all the available evidence of the December rites, at which women could drink undiluted wine, for example, and have boisterous songfests accompanied by female musicians. This party atmosphere developed when the ritual part of the evening—the sacrifice of a pregnant pig in front of the cult statue of Bona Dea brought from the temple—was completed.

Greco-Roman religious practices are filled with diversity and variety on a huge scale. It is impossible to make general observations about religions in the light of the extreme diversity, including a great number of variables, such as local political interest, geographical features, and fusion of residual culture with imported practices. It is clear, however, that religion expressed women's experiences—emotional and physical—from becoming young women to their lives as mature matrons. Religion is not only a reflection of those experiences but a prescriber and reinforcer of them.

INFLUENCE ON CONTEMPORARY WOMEN'S SPIRITUALITY. Religions of the ancient Mediterranean not only resounded with the experiences of men and women in the ancient world. In modern times the myths and cults of antiquity have furnished contemporary religious trends. In the context of the West, along with its colonial history, the monolithic religious system of Christianity was in the ascendancy from the time of Emperor Constantine in the early fourth century until modern times, and it gave shape and form to Western civilization and served as a means of defining tradition. In sum, religions of the ancient Mediterranean provide a "pretraditional" range of religious expression that is reflected in the contemporary period of the "posttraditional." This has been true especially in the context of feminist spirituality, where traditional religion, identified as patriarchal, has often been rejected or radically transformed. The goddess, who takes various forms in ancient Mediterranean religions, has been a particularly rich resource for women attempting to construct a spirituality with women's experience at its core. Key feminist scholars who have drawn on goddess mythology from ancient Mediterranean cultures for contemporary women's spirituality include Carol Christ, Starhawk, and Charlene Spretnak. These writers originally experienced traditional religion but use the resources of ancient goddess spirituality, that is, pretraditional religious experience, to take them beyond those traditions to posttraditional goddess spirituality.

SEE ALSO Cybele; Dionysos; Egyptian Religion, overview article; Goddess Worship, article on Goddess Worship in the Hellenistic World; Greek Religion; Hellenistic Religions; Isis; Thealogy.

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DEBORAH F. SAWYER (2005)

GENDER AND RELIGION: GENDER AND CELTIC RELIGIONS

The ways in which gender identities are embedded in religious rituals, symbols, institutions, and language reflect changing social and political power structures, especially in relation to women. One effect of this wider debate has been to look to the past to provide paradigms in which access to power and influence in the institutions of religious life have been more equally balanced. Since ancient Greek writers first identified the Celts as *keltoi*, this group has provided a powerful symbol of otherness for the perception of women and their function in religious contexts in Celtic society. The issue of gender, and how this shaped concepts of sacredness in the religious behavior of the Celts, has been a topic of discussion since the late nineteenth century, and ideas of Celtic pagan and Christian spirituality have played a prominent role in alternative spirituality movements since the second half of the twentieth century.

HISTORICAL SOURCES. The main sources for information about Celtic religion come from archaeological evidence, the testimony of classical writers, and narrative material preserved by western Celtic groups, such as the Irish, Welsh, and Scots. Because much of the context has been lost or the commentary has come from outsiders, these sources present certain difficulties. Classical authors give information on religion and gender roles, but they often used Celtic behavior to comment on themselves. A number of mythological narratives are preserved as later written texts, but the time gap between them and a more ancient past means that themes in medieval texts cannot be assumed to reflect the survival of ancient religious practices. Another factor is the changed attitude to the nature of Celtic culture. Whereas once scholars assumed similarity and continuity between ancient Celts and later cultures in Britain, Ireland, and Brittany, since the 1980s there has been less emphasis on folk migrations and on supposed connections between continental and insular Celts and more emphasis on the effects of literacy and the introduction of Roman culture and Christianity. It is more difficult, therefore, to argue for Pan-Celtic deities or long-term continuance of religious behavior. The picture to emerge from this reassessment suggests that there was no centralized Celtic pantheon, although some deities had extensive spheres of influence. Participation in religious life also seems to have been more varied. The druids were an elite religious caste functioning in western areas of Gaul, Britain, and Ireland, and their role overlapped with that of bards and poets in the post-Roman world. The organization of religion in other areas such as Galatia or Celt-Iberia is less well known. However, despite these limitations, it is possible to consider some of the gender issues as they related to religion among groups of Celts in the ancient world and in the early cultures of insular groups such as Ireland and Wales.

The Roman geographer Strabo (64 BCE–24 CE) makes the tantalizing suggestion that gender tasks among the Celts were the reverse of those among Romans. In the context of religion, writers mention druids, and a few suggest the presence of female druids. According to the Roman historian Tacitus (c. 55–120 CE), black-robed, screaming women accompanied the druids during the Roman assault on their stronghold on Mona (Anglesey) in 60 CE. The fourth-century CE *Historia Augusta* has three references to female druids in Gaul. Two utter spontaneous prophecies to two emperors, whereas the emperor Aurelian (c. 215–275 CE) consults Gaulish druidesses directly. Even if these women were stereotyped figures of prophecy and magic, the links among druidry, power, and women are clear.

Women appear elsewhere in religious roles. The Greek writer Plutarch (before 50–after 120 CE) mentions Camma, wife of a Galatian ruler and priestess of a goddess identified with Artemis who shared a poisoned drink with a suitor to avenge her husband's death. Although the drink of milk and honey had underworld associations and the rite took place in the temple where Camma was a priestess, the passage emphasises her loyalty as a wife, rather than her religious role. Two Roman historians, Tacitus (c. 55–120 CE) and Dio Cassius (c. 155–235 CE) described the revolt led by the famous British queen Boudicca in 60 CE. Boudicca's comment that it was unusual for Britons to follow a woman war-leader may reflect Roman unease about women, rather than her actual words. The fact that she offered a hare to the tribal goddess before battle, combined with the after-battle atrocities such as cutting off the breasts of captured women, may indicate that Boudicca's leadership had a religious dimension.

The Roman geographer Strabo quoted a description from the Greek writer Posidonius (second–first century BCE) of an all-female cult among the Samnitae tribe. The women, identified as worshipers of Dionysos, inhabited an island off the western coast of France and only left to have sex to produce children. An annual rite of reroofing a temple occurred during daylight hours on a single day. Any woman who dropped roofing material was torn to pieces. The description hints that the sacrificial victim was chosen in this way, because the account notes that the victim was jostled. Pomponius Mela (first century CE) mentions an island on which a male deity sleeps while nine women priests attend a perpetual fire under a cauldron. There is a striking parallel between these early accounts and two later references. One occurs in a medieval Welsh poem, "The Spoils of Annwn," which describes a supernatural journey to a land where nine women keep a fire burning under a cauldron. The other, from medieval Ireland, claims that the site of Saint Brigid's Church at Kildare incorporated a pre-Christian sanctuary where women tended a sacred flame.

The archaeological evidence includes images of female deities and inscriptions addressed to them. Men, who controlled the wealth, dedicated most of these monuments, but women also feature as dedicatees. Most inscriptions date from the Romano-Celtic period (first century BCE–fourth century CE) and indicate the importance of female deities rather than the position of women in religion. Devotion to deities did not follow strict gender lines, and men and women alike left votives at shrines dedicated to both male and female deities. In so far as deities such as the *dea nutrix* were associated with childbirth or pregnancy, her devotees and perhaps officials were likely to be female, but the goddess Epona, associated with horses and horse craft, was popular among the Roman cavalry. A number of Romano-Celtic statuettes of women suggest female religious activity, although it is unclear, given the date of this material, whether the activity was specifically Celtic. However, a bronze statuette of a veiled woman from South Shields (Tyne and Wear), a naked bronze female dancer from Neuvy-en-Sullias (Loiret), and a wooden image of a veiled woman wearing a torc from Chaumelières (Puy-de-Dôme) are associated with Gaulish or British religious sites and could depict devotees or officials. Chaumelières was the site of the sanctuary of Sequana, goddess of the source of the Seine, and an important healing center with an extensive dormitory and hospital complex for those seeking cures. Women probably played a role in both religious and healing activities here and at similar shrines. Religion was an aspect of public life open to women in the ancient world, and other continental iconography depicts women, either as devotees or officials, worshipping at altars or in processions. The names of Gaulish and British women priests are recorded in connection with classical cults, and at least one Gaulish woman dedicated a temple altar to a native Gaulish goddess.

INTERPRETATION OF SOURCES AND LATER DEVELOPMENTS. Religion, particularly an aspect like gender, is difficult to reconstitute from archaeological evidence. However, it is possible to infer some ritual significance from the placement of burials, such as the woman interred within a ritual enclosure at Libeniçe in Bohemia (fourth century BCE) or two distinctive female burials from Wetwang Slack in Yorkshire (third century BCE)—one buried with an elaborate chariot and the other with a sealed bronze box. It has been suggested that native British rites continued as a countercultural religion designated as witchcraft after the introduction of Christianity and continue into the twenty-first century. There is no basis for such an extreme position, but possible negative gender roles are indicated from a small number of burials, mostly older women, in which the heads or jaws have been removed and placed beside the corpse. A striking occurrence of *bnas brictom* (Gaulish, meaning "women of magic") is inscribed on a lead curse tablet from Larzac in France (c. 90 CE). The exact meaning is unclear, but this, unlike other curses, indicates that the women themselves have power to harm.

Irish literature features female figures with supernatural powers such as the Morrígan, Eriu, and Danu, who may be late reflexes of Celtic land or sovereignty goddesses. In medieval Welsh literature, the character Rhiannon from a medieval Welsh tale, whose name means "Great queen" (Rigantona), has been linked with the Gaulish and British goddess Epona. Female druids and seers are mentioned in Irish sources and druidic imagery clusters significantly around some of them. Fedhelm from the Ulster cycle (seventh to eleventh centuries CE) studied in Alba, a reflection of the druid's long apprenticeship as mentioned in classical sources, and appears with the sole purpose of uttering prophesies. Although this material cannot directly reflect Celtic religion or women's roles in it, the pattern presented by the classical authors is one in which women participated in, rather than were excluded from, ritual activity. Taken as a whole, archaeological evidence and narrative texts support rather than contradict this.

Between the third and sixth century CE, Christianity was introduced to Gaul, Britain, and Ireland. The degree to which the new religion absorbed, subsumed, or coexisted with pagan culture is a complex topic linked to the controversial concept of a distinctive Celtic Church. The cult of the holy well has been the focus of much speculation on pre-Christian survival, but even here there is little direct archaeological evidence for continuity between pagan deities and later saints. Nevertheless, hagiographers endowed both male and female saints with pseudo-divine characteristics, and the complex cult of the Irish Saint Brigid of Kildare suggests that a pagan site was transferred to a holy woman, Brigid, who died in 524 CE. Women exercised considerable power and influence in early Christian foundations in Ireland and Wales, although here too it is not clear how much of this carried over from pagan structures and how much was the result of increased status introduced by the new religion.

MODERN REVIVAL. Issues of gender in Celtic religion and in early Christianity have been informed by the revival of interest in Celtic culture since the end of the nineteenth century. Romantic nationalism and Romantic feminism have undoubtedly over-interpreted the sources, but modern developments in paganism and Celtic spirituality draw crucial metaphors from images of a powerful goddess figure who embodied female power in a unified pre-Christian world and the idea that such a figure was intimately bound up with the cycle of nature. Since the middle of the twentieth century, women have become an important force in modern druidry and in the move toward a more inclusive spirituality. The popularity of modern paganism and Celtic spirituality is strengthened by the assumption that Celtic religion could survive domination by Roman culture and Christianity. Supposed survival, despite external domination, is an essential feature of countercultural rebellion, and the image of a united Celtic world in which women were given a voice in religion is powerful whatever the discontinuity between modern religious developments and historical sources.

SEE ALSO Celtic Religion, overview article.

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The study of gender in Celtic religion is linked to general attitudes to the Celts and to the concept of Celtic Christianity. Two articles by Wendy Davies, "Celtic Women in the Early Middle Ages," in *Images of Women in Antiquity,* edited by Averil Cameron and Amélie Kuhrt, pp. 145–66 (London, 1983) and "The Myth of the Celtic Church" in *The Early Church in Wales and the West,* edited by Nancy Edwards and Alan Lane, pp. 12–21 (Oxford, 1992), help to clarify the issues and define the parameters of the argument. Gearóid Ó Crualaoich's *The Book of the Cailleach* (Cork, 2003) surveys all aspects of the "divine female" motif in Irish. The Scottish journalist and folklorist Lewis Spence popularized the idea of Celtic religion as benevolent and magical nature worship in which women played an important role. Books such as *Boadicea, Warrior Queen of the Britons* (London, 1937) and *The Magic Arts in Celtic Britain* (London, 1945) have influenced popular approaches to the subject. Good surveys of modern Celtic paganism and Celtic spirituality are Ronald Hutton's *The Pagan Religions of the Ancient British Isles* (Oxford, 1990) and Marion Bowman's "Contemporary Celtic Spirituality," in *New Directions in Celtic Studies,* edited by Amy Hale and Philip Payton, pp. 69–91 (Exeter, U.K., 2000). Many Internet sites contain information drawn from secondary sources or personal experience. These sites attest to the enormous interest in women's spirituality and to the importance of Celtic images in providing metaphors for this to be expressed.

JULIETTE WOOD (2005)

GENDER AND RELIGION: GENDER AND AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS RELIGIONS

Indigenous Australian women's religious beliefs and practices and the nature of gender relations in Aboriginal societies continue to be the subject of considerable debate. Do women have ceremonies that are secret and sacred to them? Do their rituals implicate the entire society or only women? Should gender relations be represented as egalitarian, complementary, or hierarchical? What has been the impact of the colonization of traditional lands, the forced removal of children, and the policies of assimilation and self-determination on women and men's religious beliefs and relationships? Is it possible to generalize for the entire continent, or given that Indigenous people live in different situations across the country, is it only possible to document change for specific groups?

PROBLEMS WITH THE SOURCES. For a number of reasons, women's voices are barely heard, especially in nineteenth-century and early- to mid-twentieth-century sources. Indigenous women, women anthropologists, and historians women have contested the validity of the male-dominated record. Silences, cultural assumptions regarding the "proper role" of women, and paradigms locating women outside the religious domain have rendered women mute. Influential texts, such as Sigmund Freud's *Totem and Taboo* and Émile Durkheim's *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, written by theorists with no direct fieldwork experience in Australia, cast women as the profane and "other." When women's experience, self-knowledge, and woman-focused activities are confined to the realm of the everyday, the mundane, and the hearth and home, the question does not arise as to whether the ceremonies women perform may have significance beyond the profane business of women's bodies. For these theorists, women have magic but nothing that could properly be called religion. Thus when Géza Róheim, heavily influenced by Freud's psychoanalytical approach, worked in the 1930s in Central Australia and addressed women's lives, he asked about their everyday preoccupations but not about religion.

In her 1979 article "Aboriginal Women and the Notion of 'The Marginal Man,'" Catherine Berndt traced the ways women in the records of nineteenth-century observers are routinely depicted as downtrodden slaves of their menfolk, objects for sexual barter, and the instigators of fights. In this schema women's politics are cast as squabbles, and the decision-making power they enjoy by virtue of being the economic mainstay for their hunting and gathering is rendered invisible. The trend continued well into the twentieth century. Denied agency, women are shadows in the landscape: they cannot and do not speak directly of their lives, beliefs, and practices. Women are "feeders, breeders and follow the leaders" (Cawte, 1974, p. 140).

The written record is further impoverished because most observers were men and, with the strict sex-division of labor, they faced practical difficulties in undertaking research among Indigenous women. Those who were accompanied by their wives sometimes recorded their wives' observations on Indigenous women or those of the wives of missionaries. But more often, where they make reference to women, male researchers have relied on Indigenous men for information regarding women's activities and status. These men, however, have been reluctant or unable to discuss what is sometimes referred to as "women's business."

Some insights are available from women who have set down their observations in fiction and diaries. Mrs. Aeneas Gunn, drawing on her experiences in the Roper River region of the Northern Territory, told the story of "Bett-Bett" in *The Black Princess* in 1905. For the most part the few trained women who undertook fieldwork in Australia did not focus on Indigenous women. Some ignored women, preferring to work on more "scholarly" prestigious topics. Some, like the journalist and self-taught anthropologist Daisy Bates (1863–1951), lived among and wrote about Indigenous peoples in Western and South Australia. Bates faithfully recorded aspects of women's ceremonial lives, had little time for women, and as a product of their times, assumed that male authority was part of the "natural order" of things.

Nancy Munn's careful documentation of Warlpiri women's ceremonies, sand drawings, and body paintings, published in 1973 in *Walbiri Iconography*, added to the richness of Central Australian desert ethnographies. But in pursuing her structural analysis, Munn focused more on the men's ceremonies, including the secret ones she was privileged to attend. She does not record having attended any secret women's ceremonies. Her conclusion that men held the keys to cosmic order echoed the 1972 opinion of Kenneth Maddock, in *Australian Aborigines,* that women's ceremonies are small and personal whereas men's ceremonies addressed broader societal concerns. On the basis of more explicitly feminist research and evidence in Aboriginal land claims, Maddock revised his position for the 1982 edition of that work.

In an effort to reclaim women from the sources and to explore why Indigenous women do not see themselves as the drudges of their society, women researchers began exploring the silences in the ethnographic and historical record. In the 1845 journal entries of the explorer and administrator Edward John Eyre, Fay Gale found evidence of women-only ceremonies among the people of the southern Murray River region of South Australia for her 1989 article "Roles Revisited." In rereading the 1901–1902 journal of Francis Gillen, who accompanied Baldwin Spencer on his travels through central and northern Australia, Diane Bell found data that did not appear in their ethnographies—it did not mesh with the evolutionary models of Spencer. But as she pointed out in her 1983 *Daughters of the Dreaming*, it did indicate that women's affiliations to the Dreaming were not mediated through men.

WOMEN SPEAK. The 1939 publication of Phyllis Kaberry's *Aboriginal Woman: Sacred and Profane* established that Indigenous women had secret ceremonies. This was work undertaken by a woman who went into the field to study women and who was prepared to interrogate Durkheim's sacred and profane dichotomy. Her portrait of independent women, rich in ritual knowledge and expertise, stands in stark contrast to the findings of W. Lloyd Warner that women were born profane and made little sacred progress through life. Kaberry worked in the Kimberley region of Western Australia and Warner in Arnhem Land in the north of Australia, but regional differences do not adequately explain the divergent portraits. Kaberry's monograph continues to be read as a book about women in the Kimberleys and Warner's as a text on religion.

Catherine Berndt's work in the 1940s and 1950s confirmed and extended Kaberry's findings to South Australia, the Northern Territory, and other parts of Western Australia. Likewise Annette Hamilton, working in the eastern Western Desert, documented the existence of women's secret ceremonies in her 1979 Ph.D. thesis. On the basis of her fieldwork and land claim experience in Central Australia in the 1970s and 1980s, Diane Bell detailed the breadth, depth, and power of women's religious lives; explored their control over women's residential and ceremonial spaces; and demonstrated that *yawulyu* (land-based ceremonies) and *yilpinji* (love magic or emotional management ceremonies) are structured along the same principles of ritual reciprocity as men's ceremonies.

Françoise Dussart, writing of her 1980s fieldwork with the Warlpiri of Central Australia, focused on the elements of competition and obligation of both men and women ritual leaders and revisited the centrality of kinship. Zohl Dé Ishtar, working at Wirrimanu (Balgo, Western Australia) where Catherine Berndt had spent many years, traced the internal struggles of this complex community in her 2003 Ph.D. dissertation. Accounts of women's art, music, and dance have further fleshed out dimensions of the dynamic and vibrant religious lives of Indigenous women. The ethnomusicologist Linda Barwick's 2000 recordings and accompanying texts are the first commercially available of the *yawulyu* style of Warumungu women from Tennant Creek, Central Australia. Jennifer Biddle's article "Inscribing Identity: Skin as Country in the Central Desert" offers a closer look at the significance of women's body painting.

In land claims brought under the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act (1976), women offered testimony regarding their religious ties to land and their knowledge of myth through *yawulyu* performances. A 1979 report of Justice John Toohey, the then Aboriginal land commissioner, made special mention of the significance of women's ceremonies. In government-sponsored reports, Indigenous women across Australia have spoken out about their community, family, and individual concerns.

The portrait of women's religious lives that emerges from these accounts is that in the desert regions of central, western, and southern Australia and in the Kimberleys both men and women have ceremonies that are closed to the other. However, there are also ceremonial moments where each has a presence at the rituals of the other. Knowledge is earned. The sages of the society are the "old people." The nubile young wenches who caught the eye of some commentators were not repositories of the sacred and secret law.

Bringing women into active voice in the ceremonial domain has been the work of women. To explore what was going on in women-only domains required a woman researcher, one who could be trusted with women's secrets. Catherine Berndt worked with women while her husband worked with men. They provided gendered perspectives on the same communities, stories, and ceremonies, and their access deepened as they aged. Bell described taking her two children into the field in the mid-1970s and how she was instructed in the ceremonial responsibilities of a mother of a boy nearing the age of initiation and a girl approaching marriageable age.

By the 1980s Indigenous women were adding to an already extensive body of literature, but little of it addressed religious beliefs and practices directly. Rather, they presented autobiographical material, emphasized survival, and located women's strengths within families and communities. As she documented the ravages of dispossession on her people in New South Wales in her 1978 film *My Survival as an Aboriginal,* Essie Coffey highlighted the strength she derived from her family. Hyllus Maris and Sonia Borg told the history of two hundred years of occupation of Indigenous lands in *Women of the Sun*, the 1983 four-part television series with a woman as the central figure in each episode. Sally Morgan's 1987 international best seller, *My Place,* traced her quest for identity through a maze of secrets in her Western Australian family.

Many more stories of survival in the face of loss and trauma came to light in 1996 with the publication of *Bringing Them Home*, a report on the "stolen generations," children forcefully removed from their parents in the name of assimilation. Other women are now coming forward to share their stories. Doris Kartinyeri's *Kick the Tin* (2000) told her story for future generations.

Although women's ceremonial life was imperiled by missionary activity and government policies of assimilation, particularly in the heavily settled part of Australia, fragments of knowledge of the beliefs and practices of earlier generations have survived and are held dear by those who have earned the right to know. In the stories of survival, there are glimpses of the continued importance of family attendance at various ceremonies, including funerals. These gatherings serve to unite communities and celebrate kinship ties, as they did in the premissionary days.

Indigenous women continue to explore their relationship to feminism and the women's movement. For some, the women's movement offered new insights and opportunities. Others have explored distinctively indigenous modes of representing their struggles as Indigenous women and express ambivalence and sometimes hostility to what they see as a white women's movement.

GENDER RELATIONS. Here also the record is impoverished. Throughout the nineteenth century and much of the twentieth century, male dominance was accepted as an accurate depiction of gender relations, which were usually discussed in terms of role and status. Evidence of women's rituals constituted a challenge to this view, but it has not entirely dislodged the model of male dominance as universally applicable. Rather, from the 1970s onward there is greater nuance and complexity to the way gender relations are presented.

For Central Australia there is general agreement that women enjoy prestige and respect by virtue of their secret and sacred ceremonies, and this is apparent in their rights in and responsibilities for sacred sites and country. This contrasts with Arnhem Land, where polygyny is common, the separation of the sexes is not as dramatically marked, and women's ritual activity does not have the wide reach of women's ceremonies in the desert regions.

In *The Tiwi of North Australia* (1960) C. W. M. Hart and Arnold Pilling describe older women as toothless old hags. In *Tiwi Wives*, researched in the 1960s but not published until 1971, Jane Goodale found Tiwi women to be wise individuals. Unlike the practice throughout most of the Australia continent, Tiwi men and women of Melville and Bathurst Islands are initiated at the same ceremonies, but women are not expected to be innovators. That is men's work. Goodale characterized male-female relations as structurally unequal.

In their contributions to the 1970 landmark publication of *Woman's Role in Aboriginal Society*, Isobel White surveyed the literature and concluded that women were not pawns or chattels of men but "junior partners" (White, 1970, p. 26), whereas Catherine Berndt opted for a "two sex model, dependence and interdependence" (Berndt, 1970, pp. 39–48). Diane Barwick provided a nuanced account of Indigenous women's strategies in nineteenth-century Victoria as they took advantage of the opportunities afforded by mission and government stations to transform their roles within traditional patriarchal society and to enjoy the status of emancipated women (Barwick, 1970, pp. 31–38).

In 1979 John Bern, working in the Roper River area and echoing Warner's pronouncement on women's profane lives, argued that religion is the domain where status is conferred, and religion is a male domain. A year later Hamilton explored what might constitute a challenge to this ideology. She argued that in the eastern Western Desert women's matrilineal ties, autonomous religious lives, and lower polygyny rates than farther north in Arnhem Land constituted a structural impediment to the consolidation of male dominance. Fred Myers, working with the Pintupi of Central Australia, has conceded that women's ceremonies are of importance but, like Maddock's 1982 revised position, sees the scale of men's ceremonies, their elaborate nature of preparations, and their integrative scope as indicative of their greater importance.

Echoing the work of Kaberry and Hamilton, Diane Bell in 1983 wrote of female autonomy and the complementarity of the sexes in Central Australia. She argued that the life on settlements (reservations) provided many opportunities for women's ceremonies and indeed intensified the need for those ceremonies that concern resolution of conflict. Women on cattle stations (ranches) have fewer opportunities for large gatherings of women but often have been able to remain closer to their sacred places and country.

In her reconsiderations of women and anthropology in 1984, Kay Saunders called for a reintegration of male and female perspectives. Reviewing the last twenty-five years of the twentieth century, Francesca Merlan, in "Gender in Aboriginal Social Life: A Review" (1988), noted the difficulty presented by the range of views and claims that much of what purports to address gender relations too often focuses on women's position in the society. Lester Hiatt, in *Arguing about Aborigines,* recognizes that age and gender are critical factors in any conceptualization of gender relations but with his characterization, "double gendered gerontocracies," allows that the weight attached to either may or does vary across the continent (Hiatt, 1996, p. 77).

MYTH AND RITUAL. There are myths that explore themes of sexuality, sexualized power, and gender relations; myths that are known to women, and ones that are the domain of men; and gendered versions of the same myth wherein women and men emphasize aspects of ancestral activities that are relevant to their roles. From South Australia come men's stories of the whale, *kondoli*, and the theft of fire, his jealously guarded possession, and those of women about the old people riding whales and calling to whales, as if these large warm-blooded creatures were kin. Both women and men talk of the return of the whales to the waters of the Southern Ocean as a prophecy of the return of strength to their culture and communities.

Women feature in a number of Dreaming stories, some of which, like that of the Seven Sisters (the Pleiades) and the Mungamunga, traveling women who traverse the continent, interact with other Dreamings and establish rites of passage for women. In her 1965 article Catherine Berndt enumerated examples of present-day male ownership of myths that once belonged to women, the most well-known being the Djang'kawu sisters from northeastern Arnhem Land.

Myths are redolent with sexual imagery and make note of the aberrant and the taboo. Thus sex between mothers-in-law and sons-in-law leads to social disorder. Women's *yilbinji* songs of Central Australia may be used to attract or spurn a lover and to restore harmony.

In the central desert regions *yawulyu* ceremonies are the responsibility of senior women, and through their performance they make the country "come up green" and speak of "growing up" the country as one "grows up" children. In Warlpiri one is *kirda* for the country of one's father and *kurdungurla* for the country of one's mother's father. Other rights flow through mother's mother and father's mother, place of birth, and a number of idiosyncratic factors.

In the preparation of sacred objects for a ceremony, women may sing and speak of the significance of the stories that give meaning to their actions. Songs and designs painted on bodies, the ground, and ritual paraphernalia function as mnemonics and may be explored in greater detail in associated myths. Stories may be told when women are out hunting and gathering, and it is here that children first learn to name their country.

Adults tell myths, but the audience may be children, or it may be highly restricted on the basis of gender, age, family, and country affiliations. As one ages and grows in wisdom, the inside meanings of stories become available. This layering of knowledge may take one from a simple story told to scare children, such as the Mulyewongk (*bunyip*) of South Australia, to deeper and deeper meanings of significance to men and male initiation and to women and child rearing.

GENDER IN PUBLIC. Controversies regarding the value to be accorded to research findings by women working with women persist and extend beyond the walls of academe. Between 1994 and 2001 the weight accorded to the claim that a group of Ngarrindjeri women in the southeast of Australia had secret knowledge of sacred sites was contested in a number of legal cases. Diane Bell and Chris Kenny provide diametrically opposed readings of the Ngarrindjeri issues. Ultimately the women were vindicated in the decision by Justice John von Doussa in 2002 in the Federal Court, but the hearings, media coverage, and anthropological and community divisions generated by the matter illustrate how contentious "women's business" remains. The lives of the women pursuing protection for the sites had been profoundly altered by the missionary presence and assimilation policies—including the forced removal of children—and there was little in the ethnographic record to support their claims. However, the assertion of several Ngarrindjeri men and women that the Seven Sisters Dreaming traveled through their country could be substantiated from a number of sources. The politicized women of the so-called "settled south" were pitted against the traditional women of the "remote" communities and their authenticity as believers contested. Women-focused accounts were called biased, and the reflexive accounts where the researcher discussed the impact her presence has had on the collection of data were said to lack the objectivity of earlier positivist accounts.

Since the late 1980s the issue of violence against women has emerged as a highly emotive issue. Numerous reports have documented the increasing incidences of rape and physical abuse of women and children, and this has led to a lively debate concerning gender relations in traditional society and the weight to be accorded to the legacy of the gendered violence of the colonial frontier. Anthropologists and historians have debated the nature of the transformation of gender roles on the frontier. Berndt argued that women were advantaged by their privileged access to the hearth and home of the colonizers. Bell argued that women's lives were privatized by their domestication and that during the self-determination era men were groomed as leaders and negotiations were male to male. Assumptions regarding women's chattel-like status fueled the argument that violence against women was tolerated in "traditional" society. In response to Bell's call to all Australians to pay attention to intraracial rape, Indigenous women, such as Huggins, have argued that this is their business. This debate continues, as Bell documented in "White Women Can't Speak" and as "Tidda's Manifesto" illustrated.

Traditional religion is tied to place and firmly embedded in the kinship system. For a number of reasons, however, including dispossession of land, forceful removal of children, work requirements, and education, many people no longer live on their ancestral land. New spiritualities, in dialogue with different Christian modalities, formulations of social justice, environmentalism, and ecofeminism, have emerged. The hierarchical ordering of ancestral powers within these new theologies privilege male-identified beings, whereas some of the New Age romanticizations of the noble savage and the earth as mother articulate a female principle.

SEE ALSO Anthropology, Ethnology, and Religion; Australian Indigenous Religions, overview article; Durkheim, Émile; Ecology and Religion, overview article; Freud, Sigmund; Magic, article on Theories of Magic; Ritual; Totemism.

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Diane Bell (2005)

GENDER AND RELIGION: GENDER AND OCEANIC RELIGIONS

Oceania, a vast area encompassing a variety of social and religious systems, is often divided into three regions: Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia. In Polynesia, with its chiefs and ascribed ranks, a woman's position depends more on rank than on gender. The populations of Polynesia are historically related, and there are similarities in social patterning throughout the region, including the system of hereditary ranking. Sherry Ortner observes: "Sensualism, eroticism, and a high level of sexual activity are actively cultivated throughout the area. Homosexuality is unstigmatized. Relations between men and women are relatively harmonious and mutually respectful" (Ortner, 1981, p. 359). Melanesia, to the west, shows greater diversity in social organization, whereas Micronesia, to the north, is closer to the chiefly patterns of Polynesia. The Melanesian cultures of highlands New Guinea are often described as egalitarian, but the egalitarianism refers to relations among men and not to social relations across genders. Traditionally the peoples of Oceania have engaged in subsistence horticulture. People grew crops such as taro, sweet potato, breadfruit, bananas, coconuts, and various green vegetables. Gardening, supplemented with cash cropping and wage labor, remains the basis of their economies and is an important metaphor for life's work.

Approaches. Those who have studied gender and religion in Oceania have approached their subject from various perspectives. A male bias pervades the observations of early missionaries and colonial officials in the Pacific, and much early anthropological study was done by men who lacked access to the religious practices and ideas of Pacific women. At the beginning of the twenty-first century the large majority of the peoples of Oceania were Christian, and thus Christian understandings were reflected in their ideas and practices. At the same time, as many young people moved to urban centers for education and work, understandings of gender derived from ancestral traditions and from Christianity were changing.

Margaret Mead, the pioneering anthropologist who studied male and female identity in several societies in Oceania, also used her research as a basis for exploring "male" and "female" in the United States. For those who have followed her, there has been a convergence between interest in gender relations in their home cultures and in the cultures they study. In the last three decades of the twentieth century, as scholars worldwide turned their attention to the cultural construction of gender, a profusion of studies focused on Oceanian societies. Marilyn Strathern's doctoral dissertation, later published as *Women in Between* (1972), presented the mediating roles played by women of the Mount Hagen area of Papua New Guinea and foreshadowed the feminist anthropology that soon challenged the ways scholars studied Oceania. Strathern is remarkable not only for her feminist anthropology but also for her interrogation of the relations between feminism and anthropology. In *The Gender of the Gift* (1988) she suggested that the study of gender relations in Melanesia has been distorted by the assumptions of Western anthropologists who have imposed several Eurocentric binary oppositions—such as nature and culture, female and male, subject and object, domestic and public—on their Melanesian data. Her observation could be extended to all of Oceania.

Much of the post–World War II writing on the patrilineal societies of highlands New Guinea emphasized male domination, male cults, and male fears of menstrual pollution. Later studies gave more attention to understandings of women's roles and female spirits in fertility-oriented cults and rituals. In the early 2000s accounts of violence toward women in Papua New Guinea and other parts of the Pacific caused researchers to ask to what extent violence has a traditional mandate and to what extent it is the result of rapid and disorienting political and socioeconomic change. Some scholars of highlands New Guinea societies, among them Aletta Biersack and Lisette Josephides, have argued that men take advantage of women just as in capitalist societies those with means exploit the working classes. In analyzing the relationship between masculinity and motherhood in an Eastern Iatmul (Papua New Guinea) society, Eric Silverman drew on the distinction the literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin makes between the "moral" and the "grotesque." Eastern Iatmul men, according to Silverman, "idealize an image of motherhood that is nurturing, sheltering, cleansing, fertile, and chaste, in a word, moral. But men also fear an equally compelling image of motherhood that is defiling, dangerous, orificial, aggressive, and carnal, hence, grotesque" (Silverman, 2001, p. 2). The ideology and ontology of Eastern Iatmul masculinity are established, he argued, through "an unresolvable dialogue with motherhood" (Silverman, 2001, p. 159).

Describing the situation on Vanatinai, literally "Motherland," a small island southeast of the main island of New Guinea in the Louisiade Archipelago, Maria Lepowsky depicted male-female relationships as markedly different from those of the highlands. Vanatinai, she says, is a place where "there are no ideologies of male superiority and female inferiority." In this matrilineal society, "Both women and men give and receive ceremonial valuables, foodstuffs, goods made by women such as clay cooking pots, sleeping mats, and coconut-leaf skirts, and goods made by men such as carved hardwood bowls and lime spatulas" (Lepowsky, 1993, p. viii). Women and men may both lead mortuary rituals and participate in a range of ritual activities, and women figure prominently in myth as shapers of the culture. From their mothers and their mothers' brothers, women and men equally inherit land, the use rights over forest and reef areas, and valuables. The postmarital residence pattern is bilocal. Women, Lepowsky maintained, "are construed as life-givers, nurturing children and yams, and feeding the heirs of the deceased in mortuary ritual" (Lepowsky, 1993, p. 302).

FERTILITY, SPIRITS, AND POWER. Food and fertility are major concerns of Oceanian communities and are the foci of ritual. It could be argued that the religions of Oceania consist of symbolic processes directed to the fertility of land and community. Throughout Oceania agricultural labor is divided between the sexes, with men clearing land and breaking up the soil for new gardens and women doing the planting and weeding. The actual distribution of tasks varies from place to place, and in many societies men take care of "male" crops, such as bananas, whereas women are responsible for staple "female" crops. Their cooperation is represented in the conjunction of male and female in garden rituals. In some places a couple will have sex in a new garden before planting takes place. In male cults of the New Guinea highlands there are "father" and "mother" officiants, both of whom are male. Thus gender is not only a social reality but also an idiom for thinking about the fruitfulness of vegetal and social life.

In Oceania economics and religion are not separate domains. Practical physical work and symbolic work (ritual) intersect in gardening, fishing, and exchange activities. Oceanian societies put a great emphasis on wealth exchanges. Men and women participate differently in these exchanges, with men taking the more public role in oratory and the transaction of valuables and women supporting their husbands and brothers by such activities as raising pigs, weaving mats, preparing tapa, providing food, and offering hospitality to guests. At the same time women also have exchange networks—mainly with other women—in which mats, baskets, net bags, and food products are transacted.

The religions of Oceania vary in their ideas about and practices concerning spirits and gods. Everywhere people interact with a variety of gods and spirits. Spirits of the dead are believed to have an ongoing relationship with the living. Following death, the spirit of the deceased is encouraged by gifts and entreaties to move on to its next destination. Many societies have practiced ancestor veneration, inviting the deceased members of the community to join in periodic festivals. In some areas people retain the skulls of the deceased for ritual presentation of food and dance. In chiefly societies cults honor the spirits of chiefs and high-ranking members of noble lineages. In highlands New Guinea the male cults typically honor the collective spirits of the patriline and in many societies provide for the initiation of males (Godelier, 1986; Herdt, 1982).

Where male cults flourish or once flourished, a female spirit may also be venerated. The Female Spirit, known as Payame Ima among the Duna of Papua New Guinea, is associated with parts of the environment, with other spirits, with human welfare, and with witchcraft (Stewart and Strathern, 2002, pp. 93–109). She dwells in the high forest where the wild pandanus nut trees grow and is regarded as an owner of these trees. She also dwells in forest pools, and people may cast pieces of pork into these pools as offerings to her. She can possess men and women and thereby endow them with abilities such as the power to heal, to divine, or to identify witches. She may endow ritual experts with the powers necessary to ensure the growth of boy initiates. These ritual experts must be bachelors at the time the relationship is established and remain so while they carry out their role in the initiation cult. Payame rewards her male devotees with shiny, healthy skin.

In her form as the Yuro Ima, the spirit of the Strickland River, she directs wild game, including wild pigs and cassowaries, so that hunters can catch them. She also gives inspiration to the singers of the *pikono* epic cycles that recount some of her own actions in helping humans. Payame Ima has a dangerous side, however. Gabrielle Stürzenhofecker points out that for the Duna, witchcraft is conceived of as a predominantly female power that men see as threatening their control over women. Witches are portrayed as mobile and attracted by valued foods, characteristics usually associated with men. The Female Spirit, she says, is "described as both originator of, and the protector against, female witchcraft" and "powerfully encapsulates the duality inherent in the relations between the sexes" (Stürzenhofecker, 1998, p. 10). Comparable understandings of witchcraft are found throughout Oceania. A rash of witch accusations and killing of witches in the Eastern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea in the 1990s may well be a scapegoating response to social changes that have disempowered men.

In Polynesia and also in parts of Melanesia and Micronesia, sacred power is denoted by the related terms *mana* and *tapu. Mana* is understood as a state of being in which a person or object is temporarily or permanently under the influence of gods, spirits, or powers. The *mana,* or supernatural power, of chiefs is a largely innate and inherited quality. *Tapu*, often glossed as "forbidden," may, when used in reference to gods, chiefs, and temples, also be translated as "sacred." The "sacred maid" of western Polynesia is at the same time powerful and forbidden. In Samoa she is supposed to be a chief's sister's daughter but might in fact be his daughter (Mead, 1949). She leads a group of unmarried girls and untitled men's wives who are responsible for hosting visitors to the village. Unlike other unmarried young women, the sacred maid is under strict sexual constraint and is expected to retain her virginity until marriage. The prestige of the village is vested in her.

MYTH AND RITUAL. In Oceania, as in other regions of the world, the identities and relationships of men and women are explored in myth and song. A myth widespread in Polynesia tells of a woman called Hina (in some places Sina or Ina) who lived long ago and who established women's activities, such as the making of tapa cloth. In one version of the myth Hina falls in love with a handsome chief, Tinirau (or Sinilau), who lives on a faraway island. She runs away from her family and swims across the sea (or rides on the back of a turtle or a shark) in order to marry him. In another version Hina is seduced by Tuna (Eel) while bathing. The trickster hero Maui realizes what is happening and kills the eel. Hina buries her lover's head, and it grows into the first coconut palm or, in a version narrated by the Maori of Aotearoa–New Zealand, the lover is chopped into many pieces that grow into the different species of eel. Some versions of the Hina myth tell that the heroine climbed up to the moon, where she can still be seen seated under a banyan tree beating tapa cloth. Maori narratives maintain that the moon is the true husband of all women, an idea found among many peoples of Oceania.

Whereas culture heroes and heroines may lay down patterns for human behavior, myths also explore the tensions between males and females. In many New Guinean cultures it is narrated that women were the trustees of ritual sacra such as bamboo flutes until they were stolen by men and came to be played in the male cult to impersonate the spirits (Silverman, 2001; Gillison, 1993). When men play the flutes in the context of the men's cult, they are doing something that originally, the narratives say, belonged to women. Moreover their ritual activities are held to produce on a social level what female reproduction does on a biological level. Gillian Gillison describes how, among the Gimi, men and women have their separate but complementary sets of myths that inform the understanding of kinship, marriage, and exchange relationships (Gillison, 1993).

Oceanian cultures understand that power resides in individual, social, and cosmic life. Ritual is the means to tap into power. Even in modern circumstances it is usual for women to carry out rituals for the "growing up" of children, for the fruitfulness of crops, for healing, and for success in attracting men. Similarly men carry out rituals for fishing and hunting, for success in exchanges, for healing and the overcoming of misfortune, and for finding and keeping sexual partners. Some, but not all, cultures in Oceania have rituals for the making of men (Godelier, 1986; Herdt, 1982; Langness, 1999) and the making of women (Lutkehaus and Roscoe, 1995).

Many societies in Oceania employ traditional processes for entry into marriage. These usually involve the exchange of wealth items between the families of the couple and, in the case of patrilineal societies, require a larger payment on the part of the man's supporters to compensate for the childbearing capacity and labor that are transferred from the woman's family to the man's family. Traditionally marriage in Oceania marked not only the union of a couple but the alliance of groups. Marriages that are entered into in traditional ways are usually also celebrated with Christian ceremonies, and indeed some people have only a Christian ceremony.

Periodic rituals to empower the land and to restore the collective good punctuate traditional Oceanian religious systems. If fertility is a major focus of ritual, the restoration of well-being through healing processes is its complement. Everyone knows some herbal remedies as well as spells and ritual actions for healing, but specialist healers, both male and female, command a larger repertoire. Some inherit their healing practice and are trained in it by a parent or other relative. Others may receive healing power through a religious experience. While overall there are more male than female healers, the situation differs from place to place, and even societies that once relied exclusively on male practitioners have seen women assume the practice of healing.

WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP. In the old Pacific, women of high rank in the chiefly societies exercised social and ritual roles, and throughout the area women participated in rituals concerned with land and garden fertility and with the growth and health of children and animals. Senior women initiated the young, and there were women who functioned as healers. Women priests are documented in the Solomon Islands (Burt, 1993, pp. 58, 138, 145, 271). Since the arrival of Christianity, which came first to the eastern parts of Oceania—to Tahiti in 1797 and to Hawai'i in 1820—and then made its way westward, women have also assumed roles of leadership in Christian communities. Some have become pastors in Protestant denominations, although not all denominations permit female ministers; some have served as catechists and evangelists; many have become Catholic and Anglican sisters. A missionary couple from the Cook Islands, Ruatoka and his wife Tungane, went to Papua in 1873 and served there for the rest of their lives. The first Papuan to be baptized, Aruadera, turned to Christ during a Sunday service in which Tungane was presenting the Christian message.

All the Christian denominations in the Pacific have fostered women's groups, and women's fellowships have frequently been a base for social activism. While Christianity provided some scope for women's agency, European missionaries tended to impose Western understandings of appropriate female behavior and family patterns on Pacific Islanders, resulting in changes in dress, housing, and domestic life (Jolly and Macintyre, 1989).

A variety of religious and social movements, some of which have been dubbed "cargo cults," emerged in Oceania in response to colonial and missionary activity. Women have played a role in these movements as mediums and diviners and sometimes as leaders. In Samoa a religious movement that came to be known as the Siovili Cult, after its male founder, arose about 1830 shortly after the introduction of Christianity by the London Missionary Society and lasted until about 1865. Siovili preached the imminent arrival of God's son, Sisu, with judgment to follow. God spoke through Sisu by way of Siovili and other mediums, many of whom were women. The leaders also carried out healings. It seems that this movement was a bridge between the old religion in which families and local communities paid homage to local gods and the Christian era with its universal God.

In Papua New Guinea too the transition from indigenous religions to Christianity gave rise to movements in which women functioned as mediums or prophets. In the early 1940s a Mekeo prophetess, Philo of Inawai'i, experienced dreams and revelations in which she understood that the mother of Jesus, "Our Mother Mary heavenly chief," was addressing her and asking her to work for the renewal of faith in her Catholic community (Fergie, 1977, p. 163). Part of Philo's message was that traditional values and Christianity are not incompatible. There were also male leaders in Philo's movement, some of whom took an anti-European and antimission stance. With the coming of World War II to Papua New Guinea, the Inawai'i movement faded. Philo married, and when she was interviewed by Deane Fergie in the 1970s, she was working as a healer in her village.

Philip Gibbs describes the leadership of women in the God Triwan movement, which started in the Catholic Pompabus parish in the Enga Province of Papua New Guinea in 1989 and spread to other parishes. The movement, which is characterized by divination and prophecy and, as in Philo's movement, devotion to Mary, was still active in the early twenty-first century. A number of scholars have described the emergence in Christian communities in Papua New Guinea of "spirit women," Christian spiritualists who share much in common with traditional male spiritualists embarking on soul journeys and acting as mediums (Lohmann, 2003, pp. 53–54).

Lorraine Sexton describes a women's movement known as Wok Meri (in Tok Pisin, "women's work") that began in the Eastern Highlands and Simbu Provinces of Papua New Guinea in the 1960s. Groups of women under the direction of senior women, called "big women," accumulated money and entered into exchange relationships with other groups. A mother group symbolically gave birth to daughter groups, with women tracing their Wok Meri ancestry through several generations. Members of the groups told Sexton that they were protesting against men's wastefulness in using money to buy beer and play cards and that they were showing their own competence and setting an example for both women and men to follow. Thus Wok Meri spoke to the responsibility women assume for their families and communities in a time of change. From the "sacred maids" of Samoa, to Christian evangelists, to spirit women and "big women," the agency of women in Oceania has been shaped both by social environments and by innovations in times of transition.

SEE ALSO Cargo Cults; Christianity, article on Christianity in the Pacific Islands; Gardens, article on Gardens in Indigenous Traditions; Melanesian Religions; Micronesian Religions; Polynesian Religions; Spirit Possession, article on Women and Possession; Taboo; Witchcraft, article on Concepts of Witchcraft.

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GENDER AND RELIGION: GENDER AND AFRICAN RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS

Gender has been variously defined in diverse contexts. For this entry, however, *gender* may be understood to refer to defined capacities and attributes assigned to persons based on their alleged sexual characteristics. Gender, then, is a construct within a people's living experience, embedded in the base of their philosophy and manifested at theoretical and pragmatic levels of their polity. Because gender is never independent of other social systems, it would be futile to consider it as a fixed and immutable construct; rather, it is a process. Further, gender classifications permeate a culture's cosmic perception and may be discernible in its language, storehouse of wisdom, rituals, and philosophy. Gender thus presents itself in every sector of a culture's experience of everyday life and philosophy of life. Gender classifications may be evident in perceptions of the ecosystem and supernatural forces.

HISTORICAL GENDER STUDIES IN AFRICAN RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS. History as a reference to past centuries will be misplaced if applied to the study of gender in African religious traditions, which include African indigenous religions, Christianity, and Islam. The latter two religions are classified as African religious traditions because of their influence on African culture. No longer can Islam and Christianity be described as foreign religions to Africa, as the people, through the prism of culture, have produced unique brands of Christianity and Islam (Olajubu, 2003). This misplacement of history may occur because basic assumptions concerning gender are conceptualized in Africa, rather than because of a deliberate attempt to ignore them (King, 1995) or as an indication of ignorance about gender studies in religion. African concepts of gender are integral to the people's religious experience and by implication their social life as well. Consequently, to perceive and pursue as a separate field the study of gender in African religious traditions would be misguided.

Possible reasons for granting cognizance to the study of gender in religion in Africa since the 1970s are multifarious. First, the global attention accorded to "women's issues" or the "female question" has influenced the need for scholars to delineate African gender construction within and outside of religion. Second, there arose the need to differentiate African conceptions and construction of gender from gender construction in other cultures. Third, interpretations given to gender construction in African ritual practice by some non-African scholars may be described as controversial, especially when compared to interpretations given by Africans participating in such rituals. Fourth, a good understanding of gender construction is essential to an understanding of African religious traditions. Religion is a belief system permeating all sectors of lived experiences. It exerts a profound influence on people's conception of gender. Indeed, in Africa religion is the basic principle from which gender construction is derived.

Works by scholars on gender in African religious traditions give a prime importance to ritual and the fluidity of African gender construction. Issues of cross-dressing, female cultic functionaries, and spirit possession are critically analyzed to substantiate the multidimensional complexities of gender construction in African religious traditions.

MYTHIC CONTEXTS IN CONSTRUCTING GENDER. The underlying basis of African gender issues could be located in the people's mythology, especially in cosmological myths. Myth, as a conveyor of meaning for that which history offers no explanation, provides a paradigm for gender construction and power relations. Myth supplies explanations for values and meanings in people's lives. As a model for human activity, myth elucidates the connections between the supernatural and the natural. Consequently, the roles played by the female and male personae in mythical narratives have profound implications for the expected roles of females and males in society. Some prominent attitudes on gender are signified in African mythological narratives, including, fertility, motherhood, cleansing, healing, deviance, and interdependent gender relations, as well as ambiguous perceptions of the body and of blood. These attitudes are reflected in narratives on traditions of the goddesses, sacred power, rituals, and cosmology.

African cosmological accounts often submit that God, the supreme being, created the world, nature, animals, and humans. Also, the consensus is that God created the first humans as male and female, "even if the exact methods of creating man differ according to the myths of different peoples" (Mbiti, 1969, p. 93). The Boshingo of Luanda's cosmological myth, for example, states that Bumba (God) was in terrible pain at the beginning of time, and retched and strained and vomited up the sun. After that, light spread over everything. Later, Bumba vomited the moon, stars, animals, and last of all, humans (Eliade, 1967). Moreover, some African creation myths record tension in gender relations and the sanction of God for mutual respect between male and female (Badejo, 1996; Olajubu, 2003). The Yoruba cosmological myth states that Olodumare (God) sent seventeen primordial divinities to earth at the beginning of time, Osun being the only female among them. The sixteen male divinities ignored Osun and excluded her from all decisions. In reaction to this, Osun gathered all women together and formed the Iya Mi group, which disrupted the smooth running of the universe with their powers, and the earth became ungovernable for the sixteen other primordial divinities. Olodumare advised them to make peace with Osun so that all might be well again. This they did, and everything returned to normal (Badejo, 1996, Olajubu, 2003). References to God's distribution of power to the female and the male in different areas may also be discerned from some of these accounts (Adediran, 1994).

Cosmological accounts in Africa thus prescribe and entrench complementary gender relations that find expression in the religious interactions of men and women, as well as in their relations in the polity. Consequently, female leadership roles and access to power in religion are anchored on divine provisions that are validated by these cosmological narratives. Again, these narratives confirm the African preference for areas of specialization for the female and the male. Whereas the obvious area of authority in the polity is in the custody of men, women control the base of men's public authority through mystical powers. An example of such power is demonstrated by the Iya Mi group of the Yoruba, where the women wield tremendous influence in an informal and often invisible but effectual way. Men are seen on the thrones and in official settings as rulers, yet perceived as unable to stand without the help of the invisible base. In general, interdependency and mutual sustenance mark African gender relations.

In African indigenous religions, deities who serve as lieutenants to the supreme being are both female and male. These gods and goddesses derive their authority and function from God. The conduct and interaction of goddesses in African religious narratives provide models for female roles at the religious and social levels. For instance, goddesses are usually represented as "givers" of children, as being in charge of bodies of water, and as possessing healing abilities for effecting physical and psychological well-being. Consequently, a study of goddesses would provide tools for evaluating and analyzing the status of women in African indigenous religions, as well as for assisting in analysis of the inherent gender dynamics in the traditions. For example, just as goddesses assume maternal roles to ensure fertility, motherhood and fertility are important features assumed for African women. Mystical dimensions of feminine empowerment reinforce roles that are linked to female procreative attributes.

Female religious alliances, such as the Iya Mi association among the Yoruba, wield tremendous cultural influence, and often link their powers to the women's access to fertility and motherhood (Olajubu, 2003, p. 17). Similarly, African indigenous religions often ascribe to women the ability to heal. This healing aptitude may be exhibited by women as individuals in their capacities as priestesses and healers, or in a collective as a religious group, such as the *zaar* cults of Ethiopia, Somalia, Egypt, and Eritrea. As wives to gods, goddesses are said to possess independent mystical powers, which they display independently or in conjunction with their husbands. Goddesses are sometimes perceived as wives in polygamous settings, just as polygamy often prevailed as a widespread social practice in Africa.

In addition, goddesses are presented as industrious beings who are often well off financially. In the same vein, African women are hardworking and prosperous, sometimes more so than their husbands. Similarly, African indigenous religions conceive of women as possessing mystical powers, which they are at liberty to use in the service of a personal agenda. Some refer to this mysticism as "witchcraft." Often, allegations of witchcraft indicate some level of fear or awe concerning women's lives and physiology, although these indications do not obliterate cases of witchcraft.

Goddesses are closely connected to the governance of some African communities. Osun, the goddesses of cool waters in Osogbo, Nigeria, is closely connected with the sovereignty of the town and the king. Osun is recognized as the owner of the land on which Osogbo stands. She is reported to have defended the people during wars, and provides for the people as well, including the provision of money, health, and peace. Appreciation for her care is demonstrated yearly in an elaborate festival that attracts devotees from within and outside Nigeria (Olupona, 2000). The king of Osogbo (Ataoja) rules in behalf of Osun; her support is crucial to the success of every endeavor in the land. Indeed, the state in which Osogbo is located is named after her. The relationship between Osun and the king and the indigenes of Osun State is that of mother and children.

SYMBOLIC CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER STUDIES IN AFRICAN RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS. As a social category, gender appears to influence the work of many scholars; this influence is reflected by their research in African religious traditions, as well as in African economics, government, and the media. Many scholars offer tangential evidence of their interest in gender studies in their writings on subjects other than religion. Some of these scholars are Kemene Okonjo (1978), Filomena Steady (1987), Karin Barber (1991), Bolanle Awe (1992), Molara Ogundipe-Leslie (1994), Ifi Amadiume (1998), Mary Kolawole (1998), Anne Wynchank (1998), and Oyeronke Oyewumi (1999). Many other scholars focus their analysis of gender on African Christian, Islamic, and traditional religions: Judith Gleason (1987), Niara Sudarkasa (1987, 1996), Teresa Okure (1989), Rabiatu Ammah (1992), Deidre Crumbley (1992), Teresa Hinga (1992), Musimbi Kanyoro (1992), Anne Nasimiyu-Wasike (1992), Mercy Amba Oduyoye (1992, 1995), Sophie Oluwole (1993), J. Lorand Matory (1994), Amina Mama (1995), Diedre Badejo (1996), Flora Edouwaye S. Kaplan (1997), Dorcas Akintunde (2001), Mei-Mei Sanford and Joseph Murphy (2001), and Oyeronke Olajubu (2003).

Previously, gender studies in African indigenous religions have focused on rituals and symbols. Emanating from these studies are notions of fluidity in gender construction and the complexity attending gender as a social tool for religious analysis. This focus is especially true in light of other competing categories, such as seniority and lineage affiliation. African indigenous religions exhibit ritual features of transvestitism and interchangeable gender characteristics. Another feature is that women traditionally assume roles of leadership as priestesses, diviners, and healers. Furthermore, African religions view women as predominant participants in spirit possession. Scholars have propounded theories from different perspectives to explicate spirit possession and its implication for gender studies. Spirit possession in African indigenous religions bestows temporary respect and authority on women in some contexts, while in others it extends permanent benefits to the social status of women.

Symbols persistently reinforce the complexity of gender construction in African indigenous religions as conveyors of meaning in diverse contexts. Such symbols can occur as works of art, such as the sculpted birds that appear on elements of authority (e.g., crowns, staffs of office) among the Yoruba (Nigeria), or they can be hidden, such as the dance steps that are performed during the Nandi (Kenya) female initiation rites. An overriding principle for symbolism is interdependency in terms of gender relations. Symbols reinforce the authority of women who engage in their sphere of specializations (e.g., fertility), just as symbols reinforce the authority of men (master of the herd); neither could subsist without the other. Again, from these symbols, we may infer that the assumption of a total exclusion of females or males from any particular sphere in these indigenous religions is erroneous.

The introduction of Christianity to Africa began in the early centuries of the Christian era with the establishment of the Ethiopian and Coptic churches, though European missionary activities spanned (intermittently) the fourteenth to nineteenth centuries. Missionaries who introduced Christianity to Africa relegated women to the domestic domain, a division entrenched in biblical interpretations. However, with the emergence of the African independent, charismatic, and Zionist churches, the need to renegotiate gender relations became a relevant issue. Contributing to this need was the mass movement of worshipers from orthodox churches to the African independent, charismatic, and Zionist churches because African culture influenced the prevailing rituals in these churches. As examples of such influence, women assumed roles of leadership and symmetry of form in leadership cadres. Nearly all gender studies of African Christianity began because of these developments. Examples of such works include publications by J. Renita Weems (1991), Amba Mercy Oduyoye and Musimbi Kanyoro (1992), Musimbi Kanyoro and Nyambura Njoroge (1996), W. Musa Dube (2001), and M. Teresa Hinga (2002).

The history of gender studies in Islamic Africa is recent. On the one hand, there is the attempt to tease out feminist passages from the Qurʾān and strip away patriarchal interpretations that hindered previous appreciation. Such passages include the prophet Muḥammad's statements enjoining respect and appreciation for women and equity between the male and female. Emphasis in this regard has been on *taqwa* (piety), which is required of all adherents irrespective of sex by Allah (Mernissi, 1995 and Wadud, 1999).

There is the perspective that prioritizes the influence of African culture in paradigms concerning women, and this influences the women's understanding and practicing of Islam. A model is the leadership role of women in African culture, now manifested in various Islamic forms. This trend has manifested in two main ways. Some women following Islam in Nigeria claim divine calling to devote all their time to prayers and healing practices for clients who come to them. This has consequently elevated the status of such women in Islam. Second, because of the identified need to take the African culture seriously for the propagation of Islam, women are now installed as chiefs in the mosque's structures. Titles among the Yoruba of Nigeria include the Iya Addini (woman leader) and Otun Addini (assistant to the woman leader).

It may be surmised then that an understanding of gender constructions in Africa is significant to any meaningful analysis and evaluation of African religious traditions.

RIGIDITY AND FLEXIBILITY IN GENDER CONSTRUCTION: THE RITUAL SPHERE. The realm of ritual has proven versatile for displaying gender construction and deconstruction. Central to these attempts is the perception in African cultures of blood, especially menstrual blood. The presence or absence of menstrual blood contributes significantly to the construction of gender in religion. In its absence, the patriarchy views the female to be as pure as a virgin and fit for the habitation of the deity in the form of, for example, votary maids, adolescent girls dedicated to certain deities until the age of marriage. These girls are forbidden to engage in sexual relations and their upbringing is closely monitored. Votary maids bring messages to the adherent at worship or festival periods during spirit possession sessions, and observe diverse types of taboos to reinforce their separation unto the deity concerned. River goddesses are often known to have votary maids. In the presence of menstrual blood, the patriarchy views the female, usually a wife, as suspect, even though she is extolled as a mother. This ambiguous status of the female accommodates serious compromises for power relations between the genders. In addition, access to power and authority are consequences of these classifications. In African indigenous religions, then, menstrual blood evokes joy and yet instills limitation. However, among some Africans, limitations are not a consequence of contamination but a means of avoiding a clash of powers. The sacred domain is perceived as the abode of power, just as menstrual blood, which contains potential life, is considered a conveyor of power. Thus, there is a need to separate these two realms of power to avert a clash; this is particularly true of the Yoruba belief system.

African dual perspectives on blood restrict women's access to sacred space during menstruation. Often this restriction is temporary, but it could explain the prevalence of postmenstrual women in leadership cadres. However, current research shows increasing numbers of women of childbearing age in positions of leadership in African indigenous religions, and priestesses may be of any age. In addition, there are females who occupy important positions in male religious groups. Such women play symbolic roles, ranging from keepers of secrets, to the "mothers" of males, including the *iya magba* ("Magba's mother" of the Egúngún Yoruba religious group). These female roles exemplify the African notion of interdependency, mutuality, and compassion of gender relations. Furthermore, the ambivalence marking African expectations and assumptions for female status become evident. Whereas some myths may describe women as unable to keep secrets, women in certain domains are indeed the keepers of secrets.

Gender relations often manifest themselves as a cultural fluidity corresponding to a ritual domain of indigenous religions. This fluidity tends to reinforce complex gender constructions. For instance, legendary goddesses are known to possess "wives" (devotees, votary maids, and mediums), just as certain gods do. Some community rulers are considered to be "wives" of their affiliate deities, who may be perceived as male or female (Matory, 1994). Moreover, certain Yoruba priests of Ṣango are transvestites who take on the role of the male "wives" of the deities by wearing female costumes and plaiting their hair in a feminine style. Alternatively, when under the influence of certain deities, some female mediums of various religious groups exhibit characteristics generally associated with males. For example, while possessed by Ṣango (Elegun Ṣango), female mediums become "aggressive" under Ṣango's masculine authority.

African cultures often correlate group solidarity with gender construction. Group formations are expected of females in many sectors of the African polity, including economics, religion and social settings. While females practice group solidarity in many African religious traditions, males cannot be said to do the same. To explain this widespread practice of female solidarity, scholars of religion have propounded various theories. Whereas some perceive such solidarity as resistance against patriarchal suppression, others see it as an attempt to create an alternative space to empower women. In any case, clearly the motif of female group formation forms a salient feature of African religious traditions.

CONTEMPORARY FEMINIST SCHOLARSHIP AND AFRICAN RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS. Available research and publications on gender and religions in Africa are few. Nonetheless, publications by African female scholars on gender are increasing, which explains the significant impact such works have had on the study of African religious traditions. Although their focuses vary, these works generally pursue the following set of goals (sometimes a single work may fulfill two or more of these conditions): (1) to offer analysis of gender constructions in African religious traditions from the feminine perspective by allowing women to tell their stories rather than imposing constructed meanings on data; (2) to seek paradigms and models from past African religious experiences, spanning history and mythology for the construction of gender relations in contemporary African religious life; (3) to offer new feminist interpretations and meanings for familiar but patriarchal narratives in African religious tradition and to utilize this for balanced gender relations; and (4) to correct assumed meanings for certain aspects of African rituals by taking serious cognizance of meanings ascribed to such rituals by the participants.

African scholars of religion are beginning to restructure the academic constructions of gender by exposing the biased implications proffered by colonial constructions of gender. The colonial experience in Africa instituted a disruption of gender structures by separating the integrated African domains of public and private space. This divisiveness, however, was attenuated in African religious traditions by an entrenched cultural recognition accorded female leadership prescribed in oral narratives. Viewed from a different perspective, the exposure of African religious traditions to the African diaspora since the 1970s has been tremendous. This exposure is particularly true of Yoruba religion, which can boast of adherents in every continent of the world. The movement of practitioners of Yoruba religion travels both ways between the continent and the diaspora. Priests and priestesses of Yoruba religion travel to the Americas and Europe to train and educate adherents, just as some adherents visit Africa regularly for training and renewal of energies. Consequently, this exposure has produced reliable research that compares and contrasts indigenous African religions with their variations in the Americas, especially Brazil, Cuba, and other parts of the Caribbean (Benard and Moon, 2000; Sanford and Murphy, 2001).

Such innovative research contributes to African scholarship by advocating cooperation among practitioners of diasporic and continental African religions. This cooperation has informed conferences, workshops, and symposia on the continent, as well as in the United States and Europe. The exchange of gender studies and religious traditions between the diaspora and Africa is producing fresh perspectives in understanding religious rituals.

Academic materials for investigating African religious traditions from a female perspective are now available in print and on the internet. Consequently, feminist scholars on gender and African religious traditions are establishing women's studies departments and gender institutes in African universities. Examples of such centers include the African Gender Institute at the University of Cape Town, South Africa, and the Institute of Women and Gender studies at the Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda.

SEE ALSO Gender Roles; Menstruation; Spirit Possession, article on Women and Possession.

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OYERONKE OLAJUBU (2005)

GENDER AND RELIGION: GENDER AND NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS

To pursue the theme of gender in North American Indian religious traditions is to bring the construction of gender, long in process, of ancient civilizations into dialogue with the concerns of the present. It necessarily involves a task of identifying carefully what gender means in traditional native cultures and defining the ways, past and present, that this aspect of culture can be assessed. Moreover it requires a critical appraisal of the propriety and accuracy of the conclusions made by those interpreters who were not inside the culture. Especially it demands a clear presentation of the relation of gender and religion, because this varies greatly from Western to traditional cultures.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER. The construction of gender—indeed even the understanding of it—always takes place in the wider project of imagining the shape of the cosmos as a whole. It is well known that the foundational insight of North American Indian traditions is that everything is dynamically alive, with relationships rather than rules as its laws. In such a world nothing and no one stands alone, but each is related to every other and the whole. Thus all is holy, sacred. The primary quality of each aspect is the spiritual nature of its being, which underlies the unique form that communicates its identity. This identity is not the external form but the complex reality of the inner life of that being. Gender as such is clearly related to this spiritual identity and is deeper than sexual marks of differentiation. These outer forms may change over a lifetime; the inner identity does not.

Significantly native peoples have a more diverse recognition of gender as it manifests itself in human life. Is it the early encounter with dualism that caused the western European world to see gender as only dual and complementary, male or female? Native peoples, over a long period of historical experience, recognized a third and even a fourth gender. Perhaps this cultural difference explains the cognitive dismay experienced by the European travelers as well as the curiosity of the early anthropologists and ethnologists. Among the distorted reactions were the harsh punishments dealt by the Spanish conquistadores and the Jesuits who were unable to distinguish sexual identity in native terms from unlawful sexual acts.

Proper recognition of the insights of earlier researchers should be given. The spectrum of those who studied Native American culture ranges from the onset of colonization into the twenty-first century and in manners as diverse as enlightened description (e.g., parts of the *Jesuit Relations*) to hostile rejection of cultural forms. In the broad phylum of objective scholars, ethnologists and anthropologists (male and female) have contributed significant portrayals. Worthy of note is the work of Ruth Landes among the Ojibwa and Ruth Densmore’s ambitious project to record (and thus preserve) the ritual music of many diverse peoples. The presence of such women in the ranks of social scientists opened the door to appreciation of women’s contribution to culture and its core of religious meaning.

Despite the criterion of scientific objectivity, however, each observer brings a structured view of particular reality to the efforts to encounter and understand a different people. Thus in the New World, as in Asia, the predominant frame of reference was that of the Western world. It could not have been avoided in fact. But this perspective has often clouded the view of native peoples. It is certainly the case that the strong influence of Christianity caused the perception of women, of native religion, and of the central place of women in society to be distorted in perception and description. There are of course some great exceptions to this, but they are not the predominant view.

FEMALE CONCEPTS OF SACREDNESS. A powerful example of cultural dissonance is reflected in the early views that native religious traditions were pagan and based on superstition. Scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (e.g., James Walker, Owen Dorsey, Ruth Benedict, and William Fenton), in their earnest efforts to portray and understand the meaning of the dense ritual complexes across the continent, rescued the great body of native religious insights from vanishing. The growing contributions of contemporary native scholars—women and men—have created a more realistic and profound view of indigenous native religious beliefs and practices.

One particular aspect that merits attention is the fascinating dialogue between native concepts of the sacred and those of Western Christianity. In concert with the emergent feminist movement, women scholars have emphasized the particularity and richness of native concepts of the sacred. This is a large subject; thus it is only possible to give a few examples.

In one of the earliest works on gender in native America, *The Sacred Hoop* (1986), Paula Gunn Allen offers a richness of description as she strives to recover the feminine in native traditions. From her own perspective as a Laguna Pueblo woman, she describes the overwhelming feminine aspect of the southwestern peoples but also reveals the parallels in other areas of the country. It is clear from her reflections and memories that there is the closest connection between a creatrix, Thought Woman, and the structure of reality as it proceeds from her sacred work.

> At the center of all is Woman, and nothing is sacred . . . without her blessing, her thinking. . . . She is a spirit who pervades all, who created all reality and languages. This originating power is female in her primacy and potency. She is the mother of all, and as her surrogate, Mother Earth enfolds and nurtures all creation. (Allen, 1986, pp. 13–14)

Thus the Keres people see her as the source of all life, bringer of corn, agriculture, weaving, social systems, religion, ritual, memory, and so on. In her vast presence she is honored as Mother and Father of all peoples and all creatures. Her power is manifest in generativity and so is much broader than maternity. Earth and women are linked as homologous parts of creation; their sacred role stems from their relation to Thought Woman.

The Constructs of Gynecocracy. Allen then demonstrates that this feminine aspect of the sacred is related to social structures of gynecocracy—a distinctive feature of native society that she sees as the predominant form of North American peoples before the coming of the Europeans. This is borne out by the current structures of Pueblo life, especially the Hopi, but also by the central role held by women in the confederacies of the Northwest and Southeast. Less obvious to the British was the powerful role of women among the Iroquois, but early records of encounter noted the high place of women among the Creek and Cherokee, because they were encountered in diplomatic missions.

There is a rich and growing literature on the subject of gender by native scholars and interested others. Credit should be given to one of the first pioneers, the Lakota anthropologist Beatrice Medicine. She initiated work by native women (e.g., Paula Gunn Allen, Patricia Albers, Marla Powers) who set about telling the stories of women in Native America. This is not to say that early students did not depict the life and development of native women. The shifting of history, however, ensured that what most caught their attention were the men who, throughout the nineteenth century, emblazoned across history the image of the heroic warriors and buffalo hunters who were fighting for the very survival of their culture.

In reality survival of a tribe depended on the full cooperation of all its members. Because biology makes women the bearers of children, they are also the keepers of the hearth. Yet in many native societies this was only one aspect of a much broader area of responsibility. All over the continent women have traditionally been associated with the earth. As previously noted, all reality is gendered, and the connection of women to the great source of nurture that is the earth reveals the enormous holiness and power with which she is endowed. This powerful connection appears in many nations in the great stories that preserve their heritage. Thus in the Iroquois origin story the Sky-Woman is the first of the People Above to begin the process of external creation. As she falls from the Sky World, she is supported by birds with their wings outstretched until at last a creature of the waters offers her a resting place. Her rescuer is Grandmother Turtle, and it is from the initial encounter of these persons that Iroquois life begins. The theme of women's power continues, as Sky-Woman's child gives birth to the twin sacred persons who will establish the full creation. Similarly in the Lakota story of the White Buffalo Calf Woman a Sacred Woman comes from Wakan Tanka and brings the great gift of the Sacred Pipe, then and now the symbol of the people's link to the Great Mystery. In the Cheyenne story of creation Maheo, the All-Father, makes man and woman from two ribs taken from his side (implying an equal origination). And among the Navajo, Changing Woman is crucial to the creation of the Navajo and their world. Her presence is believed to ensure cosmic balance, and each girl is initiated into her role and image during Kinaaldá, the female initiation rite.

These stories attest to the high regard for the feminine in creation. This respect traditionally had great influence in shaping the life roles of native women. It is well known that the Iroquois League valued the advice and wisdom of women so much that the representative sachems could not be named or selected without the consent of the women. Historically women had the power to temper the balance of power of the war chiefs by counterbalancing them with men who sought peace. Even in the early twenty-first century the proper protocol for Atatarho, the chief of the sachems, is to have a woman as his mediator. Thus the traditional customs witness to the essential balance of male and female to ensure right order.

Among the agricultural peoples (e.g., the Hopi), the women owned the fields and therefore the store of food that was the source of their people's lives. Women were also expected to have talents in craft making (beading, pottery), and often there is a mythic person who is considered to impart this gift (e.g., Spider-Woman, Double-Faced Woman). The power of female fertility received great respect; in fact periods of fertility necessitated that a woman stay away from ritual spaces as well as from hunters and warriors. Her power was viewed not as impurity but as a power capable of interfering with and subverting male power. A woman was viewed by many nations as the heart of her people. The Cheyenne say it well: "A nation is not conquered until the hearts of its women are on the ground."

A crucial part of any study of gender rests on the ways it is constructed in any society. Before the advent of sociology and psychology, this issue was considered a natural dimension of traditional education. As such it was taught in an imitative and exponential way, not as part of logical discourse (though this too had its place, specifically at puberty ceremonies, in which care was given to define sexual and gender roles). But traditional education involves a broader method than classroom learning. An entire clan group was responsible for imaging the roles adults have in contributing to the support of the whole group. Thus an intensive web of instruction accompanied a child from earliest years to the major threshold of adult initiation. This was true for girls and boys in a framework that allowed notice to be taken of those who did not quite fit the category.

Women in Rituals. The place of women in rituals, and the links perceived between them and the rationale and goal of the ritual, is perhaps most strikingly seen in rites of initiation. One strong example (representative of many others) can be found in the Navajo ceremony of Kinaaldá. In origin and purpose it illustrates the feminine aspect of ritual practice as well as the connection between such rites and the common good that ritual aims to support. The rite of Kinaaldá derives from the Navajo story of their creation or emergence. In it a powerful spirit, miraculously placed on the earth's surface, creates the first humans from her own flesh. She is called Changing Woman because she embodies all the seasons of life as well as of nature. She is unvaryingly benevolent and continues to nurture her people, especially through Blessingway, the chantway that is her gift, and through Kinaaldá.

What occurs in this Navajo ritual is a careful process intended to make the pubescent young girl a Navajo woman in potency and reality. This is accomplished by molding the girl into the image of Changing Woman and encouraging her to earnestly begin to emulate her model's qualities as woman through her contributions to the people. Thus physical strength, endurance, creativity, fruitfulness, and many skills and qualities are transferred to her during this special time when she is especially open to formative influences. The initiate is instructed to invite Changing Woman into her life, and in the realism of Navajo belief, this does happen. Thus the young woman is considered to be a special source of power for life and healing during this time. The rich ceremonial details of dress, painting, and ritual acts portray the transformation of the young girl into this powerful and benevolent spirit. Through this she is prepared to contribute to her people in life-giving ways throughout her life.

The remembered traditions of the peoples of North America reveal that the role of women in society and ritual is of utmost importance. Thus the varying ways of conducting the sun dance on the Plains insisted on the presence of the Sacred Woman at the heart of the ritual. This example demonstrates that, even in cultures that in historic times were seen as masculine (i.e., the warrior tradition that was so obvious to the invaders from the east), the whole could not be complete without the sacred presence of women. Any study of the elaborate ritual acts that made up the sun dance shows the profound understanding that the feminine is a necessary, constituent part of cosmic reality. Thus it is complementarity, rather than emphasis on a male or female hierarchy, that most accurately represents the religious understanding of native peoples of North America.

The sun dance represents not only thanksgiving for the gifts of life but also a primary moment to bring healing to the people. The role of healing is central to indigenous religions and in North America involved both genders. Because it was a uniquely important spiritual calling, this role was usually entered through a call in a dream or a vision and a period of specific instruction by an elder, experienced religious authority. This vocation was not restricted to men, but a different path was usual for women. In the many stories that exist of medicine women, it is clear that they could not exercise their full spiritual power until they were past menopause. Specifically, although they could offer herbs for healing, they were not to engage in the profound act of spiritual healing. Similar to the principle that menstrual blood could interfere with the exercise of power, in carrying out her role the medicine woman did not risk the conflict of sacred powers. Among the many tribes in which the medicine tradition was inherited (nonlinearly), women also served the people. In some places (e.g., California) only women became medicine people.

Women in Society. The role of males in traditional native societies varied with regard to geographical location, modes of subsistence, and the shape of major cultural myths. But seen against the broad background of the prehistoric past, all had internalized the primary occupation of ancestors—the endeavor to win survival through hunting. The skills and perceptual acuteness needed for successful hunting created an ideal that perhaps found its apex in the Plains Indian buffalo-hunting culture. But strong masculine images were noted in most cultures Europeans encountered, and these emerge in the accounts shared by the people themselves as they surveyed their oral histories. Here, as with the female gender, the essence of the male person was regarded as in process and as eventually completed in a spiritual encounter with sacred power. This reveals that the virtue associated with the strong male image were not merely natural but part of a complex relationship with the creative power that fills all life.

The myths tell of the first peoples looking for a homeland and sources of life. They are portrayed as knowing their weakness and welcoming the interventions by gods or spirits who come to assist them.

A paradigmatic story comes from the Navajo, who fall into error regarding the essential balance of men and women, male and female, in life on Mother Earth. They are gently led to reunite by the intervention of a spirit who manifests the vitality and rightness of that balance in himself. In the Lakota story of extended beginnings, the prototypical warrior, Stone Boy, works arduously to make the earth safe for the people, and in the story of the founding of the League of the Hodenosaunee, the prophet Deganawidah finds it necessary to temper the uncontrolled warlike nature of Atatarho, whom he defeats by skillful diplomacy. A powerful transformation takes place when the ferocious warrior chief surrenders his passions and agrees to be the servant of all—the chief of chiefs who holds the council fires together. The Iroquois honor this memory of the shift from uncontrolled aggression to diplomatic means to achieve harmony both within and around them.

Because the male was required to support not only his family but all those in need, much depended on developing a pattern of learning that relied on fostering certain verities. Courage was paramount, but skill in tracking, patience in waiting, and the will to endure privations—often for long periods of time—were also crucial. These skills, although important, are minor compared to the habits of mind and soul. Thus many people valued generosity and altercenteredness and viewed the whole as contributing to the attainment of honor. Much was expected of the man, and the burden this could impose was often felt as heavy. Anthony F. C. Wallace's study of the Seneca, based on a lifetime of work by others, such as William Fenton, illustrates how such pressure was in need of a means to release it without shaming the warrior. He notes the wisdom of a community that paid great attention to dreams, seen as early as the 1600s, as "wishes of the soul" and the acumen of soul that instituted a way private dreams could be enacted at the Midwinter (New Year's) Festival and answered in appropriate ways by the community. It is important to note here that the Iroquois, remembered by history as fearsome warriors, were actually part of a matriarchal society and that one of the most highly regarded warrior societies on the Plains was that of the Cheyenne, who were renowned for their courage and discipline and spirit of sacrifice. Their allies and friends the Lakota remarked that the Cheyenne women deserved as much honor as their men, being famed for their character and the extraordinary companionship, which they provided in peace and war.

The activities that occupied warriors concerned the support and defense of the people—both very serious responsibilities. They were also encouraged to hone their skills in sports and gaming and did so with relish, but the reality of their role was never far from their minds. Even though the level of aggression was magnified greatly by the dislocations and impact of colonization, raiding had a large part in life on the Plains and the severely impacted Northeast. One example shows what was really at stake in such skirmishes. Many peoples vied for honor by successfully getting away with horses or other goods by skillful stealth. The highest honor in fact was credited to the person who had the bravery to get close enough to a living enemy to touch him or her and escape with his or her own life intact.

More seriously, in the epic years of the final battles for freedom of the northern Plains Indians, the Lakota and Cheyenne each had a band of volunteers who joined sacred societies such as the Kit Fox Society or the Dog Soldiers. Each man had vowed to defend his people to the point of death. The Dog Soldiers wore a sash that, dismounting, they tied to the ground in the forefront of the battle. They understood the price and were willing to pay it. The descendants of the warrior societies of North American Indians have volunteered to fight in the major battles of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. They have continued to distinguish the vital heritage from which they come.

GENDER RECOGNITION. Because sacred power is inextricably related to gendered living, it is not surprising that the freedom and creativity of that sacred power is ultimately the key to gender in Native America. Although the roles of women and men are clearly defined, they also are not strictly limited to sexual identity. It is not uncommon to find men, as among the Hopi, who do the weaving or to find women who are capable of excelling in manly arts. Apparently it is hard to limit the creative power of the sacred. Thus no one was surprised when a sister of a Cheyenne warrior, seeing him struck from his horse in battle, raced to take his place. Though Buffalo Calf Road Woman is vividly remembered, it was viewed as natural for her to assume that role.

More tellingly the recognition of other genders can be traced to a similar foundation. This aspect of gender has been captured in some early accounts, mostly in an objective way. Women such as Ruth Benedict (1887–1948), Alice Kehoe, Ruth Landes (1908–1991), Margaret Mead (1901–1978), and Ruth Underhill (1883–1994) actually strove to present sensitive descriptions based on intensive conversations in the field. But the real breakthrough occurred only in the last quarter of the twentieth century with the work of Walter Williams, Sabine Lang, and Paula Gunn Allen among others. What their contributions reveal is that a large range of gender issues have escaped the net of scholarship. The reasons are understandably many. So much of native culture has been interpreted by outsiders looking in that the deepest parts of sacred traditions have been carefully guarded. Part of that reality is the long-standing recognition of the existence of more than two genders, framed by the steady opposition of Christian Euro-Americans. Sadly some of these prejudices have crossed over during the difficult period of forced education that had assimilation as its goal. Traditional language, customs, and values were targeted for extinction. An inevitable part of this was the imposition of mores that are culturally alien to the native peoples. Thus the subject of diverse models of gender is often met with embarrassment, and some persons whose identity is neither male nor female have met with intolerance on their own reservations.

There is, however, a powerful lesson to learn from the traditional understanding (admittedly complex) of gender diversity. The kinship circle, which embraces all of life for a native person, includes a variety of gendered persons whose place in the community is determined by careful identification of recognized gender characteristics. Thus the designation of someone as a *winkte* among the Lakota or as a *nádleeh* among the Navajo rests on qualities that indicate a person's role in society rather than sexual identity. Growing contemporary research reveals a traditional past in which wide gender variety was regarded as part of the natural order. In some societies such persons were believed to possess special powers that could help the community flourish. The term *two-spirit,* in favor at the beginning of the twenty-first century, has been chosen to indicate the connection of such persons to the spiritual world, in particular their special place in ritual.

Early anthropological research brought the biases and categories of the Western worldview to the study of gender variances. Faced with a complex image of wide diversity in this area, the reports of these scholars could neither embrace nor appreciate the rich universe of meaning they had encountered. One example is the common use of the French term *berdache*, which is not only taken from a foreign context but is also burdened with a specific meaning (e.g., homosexuality, transvestism, hermaphrodism) unsuited to the broader universe that emerged at early encounters. Although this term was intended as a positive description of North American Indian customs, it could not begin to translate the rich diversity in balance with a view that all things are in dynamic process toward the cosmic purpose of everything that exists—*hozho*. The rich diversity in gender is not exceptional but rather a vital dimension of a multifaceted reality. The classification given by Wesley Thomas at the 1993 Wenner-Gren Conference in Washington, D.C., offered four main classifications known by the Navajo: feminine female, masculine male, masculine female (*nádleehí*), and feminine male (*nadleehi*). He notes that a crucial difference separates Western and traditional Navajo concepts relating to gender, sexuality, and sexual relationships. Thus a relationship between a female-bodied *nádleeh* (masculine female) and a woman or one between a male-bodied *nadleeh* (feminine male) and a man are not seen as homosexual in traditional Navajo culture.

That gender was distinguished from sex is clarified in a seminal paper (never published but widely circulated) by the highly regarded Lakota anthropologist Beatrice Medicine in 1979, revised as part of Patricia Alber and Beatrice Medicine's, *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women* (1983). Beatrice Medicine notes that the traditional vocation of the *winkte* included roles as ritualist, artist, specialist in production of women's crafts, herbalist, seer, namer of children, and (perhaps most interesting) rejection of the warrior's role. Among the highly disciplined Plains Indians, the warrior's place was greatly esteemed. To reject it required conviction and courage. Thus the *winkte* occupied a unique place in traditional Lakota society, as did the equivalent in many other cultures. It was Beatrice Medicine's intent to examine the changes wrought by urbanization imposed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. For the young men and women transplanted to urban and intertribal settings, adaptation was a difficult process. One of the dimensions of native life that did not transfer well was the area of gender diversity. In a larger society unable to deal with ambiguities, labels were hastily applied. The distinction between gender and sex is perhaps too foreign for general acceptance, and certainly the circumstances of invasive cultural drifts onto the reservations complicated this area of culture. Thus the traditional context has been harder to retain, both on and off traditional lands. Medicine sadly notes that native *winkte* have experienced discrimination not only in the mainstream society but also at home. Thus a dimension of native spiritual understanding that has so much to offer the Western world has suffered a unique form of repression. The emerging voices and research in the twenty-first century of mainstream gay activists and their eagerness to lift from oppression victimized others holds a promise of a battle that could result in a better resolution.

Clearly, there is an innate link between gender and North American Indian religious traditions. Due to its limited scope, it can only be a summary of an exceedingly rich field. Through the early efforts of anthropologists and ethnologists to describe and understand them, through the great generosity of the people who were convinced of the need to speak, and now through the growing numbers of Native Americans who are speakers for themselves, a rich tapestry of variegated beauty is emerging. Their world is so much older than that of Euro-Americans, and their insights into the nature of reality enrich the story of the world's religions. They speak of wholeness, of complementarity, mutuality, and of harmony. Their image of difference is one that strives for unity yet preserves distinctness as the proper order of creation.

SEE ALSO Cosmology, overview article; Gender Roles; Gynocentrism; Lakota Religious Traditions; Mead, Margaret; Navajo Religious Traditions; North American Indian Religions, overview article; Shamanism, article on North American Shamanism.

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KATHLEEN DUGAN (2005)

GENDER AND RELIGION: GENDER AND MESOAMERICAN RELIGIONS

Religion forms an integral part of everyday life for indigenous peoples of Mesoamerica. Indeed, religious beliefs and practices cannot be separated from politics, healing, production, and other aspects of life. This article explores the relationship between religion and gender in Mesoamerica, or Middle America, a region extending from Central Mexico to Honduras. The area designates the territories where the ancient Aztec and Maya cultures flourished. Contemporary descendents of these cultures have retained core elements of the Mesoamerican cultural tradition despite a legacy of imperialist invasions. The sections below on the pre-Columbian and colonial periods focus on the Nahuatl-speaking ethnic groups of Central Mexico, including Mexicas, commonly referred to as Aztecs. The section on contemporary religions focuses on Mayas of Chiapas, Mexico.

RESEARCH ON GENDER IN MESOAMERICAN RELIGIONS. A gendered perspective on Mesoamerican religions began to emerge in the scholarly literature in the 1960s. Prior to this time scholars were mainly preoccupied with male forms of power in both the material and spiritual realms. The Spanish chroniclers who came to Mesomerica in the sixteenth century included Bernardino de Sahagún, Alonso de Zorita, Diego Durán, and Toribio Motolonía. They were influenced by Christian beliefs and practices and by their patriarchal ideology. Their writings give little attention to the important role women played in religion or in other aspects of life, although they do describe the gender dualities of Mesoamerican deities and the independence of women.

Ethnographers conducting research before the 1960s tended to generalize from data about men to communities at large, although they did note the gender specialization that characterized Mesoamerican life. They reported that involvement in religion was a daily aspect of life for women, complementing men's more formal roles in ritual events. Influenced by the women's movement in the 1970s, anthropologists, historians, and art historians brought a critique of Eurocentric assumptions about religion and gender to their research on Mesoamerican religions. Their studies indicate the significant economic, social, and spiritual roles women filled in Mesoamerica before and after the Spanish invasion. Subsequent scholarship has avoided sweeping generalizations by focusing on the local variations in gender arrangements and religious beliefs and practices across time and space. These studies have changed the way scholars view many traditional dichotomies, such as the domestic/public, sacred/secular, and natural/cultural spheres.

Feminist critiques of the marianismo/machismo dichotomy proposed by the political scientist Evelyn Stevens exemplify progress in refining understandings of gender in Mesoamerica. In a 1973 article, "Marianismo: The Other Face of Machismo," Stevens based marianismo on the Virgin Mary and defined it as "the cult of female spiritual superiority which teaches that women are semi-divine, morally superior to, and spiritually stronger than men" (Stevens, 1973, p. 91). Feminist scholars, such as Marysa Navarro, have criticized marianismo for labeling nonindigenous women throughout Latin America as passive, self-sacrificing, and dependent; for lack of grounding in any specific cultural, geographic, or historical context; and for ignoring the many ways that Latin American women have participated in political movements to challenge gender inequalities.

PRE-COLUMBIAN PERIOD. Gender roles are never static across time, geography, or social groups. Prior to the ascendancy of the Aztec state, gender roles in central Mexico had an egalitarian base, and gender was more fluid and negotiable than the first European chroniclers reported. In "Gendered Deities and the Survival of Culture," the anthropologist June Nash documents how changes in Aztec political structure transformed religious symbols and the position of women relative to that of men. Prior to the development of state-level societies, the core social unit in Mesoamerican societies was kinship-based, composed of clans. Later these clans became the basis for complex social stratification. During the formative period of what became the Aztec state (beginning around 800 CE), many deities were dual gender or androgynous figures. Coatlicue, Mother of the Gods, embodied opposites: life and death, night and day, light and dark, and male and female. But by the time of the reign of Itzacóatl (1429–1440), the Aztec empire was a military state with distinct class and gender stratification. During this period, Huitzilopochtli, the male sun god and war deity, replaced earlier androgynous deities.

Significant class distinctions within the Aztec state divided the nobles, who held political office and controlled the economic resources, from the *macehuales* (commoners) who paid rent and made up the majority of the population. Gender roles varied by class. The daughters of the nobles attended the *calmecac* (school for the elite) and could become priestesses. Commoners of both genders filled important ritual roles in their homes and fields.

Although the Aztec state denied women leadership roles, they had equal rights with men legally and economically. They were active producers, healers, and priestesses. A number of scholars describe gender parallelism among Aztec women, with males and females filling different but complementary roles. Most women's work was centered in the home and included weaving, spinning, sweeping, cooking, and caring for children. These tasks were highly valued and had a sacred significance; the home was a place of power. Aztecs compared women's work in childbirth to men's roles as warriors. While priests swept the temples, women swept their homes to defend them against danger and chaos. Wives of warriors swept not only at dawn but at noon and dusk, marking the sun god's path and assuring their husbands' success in battle. As further assurance, women placed their weaving shuttles, symbols of their husbands' weapons, on temple altars.

COLONIAL PERIOD. The Spanish colonization of Mesoamerica in the sixteenth century led to dramatic changes in the social and spiritual lives of the locals. Millions of indigenous people were killed by disease, warfare, overwork, and murder. Whole villages were relocated and given new Christian names. By the early 1600s, Catholic churches had replaced Aztec ceremonial centers. Men and women were pressed into service and forced to pay tribute in the form of woven goods and agricultural products.

Spanish colonial priests and friars brought with them dualistic philosophical premises that profoundly contradicted those of the indigenous people. They emphasized free will, for example, while indigenous people tended to stress collective will, particularly at the household level, where marriages were tied to household production. In *Weaving the Past*, the ethnohistorian Susan Kellogg describes how the Spaniards focused on married couples rather than the extended family groupings that were so important in Mesoamerica. Friars exhorted young women to protect their virginity and to seek enclosure through acting modestly, covering their bodies fully, and staying home as much as possible. In some parts of Mesoamerica, priests constructed dwellings where young betrothed men and women came to stay until marriage. Yet priests gave no practical instructions to women and their daughters on how to sequester themselves when they were forced to work outside their home to provide tribute and to survive.

Physical intimidation of women became part of the fabric of life in colonial society. In indigenous communities, the tensions between native and colonial views of proper gender roles undoubtedly fueled the increasing violence toward native women. Men were forced into patriarchal roles in societies where gender equality and cooperation remained a strong principle, and in response to these stresses, many native men resorted to hitting their wives and sometimes to murder. Alcohol abuse was often a factor in the violence. The church encouraged native women to submit to their husbands' authority and to endure violent behavior, further undermining traditional complementary roles.

Native women were not passive in the face of these abuses. Kellogg explores the religious and spiritual roles women used to gain power and deal with the violence and stresses of colonial life. They served as midwives, *curanderas* (healers), sweepers of the church, and guardians of young women. As guardians, matrons escorted, advised, and protected young girls in schools run by the church. In both Nahua and Maya communities, women also became members of *cofradías,* religious cofraternities dedicated to the cult of a particular saint or aspect of the Christian deity. These offices allowed women some continuity in authority roles as priestesses and helped maintain a parallel gender structure in government.

During the sixteenth century, the Spanish attempted to enforce their belief system by linking the once-powerful female deities and women's roles as healers and midwives to evil and sorcery. In spite of these associations, some female-oriented beliefs, symbols, and practices persisted. Especially in central Mexico among the Nahuas, female deities were powerful symbols of fertility, sexuality, important foods, and other resources. Friars saw these deities as symbols of pagan beliefs that needed to be expunged. They were never entirely successful in eliminating them, however, due in part to their fear of entering native homes or places of worship, which they believed were tainted by the devil and would endanger their souls.

During the colonial era, the Virgin Mary was the only major sacred female figure Christianity had to offer to the indigenous people. Many women reported that they communicated with the Virgin as well as with Jesus, God, the saints, and demons. These women were viewed as mystics if they lived in convents, where they were tightly controlled. The Monastario of Corpus Cristi, the first convent for indigenous women, was established in Mexico City in 1724. Only the daughters of the indigenous nobles were accepted as novices in the convent. Most indigenous women did not live in convents, and they were often punished for their revelations. In or outside of convents, women's intimate communications with spiritual beings challenged the male church hierarchy's authority as the only legitimate mediators between human beings and spiritual beings.

Over the years native peoples infused the basic Catholic symbol of the Virgin Mary with new meanings. They found in her both an ally and a symbol of their empowerment and liberation. She is often associated with revitalization movements initiated by indigenous people during the colonial era. Several of these movements incorporated armed uprisings, which simultaneously resisted Spanish domination and reasserted indigenous beliefs and practices. A vision of the Virgin inspired the 1712 revolt in the Mayan community of Cancuc in Chiapas. A young woman named María de Candelaria reported that the Virgin Mary had appeared to her and asked that a chapel be built. When the local Spanish priests refused to recognize the visitation, thirty-two indigenous towns joined in a revolt against Spanish control. Their leaders claimed that Saint Peter, the Virgin Mary, and Jesus had called them to create an indigenous priesthood and to liberate themselves from Spanish power. Over a six-month period in 1712 and 1713, Spanish soldiers and their supporters suppressed the uprising. Subsequently, colonial officials instituted minor economic reforms to placate the indigenous population, however these reforms had little effect on reducing their impoverishment.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. Prior to the mid-twentieth century, most Mayan peoples of southern Mexico and Guatemala practiced a form of folk Catholicism commonly referred to as Traditionalism, which creatively combines beliefs about Mayan deities with local understandings of Catholicism. Central to Traditionalism are prayer, pilgrimages to places of sacred significance, and festivals carried out in honor of saints on important feast days. By the 1970s and 1980s thousands of indigenous peoples throughout Mesoamerica began to abandon Traditionalism in favor of Protestant churches and progressive Catholicism.

Traditionalism. In indigenous communities in Mexico and Guatemala, women play important roles that assure the physical as well as emotional, social, and spiritual well-being of both individuals and communities. For example, women take on important cargos, work on behalf of their communities, literally burdens or weights. Women's cargos include reciting prayers, preparing traditional foods, weaving ceremonial cloths and garments, and working alongside their husbands in a year-long series of obligations to a particular saint. Women often receive the call to serve a cargo from a saint in a dream or vision. After receiving the call, they request their husbands' assistance to fill the cargo. In many indigenous communities, cargo service underscores the complementarity and interdependence between males and females.

Women gain status and heat, a sign of spiritual strength, by working as midwives, healers, and cargo holders. Conceptions of human development among many Mesoamerican peoples see a person starting life in a cold state and then becoming hotter and hotter as he or she matures through serving his or her community. At death a person returns to a cold state. Women can acquire as much heat as men if they fulfill many duties for their communities. Women who communicate with powerful Christian and native deities on behalf of individuals and their communities are respected for their heat and knowledge. These women also enjoy significant independence, often traveling long distances in the night to visit people in need of their services.

Several key conceptions of deities from pre-Hispanic times survive in contemporary Mesoamerica. In highland Chiapas, earth, moon, caves, water, and the Virgin Mary are believed to embody powerful female spiritual forces. The sun is associated with a male god and Jesus Christ. A mother/father/ancestor/protector deity, called Totilme'il in Tzotzil-speaking towns and Me'tiktatik in Tzeltal-speaking towns, is important in daily life. Androgynous conceptions of deities exist as well. In San Pedro Chenalhó, Holy Cross, one of the three patron deities, is said to be androgynous and capable of both benevolent and malevolent acts. Dual and androgynous deities in contemporary Mesoamerican communities suggest that fluid and complementary symbols of gender exist alongside patriarchal ones.

Catholicism. Beginning in the 1960s, the Latin America Catholic Church underwent dramatic changes. The historic meetings of the Second Vatican Council between 1962 and 1965 and the Latin American bishops meeting in Medellín, Colombia, in 1968 emphasized the structural roots of poverty and called on the church to take concrete actions to end injustice. A progressive Catholicism began to spread in regions of Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua. It followed the "preferential option of the poor," placing marginalized peoples at the center of the church's work. Although class rather than gender was the primary concern, the Catholic Church attempted to involve women more fully in its work by training them as workshop leaders and catechists.

Since the 1970s in Mesoamerica, women have been particularly active in Christian base communities, small groups of men and women who meet to discuss their faith and interpret the conditions of their lives through the lens of Catholic doctrine. Through participation in base communities and in other lay roles, women perform important social, religious, and political work in their communities. They also question traditional gender roles, like the division of domestic tasks. Many women began their work in social activism in the Catholic Church. For example, Rigoberta Menchú, an indigenous woman of Guatemala and Nobel Peace laureate, first became involved in social activism as a catechist. In her 1984 autobiography, Menchú recalls the powerful experience of reading biblical stories of men and women who struggled to lead their people from oppression.

In the 1970s in Mexico's southeastern state of Chiapas, women throughout the Catholic diocese of San Cristóbal de Las Casas began to participate in local groups in which they read the Bible and discussed their problems. The most significant problems women face are poverty, racism, alcohol, and domestic violence. In 1992 these grassroots groups became formally linked through the Diocesan Coordination of Women (CODIMUJ). In hundreds of local groups throughout the diocese, the women of CODIMUJ meet to critique unequal gender relations and also to challenge structural forms of oppression, such as racism, political repression, and destructive economic policies.

Protestantism. Many indigenous people in southern Mexico and Guatemala began to convert to Protestantism beginning in the 1970s, with the Pentecostal and Presbyterian churches attracting the largest numbers of converts. (Studies estimate that 20 to 30 percent of the residents of

Guatemala and Chiapas are Protestant.) Through affiliation with Protestant churches, poor women find support in surviving dramatic social and economic changes and in some cases for challenging gender subordination.

The anthropologist Linda Green notes that evangelical churches in Guatemala provide a safe space where Mayan widows of the civil war create new forms of community and share emotional, psychological, and material support. Protestant congregations allow native people to reestablish a lost sense of community by creating fictive kin ties, calling one another *hermano* (brother) and *hermana* (sister). As people reconstruct their lives in times of social upheaval, they draw on past and present events, creatively blending indigenous worldviews with Christian ones. For example, it is not uncommon for Protestant converts to seek the assistance of traditional healers to treat grave illnesses. Through participation in new Christian churches, men and women redefine gender roles, relations, and ideologies by challenging social problems, such as alcoholism, domestic violence, and spousal abandonment. Women often initiate conversion within households, realizing the specific benefits they gain from ideologies that encourage men to stop drinking. Women's acts of conversion and activities in all-women's groups are part of a broader autonomy movement that sends a powerful message to outsiders that indigenous peoples can control their own affairs. Men have responded to women's new roles in a variety of ways, sometimes converting to new religions after their kinswomen convert, other times punishing their kinswomen for making major changes in their households.

RELIGION IN SECULAR MOVEMENTS. Religion is important even in secular movements in Mesoamerica. In contemporary Chiapas, the uprising of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) in 1994 was one aspect of a broad revitalization movement that began to build in the 1970s as a response by indigenous people to their waning control over their lives. Women have played a prominent role in the EZLN uprising, both as military insurgents and as members of civilian support bases who provide material aid to Zapatistas and implement Zapatista programs. The EZLN is a secular movement but includes people from a range of religious affiliations, including Catholics, Presbyterians, Pentecostals, Seventh-day Adventists, and Traditionalists among others. It differs from previous revolutionary models in respecting the religious choice of each member. Members of Zapatista base communities commonly pray before meetings, read the Bible together, and attend religious celebrations.

Women play central roles in base communities by reevaluating their ancestral traditions and bolstering those that serve their own and their households' well-being. The traditions women say they want to preserve are those that do not require centralized or hierarchically organized leadership and in which women have considerable authority. These include preparing altars to welcome back the souls of deceased loved ones on the Day of the Dead; preparing traditional foods daily and for special ceremonies; healing through herbs, prayer, and dream analysis; using a falsetto voice to show respect for elders who have held community cargos; contributing to pilgrimages three times a year to water holes and other sacred places; and weaving and wearing traditional clothing brocaded with ancestral cosmological motifs.

SEE ALSO Christianity, article on Christianity in Latin America; Gender Roles; Liberation Theology; Mesoamerican Religions, article on Contemporary Cultures.

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GENDER AND RELIGION: GENDER AND SOUTH AMERICAN RELIGIONS

Religion is central to South American society. Daily life and major events are marked, celebrated, and aided by the performance of religious rituals derived from a range of traditions, including Andean, Inca, shamanism, Catholicism, and Protestantism. In agricultural areas planting and harvesting are imbued with religious meaning. Marriage, healing, and even travel require celebration of religious rituals. Religion in South America also reflects and reproduces gender norms in the society. Forms of veneration, rituals of healing, rites of reconciliation, and specific religious cults follow gender lines.

RESEARCH ON GENDER AND RELIGION IN SOUTH AMERICA. The gender specificity of religious belief, practices, and rituals in pre-Colombian South America defied the logic of the Spanish who invaded the region in the sixteenth century. The principle characteristics of Andean and Inca religion are gender parallelism and complementarity, which reflect and reinforce social organization. By contrast, Spanish Mediterranean monotheistic religion in which a supreme male deity dominated supported a patriarchal model of the society in which men presided over the family and society. Spanish chroniclers misunderstood Andean and Inca religion and condemned religious practices that defied the patriarchal model by suggesting they were the work of the devil. Inca worship of a masculine Sun as the principle deity and of the feminine Moon as its counterpart seemed to the Spanish a result of diabolical intervention. Although they did not understand them, Spanish chroniclers recorded their observation of gendered practices of worship and of male and female deities. Their accounts provide researchers with insight into the gendered cosmology and practices of pre-Colombian South American society. Spanish clergy, including Pedro de Cieza de León, José de Acosta, Cristóbal Albornoz, Pablo José de Arriaga, Bernabé Cobo and Martin de Murua, whose goal was to eradicate local religion and establish Catholicism, also provide much of the available source material for understanding pre-Colombian South American religion. Andean and Inca manuscripts, including the Huarochirí Manuscript, and the accounts of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and "El

Inca" Garcilaso de la Vega provide knowledge from an indigenous perspective. Researchers have examined these accounts using gendered categories of analysis to gain insight into the female, male, and androgynous components of Andean and Inca religion.

Archaeological evidence has also provided insight into the gender specificity of religion and ritual in South American society. Archaeological remains are subject to different interpretive challenges because analysis of them reflects contemporary assumptions about gender and worship. As a result, women's roles depicted in artifacts were sometimes ignored or misinterpreted. For example, in 1980 Anne-Marie Hocquenghem and Patricia J. Lyon identified a figure with long braids and feminine dress depicted in a Peruvian Moche "Sacrifice Scene" as a Moche priestess. Their interpretation was contested by researchers who identified this figure as male. Only in 1991 when the remains of a tomb where the ritual had been enacted in practice was found and the participant's bones were identified as female did researchers concur with Lyons and Hocquenghem that the image in the picture was that of a woman. Even with this recognition, the female figure was ascribed lower status than that of her male counterparts in the Sacrifice Scene. Two men depicted in the Sacrifice Scene often were identified as Moche warrior-priests and rulers, whereas the female figure was identified as a priestess rather than a ruler.

Irene Silverblatt's influential book, *Moon, Sun, and Witches* (1987), was among the first to provide a gendered analysis of Andean and Inca religion and the impact of Spanish Conquest. Using Spanish sources, Silverblatt concluded that gender parallelism and complementarity were core characteristics of Andean cosmology and of the organization of religious cults. She argued that the Incas used gender ideologies and religious practices to extend their control over Andean communities. Kathryn Burns's *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (1999) carried a gendered analysis of religion into the colonial period. She demonstrated that the Spanish used religion and gender to assert control over the Incas and to establish a colonial order. Burns examines the Spanish foundation and development of two Catholic convents in the Inca capital of Cuzco. She argues that, by facilitating an inextricably linked exchange of prayer and material resources with the people of Cuzco, women religious played a central role in what she describes as the spiritual economy of colonial society. This research is complemented by ethnographic studies (e.g., Allen, 1988, Glass-Coffin, 1998) that illustrate the centrality of gendered practices of religion in contemporary Andean society, suggesting that elements of pre-Colombian religious ideals of Andean parallelism and complementarity survived Spanish conquest.

ANDEAN PARALLELISM. Andean parallelism and complementarity are perhaps best illustrated by Pachamama and Pachatira. Pachamama, literally Mother Earth, is said to embody the generative forces of the earth and to sustain society by providing nourishment. She cannot, however, realize her procreative powers without a male celestial counterpart and is often paired with Illapa (or Rayo), the god of thunder and lightning, who dominates the heavens and provides the rain necessary for crop production. Pachamama is also inextricably linked with Pachatira, a temporal and material dimension of the earth associated with masculinity. Pachamama and Pachatira appear to represent different aspects of the pacha's nature as both a nurturing figure, yet also a potentially angry force that may punish people and requires their worship and sacrifice in exchange for sustaining them. Pachamama/Tirakuna may appear as distinct manifestations of Mother Earth with Tirakuna seen as sacred places identified as "Fathers" and Pachamama as the earth as a whole. Thus, rather than being completely separate, Pachamama/Tirakuna are distinct manifestations of a gendered Mother Earth.

Pierre Duviols observed that gender parallelism transcended life so that when elite Andean people died, they were transformed into two entities: a *mallqui*, the mummy of the live person and the feminine half that represented the seed of future generations, and the *huaca*, the masculine half, a phallic rock that represented the inseminating force. Thus like the Pachamama/Tirakuna the individual reflected a unified whole that was nonetheless gender distinct. Similarly Andean couples are known as the single composite word, *warmi-qhari* (woman-man), suggesting that couples represent a unified whole. This assumption is reflected in the mandate that only couples may perform religious cargos—elective offices held for a one-year term by male community members charged with responsibility for overseeing civil and religious activities crucial to indigenous communities' survival—like that of fiesta sponsors.

RELIGION, GENDER, AND STATE EXPANSION: INCAS TO SPANISH. From 1200 to 1400 CE the Incas embarked on a program of expansion and conquest over surrounding Andean communities, which would lead them to control an area that spanned a third of the South American continent. Irene Silverblatt argues that the Incas, recognizing Andean religious practices and beliefs, used gender ideologies to mask their control. They sought to graft Inca divinities onto local Andean religious structures, thereby using them to establish legitimacy and authority. Central to this assertion was the Incas' establishment of a masculine Sun as the principal deity from whom all Inca men descended and who presided over the Inca kingdom, and a feminine Moon from whom all Inca queens descended and who presided over the earth and the sea. Thus the Inca kings were said to be sons of the Sun, and the Inca queens were the daughters of the complementary feminine Moon. The Incas made Mamacocha (Mother Sea) a descendant of the Moon and proclaimed her mother of all waters: streams, rivers, and mounting springs. Andean cosmology asserted that Pachamama's daughters embodied highland products and provided Andean people with knowledge of them and methods of cultivation. Saramama was associated with maize; Axomama, with potatoes; Cocamama, with coca; Coyamama with metals; and Sañumama, with clay. The Incas used this ideology by claiming that an Inca queen, Mama Huaco, had introduced the sowing of corn in the Andes, thus attributing to her the base for the survival of Andean communities and the Inca kingdom. The Incas thus used Andean cosmology to expand their empire.

The Incas also used gender and women to extend their control over communities through a system of female cults, marriage, and sacrifice. Chaste girls, *acllas,* were selected from Andean communities and they became virginal wives of the Sun. They were separated from their communities and sent to *acllawasis* (*aclla* houses) located in each province's state-run capital. After they were selected these virginal girls might become permanent servants to Inca divinities, or they might marry Incas or other men chosen by Incas. Those girls who served the deities were taught "women's tasks" including spinning, weaving, and the preparation of *chicha* and special foods that they provided for the service to the Inca king and gods. Although some Andean girls were selected as *acllas,* others were chosen for sacrifice. The number of human sacrifices appears to have increased during the Inca Empire and new ideals about human offerings developed. The Inca directed and controlled human sacrifice and used a variety of methods, including strangulation, burial, cremation, removal of heart and offering blood and heart while burning the body, and throat cutting in which the victims blood was offered. The Inca also buried victims alive or left them to die of exposure on mountains after they had been made insensible by drink or blows to the head.

These sacrifices were gender and age specific. Male sacrifices often involved bloodletting, whereas female sacrifices consisted of death by a nonblood-releasing means and burial. Most sacrifices were of prepubescent children who were selected by their communities for their beauty and brought to the Inca capital, Cuzco, where they were presented in a public ceremony. After the ceremony the children of the *capa cocha* ritual were returned to their communities where they were buried alive and then established as a local cult often overseen by their own family members. These sacrifices enhanced the community's privilege within the Inca kingdom and that of the girls' fathers and family members within their own communities. It provided a means of expanding Inca control.

The Spanish sought to establish patriarchal Catholicism in the Andes, and they introduced a distinct conception of sin. Although they did not understand Andean gender parallelism or complementarity, the Spanish nonetheless used gender to assert their authority and to expand their control. Because the Spanish did not share the same culture with the Andean and Inca people they sought to conquer, they relied on force and violence. Burns observes that during a brief respite in the violent conflict that threatened to destroy the nascent colonial society in Peru, the conquistadores established Santa Clara Catholic Convent in the Inca capital of Cuzco. Half a century later a second convent would be built in Cuzco atop the ruins of *acllawasi.* Santa Clara's purpose was to transform the daughters of Inca queens and Spanish conquistadores into culturally Spanish women who might either become nuns to serve God or marry Spanish men. Among the first entrants to the convent was the last Inca ruler's six-year-old daughter. These girls were wrested violently from their Inca mothers so they might be transformed. Although the purpose of Santa Clara convent was to create culturally Spanish girls of the mestiza women, the conquistadores' efforts were thwarted by the Spanish Abbess Francisca de Jesús and the small minority of Spanish nuns who distinguished themselves from their mestiza counterparts by donning a black veil. The black veils established the Spanish nuns as culturally superior to the mestiza nuns who were forced to wear white veils. Spanish nuns thereby reproduced the racial distinction the Spanish conquistadores sought to eradicate through religious training of mestiza girls. Both the Inca and the Spanish requisitioned daughters of the defeated to serve as participants in religious cults and as their spouses. Gender-specific religious imposition was central to the expansion of the Inca and Spanish states.

Whereas mestiza girls entered Santa Clara convent, Andean girls could enter *beatas* founded in Cuzco at the end of the seventeenth century, the Spanish golden age in the region. In contrast to Santa Clara convent where mestiza girls were subject to the authority of Spanish nuns and distinguished from them by a white veil marking their inferiority, Andean girls in *beatas* were autonomous. They redefined themselves and established themselves as honorable women by virtue of their religious faith, practice, and knowledge. Indigenous women became abbesses of the *beatas* and even defended themselves and their community against Spanish officials. They thus enjoyed greater autonomy than both their mestiza counterparts and Andean and mestizo men who were barred from becoming clergy or directing their own seminaries. Andean women who did not enjoy the formal protection of the church were subject to abuse, including rape, by Spanish clergy.

RITUALS OF HEALTH AND HEALING. Gender parallelism and complementarity remain central to contemporary South American religion and are evident in rituals of marriage, health, and healing. The interdependence of men and women is considered a natural state of things and is reflected in the term *warmi-qhari* (woman-man) to refer to a couple. Formal marriage with a Catholic religious ceremony usually occurs many years after a couple has been established and has had children and often occurs in the context of a larger religious fiesta. Single adults are considered unnatural and cannot fulfill specific religious or civic cargoes in the community. Marriage also continues to serve as a means of allying distinct social groups with girls from less powerful families, who are considered "more Indian," marrying boys from more powerful families.

Religious fiestas, which mark specific points in the harvest and celebrate communities' founding saints, require sponsorship by couples within each community. Some fiestas require two sponsors because together they form a *warmi-qhari.* The junior sponsor in a fiesta is said to act like a woman, suggesting the fluidity of gender and its relation to specific roles. During fiestas, although men and women share the same physical space, they are separated within it to conform with the Andean ideals of a masculine and feminine.

Rituals of health and healing conform with the ideal of a gender division of labor and are infused with religious belief and practice. Joseph W. Bastien found, for example, that in Bolivia misfortune rituals designed to eliminate misfortune are usually carried out by a *warmi yachaj* (female diviner), whereas a *qari yachaj* (male diviner) performs good-fortune rituals to set in motion favorable events. The symbolic system of the Bolivian Aymara people avers to men stability and mountains and contrasts them with women associated with rivers and a natural cycle of dissolution and renewal. Women are seen to be especially appropriate for performing misfortune rites because their menstrual cycle enables them to experience a flow like that of rivers. The flow of blood cleanses them just as one needs to be cleansed of misfortune by returning it to a river so it can follow the natural cycle of dissolution and renewal. Male diviners, by contrast, help to fix good fortune by offering symbols of llama fat and fetus to the earth shrines of the region.

Men become shamans by encountering and surviving the masculine Illapa (Rayo), or lightning. The highest shamans survive this encounter three times. By contrast, women become midwives by recognizing their calling in dreams or giving birth to children seen as special or unusual. The dreams of midwives often include images of the Virgin Mary or Catholic saints who may appear among herbs in a garden, which become central to the women's curative role. There is a confluence of Andean and Catholic imagery in the calling of the midwife suggesting that conversion to Protestantism may be incompatible with the traditional practice of midwifery.

In Northern Peru men and women work as *curanderos,* participating in the same tradition of curing through a *mesa* and the ingestion of the San Pedro cactus. Men are, however, more openly associated with this tradition of healing, whereas women are often identified as *brujas,* sorceresses who transform themselves into black cats, ducks, pigs, and goats, engage in reunions with the devil, and cast spells. Bonnie Glass-Coffin attributes this distinction to a fiction created by Spanish clergy who identified female *curanderas* as witches—a perception that became popularized. One result of this perception is that it is more difficult to find female *curanderas* because they hide their practices.

Among the Warao in Venezuela, couples serve together as shamans. The wife of a male light shaman comes to be known as *shinakarani* (Mother of Seizure) because of her ability to save her husband from seizures resulting from ritualized nicotine consumption. The *shinakarani's* role is modeled after that of the experience of the first light shaman, who suffers a nicotine seizure when he enters the celestial House of Tobacco Smoke and is saved by his wife who transforms into a frigate bird and covers the light shaman with her body and wings to save him from the seizure.

CATHOLICISM AND PROTESTANTISM. Until the 1960s most men and women in South America identified themselves as Catholic, although their practices might have included distinctly indigenous elements. In the 1950s and 1960s a new form of Catholicism strongly influenced by the Second Vatican Council and the rise of liberation theology was established in many South American countries. This Catholicism, which emphasized the transformative potential of this life rather than focusing on salvation in the next life, had an especially strong impact among women. In rural communities, indigenous women came to serve as Catholic catechists whose role was to discuss church doctrine and the bible with their communities. In urban communities, especially those composed of recent migrants from rural areas, Catholic women formed associations for prayer and community service. *Comedores populares* (community kitchens) were established by women with the assistance of lay and religious Catholic leaders. Through these associations women began to redefine their place in society and their relations with men.

During the same period of the 1960s and 1970s, a number of Protestant denominations, as well as Jehovah's Witnesses, Church of Latter-day Saints, and other religious groups, began to attract converts in South America. Protestants have, so far, received the greatest attention from researchers. Those who have focused on women's conversion emphasize the opportunity that Protestantism offered women to escape the system of fiestas, which was associated with alcohol consumption and costly expenditures. Lesley Gill suggests that Protestantism offered women migrants in new urban communities a means of explaining and coping with suffering. She also argues that Protestantism allows women to exert indirect control over abusive or neglectful spouses. Finally, Gill emphasizes that many women identify simultaneously as Protestant and Catholic or may go through a series of conversions rather than retaining a fixed religious identity. By converting to a new faith, women and men change their religious beliefs and practices and gain a means of transforming gender norms and thus their relations with each other and with society. Indeed, because religion is central to South America, where it reflects and reproduces gender norms, it is also central to understanding changes in gender and society.

SEE ALSO Inca Religion; Liberation Theology; Shamanism, article on South American Shamanism.

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Susan Fitzpatrick Behrens (2005)

GENDER ROLES. Gender roles are the culturally defined behaviors deemed appropriate for a man or a woman. A role is essentially performative. One learns how to play a masculine or feminine role, what is acceptable and what is not, how one should behave, think, evaluate oneself and others in a gendered manner. While age, ethnicity, class, and many other factors also have culturally prescribed norms, gender is the most universal and salient social organizing principle.

Sex and Gender. Following Margaret Mead's influential work *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (1935), feminist studies made a distinction between sex, regarded as biological, and gender, which is culturally constructed. Thus with few exceptions, one is born male or female according to chromosomal makeup and secondary sexual characteristics. One is socialized into masculine or feminine roles through culture. The link between maleness and masculinity and femaleness and femininity is made to appear natural and therefore unchangeable, constructing power and dominance hierarchies that generally leave men in control of women and children. Gender hierarchies are legitimized by recourse to ideology, ritual, and mythology.

Gayle Rubin coined the term *sex/gender systems* to describe the way in which kinship systems define roles and statuses in a manner that often contradicts genetic relationships. An example of this is woman-woman marriage among the Nuer of the Sudan. Fatherhood is defined through the payment of cattle as bride-price. Where a woman owns cattle, she can acquire a wife and will be regarded as the social father or pater of children born to her wife, regardless of the identity of the biological father or *genitor.* Rubin pointed out that every individual and each new generation has to learn to enact their sexual destinies and their statuses within the system. Sex and gender are not biological facts that emerge of and by themselves but are historical creations of specific societies. Oppression is experienced not only as a woman but as a result of having to be a woman, that is, by taking on feminine roles. Phyllis Chesler argued that psychological differences between the sexes are also the result of sex-role conditioning and that expectations of feminine roles are dysfunctional. To successfully conform to the stereotype of femininity in Western society is a prescription for failure or madness.

In contemporary Euro-American societies there is a tendency to regard genetics (and therefore biological sex) as essential and deterministic, with a gene to explain every aspect of behavior. Among social scientists, however, there is a move toward seeing sexuality as part of gender relations, theoretically inseparable from them rather than possessing an essential prior ontology. Sexual violence against women and violence against gay men are the result of institutional structures, ideologies, and practices that assign greater value to masculinity and to heterosexuality than to femininity and homosexuality. Governments and religious organizations are among those institutions that seek to maintain and reproduce the gender roles that permit such violence.

A theoretical focus on the body has also undermined the distinction between sex and gender. Judith Butler, in her influential work *Gender Trouble* (1999), argues, following a Lacanian perspective, that the loss of the maternal body leads to a perpetual displacement of the object of desire and that gender identity is a refusal of that loss "encrypted" on the body. Gender, described by Butler as a "literalizing fantasy," then appears as "natural fact." "Becoming" a gender involves "a laborious process of becoming *naturalized*, which requires a differentiation of bodily pleasures and parts on the basis of gendered meanings" (Butler, 1999, p. 89). Cultural norms, referred to by Butler as "the law," that prescribe heterosexuality and gender roles and proscribe homosexuality and incest, give the appearance of being subsequent to sexuality. In reality they are the effects, temporally and ontologically, of culture; the product of culture rather than prior to or outside culture (Butler, 1999, p. 94).

THE "NATURALNESS" OF GENDER ROLES. In the seminal article "Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?" (1974) Sherry Ortner argued that a defining characteristic of human societies is that they are engaged in a process of generating and sustaining systems of meaning that enable them to transcend the most basic, natural limits of existence. Rituals, for instance, are a way of manipulating and regulating the relationship between natural forces and human life. Culture is seen as something that works on and transforms nature and in that sense is superior to it. According to Ortner, women are seen as closer to nature than men because of their biology and childbearing role. Women's more intimate form of relating can be seen simultaneously as a more natural and "lower" and as a morally superior "higher" position—as either ignoring or transcending social categories. Feminine symbols also demonstrate this polarized ambiguity. Women can be exalted (as goddesses, dispensers of justice, and occupants of the moral high ground) or debased (as witches, dispensers of the evil eye, castrating mothers). In either case the symbolic woman is "rarely within the normal range of human possibilities" (Ortner, 1974, p. 86). If culture is thought of as superior to nature, it is a small step to viewing men as superior to women.

Ortner later clarified her position, stating that while the distinction between "nature" and "culture" is not universal, the "*problem of the relationship* between what humanity can do, and that which sets limits upon those possibilities, must be a universal problem" (Ortner, 1996, p. 179). Gender is always situated at what Ortner refers to as the nature-culture border—the body. In most if not all societies the two sets of oppositions, nature and culture and female and male, "move into a relationship of mutual metaphorization" so that "gender becomes a powerful language for talking about the great existential questions of nature and culture" and vice versa (Ortner, 1996, p. 179). The asymmetry of these categories, in which the masculine and culture are valued above the feminine and nature, reflects the notion that culture is about the transcendence of nature.

NATURE, GENDER, AND MYTHOLOGY. In her book *Female Power and Male Dominance* (1981) Peggy Reeves Sanday contests Ortner's claim that because men are associated with culture and it is culture's job to control nature, men are universally regarded as having the right to control women. Sanday does admit to the "permeability between the categories of female and nature" in some societies but not all. She refers to such societies as having an inner orientation with a "reciprocal flow between the power of nature and the power inherent in women" (Sanday, 1981, p 5). In such societies the control and manipulation of these forces is left to women and to sacred natural symbols; men are largely extraneous to this domain and must be careful lest they antagonize earthly representatives of nature's power (namely women). Sanday argues that men are not unequivocally aligned with "culture" (defined as the transcendence of the natural givens of existence by means of systems of thought and technology). They are part of nature not only in their physicality but also in their need or desire to kill. "Men hunt animals, seek to kill other human beings, make weapons for these activities, and pursue power that is *out there*" (Sanday, 1981, p. 5). These more exterior life-taking activities of men are referred to as an outer orientation. Societies vary in the extent to which they value an inner or outer orientation, the powers of women and respect for reproduction versus the role of men and their more destructive externalized power. This is not a dichotomy between nature and culture, terms that are in fact hard to define and that arguably have no cross-cultural reference. Sanday's survey of "simpler societies" led her to conclude that there is a basic conceptual symmetry between the sexes in which "women give birth and grow children; men kill and make weapons. Men display their kills (be it an animal, a human head, or a scalp) with the same pride that women hold up the newly born" (Sanday, 1981, p. 5).

The variations in sex-role plans found in different societies show that they are cultural constructions rather than genetic. Historical and political factors as well as the environment in which people live affect the ways in which they interact. Sex-role plans in turn change the social and natural environment. Sanday identified four basic templates relating to the sexes. These can be segregated or merged, with decision-making powers vested in one sex or shared. These four types can be combined in various ways. Among the Mbuti of the Ituri Forest in central Africa, for example, the sexes are merged and decision-making powers shared. Among the Iroquois confederacy of North America, on the other hand, sexual differentiation was extreme, while decision making was still shared between the sexes. In both these societies the sex-role scripts give women both secular and religious power. Their cosmologies and rituals display a generally positive attitude to the world and the place of humans within it. In societies in which decision making is shared, female or paired deities are given prominence. In societies in which males dominate and women are relegated to a subordinate role in both sacred and secular domains, there is an emphasis on a male godhead. The sexes are also invariably segregated, as among the Hausa of northern Nigeria or Yanomamo of Venezuela and Brazil.

The environment appears to be a crucial variable in determining gender roles and the valuation given to men and male symbols or women and female symbols. Where large game is hunted, whether or not these animals are a nutritionally important part of the diet, Sanday argues that the major source of power is seen as a supreme being who resides in the sky or in animals. In fact any environmental tension, whether created by food scarcity, climactic unpredictability, warfare, or political uncertainty, tends to move a society in the direction of an outer orientation, male dominance, and androcentric mythology. Sanday suggests that there is transference of anxiety from the external world, which is beyond control, to women, who may be taken as symbolic representatives of the natural world. A lack of environmental security therefore correlates with control of women and male domination. If, on the other hand, the world is experienced as benign, an inner orientation develops in which both the environment and women are seen as partners rather than as sources of danger to men and to society as a whole.

TRANSCENDING, CONFOUNDING, AND SUBVERTING GENDER. There are many ways in which heterosexual masculine and feminine roles are challenged, undermined, reworked, and transformed in societies around the world. Such incidences reveal the ways normative gender roles based on biological sex require concerted social effort to construct and maintain and are far from "natural" and self-evident. One of the most widely reported examples of multiple genders is the berdache, "two spirits" or "man woman" found among more than 150 First Nation groups in the Americas. While sometimes described as an institutionalized form of gender reversal in which a person of one anatomical sex takes on the roles, attire, and status of the opposite sex, the variety of practices actually involved have led some scholars to use the term "third sex" or to think in terms of multiple genders. It is argued that Rubin's distinction between sex and gender (and sexuality) cannot be universally applied and that other societies conceive of the human person in ways that make no sense of such distinctions. In many cases North American "two spirits" have specific religious or occupational roles and may have a mythological account of origins distinct from that of men or women, so that it makes more sense to conceive of them as a third gender than as people who simply cross gender, according to Will Roscoe's book, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America* (1998).

Another example of a group that transcends a binary gender classification is the *hijra* of India, anatomical males who identify and dress as females, forming a religious caste with their own mother goddess. Like the classical Galli of Greco-Roman mythology or eunuchs in much of the ancient world, the gender roles assigned to such a "third sex" are linked to specialist religious and administrative functions. They may be chosen by the individual or assigned by others. In Western religious tradition nuns have also been described as a "third sex" (Hastrup, 1978). They share many features of the *hijra* in the sense of forming a separate religious "caste" that both ignores (through celibacy) and transcends (by taking on some roles normally reserved for male priests) normative heterosexuality. Western gay and lesbian people have also utilized the notion of multiple genders as a way of overcoming the prescriptive binary gender roles associated with compulsory heterosexuality.

SEE ALSO Anthropology, Ethnology, and Religion; Culture; Feminism, article on Feminism, Gender Studies, and Religion; Gender and Religion, overview article, article on History of Study; Power.

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Fiona Bowie (2005)

GENEALOGY.

GENEALOGY. As formal structure, genealogy is foremost an intellectual discipline. Its concern is with recording and putting into systematic order the histories of families, differentiating them by rules of descent and allocating to each a share of those enduring human valuables that consist of privileges and honors, titles and powers. Although grounded in myth and circumscribed by tradition and, thus, seemingly a rote and rigid subject, genealogy is to be understood rather as a product of informed speculative reasoning about metaphysical, specifically ontological, matters. Its subject matter goes beyond the listing of pedigrees. It identifies and differentiates the forces and generative sources that give shape to and regulate the entire universe of life. From its cosmological concepts, it draws implications for human conduct and for the structure of the social order. Most directly, genealogies connect human families with their mythical origins, joining them as kinfolk within the universal community of gods, spirits, and other forms of life.

Principles of Genealogy. The genealogical discipline exercises a controlling influence upon everyday life, for it is the source of the morality and of the principles of systematic order that bind systems of descent into clans, lineages, and similar groupings. Among tribal societies especially, the genealogical order frequently dictates all social relations. In early and more complex traditional societies, where only royalty and related families come within its scope, the genealogical system acts as the focus of authority. In sum, for preindustrial societies the genealogical discipline is unitary and unifying, joining the social and the religious forms by demonstrating that society is an extension of the mythical era of original creations. From this unitary perspective, the gods, spirits, and ancestral beings who brought human beings into existence are themselves drawn into the human sphere. In more recent times, genealogical interest has been reduced. Stripped of its religious and cosmological associations, genealogy serves, at most, the general purpose of celebrating ethnicity.

The general model for making genealogical distinctions is drawn from nature. This is most clearly exemplified in totemic systems, whose family lines are represented as descended from animals or other distinctive natural forms. Each line of descent appears as a species and therefore stands as one among all the other natural varieties of life. In nontotemic systems, the special qualities attributed to particular human ancestors serve the same purpose of distinguishing the lines of descent. Thus, human founders of clans and lineages are held to be the primary sources of the vigor and continuity of their descendants, as are totemic ancestors. In both systems, the natural species exemplify the traits of continuity and social immortality that human societies seek through their own genealogies.

As a process, differentiation appears as the signifier of forces that promote growth and development. The natural evolution commonly depicted in creation myths begins with relatively amorphous beings and proceeds systematically to final stages of specificity. This understanding of the natural direction of life underlies the metaphoric assumption that takes the contrast between the chaotic and the structured in ritual and myth to be analogous to the contrast between the deathlike and the vigorous in social life. Accordingly, genealogical systems—the primary promulgators of differentiation—are impelled to drive toward singularity, to single out families and persons for special distinction as principal bearers of vital powers.

Essentially, all the systematic modes of differentiation upon which genealogical systems are constructed express some concept of generative powers. The rules of primogeniture and of relative seniority of descent generally concern the special nature of powers presumed to lie in primacy, that is, in the original conditions that generated forms and natural processes. The rules of descent by gender (matriliny, patriliny, bilaterality) stem from the distinctive generative powers of femininity and masculinity. The rules governing direct and collateral lines reflect closeness to the central sources, and those that differentiate between long and short genealogies involve issues of inherent longevity. Each mode of descent has the added significance of being the appropriate mode of transmission of powers, and each member of a genealogical chain has stature as a designated and graded conveyor.

In substance, the characteristic modes of genealogical transmission impose a powerful order upon social structures. They regulate marriage and other social relations, and they determine the formal lines of social divisions and the character of dependency in subordinate branches. In keeping with the general idea of a genealogical system as an organism that grows and branches, lineages are quite commonly envisioned as vegetative.

The social and cosmological implications of genealogical differentiation are realized most fully in lineage structures. In contrast to clans, which only imply and therefore generalize their putative connections to founders, lineages depend upon true pedigrees, upon the real chain of names and their sequences, and often upon the sequences of outstanding events that demonstrate the potency and special quality of the names. Genealogical traditions and related rituals evoke, reanimate, and, in some sense, reincarnate ancestors. Remembering the long line of ancestors by name (in Polynesia, as far back as ninety-nine generations) is an act of piety that, even in tribal societies, imposes the technical requirement of creating the scholarly and priestly craft of official genealogist for royal and noble lines.

Aristocracy, understood as a social system in which a singular descent line has come forward as the focus of generative powers, may take shape among clans as well as among lineages, drawing upon their common genealogical rules. But it is the specificity of the lineage and its greater adeptness for drawing fine distinctions that endow royalty with the extra degree of moral authority for governing. The lineage is so much the social instrument of royalty that it readily becomes its own characteristic form of organization. Even among tribal societies, among whom organic unities are the common norm, it is not exceptional for chiefly lines to be the exclusive protagonists of the lineage system, and for all others to fall into a binlike category of relatively generalized descent. The Kwakiutl and some Polynesians, who are discussed below, illustrate what are, in effect, the social fractures in a system of descent.

It may seem paradoxical that lineages, although they are buttressed by deeply held human convictions about the binding powers of common descent, should, in fact, promote, as a matter of principle, countertenets of antagonisms, oppositions, and structural divisions. Yet, these forms of divisiveness are not accidental but are the complements of systems that transmit singular powers. Powers must demonstrate efficacy; efficacy invites contention. As a consequence, aristocratic lineages must sustain themselves, not by their genealogical authority alone, but by the abilities of their actual rulers to balance sometimes conflicting claims of birth and force.

SYSTEMS OF GENEALOGY. Thus, their orderly premises notwithstanding, genealogical systems are variable. They are subject to the vicissitudes of history that ultimately erode the most formidable structures, as well as to the variability that is allowed by their rules and to the ambiguities of situation that disturb any social order. One cannot hope to describe the varieties of genealogical systems encyclopedically. The following examples from tribal societies and from ancient and more recent civilizations are not necessarily the most characteristic, but they call attention to special features that pertain to the general nature of genealogies.

The Cubeo. The Cubeo, tropical forest Indians of the Colombian Vaupés, exemplify genealogical aristocracy as developed within the constraints of a subsistence economy. Even within the meager material setting of slash-burn root horticulture, supplemented by fishing and hunting, the rudimentary form of aristocracy exhibited by the Cubeo resembles, in many formal respects, the hierarchical structures and the patterns of dominance and subordination of the more complex civilizations, indicating that aristocracy may be less a product of material than of genealogical factors. Cubeo society is an organization of ranked, exogamic, and patrilineal sibs (clans), who are joined together in a confraternity (phratry) for what are largely ritual purposes. The sibs exchange wives with those of similar rank in a corresponding phratry. The rank of the sibs was preordained and revealed in the order of birth from an underground dwelling that brought into being the first set of fraternal ancestors, the founders of sibs. The names of their descendants have entered into the genealogies of the sibs, to be inherited in alternate generations by the grandchildren. The personal names, like "souls," carry the immortality of the descent lines and, the Cubeo believe, promote the growth of the children who bear them.

The names are but one of four elements that enter into the substance of the genealogies. The others are sacred trumpets and flutes that bear the names and represent the original ancestors; the life souls that are apportioned to each of the sibs; and, finally, the figure of a sacred anaconda, in whose elongated form the sibs are imagined as ranked segments extending from the head to the tail. The anaconda symbolizes the animal nature of human beings and their kinship with the animal world. These four elements characterize the Cubeo genealogical structure as a complex conveyor of vital forces that ensure their ethnic continuity and are therefore central to their religious and ritual purposes, namely, to maintain connections with founding ancestors. "When we remember our ancestors," the Cubeo proclaim, "we bring them to life." For them, the act of re-creating the ancestors in memory is comparable to the original creation, when the Creator willed people into existence by means of his own imaginative thought.

The correspondence of the hierarchical order of the sibs to the order in which the first ancestors emerged is also, in essential respects, a memorial to the circumstances of their origins; they are designated by genealogical relations as older brother/younger brother, and as grandparent/grandchild; by an original distribution of ritual powers, as chiefs, priests, shamans, warriors, and servants; and, by their place as segments of the body of the sacred anaconda, they are assigned a fixed order of residence along the rivers they occupy. The highest ranks, corresponding to the head of the anaconda, live toward the mouth of the river; the servants, toward the source. Thus the genealogical system—recapitulating in each generation the generative conditions of origins as an action of creative remembering—encompasses the main areas of Cubeo social and religious existence.

The Kwakiutl. A similar genealogical system, but one notable for the unusual significance it attaches to hereditary personal names, prevails among the Kwakiutl Indians of Vancouver Island. The qualities commonly attributed to personal names imply the presence in them of spiritual or magical powers, a "name soul," as, for example, among the Inuit (Eskimo). The Kwakiutl seem to have elevated the concept of name soul to a high level of concreteness, thereby bringing to the surface a mystical attribute of names that in other cases exists only by implication. Their treatment of names suggests how pedigrees may indeed constitute a great chain of being.

In Kwakiutl genealogies, each personal name stands for a desirable attribute of being, ordinarily a special power, and the ensemble of ancestral names covers the range of attributes and powers that govern life and death and control valued possessions. Even as it is a specified segment of the patterned mosaic of life forces, each name also has existence as a being, as a spiritual personage who is attached to and yet may have an existence apart from its bearer. The bearer is no ordinary being either, having been set apart and sanctified in having met the genealogical qualifications of seniority. Among the Kwakiutl tribes, which once numbered in the tens of thousands, only a very small number of personal names are of this type; all others are scorned as "made-up." The real names are the exclusive property of a nobility of chiefs, the secular and religious leaders. The remainder are the names of commoners, people who cannot claim descent from mythical ancestors.

The chiefly or spiritual names possess an autonomy congruent with their character as ancestral incarnations, and, as such, they impose their natures upon those who bear them. Under certain circumstances they stand apart entirely. Thus, a chief who possesses several names, some belonging to different divisions of the tribe, might engage in ritual transactions with his distant name as though it were another person. He might present this name with gifts, or, under other circumstances, go through a sham marriage with a name attached for this purpose to his arm, for example. Kwakiutl genealogies are histories of the acquisition and descent of all such names and of their intrinsic properties. Chanted at all important ceremonial events, the family history is a repository of its accumulated powers and capacities.

Polynesian societies. Cubeo and Kwakiutl genealogical systems are noteworthy examples of aristocracy that is deeply enlaced in mythological and shamanistic conceptions and, therefore, politically undeveloped. Polynesian societies offer contrasting examples. Perhaps because their religions are more fully theistic and relatively free of these other associations, the Polynesians were able to move in another direction. Upon similar genealogical principles, and upon an equally undifferentiated economy, Polynesian societies produced such relatively modern institutions as socioeconomic stratification and centralized territorial states. Thus, the capability of a genealogical system to evolve or to elaborate a new social order is never a function of rules of descent alone. New patterns emerge when genealogical rules are joined to an appropriate religious doctrine. In Polynesia, that doctrine has been based upon a concept of *mana,* a force that animates all of nature and characterizes the energetic properties of all substance. In principle, *mana* descends from the gods to the human generations in measured proportions as defined by the genealogical rules. Senior lines are richly endowed with *mana* and are energized and hence ennobled by it; the junior descent lines are left behind as the weakly endowed commoners.

Conceptualized as an efficient force manifested objectively in results—on the battlefield, in the fields of production, in the perfection of craft skills, in personal charisma, in the efficacious management of religious rituals—*mana* is not automatically and indisputably the gift of inheritance. Its possessor has also to demonstrate worthiness by standing up to challenge. Nevertheless, although the conviction that the powers that animate and bestow efficacy move by the generative forces of genealogical rules may yield to the acid test of actual events, it is never abondoned. When lower ranks win royal power by force, as they occasionally do, from time to time, they are still obliged to discover genealogical authority for their new office. Genealogical guilds guard the sanctity of royal and noble pedigrees.

Polynesian societies differ in the way each has managed to sustain the shifting balances between the genealogical and the pragmatic. The Maori of New Zealand exemplify relatively close adherence to traditional genealogical criteria. The Samoans, the Easter Islanders, and the Mangaians demonstrate a greater flexibility in following the traditional rules of descent. The emergent states and stratified societies of Tonga, Tahiti, and Hawaii, for example, reveal a seemingly typical developmental cycle that moves from traditionalism to greater openness and, finally, to the consolidation of hereditary rule, but within the framework of a markedly restructured social order.

Major civilizations. The histories of major civilizations—those of classical Greece, Japan, or England, to take but three examples—show their genealogical life as comparable, in many respects, with that in tribal societies. Hesiod assembled from the body of Homeric mythology a genealogical order of the gods that allotted to each of them appropriate honors, titles, and cosmological functions, and described "how the gods and men sprang from one source." Theogony emerges as one aspect of cosmogony. The gods, humans, and the fully differentiated natural order evolve in these genealogical tales within a turbulent atmosphere, in a setting of disputes for power among contending forces, very much as they do in tribal creation myths. The patterns set by the gods, the immortals, in their evolution define the courses of human history.

The genealogists of archaic and preliterate Japan assembled from ancient myths a comparable cosmogony. Heaven and Earth, initially formed from Chaos, after several generations produced the god Izanagi and the goddess Izanami, who gave birth first to the islands of Japan, then to other gods, and, finally, after many generations and much social disorder, to humans. The first mikado was granted sovereignty by the sun goddess and, as a link in the succession of the gods, became the center of the national religious cult. Similarly, each distinguished family or clan also claimed its derived divinity from other gods and from ancestral association with emperors. The Japanese chronicles of hereditary titles authenticated the social and religious organization.

Christianity, in principle, breaks with the tenet of the traditional genealogical order that claims divine descent, but it leaves essentially untouched the issues of sanctity and an even deeper concern with singularity and inequality. Even the egalitarian Quakers in England succumbed to the temptation of differentiating major from minor family lines. As for English royalty, it had found in the Roman Catholic church, itself the heir to the political institutions of the Roman Empire, the questionable but powerful bases for claiming the "divine right of kings" as an authority for absolute power. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 set that thesis to rest, and later monarchs settled for the moderate option of divine approval.

Through the long course of English history, the constant principle of monarchy, starting with the Celtic rule of the fourth century BCE, is one of singular descent from divinely graced or otherwise extraordinary leaders. Except for kinship with the royal house, no other fixed principles for succession to the throne, as for example primogeniture, were established in England before the thirteenth century. As is common in such systems, genealogical authority fostered social unity when it was strong and wars for succession when it was weak. Social and cultural unity has been the aim and, to a considerable extent, the accomplishment of the genealogical order—which achieved its apotheosis in aristocracy—until relatively recent times.

NONGENEALOGICAL SUCCESSION. Tibetan Buddhism, or Lamaism, illustrates the contrary qualities of a dynastic order from which genealogical succession has been totally banished. In the fifteenth century, the monastery of Dge lugs pa (Geluk pa), a celibate order and the original seat of the Dalai Lama dynasty, promulgated a doctrine of successive reincarnations as the mode of accession to divine authority. They believed that the Dalai Lama would be reborn in some infant unrelated and unknown to him, and that through this reincarnation, he would continue his work of enlightenment. Discovered after an exhaustive search that brought to light his divine traits and evidence of an earlier existence, the new Dalai Lama was trained for his post during an interim regency. The Tibetan doctrine set aside traditional considerations of individuality and family distinction so that the divine presence, a manifestation of the Buddha, would appear directly, albeit in human form. However, whatever forcefulness this system gained through directness of access to the religious source was at least partly dissipated by the dispersal of its constituencies. Unaffiliated to a systematic line of succession, Lamaist adherents were free to join any one of numerous monasteries, each of which was headed by an abbot, himself the incarnation of a lesser lama.

SEE ALSO Dalai Lama; Names and Naming; Preanimism.

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GENETICS AND RELIGION. Science in general, and molecular genetics and the new science of genomics in particular, contest with claims of faith on the same terrain. Genetics is a complex, irreducible set of knowledge about the large molecule DNA, which by its structure and function transmits information about how proteins are made and folded in particular ways. DNA regulates the biochemical properties of all living cells. The unique feature of DNA is that it is the structure for the replication of coded information of the sort that can be transmitted across generations. This information is held in the DNA molecules in the cells of the human gametes—sperm and eggs that recombine to found a fertilized egg do so by recombining pieces of the DNA of each into a newly composed molecule with the codes from each genetic parent.

INTRODUCTION. The ability to recombine DNA is a feature of all living organisms and offers a defining and definitive set of norms and explanations for behaviors and biological processes that are highly conserved across many species. Genetic codes are so similar that much human genetic information is shared with other mammals, especially related primates. Mutations in these codes, often as small as a single allele difference, have been traced as causative to devastating diseases, and many more diseases are being identified as having genetic difference as their causation. It is likely that genetic causation in a more complex fashion will be found to be the cause for many diseases, including many long thought to be behavioral, such as depression, schizophrenia, and addictive behavior. This story is the largely acceptable story of modern molecular biology.

As such, genetic explanations for how the world functions, what can be known about the world, what one can hope for in the future, what a self is, what a family means, and the role of free will all challenge what has historically been the province of religion—a moral location in which what humans desire and what they can achieve have long been mediated. In large part, genetics and religion ask the same sort of questions: What does it mean to be human? What does it mean to be free? And what must I do about the suffering of others?

Further complicating the issue is that "genetics" refers to both the acquisition of the knowledge of how the molecules of DNA and RNA copy information and build programs within the cell—how the intricate "machineries" and pathways are reconstructed—as well as to how the molecules are interpreted, categorized, and cataloged. It has long been understood that how humans define, name, abstract, and group nature shapes how they see the world and provides a sense of self and possibility within the world. Finally, "genetic" also refers to the growing group of interventions into the code of the molecule itself, first by testing and then by attempting to alter the code into more auspicious variations.

Genetics in this last sense began with studies of plant and animal heredity. Working primarily with fruit flies, geneticists began creating—with exposure to radiation—the same sort of distinctive phenotypical variations observed in nature within species; through breeding the geneticists noted how the variation was transmitted and how it was expressed. This was a technique that followed biblical accounts of Jacob's goat herd, in which Jacob bred spotted goats to increase his portion of the herd, drawing on centuries of accumulated wisdom in agricultural societies. Gregor Mendel (1822–1884), an Austrian monk, also relied on the tradition of observing phenotypes, breeding, and noting hereditary traits. Fruit fly geneticists, then, drew on all of this material, and in the 1960s, after the invention of the electron microscope, were able to see the long chains of chromosomes along which the DNA was arranged in patterns. They were able to view how variations such as white and not red eyes, wrinkled or frizzled wings inside of smooth ones, or winglessness altogether could be predicted by linking trait to gene and therefore apply "forward genetics" (the breeding of a strain of model organisms from these variations).

Later advances allowed the gene itself to be diced and spliced (using chemicals to cut the gene at specified intervals) and then recombined to make new strains of mice or flies or worms entirely. These new strains would breed true because the trait spliced into the gene would persist. In fact, given the way that the genetic code is already highly conserved across species in nature, slices of DNA from one organism could be—and were—spliced into other species entirely, giving rise to a host of "created" organisms capable of enacting the DNA instructions of one species inside the body of another. Such knowledge led to an explosion of interest and capacity to understand many tricky problems in medicine, such as how addiction, mental illness, and cognition might function; how embryos develop; and how immune systems regulate response and apoptosis—all breakthrough insights that have already transformed clinical medicine.

Hence, the science itself suggested a use, much as the structure of DNA suggested a function. It is both the observation and notation of the world of molecular biology—its structure—and the alteration of the world at the molecular level—its function—that raise concerns about genetics in the communities of faith and in the scholarship of religion.

The issues can be grouped into several sorts of concerns, each of which has generated a considerable literature of commentary and response. Without exception, the articles of social and religious critiques of genetic science begin with the admission that genetic science holds enormous potential, yet their authors then write about their concerns and fears—rooted in the final analysis—that use of impermissible knowledge might lead to humans "playing God" (Peters, 2003).

ISSUES OF THE WORLD TO COME. For many commentators (such as Audrey Chapman, Leon Kass, and Francis Fukuyama) the problem of genetics is that humans have a particular telos. The ends of human life are shaped, in the view of these commentators, by both the finality of death and the sense of an afterlife. "The world to come" is the world in a resurrected body, in an afterlife, or in a messianic age. In this sense, then, the present moment, and the embodied life, is meant to be one of befallenness and affliction, not the source of perfection or the site for the final telos of human life. For many, including Stanley Hauerwas and Sondra Wheeler, the proper regard toward illness is one of witness and of comfort in the knowledge that "this story is not the end of the story for persons of faith." For medical researchers, the outcomes for which they strive are to provide a future based in a steady accumulation of advanced scientific knowledge that will lead to greater control over the outcome and the prevention of illness and injury. When researchers speak of curing genetic illness with heritable genetic interventions, and of cures both in this generation and in the next, many religious scholars and clergy with strong views of a heaven then fear a "post-human future." It is, for them, a future in which perfected humans are no longer subject to illness, disability, or even death. Is the "world to come" brought about by human creativity and effort? Or ought human yearning strive toward a divine reward? If aging and death are events to be mediated by religious faith, can such pivotal events be altered, either temporally or fundamentally, without destroying the fragility and vulnerability that makes one human? Genetic research, argues these scholars, is dangerous in its very structure, for its precise aim is to alter the future, to seek control over the ultimate causation.

To be sure, not all religious scholars take the position that the future is fundamentally sacred, nor that the particular condition of humanity in the early twenty-first century is the defining moment of humanity. For Jewish and Islamic scholars, among them Robert Gibbs, Laurie Zoloth, Elliot Dorff, and Abdul Aziz Sachedina, the duty to heal and the obligations embraced by medicine are a form of charity and debt restoration. In these traditions, as well as in some arguments advanced by Hindu and Buddhist scholars, the duty to the world to come entails medical research, healing, and an ongoing effort on behalf of one's progeny. For Jewish scholars—whose tradition has at best a muted set of texts about the afterlife—one's world to come is the world of the next generation. Hence, the idea that humanity is itself constituted in its morbidity and mortality is a weaker claim. Such scholars note that the condition of the human person, and most especially the human life span—which doubled in the last half of the twentieth century—is not fixed, but has in fact remarkably improved. These scholars are generally more supportive of genetic research, for they proceed from a model that suggests improved health, greater freedom from disease, and lessening infant and maternal mortality (the results of earlier research) have led to increasing capacities for human pursuits.

ISSUES OF PATERNITY AND HERITAGE. Linking the resistance about the genetic elimination of illness—and the pushing back of death and aging—is the idea that one's genetic self is the true self, the essential identity. This raises problems for religious scholars on the many fronts of the issue. For some, the idea that genetic identity is fixed supports the argument that the DNA, once created, is the self as an integrated system at conception. For others, issues of a DNA heritage are troubling if the DNA is "taken" from them, and the sample molecule used in any way. Additionally, ethical problems can arise when genetic knowledge is used to suggest that illness, behavior, or traits are traceable to ethnogeographic evolutionary narratives. It is true, finally, that for all religious scholars, the genome mapping and the haplotype grouping of human phenotypes raises issues of ethnicity, family, kinship, membership, and identity. Should genetic relatedness be privileged over other kinship ties? Is it proper to seek one's genetic origins, and to what purpose? Can valuations and status (such as the Cohen status for Jews) long understood to orally transmitted and trusted be challenged by genetic testing?

ISSUES OF ILLNESS AND SUFFERING. For early Christians, the act of healing was a core component of the liturgy (James Keenan). A central problem that religion sought to address was that of befallenness and the role of the healer, which manifested itself in two ways. First, religious faith and the act of prayer was seen, throughout much of antiquity, as at least as effective as a cure when medical and surgical interventions were largely futile. Second, illness was understood as predominately spiritual in nature, and causation for illness was linked in many traditions to a failure to understand—or to comply or properly enact—one's relationship to God, gods, or, for some Eastern religions, the path of spirituality itself. Hence addictive patterns, aggression, or schizophrenia, as well as tuberculosis, leprosy, and plague, were all linked to personal or larger social flaws. The response, therefore, that made sense to people in such cases was a proper regard for one's relationship to the divine world and word. Priests became the source of healing.

However, genetic causation reconfigures causality—especially if the disease can be modeled and studied in animals (the core method for understanding diseases genetically). If mice can be made more or less aggressive or more or less fearful by genetic alterations, as evidenced by the work of Lee Silver, then what is the role of moral activity and of religious training in the moral path? If addictive behavior (including sexual behavior) can be traced to genetic allelic variation, then what is the role of judgments in such cases? Further, because most genetic researchers understand the complexity of the gene-to/in-environment relationship, then if the malfunction of genes in particular environmental locations triggers diseases and disease susceptibility, what use is it to pray for reversal, or to hope that correct moral activity will result in a cure? What is to be made of claims that the "gene in my body makes me a glutton?" Does the search for a genetic predisposition to sexual orientation make behavior more or less acceptable to faith communities?

Here again, the responses vary. For many Christian scholars, including Stanley Hauerwas, Lisa Sowle Cahill, and Leon Kass, the activity of suffering calls forward a response that places Christianity at the center. For Jewish scholars, most notably Emmanuel Levinas, "suffering is nothingness . . . is evil itself" (Levinas, 1988). In this view, one must turn to any means—including genetic research and therapies—to address the suffering of the other. In direct contrast to the Christians who fear genetics as a gesture towards that which makes people "post-human," the response is that modernity and medicine is the basis of humanity.

ISSUES OF ENHANCEMENT OF CAPACITIES AND THE ISSUE OF JUSTICE AND EQUALITY. Religious scholars have been wary of a trajectory of healing both for its own sake as well as with a slippery slope potential in that genetic research intended for curing illness—such as muscle tissue repair in muscular dystrophy—could then lead to enhancement—for example, muscle tissue repair for athletic prowess. This enhanced world would be one of brutalized beings. These scholars believe it would be a world in which unenhanced "wild types"—likely to be the poor—would be even further disadvantaged as a result of class and ethnogeographic fates.

Because religion seeks to address fundamental issues of justice, the problem of difference is a primary concern. The project of genetic research (and the gene banking projects in particular), as well as the clinical translation of the genome project, brings to the forefront concerns of justice on a tangible, local level. It is here that the similarities and differences between humans can be found. This is not only true on a species level, at which regions are mapped in search of single nucleotide polymorphism (SNP) patterns to provide answers about population genetics, but also true at the cross-species level, where homologs and orthologs are used to define highly conserved regions of the human genome and to set up model organism systems to track genetic difference and diseases. It is the powerful combination of this data—this way of understanding biology and this new computational ability to use the data—that will allow humans a keener understanding of the ways in which they differ. Biological differences are, in fact, laden with variations in value that are at times instrumental, and, as well, symbolic. Humans value some differences more than others, however. For example, as rational actors, we value rationality; as embodied beings, we value strength, potency, and longevity.

Theories of justice, however, rely on insights that differ from those of science, which holds to the seventeenth-century ideas of natural reason, close observation, and objective methodology to study nature in its particulars. The basis for modern-day ideas of justice were created, in part, by discourses about freedom and liberty, and made possible by rationality and democracy: a self was able to make a clear social contract in a society governed by law. The emerging science of the twentieth century—both the social and the natural sciences—provided support for social contract theories by arguing that humans were largely alike, that skin color made no clinical difference of distinction. The issue of justice as shaped by human identities and differences has long been understood as a matter of human capacity shaped by both moral choice and by environment.

Genetic knowledge complicates this and makes it visible: in fact, it will warrant a confrontation of a serious problem, one noted by scholars in disabilities studies for decades. Genetic knowledge will reveal human differences and similarities in unexpected ways, and people will begin to understand not only single gene protein causation, but propensities for variation that underlie complex and common diseases and predispositions and propensities. These will suggest pathways to difference, diseases, traits, and behavior. Social relationships and social categories had long been assumed to match obvious phenotypical variation. However, in the post-genomic era, human understanding will become increasingly complicated.

Theories of justice based on the changing knowledge base are still in contention. What will the response be when it is found that humans are not precisely "equally endowed"? And, how will humans create theories of justice and just policy based on significant and fundamental inequality in propensities or in potential difference? How will social ethics be reconceptualized in a world that is, on a biological level, fundamentally unjust? Is it possible to go beyond the requirements of the law to protect privacy and confidentiality—problems that were first imagined in the early years of genetic research and that are now being enacted? Is it possible to achieve a creative and truly bold reflection on how these newly understood "selves" function as citizens in a world that is rent by robust difference in ability yet connected by relationships across previously understood categories? And what will the meaning of genomic relationships be for theories of justice and citizenship?

ISSUES OF IDENTITY, ETHNICITY AND CITIZENSHIP. When the Lemba of Southern Africa claimed to be Jews (Tudor Parfitt, Mark Thomas) or when the Melungians of Appalachia claimed to be Portuguese (Carl Elliott) the claims were widely considered dubious at best, and fanciful at worst. In the age of genetics, African Lemba and American Melungians are tested for variations on the Y chromosome, as well as in the mitochondrial DNA, to more fully investigate such claims. The claims of religion have long sought definitions along the call of nationalisms. Genetic knowledge in this area, as well, provides a powerful deconstruction of some narratives, while it reifies others.

ISSUE OF GENESIS NARRATIVE: HUMANITY AND FREEDOM. Of all the protuberance in the field of genetics and religion, none is as resonant as the claim that in seeking genetic knowledge, the very "book of life" itself (Watson, 2003) is revealed. By seeking such knowledge, the act of creation (the most godlike divine act) is challenged by hubristic scientists. If the reach toward the forbidden knowledge is completed, can catastrophe be far behind? In fact, the Abrahamic narrative of *Genesis* in the Hebrew Scripture—and echoed in other creation narratives in other sacred texts—is that of violation, fall, and redemption or escape. For Jewish thinkers like Rachel Adler, humanity's acts are rather more complex, as they are in some of the reconsideration of Christian narratives, such as those of Ted Peters.

The challenge to the essential narrative of genesis by genetics can be seen in at least two ways. First, genetic sciences deconstruct the boundaries of the nuclear family by allowing the separation of genetic heritage, gamete production, and the development of an embryo in a woman's womb. Gametes can be generated, but some detractors fear that gametes will also be commodified, sold, advertised, and fertilized outside the norms of a passionate embrace—and even more so outside the bounds of a nuclear family. The genesis drama of infertility and the promised fecundity has been similarly addressed by advanced reproductive techniques and sophisticated genetic screening. Additionally, embryos are the subject of discourse long before the birth in the debate of what is the moral status of embryos? Genetic knowledge allows humans to imagine the self in smaller, more atomized parts, rather than as an inevitable whole, and the genesis narrative of the singularity of the family has to now be reread in this new context. The second challenge to the essential narrative of genesis by genetics is that the genesis narrative questions the ability and limits of human naming, manipulation, and control of nature

ISSUES OF NATURE. Catholic moral theology and many native religious traditions, as studied by Mary Churchill, contend that nature itself has moral boundaries and moral limits. To violate them, suggests Leon Kass, is at the risk of "moral repugnance" (Kass, 2002), in that certain uses or even investigations in genetics or genomics threaten to undermine a moral universe at the most basic of foundations. Nature, in this argument, is normative. Its existence suggests moral authorities that predate human habitation, and thus humans (seen here as outside of nature and therefore a threat to it) can illegitimately befoul nature by radically altering it quickly or imprudently. Other theologians, including Laurie Zoloth and Ronald Green, have used terms such as *tikkun olom* (repair of the world) within Jewish thought. Additionally, Peters has argued strongly that human persons are "created co-creators" (Peters, 2003), and thus entitled to intervene across nature's boundaries. This leads to the question: Does human free will also include the free will to investigate in this way? Religious scholars vary in their answers.

CONCLUSION. Genomic and genetic research has transformed both humankind's fundamental knowledge of biology as well as its basic strategies for transforming the understanding of illness, aging, and disability. These historic developments offer extraordinary promise for the translation of basic knowledge into concrete clinical responses for the prevention and treatment of disease and the improvement of human health and welfare. Such knowledge offers hope not only for medicine but also for significant social discourse and thoughtful critical responses to personal and public health issues that potentiate poverty and despair.

The dramatic promise of genetics and genomic research offers an opportunity for the deepest and most reflective civic debate on the nature, meaning, and intent of human identity and difference. It poses questions of what is humanity, freedom, and free will, as well as illuminates the problems of what is to be done about the suffering of others. How will the engine of scientific knowledge drive policy, practice, and culture as people collectively confront the ethical, legal, and social implications of human genomic and genetic research? How does humanity attend to issues regarding access, human rights, the autonomous consent of subjects, and the fragile freedom of the research enterprise itself? What new languages, theories, and policies of ethics, theologies, philosophies, and law will need to be created along with the creation of genomic knowledge? And who should craft these new concepts? What policy should emerge to define the ethical boundaries for the use of genomics?

Now that the basic science of bioinformatics and genomics has allowed the sequencing of the human genome and several other animal models, the pace of application and use of DNA sequencing, haplotype mapping, proteinomics, and SNP patterning will accelerate. As new and more complex genomic data sets are made public, new research strategies envisioned, and biological processes at the heart of all medicine elucidated, this new data and analysis, as well as the translational research it allows and promotes, will engender new issues for the application and use of genetics.

The use of this information also engenders new challenges in a social understanding and use of genomic knowledge regarding the complex human relationships that make up a just human society. New theories of justice will be needed for the new persons and the new identities framed by the social and scientific knowledge of human and animal models of genomics. Genomics will reveal differences and unexpected similarities among us that will challenge long-held ideas about health, disability, and behavior, thus creating complex challenges in how a fair society is structured. Such differences and identities create new relationships, with new possibilities for alliances and divisions.

Such abilities and disabilities are also weighted differently—and not neutrally—in our society and this raises four challenges in genetic research. First, how will humans learn from such data and how will these create new and complex theories, languages, and practices of social justice? Second, how can humanists, lawyers, and social scientists understand the new science, methods, and cultures of basic biological research engendered by genomics? Third, how can the public understand and participate in genomic knowledge, and how can medical personnel guide this translation of basic science to the clinic? And, fourth, how can policy leaders shape new science and health care policy for a new era of genomic knowledge?

Religion in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries played a prudential role in this debate—often invoking the precautionary principle as their positions: avoid the action if there is doubt about its safety or consequence. Yet even this claim rests on a notion of fated inevitability—that a course is set in motion and will unfold unless humans intervene. However, inaction changes the future as surely as does action. As genetic knowledge increases, scholars will need to turn to the text of their faiths and reason and raise new questions. Can religions be another source of wisdom in guiding changes as they occur? Will the concerns of religion's voice be heard—and heard fairly—by the science community? And, furthermore, will all voices—including the religious voice in support of research science—be fairly heard?

Long before science began to shape the modern world, religious faith struggled to incorporate contemporary changes into its world—the theories of Galileo and Charles Darwin, for example, were first rejected, then widely accepted—and the centuries-long relationship between faith traditions and the world that surrounded them created religions of tremendous vigor, creativity, and energy. Further research is needed to track the relationship between science and religion as the field of genetics unfolds.

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LAURIE ZOLOTH (2005)

GENGHIS KHAN SEE CHINGGIS KHAN

GENNEP, ARNOLD VAN (1873–1957), French anthropologist, was born in Ludwigsburg, Germany, his father a descendant of French emigrants. When van Gennep was six, his parents divorced, and his mother returned to France with him. Several years later she married a doctor who had a summer practice at a spa in the French province of Savoy. Van Gennep's attachment to this region, which he considered his adopted homeland, dates from these years. He was to travel through Savoy, village by village, collecting ethnographic and folkloric materials.

Van Gennep had a diversified and original university education at the École Pratique des Hautes Études and the École des Langues Orientales in Paris; his studies included general linguistics, ancient and modern Arabic, Egyptology, Islamic studies, and studies of the religions of primitive peoples. He possessed a rare gift for learning languages. For seven years he was in charge of translation at the Ministry of Agriculture in Paris, but he gave up this post, the only one that the French government ever offered him, in order to devote himself to his personal research. From 1912 to 1915, he taught ethnology at the University of Neuchâtel in Switzerland. After being expelled for having expressed doubts concerning Swiss claims to total neutrality during World War I, he made his living by the publication of numerous articles and periodic reports, lecturing, and commissioned translations.

His voluminous production can be divided into two periods separated by his most important work, *Les rites de passage* (1909). The concept that he discovered here permitted him, during the second part of his life, to devote himself entirely to the ethnography and folklore of France. In the first part he had been occupied with the problems posed by the English school of anthropology, concerning totemism, taboo, the original forms of religion and society, and the relationships between myth and rite. But he had approached these anthropological commonplaces with a certain originality. For example, in his study, based on documents collected in Madagascar, of the problems of taboo, he not only sees the expression of religious institutions and attitudes but also emphasizes the social effects of taboo, which creates, maintains, or transforms the order of nature, and which consolidates the bonds between a single clan's members, between animal and human members of a clan, between ancestors and descendants, and between humans and gods. Taboo, he believed, is both a social and religious institution. The appearance of his work *L'état actuel du problème totémique* (1920), which purported to be a provisory summation of works on totemism, was in reality, as Claude Lévi-Strauss says, the "swan song" of speculations on totemism. The personal theoretical position of van Gennep in this work is prefunctionalist: Totemism has as its function to maintain the existing cohesion of the social group and to assure its continuity, which the totem symbolically represents.

Van Gennep's main contribution remains the idea of "rites of passage," which he put forward and developed in the book of that title. By *rite of passage* he means any ceremony that accompanies the passage from one state to another and from one world, whether cosmic or social, to another. Each rite of passage includes three necessary stages: separation, boundary, and reaggregation (or the preliminal, the liminal, and the postliminal). Van Gennep also introduced other important ideas. By emphasizing "ceremonial sequence," van Gennep demonstrates the importance of the process of "unfolding" in rituals and in the relations that exist between rituals. He also introduces the concept of the "pivoting" of the sacred—that is, the idea that the sacred is not an absolute but rather an alternating value, an indication of the alternating situations in which an individual finds himself. Every individual, in the course of his life, passes through alternations of sacred and profane, and the rites of passage function to neutralize for the social group the harmful effects of the imbalances produced by these alternations.

Van Gennep was a nonconformist with regard to his ideas, which obliged him to live at the periphery of academic institutions. His most original contribution in the field of anthropology was to show profound connections between the social and religious spheres.

SEE ALSO Rites of Passage, overview article.

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Translated from French by Roger Norton
Revised Bibliography

GENSHIN (942–1017), also known by the title Eshin Sōzu, was a Japanese Buddhist priest of the Tendai sect and patriarch of Japanese Pure Land Buddhism. Genshin was born in the village of Taima in Yamato Province (modern Nara prefecture) to a family of provincial gentry named Urabe. By his mid-teens he had entered the Tendai priesthood and had become a disciple of Ryōgen (Jie Daishi, 912–985), one of the most eminent clerics of the age. Little is known of Genshin's early career except that he presided at an important Tendai ceremony in 973 and five years later, when he was thirty-six, wrote a learned treatise on Buddhist metaphysics (*abhidharma*), the *Immyōronsho shisōi ryakuchūshaku.*

Shortly thereafter, Genshin's interests seem to have changed. In 981 he wrote a work on a Pure Land Buddhist theme, the *Amida Butsu byakugō kambō* (Contemplation upon Amida Buddha's wisdom-eye), and in 985 he completed the work for which he is chiefly known, the *Ōjōyōshū* (Essentials of Pure Land rebirth). The *Ōjōyōshū* was one of the first works on a Pure Land theme to have been composed in Japan. It signaled not only a shift in Genshin's interests but also the beginning of a transition in the history of Japanese Buddhism. In this work Genshin quotes 654 passages from some 160 Buddhist scriptures on the most important themes of Pure Land Buddhism—on the sufferings of the six paths of transmigration and especially the torments of hell, on the pleasures and advantages of Amida (Skt., Amitābha) Buddha's Pure Land, and on the way to achieve transmigratory rebirth into Amida's Pure Land, the cultivation of *nembutsu* (reflection on the Buddha). This latter subject is treated in voluminous detail. There are descriptions of methods of difficult, meditative *nembutsu* (*kannen nembutsu,* envisualizing Amida's form and meditating on his essence), of easy, invocational *nembutsu* (*shōmyō nembutsu,* calling on the name of Amida Buddha in deep devotion), of *nembutsu* for ninety-day sessions, and of *nembutsu* for the hour of death. The faith that should accompany *nembutsu* and abundant confirmation of its efficacy and merits are set out as well. Throughout the work, Genshin repeatedly deplores the sufferings of this world and urges his readers, whether they be rich or poor, laity or clergy, to seek emancipation through reliance on the compassion of Amida Buddha. The *Ōjōyōshū* became one of the most popular works on a Buddhist theme in the history of Japanese literature.

In the year following the completion of the *Ōjōyōshū,* Genshin and other Pure Land devotees, both clergy and laymen, formed a devotional society called the Nujugo Zammai-e (Nembutsu Samadhi Society of Twenty-five). Genshin's *Ōjōyōshū* no doubt served as an inspiration and guide to the devotional exercises of this society.

In Genshin's life and works can be seen the beginning of a shift in Japan from elite, monastic Buddhism to popular, devotional Buddhism. The *Ōjōyōshū* itself is an attempt to reconcile these two types of faith. It teaches, for example, that meditative *nembutsu* is the highest form of spiritual cultivation, because it can bring about enlightenment in the present life, but that simple invocational *nembutsu* is excellent also, especially for laypeople and sinners, because it can result in rebirth in the next life into Amida Buddha's Pure Land and eventual enlightenment there. Thus Genshin's major significance lies in his contribution to the growth of a Pure Land movement in Japan.

For the common people, he vividly depicted the Pure Land Buddhist worldview of painful transmigration in this world versus the bliss of Amida's Western Pure Land, instilling a fear of the former and deep longing for the latter. To the intelligentsia and clergy, he introduced the vast literature of continental Pure Land Buddhism and an elaborate structure of Pure Land, especially *nembutsu,* theory and practice. For all Japanese, he offered the possibility of salvation based only on sincere devotion and simple *nembutsu* practice. Genshin's teachings were a major inspiration for Hōnen (1133–1212), founder of the Jōdoshū sect of Japanese Buddhism, and Genshin is considered one of the seven patriarchs of the Jodō Shinshū sect.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Japan; Nianfo.

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Major works of Genshin, in addition to the *Ōjōyōshū,* include the *Ichijō yōketsu* (Essentials of the one vehicle) and *Kanjin ryakuyōshū* (Essentials of esoteric contemplation). For his complete works, see *Eshin Sōzu zenshū,* 5 vols. (Sakamoto, Japan, 1927–1928).

Works on Genshin in English are few. My study *The Teachings Essential for Rebirth: A Study of Genshin's Ōjōyōshū* (Tokyo, 1973) gives an outline of the development of Pure Land thought up to Genshin and an analysis of the *nembutsu* theory and practice of the *Ōjōyōshū.* In Japanese, Ishida Mizumaro's *Kanashiki mono no sukui: Ōjōyōshū* (Tokyo, 1967) summarizes Genshin's life and the Pure Land teachings of the *Ōjōyōshū.* Ishida has also edited the *Ōjōyōshū* and translated it into modern Japanese in his *Ōjōyōshū: Nihon Jōdokyō no yoake,* 2 vols. (Tokyo, 1963–1964).

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GEOGRAPHY.

A deeply rooted aspect of human behavior, the ordering of space is an activity that consists of establishing differences between places in terms of varied functions and degrees of meaning. Among peoples of diverse religious traditions, the most significant places are identified with special spiritual presences, qualities that set certain locales apart from ordinary, profane space. Charged with supernatural power, sacred places function as fixed points of reference and positions of orientation in the surrounding world. With the passage of time, sacred places become invested with accumulations of mythical and historical meanings in complex layers of cultural memory. When joined by paths, processional ways, or great routes of pilgrimage, sacred places form networks that may embrace local village or tribal lands, large nations, or vast regions of the globe occupied by major civilizations. These networks form sacred geographies—webs of religious meaning imposed upon the land—where natural features and human-made symbols establish communication between the earthly and the spiritual, embodying collective values and shared norms of conduct. Sacred geographies form a unifying ground, a lasting source of remembrance and renewal for the most important aspects of individual and communal life in many cultural traditions.

The creation of sacred geographies is behavior partly anterior to the development of culture, for it stems from the marking, exploitation, and defense of territories that join humankind to the larger animal kingdom. But the articulation of landscapes with symbolic imagery and the way in which such landscapes are made to reflect layers of mythology and history also correspond to patterns of thought and complex ways of recording meaningful events that seem peculiar to humankind. The widely different ways in which sacred geographies have been organized show how humans have sought to grasp the perceived world and how they have explained their place within the cosmic schema. An examination of sacred geographies thus points to patterns of environmental cognition and ordering and to the wide range of spatial definitions that have evolved in response to different cultural needs, historical circumstances, and ecological possibilities.

This article focuses on four examples of sacred geography. They correspond to the symbolic landscapes of peoples of strikingly different social and cultural complexities who inhabit regions of varied ecologies. The first example is from the Australian Aborigines, whose gathering and hunting life in an austere desert environment was connected to systems of sacred places embedded within nature and unmarked by monumental art or architecture. These places, arranged in certain patterns within tribal territories, were thought to have been established by ancestral heroes in the Dreaming—the time of first creation. The second example is from the Maya Indian community of Zinacantan in southern Mexico, a farming people whose culture stems from an ancient native heritage. These Indians have evolved a pattern of centralization in their sacred geography that echoes similar structures among other peoples of sedentary farming life. The third example is from imperial China, where ancient beliefs concerning the worship of earth, water, and sky were expressed at great mountain shrines and in the sacred precincts of the imperial capital. In China is found the creation of a sacred geography closely tied to the concerns of a powerfully centralized state. The last example touches upon the sacred geography of medieval Europe. Though politically disunited, the peoples of Europe followed routes of pilgrimage to the periphery of Christendom and held Jerusalem, the Sacred City, to be the center of their world.

ABORIGINAL AUSTRALIA. The Australian Aborigines are counted among the oldest human races. Their ancestors migrated from Southeast Asia perhaps thirty thousand years ago, when land bridges between New Guinea and Australia were almost certainly exposed. Throughout the millennia the Aborigines pursued an austere gathering and hunting life that was admirably adapted to their barren habitat. The Neolithic agricultural revolution never reached these isolated lands, where nomadic bands traveled within well-defined tribal territories, following seasonal rhythms in the unending search for food. But the inhabitants did not perceive the natural environment in economic terms alone; it was also seen as a storehouse of memory, replete with supernatural meanings. The flat, seemingly featureless terrain contained an invisible, magical domain in which hills, rocks, water holes, and groves were charged with sacred powers and mythical associations. Though apparently obeying the randomness of nature, such features were seen as well in terms of a specific order; people expressed their connection to them through pictographs, rock alignments, wooden sculptures, caches for totemic objects, and ceremonial places designed according to prescribed rules of organization.

The sacred sites of the Aborigines marked places where events in the Dreaming took place. This concept, which is central to Aboriginal cosmogony, concerns a time when heroes and heroines wandered over a land where there were no hills, water holes, or living things. The paths and camping places of these heroes are sacred places described in myths. The ancestral heroes also brought fire to the people as well as the laws by which people live; many such heroes eventually transformed themselves into trees, boulders, and other natural features, thus creating the landscape that exists at present. A symbolic order that related to the time of origins and the travels of creators, rather than the cardinal directions, was called into being. In these austere settings, no sharp divisions were made between animals, plants, inanimate objects, and humankind. The ancestral heroes were not distant entities but integral components of the land, and they were made part of the experience of daily life through religious reenactments of events of the Dreaming. Joined by a network of sacred places, the land itself became symbolic, affirming a coherence of the physical and mythological domains. Among the Aborigines, sacred geography was the source of authority as well as the source of tribal identity. The latter was based on a title to the land that went back to the time of first creation.

ZINACANTAN. Conquest, colonialism, and the advances of industrial civilization have often spelled destruction or major alteration for traditional religions. In North America, forcible removal of Indian populations from old homelands frequently meant social disintegration for those whose religious sense of belonging to a specific landscape had been destroyed. But colonial cultures have also often produced a range of creative adaptations, as subjected peoples evolved syncretistic religions in which ancient sacred geographies continued to play traditional functions. Latin America, among Indian communities in former Spanish possessions from the Rio Grande Valley in New Mexico to the Bolivian Andes of South America, is especially rich in such instances.

Among many examples that could be discussed, the community of Zinacantan in the high, forested mountain country of Chiapas, southern Mexico, is particularly well documented. The inhabitants are a Maya people, ultimately descended from those who built city-states in southern Mexico, Guatemala, and the Yucatán Peninsula during the first centuries CE. Today, these farming people live in hamlets dispersed throughout the hills, around a civic and religious center that consists of a church, school, and administrative buildings.

The visible sacred geography of Zinacantan incorporates mountains, caves, water holes, and human-made crosses erected at shrine sites at determined locations around the civic and religious center. Mountains have important economic meaning in the life of Zinacantan, but certain peaks are also considered to be homes of ancestral deities who live within. These ancestors control the mists and vapors that rise to form rain clouds on the peaks; they are able to direct the rain clouds over the community. Crosses, placed on pathways around the mountains surrounding the Zinacantan center, were borrowed by the Indians from the symbolic forms of Spanish Christianity. But the crosses are not seen in Christian terms; they are perceived as spiritual openings for communication with ancestral beings. Cave shrines are also places for communication with Yahval Balamil, the earth lord, who dwells beneath the surface of the land; he may also be reached through prayers in caves, at sinkholes, and at springs throughout the Zinacantan domain. Sacrificial offerings are regularly made, especially at the sites of cross shrines. They are most often performed by people walking on ceremonial circuits around the whole community. Shamans are the main ritualists, performing prayers and making offerings on behalf of patients. Processions of other worshipers may also follow ceremonial circuits, usually moving in counterclockwise direction. The village church and its Christian images are also frequently included in the processional itineraries. The circuits around Zinacantan are a way of establishing boundaries, a way of saying "This is our sacred center, through which the holy river flows and around which our ancestral gods are watching over us." Circuits are replicated on many levels around individual fields, houses, or other objects, symbolically establishing property rights as well as marking social spaces in the Zinacantan world. The community and land at Zinacantan are infused with the sense of being whole and sacred; sacred geography places the living community in an intimate religious bond with its natural setting and with the ancestors and gods that dwell within that setting.

IMPERIAL CHINA. The sacred geographies of tribes or small agrarian communities are usually encompassed by paths or roadways within relatively restricted zones. But the development of ancient empires embracing vast regions and diverse populations posed different problems of spatial symbolism. For rulers, the problem was to create symbolic orders that might tend to unify such disparate domains and polities. Great ritual centers were designed to communicate the religious and political concerns of state organizations. The symbolic structure of such places expressed the idea of a sacred geography in microcosm, through the use of monumental art and architecture.

In China, where continuity of religious themes has been maintained over millennia, imperial ritual was especially focused on two outstanding places. The first was a sacred mountain, Tai Shan, the central and most important of five sacred mountains associated with the cardinal directions and center. The worship of mountains has an ancient history in China, attested by early texts that describe peaks and the appropriate rites to be celebrated there. Some were local shrines affecting small areas, but others were majestic sovereigns that extended their influence over immense regions. These old beliefs surrounded Tai Shan, and the sacred place gradually was invested with imperial monuments throughout the centuries. In effect, the mountain became a symbol of the cosmos and the state. The mountain was given royal title during the Tang dynasty in 725, inaugurating a practice followed by successive emperors. These honorific names underlined the conception of the mountain as a producer of life forces. It was identified with rain clouds and fertility and figured as an object of worship in spring rites of planting and at the fall harvest season. It was also seen as a symbol of stability and permanence and as a preventer of droughts, floods, and earthquakes. Indeed, it was a divinity with a sacred force that could be touched by prayers and sacrifice.

Just as the mountain was a symbol of order in the natural environment, so did the emperor personify the social and moral order. A close relationship developed between ruler and mountain, for the emperor was the pivot between society and nature. But both the emperor and the mountain were subordinate to Heaven, for it was through the mandate of Heaven that all harmony and validation derived. These relationships were spelled out in the elaborate system of monuments with which Tai Shan was equipped. At the summit, an open circular platform was constructed for the Feng sacrifices, which consisted of burnt offerings to the heavens. Below, toward the base of the mountain, a polygonal open altar was constructed for the Shan sacrifices in honor of the earth. Between these key altars were a host of subsidiary temples dedicated to lesser nature divinities, ancestral heroes, and various miraculous saints and hermits. There were also commemorative monuments to various emperors, a school, a library, a Confucian temple, and many other sacred places scattered among the crags and groves. The whole site was simultaneously a symbol of the land, the empire, and the cosmos—a great unifying topographic icon.

The symbolic order that governed Tai Shan also informed the cosmic imagery of ritual centers within the imperial capital. In Beijing, sacred enclosures featured open platform altars to the sky and earth, with subordinate temples to the sun, moon, and agriculture, each with its own complement of satellite monuments, altars, and secondary buildings. The Chinese love of order, hierarchy, and classification governed the orientation and symbolic ornament of the temples, with their gleaming white marble and carved imagery of mountains, clouds, water, and earthly or celestial dragons. These cosmic figures expressed the notion of a sacred geography in abstract form, becoming universal symbols. The magnificent altars, with their surrounding concourses and processional paths, formed the setting for imperial rites where the emperor offered sacrificial covenants to heaven and earth. The sacrifices expressed a complementary relationship to one another. The mysterious, limitless heights of heaven and the regular movements of the celestial bodies symbolized Heaven's regulative power to keep the universe in stable order and to produce the proper succession of seasons. This power was especially important to an agricultural people, and through sacrificial acts the emperors expressed the harmony of a well-ordered society within the universal schema.

MEDIEVAL EUROPE. The sacred geographies of the Far East and among the Indian peoples of the Americas tend to express a correspondence between humanity and nature and to be arranged in patterns of centralization. By contrast, the sacred geography of medieval Europe did not focus on a single European capital but was cast instead as a vast network that ran through many lands, leading to pilgrimage cities at the extremities of Christendom. From central and southern France, pilgrimage routes ran south over the Pyrenees, converging on a road that led across northern Spain to Santiago de Compostela, the tomb of the apostle James. Another route threaded down the Italian Peninsula to Rome. There, amid the ruins of antiquity, the pilgrim might meditate upon the early saints and martyrs and visit the old Lateran—the Mother Church and seat of the earthly Vicar of Christ. But the most perilous of routes led farther south to the port of

Brindisi, and from there by ship across the Mediterranean, to the most distant, mysterious, and sacred of all goals, the city of Jerusalem.

The physical realities of this complex geography were translated in terms of a mythological hierarchy on thirteenth-century maps. These charts reveal a vision in which the horizontal surface of the earth was shown as a flat disc, with Jerusalem, the Holy City, marked clearly at the center. The outline of the Mediterranean Basin was summarily drawn, as were the features of Europe. Peripheral and unknown regions were shown to be the realms of bizarre or fabled races, sometimes held at bay behind great walled enclosures. On a vertical axis above Jerusalem, the Savior presided over the celestial sphere, while ferocious demons patrolled the infernal regions below. Such imagery was not primarily meant to illustrate an actual, material geography but rather a spiritual landscape whose central earthly icon, Jerusalem, could be interpreted on different levels. It was the Holy City of Palestine, the goal of pilgrims and crusaders; a symbol of the church; a metaphor for the Christian soul; and an analogy for the heavenly Jerusalem, the final Promised Land.

Such patterns were repeated in microcosm throughout Christendom in the art and architecture of cathedrals. In France, where these buildings reached their highest expression, sculpture, architecture, and stained glass formed a symbolic code to show the order of nature, to represent an abstract of history, and to summarize spiritual values. Within the soaring naves of the great cathedrals, at once mysterious and secure against the outside world, the assembled congregation saw the mirror of creation. Yet, like the maps, these buildings represented an essentially interior world, expressing the aims and aspirations of the innermost consciousness of the community. Such sacred places, joined in the larger network of routes to distant centers of faith, formed a sacred geography of a tradition that denied the physical world to emphasize instead theological, conceptual, and belief-oriented values that urged people to rise up, away from the earth, above animals, plants, and inanimate objects, toward a transcendent God.

CONCLUSION. This article summarizes the structure of four sacred geographies in societies that range from the level of tribal bands to complex civilizations. In all cases, sacred geographies have the functions of creating a sense of place and of creating a certain order in the world. Through the use of symbols, networks of meaning are imposed upon the land; such spatial orders clarify the difference between places by illustrating what is thought to be significant in the perceived world. These symbols may be natural features, such as mountains, lakes, or rivers; they may be pictographs or markings; or they may be elaborate works of art and architecture accompanied by writing. In the context of a landscape, such symbolic systems communicate the difference between sacred and profane space and answer the universal theme of establishing connections between a population and a time and place of origin.

Beyond such essential functions, sacred geographies are as varied as religions. These differences are the result of specific cultural and historical factors as well as geographical conditions. The circumstances of a wandering life in an isolated region; the need to form or unify a state organization; the pattern of an early chain of missions or military conquests; the lasting prestige and sacred quality of an ancient civic and religious center—these and countless other factors may determine how sacred geographies are shaped. By incorporating the imagery of history and related information, sacred geographies make visible a cultural or ethnic domain and signal territorial possession.

The study of sacred geography is especially important in understanding the processes of cultural history, particularly among peoples whose traditions are not documented in writing or whose traditions may be recorded in partly deciphered hieroglyphic texts and figural imagery. In Africa, Oceania, and the Americas, where the native spiritual and intellectual heritage was largely transmitted orally, major archaeological sites must be decoded without textual sources, and early European reports of contact are colored by an Indo-European outlook. Among these peoples, the broad patterns of sacred geography provide indispensable insight on the role of religious thought and symbolism in the evolution of civilization.

SEE ALSO Center of the World; Cosmology; Deserts; Gardens; Jerusalem; Lakes; Mountains; Oceans; Rivers; Sacred Space.

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GEOMANCY is a form of divination based on the interpretation of figures or patterns drawn on the ground or other flat surface by means of sand or similar granular materials. The term is also used for the interpretation of geographic features. Among the Chinese, in particular, this practice of geomancy is rooted in traditional philosophic conceptions of the relationship that exists between human beings and the vital forces of their environment and the need to achieve a harmonious balance between the two to ensure well-being.

The Western form of geomancy, widespread in the Arab world, was also of importance in medieval Europe, where it was closely linked with alchemy and astrology. Geomancy of this kind is likely to have originated in the ancient Near East and may also have been developed further by Greek mathematical speculations. In the eighth and ninth centuries, during the period of Arab cultural florescence and expansion, it became systematized and was then widely distributed from its center to Byzantium and across North Africa and into Spain. From Spain it was also probably spread along a second route into Christian Europe. From Egypt and North Africa, geomancy was carried south with Islam and then even beyond, so that it is now found both in West Africa (for example, among the Yoruba of Nigeria) and in East Africa, including Madagascar.

The Arab system called *ram'l* ("sand") is based on complex mathematical calculations and involves conceptions of an orderly universe. Its numerical order provides the underlying framework for all other Western systems of geomancy. The fundamental common feature of geomancy is a pattern of binary oppositions of markings grouped into sixteen combinations of four positions. In both the Arab system and that of medieval Europe (*ars punctatoria*), points or lines were drawn on sand in a pattern based on chance. In the Yoruba system (Ifa), which has been particularly well described, markings are based on the casting of palm kernels or cowrie shells according to prescribed procedures. For each of the resulting figures, from among a total of 256 possible combinations and permutations there is a set of verses that the diviner (*babalawo*) will have memorized to interpret the pattern and to apply to the case at hand. In general, the aim of this practice is not to divine future events but to discover the supernatural causes of present situations and their remedies.

In the European system the sixteen figures are related to astronomical signs of the planets and the zodiac; the scheme also includes four elements and four qualities. Although various authors have offered divergent interpretations of this system, its basic structure is remarkably constant and has been integrated into different philosophical conceptions with striking flexibility.

The system of medieval European geomancy appears to have had a brief revival in the occultism of the nineteenth century. The African systems are still viable, and forms of the Yoruba practice, in particular, have even been discovered in the Americas, notably in Cuba and Brazil.

Less complex systems of geomancy, apparently unrelated to those of the West, are to be found in Tibet in the form of "stone divination" and "pebble divination." These systems each have their own sets of rules, recorded in manuals. They are quite distinct from those discussed above.

The term *geomancy* is also used to refer to *feng-shui* ("winds and waters"), the traditional Chinese technique for determining propitious locations for towns, dwellings, and tombs. This system, which is still in very widespread use, concerns the distribution over the earth, by winds and water currents, of various terrestrial and atmospheric emanations that are believed to exert important influences on people. In addition to being a system of calculations for establishing favorable sites, geomancy is also a method for discerning the causes of human illness and suffering. Geomancers may claim that these causes lie in the negative influences on people of badly placed residences or of the unfortunate positioning of the tombs of ancestors, who consequently send illness and misfortune to their descendants as expressions of anger. Moreover, a given dwelling or tomb, which was originally well placed, may, in time, have its geomantic position shifted as a result of changes in the area, such as new constructions that produce an alteration in the balance of positive and negative currents. A geomancer will not only divine such causes but will also seek to remedy the situation by recommending reburial at a better spot, changing the position of a tomb, or urging the building of a wall or other structure to modify the direction of the currents. Because of the belief that illness may be due to such influences, geomancers must be included in any list of traditional Chinese diagnosticians and medical practitioners.

See Also Divination.

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GEOMETRY.

During the last two millennia BCE, the period that produced most religious texts, geometry (lit., "earth measurement," from Greek *gaia, ge,* "the earth," and *metrein,* "to measure") was essentially a "geometrical algebra" with a focus on number. Problematic allusions to number and space, which abound in sacred texts, are presumably inspired by this early mathematical protoscience. During the much later development of Christianity and Islam, Euclidean geometry—based, so it seemed, on irrefutable deductive logic built from definitions, postulates, and theorems—became the rational paradigm for all sciences, including theology. The discovery of other geometries in the last two centuries has brought the realization that Euclidean geometry is merely a special case within a wider realm. Efforts to rid mathematics of its logical paradoxes have taught that perfect consistency and certainty are unattainable in rational thought. These developments, together with a new awareness of the complexity of physical space and a better understanding of how culture shapes perceptions, have dramatically altered philosophical dogmatism, making ancient and Eastern modes of thought more congenial to the modern West and contributing to the problems of contemporary religion.

Neolithic Cultures (6000–3500 BCE). In southeastern Europe and the Near East, Neolithic peoples decorated the surfaces of cult objects with geometric motifs—circles, ovals, parallel lines, chevrons, triangles, squares, meanders, and spirals. These abstract designs came to abound in the folk arts of most of the cultures of the globe, seemingly irrespective of time, of the degree of civilization attained, or of concomitant skill in the realistic depiction of natural objects such as animals, human faces, leaves, and landscapes. Creation myths inherited from Mesopotamia and Egypt of the third and second millennia BCE and later from Palestine, China, and Greece, as well as those recorded in modern times in the Americas, Africa, and Oceania show that the act of divine creation is universally conceived as an ordering, a shaping and selection that brings a world, a cosmos, into being. During the Neolithic period, the abstract geometrical motifs that ornament dress, vessels, walls, and other artifacts found in the earliest shrines and villages were expressions of an intuitive identification of order with the sacred and a consequent mobilization of aesthetic feeling in control of design.

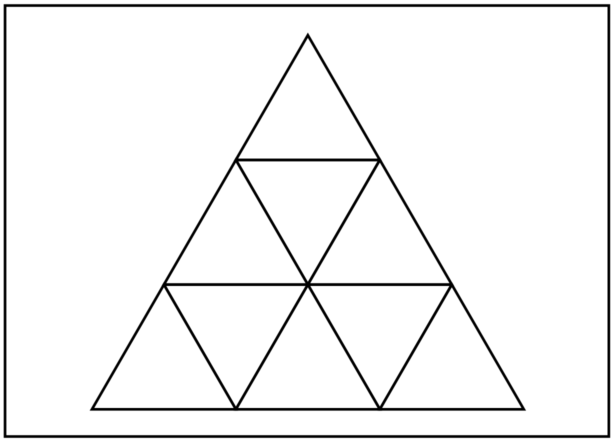

FIGURE 1. *Geometric Symmetry.* Simple design sequences, such as appear on Neolithic pottery, weaving, and basketry, suggest applied knowledge of propositions in geometry and arithmetic.

In *A History of Mathematics* (1968), Carl B. Boyer observes that pottery, weaving, and basketry, from the time of their Neolithic origins, "show instances of congruences and symmetry, which are in essence parts of elementary geometry." To Boyer, "simple sequences in design"—such as translations, rotations, and reflections (see figure 1)—"suggest a sort of applied group theory, as well as propositions in geometry and arithmetic." Formal propositions did not appear, however, until the Greeks initiated them in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. Group theory was not developed until the last two centuries; only recently has it been extended to cover the geometric symmetries in space that were already a concern in Palestinian stoneware, for instance, as early as 10,000 BCE. The oldest mathematical texts, dating from circa 1900 to 1600 BCE, show that geometry developed historically as "the science of dimensional order," in close alliance with arithmetic and algebra, although "the 'spaciness' of space and the 'numerosity' of number are essentially different things" (Alfred North Whitehead, *An Introduction to Mathematics,* 1911).

"There is a direct correlation between complexity of weaving and sophistication of arithmetic understanding,"

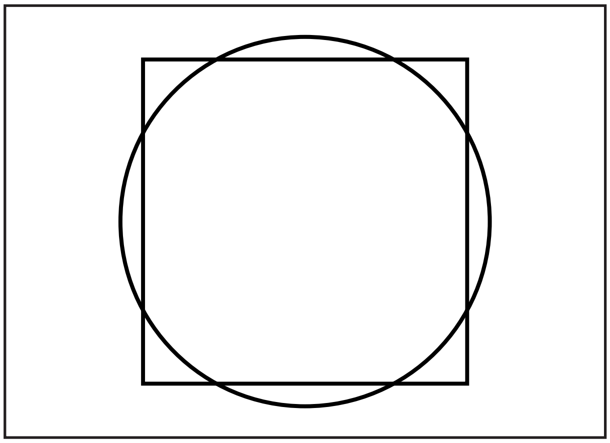

FIGURE 2. *Geometrical Algebra.* Ancient Egyptians approximated the area of a circle by a square with sides eight-ninths of its diameter. Attention is on the numerical answer.

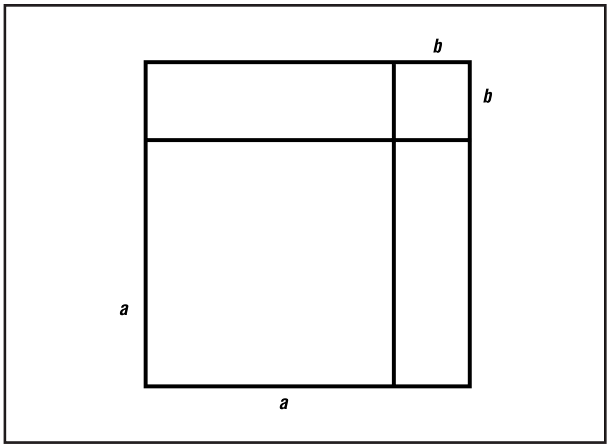

FIGURE 3. *Geometrical Algebra.* The binomial $(a + b^2) = a^2 + 2ab + b^2$ can be visualized as a problem in geometry.

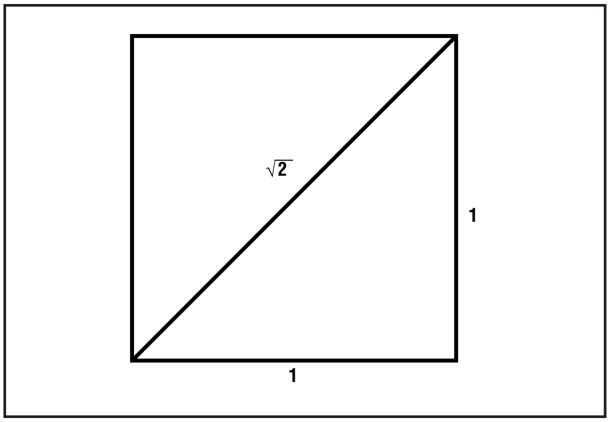

FIGURE 4. *Geometrical Algebra.* The square root of 2 can be visualized as the diagonal of a square.

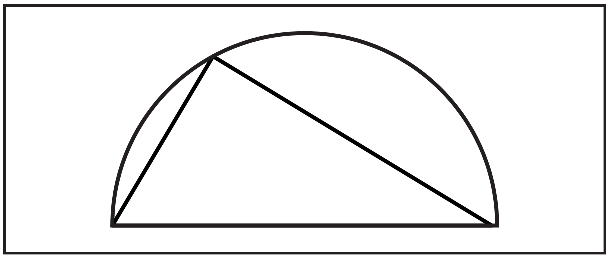

FIGURE 5. *Geometry of the Plane.* A triangle inscribed in a semicircle is a right triangle.

Walter A. Fairservis notes in *The Threshold of Civilization* (1975). In a settlement like that at Çatal Hüyük in central Turkey, occupied before 6500 BCE, the frame posts of the houses are filled in with sunbaked bricks made from molds, furnishing strong economic motivation for knowing precisely "how many bricks were necessary for each wall"; hence, "counting and notation were very much a part of the cultural scene." Far cruder artifacts—sequences of notches incised in bone, studied by Alexander Marshack (1972)—suggest "systems of lunar and other notation" that push the origins of arithmetic far back into Paleolithic times, twenty-five thousand and more years ago. Modern archaeologists and anthropologists are thus producing alternative theories to those of Herodotos (fifth century BCE), who believed geometry began in Egypt, motivated by the necessity of reestablishing boundaries after the annual Nile floods, and by Aristotle (fourth century BCE), who also assumed an origin in Egypt, but because "there the priestly caste was allowed to be at leisure."

ANCIENT EGYPT. Chief sources of knowledge of early Egyptian geometry are the Moscow Papyrus (c. 1890 BCE) and the Rhind Papyrus (c. 1650 BCE). The emphasis here is always on calculation, so that their geometry "turns out to have been mainly a branch of applied arithmetic" (Boyer, 1968). The concept of geometric similarity is applied to triangles, and there is a rudimentary trigonometry. There is a good approximation to π in the formula that computes the area of a circle by constructing a square on eight-ninths of its diameter (see figure 2). In addition, the Egyptians knew the formulas for elementary volumes and correctly calculated the volume of a truncated pyramid.

Modern scholars, however, are disappointed to find so little cause for the high estimation in which the Greeks later held Egyptian science. Respect for the organizational and engineering skills required for the building of palaces, canals, and pyramids, for example, is tempered by the realization that such civic projects entail little more then what Otto Neugebauer (1969) calls "elementary household arithmetic which no mathematician would call mathematics." Neugebauer concludes: "Ancient science was the product of a very few men; and these few happened not to be Egyptian." Of far greater interest is what was happening in Babylon.

Tetractys		Algebraic value	Arithmetic example
point	o	( )	1
line	o o	a b	2 3
plane	o o o	a^2 ab b^2	4 6 9
solid	o o o o	a^3 a^2b ab^2 b^3	8 12 18 27

Figure 6. *The Pythagorean Holy Tetractys.* Note the modern algebraic formula and the Pythagorean arithmetic example in smallest integers.

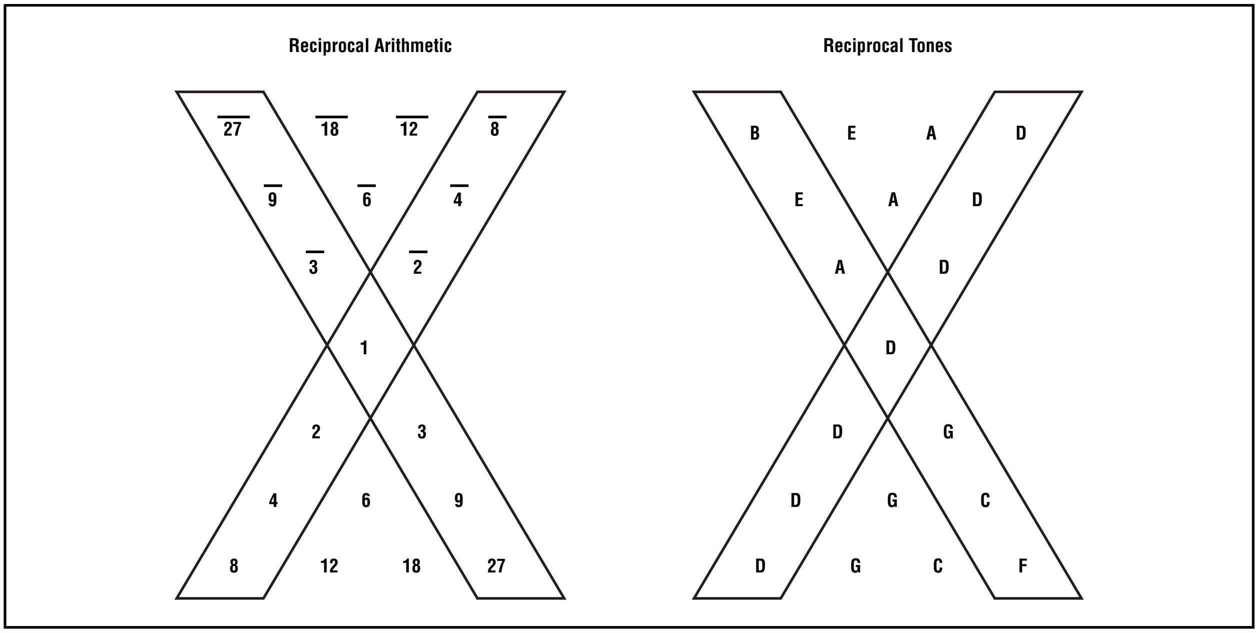
Reciprocal Arithmetic
$\overline{27}$ $\overline{18}$ $\overline{12}$ $\overline{8}$
$\overline{9}$ $\overline{6}$ $\overline{4}$
$\overline{3}$ $\overline{2}$
1
2 3
4 6 9
8 12 18 27
Reciprocal Tones
B E A D
E A D
A D
D
D G
D G C
D G C F

Figure 7. *Plato's Timaeus Cross* (X). This pattern reveals at a glance the Platonic theorem that between square numbers there is one geometric mean and between cube numbers there are two. The result is continuing geometric progression in every direction around the center. This construction is a stage in the process by which Plato develops the cubes of 2 and 3 into the model "world soul." Arithmetic doubles are known as octave equivalences to a musician and as modular identities to a mathematician.

Babylon. Several hundred baked-clay tablets about the size of the palm of the hand, incised with neatly crowded rows of cuneiform inscriptions, provide more information about the mathematical sciences in Babylon circa 1900 to 1600 BCE than exists for any other place or time preceding the *Elements* of Euclid, circa 320 BCE. Standard tables of multiplication of reciprocals and a place value notation on base sixty facilitated computation at a level Neugebauer compares with that of Europe in the early Renaissance, more than three thousand years later.

Babylonian geometry, like that of Egypt, was still "applied algebra or arithmetic in which numbers are attached to figures" (see figure 3). The ratio between the side and diagonal of a square (i.e., the square root of two) was computed correctly to about one part in a million (see figure 4). Ratios between the areas of a pentagon, hexagon, and heptagon and those of squares built on one side were closely approximated, as was the value of π. A geometric concept of similarity is applied to circles, and perhaps also to triangles. An angle inscribed in a semicircle is known to be a right angle (see figure 5). The Pythagorean theorem (which holds that the square on the hypotenuse of a right triangle is equal to the sum of the squares on the other two sides) was understood in all its generality a thousand years before Pythagoras. One tablet, known as Plimpton 322, develops a set of fifteen "Pythagorean triplets" (three numbers defining right triangles, such as 3,4,5) in a sequence in which acute angles vary by approximately one degree. This "prototrigonometry," unsuspected until the tablet was translated, is one of the most astonishing mathematical achievements of the ancient world. It demonstrates empirical knowledge of a general formula:

Assuming integers p and q with $p > q$, and taking $p = 2$ and $q = 1$, the 3,4,5 triplet emerges as follows:

SIDE	SIDE	HYPOTENUSE
$2 pq$	$p2 - q2$	$p2 + q2$
$2 (2 \times 1) = 4$	$4 - 1 = 3$	$4 + 1 = 5$

It was from the Babylonians, rather than from the Egyptians, that the Greeks inherited the fund of empirical insights that they transformed into an exact science. The example just cited—in which the ratio of the musical octave, 2:1, is transformed into the Pythagorean triplet 3,4,5—is the foundation of Plato's cosmogony, and it may turn out to be one of the most important clues to the numerology of the ancient world.

GREEK TRANSFORMATION OF EGYPTIAN AND BABYLONIAN KNOWLEDGE. Researchers are still trying to unravel the story of how the Greeks, in less than three centuries (600–300 BCE), transformed geometry—inherited essentially as an art of making arithmetical relations visible—into a science based on definitions, postulates, and theorems (and appealing therefore to an invisible *logos*). Material inherited from Egypt and Babylon through Thales (c. 585 BCE), and Pythagoras (c. 550 BCE) was riddled with confusion between exactness and approximation. A new "dialectical" spirit arose with Parmenides (c. 475 BCE) and his followers. Precise definition, always elusive, was the new goal that Socrates (d. 399 BCE) applied to moral and ethical questions by appealing to "harmonic" examples from the Pythagorean geometry of the vibrating string. Plato's affection for dialectics and his emphasis on abstraction bore unexpected fruit in Aristotle's rejection of his teacher's Pythagorean methods: "Dialectics is merely critical where philosophy claims to know" (*Metaphysics* 1004b). Aristotelian "first philosophy" developed a new syllogistic rigor in the generation after Theaetetus (c. 414–c. 369 BCE) and Eudoxus (c. 400–c. 350 BCE), who changed the method and enlarged the scope of mathematics. Another generation later, Euclid's *Elements* completed the mathematical transformation so successfully that the only traces of earlier Greek mathematics that survive must be gleaned from his work. Little else was deemed worth copying.

For current understanding of geometrical symbolism in ancient religions, the Greek transformation has almost no meaning. Although Christianity and Islam are historically young enough to have been affected by the transformation, their holy books show virtually no influence of the new Greek science. (A possible notable exception is the opening line of the *Gospel of John:* "In the beginning was the Logos.") Plato, the first author in history whose works have survived intact, made an extended commentary on the mathematical bias in his philosophy and offers the richest insight into the intentionality that inserted so many mathematical elements in ancient mythology. The musical geometry at the heart of his mathematics was common to both East and West; its simplest pragmatic formula is found in China.

HARMONIC COSMOLOGY IN CHINA AND GREECE. The natural, or counting, numbers (1, 2, 3, . . . , infinity) are a primordial image of order. Developed systematically into Pythagorean triplets, they lead to a prototrigonometry of the plane. Applied systematically to the geometry of a vibrating string, they link the magical realm of tone with the numbers that measure the world. To use economical modern concepts, the octave ratio 1:2 becomes the cyclic module (Plato's matrix, or "universal mother") in which the even numbers are "modular activities" (doubling and halving merely produce further "octave identities") and the odd numbers are "modular residues" (meaning that they define new pitches within the octave matrix). To build a scale, the simplest procedure is to follow the old Chinese rule of adding or subtracting one-third (from any reference pipe or string length). This is the geometrical analogue of the musical procedure of tuning by ear: A subtraction of one-third correlates with the musical interval of an ascending perfect fifth (3:2); an addition of one-third correlates with the descending perfect fourth (4:3). To avoid fractions in the arithmetic, the reference length must contain one factor of three for every "tone child" to be generated. The Chinese pentatonic (five-tone) scale must therefore be generated from 3;s4 = 81.

Tone	C	G	D	A	E
Number	81	54	72	48	64
Operation	-1/3	+1/3	-1/3		+1/3

Rearranged into scale order, this number sequence has a reciprocal "twin" that defines frequency ratios:

Tone	C	D	E	G	A
Length ratio	81	72	64	54	48
Frequency	64	72	81	96	108

Both Chinese and Greek cosmology are projections from this tonal geometry, reducible to continued operations with the prime number 3. Note that the defining operation started on 34 = 92 = 81. Ancient China was conceived as 1/81 part of the whole world, that is, as 1/9 of one of the nine "great continents." China was also considered to be divided into nine provinces, so that each Chinese province was 1/729 of the whole world; now 36 = 93 = 729 is the base for the same tuning calculation when it is extended through seven tones for the complete diatonic scale, also standard in China in the fifth century BCE. At about the same time, Philolaus, a Greek Pythagorean philosopher, conceived the year as made up of "729 days and nights," a number that would seem to come from nowhere but such a musical cosmology. Plato linked the seven tones in this set to the sun, moon, and five planets; later, Ptolemy (second century CE) linked the scale to the zodiac.

The numbers 64 and 81, on which the alternate scale progressions commence, and the number 108, largest in the set of pentatonic frequency values, are immortalized in various ways. In China there are 64 hexagrams in the *Yi jing* divination text. The numbers 82 = 64 and 92 = 81 have been the favored squares on which to construct the Hindu fire altar since Vedic times (c. 1500 BCE). The number 108, upper limit in the set, is the number of beads in the Buddhist rosary. The tuning pattern itself has recently been discovered (but without numbers) on an Old Babylonian cuneiform tablet from circa 1800 BCE.

The set of twelve consecutive tones generated by the above procedure constitutes a chromatic scale. In ancient China each twelve tones in turn became the tonic of the standard pentatonic scale for a particular calendric period. Throughout Chinese history the bureau of standards remained wedded to a tonal geometry: The length of a pitch pipe (an end-blown hollow tube) sounding the reference tone determined the standard for both weights and volumes. Each new regime established a new reference pitch; today there is the record of dozens of succesives changes in the bureau of standards as the reference pitch oscillated over the range of about the interval of a sixth.

Unless one knows the musical procedure, the Daoist formula for the creation of the creation of the world sounds mystical: "The Dao [the Way] produced one, the one produced two, the two produced three, and three produced the ten thousand things [everything]." The creation myth related by Plato in the *Timaeus* similary develops the world's harmonical soul and body from the numbers 1,2, 3. Pythagoreans frankly announced that, to them, "All is number," and Aristotle quotes them as saying, "The world and all that is in it is determined by the number of three." Plutarch describes planetary ditances in the Philoaus system as "a geometrical progression with three as the common ratio." For eight hundred years Greek astronomers toyed with varations on this planetary motion (c. 1600 CE) while still looking for the right tones to associate with each celestial body. East and West, the "geometry" of heaven and earth was musical and profoundly trintarian while astronomy was being gestated.

The Greek view of this tonal-planetary geometry points in the direction of a more abstract mathematical system. The Pythagorean "holy tetractys" was a pebble pattern symbolizing continuing geometric progression from a point through a line and a plane to the "solid" dimension (see figure 6). Plato takes advantage of the double meanings of integers (both as whole numbers and as reciprocal fractions) to generate the material for a seven-tone scale at the cube dimension (33=27; see figure 7). Nicomachus (fl. c. 100 CE), writing an introduction to Plato, simplifies the double view of the multiplication table 2 x 3 up to the limit of 36 = 93 = 729 (see figure 8.) Stones, musical tones, planets, numbers, and geometry are all part of one vast Pythagorean synthesis, replete with symbolic cross-reference and a supporting mythology. An exasperated Aristotle mocked it; Euclid made it obsolete.

The problem of "excess and deficiency" with which a musician wrestles in adjusting the geometry of the string by ear had its arithmetical analogue in the ancient problem of making approximations between the areas of a circle and square and the volumes of a sphere and cube. Thus harmonics was a paradigm for an ethics of moderation; "nothing too much," the Greek ideal, had its counterpart in Confucian concepts of morality and behavior. Thousands of years earlier, the Egyptians had conceived the scales of Maat as the "great balance" on which the heart of the deceased was figuratively weighed to test its fitness for immortality. Thus the wisdom literature of the ancient world shows remarkable parallels between cultures.

The historical record is so fragmented, however, that interpretation of geometric symbols remains speculative. Modern studies in the neurophysiology of vision and in related psychological inferences suggest that schematic, geometric relations play decisive roles. The universal acceptance of the octave ratio 1:2 is further evidence of human psychophysical norms that could generate correspondence between cultures that were never in contact. While they can neither fully document the paths of cultural diffusion nor even claim that diffusion is necessary, researchers cannot entirely rid themselves of suspicion that there was a great deal more diffusion than can be proven.

PROBLEMS IN ANCIENT GEOMETRIC SYMBOLS. It is easy to imagine that the ancient stone circles that abound in Europe and America linked people to events in the sky—that the twenty-eight poles arranged in a circle for the lodge of the Arapaho Indians' Sun Dance, for instance, may correspond to twenty-eight lunar mansions; that the twelve sections of the Crow tribe's lodge for that ceremony may allude to the months of the year; and that other cultures possessed similar symbols of earth, sky, and calendar (Burckhardt, 1976). But many familiar symbols are more puzzling. Why, for instance, did the Pythagoreans take a five-pointed star (see figure 9) as their special symbol? Is it because each line cuts two others in "mean and extreme ratio" (meaning that the whole lines is to the longer segment as the longer is to the shorter) so that the figure symbolizes both "continuing geometric progression" (the world's "best bonds," for Plato) and a victory over the "darkness" of the irrational? Could the Hindu "drum of Śiva" (see figure 10)—with its inverted triangles and the interlocked triangles of the star-hexagon (see figure 11), prevalent in Indian and Semitic cultures—be related to the Pythagorean symbols in figures 6 and 7?

The so-called Pascal triangle (see figure 12), containing the coefficients for the expansion of the binomial (*a*+*b*)2,3,4,5,6 was known to Pingala (c. 200 BCE) as Mount Meru, the Hindu-Buddhist holy mountain. Pingala interpreted this triangle as showing the possible variations of meter built from monosyllables, disyllables, trisyllables, and so on. Could this "Mount Meru" be related to the holy mountains of other Eastern religions? Is the Pythagorean tetractys simply the Greek form of older holy mountains? Is it significant that the Sumerian symbol for mountain is a triangular pile of bricks (see figure 13), aligned in a pattern Pythagoreans found useful for numbers? Is the hourglass shape of the later Buddhist holy mountain simply a geometric variation of the "drum of Śiva"?

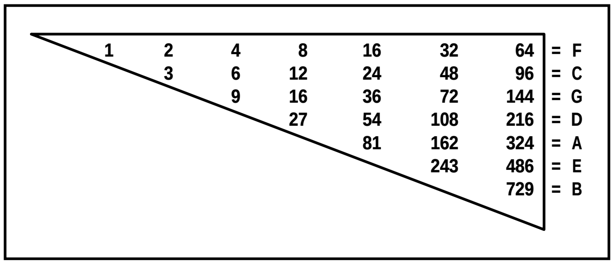

1	2	4	8	16	32	64	= F
	3	6	12	24	48	96	= C
		9	16	36	72	144	= G
			27	54	108	216	= D
				81	162	324	= A
					243	486	= E
						729	= B

FIGURE 8. *Nicomachus's Triangle.* Nicomachus presents Plato's reciprocal material in figure 7 in the form of a multiplication table for 2 x 3, extended to 36 = 93 = 729 to avoid fractions. Note that he describes the numbers written out from left to right rather than arranged in the form of the Greek letter chi (X) that Plato specified.

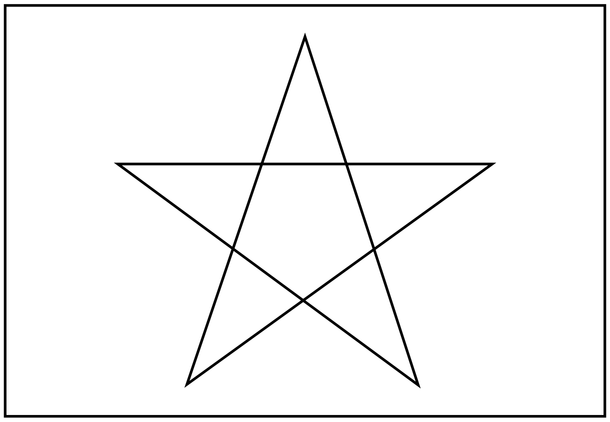

FIGURE 9. *Pythagorean Symbol.* Each line cuts two others in "mean and extreme" ratio.

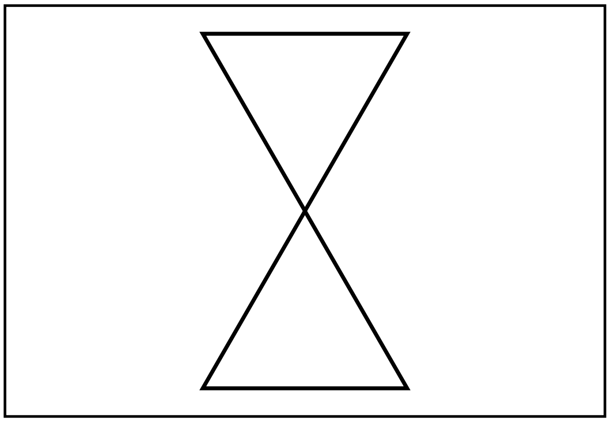

FIGURE 10. *The Drum of Śiva.* Note the hourglass shape attributed to Mount Meru, and compare with Plato's Timaeus pattern in figure 7.

Translation of the ancient Babylonian mathematical texts now makes clear that the computational sophistication achieved four thousand years ago was so great that the sacred texts of all peoples must be studied with new alertness for evidence of rational—and not merely poetic—inspiration. The old Sumerian-Babylonian gods possessed straightforward numerical "nicknames" (used for scribal shorthand) in sexagesimal (base sixty) notation; the three great gods—Anu-An, whose numerical epithet was 60 (written as a large 1), Ea-Enki, associated with 40, and Enlil, associated with 50—are functional equivalents of Plato's 3,4,5 Pythagorean genetic triad. Could some of the ancient religious mythology turn out to be mathematical allegory?

It seems curious that the ancient Greek altar at Delphi is built on cubic dimensions, as are the chapel of the Egyptian goddess Leto that Herodotos saw in the city of Buto, the Vedic fire altar, the Holy of Holies in Solomon's temple, and the ancient Sumerian ark (first to "rescue a remnant of mankind from the flood"). The name of the most sacred Islamic shrine, the Kaʿbah at Mecca, literally means "cube," and the city of New Jerusalem in the *Book of Revelation* is also measured in such dimensions. All of these cubic consonances between various religions suggest that poetic religious imagination has had a geometrical, "protoscientific" component for a very long time.

GEOMETRY SINCE EUCLID. The thirteen books of Euclid's *Elements* culminate in a treatment of the five regular, or Platonic solids—tetrahedon, cube, octahedron, dodecahedron, and icosahedron—each with uniform sides and angles and all capable, when replicated, of closely packing three-dimensional, abstract space. Euclid mastered the transformational symmetries of these "rigid" bodies.

In the third century BCE Archimedes did important work on the area of the surface of a sphere and of a cylinder and on their respective volumes, and Apollonius carried the study of conic sections (ellipse, parabola, and hyperbola) to its highest development. Later Greek authors made further advances in geometry, but the great wave of development that had begun scarcely four hundred years earlier was spent.

Later Hindu talent has been mainly arithmetic and algebraic; theorems on the areas and diagonals of quadrilaterals in a circle were contributed by Brahmagupta (c. 628 CE). Important Arab contributions to the solution of cubic equations by the method of intersecting conics were summarized by ʿOmar Khayyam (c. 1100 CE). European development has been rapid since Kepler's time; it was Kepler who introduced the concepts of the infinitely great and the infinitely small, which Euclid had carefully excised from consideration. The invention of analytic geometry by Pierre de Fermat and René Descartes in the seventeenth century led to a new integration of geometry and algebra.

The contributions of Euclid's *Elements* to the invention and development of the physical sciences during all these centuries is inestimable. His kind of logical, geometrical argument is the basis for Archimedes' formalization of the laws

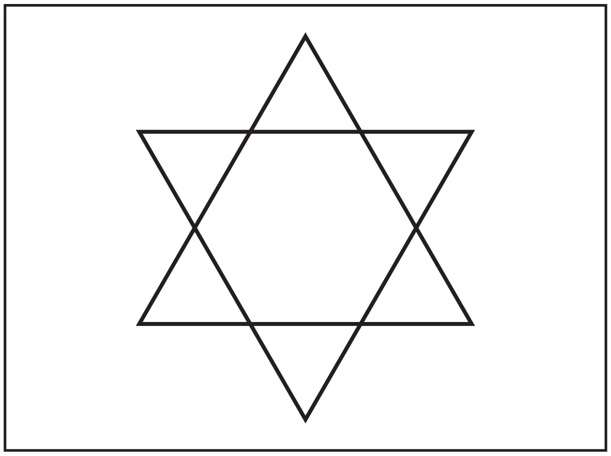

FIGURE 11. *Star Hexagon.* Indian and Semitic symbol.

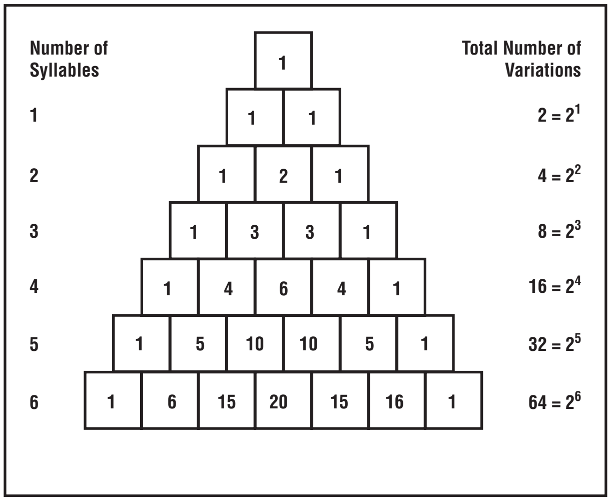

FIGURE 12. *Pascal's Triangle.* Known to Piṅgala (ca. 200 B.C.E.) as "Mount Meru," the Hindu and Buddhist holy mountain.

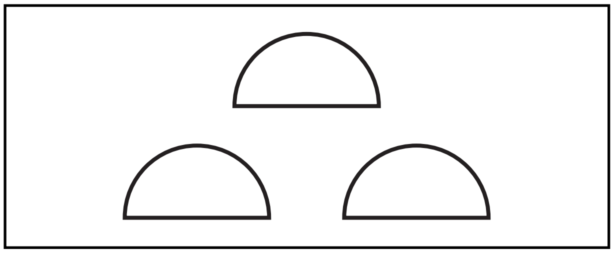

FIGURE 13. *Sumerian Symbol for a Mountain.* The triangular arrangement is the pattern that Pythagoreans found useful for numbers.

of the lever; for the Greek development of astronomy as a physical science (by Hipparchus, Ptolemy, and others); for Galileo's work on the dynamics of the inclined plane; for Kepler's laws of planetary motion; for Newton's laws of planetary gravitational dynamics; and for an endless host of related physical sciences. Euclidean geometry, still being improved today, has thus been one of the Western world's most powerful engines of progress. The *Elements* has been "the most influential textbook of all times" (Boyer, 1968), and it was long assumed to be as certain a guide to geometry as the Bible to absolute truth. God, it was confidently asserted, is a geometer.

During the nineteenth century, which Boyer calls the "golden age of geometry," this almost-perfected world of traditional, Euclidean-inspired mathematical physics exploded with a creative energy, leading to a crisis in the very foundations of mathematics. For example, one of the several new geometries that appeared, projective geometry, has nothing to do with measurement. Several "non-Euclidean" geometrics, by N. I. Lobachevskii, Wolfgang Bolyai, and G. F. B. Riemann, omit Euclid's famous sixth postulate concerning parallel lines, always somewhat suspect, to create equally logical geometries of even wider generality.

The favored status of Euclidean geometry has evaporated. There are no longer any assumptions that command universal assent, no systems of logic powerful enough to validate themselves even in mathematics. Mathematics has thus lost some of its certainty even while multiplying its powers. Einstein's notion of "space-time," with its curvatures and paradoxes, has relegated Euclidean geometry to the role of a convenient tool for certain modern intuitions within a severely limited local space. Space perception itself has been proved culturally biased; intuition can be taught new tricks. Space has also multiplied its hallowed three dimensions beyond any possibility of imagining; today the number of its dimensions is the number of independent variables in various formulas.

With the shattering of mathematical certainty and the ending of the idolatry of Euclidean rationalism, Western scientists in particular have felt a new attraction to the philosophical skepticism of Vedic poets and to Daoist and Buddhist feeling for how the world behaves. The ancient worldview was created in imagination; today imagination is still proving more powerful than logic. In the ferment of this present age, mathematics and physics are committed, perhaps more clearly than ever—but as an act of faith rather than of reason—to the primordial affection for symmetry, guided less by reason than by aesthetic feeling for elegance and beauty.

SEE ALSO Circle; Numbers; Quaternity; Sacred Space.

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Revised Bibliography

GERMANIC RELIGION

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
HISTORY OF STUDY

GERMANIC RELIGION: AN OVERVIEW

From the linguistic point of view, the Germanic people constitute an archaic branch of the Indo-European family. The earliest Germanic culture that archaeologists identify as such is the so-called Jastorf culture, a cultural province of northern Europe in the Early Iron Age (c. 600 BCE) covering present-day Holstein, Jutland, northeast Saxony, and western Mecklenburg. When Germanic tribes entered into written history in the works of classical authors such as Caesar and Tacitus, they had spread south towards the Rhine and the wooded hills of southern Germany, so that their closest neighbors were the Celts in Gaul. To the east their neighbors were the Balts and the Scythians and Sarmatians, Iranian tribes that roamed the plains of Russia. To the north they were in contact with the Sámi and the Finns. Although the Germanic people were primarily pastoralists, they also practiced agriculture and hunting. Their social organization was originally geared towards egalitarian communalism, but as contact with the Roman Empire changed economic conditions, a more diversified society developed in which wealth and rank tended to prevail, although nominally power still rested in the hands of the Thing, the assembly of all free men able to carry arms.

The post-Roman era saw the establishment of Germanic kingdoms in England and Scandinavia, some of which remained pagan for a surprisingly long time. The English adopted Christianity early in the seventh century, the Danes in the 960s, the Norwegians around 995 to 1000, and the Swedes not until the twelfth century. During the Viking age, pagan Scandinavian communities established themselves in Ireland, the Isle of Man, and northern and eastern England, and eventually accepted Christianity as they became assimilated. Iceland, which was settled in the late ninth century, was also a pagan Scandinavian country, although it was not a kingdom. Subject to the same missionary pressures as Norway, Iceland accepted Christianity in 999 or 1000. The pagan Scandinavian communities in Orkney, Shetland, and the Faroe Islands were converted at about the same time.

SOURCES. Our knowledge of Germanic religion comes from many different sources. A large number of Bronze Age rock carvings in southern Scandinavia are often referenced in descriptions of the religion's earliest phase, but these have to be interpreted with caution. For one thing, it is not certain that the creators of these carvings were Germanic. For another thing, the sets of pictures they present are particularly complex and mix many different kinds of symbols: ships, chariots, men plowing, people reveling to the sound of lurs and other musical instruments, worshipers carrying solar disks, and imprints of feet and hands. To call one figure among those the "spear god," for example, because of its larger size, and identify it as the spear-carrying Óðinn is conjectural at best. We cannot altogether dismiss the testimony of these petroglyphs, but quite possibly they are part of a kind of nature cult that cannot be fully connected with the pantheon later worshiped in the same places. Indisputably Germanic are gravesites and bog finds that provide information about funeral rites and sacrificial offerings. Monuments from the Roman period bear inscriptions with the names of Germanic deities, and classical writers refer to Germanic gods under their *interpretatio Romana.* The fourth- and fifth-century "Age of Migration" and the following period, when the Germanic kingdoms became established in western Europe, yield only meager documentation of the religion of the people who precipitated the downfall of the Roman Empire. However, place-name studies show the geographic extent of the cults of various gods, the antiquity of those cults, and the nature of a god's powers (for example, whether a god was worshiped by fishermen on the seacoast or by farmers in the interior), and the large number of runic inscriptions tell us something about pagan gods, priests, magic, and the remembrance of the dead. In literary sources such as chronicles, saints' lives, legal texts, and instructions to priests, Christian authors mention the pagan gods by name as they describe their cults and the actions taken by missionary kings and bishops and evangelizing saints against their worship. A considerable number of Scandinavian myths are transmitted in the lays of the *Poetic Edda*, some of which may date to the ninth century, but the bulk of our information about Scandinavian mythology comes from the thirteenth-century retellings and explanations compiled by Snorri Sturluson in his *Prose Edda.* The sagas describe life in pagan Iceland, Norway, and Sweden and contain numerous details on religious practices and specific forms of worship, as well as on the shift from paganism to Christianity. Like the other texts from the pens of Christian authors, the sagas have to be used with caution as a source of information on early Scandinavian belief and rites, but some of that information is certainly credible because it is confirmed by other kinds of evidence. Christian authors also copied a few charms and spells, which shed light on particular aspects of popular religion and superstition. One non-Christian source is the Arab diplomat Ibn Fadlan, who in 921 was on his way to the Bulgar court when he encountered a group of Scandinavian traders (Rūs') on the Volga. They had stopped to perform funeral rites for one of their companions who had died on the trip, and Ibn Fadlan's account of the cremation, accompanied by the drugging and killing of a woman to serve the deceased in the next world, is an amazing piece of early ethnography.

The Creation Myth. In the *Prose Edda*, Snorri gives a complete description of creation that combines a number of older sources that are not always consistent with each other. The major Eddic poems used by Snorri are the *Lay of Vafþrúðnir* and and the *Lay of Grímnir*, which more or less duplicate each other, and *Vǫluspá* (Prophecy of the Seeress); but he also derives some details from sources lost to us and adds some deductions of his own. Quoting *Vǫluspá* (st. 3), Snorri stresses that at the beginning of time there was nothing but a great emptiness called Ginnungagap ("a void filled with magical forces"). According to the poem, "When Ymir lived, in earliest times, there was neither sand, nor sea, nor chill waves," whereas Snorri's prose explains, "In the beginning not anything existed; there was no sand, nor sea, nor cooling waves." Snorri's version probably reflects the older tradition, because the idea of an empty space and a world of mere potentiality preceding creation seems to belong to the ancestral heritage of the Germanic people (cf. the well-known cosmogonic hymn of the *Ṛgveda* [10.129]: "There was neither nonbeing nor being; nor was there space nor the sky above").

The first parts of the cosmos to emerge were Niflheimr ("dark world"), the sunless, misty world of death that lies in the north, and the blazing hot world of Muspell (the fire that would consume the earth) in the south. The antiquity of the association of death with the north is seen in Stone Age graves, which are oriented in this direction. Much later, the main or high seat in medieval Scandinavian houses—called *ondvegi* (way of the spirit) and supposed to be the seat of the ancestor—is located to the north. And in magical rites, water flowing northward is related to the kingdom of death. The antiquity of the concept of a fiery southern realm is seen in the occurrence of the Old High German word *muspilli* in a tenth-century Bavarian eschatological poem, where it designates the universal fire at the end of the world. In Niflheimr was a well called Hvergelmir ("resounding kettle"), from which eleven rivers flowed. According to Snorri, the showers pouring out of Niflheimr whipped up the rivers, and the spray froze, so that layer after layer of ice piled up in Ginnungagap. The sparks and glowing embers flying out of Muspell met the hoarfrost and the ice, and from the slush and heat, life emerged in the shape of an anthropomorphic being named Ymir or Aurgelmir. From this primal giant sprang the dreadful brood of the frost giants, whom he engendered by sweating out a male and a female from under his left arm. In addition, one of his legs begat a son with his other leg. Here Snorri has merged two traditions that the *Lay of Vafþrúðnir* keeps separate: in stanza 21 of the poem, Ymir is named as the giant involved in the formation of the world, but in stanzas 29–35, Vafþrúðnir, the oldest living giant, explains to Óðinn that the genealogy of the giants began with Aurgelmir, who fathered Þrúðgelmir, who fathered Bergelmir, who fathered Vafþrúðnir himself.

No direct source is available for the account of the origin of the gods that Snorri gives next: the melting rime has taken the shape of a cow, Auðumla, whose name contains the Old Norse word for "riches" and another term connected with the English dialect word *hummel* or *humble* (hornless cow), presumably designating a "rich hornless cow." This cow feeds Ymir with the milk flowing from her udders, a tradition paralleling that of the primeval cow in Indo-Iranian mythology. Auðumla gets her own food by licking the salty ice blocks, which she shapes into another primal being, Búri, who begets a son, Borr. Borr marries Bestla, the daughter of the giant Bölþorn ("evil thorn," a term still used in the Jutland dialect *[bøltorn]* to designate a "scrappy, violent person"). Borr and his wife have three sons: Óðinn, Vili, and Vé. The three divine brothers kill the giant Ymir, and the flow of blood gushing from his wounds drowns all the frost giants except Bergelmir, who escapes mysteriously with his family to continue the race. Now the three gods set about building the earth. The body of Ymir is carried into the middle of the great void; his blood forms the sea and the lakes, his flesh the earth, his skull the sky (with a dwarf at each corner, as if to hold it up), his hair the trees, his brain the clouds, his bones the mountains, and so on. Sparks flying from Muspell form the stars and heavenly bodies, and the gods order their movements, determining the divisions of time. The resulting world is circular, surrounded by a vast ocean. In the middle of the earth the gods establish Miðgarðr ("dwelling place in the middle"), a residence for mankind that is strengthened by a fence made from Ymir's eyebrows, and they provide land on the shore for the giants to settle down. The next task of the gods is the creation of man. Finally, they build Ásgarðr ("dwelling place of the Æsir"), their own residence.

A number of elements of the Eddic creation myth point to very old traditions. For example, the cow is a typical fertility symbol, and Auðumla reminds us of the celestial cow in Middle Eastern and South Asian myths. Further, in the myth of Ymir, two motifs have apparently merged: the engenderment of primeval beings and the creation of the world from parts of his body. The idea of an ancestral progenitor is already found in the classical sources about Germanic religion: Tacitus, in the second chapter of his *Germania*, tells of Tuisto, born from the earth, who begets Mannus, the common ancestor of the Germanic tribes. These names are quite revealing. *Tuisto* is related to the English word *two* and designates a bisexual being (cf. Ger. *Zwitter*). This androgynous ancestor resembles Ymir, who has other parallels in Indo-Iranian mythology, where the Old Indic *Yama* (cf. Av. *yima*, "twin") is supposed to have had incestuous relations with his twin sister. *Mannus* not only corresponds to the English word *man* but also has striking parallels in India, where Manu is the ancestor of man, and in ancient Phrygia, where the ancestor of the Phrygians is Mánes.

The three main Germanic tribes derive their names from the sons of Mannus, and in at least two cases show similar associations with deities. The Inguaeones, a tribe from the North Sea region, is linked with the minor god *Ingw[az], the male counterpart of the mother goddess. An Old English runic poem indicates that he was venerated in southern Scandinavia (indeed, the Danes are called Ingwine ["friend of Ing"] in the Old English poem *Beowulf*, lines 1044 and 1319), and his association with Freyr is illustrated by the Old Norse compound *Yngvifreyr* (Gmc. *Ingwja-fraujaz). Although little information is provided about his cult, he is undoubtedly associated with fertility, as is shown by the runic poem's reference to his wagon (cf. the sacred wagon kept in the grove of the Earth Mother, Nerthus. Yngvi is also considered the ancestor of the Yngling dynasty in Sweden. The tribe of the (H)erminones, whose territory extended from the lower Elbe southward into Bohemia, derive their name from Germanic **ermina-/*ermuna-* (mighty, lofty), a common divine epithet. (In Old Norse, Jörmunr is another name for Óðinn. In Saxon, [H]irmin is the god corresponding to Mars, and the name for the *axis mundi* is Irminsul. In Old High German, the compound *irmingot* [mighty god] occurs in the poem *Hildebrandslied*.) The tribe of the Istaevones of the Weser-Rhine area are not related to any specific deity, but their name is perhaps connected with Gothic *aistan*, meaning "honor" or "worship."

The idea of dismembering a giant to create the world is found also in Middle Eastern and other traditions. An Iranian myth preserved in Manichaeism is the closest to that of Ymir, as it equates a giant's skin with the sky, his flesh with the earth, his bones with the mountains, his hair with plants, and his blood with the sea. Here there can be no question of mutual influence, diffusion, or borrowing from a common source. Taking into consideration the Puruṣa myth in the *Ṛgveda* (10.90), which explains in a similar way the origin of the world and society through the sacrifice of primal man and the projection of his bodily parts into the macrocosm, it is clear than the Germanic creation story is a reflex of an old Indo-European myth. Bruce Lincoln (1986) has elaborated the complex data about creation in various Indo-European traditions into a coherent scenario in which the first priest, *Manu-, kills his twin brother, *Yemo-, the first king, thus performing the first sacrifice. As a result of this act the world is created, and *Manu- fashions the earth and heavens as well as the three social classes from his brother's body. The female bovine that appears in the European version of the myth originally fed and cared for the twins before the creative act. Against this background, many of the archaic elements in the Germanic tradition appear in a new and broader light.

The Germanic Cosmos. After its creation, the Germanic cosmos consisted of nine worlds. Man lives in the center of the universe, and the major Germanic traditions concur in calling his dwelling place "the central abode" (Goth., *Midjungards;* OHG, *Mittilgart;* OE, *Middangeard;* ON, *Miðgarðr*). But the center is also where the gods built their residence, Ásgarðr. It is described as spacious, with numerous dwellings, surrounded by a beautiful green pasture, Iðavöllr, and by a palisade built by a giant. In addition to these places and Niflheimr and Muspell, there were also Álfheimr ("world of the [light] elves"), Svartálfheimr ("world of the dark elves"), Vanaheimr ("world of the Vanir"), Jötunheimr ("world of the giants"), and Útgarðr ("outer abode"), the dangerous world of demons, giants, and other frightening creatures.

Germanic myth evinces a real fear of this no-man's-land outside the settlement, and the idea of the frontier is there all the time, with the gods serving to ward off dangers from the wild. The islanders and the people along the shore believed that a universal ocean surrounds the earth, with an unfathomable abyss at the horizon and a huge snake curling at the edge to hold the world together. The serpent is called the Miðgarðr serpent or Jörmungandr; according to Snorri, this monstrous ophidian bit its tail—a concept that does not occur in the Eddic poems but that is quite common in Eastern religions and that was introduced in Scandinavia by medieval Christian scholarship. The symbol (similar to the *ouroboros* in Jungian psychology) may be borrowed, but the concept is old, as the name *Jörmungandr* shows. Connected with *jörmungrund* (meaning "earth" in st. 20 of the *Lay of Grímnir*), *jörmun-* (also a name of Óðinn) is an adjective meaning "great, powerful, lofty," and *gandr* means "magic wand." The compound *eormengrund* also appears in *Beowulf* (line 859).

When the gods go out into the world, it seems that the universal ocean does not exist for them, for in every direction they move on solid ground. The north and the east are particularly dangerous, being the abodes of demons, and the south will become so at the end of time, at Ragnarǫk, when the fire giant Surtr ("black," cf. English *swarthy*) will lead a host of monsters against the gods in their last battle. To the west lies the ocean. The old Germanic tradition of ship burials implies the concept of a world of the dead beyond the sea, a view perhaps borrowed from the Celts and manifested in the Irish legends about the "islands of the blessed." This concept is also reflected in the idea of a ship of death (made from the fingernails of corpses) that sails from the world of the demons at Ragnarǫk.

For the Germanic people in Norway, Útgarðr must have been represented by the high mountains and the arctic territories to the north. The road is over land; Skírnir (servant of the god Freyr) rides to Útgarðr on Freyr's horse (the *Lay of Skírnir*, st. 10), and the adventures of Þórr always take him eastward. There lie the realms of the giant Hymir, who lives at the "end of the world"; of the giants Þrymr and Hrymr (*Vǫluspá* 49); and the "iron forest" (ON, *járnviðr*), where the brood of demons is born (*Vǫluspá* 39). There is a great river at the border of Miðgarðr, with a boatman, Hárbarðr, to take people over. The frost giants live in the north, and Loki will seek refuge with them.

As has been mentioned, the world of the dead was thought to lie to the north. One concept of it was as a hall: the cold, dark, wet house of the witch Hel. In st. 43 of the *Lay of Vafþrúðnir*, the giant says that he has seen all the worlds, and Niflhel ("dark Hel") below them, which perhaps leads to Snorri's impression of it as being underground, for he says: "Helvegr liggr niðr ok norðr" ("The way to Hel lies downward and to the north"). The Old Norse term *Hel* (hiding) applies to both the place and its ruler. The belief in this underworld seems to be common to all Germanic cultures. In 915 a poet celebrating a victory of the Saxons over the Franks wonders whether there will be enough room in "hell" for all those who fell in the battle. Depite the later development of the name, Hel was not originally a place of punishment, but it was an unpleasant place to spend the afterlife. (Snorri, evidently influenced by the Christian concept of Hell, does describe Niflhel as "the lowest world where the wicked go.") An elaborate description is given in the Eddic sources: the approaches are protected by terribly noisy rivers, such as Valglaumir, Gjöll, and Sliðr, which, according to *Vǫluspá* (st. 35), "is filled with swords and knives." This picture is apparently influenced by Christian visionary literature; similar is st. 27 of the *Lay of Grímnir*, which also mentions the river Geirvimul ("swarming with spears"). There is a bridge over Gjöll, guarded by a giantess. The Greek hellhound Kerberos also has his parallel in Eddic tradition: the lay *Baldr's Dreams* (sts. 2 and 3) mentions a dog that comes out of Hel. The realm of Hel is also surrounded by a fence whose gates open only for the dead.

The sky is the abode of the gods in the later conception of the Germanic people, which transfers Ásgarðr to heaven. The changing views of Valhǫll are a typical example of the shift. Originally, it was a subterranean hall for warriors killed in combat. Later it was connected with Óðinn and became the heavenly residence of his heroic retinue. These are human warriors who die in battle and who will form Óðinn's army against the monsters at Ragnarǫk. According to Snorri, the warriors amuse themselves by fighting each other during the day and feasting every evening. (The contrast between Hel and Valhǫll was presumably meant to encourage men to fight to the death, for all other kinds of death would send the deceased to Hel.) Valhǫll is a huge palace with 540 doors so large that 800 warriors can exit through each (*Lay of Grímnir*, sts. 23–24). Over the gate and gable a wolf and an eagle are mounted, just as Charlemagne is said to have had an eagle nailed on his palace.

Like the netherworld, the sky is linked with the world by a bridge, this one guarded by the god Heimdallr; it is called Bilröst ("wavering road") or Bifröst ("shivering road"), names signifying the rainbow. In st. 29 of the *Lay of Grímnir*, the "bridge of the gods" is described as "ablaze with flames." Here the concept may represent the Milky Way, which the forces of evil from Muspell will walk at the twilight of the world, and which, in many religious systems, is described as the "path of the souls."

THE COSMIC TREE. The nine worlds are also linked by the ash tree Yggdrasill, which rises to the sky, its branches spreading over the entire world (*Vǫluspá*, st. 2). It is supported by three roots, which respectively stretch to the world of the dead (Hel), the world of the frost giants, and the world of men. At the foot of the tree are several springs: the spring of the goddess of fate, Urðr (*Vǫluspá*, st. 19) and the wells of Mímir (*Vǫluspá*, st. 28) and Hvergelmir (*Lay of Grímnir*, st. 26). Snorri tried to relate these three springs to the three roots, but it may be there was only one well, known under different names according to its symbolic functions as the source of wisdom (Mímir), of fate (Urðr), or of the rivers of the world (Hvergelmir). Yggdrasill has other characteristics and associations. For example, it is always green, and according to *Vǫluspá* (st. 19), a clear vivifying liquid called *aurr* drips down from the tree. Its branches are home to an eagle who carries between its eyes a hawk named Veðrfölnir ("faded by the weather"). A squirrel named Ratatoskr ("rat tooth") leaps up and down the tree, conveying words of abuse exchanged between the eagle and the monstrous Níðhoggr ("corpse-devourer"), one of the many snakes gnawing at the roots of the tree. Four deer gambol about the branches, eating the shoots. As well as being the location of the gods' daily council meeting, the cosmic tree is also an *axis mundi*; it props up the sky like the central pole of a tent holding up the roof. The idea of propping up the sky was part of the Germanic heritage, as is shown by the Irminsul, a Saxon "idol" destroyed by Charlemagne in 772 and described by the medieval historian Rudolf of Fulda as a huge tree trunk—*universalis columna, quasi sustinens omnia* (a universal column, as if holding up everything).

According to the contemporary testimony of Adam of Bremen in his history of the bishops of Hamburg, Yggdrasill was represented near the temple in Uppsala by a gigantic evergreen tree. What kind of tree is it? "Nobody knows," says Adam. *Vǫluspá* describes it as an ash, which definitely reflects the western Scandinavian tradition, but scholars have assumed that in eastern Scandinavia it could have been a yew. The yew was venerated in Gaul, and classical writers mention its importance in Germania as well. The name Yggdrasill itself is ambiguous. The second element, *drasill*, is a poetic word for "horse," but the first element might be either *Yggr*, a name for Óðinn (i.e., "Óðinn's horse"), or the adjective *yggr* ("frightening"). In either case, the dreadful mount appears to represent the gallows, thus implying a connection with Óðinn, who was known as "the god of the hanged." The identification of *ygg-* with the Old Norse term *ýr* ("yew") is less plausible on linguistic grounds.

The symbolism of the tree is extremely important, as it is mirrored in other traditions. In ancient Babylonia, for example, a cosmic tree, Kiskanu, grew in a holy place; radiant with shining lapis lazuli (symbolizing the starry night), it stretched towards the primeval waters. This was the dwelling place of Ea (the god of fertility and skills such as agriculture, arts and crafts, and writing), and his mother Bau (the goddess of plenty) rested there as well. Babylonian pictures of the tree sometimes show it surrounded by goats or with a bird poised on it. In ancient India, the universe is symbolized by an inverted tree, with its roots in the sky and its branches spreading over the earth, representing the downpouring of the sun's rays. Yggdrasill has sometimes been compared with the tree of life in the Hebrew scriptures, but there is no proof of any Judeo-Christian element in the concept of Yggdrasill. The presence of the eagle and the snake, however, reminds us of the cosmological motif found in Indian mythology, where the combat of Garuda with the reptile symbolizes the struggle between light and darkness (the eagle is a sun bird, whereas the snake belongs to the underworld). The liquid dripping from the tree can be compared with the streaming milk and honey in the Semitic myths of paradise, with *amrta* (the Old Indic beverage of immortality identified with mead), and with the honeydew spread by the Aśvins. In *Vǫluspá* (st. 27), the tree is described as secreting a clear liquid (*heiðr*) that must be the "sap of life." The element *heið-* also appears in the name of the magical goat Heiðrún, whose udders every day fill Valhǫll's cauldrons with mead for Óðinn's retinue.

THE WAR OF THE ÆSIR AND THE VANIR. The Germanic gods are divided into two groups, the Æsir and the Vanir. Following the medieval practice of etymologizing, Snorri says that the Æsir's name shows that they came from Asia, but this interpretation does not appear to reflect any authentic tradition. Jordanes, the sixth-century historian of the Goths, cites a Gothic word *ansis* (or *anses*) that is glossed as "demigods." This element also occurs in men's names such as the Gothic *Ansila*, the Burgundian *Ansemundos* (cf. ON, *Ásmundr*), the Langobardic *Ansegranus*, and the Old High German *Ansgar* and *Anshelm*. Together with the Old Norse term *áss*, these words derive from the Germanic **ansuz*, designating some type of deity. The feminine form preserved in the southern Germanic divine name *Vihansa* might refer to a war goddess if **wih-* is an alternative form of **wig-* ("combat"; OHG and OE, *wig;* ON, *víg*). The Æsir, however, are ruling gods, which makes it more plausible to associate their name with the Hittite word *hashshush* (king) than with the Old Indic prefix *asu-* (breath of life), as is usually suggested.

The name *Vanir* has been connected with the Old Norse word *vinr* (friend), with *Venus* (the Latin name for the goddess of love), and with the Sanskrit *vánas-* (lust), an etymology very suitable for fertility gods. *Vanir* has also been related to the Sanskrit *vánam* (water; cf. the latinized Slavic ethnic name *Veneti*, meaning "people of the waters"), an interpretation made doubtful by the fact that the Vanir as a group are not aquatic deities, although one of them, Njǫrðr, is associated with the sea. Overall, the Vanir are fertility gods.

In the mythological "now," the Vanir live in peace with the Æsir, but this was not always the case. At the dawn of time, a bitter war was fought between the two groups, which Snorri reports (with varying details) in two different works, *Ynglinga Saga* (the first part of his history of the kings of Norway) and the *Edda*. The former is an euhemeristic narration of the early life of the Æsir in "Asia" (ON, *Ásaland*, *Ásaheimr*). Their neighbors, the Vanir, lived in Vanaland or Vanaheimr, in the vicinity of the Tanais (the classical name for the River Don). Óðinn leads his army against the Vanir, but they resist vigorously. The two sides are alternately victorious, and they loot each other's territory until they grow tired of fighting and conclude a peace that puts them on equal footing. They exchange hostages: the Vanir Njǫrðr and his son Freyr are transferred to the world of the Æsir, and the Æsir in turn deliver Mímir and Hœnir to the Vanir. As Mímir is very wise, the Vanir reciprocate by sending "the cleverest among them"—Kvasir—to the Æsir. In the *Edda*, however, Snorri claims that Kvasir was created from the saliva of the Vanir and the Æsir when they spat into the communal caldron at the conclusion of the peace. Other evidence linking Kvasir's blood to the mead of poetic inspiration suggests that this second version is closer to the original. In addition to the formal transfer of Njǫrðr and Freyr to Ásgarðr, the Vanir goddess Freyja (Njǫrðr's daughter and Freyr's sister) also ends up living with the Æsir. No extant myth explains how this came to pass, but hints in *Vǫluspá* suggest that Freyja went to Ásgarðr during the war, disguised as a witch named Gullveig, with the intention of corrupting the Æsir with greed, lust, and sorcery. Perhaps her visit was even the initial cause of the Æsir-Vanir conflict. This mythological war has been seen as a reflection of an actual religious war or the replacement of one cult with another, but it has also been taken as a symbolic explanation of the existence of different aspects of divinity.

THE PANTHEON. The earliest written testimony we have about the religion of the Germanic peoples is a statement by Julius Caesar in the sixth book of his account of the Gallic Wars indicating that they worshiped the sun, the moon, and Vulcan, which is generally taken to mean "fire." However, there is no trace of a moon cult in the Germanic territories, and the role of fire in cult and ritual seems to have been rather limited in historical times. Possibly Caesar was reporting an archaic version of Germanic religion, or perhaps his information was just inaccurate. Fortunately, the data supplied some 150 years later by Tacitus provide a fairly accurate picture of what must have been the structure of the Germanic pantheon in his time (end of the first century CE).

According to Tacitus, the main god is Mercury, whose Latin name, Mercurius, is a Roman interpretation of the Germanic name *Woðan[az]. This is confirmed by the translation of the Latin weekday-name *Mercurii dies* (Mercury's day) into the Germanic *Woðniz-dag[az] ("Woden's day"; cf. Eng., *Wednesday;* Du., *woensdag*). Mercury is flanked by Mars and Hercules. The former represents the Germanic god *Tiw[az], whose name is preserved in the English *Tuesday* (OE, *Tiwesdæg; cf. Lat., *Martis dies*). The latter is usually interpreted as representing the Germanic champion of the gods, *Þun[a]r[az], although, as thunder god, he was also equated by Latin writers with Jupiter, as is shown by the translation of the Latin weekday-name *Jovis dies* into "Thor's day" (Eng., *Thursday;* Ger., *Donnerstag;* Du., *donderdag*). As Mercury/*Woðan[az] is the only Germanic god credited by Tacitus with receiving human sacrifice, many scholars assume that the *regnator omnium deus* (god reigning over all) venerated by the Suevian tribe of the Semnones in their sacred grove and honored as their ethnic ancestor with regular human sacrifices must be the same deity, though perhaps Allan Lund (1990) is right in claiming that he must have been worshiped as an eponymous founder under the name *Semno.

Tacitus also refers to other locally worshiped Germanic deities such as Nerthus ("Mother Earth"), for whom the Inguaeonic people hold a yearly pageant during which they celebrate the powers of fertility that she incarnates, or the divine twins whom he calls Alcis (Gmc., *Alhiz) and equates with the Roman twins Castor and Pollux. In both cases he supplies a few details about cult and ritual, specifying, for example, that Nerthus shrouds herself in mystery. She remains hidden in a curtained chariot during her peregrinations among her worshipers, only her priest can approach her, and after the completion of her ceremonial journey she is bathed in a secret lake, but all those who officiate in this lustration rite are drowned afterward to maintain the "sacred ignorance" about her. Similarly, Tacitus indicates that the priests of the Dioscuri among the eastern Germanic Naharvales wear feminine attire, which presumably includes their long hair, a feature closely associated with the Germanic divine twins. Moreover, he points out that these deities are not represented by any image or statue, which corroborates his general statement about the aniconic character of Germanic religion—"[They] do not think it proper to portray gods with any kind of human countenance" (*Germania* 9)—but is at least partly contradicted by the archaeological finds of some roughly hewn stakes offering a rudimentary anthropomorphic representation of the gods.

In the *Annals*, Tacitus refers to other Germanic deities, such as Tamfana, whose sanctuary was an important center of cultural activities in the territory of the Marsi (between the Lippe and the Ruhr rivers). Her "temple" was allegedly leveled by the Romans during the celebration of an autumnal festival in 4 CE. Its very existence contradicts Tacitus's statement in the *Germania* that the Germanic people "refuse to confine their gods within walls" and the contention that worship generally took place outdoors and in the woods, as with the Frisian goddess Baduhenna, near whose sacred grove a Roman detachment was massacred.

In the Roman period, inscriptions provide further information about the deities venerated by the Germanic people within the boundaries of the empire, such as Nehalennia, whose sanctuary near Domburg on the Dutch island of Walcheren has yielded an abundance of altars and statues. She was worshiped mainly by seamen and traders, mostly natives of the northwestern provinces of the Empire, who dedicated the monuments to the goddess in return for the help received from her. Her attributes (cornucopias, specific fruits, dogs, etc.) characterize her as a fertility goddess with strong chthonic overtones, but she apparently also shares the patronage of navigation with Isis, whose presence Tacitus mentions "among part of the Suevians" (presumably the Hermunduri, who were in close contact with the Roman province of Noricum where the cult of Isis had been integrated with that of the national goddess Noreia).

Important also were the *matres* or *matronae* (mothers or matrons), whose worship is documented by votive stones with dedicatory inscriptions found mainly in the territory of the Ubii on the left side of the Rhine in the second and third centuries CE. Their worshipers belonged essentially to the lower classes but also included some high-office holders in the Roman administration and army. The *matres* were invoked for protection against danger and catastrophes or for the prosperity of the family, and were described as bestowing their blessings generously, as such epithets as *Gabiae* (givers), *Friagabis* (generous donors), and *Arvagastiae* (hospitable ones) indicate. As they often appear in groups of three and seem to be associated with the fate and welfare of man, they have been compared with the Norns, especially as one stone carries the inscription "Matrib[us] Parc[is]," referring directly to the *interpretatio Romana* of the three deities of fate.

The picture that emerges from the data of the Roman period can be summarized as follows:

- The sovereign god *Woðan[az] (identified with Mercury) may have taken over the prominent place originally occupied by the old Indo-European sky god *Deiwos (Gmc., **Tiwaz;* Gk., *Zeus;* ON *Týr*), who has still preserved a sufficiently prominent position among certain tribes (e.g., the Chatti) for the spoils of the enemy to be dedicated to him and *Woðan[az] jointly.
- The divine champion Þun[a]r[az] is identified with the thunder god Jupiter or with Hercules.
- The divine twins, the *Alhiz, identified with Castor and Pollux, were venerated locally, especially among the eastern Germanic tribes.
- The fertility deities were worshiped regionally and had associated functions such as the protection of navigation or the determination of man's fate; they include Nehalennia, the *matres* or *matronae*, Nerthus, and *Ingw[az].

Although poorly documented, the Germanic pantheon of the Migration and post-Migration periods shows an apparent continuity in this system:

- *Woðan[az] remains the supreme god and is honored as the ancestor of royal lineages; there is also some evidence of his connection with magic. *Tiw[az] recedes to the background but is perhaps to be identified with the tribal god of the Saxons, whose name occurs together with Woden and Thunaer in the abjuration formula the Saxons had to pronounce with their baptismal vows during the forcible conversion campaign conducted by Charlemagne. The third name in the abjuration formula, *Saxnote*, is ambiguous: it can either mean "sword companion" or denote a "sacrificial" god. Although the former interpretation fits in with the statement in the chronicles about the cult of "Mars" among the Saxons and could be connected with the presence of the cosmic pillar Irminsul in their main sanctuary (a reference to *Tiw[az]'s original function as sky god), the latter would make more plausible Dumézil's suggestion that the Saxon triad Thunaer-Woden-Saxnote corresponds to the Scandinavian trinity Þórr-Óðinn-Freyr in the Uppsala temple. Saxnote could indeed be a god of the tribal community, just as Freyr is *folkvaldi* (leader of the people). Saxnote would presumably have been sacrificed to, as was Freyr, the *blótgoð Svía* (sacrificial god of the Swedes).
- *Þun[a]r[az], the thunder god, progressively gains prominence as the divine representative of the warrior class.
- Although there is no direct evidence of a cult of the divine twins, their functional role is euhemerized in the figures of the twin founding heroes of various Germanic groups, such as Hengist and Horsa for the early Saxons in Great Britain, Raos and Raptos for the Vandalic Hasdingi, and Ibor and Aio for the Winnili (Lombards). The names Hengist and Horsa (related respectively to Ger. *Hengst*, "stallion," and Eng. *horse*) remind us of the association of the divine twins with horses. In Greek they are referred to as *leuko polo* ("with white horses") and in ancient India they are known as the Aśvinau ("possessors of horses"). The names Raos and Raptos (related respectively to Ger. *Rahe* [yard] and Eng. *rafter*) reflect the aniconic representation of the Dioscuri by beams, which occurred also in ancient Sparta, and in the shape of the Latin letter *H* or the Greek letter (pi). The Langobardic terms *ibor* (presumably from Gmc. **ebur-*, "boar") and *aio* (Gmc, **agjo,* "edge, sharp side of a blade") may refer to the sharp tusks of the wild boar, an animal also closely associated with the fertility deities Freyr and Freyja, with whose domain the divine twins also have direct links.
- Besides the already mentioned references to *Ingw[az], a number of names of deities associated with fertility occur, such as Erce, a name apparently borrowed from Celtic and used to designate Mother Earth in an Old English charm; Phol (OHG, *Vol)*, appearing together with Woden and Balder in the Old High German Merseburg spell; Friia and Frig, the Old High German and Old English names, respectively, for the Germanic goddess identified with Venus, whose name survives in the German *Freitag* and the English *Friday.* The often assumed existence of a spring deity, *Austro, from whose name the word *Easter* (Ger, *Ostern*) is supposedly derived, is, however, doubtful: it rests on an interpretation of the Old English term *Eostrae* by Bede (672/3–735 CE) and has no backing either in cult or myth; it has recently been more convincingly explained as a Christian missionary term.
- There are also a few minor deities such as Fosite, to whom an island was consecrated at the juncture of the Frisian and Danish territories. He is known only from a reference in the life of Saint Willibrord, but his name shows a striking similarity to that of the Scandinavian god Forseti, whose specific function according to the *Lay of Grímnir* is to settle all disputes; he is the son of Baldr and lives in Glitnir, a hall "propped with gold and shingled with shining silver" (st. 15). Forseti's name is transparent: it means "presiding [over the Thing]," but no satisfactory explanation can be given for the loss of the [r] in Fosite, so that the connection between Fosite and Forseti remains conjectural.

Our knowledge of the Scandinavian development of the Germanic pantheon in the Viking age is much more detailed, for we have a fair amount of pagan poetry (copied in Christian times, but dating back to the ninth and tenth centuries) that mentions the gods and the myths about them. The blossoming of literature in medieval Iceland after the conversion also provides ample information about the pagan gods and cults of the Germanic North. Moreover, reports from various non-Scandinavian sources attest to the prevalence of the worship of Þórr among the Vikings. This is also confirmed by studies that show no people and very few places named after Óðinn, but many people and places named after Þórr. This situation should not be misinterpreted: Óðinn was the sovereign god, but he was the deity associated primarily with the warrior elite, whereas Þórr was worshiped by the majority of the people. The cult of Týr remained widespread only in Denmark, although his name appears frequently in West Norse poetry because it means simply "god" and was often used in synonyms for Óðinn.

The comparativist Georges Dumézil considered the common Indo-European "ideology" to have consisted of three principles or "functions" (the maintenance of cosmic and juridical order; the exercise of physical force; and the promotion of physical well-being, fertility, and wealth), and he interpreted the gods of the various groups of the Indo-Europeans' descendents as representing these "functions." Óðinn and Týr he saw as co-sovereigns, the former representing the magical aspect of the first "function" and the latter its juridical aspect. Þórr represented the second "function," including its manifestation in war, and Njǫrðr, Freyr, and Freyja represented the third "function." Such a presentation, however, oversimplifies the picture of the Scandinavian system, which fails to show the characteristic slant towards war in the second "function," as Dumézil himself acknowledges. All the deities supposedly representing different "functions" have some association with war. Óðinn intervenes in battles to give victory to his favorites, and Þórr frequently engages in hand-to-hand combat with giants of both sexes. Even the Vanir gods seem to acquire some of the Æsir's combative spirit when they move to Ásgarðr, as when the peaceful Freyr, who had given up his sword to obtain the favors of a beautiful giant maiden, faces the giant Beli without a weapon and kills him with a hart's horn. And while Óðinn collects half of the heroes who die on the battlefield to join his retinue in Valhǫll, it is certainly striking that Freyja gets the other half. Fertility is another area that is not easily compartmentalized as Dumézil would have it. The thunder god Þórr was the protector of the peasant class, which depended on the weather for its crops, but he shares control of the atmosphere with Njǫrðr, who controls the path of the wind and, as sea god, counteracts the effects of the thunderstorms, quieting the sea and smothering the lightning-sparked fires. Furthermore, some very important aspects of the major deities are not covered by Dumézil's labels. For example, Óðinn is as much the god of "inspired cerebral activity" as he is the god of sovereignty, but his role as the patron of the poets cannot be explained by Dumézil's system. And although Óðinn manifests his sovereign power through potent magical interventions, he is definitely not the only one to wield magical powers. The Vanir use *seiðr*, an effeminate form of sorcery that the Æsir deem despicable but which Óðinn nevertheless is keen to learn from Freyja. Finally, Óðinn's ability to change shape is more than matched by the metamorphoses of Loki. It is also shared by certain giants such as Suttungr, who pursues Óðinn in the shape of an eagle, or Þjazi, who also assumes the shape of an eagle to follow the trickster Loki. Indeed, complex figures such as Loki and Heimdallr do not fit into Dumézil's neat matrix at all.

Loki is extremely difficult to classify. Originally a giant, he nevertheless played an important part in the decisions and activities of the gods. Although primarily a mischievous trickster, Loki cannot be described as an "evil demon." He is restless and inventive, deceptive and unreliable. Frequently causing trouble for the gods, he usually redeems himself by solving the problem he created. Ultimately he goes too far when his delight in mischief leads to the death of Óðinn's son Baldr, utterly outraging the whole divine world and resulting in his being chained up until Ragnarǫk. Dumézil sees in him an incarnation of impulsive intelligence, but this interpretation is disputable. There is no trace of any cult devoted to Loki, nor are any people or places named for him.

Heimdallr occupies a similarly marginal position in the pantheon. It is not even clear to which group of gods he should be assigned. Apparently he offered up his *hljóð*, which was hidden as a pledge under the cosmic tree, Yggdrasill, as did Óðinn his eye. Óðinn appropriately received exceptional vision and Heimdallr was gifted with extraordinary aural perception: "He can hear the grass grow on the earth and the wool on sheep." It has therefore been assumed that the Old Norse term *hljóð*—generally translated "horn" in this context (*Vǫluspá*, st. 27) but usually meaning "silence, listening, hearing, what is heard"—must designate one of Heimdallr's ears. Offering up a body part in exchange for a major attribute is a characteristic feature of the most important Æsir, Óðinn and Týr. (The latter sacrificed his hand in order to guarantee a pledge that enabled the gods to fetter the monstrous wolf Fenrir, and in return assumed the role of protector of the Thing and patron of the law.) As guardian of the gods and watchman of Ásgarðr, Heimdallr assumes a military function, which would make him a second-function god in the Dumézilian system, like Þórr (with whom he shares the tendency to imbibe great quantities of mead). But the Eddic *Poem of Þrýmr* (*Þrýmskviða*, st. 15) describes him as one of the Vanir and able to "fathom the future." His affinity with the ram further complicates matters: was he originally a god of sheep breeders, as Freyr was a god of wheat growers and pig breeders?

The minor deities are also problematic. Some of them, such as Ullr, an archer god living in Ýdalir ("yew dales") in Ásgarðr, can be integrated into the tripartite functional scheme. His importance is made clear by Óðinn's statement in the *Lay of Grímnir* (st. 42) that among all the gods, Ullr especially will grant his blessing to him who "first quenches the fire." The most sacred oaths are sworn by Ullr's ring, and as a stepson of Þórr, he has close connections with the warriors. He is invoked by those engaged in single combat, and the poetic circumlocution an "Ullr of battle" means "a warrior." According to the evidence of place-names, he was the object of an extended cult in Norway and Sweden, where he was called Ullinn, but there he eventually seems to have been overshadowed by Þórr, Freyr, and Freyja. There is practically no trace of him in Denmark, which instead has many places named for Týr. This is rather significant in light of the story of Ullr's temporary usurpation of Óðinn's throne, as narrated by Saxo Grammaticus: Óðinn had committed a grievous breach of his royal majesty by assuming a feminine disguise, and as a result of this disgrace he was replaced by Ullr, who reigned for ten years. When Óðinn was restored, Ullr (whose name, latinized into *Ollerus*, means "glory, brilliance") fled to Sweden but was killed afterward by Danes. In view of Ullr's connection with oath-taking, Dumézil sees in this episode an illustration of the complementary nature of the two aspects of sovereignty, the inspired and the majestic. The latter, with its juridical connotations, is illustrated by Saxo's second story of Óðinn's temporary ouster from power. Óðinn's fall this time is brought about by the misconduct of his wife, Frigg, and he is replaced by a magician called Mithotyn, who introduces all kinds of innovations that the people dislike. As a result, Óðinn is welcomed back while Mithotyn flees and is eventually killed on the Danish island of Fyn. In this story, Dumézil has seen the contrast between the unitary and rather ill-defined religion of Óðinn and the analytic religion of Mithotyn (actually *Mitoðinn, from ON *mjötur*, "measurer," meaning "dispenser of fate"), who introduces rules where there were none. As Dumézil puts it, "The lawyer replaces the inspired, and his very precision makes him hatable!" (Dumézil, 1939, p. 224).

Bragi is another lesser god about whom little is known. His name seems to be related to the Old Norse word *bragr*, which designates "poetic form," and he is described as the "foremost of poets," being in this way in competition with Óðinn as patron of poetry. In the Eddic poem *Loki's Slanging Match* (*Lokasenna*, sts. 8–15) he bickers with Loki, who chides him for his lack of courage in combat. Obviously, his power is in speech, and his eloquence is strengthened by the magic of the runes carved on his tongue. Bragi is the husband of Iðunn, the guardian of the apples that ensure the eternal youth of the gods. The only myth relating to her tells that Loki delivered her and her apples to the giants. Catastrophe ensues when everyone in Ásgarðr grows old and infirm. They summon Loki before their council and compel him to retrieve Iðunn and her apples. The trickster flies to Jötunheimr in the shape of a falcon to recover Iðunn and her precious possessions from the clutches of the giant Þjazi. The latter pursues Loki in the form of an eagle and is killed when he tries to fly into Ásgarðr. Although apples were not cultivated in Scandinavia until late in the Middle Ages, the theme of this story must be quite old, as the Norwegian poet Þjóðólfr of Hvin refers to Iðunn and the "old-age medicine" of the gods in his composition *Haustlöng*, composed around the year 900. The desire of the giants for a goddess as well as for outrageous rewards from the Æsir is again illustrated by the story of the "master builder" of the divine stronghold, who requests Freyja as payment for his work and demands the sun and the moon to boot, obviously intending to plunge the world into darkness and sterility.

Very little information is given about the other goddesses, apart from Freyja:

- Frigg, Óðinn's wife, is the devoted mother of Baldr; she lives in Fensalir ("marshy halls"), attended by her confidant Fulla. Loki claims that she shared her sexual favors with her husband's brothers, Vili and Vé (*Lokasenna*, st. 26), and Saxo also refers to her loose morals, which trigger the episode with Mithotyn.
- Jörð ("earth"), the mother of Þórr, is also known under the name of Fjörgyn, which may mean "goddess of the furrow" (cf. Gmc., **furho;* OHG, *fur[u]h;* OE, *furh;* Fris., *furge;* Ger., *Furche;* Eng., *furrow*). Her male counterpart is Fjörgynn, who is believed to be either the father or the lover of Frigg, because the latter is called *Fjörgyns mær* (*Lokasenna*, st. 26: "Fjörgynn's maiden"). Fjörgynn's name, however, is related to the set of terms derived from the Indo-European term *perkw- and associated with thunder, craggy mountains, and the oak tree. Among them are the Lithuanian name *Perkunas* ("thunder"; cf. Slav., *Perunu), the Gothic word *fairguni* ("mountain"; cf. Lat., *Hercynia silva*, a wooded mountain range in ancient Germany), and the Latin word *quercus* (oak), as well as the Langobardic *fereha aesculus* and the Old High German *fereh-eih*, both of which designate a type of oak tree (cf. OE, *furh;* OHG, *for[a]ha*, "fir"). These etymological links rest on the age-old perception of the predilection of lightning for rocky spots and oak trees and reflect the correlations established between them in Indo-European myth and tradition.
- The goddess Gefjun is said to have torn away a sizable chunk of land from Sweden and dragged it away to form the Danish island of Sjælland. To perform this deed, she turned her four giant-begotten sons into oxen and yoked them to a plow. Although she is mentioned as a separate deity in *Lokasenna* (st. 20), she seems to be a hypostasis of Freyja, who is also known as Gefn ("giver"), a name befitting a fertility goddess. Loki, indeed, reproaches Gefjun for having "lured to lust" Heimdallr, who gave her a precious jewel—presumably the mysterious "sea kidney" (ON, *hafnyra*, probably referring to a piece of amber) he had won in an epic battle with Loki—even before she "threw [her] thighs about him" (a behavior paralleling that of Freyja for the possession of the valuable Brising Necklace). How Snorri can describe her as a virgin, served by women who die unmarried, remains unexplained.
- Sif, the wife of Þórr and the mother of Ullr by another

> male deity, plays a rather unobtrusive part in the society of the Æsir, but although she is shy and retiring, Loki claimed to have enjoyed her favors (*Loki's Slanging Match*, st. 54), and apparently Óðinn was aware of it, because he warns Þórr that "someone sleeps in her bower with Sif" (*Song of Hárbarðr*, st. 48). This explains why Loki dares to cut off Sif's hair, a punishment normally inflicted on adulteresses. But Þórr does not believe in the unfaithfulness of his wife and compels Loki to go to the dwarves to obtain hair made out of gold that will replace her lost locks. This story accounts for the poetic circumlocution "Sif's hair," which means "gold."

In many cases it is questionable whether some deities named by Snorri are anything more than local variants of major gods, used primarily to provide variation in poetic language. Thus we have no myths relating to goddesses such as Eir ("the best of physicians"), Sjöfn (who brings people to love), and Lofn ("permission," who brings together those who cannot marry).

THE CREATION OF MAN. The Germanic myth of the creation of man appears in two versions, that in *Völuspá* (sts. 17–18) and that in Snorri's *Edda.* In both cases, three deities are involved: the Æsir in the former and the sons of Borr in the latter. Walking along the shore, the gods find two tree trunks, which they animate and endow with various qualities. In the *Vǫluspá* account, Óðinn gives them breath and soul, Hœnir gives them feeling and sense, and Lóðurr gives them craft, bearing, and color. In Snorri's account, the first god gives them breath and life, the second god gives them consciousness and movement, and the third god gives them faces, speech, hearing, and sight. Close parallels to this myth are lacking. Hesiod mentions that Zeus created a race of men from ash trees, and indeed in the Old Norse name of the first man is *Askr* (ash tree). There is also some correspondence with an Indic tale in which a sculptor, a goldsmith, a weaver, and a priest whittle a piece of sandalwood into the shape of a pretty woman. The sculptor shapes it, the weaver dresses it, the goldsmith adorns it with jewels, and the priest breathes life into it through his incantations. The basic idea in these myths is the same—a human being is fashioned out of a piece of wood—but the elaboration of the theme is totally different. In the Indic tale, giving life is the crowning act of the long process of shaping a human being; in the Germanic myth, the triad of gods creates the primordial being right away. What characterizes the Eddic account is the unity of the creative act by direct divine intervention in spite of the distribution of the human qualities by three different gods. It is interesting, therefore, to examine how these gifts relate to the nature and function of the deities involved.

In Snorri's version, the gods in question are the sons of Borr: Óðinn, Vili, and Vé, the same group that created the world by dismembering the primal giant Ymir. As Vili and Vé are little more than hypostases of Óðinn, the whole process of creation is ascribed to that supreme god (perhaps a Christian-influenced effort to reduce the triad of gods to one). *Vǫluspá's* version of man's creation undoubtedly represents an older tradition. That man would receive the breath of life from Óðinn is in keeping with his position as the sovereign god, meting out life-giving power (ON, *önd*, "breath"; the translation "soul" has Christian implications that the Old Norse term acquires only later). Óðinn's name (Gmc.,*Wōðan[az]) derives from a root meaning "to blow" and includes the connotation "life-giving power" in some of its derivations; it is cognate to Old Irish *fáith* (seer, prophet) and Latin *vātes* (soothsayer). Óðinn is indeed the inspired god, the prince of the poets, the master of the divinatory runes, and the wielder of awesome magical powers. The Germanic stem of his name, **wōþ-*, also appears in German as *Wut* (rage). Adam of Bremen thus correctly interpreted Óðinn's name as "furor" in his description of the pagan gods worshiped at the temple at Uppsala. The Old Norse term *óðr*, usually translated "mind, reason, understanding," is the gift of Hœnir, according to *Vǫluspá* (st. 18). But *óðr* is also used as an adjective meaning "mad, furious, vehement; eager, impatient," all of which point to either strong emotional stress or lack of control over the power of reasoning. The inspired cerebral activity expressed by **wōþ-* can indeed verge on ecstasy; thus, the name of the mead of poetic inspiration, *óðrœrir*, literally means "rousing to the point of ecstasy." Stanza 18 of *Vǫluspá* is the only context in which *óðr* is assumed to have the meaning "mind, reason, understanding," and the main reason for ascribing this meaning to it here is the parallel text by Snorri, in which the second god endows man with *vit ok hrœring* (wit and movement), with special focus on *vit* (intelligence). However, *hrœring* need not apply only to physical movement. It occurs in compounds and phrases pointing clearly to emotions, so that Snorri's use of *vit* in association with *hrœring* may well indicate specifically the movements of the mind that *óðr* expresses in *Vǫluspá.*

This misinterpretation of *óðr* is also ascribable to the fact that Hœnir is often described as a wise god; his name is supposed to be derived from a root meaning "to make keen, to sharpen," so that he would be the god who sharpens the mind. Dumézil calls him "the patron of the deep, invisible part of intelligence" (Dumézil, 1986, p. 227). This view is based on two events. First, when the giant Þjazi, in the shape of an eagle, asks Hœnir for a full share of the meal the gods are cooking, Hœnir does not answer but cannot help breathing heavily with anger. Second, whenever he attends the assembly of the Vanir as a chief and fails to get Mímir's advice, Hœnir does not take a stand, but merely states "Let others decide!" Dumézil considers Hœnir's refusal to commit himself to be the only wise attitude under the circumstances, and contrasts it with Loki's rashness, which turns into disaster when he tries to beat Þjazi with a stick after the giant snatches four pieces of meat from the gods. In the case of the assembly, Dumézil suggests that Mímir and Hœnir represent complementary symbolizations of human thought processes: Mímir represents the "collective consciousness" on which we rely for decision making, and without which individual thought (i.e., Hœnir) is worthless. Dumézil's explanation is ingenious but far from convincing, for all the texts show Hœnir as unable to act on his own, and although that may not make him weak-minded, as various scholars have suggested, it hardly makes him a "god of reflective thought." Rather, he is the instrument of divine inspiration, the one who utters the message conveyed by another's wisdom. In the absence of Mímir (his source of inspiration), he remains silent at the assembly, and therefore he is described as the most fearful of all gods because he cannot act without being advised. After Ragnarǫk, he will function as priest, consulting the oracles (i.e., interpreting the signs given by an outside power, again as the vehicle of divine inspiration). It is in this capacity that he is instrumental in endowing man with "inspired mental activity" (*óðr*); thus some scholars have also considered him a hypostasis of Óðinn.

The third god in the divine triad, Lóðurr, is more difficult to define functionally, for he is hardly known outside this context. (Elsewhere he is described simply as a friend of Óðinn, an association he shares with quite a few gods in the Scandinavian pantheon.) Because in other contexts Óðinn and Hœnir are closely associated with Loki, scholars have also attempted to equate Lóðurr with Loki (as a god of fire) on the basis of etymological speculations, but the arguments advanced to back up this hypothesis have all proved untenable. The identification of Lóðurr with the term *logaþore*, which occurs with the name *Woðan* and *Wigiþonar* in the runic inscription on the Nordendorf Fibula (first half of the seventh century) is also disputable: *logaþore* is presumably cognate with the Old English *logor* or *logeer* (wily, crafty), applying to magicians. This connection with magic, with the connotation of plotting mischief, could fit the personality of Óðinn fairly well, so that Lóðurr might just be another hypostasis of this god. But before overriding the etymological difficulties connected with this view, it is advisable to examine more closely the gifts bestowed by Lóðurr upon the primal human couple: according to the text, he gives them *lá*, *læti*, and *litir góðir*. The last of these means "good colors," implying good health and also physical beauty, which was considered a sign of noble ancestry among the Germanic people. (Thus it is Beowulf's handsome appearance that distinguishes him from his companions, and the Anglo-Saxon poet uses for this peerless appearance the very same term that Snorri uses to qualify the gift of the third deity.) *Læti* means "noise, voice" or "gestures, attitude" and refers specifically to manners in other contexts. Since Snorri specifies speech, hearing, and sight as the gifts of the third deity to the first human couple, it is obvious that Snorri's account represents a different tradition from that of *Vǫluspá*. The term *lá* is problematic because its etymological connections are difficult to assess. The usual translation, "blood," rests on a disputable interpretation of a single line of poetry. In another poetic context the term is associated with the adjective *sölr* (pale, yellow), suggesting the interpretation "sallow-complexioned." This would imply that *lá* means "look, mien." Lóðurr would then have given man his mien and good complexion (i.e., his physical appearance). The only corroboration for this interpretation is provided by the Tocharian term *lek* (appearance, mien), derived from the same Indo-European root. An alternate solution would be to interpret *lá* as "hair" (from Gmc., **lawo,* "cutting"), showing the same semantic development as the Sanskrit cognate *lava-* (cutting, wool, hair). Thus the Eddic line could well be interpreted as "Lóðurr gave hair and fair complexion to man." If Óðinn and Hœnir bestow essentially spiritual qualities upon man, whereas Lóðurr provides him with his physical aspect, Lóðurr must be a god presiding over the physical aspects of life, closer to nature than the lofty Æsir. In other words, he must be one of the Vanir, part of the old Germanic fertility cult. His name may be connected with the Old Norse term *ló* (produce of the land). Swedish place-names indicate that there was a Germanic hypostasis of the great goddess of fertility named *Liuðgoða, and her male counterpart, *Loðverr, could survive in Lóðurr as a divinity of generation and growth and protector of the ethnic community.

THE MEAD OF POETIC INSPIRATION. The ability to compose poetry was highly valued by the Scandinavians, and it is not surprising that the patron god of poetry was the sovereign deity Óðinn himself. Moreover, the special language used in Norse poems made extensive use of allusions to the gods and supernatural beings such as giants and dwarves. For these reasons, the myth about the mead of poetic inspiration must have been of particular importance. It exists in several versions, but the gist is that malicious dwarves killed Kvasir (the being created in token of the accord between the Æsir and the Vanir) and brewed a mead from his blood that would bestow the ability to compose poetry. The dwarves were forced to relinquish this magical substance to the giants, who guarded it jealously, although they did not drink of it themselves. Óðinn obtains the mead by seducing its giantess guardian, swallowing it all, changing himself into an eagle, flying to Ásgarðr, and spewing it out into three crocks the Æsir had ready. This story illustrates the dichotomy between the gods, who are associated with culture and craft, and the giants, who are associated with the hostile natural environment. It also illustrates the dichotomy between the gods' ostensible motivation, which is the benevolent desire to make good use of a magical substance, and their behavior, which includes deceit, seduction, and theft. This myth must be part of the Indo-European heritage, for it has parallels with stories told about the Indian god Indra, who has an encounter with the monster Mada ("Drunkeness") and who is also the recipient of *soma*, the intoxicating sacrificial liquor that gives poetic ability, immortality, and knowledge of the divine. As with the mead of poetic inspiration, *soma* was brought to the gods by an eagle or possibly Indra in the form of an eagle.

THE DEATH OF BALDR. The story of Baldr's fate is probably the most moving and most controversial of all the Scandinavian myths. In this story, best known from Snorri's *Edda*, Óðinn's resplendent son Baldr is plagued by evil dreams of impending death. To protect against any danger, his mother, Frigg, exacts an oath from everything in the world not to harm him, but neglects the puny mistletoe. Jealous of the attention Baldr receives in the games of the gods, Loki, in the disguise of a woman, wheedles the secret of Baldr's invulnerability out of his mother. He then persuades Baldr's blind brother, Höðr, who has been prevented by his infirmity from any participation in the sportive tossing of objects at Baldr, to throw a dart of mistletoe. Under Loki's guidance the missile hits Baldr and kills him. The gods are stunned, and while preparations for Baldr's burial are in progress, they send out Hermóðr on Óðinn's horse to the kingdom of Hel to entreat the goddess of the netherworld for the release of the unfortunate god. Meanwhile, Baldr's wife, Nanna, dies of grief and her body is carried onto the ship Hringhorni ("curved prow"), where she joins her husband on the funeral pyre. As for Hermóðr, he returns with the message that Baldr will be released only on the condition that "everything in the world, both dead and alive, weeps for him." Immediately the Æsir dispatch messengers all over the universe to request everyone and everything to weep Baldr out of Hel's clutches. Even the stones and the metals participate in the universal grief, but a giantess called Þökk says she has no use for Baldr; as far as she is concerned, Hel can keep him! Þökk is actually Loki in disguise, and thus he succeeds in preventing the return of Baldr, who will only come back after Ragnarǫk. Scholarly interpretations of this myth are many and conflicting, but it worth mentioning that the story underscores the limitations of the Æsir, who for all their power essentially rule the universe for a single generation and are then destroyed.

THE END OF THE WORLD. The destruction of the world hangs over the gods and man as a permanent threat. *Ragnarǫk* (fate of the gods) or *aldar rök* (the fate of humankind) has been misinterpreted as *ragnarøkkr* (twilight of the gods). The Old Norse term *rök* means "course of events, destiny, fate." The Germanic apocalyptic vision of the end of time appears in *Vǫluspá*, presumably composed during the wane of paganism at the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century. As Jan de Vries has indicated, the anonymous poet must have been a pious man, still convinced that sufficient faith in paganism persisted to promote a rebirth, but one who borrowed too much from Christianity to be considered a truly pagan seer (de Vries, 1956–1957, vol. 2, pp. 395–396). It is therefore difficult to assess how much of his worldview is genuinely Germanic and how much his vision of the future and his yearning for a "brave new world" free of strife and lies is shaped by Christian influences.

The prelude to the final catastrophe is the murder of Baldr, but the elements of decay appear to have been present in the world from the start. The *Lay of Grímnir* (st. 36) describes the cosmic tree Yggdrasill as having "the hart browsing above, its bole rotting, and Níðhǫggr gnawing beneath"; it is weakened more than humankind suspects. Initially the gods appear to enjoy an idyllic life in the shining plain of Iðavöllr, where they relax and play chess after building shrines and making gold jewels, until three giant maidens come to disturb the serenity of this garden of delight. These are the Norns, who bring uncontrollable fate into the Germanic world. From the moment of their arrival, events take their inescapable course. Tension grows between the Æsir and the Vanir, and the strife worsens into a war when the seeress Gullveig brings the corruption of greed, lust, and witchcraft into Ásgarðr. Peace is temporarily restored and hostages are exchanged, but the age of innocence is gone. The gods can no longer be trusted; they break their most solemn promises or resort to trickery to avoid fulfilling them. Then comes the worst, the treacherous killing of Baldr by the throwing of the mistletoe, the missile in the hand of his blind brother Höðr, guided by the perfidious Loki. Punishment follows for the criminal, but the fateful action has triggered the chain of events that will culminate in ultimate disaster, with one horrible scene following upon another.

In *Vǫluspá* the seeress describes the river of the netherworld, full of sharp blades, and the shore of death with Hel's hall, whose walls are "clad with coiling snakes." Through the river wade perjurers, murderers, and adulterers, and the serpent Níðhǫggr feeds on corpses along its banks. She also describes the evil brood of Fenrir in the Iron Woods to the east, the wolves that will devour the sun and the moon. The sun grows dim, the weather "woe-bringing"; a horribly long winter will bring famine, as described in the *Lay of Vafþrúðnir* (st. 44). The final doom is heralded by a couple of obscure stanzas in which three roosters crow to call up the fighters—giants, Óðinn's warriors in Valhǫll, and the dead in Hel's realm—for the last combat. Now the forces of evil break loose: the hellhound Garmr breaks its fetters, and in the world of men, fratricidal struggles erupt everywhere; the bonds of kinship are disregarded ("woe's in the world, much wantonness"), and no respect for human life remains. Heimdallr, the watchman of the gods, blows his horn, the cosmic tree Yggdrasill shakes in its roots, the world serpent "wallows in giant rage," and the ship of death breaks its moorings. All the forces of destruction move in. Loki leads the "witless hordes" of giants, and Surtr, the lord of Muspelheimr, arrives from the south with the fire demons that will set the world ablaze. The mountains totter, heaven is rent apart, and men tread the path of Hel. In the final clash the gods meet their fates: Óðinn is slaughtered by the wolf Fenrir but is avenged by his son Víðarr; Þórr meets his archfoe, the earth-girding serpent, and they kill each other; Freyr dies in single combat with Surtr. The sun turns dark, the stars fall from the sky, and the blazing earth sinks into the sea.

But this apocalypse does not mean that all is lost. The earth, which was originally lifted from the primeval waters by Óðinn and his brothers, reemerges purified and regenerated from the deep into which it had sunk. A new breed of gods meet again in the green pastures and find the chessmen left by the Æsir. Baldr and Höðr are reborn to dwell in perfect harmony in the divine halls, and henceforth guiltless men will live forever in a gold-roofed abode called Gimlé. A mighty unnamed deity will reign over all, but evil has not been completely eradicated, for Níðhöggr, the awful dragon carrying corpses in its pinions, is still roaming over the plains.

Vǫluspá, whose description of the fate of the gods has been presented here, does not constitute our only source about Ragnarǫk, nor does it strictly reflect popular beliefs about the end of time. The Eddic poems often contain divergent versions of certain episodes, and Snorri, who gave a detailed account of the same events in his *Edda*, quotes from all the sources available to him. Thus, describing Óðinn's tragic end and Víðarr's vengeance, Snorri prefers the cruder and more primitive version of the *Lay of Vafþrúðnir*, in which Víðarr, wearing a shoe made of all the leather pared off from men's shoes at the toes and heels since the beginning of time, pulls apart Fenrir's jaws. The strange similarity between the action of Víðarr and that of Lugh in the Irish tradition of the Second Battle of Magh Tuiredh, along with the association of the Celtic god Lug(us) with cobblers, may indicate that this strange reference to the origin of Víðarr's footwear reflects a very old, no longer well-understood tradition associating this Germanic deity with the shoemakers. Therefore, the *Vǫluspá* version, which states that Víðarr "hews the son of Hveðrungr to the heart," presumably represents a younger form of the story. In any event, there was a widespread intimation of the impending catastrophe affecting the gods in the Scandinavian world. This is widely demonstrated by numerous references in court poetry. For example, in a poem commissioned by the widow of the Norwegian king Eirik Bloodax (killed in England in 954), Eirik is assumed to have been called to Valhǫll by Óðinn, who needed him for the impending final conflict: "The grey wolf [Fenrir] is glaring at the dwellings of the gods, ready to jump." Similarly, Eyvindr the Plagiarist celebrated the Norwegian king Hákon the Good (d. 960) by saying: "Unfettered will fare the Fenrir-wolf and ravage the / realm of men ere that cometh a kingly prince as / good to stand in his stead" (Hollander, 1964, p. 127).

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES AND MORALITY. Apart from Ibn Fadlan's account of a Scandinavian funeral, there are few wholly reliable sources of information about pagan religious practices. Icelandic sagas contain characters who are pagan priests, seeresses, witches, and sorcerors, and they describe rituals such as fortune-telling, "baptism," funerals, sanctifications of land and temples, oath-taking, sacrifices, and feasts of sacrificial meat (in Iceland, often horse meat). The sagas are products of the Christian age, however, and for several reasons are liable to give inaccurate accounts of paganism. Nonetheless, we know that pagan Scandinavians had temples where sacrifices were conducted, and that the function of the priest was an important one. In addition, certain rites such as fortune-telling and sacrificing to the elves were conducted on individual farms.

Germanic and Scandinavian paganism was by no means a monolithic religion. Both the pantheon and religious practices evolved over time and were different in different places, facts of which medieval Scandinavians were dimly aware. For example, in his prologue to his history of the kings of Norway, Snorri discusses what he calls "The Age of Burning" (when the dead were cremated and memorial stones with runic inscriptions were erected in their memory) and "The Age of Barrows" (when the dead were inhumed and an artificial hill of earth was raised over their graves). Longships sometimes served as the coffins of kings and other people of rank, as in the Sutton Hoo burial in England and the Oseberg burial in Norway, and in Sweden the barrows were long, pointed ovals—the shape of the "footprint" of a longship. It is not clear whether this attests to a belief that the dead needed a ship to travel to the next world, or whether the ship (actual or symbolic) was considered something that would be useful in the afterlife, like the weapons or household tools that were sometimes placed in graves. There were also different beliefs regarding the afterworld. Norse mythology and court poetry focus on the life in Valhǫll of the warriors killed in battle, but the Icelandic sagas attest to beliefs that a dead person would spend the afterlife feasting with companions in his grave mound or would join his kin, who would be "living" in a nearby cliff or mountain. These beliefs were very likely to have originated in Norway, the homeland of many of the original settlers of Iceland. Finally, in addition to the geographic distribution of the cults of a particular god, Norse paganism seems to have involved no restrictions or requirements regarding an individual's beliefs. According to the sagas, at least, one person could be a devotee of Þórr, whereas his neighbor was a devotee of Freyr. From a very early period, Germanic and Scandinavian pagans were rarely wholly isolated from Christianity, and a certain amount of syncretism undoubtedly resulted. The sagas, for example, tell of one Icelander who prayed to Christ while he was ashore but to Þórr while he was at sea.

The value system of Germanic paganism had to do with people's actions rather than their thoughts, feelings, or beliefs. There was no religious moral code defining particular "virtues" or "sins"; instead, Germanic law, culture, and custom embodied a system in which certain actions would bring honor or dishonor to an individual. Shame might or might not be felt by someone who had brought dishonor upon himself, but a person's reputation was a product of his or her interaction with the community, not a matter between that person and a god. Generally speaking, showing bravery in battle, generosity in gift-giving and hospitality, and taking blood-vengeance in response to a killing or murder would enhance a man's honor. Generosity also enhanced a woman's honor, as did urging men to honorable actions and dying with them should their hall or farm be attacked. Cowardice and miserliness brought dishonor. There was no dishonor in amassing as much wealth as one could, only in not being generous with what one had. In the end, neither one's honor nor one's belief in a god or the gods seems to have been relevant to one's fate after death, despite the acceptance of the concepts of Valhǫll and Hel. Malicious people sometimes returned as destructive ghosts or revenants to harm the living, but there were ways of laying them to rest. The peaceful dead would be served in the afterlife by the things burned or buried with them (clothing, jewelry, weapons, tools, and household items, sometimes extending to food, dogs, horses, and servants), and in this world their reputations would live on after them "for as long as the northern part of the world is inhabited."

SEE ALSO Álfar; Axis Mundi; Baldr; Berserkers; Dismemberment; Dvergar; Eddas; Freyja; Freyr; Fylgjur; Heimdallr; Indo-European Religions, overview article; Jôtnar; Landvættir; Loki; Njọrðr; Óðinn; Olaf the Holy; Paganism, Anglo-Saxon; Runes; Sagas; Saxo Grammaticus; Snorri Sturluson; Thor; Týr; Valhọll; Valkyries.

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GERMANIC RELIGION: HISTORY OF STUDY

This article concentrates on the most recent phase of the history of scholarship on Germanic religion. A 1956 study by Jan de Vries provides a detailed review of work up to the middle of the twentieth century, and 1985 reviews by Joseph Harris and John Lindow cover developments up to the early 1980s.

SCHOLARSHIP TO THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY. Medieval scholars of Germanic religion were divided into two camps. Euhemerists such as Snorri Sturluson (1179–1241) argued that the pagan gods were men who had migrated to Sweden from Troy but who were believed by the local inhabitants to be divine. In contrast, demonists such as the editors of the sagas about King Olaf Tryggvason (r. 995–1000) held that the pagan gods were manifestations of Satan. Knowledge of the pagan religion was never lost, as is shown by the existence of two versions of Snorri's *Edda* that were set down in seventeenth-century Iceland. However, the systematic study of Germanic mythology began with the publication in 1835 of Jacob Grimm's work on Teutonic mythology. Although his etymologies and interpretations are now largely rejected, his collection of materials was nonetheless a rich one and a monument to romanticism's interest in the Germanic past.

After Grimm, the nineteenth century witnessed various trends in the interpretation of myth. First were the nature interpretations, according to which the myths represented seasonal change and the gods represented phenomena such as storms, thunder, and fire. Among the general mythologists who worked with Germanic materials, Max Müller connected all myths with the cycle of the sun and Adalbert Kuhn offered meteorological interpretations. Among those specializing in Germanic religion, Wilhelm Mannhardt emphasized agricultural rites; some British scholars, such as Edward B. Tylor, postulated that the Germanic tribes were animists who believed in spirits and demons; and others, including Andrew Lang, interpreted myths as dreams. Scholars were also interested in using Germanic material to study still earlier societies: Müller, Kuhn, and Wilhelm Schwartz used comparative approaches to reconstruct proto-Germanic and Indo-European religions. This direction of research was superseded by the so-called folklore mythology, which began with Wilhelm Mannhardt's 1875 study of forest and field cults, and the use of folklore customs to interpret Germanic mythology continued for some seventy-five years. (Sir James Frazer's monumental *The Golden Bough* [1911–1915] is based on this line of research.)

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, monographs were devoted to major deities, including Rudolf Much's to the sky god and Vilhelm Grönbech's to religion and ethical and spiritual concepts. Germanic mythology also became of interest to philologists. Sophus Bugge questioned the originality of Germanic mythology with his revolutionary hypotheses about the origin of Germanic myths, which he held were derived entirely from Christian and classical thought. His theories were defended especially by Elard Hugo Meyer, who associated them also with the older natural-mythological interpretations, but all these views have lost acceptance. (Archaeological studies do hint at some Roman influence on the early development of the Scandinavian pantheon, and Christianity is now considered to have had an influence on Scandinavian paganism itself as well as on the textual sources, as Kaarle Krohn, Anne Holtsmark, and others have shown.) Eugen Mogk criticized the supposed reliability of Snorri's *Edda* and thus drew attention to the fundamental problem of the trustworthiness of Old Norse sources.

EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY: FORMATIVE YEARS. The period from around 1900 to World War II saw a consolidation of the field, and the resulting view of Germanic religion, in its basics, is that still held at the turn of the twenty-first century. Walter Baetke described the Germanic peoples' concept of the holy, their ideas about fate, and their system of values; Magnus Olsen used place-names as a new source for the research of Germanic religion; and Grönbech examined the role of religion in the lives of the Germanic people and its influence on cult and custom. Ritual activity was the focus of the interpretations of Otto Höfler, who examined the links of mythology and cult and the significance of the cult in the lives of individuals. His argument for the existence of a cult group of warriors linked with Óðinn has found objections but no real refutation. Franz Rolf Schröder used both Germanic and non-Germanic parallels and relations in his study of the the religions of the Indo-European peoples, although not all his theories are still accepted. Axel Olrik, who from 1892 to 1894 had produced a study of Saxo Grammaticus (c. 1150—after 1216) that has never been superseded, was joined by Hans Ellekilde for a still largely respected study of Scandinavian mythology that made substantial use of comparative material.

Yet another comparativist, Georges Dumézil, arrived at a "three-function" theory of Indo-European mythology. He considered the common Indo-European ideology to have consisted of three principles—the maintenance of cosmic and juridical order, the exercise of physical force, and the promotion of physical well-being—and he interpreted the gods of the various groups of the Indo-Europeans' descendants as representing these "functions." He saw Óðinn and Týr as co-sovereigns, each dedicated to one of the elements of the first function; Þórr represented the second function, and Njǫrðr, Freyr, and Freyja the third. Despite some reservations, such as the objection to Dumézil's identification of Þórr as a war god, this theory has gained in importance since the 1950s. In 1956 and 1957, the second edition of de Vries's magisterial two volumes on the history of Germanic religion brought this newer work together with the older scholarship of historicists such as Karl Helm, who depended on philological and archaeological evidence. De Vries also presented findings from the study of folklore and place-names. His opus is the most extensive handbook of Germanic religion and is still useful, albeit insufficiently critical of the Nordic literary sources.

Studies of Old Norse mythology experimented with the functionalist and structuralist theories of the 1940s and 1950s, but in the main—except for Dumézil's brand of structuralism—the historicist (or literary-philological or positivist) approach of the nineteenth century is still in force. This line of thinking assumes that each myth had a single "original" form and meaning that can be reconstructed and that is the primary object of study. The neohistoricist or "new philological" approach of scholars such as Thomas A. DuBois, in contrast, assumes that myths may have had different meanings for different communities at different times. The latter approach is also seen in late-twentieth- and early twenty-first-century archaeologically based studies of Germanic religion. Archaeology also supplies new primary sources for the study of Germanic religion; for example, Karl Hauck argues that the human figures on Migration Age (late fourth century–early seventh century) bracteates represent Germanic divinities. (Bracteates are Germanic medallions, probably inspired by Roman coins, that depict figures and scenes that are still not fully understood.) Although not all of his identifications have been accepted, the evidence of the bracteates is considered relevant.

LATE TWENTIETH CENTURY. Despite some overinterpretation, place-name studies continue to be a productive field for the study of Scandinavian paganism. For example, in a 1999 paper, Alexandra Pesch searches the kings' sagas for interpretations of the ninth-century Oseberg (near Oslo) ship burial and then examines this information in light of the archaeological and place-name evidence. The former indicates that the burial is that of a pagan seeress or priestess rather than that of a queen, and the latter suggests that Oseberg (if from *Ásaberg*, meaning "mountain of the gods") may, like Uppsala, have been a center for the worship of several deities. The silence of the sagas regarding a heathen cult center or sacral landscape in this part of Norway reminds us that when it comes to early Scandinavian history, the sagas are far from preserving a full account of events.

Old Norse myth and Scandinavian society. One important development in the second half of the twentieth century was the idea that the well-documented Old Norse myths should be treated separately from the poorly documented

Scandinavian pagan rituals. Earlier, Frazer's view of ritual as the dramatization of myth had influenced pre–World War II scholars of Old Norse myth such as Magnus Olsen and Bertha Phillpotts and to some extent postwar scholars such as Holtsmark, Einar Haugen, and Anders Andrén. Scholars such as Margaret Clunies Ross, John Lindow, and Jens Peter Schjødt rely on the relationship between myth and ritual in non-Western societies to argue that myth and ritual are probably not as closely interrelated as Frazer and his followers thought. Following Victor Turner, such "anthropological" studies of Old Norse myth treat it as one symbolic form among the many that a society accesses during ritual performance, and following Émile Durkheim, they assume that myths express certain social and cultural realities for the people who create and use them. Drawing on semiology, these studies further consider mythology as a system of interrelated elements, and they avoid investigating myths on an individual basis.

Despite these common assumptions, scholars taking the anthropological approach have posited quite different aspects of society as central to Scandinavian mythology. Clunies Ross focuses on issues of exogamy as the source of tension between the Æsir, the Vanir, and the giants. She argues that the Æsir are unwilling to give their women in marriage to members of the other groups, as this would acknowledge that they are all of equal status, but the resulting unions between giantesses and Vanir and the various ploys to obtain Æsir women sow the seeds of the Æsir's own destruction. Lindow focuses on the social mechanism of the blood feud, which was the chief means of maintaining social stability both for the Æsir and for the Icelanders who worshiped them. The ongoing feud between the giants and the gods reflected a social reality that the Icelanders knew well, but the murder of the god Baldr, which sets brother against brother, is evidence of a fatal flaw in a strategy that is supposed to lead to resolution.

Germanic paganism and Christianity. The assumption that religions are not static but are changing and pluralistic is also productive for studies of the interaction of Germanic paganism with Christianity and other religions. For example, DuBois argues that the extensive and long-term intercultural contacts between the pagan Norse, the Sámi, and the Finns, and then between these groups and various kinds of Christianity, resulted in the continuous alteration of their religious traditions. DuBois shows that Christian notions of burial made inroads into the practices of Nordic pagans long before these people officially accepted the new religion. Concepts about the afterlife underwent transformations as well, with pagan communities adjusting their beliefs in line with Christian doctrines prior to their conversion. It is likely that Christian rites and beliefs affected traditions such as ship burial and Ragnarǫk, which rise in prominence during the late pagan era.

Lindow and John McKinnell have concentrated on the interaction of Christianity and Scandinavian paganism and on the question of Norse-Christian syncretism. Lindow argues that Norse mythology cannot be interpreted without reference to Christian influence, which may have been considerable, as the two cultures had ample opportunities to meet in an enormous number of contexts. Old myths may have been reworked in Christian forms; new versions may have emphasized certain aspects of the "original" myths for reasons related to Christian theology, or the new versions may have assimilated Christian modes of expression or imitated Christian forms. McKinnell sees the possibility of syncretism in tenth-century Norway, as archaeological and textual evidence points to an important Christian presence in Norway before the missionary efforts of King Olaf Tryggvason, and Peter Foote has pointed out the peculiarities of early Icelandic Christianity.

A different matter is the use of pagan iconography for a wholly Christian purpose, as when Christian sculptors in Viking Age England put scenes of Ragnarǫk on their crosses as a way of emphasizing the parallels between the two religions and simultaneously showing that the old religion had been replaced and surpassed by the new. Yet another aspect of the interaction between Scandinavian paganism and Christianity that has received recent scholarly attention is the learned, medieval context in which the myths are preserved. Such studies clarify the material and render less significant the gulf between pagan Scandinavia and the recording of the mythology centuries later in a Christian context.

With the exception of de Vries, whose history of the study of religion (translated into English in 1967) is widely cited, scholars of Germanic religion and Scandinavian mythology have been medievalists first and scholars of comparative religion and mythology a distant second, most likely because of the specialized skills necessary to study the primary sources. The anthropological studies of Norse myth are the most up-to-date with respect to theory, but of the internationally famous mythographers of the twentieth century, only Dumézil has had a major impact on the study of Scandinavian mythology. Claude Lévi-Strauss's ideas have been injected into Dumézil's system by Einar Haugen, and his principles have been applied to certain eddic poems, but he has not himself been concerned with Germanic materials. Similarly, the theoretical orientation of Joseph Campbell has been used by Loren Gruber to examine the role of rites of passage in the eddic poem *Hávamál,* but Campbell's own treatment of Germanic material has been incidental. Mircea Eliade, however, included many Norse references to Óðinn in his study of shamanism, and the Norse applications of his theories of the sacred and profane or myth of the eternal return are obvious.

SEE ALSO Eddas; Sagas; Saxo Grammaticus; Snorri Sturluson.

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ELIZABETH ASHMAN ROWE (2005)

GERSHOM BEN YEHUDAH (c. 965–1028), German halakhist and Jewish communal leader. Despite the many uncertainties surrounding Gershom's life and historical role, it is clear that he was the central figure in the crystallization of Ashkenazic learning and communal organization in pre-Crusade Europe. A generation or two after his death Gershom was already termed Maʾor ha-Golah ("light of the exile"), a title reflecting the perception of both his spiritual stature and his historical impact.

Gershom's origins are not known, but it is likely that his immediate ancestry was French. He spent his adult life in Mainz, where in addition to writing commentaries on the Talmud and some liturgical poetry, he trained the men who were to be the mentors of Rashi. Gershom's personal life reflected the most painful experiences of medieval Jewish life: his son (and, according to one report, his wife as well) converted to Christianity. His poetry expresses the reality of persecution and the yearning for redemption.

Gershom's major contribution is revealed in his *responsa* and in the enactments (*taqqanot*) attributed to him. The *responsa* on questions of Jewish law are of course rooted in Talmudic literature, but they expose an original, decisive legal mind grappling with the central problems of his day. Some of his *responsa* dealt with Jews who converted to Christianity under duress, encouraging their return to Judaism by smoothing their path back to the community; others relaxed prohibitive regulations on Jewish-gentile commerce and empowered the community to govern more effectively by transferring to local communal leadership powers of compulsion that in Talmudic law are granted to central rabbinical courts. Matters of communal governance as well as issues of general social import were at the heart of the enactments attributed to Gershom.

The actual relationship between Gershom and the communities in whose name the enactments are also recorded is shrouded in obscurity, but present scholarly consensus sees Gershom as the central, driving figure behind this legislation. The enactments provide, inter alia, that the minority in a community must accept the authority of the majority, that taxes in dispute are to be paid before they are litigated, and that a defendant in a civil suit may be brought before a court in any community. These *taqqanot* were of great historical significance in legitimating community governance. Other enactments, such as those that prohibit marriage with more than one wife at the same time (permitted by both biblical and Talmudic law) and that forbid a husband to divorce his wife against her will, remain decisive for modern Jewish law and society. Both enactments reflect the status achieved by women in Gershom's society. While originally designed for the German communities of the Rhineland, they were gradually accepted by world Jewry.

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GERALD J. BLIDSTEIN (1987)

GERSONIDES (1288–1344), French mathematician and philosopher, known also as Levi Ben Gershom and, in rabbinic texts, by the acronym RaLBaG (Rabbi Levi ben Gershom). Born in Bagnols, Gersonides lived most of his life in Orange and Avignon. Little else is known about him other than where he resided in Provence under the protection of the popes. Gersonides says almost nothing about his personal life, but some scholars have speculated that he may have functioned as a community rabbi, as a banker, or both. Given the nature of his writings and where he lived, it is not unreasonable to speculate that in addition to his involvement with the Jewish community, he may have taught astronomy/astrology in the papal university, medical school, or court. Gersonides is generally acknowledged to be the greatest and most independent medieval Jewish philosopher after the death of Moses Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon, 1135/8–1204). Of those rabbis who based their religious thought on the philosophy of Aristotle, Gersonides is the most thorough and rigorous; his major work in this area is *The Wars of the Lord* (1329). Gersonides also dealt with rabbinics, philosophy, mathematics, medicine, and astronomy.

In rabbinics Gersonides wrote commentaries on the Pentateuch, the Former Prophets, *Proverbs*, *Job*, *Song of Songs*, *Ruth*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Esther*, *Daniel*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, and *1* and *2 Chronicles*, as well as a commentary on the thirteen hermeneutic rules of Yishmaʿeʾl ben Elishaʿ (a tanna of the first and second centuries) and a commentary on the tractate Berakhot of the Babylonian Talmud. In philosophy he published a treatise on direct syllogisms and supercommentaries on the middle commentaries and résumés of Ibn Rushd (1126–1198). In medicine he is known to have written a remedy for the gout. In mathematics he composed a treatise on algebra and a commentary on parts of Euclid's *Elements*.

Finally, Gersonides published a major treatise on astronomy (1340), which Moritz Steinschneider identified as *Sefer Tekhunah*, which consists of 136 chapters. (A summary of this more detailed work is contained in the second part of the fifth book of *The Wars of the Lord*.) What is of particular interest to historians of science is that the work contains significant modifications of the systems of Ptolemy and al-Bitruji, as well as useful astronomical tables. The work also includes a description of an instrument, which he calls a *magalleh ʿamuqqot* (detector of depths), which he invented for making precise astronomical observations. The work was praised and extensively quoted by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola in his *Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricem* (1495). In general Gersonides' instrument is considered the most useful tool developed to assist measurements in astronomy prior to the development of the telescope, and historians of science regard Gersonides as one of the most important European astronomers before Galileo.

The Wars of the Lord deals only with those questions that Maimonides either resolved in direct opposition to Aristotelian principles or explained so obscurely that Maimonides' own view cannot be determined. These questions are discussed in six treatises on, successively, the nature of the soul (i.e., psychology), prophecy (i.e., revelation), God's knowledge, divine providence, the nature of the celestial spheres (i.e., cosmology), and the eternity of matter (i.e., cosmogony).

In each treatise, every question is systematically discussed. First, Gersonides lists all of the different positions that had previously been taken on the issue in question. He then presents a critical analysis of each view, and in so doing lists every form of argument for each position and judges the extent to which each argument is and is not valid. Following this, he states his own view, and he then shows how each of the arguments given for other positions, to the extent to which they are valid, supports his own position. Finally, he demonstrates that his position is in agreement with the correct meaning of the Torah.

Gersonides' theory of divine knowledge was one of the most controversial parts of his work. In the subsequent history of philosophy it led some Jewish thinkers to condemn his work (e.g., Shem Tov ibn Shem Tov, c. 1390–1440) and others to follow him (e.g., Barukh Spinoza, 1632–1677). Gersonides argued that all terms correctly predicated of God and man are such that those terms apply primarily to God and derivatively to humans. Hence, the term-knower refers primarily to how God knows, and by reference to divine knowledge the term is applied to human beings. As their creator, God knows all things as they are essentially in and of themselves. In contrast, human beings, with the assistance of the Active Intellect, know these creations through their senses as effects. God knows everything, but he knows it in a single act of knowledge. The content of divine knowledge is expressible in human terms as an infinite conjunction of distinct universal, conditional propositions. Concerning a specific entity or fact, whereas human beings may know it accidentally, as a particular, through sense reports, God knows it essentially, as a unique individual, through his intellect. Gersonides' opponents interpreted this thesis to amount to a denial that God knows particulars, with the consequence that God is limited in knowledge and power.

Possibly the most original part of Gersonides' work was his cosmology. The concluding treatise of *The Wars of the Lord* consists of a detailed demonstration, based on astronomy and physics, of the existence of the different heavenly intelligences (angels) and the uniqueness of the ultimate intelligence (God). In terms of its philosophical and scientific elements, this treatise constitutes the most sophisticated work of theology in the history of Judaism. In it, Gersonides argues that this unending universe was created in time, not out of the remains of some previously existing universe but out of nothing. However, the "nothing" from which the world was created is not absolutely nothing; instead, it is an eternal, unformed matter, unlike any other matter of which we can conceive. Gersonides' account of this matter may be the most original part of the work. It is significantly different from the theory of prime matter found in any other work of Jewish, Muslim, or Christian philosophy. But to give an adequate account of it involves a technical discussion that goes beyond the confines of this essay. Suffice it to say that Gersonides' theory of prime matter bears some resemblance to the use by Hermann Cohen (1842–1918) of the term *ori-*

gin in his application of the infinitesimal calculus to ontology, and it may have parallels with the kind of high-energy radiation from which the universe originated, according to those astrophysicists who support the Big Bang theory.

SEE ALSO Jewish Thought and Philosophy, article on Premodern Philosophy.

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Gersonides' positions on divine knowledge and providence, as well as his cosmogony, are inherently connected with his cosmology. As yet no one has undertaken the difficult task of translating his treatise on astronomy. However, considerable light on his cosmology is given in the many publications of Bernard R. Goldstein, especially *The Astronomy of Levi ben Gerson* (New York, 1985).

NORBERT M. SAMUELSON (1987 AND 2005)

GESAR. As is the case with most epic texts—*Rāmāyaṇa, Gilgamesh,* and *King Arthur,* for example—little is known of the historical and artistic genesis of the Gesar epic (Tibetan, *Gling Ge sar gyi sgrung*), a complex and lengthy narrative relating the heroic deeds of the divine king Gesar. The earliest known written version of the epic dates back to 1716, when it was translated—possibly from Tibetan—into Mongolian on the orders of the Manchu emperor. Different versions are attested: the Eastern Tibetan from Khams province (Eastern Tibet); the so-called Amdo Tibetan from a province in northeastern Tibet; the Western Tibetan from Ladakh, an oral version that has affinities with both the Eastern and Amdo versions, though it is shorter than the Eastern one; and the Mongolian one, which boasts a great number of episodes that cannot be found in the other versions. Hunza (northeast Pakistan), Lepcha (northeast Nepal), Buriat (North Mongolia), Khalkha (Mongolia), and Kalmuk (Siberia) versions are also recorded. Regardless of discrepancies among all versions, the core of the epic, which is made of six or seven episodes (sometimes called the proto-epic), has been extant since the seventeenth century at the latest.

THE EPIC: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND LINKS WITH BUDDHISM. Whether a real person lies behind the epic hero Gesar is still debated. One of the earliest written instances of his name (as Gesar, king of Phrom) appears in a ninth-century Tibetan manuscript, and the name also appears on a coin that may refer to the king of a Central Asian kingdom in the ninth or tenth century. For most Tibetans he is an eleventh-century historical figure who ruled Ling (Tibetan, *Gling*), a principality in Khams, that reached its peak in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It has been suggested that Khrom (or Phrom, pronounced "Throm") could be a distant echo of Rome, via the Turkish word *Rûm* that designated Rome or Byzance, while Gesar would refer to *Kaisar*, the Turkish word for "king" or "emperor," derived from Caesar. But Gesar is also seen as a Buddhist character, since he is considered as an emanation of both Avalokiteśvara, the *bodhisattva* of compassion (also embodied in the Dalai Lamas of Tibet) and Padmasambhava (the semi-legendary introducer of Tantric Buddhism in Tibet in the eighth century). He fights in the name of the Buddhist doctrine and the well-being of all men—or, more precisely, Tibetans.

Whether the original epic (if ever there was such a thing) was devoid of references to Buddhism is hard to tell, but it came to pervade most of the narrative. For instance, between wars Gesar is described not as ruling his kingdom but as going into spiritual retreat until a vision summons him to fight another battle against another enemy. Most songs in the epic begin with an invocation of Buddhist or pre-Buddhist local deities and often include a sermon on important aspects of Buddhism. Although certain sects of the Tibetan clergy have shown hostility towards the epic, its content was gradually infused with Buddhist themes until famous Tibetan lamas of the nineteenth century assimilated Gesar to a Buddhist protective *dgra lha* (war deity). Moreover, the recitation of some episodes have come to acquire a ritualistic dimension: *Hor gling*—the battle against Hor—is associated with the fight against demons, and *Stag gzig nor 'gyed*—the battle for the wealth of Tagzig—with an increase of wealth. The Manchu emperors of China (1644–1911) identified Gesar with the Chinese god of war, and a cult to Gesar (Mongolian, Geser) has existed in Mongolia since the seventeenth century.

THE EPISODES. Most versions of the epic begin with three famous episodes: the decision of the assembly of gods to send a savior (the future Gesar) to defend the world, and more particularly Tibet, against the forces of evil (the episode called *Lha gling*); Gesar's childhood as the despised and ugly child Jo ru (the episode called *'Khrungs gling*); and Jo ru's unexpected victory at a horse race at the age of thirteen, whereby he becomes the respected and impressive Gesar, marries the beautiful princess' Brug mo (Drugmo) and becomes the king of the community of Ling (the episode called *Rta rgyug*). These are followed by a succession of narratives describing how, riding his supernatural horse and leading his thirty brave companions and his army, Gesar wages a series of wars against four foreign kingdoms and eighteen Tibetan principalities. The episodes always end with Gesar's victory and the pledge of the subdued armies to become his allies in conquests to come—as well as with the plundering of the enemies' wealth and its redistribution to the people of Ling. The last episode recounts how he rescues his mother from Hell. For Tibetan believers, Gesar is now residing in Shambala, a hidden realm from where he will come back to save humanity and Buddhism. A characteristic of this epic is its open ending; in the twentieth century at least two new episodes were added.

The total number of episodes is difficult to assess. The latest figures vary from 120 to 200, of which about 100 had been published by the early twenty-first century. Another peculiarity of the epic concerns its elaboration, which rarely resorts to literary creation, although a few episodes present themselves as rewritings of previously known versions. New episodes mostly appear through vision and revelation to either Buddhist masters or laypersons, who claim to be reincarnations of characters of the epic and whose previous life they recall, thereby "creating" a new episode. There also exist "treasure-bards" (Tibetan, *gter sgrung*) who "discover" episodes hidden in their mental continuum, in the same way as Buddhist "treasure-discoverers" (Tibetan, *gter ston*) discover Buddhist teachings or narratives thought to have been hidden in a previous time by Padmasambhava.

Bards. Until the Chinese takeover of Tibet in the 1950s, most versions were passed on orally and few were committed to the written form, as manuscripts or, more rarely, xylographs (i.e., woodblock prints). Amateur performers would recite and sing it, and professional wandering bards (Tibetan, *sgrung mkhan* or *sgrung pa*) would roam the country narrating a few episodes in which they specialized. An estimate by Tibetan and Chinese researchers showed that the total number of bards in Tibet early in the twenty-first century varies between 100 and 140. Female bards are very rare, although women play an important part in the narrative (as mothers, wives, aunts, mistresses, etc.). A bard's performance usually alternates between short prose narrative parts and lengthy versified (often heptasyllabic) monologues in the form of songs. On average, one episode may contain between fifty and one hundred songs, the melody varying according to the character they represent. There are also melodies for certain types of songs (visions, prophecies, etc.). Bards would sometimes accompany their performance with painted prompts (Tibetan, *sgrung thang*) on which they would show the scenes referred to in their narrative.

In most cases, bards learn their craft from another bard or from a family member and rely on either a written text or their memory (Tibetan, *bshad sgrung*—literally, "narrating bard"—is a sub-category of the generic *sgrung mkhan* or *sgrung pa* category). But the most appreciated bards are those whose performance shares common characteristics with certain aspects of Tantric Buddhism and Tibetan "folk," pre-Buddhist religion. Called *'bab sgrung* (oracular or divine bards), they are often illiterate nomads who become bards after a serious illness and ensuing visions. They recite episodes of the epic in a state of trance during which they are said to be possessed by one character of the epic who retells the event from his or her point of view. In some instances, they begin their recitation as soon as they put on their "epic hat" (Tibetan, *sgrung zhwa*). One of the most famous of these bards, Grags pa (Drak pa) (1904?/6?–1986), could recite as many as twenty-five episodes of the epic (equivalent to fifteen thousand pages of a modern text). In the rarest cases, bards can "read" an episode by looking at the surface of a mirror (Tibetan, *spra sgrung*) or looking at an empty white page. In these cases, the bard has not memorized the episode, he is in a state of inspired trance.

Appropriation of the Epic. The widespread popularity of the epic and its protagonists in Tibet may be explained by the part everyday Tibetan life plays in its narrative—a rare instance in a literature usually dominated by Indian models aloof from the Tibetan world. This popularity may in turn explain why several authorities have vied for its appropriation. As mentioned already, some Buddhist clergy incorporated Gesar into the Buddhist pantheon; the Buddhist tone of a number of passages in the epic can thus be explained as an attempt at exploiting its popularity among the nomads and peasants of Tibet to spread the Buddhist doctrine further. At a more esoteric level, Gesar's battles are sometimes presented as a symbol of the Buddhist follower's struggle toward Enlightenment. Since the takeover of Tibet by China in the mid-twentieth century, the Chinese cultural authorities have supported research on the epic, which represents, in their eyes, a rare case of popular, secular culture within the Buddhist-dominated Tibetan civilization. In response, Tibetans have been quick to associate Gesar (either the divine king or the epic narrative) with Tibetan cultural revival and nationalism and to cherish it as a depository of distinct and authentic Tibetan culture.

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The Gesar epic has greatly benefited from support by Chinese authorities, and not a year passes without a new episode being published in China, where the publication of a forty-volume edition, based partly on the twentieth-century bard Drakpa's recitation, is in progress. In Bhutan, K. Tobgyal and M. Dorji edited *The Epic of Gesar* (Thimphu, Bhutan, 1979), a heterogenous and somehow haphazard compilation in thirty-one volumes. Episodes are also published in India under the auspices of the exiled Tibetan community.

Only parts of the Gesar epic have been translated into Western languages: A. H. Francke collected and published a transla-

tion of the Ladakhi version of the epic at the turn of the twentieth century; see his *A Lower Ladakhi Version of the Kesar Saga* (New Delhi, 2000). An edited synthesis of a version from Eastern Tibet can be found in A. David-Néel's *La vie surhumaine de Guésar de Ling, le héros thibétain* (Paris, 1931, 1995), translated into English as *The Superhuman Life of Gesar of Ling* (rev. ed., London, 1959). In his *L'Epopée tibétaine de Gesar dans sa version lamaïque de Ling* (Paris, 1956), R. A. Stein partly translated a nineteenth-century xylograph that contained three episodes of the core epic. *Gesar! The Epic Tale of Tibet's Great Warrior-King,* adapted by Zara Wallace (Berkeley, Calif., 1991) is the updated and rephrased prose edition of a 1927 English translation of the 1716 Mongolian version of the epic, via a 1839 German translation.

In the 1990s, D. J. Pennick used preexisting translations to rewrite the core epic for an opera libretto (*The Warrior Song of King Gesar,* Boston, 1996). This version has retained the alternance of prose and poetic passages and is clearly formulated for a Western audience. R. Kornman and a team of translators have undertaken the integral translation of the nineteenth-century version used by R. A. Stein for his 1956 summarized translation (cf. *supra*). It is due for publication in 2004. Some episodes were translated into German by M. Hermanns in *Das National-Epos der Tibeter Gling König Gesar* (Regensburg, Germany, 1965) and by R. Kaschewsky and P. Tsering in *Gesars Anwehrkampf gegen Kaschmir* (*Zentralasiatische Studien* 6 [1972]: 273–400) and *Die Eroberung der Burg von Sum-pa* (Wiesbaden, Germany, 1987). The most thorough study to date of the epic remains R. A. Stein's *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet* (Paris, 1959). An updated summary of R. A. Stein's views can be found in his "Introduction" to the 1979 Thimphu version (reprinted in *Tibet Journal* 6, no. 1 [1981]: 3–13).

S. Hummel's *Eurasian Mythology in the Tibetan Epic of Ge-sar* (Dharamsala, India, 1998) suggests the existence of German and Greek mythological influence in a restricted number of the epics's episodes. His views, although tentative and sometimes far-fetched, nevertheless present original mythical and literary openings to links between Central Asian and Tibetan cultures, and his lengthy bibliography includes many German-language sources. M. Helferr is the author of a musicological study of some songs of one episode of the epic, titled *Chants dans l'épopée tibétaine de Ge-sar d'après le livre de la Course de cheval* (Paris, 1977). In the 1990s, S. G. Karmay dedicated three interesting articles to the epic, which can all be found in *The Arrow and the Spindle: Studies in the History, Myths, Rituals and Beliefs in Tibet* (Kathmandu, Nepal, 1998): "Gesar: the Epic Tradition of the Tibetan People" is a good summary of the epic in a Tibetan context; "The Theoretical Basis for the Tibetan Epic" gives a clear chronological order of the epic and considers the kingdom of Gling in its relationship to its neighbors, taking into account both historical sources and episodes of the epic; and "The Social Organization of Gling and the Term *phu nu* in the Gesar Epic" shows how a study of kinship as presented in the epic can be used as a source for a political and social analysis of traditional Tibetan nomad society.

G. Samuel has also undertaken a study of Gesar and its relationship to anthropology, shamanism, music, and so on. For an overview of the epic and the state of the field, see for instance, his "Gesar of Ling: The Origins and Meaning of the East Tibetan Epic," in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Narita 1989* (Narita, Japan, 1992), edited by Shoren Ihara and Zuiho Yamaguchi; "Ge sar of gLing: Shamanic Power and Popular Religion," in *Tantra and Popular Religion in Tibet* (New Delhi, 1994), edited by G. Samuel, H. Gregor, and E. Stutchbury; "The Gesar Epic of East Tibet," in *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1996), edited by José Ignacio Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson; and "The Epic and Nationalism in Tibet," in *Religion and Biography in China and Tibet* (Richmond, U.K., 2002), edited by Benjamin Penny.

For an early twenty-first century assessment of the appropriation of Gesar by China before and above all after 1950, see L. Maconi's "Gesar de Pékin? Le sort du Roi Gesar de Gling, héros épique tibétain, en Chine (post-)maoïste," in *Formes modernes de la poésie épique: nouvelles approches* (Brussels, 2004), edited by Judith Labarthe. Research on Gesar is also very active in China and Tibet: a number of episodes of the epic have been translated into Chinese, and a Chinese magazine is dedicated to the epic (*Gesaer yanjiu jikan* [Gesar studies]). See also Yang Enhong's *Minjian shishen: Gesaer yiren yanjiu* (Popular divine poets: Study on the singing tradition of "King Gesar"; Beijing, 1995), and her "The Study of Singing Tradition of the Tibetan Epic *King Gesar*" (*IIAS Newsletter* 18 [1999], p. 16), a short and documented article in English presenting a typology of bards. See also monographs and articles by 'Jam dpal rgya mtsho (Chinese, Jianbian Jiacuo) and Gcod pa don grub (Chinese, Jiaoba Dongzhu), two Tibetan specialists. For a study of Gesar in Mongolia and Tibet, see W. Heissig's *The Religions of Mongolia* (London, 1980), his *Ge-ser Studien: Untersuchungen zu den Erzählstoffen in den "neuen" Kapiteln des mongolischen Geser-Zyklus* (Opladen, Germany, 1983), and his *Fragen der mongolischen Heldendichtung* (Wiesbaden, Germany, 1982, 1985, and 1987), which he edited and which contains several contributions on Gesar as well as translations of some episodes. N. Poppe and Ts. Damdinsüren also dedicated many articles to the fate of the epic in Mongolia. See also Klaus Sagaster's article in the first edition of this encyclopedia for a short and synthetic presentation of Gesar, especially in the Mongolian context (*Encyclopedia of Religions* 1987: 536–537).

FRANÇOISE ROBIN (2005)

GESTURES SEE POSTURES AND GESTURES

GETO-DACIAN RELIGION. The Getae and the Dacians were ancient Thracian peoples who lived in Moesia, on the northern plain of the river Danube, and in the Carpathian Mountains, approximately in the territory of modern-day Romania and Moldova. Although the religion of the Getae and the Dacians escapes complete reconstruction, it forms, nevertheless, like the religion of the ancient Celts, one of the most interesting chapters in the history of Indo-European religions outside the Greco-Roman world. Despite the rationalistic tendency of some scholars to diminish the importance of religion among these peoples, evidence indicates that the foundation of the state consisting of the Getae and the Dacians was a result of theocratic ideas. These ideas stemmed from the worship of Zalmoxis, possibly an ancient religious reformer to whom the beginnings of Getic kingship are also related. Later on, Zalmoxis was divinized, a process that has frequent parallels in ancient Greece.

As for the Dacians, testimonies explicitly relate their name to the Phrygian word *daos* ("wolf"). Paul Kretschmer's etymology, which derives *dakoi* from the Indo-European **dhawo-s* ("wolf"), has been supported by Vladimir Georgiev and has received an exhaustive historico-religious comment from Mircea Eliade (1972). Eliade claims that the Dacians, like several other Indo-European peoples, formed a *Männerbund* based on the idea of ritual lycanthropy. Young Dacian warriors were probably trained to imitate the behavior of ferocious wolves. This has nothing to do with the Getae's legendary contempt for death, however, as that was based on the Zalmoxean promise of immortality. In all probability the message of Zalmoxis referred to a paradise in which valiant warriors would survive after death in a state of perpetual happiness.

Greek evidence, starting with Herodotos, establishes a close relationship between Zalmoxis and Pythagoras. The set of religious ideas whose origin is attributed to Zalmoxis indeed presents resemblances with Pythagoreanism. Besides immortality, Zalmoxis is said to have also taught a highly praised form of psychosomatic medicine based on charms, whose purpose was to heal the soul together with the body. Plato gives a vivid and enthusiastic account of Zalmoxean medicine in the dialogue *Charmides* (156d–157c). This medical tradition was apparently long-lived: Late in the third century CE forty-seven Dacian names of medicinal plants were inserted in the famous *Materia medica* of the Greek physician Dioscurides and in *De herbis,* attributed to Apuleius.

ZALMOXEAN PRIESTHOOD. The cult of Zalmoxis had strong connections with kingship. Plato, in fact, reports that Zalmoxis was king of the Getae (*Charmides* 156d), but Strabo (*Geography* 7.3–5) says that Zalmoxis was priest of the most important god of the Getae, that he became associated with kingship, and that he later was himself worshiped as a god; he was supposed to live in a cave on the sacred mountain Kogaionon, where only the king and his messengers could visit him. Sacred priesthood continued down to Strabo's time (first century BCE). The sacred cave must have been the most ancient place where the god was worshiped and his priests dwelled. In Herodotos's time (fifth century BCE) a sanctuary of Zalmoxis must have existed, for Herodotos (*Histories* 4.95) relates the legend that Zalmoxis had had an underground chamber built and that he hid himself there for three years, after which he reappeared. Such a sanctuary, with a vast underground complex, has been found at Sarmizegetusa Regia (modern-day Gradiştea Muncelului, Romania).

Jordanes, the historian of the Goths, born in Moesia in the sixth century, mingled the traditions of the Goths with those of the Getae in order to give the former the prestige of an ancient and superior population. He composed a list of Zalmoxean priests from the epoch of Burebista (c. 80–44 BCE) to the time of the Dacian king Decebalus (d. 106 CE). The series opens with the well-known Decaeneus (Dicineus), Burebista's counselor, who may have decisively contributed to the latter's power and to the origin of his kingship. Decaeneus taught the Getae philosophy, physics, ethics, logic, and astronomy. In particular he introduced them to the secrets of astrology, planetary revolutions, phases of the moon, measurement of the sun's size, and cosmic revolutions. Jordanes's testimony has been too lightly dismissed in the past. Decaeneus actually taught the Getae cosmology, astrology, and astronomy as well as introducing them to one of the most intriguing of ancient calendars, whose mystery has not been yet convincingly explained. Decaeneus's successors were the priests Comosicus and Coryllus, both of them kings, the latter in Dacia. Probably this Coryllus (sometimes called Cocrilus or Scorilus) was the immediate predecessor of Decebalus, who was the last king of the Daco-Getae and was finally defeated by the Roman emperor Trajan in 106 CE.

This list of Zalmoxean priests seems to contradict a second list also furnished by Jordanes (*De origine actibusque Getarum* 39), according to which the king Zalmoxis came after Decaeneus. In fact, Jordanes is obviously not referring here to chronology; he says only that among the Getae the most important thinkers were first (*prius*) a certain Zeutas, then (*post etiam*) Decaeneus, and then again (*tertium*) Zalmoxis. One should infer from this that the predecessor of Decaeneus was Zeutas, not that Decaeneus was followed by Zalmoxis, who is simply the legendary founder of the Geto-Dacian priesthood; in fact, Decaeneus was followed by Comosicus. The name *Zeutas* is related to the southern Thracian name *Seuthes* and further to the Avestan term *haotar,* signifying an Iranian priest. Therefore, *zeutas* may simply be a generic term signifying Thracian priests.

PYTHAGOREAN PATTERNS. The geographer Strabo, quoting the Stoic philosopher Posidonius, was the first to give precious, but confused, information about the *ktistai* living in continence and abstinence, and the *abioi* (lit., "lifeless," i.e., strangers to normal life conditions) of whom Homer tells (*Iliad* 8.5–7). Strabo (7.3.5) also reports that Zalmoxis introduced vegetarianism among the Getae.

The Jewish historian Josephus Flavius (first century) compares the life of the ascetic Essenes with that of "those among the Dacians who are called *pleistoi*" (*Jewish Antiquities* 18.22). It seems that this text should be left without emendation. Following Posidonius and Strabo, the deep religious concern of the Geto-Dacians (*spoude, theosebeia, pietas*) was a commonplace of antiquity.

The word *pleistoi* has received different interpretations, but it seems to be connected with the Thracian god Pleistoros (Herodotos, 9.119). Gheorghe Muşu has sought its etymology in the Indo-European root **ple(is)*, meaning "to be full"; hence *pleistoi* would mean "bearers of fullness" (Muşu, in Vulpe, 1980). In a rather obscure article, Mihai Nasta has accepted the emendation *pleistois* in *polistais,* from *polizein,* meaning "to instruct in the spirit of the city [*polis*]; to polish" (Nasta, in Vulpe, 1980). The most probable etymology, however, is that proposed by Eugen Lozovan (1968), who reads *pleistoi* as a paronomasia of the Thracian **pleiskoi,* from the Indo-European **pleus-,* meaning "hair, lock." Hence, the *pleistoi* would be "hair bearers," that is, bearers, or wearers, of a woolen bonnet.

This explanation receives further confirmation from Jordanes (71), who reports that the headgear of the noble and wise priests of the Getae, called *pilleati,* was a tiara *(pilleus).* The rest of the people had no *pilleus;* thus they were *capillati,* or "bareheaded." Scholars have claimed that Jordanes's report was based on a misinterpretation of Dacian nobles as priests, because traditionally the *pilleus* was the distinctive sign of Geto-Dacian aristocracy. This observation is wholly irrelevant, however, because Geto-Dacian kingship had many of the characteristics of a theocracy, and the religious initiation of nobles was probably different from that of the common people. Thus, the *pilleati* could very well have been trained as priests. As often as not, Geto-Dacian high priesthood coincided with kingship.

THE CALENDAR TEMPLE AT SARMIZEGETUSA REGIA. In chapter 70 of his *De origine actibusque Getarum,* Jordanes presents a portrait of Getic warriors that has met only skepticism among modern scholars. According to Jordanes, the Getic warriors used the short time between battles to study the properties of plants and the secrets of the starry heavens. An astonishing confirmation of this picture has been provided by the decipherment of the meaning of the calendar temple discovered among the monumental ruins of Sarmizegetusa Regia, an impressive stronghold in the Carpathian Mountains that was the center of the Daco-Getic priesthood before the Roman conquest. The first hypotheses, put forward by D. M. Teodorescu, Constantin Daicoviciu, G. Charrière, and Hadrian Daicoviciu, have been recently replaced by an improved interpretation based on algorithms, proposed by Serban Bobancu, Cornel Samoilă, and Emil Poenaru (1980).

The calendar temple is composed of two circular sanctuaries made of pillars and slabs of stone and andesite and of wooden pillars plated with terra-cotta, disposed in regular patterns. The forms and materials correspond to different units of the Dacian calendar. According to the demonstration of Bobancu, Samoilă, and Poenaru, the Dacians used as their principal time measure a fluctuating week consisting of from 6 to 8 solar days. A Dacian year was composed of 47 such measures and had, accordingly, from 364 to 367 days. After one 13-year cycle the calendar needed a one-day correction, which was marked separately on a series of pillars indicating such cycles. After one "century" of 104 years, or 8 cycles of 13 years each, a new one-day correction was needed and marked. On a larger rectangular calendar, a 520-year time quantum could be measured, that is, a cycle of five Dacian centuries, after which a one-day correction was needed again. Besides the 104-year "centuries," the Dacian calendar also worked with 91-year "centuries," that is, 7 cycles of 13 years each.

Besides this "civilian" calendar, the Dacians also used a religious calendar, composed of 60 weeks of six days each. A 68-day correction, marked on a circle composed of 68 pillars, was exactly the astronomical operation needed after the passage of a 13-year cycle. Sophisticated and precise as it was, the Dacian calendar had a simple and effective method of use. After termination of each time quantum (week, year, 13-year cycle, 91-year and 104-year "centuries," 520-year period), a successive unit, represented by an architectural element (e.g., a pillar, a slab), was marked; this unit had another form and/or was made of a material different from that used for the preceding unit. The system of correspondences consists of distinguishing the different values of the circles of the sanctuaries and the different regular units of which each circle is composed. Once this is known, the whole pattern becomes predictable, and even a child or a modern scholar could be easily trained to keep the periodic marking.

Easy as it might seem in practice, such a calendar would be based on very complex mathematical principles. It would reach such a remarkable precision that after 2,275 years, corresponding to 175 cycles of 13 years, the time as given by the calendar would differ from the astronomical time by only 38.88 seconds. This is much too precise to be true.

The calendar temple at Sarmizegetusa Regia was not built before Decebalus, but it must have been based on a system discovered by Decaeneus. It provides perhaps a confirmation of Jordanes's characterization of the religious life of the Geto-Dacians.

SEE ALSO Zalmoxis.

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GHAYBAH, the Arabic word for "concealment," in the sense of absence from human sight, is applied by various Shīʿī Muslim groups to the condition of one or another imam who disappeared rather than died and whose life is believed to have been prolonged (in a paradisial state or in God's presence) until his foreordained return as *mahdī* (the Expected Deliverer) to initiate the eschatological drama concluding history.

EARLY HISTORY. The Qurʾān contrasts the invisible or hidden spiritual realm (*al-ghayb*) with the observable world of human experience. Drawing upon prototypes of such eschatological prophet figures as Moses and Jesus, the first generations of Muslims embraced the view that certain prophets were withdrawn by God from the eyes of mortals, among them Jesus, Idrīs (Enoch/Hermes), Ilyās (Elijah), and Khiḍr. The Qurʾanic description of the crucifixion of Jesus (4:157–159) and legends of the bodily incorruptibility and the ascension and future return of a Mosaic-type prophet contributed to the focusing of such expectations on various members of the prophet Muḥammad's family. ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, the prophet's cousin and son-in-law, may have been the first given this honor by a small group of extremists among his partisans, the Sabʾīyah, who refused to admit his death after his assassination in 661. After the martyrdom of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī at Karbala in 680, another son of ʿAlī, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah (d. 700?) became the center of millenarian hopes in the revolt of al-Mukhtār and the Kaysānīyah that occurred in 686 at Kufa in lower Iraq.

The Kaysānīyah drew an explicit parallel between a "docetic" understanding of the passion of Christ and the concealment and eventual return of their imam. Speculation about the concealment of the imam was tied to the doctrine of return (*al-rajʿah*) in terms of a this-worldly, bodily resurrection before the end time to accomplish eschatological vengeance upon the wicked and victory and justice for the righteous.

THE LATER SHĪʿAH. The early tendency of "stopping" at a certain claimant to the imamate who was seen to be in concealment and awaiting his near-return helped fragment the energies of the original Shīʿah. Historical circumstances determined the continuity of the Imamiyah or Twelver Shīʿī line of imams until the death in 874 of the eleventh imam, al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī, whom tradition holds to have secretly fathered a son four years before his death, namely the twelfth or Hidden Imam, Muḥammad al-Mahdī. During the minor *ghaybah* from 874 to 941 this person's earthly existence and near-return was accepted by the Twelver communities, whose allegiance was given to at least four successive *safīr*s, or agents, the direct deputies of the Mahdi, especially in his juristic and financial functions. After 941 comes the era of the major *ghaybah,* in which the Twelver scholar-lawyers (*mujtahid*s or *faqīh*s) collectively fulfill the functions of the imam's agents as an independently learned body of religious authorities. In the major *ghaybah* the Mahdi's concealment is seen as total and, though in earthly occultation, he is held to communicate to the faithful by virtue of his participation in the hierarchy of the invisible worlds.

The early Ismāʿīlī Shīʿah eschewed the notion of a miraculous prolongation of life for the imam and emphasized a continuing line of succession to the imamate that included temporary or cyclical periods of concealment termed *satr.* They centralized the spiritual and cosmic role of the imam developed earlier by the radical Shīʿah. The Druze, however, maintain belief in the *ghaybah* of their founders, the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim and Hamzah. The two major branches of the Fatimid Ismāʿīlīyah both revere a living line of successive imams: For the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīyah he is the present Aga Khan, while the Mustaʿlī Ismāʿīlīyah or Bohoras hold that the present imams are in earthly concealment and are represented by a continuing line of *dāʿī*s, or agents acting as heads of the community.

For the Twelver Shīʿah, the need for a visible stand-in for the Hidden Imam, or Mahdi, has been assuaged by belief in his continuing efficacy and necessary suprahistorical role. Dream visions and transcendent appearances were occasions for the imam to momentarily break his concealment, while popular eschatology dwelt on the apocalyptic scenario of his triumphant return or the miraculous nature of his concealment. Shīʿī theosophical treatments expanded the cosmic role of the concealed imam and his presence in the spiritual realm of prophets and saints. Ṣūfī treatments of *ghaybah* have interiorized it by focusing on the complementary experience of *hadrah,* "presence" with the divine. Ṣūfīs revered the popular figures of prophetic longevity such as Khiḍr as well as the invisible yet active hierarchy of saints headed by the *qutb,* or spiritual axis.

SEE ALSO Aga Khan; Druze; Imamate; Messianism, article on Messianism in the Muslim Tradition; Shiism, articles on Ismāʿīlīyah, Ithnā ʿAsharīyah.

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GHAZĀLI, ABŪ ḤĀMID AL-

(AH 450–505/1058–1111 CE), named Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, was the distinguished Islamic jurist, theologian, and mystic who was given the honorific title Ḥujjat al-Islām (Arab., "the proof of Islam").

LIFE. Al-Ghazālī was born in the town of Ṭūs, near modern Mashhad (eastern Iran), and received his early education there. When he was about fifteen he went to the region of Gorgān (at the southeast corner of the Caspian Sea) to continue his studies. On the return journey, so the story goes, his notebooks were taken from him by robbers, and when he pleaded for their return they taunted him that he claimed to know what was in fact only in his notebooks; as a result of this incident he spent three years memorizing the material.

At the age of nineteen he went to Nishapur (about fifty miles to the west) to study at the important Niẓāmīyah college under ʿAbd al-Malik al-Juwaynī (d. 1085), known as Imam al-Ḥaramayn, one of the leading religious scholars of the period. Jurisprudence would be central in his studies, as in all Islamic higher education, but he was also initiated into Ashʿarī theology and perhaps encouraged to read the philosophy of al-Fārābi and Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna). He later helped with teaching and was recognized as a rising scholar. When al-Juwaynī died, the powerful vizier of the Seljuk sultans, Niẓām al-Mulk, invited him to join his court, which was in fact a camp that moved about, giving al-Ghazālī the opportunity to engage in discussions with other scholars.

In 1091, when he was about thirty-three, he was appointed to the main professorship at the Niẓāmīyah college in Baghdad, one of the leading positions in the Sunnī world; it can be assumed that the appointment was made by Niẓām al-Mulk, the founder of the colleges bearing his name. After just over four years, however, al-Ghazālī abandoned his professorship and adopted the life of an ascetic and mystic.

Something of al-Ghazālī's personal history during these years in Baghdad may be gleaned from the autobiographical work he wrote when he was about fifty, entitled *Al-munqidh min al-ḍalāl* (The deliverer from error). This work is not conceived as an autobiography, however, but as a defense of his abandonment of the Baghdad professorship and of his subsequent return to teaching in Nishapur about a decade later. It is also not strictly chronological but was given a schematic form. In it, he describes his intellectual journey after the earliest years as containing a period of skepticism lasting "almost two months," when he doubted the possibility of attaining truth. Once he ceased to be completely skeptical, he set out on a search for truth among four "classes of seekers [of truth]," namely, the Ashʿarī theologians, the Neoplatonic philosophers, the Ismāʿīlīyah (whom he calls the party of *taʿlīm*, or authoritative instruction), and finally the Ṣūfīs, or mystics. He writes as if these were four successive stages in his journey, but in fact they must have overlapped; it is virtually certain that he gained some knowledge of mysticism during his early studies at Ṭūs and Nishapur. The period of skepticism, too, could only have come after he had some acquaintance with philosophy, because philosophical considerations were involved.

The first encounter, according to this scheme, was with the *mutakallimūn,* or rational theologians. These were, of course, the Ashʿarīyah, by whom he had been trained and among whom he is reckoned. In the *Munqidh* he complains that their reasoning is based on certain presuppositions and assumptions that they never try to justify, but which he cannot accept without some justification. In effect what happened was that he found in philosophy a way of justifying some of the bases of Ashʿarī theology. This can be seen in his principal work of Ashʿarī theology, *Al-iatiṣād fī al-iʿtiqad* (The golden mean in belief), where he introduces many philosophical arguments, including one for the existence of God. Until the end of his life he seems to have held that Ashʿarī theology was true so far as it went, and in his chief mystical work, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* (The revival of the religious sciences), he includes an Ashʿarī creed of moderate length; this is known as *Al-risālah al-qudsīyah* (The Jerusalem epistle) and was probably composed before his extensive study of philosophy.

The second encounter of his intellectual journey was with Greek philosophy and, in particular, the Arabic Neoplatonism of al-Fārābi and Ibn Sīnā. He had probably been introduced to philosophy by al-Juwaynī, but he began the intensive study of it early in his Baghdad professorship. Because philosophy, with other Greek sciences, was cultivated in institutions distinct from the colleges for Islamic jurisprudence and theology and was looked on with disapproval, al-Ghazālī had to study the books of the philosophers by himself. He describes how he devoted to this activity all the free time he had after lecturing to three hundred students and doing some writing. In less than two years he managed to gain such a thorough understanding of the various philosophical disciplines that his book, *Maqāṣid al-falāsifah* (The views of the philosophers), gives a clearer account of the teaching of Ibn Sīnā on logic, metaphysics, and physics than the works of the philosopher himself. After another year's reflection on these matters, al-Ghazālī wrote a powerful critique of the metaphysics or theology of the philosophers entitled *Tahāfut al-falāsifah* (The inconsistency of the philosophers). His argument against the philosophers is based on seventeen points on which he attacks their views as heretical and on three others on which he regards the philosophers as infidels. In discussing the seventeen points al-Ghazālī demonstrates the weaknesses of the philosophers' arguments for the existence of God, his unicity, and his incorporeality, and he rejects their view that God is a simple existent without quiddity and without attributes, their conception of his knowledge, and some of their assertions about the heavens and the human soul. The three points contrary to Islam are that there is no resurrection of bodies but only of spirits, that God knows universals but not particulars, and that the world has existed from eternity. Underlying the detailed arguments is his conviction that the philosophers are unable to give strict logical proofs of their metaphysical views. He therefore turned away from them also in his search for truth.

His third encounter was with a section of the Ismāʿīlīyah who held that true knowledge was to be gained from an infallible imam. It seems doubtful whether he seriously expected to gain much from such people. He did, however, study their views carefully, partly because the caliph of the day commanded him to write a refutation of them. He had little difficulty in showing that there were serious inadequacies in their teaching.

His final encounter was with Sufism; he had already realized that this mysticism entailed not only intellectual doctrines but also a way of life. After four years in Baghdad he felt himself so involved in the worldliness of his milieu that he was in danger of going to hell. The profound inner struggle he experienced led in 1095 to a psychosomatic illness. Dryness of the tongue prevented him from lecturing and even from eating, and the doctors could do nothing to alleviate the symptoms. After about six months he resolved to leave his professorship and adopt the life of a Ṣūfī. To avoid any attempts to stop him, he let it be known that he was setting out on the pilgrimage to Mecca. Actually he went only to Damascus, living there as a Ṣūfī for more than a year, and then made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1096. Some six months after that he was back in Baghdad and then seems to have made his way by stages back to his native Ṭūs. There he established a *khānāqāh* (hostel or convent), where some young disciples joined him in leading a communal Ṣūfī life. The genuineness of his conversion to Ṣūfīsm has sometimes been questioned by Muslim scholars, and it has been suggested that he left his professorship because he was afraid his life was in danger on account of political involvements. To judge from his own account, however, religious considerations were uppermost in his mind.

The Muslim year 500 (which began on September 2, 1106 CE) marked the beginning of a new century. Muḥammad was reported to have said that God would send a "renewer" *(mujaddid)* of his religion at the beginning of each century, and various friends assured al-Ghazālī that he was the "renewer" for the sixth century. This induced him to take up an invitation from the vizier of the provincial governor in Nishapur to become the main professor in the Niẓāmīyah college there. He continued in this position for three or possibly four years and then returned to Ṭūs, probably because of ill health; he died there in 1111. His brother Aḥmad, himself a distinguished scholar, describes how on his last day, after ablutions. Abū Ḥāmid performed the dawn prayer and then, lying down on his bed facing Mecca, kissed his shroud, pressed it to his eyes with the words, "Obediently I enter into the presence of the King," and was dead before sunrise.

WORKS. More than four hundred titles of works ascribed to al-Ghazālī have been preserved, though some of these are different titles for the same work. At least seventy works are extant in manuscript; it is clear, however, that some of these, chiefly works of a mystical character, have been falsely attributed to al-Ghazālī, though in the case of one or two the inauthenticity is not universally admitted. Certain of these works are written from a standpoint close to that of the philosophers, and earlier scholars, regarding them as authentic, were led to suppose that before his death al-Ghazālī came to adopt the views he had previously attacked, or else that in addition to his publicly expressed views, he held esoteric views which he communicated only to a select few. Since about 1960, however, scholars have been aware of a manuscript written four years after his death, which bears a colophon stating that the short work it contains was completed by al-Ghazālī about a fortnight before he died. This work is *Iljām al-ʿawāmm ʿan ʿilm al-kalām* (The restraining of the common people from the science of theology), and in it he writes as a Shāfiʿī jurist who, at least up to a point, accepts Ashʿarī theology. It is also known that just over two years earlier he had completed a long and important work on the principles of jurisprudence, *Al-mustaṣfā* (The choice part, or essentials); this was presumably one of the subjects on which he lectured at Nishapur. These facts make it inconceivable that at the end of his life al-Ghazālī adopted the heretical views he had previously denounced, and thus they strengthen the case for regarding as inauthentic works containing views that cannot be harmonized with what is expressed in books such as the *Munqidh* and the *Iḥyāʾ*.

The genuine works of al-Ghazālī range over several fields. One of these is jurisprudence, which is dealt with in several early works, as well as in the much later *Mustaṣfā* mentioned above. These are the works most often referred to in connection with al-Ghazālī during the two centuries after his death. Most of these legal works were presumably written before he went to Baghdad. At Baghdad he turned to philosophy, producing the *Maqāṣid* and the *Tahāfut,* the exposition and critique of the Neoplatonic philosophers. About the same time, he wrote two small books on Aristotelian logic and a semi-philosophical work on ethics (which may, however, contain some interpolations). He also relates that it was in Baghdad that he composed for the caliph al-Mustaẓhir the refutation of Ismāʿīlī thought known after the patron as the *Mustaẓhirī.* His exposition and philosophical defense of Ashʿarī doctrine in the *Iqtiṣād* must have been written either shortly before or shortly after leaving Baghdad.

For some time after that, al-Ghazālī's literary occupation seems to have been the composition of his greatest work, the *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn.* It consists of four "quarters," each divided into "books" or chapters; a complete English translation would probably contain at least two million words. The first quarter, entitled "the service of God," has books dealing with the creed, ritual purity, formal prayer (*ṣalāt*), other types of prayer and devotion, almsgiving, fasting, and the pilgrimage. The second quarter deals with social customs as prescribed in the *sharīʿah* and has books on eating habits, marriage, acquiring goods, traveling, and the like; it concludes with a book presenting Muḥammad as an exemplar in social matters. The third quarter is about "things destructive," or vices, and, after two general books on "the mysteries of the heart" and how to control and educate it, gives counsel with regard to the various vices. The fourth quarter on "things leading to salvation" deals with the stages and aspects of the mystical life, such as penitence, patience, gratitude, renunciation, trust in God, and love for him. In most of the books al-Ghazālī begins with relevant quotations from the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth* (anecdotes about Muḥammad, sometimes called traditions) and then proceeds to his own exposition. His overriding aim seems to be to show how the scrupulous observance of all the external acts prescribed by the *sharīʿah* contributes to the inner mystical life.

Al-Ghazālī presents a simpler version of the way of life to which the *Iḥyāʾ* points in *Bidāyat al-hidāyah* (The beginning of guidance). Other works of interest from his mystical period are an exposition of the ninety-nine names of God with the short title *Al-maqṣad al-asnā* (The noblest aim) and a discussion of light symbolism centered on the "light verse" of the Qurʾān (24:35) and entitled *Mishkāt al-anwār* (The niche for lights). There is also a Persian work, *Kīmiyāʾ al-saʿādah* (The alchemy of happiness), covering the same ground as the *Iḥyāʾ* but in about half the compass.

Among the works of doubtful authenticity is a refutation of Christianity with the title *Al-radd al-jamīl ʿalā ṣarīḥ al-injīl* (The beautiful refutation of the evidence of the gospel). Even if this is not by al-Ghazālī, it is of course an interesting document of roughly his period, and the same is true of the spurious mystical works.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF AL-GHAZĀLĪ: PHILOSOPHY, THEOLOGY, AND MYSTICISM. At the present time it is still difficult to reach a balanced judgment on the achievement of al-Ghazālī. After the first translation of the *Munqidh* into a European language (French) was published in 1842, many European scholars found al-Ghazālī such an attractive figure that they paid much more attention to him than to any other Muslim thinker, and this fashion has been followed by Muslim scholars as well. His importance has thus tended to be exaggerated because of relative Western ignorance of other writers. This ignorance is now rapidly decreasing, but care is still needed in making an assessment of al-Ghazālī.

Part of al-Ghazālī's aim in studying the various philosophical disciplines was to discover how far they were compatible with Islamic doctrine. He gave separate consideration to mathematics, logic, physics, metaphysics or theology (*ilāhīyāt*), politics, and ethics. Metaphysics he criticized very severely in his *Tahāfut,* but most of the others he regarded as neutral in themselves, though liable to give less scholarly persons an unduly favorable opinion of the competence of the philosophers in every field of thought. He himself was very impressed by Aristotelian logic, especially the syllogism. He not only made use of logic in his own defense of doctrine but also wrote several books about it, in which he managed to commend it to his fellow-theologians as well as to expound its principles. From his time on, many theological treatises devote much space to philosophical preliminaries, and works on logic are written by theologians. The great positive achievement of al-Ghazālī here was to provide Islamic theology with a philosophical foundation.

It is more difficult to know how far his critique of philosophy led to its disappearance. Arabic Neoplatonic philosophy ceased to be cultivated in the East, though there was an important Persian tradition of theosophical philosophy, but there had been no philosopher of weight in the East since the death of Ibn Sīnā twenty years before al-Ghazālī was born. In the Islamic West philosophy following the Greek tradition continued until about 1200 and included a refutation of al-Ghazālī's *Tahāfut* by Ibn Rushd (Averroës), so that the decline in the West cannot be attributed to al-Ghazālī.

Sufism had been flourishing in the Islamic world for more than two centuries. Many of the earliest Ṣūfīs had been chiefly interested in asceticism, but others had cultivated ecstatic experiences, and a few had become so "intoxicated" that they seemed to outsiders to claim unity with God. Such persons often also held that their mystical attainments freed them from duties such as ritual prayer. In al-Ghazālī's time, too, yet other Ṣūfīs were becoming interested in gnostic knowledge and developing theosophical doctrines. For these reasons many of the *ʿulamāʾ,* or religious scholars, were suspicious of all Sufism, despite the fact that some of their number practiced it in a moderate fashion without becoming either heretical in doctrine or antinomian in practice. Al-Ghazālī adopted the position of this latter group and, after his retirement from the professorship in Baghdad, spent much of his time in ascetical and mystical practices. The *khānāqāh* that he established at Ṭūs was probably not unlike a monastery of contemplatives. His great work the *Iḥyāʾ* provides both a theoretical justification of his position and a highly detailed elucidation of it which emphasized the deeper meaning of the external acts. In this way both by his writing and by his own life al-Ghazālī showed how a profound inner life can be combined with full observance of the shariʿah and sound theological doctrine. The consequence of the life and work of al-Ghazālī was that religious scholars in the main stream of Sunnism had to look more favorably on the Ṣūfī movement, and this made it possible for ordinary Muslims to adopt moderate Ṣūfī practices.

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W. MONTGOMERY WATT (1987)

GHOSE, AUROBINDO

SEE AUROBINDO GHOSE

GHOST DANCE. The Ghost Dance was the major revivalist movement among nineteenth-century North American Indians. Dating from about 1870, it had its culmination in the 1890–1891 "messiah craze" of the Plains, which caused the last Indian war in the Dakotas. The name *Ghost*

Dance refers to the ritual round-dances that were thought to imitate the dances of the dead and were performed to precipitate the renewal of the world and the return of the dead. There were other American Indian ceremonial dances that were called ghost dances—for instance, a ritual dance among the Iroquois. However, it was the messianic Ghost Dance of 1890 that attracted general attention because of its message and consequences. It has been considered prototypical of other revivalist movements among North American Indians, so much so that most later movements have been classified as "ghost dances" (La Barre, 1970).

HISTORY. Strictly speaking, there have been two Ghost Dances, closely connected with each other and almost identical in form and cultic performance.

The 1870 Ghost Dance. The Ghost Dance movement of 1870 was introduced on the Walker Lake Reservation in Nevada by a Northern Paiute Indian, Wodziwob ("gray hair," 1844–1918?). During a trance he was conveyed to the otherworld, where he learned that the dead were soon to return, that the disappearing game animals were to be restored, and that the old tribal life would come back again. In order to hasten this change, people had to perform round dances at night, without fires. This Ghost Dance lasted some few years among the Paiute, several middle and northern California tribes, and some Oregon Indians.

Wovoka and the Ghost Dance of 1890. One of Wodziwob's inspired adherents was Tävibo ("white man"), who despite his name was a full-blooded Northern Paiute. He had a son, Wovoka ("the cutter," 1856–1932). Wovoka lived in Mason Valley, Nevada, where he served as a farmhand to a white family named Wilson, and because of this association he went under the name of Jack Wilson. During an eclipse of the sun, probably in January 1889, he fell into a trance and was transported to the supreme being in the sky. In this vision the supreme being showed him the land of the dead and the happy life there, and promised that the living would have a reunion with the deceased, providing a series of rules were followed.

At this point the information divides. To the whites, Wovoka said that the reunion would take place in the otherworld if people behaved correctly (i.e., did not lie, steal, or fight) and performed the round dance. To the Indians, he announced the speedy coming of the dead (who would be guided by a cloudlike spirit that was interpreted as Jesus) as well as the return of game and a lasting peace with the whites. The round dance would more quickly bring about this change. The scene was to be on earth, not in the otherworld. It is obvious that, to the Indians, Wovoka presented the same message, in many ways, as Wodziwob.

The round dance was the same as well. It was conducted on four or five consecutive nights. Men and women danced together in a circle, interlacing their fingers and dancing round with shuffling side steps. The dance was exhausting, although not continuous, and no fainting spells or visions were reported.

This second Ghost Dance appeared when the Plains tribes had been subjugated and their old style of living was on the wane. The freedom-loving Plains Indians looked for an escape, and in their desperation they found it in the Ghost Dance. Emissaries were sent over to the "Messiah," Wovoka (who in fact had claimed only to be a prophet, not a messiah), and were instructed in his doctrine. However, the Plains delegates misinterpreted the message to mean that the whites would be driven off or exterminated. The Ghost Dance spread like fire among the Plains Indians, and in particular the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Lakota, Kiowa, and Caddo became staunch believers. Dancing songs expressed the wishes of the arrival of the dead and praised the Father above.

The Lakota added several new traits that were in line with their visionary and militant ethos: they became entranced while dancing; they pondered military action against the whites; and they covered their upper bodies with white "ghost shirts," decorated with spiritual emblems. The ghost shirt was supposed to protect the wearer magically against enemy bullets. It was probably patterned on Mormon garments worn by the Paiute for protection from bodily harm.

Although the Lakota plans for action were very vague, their frenetic dancing in the summer and fall of 1890 released countermeasures from the suspicious white authorities in the Dakotas, resulting in the so-called Ghost Dance Uprising. Highpoints of this development were the arrest and assassination of the famous Lakota leader Sitting Bull and the massacre at Wounded Knee at the end of December 1890, when Hotchkiss guns indiscriminately killed men, women, and children in Big Foot's camp.

After these catastrophic events, enthusiasm for the Ghost Dance ebbed. Some groups continued dancing, but their expectations of the coming of the dead were projected to a distant future. The last Ghost Dances were held in the 1950s, among Canadian Dakota and Wind River Shoshoni.

THREE MAIN ROOTS. It is possible to find three main roots of the Ghost Dance: earlier religious movements stimulated by Christian missions, shamanic experiences, and indigenous rituals. Of these sources, the impact of earlier syncretic movements has been thoroughly analyzed, beginning with James Mooney's famous study (1896). The import of native religious development has been properly studied only relatively recently. Scholars have, of course, been aware of changes in the Indian's spiritual, cultural, and military background that may have triggered the outbreak of the Ghost Dance. There is no unanimity of opinion, however, as to whether readjustment to a new sociopolitical situation or predominantly religious drives steered the development. The overwhelming majority of scholars, all of them anthropologists, favor the first view, whereas historians of religions prefer the latter.

The impetus for the Ghost Dance revivalism was the Indians' enforced contact with an expanding white civilization beginning in the 1860s. Because of growing white settlements, the white military takeover, and the introduction of white jurisdiction, there was no more room for the continuation of the old native existence, in particular for the hunters and gatherers of the West. Their independent cultures ceased rapidly, sometimes even abruptly, as on the Plains: the whole culture of the northern Plains tribes, built on hunting buffalo, collapsed when in 1883 the last herd of buffalo was exterminated. The Indians had to adjust to white people's culture and, in part, to their values, in order to survive. At the same time the Indians drew on their past to mobilize a desperate spiritual resistance against the overwhelming white influence. In this reactive effort they combined Christian or Christian-derived elements with indigenous ideas and rituals to form a resistance ideology.

Earlier religious movements. The formation of mixed ("acculturated") ideologies is part of American Indian religious history since the beginning of European colonization: The restitutional ("nativistic") doctrines launched by the Tewa Indian Popé (1680–1692) and by Neolin, the so-called Delaware Prophet (around 1760), are among the better-known early instances. These prophets proposed an ethical and religious program. In many respects Neolin set the pattern for subsequent prophets, including those of the Ghost Dance: an inspired person who suffers from the ways of the white people enforced upon the Indian people, who long for a return to the good old Indian ways, and who experiences an ecstasy or similar state. In his vision the prophet is brought to the Master of Life, from whom is obtained instructions about a right life. Provided this road is followed, the prophet is told, the game will return, the whites will be driven away, and the old life will be restored. No wonder that such enchanting messages fostered Indian wars, like Pontiac's uprising, which was inspired by Neolin's prophecies.

While the messages of the prophets reflected a yearning for old value patterns, they were in fact deeply dependent on Christian missionary teachings. Exhortations to believers to refrain from liquor, adultery, lying, and murder and to show brotherly friendliness, even beyond tribal boundaries, reveal more or less Christian ethical precepts. Where the abandonment of traditional fetishes and rituals was propagated, as by the Shawnee prophet Tenskwatawa, Christian value judgments are easily recognizable. The very idea that the Supreme Being had to introduce the new religious program through revelation to a prophet also speaks of Christian influence. The hope for the day of salvation, or the coming liberation, implies a linear view of history and an eschatological goal, ideas that were never American Indian, but are thoroughly Christian.

Shamanic experiences. The second root of the Ghost Dance is shamanic experience. Although the instigators of the revivalist movements were prophets (i.e., ecstatics who had received their calling from God) and not shamans (i.e., vocational ecstatics acting on behalf of their fellowmen), the difference is a minor one, for shamans often receive their calling from spirits. There was definitely a Christian background to the Indian conception of the prophet, his reception of an eschatological message after a comatose experience, and his direct contact with a more or less christianized God. However, the pattern of spiritual communication is very much shamanic. Wovoka, for instance, was himself a medicine man, and fell repeatedly into self-induced trances. It was during these séances that he visited the otherworld and received his messages. Of course, the destination of his soul was the heaven of God, not the spirit land of the dead; these were two different realms in most Native American beliefs.

The Ghost Dance had its precursors in movements that crystallized around shamans. Leslie Spier (1935) retraced the Ghost Dance ideology to an older "Prophet Dance" founded on the intense relations of the living with the dead on the Northwest Coast and the Plateau. The Prophet Dance ideology contained such elements as a world cataclysm, renewal of the world, and the return of the dead. World renewal and the return of the dead could be hastened by the performance of the "dance of the dead." The Prophet Dance had its basis, according to Spier, in the periodic cataclysms (earthquakes) to which the region is subject and in the shamanic visits to the dead.

Round-dance ritual. The third main root of the Ghost Dance is, as Michael Hittman (1973) has observed, the indigenous round dance. The latter has been interpreted by some scholars as simply a dance for entertainment, but there is much evidence that the Basin round dance, performed around a pole or cedar tree, was a religious ceremony—the Father Dance, offered with thanksgivings to the Master of Life for food, rain, and health. In the Ghost Dance this old ceremony was given a new, eschatological meaning.

SEE ALSO Neolin; North American Indian Religions, article on Modern Movements; Shamanism, article on North American Shamanism; Wovoka.

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The discussion of the Ghost Dance has, in comparative works on prophetism, messianism, and millenarianism, concentrated on terminological, psychological, and acculturation problems, whereas the specialized works on the Ghost Dance have paid attention primarily to its origins. Pathbreaking has been Leslie Spier's *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives: The Source of the Ghost Dance* (Menasha, Wis., 1935). Spier's idea of an exclusively aboriginal origin of the Ghost Dance religion is today in doubt, but much of his work remains extremely useful.

The grounding of the 1890 Ghost Dance in Wodziwob's movement of the same name twenty years earlier has directed scholars' attention to the latter. The details of the 1870 movement have been excellently clarified in Cora Dubois's *The 1870 Ghost Dance* (Berkeley, Calif., 1939). A new orientation, which argues for the mutual independence of the 1870 and 1890 movements, is represented in Michael Hittman's "The 1870 Ghost Dance at the Walker River Reservation: A Reconstruction," *Ethnohistory* 20 (1973): 247–278.

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GHOSTS. In western Germanic languages words similar to the modern English *ghost* and the German *Geist* seem to be derived from roots indicating fury, wounding, or tearing in pieces. The spelling with *gh* in English appeared first in a work printed by William Caxton in the fifteenth century, influenced probably by a similar Flemish form. The term *ghost* has been used in various ways, to mean soul, spirit, breath, the immaterial part of man, moral nature, a good spirit, an evil spirit, and, in liturgical and dogmatic language, to designate the spirit of God as the "Holy Ghost." It has chiefly signified the soul of a deceased person appearing in a visible form, and hence has given rise to such phrases as *a ghost walking, raising a ghost,* or *laying a ghost.* It may be called "an apparition" or "a specter." In any case, the prevailing modern sense is that of a dead person manifesting its presence visibly to the living.

Other words are used to describe comparable phenomena, but with some differences. A fetch is, like the German *Doppelgänger,* the apparition of a living person. A wraith is an apparition or specter of a dead person or an immaterial appearance of someone living forewarning his own death. The Irish often speak of fetches, and the Scottish of wraiths. More generally, a phantom, from the Greek *phantasma,* is sometimes unreal or immaterial, an illusion or dream-image, a specter or ghost. A phantasm may be the same thing, but Edmund Gurney and others in *Phantasms of the Living* (1886) discussed as phantasms "all classes of cases where . . . the mind of one human being has affected the mind of another . . . by other means than through the recognized channels of sense" (vol. 1, p. 35). A poltergeist, from the German *poltern* ("to make noise") and *Geist* ("spirit") is regarded as a noisy spirit remarkable for throwing things about. Since the nineteenth century the French world *revenant* (lit., "one who comes back"), has been used in English to describe a being who returns from the dead.

The word *ghost* most commonly refers to a dead person who haunts or simply appears before the living, sometimes with a message or warning. The notion has been popular in literature. While Shakespeare wrote one play involving fairies and another involving witches, ghosts were an important feature in several of his works: Hamlet's father, Caesar, and Banquo all appear as ghosts. Hamlet's father—called a ghost, a spirit, an apparition, an illusion, and more than fantasy—expresses a belief in the activities of ghosts: "I am thy father's spirit; / Doom'd for a certain term to walk the night, / And for the day confin'd to fast in fires, / Till the foul crimes done in my days of nature / Are burnt and purg'd away" (1.5.9–13).

THE BIBLE AND THE QUR'ĀN. The Hebrew scriptures have few references to ghosts. Isaiah attacked the practice of consulting "the mediums and the wizards who chirp and mutter" (*Is.* 8:19). This refers to the spiritualistic séance, forbidden but vividly illustrated in the story of the medium of Endor, consulted by Saul. She was said to raise up the dead prophet Samuel out of the earth, saying "An old man comes up, and he is covered with a robe" (*1 Sm.* 28:14). Samuel was not a haunting ghost, although he brought a fatal warning for Saul.

In *Psalm* 88:12 the grave is called the land of forgetfulness, and later Judas Maccabaeus makes sacrifices to free the dead from their sins (*2 Mc.* 12:45). In the apocryphal *Wisdom of Solomon* (17:15) lawless men are said to be troubled in their sleep by specters, apparitions, and phantoms. Otherwise ghosts are not mentioned except in the older translations where death is described as surrendering the spirit, "giving up the ghost."

In the New Testament there are also few references. When the disciples saw Jesus by night, on or by the sea, they were afraid, thinking him an apparition or ghost (*phantasma; Mark* 6:49; this is the only occurrence of this word in the New Testament). In one of Luke's accounts of the resurrection the disciples were terrified, supposing that they had seen a spirit (*pneuma*), but Jesus assured them that this could not be so, for he had flesh and bones that a spirit had not (*Lk.* 24:37–39). Lazarus might be called a revenant, but he was not, strictly speaking, a ghost, since he came out of the grave alive (*Jn.* 11:44). Later Christian insistence upon the "resurrection of the flesh" (*sarx*), as in the Apostles' Creed, also precluded "ghostly" survival and postulated instead a restoration of the full personality.

In developing Christian doctrine theologians discussed the nature of angels, good spirits, bad spirits, the resurrection of the dead, heaven, hell, and purgatory. But belief in ghosts and their possible return to earth was left indeterminate, neither accepted nor rejected. All Souls' Day, the commemoration of the faithful departed, has been universally celebrated in the Western church since the tenth century, and prayers at Mass request "to the souls of all thy servants a place of cool repose, the blessedness of quiet, the brightness of light . . . forgiveness and everlasting rest."

In practice many Christians have believed in ghosts and in haunted places, and this is said to have been particularly true among Germanic peoples. The survivors owed numerous duties to the departed, and unless honor and rituals were accorded, it was thought that the dead might return to take vengeance or reclaim their former property. Those who had died untimely or unnatural deaths, such as women in childbirth, might become wandering spirits. To this day stories are related in Europe about old monasteries or rectories where restless spirits are said to appear. Rituals of exorcism have been practiced, with restrictions, both to cast out evil spirits and to lay wandering ghosts to rest.

In the Islamic world the soul or self (Arab., *nafs;* cf. Heb. *nefesh*) was at first distinguished from the breath or wind (Arab., *rūḥ;* cf. Heb. *ruaḥ*), but the words came to be used interchangeably and are applied to the human spirit, angels, and genii (*jinn*). Theologians teach that at death the soul goes to a first judgment and then remains in the grave until the final resurrection. Edward A. Westermarck stated in *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (1926, vol. 2, p. 246) that while it was believed that dead saints might appear to the living and the dead might come to see their friends but remain invisible, "as to ordinary dead people I have been assured over and over again that the dead do not walk, and I remember how heartily my friends . . . laughed when I told them that many Christians believe in ghosts." However, the Moroccans believed that the dead would be angry if they were offended by anyone and would punish him, and if children did not visit the graves of their parents they would be cursed by them. The voices of some of the dead were thought to be audible in cemeteries, though only good people, children, and animals could hear them. If a person had been killed, the spot would be regarded as haunted, and passersby might hear him groan.

Among Berber-speaking tribes there were said to be more traces of the belief in apparitions of the dead than among Arabic-speaking Moroccans. Some of the Tuareg of the Sahara claimed that ghosts had been seen at night near cemeteries. In Egypt many stories have been told of apparitions of dead people, and Arabian bedouin believe that spirits of the wicked haunt the places of their burial and that the living should avoid passing cemeteries in the dark.

The jinn may be thought to haunt burial grounds and many other places, but they are fiery spirits and not dead people. Ghouls (Arab., *ghūl)* are monsters thought to haunt cemeteries and feed on dead bodies. An *ʿifrit* is mentioned in the Qurʾān (27:39) as "one of the jinn," and in the *Thousand and One Nights,* in the story of the second shaykh, it is said that a benevolent Muslim woman "turned into an *ʿifritah,* a *jinniyah.*" She changed her shape, saved her husband from drowning by carrying him on her shoulders, and told him that she had delivered him from death by the grace of God, since she believed in him and in his Prophet. In Egypt the word *ʿifrit* came to mean the ghost of a man who had been murdered or suffered a violent death.

AFRICA. In many parts of Africa ghosts are thought to appear to give warning or seek vengeance. Among the Ashanti of Ghana, a man who has committed suicide is called a wandering spirit, unable to find rest and refused entry into the land of spirits, roaming between this world and the next until his appointed time of death. If such a suicide is reborn, he will come back as a cruel man who might again suffer a bad end. At one time criminals who were executed had powerful charms tied on them to prevent their ghosts returning to harm the executioners. Some of the dead had their heads shaved and painted red, white, and black so that they would be recognized if they walked as ghosts.

The Ga of the Ghana coastline think that the spirit of one who dies violently or prematurely wanders about for forty days as a ghost, angry at his early death and jealous of other people's pleasures. Those who go out late at night pursuing such pleasures may be pursued in turn by ghosts until they die of heart failure. Ghosts are said to be recognizable by their fiery breath and red mouths: red is the color of witches, fairies, and ghosts, but ghosts dislike white and may be kept away if one throws white cloths on the ground.

A common belief in the Ivory Coast is that the dead may return to their homes at night to steal children from their mothers' arms. Here and elsewhere widows must keep in mourning for months or years, often in rags, lest their dead husbands return and have sexual intercourse with them, which would have fatal results. Fishermen drowned at sea, hunters lost in the forest, people struck by lightning or burnt in fires, and others who die of diseases like smallpox or leprosy may not receive burial rites and so become ghosts, living in the "bad bush." Months after the death or disappearance, the family performs mourning ceremonies and lays the ghost to rest.

When infant mortality is high, a succession of dying children may be thought to be incarnations of the same child over and over again. The Yoruba of Nigeria call such babies "born to die" (*abiku*), and if one comes a third time and dies it is said that "there is no hoe" to bury it with. Marks are made on the body of the stillborn or dying baby to prevent the ghost from returning or to make the ghost recognizable.

In central Africa the Ila of Zambia think that some spirits are captured by witches and become their ghost-slaves, causing disease and sometimes possessing people. Like poltergeists, such ghosts reputedly attack people, knock burdens off their heads, or break axes and hoes. Ghosts are often thought to speak in unnatural ways, in guttural voices or twittering like birds, and some are said to be very small, with bodies reversed so that their faces are at the back of their heads. They appear in dreams, show anger at neglect, demand sacrifice, or cause sickness. Although stories are told that seem to imply that ghosts have objective or even physical existence, they are regarded as spiritual entities who only take the essence or heart of sacrifices.

In the region of Zaire the word *zumbi* is used for spirits of the dead and ghosts, and in Haiti it becomes *zombie,* a *revenant,* or one of the "living dead," whose soul has been eaten by a witch or whose corpse has been revived by a sorcerer for evil purposes.

South and East Asia. In popular Indian belief various words may be used for ghosts. The term *bhūta,* something that has been or has become, refers to the ghost of a dead person, one who has died a violent death or has not had a proper funeral ceremony, or it may apply generally to a good or evil spirit. In the *Bhagavadgītā* (9.25) the *bhūta* is a ghost or goblin, an inferior but not necessarily an evil being. A *preta* ("departed") is the spirit of a dead person before the obsequies are performed or an evil ghost; it also may be the spirit of a deformed person or of a child that died prematurely. A *yakṣa* is generally a benevolent spirit although sometimes classed with *piśāca*s and other malignant spirits and ghosts; such terms are used loosely and often overlap.

Ghosts and demons in India are believed to haunt cemeteries or live in trees, appearing in ugly or beautiful forms and requiring food and blood. The special guardian against ghosts is the monkey god Hanuman, the "large-jawed"; his worshipers offer coconuts to him and pour oil and red lead over his images, taking some of the oil that drips off to mark their eyes as a protection. The lighting of lamps at the Dīvālī or Dīpavālī festival at the new year is also said to drive away ghosts and evil spirits.

Performance of Śraddha funeral ceremonies is essential in India for the rest of the departed spirit, in order to provide food for it and to prevent it from becoming an evil spirit. Special Śraddha is performed for those who died violently, as they would be likely to become haunting ghosts. Infants who die do not receive ordinary Śraddha, but presents are given to brahmans on their behalf.

Buddhist dialogues discuss various states after death. In the *Milindapañha* (294) there are said to be four classes of ancestors (*peta*), only one of which lives on offerings from benefactors; the others feed on vomit, are tormented by hunger and thirst, or are consumed by craving. Any of these may be ghosts. In Sinhala another word (*holman*) indicates similar dangerous beings. These appear at night as naked white figures, especially in cemeteries, and sunset, midnight, and dawn are the most dangerous times for their activities. One of them, Mahasōnā, perhaps meaning "great cemetery," puts his hand on the backs of wanderers in graveyards at midnight, marks them with his imprint, and kills them with shock. *Peta* may be offered inferior food, as well as drugs or excrement, and if they act as troublesome poltergeists they are exorcized. Another term for ghostly creatures, *bhūtayā* ("has been") may be substituted for *peta* and other words for demons and harmful spirits.

Burmese Buddhists believe that although all beings pass on to rebirth, most go first to one of four "states of woe" as an animal, demon, ghost, or inhabitant of hell. Rebirth as a human being is an exception, one of "five rarities." Monks may be reborn as ghosts. One account of five heads of a monastery who died in quick succession attributed the premature deaths to the ghost of the original incumbent, who had owned the monastery personally and died before appointing a successor. Those who followed were usurpers, and as a ghost he caused their deaths. As a consequence the villagers decided to abandon that monastery and build a new one for the next abbot.

In Thailand the Indian word *preta* is used for the ghosts of the recently dead, who may have been condemned to hell or to wander the earth. Although not harmful to humans they may be disgusting and gigantic in appearance. Because of their tiny mouths they suffer from constant hunger and thirst. Relatives may transfer merit to the *preta*s by extra gifts to monks; some writers consider *preta*s to be the inversion of the Buddhist monk. Mural paintings in Buddhist temples of South Asia often depict both the joys of paradise and the sufferings of unhappy spirits.

In China a ghost (*kuei;* f., *yao*) was the spirit of someone who had died an unusual death, often as the result of crime. Ghosts of bandits were thought to linger near the place of their execution, and if a woman had a difficult labor it was attributed to her having passed near such a place during pregnancy and having offended one of the bandit ghosts. The ghost might try to oust the rightful soul during labor and be born as the woman's son.

Under Buddhist influence souls were thought to live in zones of formlessness until the time of rebirth. They were fed by surviving relatives, and if nobody cared for them they would haunt people. In the seventh month after death there was a great festival for "hungry souls," when the priests would recite texts not only for relatives but for the souls of strangers and those without anyone to care for them. Meals, models of houses, and paper money were dedicated to the dead and burned as offerings. Especially in southern China, paper boats, often with a host of deities aboard or with lanterns in the shape of lotus flowers, were set drifting down rivers to light the way for spirits and ghosts to cross the river of transmigration. If sickness or calamity afflicted the community, however, it was attributed to inadequate propitiation of ghosts.

In Japanese belief one category of the ancestral dead is that of wandering angry ghosts. Neglected ancestors may quickly change from benevolent beings to vicious, cursing tyrants, attacking their families in painful ways until proper food and potent texts are offered to them. There are also spirits with no particular affinity (*muenbotoke*), those who die childless or without kin to worship them, and they may attack any stranger whose weakness lays him open to spiritual possession.

The most dangerous ghosts are those of people who die violently, are murdered, or die in disgrace. They become angry spirits *(onryō)* requiring rituals for appeasement. In the literature of the eighth to the tenth century there are striking examples of these furious ghosts, such as the story of Prince Sawara. After horrifying starvation, exile, and death by poison, he was said to have brought a whole series of calamities on the country. And a minister who died in 903 in disgrace and exile was credited with a succession of natural disasters thanks to his furious ghost. In early times discontented ghosts were depicted in animal or natural form, but in later *nō* plays they appear as ordinary men and women who are finally revealed as ghosts in horned masks and long red wigs.

Notions of ghosts and spirits as restless, perhaps unburied or unavenged, beings with a message to convey or a task to fulfill abound in popular belief in many countries, although there may be little formal doctrine or orthodox teaching in the scriptures to support these ideas.

SEE ALSO Afterlife; Soul.

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GEOFFREY PARRINDER (1987)

GHOST THEORY SEE MANISM

GIBBONS, JAMES (1834–1921), American Roman Catholic churchman, archbishop of Baltimore, cardinal. The fourth child and eldest son of immigrant parents, James Gibbons was born in Baltimore on July 23, 1834. After a sixteen-year (1837–1853) sojourn in Ballinrobe, County Mayo, Ireland, where he received his early education, Gibbons returned to the United States and settled in New Orleans. Acting on a long-held desire to seek ordination, he studied for the priesthood at Saint Charles College in Ellicott City, Maryland, and at Saint Mary's Seminary in Baltimore. He was ordained a priest for the archdiocese of Baltimore in 1861.

Gibbons's career in the parish ministry ended in 1865 when Archbishop Martin Spalding made him his secretary. Thereafter, Gibbons experienced a swift rise through the ranks of the hierarchy. In 1868 he was named the first vicar apostolic of North Carolina and elevated to the rank of bishop; in 1872 he became the bishop of Richmond, Virginia; in May 1877 he was named coadjutor archbishop of Baltimore with right of succession; and in October 1877 he became the archbishop of Baltimore upon the death of James R. Bayley.

In assuming leadership of the archdiocese of Baltimore, Gibbons found himself in a position of great importance and high visibility in the American Catholic church. As the oldest diocese in the United States and the see within whose boundaries the national capital fell, Baltimore and its bishops enjoyed a degree of ecclesiastical and political prestige that other dioceses and bishops did not possess. These factors, together with Gibbons's longevity, his elevation to the cardinalate (1886), his accessibility to public officials and his personal friendship with every president from Cleveland to Harding, his tactful and conciliatory mode of governing, his irenic attitude toward non-Catholics, and the phenomenal success of his catechetical *Faith of Our Fathers* (1876), combined to make him the outstanding American Catholic churchman of his time.

Although he is justly famous for his contributions to such intramural Catholic projects as the founding of the Catholic University of America (1889) and the establishment of the National Catholic War/Welfare Council (1917), Gibbons's place in American Catholic history is really the result of the use he made of the prestige of his office and his personal talents in addressing four major problems that confronted the American church between 1877 and 1921: immigration, industrialization, nativism (the xenophobic reaction of Americans to immigrants), and Vatican apprehensions concerning American religious pluralism. Gibbons clearly saw that these four problems were interrelated, for all were concerned with the underlying problem of effecting some rapprochement between the Catholicism he loved and the American political and cultural life he revered. With his fellow americanizing bishops, John Ireland and John Keane, he sought both to assuage the fears of nervous nativists and to insure the internal unity of the church by advocating a pragmatic policy of assimilation that urged immigrant Catholics to adopt the language and mores of the host culture. His program did not endear him to German-American Catholics, but, combined with his conspicuous patriotism during the Spanish-American War and World War I, and his writings in praise of the American political system, it did much to enhance both his and his church's reputation as bulwarks of patriotism.

The same desires to demonstrate the social utility of the chuch to the nation, to insure the internal health of the church, and to protect the church from detractors animated Gibbons's defense of the Knights of Labor before the Roman Curia. His advocacy of the Knights as well as his work to reconcile New York's socially minded Father Edward McGlynn to the church earned him the reputation of a labor advocate comparable to Pope Leo XIII (1878–1903) and Cardinal Manning of Westminster in the universal church, and of a force for social peace at home.

While Gibbons enjoyed some measure of success in his attempts to demonstrate the compatibility of Catholicism and American life to non-Catholic Americans, the signal failure of his career was his inability to demonstrate the same either to conservative members of the American hierarchy or to Roman authorities who saw only a dangerous and corrosive indifferentism in the americanizers' praise of and accommodation to American mores. Leo XIII's condemnation of Americanism in 1899 *(Testem benevolentiae)* came as a stunning blow to Gibbons and his colleagues at the same time that it heartened the conservative followers of Archbishop Michael A. Corrigan of New York. In time, however, Gibbons's reputation in Rome was rehabilitated, and when he died in 1921 he was acknowledged by both his co-religionists and his fellow citizens to have been the dominant force in the American Catholic church.

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GIFT GIVING. The exchange of gifts is one of the most telling characteristics of human culture and, according to some authorities, may form the original basis of economics. From a religious perspective, gift giving has two primary aspects with many variations. First, gift giving is incorporated in a variety of ways within the religious customs and sanctions that regulate social behavior. Second, in the sense of offering, gift giving is an essential aspect of sacrifices ritually presented to a deity or deities. In both aspects the process of gift giving may involve distribution of the gift within the selected social group to which it is appropriate; it may also entail the destruction of all or part of the thing given, to signify its disappearance into the metaphysical realm.

THE POTLATCH AS A MODEL FOR GIFT GIVING. With regard to the social aspect of gift giving, Marcel Mauss's *Essai sur le don* (1925), translated as *The Gift* (1954), shows gift giving to be the very means by which value can be taught and understood in a society, provoking humans to productivity but at the same time inspiring a sense of an intangible presence in the things distributed. Mauss seems to regard the potlatch—an elaborate celebration entailing the lavish display and distribution of the host's possessions—as the most significant form of gift giving, possessing both religious significance and profound consequences for the development of economic systems. The gifts associated with the potlatch, as practiced by the Kwakiutl Indians, include both tangible, useful materials (such as blankets, boats, and food), and an entirely symbolic article—the most valuable *prestation* of all (Mauss's term, signifying the repayment of an obligation)—namely, a hatchet-shaped copper plaque.

The potlatch originated along the rich coast of northwestern North America. Many tribes in these regions adopted the potlatch, but the system appears in its most elaborate and well-recorded form among the Kwakiutl. It has been greatly modified as native peoples have become increasingly assimilated into the dominant white culture. Historically, the Kwakiutl were among the most thoroughly stratified tribes imaginable; they were fundamentally divided into two large groups, the *naqsala*, or nobility, and the *xamala*, or commoners. Every person, noble or common, belonged to further-interrelated subgroups within the overall structure of tribes and to *numina*, or subdivisions, within the particular tribe. The nobles, and even the commoners, were identified within all the interlocking groups by discrete honorific titles and by a system of seating according to rank. In the formalized feasting that was the ritual setting for the act of prestation, this seating system had much to do with the way in which goods were distributed.

In one respect, the potlatch system might be thought of as a means of increasing one's capital through interest on loans. One's status in the community was linked to the munificence with which one disposed of one's capital in the feasts. The capital consisted of what was regarded as valuable during a particular period: blankets, fish oil, food, shells, and slaves were such goods in premodern times. To cite an example, the list of gifts given in a potlatch in 1921 included the following items: Hudson Bay blankets, canoes, pool tables, bracelets, gaslights, violins, gasoline-powered boats, guitars, dresses, shawls, sweaters, shirts, oaken trunks, sewing machines, basins, glasses, washtubs, teapots, cups, bedsteads, bureaus, and sacks of flour and sugar (Rohner, 1970, p. 97). All of the items on this list were given to differentially ranked individuals. The pool tables, regarded as equivalent to the copper plaque (or "copper"), went to men of very high status. Glasses, washtubs, teapots, and cups went to women of various ranks. Thus, the distributor invested capital that gave him high status in the community and that was loaned, in a sense, in the expectation that all the items would be returned with interest at a future potlatch. Indeed, the interest was very precisely calculated; in the case of blankets, the return due at the end of one year was double the number of blankets given. The return of these loans (which were not solicited but had to be accepted, according to the system) was the occasion for the giving of new loans, much as it was the occasion for the potlatch feast. The purpose of the potlatch among the Kwakiutl was not to accumulate goods but to show one's ranked status in the community by the level of munificence one displayed. Some writers have compared the gift giving at the potlatch to a kind of warfare or war game in which the bestowal of extravagant gifts could inflict serious "wounds" on other participants.

Although it has not been commented on by leading writers, an analysis of the potlatch system reveals more than a few traits in common with the Hindu caste system, which likewise assigns rank during feasting in communal settings, and which includes a large element of redistribution of economic resources. Indeed, those who ranked highest on the curve of potlatch status owned not only goods in quantity but sacred names that could be distributed only during the communal feast; moreover, the highest-ranking regarded themselves as an exclusive group and had only limited contact with those lower in the system. Similar elements can be found in the caste system, wherein the caste name, sometimes irrelevant to the actual work performed, is understood to define an inescapable social status—indeed, the bestowal of magical and sacred names is an almost universal phenomenon throughout the Hindu religious system. Of course, this does not mean that the potlatch gift-giving system is the same as the caste system. But if Mauss's original insight is true, then the socially sanctioned distribution of gifts and other tokens of relationship, fraught with historical and structural significance as these things are, may be an irreducible element in human culture. The potlatch and caste systems are perhaps instances of a general principle. The universal relevance of these systems is clear, even in the apparent particularity of this description:

> The potlatch is more than a legal phenomenon; it is one of those phenomena we propose to call "total." It is religious, mythological and shamanistic because the chiefs taking part are incarnations of gods and ancestors, whose names they bear, whose dances they dance and whose spirits possess them. It is economic; and one has to assess the value, importance, causes and effects of transactions which are enormous even when reckoned by European standards. The potlatch is also a phenomenon of social morphology; the reunion of tribes, clans, families and nations produces great excitement. People fraternize but at the same time remain strangers; community of interest and opposition are revealed constantly in a great whirl of business. Finally, from the jural point of view, we have already noted the contractual forms and what we might call the human element of the contract, and the legal status of the contracting parties—as clans or families or with reference to rank or marital condition; and to this we now add that the material objects of the contracts have a virtue of their own which causes them to be given and compels the making of counter-gifts. (Mauss, 1967, pp. 36–37)

Caste relations in traditionalist Hindu society are problematic even today because of the threat of "pollution through contact." Mauss's idea is that such "pollution" is a sort of inversion of gift giving, for no matter what the degree of contact, there is some sort of giving involved, even if limited to the exchange of services. Mauss asserted that things given were still perceived to have links with the persons giving them. This characteristic of gifts would seem to be inescapable even in modern perceptions of their ultimate value, whether or not they are overtly sanctified by religion (as, for example, the blessed rings exchanged in a Christian wedding ceremony). After all, the caste system would have no power if it were not understood that everyone in the society exists of necessity in an intrinsic relation with everyone else. What is the basis of that relationship if not the exchange of goods and services, even if this must lead, at times, to measures to avoid the perceived consequences of pollution through contact?

MAUSS REVISIONISTS. Although the interesting interpretation of the potlatch by Mauss will certainly remain a point of reference for understanding gift giving, other authors have investigated the phenomenon from different theoretical perspectives and on the basis of other field research. Annette B. Weiner, in *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving* (1992), is concerned that in the Trobriand Islands, New Zealand, Samoa, and Hawai'i (Oceania) the special role of women in the creation of value through their reproductive and cultural productivity has been slighted in the history of the interpretation of gift giving, not just in the work of Mauss, but also in later works by Bronislaw Malinowski, Émile Durkheim, Claude Lévi-Strauss, and others. She bases her analysis upon a factor that is present in the exchange of gifts in these societies and that can also be found in the Kwakiutl potlatch system. As the title of her work suggests, the issue is that gift giving, or other connected bestowals, such as the granting of titles and sacred names, involves a heroic effort to maintain in one's own possession the most prestigious potential gifts while giving away quantities of other gifts that enhance or maintain the giver's prestige. Such a mandate is based upon a cosmological imperative from the imaginary other world. Status, as among the Kwakiutl, is of paramount importance in the social systems of Oceania and is not linked solely or even primarily to the roles of men in the hierarchy.

Weiner makes her most telling distinctions in describing the differences between *alienable* and *inalienable* possessions. It is the former that the society manufactures in sufficient quantities, often primarily through the production by women of fine woven mats, leaf skirts, and other commodities, to meet the requirements of gift giving in the particular social context. On the other hand, women also produce especially desirable mats and other types of "cloth" that are imbued with *mana* (a kind of sacrality). These items are linked to the reproductive power of female sexuality and cultural productivity, and they are inalienable. Other objects, such as shell arm bracelets (*mwali*) and necklaces (*soulava*), are also in this category. The ceremonial exchange of such goods is called *kula*. Somewhat like the system of the Kwakiutl, and found almost universally in the human world, gift giving is mandatory under certain ritual conditions, including, for example, when selecting a marriage partner (engagement), at weddings, at births, on recognized festivals, at the accession to high status of individuals in the society, at burials, and the like. For Weiner, what other anthropologists have failed to recognize is the essential role that women play in these systems, not only as cultural producers, but also as the recipients of the status connected with particular, inalienable possessions. Throughout Oceania there are numerous examples of women of high status—even chiefs, or, in Hawai'i, queens—who possess by right the inalienable items that it is their duty to maintain for the prestige of family and lineage. The greatest anxiety, underlying the alienable-inalienable dialectic, is that, however entrenched the inalienable potential gift may seem to be in one's own possession, occasions may arise when—because of defeat in warfare or as compensation for crimes such as murder, or due to other nearly catastrophic events—the gift must be surrendered to someone else. The requirements of gift giving under the social mandate of the group may demand such surrender when, through failure to produce substitutes in sufficient quantity, the inalienable possession itself must be surrendered to meet the social requirement.

According to Weiner, one of the ways that these societies maintain the integrity of particular lineages and their most valued possessions (titles and commodities) is through their extreme emphasis upon the brother-sister relationship. It is this factor that contributes substantially to the high status of women in these societies. The sister, even after her marriage, is in constant communication and relationship with her brother, even though he is married to another woman. Their relationship is often sanctified by a myth of a primordial incestuous sibling marriage that was the foundation of their lineage. The intensity of the link, which seems in part to be created to avoid the possible loss of familial, inalienable possessions, is carried to such lengths in the Trobriand Islands that the mother's brother, rather than the natural father, has "jural authority" over his sister's children (Weiner, 1992, p. 71). In Hawai'i the highest ranking families were actually the result of sibling marriages (p. 82), and, thus, brother-sister incest was not taboo—although it was taboo, in spite of the emphasis upon the brother-sister relationship, in most other areas of Oceania.

Maurice Godelier, in *The Enigma of the Gift* (1999), undertakes an exhaustive review, particularly of Mauss, with whom he agrees in many respects, and of Lévi-Strauss, with whom he agrees less, but also of Malinowski, Durkheim, and Weiner. Even though originally trained as a philosopher, Godelier claims the prerogative to comment on their work because he became an anthropologist and did fieldwork among the Baruya, a tribe that lives in the Eastern Highlands of New Guinea. He wishes to change Weiner's formula of "keeping-while-giving" to "keeping-for-giving," which he believes is a clearer way of stating the situation. Godelier goes on to say, subjecting Lévi-Strauss to criticism in the process, that "although Annette Weiner does not make the distinction between the imaginary and the symbolic, I would point out in passing that it is highly likely that the valuables, treasures and talismans which are not given but are kept are those which concentrate the greatest imaginary power and, as a consequence, the greatest symbolic value" (p. 33). What he means in particular is that Lévi-Strauss is wrong when he insists that *mana* and similar terms for the sacred are merely empty signifiers to make up for a lack of adequate language to refer to the intangible. Rather, Godelier thinks the whole of gift giving is wrapped up in the imaginary background of the social construct, which in itself can be thought of as "the total gift." In language that suggests the exquisite, even ineffable, way that gift giving plays this role—essentially of a religious nature, although Godelier does not believe that the human imaginary has any real links to a transcendent reality—he says something like the following in several places:

> From the moment most social relations in a society exist as and through the creation of personal bonds, as relations between persons, and from the moment these bonds are established by means of exchanging gifts which themselves entail the transfer and shifting of "realities," which can be of any kind (women, children, precious objects, services) as long as they lend themselves to being shared, all of the objective social relations which form the basis of a society (the kinship system, political system, and so forth), together with the intersubjective personal relations which embody them, can be expressed and "materialized" by the exchange of gifts and countergifts and by the movements, the trajectories followed by the "objects" of these gift-exchanges. (Godelier, 1999, p. 104)

Godelier makes a greater distinction than either Mauss or Weiner between *agonistic* and *non-agonistic* gift exchanges (1999, p. 48 et passim). The former, of which the potlatch is the exemplary type, implies the sometimes nearly warlike level of competition and is more absorbed in the transfer of the inalienable property, which may be an almost ineluctable goal that can lead to violence. The *non-agonistic* gift exchange, on the other hand, is much less fraught with tension.

The theoretical positions outlined above are drawn from field research among social groups whose imaginary construction of the gift-giving totality has been largely emptied of meaning in the economy of industrial nations and of its symbolic value in the modern Western way of life. Indeed, these studies give us great insight into the origins of the processes of exchange; but now, despite the preponderance of state-regulated or encouraged transfers to the most needy of the means to live, there may be a hankering after some unrealizable past state of human history. Godelier says very trenchantly, "When idealized, the 'uncalculating' gift operates in the imaginary as the last refuge of a solidarity, of an openhandedness which is supposed to have characterized other eras in the evolution of humankind. Gift-giving becomes the bearer of a utopia (a utopia which can be projected into the past as well as into the future)" (1999, p. 208). The major religions of the world, with their immense literary and cultural heritages, must be understood to have evolved their own rich complexities in the realm of gift giving, and these can only be indicated briefly and selectively in what follows.

GIFTS FOR THE GODS. In light of the foregoing conceptual frameworks and their implied universal applicability to social systems, it may be said that the characteristics of ritual gift giving provide a central element in religious life. What transpires at the social level, in the continuing drama of human relations, is reflected in the structure of the relationship between the human and the divine, as conceived in a particular group or religion. Much of the ritual in world religions symbolically connects hierarchy with the distribution of gifts, an act that is so powerful in the social relationship itself. Through Weiner's insight we might also theorize that most ritual behavior, religious charity, and religiously sanctioned social norms and behaviors participate in the alienable-inalienable tension of "keeping while giving" to the extent that these enhance status in the community and, also, imply an inalienable gift, such as a particularized salvation.

Hinduism. In the way that gifts were offered to the gods, Hinduism divides into two periods, characterized by the offerings presented in the so-called Vedic sacrifice and by the apparently endless variety of offerings of the later Hindu temple cult with its corollaries in household and sectarian worship. The gifts given to the gods in the Vedic sacrifice had relation to the organically perceived universe, which was, as the *Upaniṣad* says, "all food" (*Taittirīya Upaniṣad* 2.2), It appeared to the Vedic sacrificer that if the universe were to have the strength to keep running, certain foods had to be immolated on the Vedic fire altar. The ritual, as it has come down to us today, appears in several different forms. Great public rituals are now less common than before, although they are still performed on occasion. The numerous Brahmanic rituals, including the Saṇdhyā Vandanā (the daily service) and those connected with domestic life, and others oriented toward the welfare of departed spirits, involved simple offerings of ghee (clarified butter), water, grains, coconuts, and the like. In the Śrāddha ceremony for the dead, *piṇḍa* (rice balls) were believed to assuage the spirits. The more elaborate ceremonies in ancient times included animal sacrifices and the pressing of the *soma*, a type of intoxicant that was notably given to the god Indra to enable him to perform vigorously in his battle with Vṛtra, a cosmic monster. Horses and humans were slain in the sacrifices. The deities of the Vedic period had negative as well as positive traits; as in the context of other ritual systems, the offerings to the higher powers could bring benefits in reciprocation or ward off dangerous interventions. These are sometimes called the *do ut des* (I give that you may give) and *do ut abeas* (I give that you may go away) aspects of a ritual transaction.

In the period following 600 BCE, in the aftermath of the growing anthropomorphization of the deity (perhaps stimulated by the art and ritual of Buddhism and Jainism), the characteristic offerings in worship were likened to the food and gifts given to exalted human beings. Thus, it has often been mentioned that the style of Hindu temple worship is patterned after the court life of ancient India. The deity is considered to be the most respectable and powerful associate of humanity, a visitor from another realm who condescends to dwell for a time within images in temples, and who can be approached with gifts, services, art, music, and literature. In fact, gifts from the whole realm of human creativity can be offered to him. Two examples will be illustrative. It has been observed that among the later Kṛṣṇaite sects of North India, that of the Vallabha Sampradāy (founded by Vallabhācārya, 1479–1531), whose fervent love of the child Kṛṣṇa results in a daylong ceremonial offering of food, is the most lavish in "ritualistic materialism," if one may call it that. On special holidays, such as Kṛṣṇa's birthday, a mountain of food is prepared by the devotees and brought to the shrine to be offered to the image. Whenever offered, the food becomes *prasāda*, a kind of sacrament imbued with the power of the deity (because touched by him in a spiritual sense) and given back to the worshipers for their own consumption. Money offerings are given for the *prasāda*, which is, in effect, sold. The receipts are used to maintain the temple property, the priestly class, and the like. On the other hand, some gift-giving ceremonies are not at all lavish; a simple ceremony performed in the household for family members and guests or for a ladies' association that meets regularly by turn in members' homes for worship may entail the preparation of a simple meal or sweets, first offered to the deity and then given to the participants in the ceremony.

On holidays, it is common throughout India to provide new clothing for family members, servants, and other dependents during the feast of Dīvālī (October to November). This is the time when merchant castes close out their books and the goddess Lakṣmī is implored for an abundance of profit in the coming year. Sweets are exchanged between close friends and business associates. As for other special occasions, perhaps the most oppressive practice of gift giving in Hinduism, likewise representative of an aspect of caste or subcaste behavior, is the system of exchanges between a bride's family and a groom's family, sometimes observed for a number of years both before and after the marriage proper. The prevailing custom places the burden upon the bride's family, and the demands are so excessive that responsible parents in the poorer classes are frequently forced into penury to provide a daughter with a husband. It is not unheard of for a father to commit suicide so that his insurance money can be used to pay off the resulting indebtedness.

Buddhism. There is a type of gift giving that is explicitly meant to relieve the needs of the poor and the destitute.

Almsgiving, as this is called, likewise has a role to play in the economy of ascetic life, wherein monks and nuns live under some kind of vow of poverty and must therefore be supported by the actively working laity. Since Buddhism is a religion in which the monastic community (in its maintenance and perfecting of life in the *dharma*) is the main focus, it follows that almsgiving will be a general practice among Buddhists.

Apart from this necessary form of gift giving, Buddhism teaches generosity, self-giving, and even gift giving as illustrative of different aspects of the way toward *nirvāṇa.* For example, the *jātaka* stories that began to circulate early in the Buddhist period but were not completed before the fifth century CE demonstrate how the Buddha exemplified certain great lessons of life prior to his final emancipation. In his previous lives he was a *bodhisattva* and appeared in various embodiments. One of the *jātaka* tales tells how the Buddha-to-be practiced the virtues leading to emancipation while in the body of a hare. He taught the other animals—the jackal, the otter, and the monkey—to give alms, keep the precepts, and observe fast days. In observing their rule, the hare instructed his disciples on a certain fast day to give as alms to any stranger who might visit them food that they had obtained in the course of their usual ways. He himself vowed—since hares live on vegetation alone—to offer his own body as food to any meat-eating stranger who might approach him on the fast day. A heavenly being, made aware of the hare's vow, came to earth disguised as a *brahman* and tested each of the animals in turn as to the sincerity of its vow to offer hospitality after its own kind. The hare in due course threw himself into the fire to provide the *brahman*'s supper; but the heavenly being prevented the hare's being burned and, to commemorate his magnanimity, drew a likeness of his face on the moon to be admired thenceforth by all on earth.

Gift giving is also mentioned in one of the most famous works of the Mahāyāna tradition, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra.* Therein, the *bodhisattva* illustrates in numerous ways his vocation as savior of humanity, suffering in the endlessly repetitive world of *saṃsāra.* The *bodhisattva* offers to deluded humanity the gift of a paradisiacal afterlife as an inducement to abandon the gross physical world. The paradises of the *bodhisattva*, particularly that of Amida Buddha in the West, are filled with jeweled trees; sparkling, diamantine sands; and enchanting birds and flowers; together with fountains and the like. This paradise is meant to provide a mediating position between the world of *saṃsāra* and the absolute state of *nirvāṇa.* The *bodhisattva* vows to take all beings together into that emancipated state. The Buddhist parables of the burning house and the prodigal son are parallel tales illustrating the means by which one might, through gifts, relieve one's obsession with the material world in favor of the higher world. Thus, the children in the burning house are offered gifts to induce them to leave the house and come outside. The kindly, concerned father is the figure of the *bodhisattva*, likewise offering an escape from the material world into paradise. In the story of the prodigal son, deluded humanity is represented by a wealthy father who finds his lost son after many years; the father tries to change his son's attitude toward himself by giving him gifts and positions of responsibility. This can be understood to refer to the training in spiritual life through which, with the *bodhisattva*'s help, the aspirant is brought into a state of awareness regarding the true nature of the world and the need for emancipation from it. Works in the Pali canon, such as the *Dakkhiṇāvi-bhaṅga Sutta* and the *Sigālovāda Sutta*, give precise instructions for the giving of gifts to monks and the giving of gifts between the laity and in connection with the Buddhist holidays.

Chinese religions. Reading the colorful sixteenth-century novel *The Golden Lotus*, which reflects life in China in the twelfth century, one gathers that in that period in China the well-positioned gift was an absolute essential for the improvement of one's social and economic position, for gaining preference at the court of the emperor, or for placating judges in the courts of law (see Egerton, 1972). Indeed, the novel affords a vivid object lesson on the ways in which bribes not only can move one up the ladder but also, as the companions of other vices, can bring one to one's doom, as is the case with the novel's hero Ximen Qing (or Ch'ing Hsimen). It has sometimes been said of the Confucian doctrine that it not only attempted to inculcate a reasonable morality on the basis of equity between human beings, as expressed in the so-called silver rule ("Do not do unto others what you would not have them do unto you"), but it also came to terms with what was perceived to be the natural inequality between persons. Giving and receiving gifts within the hierarchical Chinese society was an inevitable aspect of rank differentiation. Those highest in rank received the most expensive and most numerous gifts. Analogously, the ceremonial life of the public cult involved the emperor's presenting gifts at the altar of heaven within the so-called Forbidden City in Beijing, both at the winter solstice and at other times. Precious stones and costly cloth were among the offerings. Lower-ranking officials throughout the empire offered their respective gifts to the gods—to the city god, for example. This activity was consonant with the custom of making offerings at the shrines of family ancestors. Gifts of incense and fruits were regularly presented before the ancestral tablets.

The rites offered to the spirits of Confucius and other sages included sacrifices of pigs and oxen; the great deities of the Daoist pantheon were given wine, cakes, and meat offerings. Indeed, it is not too farfetched to see the development of Chinese cuisine in part as an outgrowth of ritual life. Feasts were regularly a part of the offerings made by individuals in the Daoist and Buddhist temples. In the latter case, vegetarianism required the development of a special cuisine so that the proper foods could be offered to monks and others under similar vows.

Rituals for the departed often included the burning of effigies of material objects, such as imitation money or a tomb made of paper. In contemporary rituals even such modern accoutrements of life as refrigerators and cars may be constructed of paper and burned in the temple furnace with appropriate reverence under the axiom that the thing itself is less important than the thought behind it.

As already noted in the discussion of the potlatch and the Hindu caste system, sociological theory lends credence to the applicability of the potlatch as an analogue to many systems of social organization. Marcel Granet, in *Danse et légendes de la Chine ancienne* (1926), proposed a relationship between the potlatch and the prefeudal (early or pre-Shang dynasty) system of China, which was influential in the formation of Confucius's ideas of the ideal social order. This position has been examined in the work of Eugene Cooper (1982), who argues convincingly for its validity.

Judaism. Diaspora Judaism's theory of almsgiving and charity was built on a thoroughgoing moral system. The record of sacrifices in the Hebrew scriptures—offerings given to God according to the seasons and particular festivals and the day-to-day demands of ritual—has been preserved by some Jews in synagogue worship through recitations from *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, and *Numbers* in the Orthodox preliminary morning service contained in *Ha-siddur ha-shalem* (see Birnbaum, 1949). With the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE it was no longer possible to maintain the offerings in the prescribed setting; the Jewish community's concern with the purity of food, however, dictated that there be a class of specialists in the ritual slaughter of animals (for food purposes if not for offering to God). With the establishment of the State of Israel, various groups, both Jewish and Christian (although there is considerable disagreement on the issue in Judaism), are making preparations for the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem and for the reestablishment of ritual sacrifices. Of course, other offerings besides animals were made as well; these included grain, oil, incense, and wine, and some vestige of them remains both in Sabbath observances in the Jewish home and in the Passover meal.

Of the popular holidays, two in particular are connected with gift giving within the family or among friends. The better known, perhaps, is the custom at Ḥanukkah of giving gifts (money and other things) to children on each of the eight nights of the festival. Much is made in contemporary Jewish discussion of the need to maintain some kind of distinction between this Jewish observance and the Christmas festival of Christians, particularly since both occur at approximately the same time of year. The playing of games of chance, which of course relate to the potential of gift giving for the redistribution of valuables within the social community, is also a part of the Ḥanukkah observance.

Purim, which commemorates the rescue of the Jews from the evil minister Hamman in the court of the king of Persia, is an occasion for exchanging food. The legend itself is told in the *Book of Esther*, which is read in the synagogue on the holiday in a mood of revelry compared sometimes to that of Carnival in Latin Christian countries. *Shalaḥ Manos* is the custom of sending gifts of food from house to house on Purim; the type of food given is that which can be eaten and drunk on the same day.

Christianity. As with the history of Buddhism, the history of Christianity reveals the development of an elaborate system of gift giving for the maintenance of the institutions of the church, the clergy, and the monastic communities. During the earliest centuries of the church, persecutions were a constant threat, and the Christian community had to develop its own system of finances, since its survival was outside the concern of the state. From the time of Constantine (early fourth century) onward, the church received state recognition and was able to capitalize on its status to attract enormous endowments; with the advent of Muslim rulers in many Eastern Christian lands, however, the church was once again reduced to tense relations with the state. It survived in part through the generosity of the laity, and in part through official support, for even in Islamic lands the church was to a certain extent and at certain times patronized by the rulers. Gifts of lands and other wealth were given to the Church of the East (sometimes called Nestorian), which before the thirteenth century had spread into China and India. The Christian church of Kerala in South India received, until modern times, regular patronage from the Hindu rulers of the region. The right of the Christian community (and other religious communities) to receive gifts unencumbered by excessive government interference is an issue in the modern world. Specific exemptions from taxes and benefits for giving gifts are written into the laws to encourage the support of religious institutions.

The ritual life of Christianity is permeated with the idea of the gift and gift giving. The elements of the Eucharist—the bread and the wine, which are widely called the Holy Gifts—are offered to God as a "sacrifice," and according to some theologies they become the body and blood of Christ in an unbloody reproduction of the crucifixion. Other theologies describe these gifts as being received by God and sanctified to become the body and blood of Christ through the power of the Holy Spirit. The custom whereby the laity prepare and offer the bread and the wine of the Eucharist has been revived in some Christian bodies. In addition to the elements of the Eucharist and the paraphernalia that accompany it, such as chalices, monstrances, tabernacles of precious metal, and the like, the Christian churches have received uncountable offerings in the form not only of money but also of vestments, paintings, architecture, and sculpture—gifts representing the full range of human creativity. These gifts still constitute a principal part of the heritage of Western civilization. Although sometimes limited by theological constraints, Protestant churches have likewise encouraged gift giving through the arts. With the modern secularization of public life, however, the impetus to artistic creativity in connection with the religious gift-giving impulse seems to have been diverted.

Caught somewhere between the sacred and the profane is the gift-giving extravaganza carried out, now virtually around the world, in the name of the infant Christ, who was born in Bethlehem and whose birth is widely celebrated on December 25. The precedent for exchanging gifts on the Christian festival is based on the visit of the wise men from the East to the Christ child, even though their time of arrival at Bethlehem is commemorated on January 6. The date of Christmas was chosen, it is said, in order to attract the interest of the non-Christian masses of Europe who celebrated the winter solstice.

Islam. At least from what one gathers in reading the *ḥadīth* (traditions of Muḥammad, the Prophet of Islam), the Islamic idea of gift giving is but an extension of the underlying concept of alms, expressed in the two Arabic words *zakāt* and *ṣadaqah*. Perhaps because there are no sacrifices or sacraments in the usual religious sense in Islam—in other words, no way of transmuting a material object through a religious ceremony from the merely physical plane to a "new mode of being"—all events in Islamic religious practice tend to take on a moral overtone; righteousness is the primary goal of religious life. In general, it appears that goodness in Islam is thought of as consequent upon obedience to the command of God to act in certain ways. Generosity may be expressed in a great number of actions that reflect the moral earnestness of a discipline enjoined by a higher power. The myriad customs and observances of Islamic law and tradition are further extensions of the original act of submission, which is a call to acknowledge faith in the one God. The prophet Muḥammad represents the ultimate degree of perfection in answering the call. Meditation on the minutiae of his life remains the source of the moral earnestness that is the characteristic of Islamic ethics.

In the realm of gift giving, the so-called poor tax, or *zakāt*, can be understood as a practical example for all types of giving. Both in the Qur'ān and in the traditions of Muḥammad, the believer is constantly reminded that his days on earth are but a brief interlude, beyond which lies the state of bliss in paradise, provided the believer has merited a reward in the afterlife. In the prostration of prayer, believers are reminded that they are gazing into the pit of the grave where the two angels of paradise or hell will come to direct the soul to its intermediate state prior to the Last Judgment. The poor tax, especially as it impinges on human possessions, reflects this ascetic attitude toward the term of human existence; it is meant to make the Muslim believer deliver from his possessions a fixed amount annually—at the feasts of the end of Ramaḍān (the lunar month of fasting) and during the *ḥājj* (the pilgrimage to Mecca)—for the relief of certain classes in Muslim society.

In the larger sense of sharing what one possesses, the term *ṣadaqah* is used—for example, in the *Mishkāt al-maṣābīḥ* (see Robson, 1963–1965). In book 12, *On Business Transactions*, several chapters are devoted to gifts. The Prophet encouraged the setting aside in "life tenancy" of lands whose produce would maintain certain charitable activities, such as the provision of food for travelers. There are several references to gift giving within the family context in order to assure evenhandedness.

The problem of reciprocity in gift giving is also addressed in chapter 17, part 2, of the *Mishkāt*, wherein the Prophet is asked whether one must return equally for any gift received. His advice is to return equally if possible; if it is not possible, then an expression of sincere thanks and prayerful intercession will suffice. In general, the Prophet encouraged gift giving between neighbors and among members of the community in order to stimulate mutual good feelings. Perfume was one of the Prophet's favorite gifts in this connection. Even today, when Muslims gather for prayer in the mosque, it is counted a righteous act for them to offer perfume from a small container to their fellow worshipers. To be clean and sweet-smelling is a gift to those with whom one associates, particularly at the time of prayer. It is also considered an act of gift giving to offer a smile rather than a dour look to a fellow human.

SEE ALSO Almsgiving; Hospitality; Potlatch; Sacrifice; Tithes.

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CHARLES S. J. WHITE (1987 AND 2005)

GILGAMESH, a Sumerian hero, god, and ruler of the city-state Uruk, is the subject of a classic epic poem that Mesopotamian tradition attributes to the priest-exorcist and scribe Sin-leqi-unnini. The poem was the product of a lengthy compilation effort, which resulted in the composition of the national poem of Babylon. Until the 1990s there were five known Sumerian works that described the deeds of Gilgamesh, king of Uruk. The Sumerologist Samuel Noah Kramer identified them as: "Gilgamesh and Agga," "Gilgamesh and Hubaba," "Gilgamesh and the Bull of Heaven," "Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Underworld," and "The Death of Gilgamesh." The environment in which they were conceived and composed has been generally regarded as the court of the third dynasty of Ur (c. 2100–2000 BCE), whose sovereigns sought to trace a direct link between the figure of Gilgamesh and the royalty of Uruk. Giovanni Pettinato has suggested that a 107-line text found in 1975 at Tell Mardikh-Ebla is related to the Gilgamesh saga. This text, and the entire library from which it comes, can be dated to 2500 to 2400 BCE. The events described in this text concern relations between the king of Uruk and the city of Aratta. The narrative fits well with the tradition of epic wars between the royal dynasty of Uruk and the colony founded in an indeterminate location in Iran: both King Enmerkar and Lugalbanda, the supposed divine father of Gilgamesh, waged war against Aratta according to the four epics that concern these figures.

A new version of "The Death of Gilgamesh," rediscovered at Me-Turan in 1979, serves to confirm the narrative translated by Kramer, while also, because it is more complete, opening up new avenues of understanding concerning the complex nature of Sumerian civilization. This version verifies for the first time the Sumerian custom of collective burial, something for which there is archaeological evidence at Ur and Kish, but which had not been previously confirmed by epigraphic sources. This text also includes confirmation of the legend of Urlugal, the son of Gilgamesh, specifically named in the Sumerian King List as Gilgamesh's son and successor to the throne of Uruk. Similarly, a new version of "Gilgamesh and the Bull of Heaven" was found there in 1979.

Unfortunately the authors of Sumerian narratives featuring Gilgamesh are unknown to us, and scholars are not certain whether it is pure chance that the series of Gilgamesh poems is attributed to a single author. According to a catalog of authors and texts from the neo-Assyrian period, rediscovered in the library of Assurbanipal and published by W. G. Lambert (1962), the series of Gilgamesh was conceived by Sin-leqi-unnini, who according to Lambert lived between the thirteenth and twelfth centuries BCE, at the end of Kassite power in Babylon, and more precisely at the moment when Babylon, under Nebuchadrezzar I, managed to obtain its independence from foreign rule.

CONTENTS OF THE EPIC. The classic epic, while consisting of a reconstruction of a literary work conceived and composed in the Old Babylonian period, should be considered as a single unified composition. Sin-leqi-unnini was not simply responsible for a brief summary in twelve tablets of the story from earlier times; it can be said with some certainty that he, in a sense, reconsidered and re-created the entire story from scratch.

An important piece of evidence for the unity of the classical epic is the presence of a prologue, as well as an epilogue found at the end of Tablet XI, where part of the prologue is repeated. Tablet XII is generally considered by scholars to be an appendix to the epic. Its contents consist of a literal translation of part of the Sumerian story known as "Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Underworld."

The epic may be divided as follows:

1. Prologue: The hero Gilgamesh (Tab. I.1–51).
2. Enkidu, the alter ego of Gilgamesh (Tab. I.52–II.155ff.).
3. Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the monster Hubaba (Tab. II.184–V.266).

4. Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Bull of Heaven (Tab. VI.1–182).
5. Death of Enkidu and despair of Gilgamesh (Tab. VI.183–VIII.207ff.).
6. Gilgamesh in the quest for immortality (Tab. IX.1–X.325).
7. Only the gods have the gift of life (Tab. XI.1–302).
8. Epilogue (Tab. XI.302–308).
9. Fate of humankind in the afterlife (Tab. XII.1–154).

INTERPRETATION OF THE EPIC. No interpretation of the epic should be separated from an analysis of the work of Sin-leqi-unnini. Closely connected to this is another investigation concerning the identity of the two main characters as divine or human. Thus far, we have spoken of the "epic" or "saga," putting into this category both the Sumerian stories and the various poetic versions that have Gilgamesh as their main hero, regarding them as *res gestae*, whether of a historical or legendary figure. A review of various scholarly interpretations indicates that the second problem cannot be decisively resolved. Although the majority of scholars are convinced that the king of Uruk is a historical figure, Pettinato and others think that Gilgamesh did not exist in a historical sense, but is instead a god who has been made into a historical figure.

The first interpreters of the work of Sin-leqi-unnini, which was discovered in 1872 by George Smith among the thousands of fragments of the library of Assurbanipal at Nineveh, were concerned with defining its nature. Apart from its real or supposed parallels with stories told in the Bible—the example of the universal flood on Tablet XI marks the beginning of an argument so heated that it has been called "the war between the Bible and Babel"—scholars have sought to explain the deeper meaning of the work centered upon Gilgamesh.

Hugo Winckler and Heinrich Zimmern came to the conclusion that the Gilgamesh poem was a myth concerning the sun god and in particular was constructed like the myth of the Dioscuri. Otto Weber confirmed this view, and pointed out that the twelve tablets contain clear reference to the signs of the zodiac. For Weber, the poem's basic theme is the journey of the sun through its twelve phases over the course of the year, with the figure of Gilgamesh functioning as an allusion to the sun god and Enkidu representing the moon. For these scholars, there are clear antecedents of the adventures of Odysseus in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, as well as of the labors of Herakles and the later voyages of Alexander the Great.

Heinrich Schneider claimed that all the characters in the epic were either powerful gods or second-rate divine beings who, like Gilgamesh, had been made into human figures. Schneider also argues that the friendship between Gilgamesh and Enkidu corresponds to the medieval ideal of chivalry, and he defines the Old Babylonian story as heroic and the Ninevite story as chivalrous.

Meanwhile Peter Jensen's lengthy *Das Gilgamesch-Epos in der Weltliteratur* (The *Epic of Gilgamesh* in world literature, 1906) attempted to show the astral and mythological nature of the work. For Jensen, the epic was a description of the events that took place in the heavens during the course of the year, especially the heliacal rising of the stars. Notwithstanding Jensen's passion and deep convictions, important biblical scholars, such as Hermann Gunkel and Hugh Gressmann, not only categorically refuted alleged biblical parallels, but denied the mythical nature of the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, considering it rather as pure saga, clearly parallel to the romance of Alexander.

In 1923 the German scholar Arthur Ungnad, completely abandoning any mythical interpretation, argued that the epic was an ethical work and the forerunner of Homer's *Odyssey.* Although Ungnad does not propose that the Greek author copied the work of Sin-leqi-unnini, he has no doubts that the Greeks adapted and retold sagas from the East to suit their own temperament. A year later Hermann Häfker argued that the Gilgamesh epic was an entirely historical work, with its guiding theme being the problem of life and death. In 1937 there appeared an important contribution by the Swedish scholar Sigmund Mowinckel, in which he defends the divine nature of Gilgamesh and interprets the entire work as the description of a god who dies and rises again, a commonplace in the context of history of religions.

A completely different view was proposed by Benno Landsberger. For him the work is the national epic of the Babylonians and Gilgamesh is the personification of the ideal human being for the Babylonians. The predominant theme in the epic then is the problem of the eternal life, discussed using the familiar example of *Faust.*

Mythological interpretations were not completely abandoned however. Beginning in 1958 scholars such as Franz Marius Theodor Bohl and Igor M. Diakonov continued to hold this position, with Bohl stating that what lay behind the epic was a religious war between the followers of the cults of Ishtar and those of Shamash and Marduk, while for Diakonov the figures of Gilgamesh and Enkidu are personifications of the sun god and moon god.

Geoffrey S. Kirk argued that the *Epic of Gilgamesh* has as its theme the contrast between nature, represented by Enkidu, and culture, represented by Gilgamesh. For Thorkild Jacobsen, on the other hand, the poem contains a description of the process by which human beings become mature, moving from innocent and reckless adolescence to the awareness of values that are more real, though less apparent. This leads to a psychoanalytical interpretation: the love of Gilgamesh for Enkidu is the love of an adolescent boy for one of his peers, before discovering love for women.

Giorgio Buccellati interprets Gilgamesh in terms of wisdom. After analyzing the epic's various themes, such as impurity, fear, the wanderer's life as opposed to family life, and the uncertainty between dreams and reality, Buccellati concludes:

> The emphasis is shifted from the object of the search, life, to the actual effort of the search as such, to the assumptions upon which it is based, and to the consequences for the person who carries it out: these consequences are not external, as in the pursuit of a particular benefit, perhaps even physical life itself, but rather they are internal, deeply psychological and are concentrated upon the spiritual change of the person who is undertaking the search. (Buccellati, 1972, p. 34)

One of the first scholars to stress the central nature of the theme of friendship in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* was Landsberger, who wrote that one of the fundamental motifs of Sin-leqi-unnini's work is the ideal of a noble friendship between Gilgamesh and Enkidu, which not even death can erase. Indeed, from their first meeting after their battle in the streets of Uruk and then later in the dreams Gilgamesh has, the deep bond between these two characters is emphasized, to the extent that it has been compared to love for a woman. The troubled quest for eternal life also shows how much Enkidu means to Gilgamesh. However, the rejection of the love offered by Ishtar is not to be read as the repudiation of love for women, as Landsberger has it, but rather in a much more profound manner, as concerning the future destiny of the king of Uruk.

Other scholars have considered friendship to be the central theme of the epic, including Lubor Matouš, but in particular Giuseppe Furlani, who in an article titled "L'Epopea di Gilgameš come inno all'amicizia" (The *Epic of Gilgamesh* as a hymn to friendship) and then in the introduction to his 1946 translation of the epic, asserts that he is obliged to "revise the fundamental, central theme of the epic" in that "the epic of Gilgamesh is truly a hymn to friendship, a long-lasting friendship enduring even beyond the grave, between Gilgamesh of Uruk and Enkidu, shining, eternal examples of faithful friends" (Furlani, 1946, p. 587). Furlani further states that "the central and underlying idea of our poem has been thought of as a discussion of the problem of life and death. . .it seems to me instead that this idea should now be abandoned and we should recognize that the epic is in reality a hymn to friendship" (Furlani, 1946, p. 589).

Following Landsberger, who sets the problem of human existence at the heart of the epic, Alexander Heidel considered its central theme to be a meditation on death in the form of a tragedy. Heidel argues that the epic confronts the bitter truth that death is inevitable: all human beings must die. Matouš and A. Leo Oppenheim also stressed that the underlying theme of the work is the search for eternal life.

Readers of the epic of Sin-leqi-unnini should first take full account of the prologue: in the first eight lines, the author repeatedly identifies knowledge with wisdom. For him the adventures of Gilgamesh consist of a series of important staging points, necessary to reach a final end, which the author correctly identifies as the wisdom of his hero. The author advises the reader that this is the key to the text. As Buccellati emphasizes, seeing other motives or themes means considering the staging points and methods of approach to this ideal as ends in themselves. Therefore, an accurate reading of the poem cannot ignore the fundamental motifs proposed by its author. The fact that the author then mentions the troubled quest for eternal life as an essential part of the hero's personal journey, and that Gilgamesh, in attaining wisdom, has experienced all kinds of suffering, only serves to confirm the critical nature of wisdom in interpreting the work.

Scholars are in general agreement that the epic may be divided into two parts: the first narrates the marvelous adventures of the two heroes and their epic deeds, the killing of the monster Hubaba and the Bull of Heaven; the second part describes how Gilgamesh, who is two-thirds god and one-third human, is forced to deal with the eternal human problem of death. Gilgamesh tries to overcome death, and he hopes that he will receive a conclusive answer from the hero of the flood, but as we learn from Tablet XI, even this semidivine being does not succeed, and it is perhaps in this failure that Sin-leqi-unnini sees the logical ending of his work. This would be surprising however, since the author opens his work by praising the wisdom of Gilgamesh, so this must mean that he does not consider these events to be a failure as such. The treatment of the figure of Gilgamesh throughout the epic could not allow for such a dismal ending: the king of Uruk, besides being two-thirds god, is the paradigm of a true king. If the interpretation proposed below regarding the "plant of life" is correct, Gilgamesh is showing himself to be a true king at the very moment of his failure.

The real answer to all the problems of Gilgamesh has been seen in the final gift of Utanapishtim to the king, when he reveals to Gilgamesh the existence of a special plant. This interpretation is based upon an insertion accepted by the majority of scholars at line 270 in Tablet XI, which says: "You will obtain life." But nothing in the text justifies an insertion of this kind. The gift of Utanapishtim is defined as "a plant of restlessness," and Gilgamesh explains the nature of the plant: "It is reputed to turn an old man back into a man in his prime. So I want to eat the plant and become young again." This leads to the conclusion that Gilgamesh, by eating the plant, would be returned to a youthful state, with all its anxiety and restlessness. Hence the interpretation of the plant as an elixir of youth: by eating the plant, Gilgamesh would have been returned to the position he was in during the first part of the epic. The fact that he lost the plant is a further sign of the greatness of this king. Gilgamesh had not forgotten that a king is responsible for the fate of his subjects and he loses the plant precisely because he wanted to share it with his fellow citizens. His first thought when he is given the plant is to take it back to Uruk and feed it to the old.

However, the gift of Utanapishtim was not available for the whole of humanity, but reserved for Gilgamesh alone, perhaps as a reward for all his travels and his tenacious quest in pursuit of the unattainable ideal of eternal life. When Gilgamesh wanted to share this with other people, the serpent became its sole beneficiary: "Gilgamesh on that day sat down and wept / and the tears rolled down his cheeks." In these two lines the scribe expresses the diverse emotions of the hero, the first being his inability to fulfill his royal duty. Yet this admission itself marks the attainment of complete wisdom, of a maturity that is the legacy of a true king of Mesopotamia.

SEE ALSO Death; Heroes.

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GIOVANNI PETTINATO (2005)
Translated from Italian by Paul Ellis

GILLEN, FRANCIS JAMES, AND BALDWIN SPENCER.

Baldwin Spencer and Frank Gillen both came to Australia in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Gillen arrived in Adelaide from Ireland, still in his mother's womb, in 1855 and was born later that year, while Spencer, born in England in 1860, migrated to Melbourne as a young man in 1887. Their backgrounds and careers were very different, yet they formed a remarkable ethnological partnership after first meeting in 1894. Gillen, the son of a laborer, received minimal formal education and chose a career in the postal service, eventually going to work on the Overland Telegraph Line that connected Adelaide and Darwin after 1872. Spencer, the son of bourgeois parents, was educated at a private school and at the University of Oxford, where he later became a fellow.

Spencer came to Australia to take up a chair in biology at the University of Melbourne, and it was in his capacity as biologist on the Horn Scientific Expedition to central Australia that he met Gillen in Alice Springs. By that time Gillen had long been an enthusiastic amateur ethnographer, and he was also the local magistrate and sub-protector of Aborigines. Spencer and Gillen became close friends, with Gillen's ethnographic enthusiasm firing Spencer's preexisting but tangential anthropological interests. When Spencer returned to Melbourne, he and Gillen corresponded feverishly about anthropological and other matters, and Spencer invited Gillen to contribute to the anthropological report of the expedition. In 1896 Gillen helped some local Arrernte (Arunta, Aranda) groups to stage a large-scale ceremony in Alice Springs, which Spencer attended. The records of this ceremony were added to those that Spencer and Gillen had conspired to produce mainly through long-distance correspondence, culminating in their 1899 landmark ethnography, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia.*

In 1901 Spencer and Gillen were both given leave to undertake ethnographic research in remote South Australia and the Northern Territory. The material generated from this trip considerably broadened their ethnographic base, resulting in a second major monograph, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, published in 1904. Gillen's health declined dramatically after this and he died in 1912. Spencer, however, went on to cement his reputation as Australia's foremost expert on Australian Aborigines, undertaking further ethnographic research in the far north of the Northern Territory from 1911 to 1912 and in central Australia in 1923 and 1926, and producing further volumes. Among other things, he updated his and Gillen's 1899 study by publishing the two-volume *The Arunta: A Study of a Stone Age People* in 1927. Spencer died two years later on Tierra del Fuego, during an ethnographic expedition to the Yahgan Indians.

Gillen published very little by himself, mainly acting as a remote field-worker sending information to Spencer in Melbourne. It was Spencer who penned their jointly authored monographs, although Gillen's contribution went beyond the mere provision of data. Reflecting a not uncommon contemporary pattern, the formally educated Spencer acted as a kind of hinge between the metropolitan centers of Europe, where there were furious debates about the origins of religion and society, and the remote outpost of Alice Springs, where Gillen allegedly dwelt cheek by jowl with living representatives of the Stone Age. Spencer's evolutionist outlook was most specifically informed by his biologist's commitment to Darwinian principles, but it was also influenced at various stages by debates initiated by commentators such as Edward Tylor and James Frazer and ethnographers such as Lorimer Fison and Alfred Howitt. For his part, Gillen's outlook was informed partly by Spencer's prompts and questions, partly by his own reading of contemporary ethnography, and partly by inspiration derived from his life experiences. While Gillen deferred to Spencer as a trained scientist and sought to emulate the objectivity of the scientific establishment in general, his letters to Spencer indicate that his appreciation of Aboriginal religion was also inspired by a somewhat mischievous gift for comparing "Stone Age" myths and rituals with biblical tenets and solemn Christian practices.

Spencer and Gillen's detailed ethnographic descriptions provided material out of which many of the best-known general accounts of "primitive" religion were partly constructed. Émile Durkheim's *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1912) relied heavily on Spencer and Gillen's ethnography, as did some of the work of James Frazer (particularly *Totemism and Exogamy* [1910]) and Sigmund Freud (including parts of *Totem and Taboo* [1913]). The 1899 and 1904 ethnographies were widely acclaimed and taken up by the academic establishment as setting new standards in ethnographic reporting. They also excited the popular imagination, with Spencer eventually compiling volumes (*Across Australia* [1912] and *Wanderings in Wild Australia* [1928]) to meet the demand from the nonacademic market, in the process turning "the Arunta" and many aspects of their culture into household names.

All of Spencer and Gillen's books heavily reflect contemporary primitivist concerns with totemism, magic, kinship, and marriage, but the question of totemic religion is always most central. In 1899 the authors devoted no less than nine consecutive chapters to Arrernte totemism and its attendant mythology, ritual, and sacred paraphernalia. The 1904 book was similar and also popularized the term *dream times,* a translation of the Arrernte word *alcheringa* (*altyerrenge*). This term later evolved into *Dreamtime* or *Dreaming,* both of which are now widely used by Aborigines and non-Aborigines alike to describe indigenous Australian cosmology. The 1899 and 1904 books also popularized the Arrernte term *churinga* (*tywerrenge*), which, in its original context, refers to wooden or stone sacred objects and other things associated with totemic ancestors. As a result of the recent worldwide rush to embrace Aboriginal art and spirituality, *churinga* is now best known as a designer clothing label, whose shirts, sweaters, and other items carry totemic designs.

Spencer and Gillen's reputation is primarily based on their detailed descriptions of Arrernte and other Aboriginal people's lives. But while their apparently "raw" ethnography was an important way station on the road to contemporary anthropological fieldwork practice, they also provided muted conceptual insights into "primitive" religion, a fact that has often been obscured by their work's appropriation into more famous and explicit theoretical frameworks put forward by the likes of Durkheim, Frazer, and Freud. At a time when European scholars such as Frazer were questioning whether Aborigines had anything that could genuinely be labeled religion, Spencer and Gillen never balked at describing certain Aboriginal ceremonies and beliefs as "sacred." Indeed, detailed comparisons of passages from Spencer and Gillen with related ones from Durkheim's *Elementary Forms of Religious Life* suggest that Durkheim developed certain aspects of his sacred–profane dichotomy, at least insofar as it applied to totemism, from the descriptive language employed by Spencer and Gillen. On the other hand, Durkheim, like Frazer and others, also tended to simultaneously overtheorize and oversimplify the complex dimensions of Aboriginal totemism described by Spencer and Gillen. In that respect, Spencer and Gillen's intermediary position between the sometimes wild European theorizing about "primitive" religion and the little understood empirical complexities of Aboriginal ritual and belief remains critically important. That importance is measured by the extent to which the ethnographers' descriptions have stood the test of time in relation to the more radical revision of the theoretical systems that were allegedly confirmed or discredited by Spencer and Gillen's data. Of particular note in this regard was their conclusive demonstration that Aboriginal totemism was not in any simple or singular way connected to clans or group exogamy.

Howard Morphy argues that Spencer and Gillen's detailed accounts of Arrernte myth and ritual have a phenomenological character. Spencer and Gillen most certainly did not have phenomenological sensibilities in any formal sense, but their ethnographic accounts were firmly based on experience and attention to detail in the observation of ritual action and, to a lesser extent, the expression of religious sentiment. But the work of Spencer and Gillen's ethnographic and intellectual rival, the Lutheran missionary Carl Strehlow in *Die Aranda- und Loritja-Stämme in Zentral Australien* (1907–1920), truly was phenomenological, and the balance Strehlow provided in this respect made it regrettable that his work was not used nearly as extensively as Spencer and Gillen's in many European circles. Géza Róheim suggests in "Psycho-analysis of Primitive Cultural Types" that, while Spencer and Gillen's approach to Aboriginal religion was essentially "behaviorist," being based on observation but lacking in the kinds of insights that emerge from an intimate knowledge of Aboriginal languages, Strehlow's approach, premised firmly on fluency in Arrernte and painstaking translation work, was that of lifeless exegesis ("lifeless" because of Strehlow's self-imposed ban on attending "heathen" ceremonies). In that sense, Spencer and Gillen's ethnographic descriptions of Arrernte religion are best appreciated in conjunction with Strehlow's parallel contemporary account.

A more singular appreciation of the mutual interpenetration of "word" and "flesh" in Arrernte religion did not occur until the next generation of ethnographers, particularly with the psychoanalytic approach of Róheim and with the intensive ethnographic work of Carl Strehlow's son, Theodore (T. G. H.) Strehlow (for example, in *Aranda Traditions* [1947] and *Songs of Central Australia* [1971]).

Although Spencer and Gillen had firm evolutionist sensibilities, these were hardly reflected in their actual descriptions of sacred myths and ceremonies. These accounts stand out today as authoritative treatises on Aboriginal, especially Arrernte, religion, marking them off from the grander theoretical systems that were built on them and which have wearied with time. On the other hand, the accounts reveal a partiality of their own and are best treated as part of a larger corpus that gives a more rounded and intelligible picture of classical religion in central Australia. That religion persists in a recognizable form today, with Spencer and Gillen's books and collections sometimes making a significant contribution to the ongoing vitality of ancestral law. Books such *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* are treated with considerable fear or reverence by contemporary Aborigines because of the sacred material that they contain, and they may even be stored in secret places alongside other sacred objects, some of which are being repatriated to Aboriginal custodians from Spencer and Gillen's museum collections. The fate of these objects, and of the totemic religion connected with them, could not have been foreseen by either Spencer or Gillen, but it is certainly ironic that the two ethnographic pioneers should be posthumously playing the role of totemic ancestors in this "primitive" religious revival.

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JOHN MORTON (2005)

GILSON, ÉTIENNE (1884–1978), was an educator, lecturer, author, and historian of medieval philosophy. Born in Paris, Gilson was a Christian believer and lifelong promoter and defender of the intellectual life of the church. He treasured his Roman Catholic schooling but discovered his love for philosophy in a secular lycée and at the positivistic Sorbonne. Convinced that before doing philosophy one had to learn what philosophy already existed, he entered upon a career of exact historical study, following the principled method that would mark all his work: to study the original writings of the great thinkers, to understand their thought within its historical context, and to present their teaching objectively.

Under competent Cartesian scholars Gilson concentrated on the modern classics but did his research on the medieval sources used by Descartes. While teaching in the lycées (1907–1913), he completed his dissertation on the scholastic texts utilized by Descartes for his doctrine of freedom. Following his doctorate (1913) he was appointed to teach at Lille, then (after World War I) at Strasbourg, and from 1921 on at Paris. In these national universities Gilson introduced regular study of the medieval theologian-philosophers. His courses on Thomas Aquinas, Augustine of Hippo, and Bonaventure were published and became standard tools for medieval scholars. Studies of other medieval authors provided the substance of his teaching for fifty years in Paris and at Toronto (in the research institute he founded there in 1929) and of his masterwork, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (1955).

What is more significant, these studies led him to hold firmly to two controversial positions:

(1) A distinct Christian philosophy is a matter of historical fact: It is the speculations of theologians about questions in principle accessible to natural reason.

(2) The Thomism of Thomas Aquinas, rather than that of his interpreters, is the unique instance of a Christian philosophy that best mirrors Catholic thinking and that grounds the truths achieved by all other Christian philosophies. Thomism is the philosophy of a theologian and is characterized both by its metaphysics of being, which holds that what is real and intelligible is so by virtue of its act of existing, and by its theses on the integrity of human intelligence and on the realism and evidentiality of knowledge.

Although these are controversial theses, Gilson was so sure of his own position that in more than forty books and countless articles he rarely engaged in argument about them.

Gilson the historian brought the thought of the Middle Ages to the attention of twentieth-century scholars. Gilson the philosopher sparked in his European and North American audiences an active engagement in philosophical and theological issues that had long been dormant. In 1949 the French philosopher Jacques Maritain, remarking on the apostolic quality of Gilson's career, asserted that his championship of Christian intellectual issues in France had lent courage to and secured a hearing for the less hardy. There is little doubt that his promotion of the study of medieval thought and his outspoken defense of his convictions have been of lasting benefit not only to academic scholars but also to religious believers.

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LINUS J. THRO (1987)

GIMBUTAS, MARIJA (1921–1994) was an archaeologist, prehistorian, and influential interpreter of Stone Age religion. Born January 23, 1921, in Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania, Gimbutas grew up in a progressive and well-educated family. Her parents were both physicians who founded the first hospital in Lithuania. The family belonged to a circle of the best-known intellectuals and artists of their time in Eastern Europe. Even as a young girl, Marija developed a wide range of interests and talents; among other interests, she proved to be a highly gifted musician. In 1937–1938 she participated in an ethnographic expedition to southeastern Lithuania. This trip was the beginning of her lifelong attraction to folklore, an interest that had a prominent influence on her work in archaeology and her studies of prehistoric civilizations and cultures. In 1938 Gimbutas began to study linguistics at the University of Kaunas. The next year, after Vilnius had been freed from Polish occupation, Gimbutas returned to the Lithuanian capital. There she resumed her studies of folklore and began to collect materials from various regions of Eastern Europe.

ACADEMIC CAREER. Following the invasions of Lithuania, first by the Soviet Union and then by Nazi Germany, Gimbutas joined the underground resistance movement. Nonetheless she still completed her graduate studies in archaeology in 1942. She immediately began to publish articles on Baltic archaeology, mythology, and folklore. By now she was married and a mother. Together with her husband and daughter, she went to Tübingen, a German university where she completed her doctorate on prehistoric burials in Lithuania.

Gimbutas did not want to return to Lithuania after the end of World War II because her country had been integrated into the Soviet Union. She immigrated instead to the United States in 1949. The following year, she started working at Harvard University; in 1955 she was appointed a research fellow at Harvard's Peabody Museum. After 1964 she accepted a position at the University of California, Los Angeles. Gimbutas became involved in a wide range of projects concerning archaeological excavations in southeastern Europe and began to interpret her findings synthetically in light of her knowledge of folk art, folk tales, and Baltic mythology. This synthetic approach formed the core of her work and made Gimbutas's descriptions of Stone Age culture and religion vividly three-dimensional. At the same time, however, her synthetic approach is also what made her work so problematic.

Gimbutas's hypotheses assumed a distinctive shape over time. By the end of her life she was able to present a congruent picture of Neolithic civilization in her late publications, *The Language of the Goddess* (1989) and *The Civilization of the Goddess* (1991). She introduced one of her most important theories as early as 1956 at an international conference in Philadelphia. She claimed that the early and, as she believed, highly unified agricultural civilization of southeastern Europe was destroyed by mounted herdsmen and warriors, whom she named "Kurgan people" after the Russian word *kurgan*, meaning "hillock." Gimbutas hypothesized that the Kurgan people were Indo-Europeans who entered Europe from 4000 BCE onward and brought their patriarchal hierarchies with them—a type of social structure that had previously been unknown in southern Europe but soon gained ascendence there.

EVALUATIONS OF GIMBUTAS'S WORK. The Kurgan theory plays a crucial role in Gimbutas's large-scale ideas about European prehistory, for it provides an explanation for the disappearance of what she called "Old Europe"— a presumably matriarchal and goddess-worshipping civilization that was overcome by newer forms of social structure dominated by patriarchal structures and beliefs. It is not easy, however, to reconstruct the evolution of her ideas about the organization of a civilization called "Old Europe."

The main criticism of Gimbutas's work concerns her methodological inaccuracies. Nowhere did she ever inform her readers about the ideas she drew on or the tools she used for her reconstruction of cultural and religious meaning in prehistory—a period for which there are virtually no extant written historical sources. Gimbutas seems to have been aquainted with G. W. F. Hegel's philosophy of history and certainly with J. J. Bachofen's ideas but cites them nowhere in her work. Moreover she never once addressed the obvious similarities between her own work and the concepts of these two cultural theorists. Instead, she insisted that she gained her insights solely from archaeological materials that revealed to her an inherent "archaeomythology" —although she constantly referred to folklore from much later periods for parallels to supposedly prehistoric ideas. In addition Gimbutas's belief that cultural change can only have been brought about through military invasions by the Kurgan people—while at the same time ignoring other possible explanations—point to an oversimplified Darwinian view of history. Consequently the byways of Gimbutas's epistemological journeys seem to have been completely unclear to her throughout her career. In various interviews she claimed intuition as an important source of her information but did not offer the interviewers any further explanation of the connections between her intuitive ideas and the archaeological materials.

Gimbutas had initially been interested in determining the origins of culture in the Baltic area, but as she worked her archaeological investigations widened into an exploration of the general origins of a Pan-European prehistoric culture. In the course of her research she reached out far over the East and later the whole of Europe, where she detected an antagonism between the kind of Bronze Age culture imported by the assumed Indo-Europeans, or Kurgan people, and the previous Stone Age culture of "Old Europe." The latter term was meant to designate a homogeneous culture of Neolithic agricultural societies that emerged in eastern and central Europe in the seventh millennium BCE and in western Europe during the fifth millennium BCE. Gimbutas assumed the existence of important connections between these European societies and parallel developments in Asia Minor.

Gimbutas thought that her theories about archaeomythology allowed her to explain the symbolism of a vast amount of archaeological materials from different periods and different regions of prehistoric Europe. Archaeomythology as a scholarly methodology, however, is viewed as highly problematic by most contemporary archaeologists and prehistorians. Gimbutas drew together numerous unconnected discoveries and interpreted the finds in the light of much later written sources and folkloric artifacts. Neither her concept of a Kurgan people nor her belief in a unified and coherent Stone Age culture in "Old Europe" has been accepted by mainstream academia. Nevertheless Gimbutas herself had a firm interest in Neopaganism, and her ideas are extremely popular in certain feminist circles in the early twenty-first century. They have made substantial contributions to contemporary beliefs about goddess-centered cultures. In the early 2000s Gimbutas's most prominent successor, Joan Marler, teaches archaeomythology at the California Institute of Integral Studies in San Francisco.

As an inspiration for alternative religions in the early twenty-first century, Gimbutas's books are also of special interest to students of contemporary belief. Gimbutas seemed to project recent ideas and ideals into a remote past insofar as she detected primary religious concerns for peace and ecology in Stone Age culture. According to her interpretation, the religion of Stone Age people revered a monotheistic goddess who could appear in many forms. Gimbutas understood "the Goddess" as a representation of the generative as well as the destructive forces of nature. Her entire research focused almost exclusively on statuettes and figurines that she had detached from their archaeological contexts and interpreted in light of her goddess theory.

Gimbutas constructed an ingenious picture of the Stone Age religious mind-set that will probably never be proven entirely right or wrong as a result of the lack of written sources that could explain the meanings of Neolithic figurines, symbols, and icons. The application of later testimonies to these artifacts is certainly questionable. In favor of Gimbutas's approach, however, such testimonies often offer the only possibility for the researcher to make some sense of prehistoric archaeological materials. In any case Gimbutas's lifework provides a wealth of materials and provocative stimuli for readings of Stone Age religions. One particular problem that arises in assessing Gimbutas's work is that Gimbutas herself remained unaware of her own inclinations toward nineteenth-century theories about the history of culture and the inner dynamics of cultural developments. Shorn of this important background, her ideas may seem to be simply quixotic. Equally importantly her work tends to be either defended or rejected out of hand with little attention to the support that subsequent scholarship might offer. An appropriate challenge for the future would be a careful review of Gimbutas's ideas in the light of contemporary discussions of cultural theory.

SEE ALSO Archaeology and Religion; Bachofen, J. J.; Gender and Religion, article on History of Study; Goddess Worship, article on Theoretical Perspectives; Neopaganism.

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JULIA IWERSEN (2005)

GINĀN.

A popularization of the Sanskrit word *jñan* ("contemplative knowledge"), the term *ginān* is used by the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīyah of Indo-Pakistan to refer to any one of the approximately eight hundred poems believed to have been composed by the Ismāʿīlī *pirs* or *dāʿīs* ("missionaries") between the thirteenth and early twentieth centuries. Composed in several Indian dialects and employing popular folk meters and indigenous musical modes, the *ginān*s vary considerably in length. The shortest ones consist of four to five verses, while longer ones, called *granths* and distinguished by specific titles, may have well more than a thousand verses. The *ginān*s are still sung and recited today as an integral part of religious ceremonies. Usually all members of the community who are present at such ceremonies participate in the recitation of the *ginān*s.

The *ginān*s, which often have several themes, may be classified into five major types according to the theme of greatest importance:

(1) "Conversion" *ginān*s portraying Islam and specifically its Ismāʿīlī form as the completion of the Vaiṣṇava Hindu tradition, and also including accounts that give Ismāʿīlī dimensions to traditional figures of Hindu mythology as well as hagiographic accounts of the great Ismāʿīlī *pirs* (the *Das Avatar,* for example).

(2) *Ginān*s dealing with a wide variety of eschatological and cosmological themes (such as *Brahmā Gāyatrī*).

(3) Didactic *ginān*s imparting ethical and moral instruction for the conduct of worldly and religious life (such as *Moman Chetāmaṇī*).

(4) *Ginān*s connected with mysticism, including guides for an individual's spiritual progress, literary expressions of the composers' mystical experiences, and petitions for spiritual union or vision (*Anant Akhāḍo* and *Satveṇī,* for example).

(5) *Ginān*s for recitation at certain religious rituals or at specific festivals such as the birthday of the Prophet or the Ismāʿīlī imam, Nawrūz (New Year), and so forth (*Nawrūznā din sohāmaṇā,* for example).

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GINZA.

Among their many books, the Gnostic Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran rank the voluminous *Ginza* ("treasure"), their "holy book," as the most important. It is studied by priests, and its presence is required at the performance of the major Mandaean rituals. In the seventh century of the common era, during the Islamic conquest, the Mandaeans assembled the *Ginza* in order to gain status as a "people of the book," allowed to resist conversion to Islam. The work, separated into *Right Ginza* and *Left Ginza,* contains a number of myths concerning the creation of the world and of human beings, descriptions of the human lot on earth, moral teachings, polemics against other faiths, and hymns. In Mandaeism generally, "right" and "left" are connected to the otherworldly and the earthly realms, respectively. However, in the case of the two parts of *Ginza,* the designations seem to contradict this pattern, for *Right Ginza* contains a great deal of cosmogonic and anthropogonic material, while the left part deals with the otherworldly fate of the soul.

Left Ginza, which has been called a "book of the dead," falls into three parts. *Left Ginza* 1.1–2 describe the death of Adam, who is reluctant to leave behind his body as well as his wife and children. Part 1.4 portrays the soul's journey through the purgatories (*matarata*) between the earth and the Lightworld, the pristine upper world. The last two parts are composed of hymns for the soul rising to the Lightworld after the death of the body. The hymns of the twenty-eight sections of *Left Ginza* 2 concentrate on the complaints of the soul (here, *mana,* "vessel") in the earthly world. A helper is sent from the Lightworld to aid the soul. Some of the sixty-two *Left Ginza* 3 hymns are among the ritually used death-mass (*masiqta*) hymns, the oldest datable texts in Mandaeism (c. third century CE). Thus, these cultic texts testify to the antiquity of the *masiqta,* the "raising up" ceremony for the soul and the spirit at the death of the body.

In *Right Ginza,* helper figures command a central position. Two main envoys are Manda d-Hiia and Hibil, although a large tractate, *Right Ginza* 15, portrays several other messengers. In *Right Ginza* 5.1, Hibil descends to the underworld prior to the creation of the earth, in order to prevent an attack on the Lightworld by the powers of the underworld. He returns with Ruha, the spirit, the vital element necessary for human and earthly life. Extensive stories about the creation of the world and the human lot are found in *Right Ginza* 3 and 10. John the Baptist, the Mandaean prophet, expounds his teachings in *Right Ginza* 7. In view of the use of the Arabic form *Yaḥya* for John in this text, it was probably written in the seventh century. Polemics against Judaism, Christianity, Islam, and other religions characterize *Right Ginza* 9.1, and moral instructions and warnings against surrender to evil powers recur in *Right* Ginza 1, 2, 8, 13, 16, and 17. *Right Ginza* 18, written in the seventh century, is a Mandaean "history of the world" that ends in an apocalypse. This tractate closes *Right Ginza.*

Several European libraries possess *Ginza* manuscripts. The oldest, in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, dates from 1560. In 1867, Heinrich Petermann published a largely useless edition and translation of *Ginza.* Mark Lidzbarski's 1925 version remains thus far the classical edition and translation. The new translation of *Ginza* undertaken by Kurt Rudolph will take into account the many discoveries of Mandaean texts and the advances made in studies on Mandaeism since Lidzbarski's time.

SEE ALSO Manda d'Hiia; Mandaean Religion.

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JORUNN JACOBSEN BUCKLEY (1987)
Revised Bibliography

GINZBERG, ASHER. Asher Ginzberg (1856–1927), best known by his pen-name Ahad Ha'am (meaning, literally, "One of the People") was the most influential intellectual in the Zionist movement in its formative years in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He produced, in the form of many highly influential Hebrew-language essays, a thorough-going reassessment of Judaism that deemphasized the centrality of religion and saw culture, writ large, as the true basis for Jewish life in the past and present. Born in Skvira, Ukraine, he was raised on a rural estate as a Hasidic prodigy, but by his early thirties he was able to read Russian, English, French, and German and was a Jewish nationalist devotee of Herbert Spencer and John Locke. His life was spent mostly in Odessa, London, and Tel Aviv (where he died), and he worked as a businessman, an editor, and, eventually, as a tea company manager. He served on the executive committee of the proto-Zionist Hovevei Zion, founded in the mid-1880s. He was also the founding editor of the influential Hebrew-language journal *Ha-Shiloach* and a close advisor to Chaim Weizmann (1874–1952) in the negotiations leading to the Balfour Declaration of 1917. He vigorously denied an interest in political leadership, insisting that his public activity—even his extensive journalistic work—had been thrust upon him unwillingly. But his aspirations were considerable, and at their core was the desire to reconstruct the spiritual and political foundations of contemporary Jewish life.

For several decades after the publication in 1889 of his first significant published article, "Lo zeh ha-derekh" (This is not the way), Ginzberg was Hebrew's most important essayist. His spare, ironic prose set new standards, and his Jewish nationalist teachings were vigorously promoted and debated, lacerated, and celebrated. He communicated a program that drew at one and the same time on the modernist presumptions of the Jewish enlightenment and the social optimism of European liberalism, and that managed to promise Jewish authenticity shorn of theology but inspired by aspects still more basic and enduring as taught, as he saw it, by history. At its core his was an extended, if eclectic philosophy of history.

It was culture, he argued, that had held the Jews together, with their faith in the paramount importance of intellect and an uncompromising belief in justice. These features of Jewish culture permitted it to accommodate itself to outside influences without losing itself. Hence, Jewish history was a tale of principled, dexterous accommodation to cultures that Jews made their own, but this ability was, increasingly, lost to them in modernity.

Overwhelmed already in the West by political emancipation and concomitant assimilation (which, he believed, was beginning to make substantial inroads in Eastern Europe, too), Jews had to deflect this onslaught without rejecting modernity. Hence, a Jewish homecoming was essential, with Jews returning to their original, creative site in the land of Israel. There, in a Hebrew-speaking milieu they would build a "spiritual center" (as he came to call it) that would grow into a self-sufficient economic and political entity. Its influence would recast Judaism elsewhere, transforming it from an increasingly moribund faith into a vibrant national culture.

Zionism as promoted by Theodor Herzl (its leader—and Ahad Ha'am's chief nemesis—from 1896 to his death in 1904) was shortsighted in its stress on diplomacy and tone deaf to Jewry's paramount cultural needs. Not anti-Semitism, as Herzl argued, but the prospect of Jewish cultural absorption in a larger, dangerously open society was the most critical prospect facing the Jewish people.

A key to Ginzberg's abiding reputation is his having been the first Zionist of stature to highlight the darker side of Arab-Jewish relations in Palestine. He insisted that what others saw at the time as merely skirmishes between Jews and Arabs were, in fact, threats to the Jewish nationalist enterprise and that this resistance must dampen Jewry's more ambitious and unrealistic claims. As early as his 1891 essay "Emet me-eretz yisarel" (Truth from the land of israel), he argued that the brutal treatment of Arabs by some Jews was itself a tragic, potentially disastrous response to Jewish subjugation; if left unchecked, such behavior could devastate Zionism. The weight he gave to this issue—especially in the last decade of his life—placed it, albeit tenuously, on the Zionist agenda.

Ginzberg's impact was extensive but also equivocal. He sought at first to build a political movement in the form of a semi-secret group called the Bnei Moshe (The Sons of Moses) that would recast the priorities of Jewish nationalism as a whole. This exercise failed in its political aspirations but left a considerable imprint on the thinking of many of Zionism's most influential figures, including Chaim Weizmann and Martin Buber.

Ahad Ha'am had a major impact on others, too, especially on those who shaped modern Judaism's cultural priorities. Devotees included Hayyim Nahman Bialik (1873–1934), the most important Hebrew poet in Zionism's classical period; the founder of Qabbalah studies, Gershom Scholem (1897–1982); and the first chancellor of Hebrew University, Judah Magnes. Ahad Ha'am was embraced as a primary inspiration by prestate bi-nationalists (who at their most radical phase eschewed the prospect of Jewish majority rule for Jews), and the American Reconstructionist religious movement of Mordecai Kaplan (1881–1983). In Israel, Ginzberg became best known, arguably, as an exemplary craftsman of Hebrew whose prime clientele, for many years, was schoolchildren taught to emulate his style.

Ginzberg raised many more questions than he answered. He was best as a critic, and while he sought to write a full-length book encapsulating his understanding of Jewish ethics, it was never written. Still, his many essays provide a framework for an ethically informed, self-consciously Jewish, modern political terminology. His insights continue to influence political debates over Zionism, Jewish theology, and conceptions of Jewish culture, its boundaries, and its prospects.

SEE ALSO Jewish Studies; Zionism.

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STEVEN J. ZIPPERSTEIN (2005)

GLASENAPP, HELMUTH VON (1891–1963), was a German Indologist. Von Glasenapp was born in Berlin to a "cheerful and gregarious" father who, though a lawyer and banker, was known as an expert on Goethe, and an art-loving mother who "tended to take everything in life seriously" (Glasenapp, 1964, pp. 11–12). As a scholar of Indian religions, Otto Max Helmuth von Glasenapp would come to embody these same traits of communicativeness, broad-mindedness, and care, and, indeed, to prescribe them as necessary features of Indological research.

An event of such "decisive significance" that he recalled the exact date—June 30, 1908—occurred when von Glasenapp was not yet seventeen years old (Glasenapp, 1964, p. 28). He walked into a bookstore in Berlin and purchased the works of the German philosopher, Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1860). The impressionable young scholar was so taken by Schopenhauer's high regard for Indian philosophy and religion, especially Buddhism, that he began reading widely in those fields. Although, two years later, von Glasenapp would enroll as a law student at Tübingen, he continued to pursue his interest in Indology, and beyond. In addition to his coursework in law, he visited seminars in Western philosophy and, under the Indologist Richard Garbe, the history of religions (*Allgemeine Religionsgeschichte*). Continuing his studies at Munich, von Glasenapp took courses in Sanskrit and Pali, as well as in psychology, economics, literature, classics, and theology. Von

Glasenapp's studies culminated in what he called "Benares on the Rhein" (Bonn) in 1914 with a doctoral dissertation under Hermann Jacobi, "Die Lehre vom Karman in der Philosophie der Jainas nach den Karmagranthas dargestellt," and finally, a *Habilitationsschrift* in 1918, also under Jacobi, entitled *Madhvas Philosophie des Vishnu-Glaubens.*

Von Glasenapp's subsequent career commenced in Berlin in 1920 as *Privatdozent.* During this period, he published *Der Hinduismus* (1922), *Der Jainismus* (1925), and *Brahma un Buddha: Die Religionen Indiens in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (1926). In 1928 he was called to the professorship of Indology at Königsberg. This productive period saw the publication of nearly a dozen books, including the influential *Der Buddhismus in Indien und im Fernen Osten* (1936) and a pioneering study of esoteric or Vajrayāna Buddhism, *Buddhistische Mysterien* (1940). Although the *Rektor* of the university at Königsberg, one Professor von Grünberg, was an avid Nazi, von Glasenapp was spared the fate of his Jewish colleagues and many others who, like himself, refused to join the party. Von Glasenapp subscribes this good fortune to his "calm demeanor and isolated discipline" (i.e., Indology), as well as to his reputation as an abstracted and "unworldly" (*weltfremd*) scholar (Glasenapp, 1964, p. 155).

In 1946 von Glasenapp was called back to where he had begun, the university at Tübingen, for the final phase of his career. By the time he retired in 1959, he had published numerous additional books, including *Die Philosophie der Inder* (1949), *Vedānta und Buddhismus* (1950), and *Buddhismus und Gottesidee* (1954). In all, von Glasenapp's publication record includes a staggering output of 692 books, articles, book reviews, book chapters, *Festschrift* contributions, editions, and newspaper features. Helmuth von Glasenapp died in June 1963 from injuries sustained in an automobile accident.

The greatest legacy of von Glasenapp remains unfulfilled. In his posthumously published autobiography, *Meine Lebensreise: Menschen, Länder und Dinge, die ich sah* (literally, "My Life's Journey: People, Countries, and Things that I Saw"), von Glasenapp articulates a vision of Indology that combines the talents of "those who can read the texts, but don't know what they say" and those who "understand the contents, but can't translate them" (Glasenapp, 1964, p. 294). Von Glasenapp saw this as an unfortunate rift in the way that Indology was practiced. On the one side are those scholars for whom the linguistic structure (*sprachliche Form*) of a text is the most important matter; on the other side are those for whom the sole matter of scholarly interest is the intellectual-cultural content (*geistig-kulturelle Inhalt*). Aware of German Indology's origin in comparative linguistics, von Glasenapp discouraged the philologists of his day from living up to their reputation as practitioners of "the science of the trivial" (*die Wissenschaft des Nicht-Wissenswerten*) (p. 298). This reputation, he argued, stemmed from their "preference for things that do not contribute to the realization of the intellectual content" of a work (p. 298). A rich and stimulating Indology, by contrast, is one in which the scholar cultivates various methods of research culled from a variety of disciplines, and then skillfully transmits the results to his readers. As examples of this craft, von Glasenapp cites the "great Indologists" of an earlier generation: Max Müller, Albrecht Weber, Richard Pischel, Hermann Jacobi, and Heinrich Lüders. As these examples indicate, von Glasenapp envisioned an Indology that indeed valued linguistic rigor, but placed it in the service of "the great goal—of making comprehensible an alien way of thinking" (p. 302).

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GLENN WALLIS (2005)

GLOBALIZATION AND RELIGION.

Globalization refers to the historical process by which all the world's people increasingly come to live in a single social unit. It implicates religion and religions in several ways. From religious or theological perspectives, globalization calls forth religious response and interpretation. Yet religion and religions have also played important roles in bringing about and characterizing globalization. Among the consequences of this implication for religion have been that globalization encourages religious pluralism. Religions identify themselves in relation to one another, and they become less rooted in particular places because of diasporas and transnational ties. Globalization further provides fertile ground for a variety of noninstitutionalized religious manifestations and for the development of religion as a political and cultural resource.

GLOBALIZATION. The term *globalization* is of quite recent provenance. It first appeared in the business and sociological literature of the 1980s, but by the end of the century it had become a broadly invoked expression in both academic and popular discourse around the world. Along the way, it has acquired a variety of meanings that it is well to understand at the outset. They share the common element implied in the word: all parts of the world are becoming increasingly tied into a single, globally extended social unit. Among the variants, however, by far the most widespread sees globalization primarily in economic terms, referring mostly to more recent developments in the operation of global markets, capital, and multinational corporations. A related view adds mass media and cultural components to the economic dimension, stressing the degree to which primarily Western, and especially American, firms have been spreading their products and way of life to all corners of the world. Economic globalization therefore focuses on the ways that global capitalism incorporates the world's regions into a single system. The role of states informs a further perspective, one that concentrates on global or international political relations, usually with a parallel emphasis on the hegemonic power of Western countries. Individual states, in this frame of analysis, appear as the primary actors in a globally extended system of such states.

In all of these versions, there are those variants that regard the process as a quite recent development and others that locate its beginnings decades and sometimes centuries in the past. There are also differences of opinion as to whether the process is generally good or mostly bad. Much of the literature is in fact quite critical, seeing the global as a kind of homogenizing imposition on the local, a development in which the strong, overtly or insidiously, presume their ways upon the comparatively weak, dominating or excluding the latter. A further approach to globalization, however, looks at this contrast of the global and the local differently, laying less stress on homogenizing economic and political institutions that impose themselves from above and rather more on local and global movements, networks, and organizations that also contribute to making the world more of a single place, sometimes parallel to the more hegemonic institutions, sometimes in consonance with them, sometimes even in express opposition them. This sort of globalization from below focuses on a wide variety of phenomena, from international nongovernmental organizations and networks among global migrants to antiglobalization, women's, and environmental movements. In part to distinguish this sort of globalization from the economic and political kind, some literature speaks in this regard of the development of a transnational civil society. Moreover, perspectives of this sort stress the renewed importance of cultural differences under conditions of globalization. The world is not just becoming the same; it is also becoming more pluralistic. It is almost exclusively under this meaning of globalization that religion appears as part of the process rather than as either irrelevant bystander or victim.

Various scholars have offered interpretative theories of globalization. Often these theories correspond closely to one of the dominant meanings of the term. One finds, for instance, theories of the global capitalist economic system or of the global state political system. Several efforts, however, seek to incorporate the various meanings as different aspects of a single process, often thereby setting the global and the local in dialogical relation rather than in opposition to one another. These approaches argue that local adaptations of globalized structures like capitalism, nationalism, or mass media are actually constitutive of the global; that globalization is not properly understood if we think of it only as a kind of imperialistic spread from one region to the rest of the world. In other words, the particular ways that people in different parts of the world—including those in rich Western countries—have responded to the context of globalization are what globalization is all about. Global factors become global by being localized or particularized around the world, and the local thereby takes on potentially global or universal significance. Among the many implications of such a perspective is that what are sometimes called?global flows? (of people, ideas, information, products, and other forms) do not go just in one direction, say from America and Europe out to the rest of the world. They also move the other way (reverse flows) and among regions other than the powerful Western ones (cross-flows). Thus, for example, African musical styles and Asian martial arts have a significant effect on North American and European art and culture; and migrants from Indonesia and Bangladesh seek work in the Middle East, all the while maintaining links and sending remittances to their home countries. These relations also contribute to globalization—are in their own way just as constitutive of it as Coca-Cola and the World Bank.

RELIGION AND GLOBALIZATION. The dialogical approaches to globalization, in conjunction with those that stress globalization from below, are of special significance when it comes to the topic of religion. By far the greatest portion of the by now vast literature on globalization completely or almost completely ignores religion, the partial exception being the attention that Islamicist political extremism receives. This absence can perhaps be attributed to the dominance of economic and political understandings of globalization, including among those observers who look at the phenomenon from within religious traditions. Yet even though a great many of the works that focus on globalization from below—for instance, much of the literature on global migration and ethnicity—also gives religion scant attention, it is among these approaches that one finds almost all the exceptions to this general pattern, probably because these are the only ones that, in principle, allow non-economic or nonpolitical structures like religion a significant role in globalization.

Consideration of the relation between religion and globalization involves two basic possibilities. There are, on the one hand, religious responses to globalization and religious interpretations of globalization. These are, as it were, part of doing religion in a globalizing context. On the other hand, there are those analyses of globalization that seek to understand the role of religion in globalization and the effects of globalization on religion. They focus on observing religion in a global society. By far the largest portion of the literature that relates religion and globalization is of the former sort, and therefore it is well to begin there.

RELIGIOUS PERSPECTIVES ON GLOBALIZATION. A great many religious commentators understand globalization as at once a largely economic, imperialistic, and homogenizing process. They share the economic/mass cultural/political perspective, evaluating globalization as anywhere from a threatening challenge to the manifestation of evil in our world. In many respects globalization in this segment of the literature is a successor term for what used to be censured as the capitalist system or cognate terms. Accordingly, globalization results in violence and the unjust oppression of the majority of people around the world. It threatens local and indigenous cultures, imposing a particularly heavy burden on women. It is the chief cause of global and local environmental degradation, again to the principal detriment of the mass of marginalized humanity. Such theologically inspired positions are not restricted to the representatives of a particular religious tradition. Thus, for example, Christians, Buddhists, Muslims, Jews, and those speaking from indigenous traditions all arrive at similar critical assessments of globalization. And far from being a characteristically religious perspective, such arguments are quite common in the overall literature, whether recognizably religious or not. What they imply, among other consequences, is that religion and religious sensibilities are at root outside of and contrary to globalization, that globalization and religion are fundamentally incommensurate. Another segment of both the religiously inspired and the secular literature, while often sharing many of the negative judgments, nonetheless sees a much closer relation between the two. As noted, these observers almost invariably share the broader meanings of globalization, especially the dialogical and from below perspectives.

Religious insider perspectives do not necessarily limit themselves to opposition, however. Some theologically oriented observers argue that religion has an essential role in shaping globalization; that the negative outcomes of globalization point to the need for a positive global ethic, which religions can provide. The efforts led by Hans Küng in this direction are perhaps the most well known. For Küng, not only does the globalized world require a guiding global ethic, but key to the development of that ethic is harmonious relations and dialogue among the world's religions. The combination signals a dialogical understanding of globalization that Küng shares with many other observers. Here it applies to religion: the globalized whole depends for its viability on the contribution of religion, yet this contribution presupposes a plurality of particular religions that come to understand themselves in positive relation to one another. Unity and diversity are both constitutive of the global. This core assumption of Küng's Global Ethic Project points to general features of how those contributions to the globalization debate that do not ignore religion have sought to understand its role in the process: as an important dimension of globalization that exhibits the characteristic dynamic tension between global and local, between homogeneity and heterogeneity, between the universal and the particular.

RELIGION AND RELIGIONS IN GLOBALIZATION. Globalization perspectives seeking to include religion have taken several directions of which the following are likely the most significant. Certain approaches analyze religion as a global or transnational institution, whose diverse manifestations operate to a large extent independently of economic and political structures and that bind diverse regions of the world together in ways comparable to global trade, international relations, mass media, sport, communications media, or tourism. A second but related focus of observation is the role that religious systems play as powerful cultural resources for asserting identity and seeking inclusion in global society, especially among less powerful and marginalized populations. It is in this context that religio-political movements, including so-called fundamentalisms, receive the most focused attention. A third strategy goes even further, attempting to show how the formation, reformation, and spread of religions have been an integral dimension of globalization as such. From this angle, what we today conceive as the most typical forms of religion and even the typical understandings that we have of religion are themselves outcomes and reflections of the historical process of globalization. Although these three directions are by no means mutually exclusive, for the sake of presentation they can be treated separately. Each implies a somewhat different theoretical emphasis, and each also tends to focus on different empirical manifestations of religion in our world.

RELIGION AS TRANSNATIONAL INSTITUTION. The relative absence of religion from many globalization perspectives and theories is in some respects quite surprising, especially when one looks at the issue historically. Of the forces that have in the past been instrumental in binding different regions of the world together, in creating a larger if not exactly a geographically global system, economic trade and political empire have certainly been the most obvious; but in conjunction with these, it is equally clear that what we today call religions have also at times played a significant role. Hindu civilization at one time spread throughout South and Southeast Asia. Buddhist teaching and monastic traditions linked together the vast territories from Sri Lanka and the Indian subcontinent, through Afghanistan and China to Korea, Japan, and most of Southeast Asia. In the early Middle Ages the Christian church was the only institution that overarched and even defined as a single social unit that northwestern portion of the Eurasian landmass known as Europe. And this largely over against its neighbor, Islam, which by the twelfth century CE had succeeded in weaving a socio-religious tapestry that extended from Europe and sub-Saharan Africa through all of Asia into the far reaches of Southeast Asia. It informed without doubt the largest world system before the arrival of the modern era.

Yet perhaps most important in this regard is that, as the European powers expanded their influence around the globe between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries, thus setting the conditions for contemporary truly worldwide globalization, Christian religion and Christian institutions were throughout that entire period key contributors to the process. The churches accompanied European colonizers in Africa, the Americas, and Australasia; Christian missions, whether independently or in conjunction with secular authorities, sought conversions in all corners of the globe. In consequence, today the vast majority of globally extended religious institutions are in fact Christian organizations and movements. A wide variety of these include, for instance, the Roman Catholic Church (along with many of its religious orders), several Protestant and Eastern Orthodox churches, the World Council of Churches, Seventh-day Adventists, the worldwide Pentecostal movement, and Jehovah's Witnesses. Christian missions still crisscross the world: American missionaries are to be found in Latin America, Africa, and Asia; African and Latin American Christians conduct missions in Europe and the United States; Australians serve in India; South Koreans are a major presence in southern Africa; and everyone is trying to spread the word in the countries of the former Communist bloc.

Although Christian establishments thus dominate numerically, they are far from being alone among transnational religious institutions. Muslim movements and organizations such as the Ṣūfī and neo-Ṣūfī *ṭarīqah*, or brotherhoods (for example, Naqshbandīyah, Murīdīya, Qādirīyah), reform movements like the Pakistani Tablighi Jamaat and the Turkish Milli Görüş, and unity foundations like the World Muslim Congress or the World Muslim League are broadly established in different regions. They are far from negligible in importance. Buddhist organizations such as the Foguangshan or the Sōka Gakkai have a worldwide presence as do Hindu movements like the Ramakrishna Math and Mission, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, and the Sai Baba movement. Parallel examples could be mentioned for other both major and minor religions ranging from Judaism, Sikhism, and Bahā'ī to Mormonism, Scientology, and the Brahmā Kumaris.

The specific literature on any of these is fairly substantial. Yet with some exceptions, notably Christian manifestations like the Roman Catholic Church and Pentecostalism, globalization perspectives have not concentrated on these perhaps most obvious of global religious forms as a characteristic dimension of the globalization process. Instead, a growing literature has been focusing on religion in the context of global migration. The more or less permanent displacement of large numbers of people from diverse regions and cultural backgrounds to many other parts of the world, but notably from non-Western to Western countries, has like few other phenomena brought home to an increasing range of observers just how much humanity is now living in a single world where identity and difference have to be renegotiated and reconstructed. Dialogical theories of globalization and those that stress globalization from below have been particularly apt to analyze the consequences of global migration, but the issue is not missing from many that understand globalization primarily in economic or political terms. Like global capitalism or international relations, this question is not susceptible to easy understanding on the basis of theories that take a more limited territory, above all a nation-state or a region like Europe, as their primary unit of analysis. In the context of the various other structures that make the world a smaller place, global migrants in recent times maintain far stronger and more lasting and consequential links with their countries of origin. Globalization approaches allow a better understanding of why they have migrated, what they do once they migrate, and the dynamics of their integration or lack thereof into their new regions.

Given that religious institutions, religiously informed worldviews, and religious practice are so often instrumental in these processes, the growing number of efforts to understand religion's role among global migrants is not surprising. Such contributions have focused on the concrete religious institutions of the migrants in their new homes, the immigration and integration policies and attitudes of the host countries, the transnational links and flows that the migrants maintain, and the influence of these diasporic communities on the global religions that are usually involved. Not infrequently in such analyses, the sorts of transnational religious organizations and movements just mentioned are salient topics, since the migrant communities are often instrumental in bringing about, developing, and maintaining their global character. Thus, for instance, we have consideration of Senegalese *murīd* presence in the United States, Taiwanese Foguangshan establishments in Canada, Turkish Süleymanli communities in Germany, Tablighi Jamaat mosques in Great Britain, Japanese Buddhist temples in Brazil, as well as African or Latin American Pentecostal churches in North America and Europe. As this illustrative list demonstrates, the bulk of this literature reflects the fact that it is people in Western countries that carry out most of such globalization analyses. This imbalance needs yet to be corrected. Nonetheless, the examples do demonstrate one of the important ways that globalization perspectives are being applied to religion, and conversely how the analysis of religion is coming to inform theories of globalization themselves. Moreover, the consideration of the role of transnational religious institutions in the context of global migration already implicates the second way that religion has been understood as a significant contributor to globalization processes, and that is as a cultural, but especially political resource.

RELIGION AS CULTURAL AND POLITICAL RESOURCE. People who migrate from one part of the world to another in search of a better life often depend on their religions and their religious institutions to address an array of attendant problems. Religion can furnish them with a strong sense of identity and integrity in a situation where they may be strangers. Churches, temples, mosques, *gurdwaras*, and synagogues can serve as a home away from home where one can speak one's language, eat one's food, congregate with people who share one's situation, and even attain a measure of status that one is denied in the new host society. For many poorer migrants, religious institutions offer vital social services that make survival and establishment in the new land even possible. They may also provide a principal conduit for maintaining ties with the places of origin. In these circumstances religion both is the means for global connectivity and makes up important content of global flows. Globalization affords conditions for the elaboration of new and expanded transnational establishments whose primary reason for existence is religious but that also serve an array of other purposes. They are at the same time, however, important local institutions, places where people go in their everyday lives for everyday reasons. Thus, to take but one example, a Christian church founded by Mexican migrants in Atlanta is an important community resource for its participants, but it may also have ties with the church back in the Mexican village from which most of them originate, providing financial and other resources for that village church as well. The religious institution properly speaking includes both localities and is not properly understood unless one takes both into consideration. Globalization perspectives afford that inclusive view.

The role of religion in providing, broadly speaking, cultural resources in a global context is not limited to the situation of migrants, however. Globalization, irrespective of which meaning one favors, implies a kind of compression of space in which the upheaval and uprooting characteristic of the migratory experience are the lot of a great many of the world's people, whether they leave their homes or not. Parallel circumstances in Africa and Latin America can serve to make this similarity clear. Both these continents have large regions and large populations that are effectively excluded from the main globalized power structures, yet their lives are nonetheless profoundly affected by them. Religion and religious institutions are important resources for responding to the situation. In Latin America, for instance, one reason for the rapid rise of Pentecostal Christian churches along with significant growth among Afro-Brazilian religions like Candomblé and certain Roman Catholic movements is that these institutional religious forms provide people with ways of understanding themselves and coping in a world where their situation is changing and often precarious. They afford people narratives with attendant life practices by which they can give themselves a meaningful and dignified place in this world. Religion lends them a measure of power. Even more clearly, in sub-Saharan Africa above all Christian and Islamic organizations, centers, networks, and movements offer large numbers of people at least some access to an institution that actually functions reasonably to their benefit. Although they are localized institutions and largely in the control of local people, a far from insignificant part of the appeal of these religious establishments is that they have links to and represent access to the wider globalized world. This has always been one of the attractions of both Christianity and Islam; they have in effect been global religions for many centuries. In today's world they continue to fill that role. The degree to which religions contribute to the globalized circumstance as well as their character as globalized institutions becomes evident in these cases.

As noted earlier, the one phenomenon that has attracted the most attention to the global significance of religions is the proliferation of effective religio-political movements in almost all regions of the world. From the rise of Hindu nationalism in India and the heavy political involvement of certain Buddhist organizations in Japan to the many highly politicized Islamicist movements in countries as diverse as Iran, Indonesia, and Nigeria, politicized religion has been a constant feature of the global world since at least the 1960s and in many respects well back into the nineteenth century. Although the literature often analyzes them under the somewhat tendentious label of fundamentalisms, two of their most basic features illustrate quite clearly how relevant they are for theories of globalization and how they manifest the global nature of so much contemporary religion.

The first is simply that they have arisen in so many different countries, and almost always on the basis of the traditions and institutions of one of the globally recognized religions such as Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Hinduism, Sikhism, or Buddhism. Religions that are very different from one another provide the resources for remarkably similar political movements. The fact that one of the broadly homologous modern states is invariably implicated by such movements is one reason for this similarity, but so is the explicitly global view that they typically represent. Whether one takes the Islamic revolution in Iran, the religious Zionists of Israel, the Christian Right in the United States, liberation theological movements in Latin America, Sōka Gakkai in Japan, the Hindu nationalism of the Rashtriya Svayamsevak Sangh in India, or a host of other examples, most of these movements have justified themselves explicitly in global terms, in addition to local or national ones. Even the Islamicist Taliban in Afghanistan, a movement with hardly any global consciousness when it formed in the early 1990s, very much saw itself in global terms by the time the American-led invasion ousted its government in 2001. What these religio-political movements therefore also demonstrate once again is how localized religion does not have to be globally extended, let alone positive toward the process of globalization, for it to be globally relevant and therefore for globalization theories to be useful in understanding them.

RELIGION AND RELIGIONS AS GLOBALIZING SYSTEM. A further theoretical approach to the role of religion and religions in globalization goes beyond the idea that religious worldviews and institutions have participated in the process. It focuses on the degree to which both modern institutional forms and modern understandings of religion are themselves manifestations of globalization. With the centuries-long development of what is today a globally extended society, religion came to inform what is today a globally extended religious system consisting primarily of a series of mutually identified and broadly recognized religions. These religions, in virtually every region of the globe, include Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism, but a variable list of other religions receives almost as broad legitimacy. Among these are Judaism, Sikhism, Daoism, and Jainism, followed again by another set of less consistently or more regionally accepted ones such as Bahā'ī, Shintō, Candomblé, African Traditional Religions (ATR), Scientology, and so forth. The idea that religion manifests itself through a series of distinct religions may seem self-evident to many people, including a great many of their adherents. Yet that notion is historically of quite recent provenance. In Europe, where this understanding first gained purchase, it dates back at the earliest to the seventeenth century. Elsewhere, such as in most regions of Asia, one must wait until at least the nineteenth century. Its development and spread is entirely coterminous with the period most theories identify as the prime centuries of globalization.

For this approach to religion and globalization, the construction of the religious system is not only recent. It is also quite selective; not every possible religion, not everything possibly religious counts. Symptomatic of both aspects are ongoing and recent debates among scholars of religion concerning the meaning of the concept and its supposed Eurocentrism. One perspective in these controversies has it that religion is at best an abstract term, useful for certain kinds of analysis but not something real that is actually out there in the world. A prime argument in support of this position is how the ideas of religion as a separate domain of life and of the distinct religions are so demonstrably products of relatively recent history and so clearly attendant upon and implicated in the concomitant spread of Christian and European influence around the world. Another is that religions is empirically too narrow, as what is meant by them does not cover nearly everything in our world that is manifestly religious using slightly different notions of religion. Cogent as such arguments are, however, they point exactly to what the theory under review states: a peculiar way of understanding religion and institutionally embodying religion has developed in conjunction with and as an expression of the process of globalization. It is accepted and contested right around the world. Similar to global capitalism and the global system of sovereign states, the idea and its putting into practice exclude as well as include. It also involves power and imposition, as do all human institutions. And just as antiglobalization movements are themselves important manifestations of that which they seemingly oppose, so too is contestation—whether academic, theological, or broadly political—with reference to religion and the religions symptomatic of the social and cultural reality that it contests.

A strict corollary of this theory, a consequence of the selective nature of this religious system, is that new religions will constantly try to form and that much religiosity will escape the system. The existence of this global religious system, simultaneously at the global and local levels, therefore spawns its constant development and the constant challenging of the way it operates. That idea leads logically to consideration of the religiousness of the global system itself.

RELIGION, GLOBALIZATION, AND THE HUMAN CONDITION. More than a few theories of globalization explicitly address what one might call its ideal dimension, the way it shapes how people understand the nature and purpose of the world and their place in it. Given that such questions of ultimate concern or purpose often appear as defining features of religion, this ideal dimension can also be conceived as its religious dimension, although thereby not necessarily referring to the role of religious traditions and institutions in it. One can divide the analyses of this dimension of globalization according to whether it is seen as a positive or negative feature, and whether unity or diversity of vision dominates.

Positive and unitary interpretations come in a number of variants. There are still a few that see globalization as inevitably moving the world toward a future of ever greater material prosperity, political democracy, and technological progress shared equitably among all peoples. Far more numerous are those that share ideals such as equality and inclusion of all people in the benefits of global society, perhaps under the rubric of universal human rights; but they consider that at the very least human society has a long way to go before these are realizable, and that certain features of globalization actually stand in the way of their realization. Several perspectives grounded in institutionalized religion fall under this heading, for instance, the already discussed Global Ethic Project led by Hans Küng, or the Justice, Peace and Integrity of Creation program of the World Council of Churches. Typically, these and other examples consider such values as equality among peoples, religions, classes, and genders to be completely unquestionable. With equal self-evidence they exhibit strong ecological sensibility and valorize the natural environment. Into this category also belong those social-scientific approaches that stress the global preponderance of idealized models, especially models of progressive economy, the nation-state, education, legal structures, mass media, art, and culture.

Unitary but negative visions share most of these characteristics but reject the idea that any of these developments can have a positive outcome. Sometimes these take world-rejecting communitarian directions, advocating retreat from the globalized world. Ironically perhaps, it is not uncommon for these visions to espouse precisely the sort of egalitarian values typical of the positive versions but insist that this is only possible in a separated—and usually quite small-scale—society. Some subdivisions of environmental and back-to-nature movements exemplify this possibility. In many respects they are mirror images of globalized society, and in that respect reflections of it. By contrast, there are those rejections of a unitary globalization that insist on the unique validity of a particular culture or society. Some so-called fundamentalist visions fall in this category, but it must be stressed how comparatively rare they are. The Afghan Pashtun Taliban, in contrast to most Islamicist perspectives, may have been one of the few.

Pluralist visions of the world are variations on the unitary ones, putting greater stress on, respectively, the difference or the irreconcilability of diverse worldviews. The clash of civilizations model made famous by Samuel Huntington is representative of a negative version, dependent as it is on the idea—not to say ideal—that quasi-essential civilizations with particular characteristics actually exist logically prior to the globalized context in which mutually identifying them might make sense. Pluralist positive perspectives, by contrast, are even more mere variations on the unitary variety: the value of pluralist and egalitarian inclusion here is simply more strongly emphasized.

What is therefore especially noteworthy of all these representations of globalization's ideal dimension is just how close they are to one another. Without in the least underplaying the degree to which globalization entails vast differences in power and influence among different regions and different people; without denying the significant contestation, even conflict, between different visions of what the global world is or should be; this seeming narrowing of alternative world visions may in the end be one of the most powerful symptoms of the social reality which the idea of globalization seeks to name.

SEE ALSO Economics and Religion; Politics and Religion; Transculturation and Religion.

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Peter Beyer (2005)

GLOSSOLALIA (from the Greek *glōssa,* "tongue, language," and *lalein,* "to talk") is a nonordinary speech behavior that is institutionalized as a religious ritual in numerous Western and non-Western religious communities. Its worldwide distribution attests to its antiquity, as does its mention in ancient documents. It is alluded to in the Hebrew scriptures and in the New Testament, as in the well-known narration in the *Acts of the Apostles* about events on the Day of the Pentecost. There are references to it in the Vedas (c. 1000 BCE), in Patañjali's *Yoga Sutras,* and in Tibetan Tantric writings. Traces of it can be found in the litanies (*dhikr*s) of some orders of the Islamic Sufi mystics.

Early ethnographic reports of glossolalia treated it with contempt, calling it "absurd nonsense, gibberish scarce worth recording," while Christian theologians tended to think of it as an exclusively Christian phenomenon, peculiar, according to some, to apostolic times. Modern-day forms of glossolalia were classed as abnormal psychological occurrences, possible evidence of schizophrenia or hysteria, because researchers observed it only in mental patients. The situation started to change when, as the result of interest renewed by the upsurge of the Pentecostal movement, field-workers began to examine glossolalia as a part of religious ritual.

In an article published in 1969, for instance, Virginia H. Hine reported on a comparative anthropological investigation of the Pentecostal movement in the United States, Mexico, Haiti, and Colombia, combining the use of questionnaires, interviews, and participant observation (*Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 8: 212–226). Her functional analysis showed glossolalia to be a component in the process of commitment to a movement, with implications for both personal and social change. This conclusion agrees in substance with numerous ethnographic reports from non-Western societies, where glossolalia often appears before or during the initiation of religious practitioners.

A few years before Hine's study, the pathology model of glossolalia was refuted by L. M. Vivier-van Etveldt (M. D. diss., University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1960). He tested two carefully matched groups, one made up of members of a church that practiced glossolalia and the other made up of members of a traditional orthodox reformed church where such behavior was not accepted. A number of psychological tests, such as the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) and the Personality Factor Test developed by James Cattell, indicated no inherent weakness in the neural organization of the glossolalists. On the contrary, they appeared to be less subject to suggestion and better adjusted than their conservative counterparts. By implication, this finding should put to rest the numerous allegations that shamans, who frequently utter glossolalia, are psychotic. The salient difference between a religious practitioner and a mental patient lies in the fact that the latter is unable to control his behavior ritually.

As to formal properties, glossolalia is a nonordinary speech event in the sense that it consists of nonsense syllables. In contrast with natural languages, its syllables and segments are not words; that is, they do not exhibit the attribution of meaning, and they are not strung together according to rules of grammar. For this reason, linguists reject the interpretation of glossolalia as xenoglossia (from the Greek *xenox,* "stranger," and *glōssa,* "language"), which claims that glossolalia is some foreign language that could be understood by another person who spoke it. William J. Samarin, a linguist working with English-speaking Christian groups, regards glossolalia instead as a type of pseudolanguage. In his 1972 article "Variation and Variables in Religious Glossolalia" (*Language in Society* 1: 121–130), he defines it as "unintelligible post-babbling speech that exhibits superficial phonological similarity to language without having consistent syntagmatic structure and that is not systematically derived from or related to known languages." He notes that glossolalia is repetitious and can be subdivided into macrosegments, which are comparable to sentences; microsegments, which are reminiscent of words; and sounds. There is also a pattern of stress and pitch. According to Samarin, speakers of English have an "English accent" in glossolalia; that is, their sounds are English speech sounds. He attributes these regularities to a particular style of discourse that practitioners assume by imitating certain preaching styles.

This writer's own fieldwork and laboratory research have led to somewhat different conclusions. As a psychological anthropologist and linguist, the author of this article conducted participant observation in various English-, Spanish-, and Maya-speaking Pentecostal communities in the United States and Mexico as well as with the founder of a new religion in Japan. In addition, tape recordings of non-Christian rituals from Africa, Borneo, Indonesia, and Japan were compared. The results indicated that when all features of glossolalia were taken into consideration—that is, its segmental structure (such as sounds, syllables, and phrases) and its suprasegmental elements (namely, rhythm, accent, and especially overall intonation)—they seemed cross-linguistically and cross-culturally identical. Laboratory tracings that used a level recorder, which registers changes in pressure density (in this case, intonation), confirmed these impressions at least in the case of intonation. This method is also suitable for distinguishing glossolalia from such other nonordinary speech events as sleep talking and talking during hypnotic regression (see this writer's 1981 article "States of Consciousness: A Study of Soundtracks," *Journal of Mind and Behavior* 2: 209–219). The latter finding is important, because many ethnographic observers consider the behavior of which glossolalia is a part to be hypnotically induced, which in view of these results is in error.

Self-reporting by ethnographic consultants and observation of their behavior indicate the presence of a changed state of consciousness during glossolalia, ranging from minimal to quite intense. This author therefore attributes the cross-cultural agreements in the features of glossolalia to these neurophysiological changes, collectively and popularly called trance, and defines glossolalia as a vocalization pattern, a speech automatism that is produced in the substratum of the trance and that reflects directly, in its segmental and suprasegmental structures, the neurophysiological processes present in this changed state of consciousness.

Put more simply, whatever takes place in the nervous system during a trance causes utterance to break down into phrases of equal length, provided the pauses are also included. That is, using a concept taken from music rather than linguistics, it causes the phrases to be divided into bars, each of which is accented on the first syllable, and it causes the bars to pulsate, to throb rhythmically in a sequence of consonant-vowel, consonant-vowel. And it is this writer's belief that the trance state is responsible for the haunting intonation of glossolalia; never varying, it rises to a peak at the end of the first third of the unit utterance and drops to a level much lower than that at the onset as it comes to a close.

The sounds of glossolalia do not necessarily reflect the inventory of the speaker's language, for they frequently include phones not found in a speaker's native tongue. English speakers, for instance, often use /a/ as a high central, unrounded vowel, the so-called continental sound, which does not occur in English, and Spanish speakers in Mexico may use /ö/ (the long, closed *o,* as in the German word *Öse*), which is not a Spanish vowel. In addition, shrieks as well as barking, whistling, grunting, growling, and many other so-called animal sounds have also been reported.

Although glossolalia is often described as a spontaneous outburst, it is, actually, a learned behavior, learned either unawarely or, sometimes, consciously. The fact that individual congregations with a stable membership tend to develop their own characteristic glossolalia "dialect" indicates that learning has occurred, and the many traditional forms in which glossolalia appears in non-Western societies are obviously taught. These include such conventions as speaking individually, in groups, and in the form of a dialogue, often heard in the Japanese new religions, and singing.

As the foregoing characterization of glossolalia indicates, one probably needs to view trance as the primary behavior, on which vocalization is superimposed and into which the practitioner switches with the help of a large variety of stimuli, such as singing, dancing, clapping, and drumming. Present research suggests that this trance—a frenzy, rapture, ecstasy, or, in more neutral terms, an altered state of consciousness—involves a single, generalized neurophysiological process. Barbara W. Lex, a medical anthropologist, holds that what is involved is an alternation between two different arousals of the nervous system. This tunes the nervous system and releases tension, thus accounting for the beneficial effects of the experience. Observations of Christian and non-Western religious communities alike indicate that apparently anybody with a normal physical endowment is able to initiate this process and to switch into a trance. Differences in personality, treated extensively by early researchers, apparently do not enter into the picture.

An association between trance and glossolalia is now accepted by many researchers as a correct assumption (see, for instance, Williams, 1981). Thus, if one recognizes trance as the primary, generating process of the features of glossolalia, one could then conclude that a vocalization consisting only of nonsense syllables, no matter how varied, may in fact represent a cultural convention and that other types of speech could also be uttered while the practitioner is in a trance, with the trance, of course, still expressing itself in some form or other. Field observation shows that this is indeed true. Nonsense syllables may occur in combination with words from the vernacular and/or a foreign language—such as "Come, Jesus" and "Hallelujah," which are often heard from American Pentecostals—without disturbing the accent pattern or intonation of the utterance, its trance features. In the circumpolar region, many shamans, among the Inuit (Eskimo), the Saami (Lapps), Chukchi, the Khanty (Ostiaks), the Yakuts, and the Evenki, use in their religious rituals secret languages that consist of a mixture of nonsense syllables and the vernacular. Just like a natural language, these secret trance dialects are taught by the master shamans to their neophytes.

From Africa, there are reports of a secret religious trance language used exclusively by women. Bakweri women living on the slopes of Mount Cameroon speak a "mermaid language" in ritual context, which is taught to adolescent girls when they are ready for initiation. A girl's readiness is indicated by her "fainting," that is, experiencing a trance, and by her ability, while in this altered state of consciousness, to understand some of the mermaid language as it is spoken to her by a mature woman. No details of this language are known outside the tribe, for the male ethnographer was barred from learning it. (See Edwin Ardener, "Belief and the Problem of Women," in *The Interpretation of Ritual,* edited by J. S. La Fontaine, London, 1972, pp. 135–201.) It is probably a mixed form, for he mentions that scraps of the mermaid language are common currency even among Christian, educated, urban Bakweri women. This suggests that these "scraps" may have turned into words or that they were not originally nonsense syllables but had specific, assigned meanings.

When speaking in a trance, a practitioner may use no nonsense syllables at all, employing instead only the vernacular. If the principal pronouncement is in nonsense syllables, however, as, for instance, among Christians speaking in tongues or among the nomadic, reindeer-hunting Chukchi of Siberia, an "interpretation" may be provided. Such interpretations exhibit a distinct, trance-based rhythm and an intonation whose exactness cannot be reproduced in the ordinary state of consciousness. This is the same phenomenon exhibited in the many forms of "inspired," prophetic speeches, heard around the world, in which a scanning rhythm imparts a poetic quality to the utterance. In such speeches words are sometimes truncated, and rules of grammar violated, overridden by the exigencies of the trance. Even communicative intent may have to be altered. Thus the demons who spoke through the trance of a German university student, Anneliese Michel, could ask no questions because in spoken German the tone of an interrogative must rise at the end, while all trance utterances have a pronounced drop. (See this author's book about this case, *The Exorcism of Anneliese Michel,* New York, 1981.)

The case of Anneliese Michel brings up the question of what kinds of religious experience are commonly expressed by glossolalia. In her case, the experience was that of possession, and glossolalia was the voice, the "language," of the demons that she reported were possessing her. Possession is one of the most frequent ritual occasions for the use of glossolalia. In possession, an entity from the sacred dimension of reality is experienced as penetrating the respective person. In Christian contexts, the entity is most usually the Holy Spirit, and glossolalia is then felt to be its language. The Holy Spirit is experienced as power, not as personality, but other spirits—for instance, those of the dead of the Trobriand Islanders, ancestral spirits in Africa, and various spirits in Haitian vodou—have pronounced personality traits that are expressed in glossolalia. Western observers of possession may speak of role playing, but the experience is more that of being in the presence of a discrete being. The voice of the possessing being differs from that of the possessed practitioner. Anneliese Michel's demons spoke with a deep, raspy, male voice, and each one—there were six all told—exhibited distinct characteristics; Judas was brutal, for instance, and Nero effeminate. In vodou, female mediums are often possessed by male *lwa* (spirits), in which case a similar change in voice and, of course, in comportment takes place. In Umbanda, an Afro-Brazilian healing cult, possession by the child spirit will bring about an equally dramatic voice modification. Siberian shamans may be possessed by helpers in the form of animal spirits, and their speech then consists of animal voices, or "animal language." A similar change in language takes place when the shaman turns into an animal, which is a different experience, however.

According to a generally held belief, illness will result if a noxious being of the sacred dimension of reality possesses a person. Therefore, the harmful entity needs to be expelled, or exorcised. The method by which this is done depends on the tradition prevailing in the religious community in question. The ritual specialist carrying out the exorcism may merely recite a required formula while remaining in the ordinary state of consciousness—as was done for Anneliese Michel by a Catholic priest who spoke the exorcistic prayers from the *Rituale romanum*—or he may enter a trance and utter glossolalia, usually a mixed version, which is thought to influence the actions of demons. This happens in Tantric exorcistic rituals in Tibet, for instance, and during healing sessions among Buddhists of northern Thailand.

Communication by glossolalia is instituted not only with unfriendly beings, of course. On a tape recording made in Borneo a female healer can be heard calling her helping spirit. In the *zār* cult of Ethiopia, the shamans talk to the *zār*s (spirits) in a "secret language." The shamans of the Semai of Malaysia use glossolalia to invite the "nephews of the gods" to a feast, and the Yanomamö Indians of Amazonia chant while in trance to their *hekura* demons, calling them to come live in their chests.

Quite generally, glossolalia cannot be considered a symbol. Rather, it is a medium of communication that directly informs both the participants and the onlookers of a ritual about the presence of and contact with the powers or the beings of the sacred dimension of reality—about the Holy Spirit who is baptizing a convert, perhaps, or about the appearance of any one of the multitude of entities that inhabit sacred realms.

SEE ALSO Chanting; Enthusiasm; Frenzy; Language, article on Sacred Language; Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity; Spirit Possession.

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FELICITAS D. GOODMAN (1987)
Revised Bibliography

GNOSTICISM

This entry consists of the following articles:

GNOSTICISM FROM ITS ORIGINS TO THE MIDDLE AGES [FIRST EDITION]
GNOSTICISM FROM ITS ORIGINS TO THE MIDDLE AGES [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]
GNOSTICISM FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE PRESENT
GNOSTICISM AS A CHRISTIAN HERESY
HISTORY OF STUDY

GNOSTICISM: GNOSTICISM FROM ITS ORIGINS TO THE MIDDLE AGES [FIRST EDITION]

Gnōsis ("knowledge") is a Greek word of Indo-European origin, related to the English *know* and the Sanskrit *jñāña.* The term has long been used in comparative religion to indicate a current of antiquity that stressed awareness of the divine mysteries. This was held to be obtained either by direct experience of a revelation or by initiation into the secret, esoteric tradition of such revelations.

PRE-CHRISTIAN GNOSIS. The experience of gnosis was highly esteemed at the beginning of our era in various religious and philosophical circles of Aramaic and Greco-Roman civilization. It is a key word in the scrolls of the Jews of the Essene sect found at Qumran. In the canonical *Gospel of John*, Jesus is quoted as having said at the Last Supper: "This is [not 'will be'] eternal life, that they know [not 'believe in'] Thee [here and now], and know Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent" (*Jn.* 17:3). Not even the prevailing philosophy of the time, so-called Middle Platonism, was completely beyond the influence of this general movement. Middle Platonism was primarily religious and otherworldly; it distinguished between discursive reasoning and intuition and taught the affinity of the soul with the godhead, basing these teachings on an oral tradition of the Platonic schools. The writings of Hermes Trismegistos ("thrice-greatest Hermes," identified with the Egyptian god Thoth) reflect the same atmosphere. These eighteen treatises, of which *Poimandres* and *Asclepius* are the most important, originate in the proverbial wisdom of ancient Egypt. A saying in a recently discovered Armenian collection attributed to Hermes Trismegistos is "He who knows himself, knows the All." The author of *Poimandres* expresses the same insight: "Let spiritual man know himself, then he will know that he is immortal and that Eros is the origin of death, and he will know the All." And to illustrate this saying the author tells the story of a divine being, Anthropos (Man), who becomes enamored of the world of (lower) nature and so falls into a material body. Most Hermetic treatises take up a short saying and expound on it in this manner. They also preserve the impact of Egyptian mythology. The ancient Egyptians spoke freely about sexual intercourse and about the homosexual behavior of their gods. The explicit sexual imagery of Egyptian mythology was adopted in a Hermetic prayer that addresses the spouse of God in the following words: "We know thee, womb pregnant by the phallus of the Father."

The idea of emanation was also prominent in Egyptian religion. Egyptian myth depicts the Nile as tears of the sun god Re. This concept too is found in Hermetic literature. On the other hand, the same writings show the influence of Greek philosophy; indeed, there was a Platonic school of Eudorus in Alexandria. And the impact of the biblical book of *Genesis* and that of Jewish mysticism are only too obvious. Christian influences, though, are completely absent from the so-called *Corpus Hermeticum.* The treatises in this group of works were all written around the beginning of the Christian era in Alexandria. They appear to be the scriptures of a school of mystics, a sort of lodge that practiced spiritualized sacraments such as "the bath of rebirth," a holy meal, and the kiss of peace.

GNOSTICISM. Ever since the congress on the origins of Gnosticism held at Messina, Italy, in 1966, scholars have made a distinction between gnosis and Gnosticism. *Gnosticism* is a modern term, not attested in antiquity. Even the substantive *Gnostic* (Gr., *gnōstikos,* "knower"), found in patristic writings, was never used to indicate a general spiritual movement but was applied only to a single, particular sect. Today Gnosticism is defined as a religion in its own right, whose myths state that the Unknown God is not the creator (demiurge, YHVH); that the world is an error, the consequence of a fall and split within the deity; and that man, spiritual man, is alien to the natural world and related to the deity and becomes conscious of his deepest Self when he hears the word of revelation. Not sin or guilt, but unconsciousness, is the cause of evil.

Until recent times the Gnostic religion was almost exclusively known by reports of its opponents, ecclesiastical heresiologists such as Irenaeus (c. 180 CE), Hippolytus (c. 200), and Epiphanius (c. 350). Not until the eighteenth century were two primary sources, the Codex Askewianus (named for the physician A. Askew) and the Codex Brucianus (named after the Scottish explorer James Bruce), discovered in Egypt. These contained several Coptic Gnostic writings: (1) *Two Books of Jeû* from the beginning of the third century; (2) book 4 of *Pistis Sophia* from about 225; and (3) *Pistis Sophia,* books 1, 2, and 3, from the second half of the third century. To these can now be added the writings found near Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt in 1945. The stories told about the discovery are untrustworthy. The only certain fact is that, to date, about thirteen of the codices (books, not scrolls) comprising some fifty-two texts are preserved at the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo. They have been translated into English by a team under James M. Robinson (1977). Not all these writings are Gnostic: the *Gospel of Thomas* (114 sayings attributed to Jesus) is encratitic; the *Thunder, Whole Mind* is Jewish; the *Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles* is Jewish-Christian; the *Prayer of Thanksgiving* is Hermetic; and the *Authoritative Teaching* is early Catholic (characterized by a monarchic episcopacy, a canon of holy writings, and a confession of faith). But the *Epistle of Eugnostos* and the *Apocryphon of John* lead us back very far, close to the sources of Gnosticism in Alexandria.

Origins. The hypothesis once supported by Richard Reitzenstein, Geo Widengren, and Rudolf Bultmann that Gnosticism is of Iranian origin has been abandoned; the alleged Iranian mystery of the "saved savior" has been disproved. At present, many scholars are inclined to believe that Gnosticism is built upon Hellenistic-Jewish foundations and can be traced to centers like Alexandria, which had a large Jewish population, much as the city of New York does today. Polemics in the writings of the Jewish philosopher Philo, who himself was an opponent of local heresies, make it clear that he knew Jewish groups that had already formulated certain basic elements of Gnosticism, although a consistent system did not yet exist in pre-Christian times.

The divine Man. The prophet Ezekiel tells us in the first chapter of the biblical book that bears his name that in 593 BCE, dwelling in Babylonia, he beheld the personified Glory of the Lord, who would not abandon him even in exile. This figure, at once Light and Man, is described as having a form like the appearance of Adam, or "Man" (*Ez.* 1:26). This vision became a stock image of Jewish mysticism. As early as the second century BCE, the Jewish Alexandrian dramatist Ezekiel Tragicus alludes to the same figure in his Greek drama *Exodus,* fragmentarily preserved in the *Praeparatio evangelica* (9.29) of the Christian bishop Eusebius. In the play, Moses in a dream beholds a throne on top of Mount Sinai. Upon this throne sits Man (Gr., *ho phōs*) with a crown on his head and a scepter in his left hand. With his right hand he beckons Moses to the throne, presents him with a crown, and invites him to sit beside him on an adjacent throne. Thus is Moses enthroned at the right hand of God. A parallel passage is found in Palestinian Judaism: according to the founding father ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef (early second century BCE), there are two thrones in heaven, one for God and one for David (B. T., *Ḥag.* 14a). This is the oldest extant reference to Adam Qadmon, who later became the central figure of qabbalistic literature. Somewhat later, in the *Book of Daniel*, written soon after 168 BCE, this same figure is called the Son of Man (i.e., "divine Man"). The same figure is found in the Gospels. In the Fourth Gospel, the Son of Man is referred to as the Glory of God, which comes from heaven, touches the earth for a moment, is incarnated in the man Jesus, and eventually returns to the heavenly realm. In the letters of Paul, the Glory is called the last Adam (comparable to Ezekiel's *kavod)*, who is from heaven and should be distinguished from the first Adam of *Genesis* 1 and 2, who is from the earth. In the Hellenistic world this divine Man is identified with the Platonic idea of man.

Plato himself never says that there is such a thing as an "idea of man." In the dialogue *Parmenides* this philosopher ridicules the concept of an *eidos anthrōpou* (130c). Probably this passage reflects a debate of Platonists among themselves and with other schools. It would seem that the Skeptics denied the idea of man a separate existence because then empirical man and his idea would have something in common, and this would require a new idea, the "third man." In several Middle Platonic sources, however, the idea of man is supposed to exist. The translator of Ezekiel in the Septuagint identifies the figure of divine Man with the Platonic idea when he translates the phrase *demut ke-marʿeh adam* (*Ez.* 1:26) as *homoiōma hōs eidos anthrōpou*, a hellenizing quotation of Plato.

The same figure is to be found in the Hermetic *Poimandres*, clearly influenced by Alexandrian Jews. This writing relates how God generated a son to whom he delivered all creatures. The son is androgynous, equally Phos (Man, Adam, Light) and Zoe (Eve, Life). This being, who is still to be distinguished from the Logos, descends in order to create but falls in love with nature and assumes a material body. That is why human beings are both mortal and immortal. And yet the human body has the form of the original Man. This view is very Jewish and has parallels in rabbinical literature: not the soul but the human body was created after the image and likeness of God.

A next stage is reached in Philo's works. He never quotes *Ezekiel* 1:26 about the Glory of God resembling the form of a man, and yet he must have been familiar with mystical speculations about this divine figure. Philo calls *logos* "Man after his [God's] image" or "Man of God" and identifies the *logos* with the idea of man: incorporeal and neither male nor female. Yet he polemicizes against the concept that this heavenly Man was androgynous: "God made man," he says, "made him after the image of God. Male and female he made—now not 'him' but 'them'" (*Who Is the Heir* 164). Obviously, before Philo there must have been Jewish thinkers who claimed that the heavenly Man was androgynous. Such circles originated the Anthropos model of *gnōsis*, which is found in the doctrine of Saturninus (Antioch, c. 150). In his system, the female figure is completely absent. Our world is said to have been created by seven angels, the seven planets. Thereupon the Unknown God manifested his shining image, the Glory of the heavenly Man. The angels of creation tried to detain this Anthropos but were unable to do so; it returned to heaven at once. Thereupon the angels shaped a human body in the likeness of the heavenly Man. But this creature was unable to stand erect and slithered upon the earth like a worm. The heavenly Adam, having pity on the earthly Adam, sent to him the spark of life, the Spirit, which raised him up and made him live. It is this spark that at death hastens back to its spiritual home, whereas the body dissolves into its constituent elements.

Variations of the myth of Saturninus are found in quite a few of the writings from Nag Hammadi. Valentinus (c. 150) alludes to this myth when, in a preserved fragment, he states that the Adam of *Genesis* inspired awe in the angels who created him because he had been fashioned after the preexistent Anthropos. Mani (216–277) refers to the same story when he relates that in the beginning the Primal Man is sent out to combat the powers of darkness. This Archanthropos is overpowered and forced to leave "the Maiden who is his soul" embedded in matter. The entire world process is necessary to shape the Perfect Man so that the original state of androgyny (male and maiden at the same time) will be restored. All these speculations presuppose the god Man of *Ezekiel* 1:26. Moreover, it is possible that Paul was familiar with the same concept when he said that Christ was both the power (*dunamis*) and the wisdom (*sophia*) of God (*1 Cor.* 1:24).

Sophia. In the *Wisdom of Solomon*, part of the Greek and Roman Catholic Bible, written in Alexandria close to the beginning of the Christian era, personified wisdom, called Sophia, is said to be a holy spirit or the Holy Spirit, which penetrates the All. She is also referred to as the effluence of God's glory, an emanation of eternal light, and an immaculate mirror of God's activity. She is described as the beloved both of the wise man and of God, even more as the spouse of the Lord (*Wis.* 8:30).

In the *Thunder, Whole Mind*, from the same period and milieu, Sophia manifests herself as the wisdom of the Greeks and the *gnōsis* of the barbarians, the saint and the whore, the bridegroom and the bride. Over and over, she introduces these startling and paradoxical revelations with the formula "I am."

According to the eighth-century BCE inscriptions found near Hebron and in the Negev, the God of Israel had a foreign spouse, the Canaanite goddess Asherah. And in the fifth century BCE, Jewish soldiers garrisoned in Elephantine (near Aswān, Egypt) venerated another pagan fertility goddess called Anat Yahu, the wife of the Lord. Prophets and priests in Judea did all they could to represent Yahveh as exclusively male and to delete all traces of the primeval matriarchy. But Wisdom survived as Ḥokhmah, especially in Alexandria.

This is the basis of the Sophia model of *gnōsis*, which finds expression in the teaching of the famous Samaritan Simon, who was attracted to and yet rejected by incipient Christianity (*Acts* 8). The Samaritans, the last survivors of the ten tribes of northern Israel, were and are heterodox Jews who keep the Law while rejecting the rest of the Bible. They transmit a certain tradition about Wisdom as the personal creator of the world. According to Simon, Wisdom, the spouse of the Lord, was also called Holy Spirit and God's first idea, the mother of all. She descended to the lower regions and gave birth to the angels by whom the world was created. She was overwhelmed and detained by these world powers that she might not return to her abode. She was even incarnated and reincarnated in human bodies, such as that of the Helen of Greek myth and poetry. Finally, she came to dwell as a whore in a brothel of Tyre in Phoenicia, where Simon, "the great power" of God, found and redeemed her. In the *Apocryphon of John* as well as in the school of Valentinus, this Sophia model has been combined with the Anthropos model. Both are pre-Christian in origin.

The Unknown God and the demiurge. The rabbis of the first Christian centuries complain repeatedly of the heretics (*minim*) who taught the existence of two gods. Dissident Jewish teachers believed that God had a representative, bearing his name Jao (the abbreviation of YHVH), who was therefore called Jaoel. According to this view, Jaoel sat upon a throne next to God's throne and was therefore called Metatron (a Greek loanword). In reality, however, Jaoel is nothing but an angel, the most important angel, the one who is called the angel of the Lord in the Hebrew Bible. Some dissident Jews called Magharians said that all anthropomorphisms in the Old Testament applied not to God himself but to this angel, who is also said to have created the world. In a Samaritan (i.e., heterodox Jewish) source called *Malef*, which is late but transmits earlier traditions, it is stated that the angel of the Lord formed the body of Adam from dust of the earth and that God breathed the breath of life into him.

Such views must have been known already to Philo of Alexandria, who polemicizes against them yet at the same time calls the Logos, who is instrumental in creation, both "a second god" and "archangel" on the one hand and "Lord" (YHVH) and "Name" (i.e., YHVH) on the other. Jewish Gnostics such as Simon and Cerinthus affirm that the demiurge (identified with YHVH) was in fact this angel of the Lord, who had not yet rebelled against God. In the *Apocryphon of John* the angel is called Saklas (Aramaic for "fool") because he does not know that there is a God greater than he. Valentinus, Marcion, and Apelles, who were familiar with the myth contained in the *Apocryphon of John*, all held that the demiurge was an angel. This is a typically Jewish concept. A non-Jew, when suffering under the misery of the world, would simply have declared that the *Genesis* story was a myth without truth; he could not have cared less about the origin of Jewish law. Only those who had been brought up to believe every word of the Bible and to cling to the faith that God is one, and who yet found reason to rebel against their inheritance, would have inclined toward the Gnostic solution: God is one and the Bible reveals the truth, but anthropomorphisms such as the handicraft of a creative workman and personal lawgiving are to be attributed to a subordinate angel.

The god within. The biblical *Book of Genesis* relates that God blew the breath of life into the nose of Adam, transforming him into a living being (*Gn.* 2:7). Already in certain passages of the Old Testament (*Jb.* 34:13–15, *Ps.* 104:29–30), this breath is identified with the spirit of God. That is especially clear in the Dead Sea Scrolls: "I, the creature of dust, have known through the spirit, that Thou hast given me." The Alexandrian Jews have integrated and amplified this concept. They were familiar with Greek philosophy and knew that the Orphics, Plato, and the Stoics considered the human soul to be a part of the deity. They were influenced by the Stoic Posidonius (c. 100 BCE), according to whom "the daimon in us [the spirit] is akin to *and of the same nature* as the Daimon [God] who pervades the All." The oldest translators of the Septuagint rendered "breath" (Heb., *neshamah*) in *Genesis* 2:7 as "spirit" (Gr., *pneuma*). This variant is evidenced by the Old Latin Version (*spiritus*) translated from the Septuagint. Philo polemicizes against this particular translation because it deifies sinful man (*Allegorical Interpretation* 1; 13). And yet the Alexandrian *Wisdom of Solomon*, still included in every Roman Catholic Bible, declares explicitly that God's incorruptible *pneuma* is in all things (12:1). Most Gnostics preserved this tendentious translation and made it the basis for their mythological speculations. It enabled them to tell how it came to pass that the Spirit sleeps in man and how it can be made conscious. So it is with Valentinus and Mani. Few people nowadays are aware that these mythologems presuppose a consensus of virtually all Greek philosophers and have a biblical foundation.

JEWISH GNOSTICISM. The themes discussed above are the basic elements that contributed to the rise of a Jewish Gnosticism, whose myth is contained in the *Apocryphon of John* and other related writings found at Nag Hammadi. The church father Irenaeus attributed this doctrine to the *gnōstikoi.* With this name he indicates not all those whom modern scholars call "Gnostics" but only the adherents of a specific sect. It is misleading to call them Sethians (descendants of Seth, the son of Adam), as some scholars do nowadays. Notwithstanding its name, the *Apocryphon of John* (a disciple of Jesus) contains no Christian elements apart from the foreword and some minor interpolations. It can be summarized as follows: from the Unknown God (who exists beyond thought and name) and his spouse (who is his counterpart and mirror) issued the spiritual world. The last of the spiritual entities, Sophia, became wanton and brought forth a monster, the demiurge. He organized the zodiac and the seven planets. He proclaimed: "I am a jealous god, apart from me there is no other." Then a voice was heard, teaching him that above him existed the Unknown God and his spouse. Next, the "first Man in the form of a man" manifested himself to the lower angels. He is the Glory of *Ezekiel* 1:26. His reflection appears in the waters of chaos (cf. the mirror of the Anthropos in *Poimandres*). Thereupon the lower angels created the body of Adam after the image that they had seen, an imitation of the Man, who clearly serves as an ideal archetype for the human body. For a long time the body of Adam lay unable to move, for the seven planetary angels were unable to raise it up. Then Sophia caused the demiurge to breathe the *pneuma* he had inherited from her into the face of his creature. So begins a long struggle between the redeeming Sophia and the malicious demiurge, the struggle for and against the awakening of human spiritual consciousness.

Written in Alexandria about the beginning of the Christian era, the myth of the *Apocryphon of John*, a pivotal and seminal writing, combines the Anthropos model and the Sophia model. It is very complicated and confusing but had enormous influence in the Near East, where so many remnants of great religions survive today. (In the 1980s, for example, there were 420 Samaritans and 30,000 Nestorians.) Even today some 15,000 Mandaeans (the Aramaic term for Gnostics) live in Iraq and Iran. Their religion features ablutions in streaming water and a funerary mass. When a Mandaean has died, a priest performs a complicated rite in order to return the soul to its heavenly abode, where it will receive a spiritual body. In this way, it is believed, the deceased is integrated into the so-called Secret Adam, the Glory, the divine body of God. This name confirms that, along with the Anthropos of *Poimandres* and the Adam Qadmon of later Jewish mysticism, this divine and heavenly figure is ultimately derived from the vision of the prophet Ezekiel. In Mandaean lore Sophia appears in degraded form as a mean and lewd creature called the Holy Spirit. The creation of the world is attributed to a lower demiurge, Ptahil, a pseudonym for the angel Gabriel (who, according to both the Mandaeans and the Magharians, is the angel who created the world).

The apostle Paul (or one of his pupils) maintains that Christ, who is for him the second Adam, is "the head of his Church, which is his body" (*Eph.* 1:22–23). The Christian is integrated into this body through baptism. Mandaean speculations about the Secret Adam may elucidate what Paul meant. In defining his view of the church as the mystical body of Christ, the apostle may be reflecting a familiarity with comparable Jewish and Hellenistic speculations about the *kavod* as the body of God. As a matter of fact, it has become clear from the verses of Ezekiel Tragicus that such ideas circulated in Alexandria long before the beginning of our era. They surfaced in Palestine toward the end of the first century CE in strictly Pharisaic circles that transmitted secret, esoteric traditions about the mystical journey of the sage through the seven heavenly places to behold the god Man on the throne of God. The author of the writing *Shiʿur Qoma*, the "measurement of the Body" of God, reports the enormous dimensions of the members of the Glory. The Orphics had taught that the cosmos was actually a divine body. Already early in Hellenistic Egypt similar speculations arose; these were the origin of the remarkable speculations of Palestinian rabbis concerning the mystical body of God. (These speculations ultimately led to the *Zohar*.) It is no coincidence that the Glory is called Geradamas (Arch-Adam) in some Nag Hammadi writings, Adam Qadmaia in Mandaean sources, and Adam Qadmon in medieval Jewish Gnosticism.

In the ninth century several groups of Islamic Gnostics arose in southern Iraq, where several other Gnostic sects had found refuge during late antiquity and where the Mandaeans continue to live today. The best-known Islamic Gnostics are the Ismāʿīlīyah, of which the Aga Khan is the religious leader. Mythological themes central to their religion are (1) the cycles of the seven prophets; (2) the throne and the letters; (3) Kuni, the creative principle, who is feminine (a typical remythologizing of a monotheistic Father religion); (4) the higher Pentad; (5) the infatuation of the lower demiurge; (6) the seven planets and the twelve signs of the zodiac; (7) the divine Adam; and (8) the fall and ascent of the soul.

Since the discovery of the Nag Hammadi codices it has been established that these themes are best explained as transpositions into an Islamic terminology of the Gnostic mythemes that are found in the *Apocryphon of John* and kindred documents of Jewish Gnosticism.

CHRISTIAN GNOSIS. According to a reliable tradition, Barnabas, a missionary of the Jerusalem congregation, was the first to bring the gospel to Alexandria, a relatively easy journey. Egyptian Christianity is Judaic in origin, not gentile, and the great Egyptian Gnostics seem all to have been of Jewish birth. The adherents of Basilides claimed: "We are no longer Jews and not yet Christians." The followers of Valentinus reported: "When we were Hebrews, we were orphans." Basilides and Valentinus both proclaimed a God beyond the Old Testament God, and both were familiar with the myth of the *Apocryphon of John*, which they christianized. The case of Marcion is similar: he was so well-informed about the Hebrew Bible and its flaws that his father, a bishop, may well be presumed to have been Jewish. Through a certain Cerdo, Marcion came to know an already existing Gnostic system. Those who reject the god of the Old Testament obviously no longer hold to the Jewish faith, but nevertheless still belong ethnically to the Jewish people. Both Valentinus and Marcion went to Rome and were excommunicated there between 140 and 150. Basilides, who stayed in Alexandria, remained a respected schoolmaster there until his death. The Christians in Alexandria were divided among several synagogues and could afford to be tolerant, for a monarchic bishop did not yet exist and their faith was pluriform anyhow. Basilides, Valentinus, and Marcion were Christocentric and let themselves be influenced by the *Gospel of John* and the letters of Paul.

Marcion. When Marcion, a rich shipowner from Sinope in Pontus (on the Black Sea), was excommunicated, he organized an enormous alternative church that persisted for a long time, especially in the East (e.g., in Armenia). Marcion was a violin with one string, a religious genius with one overpowering idea: God, the Father of Jesus, was not the Hebrew YHVH. Like the Gnostics, he distinguished between the Unknown God (whom he felt to be the only genuine God) and a lower divinity, the demiurge, who is responsible for creation and interacts with man. Above all, Marcion was fascinated by Paul's *Letter to the Galatians.* Following Paul, he contrasted the Law of the Old Testament and Israelite religion with the "gospel of forgiveness," which revealed the goodness of God.

Like his hero Paul, Marcion was overwhelmed by the unconditional and unwarranted love of God for poor creatures. This led him to deny the Gnostic idea that man's inmost Self is related to the Godhead. For Marcion, man is nothing more than the creation of a cruel demiurge; the loving God who has rescued him, without any ulterior motive but simply out of a freely bestowed loving kindness, is totally alien to man, his nature, and his fate.

Until Augustine, no one understood Paul as well as Marcion; yet Marcion, the one genuine pupil, misunderstood Paul as well. Notwithstanding his dialectics, Paul never rejected the created world, sexuality, or the people of Israel, as did Marcion.

Basilides. Basilides was active as the leader of a school in Alexandria in the time of the emperors Hadrian (r. 117–138) and Antoninus Pius (r. 138–161). He seems to have been one of those many liberal Jews who had left behind the concept of a personal lord for belief in the Unknown God. Yet he was never excommunicated and remained a respected member of the church of Alexandria until his death.

Basilides must have known the earlier Alexandrian, pre-Christian myth contained in the *Apocryphon of John.* He too begins his cosmogony with the Unknown God, "the not-being God, who made a not-yet-being world out of nothing" by bringing forth a single germ of the All. This germ was the primeval chaos. From it in due time one element after another arose on high, while below there remained only the so-called third sonship, or the Spirit in the spiritual man.

When the time was right, Jesus was enlightened at his baptism in the river Jordan (a typically Jewish-Christian notion). He is considered to be the prototype of all spiritual men, who through his revealing word become conscious of their innermost being, the Spirit, and rise up to the spiritual realm.

When the entire third sonship has redeemed itself, God will take pity on the world, and he will allow the descent of "the great unconsciousness" upon the rest of mankind. Thereafter no one will have even an inkling that there was ever anything like the Spirit. Basilides foresees a godless and classless society.

Valentinus. The greatest Gnostic of all times was the poet Valentinus. Despite his Latin name, he was a Greek born in the Nile Delta around the year 100 and educated in Alexandria. He and his followers did not separate from the church of Alexandria but created an academy for free research, which in turn formed a loose network of local groups within the institutional religion. Even among his opponents Valentinus became renowned for his eloquence and genius.

According to his own words, his views originated in a visionary experience in which he saw a newborn child. This vision inspired a "tragic myth," expressed by Valentinus in a psalm that described how the All emanates from the ground of being, called Depth, and his spouse, called Womb or Silence. Together they bring forth the Christ, or Logos, upon whom all aeons (half ideas, half angels) depend and through whom the All is coherent and connected. Through the revelation of Christ, Valentinus experienced the wholeness of the All, the fullness of being, and the nonentity "I and Thou" (known in Hinduism as *advaita*). Not dualism but duality is the underlying principle of reality, according to Valentinus: God himself is the transcendental unity of Depth and Silence; the aeons of the pleroma (spiritual world) are a diametrical union of the masculine, or creative, and the feminine, or receptive, principles; Christ and Sophia (Wisdom) are a couple (separated for a while on account of the trespass and fall of Sophia but in the end happily reunited). Man and his guardian angel, or transcendental counterpart, celebrate the mystical marriage of bride and bridgegroom (the Ego and the Self). Polarity (Gr., *suzugia*; Lat., *coniunctio*) is characteristic of all things spiritual. On the basis of this metaphysical view, Valentinus and his followers valued both sex and marriage, at least for the pneumatics. A preserved fragment from the school of Valentinus gives the following interpretation of Jesus' statement in the *Gospel of John* that the Christian lives in the world but is not from it (*Jn.* 17:14–16): "Whosoever is in the world and has not loved a woman so as to become one with her, is not out of the Truth and will not attain the Truth; but he who is *from* the world and unites with a woman, will not attain the Truth, because he made sex out of concupiscence alone." The Valentinians permitted intercourse only between men and women who were able to experience it as a mystery and a sacrament, namely, those who were pneumatics. They forbade it between those whom they called "psychics" (Jews and Catholics) or "hylics" (materialists), because these two lower classes knew nothing but libido. As the only early Christian on record who spoke lovingly about sexual intercourse and womanhood, Valentinus must have been a great lover.

The Jung Codex. On May 10, 1952, at the behest of the Jung Institute in Zurich, I acquired one of the thirteen codices found at Nag Hammadi in 1945. In honor of the great psychiatrist who helped to put this manuscript at the disposal of competent scholars, it is called the Jung Codex. It contains five Valentinian writings:

1. The *Prayer of the Apostle Paul.*

2. The *Apocryphon of James* is a letter purporting to contain revelations of the risen Jesus, written by James, his brother. In reality, it contains Valentinian speculations grafted onto the root and fatness of the olive tree planted beside the waters of the Nile by Hebrew missionaries from Jerusalem (c. 160).
3. The *Gospel of Truth* is a meditation on the true eternal gospel proclaimed by Christ to awaken man's innermost being, the unconscious Spirit, probably written by Valentinus himself in about 150.
4. The *Epistle to Rheginos concerning the Resurrection* is adequate explanation of Paul's view on the subject: already, here and now, man anticipates eternal life, and after death he will receive an ethereal body.
5. The so-called *Tripartite Treatise* is a systematic and consistent exposition of the history of the All. It describes how the Spirit evolves through the inferno of a materialistic (pagan or "hylic") phase and the purgatory of a moral (Jewish and Catholic or "psychic") phase to the coming of Christ, who inaugurates the *paradiso* of final consummation, in which spiritual man becomes conscious of himself and of his identity with the Unknown God. The author, a leader of the Italic (Roman) school of Valentinianism, was most likely Heracleon (c. 170). It was against this shade of Valentinian gnosis that Plotinus, the Neoplatonic philosopher, wrote his pamphlet *Against the Gnostics* (c. 250).

LATER DEVELOPMENTS. Scholars have always admitted that Origen (c. 180–254), the greatest dogmatician of the Greek church, had much in common with the Valentinians: the spirits fall away from God and become souls before the creation of the world; the world purifies the soul; Jesus brings not only redemption to the faithful but also gnosis to the pneumatics. But whereas Valentinus was said to have taught predestination physics (the teaching that spiritual man was saved by nature), Origen on the contrary allegedly stressed free will. The *Tripartite Treatise* has undermined this apologetic position. There evil is no longer a tragic neurosis that befell Sophia but a free decision. Moreover, this writing is thoroughly optimistic: all is for the best in the best of all possible worlds, and providence educates mankind toward the realization of complete consciousness, as in Origen's soteriology. Some path led from the tragic view of Valentinus to the optimism of Heracleon, and from Heracleon to Origen was only one step more.

The Valentinians of Carthage spoke Latin, whereas the Christians in Rome spoke Greek. Translating their technical terms from Greek, the Valentinians coined Latin equivalents of *infinite*, *consubstantial*, *trinity*, *person*, and *substance*. These terms were eventually adopted by the Roman Catholic church. If ever there was a community that created a special language, it was the school of Valentinus at Carthage.

Mani. Gnosticism became a world religion when Mani (216–277) founded his alternative Christian church, which existed for more than a thousand years with adherents in lands from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific. From his fourth until his twenty-fifth year Mani was raised in a Jewish-Christian community of Baptists, followers of the prophet Elxai (c. 100). There he heard, first, that Jesus was "the true prophet," a manifestation of God's glory *(kavod)* who was first embodied in Adam, then revealed himself to the Old Testament patriarchs and was ultimately incarnated in the Messiah, Jesus. He also heard, second, that baptisms and ablutions were necessary for salvation and, third, that God was the origin of evil since Satan was the left hand of God. He modified the first belief, identifying himself as the seal of the prophets, who included the Buddha and Zarathushtra in the East and Jesus in the West. The second belief he rejected; in fact, he admitted no sacraments at all. Against the third belief he, being a cripple, rebelled with all his might. Evil, in Mani's view, did not originate in the world of light but had its source in a different principle, the world of darkness, matter, and concupiscence.

Influenced by encratitic asceticism of the Aramaic Christians of Asia, Mani rejected marriage and the consumption of alcohol and meat, and he designated among his followers an upper class of the elect who lived according to the Sermon on the Mount and a lower class of auditors who were allowed to have wives or concubines and to practice birth control. But very much in the spirit of Valentinus was Mani's primary religious experience. The basis of his entire myth, the encounter with his "twin" or transcendental Self, is Gnostic, very much in the spirit of Valentinus: "I recognized him and understood that he was my Self from whom I had been separated." Mani encountered his spiritual Self at the age of twelve and encountered it a second time at the age of twenty-five. He felt constantly accompanied by his twin, and when he died a martyr in prison he was gazing at this familiar. The encounter with one's twin is central to the life of every Manichaean. The mystery of conjunction, the holy marriage of Ego and Self, is thereby democratized. To illustrate this process, Mani related a myth that is indebted to earlier Gnostic movements. For Mani the world is in truth created by the Living Spirit, a manifestation of God, and not by a lower demiurge. But a split within the deity takes place when the archetypal Man loses in the battle against darkness, is thus overwhelmed, and abandons his soul as sparks of light dispersed throughout the material world and mankind. Man is contaminated in this way by concupiscence, an evil force from the world of darkness. The entire world system is devised to save these light elements and to restore man as Perfect Man in his original purity and integrity.

Augustine (354–430) was a Manichaean auditor for more than nine years before he became a Father of the Roman Catholic church. During that period he wrote a treatise (since lost), *On Beauty and Harmony*, in which he stated that the asexual mind was linked with a completely alien element of ire and concupiscence. As a heresy-hunter he later maintained that concupiscence was not created by God but was instead a consequence of the Fall. The assertion that the reproductive instinct is not a part of human nature does certainly have Manichaean overtones.

The Middle Ages. Manichaeism disappeared completely in the West and had no successors there: the term *medieval Manichee* is a misnomer. And yet Christianity during the Middle Ages both in western and in eastern Europe was not monolithically orthodox. Gnosticism flourished at that time. Such books as *Montaillou* by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie and *The Name of the Rose* by Umberto Eco have drawn the attention of a large public of interested outsiders to the existence of dualistic sects such as the Cathari in southern France and northern Italy and the Bogomils (or "friends of God") in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, because their views resemble those of the ancient Gnostics. Indeed, their affiliation with ancient Gnosticism, if somewhat complicated, is well established.

The Paulicians were typically Armenian sectarians who, persisting into modern times, turned up in 1837 in the village of Arh'wela (in Russian Armenia) with their holy book, the *Key of Truth* (eighth century). Two versions of their doctrine exist. According to one, Jesus was adopted to be the son of God. According to the second version, there are two gods; one is the Father in heaven, while the other is the creator of this world. This can be explained in the following way: Christianity was introduced to Armenia from Edessa at an early date, and Edessa owed its (adoptionist) Christology to Addai, the Jewish-Christian missionary from Jerusalem. When Roman Catholicism was established as the state church in 302 by Gregory the Illuminator, the Christians of Armenia were branded as heretics. Marcionites and Gnostics had taken refuge in these marginal and mountainous regions. They united with the adoptionists to become one sect, the Paulicians, soon a warlike group. The emperors of Byzantium deported quite a few of them to the Balkans, especially to Bulgaria. It was there that the sect of the Bogomils originated, characterized by the belief that the devil (Satanael) created and rules this world. Their influence spread to the West, and from the beginning of the eleventh century gave rise to the church of the Cathari, which was strong in southern France and northern Italy. Thus Gnosticism was never completely suppressed but survived into the Middle Ages.

Modern gnosis. The gnosis of modern times, launched by the shoemaker Jakob Boehme (c. 1600), was generated spontaneously as a result of direct experience. It differs from ancient Gnosticism in that it derives not only the light but also the darkness (not only good but also evil) from the ground of being. Inspired by Boehme is the influential gnosis of the English poet and artist William Blake (1757–1827), the only authentic Gnostic of the entire Anglo-Saxon world. It is in the school of Boehme that the scholarly study of Gnosticism has its roots, beginning with the *Impartial History of the Churches and Heresies* (1699) by Gottfried Arnold. In this extremely learned work all heretics, including all Gnostics, are represented as the true Christians—innocent and slandered lambs.

Ever since, the study of Gnosticism has been an accepted academic subject in Germany, but in Germany alone. In his youth Goethe read Arnold's book and conceived his own Gnostic system, as reported in his autobiography. Toward the end of his life Goethe recalled the love of his youth when he wrote the finale to *Faust*, the hierophany of "the Eternally Feminine," a version of the Gnostic Sophia, the exclusive manifestation of the deity. Johann Lorenz von Mosheim and other great historians also took gnosis quite seriously. The brilliant August Neander, who belonged to the conservative reaction to the Enlightenment called the Great Awakening Revivalism (*Erweckungsbewegung*), wrote his *Genetic Evolution of the Most Important Gnostic Systems* in 1818. Ferdinand Christian Baur, a prominent Hegelian, published his monumental *Christian Gnosis* in 1835, in which he defends the thesis that gnosis was a religious philosophy whose modern counterpart is the idealism of Schelling, Schleiermacher, and Hegel, all based upon the vision of Boehme. According to Baur, even German idealism was a form of gnosis. Yet when "the people of poets and thinkers" became, under Bismarck, a people of merchants and industrial workers, this wonderful empathy, this fantastic feel of gnosis, was almost completely lost.

Adolf von Harnack (1851–1930), the ideologue of Wilhelm's empire, defined Gnosticism as the acute, and orthodoxy as the chronic, hellenization (i.e., rationalization) and hence alienation of Christianity. At the time it was difficult to appreciate the experience behind the Gnostic symbols. Wilhelm Bousset, in his *Main Problems of Gnosis* (1907), described this religion as a museum of hoary and lifeless oriental (Indian, Iranian, Babylonian) fossils. The same unimaginative approach led Richard Reitzenstein, Geo Widengren, and Rudolf Bultmann to postulate an Iranian mystery of salvation that never existed but was supposed to explain Gnosticism, Manichaeism, and Christianity.

Existentialism and depth psychology were needed to rediscover the abysmal feelings that inspired the movement of gnosis. Hans Jonas (*The Gnostic Religion*, 1958) has depicted these feelings as dread, alienation, and an aversion to all worldly existence, as if the Gnostics were followers of Heidegger. In the same vein are the writings of Kurt Rudolph, the expert on Mandaeism.

Under the influence of Carl Gustav Jung, I and other scholars (e.g., Henri-Charles Puech and Károly Kerényi) have interpreted the Gnostic symbols as a mythical expression (i.e., projection) of self-experience. As a lone wolf, the Roman Catholic convert Erik Peterson suggested that the origins of Gnosticism were not Iranian or Greek but Jewish. The Gnostic writings from Nag Hammadi have shown Jung and Peterson to be in the right. At last the origins, development, and goal of this perennial philosophy have come to light.

SEE ALSO Aga Khan; Cathari; Demiurge; Hermes Trismegistos; Ḥokhmah; Mandaean Religion; Mani; Manichaeism; Marcion; Sophia; Theosophical Society.

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GILLES QUISPEL (1987)

GNOSTICISM: GNOSTICISM FROM ITS ORIGINS TO THE MIDDLE AGES [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

The term *Gnosticism* was coined in the eighteenth century to designate a composite ensemble of sects that arose from the late first century to the fourth century CE. These sects were classified by the Church Fathers among the earlier Christian heresies. Their adepts, in contrast with common believers, claimed to be endowed through an extraordinary revelation with spiritual awareness (Gk. *gnōsis*) concerning both God's hidden nature and the true human self, and to have deduced from that a mythological or theosophical account of the universe, the origin of evil, and otherworldly salvation. But the Gnostic phenomenon as a whole deserves a more flexible approach. Inasmuch as these sects, for the most part, were building up an entire doctrinal system of their own rather than simply discussing existing Christian doctrine (unlike later Christological or Trinitarian heresies), Gnosticism could hardly be reduced to an odd variant of Christianity; it was something quite original, although its dependence on the Judeo-Christian background remains central. Moreover, since the Gnostic movement existed historically in many diversified forms and single perspectives, any attempt at a specific definition is unsuitable. According to the Messina Congress (Bianchi, 1967), the name *Gnosticism* should be limited to the "Gnostic systems of the second century" referred to by Church Fathers and contemporary original texts; otherwise one should rather speak of *Gnosis* with its generic meaning of "knowledge of the divine mysteries." This is, of course, a compromise formula, which cannot obscure the fact that the foregoing roots of the second-century systems belong fully to the complexity of the Gnostic phenomenon.

THE EVIDENCE. Until the mid-twentieth century, the major sources for Gnosticism were the Church Fathers who dealt with heretics, the heresiologists (mainly Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Clement of Alexandria, and Epiphanius); some New Testament apocryphal writings (*Acts of Thomas, Acts of John*); and the double (Greek and Latin) version of a didactic romance falsely ascribed to Clement of Rome (*Pseudo-Clementines*). The only available Gnostic texts in the Coptic language, dating to the fourth century, were the two *Books of Jeu* and the so-called *Scriptum sine titulo* (*Bruce Codex*, from the purchaser's name, 1769) and the *Pistis Sophia* (*Askew Codex*, 1772). The *Corpus Hermeticum*, composed between the second and the fourth centuries and known in Europe since the Renaissance, is also commonly considered to be a Gnostic document. The *Corpus Hermeticum* numbers sixteen treatises in Greek, followed by fragments reportedly by the Byzantine erudite John of Stobi, Macedonia (Stobaeus), in which the salvific role of *gnōsis* is stressed in a pagan Greek-Egyptian framework. A dramatic increase in scholarly knowledge on Gnosticism took place thanks to the discovery in 1945 of the thirteen codices of Nag Hammadi, Egypt, which contained the *Apocryphon of John* (in four versions) and the *Gospel of Thomas*, along with forty-eight other remarkable writings in Coptic. All Nag Hammadi texts are thought to have been translated from Greek originals of the second or third century.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE: THE EMERGENCE STAGE. The earliest forms of Gnosticism (c. 50–120 CE) originated within different religious milieus of the late-first-century Middle East, in which a sectarian nonrabbinical Judaism and a still fluid and creative Christian mission were unfolding, sometimes reacting upon one another.

Baptist Samaritan sects. The movement founded by John the Baptist split in several offshoots (Jesus' group included therein) after John's death around 27 CE. In one of these sects, headed in turn by three Samaritans (Dositheus, Simon, and Menander), there emerged for the first time the idea that the world was the creation of more or less depraved angels who "ignored" the existence of the highest God—a striking radicalization of the apocalyptic angelology that was widespread in contemporary Judaism. The baptismal ritual therefore accomplished not only the remission of sins but also a regeneration, by means of which the natural death allotted to humans by the ruling angels could be overcome.

Analogously to concurrent Christian preaching, the Samaritan baptist sect requested from its adherents a belief in the person of the founder, or actual leader, who was viewed as the embodiment of God's power, spirit, or wisdom, and as the redeemer and revealer of true "knowledge." But unlike Christianity, this knowledge was given a marked mythological aspect. Irenaeus reports (1.23) that Simon drew up a mythical theology according to which God's personified power and wisdom (Gk. *dunamis, ennoia*) had been seized or raped by the wicked angels, and imprisoned successively in many female bodies, at last appearing as Simon's own concubine Helen, a former prostitute. Simon himself would have been the incarnation of the supreme God descended on earth to release her.

While the Simonian myth still seemed to be a personal adaptation of the prophet Hosea's story (*Hos.* 3:1), a decisive step toward an anti-biblical and anti-Jewish attitude was made by Saturninus (or Satornil, possibly an Aramaic version of the Latin name) operating around 100 CE in Antioch, Syria, where the sect had moved under Menander. Working out a combined interpretation of *Genesis* 1:27 and 2:7, Saturninus taught that seven angelic powers (a plain allusion to the Jewish godhead) fashioned a puppy resembling the image of the higher God in the form of a man. The inanimate *gōlem* was given by God the spirit of life, through which he gained a higher-ranking status than his fabricators (Irenaeus 1.25). This narrative was variously echoed in later Gnostic mythology. Hippolytus (6.9–18) reports an abstract of an alleged Simonian writing, *Great Revelation*, in which nothing of the Ennoia-Helen myth is mentioned. It seems a qabbalistic Midrash of *Genesis* 1–2, enriched with philosophical references. The godly first principle, symbolized as "fire," has a double nature, a standing one (Gk. *estōs*) and a dynamic one; the latter includes seven "powers," of which the seventh represents the divinity as concealed inside every being. This book was presumably written in the late second century.

Jewish-Christianity. Other offspring of the former baptist movement joined the Christians. The outcome of such mingling was the so-called Jewish-Christianity prevailing in Palestine and Syria, which, besides the baptismal ritual, maintained the basic observances of the Mosaic Torah. The Jewish-Christians held the "Christ" (Messiah) to be an eternal aspect of God's hidden nature, his "spirit" and "truth," who revealed himself throughout sacred history wearing the flesh of elected men or prophets (this idea of a forthcoming revelation can be traced back to the Dead Sea Scrolls). Such a function of the "true prophet" had been performed in the past by Adam, Seth, Henoch, Melchizedek, Moses, and more recently by Jesus, an ordinary human being on whom the "Christ" would have been "poured" in the moment of his baptism. The *Pseudo-Clementines* and the heresiological accounts about Cerinthus, the Nazoraeans, and the Hebionites illustrate such an interpretation of the Jesus figure (Irenaeus 1.26; Hippolytus 7.33–34; Epiphanius 28–30).

Around 100 CE a dissident Babylonian Jew named (or nicknamed) Elcasai begun to preach about an ecstatic experience he would have had, in which the Christ, along with his "sister" (or spouse), the spirit, appeared to him in their eternal form as a male and a female figure of colossal size (Hippolytus 9.13; Epiphanius 19). Elcasai gathered a new baptist congregation (perhaps a proper religion more than a sect, somewhat similar to the Mandaeans of Iraq) with a foremost apocalyptic doctrine, in addition to a peculiar Christian ingredient: Christ was apparently both God's son and a divine substance scattered everywhere (*Cologne Codex,* p. 97), as is also said in the *Gospel of Thomas* (77, and cf. Epiphanius 26.3). The young Mani took over this topic, probably while growing up in the center of this congregation in lower Mesopotamia. From the Parthian territory Elcasaitic, the movement spread rapidly into Roman Syria and gained adherents among the Christians of the Roman capital.

Christian radicalism and theosophy. The early Christian communities that broke with Jewish national religion (though keeping much of Judaic lore and symbolism) became, in a different way, original settings of Gnostic ideas. The starting point seems to have been a radicalization of the teachings of the apostles Paul and John, particularly in the sharp antithesis between flesh and spirit, the stressing of charismatic faculties and performances, and the rejection of the Jewish Law, which was viewed as imposed by defective angelic powers called *archons.* Some Christian thinkers drew the assumption, which is found throughout the history of Gnosticism, that the spirit (or the soul) alone is both object and subject of salvation, since all flesh belongs to the evil realm of the archons. They consistently denied Jesus' real incarnation and bodily resurrection. The followers of Jesus should also have no concern for their bodies, because only souls can be saved, namely by faith. Two radical consequences were in keeping with this rationale: the "elects" could either abolish any socially acknowledged norm, pursuing asceticism instead (Encratites: Clement, *Stromateis* 3.6 and 13), or they could yield themselves to immorality, since they had no ethical requirement with which to comply during their earthly existence (Nicolaites: Clement 3.4; Epiphanius 25).

Most likely, such milieus diffused the word *gnōstikos* (rarely attested in Greek, maybe an adaptation of the Hebrew *maśkīl),* which usually designated the conscious, well-cultivated Christian believer, but was also used by Christian radicals to describe themselves, insofar as they presumed a deeper insight and felt they were allowed an unrestrained freedom. Only in a few cases, however, did the term serve as a self-definition for Gnostic sects.

The Christianity of Alexandria, Egypt, became a veritable cradle of Gnosticism. The local church had a Jewish-Christian origin, gaining its members from both the Hebrew minority and the Greek majority of the town. The latter became dominant after the collapse of the Jewish community with the revolt of 115 to 117, giving anti-Jewish attitudes the upper hand. The Alexandrian ambience encouraged theological inquiry, which was developing freely since no definite border between "orthodoxy" and "heresy" existed yet. Various cultural patterns were available for Christian intellectuals *(gnōstikoi)* in conformity with their different backgrounds: Judaic apocalypticism, speculation on divine wisdom (as it had been undertaken by Philo), Greek philosophy, and Hellenistic mystery religions.

The transition from the Christian radical meaning of *gnōstikos* to "Gnostic" in the modern sense is exemplified by Carpocrates, a Greek Alexandrine active in the first decades of the second century. Carpocrates taught that Jesus was an ordinary man whose soul had realized the existence of a higher unknown God; Carpocrates therefore despised Jewish customs as devotion to maleficent world-ruling angels. Carpocrates and his son Epiphanes led a libertine sect of self-named Gnostics that combined extreme Pauline antinomism with topics borrowed from ancient Greek sophists (e.g., the appreciation of "nature" against social convention) and Jesus worship with syncretistic cults (Irenaeus 1.25; Clement 3.2).

Similar views were held later by Prodicus, the Antitacti (Clement 3.4), and other sects hinting at re-evaluating the negative figures of the Old Testament, such as the Cainites (Irenaeus 1.31).

A different perspective is offered by what was possibly the earliest Gnostic document known to us (c. 100), a Nag Hammadi treatise in the form of a letter, titled by the alleged author's name, *Eugnostos the Blessed.* It is a theosophical account of the supreme godhead displayed as a fourfold structure that expands progressively: (1) the all-transcendent God; (2) his likeness, the Light Man or the Father; (3) the latter's son, the Son of Man; and (4) the Son of the Son of Man, or the Savior. Figures 2 to 4 each include a female partner named *Sophia* (wisdom). The fourth couple engenders 365 "magnitudes" or space-time dimensions (aeons) in the shape of angels, who typify the cosmic order. Such a revelation of a quadripartite godhead was rooted in Judaic mystical circles building on *Ezekiel* 1. Christianity is not mentioned in the text, but the references to *Father, Son,* and *Savior* can hardly be understood as other than Christian suggestions. Sometime later the *Eugnostos* treatise was more explicitly Christianized when its contents were recycled under the title *Sophia of Jesus Christ* (Nag Hammadi codex III).

MATURE GNOSTICISM (C. 120–200). The Gnostic movement reached its acme during the Antonine age. There was a proliferation of groups, each having a distinctive rationale, even if links existed among at least a few of them and some aspects might occasionally be shared. Little is known about the social composition of such groups. In the Syrian and Egyptian countryside the adepts were poor farmers, but in the towns the groups included wealthy citizens, merchants, and intellectuals. Members of these groups apparently had no interest in political issues. In this time of religious persecution, Catholics were blaming Gnostics for practicing dissimulation.

Sethite-Barbeloite *Gnosis.* One self-designated Gnostic School, according to Irenaeus (1.11, 30), introduced a female as a full member into the male scheme of the quadripartite godhead (*Eugnostos*) and made her the protagonist of a myth that explained the origin of evil by means of an accident that occurred in the divine "family." There are two versions of the myth. In one version the fourfold scheme is personified as an androgynous figure with prevailing female traits called Barbēlō ("God-[is]-in-the-Four" in Aramaic), the Daughter-Spouse of God, who generates the Son (Christ) and the chief of the lower angels or archons, Yaldabaoth (Aramaic *yalda',* "youth"), a caricature of the biblical creator. Barbēlō prostitutes herself to the archons willingly (unlike the Simonian Ennoia myth) and consequently some part of her divine *dunamis* falls in their hands, forming human souls to be rescued (Epiphanius 25.3, 26.10). In the second version a female member of the quaternary named Holy Spirit, Wisdom (Gk. S*ophia*), or "Harlot" (Gk. *Prounikos*) ventures to the outer darkness and gives birth there to Yaldabaoth, the minor God who creates the world along with a cohort of maleficent archons. Later she repents. An interpretation of the *Genesis* narrative, similar to that of Saturninus, follows. The elevation of the first human, created by the archons as their servant, is illustrated by an inverted exegesis of the biblical episode about the tree of knowledge: Yaldabaoth forbids eating from the tree, but Adam is induced to contradict him (antinomism) by Sophia, temporarily embodied in Eve (or in the serpent). So what the Bible explained as a sin becomes here advancement, through which Adam obtains the *gnōsis* and the divine *pneuma* inherited thereafter by his third son, Seth (Irenaeus 1.30, Epiphanius 37.3).

Both versions have been revised and amalgamated in the *Apocryphon of John*, composed in Egypt around 120, which gives the standard form of the story (Nag Hammadi codex II). In this text, Barbēlō and Sophia are two distinct figures. Barbēlō, the likeness of the absolute, produces a complicated structure of aeons (the *plērōma*) among which the heavenly Seth (linked to Christ) is exalted as the ancestor of the Gnostic "race," having as an earthly counterpart Adam's son. Sophia is a subordinate aeon who carries the responsibility for the rise of the evil powers, but who also brings about human salvation. Jesus plays a key role as an earthly apparition of the heavenly Seth. The Sethites believed in predestination, as usual in sectarian circles. Only the true "seed of Seth" is saved because it shares the divine "pneumatic" nature and ought to return to its "place" of belonging; the other humans, creatures of the archons, have nowhere to go after death, so their spiritless souls are recycled in the lower world through reincarnation. The main Sethite ritual was baptism.

Recent scholarship has labeled the doctrines contained in the *Apocryphon of John* and related Nag Hammadi texts as Sethian Gnosticism. This is confusing, considering that the only "Sethians" mentioned in ancient sources are two later sects (Hippolytus 5.19–22 and Epiphanius 39), whose views had nothing in common and who had nothing to do with so-called Sethian Gnosticism. Of course the symbolic figure of Seth (Klijn, 1977) could be applied in very different contexts.

Gospel of Thomas. This masterwork of Gnostic literature was composed in northern Syria around 120 CE—the final accomplishment of an alternative Jesus tradition based on the "Lord's sayings" (*logia*) and not on biographical narrative. There are 114 such *logia* collected in Nag Hammadi Codex II, many of them converging with or altering verses of the canonical Gospels, but presumably other compilations existed, as can be inferred from references in the sources (Hippolytus 5.7.20). Any mythological frame is absent. Jesus is portrayed as a teacher who spoke in riddles and symbols. The central Gnostic notion is that of the "inside Man" or "Light-Man"—that is, the divine self (not the human "soul") hidden in the "garment" of flesh (24, 37). Being the everlasting "image" of God, this "inside Man" precedes earthly life and will be encountered in glory after death (18, 19). The "Hymn of the Pearl" in the *Acts of Thomas* (108–112) reflects such an idea.

Basilides was a prominent Christian theologian of Alexandria in the mid-second century CE. Only a few fragments of his ponderous works are extant. His main issue was the notion of divine grace assuring the salvation of the elects, a theory the heresiologists interpreted as natural predestination (frag. 11). Deeply influenced by Platonism, Basilides imputed sin to the embodiment of souls (frags. 6, 7) and explained human suffering as the consequence of sins committed in a previous existence (thus admitting reincarnation) since God should by no means be the cause of evil (frags. 4, 5). Basilides' disciples gave to his teachings a distinct Gnostic mark, as evidenced by the divergent reports of Irenaeus (1.24) and Hippolytus (7.20–27). Irenaeus's report looks like *Eugnostos*: a divine quaternary (denominated by Greek philosophical concepts) followed by 365 angels; God's first-born Son descends assuming the likeness of Jesus in order to free souls from the cosmic powers, but he only seemingly suffers death on the cross (docetism). Hippolytus's report also includes a divine quadruplet comprising the transcendent God and three "sonships." The third sonship falls into the lower regions under the rule of the archons and becomes the human souls; the archons acknowledge, however, the primacy of the true God and are converted to Him. Finally, Jesus, a man of the archontic world enlightened by the Spirit, preaches the gospel to bring about the rise of the third sonship to its due place.

Valentinus was another famous Christian theologian, Egyptian by birth, who taught in Rome in about the same period, well cultivated both in Platonic-Pythagorean philosophy and in Judaic mysticism. Valentinus described in fascinating imagery the likeness between God and humans, the intelligible sphere and the worldly reality sphere (frags. 1, 5), and the struggle inside the human "heart" between demonic influences and the Father's grace through Jesus the savior, the latter being conceived in a docetic way (frags. 2, 3). Analogously to Basilides, his thought was given a major Gnostic facet by his disciples. Valentinianism thus became the most dangerous adversary for the heresiologists, who provide an extensive account of it (Irenaeus 1.1–15, Hippolytus 6.29–36).

Valentinianism shares many features with Sethite-Barbeloite systems, though omitting their nomenclature. The myth of the aeon Sophia's fall is the central event. It is motivated, however, not through the crude sexual symbolism of the "Harlot" but by her willful emulation of the Father's generative act. Her incapacity to do so brings about the material world with its Fabricator (Demiurge), a defective but righteous God. Adam is given flesh and soul by the Demiurge, and *pneuma* (the divine self) by the repentant Sophia, but only one of his three sons (Seth) inherits it (Theodotus 54). Consequently there are three "natures" of humans: the "material" ones (*hulikoi*), who end in perdition; the "morally endowed" ones (*psukhikoi*), capable of a lower-range salvation; and the "spiritual" ones (*pneumatikoi*), predestinated to return to their divine place, having been appropriately instructed by Jesus' revelation.

Leading representatives of Valentinianism were Heracleon (who wrote a famous commentary on the *Gospel of John*), and Ptolemy, both operating in Rome. Driven out of the Roman church, the Valentinians spread their congregations in Syria and Egypt. Another community was founded in southern Gaul by Marcus the Magician, a noteworthy thinker who interpreted the Valentinian *plērōma* on behalf of a symbolic speculation about numbers and alphabet letters. This reflects a Jewish esoteric background.

Marcion. Coming from Asia Minor, "Little Mark" (Gk. *Markiōn*) preached in Rome around 150 CE his original vision of Christianity, which was grounded upon the antithesis between the righteous but merciless God of the Old Testament, who is the Demiurge of the material world, and the higher God of love, who sent Jesus Christ in order to free believers from the yoke of the law. Whether Marcion's theology can be classified as Gnostic is a long-debated question, but a few links are indeed evident, at least with some Gnostic groups: the distinction between the transcendent, "foreign" God and the creator; the emphasized anti-Jewish tendency; the idea of a purely spiritual salvation that excludes resurrection; and the docetic interpretation of the Jesus figure, denying his natural birth and bodily reality. The Marcionites were following a rigidly ascetic morality.

Serpent Gnostics. A few sects assumed their denomination after the "snake" symbol: the Naassenes (Heb. *nāḥāš*), also self-designated "Gnostics"; the Ophites or Ophians (Gk. *ophis*); and the Serpentarians (Lat. *serpens*). Moreover, the snake symbol is given a certain role by the Perates (from the Greek "nomads," or maybe from the Aramaic name of the Euphrates River), the Sethians, and the followers of an otherwise unknown Justin. The common geographical setting was Syria-Mesopotamia. The Ophites shared the Prounikos myth with the so-called Gnostic school and stressed the revealer function of the serpent toward Adam and Eve. Ritual handling of snakes was reportedly performed (Epiphanius 37). The Serpentarians' doctrine had the widespread Gnostic scheme of seven devilish archons of the material world (the Jewish God among them), arisen by a transgression of one member of the upper divine quaternary. Curiously, not a word about serpents is reported in the source (Theodoretus 11.78).

Once more a very different face of the Gnostic phenomenon is offered in the sects reported by Hippolytus (5.7–27). The general frame in this case is a triadic system of principles: (1) the supreme God; (2) an intermediary divine entity, sometimes associated with the serpent; and (3) matter, chaos, or darkness. According to the Naassenes, the heavenly Man—God's primary self-revelation—is lured by an earthly *gōlem* that resembles him, and he pours his "spirit" into the *gōlem*. The spirit remains consequently caught within human souls, but will be delivered as a result of Jesus' descent to earth. The snake (but also the phallus) symbolizes the spirit's yearning toward the highness. The Naassenes were eager to collect a huge amount of evidence derived from the Hellenistic mystery cults in order to indicate that pagan religion was also pursuing similar tenets and had similar purposes.

For the Perates, the serpent represents God's Son, swinging between the mutually opposed Father and matter. His serpentine movements imprint the forms of the fatherly powers on shapeless matter, which thence produces the multiplicity of living beings in the natural world. However, this scheme, borrowed from Plato's *Timaeus*, assumes here a negative meaning because worldly becoming is mastered by malignant astral forces from which the divine forms need to be saved. The serpent, portrayed as *logos* or Christ, implements also a revealer and a redeemer function. The creed of the Sethians is very similar. Numberless powers contained in the three principles (light, spirit, and darkness) clash and the natural world is grounded on the resulting mixture, with an awful winged serpent symbolizing the force that rules it. Christ disguises himself as a serpent in order to assist incognito the salvation of the spiritual particles dispersed in nature. The *Paraphrasis of Šēem* (Nag Hammadi Codex VII) matches this doctrine, but the savior is named here *Derdekeas* instead of Christ. The Sethian myth anticipates Manichaeism in several features.

Another triadic system, but without snake symbolism, was held by the Docetes (Hippolytus 8.8–9), a Christian sect with an optimistic view analogous to that of Valentinus and Basilides. Christ is the common "fruit" generated by all the powers of the three principles. Being more of a comprehensive symbol than a real person, Christ is thought to assume as many faces as there are religious visions trying to grasp his mystery.

Hermetism. The opening *Corpus Hermeticum* treatise, *Poimandres* (the meaning of the title is unclear) is close to the Gnostic mythical narrative. The second-born God's Son, named Man (the former being the Demiurge), is lured down by his own luminous likeness, which he has cast on lower Nature, while Nature becomes enamored of him and embraces him warmly on his descent. This mutual misunderstanding grounds the conjunction of spiritual and material elements, which make up human reality. The revelation of Hermes, "the thrice most Great" (*trismegistos*), was an attempt to appraise pagan tradition on behalf of Platonic concepts, but Judaic influences were also involved (*Corpus Hermeticum* III). Unlike the Gnostics, Hermetism suggested a predominantly positive vision of the world as upholding divine providence, immortality of the soul, and free will. Only the earthly sphere is affected by evil, due to the presence of matter, astral powers, demons, and fate. Through philosophical reflection, the enlightened one releases himself from bodily bounds and awakens to the awareness of his divine self (*Corpus Hermeticum* X, XII, XIII).

LATER DEVELOPMENTS (C. 200–390). During the third century the increasing aversion of the Catholic Church toward heretics, along with a general setback in the cultural and economic conditions of the Roman Empire, led to a decline of the Gnostic movement. Rebuffed by official Christianity, Valentinian and Marcionite congregations survived for a time in Asia, keeping a low profile. The more cultivated Sethite-Barbeloite sectarians attempted instead to find a new haven within Platonic philosophy, but encountered disdain from Plotinus (*Enneads* 2.9), whose lectures some of them had been attending in Rome around 260. The last masterworks of Gnostic literature were composed in this circle: *Zostrianos*, *Allogenes,* and *Marsanes* (Nag Hammadi Codices VIII, X, XI). Unlike earlier Sethite writings, there is little interest in mythology or the destiny of humankind in these works; the *plērōma* with its hierarchy of divine beings is nothing but a figured frame in which the inner meditation of the elect takes place, like an ecstatic voyage, mounting stage by stage until the identification of the true self with the One.

In the Constantinian age many sects were still abiding in the Syrian-Palestinian countryside: Elcasaites, Sethians, Archontics, Severians, Audians (Epiphanius 19, 38, 40, 45, 70; Theodoretus 11.63). These were mostly tiny ascetic groups, the last one notably pro-Jewish, whose rationales repeated in narrower form the topic of the wicked archons and the struggle of the elects against them. This same struggle was also interpreted by some fanciful Egyptian antinomian sects (Epiphanius 26.3–4) in the form of free sex performed as a sacramental rite and representing the appropriate means for impoverishing the archons of the life-energy they would have snatched from Barbēlō and concealed in human bodies.

The writings of the *Bruce* and *Askew* codices belong to the devotional ascetic side of Egyptian late Gnosticism. They offer an abstruse and overwrought description (with Sethite nomenclature) of the full-scale *plērōma,* ranging from the Godfather down to the earth, with passwords allowing the souls of deceased Gnostics to cross the angelic boundaries and ascend safely to the upper levels. When Christianity became the state religion of the Roman Empire in 391, all these sects went underground or over to Manichaeism, which carried out in its own way the heritage of Gnostic thought.

GENERAL OVERVIEW. What we now call *Gnosticism* is actually nothing but a set of topics singly elaborated, sometimes with similarities, by multifarious sects, each of which had a different origin and a peculiar placing at the crossroads of Judaism, Christianity, and the Hellenistic religions. These sects had in common only a kind of insight—a hermeneutics—that aimed to grasp a deeper truth in the existing religious or philosophical tradition, a truth that professional clerics and philosophers would have been unaware of.

Three elements were amalgamated through the implementation of such a project. The first was the investigation of the supreme deity above all ethnically determinate gods, which comes from Judaic esotericism. This deity is not a single being but a structure, thus bearing in its own complexity—and consequent fragility—the premise for the occurrence of evil described in mythical language (the same topic will be found in the Qabbalah). God is moreover the inexhaustible life energy (Light) that all inferior aeons, angels, and demons are yearning to share or to seize. Light essentially shines out of itself, and thus brings about the hidden God's likeness, revealing itself in human form either as heavenly Man or as Light-Man inside earthly humans. Salvation, as an actual process, means the recovery of the divine substance fallen outwards and scattered in the material sphere under the rule of the cosmic powers; from a subjective viewpoint, the discovery of one's deepest self.

Secondly, there is the Christian element. Salvation cannot be accomplished by moral deeds or by philosophical learning unless God's grace intervenes through the descent and commitment of a savior—it does not matter if the savior is named *Christ* or has another name—who restores his "brothers" to the place to which they belong. The stress on the symbolic features of the redeemer figure forms the basic difference with respect to the more realistic Catholic Christology.

But Gnosticism is not only engaged in theological speculation, because awareness of "mysteries" implies a better knowledge of the natural and historical world. That is the third element—the acquaintance of most Gnostic groups with Hellenistic culture. Because this world, though degraded, displays somehow an "imitation" (*tupos*) of the divine realm, both natural phenomena and the achievements of human culture can be exploited in order to recognize therein traces and evidence of Gnostic truth.

SEE ALSO Hellenistic Religions; Hermetism; Mani; Manichaeism, overview article; Nag Hammadi; Platonism.

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ALDO MAGRIS (2005)

GNOSTICISM: GNOSTICISM FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE PRESENT

To a large extent Gnosticism in antiquity and later is part of a discourse meant to determine "the other" as "heretic" for the sake of shaping an identity for the Jewish, Christian, and Islamic orthodoxies. Hence, when discussing Gnosticism in any period of the history of religions, it must be kept in mind that one is dealing with the construction of a world-view that always served to emphasize "difference" in order to exclude individuals and groups from the "legitimate." Since late antiquity, certain forms of thought and, in particular, combinations of certain forms of thought, have been perceived as undesirable and therefore heretical. The undesirable elements that made up Gnostic heresies were the division of the world and humankind into a realm of light and a realm of darkness, individual (i.e. not church-controlled) encratism, individual spiritual charisma, and sometimes a blurring of gender boundaries.

THE NOTION OF GNOSTICISM IN THE CONTEXT OF WESTERN CULTURE. Although the emerging Christian orthodoxies succeeded in defeating the Gnostic trends inherent in their cultural and religious heritage, Gnosticism did survive and made considerable contributions to the European (including the Jewish component) as well as to the Islamic history of ideas.

Following the suppression of larger Gnostic movements from the second to the mid-fourth century CE, the earliest Gnostic-type heretic appears to be Priscillian of Ávila, consecrated as bishop in 380, done away with as a heretic in 385. The case of this very erudite Spanish nobleman shows how Christian orthodoxy confined itself by banishing from Christian thought and practice cosmological and anthropological dualism, unauthorized religious authority, non-institutional encratism, and the quest for class and gender equality. From this point, Gnostic patterns of thought and belief are particularly noticeable in subversive, counterculture movements. A number of historians of religions and philosophers share the opinion that Gnosticism as a form of thought ought not to be limited to the full-blown systems of later antiquity, but can also be applied to other currents. This opinion relies on a certain view of a mainstream Western culture. According to this view, Western culture is world-affirming in that, first, there is a link between the universe and a positively acknowledged God as its creator and second, divine providence has determined this world as the place for humankind. Against this background, Gnosticism is often defined as a *Weltanschauung* that rejects this basic affirmation, hence its countercultural character. Interpreted in this mode, Gnosticism appears as "foreignness of the world" (*Weltfremdheit,* according to the German philosopher Peter Sloterdijk) or "metaphysical revolt" (Sloterdijk and Macho, 1991).

THE DYNAMICS OF MONISM AND DUALISM IN GNOSTICISM. The impact of Gnostic thought on the Western history of ideas is most obvious in the appearance of dualistic heresies during the Middle Ages, but can by no means be limited to them. On the contrary, Gnosticism can only be understood fully when one gives weight to the dynamics of dualism and monism in this distinct type of world-view. This is particularly important in dealing with neo-Gnosticism, because most of the transmission of Gnostic themes from antiquity through the Middle Ages—including medieval Islam and early modern Europe—remains obscure. The subliminal but seemingly ever-present potential for new Gnostic uprisings may be explained by Gnosticism's basis in more acceptable mystical versions of Jewish, Christian, and Islamic faith.

The core of Gnostic theology appears to be an all-encompassing God who is described in negative terms (such as immeasurable, invisible, and ineffable) and who therefore must be completely detached from the cosmos. The concept of an anti-God—(often identified with the God of the Old Testament) evolves primarily out of a Gnostic group's identity struggle with its broader cultic milieu. This pattern can be detected throughout the history of Gnosticism and explains the sometimes sudden revivals of rebellious dualistic separatism. Whereas monism is usually expressed through philosophical speculation and theories, Gnostic dualism is communicated through myths—usually creation myths—that transform the rejection and persecution members experience into a vivid metaphysical drama. These myths relate the origins of the Gnostic people in purely spiritual realms of the silent god, the fall of one of his creatures, and the subsequent evolution of psychic and physical layers of existence, where orthodox opponents reside. The fallen figures—the Primal Man (in Jewish Gnosticism and in Manichaeism), Sophia or Lucifer (in Christian Gnosticism), Kūni or Iblīs (in Islamic Gnosticism)—deserve special attention, for according to Gnostic understanding they can also provide salvation. This concept of salvation obviously points to the monistic matrix from which Gnostic dualism develops.

The peculiar dynamics of dualistic myths and monistic mysticisms may explain why some world-friendly religious movements have been characterized as Gnostic. Although

Christian mysticism describes an internal path of the individual soul to God, the label “Gnosticism” has also been applied to attempts at knowing God and the spiritual through the world, emphasizing the word *through.* Actually, it would be more adequate to classify such efforts as “Hermetic.” Gnosticism and Hermeticism were closely intertwined in late antiquity, and Manichaeism, as well as some texts found in Nag Hammadi (e.g. *Asclepius; On the Origin of the World; The Paraphrase of Shem*), reveal a generally pro-cosmic attitude. Interest in Hermeticism was renewed in the Renaissance and taken up by Christian heretics. In early modern times this led to a new fusion of Hermetic ideas with Christian Gnosis, which was called *Pansophy* (Overall Wisdom) or *Natural Philosophy.*

Developments of Jewish and Islamic Gnosis in the Early Middle Ages. Jewish speculative and apocalyptic thought provided a rich source of semi-Gnostic cosmologies during the Middle Ages. Gnostic thought was communicated through the circulation of the *Sefer Yetsira,* edited probably in the ninth century. The text is essentially non-dualistic, showing the earliest roots of the Qabbalistic systems, which appeared in fully developed systems some centuries later.

Gnostic, Manichaean, Jewish, and Christian messianic ideas are likely to have influenced the first representatives of Shīʿah Gnosis. Just as Simon Magus was the archheretic of Christian Gnosis, the archheretic of Islamic *ghulūw* (“exaggeration”) was ʾAbdallāh ibn Sabaʾ al-Hamdānī. The only available biographical information about him says that he was of Jewish origin, a follower of the prophet Muḥammad’s son, the martyr ʾAli. He taught in the Iraqi town Kūfa that ʾAli had not really died but would reappear as the Mahdi in order to establish the kingdom of God.

Shīʿah movements, such as the Ismāʿīlīs, tend to endow their inspired messengers and salvational figures with cosmological significance. The *Kitāb al-Kashf* (*Book of Disclosure*), for example, relates the Ismāʿīlīs doctrine of the seven *imāms* (interpreters of divine teachings and themselves of otherworldly origin) to a cosmology with Qabbalistic traits, according to which God first created the letters of the alphabet. He creates them initially in two heptads (lines of seven). The first one corresponds to the prophets acknowledged widely by Shīʿah movements: Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muḥammad, and the Mahdi, who is still to come. The second heptad corresponds to the seven Ismāʿīlīs *imāms.* As in the Qabbalah, the cosmos is symbolized by script. Another early Ismāʿīlīs tractate, the *Book of the Heptad and the Shadows (Kitāb al-haft wa al-aẓilla),* describes how God creates seven heavens and paradises, which are also, although more vaguely, connected to the *imām*s.

Christian Dualistic Heresies during the Middle Ages. After the case of Priscillian in the fourth century, the Byzantine as well as the Catholic orthodoxy succeeded in suppressing features considered Gnostic, but when people started to question the socio-economic order and the religious and intellectual premises upholding it, interest in ancient alternative forms of Christianity was renewed, particularly in the major European cities.

In the fourth and fifth centuries, adherents of Gnostic ideas who were fleeing church persecution sought refuge in Armenia. By the end of the seventh century, the Paulician movement emerged in Armenia and the northern regions of Syria. The movement’s name was probably derived from their high regard for the apostle Paul. The first Paulician known to us by name was Constantine of Mananalis; he was said to have received his teachings in Samosata on the upper Euphrates. The Paulicians combined radicalized Pauline ideas with strong, even militant, demands for the Byzantine church to act in accordance with the early Christian idealization of poverty. Persecuted by both Christians and Muslims, the Paulicians were nearly destroyed in the eighth century but managed to gain importance again under the reformer Sergius Tychikos (d. 835). A large number of them were killed during the reign of the Byzantine empress Theodora, but Paulicianism survived in remote areas of the Byzantine Empire. The last retreat for Paulicians was Thrace, where their presence was still recorded in 1116.

Another dualistic movement containing unequivocally Gnostic elements burst forth in medieval Bulgaria under the influence of the Paulician mission. This heresy was named after its founder Bogomil, who was a village priest in the region south of Skopje, today belonging to Macedonia. The Bogomilian uprising took place in the second half of the tenth century, when southern parts of Bulgaria (which during the Middle Ages included wide areas of the Balkan between the Black and the Adriatic Seas) were being reconquered by Byzantium. As in the case of Paulicianism, the struggle of the Bogomils was not only one of heresy against orthodoxy, but also involved politics and social concerns. Paulicians and Bogomils were mostly peasants, whereas the Byzantine orthodoxy represented the land-owning ruling classes.

Cosmological and anthropological dualism, antinomianism, docetism, anticlericalism, encratism, and dietary restrictions characterized Bogomilism. Its mythic repertory clearly shows a derivation from ancient sources. According to the Bogomilian story of creation, God brought forth the four elements of fire, water, earth, and air and established his divine kingdom, which consisted of seven heavens inhabited by the angels. The angels were supposed to serve God and to fight on his behalf. One of them, Satanael, rebelled against the creator and therefore was banished to Earth. As a result, Satanael created a world for himself, separating water and earth. Although sunlight was of divine origin, Satanael brought forth the other forces of nature, such as rain, wind, and thunderstorms. Then he created life-forms and human beings as his servants. In the process, he managed to confine a number of angels in material bodies. As a consequence, human beings partake of the divine as well as the satanic creation, so that the cosmic dualism of good and evil is inherent in each person. Like Gnostic movements of antiquity, the

Bogomils had their own Christology. Christ was one of the divine ambassadors sent out to humankind to promote its salvation. He took human shape through his mother Mary but was never human in his essence. In order to prevent Christ's mission, Satanael arranged for his crucifixion, but Christ's suffering was only superficial. Three days after the crucifixion, Christ appeared on Earth again, put Satanael in chains, and cast him into hell. Nevertheless, Satanael escaped and renewed his reign on earth, with the help of worldly rulers and orthodox theologians.

Gnostic or Manichaean mythology must have survived in the frontier districts of the Roman Empire and mixed with local religious traditions, particularly with a pagan belief in spirits, which appear as demons in the Bogomilian belief. It is impossible, however, to determine more precisely what forces shaped the Bogomilian world-view. From the Bulgarian regions, Bogomilism spread to Thrace and Asia Minor and reached the capital of the Byzantine Empire in the eleventh century as an underground movement. Here it changed its character and spread among members of the middle classes and even within monastic communities. Bogomilian missionaries had a great deal of success during the twelfth century, particularly in Serbia and Bosnia, where orthodox church structures were weak. The Bogomils began to develop a church-like hierarchy themselves, but as a consequence they lost their attractiveness for the peasantry, which had made up the core of the movement. Hence, in the thirteenth century it started to decline. However, the final extinction of Bogomilism in Southeastern Europe and Asia Minor only took place with the conquest of these areas by the emerging Ottoman Empire.

Meanwhile Bogomilism had also spread westwards, probably mainly through refugees from the Balkan areas, to northern Italy and the South of France and contributed to the emergence of the Cathar movement. Like Bogomilism in the East, Catharism in Western Europe was a reservoir of heretical and folkloristic currents, loosely bound up by Gnostic-type cosmological mythologies that located metaphysical evil on the side of the Catholic Church. However, a lot of eleventh-century sectarians continued to go to the official church and to take sacraments. Their somewhat ambiguous attitude has been called crypto-heretic. Cathars also strongly venerated parts of the scripture. Although they rejected most of the Old Testament, they used the *Gospel of John* and the *Apocalypse of John* for dualistic and allegorical exegesis. In addition, the Cathars used apocryphal texts.

Although the Cathar myths and theological creeds closely resembled those of the Bogomils, they were less opposed to organization and more inclined to form their own well-ordered, although decentralized, communities. Cathar churches were established in northern Italy and southern France. They consisted of two classes of people: the pure *perfecti,* who could not get involved in any worldly affairs, did not marry, and were strongly committed to a selective vegetarian diet. Even the permitted plants had to be prepared by the *credentes,* the ordinary adherents of Catharism, who were allowed to marry and work for the sake of the community.

Despite local persecutions during the eleventh century, the Cathar churches spread widely through the southern and central parts of Western Europe. A particular stronghold emerged in the area of Toulouse, where the popularity of Catharism coincided with a supportive political situation. Because of power shifts in France, a political vacuum developed in the area of Toulouse. A local ruler tried to fill the void and made Catharism the state religion of his territory. This situation provoked a massive response against the Cathars. A crusade was organized against them in 1208 and a second one in 1227. The latter resulted in the fall of Montségur in 1244, the last place of refuge for a large Cathar community. Small, scattered groups survived in the southern European mountain regions for about another century.

MEDIEVAL QABBALAH. Medieval Qabbalah, which reached its climax at the end of the thirteenth century with the Zohar (Book of Glow), clearly shows Gnostic tendencies but never resulted in a mature cosmological dualism. On the contrary, the Zohar presents the construction of the universe as a (however fragile) harmony of divine forces. No element was viewed as essentially evil or satanic, but there was an inherent danger within the system that one of the sefirot (aspects of God) might become independent. Gnosticism claimed that this had already happened in the creation process, but the Zohar did not.

The Qabbalist who came closest to Gnostic concepts was Isaac Luria (1534–1572). He taught a small circle of adherents in Safed. Lurianic Qabbalah was very influential for its doctrine of *tsimtsum.* According to this doctrine, God "contracts" within himself, thus creating a space that is deprived of God and can be filled up with creation. In his description of the further process of creation, Luria employed the Gnostic dualistic pattern of the fundamental opposition between light and darkness: The first human being (*Adam Kadmun*) emerges from the divine light that radiated into the space emptied by *tsimtsum.* Out of *Adam Kadmun's* face flashed the *sefirot*-lights, which were supposed to be collected in vessels prepared for them. Some of these vessels, however, broke and were then filled up with dark matter, while their fragments fell down, void of creation.

PANSOPHY AND NATURAL PHILOSOPHY IN EARLY MODERN TIMES. Renaissance scholarship and philosophy in Western Europe was profoundly influenced by Qabbalah and Hermeticism but did not develop the world-denying and rebellious overtones typical of dualistic Gnostic mythologies.

Mythic, dualistic gnosis was once more recognizable in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Germany. There the enormous influence of Paracelsus (c. 1493–1541) had created an intellectual climate that offered a fertile soil for Gnostic currents. Paracelsian Pansophy (Overall Wisdom) prepared the way for German natural philosophy, which was mainly concerned with integrating nature into Lutheran theology. To natural philosophers, it seemed obvious that not only humankind, but also nature as a whole, is incomplete when measured against the original divine plan for creation. In order to explain this gap and to develop a strategy of salvation for fallen nature, the philosophers drew upon Gnostic mythology. The most creative and impressive new version of Gnostic cosmogonic myth was put forward by Jakob Böhme (1575–1624) In his visionary exegesis of biblical texts, Böhme resembled ancient Gnostic authors. According to him, nature had been born out of the original abyss and developed in seven stages. These stages corresponded to the Qabbalistic *sefirot,* which Böhme also referred to as *Source-Spirits* (*Quellgeister*). The first Source-Spirit to emerge from the abyss of nothingness was Desire; followed by the goad of Sensibility (*Stachel der Empfindlichkeit*); then by Anxiety *(Angst)* or Feeling *(Gemüt);* by Fire or Spirit; by Light or Love; by Resonance *(Hall),* Word, or Mind *(Verstand);* and by Body, Being, or Material Nature. The Godhead, in this process of unfolding, shows itself as a dynamic, dramatic, and even dialectical primal aetherical substance from which the immaterial as well as the material world take form. However, God is not fully responsible for the existence of matter. Matter came into being as a result of the fall of the rebellious angel Lucifer, who refused subordination to a higher will, just as the primal androgynous human being would do later. In his theology, Böhme avoided cosmological dualism. The fall took place within the one and only essentially divine realm. Instead of making Lucifer and the primal androgyn genuinely evil forces, Böhme emphasizes the role of divine freedom that can be used in accordance with the will of the Godhead or against it.

Friedrich Christoph Oetinger (1702–1782), another important representative of German nature-philosophy, studied Böhme thoroughly and was also acquainted with Lurianic Qabbalah. For him, God represented life as a unity and interplay of different forces and possibilities. In the Godhead, the components of this complex interplay are indissolubly interwoven, whereas in nature they can be separated. The human fall, according to Oetinger, has no cosmological grounds but was rather a misperception. Oetinger's emphasis on insight as a prerequisite for salvation could be construed as Gnostic, Oetinger's definition of insight is different.. Oetinger's Gnosis is one of synopsis (*Zentralerkenntnis*) in order to perceive the inherent unity of nature and God. Gnosticism in the narrower, dualistic sense, on the contrary, means by Gnosis the recognition of the two fundamentally opposing realms of light and darkness.

THE THEME OF THE REVOLUTIONARY AGAINST GOD. The metaphysical revolt that is often ascribed to Gnosticism is a rebellion not against God's creation, but rather against the limitations of knowledge. In *Genesis,* God forbade Adam and Eve to eat fruit from the Tree of Knowledge in the Garden of Eden. The snake, who convinced Eve to violate this prohibition, was often interpreted as the devil or Satan in younger sources. In their typical mode of re-evaluating biblical traditions, some Gnostics interpreted Satan as a positive figure who wanted to bring human beings divine knowledge, which the Old Testament God maliciously withheld from them. In various biblical and apocryphal traditions, Satan is equated with Lucifer, or the Islamic Iblīs. Other despisers of God's law, Cain in particular, also evoked Gnostic sympathy.

The theme of the light-bringing revolutionary has inspired several prominent authors. John Milton (1608–1674) and Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749–1832) both show a great fascination with the rebellious angel who become the devil. In his epic *Paradise Lost* (1667), Milton described with a great deal of empathy Satan's expulsion from the heavenly realm, his renewed advance toward it, and his seduction of Eve. Goethe, who throughout his life was dissatisfied with Christian doctrine, created a personal theology. At the end of the eighth book of his autobiographical work *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (1811–1833), he introduces a myth that is clearly an imitation of Gnostic models: A primal Godhead creates another Divine Being as a reflection of itself and then a third one as a reflection of the two. When the fourth being is created, it no longer resembles the three preceding ones, thus introducing difference and contradiction to the divine world. The fourth being is Lucifer, who then creates his own worlds and forgets his origin. His pride and conceit finally cause his fall. In Goethe's drama *Faust* (1790–1832), the figure of the devil, here named Mephisto, plays a crucial role and is considered important for humankind's search for knowledge and spiritual development, although in the end he shall not triumph by possessing the human soul completely.

The fallen angel appears again in Alphonse de Lamartine's *La Chute d'un ange* (1838). Here the angel Cédar asks God to let him become a human being, because he wants to win the love of a woman. The epic was conceived as the first part of a comprehensive account of the fate of humankind from its divine origins through the many failures recorded in history. Apart from *La chute d'un ange,* Lamartine wrote only the final part of this epic, *Jocelyn* (1836), about a woman who dies as a result of caring for those sick with the plague.

Victor Hugo (1802–1885) undertook a similar narrative of human history in his *La légende des siècles* (1859), but the story lacks the typically Gnostic idea of light before darkness. However, Hugo's interpretation of history as a mythic battle between two hostile principles and his empathy for the Cain may remind the reader of Gnostic attitudes.

GNOSTICISM AND ROMANTICISM. Natural philosophy was still of considerable importance in the age of European and North American Romanticism. Emphasis had shifted, however, from the concordance of God and nature to the power of the self, which could be equated with the human being, the divinity, or nature. By viewing the self as the creative source of everything, the Romantics transcended the traditional Christian boundaries separating the individual, God, and the world. Their aim was a new unity centered in the self, which led them to face yet another dichotomy, that of the personal and the all-self. The Romantic experience of a multifaceted, at times fragmented, human self gave rise to new dualistic concepts that could be extended to the whole cosmos. Again we see that dualistic Gnostic systems are products not only of speculative pessimistic minds, but also of social unrest. In London, the Gordon Riots of June 1780 were suppressed in an effort to avert a larger revolutionary movement such as that which soon followed in France. English authors took up Gnostic metaphors to serve as mouthpieces for revolutionary ideas. William Blake (1757–1827) developed a unique allegorical approach to biblical texts and rewrote various aspects of the creation story in a Gnostic fashion. Blake avoided cosmological dualism, but his esteem for the free and independent human spirit, which he shared with many other Romantic poets, let him take up the typical Gnostic motif of the Divine Man. The Divine Man was in essence God himself and provoked the envy of some of the angels. In Blake's works, this figure is named Albion (a symbol for England) Orc (another name for Lucifer), Jesus Christ, or Prometheus. Orc rebels against Urizen, who represents both George III and his rule in Britain and also the Father-god of the Old Testament. Orc brings the new social order that is expected to be established with the return and reign of Christ. In his most highly acclaimed poetic work, *Prometheus Unbound,* Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822) presents Prometheus as a symbol of hope for the suppressed and wretched masses in English cities during the time of industrialization.

Many Romantics were engaged with the dark side of being—with night as the fold of existence, and with death and its various stages of fading and decay. In some cases this resulted in a semi-Gnostic denigration of nature and the conditions of human life, which became the typical features of Romantic *Weltschmerz* (pain or melancholy about the world). For example, in *Dialogue of Nature and an Icelander,* Giacomo Leopardi (1798–1837) depicts nature as a pitiless persecutor of desperate humans and concludes that it is impossible to discover the meaning of a universe that sustains itself by regularly killing its inhabitants. Because of this conclusion, Leopardi cannot be called a Gnostic. Gnostic pessimism typically features a refractory dualism: The good and meaningful exist in the realm of light and in souls that become aware of their divine origin. Leopardi, however, rejects not only the goodness of this-worldly creation, but the existence of goodness and meaningfulness anywhere. Lord Byron's (1788–1824) poetry, too, lacks the rebellious spirit of mythic Gnosticism that believes that a better world can be achieved. Byron's Cain is guided by Lucifer to see a meaningless world that is created not by demonic forces, but by the human self.

Other important representatives of Romantic *Weltschmerz* were Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1860), whose philosophy was inspired more by Buddhism than by Gnosticism, and Mihai Eminescu (1850–1889), who praised the Romantic genius as the only possible surmounter of the weary world.

GNOSTICISM, ANTI-SEMITISM, AND RACISM. By the end of the nineteenth century, extreme nationalist and anti-Semitic groups emerging in Germany co-opted Romanticism for their own purposes. They reshaped the Romantic worldview so that the decisive force in the world was no longer the human self, but race. In the 1920s and 1930s various trends culminated in a mixture of racism and esotericism, called *Ariosophy* (Wisdom of the Aryans). The Aryan myth was very simple. In its various versions, it told a story about the original dwelling places of the Aryans—either Thule (an island in the North Sea close to the pole but also equated with Iceland) or Shambala (located in Central Asia, most often in the Tibetan mountains)—to which they had come as survivors of Atlantis. The Aryans were characterized only by their physical appearance: they were supposed to have light skin and blond hair, and their only "ethical" requirement was to keep their race pure. Their racial purity made them superior to all other races. Hence, the Aryans were called to fight the forces that could contaminate their pure race, which meant that they should fight other races. The Aryans considered the Jews, who, according to the myth, had begun to infiltrate the Aryan race with alien blood and spirit the race most hostile and dangerous to them. According to Artur Dinter (1876–1948), an author who wrote extensively about religious ideas coming out of the *Völkische Bewegung,* the Jews were the lowest incarnations of originally spiritual beings after the fall. Therefore, Dinter explained, the Jews were intensely inclined to the material world and bound up with it. Thus, the racial battle between Jews and Aryans was interpreted as a battle between matter (darkness) and spirit (light). The hijacking of a mythic pattern known from Gnosticsm for an ideological foundation of radical anti-Semitism is not as surprising as it may seem, for the Jews were shown as descendents of the demiurge, the Old Testament God and antagonist of the realm of light in Gnostic myths from the second and third centuries CE.

GNOSTICISM IN MODERN AND POSTMODERN PHILOSOPHY. A number of important currents and themes of nineteenth- and twentieth-century philosophy have been related to patterns of thought derived from Gnosticism: the Hegelian theory of consciousness and knowledge, the Marxist doctrine of dialectical rather than logical progress in history; the death of God proclaimed by nihilism, the epistemological arguments of phenomenology, the notion of the human self in existentialism, and several features of postmodernism.

Georg Friedrich Wilhelm Hegel (1770–1831) outlined a universal theory according to which history is a process of the Divine Spirit becoming conscious of itself. This process is executed in three steps: First the Spirit is enclosed in itself, second it separates from itself and recognizes itself as "other," and third of the Divine Spirit integrates his experience by means of a return of the formerly differentiated aspect, which leads to an affirmation at a higher level. The first step parallels the dwelling of purely intelligible beings in the Gnostic *pleroma,* the second parallels the alienation of the spirit as the psychic and material world, and the third parallels state of Gnosis, the spiritual knowledge of the self about itself.

Karl Marx (1818–1883) adopted the Hegelian idea about dialectical development but imbued it with a materialistic instead of an idealistic conception of the world. Moreover, Marx stated explicitly that the knowledge about dialectics was not to be promoted in order to analyze the world, but to change it. According to Hegel, knowledge as a concluding synthesis about dialectical progression was still possible for an individual mind, but for Marx and other intellectual leaders of the Communist movement it was only possible as a totality of social practice. Some interpreters (Eric Voegelin and Boris Groys, for example) view this practical knowledge or wisdom—as opposed to various competing forms of analytical knowledge—to be in congruence with salvational Gnosis.

Gnostic attitudes that shaped Soviet ideology have also been detected in Russian philosophies of religion, particularly in the writings of Vladimir Solov'ev (1853–1900) and in nihilism. Friedrich Nietzsche's (1844–1900) nihilistic statement that God is dead can be interpreted as a rejection of the transcendent God of Judaism and Christianity for the sake of a self-divinization of humankind. Interestingly, critics of nihilism such as Eric Voegelin (1901–1985) and René Girard (1923–) use religious terminology themselves when they label nihilism "demonic." Thus, their arguments against nihilism appear as the direct successors of those by the Christian heresiologists against ancient Gnosticism. Hans Blumenberg (1920–1996) claims that the philosophies of Hegel and Marx do not draw upon Gnosticism. For him, modernism has surmounted Gnosticism's world-rejection and replaced it with a world-affirming trust in a rational understanding of the cosmos and the human situation. Because postmodernism calls into question this trust in rationality, it has also been suspected of Gnostic tendencies. Peter Koslowski (1952–) has advocated a Gnostic approach to the world, which he defines as an awareness of its fundamental deficiency. By acknowledging the world's deficiency and its need for improvement, humankind can, according to Koslowski, proceed in wisdom.

Although little attention has been devoted to the analogies between Gnosticism and the phenomenology of Edmund Husserl (1859–1938), with its aim at overcoming the differences between consciousness and Being, the Gnostic inclinations of Heideggerian phenomenology (existentialism) are generally agreed on. Hans Jonas (1903–1993), in his seminal study *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist* (1964), pointed to Heidegger's use of Gnostic terminology when explaining the situation of humankind as "thrown into the world." According to Jonas, the demonization of the universe combined with the idea of a transcendent acosmic self led to close parallels between exisentialism and Gnosticism. Moreover, a thorough analysis by Barbara Merker (*Selbsttäuschung und Selbsterkenntnis—Zu Heideggers Transformation der Phänomenologie Husserls,* 1988) showed that Heidegger's main work *Sein und Zeit* (1927) relied on Gnostic myths.

THE VARIETY OF NEO-GNOSTICISMS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. Other neo-Gnostic trends of the twentieth century grew out of the variety of Romantic conceptualizations of Gnosis. Optimistic outlooks focused on the sacralization of self that was prevalent in Romanticism, which grew out of the Gnostic belief in the divine origin of humankind. In Hermann Hesse's (1877–1962) novel *Demian* (1919) and the works of Carl G. Jung (1875–1961) the Gnostic path was reinterpreted as humanity's search its sacred origin. Insofar as recent esoteric currents, such as the New Age movement, have contained Gnostic themes and motifs, they were particularly attracted by the possibility of self-salvation, often coupled with a claim for self-fulfillment through an awareness of humankind's own divinity. An example of developed dualistic neo-Gnosticism in newer religious movements can be found in the teachings of Colombian Samael Aun Weor (1917–1977), whose ideas gained an audience outside his homeland. Not much is know about his life or the sources from which he drew his eclectic ideas. He obviously depended heavily on Theosophy and the "sexual magic" of Aleister Crowley and the OTO (Ordo Templi Orientis). But whereas Crowley had been an excessive libertine, Weor advocated sexual magic within "sacred matrimony," matrimony understood in its bourgeois sense. His dualism was not so much cosmological as directed against what he saw as flaws of modern societies, among them Communism, women's liberation, and homosexuality. Nevertheless, Weor believed in an "eternal battle between YHWH and Christ," which was reflected in occasional anti-Semitic utterances.

To counter the focus on human self-realization, some thinkers have proposed the idea of an unworldly, nonhuman, and remote God who resembles the God of Gnosticism. The late Max Horkheimer (1895–1973) wrote about God as "Completely Other"; Karl Barth (1886–1968) developed a paradoxical negative theology in which God was incomprehensible to human thought and religion; and Simone Weil (1909–1943) was convinced that God cannot be present in the realm of time.

In reaction to the more than 52 million who died in World War II, Theodor Adorno (1903–1969) wrote *Minima Moralia* (1951), which is in part a Gnostic work. Adorno criticizes the immorality, materialistic consumerism, and general corruption of the world and thereby resurrects several Gnostic myths (for example, the myth of the descent of Great Ignorance upon the world). But unlike Romantic representatives of *Weltschmerz,* Adorno still allows for hope. However, because his hope is for a Messiah rather than for self-salvation, it is not Gnostic. Romanian-French philosopher Émile Michel Cioran (1911–1995) presented a more pessimistic expression of Gnosticism. In his book *Le mauvais démiurge* (1969), he drew on fragments of Gnostic ideas in order to unfold his own post-Nietzschean nihilistic and perspectivist philosophy. However, it must be emphasized that Cioran's explicitly anti-systematic approach not only lacks the salvational hope of Gnosticism proper, but also the inner consistency of Gnostic myth. Fernando Pessoa (1888–1935) revived Romantic *Weltschmerz* and combined it with Gnostic motifs. His poem *No túmulo de Christian Rosencreutz* immediately reminds the reader of Gnostic myths of descent.

In such stories as *La révolte des Anges* (1914) by Anatole France (1844–1924) and *Doktor Faustus* (1947) by Thomas Mann (1875–1955), twentieth-century literature took up the themes of the rebellious angel, Satan, and the human seeker who follows his path. Mann's Doktor Faustus was meant to represent the situation of German intellectuals whose over-reflexivity had led to mental paralysis. To overcome the crisis, the lead character, Adrian Leverkühn, flees into irrational ecstasy—a gift from the devil, who takes him in the end. Mann criticizes Gnosticism by using Gnostic metaphors to describe Nazi Germany. In his controversial 1988 novel *The Satanic Verses*, Salman Rushdie (1947–) played with the theme of the fallen angel, blending motifs from the time of Muḥammad with those from contemporary London. Rushdie uses the images of archangel Gabriel and Satan (Iblīs in Islamic mythology) to draw attention to racist perceptions of immigrants in Great Britain.

GNOSTICISM IN FANTASY LITERATURE. Gnostic concepts are very often relevant in fantasy novels. J. R. R. Tolkien's (1892–1973) trilogy *The Lord of the Rings* (1954–1955) tells about a Manichaean-style battle against Darkness. Middle-earth, Tolkien's fictitious world, has to defend itself against a major attack from the army of Sauron the Great. Sauron resides in Mordor, a realm of shadows, and is called the Dark Lord. He is the chief henchman of the more abstract Dark Power threatening to absorb the light of Middle-earth. However, Tolkien also brings in other themes that are foreign and even opposed to Gnostic myths, such as the importance of compassion and the danger of power.

Philip Pullman (1946–) comes very close to Gnostic views and attitudes in the trilogy His Dark Materials (*The Golden Compass,* 1995; *The Subtle Knife,* 1997; *The Amber Spyglass,* 2000). Inspired particularly by the works of William Blake and Milton's *Paradise Lost,* Pullman takes up the Gnostic depiction of the Old Testament God who refuses to let human beings have a certain kind of knowledge. In contrast to historical Gnosticism, this knowledge is not about the origin and true nature of light-beings, but about the ultimate identity of spirit and matter. Lord Asriel plays the role of Satan, trying to gain access to the higher worlds. His daughter Lyra, who is called "the new Eve," disobeys God, as represented by the church.

GNOSTICISM IN RECENT SCIENCE AND SCHOLARSHIP. The term *gnosis* is often used to name an approach that refuses to exclude the spiritual dimensions of reality. Thus antipositivistic methods in academic work are sometimes labeled Gnostic. Since some scholars in the sciences as well as the humanities concede only to so-called objective forms of knowledge, they try to stigmatize insights that are based on other methodologies. In the 1970s, for example, a circle of scientists in the United States who were concerned with "alternative" research methods that led to non-mainstream results were known as the Gnostics of Princeton. Arthur Young (1923–), the founder of the Berkeley Institute for the Study of Consciousness, referred explicitly to Gnostic views when explaining cosmic developments and the significance of the human self.

The research on Gnosticism, and even the discipline of the history of religions has come under suspicion of inherent Gnosticism. In an article from 1987, Manfred Sommer (1945–) characterized Hans Jonas's interpretation of gnosis as *Endgestalt der Gnosis* (the final shape of gnosis). The author observes a self-entangledness that is reflected no only in Gnostic thought, but even in research about Gnosticism. Similar observations can be made about the scholarship of Gilles Quispel (1916–), who is heavily influenced by Carl Gustav Jung. Steven Wasserstrom in his book *Religion after Religion: Gershom Scholem, Mircea Eliade and Henty Corbin at Eranos* (1999) has pointed out that three major founders of this discipline were phenomenologists and therefore heirs to Gnostic traditions. Again, the use of the term *gnosis* by these scholars, and particularly by their interpreter Wasserstrom, is highly inconsistent. It shows once more that the label *Gnostic* is used to label any kind of dissatisfaction with mainstream ideologies, whether orthodox theology or orthodox academia (as in Scholem's fear of a "professorial death," for example), as well as for attacks and counterattacks from either side.

SEE ALSO Cathari; Druze; Heresy, article on Christian Concepts; Manichaeism, article on Manichaeism and Christianity; New Age Movement; Qabbalah; Shiism, article on Ismāʿīlīyah.

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Julia Iwersen (2005)

GNOSTICISM: GNOSTICISM AS A CHRISTIAN HERESY

The pluralism of early Christianity in regional faith and praxis, as well as the shifting lines of authority within the first and second centuries, make it difficult to draw the sharp boundaries required to exclude a particular opinion or group as heretical. In *Against Heresies,* Irenaeus says that his predecessors were unable to refute the Gnostics because they had inadequate knowledge of Gnostic systems and because the Gnostics appeared to say the same things as other Christians. Christian Gnostics of the second century claimed to have the esoteric, spiritual interpretation of Christian scriptures, beliefs, and sacraments. Their orthodox opponents sought to prove that such persons were not Christians on the grounds that Gnostic rites were occasions of immoral behavior, that their myths and doctrines were absurd, and that their intentions were destructive to true worship of God. In short, it appears that Gnostics were defined as heretics by their opponents well before they stopped considering themselves to be spiritual members of the larger Christian community.

Three periods characterize the interaction of Gnosticism and Christianity: (1) the late first century and early second century, in which the foundations of Gnostic traditions were laid at the same time that the New Testament was being written; (2) the mid-second century to the early third century, the period of the great Gnostic teachers and systems; and (3) the end of the second century into the fourth century, the period of the heresiological reaction against Gnosticism.

The fluid boundaries of Christianity in the first period make it difficult to speak of Gnosticism at that time as a heresy. Four types of tradition used in the second-century Gnostic systems were developed in this period. First, there was a reinterpretation of *Genesis* that depicts the Jewish God as jealous and enslaving: freedom means escaping from bondage to that God. Second, there arose a tradition of Jesus' sayings as esoteric wisdom. Third, a soteriology of the soul's ascent to union with the divine from the popular forms of Platonism was adopted. And fourth, possibly, there was a mythical story of the descent of a divine being from the heavenly world to reveal that world as the true home of the soul. Each of the last three types of tradition lies behind conflicts or images in the New Testament writings.

Some scholars have argued that the incorporation of the sayings of Jesus into the gospel narrative of his life served to check the proliferation of sayings of the risen Lord uttered by Christian prophets. The soteriology of the soul's divinization through identification with wisdom has been seen behind the conflicts in *1 Corinthians.* Second-century Gnostic writings use the same traditions from Philo that scholars invoke as parallel to *1 Corinthians.* The question of a first-century redeemer myth is debated in connection with the Johannine material. While the image of Jesus in the *Gospel of John* could have been developed out of existing metaphorical traditions and the structure of a gospel life of Jesus, the Johannine letters show that Johannine Christians were split over interpretation of the gospel. Both *1 John* and *2 John* condemn other Christians as heretics. Heretics deny the death of Jesus and may have held a docetic Christology. Though perhaps not based on the myth of a descending redeemer, the Johannine images contributed to second-century Gnostic developments of that theme as applied to Jesus.

The second century brought fully developed Gnostic systems from teachers who claimed that their systems represented the inner truth revealed by Jesus. During this period, the Greek originals of the Coptic treatises were collected at Nag Hammadi. From the orthodox side, Irenaeus's five books refuting the Gnostics marked a decisive turn in Christian self-consciousness. These were followed by the anti-Gnostic writings of Hippolytus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, and Epiphanius. Though Irenaeus may have drawn upon earlier anti-Gnostic writings, such as Justin's lost *Suntagma,* his work suggests a turn toward the systematic refutation of Gnosticism. Rather than catalog sects and errors, Irenaeus turned to the refutation of Gnostic systems using the rhetorical skills and *topoi* of philosophical debate. At the same time, he sought to provide a theoretical explication of orthodox Christian belief that would answer arguments advanced by Gnostic teachers. He apparently had considerable information about Valentinian speculation, as well as some of the earlier sources of Valentinian mythology.

Like the other heresiologists, Irenaeus attacked Marcion as well as Gnosticism. Marcion provided an easier target to identify as a "heresy" because he rejected the Old Testament and established a Christian canon consisting of edited versions of *Luke* and the Pauline letters. Marcion was concerned to set the boundaries between himself and the larger Christian community in a way that the Gnostic teachers who claimed to provide the spiritual interpretation of Christianity were not. Irenaeus provided two guidelines for drawing the boundary that would exclude Gnostic teachers from the Christian community. The first is reflected in the *regula fidei* of his *Against Heresies* (1.10.3), which gives topics about which legitimate theological speculation is possible and consequently rules out much of the cosmological speculation of the Gnostic teachers. The second guideline is Irenaeus's rejection of Gnostic allegorization of scripture. He insists that biblical passages must mean what they appear to mean and that they must be interpreted within their contexts. In book five, Irenaeus argues that the Gnostics failed to support their claims for a spiritual resurrection in *1 Corinthians* 1:50 because they ignored the eschatological dimensions of the verses that follow.

The heresiologist's concern to draw boundaries between orthodox Christianity and Gnostic teachings ran counter to the practice of second-century Gnostics. Several of the Nag Hammadi treatises were apparently composed with the opposite aim. Writings such as the *Gospel of Truth* and the *Tripartite Tractate* drew explicit connections between Gnostic teaching and both the teaching practice and the sacramental practice of the larger Christian community. Other Gnostic writings fell within the developing patterns of ascetic Christianity in Syria and Egypt (e.g., *Gospel of Thomas, Book of Thomas the Contender, Dialogue of the Savior*). The ascetic tradition tended to reject the common Christian assumption that baptism provides a quality of sinlessness adequate to salvation and to insist that only rigorous separation from the body and its passions will lead to salvation. Such ascetic groups did, of course, draw sharp boundaries between themselves and the larger world of believers, but the preservation of the Nag Hammadi codices among Egyptian monks suggests that the division between ascetic and nonascetic Christians may have been stronger than that between "heretic" and "orthodox," even into the fourth century in some areas.

Other Gnostic writings show that the efforts of heresiologists to draw boundaries against Gnostics resulted in repressive measures from the orthodox side and increasing separation by Gnostics (cf. *Apocalypse of Peter, Second Treatise of the Great Seth*). The *Testimony of Truth,* apparently written in third-century Alexandria, not only contains explicit attacks on the beliefs of orthodox Christians but also attacks other Gnostic sects and teachers like Valentinus, Isidore, and Basilides. The author of this Gnostic work considers other, nonascetic Gnostics as heretics. However, the author still holds to something of the nonpolemical stance that had characterized earlier Gnostic teachers, saying that the true teacher avoids disputes and makes himself equal to everyone. Another example of the effectiveness of the orthodox polemic in defining Gnostics as heretics is found in what appears to be a Gnostic community rule that calls for charity and love among the Gnostic brethren as a sign of the truth of their claims over against the disunity of the orthodox in *Interpretation of Knowledge.* This call reverses one of Irenaeus's polemical points that the multiplicity and disunity of Gnostic sects condemn their teaching when contrasted with the worldwide unity of the church.

Some scholars think that this third period, in which the Gnostics were effectively isolated as "heretic" by orthodox polemic, led to a significant shift within Gnostic circles. Gnosticism began to become dechristianized, to identify more with the non-Christian, esoteric, and hermetic elements within its traditions. Gnostics became members of an independent esoteric sect, moved toward the more congenial Mandaean or Manichaean circles, existed on the fringes of Alexandrian Neoplatonism in groups that emphasized thaumaturgy, or joined the monks in the Egyptian desert, where they found a kindred spirit in the combination of asceticism and Origenist mysticism. Those associated with Manichaeism or Origenism would continue to find themselves among the ranks of heretical Christians. The rest were no longer within the Christian sphere of influence.

SEE ALSO Clement of Alexandria; Irenaeus; Manichaeism; Marcionism; Neoplatonism; Origen; Philo Judaeus; Tertullian.

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Anyone interested in Gnosticism should obtain the English translation of the Nag Hammadi codices edited by James M. Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (San Francisco, 1977). Another book that studies the structure and the apologetics of the Gnostic dialogues from the Nag Hammadi collection is my *The Gnostic Dialogue: The Early Church and the Crisis of Gnosticism* (New York, 1980). The only other reliable treatments of the new material and its significance for the interaction of Gnosticism and early Christianity are scholarly writings. Three volumes, containing papers by leading scholars in German, French, and English, provide important treatments of the subject: *Gnosis: Festschrift für Hans Jonas,* edited by Barbara Aland (Göttingen, 1978); *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism,* vol. 1, *The School of Valentinus,* and vol. 2, *Sethian Gnosticism,* edited by Bentley Layton (Leiden, 1980–1981). The best study of the Gnostic polemic against orthodox Christianity is Klaus Koschorke's *Die Polemik der Gnostiker gegen das kirchliche Christentum* (Leiden, 1978).

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GNOSTICISM: HISTORY OF STUDY

The problem of the origin of Gnosticism has been approached in Western culture with methods and results that are sometimes in clear disagreement. Perhaps the first to deal with the subject critically was Gottfried Arnold, who wrote in 1699 the *Unparteiische Kirchen und Ketzer Historie* (*Impartial History of the Church and of Heresy*)—a work that influenced the poetry of Goethe in a Gnostic sense—although the subject was previously mentioned in by G. P. Marcossius's *De Vitis Secretis et Dogmatibus omnium Haereticorum,* printed in Cologne in 1569.

However, it was only with Johann Lorenz von Mosheim (1694–1755) that the study of Gnosticism came to the fore as an independent discipline. In his degree thesis entitled "Institutiones christianae maiores" (Helmstadt, 1739) the future Protestant pastor and theologian described *gnōsis* as an Eastern philosophy that had rapidly expanded of its own accord from Greece and Chaldea (=Mesopotamia), and reached as far as Egypt. This doctrine, almost by a process of osmosis, would have taken certain elements from Jewish thinking. In its turn, the Jewish world would also have drawn themes from Gnostic thought, using them in its polemic against Greek philosophy. In the analysis of Mosheim we can already discern in a nutshell a substantial part of the themes developed by later historiography.

The works of J. Horn and Ernest Anton Lewald partly disagree with Mosheim. According to them, the sources of Gnosticism could be traced back to the land and teaching of Zoroaster, thus forming the basis for that successful interpretation which considered ancient Gnosticism a classic example of dualist philosophy. However, the works of Johann August Neander and Jacques Matter follow the same line of interpretation as Mosheim. The extensive work of Matter describes *gnōsis* as the emergence at the heart of Christianity of all the cosmological and theosophical speculation which formed the greater part of Eastern religions and which had been adopted in the West by the Neoplatonists. This doctrine therefore arose as a synthesis of themes drawn from the philosophical works of Plato, Aristotle, the Avesta, the Qabbalah, and the Eleusinian and Orphic mysteries. If the work of Matter provided Gnostic doctrine with a certain notoriety and cultural dignity on the one hand, it was nevertheless an interpretation based upon a particularly stereotyped view of the East, and very much a product of its time.

From the very beginning there has been an attempt to reconstruct the possible relationship between Gnosticism and Judaism: in 1846 Heinrich Graetz, in his book *Gnostizismus und Judentum*, tried to prove Gnostic influence on a number of rabbinical traditions. Decades later, Moritz Friedländer would reverse the methodological model of Graetz, stressing Jewish influence upon Gnosticism and thus giving rise to a fresh line of interpretation which has lasted to the present day.

INFLUENCE OF THE *RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE*. In 1851, study of Gnosticism was given a new impetus thanks to the discovery of the *Philosophumena* or, rather, *The Refutation of All Heresies*, a work attributed to Hippolytus of Rome, which over the years has seen numerous editions and translations, including those by Paul Wendland and Miroslav Marcovich, to mention two that are very different. In 1853 came the work of F. C. Baur, *Das Christentum und die christliche Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, which assembled an impressive range of comparative material and formed the basis for the bold speculations of scholars of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule,* especially Johann Franz Wilhelm Bousset (1865–1920) and Richard Reitzenstein (1861–1931). In the years that followed the publication of the work of Baur, there were significant researches by Gustav Volkmar, Gerhard Uhlhorn, and particularly Richard Adelbert Lipsius (1830–1892), who was responsible for a critical study of the Ophite Gnostic system and a monumental article on Gnosticism in the *Allgemeine Enzyklopaedie.*

The fundamental idea of placing Gnosticism in the context of Greek philosophy and in particular Platonic philosophy dates from the 1880s and is restated in the work of Manuel Joel. Some of the interpretations that regard Gnosticism as a philosophical phenomenon originating from the very heart of Christianity are the thinking and researches of Adolph Hilgenfeld (1823–1907) and Adolf von Harnack (1851–1930), scholarly philologists belonging to the so-called School of the History of Dogma.

In a certain way prefigured by the studies of ancient syncretism by Albrecht Dieterich, the pan-Egyptian theories of M. A. Amelineau, and the pan-Babylonian theories of Wilhelm Anz and Konrad Kessler, the School of the History of Religions put forward the theory that Gnosticism was a phenomenon that predated Christianity, and that so-called Christian *gnōsis* represented merely a particular and at times even marginal aspect of this. The work of Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, is central to these hermeneutics. Despite the critical review of Carsten Colpe, it is a text that is still of fundamental importance to today. Bousset studied the various Gnostic motifs such as dualism, the myth of the descent of the Savior, and the ascension to heaven and the figure of the Mother of Light, tracing their origins back in the form of Iranian/Mesopotamian syncretism. Another very important scholar, classical philologist, and religious historian who concerned himself with the origins of Gnosticism was Eduard Norden (1868–1941) in his work *Agnostos Theos.* Even if in this book the topic was not dealt with explicitly, Norden assumes the existence of a pre-Christian Gnosticism, basing this interpretation on material derived from hermetic literature.

The high point of the historical religious trend was undoubtedly the *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium* of Reitzenstein. Preceded by a work on hermetic literature and by one on mystery religions, the "Iranian Salvation Mystery" is an analytical development of several of the themes already set out in the works of Bousset. The central motif for Reitzenstein is the event which he defines as "The Savior Saved," namely the Messenger, the primordial man who descends to matter to set free the Light Soul. If God is light and a part of that light remained trapped in the world, when God comes down into the world in the form of the envoy to free it, by saving it he also saves himself. Reitzenstein, in support of the Iranian nature of these themes, refers to a supposed "Fragment of Zarathushtra," a spurious text which later philological criticism would identify as being a Manichaean literary creation and thus not Zoroastrian.

Reactions to the works of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* were not long in coming: in 1925 in Paris the second edition of Eugène de Faye's book, *Gnostiques et gnosticisme*, was published. In this it was possible to catch a glimpse of several approaches, including an analysis of sources aiming to prove the existence of the *Syntagma* of Justin—the first true list of heresies—hypothetically reconstructed from pseudo-Tertullian and Epiphanius; an analysis of the individual features of various Gnostic systems; and the forceful statement that Gnostic philosophy predated its mythology. In short, de Faye intended to describe a Christian Gnosticism that was independent from previous Iranian or Mesopotamian religious models.

The Iranian hypothesis of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* was also the basis of the exegetic work by the Protestant theologian Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976). Studies on Mandaeism by the philologist and Semitist Mark Lidzbarski had a decisive influence on Bultmann in his interpretation of John's Gospel: the passages where Jesus is considered a heavenly messenger who has come down to bring revelation to humanity had certain parallels in Mandaean literature. For Bultmann the fourth Gospel represents the outcome of and reaction to a pre-Christian myth deriving directly from a Gnostic Mandaean milieu.

Harnack had defined Gnosticism as a phenomenon involving the "acute Hellenization of Christianity" (Harnack, 1893–1904). In stark contrast with this definition were the claims of Bousset and Reitzenstein, according to whom Gnosticism was a pre-Christian religious movement of Iranian/Mesopotamian origin. The controversy also involved the Iranist Hans H. Schaeder, at first a supporter of Reitzenstein in the joint work *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus* (Leipzig, 1926). A follower of the philosopher Oswald Spengler, Schaeder went on to describe hermeneutics according to which Gnosticism is seen as a combination of elements that were Greek in form but Eastern in content. This trend was continued by Hans Leisegang in his work *Die Gnosis*, which confirmed the dual nature of the Gnostic phenomenon but nonetheless stated its single origin, developed from the amalgamation of those two religious elements.

The work of Hans Jonas (1903–1993), *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*, occupies an intermediate position. It is a work which is set out as the first genuine synthesis on the Gnostic problem. Jonas's work uses two main interpretative sources: the comparative material assembled by the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* (in particular Bousset and Reizenstein), and the existentialist theological hermeneutics of Bultmann (which is in turn indebted to the philosophy of Martin Heidegger). For Jonas, the central kind of *gnōsis* is "Syro-Egyptian," as distinct from the "Iranian" sort: the first has an emanative "de-evolutive" structure which finally produces a rebellious Demiurge; in the second there is an absolute dualism of two principles, in which the cosmos arises from the dismemberment of an original being (a typical Indo-Iranian motif). Jonas, however, as subsequently noted by Ioan Petru Culianu and Giovanni Casadio, omits to take into account the so-called Triadic Gnostic Systems that are usually defined as "Sethian," in which there are three main principles involved: Light, the *pneuma* (spirit), and Darkness. Starting from what he calls *das Prinzip der Konstruktion*, Jonas traces in Syro-Egyptian *gnōsis,* in addition to a large number of influences derived from hermetic and mystery writings, a new factor, that of regarding the world (=*kosmos*) as an ontological evil from which it is necessary to be set free. From this point of view God is therefore the one who saves humans from the world. The relationship between God and the world is developed in a cosmological and anthropological antithesis: if on the one hand God is the opposite of the world, on the other hand the *pneuma*, which is hidden in the human body, is opposed to the *psyche* and *hyle* (soul and matter). The earthly world has a totally autonomous beginning: it is Darkness, a substance which is "real" only in contrast to its opposite, Life, the shining *pleroma* (fullness). God and the world are absolutely incompatible. Such an idea is an absurdity to the Greek mind, and the anti-Gnostic *Ennead* of Plotinus is a confirmation of this. It is thus impossible to ascribe the origins of the Gnostic phenomenon to Platonic speculation. The Fathers of the Church were no less unresponsive to this idea of denial of the world, and thus rejected the possibility that the origin of Gnosticism should be found in the heart of the Christian church. As regards the figure of the Demiurge, he should not be identified with the Devil: his portrayal comes both from Platonic doctrines and from Jewish beliefs on creation. For Jonas, the most distinctive form of Gnostic dualism is the Syro-Egyptian emanative system, in which the passage from the perfection of the world of light to the disorder of the earthly world is marked by the *hybris* (arrogance) of an intermediate creature, Sophia. On the other hand, according to Jonas, the Iranian kind of Gnosticism would represent an anticosmic adaptation of a preexisting, specifically Iranian dualism.

JUDEO-CHRISTIAN ORIGINS. A large number of scholars eventually supported the theory of the Jewish or Judeo-Christian origin of Gnosticism. As has been said, one of the first and main exponents of this tendency was Friedländer in his *Der vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus.* He insisted in particular that there existed a popular religious feeling in the heart of Judaism, within which apocalyptic and subsequently Gnostic speculation emerged. In this hermeneutic vein, according to the writings of Erik Peterson (1890–1960) and Jean Daniélou (1905–1974), the first Gnostic writers should be sought in Jewish apocalyptic. Hans Joachim Schoeps offers a similar interpretation, in which he stresses the presence of a "Gnostic Judaism" in the writings of the Qumran community. Another scholar, Robert McLachalan Wilson, has noted the relationship between post-Christian Gnosticism and the Judaism of the Diaspora in his book *The Gnostic Problem* (1958). His conclusions tend to define the Gnostic phenomenon as being strongly influenced by the religious representations of post-Diaspora Judaism. In discussion of the work of Wilson, a German scholar, Alfred Adam, has set out evidence of the clear presence of Aramaic borrowings in the *nomina numina* of Gnostic mythology, a line of interpretation also pursued by the Coptic scholar Alexander Böhlig (1912–1996). The works of the U.S. scholar Birger A. Pearson are also important with regard to the hypothesis concerning Judaism. He has studied the Gnostic texts of Nag Hammadi for evidence of their possible sources and interpolations in Jewish writings.

The most complete description of the existence of a genuine Gnosticism at the heart of Jewish tradition is, however, by two scholars of exceptional talent: Gershom G. Scholem (1897–1982) and Gilles Quispel (b. 1916). Scholem is responsible for the "discovery" of mystic Jewish *gnōsis,* found in the ecstatic vision of the merkavah, the "chariot" or "throne" on which God sits in *Ezekiel* 1:26. Analysis of merkavah literature led Scholem to redefine the problem of Gnostic origins. First of all, these merkavah texts in many regards go back to orthodox Judaism and some are datable to the beginning of the fourth century CE. With tremendous erudition Scholem demonstrates that Gnostic documents considered "Christian" assume certain fundamental connections with the mysticism of the merkavah. Thus when Saint Paul describes his ascension into paradise, to the "third heaven," he borrows words from Jewish mysticism; thus it is also probable that the visionary author of *The Shepherd of Hermas*, and Valentinus were aware of Jewish speculation on the name of God; the documents of the Valentinian Gnosis, especially the *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, reveal the influence of teaching imparted in Jewish esoteric circles. For Scholem, in the end, this mystic Gnosticism of the merkavah was not outside the sphere of Halakhic tradition: it would eventually develop motifs and attitudes already present in orthodox rabbinical teaching of the law, upon which apocalyptic eschatology had exerted a marginal influence, expressing in the first decades of the Christian era the restlessness and religious revival of a large part of the Jewish world. The coptologist and religious historian Gilles Quispel has a related viewpoint, but expresses it differently. "Gnosis minus Christentum ist Gnosis" (Quispel, 1951); with this assumption Quispel claims independence and originality for Gnosticism as regards the philosophical and religious currents of Hellenistic and Roman syncretism. On the one hand, in line with the Jungian psychology of which Quispel is an adherent, *gnōsis* is a unique religious self-contained experience, namely a mythical projection involving the search for the true essence of the human person (=the self); on the other hand, Quispel traces the origins of this original pattern of thinking to a specific branch of Alexandrian Judaism. From this cultural milieu—more recently defined as "The Hermetic Lodge of Alexandria"—originated the thinking on the cosmos and on the human race found in the highly developed visions of Valentinus, if not directly those of Origen (185–254). Quispel is indebted, albeit indirectly, to the method of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule;* Giovanni Casadio has indeed noted how the pan-Judaic hypothesis regarding the origin of Gnosticism expressed by Quispel reflects the method and conclusions of the pan-Iranian hypothesis of Reitzenstein and his followers: heterogeneous aims then!

In the wake of the works of Scholem and Quispel followed the researches of Guy Gedaliahu Stroumsa (Judaic and Gnostic origins of the Manichaean myths), Jarl Fossum (Samaritan origins of Gnostic myths), and Nathaniel Deutsch. Deutsch in particular took up the ideas of Scholem on the mysticism of the merkavah, going into more detail on the subject as regards the mythological description in the Mandaean Gnostic texts. J. C. Reeves studied the Jewish Gnostic contributions as the basis of Manichaean texts such as *The Book of Giants*, arriving at an original definition of Syrian-Mesopotamian *gnōsis* in which elements drawn from Iranian tradition also converged.

According to the study of the patrologist Robert M. Grant, *Gnosticism and Early Christianity*, Gnosticism originated from the remains of the apocalyptic eschatological expectations after the fall of Jerusalem. The hope that the kingdom of YHWH would come to pass on earth had guided and sustained the people of Israel. From the Maccabean revolt to the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE, to the extreme revolt of Bar Kosebah under Hadrian, a bloody chain of events left a deep mark on the destiny of the "people of YHWH." The failure of the eschatological hope to be fulfilled on earth thus signified the outbreak of a tremendous spiritual crisis, which led to the appearance of new religious forms. From the belief that the God of this world has not managed to fulfill the hopes of his people comes rejection of the world, which, together with eschatological dualism, are the characteristic features of Gnosticism. The outer fringes of Judaism (e.g., the Essene community of Qumran, the Jewish circles influenced by the Iranian/Chaldaean "theology" of the "Hellenized Magi," the Judaism of the Diaspora in direct contact with the Aramaic Syro-Mesopotamian world) provided the materials which were united in the synthesis of the great Gnostic masters of the second century CE.

A hermeneutic work, which is somewhat similar to Grant's but which draws rather puzzling conclusions, is that by Ioan Petru Culianu (1950–1991), a Romanian scholar linked to the school of Ugo Bianchi (1922–1995). According to Culianu the origin of Gnostic nihilism can be found in the problem of the "Angels of the Nations": in ancient Judaism there existed a belief that every nation on earth had its own representative in the heavenly court, and the Jews expected direct political advantages because their heavenly representative was God himself, or the archangel Michael, who occupied the first place next to God. The fall of the Second Temple in 70 CE profoundly altered this vision. As Rome had conquered Palestine, and the occupation of the Holy Land had begun to seem unending, this seemed to indicate only one thing: Samael, the angel of Rome, had replaced God or Michael in the role of leader of the Angels of the Nations; like the power of Rome itself, Samael was an evil angel, the equivalent of Satan. To this hermeneutic hypothesis, Culianu added a precise, detailed phenomenology of Gnostic myths, studied in a diachronic manner. In the work of Culianu the interlinking of Gnosticism and modern nihilist thought is particularly important, a topic analyzed impartially and sometimes relentlessly, which has had a significant effect on the work of the Italian philosopher and scholar Elémire Zolla (1926–2002).

GREEK PLATONIC ORIGINS. In its theoretical layout the work of Culianu is certainly indebted to the research of another significant Italian scholar, Ugo Bianchi, who was responsible for organizing the important Congress of Messina in 1966 on the origin of Gnosticism. An ardent supporter of the Orphic and Platonic origins of the key themes of Gnosticism, Bianchi further maintained that Gnostic mythology reabsorbed and redeveloped archaic material, which can be identified by ethnological and folkloric research. To this last aspect of the question, he dedicated a specific volume (*Il dualismo religioso)*, an important work which laid bare the analogies and possible relationships between Gnostic myths and the sphere of religious ethnography. The hypothesis of a purely Greek Platonic origin of Gnostic theodicy is also present in the works of Simone Pétrement, a French scholar and follower of the philosopher Simone Weil. Pétrement, following at times slavishly in the footsteps of Harnack, maintains that Gnosticism is a phenomenon involving the Hellenization of Christianity, in which religious elements give rise to a political theology of rebellion against every kind of social oppression; this is a hermeneutic concept that is definitely borrowed from the Marxist ideology of Weil. Consideration of social and political themes is also found in the research of the American scholar Elaine Pagels, who has made particular study of the balance of power as the basis of the contradiction between Gnostic thought and the church hierarchy. On the relations between the origins of Christianity and Gnosticism, the works of Manlio Simonetti (b. 1926) and Christoph Markschies (b. 1962) should also be considered.

A German religious historian, Carsten Colpe (b. 1929), in a famous early work critically revisited the ideas of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule,* demonstrating that many of the hypotheses proposed by Reitzenstein were without foundation. Over the years Colpe has produced a series of fundamental analyses that aim to untangle the various syncretic elements that are intertwined in the original Gnostic texts. Despite Colpe's criticisms, the Iranist interpretation of the Gnostic phenomenon has been articulately expounded in the work of another historian of religions, the Swedish scholar Geo Widengren (1907–1996). Widengren has improved upon the research of his predecessors, identifying the origin of Gnosticism in a particular esoteric and philosophical tendency in the Mazdean religion Zurvanism. According to Widengren, such wisdom traditions, along with the ideas of the Aramaic Mesopotamian world, gave rise to the *gnōsis* of the Mandaeans and consequently in a whole series of documents ascribed to what he has defined as "Parthian gnosis." The hybrid production based on Iranian and Mesopotamian materials in the context of the kingdom of Parthia is further at the root of a complex syncretism that runs through apocalyptic texts such as *The Book of Enoch* or more typical Qumran texts such as *The War Rule*, examples of an intertestamental Judaism that was beginning to interpret everything according to Gnostic canons. The research of Widengren and the fascinating work of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* have found support in the work of the Italian Gherardo Gnoli (b. 1937), a scholar who has forcefully pointed out the Iranian roots of the Gnostic phenomenon. In Gnoli we also find Manichaeism redefined as an "Iranian Gnostic religion." An attempt to find a middle way between the extreme positions cited has been made by the German Kurt Rudolph (b. 1929), who as well as stressing the Hellenistic Greek and Judaic Aramaic substratum of the origins of Gnosticism also emphasizes the presence of Iranian material.

NAG HAMMADI. The discovery in the 1940s at Nag Hammadi, ancient Chenoboskion, of an entire library of Gnostic texts written in Coptic has given a new impetus to studies concerning the origins of Gnosticism. This literary corpus was discovered by Jean Doresse, a Coptologist whose fame has been eclipsed by that of Henri-Charles Puech (1902–1986). Puech was responsible for an outstanding series of works on Gnostic phenomenology; mention should be made of his work *La gnose et le temps*, which was inspired by the Swiss psychoanalyst Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961) and dealt with the correspondence between the conceptions of space and time in Gnostic demiurgy. The school on Gnosticism and dualism begun by Puech has been continued in the work of his pupil Michel Tardieu, a keen supporter of historicophilological method but also the first to use the approach of structural anthropology in interpreting the Gnostic myths. We should also recall in the same context the work of Antoine Guillaumont on Semitic expressions in the Gnostic texts.

The disputes and controversies involving the rediscovery and publication of the Coptic corpus of Nag Hammadi have resulted in a large number of editions and versions of the Gnostic tracts. Between the 1950s and the 1970s various translations were circulated (published mainly in the pages of academic reviews) with parallel texts in Coptic. Mention should also be made of the pioneering works of Puech, Quispel, Pahor Labib, Walter Till, Guillaumont, Jan Zandee, Soren Giversen, Rudolf Kasser, Hans-Martin Schenke, Martin Krause, and Bentley Layton. Recently a critical edition and translation of the Gnostic texts of Nag Hammadi has been completed by a group of international scholars led by James M. Robinson, who is in charge of the Coptic Gnostic Library Project of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity of Claremont (California). A series of predominantly but not exclusively French-speaking scholars (Jacques É. Ménard, Bernard Barc, Paul-Hubert Poirier, Michel Roberge, Louis Painchaud, Wolf-Peter Funk, Jean-Marie Sevrin, Einar Thomassen, John Turner, and others) at the University of Laval in Quebec in Canada are working on a French translation with critical text, equipped with monumental theological historical commentary on all the Nag Hammadi texts.

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EZIO ALBRILE (2005)
Translated from Italian by Paul Ellis

GOATS SEE SHEEP AND GOATS

GOBLET D'ALVIELLA, EUGÈNE

GOBLET D'ALVIELLA, EUGÈNE (1846–1925), was a Belgian historian of religions, jurist, politician, and grand master of Freemasonry (which means, in Belgium, that one is anticlerical). Count Goblet d'Alviella was the first professor of history of religions at the Université Libre (i.e., "free thinking") of Brussels, of which he was rector from 1896 to 1898. He was militant as a freethinker in trying to have the teaching of religion in schools replaced by that of the science of religion.

Goblet d'Alviella divided the study of religions into three disciplines: "hierography," "hierology," and "hierosophy." Hierography describes the development of each of the known religions. Hierology, by comparing religions, tries to formulate laws of evolution of religious phenomena; it thus "makes up for the paucity of information, in any given race or society, about the history of a belief or an institution, by appealing to the environment or period." Hierology is purely factual, while hierosophy is a philosophical attempt at classifying the various conceptions of humanity's relations with "superhuman beings."

Although lacking special philological training, Goblet d'Alviella studied, in hierography, various domains: Egyptian religion, Mithraism, Greek religion, Christianity, and Hinduism. In hierology, his most notable work was *La migration des symboles* (1891), in which he studied the forms, meanings, and migrations of such religious symbols as the swastika, the sacred tree, and the winged disk. The winged disk, for instance, originated in Egypt as a symbol of the sun and was adopted by the Syrians, the Hittites, the Assyrians, and the Persians, with additions and transformations in both form and meaning. In hierosophy Goblet d'Alviella studied Rationalist churches, the belief in immortality, the Buddhist catechism, progress, syncretism, and the crisis of religion.

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A large number of Goblet d'Alviella's articles are reprinted in book form under the title *Croyances, rites, institutions,* 3 vols. (Paris, 1911). Three of his works exist in English translation: *Contemporary Evolution of Religious Thought in England, America, and India* (New York, 1886); *The Migration of Symbols* (London, 1894); and his Hibbert Lectures of 1891, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of the Conception of God as Illustrated by Anthropology and History* (London, 1892). A good summary of Goblet d'Alviella's work can be found in the article by Julien Ries in the *Dictionnaire des religions* (Paris, 1984).

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JACQUES DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN (1987)
Revised Bibliography

GOD

This entry consists of the following articles:

GOD IN THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES
GOD IN THE NEW TESTAMENT
GOD IN POSTBIBLICAL JUDAISM
GOD IN POSTBIBLICAL CHRISTIANITY
GOD IN ISLAM
AFRICAN SUPREME BEINGS

GOD: GOD IN THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES

The God of Israel is the major character in the Hebrew scriptures. Although he is not mentioned in the *Book of Esther* or in the *Song of Songs*, God appears in all the remaining twenty-two books of the Hebrew Bible. Within these books God is depicted as creator, provider, and lawgiver. Most of the writers assume that he is just, that he has a special relation with the people of Israel, and that he hearkens to prayer. But because the Bible is not a systematic theological treatise and because not all internal contradictions were removed by its editors, we find major disagreements among the writers about the crucial elements of Israelite faith, including concepts of God.

BIBLICAL TERMINOLOGY OF THE DIVINE. The proper name of the God whose exclusive worship is demanded by the biblical authors is written consonantally as *YHVH.* This tetragrammaton, attested more than 6,600 times in the Bible, also occurs on the Moabite Stone (ninth century BCE) and in several ancient Hebrew letters and inscriptions. Vocalized biblical texts do not preserve the actual pronunciation of *YHVH.* Instead, they direct the reader to pronounce the divine name as though it were the frequent epithet *adonai,* meaning "lord." (It was the misunderstanding of this scribal convention that gave rise to the English form *Jehovah.*) The original pronunciation of *YHVH* is generally reconstructed as "Yahveh" or "Yahweh," on the basis of early Greek transcriptions. A shorter form, *YH,* generally considered secondary, is found 24 times in the Hebrew scriptures. In proper names, the theophoric element is never written as *-yhvh* but as *-yh* or *-yhv.*

The name *YHVH* occurs frequently in the compound *yhvh tsv't* (*yahveh tseva'ot*). Usually translated as "lord of hosts," its exact significance is uncertain. Most likely it means either "creator of the [heavenly] hosts" or "Yahveh is the [armed] host of Israel." *YHVH* is also sometimes combined with *elohim,* the most common generic word for "god," in the form *Yahveh Elohim.* The term *elohim* appears some 2,600 times in the Hebrew scriptures, and, although in form the word is plural, it is often construed with a singular verb. Most commonly, *Elohim* refers to the God of Israel and is thus synonymous with or interchangeable with *Yahveh.* Certain writers, in particular the author of the so-called Elohist source of the Pentateuch and the composers of certain Psalms, preferred *Elohim* to *Yahveh* as the proper name of the God of Israel.

Even when *Elohim* refers to the God of Israel, it can be treated as a plural (*Gn.* 20:13). Most frequently, however, the plural references are to gods whose worship by Israelites is condemned by the biblical authors. These are referred to as *elohim aḥerim* ("other gods"; *Ex.* 20:3, *Dt.* 5:7) and *elohim ḥadashim* ("new gods"; *Jgs.* 5:8). Similar are expressions in which the plural construction is employed. Examples are *elohei ha-nekhar* ("foreign gods"; *Gn.* 35:2, *Jos.* 24:20) and *elohei nekhar ha-arets* ("foreign gods of the land"; *Dt.* 31:16). It must be noted that the Hebrew writers employ the singular sense of *elohim* even when illicit divinities such as Astarte, Milcom, and Chemosh are meant (*1 Kgs.* 11:5, 11:33).

Because *elohim* is antithetical to *anashim* ("people"; see *Jgs.* 9:13), it can include gradations between the two categories of divinity and humanity. Among these are ghosts (*1 Sm.* 28:13, *Is.* 8:19) and minor divinities (*Gn.* 32:29, 48:15–16). The term can also serve in adjectival expressions of might, power, and the like. Among such examples are *ruah elohim* ("mighty wind"; *Gn.* 1:2), *nesi' elohim* ("great prince"; *Gn.* 23:6), *naftulei elohim* ("violent struggles"; *Gn.* 30:8), *ḥittat elohim* ("terror"; *Gn.* 35:5), *ḥerdat elohim* ("panic"; *1 Sm.* 14:15), *kis'akha elohim* ("your eternal throne"; *Ps.* 45:7), and *har elohim* ("majestic mountain"; *Ps.* 68:16). In addition, *elohim* can mean "happenstance," as in *etsba'elohim* (*Ex.* 8:15), and, frequently approximates "nature" in the late book *Ecclesiastes.*

Related etymologically to *elohim* is the shorter form *eloah,* construed solely as a grammatical singular. Most of its occurrences are in the later books of the Hebrew scriptures, although it is found also in the archaic poem in *Deuteronomy* (32:15, 32:17). The word occurs almost exclusively in poetry and never with the definite article. With the exception of two passages in *Daniel* (11:38–39), *eloah,* in contrast to *elohim,* does not refer to foreign divinities but has the virtual status of a proper name for the God of Israel.

Another important scriptural designation of divinity is *el,* whose function corresponds generally to that of *elohim.* The word has numerous cognates in the classical Semitic languages and is attested some 230 times in the Hebrew scriptures in the singular as well as the plural, *elim.* Like *Elohim, El* can substitute for *Yahveh* as a proper name for the God of Israel, its most common use (*Nm.* 12:13, 23:8, 23:19; *Is.* 8:8, 8:10). The Hebrew word *el* can take the definite article and appear as *ha-'el,* "the god" (*Gn.* 46:3, *Ps.* 85:9). It can also refer to pagan deities in such forms as *el zar* ("strange god"; *Ps.* 44:21, 81:10), *el aḥer* ("other god"; *Ex.* 34:14), and *el nek-har* ("foreign god"; *Mal.* 2:11, *Ps.* 81:10).

Unlike *elohim, el* has clear antecedents in older Semitic languages. Early documents from Ebla (modern-day Tel Mardikh) in central Syria and from Mesopotamia show that the closely related *ilu* was used in Akkadian for "god" as well as for the proper name of a high god. Chronologically closer to first-millennium Israel are the texts from Ugarit in northern Syria, which employ *el* for "god" in general and also for the head of the Canaanite pantheon. El was known for wisdom and beneficence as well as for his exploits with sex and alcohol. He was a healer and creator god who was sometimes depicted as a bull. Some biblical passages that mention *el* refer to this god (*Is.* 14:13, *Ez.* 28:2, *Hos.* 12:6).

Because the Yahveh cult appropriated the name of El to its own object of worship, we cannot always tell whether an *el* reference in a biblical text is to the Canaanite El, to Yahveh, to a blend of both, or to another divinity entirely. Among the problematic occurrences is *el ro'i,* "the god who sees me" or "El who sees me" (*Gn.* 16:13). The name *El Bet-'El* (*Gn.* 31:13) is even more problematic, because a divinity named Beth'el, doubtless the hypostasis of a shrine, was worshiped in Samaria in the eighth century (*Hos.* 10:15, 12:5), in Tyre in the seventh century, and at Elephantine in Egypt in the fifth century. Similar difficulties attend the proper understanding of *el shaddai* (*Gn.* 17:1, 28:3; *Ex.* 6:3), which occurs as well in the form *shaddai* (*Nm.* 24:4, 24:16; *Ez.* 1:24; *Jb., passim*). Earlier attempts to connect El Shaddai with the Amorite Bel Shade ("lord of the mountains") have been disproved. Recently published texts in Aramaic from Deir 'Alla in Jordan refer to *shaddayin*—divinities. Whether this discovery will shed some light on the biblical *el shaddai* remains to be seen. There has been a great deal of scholarly discussion of the name *El 'Elyon* (*Gn.* 14:18; *Ps.* 78:35). It is uncertain whether the name should be rendered "God most high" or "El most high" and whether the name itself is a blend of two originally distinct non-Israelite divinities. Finally, a divinity named El Berit had a temple at Shechem (modern-day Nablus). The name might be translated as "god of the covenant" or "El of the covenant."

BIBLICAL VIEW OF THE ORIGINS OF THE WORSHIP OF YHVH. The original meaning of the name *YHVH* is unknown to modern scholars. Only one biblical writer, the author of *Exodus* 3:14, attempted an explanation, by relating the name to the verb *hayah* ("be, exist"): "and YHVH said . . . say unto the children of Israel: 'I am' hath sent me unto you."

The biblical writers differ among themselves as to when the worship of Yahveh originated. According to *Genesis* 4, Eve knew God by the name *Yahveh,* and her two sons, Cain and Abel, brought him sacrifices. Verse 26 of that same chapter tells us that in the days of Enosh (Hebrew for "person"), grandson of Adam, the name *Yahveh* began to be invoked. In other words, God was worshiped as soon as there was a human community. In contrast, the author of *Exodus* 6, commonly identified as the Priestly writer (or the P source) denies that Israel's ancestors knew God by this name (*Ex.* 6:3). Instead, he asserts that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob knew their God as El Shaddai and that the name *Yahveh* was only first revealed to Moses. Though most scholars regard the P source as one of the latest documents, there is something to be said here for its reliability. It is unlikely that the writer would have originated the claim that the ancestors did not know the proper name of the ancestral god. At the same time, the writer might have wished simply to glorify Moses.

Extrabiblical data have not resolved the question of the origin of Yahveh worship. Similarities in the cultures and languages of first-millennium Israel and third-millennium Ebla, as well as second-millennium Mari, have led some scholars to interpret elements of personal names in texts emanating from these areas as references to Yahveh. These interpretations have not won general acceptance. The same holds for the fragmentary mention of a god called Yv at late second-millennium Ugarit. Perhaps the most promising clue comes from a location named Yhv' in the Negev or the Sinai desert mentioned in Egyptian sources from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries BCE. These references lend some support to the Midianite or Kenite hypothesis that makes much of the biblical traditions that Yahveh revealed himself to Moses in Midianite territory (*Ex.* 3) and that the father-in-law of Moses was a Midianite priest (*Ex.* 2) who taught Moses how to administer divine law (*Ex.* 18).

THE HISTORICAL PROBLEM OF ISRAELITE MONOTHEISM. Scholars are in agreement that Judaism was a monotheistic religion by the end of the Babylonian exile (c. 539 BCE). Most also agree that Jewish monotheism was greatly encouraged by the preachings of the preexilic prophets. The Hebrew scriptures in their present form are colored by the belief that Yahveh was the sole legitimate object of Israelite worship from earliest times. In consequence, the biblical depiction of Yahveh worship presents the unusual situation of a people who seem to have disregarded for centuries what is in retrospect said to have been their official religion. The German scholar Julius Wellhausen ([1885] 1957) argued that the official religion of Israel had been originally polytheistic and that Yahveh had been a national god to whom every Israelite owed allegiance. In this respect, Yahveh did not differ from the Moabite god Chemosh or the Assyrian Ashur. The Bible notes time and time again that Israelites worshiped other gods alongside Yahveh. According to Wellhausen, no one viewed this as problematic until the rise of classical prophecy in the eighth century BCE. Yahveh, proclaimed the prophets, would punish unethical behavior on Israel's part by bringing foreigners against them. In order to make this threat credible, Yahveh had to grow in power at the expense of all other divinities.

Only with the fall of Judah (in 587/6 BCE), in Wellhausen's analysis, did the contrite Jewish masses begin to accept that the prophets had been right. The dispersion of Yahveh's people all over the world proved that Yahveh was a universal God and, finally, the sole God in existence. The exilic prophet "Second Isaiah" was the most articulate representative of this thoroughgoing monotheism. Under the influence of his and similar teachings, the bulk of the Pentateuch was composed, and the early prophetic and historical writings were reshaped. In other words, what the Hebrew scriptures present is largely retrojection of monotheistic beliefs of the exilic and postexilic periods onto true early Israelite religion.

In contrast to Wellhausen, other scholars, such as William F. Albright (1957) and, especially, Yeḥezkel Kaufmann (1970), argued that monotheism was Mosaic in origin and was Israel's official religion. These scholars generally accept the Bible's judgment that much of Israelite attention to other gods was sinful. Kaufmann, however, departs from this consensus. He argues that the prophets, in condemning Israelite idolatry, were in fact polemicizing against vestigial fetishism. The fact that their opposition was more often directed against "idolatry," the worship of "wood and stone," rather than against real gods was for Kaufmann highly significant. According to his theory, the monotheistic revolution fomented by Moses had so thoroughly eradicated polytheism from Israel that most Israelites no longer understood the myth, ritual, and magic practiced by their pagan neighbors. Aside from some government-sponsored or -tolerated exceptions, the Israelites were never guilty of more than leftover superstition. To the zealous prophets, however, these venial sins warranted Yahveh's harshest punishments. The correctness of the prophetic position was demonstrated, at least to the prophets, by Israel's political defeats.

Israelite monolatry. We have seen that the biblical writers (as well as modern scholars) disagree about the period in which the explicit worship of the one God began. There is no disagreement, however, that the Bible requires that the people Israel serve God exclusively. Various early formulations of God's demand for exclusive worship connect it with the exodus from Egypt, an event that, if exaggerated in magnitude, clearly has some historical basis (*Ex.* 20:2–3, *Hos.* 13:4, *Ps.* 81:10–11). According to the Pentateuch, a covenant (*berit*) between God and Israel was concluded through the mediation of Moses at the mountain variously called "Sinai," "Horeb," and "the mountain of God." This covenant bound Israel to Yahveh's exclusive service and carried with it the obligations that were understood as the Law. (*Ex.* 19–24, 34; *Dt.* 5). An additional covenant to the same effect was made in the plains of Moab (*Dt.* 29–30). *Joshua* 24 describes how Joshua caused his people to conclude a covenant for God's exclusive worship at Shechem (without reference to any Mosaic precedent). None of these covenant traditions insists that Yahveh is the sole god in existence, yet each maintains that Israel is bound to serve him alone.

Some of the early prophets, such as Amos and Isaiah, do not employ the covenant theme explicitly, but they likewise insist on Yahveh's demand to be worshiped by Israel to the exclusion of all other gods. That demand is best described as *monolatry*, a form of worship in which only one god is served but the existence of others is not denied. Monolatrous worship is, in theory, compatible with polytheism.

Monolatry was not unknown in the ancient Near East. In the fourteenth century BCE, Akhenaten, King of Egypt, had inaugurated a solar monolatry in which the royal family worshiped the Aton, the sun disk, to the exclusion of Egypt's traditional gods. Mesopotamian mythology describes the temporary worship of a single god in an emergency. In addition, ancient Near Eastern prayer literature regularly employed monolatrous language. A worshiper would approach various gods in turn with the declaration that each one was the only proper object of worship. Sometimes the suppliant went as far as saying that the other gods were no more than attributes or bodily limbs of the god addressed. Undoubtedly at the moment of utterance, these pious statements were meant sincerely, although their intent was not to invalidate the worship of other gods.

Yet the fact that monolatry was found outside of Israel does not explain why it was deemed so important in Israel. The books of the Bible agree that Israel's tenure in its own land depended on the exclusive worship of Yahveh. In spite of Yahveh's reminders tendered by his servants the prophets, the people insisted on worshiping other gods (*2 Kgs.* 17:7–23, *Jer.* 25:3–11), with whom they were supposed to have no relation (*Ex.* 23:32; *Jer.* 7:9). The fall of Samaria in 720 BCE and the fall of Judah in 587/6 BCE were caused, according to the biblical writers, by failure to adhere to the covenant with Yahveh.

The covenant, it must be understood, was integral to the very identity of the Israelites as a political entity. It was the god Yahveh who was credited with bringing out from Egypt those descendants of Egyptian slaves and native dissidents who were to constitute the people Israel. Through Yahveh, this new group was to acquire its own land, independent of the Egypto-Canaanite political system. This granting of land by Yahveh to his people was also described by the metaphor of *berit*, or "covenant," and was modeled after the international treaty formulas of the second millennium BCE. In Israelite theory, all the land belonged to Yahveh, who assigned it to his people in terms similar to those found in Hittite suzerainty treaties, in which the "great king" demanded sole allegiance from his clients. In its religious adaptation, the covenant notion meant that Israel was to serve Yahveh alone. The Hittite kings demanded exclusive allegiance because they knew that their clients might turn to other kings. Yahveh's representatives, who acknowledged the existence of other gods with whom one might be tempted to make a similar covenant (*Ex.* 23:32), demanded analogous exclusive allegiance. In addition, the covenant with Yahveh served as the theological expression of the mundane political union between the Canaanite natives and the outsiders who together made up Israel, a process described in *Joshua* 24. It may be noted that the setting of this chapter is Shechem, the scene of successful and unsuccessful coalitions with Canaanites (see *Gn.* 34 and *Jgs.* 8–9).

God in covenant and history. Because it had emerged in historical circumstances, the covenant metaphor imparted to the Israelite cult a far greater concern with "history" than was found in the other cults of the ancient Near East. The "triumphs of Yahveh" (*Jgs.* 5:11), as they are called in the ancient Song of Deborah, were more focused on human life than were Baal's victories over death and aridity. It is not that the gods of the other nations were not concerned with history nor that Yahveh was not concerned with nature. Rather, the degree of emphasis was markedly different in Israel in that Israelite writers were more likely to produce tales of Yahveh's political triumphs than to produce tales of his cosmic ones.

The relative space given in the Bible to God's "mythical" and "historical" deeds is very instructive. Several poetic passages refer to divine combat with a sea monster in which Yahveh vanquishes his foes in the manner of the Babylonian Marduk, the Canaanite Baal, and the Hittite Iluyankas (*Is.* 27:1, 30:7, 51:9–10; *Hb.* 3:8; *Ps.* 74:13–14, 89:10–11, 93:1–4; *Jb.* 26:10–14). The first eleven chapters of *Genesis* contain accounts of God's creation of the world by fiat in the manner of the Egyptian Ptah, the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Eden, the descent of the ancient heroes from the fallen divinities, and the great flood. Most of the biblical text, however, concentrates on God's relation to humanity and, especially, to Israel. The Bible is unique among the preserved literature of the ancient Near East in the extent to which a god is involved in human institutions. Thus although there are references to ritual instructions in Egyptian divine books and Mesopotamian accounts of the divine revelation of exorcisms and incantations, these are the exception. The well-known Code of Hammurabi of Babylon (1792–1750 BCE) contains numerous parallels to biblical law, but it is the king, and not the god of justice, who claims credit for its composition.

The Bible claims divine jurisdiction over all areas of life in a more thorough and consistent manner than do all other extant ancient Near Eastern sources. Although Babylonian legal collections such as Hammurabi's Code or the Laws of Eshnunna, for example, show close parallels to laws in the Pentateuch, the context is different. Thus, Hammurabi claims that the gods had called on him to establish justice and so he, the king, enacted the laws. In contrast, in the Hebrew Bible the claim is made that all laws governing all Israelite institutions and all personal relations were divinely revealed to Moses at Yahveh's sacred mountain. Every human action, even when wickedly intended, such as the sale of Joseph by his brothers, is part of the divine plan (*Gn.* 45:5, 50:19–20). Unlike the Akkadian speaker who could describe actions performed *lā libbi ilāni* ("without divine consent"), the Hebrew could refer only to divine disapproval.

The exclusive worship of Yahveh was the religious expression of the political and social factors that had brought Israel into existence. The demand to serve Yahveh alone came to the fore in the settlement of the land, in the formation of the monarchy under Saul (eleventh century BCE), in the purge of the house of Omri under Jehu (r. 842–815 BCE), in the anti-Assyrianism of Hezekiah (r. 715–686 BCE), and in the expansionism of Josiah (r. 640–609 BCE). It reached its logical conclusion, monotheism, in the exilic preachments of "Second Isaiah" and in the reconstitution of the postexilic community of the fifth century BCE.

The persistence of polytheism. At the same time, a number of factors undermined Yahvistic monolatry from the beginning. First, the people who made up Israel were themselves of diverse origin and could not easily forsake their ancestral gods (see *Jos.* 24). Second, monolatry does not deny the existence of the many divinities. As normality set in, the old gods whose existence had never been denied reasserted themselves; the international interests of the monarchy and of commerce also encouraged tolerance of other gods.

It should also be recalled that polytheism made sense in the ancient world. It was not until long after the Babylonian exile that such concepts as "nature" and "universe," which Greek thinkers formulated, began to make an impact in the Middle East. Israelite worship of gods and goddesses reflects the difficulty that the average person must have had in assuming an underlying unity in what appears to be a collection of diverse forces often opposed one to another.

Many Israelites must have resisted monotheism because of its difficulty in accounting for unwarranted suffering. To be sure, the problem of theodicy had been raised by Mesopotamian thinkers long before the rise of Israel, but because polytheists could always blame divine injustice on rivalry among the gods, the problem never became so pointed as in the late biblical writings *Job* and *Ecclesiastes.* These postexilic works were written by authors who took for granted that Yahveh was the sole god in existence. If that sole God was all-powerful and just at the same time, how could injustice persist? The author of *Job* answered that God was not omnipotent. The writer of *Ecclesiastes* answered that injustice was built into the system that God had set in motion.

THEOCRASY. The blending of gods and their characteristics is the salvation of monolatry and surely of monotheism. As increasing numbers of Israelites began to become consistent monolaters and monotheists, a process that took centuries, the figure of Yahveh began to absorb many of the functions and attributes of the older gods. We have seen that Yahveh assumed El's name in addition to that god's reputation for beneficence and wisdom. Yahveh likewise acquired Baal's thunderous voice (*1 Sm.* 2:10), his fructifying abilities (*Hos.* 2:10), and his title of "cloud rider" (*Ps.* 68:5).

The biblical writers did not, however, tolerate Yahveh's absorption of the attributes of Near Eastern goddesses. Instead, they condemned the widespread royal and popular worship of female deities. The mother of the pious king Asa (c. 913–873 BCE) had constructed an image of Asherah, and another representation of this same Canaanite "creator of the gods" stood in Yahveh's Jerusalem Temple until Josiah's time (*2 Kgs.* 21:7). In ancient Israel, Astarte remained popular in her classical form as well as in her Aramean-Mesopotamian incarnation as "queen of heaven" (*Jer.* 7:18, 44:17ff.). The biblical depiction of the popularity of female divinities is corroborated by external evidence. Recent archaeological discoveries at Kuntillet ʾAjrud and Khirbet al-Qum have brought to light Hebrew inscriptions referring to "Yahveh of Teman and his Asherah." It is possible that *asherah* in these inscriptions had become a common noun meaning "consort." Finally, the Jews at Elephantine in the fifth century BCE knew a divinity called Anatyahu, an apparent androgynous blend of Yahveh with the ancient Canaanite goddess Anat.

Despite the popularity of female divinity, or perhaps because of it, biblical monolatry excluded the female presence. With rare exceptions (*Isa.* 42:14; 66:13), the biblical writers personify Yahveh with masculine traits, a reflection of the power structure in Israelite society. The northern kingdom of Israel never had a reigning queen. Athaliah, the only reigning queen of the southern kingdom of Judah (842–837 BCE), had come to power under highly irregular circumstances (*2 Kgs.* 11:1–3). There were some women prophets, among them Miriam, Deborah, Huldah and the anonymous wife of Isaiah (*Isa.* 8:3), but no female priests.

THE RISE OF MONOTHEISM. The present state of the evidence suggests that monolatry arose early in Israel but that monotheism was a late development. Throughout the early first millennium BCE, only a minority of Israelites were consistent in their exclusive worship of Yahveh. To this tenacious minority we are indebted for the henotheistic concept of Yahveh that informs the earlier biblical books. The narratives of *Joshua* 24 and *Genesis* 35 reflect what must have been the majority view: to engage in the cult of Yahveh while images of other gods were present was defiling. Jeremiah assailed his contemporaries for committing crimes and then proceeding to Yahveh's temple and declaring that "we have been saved" (*Jer.* 7:9–10). Baal worship is among the enumerated crimes. Presumably the priesthood required of all entrants to the sanctuary the declaration that they served Yahveh alone, which at the moment they did, fulfilling the Decalogue's demand that "you shall have no other gods in my presence" (*Ex.* 20:3). The Temple priesthood was generally consistently monolatrous, although royal toleration and active support of other cults would have applied pressure on Yahveh priests to be flexible at times (*2 Kgs.* 1–8).

Some biblical writers took the existence of other gods for granted, though all agreed that Yahveh was superior to the other gods (*Gn.* 1:26, 3:22, 6:2; *Ex.* 12:12, 15:11; *Ps.* 82:1–8). Other writers, such as the prophets Amos, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, spoke of Yahveh as the only proper object of Israelite worship, as the only divinity in control of earthly and heavenly events. Among the prophets, Second Isaiah was the most consistent monotheist, insisting that Yahveh was the sole god in existence (*Is.* 43:10–12, 44:6–8, 45:5–7, 45:18–22, 46:9). In general, the biblical monolaters believed the worship of Yahveh alone to be both an Israelite obligation and privilege. Others might worship their own gods (*Dt.* 4:19; *Mi.* 4:5–6). The monotheists required all peoples to forsake their ancestral gods and to worship Yahveh alone (*2 Kgs.* 5:17–18; *Is.* 44:6–20, 45:22; *Jer.* 10:12–16; *Zep.* 3:9; *Zec.* 14:9).

BIBLICAL IMAGERY OF GOD. Although many verbal images of Yahveh are found in the texts, the Bible in God's name prohibits the physical depiction of all divine images (*Ex.* 20:4, 34:17; *Dt.* 4:15–17, 5:8), even for use in the cult. Clearly, this prohibition was not universally observed (*Jgs.* 17:35). Some verbal divine imagery echoed Israel's roots in the Canaanite past. Yahveh was spoken of as a bull (*Gn.* 49:24; *Is.* 1:24; *Ps.* 132:2, 132:5), a further legacy from the Canaanite El, and was represented sculpturally as a bull or calf (*Ex.* 32:4–5, *1 Kgs.* 12:28, *Hos.* 8:6, *Ps.* 106:20).

According to one theory, no one could see Yahveh and remain alive (*Ex.* 32:23), but there were exceptions (*Ex.* 24:10–11; *Nm.* 12:8; *Is.* 6:1, 6:5). God is often described as humanlike (*Gn.* 1:27, 18:2) and with a face (*Ex.* 33:20), a back (*Ex.* 33:23), arms (*Dt.* 32:40), and legs (*Na.* 1:3, *Zec.* 14:4; in *Exodus* 4:25, *legs* is a euphemism for Yahveh's genitals). As a warrior (*Ex.* 15:3, *Ps.* 24:8), God carries a bow (*Gn.* 9:13), arrows (*1 Sm.* 22:15), and a sword (*Dt.* 32:42). Second Isaiah says that Yahveh is indescribable (*Is.* 40:18, 40:25, 46:5) but dresses him in armor and a helmet (*Is.* 59:17). According to *Daniel* 7:9, God is old and has white hair. Other depictions refer to fire and smoke emanating from Yahveh's mouth and nose (*1 Sm.* 22:15) and to his thunderous voice (*Ex.* 20:18–19, *Ps.* 29:3–9, *Jb.* 40:9), images borrowed from the figure of Baal, the thunder god.

God's kingship. In many passages of the Hebrew scriptures, God is spoken of as king. We may distinguish two basic usages, Yahveh as king of the gods and Yahveh as king of Israel. The first meaning is rare but is attested in the verse "For YHVH is a great god, a great king over all the gods" (*Ps.* 95:3). More common is the notion of Yahveh's kingship over Israel (*Jgs.* 8:23; *1 Sm.* 8:7; *Is.* 41:21, 45:6) and over the world (*Ps.* 47:3, 93:1, 97:1). The gods of Assyria and Mesopotamia such as Marduk and Ashur were regularly spoken of as kings in relation to their own peoples and to the rest of the world. Like these gods, Yahveh as king was the divine enforcer of justice and equity, guardian of the rights of the defenseless widow and orphan. Like them as well, he controlled the nations of the world and regulated their movements for the benefit of the people to whom he was closest.

God's presence. Though God was generally not visible, he might manifest himself publicly in the *kavod*, a word usually translated "glory" but best rendered "person," or "self." The *kavod* of Yahveh showed Israel that Yahveh was present among them. Often this presence could be invited by cultic procedures (*Lv.* 9:6, 9:23). Frequently the *kavod* of Yahveh is associated with the wilderness tabernacle (*Ex.* 16:7, 16:10, 29:43, 40:34–35) and with the Jerusalem Temple (*1 Kgs.* 8:11; *Ez.* 43:2). Among Yahveh's cultic titles were *melekh ha-kavod* ("the king himself"; *Ps.* 24:7, 24:10) and *el ha-kavod* ("the god himself"; *Ps.* 29:3). Like its Akkadian counterpart *melammu* ("sheen"), the *kavod* of Yahveh is of intense luminosity (*Is.* 60:1–2, *Ez.* 43:2) and is often shielded by a cloud (*Ex.* 24:16, 40:34; *Ez.* 1:27–28). The *kavod* is sometimes spoken of as filling the entire earth (*Nm.* 14:21, *Is.* 6:3, *Ps.* 72:19).

God's transcendence. Yahveh is often described as *qadosh.* Similar terms are used to describe divinities a term Ugaritic, Aramaic Phoenician. Although scholars often ascribe to *qadosh* a basic meaning "set apart," it is best understood as a primary emotive category "holy," in the manner of its antonyms "profane," and "impure God is not bound by time, space, or form, nor by moral or ethical categories (*2 Sm.* 6:5–8). Yet because God serves as the guarantor of justice (*Jer.* 11:20), his divine justice could be questioned (*Gn.* 18:25, *Jer.* 12:1, and most of *Jb.*) and even denied (*Eccl.* 8:15).

Yahveh is frequently referred to as a jealous god (*Ex.* 20:5, 35:14; *Dt.* 4:24, 5:9, 6:15; *Jos.* 24:19; *Na.* 1:2). In these instances, the term employed is a derivative of the verb root *qn'*. In a Babylonian text, the goddess Sarpanitum is described by the identical term. What is unique to the description of Yahveh is the action that activates Yahveh's jealousy (*qinn'ah*) most often—the worship of other gods. Sometimes Yahveh's jealousy results in unbridled punishment (*Dt.* 4:24, 6:15). At other times, it results in strict retributive justice and would better be translated as "zeal" (*Na.* 1:2–3). At still other times, "passion" or "ardor" would be better choices (*Is.* 9:6; *Zec.* 1:14, 8:2).

God's emotions. At the same time, God is also spoken of as being slow to anger (*Ex.* 34:6, *Nm.* 14:18, *Jl.* 2:13, *Na.* 1:3), forgiving of sin (*Jon.* 4:1), and the receiver of the penitent (*Hos.* 14:2; *Jer.* 3:12, 35:3; *Jl.* 2:12; *Zec.* 1:3; *Mal.* 3:7). The different views of Yahveh reflect not only the temperaments of the individual writers but the vicissitudes of Israel's history as well. Because Yahveh was so embedded in Israel's political and social life and institutions, the changes in Israel's fortune provoked different aspects of the divine character. Paradoxically, Yahveh is at once the most transcendent god of the ancient Near East and the most human. This is expressed most sharply in the prophetic writings of Hosea and Jeremiah. God's love for Israel is like that of a husband for a wife (*Hos.* 3:11). Unlike God's love, which is constant, Israel's is fickle (*Hos.* 3:1, *Jer.* 2:25). Yet both Hosea and Jeremiah emphasize that God's love will be great enough to overcome Israel's inconstancy and that God's relation to his people is eternal (*Hos.* 2:21, *Jer.* 32:40).

SEE ALSO Biblical Literature, article on Hebrew Scriptures; El; Henotheism; Israelite Religion.

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S. DAVID SPERLING (1987 AND 2005)

GOD: GOD IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

The New Testament enunciates no new God and no new doctrine of God. It proclaims that the God and Father of Jesus Christ is the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the God of earlier covenants. What the New Testament announces is that this God has acted anew in inaugurating God's final reign and covenant through the career and fate of Jesus of Nazareth.

THE PRE-EASTER JESUS. Jesus inherited the Old Testament Jewish faith in Yahveh, which held that God was the creator of the world (*Mk.* 10:6 and parallel) and the one God who elected Israel as his people and gave them his law (*Mk.* 12:29 and parallels). Moreover, God promised the Israelites final salvation (*Is.* 35, 61). At the same time, the sense in the New Testament that God is now realizing ancient promises and is acting anew (cf. *Mt.* 11:4–5, an indubitably authentic saying of Jesus) gives Jesus' image of God a sense of immediacy.

God was not merely creator some thousands (or billions) of years ago; he is creator now, feeding the birds and clothing the flowers (*Mt.* 6:26–30, *Lk.* 12:24 and Q, the purported common source of *Matthew* and *Luke*). Not only did God give the law through Moses, but God now demands radical obedience in each concrete situation (cf. the antitheses of the sermon on the mount in *Mt.* 5:27–48). Above all, God is now offering in the proclamation and activity of Jesus a foretaste of final salvation. Jesus' announcement of the inbreaking of God's reign (*Mk.* 1:15, *Mt.* 10:7, *Lk.* 9:2, Q) is not an abstract concept detached from Jesus' own word and work. Jesus' word and work are the occasions through which God acts definitively and savingly. The same is true of Jesus' exorcisms: "If I by the Spirit [finger, *Lk.* 11:20] of God cast out demons, then the kingdom [i. e., reign] of God has come upon you" (*Mt.* 12:28, *Lk.* 11:20 Q).

Jesus issues a call, "Follow me" (*Mk.* 1:17, 2:14; cf. *Mt.* 8:22, *Lk.* 9:59, Q?), not because he advances any claim for himself as such, but only because in that call, as in his word and work in the world, God is issuing the call to end-time salvation. To confess Jesus (*Mt.* 10:32, *Lk.* 12:8, Q, *Mk.* 8:38) or to deny him before others is to determine one's ultimate fate on the last day—whether it be judgment or salvation. The verdict of the "Son of man" on that day will be determined by whether men and women confess Jesus now. Thus, in Jesus' call God is proleptically active as judge and savior. The Fourth Gospel puts it more thematically: God's salvation and judgment are already meted out here and now in the word of Jesus and people's response to it (*Jn.* 3:18, 5:22–27).

Jesus' conduct. Jesus eats with outcasts, and he defends his conduct by telling the parables of the lost (*Lk.* 15). These parables interpret Jesus' action as God's action in seeking and saving the lost and celebrating with them here and now the joy of the reign of God. Ernst Fuchs points out in *Studies of the Historical Jesus* (Naperville, Ill., 1964) that "Jesus . . . dares to affirm the will of God as though he himself stood in God's place" (p. 21).

God as Abba. Jesus' word and work are God's word and work because Jesus has responded to God's call in complete faith and obedience. This is brought out in the baptism, temptation, transfiguration, and Gethsemane narratives of the synoptists (*Mk.* 1:9–11 and parallels, *Mt.* 4:1–11, *Lk.* 4:1–13, Q, *Mk.* 9:2–8 and parallels, *Mk.* 14:32–42 and parallels), and once again it is thematically treated in the discourses of the Fourth Gospel (e.g., *Jn.* 8:28–29). This relation of call and obedience is summarized in Jesus' intimate address to God as Abba ("father"). This is no new doctrine, for the Old Testament and Judaism knew God as Father (e.g., *Is.* 63:16), nor does it imply a claim to metaphysical identity with the being of God or with an aspect of that being, as in later New Testament traditions. Again, Jesus does not pass the Abba appellation on to others as a way of defining God. Rather, he invites those who have responded in faith to his message of God's salvation to call God "Abba" with him. "Abba" is a familial mode of address that presupposes a new relationship with God. Because Jesus first made the response and enables others to make the same response, they too may call God "Abba" (cf. the Lukan version of the Lord's Prayer, *Lk.* 11:2).

Jesus' death. The saving activity in word and deed that fills the whole career of Jesus culminates in his journey to Jerusalem in order to make the last offer of salvation or judgment to his people at the very center of their national life. As a prophet, Jesus is convinced that he will be rejected and put to death and that this death will be the culmination of Israel's constant rejection of God's word as known through the prophets: "It cannot be that a prophet should perish away from Jerusalem" (*Lk.* 13:33; cf. the parable of the vineyard, *Mk.* 12:1–9 and parallels). Since it is the culmination of his obedience, his death, like all his other activity, is seen by Jesus as the saving act of God. The most primitive form of the suffering-Son-of-man sayings, namely, "The Son of man will be delivered into the hands of men" (cf. *Mk.* 9:31), if authentic, expresses this by using the divine passive: God will deliver the Son of man to death. It is God's prerogative to inaugurate covenants. Therefore, at the last supper, Jesus speaks of his impending death as a supreme act of service (*Lk.* 22:27; cf. the foot washing in *Jn.* 13:2–15), which inaugurates the final covenant and reign of God (*Lk.* 22:29; cf. *Mk.* 14:24, 25 and parallels). In the references to service, covenant, and kingdom (reign) at the last supper lies the historical basis for the post-Easter message of atonement.

Easter. The Easter experiences created in the disciples the faith that, despite the apparent debacle of the crucifixion, God had vindicated Jesus and taken him into his own eternal presence. The early community expressed this conviction chiefly through testimony about Jesus' resurrection: "God raised Jesus from the dead" (*Rom.* 4:24, 10:9; *1 Thes.* 1:10) or "Christ was raised" (*Rom.* 4:25, 6:9; *1 Cor.* 15:4—a divine passive). After Easter, for the believing community, God is preeminently the God who raised Jesus from the dead. Insofar as there is any specific New Testament definition of God, this is it (e.g., again, *Rom.* 10:9). This results in the ascription of titles of majesty to Jesus. At the resurrection, God made him Lord and Christ (Messiah) (*Acts* 2:36) and even Son of God, originally a royal title (*Rom.* 1:4). Jesus is exalted to a position as close as possible to God, to God's "right hand." That means God continues to act savingly, even after Easter, toward the community and toward the world through the proclamation of Jesus as the Christ. In saving activity, God and Christ become interchangeable subjects: what God does, Christ does at the same time. However, Christ does not replace God. All the titles of majesty declare that Christ is God's agent, not God's surrogate.

THE MESSAGE OF THE POST-EASTER CHURCH. Like Jesus in his pre-Easter life, the early church did not approach Israel with a new doctrine of God. Its message was that God had decisively inaugurated the fulfillment of his promises in the career and fate of Jesus of Nazareth, and above all in his resurrection. This is the burden of the sermons in the early chapters of the *Acts of the Apostles:* "Jesus of Nazareth, a man attested to you by God with mighty works and signs which God did through him . . . this Jesus, delivered up according to the definite plan and foreknowledge of God . . . God raised him" (*Acts* 2:22–24).

The Hellenistic-Jewish mission. Members of the Greek-speaking Jewish community, initially led by Stephen (*Acts* 6, 7), first found themselves preaching the Christian message to Greek-speaking non-Jews (*Acts* 11:20). In approaching them, it was found necessary to change tactics. Instead of launching straight in with the Christ event as God's act of salvation, they had to start further back, with belief in God. Because these non-Jewish Greeks came from a pagan and often polytheistic environment, it was necessary first to establish belief in the one God before speaking about what this God had done in Christ and was now doing salvifically. In other words, the Hellenistic-Jewish Christians needed an apologetic for monotheism, arguments for the existence of the one God, in their mission to non-Jews. They were able to draw upon the apologetic that had earlier been worked out by Greek-speaking Jews in their approach to the pagan world. One of the earliest references to such an apologetic for monotheism is attested to by Paul when he reminds the Thessalonians of his original preaching to them before their conversion to Christianity: "You turned from idols to serve a living and true God" (*1 Thes.* 1:9). Note how this precedes the second part of the message: "and to wait for this Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead" (*1 Thes.* 1:10). A further example of Pauline apologetic for monotheism, and a claim that creation contains a natural revelation of God and his moral demands, occurs in *Romans* 1:18–32 and 2:14–15. Humanity has, however, frequently rejected this revelation and disobeyed God's moral demands, and Paul seeks to recall pagans to such knowledge and obedience. He sees a close connection between idolatry and immorality: "They . . . exchanged the glory of the immortal God for images resembling mortal man or birds or animals or reptiles. . . . Therefore God gave them up in the lust of their hearts to impurity" (*Rom.* 1:23–24). Later examples of an apologetic for monotheism are to be found in *Acts* 14:15–17, addressed to an unsophisticated audience, and in *Acts* 17:24–29, addressed to a cultured one.

Pauline theology. Paul's theology is entirely occasional, that is, it was worked out in response to concrete problems in the Christian communities he knew. The focus of his theology is the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ and its saving consequences. He inherited from the liturgical tradition an understanding of Christ's death as a sacrifice. It was the blood that inaugurated the new covenant (*1 Cor.* 11:25). Christ was the paschal lamb (*1 Cor.* 5:7). But Paul did not develop these sacrificial images in his reflection on Christ's death, perhaps because such language tended to drive a wedge between Jesus and the Father, as though the sacrifice was offered in order to propitiate or appease an angry deity. The language of the (probably pre-Pauline) hymn in *Romans* 3:25–26, especially the word translated in the King James Version as "propitiation" (Gr., *hilastērion*), might be taken in that way. But God is the initiator in the atoning death of Christ ("whom God set forth"), and the word is better translated "expiation," as in the Revised Standard Version. This means that the crucifixion was an act of God dealing with and removing sin, the barrier between God and humanity, rather than an act of Christ directed toward God. It is an act of God's reconciling love, directed toward sinful humanity (*Rom.* 5:8). Through it God justifies the ungodly (*Rom.* 4:5). *Reconciliation,* like *expiation,* is a word denoting God's activity toward us, rather than Christ's activity toward God. Christ does not reconcile the Father to humanity, as traditional theology has often asserted (see, e.g., article 2 of the 1563 Thirty-nine Articles), rather, "God in Christ was [or, was in Christ] reconciling the world to himself" (*2 Cor.* 5:19). Justification and reconciliation (two slightly different images for the same reality) are expressions of the righteousness of God, a central concept in Paul's thinking about God. Righteousness is both an attribute and an activity of God; it is God's action of judging and saving.

A writing on the fringe of the Pauline corpus, not by Paul himself, is the *Letter to the Hebrews,* which interprets the saving act of God in Christ in terms of Christ as the high priest. Once again, this author is careful not to drive a wedge between God and Christ. As high priest, Christ does not offer a sacrifice to God for the purpose of propitiation. Rather, the Son offers his life in perfect obedience to the Father (*Heb.* 10:5–10) in order to make purification for sin. As in Paul, the object of Christ's deed is not God, but sin.

THE INCARNATION AND THE BEING OF CHRIST. All levels of tradition in the New Testament examined thus far speak of Christ's relation to God in functional terms. He is commissioned, called, and sent as divine agent. God is present with and in him and active through him. These biblical traditions do not raise the question about Jesus' personal identity in relation to God. There is no discussion of Jesus' "divinity" or of his "divine nature" in the earliest sources; these are Greek rather than Hebrew concepts. But given the exalted status of Jesus, which the Christian community believed him to have received at Easter, it was inevitable that the question of Jesus' identity would eventually be raised, especially in the Greek-speaking world. Such reflection initially employed the concept of the divine wisdom to elucidate the revelatory work of Jesus. Historically, Jesus had appeared as a spokesman for the divine wisdom, using the speech forms of the wisdom tradition as these are seen, for example, in *Proverbs.* The content of Jesus' wisdom utterances contained an implicit claim that he was wisdom's last and definitive spokesman; this view is drawn out explicitly in the Q material (*Mt.* 11:25–27, *Lk* 10:21–22, Q). Matthew himself even identifies Jesus with wisdom, although in a functional rather than ontological sense (*Mt.* 11:28–30; cf. *Sir.* 24:29, 51:23–26).

In first-century Judaism, however, the concept of God's wisdom was advancing beyond the stage of poetical personification of an aspect of God's activity, toward a hypostatization (i.e., an attribution of distinct, concrete existence) of an aspect of the being of God. As such, the wisdom of God was an outflow of his being, through which he created the world, became self-revelatory to humanity, called Israel, gave the law, and came to dwell with Israel's notables, such as Abraham, Moses, and the prophets, but this wisdom was constantly rejected by most of the people. In certain hymns in the New Testament (*Phil.* 2:6–11, *1 Cor.* 8:6, *Col.* 1:15–20, *Heb.* 1:1–3) the career and fate of Jesus are linked to this earlier activity of wisdom (though the term *wisdom* itself is not used); a single, continuous subject covers the preincarnate activity of wisdom and the earthly career of Jesus. The result is that Jesus becomes personally identified with the hypostatized wisdom of God. The agent of creation, revelation, and saving activity finally becomes incarnate in Jesus. But this development occurs only in hymnic materials and at this stage is hardly the subject of theological reflection.

Johannine incarnation Christology. The final step toward an incarnation Christology is taken in the Johannine literature, especially in the Fourth Gospel. This gospel is prefaced by the Logos hymn (*Jn.* 1:1–18). *Logos* ("word") was used as a synonym for the divine wisdom in the later wisdom literature. In this hymn *logos* is equated with, yet distinguishable from, the being of God: "In the beginning was the word [*logos*] and the word was with God and the word was God" (*Jn.* 1:1), which may be paraphrased as "God is essentially a self-communicating God. This self-communication was a distinct aspect within God's being, related to him, and partaking in his divine being."

The hymn goes on to speak of the activity of the Logos as the agent of creation, revelation, and redemption and finally states that the Logos became flesh, that is, incarnate (*Jn.* 1:14). There could be no clearer statement of the identity of Jesus of Nazareth with an aspect of the very being of God. In the rest of this gospel, the evangelist sets forth the life of Jesus as the incarnation of the divine wisdom, or Logos. (After *John* 1:14 neither *wisdom* nor *logos* is used in the Fourth Gospel, but imagery from the wisdom/Logos tradition is appropriated, especially in the "I am" sayings.) Jesus speaks as one fully conscious of personal preincarnate existence within the being of God. It is significant, however, that this new "high" Christological language does not replace the "lower" Christology, which speaks in terms of call, commission, and the response of obedience. Apparently John understands his "higher" Christology to be an interpretation of the "lower," refraining from abandoning the terms in which the pre-Easter Jesus spoke and acted. Much of later traditional church Christology has ignored the presence of these two levels in *John* and has rewritten the earthly life of Jesus exclusively in terms of the "higher" Christology.

Is Jesus God? Only very cautiously and gradually does the New Testament use the predicate *God* for Jesus. First, there are possible examples in some Pauline doxologies (e.g., *Rom.* 9:5), although there are problems of text, punctuation, and grammar that make it difficult to decide whether in such passages Paul actually does equate Jesus with God. Then the *Letter to the Hebrews* transfers Old Testament passages that speak of Yahveh-Kurios (Lord) to Christos-Kurios (e.g., *Heb.* 1:10). Only the Johannine writings directly and unquestionably predicate the deity of Christ. First, he is the incarnation of the Logos that was God. Then, according to the now generally accepted reading, he is the "only-begotten God" during his incarnate life (*Jn.* 1:18). Finally, Thomas greets the risen Christ as "my Lord and my God" (*Jn.* 20:28). Then *1 John* sums it up by predicating God as the preexistent, incarnate, and exalted one in a summary formula: "in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God and eternal life" (*1 Jn.* 5:20). Thus the New Testament can occasionally speak of Jesus as God, but always in a carefully nuanced way: he is not God-as-God-is-in-himself, but the incarnation of that aspect of the being of God which is God-going-out-of-himself-in-self-communication.

The Trinity. There is a triadic structure in the Christian experience of God. Through the power of the Holy Spirit, believers know Jesus Christ as the revelation of God the Father. This experience becomes crystallized in triadic formulas (*2 Cor.* 13:13, *Mt.* 28:19) or in unreflected theological statements (*1 Cor.* 12:4–6). But there is no attempt to work out a doctrine of the Trinity, or to integrate the Old Testament Jewish faith in the oneness of God with the Christian threefold experience. Like the doctrine of the incarnation, this was left to the post–New Testament church.

SEE ALSO Apologetics; Atonement, article on Christian Concepts; Incarnation; Jesus; Justification; Paul the Apostle; Theology; Trinity; Wisdom; Wisdom Literature.

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REGINALD H. FULLER (1987 AND 2005)

GOD: GOD IN POSTBIBLICAL JUDAISM

Postbiblical Jewish thought concerning God can be divided into four distinct periods: the rabbinic or Talmudic (from the first century BCE to the sixth century CE), the philosophical or theological (represented chiefly by the medieval thinkers), the qabbalistic or mystical, and the modern (from the eighteenth century down to the present). While each of these periods has developed independently of the others, there is still a considerable overlapping of ideas from one period to another. Both the rabbinic and the philosophical approaches have had an influence on the mystical, and all three have served in modern attempts at reconstruction of Jewish theology. These four periods will be discussed in turn.

THE RABBINIC APPROACH. Rabbinic thought as contained in the Talmud and the Midrash is unsystematic in presentation. While there is an abundance of references in these sources to the nature of God and his relationship to man and the world, the statements are general responses to particular stimuli, not precise, theological formulations. It is consequently imprecise to speak of the rabbinic doctrine of God, even though the expression is used by some scholars. The Talmud and Midrash are the record of the teachings of many hundreds of individuals, each with his own temperament and disposition, as these individuals reflected on God's dealings with the Jewish people. Even in their edited forms, the rabbinic sources constitute more an anthology of diverse views than an official consensus by an assembly of elected or inspired teachers. Nevertheless, on the basic ideas about God there is total agreement. All of the rabbis are committed to the propositions that God is One, creator of heaven and earth; that he wishes all men to pursue justice and righteousness; that he rewards those who obey his will and punishes those who disobey; and that he has chosen the Jewish people from all the nations to give them his most precious gift, the Torah. The debates, discussions, and contradictory statements in rabbinic literature are about the detailed meaning and application of these basic concepts. In this section of the article, then, material is taken from the whole, vast range of rabbinic/Talmudic literature, avoiding unwarranted generalizations. A serious attempt is made to distinguish between sober theological reflection and poetic fancy; between individual opinions and broader and more categorical views; between a kind of rabbinic consensus, even where the topic was never put to the vote, and fiercely debated arguments and sheer contradictions. It is only in the very flexible form that one can speak at all of the rabbinic approach.

From an early period, the tetragrammaton, *YHVH*, was never pronounced by Jews as it is written because it is God's own, special name, too holy to be uttered by human mouth. The name *Adonai* ("my lord") was substituted as a euphemism with regard to which a degree of familiarity was allowed. On the other hand, the rabbinic doctrine of the imitation of God suggests a close point of contact between God and man following the scriptural teaching that man is created in God's image. This doctrine is formulated as follows: "Just as he is merciful, be thou merciful. Just as he is compassionate, be thou compassionate. Just as he feeds the hungry, clothes the naked, and comforts the mourners, do thou these things" (*Sifrei Dt.* 11.22; B.T., *Shab.* 133b, *Sot.* 14a).

The two most frequently found names for God in the Talmud are *Ribbono shel ʿolam* ("Lord of the universe"), used when addressing God in the second person, and *ha-Qadosh barukh huʾ* ("the Holy One, blessed be he"), used when speaking of God in the third person (B.T., *Ber.* 4a, 7a, and very frequently). The implication of this change of person is that while God can be addressed directly in prayer, his true nature is beyond human comprehension. He is the wholly other, totally distinct from any of his creatures, and of him it is permitted to say only that he is the Holy One.

Nevertheless, there are numerous passages in the Talmud and the Midrash in which human terms are applied to God. The rabbis were as little bothered by the problem of anthropomorphism as the biblical authors, though the more human metaphors, when used of God by the rabbis, are generally qualified implicitly, sometimes explicitly, by the expression *ki-ve-yakhol*, "if it were really possible [to say such a thing]." Occasionally the anthropomorphisms are startling, as when God is said to have requested Ishmael, the high priest, to bless him, or when it is said that God prays to himself, his prayer being "May it be my will that my quality of mercy prevail over my quality of judgment that I might behave with respect to my children beyond the letter of the law and pardon them" (B.T., *Ber.* 7a).

Other rabbinic names for God were intended to suggest either his distance from man or his nearness. The name *ha-Maqom* ("the place"), defined as "He is the place of the world but the world is not his place" (*Gn. Rab.* 68.9), suggests, if this is the original meaning of the term, God's nearness. The name *Shamayim* ("heaven," B.T., *Ber.* 31a, 33b, and frequently) suggests his remoteness. In the rabbinic expression "our father in heaven" (*Yoma'* 8.9, *Sot.* 9.15), both ideas are combined. The name *Shekhinah* (*San.* 6.5, and frequently), a feminine form from the root meaning "to dwell," denotes God's indwelling presence.

It is incorrect, however, to think of these names as implying the transcendence and immanence of God. Abstract terms of this nature are entirely foreign to rabbinic thinking. The description of God as king is ubiquitous in the rabbinic literature with antecedents in the Bible. This metaphor is also founded on the rabbis' experiences of earthly rulers. God is the divine king whose laws must be obeyed. When he is stern to punish evildoers, he is said to be seated on his throne of judgment. When he is gracious to pardon, he is said to be seated on his throne of mercy (B.T., *ʿA.Z.* 3b). The rabbis urge man to stand in prayer as if he were in the awesome presence of a king (*Ber.* 5.1), first uttering the king's praises and then offering him supplications (B.T., *Ber.* 31a). Yet there are numerous instances in which the rabbis declare that God is different from a human king. God obeys his own laws, unlike a human king, who is beyond the law (J.T., *R. ha-Sh.* 3a-b, 57a). God commands man not to steal, and he himself refuses to accept the sacrifice of an animal that has been stolen. To steal food and offer God thanks for the food is to be guilty of blasphemy (B.T., *B.Q.* 94a).

Especially after the dispersal of many Jews from the Holy Land and the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE, the idea, found only sporadically in the Bible, that God shares human suffering, grieving with the victims of oppression, was deepened by the rabbis. Whenever Israel is in exile, they taught, the *Shekhinah* is in exile with them (B.T., *Meg.* 29a). The idea that God is affected by human degradation is applied even to a criminal executed for his crimes. The *Shekhinah* is said to be distressed at such a person's downfall (*San.* 6.5).

A severe problem for the rabbis was the apparent conflict between the favoritism shown to Israel by God and God's concern for the whole of humankind. In one Talmudic passage, the ministering angels are made to ask God why he shows special favor to Israel, God replying that it is right for him to do so, since Israel is extraordinarily diligent in worshiping him (B.T., *Ber.* 20b). The ministering angels are a device used by the rabbis to express the problem of theodicy that they themselves were compelled by their sense of integrity to face. When, in the rabbinic account, the second-century rabbi ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef is tortured to death by the Romans for teaching the Torah, the ministering angels similarly protest: "Is this the reward for teaching the Torah?" (B.T., *Ber.* 61b). In the same vein, the second-century rabbi Yannʾai declared: "We are unable to understand why the righteous suffer and the wicked prosper" (*Avot* 4.15). Despite such awareness of the illusive nature of any solution to the problem of suffering, there are rabbinic suggestions that such suffering is the outcome of sin or the misdeeds of parents and ancestors. There is also to be found the idea of "sufferings of love," of God visiting sufferings on a man in order to demonstrate that man's faith and trust in him come what may.

Both idolatry and dualism were strongly condemned by the rabbis. The twice-daily reading of the *Shemaʿ* ("Hear O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One," *Dt.* 6:4), Israel's declaration of faith in God's unity, was introduced at least as early as the first century BCE, probably in order to constantly reject the dualistic ideas prevalent in the Near East. The third-century Palestinian teacher Abbahu, in a polemic evidently directed against both Christian beliefs and dualism, expounded the verse: "I am the first, and I am the last, and beside Me there is no God" (*Is.* 44:6). His interpretation is "'I am the first,' for I have no father; 'and I am the last,' for I have no son; 'and beside me there is no God,' for I have no brother" (*Ex. Rab.* 29.5).

In rabbinic Judaism there is little denial that the legitimate pleasures of the world are God's gift to man, who must give thanks to God when they are enjoyed. In one passage it is even said that a man will have to give an account to God for his rejection of what he is allowed to enjoy (J.T., *Qid.* 4.12, 66d). Yet the emphasis is on spiritual bliss in the hereafter, when man, as a reward for his efforts in this life, will enjoy the nearness of God forever. Although the first-century teacher Eliʿezer sought to limit to Jews the blissful state of the world to come, his contemporary Yehoshuʿa, whose view was later accepted, held that the righteous of all peoples have a share in the world to come (Tosefta, *San.* 13.2). That this bliss consists of the proximity of the righteous to God was given expression by the third-century Babylonian teacher Rav, who said: "In the world to come there is neither eating nor drinking, neither procreation nor business activity, neither hatred nor competition, but the righteous sit with their crowns on their heads and bask in the radiance of the *Shekhinah*" (B.T., *Ber.* 17a).

THE PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACH. The medieval Jewish theologians, influenced by Greek philosophy in its Arabic garb, had as one of their main aims the refinement of the concept of God. Unlike the Talmudic rabbis, the medieval thinkers presented their ideas on God in a systematic way. Pascal's distinction between the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and the God of the philosophers generally holds true for the distinction between the rabbinic mode of thinking and that of the medieval theologians. For these theologians, the doctrine that God is One means not only that there is no multiplicity of gods but that God is unique, utterly beyond all human comprehension, and totally different from his creatures, not only in degree but in kind. Moses Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon, 1135/8–1204), the most distinguished of the medieval thinkers and the most influential in subsequent Jewish thought, adapts for his purpose the rabbinic saying (B.T., *Ber.* 33b) that to over praise God is akin to praising a human king for possessing myriads of silver pieces when, in reality, he possesses myriads of gold pieces. Maimonides (*Guide of the Perplexed* 1.59) observes that, in the illustration, the king is not falsely praised for possessing thousands of gold pieces when in reality he has myriads. The distinction is between silver and gold. The very coinage of praise suitable for a human king is entirely inapplicable to God. Only the standard liturgical praises of God are permitted and these only because they are formal and so not a real attempt to describe the divine nature.

The medieval thinkers insisted that all of the anthropomorphic expressions used in the Bible about God must be understood in a nonliteral fashion. Maimonides codified thirteen principles of the Jewish faith, one of which is the belief that God is incorporeal. Anyone who believes that God can assume a corporeal form is a heretic to be read out of the community of believers, and he has no share in the world to come, according to Maimonides in his *Mishneh Torah* (*Repentance* 3.7). In his stricture to this passage in Maimonides, Avraham ben David of Posquières (d. 1198) vehemently refuses to read a believer in God's corporeality out of Judaism. Such a person cannot be dubbed a heretic simply because he is not a philosopher and takes biblical and rabbinic anthropomorphisms literally.

For the medieval thinkers God was both omniscient and omnipotent. A major problem for them was how to reconcile God's foreknowledge, seemingly implied in the doctrine of his omniscience, with human freedom to choose. If God knows beforehand how a man will choose, how can he be free to choose? Unwilling to compromise man's freedom of choice, essential to Judaism, both Avraham ibn Daud in his *Emunah ramah* (ed. S. Weil, Frankfurt, 1852, pp. 93–98) and Levi ben Gershom (Gersonides, 1288–1344) in his *Milhamot ha-Shem* (2.6) could see no solution to the problem and were led to qualify the doctrine of God's foreknowledge. God does know all the possible choices open to man, but he does not know beforehand the particular choice a man will make in a given situation. This qualification does not constitute a denial of God's omniscience. God knows all that can be known, whereas human choice, because it is free, is only possible, and the possible, the contingent, must be uncertain by definition. Such radical qualification failed utterly to convince other thinkers. Ḥasdai Crescas (1340–1410) felt obliged to conclude that since God does have complete foreknowledge this must, indeed, involve a denial that man is free to choose. For Crescas, man's freedom is an illusion (*Or ha-Shem* 2.4.5). Maimonides had earlier seized both horns of the dilemma: man is free, and yet God has complete foreknowledge (Mishneh Torah, *Repentance* 5.5). This is not an admission of defeat by Maimonides. His view is that for the solution of the problem it would be necessary for humans to grasp the nature of God's knowledge, and, since God's knowledge is not something outside of him but is God himself, such a grasp on the part of humans is quite impossible. In God the Knower, the Knowledge and the Knowing are one.

In addition to their discussions regarding God's nature, the medieval thinkers examined God's activity in the finite world, that is, his role as creator and the scope of his providence. That God is the creator of the universe is accepted as axiomatic by all the medieval thinkers, although Gersonides (*Milhamot ha-Shem* 6) is radical here, too, in accepting the Platonic view of a hylic substance, coeternal with God, upon which God imposes form but does not create. Maimonides (*Guide of the Perplexed* 2.13–15), while at first toying with the Aristotelian idea of the material universe as having the same relation to God as the shadow of a tree to the tree, eventually accepts the traditional Jewish view that God created the world out of nothing. Maimonides' motivation is not only to preserve tradition but to emphasize the otherness of God, whose existence is necessary, whereas that of all created things is contingent. As Maimonides remarks in his *Mishneh Torah*:

> The foundation of all foundations and the pillar of wisdom is to know that there is a First Being. He it is who brought all things into being, and all creatures in heaven and earth and in between only enjoy existence by virtue of his true Being. If it could be imagined that he does not exist, nothing else could have existed. But if it could be imagined that no other beings, apart from him, enjoyed existence, he alone would still exist and he could not cease because they have ceased. For all beings need him, but he, blessed be he, does not need them, any of them. Consequently, his true nature is different from the truth regarding the nature of any of them. (*Fundamental Principles of the Torah* 1.1–3)

Like the God of the biblical authors and the rabbis, the God of the medieval thinkers is a caring God whose providence extends over all of his creatures. Both Maimonides (*Guide of the Perplexed* 3.17–18) and Gersonides (*Milhamot ha-Shem* 4) limit, however, God's special providence to humans. For animals there is only a general providence that guarantees the continued existence of animal species, but whether, for instance, this spider catches that fly is not ordained by God but is by pure chance. Yehudah ha-Levi (Judah Halevy, c. 1075–1141) in his *Kuzari* (3.11) refuses to allow chance to play any role in creation: God's special providence extends to animals as well as to humans.

Saʿadyah Gaon (882–942) anticipated Thomas Aquinas's statement that "nothing that implies a contradiction falls under the scope of God's omnipotence" (*Summa theologiae* 1.25.4). Saʿadyah (*Book of Beliefs and Opinions* 2.13) observes that the soul will not praise God for being able to cause five to be more than ten without adding anything to the former, nor for being able to bring back the day gone by to its original condition. Centuries after Saʿadyah, Yosef Albo (d. 1444) similarly distinguishes that which seems impossible but imaginable from that which is impossible because it cannot be imagined. The latter as a logical impossibility does not fall under the scope of the divine omnipotence (*Book of Principles* 1.22).

THE QABBALISTIC APPROACH. The pre-Qabbalistic tendency in Jewish mysticism is that of the "Riders of the Chariot" which extended over the first ten centuries CE. These adepts would perform certain spiritual exercises and delve deeply in the recesses of the psyche on the mysteries of the merkavah, the divine chariot seen by the prophet Ezekiel (chapter one). The journey of the "Riders" would take them into the Heavenly Halls where God sits on his throne surrounded by the angelic hosts. Some of the descriptions of the visions they saw have come down to modern readers. Often these are so bizarre, such as the account of the Divine Body (*Shiur Komah*), in impossibly immense measurements that they can hardly have been taken literally. In the account of the Four Who Entered Paradise (*Ḥagigah* 14b), one dies, one goes mad, one becomes an apostate, and only one, Rabbi Akiba, emerges in peace. On the basis of this merkavah tendency, the later Qabbalah became known as "The Work of the Merkavah."

The mystical movement or tendency in Jewish thought known as Qabbalah arose in twelfth-century Provence, reaching its culmination, in Spain, in the Zohar, the greatest classical work of Jewish mystical speculation. The qabbalists accepted the arguments of the philosophers in favor of extreme negation of divine attributes. Yet they felt the need, as mystics, to have a relationship with the God of living religion, not with a cold abstraction. In the theosophical scheme worked out by the qabbalists, a distinction is drawn between God as he is in himself and God in manifestation. God as he is in himself is Ein Sof ("no end," i.e., "the limitless"), the impersonal ground of being who emerges from concealment in order to become manifest in the universe. From Ein Sof there is an emanation of ten *sefirot* ("spheres"; sg., *sefirah*), the powers or potencies of the godhead in manifestation, conceived of as a dynamic organism. Of Ein Sof nothing whatsoever can be said. More extreme than the philosophers in this respect, the qabbalists refuse to allow even negative attributes to be used of Ein Sof, but God in his aspect of manifestation in the *sefirot* can be thought of in terms of positive attributes. The living God of the Bible and of religion is the godhead as manifested in the *sefirot*. Ein Sof, on the other hand, is only hinted at in the Bible since complete silence alone is permissible of this aspect of deity. A later qabbalist went further to hold that, strictly speaking, even to use such a negative term as Ein Sof is improper (see I. S. Ratner, *Le-or ha-Qabbalah*, Tel Aviv, 1961, p. 39, n. 40). When the Zohar does refer obliquely to Ein Sof, the expression used is "No thought can grasp thee at all" (*Tiqqunei Zohar*, second introduction).

The *sefirot* represent various aspects in the life of the godhead, for instance, wisdom, justice, and mercy. These are combined in a very complex order, and through them the worlds beneath, including the finite, material universe, are controlled, the whole order conceived as a great chain of being from the highest to the lowest reaching back to Ein Sof. There is a male principle in the realm of *sefirot* and a female principle, a highly charged mythological concept that opponents of Qabbalah, medieval and modern, considered to be a foreign, verging on the idolatrous, importation into Judaism (see *responsa* of Yitshaq ben Sheshet Perfet, *Rivash*, edited by I. H. Daiches, New York, 1964, no. 157, and S. Rubin, *Heidenthum und Kabbala*, Vienna, 1893). The male principle is represented by the *sefirah* called *Tifʾeret* ("beauty"), the female principle by the *sefirah* called *Malkhut* ("sovereignty"). The sacred marriage between these two means that there is complete harmony on high, and the divine grace can flow through all creation. But the flow of the divine grace depends upon the deeds of man, since he is marvelously fashioned in God's image. Thus, in the qabbalistic scheme, God has made his purposes depend for their fulfillment on human conduct; in this sense it is not only man who needs God but God who needs man.

The *sefirah* called *Malkhut*, the female element, is also known as the Shekhinah. A rabbinic term in origin (meaning the indwelling of God, from a root meaning "to dwell"), the *shekhinah* comes to denote for the qabbalists a person in the godhead. The rabbinic idea of the exile of the Shekhinah, originally meaning no more than that God is with Israel in its exile, means for the qabbalists that until the advent of the Messiah there is incomplete balance, the female element exiled from the male, and part of God exiled, as it were, from God. The task of restoration, of redeeming the Shekhinah from her exile, is man's task on earth. Again, the rabbinic name "the Holy One, blessed be he" is now a name for *Tifʾeret*, the male principle. The latter-day qabbalists introduced a mystical formula before the performance of every good deed and religious act in which the worshiper declares: "I do this for the sake of the unification of the Holy One, blessed be he, and his Shekhinah. "

In qabbalistic literature produced in the school of Isaac Luria (1534–1572), the mythological elements become even more pronounced. In Lurianic Qabbalah, the process by means of which Ein Sof emerges from concealment is traced back beyond the emergence of the *sefirot*. The first act of Ein Sof (although the qabbalists stress that these divine processes take place beyond time) is one of *tsimtsum* ("withdrawal, contraction"). Ein Sof first "withdraws from himself into himself" in order to leave an "empty space" into which the *sefirot* can emerge in their separateness; the Infinite becomes self-limiting so as to become revealed as a multiplicity of powers. The whole process is conceived of in terms of a flow of the light of Ein Sof and then its recoil, as if the Infinite can only produce limitation and ultimately a finite world by God allowing himself gradually, one might say painfully, to produce that which is outside of himself. In one version, current in some Lurianic circles but suppressed in others, the purpose of *tsimtsum*, producing that which is not God, is for God to purge himself of the evil that is latent in his being (see I. Tishby, *Torat ha-raʿ ve-ha-qelippah be-qabbalat ha-Ari*, Jerusalem, 1984). It is not surprising that such an astonishingly unconventional notion came to occupy a very peripheral role in the thinking of the qabbalists.

The eighteenth-century mystical movement of Hasidism, particularly the more speculative branch of the movement known as Habad, tended toward a panentheistic understanding of the idea of *tsimtsum. Tsimtsum* does not really take place, since the Infinite is incapable of suffering limitation, but *tsimtsum* represents no more than a screening of the divine light so that finite creatures might appear to enjoy separate existence. The only true reality is God. There is a basic difference between this panentheistic ("all is in God") or acosmic view and that of pantheism ("all is God"). In the pantheistic thought of Barukh Spinoza (1632–1677), God is the name given to the totality of things. God is the universe and the universe is God. In Habad thought, without God there could be no universe, but without the universe God would still be the unchanging same; in fact, God is the unchanging same even after the creation of the universe, since from God's point of view there is no universe. The traditionalist rabbis and communal leaders, the *mitnaggedim* ("opponents"), saw the Hasidic view as rank heresy. For them the verse that states that the whole earth is filled with God's glory (*Is.* 6:3) means only that God's providence extends over all and that his glory can be discerned through its manifestation in the world. Speculative Hasidism understands the verse to mean that there is only God's glory as an ultimate.

In the classic work *Tanyaʿ* (*Shaʾar ha-yihud ve-ha-emunah 1*) by the founder of the Habad school, Shneʾur Zalman of Lyady (1745–1813), God is described as a sun and a shield. The sun's rays are essential to life, but the sun must be screened from view to some extent if creatures on earth are to endure its splendor. In the sun itself, however, the rays are lost in its great light. Similarly, finite creatures can only enjoy existence because the divine light is screened. They are like the rays of the sun separated from the sun itself. Yet, in reality, the analogy is very inexact, says Shneʾur Zalman, since the divine light pervades all. From God's point of view, finite creatures are like the rays of the sun in the sun itself. They enjoy no separate existence at all. The verse "Know this day, and lay it to thy heart, that the Lord, he is God in heaven above and upon the earth beneath, there is none else" (*Dt.* 4:39) is taken by Shneʾur Zalman to mean not only that there are other gods but that there is no ultimate reality apart from God himself. The unity of God, understood by medieval thinkers in the sense of his uniqueness, is here interpreted to mean that there is no real multiplicity of beings but only one true being.

MODERN APPROACHES. Modern Jewish thinkers have been obliged to face the challenges to traditional theism provided by modern thought. From the Renaissance onward, the emphasis in the West has shifted from a God-centered to a human-centered universe. The inerrancy of the Bible was questioned. The idea of revelation as conveying infallible information about God appeared less convincing. Immanuel Kant and his followers questioned whether human reasoning is capable of proving the existence of God. The rise of modern science tended to favor mechanistic philosophies of existence and, in more recent years, both linguistic philosophy and existentialism, in their different ways, cast suspicion on all metaphysics. Although the Jew did not begin to participate fully in Western society and to assimilate Western patterns of thought until the end of the eighteenth century, modern Jewish thinkers have been influenced by all of these trends in Western thought, compelling them to rethink the traditional views concerning God. The result has been an espousal of differing attitudes toward theism, from a reaffirmation of the traditional to a radical transformation in naturalistic terms. In any event, the vocabulary used since, by both the traditionalists and the nonconformists, is that of modern thought, even when it is used to interpret the tradition.

Among twentieth-century Jewish thinkers, Mordecai M. Kaplan (1881–1983) is the most determined of the naturalists. For Kaplan and his disciples, God is not a supernatural, personal being but the power in the universe that makes for righteousness. Kaplan maintains that people really were referring to this power when they spoke of God, even though, in the prescientific age, they expressed their belief in terms of a supreme being, the creator of the world who exercises care over it. Faith in God does not involve belief in being outside the universe but is an affirmation that the universe itself is so constituted that the pursuit of righteousness will triumph. God is the power that guarantees salvation, in terms not of an otherworldly existence but of the enrichment of the human personality to its highest stage of evolution.

Martin Buber (1878–1965), the best-known of Jewish religious existentialists, stresses, on the contrary, the personal aspect of deity. In Buber's thought, when man has an I-Thou relationship to his fellows and to the world in general, he meets in dialogue the Thou of God. While the medieval thinkers devoted a significant part of their thought to reasoning about God's nature, Buber rejects such speculations as futile, cosmic talk, irrelevant to the life of faith. God cannot be spoken about, but he can be met as a person by persons. Franz Rosenzweig (1886–1929) has a similar existentialist approach. For Rosenzweig there are three elements in the universe: God, the world, and man. Religion, specifically Judaism, binds these three together through the processes of revelation, creation, and redemption.

Avraham Yitsḥaq Kook (1865–1935), the first chief rabbi of Palestine, is completely traditional in his concept of God but accepts the theory of evolution, which, as a qabbalist, he believed to be in full accord with the qabbalistic view. The whole of the universe is on the move, and man is rising to ever-greater heights ultimately to meet God. Abraham Joshua Heschel (1907–1972), strongly influenced by Hasidism, stresses the sense of wonder as the way to God. Because the universe is shot through with wonder, it points to the wondrous glory of its maker, who, in the title of Heschel's book, is "God in search of man." Heschel's God shares in man's tribulations. He is the God of the Hebrew prophets, involved intimately in human affairs, not a cold abstraction without power to save.

More than any other event, the Holocaust, in which six million Jews perished, compelled Jewish religious thinkers to examine again the doctrine that God is at work in human history. Efforts of medieval thinkers like Yehudah ha-Levi and Maimonides to account for evil in God's creation were, for many, totally inadequate to explain away the enormity of the catastrophe. Some contemporary thinkers invoke the idea found in the ancient sources that there are times when the face of God is hidden, when God surrenders his universe to chance if not to chaos and conceals himself because humankind has abandoned him. There is a reluctance, however, to explore such ideas, since they appear to condemn those who were destroyed, laying the blame, to some extent, at the door of the victims. The free-will defense has also been invoked by contemporary thinkers, both Jewish (e.g., Avraham Yitsḥaq Kook, Milton Steinberg) and non-Jewish (e.g., John Hick). For man to be free and exercise his choice in freedom to meet his God, the world must be a place in which naked evil is possible, even though the price might seem too high.

None of these theories has provided contemporary Jewry with an adequate response to the problem of evil. The widespread tendency among believers in God is to rely on faith rather than on reason; man finds it hard to believe in God but harder still to accept a mindless universe. The only Jewish thinker of note who has accepted, in part at least, the "death of God" theology is Richard Rubenstein. The others reaffirm, in their different ways, the traditional picture of God as existing and caring, even though, like Kaplan, their understanding of what this can mean departs from that picture. Orthodox thinkers accept the traditional idea in its totality, including the belief that the Torah, given by God, is the path to eternal life and that, even on earth, God will eventually intervene directly, bringing the Messiah to redeem the Jewish people and the whole of humankind. Thinkers belonging to the Reform movement also accept the idea that human history is moving toward its culmination in the acknowledgment of God with the establishment of God's kingdom; however, they speak not of a personal Messiah but of the dawning of a messianic age.

SEE ALSO Attributes of God, article on Jewish Concepts; Holocaust, article on Jewish Theological Responses; Jewish Thought and Philosophy, article on Modern Thought; Reconstructionist Judaism; Reform Judaism.

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LOUIS JACOBS (1987 AND 2005)

GOD: GOD IN POSTBIBLICAL CHRISTIANITY

Both New Testament writers and postbiblical Christians sharply opposed the God of their faith to the many gods of popular religion. In doing so they joined not only Jews but also most thoughtful pagans, who believed in one God beyond the many. Because the reality of the one God was not in doubt, arguments for God's existence in that era were unimportant.

There was, however, during the early centuries of the Christian era a great divide. On one side were those classical religious thinkers who continued to reflect on God in strictly philosophical ways, trusting their reason to suffice. This tradition reached its apex in Neoplatonism. On the other side were those who accepted the authority of Jewish (supplemented later by Christian or Islamic) scriptures, correlating the ideas found there with the fruits of reason. The great Alexandrian Jew Philo, a contemporary of the apostle Paul, gave classical expression to this second approach, which gradually won out in the Mediterranean world.

Justin Martyr provides an early picture of how Christians understood the relation of their doctrine of God to the wider culture. He reports that he sought knowledge of God from philosophy with little success. A Christian then persuaded him that the human mind lacks the power to grasp the truth of God and that one must begin with what God has revealed. Accordingly, Justin turned to the Hebrew scriptures, read now through Christian eyes, and found there what he wanted. His success did not lead him to a total rejection of Greek philosophy, however; he continued to admire Plato, but to avoid attributing Plato's wisdom to human reason, he claimed that Plato had learned from Moses.

The authority of scripture ensured that for Christians as for Jews, the God who sometimes appears as an impersonal deity in the philosophical writings would be understood as personal. On the other hand, under the influence of existing philosophical concepts, biblical ideas came to be set in a new key. For example, God's changelessness, which in the Bible means God's faithfulness and dependability, was generally understood to be God's freedom from transiency and perishing. Subsequently this concept was transformed by some into metaphysical immutability. Likewise, God's everlastingness (beginningless and endless life) was sometimes transformed into a nontemporal eternality.

The matter primarily in dispute was the content of divine activity in relation to humankind, what God had done, was doing, and would do. To be a Christian was to affirm that the God of whom the Hebrew scriptures speak had acted in Jesus for the redemption of the world. This conviction expressed itself in the doctrine of incarnation, and it was this doctrine that most distinguished Christian thought from Jewish and philosophical ideas. Yet even incarnation could find various points of contact in the wider religious context, and these analogies were used by some commentators to understand and interpret it. On the one hand, God was known to have spoken through prophets and sibylline oracles; the theologians of Antioch taught that the Word of God was present to and in Jesus even more fully than in the prophets and oracles. On the other hand, the idea that God sent heavenly messengers, or angels, was widespread; Arius taught that he who was sent to earth as Jesus was not just one angel among others but the one supreme creature through whom all other creatures, including the angels, were made. But the Christian conviction that in Jesus it was God who was incarnate opposed the latter theory, and the former still left God too separate from Jesus to be truly incarnational. Under the leadership of Athanasius the church determined at the Council of Nicaea (325) that what was incarnate in Jesus was truly God, and at the Council of Chalcedon (451) it maintained that while Jesus was fully God, his divinity left his humanity unimpaired.

While the church insisted that what was incarnate was truly God, it did not simply identify what was incarnate with the one whom Jesus called "Father." Instead, following the prologue in the *Gospel of John,* the Word (or Son) who was with God and who was God was the incarnated one. This required a distinction within the one God. Even so, the church lacked a conceptuality that could show how the Word could both be one with God and become incarnate in Jesus without diminution of Jesus' humanity; and so the assertion, unsupported by intelligible conceptuality, became a "mystery." Similarly, the doctrine of the Trinity, which grew out of these debates with the addition of the Holy Spirit, could not be conceptually clarified. Thus faith became assent to mysteries on the basis of the authority of the church.

Although the doctrines of incarnation and Trinity are inescapable and central to Christian theology, their character as mystery reduced their role in shaping early Christian thinking about God. For example, whereas one would expect thinking about God's attributes to be deeply influenced by the gospel accounts of Jesus, such an influence has in fact been uncommon. On the whole, God's attributes were understood much as they were affirmed in Jewish and philosophical thought of the time: God is incorruptible, unsusceptible of harm or decay; God is incorporeal and invisible, a purely spiritual being. An early Christian statement about God's attributes is to be found in the apocryphal *Preaching of Peter,* which describes God as

> the invisible, who sees all things,
> uncontained, who contains all things,
> without needs, of whom all are in need and because of whom they exist,
> incomprehensible, eternal, imperishable,
> unmade, who made all by the word of his power.

In the Middle Platonism of the second century there was a strong tendency to emphasize the radical difference of God from the world, and so the incomprehensibility of God, just mentioned in the *Preaching of Peter,* was accented. This note was strong among the Gnostics, but it became prominent also among Christian writers who were increasingly willing to draw consistent consequences from the idea that God was incomprehensible. For example, Clement of Alexandria wrote that God cannot properly be called "one or the good or the one itself or Father or God or Demiurge or Lord" (*Stromateis* 5.82.1).

The patristic writer Origen made still more explicit the tension between the increasingly negative theology, which the church assimilated largely from the surrounding culture, and the positive language of scripture. Earlier, in arguing against anthropomorphic myths of the gods, Christians had denied that God feels fear or anger or sexual passion and had sometimes generalized this to speak of the divine *apatheia;* Origen systematized this doctrine and drew the conclusion that all passages describing divine emotions such as joy or grief must be read allegorically.

In a late homily on *Ezekiel,* Origen seems to have reversed his position on this point, explicitly denying that the Father is impassible. But the weight of his influence, along with the general logic of the idea of metaphysical immutability, carried the day. The idea that God the Father could have feelings such as pity was called "patripassianism," and it has been generally regarded as unacceptable at least until the late twentieth century, when Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Jürgen Moltmann, Kazoh Kitamori, and many others, including process theologians generally, began to emphasize God's suffering.

Although there was broad consensus that all things derive from God, there were alternative images of the relationship between God and the world. One image emphasized creation as an external act of will. The world is envisaged as coming into being by divine fiat out of nothing. Another image, which envisioned the world as the outworking of the dynamism of the divine life, found its clearest expression in Plotinus's doctrine of emanation. Insofar as this image implied that the world was made of divine substance, it was rejected by the church, but some of its language remained influential. A third image was that of participation, wherein God is seen as perfect being, and creatures are thought to exist as they participate in this being in a creaturely way. This image was supported especially by God's self-revelation to Moses. God is understood to have said: "I am who I am. . . . Thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel: He Who Is, hath sent me to you." A fourth image was that of inclusion, according to which God is the "uncontained, who contains all things" *(Preaching of Peter).* This follows from the words attributed to Paul in *Acts:* "In God we live and move and have our being" (17:28).

The Platonic influence on developing Christian beliefs encouraged a correlation between the human intellect and God. Thus Gnosticism held that knowledge of God is superior to faith, and this idea was taken over also by some of the more orthodox Christians. A related concept held that the human soul or mind possessed a kinship with God that was lacking to the body. Such ideas encouraged intellectualistic mysticism and bodily asceticism. The Christian struggle to overcome this dualism can be traced from the fourth-century Cappadocians through the fourteenth-century Greek-speaking church. It required both the denial that God is of the order of thought or idea and the rejection of a further development in the thought of Plotinus, which located God as the One beyond thought who could be reached only through thought. At the same time it required the clarification of how human beings could have real communion with God by grace.

Basil of Caesarea made a distinction between the essence or substance of God, which is radically and eternally inaccessible, and the divine energies. These energies, he taught, are God's actual working in the world and are, therefore, fully God and wholly uncreated. Basil associated these energies especially with the Holy Spirit. "Through him the ascent of the emotions, the deification of the weak, the fulfillment of that which is in progress is accomplished. It is he who, shining brightly in those who are being purified of all uncleanness, makes them spiritual persons through communion with himself" (*On the Holy Spirit* 9.23).

The writings of Pseudo-Dionysius (Dionysius the Areopagite) shared much with the Neoplatonism of Plotinus. They served later in the West to encourage a Plotinian form of mysticism. But in the East, where their influence has been pervasive and their orthodoxy unquestioned, they have provided the basis for a Christian spirituality that overcomes a Platonic dualism.

These writings reaffirm the total inaccessibility of the divine essence while stressing the divine energies, powers, or processions. Created beings participate in the divine energy in the way proper to each. Thus the movement of God into the world of creatures enables the creatures to rise toward God. In this process both positive and negative theology are needed. Positive theology finds symbols for God everywhere in the created world. Negative theology points out that these are indeed symbols and that there is no name for God's essence. In neither process is there any priority of the intellectual over the physical.

In the eighth century, John of Damascus, the most authoritative theologian of the Eastern church, included these elements in his exposition *The Orthodox Faith,* thus ensuring their continued role. This role was most important in monastic practice, which sought to realize the presence of the Holy Spirit. Symeon, called the New Theologian, gave expression to this practice in the early part of the eleventh century. He wrote of the experience of the uncreated light that is neither sensory nor intellectual. This light illumines the human heart, judging, purifying, and forgiving. It is the foretaste of the Parousia.

This current of Eastern spirituality came to its fullest expression in Gregory Palamas in the fourteenth century. He wrote: "Illumination or divine and deifying grace is not the essence but the energy of God" (*Theophanes,* in *Patrologia Graeca* 150.932d). Essence and energy are the two modes of the one divine existence.

This basic structure of Eastern thought of God was the context also for the defense of icons. The Iconoclasts held that the use of icons in worship was idolatrous because it assumed that the icons shared the substance of God. The victorious defenders thought of divine energies as imparted to the icons without any loss of their creatureliness, while the divine substance remained radically transcendent and unknowable.

The impact of Platonic philosophy in Western thought of God took a different turn chiefly because of Augustine of Hippo. Augustine made fully explicit the theological issues raised for the Christian by dominant philosophical ideas. For example, the church taught the doctrine of creation of the world out of nothing. This seemed to imply that God first was alone and then, subsequently, created the world. But this notion of a temporal sequence of events in the divine life seemed in conflict with the perfection of God. If there was good reason to create a world, why would God delay? In any case, would this sequence not necessarily imply a change in God from precreating to creating? And would not the existence of the world introduce something new into the divine omniscience?

Augustine undertook to reconcile the doctrines of creation and immutability by radical reflection on time. Time, he held, is a function of the mutable, created order. It has, therefore, no reality for God. For humans there is past, present, and future; but from the perspective of eternity, the contents of time exist timelessly. This became standard theological teaching, often ignored in the rhetoric of the church, but rarely directly denied before the twentieth century.

Unlike the author of the pseudo-Dionysian writings, Augustine understood the essence of God to be all that which is common to the persons of the Trinity. God is truth itself, which is at once goodness itself. As the sun is the source of light by which one's eyes see the visible world, so God is the source of illumination of the mind by which it sees eternal truths. And just as it is possible, though difficult, to see the sun itself, so also it is possible, though difficult, to contemplate God.

Truth, according to Augustine, draws the mind to itself, but the mind is distracted by the sinful will, which directs itself toward inferior things. What is known is not different, therefore, from natural knowledge, but because of sin natural knowledge is always distorted. Hence the mind cannot attain to truth apart from the healing of the will. This is the work of grace through Jesus Christ, in whom God accepted humiliation in order to overcome human pride.

This basic pattern, reflective of Plato's influence, dominated early medieval thought of God. It came into conflict with thinking affected by a new, firsthand encounter with the writings of Aristotle, which were mediated to Christian theologians in the West chiefly through Islamic Spain. The Aristotelian influence in theology was long viewed with suspicion, but eventually it gained a strong foothold in Western Christianity through the acceptance of Thomas Aquinas, who, as the most authoritative teacher of the Roman Catholic Church, synthesized aspects of Aristotle with much of the Augustinian tradition.

Thomas found in Aristotle an achievement of natural reason that moved from sense experience to the demonstration of the existence of God. This he called natural theology. He recognized that reason based on sense experience cannot arrive at all the truths taught by the church; so he affirmed also that there are truths attainable only by revelation. In addition he saw that much that the philosopher can attain by reason is also revealed so that all may know.

The Augustinian tradition argues that knowledge of God's existence is already implicitly given in thought. Anselm's formulation of the ontological argument is the most thoroughgoing expression of this tendency. Thomas, on the other hand, seeks to lead the mind by inference from what is known through the senses to the affirmation of God as the supreme cause of the world. The emphasis in Thomas's idea of God shifts, accordingly, from that of the illuminator of the mind to the cause of the existence and motion of all creaturely things.

The Thomistic argument that has best stood the test of time is the argument that proceeds from the contingency of all creaturely things to a necessary existent. By itself, an infinite series of contingent causes cannot explain the actual existence of anything. This dependence of contingent being on necessary being is closely related to Thomas's most original metaphysical work, his analysis of *esse,* or the act of being in its distinction from essence. The broad outlines of this argument already existed in the patristic consideration of God's self-revelation to Moses interpreted as "He Who Is." But whereas Augustine understood it to mean that God is he who never changes, Thomas taught that God is *ipsum esse,* being itself, that is, the act of being. This is pure act, free from all potency, apart from which there can be nothing at all. As pure act it is necessary existence, that on which all contingent existence wholly depends. French neo-Thomists in the twentieth century, such as Étienne Gilson, highlighted these features of Thomas's thought, which had been partly obscured in the interim.

Being itself is radically different from any creaturely being, and because one's ideas are formed in the creaturely world, one cannot speak of God univocally. Nevertheless, the language about God is not merely equivocal. There is justification in using analogies that move from creaturely effect to divine cause, attributing to the supreme cause the perfect form of the excellences found in the effects.

Thomas thought of God not simply as *ipsum esse* but as *ipsum esse subsistens,* that is, as the one who is being itself. The unity of the idea of being itself with the idea of the supreme being has been characteristic of the Thomistic tradition. However, Meister Eckhart, the great fourteenth-century mystic, distinguished God as supreme being from godhead as being itself, and he sought the latter in the depths of his own being. Through this distinction and his experiential realization of being, Eckhart provided a Western Christian analog for the thought and practice of Hindus and Buddhists, who had long distinguished the transpersonal ultimate from the personal God.

Thomas subordinated the divine will to the divine wisdom. That is, God wills what is good. In this doctrine, his thought followed that of the church fathers, including Augustine. God remains for Thomas, as for them, the One, the True, and the Good. But there were others for whom this Platonic way of thinking ceased to be convincing, for whom there were no truth and goodness existing in themselves and attracting the human mind and will; they asserted that God is much more the efficient cause of natural motion, that God is free agent, bound to nothing, and, in short, that God is almighty will, determining thereby what is true and good. This voluntaristic emphasis is associated with the rise of medieval nominalism, influenced especially by William of Ockham. Nominalism is the doctrine that universals are names given to certain things. These universals have no existence in themselves. Furthermore, because there is an element of arbitrariness in how things are named, human choice and decision are accented instead of discernment of what is objectively there for the mind to discover. This doctrine entails the theory that God alone chooses what to require of human beings and what to do for them. What God has chosen cannot be learned by human reason; it can only be revealed by God.

This voluntaristic theology prepared a context for the Protestant Reformation. With the reformers the emphasis was not on philosophical limitations to human knowledge of God but on the radical corruption of the human mind by sin. This impairment does not eradicate all knowledge of God, but it does lead to distortion of every human effort to say who God is. For knowledge of God one is totally dependent on God's gracious and redeeming act in Jesus Christ.

In Calvin's systematic formulation, for example, God's reality is fully manifest objectively in the order of nature; but because of sin those who have tried to interpret nature by reason have been led astray. The truth of God's objective manifestation in nature is properly grasped only through scripture. But, once again, although the truth about God is perfectly clear in scripture, the sinful mind distorts that as well. Hence scripture is properly understood only through the illumination of the Holy Spirit, bestowed by God as God pleases and not according to human merit.

The problem of theodicy is present wherever God is affirmed to be both omnipotent and good, because to deny sin and evil would contradict both scripture and experience. The problem is heightened when, as among Calvinists, God's election is emphasized to be independent of human desert. For the voluntaristic tradition, however, the answer is also given: What is good is finally determined by the divine will. The human mind has no independent access to criteria by which to judge the goodness of God.

Most theologians, however, have attempted to mitigate the starkness of this answer. Calvin himself attempted to demonstrate that the reprobate fully deserves damnation, and he attempted also to display the justice and mercy of what God has chosen to do as humanly intelligible. Others have argued more systematically that any alternative ordering of things would reduce the goodness of the world; usually the necessity or inevitability of evil in a world where there are free creatures has been emphasized. Although the phrase has not been popular, because it seems to minimize sin and evil, most theodicy has undertaken finally to show, in Leibniz's words, that this is "the best of all possible worlds."

During the Renaissance a new wave of Platonic influence gave rise to the Hermetic tradition, which emphasized the mathematical character of the world, the power of movement immanent in things, and the interrelatedness of human thought with these things. The divine was perceived as indwelling power rather than as transcendent will. The voluntaristic tradition had earlier separated revelation from the support of reason and encouraged an authoritarian spirit; the Hermetic tradition, too, separated reason from revelation, but encouraged instead a critique of hierarchical structures in church and society. Together they paved the way for modern philosophy in the seventeenth century, whereupon there ended definitively the unity of theology and philosophy that had dominated Western thought for more than a thousand years.

The early development of modern science was chiefly in the Hermetic context. But partly for theological reasons, René Descartes and Robert Boyle argued for a mechanical nature of passive objects to which the human mind is essentially alien. This left the sovereign will of God as the source of all order. Newton vacillated between these two worldviews, but eventually he gave his great prestige to the mechanical alternative, and this came to be known as the Newtonian worldview.

The church meanwhile kept alive older modes of thinking of God. Many of the theological debates, such as the Socinian, Arminian, Wesleyan, Universalist, and Unitarian objections to strict Calvinism, paid little attention to the issues raised by modern science. Their concern was to recover the emphasis on human freedom and to make more intelligible the idea of God's love for all people.

Nevertheless, the Newtonian, or mechanical, worldview came to be accepted as the only legitimate one in a scientific age. When the church expressed its faith in ways that were not consistent with this worldview, it became increasingly ghettoized in relation to the intellectual community. Among the intelligentsia thought of God accommodated itself rapidly to the new vision, and popular thought gradually followed. God was conceived, accordingly, as sovereign will, the omnipotent creator and lawgiver. As lawgiver God imposed laws on nature whose mathematical character physicists were disclosing. Parallel to physical laws were moral laws imposed upon human beings. Because human beings are free, these laws functioned more like those of the state, except for the omniscience and omnipotence of the lawgiver. Thus, it was held, people can disobey, but their disobedience is punished—in part in this life, but fully and appropriately in the next.

This developing idea of God was fully personal in the sense that God was conceived to be a supreme mind and will. But human relations to God were mediated through impersonal laws. The term *deist* was applied to this position; originally synonymous with *theist,* it came later to imply the lack of any immediacy of inwardness of relationship. Deism pictured God as the maker of the machine, which then runs according to the principles built into it.

In the eighteenth century the chief issue was whether God, having established natural laws, ever acted contrary to them. All agreed that God was supernatural. The issue was whether God caused supernatural events in the created world, that is, whether miracles occurred. Orthodox Christians held that the biblical accounts of miracles were true, whereas the Deists held that natural law was perfect and that therefore God did not violate it.

The eighteenth century witnessed also the rise of religious skepticism. There had been skeptics all along, but their numbers and prestige were greatly increased during the Renaissance, as well as by the multiple divisions of Christianity and accompanying religious wars following the Reformation. Also, the increasing autonomy and success of natural science suggested that scientific explanation is sufficient by itself and does not require metaphysical and theological grounding. By the end of the eighteenth century belief in God had become radically problematic. The philosophy of David Hume brought the skeptical spirit to expression in ways that continue to influence contemporary thought. By insisting that causality must be an empirically observable relationship, Hume undercut every argument that begins with the world or with aspects of the world and reasons that there must be a cause that transcends the world.

Reflection about God on the European continent in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was shaped by the critical philosophy of Immanuel Kant. Influenced by Hume, Kant saw that empirical evidence alone could not ultimately serve as a sufficient ground for the Newtonian worldview. This perception led him to ground that worldview in necessary structures of thought wherein Newtonian space and time, as well as causality, are ways in which the mind necessarily orders phenomena.

Kant's conclusion was by no means atheistic. Even in relation to the exercise of theoretical reason, the idea of God has a beneficial effect, though it must not be introduced as an explanatory principle. More important, Kant points out that in addition to the sphere of theoretical reason there is another sphere of practical reason, which deals with how people should act. In this sphere, too, the fundamental moral principle is independent of theology. People should act always according to maxims that they can will to be universal principles. For example, if one cannot will that people in general lie, cheat, or steal whenever it is to their personal advantage to do so, then one ought not to lie, cheat, or steal for one's own advantage. This principle—the "categorical imperative"—holds whether or not God exists.

But Kant also affirmed that it would be fitting if the will that conforms to this imperative were happy. Indeed, the *summum bonum,* that whose realization all must desire, is the union of virtue and happiness. Such a state is not attained in this life, but one has the right to posit that it is not an illusion, that is, that this life is not the whole, and that in the larger sphere the *summum bonum* may be realized. This argument assumes that God exists as the guarantor of ultimate fittingness.

Although few have followed the exact way in which Kant correlated God with ethics, many have agreed that belief in God belongs with ethics rather than with science. Later in the nineteenth century Albrecht Ritschl was to found a neo-Kantian school, which interpreted theology as statements about values rather than about facts. God is that which is supremely valuable, not a being about whose existence it is suitable to argue.

Kant's philosophy opened up a particular idea of God of which he did not approve. Kant had given an elaborate account of the *a priori* structures of experience and thought, specifying that these structures apply to thought or mind as such; they are not accounts of contingent features of particular minds, but rather "transcendentals," and individual minds exist by participation in them. Mind as such—in German, *Geist*—has a reality of its own, transcending that of individuals. In developments subsequent to Kant much nineteenth-century German theology associated *Geist* with God.

The most influential thinker who made this association was Hegel, who believed that the structure of *Geist* was not static, as Kant thought, but dynamic. Hegel studied this dynamism in the process of thinking as such and also traced it through the great cultures of universal history. He saw it as directed toward a final completion or realization, which he called absolute *Geist.* This Hegelian effort to discern the working of *Geist* in the whole of human cultural and intellectual history has since been characteristic of such theologians as Ernst Troeltsch and Wolfhart Pannenberg.

Kant's philosophy can also be used to support the idea of a religious *a priori.* Theologians can argue that just as space, time, and causality are *a priori* structures of experience, so also is the sense of the divine. Friedrich Schleiermacher held that in all people there is to be found a "feeling of absolute dependence," and he built his theology around this feeling. Later, Nathan Söderblom and Rudolf Otto identified the feeling of the holy or the numinous as the essentially religious element in experience. Paul Tillich subsequently spoke of "ultimate concern."

This approach to the divine leaves somewhat ambiguous the reality of God as such. Its normal rhetoric implies that there is One on whom all are absolutely dependent, that there is One who is numinous, or that everyone's ultimate concern is correlated with that which in truth concerns them ultimately. In this way it crosses beyond the boundaries of strict Kantian thought. Even within the Kantian framework, it follows that because one cannot but experience the world in this way, the question of truth or falsity is irrelevant. In some such way as this there has been a widespread tendency in twentieth-century theology to avoid the need for arguments for the objective reality of God, without relapsing into subjectivism or giving up realistic language about God.

In the twentieth century an important segment of Roman Catholic Thomistic thought followed Kant in still another way by taking the "transcendental turn." Transcendental Thomists, such as Karl Rahner and Bernard Lonergan, probe with Kant within the human mind for the conditions of all thought and knowledge. But unlike Kant they discover not the categorical requirements for the Newtonian worldview but the horizon of being as such, which is God.

In the English-speaking world, in spite of Hume's skepticism on the matter, William Paley's arguments from the order of nature to a transcendent creator were convincing to many, and for many, therefore, Charles Darwin's theory of evolution generated a major crisis of faith. If one thinks of the world as having come into being with something like its present order, it is indeed difficult not to posit a supremely intelligent and powerful creator. But if one supposes that the complex forms of life now to be observed were produced by chance and necessity out of much simpler forms, the role of such a creator declines, eventually to the vanishing point. Hence Darwinism appeared to be a profound threat to theism, and out of the controversy was born fundamentalism as a self-conscious movement, holding to the literal accuracy of biblical teaching against dominant scientific and historical study. Its teaching, of course, had roots in the whole of conservative Protestant history, especially Calvinist, but its defensive stance against science was new.

Those who wished to accept the evolutionary perspective while remaining theists were compelled to reconceive the way God works in the world. Such thinkers, instead of conceiving of God deistically as one who produced the world, gave it its laws, and left it to run its course, found it possible to imagine God as working with creatures in the development of new patterns of order. To do so, however, required the introduction of the notion of purpose into evolution. Debate continues as to whether this modification is justifiable. Thus Teilhard de Chardin argued that the whole evolutionary process moves toward a final destiny, an Omega Point. Jacques Monod replied that science has now established that chance and necessity reign supreme. Yet Monod seems to attribute intelligent purpose to human beings and even to other animals. There is in fact considerable evidence that purposive behavior is an important factor in the evolutionary process, and defenders of theism can argue from it that God is the source of this purposiveness.

The most influential theologian of the twentieth century, Karl Barth, was shaped in much of his thought by Kant's critical philosophy, but he rejected all adaptations of the doctrine of God to philosophical requirements. He denied, more radically than the Protestant reformers, that God can be known by human reason. Humankind is entirely dependent, Barth maintained, on God's self-revelation, who is Jesus Christ. This revelation is known only in the scriptural witness to him. Central to what is revealed of God is radical, sovereign, dynamic freedom. Humans can lay no claims on God and make no judgments about how God will act except as they lay hold on the divine promises and the divine self-disclosure. In Germany this radically Christocentric theology provided a rallying point against compromise with the quasi-religious claims of Nazism.

Barth strove mightily to let his thought of God be shaped by scripture through and through. He wished to avoid dependence on the philosophical ideas that had been so influential throughout Christian history. He also wanted to avoid reaction against uncongenial or hostile modes of thought in contemporary society. His intellectual honesty and openness commanded the respect of many modernists, despite their discomfort with his conclusions; his radical faithfulness to scripture commanded the respect of many fundamentalists, despite his refusal to endorse their teachings about biblical inerrancy and despite his rejection of their quarrel with modern science and philosophy. In the English-speaking world, aided by the popularity of the supportive writings of Emil Brunner, Barth provided an alternative to modernism and fundamentalism, thus making possible an ecumenical center for theological discussion from the 1930s into the 1960s.

The dominance of a positivistically inclined linguistic analysis in English-language philosophy raised problems for the English-speaking Barthian consensus, as illustrated by the work of a North American student of Barth, Paul Van Buren, who called for a nontheistic interpretation of Barth's theology. Meanwhile opposition to Christian teaching about God continued, inherited from nineteenth-century skeptics and also from those who had found belief in God oppressive: Ludwig Feuerbach, who complained that humanity treated its own goodness as something alien, and projected this as "God"; Friedrich Nietzsche, who thought that human beings could not assert their own freedom until they "killed" God. Barth's reassertion of God as free and sovereign will did little to respond to these challenges, and the work of Thomas Altizer renewed this challenge in the mid-1960s. The "death-of-God" theology contributed further to weakening Barth's influence.

The appearance soon after World War II of the writings of Dietrich Bonhoeffer from a Nazi jail struck a responsive chord in those already uncomfortable with Barth's theology. The ideas sketched in these writings indicate a quite different way of thinking of God. "Only a powerless God," Bonhoeffer wrote, "can help." It is the Crucified One rather than the all-determining Lord who can speak to suffering humanity "come of age." Bonhoeffer thus helped gain a hearing for a current of thought that directly challenged God's impassibility and affirmed patripassianism. This position had been formulated philosophically in the United States by Alfred North Whitehead and was systematically developed by Charles Hartshorne; it was forcefully expressed theologically in Germany by Jürgen Moltmann.

Although few have followed Bonhoeffer's rhetoric of divine powerlessness, there has been considerable new reflection on the nature of God's power. Whitehead held that God's power is persuasive rather than coercive. That this was true with respect to human beings had long been taught—for example, by Augustine. But in Whitehead's view, to exist at all is to have some measure of self-determination. Hence God's relation to all creatures is persuasive. Wolfhart Pannenberg argues that God is to be thought of as the Power of the Future. God is not now extant as one being alongside others making up the given reality, but rather that which will be all in all. Pannenberg argues that all creative realization in the present comes into being from this divine future. Hence God remains all-determinative, but the mode of this determination is quite different from that against which people have protested for the sake of human freedom. Instead it is God's determination of the present that makes humanity free.

The association of God with the future, building on the eschatological language of the New Testament, has had other supporters. Whereas for Pannenberg it has ontological meaning, for J.-B. Metz and Jürgen Moltmann it is associated with a "political theology," which locates salvation primarily in the public historical realm. It is also central to the "liberation theology" of Rubem Alves, Gustavo Gutierrez, Juan Segundo, and other Latin Americans. These German and Latin American theologians argue that God's will is not expressed in the present structures of society or in some romanticized past, but rather in the promise of something quite different. Hence, the overwhelming tendency of religion to justify and even sanctify existing patterns, or to encourage nostalgia for a lost paradise, is opposed by the prophetic challenge in view of the hoped-for future.

Among these theologians, the image of God has been more important than the concept. Indeed, recognition of the difference between image and concept and of the great importance of image has played a large role in recent thought about God. Blacks in the United States, led by James H. Cone, have pointed out that God has been imaged as white. The fact that theological concepts about God make the notion of skin color absurd has not reduced the power of this image. Blacks then need to image God as black to claim their human and religious identity. They can go on to say that the biblical witness to God's self-identification with the poor and oppressed gives special justification to this image. Black theology has also provided stimulus for fuller indigenization of images of God in many non-Western cultures.

Similarly, although theologians have insisted that God is beyond gender, feminists have had no difficulty showing that the Christian image of God is overwhelmingly male: Whereas God's whiteness is clearly not biblical and is rightly rejected in the name of the Bible, God's maleness is biblical. Hence the denial of maleness to God requires a radical approach to scripture. Furthermore, the characteristics attributed to God by even those theologians who have rejected anthropomorphism have usually been stereotypically masculine ideals: omnipotence, impassibility, self-sufficiency. Feminists challenge this whole theological tradition. They divide between those, such as Mary Daly, who believe that the Christian God is inherently and necessarily patriarchal, and hence incompatible with women's liberation, and those, such as Rosemary Ruether and Letty Russell, who believe that the Christian deity is a liberator who can free humankind also from patriarchalism.

For a century now there has been a slow decline of the mechanistic worldview. Because the rise of that worldview had so marked an impact on Christian thinking about God, its decline would seem to be important as well. However, the change in theology has not been dramatic. Because of Kant's influence, theology in central Europe has been largely separated from questions of worldview. The effect of Barth's theology has been to reinforce this separation. Ironically, the separation has led to the continued acceptance of the mechanistic worldview by some theologians despite its loss of prestige among physicists. Rudolf Bultmann, for example, accepted this worldview unquestioningly and argued from it with respect to what is credible to modern people.

Nevertheless, others, such as Karl Heim, worked to adapt Christian theology to new developments in science; this approach was especially common in the French- and English-language worlds. Scientific developments abounded. After the controversy over evolution, more fundamental challenges to mechanism came from physics with the rise of quantum theory. Newtonian laws gave way to statistical probabilities, and self-contained atoms were replaced by fields. Substances gave way to events. But the lack of a fully articulated, generally accepted new worldview, correlated with the whole range of the sciences, has reduced the impact on theology of the decay of the older worldview. Meanwhile there has emerged largely outside the churches a popular religious culture that correlates religious beliefs with what it takes to be the new science.

The most impressive effort to propose a conceptually rigorous worldview or cosmology appropriate to postmechanistic science is that of Whitehead. Whitehead also spelled out what he saw as the implications of this new cosmology for belief in God. Because the new cosmology replaces atomism with a field of interrelated events, it calls for understanding God as also fully interrelated with the world. God is not a cosmic lawgiver but an intimate participant in every event. Similarly, every event enters forever into the inner life of God.

Whitehead's ideas have been systematically modified, developed, and defended by Charles Hartshorne. In light of the new ways of thinking of God Hartshorne reformulated classical arguments for God's existence, including the ontological argument, and he called his theism neoclassical. This neoclassical theism is a pan-entheism based on a doctrine of God as dipolar, absolute in essence but relational in actuality. Hartshorne's thought has played a central role in the emergence of "process theology."

Another context for Christian reflection on God in recent times is dialogue with representatives of other religious traditions. These dialogues intensify the question whether the Christian God is also worshiped in other traditions. In relation to Jews and Muslims, who share much scripture with Christians, there has rarely been serious doubt. It has also been usual missional strategy in countries previously unacquainted with these scriptures to use terms already present in their languages to speak of the Christian God. It has been widely assumed that, whatever the misunderstanding or distortion, every people has some notion of the one true God who is revealed in the Bible.

Such dialogue also usually leads to greater appreciation of the faith of the dialogue partner and increases the sense that the one true God is known also by the partner. This perception results in an effort to distinguish God from Christian ideas and images of God, so that Christians may respect ideas and images quite different from those to which they have been accustomed. H. Richard Niebuhr has provided a confessional model for dialogue in which the partners tell their story to one another in ways that celebrate the understanding to which their own story has brought them, without disparaging or closing themselves off from what others have learned from their own very different histories.

Reflection on the deep differences between dialogue partners can also lead to the conclusion that the reality of which the partner speaks is different from the biblical God. Meister Eckhart's distinction of godhead from God, Paul Tillich's language about being itself as the God beyond the God of theism, and Whitehead's distinction of creativity from God offer bases for fresh reflection on the relation of the mystical ultimate in Indian and Chinese religions to the Christian God.

The diversity of interests that lead to reflection on God witnesses to the continuing importance of the topic. It also produces great confusion. It is not clear that different statements using the word *God* have, any longer, a common topic. In the Christian context, however, one can almost always understand that, despite all the diversity of concepts and imagery, *God* refers to what Christians worship and trust. Further—with a few exceptions, such as Edgar S. Brightman and William James—God is associated with perfection. Part of the confusion lies in the changing ideal. Whereas for many centuries it seemed self-evident to most Christians that the perfect must be all-determining, affected by nothing external to itself, timeless, and completely self-sufficient, that supposition is no longer so evident today. Much of the debate about God is a debate about what people most admire and most desire to emulate.

SEE ALSO Androcentrism; Anthropomorphism; Apologetics; Councils, article on Christian Councils; Deism; Enlightenment, The; Evangelical and Fundamental Christianity; Gender Roles; Heresy, article on Christian Concepts; Hermetism; Iconoclasm; Icons; Incarnation; Modernism, article on Christian Modernism; Naturalism; Neoorthodoxy; Nominalism; Philosophy; Political Theology; Skeptics and Skepticism; Theodicy; Theology, article on Christian Theology; Trinity.

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GOD: GOD IN ISLAM

The Qur'ān, Islam's holy scripture, states, "Verily, the religion of God (Allāh) is Islam" (3:19). According to medieval Muslim lexicographers, there are twenty to thirty opinions on the origin, etymology, and meaning of the term *Allāh.*

Some say that it should be read as a proper name, as in the English "God." Others claim that it is a contraction of *al-ilāh,* meaning "The God" or "The Divinity." Medieval Muslim manuscripts from North Africa and Islamic Spain often use al-Ilāh as a synonym for Allāh. Modern philologists relate the term to the Hebrew El or Elohim, used in the Bible. In Arabic, the verb *alaha* means, "he worshiped, served, or adored." In this sense, Allāh could be translated as "the One who is worshiped or adored." Similarly, the past participle *maʾluh,* taken from the same root as Allāh, is a synonym of *maʿbūd,* "worshiped" or "adored." In the Qurʾān, the terms *ilāh* ("god" or "divinity") and *ilāha* ("goddess") are often used in contrast with Allāh, the former representing false gods or false objects of worship when compared with the One True God.

Every *sūrah* of the Qurʾān but one begins with the phrase *Bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm* (By the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful). This phrase, known as the *basmalah,* is also used for oaths and at the beginning of important or sacred acts. Islamic prayers and supplications often begin with the expression *Allāhumma,* which is understood as meaning "Oh God!" (*yā Allāh*). The doubled letter *mīm* in this expression stands for the suppressed vocative particle *Yā* (Oh). Such uses of the term *Allāh* recall the practices of pre-Islamic Arabia, where Allāh was called upon as the creator god, the god of the heavens, the bringer of rain, and Lord of the Kaʿbah in Mecca. Although this rather remote divinity was personified by the pagan Arabs, he was unique among other Arabian gods because images were not made of him. According to Toshihiko Isutzu, a Japanese scholar of Islam, Allāh was seldom worshiped as part of a cult in pre-Islamic Arabia. Instead, he was the object of what Isutzu called "temporary monotheism," the last recourse of prayer when all the other gods had failed (Isutzu, 1980, p. 101).

The Qurʾān provides evidence for Isutzu's conclusions. In certain passages it rebukes the pagan Meccans for asking the Prophet Muḥammad, "Who is *al-Raḥmān?*" when he invoked this "name" of God (25:60). Implied in the Qurʾān's rebuke of the Meccans is the idea that Allāh and many of his attributes were already known to those who denied Muḥammad's message (29:65). In this view, the Qurʾān introduced the new term *al-Raḥmān* (the Beneficent) into Arabia, but it did not introduce a new god. Rather, the Qurʾān brought the Arabian sky and creator god closer to human experience by stressing that Allāh was both transcendent and immanently near: "And when my servants question you concerning me, I am truly near. I answer the prayer of the supplicant when he calls on me. So let them heed my call and believe in me, so that they might be guided rightly" (2:186).

THE QURʾANIC DOCTRINE OF DIVINE UNITY. The Qurʾān uses a variety of arguments to demonstrate that knowledge of God as the creator of all things makes all other ideas of divinity superfluous. If Allāh created everything in the universe, then the lesser gods and powers worshiped by human beings must be created as well, and hence are not truly divine. Theologically, the religion of Islam replaced the pagan Allāh with a divinity of greater complexity. God in Islam is more than just a name; Allāh is both a theological concept and an active deity that creates and maintains the universe. Both immanent and transcendent, the full nature of God appears as a paradox to the human mind. Allāh is the One True God, as in the Greek phrase *ho theos* (The God). However, the oneness of God is not self-evident, nor is it self-evident that God is the ultimate cause of all things. The secondary causes and contingent realities of things in the world veil the nature of God from human understanding. The Qurʾān acknowledges this paradox by equating belief in God with "belief in the unseen" (2:3). Because the full reality of God is not self-evident, a book of revelation is needed to educate human beings about the existence and nature of divinity.

The intellectual quest for the understanding of God is depicted mythologically in the Qurʾān by the story of Abraham, who progressed from worshiping the stars, the moon, and the sun to acknowledging that Allāh is the sole cause of heavenly phenomena (6:75–79). However, simply understanding that God is the Cause of Causes only solves part of the divine mystery. There is still the problem of knowing how God, as the transcendent Truth (*al-Ḥaqq,* 22:6), may be discerned in the vast multiplicity of created things and events. This key problem of Islamic theology is expressed in the following poem by the sixteenth-century Moroccan Ṣūfī ʿAbdallāh al-Ghazwānī (d. 1528) of Marrakech:

> Oh, he who is one of all! Oh, he for whom all is one! Mortal beings count you by number, oh one. You appear in the all such that one cannot be hidden, And you disappear in the all such that one cannot be seen. (al-Ghazwani, folio 5)

This paradox of divine unity was not only a problem for Ṣūfīs. It also appears in Shīʿī Islam, as in the following statement of Imām ʿAlī (d. 661):

> To know God is to know his oneness. To say that God is one has four meanings: two of them are false and two are correct. As for the two false meanings, one is that a person should say "God is one" and be thinking of number and counting. This is false because that which has no second cannot enter into the category of number. Do you not see that those who say that God is the third of a trinity fall into this infidelity? Another meaning is to say, "So-and-so is one of his people," namely, a species of this genus or a member of this species. This meaning is also false when applied to God, because it implies likening something to God, whereas God is above all likeness. As to the two meanings that are correct when applied to God, one is that it should be said that "God is one" in the sense that there is no likeness to him among things. Another is to say that "God is one" in the sense that there is no multiplicity or division conceivable in Him, neither outwardly, nor in the mind, nor in the imagination. God alone possesses such a unity. (Tabatabai, 1979, pp. 127–128)

Theologically, the Qurʾān is an extended argument for the existence of the One God. As a revelation both from Allāh and about Allāh, it guides humanity toward a single, absolute Truth that transcends the world: "Say: He is Allāh the Only; Allāh the Indivisible; He gives not birth, nor is He begotten, and He is, in Himself, not dependent on anything" (112:1–4). These verses summarize the Qurʾanic definition of *tawḥīd,* the Islamic doctrine of divine unity. Most simply, *tawḥīd* means that God is one, unique, and not divisible into hypostatic entities or incarnated manifestations. He gives birth to no "son" or demiurge, nor is he begotten from another, for he is independent of his creation: "Your Lord is utterly independent, All-Engendering. If he wills, he can expel you and replace you with others, just as he multiplied you from the seed of others" (5:133). Along with this strictly monotheistic image of God, the Qurʾān also provides a more monistic image of a deity that is immanent in the world of creation: "He is the First and the Last, the Outward and the Inward; He is the Knower of every thing" (57:3). This complementary focus on the immanence of God implies that a full understanding of divine unity must somehow include the transcendence of number. This is the paradox addressed by al-Ghazwānī and Imām ʿAlī above, and the attempt to resolve it delineates the conceptual limits of theological inquiry in Islam.

As an aid in understanding the complexity of *tawḥīd,* the Qurʾān uses ninety-nine terms that convey various aspects of the divine nature. These terms are referred to as the "Excellent Names of Allāh" (77:180) and are tokens of God's presence in the world. Many of the divine names are incorporated into Muslim personal names, such as ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (Slave of the Beneficent), ʿAbd al-Jabbār (Slave of the Overpowering), or ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (Slave of the Glorious). The fact that such names describe attributes of human beings is another reminder of God's immanence. With the exception of the supreme name Allāh and the Arabic neologism al-Raḥmān, which refers to the divine beneficence that creates and maintains the universe, all of the other divine names may be shared by both God and human beings. However, this sharing of attributes should not lead a person to believe that he or she is divine or that the sharing of attributes puts any limitation on God's transcendent nature. Such attitudes lead to the sin of *shirk,* associating things with God, or relying on contingent, created entities as if they were divine in themselves. *Shirk* is a major sin in Islam because it is the basis of *kufr,* literally "covering up" or denying the truth of God and of the Islamic religion.

DIVINE POWER. A constant concern of Islamic theology has been to maintain God's absolute power and agency. Divine agency is expressed in the Qurʾān by the name al-Qadīr (The All-Powerful or All-Potent), and by verses such as, "When [Allāh] decrees a matter, he merely says to it 'Be!' and it is" (2:117), or "You do not will, unless Allāh wills" (76:30). The desire to maintain the limitlessness of divine power was particularly important in theological discussions of free will and human agency. One of the earliest theological schools in Islam was the Jabrīyah (literally, "Compulsionists"), who conceived of power as a limited quantity and felt that any amount of choice or agency delegated to human beings reduced the amount of power available to God. This zero-sum approach led to a theology of fatalism and predestination, which was exploited by the Umayyad caliphs (r. 662–750) to justify their rule.

The Umayyads used the doctrine of predestination to claim that their opponents were unbelievers. Since God predetermined the affairs of the world, God's will was that the Umayyads should rule over Islam. To reject the Umayyads was thus to reject God's will, and the rejection of God's will is unbelief. This put their political opponents in a difficult theological situation. To say that the Umayyads were unfit to rule implied either that God's will was imperfect or that God created evil by creating corrupt rulers. The easiest way out of this dilemma was to cede the power of moral choice to human beings by saying that God creates good but humans create evil. This position is clearly supported by the Qurʾān: "Whatever good befalls you, it is from Allāh, and whatever evil befalls you it is from yourself" (4:79). Blaming human beings for their own faults and weaknesses prevents God from being accused of willing injustice.

The moral separation of God from the actions of created beings characterized the second theological school of Islam, the Qadarīyah (literally, "Determinists"), whose name refers to the power (*qudrah*) of human beings to partially determine their own fate. Just as the theology of predeterminism was used to justify the status quo, Qadarīyah theology was often advocated by opponents of the status quo and was combined with a strong moral imperative to oppose injustice. Qadarīyah tenets form the basis of Shīʿī theology, which stresses the responsibility to fight against injustice and the freedom to choose the Shīʿī *imām* as the rightful ruler of the Muslims. Qadarīyah doctrines make for good moral theology. After all, how could a just God punish human beings for their actions if they were not free to choose them? The theological choice between Islam and polytheism or the moral choice between good and evil would have no significance if a person's actions were predetermined. If a Muslim judge cannot punish a person for a crime that he or she was forced to commit, how could God do such a thing?

DIVINE EXCEPTIONALISM AND DIVINE JUSTICE. The most influential proponents of Qadarīyah theology were the Muʿtazilah (literally, "Withdrawers"), who called themselves The People of Divine Justice and Unity (*Ahl al-ʿAdl wa al-Tawḥīd*). Muʿtazilism was prominent in Islam for approximately four hundred years and has recently resurfaced as one of the theological positions of Islamic liberalism. From 833 to 850, it was the official theology of the Abbasid caliphate (750–1258) and had a significant influence on Shiism. As a movement of theological rationalism, it attracted the attention of Western scholars of Islam, who mistakenly believed that it foreshadowed the doctrines of the European Enlightenment. The Muʿtazilah believed in a doctrine of extreme exceptionalism with regard to God. One of their fundamental beliefs was that divine unity could be expressed only in terms of divine simplicity. According to this understanding, the statement “There is no god but Allāh” meant that nothing but God is equal to God or is even a part of God, including God’s own actions and attributes. The attributes of God cannot be eternal because only God-in-himself is eternal. Thus, the “names” of God mentioned in the Qurʾān are not attributes. They are only metaphors, figures of speech, or created modes of divine action. The Muʿtazilah accused those who believed in divine attributes of falling into anthropomorphism (the belief that God has human attributes) or corporealism (the belief that God’s attributes are corporeal entities that exist within Him).

For the Muʿtazilah, knowledge of God’s unity is based on reason, which is a responsibility imposed by God on all human beings. This knowledge depends on four types of evidence: dialectical reason, the Qurʾān, the *sunnah* of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the consensus of the Muslim community. Of these, reason is the most important. This is because the validity of scripture, tradition, and consensus are based on the rational knowledge that God exists, that he is truthful, and that he is just. The existence of God can be proven by the argument from contingency. Experience tells us that we cannot live forever and that we are limited in our powers and abilities. Thus, we are contingent beings: we must depend on something outside of ourselves for our creation and support. This noncontingent, necessary being is God, who is unlike us in every way. Because God is exalted above all forms of resemblance, statements in the Qurʾān such as “What prevents you from prostrating yourself before what I have created with my two hands?” (38:75) can only be metaphorical. The “hands” of God must stand for something other than real hands, such as God’s ability to create and maintain the world. Metaphors such as these should be understood as partial and approximate descriptions of a divine reality that is ultimately indescribable.

The Muʿtazilite principle of divine justice was derived directly from their view of divine agency and was based on two premises: (1) God desires good for human beings; thus, he does not will or create evil. (2) God provides guidance for human beings in the form of divine revelation; thus, he does not want people to go astray. According to these premises, it would be absurd to believe that God’s voluntarism would lead him to predestine people to commit sinful acts. If God punished people for acts that they performed against their will, he would deny the justice that is his nature. Whatever God wills is objectively good, and his justice can be proved by reasoned arguments. Reason demonstrates that the *sharīʿah,* the Law of God, is good for humanity. God’s justice, expressed in the *sharīʿah,* is like a rope thrown to a drowning man. God provides the opportunity for salvation, but it is up to the human being to accept it or reject it.

The Muʿtazilah believed that divine revelation, as the embodiment of God’s law, was a created entity. For them, the Qurʾanic reference to a “Glorious Qurʾān on a Preserved Tablet” (85:21–22) meant that God created the Qurʾān as a model or template of divine scripture before the creation of the world. The Qurʾān that was revealed to the Prophet Muḥammad was a copy of this preexistent Qurʾān. The Muʿtazilite doctrine of the created Qurʾān was similar to the Jewish doctrine of the preexistent Torah. In Judaism, the Torah, as the source of divine law, is both preexistent and created: God created his law before he created the world. The Qurʾān also had to be created before the world because the world was created in conformity with the law, as is expressed in the Qurʾanic concept of “God’s Way” (*Sunnat Allāh,* 48:23).

Sunnī Muslims rejected the doctrine of the created Qurʾān. In the first century of Islam, ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAbbās (d. 687), a cousin of the Prophet Muḥammad, asserted that God’s speech was uncreated and coeternal with God. According to this doctrine, the Qurʾān was also uncreated and eternal because it contained the word of God. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 855), a staunch opponent of the Muʿtazilah, claimed that the word of God is equivalent to God’s knowledge. Since the Qurʾān is part of God’s knowledge, the words and letters that are found in the Qurʾān must be regarded as the word of God. Because the word of God is uncreated, the Qurʾān must also be uncreated. Ibn Ḥanbal realized that the doctrine of the created Qurʾān contained a potential theological problem. If the Qurʾān were created, this might be construed to mean that the text of the Qurʾān was fixed in historical time; thus, its relevance would be limited primarily to the era in which it was revealed. This would imply that certain Qurʾanic injunctions might be superseded if the social or historical conditions that gave rise to them changed. However, an uncreated Qurʾān, not being fixed in historical time, would have no such limitations. Since it was coeternal with God’s knowledge, it would be truly universal. Being free of the limitations of culture and history, its injunctions would be valid for all peoples and all times.

DIVINE DETERMINISM. Until the modern revival of the teachings of Ibn Ḥanbal, the most important Sunnī theology of divine voluntarism was Ashʿarism. Named after Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī (d. 935), Ashʿarite theology sought to recuperate an unrestricted sense of divine agency by promoting a new theory of predestination and a view of the universe that denied the empirical understanding of cause and effect. For the Ashʿarites, all power belongs to God. If God granted people the power of free choice as the Muʿtazilah believed, this would mean that God relinquished some of his power to determine the fate of his creatures. It was absurd to imagine that an all-powerful God would give up his power for any reason. For the Muʿtazilah, God endowed people with choice because human beings, alone among God’s creatures, possessed reason. Since God endowed people with reason, he could not prevent them from using this gift to make their own decisions. For the Ashʿarites, it was absurd to consider anything impossible for God, even if it appeared to be illogical. If God’s power were truly infinite, then even theoretical limitations on divine power were unacceptable.

According to Ashʿarism, the Qurʾanic verse "[God is the] doer of what he wills" (11:109) means that God is the creator of everything, including the actions of human beings. Al-Ashʿarī distinguished between "necessary" and "acquired" actions. Necessary actions, such as shivering from a fever or trembling with emotion, are involuntary. Acquired actions, such as walking, thinking, and making moral choices, are voluntary. In both cases God is the creator and the agent of all human acts; the human being only "acquires" the capacity to carry them out. This is the meaning of the Qurʾanic statement "God created you and that which you do" (37:96). A person's acquired capacity (*kasb*) is created by God at the time of the act itself. The human being acquires the capacity to either do or not do an action, like the "yes" or "no" binary switches on a computer chip. However, even these limited choices are not really one's to make. "Acquiring the power to do something" only means acquiring the capacity to do what God has already created one to do. The human being cannot produce anything he was not predestined to make. For Ashʿarism, to say that God is all-powerful is to say that human beings are essentially powerless.

The critics of Ashʿarism responded that this was merely a reconfiguration of the outmoded doctrines of the Jabrīyah, who believed that human beings had no freedom of choice whatsoever. The philosopher Ibn Rushd (Averroës) of Córdoba (d. 1198) rejected Ashʿarite theology as illogical. If both the ability to act in a certain way and the act itself are created by God, then, to all intents and purposes, the human being is compelled to behave in only one way. If the acquisition of an act created by God enables a person neither to "own" the act nor to create it, the act cannot really be described as a "power" possessed by the human being. It would therefore be unjust for a person to be judged by God for committing a sin that did not, in reality, "belong" to him. Despite such inconsistencies, Ashʿarite theology became dominant in Sunnī Islam because it provided a relatively simple solution to the problems of divine power and divine knowledge. By basing their arguments on Qurʾanic concepts, the Ashʿarites could create a Qurʾān-based theology more successfully than their opponents could. Muʿtazilite theology also resorted to the Qurʾān, but its emphasis on the use of human reasoning in attaining knowledge of God led to the criticism that revelation was either unnecessary or was reserved for those who were unable to think for themselves. Ashʿarite theologians also stressed the importance of reason. However, they considered divine revelation and prophetic tradition to be more essential because they provided the guidance necessary for reason to function properly. The Ashʿarites saw themselves as taking a middle path between reason and revelation. According to the great Ashʿarite theologian Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), revelation is understood through tradition, but its underlying truth is understood through reason.

The Ashʿarite theology of divine determinism operated in an atomistic and occasionalistic universe in which nothing was truly real except God. According to the Ashʿarite theory of atomism, the universe is divided into unbounded particles of matter, quality, space, and time. The related theory of occasionalism asserts that every action or event may be broken down into a series of discrete moments, which are completely independent of each other. Such moments are joined together solely through the agency of God's will. No logical continuity or order connects a series of events. To Ashʿarite theologians, the act of hitting a ball with a polo mallet was not perceived as a single motion. Instead, swinging the mallet and striking the ball were seen as a series of separate events, in which the mallet is brought closer and closer to the ball, until it finally strikes it. This illusory view of reality can be compared to a strip of movie film, in which what appears to be a single action is in reality a series of images of different events, which only seem to be continuous because of the speed at which they pass through the projector. In Ashʿarite occasionalism, objects, actions, and events exist only for a single moment. They appear to have continuity only because they are re-created by God in a series of instantaneous creations. This view of reality rejects the notion of "nature" or even of a natural order. Everything is possible for God, who can change reality at any time. No limitations of divine power are allowed to exist.

Ashʿarite occasionalism accepted neither the reality of continuity nor the law of cause and effect. Instead, the regularity of natural occurrences was explained by "habit" or "custom" (*ʿādah*), which God may change at any time. A miracle was simply a paranormal event (*kharq al-ʿādah*), literally, a "ripping" of the fabric of custom. A miracle seems impossible because it goes against normal expectations. However, from the point of view of Ashʿarism, a miracle is essentially normal. Because God creates and re-creates everything at every moment in time, all creation is a miracle. What we think of as a "miracle" is simply an example of God changing his *sunnah,* his customary way of doing things. Ṣūfīs adopted this concept of paranormality to explain their own doctrine of the miracles of saints. Most Ṣūfīs were proponents of Ashʿarite theology, and most Ashʿarite theologians accepted Sufism as a legitimate expression of Islam. The Ashʿarite doctrines of divine voluntarism, divine omniscience, predestination, and occasionalism can all be seen in the following verses, taken from an ode by the Spanish Ṣūfī Abū Madyan (d. 1198). The reference to the Arabic letters *kāf* and *nūn* in the poem recalls the divine command *Kun!* ("Be!"), through which God continually brings things into existence (Qurʾān, 2:117):

> All praise is yours! There is no granting what you forbid,
> And no forbidding what you abundantly bestow.
> Your will is preordained and your judgment is piercing,
> Your knowledge encompasses the seven heavens and the Earth.
>
> Your command subsists between the [letters] *Kaf* and *Nun,* [And is executed] more swiftly and easily than the blink of an eye.
>
> When you say, "Be!" what you say has already been, And your enunciation of it is never repeated.

> You were, and nothing was before you; you were, and
> nothing was Other than you, yet you remain when
> mortal beings die.
>
> You determined the fate of creatures before creating them,
> And what you determined was a predestined command.
> (Cornell, 1996, p. 150)

CREATIVITY AND INTENTIONALITY. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Māturīdī (d. 944) of Samarkand, a contemporary of al-Ashʿarī, developed a theology that split the difference between the Ashʿarite doctrine of divine determinism and the Muʿtazilite doctrine of reasoned choice. Although his ideas are often taken as a critique of Ashʿarism, they were developed independently. Maturidism became influential under the Ottoman Empire (1342–1924), and today it is accepted as a variant of Ashʿarism. The most important difference between the two theologies lies in the balance between divine voluntarism and human agency. According to al-Māturīdī, actions are shared between God and the human being. When an action is attributed to God, it is called "creation" (*khalq*), and when an action is attributed to a person, it is called "acquisition" (*kasb*). God's actions are essentially creative. They include miracles and other phenomena that the human mind cannot fully comprehend. God also creates the potential for human actions, but human beings are responsible for what they actually do. By being responsible, they "acquire" the act for themselves. Reward or punishment is the moral consequence of a person's intention (*nīyah*) to act in a certain way. Since Maturidism separated intentions from actual behaviors, it was better able than Ashʿarism to account for apparent paradoxes of the divine will, such as when an otherwise good person inexplicably commits a crime.

Another contribution of Maturidism was a theory of knowledge that balanced the dictates of reason and revelation. Al-Māturīdī was highly critical of blind traditionalism. This was particularly important with respect to notions about God, because the Qurʾān admonishes believers not to blindly follow their forefathers (43:23). Knowledge is of three types: knowledge from the senses, knowledge from testimony, and knowledge from reason. Knowledge from the senses includes knowledge from experience. One who denies the truth of empirical knowledge is unreasonable because he denies what he observes with his own eyes. Knowledge from testimony is what we would today call "history." This includes the testimony of the Qurʾān and the *sunnah.* Such testimony is believable because God stands behind the teachings of the prophets. However, the most important type of knowledge is from reason. Reason is the critical faculty by which we assess empirical and historical forms of knowledge. Reason enables us to understand the divine wisdom in creation. Without submitting the testimony of the prophets to reason and experience, the human being falls into traditionalism. Without submitting empirical knowledge to reason and revelation, the human being falls into materialism *(illḥād),* which medieval Muslims likened to atheism.

THE ONE IN THE ALL. Today's limits of Islamic theology are marked by Wahhabism and Sufism. The elimination of the *falsafa* tradition of Islamic philosophy by the end of the thirteenth century and the decline of formal Sunnī theology during the Ottoman Empire led to the legalistic fideism that dominates Sunnī theology today. Most of what is left of these traditions has been subsumed into Shiism, as represented by the writings of Mullā Ṣadrā of Shiraz (d. 1641). Wahabbism, which was founded in the eighteenth century by Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 1787), goes beyond normal Sunnī fideism by advocating an extreme form of traditionalism. Its approach to divine unity relies on a literal reading of Qurʾān and *ḥadīth* that avoids rational speculation on the nature of God and his attributes. It also avoids the interpretation of ambiguities in the Qurʾān and even denies the metaphorical nature of certain Qurʾanic verses. Instead, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal's theological formula of *bilā kayf* (literally, "without how") is employed to assert that God has "hands unlike other hands," or "a face unlike other faces." Questions left unanswered by traditional sources are not to be investigated at all. The Wahhābī abandonment of rational interpretation has led their critics to accuse them of theological simple-mindedness and of anthropomorphizing God and his attributes.

Ṣūfī theology stands at the opposite pole from Wahhabism in that it does not reject hermeneutical inquiry. It confronts the paradox of divine transcendence and divine immanence by recognizing that the concept of divine unity must allow for the transcendence of number. Ṣūfī theology has been neglected in modern scholarship, especially in the Islamic world. In part, this has been the result of a Western emphasis on the concept of mysticism, which tends to overlook the use of reasoned arguments in Ṣūfī treatises and focuses instead on "ineffable" spiritual experiences. The identification of Sufism with mysticism has, in turn, affected the image of Sufism in Muslim countries, where it is often dismissed as nonrational or inauthentic. It particular, it is accused of incorporating ideas from Hinduism or Buddhism into Islam. In premodern Islam, however, Ṣūfī theology was the subject of lively debates, and the onus was on the opponents of Sufism to prove why this tradition was not authentic, rather than the other way around.

Abū al-Qāsim al-Junayd (d. 910) of Baghdad was one of the founders of Ṣūfī theology. Like other Sunnī theologians, he sought to combine Qurʾān and *ḥadīth* with a reasoned approach to interpretation. Unlike non-Ṣūfī theologians, however, he accepted mystical experience as epistemologically equivalent to reason. When combined with reason and revelation, mystical experience, which was known as "unveiling" *(kashf),* led to a direct knowledge of God (*maʿrifah*) that was superior to the intellectual knowledge (*ʿilm*) of the theologians. The Ṣūfī reliance on mystical perception, however, did not mean that they ignored other approaches to theology. On the contrary, Ṣūfī treatises are full of discussions of theological issues. Al-Junayd was the founder of the "Baghdad school" of Sufism, which set the standards for Ṣūfī thought and practice. Maʿrūf al-Karkhī

(d. 816), a close associate of Shīʿī Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā (d. 818), was an important forerunner of this tradition. Thus, it may be no coincidence that both Sufism and Shiism shared an interest in the paradoxical nature of divine unity.

For al-Junayd, the creedal pillar of *tawḥīd* meant "singling out the eternal from that which is created in time" (Abdel-Kader, 1976, p. 70). A later Ṣūfī, ʿAlī al-Ḥujwīrī (d. after 1072), glossed this definition in the following way: "You must not regard the eternal as a locus of phenomena, or phenomena as a locus of the eternal. You must know that God is eternal and that you are phenomenal, and that nothing of your genus is connected with him, and that nothing of his attributes is mingled in you, and that there is no homogeneity between the eternal and the phenomenal" (al-Ḥujwīrī, 1976, p. 281). Understood this way, there is nothing distinctively "Ṣūfī" about al-Junayd's definition. It even earned the approval of the Ḥanbalī theologian Ibn Taymīyah (d. 1328), who was one of the most influential opponents of the Ṣūfīs.

However, another possible interpretation of al-Junayd's definition is more problematical. "Singling out" the eternal from that which is created might be understood to mean that God could be found, or at least identified, within his creation. Al-Ḥujwīrī alludes to this when he warns: "When the eternal is believed to descend into phenomena, or phenomena to be attached to the eternal, no proof remains of the eternity of God and the origination of the universe; this leads to materialism. In all the actions of phenomena, there are proofs of unification and evidences of the divine omnipotence and signs, which establish the eternity of God, but men are too heedless to desire only him or to be content only with keeping him in remembrance. Ḥusayn ibn Mansur [al-Ḥallāj, d. 922] said: 'The first step in *tawḥīd* is the annihilation of separation'" (al-Ḥujwīrī, 1976, p. 281).

Muḥammad "Muhyiddin" ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1240), arguably the most influential Ṣūfī theologian, agreed more with al-Ḥallāj's statement than with al-Ḥujwīrī's warning. Many of Ibn al-ʿArabī's writings discuss the issues of separating the eternal from the temporal and finding the one in the many. In the chapter on Noah in Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam (*Ring-Settings of Wisdom*), he summarizes the theological paradox of divine unity in the following poem:

> If you speak of transcendence, you are restricted. If you
> speak of immanence, you are limited.
>
> If you speak of both matters, you are complete. You are
> an Imam and a master of spiritual knowledge.
>
> He who speaks of joining is a polytheist. He who speaks
> of separating affirms unity.
>
> Beware of immanence if you are a dualist! Beware of
> transcendence if you are a Unitarian!
>
> You are not he; yet, you are he and you see him in The
> essences of things both boundless and limited! (Ibn
> al-ʿArabī, 1980, p. 70)

For Ibn al-ʿArabī, divine immanence means that God can be "found" in worldly phenomena. In Arabic, the verb "to find" is *wajada*. The experience of finding is *wijdān*. Most works on Sufism translate *wijdān* as "ecstasy." This obscures the theological importance of the term for Ibn al-ʿArabī. One "finds" ecstasy in *wijdān* because he or she perceives, or "finds" God in the essences of things. Ibn al-ʿArabī extends the metaphor of "finding" to all of existence, which in Arabic is denoted by the term *wujūd*. Existence is where the perceptive believer "finds" God. In other words, the world is a theater for the manifestation of the Absolute. Before creation, while possible things are in a state of nonexistence, God is the only existent. At their creation, things "acquire" existence, much as human beings "acquire" moral responsibility in Ashʿarite theology. The Qurʾān states: "We did not create the heavens and the Earth and all that is between them but in Truth" (15:85). For Ibn al-ʿArabī, this verse holds the key to the paradox of divine unity. Things and their effects "find" their way into physical existence through the divine names: "Since the effects belong to the divine names, and the name is the named, there is nothing in existence but God" (Ibn al-ʿArabī, 2002, p. 138).

In *al-Fūtuḥāt al-Makkīyah* (*Meccan Revelations*), Ibn al-ʿArabī states that no theological subject is more resistant to human reason than the transcendence of number. Because numbers are usually conceived as serial integers and are believed to bestow qualities on the things they designate, it is difficult to understand how the many are dependent on the one. Commenting on the anti-Trinitarian verse of the Qurʾān: "They disbelieve who say 'Verily, Allāh is the third of three'" (5:73), Ibn al-ʿArabī notes that the person who says "Allāh is the fourth of three" is not an unbeliever. If God were the third of three, he would be of the same genus (*jins*) as the other two. This is the theological sin of *shirk*, associating partners with God. However, as the "fourth of three," God would not be of the same genus as the three, so he is not one of them. Therefore, God is one for any group or plurality, but without becoming one of its kind: "He is the fourth of three, so he is one; the fifth of four, so he is one; and so on indefinitely" (Ibn al-ʿArabī, 2002, p. 137).

Ibn al-ʿArabī explains this theological principle in terms of algebra or set theory. Medieval Muslims called algebra *al-jabr wa al-muqābalah* (literally, "determination and juxtaposition"). God is the fourth of three as in the algebraic expression $(x + y + z)\ a$. The letter a is part of the expression because it is juxtaposed with the terms in parentheses, but it is not part of the set $(x + y + z)$. In the same way, Allāh can be "found" in the expression of his creation, but he is not part of the same set, or genus. This principle is also a key to the paradox of divine unity because it demonstrates how God can be transcendently separate and immanently involved with his creation at the same time. "This is what is called Allāh," observes Ibn al-ʿArabī. God is the existence manifest in the forms associated with the sites of his manifestation, but he is not of their kind. In his essence, he is Necessary Being, whereas created possibilities are "necessary nonexistence" in their essences eternally (Ibn al-ʿArabī, 2002, p. 136).

SEE ALSO Attributes of God, article on Christian Concepts; Creeds, article on Islamic Creeds; Free Will and Predestination, article on Islamic Concepts; Kalám.

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GOD: AFRICAN SUPREME BEINGS

African supreme beings are spiritual beings or divinities who are as varied as the peoples of sub-Saharan Africa, the world's second largest continent after Asia. Belief in a supreme being is universal among most of the over sixty peoples of Africa. Supreme beings carry a distinct and unique quality in African cosmology as creators with all other supreme attributes in the theocentric universe. The nature, characters, and attributes of the African supreme being reflect indigenous religious orthodoxy prior to the introduction of, and in spite of, the influence of Christianity and Islam, and these qualities reflect the continuing diversity of the African peoples' traditional sociopolitical structures and languages within the current modern nation-states. The African supreme being is usually associated symbolically with the varieties of indigenous cultures of the peoples. The indigenous concepts and conceptions of most African supreme beings have been retained by the adherents of the religions that were introduced into Africa in the ritual practices and the translations of the sacred texts (Bible and Qurʾān) of those religious traditions.

BASIC COMMON VIEWS. The diversity of cultural forms and linguistic differences of Africans, notwithstanding the relationships of African supreme beings to the created order (including the human, spiritual, and other entities), reveal to a great extent a certain uniformity and similarity in the nature, attributes, and powers of the supreme beings.

Mythologies: creation and existence. The different groups of Africa have developed myths around their supreme beings' transcendence and immanence. Africans' perceptions towards supreme beings, though varying from one people to the other, express certain basic patterns that reflect African social organization and hierarchical structures, including relationships between elders and youths and humans' interconnections with natural phenomena. The three interrelated elemental dimensions—the sky, the earth, and the underworld (beneath the earth)—are believed to be peopled by different categories of spiritual and physical beings, and all are connected in certain relational ways to the supreme being.

Most mythic narratives of African peoples hold the supreme being responsible for the creation of their universe, including the earth and sky, human beings, and spiritual beings. In some sense, cosmogenic and cosmological myths serve the social and political functions in the diverse traditional political groups of African communities, particularly the ways in which different ethnic groups came into existence. Most of the myths affirm that the supreme being delegated to lesser spiritual beings the responsibility of creating the local universes of Africa, and the supreme being is always credited with the creation and allotting of what each community considers to be the essence of human beings (including destiny and predestination). Thus, the entire creation is held to be dependent upon the supreme being, who is acknowledged to be at the apex of the cosmic structure. This is the general notion on which rests the concept of an intermediary in African religion, which is also reflected in African social and political setting. Many of the myths are handed down through many generations. They are often told in traditional language by priests of indigenous religious traditions and by elders.

Names: ancient and descriptive. The names of African supreme beings reflect the different African language groups. Within some nation states there are more than 250 languages, as in Nigeria, within others more than one hundred, as in Tanzania, and within some others more than forty, as in Kenya. Most of these names are encoded in etymologies which describe the qualities and functions of such supreme beings. Generally, the names used for the supreme being of every African people are classifiable into two groups: the ancient or primary local names, and the descriptive or secondary names. Ancient or primary names are those that are generally used by older and elderly members of the communities. Examples are Olódùmarè of the Yoruba of Nigeria and Mulungu of the Bantu-speaking peoples of East Africa. Ancient names express the inexplicable nature, character, essence, and attributes of a being who is an almighty, all-powerful, ever-present creator, and who is supreme in all senses of supremacy. The unknowable character of gods' names illustrates power and secrecy beyond human imagination or conception. Although the meanings of the ancient names are not easily explained by common sense or etymological interpretation, due to nonusage over a long period of time, descriptive names have etymologies that express the perceived knowledge and living experiences of peoples in their mundane situations. Furthermore, the etymologies of the descriptive names divulge intrinsic and functional meanings and functional spatial locations which identify supreme beings with the nature of such locations.

The names of the supreme being generally reflect the nature of African universe and sociopolitical structure, and they describe the people's perception of their conditioned environment and the polarity of the supreme being. The names describe the benevolence and activities of the supreme being on the people's life experiences. Both the ancient and descriptive names of the supreme being, however, express an intrinsic reality of the supreme being. It is important to note that each African people also have local names, from which one is adopted for common use by the general public.

Attributes: being and expression. There is a close relationship between the conception of the traditional claims of historic religions and those of Africans concerning the attributes of the supreme being. The conceptions of African supreme beings are similar to those of most Western and Eastern religions with regards to Godly characteristics, which include omnipotence, omniscience, omnipresence, transcendence, immanence, benevolence, and so on. These attributes express a complex relationship between the supreme being and other entities, human and nonhuman, animate and inanimate, visible and invisible, material, and spiritual. However, the degrees by which each African people express their supreme being differ in intensity and quality, and these are expressed in the indigenous names which each African group gives their supreme being. Some supreme beings, and particularly divinities who serve as intermediaries of supreme beings, also exhibit certain human negative behavioral attributes such as anger and fury. These attributes are manifested in such natural occurrences as thunder, storm, wind, whirlwind, thick cloud, running streams, beaming oceans, and so on.

Relationship to spiritual and human beings and other cosmic entities. Cosmogenic and cosmological myths detail different levels of relationship between a supreme being and other entities. The relationship with other spiritual beings or deities is expressed in stories about the creation and maintenance of the universe. These deities in most cases play the role of intermediaries between the supreme being and human beings. As guardian agents of morality, they function to maintain an ontological equilibrium on behalf of the supreme being. Thus, in ritual practices, these spiritual beings who populate the physical universe are popular and influential among human beings but are limited in power. Some of the deities bear the ritual sacrifices to the supreme being as sacred meals of appeasement and restoration. The supreme being has a close relationship with natural phenomena such as trees, oceans and seas, mountains and hills, the sun and moon, rainbows, and so on. Nature and the natural as well as physical locations of these phenomena are generally noted to have an effect on the people's conception and description of the supreme being. Natural phenomena provide avenues for hierophanic appearances (manifestation of the divine) by the deities who manifest aspects of the supreme beings. Some natural phenomena also serve as altars on which sacred meals are displayed as sacrifices for the deities to feed on, and they possibly carry some of the sacrifices to the supreme being. Africans' attitude to natural phenomena and their recognition of the deities as intermediaries between them and the supreme being have strongly influenced the derogatory description of African religious traditions as polytheism and fetishism by early anthropologists as well as missionaries.

The moral aspect of the relationship of the supreme being to the African universe reveals the polarity of the being who is essentially good, and yet whose works of creation directly or indirectly lead to misfortunes, chaos, and crises. The polarity is often explained by the concepts of free will and determinism, by which the supreme being operates in the theocentric universe. This idea is variously expressed in African mythologies that the supreme being creates certain spiritual beings and deities to whom he delegates responsibility for creating other universal entities, including human beings.

In African cosmology, the relationship of the supreme being to human beings is crucial because it has moral implications for human and universal harmony. This is a continual relationship in the interminable process of creation, particularly as it provides for reincarnation, which depends upon the quality of life which an individual person lives as a human being in the universe. As in some Eastern religions, a person who lives a worthy life on earth is accepted into ancestral status, and a person who lives a degenerate life reincarnates into a lesser being such as an animal and plant. Africans do not hold their supreme beings directly responsible for imperfectness in creation, but they do attribute fault and imperfectness in creation to the deities who are involved in the process. African myths attempt to justify deities on the grounds that each represents an aspect of the supreme being, and as such they only serve to check human excesses, bring order to chaos, and maintain an ontological equilibrium in the universe, which has been desecrated by human beings. Thus, human beings are liable for their actions and must accept responsibility for the consequences of the choices they make in their lives.

Anthropomorphic descriptions. The African supreme being is described in anthropomorphic terms which reflect to great extent human biological and social functions such as fatherhood and motherhood, and human physical and domestic activities and cares. In all, the role of the supreme being is conceived as encompassing both masculine and feminine roles in a gendered African universe. Most African myths reveal that the African supreme being, after the first order of creation, either retreated or traveled to the high heavens where he resides. Such retreat or withdrawal is claimed to be a consequence of human beings' misbehavior or disobedience. It can be argued that, contrary to the unduly negative assessments of Western writers, the withdrawl of the supreme being does not indicate that Africans hold their supreme being as distant and unreachable, for they always acknowledge him, not only through the intermediaries but directly as well.

SUPREME BEINGS IN LOCAL GEOGRAPHICAL CONTEXTS. The supreme beings selected here for specific discussion do not represent the totality of the conceptions and imaginations of the numerous African groups; instead, they have been chosen because of the popularity that has been accorded them in academic study and scholarly writings and analysis. Secondly, most of them represent large populations of people who have regarded themselves as kingdoms, especially before the colonial partitioning efforts that led to the current modern states. The supreme beings that are discussed here are selected from various parts of Africa—East, West, Central, and southern Africa—where indigenous cultures still flourish as regards the notion of indigenous African supreme beings: Amma, Nyame, Ngewo, Olódùmarè, Osanobwa, Chukwu, Kwoth, Mulungu, Nzambi, Nhialic, Ndjambi, Ngai, and uNkulunkulu.

Amma. Amma is the supreme being of the Dogon people of Mali. The Dogon attributed the creation of everything in the world, including human beings, earth, stars and so on to Amma, the supreme being. However, the myth of these creations is complex and profound. The myth "serves to demonstrate the rich system of correspondences between the natural order, the social realm, and personal life" (Sproul 1979, p. 49).

According to Dogon mythology, Amma created the heavens and the earth. The creation is envisaged in several stages with the use of sacred "word" by Amma. The first stage was the creation of nature, the second was an attempt to redeem human beings. The third creation included the sacred granary (including the world order of creation) and the rum which is a primary method of communication and symbolic of verbal language and culture. Amma exists in the shape of an oval egg with four collarbones joined together to form four quarters. These quarters contain the four elements of earth, air, fire, and water.

The creation of human beings, summarized by James Thayer, came when Amma placed a seed within himself and spoke seven creative words which caused the seed to vibrate and to extend itself into the image of man. Amma produced a set of male and female twins by dividing the egg into a double placenta that he placed in each of the twins. The twins emanated directly from Amma, and are thus his children. Yurugu, the male twin, due to impatience, broke through the placenta in need of a female. Yurugu did this to replicate Amma's creation. As the placenta tore away, a piece of it became the earth. Yurugu could not find a mate and instead mated with the earth, thereby defiling the earth, which was actually his mother. Amma tried to restore the creation. He made another male twin, Nommo, and then created four other spirits from Nommo. These were the ancestors of the Dogon. Nommo and the ancestors came down to earth on an ark. The ark was filled with those materials that they would need for proper restoration and successful abode in the world. There came light and rain that would purify the earth. It was through Nommo and the ancestors that human beings, animals, and plants were created. The four other Nommo spirits who were created by Amma gave birth to the four divisions of the Dogon and to their social life. Amma transformed Yurugu into an animal, known as "pale fox," that wanders the earth in search of his female counterpart. The diviners use the signs of the "pale fox" that are left on the earth to interpret important events in the life of the Dogon people.

The effect of Yurugu's "incestuous behavior" resulted in darkness, sterility, and death. This was balanced, however, by partial restoration by Nommo who produced light, rain and fertility. Yurugu personifies the night and all those places that are uninhabitable, including dry lands.

Other sets of creation first invented by Amma included the sun and the moon, made through the process of pottery. Dogon myth states that the sun is a pot raised to white heat and surrounded by a spiral of red copper with eight turns. The moon is the same shape, but the copper is white. The moon was heated one quarter at a time. Amma "took a lump of clay, squeezed it in his hand and flung it from him just as he did with the stars. The clay spread and fell on the north, which is the top, and from there stretched out to the south, which is the bottom, of the world, . . . the earth lies flat, but the north is at the top. It extends east and west with separate members like a foetus in the womb. . . . Its sexual organ is an anthill, and its clitoris a termite hill. Amma being lonely and desirous of intercourse with this creature, approached it. That was the occasion of the first breach of the order of the universe" (Sproul, 1979, 50–51).

However, the termite hill did not allow the passage, and intercourse could not take place. But Amma is all-powerful. He cut down the termite hill and had intercourse with the excised earth. Subsequent intercourse with his earth-wife was easy. Water, the divine seed, was able to enter the womb of the earth, allowing a normal reproductive cycle that resulted in the birth of twins, two beings. The two beings were green in color, half human beings and half serpents who were called Nummo, two homogenous products of Amma, of divine essence like himself. These beings also produced the pair which were present in all water. The pair became the source of all human actions.

Nyame (Onyankopon, Onyame). Nyame is the most common and the principal name for the supreme deity of the Akan people of Ghana. The variations of this name among the Ga of Ghana are Nyonmo, Nyama, and Nyam, which have the same basic connotation and meaning. Other common names among the Akan that are related in etymological interpretation are Nyankopon and Onyankopon. *Nyame* derives from two Akan words, *nya*, meaning "to get," and *me,* meaning "to be full" or "to be satisfied." *Nyame* is thus interpreted to mean "if you possess or get him, you are satisfied." That is, Nyame can be interpreted as the god of fullness or god of satisfaction. The name is also said to be derivable from the root word *nyam*, which can mean "shining," "brightness," or "glory." In the Akans' worldview, all of these are attributes of the supreme being, but how the idea of the supreme being itself originated is unknown.

The Akan do not possess any systematic account of the process of creation of the universe. There is, however, a strong belief indicated in variants of myths that the creation is credited solely to the supreme being, whatever name it is called. Various accounts specify that the sky was created first, followed by the earth, rivers, waters, plants, and trees. After this came the creation of the first man, called Okane, and the first woman, called Kyeiwaa, as one myth tells. Okane and Kyeiwaa live in a cave. Nyame teaches the couple the names of all things he creates. In all the accounts, Nyame is acknowledged as the author, the creator of all things, hence his praise name Odomankoma and his title Borebore, which means "excavator," "hewer," "carver," "creator," "originator," "inventor," or "architect." The next stage is the creation of the animals. Nyame orders and provides a structure in the hierarchies for and utilities of the human, animal, and plant species. Nyame is also said to have some divinities who are called his children because they derive their essential origin from him. There are many proverbs, songs, and other oratures which support the Akans' belief in Nyame as the creator and author of all that exists, including those essential aspects of human life. In *The Akan Doctrine of God,* J. B. Danquah records a stanza from the Akan songs (which are usually played with a talking drum) that praises Nyame as the creator: "Odomankoma, / He created the Thing, / Hewer-out Creator, / He created the Thing, / What did he create? / He created Order, / He created Knowledge, / He created Death, / As its quintessence!" (Danquah, 1944, p. 70).

Ngewo. Ngewo is the name for the supreme being of the Mende people of Sierra Leone in West Africa. The derivative of the name Ngewo is vague. The probable etymology claims that the name derives from Ngele-woo, a combination of *ngele* (sky) and *woo* (long ago), which suggests "in the sky, from long ago." Another name for the supreme being among the Mende is Leve, which is said to be the much older name that is used almost exclusively by very old people. Leve means "the giver of chicken" or "high one."

As in some other African communities, Ngewo, the supreme being of the Mende is claimed to be the creator of the universe. The Mende conceive of Ngewo in masculine terms, that is, they regard him as their father. He is also described as being "high up," and at the same time ubiquitous. As the controller of the universe, whose ultimate authority is affirmed, the Mende attribute their well-being, victory over their enemies, retribution, and defense to Ngewo.

In their book *The Springs of Mende Belief and Conduct* (1968), William T. Harris and Harry Sawyerr present the myth of the creative power and activities of Ngewo. The myth tells of a long ago when Ngewo made the earth and all things in it, after which he made a man and a woman. The myth of the creation of the animals that populate the world is a fascinating one. It is claimed that before Ngewo was called by that name, he was once a very big or great spirit, living in a cave that had a door. His power and authority was so immense that all he said would come to pass. There came a day when he said to himself, "I have all this power, why don't I use it? I have lived alone for a long time with no one to talk to and no one to play with." He went to the entrance of the cave and said, "I want all kinds of animals to live with me in this cave." The animals came in pairs. He closed the door of the cave. After some time he called the animals together and gave them the rules that would continue to guide them, the violation of which would lead them to a terrible consequence. The first item of the law was on food. He said, "I will give you anything you want, food and everything else, but you must not touch my own food." The spirit looked at himself, the animals, and the cave, and he said "This cave is too small." As he turned himself around, the cave became very, very big. The animals became happy as their food also increased to the size of the room. Also, the spirit was happy as he had neighbors to talk to and play with.

The spirit and the animals usually had a very intimate rapport. The animals usually came to greet him. One day, one of the animals came to greet him. As the animal was approaching him, it smelled some sweet-smelling food, saw the food and took some and ate it. The spirit is very knowledgeable, very strict about his rules, and powerful. The animal mysteriously found itself in front of the spirit. The spirit then said, "What brought you here? You have violated my law." The spirit threw the animal from the cave and said, "You! From now on, your name is cow." Later another animal also ate the food and was thrown out. This animal the spirit named monkey. This continued until all the animals were given different names and were thrown out of the cave. This was the genesis of why and how all animals and men wander around the world to look for this sweet-smelling food.

The first man and woman who were created by the great spirit usually referred to him as Maada-le ("He is grandfather"). One day Ngewo addressed the two, saying, "Everything you ask me for, if you want it, you shall have it." Whenever they needed anything, including food, they went to him requesting, "*Maada*, give us this, or *Maada*, give us that." As he gave it, he would say, "*In ngee*" (Yes, take it.). However, Ngewo saw their constant coming and requesting from him as wearisome and troubling. This made him decide to leave them. He said to himself, "If I stay near these people they will wear me with their requests; I will make another living place for myself far above them." The people went to sleep one night. They woke up the next morning and looked about, but could not see him. As they lifted up their heads, they saw him Ngawongo waa, (spread out very big) which forms another possible etymology of the word for Ngewo, the supreme being.

The spirit decided to go up far above men and animals, where he is sitting, watching to see who will eat his food. This spirit was later called Ngewo. Although this myth does not reveal the beginning of human beings, the Mende hold Ngewo as their creator and controller of their universe. They pray to him. They regard ancestors as intermediaries between them and the supreme being.

Olódùmarè and Ọlọ́run. Olódùmarè is the supreme god of the Yoruba people, a highly urbanized society with large city-state kingdoms in southwestern Nigeria. The origin of the name has been difficult to decipher through etymologies, but Yoruba mythology and conception of this being describe the supreme being as almighty, the first being, and the creator of the world. Olódùmarè is the ancient name of the Yoruba supreme being. The other name that is commonly used and which etymologically identifies the supreme being with the creation and ownership of the universe and close relationship with the sky is Ọlọ́run (one who owns or resides in the sky).

Although Olódùmarè is the creator, he works through hundreds of *òrìṣà* (divinities or deities)—some myths say 201, some say 401, and some say 601. These *òrìṣà* are said to share of the essence of Olódùmarè. After creating the *òrìṣà*, Olódùmarè delegates some *òrìṣà* to create certain aspects of the universe and some to maintain the universe. This networking by Olódùmarè through the *òrìṣà* stabilizes the social and psychological spaces of the human life. Each *òrìṣà* has a different elemental province. Prominent among the *òrìṣà* who were delegated to create are Ọbàtáálà, Ọ̀rúnmìlà, Odùduwà, Ọ̀ṣun, and Òguń. There are others who manifest aspects of Olódùmarè in the maintenance of morality and orderliness in the world. Èṣù is regarded as the neutral force who supervises sacrifices; that is, the sacrifices that are prescribed to clients through divination. Èṣù carries the sacrifices to *Olódùmarè*.

To create the world, Olódùmarè supplies some dry soil, a five-toed hen, and a chameleon. Olódùmarè gives the dry soil to Obàtáálá to drop on the primordial watery surface in the world. The five-toed hen then spreads the soil on the watery surface. Another version of the myth states that Odùduwà has to complete the creation of the earth because Obàtáálá gets drunk on the way to the world. The five-toed hen does the work. The chameleon tests and confirms the habitability of the now-solid space, and the report pleases Olódùmarè. Obàtáálá is also assigned to mold the human being with clay, and Olódùmarè breathes life into the figure. Ọ̀rúnmìlà is the deputy of Olódùmarè on matters of knowledge and wisdom, which are understood in Yorùbá mythology to be intertwined with the concept of destiny. Destiny is said to be enclosed in the "inner spiritual head," which is molded by another divinity called Àjàlá. Every human being is given or chooses from the many molded heads when coming from heaven. In these heads are contained all that a human being will experience in life. This further illustrates the Yoruba concept of free will and determinism, which holds that God is not responsible for human calamities. Olódùmarè also commands sacrifices to alleviate human sufferings. The way that the interactions of human beings with Olódùmarè and deities are explained is that the deities that are involved in the processes of controlling human beings moderate the activities of human beings in the world. The ordering of sacrifices by Olódùmarè and his deities, and the performance or nonperformance of the sacrifices by human beings, explains the resolution of the complexities and paradoxes of human responsibility in the cosmos. The relationship of Olódùmarè to human beings is a continuous one, as a well-lived life qualifies a human being to enter into the ancestral world.

The nature, character, and emotions of Olódùmarè are manifested through such divinities as Òguń, Saǹgó, Ọ̀ṣun, Ọya, and several others. The divinities express the fury and anger of Olódùmarè, as Saǹgó does when he draws on thunder and lightning. They also give provision, providence, and protection, as the people demonstrate in thanksgiving with votive offerings in times of plenty and bountiful harvest, and in their prayers and petitions in times of adversity and need.

Osanobwa, or Osanobua. Osanobwa, or Osanobua, is the name of the supreme being of the Edo people of western Nigeria. The name is a contraction of four components: *Osa,* meaning "the source of all beings"; *N'o*, meaning "who" or "which"; *B'*, meaning "carries" or "sustains"; and *Wa* or *Uwa*, meaning "the world" or "the universe." Taken together, the name means "the source of all beings who carries and sustains the whole world or universe." To the Edo people, their god is the creator of the world and the absolute sustainer.

The creation account of the Edo people states that Osanobwa commissions two divinities who share some part of his essence as the "source being" to perform the creation of the earth. Osanowa is commissioned to create human beings and to continue to control the house or the township, whereas Osanoha is delegated to create animals of the bush and to rule over the place. Osanoha soon becomes jealous of Osanowa and plans to destroy his work. He builds a house and stores all kinds of diseases therein. When the creations of Osanowa, men and women, come from heaven down to earth, Osanoha causes a downpour of rain. The people look for shelter from the rain, and the only available place they find is the house built by Osanoha in which diseases are concealed. Unaware of the consequences (unfortunately for them), the people take shelter in the "disease" house of Osanoha, and this is how people carried various diseases into the world. This myth traces the origin of humans and animals to the supreme being as the source being.

Chukwu, or Chineke (Igbo of eastern Nigeria). Chukwu is the supreme being of the Igbo people in the eastern Nigeria. He is also called Chineke. The two names are commonly and interchangeably used in all parts of Igboland, although it is asserted that the names stem from different areas. Etymologically, *chi* in Igbo language can mean "source being" or "the source of being." It can also mean "spirit." Both *Chineke* and *Chukwu* are composed of *chi,* which has been accepted as the generic word for god; *Chineke* is *Chi* + *na* + *eke,* the "source being" + "that/who" + "creates," and *Chukwu* is *Chi* + *Ukwu*, the "source being" + "great," "immense," or "superlative." *Chukwu,* then, means "the great source being." Obasi is another, ancient name of the supreme being of the Igbo, but it is no longer in common use.

Chukwu is said to live away in the depths of the sky, but he is not really so distant, as he takes much interest in the affairs of human being. He is the creator and organizer of the universe. The Igbo people do not have any systematic account of the creation of the world, though the Igbo myth of creation states that Chukwu created the nature deities such as Anyanwu (Sun), Igwe or Amadioha (Sky), Ala (Earth), and so on. These deities are considered to be essential descendant powers of Chukwu; for instance, Anyanwu (Sun) is considered to be the son of emanation of Chukwu. Deities serve as messengers of Chukwu and usually are delegated to supervise different parts of the universe. The deities serve as the mediators between Chukwu and human beings. Chukwu creates a human spirit and gives him a *chi* (spirit that creates), which determines and dispenses the destiny of a person and protects and guards him. Chukwu controls the material world, offers the world new crops, and organizes the universe through the deities. For instance, it is Igwe who comes in the form of rain to fertilize Ala, his wife, to produce crops for human beings. Igwe also manifests the power and anger of Chukwu in thunderbolts and lightning to discover and punish undetected criminals.

It is important to note that there exist personal, family, and public altars of the supreme being among the Igbo, in contrast to most other African societies. People offer direct and regular sacrifices to Chukwu, as well as to deities in his behalf. Chukwu has several cult symbols, such as a tree planted in front of one's house. At the base of this tree is left broken pots and plates. P. Amaury Talbot succinctly describes the shrine of Chukwu thus: "The most common symbol of Chukwu is *Ogbu,* cotton, or *Awha* (or chi) tree, or sapling or a post, some four to six inches high, usually accompanied by round or flat stones, and a pot or pots, containing water and sometimes yellowwood, eggs, phallic chalk-cones round stones and palm-wine" (Talbot, 1926, p. 41).

Mulungu (Bantu and Sudanese of East Africa). Mulungu is the chief god of most Bantu-speaking peoples of East Africa: the Yao and Zimba of Malawi and Mozambique, the Kamba of Kenya, and the Gogo of Tanzania all recognize Mulungu as their supreme being. Also, the Swahili-speaking peoples of East and Central Africa use *Mungu* as the name of the supreme being. Variations of this name are *Muungu, Mungu, Murungu,* and *Mvungu. Mulungu* and its variations are claimed to be found in more than forty Bantu languages. It is said that *Mumbi*, which derives from a verb meaning "to create" or "to bring into existence," is an old name among the Bantu. These variations, which supposedly are due to different intonations by the several peoples, could be seen as insignificant in terms of the meanings and conceptions of the supreme being. *Mulungu* is a word of unknown origin, but it indicates the almighty and ever-present creator.

Mulungu is strongly associated with celestial phenomena, as the sky is said to be his abode, the thunder his voice, and the lightning his power. He rewards the good and punishes the wicked. As an instrument of displeasure and punishment, he uses drought. The common myth revolving around Mulungu relates to the creation of the world, the origins of death, the separation of heaven and earth, and the origin of man. Like most African creation myths, the Yao myth states that only Mulungu and the animals existed in the beginning. There was a day when chameleon, one of the animals, was fishing. He suddenly found in his net a pair of human beings, whom he referred to as unknown. He took the man and the woman to Mulungu, who instructed him (the chameleon) to take them out of the trap and put them down on the earth to grow. This was the first pair of human beings. Mulungu commanded the chameleon to raise the people and teach them the things they would begin to do including the ability to create fire. However, these human beings could not control the fire, and it raged across the earth and drove Mulungu away into the heavens through the rope which Spider spun for Mulungu. Mulungu still interacts with human being in their day-to-day affairs, however, particularly when human beings violate moral order. Mulungu is by nature benevolent. Although no formal cult is made for Mulungu and prayers are rarely directed to him, he is ruler and judge, omnipotent and omnipresent. Prayers are directed to lesser spirits who dwell on the earth to solicit and ensure their benevolence.

Nzambi. Nzambi (whose nickname is Mpungu) is the supreme being of the Bakongo people, a native tribe of the lower Congo River area. According to the Bakongo, Nzambi is the creator of men and all other things, including traditional medicine, which the people believe was given to the first inhabitants at the time of creation and passed on from generation to generation. The medicine is to be used for good, as expressed in their common saying that "if he had not given us our fetishes (*sic*), we should all be dead long ago." Nzambi is the sovereign master. He is inaccessible and unapproachable. He is believed by the people to have placed human beings here on earth, and he can take them away. As the creator, he is involved in the birth of every child.

Nzambi is invisible and very powerful. He watches a human being, searches him or her out everywhere, and takes him or her away, inexorably, whether young or old. Among the laws of the Bakongo are *nkondo mi Nzambi* (God's prohibitions), the violation of which constitutes a *sumu ku Nzambi* (sin against Nzambi), and an ordinary sanction of this is a *lufwa lumbi* (bad death). Thus, at the moral level, Nzambi is responsible for punishing violators of his prohibitions.

Nhialic. Nhialic, otherwise known as Jok ("spirit" or "power") is the supreme god of the Dinka people, a group numbering nearly four million in the southern Sudan region. Nhialic, which means "that which is above [in the sky]," is regarded as the greatest of the powerful and unseen superhuman forces and powers. He is referred to as creator and father. He is the giver of rain from the sky, where he resides. He is also described as the first ancestor of the people.

According to the Dinka myth of creation, Nhialic created the first people, whom he placed in a world of darkness. Nhialic was originally close to human beings, for the earth and the sky were very close to each other. Human beings could ascend to Nhialic freely by climbing a rope that connected them. Nhialic gave Garang and Abuk, the first humans, all the things that they wanted. Nhialic, however, gave instructions on how they should conduct themselves, including how much they could eat, where they could go, and the nature of human interpersonal relationships.

But one day, Abuk, the first woman, took a pestle to pound millet. Unfortunately, as she raised up the pestle she struck Nhialic, who then withdrew from the people by cutting the rope that connected him with them. This is what caused the separation of heaven and earth, and it marked the end of the golden age of Nhialic's direct protection of man, thus introducing work, suffering, and death.

Another version of Dinka myth states that the separation of heaven and earth was caused by Nhialic's refusal to yield to Aruu (Dawn), one of the ancestors, to make an opening in the world for people to see, so Aruu split the world in two with an ax, and the sky and the earth were divided to allow light to appear.

The influence of Nhialic on human lives is immense and noticeable, always affecting them for good or ill. Nhialic dispenses punishment to the wicked. Life and health are thought of as gifts attributable to Nhialic. The Dinka, who are mostly hunters, fishers, and subsistence farmers, make regular votive offerings to Nhialic in appreciation for recovery from illness, relief from famine, and success in hunting.

Kwoth. Kwoth, the supreme being of the Nuer of Republic of Sudan, is the concept on which the people's religion and worldview is centered. The etymology of Kwoth is taken from such actions as "blowing the embers of a fire; blowing into the uterus of a cow, while a *tulchan* is propped up before it, to make it give milk; the blowing out of air by the *bulyak* or puff fish . . . to blow on fire, to blow the nose, etc." (Evans-Pritchard, 1967, pp. 134–135). Evans-Pritchard claims that the Nuer conceive of Kwoth as being a pure spirit, a creative spirit. Basically, he is identified as Kwoth *nhial,* or *Kwoth a nhial,* meaning the spirit of the heavens or the spirit (who is) in the heavens. As the creator of material and nonmaterial entities, including custom and tradition, Kwoth is the first cause who provides the final explanation as an expression of ultimate rationality. That is, the meanings and origins of all that exist in the world are traced to him. Kwoth is both remote and far. He is both within and above the world. Although his exact nature is difficult to explain, he is said to be ubiquitous, and this is explained from the point of view of wind or air being present everywhere. He is comonly addressed as *gwandong,* a word that has been translated as "grandfather" or "ancestor," but which literally means "old father."

Kwoth plays a part in social and personal life. He judges human conduct, sanctioning right conduct and condemning wrong behaviors. Kwoth does this by rewarding a "righteous" person—one who does not violate the taboos of the land—with the good things of life. On the other hand, those who violate the taboos are inflicted with sickness. The gravity of the sickness is said to be the consequence of the seriousness of the taboo on the social order.

It is noted, as Evans-Pritchard remarks (1956, pp. 48–49), that the influence of Christianity and Islam on the Nuer does not affect their conception and perception of

Kwoth. The Nuer hold the view that Kwoth is the same supreme being as the Christian and Muslim God, only called by different names and communicated with in different manners. But the Nuer have a different attitude toward Kwoth when compared with believers in the Christian and Muslim God. They regard Kwoth as their father and friend, even though he punishes human beings.

The Nuer offer both public and private prayers. Apart from the corporate expression of belief in the reality of this supreme being, particularly in ritual prayers, individual dependence on God is expressed in spontaneous prayers, sometimes spoken aloud and sometimes unspoken. Evans-Pritchard's perception of the people's dependence on Kwoth is that of an "intimate, personal, relationship between man and God. This is apparent . . . in their habit of making short supplications at any time. This is a very noticeable trait of Nuer piety." (Evans-Pritchard, 1956, p. 317).

Ndjambi. Ndjambi is the supreme being of the Herero of the Bantu tribe of southwest Africa. He is also known as Karunga by the Ovambo, the neighboring tribe of the Herero. Ndjambi is said to reside in heaven. He is principally regarded as the giver of rain, and his voice is claimed to be clearly heard at the rising of the clouds. There is a great reverence for the name *Ndjambi*, which is not expected to be uttered. His most striking attribute is kindness, and human successes, achievements, and blessings are attributed to him. However, the worship of Ndjambi is not given any cultic form.

Ngai. Ngai, sometimes written as Mogai, is regarded as the supreme being, the Creator, and the giver of all things to the Kikuyu îGikuyuï, Masaai, and Kamba peoples of the Kenya Highlands of East Africa. Ngai's abode is the sky, but his special dwelling place on earth is Mount Kenya, called Kere-Nyaga (mountain of brightness). People face the mount whenever they pray, asking their ancestors for any kind of help. He also visits several places on earth where he makes a temporarily abode. These places are regarded as resting places of Ngai whenever he comes to carry out a "general inspection" among his people. During such inspection tours, he brings blessings and punishment to people, according to their behavior.

Unlike the supreme being of many other African communities, Ngai is approached with prayers and sacrifices that are traditionally offered to him on those special places where he is said to dwell. Certain big and large trees, which are regarded as sacred, are often chosen as places of prayer and sacrifice to Ngai. There are also four sacred mountains at the four cardinal directions of Kenya. Prayers and sacrifices are offered, particularly in moments of communal crisis and disaster, such as drought and epidemic, and for communal needs, such as planting, harvesting, and rites of passage. Prayers are usually accompanied by offering and animal sacrifice. Home-brewed beer and milk are offered to Ngai. These are consumed by the elders, prepubescent children, and postmenopausal women who attend the sacrifice, and a portion is burned on the fire for Ngai.

Ngai is invoked by chiefs or elders on behalf of the community or, in extreme cases, for personal need or distress. Ngai is approached only after lesser spiritual powers, including the ancestors, have been tried and found wanting. This level of relationship reflects the traditional social and political hierarchical structure and pattern of the Kikuyu society when societal problems or disputes are being resolved.

UNkulunkulu. The development of uNkulunkulu as a supreme deity among the Zulu people, a large ethnic group in South Africa, is shrouded in mystery. The name *uNkulunkulu*, from the Zulu language, is a contraction of words in which a superlative adjective is repeated: *uNkulunkulu* translates as "great, great one" or "old, old one." However, from what one can infer from the Zulu traditional myth on the development of the name, uNkulunklulu appears as a mystical figure. He is also called *Mvelinqangi,* meaning "the first outcomer." The Zulu regard Mvelinqangi as the ancestor of all. Although one oral tradition identifies uNkulunkulu with uThlanga, who is at the same time a man and a woman, the most common myth among the people holds that he is the first man. This myth suggests that uNkulunkulu appears from, or is created by, the breaking off of reeds, or that he comes out of, or breaks off from, a bed of reeds.

UNkulunkulu is "the first outcomer" human being, "the first man," and "the ancestor of all," and all humans are said to be derived from him. His status as the supreme deity and creator among the Zulu may have been occasioned by the influence of Christian missionaries' search for an equivalent of their biblical God; otherwise, uNkulunkulu is merely an early ancestral figure of the Zulu. However, there have been no known descendants from oral histories, narratives, and communal or corporate rituals from which uNkulunkulu could be traced. The Zulu believe that uNkulunkulu is the creator of human beings, that he gives them their social institutions such as marriage and chieftainship, and that he gives them spirits, diviners who would reveal the hidden things of the past and future, and doctors who would treat various diseases among the people.

WORSHIP. Although there is universality of belief in a supreme being among most African peoples, it is correctly asserted that there is no formal worship accorded the being and no organized cults or great temples built for him in most African communities. However, most popular myths about the supreme being express that he is a reality to many people. Most of the myths state that the sky is his dwelling place, which was once much nearer to the earth. Generally speaking, the worship of the supreme being is done through his many intermediaries, who bear aspects of his nature and characters.

Because the supreme being of most African communities is claimed to have his abode or seat in the sky, individual

Names of Notable Supreme Beings in Africa

Names of Supreme Being(s)	Meanings/Identity	Peoples	Location(s)
Morimo	Creator	Ndebele	Botswana
Naawum	Heaven; Creator of the world; Ultimate cause of everything that happens	Tallensi	Burkina Faso
Imana	Maker of all things	Hutu	Burundi
Kalumba		Luba	Congo
*Mulungu (Muungu, Murungu)	Supreme Deity, Judge, Ruler; Creator, god of storms and rain,;formless	Bantu-speaking	East Africa
		Karimojong	Ethiopia
Mawu, Nyame, Onyankopon	Supreme Deity	Ewe, Fon	Ghana
Nyonmo, Nyama, Nyam	Creator	Ga	Ghana
Odomankoma	That which is uninterruptedly, infinitely and exclusively full of grace." His capacity as creator is called *Odomankoma*	Akan and Ga	Ghana
Nana Buluku	Great Ancient Deity, Creator	Ewe-speaking people of Ghana; Fon of Dahomey	Ghana and Dahomey
**Nyame, Onyankopon, Onyame*	The great being of fullness or of satisfaction; the bright, glorious God of the heaven and earth who is before and gabo ve all things	Akan	Ghana, Ivory Coast, Twi and Ashanti
**Ngai*	Creator, Giver of all things	Kikuyu (Gikuyu), Masaai, and Kamba peoples of Kenya highlands of East Africa	Kenya
Molimo (Modimo)	Light, Protector, Father	Basuto	Lesotho
Nzambi	The Sovereign Master, unapproachable, sustainer of the universe and human beings	Bakongo	Lower Congo River area
**Amma*	Supreme god	Dogon	Mali
Mulungu		Swazi	Mozambique
Ndjambi, Karunga,	Heavenly Being	Herero (Bantu)	Namibia (South-West Africa)
Soko	Great or Supreme Deity that resides in heaven	Nupe	Nigeria
Aondo	The great unknown above, or the power above (skyey heaven) that creates and rules all things	Tiv	Nigeria
Temearau	She who creates and sustains all things	Ijo	Nigeria
Ọbasẹ wạ odeen		Yakurr	Nigeria (Cross River State)
Abasi Ibom	Creator, Greatest God who lives above the earth, governor of all	Ibibio	Nigeria (East)
Osanobwa, Osanobua	Creator and absolute sustainer of the universe	Edo	Nigeria (Mid-west)
*Olodumare; Olorun	Almighty Being; Owner of heaven	Yoruba	Nigeria (West)
Chukwu, Chineke	Great Spirit that creates	Igbo	Nigeria (East)
Akongo	Supreme spirit, the creator of the universe, the moulder of human beings like a potter; Beginner, Unending, Almighty, Inexplicable	Ngombe	Republic of Congo
Unkulunkulu, Mwali (Mwari)			Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)
Imana	Maker of all things, creator	Tusi	Rwanda
Ngewo, Leve	Creator, Eternal one who rules from the above. Leve is used by old people. This suggests that Leve is an ancient name of their Supreme Being.	Mende	Sierra Leone
Meketa, Yataa	One who was in existence long ago before anyone met him or before he was revealed to men; the great one. Meketa is the ancient name, not used in everyday language	Kono	Sierra Leone

(continued)

TABLE 1.

Names of Notable Supreme Beings in Africa (continued)

Names of Supreme Being(s)	Meanings/Identity	Peoples	Location(s)
**uNkulunkulu*	Great, Great One, Old, Old One; Ancient of days, creator of all things, ancestor of men	Zulu	South Africa
Kalunga	Supreme Spirit	Ovambo	South Africa
**Kwoth*	Creator, Spirit of the sky	Nuer	Sudan
**Nhialic, or Jok (Juok, Juong),*	Creator, father	Dinka	Sudan (Southern Sudan)
Mkulumncandi, Umkhulumncandi			Swaziland
Engai		Arusha	Tanzania
Katonda	Greater of all things in existence, creator and moulder of human beings	Baganda	Uganda
Adronga	Creator, Spirit in the sky and in the stream	Lugbara	Uganda and Belgian Congo
Dondari		Fulani	West Africa
Muluku (Vidye Muluku)	Great Lord, first ancestor	Baluba	Zaire
Chiuta, Lesa, Mulungu, Nyambe	The Great One of the bow (rainbow), Controller, Organiser	Tumbuka	Zambia
Bumba		Bashongo	Zambia
Leza	First Cause, creator of all, heat and cold, famine and disease, Moulder, Constructor	Tonga	Zambia, Tanzania, Upper Congo

Table courtesy of the author

and communal prayers are offered to him facing the sky or a special place considered to possess his divine presence—usually "high up." Generally, no temples are built or priests specifically initiated to serve in the worship of the supreme being. Ubiquitous in nature, no permanent settlement is constructed for him, nor is he localized. Thus, to the Africans, the sky is the face of God. However, among the Ashanti of Ghana there are temples of Nyame where priests serve as attendants, and the Dogon have group altars for Amma, at which the village chief officiates. A few other African peoples have cults for their supreme beings where they organize special and communal ceremonies. At crucial moments and times of crisis when deities or ancestors who serve as intermediaries fail, appeal is made to the supreme being, who is regarded as the highest authority. Certain symbols are also used to depict the characters of God and to express the people's need for such symbolic intervention at moments of need.

EARLY STUDIES AND CONTEMPORARY APPROPRIATION/ADOPTION. Much has been documented and cited of the impressions of explorers, anthropologists, and Christian missionaries of Africans' conceptions and perceptions of their supreme beings. Notable among early non-African commentators and writers on African religions include David Livingstone (1813–1873), Henry M. Stanley (1841–1904), Emil Ludwig, and Leo Frobenius (1873–1938). Their works represent the wide range of misconceptions about African religious worldviews, particularly the idea of the supreme being. These misconceptions later formed the basis for, and were propagated in, the scholarly works of Sir James Frazer (1854–1941), Émile Durkheim (1858–1917), and Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (1857–1939). The effect of the misconceptions on early African converts to Christianity were immense, for the Africans internalized the obnoxious labels of *paganism* and *heathenism.* The labeling came from Christian evangelists who demonized aspects of African indigenous cultures and practices (e.g., food and fruit items, music and drums, dress and dressing patterns, indigenous rites of passage) that were associated and connected with the Africans' ideas, beliefs, and worship, particularly regarding the worship of a supreme being.

Sir Samuel Baker, in his lecture to the Ethnological Society of London in 1866 (as cited in Eric O. Ayisi's *An Introduction to the Study of African Culture*), said that "without any exception, they [the Northern Nilotes, and indeed Africans in general] are without a belief in a supreme being. Neither have they any form of worship nor idolatry nor is the darkness of their minds enlightened by even a ray of superstition" (Ayisi, 1980, p. 72). Leo Frobenius, in *The Voice of Africa* (1913) made a similar submission, while giving credence to Islamic civilization in Africa: "Before the introduction of a genuine faith and a higher standard of culture by the Arabs, the natives had neither political organization, nor, strictly spoken, any religion, nor any industrial development" (p. 1f). The often and popularly cited questions of Emil Ludwig (cited by Edward Geoffrey Parrinder in *African Traditional Religion*) strongly expressed the same negative impression when he exclaimed "How can the untutored African conceive of God? How can this be? Deity is a philosophical concept which savages are incapable of forming" (Parrinder, 1962, p. 9).

However, African indigenous scholars and a few non-African scholars of African religions who have taken painstaking steps to study African traditional religion have challenged the misleading and erroneous assertions of the early scholars. The symposium *African Ideas of God* was an excellent exploration and breakthrough exercise that established the fact that most African peoples have had a belief in a supreme being as part of their worldview and religious praxis. Since 1950, when the symposium was published into a volume, many books and several articles have been written by African authors in support of the African belief in a spiritual being. Most prominent among these scholars are E. Bolaji Idowu, John S. Mbiti, Edward Geoffrey Parrinder, J. Omosade Awolalu and P. Adelumo Dopamu, and Jacob K. Olupona. They observed that long before their contact with Europeans and Arabs, Africans had developed a variety of distinct social institutions, political structures, cultures, and languages that were a product of their indigenous religious worldview, which had its basis in the belief in a supreme being. Understandably, however, the uncodified form of religious doctrines as well as the practical expression of religious life of the Africans (which developed from the respect and humility with which African sociopolitical and civil life is built) did not allow the early observers to objectively assess Africans' perception of the supreme being.

Conversion to Christianity and Islam, and the civilizing and proselytizing effects of this conversion, contributed to the demonizing process of African concepts of the supreme being, though it also strongly supported the view that Africans had, and still have, a belief in one supreme being, as can be seen in indigenous translations of the Bible and the Holy Qurʾān. These sacred texts use any or all of the indigenous names of African supreme beings described earlier as ancient or descriptive. For instance, among the Yoruba people of Nigeria, the Bible uses the word "Olórun" for God, "Olúwa" for Lord, and "Olódùmarè" for Almighty; the Yoruba version of the Qurʾān uses "Olórun" for Allah, and Olórun is found in day-to-day usage. Despite the deep-rooted seating of Islam among the Swahili people, Mulungu and its dialectal variations (Murungu, Mluku, Mulunguo, Muunguo) are used, and the indigenous names for the supreme being are mostly used instead of Allah. Mulungu is also adopted as the Christian equivalent for God.

With the emergence of the group of independent churches in Africa, there has been a heightened level of appropriation and adoption of indigenous belief systems and Christian tradition. The reason for this is that these churches operate within the indigenous worldview and religious sensibility, using indigenous languages that are full of metaphors and colors that appeal to people's imagination and sensitivity.

Scholars' use of the incorrect nomenclature to describe and define African supreme beings can be seen as a consequence of a lack of adequate knowledge of Africans' worldviews and languages. Early scholars had described these supreme beings as *deus absconditus* (withdrawn god) and *deus otiosus* (lazy god), both of which leave the world of human beings after creating the world. Polytheism—another term used by early Western scholars and early scholars on African religious traditions—is obvious in African religion, but it does not erode the position of the supreme being or African belief in it, because the supreme being is regarded as the finality of their life in thought and expression. Most African peoples regard their supreme being as the source being, creator, preserver, sustainer, and chief—as a sort of creative energy, the first ancestor who supervises all human and spiritual affairs and who operates a systematic structure. The supreme being is associated with lesser deities, ancestors, spirits, human beings, and natural phenomena. He involves all in the creation, maintenance, and administration of the universe. The African supreme being's association with other spiritual beings, human beings, and natural phenomena, and his involving them in the maintenance and administration of the universe, provides a complexity in the comparative analysis of the definitions and attributes of the African supreme being with the Christian-Muslim God. While Africans have a strong conception of the supreme being, they use a different definition and different attributes, which are directed toward finding meanings to, and explanations of, events, and toward seeking control over human affairs. The processes through which explanation, prediction, and control of human affairs are sought and achieved are explained by the practical involvement of human beings and spiritual agents responsible to the supreme being, who has the ultimate control of the universe.

The current shift in African beliefs and religious conceptions about the supreme being shows the dynamic nature, resilience, and integrative capability of African religion and culture to adapt, adopt, and appropriate other traditions. This ability is found both within and outside Africa, in places like Europe and many parts of the Americas, such as Cuba and Brazil, where African religious traditions have made inroads and are flourishing.

SEE ALSO African Religions, overview article; Cosmology, article on African Cosmologies.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED IN THIS WORK

abbr. abbreviated; abbreviation
abr. abridged; abridgment
AD *anno Domini,* in the year of the (our) Lord
Afrik. Afrikaans
AH *anno Hegirae,* in the year of the Hijrah
Akk. Akkadian
Ala. Alabama
Alb. Albanian
Am. *Amos*
AM *ante meridiem,* before noon
amend. amended; amendment
annot. annotated; annotation
Ap. *Apocalypse*
Apn. *Apocryphon*
app. appendix
Arab. Arabic
ʿArakh. *ʿArakhin*
Aram. Aramaic
Ariz. Arizona
Ark. Arkansas
Arm. Armenian
art. article (pl., arts.)
AS Anglo-Saxon
Asm. Mos. *Assumption of Moses*
Assyr. Assyrian
A.S.S.R. Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
Av. Avestan
ʿA.Z. *ʿAvodah zarah*
b. born
Bab. Babylonian
Ban. Bantu
1 Bar. *1 Baruch*
2 Bar. *2 Baruch*
3 Bar. *3 Baruch*
4 Bar. *4 Baruch*
B.B. *Bavaʾ batraʾ*
BBC British Broadcasting Corporation
BC before Christ
BCE before the common era
B.D. Bachelor of Divinity
Beits. *Beitsah*
Bekh. *Bekhorot*
Beng. Bengali
Ber. *Berakhot*
Berb. Berber
Bik. *Bikkurim*
bk. book (pl., bks.)
B.M. *Bavaʾ metsiʿaʾ*
BP before the present
B.Q. *Bavaʾ qammaʾ*
Brāh. *Brāhmaṇa*
Bret. Breton
B.T. Babylonian Talmud
Bulg. Bulgarian
Burm. Burmese
c. *circa,* about, approximately
Calif. California
Can. Canaanite
Catal. Catalan
CE of the common era
Celt. Celtic
cf. *confer,* compare
Chald. Chaldean
chap. chapter (pl., chaps.)
Chin. Chinese
C.H.M. Community of the Holy Myrrhbearers
1 Chr. *1 Chronicles*
2 Chr. *2 Chronicles*
Ch. Slav. Church Slavic
cm centimeters
col. column (pl., cols.)
Col. *Colossians*
Colo. Colorado
comp. compiler (pl., comps.)
Conn. Connecticut
cont. continued
Copt. Coptic
1 Cor. *1 Corinthians*
2 Cor. *2 Corinthians*
corr. corrected
C.S.P. Congregatio Sancti Pauli, Congregation of Saint Paul (Paulists)
d. died
D Deuteronomic (source of the Pentateuch)
Dan. Danish
D.B. Divinitatis Baccalaureus, Bachelor of Divinity
D.C. District of Columbia
D.D. Divinitatis Doctor, Doctor of Divinity
Del. Delaware
Dem. *Demaʾi*
dim. diminutive
diss. dissertation
Dn. *Daniel*
D.Phil. Doctor of Philosophy
Dt. *Deuteronomy*
Du. Dutch
E Elohist (source of the Pentateuch)
Eccl. *Ecclesiastes*
ed. editor (pl., eds.); edition; edited by

ʿEduy. *ʿEduyyot*
e.g. *exempli gratia,* for example
Egyp. Egyptian
1 En. *1 Enoch*
2 En. *2 Enoch*
3 En. *3 Enoch*
Eng. English
enl. enlarged
Eph. *Ephesians*
ʿEruv. *ʿEruvin*
1 Esd. *1 Esdras*
2 Esd. *2 Esdras*
3 Esd. *3 Esdras*
4 Esd. *4 Esdras*
esp. especially
Est. Estonian
Est. *Esther*
et al. *et alii,* and others
etc. *et cetera,* and so forth
Eth. Ethiopic
EV English version
Ex. *Exodus*
exp. expanded
Ez. *Ezekiel*
Ezr. *Ezra*
2 Ezr. *2 Ezra*
4 Ezr. *4 Ezra*
f. feminine; and following (pl., ff.)
fasc. fascicle (pl., fascs.)
fig. figure (pl., figs.)
Finn. Finnish
fl. *floruit,* flourished
Fla. Florida
Fr. French
frag. fragment
ft. feet
Ga. Georgia
Gal. *Galatians*
Gaul. Gaulish
Ger. German
Giṭ. *Giṭṭin*
Gn. *Genesis*
Gr. Greek
Ḥag. *Ḥagigah*
Ḥal. *Ḥallah*
Hau. Hausa
Hb. *Habakkuk*
Heb. Hebrew
Heb. *Hebrews*
Hg. *Haggai*
Hitt. Hittite
Hor. *Horayot*
Hos. *Hosea*
Ḥul. *Ḥullin*
Hung. Hungarian
ibid. *ibidem,* in the same place (as the one immediately preceding)
Icel. Icelandic
i.e. *id est,* that is
IE Indo-European
Ill. Illinois
Ind. Indiana
intro. introduction
Ir. Gael. Irish Gaelic
Iran. Iranian
Is. *Isaiah*
Ital. Italian
J Yahvist (source of the Pentateuch)
Jas. *James*
Jav. Javanese
Jb. *Job*
Jdt. *Judith*
Jer. *Jeremiah*
Jgs. *Judges*
Jl. *Joel*
Jn. *John*
1 Jn. *1 John*
2 Jn. *2 John*
3 Jn. *3 John*
Jon. *Jonah*
Jos. *Joshua*
Jpn. Japanese
JPS Jewish Publication Society translation (1985) of the Hebrew Bible
J.T. Jerusalem Talmud
Jub. *Jubilees*
Kans. Kansas
Kel. *Kelim*
Ker. *Keritot*
Ket. *Ketubbot*
1 Kgs. *1 Kings*
2 Kgs. *2 Kings*
Khois. Khoisan
Kil. *Kilʾayim*
km kilometers
Kor. Korean
Ky. Kentucky
l. line (pl., ll.)
La. Louisiana
Lam. *Lamentations*
Lat. Latin
Latv. Latvian
L. en Th. Licencié en Théologie, Licentiate in Theology
L. ès L. Licencié ès Lettres, Licentiate in Literature
Let. Jer. *Letter of Jeremiah*
lit. literally
Lith. Lithuanian
Lk. *Luke*
LL Late Latin
LL.D. Legum Doctor, Doctor of Laws
Lv. *Leviticus*
m meters
m. masculine
M.A. Master of Arts
Ma ʿas. *Maʿaserot*
Ma ʿas. Sh. *Maʿ aser sheni*
Mak. *Makkot*
Makh. *Makhshirin*
Mal. *Malachi*
Mar. Marathi
Mass. Massachusetts
1 Mc. *1 Maccabees*
2 Mc. *2 Maccabees*
3 Mc. *3 Maccabees*
4 Mc. *4 Maccabees*
Md. Maryland
M.D. Medicinae Doctor, Doctor of Medicine
ME Middle English
Meg. *Megillah*
Me ʿil. *Meʿilah*
Men. *Menaḥot*
MHG Middle High German
mi. miles
Mi. *Micah*
Mich. Michigan
Mid. *Middot*
Minn. Minnesota
Miq. *Miqvaʾot*
MIran. Middle Iranian
Miss. Mississippi
Mk. *Mark*
Mo. Missouri
Moʿed Q. *Moʿed qaṭan*
Mont. Montana
MPers. Middle Persian
MS. *manuscriptum,* manuscript (pl., MSS)
Mt. *Matthew*
MT Masoretic text
n. note
Na. *Nahum*
Nah. Nahuatl
Naz. *Nazir*
N.B. *nota bene,* take careful note
N.C. North Carolina
n.d. no date
N.Dak. North Dakota
NEB New English Bible
Nebr. Nebraska

Ned. *Nedarim*
Neg. *Negaʿim*
Neh. *Nehemiah*
Nev. Nevada
N.H. New Hampshire
Nid. *Niddah*
N.J. New Jersey
Nm. *Numbers*
N.Mex. New Mexico
no. number (pl., nos.)
Nor. Norwegian
n.p. no place
n.s. new series
N.Y. New York
Ob. *Obadiah*
O.Cist. Ordo Cisterciencium, Order of Cîteaux (Cistercians)
OCS Old Church Slavonic
OE Old English
O.F.M. Ordo Fratrum Minorum, Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)
OFr. Old French
Ohal. *Ohalot*
OHG Old High German
OIr. Old Irish
OIran. Old Iranian
Okla. Oklahoma
ON Old Norse
O.P. Ordo Praedicatorum, Order of Preachers (Dominicans)
OPers. Old Persian
op. cit. *opere citato,* in the work cited
OPrus. Old Prussian
Oreg. Oregon
ʿOrl. *ʿOrlah*
O.S.B. Ordo Sancti Benedicti, Order of Saint Benedict (Benedictines)
p. page (pl., pp.)
P Priestly (source of the Pentateuch)
Pa. Pennsylvania
Pahl. Pahlavi
Par. *Parah*
para. paragraph (pl., paras.)
Pers. Persian
Pes. *Pesahim*
Ph.D. Philosophiae Doctor, Doctor of Philosophy
Phil. *Philippians*
Phlm. *Philemon*
Phoen. Phoenician
pl. plural; plate (pl., pls.)
PM *post meridiem,* after noon
Pol. Polish
pop. population
Port. Portuguese
Prv. *Proverbs*
Ps. *Psalms*
Ps. 151 *Psalm 151*
Ps. Sol. *Psalms of Solomon*
pt. part (pl., pts.)
1Pt. *1 Peter*
2 Pt. *2 Peter*
Pth. Parthian
Q hypothetical source of the synoptic Gospels
Qid. *Qiddushin*
Qin. *Qinnim*
r. reigned; ruled
Rab. *Rabbah*
rev. revised
R. ha-Sh. *Roʾsh ha-shanah*
R.I. Rhode Island
Rom. Romanian
Rom. *Romans*
R.S.C.J. Societas Sacratissimi Cordis Jesu, Religious of the Sacred Heart
RSV Revised Standard Version of the Bible
Ru. *Ruth*
Rus. Russian
Rv. *Revelation*
Rv. Ezr. *Revelation of Ezra*
San. *Sanhedrin*
S.C. South Carolina
Scot. Gael. Scottish Gaelic
S.Dak. South Dakota
sec. section (pl., secs.)
Sem. Semitic
ser. series
sg. singular
Sg. *Song of Songs*
Sg. of 3 *Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men*
Shab. *Shabbat*
Shav. *Shavuʿot*
Sheq. *Sheqalim*
Sib. Or. *Sibylline Oracles*
Sind. Sindhi
Sinh. Sinhala
Sir. *Ben Sira*
S.J. Societas Jesu, Society of Jesus (Jesuits)
Skt. Sanskrit
1 Sm. *1 Samuel*
2 Sm. *2 Samuel*
Sogd. Sogdian
Soṭ. *Soṭah*
sp. species (pl., spp.)
Span. Spanish
sq. square
S.S.R. Soviet Socialist Republic
st. stanza (pl., ss.)
S.T.M. Sacrae Theologiae Magister, Master of Sacred Theology
Suk. *Sukkah*
Sum. Sumerian
supp. supplement; supplementary
Sus. *Susanna*
s.v. *sub verbo,* under the word (pl., s.v.v.)
Swed. Swedish
Syr. Syriac
Syr. Men. *Syriac Menander*
Taʿ an. *Taʿanit*
Tam. Tamil
Tam. *Tamid*
Tb. *Tobit*
T.D. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō,* edited by Takakusu Junjirō et al. (Tokyo,1922–1934)
Tem. *Temurah*
Tenn. Tennessee
Ter. Terumot
Ṭev. Y. *Ṭevul yom*
Tex. Texas
Th.D. Theologicae Doctor, Doctor of Theology
1 Thes. *1 Thessalonians*
2 Thes. *2 Thessalonians*
Thrac. Thracian
Ti. *Titus*
Tib. Tibetan
1 Tm. *1 Timothy*
2 Tm. *2 Timothy*
T. of 12 *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*
Ṭoh. *ṭohorot*
Tong. Tongan
trans. translator, translators; translated by; translation
Turk. Turkish
Ukr. Ukrainian
Upan. *Upaniṣad*
U.S. United States
U.S.S.R. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Uqts. *Uqtsin*
v. verse (pl., vv.)
Va. Virginia
var. variant; variation
Viet. Vietnamese

viz. *videlicet,* namely
vol. volume (pl., vols.)
Vt. Vermont
Wash. Washington
Wel. Welsh
Wis. Wisconsin
Wis. *Wisdom of Solomon*
W.Va. West Virginia
Wyo. Wyoming
Yad. *Yadayim*
Yev. *Yevamot*
Yi. Yiddish
Yor. Yoruba
Zav. *Zavim*
Zec. *Zechariah*
Zep. *Zephaniah*
Zev. *Zevaḥim*

* hypothetical
? uncertain; possibly; perhaps
° degrees
+ plus
– minus
= equals; is equivalent to
× by; multiplied by
→ yields

COMMUNITY

Images and the visual practices that put them to work contribute significantly to the experience of those social and cultural groupings that structure human life. Clan, tribe, ancestors, congregation, family, ethnic group, race, and nation are only some of the many shared orders of social life. These forms of association configure the loyalties, obligations, and affiliations, as well as the aversions and oppositions, that shape individual and collective identity. The creation, display, gifting, veneration, ritual observation, and destruction of images all can help perform group solidarity and signal individual status within the group.

In the manner of open-ended advertisements, some images broadcast identity in a way that situates an individual or family within a larger public setting, such as a domicile in central Ethiopia **(a)**, which displays murals painted by the Protestant owner of the home. In this instance, the murals announce the particular nature of the homeowner's faith. Images are also used to promote the interests of a particular clan and its social intentions. The Shintō figure of a goddess **(b)**, which also represents a court figure, belonged to a shrine ensemble that was typically installed by a clan with the aim of elevating its standing and even as a way of serving its political ambitions. Royal and noble patronage of the visual arts accounts for much of the world's finest art, and much of this was created to broadcast status or curry

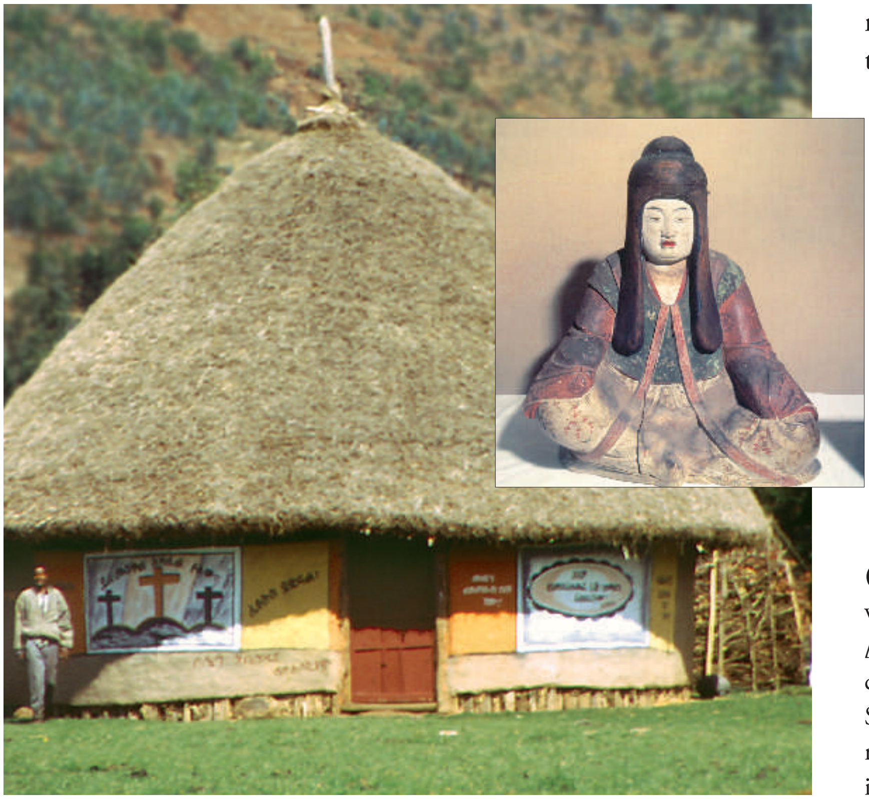

(a) *Tukul* (thatched hut) in Hossana, Ethiopia, with murals painted by the Protestant owner. *[Photograph by David Morgan]* **(b)** **Inset.** A tenth-century carved and painted wood statue of the Shintō goddess Nakatsu Hime Zo, wearing the robes of a court lady, from the Hachimangu Shrine in Nara, Japan. *[©Werner Forman/Art Resource, N.Y.]*

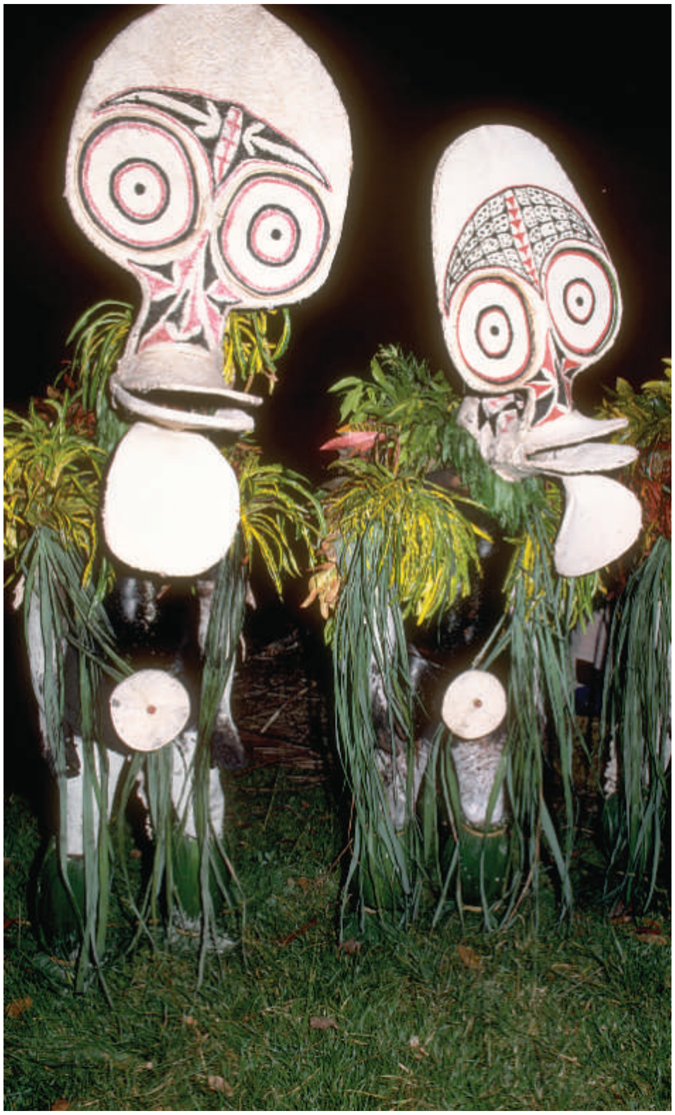

(c) Above. Masks (*kavat sowelmot*) worn by young Uramot Baining men moving to a higher level of social status, bark cloth, wood, fiber, pigment, Gazelle Peninsula, New Britain. *[©Wolfgang Kaehler/Corbis]*

support of the priestly or monastic classes, the devout laity, or the gods themselves.

Images are often what members of a group physically share with each other as members. Some objects and images orchestrate people's relationship to one another. The Uramot Baining people of Melanesia initiate young men into higher grade levels of age by using masks, such as the animated tree fork shown here **(c)**, which represents a natural configuration used in dwellings, and therefore is something whose power consists of its operation in two domains—nature and culture—which power the mask can deploy to disrupt the cultural order, dislodging a youth to move him to another social status. An ancestor figure **(d)** from Papua New Guinea represents an important predecessor who is accompanied by animals that are the clan totems associated with the ancestor. This carving was displayed among a group of such ancestor figures in a cult house where the figures were consulted as oracles before a battle or hunt. The tattoos a man received while in prison in Mexico **(e)** indicate his identity as a Chicano, his machismo, and his long-suffering prison stays; they even mark the individual years spent in prison. Another sort of display common among gangs in Los Angeles is graffiti **(f)**, which is used to mark territory belonging to gangs, display pride in the gang's symbols and presence, and, in the case of the illustration reproduced here, to commemorate members of the Eighteenth Street gang in Los Angeles. The image of Our Lady of Guadalupe and Christ above the cross clearly signal the religious nature of the commemoration, as well as the importance of Catholicism for Chicanos.

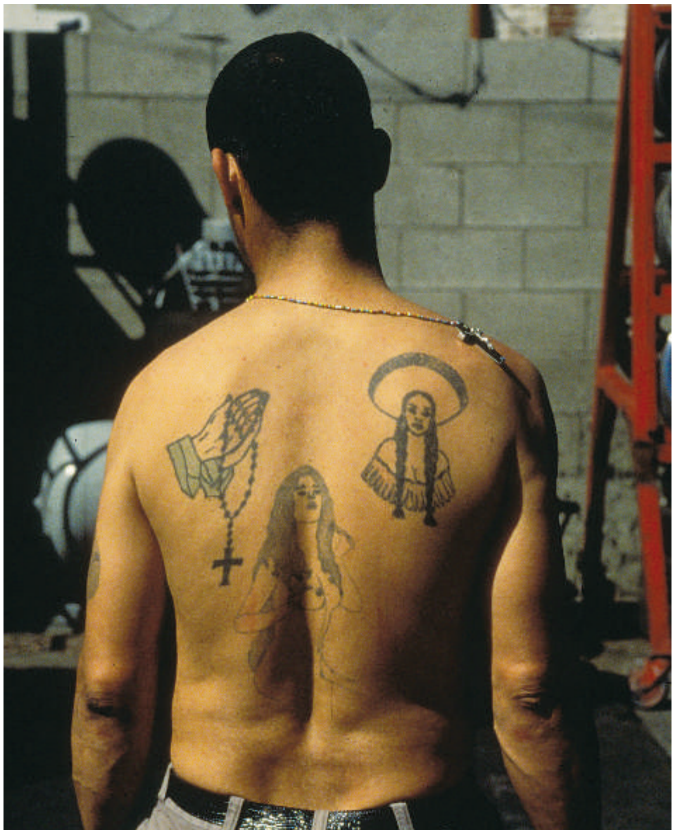

(e) **RIGHT.** Tattoos on a Latino man in Los Angeles indicate his cultural identity and the years he spent in prison. *[©Susan A. Phillips]* **(f)** **BELOW.** A graffiti memorial for deceased members of the Eighteenth Street gang, near MacArthur Park in Los Angeles, 1990. *[©Susan A. Phillips]*

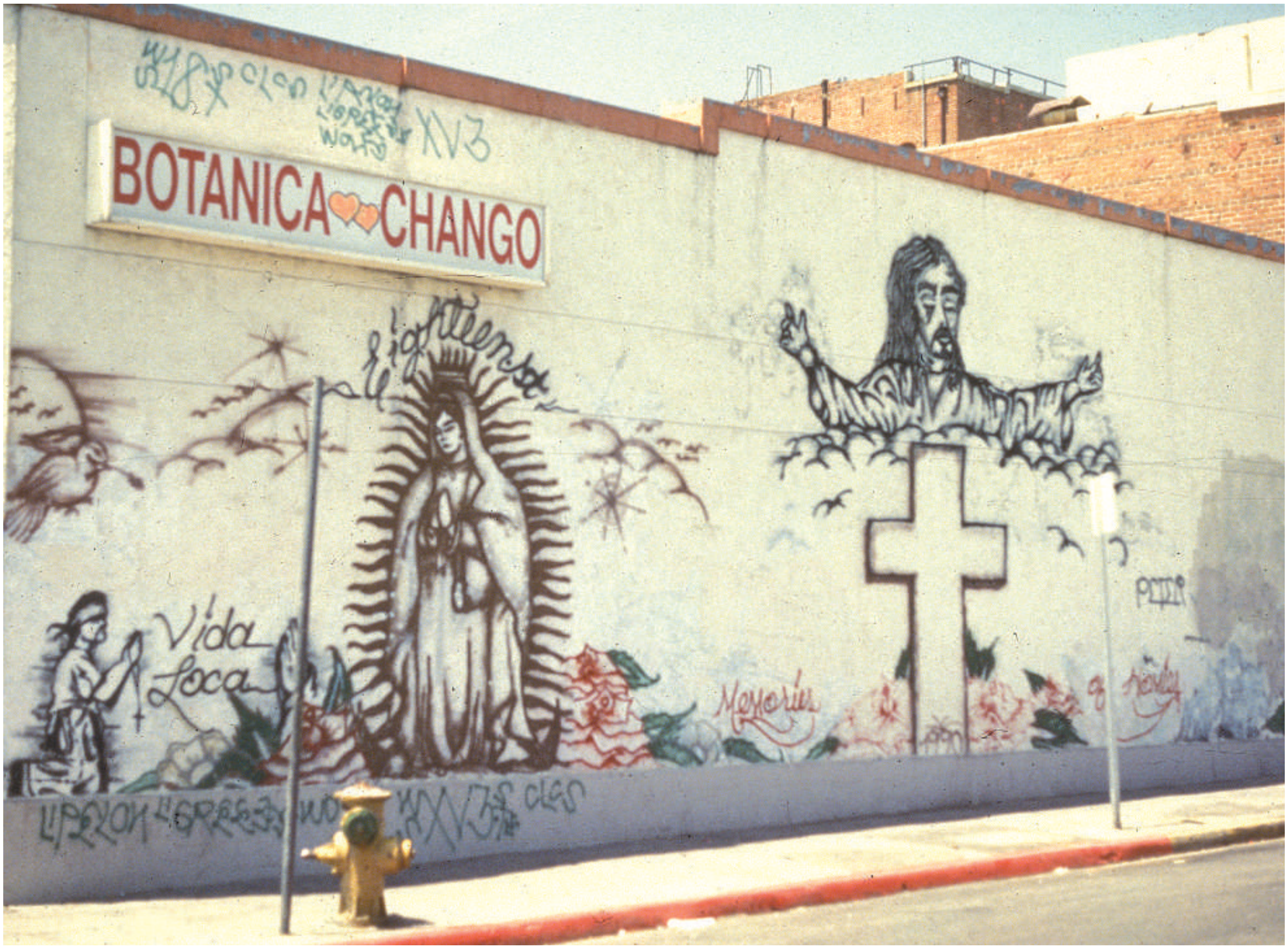

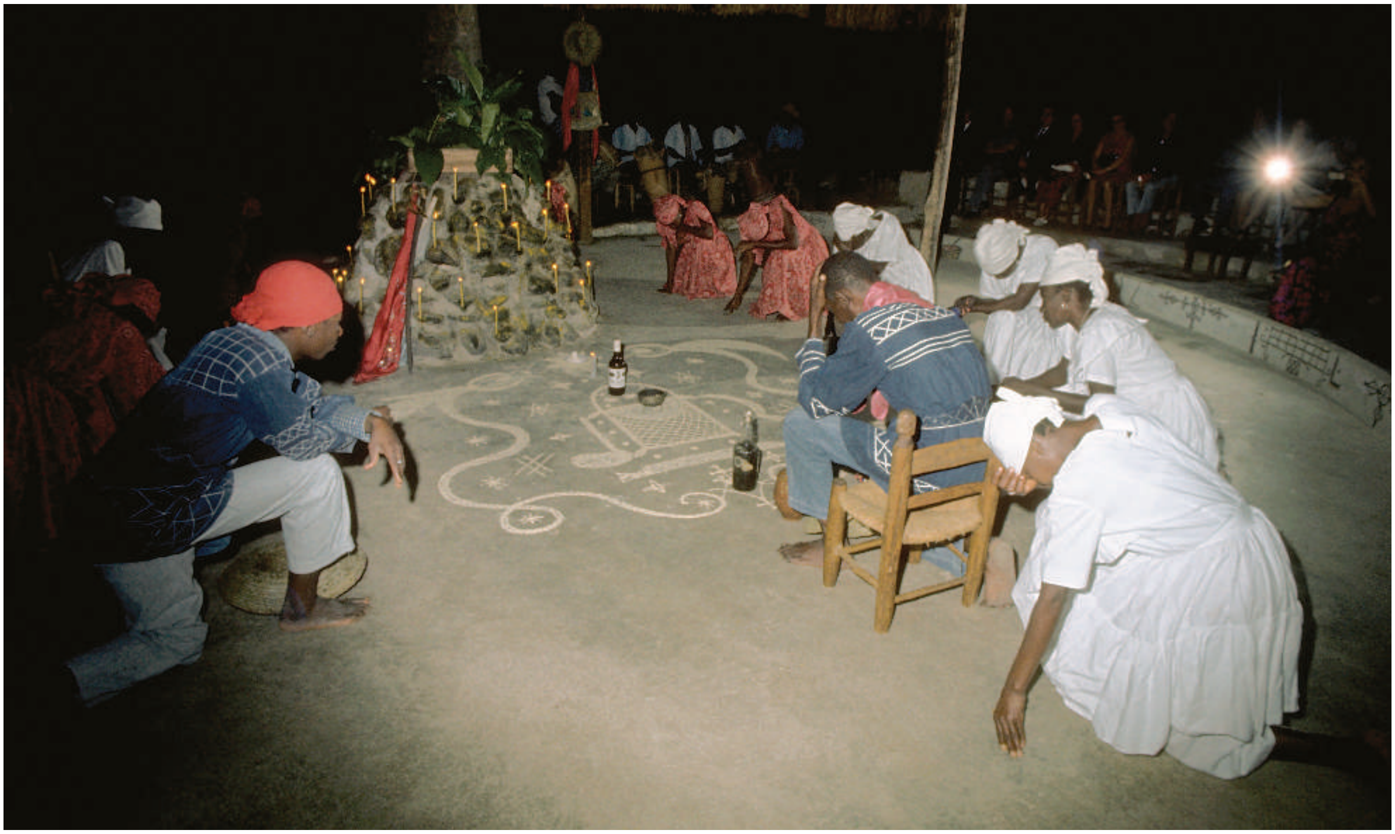

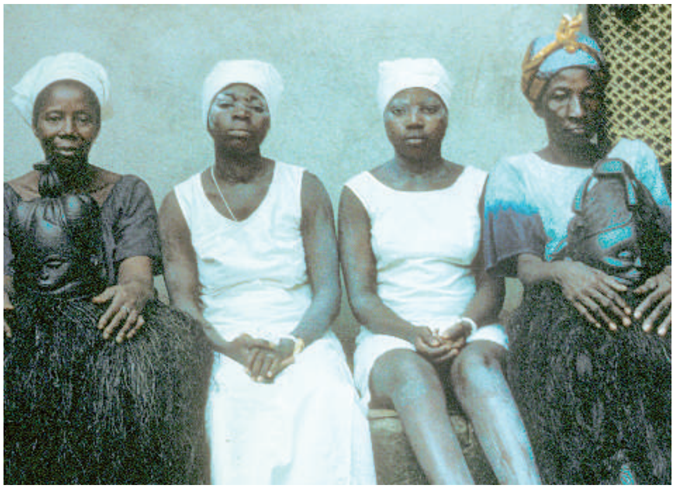

A Vodou initiation ceremony **(g)**, is organized around a candlelit altar and chalk diagram, in which properly costumed participants take part in a structured liturgy. Whether Vodou or Christianity, Hinduism or Shintō, visually elaborate, theatrically complex ceremonies literally perform group identity, assigning particular roles to participants, even calling upon them to perform a repertory of actions or utterances. Such events may be restricted to small, semiprivate groups, such as the women's societies in African secret associations **(h)**, in which the masks and costumes of society members cloak their identities as they assume the identities of spirits or ancestors. Or the events may be vast, highly orchestrated affairs, as in the annual

(g) **Top.** Participants in a Vodou ritual in Haiti kneel around a candlelit altar and chalk diagram, while onlookers sit outside of the ritual circle. *[©Morton Beebe/Corbis]* **(h)** **Left.** Sande women costumed as spirits and ancestors at a ceremony in Sierra Leone. *[Photograph by Ruth B. Phillips]*

Gaṇeśa festival in Mumbai **(i)**, where, during the culmination of the festival, thousands of participants accompany large sculpted figures of the elephant-headed "remover of obstacles," made of unfired clay, to the sea, where the image is submerged and dissolved. The ritual destruction of the image brings the festival to a single, dramatic end in the public witness of an entire city's inhabitants.

Memorials and monuments enact collective identity in powerful, though distinct, ways in modern urban settings. The Marine Corps War Memorial **(j)**, though called a memorial, is much better described as a monument if by that term one intends a heroic celebration of a great deed

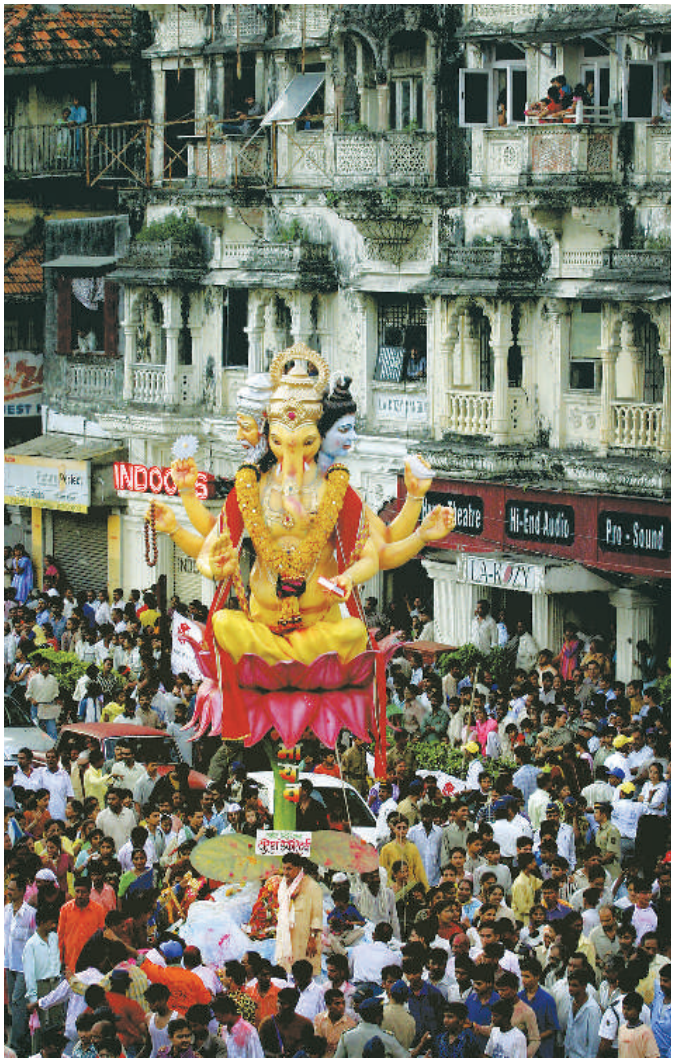

(i) RIGHT. Hindus in Mumbai, India, carry a sculpture of Gaṇeśa to the Arabian Sea. *[©Amit Bhargava/Corbis]* **(j) BELOW.** Felix de Weldon, Marine Corps War Memorial, near Arlington National Cemetery, across the Potomac River from Washington, D.C., dedicated in 1954. *[©Alan Schein Photography/Corbis]*

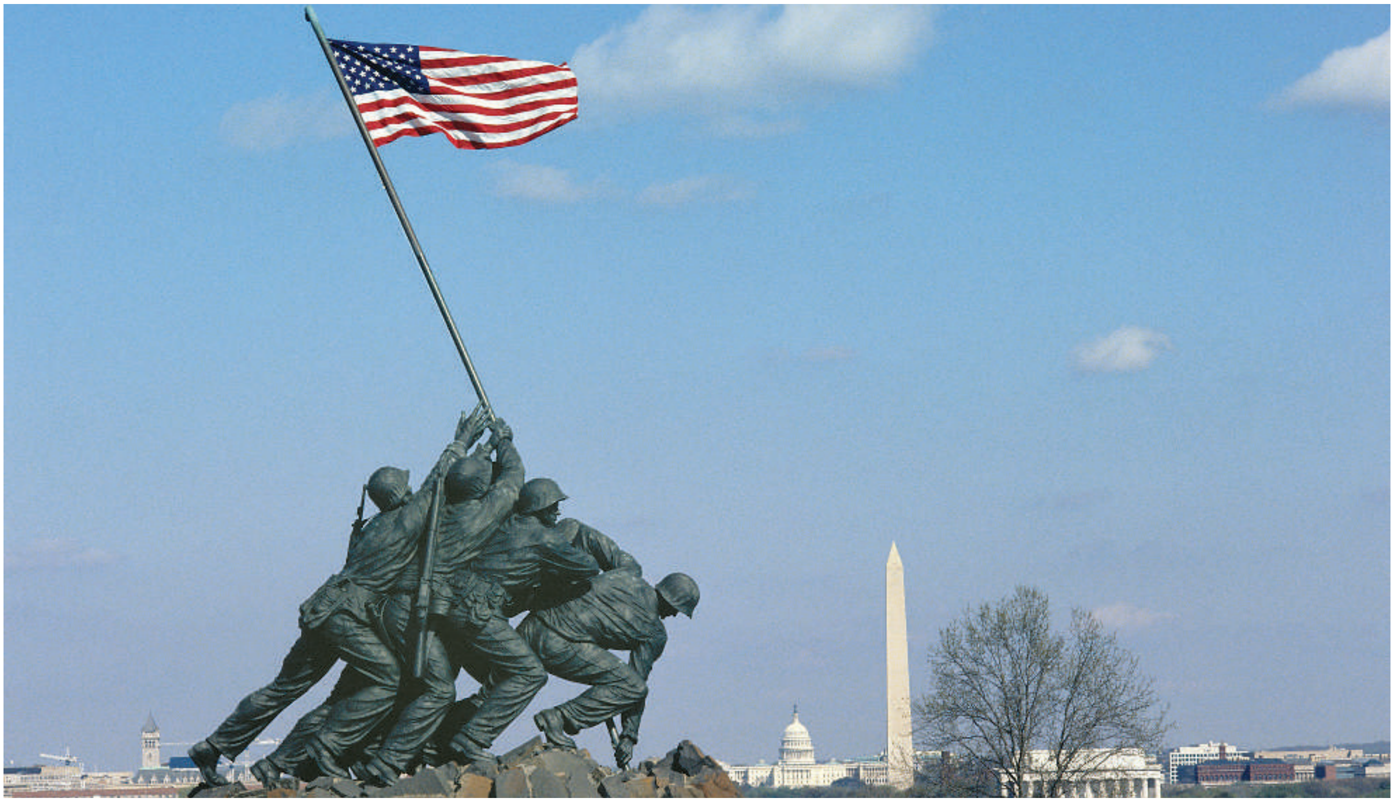

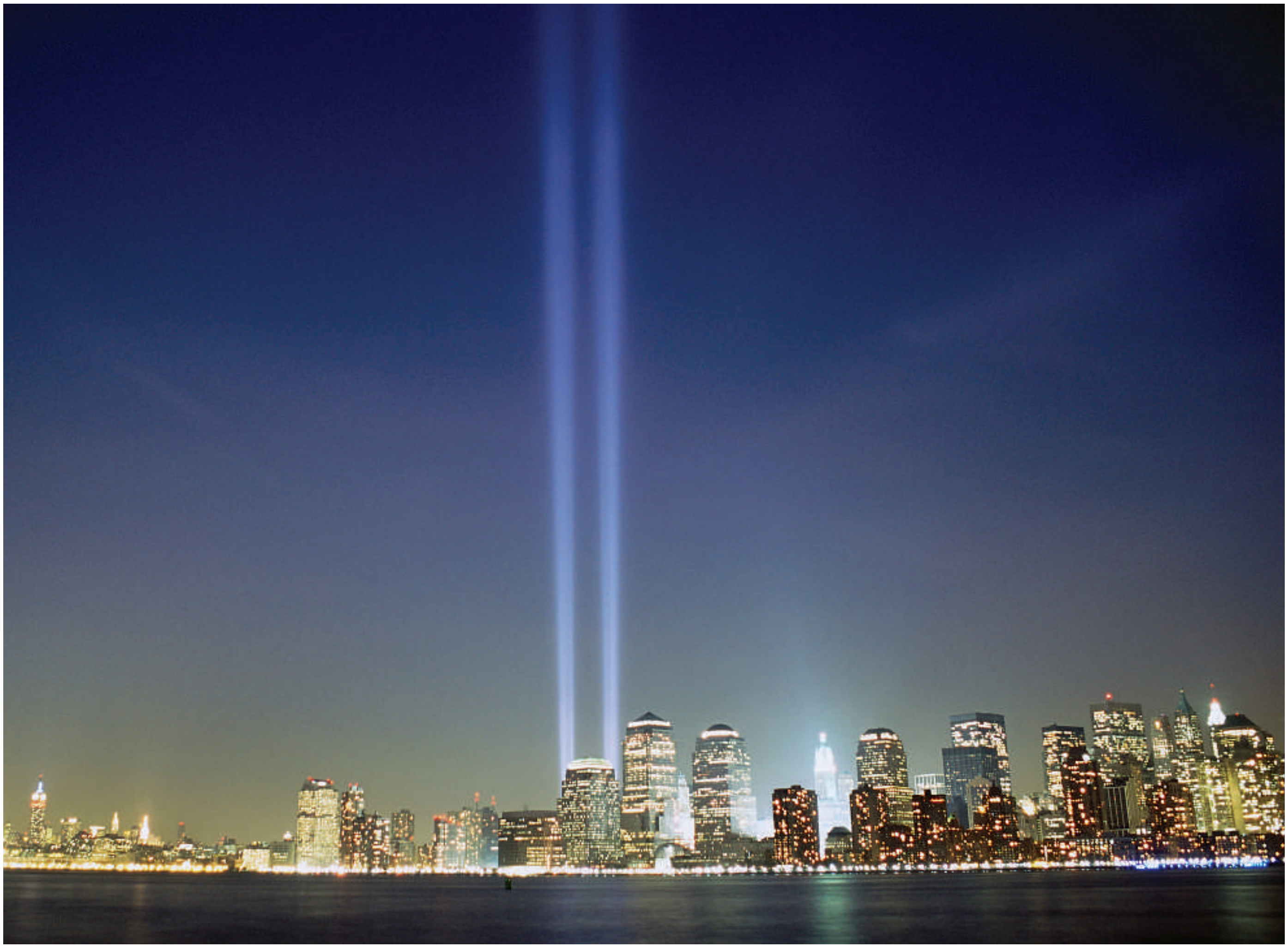

(k) A tribute in light over the site of the World Trade Center in New York City in spring 2002. *[©Mark E. Gibson/Corbis]*

that is erected for the sake of public affirmation as constitutive of the nation's well-being. Monuments are intended to gather the group—in this case, the nation—around a figure or event that totemically represents the whole. Memorials, on the other hand, are constructed as commemorations of loss. The towering beams of light that marked the site of the World Trade Center Towers **(k)** destroyed on September 11, 2001, did not aggrandize anyone or glorify the city or nation, but acted as a colossal form of mourning and remembrance. As a city and nation, New Yorkers and Americans regarded the dramatic memorial as not only an elegiac and all too ephemeral reminder of what was taken from them, but also what might register that loss within the larger gesture of a luminous connection with the night sky over Manhattan. Both memorials and monuments seek to materialize a larger self, whether national or even divine. Both declare in different ways and possibly to different ends that each person is incomplete in him or herself and only more fully alive and purposeful as part of a larger self.

Images are often charged with the task of encouraging the submission of individual interest to the interest of the community. Clearly, this is the message of the Maoist poster **(I)** in which Chairman Mao Zedong radiates light like a solar deity above a smiling crowd of China's many ethnic peoples, several of whom conspicuously display copies of Mao's Little Red Book. Self-effacing obedience was part of Chinese Confucian tradition. Obligation to ancestors, parents, and superiors is the focus of Confucianism, but, in contrast to Mao's dictatorship,

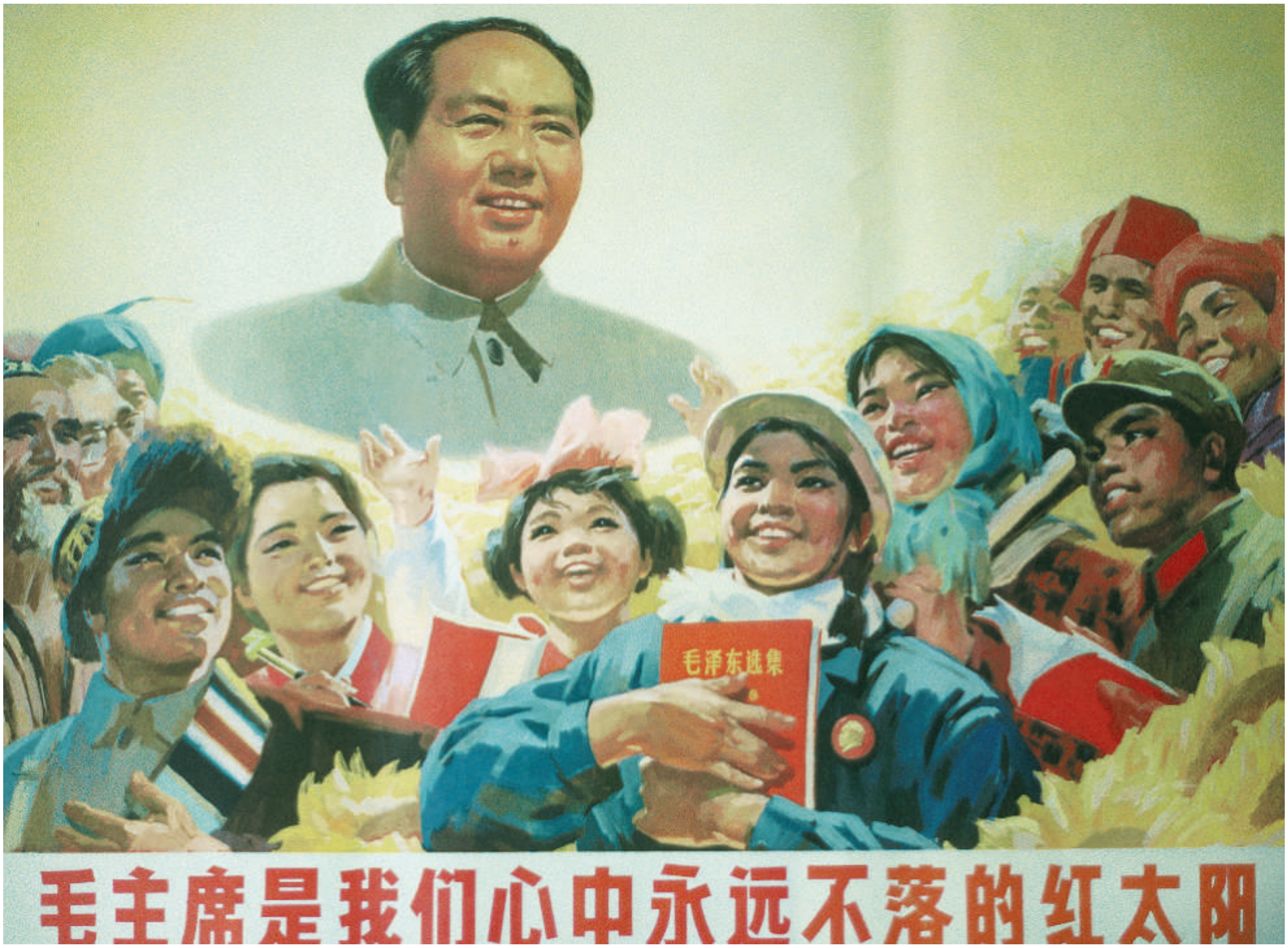
毛泽东选集
毛主席是我们心中永远不落的红太阳

(I) A Chinese propaganda poster portrays Mao Zedong as the sun, with representatives of China's various ethnic groups holding Mao's Little Red Book. The text declares "Chairman Mao is the everlasting red sun in our hearts." ***[©Ric Ergenbright/Corbis]***

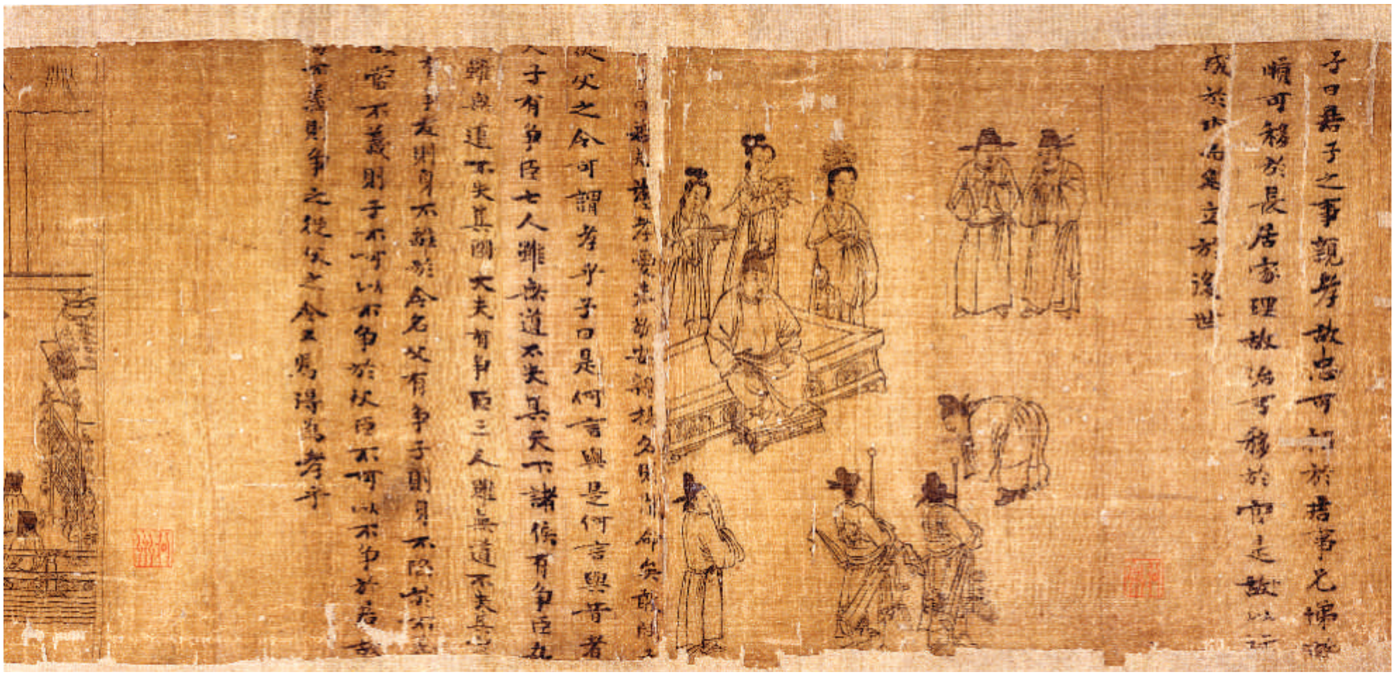

(m) Remonstration before the Emperor, handscroll, ink on silk, China, from Li Kung-lin, *The Classic of Filial Piety*, chapter 15, 1085 CE. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Ex coll.: C. C. Wang Family, from the P. Y. and Kinmay W. Tang Family Collection, Gift of Oscar L. Tang Family, 1996 (1996.479a-c). Photograph by Malcolm Varon. ***[Photograph ©1991 The Metropolitan Museum of Art]***

authority was not unchecked. In the Chinese illustrated scroll entitled *The Classic of Filial Piety* **(m)** a minister remonstrates with his sovereign, but while doing so he bows very low and avoids the sovereign's superior gaze. All spectators avert their eyes from the ruler out of respect for his authority, but also perhaps to absent themselves from his wrath or embarrassment as he is called delicately to task. Authority is a socially enacted reality, bestowed by all members of a society, even though not equally, nor with the same benefit, to everyone.

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DAVID MORGAN (2005)

GODDESS WORSHIP

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
GODDESS WORSHIP IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST
GODDESS WORSHIP IN THE HELLENISTIC WORLD
THE HINDU GODDESS
THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

GODDESS WORSHIP: AN OVERVIEW

The scope and antiquity of goddess worship are remarkable. Female sacred images are associated with some of the oldest archaeological evidence for religious expression and they still have efficacy in the contemporary world. Goddess images are depicted in a wide range of forms, from aniconic representations, such as abstract organs of reproduction, to fully elaborated icons decorated with the finery of monarchy. They are linked to all major aspects of life, including birth, initiation, marriage, reproduction, and death. They display the elaborate variegation of religious experiences in different cultural contexts. A historical survey reveals goddess worship to be a continuous phenomenon, despite periodic ebbs and tides during certain critical epochs.

Goddess Worship in Upper Paleolithic Cultures. Some of the earliest archaeological evidence for the human religious impulse consists of sculptured images and cave paintings of female figures excavated in hundreds of Upper Paleolithic sites throughout Europe and northern Asia, including France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Austria, the Ukraine, and Siberia. These images, carved in bone, stone, antler and mammoth tusks, outnumber those of male figures ten to one. They have been identified sometimes as part of an elaborate and pervasive worship of goddesses; they are commonly known as "Venuses," after the Roman goddess of love and beauty. The interpretation of these artifacts remains controversial today.

Clockwise from top left corner. The Court of the Lions in the Alhambra in Granada, Spain. *[©E.O. Hoppé/Corbis]*; Sixth-century BCE marble relief of Aphrodite, Artemis, and Apollo from the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi, Greece. Archaeological Museum, Delphi. *[©Erich Lessing/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Eleventh-century Byzantine mosaic of the Madonna and Child at Hosios Loukas Monastery in Boeotia, Greece. *[The Art Archive/Dagli Orti]*; Gaṇeśa, twelfth to thirteenth century, from Mysore, India. De Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco. *[©Werner Forman/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; The Parthenon on the Acropolis in Athens, Greece. *[©Bettmann/Corbis]* .

Some Venuses have been discovered in Aurignacian deposits as old as thirty to forty thousand years. However, they appear more frequently about 25,000 years ago. Remarkably, these same goddess figurines have been unearthed from sites dated as late as the early Neolithic period. One of the earliest of these figurines, found in the Dordogne region of France, was estimated to be thirty-two thousand years old, roughly the age of the famous cave art of that period and situated one level above Neanderthal artifacts associated with what are believed to be ceremonial burials. This "pregnant" figure was carved from reindeer antler and is marked by a series of small notches that do not appear to be purely decorative. One cannot be sure how to interpret this figurine, though it might be part of an elaborate cult associated with later discoveries of the same type.

The Venuses have been widely interpreted as evidence of a single phenomenon, fertility symbolism. Some scholars have lumped these prehistoric figurines together with a later so-called Great Goddess complex and the emergence of agriculture. Most archaeologists, however, hestitate to treat all these female images as fertility symbols, because they are the product of a wide variety of peoples with different economic systems, cultural traditions, and languages. Perhaps the Venuses had a great variety of meanings, both within the different cultural contexts in which they were found and depending on the time period. Each of these images must be read in the context of its archaeological provenience. Thus, theories that the Venuses represent an ancient, widespread cult of "fertility magic" are oversimplifications. Current research suggests that the Venuses may be associated with a wide range of phenomena involving women, such as maturation, menstruation, copulation, pregnancy, birth, and lactation. They are not to be treated separately or isolated in any way from other artifacts of the same period that represent some type of "storied event."

The Neolithic goddess figurines take different forms. Some are thin and geometric, representing snake and bird goddesses. These water and air deities were likely cosmic symbols of the regeneration of life. Other figurines are faceless, unclothed, and corpulent. Still others appear to be conspicuously pregnant, with exaggerated breasts and large buttocks. The most famous of these figurines, the Venus of Willendorf (Austria), is often taken to be typical of Upper Paleolithic mother-goddess figures. This image is four and three-eighths inches high, made of soft stone, faceless, fat, but not apparently pregnant; it appears to have been painted with red ocher. However, the diversity of female images is marked; not all are full iconic representations. There is a variety of images of female body parts such as sculptured breasts (from sites in Czechoslovakia) marked with curious notches that may have been either notational or decorative—some of these were worn as a string of beads, others as a single pendant. Abstracted images of vulvas have also been unearthed in France, Spain, and Italy. Some are forked images, others are shaped like disks, and all have clear, finely marked notches, which may be connected in some way with the menstrual cycle.

Other permutations include the various female images painted on cave walls that have some association with animals and a variety of different symbols and markings of probable notational significance. A number of abstracted images of female buttocks have been found in various sites, sometimes with breasts and torsos. In one Italian grave site, for instance, a decorated bone pendant in the shape of female buttocks was found. The image is well worn, and it seems to have been used for some purpose during the life of its wearer and then placed among various other ceremonial burial objects, including two other crudely carved goddess images made especially for the burial.

There is a great range of evidence for goddess worship in the Upper Paleolithic era. The character of this worship is largely uncertain, and no single interpretation is adequate. The figurines may have been associated with pregnancy, birth, burial, fertility, initiation, hunting, and the menstrual cycle; they may even have had some erotic function. Although they represent a prominent element in the religious life of this period, it is erroneous to isolate these female figurines from other important and associated imagery, such as animals, male images, and undeciphered markings. Nor can one make the further leap of suggesting that this rich collection of sacred female images constitutes proof of an early stage of matriarchy; the symbolism of these images tells nothing clear about male or female roles in the social organization of Upper Paleolithic cultures.

NEOLITHIC EARTH GODDESSES AND THE EMERGENCE OF AGRICULTURE. The most noteworthy fact about Neolithic goddess worship is its strong continuity with earlier Upper Paleolithic configurations. Gradually Paleolithic goddess symbolism was transformed to fit into the complex of human needs generated by increasingly agricultural and urbanized forms of social organization. Most sources date the Neolithic era around ten thousand to four thousand years ago; it was marked by the appearance of ground stone tools and the domestication of plants and animals in Europe, North Africa, the Middle East, and throughout various parts of Asia. The female images found in Neolithic sites represent the continuity of traditions from earlier Mesolithic and Upper Paleolithic cultures. Chevrons, meanders, serpentine and spiral designs associated with Neolithic goddesses are all familiar motifs prefigured in Paleolithic female images. Also, it appears that the Neolithic goddesses who were linked to lunar mythology are derived from earlier roots. Many of the Neolithic goddess figurines are corpulent, like their Upper Paleolithic predecessors; they are connected also to the supply of wild animals, but by this time with the addition of domesticated animals such as the dog, bull, and male goat as well. Some of these Neolithic figurines are pregnant, seated on a throne, representing goddesses of vegetation. In general, they are composite images, sharing the traits of both preagricultural and agricultural societies. Also noteworthy is a complementarity between male and female images—one is not subordinate to the other.

The complex imagery of the Neolithic era was centered around females and animals, as illustrated by evidence from the famous Anatolian site of Çatal Hüyük, excavated by James Mellaart in 1961–1963. This Neolithic settlement located in southern Turkey is dated from the seventh to sixth millennium BCE. Its more than forty shrines, distributed through nine building levels, have yielded a wealth of information about Neolithic religion. The evidence displays a clear cultic continuity associated with a mother goddess and accompanying male deities. In some shrines at Çatal Hüyük the goddess is depicted as being supported by leopards or giving birth to a bull, which was a male deity. This association of goddesses with male deities is unusual at Neolithic sites; they usually appear without a male counterpart.

The statuettes at Çatal Hüyük suggest that goddesses were connected variously with pregnancy, birth, ritual marriage, and command over wild animals. Images of stylized female breasts similar to Upper Paleolithic figurines have also been found here. The principal deity of this Neolithic site is a goddess represented in three forms, as a young woman, a mother giving birth, and an old woman. There are also several images of twin goddesses, with one of the two portrayed in the process of giving birth.

In other Neolithic shrines, goddesses appear as bird and snake deities connected to rain and water. Further recent evidence of Neolithic goddess worship comes from a village site presently being excavated outside of Amman, Jordan. Here an international team of archaeologists has unearthed a series of plaster figurines three feet tall with startled expressions on their faces, along with fifty animal figurines, two adorned plaster skulls, and three Venuses. One of the statues is of a nude female standing and pushing up her breasts with her hand. This image may foreshadow the later cult of the goddess Astarte, who was widely worshiped in the area.

The question has to be raised as to whether these Neolithic goddesses were part of a single cult complex spread across Europe and the Middle East or whether they represent different traditions entirely. In some places they are associated with ancestor worship, death, and the afterlife; in others they are related to the emergence of agriculture and the fertility of crops. In still others, they represent developmental functions, as they had in the Upper Paleolithic era. Whatever the answer may be to this question, one thing is clear. Goddess worship is not, as some scholars have suggested, an innovation that appeared suddenly in the Neolithic period with the emergence of agriculture, which these scholars then see as a woman-controlled form of subsistence.

GODDESS WORSHIP IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CIVILIZATIONS. Goddess worship has played a central role in the worldwide transition from small-scale social organization to the emergence of civilizations in India, the ancient Near East, Greece, Rome, China, and Japan. In these complex agricultural societies female deities have been variously linked to the fertility of crops, the sovereignty of kingship, the protection of urban ceremonial centers, and the waging of warfare against enemies.

India. No civilization in the world developed goddess worship so elaborately as did India. Terra-cotta figurines of mother goddesses have been found in the Indus Valley, dated at 2500 to 1500 BCE, along with abstract stone rings representing the yoni and lingam, prototypes for the later god Śiva and his female consort. Goddesses rarely functioned separately from male divinities in ancient India. Nor was goddess worship the central theme in the development of Indian civilization except during periodic episodes of florescence. Indeed, the goddess does not appear as a major focus in Indian literature until 600 BCE, in a legend recorded in the *Kena Upaniṣad.* Not until much later, probably the seventh century CE, did goddess worship emerge as a somewhat separate cult in Hinduism and eventually in Tibetan Buddhism. This Tantric expression of goddess worship was particularly strong in eastern India where it continues to flourish today, though somewhat less intensely than formerly.

At no point in the development of Indian civilization was goddess worship completely separate from devotion to male deities. The Hindu rajas wielded power through the manipulation of icons of major male deities such as Sūrya, Viṣṇu, or Śiva. While these gods had female consorts who were worshiped alongside them, goddesses usually played a secondary though by no means unimportant role as images of cultural identity. No doubt at the village level there has been a long, relatively unbroken continuity of goddess worship extending back to Neolithic times. Local village goddesses were besought (as they continue to be today) to increase human fertility, to cause or cure diseases, to bring about good fortune, to enhance the productivity of crops, or to destroy demons. Yet, at the more exalted level of courts and kings, these female deities played a less prominent role. Up until the early part of this century many rajas incorporated tribal peoples into their spheres of influence by worshiping local goddesses, but this royal patronage of goddess worship was usually accompanied by an even stronger devotion on the part of the raja to the sect of a male deity. Thus, it would be erroneous to conceive of Indian goddess worship as a distinct component in the development of Indian civilization. The widely known Hindu goddesses such as Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī, and Pārvatī rarely stand alone. Only Kālī and Caṇḍī, the more ferocious aspects of female divinity, become focal points for separate worship. Even in these cases the goddess rarely acts as a primary source for establishing the legitimacy of kingship.

The ancient Near East. In the ancient Near East the phenomenon of goddess worship displayed an even more elaborate and subtle set of nuances. Here are encountered several distinct civilizations, some having borrowed heavily from each other. A number of goddesses were prominent in ancient Egypt: Nut, goddess of the sky and consort of the earth god, Geb; the goddess Neith, patroness of victorious weapons and the art of weaving; Isis, goddess of wisdom; and Hathor, another sky goddess who assumed various forms. Some of these goddesses were deeply entwined in the development and continuity of divine kingship. The name *Isis,* for instance, is related linguistically to the term for "chair" or "throne." The throne or "holy seat" of the pharaoh was the "mother of the king." The pharaohs thought themselves to be sons of Isis. Later Isis became linked to the god Osiris. The heroic story depicts Isis's famous search for her murdered husband's corpse, her discovery of it, and his resurrection. Eventually Isis became universalized as a benevolent goddess of the harvest. Her cult spread from Egypt to Greece and throughout the Roman Empire. By 300 BCE the cult of Isis had become a popular mystery religion, with secret initiation rites promising salvation and rebirth.

Another stream in the ancient Near Eastern tradition of goddess worship flows from the Mesopotamian civilization located on the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. In that area the goddess Inanna was worshiped; she was the queen of heaven and earth and the goddess of love, and she was profoundly involved in the rise of Sumerian state-level social organization. Although she was one of many goddesses of ancient Sumer, Inanna outlasted and overshadowed them all. Also known as Ishtar and later worshiped by different Semitic peoples, Inanna had very ancient roots. She was part of an amalgamation of Sumerian and Akkadian religious and political beliefs, extending back to 3000 BCE or possibly further, and she is connected to the fertility of crops, the emergence of increasing sedentary patterns of social organization, and the development of the first urban centers.

In the late nineteenth century the world's oldest texts on cuneiform clay tablets were unearthed after having been buried for at least four thousand years. Some of these texts tell the life story of Inanna from adolescence through womanhood and her eventual apotheosis. The texts are extremely rich; they reveal the sexual fears and desires of the goddess, an elaborate history of kinship among various deities in her family tree, her power as queen of Sumer, and her responsibilities for the redistribution of resources and fertility of the earth. Inanna's cult was centered at the ancient temple city of Uruk. Here archaeologists have provided evidence for the earliest known urban civilization, dated 3900–3500 BCE and characterized by monumental temple architecture and the first writing. The oldest shrine of Uruk was dedicated to Inanna, as were numerous later temples. She was the supreme patroness of the city. Though related to other deities, she retained a certain degree of independence. Inanna's shrine was the focus of considerable economic activity and the redistribution of resources characteristic of urban life.

Unlike the female divinities of India and Egypt, the goddess Inanna, who was most likely derived from Neolithic and possibly even earlier Paleolithic roots, played the principal role in the religious tradition of an urban society. She was considered to have equal status with the sky god, An, head of the Sumerian pantheon. In this urban context, Inanna became a focal point for the full emergence of life in city-states, and she assumed the regal responsibility for victory in war and the redistribution of resources among urban peoples. Often these functions have been allotted to male deities in other traditions, as in the case of the Hindu gods Śiva and Jagannātha.

Inanna is identified with the Semitic goddess Ishtar and the West Semitic goddess Astarte. These deities, along with the Canaanite goddesses Asherah and Anat (a wrathful warlike deity), were worshiped by the early Hebrew people. It is certain that the early Israelites worshiped the Canaanite goddess Asherah; even Solomon praised the pillars representing this deity, and his son Rehoboam erected an image of her in the temple at Jerusalem. Probably the female deities of the early monarchic period did not disppear but were changed into different forms, despite repeated efforts to reestablish a strong monotheism in Judaism in the biblical period. Raphael Patai (1967) has argued that various disguises are assumed by the goddess in later Judaism: she appeared in the form of the cherubim (depicted as man and woman in an erotic embrace); in images of Yahveh's wife Astarte; as the one and only God having two aspects, male and female; and in the form of the Shekhinah (the personified presence of God on earth). In this latter form, the Shekhinah argues with God in defense of man; she is sometimes manifested as Wisdom and at other times as the Holy Spirit. The feminine element played an important role in qabbalistic thought, especially in the thirteenth-century *Zohar,* which stressed the Shekhinah as female divine entity; she was also referred to there as Matronit ("divine matron"). The Shekhinah was seen as an intermediary between God and the scattered peoples of Israel and was widely accepted in Jewish communities in the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, when Qabbalah had widely felt influence. According to Patai, the complex concept in Qabbalah that the Shekhinah and God are one, filtered down to the Jewish masses, led to the simplified belief in her as a goddess.

Although the early Israelites engaged in the worship of female deities, at some point goddess worship was removed from the religious tradition. Whether one places this purge of the goddess early in Judaism or posits a disguised form of goddess worship that was retained for centuries and then finally removed, the really important question is why the phenomenon was eliminated from the tradition at all. Some feminist scholars have argued that this purge of the feminine represents a repression of women. However, the phenomenon can be explained also by the purely theological argument that monotheism requires the loss of all "extraneous" deities, no matter what gender. This raises yet another question. Why has none of the monotheistic religions worshiped a feminine deity as its centerpiece? Could there be some truth to the often asserted position that monotheism represents a final ideological phase in the evolution of complex state-level civilizations? If this were true, how then does one explain Indian civilization, which is clearly a state-level form of social organization, but is neither monotheistic nor associated with an exclusively dominant male divinity? Perhaps the gender of deities has little, if anything, to do with the social structure in which they are manifested. Such questions require further research from different theoretical perspectives.

Greece. In Greece, the rebirth theme is found in the Eleusinian mystery cult associated with the earth goddess, Demeter. However, instead of the rebirth of a male deity, a female deity is reborn: Demeter's daughter, Persephone, is resurrected after her abduction by Hades, lord of the underworld. The pre-Olympian goddesses of Greece were usually connected to vegetation rituals. A prime example was Gaia, earth mother and chthonic mother of the gods. This deity was associated with the oracle at Delphi before the oracle became exclusively Apollo's. Her rituals included animal sacrifices, offerings of grain and fruit, and ecstatic possession trance. Many of the later Greek goddesses emerged from pre-Hellenic earth goddesses like Gaia. The famous twelve deities of Olympus included the goddesses Hera, Athena, Aphrodite, Hestia, Artemis, and Demeter. These Olympian goddesses were each given distinct roles to play in accordance with their earlier spheres of influence. The original chthonic aspects of these goddesses were diminished as they became subordinated in the Olympian hierarchy ruled by Zeus. No longer was each goddess an organic link to the generative forces of life and death. Instead, she became highly compartmentalized in her new role in the male-dominated Olympian pantheon. This compartmentalization demarcates a transformation in the role of goddess worship in the development of Greek civilization.

Rome. There was a strong identification of Greek deities with Roman deities. Most Greek goddesses had their Roman counterparts. In 204 BCE Roman aristocrats officially adopted the foreign cult of the Anatolian goddess Cybele, later to be known as the Magna Mater (Great Mother). On April 4 of that year the image of the goddess was carried into the city by Roman matrons, a temple was erected, and she was installed as a national Roman deity. Only self-castrated foreign priests were allowed to serve in the temples dedicated to Cybele, because Roman citizens were forbidden to be priests until the reign of Emperor Claudius (41–54 CE). Driven by Cybele, his angry mother, Attis died of self-castration and then returned to life in response to his mother's intense mourning. This death and rebirth theme was celebrated during a series of holidays at the beginning of spring; the rituals included a procession carrying a pine tree (representing the dead Attis) into the temple of the Magna Mater, violent ritual mourning, a celebration of the rebirth of Attis, and the bathing of Cybele's statue.

China and Japan. The Vajrayāna tradition of Tantric Buddhism in Tibet and Mongolia is widely associated with goddess worship. Male and female manifestations of the divine power are depicted as opposite but complementary aspects of each other. This dynamic tension of male and female principles, derived from Tantric Hinduism, has resulted in a large number of goddesses who are intimately related to their male counterparts as consorts. Some goddesses, however, retain a certain degree of autonomy and represent independent deities. This is the case of the goddess Tara, a female *bodhisattva* who became a universal protectress. In Chinese Pure Land Buddhism, Guanyin, goddess of mercy, is also considered to be a *bodhisattva.* She is a principal teacher, a savior who can give her devotees assurance of enlightenment and carry believers to the western paradise of O-mi-tʿo-fo's Pure Land. This goddess continues to be worshiped throughout China and in Japanese Buddhism.

The tradition of goddess worship is well established in Japan, not only in Buddhism, but also in Japanese Shintō, where many male and female nature deities are propitiated. In Shintō the world was created by a divine creator couple, the god Izanagi and the goddess Izanami. They gave birth to the sun goddess Amaterasu and her brother Susano-o no Mikoto, god of storms, along with other nature deities. Amaterasu eventually became the cult deity of the Japanese royal family, retaining both her Shintō function as sun goddess and a new role as Shining Buddha of Heaven. Until this century the emperor of Japan was considered to be the descendant on earth of Amaterasu. He was charged to keep peace in the world and to support her major pilgrimage shrine, located at Ise.

This survey of archaic goddess worship points to the diversity of the roles goddess worship has played in the development of civilizations. In some parts of the world goddesses were central in the emergence of urbanism and kingship. Elsewhere they were secondary consorts of male divinities or vestiges of mystery cults associated with earlier shamanistic religion. Sometimes they represented a continuity with Neolithic and Paleolithic traditions or were transposed and reconceived as the bearers of complex social organization—waging warfare, presiding over the collection of taxes and controlling the redistribution of resources. The emergence of virtually every major civilization was associated in some way with goddess worship. While there may not be a single "Great Goddess" worshiped universally, the ubiquity of the phenomenon remains unbroken from Paleolithic times.

CONTEMPORARY PATTERNS OF GODDESS WORSHIP. The worship of female sacred images is found in some form or other throughout the world, except in those societies dominated by Islam or certain branches of Protestantism. Even in cultures heavily influenced by iconoclastic secular movements vestiges of goddess worship remain. For instance, Joanna Hubbs (in Preston, 1982, pp. 123–144) traces images of a divine feminine in contemporary Russian folk art, film, and literature, noting strong national themes that continued to thrive in the Soviet era.

Goddess worship is represented widely in the Hindu, Buddhist, and Shintō countries of Asia. Catholic Europe is replete with pilgrimage shrines devoted to the Virgin Mary; some of these are associated with earlier pagan goddesses, while others represent a postindustrial flourishing of Marianism during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Even in North America, where Protestantism predominates, sacred female imagery is venerated in Catholic enclaves, like the large pilgrimage shrine devoted to Saint Anne de Beaupré in Quebec, Canada. In the United States a quarter of a million pilgrims a year visit the Shrine of the North American Martyrs (in Auriesville, New York), a composite pilgrimage site devoted to the Jesuit martyrs along with the American Indian Kateri Tekakwitha, "Lily of the Mohawks," who is a candidate for canonization. Åke Hultkrantz (in Olson, 1983, p. 202) notes an extensive pattern of goddess worship among American Indians despite the widespread misconception that these religions are mostly oriented around male deities. Native American goddesses are often earth mothers linked to the cultivation of corn. Goddess worship played an important role in ancient Aztec, Maya, and Inca civilizations, traces of which continue to thrive in descendant Mesoamerican populations. The goddess Tonantsi remains today a vibrant focus of worship among the Nahuatl of Mexico (remnants of the great Toltec and Aztec civilizations). Here goddess worship expresses its typical syncretic pattern; images of Tonantsi are displayed on altars alongside Christian sacred images, like the statue of Joseph, who is considered by the Nahuatl to be a son of the goddess.

Throughout Latin America and the Caribbean a pattern of syncretism involving goddess worship is evident. Particularly widespread is the transformation of local Indian goddesses into Marian images. The best-known example of this syncretic expression is the famous Roman Catholic pilgrimage icon of the dark-skinned Virgin of Guadalupe, whose shrine was built on the site of a temple once dedicated to the Aztec goddess Tonantsi. Goddesses are prominent in some African tribal religions. Daniel F. McCall (in Preston, 1982, pp. 304–322) traces the diffusion of Neolithic goddesses from Southwest Asia to West Africa, where they became variously syncretized with local deities and were absorbed into Akan, Yoruba, and Igbo religious traditions.

PATTERNS AND THEMES OF CONTEMPORARY GODDESS WORSHIP. A comparative study of this vast array of types of goddess worship reveals certain common themes and distinct differences in the ways female deities are experienced. They are worshiped as nurturant or punishing mothers, protectors of community, images of national identity, sources for the resolution of human problems, symbols of virginity and purity, the origins of the fertility of crops and human beings, mediators between humans and male divinities, and sources for healing. None of these attributes is assigned to every goddess, although they frequently recapitulate one another and cluster together. The nurturing power, for instance, is associated often with the fertility of crops and conceived to be the source of community identity, but this pattern is not found everywhere. The following is a survey of common features identifiable with goddess worship throughout the world. While they are not universal characteristics of the phenomenon, these common features demonstrate how deeply rooted goddess worship is within human experience. They each deserve special attention.

Virginity. In some parts of the world female deities are associated with virginity, purity, and perfect piety. This tradition is strongly represented in several religions. In Hinduism, Kannagi, goddess of chastity, symbolizes the sacredness of motherhood, which is linked to pure Tamil ethnic identity, language, justice, and politics. The Tamil concept of chastity connotes not asexuality but sacred power. Another example of the Hindu virginity theme is found in Nepal and India where Kumār *pūjā,* the worship of a premenstrual girl as the embodiment of a goddess, has been a tradition of some frequency until recent years. The combination of two seemingly contradictory themes—virginity and motherhood—was evident among ancient Near Eastern goddesses such as Inanna, Ishtar, and Anat. These goddesses were simultaneously chaste, promiscuous, nurturant, and warlike. While the Virgin Mary is never portrayed as being promiscuous, she sometimes embodies and exhibits a continuity with the attributes of these earlier goddesses; she is pious, intercedes, protects the community, bears children, is virginal, and enters from time to time into the world to do battle against the forces of evil. The apparent contradiction in the juxtaposition of virginity and motherhood dissolves if the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is taken to "reinforce the dogma that the Virgin's child is the son of God" (Leach, 1966, p. 42). The divine mother is not a mere projection of human motherhood; female divinities give birth, but, unlike human mothers, they are rarely considered to be polluted by the event because of their supernatural status.

Motherhood. Another dimension of goddess worship that enjoys widespread representation is the role of nurturant female divinities as god bearers and sources of both carnal and spiritual life. Deities of the ancient Greek and Roman world gave birth to gods, occasionally by having intercourse with humans. The earlier pagan role of god bearer finds continuity in Mary's capacity as *theotokos,* mother of the incarnate divinity; here Mary becomes a human partner in the unfolding nature of God. Consequently she is the supreme intercessor with God on behalf of individuals who seek her assistance. The nurturing power of the divine feminine has very ancient manifestations, extending back to Neolithic goddesses, whose theriomorphic form was the cow. The nurturing goddess is often associated with mother's milk, which gives life and has strong curative powers. A. J. Weeramunda (in Preston, 1982, pp. 251–262) describes the milk-overflowing ceremony in Sri Lanka, which is a ritual means for bringing health, both to individuals and the Sinhala community. Here the goddess, symbolized by milk, stands for matrilineal kinship, mother's blood, bodily health, and integration of community. This ancient theme is recapitulated in Roman, Greek, and Coptic tales of miracles worked by the Virgin Mary that refer to the milk from her breasts and the power of her tears to cure diseases.

Wifehood. Goddesses are depicted frequently as wives and consorts. Sometimes as consort she is subservient to her partner. However, the goddess may be raised to the powerful position of queen and protectress. In India, each year Jagannātha is said to argue with his jealous wife Lakṣmī after he has returned from a visit to other deities in the neighborhood. Here Lakṣmī is portrayed as a nagging wife. However, the role of consort to a male deity may be only secondary for a goddess. Inanna, the supreme goddess of ancient Sumer, was queen of heaven and earth foremost; her role as wife to Dumuzi, the shepherd king, was less important. Inanna's power was evident in the prolonged Sumerian New Year celebration that culminated in the sacred marriage rite of the goddess Inanna to the reigning monarch, a rite designed to ensure the fertility of soil and womb.

Protection. One of the most widespread and significant roles of female deities is the tripartite function of protectress, monarch, and emblematic symbol. This pattern contrasts with gentler, more nurturant motifs like fertility and healing. The Chinese Buddhist goddess Guanyin is a popular domestic deity who is considered also to be a *bodhisattva* and celestial bureaucrat. The Virgin of Gaudalupe provides a famous example of the emblematic, integrative, and protective role of the sacred female image. During the fight for Mexican independence, loyalists carried the banner of the Virgin of Remedios while their opponents marched into battle with the banner of the Virgin of Guadalupe; soldiers polarized between the two shot at the banner of the "enemy" virgin. In many parts of the world female sacred images assume highly specialized protective qualities; the Daoist goddess Mazu is protectress of fishermen and sailors who face the dangerous storm-ridden Taiwanese Straits; in Spain Our Lady of Macarena is protectress of bullfighters; the goddess Amaterasu was the supreme national guardian deity of Japan. The Black Madonna of Częstochowa continues to be considered queen of Poland, her image is worn on badges by members of the Solidarity movement, and she is highly revered as a focus of pilgrimage by millions of Polish Catholics, including Pope John Paul II.

Earth goddess. Some scholars have attempted to link the gender of deities with natural phenomena, typically associating female deities with the earth and male deities with the sun. Although this pattern is widespread, there are several noteworthy exceptions. For instance, the ancient Egyptian goddess Nut was conceived to be a sky deity whose partner, Geb, was an earth god. According to C. Jouco Bleeker (in Olson, 1983, p. 31) Egyptian goddesses were not believed to be intrinsically earth mothers. The Japanese Shintō goddess Amaterasu, who is identified with the sun rather than earth, is another example. Thus, the general rule that goddesses are earth mothers is clearly not without exception. There is considerable evidence from ancient times that goddesses were associated with various natural phenomena, particularly the sea, the earth, and the phases of the moon. The many *pīṭha*s associated with goddesses in India are linked to the earth. Each of these pilgrimage sites devoted to goddesses is considered to be a fragment of Satī's body (the dead wife of Śiva) that fell to earth when her corpse was divided up by the gods to prevent Śiva from going mad with grief. In Orissa, in eastern India, women behave as though they are menstruating during the three days when the earth mother menstruates; nor is it uncommon in India for men to avoid tilling the fields when the goddess is menstruating.

Fertility. This leads to another widespread characteristic of goddesses; namely, their power over the fertility of soil, the fecundity of women, and a plentiful food supply. The ancient Neolithic city of Çatal Hüyük offers evidence for goddesses of the hunt and the abundance of crops. Alexander Marshack (1972, p. 355) speculates that the Neolithic goddess, as mistress of animals, is prefigured in female images from the Upper Paleolithic era where goddesses are displayed holding animal horns that have been stained with red ocher. Goddesses remain associated with the abundance of food even today. The Inuit (Eskimo) goddess Sedna is an example; if angered by sins committed in the community she withholds the supply of sea animals. According to Hultkrantz, the American Indian conception of the mother goddess as mistress of animals was changed by the introduction of horticulture about 2000 BCE, when she began to be identified with the cultivation of maize, beans, squash, gourds, and other crops. In Europe corn-mother images have been placed in fields by peasants for hundreds of years. This concern with the fertility of the earth is repeated in the widespread association of goddess worship with human fertility. Barren women in Europe, India, Africa, and many other parts of the world turn to female divinities to ask for aid in pregnancy. Here goddesses become a source of life so that the human community may be sustained. The ability to bear a large number of children is often a sign of status in agricultural societies where abundant human labor enhances the wealth of a family unit. Thus, some form of goddess worship for the purpose of bearing children is often widespread in these societies.

Healing. If goddesses can give life they can also take it away. They are frequently supplicated for curing diseases. The Indian goddess Śitalā not only cures smallpox, she is considered to be its source and requires elaborate rituals to cool her anger, which causes the disease. Thus, Hindu people both fear and adore her. The healing of wounds, prayers for health, and the quest for wholeness are so universally associated with goddess worship that this aspect requires special scholarly attention.

Why are female deities more frequently invoked than male deities for purposes of healing? The obvious answer is that goddesses tend to be attributed more often with overall nurturant qualities. They are the primary and original sources of life, like human mothers, and they consequently represent a reprieve from the more painful realities of death, decay, and disease. Yet, as been already observed, goddesses are linked also to the darker experiences in the human condition. There must be an even more subtle reason for the ubiquity of the healing function attributed to female deities. In traditions where the female is subordinate to the male (and this is quite widespread), the worship of female sacred imagery represents an embracing of the whole field of symbolic potentials and the bringing together of opposites. While male deities are approached during the course of everyday life for the favors required to sustain a worldly existence, female divinities become the focus for ongoing sustenance of the individual or local family.

It is no accident that female deities are strongly represented in home rituals, in roadside shrines, and at local pilgrimage sites in many parts of the world. Surinder M. Bhardwaj (1973) has demonstrated this point for Hinduism, noting how pilgrimage shrines devoted to goddesses are visited by pilgrims more on a subregional basis for the purpose of curing diseases and asking for small favors, while pilgrimage to the shrines of male deities is almost always at the regional or national level and for the purpose of *darshan* (Skt., *darsana;* "sight of the deity") rather than a quest for cures. Not only is the mother more accessible and nurturant than the more distant father, she is the completion of a process by which the individual embraces the whole religious field, including both gods and goddesses who constitute not separate but complementary parts of a unified whole.

Violence and anger. The ambivalence associated with certain types of goddess worship is characteristic of another major theme in this survey. Because female divinities can take away life, they sometimes display a vengeful, angry, and terrifying aspect. Such goddesses are identified with dark occult powers, sacrifice, and death. Usually the darker aspects of goddesses are consonant with nurturing qualities. The Balinese Hindu goddess Rangda, the witch, is an exception to this rule. She is linked to the terrible and fearful powers of divine origin. Rangda, whose name means "widow," is associated with her husband's death. She is constantly doing battle with her archenemy Barong the dragon. Elaborate ritual battles between Rangda and Barong are acted out in the famous trance dances that have attracted so many tourists to Bali.

Rangda is associated with evil and death, unlike her Hindu counterpart, Kālī, who has a more nurturant side. Kālī grants boons to those who respect her, but she is easily angered and must not be crossed. Her major role is to battle demons, whose skulls she wears in a garland around her neck. Like Rangda, Kālī is linked to death by her association with widowhood and graveyards. In a brilliant essay on the goddess Kālī, C. Mackenzie Brown (in Olson, 1983, pp. 110–123) notes that her bloody intoxication with rage and violence is not an indication that she is evil. Kālī is "mother of us all"—she gives birth, dazzles with her splendor, and consumes in the game of life. Both beneficient and terrible qualities are combined in the image of Kālī. Just as Hindu disease goddesses become angry and cause epidemics because people have neglected to worship them, Kālī rises up from time to time, bringing about a reign of chaos in the realm of human order. Thus, she evokes enormous fear and ambivalence among devotees. Such violent expressions of goddess worship are found in many of the world's religions. Artemis and Medusa evoked similar responses among the ancient Greeks. Also, the Middle Eastern goddesses Ishtar and Isis were considered to have a terrible aspect associated with the cosmic dark forces. The Aztec goddess Ilamatecuhtli was one of several deities associated with death.

The theme of ambivalence is further elaborated in the concept of *vagina dentata* ("vagina with teeth") where the womb of the earth goddess appears to have a devouring mouth. For example, when the goddess is angry, she who is the source of life can take it away as slayer of life. The vessel of procreation becomes a tomb. Death by absorption into the *vagina dentata* is not always a punishment for wrongdoing. Sometimes the devouring womb represents the necessary death of the old order to establish a new social and religious organization. In these cases, entry into the *vagina dentata* is a rite of initiation leading through a dangerous passage along a path toward new birth. The violent act of being swallowed by an earth deity is a tradition found in many American Indian religions, among the Australian Aborigines, in Hinduism, and in various parts of Africa and Polynesia.

One of the most interesting rites associated with goddess worship is the widespread but not universal practice of blood sacrifice, which is found in some form or other in most religious traditions. While sacrifice is not confined to the veneration of female deities, it is represented widely in goddess worship traditions. The sacrifice of blood, whether of human or animal origin, has been linked to goddess worship from ancient times. Sacrifice is widely celebrated in that brand of goddess worship where female deities are portrayed as angry, vengeful, or punishing. Kālī and Durgā in the Hindu pantheon are deities of this kind. In contemporary India large numbers of goats, buffalo, chickens, and other animals are offered to these deities to satisfy their thirst for blood and to display community allegiance. Even human sacrifice is reported to have been practiced as an expression of goddess worship. It is not difficult to understand why blood sacrifices should be associated with goddesses. Through sacrifice human beings create bonds between themselves and deities. Because people turn to goddesses to fulfill their needs, it is logical for sacrificial offerings to be made as expressions of thanksgiving. Despite the fact that blood sacrifice has been outlawed in many parts of the world, this custom continues to thrive, often underground. Sometimes various types of sacrificial substitutions are made in place of blood offerings, like the sacrifice of cucumbers, pumpkins, or money.

The many patterns of goddess worship evident throughout the world extend deep into antiquity and continue to thrive in many of the world's religions even today. Goddesses played a prominent role in prehistoric cultures, throughout the development of agriculture, and in the emergence of urban life associated with the great traditional civilizations. They continue to be a fertile source of religious experience within the contemporary world. Goddesses are multivalent sacred images best understood within their separate historical and cultural contexts.

See Also Agriculture; Feminine Sacrality; Lady of the Animals; Neolithic Religion; Paleolithic Religions; Prehistoric Religions; Shekhinah; Virgin Goddess.

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GODDESS WORSHIP: GODDESS WORSHIP IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

The diversity of female divinities within ancient Near Eastern societies makes it impossible to arrange them into neat categories, and any attempt to do so would inevitably involve a great deal of simplification. There are two main reasons for this: the complexity of the religious systems, and the long period over which they developed.

One could and should ask, with some legitimacy, why female deities are singled out for separate analysis. The answer to this lies, to a large degree, in the history of the discussions on goddesses. The topic has sometimes been covered with academic rigor, sometimes with highly charged ideological arguments. In the cultures investigated in this article, goddesses were inseparably integrated into a complex divine world. No single fundamental pattern universally repeats itself even in the cultures of the ancient Near East. The genders of the deities are culturally determined. For example, the sun was gendered male in Mesopotamia, while it was gendered female in the Levant and Anatolia. The "fickle" moon, universally assumed to be female, was gendered male throughout the ancient Near East. In Egypt the sky goddess belies the "Earth Goddess" stereotype. Thus, the goal of this article will be to identify the range of goddesses in particular societies and to comprehend their symbolic significance, rather than to delineate a rigid code that holds for all contexts. Unfortunately, the limited space allows only an introduction to the subject.

THE NATURE OF THE EVIDENCE. Reconstructions of ancient Near Eastern theologies are based on texts and artifacts, unevenly distributed in time and space. Data on goddesses can be compiled from personal and place names, god lists and offering lists, seal inscriptions and votive dedications, mythological literary compositions and liturgical hymns, petitionary prayers and exorcistic incantations.

The literary and visual evidence are neither complementary nor comparable. Unfortunately, the texts have no pictures and the pictures rarely bear texts. In Mesopotamia, images of goddesses were clearly differentiated from mortal women by their divine horned headdresses. In other cultures, non-human features such as wings and animal attributes are indicators of divinity.

The most problematic artifactual material are figurines of nude women known from the Neolithic through all later periods and in all areas of the Near East, from Egypt to Iran. In prehistory, there are no written records to explain these mute figurines, but they are commonly assumed to be images of the goddess and/or images for fertility magic. Their exaggerated hips and breasts could also be understood as stylized conventions for rendering ideal feminine beauty. No evidence exists to identify the typical figurine with any major goddess. On the rare occasions that goddesses were depicted naked, they can be distinguished by context, stance, or attribute.

The meaning of figurines is not something enshrined in them but something that people confer on them, changing with time and context. Figurines can be considered both as "images of" human form and as "images for" important human concerns. Written records and anthropological evidence suggest numerous possible functions and meanings for these miniature human representations. Magical ritual texts specify how the figurines of a sick person are to be used during healing rituals. In Tanzania, adolescent boys are shown figurines of pregnant women during rites of initiation into adulthood. Had such images been found out of context, this type of figurine could easily have been identified as a "goddess" rather than as a symbolic device that plays a role in the formation of male identity.

There is an immense range of possible uses for figurines. They may have been cult figures, focal points of veneration in a private household shrine or public chapel. Conversely, figurines found in temples may well have been votive offerings given by worshippers to the deity, expressing their donors' fervent piety, heartfelt thankfulness, or heartfelt entreaty. Figurines discovered in temple depositories may have been images created as part of a temple ritual.

Outside the temple, figurines were used in magic rituals to prevent or produce certain situations or states, such as ensuring fertility or good luck, warding off evil, curing illness, or causing harm to others. In these situations, the figurines might serve as talismans, amulets, fetishes, or therapeutic objects. These varied functions are known from many texts recording charms, incantations, and descriptive rituals.

On a more personal level, figurines might be markers of special times such as birthing or rebirthing, or periods of transition or of other time-based processes such as female menstrual cycles. Figurines were employed as educational aids and teaching figures, used in initiation or puberty rites to illustrate sexual topics for adolescents of both sexes. Diminutive anthropomorphic images were also undoubtedly put to use as toys, in particular as dolls. They could also be adapted to illustrate songs, epics, or myths.

Figurines may have been placed in graves as part of burial rites to counteract the harmful effects of the ghost of the dead, as substitutes for the dead person's body in the next world, as images of a protective deity who guided the deceased to the underworld, or perhaps as favorite possessions to be enjoyed by the dead in the afterlife.

The functions listed above cover only part of the spectrum of possibilities, and a single figurine may have served more than one of these functions. Given the range of types, sizes, and potential uses of figurines, it is clear that no single explanation could ever account for them all.

PREHISTORIC EVIDENCE OF FEMALE DIVINITIES (10,000–4000 BCE). Female figurines with large stomachs and pendulous breasts from the European Upper Paleolithic and Neolithic periods (c. 40,000 to 5,000 years ago) are claimed to provide evidence of a homogeneous European prehistoric religion centered on the "Great Goddess," whose image is reflected in these figurines. Many scholars have interpreted these figurines as depicting pregnant and/or breast-feeding women, and thus signifying fertility. This speculative interpretation was subsequently applied to the ancient Near East, where the first stone figures known were found in the Jordan Valley, on the shores of the Dead Sea, and around Mount Carmel (c. 10,000 BCE). In the ensuing period, crude female figurines of clay and stone appear at Mureybet, on the upper Euphrates (8000–7600 BCE). Anthropomorphic and zoomorphic examples occur in central Anatolia (8000–7000 BCE) and in the Valley of the Yarmuk River (late 7000–early 6000 BCE). Yarmukian anthropomorphic representations include those made of clay and of river pebbles, both detailed and schematic, some with cowry-like eyes and massive thighs but minimal breasts. On the Tigris in Mesopotamia, 6000 BCE graves (especially those of infants) have yielded female alabaster statuettes while ordinary settlement debris contained clay figurines, both human and animal. The alabaster statuettes are carved schematically with no accentuation of any female anatomical sexual parts. Disparate clay figurines are found at 6000 BCE sites in Mesopotamia and on somewhat earlier Zagros sites such as Jarmo. Farther east, from the Bakhtaran region in Iran, female figurines with tall necks, no facial features, and bulging breasts and thighs were uncovered in the excavations of Ganj Dareh and Tepe Sarab. Halafian sites in northern Syria and northern Mesopotamia (5000 BCE) produced a variety of figurines, of which the most famous are the painted terra-cottas of seated women with pinched heads, long necks, arms encircling large breasts, and fat, bent legs lacking feet. The significance of these figurines is difficult to explain because their remarkable diversity and varied places of discovery precludes any single explanation of their purpose. Some seem to be site-specific, reflecting local religious customs, such as the alabaster statuettes from Tell es-Sawwan.

One particular site (and its interpretation) has provided the basis for the belief in the worship of a universal monolithic "Mother Goddess"—the site of Early Neolithic Çatal Hüyük in south-central Anatolia, where certain female figurines are portrayed with large stomachs and pendulous breasts similar to the European prehistoric examples. In 1993, excavations began again at the site, now seen not as distinctive but within the context of a range of settlements from Early Neolithic Çayönü in southeastern Anatolia to Late Neolithic Hacilar in western central Anatolia.

GODDESSES OF MESOPOTAMIA. For over three millennia, the religious life of Mesopotamia was presided over by thousands of deities worshipped by a mixed population of Sumerians, Akkadians, Amorites, Kassites, and Arameans. A continual process of reinterpretation and syncretism, mutation and fossilization, fusion and fission generated a Mesopotamian religion that was a complex, multilayered accumulation.

It has often been remarked that female deities dominated early Mesopotamian religion. Major cities dedicated to goddesses were: Uruk and Zabalam, dedicated to Inanna (goddess of love, war, and sexuality), Eresh, dedicated to Nidaba (goddess of grain and writing), Shuruppak, dedicated to Sud (daughter of Nidaba, perhaps related to water and purification), Kesh and Nutur, dedicated to Ninhursaga (goddess of birthing), and Lagash, dedicated to Gatumdug (Mother of Lagash). However, other cities of equal rank had male tutelary deities.

In the second millennium, previously important cities in the lower stretches of southern Mesopotamia were abandoned for political, demographic, and perhaps ecological reasons. As the earlier cult centers began to lose their priority, the religious center of Nippur gained by their loss. In Nippur, Ninlil assumed the prerogatives of many of the other goddesses. This process was mythologized: Sud of Shuruppak was equated with Ninlil of Nippur through marriage with the god Enlil. When Sud became the bride of Enlil, she was renamed Ninlil. Once she was identified with Ninlil, she disappeared for all practical purposes from the Mesopotamian religious scene. Thus, the decline in the number of goddesses as city patrons between the third and second millennia has been explained as due to the decline of the cities of lower Mesopotamia. Similarly, the rise of northern cities brought their gods into prominence, such as Babylon and its god Marduk.

Other elements of nature, such as the earth, played a minor role in ancient Near East mythology. The primal female elemental at the beginning of time was water—the mingling of the waters was considered the source of life. The goddess of subterranean waters, Namma, was the engenderess of all—the heaven, the earth, and the gods.

The "mother goddesses" in Mesopotamia were birthing mother figures. The emblem of the "mother goddess" was the omega-shaped uterus rather than a child in her arms. The interchange of Ninhursaga (Lady of the Foothills), Nintur (Lady Birth-hut), Ninmah (Great Lady), and other "mother-goddess" figures becomes increasingly common as time passes.

The expected functions of "mother goddesses" regarding other aspects of human and animal life were in the hands of diverse goddesses and gods. The fish and water-fowl goddess Nanshe was better known for her association with divination, dreams, and oracles. She was also an administrator, responsible for checking weights and measures, protecting the weak, meting out justice, and punishing immoral acts. While Ninurta (the god of agriculture) was responsible for the fertility of the land, grain goddesses (of which Nidaba was the most prominent) were accountable for the growth of the grain. She was also in charge of the scribal arts, including accounting and surveying.

Goddesses occupied the same sex roles in the divine family as in the human family: mothers, wives, brides, sisters, and daughters. Pronounced complementarity existed between the divine genders, especially in a brother-sister relationship. The archetypical sister was Geshtinanna (Grapevine of Heaven), a paragon of sisterly devotion. She sheltered, mourned, and substituted for her brother Dumuzi in the netherworld. She played a prominent role as a singer of dirges and was associated with singing and music in general, and she became the recorder of the gods, particularly of the netherworld in the second and first millennia.

Goddesses were also responsible for clothing manufacture, beer brewing, the education of children, and doctoring the sick. Healing was always in the hands of the goddesses of medicine throughout the millennia, while pestilence and destruction were in the hands of the gods.

Inanna (in Sumerian, Ishtar in Akkadian) was the most revered and popular goddess of ancient Mesopotamia, and she has consequently served as a focus for persons seeking to revive "goddess" worship. Inanna first appears in the late fourth millennium as the patron deity of the city of Uruk, where she represented the numen of the central storehouse.

Even at this period, Inanna appears in various manifestations, each of which has a separate temple and cult. Two of her manifestations, "Morning" and "Evening," describe the goddess as the planet Venus, in the morning and in the evening sky. In later texts, as Morning Star, Venus was female; as Evening Star, male. The two aspects corresponded to the double character of Inanna/Ishtar as goddess of love and war. She was viewed as a beautiful goddess of love who ruled the day and as a bearded goddess of war who ruled the night. Even in her male role, she never becomes fully male, but seems to be a female with male gender characteristics, thus providing a powerful symbol of the ambiguities of pure sexuality.

Despite her masculine gender roles, she was conceived as the epitome of femininity. She was the youthful goddess of love, and literary compositions relate the romance of Inanna and Dumuzi. Paradoxically, some compositions extol her as a timid virgin while others exalt her as a licentious harlot. In love poetry, she manifests her eroticism and celebrates sensuality.

In the late fourth millennium, there existed a pan-Mesopotamian league centered on Uruk and its deity Inanna. The importation of Inanna into every community, and her absorption of local female divinities of various character, resulted in one mega-female divinity. In addition to this process of syncretism, her character became more ambiguous as the result of further fusion and fission. Inanna and her Semitic counterpart Ishtar had partly merged by the mid-third millennium. Simultaneously with this fusion, different goddesses split off from this amalgam. At the end of the third millennium, the goddess Nanaya appeared in Uruk as the goddess of love. Inanna shared her aspect as Venus with Ninsianna, the "red lady of heaven," who executed divine judgements.

The Canonical Temple List assigns the largest number of temples to various manifestations of Ishtar. These goddesses were understood as both one goddess and as many. They were hypostases of a single divine archetype, a situation similar to the proliferation of the various Zeus figures of classical antiquity or the local manifestations of the Virgin in Catholic belief.

The second millennium brought changes in the theological system. Gradual reduction of the roles played by female divinities, as well as domination by divine male spouses, curtailed their power of independent action. They therefore assumed an increasingly mediatory function between the human world and the masculinized divine world. Most of the goddesses popular in the third millennium continued to be worshipped but commonly under the names of their Akkadian counterparts.

With the rise of Babylon and its god Marduk to supreme dominion of the divine and human worlds, Sumerian and Akkadian divinities, both male and female, were relegated to lower positions in the hierarchy.

GODDESSES OF IRAN. Iran's vast terrain is divided into areas of relatively isolated local cultures. The best known is Elam, in southwestern Iran. Yet, it is difficult to say anything certain about Elamite deities since little is known about Elamite mythology and the only sources of information are royal inscriptions.

The major goddesses were: Pinengir, Kiririsha, Narunde, and Manzat. In a treaty from the third millennium invoking the gods of Elam, the goddess Pinengir appears in first place as the highest deity of the Elamite pantheon. Despite assumptions concerning her being a mother goddess, nothing is known about her character until the Middle Elamite period (latter part of the second millennium) when not only a temple but also an "inn" was dedicated to her. The latter suggests that Pinengir was responsible for love and sex life. During the second millennium on the coast of the Persian Gulf, another goddess, Kiririsha (Great Lady), occurs. Apparently, from Middle Elamite times, two separate deities existed, both designated "mistress of the sky," "mother of the gods," and "great consort." Kiririsha seems also to have been responsible for combat and battle, judging by her votive offerings of battle axes.

Narunde, the sister of the seven good demons, is found only in the third millennium. She was a goddess of victory, who fought against the seven evil demons. Manzat (Rainbow) was the wife of Simut, god of Elam, and her function may have been to protect women as votive offerings of female figurines were found in her temple.

In the latter part of the second millennium, Medes and Persians migrated from the Asian steppes onto the Iranian plateau. Among the Iranian deities, one goddess alone is prominent: Ardvi Sura Anahita. She was the goddess of all the waters upon the earth and the source of the cosmic ocean. She was regarded as the source of life, purifying the seed of all males and the wombs of all females. Because of her connection with life, warriors in battle prayed to her for survival and victory.

Goddesses of Anatolia. In Anatolia, peoples of different languages and cultures coexisted producing a heterogeneous polytheistic system—an amalgam of Hattic, Hittite, Luwian, and Hurrian traditions with Syrian and Mesopotamian influences. It is difficult to determine the original character of the gods of the Hattic people, who preceded the Hittites on the central Anatolian plain, since knowledge of these gods has been transmitted through Hittite traditions. The Hittites were an Indo-European people who have left numerous texts dealing with religious practice and theology. Another Indo-European group, the Luwians, resided in southwestern Anatolia. The Hurrians were speakers of a Caucasoid language whose influence expanded throughout Syria and Anatolia in the mid-second millennium.

As the Hittite kingdom expanded, the cults of the various peoples of Anatolia, all of whom had their own religious traditions and local gods, were incorporated into the Hittite system. Interference between these theological systems resulted at times in gender change: the male Hattic/Hittite ruler of the underworld Lelwani became female under Hurrian influence and was identified with the Hurrian goddess of the underworld, Allani. The Hattic goddess Kait, the deity of vegetation, became the Hittite god Halki (Grain).

Important goddesses of the Hattic pantheon were the two sun-goddesses, the sun-goddess of the sky, Wurunshemu, the consort of storm-god, and the sun-goddess of the earth (or the netherworld). The name of the sun-goddess of the earth in both Hattic and Hittite is unknown while in late Hittite texts she was referred to by the Hurrian designation Allani. Next in importance was Inar (Hittite: Inara), a young warlike goddess, the protective deity of the land. In addition to being a goddess of the wild animals, she was said to have power over fields and floods.

At the head of the Hittite pantheon were the storm-god and the sun-goddess of Arinna, identified with Hattic Wurunshemu. A mother goddess, Hannahanna (Grandmother), was a wise old woman, skilled in healing and childbirth, whose advice was regularly sought by other gods in the old Hittite vanishing god myths. Two important groups of goddesses were the Gulsh(esh) goddesses of fate and the mother goddesses. Kamrushepa, the Luwian goddess of healing, was responsible for the curing of earthly and heavenly diseases and illnesses.

Deities of Hurrian origin were mostly worshipped in Kizzuwatna (southern Anatolia) during the Hittite Empire period. In the sanctuary at Yazilikaya, a procession of the chief divinities of the Hurrianized Hittite pantheon was carved on its walls: one procession of gods on the western wall and another procession of goddesses on the eastern, with the principal deities meeting in the center. This monument provides an affirmation of the symmetry and equal importance of the gods and goddesses. Leading the goddesses was Hepat, the spouse of the storm-god Teshup, with their son, Sharruma, and daughter, Allanzu. From her images together with her son, she is thought to be a mother goddess and generally bears the title "the Lady, Queen of Heaven." Shaushka, the bellicose and beautiful sister of the storm-god Teshup, appears twice, among both the gods and the goddesses. It is assumed that she had a bisexual nature, with both male and female characteristics and attributes.

Goddesses of the Levant. Deities from a variety of backgrounds were venerated in the Levant: Syrian, West Semitic (Amorite, Canaanite), Hurrian, Akkadian, and Sumerian. In the second half of the second millennium, mythological and ritual compositions found at the site of Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra) on the Levantine coast provide a window into Canaanite theology. The principal Ugaritic goddesses were: Athirat (Ashratu, Asherah), Anat, and Athtart (Ashtart[e]).

The goddess Athirat appears for the first time as Ashrata in Amorite personal names in Mesopotamia during the first half of the second millennium BCE and sporadically in later Mesopotamian sources. In the latter half of the millennium, this goddess occurs in texts from Ugarit, Akhetaten (modern Amarna) in middle Egypt, and Taanach in northern Israel while in the first millennium her worship was limited to sites in southern Judah, Philistia, and northern Sinai, and to written references from the Bible. Nevertheless, she was invoked in one Phoenician magical plaque found in the Aramean city of Hadatu (modern Arslan Tash).

In Ugarit, this goddess appears as ʾaṯrt (or Athirat). In the mythological texts, she was the wife to the god El and mother to his seventy sons. She held the title "progenitress of the gods" and was associated with the fecund sea.

In the Bible, Asherah occurs most frequently as a cultic symbol of the divinity (wooden pole or tree), as in *Deuteron-*

omy 16:21, and occasionally as the goddess herself. She was often associated with Baal, as in *1 Kings* 18:19, when Elijah rails against four hundred and fifty prophets of Baal and four hundred prophets of Asherah.

Evidence of the importance of Asherah in the popular religion of the region of southern Judah is found in the controversial inscriptions on the pithoi vessels at Kuntillet Ajrud. One inscription reads: "I bless you by YHWH of Samaria and his asherah."

The two deities Anat (ʿnt) and Ashtart (ʿštrt, Greek form: Astarte) share similar characteristics. Both were beautiful maidens and doughty warriors, and both were depicted as smiting goddesses, brandishing weapons above their heads and holding a shield and spear. After their first appearance in Syria, the worship of these two goddesses spread throughout Egypt and the Levant. Both goddesses were venerated in Egypt: at Deir el-Medineh, the craftsmen's village in Upper Egypt, the workers set up reliefs in their honor, while an Ashtart sanctuary was discovered at Pi-Ramesses, the northern capital in Lower Egypt. Both Anat and Ashtart survive in formal lists of Egyptian gods well into Roman times. In the first millennium BCE, Ashtart was the chief deity of the Phoenician city of Tyre (in modern Lebanon) and took precedence over Anat, although the latter continued to appear sporadically in dedications from as far afield as Lower Egypt. Both goddesses were invoked in the treaty made by the Assyrian king Esarhaddon with the king of Tyre.

Although these two goddesses were similar in character, they had different origins. The name Anat goes back to Hanat, the *theos eponymous* of the Amorite Hanean tribesmen in Syria, in the early second millennium. The cult of Anat was first attested in Egypt in the late Middle Kingdom (eighteenth century BCE). As the daughter of the sun-god Re and the wife of the war-god Seth, Anat acted as a mediator between the two. In late second-millennium Ugaritic myths, she was the sister of the storm god Baal, and again a mediator between him and the great god El. She was the mistress of animals, both protectress and huntress, as well as midwife at both animal and human births. She was pictured as a young maiden without children, swift as a bird and fierce as a lioness. Her proficiency in battle was legendary. The Baal myth tells of her bellicose attacks on men and divinities, as well as her help in placatory mediation for the building of Baal's palace. Anat searches for Baal in the realm of Mot (Death), and with the help of the sun-goddess Shapsu she finds and buries him and finally revives him by vanquishing Mot.

Ashtart epitomized the fury of battle and probably had astral associations with the planet Venus. In Emar (on the bend of the Euphrates River), one of her manifestations was Ashtart-of-Battle. In Egypt, she was addressed as "Lady of the Battle, goddess of the Asians." In the Phoenician cities of Tyre and Sidon during the first millennium, she was the leading goddess. In the Bible, Ashtart appears both in singular and plural forms: ʿashtoret and ʿashtorot. The Bible cites her worship as widespread among the original inhabitants of Canaan and associates her with fertility and love rather than warfare.

From this review, it can be seen clearly that none of these major goddesses were "fertility" goddesses and that there were no "fertility" cults in ancient Canaan. The deities responsible for fertility were male. Baal was responsible for the fertility of the land and El for the fertility of human beings.

GODDESSES OF EGYPT. As in the other regions of the ancient Near East, the goddesses of Egypt can be described as local deities, although several local deities were worshipped throughout Egypt, from the beginning of the historical period onward.

According to the Heliopolitan cosmogony, the creator god Atum (He who makes/is complete), appears spontaneously in the waters of the god Nun. He engendered from himself the next generation of deities: the male Shu, the preserving force of dry air, and the female Tefnut, the corrosive force of moisture. Atum was said to have produced the pair by masturbation, by his personified feminine hand, or by a female complement, Iusaas ("She comes and grows great"). Shu and Tefnut bore the earth god Geb and the sky goddess Nut. Geb and Nut produced two more pairs of gods and goddesses: the gods Osiris and Seth and their respective wives and sisters Isis and Nephthys. One myth tells of the conflict between the two brothers Osiris and Seth. It describes how Seth, envious of his brother Osiris, drowned him and cut his body into pieces. However, Isis and Nephthys managed to collect the parts of Osiris' dismembered body. With her extraordinary magical powers, Isis then revived her husband-brother, was impregnated by him, and later gave birth to Horus.

The three goddesses Nut, Isis, and Nephthys were worshipped as the most important goddesses of Egypt. The sky-goddess Nut was the regenerative mother, the mother of the deceased king (and thus a mortuary goddess). She was also the mother of the solar deity Re who traveled by boat through the night sky within the body of the goddess. At dawn the god was reborn from between the thighs of the goddess in the East.

Isis was the primary symbol of the devoted mother and wife; she was referred to as "the Savior" and "Great of Magic," and she was entreated for protection, particularly on behalf of women and children. Representations of Isis suckling the infant Horus in her arms illustrate her role as the protective goddess-mother.

Although Nephthys (Mistress of the House) was the wife-sister of the god Seth, her loyalty to Osiris, her husband's opponent, earned her a similar position in the funerary cult to that of her sister Isis. Like Isis, she was regarded as the savior and protector of Osiris, and consequently of every dead person. Nephthys also played the role of wet nurse, despite not being able to give birth to children of her own.

Two other notable goddesses were Neith and Hathor. The history of Neith begins with the earliest history of Egypt, when she had a close, protective relationship with the king and queens. Her emblems, the double bow and crossed arrows, indicate her role as huntress. Once the most prominent goddess, her cult faded until the Late Period of ancient Egypt. In the Greco-Roman period she came to be portrayed as a primordial creator deity.

In the latter part of the Egyptian Old Kingdom, the goddess Hathor of Dendera came to the fore. Her complex nature is reflected in her numerous and diverse roles, her different forms, and her many cult centers. Hathor appeared as a woman, a cow, a falcon, "Lady of the Sycamore Tree," a fiery *uraeus* (the cobra), and a savage lioness. Her name, which means "House of Horus," identifies her as the mother of the king (who was identified with Horus), and is associated with her ancient role as the celestial cow and mother of the sun. Hathor was also the beautiful and sensual goddess of love, sexuality, joy, dance, and music.

Taweret (the Great One) was one of the most popular deities, associated with pregnancy and childbirth. She was usually represented as a composite being, with the body and head of a hippopotamus, the paws of a lion, and the tail of a crocodile, or a complete crocodile on her back. She was shown standing on her hind legs; her swollen abdomen and pendulous breasts indicate her association with pregnancy and nursing. The goddess Maat represents the perfect, stable order of existence which governs every aspect of the world from the laws of nature to the rules of human social life.

Clearly, there is no one gender role incorporated by these goddesses, each of whom exhibit an amazing amount of individuality.

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JOAN GOODNICK WESTENHOLZ (2005)

GODDESS WORSHIP: GODDESS WORSHIP IN THE HELLENISTIC WORLD

After Johann G. Droysen's famous *Geschichte des Hellenismus* (1833–1843; 1877–1878), the term *Hellenism* was increasingly used to qualify a crucial period in the history of the ancient Mediterranean world. Droysen considered the exploits of Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE) as a crucial turning point in the politico-cultural history of the vast geographical area around the Mediterranean and saw the year of his death as the beginning of a new historical cycle. This cycle started with the progressive fragmentation of the supranational empire set up by the Alexander in the thirteen years of his dazzling career (336–323 BCE) and the creation of new kingdoms by his generals, the Diadochi, and ended with the Roman conquest of Egypt after the Battle of Actium (31 BCE). By reducing the ancient kingdom of the Pharaohs (subsequently inherited by the Ptolomies) into a Roman province (30 BCE), the new power of Rome, soon itself at the head of an empire, concluded its gradual conquest of the kingdoms of ancient Macedonian origin.

THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD. Hellenism covers a wide period: three centuries of intense political, military, social, economic, and religious events that influenced in various ways all the peoples of the Mediterranean. In the East, in particular, it affected the kingdoms that had been formed from the division of lands conquered by Alexander. However, this circumscribed definition is now considered inadequate, and the scope of Hellenism extends to cover the entire time span of the Roman Empire until its transformation into a Christian Empire at the end of the fourth century. At this time bloody sacrifices were prohibited by Theodosius (391 CE), with the aim of putting an end to the traditional cults of the Mediterranean world. The antipagan legislation of the Christian emperors took effect gradually and over a long period of time, and polytheistic religious traditions persisted, albeit to a lesser extent, in many regions of this vast geographical area for at least another two centuries. It was however the clear sign of a deep cultural and religious transformation that brought to a close the long and variegated historical period known as Hellenism. A distinction between early and late Hellenism can be identified, respectively, as the ancient Droysenian phase and that of Imperial Rome—each have particular aspects while also being part of an historical continuum.

Hellenistic culture. Unlike the Greek etymon *hellenismos,* which defines Greek as opposed to those different than Greeks (represented by the "barbarians"; i.e., all non-Greeks), after Droysen the term *Hellenism*—insofar as it refers to the last three centuries before the Christian era—was used to express the complex cultural physiognomy of that age, with its repercussions in subsequent centuries. This was the result of Greek elements meeting and amalgamating to various extents with the traditions of those peoples—above all Asian, but also Western—who came into direct contact with them. The first and most evident consequence of the *gesta* of Alexander the Great, who had created an immense supranational empire and modeled the subsequent structure of Hellenistic kingdoms, was in fact the intense movement of people that, although mainly for military and commercial purposes, acted as a vehicle of wide-ranging cultural exchange and the source of profound changes also on a religious level.

Extremely significant differences existed on the social, economic, and institutional levels, between the nations of the eastern Mediterranean, where monarchic Hellenistic states lived alongside independently ruled Greek cities and their leagues. However, it is possible to talk of Hellenism as a sufficiently homogeneous cultural entity, based on a common language (the Greek of the *koine* set up on the basis of the Attic dialect) and characterized by common spiritual and intellectual traits. The religious component is an essential part of this culture, and here also there is significant homogeneity, albeit with local and national variety. This homogeneity is the result of various kinds of interference between the Greek religion and that of the peoples with which it came into contact. In other words, in religious terms the Hellenistic period was characterized by a phenomenon that, although foreshadowed and rooted in the archaic and Classical periods, now acquired such large proportions that it became a distinguishing feature of an entire phase in the history of Mediterranean civilization.

A distinction should also be made between the situation in the western Mediterranean and of the oriental regions, where Hellenism penetrated deeply into the local humus and from which in turn it sucked vital nutrients. Here, alongside peoples only marginally touched by Greek expansion in the early Hellenistic period, there were entire regions such as Magna Graecia and Sicily, with a Greek tradition dating back to the seventh and eighth centuries BCE, and Etruria, with centuries of contact with Greece and the East. For its part, during its gradual expansion through the peninsula, Rome was receptive to Hellenic influence already in the monarchic age, whereas the Classical period brought direct contact with the poleis of continental Greece. Moreover, with the eastward expansion of the Roman Republic, the Hellenistic period witnessed the large-scale Hellenization of the cultural and religious life of the Urbs, which would continue throughout the life of the Empire.

Fundamental tendencies of Hellenism. Although tending to be linked primarily to tradition, the dialectic connection between various components of a cultural system, beliefs, and cults nevertheless influence change in a community's socio-political and economic life. Two fundamental tendencies run through Hellenistic culture: (1) cosmopolitan open-mindedness and the preeminence of the individual (i.e., the overcoming of the particularistic barriers of both the polis and the wider national aggregate) and (2) the initiative of the individual who, by making new life choices, may reject traditional patterns and participate independently in the many activities available in a supranational panorama. In this situation the individual often looks for new forms of aggregation, including from a religious point of view, and may join groups, communities, and associations that in foreign lands practice the cult of one or another deity (of the nation of provenience or of local deities) encountered by immigrants in their new home. In the case of the indigenous populations, certain divine figures are sometimes the object of particular veneration by groups of worshipers, independent of public or city traditions, and thus fuels dynamic forms of personal religion.

The phenomenon of religious contacts and influences is an almost structural factor in the history of Mediterranean peoples as far back as the observation of history allows. For the Greeks, it represented an important aspect of their colonial experience in the East and West, in which they took their own gods and came into contact with those of the local populations. However, it assumed particular relevance in the Hellenistic period and, subsequently, under the Roman Empire. The Greeks and almost all the peoples of the Near East and the West had in fact ethnic religious traditions whose origins and development were contemporaneous to the origins and developments of the communities in which they originated, where they were perceived as an essential component of cultural identity, together with language and the socio-economic and political framework. Because they are related to highly civilized peoples, the respective religious contexts may be defined as national rather than ethnic because they have (to varying extents) common constants and tendencies that, as in the case of the numerous Greek poleis, give homogeneity to the religious life of the individual ethnic group and go beyond local identities. The national religions of the ancient Mediterranean world were, then, the heritage of individual peoples, mutually acknowledged and cohabiting without intolerance or exclusivism.

An essential component of the picture is the structure of such religious traditions, which, with the exceptions already mentioned, may all in various ways be defined as polytheistic, implying the belief as reflected in ritual praxis in a series of superhuman entities with more or less clearly defined personalities. These divine figures possess particular attributes and prerogatives and are often connected with the various cosmic departments whose working they ensure and with human institutions over whose foundation they presided and of which they are now protectors. Greek polytheism may be defined as a dynastic-departmental religious structure, because the various deities (especially the main ones) are linked by bonds of parentage and endowed with power over the various spheres of cosmic and human life.

As contact intensified in the early Hellenistic period and, subsequently, in the Imperial Roman period, the structural similarities between the religious traditions of Mediterranean peoples made possible the phenomenon of religious cosmopolitanism that characterizes the period. In fact, certain cults (i.e., mythical–ritual complexes gravitating around single deities or divine "families") spread progressive beyond their respective national boundaries, as is the case of the oriental cults that spread through Greece and the West. At the same time, Greek religion penetrated extensively into the East, in part superimposing itself on local systems and in part cohabiting with them, giving the religious life of the great Eastern cities—whether newly founded or of ancient origins—a more or less marked but in any case decisive Hellenic stamp. With the affirmation of the power of Rome, numerous figures of the Roman pantheon also began to be worshiped under various guises by the peoples of the Mediterranean and were found to be susceptible to forms of convergence or identification with local deities.

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES. Before examining the Goddess worship in the Hellenistic World, two preliminary difficulties need to be discussed. The first regards the polytheistic structure of the religious contexts in question, in which each figure acts and functions with specific attributes and prerogatives yet also within a complex web of relationships involving the other superhuman entities—particularly those to which they are linked due to having similar or contrasting functions. This web implies a strongly anthropomorphic gender differentiation, which is translated into a distinction between gods and goddesses (i.e., in the creation of a male and female divine world). The question, as posed by Nicole Loraux (1990), then becomes "what is a goddess?"—an inquiry that can be related to the Greek pantheon as well similar Mediterranean religious contexts.

When facing the problem of the significance of female divine figures within the religious systems of a Hellenistic milieu, the structural dialectic of the relations operating among all their components and, in particular, between the two gender dimensions must be taken into full consideration. The focus on the various female presences should not overshadow the individual basic reality of religious contexts in which the divine world is articulated according to the complementary functions and prerogatives of these two dimensions.

The second difficulty regards the very notion of Hellenism assumed as the parameter of reference for the theme under discussion. As mentioned previously, this term combines a time span that current historical research extends significantly beyond the limits of Droysen's formula with an extremely wide-ranging spatial dimension, enveloping all the cultures of the Mediterranean area that in various ways came into contact with Greek culture. It follows that, in principle, the entire chronological and cultural framework in question must be examined to identify the personality and role at least of its main female figures, who embody the spiritual and religious needs that the worshipers—both men and women—in turn express through the prerogatives and the attributes with which they create the goddesses' images and organize their cult. Additionally, all the religious contexts converging in this vast geographical area maintained their ancestral structures and, despite the more or less profound changes caused by the politico-military and socio-economic events of the age, fundamentally conserved the beliefs and worship practices consolidated by tradition. Each of the divine figures of the numerous national pantheons had by now assumed universally recognizable stable and defined prerogatives and attributes, so a full description would require the examination of the deity's entire history, right back to the most ancient sources.

Despite these reservations, we may try to identify the peculiarities of certain main female divine figures that occupied a dominant role in the collective religious imagination of early and late Hellenism. The distinguishing traits of this wide historical time span were individualism and cosmopolitanism—factors able to trigger processes of confluence and cultural homogenization. Also, on a religious level, it is legitimate to focus attention on those figures and their mythical–ritual systems that were involved in similar processes, grouping aspects and prerogatives of similar figures from other cultural contexts around an original national identity. These are not phenomena of syncretism (a widely abused term that is contested by religious historians) but authentically creative processes, whereby certain aspects of a deity's defining functions and attributes were selected and developed so that the deity drew to itself other divine figures with similar functions but from different historico-cultural contexts.

GREEK ORIGINAL TRAITS IN GODDESS WORSHIP. In this process, as in other components of the Hellenistic cultural amalgam, a predominant and guiding role was played by the Greek religious tradition, in which there were a number of great goddesses with a long history (perpetuated by various sources of nourishment) and whose origins were often unclear (e.g., Mediterranean, Indo-European, Near Eastern), but which had by now assumed strong polyhedral identities. Figures included Hera, bride of the great Zeus, whose distinguishing feature is her link with marriage; Athena, the *parthenos* (never a child, always a virgin) who emerged intact and motherless from the head of Zeus as a warrior and patron of the arts, protectress of the polis, and civilizing deity; Artemis, the virgin huntress, mistress of the animals (*potnia therōn*), and protectress of the critical passages of human life from birth to male and female initiations; and, lastly, Aphrodite. She represented the very force of sexual desire and, according to Hesiodic tradition, was born before the other gods of Olympus from the marine foam fertilized by the member of Uranus and mutilated by his son Cronus to open the cosmic space necessary for the creation of gods and men. This figure undoubtedly had oriental connections in contiguity and probably in continuity with the Babylonian and Phoenician Astarte (perhaps via the Cypriot culture; Kypris is already a typical Homeric name given to her) and also brings together warlike aspects and a bisexual component.

In the Hellenistic period, Aphrodite once more takes forceful possession of those far-off roots, moreover never forgotten, to become associated and identified with numerous goddesses of Near Eastern pantheons. Already in the archaic and Classical periods, those roots were expressed, amongst other ways, in the typical love–death relationship with Adonis, whose typological analogies and historical connections with the Babylonian Tammuz are clear. Associated in Sappho's female *thiasos* with the ritual of mourning and in classical Athens with women dancing on roofs in a state of emotional turmoil, in the city of Alexandria during the days of Arsinoë II, wife of Ptolemy II, the cult of Adonis was, instead, the great city festival described in the famous Idyll XV of Theocritus, thus confirming a religious continuity that in the Hellenistic period widened to involve the cosmopolitan public of the newly founded cities.

The metropolis of Alexandria was, in fact, built on Egyptian soil by Alexander the Great as a tangible sign of *hellenismos* introduced into the heart of the ancient local civilization and, under Ptolemaic rule, was considered one of the most prestigious cultural and religious centers of the Mediterranean world. The traditional Greek cults were practiced there, and sources indicate that the prevalent cult was that of Demeter, who was the subject of numerous festivals also observed in Egyptian society and in Eleusis, a suburb of Alexandria, where she was evoked in her peculiar dimension as the figure-head goddess of the mystery cult. With no local "branch offices" to perform its role, Attic Eleusis would remain a religious center of extreme vitality throughout early and late Hellenism, attracting worshipers from all over the Mediterranean and, in particular, from Italy and Rome. Eleusis was also visited by many emperors from Augustus (31 BCE) to Gallienus (264/65 CE); Hadrian, an admirer of Greek culture, was a particularly devoted worshiper. They displayed a special respect for Demeter's gifts, which the famous Ciceronian formula listed as cereal cultivation and the mysteries with their eschatological guarantees.

On the acropolis of Pergamum (founded by Attalus I and capital of his kingdom) near the great altar of Zeus, stands the sanctuary of Demeter, together with those of Athena Polias and Hera Basileia. This sanctuary testifies to the substantial Greek influence on the new Asian kingdom, along the lines of the ancient Hellenic colonies in the Anatolian peninsula. This sanctuary, moreover, was also a particular center for the worship of Artemis, who in numerous sites of ancient origin or Hellenistic foundation displayed evident oriental traits (reflecting both the marked Mediterranean and Anatolian components of her ancient roots) and new confluences with figures of great local goddesses. Examples include the great sanctuary at Ephesus in which the unusual iconography of the cult statue of the goddess, enclosed within a sheath decorated with numerous animal protomes (heads or foreparts), plastically expresses her essential dimension as mistress of wild animals *(pothnia therōn);* those of Magnesia on the Meander, in which Artemis bears the name of Leukophryene; of Sardis; of Perge in Pamphylia; of Bargylia, with the epithet Kindyas; and of Hypaipa, where she is identified with the Persian Anaitis. In fact, in the Hellenistic period, the Persian goddess was worshiped in various Anatolian centers, which to a varying extent preserved traces of ancient Persian domination. In the game of finding similarities between the traits and functions of divine figures that emerged from the contact between different religious contexts, she is usually identified with the Greek goddess. The name Persian Artemis (*persike*), in fact, is one of the most frequent names given to Anaitis—especially in Lydia, which emphasizes how various defining traits of the two figures are similar, such as their links with nature and the animal kingdom in particular.

THE ORIENTAL AND EGYPTIAN CONTRIBUTION. In the Hellenistic period, other major Eastern goddesses began to be worshiped beyond their national boundaries, thus increasing their number of worshipers. The contact with some of the main characters in the Greek, and then also Roman pantheon, led to partial changes in their personalities.

Dea Syria. A case in point is the Semitic goddess Atargatis, whose main center of worship was the city of Hierapolis-Bambyke in northern Syria. She had been known in Greece since the third to second century BCE by the name of Pure (*hagne*) Aphrodite or Goddess Syria and was on occasions called Aphrodite Goddess Syria or *Hagne* Aphrodite Atargatis, confirming that worshipers perceived certain analogies between the two goddesses. Moreover, Atargatis did not lose her own distinct identity, underlined by the national name and clearly expressed in her traditional association with the great Syrian Baal Hadad, lord of the tempest and of lightning, who was linked to the kingdom of the underworld and fertility.

In Delos, where the cult was introduced by Syrian merchants, the two gods were first venerated together as patrician gods by the Eastern community. When Athens took control of the island, the public of worshipers widened to envelop its entire cosmopolitan population, and the goddess progressively acquired supremacy over her male counterpart. From 118/117 BCE the holder of the priesthood seems to have been an Athenian, who proclaimed himself *hiereus tēs agnēs Aphroditēs* (priest of the Pure Aphrodite). This title is an indication of the advanced process of Hellenization in which the goddess was by now involved. Lucian (second century CE) is attributed with the treatise "The Syrian Goddess," which provides a description of the cult and religious traditions related to the great sanctuary of Hierapolis-Bambyke. The goddess, although linked to her male counterpart Hadad and to a lower ranking figure of unknown identity, seems to be the undisputed protagonist of the cult and of relative mythical traditions. Assuming the identification of Hadad with Zeus—considering that the numerous Semitic Baals and the major male deities of the numerous local pantheons tended to be assimilated with the king of the Greek gods or with the Roman Jupiter, by now perceived as his counterpart—Lucian also puts Atargatis on the same level as Hera.

However, confirming the polyhedral nature of this divine figure, Lucian declares that "on the whole, she is certainly Hera, but she also has something of Athena, Aphrodite, Selene, Rhea, Artemis, Nemesis and the Fates" (*De Dea Syria* 32).

There is an evident sense of a "game of identification" between various divine figures, clearly perceived by contemporary peoples, as a tool for classifying and evaluating their functions and prerogatives when comparing the numerous national pantheons. The presence of phallic symbols in the Heliopolitan sanctuary, together with many other elements of the ritual praxis, shows the goddess's fundamental link with nature and fertility. The existence of a religious staff consisting of eunuch Galloi and of men and women who in the grip of obsession worshiped the goddess with singing, dancing, and the music of sacred instruments (*De Dea Syria* 43), indicates a cult with clear orgiastic traits, similar to that of the great Anatolian mother Cybele, with whom some ancient sources identify Atargatis. The marked astral and cosmic characterization of her personality (often identified with the constellation of Virgo), together with her peculiar traits as protectress of the polis and her identification with Fortuna and Tyche, portray a complex personality. This was the result of a long historical process that grew from the ancient local roots of a sovereign goddess of a city community to become—according to the canons of Hellenistic cosmopolitanism—the figure of the *omniparens* (universal genetrix; mother of all) and omnipotent cosmic deity celebrated by Apuleius (second century CE).

In terms of the diffusion and significance of her cult in the Mediterranean regions, Atargatis took her distance from her original male counterpart, who also—as Zeus or Jupiter Heliopolitanus and often bearing the name Optimus Maximus—enjoyed a certain popularity under the Empire. The divine consort of another Syrian god, the Baal of the city of Doliche in Commagene (northern Syria), however, assumed a subordinate position to her companion, while enjoying the latter's great popularity in the imperial period (second–third century CE) only by reflection. This figure is identified with Iuppiter Optimus Maximus and bears the localized title of Dolichenus. He has warlike but also celestial and cosmic attributes and a bride whom epigraphic and iconographic sources identify with Juno, or often Regina Juno or Santa Juno.

This assimilation fits perfectly into the general framework in question and shows how the major female figures in the Greek and Roman pantheons, which were by now extremely similar, provided specific parameters of reference that allowed many divine figures with different national origins to be received into the great Hellenistic cultural amalgam. Moreover, filtered by Hellenic and Roman influence, these figures acquire a supranational, cosmopolitan dimension and are often characterized in cosmic terms, assuming functions and prerogatives of many other female deities while never totally obscuring their primitive identity. Although her title identifies her with the bride of the highest Roman god, the iconographic type of the Juno of Doliche reveals its oriental origin in a number of characteristic elements. In parallel with her divine bridegroom, who is depicted standing on a bull's back, the goddess appears upright on an animal (not always clearly identifiable as bovine or cervine) in a long robe with her head covered by a veil, or sometimes wearing a diadem (jeweled headdress) or a *calathos* (a cylindrical cap). The scepter and the mirror are her typical attributes.

Cybele. The Phrygian goddess of animals and mountains, Cybele was already known to the first Greek colonists on the coasts of Asia Minor and since the seventh to sixth century BCE was included in the Greek pantheon under the name of Great Mother *(Mēter Megalē)* on the basis of her identification with Rhea, mother of the Olympian gods. The iconographic scheme that originated in this period would remain basically unchanged until the last manifestations of her cult, which became one of the most widespread in the Mediterranean world after its official introduction in Rome in 204 BCE. In this solemn image of the goddess, she seated on her throne, often within a *naiskos* (shrine or small temple), with her veiled head surmounted by the polos, bearing the attributes of the sceptre, the *patera* (a libation bowl), and the *timpanum* (tambourine), and with a lion cub in her lap or accompanied by one or two lions in a heraldic position near the throne.

More or less Hellenized (also due to her relationship with Demeter) the Anatolian goddess does not lose the peculiar connotations of her personality and cult. Her individual characteristics are expressed in the names that refer to her Eastern origins (Berecynthian, Idaea, Cybele) and in the orgiastic forms of the rite, with a significant role given to women and its nocturnal connotations. In fact, the goddess has the prerogative of infusing obsession (*mania*) both in the religious dimension of divine possession and in the destructive manifestation of pathological madness, which however she may also cure in her role of healing goddess. Above all, the presence of a male counterpart, Attis, the subject of a bloodthirsty cult involving the self-castration of a number of worshipers forming the group of the Galloi, shows the oriental roots of the mythical–ritual system revolving around the Anatolian Great Mother.

The process of Hellenization of this system, which in the Classical period caused the figure of Attis and his bloody rites to be abolished, did not however achieve its radical transformation. In the early Hellenistic period in Greece, the young male counterpart of Cybele reemerged on a mythical and ritual level. His anthropomorphic representation displays the connotations of a superhuman figure linked to vegetation. He is the protagonist of a tragic event of death, redeemed by a promise of bodily incorruptibility and, above all, by the ritual evocation of the event itself. In this way, he becomes the subject of worship together with the Great Mother. The official introduction in Rome of the Metroac cult apparently supplants the Greek experience of it, because at the height of the military and political crisis caused by Hannibal's presence on Italic soil during the Second Punic War (218–210 BCE) the Senate turned to King Attalus of Pergamum as mediator at the sanctuary of Pessinunt, home of the Great Goddess. On arriving in the Urbs, the Black Stone, aniconic image of the goddess was housed in the temple of Victoria on Palatine Hill and then transferred to the sacred temple dedicated to her on the same hill, the center of the city's ancestral cults. The Hellenized dimension is present also in the figure of the Roman Magna Mater Idaea, adopted as national deity due to her links with the tradition of the city's Trojan origins as protectress of Aeneas, son of an Aphrodite perceived as homologous to the goddess Venus. In fact, the religious policy implemented by the public powers of Rome once again reflects the trends typical of the contemporary religious scene, whereby an oriental deity was introduced into the traditional religious structure and the aspects most suited to that structure were developed and its physiognomy remodeled to harmonize it with the other members of the pantheon.

At the same time, the new goddess does not lose her own identity, which in the case of Cybele would be affirmed strongly in the late Republic and early Empire when the Phrygian and mystic aspects of the cult reemerged. These aspects had been relegated to within the Palatine sanctuary, together with the figure of Attis and the eunuch Galloi, whereas the official space had been entirely occupied by the public festival organized by the aristocrats of the annual Megalesia games, which included the procession of the divine image and its immersion in the waters of the river Almo. The emperors Claudius (41–54) and Antoninus Pius (138–161) instituted the Phrygian festival cycle of March 15–17, in which the story of Attis was publicly evoked with manifestations of mourning and joy and marked also by the bloody practices of the Galloi. Once the Metroac ritual was adopted as the official cult of the state, thereby protected and promoted by the emperors, this Roman festive cycle spread to many parts of the Empire. By 160 CE the entire Empire knew of the Metroac sacrificial rite in its dual form of the taurobolium (sacrifice of a bull) and criobolium (sacrifice of a ram) and was performed by city communities and private individuals for the health of the emperor and his family as an expression of devotion and loyalty toward the highest public authority. In the drastic evolution of lifestyle and religious feeling in subsequent centuries, the cathartic connotations of the taurobolium were accentuated, and it shifted from being a public rite performed for the salvation of the social community in the person of its highest representative to become an individual, private rite. Its aim was thus the purification and salvation of the worshiper.

Both in the forms of the festival cycle of March and in those of the bloody rite of the taurobolium, the Great Goddess, protagonist of the cult, together with her male counterpart, Attis, would maintain her position of importance up until the end of Hellenism. In the late fourth century CE she would unite in the taurobolium those representatives of the Roman aristocracy who had remained impervious to Christianization. From Vettius Agorius Praetextatus and his bride Fabia Aconia Paulina to many other members of the great Roman senatorial families, the tenacious loyalty to ancestral religious traditions would be given particular importance and attention through devotion to the Magna Mater Idaea, whose ancient Eastern personality is inextricably intertwined with the equally marked traits of her Hellenic and Roman manifestations.

Isis. The Egyptian goddess Isis is undoubtedly the figure that more than any other exemplifies the Hellenistic typology of a national deity assuming a cosmopolitan nature when coming into contact with similar personalities and under dominant Hellenic influence. Herodotos (c. 484–between 430 and 420 BCE) noted in his *Histories* that all Egyptians, independent of their innumerable local cults, venerated the couple of Isis and Osiris. For thousands of years they played a central role in Egyptian religion, due to their triple connection with pharaonic ideology, funerary practices and eschatology, and agrarian fertility.

In the light of the Greek interpretation, Osiris is identified with Dionysos because of his chthonic and agrarian aspects and especially the *pathē* (sufferings) embodied in his mythical story and cult, and Isis is identified with Demeter. This identification, however, only covers the aspect of her divine personality linked to fertility and maternity. Parallel to a progressive diffusion of her cult in Greece, Asia Minor, the islands of the Aegean and the West (first in Sicily and southern Italy and then throughout the peninsula and in the various regions of the Empire) in the Hellenistic period Isis's attributes and prerogatives underwent such extraordinary development that she became a *panthea* goddess. In his novel *Metamorphoses,* Apuleius (second century CE) defined her as "single Godhead (*numen unicum*) adored by the whole world in varied forms, in differing rites and with many diverse names" (*Metamorphoses* 11, 5). In the prayer that the protagonist of the novel addresses to the bright moon rising from the waters of the sea over the beach of Cenchreae (Corinth), he invokes the *Regina caeli* (Queen of Heaven) by listing the main figures of the Greek-Roman pantheon—all expressions of her multiform identity: Ceres honored at Eleusis, the *caelestis* (heavenly) Venus "worshipped in the island shrine of Paphos; or the sister of Phoebus . . . now adored in the celebrated temples of Ephesus; or whether as Proserpine . . ." (*Metamorphoses* 11, 5). He concluded: "By whatever name or ceremony or visage it is right to address thee, help me now in the depth of my trouble" (*Metamorphoses* 11, 5). In the reply of the epiphanic goddess, further details are added to the divine picture:

> Thus the Phrygians, earliest of races, call me Pessinuntia, Mother of the Gods; thus the Athenians, sprung from their own soil, call me Cecropeian Minerva; and the sea-tossed Cyprians call me Paphian Venus, the ar-

> cher Cretans Diana Dictynna, and the trilingual Sicilians Ortygian Proserpine; to the Eleusinians I am Ceres, the ancient goddesses, to others Iuno, to others Bellona and Hecate and Rhamnusia. But the Ethiopians . . . together with the Africans and the Egyptians who excel through having the original doctrine, honour me with my distinctive rites and give me my true name of Queen Isis. (*Metamorphoses* 11, 1–5)

Deeply Hellenized but at the same time rooted in the ancient Egyptian tradition, this image of Isis Myrionyma (with ten thousand names) is most vividly expressed in the hymns of praise (*aretalogies*). In these, the goddess declares her powers (*dynameis*) and lists the benefits she has bestowed on humankind, configuring herself as a typical cultural heroine in line with the Hellenistic model of the *euretēs* (inventor of the fundamental human techniques and institutions) and *euergetēs* (benefactor). The Isiac *aretalogies* are attested by epigraphs in many places of the Hellenized world and by literary documents and probably derive from a single prototype in which ancient Egyptian concepts were elaborated in the light of a new religious vision typical of the Hellenistic period. The model of Isis's *aretalogies* is, in fact, attributable to the beginning of this period and was aimed at promoting diffusion of the cult of the goddess whose functional identity and iconography had by now become deeply Hellenized. After the goddess's genealogy and a list of her main cult centers, a list follows of her cosmogonic exploits (e.g., separation of the land from the sky, fixing the route followed by the stars, the sun and the moon) and of the benefits she bestowed on humanity (e.g., the abolition of cannibalism; the institution of public and family law; the invention of language, writing, and navigation; the institution of religious rites; and the definition of ethical laws). The listing of the numerous *aretai* presents a picture of Isis as a universal power, mistress of the cosmos in its natural and human dimension, and in some documents (e.g., *Hymn from Andros, Hymn from Kyme, Metamorphoses*) sovereign of astral destiny—the *Heimarmene* (fate) imposed on Hellenistic society as a dark and tyrannical force. This prerogative of the goddess is expressed in the frequent name of Tyche or Fortuna with which worshipers invoked her and in the iconographic attributes of the cornucopia and the rudder. Its liveliest representation is the story of Lucius narrated by Apeuleius in *Metamorphoses.* This trait explains the exceptional favor that Isis enjoyed in the entire Mediterranean world and represents the most typically Hellenistic aspect of her personality. In the variety of her attributes and her typology, the figure of Isis—although rooted in a national tradition—is a typical creation of Hellenism in the sense that she exemplifies its cosmopolitan aspects and at the same time satisfies individuals' needs for personal guarantees for the present and future. To this end, according to ancient Egyptian ideology, an essential role is played by the goddess in the mythical–ritual framework associating her with her spouse Osiris and her son Horus. In the organic explanation of the second century CE Greek writer Plutarch (before 50–after 120 CE), the Egyptian myth attributes Isis with the essential task of searching for the dismembered body of her spouse. On recomposing it, she celebrated the funeral rites, through which she made the great Osiris immortal. At the same time, Plutarch defines the salvific function of the goddess toward humanity:

> The sister and wife of Osiris . . . , nor did she allow the contests and struggles which she had undertaken, her wanderings and her many deeds of wisdom and bravery, to be engulfed in oblivion and silence, but into the most sacred rites she infused images, suggestions and representations of her experiences at that time, and so she consecrated at once a pattern of piety and an encouragement to men and women overtaken by similar misfortunes. (*De Iside et Osiride,* 27 as cited in Griffiths, 1970, pp. 26–27)

The divine story contemplates suffering and death but also provides a positive solution in the reanimation of Osiris, who regains life and sovereignty, albeit in the kingdom of the underworld. To the eyes of the Greeks, who are aware of the religious experiences typical of the Greek mystery cults, the story becomes an exemplary model for contemporary men and women. Translated into ritual terms (the *teletai*), it offers worshipers the hope of overcoming the difficulties and sufferings of human existence.

Plutarch's text thus draws a picture that is clearly illustrated in Book 11 of the *Metamorphoses,* namely, the presence in the Isiac cult of the initiatory and esoteric praxis of the mysteries, insofar as they are rites that place the worshiper in intimate contact with the deity through the ritual reevocation of a painful event that, however, has a positive outcome. The mystery component—absent from the ancient Egyptian religious context—is the result of the undeniable influence of the Greek, probably Eleusinian model, as in other cults of oriental deities. In particular, at the beginning of the Hellenistic period in some Greek centers, Cybele, another great goddess involved in the process of Hellenization characteristic of the age, assumed traits typical of mystery cults. These would persist with different forms and methods up until the imperial period, when they are discussed by Christian authors such as Clement of Alexandria (150–215) and Julius Firmicus Maternus (fourth century CE).

Insofar as they are subjects of a mystery cult resulting from the dense network of contacts with Greek religious influences and in particular with that of the Eleusinian Demeter to whom in various ways both are typologically related, the two goddesses, Isis and Cybele, express an important component of the great Hellenistic religious amalgam. They are, in fact, characterized by marked individualistic tensions, which on a religious level are reflected in the search for a more intimate and personal relationship with the deity, such as could be realized in initiatory and esoteric rites. At the same time, the Isiac cult is one of the most characteristic manifestations of the tendency to set up new community groups because it requires total devotion of the initiate. In exchange for the divine protection that broke the bonds of the blind Fortuna and introduced him into the secrets of the cult, the Lucius of Apuleius must dedicate to Isis his whole existence in a total relationship of personal religion. Although not definable in terms of conversion because it persists within the framework of special devotion for a single deity without excluding the other members of a polytheistic pantheon, this relationship nevertheless expresses a religious experience of significant intensity and personal commitment, different from that offered by the traditional practices of public cults.

A last characteristic of the Hellenistic Isis—typical of numerous contemporary cults of female deities, yet in her case particularly significant—is the extension and role of the female presence that without being either exclusive or preponderant is proportionally large, both in terms of worshipers and priestly staff. As is known, in the ancient world a connection often appears between female deities and female priesthoods, without however there being any exclusion of male priesthoods nor of priestesses in the cults of gods. In any case, both in the public forms of the cult exercised in the great Hellenistic temples and in private forms of religious associations that are often of a local nature, the role of the female priesthood is highly significant in the worship of Demeter, Artemis, Athena, Cybele, the Goddess Syria Atargatis, and Isis. The fact that a special web of relationships relates each of these divine figures in various ways to the life of women in their fundamental roles of wife and mother is equally important. Among these, Isis stands out once more as the *Hymn from Kyme* proclaims: "I am she who is called God by women . . . I forced women to be loved by men" (as cited in Beard, North, and Price, 1998, vol. 2, pp. 297–298).

SEE ALSO Cybele; Hellenistic Religions; Isis; Roman Religion, article on the Imperial Period; Women's Studies in Religion.

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GIULIA SFAMENI GASPARRO (2005)

GODDESS WORSHIP: THE HINDU GODDESS

Academic interest in Hindu goddesses has burgeoned since the 1970s because of three coalescing factors: in the United States, funding for fieldwork in South Asia through postwar area studies programs; feminist scholarship, with its stress on women's experience and feminist perspectives; and the move from a reliance on texts and elite viewpoints to an emphasis on local, oral, village contexts where goddesses tend to thrive. With increasing numbers of publications, however, the best way to characterize Hindu goddesses, either as individuals or as a category, has become contested and complex. Accordingly, this essay has three aims: to cover representative Hindu goddesses; to indicate the types of scholarly methodologies currently employed to study them; and to describe major hermeneutical controversies in their interpretation.

For heuristic purposes, this survey organizes goddesses via a pacific (*saumya*)/fierce (*raudra*) spectrum, or, as Wendy Doniger first labeled it, a juxtaposition between "breast" (gentle and nurturing) and "tooth" (ambiguous and potentially dangerous) goddesses (1980, pp. 90–91). In general, breast goddesses are boon bestowing and provide mediation and access to their more powerful consorts. One example is Śrī or Lakṣmī, associated from the Vedic period with royalty and from the epic period with auspiciousness, fertility, wealth, and usually Lord Viṣṇu. Iconographically, she is portrayed either alone, seated on a lotus and surrounded by symbols of fecundity (coins, water, elephants, and the color red) or with Viṣnu in a position of humble subservience. Theological reflections on Lakṣmī reach their apex in the medieval writings of South Indian Śrī Vaiṣṇavas, for whom she is Viṣṇu's inseparable breast-jewel, and she argues with her lord over devotees, independently granting them grace (*prasāda*).

Other instances include Sarasvatī, the Vedic river goddess who by the epic period symbolized purity, learning, and the arts, and who, though putatively linked to Brahmā, helps devotees directly; Sītā, the wife of Rāma, the model of wifely perfection who, in Tulsidāsa's sixteenth-century Hindi version of the *Rāmāyaṇa,* the *Rāmcaritmānas,* acts as the devotee's intermediary to Rāma; and the various forms of Śiva's wife Satī, or Pārvatī, the one to draw her unpredictable husband from the sphere of *mokṣa* to that of *dharma* through her beauty and sexuality. In the South Indian theological speculations of Śaiva Siddhānta, she is identified with Śiva's grace *(aruḷ),* inherent in every human. In all cases, these mediator-goddesses are said to be *svakiya,* or married to their consorts, and even if they are soteriologically more significant than the male gods, the latter are more important ontologically.

"Tooth" goddesses are sometimes dangerous and must be viewed with caution. Famous examples are Durgā, or Ambikā/Caṇḍikā, the battle queen of the famed sixth-century Sanskrit "Devī-Māhātmya" section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,* who slays demons on behalf of the gods and who offers her devotees either worldly enjoyment (*bhukti*) or liberation *(mukti);* and Kālī, the emaciated demon-chopper who emerges from Durgā's wrath to have an autonomous career as an awesome mother goddess, rescuing her votaries from distress. Other instances of ambivalent goddesses include those whose provenance is local calamity or disease, such as Śītalā and Māriyammaṉ, goddesses of smallpox and skin maladies. Like "tooth" goddesses in general, they represent both the release from suffering and the cause of that suffering; devotees of Śītalā in pox outbreaks claim that the mother's "mercy" (*dayā*) is manifest on the bodies of those she favors. Each of these powerful, independent goddesses, though potentially allied with a male, either as consort (Śiva is the husband of both Durgā and Kālī) or as companion (Jvārāsura, the Fever Demon, is Śītalā's helper), are not intermediaries to their male partners; one prays to them directly, hoping that their compassionate sides will "intercede," so to speak, with their more dangerous aspects.

Midway between "breast" and "tooth" goddesses are those who are neither subservient nor independently powerful, neither peaceful nor fierce, but who claim an equal status with their male companions. Pārvatī in her form as the female sexual organ (*yoni*), coupled with that of the male, Śiva *linga,* is a perfect example of such complementarity, as are Śiva and Pārvatī as two halves of the same being, Ardhanārīśvara, Śiva Half-woman. Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa's cowherd lover, is another illustration; although, like the "breast" goddesses mentioned above, she renders Kṛṣṇa accessible to Vaiṣṇava devotees, offering her grace and compassion to those who seek it (see Sūrdās's *Sūrsāgar* and the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*). In other texts Kṛṣṇa exalts her over himself and even serves as a model of devotion to her rather than the reverse (see Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* and Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhmādhava*).

In a theological move similar to that of Kṛṣṇa in the *Bhagavadgītā,* who asserts that all gods are really just forms of himself, Hindu goddess worshipers also claim that all manifestations of the divine feminine, whether benign or ambivalent, are simply faces or aspects of the one Great Goddess, Mahādevī. This profession is attested textually from at least the time of the "Devī-Māhātmya," where one finds epithets praising one goddess in terms of another, stories in which goddesses emerge from each other, and philosophical declarations about female energy *(śakti),* primordial nature *(prakṛti),* delusive power *(māyā),* and the absolute ground of being (*brahman*), each of which is said to characterize female deities. The concept of Mahādevī was an especially powerful tool for assimilating local, indigenous goddess cults into the normative, widespread Hindu pantheon, and the Purāṇas (fifth to eighteenth centuries) are textual repositories of lore concerning this process of consolidation. Recent anthropological studies underscore the same point: tribal and local deities in Orissa are slowly being identified with the pan-Indian Durgā; a local "girl" in Madurai has risen through identification with Śiva's consort Pārvatī to the status of his royal wife, now more beloved by devotees than her husband; and Vaḷḷi, Murukaṉ's Tamil wife, is a classic low-caste Cinderella whose origins have nearly been erased in her gradual upward mobility. The 108 Śākta "seats" (*pīṭhas*) of the Goddess, each a local shrine glorified by its incorporation into the legend about the fallen body parts of Śiva's wife Satī, are another illustration of regional deities being unified under the banner of a universal goddess.

One of the results of the proliferation of studies on Hindu goddesses has been both the expansion of knowledge about individual goddesses and the theoretical nuancing of scholarly approaches to goddesses in general. Alongside translations or descriptive works, therefore, are field studies promoting feminist, neo-Dukheimian, Freudian, or postcolonial interpretive lenses. These treat a variety of individual goddesses, such as Aṅkāḷaparamēcuvari, Bhadrakāḷi, Draupadī, Māriyammaṉ, and Mīnākṣī, from South India, and Manasā, Nandādevī, Śītalā, and Vaiṣṇodevī, from the north. As a group, such works challenge two influential hermeneutical frameworks proposed when the study of Hindu goddesses was still nascent in the 1960s and 1970s. The first rests on a dichotomy between the local or "little" and the universal or "great" traditions and claims that local goddess cults lack geographic spread, textual articulation, Brahman priests, sophisticated theology, vegetarian ethos, and a domesticated deity. As new field research shows, such juxtapositions may be too stark. Aṅkāḷaparamēcuvari is a village goddess prominent in Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh; her spread is wider than that of Mīnākṣī, who lives solely in one temple in Madurai, but the latter is a royal deity whose fame, and the wealth and Brahmanical prestige of her temple draw crowds from around the country. Bhadrakāḷi, a multiform of the north Indian Kālī, shares several important elements with her northern namesake, but her cult in Kerala has many unique features. The same is true of Manasā, the goddess of snakes, who is widely worshiped throughout India but in varying ritual and iconographic forms. Draupadī is reputed for her role in the *Mahābhārata,* but only in South India is there a cult centered on her. Nandādevī and Vaiṣṇodevī, both variants of Durgā, inspire complex local traditions in the central and western Himalayas, respectively. Finally, Śītalā and Māriyammaṉ share a concern with skin diseases, but their iconography, personalities, and ritual prescriptions differ from region to region across India. Such scholarly studies imply twin processes at work: Sanskritization or Brahmanization, the identification of the local with the universally respected "higher" culture, and localization, whereby widely recognized goddesses adapt to bounded geographic contexts. Hence, the demarcation between "great" and "little" traditions is more porous than scholars once thought. A second influential opposition, according to which divine ferocity is associated with marital independence, has also been disputed; Kathleen Erndl, Lynn Foulston, and Stanley Kurtz all document sweet, married goddesses who accept blood sacrifice, possession, and fire walking, as well as independent goddesses who are benign and vegetarian.

Among other themes of interest to contemporary scholars of Hindu goddesses is the question of origins: from where do Hindu goddesses come? From the Indus Valley civilization, in the third millennium BCE or earlier? The Vedic period, after the mid-second millennium BCE? Autochthonous tribal culture? Although the issue is hotly debated, the scholarly consensus is that the Indus Valley peoples were probably goddess revering, as there are parallels between scenes depicted on some of their steatite seals and later Dravidian sacrificial goddess cults. Goddess worship is also important, as one sees even today, in many tribal societies. In spite of the natural theological desire to read goddesses back into the Vedic tradition, there is little evidence for this in the Vedic texts themselves, although it is likely that because they are authored by the Brahman elite, they do not represent the totality of Vedic religiosity.

An additional topic that galvanizes scholarly and popular audiences, East and West, is the relationship of Hindu goddesses to Hindu women. Does the worship of female deities imply anything about expectations for women's behavior? The evidence is mixed: many goddesses appear to act as approved models for Hindu women. Sītā, Sāvitrī, and Pārvatī embody the ideal in wifely virtue; Nandādevī's ritualized reluctance to leave her parents' home for Śiva's abode mirrors the feelings of out-married Garhwali women; and the Orissan Kālī's outstretched tongue is interpreted locally as a symbol of desired wifely shame on the part of the goddess when she realizes that she has stepped on her husband's prostrate body. In such cases the goddess's conduct acts to reinforce what many see as patriarchal values. Other goddesses, however, represent the opposite: no mother would want her daughter to have the fate of Rādhā, an adulteress played upon by the fickle Kṛṣṇa, or the character of the unruly Kālī, who dances naked, uncontrolled. Several scholars have investigated the specific effect that goddess worship has on women in particular locales. Most of them conclude that goddesses have not always been "good" for women: Bhadrakāḷi's cult in Kerala is nearly exclusively male and represents male fears of women; almost no women in Vindhyachal at the shrine to Vindhyavāsinī find any relationship between the *śakti* of the Goddess and ordinary women; and even the famed spiritual giant, Ānandamayī Mā, is perceived by her devotees as transcending gender entirely. However, such authors also concede that the potential for positive influence is present. As Kathleen Erndl notes, the goal for Hindu feminists on an ideological level is "to rescue *śakti* from its patriarchal prison," in which women, because of their power, need to be subdued (1993, p. 96). Western feminists and denizens of women's spirituality have long found Hindu goddesses inspirational sources of inner strength; until recently, however, Indian feminists have eschewed goddess symbolism as being a tool of patriarchal oppression.

Another site for the investigation of Hindu goddesses is the context of Hindu nationalism. With the rise of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the Bharatiya Janata Party in the late 1980s, one sees a concomitant resurgence of interest in the cult of Bhārat Mātā, or Mother India, and the weapon-bearing eight-armed Aṣṭabhujā, a deity self-consciously constructed by the women's wing of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh to provide women with an anti-Muslim rallying symbol. The politicized use of goddess imagery in the modern period goes back at least as far as the late nineteenth century, with Bankimcandra Chatterjee's famed hymn, "Hail to the Motherland," or "Bande Mātaram!" (1882), in which the land of India is equated with the pillaged goddess in need of her sons' heroic self-sacrifice. Most scholars, whether Indian or not, find the explicit equation of the nationalists' enemies with the goddess's victims to be extremely worrying.

Of course, goddesses are a malleable lot, and the nationalists are not the only ones to employ them for human ends. For example, Santoṣī Mā, Goddess of Contentment, found a mass following after the release of a Bollywood film celebrating her power in 1975, the AIDS-Āmmā was created by a health educator from Andhra Pradesh in 1999, and many ecologically minded activists are exploring goddess traditions for environmentally friendly stories, rituals, or associated philosophical concepts. Again, the data is conflicting; to take the case of the Ganges River, the same belief in the Gangā as goddess leads some Hindus to overlook pollution, since the Mother's purity is inviolable, whereas others attempt to cleanse her out of reverence.

A further topic is the intersection between Śāktism and Tantra, the antinomian ritual and philosophical system in which the normally forbidden is utilized as a means to the divine. From at least the tenth century, particularly in Bengal and Kashmir, Tantric speculation has involved goddesses: the ten *mahāvidyā*s (great goddesses of transformation), the seven *mātṛkā*s (mothers), and numerous *yoginī*s and *ḍākinī* (female ghouls or adepts) in addition to Kālī and other deities. As David Kinsley opines, because of the ambiguous, death-dealing nature of many Tantric goddesses, they push the devotee to new insight: if one can embrace, worship, even love such deities, then one wins the Tantric boon of freedom from fear (1975, p. 144). Investigations of Tantric goddesses cults aim to decipher the relationships between the Tantric elevation of goddesses and ideas of women (most scholars conclude that, ideology notwithstanding, Tantra is primarily male oriented); to understand the nexus between the patronage of Tantric goddess cults and the power ambitions of their sponsors (since the time of the late *guptas* in the sixth to seventh centuries, kings, whether real or titular, have utilized Tantric symbolism to bolster their own claims to prestige); to study the interaction between Hindus and the British during the colonial period (for instance, in reaction to the first partition of Bengal in 1905, many nationalists used Tantric images of bloodthirsty goddesses to exhort rebellion against the white colonialists); and to chart the British-influenced Hindu critique of Tantric deities, due to which many have lost their rough, sexualized, meat-eating demeanors.

Evidence of the health and vitality of Hindu goddesses is indicated by the number who have made their homes outside India. Whether the new residence is the Caribbean, Europe, Britain, or North America, mainstream *devī*s such as Lakṣmī, Sītā, Kālī, Durgā, Mīnākṣī, and Vaiṣṇodevī have adapted in novel ways to their host environments. Most Hindu communities attempt to replicate as faithfully as possible the worship settings of "back home"—temples known for their claims to authenticity are the Kālī temple in Toronto and the Mīnākṣī temple in Houston—but even so, accommodations are made in terms of festival timings, temple construction and zoning laws, and types of offerings. Devotees must also contend with the fact that non-Hindus in diaspora settings may have strange or even hostile attitudes toward their imported deities. How should a New York Hindu react to gift shop lunch boxes decorated with the face of Durgā, or to Western feminists' interpretations of Kālī as a symbol of women's rage against patriarchy? Such appropriations are balanced by what is perceived as more "genuine" attitudes towards Hindu theism, like the Western-organized and -financed Kālī Mandir in Laguna Beach, California, to which priests from Kolkata's Dakshineswar Kālī Temple are regularly brought for ritual accuracy. As scholars note and devotees experience, the Hindu Goddess, embodied in countless goddesses in Hindu contexts the world over, is complex, theologically flexible, and alive and well.

SEE ALSO Bengali Religions; Durgā Hinduism; Ganges River; Hindi Religious Traditions; Hindu Tantric Literature; Indian Religions, article on Rural Traditions; Marathi Religions; Rādhā; Śaivism; Sarasvatī; Tamil Religions; Vaiṣṇavism.

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GODDESS WORSHIP: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Theories about goddess worship have been advanced ever since the emergence of the social sciences disciplines in the nineteenth century. Religion specialists in the fields of anthropology, sociology, folklore, psychology, and comparative mythology have contributed numerous theories to explain the phenomenon of goddess worship. The topic has been revived in recent years, particularly by specialists in the area of women's studies. The following survey of theoretical issues in the study of goddess worship reflects controversies that have raged over broader issues concerning the more general interpretation of religion.

EARLY PERSPECTIVES ON GODDESS WORSHIP. Nineteenth-century European social scientists and specialists in comparative religion were fascinated by what they conceived to be universal themes of human experience. Because they relied heavily on the accounts of missionaries, traders, and other travelers to different cultures rather than firsthand fieldwork, many of their speculative theories are discredited today. These writers were concerned with the origins of human institutions such as marriage, law, and religion. Contemporary scholars tend to be more cautious than these early writers about the origins of religion, believing that it is just as dangerous to speculate about the past as it is to develop theories about other cultures without firsthand field observation.

One of the most influential theories in the study of goddess worship was advanced by the nineteenth-century Swiss jurist and historian of Roman law J. J. Bachofen (1815–1887), who linked goddess worship with a more general theory of social development. He asserted that the first human societies were matriarchal and characterized by widespread promiscuity, which was reflected in the worship of female deities. While this theory has been discredited by contemporary anthropologists, early social theorists such as Lewis Henry Morgan, Karl Marx, and Friedrich Engels praised it. Sir James Frazer set himself the task of completing Bachofen's assemblage of evidence for matriarchy among world cultures. Even Sigmund Freud thought that goddess worship was linked to an earlier stage of matriarchy. For Bachofen and his followers, "mother right" marked a fixed and predetermined stage in the evolution of human cultures. This stage in human evolution, according to Bachofen, can be confirmed by myths about goddess worship, which are living expressions "of the stages in a people's development, and for the skillfull observer, a faithful reflection of all the periods in the life of that people" (Bachofen, p. 75). The matriarchal period of human history was one of sublime grandeur, when women inspired chivalry, chastity, and poetry in men. Although men had superior strength, women strove for peace, justice, and religious consecration—guiding the men's "wild, lawless masculinity." This early phase of cultural evolution was displaced, in Bachofen's view, by a later period of conquest and patriarchy.

As early as 1851 proponents of the matriarchy theory were embroiled in a controversy set off by the famous jurist Sir Henry Maine, who insisted that the patriarchal family was the original social unit. This was the same year in which Bachofen was preparing his work *Das Mutterrecht,* asserting exactly the opposite thesis. Over thirty years later, anthropologist and folklorist J. F. McLennan (1886) reasserted the matriarchal theory, citing new anthropological evidence. Again in 1891 the matriarchy concept was discredited by Edward A. Westermarck, who was disturbed by Bachofen's idea that myths and legends preserve the "collective memory" of a people. Westermarck's argument attempted to reestablish Maine's patriarchal theory of human origins.

The issue flamed into controversy once again in 1927 with the publication of Robert Briffault's encyclopedic work *The Mothers.* Arguing against Maine and Westermarck, Briffault reasserted the existence of a primitive matriarchy that universally preceded patriarchy. However, unlike Bachofen, who defined matriarchy as a period of mother rule and inheritance through the female line, Briffault conceived matriarchy to be a period when women were socially rather than politically dominant. Briffault speculated that the "male instinct" created the original social herd and that the "female instinct" was responsible for the establishment of the family. Much of Briffault's evidence was derived from the study of religion; he thought that the widespread existence of lunar deities among primitive peoples was proof of the early social dominance of women, because women were the first hierophants of lunar cults. Briffault's evolutionary theory was not the last of its kind. As recently as the 1930s Wilhelm Schmidt advanced a theory for the origin of religion employing a multilinear rather than unilinear model of cultural evolution. Schmidt assumed the existence of three types of "primary cultures"—matrilineal, patrilineal, and patriarchal. According to Schmidt, women were involved in the earliest cultivation of plants. Consequently their social importance increased, giving rise to widespread goddess worship.

Few psychologists have contributed theories about goddess worship. Freud thought devotion to female deities represented an infantile desire to be reunited with the mother. According to Freud, goddess worship represents universal unconscious fantasies characteristic of a stage in early psychic development in which the mother seems to be all-powerful to the child. C. G. Jung placed the religious impulse in a more central position than did Freud. He postulated a set of innate universal archetypes operative in the human psyche, one of which was the feminine principle. Jung utilized symbolism from primitive, archaic, and contemporary religions to shed light on the operation of these archetypes.

The Jungian perspective has been most fully developed in a classic work by Erich Neumann entitled *The Great Mother* (1955). This massive volume explores the phenomenon of goddess worship from a number of psychological perspectives. Unlike social theorists who traced the development of goddess worship in social time and space, Neumann analyzes the phenomenon purely in terms of inner psychic images. Although he repudiates Bachofen's sociological analysis of matriarchy, he praises him for having made lasting discoveries about the elementary character of the feminine. In Neumann's words, "early mankind and the matriarchal stage are not archaeological or historical entities, but psychological realities whose fateful power is still alive in the psychic depths of present-day man." Neumann posits a matriarchal stage sequentially preceding patriarchy at the psychic level. This stage in the evolution of the human psyche is represented by belief in the Great Goddess. A strange contradiction permeates Neumann's work; on one hand he discounts Bachofen's sociological argument for matriarchy, but at the same time he praises Briffault for having "discovered the fact (which is still insufficiently recognized) that early culture is in very high degree the product of the female group" (p. 281). At the methodological level, Neumann admits to removing documents and images of goddess worship from their cultural contexts. He rationalizes this methodology by asserting that psychohistory (a set of stages in the development of the human psyche) does not necessarily parallel historical events in a linear way. Despite such methodological curiosities, Neumann's work represents one of the most comprehensive treatments of goddess worship ever assembled by a Western scholar. Not only does he demonstrate the great variety of forms manifested in the phenomenon of goddess worship, he reveals the "transformative" nature of this religious impulse. He sketches out four manifestations of the Great Mother archetype: (1) the Good Mother (associated with childbearing, vegetation mysteries, and rebirth); (2) the Terrible Mother (linked to death, dismemberment, sickness, and extinction); (3) the Positive Transformative Goddess (related to wisdom, vision, ecstasy, and inspiration mysteries); and (4) the Negative Transformative Goddess (connected to rejection, deprivation, madness, and impotence). Any female deity can be classified as one of these four functions of the archetype; some goddesses can be placed in more than one of these categories.

There has been no major work on the topic by a single author since Neumann's classic treatment of goddess worship in the mid-1950s. There are several reasons for this. First, the works of Neumann and Briffault, who wrote in the twentieth century, reflect the nineteenth-century approach to comparative religions, which relished the fabrication of elaborate and ambitious theoretical frameworks for the study of complex phenomena. Also significant is the emergence of scientific anthropology, which, until recently, has stressed the analysis of single, manageable cultural entities through direct fieldwork. Armchair speculation went out of style with the emergence of the Boasian school in anthropology during the early twentieth century. Few psychologists, excepting Freud and the Jungians, have studied religious topics. Contemporary psychologists have focused on discrete measurable phenomena, such as the religious content of dreams and the relationship of psychedelic drugs to altered states of consciousness. Within the mainstream of American psychological thought virtually nothing has been written on the subject of goddess worship.

Other than anthropologists and psychologists, some religion scholars have approached goddess worship from a phenomenological perspective. Joseph Campbell for instance, in his monumental four-volume work *The Masks of God* takes a Jungian approach to goddess worship. While he sometimes uses caution in connecting goddess worship with a matriarchal stage in cultural evolution, at other times he perpetuates the nineteenth-century hypotheses of primitive matriarchy. E. O. James (1959) vacillates between a purely historical description of different goddesses in their cultural contexts and generalizations that border on a universal psychic unity approach, much like Erich Neumann's.

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN THE STUDY OF GODDESS WORSHIP. After nearly thirty years without a major work on goddess worship, there has been a revival of interest in the topic from three quarters—anthropology, religious studies, and feminist scholarship. Several new books have been published on goddess worship in the early 1980s. The work *Mother Worship: Theme and Variations* (1982), edited by the author of this article, utilizes current data generated by anthropologists to address the topic. Another volume, *The Book of the Goddess: Past and Present* (1983), edited by Carl Olson, is a collection of articles by historians of religion and feminist scholars. Goddess worship is a central theme in the Autumn 1983 issue of *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society,* which is devoted to the study of women and religion. This recent revival of interest in goddess worship is due to three main factors: (1) a new interest in the old matriarchy controversy, (2) an active discussion among feminists about goddess symbolism, and (3) the emergence of a new comparative religions.

The matriarchy controversy. The issue of primitive matriarchy, which once plagued the study of goddess worship, has not disappeared. Some modern writers continue to assume there was an early historical phase when females dominated males. They cling to the notion that goddess worship is a remnant of that earlier period. The controversy continues to stir lively debate among popular writers, though many scholars think the issue is a dead one.

Most contemporary historians of religion accept the anthropological view that a stage of matriarchy never existed. However, a few scholars of eminent stature like Joseph Campbell (in Bachofen, 1967, p. lv) continue to support Bachofen's idea of an age of "mother right" that preceded patriarchy. They insist that this has been "confirmed irrefutably" by archaeological evidence. Although most feminist scholars today agree with the anthropological position, there remain a few articulate feminist authors who continue to perpetuate the idea of an original matriarchal stage. An example of this genre is Starhawk's *The Spiral Dance: A Rebirth of the Ancient Religion of the Great Goddess* (1979), in which the author discusses a rediscovery of the ancient "matrifocal civilizations" and the "falsehoods of patriarchal history." According to Sally R. Binford (1981, pp. 150–151) the belief in early matriarchies has taken a religious form for some feminists; mother-goddess worshipers in Los Angeles, for instance, have become organized into a church with a temple and priestesses. They believe that the archaeological data that refute their position reflect a conspiracy against women among professional archaeologists. Binford calls this movement a "New Feminist Fundamentalism."

The only other scholars to take primitive matriarchy seriously in recent decades were Soviets, who espoused Friedrich Engels's outdated nineteenth-century notions. Alexander Marshack (1972, pp. 338–339) cites Soviet archaeologists who interpreted Upper Paleolithic mother-goddess figurines as confirmation of the existence of early matriarchal hunting societies organized around totemic clans controlled by women. According to Marshack, this view is simplistic, a distorted interpretation of complex data. He insists that the goddess images from the Upper Paleolithic era are evidence for symbolic processes "extremely variable in meaning and use and that they played a number of specialized and generalized roles across the complex, integrated, time-factored culture. . . . These facts do not confirm a matriarchy." Marshack adds one final but crucial note to his argument: the era was also marked by a separate, specialized masculine imagery and complex animal mythology, and the female figurines must be considered in this context. Thus, Upper Paleolithic society was neither matriarchal nor patriarchal, despite Marxist claims to the contrary.

There is no anthropologist today who would argue for a stage of matriarchy associated with goddess worship. It has been refuted on many occasions by anthropologists of all theoretical persuasions, including Marxists and feminists. In a brilliant argument against the matriarchy theory, Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban (1979, p. 343) notes three errors committed by scholars who insist on perpetuating this myth: They mistakenly assume that (1) the presence of female deities is evidence of matriarchy, (2) matrilineal societies are survivals of an era of matriarchy, and (3) matrilineality and matriarchy are related to each other. According to Binford (1981, pp. 152–153) all these ideas are false and misleading. In fact the myth of matriarchy is damaging to the cause of feminists. Women are not freed by perpetuating the myth. The idea that the type of complex social organization required for matriarchy could be found among prehistoric societies is so patently ridiculous as to be a source of embarrassment for serious scholars pursuing the study of religion.

Even scholars who reject the existence of a historical stage of matriarchy sometimes insist that the symbolism of goddess worship can provide information about the history of female social roles. Some feminists argue, for instance, that the absence of female sacred imagery in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam is due to the repression of women in Western societies. This attempt to draw a parallel between the gender of sacred images and women's roles is misguided. Occasionally the two may parallel each other, but the social role of women may directly contradict or differ significantly from that suggested by a religion's sacred imagery. A study of Hindu goddess worship does not allow us, for instance, to predict with any certainty the relationship of women to men in Indian society. This same point is made by the historian and women's studies specialist Judith Ochshorn (in Olson, 1983, p. 18) in her 1982 study of the Middle Eastern goddess Ishtar. According to this scholar, the Near Eastern deities were heavily anthropomorphized. Sometimes they reflected the reality of social roles in the Middle East, but more often they represented a different concept of community—as exemplified by the frequent instances of incest among the deities, a totally foreign idea in the social reality of that period.

Today most scholars of comparative religions, including feminists, would agree that primitive matriarchy is a myth. This does not preclude continued research on male and female roles in prehistoric societies. Because fieldwork has not confirmed the existence of even a single matriarchal society, the matriarchy controversy is a quasi-religious issue that has no place in the serious study of goddess worship. Far more important is the contemporary scholarship of feminists who seek to deepen the understanding of the relationship of human nature to religion without invoking dubious nineteenth-century issues like primitive matriarchy. In much of this work women are searching for a new focus of identity in the modern world. Goddess worship has been intimately linked to this quest.

The feminist revival of goddess worship. One reason for the increasing popularity of goddess worship as a subject of inquiry is the expanding influence and scholarly development of women's studies. According to Carol Christ (in Olson, 1983, p. 235) feminist writings about the gender of deities reflect two distinct types of argumentation: (1) religions that stress the maleness of the supreme being deify the masculine principle and see it as the only source of legitimate authority; (2) the attribution of male qualities to deities reflects distorted concepts derived from alienated male experience in Western societies. Feminists who use the first argument stress the need to eliminate masculine pronouns and gender-specific titles from Jewish and Christian scriptures and liturgy to restore authority to women. Feminists who assert the second argument oppose this simple solution because in their eyes the distorted male image of divinity in Western religions cannot be removed by merely changing gender-specific language. They argue that the symbolism will remain biased because of the dualistic, conquest-oriented, patriarchal, and hierarchical infrastructure that underlies these male-oriented religions.

Carol Christ (in Olson, 1983, pp. 238–248) presents a schematic view of feminist solutions to the problem of gender in the worship of deities. According to this scholar, there are four approaches advanced by feminist theologians to resolve the problem of male symbolism of God: (1) male symbols of God can be reinterpreted in nonoppressive ways; (2) language used to refer to God can be made androgynous; (3) female symbolism for the Supreme Being must be introduced in order to create an imagery that reflects dual gender; (4) male symbolism must be deemphasized to provide an opportunity for the Great Goddess, whose existence has been obscured by this symbolism, to reclaim her ascendancy. Western feminists are experimenting with many different ways to introduce female sacred imagery into Judaism and Christianity.

Those feminists who believe sexism to be an integral part of Western religions want no part in saving them from what they see as built-in sexist biases; instead, they advocate a reemergent goddess worship as a focus of religiosity appropriate to complex modern life. These feminists are actively developing extensive experimental liturgies for raising consciousness about goddess worship, both as it existed in antiquity and in religions outside of Western civilization. Thus, goddess worship and imagery are considered to be the focus of a new power for women rooted in the women's liberation movement and grounded in a new symbol system. *The Spiral Dance* by Starhawk is a recipe for the rebirth of an "ancient religion of the Great Goddess." It reflects the conviction among some feminists that goddess worship is a source of strength and creativity for women, and also provides an antidote to the regrettable patriarchal "conquest of nature" theme that characterizes Western thought.

The debate among feminists about these social and theological issues has been a healthy source of revitalization not only in terms of the reawakening of the study of goddess worship but also in terms of scholarly inquiry into assumptions about human nature that lie at the heart of Western religions. The growing literature in this field promises to shed new light on the role of goddess worship in the contemporary world. Consequently, one can expect a steadily increasing growth in the amount of research on the veneration of female deities, deriving particularly from the work of those contemporary feminists who are intentionally constructing new myths to transform traditional patterns of goddess worship into forms that give women a stronger sense of their own identity, power, and meaning in the modern world. Thus, the feminist movement is a major contributing factor in the revitalization of goddess worship as a topic of inquiry among popular writers and scholars in different disciplines.

The new comparative religions. A significant new direction is developing in the social sciences after the long siege of behaviorism in psychology and historical particularism in anthropology. The revolt against the errors of nineteenth-century armchair theoreticians has come to an end. This is reflected in a new comparative religions, which focuses once again on the main themes of human religious experience. Instead of working from a dubious, in fact erroneous, data base, the new comparative religionists are treating these universal themes with the benefit of more than fifty years of extensive field work conducted in various cultures by cautious social scientists. Since the mid-1970s social scientists and religion specialists have been working together more closely. The result is the publication of numerous volumes devoted to the main themes of religion, such as sacrifice, death, rebirth, rites of passage, the evil eye, pilgrimage, and goddess worship. These new works are neither too speculative nor overly cautious about exploring panhuman dimensions of religious experience.

One of the most widely publicized and heavily attended sessions at the American Anthropological Association meetings in San Francisco during 1975 was entitled "Anthropological Inquiries into Mother Worship." This session resulted eventually in an edited volume on the topic (Preston, 1982).

The mid-1970s marked a watershed in the anthropological study of religion. Since that time some anthropologists have been about the business of synthesizing a vast amount of data accumulated over the years on various dimensions of religion. Much of this new information was isolated previously in the contexts of specific ethnographies devoted to the elaboration of particular cultural descriptions. The large numbers of people who attended the session on goddess worship in San Francisco were not attracted by any "star quality" scholars making their usual erudite presentations, but rather the time was ripe for introducing once again a topic that had remained more or less dormant for several decades. An extensive amount of data had been gathered on goddess worship in many different cultural contexts, and no one knew what to do with it. Scholars were seeking a new frame of reference. Historians of religion had been synthesizing the work of anthropologists for years. It was now time for anthropologists to return to their original task of making sense of a topic like goddess worship by placing it in a comparative framework.

The new approach to goddess worship, though cautious, strives to retain a delicate balance between cultural context and the broader panhuman issues that continue to be vital in the comparative study of religion. Despite the early years of ambitious speculation and the later period of overcautious skepticism, many questions about goddess worship remain unanswered. More knowledge about the relationship between male and female deities is needed. Why in some religions are female sacred images almost totally absent? What about the role of goddess worship in the development of complex forms of social organization? Why do female sacred images continue to thrive, even in Communist countries where religion is not officially sanctioned? How do the personal religious experiences of devotees who turn to goddesses differ from those who turn to male gods for answers to their prayers? Why is goddess worship associated with such great antiquity? How does the worship of female deities fit into the postindustrial world? The new comparative religions, with its balanced perspective that incorporates questions of panhuman and culturally specific levels of analysis, has been another stimulus for the revitalization of major themes of religious significance shared by human beings the world over.

No single theory is adequate to explain the multifaceted phenomenon of goddess worship. What deeply felt impulse is there that continuously kindles the veneration of female sacred images for thousands of years among human populations? Are Victor Turner and Edith Turner (1978, p. 236) correct when they ask whether the resurgent interest in female sacred images during the modern era is an index of discontent with male iconoclasm, technology, progress, and bureaucratization? Elsewhere this author has written (Preston, 1982, pp. 340–341) that the loneliness of urban life, the contemporary emphasis on independence, the fast pace of technological society, and the radical severing of humankind's relationship with the earth have left people in postindustrial societies with a deep sense of disenchantment that is perceived to have the potential to be healed by a return to sacred qualities, which are often considered to be best expressed through a divine mother image. Even if one does not agree with the Jungian idea of a feminine archetype, all humans understand the mother-infant bond and recognize the related universal symbol of the womb as mother of life. The worship of female sacred images is deeply entwined with a panhuman experience of this primary bond. While not every incidence of goddess worship is an expression of the attempt by humans to return to the primary bond of origin, there can be no doubt this theme underlies the strong continuity of goddess worship expressed in so many different forms and in such great profusion throughout the world.

SEE ALSO Archetypes; Women's Studies in Religion.

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GODS AND GODDESSES. In human religious experience, manifestations of sacred power (hierophanies) provide centers of meaning, order, worship, and ethics. Humans have always felt that real life is in close contact with sacred power, and that sacred power is often encountered in the form of divine beings. Ideas and experiences of these goddesses and gods thus are not so much intellectual reflections as existential concerns, revolving around the fundamental human questions of life in this world. The manner in which the divine beings are imagined and experienced, and the particular types, functions, and personalities of the divine beings, depend on the cultural context of the particular community of people.

Gods and goddesses fit most aptly into what have been called polytheistic cultures, where the divine reality has not been unified into monistic or monotheistic systems. Monistic views still allow for goddesses and gods as manifestations or emanations of one divine reality, whereas a monotheistic worldview absorbs their functions as attributes of the one God, or downgrades them to helpers, such as angels or saints. This article will focus on the major types of gods and goddesses in the cultures in which plurality of divine beings is taken for granted.

Scholarly discussion on gods and goddesses has raised a number of issues. One question has to do with the relation between gods and human society. Even though the goddesses and gods of a particular society necessarily reflect the values and traditions of that society, one cannot assume direct correspondences between the mythological divine world and humans. Just because a society emphasizes a mother goddess does not mean that it was originally a matriarchy, for example. It seems that myths about the gods and goddesses cannot be taken as direct reflections of human historical experiences. At the same time, careful study of the changing visions of the divine beings may suggest some facets of the dynamics of social change within a particular community of people. For example, a change in dominance from one god or goddess to another may reflect the rising power of a particular group within the society with its mythological concerns. Or a change in a particular goddess or god's function could conceivably reflect new needs and concerns on the part of the people.

Another issue questions whether it is possible to identify the "original" function of certain goddesses and gods, in contrast to added or accumulated functions, or to distinguish between "primordial" gods, on the one hand, and lesser spirits or deified humans, on the other. While these distinctions can provide valuable insights, they can also be misleading. Although certain central functions may stand out, like those of creator, warrior, or fertility giver, often a particular goddess or god displays a number of functions, and it cannot be determined with certainty which should be considered the original or primordial. In fact, most divine beings are highly complex and are perceived to meet the needs of the people in a variety of ways.

In the last several years this discussion has been carried on particularly by feminist scholars who have focused a great deal of study on goddesses, with results that have enhanced our understanding of the importance, richness, and complexity of the individual goddesses. Earlier scholarship emphasized the importance and variety of male gods while stereotyping goddesses as secondary and limited to mothering and fertility functions. But feminist scholars have brought the study of goddesses to the fore and shown convincingly that they are no less important in power and sovereignty than male gods, and they are equally diverse in their functions.

One central issue is the question whether there was, in the prehistorical period, one unified Great Goddess (e.g., Mother Earth) that is somehow revealed or expressed in the various goddesses of the different peoples. J. J. Bachofen gave impetus to this theory in *Das Mutterecht* (1861) by arguing that mothers ruled over families in the prehistoric era. Other scholars, such as Sir James Frazer in *The Golden Bough* (1911–1915), Erich Neumann in *The Great Mother: An Analysis of the Archetype* (1955), and E. O. James in *The Cult of the Mother Goddess* (1959), established the idea that the cult of the Mother Goddess was prevalent throughout the ancient world and that it reflects an essential human archetype. Archaeologists James Mellaart and Marija Gimbutas argued that evidence from archaeology supports the theory that the cult of the Great Goddess was reflected in the female figurines and other feminine symbols which dominated these societies. Gimbutas put forth the view that peoples of ancient Europe and the Near East were devoted to the worship of the Mother Goddess in her various forms and lived in matriarchal, peaceful societies. They were disrupted and changed by the invasion of war-like Indo-Europeans, who brought their male gods and established patriarchal, violent societies.

Many feminist scholars, through extensive critical investigations of goddesses in past and present world religions, have questioned this theory of a unified Great Goddess behind all goddess figures, and of the societal changes that took place. These scholars, such as Lucy Goodison and Christine Morris in *Ancient Goddesses: The Myth and the Evidence,* argue that the theory that all goddesses represent mother or fertility power actually constricts and diminishes their role. Rather, they find goddesses representing the whole range of divine functions—creators, rulers, warriors, fertility-givers, promoters of sexuality, mistresses of animals, bringers of destruction and death, among others. And they show that male gods also include so-called feminine functions such as giving birth, nurturing, and bringing peace. The emphasis in this scholarship is not on uncovering a unified Goddess archetype, but on recognizing the complexity, diversity, and significance of goddess figures in the cultures of the world, past and present.

Yet discussion of the Great Goddess still plays a significant role in some contexts. Hindus, with their full array of goddesses, have long speculated about one Great Goddess (Mahādevī), manifested in various goddesses, including Pārvatī, Lakṣmī, Sītā, Durgā, and Kālī, while at the same time exulting in the individual aspects and activities of these goddesses. A significant appropriation of the idea of the Great Goddess has also taken place in the contemporary western movement variously called Goddess Spirituality, Goddess Religion, and Women's Spirituality. Growing out of feminism, Goddess Spirituality resonates to the perception of the Great Goddess, affirming women's bodies and lives and providing powerful images of the mysteries of life and death, regeneration, creativity, and the divine force in all of nature.

HISTORY AND MORPHOLOGY OF DIVINE BEINGS. To understand the full dimensions of gods and goddesses in the various cultures of the world, it is helpful to keep in mind both the cultural history and the morphology of human involvement with what they have considered sacred beings. Historically, all the different deity forms that have developed need to be understood and related to the cultural areas in which they are at home. People of each particular culture choose certain types of sacred modalities as strong and efficacious, and these modalities define the goddesses and gods as they are experienced and described within that culture. There is always an ongoing process of revaluation of the gods and goddesses, even in archaic cultures that seem to change very little over long periods of time. The modalities of the sacred are dynamic, one form diminishing in importance or becoming absorbed into another form, while new experiences give strength to other forms of the sacred. The way in which the people envision the gods and goddesses reflects something of their social, political, economic, and cultural experience in a living process.

In considering the morphology of goddesses and gods across various cultures, the modalities by which the sacred is experienced are embedded in the structures of nature itself and in the structures of human life. Almost every significant reality in human experience has been seen in one culture or another as the arena of a sacred manifestation: sky, earth, sun, moon, mountains, water, hunting, planting, sexuality, washing, childbirth, eating, rulership, war, death, and so forth. Some common cross-cultural themes exist in the way peoples of the world have envisioned gods and goddesses. Since their power meets human existence precisely at the most vital and crucial areas of life, humans experience these divine manifestations in concrete, compelling forms. The goddesses and gods thus revealed are felt to have efficacious power, personality, and will. The fact that the divine beings have personality and will is rooted in the sense that human existence is not just aimless and haphazard but is related to the sacred pattern created or structured by the will of the gods and goddesses.

Each people's system of gods and goddesses depends on their traditional cultural context, for deities are always envisioned in ways appropriate to a culture. For example, divine beings in archaic hunting societies include ancestors, sky and astral gods, and representations of mother-type goddesses. But most characteristic of hunting cultures are sacred beings associated with animals: culture heroes in animal form and, above all, masters and mistresses of animals. These are powerful gods and goddesses who represent the sacred as experienced in the people's relationship to animals.

Planting cultures also know animal forms of gods, but here earth gods of fertility come to the fore. Earth goddesses and gods are creators and givers of life, appearing also in vegetarian goddess forms as, for example, Mother of Grain. Atmospheric gods—storm and sun—are important in that they fertilize the earth goddess and bring fecundity. Dying and rising deities often symbolize the cycle of vegetal fertility. Ancestors or culture heroes are important as the divine beings who originated cultivated plants.

Pastoral peoples are of many types and often include some planting activities in addition to keeping their herds. Sky and atmospheric gods tend to be supreme among these peoples. But they also revere divine powers associated with herds of animals, because sacred life-giving power comes to the people especially in relation to their herds.

Cultures that have developed beyond these archaic levels create very complex pantheons of goddesses and gods. For example, agricultural city-state societies like those of ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, Greece, or Mexico typically have a hierarchical pantheon ruling over the city-state through a human ruler, the pantheon mirroring in some respects the various functions of the city-state. The complex civilizations established throughout Europe and Asia by Indo-European peoples retained some elements of the early pastoralist gods but greatly expanded and developed these pantheons as they interacted with the religious traditions of the indigenous peoples in their various settlement areas.

In most cultures the plurality of divine powers is understood to operate as some sort of pantheon, a system of gods and goddesses functioning as a sacred community. Pantheons arise from the experience of the sacred in different arenas of nature and society. They change over time as some functions become more important and others less so, reflecting dynamic changes in social groups and culture. Often a pantheon has some kind of hierarchal structure based on the different functions of its goddesses and gods. There may be a sovereign or head of the pantheon, for example, a father of the gods (such as ʾEl for the ancient Canaanites) or a great goddess who ranks first before all in power and authority (such as Amaterasu in early Shintō). Sometimes the head of the pantheon is envisioned as old or remote, and the vital functions of maintaining life and order are performed by other powerful, immanent gods and goddesses. The pantheon functions as a particular culture's way of understanding the various experiences of the sacred in a symbolic system, providing orientation and unity to human existence in a world made up of a plurality of divine wills.

Typologies of Goddesses and Gods. In order to sketch the rich scope of divine beings in human history and culture, two somewhat different perspectives on gods and goddesses are explored here: a cosmic typology and a social typology. The cosmic typology outlines some of the epiphanies of sacred power through the structures of the cosmos and the organization of these divine forms. The social typology explores sacred beings in relation to functions in vital areas of human society and culture.

Cosmic goddesses and gods. Many religious traditions expressly recognize a cosmic typology of gods and goddesses. The Greeks divided their gods into the Olympians and the chthonic gods, and early Shintō myths spoke of *kami* of heaven and *kami* of earth. Deities of the Indo-European peoples typically are related to the three realms (Skt., *loka*s) of sky, atmosphere, and earth. In ancient Mesopotamian cultures, gods had cosmic functions, such as An of the heavens, Enlil of the storm, and Enki, lord of the earth and waters.

Sky gods and goddesses. Among cosmic gods, the sky deities generally take precedence. Even the most primal, archaic cultures know of a primordial supreme god who is manifested in the vault of the sky. The characteristics of this god are drawn from the experience of the sky: this is the high god with authority over all, all-seeing and thus all-knowing, present everywhere and sovereign in power. The sky god is also the ultimate creator and sustainer of everything, as well as the law-giver and moral overseer. At the same time this god is remote, a *deus otiosus.* Other goddesses and gods of the sky and atmosphere are often thought of as helpers of the supreme sky god. Tribes of southeastern Australia have a sky god called Baiame, or Daramulun, who is self-created, causes rain, and sees and hears all. The Yoruba sky god is Ọlọrun, an almighty, immortal, all-knowing creator. An of ancient Mesopotamia is the supreme authority in the sky, presiding over the assembly of the gods. Varuṇa of Vedic India is visible everywhere, with the wind as his breath; he gives rain and thunder and is all-knowing, thousand-eyed, and is the universal king and the guardian of cosmic order. Ahura Mazdā, the Iranian supreme god, and Zeus, who became the high god of the Greeks, retain this celestial character of sovereignty, as do the related sky gods Jupiter of the Romans and Óðinn (Odin) of the Scandinavians. Among the ancient Chinese, Tian (Heaven) was considered the upholder of the universal moral order. Hathor, mistress of the sky in ancient Egypt, was closely identified with the king's sovereignty, and another sky goddess, Nut, extended that sovereignty to the journey into the afterlife. These sky gods and goddesses also take on many other specialized functions.

Meteorological gods and goddesses. Deities associated with meteorological and atmospheric phenomena often represent specialized functions or attributes of the supreme sky god. Important among these are, first of all, the storm and wind deities. Moving away from sovereignty and transcendence, they express fecundity, creative force, rain-providing power, epiphanies of force and violence and war, sources of energy for nature and for civil order. An, the Mesopotamian sky god, in this aspect is called the "fecund breed-bull"; he manifests his powers in the spring sky with thunder and fertilizes Ki (Earth) with rain. In this form, too, appear such great storm gods as Enlil of Mesopotamia, Indra of India, Min of ancient Egypt, Baal and Hadad of the Northwest Semites, Marduk of Babylon, and Þórr (Thor) of Scandinavia. While the supreme sky god is quite remote and transcendent, these storm gods become more immanent: Varuṇa the sky god becomes old and feeble, and Indra takes over; ʾEl is sometimes pictured as old and impotent, and Baal moves to central stage as the fecundator. The storm gods overflow with strength and vitality, burst open the clouds for rain, send fertility to the fields, and keep the cosmic forces going. Wind and storm are destructive as well as fecundating, and the ravages of such storm gods and goddesses as Þórr (Thor), Enlil of Mesopotamia, Anat of the Canaanites, Tlaloc of the Aztecs, Ngai of the Maasai, and Ṣango of the Yoruba are dreaded.

Sun divinities are meteorological sacred powers related to the sky, embodying and dispensing the power of life. The sun god brings light, enlightenment and wisdom and is often characterized by unchangeability, stability, and order. Shamash, sun god in ancient Mesopotamia, was considered god of oracles and diviners; Hammurabi called him the great judge of heaven and earth, source of laws and order. In ancient Egypt, the sun god, fighting against darkness and chaos, was thought daily to conquer darkness and create light anew. In many cultures the sun god or goddess plays the role of the supreme god; Re-Atum in ancient Egypt, Huitzilopochtli in Mexico, the sun god among various North

American Indians, and Amaterasu in Japan exemplify this. The sun god also has the power to destroy, especially in desert cultures; this god overpowers the living with heat and drought, devouring as well as generating life. The sun god has connections with the underworld, like Re of ancient Egypt who leads dead souls through the underworld, or Utu of Mesopotamia who acts as their judge during the nightly journey.

Goddesses and gods associated with the stars and planets frequently are experienced as the eyes and/or ears of the sky god, lending themselves to the all-seeing and all-knowing qualities of the supreme god. The Masai of Kenya believe the sky-rain god Ngai has universal vision through his nighttime "eyes"; a falling star is one of the eyes of Ngai coming closer to earth in order to see better. The sky god Varuṇa is "thousand-eyed," and the Samoyed sky god Num employs the stars as his ears, through which he listens to the earth from the boundless regions of the sky. Inanna, Sumerian goddess of the morning and evening star (the planet Venus), was considered to be the source of the king's power, one who brought the arts of civilization to the city and death and restoration to life. The polestar (north star), because it appears not to move, is seen in many cultures to represent divine power of stability; in India, for example, newlyweds worship Dhruva (the polestar) as a source of constancy in marriage. The complicated movements of the stars and planets led the ancient Babylonians to associate them with divine beings who control events in nature and human life, an idea also expressed by the ancient Greeks and others.

The moon waxes and wanes, disappears and reappears, and thus its divine epiphany epitomizes mysterious power, change and transformation, death and rebirth, fertility and regeneration. Frequently the moon manifests a fertility-giving goddess; this is true for Selene among the Greeks, Rabie among the Wemale of Ceram, and Pe among the Pygmies. There are also lunar elements associated with many of the great goddesses who have other functions. While the moon deity is often thought to be a goddess, in some cultures the moon is considered male, while the sun is a female divine being, as, for example, Tsukiyomi and Amaterasu in Shintō mythology. The moon deity rules especially over the rhythms of life associated with the waters, rain, vegetation, and the fertility of earth and all women. At the same time, the moon goddess or god sometimes becomes the mistress or master of the dead, receiving those who die and regenerating them. Gods of the moon, such as Thoth of ancient Egypt, Nanna of ancient Mesopotamia, and Aningaaq of the Inuit (Eskimo), measure time and regulate natural phenomena.

Earth gods and goddesses. Earth deities form an important and complex category of the cosmic typology. Basic types include the various manifestations of the earth itself: waters, mountains, the great many hierophanies associated with animal forms and vegetal forms—all the divine aspects that seem "given" in the powerful epiphanies of sacred earth.

The earth is the primary source and nurturer of all life, and it is also the sacred power that receives all life back again. Many human cultures have perceived a particularly significant epiphany of the sacred associated with earth itself, sometimes named Mother Earth. Hesiod states in his *Theogony* that Gaia (Earth) first gave birth to Ouranos (Heaven), and the hierogamy between Gaia and Ouranos initiated the whole process of life. Humans perceive that the earth itself is endlessly creative but at the same time passive and indistinct, the repository of a wealth of sacred forces. Manifest in the very soil of the place where humans live, this earth type of goddess is expressed first of all in motherhood (that is, inexhaustible fruitfulness) from very ancient times in human experience. In the long saga of human life prior to the discovery of agriculture, various forms of mother goddesses played an important role in the way humans understood their existence; the multitude of female figurines found from Paleolithic cultures provides evidence of the importance of this power. And so it has continued through all human history. Children come from the earth mother; the sick are regenerated by being brought again into close contact with her; the dead are returned to her womb. For example, Ala, worshiped by the Igbo of Africa, is the source of fertility for the land and the family, the abode of the ancestors, and the guardian of laws; barren women pray to her for children, and men ask her for success in trade or increase in livestock. Throughout human history, goddesses with mothering and nurturing functions, together with fertility-giving functions, have been widespread, including both great goddesses widely worshiped and countless local goddesses.

It is striking that often these creative, mothering goddesses also have a dark side, seen as a source of violence and death. For Hindus, the great goddess Kālī epitomizes the ravages of time and death, as she is pictured with bloody fangs and devouring mouth, a necklace of human heads, and a skirt of human arms. She devours her children, and yet many Hindus worship her as loving mother. Equally gruesome are mother goddesses among the Aztecs, as, for example, Coatlicue, pictured with a skirt of writhing snakes, a blouse of human hands and hearts, heads of serpents for hands, claws for feet, with twin spurts of blood gushing from her decapitated body. Her central creative act was giving birth to the great war god Huitzilopochtli just as her four hundred children sought to kill her. Huitzilopochtli, born fully grown and armed, slaughtered the siblings, providing a central motif for the ritual human sacrifices at the Templo Mayor of Tenochtitlan. Such goddesses demonstrate the human experience that creativity, life, and growth are inevitably linked with violence, death, and decay.

Indistinct and unformed like the earth, yet similarly powerful, the *fons et origo* (font and origin) of all life is the sacred power manifest in water. Water symbolizes the primal reality from which all forms come and to which all forms return. Nun in ancient Egyptian mythology, for example, is the primordial ocean in which are the germs of all things.

Rich in seeds, the divine water is homologized to semen and fertilizes earth, animals, and women. Hapi, a male god of the Nile, is often depicted with breasts to show that he is a bringer of life. Enki, Sumerian god of waters, helps to organize and create the world and human life. Water also purifies and regenerates, and so the Iranian water divinity Aradvī Sūrā Anāhitā is thought to purify humans and multiply flocks. A great many local cults are associated with springs, streams, and lakes in various religions. For Hindus, Gaṅgā (the River Ganges) is a powerful goddess, nourishing the land and mediating between this world and the divine world. The beautiful Yoruba river goddess Ọṣun bestows gifts of rulership and wealth on the rulers of the towns and cities through which her river passes. Many of the most powerful deities of the Ashanti are those associated with rivers and lakes; they can cure sicknesses and social ills, but they also have destructive powers. So water deities are ambivalent: water both generates life and destroys it. There is a sense that the goddesses and gods of the waters are capricious, randomly doing good or evil. Well known from Greek mythology is Poseidon, the untamed and faithless god of the ocean; from his palace at the bottom of the sea he swallows the world and renews it in rhythmic cycles. In Scandinavian mythology, Ran, the sea god Aegir's wife, draws people down with her net. Sedna, the sea goddess of the Inuit, is the mother of sea animals, but when humans violate taboos, she sends famine and destruction with icy dispassion. Water gods and goddesses can be symbolic of chaos, taking the form of dragons and snakes, both destroying the world and bringing rain and fertility; Apsu and Tiamat in Babylon, Prince Yamm in Canaan, and Vṛtra in India exemplify this duality.

Powerful epiphanies of earth deities are experienced through mountains, strong and distant pillars of heaven, stabilizing the earth and providing order and fertility. Most mountains in Japan, such as Mount Fuji, are felt to be the locale of *kami* presence; and Taishan in China is a divine mountain that attracts extensive worship. Śiva is called "lord of the mountains" in Hindu tradition, and his consort Pārvatī is "daughter of the mountains"; their favorite abode is on Mount Kailash in the Himalayas. The ancient Hebrews worshiped ʾEl Shaddai, apparently related to the mighty mountains, and the Israelite god Yahveh was first encountered as the god of Mount Sinai. Mountains are the source of life-giving springs and streams, and well as violent storms—and so many storm gods are linked with mountains, such as Baal-Hadad among the Canaanites. Pele, goddess of volcanic fire in Hawaii, demonstrates the destructive aspect of volcanic mountain epiphanies.

Reaching back to the dawn of human existence is the sense that the sacred is manifested in animal form. Epiphanies are associated with animals that are powerful and terrifying, those that exhibit wisdom or secret knowledge, those that are symbolically connected with the power of the earth, the moon, or the waters, and above all those that share sacred life-power with humans through their very flesh and blood. Animal symbols of goddesses and gods include the cow in ancient Egypt, a manifestation of the sky goddess Nun; the fox Inari in Japan; the coyote in North America; the bear among the Ainu; the buffalo among North American Indians; serpents and dragons in a great variety of cultures; and others, including caribou, elephants, dolphins, whales, and eagles. Powerful deities in animal form are linked to rain and storm, in particular the bull (Baal, Indra, Rudra, etc.), the thunderbird, and the dragon. Imaging the divinities in animal form expresses a sense of close relation to the sacred life that sustains animals and humans alike.

With the agricultural revolution came also a revolution in cosmic epiphanies, giving rise to various forms of goddesses and gods of vegetation, as well as giving new emphasis to the fertilizing male earth gods. Plant life is an epiphany of sacred power. For example, in a bas-relief of Assur, the upper part of a god's body is represented as coming out of a tree; and a seal from the Indus Valley civilization depicts a divine being within a tree faced by a group of worshipers. Demeter was a goddess responsible for grain for the ancient Greeks, and among the Cherokee the goddess Corn Woman is the origin of the corn plant. Among the Polynesians the growth of plants such as banana trees and taros actually comes from the sacred concentration of power in the ancestral *dema* deities of the time of the beginnings. Characteristic of plant life is the rhythmic cycle of death and birth, season after season, and so the divinities of vegetation reflect this pattern of death and rebirth; this is true, for example, of Baal of the Canaanites and Tammuz of Mesopotamia. Gods of phallic energy, such as the ancient Egyptian Min and the Indian Śiva, express another aspect of the divine source of generative power.

Gods and goddesses of the underworld. Chthonic deities live in the dark recesses of the earth and are especially related to the underworld. In some cases, the gods of the underworld are raging, destructive monsters who bring down even the gods of life; such a figure is Mot in Canaanite mythology. The ruler of the place of the dead is grim and dreaded; this is true of Hades in ancient Greece, Ereshkigal in Mesopotamia, and Seth and Nephthys in Egypt. Sedna, sea goddess of the Inuit, and Taishan, a mountain god of the Chinese, are cosmic divinities who receive the dead into their abodes. These goddesses and gods of the world of the dead are ambiguous in the extreme: dreaded and avoided, they still have sacred powers that can assist people in this most critical passage of life. Often the deities of the underworld are related to the deities of life-giving power; Satene among the Wemale of West Ceram is an example. After all, it is the divine mother who gives and nourishes life who also finally receives back the dead. In illustration of this, figurines of pregnant goddesses have been found in prehistoric burial sites, providing images of life-giving power within the realm of death.

Gods and goddesses of social functions. Much research has been done on the social functions of goddesses and gods, especially on the triad of functions common to Indo-European divinities: (1) a sovereignty function with magical and juridical aspects; (2) a function of physical power and bravery, especially in war; and (3) a function of fertility and prosperity. Georges Dumézil in particular has shown how this triad of functions penetrates all the societies that stem from proto-Indo-European culture, although each culture went on to develop their divinities further. While this important system of categorization is incorporated to some extent in the social typology used here, it should be noted that this scheme does not apply as readily to non-Indo-European cultures. For example, many deities of the ancient Near East and of Africa combine the sovereign and the warrior functions, and other ancient societies do not so clearly separate the food-producing class and its attendant deities from the warrior class and its gods. Most of the great gods and goddesses of non-Indo-European peoples cannot be neatly pigeonholed into this triad of functional classes; thus the following categories are amplified somewhat.

Creators and guardians of society and order. Supreme or sovereign deities often are considered to be creators and preservers of society and order. Often the supreme god creates human society and originates and upholds cosmic and moral law. This god holds people responsible on the basis of the moral design, judges them, and punishes them, either directly or through other deities who perform this function. In Vedic thought, the sky god Varuṇa is the cosmocrator and also the upholder of *ṛta*, the cosmic and moral law to which all things are subject. In theistic Hinduism, Vaiṣṇavas see Viṣṇu as the originator and preserver of society. Kṛṣṇa, *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, advises Arjuna to fulfill the duties of his warrior caste, for even Viṣṇu performs his *dharma* (duty) so that the worlds continue to function (*Bhagavadgītā* 3.3–24). Yahveh of the Hebrews both originates human society and gives forth the law that governs all peoples. Jupiter, the Roman high god, is the guardian of oaths, treaties, and moral duty. Shangdi, "Lord Above," worshiped by the Shang rulers in ancient China, sends both weal and woe in governing the fortunes of the rulers. And Tian, "Heaven," supreme deity for the Zhou rulers, provided a moral mandate for just rulers but withdrew it for those who were unjust. In Babylon, the assembly of the great gods, having created humans as servants of the gods, supervises human society and determines human destinies. Widespread among African peoples is the notion that the supreme god is the ultimate originator and authority governing human life, even as other gods fulfill the needs of everyday life. In Hindu tradition, the great goddess Śrī Lakṣmī, embodying *Śrī* (radiance, creative power), was thought to provide sovereignty and power to the kings in their rule.

Sometimes the supreme god or gods create the first gods, who then complete the creation. In Mesoamerican myths, the supreme dual creator god engendered several sons, including Tezcatlipoca and Quetzalcoatl, who then created the universe and the other gods. In other mythic scenerios, the original humans are first produced and then as divine culture heroes they complete the creation and oversee its order. For example, the *dema* deities of the myths of the Marind-anim of New Guinea create the vital aspects of human culture and morality by their actions in the time of the beginnings. Ancestors often take the place of the high god as guardians of human morality, although the high god is recognized as the ultimate authority, the court of last resort. The high gods may have inspectors, like Eṣu of the Yoruba and Satan of the Israelites (*Job* 1–2), to help in upholding the divine order.

Goddesses and gods of protection and war. Gods who display physical power often function as gods of protection and war. This role is ascribed especially to cosmic storm goddesses and gods, such as Indra in the Vedas and Þórr (Thor) in Scandinavian mythology. Ancient Near Eastern cultures have combined sovereign storm gods to function as divine warriors and protectors; Marduk of the Babylonians and Yahveh of the Hebrews are two such gods. Mars of the Romans is a classical god of war, protecting the state against its enemies but also preserving fields and herds against damage and disaster. In Mesoamerica, the powerful warrior god Tezcatlipoca collaborated in creating the world and is present everywhere, but he also promotes conflicts and induces people to transgress. Huitzilopochtli, Aztec war god and sun god, was born in full warrior regalia and killed threatening deities so as to renew world order. For the Yoruba, Ogun is god of hunting, iron-making, and war; in great festivals he is worshiped by hunters, blacksmiths, and warrior chiefs, as well as the king. Mixcoatl, central Mexican warrior god, was also worshiped as god of the hunt. Many goddesses, such as Athena among the Greeks, Anat in Canaanite mythology, Sekhmet in ancient Egypt, and Durgā in Hindu tradition, are also presented as divine warriors and protectors.

Deified humans rise to become gods of war and protection, such as the famous Chinese general Guandi, who was deified as the warrior protector *par excellence*. The Christian apostle St. James is known as Santiago in Spain, where his body was miraculously brought after his death; he became the warrior saint for the Christian Spaniards, driving out the Muslims during the reconquest of Spain. Then Santiago was invoked as the warrior-protector during the conquest of Mesoamerica, helping to defeat the Indians who resisted becoming Christian. Gods can also appear in human form to destroy evil, as do the *avatāra*s of Viṣṇu, whom this high god sends out from age to age to battle the rise of evil in the world.

Overall, a great variety of goddesses and gods function as divine protectors in every conceivable time of crisis: Castor and Pollux protect warriors for the Romans; in China the deified girl who became Tianshang Shengmu (Holy Mother in Heaven), known popularly as Mazu, is the protector of sailors; Min of ancient Egypt is the protector of travelers, as are the *kami* of the road in Japan and Saint Christopher in popular Christianity; and gods and goddesses all over the world protect women in childbirth and children as they grow up.

Goddesses and gods of fertility and prosperity. Deities promoting fertility and prosperity fit into an extremely broad and diverse category; in fact, the majority of gods and goddesses take on some of these functions, and the remaining categories listed below could be included in a general way in this basic category.

All the goddesses and gods associated with hunting and agriculture belong in this group. It is perhaps in securing and producing food that humans experience most deeply the interpenetration of divine cosmic powers and the divine forces of society and culture. In hunting cultures special importance is given to the hierophanies related to the animal herd most essential to the survival of the people, such as bears, reindeer, caribou, seals, and walruses. Sacred power manifests itself in mythological form as the master or mistress of animals; this god or goddess is an archetype of the herd, protector and master of animal life, who also provides boons to humans, giving to them of the sacred life of the animals. The Caribou Man of the Naskapi Indians (of Labrador), the Great Bull Buffalo of the Blackfeet Indians, and Sedna as the keeper of sea animals among the Inuit are examples of this type of divine being.

Planting peoples associate the sacred work of planting and harvesting with the deities who originate and continue the powers of vegetal fertility. In West Ceram, myths tell how the body of the goddess Hainuwele was cut up and planted in the earth, where it changed into root plants that the people have continued to cultivate. Widely known is the Mother of Grain, exemplified by Demeter in ancient Greece as goddess of the cultivated soil, and Corn Woman of Native American tribes.

A primary concern in the realm of fertility is human procreation, and most societies have deities of love, marriage, and procreation. In Greek mythology, Hera, wife of Zeus, is goddess of marriage, and Aphrodite and Eros are instigators of love. Ishtar of Mesopotamia and Hathor of ancient Egypt are goddesses of love and procreation. Freyja in Scandinavian mythology is at the same time divine lover/mistress and wife/mother. All across China, the bodhisattva Guanyin is invoked to help women in conceiving and child-bearing. The central Mexican goddess Xochiquetzal was widely popular as goddess of the arts, physical pleasure, and amorous love. Popular Mexican conceptions of the Virgin Mary, especially La Virgen de Guadalupe, identify her with indigenous fertility goddesses who occupied the land prior to the coming of the Europeans. Aborigines of Australia have myths about the Great Rainbow Snake who is responsible for human fertility.

An extension of this divine function of fertility is the granting of prosperity and wealth. In Scandinavia this function is performed by the deities known as the Vanir: Freyr, for example, grants peace and fertility, and his father, Njǫrðr (Njord), dispenses prosperity to those who go to sea. In the Hindu pantheon, Lakṣmī, the divine wife of Viṣṇu, is the goddess of wealth and happiness, granting sovereign power to kings and prosperity to subjects. And Gaṇeśa, the popular elephant-headed god, is widely worshiped as the overcomer of obstacles and the bringer of good fortune. The human aspiration is summed up in the Chinese popular triad, the Gods of Posterity, Prosperity, and Longevity.

Domestic and community gods and goddesses. The center of concern for fertility and prosperity is the home, and many goddesses and gods dwell and function within it, guarding the door, presiding over the hearth, sustaining marital ties, and granting children—everything that makes for happy home life. Hestia is the goddess of the hearth for the Greeks, as Vesta is for the Romans. Among the ancient Aryans, Agni, the god of fire, also presides over the family cult of the hearth. Neith in ancient Egypt is skilled in the domestic arts, as is Athena among the Greeks. For the Ainu of northern Japan, the fire goddess, Iresu-Huchi, presides over the home, giving peace and prosperity, receiving and keeping children who have died. Traditional Japanese homes have images of Daikoku and Ebisu as protectors of the household, and the Chinese have Zao Jun, the god of the cooking stove, who watches over and brings prosperity to the family. For the Romans, the *penates* guard the storeroom, and the *lares* guard the family estate boundaries.

Beyond the home, local communities have gods of protection and prosperity. At the entrance to traditional Japanese villages stands a stone image of the *bodhisattva* Jizō, erected for the protection and welfare of the village. And the Chinese earth god Tudi Gong is worshiped in traditional villages; he is the god rooted in the locality who keeps track of village happenings and generally oversees the prosperity and welfare of the community. For cities, there are the Gods of Moats and Walls, to perform the necessary bureaucratic functions in the divine realm. In India, most traditional villages have a powerful local deity (*grāmadevatā*), usually a goddess, celebrated in rousing festivals, thought of both as village founder and protector and also occasional source of disease and disaster.

Gods and goddesses of healing, sickness, and death. A major concern in human life has always been sickness and death; appropriately many goddesses and gods operate in this critical area. Some bring sickness and death, others cure sickness and protect the dead, and still others perform both functions. Well known is the Greek god Asklepios, who presides over healing and medicine. In China, Baosheng Dadi was a human doctor who after death became a god of medicine and healing. Traditional Japanese keep images of the Buddha Yakushi, king of medicines, in their homes for health. Some gods and goddesses specialize in bringing about sickness: the Pakoro Kamui brings smallpox to the Ainu; Irra is the dreaded plague of ancient Mesopotamia; and Namtar, the herald of Ereshkigal, Mesopotamian goddess of the underworld, has sixty diseases that he can spread among humans.

The ambiguity of divine power is often expressed in the existence of one deity who is both the bringer of health and prosperity and the agent of destruction and death. Hermes, protector and guide of travelers, becomes the grim psychopomp who guides souls to Hades. In the Vedas, the god Rudra often brings sickness and destruction, although he is also revered as the healer. The Great Rainbow Snake of the Australians, Hina of the Hawaiians, and Kālī of Hinduism all promote fertility and birth but also cause destruction and death. Human hopes of merciful treatment in the passage of death are reflected in the existence of many goddesses and gods who guard, nourish, guide or otherwise help the deceased. Hathor of ancient Egypt nourishes the dead, and the *bodhisattva* Jizō in Japan is especially revered as the receiver and protector of infants who die. Yama of Hinduism, as the first mortal to die, guides the dead to the celestial world. Amida (Skt., Amitābha) is popularly worshiped in Japan as the merciful Buddha who, when a person dies, appears with his holy retinue to lead the soul to rebirth in the Pure Land paradise. Some cults link the worshiper to the story of the deity's death and resurrection. Prominent cults of this type are that of Osiris and Isis in Egypt, Tammuz in Mesopotamia, as well as several of the Hellenistic mystery religions.

Gods and goddesses of culture, arts, and technology. Divinities related to cultural expressions are quite diverse, with roles corresponding to the needs and experience of a particular society. Among divine culture heroes are Prometheus, who stole fire from the gods for the benefit of humans; Blacksmith in Dogon tradition, who acquired seeds from heaven and brought them to earth for the first crops; Rāma, the carrier of culture, whose feats are recounted in the Hindu *Rāmāyaṇa*; Nyikang, the first king of the Shilluk of Africa; and Quetzalcoatl, the deified hero of the Aztec. Some culture heroes are thought of as the original humans who created the vital aspects of human existence in the mythic time of the beginnings. The *dema* of the Marind-anim and the ancestors in the Dreaming of Australian myths provide the prototypes for human cultural activities such as planting, sexuality, and festivals. The changing image of the trickster, such as Coyote among North American Indians, perhaps could fit here; though not necessarily worshiped as a god, the trickster typically wrests some cultural benefit for humans from the gods.

Gods and goddesses are patrons of the arts, representing the creative force and the secret knowledge of individual arts. Creativity comes from divine sources, and so worship of gods and goddesses provides inspiration and creative energy for poets, writers, sculptors, painters, weavers, dancers, musicians, and various other artists. Sarasvatī in Hinduism is the goddess of learning, art, and music, widely worshiped in school festivals. Thoth, the god of wisdom in ancient Egypt, is endowed with complete knowledge and is the inventor of all the arts and sciences: arithmetic, surveying, geometry, astronomy, soothsaying, magic, medicine, surgery, music, drawing, and—above all—hieroglyphic writing. In India, Śiva is the lord of the dance, inspiring festival dancers; Ogun inspires ecstatic dancing among the Yoruba as well as creative body art done with iron tools.

There are goddesses and gods for almost every conceivable occupation, craft, and technology. Njọrðr (Njord) of Scandinavia is patron of those who build ships and go to sea. In Greek mythology, Herakles and Hermes are associated especially with merchants, Athena is associated with women artisans, and Hephaistos, the god of fire, is the creative flame of the forge in metalwork. Amaterasu in Shintō tradition was linked to the art of weaving. Among the Yoruba it is believed that Ogun clears away obstacles and gives prosperity to all those who work with iron and steel—warriors, hunters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, barbers, butchers, and (in modern times) mechanics and taxi drivers. Hermes is the patron not only of merchants but also of thieves and rogues; and Inari of Japan is the *kami* of rice growers as well as geisha and prostitutes.

Gods and goddesses of esoteric knowledge and magic. The mysterious character of divine power finds expression in deities associated with secret mysteries and magical powers that are available only to those who have special knowledge or have been initiated into the worship of these goddesses and gods. The high god of the Indo-Europeans is, in one of his aspects, the source of esoteric knowledge and magic. Varuṇa of the Vedic period in India has the sun as his eye and controls *māyā* ("creative power," but later also "illusion"). Óðinn of the Scandinavians is one-eyed, having left his other eye in the well of the giant Mímir in return for the gift of wisdom. A famous poem describes how Óðinn hung on a tree for nine days and nights in order to acquire the esoteric knowledge of magical runes. Deities of esoteric knowledge inspire poets, shamans, and prophets, and they give up secret knowledge to diviners. The Scandinavian goddess Freyja, for example, taught the gods magical knowledge, and this is tapped into by women called *vọlva*, who go into trances and act as soothsayers. Yogic exercises in Daoism attempt to tap into the power of the exterior and interior gods, and Tantric practices in Esoteric Buddhism involve invoking the cosmic Buddhas and *bodhisattva*s for esoteric knowledge and power.

SEE ALSO Agriculture; Animals; Cosmogony; Culture Heroes; Deity; Deism; Deus Otiosus; Earth; Henotheism; Indo-European Religions; Lady of the Animals; Lord of the Animals; Meteorological Beings; Monotheism; Moon; Mountains; Polytheism; Sky; Stars; Sun; Supreme Beings; Theism; Underworld; War and Warriors; Water.

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THEODORE M. LUDWIG (1987 AND 2005)

GÖKALP, ZİYA (1876–1924), Turkish sociologist influential in the modernization of religious thinking and in the development of Turkish nationalism. He was born Mehmed Ziya in the small town of Diyarbakır in southeastern Turkey. After a traditional Muslim primary education and a secular secondary education in Diyarbakır, he went to Constantinople to continue his studies in 1895. Five years later he was arrested and banished to his hometown for his involvement with the Young Turks, then a secret organization.

Following the successful Young Turk revolution of 1908, he went to Salonika as a delegate to the Society (later Party) of Union and Progress. There he contributed to a journal of philosophy (*Yeni felsefe mecmuasi*) and a literary review (*Genç kalemler*) published by the Young Turks. It was at this point that he adopted the pen name Gökalp ("sky hero"), which he retained for the rest of his life.

With the outbreak of the Balkan War, he and his associates moved to the Ottoman capital, where their Turkish nationalist ideas were sharply opposed by the politicians and writers known as Islamists, as well as by the traditional Ottomanists. In Constantinople Gökalp became acquainted with a group of Turkish-speaking émigré writers from Kazan, the Crimea, and Azerbaijan whose ideas had been influenced by those of the Russian Narodniks. Prominent among these writers was Yusuf Akçura of Kazan, the author of a lengthy essay entitled *Three Ways of Policy* (*Üç tarz-i siyaset*), in which he speculated on three possible directions for the Ottoman Empire—a continuation of Ottomanism, a political unification of Muslims, or a national unification of the Turks (possibly including those of the Russian Empire).

This formulation of the Turkish problem had a strong influence upon Gökalp, whose writings after 1911 were concerned with the resolution of Akçura's trilemma within the framework of the modern nation, although the modifications he proposed were unacceptable not only to the Ottomanists and Islamists but even to the Turkists themselves. In his major work, *Türkleşmek, islamlaşmak, muasirlaşmak* (Turkism, Islam, and Secularization, 1918), he presented the concept of secularization, already initiated by the Tanẓīmāt reforms, as a means of reconciling the "three ways." Throughout his life Gökalp dealt with the political, religious, cultural, and educational ramifications of what he believed to be the reforms necessary to arrest the decline of Turkish national unity. Following the fall of the Ottoman Empire he welcomed the birth of the nationalist, republican, and secular regime in 1921, and in the remaining three years of his life he strove to adapt his earlier writings to it.

Central to Gökalp's thought were two distinct yet interrelated concepts, "civilization" and "culture." The first of these he associates with traditions created by and belonging to different ethnic groups and capable of being transmitted from one group to another, while "culture" represents the specific and unique set of mores of a particular nation. For Gökalp "culture" is the more basic of the two because without cultural roots, any attempt to develop a dynamic civilization will be unsuccessful.

In applying this distinction to the concrete issue of Turkey's transition from a multiracial, formally Muslim empire to a democratic, Western-oriented, and secular nation-state, whose cultural basis would be Turkish and only secularly Muslim, he was dealing not with the problems of Western society or civilization, but with a nonsecular, non-Western society that had come under the influence of Western civilization. He was concerned mainly with the place the Turkish people would assume in the modern world, since they were seen as alien to the Christian cultural background of Western civilization. He felt that the nations of the West, while remaining Christian in character, were destined to become secularized because of the dominant role assumed by science and rational thought. Non-Christian Turks, however, and others who were neither Christians nor Muslims, such as the Japanese, could be secularized only if and when they became "nations," for modern Western civilization had little to do with the language, religion, folkways, and mores of the people outside the world of Christianity.

After Gökalp's death, there was a decline of interest in his earlier writings, which preceded the readjustment of his thinking to the conditions of the nationalist, secular regime. His ideas, however, would exert considerable influence upon later Muslim thinkers, such as Muḥammad Iqbāl.

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GOLD AND SILVER

GOLD AND SILVER are among the most widespread symbols in the history of religions. Their exceptional physical qualities make them—like their celestial counterparts, the sun and the moon—unusually powerful symbols of spiritual realities. As a physical substance, gold is quite literally incorruptible: it is highly resistant to chemical reactions and is immune to the corrosion that affects baser metals. It is also intrinsically luminous, seeming to shine with a light of its own. Thus no speculative leap was required to make gold the universally acknowledged symbol of life and the spirit and of perfection and immortality. There is a certain obviousness to the symbolic value of gold that explains its universal appeal throughout history and in virtually every corner of the world.

Silver too is naturally suited to serve as a religious symbol. Its faultless whiteness has made it a symbol of purity and—in the appropriate historical contexts—of chastity. Purified in the refiner's fire, it becomes a symbol of purification and perfection. Associated with its silvery counterpart in the night sky, it is integrated into an entire complex of lunar symbolism that includes—not surprisingly—the great purifier, water.

RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE. When John Ruskin spoke of gold's "imperishable splendour," he spoke metaphorically of a universally recognized quality that people of earlier times took quite literally. For many in the history of religions, gold has not merely symbolized the imperishable but embodied it. In ancient India the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* identified gold with immortality. The ancient Chinese identified it with Heaven. Beliefs such as these lie behind the extremely widespread use of gold in connection with a whole variety of funerary practices. Indeed, most of the surviving examples of the ancient goldsmith's art have been found in graves. One of the most impressive collections of artistic gold articles was discovered in the tomb of Tutankhamen (Egypt, fourteenth century BCE), including the stunning gold burial mask that formed a part of the king's coffin. Gold funeral masks are quite common globally: They have been found from Champa (modern Vietnam) to Peru. The mummies of the kings of ancient Peru were completely wrapped in gold foil. In addition to masks, many other accessories and ornaments found in graves are also made of gold or silver. In the case of gold the meaning is clear: The immortality of the deceased is ensured by providing the deceased with an immortal persona, the mask made of gold. Moreover, gold (like jade) was sometimes used to block up the natural openings of the corpse in the belief that this would prevent its decay. In some cases, notably in ancient China, such concern for immortality began while the person was still alive. Thus Chinese alchemy, as in some other alchemical traditions, it was believed that drinking an elixir made from gold would confer immortality.

As a symbol of spiritual realities, gold occurs frequently in the representations of key religious figures. The Buddha, the Enlightened One, is frequently portrayed in gold. One of the most impressive examples is the huge image of the Buddha found in the Wat Traimit in Bangkok, Thailand, an image made entirely of gold. One also thinks of the dazzling gold ornaments that adorn the *bodhisattvas* in the paintings discovered at Dunhuang. Equally striking are the golden aureoles that surround the heads of saints in Christian iconography.

Religious rituals have also made use of gold and silver. All manner of ritual implements and vessels have been fashioned from these precious metals. The medieval Christian church made extensive use of gold in the construction of crosses, chalices, patens, ornamental covers for the Bible, and reliquaries. One also finds silvered cases created to house Buddhist sūtras, and a variety of Buddhist ceremonial objects in gold.

Yet the symbolism of gold and silver in the history of religions has not always been completely positive. Particularly in the Western Semitic religions (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam), gold and silver have occasionally taken on a negative value. One need only recall the story of the golden calf (*Ex.* 32) or the golden image set up by Nebuchadrezzar, which Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego refused to worship (*Dn.* 3). In the Hebrew scriptures gold is often the symbol of idolatry or of purely human glory. There is a similar distrust of gold and silver in Islam. According to one *ḥadīth,* or saying of the prophet Muḥammad, "He who drinks from gold and silver vessels drinks the fire of Hell." In the opinion of the thirteenth-century Persian cosmographer al-Qazwīnī, the use of gold and silver for ornament thwarts the divinely intended purpose of these metals, which should be used as coinage for trade.

ASSOCIATION WITH SACRED TIME AND SPACE. Gold and silver have also played an important part in the articulation of sacred time and space. Sacred time par excellence is often represented as a Golden Age, which is followed by an only slightly inferior Silver Age. The widespread schema of the four ages of the world finds its way into the *Book of Daniel* (2:31–45), in Nebuchadrezzar's dream of a colossus with a head of gold and with breast and arms of silver.

To the extent that sacred space has been organized around a temple, the presence of gold and silver ornament has contributed powerfully to the creation of a properly numinous ambience. Here one thinks not only of the wealth of Solomon's temple and of medieval Christian cathedrals, but also of the Temple of the Sun at Cuzco in ancient Peru, which was covered with enormous quantities of gold. In the Hindu tradition the world has passed through four periods of time; according to popular legend, all the accoutrements used by people were made from gold in the earliest period, which was regarded as the purest era.

ASSOCIATION WITH ALCHEMY. Nowhere, however, is the symbolic potential of gold and silver exploited more fully than in the various traditions of alchemy. According to alchemical doctrine, gold and silver develop in the earth under the influence of the sun and moon respectively. The ultimate goal of this development is the production of gold, which is consequently viewed as the perfect metal, and as a symbol of spiritual perfection. The alchemist's art is intended to hasten this natural process, both in external nature and within the alchemist's soul. Silver here becomes the symbol of the soul's purity and passivity before the activity of the spirit, symbolized by gold.

SEE ALSO Alchemy; Colors; Money.

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GOLDEN AGE. In its narrowest sense, the term Golden Age refers to a mode of utopian existence, described in a variety of Greek, Roman, and later Western Christian texts, that is freed from the vicissitudes of everyday life and is characterized by peace and plenty, with nature spontaneously producing food and humans living in close relationship to the gods. Most usually, the Golden Age is located temporally in the far past or, more rarely, in the distant future. Spatially, it is located in vague or far-off regions of the earth; more rarely, it is a place accessible only after death, as described by Pindar (fifth century BCE) in his portrait of the Elysian Fields (*Olympian Ode* 2.68–76). In its broadest sense, the term has been extended by some scholars to include any mythical, paradisical time of origins. As banalized in common discourse, *golden age* has been transformed into a quasi-historical label for any period of extraordinary wealth or human achievement.

THE HESIODIC MYTH AND ITS DEVELOPMENT. The most particular reference to the Golden Age, although it does not use the term, is the account of the successive races of people given by the Greek author Hesiod (eighth century BCE) in his didactic poem *Works and Days* (106–201). Whether directly or indirectly, Hesiod is the sole source for the myth in later Western literature and the arts. The account sits somewhat uneasily in its Hesiodic context, being introduced almost by way of a digression, and seems to be in tension with other anthropogonic motifs in the poem. Five races or kinds of people are described in temporal succession. Four are characterized by valuable metals: the golden race, the silver race, the bronze race, and, after an intervening race of heroes that is most likely not part of the original schema, the iron race. Although not fully developed, there appears to be a succession of moral and physical decay. With the exception of the intrusive race of heroes, each state appears to be inferior to its predecessor.

In its brief description of the golden race, the Hesiodic narrative combines six motifs: (1) the succession of races of people (in Hesiod's account, these are different species, separate creations of the gods, and are not to be seen as successive stages of mankind, the world, or history); (2) the correlation of the races with metals; (3) the identification of the golden race with the reign of an elder deity (in Hesiod, with the rule of Kronos); (4) the topos that, in the beginning, humans lived in close company with the gods; (5) a set of paradisical features including a carefree existence of feasting, wealth, and peace in a state of perpetual youth, terminated by a peaceful death; and (6) the spontaneous yield of crops from the earth, so that humanity was fed without toil. Each of these motifs has worldwide distribution. At times, they have served as elements that have been integrated into broader systems of religious, historical, and anthropological thought (for example, systems of apocalypticism, messianism, utopianism, or primitivism) as well as literary genres such as the pastoral. However, the combination of motifs in Hesiod is without parallel.

In later Greek poetic versions, especially the influential *Phaenomena* (96–136) by Aratus (third century BCE), additional details were added to Hesiod's brief account. The Golden Age was characterized, above all, by justice. Its utopian mode of life included vegetarianism. What was of greater importance, the metals now identified stages in the history of a single race, and the implicit theme of degeneration was more consistently applied. In Greek philosophical literature—most extensively by Plato (*Statesman* 269–274)—this latter element was fully developed and related to notions of historical periodicity, recurrence, and world cycles. The later, expanded portrait of the Golden Age, with the additional motif of free sexuality, was carried over into Latin versions of the Hesiodic myth, above all in the first-century work of Ovid (esp. *Metamorphoses* 1.76–150). The Latin tradition is important in three respects. First, the persistent Greek terminology referring to the "golden race" (*chruseon genos*) was transformed into the more familiar phrase "the Golden Age" (*aurea saecula* or *aurea aetas*). Second, although some Roman texts maintain the four metals schema, the contrast was reduced to a duality: then and now, the Age of Kronos and the Age of Zeus, the Golden Age and the present times. Third, with the general loss of Greek literature in the Middle Ages, it was the Latin tradition, especially the Ovidian version, that was most influential on later Western literature. Beyond its adaptations of the Hesiodic myth, Roman tradition contributed new spatial and temporal dimensions to the Western imagining of the Golden Age. Two innovations were of greatest significance; both may be associated with the towering figure of Vergil in the first century BCE. The development of the Alexandrian conventions of the pastoral, the literary topos of the idyllic place (*locus amoenus*), and the paradisical imagery of the Golden Age came together in Vergil's portrait of Arcadia in his *Eclogues.* In such poetry, the Golden Age came closer to the experience of the contemporary human. Taken out of mythical time and reduced to the "good old days," to bucolic scenes of the rustic, simple life, the pastoral became "an image of what they call the Golden Age" as Alexander Pope observed in his *Discourse on Pastoral Poetry.* At the same time, an eschatological element was introduced. Often tied to imperial ideology, the notion was advanced that the Golden Age was recoverable, now or in the immediate future. While this became a commonplace of imperial rhetoric (see Vergil, *Aeneid* 6.791–794)—no fewer than sixteen Roman emperors claimed that their reigns had reestablished the Golden Age—the best-known example remains the fourth of Vergil's *Eclogues.* This mysterious poem, composed in 41–40 BCE, ties the end of the Iron Age and the initiation of a new Golden Age to the birth of a wondrous child. In Vergil's work, the myth of the Golden Age is no longer an expression of pessimism with respect to the present; rather it has become a prediction of future hope and regeneration. Elements in the poetic tradition of the Golden Age lent themselves to christianization. In its Greek form, it could be harmonized with accounts of Eden and with notions of sin as accounting for humanity's fall from Paradise. The eschatological understanding of the Golden Age could be harmonized with predictions of the birth of the Messiah and the coming of Christ's kingdom. However, apart from contributing to theories of world periods, the myth of the Golden Age was not a major element in Christian literary imagination from the early sixth century (see Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy* 2.5) until the Renaissance. While late medieval epic traditions (for example, Dante and the *Roman de la rose*) continued antique conventions of the Golden Age, a variety of new historical factors contributed to a reawakening of interest in the motif of the Golden Age. Alongside of the rediscovery of classical texts and works of art was the self-consciousness of a "renaissance," of a new birth, a new age that was, at the same time, a recovery of lost, past glories. Thus, the motto of Lorenzo de' Medici, "the time returned" (*le tems revient*), the description by Vasari of the era of Lorenzo as "truly a golden age" *(Life of Botticelli)*, the elaborate court and coronation pageants in which Saturn-Kronos and the four metallic ages were depicted by actors (Vasari, *Life of Pontormo*). Once again, the language of the Golden Age and imperial ideology were conjoined. The development of Renaissance urbanism led to a new, nostalgic interest in the pastoral, a form rediscovered by Jacopo Sannazaro and Torquato Tasso and culminating in Edmund Spenser's dominant interest in the Golden Age. The reformers found in the concept of the Golden Age an expression of their interest in a return to simplicity (see, for example, Erasmus's *In Praise of Folly*). Above all, it was contact with other cultures through exploration that allowed a sense of the palpable presence of the Golden Age. Joined to the topos of the Noble Savage, the new peoples and territories, especially those of the "New World," are unceasingly described in the Renaissance chronicles as living in the Golden Age. While shorn of much of its mythic content, the concept plays a role in the subsequent, somewhat turgid history of rival theories of the progress and degeneration of mankind. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, these various contexts were much elaborated, especially in the context of the mythic understanding of immigrant America. It was a place of new birth and rebirth, a place of freedom, its bounty vast and unimaginable. From the seventeenth-century Puritan imagination (in Cotton Mather's words, "the first Age was the Golden Age; to return unto that will make a man a Protestant, and I may add, a Puritan") to the nineteenth-century romanticization of the American West (historian H. H. Bancroft, for example, described life as "a long happy holiday . . . such as the old-time golden age under Cronus or Saturn"), the imagery was self-conscious and persistent. Finally, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the topos of the return of the Golden Age was joined to the industrial myth of progress, expressed on the one hand in the notion of science as providing a world without care, and on the other in theories of primitive communism that animated many radical social and political utopian experiments and political movements. Both of these ideologies are a major motif in the writings of Dostoevskii (most explicitly in *Notes from the Underground* and *The Dream of the Ridiculous Man*), perhaps the most creative literary use of the Golden Age since Vergil.

THE GOLDEN AGE IN CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISON. In considering the worldwide distribution of the myth of the Golden Age, much depends on decisions of definition and classification. Does one seek close parallels to the specific constellation of motifs found in the Hesiodic narrative, or does one note any instance of a sharp duality between a previous age of perfection and the present? Does one include such closely related topoi as postmortem realms that are the reverse of present conditions, or terrestrial paradises? Does one insist on the notion of past possession of the Golden Age? Does one focus on those mythologies that report its permanent loss, or on those that promise its return? Does one include mythologies in which characteristics resembling life in the Golden Age serve as narrative elements, expressing some contrast between a past and present state (as in the various mythologies of the origin of death), but do not function as the focal point of the myth? Does one include instances of isolated motifs (such as the widespread motif of self-harvesting plants or automatic implements) that occur in folkloristic contexts other than a Golden Age? Out of the number of possible comparisons, three systems of Golden Age mythology stand out, both for their persistence and for their differing functions: the Golden Age in relation to myths of origins, to millenarian activities, and to royal ideologies.

Myths of origins. Most myth posits a sharp duality between "then" and "now," a duality often overcome in the narrative through modes of transformation whereby the one becomes the other. This split and its attendant transformation is most clearly expressed in myths of origin, especially those that take the form of a mythology of rupture between a previous state and the present order. Evaluations of this previous state vary: it may be better, or worse, or simply different than the present. Among early literary accounts, scholars of the ancient Near East have identified a genre of creation narrative that begins with the formula "When there was not" (the same negative formula recurs in medieval Christian descriptions of the other world). Some of these take on the form of a myth of a Golden Age. For example, "Enki's Spell," a part of the Sumerian epic *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta,* tells of a time when there were no dangerous animals to threaten humans, when there was nothing to fear, and when humankind spoke a common tongue, obeyed divine laws, and was ruled by the beneficent deity Enlil. This happy state was brought to an end through the jealousy of another deity (Enki). This same negative formula recurs in Scandinavian mythology to describe the original cosmos (*Vǫluspá* 3, 5). In this state, before the creation of man, the gods lived in peace, playing games and possessing much gold (*Vǫluspá* 8). This happy mode of existence will return. The golden feasting tables will once again be set out and the fields will bear crops without cultivation (*Vǫluspá* 61–2). This last motif is common to many Indo-European epic traditions; for example, *Mahābhārata* 3.11.234–235 tells how during the *kṛtayuga* there was no work and the necessities of life were obtained by being merely thought of. The motif occurs as well in many mythologies of the invention of agriculture, especially in the Indonesian and North American Indian culture complexes. For example, in a variation on this theme, which includes as well the mythologem of rupture, a characteristic etiological tale from the Boróro (of Mato Grosso, Brazil) tells how, in olden times, a woman went to pick maize, which in those days was planted and cultivated by spirits. The woman accidentally hurt her hand and blamed the accident on Burekóibo, the chief of the spirits. In punishment, the spirits ceased their labors, and humans had to toil for food, clearing the forest, planting the seed, and cultivating the crops. There was as well a diminution in the size of the ears of corn since the days when the spirits were responsible for agriculture.

Millenarianism. The explicit connection of the Greco-Roman myth of the Golden Age and Christian chiliasm is at least as old as the third century (Lactantius, *Divine Institutes* 5.5, 7.24) and was fully developed in the complex, medieval Christian sibylline traditions. Similar combinations are equally prominent in archaic mythologies and recent nativistic movements. While none of these are demonstrably free from possible Christian influence, they reflect, as well, indigenous tradition. Perhaps the clearest set of examples is from the South American Indians of Gran Chaco and Amazonia. There are mythologies of a lost Golden Age such as that found among the Tembé. In earlier times, there was once a place where work was unknown. The fields planted and harvested themselves. When the inhabitants grew old, they did not die but were rejuvenated. The present-day Tembé no longer know the route to this "Happy Place." Such a mythical place can also be used to describe an original peaceful unity, subsequently shattered, which explains the difference between the white colonialist and the native. Thus, the Mataco picture a time and place long ago when there were no Christians, when the ancestors of what would later become the Christians and the Mataco lived together harmoniously in a single house. Everything was provided without labor, from tools to domesticated animals and clothing. The Christian ancestors took away the best of these things, leaving the Mataco only clay pots and dogs. In other versions of this motif of the origin of inequality, the native utopia is superseded by a European one, as among the Boróro. After living peacefully together, quarrels broke out over the possession of magically produced objects. The white people's ancestors were sent away in boats to avoid bloodshed and have never returned because they found a more beautiful and even more wondrous uninhabited land. A more complex expression of a recoverable Golden Age occurs among the various Tupi-Guaraní and Tupinamba groups who have set off on lengthy tribal wanderings from the interior to the Atlantic coast in order to reach a mythical "Land without Evil" or "Land of Immortality and Perpetual Rest." (The earliest record of such a journey is from a Spanish report in 1515; the most recent instance occurred in 1957.) This land, variously described by the different groups, has neither sickness or death; it is a vast garden-island, filled with game and fruits, on which the inhabitants will spend their time feasting and dancing. The same sort of Golden Age imagery recurs among Tupinamba nativistic resistance movements. The Santidades, as described by late sixteenth-century Jesuit missionaries, were common among groups displaced by force to work on the colonial plantations. Native religious leaders urged their followers to stop work and revive old rituals. If they did so, the fields would plant and harvest themselves, tools would work automatically, and old people would be rejuvenated and not know death. The fundamental imagery of these groups stems from shamanistic visions of an otherworld. Many exhibit, as well, clear Christian borrowings. Such influence, however, was reciprocal. In 1539, a large group of Tupinamba crossed the South American landmass at its widest point in a nine-year journey ending in Peru. There their tales of the mythical "golden place" they were seeking so excited the Spaniards that an expedition was immediately launched to locate Eldorado (originally a golden man; later believed to be a city of gold).

Kingship. From the earliest Mesopotamian hymns of self-praise by Shulgi, ruler of the third dynasty of Ur (r. 2094–2047 BCE) to the encomia addressed to seventeenth-century European monarchs (such as Charles II, whom Abraham Cowley celebrates for having transformed an Age of Iron into an Age of Gold), royal ideology and the myth of the Golden Age have been intertwined. As noted above, historical kings from the emperors of Rome to the Medicis have claimed that their reigns reestablished the Golden Age. There is even greater elaboration of Golden Age motifs in the myths of primordial sacred kings. Kronos-Saturn in Greco-Roman tradition is one such example, already present in the Hesiodic account. Iranian mythology is more extended and explicit.

After the ninth century CE, in the late Pahlavi, New Persian, and Arabic writings as well as in the so-called secular epic tradition, the disparate Iranian royal genealogical and mythical traditions were organized into a systematic presentation that located the origins of kingship in the figure of Hōshang. Depicted in quite conventional terms as an ideal king and civilizing hero as well as the progenitor (with his sister Guzak) of the Iranian people, Hōshang established justice, peace, and law. He invented iron-working, the arts of mining and navigation, and the building of canals for irrigation. He was the first to hunt with dogs, make clothing out of skins, and to fashion wooden doors for houses. During his reign, according to the fifteenth-century universal history by Mīrkhwānd, the *Rawẓat al-ṣafāʾ* (Garden of purity), the "world bloomed" and people "reposed in gardens of content." Behind this stereotypical portrait of an ideal realm, lies an older, most likely pre-Zoroastrian, myth of a full-blown Golden Age, that associated with the reign of the Indo-Iranian figure of Yima. In the earlier traditions of the Avesta, Yima is like the sun. In his reign of a thousand years, humans and beasts do not die (indeed, there is no difference in appearance between a man and his son); waters and plants do not dry up from the heat; there is neither excessive warmth, nor cold, nor any form of disease; and there is an inexhaustible supply of food (*Yasna* 9.4–5; *Yashts* 9.10, 10.50, 17.30, 19.32–33). During this Golden Age, Yima enlarged the world three times in order to make room for his citizens and bounty, but such a realm could not be extended indefinately. Therefore, Ahura Mazdā warned Yima that a universal winter would come and that Yima was to carve out a subterranean kingdom with magical tools, into which he was to bring the most magnificent individuals among the men, animals, and plants in his realm as well as the most savory foods. This kingdom, *vara,* in many respects resembles Yama's realm of the dead in Indic tradition. There, in his underground golden kingdom, which will glow with its own self-generated light, Yima will rule and men will live "the most beautiful life" (*Vendidad* 2). In late traditions, Yima will emerge, at the end of the world's winter, to repopulate the earth (*Mēnōg i Khrad* 27.27–31). Following the so-called Zoroastrian reform, this archaic myth was radically altered. The Golden Age of Yima's rule lasts only until he lies, when the glorious kingship will leave him (*Yashts* 19.33–38). Indeed, in some traditions, Yima is only the builder of the subterranean realm; Zarathushtra's third son will be its ruler (*Vendidad* 2.42–43).

SEE ALSO Heaven and Hell; Millenarianism; Paradise; Utopia.

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GOLDEN RULE. The expression *Golden Rule* has come into use in various modern European languages over the past few centuries as a popular reference to the dictum, "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you," best known in Western culture from its formulation in the New Testament (*Matt.* 7:12, *Luke* 6:31). Identical or similar axioms of moral behavior are nearly universal, however, appearing in a wide variety of cultural contexts from oral folk wisdom to ancient scriptural and philosophical writings. The written canonic versions most frequently cited as examples of golden-rule thinking include those found in early Jewish sources, both in the Mishnaic and Talmudic corpus (*Pirḳe-Avot* 2:10, *Babylonian Talmud: Shabbat* 31a) and in the apocryphal and pseudepigraphic literature (e.g., *Ben Sira* 31:15, *Tobit* 4:15, *Jubilees* 36:8); additional passages in the New Testament (*Rom.* 13:8-10, *Gal.* 5:14, *Acts* 15:20 [Western recension, codex D]); Qurʾanic and post-Qurʾanic Islamic teachings (*sūrah* 83: "The Deceivers" [*At-Taṭfīf,* or *Al-Muṭaffifīn*]; Al-Nawawi, *Forty Ḥadith* 13; Ibn Al-ʿArabi, "Instructions to a Postulant" [*Risāla . . . lʾil murīd*]); classical Greek and Latin texts (e.g., Plato, *Republic* 443d; Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 9:8; Isocrates, "To Nicocles" 61b, "To Demonicus" 14, 17); sacred precepts imparted in the *Udyoga* and *Anuṣasana* sections of the Sanskrit epic *Mahābharata* (5:39:57, 13:114:8); and comparable pronouncements in the Zoroastrian *Avesta* (*Dadestan-i denig* 94:5, *Shayest Na-shayest* 37:51), the Buddhist *Dhammapada* (10:129–130), the Jain *Āgamas: Sūtrakṛtānga* (1:10:13, 1:11:33) and other sūtras, and the Bahāʾī scriptures (*Kitāb-i Aqdas* 148). There are also striking parallels in the *Analects* (4:15, 5:12, 15:23) and other works of the Confucian canon (*Daxue* 10:2, *Zhongyong* 13:3, *Mencius* 7:A:4).

Occurrences in these and other traditions can be multiplied virtually without limit, inasmuch as statements preaching a basic consideration for the feelings of others—in ideal conception if not in common practice—are all but self-evident in human culture, reflecting both the fundamental imperatives of social organization and a deeply ingrained, though regularly ignored, instinct of empathy for fellow members of the species. However, many apparently parallel statements about elementary human decency are simply too vague or sweeping to support detailed comparison, while others may have been taken out of their original contexts and put forward as equivalent teachings by apologists keen on defending the validity of one non-Western ethical system or another. In order to properly assess the cultural and religious significance of various golden-rule formulations, therefore, it is vital to scrutinize them from the perspective of a number of specific variables and issues:

1. The place of this teaching within its given religious or philosophical context: does it simply describe a commendable mode of behavior, or is it enshrined as the central pillar of an entire moral edifice?
2. The defense of this principle in the face of abundant evidence of its nonobservance in human conduct: Is it taken a priori as an inviolable tenet of revealed dogma, or is it proposed as a piece of utilitarian advice for the

successful regulation of social life? Does it merely enjoin a correct attitude toward one's fellow humans, or does it require one to translate these feelings into the praxis of concrete acts?

3. The manner in which the precise rhetorical structure of a given formulation reflects the specific intellectual underpinnings of its cultural milieu: Is it presented as an incontestable point of doctrine, or is it put forward as a polemical position or a defensive response within a context of moral disputation? Is its verbal form, especially its framing in either positive or negative grammatical terms, simply an aspect of literary style, or does its linguistic mode of presentation correspond to deep-seated assumptions about the moral ground of the human condition and the possibility of humankind's spiritual perfection?
4. Claims of universal validity: is a certain culture-specific version held to be a statement of moral truth for all humans and all time, or is it understood to apply exclusively within a particular religious community or sociohistorical context?
5. Mutual influences and borrowing: does a given citation represent an independent enunciation of the principle, or can it be traced back to a chain of inherited sources or to ur-texts shared with other traditions?
6. Commentarial expansion: how do scriptural exegetes and textual scholiasts seek to elucidate the message of empathetic self-projection expressed in canonic teachings and to ground this in the logic of philosophical or theological discourse?

THE GOLDEN RULE AS THE CORE OF MORALITY. That which makes various Golden Rule formulations in different cultures not simply shining precepts of moral excellence but truly golden—in the sense of setting the highest standard of moral value—is the explicit claim that the exhortation to treat one's fellow humans by the same criteria of behavior one wishes to enjoy oneself constitutes the essential core of an entire system of belief. For example, Hillel the Elder (first century BCE–first century CE) folds all of Jewish law into one succinct reply—while his questioner "stands on one foot"—as, "What is hateful to you, do not do unto your fellow man" (*Babylonian Talmud*, *Shabbat* 31a). In this is heard the unmistakable echo linking it with the language of slightly later enunciations of the same message in several New Testament passages.

This may reflect no more than direct borrowing or the use of common oral and written sources drawn from the fount of Eastern Mediterranean wisdom literature. But what gives this parallel its primary significance is the manner in which both texts go on to cite these gnomic statements as encapsulations of religious truth: "the entire Torah" in Hillel's words and "the law and the prophets" in the Gospel refrain. Significantly, we observe very much the same impulse to elevate the Golden Rule to the status of an all-embracing universal principle in a wide variety of other cultural contexts, including at least two passages among the vast pool of edifying verses in the *Mahābhārata* identifying this teaching as the "essence" or the "summation" of the *dharma* (duty or morality), Al-Nawawi's (1233–1277) blanket pronouncement that one who fails to observe this precept cannot be called a member of the Muslim community of the faithful, and the set of linked passages in the Confucian *Analects* that use words virtually identical to those of Hillel ("what is not desirable to you yourself, do not do") to define the "single thread [binding all of Confucius's thought] into a consistent whole."

In all of these examples, it is noteworthy that what is claimed to be the "central thread" of the Golden Rule is reduced to a rather unexpected point of doctrine, in each case accentuated by conspicuous silence with respect to such essential tenets as the creation of the world and the acceptance God's commandments in Judaism, the unity and singularity of God in Islam, the ideals of virtuous rule and ritual order in Confucianism, or the metaphysical underpinnings of Hindu and Buddhist thought: spiritual liberation, enlightenment and *nirvāṇa*, the universal godhead. In many of these passages, therefore, one suspects that the citation of the Golden Rule as the ultimate ground of an entire body of moral teachings is pointedly intended to be provocative, its stark enunciation designed to shake listeners from complacent belief in their conventional articles of faith and to force them to contemplate the core principle of primary human empathy underlying all ethical thinking. As a result, it is not surprising that in each of these respective scriptural traditions, legions of commentators have come forward to meet this intellectual and spiritual challenge, exercising their best exegetical skills in an attempt to reconcile the sublimely simple message of the Golden Rule with finer points of doctrine.

RHETORICAL FORMS AND CONTEXTS. With respect to the rhetorical articulation of golden-rule statements, the most commonly debated issue revolves around the use of positive or negative terms of discourse in different occurrences. Much ink and breath has been expended to argue that these two alternative grammatical modes reflect profoundly variant perspectives on the human condition. According to a widely held view, the framing of the precept in positive terms ("Do unto others") rather than negative ones represents at once a more idealistic and a more demanding view of man's capacity for altruistic behavior, setting standards of moral perfection that, if met, would amount to an *imitatio* of divine compassion. By this same reasoning, the negative formulation would seem to set the bar of moral expectation far lower, at the more "realistic" level of a covenant of nonintervention, requiring of people only that they refrain from aggressive and exploitative treatment of their fellows. In some discussions, however, these assumptions are reversed, and the point is made that, in a sense, basing one's behavior toward others on what one wishes to receive in return turns the selfless empathy of the Golden Rule into a form of self-interest, at best, or that it may even give license to impose one's own values and preferences on other people. Conversely, it may be argued that the idea of mutual nonaggression, far from enjoining simple inaction or restraint, may be understood to sanction an even more open-ended commitment to the inviolability of individual rights.

Regardless of which of these views is upheld, when one surveys the full range of canonic golden-rule statements, one discovers that typically the selection of positive or negative verbal form is not set in stone as a choice between mutually exclusive approaches to the principle of reciprocity in human relations. This observation becomes immediately clear when we note the inseparable connection drawn between the Golden Rule and the command to "love thy neighbor" in both testaments of the Bible (linked in the Gospels by direct textual contiguity and in the rabbinic tradition by virtually automatic exegetical association)—a point underlined by the fact that the original source text for this shared teaching at the heart of both testamental traditions, in *Leviticus* 19:18, presents these words as the culmination of a series of negative ethical injunctions. Moreover, even the uplifting note of positive exhortation in the Gospel versions of this teaching, often held to embody the purest expression of Christian love, did not prevent the early church fathers from transposing the words recorded in *Mark* and *Luke* into negative formulations in certain other early Christian writings (e.g., *Acts* [Western recension, Codex D] 15:20, *Didache* 1:2, and the *Apologia* of Aristides 15). In the same spirit, we find in such post-biblical Jewish texts as *Mishna Avot* (*Pirḳe-Avot*) and *Ben Sira* a fairly free alternation between positive and negative wording. The same is true of the terms of the Golden Rule enunciated in the Confucian *Analects*. The near replication here of Hillel's negative formulation may tend to lead certain Western observers to hasty conclusions regarding the practical, or this-worldly, character of traditional Chinese religious thinking—until one notices that this statement is conspicuously counterbalanced by a crucial passage in *Mencius* where a strikingly positive rhetorical exhortation is used to enjoin concerted efforts to live by the ideal of reciprocal empathy.

In weighing the significance of this point of textual analysis, therefore, it is crucial to distinguish between the purely linguistic choice of this or that mode of assertion and the deeper semantic grounding of positive and negative propositions regarding human perfectibility. Just as the negative language in certain Old Testament and Confucian versions in no way precludes a positive moral signification, so, too, the parallels cited in Hindu texts as the essence of the *dharma* can be construed in this term's double sense of both a set of restrictive laws and rules of behavior and also a positive evocation of the entire structure of meaning in human existence. In all of these examples, the notion that the evil inclination, sinful nature, or aggressive impulses of humans require the coercive force of moral sanction to prevent mutual injury is in no way inconsistent with a concomitant faith in the spiritual power of primary human empathy. This is particularly clear in the later Confucian development the vision of human interrelatedness set forth by Mencius (c. 371–c. 289 BCE), within which the all-embracing framework of prescriptive ritual observances is conceived as a modality for recovering and bringing to realization the inborn core of humanity's essential moral nature.

A second rhetorical factor conditioning expressions of the wisdom of the Golden Rule in different cultures concerns the precise positioning of a given formulation within the broader context of intellectual discourse in which it figures. Thus, where the best-known Judeo-Christian and Hindu-Buddhist versions present this precept as the foundation of universal moral law, in a number of classical Greek and Latin sources statements of more or less equivalent import tend to be uttered within the framework of discussions on the ideal fulfillment of human character, especially in connection with the classical ethical conceptions of temperance, moderation and spiritual well-being. For example, expressions of the principle of reciprocity in the *Republic* and *Gorgias* (507b), by Plato (c. 428–348 or 347 BCE), and the *Rhetoric* (1166–1167) and *Nicomachean Ethics* of Aristotle (384–322 BCE), are oriented more toward the perfection of the individual self than toward the reciprocal relation between person and person. In major works of Stoic philosophy such as the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius (121–180 CE) (e.g., 5:20, 7:73, 9:4, 11:1), this ideal of altruistic self-transcendence is cited, in a manner reminiscent of Mencius, as the mark of an individual's fullest attainment of harmony with Nature.

In many passages, the wisdom of the Golden Rule seems to carry a markedly utilitarian message with reference to the ordering of specific sets of human relationships. This occurs, for example, in the citation of this principle in the writings of Seneca (4 BCE–65 CE) (*Epistles* 47:11) with respect to the treatment of slaves, in the context of punishment in the Buddhist *Dhammapada* and honest measurement in the Qurʾān, and in the preaching of kingly virtues in the "Letter to Aristeias" (207) included within the corpus of the Jewish apocrypha. Indeed, discussions of the practical implications of such teachings for the maintenance of primary social order constitute a central focus of more recent golden-rule discourse, from the classic analysis of the essential structure of power in works such as *Leviathan* (chapter 15), by Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), to the scathing critique of humanity's hypocritical sacralization of its own self-interest in chapter 5 of *Civilization and Its Discontents*, by Sigmund Freud (1856–1939).

Within the Greek vision of the maximum fulfillment of human capacity, this issue is commonly linked to the concept of justice, in the sense of the interpersonal balancing of conflicting needs and wants. In this light, certain negative formulations of the Golden Rule may be understood as mirror images of the concept of retributive justice, prescribing a sort of proactive or reactive payment in kind for undesirable behavior. In its starkest form, this type of interpretation may even be reduced to the unforgiving terms of the *lex talionis*, "an eye for an eye," in apparent opposition to the doctrine of compassionate forgiveness suggested by the textual contiguity of the Golden Rule to the sermon on the mount in its Gospel manifestations. But just as the literal application of the principle of retributive justice was replaced early on in Jewish law by the concept of mutual responsibility, "requiting love for love" (*gemilut-ḥasadim*), so, too, in a famous passage in the *Analects* (14:34), Confucius (551–479 BCE) is pictured as rejecting the idea of repaying injustice with justice (literally, "requiting injury with virtue") on the grounds that this would constitute a breach of equity, preaching instead that one repay only virtuous behavior in kind and respond to injury with the "correctness" of justice.

METAPHYSICAL AND THEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS. In a number of important canonic enunciations of the Golden Rule, both in scriptural and in commentarial writings, thinkers go beyond the positing of its wisdom as the central pillar of their respective ethical systems espousing consideration and justice toward one's neighbor (variously construed as one's fellow Jew, fellow members of the Islamic community of the faithful, and the like, or in the broadest sense, all of one's fellow human beings) and ascribe to this precept significance of a metaphysical or theological character. Thus, for example, an authoritative rabbinic commentary on the *Leviticus* injunction to "Love thy neighbor" (*Palestinian Talmud, Nedarim* 9:4) cites this single verse as comprising the entire "book of the creation of man" (*sefer tol'dot-ha'adam*).

In certain formulations (e.g., the Jain *Sūtrakṛtānga*) the scope of application of the principle of universal empathy is expanded to a cosmic level to take in all one's fellow creatures, indeed all of creation, as coterminous with one's own eternal Self. This same exegetical impulse also finds expression in the philosophical writings of a number of later Confucian thinkers, among them Wang Yangming (1472–1529), who see in the moral message of the Golden Rule enunciated in the *Analects* a metaphysical identification with the "single body" *(yiti)* of the entire universe. This understanding gives new meaning to Mencius's attachment of his own positive formulation of the Golden Rule to the startling proposition that "the ten-thousand things are all within myself," here not an expression of the vaunt of unbounded ego but a soaring affirmation of the innate moral core lodged within every human heart. This leap of faith from basic human interrelatedness to a spiritual identification with all creation may also help to explain the textual linkage in both Jewish and Christian scripture between the parallel commands to "love thy neighbor" and to "love thy God," as well as Ibn al-ʿArabi's mystical extrapolation from the wisdom of the Golden Rule to the submission of humans to the infinity of the divine will.

SEE ALSO Morality and Religion.

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GOLDENWEISER, ALEXANDER A. (1880–1940), was an American anthropologist and student of primitive religions. Born in Kiev, the son of a distinguished jurist and criminologist, Alexander Alexandrovich Goldenweiser was educated in his native Ukraine, and later, at the graduate level, in the United States. An important early influence was the intellectual companionship and guidance of his father, Alexander Solomonovich Goldenweiser, a social thinker influenced by Hegel and Spencer. Father and son shared a broad intellectual outlook and traveled together in Europe.

Goldenweiser immigrated as a young man to the United States and from 1900 to 1901 pursued graduate study in philosophy at Harvard. He later shifted his studies to Columbia, where he came into contact with Franz Boas and his students, and took his doctoral degree in 1910 under Boas's supervision. Goldenweiser taught as an instructor at Columbia from 1910 to 1919, served as a lecturer in the Rand School of Social Sciences from 1915 to 1929, and was professor of thought and culture at the Portland Extension of the University of Oregon from 1930 until his death in 1940. He also taught at the New School for Social Research, the University of Wisconsin, and Reed College.

Although he carried out several months of anthropological fieldwork (on the social and political organization of the Northern Iroquois), Goldenweiser's primary interests were theoretical. He was known as the most philosophical of American anthropologists, and he remarked once that he would rather read bad theory than no theory at all. The formative influence on his mature work was clearly that of Boas and his students. Goldenweiser's most influential writings are sober and sharp-sighted critiques of the cultural evolutionism and diffusionism prevalant in the early twentieth century.

Goldenweiser's "Totemism: An Analytical Study" appeared in 1910, the same year as James Frazer's monumental *Totemism and Exogamy,* although, as Lévi-Strauss later noted, Goldenweiser's 110 pages were to have a more permanent theoretical influence than Frazer's four volumes. Frazer sought to establish the status of totemism as an evolutionary stage of religious development, a sort of universal primitive institution. Goldenweiser argued that what was called "totemism" was in fact merely the co-occurrence of three otherwise distinct traits—the differentiation of formally similar clans, the use of plant and animal symbols to distinguish them, and the recognition of a special relation between clan and totem.

Goldenweiser, often immersed in the themes and issues of his times, wrote widely on a number of topics relating to culture and history. It was, however, in such works as his analysis of totemism, or his essay (1913) on "The Principle of Limited Possibilities in the Development of Cultures" (in which he argues, against the diffusionists, that limited possibilities make cultural similarities inevitable) that his remarkable, critical intellect was able to transcend the limitations of its era.

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ROY WAGNER (1987)
Revised Bibliography

GOLDZIHER, IGNÁCZ (1850–1921), was a Hungarian Arabist and Islamicist. After elementary schooling and a Jewish religious education in his birthplace, Székesfehérvár, Goldziher moved to Budapest in 1865. By the time he completed the *Gymnasium* in 1868, he had already begun to study Islamic languages at the university under Arminius Vámbéry. From 1868 until 1870 he pursued his studies first in Berlin with Friedrich Dieterich and Emil Rödiger for Arabic and Hebrew, and with Abraham Geiger and Moritz Steinschneider for the historical relations between Judaism and Islam, and then in Leipzig, where he received his final training as an Arabist under Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer, obtaining his doctorate in 1870. The work of the Austrian scholar Alfred von Kremer opened up for Goldziher the perspective of an intellectual history (*Geistesgeschichte*) of Islam. Appointed privatdocent at the University of Budapest in 1871, he undertook several journeys, including a year's stay in Egypt (1873–1874), where he attended lectures at al-Azhar mosque. Goldziher became secretary of the Liberal Jewish Community in Budapest in 1876 and had to confine his research largely to the evenings; yet during these years he prepared his major publications. He became professor of the philosophy of Judaism at the Jewish Seminary in 1900 and was appointed to the chair of Semitic philology at the University of Budapest in 1905; from there he exerted great influence as the "patriarch" of Islamic studies until his death in 1921.

Goldziher may be said to have laid the foundation of Islamic studies as a scholarly discipline based on the literary and historical study of texts, most of which were at the time available only as manuscripts. It required great erudition and immense knowledge acquired through the reading of the original sources, and a creative use of the categories of the history of religions, to reconstruct the architecture of the history of Islamic religion as he did.

Goldziher's first contribution was to reveal and then study Islam's sources (such as the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth* literature) as well as its religious disciplines: the techniques of Qurʾān exegesis (*tafsīr*), jurisprudence (*fiqh*), and philosophical theology (*kalām*). He also successfully undertook the study of texts pertaining to the further development of religious ideas, including those of mystical and "sectarian" developments.

Second, by trying to understand the problems treated in the religious texts within the framework of Muslim thought itself, Goldziher was able to show the inherent logic of the history of ideas in Islam. He could situate texts and ideas not only in the "outward" history of Islamic institutions and in political history but also as part of the inner development of Islam as a religion.

Third, Goldziher carried out a critical quest for historical truth and strived to show the historical situation, character, and limitations of ideas and practices that were of a religious nature and that were consequently held to be of an eternal validity. As a historian, he revealed the historical character of the texts that, with their interpretations, form part of Islamic religion and culture. He also traced external historical influences that have played a role in the development of Islam.

Goldziher revealed Islam as a complete entity in itself—that is to say, a religious entity—and encouraged its study. His insights into Islamic scripture and tradition, law, and theology were certainly enhanced by his familiarity with similar problems in the study of Judaism. The respect he enjoyed among Arabs is noteworthy; his contacts with Muslim scholars were many, and several of his publications have been translated into Arabic. The diary he maintained—an unusual habit in the world of scholarship—was published in 1978.

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JACQUES WAARDENBURG (1987)
Revised Bibliography

GOLEM See LÖW, YEHUDAH BEN BETSALʾEL OF PRAGUE

GOOD, THE. A distinction has to be made between two sets of questions related to the concept of the good. There are ethical problems about how to elaborate reasonable criteria of goodness, where goodness is conceived as a characteristic of human actions and of things or properties that are directly or indirectly relevant to human life. And there are questions concerning the goodness of God or of existence as such, apart from God's benevolence and love for the human race. I shall concentrate upon the latter question.

In archaic and polytheistic religions, gods are not necessarily good either in the sense of caring about human well-being or in the sense of providing humanity with a model of moral conduct; some are, some are not, and many combine good and evil characteristics in both respects. Yet in the myths of origin, the evil of gods has been connected, as a rule, with destruction and disorder, and goodness with creation and harmony, whether or not any one of the gods was invariably and systematically good or evil. In Iranian dualist mythology good and evil were attributed respectively to one and another mutually hostile divine beings. In all monotheistic religions God is totally good in an absolute and unqualified sense, and his goodness consists not only in that he loves his creatures: It is his intrinsic, nonrelative property; God would be good even if he had not created the universe. So conceived, goodness acquires a metaphysical meaning that probably cannot be further analyzed, cannot be reduced to other concepts, and has an axiomatic character.

Philosophical reflection on this kind of goodness is Plato's legacy; he discovered the idea of the good, which is, of course, desirable and therefore good for humankind, as well as the source of all goodness; but the good is not good because desirable, but desirable because intrinsically good. This topic was taken up and elaborated by later Platonists, including, in particular, Plotinus; to him the One is good both in terms of human needs and happiness and good in itself, apart from this relationship. Other Platonists, however, denied that the characteristics of goodness could be meaningfully attributed to the first principle: Speusippus, Plato's successor in the academy, made the point, and so did the last pagan philosopher, Damascius, to whom the first principle, being utterly ineffable, could not possibly have any properties, whether relative or even absolute; having no name (even the word *principle* is not appropriate) and no relationship with other realities or even with itself, it cannot be called good in any sense.

Christian philosophy, which assimilated many Platonic categories, has always stressed all the meanings of divine goodness: God is good in himself, he is the creator of all goodness, he is benevolent, and he is the source of criteria whereby one's acts are called morally good or evil. Whatever else is good is such derivatively and by participation in the goodness of God. And, apart from a few dualistic sects, all creation was, in Christian thinking, attributed to God; because no existence is conceivable apart from God, whatever exists is good by definition. Evil has no positive ontological characteristics and is to be defined as pure negativity, *privatio,* lack of being: evil comes from the ill-will of human or diabolic creatures endowed with freedom of choice and abusing this freedom; yet even the devil, insofar as he exists, is good, even though his will is incurably and totally corrupt. This doctrine has been elaborated in detail by Augustine. In Thomas Aquinas's idiom it is summed up in saying that being and goodness are coextensive (*esse et bonum convertuntur*). Some Christian philosophers and theologians discussed the question (broached already by Plato): Are the criteria of good and evil, given by God, arbitrary or intrinsically valid? In other words, is the good good because God has decreed it to be good (as some nominalists and Descartes believed), or has God said that it is good because it is good in itself (as Leibniz argued)? If the former, moral rules appear to humans as arbitrary and contingent as, say, the rules of traffic; God could have decreed other norms of conduct and said, for instance, that adultery is good and loving one's neighbor wrong—a conclusion that sounds outrageous to common sense; yet, if God orders what is intrinsically good, apart from his decrees, he appears to be bound by laws that do not depend on him, which makes his omnipotence doubtful. The question can be invalidated, however, by saying—in conformity with Thomist metaphysics—that God is what he decrees and that there are no rules of goodness different from his essence, therefore he neither obeys a foreign law nor issues arbitrary decrees of which the content is contingent upon his essence.

If God is good in himself, and not only benevolent to his creatures, it is essential, in Christian terms, that one should love him not only as a benefactor and savior but because he is who he is. The point was strongly stressed by many Christian mystics and other "theocentrically" oriented writers. They argued that God is not only the highest good but the only good proper, therefore humankind is for God, rather than he for humans; individuals should admire him utterly oblivious of all favors and graces received from him; indeed their love should be the same even if they knew that he condemned them to hell, and they should be happy to accept his will unconditionally, whatever it means to them; they ought only to want God to be God, whereas to love God in reciprocity for his benevolence is unworthy or perhaps sinful. The standard Christian teaching, while stressing the value of the disinterested love of God, never goes so far as to say that worshiping God in connection with his gifts and graces is a sin or to deny that one's salvation is an intrinsic good and not only an instrument whereby God's glory is augmented; indeed, the last two statements sound heretical. The theory of "pure love" was hotly debated in the Catholic church in the seventeenth century.

The idea of divine goodness as a nonrelative property does not seem to be a product of pure philosophical speculation. It is rooted in, and makes explicit, the old tenet of many religions: Creation as such is good, and therefore the creator is good as such.

The distinction between autotelic (or intrinsic) and instrumental goods has been almost universally admitted by philosophers since Plato and Aristotle, yet there has never been an agreement about how to draw the line between them and how to define what is good in itself; many philosophers have denied that a collection of properties can be found that would be common to all the things and experiences people have called good. In the conflict between utilitarians and Kantians, and between utilitarians and pragmatists, these problems are among the most often debated.

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LESZEK KOLAKOWSKI (1987)
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GOODENOUGH, ERWIN R. (1893–1965), was an American historian of religions. After studying for the Methodist ministry at Drew Theological Seminary and Garrett Biblical Institute, Goodenough spent three years in New

Testament and Jewish Studies at Harvard University, chiefly with George Foot Moore, before proceeding to Oxford University and earning a D. Phil. in 1923. Little influence of Oxford is discernible in his work, except perhaps in the sketch of Middle Platonism provided in his dissertation on Justin Martyr. In the published version (Jena, 1923) he mentions none of his teachers. The book does, however, foreshadow his later studies of Philo Judaeus, for in it Goodenough discovered the influence of Philo to be pervasive in early Christian theology.

Goodenough began teaching at Yale University in 1923 and remained there until his retirement, steadily producing articles and books to demonstrate that many sectors of Judaism had been receptive to Greco-Roman influence, not only in the realm of philosophical ideas but also in those of mystical intuition and artistic representation. His *By Light Light,* subtitled *The Mystic Gospel of Hellenistic Judaism* (1935), was not universally accepted by students either of the Hellenistic world or of Judaism, but like all his works it stimulated interest in his hero, Philo.

In 1953 began the publication of Goodenough's major work, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period,* which was posthumously completed in 1968 in thirteen volumes (including a volume of valuable indexes and maps). The genesis of this remarkable combination of fact and analysis was a visit Goodenough made to Rome during his time at Oxford. In Rome he saw catacomb frescoes and intuitively concluded that the depictions of Old Testament scenes must have had Jewish models. Excavations in the early 1930s at Dura-Europos (in which Yale participated) seemed to confirm his theory, for a third-century synagogue with bold and mysterious frescoes of biblical themes (now preserved at Damascus) was found.

Such paintings, prohibited by rabbinic teaching, required explanation, and Goodenough took two primary lines of approach. First, he went back to the Jewish catacombs at Rome and to many museums elsewhere, searching for the symbols present at Dura and working out their meanings for members of the Jewish communities. Then, influenced by psychoanalytic methods, he proceeded to explain their "basic" (usually Freudian) significance. Another principle he employed had to do with his division of the paintings into "left" and "right" on the basis of Pythagorean and gnostic notions, although the scenes themselves seem to be arranged "up" and "down."

The possibility or even likelihood that Goodenough was overinterpreting naturally occurred to him as well as to others, but he preferred to take this course rather than to retreat into agnosticism. As an "ex-Christian," as he called himself, he found mystical theories especially attractive. His tendency to say what he thought, and to point out what he did not believe, aroused the ire of the youthful William F. Buckley, Jr., whose *God and Man at Yale* (1951) included an attack on Goodenough's lack of orthodoxy in teaching college students.

During a year at Brandeis University (1962–1963) Goodenough moved to Cambridge, Massachusetts, where he contemplated writing a study of early Christianity based on his Hellenistic Jewish model. In a commemorative essay, Goodenough's friend and sometime student Samuel Sandmel raised questions about the possibility of such a work, in view of Goodenough's lack of knowledge of the history of scholarship, especially in the New Testament field, but he concluded that what Goodenough considered "prolegomena" to this proposed final work were probably more valuable than any book on Christian origins would have been.

Goodenough was active in learned societies, serving as editor of the *Journal of Biblical Literature* from 1934 to 1942 and as president of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences from 1947 to 1958. He took an active part in the American Council of Learned Societies from 1953 to 1965 and was a member of its Committee on the History of Religions. In this setting especially he was highly influential because of his learning, common sense, and personal charm.

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GORĀKHNĀTH, also known by the Sanskrit form of his name, Gorakṣanātha, was a teacher of *haṭhayoga* who lived sometime between 900 and 1225 CE. A leading Hindi scholar, Hazariprasad Dwivedi, has observed that "since the time of Śaṅkarācārya there has not been anyone in India as influential or as great" as Gorakṣanātha. There is still no consensus about either his dates or the compositions that may be correctly attributed to him.

Scholars who favor an early date for Gorakhnāth base their claim mainly on indications of an early date for his guru, Matsyendranāth. They focus especially on a reference made by Abhinavagupta (tenth century?), in which he identifies a Matsyendranāth as his own guru. Some sources call

Gorakhnāth's guru Mīnanāth (both *mina* and *matsya* signify "fish"). Most scholars take Matsyendranāth and Mīnanāth to be the same person. Svatmarama's *Haṭhayoga-pradīpikā,* however, lists Gorakhnāth as the fifth or sixth in spiritual descent from Matsyendra and the direct disciple of Mīna. This lineage would lead one to conclude that Matsyendra and Mīna are different and that Gorakhnāth lived more than a hundred years after Matsyendra. A later date for Gorakhnāth is based on the genealogy of Jñāndev, the author of the Marathi classic *Jñāneśvarī,* which, according to some manuscripts, was written in the year 1290. Jñāndev claims to be the third in spiritual descent from Gorakhnāth. This would place Gorakhnāth in the early thirteenth century.

No reliable data on the life of Gorakhnāth exist. He is, however, the subject of many fascinating legends, legends that provide an archetypal portrait of a great yogīn and wonder-worker. The majority of these legends originated with the Hindu sect known as the Kānphaṭā Yogīs—also called *nāth*s and *nāth siddha*s—who have been the principal proponents of the doctrine and practice of *haṭhayoga.*

It is said that Gorakhnāth's doctrine was first propounded by the god Śiva. Śiva imparted the doctrine to his wife, Pārvatī, while they were seated in a boat, or castle, floating on the milk ocean. Matsyendranāth changed himself into a fish in order to listen surreptitiously to Śiva's teachings. When the god became aware of this ruse, he uttered a curse foretelling that Matsyendranāth would forget what he had learned. Eventually, Matsyendranāth became ensnared by the charms of the women of the mythical land of Kadalī and forgot the doctrine. His disciple Gorakhnāth disguised himself as one of the dancing girls of Kadalī and broke his guru's enchantment through the words of his songs. Matsyendranāth and his disciple then returned to their former practice of austere yogic asceticism.

Gorakhnāth and Matsyendranāth are included among the eighty-four *siddha*s, who belong as much to Buddhist Sahajiyā tradition as to the Śaiva tradition of the Kānphaṭās. The Kānphaṭās also include them among the so-called nine *nāth*s. Although the names of some of these *nāth*s vary from list to list, two of them—Jālandharīpā or Hāḍisiddha, an Untouchable brother-disciple of Matsyendranāth, and Kānhupā, Jālandharīpā's chief disciple—form the principal subjects of a related cycle of legends that recount their relations with King Gopīcānd and his mother, Queen Mayanāmatī. Kānhupā may be identical with Kṛṣṇapāda, the author of several of the Tantric Buddhist songs called *caryāpada*s.

The texts attributed to Gorakhnāth are all expositions of the practices and mystic doctrines of *haṭhayoga.* Some are written in Sanskrit and others in Hindi or other languages of North India. Most important are the *Siddhasiddhānta-paddhati* and the *Gorakṣa-śataka* in Sanskrit and the *Śabadī* and *Gorakhbodh* in old Hindi.

The *Gorakṣa-śataka* (Hundred verses of Gorakṣa) is one of the basic texts of *haṭhayoga* and shares many verses with other such texts such as the *Haṭhayoga-pradīpikā* and *Gheraṇḍa-saṃhitā.* The *Gorakṣa-śataka* describes the six (elsewhere eight) "limbs" of yoga— postures *(āsana)*, breath control *(prāṇāyāma)*, sense withdrawal *(pratyāhāra)*, concentration *(dhāraṇā)*, meditation *(dhyāna)*, and illumination *(samādhi)*—and pays particular attention to certain yogīc practices such as the *khecarī mudrā,* the muscle contractions called *bandha*s, and meditations on the seven mystical centers (*cakra*s).

The *Siddhasiddhānta-paddhati* is a more extended and theoretical work that gives a somewhat different map of the supraphysical anatomy of the subtle body. It describes nine *cakra*s, together with sixteen mental supports (*ādhāra*s), three points of concentration (*lakṣya*s), and five firmaments (*vyoman*s). These are all used as points of reference and aids to the attainment of supreme reality, here called the *anāman* ("nameless"). An elaborate cosmology postulates a series of correspondences between the microcosm of the individual body and the macrocosm of the physical universe. The goddess Śakti is called the support of the body. *Anāman* is closely related to, or identical with, the union of Śiva and Śakti. When the master yogīn produces this union within his subtle body, the supernatural powers (*siddhi*s) appear spontaneously. After twelve years of practice the yogīn becomes the equal of Śiva himself.

SEE ALSO Cakras; Haṭhayoga.

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DAVID N. LORENZEN (1987)

GÖRRES, JOSEPH VON (1776–1848), was a German publicist and Romantic mythologist. Born in the Rhineland and educated in Catholic schools, Johann Joseph von Görres remains best known for his fervent nationalist activities as editor and pamphleteer: successively a republican, monarchist, and, as Catholic polemicist, an ultramontanist—this last position also marked his tenure as professor of history at Munich in the final third of his life, during which he wrote *Die christliche Mystik* (4 vols., 1836–1842). His nationalism is reflected in his mythic interests. While lecturing at Heidelberg from 1806 to 1808, he was associated with Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano, who were then publishing their landmark German folklore collection *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (1806–1808). Görres published his own collection *Die teutschen Volksbücher* (1807) and *Altteutsche Volks und Meisterlieder* (1817). In 1820, after having studied Persian from about 1808, he presented a translation entitled *Das Heldenbuch von Iran* (part of the *Shahnameh*). His major work on myth is *Mythengeschichte der asiatischen Welt* (1810).

This "history of the myths of the Asiatic world" seeks to demonstrate that a primal monotheism originated in India and spread from there through the world, though in confused or debased form. Görres carries his thesis into discussions of Indic, Persian, Chaldean, Egyptian, Greek, Chinese, and Germanic myth. Seen from this perspective, his book is a prime example of German Romantic descriptions of pagan myth as "plagiarized" versions of the one true monotheistic revelation—a doctrine borrowed from earlier Christian writers. But his book is not a history in any rigorous sense so much as a grand Romantic visionary system, rapturously elaborated. He openly relies on "higher" intuitive insight where scholarly evidence is lacking or recalcitrant. His thought (always difficult) is perhaps best understood as suggesting that the godhead is perpetually present. In the far-off mythic age, original humankind lived in the godhead, openly, spontaneously, and wholly. When this golden age dissolved, humans entered "history" and came to believe in an external "nature." Still, the original truth survives in myth and can be at least partially recovered despite humanity's dispersal and self-division into many peoples and languages. There are echoes of Schelling in Görres's emphasis on nature and history as the self-revelation of the godhead. But he also seems at times to deny history or nature any real status whatever, and in this vein he may be close to certain views of William Blake.

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GOŚĀLA, more fully Gośāla Maskariputra (sixth century BCE according to tradition, but, following Western research, rather fifth, or even fourth century BCE); one of the principal heterodox religious figures of early India. A contemporary of the Buddha and the Jina, Gośāla was the leader of the Ājīvika community and is said to have regarded himself as the twenty-fourth *tīrthaṅkara* of the current *avasarpiṇī* ("descending") age. His name is given in various forms depending on the source of the reference: Makkhali Gośāla in Pali; Maskarin Gosāla ("the ascetic with the bamboo rod") in Buddhist Sanskrit; Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta in the Jain Prakrits; and Maṟkali in Tamil.

Much of the information concerning Gośāla and the Ājīvikas derives from early Buddhist and Jain scriptures and the commentarial literature that developed around them. As a result, the picture of the Ājīvikas suffers from the inevitable distortions of sectarian prejudice. Some stray allusions to the Ājīvikas can also be found in Sanskrit literature. The Tamil epics, however, are comparatively well acquainted with the sect and the Ājīvikas are mentioned in South Indian epigraphs dating from the fifth to the fourteenth century CE.

A fairly reliable account of Gośāla's life and his relationship with Māhavīra can be found in the fifteenth chapter of the fifth *aṅga* of the Jain canon. According to this account, Gośāla was born in the kingdom of Magadha (Bihar), probably the son of a *maṅkha* or professional mendicant. Impressed by the teachings and personality of Māhavīra, Gośāla insisted on being admitted as his disciple and for at least six years accompanied him on his peregrinations. At last, feeling himself to be spiritually more advanced than his master, he undertook the practice of austerities, acquired magic powers, and challenged Māhavīra. Surrounding himself with disciples, he is alleged to have established his headquarters in Śrāvasti (northwest of Magadha), forging close links with the potters' community there.

In the twenty-fourth year of his asceticism Gośāla was visited by six other ascetics, possibly disciples. It is surmised that at that meeting the teachings of Gośāla were codified to form the core of Ājīvika scripture. It was on this occasion that he enumerated the six inevitable factors of life: gain and loss, joy and sorrow, and life and death, along with the two "paths," song and dance. It is now believed that the original corpus of Ājīvika scripture was composed in an eastern Prakrit, perhaps akin to the Jain Prakrit Ardhamāgadhī. Quotations and adaptations of these scriptures appear to have been sporadically inserted in Buddhist and Jain accounts of the sect, but the Ājīvika scriptures themselves failed to survive.

Ājīvika doctrine apparently contained elaborate teachings on cosmology, reincarnation, and the elemental categories. It divided humanity into six groups, classified according to their psychic color (black, blue, red, green, golden/white, white/supremely white. Compare the *lesyas* in Jainism). However, the school is best remembered (and condemned in Buddhist and Jain sources) for its uncompromising determinism (*niyati*). In a Jain text an Ājīvika deity declares that there is in fact no real human effort, no deed, no strength, no courage, no action or prowess: all beings are instead "determined" (after Basham). This determinism thus denies free will, moral responsibility, or the maturation of *karman.* It was this tenet that elicited the strongest condemnation from the Buddha in his assessment of various "false views."

See Also Ājīvikas.

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GOSPEL.

As a word in the English language, *gōspel* represents Middle English terminology derived from the Old English *godspel* (from *gōd,* "good," and *spel,* "story"). "Gospel" is the common translation of the Late Latin *evangelium,* which is a virtual transliteration of the Greek *euaggelion.* In classical Greek, *euaggelion* designated everything connected with the *euaggelos,* the bearer of good news (from *eu,* "well," and *aggelos,* "messenger, one who announces"). Initially *euaggelion* designated the reward given to the messenger who brought happy news (see Homer, *Odyssey* 14.152–153). In the plural the term *euaggelia* was used to designate the offerings to the gods made in thanksgiving upon the reception of good news (e.g., Xenophon, *Historia Graeca* 4.13.14). Later *euaggelion* came to be used for the content of the message, the good news itself, usually an announcement of a military victory.

Euaggelion occasionally entered into religious use, where its connotation was derived from oracular usage. Within this context, *euaggelion* signified a divine utterance, but the term was also used in the cult of the emperors. There it enjoyed a mythical quality. Anything having to do with the emperor could be qualified as *euaggelion,* particularly imperial birth announcements and news of the emperor's ascension to the throne, but even imperial decrees. A significant passage in this regard is a calendar inscription (9 BCE) from Priene in Asia Minor that comments upon the birth of the emperor Augustus. This passage is usually translated "For the whole world the birthday of the [emperor] god began the joyful news [*euaggeliōn,* a genitive plural] in his regard," but the passage is mutilated, and the Greek *euaggeliōn* may just as well refer to "joyful sacrifices" instead of "joyful news."

Hellenistic Jewish authors, such as Philo of Alexandria (d. 45–50 CE) and Josephus Flavius (37–c. 100 CE), used *euaggelion* with a secular connotation. The term was also employed by the translators of the Greek Bible (the Septuagint), who used *euaggelion* to render the Hebrew *bsr.* In the Hebrew scriptures *bsr* is used only in a secular sense. *Euaggelion* likewise has only a profane meaning in the Septuagint. There *euaggelion* is used of the reward given to a messenger in *2 Samuel* 18:22 and of a joyous message in *2 Samuel* 18:20 (likewise *2 Sm.* 4:10, 18:25, 18:27; *2 Kgs.* 7:9).

The Septuagint. In the Septuagint (a Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures), the verb *euaggelizein,* cognate with *euaggelion,* is commonly used in the profane sense with the meaning "to announce." In "Second Isaiah" (*Is.* 40:9, 52:7, 60:6, 61:1), however, and in some texts dependent upon it (*Na.* 1:15; *Ps.* 68:11, 96:2), *euaggelizein* specifically connotes the announcement of the good news of salvation. The messenger of good news (*euaggelizomenos*) announces that the time of salvation is at hand, that Yahveh will reign as king, that a new age is about to dawn. Within this context the use of the verb acquires an eschatological connotation. The era of salvation is made present by the announcement of it. Neither "Second Isaiah" nor the dependent texts use the noun *euaggelion* in this eschatological, salvific sense.

The notion of the bearer of the good news of salvation persisted in both Hellenistic and Palestinian Judaism (see the Targum on *Isaiah* 40:9 as well as 1QM 18:14 from among the Dead Sea Scrolls). The mid-first-century *Psalms of Solomon* (11:1–2) uses *euaggelizein* in the eschatological sense, while in postbiblical Judaism *bsr* and its cognate verb refer not only to concrete historical news but also to prophetic messages of weal and woe, angelic messages, and divine announcements of consolation and blessing.

New Testament. Within the New Testament, *euaggelion* is used far more frequently by Paul than by any other author (forty-eight times in the indisputably Pauline writings). His writings are the first literary attestation to the Christian usage of the term. It is characteristic of Paul that he uses the term in an absolute sense and without any qualifying adjective. To some authors this suggests that Paul first gave a Christian connotation to the term *euaggelion,* while to others it implies that Paul had taken over an earlier Christian usage. In any event, there is little doubt that the term acquired its Christian significance in a Hellenistic environment. While some scholars maintain that the early Christian usage was derived from emperor worship, the more common opinion locates the roots of the Christian use of *euaggelion* in "Second Isaiah."

Paul. In the Pauline letters two passages confirm the thesis that Paul has taken over the absolute use of *euaggelion* from early Christian usage. The passages in question are *1 Corinthians* 15:1–4 and *Romans* 1:1–4. In his first letter to the Corinthians, Paul uses classic language to describe the handing on of traditional teaching and employs *euaggelion* to identify the content of that teaching. Paul explicates the content of the *euaggelion* by citing a creedal formula, probably derived from Palestinian Christian circles, that focuses on the death and resurrection of Jesus. In the opening verses of the letter to the Romans, the content of the gospel is the disclosure of Jesus as the Son of God and the Lord by his resurrection from the dead. Thus, for Paul, the basic content of the gospel is the resurrection by means of which Jesus is constituted as Lord. This is understood as the fulfillment of the scriptural promise. Paul sometimes (e.g., *1 Cor.* 9:12, *2 Cor.* 2:12) calls it the gospel of Christ (*euaggelion tou Christou*) because the good news of salvation has Christ as its central object.

In the writings of Paul, *euaggelion* also defines the oral proclamation of the missionary (e.g., *2 Cor.* 8:19, *Phil.* 4:15). In *1 Corinthians* 9:14, Paul uses the word in two senses, that is, as his message and as the act of proclamation. The act of proclamation involves more than recitation of a creedal formula or recital of the traditional kerygma on Jesus' death and resurrection. Paul's whole person is involved (see *1 Thes.* 1:5, 2:8). His proclamation is the work of an apostle "approved by God to be entrusted with the gospel" (*1 Thes.* 2:4). Paul writes succinctly of "my gospel" (*Rom.* 2:16) or "our gospel" (2 *Cor.* 4:3). Those who receive his message receive it "not as the word of men but as what it really is, the word of God, which is at work" (*1 Thes.* 1:13). For Paul, the gospel is the "gospel of God" (e.g., *1 Thes.* 1:9, *2 Cor.* 11:7) because it comes from God and is about God's work. Coming from God, the gospel is powerful. Its proclamation brings about the eschatological era of salvation; it implies the ending of one world order and the beginning of a new one.

Mark. Both in understanding of the term *euaggelion* and in frequency of its usage (seven times), Mark is similar to Paul. This does not imply a direct dependence of Mark on Paul, because both of them reflect earlier Christian missionary usage. Mark, however, uses only *euaggelion,* the noun, and not the related verb. For Mark, *euaggelion* is a technical expression used to denote the kerygmatic announcement of salvation. Jesus is the subject of the gospel insofar as he proclaimed the coming of the kingdom of God (*Mk.* 1:15). When proclamation occurs, that which is proclaimed becomes a reality. Accordingly, the activity of Jesus became the object of the gospel. Mark editorializes on the tradition he has incorporated into his work in order to affirm that the gospel relates to that which has been done in and through Jesus. Mark emphasizes this notion by opening his work with "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God" (*Mk.* 1:1). This striking statement brings into focus a point of view even if it does not, strictly speaking, function as a title for the entire work.

Matthew and Luke. Neither Matthew nor Luke employs *euaggelion* so frequently as does Mark, and the Johannine literature does not use the term at all. Matthew uses the term four times but never without further qualification. He writes of "the gospel of the kingdom" (*Mt.* 4:23, 9:35), of "this gospel" (*Mt.* 26:13), and of "this gospel of the kingdom" (*Mt.* 24:14). In all four instances Matthew uses *euaggelion* in relation to a speech complex. For him Jesus is no longer the content of the gospel; instead, he is the communicator of the gospel. The speeches of Jesus are "gospels." Matthew's emphasis is on Jesus' preaching and teaching as providing a paradigm for the Christian way of life.

Luke does not use *euaggelion* at all in the first part of his written work, but it appears twice in *Acts* (15:7, 20:24). Nonetheless, Luke employs the verb *euaggelizomai* ("I bring the good news") frequently both in his gospel (ten times) and in *Acts* (fifteen times). By doing so, Luke emphasizes the act of preaching, which is then explained by the direct object that accompanies the verb. He sharply distinguishes the preaching of the apostles from Jesus' own preaching. Willi Marxsen has suggested that Luke deliberately avoided using *euaggelion* in the first part of his work because instead of giving a record of the church's proclamation he was writing a type of "life of Jesus."

THE WRITTEN GOSPEL. The general Pauline usage of *euaggelion* to mean the proclamation of salvation as concretized in the death and resurrection of Jesus continued into the second century as the writings of Polycarp of Smyrna (*Letter to the Philippians* 9.2) and the *Didache* (12.3.1) attest. Aristides of Athens, the first of the Christian apologists, once mentions the "evangelical writing" (*euaggelikē graphē*), and Ignatius of Antioch intimates that the gospel was a written text when he wrote to the church of Smyrna that neither "the prophetic predictions nor the law of Moses nor the gospel" has convinced his opponents (*Letter to the Smyrneans* 5.1).

Even when *euaggelion* came to be applied to a written text, the word continued to be employed in the singular, and this use of the singular was still widespread in the third century. The usage bespeaks the conviction that the gospel was identical with the teaching of the Lord. This usage is reflected in the formulaic expression "the Lord says in the gospel" (e.g., *2 Clem.* 8:5), but it is also reflected in the titles of the Gospels. The earliest parchment codices of the New Testament, namely, the fourth-century Sinaiticus and Vaticanus codices, entitled the Gospels "according to Matthew," "according to Mark," and so on. This manner of providing each of the written gospels with a title suggests that *euaggelion* applied to the whole collection of the four canonical gospels. Nonetheless, three of the early New Testament papyri have made use of more complete titles: *Gospel according to Matthew* (P^4) and *Gospel according to John* (P^{66}, P^{75}). Even this is a strange turn of phrase if the sole intention is to designate authorship. These titles seem to suggest that the single gospel was narrated according to the vision of a specific evangelist. There was only one message of final, eschatological salvation, namely, salvation accomplished through the death and resurrection of Jesus, but the message could be conveyed in different ways.

In the middle of the second century, Justin Martyr (c. 100–163/5), writing in Rome, was the first Christian author to write of the Gospels in the plural (*euaggelia*). In his *First Apology* (c. 155) and his *Dialogue with the Jew Trypho* he refers to the "memoirs of the Apostles" on some fifteen occasions. The first time he mentions the memoirs, he adds by way of explanation "which are called gospels" (*hatina kaleitai euaggelia; Apol.* 1.66.3). In two other places, however, he retains the singular use of *euaggelion* (*Dial.* 10.2, 100.1). At the time of Clement of Alexandria (150?–215?) the *euaggelion* was understood to be a book on the system of Christian morality. Subsequently the term was also applied to the so-called apocryphal gospels, the oldest of which come from the second century.

The transference of *euaggelion* from the designation of an oral proclamation to a written text—a usage that most probably derives from the first verse of Mark—attests that these texts had the same content and purpose as the oral proclamation. Both the oral proclamation of the gospel and the written gospel speak of eschatological salvation accomplished in the life and death of Jesus of Nazareth. Far from being biographies of Jesus, the four canonical gospels attest to his preaching and to his activity in the light of his death and resurrection. The historical traditions they contain are subordinated to their religious and kerygmatic purpose. They were written to evoke and/or confirm faith in Jesus as Christ and Lord (see *Jn.* 20:31). The central content of the gospel is one, even if it is attested in documents written by different authors.

LATER USAGE OF THE TERM. At the time of the continental Reformation, Martin Luther (1483–1546) sharply distinguished between the law and the gospel. The law makes demands and provokes anxiety; the gospel bestows grace and brings consolation. From his study of *Romans* 1:16–17, where Paul writes of the gospel as "the power of God for salvation . . . for in it the righteousness of God is revealed through faith for faith," Luther concluded that justification did not depend on outward obedience to the law. Although the content of the law is the unchangeable will of God, the law brings humans before the throne of judgment. The first use of the law deters people from sin by fear of punishment; a second use makes even believers conscious of their sin. In contrast, the gospel, appropriated through faith, reveals the saving love of God, assures believers of justifying grace, and offers a promise of the forgiveness of sins.

In modern times, preaching the gospel is characteristic of Christian missionary endeavors throughout the world. Gospel faith is popularly associated with evangelical preaching and the view that Jesus is one's personal savior. The reading of a passage from one of the four canonical gospels (*Matthew, Mark, Luke, John*) is a key feature of worship services of the more liturgically oriented Christian churches. Frequently the excerpt that is read is simply referred to as "the gospel."

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GOZAN ZEN. The Japanese term *gozan* (also pronounced *gosan;* Chin., *wushan;* "five mountains") refers to a system of monastic organization and its associated culture that flourished in Song-dynasty China and medieval Japan. Because many Buddhist monasteries in premodern China and Japan were located on mountains and conceived of as being secluded from the world, the word *mountain* came to connote a monastery. The "five mountains" were a designated group of Zen (Chin., Chan) monasteries. Gozan organization began to develop in China during the Song dynasty (960–1279) and was transmitted to Japan during the Kamakura period (1185–1333). These monasteries developed a distinctive pattern of Zen monastic life, a common organizational hierarchy, and a characteristic cultural style. Thus the expression "five mountains" is also applied to the literature produced by monks from these monasteries (*gozan bungaku*), the wood-block books printed in these monasteries (*gozanban*), and the art and culture associated with them (*gozan bunka*). This article will outline the development of the Gozan administrative organization, define the Gozan style of Zen, and introduce Gozan literature and culture.

As with Zen itself, Gozan organization, learning, and culture had their origins in China, and throughout their history in Japan the Gozan monasteries remained major conduits for the dissemination not only of Zen but also of Chinese culture in the broadest sense. During the Song dynasty some fifty large Chan monasteries in the Hangzhou and lower Yangze regions of China were brought under the regulation of civilian officials and organized into a three-tier hierarchy headed by five great monasteries (*wushan;* Jpn., *gozan*). These were among the most prestigious Chan training centers in China. They were visited by such Japanese monks as Eisai, Dōgen, and Enni, who went to China in search of Zen beginning in the late twelfth century. From the mid-thirteenth century on, Chinese monks from these monasteries, fleeing the advancing Mongols and seeking a new mission field for Chan, made their way to Japan, where they were patronized by shoguns, provincial warrior chieftains, and members of the imperial court.

Before the close of the thirteenth century a similar three-tier hierarchy of Zen monasteries was beginning to take shape in Japan under the patronage and regulation of the Hōjō regents who dominated the Kamakura *bakufu.* The early Kamakura Gozan included Kenchōji, Engakuji, and Jufukuji. Jōchiji and Jōmyōji were added later. With the overthrow of the Kamakura *bakufu* in 1333, the Kemmu Restoration of 1333 to 1336, and the establishment of the Muromachi *bakufu* after 1336, political power shifted back to Kyoto. A Kyoto Gozan hierarchy was quickly designated by the emperor Go-Daigo and the early Ashikaga shoguns.

The Gozan network assumed its final configuration, although by no means its full scale, under the third shogun, Ashikaga Yoshimitsu. By an edict of 1386 the five Kyoto Gozan, ranked in order of seniority, were Tenryūji, Shōkokuji, Kenninji, Tōfukuji, and Manjuji. Their counterparts in Kamakura were Kenchōji, Engakuji, Jufukuji, Jōchiji, and Jōmyōji. The great Kyoto monastery of Nanzenji was set at the apex of the Kyoto and Kamakura Gozan as a superior temple. Lesser Zen monasteries in Kyoto, Kamakura, and throughout the provinces were ranked beneath the Gozan as either *jissatsu* ("ten temples") or *shozan* ("many mountains"). Just as the Gozan category had been inflated from five to eleven monasteries, so too the *jissatsu* and *shozan* tiers grew rapidly in number. By the fifteenth century there were nearly fifty *jissatsu* and more than two hundred *shozan.*

This network was a fairly centralized system with uniform monastic regulations and organization and with close links maintained between the Gozan in Kyoto and Kamakura and their satellites in the provinces. Monks could move fairly freely among the monasteries, and a novice who began his religious career in a provincial *shozan* might continue his training in a larger regional *jissatsu* and, perhaps, go on to hold high office in a central Gozan. The whole network was supervised by a Zen monk official, known as the *sōroku,* from a subtemple within Shōkokuji. The *sōroku* served as the mediator between the *bakufu* and the Gozan. Not all Zen monasteries were included within the Gozan. The Gozan system was dominated by those branches of the Rinzai school, especially the lineage of Musō Soseki, who found favor with the *bakufu.* Very few Sōtō Zen monasteries were included, and the Rinzai monasteries of Daitokuji and Myōshinji were excluded.

Zen monastic life within the Gozan was lived under the traditional Buddhist monastic precepts and characteristic Zen regulations known as *shingi* ("regulations for the pure community"). Gozan Zen practice in Japan was based on the codes in force in Chinese Chan monasteries and shaped by such Chinese émigré monks as Lanqi Daolung and Wuxu Zuyuan in the thirteenth century, and their successors Musō Soseki, Gidō Shūshin, and Zekkai Chūshin in the fourteenth century. The core of monastic life was communal meditation in the monks' hall, private and public interviews with a Zen master involving the resolution of *kōan,* lectures on the sūtras and Zen texts in the Dharma Hall, and prayers and sūtra chanting in the Buddha Hall. In the late Kamakura and early Muromachi periods the standards of Gozan monastic life were fairly strictly observed. By the fifteenth century, however, a slackening of discipline was becoming evident as monks took the privilege of the great monasteries for granted, neglected the rigorous practice of Zen, and devoted themselves to more worldly interests or to cultural activities. The monk Ikkyū Sōjun was so disappointed that he quit the Gozan in disgust and joined the Daitokuji community. He castigated Gozan monks, calling them idle rice bags who were concerned only with eating well and living comfortably.

Many Chan masters of the Song dynasty had consorted with lay scholars and artists, whose cultural interests they shared. Chan monks became well known as calligraphers, painters in ink monochrome, poets, and students of Chinese philosophy. Some masters rejected these non-Buddhist avocations as distractions from the true quest for enlightenment through Chan. Other monks defended them as legitimate means of expressing, enhancing, or relaying the insights of the search for enlightenment. These cultural interests were too strong to contain and the acquisition of secular learning and cultural accomplishments became a part of life in the great Chinese monasteries. These tastes were quickly transmitted to the Japanese Gozan, where they served to draw the Zen monks and their warrior and court patrons more closely together. Calligraphy and the writing of Chinese poetry were the two most common avocations, but Gozan monks were also accomplished ink painters, designers of gardens and buildings, arbiters of taste in art objects, interior decoration, and the advocates of drinking tea, as well as teachers of Confucian and Daoist thought.

Under the patronage of the *bakufu,* the court, and the provincial warrior nobility, the Gozan system flourished economically. Gozan monasteries acquired estate holdings throughout Japan. The Kyoto Gozan, in particular, were active participants in trade with China, in commerce, and in money lending. The bursars of some monasteries acquired reputations as astute managers of resources and lands. Politically, Gozan monks were active in defense of their monastic interests. They lent their managerial and diplomatic expertise to warriors, serving as advisers and go-betweens in domestic disputes and in the conduct of diplomacy and trade with China. By the fifteenth century, the Gozan was much more than a network of monasteries. It could be counted among the most influential and powerful religious, political, and economic institutions in medieval Japanese society.

The weakening of the Muromachi *bakufu* and the warfare of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries exposed the Gozan to depredation. Many monasteries were burned or lost their landholdings. Communities were scattered, morale was reduced to a low ebb, and spiritual concerns were neglected. Although some recovery took place under the patronage of Hideyoshi and the Tokugawa shoguns, the Gozan never recovered the influence it had had in the medieval period. Perhaps the last prominent Gozan monk was Ishin Suden of Nanzenji, who served both as *sōroku* of the Gozan and as an influential adviser to Tokugawa Ieyasu.

Many of the former Gozan monasteries survive today, some of them as Zen training centers. Among these are Nanzenji, Shōkokuji, and Tenryūji in Kyoto, and Engakuji in Kamakura. The Gozan system, however, as a monastic hierarchy and means of regulation and centralization faded out with the Meiji Restoration. Contemporary Zen monasteries are grouped by lineage around their major monasteries (*honzan*). Moreover, contemporary Rinzai Zen owes more to Hakuin Ekaku (1686–1769) and the Daitokuji and Myoshinji lineage than it does to the medieval Gozan.

SEE ALSO Ikkyū Sōjun; Musō Soseki; Zen.

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GRACE.

The religious significance present in the Anglo-French word *grace* is both multifaceted and ambivalent. As a theological term, it may attempt to pinpoint the activity of God here and now, or it may disclose nothing less than the reality underlying all of religion and faith.

This almost transparent term points to the fundamental power and horizon of every revelation, to the ultimate religious question and statement in any religion, for grace stands primarily not for human virtue but for God's presence. Grace is a divine activity in human history and in human lives. The reality signified by *ḥesed* ("loving-kindness") in the Hebrew scriptures and by *charis* ("grace") in the Greek scriptures can be found in the Dao, in the power of the Hindu triad, and in the radical absence contemplated by Buddhism. Occasionally one can find in these other traditions the same theological discussions about the mediation by grace of the divine in human freedom and suffering.

Christian theologians have filled volumes with definitions and classifications of grace. Because God remains mystery, the ineffable presence of the deity eludes precise definition, and therefore the ultimate meaning of the word remains mysterious. In theology, as distinct from the expression of religion in art (where grace is shown rather than defined), the word *grace* frequently denotes either too much or too little.

Moving back through the Latin *gratia* to the Greek *charis,* with its overtones of graciousness and liberality, the word *grace* assumed a Christian theological importance with Paul. But even for Paul, whose creative interpretation of Christianity began the turbulent odyssey of this term, the word has several meanings. *Charis* can mean a power coming from the spirit of Jesus active in a Christian (the charism of healing or preaching; *1 Cor.* 12), but it can also mean the power of God to help one follow Christ despite the evils and difficulties of human life. And with Paul there is also a more objective meaning of grace. The foundation of all grace and of all graces (charisms) is the generous saving activity of God manifested toward humankind in the history and destiny of Jesus. God's grace is the gift of persevering, loving, purposeful generosity that becomes visible in a climactic way in the life, teaching, death, and resurrection of Jesus.

Charis means the favor of God, but that favor made active in the advent of Jesus Christ, particularly so in his words and deeds. God's loving generosity in Christ bestows not only forgiveness of sin but a new, death-surviving mode of existence. Jesus Christ is grace objectified, and in and after him the worlds of creation, time, and human personality have been radically (if invisibly) altered. Paul applied Jesus' phrase "the kingdom of God" largely in a concrete manner to Jesus himself, particularly through the triumphant guarantee of newness assured by Jesus risen from the dead.

In a significant phrase, Paul proclaims that while sin inevitably leads to death, the *charisma* of God to humanity is "eternal life in Christ Jesus" (*Rom.* 6:23). The following chapters of that letter describe this *charisma:* new freedom, familial intimacy with God, the capability to follow the new "law" of love, the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in men and women, and God's advocacy on behalf of needy individuals (*Rom.* 8). Personal entry into this life is begun by baptism conceived as rebirth in Christ's death, burial, and resurrection. The event of Easter has both personal and cosmic results.

A final realization of *charis* for Paul comes from this very baptismal life. The new life of grace is not only a divine favor and an adoption but also a commissioning for action. *Charismata,* charisms, are powers of the Holy Spirit active in mature Christians, empowering them to act on behalf of the reign of God and the life of the church. Christians are not passive. Each Christian has through the baptismal spirit some active gift to aid the church either inwardly or in its mission of service and evangelization. Drawing on his metaphor of the body, Paul faces the difficult challenges of diversity and unity in the young churches and of leadership amid a variety of services. Nonetheless, Paul will not abandon this final realization of the new presence of God where grace continues through time to be present in human life and ministries of service (*Rom.* 12, *1 Cor.* 12).

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE THEOLOGY OF GRACE. Eastern Christian theology was heir to thought forms of human participation in the divine and subsequently emphasized less the evil and ruinous counterpart to grace than the almost mystical capacity of the human person to become, through grace, a participant in the life of the triune God. In the first two centuries of Christianity, the church was largely Greek-speaking. However, by the end of the second century, with the influence of Tertullian in the West and Clement of Alexandria in the East, Greek and Latin theology had begun to take distinct directions. In the more Hellenistic, Neoplatonist world of the Eastern Empire the seeds of the New Testament teaching about a new creation, a new man and woman, and a human being who is the temple of the spirit of God found fertile soil.

The school of Alexandria in the third century, the great bishop-theologians of the fourth century, and monasticism and mysticism in the fifth to eighth centuries solidified and concretized Eastern theology—a theology of trinitarian, divinizing grace renewed by Christ. In the East, Manichaean dualism and the Augustinian theology of a God redeeming a segment of the fallen world were overshadowed by a view owing much to Neoplatonism, which envisioned a single world in which the divine plan and presence was intertwined with creation and the Trinity continues that plan and presence through the effects of redemption.

After the sporadic but often intense persecution in the second and third centuries, the role of baptism as a commission for an eschatological life related less to the fading idea of martyrdom than to the newer opportunity of communal eremitical monasticism. Some monastic figures stressed the ascetic side, others the contemplative. With schools and theologies influenced by orientations based in the thought of Origen and Dionysius the Areopagite, the monastic life became a school of contemplation fulfilling in a special way the Christian vocation. Far from being simply training for visions and miracles, monasticism viewed grace as the seed or enabler of a God-bestowed contemplative outlook that, as it intensified, fostered not visions but apophatic faith in touch with the darkness of the divine essence. Furthermore, in the Eastern Christian churches, the liturgy became the sacramental place where grace reaches the concrete; in the liturgy, the social and the historical meet contemplatively the timeless icon, hymn, and sacrament of worship.

In the West, Christianity came to emphasize salvation from sin. With Augustine grace took on characteristics of an intermediate power sent from God to heal the effects of evil in human beings. Augustine's life and conversion led him to emphasize sharply the human person's proneness to evil and corresponding need for some divine assistance so that men and women might turn to God in faith and hope and to their neighbors in mercy and love. With Augustine, grace appears in a triad along with freedom and evil. Human freedom can mean freedom to choose this or that, but more often it means the freedom to choose God as the personal ultimate in a life. Evil can mean the fallen human condition—characterized, for example, by prison camps—or it can mean the personal realization of evil in a sinful act.

Within Western Christianity the history of the controversies over grace illustrate the changing and perduring meanings of the word. In the first decades after Christ Paul asserted, against Jewish or Christian groups who based their hopes on external religious observances, the free and open salvation made widely accessible by God's recent entry into human history. Augustine upheld against the ascetic Pelagius (whose view of the positive capacity of human nature made a strict following of the Christian way more plausible) the pervasive infection of the primal fall. Augustine considered human choice without grace to be enchained, bereft of the contact of a divine activity (namely, grace) by which one could please and live for God. In Augustine, conceptions of the fall, the human sinful condition, and original sin describe the opposite of salvation, of true goodness and life. The view of the nature of grace as an intermediary, as a quasi entity of divine promise and power, began to appear.

In the thirteenth century, Thomas Aquinas, who was at work on his synthesis of nature and society with Christian teaching, disagreed with his Augustinian colleagues over the need for grace. Thomas defended the natural potentialities of the human personality to do their work—to know the truth, to seek the good. He considered original sin to be a serious wounding of the personality from within the emotions and the ground of the will but not an irrevocable termination of the image of God. He brought back into Western thinking the spirit of the Alexandrian school, a synthesis of nature and grace where every aspect of creation and grace has the potential to find its place in a harmonious whole.

Martin Luther, propelled by his rediscovery of Augustine and Paul, protested against the localization of divine power in things (e.g., indulgences and noncommunal liturgy) and denied that the forms and laws of the church had a monopoly over grace. Luther's theology of justification by faith permitted him to disengage grace from human control and to return its meaning to God alone. Despite the extrinsic nature of grace for Luther and its initial separation from virtue and service, it would not be correct to view Luther as unconcerned with progress in the Christian life, that is, with sanctification. For Luther, the Christian life is different from the life of sin: The Christian life is lived as the product not of law and effort but of an initial constituting and saving (justifying) grace. Calvin selected other emphases for his Reformed theology of grace, particularly God's sovereignty manifested in the divine transcendent plan for the elect.

The Reformation began a long period filled with controversies over the nature of grace. Essentially these were arguments over how human freedom in need of redemption was affected by truly divine grace. If grace is God's act or the exercise of God's power, how do the finite and the created participate in it? How can predestination and human freedom be reconciled?

The great topic of Baroque Roman Catholic theology lasting for almost two centuries after the middle of the sixteenth century was grace conceived as a finite, God-given force that converts, sanctifies, inspires, and saves. Corresponding to the culture of the times, with its new empirical science and Cartesian philosophy, grace had the characteristics of the subjective, the mechanical, and the theatrical. Italian and Middle European art and architecture of the period were frequently statements of a cosmic and mystical theology of grace: In a sacral world of light and golden divine symbols, great saints were depicted in their triumphant lives.

For Protestant communities as well as for Catholic religious orders the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were times of meticulous theological analyses of grace. Strongly held views on God's action and human psychological response (both at the time of conversion and during the span of a Christian life), similar to those of the Jansenists, Jesuits, and Dominicans, brought into existence Arminians, Methodists, and Pietists who debated the triad of divine action, human freedom, and sin.

The spirituality of the Jesuits reflects the Baroque (and later nineteenth-century) Catholic devotional analysis of the interior life as activated by modes of "created grace," that is, God as the principle of human transformation rather than God as God ("uncreated grace"). In the seventeenth century, the Jesuits, providing leadership to the Counter-Reformation, found themselves embroiled in controversies over freedom and grace on three fronts. The origin of the Jesuits' positive view of human efforts cooperating with grace lay with the great Reformation theologies. Within Roman Catholicism, the Dominicans judged the Jesuits' theory of human freedom to be exaggerated and their theology of divine foreknowledge to be inadequate, while the followers of Michel de Bay (Baius) and Jansen asserted that the Jesuits neglected the seriousness of original sin.

As the eighteenth century progressed, such theological controversies seemed dated and were swept aside by the rationalism and naturalism leading to the Enlightenment. If human nature was good, wounded by the past structures of society, it needed not a divine jostle but its own education to pursue the good. Grace is transformed, even replaced, by the human mind and will, a nature awaiting cultivation, and even by human history, where religion should be viewed as a facet of reason.

Nineteenth- and twentieth-century philosophy provides a different interpretation of the active presence of God in history and life. The movement from Schelling and Hegel to Marx saw no need to preserve any separation of grace from nature and sin. Consciousness, freedom, and development become aspects of one reality, the enactment of the life of the ultimate, and in that process of enactment there is no supernature above nature.

After World War I some theologians began to rethink Christianity precisely as a religion of grace, but from modern perspectives on the self and freedom. Grace was viewed as a horizon of consciousness and history, as the challenge made by the holy against the demonic in life. Grace is the presence rather than the mechanics of God. For Paul Tillich, all aspects of human life could be theonomous, that is, transparent to the divine, rather than authoritarian or superstitious. As symbols of God, nature, religion, and art inspire a new being in believers, one that struggles with the problems of meaning, life, and morality. For Tillich's Roman Catholic counterpart, Karl Rahner, grace was no less than God as horizon and presence. God's activity in human life and history is universal and actively draws the world to a future that is the plan and future of God. Human life, open to and vivified by grace, is realized, preached, and exemplified particularly in Christ. Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, the Jesuit paleontologist, was convinced that the ultimate force driving the threads of evolution—spiritual as well as biological—on earth was not instinct but grace. What the *Gospel of John* calls *agapē,* love, is in Christ the source and the goal of the cosmos. For Teilhard, religious history, like evolutionary history, is acted out over a long time. From the great religions of the world a central line emerges—that of Christ as the incarnation of God's gracious purpose. In the contemplation and discipleship of grace, a higher, developmental phylum introduces to the human race individuality-in-community and freedom-in-charity. Rather than the end of the world being close, the human race, for Teilhard, is only a few steps out of the cave.

In the thought of these three popular twentieth-century theologians, Tillich, Rahner, and Teilhard, one sees the modern, post-Kantian, and post-Heideggerian shift to the historical subject. Grace is both a divine presence and a developmental horizon of all history; Christ and the church are grace manifest, but they are not its exclusive repositories. In short, grace is viewed no longer as the change of God's will (Luther) or as a supernatural divine power agitating within human minds and wills (Council of Trent, 1545–1563), but as the patient, luminous, inviting presence of a transcendent and mysterious God intimately active in the pain and glory of life.

PROSPECTS IN THEOLOGY OF GRACE. Reinterpretations of grace reestablished grace as nothing less than the underlying reality of all religious enterprises, as the very presence of God. In this way it is the foundation for various schools of spirituality—Origenist, Greek and Russian, Benedictine, Franciscan, Dominican, Anabaptist, Carmelite—but it also confronts and stimulates Christian ethics to put greater emphasis on issues of peace and justice in the world. Grace is perceived as the axis along which the kingdom of God confronts institutionalized evil.

The ecumenical movement, which began as the mutual acceptance of Christian churches—Protestant, Catholic, Anglican, and Orthodox—gradually discovered through scholarly investigations a remarkable lack of conflict between, for example, Luther's and Thomas Aquinas's interpretations of grace, and between Trent's and Karl Barth's. There are fewer doctrinal and theological differences than first assumed. Drawing on the tradition held by mainstream Christianity that God's active presence reaches an incarnation and a climax in Jesus Christ but is not monopolized by Christ, Christian theologians such as Karl Rahner and official Christian assemblies such as the Second Vatican Council have increasingly acknowledged the presence of grace in other world religions and in the struggles of individual lives in increasingly secular and agnostic contexts. For example, dialogue between Christianity and Buddhism is now not simply an exchange of similar words about ritual or theodicy but an exploration of different presentations and explorations of grace in speculative, monastic, and mystical traditions.

Realms as diverse as art, politics, and monasticism disclose different approaches to what Jesus called the kingdom of God and to what the history of Christian theology calls grace. In the realm of art is found the presentation in various media of the primal dialectic between sin and grace. Here grace emerges from the dramatic reiteration of an active unseen presence that reveals "the more" and its opposite, the violent exploitation of the holy, the beautiful, and the human. The structure of Gothic architecture, the oils of Fra Angelico and the engravings of Rembrandt, the formation of light by the Baroque, the planned abstractions of Kandinsky (which are there to make real "the realm of the spiritual") are struggles with the horizons of the holy, of the spiritual, of grace. Such novelists as Fyodor Dostoevsky, Graham Greene, Georges Bernanos, François Mauriac, and Flannery O'Connor have often had evil and grace as their themes. In such works, grace challenges in the most surprising ways the conventions of religion and society, and evil is presented as the almost necessary counterpoint to grace. Life becomes a chiaroscuro of evil and grace.

The Christian theological term *grace,* then, can refer at the same time to the most abstract dimension of religious power or human transcendentality and to the blood and sweat of ordinary everyday life. The record of theological controversies over grace illustrates its prominence as a religious problem and its ultimate mystery. The core of that mystery is God as active in history and in every human life.

SEE ALSO Evil; Free Will and Determinism; Free Will and Predestination, article on Christian Concepts; History, article on Christian Views; Justification; Kingdom of God; Merit, article on Christian Concepts; Paul the Apostle; Redemption; Sin and Guilt; Transcendence and Immanence.

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GRAEBNER, FRITZ (1877–1934), German ethnologist, was born on March 4, 1877, the son of a schoolteacher in Berlin. Graebner attended school in Berlin from 1887 to 1895 and studied history, German philology, and geography, and other subjects (especially ethnology) at the universities of Berlin and Marburg (1895–1901). In 1901 he received his doctorate in philosophy at Berlin with a dissertation on medieval history. By this time he was already employed at the Berlin Museum of Ethnology as an auxiliary scientific assistant.

In 1906 he transferred to the museum of ethnology in Cologne (called the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum after those who endowed it), became a full assistant there in 1907, and the museum's director in 1925. In 1911 he qualified as a privatdocent at the University of Bonn. His work was interrupted by his capture in Australia at the outbreak of World War I; because he was German, he was kept prisoner there until 1919. In 1921 he was appointed professor extraordinarius at Bonn and in 1926 became an honorary professor at the University of Cologne. However, he was unable by this time to lecture any longer, because he was already suffering from a serious illness that soon made all scientific work impossible. He retired in 1928 and returned to his native city, Berlin, where he died on 13 July 1934.

Graebner's fields of specialization were the cultures of Oceania and Australia. He first became generally known in the field of ethnology through his 1904 lecture "Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Ozeanien," which was delivered at a meeting of the Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnology, and Prehistory and published in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 37 (1905). (Bernhard Ankermann, a colleague of Graebner, delivered the lecture "Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Afrika" at the same meeting.) From then on, Graebner produced numerous detailed studies that dealt with, among other things, themes of social organization and spiritual culture (thus it is wrong to consider him merely a "museum ethnologist" who concentrated in a one-sided way on the material aspects of culture). In these studies he made broad comparisons that ranged throughout the world. Contesting the theories, prevalent at the time, of the more or less unilinear evolution of culture and the "elementary idea," Graebner (in his first book, *Methode der Ethnologie,* 1911) took up ideas first espoused by Friedrich Ratzel and Leo Frobenius and developed the culture-historical method. This method seeks to bring cultural-historical processes to light even where written sources are lacking or insufficient. To this end, Graebner's method begins with particular facts and seeks to establish "culture circles" (*Kulturkreise*), then to infer from the geographical locations of these complexes their "culture strata" (*Kulturschichten*), that is, the relative ages of cultures and their reciprocal influences, and, finally, to uncover the origins of individual cultures.

Because a culture circle must comprise all the necessary categories of cultural life, including religious ideas, Graebner also took up certain problems of the history of religions. He rejected speculations that traced all religious manifestations back to a single primordial phenomenon (e.g., animism or belief in magic); he subjected the theories of E. B. Tylor and James G. Frazer to detailed criticism and sought, unlike them, to bring to light the religious phenomena typical of individual culture circles or, as the case might be, larger cultural groups. Thus he regarded patrilinear and matrilinear cultures not as phases of a single standardized development but as independent cultural forms that coexisted with each other; he established, for example, that animism, worship of the dead, and lunar myths played a greater part in matrilinear cultures, whereas belief in magic and sun myths were more important in patrilinear cultures. He discussed this system (which was in large measure taken over by Wilhelm Schmidt) in many essays on specific topics, in the relevant sections of his comprehensive presentation of ethnology ("Ethnologie," in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart,* edited by Paul Hinneberg, 1923) and in full detail in his final major work, *Das Weltbild der Primitiven* (1924). In this last book he represented the religious ideas of nonliterate peoples as the points of departure for the religions of the high cultures and for subsequent philosophical systems.

SEE ALSO Schmidt, Wilhelm.

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GRAIL, THE.

Late in the twelfth century, a mystic theme appeared in Western literature that was fast taken up as the central feature of chivalric romances with a religious message and appeal. The key image of the theme is "the Grail," or, frequently, "the Holy Grail," which is still a metaphor for spiritual salvation and the goal of a quest by the elect. As a religious concept the Grail is of interest for having served, for about one century and in the context of contemporary civilization, as a symbol with, in social terms, a strongly aristocratic connotation. The two pivotal works of the Grail cycle, *Conte del Graal* (or *Perceval)* by Chrétien de Troyes and *Joseph d'Arimathie* (or *Roman de l'estoire dou Graal)* by Robert de Borron, were dedicated, respectively, to Count Philip of Flanders and Count Gautier of Montfaucon, both feudal lords, both Crusaders who died in the Holy Land.

THE FORERUNNER: CHRÉTIEN'S GRAIL PROCESSION. It is widely accepted that the earliest appearance of the Grail theme is in Chrétien's *Conte del Graal,* written in the late eighties of the twelfth century but left unfinished, probably because of the author's death. The relevant narrative is concentrated in two brief scenes, the one set in the "Grail Castle," the other in the "Hermitage." An innocent young knight, unaware of the realities of life and aimlessly wandering, is directed by a mysterious fisher to a mysterious castle. In the hall he meets the same fisher, the "Fisher King" and lord of the castle, an invalid bound to his couch. The youth then sees a strange procession passing by, full of symbols: a squire with a white lance, from which a drop of blood falls on his hand; two squires bearing golden candelabra; a noble maiden carrying a *graal,* a receptacle set with precious gems and shedding a brilliant light; another maiden with a platter of silver. The young knight, who has not yet matured enough to fulfill his destiny and who overrates the chivalric virtue of silence, does not ask the question of charity expected of him, "Who is served with the *graal?"* He thus fails to meet the test that would have restored the ailing Fisher King and the wastelands surrounding him. When he awakens the next morning the spell has disappeared, the castle is empty, and he resumes his wanderings, now in search of the lost castle. After five years he is directed to a hermitage and begs help from a holy man, who consents to the repentant's desire for salvation. The Fisher King, he learns, is his uncle, whose father's life was sustained by a Host brought to him in the Grail.

CHRISTIANIZATION OF CHRÉTIEN'S PROTOTYPE. Soon after Chrétien, in whose Grail fragment Christian doctrine is handled in rather ambiguous terms (as pointed out by Leonardo Olschki, 1966), the topos is again taken up and transformed into the central feature of a spiritual, and ever more Christian, body of literature. The following titles exemplify the genre.

Robert de Borron (late twelfth to early thirteenth century) is the author of *Joseph d'Arimathie,* written in verse and, somewhat like a Christian legend, based on apocryphal gospels, the *Evangelium Nicodemi* and the *Vindicta Salvatoris* (Vengeance of the Lord). Joseph, thrown into prison, survives thanks to the *veissel* in which Christ, during the last supper, instituted the Eucharist and in which his blood was gathered during the passion. The symbolization has taken a sharp turn: The Host, which was the content of the Grail in Chrétien's story, is here replaced by Christ's holy blood, and the vessel itself has changed into the chalice of the sacrament. Borron, furthermore, links the evangelization of Britain with the transfer of the Grail to the West.

A prose version of *Joseph d'Arimathie,* named *Didot-Perceval* (after the manuscript collection in which it is preserved) and attributed to the same Robert de Borron, is patterned after Chrétien yet has a distinct religious reinterpretation of the happenings: The Grail of the procession, for example, becomes the receptacle of the last supper, and Perceval, if he passes the test, will become the guardian of Christ's blood.

Perlesvaus, a prose text (written between 1191 and 1212), blends a chivalric romance with a Christian allegory, strongly in the Cistercian spirit. Here the Knights of the Grail have become knightly monks.

A group of five romances in prose, attributed to Walter Map and called the Vulgate Cycle (1215–1230), was the most popular of the Grail versions. Among them are the *Estoire del Saint Graal* and the *Queste del Graal.* In these stories the quest of illustrious knights for the Grail is told in terms of expiation and redemption, election and rejection. The Christianization is emphasized by changing the carrier of the Grail, according to sacramental usage, from a woman to a man. The knights' worldly virtues have been replaced by chastity and charity. The Grail, now the goal of the quest, symbolizes the blending of the two worlds of contemporary civilization, knighthood and religion.

THE ELUSIVE GRAIL. The corpus of the Grail romances raises questions that, in general, are unanswerable. The Grail itself has remained a riddle: Its shape varies from vase to cup to dish to stone; the use is that of a talisman or a reliquary; its symbolic meaning shifts with the context. By the middle of the twelfth century the term appears in the western French dialects, still marked by the indefinite article as a common noun ("a grail"). This is also the way Chrétien uses it. But already in his prologue, and from Borron on, it is commonly used as a proper name, "the Grail." The derivation of the word itself is still hypothetical. There is a consensus on a base form *gradalis,* but the consensus stops at the root morpheme of *gradalis:* It has been variously identified as *gradus* ("degree, step"), implying that food was placed in the vessel "step by step"; as *cratis* ("wickerwork") or *creta* ("fuller's earth"), both of which hint at the material used in making the receptacle; and as *cratus,* a shortened tenth-to-thirteenth-century Latin form of the Greco-Latin *cratera/craterus* ("crater"), secondarily expanded by the suffix *-alis* in analogy to other words for vessels, such as *baucalis* and *garalis.*

The long history of exegesis, striving to bare the issue of the myth, has been moving in two directions. The one is synchronic: It relates a work to the events and currents of its time and thereby aims to discover the meaning (*sens*) a story may have had for its contemporary public. The other direction is diachronic: It centers on the subject matter (*matière*), which it locates in a tradition and which it derives, as far as possible, from specific models. Knowledge of the model highlights the "message" of the work.

THE SYNCHRONIC VIEW. The impact of the contemporary world on the Grail corpus and, above all, on Chrétien's *Conte del Graal* has been traced to religious diversity and policy, upper-class education and ethical perceptions, and to events of historical import. Various interpretations follow.

1. The objects carried in the ceremonious procession before the Fisher King, such as the Host in the Grail, the bleeding lance, and the candelabra, have been explained as echoes of the eucharistic procession practiced in the Byzantine Mass (Konrad Burdach, William A. Nitze).

2. The extensive Christianization manifest in the *Queste del Saint Graal* has been interpreted as a reflection of Cistercian mysticism, specifically that of Bernard of Clairvaux (Albert Pauphilet, Étienne Gilson).

3. The spiritual structure of the *Conte* is related to ideas current at Chartres, the Western center of the twelfth-century Renaissance. Chrétien realizes in his work what Bernard Silvester, the humanist, requested of a true author: "Being a philosopher, he has to write about the nature of human life." And Chrétien has created in Perceval a character motivated by the two forces of theology and charity, from which the Fisher King and the wastelands expect their redemption (Leo Pollmann).

4. The legend implies a heretical attempt (Nitze speaks of its "heterodox tinge") to fight the supremacy of Rome and to replace Rome's propaganda of the doctrine by another authority (Giulio Bertoni).

5. The Grail myth is considered a militant allegory, inspired by the activity of Count Philip of Flanders, against the heresy of the Cathari and other dualistic sects; the father of the Fisher King is the Perfect Man of Catharism (Otto Rahn, Leonardo Olschki). To Olschki, the castle, representing the dualistic beliefs, is contrasted to the hermitage, which stands for Christian orthodoxy; and Perceval does not yield to the lure of the former but embraces the true faith of the latter.

6. Chrétien's *Conte del Graal* is an *Erziehungsroman,* a novel of education, describing the military, chivalric, spiritual, and religious formation of Perceval, the perfect knight and the perfect Christian (Martín de Riquer). Specifically, because Perceval displays traits of Prince Philip Augustus, the *Conte* seems to have been designed as a "mirror of princes," sponsored by Philip of Flanders to further the education of his royal godson and pupil, the future king (Rita Lejeune).

7. Perceval symbolizes the two virtues of prowess and charity (defined as "love of God"), and charity finally prevails over prowess (David C. Fowler).

8. The decadence and fall of the kingdom of Jerusalem function as a starting point. An analogy can be drawn between the concept of the Crusades and the religious theme of the Grail: The quest for and conquest of a Christian ideal is transferred to the elect in a castle of mystery. The construct of defeat and renewal represents an underlying exhortation to persevere in the Crusades (Helen Adolf).

9. The quest for the Grail is the conversion of the Jewish Temple, intended to offset further bloodshed of the Jews by fanatic Crusaders. Chrétien was working against the hatred of the Jews (Urban T. Holmes, Jr., M. Amelia Klenke).

10. The Grail procession was inspired by representations in Christian art of the Crucifixion, with such figures as Longinus, the carrier of the lance, and a beautiful young woman who gathers the blood of Christ in a vase; she in turn becomes an allegory of the church who brings the Eucharist to the Old King (Riquer). Similarly, Klenke relates the objects of the procession to the cathedral art of contemporary France.

11. According to C. G. Jung's depth psychology, the vessel is not a historical reality but an idea, or primal image, and as such is of universal significance, found in untold numbers of myths and legends.

THE DIACHRONIC VIEW. The supposed models of the Grail romances vary widely as to provenance and genre. They include specific paradigms such as the Indic Vedas, an Iranian national epic, the Alexander legend of late antiquity. But three great traditions of medieval culture are now recognized as the dominant influences: Christian legends, Celtic folklore, and ancient rituals.

Christian legends. The hypothesis of a Christian foundation of the Grail myth centers on the objects in the Grail procession. The apocryphal gospel *Vindicta Salvatoris* contributed a cardinal episode to Robert de Borron's version: that of the elect, Joseph of Arimathea, kept alive by a vessel—an image deeply noted in Christian tradition. Once in existence (as Willy Staerk points out), the Grail blended with the varying perceptions of the last supper in early Christianity. Staerk recognizes five connotations of the Grail: vessel with Christ's blood; receptacle of the last supper; calix of the first Eucharist; receptacle of the Host; calix in which the first Mass was celebrated. The image of the lance, too, was embedded in the Christian tradition: It is the lance with which Longinus, a pagan soldier and Christian martyr, opened the side of the crucified Christ (*Jn.* 19:34). Longinus turned into the hero of a legend (Burdach). The third object, the silver plate (*tailleor d'arjant*), has been repeatedly identified as the paten on which the calix of the Last Supper was placed. Some analysts question the assumption of an underlying Christian model and see Chrétien's *Conte,* the first medieval form of the Grail story, as still *"pré-Christianisé"* (the term used by Pierre Gallais). They see in Robert de Borron's Christian version an *ex post facto* reconstruction of the myth's "early history," produced with the aid of pseudogospels.

Celtic folklore. Because the Arthurian world provides the milieu for the Grail romances, the repeated attempts to derive features of the myth from Celtic lore are certainly justified. Irish sagas and Welsh tales, it is assumed, were taken up by Breton storytellers, who adapted their themes to the French environment. The Grail objects are among such themes: The magic horn of the gods, the wish platter, and the horn of plenty anticipate the Grail, and the spear of Lugh, either dripping blood or held before a caldron of blood, returns in Chrétien's bleeding lance. Above all, one character vital to the narrative, the Fisher King, has his Celtic counterpart: The maimed king, his wound, and his wastelands reflect the pagan belief, transferred into Celtic lore, that the reproductive forces of nature were related to the sexual potency of the ruler (R. S. Loomis, William A. Nitze, Emma Jung and Marie Louise von Franz).

Ancient rituals. The Grail myth in its sundry versions can be read as a saga of nature worship (Jessie L. Weston). The mythic prototype discernible behind it is the ancient cult of Adonis, the deity linked to vegetation and fertility and symbolizing the fading and rebirth of nature. He was the lover of both Persephone, goddess of death, and Aphrodite, goddess of love, and thus always on his way from death to life, and from life to death. Proceeding from there, Weston interprets the episodes and characters of the Grail story in terms of a nature ritual: The maimed Fisher King, deprived of his reproductive powers, is to be restored to life by the fulfillment of the quest, and thus is an analogue of the wastelands; cup and lance are the sexual symbols of female and male, just as blood stands for life; the Grail, by providing the sacramental meal, represents the source of life.

Following a similar line of thought, Nitze senses behind Perceval's story, with the decisive role of his mother and the nonrole of his father, echoes of a matriarchal system; and he sees in the suffering of the Fisher King and his land, to be ended by the initiate's (at first unasked) question, the key to the Grail procession: the restoration of life and vegetation. This leitmotiv is prefigured (without, as Nitze emphasizes, an immediate connection) in ancient ceremonies such as the Eleusinian mysteries and the cults of Mithra and Isis.

COUNT PHILIP'S BOOK. In his prologue to the *Conte,* Chrétien states that Count Philip of Flanders transmitted to him a book containing a very good story, the *Tale of the Grail,* with the suggestion "to turn it into rime." This cryptic statement by the author about his source has provoked numerous hypotheses, not least concerning its reliability. Because Chrétien is unlikely to have made a playful or insincere reference to the illustrious name of his patron, one must assume that the model for the *Conte* was a real one and that it was a story written in prose. Of the sources mentioned here, ancient rituals anticipated, in several respects, the *sen* of Chrétien's Grail narrative, and Celtic lore prefigured various details of the objects and characters. But none of these analogues, nor their aggregate, amount to what Chrétien's prologue praised as "the best story every told at a royal court." Yet such a story, the authors of this article suggest, did exist. The model was the *Isis Book,* the eleventh book—half fiction and half a personal memoir—of Apuleius's novel, the *Metamorphoses* (second century). In Chrétien's time the *Metamorphoses* existed in Florence in at least one manuscript but was not well known in France and had hardly been exploited for literary purposes. A comparison reveals both direct analogues between the works of Apuleius and Chrétien, and source material contained in the Apuleian text, which Chrétien may have associated with features of other traditions.

Analogues. The similarities cover subject matter, structure, textual homologies, and major and minor details. The *Isis Book* is, in the words of Arthur Darby Nock, "one of the great ancient documents of a conversion." Its theme, like that of the *Conte,* is the salvation and rebirth of a young man, Lucius, who is selfish and a sinner and yet a select, and who after his tribulations (narrated in the preceding ten books) is initiated into a mystery religion. The *Isis Book,* in the portions comparable to Chrétien's Grail story, describes the procession of Isis and the conversion of Lucius. The Isis procession, moving in ritual order, is dominated, just as Chrétien's procession is, by gold, light, beauty, and mystery. Lucius's conversion, like Perceval's, is staged as a dialogue between two characters, the initiate and the initiator. The phases of the ritual run parallel in both versions, with numerous textual concordances: selection; the initiate's readiness; his prayer for help; revelation; the hortatory sermon; the initiation.

Four topoi occurring in the *Conte,* three of them in the hermitage scene, are prefigured in a Hermetic dialogue which was traditionally ascribed to Apuleius and likewise narrates an initiation. From the ninth century on, an apocryphal treatise, the *Asclepius,* was included among the works of Apuleius. The *editio princeps* (1469) of the *Metamorphoses,* based on an unknown manuscript, contained the *Asclepius.* In short, it is not clear whether Count Philip's book contained the treatise together with the novel or not. The *Asclepius* was the Latin translation of a Greek dialogue that described the catechesis of Asklepios by the mystagogue Hermes Trismegistos. It was familiar to and often quoted by the prominent authors of the school of Chartres. The analogues to the *Conte* are a secluded sanctuary as the locus of the ritual, with four men present; the Hermetic term *malitia* for spiritual ignorance (*agnosia*), rendered as *mal* by Chrétien; a vegetarian meal ending the conversion; and the topos of the wastelands as an apocalyptic vision of Egypt, which in the *Conte* is tied to Perceval's (failed) test.

Stimuli. Chrétien's technique of syncretism seems to emerge from his use of the Isis procession, which provides motifs for the two central features of his Grail scene.

The Fisher King. The prelude of the Isis procession, the Anteludia, consists of a bizarre spectacle of persons and properties. Among the many unconnected items are (in this order) the following: a hunting spear; a hunter; a sword; a fowler; a fisherman with hooks; a sedan on which someone is carried; a golden cup; a feeble old man. These eight unrelated words (or phrases) return in Chrétien's word portrait of the Fisher King and his court: a *fisherman* fishing *with hooks* in a river (where Perceval meets him first) reappears as the lord of the castle, marked as such by having among his men a *hunter* and a *fowler;* maimed by a *spear,* he is confined to a *couch* on which he *is carried* around; he presents a *sword* to his guest and pours wine from a *cup of gold,* while he watches the procession that brings the life-sustaining wafer to the *feeble old man,* his father. By welding these incoherent bits into one figure and linking it to ancient fertility myths and Celtic lore, Chrétien created an impressive character of medieval literature.

The Grail. Two vessels carried in the main body of the Isis procession share the salient features of the Grail, above all, those of its external aspect: Both are golden; in addition, the *cymbium* ("bowl") sheds an intense light and the *urnula* ("small urn") is ornamented and mysterious. The inherent powers of the Grail, on the other hand, are prefigured in other sources. Celtic tradition may have contributed the idea of the horn of plenty. As to the ancient rituals, the *Corpus Hermeticum* seems to have provided with its fourth treatise, entitled *The Krater,* a model of the Grail that contributed its mystic functions. The Greek text states that "the vessel is divine," repeated nearly verbatim in Chrétien's "Tant sainte chose est li graaus" ("The Grail is so holy an object"). The content of the Hermetic vessel is *nous,* intellect, which makes one perfect; it is concretized as the wafer that the Grail contains. The Old King (the Fisher King's father), sustained in his retreat by such spiritual rather than material nourishment, evolves, in other words, into Perfect Man. The means by which the Hermetic materials were transmitted to Chrétien is not clear. The fourth treatise of the *Corpus Hermeticum* was known in Byzantium, to be sure, and Chrétien, quite knowledgeable about contemporary Byzantine affairs, as he demonstrated in his *Cligès,* could easily have heard about Hermetism and its mystical appeal. But Hermetic ideas were in vogue at the school of Chartres, and if the Old King is a replica of the Hermetic Perfect Man, as he is portrayed in the death scene of Hermes in the contemporary *Liber Alcidi,* the scene at the Grail Castle turns into an example of twelfth-century theosophy and "literary paganism."

WOLFRAM'S KYOT. With his Grail story Chrétien left a rich legacy to medieval letters; yet his followers divided the heritage. On the one hand, starting with Robert de Borron, the romances of the Grail cycle displayed an ever greater emphasis on the Christian aspect; on the other hand, there stands, by itself, a masterpiece of literature, Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* (c. 1200–1212). Its narrative, to be sure, is modeled after Chrétien's *Perceval.* The differences of content, frequently at the frontier of religion, appear to be related to a difference of sources. But on the question of sources the two authors are not very helpful. Chrétien's puzzling remark about Count Philip's book has its counterpart in Wolfram: He mentions an enigmatic informant, Kyot, as having provided an Arabic model for the *Parzival* and, in addition, as having expressed his misgivings about Chrétien's choice of the (unspecified) source for *Perceval.* Questions of Kyot's provenance and even his mere existence have provoked varying hypotheses. On the basis of Wolfram's scattered remarks, of the Catharist beliefs ascribed to the Grail community, and of the striking role that the science of geomancy plays in *Parzival,* the authors of this article identify Kyot as Guillot (i.e., William) of Tudela, in Navarre, the author of the first part of the *Chanson de la Croisade albigeoise.* He was, as the author of this work, familiar with Catharism, was an adept of geomancy, had settled around 1199 in southern France, wrote in a Provençal French *Mischsprache,* and in all probability knew Arabic.

The source that Kyot transmitted to Wolfram and that Wolfram fused with Chrétien's story was, again in this analysis, the *Corpus Hermeticum* ascribed to Hermes Trismegistos. The treatises of this body of works communicate the mystical beliefs of a loosely structured brotherhood in second- and third-century Egypt, and they were written in Greek, known in Byzantium, and transmitted to the West through Arabic. The treatise that topically comes closest to Chrétien's Grail fantasy is the one on the soteriological vessel of Hermetism, the Krater. Wolfram re-created the Grail in Hermetic terms as an astral myth. In *The Krater* it is stated that "God filled a great krater with intellect and sent it down to earth"; similarly, in Wolfram's version, the Grail is an astral vessel whose powers derive from a wafer brought down by a dove. The radiant maiden who carries the vessel in Wolfram's Grail procession also represents a Hermetic concept: She is called Repanse de Schoye, which translates the Greek for "knowledge of joy," the second most important virtue (after knowledge of God) in the process of spiritual rebirth.

The great religious conversion scene at the hermitage in the *Conte* also seems to be re-created by Wolfram in accord with his Hermetic inspiration. In the treatises of the *Corpus Hermeticum,* Hermes Trismegistos appears as the dominant figure: He is a saint, an ascetic, a teacher, a sage; he is the symbol of learning and the founder of astrological science. Wolfram's mystagogue, Trevrizent, appears to be a portrait of Hermes Trismegistos. He is a holy man, has written about religious doctrine, and is a teacher of astrology. This typological derivation accords with the etymological root of this name. The epithet *trismegistos,* "the thrice-great," was rendered in Arabic as "the thrice-sage," which was translated into medieval Latin as *triplex scientia* ("threefold wisdom") and into Old French whose obvious (although not documented) equivalent *treble escient* was, finally, corrupted by Wolfram into *Trevrizent.*

The works whose resemblances to the Grail myth have been outlined here, the *Isis Book* for Chrétien and the *Corpus Hermeticum* for Wolfram, fall within the broad class of sources often subsumed under the label of "ancient rituals." Yet the web of homologies involving subject matter, structure, characters, text, key terms, and the ambience of mystery appears sufficiently dense to consider these works, on the borderline between religion and literature, as the specific models of the two Grail romances.

SEE ALSO Hermetism.

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GRAIL MOVEMENT.

The Grail movement was begun in the Netherlands in 1921 by a Dutch Jesuit priest, Jacques van Ginneken, and a group of students at the Catholic University of Nijmegen who were among the first Dutch Catholic women to earn university degrees. They were inspired by van Ginneken's vision that Western civilization was in crisis and in need of major changes, arguing that women had never had a fair chance to develop their capacities to the full, in either the church or society, and that women had great gifts with the potential to change the world and move it in a Godward direction. Van Ginneken envisioned a movement of young women, under female leadership, willing to give themselves totally to spreading the kingdom of God, not as nuns in the cloister but as laywomen in the midst of the modern world.

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS. By 1936 the Grail movement had spread to Great Britain, Germany, and Australia, although the movement was suppressed in Germany by Adolf Hitler's government in 1939. In April 1940, on the eve of the German invasion, two Dutch Grail leaders sailed for the United States to establish the Grail in the Chicago archdiocese. Serious disagreements with diocesan authorities led them to relocate to Cincinnati, Ohio, where Archbishop John T. McNicholas welcomed the group of autonomous laywomen determined to define their own work. They purchased a farm in Loveland, Ohio, where they established a training center named Grailville and offered programs of alternative education, preparing women for leadership in the lay apostolate. Grailville quickly became the hub of a national movement, with eleven other centers spanning the country from coast to coast.

The Grail in the United States pioneered in many fields, promoting full, active participation of the laity in the liturgy, fostering vigorous contemporary expressions of a Christian spirit in the arts, and disseminating its ideal of a new Christendom through publications, exhibits, and art and book stores. In the 1950s the Grail trained teams of young American women and sent them to developing countries. Other Grail teams organized projects for racial and economic justice in the inner cities of Detroit, Brooklyn, and Cincinnati, and in rural Louisiana. In the 1960s the Grail was in the forefront of ecumenical dialogue and opened its membership to women of other Christian traditions. It also played a significant part in the modern catechetical movement, emphasizing personalist, psychological, and artistic approaches in the teaching of religion.

From 1940 to 1965 the Grail continued to expand internationally. Teams from the lay mission school at Ubbergen in Holland were sent to Brazil, Surinam, and Java in the 1940s. In the 1950s and 1960s teams from Holland and the United States went to South Africa, Basutoland, Uganda, Nigeria, and Japan.

POST–VATICAN II. The many liberation movements of the 1960s brought vast religious, social, and cultural changes. The Grail responded with a rethinking of both its structures and its key concepts. Structurally, as a result of an international process of consultation carried on from 1964 to 1967, the organization changed from a highly centralized and hierarchical pyramid, having at its apex a core group committed to celibacy, to a more collegial institution. The new structure enabled all members—married, single, or celibate—to share as peers in policy and decision making and to be eligible for any functional role. Grail work was reorganized into three task forces; working nationally and internationally, each focused on a broad goal that included living the faith, the empowerment of women, and liberation.

The early concerns with racial and economic justice that had led Grail members into the inner cities and overseas service were deepened by a feminist liberation theology that emphasized the interconnections between racism, sexism, classism, heterosexism, and environmental degradation. The goal of the struggle for justice was broadened to include justice for the earth and a global ecological vision of a sustainable society. The original psychology of complementarity that stressed the fostering of womanly qualities as the way to empowerment gave way, after a long process of study, to the development of a strong feminist consciousness among Grail members. The feminist approach included a thorough analysis of sexism in church and society, and an affirmation of women as moral and religious agents, fully capable of engaging in theology and of setting ethical norms. Moreover, the 1940s goal of striving to build a new Christendom in the midst of a secular world gave way to an acceptance of religious pluralism. In the words of the 1988 International General Assembly, "We are a faith community of women. We are learning that we are nourished by different wellsprings." A 1999 Grail pamphlet adds, "We support one another in our search for God. We work towards transforming our world into a place of justice, peace, and love."

The Grail has empowered thousands of women who have participated in its activities, enabling them to move beyond what was expected of women by church and society. Since 1969 the movement has contributed significantly through its conferences, programs, and publications to the development of feminist theology and spirituality in the United States and Europe, a contribution recognized by many theologians, Protestant as well as Catholic. Mary Jo Weaver, a professor of religious studies at Indiana University, commented:

> Their commitment to women has resulted in some stunning and influential programs . . . [that] brought women together from all over the country to discover and articulate the need for a more inclusive theology and liturgical language . . . broke new ground for women and supported an emerging feminist theology that begins, not with God, but with a theological reflection on women's experience. . . . The Grail is small . . . as contrasted with NCCW (National Council of Catholic Women) but it is significantly more influential as a forum for Catholic feminist thought. (1993, pp. 126–127)

Nelle Morton, a professor of theology at Drew University, wrote: "These two conferences [Alverno 1971, Grailville 1972] became a watershed for women of religion to critique boldly the traditional male-oriented theology as partial (not including woman experience) and examine our own experiences for sources of theological reflection" (1985, p. 12). Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, a professor of scripture at Harvard Divinity School, evaluated the 1972 Grailville Conference by saying: "This workshop proved to be one of the birthplaces of feminist theology, a movement that since has profoundly changed both theology and church" (1998, pp. 1–2).

By 1998 the Grail had become established in Australia, Brazil, Canada, Germany, Italy, Kenya, Mexico, Mozambique, the Netherlands, Nigeria, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Portugal, South Africa, Sweden, Tanzania, Uganda, and the United States.

SEE ALSO Christianity, article on Christianity in North America; Feminist Theology, article on Christian Feminist Theology.

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JANET KALVEN (2005)

GRANET, MARCEL (1884–1940), was an eminent French Sinologist associated with the Durkheimian sociological tradition. Granet wrote extensively on ancient Chinese religious institutions in relation to the development of Chinese civilization. He was born at Luc-en-Diois and, after demonstrating his outstanding scholastic abilities at several *lycées,* enrolled at the elite École Normale Supérieure in Paris, where he studied European history and came under the sway of Émile Durkheim, who was offering lectures there. The crystallization of Granet's intellectual interests, along with his turn toward China, came about during his graduate work from 1908 to 1911 at the Foundation Thiers. His commitment to sociological theory deepened, and in looking for comparative material to extend his study of the code of honor in European feudalism, he took up the study of Chinese language and history under the direction of the renowned Sinologue Édouard Chavannes. From this point on, Granet's academic focus was fixed on China. As forecast by his initial interest in feudalism, he was continually concerned with the problem of the development and significance of ancient Chinese "feudal" institutions as interrelated with kinship, morality, and religion.

Granet's baptism as a Chinese scholar came when he studied the Chinese classical texts and commentaries in Beijing during the years 1911 to 1913, the traumatic period of the republican overthrow of the Qing dynasty. He was to return to China only once more, for a brief stay in 1918, at the end of his World War I military service. Returning to Paris, he married in 1919, took his doctorate in 1920, and resumed writing and teaching in his prewar position at the École Pratique des Hautes Études. At about this same time he accepted an additional teaching appointment at the Sorbonne, and in 1926 he was elected to a prestigious chair at the École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes and was installed as the first director of the Institute des Hautes Études Chinoises. Throughout this period Granet gained fame for his brilliantly synthetic style as an author and teacher and was actively engaged in Parisian intellectual circles that included such notable colleagues as Marcel Mauss, Henri Maspero, Marc Bloch, Édouard Mestre, and Louis Gernet. After the fall of France in 1940, Granet took over the fifth section of the École Pratique from Marcel Mauss, who, because he was a Jew, was forced by the Nazis to relinquish his post. Granet's distinguished career was tragically ended shortly thereafter, when he died suddenly at the age of fifty-six.

Granet's importance stems both from his specific analysis of ancient Chinese religion and from the methodological implications these specialized investigations have for the overall interpretive study of religion. With regard to his approach to early Chinese tradition, especially as set forth in *Fêtes et chansons anciennes de la Chine* (1919; translated into English as *Festivals and Songs of Ancient China,* 1932) and *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne* (1926), Granet violated the traditional Sinological mold of strict philological and historical exegesis by considering the whole corpus of ancient Chinese documents, both the classics and nonorthodox texts, as fragmentary specimens of a comprehensive system of thought. The point of textual analysis, therefore, is not just to distinguish between true historical facts and false mythological embellishments but to accept the fact that an entire ancient text, or set of texts, reveals a particular logic that is ideologically grounded in mythic and ritual themes. In fact, for Granet and his contemporary Henri Maspero, the actual historical facts are often only emblematic scraps manipulated in accordance with a mythic and ritual code that, in turn, categorically reflects back on the forms and transformations of ancient social life.

From this admittedly controversial perspective, Granet attempted to show that the ordinarily ignored aspects of primitive, peasant, or folk tradition are embedded even in orthodox classical works and that these archaic social and religious patterns are crucial for understanding the fundamental "collective representations" that regulate all subsequent Chinese thought. In *Fêtes et chansons,* for example, Granet uncovered in the classical Chinese *Book of Odes* an ancient spring and autumn festival cycle that, he implied, is the basic categorical imperative for the later Chinese cosmological system of complementary dualism. Although he typically eschewed the use of comparative ethnographic material, in *Danses et légendes* he extended his earlier analysis, much in the spirit of Marcel Mauss's "Essai sur le don" (1923–1924), by demonstrating how the mythic and ritual themes of totemism, initiatory masculine brotherhoods, and potlatch that are found in the whole ensemble of ancient texts help to expose a specific pattern of cultural development that leads from ancient peasant society through a clan system of alternating prestations (i.e., a comprehensive system of social reciprocity) to a developed patriarchal feudal system.

Aside from other important technical writings that also touch on the same key theoretical issues, the culminating expression of Granet's approach to China in particular and to methodology in general is *La pensée chinoise* (1934). The significance of this stylistically graceful and keenly insightful example of *haute vulgarisation* is that, besides presenting a brilliant portrait of the distinctive character of the Chinese mind, it implicitly goes beyond a simple application of a Durkheimian sociology of knowledge by suggesting that the categories of Chinese thought may be viewed as a total transformational system of linguistic representations not wholly determined by the historical flux of social forms. As with his last work on kinship, *Catégories matrimoniales et relations de proximité dans la Chine ancienne* (1939), which the anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss acknowledged as a precursor to his own methodology (*Les structures élémentaires de la parenté,* 1949), *La pensée* unconsciously points toward the modern development of structural hermeneutics, as is seen, for example, in Lévi-Strauss and, appropriately enough, in the work of Granet's students, the Indo-Europeanist Georges Dumézil and the paleohistorian André Leroi-Gourhan.

Granet has often been condemned by Sinologists as too much of a poetic generalist and by sociologists as too much of a narrow specialist. And it is true that his special genius was to fall between the two camps by respecting both philological limits and interpretive breadth. Granet was an artisan of texts who sometimes "gambled" with his speculative conclusions, and there is no doubt that much of his work on Chinese religion and society must be discarded or at least drastically revised. At the same time, however, recent scholarship indicates that Granet's pioneering methodological spirit and some of his specific findings still have considerable relevance for the study of traditional Chinese religion and the general sociology of religion.

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GREAT MOTHER SEE GODDESS WORSHIP

GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH is a broad term used to describe several historical expressions of the life of the Christian church. The terms *Greek Christianity* and *Greek church* are often used as synonyms for it, but with different nuances. This article seeks to clarify the term *Greek Orthodox church* by describing Greek Orthodox Christianity through its historical development to its twenty-first century expressions.

THE EARLY CHURCH AND GREEK CHRISTIANITY. In their broadest meaning, Greek church and Greek Christianity can refer to the earliest development of Christianity as it moved from its Jewish matrix into the Greek cultural world of the Roman Empire. In this sense it is contrasted to Jewish Christianity. Cultural life at the time was imbued with the Greek heritage: language, philosophy, religion, literature, and political values. In the early Christian tradition, Greek often meant pagan or Gentile, but it referred, as well, to Christians who came to the faith from a polytheistic background as distinguished from Jews who accepted the messiahship of Jesus. Much of the New Testament and the earliest Christian patristic documents were written in the Greek language. Thus, insofar as early Christianity was a religion of conversion, it reflected its immersion in Greek language and thought.

GREEK CHRISTIANITY AND LATIN CHRISTIANITY. Greek Christianity soon came to be distinguished from other cultural embodiments of the Christian experience, especially Latin Christianity. The early development of Latin Christianity has its roots in the Greek tradition as exemplified by Irenaeus of Lyons (c. 130–c. 200). The Greek approach to Christianity was strongly theological, seeking to come to as careful a comprehension as was possible of the mysteries of the Christian faith. It expressed itself, as well, in rich worship traditions and iconography, on the one hand, while cultivating monastic, ascetic, and mystical Christian traditions on the other. But by the late third century the special characteristics of the Latin cultural milieu began to influence the church in the West and formed a more practical, legally oriented Christian expression. Nevertheless, Greek and Latin Christianity at this period were not contrasting forms of the faith but were complementary to each other.

BYZANTIUM'S GREEK CHRISTIANITY. The Christian church in the Byzantine (East Roman) Empire (325–1453) retained and developed the ancient traditions of Greek Christianity. Organizationally, this fostered more of the early church's sense of local autonomy, in which the council remained central to church life. The early Christian tradition, as expressed in the Greek fathers, Eastern monastic spirituality, early canonical practice, and liturgical life became normative for Byzantine Christianity. Distinct Christian traditions, however, differentiated from the Greek tradition, producing other ecclesial identities. These were the Oriental Orthodox churches, the Nestorian church, and the Roman Catholic Church.

The Oriental Orthodox churches (each with a national component and traditionally characterized as monophysite) and the Nestorians became ecclesially distinguished from Greek Christianity by the fifth century. Latin Christianity, following its own inner dynamic, and strongly influenced by the rise of Frankish and Germanic political and economic power in western Europe, developed into a distinct ecclesiastical reality. This distinction was formalized with the Great Schism between the two great halves of Christendom that occurred over a period from the ninth to the early thirteenth century. The schism between Greek East and Latin West was made permanent by the sacking of Constantinople in 1204 during the Fourth Crusade. It then became a linguistic convention to refer to the church in the West as "the Roman Catholic Church" and the church in the East as "the Greek Orthodox church."

GREEK ORTHODOXY AND SLAVIC ORTHODOXY. With the rise of Slavic Christianity, a new ethos affected the identity of the Greek Orthodox church. This development was a direct result of Greek Orthodox missionary policy in the ninth through the twelfth century, which fostered indigenous cultures, liturgical languages, and clergy in each mission church. Originally, the church hierarchy was composed of Greeks. But each of the various Slavic and other peoples eventually obtained their own hierarchies. All of these new churches, however, received the Christian faith in its Greek form (in contradistinction to the Latin/Roman form). But while there was a deep-rooted spiritual identity with the ancient Greek Orthodox tradition of Christianity, there came into being a new Slavic identity within these churches.

What intensified the mix of traditional Greek Orthodox Christianity and the Orthodox Christianity of local nonethnic Greeks was the *millet* system put in place by the Muslim conquerors of the Byzantine Empire (1453). As a means of governing the Orthodox Christian peoples, as well as all other ethnic-religious groups, the Muslims understood them to be one people, or nation (the *millet*). The patriarch of Constantinople was recognized as the head of the Orthodox Christian nation with civil as well as religious duties. Greek metropolitans and bishops were appointed over the various Orthodox peoples to exercise this new administration, which included responsibilities for collecting taxes, assuring the observance of the law, and the loyalty of the Orthodox Christian populations to the central government. The combination of spiritual and secular responsibilities created many difficulties and occasioned abuses, but it also provided many opportunities for service to Orthodox unity. Thus, the ecumenical patriarchate served as a focal point in the defense of the Orthodox faith from incursions of Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries intent on proselytizing the Orthodox during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Numerous councils were held for this purpose. With only a few exceptions, all of the documents arising out of this movement were written originally in Greek.

At the same time, the ecumenical patriarchate, both as a representative of the Turkish authorities and as an agency of Greek ethnic influence upon the indigenous cultures of these Orthodox peoples, began to be perceived in some ways as an alien force. When, in the first half of the nineteenth century, various national wars of independence were initiated against the Muslim Ottoman Empire, they were often concurrently actions of independence from the Greek cultural influence of the patriarchate of Constantinople as well as from its political influence. This led to the formation of independent (autocephalous) national churches. A partial exception was the Church of Greece. Its separation from the ecumenical patriarchate was forced by political considerations only.

Generally, the new order of things required a church organization and consciousness that would demarcate the newly organized autocephalous churches from the ethnic Greek traditional character of the ecumenical patriarchate, while concurrently acknowledging fully its historical ecumenical character as *primus inter pares* (first among equals) of the Orthodox world. In this manner, the Orthodox churches of Russia (1448), Serbia (1879), Romania (1885), Bulgaria (1870), Czechoslovakia (1922), Finland (1923), Poland (1924), and Albania (1937) came into being. Thus, for example, today it is possible to differentiate Greek Orthodoxy from Slavic Orthodoxy and Romanian Orthodoxy as cultural realities within the canonically unified Eastern Orthodox church.

GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCHES TODAY. In the modern and ethnic sense, Greek Orthodoxy is understood to include those churches whose language, liturgy, and spirit keep Orthodoxy and the Greek ethnic cultural tradition united. These churches are the Church of Greece, the patriarchate of Constantinople (in part because it is also the international center of world Orthodoxy), the patriarchate of Alexandria, the patriarchate of Jerusalem, the Church of Cyprus, and the ethnic Greek diaspora jurisdictions throughout the world.

The Church of Greece. The most restricted meaning of Greek Orthodox church refers to the autocephalous Church of Greece. Prior to the Greek War of Independence, which began in 1821, Christianity in what is now known as Greece was, for most of its history, part of the ecumenical patriarchate of Constantinople. Even though the church was self-declared autocephalous in 1833, it understands itself to be in direct continuity with the founding of Christianity in Thessalonica, Philippi, Corinth, Athens, Nicopolis, and other Greek cities by the apostle Paul. Given the Orthodox tradition that ecclesial order often follows civil governmental patterns, over the centuries the church in Greece has come under various patterns of ecclesial jurisdiction. Following the early period, when metropolitan sees had been established in the major cities, Greece came under Constantinople, where it stayed—with a few interruptions—until the nineteenth century. Originally, the autocephalous Church of Greece included only the southern part of the modern nation of Greece, since only that area was liberated in 1830. Over the years, as the Greek nation expanded, the church also grew in territorial size and numbers. But this equation of the boundaries of the state and the jurisdiction of the Church of Greece is not absolute. Several areas of the nation of Greece are ecclesiastically under the control of the ecumenical patriarchate: the Dodecanese, Crete, and Mount Athos. The Orthodox church is the official church of Greece, while at the same time freedom of religion is guaranteed by the constitution. The vast majority of Greece's population of over ten million people are baptized Orthodox Christians. In addition to the archbishop of Athens, there are eighty-five bishops in seventy-seven dioceses and almost seventy-five hundred parishes.

The patriarchate of Constantinople. With the establishment of the modern secular Turkish state in 1921, under Kemal Atatürk, the position of the patriarchate of Constantinople has suffered severe weakening. Following the destruction of the Greek military forces in the Greco-Turkish war of 1922, an erosion of the Greek population of Asia Minor has continued unabated. It began with the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey as mandated in 1923 by the Treaty of Lausanne. Only the Greek population located in western Thrace and Constantinople (Istanbul) was exempted from the removal to Greece. The treaty also guaranteed the independence, freedom, and permanence of the patriarchate in its location in Constantinople, but it soon became a pawn in the political conflicts of Greece and Turkey. The conflict of Turkish and Greek interests in Cyprus has been the occasion for the patriarchate to become a pressure point against Greek interests.

In 1955, after years of general harassment, government-inspired riots wrought havoc on the Greek community of Istanbul, in which not only private homes and shops but churches, cemeteries, schools, and other institutions were vandalized and destroyed. Economic and administrative pressures forced a large part of the Greek Orthodox population to leave the last remaining enclave of Greek Orthodoxy in Turkey. Only a couple thousand now remain, as the patriarchate clings to its legal rights to remain in its historic city.

The patriarchate's numerical strength resides in the numerous Greek Orthodox dioceses, or eparchies, within its jurisdiction in the diaspora. In addition to four eparchies in Turkey, the Patriarchate of Constantinople exercises jurisdiction over the Archdiocese of Crete, with eight metropolitan sees; the four metropolitan sees of the Dodecanese; the historic monasteries of Patmos and Mount Athos; the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, with ten dioceses; the Archdiocese of Australia, with five archdiocesan districts; the Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain and the Exarchate for Western Europe, Ireland, and Malta, with eight bishops, in addition to the archbishop; the Metropolis of France and the Exarchate of Iberia, with three metropolitan regions; the Metropolis of Germany and the Exarchate of Central Europe, with three bishops and the archbishop; the Metropolis of Austria and the Exarchate for Italy and Hungary; the Metropolis of Belgium and the Exarchate for the Low Countries, with the archbishop and one bishop; the Metropolis of Sweden, Scandinavia, and the Northern Lands, with one bishop; the Metropolis of New Zealand and the Exarchate for India, Korea, Japan, the Philippines, Singapore, Indonesia, and Hong Kong, with the archbishop; the Metropolis of Switzerland and the Exarchate of Europe, with the metropolitan who also presides over the Orthodox Center at Chambesy, Switzerland. The Ecumenical Patriarchate maintains a permanent representative at the World Council of Churches in Geneva. Although there are some exceptions, nearly all of the people making up the congregations of these ecclesiastical jurisdictions are of Greek background.

The patriarchate of Alexandria. Egypt was one of the first areas to come under the influence of Islam in the eighth century. The larger portion of the Christian population that survived belonged to the Coptic church. Nevertheless, the Greek Orthodox patriarchate of Alexandria continued to exist in Egypt throughout the centuries. Its major constituency consisted of a well-organized Greek community that was strongly entrenched in leadership positions in commerce, finance, and education. Numerous educational and cultural institutions were supported by the Greek community. In addition the patriarchate of Alexandria had canonical control over all of Orthodoxy on the African continent. By and large these jurisdictions were composed of Greeks in the various African nations and some missionary churches. The numerical strength of the Greek Orthodox patriarchate in Egypt was broken with the rise of Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1954. The Greek population of Egypt lost much of its economic and social status and began to emigrate. Nevertheless, in 2002 the patriarchate continued to serve about 350,000 Orthodox Christians whose members worship in the Greek, Arabic, and several native East African languages. There are thirteen metropolitan sees.

The patriarchate of Jerusalem. Though severely tried throughout the years of the Muslim conquests of the Holy Land, the patriarchate of Jerusalem was able to sustain itself until the Crusaders conquered the city of Jerusalem in 1099. The Greek Orthodox patriarch was expelled and replaced with a Latin patriarch. This situation lasted until 1177. In 1517 the area came under the control of the sultan in Constantinople while the church continued to struggle to maintain its rights to the holy places of Jerusalem. In the mid-nineteenth century, international agreements affirmed the rights of the Greek Orthodox patriarchate over the ancient churches of the Holy Sepulcher. Changing political circumstances in the area have required the negotiation of agreements regarding the status of the patriarchate with the British, Jordanians, and Israelis. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the patriarchate counted 130,000 members with sixteen bishops and maintained under its jurisdiction the archdiocese of Sinai, in present-day Egypt.

The Church of Cyprus. The Church of Cyprus, consisting exclusively of Greek Cypriots, received its independence as an autocephalous church through the eighth canon of the Council of Ephesus (431), but its history goes back to New Testament times (*Acts* 11:19). Its bishops participated in the Council of Nicaea (325). Although the Orthodox church suffered severe repression during the period of Latin domination (1191–1571), it retained its Greek Orthodox character. Under the Turks (1571–1878) the Orthodox hierarchy was fully acknowledged. The Orthodox church is very close to the people of Cyprus, especially since the 1974 Turkish invasion of the island nation when almost half of its members were made refugees in their own land. In 2002, the Church of Cyprus counted more than 442,000 members with six dioceses, seven bishops, and twelve hundred priests.

The Greek Orthodox diaspora. The Greek Orthodox Christians found throughout the world today in traditionally non-Orthodox lands are primarily under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The various ecclesial jurisdictions are mentioned above. Those in English-speaking lands are the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, the Archdiocese of Australia, the Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain, and the Metropolis of New Zealand. Of these, the American jurisdiction is the largest.

The Archdiocese of North and South America was established in 1922. Sixty years later it consisted of the archdiocese and ten dioceses with 488 parishes, 569 churches, 530 priests, and 670,000 duly recorded members, although it serves a much larger number of persons who identify themselves as Greek Orthodox Christians. It supported 24 parochial schools and 412 afternoon Greek schools. The church also has two institutions of higher learning, Hellenic College and Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology. It maintains an orphanage and several old-age homes. In 1984 it supported 518 catechetical schools for children and 186 adult religious education programs. By 2002 the archdiocese counted 540 parishes and 800 priests, and a membership estimated at 1.5 million. Nearly every parish has a "Philoptohos [Friends of the Poor] Society" and one or more youth groups. It publishes a bimonthly newspaper, *The Orthodox Observer*, and a scholarly theological journal, *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, through the Holy Cross School of Theology. This pattern of organization and functioning is the model for the other churches of the Greek Orthodox diaspora.

SEE ALSO Eastern Christianity; Russian Orthodox Church; Schism, article on Christian Schism.

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GREEK RELIGION [FIRST EDITION].

[*This entry focuses on Greek religion during the Archaic and Classical periods, from the eighth to the fourth century* BCE. *Other religious systems of the ancient Mediterranean region are treated in* Aegean Religions, *which discusses the earlier cultures of Cycladic, Minoan, and Mycenaean peoples, and in* Hellenistic Religions, *which surveys the later history of religions in the Greek-speaking world.*]

The Greek religion of the Archaic and Classical periods (eighth–fourth century BCE) presented several characteristic traits that should be borne in mind. Like other polytheistic cults, Greek religion was a stranger to any form of revelation: it knew neither prophet nor messiah. It was deeply rooted in a tradition in which religion was intimately interwoven with all the other elements of Hellenic civilization, all that gave to the Greece of the city-states its distinctive character: from the language, the gestures, and the manner of living, feeling, and thinking to the system of values and the rules of communal life. This religious tradition was neither uniform nor strictly defined; its nature was not dogmatic in any way. It had no sacerdotal cast, no specialized clergy, no church, and no sacred book in which the truth was fixed once and for all. It had no creed that gave the faithful a coherent set of beliefs about the beyond.

MYTHOLOGY AND RELIGION. On what basis, then, did the deep-seated religious convictions of the Greeks lie, and how were they expressed? As their beliefs were not based on doctrine, they did not entail for the devout any obligation to adhere, for fear of impiety, on all points and to the letter to a body of defined truths. It sufficed for a person performing rites to give credence to a vast repertory of stories learned in childhood. Each of these stories existed in many versions, allowing a wide margin of interpretation. It was within the context of this narrative tradition that beliefs about the gods developed and that a consensus emerged as to their nature, their role, and their requirements. Rejecting this core of common beliefs would have been, for a Greek, like giving up the Greek language or the Greek way of life. However, for all that, the Greeks were fully aware that other languages and other religions existed. They could, without falling into disbelief, remain objective enough about their own religious system to engage in a free and critical reflection on it, and they did not hesitate to do so.

But how did they preserve and transmit this mass of traditional "knowledge" about the social reality of the otherworld—the families of the gods, their genealogies, their adventures, their conflicts or agreements, their powers, their spheres and modes of action, their prerogatives, and the honors that were due them? Where language was concerned, essentially in two ways. First, through a purely oral tradition maintained in each household, especially by women: nurses' tales or old grandmothers' fables, as Plato called them, were absorbed by children from the cradle. These stories, or *muthoi*—which were all the more familiar for having been heard by children at the age when they were learning to speak—helped shape the mental framework in which the Greeks imagined the divine, situated it, and conceived it.

As adults, the Greeks learned about the world of the gods through the voices of the poets. Through the tales about the gods, the remoteness and strangeness of the otherworld took a familiar, intelligible form. Performed with a musical instrument, the poets' songs were not heard in private, intimate surroundings, as were the tales told to children, but at banquets, official festivities, and important competitions and games. The rise of a written narrative tradition modified and preserved the very ancient tradition of oral poetry and came to occupy a central place in the social and spiritual life of Greece. The poets' songs were not a luxury reserved for the learned elite, nor were they merely personal entertainment for an audience; they functioned as a real institution that kept alive the social memory, as an instrument for the preservation and communication of knowledge. As a verbal form that could be memorized easily, poetry expressed and fixed the fundamental traits that went beyond the particularities of each city and were the foundation of a common culture for all of Hellas—especially those traits reflected in religious representations of the gods proper, daemons, heroes, or the dead. Had it not been for all the works of the epic, lyrical, and dramatic poetry, we could speak of Greek cults in the plural instead of a unified Greek religion. In this respect, Homer and Hesiod played prominent roles: their narratives about the divine beings acquired an almost canonical value and functioned as sources of reference for the authors who came after them as well as for the public that listened to or read them.

Certainly, the poets that succeeded Homer and Hesiod were not as influential. As long as the city-state remained alive, however, poetic activity continued to act as a mirror, reflecting the image of the inhabitants and allowing them to perceive their dependence on the sacred and to define themselves with reference to the immortal. Poetic activity gave the community of mortals its cohesiveness, its continuity, and its permanence.

Consequently, a problem arises for the historian of religions. If poetry was the vehicle through which the attributes of divine creatures, their roles, and their relationships with mortal creatures were expressed, and if it fell to each poet to present, with occasional modifications, the divine and heroic legends that, taken together, constituted an encyclopedia of knowledge about the otherworld, should these poetic tales and dramatized narrations be considered as religious documents or be given a purely literary value? That is, do myths and mythology, in the forms given them by Greek civilization, belong to the field of religion or to that of literary history?

For the scholars of the Renaissance, as for the great majority of the scholars of the nineteenth century, the reply was self-evident. In their eyes, Greek religion was, above all, an abundant treasure of legendary tales transmitted to us by the Greek authors (assisted by the Romans) in which the spirit of paganism remained alive long enough to offer the modern reader in a Christian world the surest path to a clear view of ancient polytheism.

Actually, in taking this standpoint, they simply walked in the footsteps of the ancients. In the sixth century BCE, Theagenes of Rhegium and Hekataios inaugurated a critical approach to the traditional myths, as recounted by Homer in particular. They subjected these stories to a reasoned examination or applied to them a method of allegorical exegesis. In the fifth century, work was begun that would be systematically pursued in essentially two directions. First, chroniclers undertook the collection and inventory of all the legendary oral traditions peculiar to a city or a sanctuary. Like the atthidographs of Athens, these scholars attempted to set down in writing the history of a city and its people from its earliest beginnings, going back to the fabulous time when the gods mingled with men, intervening directly in their affairs to found cities and to beget the first reigning dynasties. Thus was made possible, from the Hellenistic period onward, the enterprise of scholarly compilation that led to the drafting of veritable repertories of mythology: the *Bibliotheca* of "Apollodorus," the *Fabulae* and *Poetica Astronomica* of Hyginus, book 5 of the *Bibliotheca historica* of Diodorus Siculus, the *Metamorphoses* of Antoninus Liberalis, the three miscellaneous collections known as the Mythographi Vaticani.

Parallel to this effort, which aimed at a systematic summary of the legends common to all Greeks, there became apparent a certain hesitation and uneasiness—already perceptible among the poets—about how much credit should be accorded to the scandalous episodes that seemed incompatible with the eminent dignity of the divine. But it was with the development of history and philosophy that interrogation reached full scale; from then on criticism assailed myth in general. Subjected to the investigations of the historian and the reasonings of the philosopher, the fable, as fable, was deemed incompetent to speak of the divine in a valid and authentic fashion. Thus, at the same time that they applied themselves, with the greatest care, to setting down their legendary heritage, the Greeks were led to challenge the myths, sometimes in the most radical manner, and to raise the problem of the truth—or falsehood—of the myth. The solutions varied from rejection, or pure and simple negation, of the myths to the multiple forms of interpretation that permitted them to be "saved"; for example, a banal reading might be replaced with learned hermeneutics that brought to light a secret lesson underlying a narrative and analogous to those fundamental truths—the privilege of the wise—which, when known, reveal the only real sure access to the divine. Yet, from one point of view, no matter if the ancients were carefully collecting myths, if they interpreted or criticized them or even rejected them in the name of another, truer kind of knowledge—it all came down to recognizing the role generally assigned to myths in the Greek city-state, namely, to function as instruments of information about the otherworld.

During the first half of the twentieth century, however, historians of Greek religion took a new direction. Many refused to consider the legendary traditions as strictly religious documents that could be useful as evidence of the real state of the beliefs and feelings of the faithful. For these scholars, religion lay in the organization of the cult, the calendar of sacred festivals, the liturgies celebrated for each god in his sanctuaries. Next to these ritual practices, which constitute the "real" religious comportments, the myth appears as a literary outgrowth, a mere fabulation. As a more or less gratuitous fantasy of the poets, myth could be only remotely related to the inner convictions of the believer, who was engaged in the concrete practice of cult ceremonies and in a series of daily acts that brought him into direct contact with the sacred and made him a pious man.

In the chapter on Greece in *Histoire générale des religions* (1944), A.-J. Festugière warned the reader in these terms:

> No doubt poets and sculptors, obeying the requisites of their art, were inclined to represent a society of highly characterized gods; form, attributes, genealogy, history, everything is clearly defined, but the cult and popular feeling reveal other tendencies. Thus, from the beginning, the field of the religious is enclosed. In order to understand fully the true Greek religion, forgetting therefore the mythology of the poets and of art, let us turn to the cult—to the earliest cults.

What are the reasons for this exclusive bias in favor of the cult and for the importance attributed to its most archaic elements? There are two, very distinct reasons. The first is of a general nature and has to do with the personal philosophy of the scholar and with his idea of religion. The second is a response to more technical requirements: the progress of classical studies—in particular, the strides made in archaeology and epigraphy—opened new areas of investigation, besides the mythological field, to students of antiquity. These advances led scholars to call into question, and sometimes even modify profoundly, the image of Greek religion furnished by literary tradition alone.

Today, the rejection of mythology is based on an anti-intellectualist presumption in religious matters. Scholars of this standpoint believe that behind the diversity of religions—just as beyond the plurality of the gods of polytheism—lies a common element that forms the primitive and universal core of all religious experience. This common element, of course, cannot be found in the always multiple and varying constructions that the mind elaborates in its attempt to picture the divine; it is placed, therefore, outside of intelligence, in the sacred terror that a human being feels each time he or she is compelled to recognize, in its irrecusable strangeness, the presence of the supernatural. The Greeks had a word for this effective, immediate, and irrational reaction in the presence of the sacred: *thambos* ("reverential awe"). Such awe would be the basis of the earliest cults, the diverse forms taken by the rites answering, from the same origin, to the multiplicity of circumstances and human needs.

Similarly, it is supposed that behind the variety of names, figures, and functions proper to each divinity, a ritual brought into play the same general experience of the divine, considered a suprahuman power (*kreitton*). This indeterminate divine being (Gr., *theion*, or *daimonion*), underlying the specific manifestations of particular gods, took diverse forms according to the desires and fears to which the cult had to respond. From this common fabric of the divine, the poets, in turn, cut singular characters; they brought them to life, imagining for each a series of dramatic adventures in what Festugière does not hesitate to call a "divine novel." On the other hand, for every act of the cult, there is no other god but the one invoked. From the moment he is addressed, "in him is concentrated all divine force; he alone is considered. Most certainly, in theory he is not the only god since there are others and one knows it. But in practice, in the actual state of mind of the worshiper, the god invoked supplants at that moment all the others" (Festugière, 1944, p. 50).

Thus the refusal of some scholars to take myth into account becomes clear: it leads exactly to that which from the beginning was meant, more or less consciously, to be proved. By effacing the differences and the oppositions that distinguish the gods from one another, any true difference is effaced between polytheisms of the Greek type and Christian monotheism, which then becomes a model. This flattening out of religious realities to make them fit a single mold cannot satisfy the historian. Must not his first concern be, on the contrary, to define the specific traits that give each great religion a character of its own and that make it, in its unicity, an entirely original system? Apart from reverential awe and a diffused feeling of the divine, the Greek religion presents itself as a vast symbolic construction, complex and coherent, that allows room for thought, as well as feeling, on all levels and in all aspects, including the cult. Myth played its part in this system in the same way as ritual practices and representations of the divine. Indeed, myth, rite, and figurative portrayals were the three modes of expression—verbal, gestural, and iconic—by which the Greeks manifested their religious experience. Each constituted a specific language that, even in its association with the two others, responded to particular needs and functioned autonomously.

The work of Georges Dumézil and Claude Lévi-Strauss on myth led to a totally different presentation of the problem of Greek mythology: How should the texts be read? What status did they assume in Greek religious life? The days when one could discuss myth as if it were a poet's individual fantasy, a free and gratuitous romantic invention, are gone. Even in the variations to which it lent itself, a myth obeyed the severe constraints of the community. During the Hellenistic period, when an author, such as Callimachus, wrote a new version of a legendary theme, he was not free to modify the elements or to recompose the scenario as he pleased. He belonged to a tradition; whether he conformed to it exactly or deviated on a certain point, he was restrained and supported by it and had to refer to it, at least implicitly, if he wanted the public to hear his tale. As Louis Gernet (1932) noted, even when a narrator seemed to have completely invented a tale, he was actually working according to the rules of a "legendary imagination" that had its own functioning, internal necessities, and coherence. Without even knowing it, the author was obliged to submit to the rules of the play of associations, oppositions, and homologies that had been established by a series of previous versions of the tale and that composed the conceptual framework common to the type of narrative. To have meaning, each variation of a myth had to be linked to, as well as compared with, the other variations. Together, they composed one semantic space, whose particular configuration appears as the characteristic mark of Greek legendary tradition. By analyzing a myth in all its versions, or a corpus of diverse myths centered around the same theme, we are able to explore this structured and organized mental space.

Interpretation of a myth, therefore, operates along lines different from those characterizing the study of literature and must meet other goals. It seeks to determine the conceptual architecture of the very composition of the fable, the important frameworks of classification that are involved, the choices made in the division and the coding of reality, and the network of relationships that the story, by its narrative procedures, establishes between the various elements of the plot. In short, the mythologist seeks to reconstitute what Dumézil calls the "ideology," that is, the conceptualization and appreciation of the great forces that in their mutual relationships and their perfect equilibrium govern the natural and supernatural worlds and human society and makes them what they ought to be.

In this sense myth, which should not be confused with ritual or subordinated to it, does not conflict with ritual as much as has been supposed. In its verbal form, myth is more explicit than rite, more didactic, more apt to theorize. It thus contains the germ of that knowledge that—on another level of language and thought—is the concern of philosophy when it formulates its assertions using concepts and terms that are removed from any reference to the gods of the common religion. The cult is more engaged in considerations of a utilitarian nature. But it is no less symbolic: a ritual ceremony unfolds according to a scenario whose episodes are as strictly organized and as fraught with meaning as the sequences of a narrative. Every detail of this mise-en-scène, in which the worshiper in defined circumstances undertakes to act out his relationship with one god or another, has an intellectual dimension and goal: it implies a certain idea of the god, the conditions for his approach, and the results that the various participants, according to their role and status, have the right to expect from this means of entering into symbolic commerce with the divinity.

Figurative representation is of the same nature. Although it is true that during the Classical period the Greeks gave a privileged place in their temples to the great anthropomorphic statues of the gods, they were familiar with all the forms of divine manifestation: aniconic symbols, either natural objects, such as a tree or a rough stone, or products shaped by the human hand (e.g., a post, a pillar, a scepter); diverse iconic figures, such as a small, rough-hewn idol whose form was completely hidden by clothes; monstrous figures mingling the bestial and the human; a simple mask whose hollow face and fascinating eyes evoked the divine; a fully human statue. These figures were not all equivalent, nor were they indiscriminately suited to all the gods or to all aspects of the same god. Each had its own way of translating certain aspects of the divine, of "making present" the beyond, of locating and inserting the sacred in the space of the here and now. Thus, a pillar or post driven into the ground had neither the same function nor the same symbolic value as an idol that was ritually moved from one place to another; as an image locked away in a secret repository, its legs bound to prevent its escape; or as a great cult statue whose permanent installation in a temple demonstrated the lasting presence of the god in his house. Each form of representation implied for the specific divinity a particular way of making himself known to man and of exercising, through his images, his supernatural powers.

If, following various modalities, myth, image, and ritual all operate on the same level of symbolic thought, it is understandable that they combine to make each religion a complete whole in which, to quote Dumézil in *L'héritage indo-européen à Rome* (Paris, 1949, p. 64), "concepts, images and actions fit together and by their relations form a kind of net in which, potentially, all the matter of human experience must be caught and distributed."

The World of the Gods. To find the lines of the net, to pick out the configurations shaped by its meshes: such must be the historian's task. In the case of Greek religion, this proves to be far more difficult than with the other Indo-European religions, in which the pattern of the three functions—sovereignty, war, and fertility—is maintained. Where it is clearly attested, this structure serves as the framework and keystone of the entire edifice and provides a unity that seems to be lacking in Greek religion.

Indeed, Greek religion presents an organization so complex that it excludes recourse to a single reading code for the entire system. To be sure, a Greek god is defined by the set of relationships that unite or put him in opposition to other divinities of the pantheon, but the theological structures thus brought to light are too numerous and, especially, too diverse to be integrated into the same pattern. According to the city, the sanctuary, or the moment, each god enters into a varied network of combinations with the others. Groups of gods do not conform to a single model that is more important than others; they are organized into a plurality of configurations that do not correspond exactly but compose a table with several entries and many axes, the reading of which varies according to the starting point and the perspective adopted.

Take the example of Zeus. His name clearly reveals his origin, based on the same Indo-European root (meaning "to shine") as Latin *dies/deus* and the Vedic *dyeus.* Like the Indian Dyaus Pitṛ or the Roman Jupiter (Iovpater), Father Zeus (Zeus Pater) is the direct descendant of the great Indo-European sky god. However, the gap between the status of the Zeus of Greece and that of his corresponding manifestations in India and in Rome is so evident, so marked, that even when comparing the most assuredly similar gods one is compelled to recognize that the Indo-European tradition has completely disappeared from the Greek religious system.

Zeus does not appear in any trifunctional group comparable to the pre-Capitoline Jupiter-Mars-Quirinus, in which sovereignty (Jupiter) is contrasted with the action of the warrior (Mars) and the functions of fertility and prosperity (Quirinus). Nor is he associated, as Mitra is with Varuṇa, with a sovereign power that expresses not only legal and juridical aspects but also the values of magic and violence. Ouranos, the dark night sky, who has sometimes been compared with Varuna, is paired in myth with Gaia, the earth, not with Zeus.

As sovereign, Zeus embodies greater strength than all the other gods. He is the supreme power: with Zeus on one side and all the assembled Olympians on the other, it is Zeus who prevails. Confronted by Kronos, whom he dethroned, and the Titan gods, whom he fought and imprisoned, Zeus represents justice, the fair distribution of honors and offices, respect for the privileges to which each person is entitled, concern for what is due even to the weakest. In him and by him, order and power, law and violence are reconciled and conjoined. "All kings come from Zeus," wrote Hesiod in the seventh century BCE, not to oppose monarch, warrior, and peasant, but to affirm that there is no true king who does not set himself the task of quietly making justice triumph. "From Zeus are the kings," echoes Callimachus four centuries later, but this kinship between kings and the royalty of Zeus does not fit into a trifunctional framework. It crowns a series of similar statements that link a particular category of men to the divinity who acts as its patron: blacksmiths to Hephaistos, soldiers to Ares, hunters to Artemis, and singers accompanied by the lyre to Phoibos (Apollo).

When Zeus enters into the composition of a triad, as he does with Poseidon and Hades, it is to delimit by their apportionment the cosmic levels, or domains: the heavens to Zeus, the sea to Poseidon, the subterranean world to Hades, the surface of the earth to all three. When he is paired with a goddess, the dyad thus formed brings out different aspects of the sovereign god, depending on the female divinity who is his counterpart. Joined with Gaia ("earth"), for example, Zeus is the celestial principle, male and generative, whose fertilizing rain reaches deep in the ground to animate young sprouts of vegetation. United with Hera in a lawful marriage that engenders a legitimate line, Zeus becomes the patron of the institution of matrimony, which, by civilizing the union of man and woman, serves as the foundation of every social organization; the couple formed by the king and queen is the exemplary model. Associated with Metis, his first wife (whom he swallowed and assimilated entirely), Zeus the king is identified with cunning intelligence and with the underhanded shrewdness needed to win power and to keep it. He is able to ensure the permanence of his reign and to protect his throne from traps, snares, and surprises, for he is always prompt to foresee the unexpected and to ward off dangers. Taking Themis for his second wife, he fixes, once and for all, the order of the seasons, the balance of human groups in the city (order and balance represented by the Horai, daughters of Zeus and Themis), and the ineluctable course of the Fates (the Moirai). He becomes cosmic law, social harmony, and destiny.

Father of the gods and humankind, as he is designated already in the *Iliad*—not because he sired or created all beings but because he exercises over each of them an authority as absolute as that of the head of a family over his household—Zeus shares with Apollo the epithet *patrōios* ("the ancestral"). Together with Athena Apatouria, Zeus, as Phratrios, ensures the integration of individuals into the diverse groups that compose the civic community. In the cities of Ionia, he makes of all the citizens authentic brothers, celebrating in their respective phratries, as in one family, the festival of the Apaturia, that is, of those who acknowledge themselves children of the same father. In Athens, joined with Athena Polias, Zeus is Polieus, patron of the city. Master and guarantor of political life, Zeus forms a couple with the goddess, whose function as titulary power of Athens is more precise and, one might say, more localized. Athena watches over her city as a particular city distinguished from the other Greek city-states. She favors Athens, according it the dual privileges of concord within the city and victory outside of it.

Celestial and judicious wielder of supreme power, founder of order, guarantor of justice, governor of marriage, father and ancestor, and patron of the city, the tableau of the sovereignty of Zeus includes still other dimensions. His authority is domestic as well as political. In close connivance with Hestia, Zeus has supreme control not only over each private hearth—that fixed center where the family has its roots—but also over the common household of the state in the heart of the city, the Hestia Koinē, where the ruling magistrates keep watch. Zeus Herkeios, the god of the courtyard and the household, circumscribes the domain within which the head of the house has the right to exercise his power; Zeus Klarios, the divider of estates, delineates and sets boundaries, leaving Apollo and Hermes in charge of protecting the gates and controlling the entries.

As Zeus Hikesios and Zeus Xenios, he receives the suppliant and the guest, introduces them into the unfamiliar house, and ensures their safety by welcoming them to the household altar, although he does not assimilate them entirely to the members of the family. Zeus Ktesios, the guardian of possession and wealth, watches over the property of the head of the house. As an Olympian and a celestial god, Zeus opposes Hades; yet as Ktesios, Zeus's altar is deep in the cellar, and he takes on the appearance of a serpent, the most chthonic of animals. The sovereign can thus incorporate that chthonic part of the universe normally controlled by the powers of the underworld but occasionally incarnated by Zeus himself in a kind of internal tension, polarity, or even a double image. The celestial Zeus, who sits at the summit of the shining ether, is mirrored by a Zeus Chthonios, Zeus Katachthonios, Zeus Meilichios, a Zeus of the dark underworld, who is present in the depths of the earth where he nurtures, in the proximity of the dead, the riches or retributions that are ready, if he is willing, to surge into the light led by the chthonic Hermes.

Zeus connects heaven and earth by means of the rain (Zeus Ombrios, Huetios, Ikmaios, "rainy," "damp"), the winds (Zeus Ourios, Euanemos, "windy," "of a good wind"), and the lightning (Zeus Astrapaios, Bronton, Keraunios, "wielder of thunderbolts," "thunderer"). He ensures communication between high and low through signs and oracles, which transmit messages from the gods of heaven to mortals on the earth. According to the Greeks, their most ancient oracle was an oracle of Zeus at Dodona. There he established his sanctuary at the site of a great oak, which belonged to him and which rose straight as the tallest column toward heaven. The rustling of the leaves of the sacred oak above their heads provided the consultants with the answer to their questions to the sovereign of heaven. Moreover, when Apollo pronounces his oracles in the sanctuary of Delphi, he speaks not so much for himself as in the name of his father, with whom he remains associated and, in his oracular function, seems to obey. Apollo is a prophet, but he is the prophet of Zeus: he voices only the will and decrees of the Olympian so that here—at the navel of the world—the word of the king and father may resound in the ears of those who can hear.

The different epithets of Zeus, wide as their range may be, are not incompatible. They all belong to one field and emphasize its multiple dimensions. Taken together, they define the contours of divine sovereignty as conceived by the Greeks; they mark its boundaries and delimit its constituent domains; they indicate the various aspects that the power of the king-god may assume and exercise in more or less close alliance (according to circumstances) with the other divinities.

An entirely different matter is the Zeus of Crete, the Kretagenes, Diktaios, or Idaios, the youthful god whose infancy was associated with the Curetes, with their dances and orgiastic rites and the din of their clashing weapons. It was said of this Zeus that he was born in Crete and that he also died there; his tomb was shown on the island. But the Greek Zeus, in spite of his many facets, can have nothing in common with a dying god. In the *Hymn to Zeus*, Callimachus firmly rejects the tradition of these stories as foreign to his god, "ever great, ever king." The real Zeus was not born in Crete, as those lying Cretans told it: "They have gone so far as to build you a tomb, O King; Nay, you never died; You are for eternity."

In the eyes of the Greeks, immortality, which sets a rigorous boundary between the gods and mortals, was such a fundamental trait of the divine that the ruler of Olympus could in no way be likened to one of the Oriental deities who die and are reborn. During the second millennium, the framework of the Indo-European religious system, whose influence is reflected in the name of Zeus, may well have collapsed among those people speaking a Greek dialect, who came in successive waves to settle Helladic soil and whose presence is attested as far as Knossos in Crete from the end of the fifteenth century BCE. Contacts, exchanges, and intermixing were numerous and continuous. There were borrowings from the Aegean and Minoan religions, just as there were from the Oriental and Thraco-Phrygian cults when the Greeks later expanded throughout the Mediterranean. Nevertheless, between the fourteenth and the twelfth centuries, most of the gods revered by the Achaeans—and whose names figure on the Linear B tablets from Knossos and Pylos—are the same ones encountered in the classical Greek pantheon: Zeus, Poseidon, Enualios (Ares), Paean (Apollo), Dionysos, Hera, Athena, Artemis, and the Two Queens, that is, Demeter and Kore.

The religious world of the Indo-European invaders of Greece could well have been modified and opened to foreign influences, but while it assimilated some concepts, it kept its specificity and the distinctive features of its own gods. From the religion of the Mycenaeans to that of the age of Homer, during those obscure centuries that followed the fall or the decline of the Achaean kingdoms after the twelfth century, continuity was not only marked by the persistence of the names of the gods and cult places. The continuity of certain festivals celebrated by the Ionians on both shores of the Mediterranean proves that these festivals must already have been customary in the eleventh century at the outset of the first wave of colonization, whose point of departure may have been Athens, the only Mycenaean site to remain intact, and which established groups of emigrants on the coast of Asia Minor to found Greek cities.

This permanence of Greek religion must not be misleading, however. The religious world evoked by Homer is no more representative of the religion of an earlier period than the world of the Homeric poems is representative of the world of the Mycenaean kings, whose exploits the bard, after an interval of four centuries, undertook to evoke. During this time a whole series of changes and innovations were introduced: behind apparent continuities was a veritable rupture (that the epic text effaces but whose extent can be measured through archaeological research and a reading of the tablets).

THE CIVIC RELIGION. Between the eleventh and eighth centuries, technical, economic, and demographic changes led to what the English archaeologist Anthony Snodgrass called the "structural revolution," which gave rise to the city-state (*polis*). The Greek religious system was profoundly reorganized during this time in response to the new forms of social life introduced by the *polis*. Within the context of a religion that from then on was essentially civic, remodeled beliefs and rites satisfied a dual and complementary obligation. First of all, they fulfilled the specific needs of each group of people, who constituted a city bound to a specific territory. The city was placed under the patronage of its own special gods, who endowed it with a unique religious physiognomy. Every city had its own divinity or divinities, whose functions were to cement the body of citizens into a true community; to unite into one whole all the civic space, including the urban center and the *chora*, or rural area; and to look after the integrity of the state—the people and the land—in the presence of other cities. Second, the development of an epic literature cut off from any local roots, the construction of great common sanctuaries, and the institution of pan-Hellenic games and panegyrics established and reinforced, on a religious level, legendary traditions, cycles of festivals, and a pantheon that would be recognized equally throughout all of Hellas.

Without assessing all the religious innovations brought about during the Archaic period, the most important should be mentioned. The first was the emergence of the temple as a construction independent of the human habitat, whether houses or royal palaces. With its walls delimiting a sacred enclosure (*temenos*) and its exterior altar, the temple became an edifice separated from profane ground. The god came to reside there permanently through the intermediacy of his great anthropomorphic cult statue. Unlike domestic altars and private sanctuaries, this house of the god was the common property of all citizens.

To mark and confirm its legitimate authority over a territory, each city built a temple in a precise place: in the center of the city, the acro*polis* or agora, the gates of the walls surrounding the urban area, or in the zone of the *agros* and the *eschatiai*—the wilderness that separated each Greek city from its neighbors. The construction of a network of sanctuaries within, around, and outside the city not only punctuated the space with holy places but also marked the course of ritual processions, from the center to the periphery and back. These processions, which mobilized all or a part of the population on fixed dates, aimed at shaping the surface of the land according to a religious order.

Through the mediation of its civic gods (installed in their temples), the community established a kind of symbiosis between the people and their land, as if the citizens were the children of an earth from which they had sprung forth in the beginning and which, by virtue of this relationship with those who inhabited it, was itself promoted to the rank of "earth of the city." This explains the bitterness of the conflicts, between the eighth and the sixth centuries, that pitted neighboring cities against each other in the appropriation of cult places on those borders that were held in common by more than one *polis*. The occupation of the sanctuary and its religious annexation to the urban center were equivalent to legitimate possession. When it founded its temples, the *polis* rooted them firmly in the world of the gods so that its territorial base would have an unshakable foundation.

Another innovation with partly comparable significance left its mark on the religious system. During the eighth century, it became customary to put into service Mycenaean buildings, usually funerary, that had been abandoned for centuries. Once they were fitted out, they served as cult places where funeral honors were rendered to legendary figures who, although they usually had no relationship to these edifices, were claimed as ancestors by their "progeny," noble families or groups of phratries. Like the epic heroes whose names they carried, these mythical ancestors belonged to a distant past, to a time different from the present, and constituted a category of supernatural powers distinct from both the *theoi*, or gods proper, and the ordinary dead. Even more than the cult of the gods (even the civic gods), the cult of heroes had both civic and territorial value. It was associated with a specific place, a tomb with the subterranean presence of the dead person, whose remains were often brought home from a distant land.

The tombs and cults of the hero, through the prestige of the figure honored, served as glorious symbols and talismans for the community. The location of the tombs was sometimes kept secret because the welfare of the state depended on their safety. Installed in the heart of the city in the middle of the agora, they gave substance to the memory of the legendary founder of the city (the tutelary hero or, in the case of a colony, the colonizing hero), or they patronized the various components of the civic body (tribes, phratries, and demes). Disseminated to various points of the territory, the cults consecrated the affinities that united the members of the rural areas and villages (the *kōmai).* In all cases their function was to assemble a group around an exclusive cult that appears to have been strictly implanted in precise points of the land.

The spread of the cult of the hero did not just comply with the new social needs that arose with the city; the adoration of the heroes had a properly religious significance. Different from the divine cult, which was obligatory for everyone and permanent in character, and also from the funerary rites, which were limited in time as well as to a narrow circle of relatives, the heroic institution affected the general stability of the cult system.

For the Greeks, there was a radical opposition between the gods, who were the beneficiaries of the cult, and mortals, who were its servants. Strangers to the transience that defines the existence of mortals, the gods were the *athanatoi* ("the immortals"). Humans, on the other hand, were the *brotoi* ("the mortals"), doomed to sickness, old age, and death. Consequently, the funeral honors paid to the dead were placed on a different level from the sacrifices and devotions demanded by the gods as their share of honor, their special privilege. The narrow strips of material decorating the tombs, the offerings of cakes for the dead person, the libations of water, milk, honey, or wine that had to be renewed on the third, ninth, and thirtieth day after the funeral and again each year on the festival of the Genesia appear to have been the temporary continuation of the funeral ceremony and mourning practices rather than acts of veneration toward the higher powers. The intent of opening the doors of Hades to the dead person was to make him disappear forever from this world, where he no longer had a place. At the same time, through the various procedures of commemoration, the funeral transformed his absence into a presence in the memory of the survivors—an ambiguous, paradoxical presence, as of one who is absent, relegated to the realm of shadows, reduced henceforth to the social status of a dead man by the funeral rites. Even this status, however, is destined to sink into oblivion as the cycle of generations is renewed.

The heroes were quite another matter. To be sure, they belonged to the humankind and thus knew suffering and death. But a whole series of traits distinguished them, even in death, from the throng of ordinary dead. The heroes had lived during the period that constituted the "old days" for the Greeks, a bygone era when men were taller, stronger, more beautiful. Thus the bones of a hero could be recognized by their gigantic size. It was this race of men, later extinct, whose exploits were sung in epic poetry. Celebrated by the bards, the names of the heroes—unlike the names of ordinary people, which faded into the indistinct and forgotten mass of the nameless—remained alive forever, in radiant glory, in the memory of all the Greeks. The race of heroes formed the legendary past of the Greece of the city-states and the roots of the families, groups, and communities of the Hellenes.

Although they were mortals, these ancestors seemed in many ways nearer to the gods, less cut off from the divine, than the rest of humanity. In their day, the gods still mingled readily with mortals, inviting themselves to their homes, eating at their tables, and even slipping into their beds to unite with them and—by mixing the two races, the mortal and the immortal—to beget beautiful children. The heroic figures whose names survived and whose cults were celebrated at their tombs were very often presented as the fruit of these amorous encounters between the divinities and human beings of both sexes. They were, as Hesiod said, "the divine race of heroes called demigods." If their birth sometimes endowed them with a semidivine origin, their death also placed them above the human condition. Instead of descending into the darkness of Hades, they were "abducted" or transported by means of divine favor—some during their lifetime but most of them after death—to a special, separate place on the Isles of the Blessed, where they continued to enjoy in permanent felicity a life comparable to that of the gods.

Although it did not bridge the immeasurable gulf that separates mortals from the gods, heroic status seemed to open the prospect of the promotion of a mortal to a rank that, if not divine, was at least close to divinity. However, during the entire Classical period, this possibility remained strictly confined to a narrow sector. It was thwarted, not to say repressed, by the religious system itself. Indeed, piety, like wisdom, enjoined mortals not to pretend to be the equal of a god; the precepts of Delphi—"know who you are, know thyself"—have no other meaning than that. Humanity must accept its limits. Therefore, apart from the great legendary figures, such as Achilles, Theseus, Orestes, and Herakles, the status of the hero was restricted to the first founders of the colonies or to persons, such as Lysander of Samos and Timoleon of Syracuse, who had acquired exemplary symbolic worth in the eyes of a city.

We know of few cases of men who were heroized during the Classical period. They never concerned a living person but always one who after his death appeared to bear a *numen* (or formidable sacral power) because of his extraordinary physical characteristics (size, strength, and beauty), the circumstances of his death (if he had been struck by lightning or had disappeared leaving no trace), or the misdeeds attributed to his ghost, which it seemed necessary to appease. For example, in the middle of the fifth century, the boxer Cleomedes of Astypalaia, who was exceptionally strong, killed his adversary in combat. Denied a prize by the decision of the jury, he returned home mad with rage. He vented his fury on a pillar that held up the ceiling of a school, and the roof caved in on the children. Pursued by a crowd that wanted to stone him, Cleomedes hid in a chest in the sanctuary of Athena, locking the lid on himself. His pursuers succeeded in forcing it open, but the chest was empty: no Cleomedes, living or dead, was to be found. The Pythia, when consulted, advised the establishment of a hero cult in honor of the boxer, whose strength, fury, misdeeds, and death set him above ordinary mortals. Sacrifices were to be made to him as "no longer a mortal." But the oracle manifested her reservations by also proclaiming that Cleomedes was the last of the heroes.

However much the heroes constituted, through the honors paid to them, a category of superior beings, their role, their power, and the domains in which they intervened did not interfere with those of the gods. They never played the role of intermediary between earth and heaven; they were not intercessors but indigenous powers, bound to the spot of ground where they had their subterranean homes. Their efficacity adhered to their tombs and to their bones; there were anonymous heroes designated only by the names of the places where their tombs were established, such as the hero of Marathon. This local quality was accompanied by a strict specialization. Many heroes had no other realities than the narrow function to which they were dedicated and which defined them entirely. For example, at Olympia, at the bend of the track, competitors offered sacrifices at the tomb of the hero Taraxippos, the Frightener of Horses. Similarly, there were doctor heroes, doormen, cook, fly-catcher heroes, a hero of meals, of the broad bean, of saffron, a hero to mix water and wine or to grind the grain.

If the city could group into the same category of cults the highly individualized figures of heroes of long ago, whose legendary biographies were fixed in their epics, of exceptional contemporaries, of anonymous dead of whom all that remained were funerary monuments, and of all sorts of functional daemons, it was because inside their tombs they manifested the same contacts with the subterranean powers, shared the same characteristic of territorial localization, and could be used as political symbols. Instituted by the emerging city, bound to the land that it protected and to the groups of citizens that it patronized, the cult of the hero did not, in the Hellenistic period, lead to the divinization of human figures, nor did it lead to the establishment of a cult of sovereigns: these phenomena were the product of a different religious mentality. Inseparable from the *polis*, the hero cult declined with it.

The appearance of the hero cult, however, was not without consequences. By its newness it led to an effort to define and categorize more strictly the various supernatural powers. Plutarch noted that Hesiod was the first, in the seventh century, to make a clear distinction between the different classes of divine beings, which he divided into four groups: gods, daemons, heroes, and the dead. Taken up again by the Pythagoreans and by Plato, this nomenclature of the divinities to whom men owed veneration was common enough in the fourth century to appear in the requests that the consultants addressed to the oracle of Dodona. On one of the inscriptions that have been found, a certain Euandros and his wife question the oracle about which "of the gods, or heroes, or daemons" they must sacrifice to and address their prayers to.

THE SACRIFICIAL PRACTICES. To find his bearings in the practice of the cult, the believer, therefore, had to take into account the hierarchical order that presided in the society of the beyond. At the top of the hierarchy were the *theoi*, both great and small, who made up the race of the blessed immortals. These were the Olympians, grouped under the authority of Zeus. As a rule they were celestial divinities, although some of them, such as Poseidon and Demeter, bore chthonic aspects. There was indeed a god of the underworld (Hades), but he was in fact the only one who had neither temple nor cult. The gods were made present in this world in the spaces that belonged to them: first of all, in the temples where they resided but also in the places and the objects that were consecrated to them and that, specified as hiera ("sacred"), could be subject to interdiction. These include the sacred groves, springs, and mountain peaks; an area surrounded by walls or boundary markers (*temenos*); crossroads, trees, stones, and obelisks. The temple, the building reserved as the dwelling of the god, did not serve as a place of worship. The faithful assembled to celebrate the rites at the exterior alter (*bōmos*), a square block of masonry. Around it and upon it was performed the central rite of the Greek religion, the burnt offering (*thusia*), the analysis of which is essential.

This was normally a blood sacrifice implying the eating of the victim: a domestic animal, crowned and decked with ribbons, was led in procession to the altar to the sound of flutes. It was showered with water and fistfuls of barley seeds, which were scattered on the ground and on the altar as well as on the participants, who also wore crowns. The head of the victim was then lifted up and its throat cut with a *machaira*, a large knife concealed under the seeds in the *kanoun*, or ritual basket. The blood that gushed onto the altar was caught in a receptacle. The animal was cut open and its entrails, especially the liver, were drawn out and examined to see if the gods accepted the sacrifice. If accepted, the victim was immediately carved. The long bones, entirely stripped of flesh, were laid on the altar. Covered with fat, they were consumed with herbs and spices by the flames and, in the form of sweet-smelling smoke, rose toward heaven and the gods. Certain internal morsels (*splagchna*) were put on spits and roasted over the same fire that had sent to the divinity his share, thus establishing a link between the sacred powers for whom the sacrifice was intended and the performers of the rite for whom the roasted meat was reserved. The rest of the meat was boiled in caldrons, divided into equal parts, and eaten by the participants on the spot, taken home, or distributed outside to the community at large. The parts that were thought to confer honor, such as the tongue or the hide, went to the priest who presided at the ceremony, though his presence was not always indispensable.

As a rule, any citizen, if he was not impure, had full authority to perform sacrifices. The religious significance of this must be defined by bringing out its theological implications. From the start, however, several points are essential. Certain divinities and certain rituals, such as that of Apollo

Genetor in Delphi and Zeus Hupatos in Attica, required, instead of a blood sacrifice, food oblations: fruit, palms, grain, porridge (*pelanos*), and cakes sprinkled with water, milk, honey, or oil; no blood or even wine was offered. There were cases in which this type of offering, usually consumed by fire but sometimes simply deposited on the altar without being burned (*apura*), was characterized by marked opposition to customary practice. Considered pure sacrifices, unlike those involving the killing of living creatures, they served as models for sectarian movements. Orphics and Pythagoreans referred to them in advocating a ritual behavior and an attitude toward the divine that, in rejecting the blood sacrifice as impious, diverged from the official cult and appeared foreign to the civic religion.

In addition, blood sacrifice itself took two different forms according to whether it addressed the heavenly and Olympian gods or the chthonic and infernal ones. The language already made a distinction between them: for the first, the Greeks employed the term *thuein*; for the second, *enagizein* or *sphattein*.

The *thusia*, as we have seen, was centered on an elevated altar, the *bōmos*. The chthonic sacrifice had only a low altar (the *eschara*) with a hole in it to let the blood pour out into the earth. Normally the celebration took place at night over a ritual pit (*bothros*) that opened the way to the underworld. The animal was immolated with its head lowered toward the earth, which would be inundated with its blood. Once its throat was cut, the victim was no longer the object of ritual handling; because it was offered in holocaust, it was burned entirely without the celebrants having the right to touch it or to eat it. In this kind of rite, in which the offering is destroyed in order to be delivered in its entirety to the beyond, it was less a matter of establishing with the divinity a regular commerce of exchange in mutual confidence than of warding off the sinister forces, of placating a formidable power who would approach without harm only if defenses and precautions were taken. One might say that it was a ritual of aversion rather than one of reconciliation or contact. Understandably, its use was reserved for the cult of the chthonic and infernal deities, for expiatory rites, or for sacrifices offered to heroes and to the dead in their tombs.

In the Olympian sacrifice, the orientation toward the heavenly divinities was marked not only by the light of day, the presence of an altar, and the blood gushing upward when the throat of the victim was cut. A fundamental feature of the ritual was that it was inseparably an offering to the gods and a festive meal for the human participants. Although the climax of the event was undoubtedly the moment that, punctuated by the ritual cry (*ololugmos*), life abandoned the animal and passed into the world of the gods, all the parts of the animal, carefully gathered and treated, were meant for the people, who ate them together. The immolation itself took place in an atmosphere of sumptuous and joyful ceremony. The entire staging of the ritual—from the procession in which the untied animal was led freely and in great pomp to the concealment of the knife in the basket to the shudder by which the sprayed animal, sprinkled with an ablution, was supposed to give its assent to the immolation—was designed to efface any traces of violence and murder and to bring to the fore aspects of peaceful solemnity and happy festivity. Furthermore, in the economy of the *thusia*, the procedures for cutting up the victim, for roasting or boiling the pieces, for their orderly distribution in equal parts, and for their consumption, either on the spot or elsewhere, were no less important than the ritual killing. The alimentary function of the rite is expressed in a vocabulary that makes no distinction between sacrificer and butcher. The word *hiereion*, which designates an animal as sacrificial victim, at the same time qualifies it as an animal to be butchered, as one suitable for eating. Since the Greeks ate meat only on the occasion of sacrifices and in conformity with sacrificial rules, the *thusia* was simultaneously a religious ceremony in which a pious offering, often accompanied by prayer, was addressed to the gods; a ritualized cooking of food according to the norms that the gods required of humans; and an act of social communion that reinforced, through the consumption of the parts of one victim, the bonds that were to unite all citizens and make them equal.

As the central moment of the cult, the sacrifice was an indispensable part of communal life (whether family or state) and illustrated the tight interdependence of the religious and the social orders in the Greece of the city-states. The function of the sacrifice was not to wrest the sacrificer or the participants away from their families and civic groups or from their ordinary activities in the human world but, on the contrary, to install them in the requisite positions and patterns, to integrate them into the city and mundane existence in conformity with an order of the world presided over by the gods (i.e., "intraworld" religion, in the sense given by Max Weber, or "political" religion, in the Greek understanding of the term). The sacred and the profane did not constitute two radically opposite, mutually exclusive categories. Between the "sacred" in its entirely forbidden aspect and its fully accessible one a multiplicity of configurations and gradations existed. In addition to those realities dedicated to a god and reserved for his use, the sacred was also to be experienced by way of objects, living creatures, natural phenomena, and both the everyday events of private life—eating a meal, departing on a journey, welcoming a guest—and the more solemn occasions of public life. Without any special preparation, every head of a family was qualified to assume religious functions in his home. Each head of a household was pure as long as he had not committed any misdeed that defiled him. In this sense, purity did not have to be acquired or obtained; it constituted the normal state of the citizen.

As far as the city was concerned, there was no division between the priesthood and the magistracy. There were priesthoods that were devolved and practiced as magistracies, and every magistrate was endowed by virtue of his duties with a character of holiness. For any political power to be exercised, for any common decision to be valid, a sacrifice was required. In war as in peace, before giving battle as well as when convening an assembly or inaugurating a magistrate, the performance of a sacrifice was just as necessary as it was during the great religious festivals of the sacred calendar. As Marcel Detienne so accurately observes in *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec*: "Until a late period, a city such as Athens maintained the office of archon-king—one of whose major functions was to administer all of the sacrifices instituted by the ancestors, that is, all the ritual gestures that guaranteed the harmonious operation of society" (Detienne, 1980, p. 10).

If the *thusia* was indispensable for ensuring the validity of social undertakings, it was because the sacrificial fire, by causing the fragrant smoke of the burning fat and bones to rise toward heaven while at the same time cooking food for people, opened the lines of communication between the gods and the participants in the rites. By immolating a victim, burning the bones, and eating the flesh according to ritual rules, the Greeks instituted and maintained with the divine a contact without which their entire existence, left to itself and emptied of meaning, would have collapsed. This contact was not a communion; even in a symbolic form, the Greeks did not eat the god in order to identify with him and to participate in his strength. They consumed a victim, a domestic animal, and ate a part different from that offered to the gods. The link established by the sacrifice emphasized and confirmed the extreme distance that separated mortals and immortals, even when they communicated.

Myths about the origin of the sacrifice are most precise in this respect. They bring to light the theological meanings of the ritual. It was the Titan Prometheus, son of Iapetus, who was said to have instituted the first sacrifice, thus establishing forever the model to which humans were to conform in honoring the gods. This took place during the time when gods and men were not yet separate but lived together, feasted at the same tables, and shared the same felicity far from all evils and afflictions. Men were still unacquainted with the necessity of work, sickness, old age, fatigue, death, and women. Zeus had been promoted king of heaven and had carried out an equitable distribution of honors and privileges. The time had come to define in precise terms the forms of life appropriate for men and for gods.

Prometheus was assigned the task. He brought before the assembled gods and men a great steer, killed it, and cut it up. The boundary that exists between gods and mortals follows, therefore, the line of division between the parts of the immolated beast that went to the gods and those that went to men. The sacrifice thus appears as the act that, as its first accomplishment, consecrated the distinction of divine and human status. But Prometheus, in rebellion against the king of the gods, tried to deceive him for the benefit of men. Each of the two parts prepared by the Titan was a ruse, a lure. The first, camouflaged in appetizing fat, contained only the the bare bones; the second, concealed in the skin and stomach and disgusting in appearance, constituted all that was edible in the animal.

Honor to whom honor is due: it was for Zeus, in the name of the gods, to be the first to choose a portion of the sacrifice. He saw the trap but pretended to be tricked, the better to take his revenge. He chose, therefore, the outwardly enticing portion, the one that concealed the inedible bones under a thin covering of fat. For this reason, men burned the white bones of the victim for the gods, then divided the meat, the portion that Zeus did not choose, among themselves. Prometheus had imagined that in allotting the flesh to humans he was reserving the best part for them. But shrewd as he was, he failed to suspect that he was giving them a poisoned gift. By eating the meat, men sentenced themselves to death. Driven by their hunger, they behaved from then on like all the animals that inhabit the earth, the water, or the air. If they take pleasure in devouring the flesh of an animal that has lost its life, if they have an imperious need for food, it is because their hunger, never appeased but constantly renewed, is the mark of a creature whose strength fails gradually, who is doomed to weariness, old age, and death. By contenting themselves with the smoke from the bones and living off smells and fragrances, the gods bore witness that they belonged to a race whose nature was entirely different from that of men. They, the immortals, were everlasting and eternally young; their being contained nothing perishable and had no contact with the realm of the corruptible.

But the vengeance of the angry Zeus did not stop here. Even before he created out of the earth and water the first woman, Pandora, who introduced among men all the woes hitherto unknown to them—birth from procreation, fatigue, toil, sickness, age, and death—he decided, as retribution for the Titan's partiality toward mankind, to never again allow men access to the celestial fire. Deprived of fire, were men thus obliged to eat raw meat like beasts? Prometheus then stole a spark, a seed of fire, in the hollow of a stick, and brought it down to earth. Although they would no longer have the flash of the thunderbolt at their disposal, men were given a technical fire, more fragile and mortal, one that would have to be preserved by constant feeding. By cooking their food, this second fire—contingent and artificial, in comparison with the heavenly fire—differentiates humans from animals and establishes them in a civilized life. Of all the animals, only men share the possession of fire with the gods. Thus it is fire that unites man to the divine by rising toward heaven from the lighted altars. But this fire, celestial in origin and destination, is also, in its all-consuming ardor, as perishable as the living creatures subjected to the necessity of eating. The frontier between gods and men is both bridged by the sacrificial fire, which unites them, and accentuated by the contrast between the heavenly fire in the hands of Zeus and the fire that Prometheus's theft made available to mankind. Furthermore, the function of the sacrificial fire is to mark the portion of the victim belonging to the gods (totally consumed in the flames) and that of men (cooked just enough not to be eaten raw).

The ambiguous relationship between men and gods in the sacrifice was coupled with an equally equivocal relationship between men and animals. In order to live, both must eat, whether their food be animal or vegetable, and so they are equally perishable. But it is only man who eats his food cooked according to rules and after having offered in honor to the gods the animal's life, dedicated to them with the bones. If the barley seeds showered on the head of the victim and on the altar were associated with the blood sacrifice, the reason was that cereals, as a specifically human food involving agricultural labor, represented in the Greek view the paradigm of cultivated plants symbolizing, in contrast to a savage existence, civilized life. Cooked three times (by an internal process that assists the cultivation, by the action of the sun, and by the human hand that turns it into bread), cereal was an analogue to the sacrificial victim, the domestic animal whose flesh had to be ritually roasted or boiled before it was eaten.

In the Promethean myth, sacrifice comes into being as the result of the Titan's rebellion against Zeus at a time when men and gods needed to separate and establish their respective destinies. The moral of the story states that one could not hope to dupe the sovereign god. Prometheus tried to deceive Zeus; man must pay the price of his failure. To perform a sacrifice was both to commemorate the adventure of the Titan, the founder of the rite, and to accept its lesson. It was to recognize that through the accomplishment of the sacrifice and all that it entailed—the Promethean fire, the necessity of work and of women and marriage in order to have children, the condition of suffering, old age, and death—Zeus situated man between animals and gods for all time. In the sacrifice, man submitted to the will of Zeus, who made of mortals and immortals two separate and distinct races. Communication with the divine was instituted in the course of a festive ceremonial, a meal recalling the fact that the commensality of former times was no more: gods and men no longer lived together, no longer ate at the same tables. Man could not sacrifice according to the model established by Prometheus and at the same time pretend in any way to equal the gods. The rite itself, the object of which was to join gods and men together, sanctioned the insurmountable barrier that separated them.

By means of its alimentary rules, sacrifice established man in his proper state, midway between the savagery of animals that devour one another's raw flesh and the perpetual bliss of the gods, who never know hunger, weariness, or death because they find nourishment in sweet smells and ambrosia. This concern for precise delimitations, for exact apportionment, closely unites the sacrifice, both in ritual and in myth, to cereal agriculture and to marriage, both of which likewise define the particular position of civilized man. Just as, to survive, he must eat the cooked meat of a domestic animal sacrificed according to the rules, so man must feed on *sitos*, the cooked flour of regularly cultivated domestic plants. In order to survive as a race, man must father a son by union with a woman, whom marriage has drawn out of savagery and domesticated by setting her in the conjugal home. By reason of this same exigency of equilibrium in the Greek sacrifice, the sacrificer, the victim, and the god—although associated in the rite—were never confused.

The fact that this powerful theology should have its base on the level of alimentary procedures indicates that the dietary vagaries of the Orphics and Pythagoreans, as well as certain Dionysian practices, had a specifically theological significance and constituted profound divergences in religious orientation. Vegetarianism was a rejection of blood sacrifice, which was believed to be like the murder of a close relation; *omophagia* and *diasparagmos* of the Bacchantes—that is, the devouring of the raw flesh of a hunted animal that had been torn to pieces while still alive—inverted the normal values of sacrifice. But whether sacrifice was circumvented, on the one hand, by feeding like the gods on entirely pure dishes and even on smells or, on the other, by destroying the barriers between men and animals maintained by sacrificial practice, so that a state of complete communion was realized—one that could be called either a return to the sweet familiarity of all creatures during the Golden Age or a fall into the chaotic confusion of savagery—in either case, it was a question of instituting, whether by individual asceticism or by collective frenzy, a type of relationship with the divine that the official religion excluded and forbade. Furthermore, although employing opposing means with opposite implications, the normal distinctions between sacrificer, victim, and divinity became blurred and disappeared. The analysis of sacrificial cuisine thus leads to an understanding of the more or less eccentric—sometimes integrated and sometimes marginal—positions occupied by various sects, religious movements, or philosophical attitudes, all of which were at odds both with the regular forms of the traditional cult and with the institutional framework of the city-state and all that it implied concerning the religious and social status of man.

GREEK MYSTICISM. Blood sacrifice and public cult were not the only expressions of Greek piety. Various movements and groups, more or less deviant and marginal, more or less closed and secret, expressed different religious aspirations. Some were entirely or partly integrated into the civic cult; others remained foreign to it. All of them contributed in various ways to paving the way toward a Greek "mysticism" marked by the search for a more direct, more intimate, and more personal contact with the gods. This mysticism was sometimes associated with the quest for immortality, which was either granted after death through the special favor of a divinity or obtained by the observance of the discipline of a pure life reserved for the initiated and giving them the privilege of liberating, even during their earthly existence, the particle of the divine present in each.

In this context, a clear distinction must be made between three kinds of religious phenomena during the Classical period. Certain terms, such as *teletē*, *orgia*, *mustai*, and *bakchoi*, are used in reference to all three, yet the phenomena they designate cannot in any way be considered identical. Despite some points of contact, they were not religious realities of the same order; nor did they have the same status or the same goals.

First, there were the mysteries. Those of Eleusis, exemplary in their prestige and their widespread influence, constituted in Attica a well-defined group of cults. Officially recognized by the city, they were organized under its control and supervision. They remained, however, on the fringe of the state because of their initiatory and secret nature and their mode of recruiting (they were open to all Greeks and based not on social status but on the personal choice of the individual).

Next there was the Dionysian religion. The cults associated with Dionysos were an integral part of the civic religion, and the festivals in honor of the god had their place like any other in the sacred calendar. But as god of *mania*, or divine madness—because of his way of taking possession of his followers through the collective trance ritually practiced in the *thiasoi* and because of his sudden intrusion here below in epiphanic revelation—Dionysos introduced into the very heart of the religion of which he was a part an experience of the supernatural that was foreign and, in many ways, contrary to the spirit of the official cult.

Finally, there was what is called Orphism. Orphism involved neither a specific cult, nor devotion to an individual deity, nor a community of believers organized into a sect as in Pythagoreanism, whatever links might have existed between the two movements. Orphism was a nebulous phenomenon that included, on the one hand, a tradition of sacred books attributed to Orpheus and Musaios (comprising theogonies, cosmogonies, and heterodox anthropogonies) and, on the other, the appearance of itinerant priests who advocated a style of existence that was contrary to the norm, a vegetarian diet, and who had at their disposal healing techniques and formulas for purification in this life and salvation in the next. In these circles, the central preoccupation and discussion focused on the destiny of the soul after death, a subject to which the Greeks were not accustomed.

What was the relationship of each of these three great religious phenomena to a cult system based on the respect of *nomoi*, the socially recognized rules of the city? Neither in beliefs nor in practices did the mysteries contradict the civic religion. Instead, they completed it by adding a new dimension suited to satisfying needs that the civic religion could not fulfill. The goddesses Demeter and Kore (Persephone), who together with several acolytes patronized the Eleusinian cycle, were great figures of the pantheon, and the narrative of the abduction of Kore by Hades, with all its consequences (including the founding of the *orgia*, the secret rites of Eleusis), is one of the basic legends of the Greeks. The candidate had to take a series of steps to attain the ultimate goal of initiation—from the preliminary stage of the Lesser Mysteries of Agrai to renewed participation in the Greater Mysteries at Eleusis, the *mustēs* having to wait until the following year to acquire the rank of *epoptēs*. The entire ceremony (at Athens itself, at Phaleron for the ritual bath in the sea, and on the road from Athens to Eleusis in a procession that followed the sacred objects and included the Eleusinian clergy, the magistrates of Athens, the *mustai*, foreign delegations, and throngs of spectators) took place in full daylight before the eyes of everyone. The archon-king, in the name of the state, was in charge of the public celebration of the Greater Mysteries, and even the traditional families of the Eumolpides and the Kerukes, who had a special relationship with the two goddesses, were responsible to the city, which had the authority to regulate by decree the details of the festivities.

Only when the *mustai* had entered the sanctuary was secrecy imposed and nothing allowed to escape to the outside world. The interdiction was sufficiently powerful to be respected for centuries. But although the mysteries have kept some of their secrets till this day, some points about them can be considered certain. There was no teaching, nothing resembling an esoteric doctrine, at Eleusis. Aristotle's testimony on this subject is decisive: "Those who are initiated have not to learn something but to feel emotions and to be in a certain frame of mind." Plutarch describes the mood of the initiates, which ranged from anxiety to rapture. Such inner emotional upheaval was brought about by the *drōmena*, things played and mimed; by the *legomena*, ritual formulas that were pronounced; and by the *deiknumena*, things shown and exhibited. It is probable that they were related to the passion of Demeter, the descent of Kore into the underworld, and the fate of the dead in Hades. It is certain that after the final illumination at the end of initiation, the believer felt that he had been inwardly transformed. From then on, he was bound to the goddesses in a close personal relationship of intimate connivance and familiarity. He had become one of the elect, certain to have a fate different from the ordinary in this life and in the next. Blessed, asserts the *Hymn to Demeter*, is he who has had the full vision of these mysteries; the uninitiated, the profane, would not know such a destiny after they died and went to the realm of the shades. Although they neither presented a new conception of the soul nor broke with the traditional image of Hades, the mysteries opened the prospect of continuing a happier existence in the underworld. This privilege was available to believers who freely decided to submit to initiation and to follow a ritual course, each stage of which marked a new progress toward a state of religious purity.

On returning home to his family and to his professional and civic activities, nothing distinguished the initiate either from what he had been before or from those who had not undergone initiation—no external sign, no mark of recognition, not even a slight modification in his way of life. He returned to the city and settled down again to do what he had always done with no other change but his conviction that through this religious experience he would be among the elect after his death: for him, there would be light, joy, dancing, and song in the world of darkness. These hopes concerning the hereafter would later be nourished and developed among the sects, which would also borrow the symbolism of the mysteries, their secrecy, and their hierarchical system. But in the city that patronized them, the mysteries became part of the official religion.

At first glance, the status of Dionysism may seem comparable to that of the mysteries. This cult also consisted of *teletai* and *orgia*, initiations and secret rites open only to those who were invested as *bakchoi.* But the winter festivals of Dionysos at Athens—Oschoporia, rural Dionysia, Lenaea, Anthesteria, urban Dionysia—did not form a coherent and self-contained whole or a closed cycle as they did at Eleusis; they were instead a discontinuous series spread throughout the calendar along with the festivals of the other gods and revealing the same norms of celebration. All of them were official ceremonies, fully civic in character. Some of them carried an element of secrecy and required specialized religious personnel, for example, the annual marriage of the queen, the wife of the archon-king, to Dionysos, which was performed in the Boucoleion during the Anthesteria. The Gerarai, a group of fourteen women, who assisted the queen in her role as wife of the god, performed secret rites in the sanctuary of Dionysos in the marshes, but they did this "in the name of the city" and "following its traditions." The people themselves prescribed the procedures of the wedding and ensured their safety by having them engraved on a stele. Thus the queen's secret marriage was equivalent to the official recognition by the city of the divinity of Dionysos. It consecrated the union of the civic community with the god and represented his integration into the religious order of the community.

The Thyiads, or Bacchantes, of Athens, women who participated in the orgiastic rites of Dionysos, met their counterparts from Delphi at Mount Parnassus every three years. They performed their secret rites in the name of the city. They were not a segregated group of initiates, a marginal sisterhood of the elect, or a sect of deviants: they formed an official female cult, entrusted by the city with the task of representing it before the Delphians. They operated according to the framework of the cult rendered to Dionysos in the sanctuary of Apollo. There is no evidence of private Dionysian associations that recruited adepts to celebrate secretly a specific cult under the protection of the god in Attica, or even in continental Greece, in the fifth century, as was the case several centuries later with the Iobakchoi. Toward the fifth century, when the city of Magnesia, on the Meander River, decided to organize a cult dedicated to Dionysos, it founded, after consulting Delphi, three *thiasoi* (three official female colleges placed under the direction of qualified priestesses who had come from Thebes especially for that purpose).

What then constituted, in comparison with the other gods, the originality of Dionysos and his cult? Dionysism, unlike the mysteries, did not exist as an extension of the civic religion. Instead, it expressed the city's official recognition of a religion that in many ways eluded the city, contradicting it and going beyond its control. It established, in the midst of public life, a religious behavior that displayed aspects of eccentricity in an allusive, symbolic form or in an open manner.

Even in the world of the Olympian gods, to which he had been admitted, Dionysos personified, as expressed so well by Louis Gernet, the presence of the Other. He did not confirm and reinforce the human and social order by making it sacred. Dionysos called this order into question; indeed, he shattered it. In so doing he revealed another side of the sacred, one that was no longer regular, stable, and defined but strange, elusive, and disconcerting. As the only Greek god endowed with the power of *māyā* ("magic"), Dionysos transcends all forms and evades all definitions; he assumes all aspects without confining himself to any one. Like a conjurer, he playes with appearances and blurs the boundaries between the fantastic and the real. Ubiquitous, he is never to be found where he is but always here, there, and nowhere at the same time. As soon as he appears, the distinct categories and clear oppositions that give the world its coherence and rationality fade, merge, and pass from one to the other. He is at once both male and female. By suddenly appearing among mortals, he introduces the supernatural in the midst of the natural and unites heaven and earth. Young and old, wild and civilized, near and far, beyond and here-below are joined in him and by him. Even more, he abolishes the distance that separates the gods from humans and humans from animals.

When the Maenads give themselves over to the frenzy of the trance, the god takes possession of them, subjugating and directing them as he pleases. In frenzy and enthusiasm, the human creature plays the god, and the god, who is within the believer, plays the human. The frontiers between them are suddenly blurred or obliterated in a proximity through which humans are estranged from their daily existence or ordinary life, alienated from themselves, and transported to a distant elsewhere. This contiguity with the divine, accomplished by the trance, is accompanied by a new familiarity with animal savagery. On the mountains and in the woods, far from their homes and from cities and cultivated lands, the Maenads play with serpents and suckle the young of animals as their own, but they also pursue, attack, and tear to pieces living animals (*diasparagmos*) and devour their raw flesh (*omophagia*). Through their eating behavior, they assimilate themselves to wild beasts that—unlike human beings, who eat bread and the cooked meat of ritually sacrificed domestic animals—eat one another and lap up each other's blood, knowing no rule or law but only the hunger that drives them.

Maenadism, which was limited to women, carried in its sudden outburst two opposing aspects. For the faithful, in happy communion with the god, it brought the supernatural joy of momentary escape to a kind of Golden Age where all living creatures meet again, mingled like brothers and sisters. However, for those women (and cities) who rejected the god and who had to be constrained by punishment, *mania* led to the horror and madness of the most atrocious of pollutions: a return to the chaos of a lawless world in which maddened women tear apart the bodies of their own children as if the children were animals and devour their flesh. A dual god, combining in his person two facets, Dionysos, as he proclaims in *The Bacchae* of Euripides, is both "the most terrible and the most gentle."

In order that he may show himself beneficent in his gentleness, Dionysos—whose strangeness, irrepressible exuberance, and intrusive dynamism seem to threaten the stability of the civic religion—must be welcomed into the city, acknowledged as belonging to it, and assured a place beside the other gods in the public cult. The entire community must solemnly celebrate the festivals of Dionysos: for its women, it must organize a form of controlled and ritualized trance within the framework of the official *thiasoi*, promoted public institutions; for its men, an estrangement from the normal course of things in the joyfulness of a revelry consisting of wine and drunkenness, games and festivities, masquerades and disguises; and, finally, it must found the theater on whose stage illusion acquires substance and comes to life and the imaginary is displayed as if it were reality. In each case, the integration of Dionysos into the city and its religion meant installing the Other, with all honors, in the heart of the social establishment.

Ecstasy, enthusiasm, and possession; the joy of wine and festival; the pleasures of love; the exaltation of life in its outpouring and unexpectedness; the gaiety of masks and disguises; the happiness of everyday life—Dionysos can bring all of these if men and cities are willing to recognize him. But never does he come to announce a better fate in the hereafter. He does not advocate flight from the world, nor does he teach renunciation or offer the soul access to immortality through an ascetic way of life. He conjures up the many faces of the Other in this life and world, around us and within us. He opens before us, on this earth and even in the framework of the city, the way of escape toward a disconcerting strangeness. Dionysos teaches or forces us to become other than what we ordinarily are.

Undoubtedly, it was this need to escape, this nostalgia for a complete union with the divine, that—even more than his descent into the underworld in search of his mother, Semele—explains the fact that Dionysos could be associated, sometimes quite closely, with the mysteries of the two Eleusinian goddesses. When the wife of the archon-king went to celebrate her marriage with Dionysos, she was assisted by the sacred herald of Eleusis; and, at the Lenaea, perhaps the most ancient of the Attic festivals of Dionysos, it was the torchbearer of Eleusis who led the invocation taken up by the public: "Iacchos, son of Semele." The god was present at Eleusis as early as the fifth century and had a discreet presence and a minor role even in those places where he had neither temple nor priest. He intervened as the figure of Iacchos, to whom he was assimilated and whose function was to preside over the procession from Athens to Eleusis during the Greater Mysteries. Iacchos was the personification of the joyful ritual cry given by the cortege of *mustai* in an atmosphere of hope and festivity. In the representations of a hereafter to which the faithful of the god of *mania* seemed quite indifferent (with the exception perhaps of those in southern Italy), Iacchos was imagined as leading the blessed chorus of initiates in the underworld while Dionysos led his *thiasoi* of Bacchantes on earth.

The problems of Orphism are of another order. This religious movement, in all of its diverse forms, belonged essentially to late Hellenism, in the course of which it took on increasing importance. But several discoveries during the twentieth century have confirmed that Orphism had a role in the religion of the Classical period. Let us begin with the first aspect of Orphism: a tradition of written texts and sacred books. The papyrus of Derveni, found in 1962 in a tomb near Salonika, proves that theogonies from the sixth century may have been known to pre-Socratic philosophers and to have partly inspired Empedocles. Thus Orphism's principal feature appears from its beginning: a doctrinal form that opposed it to the mysteries and to Dionysian religion, as well as to the official cult, while relating it to philosophy. These theogonies are known to us in many versions, but the basic orientation is the same: they take an opposite view from that of the Hesiodic tradition. For Hesiod, the divine world is organized in a linear progression leading from disorder to order, from an original state of indistinct confusion to a differentiated world organized into a hierarchy under the immutable authority of Zeus. For the followers of Orphism, the reverse was true: in the beginning the first principle, primordial Egg or Night, expresses perfect unity, the plenitude of a self-contained totality. But the nature of "being" deteriorates as its unity is divided and dislocated, producing distinct forms and separate individuals. To this cycle of dispersion there must succeed a cycle during which the parts are reintegrated into the unity of the whole. This is to take place during the sixth generation with the coming of the Orphic Dionysos, whose reign represents a restoration of the One, the recovery of the lost plenitude.

But Dionysos does not just play a part in a theogony that substitutes for the progressive emergence of a differentiated order a fall into division, followed (as if redeemed) by a reintegration into the whole. According to one tale, Dionysos, who had been dismembered and devoured by the Titans, was reconstituted from his heart, which had been preserved intact; the Titans were then struck down by Zeus's thunderbolt, and the human race was born from their ashes. This story, to which Pindar, Herodotus, and Plato seem to make allusions, is attested in the Hellenistic period. In it, Dionysos himself assumes the double cycle of dispersion and reunification in the course of a "passion" that directly engages the life of humankind since it mythically founds the misfortune of the human condition and, at the same time, offers mortals the prospect of salvation. Born from the ashes of the Titans, the human race carries as a legacy the guilt of having dismembered the body of the god. But by purifying himself of the ancestral offense by performing rites and observing the Orphic way of life, by abstaining from all meat to avoid the impurity of the blood sacrifice—which the city sanctifies but which recalls for the Orphics the monstrous feast of the Titans—each man, having kept within himself a particle of Dionysos, can return to the lost unity, join the god, and find a Golden Age type of life in the hereafter.

The Orphic theogonies therefore led to an anthropogony and a soteriology that gave them their true meaning. In the sacred literature of Orphism, the doctrinal aspect cannot be separated from the quest for salvation: the adoption of a pure life, the avoidance of any kind of pollution, and the choice of a vegetarian diet expressed the desire to escape the common fate of finitude and death and to be wholly united with the divine. The refusal of blood sacrifice was more than just a deviance from common practice, for vegetarianism contradicted precisely what sacrifice implied: the existence of an impassable gulf between humans and gods, even in the ritual through which they communicate. The individual search for salvation was situated outside the civic religion. As a spiritual movement, Orphism was external and foreign to the city, to its rules and to its values.

Its influence was nonetheless exercised along several lines. From the fifth century on, certain Orphic writings seem to have concerned Eleusis, and whatever the differences, or rather the oppositions, between the Dionysos of the official cult and the one of the Orphic writings, assimilation between the two might have occurred quite early. In *Hippolytus*, Euripides suggests such an assimilation when he makes Theseus speak of the young man "playing the Bacchant under the direction of Orpheus," and Herodotus attributes the interdiction from being buried in woolen clothes to "the cults called orphic and bacchic." These convergences are not decisive, however, as the term *Bacchic* is not reserved exclusively for Dionysian rituals. The only evidence of a direct encounter between Dionysos and the Orphics, and at the same time of an eschatological dimension to Dionysos, is to be found on the fringes of Greece, on the edges of the Black Sea, in the Olbia of the fifth century. Here, the words *Dionusos Orphikoi*, followed by *bios thanatos bios* ("life death life"), were discovered on bone plates. But, as has been observed, this puzzle remains more enigmatic than enlightening, and in the present state of documentation, its singular character attests to the peculiarities of religious life in the Scythian environment of the colony of Olbia.

In fact, Orphism had two major impacts on the religious mentality of the Greeks during the Classical period. On the level of popular piety, it nourished the anxieties and the practices of the superstitious, who were obsessed with the fear of impurity and disease. Theophrastus, in his *The Superstitious Man*, shows the protagonist going every month to renew his initiation and discovering, together with his wife and children, the Orpheotelestai. Plato, for his part, described the Orpheotelestai as beggar priests and itinerant holy men who took money for their alleged competence in performing purifications and initiations *(katharmoi* and *teletai)* for both the living and the dead. These marginal priests, who made their way from city to city and based their science of secret rites and incantations on the authority of the books of Musaios and Orpheus, were readily identified as a band of magicians and charlatans who exploited public credibility.

But on another, more intellectual level, the Orphic writings belonged, along with others, to the movement that, in modifying the framework of the religious experience, shifted the direction of Greek spiritual life. Orphism, like Pythagoreanism, belonged to a tradition of outstanding figures with exceptional prestige and powers. From the seventh century on, these "god-men" used their abilities to purify the cities; they have sometimes been defined as representing a Greek version of shamanism. In the middle of the fifth century, Empedocles testified to the vitality of these maguses, who were capable of commanding the winds and of bringing the dead back from Hades and who presented themselves, not as mortals, but as gods. A striking characteristic of these singular figures—who included not only Epimenides and Empedocles but also a number of inspired and more or less legendary missionaries, such as Abaris, Aristeas, and Hermotimos—was that their disciplined lives, spiritual exercises in the control and concentration of their breathing, and techniques of asceticism and recollection of former lives placed them under the patronage, not of Dionysos, but of Apollo, a Hyperborean Apollo, the god of ecstatic inspiration and purifications.

In the collective trance of the Dionysian *thiasos*, the god came down to take possession of his group of worshipers, riding them and making them dance and jump about according to his will. Those who were possessed did not leave this world, but they were made different by the power that inhabited them. In contrast, among the god-men, for all their diversity, it was the human individual who took the initiative, set the tone, and passed to the other side. Thanks to the exceptional powers that he had succeeded in acquiring, a god-man could leave his body, abandoned as if in a cataleptic sleep, and travel freely into the other world, then return with the memory of all that he had seen in the beyond.

This type of man, by the way of life that he had chosen and his techniques of ecstasy, demonstrated the presence of a supernatural element within him, an element foreign to earthly life, a being from another world, in exile, a soul (*psuchē*) who was no longer, as in Homer, a shadow without force or an insubstantial reflection but instead a *daimon*, or "spirit," a power related to the divine and longing to return to it.

To possess the control and mastery of this *psuchē*, to isolate it from the body, to focus it in itself, to purify it, to liberate it, and by means of it to return to the heavenly place for which the heart still yearns—such may have been the object and the end of the religious experience in this tradition of thought. However, as long as the city-state remained alive, no sect, religious practice, or organized group expressed the need to leave the body and to flee the world in order to achieve an intimate and personal union with the divine. The renouncer was unknown to the traditional Greek religion. It was philosophy that relayed this concept by interpreting in its own terms the themes of asceticism and of purification of the soul and its immortality.

For the oracle of Delphi, "know thyself" meant "know that you are not a god and do not commit the sin of pretending to become one." For Socrates and Plato, who adopted the maxim as their own, it meant: know the god who, in you, is yourself; try to become, as much as is possible, a likeness of the god.

SEE ALSO Dionysos; Fire; Mystery Religions; Omophagia; Orpheus; Shamanism.

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GREEK RELIGION [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS].

The most important religion for Western European scholars attempting to gain a better understanding of the phenomenon of religion has long been the Greek. Great historians of religion, from Vico and Herder to Friedrich Max Müller, Jane Ellen Harrison, and Sir James Frazer of *The Golden Bough,* all steeped themselves in the religious legacy of the Greeks, whom they considered superior to all other nations of the past. The study of Greek religion, then, is already several centuries old. The persistent efforts of classicists to collect and analyze the ancient Greek sources—coins, texts, vases, statues, inscriptions, and excavations—have supplied a basis that is more firm and varied than is available for the study of any other ancient religion.

The basic character of Greek religion is clear. Like the other religions of the ancient Mediterranean and Near East, Greek religion was embedded. In other words, there was no sphere of life without a religious aspect. "Church" and "state" were not yet separated, as is the rule in the modern world, with the exception of a number of countries, such as Islamic Iran and Saudi Arabia or the Roman Catholic Philippines. Consequently, there is no Greek term for "religion," which as a concept is the product of eighteenth-century Europe. This absence also meant that there was no strong distinction between sacred and profane, as became conceptualized only in Western Europe around 1900. The Greeks did not even have a term for "profane," although they had a relatively large vocabulary for "holy." The most important term was *hieros,* which is everything that has to do with sacred objects, sacred times, and sacred buildings; in the felicitous formulation of Walter Burkert, *hieros* is "as it were the shadow cast by divinity." This is also the term that lies at the basis for the Greek word for priest, *hiereus,* which is already found in Mycenaean times. At the same time, this "embeddedness" also meant the absence of atheism. People could and did question the existence of the gods, but, unlike in modern times, as an ideology atheism remained unthinkable.

Religion was a public affair. Unlike modern European society, where religion seems more and more to become a matter of the private sphere, Greek cult was always a public, communal activity. Worship outside that framework was suspect, and magic became conceptualized only in the fifth century. Yet there was an enormous difference with the adjacent countries of the Near East. Among the Greeks, religion was not used to support theocracies, as in Babylon or Egypt, or to limit access to the sacred to the aristocracy, as was the case in Rome. In Greece any citizen could bring sacrifices, and there never developed a professional priestly class, like the Israelite priests, the Indian Brāhmaṇs, the Celtic Druids, or the Iranian mullahs.

Like Islam, Orthodox Judaism, and Christianity, Greek religion was very much male dominated. The inferior position of women manifested itself in the modest place they occupied in the rituals but also in the fact that women were considered to be more impure than men. Giving birth was sometimes linked with urinating and defecating as taboos in sanctuaries. Women were denied access to sanctuaries of macho gods and heroes like Poseidon and Herakles, and even statues of goddesses were washed more often than those of male gods.

Unlike Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, Greek religion was polytheistic. However, the gods were not just separate individuals but all belonged to a pantheon that was supported by a Greek city, the polis. Admittedly, the great early poets, such as Homer and Hesiod (both probably living in the seventh century BCE), had created a kind of unity in that all these gods were accepted and recognizable all over Greece. Moreover, important cultural and cultic centers, like Olympia and Delphi, helped to establish a degree of homogeneity in worship. Yet every polis worshiped its own pantheon that, to a certain extent, was unique. In Sicily, for example, Demeter was the most prominent divinity; in Athens, Athena; and on Chios, Dionysos. Moreover, small cities could support only a small pantheon, but a big city like Athens had dozens of sanctuaries with their corresponding divinities. Our model, then, is basically a Panhellenic one, and the investigation of local religion as a reflection of local identity is still in its initial stages.

It was typical of polytheism that its gods covered only a limited area of life. Unlike God, Jehovah, or Allāh they were not loving, omnipresent, or omnipotent. That is why piety never meant devotion to one god but rather the proper performance of religious ritual. As the fourth-century politician Isocrates (7.30) observed: "piety consists not in expensive expenditures, but in changing nothing of what our ancestors have handed down." Impiety, on the other hand, came closer to our own ideas. It included temple robbery, killing suppliants, and the introduction of religious innovations without the consent of the community. Socrates, for example, was executed on the charge of proposing new gods. Tolerance is not a great virtue of either polytheism or monotheism.

The many gods were also useful in explaining the vicissitudes of life in an age without insurance or social welfare. Dreams, accidents shipwrecks, plagues, and earthquakes—all could be traced to particular gods and thus be given a place in the Greek worldview. And when the known gods failed, there were always the anonymous gods to take their places, in particular when the gods requested a human sacrifice, with which Greek mythology abounds but which does not seem to have been practiced in historical times.

The gods set boundaries that people should not overstep. If they nevertheless did so, the most important consequence was the incurring of pollution. In the Greek world, fear of pollution helped to keep the social and religious order intact, even though purity did not play the same role it does in normative Judaism and Islam. Overstepping the divine boundaries could have even cosmic effects, as the Greeks did not yet separate the human and divine spheres, as in modern Christianity. Grave crimes, like incest or murder, could have the effect that the gods intervened by sending a plague, as was the case when Oedipus married his mother and Agamemnon offended Apollo's priest Chryses. Pollution was even invoked by the Greeks in cases where modern society would use a rather different kind of vocabulary. Men who practiced passive homosexuality or women who prostituted themselves were considered impure and thus refused entry into sanctuaries.

Like older Judaism, but unlike medieval Christianity and Islam, Greek life was decidedly directed at this life, not that of the hereafter. In fact, the early Greeks had hardly developed a view of the afterlife. This changed in some circles in Classical times, but the percentage of Greeks strongly interested in the destination of their soul always remained small. Moreover, as the Greeks had no *holy* book or dogmas, it was especially in this area that idiosyncratic ideas could flourish. In other areas of life, religion was fairly traditional. Religious education was a "hands-on" business that children received in the family. As they grew up, they were gradually socialized in the festivals and rituals of men and women, which only slowly adapted themselves to changing times. New ideas were long the territory of the poets who did the circuit of aristocratic courts and wove new ideas about the afterlife or unusual themes from the Near East into their poems. For example, in his *Iliad* Homer adapted cosmogonic themes from the great Near Eastern epics *Atrahasis* and *Enuma elish,* and the poet Pindar clearly adapted Orphic (below) views in his first *Olympian Ode.* Yet, on the whole, Greek religion changed only slowly during the archaic and Classical periods (c. 800–300 BCE).

MYCENAEAN RELIGION. Mycenaean religion (c. 1400–1200 BCE) is the oldest stage of Greek religion that we can reconstruct with some confidence. The many excavations and the decipherment of the Greek language of the period, the so-called Linear B, enable us to see that many of the Greek divinities already go back to the second millennium. The tablets that survived through the fires that destroyed the palaces in Pylos, Thebes, and on Crete have given us the names of Zeus, Hera, Athena, Artemis, Dionysos, and Hermes, but not Apollo. Even relatively small gods, such as Paiaon and Enyalios, already existed. On the other hand, some divinities did disappear in the course of time. Zeus's wife Diwija and Poseidon's other half Posidaeja no longer existed in the Classical period. As one tablet mentions Zeus, Hera, and "Drimios, son of Zeus," we may also safely accept some kind of Mycenaean mythology; the existence of several Indo-European themes in Classical Greek mythology, such as the kidnapping of Helen, points in the same direction.

Continuity of names, though, is no guarantee for continuity in practices. There are very few cult places that can be demonstrated to have survived as such into Classical times, and the Mycenaean ritual is hard to recover in the absence of detailed descriptions. There is some evidence for the dedication of objects but hardly for burnt offerings. Sanctuaries did not yet have temples, which arrived in Greece only in the eighth century BCE, although the Linear B tablets mention servants, priests, and priestesses. Unlike Classical times, the sanctuaries were clearly controlled by the palaces and were thus comparable to, if not influenced by, the contemporary Near Eastern states.

HOMERIC RELIGION. Homeric religion may have preserved some of these older stages, but scholars have increasingly become reticent in postulating them. Contemporary attention is directed especially toward the influence of the Near East and the function of the gods in the epics. The latter have a clear narrative role in that they help to organize the poems and its plots, but they also create a kind of antiworld in which the gods feast on Olympus free from human toils and troubles and thus emphasize the difference between mortals and immortals. Gods and goddesses can intervene in the human world, even start relationships with them or form special friendships with individual humans, like Athena with Odysseus. Yet they cannot change the natural course of things and save their favorites from death. The gods, too, are subject to Moira, the embodiment of fate.

As poets had to be able to recite and revise the poems of Homer all over Greece, the poems contain few specific ritual names, such as festivals or months, and clearly give a highly stylized picture of contemporary religion. They mention those rituals that were widespread, such as sacrifice, prayer, or the funerary rituals, but leave rites of initiation, which must have been still very much alive in the early archaic period, in the background. On the other hand, they avoid as much as possible mention of rites that later times called magical, and neither do they report those strange details that make studies of local religion often so fascinating. Occasionally, the poets may have even invented rituals, such as the human sacrifice performed by Achilles in honor of his friend Patroclus.

ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL RELIGION. Archaic and Classical religion received its specific "color" from the gods, whose statues were everywhere and whose exploits could be seen on the thousands of vases that ornamented Greek homes. The distinctive nature of a god was determined by various aspects. First, there was his name, which was often further determined by his epithet, a typically Greek habit, although not unknown in Rome too. Some divinities received the epithet from their place of worship, if they dominated that place, such as Apollo Anaphaios (the small Cycladic island of Anaphe), Artemis Ephesia (Ephesus), Demeter Eleusinia (Eleusis), or Herakles Thasios (Thasos). Other epithets indicated the function of the god: Artemis Phosphoros ("Bringer of light, salvation"), Hermes Agoraios ("Of the market"), or Zeus Ktesios ("Protector of possessions"). Second, the myths about the divinities related their families and deeds. The *Homeric Hymn to Demeter,* for example, detailed the kidnapping of Persephone by Hades and the ways Demeter responded by instituting the Eleusinian mysteries. The myth thus closely connected Demeter with the institution that glorified her. Myth also told that the goddess Leto had two children, Artemis and Apollo. As all three divinities were connected with initiation, this function probably helped to create their family; at the same time, all three were also closely connected to (southwestern) Anatolia, and their probable geographical origin may have also contributed to their being a family. Art must have helped to visualize the gods. Vases, statues, and mirrors were highly standardized and in this way helped to create a mental image of the gods: Zeus with his lightning, Athena with the owl, and Poseidon with his trident. In addition, all kinds of ritual aspects, such as the place of a divinity's festival in the calendar, the location of the sanctuary, and the nature of the sacrifices received, contributed to the place of the divinity in the community. It was the sum total of all these factors that created the persona of a Greek divinity.

Unlike the Egyptian gods, Greek gods were very much anthropomorphic. Their frivolous adventures were popular themes in Greek poems, and their uncanny behavior was frequently explored in tragedy. Hesiod related their genealogy in his *Theogony,* in which he was heavily dependent on the epics of the ancient Near East. His poem established the classic family relationship in which Zeus and Hera were the leading divinities who, together with their brothers, sisters, and (half-)children, live on Olympus. Later times liked to think of them as a group of twelve, of whom Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, Demeter, Athena, Aphrodite, Apollo, and Artemis are always mentioned, but Dionysos, Herakles, and Hestia less regularly. Their parents Kronos and Rhea were relatively unimportant, as were their grandparents Tethys and the castrated Ouranos; their great-grandmother Gaia is only a shadowy figure. The occurrence of Near Eastern motifs in the *Theogony* makes it likely that this genealogical system is relatively late and almost certainly postdates the Mycenaean era.

The gods have been systematized in various ways. The Greeks themselves opposed the heavenly gods to the subterranean ones, in particular Hades and his wife Persephone, who, due to their inferior position, hardly receive cultic honors. Late antiquity introduced the opposition Olympian and chthonic, which it associated with different altars and types of worship. Yet recent scholarship has increasingly seen that the distinction is not supported by the pre-Hellenistic evidence. That is why we opt for a distinction between "orderly" and "disorderly" or "central" and "ec-centric" gods: gods who support the social order and gods who are more removed from or in opposition to that order.

The most important Greek god was undoubtedly Zeus, one of the few Greek gods with an uncontested Indo-European name. At one point he must have progressed from a position as weather god to the supreme divine ruler. It seems likely that some Anatolian influence played a role, but gods do not exist separate from their worshipers and the mechanics of these shifts in the Greek pantheon (or other *panthea*) are still only dimly understood. It is clear, though, that his promotion to the top took place relatively late, as he had only a few festivals and hardly any months named after him. He never occupied the same position in cult that we can see in the case of Roman Jupiter or Babylonian Marduk.

Just as Poseidon had a wife, Posidaeja ("Mrs. Poseidon"), in Mycenaean times, so Zeus's first wife must have been Dione ("Mrs. Zeus"), a goddess later worshiped only at the edges of the Greek world. In Homer, though, Hera is already his permanent wife, even though the relationship is not pictured as a happy one. In the *Iliad,* Hera is jealous and Zeus regularly has to penalize her. The difficult relationship perhaps reflects the ambivalent position of Hera within the social order. On the one hand, she is the goddess who "keeps the keys of wedlock," as Aristophanes says in his *Thesmophoriazusae* (973), but that function seems to have been the consequence of her position as wife of Zeus; her cult as goddess of marriage was certainly Panhellenic but not prominent. An older layer becomes visible in the centers of her worship, Argos and Samos. Here Hera's festivals display strong signs of ancient New Year festivals. Moreover, here she is also closely connected with the coming of age of both boys and girls, who perhaps demonstrated the newly acquired status of adulthood during the New Year festivals. In the course of time this older function receded for the newly found one of goddess of marriage.

The divinity closest to Zeus was Athena, who was born from his head. The myth surely reflects the aspect of intelligence that is prominent in Athena: she is closely connected with women's crafts like weaving and male artisans like the smiths; even the Trojan horse was built by a carpenter under her supervision. Originally, Athena seems to have been a tutelary goddess of cities, which is probably her oldest recoverable layer, as in Mycenaean times she received the title Potnia, "Mistress." Her temple is attested on many an acropolis, the strategic heart of a Greek city. Her statuette, the Palladium, the name of which comes from her still unexplained title, Pallas, functioned as a polis talisman and as such even played a role in Vergil's *Aeneid.* It is not surprising, then, that she often received the epithet Polias or, more literary, Poliouchos. Given this protective role of the city, Athena, like Hera, is also associated with the growing up of the young generation, especially in Athens.

Apollo's name has been tied to the yearly Doric assembly, the *apellai,* in recent decades, but etymological rules and the geographical distribution of his name make this less likely. As he was still absent from the Mycenaean tablets, he probably entered Greece from Lycia, where his mother, Leto, was a highly prominent goddess. His connection with initiation has clearly shaped his divine nature to an extent that is hard to parallel with other gods. Aristocratic male youths had to be able to sing, dance, and play the lyre, and this explains why Apollo was closely connected with these activities. Male initiation also meant the entering of a new stage of life in which political activities were highly important. That is why Apollo is often associated with the center of political institutions of the polis. In this role he is regularly worshiped as Apollo Lykeios or Delphinios; the latter non-Indo-European epithet even strongly suggests that in this capacity Apollo had taken over pre-Greek institutions. Finally, the completion of the male initiatory ritual was often celebrated in a kind of New Year festival. That is why Apollo was also the god of the new beginning, be it the god of the new moon, the god of purification, the god of healing, or the god of divination, which often made an end to a period of confusion and uncertainty.

Apollo's sister Artemis goes back to a time in which hunting was still of prime importance; witness her title "Mistress of the Animals." Such protecting goddesses were often also initiatory divinities, as was the indeed the case with Artemis. She was in particular associated with the raising of girls at the margin of civilization in areas that were well watered or near rivers or lakes. Their lush nature reflected that of the maturing maidens whose beauty the male Greeks so highly admired. Rather strikingly, these areas were also often border areas, and just as initiates were on the critical border between youth and adulthood, so Artemis also functioned in other decisive moments like the critical phase of a battle, where she was the one to give victory.

If Zeus, Athena, and Apollo were the gods who stood in the center of the Greek polis, other gods were more "off center." Poseidon must once have been a very powerful god, but in the course of the post-Mycenaean age he was displaced by Zeus. He was the ancestor of several tribes and associated with men's associations, such as the pan-Ionic league. This function also connected him to male initiation in some places. Moreover, Poseidon was the god of brute force in men and animals. That is why he was also considered to be the god of earthquakes and such powerful animals as horses. That is also why in more settled times Poseidon's domain was largely relegated to the sea, the area of the marginal fishermen but also the area that was feared by the Greeks because of its dangers and unpredictability.

In many places Poseidon was closely connected with Demeter. The association must go back to an early stage in Greek religion, as is illustrated by Poseidon's metamorphosis into a stallion when Demeter tried to flee from him in the shape of a mare—a type of myth that has clear Indo-European parallels. Poseidon's ancient political side probably explains why at various places Demeter was also connected with political power; she even seems to have been connected with initiation in some places before the rise of the mysteries (below). However, Demeter was celebrated in particular during the festival of the Thesmophoria, the most popular women's festival in ancient Greece. During several days all the women of the community assembled to celebrate this fertility festival, from which men were excluded. The occasional symbolic exclusion from power made men nervous, and they saw to it that the women assembled only in local communities and never in cities as a whole.

If Demeter is certainly "ec-centric," the god of the "anti-order" par excellence was Dionysos. Myth designated him as the stranger among the gods, as it related his arrival from Thrace. Earlier generations of scholars usually interpreted these stories as reflections of a historical development, but a more recently published Linear B tablet has shown that Dionysos was already worshiped in Mycenaean Crete. Consequently, these myths of arrival are better interpreted as ways of expressing the nature of Dionysos as "stranger" in the Greek world. This aspect of his nature becomes apparent from his festivals, where we can find the split-up of society in its two gender halves, the equality of slaves, or the prominence of the phallus in a procession. In some communities, Dionysos was even associated with human sacrifice (in myth, not reality). In this capacity he was worshiped on Lesbos as Dionysos Omestes, "Eater of Raw Meat." A similar "antisocial" nature appears from Dionysos's mythical followers, the satyrs and maenads. The latter could commit heinous crimes, as Euripides' *Bacchae* so well illustrates. The former showed themselves on the Greek vases in such antisocial activities as masturbation and sex with animals. Dionysos was a more problematic god than the many scenes of him happily drinking suggest.

Other gods were less influential. Hephaestus was the god of the smiths, who seems to have played a more important role in the early archaic period than in later times. His main place of worship was Lemnos, an island where the inhabitants once spoke a language related to Etruscan and that was conquered only in the late sixth century by the Greeks. This means that originally Hephaestus was the god of a pre-Greek population.

Hermes was the messenger of the gods and thus also moved between the upper world and the underworld. In many ways he is the personification of the more marginal persons in ancient Greece, such as the wanderers and the merchants. He was sometimes connected with Aphrodite, the goddess of love, who had a clear background in ancient Near Eastern goddesses like Ishtar. However, this love was not only physical but also political. Aphrodite was often associated with the people as a whole or with smaller councils of magistrates. Her worship supposedly promoted the harmony and unity of those concerned. It is the Near Eastern connection that made her also into a goddess of military affairs, and in several cities her statue was armed. The connection also received expression on a mythological level: Aphrodite was the beloved of Ares, the god of war.

Like Dionysos, Ares was also reputed to come from Thrace to express his outsider position in the Greek pantheon. In Homer, Ares is already closely identified with another war god, Enyalios, but in cult the two remained separated. Ares was the god of the bloodthirsty side of war. This made him an unpopular god who had few cults and whose sacrificial animal, the dog, was not normally eaten at sacrificial banquets.

The gods of the underworld, Hades and his wife, Persephone, mainly had a mythological life. There were no temples for them, and their place in Greek cult was negligible.

In addition to these major divinities there were also smaller ones, like Gaia, ("Earth"), Hestia ("Hearth"), Eirene

("Peace"), Thanatos ("Death"), Arete ("Virtue"), and other personifications. Yet the Greek pantheon was much smaller than, say, the Hittite or Roman one. The reason for these differences is still unexplored, just as the nature of polytheism and the implications of the difference with monotheism are still largely terra incognita.

On the other hand, we have reached a better understanding of the mutual relations within the pantheon. Although divinities have each their own sphere or mode of action, they can also combine their influence or display their powers in opposition to other gods. For example, the fact that Apollo and Artemis are siblings cannot be separated from their connection with initiation (above). Hera and Aphrodite are both associated with love and marriage, but whereas Hera is responsible for the protection of marriage as such, Aphrodite promotes its sexual part. Ares and Aphrodite were already a pair in Homer. Both divinities were at the margin of the pantheon but also each other's opposites. There is a Poseidon Hippios and an Athena Hippia. Both divinities are clearly concerned with horses, but whereas Poseidon is responsible for the power and fierceness of horses, Athena is the goddess who gives man the power to use the animal in an intelligent manner. It becomes more complicated when we see that the Athenian ephebes worshiped Ares and Athena Areia. Evidently, Ares was responsible for their courageous behavior in battle, but Athena must have helped them to do this in a strategically intelligent manner. In a different way, myth often told of Poseidon's defeat by other gods, in particular Apollo and Athena. This shows that Greek gods were not only persons but also embodied powers, as in this case Poseidon's defeat symbolized the conquest of "chaos" by the powers of order, intelligence, and civilization. Both the aspect of "person" and of "power" should always be taken into account when looking at individual Greek gods.

HEROES. It is hard to find parallels to heroes, the "demigods" between gods and men, in other religions. Their origin has been much discussed but rarely with the right attention to an important terminological question. Surely, it is impossible to speak of a hero cult before there was a category of heroes named and conceptualized in opposition to the category of the gods. Unfortunately, this simple truth is rarely taken into account in scholarly literature. Yet the religious meaning of the Greek word *herôs* as "demigod" did not start to materialize before the last decades of the sixth century. In fact, the order gods-heroes-men does not occur in extant Greek literature before Pindar's *Second Olympian Ode* (2) of 476 BCE, in which the poet wonders: "What god, what hero and what man should we celebrate?" It is not easy to explain this development, but it is clear that in the later sixth century BCE a gradual hardening took place of the division between the main gods of the Greeks and all other (for lack of a better word) supernatural beings worthy of worship. This development was perhaps the result of the growing status of Homer, but as there was no independent authority to decide who belonged where, some heroes stayed hovering on the edge, such as Achilles and Herakles, whose precise status—hero or god?—remained debated. The development took a long time to materialize fully and should not be retrojected into earlier centuries. In that period we have tomb cults, cults of the ancestors, and cults of founders of cities, but it is only from the late archaic period onward that we start to have hero cults in the technical sense of the word. Consequently, we should avoid speaking of hero cult in the earlier archaic period.

Because of their origin, the category of the heroes turned out to be the lowest common denominator of a motley group of "supernatural beings," such as faded goddesses like Helen, culture heroes like Prometheus, and mythological supermen like Herakles. In the later fifth century the category became expanded to fallen generals like the Spartan Brasidas, who was killed in action in 422 BCE. As time went on, the Greeks started to connect their great mythological heroes, like Agamemnon and Odysseus, with older graves or grottoes, and scholars have all too long thought that these late connections also implied age-old continuities.

Yet the connection with graves does point to an important quality of the heroes: their local association. Unlike the gods, heroes are nearly always associated with a family, a political or social group, or a city. Many people gave regular greetings and offerings to the shrine of their neighborly hero and clearly expected something positive in return. Armies could see heroes on their side, just as in the First World War German and English soldiers saw angels coming to their assistance. The Locrians even left a gap in their phalanx where Ajax was supposed to defend the ranks. However, heroes could also be nasty and mean. The chorus of Aristophanes' *Heroes* sings: "we are the guardians of good things and ill; we watch out for the unjust, for robbers and footpads, and send them diseases—spleen, coughs, dropsy, catarrh, scab, gout madness, lichens, swellings, ague, fever [some words missing]. That's what we give to thieves" (tr. Robert Parker). There is always something ambivalent about the heroes, as there is about the gods.

RITUAL. Ritual was the basis of Greek religion, although the all-embracing category "ritual" is a relatively modern invention that originated around 1890. The Greeks did not yet have such a term but called their rituals *teletai* (connected to Greek *telos,* "goal"), *drômena,* "what is done," or *nomizomena,* "what is customary." Rituals accompanied the most important stages of Greek lives, such as the birth, coming of age, the wedding, and death, but also political activities, entertainment such as the symposium, divination, or purifications from pollutions. In addition, the Greek year was interspersed with festivals, if more in winter than in summer. In this short compass it is impossible to pay attention to all manifestations of ritual. We therefore just mention hymns, dances, and processions and limit the discussion to a more detailed extension of sacrifice (the most important ritual), to sanctuaries (the places where many of the rituals took place), prayer, and the main women's festival, the Thesmophoria.

Sacrifices already abound in the oldest literary source, Homer (c. 700 BCE). His preferred victim is the cow, the largest domesticated animal available and the predominant victim in literature and art. Yet after the Dark Age most sacrifices were not of cattle, and smaller animals were the rule for small communities and private sacrifice. As a symbolic statement, cattle remained the preferred animal, and Athenian colonies and allies had to send a sacrificial cow to the festival of the Panathenaia. The next expensive full-grown sacrificial victim was the pig, although it was not the most popular animal in sacrifice. Pigs were not much employed in the great sanctuaries, except perhaps in Cypriotic sanctuaries of Aphrodite, and no god was connected with the pig in particular. The main exceptions were Demeter and Dionysos, both divinities in some opposition to the social order, as we have seen. The low appreciation of the pig was not only shared by the Jews, whose abhorrence of the pig is well known, but also by the ancient Egyptians and, later, Islam. It thus fits a larger Mediterranean and Near Eastern phenomenon.

The predominant sacrificial victims were sheep and goats, animals whose bones are often very difficult to distinguish. In the case of Aphrodite, even cheaper offerings were quite normal, and the sacrifice of kids and lambs fits this picture. There were also a number of more marginal animals. Dogs were used for purificatory purposes but not normally eaten, except at the margin of the Greek world, such as Didyma and Cyprus. The Greeks themselves thought of this sacrifice as typical of foreigners, such as Carians and Thracians, and used it to differentiate cruel Ares and spooky Hekate from the more civilized gods. Birds were brought to Aphrodite, and cockerels to Asklepios—both less important gods, whose status reflected itself in the gifts they received. Basically, then, the Greeks selected only domesticated cattle for their sacrifice, and the origin of sacrifice does indeed not seem to go back before the time when cattle became domesticated in the ancient Near East. Yet in Artemis's sanctuary in Kalapodi, excavators have found bones of boars and deer; the latter have also come to light in the Theban Kabirion and the Samian Heraion. In ancient Israel, too, excavations have demonstrated incidental sacrifices of fallow deer. Evidently, there were sometimes fuzzy edges at the boundaries of the accepted sacrificial victims in order to include the most popular game.

In addition to the nature and age of the victim, worshipers also had to make decisions about the sex and color of the victims. In general, male gods preferred male victims, whereas goddesses rather had female ones. Yet this was not a fixed law but rather a rule with notable exceptions, as in the Samian Heraion bones of bulls, rams, and boars have been found. Sacrificial regulations also often specified the color of the victim, black being the preferred color for chthonic deities.

Sacrifice was a festal moment. Victims were adorned with ribbons and garlands around their heads and bellies, and the sacrificers took a bath, put on festive white clothes, and, similarly, wreathed themselves. The Classical period had clearly dramatized the beginning of sacrifice by the organization of a sacrificial procession. At the front an aristocratic girl (the *kanêphoros*) walked with a beautiful basket on her head, which contained the sacrificial knife covered up by barley groats and ribbons. Male adolescents led along the victim, and a male or female piper played the music indicating the walking rhythm. Music had become such an integral part of the ritual in post-Homeric times that the fifth-century historian Herodotos (1.132) was struck by its absence in Persian sacrifice. Then adult males and females followed in a throng. The whole community played a part in this ritual of rituals. When the actual sacrifice began, the sacrificer purified the participants, the altar, and the sacrificial victim. This inaugural act separated the sacrificial participants from the rest of the population and constituted them as a distinct social group.

After a prayer, the officiant took the knife and cut a few hairs from the brow and threw them in the fire, the beginning of the actual killing. In the meantime, the victim had given its consent by shaking its head. Voluntariness of the victim was an important part of the Greek sacrificial ideology, which stressed that the victim was pleased to go up to the altar, sometimes could even hardly wait to be sacrificed. Obviously, ideology and practice did not always concur, and vases show us ephebes struggling with the victim or the ropes tied to its head or legs in order to restrain it. The participants to the sacrifice now lifted up the (sometimes stunned) victim with its head up high, toward heaven, and a priest or another officiant cut the throat with the sacrificial knife. At this very emotional moment the women present raised their high, piercing cry, *ololyge,* which Aeschylus in the *Seven against Thebes* (269) calls the "Greek custom of the sacrifice cry" (*ololygmos*). Great care was taken not to spill the blood of the victim on the ground. In the Classical period the blood is prominently present on the altars as many vase paintings show—the lasting proof of the otherwise perishable gifts to the gods.

It was now time to skin the victim and carve it up. In addition to the thigh bones, the gods also received some other parts, such as the gallbladder and the tail. In Classical times the gods also seem to have received a share of the innards, *splanchna,* in which the Greeks included the spleen, kidneys, liver, and probably the heart and lungs. These parts of the victim were the first to be eaten. Together with the food, the gods received a libation of mixed wine. The meat was evenly divided between the participants, and egalitarian inclusiveness was very important for the Greeks: for the Jews the purity of sacrifice became an important guardian of monolatrous Yahwism, but foreigners were always invited to partake of Greek sacrifice.

There were also sacrifices where food was absent or on purpose denied to the sacrificial participants. First, the victim could be drowned: the Argives submerged a horse with bridle in the sea for Poseidon, and the Rhodians, wealthy as they were, a chariot with four horses for Helios. These costly sacrifices must always have been rare, and they seem to go back to great antiquity. Second, there were extremely cheap, purificatory sacrifices, usually piglets, who after the sacrifice were thrown out in order to carry away the pollutions. Piglets were also sometimes used for a preliminary sacrifice, in which case they were burned whole. Third, the Greeks often swore an oath while grasping an object, the *horkos* (which gave its name to the Greek *oath*), embodying the powers invoked; so the gods swore holding a jug with water from the Styx. Four, sometimes a pregnant animal was sacrificed. This happened especially in the cult of Demeter and, seemingly, in some maturation rituals. The victims were probably burned whole, a practice the Greeks had taken over from the Syro-Palestine area. In all these sacrifices the most plausible explanation is that they lacked the required relaxed atmosphere of a good banquet. Banquets were naturally also absent from other emotionally laden sacrifices, such as that just before a battle. On the other hand, epigraphical evidence has increasingly made clear that sacrifices to heroes, the so-called chthonic sacrifices, which many generations of scholars supposed to have been burned whole, normally ended in a happy banquet. The whole notion of chthonic sacrifice, like the one of chthonic gods, is in urgent need of revision. That is not to say that sacrifices for gods were always totally similar to those for heroes. The latter received more often cakes and fruit.

Finally, what did the collective imagination as expressed in myth single out as significant? Hesiod's *Theogony* (535–561) connects the origin of sacrifice with the invention of fire and the creation of woman. In order to settle a quarrel between gods and mortals, Prometheus took refuge in a trick. He let Zeus chose between, on the one hand, the flesh and fatty entrails of a slaughtered bull and, on the other, the white bones covered with glistening fat. Zeus opted intentionally for the bones, and "since then the race of men on earth burn white bones for the immortals on smoking altars." Hesiod's account locates the origin of sacrifice at the precise moment that gods and mortals were in the process of parting their common ways. Clearly, sacrifice was *the* preeminent act of the "*condition humaine,*" which definitively established and continued the present world order, in which man dies and immortals have to be worshiped.

Sacrifice took mostly place in sanctuaries. Unlike Christian churches, Islamic mosques, or Jewish synagogues, these need not always have been proper buildings. For the Greeks only the presence of an altar was essential, but sanctuaries often had a sacred grove, water for purification, and a temple. Priests were useful but not indispensable, except in the larger sanctuaries. Vases often portray them in white robes, and priestesses often carry a big key, the symbol of their supervision of the sanctuary. In addition to priests, there were also seers, but they were often less officially connected with sanctuaries, even though two seer families officiated in Olympia. Many seers wandered through Greece, and their status was often not very high, with the exception of the military seers who could rise to great fame through their strategic insights. Instead of seers, many people consulted the main oracles, Delphi and Dodona, which were situated at quite a distance from important cities, as divination had to look objective to be credible. As in many cultures, their function was more to help to make a choice or to set a seal on decisions than to forecast the future.

The temples contained the statues of the gods but also the many votives of the worshipers, ranging from precious golden objects to the anatomical votives of vulvae and phalluses after a successful healing; in addition they functioned as banks and often received asylum seekers onto their sometimes extensive lands: like the medieval church, some Greek sanctuaries were the largest landowners of ancient Greece.

The location of sanctuaries once again reflected the nature of their gods: Zeus, Athena, and Apollo usually had temples in the center of the polis, Apollo and Demeter were more often located away from the center, and Hera, Poseidon, Artemis, and Dionysos were usually located out of the city. The location of heroic sanctuaries also depended on the place of the hero in the community. For example, if he was the founder of the city, his heroön (sanctuary) would be on the agora in the center of the city, but Trophonios, the owner of an oracle, was worshiped away from the civilized world.

PRAYER. Prayer had a place in many rituals and usually followed a standard structure of invocation, claim for attention, and request. Moreover, the earlier Greeks never kneeled for their prayers, like Christians in several churches still do, but they prayed standing erect with hands raised. In principle everybody (man and women, old and young, slaves and free) could pray everywhere—at home, in a sanctuary, or on a ship. However, prayers were often pronounced on behalf of the city or a smaller social group by priests or heralds. Unlike the Christian God, Greek deities were not omnipresent and the worshipers had to call out for their attention. Thus, a prayer often contained the invitations "hear" and "come"; moreover, it was important to mention the name of the divinity and his or her epithet. Yet to be absolutely certain that the right divinity would hear their prayers, worshipers often visited a temple and prayed in front of the deity's statue, often in its very ear. When praying, the Greeks could freely improvise and, unlike Rome or India, they did not have archaic fixed-prayer formulae. In their prayers there was a strong element of reciprocity. The worshiper referred to earlier sacrifices or made a small gift that enlarged the chances of being heard. Unlike Jewish and Christian prayers, Greek prayers therefore rarely contained a feeling of gratitude. What did people pray for? Strangely, very few nonliterary prayers have survived, and our knowledge about the content of Greek prayers is almost exclusively literary. Perhaps in opposition to many modern prayers, the Greeks did not shrink from praying that the worst might befall their enemies, but they certainly mostly prayed for their own good. Unlike modern Christian attitudes, they would rarely pray for others, and Herodotos (1.132) expresses amazement about the fact that the Persians prayed for the well-being of their king. Finally, although Christians, Jews, and Muslims often pray aloud in public or religious services, silent prayers are perhaps the norm for the modern individual. In Greece praying aloud was the norm, but antisocial and magical prayers were probably performed in silence.

FESTIVALS. Festivals were the main religions occasions at which the community (the city but also subdivisions of the city and the family) manifested itself. Festivals derived their names from the most striking parts of the festivities, such as the Plynteria from the "washing" of a statue, or from the names of the gods, such as the Kronia, the festival for Kronos. In turn, months often took their names from the festivals, such as the Ionian month Anthesterion from the name of the festival Anthesteria. As with Greek religion in general, local calendars regularly differed, and festivals could change places in the calendar in the course of history.

There were several types of festivals. Some were connected with the rites of initiation, such as the Spartan Hyakinthia and Karneia or the Cretan Ekdysia. In these festivals the youths of the cities demonstrated their prowess or beauty. Others celebrated New Year, everywhere an important festival and perhaps in Greece even influenced by those of the ancient Near East. In Athens it can best be seen as a complex that lasted for three months. In the penultimate month of the year, Thargelion, the so-called scapegoat ritual purified the city; in the ultimate month, Skirophorion, several festivals took place away from the political center, the acropolis; and the first festival of the first month of the new year, Hekatombaion, was the Kronia, in which the social order was revered, as slaves and masters dined at equal footing. The celebration of the city's foundation in the Synoikia and the Panathenaia, Athen's most prestigious festival, reestablished the social, political, and religious order. Festivals, then, were often related to one another, and a proper study should always look at the whole festive cycle.

The most important women's festival was the Thesmophoria, a three-day festival for Demeter. The exclusive female participation made the festival somewhat suspect in male eyes, and several stories told of males spying on the women during the rituals. Male suspicion probably also meant that in Athens the women could not celebrate their festival in one sanctuary but only separately in the demes. Its "ec-centric" character was indicated by several oppositions with normality. The women did not live in houses but in huts, slept on antaphrodisiac plants, and sacrificed pigs, whereas as a rule the males were the sacrificers in Greece. On the second day Athens suspended court sessions and council meetings; other places in Greece may well have done the same. There probably also was ritual fasting, sham fights, and indecent speech on this day. After all this "abnormal" behavior, women returned to "normality" on the third day. On this last day, which was called Kalligeneia, "Beautiful birth," the women fetched the decayed remains of piglets from subterranean pits and placed them on altars as future manure. As the festival took place at sowing time, the women clearly celebrated human and agricultural fertility at the same time.

MYSTERIES. Mysteries originally was the name of the festival celebrated in the sanctuary of Demeter outside Eleusis in the month Boedromion in early autumn. From there the Greeks applied the name also to cults with a related structure, such as the cults of the Kabeiroi in Thebes and of the Megaloi Theoi of Samothrace. Unfortunately, it was a characteristic of the mysteries, and hence our use of the term, that the initiates were not allowed to divulge the secrets of the rites. The Eleusinian sanctuary dates from the late eighth century BCE, and the widespread occurrence of Demeter Eleusinia in Ionia and the Peloponnese demonstrates an early popularity of her cult. The combined evidence of the Peloponnesian and Ionian cults does point into the direction of an initiatory cult of an aristocratic family; iconographic evidence from the sanctuary of the Theban Kabeiroi points in the same direction. Apparently, the ritual became restructured and reinterpreted after the disintegration of the archaic puberty rites at the end of the seventh century, as the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (c. 650 BCE) is evidently related to the Eleusinian mysteries. However, without corroborating evidence it is impossible to reconstruct the mysteries from the *Hymn.* It is only in Christian times that former pagans start to communicate the details that give us an impression of what happened in that era; whether we can retroject these details into Classical times remains a matter of debate. The earlier Eleusinian mysteries very much remain a mystery.

The main rituals started with a procession from Athens to Eleusis along the still existing Sacred Way. After preparatory rites of purification and fasting, the climax took place in the Telesterion ("House of rituals"), which survived well into Roman times. It was a fifty-one-square-meter roofed building that evidently cannot have held that many initiates at the same time. At night, light effects must have played a role, and texts suggest a plurality of emotions. The high point seems to have been the moment when the hierophant showed a "single harvested ear of grain" and shouted out at the top of his voice: "the Mistress has given birth to a holy child, Brimo to Brimos," as the Church Father Hippolytus informs us. The ear must have been symbolic of the gift of corn, which the Athenians had associated with the mythological Eleusinian king Triptolemus. In the heyday of the Athenian empire the Athenians evidently claimed the invention of agriculture, which for the Greeks signaled the arrival of the present cultural order. After the decline of the empire, the emphasis of the mysteries shifted to eschatological promises: the Eleusinian priests were clever entrepreneurs who kept their mysteries moving with the times.

The relative late rise of eschatology as an important motif in the mysteries is also confirmed by its absence from the mysteries of Thebes and the islands Lemnos and Samothrace. In the latter, we can see a triad of two males with a Great Goddess. Its geographical location and the details of the ritual point to a pre-Greek background in the world of initiation and men's societies, which on the island of Lemnos seems to have developed into a society of smiths and their god Hephaestus. Both on Lemnos and in Thebes remnants have been found of wine amphorae suggesting communal drinking rituals, but on Samothrace the emphasis seems to have been reoriented to salvation at sea.

The immediate success of the Eleusinian mysteries may well have been the stimulus for the development of a different type of mysteries that were not tied to one particular sanctuary. From about 500 BCE we hear of Bacchic mysteries that were propagated by what Plato and Theophrastus call Orpheotelestai, "Initiators of Orpheus." These wandering priests and priestesses apparently initiated people, men and, it seems, especially women, against payment into small cultic groups that practiced the Dionysiac ecstasy but presented their views under the aegis of Orpheus, who at the time was the most famous Greek singer. Orphism presented an origin of humankind, whereas traditionally the Greeks had very few anthropogonic myths. It also had developed a view of an attractive afterlife that had been absent so far in Greek religion and that eventually would influence Jewish and Christian ideas of the afterlife. Moreover, it developed the idea of a kind of "original sin" by stating that Dionysos had been murdered by the Titans, our ancestors. In order to atone for this murder the Orphics had to live a life of purity and to practice vegetarianism. Only in this way they would be acceptable to Persephone.

Recent decades have given us not only a new papyrus with a commentary on an Orphic cosmogony (the Derveni papyrus), but also a number of the so-called Orphic gold leaves, minute tablets that were, so to speak, passports to the underworld and taught the deceased how to behave when meeting Persephone. Unfortunately the literary evidence for the Bacchic mysteries is rather poor, and it remains virtually impossible to reconstruct the rituals of these mysteries in any detail and with any certainty. It seems that we must reckon with a whole spectrum of local varieties, but unless new evidence turns up we will remain groping in the dark for these Bacchic mysteries despite our increased knowledge of Orphism.

PHILOSOPHY. Philosophers started to question the traditional views of Greek religion from about 500 BCE. They give us a valuable insider view of what intellectuals thought of the traditional myths, rituals, and cosmological and cosmogonical concepts. Xenophanes of Colophon (on the west coast of modern Turkey) no longer accepted tradition but propagated "what is fitting." He radically polemicized against the leading poets Homer and Hesiod and questioned the anthropomorphic form of the gods by pointing out that the Thracians and Ethiopians imagined their gods to look like themselves. He did not do away with the gods, though, but already tried to reduce the number of gods by claiming "One god is greatest among god and men." Misgivings about traditional polytheism were clearly in the air, since Orphism, according to the Derveni papyrus, stressed the position of Zeus: "Zeus is the head, Zeus the middle, through Zeus all things come to pass." Pythagoras, their contemporary, went even further. His prescriptions meant the first total break with traditional Greek lifestyle, and gods hardly seem to have played a role in his teachings. Nor did ritual come away unscathed, as Heraclitus of Ephesus attacked purification rituals and praying before the statues of the gods, as if one could converse "with houses," as absurd.

The seeds of these philosophies came to fruition in the second half of the fifth century through the so-called Sophists. These wandering teachers exercised a great fascination on the Greek *jeunesse dorée,* and their influence can hardly be exaggerated. Among them, Prodicus from the island of Keos introduced a completely new view about the gods by claiming that "primitive man, [out of admiration, deified] the fruits of the earth and virtually everything that contributed to his subsistence." In other words, the gods had not been there all along as immortal beings, but they were the product of human imagination. Protagoras of Abdera even went further and stated that we cannot have any certain knowledge about the gods. It is not surprising that atheistic positions now became debated in Athenian tragedy, even if preferentially through the mouth of young males, not sensible older men.

With Plato these tendencies became part and parcel of the enlightened Greeks. He rejected the teachings about the gods by the poets and traditional piety. The divine adulteries, their fantastic genealogies, the gods as the causes of our evils—all that is fit only for children and old women, according to Plato. Equally, the thought that prayers or sacrifices could influence the gods without a corresponding proper moral behavior is completely rejected. God is now proclaimed to be absolutely good, but also without lies, always the same, without envy, omnipresent, that is, an intellectually satisfactory but bloodless being that is so much above us that it is hard to speak about him with any certainty. In his *Timaeus* Plato even introduced a creator god, an idea totally alien to traditional Greek religion. These ideas transformed the ways people would think about religion. Greek rituals may still have been practiced for many a century, but the traditional views of Greek religion would never recover from the attacks of the Greek philosophers.

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JAN N. BREMMER (2005)

GREGORY I (c. 540–604), called the Great, was bishop of Rome from 590 until his death, and one of the most remarkable figures to occupy the Roman see. Gregory was born into a landowning, aristocratic Roman family; he was related to popes Agapetus I (r. 535–536) and Felix III (r. 483–492). There is no direct evidence about his early life and education, but his correspondence, the main historical source, suggests that he received sound legal training and acquired wide experience in the management of landed estates. Gregory's own testimony relates that he spent some years in a public career as prefect of the city of Rome. Although one must assume that his education brought him into contact with Latin classical authors, there are few echoes of their works in Gregory's writings; in this he was very different from Jerome and Augustine. What is known about his origins suggests a pious family background in which Christian authors and values prevailed.

During his term as prefect he apparently felt called to become a more perfect Christian by embracing the monastic life. He speaks of having delayed his "conversion" for a long time. When the decision was finally made—probably after his father's death—he established a monastery dedicated to Saint Andrew in his paternal home, where he gathered a community and appointed an abbot, and where he himself lived, by his own choice, as a monk. Despite the traditional view that Gregory was a Benedictine monk, it is by no means certain that the rule of Saint Benedict governed the life of this new monastic house.

Gregory's skills as administrator and negotiator were too widely known to be eclipsed by his entry into seclusion. Pelagius II was no sooner elected bishop of Rome (r. 579–590) than he summoned Gregory from his monastery, ordained him deacon, and sent him as papal representative (*apocrisiarius*) to Constantinople. Gregory apparently accepted this mission on the condition that he could take monks from Saint Andrew's with him and set up a quasi-monastic household in the imperial city. Gregory remained in the East until about 586, when he returned to Rome to resume his monastic life and to assist and advise Pelagius II, even drafting some of the pope's later letters.

Without much delay, and without waiting for the imperial consent, the Senate, clergy, and populace elected Gregory bishop of Rome after Pelagius's death in 590. Later tradition maintained that Gregory fled the city to avoid this burden but was captured after three days and brought back. Gregory always lamented the imposition of this heavy burden, which deprived him of his "beloved solitude," but he continued to view himself as a monk and aimed to set up his household, as at Constantinople, in the form of a small community made up of monks and clerics who would live together and share all things in common.

The fourteen years of Gregory's pontificate (590–604) are well documented, particularly on the strength of his correspondence, which depicts a man who showed a superb command of estate and personnel management and from whom emanated good sense, moderation, and tact, allied to shrewd, businesslike efficiency. He was fully conversant with the laws of the imperial code but could temper them with goodwill and humanity. He exhibited a firmness allied to fairness that was in the best Roman tradition. These qualities were constantly at play in Gregory's attempts to introduce greater order and efficiency into the administration of the patrimony of Peter (the possessions held by the church of Rome not only in Italy and Sicily but also in Gaul, Africa, and elsewhere), and in his handling of the affairs of dioceses and monasteries, and ecclesiastical disputes of all kinds. The correspondence also gives rise to the impression that in becoming bishop of Rome Gregory was in fact assuming again some of the duties of the prefect of Rome, concerning himself with food and water supplies, appointing commanders and paying for troops, and taking a leading role in negotiating truces and treaties with the threatening Lombard invaders. Although there had been previous occasions when popes assumed leadership of the city of Rome, particularly in crisis, Gregory's pontificate is the first and best example of ecclesiastical authority replacing, throughout the machinery of government, the political power of a declining state.

Here and there in his letters a note of rigor and acerbity emerges perhaps native to the Roman patrician and professional administrator, but for the most part these elements were held in check by Gregory's reverence for the gospel teaching of humility and charity, in whose light he constantly examined and formed his own conduct. His preoccupation with saving souls and helping the poor is ever present. John the Deacon, Gregory's biographer, refers to a "very large papyrus volume" (the first of its kind to be drawn up by a bishop of Rome), in which Gregory, with his usual efficiency, caused all pensions, rent reductions, subsidies, and charitable outlays to be recorded so that none would be forgotten or overlooked in future years. Gregory's concern for the good of souls likewise appeared in missionary activities directed toward heretics or pagans, the most noteworthy being his sending, in 596 and 601, groups of monks from his own monastery, under the leadership of Augustine, to evangelize the Anglo-Saxons.

Despite the incessant preoccupations of his years as bishop of Rome, and despite a debilitating malady that seems to have afflicted him for years, Gregory consistently found time to pursue the activity that lay nearest his heart, namely, to study and interpret holy scripture for the group of close associates with whom he lived, in an effort to bring out its hidden meaning as a guide for moral life. Gregory had begun such a discourse, on the *Book of Job,* during his stay at Constantinople. In the period between his return to Rome from the East (586) and his election as bishop (590), he reorganized these spontaneous discourses into book form. The result was the vast *Magna moralia in Job,* a work in thirty-five books divided into six codices, which had a lasting influence on the whole Middle Ages. During the first years of his pontificate he discoursed in church and before the people not only on the gospel lessons of the day but also on the opening and final chapters of *Ezekiel,* chapters that seemed particularly relevant in those grim years when events seemed to presage the end of the world. However, he found talking to a large audience in church a trying experience that overtaxed his health. After his first years as pope he gave up the practice, but continued to discourse to a smaller group of intimates. He himself listed the books on which he spoke: *Proverbs, Song of Songs,* the books of the prophets, *Kings,* and the Heptateuch. Only the commentary on *1 Kings* and two homilies on *Song of Songs* are extant.

In addition to his scriptural works and his letters, Gregory also wrote a book of dialogues (between himself and his deacon Peter), recounting the miracles performed through God's power in Italy in his own time. The aim of this work was to revive the religious faith of the Roman people, beset at that time by war, plague, and famine. The second book of the *Dialogues* is devoted entirely to one figure, Benedict, the founder of Monte Cassino and author of the Benedictine rule; it embodies the earliest traditions about Benedict, including stories gathered by Gregory from Benedict's own disciples.

His *Regula pastoralis* (Pastoral rule), probably the best known and most used of Gregory's works in the Middle Ages, was the first work of his pontificate. No sooner had he been consecrated in 590 than he set about constructing a standard of conduct for the ideal shepherd of souls. In this one can perhaps perceive an attempt to redefine his own insights as a skilled administrator and negotiator on a level higher than that of practical affairs; that is, on a universal, spiritual plane. Gregory always maintained that if bishops lived up to their true ideal the church of Christ, spread throughout the world, would prosper. In writing the *Regula pastoralis* he sought to instruct himself as well as others.

As the years of his pontificate proceeded, Gregory continued to reflect on the implications of his position as bishop of Rome, a see that claimed preeminence in the church over all other sees, including those that were also patriarchal. Here he reached views that differ markedly from those that later formed the traditional papal attitude. Gregory sought to limit the Roman claim to what he considered its essential elements. He believed that a supreme authority was needed in the church, but only so that things might be put right if they went wrong; if simony were practiced in Gaul or in Alexandria, it was his duty to remonstrate, "but when fault does not intervene, we [bishops] are all equal by reason of humility." Gregory was tireless in underlining the danger of pride and the need for humility in those who govern the church. For this reason, he rejected the title of ecumenical patriarch, not only when applied to the patriarch of Constantinople but also for himself. Ecumenical means universal, and he who is universal has no rivals in rank; on that level, others have no standing. Therefore, he wrote to his friend Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria, "you deny your own standing as bishop when you assert that I am universal as bishop and pope." On the level of custom and usage, including liturgical usage, Gregory did not believe that the Roman see held any monopoly of good things. It is here that he contrasts most markedly with his predecessor Innocent I, who maintained that all the churches in the West needed to follow Roman usage. Gregory's legal training had familiarized him with customary law, and he had observed that good things might be found everywhere. "We should love places because of the good things they possess and not things because of the places from which they come," he wrote to Augustine of Canterbury in his so-called *Libellus responsionum,* urging him to borrow liturgical usages from Gaul as well as from his native Rome for the newly converted Anglo-Saxons. Such a statement fitted into Gregory's larger view that claims to monopoly were detrimental to charity, which was fostered by diversity and interchange. Diversity on the level of custom was allowable and even desirable, as long as unity was always maintained in Christian faith. The medieval papacy would have evolved very differently if Gregory's precepts in these matters had prevailed.

It is now recognized that Gregory the Great had relatively little to do with the sacramentary or with the chant that still bears his name. He unquestionably composed certain prayers and prefaces that eventually found their way into the Roman sacramentary, but these are limited in number, a total of 82 out of 927 formulas. The liturgical traditions associated with Gregory's name go back to Carolingian times and derive from Gregory II rather than Gregory the Great.

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PAUL MEYVAERT (1987)

GREGORY VII (Hildebrand, c. 1020–1085), pope of the Roman Catholic Church (1073–1085). The facts of Hildebrand's youth and education are hazy. He was born in Tuscany, perhaps at Soana, at an undetermined date: c.1015 according to Cowdrey; Blumenthal says 1020/1025. He went to Rome early in his life and became a professed religious. The tradition that Hildebrand was a monk, perhaps at the Benedictine house of Santa Maria del Priorato on the Aventine, is strong, although recently Blumenthal suggested that he was instead a regular canon. For a time he was a student of the learned and exiled Bishop Laurentius of Amalfi, and also was active in the service of Pope Gregory VI (1045–1046), with whom he had a familial connection. In January 1047, Hildebrand accompanied this pontiff into exile in Germany, after Gregory's deposition by Emperor Henry III and the Synod of Sutri (December 1046). That exile is the first precisely datable event in the future pope's life. A later tradition that Hildebrand became a monk at Cluny almost certainly is erroneous, although he may well have stayed in that house for a time before his return south. That return occurred in the company of Bishop Bruno of Toul, who in 1049 journeyed to Rome to become Pope Leo IX (1049–1054).

Leo's pontificate is generally considered to mark the emergence of a reform movement centered on Rome and which became predominant among other initiatives for renewal in the eleventh-century church. Pope Leo brought to Rome a group of reform-minded churchmen from both Italy and the north, and Hildebrand's career developed in conjunction with important individuals such as Peter Damian and Humbert of Moyenmoutier. He was designated by Leo as abbot and rector of the Benedictine house of San Paulo fuori le Mura, and his importance in the evolving administrative operations of the church is seen in his appointment several times in the 1050s as a papal legate north of the Alps. During one such legation, in 1054 in France, Hildebrand presided over a synod at Tours that considered the question of the eucharistic views of Berengar of Tours, whose career would stretch into the 1070s and who would be called to Rome during Gregory's pontificate for an examination of his teachings. It would be a mistake to view Hildebrand as the chief papal adviser at this juncture, but with appointment as archdeacon under Nicholas II (1059–1061), and with the death of Humbert and the election of Alexander II in 1061, his importance grew. During Alexander's long reign he has been considered, perhaps with only slight exaggeration, as the power behind the papal throne.

Alexander II died on April 21, 1073. During the ceremony for his burial Hildebrand was acclaimed by the Roman populace as Alexander's successor. That public display was at variance with the terms of the well-known decree of Pope Nicholas II (1059), which placed the choice of a pope essentially in the hands of the cardinal bishops. In the spring of 1073 public acclaim preceded selection by the cardinals, and this variance with the decree of 1059 later opened Hildebrand to the charge that his elevation to the papacy was illegitimate. He chose the papal name Gregory, probably in honor both of Gregory I, one of the fathers of Latin Christianity and a venerable monastic pope, and of his relative and onetime patron, Gregory VI. Gregory's consecration as bishop of Rome was on June 30, 1073, a date carefully selected for it is the feast day of the two great saints of the Roman church, Peter and Paul.

The significance of Gregory VII's twelve-year reign must be assessed within the framework of the reforming movements underway at the time throughout Latin Christendom. For decades sensitive churchmen had criticized abuses in religious structure and administration. Chief among those problems was simony, the gaining of an ecclesiastical office by means of payment rather than according to canonical norms. Various circles of ecclesiastical reform in the eleventh century were also adamant in condemning sexual incontinence among the higher orders of the clergy. The offensive against simony and clerical sexual activity marked an effort to purify the hierarchy and the sacramental life of the Latin church, and the notion of *puritas ecclesiae* ("purity of the church") became a common reform theme.

From the pontificate of Leo IX, however, and especially from the reign of Nicholas II, the papacy was increasingly in a position of leadership in these efforts to purify the church. Repeatedly, in papal letters, conciliar decrees, and through legatine missions, the Roman church fostered reform, aiming particularly at eradicating the aforementioned abuses. It must be stressed, however, that these initiatives did not involve merely administrative changes in the ecclesiastical structure. The theological and practical importance of the changes being sought reached deep into the religious mentality of Latin Christendom, and had profound effects on eucharistic theology, the cult of saints, attitudes toward property, and the role of laymen in designating appointees to church positions. Concomitant with this evolving reform activity an ecclesiology developed centering on the Roman see. The roots of this doctrine reach deep into the history of Latin Christianity, but from the mid-eleventh century the potential and the prerogatives of the Roman church gained increased attention as reform progressed.

Reform of the church in general and increased visibility and power for the Roman church occurred side by side. This new perception of Roman authority was not, however, the invention of eleventh-century thinkers. The dossiers of claims, traditions, and incidents on which Roman leadership rested reach as far into the past as the New Testament and the so-called Petrine passages (*Mt.* 16:13–19). Popes such as Leo I, Gelasius I, and Gregory I were pivotal figures in antiquity who advanced claims that contributed to the special status of the Roman church and its bishop; and in the ninth century Pope Nicholas I was a vigorous proponent of those claims and that status. Yet in the eleventh century from the reign of Leo IX onward the uniqueness and the authority of Rome was stressed increasingly and with new vigor. As the reformers, now in control of the papal office, sought to promote their aims, the prestige and potential of the Roman church became a vehicle for this strategy. As the reform progressed the theoretical authority believed for centuries to be vested in the Roman church became increasingly real, and attention was given in practice as well as theory to the rights and powers of Rome, its clergy, and its bishop.

Such was the general situation confronting Gregory VII at the beginning of his reign. Given his long association with papal reform, it was to be expected that the initiatives for purity in the church would continue. Yet these policies, along with the pope's strong personality and intense devotion to the Roman church, were on a collision course with events growing out of the final years of the pontificate of Alexander II. King Henry IV of Germany, having reached maturity, was determined to exercise control over affairs within his sphere of influence. At issue specifically were claims to authority in both secular and church matters in important cities in northern Italy, especially in Milan. Thus in the early 1070s Henry supported one candidate for the archbishopric of that city while the papacy supported another. There were two questions. Did Henry have a right to grant churches on his own, to whomever he chose; and could Henry ignore directives about ecclesiastical matters from the Roman church and its bishop?

Historians are fortunate to possess from Gregory VII an official papal register—a unique survival from the eleventh-century papacy—in which the development of events and ideas often can be followed in detail. In the register, under March, 1075, appears a series of twenty-seven epigrammatic statements that were drafted by Gregory and his advisers (the so-called *Dictatus papae*), perhaps as titles for a new canon law collection where texts would have been presented from the canonical tradition to support each proposition. The unusual form and special content of these texts has received much attention from historians, for contained therein is a series of strong statements asserting the superiority of ecclesiastical over secular authority, and the absolute authority of the Roman church and its bishop over all churches and bishops. Here is found, for example, in number 12, the statement that the pope may depose emperors, and in number 27, the claim that the pope may absolve subjects of unjust men from their fealty. From the outset of his reign, therefore, Gregory VII was concerned not only to advance policies to bring about *puritas ecclesiae*, but also, as part of a larger plan, he as eager to define and command obedience to the policies of the Roman church.

The decade between 1075 and Gregory's death in 1085 saw the genesis and development of a church-state controversy between Gregory and Henry that would outlive both leaders. Issues arose about the interaction of the ecclesiastical and secular realms of society that would be debated for centuries. Gregory maintained that he had the right to remove Henry's kingship and to release his subjects from their oaths of loyalty. Henry, on the other hand, claimed that he reigned by the grace of God, not of the pope, and that he possessed the right to control the churches in his realm. Because of what he saw as the indefensible novelty of Gregory's positions he condemned him as a "false monk" and usurper of the papal throne. The battle extended beyond rhetoric and exchanges of letters. In 1076 Gregory excommunicated Henry and forbade him to exercise his royal duties. After a period of complicated diplomatic maneuvering, however, in the early 1080s Henry invaded Italy, drove Gregory from Rome into Norman territory in the south, and installed in his place another pontiff, the so-called antipope, Clement III (Archbishop Wibert of Ravenna). The controversy offers historians compelling vignettes such as the famous episode that occurred in January, 1077, at Canossa in northern Italy. At this crucial stage of the dispute Henry, beleaguered in both Germany and Italy, presented himself to Gregory as a penitent, parading barefoot in the snow to seek forgiveness from the pope. After watching that performance from within the castle for three days, Gregory forgave Henry, and lifted the sentence of excommunication (but probably did not intend to reinstate him as king). What political advantage was gained or lost on each side has been much debated, but Gregory's action in forgiving Henry was the response of a pastor of souls and not of a power-crazed fanatic.

The prohibitions that Gregory formulated against laymen investing individuals with bishoprics and abbeys have been accorded a great deal of attention. In fact, the term Investiture Conflict has sometimes awkwardly been applied to the entire eleventh-century papal reform movement, with the controversy about lay investiture, especially in the German empire, wrongly seen as the cornerstone of Gregory's policy to promote reform. Gregory's decree against lay investiture was probably issued first not in 1075 as once was assumed but only in 1078. The transmission of these rulings must be closely examined to determine the extent to which they were promulgated and applicable at different points throughout Latin Christendom, for the programs of the reformers were not disseminated everywhere in the same manner.

An assessment of Gregory's policies must be given within the general history of the eleventh-century reform and from the perspective of his fascination with and devotion to the Roman church and the papal office. From that perspective the events and the turmoil of his reign appear as outcroppings of a desire to continue the reforming work of his predecessors, and also to establish what he deemed to be the proper order of Christian society. Using the Bible as his chief source, and infused with religious fervor and a deep sense of Roman ecclesiastical possibilities, Gregory believed that the whole world ought to be subject to the leadership of the church, for churchmen were responsible for promoting the kingdom of God on earth and would be held accountable for human souls on judgment day. It was Peter, the founder of the Roman church, to whom Christ gave supreme authority over the terrestrial church, and thus Peter's vicar, the bishop of Rome, was to be obeyed as the supreme authority on earth and must be prime in both ecclesiastical and secular domains. Both realms—the secular (*regnum*) and the religious (*sacerdotium*)—should attend to its own proper duties, but by seeking to do God's will under the headship of the church and ultimately under its chief bishop.

No less than laymen, Gregory expected churchmen to be loyal devotees of Peter and his vicar. The papal office, furthermore, was an awesome responsibility. Gregory believed that it was his divinely enjoined duty not only to protect the church from the stain of abuses such as simony, but also to free it from every distraction that would impede the performance of God's work in the world. The desire for *puritas* blended into a drive for the liberty of the church (*liberts ecclesiae*). It often was necessary, consequently, to instruct and admonish all sectors of society about their duties in the world, and about proper reverence for and obedience to Peter and his successors. Gregory prohibited lay investiture, promoted closer ties between Rome and outlying bishoprics and abbeys, granted detailed powers to papal legates, stressed the need for liturgical harmony with Roman usages, ordered special commissions to investigate the eucharistic teachings of Berengar of Tours, and even proposed early in his pontificate an expedition to the East to beat back the infidel from the Holy Land. Gregory was neither a canon lawyer nor a theologian, although he was concerned with both areas, and he insisted that he was not an innovator. Perhaps he can be understood best as an eleventh-century monk (or regular canon) of intense devotion and energy. He sought to realize what he considered a properly structured Christian society and used the expanded authority of the papal office in his efforts.

At the time of his death in 1085 Gregory was an exile from Rome, driven to southern Italy by Henry IV and an irate Roman populace. He had been deserted by many of his supporters, and many reforming churchmen thought he had gone too far in his battle with Henry. By reason of that battle, however, and because of his powerful personality, Gregory's name has been attached to the entire reform movement of the age, and the term Gregorian Reform is well-known to those who study medieval history. Although his importance is undeniable, the extent to which the cause of church reform was aided or hindered by his pontificate is a complicated issue. Many twelfth-century writers remembered Pope Urban II (1088–1099), not Gregory, as the great figure of the preceding age of reform. Even so, Urban forcefully acknowledged himself to be a disciple of Gregory, although the extent to which Urban is a true "Gregorian" can be debated. As decades passed Gregory would be cited less and less frequently by his successors and by canon lawyers, but the issues that dominated his reign could not be ignored. Because of the claims that Gregory made, particularly those detailing the relation between secular and ecclesiastical authority, medieval church-state relations had been fundamentally altered and could never again be seen as had been the case prior to 1075.

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ROBERT SOMERVILLE (1987 AND 2005)

GREGORY OF CYPRUS (1241–1290), known as Gregory II, was a patriarch of Constantinople. Born in Frankish-occupied Cyprus, Gregory traveled to Ephesus, Nicaea, and finally Constantinople, where he studied under Gregory Akropolites. His exceptional proclivity toward humanism gained for him a place in the select circle of academicians at the patriarchal school where he lectured on the Pauline letters. As one of the more creative personalities of the late thirteenth century, he was the very embodiment of the Paleologian renaissance that synthesized a renewal of ascetic spirituality and classical learning.

Upon his ascendancy to the patriarchate in 1283, Gregory inherited the political and religious problems that had been festering since the Fourth Crusade (1204) and the Council of Lyons (1274). Under the aggressive unionist attempts of Emperor Michael VIII and Patriarch John XI Beccus (r. 1275–1282), these issues became entangled with the *filioque* controversy.

The Synod of Blachernae (spring 1285) proved to be a short-lived victory for Gregory in his efforts to reconcile the Arsenites (the hard-line conservatives) with the unionists. The importance of this synod, however, was, by way of its condemnation of Beccus, its reaction to and rejection of the 1274 Roman formulation. Gregory's role was pivotal because of his synodal paper *(Tome)*, which, however, was not subsequently recognized for what it was—the definitive refutation of Beccus's theological innovation. Gregory's subsequent writings (among them the *Pittakion,* which was addressed to his benefactor and supporter, Andronicus II Palaeologus) constitute a defense of his stand against the *filioque.*

Gregory's theological contribution offered an insightful solution to the *filioque* debate. Rather than being one of provisional accommodation (Beccus) or of rigorous adherence to the formulations of Photios and Athanasius, his solution worked out the implications of the Cappadocians and of John of Damascus on the procession of the Holy Spirit. For Gregory, it was not enough to accept the authenticity of a particular scriptural or patristic reference; its correct interpretation was essential as well.

Gregory addressed Photios's thesis that the Spirit eternally proceeds from the Father alone by raising the question of the relationship of the Spirit and the Son outside of time, as expressed in the formula "through the Son." His argument distinguishes between the essence and energies of God, or between God's unknowability and his perceivable manifestation in the world. By emphasizing the notion of energetic revelation in Greek patristic thought, Gregory remained, indeed, in the mainstream of Byzantine apophatism and also became the forerunner of fourteenth-century Palamite theology.

The impact of Gregory's insights on the Palamite synthesis as well as his solution to the *filioque* debate is increasingly recognized by scholars as being far more valuable and genuine than the theology of unionism. Unfortunately, Gregory's contemporaries, unlike his successors, did not share the same sentiments toward their prelate. Even though they tacitly accepted his orthodoxy, they insisted that he resign and solemnly removed his name from the hierarchical list of the *sunodikon.* Was his self-imposed abdication from the patriarchate the most prudent action to take against a small yet influential band of opponents? That he did so proves not his weakness but his pastoral sensitivity to the importance of healing the political divisions that had torn the church during his lifetime.

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JOHN TRAVIS (1987)

GREGORY OF DATEV (1346–1410), or, in Armenian, Grigor Tatevatsi, was a Christian theologian, philosopher, and saint of the Armenian church. Gregory of Datev was born in Tʿmkaberd, a city in the province of Vayots Dsor, in northeastern Armenia. At the age of fifteen, he entered the Monastery of Aprakunikʿ to study under the famous philosopher and theologian Hovhannes of Orotʿn (1315–1388), with whom he remained for twenty-eight years. With his teacher, Gregory traveled in 1373 to Jerusalem, where he was ordained a celibate priest. He received the degree of doctor of the church in Erzinka (present-day Erzincan, eastern Turkey) and in 1387 was elevated to the rank of supreme doctor of the church at the Monastery of Aprakunikʿ. At the death of Hovhannes and upon his express wish, Gregory became the dean of the theological school, which in 1390 moved to the Monastery of Datev.

In addition to classical Greek philosophy, biblical exegesis, and both Greek and Latin patristic thought, Gregory's students were also introduced to music, calligraphy, and the art of painting illuminated manuscripts. An erudite thinker, Gregory knew Greek, Latin, and Arabic. He died at the Monastery of Datev at the age of sixty-four and was buried there, where his tomb lies to this day. Venerated by following generations as "Second Illuminator," "eternally shining sun," "heavenly champion," and "great teacher," Gregory of Datev dominated the thought and orientation of the Armenian church in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as monk, author, educator, theologian, philosopher, scientist, orator, apologist, painter, calligrapher, and polyglot.

Well versed in the scholastic manner of demonstration, Gregory used syllogistic argumentation throughout his works with the intention of eventually manifesting the orthodoxy of the Armenian church against the unitive attempts of Rome. His most important theological tracts are *Girkʿ Hartsmants* (Book of questions; 1397) and *Oskepʿorik* (Book of golden content; 1407). In these Gregory addresses himself to such topics as the Holy Trinity, the divinity of Christ, and Christ's birth, baptism, death, and resurrection. In *Oskepʿorik,* Gregory taught that rational examination can prove the existence of God without recourse to faith, because the existence of creatures implies the reality of the creator. In this work he also formulated a profession of the Orthodox faith based on the creeds of the councils of Nicaea and Constantinople and included the teachings of the Armenian church and its early fathers, especially Gregory the Illuminator (c. 239–c. 326). In continuous use, this credo is recited also during ordination ceremonies by the ordinand.

Criticizing Plato, Gregory taught in his *About the Structure of Man* that the spirit does not exist prior to the corporeal (body or matter) nor apart from it but issues concurrently and works through the mechanisms that the corporeal provides. There are different types of spirit—the vegetative, the animal, and the rational. Through the initiative of God, the corporeal, whether body or matter, contains "formative power" or spirit, which is immortal, and which has heat, motion, and action. According to Gregory, faith and science do not exclude each other but belong properly to two different realms. Science is bereft of the means to consider the supernatural realm and by faith alone one cannot understand nature. Knowledge of the natural world is acquired through reason, training, and experience (by way of the five senses). The rational spirit of humankind is like a clean parchment and receives whatever is impressed on it, whereas through God's grace one can understand theological truths.

An industrious writer, Gregory produced twenty-eight volumes on biblical, liturgical, pastoral, theological, and philosophical topics. Most of his works have not had a comprehensive critical evaluation. Such a task would enhance the proper understanding of the beliefs of the Armenian church through the writings of one of its most loyal sons.

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AVAK ASADOURIAN (1987)

GREGORY OF NAREK (c. 945–c. 1010), or, in Armenian, Grigor Narekatsi, was a Christian mystic, poet, and saint of the Armenian church. Gregory was born in the village of Narek in the region of Vaspourakan (present-day Van, eastern Turkey). His father, Khosrov Antsevatsi, bishop of the nearby province of Antsevatsikʿ, built a monastery, where Gregory obtained his elementary schooling. He continued his education in the Monastery of Narek, where after ordination he spent the remainder of his life.

The rulers of the kingdom of Vaspourakan favored ties with Byzantium. Consequently, the Monastery of Narek trained its novices in the trivium and quadrivium, having incorporated the syllabi used in the educational centers throughout the Eastern Christian empire. Thus Gregory was well versed in Greek philosophy, especially in the thought of Plato, Aristotle, and the Neoplatonic school, which by the tenth century had been clothed in Christian garb. Gregory was also well read in the Armenian church fathers of the fourth through seventh centuries and was familiar with the thought of Ignatius of Antioch, the Cappadocian fathers, and Chrysostom.

Gregory's major work, the *Book of Lamentation,* popularly known as *Narek,* is a prayer book still much venerated. In it the penitent is made aware of the total otherness of God and of humanity's utter dependence on God, who is the source of all reality. The *Book of Lamentation* is an analysis of Gregory's own spiritual progress, realized through a fundamental knowledge of Christ and a radical knowledge of himself as sinner. The work also exhibits detailed knowledge of the scriptures and familiarity with agriculture, architecture, mathematics, astronomy, nautical art, and medicine. Among his other literary achievements are twenty-one hymns, or odes; four panegyrical orations, containing historical accounts of the era; and ten discourses, actually spiritual songs, consisting of invocations and supplications. Of special interest is the historical information these discourses contain concerning the stratification of society during the times of Gregory.

Gregory was and remains the mystic of the Armenian church. Central to his mysticism is the belief in a cathartic process that ultimately would lead humankind to a reacquisition of divine similitude, or the likeness of God. The mysticism espoused by Gregory is a uniquely human undertaking whereby humanity tries to encounter God. To meet the Almighty, humanity must rid itself of transgressions. In order to encounter God, who transcends all being and all knowledge, it becomes necessary to renounce all sense gathered through the workings of reason. This apophatic approach to knowledge of God takes the form of negating all meaning in order to emphasize the absolute unknowability of God. According to Gregory, God is incomprehensible, invisible, ineffable, beyond totality, unspeakable, unobservable, without beginning, and without time.

Gregory, however, also embraced the cataphatic approach to God by stressing God's actions in history, which manifest God's love and concern for humankind. In the *Commentary on the Song of Songs of Solomon,* Gregory emphasizes the parallelism between the union of Yahveh with Israel and the marriage of the incarnate Logos with the church. As the Lord of compassion and mercy, the Christian God is distinctly a God of action, that is, a living God. Gregory began all his prayers by declaring, "from the depth of heart, a conversation with God."

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AVAK ASADOURIAN (1987)

GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS (c. 329–c. 391) was one of the Cappadocian fathers, known to Christian tradition as "the Theologian" by virtue of his rhetorical erudition and the consummate skill with which he combated the perceived heresies of those who in any way detracted from or denied the validity of the established orthodoxy of his day. One of those "heretics" was his own father, Gregory the

Elder, who in his youth had been a member of an obscure but apparently popular sect known as the Hypsistarii. But inasmuch as his father was later converted to orthodoxy and subsequently consecrated bishop, his son could say of him that he was one whose "character anticipates their faith" (Oration 18) and that he was "well grafted out of the wild olive tree into the good one" (Or. 7). It was by his mother, Nonna, however, that Gregory was to be most enduringly influenced, for it was she who, by her tears and by her prayers, persuaded him to embrace the ascetic life. Gregory said of her, "Who had a greater love of virginity, though patient herself of the marriage bond?" (Or. 18). Gregory was one of three children; Gorgonia, his older sister ("One red tint was dear to her, the blush of modesty," Or. 8), and a younger brother, Caesarius ("Neither by his fame [as a physician] nor by the luxury which surrounded him was his nobility of soul corrupted," Or. 7), both predeceased Gregory. The funeral orations Gregory preached for his sister and brother remain classics of their genre, panegyrics of the most elaborate sort.

Gregory's education was undertaken at Cappadocian Caesarea, at Palestinian Caesarea, at Alexandria, and finally at Athens. Upon completion of these extensive studies, Gregory had hoped to retire to a life of contemplative solitude ("with no contact with human affairs except when necessary," Or. 2), but this desire was thwarted when his father, now a bishop, ordained him priest and set him on the stormy road of pastoral and ecclesiastical responsibilities. The "tyranny" he experienced at his father's hand was repeated when his close friend Basil of Caesarea consecrated him suffragan bishop of the "exceptionally abominable and narrow little village" (Or. 10) of Sasima. Upon his father's death, however, Gregory returned to Nazianzus to pursue what he hoped would be a quiet and undisturbed episcopate.

This was not to be so. During the "heretical" emperor Valens's reign, the Arian party had gained strength, so Gregory was (again reluctantly) persuaded to go to Constantinople, the capital city, and preach on behalf of the outnumbered "orthodox." Arius and his followers had called into question the eternal divinity of Christ (a dogma that the Council of Nicaea, in 325, had promulgated in direct opposition to Arius), while others had denied the full divinity of the Holy Spirit. Such views offended Gregory deeply, so he set out in a series of five long discourses, commonly known as his *Theological Orations* (Or. 27–31), to articulate, with both depth of learning and clarity of thought, what he believed to be the true doctrine of the Trinity. The core of his teaching consisted in his assertion that the salvation of humankind is possible only if the agents of that salvation (i.e., Father, Son, and Holy Spirit) share fully in the divinity of the one godhead. Defending the so-called Nicene faith against its Arian detractors, however, took its toll on Gregory, as did his other episcopal duties, including his unwilling participation in ecclesiastical politics. It is no surprise, then, that during the Council of Constantinople in 381 (where many of his views were adopted) he retired to the contemplative life that he had so fervently desired from the beginning.

But Gregory's retirement years, as his extant letters clearly indicate, were far from idle. Chief among his concerns during this period of his life was yet another "heresy," this time authored by Apollinaris, bishop of Laodicea. In an attempt to solve the question of how the Son of God (or Word) could become incarnate in the human Jesus, Apollinaris suggested that the Word (Gr., *logos*) took the place of Jesus' mind (or rational faculty), thus ensuring the unity of the incarnate person and also implying that everything Jesus did or said could be attributed to divine authorship. Gregory, in three closely argued dogmatic letters (101, 102, 202), called this a "mindless" Christology, insisting—again, out of a concern for the need for salvation and for humanity's ultimate goal of union with God—that "only that which is assumed [i.e., by the Logos] can be saved." It must be the whole person, the mind included, that was assumed by the Word at the time of the incarnation, if the whole person is to be saved. If the whole person is not assumed, then salvation itself is imperiled. Gregory's powerful and incisive arguments won the day, and Apollinaris's bold attempts to explain the incomprehensible were condemned.

If Gregory were to be remembered, within the relatively narrow confines of the history of doctrine, only as "the Theologian," and if he were understood solely as the defender of true faith against heretical encroachments, it would be doing him an injustice. As important as his Christological and Trinitarian concepts were to the debates of his day, his more enduring (and often overlooked) significance may lie elsewhere. Caught, as he was, between the desire for solitary retirement ("For me the greatest business is to be free of business," Epistle 49) and his vehement dislike of ecclesiastical and political machinations ("For my part . . . my inclination is to avoid all assemblies of bishops, because I have never seen a council come to a good end or turn out to be a solution for evils," Ep. 130), he nevertheless manifested in his own person a delicate balance between a genuine concern for his fellow Christians' spiritual well-being and an intuitive grasp of those divine mysteries that transcend logical or rational boundaries. This balance is seen less in his exclusively doctrinal discourses than in his poetry, for it is in the latter that one glimpses a sensitivity at once aesthetic and mystical.

While Gregory's orations address theological issues with precision and directness, his poems—many of them no less theological—are less rigid, more given to deep self-understanding and to a broad, inclusive generosity of spirit. Gregory may be one of the earliest Christian theologians to realize, instinctively, that poetry is a more appropriate medium for theological articulation than is prose, however well ordered, systematic, and architectonic that prose might be. He would have delighted, one dares suppose, in the claim of the nineteenth-century Scottish poet John Campbell Shairp that "whenever we come face to face with truth then poetry begins." It is as if Gregory's dogmatic discourses were true to his (albeit grudging) acceptance of the ecclesial responsibilities laid on him, whereas his poems gave voice to his capacity for a deep inner awareness of his relationship to God, a relationship of which both his constancy in ascetic discipline and his unending search after truth were genuine symbols. The balance, then, between theological precision in the interests of orthodoxy and his poetic sensitivities was, for Gregory, perhaps more of a tension than a balance. Yet he had a vision of the future state in which the balance would be restored and the tension resolved. And this he could express both poetically and theologically:

> No longer from afar will I behold the truth,
> As if in a mirror reflected on the water's surface.
> Rather, the truth itself will I see with eyes unveiled,
> The truth whose first and primary mark the Trinity is,
> God as One adored, a single light in tri-equal beams.

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DONALD F. WINSLOW (1987)

GREGORY OF NYSSA (c. 335–c. 395), also known as Gregory Nyssen, was a Christian theologian. With his elder brother, Basil of Caesarea (c. 329–379), and Basil's lifelong friend, Gregory of Nazianzus (c. 329–c. 391), Gregory of Nyssa was a principal architect and interpreter both of the trinitarian settlement canonized by the ecumenical Council of Constantinople (381) and, in his later years, of the ascetic and mystical tradition of Eastern monasticism.

Little is known of the details of Gregory's life. The child of an aristocratic Christian family of Cappadocia, he had two bishops among his brothers, while his elder sister, Macrina, whose biography is numbered among his works, was a noted and saintly ascetic. Destined for an ecclesiastical career, Gregory was early made a lector in the church and was educated in the local schools at Caesarea, thus missing the opportunity to study, as Basil had, at one or more of the great cosmopolitan centers of learning. Nevertheless, Gregory decided in favor of marriage (with a woman named Theosebeia) and the career of a professional rhetorician, which he took up in earnest around 365.

Gregory's first known work was the treatise *On Virginity,* which he wrote in defense of the ascetic life, apparently at the behest of Basil. Shortly after its composition, Basil, now the metropolitan bishop of Caesarea, found himself badly in need of episcopal allies in his struggle with the Arian orthodoxy of the imperial court. Accordingly, he induced Gregory to be ordained bishop of Nyssa (371), a small town on the river Halys, some eighty miles northwest of Caesarea. The job fit neither Gregory's tastes nor his talents, but he carried on until a synod of Arian bishops, assembled at Nyssa in his absence, deposed him (376) on a charge of maladministration of funds.

The year 379, which saw both the death of Basil and the accession of an anti-Arian, pro-Nicene emperor in the person of Theodosius I, marked a turning point in Gregory's life. For one thing, it raised him to prominence in the life of the church: He was chosen (though by his own choice he did not long remain) the metropolitan bishop of Sebaste in Armenia I; he figured prominently at the Council of Constantinople in 381; and he functioned as a regular "special preacher" in Theodosius's capital.

More important still, Gregory, on the death of Basil, took up the cudgels against his brother's principal theological opponent, the radical Arian Eunomius. In all he composed four treatises entitled *Against Eunomius* during the years 380–383. His continuation of his brother's work in the debate with Arianism was paralleled by his completion of Basil's exegetical homilies on the creation story of *Genesis* 1. To this end Gregory wrote a lengthy treatise, *On the Making of Man,* many of whose themes and issues are echoed in his contemporary *Dialogue on the Soul and the Resurrection,* which he presents as a conversation between himself and his dying sister Macrina. In all of these works Gregory exhibits a remarkable knowledge not only of the Origenist tradition in Christian theology, which Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus had "rediscovered," but also of pagan philosophy in the Neoplatonic idiom; and his indebtedness to these traditions is not the less obvious because he is critically aware of the problems they created for Christian theology.

In his defense of the orthodoxy of the Nicene tradition (i.e., of the doctrine that Son and Spirit are "of one being" with God), Gregory insists, with Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus, that the three hypostases of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit share a single being or substance (*ousia*): Each is all that the others are. Furthermore, every action or operation of God is one in which all three hypostases share: As there is one divine being, so there is one divine *energeia.* What differentiates the "persons" is solely the relations of causation or origination in which they stand to one another. God appears in Gregory's thought as a single being that is articulated through relations of strict self-reproduction.

In taking this stand, Gregory repudiated the Arian hierarchy of divine hypostases, which established the identity of the Son, or Word, and the Spirit by insisting that they were things of a different (and inferior) order in relation to God, mediating between God and world. The fundamental error in this Arian position, as Gregory saw it, lay in the belief that the being of God is definable and hence limited: that Son and Spirit can be distinguished from God because their definitions are different from God's. He insists, on the contrary, that no human words or ideas grasp the *ousia* of God, which is infinite and illimitable Good; and for this reason the distinction of Father, Son, and Spirit belongs not to the order of being but to that of cause or relation.

This doctrine of the divine infinity is closely related to a central anthropological theme that appears in Gregory's treatise *On the Making of Man* as well as in certain of his later ascetic works. As might be expected in one whose thought was so closely allied to Platonist and Christian-Platonist traditions, Gregory, like Origen before him, has difficulties about the bodily dimension of the human being. On this score he corrects Origen by insisting that soul and body come simultaneously into being and that embodiment is no product of a previous fall. Nevertheless he makes this critical move with a caution that reveals his sympathy with Origen's deprecation of the body. Where he corrects Origen most firmly is in the latter's treatment of human finitude and mutability. For Gregory, mutability, the capacity for unending change, is the characteristic of the human creature that corresponds to divine infinity and incomprehensibility. It is envisaged not primarily as the ever-present possibility of departure from God, but even more as the condition of eternal progress into the infinite Good—Gregory's definition of salvation.

These theological themes are developed in Gregory's later ascetic writings (especially in his *Life of Moses* and his fifteen *Homilies on the Song of Songs*) into the beginnings of a mystical doctrine that is closely integrated with his understanding of baptism and the life that it initiates. For him the processes of moral purification and spiritual illumination come to no final end precisely because there is no end to the Good that they seek. They issue, as did Moses' pilgrimage, in an entrance into "the cloud" that symbolizes divine incomprehensibility and infinity. In Gregory's spiritual teaching, therefore, there is an anticipation of the path that apophatic mysticism was to take in the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite.

SEE ALSO Basil of Caesarea; Gregory of Nazianzus.

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RICHARD A. NORRIS (1987)

GREGORY OF SINAI (d. 1347) was an ascetic and mystic canonized by the Eastern Orthodox church. The Greek church commemorates his life on February 11 and the Slavic churches on August 8. Much of the life and writings of this great church father is known from the life composed by his disciple Kallistos I, patriarch of Constantinople.

Born in Asia Minor, Gregory took his monastic vows on Mount Sinai. After travels to Cyprus and Crete he came to Mount Athos. Disturbed to find the holy men of Athos in ignorance of true silence and contemplation, he undertook to instruct both monks and solitaries in the contemplative art. Further travels took him to Constantinople and to Thrace, where he founded monasteries and taught the techniques of mental prayer.

Gregory did not write extensively. Most of his works are concerned with mental prayer and hesychasm, the spiritual life of inner wakefulness. He taught that through obedience, mourning, tears, and the power of pure contemplation the mind is cleansed and led to a vision of the "uncreated light" of God. Spiritual perfection is finally achieved in deification (*theōsis*).

The contemplative art practiced and taught by Gregory is known as "prayer of the heart." In his *Instructions to Hesychasts* he describes a method whereby the mind is forced to descend from head to heart and is then held in repeated invocation of the name of Jesus Christ. Mental prayer is thus remembrance of God through a pure and imageless contemplation. He urged his disciples to keep their minds "colorless, formless, and imageless" and emphasized the use of such physical aids as rhythmic breathing for attainment of inner stillness. But, because human effort alone cannot accomplish meditative union, he urged that "no one can hold the mind by himself, if it be not held by the Spirit." As humans work at prayer, the prayer works in them, and the mind rejoices with the presence of the Holy Spirit and is strengthened in its striving for perfection.

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GEORGE S. BEBIS (1987)

GREGORY PALAMAS (1296–1359) was the most important Orthodox theologian of the fourteenth century and one of the greatest theologians in the history of the Orthodox church. Raised in the Byzantine imperial court, he later became a monk and wrote important theological works that refer primarily to the experience of communion with God. He was elected archbishop of Thessalonica and immediately following his death was recognized as a saint of the Orthodox church. Gregory's memory is celebrated twice per year: on November 14, the day of his death, and on the second Sunday of Lent. This second celebration, which serves in effect as an extension of the Sunday of Orthodoxy, reveals the special importance the Orthodox church attaches to his person and teachings.

The works of Gregory Palamas summarize the entire earlier patristic tradition, offering it in a new synthesis that has as its central theme the *theōsis* (deification) of humanity. This *theōsis* is realized through the participation of humankind in the uncreated energies of God. For this reason, the rejection of the uncreated energies of God, which has as a consequence the rejection of the possibility for humankind to achieve *theōsis,* was not considered by Palamas to be merely another typical Christian heresy but rather the summarization of all heresies, and, ultimately, the negation of the God who is revealed in the scriptures and the church.

Gregory was born in 1296 in Constantinople. When he was seven years old he lost his father, Constantine, but he continued to reside in the imperial court in Constantinople under the protection of the emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus. He received a rich education there, particularly in philosophy. Even though the emperor had destined him for high public office, the young Gregory had become increasingly occupied with ascetic practices and noetic prayer, and he eventually chose to enter the monastic life. At the age of twenty, he left with his two younger brothers for the monastic center of Mount Athos. He remained there first with a hesychast in the vicinity of Vatopediou Monastery, then as a member of the *koinobion* (brotherhood) of the great monastery of the Lavra, and finally in the hermitage of Glossia.

In 1325, Turkish incursions compelled him and other monks to leave the Holy Mountain. While on a visit to Thessalonica, he was ordained a priest; he left soon after for Beroea, where he lived for five years at a hermitage outside the city, under even more austere conditions of asceticism. In 1331, Serbian raids became a serious threat, and he was forced to abandon Beroea and return to Mount Athos. Resuming again the hesychast life, he resided for the most part at the hermitage of Saint Sabbas, near the great monastery of the Lavra, except for one year, during which he served as abbot of the monastery of Esphigmenou.

It was at Saint Sabbas that Gregory first was exposed to the antihesychast opinions of Barlaam of Calabria, a monk and philosopher of Greek ancestry from southern Italy. While representing the Orthodox church during preparatory discussions with papal legates on the question of church union during the years 1333–1334, Barlaam had refuted the *filioque* by invoking the unapproachability and unknowability of God. The agnostic character of Barlaam's theology disturbed many Orthodox theologians, including Gregory. He composed his *Apodictic Treatises concerning the Procession of the Holy Spirit* (1335) without, however, ever referring to Barlaam by name. It was the attack of Barlaam against the ascetic method of the hesychasts that eventually provoked an open rift between him and Gregory. Relying on simplistic and incomplete information concerning the psychosomatic method of prayer used by the hesychasts, Barlaam assailed them in the most severe terms, characterizing them as *omphalopsuchoi* ("men with their souls in their navels") and as Massalians, a heretical group that claimed salvation is obtained only through the power of prayer and not through the sacraments of the church. The defense of the hesychasts was undertaken by Gregory. It was for this purpose that he wrote his famous work *Triads in Defense of the Holy Hesychasts* (c. 1338). The positions taken by Gregory were approved from the beginning by the church. They were sanctioned as well by various synodal decisions, which have a special importance for Orthodoxy.

The first official recognition of Gregory's teachings, with a parallel condemnation of the views of Barlaam, came about through the approval of the *Hagioretic Tome,* which Gregory himself wrote in 1340 and which was signed by representatives of the monasteries of Mount Athos. In June 1341, a council was convened in Constantinople that condemned the positions taken by Barlaam, who confessed his error and finally was compelled to return to the West.

The definitive resolution of the debate was delayed, however, by the untimely death of the emperor, Andronicus III Palaeologus, which occurred immediately following the conclusion of the work of the council and before he had had a chance to sign its decisions. The situation was complicated by the political controversy that soon arose over the question of the imperial succession and that led to a civil war. Thus, a new period of struggle began for Gregory, a struggle that lasted until 1347. His new opponent was Gregory Akindynos. During this period, when the strong man in Constantinople was Patriarch John Calecas, Gregory was banished, imprisoned, and excommunicated from the church (1344), while his adversary Akindynos, who had already been condemned by the church for his views (August 1341), was gradually restored to prominence and even ordained a priest. Calecas's tactic, however, eventually undermined his position. Anne of Savoy, mother of the underaged emperor John V Palaeologus, had set Gregory free. A new council, convened at the beginning of 1347, condemned Patriarch Calecas at the same time that the victorious John VI Cantacuzenus was entering the city as coemperor. The patriarchal throne was assumed by the hesychast Isidore, and Gregory was elected archbishop of Thessalonica. However, the zealots, who were occupying Thessalonica and who refused to recognize the legitimacy of Cantacuzenus, prevented the new bishop from entering his see. Thus, Gregory only formally undertook his pastoral responsibilities at the beginning of 1350, after Cantacuzenus had captured that city as well.

Gregory's first act as archbishop of Thessalonica was to reestablish peace within his flock. In the meantime, he had to contend with a new attack against the hesychasts, this time from the Byzantine humanist Nikephoros Gregoras. A new council, called in Constantinople in 1351, decided once again in favor of Gregory and reconfirmed his teachings, especially those having to do with the distinction between essence and energy in God. In 1354, while traveling to Constantinople, Gregory was captured by the Turks and remained their prisoner for approximately one year in Turkish-occupied areas of Asia Minor. There he had the opportunity to come into contact with local Christian communities, as well as to converse with Muslim theologians. After the payment of a ransom, he was set free by the Turks. While passing through Constantinople, he held public debates with Nikephoros Gregoras, against whom he also composed several new treatises. In 1355 he returned to Thessalonica, where he continued his pastoral work. He died on November 14, 1359.

Gregory left numerous writings, which are preserved in many manuscript codices. For the most part, these have been published. His dogmatic and apologetic writings include the *Apodictic Treatises,* in which Gregory propounds his compromise with the Latin teaching on the *filioque* by stating that the Holy Spirit, who proceeds eternally from the Father, is poured out on the faithful also from the Son. In his *Triads* he discusses the value of secular studies, various aspects of prayer (including the participation of the human body in prayer and the vision of the uncreated light), and the impossibility of participation in the imparticipable essence of God. Finally, the *Hagioretic Tome* presents God's unfolding revelation and the need for obedience to the saints who have had the experience of the mystical energies of the Holy Spirit.

Gregory's writings on the spiritual life include *The Life of Peter the Athonite* (1334); *One Hundred and Fifty Physical, Theological, Moral and Practical Chapters* (1347), in which basic dogmatic, anthropological, moral, and ascetic themes are presented; *To Xeni* (1345), which analyzes the anthropological and theological presuppositions of the spiritual life; and *Exposition of the Decalogue,* a synopsis of Christian morality. Most of the sixty-three homilies of Gregory that have survived were preached during his tenure as archbishop of Thessalonica. These sermons help to reveal the multifaceted personality of Gregory—his lively interest in the spiritual uplifting of his flock, as well as his concern for peace, social justice, and the everyday problems of the faithful. Some of these homilies, such as the sixteenth and the fifty-third, are complete theological treatises. Most of his letters have been preserved, as well as numerous other theological treatises.

The theology of Gregory has an empirical character. The prophets, the apostles, and the fathers of the church based their theology on the experience of the revelation of God within history. However, true theology is also organically combined with the vision of God; it is the fruit and expression of this vision.

The vision of God is possible because God, who is unapproachable and imparticipable according to his essence, becomes accessible to human beings through his uncreated grace or energy. To have the vision of God, a person must cleanse his or her heart from the stain of sin. Before the incarnation of Christ, the uncreated grace of God illumined the just from without. After the incarnation, God is united to humankind through the sacrament of the Eucharist and is manifested as light within one's inner being—provided that the person has tried, through prayerful contemplation, to collect his or her Nous (intellect), which is usually distracted by the things of this world, and to cleanse it from sin. This interpretation of the theory of the uncreated light can be found not only among the hesychast monks, but, more generally, in the teaching of the Orthodox church regarding the renewal and *theōsis* (deification) of humanity. By participating in the uncreated grace or energy of God, humankind becomes itself a god by grace. The experience of *theōsis* begins already in this life and is fulfilled in the kingdom of God. Christ, who is the Son of God become man and who came into the world as the brother of all human beings, is at the same time also the father of all in the faith, who leads them into the eternal and everlasting glory of the kingdom of God: "for in the glory of the Father, Christ is come, and in the glory of their Father Christ, the righteous shine as the sun and will become light and see light, the pleasing and all-holy vision which is only accessible to the purified heart" (Christou, ed., vol. 1, p. 599).

The influence of the theology of Gregory on Eastern Orthodoxy remains historically important. His tradition of theology served as the best source of counsel for the life of the Orthodox during the dark period of Turkish domination. His teaching, as well as the hesychast tradition, was propagated not only within the bounds of the Byzantine Empire but also throughout the entire Orthodox world, giving new inspiration to ascetic and ecclesiastical life. The basic principles of Palamite theology, revived in the early twentieth century by the publication of more of his works as well as numerous studies, has become the starting point for the renewal of Orthodox theology and spiritual life, which, during recent centuries, has sustained intense influence from the West.

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GEORGIOS I. MANTZARIDIS (1987)
Translated from Greek by Christopher H. Bender

GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR

GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR was the chief bishop of Armenia from circa 314 to 325, one of the major saints of the Armenian church, and author of the conversion of the Armenian people to Christianity. Information about him derives mainly from two fifth-century sources, Agathangelos's *History of the Armenians* and the Greek *Life of Gregory.*

According to Agathangelos's legendary account, Gregory was the son of the Parthian prince Anak who killed his kinsman King Khosrov of Armenia. The Armenians retaliated by killing Anak's family, Gregory being the sole survivor. He was taken to Caesarea Mazaca (modern Kayseri, Turkey), where he was raised a Christian. There he married a Christian woman with whom he had two sons. He entered the service of King Tiridates III of Armenia (298–330), accompanying him to Greater Armenia in 298 when the Romans restored the king to the throne of his ancestors. Gregory's refusal to offer sacrifice to the idol of the goddess Anahita provoked the king to torture him and condemn him to imprisonment in the Khor Virap ("deep pit") of Artashat. There Gregory miraculously survived for thirteen years until he was released to cure the king of a severe ailment. Succeeding in his mission, Gregory converted the king, the royal family, and the army, and set out to proselytize the Armenian nation. He destroyed six major shrines of the prevailing deities of ancient Armenia, erected crosses throughout the country, and built baldachins over the graves of the forty Christian virgins martyred by Tiridates III.

About 314 Gregory received episcopal ordination in Caesarea. Returning to Armenia, he destroyed the pagan shrine at Ashtishat and founded the first church in Armenia. Tradition reports that he baptized the entire Armenian nation in the waters of the Arsenias River, built several churches, founded monasteries, and ordained bishops. Finally, after handing over his episcopal duties to his younger son, Aristakes, he retired to a solitary life. The office of the chief bishop of Armenia became intermittently hereditary in his family until 439. The cult of Gregory and the veneration of his relics became popular in the second half of the fifth and especially in the sixth and seventh centuries.

The Armenian tradition ascribes to Gregory the authorship of canons, a book of homilies (the *Yachakhapatum*), and the liturgical books that are used in the Armenian church. Modern scholarship, however, has shown that none of these works could have been composed before the fifth century.

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KRIKOR H. MAKSOUDIAN (1987)

GRIAULE, MARCEL.

GRIAULE, MARCEL. Marcel Griaule (1898–1956) was a pioneer of French ethnographic research in Africa, an emblematic figure of French ethnography, and a catalyst to the emerging discipline's professionalization. After serving in World War I as an air force pilot, he obtained a degree in living Oriental languages (Amharic and Gueze) before studying with sociologist Marcel Mauss. Griaule was among the first ethnographers trained by the Institute of Ethnology at the Sorbonne, and his career paralleled every stage of the discipline's development. An energetic promoter of innovative technological aids, Griaule introduced the ethnographic film. He also founded the Société des Africanistes and its journal. In 1942, he was named the first chair of ethnology at the University of Paris. Like the discipline itself, Griaule's career took progressive distance from colonial interests. As an advisor to the French Union and the president of France's Commission on Cultural Affairs, Griaule championed respect for African culture and criticized the politics of cultural assimilation.

In the first ten years of his career, Griaule led the principal French ethnographic expeditions to Africa. His first expedition was a year-long mission to Ethiopia in 1928, but his most celebrated journey was the Dakar-Djibouti mission. Over twenty-one months (1931–1933), it traversed sub-Saharan Africa from the Atlantic to the Red Sea. Enthusiastically followed by the French press, the mission also forged links with the literary and artistic avant-garde. Griaule gathered an imposing ethnographic harvest—more than 3,600 objects to enrich the holdings of the Trocadéro Museum, plus thousands of photographs, films, and recordings.

During this mission Griaule encountered the Dogon at the bend of the Niger River. Favoring intensive study of individual societies, Griaule and his colleagues subsequently made regular expeditions to pursue research on Dogon culture as a team. A sense of urgency to archive and safeguard disappearing cultures provoked a method of collaborative interdisciplinary investigation. Teamwork provided multiple accounts of an event for analysis, and also enabled the same cultural phenomenon to be considered from various frames of expertise, a factor Griaule termed "plural observation." Splicing observations into a "synoptic account" verified by informants, the method purportedly reconstructed a "typical" instance, purged of modifications that would destroy what Griaule called "its ideal harmony" (Jolly, 2001, p. 164). Griaule progressively extended his team to include "native collaborators," whom he described as "precious auxiliary." The project, beginning in 1935 and spanning five decades, made the Dogon one of the best-known societies on the continent.

In the initial period of his career, Griaule avoided infusing explanation into data, and he approached the ethnographic object as the only reliable "witness" to a society's meanings. Minute documentation characterized his doctoral thesis, which produced two outstanding works, a study of masks, *Masques dogons* (1938), and games, *Jeux dogons* (1938).

Deprived of the opportunity for fieldwork for six years during World War II, Griaule elaborated his theory of mythology as an "ordered system" reflected in social organization. His return to Africa in 1946 reinforced this shift. At the behest of Dogon elders, a blind old sage, Ogotemmêli, was charged with revealing to Griaule a deeper, esoteric level of mythological knowledge, reserved for initiates. This postwar phase of Griaule's career was therefore governed by dialogue and a new conception of the ethnographic inquiry as initiation. Griaule focused his research on the complex cosmogony Ogotemmêli expounded, asserting it amounted to "a metaphysic, a religion that puts them on the same level as the peoples of Antiquity."

Presented as a daily chronicle of the old man's revelations in an accessible style, Griaule's account, *Dieu d'eau* (1948), translated as *Conversations with Ogotemmêli*, became a bestseller. Foreshadowing a postmodern self-consciousness, Griaule injected himself into the narrative as "the European," "the Stranger," and "the Nazarene." This literary device suggests a frank acknowledgment of roles ascribed to him in the ethnographic situation. Nevertheless, of Griaule's 170 publications, it is the most contested. The book's critics contend that it amounts to unrepresentative theological speculations or mythopoeic invention (Goody, 1967).

After Griaule's untimely death in 1956, his close associate, Germaine Dieterlen, furthered work on Dogon myth and religion, publishing under both their names the monumental synthesis of cosmology, *Le renard pâle* (1965).

The work of Marcel Griaule and his followers is "one of the classic achievements of twentieth-century ethnography," self-conscious about method and unparalleled in its comprehensive detail (Clifford, 1983, p. 124). However, Griaule's oeuvre has come under sharp scrutiny since the 1960s, criticized for essentializing cultural patterns and privileging a romanticized past over a historically conditioned present. A constant refrain of Griaule's detractors is that he reified "the Dogon."

British anthropologists were especially skeptical of Griaule's reliance on translators and select informants; they charge that he neglected case histories and details of daily existence in favor of metaphysics, which presents a "too perfectly ordered vision of Dogon reality" (Richards, 1967; Douglas, 1967; Goody, 1967). Dutch anthropologist Walter van Beek (1991) continued the polemic, attempting to debunk Griaule's fieldwork with his own contemporary data; however, van Beek's own lack of accountability weakened his verdict. James Clifford explored the complex role played by a group of influential Dogon in the evolution of Griaule's work with greater sophistication, concluding that Griaule's writings "express a Dogon truth, a complex, negotiated, historically contingent truth specific to certain relations of textual production" (1983, p. 125).

That the Dogon celebrated exceptional funerary rites in Griaule's honor proves the degree to which they held the researcher in esteem, recognizing him as one of their own.

SEE ALSO Dieterlen, Germaine.

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LAURA S. GRILLO (2005)

GRIMM BROTHERS. Jakob Ludwig Karl Grimm (1785–1863) and his brother Wilhelm Karl (1786–1859) were born in Hanau, Germany, where their father was town clerk and later *Amtmann* (local administrator). Their happy childhood ended with his death in 1796; thereafter they had a constant struggle against poverty, with several younger children to support. The brothers worked in close harmony all their lives, and their researches into early Germanic language, literature, antiquities, and religion formed the basis for future studies in these fields.

At the university in Marburg the brothers became interested in medieval literature. The family moved to Kassel, and Jakob worked as a clerk in the War Office and later as secretary to the legation in the war against Napoleon. Finally both brothers were employed in the library of the elector of Hanover. From about 1806 they were collecting popular tales and encouraging their friends to do so, believing that this material, never previously taken seriously by scholars, was essential for the study of Germanic mythology. The first volume of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (Household and children's tales) appeared in 1812. The brothers worked unceasingly, reading manuscripts, recording oral material, and continually exploring new fields. They published poems from the Icelandic Eddas, corresponded with Walter Scott (with whom they compared Scottish and Danish ballads), and worked on runic inscriptions and Slavic languages. In 1816 and 1818 they brought out *Deutsche Sagen* (German legends) taken from printed and oral sources. Jakob concentrated on philology and early law, publishing *Deutsche Grammatik* (German grammar) in 1819 and *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer* (German legal antiquities) in 1828. Wilhelm worked mainly on medieval German literature and the heroic epics, and brought out *Die deutschen Heldensagen* (The German heroic sagas) in 1829.

At first they refused teaching posts, but unsympathetic treatment by the elector forced Jakob to become professor of philology at Göttingen in 1830; Wilhelm joined him there and proved a brilliant lecturer. Wilhelm married Dorothea Wild in 1825; it was a happy marriage, and Jakob continued to live with his brother and sister-in-law. In 1835 Jakob published *Deutsche Mythologie* (Germanic mythology), which established the link between German and Scandinavian myth and led to a new interest in Germanic antiquity throughout Europe. Many English students came to Göttingen, among them the Anglo-Saxon scholar John Kemble. However, once more the brothers had to leave when the reactionary duke of Cumberland became king of Hanover.

They were invited to work in Saxony on a comprehensive dictionary of the German language, and when the liberal Friedrich Wilhelm became king of Prussia in 1840 he persuaded them to move to Berlin, to live in financial security and lecture at the university and the academy. This meant a great change in their lives, but a happy one, and both brothers worked indefatigably until the end, Jakob surviving Wilhelm by four years. By their lives of devoted scholarship they made a major contribution to the serious study of folk tales and comparative mythology, and showed how language could be studied scientifically as a means of exploring humankind's early religious beliefs.

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HILDA R. ELLIS DAVIDSON (1987)
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GROOT, J. J. M. DE (1854–1921), Dutch Sinologist and ethnographer. Born in Schiedam, Holland, Johannes Jacobus Maria de Groot enrolled in the polytechnic school at Delft in 1872. He subsequently studied Chinese with Gustave Schlegel at the University of Leiden.

In 1876 de Groot went to Amoy (present-day Xiamen, China) to continue his study of Chinese, and his stay in Amoy led to the publication of his first book, *Les fêtes annuellement célébrées à Emoui (Amoy): Étude concernant la religion populaire des Chinois* (translated from Dutch into French by Édouard Chavannes and published in 1886). From 1878 to

1883 de Groot traveled through Java and Borneo working as a Chinese interpreter. De Groot returned to Holland in 1883, but was likely working for the government of the Dutch East Indian Colonies since 1878, and in their employ he returned to China and lived there from 1886 to 1890, collecting the data later published in six volumes as *The Religious System of China: Its Ancient Forms, Evolution, History and Present Aspect; Manners, Customs and Social Institutions Connected Therewith* (1892–1910).

De Groot was appointed professor of ethnography at the University of Leiden in 1891. In 1904 he succeeded his mentor Schlegel as professor of Chinese, and in 1912 he assumed the chair of professor of Chinese at the University of Berlin.

De Groot was made a corresponding member of the Netherlands Royal Academy of Sciences in 1887 and a full member in 1891. His election to membership in the Dutch Society of Literature came in 1893. In 1894 de Groot shared the prestigious Stanislas Julien Prize with Édouard Chavannes. He was named *correspondant de l'institut* by the French Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in 1908. In 1910–1911 de Groot came to the United States to deliver the American Lectures on the History of Religions, a traveling lecture series, and at that time was awarded an honorary doctorate by Princeton University. In 1918 the kaiser presented him with the Service Cross for his help during World War I.

De Groot's two most important works are *The Religious System of China* and *Religion in China: Universism, a Key to the Study of Taoism and Confucianism* (1912; a revised and enlarged edition appeared in German in 1918), which is the published form of the lectures delivered in the United States in 1910–1911. The former is a detailed description of the funeral customs of the Chinese and of their ideas concerning the soul. It remains an important source of information on funeral rites, ancestor worship, geomancy *(feng-shui)*, exorcism, and possession. In *Religion in China: Universism*, de Groot argues that worship of the universe and its ways, its fluctuations between yin and yang, constitutes the root religion of the Chinese, from which Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism developed as three branches from a common stem. When Confucianism assumed the dominant position during the Han dynasty, it failed to develop as a religion and prevented religious growth of Daoism and Buddhism as well.

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Besides those mentioned in the text, other works by de Groot include *Le code du Mahâyâna en Chine: Son influence sur la vie monacale et sur la monde laïque* (Amsterdam, 1893); *Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China: A Page in the History of Religions*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1903–1904); and *The Religion of the Chinese* (New York, 1910). *Le code du Mahâyâna* includes a translation of *Fo-shuo fan-wang ching* (The sūtra of Brahma's net preached by the Buddha). In *Sectarianism and Religious Persecution*, de Groot draws attention to the genuinely religious nature of rebel sects in the Qing.

ROBERT G. HENRICKS (1987)

GROTIUS, HUGO (1583–1645), or Huigh de Groot, was a Dutch lawyer, diplomat, historian, poet, philologist, and theologian. Grotius was born at Delft on April 10, 1583, into a socially and politically influential family. Following three years at the University at Leiden and a brief period accompanying a diplomatic embassy to Paris, he returned to Holland at the age of sixteen to become an advocate at the courts of the Hague. In 1607 Grotius was appointed to the office of Advocate-Fiscal (attorney general) of Holland. He married Maria van Reigersberch in 1608.

As a result of an assocation with the Dutch East India Company, Grotius wrote his first major legal treatise, *De jure praedae* (On the law of prize, 1604–1605), which presents a theory of natural law based on divine will. In 1625 he published his most important book, *De jure belli ac pacis* (On the law of war and peace), in which he again pursued the topic of natural law and its role in international relations. Here Grotius reveals his concern for the lack of restraint in waging war in the Christian world. He examines the theoretical justification for war and the rules that govern the actual waging of war. He then distinguishes natural law (identical with the law of God but knowable apart from divine revelation) from the voluntary laws of nations that exist between civil communities. Both these types of law he finds binding in relations between states. In the case of a conflict between natural and voluntary law, the law of nature should prevail, although the application of this principle is qualified. In addition to delineating the conditions of waging a just war, Grotius also advocates *temperamenta,* or mitigations, in the conduct of war. To avoid unnecessary suffering, he counsels communities to circumscribe their tactics in keeping with the perfect law of Christ, which, though itself not a basis of law, provides an ideal.

Grotius was also involved in the religious affairs of his day and strongly committed to the cause of Protestant unity. In his 1612 correspondence with Isaac Casaubon at the court of James I of England, he advocated a synod of Protestant churches in order to establish a common confession of faith that would protect against the development of heresy in the individual churches, help them present a united front against any papal aggressions, and yet allow moderate Roman Catholics to see their integrity. Grotius's hopes for such a meeting were, however, disappointed, in part because he was already involved in a heated religious and political controversy. He represented the States of Holland in a conflict that began with the appointment of a professor of theology and escalated into a major battle between church and state and between the local and the central governments within the Republic of the United Netherlands.

After Prince Maurits came to power Grotius was sentenced to life imprisonment (May 18, 1619). While in prison he wrote *Introduction to the Jurisprudence of Holland, Annotations of the Gospels,* and *On the Truth of the Christian Religion,* an apologetic work in which he attempts to prove the truth of the Christian faith based on reason and the testimony of works outside the Christian tradition. On March 22, 1621, his wife Maria contrived to smuggle Grotius out of prison in a chest used to transport books, and he fled to Paris. Grotius subsequently held various diplomatic and legal positions including the office of Swedish ambassador to France. In March of 1645, he was permitted to visit Rotterdam and Amsterdam on his way from Paris to Stockholm. On August 28 of that same year Grotius died while traveling from Stockholm to Lübeck.

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For introductions to Grotius's thought and influence, see Charles S. Edwards's *Hugo Grotius: The Miracle of Holland, A Study in Political and Legal Thought* (Chicago, 1981), Peter Haggenmacher's *Grotius et la doctrine de la guerre juste* (Paris, 1983), and Hamilton Vreeland, Jr.'s *Hugo Grotius: The Father of the Modern Science of International Law* (New York, 1917).

ANNE CLARKE (1987)

GRUNDTVIG, NIKOLAI FREDERIK SEVERIN.

Nikolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig (1783–1872) was an influential Danish theologian, philosopher, historian, educationist, and writer. Each of his writings expresses one of his numerous professional voices, centered in his own heart. His childhood, the often turbulent course of his life, and his relationships with women, men, children, and diverse contemporary groups are all reflected in his authorial voices. His life was inseparably linked with the natural landscape, geography, and cultural milieu of Denmark-Norway, which he viewed from the perspective of a distinctive historical and universal consciousness. Grundtvig was founder of much that in the spheres of church, "folk," and politics is today perceived as characteristically Danish.

BIOGRAPHY. Born into a clerical family in Udby in eastern Denmark, Grundtvig was influenced by his upbringing in an orthodox Lutheran, pietistic parsonage. However, his theological studies (1800–1803) led him eventually to a rationalistic theistic faith. When working as a private tutor on the Egeløkke estate on the island of Langeland, he fell in love with a married woman, and this experience of the challenging power of love created a new crisis, leading to a romantic awakening. Through this experience his interest in Nordic mythology and romanticism was created and confirmed. From 1808 to 1811 he worked as a secondary school teacher in Copenhagen, where he went through another crisis of faith. This led him back to his roots, both theologically and physically, insofar as he accepted in 1811 his father's wish to be an assistant pastor in Udby. But in 1813 he went back to Copenhagen, where he lived from 1816 to 1821 exlusively as a writer. From 1821 onwards he worked as a priest and discovered his own theological foundation, expressed as a "peerless discovery." He realized that the foundation of the church is not the Bible but the living Christ himself, present in a living, historical tradition, with baptism and the Eucharist as sacramental signs of his presence. His pamphlet *Kirkens gienmæle* (The church's retort), directed against Henrik Nikolai Clausen, a theologian at the University of Copenhagen, gives strong expression to this fundamental approach. But he was censured for this work and had to become a freelance writer.

Grundtvig made four trips to England (three between 1829 and 1831). English literature (*Beowulf, Exeter Book,* etc.) and the nation's mentality made a considerable impression on him. After 1832 his censure was lifted, and in 1839 he agreed to become a pastor at the Spital Church at Vartov in Copenhagen. From 1848 to 1858 he was also a member of Parliament. Grundtvig had a close relationship to Norway, and for some time he considered emigrating there. Norway had been a part of Denmark during large parts of its history, but in 1814 Norway separated from Denmark, a political development that Grundtvig deeply regretted.

Grundtvig was married three times and the father of five children. Until his death in 1872 he went on writing. One of his last poems, *Gammel nok jeg nu er blevet* (Long enough now has my life run, 1872), stands as a permanent sign of his way of living through writing and of writing his whole life into his work.

GRUNDTVIG'S THEOLOGY OF THE HEART'S DIFFERENT VOICES. With extraordinary symbolic power, Grundtvig recreated in his writings a traditional concept of heart-rhetoric, closely connected with the dynamic theological concept of the Christian idea of "the Living Word." "Heart" refers to all thinkable levels and subjects within his wide-ranging engagements, where diverse voices express themselves and demand new expressions, mediated through his texts.

Grundtvig belongs inseparably within the nineteenth-century Romantic period, yet he also stands in contrast to romanticism, pointing both backwards and forwards in time. This is apparent not least in his anthropology. For him, the human being is a divine experiment. His religious philosophy is characterized by a poetic micro/macro pattern of thinking, with humankind at the center, created in God's image, in a heart-relationship with God, created and creative. Human existence is therefore a graced condition, and life amid God's material creation is a time not of religious penance as the way to Christ but of creative fulfillment of God-granted human potential: *Menneske først, kristen så*, "first a human being, then a Christian."

In his philosophy of history, as expressed, for example, in *Christenhedens Syvstjerne* (The seven stars [or pleiades] of Christendom) (1860) and *Sang-Værk til den Danske Kirke*

(Song-work [or carillon] for the Danish church) (1836–1837), we find in coded form those historical-cultural voices out of which he constructs his narratives concerning the past. He speaks of a cultural and religious community of tongues in interactive entities (*Sangskoler,* "song-schools"), which between them chart the historical progress of Christendom. They proceed like a chorus of voices: the Hebrew "song-school," the Greek, the Roman, the Anglo-Saxon, the German, the Nordic, and—the seventh and last—the future, or the "unknown," which Grundtvig may have expected to be the Indian voice from Asia. A chief warranty of each of these voices is that they articulate themselves in the true language of the heart, the local mother tongue.

Grundtvig's concept of love gathers all his thinking into one domain. He perceived love as the center of all life that is lived, its wellspring, way, meaning, and goal. In some fifteen hundred hymns he interpreted and renewed the Nordic-European ecumenical hymn rhetoric in order to mediate his existentialist-nuanced philosophy of love. He developed in new directions the metaphorical, gendered mode of expressing the divine, with special focus upon the relationship with God, in a comprehensive relationship discourse. The human being in the world is a loving and loved microcosm. Language, gender, body, continuity, process, and metamorphosis—all have a central place in the hymn rhetoric, in which he gave fresh currency to the spiritualized erotic and to erotic spirituality without ignoring the hazard of sexism. As one of the most frequently used words in his hymns, *heart* embodies both the center and wellspring of the human body and of the written texts.

In his liturgy-shaping hymn texts, Grundtvig's gendered language of the human relationship with God comes fully into its own. He envisages the relationship with God in three main models of a dialogue modulated by the heart: the relationships between parent and child, between friends, and between lovers. This entails his construing the Trinity in different ways, to mirror human life as truly and flexibly as possible, characterized not only by multiple relational models but by androgynous conceptual models and by reciprocity as an ideal.

With the creative principle as his primary category, he re-created and renewed the European hymn tradition in a comprehensive gift rhetoric. The individual praising God in psalmody is, in Grundtvig's linguistic-philosophical and intertextual hymn rhetoric, a representative microcosm that mirrors the macrocosm. We also meet representations of "The Daughter of God" equivalent to "The Son of God" within his experimental concept of the Trinity. In an 1870 sermon he argued—with the help of his evolved classical, gendered rhetoric of "the heart"—for women priests. A crucial point in his argument is that the absence of thoughts and feelings, germane to women and springing from the heart, harms the church at the core of its own heart.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF HIS HYMNS. Grundtvig's hymns have exercised a wide, profound influence in Denmark and beyond, notably in Norway, where they are reckoned as the country's own cultural treasure, together with the legacy of two other great Danish hymn writers, Thomas Kingo (1634–1703, orthodoxy) and Hans Adolf Brorson (1694–1764, pietism). In the Danish *Hymnal,* Grundtvig is represented by over 250 original and reworked hymns; in the Norwegian *Hymnal,* by more than 40. The Danish hymn tradition stands in direct descent from Martin Luther's musical-poetical hymn project used as a medium of reformation in the 1500s. The vital, musical, and ecstatic word, in glorification of the life force and in protection against the power of death, is the primary impulse in Grundtvig's contribution to this Protestant and popular aesthetic.

LASTING INFLUENCE AND SIGNIFICANCE. Through his countless textual voices and his cultural, political, educational, and church activities, Grundtvig wrote himself into Danish history with a distinctive Nordic, European, and universal rhetoric. He has exercised an enormous influence on Scandinavian liturgical practice, theology, and education. In the present time, his influence on educational matters has also increased outside Scandinavia through the so-called Grundtvig Initiative, which is part of the European Union's adult educational initiative and represents a concept that, in the modern search for popular models of social participation in a global context, has gained a substantial international foothold.

SEE ALSO Christianity, article on Christianity in Western Europe; Music, article on Music and Religion.

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christelige Børnelærdom (Christian instruction for children; 1868), the mature theologian declares himself. The church-historical visionary poet reveals himself most clearly in *Christenhedens Syvstjerne* (The seven stars [or pleiades] of Christendom; 1860). The philosophy of history that permeates this work is the same as that forming the foundation of the structure and strategy of *Sang-Værk til den Danske Kirke.* Finally, the confessional Grundtvig speaks through many sermons, for example in the three-volume collection *Christelige Prædikener eller Søndags-Bog* (Christian sermons, or the Sunday book; 1827–1830).

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Since 1963 Grundtvig scholarship has been dominated by the work of Kaj Thaning, principally his three-volume *Menneske først—Grundtvigs opgør med sig selv* (First a human—Grundtvig's battle with himself; Copenhagen, 1963), but current scholarship increasingly dissents from Thaning's interpretation. Leading works on Grundtvig's educational ideas and on Grundtvig as poet in the early nineteenth-century context are, respectively, K. E. Bugge's *Skolen for Livet. Studier over N. F. S. Grundtvigs pædagogiske tanker* (School for life: studies in N. F. S. Grundtvig's pedagogic thinking; Copenhagen, 1965), and Flemming Lundgreen-Nielsen's *Det handlende ord. N. F. S. Grundtvigs digtning, litteratur-kritik og poetik, 1798–1819* (The operative word: N. F. S. Grundtvig's authorship, literary criticism and poetics, 1798–1819; Copenhagen, 1980).

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SYNNØVE HEGGEM (2005)

GUÉNON, RENÉ (1886–1951), French traditionalist, metaphysician, and scholar of religions. René Guénon was born in Blois, the son of an architect. He carried out his early studies in his place of birth and went to Paris in 1904 where he pursued the field of mathematics and then philosophy, which he was later to teach. During his youth, Guénon was attracted to various occultist circles and to Freemasonry; he entered several of these orders, including the Hermetic Ordre Martiniste and the Église Gnostique. As a member of this "gnostic church" he adopted the name of Palingenius (under which he wrote several articles in the review *La gnose*) and encountered Léon Champrenaud (who had been initiated into Sufism under the name of Abdul-Haqq) and Albert de Pounourville (who had received Daoist initiation and was known as Matgioi).

Guénon left Parisian occultist circles as he became more and more aware of Eastern doctrines. In 1912 he embraced Islam, receiving through Abdul-Hadi, a Swedish initiate, initiation and the blessing of the Egyptian Ṣūfī master Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿIllaysh al-Kabīr. Guénon continued, however, to be deeply involved in the intellectual life of Paris, encountering such well-known figures as Jacques Maritain, René Grousset, and others; in 1921 he published his first book, *Introduction générale à l'étude des doctrines hindoues,* a work originally prepared as a doctoral thesis at the Sorbonne, a work that marked a major turning point in the study of Eastern doctrines in the West.

In 1930 after the death of his French wife, Guénon set out for Egypt. He spent the rest of his days in Cairo living as a Muslim and was known as Shaykh ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Yaḥyā. There he was to take an Egyptian wife, by whom he had two daughters and two sons. He associated closely with certain eminent Muslim authorities of Egypt, such as Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥalim Maḥmūd, later to become Shaykh al-Azhar. Guénon also carried out extensive correspondence with scholars and traditional authorities throughout the world, including Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Marco Pallis, Leopold Ziegler, Giulio Evola, and Titus Burckhardt. He was also visited by many Westerners in search of traditional teachings and by some of those in the West who, like him, were seeking to revive tradition. Foremost among the latter group was Frithjof Schuon, who visited Guénon twice in Cairo and who corresponded with him until the end of Guénon's life. During the night of January 7, 1951, Guénon died after a period of illness and was buried according to Islamic rites in a cemetery outside of Cairo.

While in Cairo, Guénon continued the incredibly fruitful intellectual life that he had begun in France, and numerous books, articles, and reviews continued to flow from his pen. The articles appeared mostly in the journal *Le Voile d'Isis,* which changed its name to *Les études traditionelles.* The writings of Guénon include some twenty-nine books and some five hundred articles and reviews ranging over the domains of religion, metaphysics, the traditional sciences, sacred art and symbolism, occultism and esotericism, and the criticism of the modern world.

The monumental corpus of the writings of Guénon can be classified into several categories, though because of the traditional nature of his thought there is an interrelation among his various books. The *Introduction générale à l'étude des doctrines hindoues* was not simply his first work to be published; it also serves as a general introduction to all the major themes of his writings including his exposition of tradition, his criticism of the modern world, and his discussion of Eastern doctrines based upon the purely metaphysical aspects of their teachings.

A number of books by Guénon are devoted more specifically to the criticism of the modern world and to the discussion of the significance of Eastern traditions in the process of rediscovery of tradition in the West. They include *Orient et occident* (1924), *La crise du monde moderne* (1927), and *La regne de la quantité et les signes des temps* (1945). A group of his books turn to the study of initiation and esotericism as well as the criticism of occultism and "spiritualism" as distortions and caricatures of authentic esoterism. These include *Aperçus sur l'initiation* (1946), *Le théosophisme: Histoire d'une pseudo-religion* (1921), *L'erreure spirite* (1923), and *Initiation et réalisation spirituelle* (1952). The works of Guénon dealing with metaphysics and Eastern doctrines include *L'homme et son devenir selon le Vêdânta* (1925), *La métaphysique orientale* (1939), *Le symbolisme de la croix* (1931), *Les états multiple de l'Être* (1932), and posthumous collections of articles such as *Études sur l'hindouisme* (1968) and *Aperçus sur l'ésotérisme islamique et le taoisme* (1973). Guénon also wrote a number of major works on the traditional and modern sciences from the traditional point of view, such as *La grande triade* (1946), *Les principes du calcul infinitésimal* (1946), and the posthumous collections of essays, *Symboles fondamenteux de la science sacré* (1962) and *Formes traditionelles et cycles cosmiques* (1970). Furthermore, Guénon dealt with the social and political dimensions of tradition, devoting many essays as well as his books *Autorité spirituelle et pouvoir temporel* (1929) and *Le roi du monde* (1927) to this subject. The latter work, dealing with the supreme center of tradition in this world, has remained Guénon's most enigmatic and controversial book for later traditionalist thinkers.

In treating various traditions Guénon concentrated most of all upon the East, dealing especially with Hinduism, Daoism, and Islam (though hardly at all with Buddhism, whose traditional character he did not confirm until later in his life). But Guénon did also concern himself with the Christian tradition although not orthodoxy, devoting such works as *Aperçus sur l'ésotérisme chrétien* (1954), *L'ésotérisme de Dante* (1925), and *Saint Bernard* (1929) to specifically Christian themes. Guénon, however, identified Christian esoterism mostly with the hermetic and other esoteric currents that became integrated into the Christian tradition rather than with the Christ-given initiation at the heart of Christian rites.

Guénon's influence continues to expand as the decades go by. His works are marked by emphasis upon tradition, universality, orthodoxy, and essentiality. Guénon appeared suddenly on the intellectual stage of Europe and sought to sweep aside with an unprecedented intellectual rigor and an iconoclastic zeal all the "isms" prevalent in modern thought ranging from rationalism to existentialism. To present the truth of tradition, he believed, he had to clear away completely all those conceptual schemes that have cluttered the mind of Western scholars the end of the Middle Ages and that have prevented them from understanding the perennial truths of tradition. Against the relativism of the day, Guénon understood these truths as principles of a divine and sacred nature from which have issued the great civilizations of East and West, including the Far Eastern, Hindu, Islamic, and traditional Christian civilizations. For Guénon the central concept of tradition does not refer to custom or habit but rather to truths rooted in ultimate reality and the spiritual world, and to the ramifications, applications, and historical unfolding of these truths, which are made available to human beings through the revelation that lies at the heart of all religions. Guénon distinguishes between the esoteric and exoteric dimensions of tradition and asserts the necessity of the existence of both dimensions. He also distinguishes between reason and intellect and insists upon the centrality of pure intellectuality, which for him is practically synonymous with spirituality.

Guénon, moreover, insists upon the universal nature of traditional truth, which lies at the heart of diverse religious forms. He refers repeatedly to the inner unity of truth and of traditional forms, standing united in opposition to the modern world, which is based upon the forgetting of the principles of tradition.

Guénon also emphasizes the importance of orthodoxy, which he does not limit to the exoteric realm. For him tradition and orthodoxy are inseparable. To understand tradition means to grasp the significance of orthodoxy and the necessity of remaining within its fold. Guénon's whole message is in fact based upon not only the theoretical grasp of tradition but the necessity of living within an orthodox, traditional way, without which no metaphysical truth can possess efficacy even if it is understood theoretically. There is for him no spiritual realization possible outside tradition and orthodoxy.

Guénon was also concerned with the essence of doctrines, ideas, forms, images, and symbols. His writings shed a penetrating light upon doctrines and symbols that have become opaque and meaningless in the West as a result of the loss of metaphysical knowledge. He bestowed once again upon traditional concepts and symbols their essential meaning lost for the most part in the West since the Renaissance. He also presented to the West for the first time the essential teachings of the Eastern traditions in an authentic manner, and his presentation was accepted by the living authorities of those traditions. Moreover, Guénon sought to revive tradition in the West in the light of essential, metaphysical truth and to provide the weapons necessary to combat the errors of the modern world.

Guénon must be considered as the first expositor in the West of the traditionalist school in its fullness, a school that is also identified with "perennial philosophy." He was followed in his task of reviving traditional teachings in the West by many others, chief among them Coomaraswamy and Schuon, whose writings perfected the exposition of the *sophia perennis* and of traditional doctrines. The influence of Guénon has, furthermore, gone beyond the traditionalist school to touch numerous scholars of religion, theologians, and philosophers who often without acknowledgment have adopted some of his doctrines and teachings.

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GUHYASAMĀJA. The term *Guhyasamāja* ("Secret Assembly") applies to the Tantra so-named, the assembly of deities in the *maṇḍala* described in this text, and sometimes to the *maṇḍala's* central deity. The *Guhyasamāja Tantra* was composed in India by the early eighth century. The earliest datable reference to the Tantra is in a text written by Amoghavajra, a Sogdian monk active in China, namely his *Index of the Vajraśekhara Sūtra Yoga in Eighteen Sections* (*Jin-gang-ding yu-qie shi-ba-hui zhi-gui,* T. 869), which he composed during the mid-eighth century. In it, Amoghavajra lists a text called the *Guhyasamāja Yoga* (*mi-mi-hui yu-qie*), his description of which is clearly identifiable with portions of the Tantra. Most likely the text at this period was somewhat shorter than the ultimate version, which was established by the late tenth century when it was translated into Chinese and Tibetan.

The *Guhyasamāja Tantra* consists of eighteen chapters, the last of which is clearly a late addition and is often treated as a separate text titled the *Uttara Tantra.* It is notable for its erotic language and its avocation of transgressive practices, including the sacramental consumption of sexual fluids, as well as the consumption of other substances deemed impure by contemporary Indian society, such as feces. The *Guhyasamāja* is also one of the first Buddhist Tantras to depict its central buddhas in sexual union with consorts. The *Guhyasamāja maṇḍala* is built upon the foundation established by the *Sarvatathagāta-Tattvasamgraha,* taking the core of that *maṇḍala*, a central buddha surrounded by four other buddhas in the cardinal directions, and giving each a consort. The *maṇḍala* is thus centered upon five deity couples in sexual union. Matching this imagery, the text is replete with erotic language, most notably in its infamous opening verse: "Thus have I heard: At one time the Blessed Lord resided in the vulvas of the Adamantine Ladies [*vajrayoṣidbhageṣu*], the essence of the Body, Speech, and Mind of all *Tathāgatas.*"

The *Guhyasamāja Tantra* was revolutionary in being one of the earliest Buddhist Tantras to openly proclaim the teaching that human sexuality could be an important or even essential component of the spiritual path. This teaching was highly controversial, as the text itself admits in chapter one, when it states that it "is a cause of doubt even for all *Tathāgatas.*" Because the literal interpretation of these textual passages was considered problematic in the Mahāyāna Buddhist monastic settings in which the Tantra has long been studied and put into practice, Indian Buddhists developed a complex hermeneutical system for the interpretation of this and other related Tantric texts. These systems were based upon the premise that the true import of the text is often not the literal meaning, but rather the secret or symbolic meanings accessible via systems of interpretation handed down in lineage instructions by masters of the traditions.

There were two traditions of exegesis and practice centering upon the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* that developed in India. The first is called the Jñānapāda school, named after its founder, Buddhajñānapāda, who lived in India during the eighth century. While not an important tradition from the perspective of contemporary Tibetan Buddhist practice, it is an important tradition historically because the writings of Buddhajñānapāda and his students contain numerous quotations from the root scripture, demonstrating that it was established by the late eighth century. The *maṇḍala* of this tradition is a relatively simple one, centering around the Buddha Mañjuvajra, who is in turn surrounded by four other buddhas: Vairocana (east), Ratnaketu (south), Amitābha (west), and Amoghasiddhi (north)—together with their consorts, Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍarā, and Tārā. This inner circle is in turn surrounded by the ten "Fierce Kings," *krodharāja*s, for a total of nineteen deities.

The second school, which developed somewhat later, is known as the "Noble" (*ārya*) school, since its primary texts are attributed to Nāgārjuna (second century CE), Āryadeva (c. 170–270 CE), and Candrakīrti (c. 600–650 E). It superceded the former school, and also advocated an expanded *maṇḍala* with thirty-two deities. Its central deity is Akṣobhya Buddha, in sexual union with his consort, Sparśavajrā. In addition to the four buddha couples and ten Fierce Kings, it also added eight *bodhisattvas* and four additional goddesses. It was this school that was primarily responsible for the sophisticated system of hermeneutics that became greatly influential in Tibetan Buddhist circles.

While the *Guhyasamāja* tradition, like all other Buddhist traditions, disappeared in India during the late medieval period, its texts and practice was preserved in Nepal. In addition, the tradition was also disseminated to Tibet and East Asia. The *Guhyasamāja Tantra* was translated into Chinese by Dānapāla around 1002 CE. The ritual and practice tradition associated with it, however, did not take root in East Asia. The tradition was successfully transmitted to Tibet. The standard Tibetan version was translated by the Tibetan scholar Rin chen bzang po (Rinchen Zangpo, 958–1055 CE) and the Kaśmiri scholar Śraddhākaravarman around the same time, circa 1000 CE. From Tibet it was also transmitted to Mongolia, where it remained an important and popular tradition up until the decimation of Buddhism there under the Communists. In Tibet it remained an important element of contemporary Buddhist practice. It is studied and practiced by all Tibetan Buddhist schools, although it is particularly emphasized by the Dge lugs (Geluk) school. While Buddhism in Tibet has suffered under Communist Chinese rule, the tradition remains in practice among Tibetan communities in diaspora, as well as among the Buddhist groups founded by Tibetan lamas in exile around the world.

SEE ALSO Tantrism.

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DAVID B. GRAY (2005)

GUIDE, SPIRITUAL SEE SPIRITUAL GUIDE

GUILT SEE SIN AND GUILT

GUṆAS.

Guṇa is a Sanskrit word etymologically suggesting a "strand" or "thread," several of which when intertwined make up a rope. The term is defined and applied in numerous ways, depending on the governing systematic assumptions and/or philosophical contexts. Four of the most common usages are described below.

The *guṇa*s or "virtues" of an animate or inanimate object can be contrasted with its *doṣa*s, or "faults." This sense of the word is found in medical parlance but is not confined to that context. It is also found in Mimamsa exegesis of the merits of action, including mental and verbal activities.

Perhaps related to the foregoing, Sāṃkhya metaphysics postulates three *guṇa*s as the constituents of *pṛakrti,* or material nature. These three qualities are known as *sattva, rajas,* and *tamas,* terms that are somewhat difficult to translate into simple English. *Sattva* connotes the bright, light, buoyant, wise, good, transparent aspects of nature and all creations. *Tamas* connotes their opposites, hence what is dark, heavy, dull, bad, opaque. *Rajas* is viewed in Sāṃkhya as the catalytic or dynamic principle in things that accounts for all spiritual and material change and activity. According to Sāṃkhya, all substance, whether mental or physical, consists of a mixture of these three *guṇa*s in certain proportions. During *pralaya,* the period when the material universe is reabsorbed into its unmanifest state, the three *guṇa*s are in equilibrium. At the time of creation, that is, at the onset of another cycle of manifestation of the universe, an imbalance among the *guṇa*s occurs, and thus differentiation takes place.

In the Vaiśeṣika system of classification, *guṇa* is the name of the second of seven categories of being. A *guṇa* in this system is a particular characteristic of an individual substance, for example, the specific patch of color that is displayed in a certain piece of cloth at a given instant. A *guṇa* for Vaisesika is a fleeting quality related for only a few moments to its possessor, which must be a substance (*dravya*). Particular colors, tastes, sounds, smells, and textures are *guṇa*s; so too are numbers, contacts and disjunctions, desires and aversions, effort and awareness, as well as karmic and memory traces.

In Jainism, *guṇa* is one of three inherent qualities of every material thing (*pudgala*). Each bit of matter is a *dravya* possessing certain kinds of features (*guṇa*s) that are presented in various modes (*paryāya*s). Thus a *guṇa* in Jainism is not substantial, as Sāṃkhya *guṇa*s are, but neither is it adventitious or evanescent, as are Vaisesika *guṇa*s. A Jain *guṇa* is a generic feature of the kind of substance comprising an individual object—earthy, hot, and so forth. The quantitative and qualitative variations of these features are their modes.

SEE ALSO Prakṛti; Sāṃkhya; Vaiśeṣika.

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KARL H. POTTER (1987)

GUO XIANG (d. 312 CE), Chinese thinker associated with the *xuanxue* ("dark learning" or "school of mystery") movement. A rationalist mystic and naturalist pantheist, Guo Xiang is the author of a commentary on the *Zhuangzi*, the only text of his still extant and the best known and oldest of all the *Zhuangzi* commentaries still in existence. Guo Xiang also edited the text of the *Zhuangzi* itself. In establishing the version we have today he reduced the size of the text, chose what seemed to him to be "the best and most complete parts" to make a coherent whole, rejected some parts, and arranged the whole in thirty-three chapters. All the complete versions of the *Zhuangzi* known at present are derived from his.

Guo Xiang's commentary both develops a personal philosophy and makes a radical reinterpretation of the *Zhuangzi.* That the universe produces itself and is not produced by another is the starting point and the central concept of Guo Xiang's system. The universe contains all the attributes of the Absolute: it exists eternally and necessarily and is self-sufficient. Beings come into existence of themselves; their true nature is their self-beingness. They are defined as identical to themselves, and this identity is identical in each of them: thus Guo Xiang understands *Zhuangzi*'s "identity of beings" as a type of monism. The Great One *(tai)* or, sometimes, the Ether *(qi)* is the universal force that is the source of the self-production of beings; every phenomenon represents a varying state of dispersion or condensation of the Ether. But Guo Xiang escapes complete monism by admitting the notion of *fen*, "allotment" or "limit." Beings are differentiated by the congenital limitations of their existential and social possibilities (their span of life, their natural endowment, their place in society). These limitations assign the place they must take in society and the universe, which place in turn actualizes and manifests their being. The relation that obtains between these limitations of beings (*fen*) follows a natural pattern (*li*), an immanent principle of order that is established spontaneously (*ziran*) without any external agent. In order to achieve their own totality, individuals must accept the elements that compose their being: spontaneity (a universal, natural, and nonpersonal force that lies within each of us and is distinct from the ego), limitations in time and society (*fen*), and, finally, "daily renewal" (an incessant state of change characteristic of all beings). In this way, individuals enter into a "marvelous coincidence" with themselves and with the oneness of the world, into that mystic fusion with the immanent force that produces everything and has no beginning or end.

Guo Xiang was not a Confucian. He valued Confucian virtues after the fashion of Daoists; he did not believe in a life after death, a denial incompatible with the ancestor cult. He also advocated governing by *wuwei* (noninterference), a Daoist emphasis. If he acknowledged a social life, it was because society was an inescapable fact, but he held that "names" (titles and official functions) in society were external aspects that must be "forgotten" in order to gain union with the unutterable reality. In avowing that names were an incomplete expression of the hidden source of existence, Guo Xiang was writing against the Confucian perspective as it developed in the "school of names" (*mingjiao*). The "determinism" Guo Xiang showed was nothing more than common sense: we must cope with what is unavoidable. Yet the participation in the world he advocated was a mystical one, very near the Daoist ideal. Kuo rejected everything supernatural and by so doing he came close to the Chinese "rationalists" such as Wang Chong, but because he allotted a large place to *xuan*, the Mystery, the undefinable, he is associated with *xuanxue.* Nevertheless, in denying the central role of the concept of *wu* (nonbeing)—Guo Xiang maintains *wu* is a mere negation, that it simply serves to negate the existence of anything that gives birth to beings outside themselves, and that *wu* implies a total absence of a source other than an immanent one—he is at odds with Wang Bi, the movement's most prominent exponent. By his treatment of some of Zhuangzi's terms, Guo Xiang prepared the way for the diffusion of the *Zhuangzi* among Buddhist thinkers.

SEE ALSO Wang Bi; Zhuangzi.

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ISABELLE ROBINET (1987)

GURDJIEFF, G. I. Georgii Ivanovich Gurdzhiv (1866–1949) was a spiritual teacher of esoteric knowledge who claimed to have discovered specific methods for developing the human consciousness toward a more awakened state. Gurdjieff was born of a Greek father and Armenian mother in Alexandropol in the Cappadocian Greek quarter on the Russian side of the Russian-Finnish border. The date of his birth is disputed to be as much as eleven years later, due perhaps to a mistake on his passport. Gurdjieff himself maintained that he was born in 1866, a date that is corroborated by a number of sources.

The gifted boy, who came to use the Russian name Gurdjieff, was carefully schooled for a career in either the Orthodox priesthood or in medicine. However, even as a teenager he was convinced of the existence of perennial wisdom and secret knowledge that held the answers to life's ultimate questions. For this reason, Gurdjieff left the academic world and engaged in a quest that took him to Central Asia, including upper Tibet, and the Middle East. Some of the significant events of this journey are recorded in *Meetings with Remarkable Men* (begun in 1927 and revised over the years; first published in 1963), which British director Peter Brook made into a movie in 1979.

In 1912 Gurdjieff took up residence in Moscow and attracted a circle of students there and in Saint Petersburg. Having previously read the *Tertium Organum* published in Russian in 1911 (1920 in English) by P. D. Ouspensky (1878–1947), Gurdjieff accepted Ouspensky as a pupil in 1915. The musician and composer Thomas de Hartmann (1885–1956) and his wife Olga also joined the circle. To avoid the difficulties of life during the Bolshevik Revolution, Gurdjieff led his followers to the Caucasus and stayed in Tbilisi, Georgia. There in 1919, he accepted the artist Alexandre de Salzmann (1874–1934) and his wife Jeanne as disciples. In collaboration with de Hartmann, Gurdjieff composed music based on an inversion of the Greek diatonic Dorian mode (EDCBAGFE) found in Plato's *Timaeus*. Working with his gifted pupils, Gurdjieff also choreographed 250 ensemble movements of *Sacred Dances*, which illustrated his spiritual teachings and were performed in public. He then traveled to Constantinople and to London, where the prominent editor A. R. Orage (1873–1934) joined his group.

Finally settling in France, Gurdjieff opened the Institute for the Harmonious Development of Man at Prieuré des Basses Loges at Fontainebleau-Avon in 1922. There he attracted international pupils, including the dying author Katherine Mansfield (1888–1923) from New Zealand. In 1924 he toured with a group of dancer-disciples that performed *Sacred Dances* in New York, Chicago, Boston, and Philadelphia. While in the United States he attracted other prominent students, including the editor and writer Jane Heap (1887–1964).

After surviving a near fatal auto accident in 1924 and the trauma of his wife's death in 1926, Gurdjieff continued to teach in Prieuré until financial problems forced its closure in 1933. After another visit to the United States, he settled permanently in Paris. There he constituted an exclusively lesbian group, including the author of *The Nun's Story* (1956), Kathryn Hulme (1900–1981). In 1930 René Daumal (1908–1944) and his wife Vera joined Gurdjieff's other Parisian circle. Gurdjieff remained in Paris during the Nazi occupation. His followers helped hide Jewish members of their group. He continued to teach, and died in 1949 in Neuilly, France.

Gurdjieff remains a mysterious and controversial figure even into the twenty-first century. He has been called everything from a charlatan to a master of wisdom. Those who knew him well considered him to be a profound seeker after truth, which included the meaning in life, the origins and reasons for human existence, and the potentiality for humans to expand their consciousness. In order to achieve these ends, Gurdjieff was willing to break the rules of custom, to live an unconventional life, and to take great risks in travel and spiritual practice.

The central idea in Gurdjieff's thought is that human consciousness can be awakened to a much greater degree than most people experience. In fact, there is a "Real I" inside all people, which can be uncovered, but only by those who are devoted to finding this divine essence in themselves. His monumental work, *Beelzebub's Tales to His Grandson* (1949), is an allegory of a being in a spaceship who observes the "hell" of life on earth and the misery of the "three-brained beings" who inhabit the planet. Humans are composed of ordinary waking consciousness, which is fictitious; the subconscious, which is closer to reality; and the state of transformation or higher consciousness, which religions might call "spirit" (*pneuma, buddhi,* or *ātman).* Beings who live only by the perceptions of waking consciousness are disrespectfully called "slugs" by Beelzebub's grandson, a truth seeker.

Methods for attaining the Real I included meditation at dawn and dusk, meditation on sacred music, and intense self-observation to assess one's automatic, as opposed to truly conscious, actions. The teachers Gurdjieff encountered in Russia and in the Middle and Far East were described as being on the verge of attaining or having attained this higher consciousness. At the end of *Meetings with Remarkable Men*, having discovered a sacred place, Gurdjieff wrote that "among the adepts of this monastery were former Christians, Mohammadens, Buddhists, Lamaists, and even one Shamanist. All were united by God the Truth" (p. 239).

In spite of his emphasis on experience, Gurdjieff's contribution was concerned with cosmology, metaphysics, and evolution. For example, Beelzebub teaches his grandson that all beings were "Rays of Creation" from the "Common Father Endlessness Himself" (one of the many names for the Absolute [God]). According to Gurdjieff, Charles Darwin (1809–1882) had explained little about human evolution because he did not account for the human inner nature as divine emanations. Human beings on the "minor planet earth" have lost touch with their origins and reasons for existence due to mindlessly following conventional religions and political leaders. Humans are actually governed by cosmic laws, which are a part of their psychic makeup. Tragically, humans are caught up in materialism, external success, and the unattainable goal of happiness. They are hopelessly lost unless they can return to the Real I. The final part of the *All and Everything* series, *Life Is Real Only Then, When "I Am"* (1950) deals with aspects of this teaching that are accessible only to his most devoted students. Ouspensky, in his record of Gurdjieff's talks, *In Search of the Miraculous* (1949), explains these ideas further. In 1924 Gurdjieff and Ouspensky broke off their association in spite of their similar teachings.

Gurdjieff's work was carried on by his pupil, Jeanne de Salzmann (1889–1990), who organized the Gurdjieff Foundation in 1953 in New York. The foundation dispenses the teachings of Gurdjieff and Ouspensky in London, Paris, San Francisco, and centers all over the world. The quarterly

Gurdjieff International Review publishes essays and commentary about Gurdjieff and his teachings.

SEE ALSO Ouspensky, P. D.

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JUDY D. SALTZMAN (2005)

GURŪ. The word *gurū* refers to a spiritual master or teacher whose gift or skill bears an esoteric dimension. Though derived from the Hindu tradition, the term *gurū* has also come to be applied to spiritual masters of other religious traditions, and to masters in other areas of expertise, such as music, dance, and even business. The Sanskrit term *gurū* was originally used in its Vedic context as an adjective meaning "heavy" or "weighty." In the Upaniṣads, it came to refer to a person who had reached the highest state of spiritual realization *(mokṣa)* and who was able to lead others to the same. The *gurū* may be distinguished from a Hindu *sadhu,* in that the role of the *gurū* consists mainly in teaching disciples *(shishyas),* and from an *ācārya* or *paṇḍit* in that the teaching of the *gurū* is based primarily on personal spiritual experiences rather than on traditional religious knowledge. As such, the *gurū*-disciple relationship represents the Hindu form of the phenomenon of spiritual direction that may be found in most religious traditions. The *gurū* may be regarded as the Hindu equivalent to the figure of the *kalyāna mitra* in Theravāda Buddhism, the *roshi* in Zen Buddhism, or the *lama* in Tibetan Buddhism. Parallels to the *gurū* may also be found in the figures of the *tsaddiq* within the Hasidic tradition of Judaism, the *shaykh* or *pir* in Sufism, the *starets* within the Eastern Orthodox tradition of Christianity, or the novice master and spiritual director in Catholic monasticism. In each case, the spiritual master is believed to represent the highest spiritual realization within that particular tradition, and is expected to lead others to that state both by example and by teaching. All spiritual traditions emphasize the importance of the complete surrender of the disciple to the spiritual master as a condition for spiritual growth. While most traditions regard the master-disciple relationship as only one form of religious observance, often reserved for a spiritual elite, within the Hindu religious tradition the figure of the *gurū* has come to play a central role.

TRADITIONAL UNDERSTANDINGS OF THE *GURŪ*. The importance of the *gurū* within the Hindu tradition is directly related to the pursuit of *mokṣa* (liberation) as the highest and ultimate religious goal. In the Upaniṣads, this state of *mokṣa* is expressed in terms of the realization of the nonduality of *ātman* (deepest Self) and *brahman* (ultimate reality). The *gurū* came to be regarded as the embodiment of this state, and as the only means through which it could be attained. Since the experience of *mokṣa* is considered to be unfathomable in words, it could only be exemplified and pursued through one who had already reached that state.

Thus, the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* states, "nothing that is eternal (not made) can be gained by what is not eternal (made). Let him, in order to understand this, take fuel in his hand and approach a Guru who is learned and dwells entirely in Brahman" (1:2:12). In the *Maitrī Upaniṣad* the disciple addresses the *gurū* with the following words: "In this world I am like a frog in a dry well. O Saint, thou art my way, thou art my way" (1:4). Thus, the figure of the *gurū* effectively became, as David Miller put it, the "centre of sacredness" in Hinduism.

As the embodiment of the ultimate state of realization, the *gurū* came to be endowed with divine attributes. In the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* it is said that "he who knows that highest *Brahman,* becomes even *Brahman*" (3:2:9). There is no higher authority in Hinduism than the one who has attained the knowledge of *brahman.* The *gurū* thus came to be regarded as God, and recognition of the divinity of the *gurū* was seen as a condition for reaching liberation: "If these truths have been told to a high-minded man, who feels the highest devotion for God, and for his Guru as for God, then they will shine forth,—then they will shine forth indeed" (*Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* 6:23). Disciples generally recognize the teachings of a *gurū* as the ultimate truth. While Hindu *gurūs* acknowledge the authority of the Hindu scriptures, they are autonomous in interpreting these scriptures. This explains the rich diversity of teaching traditions within Hinduism.

While a *gurū* may be regarded as God in the Hindu tradition, the authority of the *gurū* is still constituted solely by a disciple's recognition of this divinity. It is often said in Hinduism that it is the disciple who makes the *gurū.* In the Upaniṣads, a disciple approached the *gurū* with fuel in the hand, expressing a desire to serve the *gurū* (by tending to his sacrificial fire). Upon acceptance, the disciple underwent a formal initiation *(dīkshā)* symbolizing a new birth from the *gurū* and incorporation within the *gurū*'s household *(gurūkula).* Disciples often remained with the *gurū* for more than a decade, practicing various forms of asceticism and self-abnegation under the guidance of the *gurū.* In later times, the religious community surrounding a *gurū* came to be called an *āśrama* (ashram). *Āśramas* usually consist of a group of core members who are totally devoted to the *gurū* and have often taken vows of celibacy and renunciation *(sannyāsa),* and of a larger group of followers who may come and stay with the *gurū* for various lengths of time without renouncing the world. However, some *gurūs* may instead adopt a more itinerant lifestyle and visit disciples in their own villages and homes.

From the outset, each relationship between *gurū* and disciple has been regarded as unique or irreplaceable. The *gurū* generally adapts the teaching to the spiritual needs and level of spiritual development of the disciple. This has at times generated an image of the *gurū* as being unpredictable. *Gurūs* often act and relate to disciples in ways that defy common sense. Disciples are expected to uncritically accept the particular teaching and discipline imparted upon them by the *gurū* and to maintain faith in the *gurū*'s capacities of discernment. Since the ultimate goal of the *gurū*-disciple relationship is not the acquisition of objective knowledge but realization of the deepest Self *(ātman),* not only the path, but also the goal of every *gurū*-disciple relationship is considered to be unique. It is only the *gurū* who is able to acknowledge the attainment of self-realization in the disciple, since, as it is said, the one who attains it "does not know, yet he is knowing, though he does not know" (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 4:3:30). While the attainment of the state of realization marks the end of the *gurū*-disciple relationship, Hindus generally maintain a reverence for their *gurū* throughout their lives.

The *gurū*-disciple relationship has formed the basis for the development of various teaching traditions *(sampradāyas)* within Hinduism. Each *sampradāya* is based on a lineage of teachers *(gurūparamparā)* in which the authority of a *gurū* is legitimated by the previous *gurūs.* In the end, however, it is the capacity of a *gurū* to generate and maintain a religious commitment from disciples that sustains a tradition. Teaching traditions may disappear and new ones may emerge at any given time.

DIFFERENT ROLES AND FUNCTIONS OF THE *GURŪ*. The status and role of the *gurū* may be variously defined and legitimated within any particular teaching tradition. Certain general characteristics distinguish the conception of the *gurū* within the traditions of Advaita Vedānta, Bhakti, and Tantrism. Within Advaita Vedānta, the *gurū* is predominantly regarded as a teacher who imparts spiritual wisdom to the disciple. Śaṅkara (788–820), the founder of this tradition, framed the relationship between *gurū* and disciple in terms of *śravaṇa* (listening), *manana* (contemplation), and *nididhyāsana* (meditation). High demands are put upon a disciple who must be "a seeker after final release whose mind has been calmed, whose senses have been controlled, whose faults have been abandoned, who is acting as prescribed [in the scriptures], who is endowed with virtues, and who is always obedient" (*Upadeśasāhasrī* 1:16:72). The *gurū,* on the other hand, must be endowed with tranquility, self-control, lack of attachment to enjoyments "visible and invisible," and freedom from faults such as "deceit, pride, trickery, wickedness, fraud, jealousy, falsehood, egotism, [and] self-interest" (*Upadeśasāhasrī* 2:1:6). The *gurū* must not only be liberated *(jīvanmukti)* but also filled with compassion and a willingness to share spiritual knowledge with others. Śaṅkara institutionalized the *gurū*-disciple relationship through the establishment of five monasteries *(maṭhas)* in Sringeri, Kanchi, Dwaraka, Puri, and Badrinath. The heads of these monasteries are called *jagadgurūs,* or "world teachers." These teachers differ from other *gurūs* in that their responsibilities also include administration and their authority generally extends beyond their own immediate group of disciples.

Within the devotional *(bhakti)* traditions of Hinduism, the relationship between *gurū* and disciple is generally of a more affective nature. It is the love and grace of the *gurū* that is here regarded as the principal means of salvation. The *gurū* may be regarded as a divine incarnation or *avatāra,* who has the capacity to remove spiritual obstacles in the disciple. Much of the spiritual practice consists of expressions of loving devotion to the *gurū,* who is worshiped as a God. In the absence of the *gurū,* it is customary to worship the slippers, seat, statue, or picture of the *gurū.*

In the Tantric tradition, the role of the *gurū* is concentrated in the imparting of *dīkshā,* or initiation. It is here that the idea of the indispensability of the *gurū* reaches its highest expression. A disciple cannot conceive of the possibility of liberation without receiving a *mantra* and the transmission of power *(shaktipāt)* from the *gurū.* In the tradition of Kashmir Śaivism, this power is believed to awaken the spiritual energy *(kuṇḍalinī)* in the disciple, transforming him or her from within. Here, the *gurū* is often regarded as superior to God. The refrain of the *Gurū Gītā,* a text widely used within the Tantric tradition, states, "There is nothing greater than the *gurū.*"

All three functions of the *gurū*—teaching, initiation, and imparting love and grace—may be found to various degrees in any particular *gurū.* While some *gurūs* may be clearly situated within one or the other tradition of Hinduism, most combine elements from the different Hindu traditions and even from other religious traditions within their teachings and practices.

Because of the absolute authority of the *gurū*, the Hindu tradition has always been conscious of the possibility of abuse of this authority by false *gurūs* or pseudo-*gurūs* who exploit disciples for their own purposes. In the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad,* one is warned of "fools dwelling in darkness, wise in their own conceit, and puffed up with vain knowledge, [who] go round and round staggering to and fro, like blind men led by the blind" (1:2:8). This is why many Hindu texts enumerate in great detail the various qualities that characterize a real *gurū.* Among these, complete freedom from desire and from conceit plays a central role.

The *gurū* is of central importance in Sikhism, which is based on a lineage of ten human *gurūs,* from Sikhism's founder Gurū Nānak (1469–1539) to its tenth leader, Gurū Gobind Singh (1666–1708), after whom *gurū*ship became enshrined in the collection of hymns known as the *Gurū Granth Sāhib,* or Sikh scriptures. God is considered as the "*Gurū* of *Gurūs,*" and some Sikhs also believe in a living *gurū.*

MODERN DEVELOPMENTS. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the concept of the *gurū* has undergone a number of changes. While the function of the *gurū* was traditionally limited to the spiritual sphere, *gurūs* have become increasingly more active in the political and social realm, contributing to Indian nationalist movements and causes. Figures such as Swami Dayananda Saraswati, founder of Ārya Samāj, formulated an ideology in which spirituality was inseparable from national identity. The combination of spiritual and political authority was also evident in a figure like Mohandas Gandhi. Many Hindu *gurūs* are actively involved in the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), the religious or ideological branch of the political Bharatiya Janatha Party (BJP). While *gurūs* traditionally focused on individual and purely spiritual relationships with disciples, these *gurūs* have developed more public roles as advisors to political leaders and advocates of political agendas.

A second development has been the internationalization of the mission and following of Hindu *gurūs.* The popularity of a number of Hindu *gurūs* (Rāmakrishna Paramahamsa, Aurobindo Ghose, Ramana Maharshi, Paramahamsa Yogānanda, Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, Swami Muktānanda, Krishnamurti, Bhagavan Shree Rajneesh, Sathya Sai Baba, etc.) has led to the development of *āśramas* and centers in many countries outside India and to new challenges of tending to the spiritual needs of disciples from very different cultural and religious backgrounds, including many who live a great distance from the *gurū.* While most of the more famous *gurūs* have come to spend much of their time traveling throughout the world visiting disciples who gather in large numbers to receive their *darśan* (vision), others remain in India and have disciples from all over the world visit them there. The international outreach of some *gurūs* and the increase in funds and material support has also led to new styles of teaching through high-tech means of communication. This has led to shifts in the traditional concept of the *gurū*-disciple relationship. Whereas a personal relationship with the *gurū* was traditionally regarded as an essential dimension of spiritual growth, such intimacy and personal guidance has come to be replaced by very brief moments of nonverbal exchange. In most cases, however, the belief that the *gurū* knows each disciple personally and attends from a distance to his or her spiritual needs has been preserved. Another result of the internationalization of Hindu *gurūs* is the rise of non-Indian disciples to the status of *gurū.* This may occur through appointment and succession within an established lineage of *gurūs,* or through independent forms of imitation of the Indian *gurū*-disciple relationship. Such developments have raised questions regarding the traditional understanding of Hindu identity.

One of the most remarkable developments of the twentieth century was the emergence of female *gurūs.* While women were never explicitly excluded from the possibility of assuming spiritual authority in Hindu texts, and while a number of women have been recognized as important Hindu saints in the course of history, women did not assumed roles of spiritual leadership until the beginning of the twentieth century. One of the first renowned female *gurūs* was Ānandamayī Mā (1896–1982). Though a wandering ascetic, she came to be widely sought out for spiritual direction and advice. Numerous other female *gurūs* have since gained popularity and fame, including outside India. Some of these female *gurūs* were appointed as successor to their own male *gurū.* But some became recognized purely on the basis of their own spiritual power and authority. Though female *gurūs* are generally considered to be beyond gender, they are more often identified with the goddesses of India, and their affection for disciples is often expressed in explicitly nurturing gestures (such as touching or hugging). Female *gurūs* may be found in all strands of Hinduism, from the contemplative and nondualist traditions and the Tantric schools to the more devotional traditions. They continue the long Hindu tradition of the importance of personal spiritual experience and realization, and enrich that tradition with a distinctive form and flavor. The figure of the *gurū* thus remains at the heart of Hinduism, even as this religion and its concept of the *gurū* continue to change over time.

SEE ALSO Ashram; Avatāra; Bhakti; Brahman; Gurū Granth Sāhib; Kuṇḍalinī; Mantra; Mokṣa; Nānak; Saṃnyāsa; Sikhism; Tantrism, overview article.

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CATHERINE CORNILLE (2005)

GURŪ GOBIND SINGH SEE SINGH, GOBIND

GURŪ GRANTH SĀHIB.

The Sikhs' full title for their scripture, the *Ādi Granth,* is *Ādi Srī Gurū Granth Sāhibjī*. More generally they refer to it as *Gurū Granth Sāhib. Srī, Sāhib,* and *jī* are all honorifics, conveying the Sikhs' reverence for this volume of scripture. This entry complements the encyclopedia's *Ādi Granth* entry by focusing upon the text as Gurū and the practical implications of this status, rather than upon its content, structure, and message. Sikhs regard the *Ādi Granth* as their living Gurū in succession, at his command, to Gurū Gobind Singh and his nine human predecessors, starting with Gurū Nānak. According to his follower, Bhāī Nand Lāl, Gurū Gobind Singh's last words before his death in 1708 were: "Whoever wishes to hear the Gurū's word should wholeheartedly read the *Granth* or listen to the *Granth* being read." Whereas the word *gurū* in Hindu usage refers to teachers generally, and in contemporary parlance more widely it is applied to any expert, Sikhs reserve the word for their ten Gurūs, for the *Gurū Granth Sāhib,* and for God—hence the need for a capital *G* in the Roman alphabet.

The Sikhs' place of worship, the *gurdwārā* (i.e., "doorway of the Gurū"), is such only by virtue of the presence of the Gurū in the form of the *Gurū Granth Sāhib.* Conversely, any room in which the *Gurū Granth Sāhib* is appropriately installed is a *gurdwārā.* Those who enter do so only after taking off their footwear and covering their heads (if they are not already wearing a turban).

USE OF TEXT IN WORSHIP. The text of the scripture plays several roles in Sikh worship. Each day the pages are opened at random for a *vāk* (utterance) or *hukam* (order) that is regarded as guidance for the day. The passage that is read is the first stanza on the left hand page, which will be read from the beginning even if this is on the previous page. The *vāk* from Sikhs' holiest shrine, the Harmandir Sāhib (the Golden Temple) in Amritsar (Punjab, India) is now disseminated worldwide by the internet, as the daily *hukam-nāmā* (command, edict). Some of the *vāk*s from the Harmandir Sāhib have attained historic status because of their pertinence to a particular situation. In 1920, for example, a *vāk* resolved (in the affirmative) the question of whether converts from the lowest caste should be allowed to offer *prasād* (blessed food) that is distributed to the congregation.

The scriptures are read aloud in worship and also sung. Almost the entire text is arranged according to musical modes *(rāg*s, i.e., *rāgas).* The *shabad*s (hymns) are sung by *rāgī*s (musicians) to the accompaniment of instruments. These usually include the *tablā* (pair of hand drums) and at least one harmonium, and often a *saurangī* (similar to a violin) and a *chimtā* (literally "fire tongs") that is inset with disks like those in a tambourine. By singing and listening one is steeped in the *gurbānī* (the Gurū's utterance) and so this is a form of *nām simaran* (i.e., remembrance of the Name, in the sense of divine reality encapsulated). Musical rendering of the scripture is known as *kīrtan* and in this way Sikhs express their devotion.

Pāth (pronounced like English *part*) is the word for a reading of the scripture. *Akhand pāth* means unbroken reading and so denotes a forty-eight-hour reading of the entire *Gurū Granth Sāhib.* Such readings are held to mark both happy and sad occasions. Most people gather for the commencement and the culmination of the reading. Individual readers take turns to read in shifts, and the family who organize the *akhand pāth* provides food for all who read or attend.

The *Gurū Granth Sāhib* plays a part at significant life cycle rites, commencing with the naming of infants. When parents bring their baby to the *gurdwārā,* the *granthī* opens the volume at random, as for a *vāk,* and reads out the initial for the child's forename. This is the first letter of the stanza with which the left hand page starts.

A Sikh couple is deemed to be married when they have completed the central marriage rite of circumambulating the volume four times. In this way the *Gurū Granth Sāhib* is at the heart of the ceremony, as its witness. Moreover, it provides the Lāvān hymns that are read and then sung as the couple proceeds round. The Lāvān, composed by the fourth Gurū, Rām Dās, celebrate the soul's movement towards full union with God.

Although the *Gurū Granth Sāhib* is not present at a cremation, it is the Sohilā, the hymns from the *Gurū Granth Sāhib* that mark the close of the day, that will be sung at this time. It is also customary for a complete reading of the scriptures to take place following a death. The reading may be an *akhand pāth* or may be an intermittent reading over seven or ten days.

Like the life cycle, daily life too is punctuated by the reading or hearing of select passages of scripture. Devout Sikhs begin each day by bathing (between 3:00 and 6:00 AM) and singing or chanting Gurū Nānak's Japjī. A selection of hymns, known as Sodar Rahirās, is recited in the early evening and the day ends with the selection of hymns entitled Sohilā.

Sikhs' annual festivals are preceded by an *akhand pāth,* which concludes on the morning of the festival day, and the largest-scale celebrations involve bearing the *Gurū Granth Sāhib* in a procession, known as a *nagar kīrtan,* through the streets. Often the volume is carried in a vehicle serving as a temporary mobile *gurdwārā.*

***GURŪ GRANTH SĀHIB* AS THE GURŪ'S EMBODIMENT.** The litany at the conclusion of Sikhs' principal congregational prayer, the Ardās, affirms that the scriptures are "*paragat gurān kī deh,*" "the Gurū's body made manifest." This dictates the physical treatment of the volume in ways appropriate for a revered Indian spiritual teacher. Account is taken of whether it is day or night, and other details such as seasonal temperature may also be considered in deciding where the volume is placed at night or how warmly it is covered. The *Gurū Granth Sāhib* spends the day reposing on a cushioned, canopied stand, the *pālkī* (literally palanquin). When not being read it is covered by *rumālās,* brightly colored covers which devotees make from velvety or satiny fabric. When open the volume is fanned by an attendant who waves a *chaur (chaurī or chanwar)* above it. The *chaur* usually consists of a switch of silvery hair from a horse or yak's tail that is mounted in a wooden or metal handle. Like the *pālkī* and *chananī* (canopy) this has come to symbolize sovereign authority, because in the heat of India in the days before electricity dignitaries would be kept cool by being fanned in this way by a servant.

In the late evening the *Gurū Granth Sāhib* is carried ceremonially (on a Sikh's head) to its place of rest. This is often a room in which the volume is literally put to bed. For this bedroom the name is *sach-khand,* the realm of truth, a name which it shares with the last stage of the spiritual journey as mapped out by Gurū Nānak.

Because the *Gurū Granth Sāhib* is treated as a living Gurū relatively few Sikhs have a copy at home, unless they can set aside a room for its use. Instead Sikhs usually keep a *gutkā* (handbook) containing the *nitnem*—that is, those passages from the *Ādi Granth* and from the *Dasam Granth* (the scripture traditionally attributed to Gurū Gobind Singh) that are used liturgically. If a family holds an *akhand pāth* at home, a room will be cleared of furniture, the *Gurū Granth Sāhib* is brought from the *gurdwārā* and installed under a canopy. While the Gurū is in the house no nonvegetarian food is cooked, and before coming into the Gurū's room people remove footwear and cover their heads.

The sanctity of the *Ādi Granth* as the Gurū's physical embodiment means that the scripture is printed, bound, and transported with special care. Employees of the press in Gurdwārā Rāmsar, Amritsar, undertake to abstain from tobacco and alcohol. Any "waste paper" is cremated in accordance with Sikh tradition. The bound copies are individually wrapped in a *rumālā* and transported to *gurdwārās* in specially appointed luxury buses.

TEXTUAL SCHOLARSHIP AND TRANSLATION. Sikhs' reverence for the scripture as the living Gurū has discouraged scholarly analysis of the text. During the latter half of the twentieth century, however, some scholars, including Gurinder Singh Mann, sought to understand the complexities of the *Ādi Granth*'s compilation. Textual study by Hew McLeod from New Zealand and the Sikh scholars Piar Singh and Pashaura Singh resulted in hostile outbursts from some Sikhs and the boycotting of the scholars concerned. The sense of outrage has to be understood in the context not only of Sikhs' veneration of the *Gurū Granth Sāhib* as the Gurū's living embodiment, but also of their insecurity as a religious minority during a period (the 1980s and 1990s) of violent political instability in Punjab.

One controversial textual issue is why there are discrepancies between different recensions *(bīrs)* of the *Ādi Granth*—that is, between the early-seventeenth-century Kartārpur *bīr* and the early-eighteenth-century Damdamā *bīr,* on the one hand, and on the other hand another seventeenth-century recension known as the Banno *bīr,* which came to be widely respected by eighteenth-century Sikhs. According to a long-accepted view, while the Kartārpur *bīr* was being taken for binding to Lahore, another was prepared by Bhāī Banno, but his additions were not approved by Gurū Arjan Dev. Another theory (Pashaura Singh's on the basis of extensive study) is that the Banno group, who held to a less militant style of Sikhism than was emerging after the fifth Gurū's violent death, supported the Banno *bīr* which omitted *dhunīs* (heroic tunes) and included, *inter alia,* a verse by Mīrā Bāī, a woman devotee of Kṛṣṇa, and a poem mentioning a Hindu head-shaving rite.

Translation of the text also began contentiously as Ernst Trumpp, the first translator, was conspicuously insensitive to Sikh sentiment. Subsequently, and thanks in no small part to the devoted labors of the next translator, Arthur Max Macauliffe, translation has been less controversial than textual criticism. English translations of the entire text have been appearing since Trumpp's 1877 version but not for liturgical use. The *Gurū Granth Sāhib* that is installed in *gurdwārās* is always the 1,430-page *Gurmukhī* text, in fact a copy of the *Damdamā bīr*. (*Gurmukhī,* literally "from the mouth of the Gurū," is the name for the script used both by the Sikh scripture and for the modern Punjabi language.)

Some attempts to translate the *Gurū Granth Sāhib*'s medieval mystical verse into a contemporary non-Indic language have produced stilted English and/or a skewing of underlying concepts. The fact that the opening formula "*ik oan kār*" can—arguably less tendentiously—be translated as "One reality is" (Nikky-Guninder Kaur Singh) as well as the popularly accepted "There is one God," epitomizes the difficulty for translators. The gendering of language about the divine reality by successive translators has conveyed the impression of a male God, which Nikky-Guninder Kaur Singh and other contemporary scholars have challenged. For example, the original text contains no equivalent to the English words *he* and *his,* which are introduced by most translators in the interests of a fluent English rendering of many verses about the divine principle.

SEE ALSO Ādi Granth; Dasam Granth; Gender and Religion, article on Gender and Sikhism; Gurū; Nānak.

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Eleanor Nesbitt (2005)

GURŪ NĀNAK See NĀNAK

GU YANWU

GU YANWU (*tzu*, Ningren; *hao*, Tinglin; 1613–1682), a founder of the "school of evidential research" (*kaozheng*). Gu Yanwu was born to the scholarly life. He was from Kunshan, Jiangsu province, in Southeast China, a region renowned for its historians and philosophers. His forebears were distinguished intellectuals, passionate readers and collectors of books. From the age of eleven, Gu was taught to read the encyclopedic originals of historical works rather than the standard abridgments. His upbringing instilled in him the highest standards of Confucian moral conduct.

At an early age, Gu's parents sent him to be adopted as the heir of his father's cousin, who had died in his teens. He was raised by his adoptive grandfather and by the fiancée of the deceased cousin, who insisted on living as his widow. This woman's extraordinary devotion to her fiancé's family won her public recognition and an imperial title, "Chaste and Filial." Gu Yanwu later expressed his admiration for his foster mother in a laudatory biography.

In 1644 the Manchus conquered North China, bringing an end to the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). The next year they drove south and conquered Jiangsu. During the siege, in which several of his relatives were killed or wounded, Gu fled with his foster mother to a remote village. When the Manchu victory was imminent, his mother starved herself to death as an act of loyalty to the Ming, exacting from her son a vow never to serve the Manchus.

In the early years of Manchu rule, Gu Yanwu, like many in the Southeast, resented the Manchus and clung to the hope that the Ming might be restored. Gu may even have covertly aided the resistance government headed by an exiled Ming prince. As time passed, many accepted the finality of the Ming defeat and made their peace with the new regime. The Manchus, for their part, courted the holdouts by means of the *boxue hongci*, a special examination in 1679 to select candidates for a lavish imperial project on Ming history. The court invited the support of leading intellectuals to dissipate the last vestiges of resistance in the Southeast; the "invitation" was in fact a command performance. Gu Yanwu was one of the few who did not take this examination; he escaped by working behind the scenes to have friends remove his name from the invitation list. Even after he had personally accepted the finality of the Ming defeat, he felt bound to honor his vow to his mother.

In 1657, Gu Yanwu narrowly escaped assassination by a personal enemy with whom he had been embroiled in a land dispute. To avert further harassment, Gu moved north and spent the remainder of his life separated from family and regional friends. In earlier years, he had turned in times of trouble to ancestral veneration, both to honor the heritage of his ancestors and to seek their guidance. In the North, he worshiped regularly at the tombs of the Ming imperial family, ritually renewing his commitment never to serve the Manchus, and hence honoring the memory of his mother.

The values and ritual practices of Confucianism gave meaning and structure to the life of Gu Yanwu. His scholarship was inspired and informed by his deep personal commitment to the Confucian Way.

Gu Yanwu charged that Confucian scholarship of the Song (960–1279) and Ming was so speculative and tainted by Buddhism that it lost sight of the core of the tradition. He echoed the scholars of the late Ming in their call for practical learning (*shixue*). Confucian scholarship could be effective only if it were solidly grounded in the authentic Way of the sages, which was expounded in the Confucian classics. For many centuries, however, Confucians, while venerating the classics as a kind of sacred canon, had distorted their true meaning by citing passages out of context or fabricating baseless interpretations. Inspired by Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) commentaries, Gu advocated a close reexamination of the classics, seeking to reconstruct the actual pronunciations and meanings of the original texts. He built on late Ming scholarship in phonology and philology, broadening the method by bringing to bear an enormous range of evidence. His work became the benchmark of evidential research.

Gu extended the methodology of *kaozheng* beyond classical studies. The broad-ranging collection of evidence and meticulous cross-checking of data were applied to such areas as water management, geography, and epigraphy. Gu did not limit his research to written materials; he made use of artifacts, interviews, and trips to the field. His energetic scholarship inspired several generations of intellectuals, many of whom did not appreciate the commitment to the Confucian Way that motivated his work.

Scholars have compared the legacy of *kaozheng* to the European Renaissance (Liang, 1959, p. 11, and Yü, 1975, p. 128) or to the Reformation (Hou, 1962–1963, p. 250). A more appropriate comparison might be made to the historical-critical movement in biblical scholarship, which arose alongside the European Enlightenment. Both movements claimed that misinterpretations of the canon had obscured the true teachings and exposed their traditions to dangers and heresies. Both sought to recover the true core of the teachings by means of the most rigorous historical and critical tools available. Both were occasionally misconstrued as secularizations of their traditions. Gu Yanwu devoted himself to rigorous scholarship in order to recover the solid foundations of the Way of the sages.

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JUDITH A. BERLING (1987)
Revised Bibliography

GYNOCENTRISM (derived from the Greek *gyno*, meaning "woman," and *kentron*, meaning "center") is a radical feminist discourse that champions woman-centered beliefs, identities, and social organization. It also challenges the androcentric promotion of masculine standards as normative, and the presentation of those standards as neutral rather than gendered. Consequently, from a gynocentric perspective, the assumption of masculine-neutral norms has meant that femininity has traditionally been presented as deficient, secondary, and lacking. Gynocentric feminism is concerned, therefore, to revalue sexual difference and femininity positively.

THEORIES OF GYNOCENTRISM. The literary scholar Elaine Showalter was one of the first feminists to develop a systematic program that was critical of the androcentrism of mainstream literary studies and that sought instead to illuminate the "subculture" of women writers and readers. She coined the term *gynocritics* to refer to this project, suggesting in her article "Towards a Feminist Poetics" (1986) that:

> The program of gynocritics is to construct a female framework for the analysis of women's literature, to develop new models based on the study of female experience, rather than to adapt male models and theories. Gynocritics begins at the point when we free ourselves from the linear absolutes of male literary history, stop trying to fit women between the lines of male tradition, and focus instead on the new visible world of female culture. (p. 131)

Showalter thus argued for the realignment of the conceptual standpoints of literary studies by seeing women's writing as primary, rather than as marginal. For her, it was a matter of identifying the difference in women's writing and of demonstrating how the psychodynamics of female creativity shaped women's literary productions and readings differently from those of men. In order to identify female difference, the gynocritical approach sought to study the history, styles, themes, genres, and structures of writing by women, as well as the constraints on, and impact of, female literary traditions. The aim of gynocritics was the transformation and redefinition of the androcentric parameters of the study of literature.

Showalter's gynocritical approach coincided with, and reflected, a shift in second wave feminism away from the promotion of the humanist ideal of gender-neutral equality, towards a model of liberation that affirmed female experience. Iris Marion Young, in her essay "Humanism, Gynocentrism, and Feminist Politics" (1990), outlines the benefits of this change in emphasis, arguing that:

> [G]ynocentric feminism finds in women's bodies and traditional feminine activity the source of more positive values. Women's reproductive processes keep us linked with nature and the promotion of life to a greater degree than men's. Female eroticism is more fluid, diffuse, and loving than violence-prone male sexuality. Our feminine socialization and traditional roles as mothers give to us a capacity to nurture and a sense of social cooperation that may be the only salvation of the planet. (p. 79)

Gynocentric feminism thus promoted a vision of femininity at odds with traditional androcentric and misogynist formulations, neatly reversing the values that had been traditionally assigned to women. In doing so, it simultaneously rehabilitated those aspects of femininity that were historically belittled or maligned, and articulated a theory of female difference in contrast to, and against, a masculine logic of neutrality.

For Showalter, writers like Adrienne Rich and Susan Griffin have exemplified gynocritical writing, as has Hélène

Cixous's theorization of *l'écriture féminine* (feminine writing and language). Within religious studies, the gynocentric approach has been epitomized by the feminist theologian Mary Daly, and by Goddess feminists who have argued that patriarchal religions have promoted detrimental and erroneous models of femininity, which can only be corrected by developing an inspirational, woman-centered ontology rooted in female experience.

CRITIQUES OF GYNOCENTRISM. However important the restoration of dignity to women may have been for many feminists, the viability of the gynocentric approach has been subject to sustained criticism for some time. The most common critique has been the suggestion that reliance on a theory of sexual difference—where femininity is promoted as the source of values by which to criticize androcentrism and to realize a better society—is problematic in that it depends on ahistorical, essentialist, and universalist ideas about gender attributes. Moreover, it is contradictory for feminists to advocate binary thought (in this case male/female, with the qualities that accrue to each member of the pair simply reversed). The idea of an essentialized femininity confronting an equally essentialized masculinity is not a coherent feminist strategy for the defeat of misogyny; on the contrary, it reifies the very system it seeks to undo by invoking the dichotomous logic that many feminists have argued is the mechanism by which male-dominant hierarchies are sustained (see Moi, 1989, pp. 125–126; and Young, 1990, pp. 87–90, for a more detailed critique of gynocentric feminism). Gynocentrism is perhaps best seen as a transitional phase in feminist theory, one that was probably necessary for addressing the wholesale marginalization of women's voices, but which has been critically adjusted as gender theory has emerged as a preferable mode for understanding sexual identity and for challenging notions of gender neutrality.

SEE ALSO Androcentrism; Feminism, article on Feminism, Gender Studies, and Religion.

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SÎAN HAWTHORNE (2005)

GYŌGI (670–749), born Koshi no Obito, was a Buddhist monk who popularized Japanese Buddhism during the Nara period (710–784). According to the *Genkō shakusho,* a collection of biographies of priests, Koshi no Obito was born in the Kubiki district of Echigo (present-day Niigata prefecture) to a family that claimed to be descended from Korean royalty. In his youth, because he was so often in the company of birds and cows, he was called Ushitori ("cowbird"), but he soon began to concern himself instead with the needs of his fellow people. His ministrations on behalf of common people attracted hundreds of followers. At the age of fifteen, he "left the world" (i.e., took mendicant orders) and entered Yakushiji, one of the seven great Nara temples. Under the guidance of the monks Eki, Dōshō, and Gien he became acquainted with the doctrines of the Hossō (Skt., Yogācāra) school of Buddhism.

In 694 Gyōgi was ordained a monk by Tokuei, who administered the 250 full monastic precepts (*gusokukai;* Skt., *upasampadā*). He later retired with his mother to Mount Ikona in order to practice austerities. In this action Gyōgi, whose religious name means "foundation of ascetics," followed the example of the mountain ascetic (*hijiri*) En no Gyōja, who had done the same a few decades earliers.

Gyōgi did not persist in this life of retreat, however. Soon he started to travel extensively and to propagate Buddhism, not only in its religious, but also in its magical aspects. At the same time he undertook numerous projects that demanded strenuous physical labor: He constructed roads, built bridges and dikes, and planned and dug out irrigation canals. Gyōgi was a remarkable sculptor and artisan; he invented a new kind of earthenware and is credited with the introduction of the potter's wheel. Also active in welfare work, he built free clinics and lodging houses. In the province of Kii he built forty-nine Buddhist temples. In all these activities he was convinced that his engagement in manual labor was an "expedient means" (*upāya*) to *nirvāṇa.* Hence his testimony: "That I have attained [understanding of] the *Lotus Sūtra* was possible only through making firewood, gathering herbs, drawing water, and laboring thus." In his sermons he stressed that there was no antagonism between Shintō and Buddhism, and he tried to reconcile Shintō gods and buddhas. It is not accurate, however, to trace to Gyōgi the origin of Ryōbu Shintō, or Shintō-Buddhist syncretism.

Gyōgi's activities and sermons earned the high esteem of Emperor Shōmu (r. 724–749). In 745 he appointed Gyōgi to the office of *daisōjō,* the highest office in the Buddhist hierarchy. At that time, Gyōgi was also sent by the emperor to the sun goddess Amaterasu's shrine at Ise, bearing a Buddhist relic as a present to the deity. By that gift he hoped to receive her approval for the construction of a huge statue of Buddha Vairocana (the Daibutsu) to be erected in the Tōdaiji in Nara, a large temple that had been completed a few years earlier. In a dream Shōmu received the answer of the sun goddess, who said: "This land is the country of the gods. [The people] should worship them. But the wheel of the sun is Dainichi Nyorai [Skt., Mahāvairocana]." With these words Amaterasu identified herself with Buddha Vairocana. Thereupon, Gyōgi traveled about the country to collect money and gold for the construction of the Daibutsu. Although in his lifetime Gyōgi was already considered a *bodhisattva,* he was not granted this title by the emperor until the year of his death. He is considered to be the manifestation of Mañjuśrī, the *bodhisattva* of divine wisdom. Gyōgi died in Tōnanin Hall of Sugiwara Temple in 749.

SEE ALSO En no Gyōja.

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J. H. KAMSTRA (1987)

Clockwise from top left corner. *Vitruvian Man* by Leonardo da Vinci, c. 1490. *[©Bettmann/Corbis]*; Thirteenth-century relief of the wheel of the sun chariot from Sūrya Temple in Konarak, India. *[The Art Archive/Dagli Orti]*; Wooden figures of gods at Marae, a temple site near Honaunau, Hawai'i. *[©Werner Forman/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; The ancient Egyptian god Horus, at Edfu, Egypt. *[©Christine Osborne/Corbis]*; Eighth-century Chinese horse. *[©Royal Ontario Museum/Corbis]* .

H

HAAVIO, MARTTI (1899–1973) was a Finnish poet, folklorist, and scholar of comparative mythology and phenomenology of religion whose multifaceted career and comprehensive scholarship stemmed from a deep knowledge of Finnish history. After a childhood spent in Lutheran vicarages in Ostrobothnia, Tavastia, and southwestern Finland, which gave him a taste of the diversity of Finnish folklife, he became one of its leading scholars, analyzing Finnish language, literature, folklore, religion, and culture. As a poet who published under the pseudonym P. Mustapää, Haavio also introduced modernism into Finnish poetry while emphasizing its roots in the past.

Haavio began his scholarly work as a student of Kaarle Krohn, who was the University of Helsinki's first professor of Finnish and comparative folklore, in 1908. Haavio's doctoral dissertation *Kettenmärchenstudien* was based on the principles set forth in Krohn's *Der finnische Arbeitsmethode* (The Finnish work method). The dissertation was published in Folklore Fellows Communications (FFC) in 1929, a long-standing folklore series that was later edited by Haavio himself.

In the 1930s field experience and work as director of the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society made Haavio an expert on various folklore genres, both prose narrative and oral poetry as well as folk beliefs. The genre of Karelian saints legends was introduced as a result of his fieldwork with Nastja Rantsi, a narrator and singer of saints' legends in Onega. Haavio's archive-oriented research produced numerous titles, including *Suomalaisen muinaisrunouden maailma* (The world of Finnish old poetry, 1935); *Suomalaiset kodinhaltiat* (Finnish guardian spirits, 1942), a geographical and psychological study of Finnish folk belief; and *Viimeiset runonlaulajat* (The last rune singers, 1943).

Haavio's rich scholarly output deserves a more thorough presentation than this brief article can undertake. Unfortunately the bulk of his work remains untranslated, despite its many valuable insights into the study of comparative religions. The few samples translated include *Väinämöinen, Eternal Sage* (FFC 144, 1952), a study on the roles of the main hero of the Kalevala (the Finnish national epic) as Orpheus, creator god, and shaman and the oral tradition behind them; *Essais folkloriques* (Studia Fennica 8, 1959), a comparison of Finnish sacred vocabulary with Homer, the *Edda*, and other mythological traditions; *Heilige Haine in Ingermanland* (FFC 189, 1963), which compares regional phenomenology of religion on Ingrian sacred groves to Greek *temenos* and Egyptian Osiris.

Haavio's contributions to the disciplines of comparative religion, mythology, and phenomenology of religion in particular could be better appreciated if more of his research were translated. His ability to analyze and write is comparable to that of the well-known religious historian Mircea Eliade. What unites these two scholars is their shared ability to build an intuitive bridge from a single mythical symbol or sacred space to universal spheres of meaning and comprehension.

In his fieldwork Haavio was a master of qualitative methods. He rejected the quantification typical of Krohn and the Finnish Folklore School as well as the sociological approach that emerged after Word War II. His emphasis on field observations as purely individual experiences that could not be replicated by any other observer stem from his training in Finnish ethnography but are also related to his perspective as a mainstream scholar and poet.

Haavio's first memoir *Nuoruusvuodet* (Years of youth) is a chronicle of the years 1906 to 1924, but it was not published until 1972. After his death in 1973, his notes and correspondence were compiled by his wife, Aale Tynni, an Ingrian-born poet, and his daughter Katariina Eskola completed their publication through 2003 as a series of books of his correspondence with *Autius lehtipuissa*, a unique narrative history of Finland, filtered through the life and times of a multitalented man.

SEE ALSO Finno-Ugric Religions.

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JUHA PENTIKÄINEN (2005)

HABOUS SEE WAQF

HADAD SEE ADAD

HADES is the Greek name for the underworld and its ruler. The spelling of the name sometimes varies (Aides, Hades, Aïdoneus), but the etymology seems now reasonably clear. Appropriately, it is linked to the root **a-wid-* (invisible, unseen): Hades' wolf's cap is worn by the goddess Athena in the *Iliad* and makes her invisible (5.844–845). Most likely, Hades first denoted a place name and was personified only later.

Hades is a shadowy god in Greece. He has few myths, fewer cults, and is not even represented with certainty on archaic Greek vases. Homer (*Iliad* 15.187–193) mentions that Hades acquired the underworld through a lottery with his brothers Zeus and Poseidon. The passage is one more example of the increasingly recognized Oriental influence on early Greek literature, since it ultimately derives from the Akkadian epic *Atrahasis.* There is an obscure allusion in the *Iliad* (5.395–397) that Hades was wounded by Heracles "at Pylos among the dead." This myth is probably part of Heracles' function as Master of Animals and suggests that the personification of Hades dates back to the Bronze Age.

However, the most famous myth of Hades is his abduction of Persephone, which was localized at various spots in the Greek world. The oldest version is related by the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, which probably dates from the first half of the sixth century BCE. When Persephone was frolicking with her friends, "the deep-bosomed daughters of Ocean," on a meadow, picking flowers, Hades carried her off on his golden chariot. Her mother, Demeter, went everywhere to search for her daughter, but eventually it was Hermes who persuaded Hades to release Persephone. However, before doing so, he tricked her into eating seeds of the pomegranate. This meant that she had to spend part of the year with Hades in the underworld and part of the year with her mother in the upper world. The couple became worshiped as Plouton and Kore or, as in Eleusis, Theos and Thea. Understandably, the Greeks could not imagine them to be with children, as the underworld was imagined to be an infertile place. As Persephone was also associated with love and marriage and an abduction was part of Spartan wedding rites, the myth would originally have been a narrative representation of prenuptial girls' rites, although at some point it had become connected with the Eleusinian mysteries.

A god like Hades could hardly receive a cult, and Elis seems to have been the only place that worshiped him in a temple, which could be opened only once a year, with only the priest having access to the temple. Hades was indifferent to offerings and not moved by prayer. His connection with the underworld made him "horrible" (*Iliad* 8.368) and even an eater of corpses (Sophocles, *Electra* 542–543). Fear made people euphemistically refer to him as, for example, "Zeus of the Underworld" (*Iliad* 9.457), "the chthonian god" (Aeschylus, *Persians* 629), or even "the god below" (Sophocles, *Ajax* 571).

Evidently, there was not an authoritative tradition about Hades' appearance. In his *Alcestis* (259–262) Euripides lets the homonymous heroine exclaim: "He stares at me from under his dark-eyed brow. He has wings: it's Hades," but normally Hades was wingless in Greek art. In representations of the kidnapping of Persephone, Hades is sometimes depicted as a young man, but he can equally be mature or even old. His positive side comes to the fore in later representations through his holding the cornucopia. Typically, he is sometimes looking away from the other gods—even they did not like him.

In the *Iliad* a soul of the dead goes straight to the underworld, whose gates are guarded by the canine Kerberos (*Iliad* 5.646). The underworld is situated under the earth, but also in the west—perhaps a sign of a conflation of different ideas about the underworld; its deepest part is called the Tartaros. The soul can reach this "mirthless place" (*Odyssey* 11.94) only by crossing a river, the Styx. The picture of the underworld is bleak and somber, as dead Achilles says: "do not try to make light of death to me; I would sooner be bound to the soil in the hire of another man, a man without lot and without much to live on, than be ruler over all the perished dead" (*Odyssey* 11.489–491). It is only somewhat later that we hear of the old (youth is out of place in the gloomy underworld) ferryman of the dead, Charon, and of Hermes as the guide of the dead.

Death was considered to be "common to all men" (*Iliad* 3.236–238). In contemporary mythology, personified death (Thanatos) is the brother of personified sleep (Hypnos). This appears to be another way to express the feeling that death is something natural. Yet these rather bleak pictures could not satisfy everybody, and in Book 4 of the *Odyssey* we already hear of an abode for select dead, "the Elysian Plain at the ends of the earth" (563–567). The somewhat later Hesiodic *Works and Days* (167–173) mentions the Islands of the Blessed, the destination of many heroes at the end of their lives on earth. This changing conception of the underworld went concomitant with a growing interest in the afterlife that reflected itself in accounts of a descent into the underworld, as in the myths of Heracles, Theseus, and Orpheus.

In the same process the underworld also gradually became "upgraded." At the Eleusinian mysteries there had long been a promise of a better life in the hereafter, as is illustrated by Sophocles' words: "Thrice blessed are those mortals who have seen these rites and thus enter Hades: for them alone there is life, for the others all is misery" (frag. 837, Radt). In Pythagorean and Orphic circles, however, the idea arose of a "symposium of the pure" (Plato, *Republic* 2.363c). At the same time, the Orphics developed the idea of a kind of hell, where sinners had to wallow in the mud. Hades only now developed into a judge of the dead.

This revaluation of the afterlife reflected itself also in the early fifth century when Hades became identified with an originally different god, Plouton, "wealth" personified, who was related to the Eleusinian cult figure Ploutos, and in this capacity even received a priestess. Hades now became the god who sent up "good things" to the mortals from below. The connection between the underworld and material wealth also reflected itself in new terms to denote the dead. Whereas in Homer the dead were preferably called the "feeble heads of the dead," they now become the "blessed" in a materialistic sense: the dead were people blessed with material goods and better off than the living. In the later fifth century these ideas about the "good life" in the underworld were even exploited by Athenian comedy, which portrayed the world of Hades as a Land of Cockaigne with beautiful maidens and boisterous banquets.

Yet on the whole the Athenian public did not firmly believe in rewards or punishments after death. In fact, they do not seem to have expected very much at all. "After death every man is earth and shadow: nothing goes to nothing," states a character in Euripides' *Meleagros* (frag. 532, Nauck, 2d ed.). In Plato's *Phaedo* Simmias even claims that it is the fear of the majority that their soul is scattered at death "and this is their end" (77b). Most Athenians may therefore have agreed with the statement in Euripides' *Hypsipyle* that: "One buries children, one gains new children, one dies oneself. Mortals do take this heavily, carrying earth to earth. But it is necessary to harvest life like a fruitbearing ear of corn, and that the one be, the other not" (vv. 234–238, in the edition by J. Diggle).

The early Greek ideas about the afterlife remarkably resemble those of Rome and ancient Israel. In ancient Rome people seem hardly to have believed in a life after death at all, even if they worshiped their ancestors at certain festivals; the Etruscans certainly took over Hades from the Greeks in the shape of their Aita, but lack of texts (albeit plenty of illustrations) does not allow us to reconstruct their "infernal" ideas. It was perhaps not that different in ancient Israel. In historical times the hereafter was called Sheʾol, which in the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint, normally is translated as *Hades*. Yet in the oldest Israelite ideas the grave must have played an important role, since "to go down into the grave" (*Ps.* 16:10, 28:1, etc.) is equivalent to "to go down into Sheʾol" (*Gn.* 37:35, 42:38, etc.). Sheʾol was located beneath the earth (*Ps.* 63:10), filled with worms and dust (*Is.* 14:11, 26:19), and impossible to escape from (*Jb.* 7:9ff). Its shadowlike (*Is.* 14:9) inhabitants no longer thought of the living (*Jb.* 21:21), or even of God himself (*Ps.* 88:13). It is only in a relatively late prophet like Ezekiel (*Ez.* 32:19–28) that we hear about different areas of Sheʾol for different orders of dead. However, it would still be quite a while before radical new ideas about the resurrection from the dead would take shape.

The dominant idea of the underworld in the ancient Mediterranean, then, seems to have been a relatively dim underworld with people focusing on life on this earth. This attitude proved to be highly tenacious, and, even if minority views existed about a happier hereafter, it lasted well into Byzantine times before the more joyful ideas about the Christian heaven started to prevail over the traditional, grimmer views of the ancient Hades.

SEE ALSO Afterlife, overview article, article on Greek and Roman Concepts; Death; Demeter and Persephone.

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JAN N. BREMMER (2005)

ḤADĪTH. The Arabic word *ḥadīth* literally means *speech* and also *new:* because speech is created as it is uttered, it is always new. Following Prophet Muḥammad's death (632 CE), people engaged in speech about him so much that the word *ḥadīth* was eventually reserved for speech related to the Prophet, including his own speech; it then came to refer to the sayings of the Prophet and his companions, and finally only to the sayings of the Prophet himself.

Sunnah (lit., a beaten track) is a parallel word to *ḥadīth,* as both refer to the speech and conduct of the Prophet, yet the two usages initially signified different shades of meaning. *Ḥadīth* denoted speech or word whereas *sunnah* signified actual conduct, or the way of doing something. It was, however, difficult to draw a clear line between words and deeds, especially in light of the fact that the narrations of companions referred to both the sayings and the deeds of the Prophet. Hence the difference between *sunnah* and *ḥadīth* gradually faded and they became synonymous. This was further confirmed by Imām Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī (d. 820), who maintained that no *sunnah* could be proven without a valid *ḥadīth,* and the view thus prevailed that *ḥadīth* signifies not only the speech but also the acts and conduct of the Prophet. A technical difference that still remains, however, is that *sunnah* refers to the law or value that is contained in a *ḥadīth;* hence, a *ḥadīth* does not necessarily contain a *sunnah. Sunnah* (or *ḥadīth*) is the most authoritative source of Islam next to the Qurʾān; it is both explanatory in relation to the Qurʾān and a source in its own right. The Qurʾān provides the affirmation that "he (the Prophet) speaks not of his desire and what he says is based on revelation And whatever the Messenger brings to you, take it, and whatever he forbids you, abstain from it" (53:3). Elsewhere the Qurʾān also makes it a religious obligation of every Muslim to obey the Prophet (4:59; 59:7). To this al-Shāfiʿī (d.820) added the argument, which seems to have been current before this time, that when the Qurʾān spoke of "the Book and the Wisdom (*al-kitab waʾl -hikah*)," which it does on seven occasions in this order, it meant Qurʾān and Sunnah. The *ḥadīth* thus represented divine guidance, and the conclusion was drawn that all authentic *ḥadīths* must be unquestioningly accepted and obeyed.

Khabar (lit., "news"; pl. *akhbār*) is also synonymous with *ḥadīth,* especially among the Shīʿī writers, as they include not only *ḥadīths* but also the sayings of their recognized *imāms* within the meaning of *khabar.* The Shīʿī *imām,* being a member of the Prophet's family (i.e., the *ahl al-bayt*) is deemed to have inherent knowledge *(al-ʿilm al-ladunni*) of the Sunnah of the Prophet, transmitted from father to son down the line of descent. There is, however, a tendency among Shīʿī writers, too, to reserve *Sunnah* for the Sunnah of the Prophet alone, whereas *khabar,* and *ḥadīth* can include both the *ḥadīth* proper as well as the sayings of the *imām.*

Lastly, *āthār* (lit., "vestige") refers to the sayings, opinion *(fatwa),* and precedent of the companions. The phrase *ʿilm al-ḥadīth* ("science of *ḥadīth*") refers to *ḥadīth* literature as well as to the methodology and critical standards used to authenticate the *ḥadīth.*

Ḥadīth qudsī ("sacred *ḥadīth*") is the name given to a unique variety of *ḥadīth* wherein the Prophet attributes what he says directly to God. In the eleventh century CE, the question arose whether the *ḥadīth qudsī* was to be regarded as part of the Qurʾān, which by definition consisted of the revealed speech of God, or was to be attributed to the Prophet. *Ḥadīth* scholars concluded that while the message of the *ḥadīth qudsī* comes from God, it is in the words of the Prophet—and thus cannot be considered part of the Qurʾān. For this reason only the Qurʾān, and not the *ḥadīth qudsī,* may be recited during ritual prayer *(ṣalāḥ).* Even so, *ḥadīth* scholars generally treat the *ḥadīth qudsī* as a superior class of *ḥadīth.* A total of about one hundred *ḥadīth qudsī* have been recorded, and their authenticity is measured by the same criteria and standard as are applied to *ḥadīths* generally. Muhyī al-Dīn ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1240) compiled a collection of 101 *qudsi ḥadīths* bearing the title *Mishkat al-Anwar.* Later Mulla ʿAli al-Qari (d.1605) selected forty such *ḥadīths,* and this collection has become widely adopted by many subsequent authors.

Reception and Documentation. As a general rule, every *ḥadīth* must be supported by a reliable *isnād* (chain of transmission) consisting of the names and identity of its transmitters. The number of transmitters in the *isnād* tends to increase with every successive generation. Sometimes a *ḥadīth* that is transmitted by one companion is then transmitted by a number of persons in the next generation who may happen to be residing in different localities. This raises the question of how the particular transmitter obtained the information from his immediate source. Was it through direct hearing *(samāʿ)* and personal contact, or through other means of communication? Various methods of reception *(tahammul)* have thus been identified, which include, in addition to *samāʿ,* such methods as submission *(ʿard)* and recitation *(qirāʾat)* of a *ḥadīth* to the master for his approval, permission *(ijaza)* to transmit *ḥadīth,* handing over *(munawala)* of the master's materials to the student, correspondence *(mukataba),* declaration *(iʿlam)* by the master of his own source, bequest *(wasiyya),* and finding *(wijada)* by the student of *ḥadīth* in the master's handwriting. Following the large-scale documentation of *ḥadīths* in the ninth century, most *ḥadīth* scholars began to employ special terms in the *isnād* literature that indicate the method by which the *ḥadīth* had been transmitted; this has remained the most common method to this day. Most people nowadays find *ḥadīths* in one of the standard collections and when quoting them make reference to the latter.

Isnāds can consist of one or two links, or of as many as half a dozen or more; the smaller the number of links, the shorter the time lag between the demise of the Prophet and the transmission of the *ḥadīth.* Thus *isnāds* are divided into two types, namely *elevated (al-isnād al-ʿalī),* which consist of fewer links and transmitters, and *descended (al-isnād al-nāzil),* which may involve a large number of transmitters. Most *ḥadīths* were compiled long after the time of the Prophet, but some were compiled relatively early. Ḥammām ibn al-Manabbih (d. 722), for instance, recorded his collection *(sahīfa)* around 672. His *ḥadīths* consisted mainly of one link, namely a companion. Imām Mālik (d. 796) related *ḥadīths* in his *Muwatta* (Straightened path) that had been told to him by Nāfiʿ, who had heard them from ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar, who had heard them from the Prophet, thus making for two intervening links. Elevated *isnāds* of this kind are also frequent in the collection of *ḥadīths* compiled by the renowned Muḥammad ibn Muslim ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 742). Shorter *isnāds* are naturally preferable, which is why some of them have been variously labeled *silsilat al-dhahab* ("golden chain"), or *asahh al-asānid* ("soundest of *isnāds*") and so forth. *Ḥadīth* scholars are of the view that because *isnād* is the conveyor of the teachings of the Prophet, it is a part of the religion. Hence a diligent and conscientious rendering of *isnād* is believed to be an act of merit that gains the pleasure of God.

The Prophet is reported to have discouraged documentation of his own sayings in order to prevent confusion between the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth.* Many of his leading companions were consequently against documentation of *ḥadīth;* at the same time, however, many others among them considered it permissible and actually wrote *ḥadīths* for their own collections. There are also reports that during the latter part of his ministry, that is, when much of the Qurʾān had already been documented, the Prophet permitted some of his companions to write *ḥadīths,* and even instructed them "to preserve knowledge through writing." It seems, then, that after an initial period of hesitation, the basic permissibility of writing and documenting *ḥadīths* was accepted and this activity became, in due course, a major preoccupation of the *ʿulamāʾ* during the second and third centuries of Islam. But even in the early stages, renowned companions such as ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (d. 661), ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar (d. 690), Saʾd ibn ʿUbada (d. 671), and Samura ibn Jundub (d. 681) are known to have documented *ḥadīths* in small booklets, or *sahīfas.* Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh (d. 699) compiled a larger *sahīfa,* and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ (d. 681) compiled one that became known as *al-sahīfa al-sādiqa* ("the true collection"). One of the earliest documented *ḥadīths* of that period to have survived in its original form is the renowned *Constitution of Madina* (*Dustūr al-Madina,* c. 622).

Recent research by Muslim scholars concerning the early documentation of *ḥadīths* has suggested the need for a revision of some of the negative conclusions Western Islamologists have drawn regarding the time frame and authenticity of the early collections. Twentieth-century scholars including Muḥammad Hamīdullāh, Subhī al-Sālih, Abul Ḥasan al-Nadwī, and Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Aʿzamī have questioned the conclusions of Ignác Goldziher, Joseph Schacht, G. H. A. Juynboll, and others who cast doubt on the authenticity of the bulk of *ḥadīths.* The most extreme position on the authenticity of the *ḥadīths* is that of Joseph Schacht, who took Goldziher's observations a step further to conclude that "every legal tradition from the Prophet, until the contrary is proved, must be taken, not as an authentic . . . statement . . . but as a fictitious expression of a legal doctrine formulated at a later stage" (*The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence,* 1950, p. 149). For their part, Muslim commentators have maintained that documentation of *ḥadīths* took place much earlier than suggested by Schacht and others. Two decades after the publication of *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence,* Nabia Abbott tried to balance Schacht's somewhat sweeping conclusions. Based on a group of papyri dealing with *ḥadīths,* she concluded that several thousand authentic *ḥadīths* had been documented during the first century of Islam. Her study also emphasized the attentiveness and care of important *ḥadīth* scholars, such as al-Zuhrī and others after him. A more direct rebuttal of Schacht's position can be found in Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Aʿzamī's *On Schacht's Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (1985), which argues that many of Schacht's conclusions on the authenticity and documentation of *ḥadīths* are exaggerated and unreliable.

TYPES OF *ḤADĪTH.* The pious Umayyad Caliph ʿUmar II (d. 711) asked the leading scholars of Mādina, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ḥazm (d. 715), al-Qasim Muḥammad ibn Abū Bakr (d. 728), and al-Zuhrī to collect and document *ḥadīths,* while taking care to "accept nothing other than the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet." But the caliph died soon afterwards and it was al-Zuhrī, the teacher of Imām Mālik, who persisted and attempted what proved to be the first major documented collection of *ḥadīths.* Al-Zuhrī's work marked the beginning of a movement that was to be continued by many others in the eighth and ninth centuries. Yet al-Zuhrī's own collection was subject-oriented and consisted of separate booklets for individual subjects that were neither well consolidated nor classified. He documented all the information that he had received from the companions and followers *(tābiʿūn)* concerning *ḥadīths,* and often integrated the companion's own statement into the prophetic *ḥadīths.* This manner of treatment can also be seen in Imām Mālik's *Muwatta,* one of the earliest collections of *ḥadīths* after al-Zuhrī's, which would probably have been the most authoritative, even among the standard collections, had it not been for its tendency to confound the *ḥadīth* with the *āthār* of companions. To distinguish these two and separate them from one another became one of the principal preoccupations of collections from later periods. The major ninth-century collections, discussed below, employed new methodology and critical standards. They attempted to more carefully verify the reliability of the *isnāds* and began to classify and distinguish the *sahīh* ("sound," "reliable") *ḥadīth* from the *daʿif* ("weak") *ḥadīth.*

Ḥadīth literature has developed in several stages, each marking some new development in the writing methods and classification of *ḥadīths.* The *sahīfa* collections, to which reference has already been made, contained the earliest documented *ḥadīths* on record, but were not classified; they consisted simply of written records of *ḥadīths* on a variety of subjects, and were mainly written for the personal use of their authors. Many companions recorded *ḥadīths* in this form, which naturally come first in order of reliability and closeness to the source. Next came the *musannaf* ("classified") collections, which collated *ḥadīths* on separate themes, organizing them under headings and into chapters. Famous in the *musannaf* category were the *Muwatta* of Imām Mālik, the *Musannaf* of Maʿmar ibn Rāshid (d. 770), and the *Musannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Humam al-Sanʿani (d. 827).

Then followed the *musnad* (lit., "supported") collections, which favored *isnāds* that linked a *ḥadīth* to the Prophet through the reports of companions. All *ḥadīths* that were narrated by one companion, regardless of subject matter, were put under his or her name, the main purpose being to preserve the largest possible number of *ḥadīths.* Famous in this category was the *Musnad* of Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 855), which contains about 40,000 *ḥadīths,* including 10,000 repetitions, reported by about seven hundred companions. Other works in this category include the *Musnad* of Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān al Ṭayālisī (d. 819), and the *Musnad* of ibn Najjār (d. 876), among many others. Some of the *musnad* works are arranged alphabetically and some according to region and tribe. Although considered to be richest of all in scope and content, the *musnad* collections are not easy to use because they are not classified by subject.

The *sahīh* ("sound," "reliable") collections marked the fourth and basically the last stage in the development of *ḥadīth* literature. The six standard Sunnī collections of *ḥadīths,* known as *al-sihāh al-sitta,* were all compiled around the mid-ninth century and have remained the most authoritative to this day. *Sahīh al-Bukhārī* and *Sahīh Muslim* are often referred to collectively as *sahīhayn* ("the two sound collections"), but even so, they do not include all the *sahīh ḥadīths* on record, as some have appeared in other collections. Because their compilers, Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī (d. 870) and Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj (d. 875), did not set out to include every *sahīh ḥadīth* in their collections, it follows that a *ḥadīth* may not be labeled unsound or unreliable simply because it did not appear in either of these two collections.

Before discussing the six standard *ḥadīth* collections in some detail, it is necessary to introduce the three-fold classification of *ḥadīths* into the *sahīh, ḥasan,* and *daʿif* categories.

The *sahīh ḥadīth* is defined as one with an unbroken chain of transmission, consisting of upright persons who also possessed retentive memory, going all the way back to the Prophet or a companion; its content is not outlandish *(shādh)*—in the sense that it does not contradict another reliable *ḥadīth*—and it is free of both obvious and subtle defects. It is, in other words, a *ḥadīth* that is free of defects in respect both to its *isnād* and its content *(matn). Sahīh ḥadīth* are also subdivided into those on which there is general agreement, and those on which the *ʿulamāʾ* have disagreed. Furthermore a *ḥadīth* may be *sahīh* in its own right *(sahīh li-dhātih),* in that it fulfills all the requirements of *sahīh,* or it may be *sahīh* due to an extraneous factor *(sahīh li-ghayrih),* as in cases where doubts about the memory of a *ḥadīth*'s narrator have been removed due to confirmation from another source.

Ḥadīth transmitters have been classified into a number of categories, with respect to their uprightness, reliability, and retentiveness. Without entering into technical details, it can be said that a *sahīh ḥadīth* is one for which the transmitters belong to the first three most reliable classes of narrators: the companions, the renowned *imāms,* and scholars of *ḥadīths.* As opposed to this, a *ḥasan* ("fair") *ḥadīth* is one for which the transmitters belong to the next three categories, consisting of those who are not among the most prominent and about whom some doubt persists concerning the retentiveness of their memory and the accuracy *(dabt)* of their reports. A *daʿif* (weak) *ḥadīth* is defined as one that fails to meet the requirements of the *sahīh* and *ḥasan* classifications, and its transmitters include one or more persons of questionable reliability. The weakness in a *daʿif ḥadīth* may be in the *isnād* or in the text. There are many subvarieties of the *daʿif* category. The term *mursal* (lit., "sent free"), for example, refers to a *ḥadīth* with an *isnād* that is missing a link at the level of a companion—in other words, a follower *(tābiʿī)* has directly relayed it from the Prophet. But even the *mursal* is sometimes accepted if it is reported by a highly reliable person, such as the *imāms* al-Shāfiʿī or Mālik.

Ḥadīths have also been classified into three types based on the number of their narrators. The first of these is the *mutawatir* ("continuously recurrent") type, those that have been reported by a large enough number of people to preclude the possibility of collusion or fabrication. A *ḥadīth* that is reported by only a small group of individuals is known as an *aḥad,* or solitary *ḥadīth,* and, finally, a *ḥadīth* that is called *mashhūr* ("well-known") is one that became widespread during the first three generations following the demise of the Prophet.

THE SIX STANDARD COLLECTIONS. The compiler of the *Sahīh al-Bukhārī,* al-Bukhārī, came from Bukhara in Asia Minor. He traveled widely and devoted some sixteen years to the compilation of his *Sahīh.* He interviewed over a thousand *ḥadīth* transmitters in the Ḥijāz, Egypt, Iraq, and Persia and collected as vast number of about 600,000 *ḥadīths,* from which he selected 9,082 *ḥadīths.* Discounting all the repetitions, *Sahīh al-Bukhārī* contains 2,602 *ḥadīths,* divided into 106 chapters and under numerous subheadings. The repetitions here, as in other collections of *ḥadīths,* occur on account of the presence of more than one chain of *isnād* for one and the same *ḥadīth.* They are all listed on the assumption that multiple *isnāds* add to the reliability of a *ḥadīth.* It was al-Bukhārī's declared purpose to include in his collection only *sahīh ḥadīths* narrated by upright and retentive individuals who had met with one another within the same generation or within two adjoining generations. Al-Bukhārī followed al-Zuhrī's methodology and criteria in the selection of *ḥadīths.* The first link in al-Bukhārī's *isnād* is usually a verified companion. This is followed, in turn, by two upright followers, or by one follower who is verified by at least two other narrators. The third link in al-Bukhārī's chain of *isnād* usually consists of an upright and retentive successor *(tābi' tābi'i)* from whom other narrators have also reported. The fifth link in al-Bukhārī's *isnād* is likely to be his own teacher, or *shaykh.* It was important for al-Bukhārī to ensure that at any stage of the *isnād* a *ḥadīth* had been narrated by at least two people, be it a companion, follower, or successor. This is only a general characterization of al-Bukhārī's *isnād,* as exceptions are found—for example, in the case of a companion, Midras al-Aslamī, whose *ḥadīths* al-Bukhārī included, even though only one person, Qays ibn Hazim, has reported *ḥadīths* from him.

Al-Bukhārī himself entitled his work *al-Jamīʿ al-Sahīh al-Musnad al-Mukhtasr min Ḥadīth Rasūl Allāh wa Sunanih wa Ayyamih.* This name is indicative of al-Bukhārī's methodology and approach: the word *al-Jamīʿ* (lit., "comprehensive") signifies that the work's coverage extends to eight areas. These are dogmatics *(ʿaqāʾid),* legal rules *(ahkām),* moral teachings (*al-riqaq),* the etiquette of eating and drinking *(adab al-taʿam waʾl -sharāb),* Qurʾanic commentary, the history and biography of the Prophet *(al-tafsīr, waʾl -tārīkh waʾl -siyar),* travel and movement *(al-ṣafar waʾl -qiyām waʾl -quʿud),* turmoil and tumults *(al-fitan),* and the virtues of the Prophet and his companions *(al-manāqib).* The word *al-Sahīh* in al-Bukhārī's title signifies that he did not knowingly include a weak *(daʿif) ḥadīth* in his collection, whereas the word *al-Musnad* implies that all the *ḥadīths* he compiled were supported by verified *isnāds* going all the way back to the Prophet. Al-Bukhārī was the first to compile a comprehensive collection of this kind, and his methodology was generally followed by Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj.

Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj's *Sahīh Muslim* is the next most authoritative of the six collections of *ḥadīths* that are currently in use, except in North Africa and the Maghreb, where *Sahīh Muslim* is ranked first. This reverse order of ranking is basically due to *Sahīh Muslim*'s superior classification system, which makes it easier to use than *al-Bukhārī. Sahīh Muslim* consists of 10,000 *ḥadīths* that can be reduced to just over 3,000 without the repetitions. Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj also traveled extensively in search of *ḥadīths* and interviewed a large number of transmitters over a period of fifteen years. Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj went on record to say, in the introduction to his *Sahīh Muslim,* that he showed his work to Abū Zaurʿa al-Rāzī, the renowned scholar and teacher of *ḥadīth* of his time and that Al-Rāzī had criticized some *ḥadīth* transmitters that Muslim had included in his chains of *isnad* as being unreliable and that al-Rāzī had found a hidden defect *(ʿillah)* in others. Muslim then added that he removed what al-Rāzī had criticized and doubted and included everything he had approved as *sahīh* (sound) *ḥadīths.* He also wrote that he intended to purify the *ḥadīths* of the accretions of storytellers, the input of those who were moved by ignorance and prejudice, and the influence of heretics.

A point of difference between al-Bukhārī and Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj can be noted with regard to their respective treatment of the *isnād.* Al-Bukhārī not only verified that contiguous links in the *isnād* were contemporaries, he also made sure that they had actually met. For Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj it was sufficient if the two were contemporaries, even if he could not prove they had not actually met. Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj was content, in other words, with the possibility of an actual encounter between teacher and disciple.

Commentators have noted that more of al-Bukhārī's narrators meet the requirements of just character *(ʿadala)* and retentiveness *(dabt)* than do those of Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj. Of the total of 430 or so of al-Bukhārī's narrators, the critics have identified 80 as being of questionable standing or weak, whereas 160 of the total of 620 of Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj's narrators are said to be weak. About 89 of al-Bukhārī's *ḥadīths* have been identified as having some defect, whereas for Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj the figure stands at one hundred.

The *Sunan* (pl. of *sunnah,* lit., "beaten track") collections specialize in legal *ḥadīths,* known as *aḥadīth al-ahkām.* The various chapters of *sunan* works are thus devoted to topics such as rules pertaining to cleanliness, prayers, fasting, and the *ḥajj* pilgrimage, as well as marriage, divorce, child custody, inheritance, and so forth. The *Sunan Abū Dāwūd* of Sulaymān ibn Ashʿath al-Sijistānī (d. 888), which consists of 4,800 *ḥadīths,* stands out for its comprehensive treatment of legal *ḥadīths.* Abū Dāwūd did not confine his *Sunan* to the compilation of *sahīh ḥadīths,* but also included *ḥadīths* in the *ḥasan* ("fair") category. Abū Dāwūd claimed, however, that whenever a *ḥadīth* seemed weak to him, he identified it as such and specified its point of weakness. This would imply that when he did not specify any weakness in a *ḥadīth,* it was deemed to be *sahīh. Sunan Abū Dāwūd* has been ranked third in order of reliability after *al-Bukhārī* and *Muslim.* Abū Dāwūd also traveled widely in his quest to collect and verify *ḥadīths* and acquired such a reputation as a teacher of *ḥadīths* that students came to him from wide and far.

The *Sunan al-Nasāʾī* of Ḥāfiz Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad ibn Shyʾayb al-Nasāʾī (d. 915) stands next in order of ranking to after the *Sunan Abū Dāwūd,* and consists of 5,000 legal *ḥadīths,* of which a great deal had already appeared in previous collections. Nasāʾī wrote his *Sunan* in two stages. His initial collection, entitled *Al-Sunan al-Kubrā* (the greater *sunan*), contained *ḥadīths* in the three categories of Sound, Fair, and Weak, and was presented to the Abbasid ruler of Ramla in Palestine. Nasāʾī was then asked to compile a work that only contained *sahīh ḥadīths,* and so he winnowed the *Al-Sunan al-Kubrā* down to a smaller collection named *Al-Mujtaba min al-Sunan* (The select from the *sunan*). This version is the one currently in use and is said to contain very few defective or weak *ḥadīths. Al-Nasāʾī* is ranked equally with the *Sunan Abū Dāwūd,* yet the latter is preferred as it provides additional insights of interest to jurists.

Next in the *sunan* category is *Sunan al-Tirmidhī* by Abū ʿIsā Muḥammad al-Tirmidhī (d. 915), which is also included among the six standard collections. *Ḥadīth* scholars have placed this work in the *sunan* category due to its arrangement and the style of its chapters, which are both in line with works of jurisprudence *(fiqh).* Some have also placed *al-Tirmidhī* in the *jamīʿ* ("comprehensive") category, as it is not strictly confined to legal *ḥadīths.* One of the distinctive features of this work is that it first gives the principle *isnād* of a *ḥadīth,* and then gives other alternative *isnāds.* It focuses on *ḥadīths* that were practiced and generally accepted by Muslim jurists, and is thus thought to be free of spurious *ḥadīths,* even though it is not totally devoid of ones that are weak or defective.

The last of the *sunan* among the six standard collections is *Sunan Ibn Mājah,* by Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Qazwīnī, better known as ibn Mājah (d. 886). The book contains 4,341 *ḥadīths,* of which 3,002 had been recorded by previous authors, leaving 1,339 *ḥadīths* recorded by ibn Mājah alone. *Sunan Ibn Mājah* contains *ḥadīths* in all three categories of Sound, Fair, and Weak, which is why it was not included among the six standard collections until the early twelfth century, when Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqisi (d. 1227) included it among a list of reliable works—after which other writers followed suit. Until that time, the *Muwatta* of Imām Mālik had been ranked as the sixth of the leading *ḥadīth* collections, but the *Muwatta* contained very little that was not already known, and thus came to be considered less important than the *Ibn Mājah.*

CRITICISM. The main purpose of *ḥadīth* criticism is to verify the authenticity of a *ḥadīth* through methods of enquiry that roughly resemble double-checking and cross-examination. The Prophet is reported to have said in a *ḥadīth,* "One who intentionally tells a lie about me, let him be sure of his place in Fire (of Hell)." This and other similar prophetic warnings led to a cautious approach on the part of the companions and other *ḥadīth* transmitters, who were mostly careful not to narrate *ḥadīths* about which they had doubts. The four early Islamic caliphs *(khulafāʾ rāshidūn)* made a point of criticizing some of their fellow companions who narrated *ḥadīths* that were not directly known to them, or that they had doubts about. Some of the less reliable seeming were asked to produce evidence of the veracity of their reports. The subsequent spread of *ḥadīths* to remote parts of the Islamic domain also gave rise to apprehensions about the presence of error and distortion in *ḥadīths.* A separate branch of *ḥadīth* studies, known as *al-jarḥ waʿl-taʿdīl* ("impugnment and validation," also known as *naqd al-ḥadīth,* or *ḥadīth* criticism), was developed as a result, and numerous writers in almost every period contributed to its growth. Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn (d. 847), ʿAlī al-Madīnī (d. 848), and Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal were the early pioneers, after which almost every leading scholars of *ḥadīths,* including al-Bukhārī, Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj, Abū Dāwūd, Nasāʾī, and others wrote one or more books on the biographies of *ḥadīth* transmitters, their strengths and weaknesses, and factors that influenced the reliability of their reports. A vast body of biographical literature, known as *asmāʾ al-rijāl* (lit., "names of authorities") and *tabaqāt* ("generations of *ḥadīth* transmitters"), developed as a result.

Whenever the reliability of a *ḥadīth* transmitter is questioned, two approaches are possible: one is to attempt a validation *(al-taʿdīl)* of the transmitter's reliability and uprightness, the other is to enter into a process of disqualification known as *al-jarḥ* (lit., "wounding," "impugnment"). The methods by which impugnment is attempted are, on the whole, more rigorous than what is usually required for validation. *Ḥadīth* scholars have employed special terms that indicate grades of reliability, and also ones that suggest degrees of weakness. Terms such as *thabtun* ("proof"), *hujjatun* ("strong," "firm"), *ḥāfiz* ("retentive"), and *dabit* ("accurate"), in reference to transmitters, indicate the first degree of *taʿdīl,* whereas expressions such as *ṣadūq* ("truthful"), *sāliḥ al-ḥadīth* ("fit to narrate *ḥadīth*"), and *la baʾsa bihi* ("no objection") tend to come next in ranking. Impugnment is established through the use of terms such as *majhūl* ("obscure"), *daʿif* ("weak"), *matruk* ("abandoned"), *muttaham biʾl-kidhb* ("accused of lying"), and *kadhdhāb/waddaʿ* ("liar," "forger"). Broadly speaking, specifying the grounds for one's assessment is necessary for impugnment, but not for validation. *Ḥadīth* scholars thus tend to validate transmitters in a few words without elaborating on their good qualities, whereas brevity of this kind is not enough for purposes of impugnment.

Comparison of sources and checking on dates and localities are among the most commonly employed methods of *ḥadīth* criticism. To verify the accuracy of a doubtful *ḥadīth,* comparison is attempted between the various versions of the *ḥadīth* reported by different students of one scholar, or between statements made by the same scholar at different times, or between the *ḥadīth* and the relevant text of the Qurʾān, and so forth. In some cases where a disciple claims to have received a *ḥadīth* directly from a teacher, further examination of their respective localities and dates proves that the two could not have met. Some other grounds of impugnment that *ḥadīth* scholars have listed include:

1. Attribution of lies and falsehood to the Prophet.
2. A reputation for telling lies, even if no specific charge is proven.
3. A reputation for negligence and mistakes.
4. Sinful conduct, whether consisting of words or acts.
5. A reputation for making improbable statements and indulgence of the imagination *(wahm).*
6. Disagreement with reliable authorities and narrators.
7. Obscurity and lack of clear personal identification.
8. Advocacy of pernicious innovation *(bidʿah).*
9. Bad memory.

Validation and impugnment are only acceptable from qualified and impartial persons. Although backbiting *(ghiba)* is normally forbidden, *ḥadīth* scholars have generally held it to be permissible to the extent that it is necessary in the context of impugnment.

AUTHENTICITY. The prerequisites that every *sahīh ḥadīth* must fulfill to be considered authentic may be summarized as follows:

1. The *ḥadīth* must be supported by a sound and verified *isnād.*
2. It is required that every link in the *isnād* was known as an upright and respected person *(ʿadl)* at the time they reported the *ḥadīth,* even if they did not yet have that reputation when they received it. The minimum requirement of uprightness *(ʿadala)* is that the person be free of grave sins *(kabaʾir)* and not have persisted in committing minor sins *(saghaʾir)* or degrading or profane acts, such as associating with persons of ill-repute, making silly jokes, or exhibiting antisocial behavior. The fundamental positive behaviors that *ʿadala* is associated with are observance of religious duties and personal decorum *(muruʾa).* The different schools of law tend to differ on such issues as whether or not the holding of views that amount to pernicious innovation *(bidʿah)* or caprice *(hawā)* is grounds for disqualification—though generally such views are permitted in a narrator, unless the person is actively engaged in inviting others to embrace them. Various methods have been identified by which to verify the probity of person, including, for example, *tazkiya* (lit., "purging"), which may consist of testimony from witnesses, character references from colleagues, or consideration of general local reputation.
3. None of the transmitters in an *isnād* can be implicated in forgery, or in sectarian, political, or theological disputes, especially in cases where such disputes are actually related to the theme of the *ḥadīth.*
4. The transmitter must be a contemporary of the teacher on whose authority he related the *ḥadīth.* As mentioned above, al-Bukhārī further stipulated that the two must have actually met. Some have also specified that it is necessary for the narrator to have been certain of the reliability of his teacher.
5. The transmitter must qualify as *dabt*—that is, they must possess a retentive memory and be capable of accurate renderings of *ḥadīths.*
6. The transmitter must not be obscure or unknown *(majhūl):* at least two upright persons must have narrated a *ḥadīth* from them. Only the companions are exempt from this requirement.
7. The text *(matn)* of a *ḥadīth* must be in the dignified style of the prophetic language. The presence, therefore, of obscene, ridiculous, or objectionable elements is taken as a sign of forgery.
8. The text and message of a *ḥadīth* must be consistent with the Qurʾān. A clear and irreconcilable conflict with the Qurʾān would thus render the *ḥadīth* unacceptable.
9. A *ḥadīth* is also rejected if it fails the test of historical evidence. A *ḥadīth*—for example, that the Prophet said such and such in a public bath in Medina—is rejected simply because no public bath existed in Medina at the time.
10. The text of a *ḥadīth* must not be contrary to reason. For instance, a *ḥadīth* claiming that the parents of the prophet Muḥammad rose from the dead to embrace Islam would be rejected.

MODERN ATTITUDES. Modern Islamic scholars and the majority of Muslims continue to consider *ḥadīths* a part of established dogma, and authoritative proof of the tenets, laws, and values of Islam, next only to the Qurʾān in importance. The spread of a modern scientific mindset has, however, led to much discussion of the authenticity of individual *ḥadīths.* The presence of forgery in the larger mass of *ḥadīths* is not denied, and many *ḥadīth* scholars have been involved in painstaking efforts to identify and isolate unreliable *ḥadīths,* which have been gathered together in collections under the general heading *mawduʿat* ("forgeries"). Despite this meticulous work, however, doubts remain.

While acknowledging that most of the forged *ḥadīths* had been isolated in the *mawduʿat* literature, Muḥammad Zubayr Siddīqī, writing in 1962, argued that there were still "some weak or forged" *ḥadīths* in the standard collections, which he identified with certain topics, such as the antichrist *(dajjāl)* and the last guide *(mahdī).* Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 1993) drew attention to *ḥadīths* in the standard collections that are at odds with the Qurʾān. He then categorized a number of such *ḥadīths* as "rejected" or "discarded" *(al-aḥadīth al-marduda).*

The late Shaykh of al-Azhar, Maḥmūd Shaltūt, criticized (c. 1965) the "strange phenomenon" of *ḥadīths* being labeled *mutawatir* ("continuously recurrent") even though they do not meet the requirements of that category, simply because of their diffusion and frequent occurrence in scholarly works. This tendency can even be observed in some of the Qurʾān commentaries, in which weak *ḥadīths* are sometimes labeled *mutawatir.*

The contemporary scholar Yūsuf al-Qaradāwī has drawn attention to *ḥadīths* in the category of *al-targhīb waʾl-tarhīb* ("encouragement and warning"), which *ḥadīth* scholars have often uncritically accepted, thus undermining the reliability of *ḥadīths* generally. This is because scholars have often neglected to apply the conditions of admissibility to this category of *ḥadīth*—on the assumption that they consist of moral advice and are in any case optional. Works of Qurʾān exegesis are also not free of weak and even forged *ḥadīths* on such topics as the relative superiority and virtues of the various chapters and verses of the Qurʾān. Even prominent Qurʾān commentators "such as al-Zamakhsharī, al-Thaʿālibī, al-Bayḍāwī and others have persisted in quoting fabricated statements in the name of *ḥadīth*" (al-Qaradāwī, *Kayfa Nataʿamalu maʿ al-Sunnaa al-Nabawiyyah,* p. 36).

Writing in 1961, the Shīʿī author Muḥammad Najmī Zanjānī offered an evaluation representative of both Shīʿī and Sunnī opinion when he claimed that *ḥadīth* scholars have generally placed much emphasis on *isnāds* and the reliability of *ḥadīth* transmitters, but not enough on the text and message of *ḥadīths.* The Egyptian scholar Fahmī Huwaydī, while acknowledging (1989) this weakness of the *ḥadīth* collections, pointed out that many unqualified people with little insight into *ḥadīth* methodology have lightly dismissed *ḥadīths* and advanced ill-considered views in the name of reform and *ijtihād* ("independent reasoning"). Huwaydī extended this critique to the work of scholars at some Egyptian universities, including the renowned al-Azhar.

Yūsuf al-Qaradāwī has stressed the need for compilation of no less than three comprehensive encyclopedias on *ḥadīths,* one on *ḥadīth* narrators and their biographies, another containing the text *(matn)* of *ḥadīths,* and a third one to be drawn from the first two and devoted exclusively to *ḥadīths* in the *sahīh* and *ḥasan* categories. Selection of material should be made strictly according to the scientific criteria that leading *ḥadīth* scholars have developed, and modern research tools, such as computers and comprehensive indices, should be employed.

In *Ḥadīth Methodology* (2002) the present writer observed that the existing methodology and criteria of *ḥadīth* criticism were basically adequate and that *ḥadīth* scholars were also reasonably successful in their efforts to isolate the fabricated matter in their *mawduʿat* collections. However, much of the *mawduʿat* literature was written long after the standard collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj. In addition, some of the more refined methods of *ḥadīth* criticism were developed after the time of al-Bukhārī and Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj. There is good reason, therefore, to undertake an extensive review and consolidation of *ḥadīths* with the aid both of the existing *ḥadīth* methodologies and of more modern means and methods of research.

SHĪʿĪ *ḤADĪTH.* The Shīʿah Ithna Ashariyah (or the Twelver Shīʿah), who represent the largest group of Shīʿah and mainly reside in Iran and Iraq, rely on their own collections of *ḥadīths.* Of the four most authoritative Shīʿī collections, *Al-Kāfī fī ʿIlm al-Din* (What is sufficient for knowledge of religion) by Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad al-Kulaynī (d. 939) is rated first, followed, in order of priority, by the *Man lā Yahduruhu al-Faqīh* (One who is not visited by a jurist) of Ibn Bābawayhi (al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq ibn Bābūyah al-Qummī; d. 991), and by the two works of Shaykh Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 1067), namely *Al-Istibsār fīmā Ukhtulifa min al-Akhbār* (Examination of what is in dispute among the reports) and *Tahdhīb al-Ahkām* (Verified rulings). *Al-Kāfī* has 326 chapters and 16,199 *ḥadīths* from the Prophet and the *imāms.* It deals with three basic themes, namely, theology and the imamate, which are the basics of religion *(uṣūl);* the *furūʿ*, or details of positive law; and *al-rawda min al-Kāfī* ("flowers from *al-Kāfī*"), which include miscellaneous topics related to *fiqh.* Ibn Bābawayhi's collection, which records 5,963 *ḥadīths,* was compiled with the goal, as the title uggests, of diminishing the reader's need to consult a jurist. Al-Ṭūsī's *Tahdhīb* is the next largest of the four collections, containing 13,590 *ḥadīths,* while *Al-Istibsār* contains 5,511 *ḥadīths.* The former lays greater emphasis on methodology in its verification of the rulings of *ḥadīths,* whereas the latter was basically intended be a supplement to *Tahdhīb.* Whereas the leading Sunnī scholars, such as al-Shāfiʿī, emphasized accuracy in the *isnād* and text of *ḥadīths,* al-Ṭūsī was largely concerned with the practicableness of the *ḥadīths'* contents. All four collections rely on *isnāds* reaching back only to the recognized Shīʿī *imāms.* Two of the *imāms* who feature most prominently in these works are the fifth and sixth *imāms,* Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 735) and Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 765), esteemed members of the Prophet's household who are credited with having changed Shiism from a primarily political movement into something with a juridical and scholastic focus.

Unlike their Sunnī counterparts, Shīʿī scholars were not preoccupied with the search for sound *isnāds* reaching back to the Prophet, because the infallibility *(ʿiṣmah)* of the *imāms* precluded the need for such verification. Shīʿī *ḥadīths* were mainly collected in the tenth through eleventh centuries, in part because of the "occultation" of the Shīʿah's living *imām* in 873, and also because the Buyid rulers who were friendly to the Shīʿah only came to power in 945. Although a great deal of the Sunnī and Shīʿī *ḥadīths* are similar in content and message, Sunnī and Shīʿī scholars tend to differ widely in their respective approaches to authenticity and *isnād.* A four-fold classification of *ḥadīths* is employed in Shīʿī collections:

1. The *sahīh* or sound *ḥadīth* is one with an *isnād* that connects it without a break to one of the *imāms.*
2. The *mūwaththaq,* or reliable, *ḥadīth* is one supported by an *isnād* in which the companion of an *imām* unequivocally declares it acceptable.
3. The *ḥasan,* or Fair, *ḥadīth* is one with an *isnād* including a transmitter (from the *imām*) whose uprightness *(ʿadala)* is not unequivocally established.
4. The *daʿif,* or weak, *ḥadīth* is one that does not fall within the first three categories.

Like their Sunnī counterparts, Shīʿī scholars have expressed reservations about the reliability of some material in their *ḥadīth* collections. They have also questioned the reliability of using *aḥad* (solitary) *ḥadīths* to establish a decisive legal or religious ruling. Like most Sunnī scholars, the Shīʿah maintain that all the obligatory rulings of *ḥadīths* must be proven as a matter of certainty. Because *aḥad ḥadīths,* those reported by a small number of unconnected individuals, do not qualify as *mutawatir,* they are not enough to establish a decisive *sharīʿah* ruling.

See Also Islamic Law, article on Sharīʿah; Sunnah; Tafsīr.

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ḤAFETS ḤAYYIM See KAGAN, YISRAʾEL MEʾIR

ḤĀFIẒ SHĪRĀZĪ (AH c. 726–792/c. 1326–1390 CE), in fuller form Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ-i Shīrāzī, was a Persian lyric poet and panegyrist, supreme master of the *ghazal.* He was born in Shīrāz, spent the greater part of his life in the area, and died there as well; his tomb is now a showplace. Much of his career was in the service or the ambiance of a minor dynasty, the Muzaffarids, whose overall reign was approximately coeval with his own life-span. As usual with Persian literary figures, Ḥāfiẓ's exact dates and the details of his life are much disputed: The traditional biography leans heavily on anecdotal pieties, casual references in a variety of sources, and possible allusions in his own corpus, the text of which is still far from being in a definitive form.

He is said to have had an impoverished childhood, part of it as an orphan, and to have worked at various menial tasks, but in the culture of the time these circumstances were no obstacle to his acquiring a sound education in the traditional disciplines. His pen name, Ḥāfiẓ, ostensibly signifies that he had memorized the Qurʾān, and his poetry itself displays a confident acquaintance with Arabic, the so-called Islamic sciences, various branches of secular knowledge, and Persian literature to his own day. By the age of thirty he appears to have gained some acceptance as a panegyrist to princes and influential ministers of state, and he continued thus—with various vicissitudes of fortune—for most of his life. At no time, however, does he seem to have enjoyed a regular appointment or any considerable wealth. Indeed, because some of his patrons were rigidly orthodox Sunnīs, his generally libertine and laissez-faire attitudes—whether actual or merely professed—often landed him in a measure of disgrace, if not in outright persecution.

It has sometimes been suggested, and as often denied, that Ḥāfiẓ was even of Shīʿī allegiance, and certainly various passages in the poems can be read in this sense. Nor, in the light of modern scholarship, would his celebrated Ṣūfī leanings necessarily conflict with such loyalties. The precise truth can hardly be discovered at this date, especially because ambiguity is in the nature of the case for any poet beholden to an establishment: In this case, Ḥāfiẓ would have had to be extremely ambiguous in his poetry in order to avoid offending various religious, political, or social interests. What seems clear, however, is that he generally carried, and made frequent reference to, a reputation for aggressive nonconformity.

Ḥāfiẓ's unique literary position rests on his *Dīvān,* the collection of his poems, practically all in the *ghazal* form (a sort of ode, ranging from a few monorhyming couplets to twelve, fifteen, or more). Unfortunately, no more than a few brief excerpts in translation can be cited here, but perhaps these opening lines from three separate *ghazal*s will give the reader a sense of Ḥāfiẓ's work:

> If that Shīrāzī Turk will take my heart into his hand
> I'll give up, for his Indian beauty spot, all Samarkand and Bukhara.
>
> The green fields of heaven I saw and the new moon's sickle
> And I was minded of what I'd sown and the reaping day to come.
>
> I'll hold not my hand from wanting till my desire is realized;
> Either my body attains my heart's beloved, or my heart will leave my body.

Ḥāfiẓ is said to have produced his own definitive recension some twenty years before his death, but no manuscript of this has ever come to light (and given the constant wear and tear on this particular poet's work over the centuries, it seems unlikely that any ever will). All known versions are believed to depend on an edition allegedly produced at some point after his death by a disciple. Whatever Ḥāfiẓ's own intentions may have been (at an earlier date or at various later times), the actual textual situation, quite apart from variant readings, is extraordinarily chaotic. In the thousands of extant manuscripts from all periods and places, and consequently in the more than a hundred printed editions, the number of poems ranges from about five hundred to almost one thousand, although the lower figures are commonly taken to be the more reliable. Moreover, in these recensions the order and number of lines in any particular poem can vary greatly, with virtually only the first (the internally rhymed quote-line) and the last (containing the poet's name) remaining stable. This is not at all abnormal in classical Persian poetry, where each line is designed to have a degree of self-containment and "finish" unfamiliar in Western literatures. What is unusual in the present case is the extent of variability, and this feature has given rise to a whole critical literature in its own right. Other factors of confusion are the idiosyncratic cultural tendencies for lesser poets to father their works onto famous names, or for all writers to borrow freely from each other where a line or two may seem particularly apt. Nor, in a culture where memory and oral tradition also play an important part, can the standard methods of scholarship (the oldest manuscript is normally the best, the simplest solution is likely to be wrong, and so forth) be applied with full confidence. In short, the text as it stands is neither authoritative in itself nor reliable in its possible relationship to the poet's life, and it may never become so.

Once this is said, and the rich (but often falsely romantic) accretions draped around the figure of Ḥāfiẓ in Western renderings have been stripped away as far as possible, one is still left with a body of poetic utterance that is regarded by Persian-speakers as sublime to the point of near-sacredness. Ḥāfiẓ's *Dīvān* is read or memorized, and quoted, at all levels of society, but it is also used—by those who call it a "Qurʾān in Persian"—in all solemnity to take random auguries at such important moments in life as a projected marriage, a business or medical decision, the start of a lengthy journey, and so on. Persian-speakers may or may not fully appreciate the linguistic and literary mastery Ḥāfiẓ constantly displays; they may not always relish his ambiguities and the alternating and interpenetrating themes—mystical, melancholy, pessimistic, hedonistic, or panegyric—but they all believe they hear in him a voice of infinite wisdom and transcendence. Nor does this apply only to those whose usual language or mother tongue is Persian, for Ḥāfiẓ was for centuries as revered in regions where Turkish (the Ottoman Empire) and Urdu (various princely states of India) were the local languages. Indeed, many of the best earlier studies, translations, and commentaries have emanated from those centers, because Iranian scholarship as such in Ḥafiziana is largely a twentieth-century development and is in some degree indebted to these as well as to the West.

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Ḥāfiẓ naturally receives major and special treatment in the standard reference works, including both editions of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (different articles) and the several Western histories of Persian literature. Editions in Persian (none of them fully satisfactory) are numerous, while studies on him and translations of many of the poems abound in most Western languages. Unfortunately, a high proportion of the latter are of indifferent scholarly quality or make no claim to be more than popular and imaginative reworkings; most of them are in any case long since out of print. Some of the best critical studies are recent ones in Persian, and these have not been translated.

Two useful and accessible works are Michael C. Hillmann's *Unity in the Ghazals of Hafez,* Studies in Middle Eastern Literatures, no. 6 (Minneapolis, 1976), and A. J. Arberry's *Fifty Poems of Ḥāfiẓ,* rev. ed. (Cambridge, U.K., 1962). Both of these include bibliographies, and Hillmann's is comprehensive.

G. M. WICKENS (1987)

HAIDA RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS.

The Xaada Gwaay or Haida Gwaii, the island of the Haida people, is a land of intense natural beauty, a misty archipelago composed of two large islands, Graham and Moresby, and some 150 small islands on the borderlands between southern Alaska and northern British Columbia. The intensity and subtlety of the territory is apparent in its dense rain forests, miles of pristine sandy shores, craggy mountain cliffs, and unpredictable weather patterns.

The elaborate Haida culture is as rich in mythological heritage as it is in natural beauty and resources. This complex mythological landscape parallels and represents the complexity of traditional Haida religious practice and its influences in contemporary Haida society. It is the land and the spirits of the land that inspired Haida stories and myths.

Though their islands were inhabited by many villages in traditional times, there are three remaining Haida villages in the contemporary landscape: Old Massett Village and Skidegate, both on the Queen Charlotte Islands in British Columbia, and Hydaberg, on the southeastern tip of Alaska.

Just as the land provides the source of inspiration for myth, traditional mythological elements of the Haida culture are inextricably linked in ancient and modern society to the social, political, and economic lives of the Haida people. Myths provide the foundation for ancient religious practices and influence many aspects of the contemporary life of the Haida people.

THE SUPERNATURAL. In his *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida* (1905) and *Haida Tests, Masset Dialect* (1908), John R. Swanton provides the earliest comprehensive texts documenting Haida myths and stories. His interpretations describe the ever-changing nature of what he calls "Haida spirit theory." There is such a close relationship between all of the forces of the natural world that they are easily interchangeable. The world of the Haida is characterized by allusion and pun and the nature and character of the land and Haida mythological powers can be described as intelligent, unpredictable, creative, ambiguous, dangerous, friendly, and transformative. Supernatural beings have a great deal of power and can easily disguise themselves to become Salmon People, Herring People, Forest People, Bear People, Ocean People, Mouse People, or any number of other "supernatural" beings.

To the Haida, the world is one seamless existence. Natural and supernatural are categories in which nature rules. Phenomena change rapidly depending on the time and space of perception, the weather, the occasion. In ritual space, natural and supernatural beings and creators come very close and are perceived in elaborate masks, dances, musical expressions, and poetic oratory. Supernatural beings can play with humans, harm them, marry them, and appear and disappear at a moment's notice, depending on their moods.

HAIDA MYTHS AND STORIES. The Haida creation story plays a prominent role in their mythological belief system. Raven created the world by teasing the humans into existence while they cowered on the beach under a clam shell. Raven is a sacred trickster and transformer who sings, plays, teases, and even lies to inspire deep transformation. There are numerous versions of Raven stories and new ones are being created every day. One of the most famous is Bill Reid's well-known interpretation *Raven Steals the Light* (1984). This retelling of the Raven myth is widely read and has been translated into several languages.

Killer Whale is another important mythological character. Because the Haida relied heavily on the abundance of the sea for their sustenance, they have many stories about Killer Whale's power and ability to rule the sea creatures. Many Killer Whale stories describe the loss of lives at sea and the transformation of humans into sea creatures who will later support or harm fishermen.

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF HAIDA SOCIETY. The matrilineal social structure of the Haida reflects mythological characters in the form of clans. A clan system assigns associative categories between animals and human beings, who can obtain powers through these associations. The two primary clans are Raven and Eagle. Each clan is further organized around family crests that are also associated with animals prevalent in Haida territory.

Traditionally, Haida were not allowed to marry within their own clan. This system of intermarriage used moieties to govern marital alliances, economic structures of reciprocity and ownership of property. This system of organization also included the supernatural beings associated with human clan systems. "This dual classification imposes order on the universe not only in the sense of categorizing nature in analogy to human society, but also in the sense of perceiving things as belonging, in the double sense of being owned and being part of" (Boelscher, p. 29).

In the past, these clans played a dominant role in the management of tribal affairs. In contemporary society, they function as influential family affiliations in an electoral governance system established during the period of colonization. The political life of the Haida is also complex. In this hybrid governance system, elements of the secular and the sacred interact. Elected chiefs and hereditary chiefs share the responsibilities of leadership in Haida communities and serve as models for ethical lives based on generosity, strength of character, and strong family ties. Haida ethics are based in reciprocity that is expressed on a daily basis through generous gift giving, especially during the potlatches. Gift giving also functions to maintain a fair distribution of wealth in the community.

THE POTLATCH. Haida have many elaborate ceremonies and rituals. These events are generally categorized as potlatches, ceremonial events in which generosity is expressed by the giving of gifts, feasting, and traditional Haida dancing and singing. Though potlatch was forbidden during the period of colonization, the revitalization of traditional Haida customs that began in the 1970s reinstated the practice, and potlatches are frequently organized in all three Haida villages. They are occasions in which to express and reinforce the communal values and beliefs of the people, to socialize as a community, to grieve loss or celebrate birth, to commemorate great leaders, and other occasions.

In traditional Haida societies, there were many ceremonies to acknowledge the passing of community members into the spirit world. Mortuary poles were commissioned and potlatches were attended by relatives and friends who traveled great distances to participate. In contemporary Haida society, the ritual of the memorial feast, which is held one year after the death of a family member, includes the moving of the headstone onto the grave, blessings, a potlatch, and speeches honoring the Haida who has passed into the spirit world. At these memorial feasts, participants are instructed by religious leaders and elders to "put aside the grief" because it is the end of the official one-year mourning period (Kenny, p. 1218).

Haida also believe in the constant presence of the ancestors. Rituals are powerful ceremonies, even in contemporary times, reminding the Haida of their ancient roots, their elaborate belief systems, and the importance of strong relationships among the people.

THE RENAISSANCE OF HAIDA CULTURE. The creation of art is an important functional aspect of Haida identity and serves as the primary mechanism for the expression of an important set of beliefs about the world. Many Haida artists will say the "art is who we are" (Kenny, p. 1219). There is no word for *art* in the Haida language because the arts are embedded in the daily lives of the Haida people. The Haida and their vision of the world were rejected during the period of colonization. Haida leader Ernie Collison explains:

> Over the years, since the time of colonization, the visual arts suffered because of the potlatch laws and with the introduction of Christianity. There was a banishment of visual icons of Haida. . . . Those influences manipulated the view of the Haidas about their traditional civilization, with the "art," the Haida passion for identifying and decorating everything with drawings and paintings and carving, and it went underground. Objects and ceremonies were kept out of sight of the missionaries and government agents. (Kenny, p. 1219)

Historically, the bounty of the land and sea was reflected in the lavishness of Haida ceremonies, which have grown over the years in spite of many efforts to eliminate their presence in the community. In contemporary society, the Haida mystical vision of the world and its powers, as represented in their arts, has reemerged. "Their passion for carving, sculpting, painting, and weaving and for decoration generally overflowed onto the most utilitarian of objects"(Dickason, p. 212).

Totem poles were used to protect homes and longhouses or community gathering structures. Fragments of the ancient totem poles can still be viewed along the coastal beaches and in the forests of the Haida territory. Archaeologists also excavated many Haida poles and relocated them to museums around the world. The Haida are attempting to repatriate many of these poles, often with the help of modern archaeologists who work in conjunction with them to create museums on Haida territory that are managed by the Haida themselves.

In an ongoing revitalization process that began in the 1970s, Haida arts play prominently in recovering the health and well-being of the people through an open expression of their identities and mystical beliefs. Northwest coast arts, and particularly Haida arts, are probably the most heavily represented of any of the tribal arts in the world and can be viewed in museums around the world. Haida sculptures in argillite, carved jewelry in silver and gold, and contemporary Haida masks draw thousands of dollars in the world market. The marketing of these products brings an aspect of economic sustainability to Haida artists. Haida artists such as Bill Reid and Robert Davidson have been central in bringing Haida art into the most sophisticated art circles around the world.

The revitalization process is recovering many totem poles and other precious cultural objects from museums, universities, and private collections for repatriation to the Haida nations. There is also a successful process of repatriation for ancestral remains. Representatives of the Haida nations travel around the world to gather the remains of their ancestors and bring them home. Many ceremonies surround the repatriation of ancestral remains, including welcoming the ancestors into the arms of the people upon receipt of the remains and reburial in traditional territory. Repatriation ceremonies have brought back many traditional religious practices, but in a modern context. Many of these ceremonies remain private.

In contemporary society, Haida religious practices often combine elements of the old ways with practices in the Anglican, Catholic, or United churches. By the end of the twentieth century there were very few remaining Haida elders who remembered things as they were at the beginning of the twentieth century. Because of the remoteness of the Haida Gwaii, the Haida people were protected from early contact with European settlers and were able to maintain their religious and cultural practices for much longer than many indigenous peoples in the Americas. At the turn of the twenty-first century, the remaining Haida elders are involved in the renewal of the old ways. Many are dedicated to saving the Haida linguistic, religious, and cultural traditions.

Yet, many did attend residential schools that forbade them to exercise their rights to a distinct and unique culture. In residential schools children were often punished severely for speaking their native language or making any reference to religious beliefs associated with their native culture. In modern society, these elders and their children, grandchildren, great-grand-children, and great-great-grand-children, along with a few academics, are rebuilding the Haida culture, bringing it from its underground existence into the fullness of expression in a modern world.

Haida often join with other Northwest coast native peoples in the rebuilding of their cultures. They have also joined the International Indigenous Peoples movement and travel to conferences and gatherings for cultural exchange. The Haida are on the internet and are in constant communication with indigenous peoples around the world. This initiative serves to showcase the identity and strength of the Haida people in the modern world.

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CAROLYN BEREZNAK KENNY (2005)

H'AI GAON (939–1038), Babylonian halakhist. H'ai succeeded his father, Sherira', as head of the academy at Pumbedita and occupied the post for forty years, during which time he penned hundreds of *responsa*, composed significant halakhic monographs, and trained Jewish students from all over the world. The Geonic period reached its apogee with H'ai, who as its crowning figure also witnessed its irreversible decline.

The quantity of H'ai's *responsa*—about one-third of all preserved Geonic *responsa* are attributed to him—indicates that he was considered the leading legal authority of his time, a status underscored by the far-flung provenance of his correspondence and the fact that he was appealed to by scholars of the first rank. In eleventh- and twelfth-century rabbinic writing, "the gaon" invariably means H'ai. He saw the Talmud as the decisive factor in all Jewish law (the characteristic posture of all Geonim), after which ranked the decisions and enactments of his Geonic predecessors, and the force of custom. In addition to *responsa*, H'ai also wrote major halakhic monographs in both civil and religious law; here he ordered the welter of Talmudic discussion into topically organized units and brought this Geonic literary form to a height surpassed only by Maimonides.

H'ai's attitude toward Talmudic legend and his theological comments combine a moderate rationalism with mystical interests. Continuing the philosophical tradition of Saʿadyah, H'ai reinterpreted legends with anthropomorphic features, argued for a nonliteralistic approach to *aggadot*, and in general denied the authoritative status of these rabbinic materials. At the same time, he recoiled from the suggestion of Shemu'el ben Hofni (his father-in-law) that the Witch of Endor had simply tricked Saul into thinking she had raised the ghost of Samuel (*1 Sm.* 28). H'ai also wrote a short treatise on the nature of the messianic redemption and discussed the esoteric teachings of *merkavah* mysticism.

SEE ALSO Halakhah; Judaism, article on Judaism in the Middle East and North Africa to 1492.

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Isaac Hirsch Weiss's *Dor dor ve-dorshav*, vol. 4 (Berlin, 1924), pp. 174–192, remains the best single treatment of H'ai as a legal authority and religious thinker. The fifth through eighth volumes of Salo W. Baron's *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (New York, 1952–1980), peppered with references to H'ai, provide the social and historical dimension as well as bibliographical information. Tsvi Groner's *Rav Hai Gaon: His Halakhic Methodology* (in Hebrew; Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, 1974) details H'ai's legal method.

GERALD J. BLIDSTEIN (1987)

HAIR.

Words are related to the things they denote only by the conventions of language, but symbols, unlike words, are inherently appropriate to what they signify. Thus, since most animals are much hairier than human beings, some cultures may use this difference to express the distinction between the realms of nature and culture, as in myths that describe the first men as very hairy, and also as ignorant of fire and of the rules of correct behavior toward their kin. But symbolic meanings are not simple reflections of natural phenomena. So, in other societies, the symbolic opposition between "hairy" and "hairless" may be related not to the distinction between nature and culture but rather to the categories of youth and age; in this case "hairy" will symbolize the health and vitality of young people, whereas "hairless" will signify the baldness and infirmity of old age. Again, we may find that long hair is considered appropriate to the female sex because it appears soft and rounded, while close-cropped hair is associated with males because it allows the shape of the skull to appear, giving an appropriately hard and angular appearance. Or again, short hair may express puritan values, and long hair their opposite. So, opposition between the hairy and the hairless may symbolize such diverse categorical relations as animal and human, youth and age, male and female, and puritan and worldly. It is also quite possible for one and the same symbolic use of hair to have several different meanings simultaneously.

All symbolism accommodates to the natural properties and associations of objects, but it also assimilates these properties and associations into cultural systems of meaning in a selective, creative, and coherent way. Because symbols are derived from man's interaction with the physical world, we must also be alert to the possibility that an apparently symbolic custom is really nothing more than a practical expedient. In some African societies, for example, the shaving of children's heads has no symbolic meaning and is merely undertaken to prevent lice. On the other hand, we must not assume too readily that practical explanations such as hygiene will normally be adequate to explain the symbolic uses of hair.

In attempting to explain the different symbolic uses of hair, then, we must keep in mind its basic properties and associations, especially its associations with animals, with growth and vitality, and with youth and puberty as opposed to old age. That it has great potential for manipulation, can be cut painlessly, and is closely associated with two socially significant areas of the body—the head and the genitals—is also of great importance. Because of this variety of properties and associations, no single theory can account for all symbolic uses of hair. But there are, nevertheless, a limited number of themes in hair symbolism that are found all over the world.

HAIR SYMBOLISM IN FREUDIAN THEORY. Freudian theory maintains that the head is a phallic symbol, that the hair symbolizes semen, and that haircutting is a symbolic castration. In some instances, the head and its hair do clearly have explicit sexual associations. In ancient Greek and Roman belief, the head was the source of semen in the form of cerebrospinal fluid, and hair was an indication of sexual vigor. The same belief is held by the Punjabis of India, who suppose that true ascetics are able to store up their semen and concentrate it in the form of spiritual power at the top of their heads. Quite apart from these physiological beliefs, the head resembles the genitoanal region because these are the only two areas of the body with orifices, and each embraces radically opposed functions: social relations on the one hand, and physical functions on the other. Because the realm of nature confronts that of the social and the intellectual so blatantly in these two regions, it is not surprising that they can be substituted for one another in humor, in magical and religious contexts, and in popular and prescientific sexual lore. Thus the nose and tongue become analogues of the penis; the eyes represent the testicles; the mouth and ear correspond to the vagina or anus; and head hair corresponds to pubic hair. It may be for this reason that among the Chickrí of central Brazil a woman may wear her hair long only after the birth of her first child and that in traditional Dobuan society of the wastern Pacific an adulterer would publicly cut the hair of a woman he had seduced if he wished to defy her husband. In that society care of the hair is a reciprocal service between spouses and is associated with sexual intercourse.

Sexual potency, however, is only one aspect of vitality, physical strength, and animality in general. Samson's strength lay in his hair, but we have no warrant for attributing any narrowly sexual significance to the association, nor for regarding the cutting of his hair as castration. There are, in addition, numerous symbolic acts of haircutting that are even less plausibly interpreted as castration, such as cutting women's hair at marriage and the shaving of infant boys, slaves, military recruits, pilgrims, and returning travelers. Further, we find certain categories of persons, such as religious ascetics, who do not cut their hair but who conventionally abstain from all sexual relations, while the stereotype of the long-haired intellectual in our own culture is entirely free of any erotic association. The Freudian hypothesis cannot therefore be supported by the facts, except in a few instances.

HAIR AS A SYMBOL OF ANIMALITY, STRENGTH, AND THE SUPERNATURAL. As already noted, hair is a prominent feature of animals, and the persistent growth of hair, most noticeably on the head, is analogous to the growth of vegetation. Not surprisingly, therefore, hair is a common symbol of vitality, physical strength, nature, and supernatural beings or forces closely associated with nature. The culture hero Dribidu of the Lugbara tribe of Uganda is a good example of this association. The culture heroes were not members of clans, like modern Lugbara, but lived in isolation in a world without clans. *Dribidu* means "the hairy one," for this culture hero had long hair over most of his body. He was also known as Banyale ("eater of men"), since he ate his own children. In a myth of the Kukukuku of Papua, men at first had long hair all over their bodies and were ignorant of fire, cooking their food over women's genitals. When they were shown how to make fire and to cook their food over it in the ordinary way, the long hair fell off their bodies and they became fully human.

In Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (Copenhagen, 1955), there are twenty instances of hairiness associated with supernatural or half-human beings such as fairies, dwarfs, giants, water and wood spirits, devils, and mermaids; seven associations with animal-human relationships; three with vegetable-human relationships; three with witches; seven with the soul or vitality; and six with asceticism. The ascetic, particularly the solitary anchorite of fourth-century Egypt and Syria or the Hindu *saṃnyāsin*, abandons ordinary society and even the company of fellow ascetics to lead a completely solitary life, frequently naked and unkempt. In *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–1788), the historian Edward Gibbon wrote of the anchorites of the Egyptian desert:

> All superfluous incumbrance of dress they contemptuously cast away, and some savage saints of both sexes have been admired, whose naked bodies were only covered with their long hair. They aspired to reduce themselves to the rude and miserable state in which the human brute is scarcely distinguished above his kindred animals. . . . They often usurped the den of some wild beast whom they affected to resemble. (chap. 37)

Hair, particularly of the head and beard, is often believed to be the seat of physical strength and supernatural power, the two of which may not be clearly differentiated. The early Frankish kings, who were essentially warriors, were celebrated for their long hair, which was a distinctive mark of their royal status, so that cutting the hair disqualified a member of the royal family from succession to the throne. Maori chiefs were also forbidden to cut their hair, as were the priests of a number of societies, such as the Aztec and the two moieties of the Borana Galla of Ethiopia. Divine beings may likewise be represented as long-haired. The Aryans so depicted the sun, whom they also described as having flaming or golden hair. The Egyptians referred to the sun god Re as adorned with golden locks. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the persecution of witches was at its height in Europe, it was believed that the power to bewitch lay especially in the hair. Accordingly, it was standard practice not only to shave witches' heads but to depilate their entire bodies in order to render them harmless before execution. For centuries it was also customary to shave the heads and bodies of the insane.

HAIRCUTTING, SOCIAL CONTROL, AND INITIATION. Insofar as the hair is an expression of life, strength, and magical and religious power or is associated with animality or the condition of being in some way outside society, cutting or shaving the hair is an appropriate symbol for the imposition of some form of social discipline or restraint and is also a means of signifying a person's transition from one social status to another. In this context haircutting, like the cooking of food, is a fitting metaphor for the imposition of social control on nature, and also for transition and rites of passage in general.

Orlando Patterson, in his *Slavery and Social Death* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), notes the ubiquity of the shorn head as the mark of the slave:

> In Africa we find the shorn head associated with slaves among peoples as varied as the Ila and the Somali. In China, in highland Burma, among the primitive Germanic peoples, the nineteenth century Russians, the Indians of the northwest coast, and several of the South American and Caribbean tribes, the heads of slaves were shorn (in the ancient Near East so was the pubic hair of female slaves). In India and pharaonic Egypt slaves wore their hair shorn except for a pigtail dangling from the crown. (p.60)

In the Americas, however, slaves were not shorn, because the characteristic hair type of the African was a more effective indicator of servile status. The shaving of the head has also been prominently associated with the punishment of criminals, as in the pillory, and as a mark of convict status. In modern times it has been closely associated with military discipline, especially as an initiation rite for recruits, and in tribal societies boys often have their hair cut as part of their initiation into adult status.

Haircutting may also be an initiation into society. When a son is born to him, a Muslim has seven obligations, according to Julian Morgenstern: to give the newborn a name; to cut his hair; to give as alms the weight of the hair in silver or gold; to sacrifice an animal; to smear the baby's head with saffron; to circumcise him; and to distribute to the neighbors portions of the animal sacrificed (Morgenstern, 1966, p. 41). The convert to Islam from an unsanctified religion, in addition to being washed or anointed with water, might also have his hair cut off. Muslim travelers returning from long and dangerous journeys, as well as pilgrims, cut off their hair. Participation in sacred events may have been regarded in some societies as taking place outside society; thus it was forbidden to cut one's hair until the end of the Passover and Sukkot festivals, and a traditional English superstition held that it was unlucky to cut one's hair on a Sunday.

The Bible provides a number of instances of hair symbolism in which hairiness is associated with the life of the hunter, wild beasts, physical strength, rebellion, or special sanctity, while cutting or shaving the head is associated with rejoining society, with submission to some specific authority within society, or with a rite of passage. Esau, the hunter of wild beasts, was a hairy man, while his brother Jacob, a herdsman dwelling in tents, was a smooth man (*Gn.* 25:23–27). In *Leviticus*, it is prescribed that when a leper, by definition an outcast, is cured and ready to be reincorporated into society, he shall have all his hair shaved off (*Lv.* 14:8–9). The Nazarenes, who consecrated themselves unto the Lord by a vow, allowed their hair to grow until the end of the period of their vow, when it was formally shaved off at the Tabernacle (*Nm.* 6:1–18). Female prisoners of war, if made wives, were required to pare their nails and shave their heads (*Dt.* 21:10–14). Samson's strength lay in his hair; when it was cut off, he was as weak as any other man (*Jgs.* 16:17–19). Absalom, who rebelled against David, his father and sovereign, was remarkable for his long hair (*2 Sm.* 14:26). When Nebuchadrezzar was overthrown and made an outcast, "he was driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles' feathers, and his nails like birds' claws" (*Dn.* 4:33). For women, uncovered hair was symbolic of maidenhood, while the covering of the hair was symbolic of marriage and the acceptance of the husband's authority; it was also an ancient Jewish custom to cut off a woman's hair at marriage.

The imposition of authority is not necessarily symbolized by the cutting of hair, however. On the Pacific island of Tikopia, commoners loosen their hair to express submission to a chief, because in so doing, they signify their openness to control and influence. (On the same island, women cut their hair short, and men wear theirs long.)

THE USE OF HAIR IN MAGIC, SACRIFICE, AND MOURNING. Magical and sacrificial uses of hair seem to form a somewhat separate category from those considered so far, since they involve the nature of something detached from the body. One of the commonest uses of hair is in hostile magic, when the hair clippings of an intended victim are obtained and ensorcelled, together with, or as an alternative to, nail parings, blood, saliva, semen, or other bodily secretions. In primitive thought, we frequently find that the human person is believed to have "extensions" that may include not only hair and the other bodily secretions but also personal names and belongings such as garments, shadows, and even footprints, all of which may be used to cast spells on a victim. In some societies, a sorcerer may cast a spell by including one of his own hairs in something given to the intended victim. Thus, in Papua a man may put one of his pubic hairs in a cigarette and give it to a woman who, it is believed, will then form a passionate attachment to him.

In many societies, fear of sorcery leads to the burning, burying, or hiding of hair. The Konso of Ethiopia take great care to hide these clippings: they cannot burn them since, according to their belief, doing so will cause their own sickness or death. As an alternative, in some cultures the cutting of hair or nails is forbidden for infants or others thought to be specially vulnerable to magical dangers.

Hair may also be used to transfer disease to another person, animal, or thing. In the Hebrides, it was the custom to cure epilepsy by burying a black cock with some clippings of hair and nails from the patient. In Devon and Yorkshire, the hair of a child with whooping cough was placed between two slices of bread and given to a dog; when the dog coughed, it was a sign that the disease had been successfully transferred. Conversely, the hair of a sick person might be put into a hole or hung in the branches of a healthy tree, so that the patient might derive health from the tree.

A related use of hair is in sacrifice. This was once very common, particularly among the ancient Greeks and Romans, who established relations with various gods by placing locks of hair on their altars. On reaching manhood, youths offered their first beard to Apollo, one of whose functions was to promote the fertility of crops, or gave their hair to the local river god. Nero offered his first beard to Jupiter, and Phoenician women sacrificed their hair to Adonis at the annual spring festival. Greek women offered their hair to deities before marriage, while Hygieia, goddess of health, was given offerings of women's hair before or after childbirth.

Hair is also used in a number of cultures to maintain a relationship with the dead; it may be placed with the corpse or on the tomb. In Islamic society, boys who had been dedicated to a saint at birth had their heads shaved sometime between eight and twelve years of age, and their hair was placed on the saint's tomb. Conversely, among the Iroquois, a lock of hair from the dead was given to the nearest relative of the deceased, while the Zuni believed that to burn the hair of a deceased friend and inhale the smoke would produce good health. Among the Arabs, the hair or beard is regarded as the seat of vitality and thus is specially suited to serve as the substitute for a life. As part of a reconciliation ceremony, a murderer has some of his hair or beard shaved off, as a token of the life that might have been demanded.

The cutting or tearing out of hair in mourning is one of the most commonly reported uses of hair. Since it is almost invariably associated with other forms of bodily mutilation, such as the gashing of the skin or even the severing of finger joints, it is most simply interpreted as self-directed aggression produced by grief. Mourning may also be signified by disheveling the hair or by covering it with dirt, ashes, mud, and so on. In all such cases the hair is also a convenient symbol indicating that the mourners temporarily hold a special status.

In hair symbolism, then, a relatively small number of basic themes constantly recur in the mythology, ritual, and social relations of peoples all over the world. But these themes are only a general guide; each case must be analyzed within the context of the particular culture in which it occurs.

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CHRISTOPHER R. HALLPIKE (1987)

ḤĀJJ SEE PILGRIMAGE, *ARTICLE ON* MUSLIM PILGRIMAGE

HAKUIN

HAKUIN (1686–1769), more fully Hakuin Ekaku, was a mid-Tokugawa period (1603–1868) reviver of Rinzai Zen. Hakuin was born to a commoner family in Hara, present-day Shizuoka prefecture. Entering Buddhism at an early age, he studied widely both Buddhist canonical works and Zen literature. He was also well versed in the secular literature of China and Japan, and in popular Japanese poetry and song. At age twenty-two he set out on his studies, visiting a succession of Zen masters and practicing meditation at various temples. At twenty-four he visited the Zen master Shōju Rōjin (Dōkyō Etan, 1643–1721), and after an arduous eight-month stay, was granted his teacher's sanction. For the next eight years Hakuin traveled to various temples, perfecting his understanding of Zen, eventually returning to his temple, the Shōinji in Hara, in 1718. Here he concentrated on teaching a considerable number of disciples. Hakuin also devoted much time to itinerant preaching and lecturing and to the instruction of laymen. He passed away in 1769.

Shortly after its inception the Tokugawa shogunate established strict control over all Buddhist sects, establishing a system of main and branch temples and in many ways restricting the activities of the Buddhist clergy. Buddhism in the Tokugawa period is generally described as effete and corrupt, yet in many respects it flourished greatly. Their activities severely restricted, some Buddhist priests turned to scholarship and study; others sought to reform and revitalize their teachings. This trend was especially evident in Zen: The Sōtō sect underwent reforms at the hands of a group of scholar-priests; Rinzai was revitalized by Hakuin and his heirs.

In Hakuin's time, Zen study and practice had degenerated into a sterile and formalized *kōan* study or had moved toward a popular Zen that rejected the *kōan*, minimized meditation practice, and frequently admitted elements of Pure Land Buddhism. Hakuin revolted against these tendencies. Turning back to the Zen that had been introduced to Japan from Song China in the early Kamakura period (1185–1333), Hakuin taught a strict form of *kōan* Zen based on the teachings of Nampo Jōmin (Daiō Kokushi, 1235–1308), Shūhō Myōchō (Daitō Kokushi, 1282–1337), and

Kanzan Egen (Musō Daishi, 1277–1360) and the school centered at the Daitokuji and Myōshinji temples in Kyoto (known after its founders as the Ō-Tō-Kan school). The exact details of the *kōan* system Hakuin used are not clear; his descendants in the second generation, Inzan Ien (1751–1814) and Takuju Kōsen (1760–1833), established a formalized system of *kōan* study that persists to this day. Under this system, students were required to meditate on and respond to a specific series of *kōan*s. Often, as the monk progressed he would reinvestigate *kōan*s previously studied, until those few who survived the rigorous, lengthy training were themselves sanctioned as teachers. Before taking up teaching duties it was customary for the priest to spend several years in isolation, perfecting his own understanding.

In his teaching Hakuin emphasized disciplined meditation under a teacher's guidance, "see into one's own true nature" *(kenshō)*. He emphasized meditation in the midst of activity, or meditation at all times and in all places, in contrast to quiet sitting in secluded areas, a practice that he vehemently condemned. Hakuin was opposed to all methods of Zen other than his own and inveighed against popular forms that simplified his teaching.

Hakuin was a prolific writer, adept in a variety of genres. For the practicing monk he wrote several major works, highly technical in nature, designed as aids to their studies. A large body of his writing consists of letters to feudal lords and to other priests and nuns in which he champions the virtues of Zen and calls strongly for humane government and adequate consideration for farmers. Some of his works are simple preachings on Buddhism in general, directed toward his lay followers; other works imitate popular songs or recitations of the day. Of great popularity were several pieces, including *Yasen kanna* (Talks on a boat in the evening) and parts of *Orategama* (Embossed teakettle), that deal with Hakuin's theories for nurturing health and prolonging life.

Hakuin is noted for his painting and calligraphy, of which many specimens remain. His work is bold and amusing and includes caricatures of his parishioners, brushstroke drawings of Zen figures, poems, Zen sayings, and single characters, all boldly drawn in his untrained yet original hand.

Hakuin is the dominant figure in the history of Rinzai Zen in Japan. By turning back to the Song-era Zen that had been introduced in the Kamakura period he organized a strict and austere course of *kōan* study and provided for a revival of Rinzai Zen that had hitherto been in extreme disarray. All Rinzai masters practicing today trace their lineage to Hakuin.

SEE ALSO Zen.

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PHILIP YAMPOLSKY (1987)
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HALAKHAH

This entry consists of the following articles:

HISTORY OF HALAKHAH
STRUCTURE OF HALAKHAH

HALAKHAH: HISTORY OF HALAKHAH

Jewish law (*halakhah*) was the major integrative factor in Jewish life from early geonic times (eighth century) until the onset of the modern era. With Jewry's ever-increasing geographic dispersion and political incapacity, Jewish identity was shaped increasingly by Jewish law. It defined the broad sphere of religious observance and significantly influenced the norms and practice of communal governance, and its study was a central spiritual and intellectual experience. Jewish law was created in rabbinic academies and courts by individual scholars and by communal custom and enactment. Until the modern period, Jewish law responded to the major challenges in Jewish life, and the historical-geographic grid of legal creativity paralleled the development of the major centers of Jewish life.

CHRONOLOGICAL PERIODS, GEOGRAPHIC CENTERS, AND AUTHORITIES. The geonic period most likely begins with the Islamic conquest of Babylon in about 650; indeed it seems that the establishment of this more centralized Muslim administration was paralleled in the Jewish institutional structure. The gaonate (sg., *gaʾon*, "splendor," derived from the formal name of the academy in Sura, Splendor of Yaʿaqov) shared the governance of Babylonian Jewish society with the exilarch and claimed halakhic and spiritual authority over world Jewry. The central academies of Sura and Pumbedita (both in the general vicinity of Baghdad and eventually located in that city) were each headed by a gaon; all other scholars have remained anonymous in the literature. The major contribution of the geonic period to the development of Jewish law lies in the stabilization and standardization it brought to the relatively fluid situation in Talmudic times.

The gaonate successfully asserted the supremacy of the Babylonian over the Palestinian Talmud (a reflection of the historical ascendancy of Babylonian Jewry) and brought much indecisive Talmudic discussion to a binding conclusion. The liturgy, in particular, reached a high degree of regulation with the publication of prayer-texts and rules in the *siddurim* of ʿAmram (fl. 856) and Saʿadyah (fl. 928). Geonic pressures toward standardization in this and other ritualistic areas were especially stimulated by the need to combat the competing Karaite movement and other sectarian groups. The growing urbanization of Jewish society and its commercial involvement also required, and received, legal guidance through the elaboration of Talmudic materials and explicit enactment, such as that enabling debtors to collect from the movable properties of orphans. Leading geonic figures include Yehudʾai, Naṭronʾai, ʿAmram, Saʿadyah, and Shemuʾel ben Ḥofni, all of Sura; Palṭoi, Sheriraʾ, and Hʾai, all of Pumbedita. An auxiliary center of legal study during this period developed in North Africa; its central figure was Ḥananʾel, who was heavily influenced by Hʾai.

Though geonic activity continued after the eleventh century (the twelfth-century Maimonides engaged in correspondence with the Baghdad gaonate), the weight of legal development passed to western Europe as the period of the *riʾshonim* ("first ones, early ones") began. The death of the Babylonian Hʾai in 1038 and the birth of Rashi (Shelomoh ben Yitsḥaq) in France in 1040 conveniently symbolize the shift. Perhaps paralleling the political decentralization of Christian Europe, rabbinic authority in Ashkenazic Europe was not centralized or even institutionalized—a striking contrast to the geonic structure. Scholars reached eminence by popular acknowledgement of their authority, not by appointment or election; law derived largely from learning, not from institutionalized structure. Men like Gershom ben Yehudah, Rashi, his grandson Yaʿaqov ben Meʾir Tam, Eliʿezer ben Natan, Yeshaʿyah di Trani, Meʾir ben Barukh of Rothenburg, and his student Asher ben Yeḥiʾel were the leading teachers of their time, but neither they nor their schools had any official status; at the most, some might have been judges in communal courts.

The *riʾshonim* generally continued the explication and development of Talmudic law, though certain topics—mercantile law, Jewish-Gentile relations, and communal governance—did demand more original treatment. The desire to base communal governance on Jewish law and its principles forced legists to hammer out basic political issues, such as the rights of majority and minority, equity in tax law, and election procedures, with little in the way of Talmudic precedent to guide them. Halakhic development in Provence and Spain may be characterized in a similar fashion, though the Sefardic rabbinate of the Iberian Peninsula during the Christian reconquest, reflecting the general political situation, was more centralized than its Ashkenazic counterpart and also more influenced by geonic legal patterns. Men like Avraham ben Yitsḥaq and Avraham ben David of Posquières; Yitsḥaq ben Yaʿaqov Alfasi in North Africa; Moses Maimonides in Egypt; and Meʾir Abulafia, Moses Nahmanides, Shelomoh ibn Adret, and Nissim Gerondi in Spain were teachers and judges whose commentaries and *responsa* carried their decisions and opinions around the world.

The work of the geonim and *riʾshonim* was brought to authoritative and influential summation by Yaʿaqov ben Asher (d. 1343) in his *Arbaʿah ṭurim* (*Ṭur*). The period from its appearance till the publication (in 1550–1571) of the *Shulḥan ʿarukh* of Yosef Karo and Mosheh Isserles is one of transition to the period of the *aḥaronim* ("later ones") and also marks the migration of Jewry and its legal centers eastward: Ashkenazic Jewry to eastern Europe and Sefardic Jewry, after the 1492 expulsion from Spain, to Greece, Turkey, and the Land of Israel. The halakhic achievement of the *aḥaronim*, especially in the ranks of Ashkenazic legists, tends to the derivative. (This was despite the influence of Yisraʾel Isserlein of Austria and the originality of Yosef Qolon of Italy in the fourteenth century; the achievement and influence of Yaʿaqov Weill, Yaʿaqov Landau and Yisraʾel Bruna, all in the fifteenth century, were in the area of religious custom rather than in creative legal thought.) It is possible that continual political harassment, capped by pogroms and expulsions in the wake of the Black Death, sapped the intellectual energies of Ashkenazic Jewry. Furthermore, influential masters such as Yaʿaqov Pollack and Shalom Shakhna preferred not to publish at all, arguing for a return to the more pristine concept of oral law, but their impact was to be felt in the revival of the sixteenth century. Sephardic halakhists, however, met new problems raised by commercial advance in the eastern Mediterranean region and the difficulties that emerged after the expulsion from Spain and Portugal such as the reabsorption of converts, fixing of personal status, and the forging of common patterns of governance and practice from the disparate communal traditions of the sixteenth century.

After 1492 the Sephardic settlements in Greece, Turkey, Egypt, and the Land of Israel constituted a single sphere of intellectual discourse and enjoyed an impressive level of halakhic activity. Foremost among the scholars of this era were David ibn Zimraʾ, Levi ben Ḥaviv, and Yosef Karo, all born in Spain before the expulsion; Mosheh di Trani, Yosef ben Lev, and Shemuʾel de Medina. By the mid-sixteenth century, Ashkenazic Jewry had achieved a large degree of stability in Poland and Lithuania, and its halakhic focus was found in cities like Cracow and Lublin, where authorities such as Shelomoh Luria (c. 1510–1574), Mosheh Isserles, and Mordekhai Jaffe taught and wrote.

The publication of the *Shulḥan ʿarukh* by Karo and its annotation by Isserles marks the most significant watershed in the codification of *halakhah* until modern times. The bulk of the work was published by Karo (a member of the Safad community of mystics and halakhists) as a self-contained entity in 1565–1566; he had already collated the Talmudic and medieval sources in his massive commentary to the *Ṭur, Beit Yosef* (House of Joseph), which also frequently indicates the direction in which he would move as an authority in rabbinic law. Isserles, rabbi in Cracow, published glosses (the *mappah*, "tablecloth," to the *Shulḥan ʿarukh*) in 1571 that registered the Ashkenazic variants to the Sephardic traditions of Karo and gave greater weight to the force of communal custom than Karo's work alone had done. Isserles's glosses also constituted an approval of Karo's work, which overcame in a fairly short period its antagonists—legists of stature, such as Yosef ben Lev and Yehudah Löw ben Betsalʾel, who opposed the reduction of rich tradition to the bare paragraphs of an authoritative code—and its competitors. The times were ripe for a new summation, as was evidenced by the existence of other, if more prolix, attempts: the *Levushim* (Garments) of Jaffe, and the *Yam shel Shelomoh* (Sea of Solomon) of Luria. Rabbinic scholarship now set about producing commentaries and supercommentaries on the *Shulḥan ʿarukh* in a process that both legitimated the code and made it a central document in the study and practice of Jewish law.

Despite the overall decline in the physical conditions of Jewish life by the late eighteenth century and its religious and ideological fissures, the period of the *aḥaronim* produced an extensive halakhic literature. Three characteristics deserve mention. (1) With the rise of the nation-state and the concomitant elimination of self-governing estates and religious communities, halakhists have addressed themselves less and less (except for textual or theoretical discussions) to issues of civil or criminal law. (2) With the rise of the Reform movement, Ashkenazic halakhists of the modern period have become more defensive and hence more conservative than their predecessors. (3) Communication and interaction between Ashkenazic and Sephardic halakhists have declined. It is too early to judge whether the existence of Israel as a Jewish state will have any effect on these tendencies.

Since the publication of the *Shulḥan ʿarukh,* the two major avenues of practical halakhic development in modern times have been the commentatorial activity centered on the *Shulḥan ʿarukh* and the *responsa* literature. Major commentaries were written on different sections of the code by Yehoshuʿa Falk, David ha-Levi, Shabbetai Kohen, Yitsḥaq Lima, Shemuʾel Feibish, and Ḥizqiyyah di Silow, among others. These works explicate the code but also deal with issues growing out of its rulings and occasionally prefer their own opinions based on alternative sources. This tendency may also be noted in the work of Eliyyahu ben Shelomoh Zalman of Vilna, which is devoted especially to tracing critically the Talmudic sources of the code. Subsequently, a more popular literature developed, which presented the results of these discussions in digest form, focusing especially on ritual law: *Ḥayyei adam* (Man's Life) and *Ḥokhmat adam* (Man's Wisdom) by Avraham Danzig and *Qitstsur Shulḥan ʿarukh* (Short *Shulḥan ʿarukh*) by Shelomoh Ganzfried of Hungary, for example. A more expansive format is found in the works of Yisraʾel Meʾir Kagan (for example, in *Mishnah berurah*), and Yaʿaqov Sofer (in *Kaf ha-ḥayyim*), which have molded the consensus of Ashkenazic and Sephardic Jewries, respectively, in the area of ritual law.

Halakhic authorities, many of whom were communal rabbis or judges on the communal religious court, continued to influence the course of *halakhah* in their *responsa.* Representative figures from the seventeenth century are Ḥayyim Yaʾir Bachrach of Germany, Yosef ben Mosheh di Trani of Turkey, and Shemuʾel Aboab of Italy; from the eighteenth century, Yaʿaqov Emden of Germany and Yeḥezqeʾl Landau of Poland, Mosheh Hagiz and Yom-Ṭov Algazi of the Land of Israel, and Yehudah Ayash of North Africa; from the nineteenth century, ʿAqivaʾ Eiger of Germany, Mosheh Sofer of Hungary, Yitsḥaq Elḥanan Spektor of Russia, and Yosef Ḥayyim al-Ḥakham of Iraq. Sofer (known as Ḥatam Sofer) was a crucial figure in the nineteenth-century Orthodox response to Reform, coining the motto that in matters of law "novelty is forbidden by the Torah."

Halakhic activity in the modern period reflects the historic fortunes of the people: Ashkenazic Jewry witnessed a flowering in eastern Europe (Poland, Lithuania, Galicia, Hungary) and a relative decline in western Europe; Sephardic Jewry continued its development in the Balkans, North Africa, and Iraq. Since the destruction of Jewries in World War II and the exodus from Arab lands after 1948, Israel and the United States have become the centers of halakhic creativity, buttressed by the revival of learning and observance in the latter half of the twentieth century. Much current halakhic activity simply elaborates medieval doctrine, but the rise of modern technologies has stimulated halakhic thinking in the areas of Sabbath law and medical ethics. The most major change in modern Jewish existence, namely the secularization of the mass of Jewish people, has not yet significantly affected the halakhic system.

LITERARY GENRES AND INTELLECTUAL CURRENTS. With the onset of the geonic period, halakhic literature developed in genres that have remained fairly constant until modern times: (1) monograph-code, (2) commentary, and (3) *responsa.* The antecedents of the first two genres are essentially Talmudic: the Talmud frequently undertakes to comment on and explicate the Mishnah, while the Mishnah, especially as it detached itself from scripture and Midrash, was formed as a monograph-code. A fourth genre—communal enactments—is more representative of the interaction of lay and rabbinical leadership. These different genres reflect different intellectual postures and tasks. Different geographic centers also devote themselves with varying intensity to one genre or another, yet no center or historical period abandoned any one of the genres, so that the materials found in each were in a state of constant interaction, and a substantial body of substance and method was shared by all.

Monograph-codes. The monograph-code of the geonic period had a functional goal: it was meant to provide for the crystallization of normative, standard practice and make this practice accessible to students, judges, and religious leaders. The geonim developed rules by which Talmudic literature was sifted and compiled the results of this process. From a substantive point of view, the major achievement of the geonic monograph-code lies in its reduction of Talmudic discussion to geonic decision. From a structural point of view, the basic challenge lay in the reorganization of the material contained in the Talmudic debate into topical units; this process demanded not only the paring down of Talmudic pericopes but, in the more advanced monograph-code, the development of new topics.

A classic and early monograph-code is the ninth-century *Halakhot gedolot* (Major *Halakhot*), variously assigned to Shimʿon Qayyara and Yehudʾai Gaon. The extensive Talmudic discussion is considerably reduced and canalized into a conclusive decision. The basic outline is Talmudic, but new topical units are occasionally introduced to unite scattered Talmudic materials into a new framework. Virtually all inoperative law, such as laws of sacrifices, purities, and impurities, is eliminated. Despite its new features, *Halakhot gedolot* is, in essence, an abridgment of the Talmud, a form that reaches its apogee in the eleventh-century *Halakhot* of Alfasi. Other geonic monographs are radical departures from the Talmudic model. The *Sefer ha-miqqaḥ ve-ha-mimkar* (Book of Purchase and Sale) of Hʾai, for example, a work on oaths, and the monograph on benedictions by Shemuʾel ben Ḥofni both reorganize Talmudic law, which is presented in coherent form as a rule-structured system. The author elicits the rule underlying the concrete Talmudic discussion and strives for maximal generalization. At the same time, he usually retains the legitimating Talmudic source.

The geonic monograph-code reached fullest expression in Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* (Second Torah; 1187), which is probably the single most prominent work in all post-Talmudic halakhic literature. In addition to bringing this traditional form to perfection through an architectonic vision of the entirety of Jewish law, Maimonides' code also served as an innovating document: the codified law is completely detached from Talmudic authorities and citations; Mishnaic Hebrew is revived to serve as the language of a new code; matters of belief, ideology, and metaphysics are integrated as normative aspects of Jewish law; and new topics are fashioned (for example, "Laws of Repentence," "Laws of Kings and Their Wars").

While Maimonides' immediate purpose in compiling his code was to provide a practical summary of law for the use of both layman and judge in what he considered a period of intellectual decline, *Mishneh Torah* is also a statement of the content and nature of Judaism as he saw it. Maimonides' code has become a central document in halakhic discussion, but it has not brought an end to the process of further development outside it. Prominent halakhists have always claimed that codes freeze the open-ended Talmudic process and are a stultifying concession to mediocrity, and Maimonides' elimination of the Talmudic bases for his decisions raised the hackles of his contemporaries (such as Avraham ben David of Posquières) even more. Subsequent codes, such as the *Arbaʿah ṭurim* of Yaʾaqov ben Asher and Karo and Isserles's *Shulḥan ʿarukh,* lowered their sights considerably: the sense of an ordering structure declines considerably, purity of line is lost, and Temple-oriented topics as well as metaphysics and beliefs are eliminated. No new codes have been produced since the sixteenth century, though the *Shulḥan ʿarukh* has been rewritten twice in attempts to integrate new materials or to combine the code with its earlier sources: see the *Shulḥan ʿarukh* of Shneʾur Zalman of Lyady (1745–1813) and the *ʿArukh ha-shulḥan* of Yeḥiʾel M. Epstein (1829–1908).

Commentary. In geonic times commentary was, of course, commentary on the Talmud. So as to facilitate study of this protean and involuted document, geonim produced lexicographical aids that explained difficult terms and wrote explanatory material to clarify difficult Talmudic pericopes and chapters. Thus we possess Hʾai's lexicographical commentary to *Ṭohorot* as well as parts of his running commentary to tractate *Berakhot.* The classic running commentary to the entire Talmud was written in France by Rashi. Based on oral traditions, Rashi's explication made the Talmud accessible to all students.

Rashi's grandchildren (the most prominent of whom was Yaʿaqov ben Meʾir Tam) inaugurated the tosafist ("additions") school. Now commentary no longer addressed itself to the words and sentences of one specific text and context but undertook a synthetic analysis of all related Talmudic passages. This seminal work was based on a thorough mastery of the entire Talmud, an acute analytical sensibility, and the intellectual boldness necessary to produce novel concepts. In a sense, the tosafists continued the Talmudic process itself, producing new legal doctrines in the course of harmonizing disparate Talmudic opinions. Their techniques and results quickly spread to Spain and Italy: men like Nahmanides (and his students) in the thirteenth century and Yeshaʿyah di Trani absorbed the new mode. By the fourteenth century, analysis of Rashi was no longer a springboard for tosafist revision alone but became a subject in its own right in the work of Yom Ṭov Ashbilli.

Maimonides' code received the first of many sustained commentaries in Vidal di Tortosa's *Maggid mishneh* (The second speaker), a work that struggles with the code's relationship to Talmudic sources. Maimonidean commentary grew to the dimensions of a subdiscipline, an ironic outcome for a code perhaps designed to be a final statement of Jewish law.

New trends also asserted themselves: Isaac Campanton of Castile (late fifteenth century) pioneered a return to close reading of specific Talmudic texts utilizing categories of medieval logic; German and Polish Talmudists of the sixteenth century extended tosafist dialectic to a *pilpul* (lit., "pepper," in the sense of casuistry) based on subtle and frequently artificial comparisons and contrasts. Two modes of halakhic scholarship have become prominent in modern times: the analytic school that is identified with Ḥayyim Soloveichik of Brest-Litovsk but that had its inspiration in the *Qetsot ha-ḥoshen* (Ends of the breastplate) of Aryeh Leib ha-Kohen and, ultimately, in aspects of tosafist thought, and the text-critical and historical studies that derive in part from similar models of Western scholarship. This latter mode, however, has made little impact on devotees of halakhic study.

Responsa. In contrast to commentary, *responsa*—along with the codes and their related literature—are attempts to mold halakhic practice by responding to specific problems as they arise. This genre developed massively in the geonic period. While both commentary and code are basically explications or restatements of Talmudic law, the *responsum* applies that law to a new, concrete situation as the respondent functions at the intersection of law and practical reality. The *responsum* was the major instrument of direct geonic authority, and thousands of geonic responses to their far-flung questioners have been preserved. The *responsa* are the case law of the halakhic system, and the centrality of halakhic figures can often be gauged by their position in the *responsa* network. The decision rendered in a concrete situation is considered by many experts to be more authoritative than the codified generalization.

Two overall tendencies of this genre ought to be noted. (1) Inasmuch as a respondent was questioned in matters of conflict or situations reflecting new conditions, the bulk of *responsa* till the modern period focused on civil law, matters of personal status, and the application of halakhic categories to new economic conditions. Ritual law became a dominant subject of this literature only in relatively modern times, as Jews began to turn to the civil authorities for melioration of many of the problems listed above. (2) From the fifteenth century on (probably beginning with the *Terumat ha-deshen* [The Collected Ashes] of Yisraʾel Isserlein), the *responsum* also became an artificial literary form in which a scholar elaborated on any problem of interest to him rather than communicating to an actual questioner. Thus the *responsa* literature includes central works of halakhic theory, such as the *Responsa shaʾagat Aryeh* (Lion's roar) of Aryeh Leib of Mez. (A similar phenomenon is present in Maimonidean commentary, which has been used as a literary framework for discussion of general problems of Talmudic law.) This development notwithstanding, *responsa* remain the major forum in which modern halakhists consider the varied problems raised by contemporary civilization, as is seen in the multivolume works of Moshe Feinstein (1895–1986) of the United States and ʿOvadyah Yosef (b. 1920) of Israel, The *responsa* is well suited to *halakhah*: it allows a focus on the specific and the concrete; and inasmuch as the respondent is approached by virtue of his scholarship and reputation, *responsa* function in the absence of a formal hierarchical structure.

Enactments. Works classified as enactments (*taqqanot*) could be communal, rabbinical, or, frequently, authorized by both lay and rabbinical leadership. Enactments included in the Talmud are assumed to have universal application, and some medieval enactments have also achieved very wide observance (thus the ban [*ḥerem*] on polygyny). But the vast majority of *taqqanot* were local in scope and origin. They were often communal or rabbinical responses to acute problems and carried communal sanctions. More than any other aspect of the halakhic system, *taqqanot* (called *haskamot*, "agreements," in the Sephardic sphere) represent *vox populi*; they would often be signed by the lay leadership (with the rabbinate concurring) and were frequently adopted by communal oath in the synagogue. *Taqqanot* are often preserved as independent documents or in communal registers and so constitute a literary genre of their own.

MODERN SCHOLARSHIP. Modern scholarly treatment of the history of medieval and modern *halakhah* has passed through a number of phases. Nineteenth-century historians, who often placed Jewish literary culture at the center of their interest, also focused on the careers of the great halakhists. But this focus often spent itself on biographical and literary issues; the history of law and legal theory was barely touched. With the rise of twentieth-century historiography, the major focus moved to the social, economic, and geopolitical aspects of Jewish life; now halakhic materials were combed as sources of historical data. A considerable amount of work was also devoted to the impact of general historic conditions of halakhic rulings and was often designed to show how flexible earlier halakhists had been. In recent decades, scholarship has looked for the complex interactions of legal theory and practice with historical reality as well as the internal dynamic of the halakhic system.

Modern scholarship has been able to utilize manuscript materials to gain a fuller picture of the past. Although no scientific editions of any medieval or modern halakhic text exist as yet, many new sources have been published or are consulted by scholars. The rich *genizah* ("storehouse") of Cairo, in particular, has yielded much material emanating from the Babylonian and, even more important, from the obscure Palestinian gaonate. For example, by studying the legal documents found in the *genizah*, Mordecai A. Friedman has been able to reconstruct Palestinian marriage law, which went further in equalizing the rights of husband and wife than did Babylonian law (*Jewish Marriage in Palestine,* 2 vols., Tel Aviv, 1980).

The sociological investigation of Jewish law has been pioneered principally by Jacob Katz. Katz utilizes halakhic sources to shed light on social processes, but in his work on law governing Jewish-gentile relations (*Exclusiveness and Tolerance,* London, 1961) and in a number of papers on Jewish ritual law, he has also shown how social realities have affected the halakhic process. Recently, though, Haym Soloveitchik has indicated that the halakhic response has not always accommodated the social or economic need (see, for example, his paper "Can Halakhic Texts Talk History?" in *AJS Review* 3, 1978, pp. 152–196) but has developed through the interpretation of its textual traditions as well. Since Jewish legists generally functioned in close proximity to their Christian and Muslim contemporaries, the question of mutual influence arises. It appears that Jewish legists absorbed terminology and occasionally legal theory from their surroundings. A more substantive claim for the impact of Christian marriage law has been made by Zeʾev W. Falk in *Jewish Matrimonial*

Law in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1966), and that for Muslim law of prayer has been made by Naftali Wieder in *Islamic Influences on the Jewish Worship* (Oxford, 1947; in Hebrew). This area of research is in its infancy.

The issue of halakhic openness arises in other contexts as well, for example, regarding the impact of Jewish pietistic movements on Jewish law and the degree to which legists integrate their other intellectual commitments into their legal views. The researches into Maimonidean *halakhah* by Jacob Levinger (*Darkhei hamaḥshavah ha-hilkhatit shel ha-Rambam,* Jerusalem, 1965) and Isadore Twersky (*Introduction to the Code of Maimonides,* New Haven, 1980) indicate that Maimonides' halakhic corpus is conditioned by his philosophic attitudes. Katz's work on the relationship of Qabbalah to *halakhah* reveals, as well, the influence of spiritualism on certain aspects of Jewish law (see, for example, his Hebrew papers in *Tarbiz* 50, 1980–1981, pp. 405–422; 51, 1982, pp. 59–106; and in *Daʿat* 7, 1981, pp. 37–68). Nonetheless, the halakhic system has retained a great measure of integrity as a self-contained system.

The most rounded analysis of the history of *halakhah,* treating both systemic-conceptual development and the place of law in society and history, is that associated with the school of *mishpaṭ ʿivri* ("Hebrew law") in Israel. Although its scholarly and ideological assumptions have been subjected to sharp disagreement (see the debate between Izhak Engelard and Menachem Elon in *The Jewish Law Annual, Supplement 1,* 1980), this school surveys topics of Jewish law in fuller scope than do other methods. Significant work produced by its historians includes Aaron Freimann's study of conditional marriage, M. Elon on the freedom of the debtor's person, and Shmuel Shiloh on Jewish reception of nonJewish law. A fine English-language exemplar of this method is David Feldman's *Birth Control in Jewish Law* (New York, 1968), which surveys Jewish law on birth control and abortion from biblical times until the present.

SEE ALSO Tosafot.

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There are a number of outstanding treatments of individual figures or specific movements: E. E. Urbach's *Baʿalei ha-tosafot,* 4th ed. (Jerusalem, 1980), details the milieu and contribution of the seminal tosafist movement; Isadore Twersky's *Introduction to the Code of Maimonides* (New Haven, Conn., 1980) is a magisterial analysis of various literary aspects of the code and the relationship of Maimonides' *halakhah* and his philosophical views. Louis Finkelstein provides translation and discussion of the major European *taqqanot* until the fifteenth century in his *Jewish Self-Government in the Middle Ages* (1924; reprint, Westport, Conn., 1972), and Solomon B. Freehof's *The Responsa Literature* (Philadelphia, 1955), is an informative introduction to this genre.

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HALAKHAH: STRUCTURE OF HALAKHAH

Halakhah, in the general sense of the word, is the entire body of Jewish law, from scripture to the latest rabbinical rulings. It is a complete system of law governing every aspect of human life. It has been traditionally viewed as wholly rooted in God's revealed will (B. T., *Ḥag.* 3b) but subject to the ongoing interpretation of the Jewish jurists (B. T., *B. M.* 59b).

In its more specific sense *halakhah* (pl., *halakhot*) refers to those laws that were traditionally observed by the Jewish people as if they were scriptural commandments (*mitsvot*) even though they were nowhere explicitly found in scripture. The term itself, according to Saul Lieberman in *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (New York, 1962), seems to refer to the statement of a juristic norm as opposed to actual case law. The task of much rabbinic exegesis, especially during the tannaitic period (c. 70–200 CE), was to show that through the use of proper hermeneutics the *halakhot* could be derived from the text of scripture, especially the Pentateuch. When this could not be done, the specific *halakhah* was termed "a law of Moses from Sinai."

ORIGINS. Concerning the origins of *halakhah* there are three main theories.

The first, the traditional, rabbinic approach, is founded on the literal meaning of "a law of Moses from Sinai," namely, that Moses received two sets of teachings at Mount Sinai, one written (the Pentateuch) and the other oral (*torah she-beʿal peh*), and that the oral Torah is the authoritative explanation of the written Torah (B. T., *Ber.* 5a). Thus all subsequent interpretation is in effect recollection of what had already been revealed at Sinai (J. T., *Meg.* 4.1,74d). This theory explains that the constant rabbinical disputes over virtually every point of *halakhah* are due not to any inherent ambiguity in the tradition itself but, rather, to insufficient mastery of the tradition by the rabbis (Tosefta, *Soṭ.* 14.10).

The second theory is that of Moses Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon, 1135/8–1204). Although he too reiterated the literal meaning of the totally Mosaic origin of *halakhah*, in his specific treatment of the constitution of halakhic authority he states that *halakhah* is based on scripture and, equally, on the rulings of the Great Court in Jerusalem (*Mishneh Torah*, Rebels 1.1ff.). This is Mosaic law in that the members of the Great Court are Moses' authoritative successors. Maimonides explains the fact of constant rabbinical disputes in *halakhah* as due to the loss of political sovereignty, which led to the demise of the Great Court's jurisdiction. By this theory Maimonides places both rabbinical legislation and traditional *halakhah* on the same level.

The third theory is that of Zacharias Frankel (1801–1875). Expanding certain medieval comments into a more general theory, Frankel, in *Darkhei ha-Mishnah* (Leipzig, 1859), saw the term "a law of Moses from Sinai" as primarily referring to ancient laws that had become widespread in Jewish practice and whose origins were obscure. They were regarded as if they had come from the actual time of Moses. Frankel's theory, which received severe criticism from more orthodox scholars, reflected the growing historical consciousness of nineteenth-century Jewish scholarship and, also, stimulated research into the different historical origins of various *halakhot*. Frankel, then, along with other scholars of his time, laid the foundation for the historical understanding of *halakhah* as a developmental phenomenon.

SCRIPTURAL EXEGESIS. Because of the Pharisaic and rabbinic emphasis on the essential unity of the written Torah and the *halakhah*, in contradistinction to the Sadducean, which accepted only the former as authoritative (B. T., *Hor.* 4a), an elaborate hermeneutical system was worked out to derive as many of the *halakhot* as possible from the words of scripture, which was considered normatively unintelligible without the process of specifically relating it to the *halakhah* (B. T., *Shab.* 31a). This entire process was called *midrash,* literally meaning "inquiry" into scripture. The most important statement of this rabbinic hermeneutic is the "Thirteen Methods of Rabbi Yishmaʿeʾl" (*Sifraʾ*, intro.). The most widely used of these methods and the most typical was the *gezerah shavah;* namely, the process by which a word in one scriptural context was interpreted according to its meaning in another context. Since this type of interpretation was only for buttressing already normative *halakhot*, what it accomplished was a much wider latitude for tradition to determine the meaning of scripture (J. T., *Pes.* 6.1, 33a). However, not only did such hermeneutical methods support already normative *halakhot*, but they also led to the formulation of new norms. The most prominent proponent of this constructive exegesis was the second-century sage ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef, although his oftentimes daring interpretations elicited the criticism of his more conservative teachers and colleagues (B. T., *Men.* 89a).

In tannaitic texts a distinction is made between direct scriptural exegesis (*derashah*) and indirect exegesis. In a purely normative sense, however, it is difficult to see any authoritative difference between laws buttressed by the latter as opposed to the former. Both sets of laws were regarded as traditional *halakhot*; the only difference is that the former were more satisfactorily based on scripture.

RABBINIC LAW. In the amoraic period (c. 220–c. 500) there emerged a more clear-cut distinction between laws considered scriptural (*de-oraitaʾ*) and laws considered rabbinic (*de-rabbanan*). The difference between scriptural law and rabbinic law by this time was that the latter was considered to be evidently rational. As for scriptural law, despite attempts to discover "reasons for the commandments" (*ṭaʿamei ha-mitsvot*), God's will was considered sufficient reason for it. "I have made a statute; I have decreed a decree; you are not permitted to violate my decrees" (*Nm. Rab.* 19.1). This phrase was used to refute any suggestion that only those laws whose reasons were evident were authoritative. In fact, certain scriptural laws were admitted to be rationally incomprehensible, but their authority was nevertheless emphasized as being because "my father in heaven has decreed such for me" (*Sifraʾ*, Shemini, ed. Weiss, 93b).

Rabbinic law, although occasionally justified by indirect scriptural exegesis (*asmakhtaʾ*), was then usually justified as being for the fulfillment of some religious or social need (B. T., *Ber.* 23b). This developed to such an extent that it was claimed that there were only three rabbinic laws for which no reason could be immediately discerned (B. T., *Giṭ.* 14a). Furthermore, the lines between direct and indirect exegesis were considerably blurred (B. T., *Pes.* 39b). Finally, Ravaʾ, a fourth-century Babylonian sage who became the most prominent advocate of rational jurisprudence, indicated that the rabbis actually had more legislative power than even scripture (B. T., *Mak.* 22b). Nevertheless, although in theory the punishment for the violation of rabbinic law could be even more severe than that for the violation of scriptural law (*San.* 11.3), in reality it was almost always more lenient (*Naz.* 4.3). In case of doubt, in matters concerning scriptural law the benefit of the doubt favored the law, but in rabbinic law it favored the accused (B. T., *Beits.* 3b).

The question of the extent of scriptural law versus rabbinic law was deeply debated among the medieval Jewish jurists. Maimonides, following the Talmudic opinion that scriptural law is limited to 613 Pentateuchal commandments (B. T., *Mak.* 23b), considered any other laws, whether traditional or formulated through exegesis or rabbinical legislation, as having the status of rabbinic laws (*Sefer ha-mitsvot*, intro., sec. 2). Moses Nahmanides (Mosheh ben Naḥman, c. 1194–1270), on the other hand, was of the opinion that anything designated by the rabbis as scriptural law, especially those laws derived hermeneutically in rabbinic literature, has the status of scriptural law. Only those laws specifically designated by the rabbis as rabbinic are to be considered as such. This difference of opinion concerning the very character of *halakhah* is philosophical. Maimonides' prime concern seems to have been with the process of legislation, that is, with the ability of the duly constituted authorities to make new laws and repeal old ones. Nahmanides' prime concern seems to have been with a revival of the whole process of rabbinical exegesis. This distinction can be seen in the fact that Maimonides' chief halakhic contribution was that of a highly innovative codifier, whereas Nahmanides' was that of an exegete. This difference of approach can be seen in the Talmud and throughout the history of the *halakhah*, namely, the apodictic approach (B. T., *Nid.* 73a) as contrasted with the expository approach (B. T., *B. M.* 33a).

Rabbinical legislation was considered the original prerogative of the Great Court in Jerusalem (*Sifrei*, Shofṭim, ed. Finkelstein, no. 144). With the diminution of its powers even before the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE and its full demise at that time, how much of its power could be transferred to subsequent courts became the subject of considerable discussion.

Sometimes Jewish juridical power was limited because of the lack of political sovereignty; however, internal Jewish political considerations played an even more important role in determining the extent of juridical authority in certain times and places. Despite the destruction of the Second Temple and the demise of the Great Court, there was a strong attempt to retain prime rabbinical authority in the Land of Israel. Thus unqualified rabbinical ordination (*semikhah*), which was seen as an institution originating with Moses himself, was limited to those rabbis who functioned in the Land of Israel. When in the third century Rav (Abbaʾ bar Ayyvu) left Israel for Babylonia, where he led the revival of the Jewish community, he was granted a qualified ordination, with authorization to adjudicate only in certain questions of law (B. T., *San.* 5a). Nevertheless, with the exception of adjudicating in the area of scripturally fixed fines (*qenasot*, B. T., *B. Q.* 84b), as the Babylonian community grew and developed its own institutions, its rabbis began to claim virtually all of the halakhic prerogatives of the rabbinate of the Land of Israel (B. T., *Giṭ.* 88b). Generally, this set the pattern for subsequent rabbinical authority, namely, that the rabbis in every time and place exercised as much halakhic authority as political and religious conditions both allowed and required (Tosefta, *R. ha-Sh.* 1.18). Moreover, it was recognized that in emergency situations the rabbis had the right to override existing laws temporarily (*horaʾat shaʿah*), even scriptural ones (B. T., *Yev.* 90b). Finally, it was recognized that the rabbis even had the power to abrogate certain aspects of scriptural laws, although this power was considerably qualified (ibid., 89b).

Types of rabbinical legislation. Rabbinical legislation can generally be divided into two classes: decrees (*gezerot*) and enactments (*taqqanot*).

Decrees were justified by the principle traced back to the period of Ezra (sixth century BCE) that "a fence is to be made around the Torah" (*Avot* 1.1). This "fence" consists of prohibitions designed to protect scriptural law from probable transgression. Thus, for example, numerous additional restrictions (*shevut*) were enacted to protect the thirty-nine scriptural prohibitions of Sabbath labor from being carelessly violated, to enhance the overall sanctity of the day, and to guard against behavior that the rabbis saw as inconsistent with the spirit of the law (*Beits.* 5.2). However, to distinguish rabbinical legislation from scriptural law and to prevent an infinite multiplication of strictures, the rabbis emphasized that laws were not to be enacted to protect their laws (B. T., *Beits.* 3a).

Rabbinical enactments were justified by the scriptural prescription that "you not deviate from what the judges will tell you" (*Dt.* 17:11). Although this probably refers to the simple necessity of applying scriptural law, the rabbis saw it as mandating their power to add to it if circumstances warranted doing so. These enactments were of three kinds.

1. Enactments were made to commemorate postbiblical Jewish events. Thus, for example, the recitation of the liturgical formula "Blessed are you, Lord . . . who has commanded us" was justified for the ritual of kindling Ḥanukkah lights on the grounds that the rabbinical legislation that mandated it is itself prescribed by scripture (B. T., *Shab.* 23a). As the rabbis often put it, "It is a commandment to listen to the words of the sages" (B. T., *Yev.* 20a).

2. Enactments were made to alleviate hardships arising from the widening gap between scriptural law and social and economic realities. Thus, for example, the scriptural law prescribing the cancellation of debts every seventh year (*Dt.* 15:1ff.) proved to be a deterrent to lending money to those who needed it most in a commercial economy, where longterm loans were becoming more and more common. To alleviate this situation, in accordance with the overall purpose of the Torah, that is, to promote social justice and well-being, Hillel the Elder (first century CE) enacted the institution of *prozbul*, whereby a creditor handed over his note to a court. Since the court collected the debt, the lender avoided the prohibition of personally collecting the debt after the Sabbatical year (*Giṭ.* 4.3).

3. Enactments were made to curtail individual rights, the exercise of which was seen as contrary to the common good. Thus, for example, the third-century Babylonian sage ʿUlaʾ ruled that although scripture permitted repayment of a debt with merchandise of any quality (*Dt.* 24:11), the debtor must repay a debt with at least medium-grade merchandise so as not to discourage lending (B. T., *Giṭ.* 50a). This same type of curb on what was perceived to be the antisocial exercise of individual privileges was the basis of the numerous laws enacted in medieval communities (*taqqanot ha-qehillot*). The most famous of these was the ban on polygyny issued for Ashkenazic (northern European) Jewry by Gershom ben

Yehudah of Mainz (c. 965–1028) even though both the Bible and the Talmud permit the practice.

Rabbinic legal procedures. Rabbinical legislation was conducted according to a number of procedural rules. Although the reason for a specific rabbinical enactment did not have to be immediately publicized (B. T., *ʿA. Z.* 35a), there certainly had to be a clear and compelling religious or social need for it to be enacted. Rabbinical legislation was considered general in scope and was not to be formulated as case law (B. T., *ʿEruv.* 63b).

The question of how long a rabbinical enactment was considered binding and what power of repeal subsequent rabbis have is a complicated one and is debated by scholars. Thus an important passage in the Mishnah states that "one court may not repeal [*mevaṭel*] the decrees of a fellow court unless it is greater than it in wisdom and in numbers" (*ʿEduy.* 1.5). Some scholars have interpreted this as applying to a contemporary court only. Others have interpreted it as applying to a subsequent court. "Greater in numbers" has been interpreted to mean a greater number of disciples. However, it was highly unusual for a subsequent court to regard itself as wiser than an earlier one. The rabbis generally were too reverent of tradition to attempt to repeal it overtly. The Talmudic statement "If earlier generations were angels, we are but men" (B. T., *Shab.* 112b) reflects this typical attitude. Therefore, repeal usually took the form of more subtle reinterpretation of earlier enactments. However, even when the reason for an enactment was no longer extant, it was still considered binding unless there was a strong reason for reinterpretation.

The question of rejection of a rabbinical enactment by the people was debated in the Middle Ages. The Talmud states that "a decree is not to be made unless the majority of the community are able to abide by it" (B. T., *ʿA. Z.* 36a), and this was interpreted to mean that it had to have been accepted as normative by the majority of the community. (There does not seem to have been, however, any procedure for an actual plebiscite.) Rashi (Rabbi Shelomoh ben Yitsḥaq, 1040–1105) restricts this right to the generation of the enactment itself; that is, if they accept it the enactment is binding irrespective of the possible rejection by subsequent generations. Maimonides, on the other hand, extends the right of rejection even to subsequent generations; that is, if an earlier rabbinical enactment had fallen into disuse, then a subsequent court may regard it as no longer binding (*Mishneh Torah*, Rebels 2.7). Following the same logic, in another ruling Maimonides opts for the ancient Babylonian practice of publicly reading the Torah in the synagogue in an annual cycle over the ancient Palestinian practice of reading it in a triennial cycle, simply because the former practice had acquired universal Jewish acceptance.

CUSTOM. *Minhag* ("custom") is the third constituent element in *halakhah,* after scriptural exegesis and rabbinic law. It basically has three functions.

1. Custom is invoked when the law itself is ambiguous. If there are two reputable opinions as to what a law is, then there are two ways of deciding what is to be done. Either the majority view of the sages is followed (B. T., *Ḥul.* 11a), or the popular practice of the people is consulted and followed (J. T., *Peʾah* 8.2, 20c). In the latter situation custom does not establish law but distinguishes between which law is considered normative (*halakhah lemaʿaseh*) and which law is considered only theoretical (*ein morin ken*, J. T., *Yev.* 12.1, 12c). Popular acceptance of one practice over another is considered a valid criterion of juridical choice because "if the people of Israel are not prophets, they are the children of prophets" (J. T., *Pes.* 6.1, 33a). In other words, popular practice is indicative of an unbroken chain of tradition.

2. Custom is considered a valid form of law, supplementing scriptural commandments and formal rabbinical legislation. Certain customs are considered universally Jewish. For example, the Orthodox objection to the modern practice of men and women sitting together in non-Orthodox synagogues, although some have attempted to find formal halakhic objections to it, is actually based on the fact that theretofore separation of the sexes in the synagogue was undoubtedly universal Jewish custom. Earlier in the nineteenth century the same invocation of the authority of custom was used to object to the introduction of the organ into synagogues in western Europe, with the additional point that such a practice constituted "walking in the ways of the Gentiles."

   Other customs are considered local and binding only on members of a particular locality. Generally, the rule is that if one is in a different locality from one's own, one should do nothing there to cause any scandal or controversy (*Pes.* 4.1). The force of the authority of local custom can be seen, especially, in the diversity of liturgical rites among Jews even to this day. These differences of custom to a large extent reflect differences of local environment and the social, political, and economic conditions within the respective Jewish communities. In new localities, where there are Jews from varying backgrounds, the general approach is to attempt to devise a unified rite so that there not be numerous groups (B. T., *Yev.* 13b). More frequently than not the rites of the more dominant group in the new locality prevail over everyone.

3. Custom sometimes takes precedence over established Jewish practice even when it has no foundation in *halakhah.* Usually this power of custom was used to rescind privileges the *halakhah* had earlier granted (Elon, 1978, pp. 732ff.). However, sometimes custom even had the power to abrogate, *de facto*, scriptural law. For example, the law that certain portions of slaughtered animals be given to descendants of Aaronic priests irrespective of time and place was not considered binding because of customary neglect.

EXTRAHALAKHIC FACTORS. The role extrahalakhic factors have played in the development of the *halakhah* is one of considerable debate among scholars. Aside from the question of the influence of history and general philosophy, which could be seen as extraneous modes of thought, there is the question of the influence of the nonlegal body of rabbinic thought, largely theological, known as *aggadah.* Generally it was held that one could not decide the law based on *aggadah* alone. Nevertheless, it can be shown that aggadic factors were influential in formulating halakhic opinions. This becomes evident when the views of the various rabbis, who were both halakhists and aggadists, are examined.

Thus, for example, ʿAqivaʾ, in a discussion of capital punishment, states that had he been a member of the Sanhedrin when capital punishment was practiced, no one would have ever been executed (*Mak.* 1.10). The Talmud attempts to find a legal basis for this opinion inasmuch as capital punishment is prescribed by scripture for a number of crimes. The halakhic conclusion (written long after the time of ʿAqivaʾ) is that he would have interpreted the laws of evidence so strictly as to make conviction for a crime punishable by death a practical impossibility (B. T., *Mak.* 7a). However, one can find an aggadic statement, recorded in the name of ʿAqivaʾ himself, that "whoever sheds human blood diminishes the divine image" (Tosefta, *Yev.* 8.7). Since even a convicted criminal has not forfeited that divine image (Tosefta, *San.* 9.7), one can see that ʿAqivaʾ had theological objections against any sort of bloodshed. It would seem that his theology was the authentic influence on his halakhic opinion, although subsequent legalists had to find a halakhic reason for it lest the authority of the law be reduced to theological opinion, something that was generally avoided (J. T., *Hor.* 3.9, 48c).

One can see further evidence of this in the relation between *halakhah* and Qabbalah (Jewish mystical literature), especially if Qabbalah is taken to be a subsequent development of *aggadah.* On the one hand, despite the growing popularity in the Middle Ages of the *Zohar* (the most important qabbalistic text), there were halakhists who regarded it as nonauthoritative, whether or not they approved of its theology. On the other hand, there were legalists who regarded it as divine revelation and *ipso facto* authoritative. A compromise was reached between these two opinions by David ibn Avi Zimraʾ (1479–1573), who ruled that when the Talmud was inconclusively divided on a certain law, the *Zohar* could be invoked to decide in favor of one of the Talmudic opinions. However, the *Zohar* could not be so invoked when the Talmud was conclusive.

SUBDIVISIONS OF *HALAKHAH.* For descriptive purposes it is helpful to see *halakhah* as divided into the following areas: (1) ritual law, (2) law of familial and personal status, (3) civil law, (4) criminal law, and (5) law pertaining to non-Jews.

Ritual law. Although including inoperative laws pertaining to the Temple cult and most matters of ritual purity, ritual law can be seen today as confined to matters of worship, the Sabbath and festivals, diet, clothing, and sex. In the four-part *Shulḥan ʿarukh* of Yosef Karo (1488–1575), which has become the most authoritative halakhic code, ritual law is the subject of all of the first part, *Oraḥ ḥayyim*, and most of the second part, *Yoreh deʿah.*

One of the most important principles to emerge in the development of ritual *halakhah* is that in cases where the observance of the law poses a distinct danger to human life, the law is not to be observed. The origins of this seminal principle can be seen as early as the Maccabean revolt against the Seleucid rulers of the Land of Israel (166–164 BCE). In that revolt the pietists refused to fight on the Sabbath. This led to their being frequently massacred on the Sabbath by their enemies, who quickly became aware of this restriction. It was argued (*1 Mc.* 2.39–42) that this insistence on unqualified Sabbath observance would lead to the total extermination of the Jewish people. In the early second century, under similarly oppressive circumstances, the rabbis meeting secretly at Lod ruled that one was to transgress the law rather than die a martyr's death. The only exceptions were if one were ordered on pain of death to practice idolatry overtly, commit murder, or initiate an act of adultery, homosexuality, or bestiality (B. T., *San.* 74a). All of this was based on the scriptural command "You shall live through them" (*Lv.* 18:5), which was interpreted to mean "You shall live through them but not die because of them" (*Sifraʾ*, Aḥarei-mot, 86b). This principle, in one form or another, was invoked on numerous occasions and led to such corollaries as "Danger to life takes precedence over a ritual infraction" (B. T., *Ḥul.* 10a).

Law of familial and personal status. The law of familial and personal status is the subject of *Even haʿezer,* the third part of the *Shulḥan ʿarukh*, and of some sections of *Yoreh deʿah*, the second part. In this area of *halakhah* the question that has become the subject of widest discussion and deepest controversy since 1948 is that of who is a Jew.

Jewish identity. According to scriptural law it would seem that Jewish identity is patrilineal, as suggested by such statements as "The whole community were registered by the clans of their ancestral houses [*le-veit avotam*; lit., 'the houses of their fathers']" (*Nm.* 1:18; J. T., *Qid.* 64d). Furthermore, when Ruth the Moabite married the Israelite leader Boaz, without specific mention of any formal conversion, her descendants were automatically considered as following her husband's patrimony (*Ru.* 4:21–22). Nevertheless, according to the Talmud Jewish identity is considered matrilineal (B. T., *Qid.* 68b). The origins of this approach can perhaps be seen in the beginnings of the postexilic period (c. 516 BCE), when at the urging of Ezra the people banished not only their non-Jewish wives but also "those born of them" (*Ezr.* 10:3).

Once one is born of a Jewish mother, or he or she has properly converted to Judaism, that status is considered irrevocable (B. T., *San.* 44a, *Yev.* 47b). However, the community can revoke various privileges of Jewish status from apostates and other persons as well who have removed themselves from basic Jewish identification and observance.

Marriage and divorce. The subject of the most extensive halakhic structure is marriage and divorce. Marriage originally consisted of two parts. The first part, *erusin* ("betrothal"), was initiated when the man, with the consent of the woman, designated her as his wife before at least two bona fide witnesses, usually by giving her an article of stipulated value (*Qid.* 1.1). The woman, however, continued to live with her parents; her father now had joint responsibility for her, along with her husband. After a period of time, usually one year, the bride left her parental home and went to live with the groom (*nissuʾin*), and the couple consummated the marriage. The status of the woman was greatly enhanced by the marriage contract (*ketubbah*), which provided a considerable payment in the event of her being divorced or widowed (Epstein, 1927).

Divorce required that the husband present his wife with a formal bill of divorce (*geṭ*), drawn up at his instigation by a rabbinical court. Although the school of Shammai made adultery the only grounds for divorce, the *halakhah* followed the more lenient view of the school of Hillel, which made virtually any incompatibility sufficient for divorce to be effected (*Giṭ.* 9.10). Although the woman herself could not instigate divorce proceedings, she could, nevertheless, when there was clearly sufficient incompatibility, request that a rabbinical court force her husband to grant her a divorce (*Ket.* 7.10). Indeed, nonfulfillment of the basic husbandly duties of support and regular sexual intercourse obligated a man to do so (*Ket.* 5.6).

Civil law. Jewish civil law regulates all areas of life involving property. It is the subject of the greatest discussion in *Ḥoshen mishpaṭ*, the fourth part of the *Shulḥan ʿarukh.*

Of all the areas of *halakhah*, civil law has been the most flexible. The underlying basis of this flexibility is perhaps best expressed in the rabbinic dictum "The Torah cares about property of Israel" (*Neg.* 12.5). In other words, although there was a consistent commitment to general principles of justice, it was understood that the law, especially in the unstable and diversified area of economics, must be responsive to the needs of the times. This characteristic, it might be added, was limited to the area of civil law, and for this reason one could not apply most of the principles developed there to the more conservative area of ritual law (B. T., *Ber.* 19b).

Although the *halakhah* developed its own standards for various commercial activities, the operative principle is "Everything is according to the practice [*minhag*] of the locality" (*B. M.* 7.1). Thus, even conditions contrary to the law of the Torah, which under all other circumstances are null and void, in monetary matters are considered valid if freely agreed upon by both parties to a contract (B. T., *Qid.* 19b), except where the prohibition of one Jew taking interest from another Jew is involved. However, even here the *halakhah* eventually evolved a procedure (*hetter ʿisqaʾ*) whereby interest could be charged for commercial loans using the legal fiction of designating the creditor as a partner of the debtor in a joint venture (Elon, 1975, pp. 504–505). Furthermore, flexibility in this area of *halakhah* is evidenced by the fact that in monetary disputes informal arbitration was encouraged in lieu of formal adjudication.

Private property was not considered an absolute right by the *halakhah.* Although there is an elaborate system of adjudicating claims and counterclaims between private parties in such areas as torts and contracts, the court had the power to declare private property ownerless (*hefqer*) if this was in the interest of the common good (B. T., *Yev.* 89b). It must be added, however, that this principle was used sparingly, and it seems as though for the *halakhah* a limited free-enterprise system is considered both the norm and the desideratum.

Criminal law. Jewish criminal law, also dealt with in *Ḥoshen mishpaṭ*, is concerned with capital and corporal punishment. Capital punishment is mandated for such interpersonal acts as murder and adultery as well as for such ritual acts as public violation of the Sabbath. Corporal punishment (lashing) is mandated for various ritual infractions (*Mak.* 3.1ff.). Most personal injury, however, was treated as a civil tort rather than as a criminal act per se. Thus the scriptural *lex talionis* ("an eye for an eye," *Ex.* 21:24) was interpreted by the rabbis as prescribing monetary compensation for the victim rather than the actual mutilation of the perpetrator.

Even after the Roman rulers of the Land of Israel had removed the power of the Jewish courts to administer capital punishment, sometime before 70 CE, the rabbis were sharply divided about its desirability. Although the institution itself, because it was scripturally prescribed, could not be explicitly abrogated, a number of rabbis were obviously opposed to it in practice if not in principle (B. T., *San.* 71a). This tendency to oppose capital punishment is also seen in the rabbinic institution of *hatraʾah,* according to which one could not be convicted of a capital crime unless he or she had been explicitly forewarned by the same two witnesses who actually saw the crime and the criminal had explicitly indicated that he or she was aware of both the criminal status of the act to be done and the exact type of capital punishment it entailed (B. T., *San.* 40b–41a). Such an institution would seem to limit sharply the number of legal executions. Whether *hatraʾah* was actually practiced when the Jewish courts had the power of capital punishment is questioned by some modern scholars. Nevertheless, it does reflect a definite tendency in rabbinic theory if not in actual practice.

On the other hand, a number of prominent and influential halakhists expressed the view of the second-century sage Shimʿon ben Gamliʾel II that capital punishment is necessary to maintain social order (*Mak.* 1.10). Indeed, the Talmud is followed by many subsequent authorities in advocating capital punishment even for crimes not specified as capital crimes in the legal sources if the court believed that "the hour required such" in cases of gross public provocation. In the thirteenth century the important halakhist Shelomoh ben Avraham Adret stated that were all the traditional qualifications of capital punishment in the *halakhah* to be followed, "society would be destroyed." His statement, furthermore, was probably not just theoretical in that it is known that Spanish Jewish communities at that time did have the power to execute criminals (Elon, 1978, p. 9).

The actual practice of Jewish criminal law, and to a large extent Jewish civil law as well, has frequently required the type of political sovereignty that Jews did not have. Thus in the third century the Babylonian authority Shemuʾel of Nehardea formulated the seminal juridical principle that "the law of the kingdom is the law" (B. T., *B. B.* 54b). This principle was justified in several ways; the most cogent is that the Jewish court has the power to transfer its authority in civil and criminal matters. Historically this relegated all Jewish criminal law and much Jewish civil law to the realm of the theoretical. Thus some medieval authorities seem to have thought that this principle was too radical in that it gave away too much Jewish legal sovereignty. It is still too early for the most part to see if and how Jewish criminal and civil law can be revived in the state of Israel, which, at the present time at least, is constituted as a secular state not subject to the authority of the *halakhah* except in limited areas (see below).

Law regarding non-Jews. The area of Jewish law pertaining to non-Jews has been called "the seven commandments of the sons of Noah" (Tosefta, *ʿA. Z.* 8.4). These commandments are (1) the obligation to adjudicate cases according to defined statutes and the prohibitions of (2) blasphemy, (3) idolatry, (4) homicide, (5) adultery, homosexuality, and bestiality, (6) robbery, and (7) eating a limb torn from a living animal. A number of commentators saw these seven commandments as seven general legal categories rather than seven specific norms.

One of the most important historical questions about this area of *halakhah* is whether or not it was actually enforced among non-Jews. Some scholars consider this highly unlikely inasmuch as no actual case is reported in the rabbinic sources, where these laws were the basis of adjudication, and there do not seem to have been free Gentiles living under Jewish legal jurisdiction in the rabbinic period. Indeed, only in Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* (Code of Law), which deals with every area of *halakhah,* even those no longer (if ever) operative, are the Noahic laws systematically presented and discussed (Kings and Wars 8.10ff.). It is, moreover, important to note that non-Jewish slaves, who were certainly owned by Jews at that time, were subject to a body of law containing many more distinctly Jewish practices and prohibitions than the Noahic laws (B. T., *Ḥag.* 4a).

Nevertheless, the concept of a law governing non-Jews, which was considered to have been normative for Jews as well before the Sinaitic revelation of the 613 commandments of the Mosaic Torah, had a profound effect on the development of Judaism. In terms of *halakhah* the Noahic laws were considered to be the minimal normative standards upon which the Mosaic Torah was based. Thus the Talmud in more than one place states that "there is nothing prohibited to non-Jews that is permitted to Jews" (B. T., *San.* 59a). In another place it states that Jewish law must be stricter lest it appear as "a lower form of sanctity" (B. T., *Yev.* 22a).

In terms of Jewish-Gentile relations the Noahic prohibition of idolatry became the basis of determining which non-Jewish societies were actually idolatrous and which were merely following "ancestral custom" (B. T., *Ḥul.* 13b). This distinction had great practical importance in that Jewish dealings with confirmed Gentile idolators were proscribed in many areas, including in various business transactions (*ʿA. Z.* 1.1). In the Middle Ages the Noahic prohibition of idolatry became the standard for determining the Jewish view, both theoretical and practical, of Christianity and Islam. Islamic monotheism was, of course, much easier to justify on Jewish grounds than were Christian incarnationism and trinitarianism. Indeed, a number of medieval halakhists, usually themselves living under Muslim regimes, considered Christianity a form of idolatry entailing all the Talmudic proscriptions pertaining to idolatry and idolators. However, other legalists, usually living under Christian regimes, drew upon earlier Talmudic distinctions between stricter criteria for Jews than for Gentiles, especially in areas of religious conviction, and so considered Christianity a mediated monotheism.

In those democratic countries where Jews are full participants, there has been renewed interest in this area of *halakhah* as a source for determining "the Jewish point of view" on various issues of public concern as widely divergent as abortion, capital punishment, and prayer in American public schools. How pertinent, however, many of these sources are to the areas of public concern to which they have been related, without thorough critical historical and philosophical examination and reinterpretation, is itself a source of great difference of opinion among contemporary Jewish thinkers.

CURRENT ROLE OF *HALAKHAH*. Although *halakhah* is a system of law governing every aspect of personal and communal life, there is no Jewish community in the world today where *halakhah* is the sole basis of governance. This inherent paradox—namely, a total system of law forced by historical reality to share legal authority with another system of law, if not to be actually subordinate to it—has led to a number of tensions both in the state of Israel and in the Diaspora.

***Halakhah* in the state of Israel.** In the state of Israel, *halakhah*, as adjudicated by the rabbinical courts, is recognized as the law governing all aspects of public Jewish religious ritual and all areas of marriage and divorce. (The same privilege is extended to the respective systems of law of the various non-Jewish religious communities there.) This political arrangement has led to a number of areas of tension. Thus many secularist Israeli Jews object to having to submit in questions of personal and familial status to the authority of religious courts, whose very religious justification they do not accept. This conflict has manifested itself in the demand by many secularist Israelis for civil marriage and divorce in the state of Israel, something that *halakhah* rejects as unacceptable for Jews. Even more profound is the fact that there is a conflict between *halakhah* and Israeli law on the most basic question of Jewish identity, that is, who is a Jew. According to *halakhah*, anyone born of a Jewish mother or himself or herself converted to Judaism is considered a Jew. According to the Israeli Law of Return (Ḥoq ha-Shevut), any Jew (with the exception of one convicted of a crime in another country) has the right of Israeli domicile and Israeli citizenship. However, in 1962 in a famous decision the Israeli Supreme Court ruled that Oswald Rufeisen, a Jewish convert to Christianity and a Roman Catholic monk, was not entitled to Israeli citizenship as a Jew because in the popular sense of the term he was not a Jew even though he was one in the technical, halakhic sense. On the other hand, in 1968, in another famous decision, the Israeli Supreme Court ruled that the wife and children of an Israeli Jew, Binyamin Shalit, were not to be considered Jews for purposes of Israeli citizenship because they had not been converted to Judaism, even though they identified themselves as Israeli Jews in the secular sense of the term. In this case, unlike the earlier one, the court accepted a halakhic definition of who is a Jew.

At the present time, furthermore, there is considerable debate in the state of Israel and the Diaspora about what actually constitutes valid conversion to Judaism. All Orthodox and most Conservative halakhists have rejected the conversions performed under Reform auspices because in the great majority of such cases the objective halakhic criteria of conversion—circumcision for males and immersion in a ritual bath (*miqveh*) for both males and females (B. T., *Yev.* 47b)—have not been fulfilled. Even the conversions performed under Conservative auspices, although fulfilling these objective criteria, are also rejected by many Orthodox legalists, who claim that Conservative rabbis lack the requisite commitment to *halakhah* to function as acceptable rabbinical judges. All of this is evidence of the widening division among the branches of contemporary Judaism.

***Halakhah* in the Diaspora.** In the Diaspora, where adherence to *halakhah* is a matter of individual choice in practically every country that Judaism may be freely practiced, there is little ability to enforce the communal authority inherent in the halakhic system itself. This has led to a number of vexing problems. For example, the Talmud empowers a rabbinical court to force a man to divorce his wife for a variety of objective reasons that make normal married life impossible. When Jewish communities enjoyed relative internal autonomy, such enforcement could be carried out regularly. However, today, because of the loss of such communal autonomy, such enforcement is impossible, and many Jewish women, although already civilly divorced and no longer living with their former husbands, are still considered married according to *halakhah* and are unable to remarry because of the refusal of their former husbands to comply with the order of a rabbinical court.

This growing problem in societies where mobility and anonymity are facts of life has led to basically three different approaches. Many in the Orthodox community have attempted to resort to legal measures in the civil courts to force compliance with *halakhah.* In addition to a lack of success heretofore, this has raised, especially in the United States, the constitutional issue of governmental interference in private religious matters. On the other hand, the Conservative movement since 1968 has revived the ancient rabbinical privilege of retroactive annulment (B. T., *Giṭ.* 33a) in cases where it is impossible to obtain a Jewish divorce from the husband. The Reform movement, not being bound by the authority of *halakhah*, accepts a civil divorce as sufficient termination of a Jewish marriage. These three widely divergent approaches to a major halakhic problem are further evidence of the growing divisiveness in the Jewish religious community in both the state of Israel and the Diaspora.

Reconstitution of the Sanhedrin. The only chance for effecting any halakhic unanimity among the Jewish people would be the reconstitution of the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem as the universal Jewish legislature and supreme court. This proposal was actually made by the first minister of religious affairs in the state of Israel, Judah Leib Maimon (1875–1962). However, considering the fact that this reconstitution itself presupposes much of the very unanimity it is to effect, it would seem that it is rather utopian, something the Talmud euphemistically called "messianic *halakhah*" (B. T., *Zev.* 45a).

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The number of good monographs on halakhic topics in English is steadily growing. One can read and consult with profit the following finely researched and written works: Boaz Cohen's *Jewish and Roman Law: A Comparative Study,* 2 vols. (New York, 1966); Louis M. Epstein's *The Jewish Marriage Contract* (1927; reprint, New York, 1973); David M. Feldman's *Birth Control in Jewish Law* (New York, 1968); Solomon B. Freehof's *The Responsa Literature* (Philadelphia, 1955); Aaron Kirschenbaum's *Self-Incrimination in Jewish Law* (New York, 1970); Isaac Klein's *A Guide to Jewish Religious Practice* (New York, 1979); Leo Landman's *Jewish Law in the Diaspora* (Philadelphia, 1968); Samuel Mendelsohn's *The Criminal Jurisprudence of the Ancient Hebrews* (Baltimore, Md., 1891); and my own *The Image of the Non-Jew in Judaism* (New York, 1983).

The articles in *The Jewish Law Annual,* vols. 1–4, edited by Bernard S. Jackson (Leiden, 1978–1981), generally represent some of the best critical scholarship on halakhic topics in English today. A good sampling of the current theological debate over the authority and scope of *halakhah* can be found in a symposium in *Judaism* 29 (Winter 1980).

DAVID NOVAK (1987)

HALEVY, JUDAH SEE YEHUDAH HA-LEVI

HALL, G. STANLEY (1844–1924), was an American psychologist and educator. Granville Stanley Hall was born in western Massachusetts, in a conservative Protestant environment. He was educated at Williams College, at Union Theological Seminary (New York), at several institutions in Germany, and finally at Harvard, where he studied under William James. Hall was a significant figure in the early period of American psychology. He is remembered primarily as an organizer, teacher, and editor, and as the president of Clark University. He founded North America's first formally accepted university psychology laboratory, the continent's first psychology journal, and its first professional organization for psychologists.

Early in his career, Hall was influential in promoting experimental over "philosophical" methods in psychology. He was a key figure in the "child study" movement, which was influential in introducing questionnaire techniques and the direct observation of children into psychology, and which also spurred the development of "progressive" educational methods. With his two-volume work *Adolescence* (1904), Hall gave the psychological concept of adolescence its first formal articulation. He was instrumental in bringing psychoanalysis to American attention by inviting Freud for his only visit to the New World.

Through his own work and, more importantly, through the work of his students E. D. Starbuck and James Leuba, Hall was influential in creating psychology of religion as an empirical discipline. He pioneered the empirical study of individual religious experience by assembling data on the religious experiences of children, and in 1904 he founded *The American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education.* Hall's most important substantive contribution to the psychology of religion was his observation that most conversions occur in adolescence. This observation developed into a characteristic theme in Hall's work: the linking of adolescence, conversion, and the life of Jesus. Hall argued that to complete adolescence successfully, a person must undergo a transformation in which "the older, lower selfish self is molted and a new and higher life of love and service emerges." Religious conversion is the most effective and "natural" vehicle of this transformation and "the Gospel story is the most adequate and classic, dramatic representation of . . . [this] most critical revolution of life" (*Adolescence,* vol. 2, p. 337).

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ḤALLĀJ, AL- ("the cotton carder"), al-Husayn ibn Manṣūr (AH 244–309/857–922 CE), was known among Muslims as "the martyr of mystical love." Although he has been maligned in some circles for his "heretical" teachings and his alleged claim to divinity, his place in the world of Islamic poetry is undisputed: There, the name al-Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr, or simply Manṣūr, stands as one of the major symbols of mystical union and of suffering in love.

Born in southern Iran, he spent some of his youth with Sahl al-Tustarī, the mystic to whom Sufism owes the first systematic theory of *nūr Muḥammad* ("the light of Muḥammad"), which forms an important aspect of al-Ḥallāj's later thought. From Basra, al-Ḥallāj proceeded to Baghdad, the center of mystical learning during the late ninth century, and frequented such Ṣūfī masters as al-Junayd. This mystic, a representative of the so-called sober trend in Sufism, had developed the art of speaking in *ishārāt* ("hints"), lest the orthodox take offense at the teachings of mystical *tawḥīd* (unification with God). Al-Ḥallāj married a Ṣūfī's daughter but fell out with other mystics in Basra. Setting out for Mecca on his first pilgrimage, he performed extraordinary ascetic feats, but according to legend, the decisive incident of his life occurred after his return. When he knocked at al-Junayd's door, he was asked who was there; he answered, "Anā al-ḥaqq" ("I am the Creative Truth"). The accuracy of this legend cannot be ascertained, but the phrase "Anā al-ḥaqq" appears in an important context in his *Kitāb al-ṭawāsīn,* which he composed toward the end of his life.

After the clash with al-Junayd, or for other reasons, al-Ḥallāj discarded the Ṣūfī gown and wandered through Iran and Khorasan before making his second pilgrimage, along with four hundred disciples. He next set out for India, "to learn magic," according to his adversaries, "to call the people to God," by his own account. From Gujarat he wandered through Sind and the Punjab and reached Turfan, probably via Kashmir. When he returned to Baghdad, he was met with even greater hostility from both the orthodox and the Ṣūfīs, and he undertook a third pilgrimage. Apprehended on the road to Sūs, he was exposed on a pillory and finally imprisoned in Baghdad in 913. The protection of the chamberlain Naṣr al-Qashūrī and the friendship of the mother of the infant caliph al-Muqtadir made his life in prison tolerable, and quite a few miracles are recounted for this period. Of his visitors in prison, the last was Ibn Khafīf, a young ascetic from Shiraz who noted down some of his sayings and who can therefore be considered the first link in the spiritual chain that leads to Rūzbihān-i Baqlī of Shiraz (d. 1209), the commentator on the *shaṭḥīyāt* ("theopathic locutions") of al-Ḥallāj and other Ṣūfīs.

In March 922, the government succeeded in drawing up a death sentence for al-Ḥallāj and declaring it "lawful to shed his blood." The Persian writer ʿAṭṭār (d. 1221) sums up al-Ḥallāj's end in his *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ* (Biographies of the Saints): "A dervish asked him, 'What is love?' He answered, 'You will see it today and tomorrow and day after tomorrow.' That day they killed him, the next day they burned him, and the third day they gave his ashes to the wind." Al-Ḥallāj went dancing in his chains to the gallows, and his last words were "All that matters for the ecstatic is that the Unique should reduce him to Unity." He died on March 26, 922 (24 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 309), and many decades later people in Baghdad were still seen waiting for his return at the banks of the Tigris, on whose waves his ashes had formed the words *anā al-ḥaqq.*

The explanations for al-Ḥallāj's execution are manifold. The Ṣūfī tradition claims that his death was a punishment for *ifshāʾ al-sirr* ("divulging the secret"), for it is not permissible that a mortal should speak up and say "I am the Creative Truth, or," as *ḥaqq* was usually translated, "I am God." That is against the law of love, where secrecy is a most important ingredient. One may doubt, however, whether the famous statement "Anā al-ḥaqq" was really the reason for the government's decision; political and practical problems certainly played an important role. The French scholar Louis Massignon has shown how confused the political situation in Baghdad was during those decades; the caliphs were powerless and the viziers, in whose hands the true power lay, changed frequently. Sunnī and Shīʿī allegiances were played out against each other, and fear of the Qarāmiṭah, who threatened the Abbasid empire from their stronghold in Bahrein, made unusual religious claims appear particularly dangerous.

Was it not possible, so the authorities asked, that al-Ḥallāj had been in touch with the Qarāmiṭah, who had just founded a principality in Multan and who ruled northern Sind? Besides, the letters that al-Ḥallāj received from various parts of the Islamic world addressed him with strange-sounding titles, and some of them were beautifully decorated and written in mysterious characters, similar to the Manichaean books from Inner Asia. There is also no doubt that al-Ḥallāj, like his friend the chamberlain Naṣr, was in favor of more equitable taxation; even worse, he had spoken publicly of the *isqāṭ al-farāʾiḍ,* the possibility of making substitutions for the personal obligations of fasting or even the pilgrimage. Such ideas were anathema to orthodox Muslims.

It was also told that al-Ḥallāj, preaching in the mosques of Baghdad, would call people to God, to a deeper personal realization of the mysteries of faith, and that he would then implore them to kill him, for thus, he said, he would be rescued from this life and they would receive recompense for killing a heretic. Such eccentric behavior, coupled with extreme asceticism and the punctual performance of religious duties, was difficult for ordinary believers to accept. Furthermore, al-Ḥallāj's burning love of God, which he expressed in short, tender verses, aroused the anger of the Ẓāhirīyah, who denied the possibility of real love between humans and God. Thus, almost all factions in the religious circles of Baghdad were against al-Ḥallāj for various reasons, and many regarded him as a crafty man who practiced magic and tried to seduce people, nay, even went so far as to lay claim to divinity.

In later centuries, especially in the folk and high poetry of Persianate countries, al-Ḥallāj was considered the foremost representative of *waḥdat al-wujūd* ("unity of being"), someone who, as Friedrich A. G. Tholuck (1821) said, "with incredible audacity tore away the curtain from pantheism." Massignon, however, has proved that al-Ḥallāj was anything but a pantheist; rather, he represents the *waḥdat al-shuhūd* ("unity of witness"). To understand his attitude it suffices to read his long, touching prayers in which he tries to circumscribe the primordial and eternal God who is forever separated by his *qidam,* his pre-eternal being, from human being, which is created in time.

How can one describe him who is too high to be reached by human eyes and yet is evident everywhere? Al-Ḥallāj's prayer-poems oscillate between the burning longing for the transcendent God who is separated from him by the little human "I" and the consoling experience of this God's presence in the human heart, "flowing between the heart and its sheath as tears flow from the eyelids." In rare moments of ecstasy, the uncreated divine spirit can enwrap the created human spirit and speak through the human tongue, as God once spoke through a burning bush. Then the mystic feels that "my spirit has mingled with thine like water and wine" or "like amber and musk" (for such claims, al-Ḥallāj was accused of believing in *ḥulūl,* "incarnation"). The painful feeling of duality is wiped out, and God attests his unity through the tongue of the lover, for, as Abū Bakr al-Kharrāz (d. 890/9) had stated, "No one has the right to say 'I' but God." In such moments the saint becomes the living witness of God (*huwa huwa,* "he is He"), and he can exclaim "Anā al-ḥaqq" as the true witness of God's unity because God has taken away from him everything, including his "I."

Al-Ḥallāj tried to awaken the sense of personal relationship between the believer and God, and his whole life was devoted to the realization of the deepest truth of *islam,* complete surrender to the one God. The numerous anecdotes collected in the *Akhbār al-Ḥallāj* reveal this feeling (with some embarrassing details), and his poetry, though sometimes using mystical letter symbolism, is pure and completely devoid of sensuality. Some of his verses, such as his *qaṣīdah* "Uqtulūnī,"

> Kill me, O my trustworthy friends,
> for in my being killed is my life . . .

have been quoted by later authors time and again (by Rūmī, for example). Only a few fragments of al-Ḥallāj's interpretation of the Qurʾān are preserved, among them the statement that seems to sum up the secret of his life: "Happiness comes from God, but affliction is he himself." There are also his *riwāyāt,* the *ḥadīth* whose contents are perfectly orthodox but whose chains of transmission go not through human transmitters but through mythical and heavenly creatures.

The only book by al-Ḥallāj that has been preserved in full is his *Kitāb al-ṭawāsīn* (alluding to *ṭa* and *sīn,* the mysterious letters at the beginning of surah 27 of the Qurʾān). In this small treatise, probably written while he was in prison, al-Ḥallāj introduces into Sufism the parable of the moth and candle: The moth that sees the light, feels the heat, and finally immolates itself in the flame, never to return to its peers, is the model for the lover who has found "the reality of Reality." This image was to become a favorite with Persianate poets and reached Europe through translations around 1800; Goethe used it in his famous poem "Selige Sehnsucht" in *West-östlicher Divan* (1819) to express the mystery of "dying before one dies."

The *Kitāb al-ṭawāsīn* also contains one of the finest early descriptions of the Prophet, who is celebrated in exquisite rhyming prose as light from the divine light and source of the lights of the prophets. But there is also the embarrassing chapter in which al-Ḥallāj confronts himself with Pharaoh and Iblīs and claims that he will not recant from his "Anā al-ḥaqq" any more than Pharaoh will recant from his statement "I am your highest Lord" (surah 79:24) or Satan from his remark vis-à-vis Adam that "I am better than he" (surah 7:11). Small wonder that such sentences shocked the Muslims of Baghdad and that more than once it was asked what, then, was the difference between the "I" of al-Ḥallāj and that of Pharaoh. Rūmī answered in his *Mathnavī* that "Pharaoh saw only himself while al-Ḥallāj saw only God—hence his claim was a sign of grace while Pharaoh's claim turned into a curse."

Al-Ḥallāj's Satanology has deeply impressed one trend in later Sufism (including Aḥmad al-Ghazālī, Sarmad, and Shāh ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, among others). He sees Iblīs caught between the divine order to fall down before the newly created Adam and the divine will that nothing besides God himself should be worshiped. Iblis prefers to obey the divine will and to prove himself as the true monotheist who looks only at God, as a faithful lover who happily wears the garment of curse that is given him as a result of his obstinacy, although he avers, according to al-Ḥallāj, "Juḥūdī laka taqdīs" ("My rebellion means to declare thee holy").

It has been said that al-Ḥallāj tried to live in accordance with the Qurʾanic description of Jesus, and his use of such Christian theological terms as *nāsūt* ("humanity") and *lāhūt* ("divinity") in speaking of God has led several scholars in East and West to believe that he was a crypto-Christian. His death on the gallows, as on the cross, would fit well into this picture.

Ṣūfīs of the following generations often quoted the sayings of al-Ḥallāj without identifying him, but, on a larger scale, his true revival began in the twelfth century. Rūzbihān-i Baqlī continued the tradition that must have been alive in Shiraz thanks to Ibn Khafīf, and in northeastern Iran, ʿAṭṭār was initiated into Sufism by the spirit of al-Ḥallāj. ʿAṭṭār devoted the most moving chapter of his *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ* to the martyr-mystic and succeeded in conveying to his readers al-Ḥallāj's daring love and willingness to suffer. This chapter became the source for virtually all later descriptions of al-Ḥallāj's life and death in the Persianate world, be it in Persian verse, Sindhi drama, or Turkish poetry. The great mystical poets quoted him, although Rūmī held that his master, Shams al-Dīn, was much superior to al-Ḥallāj, who, he said, was only a lover, not a beloved. The sober Ṣūfī orders likewise remained critical of him; they accused him of not having reached true annihilation, for "the water makes noise only so long as it does not yet boil," and they pointed out that the vessel of his spirit was too shallow to keep the contents of love as it behooves.

But wherever the dangerous power of love is described, the name Manṣūr appears. Interestingly, it is most prominent in the folk poetry of Sind and the areas through which al-Ḥallāj wandered shortly after 900 (even in the Ismaʿīlī verses called *ginān*s). There, the bards sing how "the gallows became his bridal bed" and praise him as the one who drank and dispensed intoxicating spiritual wine, the wine of unity. In the Turkish tradition, his name is particularly connected with the Bektashī order of Ṣūfīs, whose initiation takes place at the *dār-i Manṣūr* ("Manṣūr's gallows"), for the novice has to die within himself before being revived in the order. Popular Arabic tradition invokes Manṣūr's name less frequently than does Persianate mystical poetry, but everywhere he was used as a model of "pantheistic" Sufism—hence the aversion of the orthodox (headed by Ibn Taymīyah) to him.

It was thanks to Massignon's lifelong studies that a new approach to al-Ḥallāj's personality developed in the Islamic countries as well as in the West. The Indian thinker Muhammad Iqbal, the first to rediscover al-Ḥallāj's "dynamic" teachings, praised him in his *Jāvīdnāmah* (1932) as a kind of forerunner of himself, "who brought resurrection to the spiritually dead." After World War II, al-Ḥallāj became more prominent among the Arabs. Classified as an "Islamic Kierkegaard" by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, he figures in the works of progressive Arab writers as an important symbol of freedom and struggle against the establishment. In a drama devoted to him, *Maʾsat al-Ḥallāj* (1964) by Ṣalāḥ ʿAbd al-Ṣabūr, his social engagement is emphasized, and in the verse of Adonīs and al-Bayatī he appears in surrealistic, paradoxical forms. In the Indian subcontinent, his name and numerous allusions to gallows and rope have been used to point to those who fought for freedom from colonial powers or against unjust governments. In Iran, the name Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr is uttered along with that of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, the Prophet's grandson, in Shīʿī Muḥarram processions.

Thus, al-Ḥallāj, "who left the pulpit and spoke out his heart's secret on the gallows," is still very much alive. Even though much of his subtle theology is not properly understood by the general populace, his joy in suffering for love of God has made him a favorite symbol for those who believe in personal piety rather than dry legalism and for those who are willing to suffer for their ideals, be they political or religious.

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ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL (1987)

HALLOWEEN, or Allhallows Eve, is a festival celebrated on October 31, the evening prior to the Christian Feast of All Saints (All Saints' Day). Halloween is the name for the eve of Samhain, a celebration marking the beginning of winter as well as the first day of the New Year within the ancient Celtic culture of the British Isles. The time of Samhain consisted of the eve of the feast and the day itself (October 31 and November 1). This event was a crucial seam in the social and religious fabric of the Celtic year, and the eve of Samhain set the tone for the annual celebration as a threatening, fantastic, mysterious rite of passage to a new year.

The religious beliefs of the Celts emphasized pastoral deities, and Celtic festivals stressed seasonal transitions. Beltene, the beginning of summer, was celebrated at the end of April and the beginning of May. Samhain signaled the commencement of winter and, together with Beltene, divided the year into cold and hot seasons. Samhain marked the end of preparations for winter, when flocks and herds had been secured and harvested crops had been stored.

The eve of this festival brought with it another kind of harvest. On this occasion, it was believed that a gathering of supernatural forces occurred as during no other period of the year. The eve and day of Samhain were characterized as a time when the barriers between the human and supernatural worlds were broken. Otherworldly entities, such as the souls of the dead, were able to visit earthly inhabitants, and humans could take the opportunity to penetrate the domains of the gods and supernatural creatures. Fiery tributes and sacrifices of animals, crops, and possibly human beings were made to appease supernatural powers who controlled the fertility of the land. Not a festival honoring any particular Celtic deity, Samhain acknowledged the entire spectrum of nonhuman forces that roamed the earth during that period.

Given the upheaval of normal human activities and expectations on the eve and day of Samhain, it was also thought to be an especially propitious time for ascertaining information about the future course of one's life. Various methods of divination were used by individuals attempting to discover their fortunes, good or ill, and to foretell events such as marriage, sickness, or death.

Samhain remained a popular festival among the Celtic people throughout the Christianization of Great Britain. The British church attempted to divert this interest in pagan customs by adding a Christian celebration to the calendar on the same date as Samhain. The Christian festival, the Feast of All Saints, commemorates the known and unknown saints of the Christian religion just as Samhain had acknowledged and paid tribute to the Celtic deities. The eve of the Celtic festival was also Christianized, becoming the Vigil of All Saints or Allhallows Eve (with special offices existing in both the Anglican and Roman churches). The medieval British commemoration of All Saints' Day may have prompted the universal celebration of this feast throughout the Christian church.

The customs of Samhain survived independently of the Christian holy day. Gradually, the eve of Allhallows (Halloween) lost much of its Celtic religious significance for the masses, and it became a secular observance, although many traditionally Celtic ideas continued to be associated with the evening. Divination activities remained a popular practice. Adults, dressed in fantastic disguises and masks, imitated supernatural beings and visited homes where occupants would offer tributes of food and drink to them. A fear of nocturnal creatures, such as bats and owls, persisted, because these animals were believed to communicate with the spirits of the dead.

Halloween was celebrated only in the Celtic areas of Great Britain: Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and northern rural England. In non-Celtic England, many of the customs of Halloween were assimilated into a commemorative festival that arose in the seventeenth century as the celebration of Guy Fawkes Day (November 5). English Protestant settlers in the New World did not bring the custom of Halloween with them. Irish and Scottish immigrants introduced scattered Allhallows Eve observances to America, but it was only in the years after the massive immigration of the Irish to the United States during the potato famine (1845–1846) that Halloween became a national event.

Modern Halloween activities have centered on mischief making and masquerading in costumes, often resembling otherworldly characters. Folk customs, now treated as games (such as bobbing for apples), have continued from the various divination practices of the ancient celebrants of this occasion. Supernatural figures (such as the ghost, the witch, the vampire, the devil) play a key role in supplying an aura of the mysterious to the evening, whether or not they originally had an association with the festival. Children are particularly susceptible to the imagery of Halloween, as can be seen in their fascination with the demonic likeness of a carved and illuminated pumpkin, known as the jack-o'-lantern. In recent times, children have taken up the practice of dressing in Halloween costumes and visiting homes in search of edible and monetary treats, lightly threatening to play a trick on the owner if a treat is not produced. There also has been renewed interest in Halloween as a time when adults can also cross cultural boundaries and shed their identities by indulging in an uninhibited evening of frivolity. Thus, the basic Celtic quality of the festival as an evening of annual escape from normal realities and expectations has remained into the present.

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LEONARD NORMAN PRIMIANO (1987)

HALLUCINOGENS SEE PSYCHEDELIC DRUGS

HALO SEE NIMBUS

ḤANĀBILAH (sg., Ḥanbālī) is the name used to denote the followers of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, just as the names Shāfiʿīyah, Mālikīyah, and Ḥanafīyah are used to denote the followers of al-Shāfiʿī, Mālik, and Abū Ḥanīfah, respectively. Of these four groups, the Ḥanābilah has been considered anomalous, and rightly so, although not for the reasons usually given. Western writers have reiterated that this group was the smallest of the four; that it fought against the theology of *kalām,* which is quite true; that it fought against Sufism, which is definitely false. It is clear that the Ḥanābilah fought against philosophical theology (*kalām*) and philosophical Sufism (monism, incarnationism), but certainly not against theology in its juridical form, nor against Sufism in its traditionalist, ascetic form. Some writers have described the Ḥanābilah as conservative; others, echoing the biased sources they use, have resorted to a wide range of pejorative epithets: fanatical, inflexible, anthropomorphic, obstructionist, intolerant, insignificant, and the like.

EMERGENCE OF THE MADHHAB. The Ḥanābilah, like the Ḥanafīyah, Mālikīyah, and Shāfiʿīyah, maintained schools in which it taught law as the principal subject. Nonetheless, the group called Ḥanābilah cannot be understood in its historical genesis and development as merely a "school of law," as it has been characterized heretofore. In modern Arabic, the term for "school of law" would be expressed by a literal equivalent of the English, something like *madrasat al-fiqh.* The classical Arabic term is *madhhab,* which means "a way of going," "direction," and, technically, "thesis" or "opinion." Each *madhhab* of law had institutions of learning—colleges of law—exclusively for its own members. This institution was at first the noncongregational mosque, or *masjid,* and later the *madrasah,* a term that in modern Arabic means "school." The *madhhab* itself was not a school; it was a guild in whose name schools were maintained.

"Personal schools." The emergence of these guilds of jurisconsults dates from around the middle of the ninth century. Before that time, the jurisconsults were grouped geographically, as, for instance, the Iraqis, the Medinese, the Kufans, the Basrans, and the Syrians. The groups that came to be identified by the names of persons after the mid-ninth century have been referred to as "personal schools," to distinguish them from the earlier "geographical schools." The natural tendency has been to associate their chronological emergence with the dates of their eponyms: Abū Ḥanīfah (699–767), Mālik (707–795), al-Shāfiʿī (767–820), and Ibn Ḥanbal (780–855).

The historical reality was somewhat different; in fact, it may well have followed the exact reverse of this order. The "personal schools," according to Joseph Schacht, were so designated "soon after the time of Shāfiʿī," beginning with the Shāfiʿī *madhhab.* Henri Laoust placed the constitution of the Ḥanbālī *madhhab* "during the period from the Sunni reactionary movement of [Caliph] al-Mutawakkil (232–47/847–61) to the advent of the Buyids in 334/945." There is, of course, no way to determine the precise date of the emergence of a *madhhab* of law, or that of its extinction: The *madhhab,* though a guild, was neither founded nor dissolved by a formal act; its colleges of law were founded by such a formal act, the *waqf,* as charitable trusts, but not the *madhhab.* Its disappearance could, however, be determined through the disappearance of its representatives in a given locality—when the biographer of a jurisconsult of a given *madhhab* declares that the biographee was the last member of that *madhhab* in his locality—but the date of death would indicate the date of the *madhhab*'s extinction in that locality, not the date of the loss of its effectiveness, which no doubt had already taken place.

A *madhhab* came into existence because its members had interests to protect and to advance. What could these common interests have been for the Ḥanbālī *madhhab?* It was, like the three other surviving Sunnī *madhhab*s, a *madhhab* of law; as such it simply served the purpose of bringing together its member-jurisconsults. Consensus, *ijmāʿ,* was constituted on the basis of the legal opinions of the jurisconsults. But a legal opinion was issued by an individual jurisconsult, not by a "school" of jurisconsults, or even by a committee. Similarly, the practice of *ijtihād*—consulting the sources of the law to arrive at a solution for a legal question—was carried out by a single jurisconsult acting as an independent free agent.

Religious issues: traditionalism vs. rationalism. The *madhhab*s were guilds of law, but their genesis was due to reasons of religious philosophy. They issued from, and represented, the traditionalist movement, in opposition to the movement of rationalism in Islam. Were it not for this antagonism, the *madhhab*s of law might not have emerged as they did. Their traditionalism is indicated by their emulation of the Prophet. The founding members of the *madhhab* chose a great imam as their eponym and referred to themselves as his companions, in emulation of the greatest imam, the Prophet, and his companions.

The supreme struggle between traditionalists and rationalists came about in the Inquisition (*miḥnah*) of the ninth century. It hinged on the question of whether the Qurʾān was the created or uncreated word of God. The inquisitors belonged to the rationalist theological movement of the Muʿtazilah. The Muʿtazilī thesis was that the Qurʾān is the created word of God; to say that it is his uncreated word would make it coeternal with God, a violation of God's unicity *(tawḥīd)* and hence of the very monotheistic character of Islam itself. The traditionalist thesis was that God's word is eternal. His *fiat ("kun!")* could not itself be created, because it is by this, his word, that God creates; a created thing could not bring other things into existence.

When the end of the Inquisition in 848 brought an end to the Muʿtazilah as a political force, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, flogged severely and imprisoned for refusing to adopt the Muʿtazilī thesis, emerged as the charismatic hero of Islam. The struggle that Ibn Ḥanbal undertook and carried to its termination had already been started by al-Shāfiʿī, a longtime foe of the Muʿtazilah whose life's work was dedicated chiefly to supporting the traditionalist movement. Al-Shāfiʿī did not live to see the end of the Muʿtazilī menace. The period following his death was witness to the apex of the Muʿtazilah's political power. But by the time of Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 855), who followed in his traditionalist footsteps, the formidable foe met its decisive downfall.

The Inquisition cleared the way for the rise of the *madhhab*s, which began to flourish, organizing the traditionalist movement. Many such guilds of law were founded; many disappeared from the scene, their membership absorbed by other guilds. In the eleventh century their number crystallized into the four *madhhab*s surviving today.

In a period of two centuries (mid-ninth to mid-eleventh), the mainstream of Muslim history moved relentlessly in the direction of traditionalism, engulfing all obstructions set up against it. The landmarks of this mainstream are unmistakable.

1. Al-Shāfiʿī's Risālah (before 813/4). From elements for the most part already at hand, al-Shāfiʿī forged a new science, a juridical theology, namely a study of God's law, with which he meant to replace *kalām,* a study of God himself. Juridical theology studies God's commands and prohibitions, not whether God is, or what he is. It deals with the fundamentals of obedience to God (religion), not just idle words (*kalām*) about God himself, which may well lead to perdition.

2. The Inquisition (833–848). The Inquisition ended with the decisive political demise of its masters and the victory of its victims.

3. The Professions of Faith (ʿaqāʾid; sg., ʿaqīdah). The period following the Inquisition brought in a rich harvest of creeds by members of the traditionalist movement, headed by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, six of whose creeds have survived. He apparently took his lead from al-Shāfiʿī, one of whose creeds has come down to the present. Among subsequent creeds, two are of particular significance, belonging as they do to the fundamental teachings of traditionalism: one by the great mystic al-Ḥallāj (d. 922), the other by al-Ashʿarī (d. 936?).

4. The Retraction of Ibn Shannabūdh (935). Ibn Shannabūdh abjured his Qurʾanic variant readings as aberrant and unlawful. His retraction emphasized the sacred character of the Qurʾān in the Vulgate of the caliph ʿUthmān, and pointed to the success of the traditionalist thesis vindicated by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal during the Inquisition.

5. The Defection of al-Ashʿarī. Forsaking the teachings of Muʿtazilī rationalism, al-Ashʿarī rallied to the doctrines of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and placed himself squarely under the Ḥanbālī banner.

6. The Qādirī Creed (first third of the eleventh century). Proclamations of the caliph al-Qādir in 1017, 1018, and 1029 culminated in a profession of faith bearing the name of the caliph, Al-iʿtiqād al-Qādirī, read by order of the caliph in 1040/1. Its contents, steeped in traditionalism, are directed chiefly against the Muʿtazilah, the Ashʿarīyah, and the Shīʿah. In contrast with Maʾmūn's inauguration of the Inquisition, the Qādirī creed, formulated two centuries later, dramatizes the distance traveled by traditionalism and proclaims its triumph in very clear terms.

7. The Organization of Knowledge. The success of traditionalism is clearly manifested in the development of the institutions of learning following the failure of the Inquisition. By the middle of the eleventh century, the rationalist institutions (*dār al-ʿilm* and others), essentially libraries where books on the "foreign sciences," such as Greek philosophy, were available for reading and discussion, had disappeared from the scene. Libraries became annexed to the *madrasah*s, where books on the "foreign sciences" could be read privately but never formed part of the regular curriculum.

All "personal schools" of law emerged from the traditionalist movement of the *ahl al-ḥadīth* (literally, "people of the *ḥadīth,*" traditionalists). The transition from "geographical" to "personal" *madhhab*s came in response to the threat of the philosophical theologians, who had succeeded in gaining the support of the central power. The task of the traditionalists was not merely to counterbalance the force of their opponents but to tilt the scales in their own favor.

Economic issues: the waqf. To this religious weapon the traditionalists added an economic one: the charitable trust *(waqf).* As lawyers they were both the interpreters and the guardians of its law. A basic principle of its law was that nothing could be based on *waqf* that would be inimical to the tenets of Islam. Through their legal opinions they determined what was, and what was not, inimical. Furthermore, *waqf*s were founded by Muslim individuals, with individually owned private property. When caliphs, sultans, emirs, viziers, or any other official or functionary instituted *waqf*s, they did so as private Muslim individuals. There was no provision in the law for "official" *waqf*s. The object of *waqf* was charitable, immediately or eventually, and the founder's chief motive was *qurbah,* to draw near to God, through good works endowed in perpetuity.

All institutionalized learning in Islam was funded through such religious foundations. The lawyers designated as inimical to Islamic beliefs Greek philosophy, the foreign sciences, and *kalām*-theology, which, they felt, was tainted with philosophy. The *kalām*-theologians were thus excluded as such from the curriculum of the *madrasah* and cognate institutions; eventually, the *dār al-ʿilm* and its cognates, libraries that were meeting places of the rationalists, ceased to exist.

The exclusionary rule of *waqf* left out the philosophers and philosophical theologians. No longer in a position to beat the traditionalists, they joined them by infiltrating the juridical *madhhab*s as jurisconsults. The Muʿtazilī theologians found a home in the Ḥanafī *madhhab,* and later the Ashʿarīyah found theirs in the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* (there were some rare instances where a Muʿtazilī theologian was a Shāfiʿī jurisconsult and an Ashʿarī theologian, a Ḥanafī jurisconsult). One's Sunnī orthodox identity was determined by his membership in one of the Sunnī *madhhab*s. The *madhhab*s accepted one another; transfers from one to any other was unrestricted at any point in a member's lifetime.

Misconceptions concerning the Ḥanābilah. One particular misconception concerning the Ḥanbālī *madhhab* was its relatively reduced representation in the Islamic world when compared with the other *madhhab*s. This fact kept cropping up in the early studies on the Ḥanābilah, and its repeated mention is indicative of the scholars' perplexity when they were confronted with what appears to be the disproportionate attention this *madhhab* received from the analistic sources in descriptions of riots. The explanation lies in its makeup in comparison with the Ḥanafī and Shāfiʿī *madhhab*s. (The Mālikī *madhhab* had a sparse membership in tenth-century Baghdad, and its last representative there left for points west in the eleventh century.) The Ḥanafī and Shāfiʿī *madhhab*s, as already mentioned, were infiltrated by the Muʿtazilah and Ashʿarīyah, respectively. This situation gave each of these two *madhhab*s an internal structure made up of two antagonistic groups, fundamentally opposed to each other on the theological level: one group belonging to the *ahl al-ḥadīth* (traditionalists) from which it issued, and the other belonging to the *ahl al-kalām* (rationalists). In Baghdad, there remained only one Sunnī *madhhab* representative of the *ahl al-ḥadīth* alone, free of infiltration by either group of *ahl al-kalām:* the Ḥanbālī *madhhab.*

Another factor to be considered is the reluctance of the religious intellectual to attack a fellow intellectual belonging to the same *madhhab.* This inhibition, from which a Ḥanafī or Shāfiʿī jurisconsult might suffer vis-à-vis a fellow jurisconsult of the same *madhhab* who happened to be also a philosophical theologian, did not afflict the Ḥanbālī jurisconsult. He felt free to fight not only any signs of rationalistic tendencies within his own *madhhab,* but also any and all groups hostile to the *ahl al-ḥadīth.* The Ḥanābilah fought as members of the *ahl al-ḥadīth.* Though their numbers were relatively small as members of the Ḥanbālī *madhhab,* they represented the overwhelming majority of Sunnī Islam as members of the traditionalist movement. Many a Shāfiʿī and Ḥanafī traditionalist passed undetected in the ranks of the *ahl al-ḥadīth.* A perusal of the biographical dictionaries of Ḥanafī and Shāfiʿī jurisconsults would show the preponderance of traditionalist jurisconsults in their ranks, as compared with philosophical theologians.

The annalists, referring to struggles between antagonistic socioreligious groups, are apt to throw the historian off track by the way they identify the groups. The terms used may well hide their true identity. *Ḥanafī* may be used for *Muʿtazilī,* and *Shāfiʿī* for *Ashʿarī,* while *Ḥanbālī* remains a constant. This is why the Ḥanābilah must be seen in the light of their membership in the traditionalist movement, which encompassed all four *madhhab*s. In this movement, the Ḥanābilah played the role of spearhead. Because of the uniform structure of their *madhhab,* they were the group most frequently mentioned in the annals. It was easy to arrive at the conclusion that of all the groups they were the most contentious, considering the relatively small size of their *madhhab.* In reality they were but a fraction of the traditionalist movement, the mere tip of the iceberg.

Other misconceptions regarding the Ḥanbālī school that have developed in Islamic studies over the years arise from the uncritical use of sources hostile to the Ḥanābilah and from the neglect of sources that could have been used to provide some control and a more balanced account. The following misconceptions are perhaps those that die the hardest.

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal is often represented as a disciple of al-Shāfiʿī, a notion that can be construed to give two opposing views of their relationship. One—which would be true—is that there was a kinship of spirit between the two great imams. The other—which would be false—is that Aḥmad must have had a falling-out with al-Shāfiʿī and that he must have rejected the Shāfiʿī school in order to found one of his own. Both imams belonged to the traditionalist *ahl al-ḥadīth* movement from which all the *madhhab*s emerged. Aḥmad and al-Shāfiʿī were the "patron saints" of two traditionalist *madhhab* guilds whose chief concern was not only to raise the prophetic traditions to the level of sacred scripture—in this, al-Shāfiʿī led the way, and Aḥmad followed in his footsteps—but also to fight for the primacy of faith and thus put a stop to the spread of rationalism.

The Ḥanbālī outlook is often regarded as basically legalistic and therefore incompatible with the interior life of Ṣūfī mysticism. The hostile attitude of Ibn Ḥanbal and his followers, particularly Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Taymīyah, seemingly gives credence to such a view. But such hostility, when it existed, was directed toward certain Ṣūfīs and certain Ṣūfī practices. At no time has the Ḥanbālī *madhhab,* or the followers just mentioned, condemned Sufism as such, or all adepts of Sufism. The reason for this is clear and rather simple. Sufism, like the Ḥanābilah, issued from the *ahl al-ḥadīth* movement, and the Ḥanbālī *madhhab* boasted of many Ṣūfīs. Close to a third of the notices in Ibn Rajab's biographical work on the Ḥanbālī *madhhab* are devoted to Ṣūfīs. Among the great Ḥanbālī Ṣūfīs are Ibn Samʿūn (d. 997), al-Harawī al-Anṣārī (d. 1088), and ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 1166), head of the first Ṣūfī order in Islam that has come down to this day, which included among its members Ibn Taymīyah, a so-called enemy of Sufism. What the Ḥanābilah did indeed condemn in Sufism were Ṣūfīs steeped in pantheism (*ittiḥādīyah*) or incarnationism (*ḥulūlīyah*).

Members of the Ḥanbālī *madhhab* have been criticized as rigidly opposed to reason, as partisans of a literalist interpretation of the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*, professing the most rigidly dogmatic doctrines in comparison with the other *madhhab*s, as steeped in obscurantism and crass anthropomorphism, as fanatical and intolerant. These judgments by Western Orientalists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are in great measure attributable to the paucity of printed sources available at the time and to the one-sidedness of these sources, hostile to the Ḥanābilah and utilized without testing the authors' bias.

AḤMAD IBN ḤANBAL. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, like al-Shāfiʿī before him, was of pure Arab stock, and like al-Shāfiʿī, whom he greatly admired, he gave a preponderant place to the *sunnah* of the Prophet as sacred scripture alongside the book of God, the Qurʾān. His teachings form the doctrinal basis of the *madhhab* that bears his name.

Life. Born in Baghdad in December 780, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal died there in July 855. A biographer says of him: "He left Merv in his mother's womb, was born in Baghdad, grew up there, and died there." He was known as "the imam of Baghdad." Profoundly interested in the study of *ḥadīth*, he began to devote himself to it at the age of fifteen and made his way throughout the lands of the eastern caliphate in search of its authoritative transmitters. He traveled in Iraq (Kufa, and especially Basra), the Hejaz, Yemen, and Syria, the regions of the so-called geographical schools of law. Between the ages of twenty-three and thirty-four he made the pilgrimage to Mecca five times, along with two pious retreats in Medina.

Though a great admirer of al-Shāfiʿī, and one who was ready to lay down his life for the same religious ideals, Ibn Ḥanbal cannot be considered simply as the disciple of the great imam. He studied under a great number of *ḥadīth* experts of this day, and many transmitted *ḥadīths* on his authority, among them the authors of the "six books" of *ḥadīth:* al-Bukhārī, Muslim, and Abū Dāwūd directly; al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasāʾī, and Ibn Mājah indirectly, through his disciples. Al-Shāfiʿī himself is said to have transmitted on Ibn Ḥanbal's authority. Ibn al-Jawzī, in his biography of Ibn Ḥanbal, gives the names of his teachers of law: Hushaym ibn Bashīr (d. 799), a disciple of Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī, and after Hushaym's death, Sufyān ibn ʿUyaynah (d. 814). Among Ibn Ḥanbal's other important teachers was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Mahdī (d. 814), in answer to whose request al-Shāfiʿī had written his famous *Epistle.*

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal's persistent passive resistance to the Inquisition earned him the undying respect and admiration of the following generations down to this day. His funeral, the scene of genuine popular emotion, was followed by a procession that numbered in the hundreds of thousands. His tomb became one of the most visited places of pilgrimage. Poets hailed him as the hero *(fatā)* of Islam. The scars he carried to his grave were the badges of his bravery.

Works. Among Aḥmad's works are the *Radd ʿalā al-jahmīyah wa-al-zanādiqah, Kitāb al-sunnah,* and *Kitāb al-masāʾil,* which present answers to questions addressed to him on dogmatics, law, and ethics, and the *Kitāb al-ṣalāt,* on ritual prayer and its performance. The *Kitāb al-waraʿ,* on asceticism, is quoted extensively by Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī in his *Qūt al-qulūb* (Sustenance of the souls), and again by al-Ghazālī, whose *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* (Revivification of the religious sciences) is based on al-Makkī's work.

By far the most celebrated work of Ibn Ḥanbal is his *Musnad,* a title that designates a collection of *ḥadīths* resting on the authority of the persons by whom they have been transmitted, traced back to the Prophet himself and arranged under the names of the first guarantor of the *ḥadīths.* This arrangement is distinguished from the one followed by the generation after that of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and referred to as the *Ṣaḥīḥ*s, or collections of "sound" *ḥadīths.* It has often been said that these books constitute a codification of *ḥadīths* in Islam, and because the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal is not included among the "six books," the implication is that its contents were not reliable. In contrast, the two *ṣaḥīḥ*s of al-Bukhārī and Muslim were seen as the most important works on *ḥadīth* and the most "sound." This interpretation is misleading.

In fact, legal studies were in the process of development in the newly founded colleges of law that were flourishing at the time. Because of the recent achievements of al-Shāfiʿī and Ibn Ḥanbal, institutionalized education had taken on a strong traditionalist orientation, and law, based heavily on the study of *ḥadīth,* had become the queen of the Islamic sciences. To make the collections of *ḥadīths* more easily studied for their legal content, the order was changed to accommodate students of law. Instead of arranging *ḥadīths* according to their chains of transmitters (*isnād,* whence the term *musnad*), they were chosen for their legal content and arranged according to the chapters of books on law. The new collections were referred to as "sound" (*ṣaḥīḥ*), not in the sense that former collections were less so, but rather to emphasize that the new collections were also sound, in spite of their innovative arrangement according to subject, rather than according to their authoritative transmitters.

Great *musnad* collections date after as well as before the so-called Six Books, and they specialize in one or more transmitters or groups of transmitters. Aḥmad's *Musnad* is a collection of several *musnad*s including those of the first four "Rightly Guided" (Rāshidūn) caliphs, the principal companions of the Prophet, the Anṣār, the Meccans, the Medinese, the Kufans, the Basrans, and the Syrians.

Followers of Ibn Ḥanbal. Aḥmad left two sons, who were half brothers: Ṣāliḥ (818–880), *qāḍī* ("judge") of Isfahan and a transmitter of his father's legal opinions; and ʿAbd Allāh (828–903), a transmitter of most of his father's works. In addition to the sons, a number of disciples carried on the transmission of Aḥmad's legal thought contained in his *masāʾil,* including: (1) al-Kawsaj, a native of Merv who settled in Nishapur and died there in 865; he was a source for al-Bukhārī, al-Tirmidhī, and Isḥāq ibn Rāhawayh; (2) al-Athram (d. 874 or 875), who arranged what he collected of the *masāʾil* according to the chapters of law books; (3) Ḥanbal ibn Isḥāq (d. 886), Aḥmad's first cousin; (4) al-Maymūnī (d. 887), of Raqqah, a disciple of Aḥmad from 820 to 842 (al-Mardāwī, in his *Inṣāf,* attributes to al-Maymūnī one sixteen-volume work and two other large volumes, containing Aḥmad's *masāʾil*); (5) al-Marwazī (d. 888), one of Aḥmad's favorite disciples and the transmitter of his *Kitāb al-waraʿ;* (6) Abū Dāʾūd al-Sijistānī (d. 888), author of *Kitāb al-sunan,* one of the "six books," so highly regarded that he was often compared with his professor Aḥmad in learning and piety; (7) Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 890), author of a characteristically Ḥanbālī traditionalist profession of faith (*ʿaqīdah*) against the legitimacy of philosophical theology (*kalām*); (8) Ḥarb al-Kirmānī (d. 893), a Ṣūfī, who transmitted *masāʾil* of Aḥmad and of Ibn Rāhawayh; (9) Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī (d. 898), a philologist and *ḥadīth* expert who was Aḥmad's disciple for twenty years and was often compared with him in learning and piety.

Tenth century. The tenth century ushered in the rise of Ḥanbālī literature. The name that dominates the early part of this period is that of Abū Bakr al-Khallāl (d. 923). He was a student of al-Marwazī, had a teaching post in the mosque of al-Mahdī, and knew Aḥmad's son ʿAbd Allāh personally. It is to his scholarship that the Ḥanbālī *madhhab* owes its first *corpus juris* and the first biographical history of the *mad-*

hhab, Ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābilah, of which some folios have survived and are preserved in the Ẓāhirīyah, the National Library of Damascus.

Two other names dominate the first half of this period: al-Barbahārī and al-Khiraqī. Al-Barbahārī (d. 941), a disciple of al-Marwazī and the Ṣūfī Sahl al-Tustarī, was an activist who struggled against the Shīʿah and the Muʿtazilah and fought for the reform of the Sunnī caliphate, now under the influence of the Buyids. A true traditionalist, al-Barbahārī was hostile to *kalām* and opposed al-Ashʿarī, his contemporary. It is said that al-Ashʿarī wrote his *Ibānah* after a discussion with al-Barbahārī, which, if true, would explain partly al-Ashʿarī's rallying to the banner of Ibn Ḥanbal. Al-Barbahārī is a key figure in the social and political history of this period.

Al-Khiraqī (d. 946) gave the Ḥanābilah one of its most important works, *Al-mukhtaṣar fī al-fiqh* (The Epitome on Law), on which the fifteenth-century Ḥanbālī Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī reports that three hundred commentaries were written over the centuries. Al-Khiraqī is said to have written many other works that did not enjoy wide diffusion. The reason given is that he had left Baghdad, and his books, apparently lacking the diffusion they would have received had he remained there, were eventually destroyed when his house burned. Among his disciples were three members of the Ḥanābilah famous in their day: Ibn Baṭṭah, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Tamīmī, and Ibn Samʿūn.

Other Ḥanbālī followers of repute belonging to this period include Abū Bakr al-Sijistānī (d. 928), Abū Muḥammad al-Rāzī (d. 939), and Abū Bakr al-Najjād (d. 959), a Ṣūfī and *ḥadīth* expert. This period also witnessed some of the most fervently Sunnī professions of faith (*ʿaqīdah*s), a constant in Ḥanbālī history.

The names that stand out in the second half of this century are those of Ibn Samʿūn, Ibn Baṭṭah, and Ibn Ḥāmid. Ibn Samʿūn was a famous Ḥanbālī Ṣūfī who had studied under the direction of a number of Ṣūfīs, among them Abū Bakr al-Shiblī and al-Ḥuṣrī (d. 981). Ibn Samʿūn studied *ḥadīth* under Ibn Abī Dāwūd, and held a number of sessions in which he dictated *ḥadīths.* Highly regarded in his own *madhhab,* he had a reputation—and disciples—far beyond it. He is mentioned in the twenty-first of the *Maqāmāt* (Assemblies) of al-Ḥarīrī, "Al-Rāzīyah." The two Ashʿarī scholars, al-Bāqillānī (d. 1013) and al-Isfarāʾinī (d. 1027), as a mark of high respect when greeting him, used to kiss his hand. Ibn Baṭṭah is known especially for his two works *Al-ibānah al-kubrā* and *Al-ibānah al-ṣughrā,* the second of which was translated and studied by the eminent Islamicist Henri Laoust. Other important Ḥanbālī personalities of this period include Abū Bakr al-Ājurrī (d. 971) and al-Ṭabaranī (d. 971). Al-Ājurrī, a Ṣūfī and *ḥadīth* expert, is claimed by both the Ḥanbālī and Shāfiʿī *madhhab*s, a phenomenon of rather frequent occurrence, because both *madhhab*s are profoundly traditionalist and may well have come into existence as "personal *madhhab*s" at approximately the same time. Al-Ājurrī authored a *Kitāb al-sharīʿah* on Islamic law. Al-Ṭabaranī wrote three famous *muʿjam*s, a *Kitāb al-sunnah,* and a *musnad* of the Syrian *ḥadīth* experts.

Eleventh century. The eleventh century ushered in the final phase of the period that brought about the restoration of Sunnī traditionalism following the collapse of the rationalist-inspired Inquisition. It was a century that witnessed the emergence of the Ḥanābilah at the head of a movement that was the mainstay of the caliphate. A Ḥanbālī of this century, Ibn Baqqāl (d. 1048), expressed the matter in this statement made in the caliphal court in the presence of the vizier Ḥājib al-Nuʿmān: "The caliphate is a tent, and the Ḥanābilah are its tent ropes; should the tent ropes fall down, the tent would topple over." The implication was clear. The caliphate must give its support to traditionalism, whose adherents are the guardians of the source of its legitimacy.

The name that leads the first half of this century is that of Ibn Ḥāmid (d. 1012), the greatest Ḥanbālī master and jurisconsult of his time. His *Kitāb al-jāmiʿ,* in four hundred volumes, treated the divergences in legal opinions among the jurisconsults. He wrote extensively on theology and on law and its theory and methodology, but none of his works is extant.

Al-Sharīf Abū ʿAlī al-Hāshimī (d. 1037), a disciple of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Tamīmī, wrote many works, among them *Kitāb al-irshād* on law, and a commentary on al-Khiraqī's epitome on law. He had a study circle in the mosque of Manṣūr for legal opinions and notarial work. His *ʿaqīdah* has been preserved in his biographical notices.

Abū ʿAlī al-ʿUkbarī, known as Ibn Shihāb (d. 1037), a disciple of Ibn Baṭṭah, was a Ḥanbālī of broad culture, expert in the fields of law, belles lettres, Qurʾanic science, *ḥadīth*, and poetry, and was known for his legal opinions. He was also a copyist, a profession that did not simply furnish him with his livelihood but actually made him rich. In his will he left one-third of his property for the benefit of Ḥanbālī students of law, but they received none of it: The sultan is said to have confiscated the estate. Al-ʿUkbarī, in an autobiographical note, said that he earned 25,000 dirhams from copying manuscripts, a good part of this coming from his specialty of copying the *Dīwān* (Collected works) of the poet al-Mutanabbī in three nights, on paper that cost him five dirhams, which he would then sell for a sum between 150 and 200 dirhams.

The second half of this century is led by Qāḍī Abū Yaʿlā (d. 1066), whose name is cited extensively in the works of his successors. He was a favorite disciple of Ibn Ḥāmid, who chose him from among his students to teach the others during the master's absence on the pilgrimage to Mecca. With Abū Yaʿlā is at the beginning of the period of Ḥanbālī history better served by the sources: More of its literature has been preserved in the libraries of the Islamic and Western worlds. Abū Yaʿlā was a successful master jurisconsult under whose direction some of the great Ḥanbālī intellectuals studied and became master jurisconsults in turn. It is in this period that *madrasah*s began to flourish in Baghdad. This is also the period in which rationalist influences succeeded in getting a hearing among some of the leading lights of the Ḥanābilah. Abū Yaʿlā is one, and Ibn ʿAqīl, who belongs to this period and the next, is another. The parents of both intellectuals were of the Ḥanafī *madhhab,* where the ideas of the Muʿtazilah may well have been familiar to members of the family circles. That Abū Yaʿlā was influenced by *kalām*-theology may be clearly seen in his *Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn* (The reliable book on the fundamentals of religion), where the influence of Ashʿarī doctrines is palpable, although the author avoids the term *kalām* in the title and uses the more traditionalist term *uṣūl al-dīn* for "theology."

Among Abū Yaʿlā's many works, *Al-muʿtamad* survives only in his abridged version; other important writings include *Al-aḥkām al-sulṭānīyah,* a treatise on government and public administration with the same title and, for the most part, the same text as the work of al-Māwardī (d. 1058); *Al-ʿumdah fī uṣūl al-fiqh,* on legal theory and methodology, still in manuscript (Cairo); and *Kitāb al-riwāyatayn,* on positive law and also unpublished (Istanbul). Abū Yaʿlā's standing in the Ḥanbālī *madhhab* is such that he came to be referred to simply as "the judge" (*al-qāḍī*), the organizer of his *madhhab* and one of its great teachers.

Two of Abū Yaʿlā's students especially helped to spread the *madhhab* beyond the confines of Baghdad. Qāḍī Ḥarrān (d. 1083), whom Abū Yaʿlā appointed as his judicial representative in Ḥarrān, was the author of works on law, legal theory and methodology, and theology, none of which has survived. Abū al-Faraj al-Shīrāzī (d. 1094), who is credited with carrying the Ḥanbālī *madhhab* to Jerusalem and Damascus, wrote on law and legal theory and methodology, as well as on traditionalist theology, which involved him in recurrent altercations with Syrian rationalists of the Ashʿarī movement. Al-Shīrāzī stands at the head of a long line of Ḥanbālī descendants known collectively as "the family of Ibn al-Ḥanbālī."

One of Abū Yaʿlā's students who deserves special mention is the *sharīf* Abū Jaʿfar (d. 1077), an activist of the stamp of al-Barbahārī who was in constant struggle against what he considered to be the heretical innovations of his period. His fight against corrupt practices—prostitution and illicit alcoholic beverages—brought him into conflict with officials of the Seljuk sultan, as well as with those of the caliph, who was his first cousin. He was intransigent in his attitude against the two rationalist movements, the Muʿtazilah and the Ashʿarīyah, in their attempt to strengthen their footholds in the capital. Among his writings, the best known is his *Ruʾūs al-masāʾil,* a work on positive law in which he argues in favor of the legal opinions of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, a manuscript of which is in the Ẓāhirīyah in Damascus. Ibn ʿAqīl, in his *Kitāb al-funūn,* has preserved a legal opinion of Sharīf Abū Jaʿfar that throws some light on the Seljuk forces who invaded Baghdad in mid-century, long hailed as the saviors of Sunnism against the Buyid Shīʿah. The Seljuks pillaging the inhabitants of Baghdad in 1055, said the *sharīf,* should be brought to justice as highway robbers, because the inhabitants had no defense against them. Abū Jaʿfar led a turbulent life, which often put him under house arrest or in prison. His biographers seem to think that he did not die a natural death. At his funeral, the popular masses, his powerful arm against enemies, cried out during the procession: "Invoke God's mercy upon the *sharīf*—martyred, assassinated, poisoned."

The other students of Abū Yaʿlā finished their careers in the first half of the twelfth century. Some who had begun their legal studies with him completed them after his death with one or another of his older disciples. Among the Ḥanābilah of this period are Abū al-Fatḥ al-Ḥulwānī, al-Mukharrimī, and Ibn Abī Yaʿlā. Al-Ḥulwānī (d. 1112), like Abū Jaʿfar, was a jurisconsult and ascetic. He studied law first with Abū Yaʿlā, then with the *sharīf* and Yaʿqūb al-Barzabīnī. He is the author of the *Kitāb al-mubtadī fī al-fiqh,* a textbook on law for beginners. Ibn Abī Yaʿlā ("son of Abū Yaʿlā," d. 1131) was the second of Abū Yaʿlā's three sons, and his name attests to the great renown of the father as well as to that of this particular son. Ibn Abī Yaʿlā is known especially for his biobibliographical history of the Ḥanbālī *madhhab* from its beginnings down to his day.

A great Ḥanbālī mystic of this period is the celebrated ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī al-Ḥarawī (d. 1088), of Herat (Persia) as indicated by his name. He studied in his hometown and also in Nishapur, Ṭūs, Bisṭām, and Rayy. The origins of his membership in the Ḥanbālī *madhhab* are not known, but there is no doubt that he was a Ḥanbālī, and a pugnacious one to boot. He made this clear in his declarations, as well as in his writings, which include *Dhamm al-kalām,* a condemnation of *kalām*-theology; *Manāqib al-Imām Aḥmad,* a biographical work extolling the excellence of Ibn Ḥanbal's virtues; and *Manāzil al-sāʾirīn,* the most important Ḥanbālī treatise on mysticism. The last-named work attracted many commentaries, including one by the Ḥanbālī jurisconsult and mystic Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, the disciple of Ibn Tay-mīyah, himself a jurisconsult and theologian, and a member of the Qādirīyah Ṣūfī order. Al-Anṣārī also wrote a *Qaṣīdah dālīyah* (Ode rhyming in dāl [the eighth letter of the alphabet]), a profession of faith in defense of Ḥanbālī beliefs; the title was later taken up by al-Kalwadhānī for the same purpose. The biographer Ibn Rajab cites some of al-Anṣārī's other verses in which he declares that "My *madhhab* is the Ḥanbālī *madhhab,*" and again, "I am a Ḥanbālī and shall be one as long as I live, and, on my death bed, my last will and testament to my fellow Muslims will be that they follow the principles of Ibn Ḥanbal." What al-Anṣārī meant was that they should become traditionalists in opposition to the rationalism of the Ashʿarī movement that he opposed: "Our God shall be seen sitting on his throne [i. e., beatific vision]; his word is eternal [i. e., the Qurʾān is not created]; his prophet is Arab. Anyone who says other than this is an Ashʿarī!"

Yaʿqūb al-Barzabīnī (d. 1093) was a classmate of Sharīf Abū Jaʿfar. They completed their legal studies together, were both received as notaries by the chief *qāḍī* Damaghanī, and then began to teach law during the lifetime of their master, Abū Yaʿlā. Al-Barzabīnī wrote a *taʿlīqah* (*summa*) that was the abridgment of that of his teacher Abū Yaʿlā; extracts from it appear in the *Dhayl* of Ibn Rajab. Ṭalḥah al-ʿĀqūlī (d. 1118), who began his legal studies under Abū Yaʿlā, was one of al-Barzabīnī's first students. Like both his teachers, he too became a *qāḍī* and professor of law; he taught two works of Abū Yaʿlā on the latter's formal authorization and had a post in the mosque of Manṣūr, where he held sessions of legal disputation. Ibn Qudāmah cites him in the *Mughnī* and his *Kāfī.*

Abū Saʿd al-Mukharrimī (d. 1119), jurisconsult and Ṣūfī, headed the first Ḥanbālī *madrasah* in Baghdad; heretofore the *madhhab*'s institutions of learning had been mainly mosque-colleges (*masjids*). His legal studies took place with the *qāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā, then with the *sharīf* Abū Jaʿfar, and finally with the *qāḍī* Yaʿqūb al-Barzabīnī. He too was a *qāḍī* in the Bāb al-Azaj quarter on Baghdad's east side, where he built his *madrasah* sometime between 1102 and 1117. This was the *madrasah* that later became known as that of the Ḥanbālī Ṣūfī ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī. Al-Jīlānī enlarged it and made it into a *madrasah* and *ribāṭ* (monastery) for jurisconsults and Ṣūfīs. Ibn Rajab emphasizes that Abū Saʿd al-Mukharrimī stood at the head of a long line of Ṣūfīs, ascetics, and *ḥadīth* masters. His name occurs in the Ṣūfī pedigrees of later Ḥanbālī scholars.

Abū Khāzim ibn Abī Yaʿlā (d. 1133), born one year before the death of his famous father, was the last of Abū Yaʿlā's three sons and bore the name of his paternal uncle, Abū Khāzim. He studied law, the disputed questions, and legal theory and methodology with al-Barzabīnī. He wrote on the disputed questions and issued a commentary on al-Khiraqī's *Epitome.*

Abū al-Khaṭṭab al-Kalwadhānī (d. 1116) was one of the great disciples of Abū Yaʿlā. Essentially a jurisconsult, al-Kalwadhānī excelled in law and its disputed questions. His reputation in law was so great that the celebrated Shāfiʿī jurisconsult and ambassador of the sultan Burkiyārūq to the caliph would exclaim at the approach of al-Kalwadhānī: "Here comes Law." His writings include the unpublished *Al-tamhīd* on legal theory and methodology (Ẓahirīyah) and *Al-tahdhīb fī al-farāʾiḍ,* on decedents' estates, also unpublished (Munich), which was criticized by the Ḥanbālī vizier Ibn Yūnus (d. 1197) in his *Awhām Abī al-Khaṭṭab.* Among his other works are the "Ode rhyming in dāl" (Damascus, 1908), the profession of faith that is his only known work treating of theology, and numerous treatments of positive law.

The most brilliant and successful student of al-Kalwadhānī was Abū Bakr al-Dīnawarī (d. 1138), who was in turn the professor of law of the well-known polymath Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1200), as well as of Ibn al-Munā (d. 1187) and the Ḥanbālī vizier Ibn Hubayrah (d. 1165). The caliph al-Mustaẓhir appointed al-Dīnawarī to the chair vacated by the death of his professor al-Kalwadhānī in the mosque of Manṣūr, and the event is reported by Ibn ʿAqīl along with the disputations on law that usually took place in honor of the inauguration of the new professor of law.

Abū al-Ḥasan al-Zāghūnī (d. 1132), a contemporary of Ibn ʿAqīl, was the Ḥanbālī master jurisconsult who came closest to Ibn ʿAqīl in breadth of knowledge. The extensive list of his books given by Ibn Rajab includes works on positive law, disputed questions of law, decedents' estates, theology, and legal theory and methodology, a collection of his academic sermons, a history, collections of legal opinions *(fatāwā)*, and *ḥadīth*, none of which has survived. He had a chair for legal disputations and academic sermons in the mosque of Manṣūr. Two great Ḥanbālī scholars were his students: Ṣadaqah ibn al-Ḥusayn and Ibn al-Jawzī.

Among the original minds of the century stood the towering figure of Ibn ʿAqīl (d. 1119). His family background was Ḥanafī-Muʿtazilī. At the age of sixteen he began his legal studies in the Ḥanbālī *madhhab.* During his graduate years he studied Muʿtazilī *kalām*-theology privately and in secret. After the death of his rich and powerful Ḥanbālī patron, Abū Manṣūr ibn Yūsuf, in 1067, he was pursued by a faction of his Ḥanbālī *madhhab* and was forced to go into hiding for a period of five years. Finally in 1072, in order to regain his freedom, he signed a retraction in which he abjured the Muʿtazilah and the veneration he had shown for the great mystic al-Ḥallāj in a treatise. Reflecting on this retraction in later life, Ibn ʿAqīl said that his companions had misunderstood his intention in studying under the direction of Muʿtazilī masters: "My Ḥanbālī companions demanded that I cease my relations with a certain group of intellectuals, and this prevented me from acquiring useful knowledge." As for his treatise in veneration of al-Ḥallāj, it appears to have remained in circulation among Ṣūfīs of the Ḥanbālī *madhhab.*

With Ibn ʿAqīl traditionalist thought reached new heights of achievement. His writings give evidence of a genuine attempt to achieve harmony between faith and reason. His two outstanding works are *Kitāb al-funūn,* of which only one of two hundred volumes has survived, and *Al-wāḍiḥ fī uṣūl al-fiqh,* a *summa* on legal theory and methodology written according to the scholastic method later to be used in the Christian West.

Besides the schools of Harran, Damascus, and Herat, the Ḥanābilah, by this time, had also spread to Isfahan, where ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Mandah (d. 1077) was as much an activist as the Ṣūfī al-Ḥarawī al-Anṣārī was in Herat. Among Ibn Mandah's works is a refutation of the Jahmīyah.

Twelfth century. The Ḥanbālī names that dominate the twelfth century are those of Ibn Hubayrah, ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, and Ibn al-Jawzī. Less famous, but no less interesting because of his membership in the Ḥanbālī *madhhab,* is the unusual figure of Ṣadaqah ibn al-Ḥusayn.

Ibn Hubayrah received his Ḥanbālī education under Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Farrāʾ (d. 1132), Ibn al-Zāghūnī, and Abū Bakr al-Dīnawarī and studied the literary arts under al-Jawālīqī, the Ḥanbālī grammarian who succeeded his master al-Tibrīzī to the post of grammarian in the Madrasah Niẓāmīyah. Ibn Hubayrah became vizier of Caliph al-Muqtafī in 1149 and remained in that post under al-Mustanjid for a total of sixteen years, until his death in 1165. He founded a *madrasah,* endowed it, and established his own library in it as a *waqf* in perpetuity. He wrote a work on grammar, *Al-muqtaṣid,* an epitome of Ibn al-Sikkīt's *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiq,* and a work on the five pillars of Islamic worship, *Al-ʿibādāt al-khams.* But his most important work is his *Kitāb al-ifṣāḥ* (Aleppo, 1928), a commentary on the *ḥadīth* collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, within which a whole independent work on law was written as commentary on a single one of its *ḥadīth*s. In preparation for the writing of *Kitāb al-ifṣāḥ,* the vizier spent 113,000 dinars to invite scholars from all parts for discussions on law. The work contains those doctrines on which there was unanimity among the four eponymous imams of the Sunnī *madhhab*s as well as questions that remained in dispute. The *Kitāb al-ifṣāḥ* was copied and used far and wide.

ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī is the famous Ḥanbālī Ṣūfī whose Ṣūfī brotherhood is still prosperous in the present day. He studied law under al-Mukharrimī, al-Kalwadhānī, Ibn ʿAqīl, and Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Farrāʾ. In a recently published Ṣūfī *silsilah* ("chain") of initiation for Ibn Qudāmah, al-Mukharrimī, previously known only as a jurisconsult, appears for the first time as the Ṣūfī who passed on the Ṣūfī cloak (*khirqah*) of initiation to ʿAbd al-Qādir. It was also the *madrasah* of al-Mukharrimī to which ʿAbd al-Qādir succeeded as administrator, professor of law, and Ṣūfī master; under his direction the institution was enlarged, and it has been maintained on Baghdad's east side down to this day. He studied Sufism under the Ṣūfī shaykh Ḥammād al-Dabbās (d. 1131), who was severely criticized by Ibn ʿAqīl. ʿAbd al-Qādir wrote two well-known works: *Al-ghunyah li-ṭālibi ṭariq al-ḥaqq* (The seeker's sufficiency in search of the truth), in which, basing his teachings on the Qurʾān and the *sunnah,* he included an *ʿaqīdah* of profoundly orthodox inspiration that is a succinct presentation of Ḥanbālī traditionalist beliefs. He was severely criticized by his Ḥanbālī contemporary Ibn al-Jawzī, no doubt because of scholarly rivalry, but was ably defended by ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī, Ibn Qudāmah, and Ibn Taymīyah. The last two are known to have belonged to the Ṣūfī order of ʿAbd al-Qādir, and perhaps also ʿAbd al-Ghanī, who, with his cousin Ibn Qudāmah, had studied with ʿAbd al-Qādir for the period of forty days that preceded the Ṣūfī master's death.

Ibn al-Jawzī, whose life spanned all but thirteen years of this twelfth century, was a jurisconsult, *ḥadīth* expert, historian, preacher, and polemist. A prolific author, he wrote his first work—a "bibliography of works pertaining to the Qurʾān and its sciences," according to an autobiographical note—at the age of thirteen. A famous preacher and sermon writer whose talents were highly praised by the Spanish Muslim traveler Ibn Jubayr, Ibn al-Jawzī said he preached his first sermon at the age of seventeen. Into the works of this polymath passed a great amount of the writings of Ibn ʿAqīl, Ibn Hubayrah, and others otherwise lost. He first studied law under the direction of Ibn al-Zāghūnī, whom he was later to criticize; after Ibn al-Zāghūnī's death he studied with al-Dīnawarī, Abū Yaʿlā the Minor, grandson of Qāḍī Abū Yaʿlā, and al-Nahrawānī, under whom he worked as repetitor *(muʿīd)*, and whom he succeeded as professor of law in his two *madrasah*s. By the year 1179, he held five professorships of law in *madrasah*s of which he was also the administrator. That date also coincides with the date his history of Baghdad, *Al-muntaẓam,* is terminated. With Ibn al-Jawzī, the Ḥanbālī *madhhab* reached the apex of its influence in the Abbasid capital, owing in large measure to his own weight with the caliph. Under the vizierate of the Ḥanbālī Ibn Yūnus (d. 1197), Ibn al-Jawzī was once again active in public life, but he lived the life of an exile in Wāsiṭ from 1194 to 1199, when he was allowed, through the intervention of the caliph's mother, to return to Baghdad. He died two years later.

Ṣadaqah ibn al-Ḥusayn was the most atypical Ḥanbālī intellectual, a veritable maverick of his *madhhab.* He was a jurisconsult, belletrist, poet, philosophical theologian, and historian. Unfortunately, none of his works are extant. He studied dialectic, *kalām,* decedents' estates, and, in secret, logic and philosophy. Unlike his contemporary Ibn al-Jawzī, he lived a secluded life teaching in his mosque-college in the Badrīyah quarter (Bāb Badr) on Baghdad's east side, where he led the people in prayer, issued legal opinions to those who solicited them from him, and taught various subjects to students who frequented his mosque. One of his works, on theology, is entitled *Ḍawʾ al-sārī fī maʿrifat al-Bārī* (A torch in the night to light the way toward God); his history is a continuation of that of his teacher Ibn al-Zāghūnī covering the period from the latter's death in 1132 to a period close to his own death. Like the *Muntaẓam* of Ibn al-Jawzī, it was an annalistic and biographical work.

Later period. From this point to the fall of Baghdad to the Mongols in the middle of the thirteenth century, the Ḥanābilah no longer boast of names comparable in reputation to those just treated. Nevertheless, there are some figures worthy of a place in the history of Ḥanbālī thought. Ibn al-Ghazzāl (d. 1218), known as a sermon writer, wrote a treatise on the mystic al-Ḥallāj in which he made use of Ibn ʿAqīl's earlier work on this mystic. Ibn Nuqṭah (d. 1232) was a *ḥadīth* expert and historian whose history, not extant, is often cited as a source. Al-Qaṭīʿī (d. 1237), a disciple of Ibn al-Jawzī, wrote a continuation of al-Samʿānī's (d. 1168) continuation of the *History of Baghdad* of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 1071). Al-ʿUlthī (d. 1237) was a pious ascetic who criticized the policies of Caliph al-Nāṣir, the Ṣūfī practices of a disciple of ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, and Ibn al-Jawzī's allegorical interpretation of the divine attributes. Muḥyī al-Dīn Yūsuf (d. 1258), son of Ibn al-Jawzī, was a Ṣūfī and held the post of *muhtasib* (market superintendent) of Baghdad under Caliph al-Nāṣir. He was considered more expert than his father in jurisprudence and dialectic. He wrote several works, including *Al-īḍāḥ fī al-jadal* (Dialectic Made Clear), which is still in manuscript. While on an official visit in Damascus in 1254, he founded a *madrasah* called al-Jawzīyah. Returning to Baghdad, he was killed, with his three sons, during the Mongol invasion four years later.

With the fall of Baghdad, Damascus became the center of learning for the Ḥanbālī *madhhab,* whose masters had perfected their studies in Baghdad. Important Ḥanbālī intellectual dynasties developed in Damascus over the years: the descendants of the eleventh-century al-Shīrāzī who became known as the family of "Ibn al-Ḥanbālī," the Munajjā family founded by Wajīh al-Dīn Asʿad ibn Munajjā (d. 1209), and the Qudāmah family, also referred to as the Maqādisah (sg., Maqdisī), meaning those who came to Damascus from Palestine (Jammāʿīl, a place near Jerusalem, Bayt al-Maqdis). The most well-known member of the third family is Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn Qudāmah (d. 1223). Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Maqdisī (d. 1245), who had gone to Baghdad to perfect his studies, brought back to Damascus works with which he later endowed the *madrasah* he founded in Baghdad called the *Ḍiyāʾīyah.* Many of the works of this *madrasah* are now in the Ẓāhirīyah in Damascus.

Another exodus from Ḥarrān brought to Damascus the Taymīyah family, the most illustrious member of which was Aḥmad ibn Taymīyah (d. 1328). Two other members of the family were Fakhr al-Dīn ibn Taymīyah (d. 1226), a disciple of Ibn al-Jawzī and professor of law in the *madrasah* founded by Nūr al-Dīn in Harran; and Majd al-Dīn ibn Taymīyah (d. 1254), nephew of Fakhr al-Dīn and grandfather of the famous Ibn Taymīyah. The son, ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm (d. 1283), *qāḍī* of Harran, was the one who fled from the Mongols and took the family to Damascus. The famous son, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Taymīyah, the father, and the grandfather collaborated, each after the other, on a work in the field of legal theory and methodology called *Al-musawwadah* (The draft), of which Aḥmad ibn Taymīyah's disciple, Shihāb al-dīn Aḥmad al-Ḥarrāni al-Dimashqi (d. 1344), made a fair copy, distinguishing between the contributions of the three authors (Damascus, 1964).

Among Aḥmad ibn Taymīyah's disciples, by far the most famous was Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, a Ṣūfī like Ibn Taymīyah. Just as Ibn Taymīyah wrote a commentary on the Ṣūfī work of ʿAbd al-Qādir, *Futūḥ al-ghayb,* Ibn Qayyim commented on the *Manāzil al-sāʾirīn* of al-Anṣārī al-Ḥarawī. He also wrote *Iʿlām al-muwaqqiʿīn,* on legal theory and methodology, and a profession of faith in verse (rhyming in the letter *nūn*), *Al-nūnīyah.* Ibn Rajab, a disciple of Ibn Qayyim, wrote the well-known history of the Ḥanābilah from 1068 as a continuation of Ibn Abī Yaʿlā. His *Qawāʿīd* (Cairo, 1933) is an important work on jurisprudence.

Of the Mufliḥ family, Shams al-Dīn ibn Mufliḥ (d. 1361), a student of Ibn Taymīyah, is the author of *Al-ādāb al-sharʿīyah* (3 vols., Cairo, 1929–1930), and the chief *qāḍī* Burhān al-Dīn ibn Mufliḥ (d. 1480) authored a history of the Ḥanābilah, not extant. A member of the ʿAbd al-Hādī family also deserves mention: Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī (d. 1503), a prolific author, many of whose works are preserved in the Zāhirīyah. He was a voracious reader, and his signature is found on the margins of a great many manuscripts in that library and elsewhere. One of his students in *ḥadīth,* the Ḥanafī historian Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 1546), wrote his biography. Among the other Ḥanbālī scholars worthy of mention, the following may be cited: al-Mardāwī (d. 1481), author of *Kitāb al-inṣāf,* a twelve-volume work on law, and *Kitāb al-taḥrīr,* on legal theory and methodology; al-Hujāwī (d. 1561), whose *Iqnāʿ* is a basic manual on Ḥanbālī law; al-Bahūtī (d. 1641), the well-known Ḥanbālī author who taught at al-Azhar; Ibn al-ʿImād (d. 1679), author of a history, mainly biographical, from the year AH 1 to the year AH 1000 (622–1592 CE); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Baʿlī (d. 1778), Ṣūfī disciple of ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī who introduced him to the Sufism of Ibn ʿArAbī and Ibn al-Fāriḍ.

The Ḥanābilah, through Ibn Taymīyah, influenced two modern movements, the Wahhābīyah and the Salafīyah. It is through these two movements, in Arabia and Egypt respectively, that works of the Ḥanābilah and their teachings, especially those of Ibn Taymīyah, were made known. And it is in connection with the Wahhābi movement, which was misrepresented and opposed by the Ottomans, that misconceptions developed among modern scholars regarding the Ḥanābilah.

SEE ALSO Ashʿarīyah; Ḥadīth; Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Muḥammad; Ibn Taymīyah; Kalām; Madhhab; Muʿtazilah; Shāfiʿī, al-; Wahhābīyah; Waqf.

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GEORGE MAKDISI (1987)

HANDS are a key factor in what it means to be human, because they interact with the intelligence in probing, manipulating, and transforming matter for cultural ends. The hands are also the most expressive and versatile members of the body for symbolic and ritual gestures and tasks, whether social, religious, or magical. Hands give and receive, grasp and relinquish; they strike, protect, punish, and caress. Hands beckon, greet, and wave goodbye; they warn, admonish, and direct; they also pull apart and dismantle, heal and repair, assemble, divide and gather.

AS SYMBOLS OF DEITY. The Qurʾān speaks of God’s hand bestowing bounty and blessing as well as exercising power over all things (67:1). The hand is mentioned often in the Bible as a symbol of God’s power and guidance. In Hindu iconography, some representations of deity—preeminently Śiva Nāṭarāja, lord of the dance—have multiple hands and arms, symbolizing omnicompetence; this meaning is further enriched by the precise symbolism in Hindu thought of fingers, palms, and other parts of the hand.

In religious iconography overall, hands occur in a wide variety of gestures. For example, Christ as cosmic ruler is depicted with raised right hand, palm facing outward in a gesture of benediction and peace. Images and pictures of the Buddha feature various *mudrā*s, that is, signs or gestures made by the hands—such as the “fear not” position, which resembles the blessing of Christ. Other *mudrā*s include extending the hand toward the ground to call the earth to witness and “preaching the Dharma,” both hands raised in front of the chest. Even in aniconic Islam, the talisman known sometimes as the ʿHand of Faṭimahʾ is a prominent anthropomorphic symbol of divine protection. Depending on whether one is Sunnī or Shīʿī, the fingers represent either the Five Pillars of Islam (*shahādah,* “testifying” to the unity of God and the apostlehood of Muhammad; *śalāt,* “ritual prayer”; *zakāt,* “almsgiving”; *śawm,* “fasting”; *ḥajj,* “pilgrimage”) or the five holy personages (Muḥammad, Faṭimah, ʿAlī, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn).

The frequent attribution of hands to deity in religions both ancient and contemporary bears witness to a peculiar anthropomorphic persistence. In the Hindu religion, the arms and hands of Śiva seem furthermore to challenge the preeminence of the primordial and creative word, which is also at the core of creation in the Abrahamic traditions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Similarly, although God is depicted as creating by means of speech in both the Bible and the Qurʾān, in both he is also represented as having created humankind, alone among creatures, with his hands. “When thy Lord said to the angels, ‘See, I am creating a mortal of a clay. When I have shaped him, and breathed my spirit in him, fall you down, bowing before him!’ Then the angels bowed themselves all together, save Iblīs; he waxed proud, and was one of the unbelievers. Said he, ‘Iblīs, what prevented thee to bow thyself before that I created with my own hands?’” (Qurʾān 38:72–76). Regardless of whether this passage is interpreted literally or symbolically, it testifies to a special link between God and humankind in which spirit, clay, and molding hands figure centrally.

WORSHIP, PRAYER, AND MEDITATION. The most general use of hands ritually is in prayer. In the Christian tradition, many Protestants hold the hands palm to palm with fingers interlocked, as did ancient Romans and Sumerians. Roman Catholics have often preferred to place the palms together with fingers pointing upward, a position found also in Hindu and Buddhist piety. Romans and Greeks prayed to the deities of the underworld with hands pointing downward. Many peoples touch altars and shrines with their hands while praying for blessings. Ancient Christians in the catacombs are known to have prayed with arms and hands stretched out to the sides in imitation of crucifixion. In Muslim petitionary prayer *(duʿāʾ),* the hands are held out in front of the body with palms open upward; after the words have been uttered, the palms are rubbed across the face. The clapping of hands in praise was known among the ancient Hebrews and Egyptians, and it is still practiced in certain ritual contexts by Africans, Chinese, and Japanese. The Sioux were known to raise their arms with the palms of the hands turned toward a sacred presence, after which they would lower the hands toward the earth. Raising the hands has sometimes been a gesture of adoration of deity, for example, when the priest raises the Host and the chalice during the celebration of the Christian Eucharist. Ancient Egyptians raised both hands with palms facing the shrine.

The Hindu and Buddhist ritual hand gestures known as *mudrā*s are the most highly elaborated in religious history. *Mudrā* as a sacred hand language is widely employed in the ritual, dance, drama, and iconography of South and Southeast Asia. The great Vajrayāna stupa of Borobudur, in Central Java, contains hundreds of sculptures and reliefs portraying Buddhas whose hands form *mudrās* symbolizing the whole range of Buddhist teachings.

BLESSINGS, OATHS, AND CONSECRATIONS. The use of the hand in blessing is widely known. In the Bible, the hand is raised over or toward those to be blessed (*Lv.* 9) and sometimes placed on the head of a person (*Gn.* 48:14). A central Christian blessing is the sign of the cross made with the hands, a gesture performed slightly differently by Roman Catholics and Greek Orthodox: The former move the hand from the forehead to the breast and then from the left to the right shoulder, whereas the latter perform the final motion from right to left shoulder. The hand is also used in Christianity to sprinkle holy water, to baptize either by sprinkling or pouring, and to anoint.

The laying on of hands in ordinations and other forms of consecration is known from the Bible and other sources. A similar gesture was performed in ancient Egypt, where the gods were believed to lay their hands on the head of the new pharaoh. In some Christian groups, for example, among Baptists, a "right hand of fellowship" is extended by the members of the congregation to newly baptized communicants.

A very prominent and widespread category of hand gestures has existed in connection with oath taking; among these are raising the hand, touching a sacred object (e.g., Bible, altar, scepter, weapon), clasping hands, pointing at a holy thing, and touching one's own breast. In medieval Islam, new caliphs were acknowledged and legitimized by the *bayʿah,* a survival of an ancient Arabian oath of allegiance symbolized by raising the right hand and then clasping the hand of the ruler or his designated representative, with God as witness.

APOTROPAIC AND MAGICAL USES. The sign of the cross has been made for a great variety of reasons, not the least of which has been to ward off demons and other evils. Another potent hand gesture has been the sign of the "horns," a fist with the index and little finger extended, thought to be efficacious against harmful spells and persons. Alternatively, a person who felt threatened by an occult danger might extend all the fingers of a hand toward the antagonist (real or imagined) and say, "Five in the eye!" This archaic apotropaic gesture of the Mediterranean Basin is often expressed in North Africa and Egypt by means of a talisman in the shape of a hand or by grains of wheat.

Positive and negative imprints of human hands, for example, in red ochre, appear frequently in prehistoric cave art as well as in many contexts since. Such imprints are often thought to protect against the evil eye and other misfortunes.

Magical healing often features hand gestures and touches. Christ is reported to have healed by his touch (see, e.g., *Mt.* 9:20). Royal personages have also been known to heal with their hands, as for example the British monarch Charles II's famous cures of scrofula. Even the hands of dead persons have been used in healing as well as in other magical operations.

Decoration of the hands, such as by tattooing, is known widely. Men of the Mentawai Islands, near Sumatra, tattoo their hands in order to wipe out the evil influences of blood spilled in their village. Coptic Christians in Egypt have traditionally worn on the back of the hand or on the wrist a tattooed cross, employed for identification as a Christian in case of death among strangers in that predominantly Muslim country. At festive times, such as Arabian tribal weddings, women sometimes color their hands with henna. In many parts of India as well, women decorate their hands with henna on festive occasions. Hands are also frequently adorned with rings, intended for protection as well as for fashion. In Java, men wear rings set with various stones believed to act as powerful amulets against harmful spirits and spells as well as against more tangible dangers such as poisonous snakebite. Javanese men commonly allow their thumbnails to grow very long in imitation of a mythical hero, Warkudara, who persisted steadfastly in all endeavors and could not be cheated. He is depicted in shadow puppetry *(wayang kulit)* with bladelike thumbnails, symbols of his valor and fighting skills.

RITUAL AVOIDANCES AND MUTILATIONS. Washing the hands has been a widespread symbol of cleansing the self of sin and guilt, and a symbol of ritual purity generally. Veiling the hands has also been practiced, usually because their uncleanness in the presence of sacred things threatens the efficacy of ritual. Sometimes covering the hands has symbolized a person's inferior social or ritual status.

The left hand is widely considered to be unclean, and performing a task or keeping something in place with this hand is generally considered inappropriate. The reasons are probably not so simple as that the left hand is reserved for humble tasks, such as the toilet; perhaps such use is recommended because the left hand and the left side of the body generally are thought to be inherently inferior to the right. The predominance of the right hand among all peoples is well known, and even when a child's natural preference may be for the left hand, he or she is often trained to use the right hand instead. The auspicious character of the right hand is maintained in the English word *dexterous* (Lat., *dextra,* "right"); the word *sinister* (Lat., *sinistra,* "left"), too, speaks for itself.

In predominantly Muslim regions such as Malaysia and Indonesia, as well as in other Islamic countries, the right hand is used for greeting, gesturing, handing over or receiving objects, and touching others. It is considered extremely rude as well as inauspicious to use the left hand for any of those functions. In the Qurʾān, God is said to give, on Resurrection Day, each person's book of deeds either into the right hand, symbolizing salvation, or into the left, indicating damnation (69:19). When eating, especially from a common dish, Muslims use only the right hand. According to the Islamic *sharīʿah,* or law, the strict punishment for the habitual thief is amputation of the right hand, which precipitates a shameful condition that persists for life and in certain social groups condemns the guilty person to eating alone.

Prehistoric imprints of human hands sometimes show loss of fingers or joints, evidence perhaps of ritual deformation of the hand, either undergone voluntarily or performed as a punishment on captured enemies; both forms are known in ethnography. The severed hands or fingers both of dead persons, such as those killed in battle or by execution or assassination, and of children who died in the womb or at birth have been thought to possess extraordinary powers and therefore have been used in a variety of magical rituals by witches, medicine men, conjurers, and others. American Indians used to wear the hands or fingers of vanquished enemies as powerful medicine. In West Africa, the hand or finger of a deceased relative was often kept as a potent ingredient in magical charms and spells. There are many other magical and superstitious ideas and practices that involve the hands and that have only remote relevance, if any, to religious belief and symbolism, but closer connections with the hands' quite remarkable profane qualities and abilities: One example is chiromancy, the practice of "reading" the hand and especially the palm for purposes of divining the future fate of an individual—a tradition based upon the belief that the hand is the person in miniature.

SEE ALSO Human Body; Left and Right; Mudrā; Touching.

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FREDERICK MATHEWSON DENNY (1987)

HANDSOME LAKE (1735–1815) was a Seneca shaman, prophet, and sachem of the Six Nations of the Iroquois; known in Iroquois as Ganioʿ Daí Ioʿ. He was born on the Genesee River opposite modern-day Avon, Livingston County, New York. Handsome Lake's life mirrors the history of the Iroquois people. Born at the zenith of Iroquois power and influence, he participated in major battles against Indian and American opponents and witnessed his people's loss of land and pride following the Revolutionary War. He later suffered a debilitating illness, exacerbated by bouts of drunkenness, but was revivified by a series of dream-vision experiences and led the way to a national revitalization of Indian values.

Early in 1799 Handsome Lake was confined to bed with a serious illness and seemed near death. During a series of dream-vision experiences in June and August 1799 he received many messages from the Creator through four intermediaries whom the prophet referred to as the Four Messengers or the Four Angels. They instructed him about his mission, guided him on a sky journey to the land of the damned and the blessed, and promised him shamanic powers. Handsome Lake recovered, and his sense of physical and spiritual rebirth intensified as he preached and worked for reform.

The earliest messages the prophet received condemned alcohol, witchcraft, abortion, and charms. The Creator was also displeased with wife beating and desertion by husbands, as well as by adultery, undisclosed multimarriages, interference in marriages by mothers-in-law, and the neglect and abuse of children and the elderly. Such activities reflected a serious breakdown in the traditional Iroquois way of life. Handsome Lake now called for a breakup of the longhouse dwelling and instituted the building of single-family houses following the Quaker model. More radically, he preached that men must give up their rapidly declining occupations of hunting and waging war and instead take up farming, the traditional domain of women. At the same time, he warned against the private ownership of property as destructive of traditional Iroquois values, and he encouraged cooperative farming and other communal activities. He also condemned the cruelty to farm animals evident among many whites. Fearful of the corrosive effects of white education on Iroquois traditions, he said that only a few Iroquois children should be educated, and those for the express purpose of enabling the Iroquois to deal with the whites in legal and political matters.

As a prophet, Handsome Lake differed from the Native American cultic and nativistic prophets. The cultic prophets claimed that renewal would occur only when the people returned to the sacrifices and rituals they had neglected. The divine would then send forth its power and restore them. The nativistic prophets proclaimed that the whites would be destroyed if the people rejected all white influences and returned to the old ways. In contrast, Handsome Lake was an ethical-eschatological prophet. He spoke in the name of a transcendent moral being who was seriously displeased with the sins of his people and would either reward them or punish them after death depending on whether they reformed themselves. The Creator did not promise that the whites would be destroyed or driven away but rather said that personal and social reforms would enable the Iroquois to be strong enough to maintain their own independence and to survive in a world increasingly controlled by whites. Rejecting both the assimilationism of the Mohawk Joseph Grant and the nativism of the Seneca Red Jacket, Handsome Lake presented the Iroquois with the will of the Creator: They must either accept the *gaiwiio* ("good word"), that is, the revelations and injunctions received by Handsome Lake, by repenting their deeds and embracing personal and social reform, or be lost in both a personal-eschatological and a sociohistorical sense.

Unlike the biblical prophets, Handsome Lake's concern with ethical behavior and eschatology was not accompanied by a desacralization of nature. Although he rejected any cultic prescription for the ills of his people, Handsome Lake affirmed as integral to the Iroquois tradition the necessity of maintaining correct relationships with the spirit forces through ceremonial life. Only by enacting the moral and socioeconomic reforms enjoined by the *gaiwiio* could the Indian tradition be fully effective.

Corresponding to Handsome Lake's integration of eschatological and cosmic elements was his idea of the holy as both a transcendent moral being and an immanent presence and power. The present-day Longhouse religion, or Handsome Lake religion, while basing itself on the prophet's teachings, incorporates them into a religious structure that includes shamanic institutions and practices, agricultural and gathering ceremonies, and organizational meetings such as the Six Nations Conference.

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HAN FEI-TZU SEE HAN FEI ZI

HAN FEI ZI (c. 280–233 BCE), or Master Han Fei, a Chinese philosopher of the late Warring States period (403–221 BCE), was important as the main consolidator and most forceful advocate of a set of earlier ideas later to be given the label of "legalism" (*fajia*). Historical accounts tell us that he was a noble scion of the relatively weak state of Han, and that he created his writings in response to the ineptitude of Han's governance after failing to gain the ear of its ruler. He would later be sent as an envoy to the powerful western state of Qin, where he would eventually succumb to political intrigue and be forced to commit suicide just twelve years prior to the Qin's unification of the Chinese world. The book of Han Fei Zi is comprised of fifty-five individual essays and anecdotal collections, most of which were likely written by Han Fei prior to his journey to Qin and eventually compiled into a single work bearing the author's name; with a few exceptions, the bulk of the work is considered to be authentic. Han Fei is known as much for his lucid writing and persuasive style of argumentation as for his philosophy itself, and his writings are full of some of early China's most engaging and illustrative stories and analogies.

Han Fei's main "legalist" precursors included Shang Yang (c. 390–338 BCE), Shen Buhai (c. 400–337 BCE), and Shen Dao (fl. fourth century BCE), who, in the traditional, if overly neat, categorization of their main ideas, respectively proffered such notions as rulership through strict enforcement of clear laws (*fa*), management of officials through bureaucratic method (*shu*), and reliance on advantageous position (*shi*), all of which would, to one degree or another, find their way into Han Fei's thought. Han Fei was also loosely associated with the Huang-Lao tradition, and he was influenced by the book of Laozi (*Dao de jing*), from which he and his predecessors borrowed the term *nonaction (wuwei)* to describe the stance of the ideal ruler. Most directly, Han Fei was also ostensibly a student of the Confucian philosopher Xunzi, though if this is true he would end up radically departing from his teacher on many fronts.

If Han Fei inherited anything from Xunzi, it was certainly the idea that human nature, if left to its own devices, would only lead the people toward struggle and chaos, as humans tended to act out of their own self-interest (as demonstrated, for Han Fei, by the fact that people normally congratulated each other when a son was born, but sometimes killed the child if it was a "useless" daughter). Both employed the analogy that one rarely finds perfectly straight or perfectly rounded wood in nature, and so just as one needs carpentry tools to fashion wood into arrows or wheels, the ruler likewise needs analogous devices to mold human behavior in order to achieve political order and stability. Yet whereas for Xunzi such devices lay first and foremost in education through ritual, music, and moral suasion, for Han Fei it was only the coercive force of punishments and the attraction of rewards that would do the trick, as he viewed the Confucian virtues of humanity and propriety (*renyi*) as unteachable aspects of human nature that only a small minority of people possessed. Thus only the rule of might could possibly bring the whole state in line: "For the sage rules not by relying on people to do good for him, but rather utilizes their inability to do wrong. . . .The ruler of method does not follow after chance goodness, but rather implements the way of inevitability" *(Xianxue)*. Likewise, Han Fei cautions the ruler against aiming to "win over the people's hearts," because the people, like children, do not understand what is ultimately good for them and what hardships must be endured in order to achieve it.

Han Fei's writings often take the form of polemic against common views and practices supported or encouraged by his opponents, and they concentrate on showing the contradictions inherent in these rival philosophies, the two most prominent being those of the Confucians and the Mohists. For instance, Han Fei vigorously called into question their common insistence that the rulers of the present adhere to the ways of the ancient sage kings, on the grounds both that those ways were too remote to be known (as evidenced by their contradictory philosophies attributed to the same ancient models) and that it was foolish to blindly follow the ways of the past in the first place, given that former circumstances no longer hold true today. "Thus the sage aims neither to cultivate the ancient nor to emulate anything of constant admissibility" (*Wudu*); by showing how circumstances continually change and have always done so, Han Fei advocates a sense of historical perspective over against his rivals' views of historical constancy. Thus, rather than wasting time listening to the praises of the former kings, Han Fei's ruler would give credence only to practical wisdom on how to achieve order in the present. Indeed, Han Fei saw it as a common tendency for rulers to become beguiled by clever persuaders acting out of their own self-interest and thereby reward values and promote characteristics that did not serve the good of the state, an obvious recipe for chaos. Given this, the issue of practical applicability was always his litmus test by which to judge the value of any doctrine. An example of this is his argument against the policy of welfare, one that fails because taxing the wealthy to give to the poor only encourages wastefulness and indolence at the expense of industriousness and frugality; in similar fashion, he also decries the valuing of personal integrity to the detriment of social good, scholastic erudition at the cost of agricultural production, and private vengeance at the expense of military valor.

At the heart of Han Fei's own program for wealth, strength, and social order lay a clear set of laws and an invariable system of rewards and punishments—the "two handles" of the state—strictly applied to all members of society. If people inherently tended to act out of their own self-interest, then surely it was only the enticement of rewards or abhorrence for punishments that would encourage them to take appropriate action or deter them from committing misdeeds. Equally crucial, according to Han Fei, was that these "two handles" lie firmly within the grasp of the ruler himself, and that none of his real power ever be relegated to his ministers. The method by which the ruler could thus take full advantage of his might and position involved the practice of matching "names" with "realities" (*xingming*), of letting the ministers do all the work within their specifically delimited jurisdictions—each appropriate to his individual talents—and judging their performances solely on how well their actual accomplishments lived up to their proposals or allotted tasks. And to ensure the efficacy of this method and thus avoid the possibility that ministers would act out of interests other than those of the ruler, an impartial and invariable system of promotion and censure based wholly on this method was required.

Thus the key to successful rulership for Han Fei lay in the ruler acting at all times in accordance with inviolable standards and never involving himself in hands-on administration or making political decisions on a personal basis. The legal methods at the ruler's disposal are the precision tools of governance that even the wisest of rulers may not forsake, lest he risk the loss of his power and stability. In this regard, Han Fei (following Shen Buhai) took the Dao and nonaction of the Laozi and made them even more explicitly stand for the principles of wise governance, in which he poetically described the ideal ruler as a purposefully mysterious and unknowable entity who simply waited in quiescent tranquility for affairs to take care of themselves: "Empty, he knows the true nature of realities; still, he is the source of rectitude for those in motion" (*Zhu dao*). For Han Fei, such terms by no means symbolized a state of lofty nebulousness—something he expressly opposed—but always translated into a concrete and effective means of political orchestration.

Although Han Fei himself would meet with an unfortunate end in Qin, many of the ideas espoused in his writings would later be adopted into the "legalist" policies of the short-lived Qin dynasty (221–206 BCE). After undergoing a certain amount of modification, they would soon come to be reconciled and blended with Confucian thought to form a core component of the orthodox "Confucianism" of the Western Han (206 BCE–9 CE) and subsequent dynasties, thereby living on, in a somewhat different form, to carry their influence throughout imperial China, and even, in yet other forms, on into the present day.

SEE ALSO Legalism.

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SCOTT COOK (2005)

ḤANUKKAH (“dedication”) is the Jewish winter festival that falls on the twenty-fifth of the month of Kislev and lasts for eight days. It celebrates the victory of the Maccabees over the forces of Antiochus after a three-year battle in the second century BCE. The major sources on the festival’s origin are two apocryphal books, *1 Maccabees* and *2 Maccabees.* It is stated there (*2 Mc.* 10:6–8) that the altar was rededicated and the festival of eight days introduced because during the war the Jews were unable to celebrate the eight-day festival of Sukkot. Thus in the earliest period there is no reference to Ḥanukkah as a feast of lights. That it became such is due to the Talmudic legend (B.T., *Shab.* 21b) that the Maccabees found only one small jar of oil for the kindling of the menorah (“candelabrum”) in the Temple. This was sealed with the seal of the high priest but contained only sufficient oil to burn for a single night. By a miracle the oil lasted for eight nights. It was consequently ordained that lights be kindled on the eight nights of Ḥanukkah. However, it is stated in the Talmud (B.T., *Shab.* 21b) that the Shammaites and Hillelites, at the beginning of the present era, debated whether the lights were to be kindled in descending order (eight the first night, seven the second, etc.) or in ascending order (one the first night, two the second, etc.). If this statement is historically correct, it demonstrates either that the legend of the oil was already known at that time or that, at least, there was an association of Ḥanukkah and light even at this early period. According to some historians, the origin of the festival is to be found in pagan festivals of light in midwinter. The prayers for Ḥanukkah refer only to the victory, but in practice the kindling of the lights is the main feature of the festival.

It has long been the custom for each member of the household to kindle the Ḥanukkah lights in an eight-branched candelabrum frequently called a menorah (though the menorah in the Temple had only seven branches) but nowadays also known as a *hanukkiyyah.* The lights are kindled in the synagogue as well as in the home. The older practice was to use only olive oil, and this is still customary among the more pious, but the majority of Jews use candles for the Ḥanukkah lights. Rabbinical authorities have discussed whether electric lights may be used for this purpose, the consensus being to permit them. One light is kindled on the first night, two on the second night, three on the third night, and so on until all eight are lit. In order to avoid lighting the candles one from the other, an additional candle known as the *shammash* (“retainer”) is used to light the others. A declaration is recited:

> We kindle these lights on account of the miracles, the deliverances, and the wonders which thou didst work for our ancestors, by means of thy holy priests. During all the eight days of Ḥanukkah these lights are sacred, neither is it permitted to make any profane use of them; but we are only to look at them, in order that we may give thanks unto thy name for thy miracles, deliverances, and wonders.

A popular Ḥanukkah hymn is *Maʿoz tsur* (O fortress rock), sung to a familiar melody said to have been originally that of a German drinking song.

Medieval Jewish thinkers understood the Ḥanukkah lights as representing spiritual illumination. The festival is a time for intensive study of the Torah as well as for almsgiving. Ḥanukkah is consequently treated as a more “spiritual” festival than the boisterous Purim, so that although fasting is forbidden on Ḥanukkah, there is no special festive meal. The Torah is read on each day of the festival; the passages chosen are from the account of the gifts brought by the princes at the dedication of the Tabernacle (*Nm.* 7) and the command to kindle the light of the menorah (*Nm.* 8:1–7). The Prophetic reading on the Sabbath of Ḥanukkah is from the vision of the menorah seen by Zechariah (*Zec.* 2). An addition to each of the daily prayers thanks God for delivering the strong into the hands of the weak, the many into the hands of the few, the impure into the hands of the pure, and the wicked into the hands of the righteous.

It is nowadays customary for Ḥanukkah presents to be given to children. This practice is found in none of the early sources and seems certain to have been introduced to offset the giving of Christmas presents at this season of the year.

Children and some adults play a game with a spinning top (dreidel) on each side of which is a different letter representing a move in the game. These letters are the initial letters of the Hebrew words making up the sentence “A great miracle happened there." To the consternation of the more conventional rabbis, cardplaying is often indulged in on Ḥanukkah.

The Talmudic rabbis stress the need for proclaiming the miracle by kindling the Ḥanukkah lights outside the door of the home, but eventually this practice was discouraged because it could be misinterpreted by non-Jews as a desire to demonstrate Jewish reluctance to live among their gentile neighbors. The less obtrusive practice of kindling the lights near the door but inside the home became the norm. In modern Israel it is far from unusual to see huge Ḥanukkah candelabra on top of public buildings and synagogues.

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HANUMĀN is the name of a Hindu monkey god widely venerated throughout India. One of the principal characters of the Hindu epic *Rāmāyaṇa,* Hanumān is also called Sundara ("beautiful"), and the fifth book of the *Rāmāyaṇa,* in which Hanumān plays a central role, is called *Sundara Kāṇḍa* (Book of the Beautiful One). Here Hanumān, a minister for the monkey king Sugrīva, first comes to know of Rāma, who is searching for his wife, Sītā, who has been kidnapped. Hanumān negotiates friendship between Rāma and Sugrīva and later flies across the ocean to Lanka in order to locate Sītā. Finding her under an *aśoka* tree, he presents Rāma's signet ring as a token of recognition, conveys Rāma's message of consolation, and assures her that Rāma will come to rescue her. He then destroys a large part of Lanka, but is captured and brought before the demon king Rāvaṇa. When Hanumān coils his long tail and sits on it at a level higher than that of Rāvaṇa, the king orders that an oil-soaked cloth be wrapped around Hanumān's tail and then ignited. Hanumān flies about with his fiery tail and burns large parts of the city. He returns to Rāma to bring the message from Sītā. During the ensuing battle, Hanumān is sent to the mountains to bring *sanjīvini* ("reviving") herbs for Rāma's brother Lakṣmaṇa, who is wounded. Unable to identify the herbs, Hanumān brings the entire mountain.

There are several stories of Hanumān's miraculous and divine birth. His mother was the *apsaras* Anjanā, who was married to Kesari, but who conceived Hanumān when Vāyu, the wind god, overcome by her beauty, made love to her. Another story tells of Vāyu entering into Anjanā's body through her ear, thus causing Hanumān's conception.

When Hanumān was born he was so hungry that his mother's milk could not satisfy him. He therefore flew into the sky to eat the sun, which he thought was a fruit. The god Indra threw his thunderbolt to stop him, injuring the boy's chin. Angered by this act, the wind god took Hanumān into a cave to shelter him. But when Vāyu disappeared the people in the world were no longer able to breathe. At the request of the gods, Brahmā entered the cave and healed Hanumān's wounds. The other gods also blessed Hanumān and conferred on him various boons, including eloquence of expression. Because of his injury, which left his jaw swollen, the child was known as Hanumān, "having a large jaw."

In folk traditions Hanumān is worshiped as a deity with magical powers and the ability to conquer evil spirits. As an unmarried god who never spilled his seed he is especially popular with body builders, because it is believed that one must be celibate in order to have a strong body. In the Jain Rāmāyaṇas, Hanumān is not a bachelor, but is married to the daughters of Khara and Sugrīva. Whereas in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki Hanumān plays the role of the minister, the messenger, and the trusted servant of Rāma, in the later *bhakti* Rāmāyaṇas Hanumān is described as the supreme devotee of Rāma, and is therefore considered the model of devotion. It is believed that Hanumān first wrote the story of Rāma, but that he threw it into the ocean to give an opportunity for Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa to gain prominence.

SEE ALSO Rāmāyaṇa.

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HAOMA. Both a "being worthy of worship" *(yazata),* or deified personification, and a substance ingested during Zoroastrian ritual sacrifices, *haoma* has an exact parallel in the *soma* of ancient India: **sauma,* from the verb *sav* ("to press, to crush"), is the reconstructed Indo-Iranian form. What the substance was originally—a plant or its sap, or a hallucinogenic mushroom such as *Amanita muscaria* (Wasson, 1968)—is not certain. What is certain, however, is that the Indo-Iranian form serves as evidence of a common ritual background in Iran and India. We also know that in both countries the original substance has been substituted with another; for centuries Zoroastrians have continued to use a species of *Ephedra* in their ritual sacrifices. This plant grows in many regions of Central Asia and Iran and yields a juice with hallucinogenic properties. *Haoma* must have been both a hallucinogen and a stimulant: it was reported in the ancient texts to give strength, victory, health, and wisdom and to induce an ecstatic state.

The cult of *haoma,* later to become an essential part of Zoroastrian rites, was originally denounced by Zarathushtra, who refers to it in the *Gāthās* in negative terms: *Haoma* is the "urine" of an intoxicating drug (*Yasna* 48.10). Several scholars have opposed such an interpretation, maintaining that neither animal sacrifice nor *haoma* was ever denounced by the prophet (R. C. Zaehner, Marijan Molé, and Mary Boyce), but their arguments are not convincing. The complex of rites, myths, and legends connected with *haoma* belongs to the pre-Zoroastrian Indo-Iranian tradition and is at the center of a scenario dominated by the warlike god Indra, who, in Zoroastrianism, was relegated to the rank of demon. It is most likely, then, that the acceptance and use of the drug was a reintegration that occurred in the religion after the time of the prophet. In the later texts of the Avesta, Haoma, like other beings readmitted to the cult, is a *yazata* to whom a hymn, the Hōm Yasht (*Yasna* 9–11), is dedicated. The hymn is recited during one of the most important parts of the complex ceremony of the Yasna. At the end of the recitation, the officiating priest drinks *haoma* that has already been prepared and consecrated ritually according to meticulous rules of purification, presumably in order to induce an ecstatic state.

SEE ALSO Soma.

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ḤAQĪQAH MUḤAMMADĪYAH SEE NŪR MUḤAMMAD

ḤARAM AND ḤAWṬAH.

Arabian society may be described as a conglomeration of individual tribal units normally in a state of war, truce, or alliance with other tribal units, whether these tribes are settled in villages and towns or are migratory herders. Unarmed traders, artisans, and peasants are subject to the noble *(sharīf)* tribes, who consider them weak *(ḍaʿīf)* and ignoble. Occasions inevitably arise when tribes, even if at war, must meet on neutral ground in physical security: to attend markets, to make political arrangements such as a truce, and for purposes of religion. Since tribal lords find it hard to accept the authority of their peers, when it becomes necessary for someone to preside over tribal arbitrations, to provide a secure forum for their meetings and even to impose certain sanctions upon them, they require an authority with supernatural backing to preside in territory not subject to tribal law. Consequently, they turn to a family regarded as having holy attributes, deriving supreme authority from a divine source, and so exercising the functions committed to it through a prophet or saint.

The institution known in ancient Arabia as *ḥaram* (and probably also *maḥram*), and in parts of contemporary south Arabia as *ḥawṭah*, is closely associated with such holy houses. It is a sacred enclave containing a shrine, administered in Shāfiʿī territory by a lord called a *manṣab* (or sometimes *manṣūb*), subject to divine law and independent of the surrounding tribal territory (*aḥ-bāṭ*). The inviolability of the sacred enclave is guaranteed by its tribal supporters (*anṣār*) as in the case of Medina and, for example, Anṣār Mawlā al-Dawīlah in Wādī Ḥaḍramawt. *Ḥaram* and *ḥawṭah*, the terms for the inviolable sacred enclave, appear to be related semantically to *maḥjar* and *ḥimā*, terms for interdicted pastures: the root of each of these commences with the root letter *ḥāʾ*. In addition, the *ḥimā* of al-Ṭā'if appears to have had religious associations.

The *hijrah* of northern Zaydi Yemen, while distinct from *ḥaram* and *ḥawṭah*, is an institution of related pattern. Although it is not attested in the first Islamic centuries, it seems to be foreshadowed in certain pre-Islamic inscriptions. For example, in the expression "wbʾshʿb dhhmdn whgrhmw wʾʿrbhmw" ("the tribes of Hamdan and their protected persons [*hijar*] and their tribal [bedouin] Arabs"), the term *hijar* (sg., *hijrah*) means both the protected persons and the place where they reside.

The sacred enclave in its most primitive form is probably exemplified by the *ḥawṭah* of Mughshin (northeast of Ẓafār, on the edge of the Arabian sands), where to cut bush or to kill hares brings misfortune. As in the simple desert *ḥawṭah*, bush may not be cut nor may birds or animals be slain in the Meccan *ḥaram*, a highly developed institution.

Ḥrm and *mḥrm*, translated as "sanctuary," are attested in the *Sabaic Dictionary* (Louvain, 1982). Maḥram Bilqīs, the name the Arabs give to the ruins of the pre-Islamic temple of Ilumquh at Mārib, is well known. The sanctuary of the god Dhū Samāwī at al-Ḥazm of the Yemenite Jawf was set in a sacred enclave: the inscription identifying it refers to a *maḥram* and *mnṣbt*. *Mnṣbt* means a place of *anṣāb* or boundary stones which, as is known, marked the Meccan *ḥaram*, and when Muḥammad founded the *ḥaram* at Yathrib (the pre-Islamic name of Medina) he had its bounds marked out in the same way. Oaths were taken by the Anṣāb al-Kaʿbah and sacrifices made to them. The *ḥawṭah* is also marked out with boundary cairns, and on entering it one dismounts out of respect for it.

INVIOLABILITY OF THE ENCLAVES. The tribes recognized the inviolability of the *ḥaram* or *ḥawṭah* to such an extent that in ancient times the Quraysh would raid outside Mecca but find safety by returning to its *ḥaram*, a pattern also followed by the tribes of Musaylimah's *ḥaram*. It cannot, however, be assumed that they thereby escaped scot-free, for, to judge from procedure at the *ḥawṭah* in our times, a case would still be brought by the injured party against those tribes; this may indeed almost be deduced from episodes connected with Musaylimah's *ḥaram*.

The deed of Muḥammad's foundation of the Yathrib *ḥaram*, which subsequently became Madīnat al-Nabī, "the prophet's town," is conveyed in documents F and H of the "Eight Documents" (the so-called Constitution of Medina). The regulations they contain, along with those quoted by the historian Wāqidī and the geographer Yāqūt, can also reasonably be considered to represent the law of the pre-Islamic era. Document F states that "this writing does not intervene between a wrongdoer and one committing a criminal act." In his geographical dictionary the Muʿjam, Yāqūt says, "Whosoever enters it [the Meccan *ḥaram*] is secure, and he who commits an aggression in any other territory, and then takes refuge in it, is safe when he enters it and when he leaves it the punishments are applied to him." Similarly, the *manṣab* will take a murderer who has sought refuge in the *ḥawṭah* under his protection and conduct the man back to his tribe; the two tribes affected will then have the case brought to the *manṣab* for arbitration.

Murder in the *ḥaram* or *ḥawṭah* is a heinous crime: the murder of the caliph ʿUthmān in the Medinese *ḥaram* was pointed to as a major offense by his relative Muʿāwiyah. In such a case the *manṣab* of the *ḥawṭah* writes to the chief of the offending clan and the chiefs of all of the other tribes, making them responsible for dealing with the crime. The guilty clan hastily sends the *manṣab* a propitiatory gift, *suqṭān* (corresponding to *sarf wa-ʿadl* in the "Eight Documents"). All the *ḥawṭah* tribes then assemble at the *manṣab*'s house, and the headman of the guilty clan, or even the *manṣab* himself, will take the murderer's dagger and slash his brow with it until it bleeds, to demonstrate that the man's honor (*wijh*) has been besmirched. This symbolic action is referred to in a Minean inscription and also in the biography (*sīrah*) of the prophet Muḥammad, where it is called *tajbīh* and is accompanied by blackening the face. To expiate the offense the guilty tribe must execute one of its own members, not necessarily the murderer, or else all of the other tribes will unite to attack it until atonement is exacted by slayings adequate to the seriousness of the crime of violation.

As any offense against the *manṣab* or persons under his protection is regarded as infringing on respect to him, an astute *manṣab* can attain great power by playing off one tribe against another. He may even succeed in forming a small theocratic state. Given the tribes' need for a supreme authority deriving power from a divine source, the theocratic state seems a natural development in Arabia, and it is thought that the pre-Islamic *mukarribs* ruled over theocracies. Leaving aside questions of revelation, there are obvious political parallels between this pattern and the process whereby Muḥammad established himself in Yathrib.

HIJRAH. At this point the *hijrah* must be reconsidered in terms of its Yemeni usage and as Muḥammad's Hijrah, nowadays usually translated as his "migration" from Mecca to Medina. "Muḥammad's *hijrah* chiefly involves the concept of seeking protection with powerful armed tribes, even if *hijrah* does [also] mean one's physical transference from one place to another" (Serjeant and Lewcock, 1983, p. 40b). He left the protection of his own tribe, Quraysh, for that of the arms-bearing tribes of Yathrib. In the Yemen sayyids or others (e.g. the Mashāyikh Bayt al-Aḥmar, who are the *hijrah* of the Ḥāshid confederation) may seek tribal protection. The tribes assemble and decide to grant *hijrah* on the basis of the applicant's sanctity, learning, and other qualities. A person thus protected does not fight or contribute to blood-wit or any levy (*ghurm*) the tribe imposes on itself for war, blood-wit, or entertainment. The *hijrah*, if a man of religion, is considered an ultimate arbiter (*marjaʿ*) and an example to be imitated (*qudwah*), judging in quarrels, marriage, and divorce, and writing amulets for people and cattle. So *hijrah*s often become centers of religious learning. Sanaa city is *muhajjar*, that is, protected by seven large tribal groups in its vicinity. A tribesman slaying there must restore the city's respect (*tahjīr*) by paying a fine and slaughtering an *ʿaqirah* ("sacrificial animal") at the gate of the city. The prophet Muḥammad became the ultimate arbiter (*marjaʿ*) at Yathrib, exercising functions not dissimilar to those of the *hijar* sayyids and *manṣab*s of *ḥawṭah*s, although he did not write amulets.

The pre-Islamic *ḥaram* would be protected by the god whose shrine it contained. In Mecca this was the Kaʿbah, which the *ḥadīth* suggests was a tent, probably a symbolic form of the square black tent known in the south as *karbah*. It was the sanctuary of Allāh of Quraysh, known as Quraysh Allāh. With the growth of Quraysh power in Arabia a pantheon seems to have accrued to the original cult. Infringement of the *ḥaram* laws brought divine punishment because the *ḥaram* was regarded as able to defend itself by supernatural means, as Yathrib did at the Battle of the Trench, following which the Prophet established his *ḥaram* there.

The annual pilgrimage to the Meccan *ḥaram* was the major event of the year; entertainment was provided through a tax levied for the purpose and through private contributions. The pilgrims came in chanting the *talbiyah*, verses addressing the god, as today they would call out "Ya Hūd!" and chant the *tahwīd* to the prophet Hūd at his annual pilgrimage. The Meccan pilgrimage was of a pattern common to the Arabian Peninsula to judge by an inscription which details regulations for the pilgrimage to Almaqah at Mārib. There the god Taʾlab is to receive tithes from which he will provide a banquet. Animals under Taʾlab's protection are not to be hunted.

Islam abolished the gods of paganism and left no partner to Allāh, but the sacred enclaves have remained, the *ḥawṭah*s with their pilgrimages. Those pilgrimages are either annual events or are made out of season for special private requests of the saints whose tombs are usually found in the *ḥawṭah*s: the pilgrims circumambulate the tombs, grasping the four corner-posts as they pass. To this day also the *manṣab* must provide from his revenues for a feast at pilgrimage time and entertain visitors throughout the year.

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HARAPPA SEE INDUS VALLEY RELIGION

HARNACK, ADOLF VON (1851–1930), was a German Protestant church historian and theologian. Carl Gustav Adolf von Harnack was born in Dorpat (now Tartu), in the Russian province of Livonia, where his father, Theodosius Harnack (1817–1889), was a professor of theology at the German-dominated university. He was educated at the universities of Dorpat and Leipzig, received the Ph.D. in 1873, and began lecturing on church history at Leipzig in 1874. In 1879 he went, as full professor, to Giessen, in 1886 to Marburg, and in 1888 to the University of Berlin, where he taught until his retirement in 1921, thereafter lecturing as emeritus professor until the spring of 1929.

Harnack was the premier historian in modern times of early Christianity and, with Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923), the foremost spokesman of a liberal Protestantism that sought to "overcome dogma by history." He insisted that the rise and development of Christianity could be understood solely by the use of the historical-critical method, that is, by impartial study of the extant Christian literature, to the exclusion of all metahistorical sources and standards of judgment such as authoritative church dogma or belief in an infallible teaching office or an inerrant Bible.

History, for Harnack, meant above all documentary history. Building on the seminal studies of early Christianity by F. C. Baur (1792–1860) and Albrecht Ritschl (1822–1889), he established early church history on secure textual foundations. Many of his more than sixteen hundred publications were critical editions of patristic texts, and he supervised the publication of hundreds of others, chiefly in the series "Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur" (1882–), of which he was a founder. He summarized the results of this textual scholarship in his *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius* (1893–1904).

Harnack wrote penetrating studies of monasticism and of church polity in Christianity's first two centuries. He also wrote what is still the foundational history of the early Christian missionary enterprise, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (1902; translated as *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries,* 1908). His true métier, however, was not institutional history but the history of doctrine—research that culminated in his monumental *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (1885–1890; translated as *History of Dogma,* 1894–1899). Dogma, in Harnack's narrow definition, referred exclusively to the trinitarian and christological dogmas formulated by general church councils in the fourth and fifth centuries. Whereas Ritschl had stressed the gradual dejudaization of Christianity as the central factor in the development of early Christian doctrine, Harnack emphasized the progressive hellenization of Christianity, holding that Christian dogma was "a work of the Greek spirit on the soil of the gospel." This did not mean that the gospel (the original teaching of Jesus) had entirely disappeared into dogma, or that the dogmas of the Trinity and the Incarnation were sheer speculation, but that Greek philosophy of religion and its attendant intellectualism had shaped Christian dogmatic thought from its inception. Thus Christian faith came to be dependent on metaphysics and, most shocking of all to Harnack, a "fancied Christ" had been put in the place of the real, historical one.

In Harnack's judgment, moreover, the mainline Protestant reformers had failed to break decisively with "dogmatic Christianity," though their root religious principles actually undermined the authority of all dogma. Martin Luther, for example, had delivered the Christian faith from moralism, ritualism, hierarchicalism, and philosophical speculation, yet he continued to adhere to the old dogmas, even grounding his piety on them, and thus gave them a new vitality and authority within the Evangelical church. The result of this "unfinished Reformation" was a Protestantism beset by ordinance, doctrine, and ceremony. What was urgently required, therefore, was a "critical reduction of dogma," to be carried out in fidelity to the animating concerns of Reformation religion and to be achieved by a rigorous historical criticism that would distinguish between the timeless "kernel" of Christianity and its timebound "husks." Harnack took up this task in his most popular book, *Das Wesen des Christentums* (1900; translated as *What Is Christianity?,* 1903), based on lectures to students of all faculties at Berlin in 1899–1900.

The "essence of Christianity"—its element of permanent validity as distinguished from its transient historical forms—is the gospel, above all as Jesus proclaimed it but also as it has repeatedly found expression in the course of Christian history. Appropriating the leading theological themes of his mentor, Ritschl, Harnack contended that the gospel is a simple and self-authenticating phenomenon, centering on the rule of the holy God in the trusting heart, on the experience of God as loving father and thus the assurance of the infinite value of the human soul, and on an ethical life marked by an abiding disposition to the good, under God's grace, and by neighborly love and mercy. Hence the gospel is essentially timeless, and it addresses a human nature that, religiously viewed, is also unchanging—ever yearning for "the presence of the Eternal in time" and so for a vindication of the ultimate worth of the human spirit over against an indifferent natural order. This gospel, accordingly, requires no metaphysical foundations, no articulation in binding dogmas, no elaborate ritual, and no institutional guarantees. The religion of the Christian gospel, Harnack concluded, is not only "undogmatic" and "perennial," but also shows itself to be a "cultural" religion in the proper sense, namely, one uniquely responsive to modern humanity's insistent quest for the meaning of life.

Controversy surrounded Harnack throughout his career. The most bitter conflict broke out in 1892, when he proposed that the Apostles' Creed be replaced in liturgical worship by a shorter confession of faith based on Reformation principles and on the results of modern historical scholarship. Though denied all official recognition by the Evangelical church, he was the most widely honored theologian of his time. In 1890 he was elected to the Prussian Academy of Sciences and in 1900, on the occasion of its two-hundredth anniversary, he wrote the academy's official history. He was a founder and the first president (1903–1911) of the Evangelical-Social Congress. From 1905 to 1921 he was director general of the Royal Library in Berlin. He served as the first president (1911–1930) of the Kaiser Wilhelm Gesellschaft for the Advancement of the Sciences (now called the Max Planck Gesellschaft). In 1914 he was raised to the dignity of hereditary nobility by Kaiser Wilhelm II.

Harnack's theology went into eclipse soon after his death, largely owing to its repudiation by Karl Barth (1886–1968) and other leaders of the regnant Protestant neoorthodoxy. Church historians and theologians otherwise sympathetic to Harnack's program have criticized his narrow definition of dogma, his thesis of hellenization, and his cardinal notion of a "timeless gospel" for a "timeless humanity." Nevertheless, his reputation as the greatest modern student of the ancient church is secure, and his insistence that Christianity must be interpreted by the historical method has been upheld.

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Harnack's thought has been discussed most fully by Karl H. Neufeld, S.J., in two works: *Adolf von Harnack: Theologie als Suche nach der Kirche* (Paderborn, 1977) and *Adolf von Harnacks Konflikt mit der Kirche* (Innsbruck, 1979). The best treatment to date in English is by G. Wayne Glick, *The Reality of Christianity: A Study of Adolf von Harnack as Historian and Theologian* (New York, 1967), to be supplemented by Wilhelm Pauck's *Harnack and Troeltsch: Two Historical Theologians* (Oxford, 1968), a masterly essay by a former student of Harnack at Berlin. Harnack's interpretation of Luther and of Reformation thought is considered by Jaroslav Pelikan in his essay "Adolf von Harnack on Luther," in *Interpreters of Luther: Essays in Honor of Wilhelm Pauck,* edited by Pelikan (Philadelphia, 1968), pp. 253–274. Harnack's indebtedness to Albrecht Ritschl and his controversy with Karl Barth are discussed, respectively, by E. P. Meijering in *Theologische Urteile über die Dogmengeschichte: Ritschls Einfluss auf von Harnack* (Leiden, 1978) and by H. Martin Rumscheidt in *Revelation and Theology: An Analysis of the Barth-Harnack Correspondence of 1923* (Cambridge, 1972).

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DAVID W. LOTZ (1987)
Revised Bibliography

HARRIS, WILLIAM WADE (c. 1865–1928), was the leader of a mass movement to Christianity in Africa that inspired creation of an African Christian church. The prophet Harris created the largest mass movement to Christianity in the history of the African continent and revolutionized the religious life of the southern Ivory Coast. He paved the way for the growth of the Catholic church and the establishment of the Protestant church and for the creation of several indigenous religious institutions. Most significant among these is the Harrist Church of the Ivory Coast, which institutionalized his teachings. His impact was unique among the movements to Christianity led by African prophets in that it reflected totally indigenous initiative in a population not previously Christianized by missionaries.

A Grebo from southeastern Liberia, Harris was familiar with Western customs and literate in both English and Grebo as a result of mission schooling. He became an Episcopalian lay preacher, taught in a mission school, directed a boarding school, and worked as a government interpreter.

When antagonism between the Grebo and the Liberian government broke out, Harris led several acts of rebellion against the government. In 1909 he was imprisoned for treason for leading an alleged coup d'état attempt. During his imprisonment he had a vision of the angel Gabriel that convinced him he was God's last prophet, charged with the divine mission of bringing Christianity to all those people not yet converted. In 1913, after his release from prison, Harris went to the Ivory Coast, where his message was well received. The Ivorians, who found their traditional spiritual guardians ineffective in warding off the colonial onslaught, welcomed Harris's message of a stronger spiritual force.

Harris told them to destroy the altars, masks, and other material representations associated with their indigenous religion and to worship the Christian god as he taught them. In little more than one year, he had baptized what colonial officials estimated at from 100,000 to 120,000 people; Catholic missionaries, who had been summoned by the colonial government to inculcate loyalty to France among its new subjects, had succeeded in baptizing only four hundred people in the previous two decades.

To complete the Christianization of those he baptized, Harris sent them to the Catholic missions and to his Protestant disciples from Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast (now Ghana) who were working in the Ivory Coast. In areas where there were neither missions nor disciples, Harris delegated village leaders to teach their fellow villagers what they had learned from him.

The Catholic missions were inundated with Harris's converts, and his African Protestant disciples continued to convert and teach multitudes in the prophet's name. When a Protestant missionary from Europe arrived in the Ivory Coast in 1924, expecting to find no Ivorian Protestants because there had been no European Protestant missionaries there, he encountered tens of thousands of Ivorians worshiping autonomously, calling themselves Harrist Protestants and exhorting him to send the "teachers with Bibles" Harris had said would come to teach them the word of God.

Although some of the Ivorians who had been worshiping autonomously were initially drawn to the Protestant missionaries, they became disaffected when the Protestants attacked fundamental social institutions such as polygamy and sought to undermine the power of Harris's disciples. In 1926 a Protestant delegation returned from a visit to Harris in Liberia with a message telling his converts to join the Protestant church, but in 1928 an Ivorian delegation went to tell the prophet of their grievances against the missionaries. This group returned from Liberia with a "last will and testament" from Harris that supported their desire to worship independently. John Ahui, the young member of the delegation whom Harris chose to continue his mission, perpetuated the prophet's teachings and founded the Harrist Church of the Ivory Coast, of which he remains the patriarch.

Harris's message to the Ivorians was both spiritual and secular. He urged them to stop worshiping the nature spirits that had failed to protect them from conquest by the French and instead to worship the omnipotent creator god who would bring them prosperity, a return to their state of sovereignty, and access to the knowledge and technology of their conquerers. He offered them his own example as an African who, as a result of his schooling and resultant professional positions, could function in the world of the Europeans and Americans as well as in an African milieu. Thus the unprecedented movement of religious conversion that missionaries characterized as a "tidal wave" or "avalanche" to Christianity also had a secular influence; Harris's movement inspired Ivorians to learn the pragmatic tactics necessary to regain their sovereignty and to create new institutions within which to do so.

Because he inspired Ivorians to such manifestations of collective indigenous initiative, which the colonial administration perceived as a direct threat to its control over its subjects, Harris was expelled from the Ivory Coast in 1914. Those who persevered in worshiping as Harris had taught them were persecuted by the colonial officials, often with the assistance of the Catholic missionaries.

The Harrist church appealed to Ivorians because it represented a form of Christianity based on indigenous organizational, conceptual, and ritual structures. Harris had such appeal to the Ivorians not only because he considered the conceptual structures and preoccupations of the traditional religion but also because he offered desirable solutions to the immediate problems engendered by the colonial situation. Additionally, Harris's style of presentation corresponded to the indigenous mold pioneered by priests of the traditional nature spirits.

That the prophet Harris was a native Liberian is significant because of Liberia's special meaning in Africa. Created by African Americans seeking freedom from the oppression of American racism, Liberia was a symbol of the possibility of the redemption of Africa from European exploitation by and for Africans and their descendants abroad.

Influential African American leaders in Liberia, such as Edward Wilmot Blyden, believed that African Americans could share with the Africans the benefits of Western knowledge and experience, to be synthesized with the Africans' own wisdom and techniques for the creation of a new sovereignty. It is therefore particularly appropriate that William Wade Harris, a symbol of African potential for the Ivorians, should have brought his message from Liberia, a symbol of African potential and freedom from oppression.

SEE ALSO African Religions, article on New Religious Movements.

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SHEILA S. WALKER (1987)

HARRISON, JANE E.

HARRISON, JANE E. (1850–1928), English authority on ancient Greek religion. Harrison, one of the first female students of the University of Cambridge, taught classics throughout her career at Newnham College, Cambridge. Her reputation rests primarily on three works: *Prolegomena to the History of Greek Religion* (1903), *Themis* (1912), and *Epilegomena* (1921).

Prolegomena, published when its author was fifty-three years old, testifies to her recognition of the importance of the still comparatively new disciplines of archaeology and anthropology at a time when most teachers of the Greek and Latin classics were convinced not only that the objects of their study contained nothing of the "primitive" but also that the behavior of "primitive" societies could teach them nothing relevant to their studies. For Harrison, the living essence of Greek religion was not the Olympians, so prominent in the literature and in the major temples of Greece, but the ancient rituals, performed long after their original significance was forgotten. In the spirit of the anthropology of her day, she was both evolutionist and comparatist, but for her, evolution did not necessarily result in progress. In the introduction to *Themis* she characterized the gods of Homer, the sculptors, and the mythographers as "like a bouquet of cut flowers, whose bloom is brief, because they have been severed from their roots." The goal of *Prolegomena* was to discover those roots.

Harrison was always open to new influences: in the introduction to *Themis* Bergson and Durkheim appear, joined in the preface to the second edition (1927) by Freud, who, together with Gilbert Murray, had convinced her that "the full-blown god, the Olympian, has a biological function which could never be adequately filled by the [*eniautos*-] daimon [that is, the 'year-spirit'] who lies behind each and every primitive god." The analysis of the year-spirit, together with his ritual, is the goal of *Themis.* Harrison did not abandon belief in the *eniautos-daimon,* of whose importance field anthropologists were by this time supplying evidence, but she now acknowledged that the Olympians were not merely the products of art and literature and that they served a religious function. The balance had already been corrected in *Epilegomena,* whose publication preceded the second edition of *Themis.* In *Epilegomena* the influence of Freud and Jung is everywhere apparent, together with that of "the greatest of Russian philosophers," Vladimir Solov'ev.

For a variety of reasons *Themis* was not well received. It presented so many new ideas, and drew on so many disciplines, that even workers in the field who sympathized with Harrison's approach to her subject confessed themselves puzzled by some of the work. The introduction to *Themis* claims to give a simple account of the book's contents, but the account merely highlights the complexity. Harrison had an insatiable appetite for new material, for fresh light on the world and its ways. When she wrote *Themis* her ideas, stimulated by the new material, were still in ferment. The book's plan and argument are less clear than its author supposed at the time of publication. In addition, some readers found the book threatening. *Prolegomena* concerns ancient Greece, and indeed a period long antedating the Greek classics. *Themis* may be concerned with explaining certain Greek cults and rituals, but its thesis of the development of deities from the collective representations of group rituals evidently had a wider relevance. Harrison, an agnostic and a lifelong member of the Rationalist Association, had come to value the religious impulse as an attempt to "apprehend life as one, as indivisible, yet as perennial movement and change." But all dogmas and creeds and the gods associated with them were in her eyes "the *eidola* of man's marketplace . . . dead men, hollow ghosts."

Epilegomena exhibits a change. Its preface states the book's goal as not merely to summarize the results of many years' work on the origins of Greek religion but to indicate the bearing of these results on religious questions of today. Its third chapter, "The Religion of Today," presents an ascetic view of life which commands her approval. *Epilegomena* most clearly charts Harrison's intellectual development; read before *Prolegomena* and *Themis,* it clarifies the views expressed in her earlier books.

Breadth of vision, empathy, and enthusiasm characterize Harrison's work. Its fate is inevitably linked with that of the anthropologists, psychologists, and philosophers whose thought stimulated and molded her own. Some of her conclusions, inevitably, are now of merely historic interest, but the subsequent development of the study of Greek religion has been profoundly influenced by her work.

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A. W. H. ADKINS (1987)
Revised Bibliography

HARTLAND, E. SIDNEY (1848–1927), was an English folklorist and armchair anthropologist. Hartland is a good example of the polymaths produced by the Victorian era, contributing prolifically to a wide range of topics but practically forgotten today. Although he wrote books on primitive law, primitive society, and the priority of matrilineal kinship, Hartland's favorite subject was religion, and his opinions obtained attention not only in his native Britain but from such leading figures of the day as the French comparativist Marcel Mauss and the Austrian theorist and historian of religion Wilhelm Schmidt.

Among Hartland's contributions to the study of religion may be mentioned his theory of magic and religion. He considered that the early humans' awe and wonder were aroused by their sense of a power behind appearances. Through personification early humankind shaped gods or spirits with humanlike dispositions, making it natural to attempt to placate or control them ritually. Thus, although magic and religion can be distinguished—the one using coercive ritual procedures, the other propitiatory—they spring from the same psychological root and are interwoven in human practice.

A like reductionism appears in Hartland's study of Celtic and Teutonic fairy tales. Assuming the unity of the human imagination, he held that questions concerning the nature and distribution of these tales lead into the domain of psychology. But it is a psychology that must be reconstructed from the simplest and most archaic phenomena that anthropological research can discover. The pursuit of this method led Hartland from Celts and Teutons to other European peoples and, beyond them, to Pacific islanders and American Indians, among others. The result was that stories familiar to some of Hartland's Western contemporaries were traced to a more primitive state of society and a more archaic plane of thought.

In criticizing such writers as Hartland, Mauss pointed out that they explained the form of religious institutions by appealing to individual mental processes to the neglect of social needs and interrelationships among institutions. This premise fell into disfavor late in Hartland's life with the rise of a socially and culturally oriented anthropology. Similarly the emphasis on intensive local fieldwork made the comparative method applied by Hartland seem antiquated.

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The Science of Fairy Tales (London, 1891) offers a most readable entry to Hartland's thinking about traditional oral literature and to his application of the comparative method, while the three volumes of *The Legend of Perseus* (London, 1894–1896) show his sustained and detailed attempt to trace the appearances of a single story and to relate them to "custom" and "superstition." Both these early works invite comparison with later ventures toward a science of mythology. Hartland's opinions on a range of religious topics are conveniently collected in *Ritual and Belief: Studies in the History of Religion* (London, 1914).

KENNETH MADDOCK (1987)

HARVA, UNO (1882–1949), was a Finnish scholar of religion and a specialist in the religious traditions of Finno-Ugric and Siberian peoples. Harva became one of the first advocates for comparative religion studies in Finland during the first decade of the twentieth century (Finland was a grand duchy of Russia until 1917). Harva dedicated his academic endeavors to advance pluralistic cultural values in the name of the Enlightenment and an awareness of the accomplishments of the Finns and other Finno-Ugric peoples as agents of history. Under the tutelage of Edward Westermarck, Harva was introduced to the theories of cultural evolution and the methods of ethnographic fieldwork prevalent in contemporary British social anthropology. Westermarck, who held positions at both the University of Helsinki and the London School of Economics, had carried out extensive fieldwork in Morocco, beginning in 1898. Westermarck had worked closely with such prominent figures in anthropology as Charles Seligman and Alfred Cort Haddon; he instructed his Finnish disciples to collect firsthand ethnographic data on which to base comparative analyses of ethnoreligious materials. Unlike his fellow Finnish Westermarckians who embarked on anthropological studies of non-European cultures, Harva chose to specialize in the oral traditions and ethnic religions of peoples belonging to the Uralic language family. In addition, the science of ethnography had become a standard approach in Finland in the 1830s, when Finnish linguists traveled in Russia and Siberia to collect linguistic data with which to substantiate the theory of M. A. Castrén of the Altaic origin of Finnish language.

Harva was initiated into Finno-Ugric studies by Kaarle Krohn, a professor of folklore at the University of Helsinki between 1898 and 1928. Krohn's paradigmatic Finnish, geographic-historical method had received worldwide attention among folklore scholars. Harva was an adherent of both the Krohnian geographic-historical paradigm and the Westermarckian empiricism and comparativism. His aim was to unravel the origins and development of early forms of religion among the peoples speaking Uralic languages. He adopted the theory that the kinship between different Finno-Ugric peoples was based not only on language but also on other cultural factors. The theory implied that the beliefs and practices that still prevailed among other technologically and socially "less developed" Finno-Ugric peoples living in Russia and in Siberia could shed light on religious evolution among the Finns and Hungarians. Harva created a comparative-typological method by which to explore the forms and structures of religious expression and the processes of transition from the cultural stage of hunting and fishing to the agricultural stage. The theory was concerned with indigenous religious elements; only marginal attention was given to the spread of organized world religions. Geographically, Harva's field of vision extended from the Finnic peoples in the cultural area of the Baltic Sea and the Saami living in the Lapland territory across northern Sweden, Norway, Finland, and Russia to the Permians (Udmurt and Komi), the Volga Finns (Meadow and Hill Mari), and Mordvinians (Ersä and Moksa) as well as the Ob-Ugrian ethnic groups (Khanty and Mansi) in Siberia. Harva conducted fieldwork among the Udmurt (previously Votyaks) and the Mari (Cheremiss) in 1911 and 1913 and among the Ket (Yenisei Ostiaks) and the Evenk (Tungus) in Siberia in 1917.

Born in 1882 in Ypäjä, in southwestern Finland, Harva first trained as a theologian and even served as a priest for one year in a small parish in central Finland. His father was a minister of the Evangelical Lutheran Church and an active member of the evangelical revivalist movement. Harva, however, experienced a spiritual crisis and resigned his position in 1907 to return to Helsinki to pursue further academic studies in comparative religion. In addition to participating in a seminar led by Westermarck, Harva was invited by Kaarle Krohn to contribute articles on Saami (Lapp) shamanism to the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (1928). The editor of the encyclopedia, James Hastings, had approached Kaarle Krohn in 1904 as "the highest authority on the ancient religions of the Finns" to contribute to the encyclopedia. (Letters of Kaarle Krohn, James Hastings to Kaarle Krohn, June 10, 1904).

Krohn organized opportunities for other scholars as well and signed a contract with one of the major publishing companies in Helsinki to produce a series of monographs on the indigenous religions of the peoples related to the Finns (in Finnish, *Suomen suvun uskonnot,* 1918). Krohn asked Harva to write three volumes—on the religions of the Permians, the Mari (Cheremiss), and the Saami (Lapp) peoples. The first two monographs were published in Finnish in 1914 and the one on the Saami in 1915. In 1913 Harva defended his doctoral dissertation, a study of the water gods of the Finno-Ugric peoples (*Die Wassergottheiten der finnisch-ugrischen Völker*, 1913). After the intense and extremely productive first years of his academic career, Harva was invited to contribute to the *Mythology of All Races* (1916). The volume on Finno-Ugric and Siberian mythology was written by the spring of 1916 but was not published until 1927.

Harva was a historian of religion, an ethnologist, and a folklorist. He explored mythic structures in the ancient cosmologies of peoples living in the vast geographical area extending from Scandinavia in the west to the Bering Straits in the east and to the old areas of Central Asia and Asia Minor in the south. He showed morphologically related themes in the mythic narratives of shamanic hunters, cattle-breeding agriculturalists, and nomadic pastoralists. These included center of the world *(axis mundi)* symbolism and analyses of motives in Mother Goddess (Magna Mater) traditions; they also dealt with themes and motives in shamanistic traditions, such as the significance of the shaman costume, the shaman's tree, and his ascent to the sky. Harva's achievements as a student of myth, cosmology, and ritual have been valued highly by Mircea Eliade, Bronislaw Malinowski, and Weston LaBarre among others.

In his works *Der Baum des Lebens* (1922); *Finno-Ugric, Siberian [Mythology]* (1927); and *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker* (1938; translated into French in 1954 and 1959 and into Japanese in 1971 and 1981), Harva created a distinctive way of systematizing mythological and religious materials. He identified in the traditional religions of all peoples a fundamental body of structure beliefs that dominated premodern thought and behavior. Harva did not draw a sharp distinction between the notion of religion and that of tradition. According to him, any popular, or nontheological, religion is based on the oral transmission of local knowledge revolving around ritual interaction between people and invisible terrestrial and celestial forces. Such components as beliefs in gods and souls, veneration of the dead, hero cults, animated and anthropomorphized natural phenomena, genius loci of sacred places in inhabited and uninhabited areas, or the location of ritual behavior during the critical boundary points of the annual economic cycle are integral to any indigenous religious tradition.

Harva was a rationalist who looked for order and systematic structure in the empirical materials under scrutiny. In his mature years he felt a reluctance to engage in theoretical discussions of religion. However, he was not methodologically naive. His work reflected the anthropogeographic ideas put forward by the German geographer Friedrich Ratzel

(1844–1904), and he became an adherent of the culture-historical school in ethnology. He adopted the tenets of logical empiricism as his epistemological point of departure. He was fascinated by the idea of finding an explanation of folk-religious beliefs and practices in the work of biologists. On some occasions, however, this fascination led him astray. Drawing on association psychology, he believed he could uncover the working of the ordinary mind. In explaining, for instance, folk narratives about a mythical milk-stealing being in the Finnish and Scandinavian agrarian belief tradition, he reduced the belief to the perception of ball lightning. Similarly, beliefs in haunting by dead beings were generated by the sounds of specific birds. Harva considered that belief traditions are firmly founded on human auditions and visions; due to a lack of real (i.e., scientific) knowledge about phenomena in the biotic world, however, people tend to draw false conclusions about the origin of such phenomena.

Harva's remarkable contributions to comparative religion led to a discussion regarding the establishment of a university chair in the discipline in Finland. this did not happen, however, and the only permanent position Harva held during his academic career was a professorship in sociology at the University of Turku between 1926 and 1949. After being invited to the professorship in 1926, he abandoned his Swedish name, Holmberg, and changed it to Harva in 1927. As a sociologist he lectured and wrote on Finno-Ugric systems of relationship, on marriage customs (especially the relationship between the kin of the bride and the bridegroom), on gender distinctions and the position of women in the social structure of various Finno-Ugric societies, and most specifically on calendar systems and the popular reckoning of time. Harva's major theoretical concern was the relationship between the individual and the social collective in archaic societies. While he emphasized the collective nature of social life in archaic cultures in the manner of Émile Durkheim (1858–1917), he was nevertheless more influenced by the work of Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (1857–1939).

SEE ALSO Finno-Ugric Religions.

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VEIKKO ANTTONEN (2005)

ḤASAN AL-BAṢRĪ (AH 21–110/642–728 CE) was a famous Muslim ascetic of the generation following the prophet Muḥammad. The son of a freed slave, he was born in Medina and brought up in nearby Wādī al-Qurā. During the First Civil War, which resulted in the rise of the Umayyad caliphate, Ḥasan moved to Basra, where he settled permanently after a brief career as holy warrior in what is now Afghanistan and as secretary to the governor of Khorasan.

To a simple religious spirit such as Ḥasan, the social and economic changes accompanying the schisms and *coups d'état* within Islam amounted to an excess of worldliness. Thus he reacted much more sharply to this disease in the hearts and behavior of the people than he did to the tyranny of the Umayyad government, then personified in al-Ḥajjāj, the governor of Iraq. Though openly critical of the Umayyads, Ḥasan refused to "bid them good and forbid them evil" (because, he said, their swords were faster than our tongues) or to participate in uprisings against them. Likewise, he advised others not to oppose by the sword a punishment or test from God, such as the tyrant al-Ḥajjāj, but to face it with patience and repentance: God, said Ḥasan, brings change and relief through these means rather than through hasty resort to violence. Thus, a Khārijī who tries to right a wrong (through violence) commits a greater wrong.

Although he was an acknowledged expert in the Islamic religious sciences of *tafsīr* (Qurʾanic exegesis), *fiqh* (jurisprudence), and *ḥadīth* (traditions of the Prophet), and he was also said to have lectured and written books on these subjects, Ḥasan's fame rests on his pietistic and dogmatic concerns. Here his interest lay not in theological doctrine but in the quality of faith and action, in the inner, genuinely sincere, pious life of the heart translated into an outer, morally upright, ascetic mode of living. Equipped with extensive knowledge and a living memory of the practice of the Prophet's companions, an attractive personality, an eloquent tongue, and most of all, a fearful heart and an upright character, Ḥasan engaged in preaching against worldliness and its resulting hypocrisy. His sermons and letters are grim reminders of the transience of worldly life, the permanent value of the life in the hereafter, and the inevitability of death and divine retribution, as well as moving exhortations to fear God and foster sincere faith and upright conduct. The *munāfiqūn,* those worldlings with skin-deep faith and readiness to sin, were morally aberrant believers in acute danger of hellfire and hence urgently in need of help.

Ḥasan's doctrine of *qadar* (free will) was also morally inspired, directed as it was against the sinners' deterministic rationalizations. Challenged by Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik to defend and define his position, he indicated that humans have power (*qudrah*) to choose freely; that good and guidance come from God, who has foreknowledge of both good and evil (the latter coming from humans or the devil); that God's predestination is not coercive nor his foreknowledge prohibitive for human free choice. The reports that Ḥasan recanted his belief in free will were probably later attempts by the orthodox Sunnīs to clear his reputation of what had come to be regarded as heresy, although the possibility remains that he did partially modify his position.

The fact that both the Ṣūfīs and the Muʿtazilah regarded Ḥasan as one of their forerunners is a mark of his importance and influence as an ascetic and a theologian. It is even more remarkable that the Sunnīs take pains to count him among their own predecessors despite his novel attitudes in matters of piety and dogma. And it is a measure of his immediate impact that on the day Ḥasan died, evening prayers could not be held in the mosques because the whole city of Basra was busy attending his funeral.

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Besides numerous fragments of sermons (*mawaʿiz*) and a few bits and pieces of his Qurʾanic exegesis, some of Ḥasan's letters *(rasaʾil)* have survived, including those addressed to caliphs ʿAbd al-Malik and ʿUmar II. In addition, Ḥasan has been frequently quoted as an authority in *tafsīr, ḥadīth*, and *fiqh* literature, as well as *ādāb* (belles lettres) and *akhlāq* (ethics, particularly exhortative).

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HASAN QASIM MURAD (1987)

HASIDISM

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
HABAD HASIDISM
SATMAR HASIDISM

HASIDISM: AN OVERVIEW

Hasidism is the common appellation of a Jewish pietistic movement that developed in eastern Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century, became, before the end of that century, a major force in modern Judaism, and has remained as such. Previous Hasidic movements in Jewish history—mainly the Ashkenazic Hasidism of medieval Germany (twelfth–thirteenth centuries) and the early *ḥasidim* of the tannaitic period (first–second centuries CE)—will not be discussed here. Rather, the movement at hand is that called, in the writings of the opponents of Hasidism and some historians, "Beshtian Hasidism," a sobriquet that refers to the movement's founder, Yisraʾel ben Eliʿezer, known as the BeSHT (an acronym for Baʿal Shem Tov, "Master of the Good Name").

ROOTS OF THE MOVEMENT. Hasidism did not emerge, as most other Jewish religious movements did, from the schools of the higher social strata and leading intellectuals. Its first teachers belonged to a social group of popular preachers who used to wander from one community to the other, usually among the smaller and poorer Jewish communities in Podolia and the neighboring areas. Many of these preachers were suspected of Shabbatean tendencies, and they found their audience among the small merchants and the poor in peripherial areas. This fact influenced the later development of the Hasidic movement. Even after Hasidism grew dominant in larger communities, it remained faithful to the social groups that supported it in its early beginnings, and an awareness of the religious needs of the uneducated and the poor became one of the traits of the movement.

Attempts to describe Hasidism as a movement of social rebellion of the poor against the rich, the downtrodden masses against the leaders, have failed. There is no evidence that the Hasidic teachers intended to change the social structure of Jewish communities. But Hasidism did emphasize the ability of the lower social groups to actively participate and achieve a high position in Jewish religious practice.

The religious background for the appearance of the Hasidic movement is the Shabbatean crisis. While various historians differ in their descriptions of the main reasons for the emergence of Hasidism and in their evaluation of the social and cultural reasons for its success, there is little doubt that the movement served as an answer to the most profound religious crisis that affected Judaism from the late seventeenth through the eighteenth centuries. Gershom Scholem described Hasidism as the neutralization of the messianic element in Judaism after the Shabbatean crisis, and while some scholars insisted that there are messianic elements in Hasidism, none disputed the direct relationship between Hasidic theology and the Shabbatean sects that flourished in eastern Europe in the eighteenth century.

Jewish theologians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, many of whom persisted in believing in the messianism of Shabbetai Tsevi, had to develop a theology that would explain the paradox of a messiah committing the worst possible transgression against orthodox Judaism—Shabbetai Tsevi's conversion to Islam in 1666. Various theologies were developed, some of which called upon the believers to follow the messiah and convert to Islam, thereby creating a "coalition" between Judaism and Islam against Christianity; others maintained that belief in Shabbetai Tsevi could be continued within Judaism provided the believer express his attachment to the new messianic, redemptive period that began with the appearance of Shabbetai Tsevi. These expressions eventually covered a whole range of possibilities, from the most anarchistic, antinomian ones of the Frankist movement in Poland in the middle of the eighteenth century to the mild celebrations of Tishʿah be-Av (the ninth day of the month of Av, the day of the destruction of the Temple and a day of fasting, which the Shabbateans turned into a celebration of Shabbetai Tsevi's birthday).

Among the various expressions of the continued belief in Shabbetai Tsevi as the Messiah, two are of interest in understanding the beginnings of Hasidism: the most radical one and the most orthodox one. The radical Frankist movement, which proclaimed that in the new messianic world the way to preserve the Torah was to destroy it, was regarded as a sign of a deep crisis in Jewish religion and education. The Frankists, before converting to Christianity, participated in a religious dispute (in Kamenets in 1757 and in Lvov in 1759) during which they were reported to have directed a blood libel (accusation of a murder for ritual purposes) against their Jewish coreligionists. This aberrational movement, which included some very tempting ideas that captured the hearts of many, signified the need for a reformulation of Jewish organized religious life as well as for the formulation of new answers to basic theological questions, especially the interpretation of qabbalistic symbols from the thirteenth century Zohar and from the teachings of Isaac Luria of Safad (1534–1572) that were used extensively by the Shabbateans.

The other side of the Shabbatean response to the conversion was a retreat to ultraorthodoxy or cryptoorthodoxy, often with some pietistic ("Hasidic") elements. Explaining that the crisis of the Shabbatean endeavor was caused by the insufficient spiritual support the messiah received from his followers, these Shabbateans adopted a way of life that emphasized continued practice of repentance, self-negation, and insistence on strict adherence to every detail of Jewish religious law. Groups of such *ḥasidim* appeared in several Jewish communities in eastern Europe that were the centers for spiritual seeking. Not all of their members were Shabbateans, and the Shabbateans themselves were divided in many ways. But when the new Hasidic movement emerged, it did so against the background of several groups or sects of *ḥasidim* that had already become a common phenomenon in the major centers of Jewish culture in eastern Europe.

The relationship of Hasidism to Shabbateanism and the Frankist movement is complicated. On the one hand, an early Hasidic legend tells how in the BeSHT's participation in the Lvov disputation of 1759, he defended Judaism from the accusations of the Frankists. On the other hand, another Hasidic tradition quotes the BeSHT as lamenting the conversion of the Frankists following that disputation, claiming that as long as a limb is connected to the divine body of the Shekhinah it can be cured, but once severed it is lost forever. In a similar vein, there are found motifs of understanding and closeness to the Shabbatean experience coupled with fierce negation and rejection of the Shabbatean message. The BeSHT is described as trying to save the soul of Shabbetai Tsevi from Hell, where he saw him stretched out on a table with Jesus Christ; Shabbetai Tsevi then tried to pull the Besht down, and only by a great effort did the BeSHT succeed in extricating himself. It seems that though the condemnation of Shabbateanism by the Ḥasidim was absolute, the idea that the Shabbateans could and should be saved also persisted in Hasidic circles. Members of the Bratslav sect of Hasidism believed that their leader, Naḥman of Bratslav, was destined to correct the religious damage done by the Shabbatean movement.

HISTORY. The history of the early Hasidic movement can be divided into four main periods, each a major step in its development.

1. The circle of the BeSHT (c. 1740–1760). The BeSHT seems to have been in contact with a group of wandering preachers, like himself, who in their homiletics preached a new kind of worship and presented a new conception of the role of the elect in Jewish religion. They were qabbalists, following the main mystical symbols of the Lurianic school but emphasizing the achievements of the individual and his ability to assist his brethren in religious matters. *Devequt* (communion with God) was one of the main subjects they preached, stressing humankind's ability to attain constant communion with God. It is possible that parallel to the

BeSHT's circle of adherents there were other pietistic groups in some of the major centers of Jewish culture in eastern Europe. Some of these circles were influenced by various Shabbatean ideas; all were aware of the Shabbatean crisis.

2. The first Hasidic center in Mezhirich (1760–1772). After the BeSHT's death, the leadership of the Hasidic movement was assumed by his disciple, Dov Ber of Mezhirich (now Międzyrzecz, Poland). He held "court" in his home, where many young Jewish intellectuals as well as common people gathered to listen to his sermons. These were transcribed by his disciples and later published in several versions. The court of Dov Ber (called the *maggid,* i.e., "preacher") was described, among others, in the autobiography of Salomon Maimon, who had visited it in his youth. In this period begins the history of Hasidism as an organized movement, led by an accepted authority.

3. The disciples of Dov Ber (1773–1812). This is the most important period, in which Hasidism became a major force within Judaism. Several of Dov Ber's disciples created "courts" like that of their teacher, and led *ʿedot* ("communities"), around which thousands, and then tens of thousands, of adherents gathered, accepting the leadership of that disciple and making their community an alternative social and religious organization of Jews, distinct from the hegemony of the traditional rabbinate. Elimelekh of Lizhensk (now Lezajsk, Poland), Shneʾur Zalman of Lyady (Belarus), Menaḥem Mendel of Vitebsk, and, to some extent, Naḥman of Bratslav belong to this category. In this period of Hasidic theory of the *tsaddiq* was developed and began to shape both Hasidic thought and social organization. At this same time the Ḥasidim became a distinct group, not only because of the internal development of Hasidism, but also because of the growing opposition to it from the school of Eliyyahu ben Shelomoh Zalman, the "Gaon of Vilna," which published several pamphlets against Hasidic ideology and practice, denouncing them as heretics and excommunicating them, even trying to enlist the help of the Russian government against their leaders (especially Shneʾur Zalman of Lyady, founder of the Habad sect). This fierce opposition was motivated both by fears that the Ḥasidim were going to undermine the traditional Jewish social structure, which was based on the prestige of the scholars and Talmudists, and by the fear of another Shabbatean movement. There is no doubt that the growing opposition to Hasidism contributed significantly to the internal cohesion of the Hasidic communities and created clear lines of demarcation between areas in which the Ḥasidim became dominant and areas governed by their opponents.

It was in this period that Hasidic literature was initially published. The first works were those of Yaʿaqov Yosef of Polonnoye, the BeSHT's greatest disciple, whose voluminous collections of sermons include most of the existing material concerning the teachings of the BeSHT (the first Hasidic work published was Yaʿaqov Yosef's *Toledot Yaʿaqov Yosef,* Korets, 1780). These were followed by the sermons of Dov Ber, published by his disciples, and then many other collections of sermons by his followers. The only work published in this period in the form of an ethical work and not the usual collection of sermons was Shneʾur Zalman's *Tanyaʾ* (see below). By the beginning of the nineteenth century the Hasidic movement had an organized leadership, prolific literature, well-defined communities and areas of influence, and an established standing in the general framework of Jewish life.

4. The development of Hasidic "houses" or "lines of succession" (*shoshalot*). To a very large extent this process has continued to the present. Many of Dov Ber's disciples served as founders of several Hasidic communities when their disciples scattered and each established his own "house" and community. The custom of passing Hasidic leadership from father to son or, in some cases, son-in-law, became more and more frequent, until it was universally accepted that the new leader had to be from the family of the previous leader. These "houses" usually bore the names of the towns in which they were established, even after the center was moved to another country—Poland, for instance, where many centers were located in Warsaw before the Second World War—or to another continent such as to the United States or Israel, where many of the centers are today. The history of Hasidism has since fragmented into the separate histories of various houses or schools. Only two of the communities have preserved their specific ideological and organizational profile, remaining distinct from all others, throughout this period—Habad Hasidism, founded by Shneʾur Zalman of Lyady, and Bratslav Hasidism, the followers of Naḥman of Bratslav, the BeSHT's great-grandson. The rift between Ḥasidim and their opponents has obtained until this day; most Jews of east European descent belong to family lines of either Ḥasidim or *mitnaggedim* ("opponents").

SPREAD OF THE MOVEMENT. The spread of Hasidism after the death of Dov Ber in 1772 occurred at the same time that the opposition to the emerging Hasidic movement was growing. After that year, for a period of nearly fifty years, their opponents orchestrated repeated declarations excommunicating the Hasidic leaders and several times enlisted the help of the Russian government in their efforts, claiming that the Ḥasidim, as heretics, were undermining the foundations of the state. The documents concerning this organized opposition have been collected by Mordecai Wilensky and analyzed in a detailed, two-volume study.

The persecution by their opponents did not halt the spread of the movement, which gathered momentum and gained new communities and adherents in the end of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. The disciples of Dov Ber and their disciples established the great Hasidic houses. Levi Yitshaq established an important Hasidic community in Berdichev, while Menaḥem Nahum built the house of Chernobyl, which was continued by his son, Mordechai Twersky, and went on for many generations. Yisraʾel of Rizhyn (now Ruzhin, Ukraine), a descendant of Dov Ber, built the Rizhyn-Sadigora house; his four sons who followed him made it into one of the most important and eminent Hasidic communities in Russia. Mosheh Hayyim Efrayim of Sedlikov (now Sudylkow, Poland), a grandson of the BeSHT, did not lead a community, but his book, *Degel maḥaneh Efrayim*, a work of Hasidic sermons that often relies on direct traditions of the BeSHT, was influential. In Poland and Lithuania Hasidism became a major force through the work of Shelomoh ben Meʾir of Karlin and Ḥayyim Ḥaiqel of Amdur (Indura). Hasidic communities in the Land of Israel were established in Safad and Tiberias by Manaḥem Mendel of Vitebsk and Avraham ben Aleksander Kats of Kalisz who migrated to the Land of Israel in 1777. In the beginning of the nineteenth century a group of great leaders gave renewed impetus to the spread of Hasidism, among them Yaʿaqov Yitsḥaq ("the Seer of Lublin"), Yaʿaqov Yitsḥaq ben Asher of Pshischa (now Przysucha, Poland), and Avraham Yehoshuʿa Heschel of Apt in Moldavia (now Opatow, Poland). Manaḥem Morgenstern established the great house of Pshischa-Kozk, and Shalom Rokeah the Belz Ḥasidim. Mosheh Teitelbaum, a disciple of Yaʿaqov Yitsḥaq of Lublin, created the powerful and influential Satmar Hasidism in Hungary. By the middle of the nineteenth century Hasidism was the dominant force in most Jewish communities in eastern Europe, and most Hasidic houses continued their existence and development until the Holocaust.

THEOLOGY AND ETHICS. It is nearly impossible to describe Hasidic theology and ethics as being distinct from previous Jewish ideologies because Hasidic teachers preached their ideas in the form of sermons, which included all layers of earlier Jewish thought. Almost all the main ideas and trends found in early-eighteenth-century Hebrew homiletical literature also appear in Hasidic thought, and attempts to define specifically Hasidic ideas, or even emphases, usually fail because similar examples can easily be produced from earlier homiletical literature. A second difficulty is that every Hasidic teacher developed his own theology and ethics and his own list of priorities that may distinguish him or his group but never characterize all the hundreds of teachers and writers who created Hasidic literature. It is unfeasible to generalize from one or a group of Hasidic teachers to the movement as a whole. Every definition is therefore a necessarily subjective one. Thus only a few general outlines, qualified by the preceding statements, can be presented concerning Hasidic theology.

Relationship to Lurianic Qabbalah. Hasidism relies on qabbalistic terminology and is largely based on Lurianic Qabbalah. In many specific formulations, however, the Ḥasidim seem to have preferred the simpler symbolism of the Zohar (the main qabbalistic work written in northern Spain in the late thirteenth century) to that of Ḥayyim Vital (1543–1620), the disciple of Luria who wrote the main body of Lurianic teachings.

Hasidic theology, like other qabbalistic schools of the eighteenth century, downplayed the most dramatic mythical symbols of Lurianic mysticism, especially that of *shevirat ha-kelim* ("the breaking of the divine vessels"), the description of the catastrophe within the divine world that is the origin of evil, according to Luria. The idea of *tsimtsum* (divine self-contraction) was elaborated by the Ḥasidim (especially by Dov Ber), but in a completely different manner than in Luria's original thought. According to Luria, this was the drastic process of divine contraction away from the world, which vacated the space in which the cosmos was going to be created from the divine light of the godhead, the first exile of God. According to Hasidism, however, this was a necessary process, for the world could not absorb the full power of the undiluted divine light. The act of *tsimtsum,* the contraction of that light, was intended to facilitate the acceptance of divine light, in a less concentrated form, by the righteous in the created world. Instead of the original Lurianic idea of a mythological catastrophe, the Ḥasidim presented a theology in which this process was the result of divine benevolence toward the faithful.

The Ḥasidim also deemphasized the Lurianic concept of *tiqqun* (restoration), the process by which messianic redemption is enhanced by the collective efforts of the Jewish people as a whole; they preferred instead the concept of *devequt* (communion with God), a process of individual redemption by which a person uplifts his own soul into contact with the divine powers. The description of the ten qabbalistic sefirot, the ten divine hypostases, is closer in Hasidic works to the thirteenth-century system of the Zohar than to the much more complicated system of Luria.

Extent of messianism in Hasidism. There is an emphasis in Hasidic literature on personal religious achievement rather than on the general, national, and cosmic impact of religious life. The redemptive element, while still strong in Hasidism, often emphasizes the redemption of the individual's soul rather than that of the nation or of the cosmos as a whole. This is a slight departure from Lurianic Qabbalah, but not all Hasidic teachers shared this view, and some non-Hasidic writers, who either predated Hasidism or belonged to the opponents of Hasidism, also often stressed the emphasis on the individual in qabbalistic symbolism.

The place of the messianic element in Hasidic thought has been a subject of controversy among contemporary scholars. In a detailed study in 1955, Ben Zion Dinur tried to prove that the Ḥasidim, following the BeSHT himself, developed an esoteric messianic system that was hidden in most of their works but served as the main purpose and drive behind Hasidic preaching and the expansion of its influence. This approach was severely criticized by Gershom Scholem, who saw in Hasidism the neutralization of the Lurianic and Shabbatean acute messianism and a new emphasis on individual redemption through the process of communion with God. Isaiah Tishby recently analyzed early Hasidic texts and found that many of them include more messianic elements than Scholem suggested. There is no doubt that, on the whole, early Hasidism rejected the more extreme messianic tendencies; the works of Dov Ber can be characterized as neutralizing the messianic drive. But Hasidic teachers in their various works reveal differing attitudes, and some of them may have had stronger messianic inclinations than the Maggid and even the BeSHT.

In the early nineteenth century there was a renewed messianic enthusiasm with Hasidism. Naḥman of Bratslav developed a messianic system (see below), and under the impact of Napoleon's invasion of Russia in 1812 are found several Hasidic leaders engaged in messianic activity. In contemporary Hasidism the Habad sect seems to be deeply motivated by an acute belief in an imminent messianic redemption, concentrating its activities on enhancing this process by strict adherence to religious commandments.

Hasidic approach to God. In early Hasidic literature there is an emphasis on direct, emotional worship of God and a deemphasis on contact with God through constant study of the Torah and Talmud and diligent observance of the particulars concerning the performance of the *mitsvot.* This does not mean that the Ḥasidim did not study the Torah or that they disregarded the *mitsvot,* as their opponents often claimed; rather, the Ḥasidim stressed the importance of mystical contact with God through *devequt,* usually attained while praying but also achieved when a person is working for his livelihood or engaged in any other physical activity.

There are many precedents for this attitude in pre-Hasidic Jewish thought, and there are many exceptions to it among Hasidic teachers. Still, it seems that on the whole, Ḥasidim perceived a wider range of modes of worship as acceptable and commendable than did their detractors, and that the mystical aspect of everyday religious life is more prominent among the Ḥasidim. This attitude led to the prevailing conception of Hasidism as oriented toward the needs of the simple believers, the uneducated, and even the ignorant—a conception based primarily on very late (end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries) collections of stories and one that is considerably exaggerated.

Good and evil. Hasidic teachers, more than non-Ḥasidim, contributed to the development of a conception of the way to fight evil within one's soul that is different from the prevailing Lurianic one. On the one hand, Lurianic theology described a common source for good and evil, claiming that both emanate from the godhead; but, according to Luria, evil cannot exist unless it is in close contact with the good and derives sustenance from it. In order to overcome evil, the righteous must separate good from evil, thus making the latter's existence impossible. Shabbatean thinkers, on the other hand, emphasized that evil can be overcome from within by correcting it. Dov Ber of Mezhirich and other Hasidic teachers insisted that evil can and should be overcome by absorbing it, uplifting and making it again a part of goodness, believing that the spiritual stature of the "corrected" or "repentant" evil is higher than that of the elements that were always good. In early Hasidic works this theory is presented as teachings accessible to everybody and offered to all righteous Jews; later it was merged with the doctrine of the *tsaddiq.*

Hasidism as revival of traditional spirituality. The spiritual side of religious life holds a central place in Hasidic teachings, following the traditions of medieval Hebrew ethical and homiletical literature. Great emphasis is placed on the correct qabbalistic intentions in prayers (*kavvanot*), on spiritual repentance, on the love and fear of God, and on social justice and love for fellow people. While very few new ideas on these subjects are to be found in the vast Hasidic literature, the movement undoubtedly represents a revival of these spiritual values within the framework of everyday religious life. In this respect, then, there is no basis to the frequent descriptions of Hasidism as an original phenomenon that changed the face of traditional Judaism; but it can be claimed that the Ḥasidim collected many spiritualistic ideas and practices from previous Jewish sources and brought them to the foreground of their teachings and Jewish worship in a more central way than before. In this sense their endeavor can be described as "revivalistic."

THE DOCTRINE OF THE *TSADDIQ.* While these ideas characterize Hasidism, they do not distinguish the Hasidic movement from previous Jewish religious movements or from the other religious movements of that time, even that of the *mitnaggedim.* Many of these ideas are found, and emphasized, in late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century non-Hasidic Jewish works of ethics and homiletics. Hasidism, however, can be defined as a separate movement, different from all others preceding or contemporary to it, because of its doctrine of the *tsaddiq* ("righteous man"), which sets clear boundaries, in theory and in practice, between Ḥasidim and non-Ḥasidim.

The theory of the *tsaddiq* presented Judaism with a new concept of religious leadership that was both charismatic and mystically motivated. According to this theory, in every generation there are some righteous persons who can and should, by their outstanding mystical worship, correct the sins and transgressions of lesser-endowed people. The Ḥasid (follower) has only limited ability to approach the godhead and to carry out difficult religious tasks, especially the correction of evil, including that in his own thoughts and deeds. The leader, the righteous *tsaddiq,* whose soul emanated from a very high place in the divine realm, is the one to carry out these tasks for his generation and especially for his followers, the members of the Hasidic community that he leads. Thus the *tsaddiq* is an intermediary between the Hasid and God, bringing before the heavenly powers (the qabbalistic *sefirot*) the prayers and religious achievements of his community. He receives forgiveness for the sins of his followers and effects the elevation of the evil within them, transmuting it into good at the common source of both in the divine realm.

The *tsaddiq* himself does not contain any evil; the sins he uplifts and corrects are those of his community. One description of this transaction—found in the works of the great formulator of this theory, Elimelekh of Lizhensk, a disciple of Dov Ber—is that the sins of the community appear to the *tsaddiq* as evil thoughts that he then uplifts and rehabilitates into good thoughts. This theory demands that the *tsaddiq* be in constant movement between good and evil, heaven and earth (*ratsoʾ va-shov,* "ran and returned," after *Ezekiel* 1:14). He has to be close to the evil that he is to correct, subjecting himself to the process of a "fall" (*yeridah*) or "smallness" (*qatnut,* a term used in Lurianic theology only to refer to the divine powers when they descend from their high dominion). When he uplifts evil and turns it into goodness, he is united with the divine powers in a state of "greatness" (*gadlut*). This dynamism is the most characteristic aspect of the *tsaddiq* concept, and there is no difficulty in ascertaining the source from which the Ḥasidim, probably unwittingly, derived it.

Even before Shabbetai Tsevi's conversion to Islam, his "prophet," Natan of Gaza, described his messianic role as an intermediary between the godhead and evil on earth. The changing moods of Shabbetai Tsevi, probably caused by a manic-depressive state, were explained as resulting from his constant movement between his source and origin among the *sefirot* and the realm of the devil on earth. After his conversion, Shabbatean theologians explained that in order to overcome evil the Messiah had to merge with it and destroy or correct it from within. There are close parallels between the Shabbatean concept of the Messiah and the Hasidic concept of the *tsaddiq,* and there can be little doubt that the Ḥasidim created their system on the heels of Shabbatean theology.

Nevertheless, the Hasidic concept of the *tsaddiq* is not messianic in the same sense as its Shabbatean precursor. The *tsaddiq* is undoubtedly a quasi-messianic figure, but his influence is limited in time and place—he "redeems" only his own community in his own lifetime. The redemption that the *tsaddiq* accomplishes is not the general, national, and cosmic redemption of Shabbateanism. Rather, he effects individual redemption of the souls in his community—those of his followers—only while he is alive; after his death his successor (his son or relative) will continue in this task, while at the same time dozens of other *tsaddiqim* are performing the same task for other communities in other places. It may be stated that Hasidism broke down the Shabbatean concept of the messiah into small fragments, each of which is the *tsaddiq* for his own time and place. Instead of one messianic figure who inaugurates the historical redemption, Hasidism provides a process of constant redemption of the souls of the believers, a process carried out by every *tsaddiq* within the boundaries of his time and place. When viewed in terms of a messianic movement, Hasidism destroyed the basis for any large, messianic upsurge, replacing it with the small, everyday process of individual redemption. It is possible that the vehement opposition of the Hasidic movement as a whole, with very few exceptions, to modern Jewish nationalism and Zionism should be understood in this light. If individual redemption is assured by faithfulness to the *tsaddiq,* the importance of national redemption is diminished.

The theory of the *tsaddiq* was the focal point of Hasidic theology, shaping to a very large extent Hasidic social organizations and ways of worship as well. According to this theory, the *tsaddiq* not only provides the Ḥasidim with spiritual redemption for their souls but also promises them the basic earthly needs—their livelihood, delivery from illness, and assurances that they will have children (*banei, ḥayyei, mezonei;* literally, "my sons, my life, my food"). The Ḥasidim, for their part, have to give the *tsaddiq* spiritual support; their belief in his superhuman role enables him to achieve his spiritual tasks. They are also obligated to supply the *tsaddiq*'s everyday needs so that he may support himself and his family.

The *tsaddiq* became the center of the Hasidic community. His court was their meeting place several times each year; his room became the place where they brought their complaints and requests; his blessing was believed to ensure both earthly and heavenly success. The Ḥasidim congregated to listen to the *tsaddiq*'s prayers and sermons, worshiped with him with great qabbalistic "intentions" (*kavvanot*), and practiced the religious commandments, often with joy and happiness. The task of uplifting evil was thus taken from the shoulders of the individual Jew and consigned to the *tsaddiq* as the representative of the community and the intermediary power between heaven and earth.

Not all the *tsaddiqim* accepted this role. There were several leaders who were uncomfortable with this mode of worship; they left their communities and secluded themselves. Notwithstanding these exceptions, the basic Hasidic attitudes to social organization and everyday worship were developed according to the lines drawn by the doctrine of the *tsaddiq.*

The most important variant to this doctrine grew out of Bratslav Hasidism, founded by Naḥman of Bratslav (1772–1810), the grandson of the BeSHT's daughter. Naḥman's life passed in conflict with other *tsaddiqim;* he refused to accept their authority even over their own communities. When he died his followers chose not to nominate another *tsaddiq* but continue, to this very day, to believe that Naḥman was the "true *tsaddiq*" (*tsaddiq ha-emet*) and that the Messiah, who will redeem Israel, will be his reincarnation. In the Bratslav doctrine of the *tsaddiq* there is, to a very large extent, a return to the Shabbatean concept of one redeemer for all; the redemption therefore assumes historical dimensions.

Another important variant is that of the Habad Hasidism, founded by Shneʾur Zalman of Lyady (1745–1813), a disciple of Dov Ber. From this school is obtained the most detailed information concerning the organization of a *tsaddiq*'s court. At the same time, Habad Hasidic works seem to minimize the redemptive role of the *tsaddiq,* especially as outlined in the works offered to the public as a whole, such as Shneʾur Zalman's *Tanyaʾ*. Habad developed a highly centralized global organization headed by the *tsaddiq,* with an emphasis on the teaching of Jewish ethics and practice of the *mitsvot* and basic qabbalistic theology, relegating the more developed messianic and redemptive elements in their theology to esoteric groups among the Habad adherents. Habad is reputed to insist on a more intellectual version of Hasidism, but many other communities share this same trend.

The doctrine of the *tsaddiq* also contributed to the emergence of a special kind of hagiographic literature, for the *tsaddiq* could easily serve as a religious hero to stories of this kind. A body of legends in which the BeSHT was a central hero was collected early in the nineteenth century under the title *Shivḥei ha-Besht* (In praise of the BeSHT), following the earlier example of *Shivḥei ha-Ari,* which was about Isaac Luria. The tales told by Naḥman of Bratslav in his last years were published as *Sippurei ha-maʿasiot le-rabbi Naḥman,* stories describing in a veiled manner the spiritual conflicts and messianic drives of Naḥman. Many stories were told by the Ḥasidim about their leaders, but these began to be published only in the last third of the nineteenth century, mostly by non-Hasidic authors, editors, and publishers, and later by some Hasidic publishers. Many of these stories are nothing but adaptations of ancient Jewish folktales in which the specific *tsaddiqim* are inserted as heroes. Hasidism throughout its history, including contemporary Hasidism, chose the sermon to be its basic literary genre and mode of expression. This vast body of homiletical literature is the basic and often the only source for Hasidic theology and practice. Some *tsaddiqim* prepared, or their disciples collected, brief anthologies of the sayings of the leaders, and a few *tsaddiqim* wrote ethical works, such as *Tanyaʾ,* but the dominance of homiletical literature in authentic Hasidic literature is uncontested.

MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT HASIDISM. In popular works about Hasidism that focus on material derived from late Hasidic hagiography and collections of sayings of Hasidic teachers culled from their homiletical works and sermons, Hasidism is often described as a popular movement concentrated around charismatic leaders who impress their believers by various miracles and exemplary ethical behavior, without any theological or mystical basis. In some accounts even the strict adherence of Ḥasidim to the commandments of Judaism is missing, and Hasidism appears as a kind of "ethical Judaism" based on enthusiastic celebration of festivals and social ethics.

This erroneous image of Hasidism is the product of the literature written by Jewish writers in Hebrew and Yiddish in the early twentieth century, such as Shalom Asch, Yitshaq Loeb Perez, and Yehudah Steinberg, who portrayed Hasidism in nostalgic terms after having left traditional Judaism and embraced Western ways of life. Some scholars and writers, from Martin Buber to Elie Wiesel, followed them to an extent, perpetuating the image of Hasidism as pure, spiritual Judaism that expresses love of Israel, love of God, and love toward every human being. In their descriptions, modern writers have tended to emphasize public behavior in the Hasidic courts and to neglect the mystical, quabbalistic theology and the theoretical basis of the worship of the *tsaddiq* in Hasidism.

The studies of scholars such as Gershom Scholem, Joseph G. Weiss, Isaiah Tishby, Mendel Pierkaz, and others in the last generation restored the serious study of Hasidism and based it on philological, historical, and ideological scrutiny of the Hasidic texts themselves. Hasidism is the latest chapter in the history of Jewish mysticism, in which qabbalistic symbols became central to a wide, popular movement that produced a new type of religious leadership and introduced religious-mystical values to modern Orthodox Judaism.

SEE ALSO Judaism, article on Judaism in Northern and Eastern Europe to 1500.

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HASIDISM: HABAD HASIDISM

Habad is a distinctive Hasidic school founded by Shneʾur Zalman of Lyady (1745–1813) and led by a dynasty of his descendants, the Schneersohn family. Because his son Dov Ber (1773–1827) settled in the Belorussian town of Lubavitch and established a Hasidic center there, the Habad movement is also widely known as Lubavitcher Hasidism. The most recent head of the movement was Menachem Mendel Schneerson (1902–1994), seventh in the line of succession. There has been no replacement. Given the movement's belief in Schneerson as a messianic figure, a future replacement is unlikely. From its New York headquarters the movement directs a vast array of religious, educational, and media ventures throughout the world.

As a theological system, Habad represents the apex of a cosmic mysticism within Judaism. Only God has real existence; all else, including the existence of the person as a separate being, is illusory. The purpose of the spiritual life, assiduously and systematically cultivated in Habad, is to bring the devotee to the realization of this truth in heart and conduct as well as in mind. Habad teaches, however, that the true conversion is first and foremost an intellectual one. Whereas other Hasidic leaders emphasized the emotional experience of God through practice, the moral life, and the virtues of simplicity, Shneʾur Zalman and his followers taught a highly abstract mystical theology and praised the virtues of contemplation and detachment. The name *Habad* (ḤaBaD), which is an acronym for *ḥokhmah, binah,* and *da ʿat* (three aspects of the mental function), is indicative of this.

Habad thought teaches that divinity is equally present throughout the universe, and that the existence of the universe itself is but an effulgence of light that comes from the eternal and unchanged One. This radiance, also identified with the creative speech of God, takes on the form of creation, and through it the One dons the garb of multiplicity. It does so in order that the presence of divinity will be confirmed even in the seemingly "lowliest" places, a gradation that would have no meaning if not for the existence of the corporeal world. The spreading forth of divine energy into the furthermost corners of being is a constant process, without which the universe would lose even its semblance of reality.

The religious life is both a participation in this constant spreading forth of divinity, through the bodily fulfillment of the divine commandments, and a reversal of the process, in which all things are "uplifted" and returned to their source in God through inward devotion and contemplative prayer. Habad is in part a reaction to the extreme early Hasidic emphasis on prayer and inwardness alone as religious values. It insists that the physical enactment of the commandments, even without understanding, has cosmic implications. There is also a great emphasis on Torah study in Habad circles, including the study of Habad theological works, again in contrast to the conduct of some other Hasidic groups. Study and deed are taken as the activist side of the religious life, ever to be balanced with inwardness and contemplation.

Beginning in the early twentieth century, Habad took a leading role in the preservation of traditional piety, whose hold over Jewry was weakening, and in providing an avenue of return to tradition for Jews reared outside it. The previous Lubavitcher *rebbe,* Yosef Yitsḥaq Schneersohn (1880–1950), was the leading rabbinic figure in Russia after sovietization and fought valiantly for the survival of religious Jewry there. After his exile in 1927 and a period of residence in Latvia and Poland, the Lubavitch community settled in Brooklyn in 1941 and later in the town of Kefar Habad in Israel. Both centers remain vibrant. Particularly since the mid-1960s, large numbers of previously unaffiliated American Jews have joined to swell the ranks of this movement, making it the most prominent Hasidic group on the American scene. During that same period, an openness to the uses of technology, the integration of modern techniques of education and public relations, and a vague modernization of style, though carefully circumscribed within the bounds of Jewish law, have raised questions about Habad in some more traditionalist Hasidic circles.

In the latter half of the twentieth century, Habad invested much of its energy in promoting the impending messianic era, touting its leader Schneersohn as the messiah. This activity increased as their leader became infirm and no longer able to communicate. Schneersohn's own position on his messianic vocation has never been clarified. After his death on June 12, 1994, the movement underwent a spiritual crisis. One faction continued to believe he was the messiah and would "rise up" and redeem Israel and the world. Another faction took a more agnostic approach. Few in leadership positions in contemporary Habad openly state that their *rebbe* was (and is) not the messiah. The development and consequences of this remain to be seen.

This situation has sparked a vehement debate in Orthodox Jewish circles about whether Habad messianism now constitutes a Jewish heresy. David Berger, an Orthodox Jewish historian, penned a fiercely polemical book, *The Rebbe, the Messiah, and the Scandal of Orthodox Indifference* (2001), arguing that Habad messianism is indeed a Jewish heresy and should be shunned by all those who adhere to traditional Judaism. Habad countered with a book-length rebuttal of Berger's accusations, *The Messiah Problem: Berger, the Angel, and the Scandal of Reckless Indiscrimination* (2002). The controversy constitutes one of the most serious and substantive debates in traditional Judaism.

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ARTHUR GREEN (1987)
SHAUL MAGID (2005)

HASIDISM: SATMAR HASIDISM

The school of Hasidic practice known as Satmar Hasidism arose in Satu-Mare (Satmar), Transylvania, in the decades immediately preceding the Holocaust and rose to prominence primarily in the postwar years. It is identified chiefly with the personality of Yoʾel Teitelbaum (1888–1982), who was rabbi in Satmar and, after his rescue from Hungary in 1944, in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn, New York.

In a larger sense, Satmar may be said to represent the distinctive Hasidic style that developed in northern Hungary and Transylvania in the nineteenth century. Lying outside the original heartland of Hasidism, Hungarian Jewry was dominated by a learned and pious rabbinate that saw itself locked in a life-and-death struggle with the forces of assimilation and religious reform, forces that were far stronger in Western-looking Hungary than they were in Poland and the Ukraine. Here Hasidism served as a goad to the revitalization of Orthodoxy, resulting in a bitter and sometimes fanatical tone that was absent from Hasidism in other areas.

After the Holocaust, the Satmar rabbinical court in Brooklyn became a center for the many thousands of pious Hungarian Jews who had escaped the war only by the coincidence of living in the last country to come under the dominance of the "final solution" and its executors. In Brooklyn, the Jewish life of prewar Hungary was reestablished almost unchanged, and the Satmar rabbi was especially known for his generous aid in the resettling of this Jewry. He was also known for his unswerving and increasingly bitter opposition to Zionism, the state of Israel, and all forms of Judaism that differed from his own ultraorthodox way of life. His writings, while reflecting great rabbinic erudition, are polemical in character, including the often repeated charge that the Holocaust was divine punishment for the evil deeds of Zionist and assimilationist Jews. In this sense Satmar represents a "last stand" of certain traditional Jewish attitudes, but he is looked upon with hostility by most other Jewish groups, including other Hasidim, as being overly self-righteous and unrealistically antagonistic to the modern world.

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HASIDUT ASHKENAZ See ASHKENAZIC HASIDISM

HASKALAH See JEWISH THOUGHT AND PHILOSOPHY, *ARTICLE ON* MODERN THOUGHT

HASTINGS, JAMES (1852–1922), was a Scottish Presbyterian minister and compiler and editor of voluminous works dealing with Christian texts and the subject matter of religions. Born in Aberdeen, Scotland, Hastings attended the University of Aberdeen and was ordained a Presbyterian minister in 1884; he later held pastorates in Free Church parishes in Kincardineshire and Dundee. Founder of the *Expository Times,* he is best known for his indefatigable zeal as an editor of numerous works, which may be grouped into four types.

First are those comprising articles dealing with the texts of early Christianity (e.g., *A Dictionary of the Bible,* 1898–1904; *A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels,* 1906–1908; and the *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church,* 1915–1918). Exegetical and expository in character and intended to provide students of biblical literature with the most recent findings of scholarship, the articles in these volumes were written by established (largely theologically conservative) scholars in command of the most recent methods of historical and textual criticism and philological analysis and exegesis, and their work represented a distinct advance in this field. Second are the works that are primarily homiletical in character (e.g., *Great Texts of the Bible,* 1914, and *Greater Men and Women of the Bible,* 1914). Third is a series of works on Christian doctrines, including the *Christian Doctrine of Prayer* (1915), *The Christian Doctrine of Faith* (1919), and *The Christian Doctrine of Peace* (1922).

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ḤATAM SOFER See SOFER, MOSHEH

HAṬHAYOGA is historically the most influential, and today the best known, of the several schools of yoga derived from the classical Yoga of Patañjali's *Yoga Sūtra. Haṭhayoga* differs from classical Yoga, and from its sister schools, principally in the special emphasis that it gives to certain aspects of yoga doctrine and practices. Classical Yoga depends heavily on Sāṃkhya metaphysics and tries to strike a balance between physical exercises and meditation. *Haṭhayoga* tends to prefer esoteric mysticism to systematic metaphysics and emphasizes physical exercises over meditation. It also pays particular attention to the acquisition of supernatural powers and the conquest of disease and death. The set of mystical, supraphysical concepts contained in *haṭhayoga* texts make it one of the principal constituents and markers of the current of Hinduism known as Tantrism.

Many of the aspects of yoga that are especially associated with *haṭhayoga* appear to be quite ancient. As early as the *Ṛgveda* (10.136) is found a description of *munis* (ascetics) who possess the power of flying on the wind. Yogic practices and concepts such as those elaborated in *haṭhayoga* texts already are mentioned prominently in the early Upaniṣads. The supraphysical "veins" (*nāḍis*) of the human body, which become a central feature of the mystical anatomy of *haṭhayoga,* appear in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (8.6.6). Included among these is a central vein leading to the crown of the head. Breath control is referred to, somewhat elliptically, in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (1.5.23). The later *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (2.8–15) describes the practices of yoga, including breath control, in some detail and notes that "he who has attained a body made of the fire of yoga will not be subject to sickness, old age or death" (2.12).

Most of the elements of *haṭhayoga* appear in a more developed form in the descriptions of Tantric ascetics found in the *Mālatī-mādhava* of Bhavabhūti (c. 725) and in the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa (c. 650). The majority of the extant texts of *haṭhayoga,* however, are associated with the somewhat later sect of the Kānphaṭa Yogis, sometimes called Nāths or Nāth Siddhas. In the South the so-called Tamil Siddhas of about the tenth to fifteenth century wrote poems grounded in the concepts and vocabulary of *haṭhayoga.* These same concepts and vocabulary also pervade the works of Tantric Buddhism and even infiltrate the yoga literature of the austere Jains. Because of the great religious and linguistic diversity of the literature, often coupled with an intentionally hermetic style, scholarly understanding of its overall structure and history remains incomplete.

The idea of a supraphysical subtle body with its own anatomy forms the conceptual heart of *haṭhayoga.* Although different texts describe this mystical anatomy somewhat differently, most mention seven *cakras,* or "centers," located in the trunk and head, connected by a network of *nāḍī*s, or "veins." Each of these *cakra*s takes the form of a lotus and is associated with a particular *yantra,* or mystical diagram; *mantra,* or mystical invocation; and god or pair of gods.

The first *cakra,* called the *mūlādhāra,* or "root," is a lotus of four petals located in the perineal area between the anus and the sexual organs. Its *yantra* is an inverted triangle with a *liṅga* of Śiva in its center together with the *mantra* "oṃ" and the elephant-headed god Gaṇeṣa. Coiled around the *linga* is a sleeping snake called Kuṇḍalinī, who blocks the top of the *liṅga* with her mouth. This Kuṇḍalinī represents the energy (*śakti*) of Śiva. The yogin attempts to awaken her and make her ascend through the central *nāḍī,* called the *suṣumnā,* passing through each of the remaining *cakras* until she reaches the highest, called the *sahasrāra* ("lotus of a thousand petals") or *brahmarandhra* ("opening of *brahman*"), located on the top of the head. There Kuṇḍalinī unites with Śiva, an act that produces the supernatural powers and immortality that the yogin seeks. Ultimately this union is identical with the experience of enlightenment itself.

The various physical and meditative techniques employed by the adepts of *haṭhayoga* to achieve this experience involve the parallel immobilization of breath, semen, and mental activity. The term *haṭha,* in fact, means "forceful suppression." Thus, *haṭhayoga* is that meditative technique that involves the forceful suppression of one's senses and control of one's bodily processes. These techniques are described in such texts as the *Haṭhayoga Pradīpikā* of Svātmārāma, the *Gheraṇḍa Saṃhitā,* the *Gorakṣa Śataka,* and the *Siddhasiddhānta Paddhati.* One of the most important of these techniques is the *khecarī* ("she who moves in the sky"). The yogin inserts his tongue in his throat, thus blocking both respiration and the descent of saliva. On the plane of the subtle body, it is said that this practice blocks the descent of the nectar of immortality produced by the moon located beneath the *sahasrāra cakra.* Normally this nectar falls into the fire of the sun located in the lower body. The practice of the *khecarī* enables the yogin, according to the *Haṭhayoga Pradīpikā,* to "drink" this nectar and thus "live many years, free of disease and with a body as soft as the stem of a lotus."

See Also Cakras; Flight; Gorakhnāth; Kuṇḍalinī; Patañjali the Grammarian; Yoga.

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HATHOR was an ancient Egyptian mother-goddess figure whose cult center was at Dendera in Upper Egypt. Represented as partially or totally bovine, Hathor the Great was probably an assimilation of several goddesses with similar attributes.

In the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts (c. 2475 BCE for the earliest copy) Hathor, whose name means "house of Horus," personified the entire Heliopolitan ennead, or family of gods, which provided the principal genealogy of the Horus-king of Egypt. These nine gods began with Atum and proceeded through three more generations to Osiris and Isis, the parents of Horus. With Hathor personifying this whole group of gods, Horus became her son and the son of her spouse, Re, the sun god, who had come to the fore by the fifth dynasty.

Hathor also figured prominently in the royal imagery, particularly in the New Kingdom, when she was frequently depicted as the cow suckling a young pharaoh, and often had shrines or chapels dedicated to her. Her great temple at Dendera, erected in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, is unique in several respects, including its many subterranean passages and the so-called zodiacal ceiling of its roof's kiosk.

Another small cult temple of Hathor was founded by Ptolemy IV at Deir al-Madīnah, where many earlier tombs show the "lady of the west," a cow coming from the Theban mountain known as the Qurn. Thus as early as the New Kingdom she was associated with the necropolis of that area. "Hathor of the sycamore" is a frequent epithet, and a temple is known as far away as Sinai. There are several references in literary and medico-magical texts to the assistance rendered at birth by the seven Hathors and also to the fates they ordain for the newborn. Hathor "the golden one" was known in love poetry as goddess of love and patroness of lovers.

The sistrum is a musical instrument commonly associated with the worship of Hathor, and her son Ihy was a musician deity. Priestesses of Hathor are known from all periods, although in the later periods there was a tendency to assimilate Hathor and Isis.

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LEONARD H. LESKO (1987)

HAWAIIAN RELIGION.

The traditional religion of the Hawaiians was based on that of their Polynesian ancestors, who as fishermen and horticulturalists became long distance navigators and explorers. These were the first to settle, perhaps between the first and the seventh centuries CE, the fertile and geographically isolated Hawaiian Islands. Although inhabitants of the islands from Hawai'i to Kaua'i had altered some of the ancestral beliefs and practices, the similarities between Hawaiian and other Polynesian religions impressed Captain James Cook, who in 1778 was the first European to visit the islands.

Believing that supernatural forces filled sea, sky, and earth, the Hawaiians personified them in countless named and individualized deities, who controlled nature and humankind through their *mana,* or supernatural power. The people retained cosmogonic gods from the homeland, such as Kāne, Kanaloa, Kū, Lono, and goddesses like Hina and Haumea, but they added aspects to these gods and included the deified dead, beings like the volcano goddess Pele, and temperamental local spirits in their pantheon of supernatural beings. This pantheon provided the inherited or acquired guardian gods, or *ʿaumakua,* of each individual, family, occupation, and profession. A god communicated its will through dreams, images, something in nature such as a shark or thunder, or a human prophet.

PRIESTHOODS AND WORSHIP PLACES. The priests, or *kahuna,* who mediated between gods and people, were professional specialists trained in the material techniques and rituals essential for success in their calling. Upon the arrival of Captain Cook, there had evolved two major and competing priestly orders to guide the ruling chief in temple worship. The priests of the order of Kanalu were dedicated to the god Kū (moʿoKū), and their rituals were considered to be strict and demanding. The other priestly order of Paliku was dedicated to the god Lono. Their rituals were considered more flexible and relaxed. The principal god of each order was a national god upon whose favor the expansion and prosperity of the kingdom depended. Each order's high priest, the *kahuna nui,* was considered to be its founder's direct descendant and an expert in every branch of religion. The high priest wielded political power by advising the ruler on how to win divine support. Failure was attributed to errors in worship, to counter-magic, or to hidden infractions of *kapu* (taboo). A system of religiously sanctioned permanent and temporary *kapu* controlled every phase of society and everyone's life regardless of rank. The system began, tradition states, when Wākea got away from his wife Papa—giving Wākea the opportunity to seduce their daughter—by having a *kahuna* declare that the gods had made *kapu* two nights, during which husband and wife were required to separate.

Public worship took place at *heiau,* or open-air religious centers. The form, size, equipment, and location of a *heiau* depended on a chief's power to command labor and on the *kahuna*-architect's traditionalism or creativity. A simple unwalled rectangular *heiau* had an altar, images, and a raised platform. A complex type excluded the populace with stone or palisaded walls that enclosed several terraces, an altar, consecrated images, refuse pits, burial grounds, an oracle tower covered by a *kapa* or bark cloth (an architectural feature unique to these islands, as Captain Cook observed), and houses for a drum, other sacred objects, an earth oven, and—during *kapu* periods—for the ruler and important priests. Outside the walls was a structure called the "house of Papa," where the highest-ranking female chiefs, who were themselves considered to be earthly goddesses, worshiped the prolific and ever-reborn Haumea (often identified with or as Papa) and the water-spirit form of a deified female chief from Maui (who was called Kihawahine), as well as other divine beings.

The walled, exclusive type of *heiau* was introduced, tradition states, by the high priest Pāʿao, probably a Tahitian who arrived in about the twelfth century. Pāʿao also introduced the practice of human sacrifice, a strict priestly order and ritual for Kū, and his personal god Kāʿli, who as Kū-kā'ili-moku ("Kū the island-snatcher") became Kamehameha I the Great's (1758?–1819) inherited *ʿaumakua* and war god. Pāʿao widened the existing gap between chiefs and commoners by introducing new sacred royal symbols, such as the red-feather girdle, taboo standards (tapa-covered balls on sticks that were carried before chiefs as insignia of taboo), and compulsory prostration (*kapu moe*) before those male and female chiefs who were believed to be directly descended from the gods.

Only a paramount chief could build the most sacred type of *heiau*, where burned human sacrifices were offered to the highest Kū gods. This functional type of *heiau*, called a *luakini* ("many refuse pits") or *poʿokanaka* ("men's heads"), was used at times to pray for royal health and national prosperity; but essentially it was a war temple (if a subordinate chief built one, it was a sign of rebellion). The general term *waihau* referred to "comfortable" *heiau* where less complex rituals, without human sacrifice, were conducted. Most *heiau* had economic functions relating to farming, fishing, healing, rain, tapa-making (which was women's work), and so on. A chief had a religious duty to build these *heiau* in which to pray for divine aid for his chiefdom or to give thanks. Each deity had specific requirements as to size, number, and color of offerings. Dissatisfied gods sent drought and disease, and commoners would then abandon the chief to seek one who was more religious. But if all went well, people built smaller *heiau* on their allotted land to further enliven the earth.

MAJOR DEITIES AND ASSOCIATED RITES. Dominating the pantheon for chief and commoner alike were Kanaloa, Kāne, Lono, and Kū. Each, in particular but overlapping ways, fostered health, abundance, rain, and fertility. Only Kū had a destructive side. To each name, except that of Kanaloa, Hawaiians attached dozens of descriptive phrases to signify the god's varied aspects or his subordinate gods.

Kanaloa. Called Tangaroa or one of many other cognate names (e.g., Tangaloa, Taʿaroa) elsewhere in Polynesia, Kanaloa was Kāne's younger brother. For Hawaiians he was the god of squid and, because of a play on words, also sometimes associated with healing (the Hawaiian word *heʿe* means both "squid" and "to put to flight"). Kanaloa rarely had his own shrine or *heiau*, but in prayers he was often named along with Kāne, Lono, and Kū, and like them he was assigned a period in the lunar month during which he was due special homage. His precise role and function in Hawaiʿi is obscure, partly due to some synchronistic writings of scholarly nineteenth-century Hawaiian Christian converts.

Kāne. Called Tane in southeastern Polynesia, Kāne, whose name connotes "male," was the most approachable, forgiving, and revered of the four major gods. One worshiper in his prayer would chant, "You and I warm to each other, Kāne," and other worshipers would often say, "Life is sacred to Kāne." According to more than one myth, Kāne, while dwelling on earth with Kanaloa, had plunged his digging stick into the ground to release springs of fresh water to mix with his and Kanaloa's *ʿawa* or *kava* (a narcotic drink made from the pounded root of the shrub *Piper methysticum*). The release of fresh water by Kāne-of-the-water-of-life, as he was frequently called, was a symbolic sexual act, for the gesture served to fructify the earth. Before ritually consuming their offering of pork and *ʿawa*, men prayed for forgiveness of broken taboos or for revenge for sorcery at their family's phallic "stone of Kāne," a single, high, conical stone situated near a stream. Sweet potato farmers prayed to their Kāne *ʿaumakua*-of-the-rain-filled-clouds; grateful fishermen left fish for Kāne and sometimes for Kanaloa at a shrine, which was usually only a rock or a pile of rocks. And after prescribed rituals that took place during an earth-shaking storm, the dead of a ruling family of the island of Maui, who considered themselves descendants of Kāne-hekili ("Kāne-thunder"), were transfigured by their ancestors and *ʿaumakua* into thunder and lightning.

Early in the twentieth century, Robert Luahiwa, an elderly Hawaiian from the island of Kauaʿi, described a ceremony that called on Kāne to bring rain and life to the land, and Luahiwa recited the prayers used by the high priest. The congregation sat silent and motionless on a *heiau* terrace until Kāne's high priest (on a higher terrace) had, after five long prayers, lifted the taboo. The priest had invoked some seventy forms of Kāne—in clouds, rain, and forest growth—as well as the other three great gods and the goddesses of hula and of the forest greenery that decorated the *heiau* (Laka, Hiʿiaka, the latter's sister Kapo, and their oldest sister Pele, who became violent if ignored). The priest's last prayer, heard only by the chief at his side, was delivered on the third, highest, and most sacred stage of the oracle tower, where the god revealed his will. Earlier nineteenth-century Hawaiian scholars reported that the commoners were gathered outside of the central temple, where they could only hear the prayers of the *kahuna*. The congregation would be seated in single-file rows and during certain prayers, which were voiced in unison, they would raise their right hands, remaining in that position until the prayer was completed. These scholars emphasized that the carved images of the *luakini*/*heiau* were never worshiped, for the images were considered to be only representations of the god.

Lono. The god of two related sources of abundance—peace and seasonal winter storms—Lono (called Rongo or Roʿo in southeastern Polynesia) was also a god of healing. He had numerous *heiau*, called "houses of Lono," devoted to rainmaking and medical purposes. There was a chief with the same name, Lono, who established the Makahiki, the longest ceremonial period, which involved everyone in celebrating Lono's annual (*makahiki*) return for four months of the rainy season to preside over rituals for health and ample rain, and over the ritualized collection of taxes, recreation, and release from work. The celebration became a focal point for the order and rituals of the priest dedicated to the god Lono, resulting in a merging or confusion of Lono the god and Lono the chief. When Captain Cook arrived in 1778, he was greeted as Lono-i-ka-makahiki the god/chief because he arrived during this period and anchored at the bay called Kealakekua ("the path of the god," i.e., Lono), and because his masted sails resembled the Lono symbol that led the procession of tax collectors and celebratory sports on their coastal circuit of the island.

The reexamination of both native and nonnative primary sources has been reopened by anthropologists Marshall Sahlins and Gananath Obeyesekere to focus upon how Hawaiians interpreted Cook's presence and divinity. Although the rhetoric of their arguments developed into a larger issue about research and indigenous peoples, this reexamination has nonetheless brought intriguing and valuable analyses and insights not considered before about the first cultural encounter between the foreigners and natives.

The Lono symbol was a long staff topped with a carved human image across whose neck a crosspiece supported a rectangular white tapa flag and other sacred objects. A shorter staff led a procession in the opposite direction. The principal procession stopped at each district boundary to collect taxes placed near an altar that held another Lono symbol, a carved wooden head of a pig, representing fertility. If the collectors were satisfied with the proffered amount of pigs, dogs, vegetables, *'awa*, and the like, the Lono priest blessed the district, and the party moved on. At the ruler's compound the party was given a feast. Rites included the ruler putting a valuable whale-tooth necklace on the Lono figure, and the ruler's wife draping it with fine white tapa. Later the ruler redistributed the taxes to his subordinate chiefs who supported him in battle and who held land as a reward for their service.

While the ruler, the Lono priests, and their attendants were busy with numerous rituals for the general welfare, the populace engaged in hula, sports, and games, each activity having its guardian gods. Wrestling and boxing matches recalled that when Lono the chief learned, after killing his human wife, that she had not been unfaithful, he became for a time insane and fought violent matches. Finally he left the islands in his canoe, promising to return. To signal that the Makahiki was over and that people should return to work and chiefs could go to war again, the priests dismantled the Lono staffs and set adrift a canoe full of gifts to ensure Lono's return the next year. The ritual functions were then turned over to the priests of the order of Kū, now personified in the local ruling chief, rather than the departed god/chief.

Each morning and evening the head of a family took down the net-covered "gourd of Lono" encircling the neck of the image on the altar in the men's eating house. He prayed for his family, the commoners, and the chiefs, and he ritually ate from the gourd, the bowl of which represented the earth and its bounty; the cover, the heavens; and the handle, the rainbow. To lift the taboo on eating a new crop, he or a *kahuna* performed first-fruits rites, then put the gourd of Lono in the midst of the male guests invited to feast. He invited them again when, after weaning, his son entered the men's house, never again to eat with women. Placing a roasted pig's head on the altar and a pig's ear in the gourd of Lono (so Lono would listen), the *kahuna* prayed that the boy would thrive and bear fruit like the gourd vine. Later the boy would be subincised and ceremonially initiated into eating pork, which was men's food and taboo to women.

Kū and Hina. There were many gods in the class called Kū (Tu was the southern Polynesian cognate of the name). Hawaiians regarded the Kū gods either as independent gods or as aspects of a single Kū. Usually, an epithet attached to the name suggested the special function or distinctive trait of each particular Kū god. The same principle applies to the class of goddesses called Hina (cognates of the name elsewhere in Polynesia are Hine, Sina, and 'Ina). Some Hinas had more than one name. Hina-of-the-moon is also known as Maimed Lono because, according to myth, her husband tore off her leg as she fled to the moon. Pele's sacred name is Hina-of-the-fire, and Lea's other name is Hina-of-the-*'ohi'a*-growth. (The *'ohi'a* is a kind of tree.)

Kū and Hina, as well as their varied aspects, functioned as man and wife in daily rites performed by the populace. With his sister-wife Hina (whose name means "prostrate"), Kū (meaning "upright") united the people into a single stock, for Kū and Hina represented the male and female reproductive principles. Kū also symbolized the east, the sunrise, and the right hand; while Hina symbolized the west, the sunset, and the left hand. Such antithesis was common. The couple was invoked in pregnancy and child care; their subordinate gods or aspects presided over many activities on land and sea. Kū'ula-kai (red Kū of the sea) was the fishermen's chief god, and fishing *heiau* were named *kū'ula* for him. His wife was Hina-the-sea-fossicker. Their siblings lived on upland farms and in forests. The chief forest god was Kū-moku-hāli'i (Kū the island spreader), the husband of Lea, who warned woodsmen of decayed trees by taking the form of an *'elepaio* (a flycatcher) and pecking at trees to look for insects. Kū-moku-hāli'i was also the chief god of canoe makers, whose *kahuna* conducted rites at the foot of a chosen tree, usually a koa (*Acacia koa*). Farmers venerated Kū-of-the-digging-stick. Each occupation had numerous Kū gods.

The highest form of Kū gods was invoked during national crises—war, famine, disease—after the king had first built or rebuilt a *luakini* where harsh and complex rituals called upon the Kū gods for aid. Kū-nui-ākea ("the supreme Kū") manifested himself in the ceremonies as the Kū gods of war, sorcery, and the binding of conquered chiefdoms into a kingdom. A ten-day, four-part *luakini* service required numerous men and pigs as sacrifices, and additional pigs to feed the highborn worshipers and priests. If *kapu*-breakers, war captives, or slaves were unavailable to be used as burned sacrifices, large *ulua* fish (*Carangidae*) were substituted.

The first set of rites, held in the presence of chiefs and workmen in the refurbished *luakini*, centered on a stylized parade led by a *kahuna* with a *kapu*-standard (followed by a naked man who impersonated the god Kahoali'i) and by feather-covered wicker images of gods (a Hawaiian innovation) carried by their keepers. The workers then went home. The second set of rites took the king, the "feather gods" (as the wicker images were called), and the *kahuna* to a forest, where they ritually cut *'ohi'a* trees for new images. A *kapu*-breaker was sacrificed in rites that accompanied the cutting of the first tree, and from this tree came a block of wood that would represent Kū on the altar. Marching back to the *heiau* with their logs, the members of the procession shouted loudly and seized human victims along their route. After the images had been carved, dressed in red *malo* (loincloths), and consecrated, the *kahuna*, in the ceremony's third phase, chanted all night long while worshipers listened. In the fourth part of the rite, a *kahuna* prayed for an hour while the motionless worshipers, arranged in rows behind the images, sat with bowed heads and sometimes with upraised arms. The concluding rites were held in the "house of Papa," where a *kahuna* and the highest female chiefs freed the worshipers from taboo before they returned to secular life.

GENDER TABOOS, ILLNESS, AND DEATH. Women were considered to be polluted from menstruation, and thus were excluded from all men's *heiau* and shrines. Although history includes three female chiefs of the highest rank and status, they were exceptions. One was Keakea-lani-wahine, who, upon succeeding her mother as ruler of Hawai'i, had charge of all its *heiau* and in each *luakini* made human and pig sacrifices and other offerings. Nevertheless, she took her ritual meals apart from the men and ate no pork, bananas, coconuts, or other foods taboo to women. Food-related *kapu* were associated with the separation of Wākea and Papa and required all men and women to take meals separately and to eat food proper to their sex. All cooking was performed by men, who used separate ovens for men's and women's food. *Kapu*-breakers were slain or mutilated. (Persons threatened with death for any reason were spared, however, if they reached certain *heiau* or sites designated as places of refuge.)

Medical *kahuna* were specialists in treating particular diseases through different forms of diagnosis. They believed that an illness that proved resistant to ordinary treatment, such as by herbs, was due to an *'aumakua*'s anger at broken *kapu* and therefore required prayers and offerings. Most *kahuna*, however, specialized in problems related to infertility and pregnancy and in the treatment of children's diseases.

In death a person's soul was prevented from falling into Milu (the underworld), a realm of eternal darkness, by its *'aumakua*, who ushered it to its ancestors' part of a happy realm in Pō (darkness or night). A soul without an *'aumakua* wandered homeless on earth, ate spiders and moths, and became a malevolent ghost. A soul with an ancestral god from the Pele family might be transfigured into a volcanic flame if a priest, having prayed and made offerings, cast the corpse or part of it into the crater. Other souls might be transfigured into embodiments (*kinolau*) of their gods—a shark, thunder, a water spirit, a bird, or something else. Transfigured male and female chiefs became their descendants' gods. The deification and transfiguration of ancestors is a primary example of the power of the nonpriest-based religious system that coexisted with the state or national religion that was headed by the ruling chief and the priestly orders. The nonpriest system was also manifested in family prayers, rituals involving the *pohaku o Kāne* (stone of Kāne), rituals and prayers for farming and fishing, and other religious expressions that did not require a specialized and trained *kahuna.*

Dead commoners were buried wherever it was convenient. The cleaned bones of some royalty were hidden in caves to prevent enemies from using them for fishhooks; the bones of other royalty were encased in plaited sennit caskets (*ka'ai*) of humanoid shape and deposited in the mausoleum Hale-o-Keawe on the island of Hawai'i. Sorcery was always suspected when a highborn person died. A *kahuna* trained to identify sorcerers held a *kuni* ("burn") ceremony in which he burned part of the victim's corpse. When the *kahuna's* god had revealed the sorcerer's name, the accused—even if a chief—was killed and burned.

THE STATE RELIGION AND ITS DEMISE. At his death in 1819, Kamehameha I, who believed his many gods had made him head of a unified feudal kingdom, left a state religion based on the *kapu* system that protected the *mana* and authority of the gods and their chiefly descendants from spiritual contamination and consequent weakness. That same year, however, Kamehameha's son Liholiho (1797–1824) took power, adopted the title Kamehameha II, and abolished both the *kapu* system of restrictions and rank and the official religion without replacing it with another. This decision, which was only reluctantly accepted by Liholiho, had principally been made by the most politically powerful of his father's wives, by his mother who was herself a sacred chief, and by the highest priest of the Kū order. Liholiho signaled the overthrow of the *kapu* system by publicly sharing a meal (consisting of food cooked in one oven) with his father's wife and his mother. Later, the Kū priests, after consulting with Liholiho, began destroying *heiau* and images. Some adherents of the traditions hid their images and worshiped in secret. Not all customs and beliefs vanished: even today, faith in the *'aumakua*, for example, lingers on. The only military resistance to the abolition of the religion came from Liholiho's cousin, who had inherited the god Kū-kā'ili-moku, but the resistance ended when the cousin lost his life in battle.

The reasons, still debated, for the overthrow of the religion have ranged from weariness of the burden of *kapu* on chiefs and commoners and on men and women, and, of course, the changes that had been wrought by Europeans and Americans. Particularly instrumental had been the introduction of a market economy, which was hampered by the chiefs' religious, social, and economic obligations to their people—a system of obligations that was based on the ancient and successful subsistence economy. Arguments have also been made that the practitioners themselves became disenchanted with the religious system when the death of Kamehameha I could not be prevented. A few months after Liholiho's act, the first band of American Protestant missionaries arrived from Boston; they were unaware of Liholiho's abolition of the traditional *kapu* system and religion until their ship was off Hawai'i's shore.

SEE ALSO Polynesian Religions; Tangaroa.

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Many of the volumes listed below are classics. Although David Malo, Samuel Kamakau, John Papa 'I'i, and Kepelino became Christian converts whose adopted religion sometimes colors their views of the indigenous culture, they were personally familiar with the tradition, and they also learned a great deal from their elders. ʿIʿi, for example, as a boy had been an attendant of Liholiho (later Kamehameha II) and as an adult he held important positions in the government of the kingdom. Malo was born during the transitional period after arrival of Captain Cook and before the death of Kamehameha I. He was trained primarily as a genealogist or historian. Kamakau traveled extensively throughout the islands, interviewing elders and eyewitnesses of various events. The translators and editors of these works have added important explanatory notes. Martha Warren Beckwith's translation and chapters of annotation of the *Kumulipo*, the creation and genealogical chant of King Kalakaua and his sister Queen Liliʿuokalani, help make the magnificent but cryptic chant comprehensible. It presents different interpretations by modern Hawaiians and discusses the importance nobility placed on descent. Beckwith's *Hawaiian Mythology* is irreplaceable as a comprehensive reference to the pantheon, and for many years it established the prevailing overview of Hawaiian religion, with its descriptions of demigods, romantic characters, and others. This work has the additional value of containing comparisons with other Pacific traditions, putting the material into cross-cultural perspective. Abraham Fornander, a nineteenth-century judge who married a Hawaiian chief, gathered an unparalleled collection of myths, traditions, tales, poems, prayers, and descriptions of religion; Thomas G. Thrum's notes shed light on obscure references. E. S. Craighill Handy's *Polynesian Religion* brilliantly discusses the interrelationships of indigenous Polynesian religions, including the Hawaiian, and illustrates the major concepts they share.

June Gutmanis published a major collection of ancient Hawaiian prayers selected from previously published and unpublished sources. Hawaiian texts are accompanied by English translations (and retranslations) and by commentaries. Mary Kawena Pukui's book is written for social workers and other "members of the helping professions." Pukui, a Hawaiian, draws on her other published writings, her personal experiences, and her wide reading; with the psychiatrist E. W. Haertig, she discusses Hawaiian customs, beliefs, and rites as they relate to interpersonal relationships and the life cycle. The book includes modern case histories. The structural analysis of Marshall Sahlins and Valerio Valeri of Cook's arrival, the Makahiki celebrations, and temple worship provide provocative interpretations from primary source materials and suggest a reevaluation of the how Hawaiian religion functioned.

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KATHARINE LUOMALA (1987)
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HAWKS SEE EAGLES AND HAWKS

ḤAWṬAH SEE ḤARAM AND ḤAWṬAH

HAWZAH, which comes from *hawz*, is an Arabic word that literally means "the place surrounded by a swelling border." Technically it is applied to the traditional religious institution in the Shīʿī world known as Hawzah-e Ilmiyyah (Islamic seminary). The hawzah seeks to attain two major missions: (1) training the clerics to preach the principles and practices of Islam, particularly that of the Shīʿah; and (2) training the experts in religious sciences, ones who can deduce Islamic rules from the related sources. In the early twenty-first century this Shīʿī institution works in the countries where the Shīʿah population is considerable, such as Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, India, and Lebanon. Throughout history Najaf, Hillah, Karbala, and Samirra in Iraq and Isfahan, Qom, Shiraz, and Mashhad in Iran have alternately assumed the central leadership role of the Shīʿī hawzah.

It is said that the establishment of the first hawzah goes historically back to the year 1054, when Muḥammad ibn

Ḥasan Ṭusī, known as Shaykh-e Ṭusī, settled in Najaf, a holy city of Iraq. Shaykh-e Ṭusī began training students in various branches of Islamic studies, such as jurisprudence *(fiqh),* theology *(kalām),* tradition *(ḥadīth),* and the interpretation of the Qurʾān *(tafsīr).* Accordingly the Iraqi cities Hillah, Karbala, and Samerra held a considerable position in the history of the hawzah after Najaf. During two periods (1202–1542 and 1737–1797) the hawzahs of Hillah and Karbala replaced Najaf in the premier position. Before the Islamic revolution in Iran (1979), Najaf was the most important center of religious sciences in the world for the Shīʿah. Nonetheless the Baʾth government attempted to weaken the authority of the hawzah and the marjiʾiyyat (supreme religious authority) in Najaf. Many senior clerics were arrested, killed or exiled. During that period the number of religious students in Najaf fell from ten thousand to two thousand. At that point the central leadership of the Shīʿah was transferred from Najaf to Qom. After Ṣaddām Ḥusayn's fall from power, many Iraqi clerics hoped Najaf would regain its former status.

Hawzah in Iran. Iran has also had an extensive history regarding the Shīʿī hawzah. At the time of the Al-e Buyah dynasty (930–1054) a considerable number of *madrasahs* (religious schools) were built in Qom and Ray—the two ancient cities located near Tehran—and eminent scholars, such as Shaykh-e Saduq and his father, were there at that time. The history of the hawzah in Iran as an official institution goes back to the Safavid era (1502–1736). Isfahan, the capital of the Safavid Empire, was the most glorious center for Islamic sciences and arts in the world. Prominent scholars, such as Mullah Sadra Shirazi, ʿAllamah Majlisi, and Muhaqqiq Karaki, had significant chairs in philosophy, tradition *(ḥadīth)*, and jurisprudence *(fiqh).*

Similarly the hawzah of Qom regained its previous position after a long time of stagnation. Madrasah-e Fayziyyah, the ancient and famous religious school of Qom, was established in 1524 by the order of Shah Tahmasb I. After the Safavid era the hawzah of Qom was inactive, except for a short period (1200–1231) during the time of Mirza Abul Qasim Qomi, until the twentieth century, when Grand Āyatullāh ʿAbd al-Karim Haʾiri settled in Qom in 1920 and reestablished the hawzah in Qom.

Educational Schedule in Hawzah. The major educational schedule in the hawzah is comprised of three stages: (1) the preliminary stage (*muqaddamat*), which contains some courses in Arabic literature and logic and lasts two to three years; (2) the intermediate stage (*sutuh*), which requires learning from textbooks in *fiqh* (jurisprudence), *uṣūl* (the basic principles of jurisprudence), and philosophy and lasts four to six years; and (3) the higher stage *(dars-e kharij),* which is devoted to *fiqh* and *uṣūl.* Unlike the first and second stages, education at the third level is not restricted to textbooks. Rather, instructors give analytical lectures presenting significant views on the subject matter and evaluating those positions. This stage is intended to increase the intellectual power of the students. One who wants to attain the qualification of *ijtihād* (expertise in *fiqh*), should pass this course, which lasts from seven to ten years depending on the amount of effort displayed by the student. One who successfully completes this stage is then called a *mujtahid* (expert in *fiqh*).

A brief look at the educational schedule of the hawzah shows that *fiqh* and *uṣūl* have been the main courses since the Safavid era. Thus the other branches of Islamic studies have not developed in Shiism. It should be noted that ʿAllamah Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Tabatabaʾi (d. 1982) revived Islamic philosophy and Qurʾanic interpretation *(tafsir)* in Qom, and twenty-first-century students continue to study his way. After the Iranian revolution, some institutions established departments of psychology, sociology, economics, and politics in the hawzahs of Qom believing they can teach an Islamic approach to these sciences.

Hierarchical Order in Hawzah. There are three major ranks in the hawzah: (1) *talabah* (religious student), (2) *mujtahid* (an expert in *fiqh*), and (3) *marjaʿ* (supreme religious leader). *Talabah* (the one who seeks to learn knowledge) is the name for a student of a hawzah and means the one who seeks to learn Islamic sciences. *Mujtahid* refers to the one who can derive and deduce the laws and decrees from the authentic sources of Islam, namely the Qurʾān, the *ḥadīths*, reasoning (intellect), and the consensus of *ʿulamāʾ* (religious scholars). Those who complete the higher education may reach this rank. A cleric before *ijtihād* is usually called *hujjatul-Islām* (the proof of Islam) and after *ijtihad* is called Āyatullāh (the sign of God).

Marjaʿ refers to the person who has attained the high level of piety and justice in addition to *ijtihād* and can attract a number of followers among laypeople. According to Shīʿī jurisprudence, everyone reaching adolescence should start following a fully qualified *marjaʿ*. A *marjaʿ* is normally called by the title *Āyatullāh al-uzma* (the biggest sign of God).

Marjaʿiyyat is the office of supreme religious authority in Shiism, and *marajiʿ* are in charge of the hawzahs, supporting the students both spiritually and financially. Shīʿah people pay them their religious tax, known as *khums* (one fifth of the annual income), and they manage the hawzahs financially with it. Traditionally, due to this direct contribution from the people, the Shīʿī hawzahs have rejected government financial help in order to keep their independence. Thus the history of the hawzah shows that Shīʿī scholars could freely declare their ideas against the governments in their countries. But after the Islamic revolution of Iran, with the direct involvement of clerics in ruling the state and in executive affairs and with the financial support of the government, the hawzah of Iran has somewhat lost its independence. There is a good chance that the hawzah of Najaf, in the post-Ṣaddām regime, will revive its independent hawzah of the Shīʿah, especially as the Najaf school does not interpret *Vilāyat-e Faqih* (the guardianship of the religious jurist) as the direct intervention of religion in politics.

Qom, with many prominent scholars in various branches of religious sciences and nearly forty thousand students, holds a unique position among Shīʿī hawzahs because only two thousand students are studying in Najaf in the early twenty-first century. Nevertheless, as a consequence of Ṣaddām's fall from power, Najaf has a valuable opportunity to regain its former glory.

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MUHAMMAD KAZEM SHAKER (2005)

HAYASHI RAZAN (1583–1657), also commonly referred to as Hayashi Dōshun; Japanese Confucian thinker of the early Tokugawa period. Hayashi Razan was born and raised in Kyoto as the scion of a family of samurai turned urban merchants. He was sent as a child to study at Kenninji, a Zen temple, but he resisted suggestions that he become a priest. Instead, from his mid-teens he committed himself to the study of Confucianism and Chinese secular learning. He began his career as a Confucian in 1603 at the age of twenty-one by conducting public lectures on the *Analects* of Confucius as explicated by the Chinese Song Neo-Confucian philosopher Zhu Xi. In this manner Razan sought to establish Zhu Xi Neo-Confucianism as a public teaching independent of both the hermetic traditions of medieval scholarship and the Zen-accented Confucianism that flourished in the major Zen temples of the Muromachi period. Toward the same end, affiliating himself with Fujiwara Seika, Razan adopted the latter's hallmark of a scholar's garb patterned after that of the scholar-official class of China.

However, Razan's career as an independent scholar was relatively short. In 1605 he came to the attention of Tokugawa Ieyasu, founder of the Tokugawa shogunate, and in 1607 he entered the service of the shogun. Earlier military rulers had employed monks to draft legislation and handle other government matters requiring erudition or writing skills beyond the ordinary. In accordance with that tradition, one of the conditions for Razan's employment was that he shave his head and assume priestly garb and the priestlike name of Dōshun. These conditions remained in effect for the duration of his employment, which continued until his death fifty years later.

Razan's employment by the shogunate is often taken as a symbol of Ieyasu's intent to establish Zhu Xi Neo-Confucianism as the official ideology. But as the conditions of his employment suggest, Razan was taken into service because of his general erudition rather than because of any particular expertise in Neo-Confucianism, and his official duties had little to do with the spread of Confucian teachings. Together with the Buddhist priests in shogunal employ, he oversaw the shogunal library, drafted diplomatic correspondence between the Tokugawa and the rulers of other countries, and participated in the drafting of laws and the compilation of the genealogical records of shogunal vassals. He also embarked on the writing of a major history of Japan, eventually completed after his death by his son Gahō, who inherited Razan's position with the shogunate.

Of more relevance to his background as a Confucian scholar, Razan established a private school and shrine to Confucius that eventually received shogunal support, although not on the scale of shogunal patronage of various Buddhist institutions. He wrote works elucidating various points of Zhu Xi's teachings and polemics against Christianity and Buddhism, which, in the Confucian vein, he attacked as socially disruptive and therefore immoral religions, alike in their practiced deception of a credulous, ignorant populace. At the same time, arguing that the Confucian way of government and Shintō were the same in essence, he asserted that to establish Confucianism in Tokugawa life was to restore Shintō to its true place in Japanese society.

However, by and large Razan was more noted for his wide-ranging knowledge than for the originality or compelling nature of his interpretation of Confucianism. He did not found a distinctive school comparable to that of Yamazaki Ansai or the later Ogyū Sorai. In the area of Shintō studies, his influence was also relatively slight. Perhaps out of rivalry with the Buddhist monks associated with the shogunate, who had succeeded in gaining the latter's support for their own more traditional fusion of Buddhism and Shintō (this support was reflected most graphically in the shogunate's sponsoring of the posthumous apotheosis of Tokugawa Ieyasu as a Buddhist-Shintō deity), Razan sought to establish his particular fusion of Confucianism and Shintō as the special hermetic tradition of his house. But his successors did not continue his efforts.

Thus Razan's main contribution to the establishment of Confucianism in Tokugawa life lay in his carving out a position for the professional scholar as a government adviser. At the same time, however, he was condemned by many other Tokugawa Confucians for his readiness to compromise his principles in the process of winning a place for himself. Both Yamazaki Ansai and Nakae Tōju began their careers as Confucians by denouncing Razan's acceptance of treatment as a priest despite his recognition of the evils of Buddhism. Others objected to the precedent he established for the treatment of the Confucian as a professional scholar differentiated from and subordinate to those responsible for the actual business of government. In the eyes of many Tokugawa Confucians, the career pattern for the Confucian scholar pioneered by

Razan contravened the traditional ideal of the Confucian playing a central role in society and thereby bringing his education and moral rectitude to bear on the transformation of society.

SEE ALSO Confucianism in Japan.

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KATE WILDMAN NAKAI (1987 AND 2005)

HAYDON, A. EUSTACE (1880–1975), was a Canadian historian of religions and a founder of the modern humanist movement in North America. Born in Brampton, Ontario, Albert Eustace Haydon attended McMaster University, where he received his B. A., Th.B., B.D., and M.A. degrees; the University of Saskatchewan, where he received another master's degree; and the University of Chicago, where he received his Ph.D. After serving as a Baptist pastor in Canada (1903–1913), a YMCA general secretary (1913–1916), and a Unitarian minister (1918–1924), Haydon joined the faculty of the University of Chicago in 1919; he became chairman of the department of comparative religion there in 1921 and a full professor in 1929, and he stayed at Chicago until his retirement in 1945.

Haydon was critical of theories of religion that understood it to be grounded in "religious consciousness" or in a response to a trans-human religious object or power, and of prior appropriations of the comparative method in the study of religion, which he saw to be apologetic in character; he in turn articulated a theory of religion that was influenced by the social sciences. Rejecting efforts to discover a unilinear evolutionary theory of religion as misdirected quests for origins, he considered religion to be basically social in character. In a manner consistent with his functionalist approach to religion, Haydon saw the religious sensibility as characterized by a shared social quest for the good (that is, the completely satisfying) life. The study of the history of religions became for him the continuing effort to describe the various manifestations of the persistent human quest to realize idealized values of the good life in diverse cultural contexts.

There were, he suggested, three components of religion: a socially envisoned set of ideal values, a program for the realization of these values, and a worldview in which the quest for these values is related to the natural and human environments. In his scholarly publications, Haydon implemented his understanding of the task of the historian of religions by describing the ways in which this human quest has been manifested in the particular religions that appear, in concrete forms, in diverse and endlessly varied cultural and conditioning environments. He understood humanism to have an essentially religious dimension. Haydon was one of the authors of both the Humanist Manifesto of 1933 and of the revised Humanist Manifesto of 1973.

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HEAD

This entry consists of the following articles:

SYMBOLISM AND RITUAL USE
THE CELTIC HEAD CULT

HEAD: SYMBOLISM AND RITUAL USE

The symbolic and religious value of the head is attested by various myths that stress the theme of many-headedness (thus calling attention to assorted aspects of divine power) as well as by numerous rituals, dating to prehistoric times, in which the human head is hunted, offered as a sacrifice, preserved, and venerated. Whatever exact meaning these myths and rites ascribe to the head, they all rest on a common, and certainly very ancient, valorization that must not be overintellectualized. In the most archaic psychology the forces of courage as well as the impulses of anger and violence have their base in the head. The Greeks of the Homeric age considered it the location of a *psuchē* difficult to control and opposed to reason and judgment, which were located in the chest and heart. In agreement with Alcmaeon of Croton, the Pythagoreans localized sperm in the head. From that localization of life force came the belief that the vital and spiritual element of a victim could be assimilated by eating his brain.

As a source of power, the skull naturally became an object of worship: its magical value came from the fact that it was supposed to be the center of life. Among the Celts, for example, the head was the container of a sacred force, whereas in other ancient and traditional cultures, the head is conceived of as the seat of vital energy, the active principle of the whole individual. From such beliefs come headhunting rituals, the offering of skulls in sacrifice, and veneration for ancestors' skulls, as well as the apotropaic talismanic value attributed to the head.

MULTIPLE HEADS. Indo-European mythologies represented the diverse fields of application of the divine power by endowing the gods with three heads. Hinduism recognizes the *trimūrti*, a figure with three faces on the same head, representing Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva; in other words, the creating, preserving, and destroying power of the divine One.

Śiva is often shown with three or five faces and many arms, a sign of his omnipotence. Agni (Fire), accomplishing the will of Indra in the world, is endowed with three heads. Indra, "the leader of all the gods and lord of light," will struggle against Triśiras, the son of Traṣṭr the demiurge, a young ascetic Brahmāṇ also possessing three heads: with one he reads the Vedas, with the second he eats, and thanks to the third, he surveys the whole universe. He was endowed with a threefold knowledge and a threefold will and thus risked upsetting the divine equilibrium. Indra therefore struck Triśiras with his thunderbolt and had a woodcutter chop off his three heads. In the Greek world, Hekate, the lunar goddess of night and of crossroads, has three heads: a horse's or cow's head and a dog's head that together frame the head of a young girl. She possesses an abundance of magical charms. In the same nocturnal register there corresponds the dog Kerberos, with three heads and tails of a serpent. Kerberos is the guardian of Hell, and his monstrous voracity, born of the imagination, is the incarnation of the greed of devouring death.

The Hindu god Aditi has two faces, for it is he who begins and ends each liturgical act (*Śatapatha Brahmāna* 3.2.4.16). Like him, the Bifrons Janus of the Romans has a double face, for he is the god of passage in time as well as space. His face is double, as his functions as overseer and protector of time are ambivalent. Among the Celts, the three-headed god, often identified by the Gallo-Romans with Mercury, had many representations in Aedui country and in the northeast of Gaul. Certain Celtic myths feature animal gods with three heads or three horns. This repetition signifies, as in Hinduism, the desire to represent, and thereby augment, the divine power. It is the same for the Thracian Rider, often endowed with three heads. In the nineteenth century, thousands of representations of anthropomorphic divinities with three or seven heads were destroyed during the evangelization of the Samoyeds. This many-headedness recalls the faculty of seeing and knowing everything that the Finno-Ugrians assigned to the sun, which was the principal manifestation of the god Num.

BEHEADING. Numerous discoveries in mountain caves have revealed the existence during the last interglacial period (150,000 years ago) of rites in which the skulls of bears were placed with long bones and preserved as if they were an offering to a divinity in charge of dispensing the spoils of the hunt. This rite seems analogous to one practiced not so long ago by the Inuit (Eskimo) of King William Island and to another rite practiced by the Samoyeds, in which a reindeer's head and long bones were exposed on some branches as an offering to Num, their supreme god. The discovery in Silesia of the skull of a young bear whose incisors and canines had been sawed and filed has been compared to a rite practiced by the Gilyak of Sakhalin Island and by the Ainu of Yezo, present-day Hokkaidō. This offering of an animal's skull and long bones appears very characteristic of hunting peoples. However, if the fact of their belief in a supreme being who is lord of the animals can be contested because of the lack of unambiguous documents, the religious character of this offering seems certain from the time of the late Paleolithic age.

It is difficult to ascertain whether it is a question here of a sacrifice of firstlings in which the brain and the marrow are offered to the god (the thesis of Alexander Gahs, 1928) or of a belief that the killed animal will not be reincarnated into another similar animal unless its bones remain intact (according to Karl Meuli's hypothesis in *Griechische Opferbräuche*, Basel, 1945). It is possible to state, however, that the idea of a ritual intended to assure the quantitative renewal of game rests upon an identical belief observed in a large zone extending from the Caucasus to Tibet, and in the entire Arctic European and North American zone. Similar indications have been found in Mesopotamia, in ancient Ugarit at the time of the Aqhat epic, as well as in the Egyptian *Book of Going Forth by Day*. Applied to the hunted animal (bear or reindeer) the belief is that life resides in the "soul of the bones," and that in offering the skull it is the whole animal, in its most vital part, that is thus consecrated to the god.

One finds the same belief, but now applied to man, in founding rituals that mention certain myths: the first decapitation is the sacrifice that founds the order of the created world. According to the Chaldean priest Berossus (third century BCE), the god Marduk ordered the head of the first (primordial) man cut off. From a mixture of the spurting blood and the earth, Marduk then fashioned all humans and animals. The construction of a city or a temple is also found to be linked to a sacrificial decapitation in certain myths about the Kotoko of Chad.

Pliny reports (*Natural History* 23.4) that when the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was constructed at Rome, a gigantic human skull was found during the laying of the foundations. This was interpreted as a favorable portent that Rome would be the head of the world and the capitol the seat of its power. We should also recall the Christian legend of Adam's skull, found at the very place where the cross of Christ was raised at Golgotha, "the place of the skull," as if to mark the foundation by the new Adam of the new Jerusalem of redeemed men. A completely different meaning, closer to that of hunting peoples, appears in the Aztec ritual of beheading during the sacrifice to Chicomecoatl-Xilonen, the goddess of young corn, and to Teteoinnan (Toci), the mother goddess of fertility and vegetal plenty. It should be noted that the same word, *quechcotona*, designates both sacrificial decapitation and the gathering of ears of corn.

The head-hunt, a rather common practice, is the necessary condition for being recognized as an adult and being deemed suitable for marriage. This practice is more like a ritualized war expedition than a sacrifice to the gods. It is well documented among Indo-European peoples such as the Scythians, who suspended the heads of enemies they had killed around the necks of their horses (Herodotos, 4.6.4). In ancient Greece the head hunt was an obligatory rite for initiation into the brotherhood of animal-men: Dolon the Trojan dressed himself in a wolf skin and tried one night to bring back the heads of Odysseus and Agamemnon; when he was discovered, his own head was cut off by Odysseus and Diomedes (*Iliad* 208ff.). The skull hunt was commonly practiced by the Celts. The Gauls hung the trophy skulls in their homes or nailed them to the main door after having rubbed them with cedar oil (Strabo, 4.4.5; Diodorus Siculus, 5.29.4–5). Sometimes these skulls, glazed with a thin layer of gold, served as sacred vessels for human blood libations to Teutates, and as cups strictly reserved for use by the druids and the chiefs (Livy, 23.24.12). This custom was to be maintained in Celtic Ireland and in the country of the Gauls. Gallic coins from Armorica pictured chopped-off heads as a victory symbol evoking the hero Cú Chulainn, the son of the god Lugh who brandished decapitated enemy heads in battle in order to frighten the enemy. He himself died in single combat with Lugard, who cleaved his head, since in the Celtic world death took effect only if the membranes of the brain, the adversary's seat of life and force, were reached.

In certain Semitic cultures, or cultures influenced by Semitic peoples, the head hunt is associated with the hunt for genital parts. Whether practiced in ancient Israel (*1 Sm.* 18.25–27, *2 Sm.* 3.14) or by ethnic groups in northern East Africa, the trophy brought back is, along with the head, the foreskin or male member. Among the American Plains Indians, scalps have always been war trophies that the Cheyenne or Blackfeet hung at the tip of a pole around which they danced in honor of the forces of nature. Joseph François Lafitau (*Mœurs des sauvages amériquains*, vol. 2, *De la guerre*, 1724) says that the Iroquois exposed the severed head of an enemy caught apart before the battle in order to frighten their opponents, but that afterward they only scalped those who were dead or left for dead. This scalp was prepared like the skin of an animal taken in the hunt and exhibited at the end of a pole. Lafitau compares this practice to that of the Scythians and the Gauls.

In the whole Malay archipelago, the head hunt and human sacrifice have been so closely linked that among the Niassans, the same word, *binu*, designates both. Among the Dayak in central Borneo, the ideal booty consists of the head because it contains "the substance of the soul." The victims of this hunt are excluded from the kingdom of the dead, as are the hanged, those struck by lightning, and those who died in an accident. On the other hand, victorious hunters and heroes who fall in the course of a head hunt are noble, and their souls will live at the summit of high mountains in the company of the Kamangs, their ancestors. A similar practice was more recently extended to the mountainous populations of Indochina, to the Nagas studied by J. P. Mills (1926–1937), as well as to the Jivaroan people of Latin America and the Mundurum of Brazil, who carefully preserved the heads of decapitated enemies, sometimes by shrinking. Head hunts are conducted on the occasions of rites of passage and initiation, or during the foundation rites for a common house, the chief's house, or the village temple.

The close connection between the skull hunt and human sacrifice has also been noted in Assam and Burma. Under the influence of Śaiva Tantrism, the ritualistic and symbolic role of the skull in Tibetan Buddhism has often been superimposed on a very ancient stratum of local beliefs, culminating in a revalorization of prehistoric practices in a type of Tantric yoga. Such was the case with the Aghorins, Śaiva ascetics who ate from human skulls and meditated while seated on cadavers, and who also practiced ritual cannibalism up to the end of the nineteenth century. They were the successors of the Kāpālikas, or "carriers of skulls," who had certain orgiastic practices and were worshipers of Śiva the great destroyer (*Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad* 6.8). Forgetting the yogic significance of the corpse and the skeleton, these Aghori naturally rediscovered the most ancient practice of the cannibalistic headhunters (Mircea Eliade, *Yoga*, New York, 1958, pp. 296–298).

The Aztec decapitation ritual took place after the human sacrifice. The head, separated from the body from which the heart and the lungs had already been removed, was impaled and publicly displayed on the *tzompantli*. The skulls, perforated transversally at the level of the temples, remained there a long time. This ritual was ordinarily practiced at the time of the sacrifices to the warrior gods, the hunting gods, or the agrarian gods, but we have not been able to uncover the deepest reason for such a practice. In a single Mexican village, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún saw seven *tzompantli* (*Florentine Codex*, appendix 2) and the conquistadors counted between 80,000 and 136,000 human heads exposed in this way, among which Cortés recognized those of fifty-three of his companions next to four heads of the first horses put to death. It is not certain that these "skull walls," which inspired respect mixed with fear, were the result of the worship of the god of death. But it is certain that the head was a sacrificial trophy that was displayed as the personal property of the Aztec collectivity, since the handling of these heads seems always to have been reserved for the priests and dignitaries of the Aztec people (*Florentine Codex* 3.53).

Certain African ethnic groups link the skull to initiation rituals; thus, in the blood-pact rite in Benin, the skull of a traitor or one who died by accident serves as the receptacle for a beverage made of the coinitiates' blood. Those who betray their oath will experience the same ignominious death as the skull's owner. In the rite of initiation into Haitian Vodou, the concepts of *pot-tête*, *mait-tête*, and *lav'tête* have quasi-magic importance, as the place where the initiate, whose head hair, body hair, and nails have been gathered, unites with the *lwa*, or spirit, received at the time of initiation.

THE HONORED HEAD. Discoveries from the Middle and Upper Paleolithic ages, in Europe as well as in the Middle East, or in Australia, show the importance of the cult of the skulls of the ancestors. Their heads were prepared with great care and preserved. These skulls have undergone an enlargement of the occipital orifice, have been colored with red ocher, a substitute for blood as the symbol of life, and have been preserved according to a precise ritual orientation exactly like that practiced not long ago in Sulawesi. Likewise, the Aborigines of Australia preserve their relatives' skulls with great care, in order to venerate them and carry them along with them on their pilgrimages. The same care in decorating and preserving the ancestors' skulls is also found among the Andamanese of the Bay of Bengal, the Papuans of New Guinea, and the Indians of Bolivia. All of them believe that the "soul of the dead" resides in his skull and that it protects them.

In the same way, the Celts preserved the skulls of their next of kin on "encephalic" pillars with hollowed-out niches, such as those of Roquepertuse, Entremont, and Glanum. This custom was maintained for a long time in the Danube Basin where the ancestors' skulls, separated from their skeletons, were preserved under the main altar in churches. Every year, during the rites of passage, the young men took them out and wore them around their necks. Certain African ethnic groups, like the Bamileke, bring the skull of the deceased back into the home and deposit it near the family altar, where it is invoked in prayers of benediction and protection. This is because the skull, as a vessel for sacred power of divine origin, protects its possessor against all kinds of peril and gives him health, wealth, and victory.

Belief in the oracular powers of the head follows from this worship of the ancestors' skulls. Because the head is the seat of life, it is believed that one can easily enter into a relationship with the dead by means of the skull. Those of ancestors permit one to question the spirits, a common practice in Melanesia and Polynesia. Among certain Indian ethnic groups of Latin America, the Jivaroan people in particular, the spirits manifest themselves in the shape of skulls, formidable if they belong to ancient shamans. The Inuit of Iglulik believe in the existence of tattooed flying heads, the manifestation of spirits who have taught language to the Inuit. In ancient Israel, the *terafim* show the relation between the worship of skulls and divination: small anthropomorphic domestic idols become the instrument of divination (*Gn.* 31:19; *1 Sm.*, 15:23, 19:13, etc.). Commenting on these texts, medieval rabbis affirmed that the *terafim* were made from the decapitated head of a firstborn son from which the hair had been removed. The head, sprinkled with salt and castor oil, was preserved and questioned about the future according to a ritual analogous to the one reported in the tenth century among the natives of Hauran. The Greeks likewise were acquainted with the existence of oracular heads: that of Orpheus at Lesbos (Philostratus, *Heroicus* 5.704) and that of Archonides preserved by Cleomenes of Sparta (Aelianus, 12.8).

But it is especially in Celtic literature that the theme of the oracular head comes to its fullest expression. Separated from the body, heads continue to act and speak as if they preserved the vital breath they once contained, like Brân's head in the *Mabinogi*, or those of the Roman Arthurians who take up the old theme of *Fledh Bhricrenn*, in which the hero Cú Chulainn is the prototype of the knight Gawain. The Celtic theme of the severed head, still living and speaking, is the foundation of Christian legends of cephalophoric saints, the most famous of which is Saint Denis, the bishop of Paris. All these legends originated in northern Gaul, in Celtic country, and do not illustrate, as was long believed, the affirmation of Chrysostom concerning the martyrs who could present themselves with confidence at God's tribunal "carrying their cut-off heads as a testimony of their martyrdom." It is always the same sacred power, vital and of divine origin, that is expressed by the severed head testifying to its religious faith.

SEE ALSO Bones; Crown; Human Sacrifice, overview article; Nimbus.

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HEAD: THE CELTIC HEAD CULT

Head-hunting as a proof of prowess and the veneration of the head as the seat of the soul and the source of spiritual potency are both far older than the dawn of the historical period. In Europe there is fairly clear evidence for them as far back as Mesolithic times. They were therefore part of the European heritage long before the Celts emerged as a distinct cultural entity. But here, as in so many other instances, what the Celts borrowed or inherited from others they soon made peculiarly their own. The veneration of the head became a central element of their ideology, a deep-set preoccupation which lasted from the birth of the Celtic peoples to their final conquest, one which left its imprint ubiquitously on their art and on their mythology.

The archaeological and artistic evidence for the head cult among the Celts is too extensive to catalog briefly. For example, at the Celto-Ligurian sanctuary of Entremont in southern Gaul (Provence), fifteen male skulls were found, several of them still bearing the marks of the spikes with which they had been fixed for display, and at Bredon Hill in Gloucestershire, England, a row of skulls uncovered near the entrance seem to have fallen from above the gate of the fort. At Entremont there are many examples of severed heads sculpted on blocks of stone, while Roquepertuse, also in Provence, has its famous decorated portico with niches in which human skulls were placed. There is also a wealth of heads sculpted in stone or carved in metal which, while not explicitly identified as severed heads, reflect clearly and sometimes very dramatically the importance accorded the head as a symbol of extraordinary power and divinity: for example, those from Heidelberg or from Mšecké-Žehrovice in Bohemia, or the pear-shaped heads on the Pfalzfeld Pillar, or the three-faced head from Corleck, County Cavan, Ireland.

Classical authors confirm the archaeological testimony. According to Posidonius, as reported by Diodorus Siculus (5.29.4–5) and Strabo (4.4.5), the Celts returned from battle with the heads of their defeated enemies hanging from the necks of their horses. The heads of their most distinguished opponents they embalmed in cedar oil and stored carefully in a chest to be displayed proudly to their visitors, and in some instances they used the skull of a distinguished enemy as a vessel for sacred libations. These and other similar references are supported by the insular Celtic literatures, where the return of the hero carrying the heads of his foes as trophies is commonplace. Cormac's *Glossary*, which dates from around 900 CE, defines the term *mesradh Machae*, "the nut harvest of Macha (the war goddess)," as "the heads of men after they have been cut down."

But the cult of the head went far beyond the pursuit of martial glory. The head was not only a prized heroic trophy but also a profoundly religious symbol, sometimes evidently representative of a deity and generally suggestive of supernatural wisdom and power. It was a source of prosperity, fertility, and healing as well as an apotropaic agent to ward off evil from the individual and from the community as a whole. Severed heads are often associated with sacred wells—themselves instruments of healing—in the archaeological record, in the early insular literature, and in modern oral tradition, and this association was carried over into the legends of the Christian saints. There are many instances in the literature of heads continuing to live—speaking, directing, entertaining—long after they have been separated from the body. Perhaps the most striking example is that of Bendigeidvran (Brân the Blessed), whose head presided over the otherworld and protected the island of Britain since its burial at the White Mount in London. Indeed so widespread and so persistent is the image of the head in its various aspects that Anne Ross has seen fit to describe it as "the most typical Celtic religious symbol."

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PROINSIAS MAC CANA (1987 AND 2005)

HEALING AND MEDICINE

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
HEALING AND MEDICINE IN AFRICA
HEALING AND MEDICINE IN THE AFRICAN DIASPORA
HEALING AND MEDICINE IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST
HEALING AND MEDICINE IN JUDAISM
HEALING AND MEDICINE IN ISLAMIC TEXTS AND TRADITIONS
POPULAR HEALING PRACTICES IN MIDDLE EASTERN CULTURES
HEALING AND MEDICINE IN GREECE AND ROME
HEALING AND MEDICINE IN CHRISTIANITY
ALTERNATIVE MEDICINE IN THE NEW AGE
HEALING AND MEDICINE IN ĀYURVEDA AND SOUTH ASIA
HEALING AND MEDICINE IN CHINA
HEALING AND MEDICINE IN TIBET
HEALING AND MEDICINE IN JAPAN
HEALING AND MEDICINE IN INDIGENOUS AUSTRALIA

HEALING AND MEDICINE: AN OVERVIEW

Healing occupies a singular and prominent place in religious experience throughout the world. Often the most important figure or symbol in any given religious tradition is the source of healing, and illness tends to function as a magnet for many and varied ritual responses. In addition, the existence of personal suffering in the world may serve as a springboard for theological and mythological exploration and explanation.

The aims of religious healing are consonant with the overall goals of religious life in a culture. Healing may be directed toward reestablishing ritual order, life in abundance, the expulsion of disorder and evil, redemption from condemnation, salvation from guilt and sin, liberation from existence, or extinction of existence itself. Sickness reminds religious beings to assume their peculiar role in the world, one cognizant of sacred realities and coordinated with the cosmos. Rituals of healing redress the fragmented social, personal, temporal, physical, and metaphysical tissues constituting the whole of the universe. All this is possible because the human body and its experiences comprise a knowable world of physical, spiritual, mental, cognitive, and emotional forces that reveal supernatural structures of creation. Religious healing clarifies the ways in which the individual human body lies at the center of sacred meaning.

The meaning and value of ideas and experiences associated with healing become most clear in the specific religious contexts in which they arise. Thus, for example, the passion of physical suffering has different meanings in the self-sacrifice of the Buddhist Bodhisattva Ksemadatta who burned his own hand to become a living lamp; in the crucifixion of Christ, necessary for those who believe in him to gain everlasting life; and in the death of al-Ḥallāj (d. 922), the Muslim mystical poet who saw the human condition in both its love and painful separation of absence and death as a mirror of the divine nature and its attributes.

The following discussion deals with religious healing from a comparative perspective. The outline roughly follows the hypothetical contours of an incident of sickness and cure, moving from the origins of the disease and techniques of cure through the discovery of symptoms, their diagnosis, choice of therapy, the actions of cure, and the aftereffects of healing. Information on healing in particular religious traditions and culture areas can be found in the articles immediately following this overview.

MYTHS OF THE ORIGINS OF DISEASE. Images and symbols of the origins of disease help justify and rationalize sickness and exculpate (or blame) the victim of illness. They also help the community to think about the condition of sickness. However, the importance of myths of the origins of disease goes beyond the social and cognitive in that they help locate sickness as an ontological condition—a mode of being.

The supreme being itself may send afflictions. In keeping with their absolute and total character, celestial supreme beings dispatch people with summary diseases and capital punishments. The Semang of Kedah (Malaysia), for example, believe that the supreme being Kari, who created most of the universe, is omniscient and sees every offense from his dwelling place on high. He punishes wrongdoers by dropping a flower from a mysterious plant on them. Wherever the flower falls, fatal lightning strikes. Often, congenital diseases are attributed to the creator. The Mondari of southern Sudan attribute the origin of certain nervous disorders and mental sickness to Ngun Ki (Spirit-of-the-Above). Symptoms of such diseases include sudden onset, an indication that the power from above has fallen hard and swiftly. Alternately, mental incapacity that appears to be congenital is also attributed to the authorship of the creator, for the afflicted are considered bad creations that were broken or spoiled in the making.

Supreme beings and creators not only set in motion fatal and incurable diseases, they can indirectly unleash a flood of pathogenic substances on the world. This is especially the case when creators destroy their own creations through universal flood, fire, petrifaction, darkness, or earthquake. These catastrophes generally leave toxic residues. Left over and only partially destroyed, such fragments of the primordial world cause disease in those who come into contact with them (if these fragments should be inert substances like poisons, ashes, or brackish primordial waters) or who are attacked by them, as in the case of leftover primordial monsters continuing to devour victims in today's world.

In the northwest Amazon area of South America, in the upper Río Negro region, the Baniwa people believe that many diseases originated when the culture hero Kuai was consumed by the fire that swept through the world at the beginning of time. From Kuai's mouth and other body orifices streamed saliva and fluids that became the poisons of this world, and from the fur on his body came the pathogenic darts and slivers that invade human beings.

At times, a co-creator, one who competes with or thwarts the efforts of the divine creative partner, introduces disease into the world. According to the Mazdean theology of the Iranian *Dēnkard* (9.37.5), the world was once perfect, immortal, and immaterial (*menog*). Even the material creation (*getig*) made by Ōhrmazd, the good creator, was perfect. Only when Ahriman creates finite space does he corrupt the world with evil and sickness, a state of confusion (*gumezishn*) that will endure until the end of time. Ahriman's demonic creations inhabit human bodies, where they lodge themselves as diseases.

Often a more ambiguous divine figure introduces disease. Divine culture heroes or mythical tricksters collaborate in creation with the supreme being. However, they are rarely equal in power or status with the high god. They are usually deputies commissioned to carry out the will of the creator. In the course of discharging their duties, however, they bungle the job or meet with misadventure that lets loose disease. Bauro, the hero of Tucano-speakers of southern Colombia, for example, was entrusted with the gourd of night. This gourd would allow people to dream and to perform ceremonies if it was opened with due care. Unfortunately, the hero was unable to prevent meddlers from opening the container prematurely. Its contents flooded the earth with penetrating darkness, accompanied by the diseases of noxious vermin, stinging insects, and venomous reptiles.

In some cases, the divine or supernatural body itself gives rise to disease. This is especially true among mythic figures whose slain cadavers are dismembered to bring into being various species of plants or animals. Consumptive realities (i.e., substances to be consumed) appear not only in the forms of food but in the guise of diseases.

Ancient Daoist texts (*Huainanzi,* chaps. 2, 4; *Zhuangzi*, chap. 9; and *Shanhai jing*, chap. 13) describe the origins of madness. Ancient gods of the time of paradise drummed their bellies and created a rumble-guts of thunder and lightning, shattering the world with a primordial deluge. The belly is the location of the Yellow Court, the center of meditative techniques and mystical experiences that transmute the body, rid it of impurities, and reconceive the individual as a holy and immortal embryo. The individual who suffers madness in this way is said to know with his or her belly the ancestral gods who drummed at the time of creation.

Many diseases result from the incomplete condition of creation. According to a myth reporting the emergence of the Navajo peoples at the beginning of time, colors were kept separate from one another in different world levels and in the baskets located at each of the cardinal directions. In the center of the universe was placed a covered basket containing whooping cough, smallpox, nervous disorders, and all manner of sickness. The basket also contained the first human being and his companions. When the mythical people emerged through the various layers of the primordial world and ascended into this one, they gradually accumulated a riot of confused colors collected from all the various world layers they had passed through. They also brought along the basket of ills. Creation, increasingly complicated over time, maintains its order only with difficulty. In the Navajo case, the failure to intercalate the myriad orders of sounds, colors, directions, supernatural beings, plants, stones, and qualities of light accumulated during the ascent through multiple worlds, brings on disorder reflected in the body as sickness.

Finally, disease can enter the world through the disobedience of a creature. Instructed by the supreme being, creator, or culture hero to keep silent, maintain vigil, stand motionless, or observe dietary restrictions, the first people disobeyed. For example, consider the story in chapter 3 of the book of *Genesis,* in which Adam and Eve fall into sin and death because of their disobedience to Yahweh.

These mythic scenarios do not exhaust the kinds of episodes portraying the origins of disease. The point is that religious healing rarely, if ever, confronts a merely biological disorder located exclusively in the body of the patient. Religious healing encounters a primordial reality: battles with supernatural forces that have existed from the beginnings of time. Healing must be an act of recreation, corrective creation, or cosmic battle waged to triumph over or annihilate miscreant primordial powers. The healer must be cognizant of the origins and nature of the realities he or she confronts through the experience of the patient. Disease forces the religious healer to reckon with the creation of the world.

PROXIMATE CAUSES OF ILLNESS. The mythic origins of illness serve as the ideological background for the diagnostic procedures that determine the proximate causes of illness in specific instances. In most cases, the proximate causes of illness are more immediately relevant for the diviner or diagnostician and certainly more relevant for the patient. After all, these causes are specific and individual and can be treated in the here and now. The immediate causes of the disease may be due to the castigating action of ancestors or Gods as a response to sin or moral failing of the individual. This castigation often is construed as educational in value: The affliction causes the individual to change his or her behavior for the better. In these instances, the illness may be construed as a spiritual "wake-up call" or as an opportunity to make amends and start over.

Sometimes illness is caused by the hidden malevolence of neighbors or relatives or by nasty ghosts or spirits. In traditional European societies, the evil eye was believed to cause a variety of illnesses and other misfortunes. Those who give others the evil eye often are understood to behave out of envy, although that envy sometimes is unintentional rather than purposefully malicious.

Another frequent proximate cause of illness is the poor performance of ritual acts, such as inattention to ancestors or incorrect ceremonial etiquette. Paul, for example, pointed out to the Christians of Corinth this cause of their illnesses: "For any one who eats and drinks without discerning the body eats and drinks judgment upon himself. That is why so many of you are weak and ill and others of you have died" (*1 Cor.* 11:29–30). Impurity is another frequent cause of illness. Impurity sometimes is the result of ritual failings, but often is the consequence of contamination of one sort or another. Inappropriate sexuality and contact with strangers, certain animals, menstruating women, and the dead are common sources of impurity.

A particularly common cause of illness falls into the general category of bad social relations. Illness may be construed as triggered by anger or jealousy or as a manifestation of overly strong emotions. In cultures characterized by rigid gender hierarchies, illness in women often is interpreted as triggered by their rebellion or disrespect toward their husbands, fathers, or other socially dominant men.

The Malays believe that human beings are composed of minds, bodies, souls, and two other elements: *semangat*, the universal spirit that dwells in all creation and when startled may leave its container, and *angina*, the Inner Winds inherited from one's parents. These Inner Winds govern individual talent and personality. If strong Winds are not expressed in daily life, they accumulate in the body, causing physical and emotional pain. Stifled Inner Winds are suspected to be the cause of intractable illness that has not responded to straightforward medicine or simple spells.

DIAGNOSIS. When people fall ill and suspect that their affliction has a supernatural cause, they seek expert advice. In many social settings there is an informal but ordered network of people who help the sick person choose the best course of action. Such a therapy management group often consists of relatives, friends, neighbors, and local authorities. The group helps decide how serious the crisis is and how to face it. Should the illness endure, interrupting the productive relations of the individual and the community, special assistance is sought from someone familiar with the meaning of the symptoms. The individual who diagnoses sickness may serve as a referral center to medical practitioners specializing in one disease or another. Alternately, the diagnostician may both discern the disease and cure it. The diagnostician reads the signs of the disease manifest as symptoms and reconstructs both the mythic and social history of the sickness.

Prior to Christian evangelization, the Kaluli people of the tropical forest north of Mount Bosavi on the island of New Guinea believed the forest around them was coincident with an invisible world of spirits with whom human beings could communicate through mediums. Spirit séances would be held to cure the sick, investigate witchcraft, uncover the cause of death, or locate lost pigs. According to Edward Schieffelin (1996), Kaluli believe illness to be caused when the invisible spirit-counterpart of a person's body is dismembered by a witch or injured by other circumstances in the spirit world. The person can be treated by asking the spirits, through a medium, to locate the patient's body-counterpart in the spirit world and repair the damage.

The competence of the diagnostician may stem from his or her personal experiences of sickness from similar diseases, from innate gifts or talents (e.g., clairvoyance), acquired techniques (e.g., special objects of power), or familiarity with spirits. Diviners sometimes master elaborate symbolic schemes accounting for the elemental substances, forces, and processes at work throughout the cosmos. Such systems of correspondence reduce the infinitely complex circumstances of mythic, cosmic, social, and personal history to a relatively few combinations of symbolic items. Some African systems of correspondence have given evidence of astounding complexity. Reputedly revealed by divinities at the beginning of time, Yoruba divinatory techniques reveal the correspondences that exist between patterns of nuts or shells cast on the ground and hundreds of lengthy, enigmatic verses memorized by the diviner. The diviner must know the nuances of meaning in the poems and be expert in applying them to new situations. The verses allude to mythic personages and events that shaped the world. The current condition of the patient is brought into line with some primordial condition of creation revealed in the poem. The sickness, its origin, and the conditions of its cure are revealed when the diviner recognizes the suitable pattern of shells, the proper verse, and its fitting interpretation. Versions of this elaborate system of correspondence have spread throughout West Africa and the Americas. Not only do diviners have keen memories and sharp intuitions; they are shrewd social analysts whose probing questions unveil the patient's medical history and uncover sources of tension and anxiety in the community.

In the Peruvian Andes, diviners use *mesas* to diagnose sickness. *Mesas* are ground cloths, tables, or boards whose divisions reflect the principle structures of the universe, namely, the three levels of the world (the heavenly realm, the inner earth, and the central world inhabited by humans) as well as the elemental structures of time (the seasons, years, night, day, and hours). On the *mesa*, the diviner locates objects representing and embodying supernatural forces with which he or she is familiar. During a nightlong ceremony in which he asks the patient a series of questions concerning the sick person's physical and social condition, the diviner arrives at a judgment concerning the nature of the sickness and the course of therapy. By successfully locating the patient in space and time, he or she defines the key supernatural relations that condition the patient's existence, including the current illness.

Other systems of correspondence use the symbolism of colors, sounds, movements, or the disposition of sacrificed body parts such as lungs, liver, or bones. They may also use dreams and other experiences of the diviner or patient to connect the hidden conditions of the sick person to the more legible outward signs of the manifest world. The point is that all creation is isomorphic; each part bears the same arrangement of forces, qualities, and substances. If the diviner can clarify the working order or disorder of any one part of creation, he or she can see more clearly the same conditions obtaining in other areas of existence such as the affected space of the patient's body.

MYTHS OF THE ORIGINS OF CURE. The time of creation also proves to be important for the origins of techniques of cure. These myths of origin play a directly therapeutic role in episodes of sickness and healing. Thus, for example, in healing a newborn infant, a specialist among the Manus fisher folk of the Admiralty Islands intones the origin myths of the ginger and aromatic herbs that he passes around from one person to another during the ceremony. The myths of origin of these herbs is rather lengthy. It is sung several times, tracing the history of the curative substances from the beginning of time to the more recent period when it was acquired by the medical specialist who does the singing.

Myths of the origins of cure are often recited in the presence of the ailing patient, for only then can the therapy be effective. The rite of cure clarifies the mythic origins of the medicine that is always embedded in a cosmogonic myth. A formulaic chant-remedy for toothache in ancient Assyria begins with the time when Anu, the creator, made the heavens. In their turn, the heavens created the earth; the earth, the rivers; the rivers, the canals; and the canals made smaller pools. Eventually, the pools gave birth to the Worm of Sickness. Weeping with hunger, this pathogenic Worm went to ask the supernatural beings Shamash and Ea for something to consume. No fruits of the earth would do; the Worm would satisfy itself only with human teeth. Even while the worm is given license to devour human teeth and cause decay, it is cursed and destroyed by Ea. In times of need, the myth was recited in a ritual fashion to reenact the origins of the world and the origins of toothache and its cure. As sure as the world and dental decay exist, so too does the power, made present through the performance of the myth, to overcome the pain and its corrosive cause.

The important issue is that, at some time in the mythic past, a supernatural power of cure has vanquished the power of affliction in question. Not only does this sacred act set a precedent for healing the disease, through recitation of the myth of cure, the healer makes present once again the ancient supernatural powers and events that conquered the disorder at the beginning of time. Thus, the healer's words and deeds are effective.

The accounts of the origins of cure open up the universe of meaning that binds a culture and stimulates its creativity in the face of sickness. Each category of *materia medica* has its own origin. For centuries, Qolla-huaya healers in the Bolivian Andes, for example, have been remarkable herbal curers. They possess a pharmacopoeia of nearly nine hundred medicinal plants, carefully classified according to local symbolic orders. This extraordinary feat seems motivated and organized by the fact that the plants are vehicles for the fluids, especially fat, blood, and water, that come from the body of Pachamama (Mother Earth), who is a divine being. She gives life to the human offspring who dwell on her mountainside. Curative powers are transferred from the body of Mother Earth to the circulatory systems of her children through the various species of plants. They are gifts of Mother Earth, and their energies are released when the plant leaves are steeped in water as a tea and drunk by the patient.

Rattles, drums, costumes, songs, and the implements and techniques of cure may have mythic origins that account for their power. In Eurasia, for example, drums are a part of the religious healer's curing practice. The studies of L. P. Potapov (1968), S. I. Vajnstejn (1968), and Marcell Jankovics (1984) show that the myths of origins of these drums and the powers that fill them when they are played take concrete expression in their structural design and in the drawings depicted on the hides of the drumhead. The drums of Altaic peoples, such as the Shor, Teleut, and Kumandin, often depict mythic beings associated with constellations of the zodiac. Uralic peoples, such as the Selkup, Ket, Dolgans, Nganasani, Evenki, and Eveny, draw maps of the sky, centered often on the Milky Way, the supernatural path along which the healer travels to enter the original world of celestial powers. These skymaps illustrate a mythic geography and locate the principal powers pertinent to the ecstatic healer's practice.

HEALING TECHNIQUES. Just as myths of the origin of disease are given immediate meaning via specific understandings of the cause of particular illness episodes, myths of the origin of cures are actualized through a variety of healing techniques. Given the avidity with which human beings seek out healing and the diversity of understandings of the origins and proximate causes of illness, a comprehensive list of ritual healing techniques and procedures would be an impossibility. There are, however, several categories that can, in one form or another, be identified in many cultural settings. Although this is far from a hard and fast rule, it often is the case that the pursuit of healing begins with simpler or more straightforward (less expensive, less elaborate, less specialized) rituals and progressively moves on to more complex ones.

First, one of the simpler clusters of healing techniques centers on the manipulation of sacred or symbolic objects. This cluster was addressed prominently in the writings of early anthropologists who identified subcategories of contagious magic (i.e., contact with objects understood to carry particular power) and sympathetic magic (i.e., the use of objects understood to resemble the desired effect). Although the pejorative meanings often associated with the term *magic* are not particularly useful, the recognition that objects are ritually manipulated in particular ways is quite useful. Contagious magic may include ritual healing techniques such as wearing an amulet that has been written, blessed, or manufactured by a saint or other holy person. Sympathetic magic may include ritual healing techniques such as the use of *milagros* (charms with tiny legs, arms, hearts, etc.) representing the body parts or organs in need of healing that are placed into receptacles at Catholic shrines and churches in Mexico and Texas.

A second category of healing relates particular saints to specific illnesses. In towns and villages on the north coast of Portugal, different saints are connected to the healing of different parts of the body. Saint Bras is called on for a sore throat; Saint Bento, to cure warts and rashes; and Saint Luzja, for eye diseases. Lena Gemzoe relates this explanation given her by a woman in one small town:

> Not long ago I had an illness, it was chicken-pox; that came all over. . . . I got it and very, very badly. First my children, then since I was with them, it struck me. . . . I was very, very sick because I had sores on my head, on my back, on my legs. . . . I clung to Saint Bento and asked: "Oh, blessed Saint Bento, liberate me, God, from become scarred"—because it looks so ugly. If he would clean my whole body and clean my children, when the day of his feast comes I will go there and I will offer, for example a head of wax or a bust of a woman or . . . I asked for my children, I would give an entire child, two entire children of wax. (Gemzoe, 2000, p. 81)

Another cluster of healing techniques centers on prayer and meditation. The variations within this cluster are many. Who prays—the individual in need of healing or someone else on that individual's behalf? Is the prayer spontaneous and idiosyncratic, or does it follow a set liturgical formula? Is the prayer understood to be effective because it elicits divine response, or because it calms the emotions or centers the mind of the person who prays or meditates? Is the ritual silent and private or recited aloud? In contemporary American society, healing prayers occur privately, recited under the breath by millions of people going into surgery, as part of public extravaganzas, like revival meetings of various sorts, and electronically, over the internet and on television.

A third cluster of healing rituals have to do with removing the object, experience, emotion, force, spirit, or person that is understood to cause illness. Roughly speaking, this cluster includes confession, exorcism, and purification of various sorts. In many settings the removal is verbal, narrative, metaphorical, or symbolic. Public and private—and voluntary and forced—confessions of sins and misdeeds are other manifestations of extraction techniques: The sickness-causing information, guilty feeling, or wicked or aberrant thought is removed from inside the individual and, in one sense or another, dissipated or neutralized.

Sucking is a widespread technique of cure. The healer may use some technical device such as a goat's horn for cupping or a leech for drawing out blood. More often, the healer sucks out the intruding pathogen with his or her own mouth. In such cases, the healer's mouth is a medical instrument, a womb of transformation that changes the sickening substance into something harmless or even helpful. Sucking can be a stunning spectacle. Several investigators have commented on the violence, noise, and aggressive suction that draws blood from different places on the patient's body. The healer's mouth, throat, and stomach possess special powers. The Tapirape healer of Brazil, for example, intoxicates himself with great gulps of tobacco smoke from his pipe. He deliberately makes himself sick so that he begins to vomit, but he sucks his own vomitus and accumulated saliva into his mouth. Throughout this noisy performance, he stops intermittently to suck on the body of his patient. Finally he vomits up the entire mess and searches for the intrusive object that has provoked sickness. Sometimes several healers carry on cures of this sort in joint practice and at the same time. On these occasions the sound of violent vomiting reverberates throughout the village.

Purification techniques include physical cleansing practices such as washing and spiritual practices such a meditation that eliminates impure thoughts. Often, the physical and spiritual aspects of purificatory rituals are inseparable as in the case of biblical laws of ritual immersion after menstruation or contact with the dead. Clearly, immersion in water washes away blood and other bodily effluvia. Yet the immersion also is understood to transform the individual into a spiritual state in which he or she can participate in the religious life of the community. When outsiders are targeted as the source of sickness in the body social, as has happened historically in response to some immigrant groups, the larger collective may erupt into violence and adopt ritualized forms of quarantine or expulsion—often unjustly—with the idea of purifying and healing itself.

A fourth cluster of healing techniques involve inserting something into the person in need of healing. The most obvious examples in this cluster involve the ingestion of medicine of one sort or another. The ritual aspects of this cluster take a variety of forms: techniques of ingestion, techniques of collecting or preparing the medicine, and so on. In some instances the substance that is ingested or inserted is clearly material in nature and understood to work on fairly straightforward biological principles as with an herbal tea, for example. In other instances, the substance has both material and spiritual aspects (e.g., drinking water in which a paper with a verse from the Qurʾān, a Buddhist sūtra, or the Bible has soaked). Even substances that may seem to be material can be understood to work in a nonmaterial way, such as homeopathy in which the pills that are ingested are understood to work on an energetic level. The insertion of devices like acupuncture needles adds an additional tangibility to the concept of insertion, coupled with energy manipulation, and occurs in the context of a set process. The practitioner reads the patient's pulse, looks at his or her tongue, and listens to the narrative of symptoms prior to needling.

A fifth cluster of techniques involve touch. At the most basic level, touch simply is the common human act of rubbing a body part that hurts. At the other end of the spectrum, touch is done on the astral or energetic level rather than through direct contact with the patient's skin. Reiki healing is a good example of nonphysical touch. As a healing technique, touch is particularly multivalent. Its effectiveness can be understood in physical terms such as relaxing muscles or increasing blood flow, in emotional or social terms such as creating warm and healing interpersonal connections, and in spiritual terms such as channeling the power of divine entities.

A sixth, and one of the largest, cluster of healing techniques has to do with the induction of trance and other altered states of consciousness. In many cultures either the sick individual or the healer carries out some sort of practice that results in the elicitation of healing dreams (in which the dream itself heals or healing knowledge is revealed in the dream). Healing trance and spirit possession as in, for example, the *zaar* rituals in parts of Africa are elicited through drumming and dancing. In other contexts, altered states of consciousness in the healer, the patient, or both are elicited through substances such as mushrooms or tobacco, sleep or sensory deprivation, repetitive or hypnotic types of motions, singing or chanting, or meditation.

A final cluster of ritual techniques highlight some form of cognitive restructuring (i.e., practices that encourage the patient or other participants to see or construe their affliction in a new or healthier way). Storytelling often is the means by which the cognitive restructuring is effected. Through the recitation of myths and tales that have cultural or spiritual resonance, the patient comes to see his or her own suffering as a part of a larger cosmic unfolding. Christian Science offers a clear example of cognitive restructuring: The work of the Christian Science healer is to help the patient understand that his or her suffering is not real.

HEALERS. The power of healers often is associated with a god or culture hero who introduced healing techniques or is understood to be the prototypical healer. In the Christian tradition, the miraculous cures of Jesus are the distinctive sign that the Messiah has come and that the new age of the kingdom of God has dawned (*Mt.* 4:23–25; 10:1; 10:7–8; 11:4–5). As the divine physician, Jesus instructs his disciples how to cure all kinds of diseases, especially by casting out unclean spirits. Any given culture may recognize a range of religious healing specialists. The diversity of religious healers is an outgrowth of the intricate and varied sets of relationships with supernatural beings who are subtly different from one another and a reflection of power relations and the importance of social hierarchies in particular settings.

The types of religious healers are many in number and diverse in style. Some are specialists in simple instrumental cure such as bonesetting, herbal remedies, and dietary prescriptions. They master a finite canon of pharmacopoeia or therapeutic protocols. Their training is often scholastic and routinized. Of greater religious significance are the healers specialized in confronting disease through symbolic dramas, especially rituals of cure. Such healers are called to their vocations through a number of different means. Sickness is often a sign of election by a supernatural agent of cure. The isolation of serious illness, the sufferings that the candidates endure, and the deliriums they undergo can all be interpreted as an initiation to the office of healer.

The Aztec at the time of the Spanish conquest distinguished among several medical specialties. A number of sixteenth-century texts document these specialties and their procedures. The *tetonalmacani*, *tetonaltiqui*, or *tetonallaliqui* cared for those patients, especially young children, who had lost their *tonalli*, a species of soul. The *teapatiani* ("healer of the crown of the head") applied pressure to the palate of infants, massaging it in such a way as to close the fontanel in a propitious manner. Another practitioner designed figures on the body of the patient before bleeding the victim suffering dysentery. Some healers sucked out sickness and transformed the intruding pathogen into a piece of parchment, flint, pebble, or some other object. Other Aztec clinicians included bonesetters and curers of scorpion bites, gynecological disorders, and sicknesses suffered during the rites of passage through the life cycle.

Aztec mystical healers were called to their vocation when struck by lightning. Midwives demonstrated their power by dancing publicly during the great religious feasts. Deep massagers cured by warming their feet directly in fire and then walking on the affected muscles of the patient. The most esteemed specialist in the Aztec tradition was the herbalist, and the most despised was the *tetlaxiliqui*, the abortionist. In their dreams and visions, shamans of the Tunguz, Buriats, and other Siberian peoples see their own bodies tortured, pierced, cut into pieces with knives, boiled down to their bones, and then reconstituted. This mystical experience of death and resurrection qualifies them as future healers. In a concrete way, their own body has overcome death and disease. Traveling to other worlds in their ecstasies, these healers bring back medical materials (crystals, herbs, rattles, pieces of bones) as signs of their powerful relationship with sacred beings. One Siberian shaman, for example, fashioned a drum from three boughs he took from the mythical tree growing at the center of the world. That cosmic tree transects every spatial and temporal layer of the universe. During treatment, the sound of the drum transports the patient's soul through space and time to the moment and place where creation began.

The retrieval of the lost soul of the sick person is a dangerous task requiring that the healer's soul exit his or her body and travel to the margins of the universe, to the heights of heaven, or to the depths of the underworld. Ecstatic healers are frequently clairvoyants. Their vision penetrates the opaque matter of the patient's body and of the material world during their quest for the lost soul. Perilous ordeals that jeopardize the soul of the healer fill the journey to fetch back the soul. Often, the battles that take place in the outer regions of the cosmos are acted out in the center of the healing arena or, if the healer has fallen dead while his soul journeys on high, the epic adventure is recounted in exciting detail later.

Exorcists also have previous acquaintance with spirits afflicting their patients. Although they may not have contracted the disease, they have encountered the supernatural beings who possess the sick. In their initial confrontation, exorcists learn to recognize the voice of the pathogenic spirit. That first meeting of the exorcist and the spirit of affliction amounts to a time of trial in which he or she exercises the techniques needed to expel the possessing spirit. Very frequently exorcists establish a dialogue with the disease-bearing being. In the course of the conversation and interrogation, the possessor reveals its identity either through its voice or by announcing its name. During the dialogue, the spirit also reveals to the exorcist the manner in which it may be expelled. Often the sounds of exorcism that the healer recites are the very sonic structures of the afflicting spirit. The names, songs, babbling sounds, or poems are the outward manifestations of invisible forces.

The *mau tham* ("experts in reciting words") are exorcists in the Buddhist communities of northeast Thailand. They specialize in magic uses of sacred sound. During apprenticeship, they fall into trance, trembling and losing consciousness, while sacred Buddhist words are recited. While entranced, their teacher interrogates them and learns which sacred verses the disciples need to know to expel spirits. The spirits (*phi*) become identified with the totally incomprehensible sounds, which represent verses from Buddhist texts. The *mau tham* lives a life of strict observance and restriction. Should he or she eat forbidden foods, the knowledge inside him or her, in the form of sonic images of words, would turn into the afflicting enemies that he battles and exorcises in his patients. Exorcism has a slight twist to it because the *phi*, the possessing spirit, actually inhabits the body of a neighbor in the village. From the body of its host, it attacks the patient of the exorcist. During the ceremony, the exorcist forces the patient to pronounce the name of the person in whom the afflicting spirit resides. Then the *mau tham*, recognizing the spirit in question, forces it to leave by reciting its sounds.

In many situations, the relationship between the healer and the patient is dramatically hierarchical (although this hierarchy does not necessarily carry over into other aspects of life). Healing hierarchy can be expressed in various ways: The healer is healthy, and the patient is sick; the healer has inherent healing powers, and the patient does not; the healer has acquired specialized healing knowledge (in a variety of ways), and lay people do not have this knowledge; and the healer has a special ability to communicate with the gods or to channel divine energy, and lay people do not. The high ritual status of the healer is made known through diplomas, lingo, insignia, special clothing, and honorific titles. In many ways, the Western biomedical physician epitomizes this mode. Years of specialized training and apprenticeship induct him or her into the culture of biomedicine, in which he or she acquires the knowledge and skills related to the practice of medicine—how to "work up" a patient, formulate a case history, arrive at a differential diagnosis, manage a case, work within a medical team, and assume the mantle of authority conferred on physicians, symbolized in the white coat. What differentiates the biomedical physician from some other types of healer is the careful distancing, on the part of biomedicine as a whole, from the notion that the physician taps into communication with the sacred. What takes its place is the power of physical evidence, understood to hold sway even as it is susceptible to the surfacing of new and more compelling data. As a concept, however, evidence functions as a quasi-absolute.

In other situations the relationship between the patient and healer is quite egalitarian with the healer serving as more of a facilitator of the patient's own healing powers than as an expert who actually carries out the healing. A contemporary example of this mode comes from the world of hospices, hospital chaplains, and congregational nurses, many of whom describe their work as a "ministry of presence"—as simply "being there" with the one who is ill. In this minor mode, the healer accompanies patient, witnesses patient's suffering, and supports the patient in his or her healing process.

THE SOCIAL BODY. With all of these techniques, the practice of religious medicine becomes public theater. The fallen condition of the physical body serves the cause of high religious drama. On the tragic or comic outcome hangs the fate of individuals and communities. Furthermore, the symbolic actions of cure—the episodic structure of the healing séance marked by shifts in music, style, color symbolism, body postures, and changes in symptoms—reveal the meaning of the sacred as it impinges on concrete existence. For this reason, religious healing rituals are well-attended event, spectacles from which flow important symbolic languages used to understand and order the world.

The role played by the community in healing rituals is highly variable. In contemporary American twelve-step programs, the community is essential to the healing process. It is the very fact of the community gathering together that effects the healing. In this maximal mode, illness in the individual often is conceptualized as a reflection of illness in the social body, thus healing must occur at the communal level. The notion that gathering in community is necessary for healing to take place has been well developed by Edith Turner and Victor Turner.

In the Mediterranean area, Western Europe, and the Balkans of Eastern Europe, medicinal dances performed by the entire community heal the sick. The whole group becomes a manifestation of the sacred displayed at their public ceremony. In quite different ways, Ṣūfī brotherhoods of Morocco, the Macedonian Rusalija, Serbian Kraljice-Rusalje, Romanian Calus, and peasants of southern Italy, from the classical period of Magna Graecia into the twenty-first century, cure through the power of group dances that battle with supernatural causes of disease and death. At times, the sick patient is forced to arise and dance and, in that way, manifests the healing power in his or her own body. Curative dancing practices are ancient among these cultures. Similar group therapies exist throughout the world. Musicians, especially drummers and percussionists, play a key role. Using their ability to discern the movements of spirits, accompanists guide the community through the episodes of the cure, carefully judging the endurance of the dancers, the emotional state of the ensemble, the mood of the spectators, the nature of the supernatural powers present, and the reactions of the ailing patient.

Janet Hoskins has studied healing among the Kodi people of Sumba in eastern Indonesia. At the time of her fieldwork in the 1980s, the majority of the fifty thousand Kodi people were followers of the indigenous religion that centered on the worship of ancestors, spirits, and deities who live in the tombs, gardens, and houses along the western coast of the island. Kodi society is characterized by intense attention to exchange obligations stretching back into the past. These obligations often become the cause of social tension. Hoskins notes, "Some forms of illness and injury are diagnosed as 'social diseases'" (Hoskins, 1996, p. 273). Cure of these diseases requires elaborate performances that involve a network of kin and affines. Healers whose work is aimed at resolving these kinds of diseases enact what Hoskins calls

> "talking cure" whereby all the possible causes [of the disease] are exposed in a divination, as spirits are interrogated in turn and the reasons for their anger are determined. Divination occurs in a group setting, usually with all family members sitting near the right front pillar of the house, as the diviner constructs his interpretation of the spirits' anger. . . . In many ways, his role seems more that of the catalyst for a group-therapy session that than of an independent diagnostician, since after each revelation he goes back to the family members, who discuss and evaluate it and provide him with more information to continue the [divination]. (Hoskins, 1996, pp. 275–276)

The fact that the community gathers together does not necessarily mean that the role of the community is to support the patient. Although in many instances all family members gather around the bedside of one who is about to pass over into the next world and the family presence eases and facilitates that final healing, in many other instances, the role of the community is accusative. The American Christian evangelical anti-gay movement, like other deprogramming settings, falls within this category.

The role of disease and cure in reorganizing personal and social experience often leads to the reshaping of worldviews and recasting of social orders. Because sickness is regarded as an adverse form of change, resulting from the ambivalent presence of a new or unwelcome mode of being, the language of disease and cure frequently inserts itself into attempts at innovation or reappraisal of tradition. In the 1560s, for example, local divinities in the Peruvian Andes reportedly swept down from the sky or rose out of their earthen shrines to enter the native population and afflict them with uncontrollable dancing diseases. The frenzied dance was expected to bring on the end of the world, overthrow Spanish overlordship, and restore power to local people and gods. By the thousands, Andean Indians became savior-gods incarnate and danced the *Taqui Onqoy* ("the dance of the Pleiades"). After nearly a decade, Spanish authorities crushed the movement and condemned some eight thousand leaders to corporal punishment or exile.

Because powers of affliction strike their victims without their consent, disease becomes a vehicle of social change, resistance, and unrest for which the restless cannot be held accountable, for they are victims themselves. In this way, symptomatology and epidemiology can indicate far-reaching social stirrings and help pinpoint latent motives for them. Conversely, cults of disease can be ways of carrying forward ancient religious traditions or sociopolitical structures in the face of the overwhelming power of a dominant religion or political authority. This is the light in which Ernesto de Martino (1957) interprets certain folk diseases and rites of musical cure in rural Italy.

At times, the language of disease and cure appears to be a vehicle for the creation of new religious forms and experiences. The spontaneity of disease, circumventing the process of institutional permissions, prompts lay people to experiment with new religious forms and combine elements of traditions that appear to be quite disparate. Many of the independent Christian churches of Africa provide an important forum for the religious interpretation of disease and rites of cure. These churches maintain long-standing traditions of African religiosity while, at the same time, they give new life and meaning to the Christianity brought by European missionaries. In Douala, Cameroon, a growing group of devotees follow two prophetic women leaders. The two prophetesses call their disciples the "sick ones of the Father" and divide them into groups, according to the categories of the sick mentioned in the Gospels: the blind, the paralyzed, the epileptic, the deaf, and the dumb, although the disciples do not actually manifest these symptoms. Eric de Rosny (1986) points out that many of them do not appear to be sick at all, but, deep within themselves, they must identify with these diseases in their inner being to qualify for participation in the group of the elect. The two prophetesses deliver lengthy discourses that reweave the imagery and understanding of traditional African and Christian belief. It is the experience of their peculiar illnesses that provides the basis for this social reshaping and rethinking.

SEE ALSO Affliction, overview article; Drums; Exorcism; Fall, The; Health and Religion; Incantation; Medical Ethics; Psychology, article on Psychotherapy and Religion; Shamanism, overview articles; Soteriology.

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HEALING AND MEDICINE: HEALING AND MEDICINE IN AFRICA

Traditional African healing falls into three basic categories of treatment: common folk remedies known to most family members that usually do not require ritual observances; secret remedies handed down from mother to daughter or from father to son; and treatments administered only by priests or other specialized healers. These specialists, including priests, undergo training periods and initiations, and receive payment for their services. Africans do not distinguish between body and mind as far as treatment for illness is concerned. While much of African healing is based on practical knowledge and experience, it is also situated within specific social and religious contexts that frequently require ritual actions.

RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND. All African religions are monotheistic; that is, they are based on belief in a single divine being (Smith, 1950), but in most cases this Creator or Architect has lost interest in the everyday affairs of human beings. Thus, when people call on this being for help or approach him for healing or blessings, they usually make their supplications through or to intermediaries. In some cases the belief system includes other beings, the result being a pantheon of gods or more frequently a collection of spirits and shades. Some writers refer to the shades as ancestors, ancestor spirits, or the living dead who serve as intercessors.

African cultures and their associated religions should be understood within their respective geographical and ecological contexts. West Africa differs in many respects from the rest of Africa, while lesser features distinguish between east-central and southern Africa. These differences were originally highlighted in Melville J. Herskovits's discussion of culture areas in Africa, but are also obvious in the religious structure. Geoffrey Parrinder explained in his 1949 study of West African religion that the supreme being frequently emerges as the first among equals. Examples include Onyame among the Akan people, which includes the Asante of Ghana and the Ivory Coast; Mawu among the Fon and Ewe of Benin; or Olorun among the Nigerian Yoruba. Below the supreme being are intermediary deities or chief divinities that are nonhuman in origin and often associated with natural forces. These gods require temporary dwelling places and priestly service. Spirits and shades, who are closer to living people than either the supreme god or lesser deities, are on the third level. Below the shades is a fourth level of sacred charms and amulets with special powers.

People in the rest of sub-Saharan Africa hold a very strong belief in deceased family members who have been ritually set apart as shades. They may ask these deceased relatives to intercede with the supreme being, who is known as Mulungu among the Kamba and uMvelinqangi (the First Being) or uNkulunkulu (the Great-Great One) among the Zulu. The Kamba recognize Mulungu as a creator and preserver, and they venerate the spirits of the departed. These people believe that their ancestors play a major role in maintaining their physical and mental health. Normally they offer the shades sacrifices or food gifts accompanied by requests for blessings, health, and cures. There need not be a special meeting, a formal setting, or a religious gathering for offerings and prayers. When people take a meal, they flick small pieces of food over the shoulder, pour out a few drops of beer, give thanks, or make a short specific request of the shades. They may also invoke the shades in praise songs and formal addresses when they offer sacrifices or perform other rituals. They may eulogize, plead with, or even threaten the shades—as when a Zulu warns an ancestor to cure or bless him by saying, “If I die, there will be no one to bring you sacrifices.”

Healing in Africa represents an attempt to answer two basic questions: How did the illness or traumatic accident happen? And why did it happen (to me or to my family)? The unseen world also contains forces, both good and evil, that must be controlled or employed by specialists in healing. An exception to this rule might be the Nuer of Sudan, who believe that all misfortunes derive from God. In fact the members of this group have very few medications and doubt even their efficacy (Evans-Pritchard, 1956).

HEALTH. An absence of health and well-being suggests illness (a cultural concept) or disease (a pathological concept). Patients suffer illnesses, but modern physicians diagnose and treat diseases. Traditional healers address the illness while attempting to cure the disease. In all of Africa, an imbalance in the body, or between the body and the social or natural environment, is caused by sorcery and witchcraft, which operate in the religio-magical field.

The Akan hold a representative West African concept of health in that they understand it as a correct relationship with one’s environment, both natural and social (Appiah-Kubi, 1981). The Akan regard health and disease as inextricably connected to social behavior and moral conduct. Illness represents an unbalanced relationship with the environment, although it may also result from the malevolence of an evil spirit or witch. The essential person for treating illness in this context is the priest-healer.

The Kamba of eastern Africa distinguish between God-given and natural diseases. “‘Witchcraft’ (merged conceptually with sorcery) has become a ‘catch-all’ explanation for myriad disorders in interpersonal relations. It was also a widely acceptable cause of personal failings ranging from lack of success in business, love, and school to sudden illness or strange disease, and especially barrenness and impotency” (Good, 1987, p. 223). Among the Taita, however, religious practices are directed toward turning away anger in any form and restoring peace, health, and general well-being. The Swahili regard restoration to health as the result of correcting an imbalance in the body. This view is related to the beliefs of other Muslim groups in West and East Africa (Trimingham, 1969; du Toit and Abdalla, 1985).

The Zulu of southern Africa are representative of a wide range of Bantu-speaking peoples. The term *isifo* refers to disease manifested in somatic symptoms, various forms of misfortune, and a general state of vulnerability to misfortune and disease. Harriet Ngubane (1977) explains that illnesses among the Zulu fall into two categories. The first group is caused by biological factors associated with living and aging. Diseases in this category are not the patient’s fault and can be treated or cured by potent nonritual means, including Western medicine. Diseases in the second category result from imbalances between a person and the natural environment, or in the sufferer’s interpersonal relations. Treatment requires the restoration of order and balance. Good health flows from the internal and external harmony of a person’s life with the social as well as the physical universe. Ideally a person is in harmony internally, in external social relationships, and in relation to nature.

HEALING. Illness does not necessarily involve an individual event as much as it reflects a disturbance in social relations. The effect of such disturbances in the body or the social setting may result in illness without disease. Disorder may manifest itself in physical, emotional, spiritual, or social discomfort. Treatment must therefore involve restoration of the body or of the person’s overall human nature, and it must occur in the familiar social setting. The personnel involved in healing span the range from diagnosticians and healers in contact with spirits to ethnobotanical specialists and applied psychologists. In West Africa the Akan distinguish among priests or priestesses, herbalists, bonesetters, and birth attendants. The Yoruba of Nigeria differentiate between priests of the Ifá cult, the *babaláwo* who specialize in divination and psychotherapy, and *oníşègùn* or herbalists. It is common in East Africa to find healers categorized as diagnosticians, herbalists, birth attendants, and surgeons who perform male and female circumcisions. In southern Africa diagnosticians and herbalists are the major categories of healers, although individual practitioners may become specialists.

Diviner-diagnosticians. Throughout Africa the diagnostician is essentially the person who receives and interprets communications from the supernatural world. Appiah-Kubi states that "Traditional Akan practitioners often determine the cause of disease . . . [now] patients complain that it is they who make their own diagnosis, while the modern doctor merely puts a label on their disease" (1981, p. 75). In many cases material objects are employed as receivers of messages from the spirit world. Diagnosticians may make use of divining bones, as among the Sotho and Tonga; divining bowls, as among the Venda; or direct communication with the spirits, as among the Nguni-speakers. Nguni-speaking diagnosticians may listen for voices or ask the patient to respond to questions. While asking the questions, the diviner is in fact watching the dilation of the patient's eyes, listening to respirations, and touching the patient to note changes in body temperature. Edgerton (1971) describes the questions that were asked by Abedi, a psychiatrist among the Hehe of Tanzania. "Abedi was probing carefully for an understanding of the social context of the illness. Who might be an enemy? What is the patient fearful about?" (p. 296).

The peoples of West Africa distinguish among priests and assistants who are dedicated to the service of a particular god, seers, and herbalists. The priest or priestess, who is also called a medium, is found in Asante, Ewe, Fon, Yoruba and other societies. The medium enters a trance state and sits in front of the shrine while communicating with the god residing in the shrine. Among the Ga such mediums, if married, must leave their families—although male mediums are allowed to remarry following their training. The medium is appointed by the village chief or priest. Training takes two to three years and is accompanied by strict discipline. The Fon and Yoruba have "convents" for the training of mediums: the course of instruction takes nine months for a boy but three years for a girl. The Bariba of Benin regard healing at the domestic level as an extension of the nurturing role. Thus they prepare medicines for skin diseases, respiratory disorders, and gastrointestinal ailments for children and even adult members of the family. They also treat themselves for malaria or diarrhea. The adults consult female or male healers called medicine people for more severe disorders. The male medicine people, however, are always considered senior to the females. There is also a widespread belief that women of childbearing age are dangerous and may contaminate medicines; consequently only men or postmenopausal women may administer strong medicines to combat dangerous or stubborn afflictions.

In eastern, central, and southern Africa there exists a widespread therapeutic tradition based on the role of diagnostician-diviners. These healers' names are variations on the root *ngoma.* The term is associated with drums and the rhythms of song and dance. Thus Victor Turner titled his 1968 study of the Zambian Ndembu therapies *The Drums of Affliction.* Typical health problems treated with *Ngoma* therapy include impotence in men, infertility in women, epilepsy, snake bites (in Tanzania), the testing of dreams and visions, and personal difficulties of human or spirit origin. Some forms of *Ngoma* therapy are effective variations of psychotherapy.

A clear pattern exists in East Africa, where the Kamba recognize a category of religio-medical specialists. Although this group includes both genders, medicine women are more common than medicine men. Aided by supernatural powers, they practice divination, curing the sick, and invoking ritual protection for livestock and fields. The Giriama of Kenya recognize diviners, mostly women, who are innocent mediums through whom powerful Islamic and other foreign spirits communicate. These women practice diagnosis as well as divination. Among the Swahili the "spirit doctor" is consulted by patients who suspect that their illnesses are produced by sorcery.

Diviner-diagnosticians among the Sotho peoples of southern Africa employ divining bones. Among the Nguni, including the Zulu, the ancestral shades are said to guide the diviner. The diviner's profession is not hereditary. Any person can become ill, which is a sign of calling, and undergo a lengthy initiation. While the author was carrying out research in an urban area outside of Durban in 1974, a boy about thirteen years of age had dreams about the neighbors. Time and again these dreams proved uncannily correct. A short while later the author was invited to a sacrifice and farewell for the boy, who had obviously been "called" by the shades and was being sent to northern KwaZulu-Natal for traditional training. Diviners, however, are usually women who do not choose to become diviners but are chosen by the shades. The shades do not take possession of the diviner's body but "sit" on her shoulders and whisper into her ears. Among the neighboring Swazi, the shades may also "call" an apprentice. The diviner's training lasts an average of three years and costs several hundred dollars in cash as well as one or more cows and goats for sacrifice to the shades.

Herbalists. Most African societies recognize persons with specialized knowledge concerning plants and their therapeutic properties as well as diviners and spirit doctors. What is meant by pharmacopoeia in Africa, however, is best described as faith in the curative properties of compounds with a vegetal base. What these products lack in curative value is compensated by the ritual that enhances the patient's faith. African healers have an extensive knowledge of the properties of barks, roots, leaves, and herbs, as well as the catalytic effects of plant combinations or mixtures. Every African society has a category of herbalists who dispense remedies on the basis of either spirit guidance or symptom recognition. Such plant-based remedies may be administered as plasters, sedatives, purges, or cures. Their success requires two basic ingredients: the power of the practitioner's thought and will, and the patient's faith. Herbalists, who may be either men or women, are "called" by the shades in dreams, visions, or waking summons.

As in many other contexts, medicinal plants in West Africa may be personified. Before digging a root or cutting a branch or leaf for treatment purposes, the herbalist must put down some eggs, a mashed yam, or a sacrificial bird; otherwise the plant will lose its potency. Among the Azande of Sudan a young person who feels called to be a herbalist will start a long and costly training period. The teacher scrutinizes the student's intent to provide medicine to strengthen the soul and confer special powers. When the training has been completed, the candidate is admitted to the society of his or her colleagues. Among the Azande, this ceremonial reception involves undergoing a public burial after which the initiate joins the association of medicine people. As long as Africans regard sickness and misfortune as religious or spiritual experiences, traditional curers will continue to practice their callings.

Herbal remedies may be selected for a variety of reasons. Their efficacy may be related to such qualities as taste, smell, appearance, and texture. Color is among the most common signatures of effectiveness. The Hausa of northern Nigeria use red plants (including henna, red root, and blood root) to treat wounds and to fortify the blood. Such yellow plants as goldthread or goldenrod are used to treat jaundice. Milky latex is used to stimulate lactation in women after childbirth. One of the most important problems that traditional doctors confront is infertility. Plants that produce copious amounts of flowers, fruits, or seeds are used as fertility enhancers in the same way that plants which readily shed their ripe fruit are used to ease the process of childbirth.

The Giriama of Kenya use the term *muganga* for both diviners and herbalists, although they also indicate a healer's field of specialization within this generic classification. Examples include a diviner who is called a "doctor of the head" and a herbalist who is called a "healer of the basket." This differentiation underscores the belief that both practitioners are doctors whose healing skills range quite widely. Swahili herbal doctors learn their profession from their fathers. They share a basic belief in the balance theory of illness with Muslims beyond Africa. The concept of balance is not limited to the body and its functions but extends to social morality as well.

The basic term for herbalist, based on the root *-nga,* appears throughout eastern, central, and southern Africa, although the specific distinctions between diagnosticians and herbalists may have become blurred in some instances. Thus the Shona (Gelfand, 1962) distinguish between *nganga* who use divining bones and *nganga* who treat ailments with herbs and other medicaments. Many groups, however, combine these healing functions in one person. Good (1987) speaks of the East African *mganga.* Elsewhere, the Shona refer to *nganga,* speakers of Sotho to *ngaka,* and speakers of Nguni to *nyanga.* These healers are called by the shades and undergo apprenticeships in which botanical and ritual knowledge is passed from mother to daughter or from father to son. Treatments or prescriptions may call for sacrifices to placate the spirits or shades who may have been afflicting the patient with bad luck or poor health. The first form of treatment administered is purification through administration of an enema or induced vomiting. The second is the use of herbal medicines. The Zulu word *umuthi* (literally "tree" or "shrub") applies to noxious as well as curative substances of vegetable origin. The same root for *tree* is found throughout the Bantu-speaking world—*umuti* among the Lamba of Zambia, *muti* among the Shona of Zimbabwe, and *amuti* among the Herero of Namibia—and points to the vegetative base of all healing. A researcher among the Zambian Bemba explains, "I know no Bemba charm which does not contain the roots, bark, or leaves of at least two different trees" (Richards, 1961, p. 232).

Social context. African patients rarely consult a diagnostician or healer unless they are accompanied by a family or village member. Sickness occurs in the social setting, and therefore curing must also take place in that setting. Referring to these support groups, Charles Good (1987) refers to the "significant others," while Jan Janzen, writing in 1978 about the people of lower Zaïre (now Congo), illustrated the importance of the "therapy managing group" who must be part of the diagnosis and treatment. Members of this support group accompany the patient to consultations with the diagnostician and are involved in the rituals and administration of medications that follow such meetings.

Childbirth. Among the Bariba of Benin practicing midwives are usually postmenopausal women with several living children. The midwives occupy a curious position in the hierarchy of healers. Some women serve as informal assistants at problematic deliveries of neighbors and kin. Women who have served an apprenticeship under a midwife, however, may employ ritual incantations, gestures, and sympathetic magic as well as herbal medicines when they assist a woman in labor. Some Africans view midwives as true healers while others regard them as technicians.

Islamic influences are clearly present among the Wolof of Senegal and Gambia. Before a newborn infant is allowed to suckle, the child must drink a potion made from washing off a verse from the Qurʾān that had been written on a wooden slate. This verse is meant to keep away malevolent spirits. A goat is also sacrificed. Rituals surrounding birth are performed not only to strengthen the mother and child, but also to keep evil forces at bay. In addition, powers in the supernatural realm always receive recognition. The Gikuyu in Kenya recognize a normal birth by secluding the mother for a few days, following which she shaves her head and the father sacrifices a sheep in thanksgiving to God and the shades. This act of sacrifice, accompanied by brewing beer, is also performed to mark the birth of a Zulu child.

Surgery. Traditional African healers possess an extensive knowledge of human anatomy. Some of this knowledge is gleaned from observing the carcasses of hunted or domestic animals, while other anatomical information is obtained from treating human victims of hostilities or accidents.

One form of specialization among the Akan in West Africa was the bonesetter. Such a person was skilled in treating patients with rheumatism and arthritis. The bonesetter also functioned as an orthopedic surgeon, helping to repair broken limbs.

The most common forms of surgery are related to life-cycle changes. These procedures may involve extracting the incisor teeth; scarification; and various forms of circumcision of males (removal of the prepuce, subincision, or superincision) and females (removal of the prepuce of the clitoris, clitoridectomy, or infibulation). In many societies these latter events take place in the context of elaborate rituals presenting the initiates to the shades. The addresses made on these occasions are prayers complete with supplication, praise, and personal commentary. Postsurgical treatment of patients involves herbs, poultices, and wraps with astringent or disinfectant properties.

A number of societies employ cupping, or placing a horn over a bleeding incision, as a form of therapy. The Kamba and Maasai of Kenya used thorns to suture incisions. The former of these groups are reported to have removed the uvula of patients, while the Maasai also perform amputations of limbs with hopelessly complicated fractures. The Zimbabwean Shona fill a bleeding wound with spider webs. The resulting contraction of blood vessels stanches the flow of blood. Trephination is performed in Uganda and Nigeria. Robert Anderson (1996, p. 360) recounts the method of carrying out this procedure among the East African Kisii and Bakuria. Following severe trauma to the head resulting in fracture, the patient's head is shaved and a cut made through the skin, muscle, and underlying connective tissue. Bleeding is controlled by the application of herbal powders and charcoal. The surgeon scrapes away the bone with a sharp knife, taking care to avoid penetrating the *dura mater,* which is the outermost of three layers of protective membrane surrounding the brain and spinal cord.

Protection. Protection may simply refer to maintaining the personal and environmental balance essential to health. It may involve matching hot and cold items, or sour and sweet substances. Rituals for protection are performed for both persons and residences. In the case of persons, such rituals are prophylactic and normally take the form of taboos. These may include meticulous avoidance of forbidden objects and the careful execution of ritual observances. A taboo limits contact between people and objects that may be defiling or between healthy persons and those who are either contaminated or weak, such as postpartum mothers, newborn infants, and others in various marginal conditions. The Yoruba have a smallpox deity served by a priest who is immune to the disease following recovery from it. They also use their left hand to handle dirty objects in order to keep the right hand clean for eating. In African villages, disease and misfortune are religious experiences and must be approached from a religious perspective. That is why these same protection rituals are currently being performed for Christians (Oosthuizen et al., 1988).

The Yoruba use the same word *oogùn* for medicine and charm. A good doctor is an *oníşègùn,* while a witch (the owner of medicine) is an *oloogùn.* Medicines cure while charms ward off danger. The most powerful protective charm found among the Asante as well as among the peoples of Benin and Nigeria, is a small broom of palm fibers with sacred objects attached. It is the object of sacrifices and takes evils upon itself. Most houses are protected by charms hanging above the doorway. Muslims use yellowed and dusty pieces of paper floating from the roof inscribed with texts from the Qurʾān. Nearly all the fields are protected with charms as well as the entrances to villages. Travelers in the area frequently enter a village by passing under a protective arch. The Ndebele medicine men supply medicated pegs for the gates of a new homestead. It is common to find a plant called *inthelezi* growing outside a Zulu home. These objects serve to safeguard the home and its inhabitants against sorcery, witchcraft, and, in Ethiopia, the evil eye.

HEALING MIND AND BODY. The mind and the body are separately recognized and treated using mystical powers. The mind can also be treated directly employing therapies, herbal preparations, and consciousness altering substances.

Witchcraft and sorcery. A study of African health would be incomplete without recognizing the role of mystical powers that may be manipulated by diviners and other specialists. Witchcraft and sorcery occur when people are under severe stresses and strains in life, or when they experience tension, whether actual or potential. People may believe themselves to be victims of witchcraft, or they may employ it against their competitors or enemies. The well-known Africanist Mary Douglas remarks that "the African is almost as liable to die from a poisonous idea put into his head as a poisonous herb put into his food" (quoted in Nottingham, 1959, p. 7). Such beliefs may produce illness in a person without an identifiable disease agent. (The opposite, disease without illness, is finding expression in the pandemic of HIV/AIDS.) From the point of health, sorcery and witchcraft enable people to deal with their failures and frustrations. The witch is generally believed to be inhabited by a power more evil than good that directs her or his nefarious acts. The sorcerer is a person who knowingly directs injurious magic to other persons. Magic may be either good or evil. The medicine man uses good magic essentially for the benefit of a patient, village, or society. When this power is employed maliciously it becomes black magic, evil magic, or sorcery. These terms allow people to explain away their failures or blame them on unseen evil forces or other persons employing these forces. M. G. Marwick describes the social context of sorcery in his masterful 1965 study of the Cewa of Zambia.

Ethnopsychiatry. "Medicine-men," says John Mbiti, "are the friends, pastors, psychiatrists and doctors of traditional African villages and communities" (1969, p. 171). For this reason, one cannot speak of ethnomedicine without also considering ethnopsychiatry. This form of treatment completes the holistic approach to illness-disease-sickness, anxiety-relief, grief-causality, foreboding-interpretation, and stress-relaxation. Ethnopsychiatry is a specialty that deals with culturally defined forms of social deviance. Africans live in a world peopled by vengeful ghosts and spirits, witches and sorcerers, and angry or jealous relatives and neighbors. Akan society has cultural mechanisms that allow it to absorb most forms of psychiatric disturbance. One mechanism that is found very widely in Africa is confession, which lowers guilt and stress levels, removes social tensions and accusations, and usually decreases symptoms. The traditional healer as psychiatrist explains the causes of illness in animistic terms familiar to patients who grew up in a world peopled by spirits. The medicines that are prescribed for psychiatric problems frequently produce psychopharmacological effects. In West Africa emetics and purgatives are followed by herbal compounds that act as tranquilizers and sedatives. According to one study, however, some Yoruba patients complained that they were given "poisons" to make their madness worse so that the healer could charge higher fees. The plant that was used is a species of the genus *Datura* that contains hyoscine, or scopolamine—a hallucinogenic agent. The Yoruba also employ Rauwolfia, which is the source of reserpine. Mind-altering substances are also employed in other parts of Africa; *Cannabis sativa,* for example, is used during childbirth among the Sotho.

Robert Edgerton (1966) conducted some of the early research in East Africa dealing with this subject. Among the Hehe of Tanzania, the Sebei of Uganda, and the Pokot and Kamba of Kenya, village members can list culturally defined behaviors that identify a person as psychotic. Among these are violent actions, sleeping or hiding in the bush, wandering around naked, and talking nonsense. Edgerton explains that the social group, rather than a diagnostic label, defines abnormality. He illustrates how the negotiations among patients, healers, family members, and friends structure the definition of mental illness. It is also this group that recognizes, defines, and responds to psychosis through a process of interpersonal relations.

One of the classic cases of psychiatric treatment is derived from the work of the Nigerian psychiatrist T. A. Lambo (1964). He found numerous individuals suffering from schizophrenia and other psychotic disorders on his visits to Nigerian villages. These persons were not institutionalized but considered a part of everyday village life. In October 1954 two projects were started at a village named Aro. The first project was a day hospital that allowed patients to go home at night. This phase lasted for two years. The second phase involved extending the day hospital to a village care service. The advantages of community involvement and social acceptance of healers and patients were so clearly evident that this village hospital model was expanded to other countries. Lambo believes that cooperation with indigenous healers contributed to the understanding of psychopathology and the psychodynamics of mental illness in Africa in relation to cultural and social variables.

SEE ALSO Afflication, article on African Cults of Affliction; African Religions, overview article.

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HEALING AND MEDICINE: HEALING AND MEDICINE IN THE AFRICAN DIASPORA

For more than a century, African-based religions in the Americas have been dismissed as mere superstition or titillating witchcraft. The racism that feeds such caricatures has endured into the twenty-first century even though these religions are now neither rare nor out of reach. Palo Monte, Santería, Vodou, and Rastafarianism are likely to be found in every sizeable city in Europe and the United States—as are the variety of contemporary religious practices known as Yoruba revival. Traditions such as Umbanda, Candomblé, and Shango may be scarcer, but they also have some international presence.

African-based religions are eclectic by default and in ways that emphasize both their developmental history and their innate flexibility, which has made it possible for them to survive. Broad African perspectives dominate in the diverse group of religions born from chattel slavery, but they also have absorbed South American and Caribbean autochthonous religious practices. Colonial Christianity has also had a substantial influence on African diaspora religions. Without giving up their primary focus on African-based religion, most contemporary followers of Vodou or Santería—whether in Haiti, Cuba, or New York City—publicly identify themselves as Christians. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, in both the United States and the Caribbean, attendance at Catholic churches is part of the ritual life of an initiate of Santería or Vodou.

African-based religions were shaped by two powerful forces: the cruel and dehumanizing social structures that characterized transatlantic slavery and the creative responses of the enslaved who mustered to the cause resistance, flexibility, humor, strength, and endurance.

HEALING WITH LEAVES. Virtually all African-based religions emanating from South America and the Caribbean are focused on healing. These religious practices present a more diverse interpretation of illness and well-being than Western allopathic medicine provides. A leader/healer in Vodou, Candomblé, Umbanda, Santería, or Palo Monte is expected to function in diverse ways, including as a stand-in parent, a psychologist, a social worker, a priest, and, very likely, an herbal doctor. All African diaspora priests are not equally educated about medicinal plants; however, those with skills in healing commonly use leaves in the curative process in one form or another.

Healing with leaves is a common theme among African diaspora religions. Herbs, most often referred to as leaves, can be a curative agent in many ways, varying from being the source of medicinal tea to serving as an important ingredient in spiritual charms or talismans. Sacred leaves are also brushed across the human body in an act of spiritual cleansing or exorcism. They can also be kneaded in water and applied to the body as a poultice. In treating something like a headache, whole leaves fresh from the bush can be laid on the forehead and secured with a scarf. In Brazil, herbal baths are administered by the *mae de santo* (mother of the saints) or the *pai de santo* (father of the saints), whereas in Jersey City, New Jersey, *santeros* administer similar baths to those awaiting initiation, and in Cuba the *casa de santo* (house of the spirit) is spiritually cleaned by sprinkling the floor with a leaf infusion, heavy with the perfume of basil. A carefully constructed series of cleansing baths followed by strengthening baths, made from leaf infusions and other ingredients such as powders, perfumes, fruits and liquors, is as likely to be prescribed for trouble in the workplace as it is for a disease. All problems—physical, spiritual or magical—can profit from herbal treatment.

DIAGNOSIS AND THE THEORY OF PARALLEL CAUSALITIES. Diaspora priests offer healing to clients for a wide range of ailments and their causes, including professional, social, spiritual, amorous, monetary, familial, or even political. As in allopathic healing, curing begins with diagnosis and, in the African diaspora, diagnosis comes through divination. Tossing cowrie shells, gazing into water-filled glasses or burning candles, going into possession, and card reading are among African diaspora divining techniques. African diaspora divination is more of a discerning mechanism than a crystal ball, and although divination techniques are diverse, they usually work on a theory of parallel causalities. Vodou card reading provides an example: A client who goes to a Haitian *manbo* (priestess) for a card reading will not hear a prediction of the future. Instead the *manbo* will engage the client in a series of questions and answers designed to unlock the secrets of the present and reveal important things in the past that have been forgotten. The *manbo* will lay out the cards twice—once to determine what is happening among the living and a second time to see if spirits or ancestors are involved. In most traditions a particular physical ailment has no connection to a specific spiritual problem. Therefore, a connection between, for example, the inability to sleep and a troubled ancestor would emerge only through the divination process.

Once a problem is revealed, treatment will proceed on both human and spiritual levels. For insomnia, the *manbo* might suggest an herbal tea, an over-the-counter sleeping pill, or even a trip to a medical doctor. Most healers in the African diaspora tradition have accepted the skills and powers of Western allopathic medicine, and they counsel their clients to take advantage of the help a medical doctor can provide. For the *manbo,* the spiritual connection revealed in divination amounts to a second layer of causality. For her, this dimension of the client's problem is more serious—and needs more attention—than the physical problem. The *manbo*'s prescriptions for healing the spiritual level of the problem might include such things as *wanga* (a charm designed to change a dysfunctional relationship), herbal baths, and even elaborate rituals such as a Catholic Mass for the dead to honor an unhappy ancestor. A strong sense of family lingers in African diaspora healing practices. It is not unusual for a client to be told that the cause of the problem is an event in the family that happened before he or she was born.

Physical ailments are sometimes diagnosed as messages from the spirits. This genre of diagnosis that is familiar to almost every individual in the African diaspora. By tracing an illness or a social problem along parallel causal paths through the land of the living and the land of spirits, that problem is firmly located in a relational connection rather than in an individual person. Guilt is thus diffused and community ties are reinforced through the palliative rituals prescribed by the healer. The client's sense of helplessness is abated, and, most important, suffering is given meaning. It is common for a religious leader to be called to his or her healing vocation through a manifestation of prolonged physical illness. The authority of any diagnosis that includes the intervention of the spirits is assured when the illness at issue is one that Western medicine can neither diagnose nor cure.

HEATING THINGS UP: RAISING *ASHE*. African diaspora religions configure the world as a web of relationships connecting the living, the ancestors, and the spirits. Each group has a role to play and each group needs the other two, thus the exchanges among them are ideally kept in an active balance, one that is simultaneously dynamic and equilibrating. *Ashe,* a common Yoruba term in Santería and Candomblé (it has similar meaning in other African diaspora religious traditions) can be translated as vital energy or divine energy. *Ashe* flows through the web connecting the living, the dead, and the spirits, thus effecting healing. *Ashe* is present in people and can raised by many means—especially spirited dancing and drumming. In Haitian Vodou, it is said that no spirits will come and possess the vodouisants unless the gathered group does not first *echofe* the ritual event itself. Accordingly, every ceremony becomes a context for community healing. *Ashe* is also in the juices of healing leaves and the blood of sacrificial animals. Healing through leaves and blood sacrifice necessarily includes reciprocity with plants and animals. Thus, the person who kills an animal may first offer it a bit of food. If the animal agrees to eat, it agrees to be sacrificed. In a similar way, when the chicken, goat, cow or pig has been killed, priests pour libations on its body in exchange for the sacrifice, much as "leaf doctors" leave a few coins on the spot where they collect their healing leaves.

MAKING *WANGA*. African diaspora healers tend to extrude the problems at hand. Healers make models of troubled relationships to "work" with them. For example, an unfaithful husband is made manifest through a male cloth doll. The doll may be stuffed with leaves, powders, coins and, most likely, a piece of paper bearing the name of the offending husband. The work then begins. A length of copper wire is used to tie the husband's image into a doll-sized chair. A padlock secures the wire. The wife is given the key and instructed to throw it away where no one, including herself, will ever find it. This is called making a *wanga,* a somewhat generic term for charms and talismans in Caribbean culture. The manufacture of the charm articulates and activates the human situation, thus opening the possibility of change. The next step, "working the *wanga,*" brings the spirits into the process. The doll, bound in his chair, is situated to face a mirror. Between the mirror and the doll, an oil lamp burns twenty-four hours a day. The unhappy wife feeds the wick and instructs the spirits to make her husband see himself clearly and thus see how much damage he is doing to his family. She works the *wanga* two or three times a day. Working the *wanga* is one way to heat things up, that is, to raise *ashe.*

There is a rich repertoire of charms in the African diaspora. Protective charms designed to secure a house are common. They are either buried in the yard or hung in the house rafters. One version of what Vodou practitioners call a *gad* (guard) is an herbal mixture placed under the skin of the upper arm. This particular charm functions as a look-out that warns the person of immanent dangers by inducing a tremor in the arm. Jamaicans talk about the activation of a malevolent charm as "planting" something. Charms of that sort are thought to be capable of remaining maliciously potent for generations. By contrast, there are many charms known in the African diaspora that anyone can make in a minute without the help of a healer, and most are not expected to function beyond the immediate situation. For example, small packets of meaningful leaves in the shoes can "heat up" in the very act of walking. This is yet another way of activating the *ashe* in leaves. About to face a judge, the accused may place honey on his tongue before leaving the house, and once in court, he may memorize the names of the judge and the lawyers, to be used for another sort of *wanga.*

POISONS THAT HEAL. A few contemporary African diaspora healers with extensive botanical knowledge may still know how to administer a variety of poisons. Poisoning techniques have been passed down from healer to healer for generations. By the turn of the twenty-first century, these recipes had become quaint memories, but during the time of the slave colonies, poisoning was a powerful weapon, one of the few that slaves had. It was a serious—although exaggerated and politicized—issue throughout the colonial era. When slaves actually used it as an act of resistance, they could and did throw the white population into a headlong panic, which often produced hideous punishments. Gifted healers among the slaves were known to be hanged, shot, and even burned alive—some for no reason other than their suspicious herbal knowledge. It is likely that during the period of chattel slavery most slaves who knew about leaves were likely to know how to concoct poisons. Most did nothing with these recipes. Perhaps, those who did thought of their use as a continuation of a spirit-fueled healing tradition. When slavery is the context and survival is at stake, poisoning could well be seen as a community healing agent.

It is certain that the white colonial population did not think of poisoning by slaves as a positive contribution to the community. During the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, when the enslaved people laboring in Haiti began their uniquely successful bid for freedom, the colonial population in the Caribbean was already ill at ease in the company of so many angry black men and women. Fear, hatred, and ignorance among the white colonial population fueled the fires of suspicion. Whites had little understanding of African diaspora religious practices. They passed laws that related the making of healing charms with the manufacture of poisons. At times, the punishment for making *wanga* was death. Ironically, the antisuperstition laws in place before the Haitian Revolution remained after liberation; however, in the aftermath of the revolution, the political valence of laws against the making of *wanga* changed: Legislation that resulted from a witch-hunt for poisoners in colonial Haiti was coopted by politicians who wanted Haiti to appear to the larger world as a "civilized" Catholic country.

SEE ALSO African American Religions, overview article; African Religions, overview article; Syncretism.

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KAREN MCCARTHY BROWN (2005)

HEALING AND MEDICINE: HEALING AND MEDICINE IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

Distinctions among religion, magic and nature, and rational thought, when referring to an ancient society that did not use those descriptive categories, are ultimately regarded as inadequate by the majority of scholars who study ancient Near East societies. Therefore, the terms "empirical" and "exorcistic" will be used throughout this entry to define the various aspects of the art of healing in the ancient Near East.

CUNEIFORM SCRIPT AREA: MESOPOTAMIA. Two different kinds of healers are mentioned in the earliest records: the *azu* (usually translated as "doctor"), found during the first half of the third millennium BCE, and the *ashipu* (usually translated as "exorcist"), also in evidence during the same period, and more commonly after the second millennium BCE. The latter term was derived from the active participle of the root *wshp*: "to conjure." Scholars have tried, without much success, to differentiate these two professions from each other. Texts show that the two roles overlapped, and both types of healers used the same methods, prayers, and exorcism formulas. Scurlock (1999) has recently proposed a satisfactory explanation, however: *ashipu* was similar to a doctor and the *azu* resembled a pharmacist, although the *azu* was also able to perform minor surgical operations. This explanation has been confirmed by P. Abrahami (2003), who has managed to place these two professions in the context of Mesopotamian cosmological thought. The exorcist (*ashipu*) possessed essential knowledge which originated directly from the god Enki/Ea and was given to humans by the goddess Nininsina (literally, "Lady of [the city of] Isin"). He or she warded off evil by uttering formulas and performing rituals and treatments. The skills of the *azu* in contrast came directly from the goddess Nininsina alone (a lesser-ranking but important deity) and from her son Damu.

Evidence of an herbalist tradition exists in cuneiform texts from Ebla, in northern Syria dating from the twenty-fifth century BCE; the skills of the *azu* emerged from this tradition (in fact, the profession's title is mentioned in the texts). It is reasonable to suppose, however, that the *azu* did not restrict his activities to the therapeutic use of plants, because the presence of small instruments may suggest that he performed surgery (D'Agostino 2003).

Collections of exorcistic texts from this period reveal the beginnings of a rich literary tradition which would continue until the end of Mesopotamian civilization. One line of exorcistic tradition runs throughout the third millennium BCE; from the second millennium BCE onwards, although the previous tradition continued, new trends also developed (Michalowski 1992). In this later literary tradition, the choice of particular material, drawn from an oral legacy and written down, gave rise to the distinct tradition of "academic" knowledge (typical of the schools of scribes and literary specialists), which would eventually take on a life and procedures of its own (Michalowski 1992 and Biggs 1995). Thus, the authority of academic tradition came to define the role of the healer in the second millennium BCE as the preeminent opponent of evil. This role was principally centered upon the figure of the "exorcist" (*ashipu*), a priest who belonged to the temple; while ancient sorcerers and witches were restricted to the negative role of agents responsible for evil, thus excluding them from any role as healers (Abusch 2002).

Ancient Mesopotamians would consider themselves to have had a "happy" life if they enjoyed the favor of the gods (and especially of their personal god), if they had a long life, raised plenty of children, and enjoyed the respect of their fellow citizens (Biggs 1995). They believed illnesses were caused by demons, ghosts, gods, witches, or warlocks. In particular, many illnesses were caused by the "hand" of a divinity or a spirit. The main reason for misfortune or illness, therefore, consisted in falling out of favor with the gods. The sick person was thought to have committed some sin, either deliberately or unintentionally, that had offended the gods. Demons, spirits, and magical spells could also cause illness, but their outbreak in the patient's life was in some way the result of a loss of divine favor, since that was considered to provide absolute protection against every misfortune. In this respect, the life of the individual corresponded to the life of the kingdom. Because loss of divine goodwill resulted in all kinds of misfortune, individual bad luck was linked to the global cosmological picture—as conceived by the Mesopotamian culture—from which were resulting every aspect of life. An example of this context is the cuneiform text "The Worm and the Toothache" (probably referring to the nerve of the pulp canal): the spell consists of only twenty-one verses—two-thirds of them describe the mythological origin and creation of the worm, and only the final seven verses give instructions on reciting the spell, the medicine, and method of treatment. (Biggs 1995).

Naturally, the ancient Mesopotamians knew contingent causes of illness in everyday living, such as wounds, overexposure to the sun or the cold, overeating, proximity to someone sick (contagion), or insect bites; still, they used spells and rituals to cure or prevent ailments.

This entry's description of the exorcist relates only those characteristics that are relevant to the modern concept of medicine. Because of their specific character, the potency incantations are the only exorcistic text to be mentioned here, for the inclusion in the ritualistic context of practical remedies (Biggs 1967).

The oldest treatises on medicine are pharmacological texts dating from the third millennium BCE (Civil 1960 and Fronzaroli 1988), but scholars have been unable to identify the plants and minerals mentioned in them, thus preventing deeper study of ancient prescriptions (Biggs 1995). Three kinds of prescriptions exist: lexical texts, which list the names of plants, minerals, and ingredients; descriptive texts, which also describe therapeutic properties; and abstracts, which list the plants' names and specify the parts that should be used for treatment. In addition to these, scholars have also identified a text which provides details of how to preserve the ingredients. The city of Nippur had a central grocery store that stocked rare plants, but the most important center in terms of healing arts was the city of Isin; the temple of the city's patron goddess, Nininsina (or Gula), housed the most important school of medicine in Mesopotamia. Excavations of exorcist rooms, have unearthed collections of pharmacological texts, as well as cuneiforms texts concerning the art of healing. Even these pharmacological texts, however, emphasize the ritual element, as does the wider sphere of exorcistic literature. However, the existence of medical texts without any "magical" prescriptions has been reported from the first half of the second millennium BCE (Finkel 2004).

Contrary to pharmacological texts, the remaining literature that addresses curing physical ailments was written in the second and first millennia BCE. This material includes therapeutic texts and diagnostic texts. (Stol 2001).

The most well-known therapeutic manual takes its title from its opening words: "if there is fever in a person's skull"; the final version consisted of forty-five tablets. This text describes symptoms of ailments, includes prescriptions of the substances to be used in treatment, and explains how to make the required potions.

In addition to the therapeutic manual, a diagnostic manual of five chapters (contained in forty tablets) has also been preserved. This text bears the name of a scholar who lived in Babylon around 1050 BCE (Finkel 1988): he not only systematically catalogued various diagnoses and prognoses, arranging them by type of divination, but he also compiled a handbook on morphoscopy in which the characteristics of healthy people were used to predict outcomes (Böck 2000).

This sort of literature is closely linked to the practice of divination. For example, the treatise on diagnosis and prognosis also contains guidelines for the doctor to interpret the signs which manifest while the patient recuperates.

Indirect evidence on healing arts comes from texts that list penalties for the negligent surgeon within the corpus of laws, and epistolographic evidence contains many descriptions of the activity of healers (either *azu* or *ashipu*).

It is difficult, therefore, to understand Herodotus's (I § 197: Herrero 1984) claim that there were no doctors in Babylon; instead, it is reasonable to conclude that the Greek historian had misunderstood his source. In the early twenty-first century, many scholars are studying the medical history concerning Mesopotamia, as evidenced by the establishment of *Le journal des médicines cunéiformes.*

CUNEIFORM SCRIPT AREA: HITTITES (HATTI LAND). The gap in evidence from Mesopotamia, after the Old-Babylonian period (twentieth through sixteenth centuries BCE) and before the beginning of the first millennium BCE, is filled by the cuneiform texts from Bogazköy (ancient Hattushash), which preserved and continued the Babylonian heritage of medical tradition. Numerous texts of Mesopotamian tradition from the city's archives often contain Hittite or Luwian terms, but the texts were written in Akkadian. Scholars have yet to fully understand the Anatolian medical practices, however, primarily because of the incomplete nature of these texts and the uncertain meaning of some Hittite terms (Burde 1974).

Texts of various kinds often provide details of Hattushash inviting doctors from elsewhere, reflecting the primitive state of health care in the region. A letter from the Hittite king Hattushilish III (r. 1275–1260 BCE) to the Babylonian king Kadashman-Enlil II (r. 1263–1255 BCE) mentions the arrival of two doctors in Anatolia while professional medical help was sought from Egypt, the usual source of doctors for the Hittite court (Edel 1976).

Although the Hittite term for "doctor" is unknown (the texts use both the Sumerian ideogram *a-zu* and the Akkadian *azu*), the profession appears to have been very well organized. Various documents contain the names of several doctors; these healers participated in ritual celebrations in addition to therapeutic activities. In fact, the healer who cared for king Hattushilish III as a young man was not called "doctor"—he was the chief scribe.

As had Babylon law, Hittite legislation also regulated health provision. A notable paragraph in Old Hittite laws required those who had committed an act of violence pay the medical expenses incurred by their victims.

Scholars also have studied details of illnesses suffered by historical figures and public health epidemics. The Hittite king Murshilish II composed a dramatic prayer to the storm god and the land gods, asking them to end an epidemic which had lasted twenty years. In the text, he refers his divination attempts to discover the reason for the gods' anger: he had found out that his father, the king, had promised the gods that he would not attack the Egyptians and then broken his vow. The epidemic began when the first prisoners of war arrived in Anatolia. The admission of guilt (although his father's and not his own) is a central aspect of this prayer, seen as necessary to placate the gods.

NON-CUNEIFORM SCRIPT AREA: EGYPT Scholars derive knowledge of ancient Egyptian medicine from a variety of sources, including artistic illustrations, treatises and medical instruments, references in literary sources and, not least, on the examination of bodies preserved by the ancient Egyptians. These sources portray a relatively accurate picture of the illnesses from which the Egyptians suffered and the theories and remedies devised to counteract them.

The oldest surviving manuscript from this period is the Kahun Papyrus, dating from the XIIth dynasty (c. 1850 BCE), which contains a number of gynecological and veterinary treatments (Griffith 1898).

One important medical text, dating from the New Kingdom but containing material originating from the Old Kingdom, is the Edwin Smith Papyrus (Braested 1930 and Bardinet 1992), which is kept at the New York Academy of Sciences. The text describes in some detail vertebral contusions, dislocations of the jaw, and various fractures (of the shoulder blade, humerus, ribs, nose, and skull); in the forty-eight cases examined a rigorous diagnostic method is applied. Each case begins with the phrase "If you examine someone who has. . ." and then lists symptoms in detail. After examining the sick person, the doctor is advised to state his diagnosis and prognosis, or whether the patient will survive "an ailment which I will treat." In less fortunate cases, for example, a patient suffering from a severe dislocation of a vertebra with a lesion of the spinal cord, the doctor must recognize that this is beyond his capabilities: "an ailment for which nothing can be done."

While the Edwin Smith Papyrus concentrates on external traumas, the contemporary Ebers Papyrus describes the vascular system and the causes and development of internal ailments (Wreszinski 1913 and Bardinet 1992). This treatise demonstrates a rudimentary understanding of the circulatory system, considering it as a network of veins originating at the heart, extending to the organs, and passing through every part of the body.

This system circulated not only blood, but also air, water, sperm, and a bodily substance called *ukhedu.* The concept of *ukhedu* characterizes one of the oldest historical theories for illnesses; it attempts to explain in rational terms the causes of illnesses, old age, and death. In practice, the doctor checked that the circulation was working properly by feeling various parts of the patient's body. Excess *ukhedu,* would eventually manifest in a patient as pus and blisters, and produce internal disease. Furthermore, the natural buildup of *ukhedu* during the course of life resulted in aging tissues and ultimately in death. In addition, embalmers attempted to preserve corpses by dehydrating the body and draining off bodily fluids; these efforts were necessary to eliminate the *ukhedu.*

For healing preparations, Egyptian doctors used animals, vegetables, and minerals. Acacia, date, juniper, fig, garlic, onion, lotus, honey, milk, wax, arsenic, and other products were often used in their recipes, along with more extravagant substances, such as pelican, hippopotamus, and fly excrement. Such preparations could be delivered in various forms: decoctions, infusions, potions, pills, inhalations, fumigations, suppositories, lotions, and eyebaths.

The ancient Egyptians believed that illnesses—especially infectious diseases, fevers, or other ailments that did not appear to be caused by a cut or a wound—were due to a "blow" inflicted by a god, evil spirits, or the restless dead (Ritner 1993). Hence, Egyptian medicine frequently resorted to magic. This civilization viewed magic and rational methods as complementary rather than contradictory, as is expressed in the opening lines of the Ebers Papyrus: "Magical formulas which act in concert with medication are useful, as likewise is medication that acts in concert with magical formulas."

The link between medicine, magic and religion is clear, in that the Egyptian term for "magic potion," *pekhet,* is also used indiscriminately to mean "medical prescription" (Ritner 1993). Religion, magic, and medicine continually intermingled. Through a kind of ritual magical transference, the Egyptians thought particular animals possessed therapeutic values linked to their characteristics; the skin of deer, for example, could cure gout if tied to a person's foot; a fried fish head could draw out a headache and a pig's eye prevented blindness. Other substances owed their reputation to mythology, such as the milk of a mother who bore a male child, recalling the goddess Isis and her son Horus. Disgusting substances, especially excrement, also were believed to ward off evil spirits, a frequent suspected cause of illnesses.

The gods could not only send an illness, but they could also cure it. Medicine, therefore, was controlled from the world of the gods, and various gods were considered healers, including Amon, "the doctor (*swnw*) who heals without any remedy" (Zandee 1948); Isis; the deified Imenhotep, architect of the Step Pyramid at Djoser (IIIrd dynasty); and Amenhotep, the son of Hapu (Wildung 1977). Patients often appealed to "Horus-*swnw-nfr,*" or "Horus the good doctor," whose "word" "repels death," whose "speech cures the sting of the scorpion" and whose "magic soothes inflammation" (Ritner 1993). The priests of all these benevolent divinities were considered to be the best healers, even if the most important priest-doctors were those connected to two potentially dangerous goddesses, the lioness Sekhmet and the scorpion Serqet (von Känel 1984). A priest of Sekhmet, a goddess who could send plague, is mentioned in the Ebers papyrus alongside ordinary doctors (*swnw*) and "amulet sellers" (*saw*) (von Känel 1984). The latter could be employed by the state; and we know of a "seller of amulets of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt." The "officials of Serqet" were particularly sought after to heal scorpion stings and snake bites (von Känel 1984). Most of these priest-doctors practiced magic, and they were often enlisted for trips into the desert, where these deadly animals represented a constant danger.

Although Egyptian medicine seems to have been contaminated by magic and many of its treatments do not seem to have been particularly effective, its doctors were good observers and at times their healing approaches worked. Moreover, Egyptian medical knowledge earned an excellent reputation in Asia Minor and Greece; both Hippocrates and Galen attributed much of their knowledge to works they had consulted in the temple of Imenhotep at Memphis.

SEE ALSO Dumuzi; Egyptian Religion, overview article; Hittite Religion; Kingship, article on Kingship in the Ancient Mediterranean World; Mesopotamian Religions, overview article; Soul, article on Ancient Near Eastern Concepts.

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PIETRO MANDER (2005)

HEALING AND MEDICINE: HEALING AND MEDICINE IN JUDAISM

Jewish sacred texts, in particular the Hebrew Bible, Apocrypha (noncanonic, postbiblical writings), rabbinic literature from the late Roman era (the Talmud and midrash), the *Mishnāh Torah* (Repetition of the law; a twelfth-century CE classification of religious subjects), and the *Shulhan Arukh* (The prepared table; a sixteenth-century CE codebook of Jewish law), all touch upon sickness, recovery, and health. Excerpts on health from holy books and their influence on Jewish culture can be arranged readily into the following six subjects:

1. divine healing,
2. health wisdom,
3. visiting the sick,
4. religious law *(halakhah),*
5. folk healing,
6. professional medicine.

DIVINE HEALING. In the Bible (c. sixth century BCE), God is the force responsible for both sickening and healing: "I deal death and give life; I wounded and I heal" (*Dt.* 32:39). Accordingly, God inflicts plagues, heals Hezekiah's intestinal ailment, and tests Job with boils and other misfortunes. The psalmist appeals directly for "rescue" and "deliverance" to God, who is "compassionate and gracious"; other biblical figures seek out God's prophets, as the woman of Shunem called on Elisha to revive her dead son (*2 Kgs.* 4:8). A certain skin disfigurement *(tsaraʿat)* is always a mark of divine disfavor (*Lv.* 13). Thus when Moses' sister Miriam contracts *tsaraʿat,* he cries out, "O God, pray heal her! *[Eil na rʾfah na lah!]*" (*Nm.* 12:13).

Jewish healing prayers follow a biblical model. *Jeremiah* is the source of the ancient prayer recited still in daily Jewish liturgy: "Heal us, O Lord, and we shall be healed" (*Jer.* 17:14). Psalms are recited daily for someone who is critically ill; the *Mi SheBerakh* (May the one who blessed) prayer is sung for "healing, courage, and faith" in front of the opened Torah; late-medieval Yiddish prayers *(tekhines)* written by Jewish mothers ask God for safe pregnancies and well children; and modern prayers—prayer writing continues to be a vital religious activity—request strength and calm, "healing of body and mind." A prayer's soothing effect comes not just from the words alone; just as important are davening (a Yiddish term meaning fervent recitation, often while standing and swaying), cadence, melody, chant, and the consoling context of the daily or Sabbath service liturgy, held in communion with clergy, family, and friends.

Except for prayer, Judaism has no required rite for restoring health, nor do the relics, saints, pilgrimages, or exorcisms that are features of other religious traditions. The Jerusalem Temple did not offer treatment directly, as did the contemporaneous healing temples of Aesklepios, even though sick people surely must have come there to offer petitionary and thanksgiving sacrifice. After the Temple was destroyed in 70 CE, the Talmud declared that there is no healing in shrines, perhaps referring to pagan or Christian sites but also precluding Jewish sacerdotal healing (*Abodah Zarah* 55a).

HEALTH WISDOM. Jewish religious texts explicitly promote mental and physical health. They take their cue from the *Book of Proverbs,* which itself follows the more ancient tradition of "wisdom literature," a stream of aphorisms, poems, and fables that give pragmatic guidance on how to live long and successfully. "A man's spirit can sustain him through illness," *Proverbs* says, "but low spirits . . . who can bear them" (*Prov.* 18:14). The *Proverbs*-like Apocrypha text *Ben Sira* (*Ecclesiasticus* in the Jerusalem Bible) states, "Better a poor man healthy and fit than a rich man tormented in body" (*Ben Sira* 30:14), and it condemns gluttony and drunkenness. The Talmud encourages bathing and washing after meals, bodily cleanliness being inseparable from spiritual purity (*Abodah Zarah* 20a). The *Mishneh Torah* and the *Shulhan Arukh* have entire chapters on dietetics, exercise, rest, and sexual temperance, through which they elevate practical hygienic advice into religious obligation.

In the opinion of some scholars, dietary laws *(kasrut)* from *Leviticus,* assiduously followed by traditional Jews, were originally intended to promote healthiness. Moreover, they argue, dietary laws together with rules of Sabbath observance, pregnancy, menstruation, penile discharge, childbirth, excretion, cadavers, sexuality, and *tsaraʿat* constitute a program of public health. The Bible itself makes no such claim. Nevertheless, for millennia observant Jews have thought them to be rules of hygiene. Indeed, it has been said that because of hygienic practices, medieval Jewish populations avoided the worst ravages of bubonic plagues.

VISITING THE SICK. Job's friends sat quietly with him for a week, until he was ready to speak. *Ben Sira* (second century BCE) urges, "Do not shrink from visiting the sick" (*Ben Sira* 7:35). The Talmud (second–sixth centuries CE) made this ancient courtesy into a solemn commandment, grounded on the biblical story of the three messengers from God who came to visit Abraham after he was circumcised. Visiting the sick, the sages state with emphasis, is among the highest religious obligations, and visiting does indeed heal, especially "if they (the visitors) loved him like themselves" (*Midrash Rabbah Leviticus* 34:1). The Talmud declares, "He who visits the sick causes him to live," and he who does not is "a shedder of blood" (a murderer). Because the Divine Presence "rests above the invalid's bed," as he or she wavers between death and life, the sickroom is to be regarded as awesome and sacred. However, the visitor must not come when the sick person is indisposed, lest they be exhausted or humiliated (*Nedarim* 39a). Everyone, rich or poor, must visit the sick, especially if the illness has come on suddenly, and they should "pray for his recovery and depart" *(Mishneh Torah* 14:4:14). The *Shulhan Arukh* adds, "one must visit the sick of the Gentiles in the interest of peace" (*Yorah Deah* 335).

Few other commandments *(mitsvot)* shape Jewish culture as profoundly. Visiting is an imperative for family and friends and among the most important duties for a congregational rabbi. Autonomous visiting the sick *(Bikkur Cholim)* societies, synagogue volunteers, and hospital chaplains ensure that every sick person has company. Traditional rabbis shape their calls mindful of detailed visiting rules set forth in the *Shulhan Arukh.*

RELIGIOUS LAW *(HALAKHAH).* Mainstream Jewish spiritual practice follows laws found in the Bible and the Talmud together with later refinements and corrections. What sets the precept to visit the sick apart is its therapeutic intent. Most rules concerning patients are excusatory; that is, they relieve the sick person of possibly harmful obligations, such as fasting on the Day of Atonement. Preserving or saving someone's life overrides any other duty. However, when life is not threatened, a broken bone, for instance, medical care might be put off. Centuries of rabbinical commentary *(responsa)* have dealt with other difficulties, like observing commandments during a plague, so there has been an substantial accumulation of legal precedents (medical *halakhah*).

Moral dilemmas in contemporary medical care, notably surrounding abortion, euthanasia, genetic engineering, and prolongation of life, are stimulating interest in pertinent Jewish law. In 1959 Rabbi Immanuel Jacobovitz defined the subject and scope of modern Jewish medical ethics, and subsequently prominent rabbis and physicians have added casuistic (moral) analysis in numerous articles and books on the subject. The premises of Jewish medical ethics are that life is sacred and that all actions must be in accordance with morality in the Talmudic tradition. Ethicists distinguish the Jewish emphasis on the individual's moral obligations, especially to choose life, from the secular emphasis on the individual's autonomy, even to choose death. However, medical-ethical dilemmas are as contentious for Jewish ethicists as for their non-Jewish counterparts.

FOLK HEALING. Throughout history, Judaism has had a rich tradition of healing folklore. Isaiah treated King Hezekiah for intestinal illness with an application of figs (*Is.* 38:21). According to ancient legend, King Solomon acquired knowledge of healing from God, then wrote a healing text, which was later followed by a school of Jewish folk practitioners (Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews,* bk. 8, chap. 2). In addition, Solomon was said to be a sorcerer-astrologist who could banish illness demons *(The Testament of Solomon).* Folk belief also has it that the angel Rafael stands guard at night over the sickbed.

The Talmud devotes pages to materia medica that came from ancient Babylonia concerning the warding off of demons, the evil eye, and other causes of illness with charms, amulets, potions, and incantations. To cite one Talmudic remedy, "For migraine one should take a woodcock and cut its throat with a white zuz over the side of his head on which he has pain" (*Gittin* 69a). This, the rabbis knew, was magical, but they declared as principle that "nothing done for the purpose of healing is forbidden on grounds of superstition." By the Middle Ages, however, rabbis came to believe that Talmudic medicine was archaic and counseled their followers not to use it. Nevertheless, it is still published.

According to stories in the Talmud *(aggadah),* certain rabbis were healers. "Give me your hand," said Rabbi Johanna to Rabbi Hiyya, who was ill. "He gave him his and he raised him" (*Berakoth* 5b). In every generation, even in the early twenty-first century, some teachers *(rebbes)* have been folk healers and experts in Jewish medicinal lore.

Jewish folklore derives its particularity from the letters, symbols, pictures, prayers, stories, incantations, and passages that come from holy sources. They derive healing power from Hebrew, the language of the Bible and so of God. Hebrew letters and verses are placed in amulets to be worn around the neck, carried in one's pocket, and placed at sick beds. On their home's front entry and doorways within, many Jews place a prayer case *(mezuzah),* which contains a parchment scroll with protective biblical sayings. Changing the name of a sick person to Chaim ("life"), Rafael ("may God cure"), or the like and thereby changing his or her identity deflects the divine decree of death. Herbs from Sabbath services or unleavened bread from a Passover Seder can be medicinal. Some folk recipes, such as chicken soup, a common restorative since medieval times, may have had a more rational basis. These are but a few examples of Jewish healing practices that are still prevalent, especially in traditional communities, though marginalized like other forms of "alternative medicine."

PROFESSIONAL MEDICINE. The attitudes of Jewish religious texts toward physicians changed from initial disdain to respect, even reverence. The Bible is scornful; it remarks sarcastically that before King Asa died, he "did not turn to the Lord but to physicians" (*2 Chr.* 16:11). However, the post-biblical text *Ben Sira,* written two centuries after Hippocrates (fourth century BCE), praises physicians. "From God the doctor has his wisdom," *Ben Sira* says, and "God makes the earth yield healing herbs" (*Ben Sira* 38). Following *Ben Sira,* the Talmud acknowledges that the physician has been "given permission to heal" (Mishnah *Kaddushin* 82a). It allows physicians to set fees and urges people to settle in a town where a physician resides and to consult doctors when they are in pain. Furthermore, it discusses the issue of whether a patient should follow a doctor's advice when the patient disagrees. With finality, the *Shulhan Arukh* declares that physicians have, "under the rule of saving an endangered life," not just permission to heal but, more importantly, an obligation, a religious duty to do so (*Yorah Deah* 335).

Since the early Middle Ages, Jews have held Western medicine and physicians in high esteem. Historically, Western medicine stems from the writings of Hippocrates and Galen, and it is based not on divine intervention or superstition but on a rational, book-learned science of observation, experiment, and theory. In the sixth century the otherwise unknown Asaph wrote the earliest Jewish medical text, which intermingles Hippocratic ethics with faith in God. In the tenth century the Moroccan physician Isaac Israeli authored treatises based on Galenic and Arabic medicine that became standard teaching texts throughout Islamic and Christian lands. In the twelfth century the author of the *Mishneh Torah,* Moses Maimonides, who practiced medicine at the court of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, achieved such notoriety as a clinician and writer that even for Islamic historians he typifies the remarkable accomplishments of an innovative era of Islamic medicine. Like him, learned Jews, even rabbis, became physicians not only to their own people but also to caliphs, sultans, popes, and Christian rulers. Following this professional tradition, many Jews, then and now, have regarded scientific medicine as a spiritual calling, second only to the work of a rabbi.

Since the Enlightenment, Jews have entered the health professions in greatly disproportionate numbers and have made many important contributions to medical thought and science. Hospitals in the United States created in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries for Jewish doctors and observant patients are now renowned medical centers. In its short existence, Israel has created a universal medical system in which care, teaching, and research are as advanced as any in the world.

The earliest Jewish physicians were inclined to write about professional excellence—to consider, that is, the question of what makes a doctor consummate—and thereby, like Asaph, to blend faith and profession. At a time of no medical licensure, no formal medical education, and no standardized professional standards, Isaac Israeli authored a book of moral and professional maxims, which includes the directive "Be especially concerned with visiting and treating the poor and needy sick for you cannot assume a more rewarding work." In a medical treatise, Maimonides emphasized that one should consult only the best physicians, meaning those who have thoroughly learned medical science and have extensive practical experience. Later Jewish physicians composed personal oaths, among them the famous Prayer of Maimonides, which though attributed to Maimonides, was written by a prominent eighteenth-century German physician. "Almighty God," it begins, ". . . inspire me with love for my art and for thy creatures. Do not allow thirst for profit, ambition for renown and admiration, to interfere with my profession."

RELIGION AND HEALTH. The basis of Jewish concern for healing is the belief that healthiness is a spiritual virtue. Jewish attitudes toward the body derive from the belief that the human body-soul, whether a unity or a dyad, is God's creation; it must be preserved to fulfill God's will on earth. Life is sacred; death is evil, although there will be, in some form, afterlife in messianic times. Jewish teaching sanctifies deeds and behaviors more than a transcendent spirit and so does not privilege soul over body; accordingly, Judaism disapproves of self-inducing illness by mortification and asceticism.

Judaism has no overarching healing concept; indeed the etiologic premises of the miracle, scientific medicine, and folklore are irreconcilable. Maimonides offers the only systematic formulation of the relationship of health to Jewish spirituality. His health concepts stem from the translated writings of the ancient Greek writers Aristotle, Hippocrates, and Galen, which he refined; his spiritual beliefs stem of course from the Hebrew Bible and the Talmud; therefore, with respect to medicine and healing, he tried to harmonize the literary heritages of Greece and Israel. A person's spiritual need, Maimonides wrote, is to acquire knowledge of God, and all actions in life should be directed toward that goal. Consequently, "the purpose of [the] body's health is that the soul might find its instruments healthy and sound that it can be directed toward the sciences and toward acquiring the moral and rational virtues. . . . On the basis of this reasoning, the art of medicine is given a very large role with respect to the virtues. . . . To study it diligently is among the greatest acts of worship" (*Commentary on the Mishnah,* chap. 5). In other words, good health is necessary, even sacred, in Jewish life but never as an end in itself; rather, it is subordinate to the end of leading a life consecrated to God. Good health makes possible a good life, which for the religious Jew consists of worship, study, and *mitsvot.*

Conversely, Jewish sources suggest that a good life may promote good health or at least emotional well-being. *Proverbs* advises: "Fear the Lord and shun evil. It will be a cure for your body" (*Prv.* 3:7). And if someone feels pain, the Talmud says, "let him engage in the study of Torah" (*Erubin* 54a). Maimonides told an Arab prince that "passions of the psyche produce changes in the body." To gain "strength of mind," study philosophy and follow the "admonitions and disciplines of the Law" *(Regimen of Health).* According to Rebbe Nachman of Breslov (1722–1810), "joy and dance," elements of Hasidic religiosity, relieve distress. The person utterly imbued with faith, in the words of a modern Orthodox theologian, "knows no fear or dread in the full sense of the term . . . [and] vanquishes even the fear of death" (Soloveitchik, 1983).

SICKNESS AND SPIRITUALITY: CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENTS. How do Jewish healing traditions have relevance in the early twenty-first century for the person who is ill? Many people still find comfort and inspiration in biblical writings, especially in *Psalms.* The Bible voices, acknowledges, and shares the sufferer's inner storm of anger, dread, pain, shame, bewilderment, and tears, and it holds out hope, order, and coherence. Family, fellowship, prayer, and communal support from congregations and social service agencies mitigate the lonesomeness, bitterness, and devitalization that often accompany chronic disease. Clergy who are trained in hospitals as pastoral counselors offer solace, perspective, and attentive listening. Jewish medical ethics is a vital field of literature and education and the subject of an ongoing dialogue between physicians and rabbis. Finally, many Jewish practitioners in the healing professions have internalized their spiritual heritage, write about it, and exhibit it in their daily work.

SEE ALSO Judaism, overview article.

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HEALING AND MEDICINE: HEALING AND MEDICINE IN ISLAMIC TEXTS AND TRADITIONS

In Islamic theology, God created nature, which functions in harmony and unity according to natural law. God also created human beings, who must submit to both God's law and natural law in order to function in harmony and unity in the universe. Therefore human beings are above animals because they alone can worship God and can redeem themselves through piety and good works. When harmony is disturbed by immoral or unhealthy behavior, a virus or microbe, an accident, or a personal or societal catastrophe, physical or mental disease may result. When a person's physical and mental functioning is impaired, he or she is considered sick and should seek treatment. In the Islamic worldview, good health is a sign of both a wholesome lifestyle and divine favor, and the healer or medical practitioner plays an important and highly valued role in the social order by restoring the physical or mental well-being of the patient. The physician must determine the malady and prescribe the remedy, which should be directed at the source, whether a microbe, injury, malnutrition, personal problem, societal disorder, or divine ill favor.

The Qurʾān contains many verses that pertain to health and healing and is considered the ultimate guide to good health. Verse 41:44 states, "Say: 'To the believers it [the Qurʾān] is a guidance, and a healing.'" Similarly, according to verse 10:57, "O men, now there has come to us an admonition [Qur'anic revelation] from your Lord, and a healing for what is in the breast, and a guidance, and a mercy to the believers." Verse 26:80 quotes the words of Abraham and makes it clear that God is the ultimate curer of illness: "Lord of all Being who created me, and Himself guides me, and Himself gives me to eat and drink, and, whenever I am sick heals me, who makes me to die, then gives me life, and who I am eager shall forgive me my offence on the day of doom." The Qurʾān (2:219; 2:168; 2:180; 5:90) recommends a wholesome lifestyle, forbids intoxicants, and mercifully absolves the ill from fasting during Ramaḍān. Honey is one of many proofs of God's majesty and is the only remedy for ill health in the Qurʾān: "Then comes there forth out of (Bees') bellies a drink of diverse hues wherein is healing for men. Surely in that is a sign for a people who reflect" (16:72).

The *ḥadīth*, or sayings and doings of the Prophet collected and compiled after Muḥammad's death, offer extensive commentary on disease and medicine. In a much-quoted *ḥadīth* Muḥammad stated, "'God has not sent down a disease without sending down a remedy for it.' Bukhari transmitted it. Jabir reported God's messenger as saying, 'There is a medicine for every disease and when the medicine is applied to the disease it is cured by God's permission.' Muslim transmitted it." (*Mishkāt al-maṣābīḥ,* Vol. III, p. 945). Other well-known *ḥadīth* urge believers to seek treatment: "Usama b. Sharik told that when God's messenger was asked whether they should make use of medical treatment he replied, 'Yes, servants of God, make use of medical treatment, for God has not made a disease without appointing a remedy for it, with the exception of one disease, viz., old age.' Ahmad, Tirhidhi, and Abu Dawud transmitted it." (*Mishkāt al-maṣābīḥ,* Vol. III, p. 947.) According to Tirmidhi, "when God's messenger was asked whether [believers] should make use of medical treatment, he replied: 'Yes servants of God, make use of medical treatment for God has not made a disease without appointing a remedy for it, with the exception of one disease, namely old age'" (*Mishkāt al-maṣābīḥ,* Vol. III, p. 947).

Often, *ḥadīth* medical advice centers on the importance of cleanliness in food, drink, and personal hygiene. In some *ḥadīth* disease is a test, trial, or punishment to be dealt with patiently, and those who die from certain diseases or in childbirth may achieve martyrdom and heavenly reward. The Qurʾān explicitly rejects magic, but many *ḥadīth* recommend amulets or other talismans and charms to ward off disease. Belief in the evil eye as a cause of disease and other inflictions is common throughout and beyond the Muslim world.

Both Sunnī and Shīʿī texts stress the value of prayer in healing. In both traditions, Ṣūfī or mystical texts recommend healing through prayer and other devotional rituals. There are, however, substantial differences between Sunnī and Shīʿī *ḥadīth.* Shīʿī Islam values suffering and martyrdom far more than Sunnī Islam, so the Akhbārī (Shīʿī *ḥadīth*) literature recommends that the patient suffer through the ailment and seek medical attention only in emergencies.

GRECO-ISLAMIC MEDICINE. When Muslims brought Islam to the Byzantine and Sassadid (Iranian) regions, they sought knowledge from the peoples they encountered. The first translators were mostly Christians who translated works from Greek into Syriac and then into Arabic. Persian and Indian medical texts were also translated into Arabic. The formal tradition of Islamic medicine was based on Galen's (129–c. 199 CE) descriptions of elements and humors. The basic elements were earth, fire, air, and water. Each element had a temperament: earth was dry and cold, fire was dry and hot, air was humid and hot, and water was humid and cold. The temperaments corresponded to the humors of the body: blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile. When the humors were in balance, the body was healthy. When the humors were out of balance, the result was disease, which the physician or patient could treat through appropriate food or drink, drugs, or temperature adjustment. Islamic physicians generally distinguished between the body and the spirit or soul (*rūḥ*), and they believed God worked through the *rūḥ* to cure the patient. The physician was to take care to address the state of the patient's *rūḥ* in determining a treatment. While some of the physicians denounced it, astrological medicine was much practiced. Many medical texts had sections on astrological influences on disease causation, and most astrological manuals had sections giving medical advice.

By the ninth century, Muslim physicians were synthesizing and adding to the Greek, Persian, and Indian medical traditions, and healthcare was becoming a major institution. Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 809 CE) built the first *bimaristan* (hospital) in Baghdad along the lines of the famous medical institution at Jundishapur. It was soon followed by other hospitals with physiologists, oculists, surgeons, and bonesetters on their staffs. In Cairo the Mamlūk ruler Mansur Qalawun (d. 1290) built the Mansuri Hospital in 1284–1285. The hospital complex had a substantial religious endowment *(waqf)* and served thousands of patients. According to the founding *waqf* document:

> The [hospital] is for kings or subjects, old or young, free or slave, male or female. Upon recovery patients shall receive clothing while the deceased shall receive burial shrouds and all funeral expenses will be paid. Funds are allocated for herbalists, surgeons, bonesetters, ophthalmologists, and general practitioners, and for all patients, whether male or female, and their caregivers. Funds are available for beds, bedding, patient hygiene, and general sanitation. . . . Funds are also available for outpatients for food and medicine. (Isa, pp. 86–88)

The Mansuri Hospital had rooms for specialized cases including fevers, eye diseases, and wounds, and a separate wing for women. It contained a kitchen, a dispensary, a laboratory for medicine, a library, and an auditorium where the chief physician lectured his students. The mosque and *madrasah* (school) that formed part of the complex still stand though the hospital building was replaced in 1920. It was used as an ophthalmic clinic until the 1992 earthquake damaged it. The complex is currently undergoing extensive restoration.

Only a few of the renowned physicians can be mentioned here in order to demonstrate their contributions to the received medical tradition. Abū Muḥammad al-Rāzī (Rhazes; d. 930 CE) was born in Rayy near Tehran but worked mostly in Baghdad. He was the first to describe the clinical symptoms of smallpox as distinguished from measles. He also wrote cheerful essays, such as "Why Ignorant Physicians, Common Folk, and Women in the Cities Are More Successful Than Scientists in Treating Certain Diseases—and the Physician's Excuse for This."

ʿAli ibn al-ʾAbbas al-Majusi, or Haly Abbas (d. 994 CE), the director of the Adud-dawlah Hospital in Baghdad, compiled the *Kitāb Kamil al-Sina al-Tibbiyya* (The complete book of the medical art), also known as *al-Kitāb al-Malikiʾ* (The royal book). This famous text has one volume on theoretical medicine and another on practical medicine and is a concise and well-organized summary of Greco-Islamic medical knowledge.

Abū ʿAlī Ibn Sīnā or Avicenna (980–1037) identified diseases such as meningitis and discovered new remedies, but his greatest contribution was his system of medicine, in which medical practice was combined with physical and psychological factors, drugs, and diets—or "holistic" medicine. His *Canon of Medicine* was translated into Latin and was used more than Hippocrates and Galen in Europe.

Abū ʿAli al-Hasan ibn al-Haytham (Alhazen; d. 1040) worked mostly in Cairo. He is known for his seven-volume treatise on optics, *Kitāb al-Manazir*, which built on Ptolemy's theories but demonstrated through experimental evidence that in vision light is reflected from an object into the eye, thus reversing the received theory.

Ibn Nafis (d. 1288) studied medicine in Damascus and became director of the Mansuri Hospital in Cairo. His *Mujiz*, a widely used commentary on Ibn Sīnā's *Canon*, contains his famous theory of the pulmonary or lesser circulation of the blood, which was subsequently proved correct.

CUSTOMARY MEDICINE. Customary, or empirical, medicine was probably the most widely used type of medical intervention in everyday life. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Khaldūn (1332–1406), the famous historian and sociologist, carefully distinguished between empirical medicine, Greco-Islamic or humoral medicine, and religious doctrine:

> Civilized Bedouins have a kind of medicine that is mainly based upon individual experience. They inherit its use from the shaykhs and old women of the tribe. Some of it may occasionally be correct. However, it is not based upon any natural norm or upon any conformity [of the treatment] to the temper of the humors. Much of this sort of medicine existed among the Arabs. The medicine mentioned in religious tradition is of the

> Bedouin type. It is in no way part of the divine revelation. [Such medical matters] were merely part of Arab custom and happened to be mentioned in connection with the circumstances of the Prophet, like other things that were customary in his generation. They were not mentioned in order to imply that that particular way of practicing medicine is stipulated by the religious law. Muḥammad was sent to teach us the religious law. He was not sent to teach us medicine or any other ordinary matter. None of the statements concerning medicine that occur in sound traditions should be considered as [having the force] of law. The only thing is that if that type of medicine is used for the sake of a divine blessing and in true religious faith, it may be very useful. However, that would have nothing to do with humoral medicine but be the result of true faith. (Ibn Khaldūn, p. 387)

For Ibn Khaldūn, the humoral medicine of the Greco-Islamic tradition was scientific and therefore valid; faith, if sincere, might be helpful; and empirical medicine might be useful in a haphazard way.

PROPHETIC MEDICINE. Prophetic medicine (*tibb al-nabawi*) developed alongside the formal medical tradition. The authors of prophetic medicine were generally not practicing physicians or scientists but rather *ʿulamāʾ* (specialists of Islamic theological and legal sciences) who worked out "religiously correct" compendiums of medical lore that blended empirical medicine, religious formulas, and sometimes Greco-Islamic ideas. Prophetic medical texts typically list both physical and spiritual diseases (fevers, leprosy, plague, poisonous insect and snake bites, melancholy) and offer remedies drawn from the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī (d. 1348) cites several major Greek and Islamic medical authorities, empirical medicine, and the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth* as his sources. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505), however, based his prophetic medical book on what was known of the medicine of the Arabian Peninsula, the Qurʾān, and the *ḥadīth* but not the Greco-Islamic tradition. Suyūṭī recommended prayers and invocations, amulets and talismans, but did not mention surgery. Much of his medical advice was preventive and recommended moderate habits and the avoidance of intoxicants. Perhaps the most famous of the prophetic medical compendiums, *Medicine of the Prophet* (1998) by Abū Bakr ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīya (1292–1350), has been published in English translation. Its medical advice relies more on piety than on Greco-Islamic medical theory and contains much information on medical beliefs and practices of ordinary people in the fourteenth century.

MODERN MEDICINE. Muslim physicians did not hesitate to borrow from European physicians, particularly for unfamiliar diseases. Dāwūd ibn Umar al-Antaki (d. 1599) includes the standard mercury treatment for syphilis used in Europe at the time. Syphilis was unknown in North African and the Middle East until the late fifteenth century or early sixteenth century. Ottoman physicians began translating selected medical works from European languages in the early nineteenth century. During that century cholera spread from India, where it was endemic, via long-distance transportation to port cities and elsewhere in the Muslim world. In 1831 Mustafa Behcet (d. 1833), head of the medical college in Istanbul, published a treatise on cholera based on an Austrian source that Ottoman authorities distributed free throughout the empire. Ottoman authorities established a quarantine service in about 1832 and had religious leaders publish treatises showing that quarantines were not contrary to Islamic law.

Today Western medicine is well established throughout the Muslim world. In several South Asian nations it is possible to study and be certified in Greco-Islamic medicine. Institutes in Cairo and elsewhere study remedies recommended in the *ḥadīth*, such as "black seed," to determine their efficaciousness in treating various diseases. Inexpensive compendiums of prophetic medicine can be purchased in bookshops throughout the region and may be consulted for informal or alternate treatments. Those with serious illnesses and adequate resources, however, generally prefer to consult reputable specialists trained in the Western medical tradition.

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HEALING AND MEDICINE: POPULAR HEALING PRACTICES IN MIDDLE EASTERN CULTURES

Despite widespread Western misconceptions about technological "backwardness" in the Middle Eastern world, the Middle East is home to thoroughly modern, high-tech, Western-based biomedicine, often delivered in gleaming private hospitals and medical centers throughout the region. Technologies such as coronary bypass surgery, organ transplantation services, and the latest forms of in vitro fertilization are widely available in urban centers. Thus middle- to upper-class Middle Eastern patients can avail themselves of medical diagnosis and treatment services in cities such as Jiddah, Saudi Arabia; Cairo, Egypt; Tehran, Iran; or Beirut, Lebanon, with expectations that the services rendered will be on a par with those offered in the best medical centers in the West.

Bearing this medical modernity in mind, it is also important to acknowledge that popular healing traditions still exist in the Middle East, providing a less expensive alternative to biomedicine among rural populations and the urban underclass, as well as a spiritual connection to Islam and to earlier literate medical traditions in the region. The Middle East is home to a rich medical history and is one of the few regions of the world in which written materials concerning health-related ideologies, practices, and professional standards date back literally five thousand years. Many of these records provide an exquisitely detailed account of the medical systems and accompanying ideologies that gained hegemony in this region through the millennia, as well as the cultural and socioeconomic milieus in which they existed (Gran, 1979; Inhorn Millar and Lane, 1988). Furthermore, these records from the past show that popular healing practices found throughout Middle Eastern countries are deeply embedded in three ancient healing traditions—pharaonic (Egyptian), *yunāni* (Hellenic), and prophetic (Islamic)—all of which gained ascendancy before the rise of Western biomedicine in the region during the nineteenth-century colonial period (Adib, 2004; Inhorn, 1994a). Indeed, biomedicine can be thought of as a historical newcomer to this region of the world. It is not surprising, therefore, that previous traditions live on—not as organized medical systems per se, but rather as numerous syncretic healing philosophies characterized by a multifaceted array of etiological, diagnostic, and therapeutic beliefs and practices regarding the nature of health and illness and the treatment of various forms of sickness.

HISTORY OF PROPHETIC (ISLAMIC) MEDICINE. It is these popular healing traditions and their connection to Islam that represent the substance of this brief essay. Although pharaonic medicine and later *yunāni* medicine were extremely important literate medical traditions in this region of the world, this essay begins with a brief history of prophetic (Islamic) medicine, which arose during the period following the Prophet Muḥammad's death in 632 CE and which still represents an extremely influential healing tradition throughout the region.

Historically prophetic medicine constituted a quasi-medical "religious medicine" based exclusively (at least putatively) on passages in the Islamic Scriptures (Dols, 1984). After the Prophet's death, Muslim believers, such as Al-Suyūṭī in his *Tibb-ul-Nabbi* (Medicine of the Prophet), collected everything the Prophet was reported to have said about hygiene, alcohol consumption, circumcision, menstruation, breast-feeding, sanitation, and various diseases and then institutionalized these sayings into a form of medical practice (Gran, 1979).

According to medical historians, however, prophetic medicine was actually a syncretic blend of biblical Jewish medicine as contained in the *Book of Leviticus*; Persian medicine as taught in the famous medical school of Gondeshapur, which was attended by several of the Prophet's relatives; nomadic Bedouin medicine as practiced in Arabia (particularly in Medina and Mecca) during the Prophet's lifetime; and Hippocratic-Galenic *yunāni* medicine from Greece. Furthermore, as Manfred Ullman (1978) has argued, many of the *ḥadīth* (sayings and traditions of the prophet Muḥammad), upon which prophetic medicine was supposedly based, were actually inauthentic, prescribing pre-Islamic folk practices that were later reinterpreted using concepts from yunāni medicine.

Nonetheless, prophetic medicine acquired great significance during later Islamic history and, in some cases, came to counter and supersede the then powerful *yunāni* medical system, which was suspected as being a science of heathen origin. Prophetic medicine was also popular with the people, for it incorporated traditional concepts and practices from Arab folk medicine, such as the writing of religious sayings in curative amulets, belief in the evil eye, and the practice of cupping (application of heated cups on the skin), all of which continue to be widely practiced in many parts of the Middle East in the early twenty-first century.

By the sixteenth-century, cults of popular Islamic mystics, known as Ṣūfīs or marabouts, began to proliferate in the countries of North Africa. As Peter Gran (1979) points out, the Ṣūfī cults and their shrines flourished in countries such as Egypt because they catered to the spiritual, psychological, and political needs of the lower classes as well as to their medical complaints. Cults also offered medical specialization; for example, some dealt specifically with the ailments of women, whereas others specialized in psychiatric problems, which were usually attributed to spirit possession.

SAINT VENERATION AND HEALING PILGRIMAGES. Prophetic and Ṣūfī healing traditions continue to flourish in many parts of the Middle East, particularly in the countries of North Africa. Thousands of Muslim pilgrims make *ziyārāt*, or visits, to saints' shrines, some large, some small, dotting the urban and rural landscapes of countries like Morocco, Tunisia, and Egypt but also in Middle Eastern countries outside the Arab world, including Turkey and Iran. Most of these shrines contain the tombs of dead saints, and some, especially the relatively famous ones, host magnificent mosque-tomb complexes. Most of these shrines are associated in some way with a dead "pious one" (Eickelman, 1998), either a *sayyid* (a descendant of the prophet Muḥammad); a renowned cleric regarded as pious for the quality of his learning; a founder or descendant of a founder of a Ṣūfī religious brotherhood; or a holy person, male or female, known for exceptional religiosity and the demonstrated ability during his or her lifetime to perform miracles. For the masses of rural and urban poor people who visit these sites as pilgrims—given that healing pilgrimage of this sort tends to be a class-based phenomenon in the Middle East these dead saints are believed to radiate *barakah*, a living form of beneficial power associated with divine blessing, grace, or holiness that is transferable to their descendants, followers, and visitors (Biegman, 1990).

Even though saint worship has always been frowned upon as *shirk*, or polytheism, by more scripturally minded, orthodox Muslims (Doumato, 2000), belief in the miraculous *barakah* of saints, the formation of cults involved in the veneration of such saints, and the subsequent movement of thousands of miracle-seeking pilgrims to and from saints' shrines are considered to be among the major hallmarks of North African Islam.

WOMEN, PILGRIMAGE, AND HEALING. From their beginnings in the tenth century, these cults were involved in healing, especially among the poor and among women. In the early twenty-first century, the poor, and poor women in particular, continue to worship dead, miracle-working saints whose tombs, if relatively accessible, they may visit on a regular basis. Indeed, it is women—not men—who are most actively involved in saint veneration and who are, therefore, the primary participants in the salvation-oriented *ziyārāt* to local and regional saints' tombs. The essentially "female character" of local pilgrimage in the Middle East (Betteridge, 1983)—and men's accompanying embarrassment and even disdain regarding this activity—has been noted by a number of scholars working in various regions of the Middle East (Crapanzano, 1973; Doumato, 2000; Dwyer, 1978; Mernissi, 1977; Tapper, 1990).

For women in the Middle East, healing as well as the solution of other difficult life problems is a primary impetus for *ziyārāt* to saints' shrines. Such healing furthermore may be multifaceted. On the one hand, belief in *barakah* and the abilities of *barakah*-bestowing dead saints to perform miraculous cures, including the restoration of fecundity to the infertile (Inhorn, 1994a), brings hope to those whose health problems seem intractable or who have failed to find relief in other therapeutic venues. In addition, the activities of the pilgrimage itself—including the respite from everyday routine; the exhilaration of travel to a spiritually "magnetic" center (Preston, 1992); the cathartic effects of unburdening one's "private heartaches" (Tapper, 1990) on a nonjudgmental but responsive holy one who can be requested to act on one's behalf; the ability to be part of a sympathetic, experienced community of female sufferers who often congregate at these shrines (Mernissi, 1977); and the ministrations of the living, *barakah*-bestowing *shaikh*s who often attend to these shrines and who pray and write healing amulets for suffering pilgrims—are part and parcel of the healing process. Thus even if miraculous cures do not eventuate, the pilgrimage itself may bring relief and psychological relaxation as well as spiritual renewal through contact with divinity.

Furthermore as Fatima Mernissi (1977) has noted, Middle Eastern women's pilgrimages to holy sanctuaries are "power operations," means by which subaltern women can seek control over their sexuality, fertility, health, and general well-being in societies that tend to be decidedly patriarchal (Inhorn, 1996). Pilgrimages to saints' tombs allow women to reaffirm, if only temporarily, control over their lives and their personal well-being through actions that are autonomous from men. Typically, *ziyārāt* to the mosque-tombs of blessed saints are journeys that women make alone, allowing them the opportunity to demonstrate their agency and independence. Even though women's *ziyārāt* often require money from husbands and, in most cases, permission to travel by husbands or other family members, the pilgrimage typically remains an exclusively female activity, with shrines often serving as protected "female turf" (Betteridge, 1983).

Although women are barred in many ways from formal public ritual practice, including participation in Friday communal prayers at mosques, many of the popular healing rituals and pilgrimages practiced in the Middle East are nonetheless carried out by women within the framework of the Islamic ritual cycle. In many cases, pilgrimages and healing rituals are undertaken during the exact hour of the Friday communal noon prayer—the most important one in the Islamic weekly cycle of thirty-five prayers. This syncretic association of healing practice with Islamic prayer ritual is extremely significant, even though it is disdained by religiously literate orthodox Muslims.

ISLAM AND POPULAR HEALING. In the Middle East in the early twenty-first century, opposition to popular healing rituals does not come mainly from biomedical quarters. Islamic religious leaders and groups are increasingly spreading the word that popular healing practices, especially those that involve saint worship, are a form of *shirk*, or polytheism, which is *ḥaram*, or forbidden in the religion. Whereas biomedicine is viewed for the most part as being *ḥalāl*, or compatible with Islamic doctrine, many alternative healing practices are considered *ḥaram* by religiously literate Muslims and conservative Islamists (so-called fundamentalists), who see these practices as being "against God," "against the religion," or "like believing in something besides God." This religious argument is becoming increasingly apparent as a result of the contemporary Islamic revival in many parts of the Middle East and, according to Eleanor Abdella Doumato (2000), has severely restricted women's healing practices in Saudi Arabia, regarded as the home of Islam and the site of the annual Islamic pilgrimage, or *ḥājj.*

Yet despite official Islamic opposition, popular healing practices continue unabated, attesting to their power and importance in the minds of ordinary Muslims. Under the rubric of *waṣfāt baladī* (traditional remedies) or *it ṭibb il-ʿarabī* (Arabic medicine), popular healing in the Middle East comes in many forms other than saint veneration. Given the incredible diversity of the region, the Middle East is home to a rich armamentarium of popular healing practices delivered by multiple types of healers. In Egypt, for example, there are four major categories of traditional healers, including *dāyāt* (lay midwives), who deliver babies and provide many types of "ethnogynecological" care to lower-class women patients (Inhorn, 1994a); *ʿaṭṭārīn* (herbalists), who work with a rich ethnopharmacopeia of herbal and mineral substances and are often skilled ethnobotanists in their own right; *munaggimīn* (spiritist healers), who are known for specializing in diagnostic clairvoyance and the treatment of the more difficult, socially mediated causes of ill health (e.g., infertility, impotence), including angered spirits and the sorcery acts of enemies; and *shuyūkh bil-baraka* (blessed *shaikh*s), who are typically, but not necessarily, associated with Ṣūfī orders and who bestow their own inherited or acquired *barakah* on patients through faith healing (i.e., laying on of hands, reading of the Qurʾān, writing healing amulets with religious inscriptions, and praying over the afflicted). In the neighboring countries of the Arab Gulf and Levant (Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, Jordan), *ḥukamā ʿarabi* (Arabic doctors) may provide a variety of herbal, spiritual, and other physical remedies for difficult afflictions, such as male infertility and impotence, sometimes operating out of their own clinics and charging high prices for their services.

As suggested by this great variety of popular healers, ethnomedical beliefs about the causes of ill health and its treatment are multifaceted and complex in the Middle East, defying easy categorization. Nonetheless, etiological beliefs about illness range from naturalistic (physical) to personalistic (social), to supernatural (spiritual), as is also common in many other parts of the world. To take one example from the Middle East, Egyptian ethnomedical beliefs about the causes of infertility range from humidity to sorcery and include the possibilities of an open back, a shock, a polluting entrance, an angered spirit-sister under the ground, and the ultimate cause, which is always God's will. To counter these various etiological possibilities, lower-class infertile women often undertake relentless "quests for conception," in which they engage simultaneously in arduous ethnomedical and biomedical therapeutic rituals (Inhorn, 1994a). Ethnomedical therapies for female infertility in Egypt include vaginal suppositories with various herbal and mineral substances; cupping on the lower back; vapor sitz baths; cauterization of the skin with a heated rod; sewing of the skin of the lower back; wearing a belt and padlock; countershocking the infertile woman who has been shocked; sorcery nullification; spirit appeasement; and elaborate rituals for a culture-bound syndrome known in Egypt as *mushāhara* or *kabsa,* which is thought to be the major cause of infertility in women. In short, the ethnomedical treatments for infertility alone in one Middle Eastern country are amazingly diverse and complex, suggesting the richness of popular healing beliefs and practices in this part of the world.

EXAMPLES OF POPULAR HEALING PRACTICES. Although it is important to emphasize the rich diversity of popular healing practices in the Middle East, a number of main types of healing practices stand out as particularly relevant and representative of the region. For this reason, they provide notable examples.

Cupping and cautery. The practices of cupping and cautery were the most common healing methods employed in pre-Islamic times, according to medical historians (Ullman, 1978). However, with the coming of Islam to the region, the prophet Muḥammad is said to have forbidden cauterization as a pre-Islamic, Bedouin practice of heathen origin (Doumato, 2000; Ullman, 1978). Despite this prophetic denouncement, both cupping and cautery are found widely throughout the Middle Eastern region in the early twenty-first century. Cautery is reportedly practiced in Morocco, Sudan, Yemen, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and among Palestinian Bedouins in Israel. Although cupping has been reported for other parts of the Middle East as well, it is described much more frequently than cautery in reports on Egypt.

Cupping (*kasr* or *kaʾsāt hawāʾ*) involves two objects—one to be lit (usually a piece of cloth dipped in a flammable liquid, a candle, or a corncob), and one to be used as a sort of suction cup (usually a glass jar, a pottery vessel, a mortar, or a cup). When the vessel is placed over the flame, it extinguishes the flame and causes vapor to rise. Adhered like a suction cup to the patient's skin, the healing vessel is said to "grab," "suck," or "collect" excess cold moisture inside the body, or to "gather" parts of the body that have become divided (e.g., the muscles in an "open" back). Given its perceived efficacy in the treatment of rheumatic, muscular, and gynecological complaints, cupping is widely performed by both lay cupping (*kasr* or *kaʾsāt hawāʾ*) persons and ethnomedical healers such as midwives in countries such as Egypt.

Cautery *(kawī, kayy, makwa, ḥadīd)* involves placing a heated metal object, usually a nail or a small rod much like a branding iron, on the patient's skin. The procedure is painful, burning the skin and leaving a permanent scar. Cautery may be used directly on the site of a patient's bodily complaint (e.g., lower back, arm or leg joints), or it may be used on other sites of the body to "tighten" relaxed nerves and muscles. For this reason, cautery is thought to be extremely useful for male infertility and impotence, both of which may be attributed to "weak nerves" in the back (Inhorn, 1994a). In Saudi Arabia, cautery has also been used historically as a favored technique to chase malevolent spirits causing emotional or physical illness out of the body, including spirits causing madness (Doumato, 2000).

Amulets and evil eye. As with cupping and cautery, the use of prophylactic and curative amulets dates to pre-Islamic Arabic folk medicine; however, the use of amulets was not denounced by the prophet Muḥammad and was eventually incorporated into prophetic medicine. In the early twenty-first century, amulets are widely used throughout the Middle East for three primary purposes: (1) to prevent the deleterious envy (evil eye) that can destroy objects and lead to illness; (2) to nullify acts of sorcery, which are also thought to cause illnesses such as impotence; and (3) on a more mundane level, to treat physical complaints, ranging from headaches to fever.

Amulets often consist of small pieces of paper, sometimes folded, upon which indecipherable formulas or religious verses have been inscribed by a *shaikh bil-barakah* or quasi-religious male healer. Healers often provide special instructions on how the written amulet is to be utilized (e.g., in bath water, in drinking water, worn next to the body, slept on, stepped over, or burned with incense, which in and of itself is deemed protective against harmful forces). Amulets may also be store-bought, such as small charms made of gold, silver, or other metals, or they may be made of brightly colored pieces of cloth, sometimes adorned with shiny metallic coins.

Throughout the Middle East the most pervasive amulet is the so-called hand of Fatima, a down-turned, stylized, five-fingered hand often made of silver or blue pottery (or both) and often incorporating Qurʾanic verses or representations of a human eye. Middle Eastern citizens may adorn their most prized possessions (e.g., homes, automobiles) with the hand of Fatima to ward off the deleterious effects of envy. Wearing a hand of Fatima as a piece of jewelry is thought to prevent human harm and illness.

Belief in the power of the envious glance to cause harm is widespread throughout the Middle East, a region considered one of the "core areas" where evil eye beliefs are found (although they are also found in other parts of the world) (Dundes, 1992; Maloney, 1976). The "evil of an envier" is mentioned directly in the Qurʾān, but the belief in evil eye predates Islam, appearing in both the Bible and in Sumerian texts as early as five thousand years ago (Dundes, 1992).

In the early twenty-first century in the Middle East, there are two recurrent features of evil eye belief and practice that are relevant to a discussion of health and healing. First, children—and particularly more highly valued male children—are believed to be one of the main targets of the evil eye, with their sickness, injury, and even death constituting possible outcomes. Thus, in many settings in the Middle East, belief in the evil eye serves as a primary explanatory model for infant and child morbidity and mortality (Harfouche, 1992). For this reason amulets often adorn the clothing of infants and young children.

Second, given these beliefs concerning child health, it is not surprising that women—and particularly reproductively troubled women incapable of fulfilling their motherhood expectations and desires—are deemed particularly likely to cast the evil eye on children for the simple reason that women deprived of children cannot help but to envy them. Furthermore infertile women are considered to be dangerous to fertile women, especially those who are pregnant, who have demonstrated their reproductive success repeatedly, or who have finally achieved a coveted pregnancy through technological means such as in vitro fertilization.

Spirit possession and the *zār* cult. Women who are reproductively troubled and who may be blamed for the evil eye seek refuge in the *zār* cult in some parts of the Middle East. The *zār* is a women's spirit possession cult, found primarily in Egypt, Sudan, and the Arab Gulf or the regions closest to East Africa, where the *zār* cult probably originated. According to Doumato (2000), in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century the *zār* cult could be found virtually everywhere in the Arabic-speaking world and was integrated into the lives of women of all social classes.

In the early twenty-first century the *zār* is found primarily among the socially marginalized, who seek refuge in a healing fellowship with others who are similarly afflicted. For example, in Arabic-speaking northern Sudan, where *zār* is actively practiced, infertile women suffering from poor self-images are the primarily members of the *zār* cult. Through the *zār* they find a social etiology for their suffering (i.e., harmful spirits), a sense of community solidarity with other similarly afflicted women, and a way to press for demands (e.g., new clothing, jewelry, feasts) through the idiom of spirit possession and the invocation of these spirits through joyful music and dance. Indeed *zār* has been described by some scholars as a proto-feminist challenge to women's objectification and subordination (Boddy, 1989), a way to challenge authority and compensate for exclusion from formal religion in the Muslim world (Doumato, 2000).

Although women's *zār* cults have been suppressed in some Middle Eastern societies by conservative religious forces, the *zār* is experiencing a revival in parts of the Arab Gulf, particularly among socially isolated tribal communities (Doumato, 2000). Furthermore beliefs in harmful spirits and spirit possession are found across the Middle Eastern region, from Morocco to Iran. In Egypt, for example, a class of spiritist healers known as *munaggimīn*, who may be either male or female, specialize in diagnostic clairvoyance and the treatment of angered spirits. They do so either as "possessed" individuals, who use their own spirits to diagnose and treat other spirit-troubled individuals, or as skillful agents of spirit invocation, who make the wishes of others' spirits known, then appease those spirits through communal *zār* rituals or private rituals of animal sacrifice and the provision of gifts to the spirit world.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS. As noted at the beginning of this essay, high-tech biomedical therapies such as in vitro fertilization exist simultaneously in the Middle East with popular healing practices such as the *zār* cult. Neither domain has been well studied by social scientists or historians. Healing, both new and old, is clearly a rich area for future scholarship, as suggested by the brief examples provided in this essay. Furthermore, such research is timely, given calls for an "Islamic alternative" to the hegemony of postcolonial Western biomedicine in the region. Although some contemporary Islamists are calling for a return to prophetic-Islamic medicine—with its promotion of dietary and lifestyle changes as well as faith healing through prayer, writing of religious amulets, laying on of hands, and recitation of holy verses from the Qurʾān (Adib, 2004)—it is important to remember that these are among the very practices that have been employed for centuries in popular healing rituals throughout the region. It is fair to conclude that Islam—at least in its more populist form—has always been a major influence on the healing practices, pilgrimages, and rituals that continue, unabated, among the poorer urban and rural communities in the Middle East in the early twenty-first century.

SEE ALSO Islam; Pilgrimage, article on Muslim Pilgrimage.

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HEALING AND MEDICINE: HEALING AND MEDICINE IN GREECE AND ROME

In the ancient world there were four models of disease causation. The first viewed disease as retributive, caused directly by a divinity, usually a god or gods. The second postulated a demonic force as being responsible for inflicting disease on individuals. The third explained disease as the result of magic, often brought by sorcerers or magicians. Finally, the ancients ascribed some disease to natural causes. These etiological models were not mutually exclusive. In most ancient societies, in fact, they were complementary. But the treatment prescribed differed according to the perceived causative factors. When gods were assumed to be responsible, a religious response (e.g., prayer, sacrifice, or purification) was required. When demonic causation was assumed, exorcism or divine healing was called for. If illness was attributed to magical forces, counter-magic was expected to be efficacious. If disease was thought to be the result of natural causes, medical treatment was ordinarily sought. Throughout the period of classical antiquity (c. 800 BCE–c. 500 CE), one finds all four models manifesting themselves in different times, often in a harmonious or complementary relationship, as they reflected the changing spirit of the age.

GREECE. The earliest Greek literary works that have come down to modern readers are the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, traditionally ascribed to Homer, who probably lived between about 750 and 650 BCE. Although the historical setting of these epic poems is that of the Trojan War, which the Greeks dated to about 1200 BCE, it is widely held that much of the social and cultural backdrop is that of the Dark Age in Greece (c. 1200–800 BCE). In the Homeric epics the gods play an active role in every area of life, including health and sickness. Apollo sends arrows that cause disease and death (*Iliad* 1.9–52), whereas *daimones* (unseen supernatural powers) might cause them as well (*Odyssey* 5.394–97). The early Greeks regarded disease as retributive, the result of having offended a god or violated a sacred taboo. Only after the offense was removed, the community purified, and the gods propitiated would the disease be averted. Hesiod (eighth century BCE), an epic poet who was perhaps a late contemporary of Homer, offers an alternative explanation. Diseases are *daimones* that escaped from Pandora's box and move of their own accord throughout the world (*Works and Days* 100–104). Greeks sought healing of supernaturally caused diseases from *iatromanteis,* shaman-like healers. *Iatromanteis* traveled from city to city and purified communities from divine pollution, as in the early sixth century BCE did the Cretan Epimenides, who purified Athens, thus ending a plague that had fallen on the city because a magistrate had committed a sacrilege when he killed several men who had taken sanctuary in an Athenian temple.

But the Homeric epics speak also of an empirical approach to medicine. According to the *Odyssey* a group of physicians existed called *demiourgoi,* who were itinerant members of a medical craft. They relied on their experience and skill to treat wounds, broken bones, and diseases symptomatically by employing traditional treatment that was passed on by apprenticeship. In the sixth century BCE, groups of physicians began to assemble in several cities throughout the Mediterranean. Although they did not train physicians, they offered apprenticeship to aspiring doctors. Associated with one of the best known of these medical "schools," that of Cos, off the coast of Asia Minor, was the physician Hippocrates (c. 460–c. 380 BCE). Although he acquired the reputation as the father of medicine, little is known about Hippocrates. There exist only two contemporary references to him (both by Plato), but he became the subject of much idealized legend after his death.

In the fifth century BCE, Greek medicine began to develop beyond mere craftsmanship into a science that possessed a body of theoretical knowledge. The craftsman or empiric was often skilled in practical knowledge and the application of traditional methods. However, the addition of theory to practice actually created scientific medicine. The physician (*iatros*) attempted to understand disease and its causes in terms of natural processes. To do so he turned to philosophy, from which he borrowed the ability to frame universal formulations. The Hippocratic Corpus is the earliest attempt to provide a theoretical basis for medicine. The collection consists of about seventy treatises, most of which were written in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. The treatises eschew magical or divine factors in accounting for disease, rather employing naturalistic theories of disease that were taken over from the pre-Socratic philosophers. The best known is the theory of the four humors, which was borrowed from Empedocles.

The writer of *On the Sacred Disease* argues that epilepsy, commonly attributed to divine possession, is not more sacred than any other disease but has a natural cause. He writes, "There is no need to put the disease in a special class and to consider it more divine than the others; they are all divine and all human. Each has a nature and power of its own; none is hopeless or incapable of treatment" (*On Sacred Disease,* ch. 21). Although the Hippocratic treatises generally espouse a naturalistic explanation of disease, there is no evidence that this approach was regarded as atheistic. Hippocratic writers regarded nature as divine and medicine as a gift of the gods. Nor did they reject appeal to the gods for healing. "Prayer indeed is good, but while calling on the gods a man should himself lend a hand" (*Decorum* 87).

Hippocratic medicine spread rapidly in the late fifth and fourth centuries BCE. But alongside this rational or speculative medicine, which assumed natural causes of illness and sought to heal by natural means, there existed a tradition of religious healing. Those suffering from illness sought divine healing from gods, demigods, and heroes. Initially cures might be sought at the temple of any god or at the shrines of local heroes, but in the fifth century Asklepios emerged as the chief healing deity of Greece. In the *Iliad* Asklepios is the "blameless physician" to whom the centaur Chiron taught medicine. He is said in later legend to have been a god. His cult initially came from Tricca in Thessaly (in northern Greece), but it spread to Epidaurus (in the Peloponnese), which became the most important cult center of Asklepios. It was carried throughout the Mediterranean world to Athens, Pergamum in Asia Minor, Crete, Cyrene in North Africa, and Rome in 291 BCE, where the god was worshiped as Aesculapius.

The temples of Asklepios, known as Asclepieia, attracted large numbers of the sick who sought miraculous healing. At Epidaurus those seeking healing underwent a rite of ritual purification before offering simple sacrifices of cakes or fruit. The focal point of the pilgrimage was incubation, in which pilgrims spent a night in the abaton (inner sanctum) at the center of the temple. Lying on a couch, they would await a dream or vision from the god, who appeared with a caduceus (a staff around which a snake was coiled), which later became the symbol of modern medical healing. The healing process was varied to suit the pilgrim. Asklepios might merely touch the patient, or he might perform surgery or administer a healing drug. Sometimes a serpent or dog would bring healing by licking the wound. Whatever the means, when the incubants awoke the next morning, they expected to have been healed.

That many were cured of their illnesses or physical disabilities is evident from the several tablets, called *iamata,* that were posted at the temple site at Epidaurus, which recorded case histories of pilgrims who had been healed. These testimonials were doubtless meant to encourage pilgrims to trust that they too might experience the god's favor. Some of the testimonials were fictional or based on significant misunderstandings (such as that of a woman who delivered a baby that she thought she had carried for five years), whereas others were convincing. At this distance in time, to explain fully how pilgrims were healed is impossible; rationalistic approaches are unconvincing. Perhaps many of the pilgrims suffered from chronic diseases that doctors could not successfully treat. Others probably suffered from hysteria that was susceptible of psychotherapy. The Asclepieion at Epidaurus grew over time to become a complex of buildings that included guest houses for pilgrims, gymnasiums, theaters, stadiums, and baths—all of which provided a sanatorium-like setting that offered a peaceful retreat and therapeutic environment for physical healing and recuperation.

Asklepios was both the dispenser of divine healing through incubation and the patron of physicians. Galen (129–c. 210 CE), the great physician and polymath, referred to himself as a servant of Asklepios, who had healed him when ill with a life-threatening abscess. Physicians did not doubt the god's ability to heal in any way he wished, whether miraculously or by natural means. They viewed religious healing as complementary to medicine. When they could offer no further medical help to their patients, they had no objection to their seeking supernatural healing at the shrine of Asklepios. Because Asklepios was their patron, who blessed their efforts as medical practitioners, physicians saw no conflict with his healing supernaturally in temples. They regarded both secular and temple medicine as legitimate means of healing, and they existed in relative harmony, but probably with little contact. The rapid spread of the cult of Asklepios in the fourth century BCE coincided with the decline of the older civic religions, and the cult appealed to the growing individualism of Greek religion. He was regarded as a philanthropic god and had an appeal to ordinary individuals that the great Olympian deities lacked. The poor, who could not afford physicians' fees, sought treatment at his temples. So popular was the worship of Asklepios that more than four hundred temples and shrines were devoted to his worship in the Greco-Roman world.

Following the conquest of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE; ruled 336–323 BCE), foreign cults poured into Greece from Egypt and Asia, brought back by soldiers returning from his campaigns. The Greek world itself was enlarged and now comprised the eastern Mediterranean, including the Hellenistic kingdoms of Macedonia, Egypt, and the Seleucid Empire in Asia. The mystery religions, as they have been called, offered a sense of personal union with the deity that was often formalized in a rite of initiation. Enormously popular during the Hellenistic period (323–30 BCE), they supplemented the official cults that were maintained by the Greek city-states as the focal point of public worship. Many of them offered healing, which adherents of almost any Greek or foreign deity, demigod, or hero might expect. Incubation was the most common means of temple healing, but other forms existed as well. The use of magical practices in Greek medicine, common in Homeric and archaic Greece, did not play a major role from the middle of the fourth century BCE until the second century CE. Although some physicians might resort to chants, amulets, or sympathetic magic, in general magical practices were the preserve of magicians, not of physicians. Indeed Greek medicine differs significantly from Mesopotamian and Egyptian medicine, which routinely incorporated magical practices.

ROME. For the first six centuries of their history (Rome was, according to tradition, founded in 753 BCE), the Romans lived without either rational medicine or physicians. They used native folk remedies, which they supplemented with magic and divination that they inherited from the Etruscans. The *paterfamilias* (the eldest male member of the household, which included slaves and up to three generations) administered folk remedies to his household. A well-known example of such a family practitioner was Cato the Elder (234–149 BCE). According to Plutarch (before 50–after 120 CE),

> [Cato] compiled a book of recipes that he used for the treatment of members of his household who fell ill. He never made his patients fast, but allowed them to eat herbs and morsels of duck, pigeon, or hare. He maintained that this diet was light and thoroughly suitable for sick people, apart from the fact that it often produced nightmares, and he claimed that by following it he kept both himself and his family in perfect health. (Plutarch, *Life of Cato* 23)

Cato relied on folk remedies, together with prayers, sacrifices, magical incantations, and rituals, to protect his family, crops, and herds. He was renowned for his advocacy and use of cabbage in medicinal recipes and for his contempt of Greek medical theories and practitioners.

The Romans initially worshiped spiritual powers without defined personalities that they called *numina.* Under the influence of the Etruscans, they came over time to represent *numina* as gods, many of whom they identified with Greek gods of similar characteristics, but animistic elements remained. Roman religion was a state cult, staffed by unpaid priests who carried out formal observances that maintained the *pax deorum* (peace of the gods) and guaranteed the continuing divine favor to the city and its fortunes. The Romans believed that if they neglected to observe formal religious obligations, the gods would send disasters. Hence public disasters like epidemics, droughts, and defeats in battle were explained as being sent from the gods, and great care was taken to propitiate them to avert their anger. The earliest Romans had no specific gods associated with disease or healing, although specific deities might be appealed to if they were thought to be especially concerned with bodily parts or functions. Sometimes, if prayers to Roman gods had failed to produce the desired effect, the Romans introduced foreign deities. Thus in 433 BCE the Romans built a temple to the Greek god Apollo, whom they credited with ending a plague that had lasted for two years. They worshiped him as Apollo Medicus (Apollo the Physician). In 293 BCE, during a pestilence, the Romans consulted the oracular Sibylline Books, which directed them to send a mission to Epidaurus to bring the god Asklepios to Rome. Two years later they did so. According to the legend, Asklepios took the form of a serpent and boarded the Roman ship, which carried him to Rome, where he disembarked onto the Tiber Island. The Romans built a temple for him and he came to be worshiped as Aesculapius.

The Romans also personified forces like Febris (Fever), which came to be represented as a goddess whose anger might be propitiated for remedies from disease. The Romans believed that every natural function was under the protection of a particular deity. Hence every stage of life, including conception, gestation, and birth was subject to a *numen*, and the protection of the appropriate spirit or deity was sought. Given the dangers of childbearing, which claimed the lives of many women, a Roman matron might appeal to any number of Roman goddesses in childbirth, although through a process of syncretism Juno Lucina and Diana came to replace most of the others. Incantations and magical formulas were often recited, together with the laying on of hands, which was thought to transfer the power of a deity and provide safety in childbearing or healing.

The first physician to practice medicine in Rome was Archagathus, a Greek who settled in Rome in 219 BCE. Although he was initially well received, he relied heavily on surgery and cautery, which damaged his reputation and gained for him the title of *carnifex* (the executioner). Many subsequent Greek physicians were attracted to Rome, where they enjoyed great popularity in a city that had never before had professional medical practitioners. Yet some Romans, like Cato the Elder and the encyclopedist Pliny the Elder (23/24–79 CE,) distrusted physicians and relied on popular folk medicine long after the introduction and widespread acceptance of rational Greek medicine. Pliny included many folk and magical remedies in his influential *Natural History.*

As Rome conquered the Mediterranean world in the second and first centuries BCE, Roman culture underwent many rapid changes owing to Eastern influences and Greek thought. Some Romans abandoned traditional religion for philosophy or skepticism, whereas others supplemented the mechanical and formal civic religion with Eastern religions. The influence of foreign beliefs, such as astrology and magic, spread throughout Italy as soldiers returned from foreign campaigns and slaves were brought to Italy. Although amulets had always been worn to ward off disease and personal disaster, magicians now abounded, selling charms and incantations to exorcize demons or to heal diseases. The belief that certain animals, plants, and precious stones possessed occult properties, which released magical forces through manipulation, influenced healing practices. Astrologers, too, had become popular in Rome by the first century CE, and some physicians began to integrate astrology into their medicine. Galen, for example, held that the condition of patients was affected by the course of the moon and the planets.

However, it was the popularity of mystery religions that more than any other factor produced new forms of popular religious belief. From Egypt and Asia Minor came many cults that offered a personal satisfaction not found in the formal religion of Rome. They were often modified and Westernized by their contact with the Greeks. The most prominent were those of Isis and Serapis from Egypt, Mithra from Persia, and Magna Mater (the Great Mother) from Asia Minor. These cults sometimes offered healing in a supernatural fashion, most commonly by means of astrology, magic, divination, or the use of herbs. Although the cult of Asklepios was introduced into Rome in 291 BCE, it was not until the first century CE that his temple on the Tiber Island came to be a popular healing site. By the second century CE Pergamum in Asia Minor had replaced Epidaurus as the center of healing by Asklepios. Moreover, the nature of the cures performed by Asklepios underwent change. Miraculous healing by the god was replaced by therapeutics that were not in many respects very different from those that a physician might prescribe. Instead of supernatural cures through incubation, Asklepios's priests often recommended practical regimens of exercise, swimming, diet, and purgatives to incubants.

Among the Eastern influences that became prominent in the imperial period was belief in the power of demons. In ancient Middle Eastern cultures like Mesopotamia and Egypt, demons had been an important part of the religious framework, and diseases were often attributed to them. In Greek and Roman culture, belief in the demonic etiology of disease, although always present, was less common, especially after the advent of rational medicine with its naturalistic understanding of disease. But in the mid-second century CE, the mood began to change. Diseases were attributed to demons by an increasing number of people, who believed that they consequently could be cured only by supernatural means. For example, the Gnostics believed that diseases themselves were demons that might be expelled by the use of magical formulas (Plotinus, *Enneads* 2.9.14), a view that was widely held in the late Empire. Hence ritual purification, on which the mystery religions placed much importance, was used to exorcize evil spirits.

CONCLUSION. Throughout the history of Greek and Roman cultures, a medical pluralism prevailed. There were always healing cults of various gods and heroes available, including both indigenous and foreign deities. The most significant was Asklepios. The extent of belief in magic, astrology, and demonic activity varied over the centuries of classical antiquity. At all times natural healing, whether by empirics or by practitioners of rational medicine, was an accepted, but not an exclusive, means of healing. Beginning in the fifth century BCE, physicians appropriated constructs of natural philosophy to provide a theoretical understanding of health and disease. Although many physicians considered Asklepios their patron, the medicine they practiced was devoid of religious or magical elements. Many sources besides medical authors attest—usually indirectly but sometimes directly—to this expectation in classical antiquity. For example, the tragedian Sophocles (496–406 BCE) makes one of his characters say, "No good physician (*iatros*) chants incantations over a malady that needs the knife" (*Ajax* 581–2).

Over six centuries later, the greatest Roman jurist, Ulpian (d. 228 CE), when discussing the qualifications necessary to sue for unpaid remuneration for services, says regarding physicians (*medici*), "But one must not include people who make incantations or imprecations or, to use the common expression of impostors, exorcisms. For these are not branches of medicine, even though people exist who forcibly assert that such people have helped them" (*Digest* 50.13.1.3). Neither Sophocles nor Ulpian was implicitly denying that alternative healing practices may have proven efficacious under some circumstances. Furthermore, both make it evident that those who called themselves physicians were not effective physicians or even physicians at all if they engaged in the practices specified. One of the greatest legacies of classical culture was a scientifically based medicine that, irrespective of the enormous changes and developments in its theoretical and practical aspects over the past two and a half millennia, has been the expectation of those in Western cultures who have chosen to consult a physician or surgeon rather than an alternative healer.

SEE ALSO Amulets and Talismans; Asklepios; Galen; Greek Religion; Hippocrates; Roman Religion, articles on The Early Period and The Imperial Period.

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HEALING AND MEDICINE: HEALING AND MEDICINE IN CHRISTIANITY

The four Gospels recount the career of Jesus of Nazareth (c. 4 BCE–c. 29 CE), the founder of Christianity. Jesus is recorded as having performed many miraculous healings, which included restoring to health (among others) the blind, the dumb, the deaf, the lame, and lepers. The Gospels describe Jesus' miracles as signs that provided evidence of his messianic identity, as well as a manifestation of the presence of the kingdom of God and a fulfillment of Hebrew prophecy (e.g., *Mt.* 11:4–5, which echoes *Is.* 35:4–6; 61:1). The *Gospel of John* declares that Jesus himself maintained that his miracles were evidence of his messiahship (*Jn.* 10:37–38). The Gospels differentiate Jesus' miracles from the miracles of exorcists and magicians. Moreover, although Jesus is said to have cast out demons, the Gospels invariably distinguish between exorcism and healing (e.g., *Mt.* 8:16; cf. *Mk.* 6:12; *Acts* 19:12). Nor does it appear that either he or his disciples considered demons to be the cause of disease. One finds several medical conditions described in the Gospels, mostly ordinary diseases or congenital conditions for which a natural cause appears to have been assumed by those who suffered from them. The Gospels distinguish the symptoms of such conditions from those that accompanied demonic possession, which usually manifested erratic or abnormal behavior. Whether those who approached Jesus for healing had already sought assistance from physicians is not indicated except in one incident in which medical treatment had been unsuccessful (*Mk.* 5:24–34).

Outside the Gospels, one finds little reference to miraculous healing in the New Testament. The *Book of Acts* describes a relatively small number of healings that are attributed to Jesus' disciples (*Acts* 3:1–11; 9:33–34; 14:8–10). They belong to the category of "signs and wonders" that confirm the disciples' apostolic credentials (*Acts* 14:3). The diseases healed are natural conditions, and none are attributed to demonic etiology. In the epistles, there are no sicknesses that are either healed miraculously or attributed to demonic causation. The *Epistle of James* (5:13–15) prescribes a rite of healing in which the presbyters of the church anoint the sick and pray for their recovery. But there is no evidence that anointing for healing was employed in the church before the third century, and it is possible that the passage refers to prayers for those who are spiritually rather than physically ill. In fact, the epistles suggest that first-century Christians suffered from ordinary illnesses from which they sometimes recovered gradually (e.g., *Phil.* 2:25–27) and sometimes did not recover (e.g., *2 Tm.* 4:20). They typically did not seem to expect that their diseases would be miraculously healed. The New Testament repeatedly speaks of suffering as intended by God to produce spiritual maturity (e.g., *Heb.* 12:7–11, *1 Pt.* 4:12). Faith and trust in God could transform suffering into a positive experience and nurture Christian graces such as humility, patience, and dependence on Christ (e.g., *Rom.* 5:2–5; *Jas.* 5:10–11; *2 Cor.* 12:7–10). Such suffering includes sickness and disability.

THE POST–NEW TESTAMENT CHURCH. Leading Christian writers of the earliest centuries of Christianity for the most part exhibit positive views of medicine. Thus Origen (c. 185–c. 254) considered medicine "beneficial and essential to mankind" (*Contra Celsum* 3.12), and Tertullian (c. 200 CE), who was fond of employing medical analogies in his writings, believed that medicine was appropriate for Christians to use. The theme of Jesus as the Great Physician (*Christus medicus*) was popular in the writings of the Church Fathers, who used the expression in a metaphorical sense to describe him as the savior of sin-sick souls, not as a healer of physical ills. Medical care, far from being rejected by early Christians, was regarded as a model of the care of the soul.

Early Christians regarded disease as a material, rather than a moral, evil that had resulted from the fall. Within the theistic context they had inherited from Judaism, they typically viewed illness as the result of natural, although providential, causes that could be treated by physicians or other healers, to whom they could legitimately have recourse so long as they did not employ pagan religious practices. Christians were encouraged, of course, to pray that God would heal, whether by medical means or without them. When medicine did not avail, they might still seek healing by prayer, but recognized that they were to submit patiently to God's will.

By the late fourth century, there was a marked increase in claims of divine healing. The growing veneration of relics associated with Christian martyrs and the new importance that Christian leaders like Ambrose (374–397) and Augustine (354–430) placed on miracles of healing signaled a major change in Christian approaches to healing. The burgeoning fascination with demonic activity did not, however, preclude a sustained belief by many in naturalistic explanations of disease. For example, Augustine's delight in describing spectacularly miraculous cures (*City of God* 22.8) was not diminished by his assumption of a natural etiology for every case mentioned. Indeed, the rapid spread of hospitals at the end of the fourth century suggests that Christians still sought medical assistance for their illnesses, perhaps resorting to religious cures primarily when physicians had failed them.

From the beginning Christians had exhibited a philanthropic spirit that was evident in their concern, both personally and corporately, for those in physical need. This spirit was in marked contrast with that of the classical world, in which there was little or no religious basis for charity that expressed itself in a personal or organized concern for those who suffered physical distress. Christian concepts of philanthropy were motivated by *agape,* a self-sacrificing love of others that bore witness to the love of Christ as reflected in his incarnation and redemptive work on the cross (e.g., *Mt.* 25:35–40, *Jas.* 1:27). Christians were encouraged to visit the sick privately, and deacons (whose duties largely consisted of the relief of physical want and suffering) were expected to visit the ill.

In the third century, as Christianity grew rapidly in the large cities of the Roman Empire, extensive benevolent work was organized and centered in the local congregation. Minor ecclesiastical orders were created to assist deacons in their charitable work. In Rome, for example, by 251 the Christian church had divided the city into seven districts, each under the responsibility of a deacon and his assisting clergy. According to Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 260–c. 330), the church supported 1,500 widows and others, including the ill, who experienced suffering and want (*Eccles. Hist.* 6.43). Adolf Harnack (1851–1930) estimated that the Roman church at this time spent an amount between 500,000 and 1 million sesterces (Roman coins) each year in support of its charitable ministry. Other churches in the large cities of the Roman Empire spent similar sums on charities, which were administered by bishops or presbyters.

Beginning in 250, the cities of the Roman Empire experienced a major plague that lasted for fifteen to twenty years and reached epidemic proportions. Because the civic authorities did little to deal with the plague, the Christian churches undertook the systematic care of both pagan and Christian plague victims and the burial of the dead, despite the fact that Christians were at the time a persecuted minority. Descriptions exist of the organization of the care of the sick in Rome, Carthage, and Pontus. In Alexandria, a medical corps known as the *parabalani* was formed to transport and nurse the sick under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Alexandria. Although the *parabalani* are first mentioned in the fifth century, they may date from the time of an earlier plague. During a plague in 312, Christians in many cities in the East performed public medical charity of the kind carried out later by the *parabalani.*

The legalization of Christianity by Constantine in 313 resulted in major changes in the church's administration of medical philanthropy. The role of individual congregations and of the laity declined, whereas that of bishops who administered the charitable programs grew. In the 370s Christians created the hospital (*xenodochium*), a specifically Christian institution that arose out of the philanthropic ideals of the early church. No similar organization existed in the classical world; Roman infirmaries (*valetudinaria*) for soldiers and for slaves on plantation estates were not philanthropic in nature. The hospital often included an orphanage and houses for the poor and aged in a single complex. One of the earliest and most celebrated was the Basileias, founded by Basil the Great, bishop of Caesarea (in modern Turkey), about 372. Hospitals modeled on the Basileias spread quickly in the East and somewhat later to the West. The first hospital in the West was founded in Rome by Fabiola, whose friend Jerome describes how she gathered the sick from the public squares of Rome (where the homeless ill could often be found in the ancient world) and nursed the most seriously ill herself (*Epistle* 77.6.1–2).

Many of the early Christian hospitals were staffed by monks. Monasticism, which originated in the deserts of Egypt, Palestine, and Syria in the third century, grew out of attempts to deepen the spiritual life by the renunciation of the world and the practice of self-mortification. The founders of the movement were anchorites or hermits who sought solitude in the desert, but by the fourth century anchoritic monasticism had largely given way to cenobitic monasticism in which monks and nuns lived in ordered communities. The creation of the hospital represents the culmination of three centuries of medical philanthropy, during which time the church maintained an extensive program of caring for the sick. During the first two centuries of its existence, the church carried on its medical charity through the voluntary efforts of local congregations, which were supervised by presbyters and deacons. In the third century widespread plagues throughout the Roman Empire led Christians to establish emergency care for the community in the large urban areas. Organized medical attendants began to appear in the early fourth century, and the creation of the hospital followed later in the century.

Christianity had gradually spread in the first two centuries throughout the Roman Empire to diverse peoples who shared a common culture and a knowledge of Greek as a universal language. In the third century, a change began to occur that by late antiquity eventuated in a cultural cleavage between the East and the West. The division of the Roman Empire into eastern and western halves in 395 contributed to this development, with Latin as the common language of the West. After a century and a half of barbarian invasions, the last emperor of the western Empire was dethroned in 476. Already the West was slowly being drawn into an emerging European rather than a strictly Mediterranean ethos, whereas the eastern Empire was developing into the Byzantine Empire. Christianity in the East and West were to follow different courses.

EASTERN ORTHODOXY. Eastern Orthodoxy encompasses the largest body of churches that originated in the eastern Mediterranean world. Over time it took on a very different identity from that of the Western (later Roman Catholic) church, and the two separated in a formal schism in 1054. Within modern Orthodoxy are several *autocephalus* (self-governing) churches, with their patriarchs centered respectively in Constantinople (Greek), Antioch (Syrian), Moscow (Russian), and various capitals in Eastern Europe.

Central to the specifically Orthodox approach to healing and medicine has been the concept of *philanthropia* (kindness or love toward others), especially as it was manifested in monasticism. The ascetic tradition was a major force in the eastern Mediterranean from the third century on and an important component in Orthodoxy both in its anchoritic (hermit) and cenobitic (communal) forms. Within Orthodoxy, monasteries have always been regarded as repositories of spirituality, holiness, and wisdom. Ascetics believed that the gospel required that they actively pursue the charitable care of the ill. As previously noted, this motivating force led to the establishment of the earliest Christian hospitals (*xenodochia*) in the eastern Mediterranean and such groups as the *parabalani* and, later, the *philoponoi* (lovers of labor) and *spoudaioi* (the zealous ones), which also arose in the large cities of the eastern Mediterranean. Composed of lay people who were without medical training and drawn from the lowest class, they flourished in the sixth and seventh centuries, giving assistance to the sick, especially to the urban poor. They bathed and anointed them, but they offered no professional medical assistance. These lay orders were attached to large churches and came to be recognized over time as an intermediate order between the clergy and laity.

The Byzantine Empire maintained a much greater cultural continuity with its classical past than did the West. Because the tradition of medical research and writing continued in the East, monastic physicians were in a position to appreciate classical medicine and to use it. Imperial troubles within Orthodoxy in the seventh century led to a decline of clerical medicine, an anti-intellectualism that remained for centuries, a growing spirit of mysticism, and a new emphasis on the ability of saints to heal. The last had been a continuing aspect of the eastern Empire since the fourth century. Nevertheless, hospitals and healing shrines, as well as physicians and holy men, continued to work in tandem and relatively without tension. In the thirteenth century, as the Byzantine Empire shrank and resources for supporting hospitals declined, sacramental anointing for healing became widespread. All these components continued in diminished form after the Turkish conquest of Constantinople in 1453, including the tradition of clerical physicians and the belief that *philanthropia* is an essential component of the Christian gospel.

MEDIEVAL CATHOLICISM. The barbarian invasions of the fifth century (most of them Germanic) brought about the breakup of the Western Roman Empire by 476. The political and social break was definitive and western Europe declined into chaos, poverty, and disorder. Cities declined or disappeared as centers of population, and the preservation and transmission of literacy and learning came to be centered in monasteries. The Germanic settlers brought with them into what had been the Western Roman Empire their folk paganism that threatened to overwhelm traditional medical approaches to illness. Although missionaries to western and northern Europe tried to eradicate these folk practices, many of them were employed as alternatives to Christian practices. Features of late Roman culture, such as the growing practice of healing through the cult of saints and relics, found fertile soil in the cultures that succeeded the dissolution of the empire. Christian missionaries to northern Europe encouraged the adoption of these practices, finding them useful in winning semi-Christianized pagans away from traditional animism. For a thousand years the cult of saints and relics dominated Western Christianity.

Although sacramental healing, especially by anointing, had already become widespread among Christians in late antiquity, it could not compete in popularity with miraculous healing offered at the shrines of saints. Miracles became part of ordinary life. Most of them were claimed for the healing of a physical affliction. Pilgrimages to these shrines, which had begun in late antiquity, became enormously popular in the Middle Ages and beyond. At some pilgrimage centers, clergy, who had limited knowledge of medicine but access to a good library of medical works, were available to treat medically those who came. Popular too were quasi-medical practices of the kind described in Marcellus of Bordeaux's fifth-century work *De Medicamentis* (On Remedies), which mingled pharmacology, herbal lore, and spells (both Celtic and Roman) to help individuals treat their own illnesses. The church opposed this magico-medical approach, which combined spells and incantations with the occult properties of gems and herbs, and it attempted, not always successfully, to substitute for pagan incantations specifically Christian formulas like the Lord's Prayer and the Creed.

Although many people resorted to folk remedies, a tradition of secular medicine was transmitted from classical antiquity to the Middle Ages. There were two kinds of physicians, secular practitioners and clerical physicians, the latter usually being monks who had been trained by apprenticeship. Hospitals that had survived the chaos of the Germanic invasions became the property of monasteries and several reportedly had very skilled physicians in residence. Educated men continued to read classical medical literature, for medicine was a part of the curriculum studied in monastic schools. Nearly all who received an education in the early Middle Ages were trained in monasteries and became members of the clergy. Gregory of Tours (c. 540–594) was typical of scholars of the early Middle Ages in his credulity regarding miracles. He frequently alludes to the sick whose physicians had failed to heal them but who later found healing at the shrine of Saint Martin. However, he was not opposed to medicine for he regularly consulted medical and pharmacological handbooks. Pope Gregory I (590–604) encouraged the cult of saints and relics, miraculous healing, and the study of demonology, yet had a life-long interest in medicine and retained a personal physician. Both are typical of educated men who found a place in their thinking for both traditional medicine and miraculous healing and for both natural and demonic causality.

Given the fact that the clergy, especially monks, were responsible for much of the medicine practiced, not surprisingly the literature of the period emphasizes medical charity, citing biblical passages that admonish the care of those in need. Benedict of Nursia (c. 480–c. 547) and Cassiodorus (c. 485–580), both of whom founded monasteries in the sixth century, urged physician-monks to take the greatest care of the sick whom they treat. Monasteries, especially those that maintained *xenodochia,* became a refuge for the sick, not merely for Christians but for non-Christians (Jews and pagans) as well. Monks produced medical treatises to advise the poor how to find medically efficacious herbs. Because so many clergy practiced medicine, the church eventually passed a good deal of legislation to regulate them, for example, to limit the opportunities for avarice among clerical physicians who might be tempted to neglect their spiritual duties for a more remunerative career in medicine. Numerous treatises appeared as well that dealt with medical ethics and etiquette, as their authors (mostly monks) encouraged physicians, whether clerical or secular, to model Christian ideals in their character and medical practice.

As Europe began to change from a largely rural and manor-based society to an urbanized one in the eleventh century, medicine developed into a profession and the clergy's role was diminished over time. The growing sense of professionalism among secular physicians led to the creation of licensure requirements for the protection of the public against incompetent medical practitioners (the first were promulgated by Roger II of Sicily in 1140) and to the organization of medical and surgical guilds for the purpose of ensuring a monopoly of practice. As an authoritative international body, the church routinely extended its jurisdiction over guilds by granting charters and enforcing them.

PROTESTANTISM. When Martin Luther (1483–1546) nailed his "Ninety-Five Theses" to the door of the castle church at Wittenburg, he inaugurated not merely a schism, but a very different way of conceiving of humans' relationship with God. Out of the Protestant Reformation there arose four separate traditions—Lutheran, Reformed (Presbyterian), Anabaptist, and Anglican (Episcopal)—united to a large degree in their basic differences with Rome, but by no means constituting a uniform movement.

Protestants differed from Catholics in their approach to the Christian life. The Catholic tradition saw in the ascetic or reclusive life the Christian ideal, whereas Protestants encouraged a life of active participation in the world. In Catholic thought the world was divided into temporal and spiritual estates. Catholics who desired wholeheartedly to serve God entered holy orders, and they considered secular professions to be of secondary importance. Martin Luther and John Calvin (1509–1564) abolished the distinction between secular and sacred callings. They broadened the idea of vocation (in medieval terms, a call to a contemplative life) by incorporating into it the secular professions. A physician or a nurse might glorify God in treating others medically as much as a priest might do so in caring for souls. The reformers' desire was to extend God's redeeming grace into every activity of life.

Given the reformers' rejection of the medieval superstitions of Catholic saints, relics, and pilgrimages, not surprisingly Protestants also rejected the miraculous healing practices associated with them. The reformers respected medicine, as indeed they did the natural sciences; empiricism in the search for natural causes and the rejection of deductive Scholasticism were regarded as an extension of the theological ideas of Protestantism. There was no tension between faith and medicine in the view of the reformers, who regarded medicine as a gift of God for the healing of illness. Physicians enjoyed a high status in most Protestant countries owing to the Protestants' respect for learning and the value they placed on the professions as an area for spiritual cultivation. In eighteenth-century Edinburgh, the center of a strong Presbyterian (Calvinist) tradition, the Scots established what became one of the most celebrated medical faculties in Europe.

Because medicine was regarded as a sacred calling, medical literature before the nineteenth century describes the ideals of the profession in terms of religious and moral values. The physician was expected to be educated and a person of impeccable character and behavior. Christians had always seen affinities between the care of the body and the care of the soul. The practice of medicine provided opportunities for the physician to give spiritual counsel and to provide religious comfort, assurance, and admonition. Clergy-physicians played an important role among Protestant ministers from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. In an age in which trained physicians were especially uncommon in villages and rural areas, the Protestant belief in an educated clergy ensured a supply of persons who had both the leisure and the learning to read medical books. John Wesley (1703–1791) took a course in medicine so that as a minister he could be of help to those who had no regular physician. In 1746 he opened a dispensary and in the next year published a lay medical guide, *Primitive Physick.* Clerical physicians were common in colonial New England, where Cotton Mather (1663–1728), a Bostonian minister who himself practiced medicine, called the combination of the care of soul and body the "angelical conjunction." During an epidemic of smallpox in 1721, many physicians (together with members of the local press) opposed inoculation as a hazard to health and a rejection of divine providence. Mather defended the practice, maintaining that any medical procedure might invite the same kind of objections. He was supported by five other prominent clergymen.

The nature of authority for Protestants is different from that of the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches. The reformers rested religious authority not on ecclesiastical tradition but on scripture alone (*sola scriptura*). The Bible enjoyed primacy over all human traditions and institutions, even over the church itself. Scripture was the medium of God's special revelation as it was interpreted with the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Hence it was the touchstone for judging all matters of theology, morals, and practice. However, Protestantism was not a monolithic tradition, and there remained a good deal of diversity between confessional bodies as well as theologians. Protestantism has never had a locus for the definitive formulation of matters of faith and morals like the magisterium (teaching authority) of the Roman Catholic Church. Moreover, the Protestant belief in the priesthood of all believers has meant that much theological controversy has involved individual opinion. Protestants for the most part, perhaps in reaction to the Roman Catholic tradition of natural law, never developed a system of casuistic ethics. Instead, Protestants made commandment and conscience the twin pillars of ethics. An emphasis of Protestantism historically has been the cultivation of the individual conscience, which seeks to apply biblical principles and specific texts to particular ethical situations. In practice, this has meant that Protestants have been less willing to insist on a single authoritative Protestant position on complex medical-ethical issues that might inhibit the exercise of private conscience. Paul Tillich (1886–1965) called this refusal to absolutize the relative the "Protestant principle." Thus on questions such as whether suicide always precludes God's forgiveness (Augustine's view) or whether abortion is ever justified, there has been some disagreement among Protestants because the biblical evidence is not clear enough to permit a definitive solution.

FAITH HEALING. Belief in miraculous healing has always existed in Christianity, sometimes within the mainstream and sometimes on the sectarian fringe of the movement. Although there is little evidence that it was prominent in the first three centuries, by the fourth it had emerged as a significant component of the Christian view of illness. Claims of miraculous healing were ubiquitous in the Middle Ages. The Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches continue to teach that miraculous healing is an ongoing phenomenon and a demonstration of God's working in the church. Protestants have historically claimed that miracles ended with the apostolic age. Although they have maintained that God heals in answer to prayer (i.e., as a special providence), they have considered supernatural healing (i.e., healing apart from means) to be rare. In the mid-nineteenth century, however, faith healing became prominent in American Protestantism largely through Methodist and Holiness influences. Some prominent Pietist preachers in Europe (e.g., Christoph Blumhardt in Germany and Otto Stockmayer in Switzerland) and evangelical ministers in the United States (e.g., A. B. Simpson and A. J. Gordon) sought to reclaim a healing ministry for the church.

At the turn of the twentieth century a new movement, Pentecostalism, claimed that the supernatural gifts of the Holy Spirit described in *1 Corinthians* 12 and 14 (particularly supernatural healing and *glossolalia* or speaking in unknown languages) were normative for the church in every age. The movement began in 1901 with Charles Fox Parham, a faith healer, whose teachings spread to Los Angeles, where they led to the celebrated Azusa Street revival. Pentecostalism, which grew rapidly in the first two decades of the twentieth century, taught that Jesus' death on the cross atoned not only for sin but for disease as well. Hence Christians could seek supernatural healing by the "prayer of faith." Pentecostalism produced many itinerant healers who claimed to possess the gift of miraculous healing. Some practiced exorcism, regarding demons as the cause of illness. A minority of Pentecostals recognized medicine as an alternative to supernatural healing, albeit an inferior one. The majority rejected it as unfaithful to God's unconditional promise to heal. In the last third of the twentieth century some Pentecostals modified their categorical rejection of medicine. Since the 1950s Pentecostal influences, usually without their sectarian flavor, influenced mainstream Protestant and even Roman Catholic churches. The charismatic renewal, as it came to be called, gained widespread influence as it introduced healing, sometimes in a sacramental fashion, to churches that had not traditionally practiced it.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM SINCE TRENT. The late medieval corruption of the Catholic church, which led to the separation of Protestants in the sixteenth century, was seriously addressed by the Council of Trent (1545–1563). The Council introduced long-needed reforms and firmly restated every doctrine that had been challenged by the Protestant Reformers. The results of the Counter or Catholic Reformation were a conservative theology, a strict discipline, and a centralization of the church that remained in place until the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965). By contrast, Vatican II opened the floodgates to the liberalization and modernization of the church. Among those practices that were retained after Vatican II was a ban on artificial contraception, which was confirmed by Pope Paul VI in his encyclical *Humanae Vitae* (1968).

Many popular forms of Catholic piety have remained outside the control of the institutional structure of the church. There has existed within the church a tendency, which was not limited to post-tridentine Catholicism, to blur the distinction between officially sanctioned rites and popular practices. The officially sanctioned practices of venerating relics and blessing animals, for example, seemed to many Catholics not very different from popular cults that attributed supernatural healing to statues of the Virgin Mary. Although educated Catholics might consider some manifestations of Catholic piety that syncretized pagan survivals as superstitious, they reflected an important aspect of the Catholic faith. Hence there remained within the larger confines of the church as much a place for supernatural healing as existed within Protestant Pentecostalism. Chief among them was the miraculous healing offered at pilgrimage sites. Lourdes in France, Fatima in Portugal, and Guadalupe in Mexico continued to draw large numbers of pilgrims year after year despite modern advances in medicine that would seem to render them less attractive to pilgrims than in previous centuries.

At the same time post-tridentine Catholicism retained and enlarged its vast reservoir of medical philanthropy. The Sisters of Charity, founded by Saint Vincent de Paul (1580–1660), became a major force in caring for the sick. Catholics excelled in organizing and institutionalizing their medical charities, including hospitals, most of which were maintained by religious orders of women. Similarly missionaries to colonial areas often included a medical component and much of their work focused on the founding of hospitals, leprosaria, and other health-related institutions.

CENTRAL THEMES IN CHRISTIAN HEALING. The relationship between Christianity and medicine is a complex one that is marked by a number of relatively consistent themes.

In general, Christians have considered the body as a relative, not an absolute, good. They have viewed health as a blessing given by God, not (as did the Greeks) a virtue. Disease and pain were material, although not moral, evils, the result of the fall of humanity, but they were often used under God's providential care to produce spiritual good. Hence a place existed in God's world for suffering, as many spiritual writers have observed. Few serious Christians could anticipate a future in this life in which bodily affliction would be completely eliminated. In a world of sin, the curse of disease and physical suffering would always be present. Christians anticipated the resurrection of the body, in which illness and death, the final enemy, would be conquered.

The majority of Christians at most times have considered medicine a gift of God, offering relief to sufferers of illness. In nearly every era, miraculous healing has either complemented medicine or, among a small minority who repudiated all medicine as contrary to God's will, replaced it. Most Christians have not considered the use of medicine and the practice of healing through prayer to be incompatible. Believing that God is sovereign over life and death and that God most often works through natural means, they have prayed for healing through the use of medicine or, when it has failed, by miraculous means. When both have failed, Christians have always been encouraged to pray for patient endurance of their suffering.

The New Testament and early Christian literature enjoined Christian care, both on the individual and the corporate level, for those who were suffering from physical ills. Already in the first century, the early church organized a systematic effort to care for the sick through voluntary assistance. It became so successful that it formed the basis for the hospital, created at the end of the fourth century. Medical philanthropy has played a paramount role in Christian charity among Christians of all persuasions. Historically, it has been the greatest contribution of Christianity to health care.

The impulse to philanthropy reflected the conviction that human beings were created in the image of God, which gave to every individual an inherent worth. This, in turn, formed the basis for a respect for life from conception to death, which clearly distinguished the ethics of Christian physicians from the prevailing medical ethics of classical polytheistic pluralism as it does in the twenty-first century from the bioethical consequentialism of secular pluralism.

SEE ALSO Christian Social Movements; Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity; Protestantism; Reformation; Roman Catholicism; Science and Religion.

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HEALING AND MEDICINE: ALTERNATIVE MEDICINE IN THE NEW AGE

Healing is a profoundly cultural activity. The labeling and treating of a disease reflect a culture's deepest understandings of the causal powers affecting human well-being. For this reason, the notion of orthodoxy pertains to medical systems as surely as it does to religious or political traditions. Ever since the Enlightenment, medical orthodoxy has been defined by a commitment to the causal role of "material" factors in the etiology of disease. Western medical science thus emerged in direct opposition to the pre-Enlightenment worldview within which the church supplied culturally compelling explanations of nonmaterial or spiritual causes of disease (e.g., sin or spirit possession), as well as corresponding strategies for therapeutic intervention (e.g., confession or exorcism). The continual successes of medical science have understandably garnered wide cultural support for its underlying worldview. As a consequence, most educated Westerners have implicitly endorsed a clear-cut division of labor whereby religion continues its age-old practice of the cure of souls, while scientific medicine uses its secular methods for healing the body.

The fact that a wide array of contemporary medical systems continue to espouse theories that defy scientific orthodoxy is therefore of particular interest to religious and cultural historians. Popular interest in alternative healing systems, such as holistic healing methods, twelve-step programs, and Asian systems for self-purification, seems to indicate that a fairly large number of Westerners subscribe to beliefs that belong neither to science nor to the more genteel theologies of our mainstream churches. Because these unorthodox healing systems contradict the materialistic assumptions underlying medical science, they are often taken to be propounding irrational understandings of health and healing. Yet, strictly speaking, any healing system is rational insofar as its methods of treatment are logically entailed by its fundamental premises or assumptions about the nature of disease. We might, for example, recognize at least four different types of explanations that could "rationally" be used to describe the cause of disease and, therefore, healing: physiological, environmental, attitudinal or psychological, and spiritual or metaphysical (i.e., caused by the activity of entities or forces that are considered to be both extrasomatic and extrapsychological). Those propounding "metaphysical-cause" explanations of healing are thus not necessarily less rational than those engaged in medical science. They are, however, advancing an ontological claim concerning the existence of causal forces not recognized by contemporary scientific theory.

Alternative healing systems thrive in contemporary culture precisely owing to their unorthodox articulation of a religiously charged interpretation of reality. Indeed, from a cross-cultural perspective it is clear that one of the most important functions of healing rituals is their capacity to induce an existential encounter with a sacred reality. In traditional societies, healing rituals involve participants in the reenactment of cosmological dramas: the shaman is both a healer and mediator between the divine and human realms. And in the case of Christianity, Jesus' healing was thought to be a sign of his divine nature and has subsequently been institutionalized as a function of Christian proclamation and ministry. Yet, with the gradual divorce of physical healing from the church's routine activities, this means of introducing individuals to a higher spiritual reality necessarily shifted to "alternative" religious and medical traditions, such as those found in the New Age movement.

HEALTH AND HEALING IN NEW AGE METAPHYSICS. The term *New Age* defies strict definition. One can, however, identify many of the basic themes in today's alternative spiritual practices by tracing their historical origin in a cluster of nineteenth-century "metaphysical movements." Transcendentalism, Swedenborgianism, mesmerism, Mind Cure, New Thought, Spiritualism, and Theosophy all claimed to have made bold new discoveries concerning humanity's connection with a higher spiritual order. Their teachings especially appealed to progressive-minded persons who yearned to reconcile their scientific and religious interests within a single metaphysical system.

Common to these nineteenth-century metaphysical movements was their belief in the lawful "correspondence" between the many dimensions that make up the universe. Closely connected with this doctrine of correspondence was a corollary belief in the possibility of spiritual "influx." That is, it was believed that when a particularly harmonious relationship or rapport is achieved between two dimensions, energies from the "higher" dimension flow automatically into—and exert positive influence within—the "lower" dimension. Each of the United States' many metaphysical systems brought a distinct vocabulary to the explanation of these twin doctrines of correspondence and influx. The American public, however, took little effort to discriminate between these metaphysical teachings and gradually blended them together to create a form of unchurched spirituality that might be termed *harmonial piety.* As described by religious historian Sydney Ahlstrom, harmonial piety consists of all forms of belief and practice predicated upon the assumption that physical health, spiritual composure, and even economic well-being flow automatically from a person's rapport with the cosmos. This harmonial piety, anchored as it was in metaphysical understandings of the correspondence and influx, defined the core commitments of the New Age movement that came into cultural prominence during the 1970s and 1980s. Contemporary systems of alternative healing, such as chiropractic, twelve-step programs, Therapeutic Touch, crystal healing, and sundry holistic therapies, all in some way utilize notions of health and healing born of this metaphysical tradition.

The best example of how the twin doctrines of correspondence and influx gave rise to alternative medicine is the gradual diffusion of mesmerism into the vocabulary of middle-class Americans. Franz Anton Mesmer (1734–1815), a Viennese physician, claimed to have detected the existence of a superfine substance or fluid that had until then eluded scientific notice. Mesmer referred to this invisible fluid as *animal magnetism,* owing to the fact that it is found in all living creatures and seems to respond to the influence of magnets. He postulated that animal magnetism permeates the physical universe. He further conjectured that it forms the medium through which forces of every kind—light, heat, magnetism, electricity—pass as they travel from one physical object to another. If for any reason an individual's supply of animal magnetism was thrown out of equilibrium, one or more bodily organs would consequently be deprived of sufficient amounts of this vital force and would begin to falter. "There is," Mesmer reasoned, "only one illness and one healing." Therefore, because any and all illness can ultimately be traced to a disturbance in the body's supply of animal magnetism, medical science can be reduced to a set of simple procedures aimed at supercharging a patient's nervous system with this mysterious life-giving energy.

Mesmer and his followers were intrigued by the fact that their patients routinely entered into a hypnotic-like trance as magnets were passed over their bodies in an effort to induce the inflow of animal magnetism into their physical systems. "Mesmerized" patients fell into a peaceful trance and, upon awakening, pronounced themselves cured of their physical and emotional ailments. Many mesmerized patients also displayed paranormal mental powers, such as telepathy, clairvoyance, and even communication with the spirit world. Proponents extolled mesmerism as a spiritual technique for producing the very condition of "correspondence" that transcendentalists and Swedenborgians had already claimed makes people susceptible to the influx of the currents of "universal being." The mesmerists thus succeeded in giving succinct medical expression to the harmonial vision. Illness was understood to be the lack of mental or psychological correspondence with higher spiritual dimension. Healing simply requires the use of physical and psychological techniques for reestablishing this correspondence and thereby permitting the inflow of the subtle energies that impart vitality and progressive movement throughout the universe.

One American mesmerist, Phineas P. Quimby (1802–1866), reasoned that people's thoughts function something like shunting valves that either connect them with or close them off from animal magnetism, which he variously referred to as "vital force" or "divine spirit." He concluded that "disease is the effect of a wrong direction given to the mind." If people think spiritually and optimistically, they remain inwardly receptive to the spiritual world and thereby maintain physical vigor. If, however, they become embroiled in pessimism, materialism, or fear, they fall out of harmony with higher spiritual influences and fall victim to physical disease. Quimby taught thousands of patients that by making appropriate adjustments in their own thoughts they could establish rapport with the very spiritual power that makes for health and overall prosperity. One such patient, Mary Baker Eddy (1821–1910), transformed Quimby's teachings into Christian Science. Others, including Warren Felt Evans (1817–1889), expanded Quimby's teachings into what became known as the Mind Cure (or New Thought) movement. The latter advocated not only positive thinking but also the cultivation of certain mystical states to reestablish inner correspondence with higher spiritual realms (and the healing energies that flow automatically once such correspondence is established). In so doing, advocates of Mind Cure and New Thought injected a metaphysical vocabulary into popular American culture that would be rediscovered in the last decades of the twentieth century by proponents of New Age healing systems.

Mesmerism, as with other metaphysical movements such as Spiritualism and Theosophy, was thus a forerunner of the many New Age healing systems proclaiming belief in the causal power of "subtle energies." Historian Catherine Albanese suggests that belief in the subtle energies of spirit is the most distinctive feature of New Age spirituality. In the New Age movement, to be spiritual is equivalent to being sensitive to subtle energies and responding to them both by cultivating states of inner receptivity and by cultivating mental attitudes that utilize these energies to create bodily and worldly prosperity. The sustained presence of metaphysical healing systems in the United States thus goes well beyond the explanation typically given by social scientists when they draw attention to the fact that these systems treat the whole person (as opposed to scientific medicine's tendency to treat relatively isolated biophysical symptoms). Indeed, the ongoing popularity of metaphysical New Age systems is rooted squarely in their ability to bring explicitly religious understandings to the issue of health and healing.

New Age Energy Medicine. The metaphysical notions of correspondence and influx have supported a variety of healing systems based on belief in the existence and healing power of subtle spiritual energies. A perfect example can be found in the emergence of the alternative healing system that has gained the widest following, chiropractic medicine. Its founder, Daniel David Palmer (1845–1913), had studied both Spiritualism and mesmerism before concluding that there is a vital energy at work in the universe that is the ultimate source of the body's health and vitality. This energy, which he termed *Innate*, is itself a segment of god or the universal intelligence that fills the universe. Palmer reasoned that humans remain in perfect health so long as this vital energy flows from the brain to the various organs of the body. But when the flow of this energy is blocked due to misaligned spinal vertebrae, one or more parts of the body will begin to falter. Palmer, like Mesmer, thus concluded that there is one ultimate cause of illness and one ultimate cause of all healing—the restoration of the flow of subtle spiritual energies. Palmer called his new medical philosophy *chiropractic* from the Greek words *cheiro* (hand) and *prakitos* (done or performed). At least nine million persons visit the forty thousand chiropractic physicians currently practicing in the United States. And although the majority of these patients receive little or no instruction about the healing power of Innate, chiropractic medicine nonetheless remains a principal source from which millions of Americans have been introduced to the healing power of spiritual energies not recognized by scientific medicine.

A second example of New Age "energy medicine" is the system of Therapeutic Touch. Dolores Krieger, a nursing instructor at New York University and student of Theosophical teachings, working with Dora Kunz, former president of the Theosophical Society in America, developed a healing technique predicated upon the existence of a universal energy underlying all life processes. Krieger explains that this energy, which she refers to by using the Hindu term *prana*, naturally instills a higher spiritual dimension into every living organism. So long as individuals remain inwardly receptive to the inflow of this vital energy they will remain healthy; illness ensues when *prana* is no longer flowing freely into the physical system.

Recapitulating Mesmer's science of animal magnetism in nearly every detail, Krieger devised a system of practices for nurses to use in their efforts to "channel" *prana* into patients. She explains that healers must themselves become inwardly receptive to the flow of this spiritual energy. Newcomers to the field are guided along an "archetypal journey," whereby they learn to explore the farther reaches of the psyche. Nurses trained in medical science are encouraged to read books on yoga, Tibetan mysticism, and the relationship between the "new physics" and Eastern religious traditions. The goal is to help them open up their own internal energy centers (referred to as *chakras*, a term drawn from esoteric forms of yoga and largely introduced to Western culture through Theosophy-inspired movements) and to become more receptive to the inflow of *prana* into their own systems so that they might in turn channel it to their patients.

This interest in helping persons release subtle healing energies by opening their *chakras* is common to most forms of New Age medicine. For example, Caroline Myss has synthesized her knowledge of Theosophy, the work of Dolores Krieger, and the trance-channeled wisdom of *A Course in Miracles* into a healing philosophy predicated upon the causal role of the *chakras*. Myss has published several best-selling books and videotapes that explain how each *chakra* is associated with specific emotional issues. By helping people gain insight into their "energy anatomy," Myss believes they can learn to open their *chakras* and facilitate the flow of the energy needed to sustain physical health, emotional well-being, and sustained growth toward higher levels of spiritual consciousness.

Other New Age energy healers make use of rock crystals. Belief in the healing properties of crystals is frequently associated with shamanic traditions, including those of Native Americans. Western interest in the occult powers of crystals, however, is more directly linked with Baron Charles von Reichenbach's studies in the 1840s and 1850s. Reichenbach took up the scientific study of Mesmer's theory of animal magnetism and ultimately devised his own theory concerning the power of quartz crystals to restore the flow of a subtle healing energy throughout the body. Today's crystal healers are likely to extol the ability of quartz crystals to capacitate and refract the spiritual energies that enter humans through their *chakras*. Many New Age healers combine the use of crystals with various forms of meditation, believing that the crystals amplify the mind's innate powers to make contact with the higher spiritual dimensions from which spiritual healing energies flow.

THE HOLISTIC HEALTH AND HUMAN POTENTIAL MOVEMENTS. Ever since Quimby and the nineteenth-century Mind Cure movement, there has been an identifiable subculture in Western nations that has explored novel systems for integrating the mind, body, and spirit. The 1970s witnessed a revival of such interest as a variety of new systems appeared, all aiming to help persons achieve optimal health and all rife with imagery drawn from Western metaphysical traditions. Many of these systems sought to distinguish themselves from scientific medicine by invoking the notion of "holistic healing." Part of the appeal of holistic approaches to healing was their pronounced concern for individuals as both physical and emotional beings, in contrast to the depersonalized nature of many medical treatments. Yet many holistic healing systems have gone further still and addressed themselves to the treatment of the body, mind, emotions, and spirit. The introduction of the term *spirit* alongside *body*, *mind*, and *emotions* takes holistic conceptions of healing well beyond psychosomatic models and stakes out a bold metaphysical understanding of reality. In some cases this amounts to little more than a romanticization of the body's self-regenerative and self-reparative tendencies. Yet in other cases it also includes a bolder ontological claim that the whole of nature is suffused with an immanent spiritual force. And, in still other cases, metaphysical conceptions of the human psyche are invoked to suggest the human system is susceptible to the influx of higher spiritual powers.

Among the best-known spokespersons for holistic healing in the late twentieth century were Norman Cousins and Bernard Siegel. Both offered inspiring visions of humanity's potential for self-regeneration that broadly hinted at the mind's susceptibility to influence from metaphysical forces. Cousins, for example, suggested that his studies of the mind's full potential to avail itself of cosmic healing energies also suggests new directions and new possibilities in future human evolution. Siegel was even more forceful in linking holistic healing with a decidedly metaphysical conception of the human condition. He had cancer patients read books on meditation and psychic phenomena so that they might awaken their own latent abilities to tap into higher healing energies. According to Siegel, we are not far from the creation of a "theophysics" that will demonstrate how all people have a divine energy available to them through a collective unconscious, and if they open themselves to this energy there is no limit to the health and vitality they can express in their lives.

Perhaps the most successful of all holistic health systems is Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) and the many twelve-step programs it has launched. The founder of AA, Bill W., appropriated the psychological theories of both William James and Carl Jung to explain how every person might make inner connection with a higher spiritual power. Describing AA as "a spiritual rather than a religious program," Bill W. contended that the restoration of personal wholeness is impossible without letting go of our personal will and finding inner harmony with a spiritual power he preferred to describe in metaphysical rather than biblical terms.

There are numerous other varieties of holistic systems that utilize metaphysical explanations of the causal forces responsible for healing: acupuncture, iridology, massage and various forms of "bodywork," meditation and visualization, Ayurvedic medicine, *shiatsu*, transpersonal psychologies, and New Age shamanism. Many of these might also be described as constituting the Human Potential movement that also has roots in the Western esoteric and metaphysical traditions. Common to these systems is the belief that conformity to societal expectations comes at a price. Modern individuals have lost awareness of their deeper selves and their deeper potentials for creativity and transcendence. Full human health therefore requires far more than just eliminating illness. It also requires utilizing physical and psychological techniques for promoting awareness of the full range of one's creative powers, including the power for complete spiritual enlightenment and union with the godhead.

ALTERNATIVE HEALING, ALTERNATIVE SPIRITUALITY. Most of the alternative healing systems that have attracted popular followings proclaim the existence and causal power of spiritual energies unrecognized by either scientific or religious orthodoxy. Adherents of these groups are typically white, urban or suburban, and have more education and higher incomes than the general population. The impress of secularization has made biblical religion problematic to them, and yet scientific rationality has failed to sustain their general optimism or to meet their desire for experiential connection with the sacred. Alternative healing systems have thrived in a particular cultural niche, appealing to persons who yearn to find spiritual fulfillment while reluctant to join established religious institutions. Their doctrines (myths) and therapeutic techniques (rituals) function much like the initiation rites of archaic religions and mystery cults in that they provide an experiential encounter with a more-than-physical reality. Newcomers are helped to discard a no-longer functional identity and to discover new and unsuspected sources of comfort and power. The existence and continued popularity of New Age healing systems testifies to their enduring capacity to enable otherwise secular persons to symbolize what, at the deepest level of mystery, is the ultimate source and meaning of their lives.

SEE ALSO Christian Science; Eddy, Mary Baker; New Age Movement; New Thought Movement; Spiritualism; Swedenborgianism; Theosophical Society; Transcendental Meditation.

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HEALING AND MEDICINE: HEALING AND MEDICINE IN ĀYURVEDA AND SOUTH ASIA

Āyurveda is one of several traditional medical systems that originate from the Indian subcontinent. It is now represented as the indigenous Indian medical tradition *par excellence.* As is the case with other Indian medical systems, the origins of Āyurveda long predate the formation of an Indian nation and are not necessarily set within its geographical boundaries. In the context of the history of medicine, therefore, "Indian" often denotes quite a large area within South Asia. A second great tradition of medicine, called Siddha, developed in the south of India. It is less well known outside of India, but of similar antiquity and authority to Āyurveda. Other medical systems, originating from countries outside the Indian subcontinent, have been integrated into its cultures and now form part of its medical traditions. The earliest, and perhaps most important of these systems to be imported and acculturated is Ūnānī medicine. Much later, but equally significant, additions were homeopathy and naturopathy. A different development has taken place in the case of Yoga. Here, an indigenous knowledge system has been reinterpreted as the focus has shifted from the philosophical tradition to the health-related aspects of postural and meditative Yoga practice. The developments within the old traditions with their long and varied histories, the addition of new traditions to the established ones, their interrelations and the interweaving of medical thought with a changing religious, political, and cultural climate, all form a rich and complicated pattern of medical and social history. The developments starting in the early twentieth century toward the modernization and professionalization of medicine have brought these and other medical systems into a common frame of health policy and legislation, as health has become the responsibility of the government. Thus, the more recent history of traditional Indian medicine is shaped by health politics. At the same time, the sphere of its influence has widened, as Āyurveda and other traditional medical systems have come to the attention of an international public, taking a position beside other complementary and alternative therapies.

THE TEXTUAL TRADITION OF ĀYURVEDA. The Āyurvedic medical tradition has a lively history of more than 2,000 years, during which it has continually developed. This development has been accompanied by continuous textual production, resulting in an enormous corpus of literature. Āyurvedic literature not only makes it possible to reconstruct the history of Āyurvedic thought and practice, it also adds to the general understanding of Indian history from its antiquity to the present. It encompasses a wide range of topics that go beyond simple medical instructions, constructing a complex worldview from philosophical, religious, political, and social perspectives.

Āyurveda's beginnings, as known from early classical Sanskrit treatises, are predated by instances of medical knowledge found in Vedic literature. Āyurvedic tradition postulates a direct lineage with Vedic medicine and refers to its medical system as an appendix to the *Atharvaveda.* Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, in *Science and Society in Ancient India* (1977), was the first to contest the traditional view that Āyurveda developed directly from the medicine of the Vedas, pointing to strong conceptual and epistemological differences between Vedic and Āyurvedic medicine. Kenneth G. Zysk, in *Asceticism and Healing in Ancient India* (1998), has subsequently shown that Āyurvedic theory generally does not rely on Vedic medicine although Āyurvedic literature uses Vedic imagery and mythology to evoke a sense of continuity with the past and to establish legitimacy in a society dominated by Brahmanic ideology. According to Zysk, the roots of Āyurveda lie in the medical knowledge of wandering ascetics, most notably Buddhist monks. This is corroborated by the fact that Buddhist texts reveal the first glimpses of a systematized medicine similar to Āyurvedic theories expounded in the classical treatises.

The classical era of Āyurveda begins with the medical treatise of Caraka—the *Caraka Saṃhitā*—which is written in Sanskrit and dates to about the first century CE, though its foundations most likely go back to a much earlier time. Caraka (*Sūtrasthāna* 30.28) presents the first systematized medical theory of Indian antiquity, formally dividing medicine into eight branches (Skt., *aṣṭāṅga*):

1. Kāyacikitsā (devoted to general medicine).
2. Śālākya (devoted to the surgical treatment of body parts above the shoulders).
3. Śalyāpahartṛka (devoted to the removal of foreign bodies—surgery).
4. Viṣagaravairodhikapraśamana (devoted to toxicology).
5. Bhūtavidyā (devoted to the treatment of possession by various supernatural beings).
6. Komārabhṛtyaka (devoted to pediatrics).
7. Rasāyana (devoted to the preparation of life-prolonging tonics).
8. Vājīkaraṇa (devoted to aphrodisiacs and treatments relating to virility).

While later texts do not slavishly follow this division into eight general subjects, the term *aṣṭāṅga* thereafter becomes a synonym for medicine. Later works often refer to Caraka, and today the *Caraka Saṃhitā* is part of the curriculum taught in modern Āyurvedic colleges in India.

The *Caraka Saṃhitā* is chronologically followed by the *Suśruta Saṃhitā,* which probably reached its present form around the third century CE. Its most important addition to medical history is its information on surgical operations. These very advanced surgical methods are neither mentioned in the *Caraka Saṃhitā* nor in later Āyurvedic works.

The only other surviving treatise that belongs to this early period is the *Bhela Saṃhitā,* which is quoted in premodern Āyurvedic texts. However, only one manuscript of this work survives and its importance for the development of Āyurvedic thought does not parallel that of the treatises of Caraka and Suśruta.

Chronologically, next to be mentioned is the collection of medical and divinatory texts dated to the sixth century, now commonly referred to as the "Bower Manuscripts." The manuscripts were found buried close to a monastery situated near the old Silk Route trading stop of Kuqa, which testifies to the presence of Indian medicine in Inner Asia in the early sixth century CE.

A work of major importance was composed by Vāgbhaṭa in the early seventh century. Together with the two older treatises, it is part of the "great threesome" (Skt., *bṛhattrayī*) of Āyurveda. Vāgbhaṭa's treatise, the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya Saṃhitā* (The heart of medicine), is a summary of medical knowledge, extracting the essence of medicine, as its title suggests, from previous works in an attempt to synthesize, unify, and put into order their contents. This textbook soon gained great popularity and was widely disseminated throughout India and beyond. Foreign translations of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya Saṃhitā* were appearing within a century of its composition and copies of the medical textbook are found in abundance in manuscript libraries both in North and in South India. The *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya Saṃhitā* is in many ways the most important Āyurvedic text. Its doctrines are widely regarded as authoritative and form an integral part of modem Āyurvedic education and practice.

Three later works have similar status to that of the "great threesome" and are called the "lesser threesome." These are the works of Mādhava (c. 700 CE), Śārṅgadhara (c. 1300), and Bhāvamiśra (sixteenth century). Mādhava's work on the causes and symptoms of diseases was widely read and set the pattern for later systematic descriptions of diseases. It is cited by al-Ṭabarī in the *Firdaws al Ḥikmah.* Śārṅgadhara's compendium is one of the most successful Āyurvedic books ever written, as the great number of copies found in libraries across India testifies. More recently, the pharmaceutical industry has made use of its recipes in the manufacture of Āyurvedic products. Bhāvamiśra's work is innovative in several respects. It is perhaps most noteworthy that he introduced the subject of syphilis to Indian medicine.

Translations of passages in the above-mentioned works can be found in Dominik Wujastyk's *Roots of Āyurveda* (2003). However, this selection of medical works only forms the tip of the iceberg. To give just a few examples, further remarkable works include the numerous encyclopedias and dictionaries containing Āyurvedic material, such as the *Mānasollāsa* (twelfth century), the *Lakṣmaṇotsava* (fifteenth century), the *Āyurveda saukhya* of the *Ṭoḍarānanda* (sixteenth century), the *Vīramitrodaya* (seventeenth century), the *Śivatattvaratnākara* (early eighteenth century), the *Vaidyakaśabdasindhu* (late nineteenth century), and the *Bṛhannighaṇṭuratnākara* (late nineteenth to early twentieth century).

Julius Jolly's *Indian Medicine* (1994) is still a useful reference for the Āyurvedic textual tradition. However, Gerrit Jan Meulenbeld's *History of Indian Medical Literature* (1999–2002) offers the most comprehensive and thorough overview. This magnum opus is an invaluable source for Āyurvedic studies and certainly the most important work of its kind to date. Other reference works are written in Indian vernacular languages, as for example the Hindi *Āyurved kā Vaijñānik Itihās* (1975) by P. V. Sharma.

THE PRINCIPLES OF ĀYURVEDA. Far from comprising a uniform theoretical body, the various Āyurvedic sources differ considerably in their statements on the fundamental principles of Āyurveda. Given Āyurveda's large and varied literature, and that it is a living and changing tradition that looks back at more than 2,000 years of development, this is hardly surprising. New theories and treatment methods evolved, old ones were mostly recounted with respect, but sometimes openly disputed and sometimes silently replaced. The use of the *materia medica* changed due to the availability of plants and of other resources, and new environments and ways of living changed the basic assumptions of the older texts. Thus, though the sources certainly share common features that make it possible to define them as part of the Āyurvedic medical system, any overall definition of the basic tenets of Āyurveda is necessarily a selective construct. To arrive at more precise and coherent definitions of Āyurvedic theories, research often focuses on a certain period of time or on certain texts. Here, the main sources used to represent the Āyurvedic opinion will be the treatises of Caraka and Suśruta and Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya Saṃhitā,* with a strong emphasis on the latter text. It should be kept in mind, however, that there exist other versions of the Āyurvedic doctrines presented here, as well as altogether different approaches.

The term *Āyurveda* translates as "the knowledge [Skt., *veda*] of longevity [Skt., *āyus*]." This name points to a fundamental characteristic of Āyurvedic medicine expressed in the classical texts, namely that its emphasis is on establishing ideal conditions for living a long life. Health is not only a goal in itself, but, perhaps more importantly, the means by which to achieve longevity. According to Caraka (*Sūtrasthāna* 1:15), a long life offers the human being the opportunity to fulfill the "four duties" (Skt., *caturvarga*)—namely *kāma, artha, dharma,* and *mokṣa.* The connections between the *trivarga* (excluding *mokṣa*)—or *caturvarga*—and medical theory are discussed by Arion Roşu in "Études āyurvédiques: Le *trivarga* dans l'āyurveda" (1978). The responsibility to fulfill these duties can be extended to maintaining health: each person is an active participant in establishing the grounds for a long life (or the reverse) by living (or not living) according to certain standards, which are defined in the Āyurvedic texts. The medical manuals not only provide the professional physician with specialized instructions on medical practice, but also offer the general public a wide range of practical advice on different aspects of life. The physician's role is complementary to the efforts made by those afflicted with disease and by the healthy alike. Ideally motivated by compassion for his suffering fellow beings, the physician's task is to alleviate bodily and mental discomfort and to help restore health through administering medicine or providing other forms of therapy. The other very important part of the profession would be to give advice on the prevention of disease: that is, on how to lead a good and healthy life, broadly understood.

Health is interpreted not only as the absence of illness but as a state of complete well-being. The individual's condition can only be fully understood within the context of society at large and of the person's environment. This has been discussed by Francis Zimmermann in his groundbreaking book *The Jungle and the Aroma of Meats* (1987). Caraka (*Śārīrasthāna* 5.3) defines the connection of humans with nature as one mirroring the other. The microcosmic human reflects the macrocosm of the universe and ultimately of all there is, and vice versa—a concept that already appears at an early stage of Vedic literature as the conceptual basis of sacrifice.

Within the physical body of the human, health is understood as the proper functioning of certain processes that are based on the body's inherent structure of fluids and channels. The Āyurvedic view of the human body differs substantially from the biomedical understanding of anatomy. Thus, the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya Saṃhitā* states that *doṣas, dhātus,* and *malas* are the root of the body (*Sūtrasthāna* 11.2). These three Sanskrit technical terms are used to describe the physical and (to a limited extent) the mental processes involved in the causing of health and disease. Their translation presents a set of difficulties, as their literal translation does not fully convey their meaning. The word *doṣa,* for example, is derived from the causative of the verb root *duṣ,* which literally translates as "to spoil" or "to corrupt" (Monier-Williams et al., 1899, p. 488). The negative connotation of something that causes damage is definitely inherent to the understanding of the *doṣas,* but as the above citation of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya Saṃhitā* shows, they are also positively interpreted as an essential part of the body. Translations often use the term *humor* for *doṣa,* as there are strong parallels (if also differences) between the *doṣa* theory and the Greek humoral system. Generally, a *doṣa* is a substance that flows or circulates within the body and fulfills particular functions within it. Āyurvedic theory usually speaks of three *doṣas,* namely wind *(vāta),* bile *(pitta),* and phlegm *(kapha* or *śleśman),* often also glossed somewhat more glamorously as wind, fire, and water, in analogy to their presumed properties. There are also occasional references to four *doṣas,* most notably in the *Suśruta Saṃhitā* (*Sūtrasthāna* 21.28), blood being added as the fourth. Each of these *doṣas* is located mainly in a particular area of the body, though they can also move around along special channels without causing damage. Thus, *vāta* is mostly situated in the large intestine, *pitta* in the navel, and *kapha* in the chest and above. Their functions are summarized in the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya Saṃhitā* (*Sūtrasthāna* 1.1–3) as follows: *Vāta* gives the body strength, activates speech, body, and mind, induces the evacuation of the intestinal tract, supports the *dhātus,* and sharpens the senses. *Pitta* regulates digestion, body heat, sight, hunger, thirst, and appetite. It makes the body soft and supple. On a mental level it gives understanding, intelligence, and courage. *Kapha* gives the body firmness and smoothness and holds the joints together. Its psychological quality is patience.

Disease is often defined as an imbalance of the *doṣas.* However, this is only part of the picture and does not represent the full Āyurvedic explanation of how the *doṣas* cause disease, as a closer look at the specifications of the texts reveals. Vāgbhaṭa, for example, uses the metaphor of balance and imbalance, but explains that imbalance denotes a change in quantity as well as the dislocation of a *doṣa.* The quantity of a *doṣa* can both increase and decrease, which leads to various symptoms of disease. The increase of a *doṣa* is a process that evolves in two stages: its accumulation (Skt., *caya*) and its subsequent surge (Skt., *kopa*), in which the *doṣa* leaves its own area. The symptoms for accumulation are different from those for the surge, which causes a graver condition of disease that is more difficult to treat. Thus, the state of the *doṣas*—that is, whether they are increased or decreased, in a stage of accumulation, or in surge—is relevant for treatment, as they require different measures. However, differences in treatment based on distinctions between decrease and increase, accumulation and surge, are so subtle as to nearly justify the sweeping statement that the imbalance of the *doṣas* causes disease.

The second component the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya Saṃhitā* names as the root of the body is the *dhātus,* literally "constituent parts" or "elements." In a medical context, these are defined as elements or essential ingredients of the body, namely chyle (i.e., food that has undergone the first process of digestion), blood, flesh, fat, bone, marrow, and semen. To this list of seven *dhātus,* hair, skin, and sinews are sometimes added. The *dhātus* are thought to evolve in succession from each other: semen from marrow, marrow from bone, bone from fat, and so on. Confusingly, the *doṣas* are also sometimes called *dhātu,* particularly to denote their positive quality of sustaining the body. This has been addressed by Hartmut Scharfe in "The Doctrine of the Three Humors in Traditional Indian Medicine and the Alleged Antiquity of Tamil Siddha Medicine" (1999), in which he argues that the usage of *dhātu* in lieu of *doṣa* goes back to an older understanding of the *doṣas* found in the Buddhist Pali canon, in which *doṣa* unambiguously denotes a negative force causing disease.

The *dhātus* shape the physical body but also have separate functions that are specified in the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya Saṃhitā* (*Sūtrasthāna* 11.4) as follows: chyle causes the sensation of delight, blood is a stimulant and increases the life force, meat covers the bones, fat regulates the greasiness (for example of the eyes), the bones keep the body upright, marrow fills the bone, and semen is responsible for procreation. Parallel to the *doṣas,* the *dhātus* also can increase or decrease, causing various symptoms of illness. The increase or decrease of a *dhātu* effects the *dhātu* chain, one *dhātu* vitiating the next, which in turn leads to conflicting symptoms and complicates diagnosis. The treatment of *dhātu*-related illnesses is fairly straightforward in contrast to their diagnosis: an illness that is diagnosed as an excess of blood is countered with bloodletting; an excess of flesh, (e.g., a tumor), with its removal. The decrease of *dhātus* on the other hand, is counteracted with appropriate nutrition, based on the principle that what has been lost should be added again.

The *malas* are called the third root of the body. *Mala* as a medical term denotes any bodily excretion or secretion—that is, urine, feces, and sweat, but also mucus, earwax, and tears. The *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya Saṃhitā* (*Sūtrasthāna* 11.5) explains that feces sustain the body, urine evacuates the fluids, and sweat holds the fluids inside. The treatment of *mala*-related illnesses corresponds to the treatment of the *doṣas* in that the *malas* increase and decrease, but also because the *doṣas* are seen as the underlying cause of the increase or decrease of the *malas.*

There are, however, also other forces at work on the body. One central concept is that of *āma,* which is the product of improperly digested food that has turned to poison in the body. As a poison, it vitiates the *doṣas* and the *dhātus* and causes the disruption of their course of flow or development. The descriptions of what the vitiation of a *doṣa* means or of how exactly the disruption of flow is effected are somewhat vague. The general concept is that *āma* can in various ways block the channels through which the *doṣas* are meant to move. Treatment aims at ridding the body of this unwanted substance and consequently focuses on cathartic procedures using purgatives, enemas, and emetics.

It has been mentioned above how the theory of the three *doṣas* affects treatment. An interesting aspect of Āyurvedic medical practice, however, is that treatment is in many cases not necessarily dependent on theory. An infection of the urethra, for example, will commonly be treated with turmeric. In modern Āyurvedic treatment, the identification of the urethra as the site of infection and the understanding of infection are based on modern medical conceptions that do not occur in classical Āyurvedic literature. However, stereotyped diagnosis and treatment disregarding the theory of the individual constitution also forms an intrinsic part of premodern Āyurvedic medicine, as Gerrit Jan Meulenbeld has pointed out in "The Surveying of Sanskrit Medical Literature"(1984; pp. 44–46). A urethra infection can be explained as the symptom of excess *pitta* and the use of turmeric as counteractive to the heat-related *doṣa* because of its cooling properties. This, however, does not influence the primary prescription that pain in the urinary tract should be treated with turmeric.

In short, Āyurveda offers more than one solution to medical problems. While the abundance of often conflicting material on Āyurveda is vexing for the historian or the sociologist trying to delineate Āyurvedic theory, the maxim "whatever works is right" seems to have been sufficient for the

Āyurvedic practitioners who have continued and developed the tradition of Āyurveda from its beginnings.

The best overview of Āyurvedic theory and treatment procedures is probably still Jolly's *Indian Medicine.* Wujastyk's *Roots of Āyurveda* offers a good selection of translated texts pertaining to Āyurvedic principles and procedures and Guy Mazars in *La médecine indienne* (1995) gives a very concise and accessible introduction to Āyurveda. S. K. Ramachandra Rao's *Encyclopedia of Indian Medicine* deals with Āyurvedic theory in more detail. However, for an in-depth understanding of Āyurveda, the primary sources themselves, which are increasingly available in translation, are of fundamental importance.

THE POLITICS OF ĀYURVEDA. In 1970 the Indian parliament passed the Indian Medicine Central Council Act (IMCCA), setting up a central council for the indigenous medical systems of Āyurveda, Siddha, and Ūnānī. The council is responsible for laying down and maintaining uniform standards of education and for regulating practice in these systems. It also prescribes the standards of professional conduct and etiquette, and the code of ethics for practitioners of Indian Systems of Medicine (ISM). The IMCCA of 1973 added homeopathy to the list, changing ISM to Indian Systems of Medicine and Homeopathy (ISM&H). Yoga and naturopathy (and a number of local health traditions) are recognized as ISM by the Indian government, but do not receive the same amount of funding and also are not centrally regulated by the Indian Medicine Central Council (IMCC). Yoga was included as a research subject by the Central Council for Research in Indian Medicine and Homeopathy (CCRIM&H), founded in 1969, and naturopathy was added as a research subject in 1978, when the CCRIM&H was divided into separate councils, isolating homeopathy and Ūnānī and coupling Āyurveda with Siddha and Yoga with naturopathy. S. K. Mishra outlines these developments in his article "Ayurveda, Unani, and Siddha Systems: An Overview and Their Present Status" (2001).

Thus, with the IMMCA of 1970, the Indian government for the first time officially recognized Āyurveda, Siddha, and Ūnānī as national systems of medicine, and at the same time it centralized their administration in order to set an all-India standard. The Central Council Act was the result of a series of discussions concerning Indian health policies that were made both before and following Indian Independence in 1947. Paul Brass has pointed out in "The Politics of Ayurvedic Education" (1972) that as early as 1946 a resolution had been passed by the First Health Ministers' Conference, giving recognition to indigenous systems of medicine by recommending that practitioners trained in these systems should be utilized in federal state health programs. State responses were varied, with some giving considerable support to the indigenous systems while others ignored the health ministers' recommendation, preferring modern medicine to the traditional systems. No state government, however, declared Āyurveda or any other indigenous system as its state system of medicine.

Debates on the role and position of indigenous medical systems within Indian health policy have a long history, which is interlinked with colonial health policies on the one side and Indian nationalism on the other. Among the indigenous medical systems, Āyurveda takes the first place (followed by Ūnānī), as measured by the number of its practitioners, institutions, manufacturers, and political bodies. While the well-developed infrastructure testifies to its success, the professionalization and institutionalization of Āyurveda has been a long and troubled process. In the first third of the nineteenth century, British health and education policy started to emphasize support for the modern system of biomedicine. This resulted in the patronage of modern medical colleges and hospitals and ultimately produced a number of practitioners with a medical reputation superior to that of traditional practitioners. The direct effects of British policy on indigenous medicine, however, date to a much later period, when Indians were admitted to the biomedical colleges and health services were extended to the Indian public. To meet the competition of the new system and to show the value of their science, traditional practitioners needed to (re)define the theoretical foundations of their medical system and to formulate their professional identity. In the case of Āyurveda this meant the birth of a new era, as Āyurvedic practitioners had never before organized themselves into one uniform body. The traditional education system, which is still predominant in religious teaching and in other disciplines in India today, had been that of pupilage; that is, the passing down of knowledge from teacher to one or several pupils, from father to son, or from uncle to nephew. This led to the formation of medical lineages or schools, as famous teachers could have quite a large following.

One step toward a modernized Āyurveda, therefore, had to be a break with the educational tradition of pupilage toward an expanded college system, in order to keep up with the growing number of graduates and license holders that the biomedical colleges were producing. Another was to form a unified theory of the Āyurvedic medical system, to present as the voice of Āyurveda at a political and ideological level and to shape the curriculum of the colleges. Following the Orientalist ideology that the "purest" and most original forms of Āyurveda must be found in the oldest texts, it was widely agreed among the advocates of Āyurveda that the traditional Āyurvedic treatises offered a reasonable basis for a common identity and a unified medical system. The goal, then, was to restore and to revive the ancient tradition and its presumed past glory rather than to maintain contemporary traditional practices, which were often labeled "degenerate." Accordingly, a distinction was made between an idealized Āyurveda based on the classical texts, and traditional practice based on later texts and folk medicine. While Orientalist rhetoric may have been a major component in revivalist ideology, it would not be true to say that it was the cause of the decision to present the teachings of the classical texts as the basis of Āyurvedic theory. Traditional families of Āyurvedic practitioners had been using these texts as the basis of their practice long before official debates on the theoretical foundations of Āyurveda started. However, Āyurvedic practitioners not only made use of the oldest treatises, but also of a multitude of texts that were composed after the classical texts. The wide publication of later Āyurvedic texts, edited from the late nineteenth century onwards by Āyurvedic scholars like Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara Bhaṭṭācārya, Jīvarāma Kālidāsa Śāstri, Dattarāma Kṛṣṇalāla Māthura, and Yādavji Trikamji Ācārya, testifies that such texts were considered important.

Modern Āyurvedists needed not only to overcome sectarian and regional differences (including language barriers and diverging religious identities) in search of a uniform identity, but were also confronted with new educational methods and technology for diagnosis and research introduced to India by the British. The dominant form of Āyurvedic education that developed from this background at the end of the nineteenth century was an integrated or concurrent education system, which included both Āyurveda and modern medical subjects in varying proportions. The basic education in modern medicine was meant to enable students to play a role in public health programs. The question of the proportional distribution of Āyurveda and modern medicine within the curriculum—that is, which system should be the main focus of education and which should be taught as the complementary system—had from the beginning been a bone of contention among the supporters of the integrated system. Furthermore, the concept of the integrated system, as such, received heavy criticism both from biomedical advocacy groups and from other factions within the Āyurvedic movement as having produced practitioners qualified in neither system of medicine. The defects of the integrated system, made apparent by recurring student strikes and low enrollment numbers, and by divisions within its support group, strengthened the case of the rivaling interest group arguing for a *śuddha* (pure) Āyurveda that would be true to its tradition and ideologically free from Western influence.

Charles Leslie has pointed out in "Interpretations of Illness: Syncretism in Modern Āyurveda " (1992) how these issues became increasingly politicized, as the Āyurvedic movement divided into two main advocacy organizations: the Āyurvedic Congress, founded in 1907 and representing the *śuddha* faction, and the Council of State Boards and Faculties of Indian Systems of Medicine, founded in 1952 as a result of a split in the Āyurvedic Congress and representing the integrated view. As a voluntary advocacy organization, the Congress was constituted of individual practitioners and of local, provincial Āyurvedic associations. Its leading personality was Pandit Shiv Sharma. The council on the other hand was a "semi-official agency, whose members include[d] the heads of the Āyurvedic Colleges, the members of the state faculties and boards of Indian medicine, and the directors of Āyurveda in the health administrations of the several states"(Brass, 1972, p. 358). The leading personalities of the integrated system were Kaviraj Gananath Sen and later Chandragiri Dwarkanath. The council therefore represented the established educational system, which would seem to suggest it was the more powerful organization. However, the members of the Congress also had considerable political influence and powerful support in the central government. Thus, in 1962, Pandit Shiv Sharma was able to exert his influence as the appointed honorary advisor on the decisions made at the annual meeting of Central Council of Health. The resulting Vyas Committee report advised that Āyurvedic education and practice be developed on "purely ayurvedic lines, involving deep and intense study of the Classical Ayurvedic literature including its materia medica and pharmacy" and not to include "any subject of modern medicine or allied sciences in any form or language"(Brass, 1972, p. 360). Although the government of India and the state health ministers ultimately accepted the recommendations of the Vyas Committee, the implementation of the new policy did not proceed smoothly, due to inconsistent policies regarding the use of modern technology, resistance on part of the state governments, and the low enrollment numbers of students.

The debate on the educational system of Āyurveda (and of the other Indian systems of medicine) and its implementation into public health schemes is far from resolved even today. Despite all decisions from the government as recorded in the various IMCC acts, the failure of the Āyurvedists to agree among themselves on the goals to be pursued and on the appropriate standards for education, practice, and research has so far led to the inability of Āyurveda to compete with modern medicine and to fulfill its potential as a national system of medicine.

Overviews and more detailed surveys dealing with the politics and epistemological context of Āyurveda, its eminent advocates and opponents, and the modernization of traditional medical systems in general can be found in Mishra (2001); Gupta (1998); Leslie (1992, 1983, 1975, 1998a); Brass (1972); Jeffery (1988); Shankar (1995); Stepan (1983); Taylor (1998); Zimmermann (1992); Zysk (2001), and Phillips (1990).

SEE ALSO Health and Religion.

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DAGMAR BENNER (2005)

HEALING AND MEDICINE: HEALING AND MEDICINE IN CHINA

In modern Western societies people tend to demarcate disciplines of healing as they divide the self: biomedicine for the body, psychology for the mind, and religion for the spirit. If the popularity of holistic alternative healing systems suggests that these categories do not sit entirely well even with modern Westerners, they are even more inadequate to China. Historically and still today in China, the management of sickness and health is rooted in different views of self, different social and institutional configurations, and different healing traditions.

PATIENTS: DISORDERED SELVES. Chinese sources do make distinctions not dissimilar to those of body, mind, and spirit: they speak of the body as physical form. They speak of the person's spirit, of multiple bodily spirits, and of yin and yang souls. People are known to think and to have emotions, and medical sources speak of these states as both normal functions and, when out of balance, illness. These categories, however, are subsidiary in the organization of understandings of health and treatment of disease. Medicinal therapies are ingested for ailments related to emotional excess and to the destabilization or detachment of the body's spirits. Herbal and ritual therapies are applied to prevent attack by animals as well as demons, and to treat gross bodily pathologies. Affects are not only implicated in, they are integral to both the origins and processes of bodily disorders, and to their healing. Major Chinese categories and practices distinguish four modes for imagining the healthy self, and illness as deviation from it: the *resonating* self, the *dissipating* self, the *moral* self, and the *ecological* self.

The resonating self is the mode most characteristic of Chinese canonical medicine, but it also came to powerfully shape everyday Chinese views of the body, and to contribute to nonmedical styles of healing. The core features of this physiology developed in the fourth to first centuries BCE and have remained fairly stable, albeit with elaboration and variation along the way, over the following two millennia. In this view, the person, polity, and cosmos operate as a series of nested microcosms and macrocosms according to the cyclical, dynamic, and complementary principles of yin and yang and the Five Phases. The emperor and his bureaucratic representatives stand at a critical nexus of responsibility for order in these realms. If they do not properly align their behavior to the normative cycles of the cosmos, heaven and earth resonate, producing floods, drought, and epidemics. The people resonate, straying from their socially appropriate roles, even as far as banditry and rebellion. As emperor and officials must match their policies and ritual to cosmic cycles, so must individuals harmonize their activities, whether sleep, work, diet, or sex, to the appropriate phases of the day and year. Discordant activity can produce illness.

Yin and yang and the Five Phases, then, were understood to pattern and resonate through all phenomena. From the Han period (206 BCE–220 CE) the Five Phases mapped, for example, the seasons, directions, colors, virtues, and musical notes, as well as different aspects of physiology. The last included organ systems, sense organs, affects, the tracts (also translated *vessels* or *meridians*) through which *qi* (pronounced "chee" and also sometimes spelled *ch'i*, here vapor and vitality) flows, and nodal points along them through which *qi* might be affected (see Tables 1 and 2). Physiological patterns could be felt through the pulse, most commonly felt through three spots at the left and right wrists. Changes in one system will manifest in multiple associated registers: in changes in emotion, perception and sensation, color, smell, and discharge of bodily fluids.

In this modality, the integrity of physical structures was considered an essential precondition of health, but intervention was more concerned with alterations that occurred prior to gross corporeal change. Tracts mapped not visible anatomical structures, but felt flows of *qi*. Organs were of interest less for their size, shape, and location than as systems of function for which the physical organs might be considered substrates. Each of the Five Phases and its associated organ system is also linked to every other Phase and organ system through either a "promoting relationship," such that it is nourished by one system and nourishes another, or a "controlling" relationship, such that it is restrained by one system and restrains another. Thus, excessive or deficient activity in one system can propagate stagnation, repleteness, and imbalance in other systems (see Table 3).

The medium of this resonance is *qi*, which could refer multivalently or in different contexts to air, vapor, breath, vitality, vitality in its yang aspect, and something akin to "the psychophysical stuff and energy" that constitutes all phenomena. Besides resonating, *qi* could also dissipate. The dissipating self was understood as being born with a full endowment of vitality, or "original *qi*," which dissipates through the course of life. Health and longevity could be enhanced by replenishing *qi*, or by slowing its dispersal. This could be affected most commonly through ingestion of tonifying medicines, a range of "cultivating vitality" practices (see below), or by avoiding particularly *qi*-draining activities. For men, a special focus of concern was the expenditure of the most concentrated essence of yang vitality, semen, in sexual intercourse. Women were particularly vulnerable to the draining of yin vitality, blood, through menstruation.

Despite these sex-specific sources of danger, canonical medicine did not take gender as a fundamental human or medical division. Gender tended to be constructed according to social function rather than biological essence. While femininity was yin and masculinity was yang, both male and female bodies operated according to these principles and the circulation of both yin blood and yang *qi*. Women and men were not absolutely yin and yang, but contingently yin and yang in relation to each other, on a continuum rather than radically distinct. While medical texts did include separate sections on disorders related to the uniquely female functions of gestation and childbirth, it was only in the learned medi-

Yin and Yang Aspects in Physiology

Yin	Inner, Outward Movement	Upper Ascent	Dorsal	*Qi* (as Yang Vitality)	Stimulation	Increase
Yang	Outer, Inward Movement	Lower Descent	Ventral	Blood (as Yin Vitality)	Restraint	Decrease

TABLE 1. *Illustration courtesy of the author.*

cine of the Song period (960–1279 CE) that therapies for non-gender-specific disorders came to be constructed on the basis of gender-differentiated bodies. Female physiology was set apart from male here by the dominance of blood (yin vitality) over *qi* (yang vitality), not absence of the latter. While this therapeutic distinction fell out of practice in later centuries, the approach generated attention to menstrual regulation as a basis of health and of the essential social function of fertility, concerns that continue today.

While this cosmos operates according to rationalistic principles of yin, yang, and the Five Phases, it is also both inherently moral and animated. The emperor can provoke disastrous weather and social disturbances through unrighteous behavior, not only by failing to perform rituals and enact policies that are synchronized to the phases of the cosmos. Besides cosmic resonance, the moral self can become ill in retribution for misdeeds. From the Han period, as the spirit world came to be seen as dominated by a celestial pantheon modeled on the human imperial bureaucracy, illness also came to be seen as resulting from celestially administered punishment. Aggrieved spirits could make people ill by directly attacking them, or from medieval times often through litigation in the courts of the afterlife. As in the worldly legal system, punishment could extend to family members, so that for the sources of ailments one might need to address the crimes of a forebear. With the spread of Buddhist ideas, illnesses and other misfortune could also be understood as karmic consequence for the misdeeds of a previous life.

As in most of the world's societies, the self was not conceived as a thing utterly detached from the world around it; it was permeable to and an organically integral part of its environment. The ecological self not only responds to the world through cosmic resonance, it is acted upon by agents, things, and events in its internal and external social, spiritual, and physical environments. The outer world provides nurture, but again poses threats to one's well-being, for example through the stress and violence of interpersonal conflict, improper diet, poisons, and physical attack or accidental injury.

Besides dangerous animals and people, vectors of violence included spirits and ghosts. Although ancestors, when ritually cared for, looked after their descendants, if not attended to they could punish their neglectful offspring. The pores and orifices expose the self to invasion by poisonous substances, noxious fumes, and demons or ghosts. Prior to the twentieth century, small demonic creatures were understood as capable of infesting the body, sometimes entering as ethereal spirits but taking form within as gnawing insects or worms. With the acceptance of germ theory in the twentieth century, infecting parasites, viruses, and bacteria joined with or replaced this list of external hazards.

This ecosystem extended to the body's internal and numinously populated landscape. Han period texts describe a yin and a yang soul. After the Han, especially but not exclusively in Daoist texts, we find descriptions of three yang and seven yin souls, spirits associated with the various organ systems, and the "three corpse worms." Most of the souls and spirits of the body are responsible for its healthy function, and not unlike bureaucratic officials, can produce disorder if they do not attend to their posts properly. Dreams, often understood as the roaming of the yang soul, are considered an occasion of particular vulnerability. The three corpse worms are demonic agents that are, like the body spirits, born within the person, in this case located in the three cinnabar fields, centers of vitality located in the head, chest, and lower abdomen. These body spirits seek release from their host by his or her death, and expedite this by inciting *qi*-squandering behaviors, such as sexual indulgence, gluttony, and immoderate ambition; by conspiring with external demons to infest the person and bring about illness; and by reporting to the Celestial Jade Emperor on the person's misdeeds so that compensatory time is deducted from their allotted lifespan.

Healthy selves, then, would resonate harmoniously with a properly aligned polity and cosmos, would retain or only slowly dissipate their vitalities, would be morally upright, and would harmonize with both internal and external environments, maintaining strong relationships with good people and spirits, and avoiding dangerous people, spirits, and situations. Selves could be disordered in resonance with cosmic discord; could be weakened by draining vitalities; could face consequences for misdeeds in this or in previous lives, or even for the crimes of their forefathers; and could suffer distress or violence from within or without. These views of the self contribute to organizing approaches to health management, and inform the choices people make among healers and healers' therapeutic recommendations. These choices,

Five Phases in Physiology

Phase	Wood	Fire	Earth	Metal	Water
Field					
Direction	East	South	Center	West	North
Color	Green/Blue	Red	Yellow	White	Black
Season	Spring	Summer	Mid-Summer	Autumn	Winter
Yin Organ Systems	Heart	Liver	Spleen	Lung	Kidney
Associated Tracts	Hand Lesser Yin	Foot Reverting Yin	Foot Greater Yin	Hand Greater Yin	Foot Lesser Yin
Yang Organ Systems	Small Intestine	Gallbladder	Stomach	Large Intestine	Bladder
Associated Tracts	Hand Greater Yang	Foot Lesser Yang	Foot Yang Brightness	Hand Yang Brightness	Foot Greater Yang
Affect	Joy	Anger	Cogitation	Grief	Fear
Sense Organ/Orifice	Tongue	Eyes	Mouth	Nose	Ear, Genitals, Anus

TABLE 2. *Illustration courtesy of the author.*

however, are also significantly shaped by social context and by available choices in healing specialists.

PERSONAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXTS OF HEALTH MANAGEMENT. Social contexts of health management correspond to spheres expanding from the individual to the family, community, and polity. Structuring these arenas are hierarchical relationships, such as those based on patriarchy and class.

Self. From the mid-fourth century BCE we have texts describing methods for cultivating vitality geared both toward slowing its dissipation and toward harmonizing it with the cosmic cycles. Practices included meditation, regulation of breath/*qi*/vitality and its circulation around the body, gymnastic movements for "guiding and pulling" *qi* in the body, retention and recirculation of seminal essence during intercourse in order to prevent the attendant loss of original *qi*, dietary restrictions, and absorption of vitalities from sexual partners or from the outside world. These practices seem to have been widespread among the Han elite, and were associated during that period with Huang-Lao, practices of the mythic figures of the Yellow Emperor and Laozi, and with the pursuit of transcendence. The descriptions of physiology developed through these practices contributed greatly to the canonical medical tradition. In later centuries, while some moderate breathing and dietary practices remained part of the elites' repertoires of healthcare, more esoteric practice came to be associated with religious Daoists.

From the Han and continuing into the seventh or eighth centuries, Daoist cultivation included the ritual concoction of elixirs, the process recapitulating a reverse cosmogony in both the elixir cauldron and in the self. In later centuries, the imagery of this "external alchemy" remained a part of "internal alchemy," cultivation of vitality primarily through breathing and visualization, without the actual production and ingestion of elixirs. This includes the cinnabar (a mercuric sulfide that also gives East Asian lacquerware its distinctive red) that also stands synecdochically for both elixir and Daoist alchemy.

While women also participated in these practices, it is only from the seventeenth century that texts describing a distinct style of cultivation geared to female physiology and for the guidance of women practitioners appear. These were written by men, and aimed in part at supporting practice by women in the home, and discouraging them from seeking guidance by leaving the home or by bringing in teachers who elite men saw as potentially corrupting. Among its distinctive characteristics, this practice aimed at "beheading the red dragon," or stopping the menses and returning the body to a prepubescent state.

Family, community, and state. As in most societies, the primary locus for managing health in China was the family. The first to care for the sick were usually the adult women of the family, although especially from around the Song period elite men often also took an interest in medical learning and sometimes practiced in an amateur capacity on their friends and families. Women left their natal families upon marriage, bringing with them and exchanging with

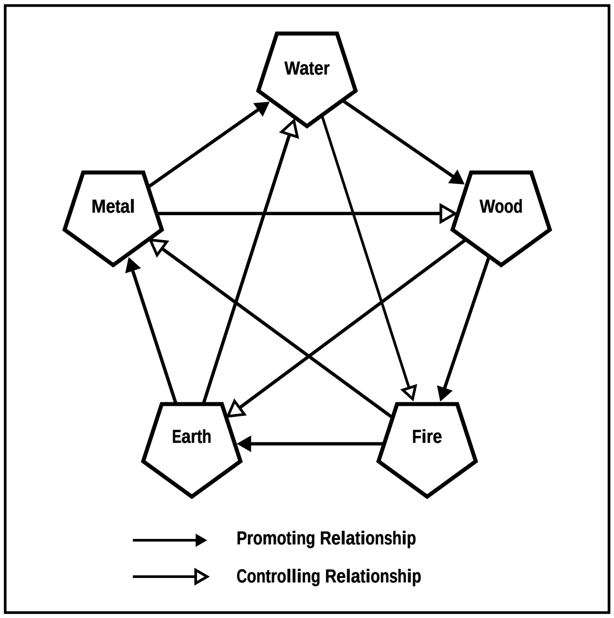

TABLE 3. *Illustration courtesy of the author.*

their new families practical everyday knowledge about healthcare, including management of diet, methods of massage, herbal remedies, and avoidance of pollution or contagion. With the spread of commercial printing from the eleventh century, some of this household lore, as well as specialist medical works, made their way into publication, increasing the circulation of knowledge about health and healing.

When illnesses seemed to warrant specialist attention, the decision of whom to consult was often made in consultation with members of the extended family and local community. In the large and complex households of wealthier families, which could contain multiple generations, several subsidiary wives, and numerous servants, decision-making could involve negotiation among the preferences of competing parties. In general, elite men of late imperial times (roughly, the fourteenth to nineteenth centuries) seem to have favored the services of elite scholar-physicians, while women tended to prefer the more eclectic and hands-on ritual, massage, moxibustion, acupuncture, and also herbal and dietary treatments of female and other lower-status specialists.

Households and communities were also a basic unit for containing or repelling contagion. When someone was thought to bear a contagious illness, they might be isolated in their room, with their care charged to a specialist healer. Outsiders would avoid visiting a family or village so stricken, and in severe cases members of the family and community might flee the area, leaving the sick behind. The windows, doorways, and circumference of a household might also be ritually sealed to prevent the entrance of plague-spreading demons. Early texts contain references to annual exorcistic festivals for cleansing the community, or in some cases the palace or capital, of demons responsible for disease. In later periods, for which more is known, other annual festivals, such as the Dragon Boat Festival, also had such apotropaic functions, and special rites could be commissioned to prevent or expel particular plagues.

Monasteries (especially from the fifth century) or local gentry (especially between the twelfth and nineteenth centuries), often with administrative help from officials, would also organize food, shelter, burial, and medical relief for the indigent during disasters. Monasteries also built hospitals with state cooperation in the eighth century. After confiscation of monastery properties in the 840s, these were shifted to state administration. In response to disasters, emperors often granted tax abatements and distributed relief on an ad hoc basis. It became more common in the Northern Song period (960–1127 CE) for officials to distribute medicines during epidemics, and later in the period state-run subsidized pharmacies and hospitals were set up in the capital and in some prefectural seats. Christian missionaries began to set up clinics and hospitals providing Western-style medical care beginning in the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century, the state again became the primary builder of both biomedical and Chinese medical hospitals.

While most healing, healthcare, and disease prevention has always taken place without the aid of specialist healers, extant writings tend to leave better records by and about these figures.

HEALERS. Disorders of different types might suggest particular healing specialties, but often a given ailment might be considered susceptible to multiple avenues of attack. Ecstatic and ritual specialists were concerned with expelling demons, with moral management and consequences, and with alignment with cosmic cycles. Canonical medical traditions were concerned primarily with patients' disharmonies and the dissipation of their vitalities, but also sought to buttress defenses against violation by external noxious agents. Experts in esoteric practices of cultivating vitality shared these concerns, good health being prerequisite to higher goals of transcendence, but additionally advised devotees in methods of alchemical refinement and transformation.

Ecstatic and ritual healers. Analysis of the earliest surviving written references to disease and healing, from Shang period (c. 1500–1050 BCE) oracle inscriptions, suggests that at this time, in what today is northern China, Shang royalty attributed at least some disease to the dead and to demons. They responded by communicating with and propitiating their ancestors or expelling disease demons through *wu*, often translated as "shaman" or "spirit-medium." As Chinese-writing empires spread, the ecstatic and religious healers of diverse peoples came to be identified in literature as *wu*, the once-respected term taking on senses of exoticism and derogation close to "witch doctor." While in many dynasties through history *wu* enjoyed the court's favor and high status, they came under attack from competitor physicians, from Daoists and Buddhists beginning in the third to fourth centuries, from Confucian officials as early as the Han but especially in the eleventh century, from local gentry between the twelfth and nineteenth centuries, and from the state-building Nationalist and Communist governments in the twentieth century. Despite these periods of suppression, however, ecstatic healers are active in Taiwan and China today.

Priests of the Daoist religion could intervene for parishioners in illnesses produced by litigation from beyond the grave, submitting counter-petitions and countersuits on their behalf. They also guided parishioners in confessing and purifying themselves of their misdeeds, performing exorcisms and communal rituals, and providing talismans for the expulsion of evil spirits for pasting on doorways or for ingesting.

Whereas Daoist cultivation tended to take the health of the whole self, including the physical body, as a precondition for soteriological goals, Buddhists took the illusory nature of the phenomenal world, including bodily illness, as a central tenet. The rigors of monastic practice in fact were known to be hard on health. On the other hand, Buddhists taught compassionate concern for the suffering of others, and introduced new therapeutic and institutional approaches to the treatment of illness. The idea of karmic causality and the provision of medical and disaster relief were mentioned above. Buddhist missionaries introduced South Asian drugs and therapies, including cataract surgery, to China. Buddhists also introduced practices that were applied to prevent or treat illness, including *mudrās* and *mantras*, new types of incantations and rituals, and new approaches to meditation. Certain South Asian ideas about illness, such as the Four Elements, also occasionally appear in Chinese medical texts, notably Sun Simiao's (581–c. 682) *Beiji qianjin yaofang* (Essential prescriptions worth a thousand in gold for preparing for emergencies). Over the long term, however, these do not seem to have fundamentally reshaped Chinese medical approaches to etiology, nosology, diagnosis, or therapeutics.

Drug sellers. From at least the Han we also have records of specialized drug sellers. They were sometimes associated with Daoist transcendents, and drugs were stored in gourds or gourd-shaped containers, an image of primordial chaos in Daoism. With the expansion of commerce from the eleventh century, commercial pharmacies and itinerant drug sellers became more widely available as sources of both medicines and medical advice.

Hereditary doctors, scholar-physicians, and specialists. The fourth to first centuries BCE saw the emergence of literate medical practitioners who distinguished themselves from other healers with the development of distinctive textual traditions and practices based on the cosmologically resonating and vitality-dissipating models of physiology developed at the same time by cultivating vitality practitioners. They did not, however, entirely eschew ritual therapies or demonic views of disease.

These physicians tended to pass their knowledge and texts to sons or to duly recommended outsiders deemed worthy. Although literate, these were not those family lines with access to the highest levels of office. In the late tenth and eleventh centuries, however, expansion of imperial involvement in producing and disseminating medical texts and in medical relief raised the status of medicine. The period also saw increased socializing between literati and physicians, and literati and official compilation and publication of prescription texts. Between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, as office became accessible to a larger and more fluid stratum and chances of actual attainment to this coveted status became increasingly rare, pursuit of medicine as avocation and eventually occupation became a socially accepted alternative for elites. Reacting both to the more eclectic practices of hereditary physicians and to the standardized prescriptions of eleventh-century official relief efforts, these scholar-physicians developed styles of medicine based more strictly on canonical texts, such as the *Inner Canon of the Yellow Emperor* (second to first century BCE), and followed more individualized and dynamic approaches to diagnosis and treatment. They focused on the treatment of underlying physiological conditions rather than "superficial" manifestations, and they might, for example, leave the treatment of lumps or lesions to specialists in external medicine. Scholar-physicians employed complex and individually tailored herbal prescriptions, eschewing those therapies that were considered both less subtle and less suitable to their social standing, such as acupuncture, moxibustion, and massage.

These therapies became the preserve of lower-status healers. Besides specialists in particular diseases or therapies, these included shamans, diviners, and other religious figures; itinerant healers; and in general female healers and midwives. Ironically, the stricter segregation of genders in the late imperial period increased demand for female experts. Besides those who practiced a more eclectic mix of skills, female physicians who were trained in their family's hereditary learned medicine also practiced in elite circles, including at court.

In the twentieth century, as "modernity" and "science" came to be broadly valued in China, and as a result of nation-building efforts and anxiety about Chinese culture, indigenous healing practices came under attack as "superstitious." Both in order to stave off threats to their legality and to make their practices more modern, practitioners experimented with different approaches to reforming Chinese medicine: mapping tracts and disorders onto Western-style anatomical structures and biomedical disease categories; dropping minor surgery from the repertoire of what we know as acupuncture; emphasizing aspects of the tradition that resembled biomedicine in some way; shedding the more elaborate cosmological frameworks; emphasizing the empirical foundations of Chinese medicine; integrating Chinese and Western medical practices; and asserting the scientific legitimacy of a newly emphasized "differentiation of manifestation types" in opposition to Western "distinguishing of diseases."

For a time it was anticipated that these modern transformations, confusingly referred to as *traditional Chinese medi-*

cine, would leave these traditions completely subsumed under biomedical paradigms. The utility of acupuncture would be disproved or explained in relation to nerves and the endocrine system. The active components of individual herbs would be isolated and their efficacy would be identified by biomedical procedures. Complex diagnoses and herbal prescriptions would be eliminated. Instead, the styles of Chinese medicine have proliferated with the revival of respect for the virtuosity of older masters, with the increasing popularity of "complementary and alternative medicine" around the world, and with variations brought about by attempts to adapt Chinese styles of healing to diverse environments. Attempts to test the efficacy of Chinese medical systems in randomized trials have been stymied by their very diversity, by the individual tailoring of much practice, and by the failure of attempts to map Chinese onto biomedical physiology or diagnoses.

Health and illness in China must be understood in relation to Chinese understandings of self. Their management is shaped both by the social context of care, and by the available range of healing resources. While institutions of the last century have tended to support the separation of biomedicine from Chinese medicine, and the dominance of the former and standardizing of the latter, the preferences of both healthcare consumers and providers for eclecticism have kept multiple indigenous traditions alive and changing.

SEE ALSO Chinese Religion; Qi.

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TJ HINRICHS (2005)

HEALING AND MEDICINE: HEALING AND MEDICINE IN TIBET

Premodern Tibetan ideas about healing and medicine, like those of other Buddhist societies of Asia, derived from disparate sources. These included local versions of widespread Asian concepts regarding spirit-causation of illness and soul-loss, Indian and Chinese-derived ideas about good fortune and astrological influences, the various major medical traditions of Asia (Āyurvedic, Islamic, and Chinese), and Buddhism itself, with its understandings of the suffering implicit in life within the universe of cyclic existence (*saṃsāra*) and its body of ritual techniques to relieve that suffering and promote the well-being of its followers. A range of discourses and approaches arose from these various sources and these underlie both popular and elite understandings of illness and healing. This entry covers healing specialists; spirit causation of illness; life-force, soul, well-being, and related concepts; astrology; the Tibetan medical tradition; Buddhist Tantric medicine; Buddhist attitudes toward illness; death and dying; and the effects of modernity.

HEALING SPECIALISTS. Depending on how a particular illness is understood, Tibetans may approach a traditional Tibetan doctor (*a mchi*), a folk shaman, spirit-medium or other folk diviner (*lha pa, dpa' bo, mkha' 'gro ma*, etc.), or a lama (*bla ma*) for assistance. Traditional Tibetan doctors practice a humorally-based medical system closely related to the Indian Āyurvedic medicine. Shamans or spirit-mediums are men or women who act as mediums through which local gods communicate; some also perform folk rituals of healing. Lamas may be monks or lay people but are almost always male. They belong to one of the four main Buddhist traditions or to the Bon tradition, which claims pre-Buddhist origins but is in most respects similar to the Buddhist traditions. All five traditions possess a similar range of divinatory techniques and ritual countermeasures, mostly deriving from the Tantric (Vajrayāna) Buddhism of India. Patients may also try more than one kind of practitioner, and in the contemporary situation both in the People's Republic of China and among Tibetan refugees such medical pluralism is extended to include Western-style biomedicine.

SPIRIT CAUSATION OF ILLNESS. Illness can be caused by spirits, typically local deities who have taken offense at some unintentional action. Thus a class of spirits living in streams or trees (*klu*, equated by Tibetan scholars to the Indian *nāga*) may cause boils, skin diseases, or leprosy if their homes are dirtied or polluted, while another class of spirits (*gza'*, equated with Sanskrit *grāha*) cause strokes and partial paralysis if offended. In many such cases, Tibetans will recognize from the nature of the complaint the kind of spirit involved. A lama or spirit-medium may be consulted to discover the nature of the offense and the best approach for remedy. The remedy may include purificatory actions using empowered water and other consecrated substances, avoiding "dirty" foods, and making offerings to the offended spirit.

LIFE-FORCE, SOUL, WELL-BEING, AND RELATED CONCEPTS. A series of folk concepts (*dbang thang, rlung rta*) refer to various aspects of health, vitality, well-being, and good fortune. These can be strong or weak, and their loss can threaten illness, misfortune, or death. Probably the most significant of these is *bla*, and Tibetan ideas regarding the loss of *bla* parallel those found in many of the neighboring Himalayan and Southeast Asian peoples (e.g., Thai *khwan*). As elsewhere, there are ritual techniques to recall the *bla* and reintegrate it with the body, and both lamas and the idea that the vitality or "soul" (*bla*) of the human organism may be lost or scattered. Both lamas and spirit-mediums can perform rituals to recover the lost "soul" in cases where illness is attributed to such sources.

Other personal qualities (*tshe* or life-span, *dbang thang* or personal power, etc.) can also be partially or wholly lost. Such loss may be due to spiritual contamination (*grib*) resulting from contact with polluting situations such as death or childbirth. It can also be due to the action of witches or sorcerers. Ideas of loss of health or vitality shade into concepts of spirit-attack, since a weakened vitality can leave a person open to such attack. An important function of the lamas, dramatized in particular through major monastic ritual festivals attended by the local lay community, is to defend the community against spirit-attack. They also maintain the strength and vitality of the community through life-empowerment (*tshe sgrub*) rituals on these and other occasions. Rituals to maintain or recover good fortune may be performed by lay people or lamas.

ASTROLOGY. Tibetan astrology derives from both Indian (*dkar rtsis*) and Chinese (*nag rtsis*) sources. The Chinese system, also known as *'byung rtsis* or elemental astrology, is based on the daily variation of five personal quantities in astrologically determined cycles, which are correlated with the five elements (iron, wood, water, fire, air) and the Chinese twelve-animal cycle. The five quantities are *bla* (life-force), *srog* (vitality), *dbang thang* (strength or personal power), *rlung rta* (good fortune), and *lus* (bodily force); *'byung rtsis* can be regarded as a systematized version of folk ideas regarding soul-loss, and good and bad fortune. Printed almanacs, which trace the variation of these quantities and predict good and bad days for various activities, are popularly available.

THE TIBETAN MEDICAL TRADITION (*A MCHI* MEDICINE). The principal textual basis for the Tibetan medical tradition is the *Rgyud bzhi* (Four medical Tantras), which was probably compiled in the eleventh century by the famous physician G'yu thog Yon tan Mgon po [Yut'ok Yönten Gonpo] (1112–1203). While the framework of this text is a dialogue between emanations of the medicine buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru, large parts of the content are adapted from the Tibetan translation of a well-known Āyurvedic text, the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā of Vāgbhata.* Other sections indicate borrowings from Chinese and perhaps also Islamic medicine, as well as indigenous Tibetan developments. An alternative textual tradition associated with the Tibetan Bon religion varies only in details.

A series of commentaries were composed to the *Rgyud bzhi*, of which the best-known is the *Vaiḍūrya sngon po* (Blue beryl) by Sangs rgyas Rgya mtsho (Sanggye Gyats'o; 1653–1705), *sde srid* or regent to the fifth Dalai Lama. A substantial literature of other medical works has also been written by Tibetan doctors and scholars.

Sde srid Sangs rgyas Rgya mtsho was also responsible for the foundation in 1696 of the main Tibetan medical college, named Lcags po ri (Chakpori) after the hill in Lhasa where it was situated. A second college, the Sman-rtsis-khang, was founded in Lhasa by the thirteenth Dalai Lama in the early twentieth century, and the *Rgyud bzhi* system is now taught in more or less modernized versions by training institutions in Chinese-controlled Tibet and among the refugees, as well as in Europe and the United States. There are also many local versions of the Tibetan medical tradition, often passed down hereditarily, also for the most part derived from the *Rgyud bzhi.* Doctors may be lay people or monks. In the past, they were almost all men, but there have been some notable women doctors in recent years, and the profession is becoming increasingly open to women.

The *Rgyud bzhi* texts have been widely studied in the West, often in conjunction with the works of Sde srid Sangs rgyas Rgya mtsho, and many Western presentations of Tibetan medicine are little more than paraphrases of these texts. This material, however, does not necessarily relate closely to current medical practice. While memorizing all or part of the *Rgyud bzhi* remains central to the training process, other texts are also studied, and doctors undoubtedly acquire much of their knowledge and clinical expertise through subsequent apprenticeship with a practicing doctor.

The Tibetan medical tradition today employs the three Āyurvedic *doṣa* or "humors" (*nyes pa*) as basic theoretical and diagnostic categories. The three *nyes pa* are *rlung* (wind; Skt., *vāta*), *mkhris pa* (bile; Skt., *pitta*), and *bad kan* (phlegm; Skt., *kapha*). Thus illness can be understood in terms of one or more of these *nyes pa*, which are residues of the ongoing processes of bodily existence, being present in excessive or inappropriate quantity. The *Rgyud bzhi'*s opening sections link the *nyes pa* to the three poisons of samsaric existence (ignorance, desire, and hatred), thus providing a Buddhist foundation to Tibetan medical theory. The importance of the *nyes pa* can nevertheless be exaggerated. In practice, much of Tibetan medicine operates in terms of the identification of one or another named illness category, each corresponding to a specific mode of treatment, rather than on restoring the system as whole to a state of balance. Diagnosis employs examination of pulse and urine, as well as observation. Pills (*ril bu*), made of complex compounds of substances of herbal, mineral, and animal origins, are used for healing. Use is also made of diet, and of techniques of cupping and moxibustion.

Buddhist Tantric Medicine and Divination. Tantric (Vajrayāna) Buddhism in Tibet, while centered on the achievement of buddhahood, includes a wide variety of ritual techniques to bring about this-worldly results. In some of these, lamas mediate the powers of Tantric healing or long-life deities (such as Bhaiṣajyaguru, Amitāyus, and White Tārā), conferring healing power on lay followers directly or through empowered substances, often pills (*ril bu*) similar to those used in *a mchi* medicine. Life-empowerment rituals of this kind were regularly performed by most major Tibetan monasteries, forming part of annual community festivals. Consecrated substances, empowered water, and the like are still widely used in cases of illness. They may also be used prophylactically in situations of perceived risk (for example, the selling of sweaters by Tibetan refugees on dirty, polluted Indian streets). Situations of *grib* (pollution, spiritual contamination) may arise from a variety of causes and will often be countered through the use of empowered substances.

Other Vajrayāna techniques derive from the alchemical traditions of eighth- to twelfth-century India, which were closely linked with Tantric Buddhism. In these, complex medical compounds are prepared and further empowered through Tantric ritual. These "precious pills" (*rin chen ril bu*) are expensive, highly valued, and frequently used by lay people either on the recommendation of a lama or *a mchi* or on their own initiative. Ideally, they are taken under ritually-prescribed conditions and accompanied by prayers and *mantra* recitation.

Lamas also have an important role as diviners, again using techniques derived in part from Vajrayāna sources. Divinations (*mo*) are frequently sought in cases of illness in order to ascertain the most appropriate mode of treatment. Other health choices (e.g., the most suitable location for childbirth) may also be made by recourse to divination. In addition, some lay people have a reputation as diviners, and spirit-mediums can also be asked for divination.

Buddhist Attitudes toward Illness. Beyond all this, we can ask about the effects of Buddhist teachings on popular attitudes toward illness and health. Suffering and the transitoriness of life are central themes for Buddhism in Tibet as elsewhere. As in other Buddhist countries, however, most Buddhists in Tibet regard the attainment of Buddhist enlightenment as beyond their reach, at least in their present lives, so lay Buddhist religious practice is focused mainly on future lives and on the performance of morally positive actions that will lead to a good rebirth in the future.

Lay Tibetans are also interested in this-worldly success and prosperity, and this is largely the domain of the various regional and local deities (Yul lha, Sa bdag, Klu, etc). Much lay ritual, such as the widely practiced *bsangs*, fire-offerings of fragrant wood, herbs, milk, butter, yogurt, etc., are directed towards these local gods. Vajrayāna Buddhist ritual techniques give the lamas control over the local gods and spirits, providing the basis of the Buddhist role in village affairs. However, the Buddhist stress on the illusory nature of apparent reality and the inevitability of suffering within *saṃsāra* undoubtedly serves to relativize Tibetans' attractions to this-worldly matters. As David Lichter and Lawrence Epstein (1983) have noted, most Tibetans look for worldly success but maintain a "slightly ironic detachment" from a happiness that is at best impermanent.

Death and dying are particularly associated with Buddhism, and a consideration of healing should perhaps also encompass how terminal illness is dealt with. The *Bar do thos grol (Tibetan Book of the Dead)* texts have become well known in the West, and provide a liturgy based on guiding the consciousness of the dead person through the after-death states. Equally or more significant are the *'pho ba* practices, which are aimed at achieving rebirth in a buddha realm (usually that of Amitābha) at the time of death. These techniques, which have received little study from Western scholars, are often taught nowadays to lay people, and offer dying people a way of dealing positively with the final moments of life.

The Effects of Modernity. The various discourses and modes of healing discussed above were never separate, hermetically sealed modes of explanation. They overlapped and intersected in a variety of ways and continue to do so today. Thus *grib*, spirit attack, and soul loss are not always separable categories, and a particular illness may be dealt with by a combination of *a mchi* medicine, Tantric purificatory rituals, and spirit-medium consultations. In Chinese-controlled Tibet, in traditionally Tibetan areas of Indian and Nepal, and among Tibetan refugees, traditional Tibetan approaches to healing continue to be used situationally, often in combination with ideas from Western medicine (usually known among Tibetans in South Asia as *rgya gar sman*, literally "Indian medicine").

See Also Āyurveda; Tibetan Religions, overview article.

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GEOFFREY SAMUEL (2005)

HEALING AND MEDICINE: HEALING AND MEDICINE IN JAPAN

This article is confined to healing and medicine among the Japanese. For lack of space, no specific discussion on minorities in Japan, such as the Ainu, Koreans, Chinese, and Okinawans, is included. Neither is the vast variation in practices among the Japanese specifically addressed. Excluded are the medical dimensions of the so-called new religions (shinkō), shamanism, and ancestor worship. Numerous new religions mushroomed in Japan after World War II. Although they have many adherents and health-related matters often occupy a central place in their beliefs and practices, their role in health care is limited to their memberships. Once a powerful nonformalized religion in Japan, shamanism used to play a significant role in the health care of the people, but much of it has now been transformed and absorbed into new religions. Consequently, its importance for the general public has been significantly reduced. So-called ancestor worship remains perhaps the most important aspect of the religiosity of contemporary Japanese, including urbanites, regardless of class. However, the role of ancestors is to look after the living in very general and diffused ways and thus it is not covered here.

MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF JAPANESE NOTION OF HEALTH/ILLNESS/HEALING. Several major concepts that characterize the notions of health, illness, and healing are: health as an ephemeral state; the importance of the notion of balance, with imbalance leading to illness; the principle of purity (health/balance) and impurity (illness/imbalance); and the importance of the intactness of the body.

Upon birth, one receives a body with all its weaknesses, including one's *taishitsu,* "inborn constitution," and *jibyō*, a chronic illness one is born with. The most commonly recognized *taishitsu* are "strong" (*jōbu*); "ordinary" (*futsu'u*); "weak" (*kyojaku*); "nonenergetic and constitutionally susceptible to illness" (*senbyōshitsu*); "very weak" (*horyūshitsu*); and "extra-sensitive" (*shinkeishitsu*). Others referring only to somatic characteristics of a particular body part include "chilling disposition" (feeling of chill in the stomach and the legs), "tendency to get tired easily," and others.

Jibyō means an illness or illnesses that a person carries throughout life and suffers at some times more acutely than at others. The word is written in two characters, the first one meaning "carrying" and the second one "illness." Common *jibyō* are rheumatism (*ryūmachi*), "weak stomach" (*ijaku*), "descended stomach" (*ikasui*), gastralia (*ikeiren*), excess stomach acid (*isankata*), and high/low blood pressure.

Many Japanese are quite aware of their own *taishitsu* and *jibyō.* Parents are especially keen on being watchful over their offspring's departures from health by, for example, not allowing a child with weak *taishitsu* to exert him- or herself. One nurtures the body given at birth rather than trying to conquer and alter it, while constantly monitoring minute fluctuations of the body. Even with the diffusion of jogging and other health care practices from the United States, perfect health is seen as ephemeral and ordinary health is a condition that fluctuates.

This fluctuation is caused by an ever fluid system of bodily balance and imbalance, the latter inviting an illness to take over the body, as further detailed in the section on *kampō.* Bodily imbalance is a state of impurity, whereas its balance/health is assigned the value of purity. The purity/impurity opposition is an important principle that governs daily hygiene and notions of health and illness, as well as contemporary practices of shrines and temples.

Some of the most important early socialization training for Japanese children is to take their shoes off, wash their hands, and, in some families, gargle when they come into the house from outside. The Japanese explain this custom by stating that one gets dirty from germs outside. Although the concept is expressed as "germs" in biomedical terms, it is the symbolic association of the spatial "outside" with culturally defined "dirt." To keep oneself clean and healthy "inside" one's living quarters, one must get rid of this dirt through cleaning/purification of impurity. Thus, even after Western-style housing, including apartments, were introduced, all homes have a *genkan,* a square or rectangular space at the entrance where people take their shoes off. Many overseas Japanese continue to adhere to this practice wherever they go. The "inside" includes seats on taxis, trains, and buses, where children must take their shoes off if they wish to sit to look out the window. The strikingly white starched covers on the seat of taxis and bullet trains are a symbolic expression of "inside," and people are expected to treat them as such.

That the welfare of the body is essential to the welfare of the soul is clearly expressed in the two most important and interrelated characteristics of the Japanese concept of the body: the intactness of the body (*gotai*) and nonviolence to the body. Together these notions lead to the Japanese emphasis on the "natural" state of the body or the "natural" course of life.

PLURALISTIC SYSTEM OF MEDICINE AND HEALING IN CONTEMPORARY JAPAN. The perspective taken in this article is the folk perspective of everyday health care rather than the institutional or doctrinal perspective of Shintoism and Buddhism—two major institutional religions of Japan. The major characteristic of the Japanese system of medicine and healing is that it is pluralistic. The system includes: *kampō* (the Japanese system of healing with Chinese origin), healing at the religious institutions of shrines (Shintoism) and temples (Buddhism), and biomedicine, of which only the first two are introduced here because they are embedded in religions and the worldview of the Japanese. Their peaceful coexistence, as it were, is striking, since in terms of their basic premise they are contradictory to each other. In addition, despite their basic differences, each absorbed others so that biomedical health care makes room for *kampō* and religious elements. It is the people who adopted these different systems and somehow made them into their own and use all of them simultaneously.

CHINESE-DERIVED JAPANESE HEALING: *KAMPŌ*. As with other humoral medicines, traditional Chinese medicine is based on "a system of correspondence," rather than "a system of causation," which characterizes biomedicine. For the Japanese traditional medicine of *kampō*, derived from Chinese medicine, the basic premise of medical treatment is restoration of the balance of the body, which then would remove etiological conditions and therefore pathogens as well. Its basic premise, therefore, is very similar to the Japanese folk's understanding of health, illness, and healing.

Given the premise, then, treatment is not aimed directly at removing the pathogen, and thus surgery is the polar opposite of the notion of treatment and is actually seen to further aggravate the body's imbalance. Therefore, despite the prestige and glory accorded biomedicine in Japan, the Japanese have been quite cautious and selective about adopting surgery. For the Japanese, who avoid going outside after taking a bath so as not to shock the body by the cold air and who have not practiced body mutilations for aesthetic purposes (until recently, under American influence), surgery is an extreme form of violence to the body, although its popularity has rapidly increased in the last couple of decades. The enormous hesitancy of the Japanese to adopt organ transplantation relates to this aversion to violence to the body, as well as to the importance they place upon the intactness of the body, both for the living and for the dead; peaceful afterlife is predicated upon the intactness of the body of the deceased.

In contemporary Japan *kampō* comes in all shades, from orthodox practice to mass-produced and prepackaged extracts of herbs to street-corner computer diagnoses. The orthodox *kampō* practice today is a medicinal system developed in Japan after its introduction from China. In a radical departure from biomedicine, *kampō* does not recognize categories of illness. Diagnosis does not consist of labeling the illness. Each departure from health is diagnosed on the basis of the combined total of symptoms the patient experiences and those the *kampō* doctor detects. The sum total, called *shōkōgun,* is carefully evaluated against the sex, age, and constitution of the patient and the climate in which the patient resides in order to reach a proper prescription for treatment. A *kampō* doctor, using auditory, tactile, olfactory, and visual faculties in reading the patient's condition, prescribes a specific treatment. Its treatment consists of moxibustion (burning of the cones of dried young mugwort leaves), acupuncture, and herbal and animal medicine. In the case of herbs, it is a mixture consisting of a dozen or so, which the patient brews in an earthen kettle for a long time and drinks. Every patient therefore has a unique illness and requires a unique set of treatments.

Even though the American Occupational Forces prohibited moxibustion and acupuncture at the end of the World War II and they went underground, in contemporary Japan not only has *kampō* become enormously popular among laypeople but also the government has supported this system of medicine by financially supporting research in *kampō* and gradually adding *kampō* treatments under health insurance coverage. It exists in a symbiotic mode with biomedicine in that it specializes in chronic illnesses, especially those accompanied by chronic pain; new types of illnesses, including gerontological illnesses; and illnesses resulting from environmental pollution and traffic and industrial accidents, none of which biomedicine has been successful in treating. Its popularity is also in part the result of reaction to the negative side effects of biomedicine.

RELIGIOUS HEALING: THE ROLE OF TEMPLES AND SHRINES IN HEALTH CARE. Except for native Shintoism, other religions were introduced from abroad: Buddhism from India via Central Asia, China, and Korea; Confucianism, Daoism, and several other religions from China; and Korean shamanism. These religions have permeated the daily lives of the Japanese; they have become part of their customs without requiring any psychological commitment on the part of the individual to any one of them. Most Japanese subscribe to more than one religion, often without consciously realizing it. They go through Shintō rituals related to life, such as births and marriages, but most funerals and the rituals related to the deceased are Buddhistic. The annual statistics on Japanese religious affiliation consistently list the total membership in various religious organizations as one and a half times the total population of Japan. In other words, over half of the people in Japan belong to more than one religious organization.

The current popularity of temples and shrines in Japan is phenomenal and in fact has been increasing for some time. Many temples and shrines throughout Japan attract literally millions of people a year for a number of reasons, including pure tourism. They go to these religious institutions by tour buses, with friends and families, or alone. Temples and shrines provide healing of illness, promotion of the general welfare of the people, or promise of the fulfillment of wishes.

Healing of illnesses. Some temples and shrines are known for their efficacious administration of moxibution or acupuncture so that it is hard to draw a line between *kampō* and healing at these religious institutions. On the other hand, people go to most of these institutions to purchase amulets and talismans that are thought to have healing power, and they write their prayers/wishes on votive plaques.

Some of these institutions are so popular that bus companies operate regular tour buses that take people to them. The tours for older people target temples and shrines that specialize in illnesses of older people, such as strokes and hemorrhoids. On the other hand, medical and other uses of temples and shrines are by no means confined to the aged. With an increase in the cancer rate, those that specialize in the cure of cancer are visited by people of all walks of life and of all ages. For example, the deity enshrined at Ishikiri Shrine to the northeast of Osaka used to be good for various kinds of boils and growths, but its major appeal at present is its efficacy in treating cancer. Visitors here are not confined to the aged, although young people are fewer because cancer afflicts mostly older people.

A number of temples and shrines are known for their power to guarantee safe and easy childbirth and illnesses related to childbirth, which is not considered illness in itself. A brief description of Nakayama-dera near Osaka shows the role of religion among people in their day-to-day lives. The major hall *(hondō)* of the temple is situated on top of a hill and flanked by numerous *jizō*, the guardian buddha of children, on the hillside. On both sides of this central pathway are separate temples enshrining various buddhas, each specializing in a certain function. One is a temple that specializes in success in the university entrance examination. Another temple enshrines a buddha who specializes in taking care of infants who have temper tantrums, do not sleep, cry at night, or are constitutionally very weak. Another temple, which bears a sign in front for traffic safety and the naming of newborn infants, also houses *Mizuko Jizō* (the *jizō* buddha for aborted fetuses). Inside this temple are many *jizō* for aborted fetuses, and numerous votive plaques are hung on two wooden structures. Often apologies, such as "Please forgive me/us," are written and signed by the mother or by the couple. "Please sleep peacefully" is another common prayer on these plaques.

At the top of the hill, in front of the main hall, is a large metal incense burner. People buy bundles of incense, light them, and place them in the burner; many then "scoop" up the smoke with a hand and bring it onto an ailing part, such as the hip, to apply its "healing power." Visitors, especially women with infants, also purchase white bibs, write prayers and their names and addresses on them, and hang them on a stake around the buddha in front of the main hall. The main hall itself houses two offices. On the right side is a small office where the temple employees sell sashes. Many pregnant women in Japan continue to wear the traditional long white sash (*iwata obi*) over the stomach during pregnancy. After purchasing a sash, a woman would ask the priest of the temple to write a sūtra on it. They then take it to their biomedical obstetrician, who writes a character for happiness in red on the sash. On the left is another small office where used sashes must be returned.

The composition of visitors to Nakayama Temple also reflects the complex human network involved in childbirth. Although pregnant women and mothers with young children comprise the core of the visitors, many are accompanied by older women and sometimes by older men. A number of women are accompanied by their husbands, reflecting the recently increased emphasis on the conjugal bond and the nuclear family.

The central focus of the temple is childbirth and matters related to infancy, including easy and safe delivery, the healthy growth of children, and memorial services for aborted fetuses. The temple has long served also as a place for the *shichigo-san* celebration—a celebration marked by a visit to a shrine, usually on November 15, when a child is three, five, and seven years old (*shichigo-san* means seven, five, and three).

General welfare and prayers for wishes. Young people may go to temples and shrines less for illnesses than for other reasons; most common are success in entrance examinations and luck in finding a boy- or girlfriend. These wishes are written on votive plaques and hung on a wooden structure provided for them. Similarly, with a strong emphasis on school trips in Japanese schools, one often sees school tours at temples and shrines, with elementary, middle, and high school students flocking to buy amulets, charms, and other souvenirs for themselves and for their families. The youngsters today hang the amulets and charms for protection from traffic accidents on their knapsacks or pocketbooks, just as every taxi and private car, even those driven by young people, has an amulet for traffic safety hanging from the rearview mirror.

One of the most popular uses of shrines and temples in contemporary Japan is for the purification of automobiles on

New Year's Day. With the rapid increase in private car ownership, "my car"—a term borrowed from English and pronounced in Japanese as "mai ka"—is both a popular word and a symbol of a new way of life, symbolizing the new emphasis on nuclear families and the image of young parents with strong conjugal bonds, contrary to the image of the traditional extended family. Despite the modern image of these "my car" owners, who are usually young or middle-aged, all flock to shrines and temples on New Year's Day to have their cars purified. This is the time when the Japanese engage in all sorts of activities to get rid of impurity accumulated during the past year, but the purification of "my car" is a new addition. The purification service includes a purification rite, a prayer, amulets, and bumper stickers. The service has become so profitable for temples and shrines that some of them have constructed extra parking space and other facilities to accommodate "mass" purification rites.

***Goriyaku:* "Occupational specializations" of deities and buddhas.** To the Japanese, perhaps the most meaningful feature of the multitude of deities, buddhas, and other supernaturals is their *goriyaku*—the benevolent functions they perform. The lives and fates of these deities do indeed reflect the major concerns of people of the time. Outmoded specializations are often discarded or transformed into new, more meaningful roles. The roles related to childbirth, child welfare, and general matters of illness and health comprise over half of the specializations of temples and shrines in general, indicating that these are perennial concerns of the people. In contrast, functions related to calamities, including traffic accidents, are much fewer in number, and their nature changes over time. For example, natural disasters and fire were major concerns in the past and were reflected in the specializations of deities and buddhas at the time. Contemporary Japanese seem to place more emphasis on luck and success in life. Of paramount importance in the past, the deity of smallpox is no longer meaningful in contemporary Japan, and its function had been expanded to incorporate contagious diseases in general. Likewise, the Deity of Coughing was originally a very popular deity when influenza was a major threat. Since influenza is better controlled in contemporary Japan, the deity is now also consulted for chronic respiratory illnesses, including asthma.

SUMMARY. The roles played by religions in contemporary Japan offer an example of how religions remain important in people's lives, including the young, in contrast to a view of unilinear "progression" in which religion is replaced by science. Japan's case is by no means unique, as Americans remain profoundly religious, though not in the same way the Japanese are, and in many postindustrial European countries, such as France and Italy, folk religions—religions as practiced by the folk—remain important in their medicine and healing.

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EMIKO OHNUKI-TIERNEY (2005)

HEALING AND MEDICINE: HEALING AND MEDICINE IN INDIGENOUS AUSTRALIA

The indigenous peoples of Australia, the Australian Aborigines, settled the continent more than forty thousand years ago, with some archaeological estimates placing their occupancy at well over fifty thousand years ago. It is most likely that their forebears crossed from Southeast Asia during the Pleistocene period, coming first to the northwest coast and migrating south and east. By the time European explorers and then settlers arrived on Australia's shores in the late eighteenth century, Aboriginal societies, although sharing an economy based on hunting and food gathering, were linguistically and culturally diverse, living across the continent in environments of distinctive ecology and climate. These ranged from inland desert to tropical and temperate coastal zones and alpine regions. Although self-contained for most purposes, neighboring clans gathered for major ceremonies, and localized tribal groupings participated in the trade of goods (such as stone tools, pearl shell, and native tobacco) across hundreds, sometimes thousands, of kilometers.

The health of Aborigines in precolonial times can only be extrapolated from the descriptions of early explorers, settlers, and missionaries, and from knowledge of the traditional diet and lifestyle. It is generally accepted that individuals were in good health, lean and fit, and that the greatest risks lay in periods of famine, accidents, drownings, fighting between clans, childbirth, predation (by, for instance, sharks or crocodiles), bites by poisonous snakes and spiders, and such diseases or conditions as treponematosis, arthritis, congenital malformations, and some cancers (Webb, 1995). In this context, despite a richly differentiated suite of about 250 languages and local cultural and religious traditions, broadly similar systems of indigenous medical practice and belief—again with local elaboration and variation—developed across the continent and Tasmania.

There are few written descriptions of Australian indigenous concepts of health, what it means, or how it can be maintained. Greater emphasis is given to the causes and treatment of illness. The Kukatja of the Western Desert, as described by Anthony Peile (1997, p. 130), hold that health, in the popular sense, consists of the body being "cold" and "dry," and, in the spiritual sense, of having the spirit in the area of the navel and the stomach. Such a feeling of "cold" is different from coldness caused by wind, sickness, or sorcery, which makes a person's spirit shiver. Several authors document ideas of health as encompassing the person and his or her spiritual well-being and home country. Health is also characterized by strength, happiness, and "safety," in the sense of obeying the laws of the community and being cared for (Mobbs, 1991). In an urban setting ideas of fitness, bright eyes, shiny hair, cheerfulness, looking after one self, and not drinking too much alcohol are all expressed as qualities of a healthy person (Nathan, 1980).

The attributed causes of illness and injury had parallel modes of treatment and response, based primarily on symptoms and severity. All maladies except death by old age or in early infancy were interpreted as the consequence of breaches of social or religious proscriptions and commandments. The women of each language group were the primary keepers of extensive traditional pharmacopoeia—or in English, "bush medicines"—employed to treat identifiable symptoms or injuries that responded to herbal treatment. It is likely that in all communities there were spiritual healers. They were generally men, if the written reports are taken as representative. Their skills were engaged where herbal and other "natural" treatments did not work, or when the causes of the condition were thought to be supernatural in origin, be they malign or angry spirits or human sorcerers able to draw upon extra-human powers.

Almost all premature deaths would have been, and still are in many communities, subject to forensic speculation and inquiry about the cause, the responsible persons or agents, the reasons, and in some cases the appropriate retribution. Each of these domains of illness, bodily harm, healing, and explanation, although diverse and complex, have been described in journals and ethnographies from the late eighteenth century onwards.

SORCERY. The figure of the skilled and secretive human sorcerer remains ubiquitous across Aboriginal communities in the Central Desert and tropical north of Australia, where indigenous language, religion, and concepts of being are still strongly held. These are the communities that were least affected by what many now describe as the invasion and appropriation of traditionally owned lands, the forcible resettlement of Aborigines on missions and government reserves, the "stolen generation" (young children taken from their families to group "homes" for reeducation and Anglicization), massacres, and the devastating impact of waves of infectious diseases. For communities that were not as harshly subject to such violence, suffering, upheaval, and repression of language and culture, indigenous frameworks continue to be powerful sources of explanation and interpretation.

Central Australian groups widely invoke the *kadaitcha* (or *kwertatye*), an Arrernte word meaning "evil person walking about." The term can refer both to men who are secret killers and to the feathered slippers they wear to hide their footprints and silence their footfall as they track their victims. Among the Aranda/Anmatjirra Central Desert people, illness caused by *kadaitcha* and others who have acquired the requisite knowledge or powers is known as *arrengkwelthe*. *Kadaitcha* executions by "singing," "boning," or other dangerous modalities are assumed to be carried out for offenses relating to secret ritual and religious knowledge and ceremonies, desecration or trespass in sacred areas (i.e., those associated with "Dreaming" or creation stories), killings and assaults, or other serious breaches of the social or religious order.

A parallel figure is the *galka* of northeast Arnhem Land in the high northern tropics of Australia (Reid, 1983). *Galka* are individuals who have acquired the power and training to kill by stealth. One of the most detailed descriptions of the way *galka* attack, immobilize, and operate on their victims was given to Lloyd Warner (1958) in the 1930s by community members and by a self-confessed sorcerer who claimed to have killed several people using elaborate and magical "surgery." Today most people will claim that *galka* come from distant and potentially hostile groups, rather than from within.

Galka attacks typically have four phases. First, the perpetrator is believed either to waylay solitary victims in an isolated spot or to draw victims to a secluded location where they will not be disturbed. Second, the *galka* puts the victim to sleep, cuts the body open, removes or mutilates certain organs, and drains away the victim's blood. The *galka* may insert stones or objects in place of organs or blood. Third, the *galka* induces amnesia in victims to ensure that they are either unable to remember or unable to recount anything about the attack. Fourth, the victim dies, usually within hours or days of returning home.

The source of a *galka*'s power may be tutelage by other sorcerers, or it may come from association with death or the spirits of the dead. The *galka*'s acquired techniques are several, although in this area there are as many reported variations of these weapons or techniques as there are people willing to talk about them. One frequently mentioned weapon across Australia is a sharpened object, such as a bone taken from a victim's arm, a stingray barb, or a piece of hardwood that has been rubbed with the blood or flesh of a dead body. The weapon is pointed at the victim, with incantations or songs, whereupon the victim slowly sickens and dies. "Image magic" is also designed to "kill a person's spirit." The intended victim's image or name is drawn in a sacred and powerful place, and spells are uttered according to the areas of the body being targeted. Alternately, the *galka* may follow a person, piercing his footprints with a spear or hot object and willing an illness upon him (such as leprosy), which slowly penetrates and "rots" the body. Individuals are usually careful about disposing of hair and nail clippings, excreta, blood, or personal clothing infused with sweat or bodily fluids, since it is believed that a sorcerer who obtains any of these can heat, burn, or bury them to cause a debilitating or deadly condition. In contemporary society it is sometimes held that *galka* can extend their arsenal of weapons by using modified bullets, battery acid, flashlights, or other items with similar spells and effects.

The transgressions or enmities said to provoke attacks of these kinds are broadly similar across Australia, although they differ in detail and description from place to place. All transgressions center on conflicts or acute mistrust between individuals and groups, on breaches of social and religious laws that cannot go unpunished, or on deaths, theft, or violence that must be avenged. For instance, if a man reveals secret religious knowledge that is not his to pass on, or if a woman enters a sacred area or views a religious object without permission or the authority of age and standing in the community, the offender may be punished by sorcery. A failure to honor the webs of ritual and social or economic obligations that exist between tribal groups and individuals may be considered sufficient cause for retribution.

The theft of land, ritual objects or ceremonial body painting designs, trespass on others' sacred sites or the unauthorised use of others' creation myths and songs, are all given as a legitimate reason for seeking revenge, as are personal grievances arising out of broken marriages or adultery. Forbidden or inappropriate love affairs cause serious tensions, especially in societies where marriage and relationships are strictly governed by kin relationships, some of which may be prohibited to the point of actual avoidance of each other by individuals who are related in specific ways. Where betrothals are negotiated between families for their children, and girls are "promised" as marriage partners in infancy (or even before birth), particular tensions will arise if either future partner breaks the agreement by marrying or consorting with someone else. In addition to matters of family and the heart, jealousy over achievements, position, or power may be seen as motivation for the contracting of a sorcerer to cause a serious illness or death.

Everyone can trace grievances, conflicts, or offences in his or her own extended family, recent or longstanding, to which serious misfortune, illness, or death could ultimately be attributed. Murder, of course, is reason for revenge, either directly by the responsible kin of the deceased or by contracting the services of a skilled sorcerer.

From the point of view of an outsider, it is impossible to say whether *kadaitcha*, *galka,* or other workers of malign magic actually exist or are solely part of an explanatory framework for the misfortunes that strike individuals and constitute an acute threat not only to the sufferer but to family and community. Certainly some individuals have claimed to be sorcerers, have shown sorcery items to inquirers, or have described their feats (e.g., Warner, 1958). A 1993 paper from the Aboriginal Resource and Development Services warned of an increase in sorcery in northern Australia, describing it as a "real" phenomenon, not solely an explanation for misfortune. Whatever the interpretation of sorcery fears and accusations, they do address the *why* of illness and death, not just the *what.*

In contemporary society Aboriginal people are usually familiar with Western medical notions of pathology, injury, pathogens, and organ failure (such as heart disease). Indeed Aborigines today, like many fourth-world peoples, suffer very high rates of degenerative illness (such as diabetes, kidney failure, heart disease, and cancer), familial and intercommunity violence, midlife mortality, alcoholism, and substance abuse. There are far too many occasions in which people are impelled to search desperately for meaning and causation in the early death of a relative from illness or injury, sifting through signs, symptoms, and circumstances for an answer. The bereaved may understand and accept a medical explanation of the proximate cause, such as bleeding on the brain from a blow to the head, injury in a car accident, a crocodile attack, a heart attack, pneumonia, or renal failure, but they still invoke an ultimate cause that relies on their own understanding of the dangerous forces at work in human affairs and the sacred domain. For example, they may consider the cause to be that the dead person was "doomed" by sorcery to be bitten by a snake (Roth, 1903, p. 28). Even in communities where the language and traditional culture have been overwhelmed by white colonization, such beliefs continue to be held in attenuated forms (Clarke, 1999).

Human agency is not the only possible cause of affliction. Misfortune may also be visited directly on a victim as a result of breaches of the conventions and laws surrounding the Dreaming, or those governing sacred places and their resident spirits, religious rituals, and sources of supernatural power, such as key locations or ceremonial objects (Biernoff, 1978; Morphy, 1991, p. 261). Evil spirits are recognized in many Aboriginal language groups by various names: for example, *ju ju* (Walrpiri), *arrentye* (Aranda), and *mamu* (Pitjantjatjara). Most groups also recognize spirits of the dead and spirit custodians of sacred places (Nathan and Japanangka, 1983). A trespasser in a dangerous ("poison") or forbidden location, particularly a person who is not the owner of the area or otherwise authorized to be there, may contract boils, leprosy, or weakness, may sustain bone fractures, or may even have his or her spirit stolen by the guardian, creation, or ancestral spirit that dwells there (Berndt, 1982).

Similarly, if an uninitiated person approaches too close to or handles sacred objects, whether intentionally or unintentionally, the power inherent in those objects may be released and cause harm, either directly to the transgressor or to those nearby. Epidemics or illnesses may be linked to such a breach. Illnesses may also be linked to the flouting of food taboos related to menarche, pregnancy, and birth. Such food taboos may also be linked to religious occasions and rites of passage, and include the right to eat or proscriptions against eating animals that are totems for a particular clan or extended family (Spencer and Gillen, 1968). Some bush foods are, in fact, poisonous and cannot be eaten at all or unless properly prepared. Women are expected to be particularly careful with their diet in order not to cause birth complications or deformity in an unborn child; mothers may also observe dietary restrictions in the early months of a child's life.

HEALERS. Throughout Australia the figure of the traditional healer, called a "clever man," "medicine man," or occasionally "medicine woman" (Bell, 1983; Peile, 1997, pp. 174–175), is a powerful and often reassuring counterbalance or antidote to the threat of inexplicable or life-threatening illness (see Elkin, 1945; Spencer and Gillen, 1968; Warner, 1958). Central Australian healers called *ngangkere*, while having at their disposal the means to inflict death, primarily practice counter-sorcery. *Ngangkere* may remove objects inserted into the victim's body by a sorcerer, restore the lost or disturbed spirit of a person who has been "sung" or "boned," diagnose illness, converse with spirits, read minds, dream travel, see into a person's body, endure psychic terrors, exercise telepathic powers (Elkin, 1945), preside over inquests into deaths, and identify a murderer (Nathan and Japanangka, 1983). The *mabarn* of the Western Desert similarly has the power to cure illness, influence the weather, and chase away evil spirits (Tonkinson, 1982). The source of the *mabarn's* power is in magical objects that are usually kept in the stomach or, less often, in the arms, thigh, or head and removed when needed for healing activities.

However they work, these healers all have in common extraordinary powers, wisdom, and skills that enable them to diagnose and cure sickness. In Western Desert communities the healers are often sons or brothers of other healers, and it is generally held that they are born with their powers. Such powers are considered to be *djugurdanidjanu* (from the Dreamtime). However, in most areas for which there is written information, an aspiring healer must pass through a form of initiation that may involve isolation, encounters with the spirit world, an experience of being ritually "killed" and revived, transportation to secret and powerful places in dreams, encounters with the dead, and other often frightening experiences (Elkin, 1945; Reid, 1983; Roth, 1903). Powers to heal are associated with certain sites of significance, ancestral beings, or totems. These powers are manifested in the treatment of the sufferer through touch, sucking, massage, and pressure on certain parts of the body, during which the *mabarn's* own objects of power may be inserted into the patient's body, or objects of sorcery may be removed. The healer's spirit helpers may be summoned to assist in the treatment. An alternate modality is the use of dream travel or dream consultations with spirit beings or helpers.

Treatment sessions are almost always public, with the healer talking to the patient, the family, and onlookers as he works, while explaining, reassuring, and talking through his diagnosis, remedial activity, and insights into the cause and its removal. The *mabarn's* challenge is to counter the work of the sorcerer (called *djinagarbil* in the Western Desert), the same challenge facing such healers as the *marrnggitj* of northeast Arnhem Land (Reid, 1983), the *margidjbu* of western Arnhem Land (Berndt, 1982), or the *ngangkere* (*ngangkayi*) of the Central Desert. The *djinagarbil* are men who travel from distant places, enter a community in darkness, find the victim (who will usually be away from camp when captured), stun the person, and insert a lethal item into his or her body; the *djinagarbil* then revives the victim, who returns to camp unaware of the attack, then sickens and dies. People in the Western Desert area are also at risk of attacks by malevolent spirits (*marlbu*), and the loss of the *nunu* (soul), both of which may be discerned and treated by a *mabarn.*

Like the *mabarn*, the *marrnggitj* of northeast Arnhem Land has been described as "the reverse of the coin on whose other surface appears the black sorcerer" (Warner, 1958). *Marrnggitj* are generally ordinary members of the community, differentiated only by their possession of special powers acquired through dramatic rites of passage or the patronage of spirit familiars who assist and empower them.

In a 2003 story, the journalist Nicolas Rothwell described an encounter he had with a *maparnjarra* (*mabarn*) in Central Australia. The *maparnjarra* described to Rothwell the experience of dying spiritually and being reborn with the ability to see at night, to receive charged dreams, to roam in other realms, to see a person's spirit, to look inside a person's body, and to project his body through space. The work of healers today, in areas where they still practice, is intertwined with that of Western healthcare providers, some of whom work in tandem with healers, recognizing their powerful influence and standing with their communities—and the faith their communities place in them. The ill or seriously troubled are often pragmatic in their choices of treatment, depending on the symptoms, severity, or duration of the illness. They will try various treatments in both medical systems for relief and recovery, in much the same way that people the world over use both conventional and alternative therapies in the pursuit of good health or a cure for intractable illness, chronic pain, and suffering (Mobbs, 1991). Indeed, in Christianized communities in Australia the boundaries between Christian and indigenous beliefs blur, with the power of Jesus, the Holy Spirit, angels, or the apostles conflated with that of the *mabarn* in the healing quest (McDonald, 2001, pp. 142–146). In fact, the *marrnggitj, mabarn, ngangkere*, and spiritual healers from other regions "perform several of the functions associated in Western society with the doctor (healing the body), the therapist (healing the mind), the priest (comforting and instilling faith), and the coroner (determining the cause of death)" (Reid, 1983, p. 78).

OTHER HEALING PRACTICES. "Bush medicines," as they are described in English, were, and in some areas still are, used to treat a wide range of injuries and ailments. Most such medicines are derived from the bark, roots, or leaves of plants, but people may also use sea flora or invertebrates, earths and clays, insects, insect nests, charcoal, molds, and fungi. A wide range of remedies exists for the treatment of skin conditions, toothache, bites and stings, wounds, burns, general malaise and pain, and eye, gastrointestinal, and upper respiratory tract infections (Roth, 1903, pp. 38–42; Saggers and Gray, 1991, pp. 43–45). The Warlpiri of central Australia classify remedies as intended for rubbing, drinking, tying, sniffing, chewing, and smoking (blowing the smoke of a burning plant over the patient). One study of Yolngu medicines (northern Australia) documented the indigenous and botanical names, preparation, and application of over one hundred plants (Scarlett et al., 1982).

In general, stewardship of local pharmaceutical knowledge rests with the women of the community, although all community members will be broadly familiar with common medicines and are able to find and use them when needed. Women care for, wash, massage, and minister to the sick. Diane Bell describes how female relatives of a sick Warlpiri person may prepare goanna and witchetty grub fat and red ocher, then massage the patient in much the same way as a *ngangkayi* (traditional healer) might. They may also sing Dreaming songs. According to Bell, women's health-giving ceremonies, practices, and religious songs give "love, care and power" (1983, p. 161). Women control the collection and preparation of medicines relating to menarche, menopause, pregnancy, childbirth, contraception, abortion, and breastfeeding, all described in English as "women's business." In contemporary communities, however, much of women's knowledge and authority in childbirth and infant care has been usurped by health professionals using Western medicine, and traditional medicines and rituals have become less central.

Not all illnesses are attributed to supernatural causes. It is well understood that some conditions are self-limiting and not serious. Some may be the result of contagion, emotional upset, foods, heredity, old age, predation, pregnancy, neglect (of self or by others), self harm, or even exposure to very hot, wet, cold, or windy weather. Today other risks and threats have emerged in the abuse of alcohol, tobacco, and drugs (including the sniffing of gasoline), as well as in motor vehicle accidents, poor nutrition, poverty, unsanitary living conditions, and family violence. These are all typical of patterns of deprivation and illness suffered by indigenous peoples in many countries, whose land, resources, and identity have been affected by colonization and dispossession.

Aboriginal medical beliefs and practices constitute internally logical and powerful systems of explanation and healing, which both draw upon and reinforce the social and religious orders. Traditional Australian medical practices have been adapted to contemporary realities and have absorbed Western medical ideas and treatments, but in many communities they retain their underlying integrity and force, providing a framework for interpreting and gaining some sense of mastery in an unpredictable and threatening world.

SEE ALSO Australian Indigenous Religions.

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JANICE REID (2005)

HEALTH AND RELIGION.

Since the mid-1980s, there has been increasing interest in the relationship between religion and health. Consider that a MEDLINE search of all scientific literature on religion or spirituality and health between 1980 and 1982 revealed forty-six articles; between 2000 and 2002, however, that number had increased to 393 articles. Similarly, a PSYCHLIT search of the psychological literature on religion or spirituality between 1980 and 1982 revealed 101 articles; between 2000 and 2002 the number had increased more than tenfold to 1,108 articles. Although much of the research on religion and health has been conducted in the United States, hundreds of studies have also been reported from other areas of the world, including Canada, Great Britain, Australia, continental Europe, Norway and Sweden, India, Israel and other parts of the Middle East, China, Korea, and Japan (see Koenig et al., 2001). Many of these studies found similar relationships between religion and health. Nevertheless, this research, in the United States and elsewhere, has with good reason come under criticism by some researchers, who also question how the findings should be applied clinically.

HISTORICAL CONNECTION. Western concepts of health care have their origins in the values and activities of religious organizations. The first large hospital in the Western world was built by the Christian church in the late fourth century CE, and for the next one thousand years the church built and staffed hospitals throughout western Europe and England. The first nurses were members of religious orders—the Catholic Sisters of Charity and, later, the Protestant Deaconesses—and they provided most of the nursing care in Western hospitals till the early 1900s. Many physicians during this time were also clergy, a tradition that carried over into the United States during colonial times.

After the French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century, however, medicine became more and more separated from religious influences. Despite this trend, many hospitals continued to be affiliated with and supported by religious institutions, both in the United States and western Europe. With the rise of science in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the separation between religion and medicine became complete. In the early twentieth century, Sigmund Freud wrote prolifically about the neurotic aspects of religion, influencing both the field of psychology and medicine. As a result, religion came to be seen within the scientific health-care profession as either irrelevant to health or inimical to it. This was before systematic, large-scale research studies began to objectively examine the relationships between health and religious belief and practice.

RELIGION VERSUS SPIRITUALITY. In the late 1980s the term *spirituality* began to be used in preference to the word *religion*, since *religion* suggested doctrine, divisiveness, and institutional power, whereas *spirituality* was seen as more personal and inclusive. For the purposes of this entry, *religion* is defined as an organized system of beliefs, practices, and rituals designed to connect a person to the sacred or transcendent (god, ultimate truth, ultimate reality), and to promote one's relationship and responsibility to others within the context of a faith community. *Spirituality*, on the other hand, is understood as a personal quest to understand the answers to ultimate questions about life, about meaning, and about one's relationship to the sacred, which might or might not lead to religious doctrines, rituals, or a faith community. Because spirituality is such a broad concept, however, researchers have had difficulty measuring it as distinct from religion; thus, most studies have measured spirituality in terms of religious beliefs or practices, and most research that examines the relationship with health has examined religion, not spirituality. For that reason, the word *religion* will be used throughout this discussion.

RELIGION AND MENTAL HEALTH. A systematic review of research conducted prior to 2000 identified 724 quantitative studies of the relationship between religion and mental health. Of those, 478 (66%) found a statistically significant relationship between religious involvement and better mental health, greater social support, and less substance abuse. Nearly 80 percent of studies examining the association between religion and well-being reported one or more significant positive correlations between these variables. This was particularly true for optimism, meaning and purpose, and hope in the future. The majority of studies examining the relationship between religion and self-esteem also reported greater feelings of self-worth among the more religious.

Similar associations were also found in studies of mental disorder. Of ninety-three cross-sectional and prospective studies, sixty (65%) found lower rates of depression or depressive symptoms and faster speed of remission from depression among those who were more religious. In fact, at least three clinical trials demonstrated faster recovery from depression, anxiety, and grief associated with bereavement among religious persons receiving religious-based psychotherapies. These findings came not only from the United States, but also from the Netherlands and Malaysia, and involved not only Christians but also Muslims and Buddhists. Furthermore, more negative attitudes toward suicide and lower rates of suicide among the religious were found in fifty-seven of sixty-eight studies performed during the twentieth century, which is consistent with research showing lower rates of depression and greater well-being.

Greater social support (nineteen of twenty studies), less loneliness, and less substance abuse (drugs, alcohol, smoking; 121 out of 145 studies) have also been documented among the more religious. Greater marital stability, lower delinquency, and more pro-social activities (volunteering, for example) are other common findings. At least 75 percent of research on substance abuse has been in adolescents and college students, whose drug and alcohol use behaviors are likely to affect health over a lifetime. New research conducted since that systematic review has largely confirmed these findings.

This does not mean, however, that religious beliefs and practices are never associated with worse mental health, particularly in individual cases. Religious beliefs and practices can foster rigid thinking and excessive guilt, and may drive some persons away from seeking health-care services that they need. In general, however, data from cross-sectional, prospective, and clinical trial research are increasingly dispelling past notions that religion typically fosters mental or emotional instability.

RELIGION AND PHYSICAL HEALTH. The relationships between religion and better mental health, greater social support and marital stability, and lower rates of substance abuse and delinquency, are likely to have physical health consequences. This would be expected, given the well-established connections between psychosocial factors and neurological, endocrine, and immune functioning. Although studies of religion and physical health are less common than those of mental health, a similar pattern of results emerges.

Several studies have examined associations between religion and immune functioning, blood pressure, heart disease, cancer, overall mortality, and disability level. Five studies that examined the relationship between religion and immune functioning all reported associations. Two of these studies were conducted on persons with HIV/AIDS, two in older adults with immune senescence with aging, and one in women with metastatic breast cancer. Whether immune function is measured in terms of interleukin-6 levels, CD-4 and total lymphocyte counts, or natural killer-cell numbers, the findings favor the more religious. Lower serum cortisol levels have also been linked to greater religiousness, which may help to explain the immune findings.

Of twenty-three studies examining the relationship between religiousness and blood pressure, fourteen found lower rates of hypertension or lower blood pressure among those who were more actively religious. The association appears to be particularly strong for diastolic blood pressure, compared to systolic blood pressure, and therefore may be of special importance given the influence of diastolic hypertension on myocardial infarction (heart attack) and stroke. Consequently, it is not surprising that eleven of sixteen studies examining the associations between religious activity and heart disease found lower rates of myocardial infarction, death from coronary artery disease, and longer survival after open-heart surgery among the more religious. At least one study has found lower rates of stroke among more frequent church attendees.

Of six studies examining cancer, four found lower mortality in the more religious, a finding consistent with the influence of neuroendocrine and immune function on the development and course of cancer. Whether in persons with cancer or other health conditions, survival in general appears to be longer among persons who are more religiously active. Of fifty-two studies examining that relationship, thirty-nine reported significantly longer survival among those who attended religious services more often, prayed more frequently, or demonstrated more commitment to religious beliefs. The effects are particularly strong for religious attendance, even when the effects of social support and the ability to physically attend church are statistically controlled for. In one of the largest studies, involving 21,000 randomly selected persons of all ages across the United States, Robert Hummer and colleagues (1999) found that persons who attended religious services more than weekly survived an average of seven years longer than persons who did not attend services; for African Americans, the difference in survival was fourteen years.

Some criticize these studies by pointing out that people who are sicker are physically less able to attend church services. While being physically disabled can adversely impact religious attendance during the short term, Ellen Idler and colleagues (1997) at Yale found that the effects of attendance on preventing the development of disability over the long run are substantially stronger. Religiousness may impact the perception of disability, so that at any given level of objective physical illness, those who are more religious may be less likely to perceive themselves as disabled, compared to those who are less religious. Perception of disability may be influenced by the optimism, hope, and meaning that people derive from religious beliefs.

CONCERNS OF CRITICS. Although critics of the religion-health relationship are few, they are particularly vocal and articulate in their arguments. Richard Sloan and colleagues have stressed that the research linking religion with physical health is weak and inconsistent. They voice ethical concerns about the implications of that research for the practice of medicine. "Should Physicians Prescribe Religious Activities?" (2000) is the title of one such article in which the authors claim that the research is not strong enough to warrant prescribing religion to helpless patients. Instead, they say that health professionals should stay out of the religious lives of patients, emphasizing that health professionals other than chaplains are not trained to address religious or spiritual issues, and bringing up such issues could make patients feel guilty or feel responsible for causing their own illnesses. In some countries, such as Australia, critics claim that religion is not as important to patients as in the United States. These are important points that require careful consideration.

Advocates in favor of health professionals addressing spiritual issues in patient care counter these claims by saying that while physicians or nurses should never prescribe religion to those who are not religious, there is much they can and should do. In particular, they could take a spiritual history to learn if the patient is religious and how that might affect his or her medical care. If the patient is religious, the doctor or nurse could orchestrate the meeting of the patient's spiritual needs, utilizing the patient's religious resources to facilitate healing. Advocates would agree that most of the research, while consistently showing that the religious tend to be healthier, has not shown that becoming religious for health reasons alone (rather than for religious motivations) is likely to result in better health. Clinical trials demonstrating such an effect do not exist. Therefore, there is little evidence to justify physicians encouraging religious conversion as a route to better health. Even if such evidence did emerge in future research, the ethical implications of health-care professionals promoting religion among those who are not already religious would be legion.

CONCLUSION. There is growing evidence of a relationship between religion and better mental health, social functioning, and health-promoting behaviors. Because of the increasingly well-established connections between the emotions, physiology, and body functions, there is every reason to expect an association between religion and physical health. Although research on religion and physical health is growing, and several clinical trials to establish the causal nature of this relationship are underway, the evidence remains largely preliminary at this point and there is much further work to do. The preliminary evidence based on epidemiological findings thus far, however, fits a pattern that investigators have seen for other psychological and sociodemographic factors that have later been proven to influence physical health. Certainly these findings deserve further attention by researchers and they deserved to be studied in more sophisticated ways to demonstrate if and in what circumstances religion may influence health for better or for worse. Cautious and sensible application to clinical practice of what is already known would also seem warranted.

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HAROLD G. KOENIG (2005)

HEALTHY, HAPPY, HOLY ORGANIZATION (3HO). In 1969, Harbhajan Singh Puri (b. August 26, 1929), now known as Yogi Bhajan, came to California. A Sikh from India, he started teaching Kuṇḍalinī Yoga and founded the Healthy, Happy, Holy Organization, also called the 3HO Foundation.

Yogi Bhajan had worked as a customs officer before he moved to North America in 1968. After a brief stay in Canada, he traveled to Los Angeles where he began teaching yoga at the YMCA and the East-West Cultural Center. His classes attracted students, some from the counterculture, who were in the process of seeking alternative lifestyles and higher consciousness.

Several of these early students joined with Bhajan to establish an ashram (center) in Los Angeles and to found 3HO. Bhajan encouraged students to become Kuṇḍalinī Yoga teachers themselves and to establish new ashrams. Early ashram sites were established in New Mexico, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vancouver, and Washington, D.C., as well as a number of California locations. By 1972 there were ninety-four ashrams. Residents practiced yoga, community living, and a healthy lifestyle. Yogi Bhajan traveled to the new centers, teaching yoga and lecturing at nearby universities and colleges. Some of his students soon began teaching on college campuses as well. Students were typically in their teens or early twenties—the "baby boomer" generation. Most of the early ashrams offered communal housing, and residents often worked together in businesses started by other students.

A few of Yogi Bhajan's Los Angeles students began to study the Sikh religion because of his example, and in 1970 a group traveled with him to India, where some became baptized Sikhs, taking part in the traditional Amrit ceremony, *khaṇḍe di pahul,* at the Akal Takhāt, the seat of the Sikh religion. Yogi Bhajan met with officials of the major Sikh administrative body there and received official recognition. Sikh studies and practices rapidly spread through the ashrams, and students created their first *gurdwara* (place of worship) in Los Angeles in 1972. Devotees began to read the *Gurū Granth Sāhib*, the Sikh sacred text, in translation, and many also began to learn Punjabi and to read Gurmukhī, the script in which the *Granth Sāhib* is written. Bhajan established a ministry for Sikh Dharma. New ministers take vows, which include the worship of only one God, bowing only to the *Granth Sāhib* as the word of God and not worshiping any person or personality as *gurū*. They practice vegetarianism, monogamy, and abstinence from alcohol, tobacco, or drugs (unless prescribed by a physician).

The early and mid-1970s were a period of rapid expansion, but growth tapered off toward the end of the decade. The organization sought to solidify its base, and members focused on deepening their understanding of and their practice of Sikh beliefs and traditions and on creating individual "prosperity consciousness." More members created community-oriented businesses. Others furthered their formal education, several entering the health-care profession. Many married and started families.

In 1973 Harbhajan Singh Puri (his legal name became Harbhajan Singh Khālsā Yogiji in 1976 after obtaining U.S. citizenship) legally incorporated the Sikh Dharma Brotherhood. Regional governing units and a central Khālsā Council were established in 1974 and added to the corporation's legal structure.

Sikh Dharma and 3HO were, and are, separate organizations. Although membership overlaps, there are many 3HO practitioners who are not Sikhs. 3HO sponsors classes in yoga, meditation, and nutrition, as well as summer and winter solstice celebrations, preschools and Montessori schools, and summer camps for youth and for women. Sikh Dharma is incorporated under the laws of the United States as a recognized religion. It consists of congregations, an ordained ministry that has grown to more than four hundred ministers, regional authorities, and the Khālsā Council, its advisory body.

In the 1980s, ashrams were consolidated and many people relocated from urban to suburban or rural locations as new parents sought space and safety for their children. Individuals and families grew more autonomous and communal arrangements less common. Many children of grade-school age went to India for their schooling.

WORLDVIEW AND BELIEFS. While the Punjab region of India is the home and major center of the Sikh religion, Sikhs have a history of migration and a strong presence in both Canada and the United States. They have established *gurdwaras* and a number of support organizations. The Sikh religion is based on the teachings of ten *gurūs*. The first, Gurū Nānak, lived from 1469 to 1539. His was a devotional approach to the divine, an approach that called for meditation on the divine name (*nām simran*) and an understanding of divinity as timeless and beyond all categories or descriptions. Gurū Nānak is often depicted as a gentle mystic, but he was also a practical leader who established a community of believers and discouraged withdrawal from the world. Gurū Arjan (1563–1606), the fifth *gurū*, himself a poet, compiled the hymns of Gurū Nānak and the other *gurūs*, his own compositions, and other writings, creating the *Ādi Granth*, the primal scripture of the Sikhs. The tenth *gurū*, Gurū Gobind Singh (1666–1708), established initiatory rites. Today, those who receive these rites are referred to as the Khālsā ("the pure ones") or Khālsā Sikhs. Gurū Gobind Singh added to and finalized the compilation of writings that Sikhs look to as their living *gurū*. Members of Sikh Dharma have adopted the basic Sikh beliefs and prayers, and many have been initiated into the Khālsā.

Yogi Bhajan's students refer to him as Yogiji and consider him to be the Mahan Tantric, or "Master of White Tantric Yoga." He teaches courses referred to as Kuṇḍalinī Yoga classes and courses in "White Tantric Yoga." Kuṇḍalinī Yoga can be practiced daily and may be taught to the public by 3HO members, but only Yogi Bhajan leads White Tantric Yoga.

In a White Tantric Yoga course people sit in long lines, and each faces a partner. Participants are guided in various physical yoga postures, use deep-breathing techniques, chant mantras, and use *mudrās* (yogic hand positions). White Tantric Yoga is said to purify the consciousness and, in the words of a 3HO teacher, Shakti Parwha Kaur, in *Kundalini Yoga: The Flow of Eternal Power* (1996), to "accelerate the psychological transformation of the individual, dissolving deep-rooted subconscious neuroses" (p. 179).

The goal of the yoga postures and breathing techniques employed in Kuṇḍalinī Yoga as taught by Yogi Bhajan is to raise *kuṇḍalinī* energy, which is said to reside at the base of the spine. It should rise up through the central energy channel of the spine, stimulating energy centers or *chakras*, and over time the practice should culminate in a life of higher consciousness. The yoga is said to cleanse and heal, especially by strengthening the nervous system and balancing the glandular systems, and to empower the practitioner to manage his or her own energy wisely. Additionally, different yoga *kriyas* (sequences of postures, breath, and sounds; in 3HO these are intended to manifest a particular state of mind) are said to perform various practical functions, such as easing stress, enhancing stamina, and improving digestion.

There is a strong group culture with distinctive values and beliefs. Sikhs born in the West have espoused orthodox Sikh traditions and incorporated yogic traditions, but have also included American middle-class norms, New Age perspectives, and lingering counterculture values. Values include "keeping up," empowerment, healthy living, and service in a difficult time of transition. "Keeping up" refers to maintaining a positive attitude and persevering when faced by challenges and adversity, and, in general, 3HO practitioners and Sikh Dharma adherents aim to be proactive in their lives and to control and alter their environments for the better. They seek to maintain fitness, mental clarity, and spiritual awareness through yoga, diet, and avoidance of caffeine, alcohol, and tobacco. The group has retained the New Age idea that the world is moving into the Aquarian Age. Yogi Bhajan says that this is a very difficult transition and urges people in 3HO and Sikh Dharma to strengthen themselves through spiritual and yogic practice in order to survive it and help others to weather it.

PRACTICES AND RITUALS. Daily *sādhana* (spiritual practice) is the central practice. It should include prayer, meditation, and exercise. Devotees are encouraged to rise before dawn and give the early morning hours to God. *Sādhana* may be performed individually or in a group, although a group *sādhana* is considered more desirable. It will typically begin with recitation of *Japjī* (a prayer introduced by Gurū Nānak), Kuṇḍalinī Yoga, and the chanting of mantras, and then progress through meditation, deep relaxation, and devotional singing (*kīrtan*). People in Sikh Dharma have also established daily and weekly Sikh *gurdwara* services and provide *langar*, a traditional shared vegetarian meal, for all attendees.

3HO sponsors solstice gatherings in New Mexico and in Florida. These provide an opportunity for yoga students from all over the world to gather. Participants focus on spiritual practices and participate in White Tantric Yoga (now presented on video). Since 1987 there has been an Interfaith Peace Prayer Day celebration sponsored jointly by Sikh Dharma and 3HO at the time of summer solstice.

Clothing and naming are important aspects of identity. Members of Sikh Dharma are readily identifiable. They frequently wear white clothing (said to have a pure vibration) and have adopted their own version of Punjabi garb. Both men and women wear turbans, although in the Punjab it is generally only men who wear them. The women sometimes wear a *chuni* (a long flowing scarf) over the turban, for formal attire. Both men and women have taken the last name of Khālsā, and the women, like Sikhs in the Punjab, have the middle name of Kaur (princess) while the men, again like their Indian Sikh counterparts, use Singh (lion).

Sikhs emphasize family life. In the early days, many of their marriages were arranged. Yogi Bhajan suggested a spouse for an individual, or two people asked for approval when they wished to marry. Marriage ceremonies follow the traditional Sikh form.

GENDER ROLES. As is the case in many of the new religions, gender roles tend to be traditional. While both genders work, women generally have primary responsibility for the domestic sphere. Though women are said to be nurturing by nature, they are also expected to be strong and to complement the partnership with their husbands. Women are understood to be more intuitive, spiritual, and changeable than their male counterparts. Their role as mothers is said to render women especially creative. They are called *shakti*s, a term referring to the female aspect of divinity, "God's power in manifestation." Men are thought to be the more steady and consistent sex. They are expected to be active in the world, although their role as fathers is also emphasized. Both men and women are said to have suffered from aspects of American culture—men from too much pressure to achieve and succeed, and women from a general disrespect for their gender and the tendency of the American media to turn women into sex objects. This treatment is said to have alienated women from their natural spirituality, grace, confidence, and self-respect. Many of the teachings about women were developed at the time of the women's movement and led to the establishment of the Khālsā Women's Training Camp, which is intended to offer women a break from routines, with time to focus on spiritual growth and to pursue personal interests. Activities include regular yoga, workshops that enable participants to pursue a variety of interests in fields such as dance, counseling, and religious practices, *gatka* (a martial art), and meditation. Both men and women serve as ministers, as yoga teachers, and on administrative councils, and women hold leadership positions in businesses.

CONTROVERSIES AND ISSUES. Historically, there has been tension between older established Sikh organizations and Sikh Dharma. Ethnic Sikhs have criticized the linking of the Sikh religion to yoga. They have criticized the hierarchical nature of Sikh Dharma with its variety of titles and positions. Many question the devotion that Yogi Bhajan receives from his students. Members of Sikh Dharma, in turn, have criticized ethnic Sikhs for bringing caste and politics into their *gurdwara*s, or for laxity in their practices. These tensions were more prominent in earlier years than they are now, however.

Sikhs have experienced discrimination based on their mode of dress. People in Sikh Dharma have successfully gone to court in order to be able to wear the turban in their daily occupations in industries with strict dress codes.

As in other new religions, there have been instances of businesses and individuals indicted for dishonest practices. Yogi Bhajan was accused of sexual misconduct in a suit that was filed in 1986, but the suit was dropped.

RECENT HISTORY. Sikh Dharma has evolved and grown since its founding, as has the 3HO Foundation, which now has trained over three thousand teachers living in more than thirty-eight countries worldwide. Although the Indian Sikhs do not have an organized ministry, Sikh Dharma of the Western Hemisphere does, adhering to legal requirements for an organized religion in the United States.

Despite opposition, a group of Sikh American women, seeking to open such opportunities to their gender, performed *seva* (service) at the Golden Temple in Amritsar, India, in 1996. Karen Leonard reports that the relevant authority (the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee) ruled that women would in the future be allowed to serve such functions as priests and hymn singers (1999, p. 281).

As of 2002 there were major centers in the United States, Canada, and Europe, and smaller ones in other locations. A center for meditation and the training of yoga teachers has opened in India. Larger businesses, begun and operated by Western Sikh entrepreneurs, include a successful security firm and tea and cereal companies. Sikh individuals also thrive as doctors, attorneys, accountants, writers, landscapers, artists, and counselors, and in other occupations. A new generation has reached maturity, married, and started families. Youth are a major focus of attention, with mentoring programs and expanded educational facilities being planned. About one hundred students (grades one through twelve) representing eleven countries attended Miri Piri Academy in Amritsar, India, in 2003.

SEE ALSO Sikhism.

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CONSTANCE W. ELSBERG (2005)

HEART.

Analysis of the symbolic values attached to the heart shows an unquestionable distance between the heart as a source of biological life and its diverse meanings for the emotional, moral, and religious life. The word *heart* may be specific, but the symbol is as multifarious as the polysemy of the term is rich. The range of meanings of *heart* is, indeed, at once based on a physiological reality (which entails a certain animistic conception of the individual) and on spiritual and mystical meditations—two sources that are intimately linked in most cultures.

It seems certain that the vitalistic conception of the heart as the seat of courage, strength, and life is represented by the presence in a great number of ancient societies of the custom of eating the heart of one's enemy to acquire his strength. Likewise, the notion of the heart as the source of life is the basis of the sacrifice usually practiced by the Aztec and earlier by the Maya. In the Inca empire, for instance, the heart was torn out, still beating, resulting in a copious hemorrhage. The flowing blood was nourishment for the Sun (symbolized by the eagle) and an invigorating drink for Tlaltecutli, the lord of the earth. The heart was considered the most precious part of the person; therefore it was the offering of life itself, a gift from the gods, that was achieved in the removal of a living heart and by the shedding of human blood.

The great symbolic themes relating to the heart were posed by the ancient Egyptians. It is the principal organ of physical life, and is well described in the medical papyri. It is also the center of emotional life, courage, and spiritual life. Thought, will, and wisdom reside there. The heart thus becomes the very locus of personality, capable of prayer to and love for the gods. But the heart is also man's memory, the witness to the deeds he accomplishes during his life. This is why, after death, hearts are weighed with Maat, the goddess of truth and justice, as a counterweight. The heart has a major role in the judgment of the dead, in which man's fidelity to moral prescriptions and social rules is examined. It is the dwelling place of Sia, the god of understanding, knowledge of the past, and creative imagination. If the dead person is "justified by his heart," if the judgment is in his favor, he then experiences union with the god: "Your heart is Re's heart," says the *Book of Respiration* (2.10), for in man's heart abides "the god who lives" in him, a kind of personal genius who determines the existence and the behavior of each individual. The heart is simultaneously soul, life, thought, witness of man's deeds, and the place where the god resides in order to guide man on this earth and to give an account in the afterlife of his actions. In the human heart, as necessary for life on earth as for survival after death, man may meet the divine.

According to the Egyptians, the gods also have a heart. The stela of King Shabaka, recapitulating an old theology of Memphis, shows that Ptah's heart is the seat of creative activity and the center of his imagination. All that was created by Ptah (the cosmic demiurge) was thought in his heart and came to life through the intermediary of his creating word.

The heart occupies an important place in the sacred texts of Hinduism, as well as in its techniques of spiritual meditation. The natural symbolism of the heart as the center of life and the psychological faculties appears in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (3.20–25). The heart is there described as the place where everything that exists takes shape: faith, supraintellectual knowledge, ontological truth, speech, and biological life (for "the sperm rests on the heart"). Even though the heart is hardly mentioned in the Vedas, which stress sacrificial ritual and praise of the divine, the outline of a "liturgy of the heart" can be seen in the oldest Upaniṣads. There it is conceived of as central in the activity of the *ṛṣis,* those seers who intuitively perceive the divine and express it in hymns. The heart is the secret place of their inspiration, where hymns are prepared to offer the gods, but it is also the critical authority that monitors the hymns' value. The heart thus becomes the place of divine vision, which is only given by grace to those who practice self-renunciation. It is understood that the heart's knowledge is *satya,* real and true, since it alone can enable one to pass from the unreal and the illusory to the real. Such knowledge is transformative, for it discovers, by means of the heart, the divine immanence within man. In *bhakti,* the heart is the seat of an aspiration to join the god and the center of a desire that "binds man at the level of his heart." Man should also reject the desire of natural and illusory realities in favor of the enjoyment of bliss and union with *brahman.* It is necessary to clear this heart by way of renunciation in order to become "a polished mirror" in which the god can be reflected. "When all the desires he carries in his heart have been cast away, then the mortal becomes immortal and from that time onward he delights in *brahman,*" says the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (4.4.7).

The heart is thus the symbol of divine inhabitation in man. Four terms most often define this heart, citadel of the divine, of *brahman:* the grotto (*Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad* 201, 469), the bird's nest (*Haṃsa Upaniṣad* 13), the ritual hearth, and especially the lotus, an ancient cosmogonic symbol on which the moralizing values of the pure and the impure, the emotional and the intellectual, are grafted (*Dhyanabindu Upaniṣad* 33–35 and 93). But what lives in this place? An impersonal, transcendent principle, the *ātman (Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 8.3.3), which exists and senses; the authority that perceives through the senses and that is the interior light in every human being; or else the image itself of the power of a personal god such as Śiva, Hari, Indra, the Everlasting, the Supreme (*Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad* 269). The heart can thus become, by divine grace, the place for the vision of the god: "The man who is free from desire, all pain having vanished by grace of the creator, sees the Lord and his majesty" (*Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* 3.20). Thus the heart is the place of passage from duality to unity, from formlessness to form, from the unreal to the real (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 8.1.2–3; 8.3.1–2). The path of the heart, simultaneously one of meditation and renunciation, of the reversal of passions and desire for union, is thus the route from the carnal to the subtle, from the mortal to the immortal (*Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* 4.16.20).

The ancient Greek world had a rather undifferentiated psychological knowledge of the heart. In the writings of Homer, Hesiod, and the tragedians, *kardia* designates the place of the soul's life, the affects, the emotions, and the feelings. It is the place of secret thoughts and tactical intelligence. By a process of metonymy, the word *stēthos* (chest) is used in the sense of heart; *thumos* (the breath contained in the chest) designates the ardor that animates the feelings that lie in the heart and the thoughts that are formed there. It is this term, *thumos,* less concrete and more subtle, that predominates in the Classical age, but the philosophers introduced an important distinction. In agreement with doctors and certain philosophers like Empedocles (fifth century BCE), who defined the heart as the seat of thought, the Epicureans and then the Stoics located intelligence there. Chrysippus asserted that the heart is the seat of *dianoia,* the source of language (*Stoicorum vererum fragmenta* 837, 838, 879). In response, Plato developed the theory of a tripartite soul: above the diaphragm is the mortal soul, the *thumos* that inspires good deeds; below are the passions, and the immortal principle of the soul is in the head. Therefore, only the ardor of generous deeds is found in the zone of the heart (*Republic,* book 4). Aristotle, however, situated sensations, sensory knowledge, memory, and imagination in the heart, but not the *nous,* or intelligence. Impossible to locate, the *nous* is not attached to any physical organ (*Metaphysics* 12.3.1070a). With Plotinus, all the metaphorical uses of *kardia* and *thumos* disappear in a distinct shift toward intellectualization, which will counterbalance any Judeo-Christian influence.

In the Bible, the word *lev* (heart) occurs 1,024 times, a frequency that testifies to the multivalence of a term common to the Hebrews and the ancient Semites, for whom the heart was an organ indispensable to life, the place for concentration of all the vital forces. If it beat more or less rapidly with respect to emotions felt, it was because, as the center of knowledge, it was an organ both receptive and active. The heart is the locus not only of the whole psychological and intellectual life but also of the moral life. It is man's interior, or *qerev:* "I shall put my law within them and write it on their hearts," says Yahveh (*Jer.* 31:33). This heart that permits understanding of divine things is, at first, recollection and remembrance of Yahveh's goodness. The expression "ascends to the heart" designates the necessary recollection: "From afar remember Yahveh and that Jerusalem ascends to your heart" (*Jer.* 51:50). The heart is therefore an active center where the ideas and impressions received are transformed into deeds; the heart thinks out man's projects and is the seat of the individual's creative power in the form of consciousness. Not only is the heart the center of moral life, but finally the center of religious life as well. It is the heart that experiences the fear of God and keeps faith to the alliance with Yahveh: the faithful heart belongs entirely to God, in whom it is fixed (*1 Chr.* 29:18).

During the Hellenistic age, when the Bible proliferated in the Greek translation, the word *kardia,* used to translate *lev,* was weighted with all the Semitic values of the heart and took on a new meaning to the extent that the association between heart, thought, and memory became commonplace. In the New Testament writings, a synthesis between Greek and biblical values of *heart* is achieved. The famous formula defining the ideal community of the first Christians "which has but one heart and one soul" (*Acts* 4:32) associates the new heart promised by Yahveh (*Ez.* 11:19) with a Greek proverb cited by Aristotle (*Nicomachean Ethics* 9.8.2) and used again by Cicero in order to define friendship (*De amicitia* 21.81). *Heart* is thus taken in its metaphorical sense in order to designate man's inner self, the place where his spiritual life is born and develops. But the third-century hellenization of an expression from the Christian faith makes more specific the use of *heart,* which loses its meaning of "understanding." Commenting on the beatitude of pure hearts (*Mt.* 5:8), Origen explains that to see God with the heart means to understand him with the spirit (*De principiis* 1.1.9). For Origen, the heart equals understanding; when the scripture says "heart," this is only a metaphor for emphasizing the "passage from the visible order to the invisible order." A similar Platonism will be developed later, more clearly, in the fourth century by Gregory of Nyssa, who explains the famous passage of the *Song of Songs*—"I sleep but my heart waketh" (5.2)—by bringing up the *psuchē* and the *dianoia* of the soul and of the intelligence in order to explain the word *heart.*

In the West, the term *cor* keeps the sense of the Hebrew *lev,* but Augustine enriches it with his psychological analyses in the *Confessions.* For him, the heart is the place of interiority and religious experience, which defines individuality: "My heart is where I am, such as I am" (*Confessions* 10.3.4). Little by little, however, in the Christian West the word *heart* becomes a simple metaphor for the whole emotional life, while in the East it keeps the meaning of spirit liberated from the passions and the affections and of the place for the understanding of divine things and the love of God.

A fundamental vein of Christian mysticism is that in which the divine heart and the human heart unite in an exchange of love. This mystical view of the heart, which appears in the West around the beginning of the eleventh century, is linked to a spirituality centered on the suffering humanity of Jesus Christ, as if devotion to the divine heart could not exist without an emotional reference to Jesus' heart of flesh and the shedding of his blood, which constitutes tangible proof of the love of a suffering and crucified God. In this heart of flesh, bared by the wound inflicted on the cross, the Christian mystics contemplated the same mystery of God's love, trying to specify its meaning in this heart, which had been pierced although it had already stopped beating. (*Jn.* 19:34). It was undoubtedly Anselm (1033–1109) who, meditating on the passion of Christ, was the first to glimpse this pierced heart as a revelation of God's love (*Patrologia Latina* 158.761–762).

The same idea is found in the writings of the Cistercian William of Saint-Thierry and of Bernard of Clairvaux (*Patrologia Latina* 183.1072). The emotionally pious individual ponders the wound in the divine heart and, confronted with its proof of God's love, wishes to penetrate it and lose himself in it. Such a desire for union, a desire to respond to God's love, has given rise to numerous mystical experiences: that of Lutgard of Aywières at the beginning of the thirteenth century, who was a "sympathetic" participant in the sufferings of the Passion and who "struck at the very heart of Jesus a tenderness so strong that she was forever strengthened"; or those mystical experiences of the cloistered nuns of Hefta in Saxony. Mechthild of Magdeburg (1207–1282) describes in detail how God put her own heart into his divine one burning with love, the two making but a single heart "as the water loses itself in the wine." God's heart is thus the place of sharing and joy while the mystic, like the apostle John, rests on the very breast of Jesus (*Das fliessende Licht der Gottheit* 2.38).

From this monastery in Hefta, where other nuns shared the devotion to Jesus' heart shown by Saint Gertrude (1256–1334), the custom passed to the Franciscans. The memory of their founder's stigmata and their popular emotional preaching developed a piety founded on the contemplation of the afflictions of the crucified one and his wounded heart. In his *Vitis mystica,* Bonaventure (1221–1274) praises "the good Jesus' heart" and stresses the love, revealed by Christ in his incarnation, that is sensitive to human nature. This wounded heart is the vital and tangible expression of God's blessings. But it is also the place into which the human soul must penetrate "as if into a promised land where he will find sweetness, purity, and even God's love," says Ubertino da Casale (*Arbor vitae crucifixae Jesu,* c. 1320). This desire for union with Jesus' heart is so great that, through many repetitions in the course of these unifying experiences, an exchange of hearts between Christ and the mystic is effected, as in the cases of Lutgard, Catherine of Siena, Dorothy of Montau, and, later, Marguerite-Marie Alacoque. It is a symbolic exchange, of course, in which God's will is voluntarily substituted by a human being for his or her own and which is the sign of a transforming union born of that "new spirit and that new heart" prophesied by Ezekiel (36:26–27). This symbol of Christ's heart replacing that of the mystic represents "the union of the uncreated spirit and the created spirit that is realized by the preeminence of grace," explains Thomas of Cantimpré in the *Life* of Lutgard (*Acta sanctorum,* June, vol. 4, p. 193). The heart is the whole human being, who always wishes to unite more fully with the person of the word incarnate himself perceived in a heart, which is the sign of his love and the center "where all the virtue of divinity is enclosed."

In the Christian East, the "prayer of the heart," from the time of the Desert Fathers to our own time, has combined an ancient technique of breath control with the invocation of Jesus' name, in order to "make the spirit descend into the heart." By concentrating his gaze on the interior of his heart, one discovers it as the locus of emotional life, desires, and love. Then one must melt one's perceptual and intellectual thoughts there, as if in a brazier, and let them heat up and burn until a cry breaks out in one's heart, a call to Jesus, the unique source of that love. The heart is thus the space where the body and soul penetrate each other and coexist, just as the inhaled air mixes with the very breath of life. The discovery of the heart therefore reestablishes human nature in its original state, before the Fall, in rediscovering the energy of the Holy Spirit given by baptism, and in becoming the temple of God once again. The expression "prayer of the heart" is therefore metonymical, although the method of prayer described appears to link it to a specific respiratory technique. Hesychast spirituality insists on the necessity of ascesis to purify the heart of man, who may then come back to the reason why he was created and discover truth. Man then receives illumination from the sun of justice, whose light shines in his heart, which thus becomes the place where God reveals himself and the place of God's desire, where the created being lets the Lord live, and finally knows *hēsuchia:* the eternal joy of being united with him forever (*Mt.* 17:4).

Exactly this conception of the heart as the place of God's desire and the organ of prayer and knowledge of divine things is found again in Pascal in seventeenth-century France, where the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus proliferated, with such devotees as Marie des Vallées, Jean Eudes, and Marguerite-Marie Alacoque. Indeed, the Pascalian heart is the center of neither the emotions nor the faculties of the soul; it is the place of resolution and adherence. It is will, and through it the individual is defined and expressed. But it is, in addition, the organ that knows an order superior to that of reason: "It is the heart that feels God and not reason: this is what faith is, God susceptible to the heart and not to reason" (*Pensées* 278). Pascal meant that reason is not useless, but that it remains insufficient, for it belongs to the natural order, whereas "the heart has reasons that reason knows not" (ibid., 277). The knowledge of God is not an abstract thought; it emerges from the very existence of man, and it resides in the desire for abundance: "My whole heart reaches out to know where the true good is in order to follow it." For, as Pascal wrote in 1658 in his *Art of Persuasion,* "man discovers the truth of which he speaks inside himself." Thus, in diverse cultures and religious traditions, the heart has the profound value of symbolizing and structuring all of human life, the spiritual as much as the physical.

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MICHEL MESLIN (1987)
Translated from French by Kristine Anderson

HEAVEN AND HELL. As symbolic expressions found in various religious traditions, heaven and hell suggest polar components of a religious vision: a state of bliss and/or an abode of deity or sacred reality on the one hand, and a state of spiritual impoverishment and/or an abode of evil or demonic spirits on the other. As a spatial referent, Heaven is generally considered to be "above," informed by the human experience of the sky as the expansive space or dome encompassing the earth and also including the sun, moon, and stars. Just as Heaven is "above" the earth, so then is deity "higher" than the human or earthly plane for those traditions in which Heaven is viewed as the abode of deity. On the contrary, Hell is generally regarded as a realm "below," a meaning reflected in the derivation of the English *hell* from the Old English, *helan*, with a root meaning of "hide," "cover," or "conceal." Thus, Heaven is often symbolized by light or brightness as a realm of bliss, whereas Hell is characterized as dark or shadowy, a realm of anguish and suffering.

JUDAISM. The worldview of the ancient Hebrews, as reflected in the Hebrew scriptures, distinguished between the world above, the "heavens" (*shamayin*), as the dwelling place of Yahveh, and the earth, the two comprising the universe of God's creation. The creation narrative of *Genesis* 1–3 portrays the heavens and the earth as the whole of God's creation. Under the earth was She'ol; the ambiguous term *she'ol* was used at times to refer to the grave or tomb itself and at other times to indicate an obscure land of shadows, the realm of the dead. Existence there was understood in largely negative terms, since in She'ol the "spirit" or "breath of life" (*ruaḥ*) through which human beings were endowed by God with life was thought to have departed. Prior to the Babylonian exile of 597 BCE, the dead were not thought of as having an existence in which individual identity was preserved beyond life on earth but rather were conceived as a faceless collective existing in a joyless realm.

With the rise of Judaism in the period following the fifth century BCE, the Jewish understanding of heaven as an ideal relationship of the righteous with God was informed both by intercultural influences and by continuing efforts to unfold the meaning and import of the covenant relationship between the community and God. For example, life after death had been clearly and definitively envisioned by the Zoroastrians of Persia as involving a judgment of individuals at death: the righteous were destined to enjoy forever the presence of God in a realm of unending light, while the unrighteous were condemned to a torturous hell. The Greeks, both in religions such as the Orphic cults and in the thought of major philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle, stressed the immortality of the soul. By the second century BCE, both the resurrection of the dead and an event of final judgment were affirmed in some circles of Jewish thought. Heaven came to be regarded as the destiny of the righteous, those in vital covenant relationship with God. Multiple heavens (seven or ten) are mentioned in Jewish apocryphal literature and in teachings preserved in the rabbinical tradition. Paradise, a state of spiritual fulfillment in which the covenantal righteous enjoy an ideal relationship with God, is variously referred to as the third of seven or the seventh of ten heavens. Messianic expectations, which developed in the centuries immediately before and following the dawning of the common era, were often associated with affirmations of the resurrection of the dead and a final judgment, with the righteous destined for a heavenly paradise. In association with these developments, a place of punishment, Gehenna, was thought to await the unrighteous after death, though the period of punishment was limited in accordance with the degree of seriousness of one's transgressions.

Traditional Judaism views the final destiny of humans in terms of the three doctrines of recompense, immortality, and resurrection. Informed by the demand of conscience that virtue be rewarded and wickedness punished, the tradition holds that even if one does not encounter equity during the earthly life, it will nonetheless be met with afterward. The interpretation of the actual form of immortality, however, is permitted wide latitude in the tradition, with deathlessness envisaged as preserving individual identity and awareness (with the attending literal images of Paradise and Gehenna) or, alternatively, as a state that is impersonal and without consciousness. Similarly, resurrection has been understood as a climactic event physically reanimating the dead and including the final judgment of bliss or damnation and also as an eternal event through which the corporeality of the resurrected is transfigured into a pure spirituality.

CHRISTIANITY. The cardinal import of heaven and hell as components of the Christian religious vision is clearly evident in the New Testament portrayal of the completion of God's redemptive activity consummated in the manifestation of a new heaven and a new earth (*Rv.* 21). Not only is heaven envisioned in early Christianity as the fulfilling state of bliss and reconciled relationship with God of which the followers of Jesus are assured, but it is also the abode of the divine, where Jesus dwelled before his earthly life and to which he proceeded following his death and resurrection. Essential to the Christian confidence in a heavenly life after death in which the total uniqueness of human personality is preserved is the concomitant affirmation that God will make possible the resurrection of the dead. This belief is to be distinguished from the Greek notion (especially of Plato and Aristotle) of the immortality of the soul understood as rationality. The reality of hell as the arena presided over by Satan and his angels and as the destiny of the "cursed" was assumed by early Christians and frequently appears in the New Testament writings (e.g., *Mt.* 25:1–46). This teaching has been taken literally by many Christian thinkers through the centuries, though alternative views have occasionally been expressed. Origen (third century BCE), for example, understood hell to involve not the eternal punishment of the cursed, but punishment of such duration as was necessary to provide for the restoration of all to the presence of God.

In Roman Catholic Christianity hell is deemed to be a state of unending punishment for the unrepentant who die without the grace of God as transmitted through the sacraments. This state is characterized both by absence from God's presence (*poena damni*) and by the suffering of fire and other tortures (*poena sensus*). The Roman Catholic concept of purgatory, defined by the councils of Florence (1439) and Trent (1545–1563), envisions an intermediate state after death during which there is opportunity for the expiation of venial sins and compensatory punishment for mortal sins, thus providing for the ultimate restoration of fellowship with God. This teaching, likely informed by the Jewish notion of Gehenna and the Greek notion of the realm of Hades, is correlative with rituals for the dead (prayers, oblations) intended to assure their full expiation. Salvation is understood in the Roman Catholic tradition to be a process, begun in earthly life and continuing in life beyond death, through which there will ultimately be a realization of the "beatific vision," a heavenly state of full and unqualified awareness of the presence of God, a state of spiritual perfection that cannot be attained during the earthly pilgrimage. The significance and import of the Christian teaching about heaven and hell has nowhere been given more powerful aesthetic and imaginative expression than in Dante's masterful poem the *Commedia* (completed 1321). Eastern Orthodox Christianity, in sharing the teaching that hell is a destiny of eternal fire and punishment awaiting the cursed and unredeemed following the Last Judgment and that heaven is the ultimate destiny of the redeemed, has placed focal emphasis on the resurrection of Jesus as assuring the resurrection of the faithful.

Protestant Christianity, though generally lacking the teaching on purgatory or intermediate states, has retained the traditional Christian teachings respecting heaven and hell, while reinterpreting theological understandings of grace and faith as they are pertinent to salvation. With the dominance of the scientific worldview in the modern era and the theories proferred by the psychological and social sciences, literal and spatial interpretations of heaven and hell have been found untenable by some Protestant thinkers. In terms of theological argument, it is contended that it is contradictory to posit hell as eternal punishment while affirming God as one who is loving and merciful and wills all to be saved and forever seeks the lost. Karl Barth (1886–1968), for example, rejected the entire notion of eternal damnation, and instead maintained that the central message of the church is the election of all of humanity in Jesus Christ. Heaven and hell have been reinterpreted by such thinkers as indicative of qualities of life that are conducive to or detract from the realization of the full potential of persons or, alternatively, as symbols that underscore the fundamental character of the decision of faith, in which the whole of the individual is at stake, and the freedom of that decision, through which one may choose to reject God's presence or seek a full union extending beyond the confines of the earthly life.

ISLAM. In the Qurʾān and the traditions of Islam are manifold descriptions of Heaven and Hell that are expressive of the centrality of judgment as an aspect of Muslim religious anthropology. Perfect justice, one of the attributes of God, will be disclosed at the Last Judgment following resurrection. God's judgment will be pronounced on the basis of an expansive record of each person's deeds. Overriding the demerits of every believer's evil deeds will be the support provided by the Muslim confession subscribed to from the heart ("There is no god but God, and Muḥammad is his prophet.") That judgment in turn will be followed by the entrance of the believers into Heaven and the relegation of the infidels to Hell. In a manner reminiscent of the Zoroastrian Chinvat Bridge, each person will proceed across the bridge of al-Aaraf following the judgment. This will be a felicitous crossing for the true Muslim but a travesty for the infidel, whose fall from the bridge into the pits of Hell is assured. In accordance with the will of God, Muḥammad will, however, recover some who fall. The portrayals of Paradise in the Qurʾān and the traditions are graphically idyllic, in no way lacking the enjoyment of sensuous pleasures and bountiful surroundings:

> This is a Remembrance; and for the godfearing is a fair resort, Gardens of Eden, whereof the gates are open to them, wherein they recline, and wherein they call for fruits abundant, and sweet potions, and with them maidens restraining their glances of equal age. This is what you were promised for the Day of Reckoning; this is Our provision, unto which there is no end. (*sūrah* 38:50–54)

Interpreters of the Muslim tradition such as al-Ghazali (d. 1111) have called attention to the accompanying spiritual components of heavenly existence, viewing all other of the manifold pleasures of Paradise to be overshadowed by the ecstatic awareness of being with God. Equally graphic are the Qurʾanic descriptions of punishment and torture in Gehenna, as indicated in the following passage:

> All this; but for the insolent awaits an ill resort,
> Gehenna, wherein they are roasted—an evil cradling!
> All this; so let them taste it—boiling water and pus, and other torments of the like kind coupled together. (*sūrah* 38:55–58)

Traditional Islam adheres to a conviction that the sufferings in Hell will be unending, though there are suggestions of a purgatorial realm from which, after a time, Muslims in need of purificatory restitution to the *ummah* (the Muslim community) will be recovered. Both Heaven and Hell are subdivided into seven regions in Muslim teaching, with an eighth region added to the heavenly realm of the blessed.

HINDUISM. The religious symbolisms of heaven and hell as given expression in the religious traditions of India have a distinctive role and significance when contrasted with their multiple meanings within the contexts of the religions of West Asia and Western civilizations. The ancient Vedic literature (1500–1200 BCE), especially the *Ṛgveda* (a collection of hymns associated with funereal rituals), portrays a heaven regarded as the realm of the fathers, who proceed there after death in order to be with the gods. As the practice of the funeral rite of cremation gained prominence, Agni, god of fire, was called upon to provide for the purification of the deceased. Yama, who was the first human to die and who was also the god of the dead, oversees the heavenly realm. This realm was associated with the sky and the dead were associated with the stars. Among the gods in the heavenly realm is Varuṇa, god of the high-arched sky and a source of the order in the earthly realm. The welfare of those who have passed beyond death to heaven was associated with their participation in rituals, sacrifices, and offerings to the gods while on earth.

In heaven, the distinctiveness of personal identity is preserved, and, in close communion with the gods, those who have entered heaven enjoy the pleasures and goods they have known on earth, but in full measure. Priests and warriors were portrayed among those who enter the heavenly realm, though there was no comprehensive and systematic indexing of those who do and those who do not enjoy the goods of heaven. Though there is much ambiguity regarding human destiny in the literature of the earliest Vedas, there are suggestions that the fate of those who did not achieve a heavenly state (presumably because of a neglect of proper ritual participation, since no moral tests for entrance into heaven were suggested) is either extinction or relegation to a realm of darkness under the earth (hence, hell). In later elaborate ceremonial works, specifically the Brāhmaṇas composed primarily for the ritual performances of the priests, there was presented a more definitive characterization of heaven as an abode in which were experienced the joys and goodness of earthly existence, but greatly enhanced and without the limitations known before death. The quality of heavenly life was viewed as correlative with efficacious ritual performance on earth since association with the gods of sacramental ritual communion (Agni, Varuṇa, Indra, et al.) was assured. Hell was likewise presented as a realm of retribution for ritual deficiencies.

By the era of the rise of Hinduism proper (third century BCE), a quite different worldview had come to dominate the Indian scene, shaped fundamentally by the philosophical and religious ideas of the Upaniṣads (sixth to first centuries BCE). A cyclical worldview had been given sophisticated expression. The notions of transmigration and reincarnation informed a pervasive understanding of human existence as involving, in cyclic continuity, a series of lives, deaths, and rebirths and had come to dominate a comprehensive interpretation of human existence.

Heaven and hell came to be viewed not as a vision of ultimate fulfillment or destiny, but as intermediate states intermittent with a series of earthly existences in a cycle of births and deaths (*saṃsāra*). One's *karman* (Pali, *kamma*), the reservoir of the consequences of thoughts, words, and deeds cumulative over the entire series of one's existences, determines the nature of the soul's passage from one earthly existence to another through one of the several levels of heaven or hell, which are thus intermediate states of varying degrees of suffering or relative bliss. In traditional Hindu cosmology, three realms (*loka*s)—heaven, the earth, and a netherworld (sky)—are supplemented by a vision of fourteen additional realms, seven of which rise above the earth ("heavens") and seven of which (or, in some instances, multiples of seven, such as twenty-one) are below the earth.

The goal of the continuing human pilgrimage was liberation and release (*mokṣa*) from the suffering associated with attachment to the samsaric cycle to the unqualified enjoyment and ultimate fulfillment of the bliss of *nirvāṇa*. *Nirvāṇa*, which is held to be resistant to definition but is accessible to experience, has been variously envisioned as the union of the soul (*ātman*) with the ultimate divine reality, *brahman* (Śaṅkara, eighth to ninth century CE, and the school of Advaita Vedānta), or as an unqualified communion of the soul with God (Rāmānuja, eleventh to twelfth century CE, and the school of Viṣiṣṭadvaita). Such fulfillment was to be achieved by the spiritual discipline of one of the pathways (*mārga*s, *yoga*s), or some combination thereof, of traditional Hinduism: *jñānayoga* (liberating wisdom), *karmayoga* (actions), *rājāyoga* (contemplative discipline), or *bhakti* (loving devotion, adoration of God, *pūjā*).

The twice-born castes (*brāhmaṇa*s, *kṣatriya*s, *vaiśya*s) had fullest access to these pathways of spiritual practice, especially the first three pathways mentioned. The *bhakti* movements in Hinduism stressed a mode of religious life that involved devotional and ritual practices in which adoration was centered on one of the gods of Hinduism, primarily Śiva or Viṣṇu, or one of their *avatāra*s (incarnations) or consorts. The rich corpus of Hindu religious literature provided an abundant resource for the edification and inspiration of *bhakti* devotees. The *Bhagavadgītā* (Song of the Blessed Lord; c. first century CE), a portion of the expansive epic *Mahābhārata*, portrays Kṛṣṇa (an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, the "preserver") as worthy of a devotee's total devotion, while stressing the ideal of responsible yet disinterested action in the world. Some scholars hold that the importance of the *Bhagavadgītā* lies in part in its recognition of the legitimacy of *bhakti* as a pathway to liberation alongside of *jñāna-*, *karma-*, and *rājāyoga*. The other great Indian epic, the *Rāmāyaṇa* (c. fourth century BCE, with the first and last of seven chapters presumed to be later additions), portrays Rāma as another *avatāra* of Viṣṇu worthy of devotional adoration, the accomplished practice of which results in intermediate stays in one of the heavens until the perfection of the practice leads to the perfect bliss of unqualified and unendingly blissful adoration of and communion with God (*nirvāṇa*).

BUDDHISM. With the Hindu tradition Buddhism shares a cyclical view of history and of individual existence. The world of time and space and history, the realm of samsaric cycles, is transitory and constantly in flux. Heaven and hell are seen as parts of that transitory world, as intermediate and temporary states between one earthly existence and another. Death is thus but a transition from one earthly existence through an intermediate level of one of the heavens or hells to rebirth in yet another earthly existence. The attachment of beings to the samsaric cycle, often referred to as the "wheel of existence" and characterized by *duḥkha* (suffering, unsatisfactoriness), is caused by *tṛṣṇā* (clinging, grasping, desiring) conditioned by ignorance (*avidyā*) of the Dharma, or the truth of the Middle Path as taught by the Buddha. Though *tṛṣṇā*, in the early Buddhism of India and the later Theravāda of Southeast Asia, is the ultimate cause of rebirth, one's *karman* determines the type and level of rebirth. In this tradition, only the enlightened ones, the *arhat*s, are free from the cycle of rebirths to enjoy the equanimity and the bliss of *nirvāṇa*.

The temporary aggregation of the components of ordinary experience (the *skandha*s: form, sensation, perception, dispositions and volitions, and consciousness, including self-consciousness) that prompt the presumption of separate person or self is dissipated at death following the experience of liberation (*mokṣa*). Short of enlightenment, there is no surcease of the continuous round of rebirths. The having-beenness of one life, with its repository of *karman*, leads to the coming-into-being of another life in another realm, though it is denied that any *ātman*, soul or self, as a separate entity transmigrates (known as the Buddhist teaching of *anātman*). Rebirth may occur in any one of the various heavens or hells, and one may be reborn as an animal, again as a human being, or in the *preta* realm, the realm of ghosts.

There is no one completely systematic account of the various hells in the Pali canon, the corpus of Theravāda texts known as the Tipiṭaka. Generally, the realm of *kāmaloka*, of the lower universe of sensuality, includes the various hells and the six lower heavens. The Pali Abhidhamma Piṭaka reports eight "hot" hells below the earth, each involving differing forms of suffering by which the consequences of bad *kamma* are consumed. In addition, there are sixteen minor hells attached to each of these hells. The duration of a passage through any one of these hells is not definitively established, each being correlative with the measure of the evil *kamma* to be consumed. Other Hīnayāna canons preserve more systematic and detailed cosmologies.

The structure of the heavenly realms in Buddhism draws upon non-Buddhist and Hindu sources, though they are reinterpreted within the Buddhist context. The six heavens of the sensual realm of *kāmaloka* are inhabited by the kings and gods who manifest their power through various forms of sensual experience. Included in this group is the Tuṣita Heaven, from which Gautama is said to have come upon entering his last earthly existence in which he experienced enlightenment, as well as the *bodhisattva*s of exemplary compassion and saving power.

The Buddhist heavens of the other two realms, *rūpaloka* (the world of form) and *arūpaloka* (the formless world, often referred to as the world of mind or consciousness), are accessible only by those accomplished in the practice of the discipline of meditation and spiritual endeavors. The heavens of *rūpaloka* are material and are inhabited by the gods who are free from sensual yearnings. They are variously numbered in different lists, in some texts enumerated as thirteen while in other texts listed as being from sixteen to eighteen, distributed in four different groups correlative with four *dhyāna*s (modes of meditation). The heavens of *arūpaloka* are likewise structured in four groups, each characterized by stages or levels of meditative attainment. For Buddhism, life in the heavenly realms is not free from involvement in the conditioned existence of samsaric cycles. The ultimate goal of enlightenment and fulfillment transcends even the highest of the heavens.

The *bodhisattva* motif of Mahāyāna Buddhism qualifies the ideas of both heavens and hells in the Buddhism of the "large vehicle." The *bodhisattva*s, moved by compassion for all beings involved in suffering (*duḥkha*), are beings who have taken a vow not to enter *nirvāṇa* until all sentient beings can do so. They are able to manifest themselves through diverse forms and beings and in any of the realms in which there are suffering beings, even into the depths of the lowest hell, to share their merit with all who are in need of liberation and enlightenment.

In no movement of the Buddhist traditions is this emphasis on the saving power of *bodhisattva*s and Buddha figures more vividly expressed than in the Pure Land schools of China, Korea, and Japan. Central to this popular Buddhist movement is the figure of Amitābha (Chin., O-mi-t'o-fo; Jpn., Amida), a Buddha who has gained inexhaustible merit through countless ages of Buddhist practice and who, as a consequence, possesses infinite saving power dedicated to the salvation of all. This Lord of the Western Paradise responds beneficiently to all who invoke his name, assuring them of both protection in earthly life and passage at death to the Land of the Western Paradise, whence their full enlightenment and entry into *nirvāṇa* is assured.

The quest for immortality had developed in Chinese religious Daoism; and with its associated belief in heavens, it made for fruitful interaction with Chinese Buddhism of the Pure Land. A notable figure who did much to extend the influence of Pure Land Buddhism in China was Tanluan (c. 488–c. 554) who had turned to this form of Buddhism after an extended Daoist search for the elixir of immortality. All mortals, he held, could be assured of salvation by faith in Amitābha, given expression through the recitation of his name, thus relying on his saving power.

The dominant Pure Land schools of Japan, the Jōdoshū, founded by Hōnen (d. 1212), and the Shinshū, formed by followers of a disciple of Hōnen, Shinran (d. 1263), attest to the wide appeal of this form of Buddhism, with its inviting vision of the Western Paradise. Pure Land texts, especially

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka (Jpn., *Hokekyō*) and the *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, contain graphic and imaginative descriptions of the Western Paradise: a bountiful land without pain or suffering; abounding in pleasure and beautiful natural surroundings, with flowing rivers and lotus-filled lakes, permeated by pleasant music, adorned by exquisite gems, and where neither a notion of nor a word for hell is to be found.

CHINESE TRADITIONS. The aspiration to achieve harmony in society that has characterized all of Chinese religion and philosophy has given to Chinese understandings of heaven a unique aspect. Rooted in the most ancient traditions of China, the worship of Heaven as well as the ruler of Heaven, Shangdi, is evident as early as the Shang dynasty (1532–1027 BCE). During the period of the Zhou dynasty (1027–256 BCE) the worship of Heaven, Tian, was regarded as essential for the maintenance of harmony between Heaven and earth. It is in the Confucian tradition, which formatively shaped the essential character of Chinese civilization through many centuries of relative stability, that a sophisticated articulation is found of the nature and place of Heaven.

Although Confucius's teachings and the Confucian tradition advocated the quest for harmony in human affairs, especially through the five relationships (ruler-subject, father-son, husband-wife, elder brother-younger brother, and friend-friend), as the way to perfect harmony in the cosmos, there is no doubt that basic presumptions regarding Heaven provided an ontological ground for the moral teachings to be manifest in the perfection of the *junzi* (sage, ideal gentleman). The focus was placed on human affairs; human beings should begin by seeking harmony in the relationships that immediately address them. Yet the underlying conviction was that if harmony is achieved in human affairs, harmony with Heaven will be assured. Thus, the full practice of *li* (tradition, propriety) informed by *ren* (human beings in relationship with each other) in the spirit of *shu* (reciprocity) along with the honoring of *xiao* (filial piety) will manifest the kind of *de* (perfect moral virtue and power) that is the ideal of the *junzi.* This is, for Confucianism, the way (*tao*) of Heaven in human affairs, and the very nature and structure of the cosmos as determined by Heaven is such that all will be well if ruler and subject both revere and follow (i.e., practice) this way. Thus, though it appears that the thought of Confucianism can most accurately be characterized as primarily a social ethic, there are nonetheless cosmic and ontological dimensions grounded in its notion of Heaven. The will of heaven *(tianzhi)* is the primary reality and the ultimate basis of Confucian thought. Whatever happens that is not the direct responsibility of human beings is attributed to the will of Heaven.

Unrestrained speculation about the nature of Heaven was not characteristic of Confucian thought, as evidenced in the texts of the Four Books, that is, the *Lunyu* (Analects), the *Daxue* (Great Learning), the *Zhong yong* (Doctrine of the Mean), and the *Mengzi* (Book of Mencius). In certain passages it does seem to be presumed that Heaven is an impersonal force underlying the cosmos, the ultimate source of order and morality. Yet in other passages Heaven is presumed to have the capacity to understand the plight and situation of human beings, indicating a seemingly personal dimension to heaven.

Though Confucian thought was not inclined to speculate about Heaven as a destiny awaiting human beings beyond death, its emphasis on the centrality of the family afforded a natural sympathy with ritual practices of ancestral reverence. Propriety in honoring the ancestors, whose spirits survived death and whose welfare was reciprocally related to that of living persons, became an essential component of *li.* As indicated earlier, both Buddhists who presided over masses for the dead and religious Daoists in China subscribed to a cosmology that included levels of heavens above and hells below the earth.

JAPANESE TRADITIONS. There are, in indigenous traditions of Japan, concepts analogous to those of heaven and hell in other religions. The oldest traditions recorded in the *Nihongi* and the *Kojiki* contained only nascent suggestions concerning the possibility of life beyond death, though this itself was associated with the grave. Following the sixth century, Chinese and Buddhist influences contributed to further development of religion in Japan. References are made to a realm beneath, one term for which was Yomi (literally, "darkness"). Though characterized as an undesirable realm from which beings threaten the welfare of the living, it is not clear that it is a repository of the dead. Gods dwell there, but they represent negative powers of death and disease. Later Yomi came to be conceived as a realm of punishment. More definite in later Japanese texts are the notions about a realm analogous to heaven, Ame. This is the dwelling place of the gods, and notable persons are thought to proceed there after death. Ame is a bounteous realm above the earth, made attractive by the presence of trees, flowers, and streams; its beauty is beyond anything known on earth. The importance Ame came to have is underscored by the tradition that Amaterasu, the sun goddess, visited there as well as Izanagi after his failure to recover his wife, Izanami. Japanese Buddhism shared as well the normative Mahāyāna visions of various levels of heaven and hell as intermediate states.

SEE ALSO Ancestors; Cosmology; Judgment of the Dead; Paradise; Resurrection; Underworld.

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HEAVEN'S GATE, a small American UFO cult, achieved worldwide notoriety in March 1997 when the leader and his thirty-eight followers committed mass suicide in Rancho Santa Fe, California. The bodies, dressed in black uniforms and covered with purple shrouds, were found lying on bunk beds and mattresses throughout the group's seven-bedroom mansion. The suicides had been carefully planned, and law enforcement investigators found no evidence of violence or coercion. After ingesting barbiturates and alcohol to induce drowsiness, the members had pulled plastic bags over their heads and suffocated as they fell asleep. Once free of their human "containers," they expected their souls to be lifted up to a spacecraft that would take them to a physical heaven, the Level above Human. There they would be given new androgynous bodies and assume the task of guiding the evolution of life on other planets throughout the universe.

ORIGINS. The leader of Heaven's Gate, a sixty-six-year-old man named Do, claimed to be God's sole representative on the planet. Originally he had shared leadership with a woman, Ti, but she died of liver cancer in 1985. Ti and Do met in Houston, Texas, in 1972. Ti, whose given name was Bonnie Lu Nettles (b. 1924), was a registered nurse and a student of metaphysics, including Theosophy. Do, then Marshall Herff Applewhite (b. 1931), was a former music professor and lapsed Presbyterian.

Applewhite had lost two university teaching positions because of problems stemming from confusion over his sexual identity. In 1965 he was dismissed from the University of Alabama and divorced by his wife following a homosexual affair with a student, and in 1970 he was fired from Saint Thomas University in Houston after his fiancée, a female student, attempted suicide when he broke off their engagement. Applewhite lamented his inability to form a lasting relationship, and though yearning for a soulmate to help him achieve his potential, he contemplated renouncing sexuality altogether.

Shortly after the Saint Thomas incident, Applewhite began having visions, including one in which he was told that he had been chosen for a Christlike messianic role. It was during this period that Applewhite met Nettles. Still active in theater circles, Applewhite offered her an exciting escape from an unhappy marriage, and she gave him the confidence and metaphysical knowledge he needed to begin making sense of his experiences. Believing they had known each other in a previous lifetime, they immediately formed an intense, though platonic, relationship, which led to the breakup of Nettles's marriage.

Early in 1973, Applewhite and Nettles left Houston, hoping to free themselves from worldly commitments in order to discover why God had brought them together. The answer came in a revelation six months later: They were the "two witnesses" in *Revelation* 11 who, after being martyred, would resurrect and ascend to heaven in a cloud. Like Jesus, they had come from the Kingdom of Heaven to show humans how to achieve eternal life, and like Jesus they would return in a spacecraft. Jesus had failed in his mission, so Applewhite had been sent to try again, this time with a helper because of the negativity on the planet, which was controlled by Satan.

To become eligible for membership in the Next Level, humans would have to follow the same path Applewhite and Nettles had taken by shedding their attachments to the human level, including their sexuality. The overcoming process would initiate a biological transformation of their bodies that would be completed upon reaching the Next Level, where they would become immortal, androgynous beings. Paradoxically, in light of the mass suicide to come, Applewhite and Nettles claimed that seekers had to board the spacecraft in living, physical bodies. Death would ensure another incarnation as a human.

In April 1975, after much fruitless proselytizing, Applewhite and Nettles recruited twenty-four followers in Hollywood, California. Now with a flock, they called themselves Bo and Peep. Their new group came to be known as Human Individual Metamorphosis (HIM), referring to the transformation of the body brought about by the overcoming process.

Bo and Peep began presenting their message in public meetings, and by the end of 1975, they had over two hundred followers. Most were young, single spiritual seekers with weak attachments to conventional institutions, although some had left families, homes, and careers. Typically they vanished abruptly within days of hearing the message, disappearing so completely that even private detectives were unable to find them. The disappearances made national headlines, and syndicated news stories about HIM appeared sporadically for several months.

FROM HIM TO TOTAL OVERCOMERS ANONYMOUS. The group reached its maximum size in the fall of 1975, but membership declined rapidly because the defection rate was high and fewer people were joining. Early in 1976, with about one hundred members remaining, Bo and Peep stopped recruiting, and the media lost interest in HIM. Bo and Peep inaugurated a new phase called the Classroom, which they compared to astronaut training. Less committed "students" were encouraged to leave, and late in 1976 nineteen were expelled. Bo and Peep changed their names again, this time to Do and Ti, with Ti's name spoken first, indicating her superior position in the "chain of mind" connecting the students with the Next Level.

The Classroom coupled extreme isolation with demanding discipline. Moving every six months, the Class initially lived in remote campgrounds, and later in expensive suburban neighborhoods. Isolation from humans was virtually complete during the camping phase because the Class was supported by a student's trust fund, but members remained insulated even after moving into houses. In 1978, forty-eight members moved into a single house, or "craft," without their neighbors' knowledge. Only certain students were allowed outside and "intercepts" were designated to greet visitors. After the trust fund ran out, some students got jobs waiting tables and doing computer work, but they maintained their distance from other people by identifying themselves as members of a celibate religious order. Not until 1982 were students allowed to call home. Some eventually visited their families, but they divulged few details about their activities and never revealed the group's location.

Everyday life was governed by strict schedules and procedures. The most demanding routine required students to check in throughout the day at a central location in staggered eleven-minute intervals. Arriving two at a time, they would stand prayerfully for one minute, then go back to their business, returning eleven minutes later, and so on until bedtime. This discipline was practiced, with occasional breaks, for months at a time. Procedure manuals prescribed the most mundane activities, from shaving to buttering bread, and each student was assigned a "check partner" to make sure the rules were followed. To help eliminate their humanness, sex and private property were forbidden, and except when sleeping or engaged in "out-of-craft tasks," students wore hooded uniforms that concealed their faces. Lingering human traits were addressed in slippage meetings, a form of mutual criticism. During free periods students studied astrology, worked puzzles, and watched television game shows to exercise their minds. Every night students took shifts scanning the heavens for UFOs.

Early in the 1980s, Ti and Do realized that their students were not, as they had thought, humans who would physically change their bodies into Next Level vehicles. Instead they were members of the Kingdom of Heaven who were temporarily occupying human vehicles for a training mission, which included exemplifying celibacy for humans. This new understanding helped cushion the blow when Ti died of cancer in 1985. Do explained that Ti, having completed her task of getting him started on his mission, had left her vehicle and returned to the Next Level, where she received a new body, like changing clothes. The separation of self and body escalated in 1988 when Do broached the idea of castration as a way for the males to eliminate the sexuality of their vehicles. Eventually eight men, including Do, had themselves castrated.

In 1988 the Class tentatively resumed proselytizing by mailing a statement by Do to UFO experts and New Age centers. Do elaborated on his belief in Satan by describing a "Luciferian" army of evil space aliens pitted against the Next Level. Subsequent videotapes produced by the Class expanded on Lucifer's activities and announced that the endtime was approaching. But not until 1992, in a *USA Today* advertisement warning that earth's civilization was about to be "spaded under," did the Class stress the urgency of the situation. In 1994 the Class, with only twenty-six students remaining and now calling itself Total Overcomers Anonymous, embarked on a series of sixty-four public lectures to present the message one last time. The group doubled in size, but most of the newcomers dropped out within a few months.

THE SUICIDES. Discouraged, Do grew increasingly concerned about Luciferian interference with his mission. After the 1993 assault on the Branch Davidian residence near Waco, Texas, Do worried that the Class might be under government surveillance, so he moved his students to New Mexico, where they began building a fortified compound. However, the project was never completed, and Do began sending students to other countries in an unsuccessful attempt to find a more compatible location for the Class. Proselytizing continued over the Internet, but the main response was ridicule, and Do admitted to growing weary of his mission.

In this context, the Class began discussing the possibility of "exiting" their vehicles, as Ti had done. The discussion was hypothetical at first, but it turned serious in September 1994 when Do asked the students how they would feel about leaving their bodies if this required nothing more than drinking a pleasant-tasting liquid and falling asleep. A few balked, but only one left the Class. In 1996 the Class began posting messages on its website that strongly implied that suicide was imminent. Erroneously, Do had come to believe that, like Ti, he was dying of cancer, and in November the Class liquidated nearly all its possessions.

By 1997 the number of students had dropped to thirty-eight, all of whom would die by suicide along with Do. The Class, now calling itself Heaven's Gate, had rented a hilltop mansion in Rancho Santa Fe, a wealthy suburb of San Diego. While several students still worked at out-of-craft tasks, many now worked "in-craft" for the group's web design business, Higher Source. Neighbors were generally unaware that a religious group lived in the house, and the few outsiders who became acquainted with the students described them as friendly, but reclusive.

Finally, in March, a flashing "RED ALERT!" was added to the group's web page announcing that the moment of departure was imminent. Although the medical examiner was unable to determine exactly when the suicides began, they appear to have started on March 23, the day after the Hale-Bopp comet—the brightest of the twentieth century—made its closest approach to earth. Do had concluded that Ti was coming back in a spacecraft concealed behind the comet's tail. Given Do's belief that he had been sent to complete the task assigned to Jesus, it may be significant that Easter, symbolizing Jesus' departure, was just seven days away.

Consistent with the group's meticulous attention to detail, the suicides followed a written plan. While some details remain unclear, it appears that the deaths took place over a three-day period, and that Do was among the last to die. In a videotape made just before the suicides, the students overflowed with gratitude toward Ti and Do, relieved and excited to finally be leaving their human containers for the Kingdom of Heaven.

THE AFTERMATH. As the largest mass suicide on American soil, the deaths triggered sensational headlines around the world. Most ex-members were shocked by the suicides because only a few were aware that their former classmates no longer believed that a physical body was required to enter the Next Level. Subsequently two ex-members took their lives in hopes of joining the Class aboard the spacecraft, bringing the death toll to forty-one. Although a few ex-members continued to believe that Ti and Do had come from the Next Level, none expressed any desire to carry on the Class. Only another Representative from the Next Level could do that. In their minds, Heaven's Gate ceased to exist when Do and his students exited their vehicles.

SEE ALSO Branch Davidians; New Religious Movements, article on New Religious Movements in the United States; Theosophical Society; UFO New Religions.

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HEBREW SCRIPTURES SEE BIBLICAL LITERATURE

HECATE SEE HEKATE

HEDGEHOGS. In the myths and legends of Inner Asia and eastern Europe, the hedgehog enjoys considerable respect because of its amazing wisdom. It is often described as being superior in wisdom even to the apparently omniscient God. Moreover, the hedgehog is sometimes a culture hero, instructing people in the various arts of life such as fire making, agriculture, and marriage customs.

In several cultures, the hedgehog has been thought wise enough to have assisted God in his work of creation. As a Romanian cosmogonic myth tells it, during creation the earth had spread out so far that there was no more room for the waters. God did not know what to do, so he sent the bee to the hedgehog, the wisest of all animals, to ask advice. It refused, however, to help, giving the excuse that God was all-knowing. The bee, knowing that the hedgehog is in the habit of talking to itself, stole back up to it and heard it murmuring, "God does not know that he must create valleys and mountains in order to make room for the waters." The bee hurried back to God with this advice, enabling him to complete his creation. Bulgarians have similar stories. In a Lettish version, God himself tells the hedgehog of his cosmogonic dilemma and obtains advice from it. To reward the hedgehog, God gives it a coat made of needles.

The Buriats have preserved a story about how the Lord of the Earth once visited Khormusta Tengri, one of the gods of heaven. On leaving, the Lord of the Earth begged for the sun and the moon as presents. Hospitality did not allow Khormusta Tengri to refuse, so the Lord of the Earth took the lights of the sky with him and shut them up in a box. The whole universe became dark. Distressed, Khormusta Tengri turned to the hedgehog. Using its profound wisdom, the hedgehog was able to return the sun and the moon to their heavenly orbits. In another Buriat version, the two divine beings are Kān-Čurmasan and Lusat, god of the ocean, with the hedgehog playing the same role.

According to the Buriats, fire making originated with the hedgehog. In the beginning, neither gods nor humans could make fire; only Hedgehog, who was then a human being, could. One day, a crowd gathered around Hedgehog to hear the secret of making fire. But the young girls, seeing his strange shape, began to laugh, and this angered him so much that he decided to tell his secret only to his wife, and even then only under a promise of silence. But the hawk overheard him explaining the secret and told it to the gods. From the gods humans in turn learned the art of making fire. Later, the descendants of Hedgehog were transformed into hedgehogs. Similar stories are known among some eastern European peoples: According to the Udmurts and the Mari, it is the hedgehog that showed humans and animals how to make fire using stone, steel, and tinder. They also say that the hedgehog instructed people in using the iron plow to till the soil.

The idea that the hedgehog is a clever animal is still alive, too, in the folklore of western Europe. A German folktale tells of a race between the hedgehog and the hare from which the hedgehog, by a trick, emerges victorious.

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HEGEL, G. W. F. (1770–1831), was a German philosopher, the culminating figure in the philosophical movement known as German Idealism. Born in Stuttgart, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel was given a thorough grounding in the humanities, with strong emphasis on literature and history. From his earliest years he was keenly aware of the cultural disintegration of western Europe—moral and religious, sociopolitical, and intellectual. He felt strongly that he was called to be a scholar and educator who would contribute to the reintegration of German culture, initially through emphasis on religious renewal. Thus, in 1788 he was enrolled in the Lutheran seminary at Tübingen, where, from 1788 to 1790, he studied philosophy and, from 1790 to 1793, theology. From this he turned to political thinking, seeking to analyze the moral prerequisites of an authentic political society. Finally he became convinced that only as a philosopher could he secure the intellectual underpinnings necessary for religious and sociopolitical renewal. From 1793 to 1796 he served as private tutor in Bern, Switzerland, and from 1797 to 1801 he filled the same position in Frankfurt am Main, Germany. In 1801 he moved to Jena, where he defended his dissertation (*De orbitis planetarum*) and began his professional career at the university.

In 1807 Hegel's first major work, *Phenomenology of Spirit,* was published, and he began a short-lived career as a newspaper editor in Bamberg. From 1808 to 1816 he held the post of director of a *Gymnasium* (secondary school) in Nuremberg, where he published his second major work, *Science of Logic.* In 1816 he was named professor of philosophy at the University of Heidelberg, where, in 1817, he published his third major work, *Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences* (2d and 3d eds., Berlin, 1827 and 1830). In 1818 he was appointed professor in Berlin, where he remained until his death in 1831. The last work by Hegel to be published during his lifetime was *Philosophy of Right,* which appeared in 1821. The bulk of his writings—on art, religion, history of philosophy, and philosophy of history—were published posthumously, based on a combination of his lecture notes and notes taken by his students.

UNDERSTANDING HEGEL. It can safely be said that no major figure in the whole of Western philosophy has been more difficult to understand than Hegel; indeed, to understand him is the task of a lifetime. The reasons for the difficulty are many, but they can be summed up, generally, as five: his encyclopedic vision, his enormous erudition, his language, his dialectical method, and his extraordinarily systematic thinking.

1. *Encyclopedic vision.* In a certain sense Hegel's intellectual quest is a continuous act of faith in reason. He seeks to articulate this faith in such a way that reason itself validates its claim that no truth is recalcitrant to it—not in the sense that human reason can, as merely finite activity, discover all truth, but in the sense that given truth, reason can comprehend the rationality of it, that is, the rational necessity underlying even existential contingency. As Hegel sees it, reason is truly reason only if it is ultimately absolute and infinite, that is, if it is absolute Spirit. This absolute Spirit, conceived as concretely real and not as some vague abstraction, will be seen to be God. Human reason is, it is true, finite, but it is reason at all only insofar as it is a sharing in infinite, divine Spirit, whose object is the infinite totality of reality.

2. *Enormous erudition.* Hegel's was a lifetime of intense and insatiable intellectual curiosity; he was not only an omnivorous student but also one who thoroughly enjoyed every intellectual challenge he met, one who did not, however, indulge in intellectual games. What he sought was a knowledge that is not only true but that truly makes a difference in life—not truth simply for its own sake but for the sake of life. He was not a mere technician in the handling of concepts but a thinker who sought rational grounds for a way of life, not merely an intellectual life but a life that is moral, religious, social, and political—in short, authentically human.

3. *Language.* Hegel uses a language that is both allusive and elusive; he uses language to say what only pure thought can think, and in so doing he stretches language, perhaps beyond its limits, refusing to let grammar be a straitjacket. One must be careful not to read Hegel in such a way as to take his meaning to be what the reader would mean if he or she said the same.

4. *Dialectical method.* Hegel claims that he has not arbitrarily chosen to think and speak dialectically, but that the dynamic character of reality itself demands just this method of dynamic thinking. At the very beginning of his *Science of Logic,* he affirms that to think at all is to think being, but that to think being necessarily entails thinking its opposite, nonbeing, and that to think the relationship between being and nonbeing entails thinking becoming. If is added to this the basic Hegelian contention that what truly rational thought cannot but think to be true cannot but be true, one comes to the conclusion that reality is necessarily dynamic and can be thought truly only in a thinking that is dynamic. Incidentally, the oft-repeated description of the Hegelian dialectic in terms of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis is not Hegel's own description, and in fact is not part of Hegel's mature vocabulary at all.

5. *Extraordinarily systematic thinking.* The comprehensive grasp of any truth implies, for Hegel, the whole of truth; similarly, an adequate grasp of anything Hegel says demands a comprehensive grasp of all he says, which makes for enormous difficulty of comprehension. Strictly speaking, no work by Hegel can be comprehended simply by itself. To understand *Phenomenology of Spirit,* one must see it as an application of the dynamic methodology elaborated in *Science of Logic,* and the latter must be read in light of the progressive development of rational thinking traced in the former. When he writes of morality, of law, of social-political structures, of art, religion, or philosophy, all must be situated in the framework of the systematic structure articulated in *Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences.* Whatever is to be understood must be understood in the dynamic matrix of historical development.

HEGEL AND RELIGION. With the difficulty acknowledged of coming to grips with the complexities of Hegel's highly intricate thought patterns, it remains true that no modern thinker has had more influence than Hegel—and that influence is on the increase—on moral, legal, social-political, aesthetic, religious, and philosophical thought. This article confines itself here, however, to Hegel's influence on subsequent religious and theological thinking—both Catholic and Protestant. It is important to note in this connection that, for Hegel, religious consciousness, a uniquely human phenomenon, has characterized human society as far back as any records will take us, and that it has borne eloquent testimony to the progressive sophistication of human consciousness of the divine, known in Hegel's writings as the Absolute.

Historically speaking, that consciousness has manifested itself, initially in its most primitive form, in the deification of the cosmic forces of nature, with mounting refinement through efforts on the part of humankind to portray the divine in plastic, mythic, and poetic form, culminating in what it sees as "absolute religion," or "religion of revelation," in which God, the absolute Spirit, reveals himself to the human spirit by taking on human form. Clearly Hegel has in mind here the Christian religion, which he calls, in fact, in his *Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion,* "absolute religion." It should be noted, however, that, for Hegel, in every form of religion, even the most primitive, religious consciousness is more than a projection on the part of humanity of human ideals; in every form it is a self-manifestation—a self-revelation—of the Absolute, which is spirit and only spirit.

For Hegel, then, religion and revelation are inseparable, but revelation can take progressively more adequate forms—remembering, of course, that in all its forms it is revelation to humankind as thinking spirit. Thus God reveals himself to humankind in nature, but only if humans think of nature in such a way as to receive the revelation. By the same token God reveals himself not only to but also in finite spirit, provided that humans see in finite spirit the necessity of infinite Spirit. God, moreover, speaks to humanity in the words of scripture, not so much, however, in the words themselves as in the story the words tell.

Thus, when Hegel speaks, as he does in *Phenomenology of Spirit,* of a "spiritual interpretation" of Christian teachings—an interpretation sometimes confused with "demythologization"—he is saying that if what revelation says of God is true, grasped as true through the mediation of the inner light of the Spirit, then what it affirms to be true is necessarily true, and this truth can be articulated in reason. Then God speaks to humankind not only in words but in person, in the person who is the Word. Finally, God speaks to humankind in the person of the Spirit who dwells in humans—in the community of believers and in the individual believer. To find where Hegel says all this one must turn chiefly to his *Phenomenology,* chapter 7, "Religion"; to his *Encyclopedia,* part 3, section 3, "Philosophy of Absolute Spirit" (with "additions"); to his *Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion;* to his *Lectures on Aesthetics;* and to his *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History.*

Here it is important to come to grips with the Hegelian concept of the "objectively rational." When the human spirit affirms what God has revealed, it affirms what is not only true but also necessarily true, even though the affirmation has not been arrived at as the result of a strictly rational (or logical) process of thinking. Thus, what is affirmed is objectively rational. Hegel's further contention is, however—and this is where he meets the greatest opposition—that given the truth of what is revealed, human reason can see the rational necessity of it. Whatever is true of God is necessarily true, and thus there can be no contradiction between what reason sees and what religion believes, even though it may well be that reason will not see it until faith presents it. Thus, God's being and God's activity are identical, the latter as necessary as the former, without prejudice to God's freedom, that is, his absolute self-determination.

It can be seen from what has been said thus far that Hegel is far more interested in the object of religious affirmation than he is in the subjective character of the affirmation. Nor is he concerned with the affirmation simply as an intellectual act: Much more his concern is with the response of the whole human person to God, who is truth. Nevertheless, he contends that the response is adequately human only if it proceeds from what is most characteristically human in humankind, that is, reason, but not reason conceived in narrowly "rationalistic" terms. Here it is that Hegel has frequently been accused of making the religious relationship far too rational, of being panlogistic, if not pantheistic, of allowing religion to be swallowed up in philosophy. It is true, of course, that he does say that art presents the Absolute in the form of the sensibly perceptible, that religion represents the Absolute in the form of imaginative thinking, and that philosophy renders the Absolute present in its most proper form, that of pure thought, but it remains to be seen whether this, in fact, either dilutes the religious response or renders it no longer religious.

Whether or not Hegel succeeded in what he set out to do is a question that has elicited a variety of answers—depending for the most part on the predispositions of those who seek to answer the question. It scarcely seems open to question, however, that what Hegel intended was not to cancel out either the revelation in which absolute truth is presented, or the faith in which it is received, or the religious life that is consequent on both. When "speculative philosophy" thinks out the content of religious consciousness, philosophy does not supplant religion; it completes religion by thinking its content in the form most proper both to its exalted object and to the human subject, who is essentially rational. As Hegel sees it, it is absolute Spirit that bears witness in the human spirit to absolute truth, whether that be the truth of religion, of morality, of law, or of philosophy. Not only need not every believer become a philosopher, but the philosopher need not—must not—abrogate the faith that is at once the necessary precondition to and the constant underpinning of philosophical reflection.

Although it is true that in the final chapter of his *Phenomenology* Hegel sees "absolute knowing" as the culmination of human spiritual development, this affirmation must be seen against the backdrop of his contention that all human knowledge of truth is the work of absolute Spirit bearing witness in finite form to infinite truth. What philosophy can do, then, is to recognize that the presence of truth—even particular, finite truth—bespeaks the witness of absolute Spirit in human thinking. Both religion and philosophy are finite human activities, but they are more than that; because these finite activities ascend (are elevated) to the infinite object who is God, they are infinitized in the communion of the human and the divine.

Here it is important to emphasize the moral dimensions of Hegel's thought. Whether the ascent of the human spirit to God be religious or philosophical or both, neither mere intellectual interest nor fascination with the wonders of nature, nor awe before the extraordinary capacity of the human mind to think, will trigger that ascent; the orientation of the human spirit to God, the Absolute, will be effectively realized only if that orientation coincides with the striving toward moral goodness, in which alone the self-realization of the human spirit can be accomplished. For Hegel thought is not thought in the fullest sense if it is not oriented to the good, not merely in the sense of good thinking but, more importantly, in the sense of good living: It is, he contends, irrational to be immoral. God, then, is the ultimate goal of moral striving, not, it is true, as some vague, indeterminate "moral order" of the universe, but as the concrete, personal foundation for all moral order. Thus, there will be no religion in any significant sense where there is no longing for moral goodness that leads to religious consciousness of God as fulfillment of that longing. This, in turn, ultimately demands that the orientation be not merely emotional, even though knowing God is inseparable from an emotional response to the God who is known, the one God of both religion and philosophy.

HEGEL AND "HEGELIANISM." It would be misleading here not to acknowledge that there has been and continues to be considerable dispute among scholars as to whether Hegel quite literally intended that absolute Spirit, which he sees as the concrete unified source of all thought and of all spiritual activity, and absolute Idea, the unified concrete object of all thought, should be identified with the God of religion. In addition, there has been and continues to be dispute as to whether, no matter what Hegel intended, the God of whom he speaks can legitimately be identified with the God of Christianity. All disputes aside, however, if one is to take Hegel at his word, he quite clearly says that because there is only one God, then the God of philosophy and the God of (Christian) religion are one and the same—if not, then the God of philosophy would be but an abstract God, that is, no God at all.

As late as 1830 (shortly before his death), in the preface to the third edition of his *Encyclopedia,* he indulges in one of his few emotional outbursts against those who take it upon themselves to say that he is not Christian. He also says quite clearly in more than one place that if philosophy is to be true to its vocation, it cannot fail to be theology. Thus, for Hegel, there is no area of philosophical thought that does not have as the goal of its striving the Absolute, or God—not so much, however, as simply an object of contemplation but, more significantly, as an ideal for will, where the ideal is conceived as concrete, personal Spirit. Thus, because philosophical thinking is the activity of the human spirit, the subject matter of philosophy is not, properly speaking, God as transcendent object; rather it is the human spirit in its intimate relation to divine Spirit, without which the former cannot realize in itself all that it is to be human.

It thus becomes impossible to speak in any precise way of the concept of "Hegelianism." There is a Hegelian content, call it "absolute idealism" (an idealism oriented to and rooted in the Absolute); and there is a Hegelian method, call it "systematic dialectic." Those who came after Hegel and were influenced by him can be classified in three groups: Hegelians of the right, of the left, and of the center. To be "Hegelian" at all was to employ to a greater or lesser extent Hegel's method. The divisions concern the content of Hegel's thinking and focus primarily on the interpretation of his religious thinking: The "left," rejecting all that he has to say about God and, above all, about the person of Jesus, makes do with the method, more or less loosely employed; the "right" employs the method to articulate Christian belief; the "center" does the same as the "right" but interprets Hegel's language in more or less metaphorical ways. The lasting (and growing) influence of Hegel, however, cannot be encapsulated in facile catchphrases.

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HEIDEGGER, MARTIN (1889–1976), was a German philosopher. Young Heidegger's concern with the meaning of holy scripture was matched by his interest in the question of the meaning of being. Raised as a strict Roman Catholic, he studied for the priesthood for two years before deciding to pursue philosophy at the University of Freiburg. After receiving his Ph.D. in 1915, he stayed on at the university to work with Edmund Husserl, the founder of phenomenology. During the years 1916 to 1919, Heidegger came to find Catholic dogma too rigid and moved toward liberal Protestantism. In the 1920s he appears to have abandoned his faith altogether, yet throughout his life he remained deeply involved with religious and spiritual issues. From 1923 to 1928, he taught at the University of Marburg, where he was a colleague of Rudolf Bultmann, Paul Tillich, and Rudolf Otto. Then he returned to Freiburg to replace the aging Husserl as professor of philosophy. In 1933–1934, while rector of the university, he openly supported National Socialism, but he soon changed his position and began challenging Nazi views in his classes. As a result, he was eventually declared expendable and was sent to work on the Rhine dikes. After World War II, he returned to Freiburg, where he spent the rest of his life teaching and writing as a professor of philosophy. Heidegger's thought can be divided into an early and a late phase. The late phase, the so-called turn, began in the late 1930s. This "turn" was not a radical shift in his thinking but rather the mature expression of insights he had voiced earlier.

HEIDEGGER'S EARLY THOUGHT. In his major work*, Being and Time* (1927), Heidegger claims that human existence, or *Dasein,* constitutes the temporal-historical clearing in which beings can manifest themselves, or "be." For Heidegger, being does not mean the metaphysical ground of reality, a role traditionally assigned to God, but instead the finite presencing or manifesting of entities as entities, as things that are. One's ability to use the word is shows that one understands the difference between being (presencing) and entities (things that present or reveal themselves). Because one is constantly understanding and interpreting what it means for oneself and other beings "to be," Heidegger concludes that human existence is essentially hermeneutical. Although one often understand oneself as a thing, such as an egos or thinking subject, Heidegger argues that humans are not things at all. Instead, they are the finite openness in which things, such as subjects and objects, can first manifest themselves, or "be." Each person must decide how to be this openness, whether inauthentically or authentically. As inauthentic, human *Dasein* conceals the fact that it is mortal openness and interprets itself as an enduring thing, like an ego or a soul. Yet, the mood of anxiety can at any time reveal that *Dasein* is not a thinglike substance, but instead finite openness for the being of beings. This revelation invites *Dasein* to halt its flight into distractions and roles that conceal who *Dasein* really is. In the moment of authenticity, *Dasein* resolves to undergo a radical change in its temporal openness. As a result of this change, *Dasein* no longer understands itself as an ego bent on avoiding death, but instead as a finite individual called on to take responsibility for its own limited possibilities and to act in concert with others to promote the community's heritage. Authenticity, then, is not merely a personal matter, but an event that aligns one with the destiny of one's people. For Heidegger, authenticity is a prerequisite for genuine philosophical understanding of being. Influenced by Augustine, Pascal, Luther, Kierkegaard, Dostoevskii, and Nietzsche, he maintains that theoretical knowledge must be rooted in the personal experience of authentic human existence. Only such experience promotes the fulfillment of Western philosophy: to understand the being of beings.

HEIDEGGER'S LATER THINKING AND ITS IMPACT ON THEOLOGY. In *Being and Time,* Heidegger approaches being by analyzing the being (human *Dasein*) who understands being; in his later works, however, he approached being in other ways. For example, he meditated on the role played by language in the self-revealing, or being, of beings. Moreover, he no longer spoke of authenticity in voluntaristic terms, such as "resoluteness," but instead described it as "releasement" (*Gelassenheit*) from will, ego, and subjectivism. This turn in his thinking, which took on a mystical element influenced by Meister Eckhart, revealed new possibilities for a dialogue between philosophy and theology. The idea of releasement, for instance, has clear affinities with the Christian doctrine of grace. Heinrich Ott, a student of both Rudolf Bultmann and Karl Barth, was one of the first to point out the theological implications of Heidegger's later thought. Although the analysis in *Being and Time* of human *Dasein* had been inspired in part by Barth's work on the apostle Paul, Barth rejected Heidegger's philosophy because it overemphasized human understanding and did not properly address the being of God. Bultmann's theology supposedly suffered from a similar problem. But Ott argues that the later Heidegger corrected his early overemphasis on the human and spoke instead of humanity's need to be "appropriated" *(ereignet)* by and for the "event" (*Ereignis*) that "gives" being to us. Preparing for such appropriation requires a thinking that is more fundamental than science, that is, thinking that lets being reveal itself. True thinking discloses that language is not a tool one possesses to dominate entities; instead, one is "owned" by language. Language is the "house of being," the gathering and sheltering that lets entities reveal themselves in their own terms, not merely as objects for human use. In Ott's view, Heidegger's talk of responding to the presencing of entities through language may be analogous to Barth's claim that faith demands a response to the Word of God: Philosophy is to being as theology is to the self-manifesting Word of God.

Heidegger himself always warned of the dangers of misusing his thought for theological purposes. In 1928, he distinguished sharply between philosophy and theology. Much later, he claimed that if he were taken by faith, he would have to give up philosophy. He maintained that Christian faith cannot be fully understood in ontological terms; it must be rooted, instead, in the historical events of Christ's death and resurrection. Hence, he had doubts about the implications for faith of Bultmann's demythologizing. Although indebted to motifs drawn from the Judeo-Christian tradition, Heidegger did not intend to revive it. His call for a return of the gods shows his abiding concern for the sacred, but he denied that being can be identified with God. God is a kind of being, but being, as such, refers to the historically different ways in which entities reveal or manifest themselves. He hoped that, in the current dark time, the "destiny of being" would bring forth a new world in which the gods would reappear. It is not clear how he could have such hope in being, however, because it lacks a personal dimension. Still, his impact on modern theology has been great. Heidegger's early concern with hermeneutics was transmitted to theology by his student Hans-Georg Gadamer as well as by Bultmann. Furthermore, by offering an alternative to the dualistic understanding of human existence, by calling for a nonobjectifying way of speaking of the holy, and by urging us to remain open for a return of the sacred, Heidegger provided much insight not only for such Protestant theologians as Bultmann, Tillich, Gogarten, Fuchs, Ebeling, and Macquarrie, but also for such Catholic theologians as Karl Rahner.

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MICHAEL E. ZIMMERMAN (1987)

HEILER, FRIEDRICH

HEILER, FRIEDRICH (1892–1967), German theologian and historian of religions. Born into a pious Roman Catholic family in Munich, Heiler studied theology, philosophy, Asian languages, and psychology at the University of Munich and received his doctorate in 1917 with a study of prayer that is still a classic, *Das Gebet.* One year later he published *Die buddhistische Versenkung* (Munich, 1918), a study of Buddhist contemplation. His work attracted the interest of the Swedish archbishop Nathan Söderblom, who invited him to Sweden. There he became active in the Lutheran church. In 1920 he accepted a professorship in comparative religion at the University of Marburg, where he remained until his retirement. During the Nazi era he was transferred from the Faculty of Theology into the Faculty of Arts and became its first dean after 1945.

Heiler's book on prayer shows his talent for explaining a central religious phenomenon in a purely inductive way, free of any philosophical presuppositions. Without losing sight of historical relationships, the book provides a phenomenological exposition not only of non-Christian religions but also of the Christian churches and their leaders, whose personalities Heiler interprets within the framework of the general history and phenomenology of religion. This achievement prevails in all of his writings down to his last major work, an introduction to the phenomenology of religion, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion* (Stuttgart, 1961).

Heiler's double allegiance to the Catholic church and his new, Lutheran affiliation was never completely resolved, as his correspondence with Söderblom shows. In order to bridge the gap, he founded a high church movement, and he was later consecrated as a bishop in the Gallican succession. As much as he was critical of the historical development of the Roman church, the celebration of the Mass according to the ancient Christian rite remained central to Heiler's spiritual life. This orientation is evident from *Der Katholizismus* (1923; new ed., Munich, 1970), which provoked much controversy, and from two of his later studies, *Urkirche und Ostkirche* (Munich, 1937), on the development of the Eastern rites from earliest times, and *Altkirchliche Autonomie und päpstlicher Zentralismus* (Munich, 1941), on the Roman rite and its centralizing tendencies. His early interest in the modernist movement, which influenced him considerably, prompted him to write a biography of one of its leaders: *Alfred Loisy, 1857–1940, der Vater des katholischen Modernismus* (Munich, 1947).

Heiler had both a liberal attitude and a strong mystical bent. Opposed as much to Bultmann's demythologization as to Barth's radical theology, he saw in Christianity a microcosm of the world of religions in general, and he believed in the presence of the ever-working *Logos Spermatikos.* His personal piety was shaped by the ideals of Franciscan devotion as he experienced it in relations with his Italian Franciscan friends. Like the medieval Franciscans, he hoped for the *Papa angelicus* who would usher in the age of the Holy Spirit and the one holy church. Toward this end, he worked all his life, devoting numerous articles, many lectures, and his editorship of a journal, *Eine heilige Kirche* (Munich, 1919–1941), to bringing it about.

The ideal of the one church Heiler extended to non-Christian religions as well, for he saw in them manifestations of the same basic religious truths he found in Christianity. He was particularly inclined toward Buddhism, especially the figure of the compassionate Buddha, and toward mystical Hinduism, which is demonstrated in *Die Mystik in den Upanishaden* (Munich, 1925). Eventually he was to defend Sadhu Sundar Singh in a long literary feud with the critics of this convert from Sikhism to Christianity. In both his writing and his teaching, Heiler always emphasized the role of women in religion. His numerous sermons combine wide knowledge of religious history with his very personal faith in the God who manifests himself as love.

Although Heiler was misunderstood in various quarters during his lifetime, many of his ideas were realized after his death. His major books, which demonstrate his philological erudition and which provide an immense wealth of bibliographic sources, will remain standard works in the history of religions and in the study of early Christianity. Taking up and enlarging the promise evident in his first masterwork on prayer, Heiler's later works reflect his ideal of an "evangelical catholicity" and his hope for a synthesis (rather than syncretism) of the world's religions and their highest ideals.

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There is no biography of Heiler in any language. For a better understanding of the man and his work, two books are recommended: *Die grössere Ökumene: Gespräche um Friedrich Heiler*, edited by Emmanuel Jungclaussen (Regensburg, 1970), and *Friedrich von Hügel, Nathan Söderblom, Friedrich Heiler: Briefwechsel 1909–1931*, edited, with an introduction and commentary, by Paul Misner (Paderborn, 1981). The latter presents the revealing correspondence of Heiler, Söderblom, and Baron Hügel.

ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL (1987)

HEIMDALLR is a Scandinavian deity who is the watchman of the Æsir, the dominant group of gods. Rarely mentioned in Norse court poetry, Heimdallr appears frequently in Eddic poetry. According to *Grímnismál* (st. 13) he lives in Himinbjorg, the "celestial shelter" from which he guards the abode of the gods, happily drinking mead while performing his task. The giant Loki claims (*Lokasenna*, st. 48), however, that Heimdallr was fated to an awful life and will forever stand watch with a muddy back due to his constant exposure to foul weather. According to *Þrymskviða* (st. 15), Heimdallr is the "whitest of the gods" and able to predict the future. The eddic poem *Vǫluspá* mentions that men are called "Heimdallr's children" (st. 1); similarly, the medieval scribe of *Rígsþula*, a poem explaining how the classes of society arose from the three sons of a being named Rígr, identifies Rígr as Heimdallr. *Vǫluspá* (st. 46) also states that Heimdallr will blow his horn to warn the gods of the start of Ragnarǫk, their last battle against the giants and monsters. This instrument is named *Gjallarhorn* (loud-sounding horn) and can be heard throughout the nine worlds.

Snorri Sturluson (1179–1241) provides some additional details: Heimdallr is great and holy, and is also known as Hallinskíði, a poetic term that also designates the ram (perhaps because both a ram and Heimdallr are known for their horns). Heimdallr was possibly associated with the ram, as Þórr is associated with goats and Freyr with his boar. Heimdallr has a third cognomen, Gullintanni (Golden Tooth), because he had teeth of gold. The function of this brilliant appearance is unexplained. Heimdallr's horse is called Gulltoppr (Gold Tuft), and his home is located next to Bifröst, the rainbow bridge at the edge of heaven that he guards against invasion by the mountain giants. Heimdallr is the ideal watchman: needing less sleep than a bird, he is able to see for a distance of one hundred leagues by day or by night and to hear the grass growing on the earth, the wool growing on the sheep, or any other noise, an ability for which he pledged or hid an ear below the world tree (*Vǫluspá,* sts. 27–28), just as Óðinn gives up an eye to gain knowledge at Mímir's well.

Vǫluspá hin skamma (Short prophecy of the seeress) ascribes his birth to nine mothers, all giant maidens who bore and breast-fed him at the edge of the world, a tradition confirmed by the poem *Heimdallargaldr* (The magic song of Heimdallr). The nine mothers who are also sisters might, in addition, be the waves of the sea, who give birth to him on the seashore, the "edge of the earth." The tenth-century Icelandic poet Úlfr Uggason describes Loki fighting with the "son of nine mothers" (*Húsdrápa*, st. 2) for the possession of a beautiful *hafnyra* (literally "sea kidney," but meaning "a piece of amber"); Snorri explains that Loki's adversary was Heimdallr and that they fought in the shape of seals for this object, which Snorri identifies with the Necklace of the Brisings. Snorri also explains the poetic circumlocution "Heimdallr's head" for "sword," which comes from the fact that a blow from a human head caused Heimdallr's death. It is not clear how this fits in with the tradition of his last fatal fight with his arch-foe Loki at Ragnarök. Another detail strengthens the depiction of Heimdallr and Loki as opposing parallels: according to *Vǫluspá hin skamma*, both are said to have become either figuratively or literally pregnant. Heimdallr was made potent or pregnant with the power of the earth, and Loki ate the half-roasted heart of a witch, from which he became pregnant with the race of ogresses.

Linguistic analysis of Heimdallr's name scarcely elucidates his basic character. The first element is usually identified with *heimr* (homeland, world), a cognate of the English word *home*; the second is a masculine noun *dallr* (of which the feminine equivalent, *döll*, appears as the second component of one of Freyja's names, Mardöll). It has been connected with the Old English *deall* (brilliant, bright, proud), and thus may refer to Heimdallr's shining whiteness. This interpretation is supported by another etymology that connects his name with the Old Frisian *hemtiacht* (brilliantly luminous). However, Jan de Vries's *Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1961) is probably correct in considering the Old Norse *dallr/döll* as developments of the Germanic **dalþu-* (blooming, flourishing), with a root appearing also in the Greek word *thállo* (bloom, be luxuriant) and the Gothic *duls* (festival), originally connected with the renewal of nature. According to Gabriel Turville-Petre's *Myth and Religion of the North* (vol. 1, 1964), the Early Modern Icelandic word *dallur* is glossed as *arbor prolifera* (prolific tree) by the nineteenth-century lexicographer Björn Halldórsson. This would point to a special relationship between Heimdallr and the cosmic tree, which is said to be drenched with white mud (*Vǫluspá*, st. 19), the same substance that Loki says covers Heimdallr's back. This would also corroborate the etymology of *Heimdallr* as "god of the world." Despite these investigations, Heimdallr remains an enigmatic god. In addition to the many Celtic elements of his story, he is like Óðinn in leaving something at the foot of Yggdrasill in exchange for special powers. Like Þórr, he is a defender of the world of the gods and is associated with a male domestic animal; like St. Michael, he will blow his horn at the end of time. Evidently, the memory of Heimdallr had faded by the time the extant sources were composed.

SEE ALSO Eddas; Germanic Religion.

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HEKATE is best known as the mistress of threatening, restless ghosts because Greek and Roman literature emphasized this sensational aspect of her personality beginning in the fifth century BCE (e.g., Euripides *Helen* 569–570). This role led to Hekate's association with magic, which often relied on the cooperation of the ghosts whom she controlled (Euripides *Medea* 397; Horace *Satires* 1.8.33). Later authors followed suit; for example, Shakespeare's *Macbeth* makes her the leader of a band of witches. Her association with ghosts and the darker side of magic also led to her portrayal, in later antiquity, as a threatening and horrible creature who might look like a snake, howl like a dog, and make her meals among the graves (*Papyri Graecae Magicae* IV.2549, 2856–2869).

However, other Greek and Roman sources, some of which go back to before the fifth century BCE, suggest that in antiquity Hekate was usually viewed as a normal, even benign, goddess. Hesiod (*Theogony* 404–492) lauds her as a powerful older divinity who is willing to benefit many kinds of worshipers, including mothers, kings and fishermen. Pindar (*Paean* 2.73–2.77) describes Hekate as a "kindly messenger." In art she is free of frightening traits; a late-sixth-century BCE votive statuette shows her seated, dressed in the same style as other goddesses (Berlin Staatl. Mus. TC 7729 = [5] #105), and vase paintings show her as a girlish figure carrying torches to celebrate weddings (see Sarien 1992: #44, 45, 46 with commentary).

OTHER ASSOCIATIONS. It is likely that Hekate's association with restless souls, and thence magic, arose from two other concerns she held from early times. The first was her interest in girls' transitions from virginity to marriage and in the childbirth and child nurture that follow marriage (Euripides *Trojan Women* 323; Aeschylus *Suppliants* 676; Antoninus Liberalis 29; Hesiod *Theogony* 450–451; scholiast on Aristophanes *Wasps* 804; see Johnston 1999, chapter 6). Girls who died unmarried and women who died without successfully rearing children were considered to have died "untimely" (*aoros*), and their souls were imagined to wander with Hekate, wreaking havoc on the world of the living out of envy and frustration; magicians sometimes invoked these unhappy souls to do their bidding. It was probably also Hekate's association with dying virgins that led to her identification during the archaic period with Iphigeneia, the most famous mythic maiden who died before marriage (Stesichorus fr. 215; Hesiod *Catalogue* fr. 23a 17–26 cf. 23b; Proclus, summary of the *Cypria* 55–64; further at Johnston 1999, chapter 6). Hekate's only other prominent mythic role, as the goddess involved with Persephone's journey to and from the Underworld, similarly connects her with a maiden who dies and "returns" (*Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 24, 52–59, 438–440; Callimachus fr. 466; Orphic frr. 41–42). In addition, Hekate herself is almost always imagined as virginal.

The second role that contributed to Hekate's association with ghosts in Greece was her guardianship of entrances and other liminal places, both civic and domestic, where ghosts were imagined to lurk (Johnston 1991; Johnston 1999, chapter 6). In Greece, shrines or statuettes of Hekate (*hekataia*) were placed at entrances and at the junctions of three roads (*triodoi*) to seek her protection. "Suppers" (*deipna*) were left for Hekate and ghosts at the junctions, especially on the night of the new moon (Aeschylus fr. 388; Aristophanes *Wasps* 804; Aristophanes *Plutus* 594 with scholia; Demosthenes LIV.39; Plutarch *Greek Questions* 708f; Apollodorus of Athens *Fragments of Greek History* 244 F 110). The polluted remains of domestic purification rites also were deposited at the road junctions (Plutarch *Roman Questions* 280c, 290d; Lucian *Dialogues of the Dead* 1.1); in later antiquity, these were already sometimes confused with the suppers for Hekate, but originally they were distinct (see Johnston 1991). Hekate's close connection to the road junctions is reflected by her Greek epithet, *triodios*; her Roman name, Trivia; and her frequent sculptural portrayal, from the classical period on, as a goddess with three heads or even three bodies. Over time, Hekate collected many other epithets that reflected her triplicity; Chariclides (fr. 1) offers a tongue-in-cheek collection of them.

The association of the dog with Hekate, including its sacrifice to her (Euripides fr. 968; Aristophanes fr. 608; scholiast on Aristophanes *Peace* 276), probably began as a reflection of Hekate's role as birth goddess; birth goddesses commonly received sacrifices of dogs. However, by the end of the classical period the dog also took on Hekate's frightening nature; bands of howling dogs, imagined to be souls of the dead, followed Hekate on her nightly prowls or heralded her arrival (Theocritus *Idyll* 2.12–13, 2.35–36; Vergil *Aeneid* 6.255–258). These souls that followed Hekate inflicted insanity or night terrors (Hippocrates *On the Sacred Illness* 4.30–33), which explains the worship of Hekate in mysteries that promised, among other things, to cure madness (Aristophanes *Wasps* 122; Pausanias 2.30.2; Dio Chrysostom *Oration* 4.90; Aristotle *Mirabilia* 173; see Johnston 1999, chapter 4).

ORIGINS AND ASSOCIATIONS IN OTHER MYTHOLOGIES. Hekate probably originated in Caria, in Asia Minor, whence she traveled into mainland Greece during the archaic period. Her worship in Caria and other places in Asia Minor continued strongly into the imperial period (Kraus 1960), even as it spread throughout the rest of the Greek world. Sources vary considerably on Hekate's parentage; the most influential source, Hesiod (*Theogony* 409–411), made her the daughter of Titans Asterie and Perses and thus the cousin of Artemis and Apollo (see also scholiast on Apollonius of Rhodes *Argonautica* 3.467). Her name appears to be cognate with Apollo's epithets Hekatos and Hekatobolos, which suggests that it has something to do with "from afar," but the meaning is unclear.

Hekate was conflated in cult, myth, and iconography with a number of other goddesses, notably Artemis (Aeschylus *Suppliants* 676; *Inscriptions Graecae* 13 383.125–127), with whom she shared an interest in girls' transitions and childbirth and the iconographic feature of carrying torches; Selene, the goddess of the moon (Plutarch *On the Obsolescence of Oracles* 416e–f; Johnston 1990, chapter 2); and Enodia (Sophocles fr. 535), a Thessalian goddess who shared Hecate's interest in childbirth and in guardianship of entrances (*Inscriptions Graecae* IX 575–576, 578; Johnston 1999, chapter 6; Kraus 1960, 57–83). In the magical papyri, Hekate often was equated with Ereshkigal, the Mesopotamian goddess of the Underworld (*Papyri Graecae Magicae* LXX.4–25). In late antiquity Hekate's role as a birth goddess and guardian of passages and transitions also led to her appointment as a savior goddess in theurgy, where she was identified with the Platonic Cosmic Soul, which was imagined to divide the material (earthly) realm from the noetic (heavenly) realm. She facilitated the passages of individual souls downward into bodies and upward again for union with the divine, and she sent oracles to the theurgists that taught them how to perform further rituals that would improve their souls (see Johnston 1990).

SEE ALSO Artemis; Dogs; Magic, article on Magic in Greco-Roman Antiquity; Moon.

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SARAH ILES JOHNSTON (2005)

HELL SEE HEAVEN AND HELL; UNDERWORLD

HELLENISTIC RELIGIONS.

Whereas religion is never a mere reflex of political, economic, and social conditions, there are periods in history when these factors exert a palpably strong influence on religious thinking. The Hellenistic age was certainly such a period. Its early phase, which began with the conquests of Alexander the Great in 334 BCE and continued with the rule of his successors, brought military and political upheaval to many peoples. When Roman imperialism later became the dominating power, there was greater apparent political stability, and the consciousness of a unified world, which Alexander's victories had furthered, was enhanced. The thought of one world does not necessarily lead to the idea of one God, but it does raise questions about a possible spiritual unity behind the manifold manifestations of religious experience.

Culturally this was a world that gave primacy to the Greek language, and Alexander himself, although a Macedonian, was a fervent disseminator of Greek culture. Within his empire other languages continued to flourish, including Aramaic, Hebrew, Egyptian, Babylonian, and Latin, but it was Greek that bore the official stamp of the ruling powers. Alexandria largely replaced Athens as the world's cultural capital, with Pergamum in northwestern Asia Minor as a splendid rival. Alexandria gave a Greek form to its glittering artistic and intellectual achievement, although it harbored several other cultural and religious groups, not the least of which were the Alexandrian Jews. In philosophy, however, Athens retained some of its pristine vigor because it was there that the new schools of Epicureanism and Stoicism first found a footing. In different ways both Epicurus and Zeno, the founders of these schools, were reacting to the broadened horizons created by Alexander's achievements. Even before this the Greek world was no narrow enclave, for Greek colonies had long since spread to Asia Minor and the Black Sea area, to Egypt and North Africa, and to southern Italy, Sicily, Spain, and Gaul. What was new in the Greek dimension of Alexander's conquests was the thrust in an easterly direction to Syria and Palestine, to Persia and Babylon, and through Central Asia to parts of northern India. In the wake of the military thrust, Greek settlements and cities were established in many non-Greek areas. Eventually the force of the population impact weakened, although Alexander's successors continued to hold sway for several centuries. An encounter with very diverse cultures ensued, and the traditional division between Greeks and barbarians underwent radical revision. In terms of religion the resulting counterthrust of Eastern traditions meant that the Greeks received more than they gave.

It was not the brute power of military aggression that brought about the change in outlook. In his *Alexander the Great* (Cambridge, 1948), Sir William Tarn argues that Alexander himself had a dream of the unity and reconciliation of all peoples, but the sources are more faithfully interpreted as recording a prayer by him for the cooperation of Greeks and Persians as ruling imperial partners. Yet the aftermath of his victories brought a realization of the unity of East and West.

NEW TRENDS IN STATE-SUPPORTED RELIGION. In spite of the great change in worldview thus effected, the old order was not swept away quickly. In Greece itself the city-states continued to function after the Macedonian conquests, and this meant that the official religious cults espoused by these states were still maintained. Politically, however, the citizens were aware that they were carrying on under the shadow of Macedonian imperialism and that the substance of their political power, particularly in foreign policy, had much diminished. This sense of insignificance must have demeaned the quality of their religious worship. The Athenians continued to honor their patron goddess Athena, especially as Athena Promachos ("defender"), but they knew very well that they were subject now to whatever Macedonian dynast was in power in the area. Such a situation threw the citizens back on their own spiritual resources so that their concerns as individuals counted correspondingly more. In later ages the emphasis on the individual might often seem to be at the very heart of religion, as in A. N. Whitehead's well-known definition of it: "Religion is what the individual does with his own solitariness." The ancient world, in contrast, viewed religion as something essentially communal that was realized, above all, in public activities arranged by the state. In the Hellenistic age these activities continued to some extent, but in other ways there was a marked focus on the concerns of the individual.

Not that the social urges suffered atrophy: A popular feature of the religious life of this age was the great vitality of the associations or clubs formed by adherents of the various cults, with or without the sanction of the state. While these associations were often allowed the use of sacred premises, their main activities were usually convivial and charitable. They provided good cheer in the way of wine, beer, and banquets and also a good deal of help to needy members. Naturally the religious element was not ignored, and the name of the patron deity normally appears in records of their proceedings. The evidence concerning them derives from a great part of the Greek world. Prominent in this evidence are towns that were centers of trade and therefore rather cosmopolitan in character, such as Rhodes, Delos, and Piraeus (the harbor town of Athens). Abundant testimony has also been forthcoming from centers of the native cults in Egypt, and at that time these cults, especially those connected with Isis, were spreading to other countries. Thus at the end of the first century CE there was a club of this kind attached to a temple of Isis in London.

Emphasis on the importance of the individual came from a quarter that at first sight might seem surprising: the belief in astrology, which was then so fashionable. Its origins were in Babylon, where astronomy had also been pioneered. The Babylonians had shown that the heavenly bodies moved in a fixed order that could be scientifically forecast. Then their astrologers, who were also astronomers (the two fields had not yet diverged), introduced the belief that events in the world were somehow linked to events among the stars. It followed that worldly events could also be prophesied since they too had been ordained beforehand. Under the Roman emperors astrologers were several times banned and expelled; yet many of the emperors themselves had recourse to them. When applied to the individual, astrology meant that everything depended on the personal horoscope, which was based on the exact date and hour of birth and on the planet then in the ascendant and on its relation to the zodiac. The effect of the prognosis could be depressing, even terrifying. In a Greek magical papyrus (found in the corpus of Preisendanz, 13.708ff), the astrologer thus advises his anxious client:

> You must enquire, "Lord, what is fated for me?" And he will tell you of your star and the nature of your Daemon [guiding spirit] and your horoscope and where you shall live and where you shall die. But if you hear something bad, do not break into screams and tears. Ask him, rather, to cancel it himself or to change its course. For this god has power to do everything.

Here the astrologer is invoking the aid of religion with his allusion to a god who can change the prognosis. But a fatalistic acceptance is more often indicated. What is clear, in any case, is that the personal horoscope is the basis of the procedure. The fate of the individual is the center of attention.

A new development that imparted fresh vitality, albeit of dubious sincerity, to the official state worship was the gradual establishment of the cult of the ruler, whether king or emperor. The first clear instance of it in this period was the worship of Alexander the Great as a divine person. In his case it was conspicuously an upshot of religious practices long prevalent in the Eastern countries that he had conquered. In the nations of Mesopotamia the king had regularly been associated with the gods. He had not been defined theologically as a god, but there was an aura of divinity about him. A victory stela of Naram-Sin of Akkad shows him towering above his followers, with a clear suggestion of his superhuman standing. In Egypt, on the other hand, the pharaoh was given an official status of divinity. When alive he was equated with the god Horus, and in death he became the god Osiris, father of Horus. He was also called "the son of Re" (the sun god). The distinctions are well delineated by Henri Frankfort in his *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago, 1948).

It is significant that the inital divinization of Alexander was associated with Egypt. According to ancient historians he visited the oracle of Amun at Siwa in the Libyan desert some four hundred miles southwest of what was later Alexandria. There, in 331 BCE, an Egyptian priest accosted him as the "son of Amun" in a way that corresponded to traditional Egyptian practice. To be regarded as the son of a god must have appealed to Alexander, and from that moment on he seems to have pressed the idea purposively, demanding obeisance and worship in many countries. Greeks and Macedonians did not take easily to the idea, yet there was a strand within the Greek tradition that allowed the divinization of dead heroes and eventually of living rulers. This contributed to the cult of the dead Alexander in Egypt and, in the time of his successors there, led to the worship of the living king and his queen, a practice started by Ptolemy II and his wife Arsinoë, who assumed the title *theoi adelphoi,* "the brother-sister gods." (The Ptolemaic kings regularly married their sisters.) Less thoroughgoing modes of the ruler cult prevailed in the other regions of Alexander's empire. By gradual steps the Seleucids of Syria and the Attalids of Pergamum eventually followed the practice, although the Attalids were accorded full divinity only after death. The Macedonians were slower still in coming to it, perhaps because of skeptical resistance.

To assess the depth or sincerity of the worship produced by the ruler cult is difficult since it soon came to be a test of political loyalty. In 307 BCE the Athenians paid divine honors to Demetrius Poliorcetes, the ambitious Macedonian soldier-king. Their hymn of praise to him couples him with the goddess Demeter and describes him as the son of Poseidon, god of the sea, and of Aphrodite, goddess of love. Then it contrasts his nearness with the distance of the traditional gods: "Other gods are far removed or do not listen; or they do not really exist or do not heed us at all. But thou are here with us; we can behold thee, not shaped in wood or stone, but here in person. And thus we pray to thee." In spite of some military successes, Demetrius was a rake and a scoundrel. It may therefore safely be assumed that the fulsome language of the hymn disguised a degree of disgust.

When the Romans took up the ruler cult, Egypt was again influential in the early stages, and there was a measure of continued tradition; yet in Rome itself there had been antecedents in relation to "the divine Julius" (Julius Caesar.) The full-scale cult was at first enacted in the provinces only, but eventually it was insisted on as a test of loyalty. To adherents of the many polytheistic religions there was no problem in this claim, since it merely meant that the divinized emperor was to be added to the variegated pantheon already in existence. Even followers of the mystery religions were not embarrassed by the claim, for the demands of these religions were by no means exclusive. Those in serious trouble were the adherents of Judaism and Christianity, two religions of uncompromising monotheism. "Thou shalt have no other gods before me" may not imply strict monotheism, since the commandment does not necessarily deny the existence of other gods, but rather demands the exclusive worship of Yahveh. By the Hellenistic era, however, Judaism had become unequivocally monotheistic, and Christianity inherited its unbending stance. To upholders of the polytheistic tradition it seemed a form of fanatical intolerance, and it sometimes provoked very harsh reactions.

An aspect of the ruler cult that was more serious than the superficial matter of expressing political allegiance was the whole question of divine incarnation. Was it possible to conceive of the divine taking human form? In early Greek thought it is sometimes suggested that the gulf between human and god is not wide and that an affinity exists between them. In the early fifth century BCE Pindar expresses it thus: "Of one stock are men and gods, and from one mother do we draw our breath" (*Nemean Odes* 6.1). Some of the heroes of Greek mythology were deemed to be offspring of mixed unions, the father being divine and the mother moral. Herakles is in this category, for his father was said to be Zeus and his mother the mortal Alkmene, daughter of a king of Mycenae. Zeus was not able to achieve union with her until he disguised himself as a victorious warrior.

Rather different is the process by which historical heroes came to be worshiped after death. Their historicity cannot always be demonstrated, but the likely evolution followed from a lively memory of their deeds. One might rephrase Shakespeare to explain the distinctions enacted: "Some men are born divine, some achieve divinity, and some have divinity thrust upon them." The hero worship that developed among the Greeks outside mythology is akin to the second category; it involved outstanding individuals who by their own merit and fame came to be especially honored after death. The triumphant commander who "liberated" or "saved" a city naturally qualified for special honors akin to those paid to divinity. An early and successful candidate was the Spartan commander Lysander, whose deeds secured for him this type of apotheosis even during his lifetime. But Alexander decisively outshone heroes of such caliber since his deeds encompassed not only the Greek world but much else as well. Quite apart, therefore, from his experience at Siwa, which gave him an Egyptian passport to divinity, he qualified splendidly according to the criterion of Greek hero worship. When his cult was established in Egypt, followed by that of the Ptolemies, several of the new royal divinities were inevitably ill qualified to attract real worship. They might be said to have had divinity thrust upon them automatically.

Behind the developments in Egypt stood the long-standing dogma of the god-human, and its influence in the Hellenistic world went beyond the particular instances of divine dynasty. This dogma became prominent in the New Kingdom (1551–1070 BCE) when the claim was made that the pharaoh had a mortal mother but a divine father. His procreation was explicitly, albeit tastefully, described as a visit by the god Amun to the queen. In so doing the god was said to take on the guise of the living pharaoh, so that what was ostensibly a natural process was given a supernatural interpretation.

A story told about Nectanebo, the last pharaonic king of Egypt, gives prominence to this doctrine. The Greek work called the *Alexander Romance* relates how Nectanebo, in spite of his vaunted magical power, was defeated by the Persians and fled to Pella in Macedonia after suitably changing his appearance. A prophecy from Memphis announced that he would return to Egypt as a young man who would overthrow his enemies and conquer the world (a reference, of course, to Alexander). Furthermore Alexander's mother, Queen Olympias, is said to have welcomed Nectanebo in Macedonia because of his fame as a magician, and he at once fell in love with her. When the queen informed him that her husband, Philip, being then away at war, was said to be beguiled by another woman, Nectanebo confirmed the rumor and told her that a god would visit her in a dream and have intercourse with her and that from this union would come a son who would avenge her on Philip. The god was to be the Libyan Amun, with golden hair and ram's horns. Olympias duly experienced the divine visit in a dream but then declared that she wanted not merely a dream but the real thing, whereupon Nectanebo impersonated the god and had intercourse with her himself. The son who was born of the union was naturally deemed to be Alexander, thus marked out as of divine origin. Although Alexander was said to have caused the death of Nectanebo, he was also said to have recognized him as his father and to have buried him with honor. The Greek writer of this story has told it with a sense of skeptical irony, yet it points to the fact that the people of the age were engrossed with the idea of the god-human and with the possibility that the divine could break into the sphere of human life through incarnation.

MAGIC, MYTH, AND MIRACLE. According to the Pauline saying, it was the Jews who demanded signs (that is, wonders or miracles) while the Greeks sought wisdom. In fact, it was not only the Jews who demanded miracles; the majority of the Greeks did also, and so did the majority of other peoples. From time immemorial religion had been mingled with magic, and the power to produce miraculous events was regarded as the mark of godhead acting either in a direct intervention or through chosen intermediaries.

In considering ancient magic, one must avoid any notion of conjuring tricks made possible by sleight of hand or by various illusionary processes. Some charlatans did resort to such stratagems, but the true medium of divine power did not approach this task thus. In the oldest myths of many nations, the creation of the world itself is the result of miraculous divine actions, and the teasing thought of what lay beyond the beginning of things often produced the image of one creator god, who was unbegotten and who had to initiate a process of creation without the help of a spouse. The early Greeks who followed the Orphic teaching believed that a cosmic egg was the source of everything. This idea might appear to derive from a natural symbol, but probably it came to the Greeks from Egypt, although the Egyptians had several other theories of creation. By the Hellenistic age some Greeks had become familiar with a similar doctrine that had spread from Iran.

Strangely enough, the Greeks did not regard their supreme god, Zeus, as a creator god. Yet their myths about him are replete with miracles, especially when his many dealings with mortal women are portrayed. For instance, having fallen in love with Io, a priestess at Argos, Zeus changed her into a heifer in order to hide her from his wife Hera. Metamorphosis became a frequent medium of miraculous intervention by gods. Early in the first century CE, the Roman poet Ovid devoted a whole cycle of poems to this theme, and in the next century it was the central motif of the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius, an entertaining and often ribald novel that nevertheless conveys a deeply religious vision.

It tells the story of Lucius of Corinth, a Greek who was changed into a donkey through a mistake made in the employment of magic. After many strange adventures in asinine form, he is restored to human form by the goddess Isis at Cenchreae, the harbor of Corinth, during the spring ritual of the Ship of Isis. The last part of the novel movingly portrays his devotion to this new religion.

Unlike the immortal gods, however, heroes are not usually invested with miraculous powers, in spite of their divine associations. Herakles achieves his great deeds with might and main, and Prometheus, while he sometimes deploys a kind of low cunning, is a culture hero intent on benefiting humankind.

Removed from the category of gods and heroes was the human purveyor of magic and miracle. At his best he had to be a knowledgeable person. Astrology was often within his professed prowess, and the secrets of astrology were not available to any ignoramus. His attitude to the gods seems to have varied. Respect and devout loyalty characterized him in the role of their chosen instrument. Yet sometimes the magician was expected to compel the gods to act in a certain way, and a number of magical spells are extant in which the gods are fiercely threatened unless they comply. But it was important to use the correct formula and to know the functions and mythology of the deity concerned. In the Hellenistic era magic was especially used for treating disease.

Here the doctrine of demons was often basic. Regarded as intermediate between human and god, demons (spirits) were divided into good and evil categories, with the possibility that good demons could be promoted to the rank of gods. Under the influence of Iran this sytem was sometimes developed into a thoroughgoing dualism connoting a hierarchy of both angels and devils but with devils headed by a supreme figure of evil. This view regarded all disease as the creation of evil demons. To conquer the disease therefore demanded the defeat and expulsion of the baleful spirit that had taken possession of the victim. A person's good demon, on the other hand, acted as his guardian angel. Yet the good demon was not normally regarded as potent enough to deal with an evil demon who had entered a person. A spiritual power from outside was needed, and the first task was one of diagnosis, which meant the correct identification of the occupying demon. The magician was expected to announce the name of the hostile power and to order its expulsion in the name of a superior and beneficent power; there are familiar examples in the New Testament. Treatment of disease in both the Jewish and the pagan world was often colored by these concepts.

This was not, however, the only technique practiced by magicians and priests. Instead of a frontal attack on the demon, a mollifying approach was sometimes adopted, as when insanity was treated by the playing of soft music. A multitude of medical charms have come down to the present, and they combine popular medicine with magical rites. Central to these, very often, is the power of the spoken word of the magician himself, whose incantations are recorded, for purposes of reading and imitation, in Greek and Egyptian magical papyri. Moreover, the direct interventions of the gods of healing, particularly of Asklepios, Isis, and Sarapis, are often lauded.

In origin Asklepios was perhaps a hero; later he was raised to the rank of a divinity and became the foremost god of healing in the Hellenistic world, with temples at Epidaurus in the Peloponnese and at Athens, Rome, and Pergamum; the most celebrated of his temples was on the island of Kos, northwest of Rhodes, the home of a famous Greek medical school. Numerous inscriptions set up in the temples of Asklepios record the gratitude of worshipers for the cures obtained, which were frequently regarded as completely miraculous. Yet some of the techniques used partook of current orthodox medical practice, for example, prescribed dietetic rules, hot and cold baths, and various types of exercise. Special use was also made of incubation, whereby the worshiper slept in the temple of the god in order to experience a visitation from him through a dream or vision; such a visitation could bring both a cure for the disease (or advice as to how a cure might be obtained) and a revelation of a spiritual nature. The grateful records do not refer often to medical prescriptions or details of diet, so one may infer that psychological processes were involved: autosuggestion, experiences of spiritual illumination, and a sense of serenity deriving from a loving relationship. The term *faith healing* could well be applied to such felicitous procedures. What is particularly impressive, as well as eminently consonant with the temper of the Hellenistic age, is the fervent personal relationship with the god that ensued and the worshiper's sense of trust and devotion. There exists, fortunately, one intimate record of these experiences in the *Hieroi Logoi* (Sacred Stories) of Publius Aelius Aristides, a rhetorician of the second century CE.

Magic is customarily divided into the categories of "black" and "white," a division that can certainly be applied to the practice of it by the Greeks. In early prototypes, such as Circe and Medea, the two aspects appear. The Homeric Circe, semidivine in origin, is a powerful magician who uses potions and salves and also teaches Odysseus to summon the spirits of the dead. Medea was the outstanding enchantress of the myths used in Greek tragedy. She enabled the Argonauts to get the golden fleece by putting the dragon of Colchis to sleep; moreover, she possessed the evil eye and could make warriors invulnerable. Orpheus was another master of magic. Son of the muse Calliope, he rendered wild beasts spellbound with his music.

The two words most often used for "miracle" were *thauma* ("wonder") and *sēmeion* ("sign"). Obviously the two aspects could be embraced by either word. A miraculous event that astonishes people can be pleasing or punishing in intent and can be a sign, or omen, from the gods as an expression of their power but with a similar possible duality of purpose. Religion in ancient times had a bias toward beneficent magic, its prayers normally being expressions of devotion and appeals for help. But the appeal might concern the destruction of an enemy, which could involve harsh miraculous intervention by the gods. At the same time divine intervention could inflict moral retribution on individuals. Even the kindly Isis, whose magic was mainly beneficent, sometimes inflicted blindness on sinners.

When a beneficent miracle was enacted in public, it was regularly followed by an expression of blessing or felicitation, the macarism. Thus when Isis restores Lucius from asinine to human form in the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius (also called *The Golden Ass* and written about 170 CE), the people who see the event declare:

> This is the man who has been today restored to human shape through the splendid divinity of the all-powerful goddess. Happy is he, by heaven, and thrice blessed, to

> have clearly deserved, by the purity of his former life and his pious loyalty, such a wondrous favor from heaven that he is, as it were, born again and has at once pledged himself to service in the sacred rites. (11.16)

Although the priests of Isis have taken part in the miracle, as for instance in providing the garland of roses to be eaten by the ass-man, it is the goddess herself who naturally receives the acclaim.

Sometimes, nevertheless, the human agents were not averse to claiming a measure of glory. Among the rhetorical practitioners of the second sophistic movement, which flourished in the first and second centuries CE, especially at Athens, Smyrna, and Ephesus, were a few literati who combined their philosophical and oratorical gifts, which they displayed as peripatetic lecturers, with a keen interest in magic. One was Apuleius, whose interest in magic is evident in much of his work, especially the *Metamorphoses.* Early in his career, however, he was accused of using magic to gain the hand of a rich widow in marriage. Although acquitted, thereafter he was reluctant to practice any form of the art.

In the context of magic and miracle the most remarkable person in the second sophistic movement was undoubtedly Apollonius of Tyana, who lived in the first century CE and came from Cappadocia in Asia Minor. An account of his life, written about 217 CE by another Sophist, Philostratus, presents him as a wandering scholar whose travels embraced Babylon, India, Egypt, and Ethiopia. In spite of his fame, his life was ascetic and disciplined and modeled on Pythagorean ideals. In addition, however, he frequently performed miracles that included acts of healing, magical disappearances, and even raising the dead, deeds that recall the claims made for Jesus of Nazareth.

The trustworthiness of Philostratus, however, has been much impugned. He cast his life of Appollonius in the form of a Greek travel romance, which suggests a fictitious element. Further, he wrote the book at the request of Julia Domna, the second wife of the emperor Septimius Severus, so that the possibility of anti-Christian animus and parody cannot be excluded. It is likely, then, that some more modest deeds by Apollonius provided a basis for the heightened account presented. The simple asceticism of his mode of life must also have impressed people, although Philostratus exaggerates even here, as when he says that Apollonius was "a more inspired student of wisdom than Pythagoras" (1.2).

One of the faculties ascribed to Apollonius was clairvoyance. At Ephesus in 96 CE, he is said to have had a miraculous vision of the emperor Domitian being murdered in distant Rome, a vision whose validity was afterward confirmed. The event is related by both Philo- stratus and the historian Dio Cassius, so that its truth need not be questioned. Even the less sophisticated type of magician was expected to indulge in processes of divination that would let him foretell the future. This did not usually imply powers of prophecy in a general sense but, rather, the ability to judge and foretell the outcome of a particular problem or issue. Methods of divination included dreams, incubation (sleeping in a temple), auguries based on observation of birds, extispicy (especially the inspection of the entrails of animals killed specifically for this purpose), and the interpretation of weather signs, not to mention the whole area of astrology. Several of these methods had been developed originally in Babylon and Egypt.

Another important divinatory method was by oracle.In the Greek tradition the personal mouthpiece of the god of the oracle was the *prophētēs,* who might be a man or a woman. He or she was thought to be possessed by a divine power, a process that Plato compared to poetic inspiration. The medium became *entheos* ("full of the god") and was in a state of *ekstasis* ("standing out of oneself"). In the oracles the power of prophecy was linked to special sites and to particular gods. Here a paradox emerges: The Greeks are famed for their rationalism and are regarded as the pioneers of intellectual enquiry and scientific thinking, yet their belief in oracles belies this approach. To some extent, the inconsistency can be explained through social division: The credulous majority trusted oracles while the educated elite evinced skepticism, the latter trend becoming more pronounced in the Hellenistic era, as Plutarch showed in the first and second centuries CE.

The paradox reveals itself to some degree in the figure of Apollo himself. He is the god of light and reason, yet he is the dominant god at Delphi, seat of the most celebrated oracle. In his *Birth of Tragedy,* the philosopher Nietzsche contrasts Apollo and Dionysos, the one representing the cool temper of rationalism, the other the passionate surrender to ecstasy. Certainly this antithesis is at the heart of Greek thinking.

One noted feature of Greek oracles was the ambiguity of their response. Statements that could be interpreted in more than one way were often forthcoming. Among the problems posed on behalf of states were political issues, and this meant that some oracles, particularly the one at Delphi, exerted considerable influence on the states' policies. But the Hellenistic age saw the decline of Delphi and the rising prestige of other oracles, such as those of Asklepios at Epidaurus and Rome and that of Trophonios in central Greece.

Oracles in other countries were also much frequented, such as that of Zeus Amun in Libyan Siwa, where Alexander had a significant personal experience. Sometimes the questions raised were those of individuals, reflecting the private problems of simple people: A man is anxious to know whether his wife will give him a child, a woman wants to be cured of a disease, someone asks a commercial question about the best use of property, or a man wonders whether the child his wife is carrying is his own.

In his work *On the Obsolescence of Oracles,* Plutarch (c. 46–125 CE) discusses why so many oracles in Greece have ceased to function. Various answers are supplied in a discussion presented in the form of a dialogue. The population had decreased, says Plutarch, and there is some atrophy of belief.

There is also the theory, seemingly endorsed by Plutarch himself, that in the oracles it is not the gods but beneficent demons who are at work.

Another writer who provides a revealing picture of what goes on at an oracle is Pausanias, who flourished about 150 CE. In his *Description of Greece* (9.39) he gives many details of the procedures at the oracle of Trophonios in Lebadea (modern Levadhia) in Boeotia. Regarded as relating to the hero cult, Trophonios may have been in origin a fertility god with chthonic associations; his sanctuary was built over an alleged entrance to the underworld. The person who wished to consult the oracle had to first wait quietly in the house of Agathos Daimon ("gracious divine being"), where various rites of purification and dietetic regimen were observed. Then came whippings, various offerings and sacrifices, an anointing with oil, bathing in a river, a special drink, and a prayer, after which the inquirer was dressed in a linen tunic and pulled through a narrow hole into a subterranean cave where he was terrified by snakes but able to calm them with honey cakes. Only then did he see or hear Trophonios and become enlightened concerning his future, after which priests explained his experiences. It was said that the inquirer always came out of the cave of Trophonios dejected and pale. Psychologically the treatment was rigorous and searching; modern parallels might be sought in regimes using drugs such as methedrine with stringent concomitants. In ancient times the initiations in the mystery religions provide the nearest parallel.

UNIVERSALISM AND SYNCRETISM. Although Alexander the Great did not establish a world state in the world as then known, his empire transcended the national states and induced a sense of cohesion and interdependence. It was in this era that the word *kosmopolitēs* ("citizen of the world") came into vogue. The idea had occasionally appeared before this. Democritus of Abdera had said in the fifth century BCE, "To the wise every land is open; the good soul looks on the whole world as his country." More pointed and forceful expression was given to the idea by Diogenes the Cynic (c. 400–325 BCE), founder of the Cynic sect. He came from Sinope on the southern shore of the Black Sea but spent much of his life in Athens. He was given the nickname of "the Dog," while his followers were similarly called "Dog Philosophers" or Cynics, from the snarling way in which they and their master condemned accepted conventions and defied civilized life, embracing instead a style of extreme poverty, simplicity, and hardship. Among the conventions that Diogenes rejected was attachment to the polis, or city-state. His rejection was practical in that he wandered from one country to another without accredited citizenship or a settled home (in Athens he lived in a tub). In principle he was a kind of anarchist. He called himself a "citizen of the world," but this did not imply any politically defined belief. It was in effect a negative claim denying the value of the city-state.

It was the Stoics, however, who succeeded in giving to this approach a more positive and meaningful basis. Initially they were intellectually indebted to the Cynics, but Zeno of Citium in Cyprus (335–263 BCE) went far beyond them and included a religious interpretation in his cosmopolitanism. According to Zeno the whole universe is governed by divine reason, and people should therefore live in conformity with it and with the order of nature established by it. A saying of Zeno that Plutarch has recorded presents the view that people should not live in a state of division according to separate cities and peoples and differing rules of justice; rather, all people should be viewed as belonging to one state and community and sharing one life and order. Plutarch wryly adds that in writing thus in his much-admired book *The State,* Zeno was presenting a dream or ideal of a well-ordered philosophical world.

It was indeed an age when several "utopias" were written. Plato had set an example with his *Republic,* but later writers in this genre deployed a good deal more fantasy, as when Iambulus in the early second century BCE wrote of his voyage to the southern seas, where he stayed for seven years in the seven "Islands of the Sun." He painted an idyllic picture of the islands: Their climate is perfect and their land ever fruitful; the inhabitants are all supermen and there is no distinction between slave and free; property is shared and women and children are held in common; there is no strife of any kind, and their deities are the powers of nature—the sun, the heavenly bodies, and the sky.

There were a few practical ventures, too, in utopianism. Alexarchus, brother of King Cassander of Macedonia, after being given some land on the Athos peninsula, built a big city that he called Ouranopolis ("city of heaven"), where the citizens were called Ouranidai ("children of heaven"), and the coinage was adorned with figures of the sun, moon, and stars. Rather similar was the concept implemented briefly by Aristonicus of Pergamum (in 133–130 BCE), who led a popular rising against Rome. He planned a state called Heliopolis ("city of the sun"), whose inhabitants he called Heliopolitai ("citizens of the sun"); but after some initial successes he was captured and killed by the Romans. The Greek satirist Lucian, who wrote in the second century CE, provided a witty parody of literary utopias in *A True Story,* a travel romance full of irony and burlesque, of which Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* is a modern descendant.

In the context of Stoic philosophy the doctrine of world citizenship was elaborated somewhat by Chrysippus (c. 280–207 BCE), who noted that the word *polis* was given two senses: the city in which one lived; the citizens and the state machinery. Similarly, he argued, the universe is a *polis* that embraces gods and human, the former wielding sovereignty while the latter obey; yet gods and humans, for all their difference in status, have a means of contact and converse since they both use reason, which is "law by nature." In the last phrase he is overturning a contrast present in previous political thought. A later Stoic, Panaetius (c. 185–109 BCE), was more pragmatic in his approach. A world state seemed no longer within practical reach, but he continued to believe in the general unity of all humankind. At the same time he restored to the city-state a certain secondary role, admitting its usefulness in a realistic sense while denying its claim to decide in any final sense, matters of right and wrong; such decisions were to remain in the domain of reason and nature.

It thus appears that the idea of being a citizen of the world, vague and ill defined as it often was, came to include, under Stoic inspiration, the religious concept of a ruling divine reason. Although the reality of a world state was missing, the idea of humankind as one community had a powerful spiritual effect. Whereas it cannot be assumed that everyone, or even the majority, embraced the idea fully and fervently, there are many signs that thinking people accepted it. A sharp division had existed previously in attitudes toward other nations: Pride and prejudice were clearly present in the categories of Greeks versus barbarians or Jews versus gentiles. Certain nations enjoyed more power than others since, in the empire bequeathed by Alexander, Macedonians, Greeks, and Persians were in the ascendancy until Rome took control. In religious matters, nonetheless, the great variety of national traditions was often regarded as a common heritage of humanity. This is the attitude taken by Plutarch when he argues, doubtless under the influence of Stoicism, that the gods of Egypt should be preserved as "our common heritage" and not made the peculiar property of the Egyptians. In chapter 67 of his treatise *Isis and Osiris* he states his belief that the gods of the various nations, in spite of their differing names, are essentially the same and that behind the divergent forms there is a universal reason and providence:

> Nor do we regard the gods as different among different peoples nor as barbarian and Greek and as southern and northern. But just as the sun, moon, heaven, earth and sea are common to all, though they are given various names by the varying peoples, so it is with the one reason [logos] which orders these things and the one providence which has charge of them, and the assistant powers which are assigned to everything: They are given different honours and modes of address among different peoples according to custom, and they use hallowed symbols, some of which are obscure and others clearer, directing the thought towards the divine, though not without danger. For some, erring completely, have slipped into supersition, and others, shunning it like a marsh, have unwittingly fallen in turn over the precipice of atheism.

At the same time, Plutarch is occasionally ready, within the same work, to accept the Iranian doctrine about the happy end of the world, when Areimanius (Angra Mainyu), the god of evil, will be utterly obliterated by the gods who follow Horomazes (Ahura Mazda), lord of light and good. The happy final state will reflect the blessed unity of humankind: "The earth shall be flat and level, and one way of life and one government shall arise of all men, who shall be happy and speak the same language" (chap. 47). Here the universalism envisaged is somewhat colorless and depressing; it accords with Iranian sources, one of which (*Bundahishn* 30.33) declares that when the universe is renewed, "this earth becomes an iceless, shapeless plain." According to this teaching, mountains were created by the Spirit of Evil and will disappear with his overthrow; *Isaiah* 40:4 reflects the same viewpoint when the prophet announces, as part of a serene vision, that "every mountain and hill shall be made low" and "every valley shall be exalted," thus achieving the uniform flatness of Plutarch's Iranian dictum.

The union and solidarity of the human race are also a part of the Iranian teaching, for the *Dēnkard* (9–18), a Pahlavi book of the ninth or tenth century CE that probably preserves earlier ideas, prophesies a final outcome in these terms: "At the final Rehabilitation the whole of mankind will be firmly and unchangeably linked in mutual love, and this will mean that the demons will utterly despair of ever being able to harm man again. . . . Then there will be a universal joy for the whole of creation for all eternity; and fear will be no more" (trans. R. C. Zaehner, in *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism,* London, 1961, pp. 280f.)

Stoicism may well have influenced the idea of "one government of men," but Stoic sources apparently do not mention the use of one language as a requirement of the cosmopolis. The inherited traditions vary on the question of languages. In chapter 11 of *Genesis* the story of the tower of Babel points to an original state of bliss when all people spoke one common language, and a Babylonian legend sees the multiplication of tongues as a cause of discord. Egyptian tradition, on the other hand, praised Thoth as the creator of languages and viewed his act as contributing to the rich variety of creation in general, with its many races and kinds of living beings. The Christian tradition, as in *Revelation* 7:9 with its allusion to "a great multitude of all tribes and peoples and tongues," certainly envisages a universalism in which diversity is present in unity and humanity is a "community of communities."

Whatever the variety of the traditions so freely transmitted in the Hellenistic age, in religious matters there was usually a readiness to acknowledge and respect diverging ways of belief, worship, and ritual. A process that went even beyond this was that of syncretism, a term often hailed as the hallmark of the age. In origin a Greek word, it was not used by the Greeks with the exact meaning assigned to it today. It derives from the verb *sugkretizo,* which itself derives from *Kres,* "a Cretan"; it was used politically of two parties combining against a common enemy, while the noun *sugkretismos* was used of a federation or union of Cretan communities.

In English and other modern languages the noun denotes the attempted union or reconciliation of diverse or opposite tenets or practices, especially in the philosophy of religion. The usage is also often extended to include the equation or identification of diverse deities and the combination or fusion of their cults, the latter practice being a specifically Hellenistic development. Earlier experience was indeed fully conversant with the equation of deities.

In ancient religions the most thorough process of syncretism in this sense is found in the developed phase of Roman religion, when Roman deities were identified with Greek counterparts—Jupiter with Zeus, Juno with Hera, Venus with Aphrodite, Ceres with Demeter, Mars with Ares, and so on. In some cases this conscious process found no easy counterpart: Janus, the god of the door, was a distinctively Roman concept. In other cases a Greek deity was adopted without any attempted assimilation. Thus the Greek god Apollo was worshiped in Italy by the Etruscans and was afterward much revered by the Romans, becoming a favorite god of the emperor Augustus. A simple act of comparison could lead to syncretism of this kind: One community compares its own gods with those of another; when similar powers or functions are recognized, the comparison may lead to identification. Of course, this process is valid only with polytheistic communities since monotheism rejects comparisons. Nor does the process arise when there is no contact between communities and therefore no need to make comparisons, except in instances where a plurality of deities within communities of the same culture invites an equation of functions. This may lead to assimilation and the use of one divine name instead of several. Thus it appears that among the Greek communities there were several forms of the corn mother, but eventually the name of Demeter, best known, was applied to most of them. Even so, local varieties persisted in several of the cults. The "Black" Demeter of Phigalia, a town of Arcadia, for instance, was very different from the Demeter of Eleusis. In Phigalia the Black Demeter was said to be the consort of a horse-shaped Poseidon.

In the fifth century BCE the Greek historian Herodotus indulged freely in the kind of syncretism that meant identifying the gods of different nations. In his second book, which deals with Egypt, he consistently identifies the Egyptian Osiris with the Greek Dionysos and the Egyptian Isis with the Greek Demeter. Probably this was prompted only by recognition of their similar functions, although he does refer to festivals. Later, however, in Hellenistic times, the cults of these deities influenced one another. Isis, for example, was often depicted with ears of wheat on her headdress in a manner traditionally associated with Demeter, while ivy, the plant of Dionysos, figured in the rites of Osiris. Again, the phallus was sometimes carried now in processions of Osiris in Egypt, as it had been regularly in the rites of Dionysos among the Greeks; the Egyptian tradition had previously known nothing of this. Another good instance of active syncretism was the god Sarapis, worshiped in Egypt and elsewhere under the Ptolemies. He derived from the Egyptian god Osir-Api (Osiris-Apis) but was now represented in Greek style in a form rather like that of Zeus (but with the *modius,* a measuring vessel, on his head). He was identified with Zeus and with Helios. He was not, however, a new creation; his emergence points to amalgamation and adaptation.

Increasingly in Hellenistic times, the cults of Oriental deities were introduced to the cities of the Greek world and Italy. Such a procedure had been very difficult, and indeed dangerous, in previous ages, for the orgiastic nature of some of these cults was much feared, and all public cults were rigidly controlled by the state. But a radical change of attitude came in Hellenistic times. State control remained, but often it now actively supported foreign cults, as for instance the cult of Dionysos in Ptolemaic Egypt. When Stratonice, the wife of Seleucus Nicator in Syria, resettled the city of Bambyce as Hierapolis in about 300 BCE, one feature of the worship sanctioned there was the fusion of the great Syrian goddess Atargatis with the Hellenic goddesses Artemis, Hera, and Aphrodite. In Egypt this type of cult syncretism was furthered by the system of the *sunnaoi theoi* ("temple-sharing gods"). This was used principally to advance the claims of the Ptolemaic kings and queens as divine beings in temples throughout Egypt in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus and afterward; the names of the royal divinities were added as gods who shared the temple with the main deity worshiped there. The reigning Ptolemies and their wives were thus promoted to an honored position on a par with that of the traditionally accepted deities.

Usually the Greeks raised a temple in honor of one particular deity, as Athena was honored in the Parthenon at Athens, Zeus in the great temple at Olympia, and Apollo in his temples at Delphi and Delos. Yet it was very natural that associated deities, especially those connected in myth, legend, and cult, should be represented and worshiped in the same temple. Thus Artemis was honored with Apollo as his twin sister, just as Hadad was honored with the Syrian goddess Atargatis as her consort.

Hellenistic practice went a good deal further than this in the mingling of gods, which the Greeks termed *theokrasia.* One is at first surprised to read in Apuleius's *Metamorphoses,* when he describes the preparations for the initiation of Lucius into the cult of Isis, that the high priest in charge of the rites is called Mithra and that he is linked to the initiand "by a certain divine association of constellations." A close and friendly attitude toward Mithraism is clearly indicated, and astrological lore is also openly deployed. Furthermore, when the temple of Mithra was discovered in the Walbrook area of London by W. F. Grimes in 1954, the finest work of statuary to come to light was of the Egyptian god Sarapis. Nor does the evidence of inscriptions and literature suggest anything other than an attitude of sympathetic cooperation between these and other religions.

There was, of course, no claim of exclusiveness to prevent such an attitude, as was the case with Judaism and Christianity. Well-known instances indicate that even priesthoods of different religions could be held by the same person. Plutarch's friend Clea, to whom he dedicated his study of the Egyptian cults, was a priestess of Dionysos and also of Isis and Osiris. Similarly, in the fourth century CE one Vettius Agorius Praetextatus was initiated into the Dionysian, Eleusinian, and Mithraic mysteries.

Popular religious practice and belief are undoubtedly best reflected in inscriptions, whether in temples, on tombstones, or on amulets, and in magical incantations. Often the gods of different countries are named together in dedications and formulaic expressions of thanksgiving. This is also true of inscriptions that are official and public in character. Thus, in an inscription dated between 50 and 35 BCE, Antiochus I of Commagene, a small kingdom north of Syria, presents an exposition of his religion. He begins by calling himself "the God, the righteous God" and "friend of Romans and Greeks," and then declares that he has made his kingdom "the common dwelling place of all the gods." He alludes to the ancient doctrine of Persians and Greeks and refers with reverence to Zeus-Oromasdes, to Apollo-Mithra-Helios-Hermes, and to Artagnes-Herakles-Ares. This showpiece of syncretism contains an element of political expediency: The king is eager to pander to both Romans and Greeks (the Seleucid rulers); his religion is basically Iranian but with Greek embellishments.

In contrast, the easy and fluid permutations of popular magical texts indicate a general readiness to mix varying religious traditions very freely. Two frequent names are the Greek *Zeus* and the Jewish *Iao* (*Yahveh*). In the case of *Zeus* one cannot always be sure whether the name conceals a Mesopotamian or Egyptian deity since these brief formulas rarely reveal the double personality expressed in Antiochus's *Zeus-Oromasdes,* where the second element is obviously more important than the first. Sometimes the Jewish Iao is identified with Zeus or Dionysos.

Nor does the resulting fusion always refrain from a conflation of myths. Thus a magical papyrus now in Oslo (Papyrus Oslo 1.105–109) addresses the god Seth-Typhon, whose name combines Egyptian and Greek deities. The papyrus goes on to say that the god's mother is a white sow, an allusion to an Egyptian myth about Seth and the goddess Nut. It then hails the god as "thou who dost hold in Heliopolis an iron staff with which thou didst barricade the sea and enable them to pass through." Heliopolis here is the city of the sun god in Egypt, but the "iron staff" is apparently that of *Psalms* 2:9, "Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron," while the words that follow allude to the passage of the Hebrews through the Red Sea. The god addressed is therefore a fusion of the deities of three nations, including the Jewish Yahveh, and it is Yahveh who dominates the last part of the invocation.

One of the results of syncretism in religion was a sense of tolerance and sympathy. People who are ready to borrow from other religions are clearly not about to condemn them. Judaism and Christianity are again the exceptions, and their fervid intolerance was a source of strength in the struggle for survival. Only very rarely does a sense of conflict and hostility appear among the adherents of the pagan religions. Plutarch sometimes inveighs against the primitive cruelties unveiled in facets of mythology; his method is fairly radical in that he is prepared to reject such elements as unworthy of the gods.

In his novel about the ass-man rescued by Isis, Apuleius is appreciative and respectful in his allusions to most other religions. Here there was almost a logical imperative operating since Isis, as he often stresses, combined the attributes of all other goddesses. Yet there are two glaring exceptions to his tolerant attitude. One is the portrait of the baker's wife (9.14), who is described as a retailer of all the vices and as one who "scorned and spurned divine beings and instead of accepting a definite faith . . . falsely and blasphemously professed belief in a god whom she regarded as the one and only god." The description might apply to the Jewish or Christian faith, but the list of vices corresponds rather closely to those named in *1 Corinthians* 5:11, so that a Christian allusion is a little more likely. Even more hostile is Apuleius's withering depiction (8.24ff., 9.3ff.) of the priests of the Syrian goddess Atargatis. They are said to be addicted to homosexual practices, to crude begging, to flagrant pilfering (they steal even the golden cup from the temple of the mother of the gods), and to unscrupulous manipulation of an oracle. Doubtless the praise of Isis was heightened by this attack, and for once the age seems to be characterized by competing and conflicting religions.

In general, syncretism tended to induce a belief in pantheism. The free mingling of many varying divinities suggested to some minds that the world was full of God in some form or another. Aratus of Soli (c. 315–240 BCE), in his astronomical poem *Phaenomena,* said that "all the ways are full of God, and all the meeting-places of men, the sea and the harbors; and at every turn we all need God, for we are related to him" (the Greek has *Zeus* for *God*). The last clause was quoted by Paul in his address at Athens (*Acts* 17:28): "As some of your own poets have said, 'We are also his offspring.'" At the same time syncretism furthered the quest for the unity of the divine. Earlier Greek philosophers had been concerned with the idea that there was one god behind the many names and forms. Now that the deities of divergent national traditions were being actively equated and fused, the idea of one divine reality was becoming still more widespread.

THE REJECTION OF RELIGION. It may seem a paradox that, in spite of the religious tendencies delineated, the direct or indirect rejection of religion was also a feature of Hellenistic thinking. Direct rejection was restricted to a small minority of philosophers, but its intellectual vitality is manifest, although it was not a completely new development. Several of the Sophists of the fifth century BCE had propagated a doctrine that questioned accepted religious beliefs. Before the Sophists, Anaxagoras had done the same. While he may not have plainly denied the existence of God or the gods, his belief that mechanistic laws were behind the workings of the universe excluded a divine causation or operation, even in Mind (Nous) was seen by him as the initiator of cosmic motion.

Among the Sophists, Protagoras was broadly in the same category. He once said concerning the gods: "I am unable to know whether they exist or do not exist, nor what they are like in form; for the factors obstructing knowledge are many: the obscurity of the subject and the shortness of human life." The relativism of Protagoras also tended in this direction, for it was he who said, "The measure of all things is man." If Protagoras may thus be rightly classified as an agnostic, Diagoras of Melos, also of the fifth century BCE, was definitely an atheist; indeed, he was called *ho Atheos.* Like Protagoras, he was condemned for impiety, but trials and convictions for this are not always clear indications of a denial of the gods. Diagoras wrote a book in which he attacked the Eleusinian mysteries, and with these remarks he doubtless caused great offense. The main thesis of his book went a good deal further, declaring that the gods did not exist at all. What he saw as the obvious absence of divine punishment in human life was the ground for his denial. He is the first uncompromising atheist in the history of European thought.

In the Hellenistic age Euhemerus of Messene, who for a time (311–298 BCE) served Cassander, king of Macedon, can also be listed as an atheist, although his attacks on traditional religion were more of a rationalizing reductionism than a frontal assault. In his travel romance *Sacred History,* which idealized life on the island of Panchaea in the Indian Ocean, he tells of an inscribed record of the deeds of the gods Ouranos, Kronos, and Zeus. According to the record, these mighty deities had originally been human kings whom their appreciative subjects elevated to the rank of divinity. Clearly this approach could be interpreted as a defense of contemporary ruler cults, but when generalized in relation to gods everywhere, it meant that real divinity disappeared in the postulated human origins. The Greek hero cults also fitted the theory. It is easy to understand why "euhemerism" is still an influential force in the study of religions.

It is not surprising that the Cynics, who tended to oppose all established values, sometimes included religion in their abuse. Diogenes of Sinope expressed contempt for the Eleusinian mysteries. A man who could defend stealing from temples, cannibalism, and incest obviously took pleasure in destructive challenge. Yet his teacher Antisthenes, who attacked all religious conventions and the belief in a multitude of gods, maintained that there existed one God beyond all visible phenomena. The Hellenistic Cynics developed the popular and hard-hitting speech form called the *diatribē,* which combined comic effects with satire that was often abusive. Yet in spite of the Cynics, continued attacks on religious conventions, it is doubtful whether a full-fledged atheism should be ascribed to them.

Features of the Cynic tradition can be recognized in the works of Lucian (120–180 CE), who ridiculed both religion and philosophy; under the latter heading he especially attacked the Cynics, indebted though he was to them. His attacks on religion are well exemplified in his comic picture of Zeus struggling at a celestial reception desk to cope with the countless prayers of humanity. Nor does Christianity escape his lash. He says of Christians that "the poor beggars have persuaded themselves that they will be absolutely immortal and live everlastingly, and for this reason they scorn death and willingly surrender when arrested" (*Peregrinus* 13); they are "simple-minded people," he adds, who can be easily imposed upon by any charlatan or trickster.

A certain criticism of religion emerges also in the works of the philosophers called Skeptics. Their main emphasis was on the reservation or suspension of judgment, but this was applied in a general sense to the validity of sense perceptions and thus to the uncertain claim that knowledge of things can be attained. Specific problems concerning religion were discussed by Sextus Empiricus (c. 160–210 CE), who noted the vast amount of disagreement on the subject that prevailed. The very existence of the gods or of God, the propriety or otherwise of animal sacrifices and dietetic rules, the problem of how the dead should be treated, the right attitude toward death itself—all these matters produced debate and radically differing views. He argues that relativism is inherent in these areas: "All are matters of custom." Therefore, he concludes, judgment on questions of religious belief and practice must also be suspended.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION. The two most popular and influential philosophical schools of Hellenistic times were those of the Epicureans and the Stoics, both of which originated in the period immediately following Alexander's conquests. Both were also much affected, albeit in very different ways, by the radical political changes of the age as well as by the new international horizons. To some extent, both took up attitudes that were critical of traditional religious beliefs. Indeed, some would describe them, particularly the Epicureans, as rejecting religion, but this would be misleading.

Epicurus (341–270 BCE) was born in Samos but spent much of his life in Athens, where he bought a house with a garden (his school was eventually called "the Garden"). For him, the aim of philosophy is to secure a happy life; "pleasure is the beginning and end of living happily." Pleasure of the soul is valued above bodily pleasure, and the ideal is *ataraxia,* "freedom from disturbance."

Epicureans were often accused of profligacy, but they lived a modest and simple life of seclusion. Women and slaves were allowed into the Garden, and among the women were several courtesans (*hetairai*), who obviously became a pretext for some of the accusations made against the Epicureans of gross sexual immorality and of overindulgence in wine and food. Such charges came mainly from adherents who later abandoned the school.

In his moral doctrine and spiritual temper Epicurus paid great attention to the idea of friendship (*philia,* for which Lucretius, the Roman Epicurean, used the word *amicitia*); and there is every reason to believe that he strove to follow his noble ideal. He says of friendship: "Of all things which wisdom supplies to make life entirely happy, by far the greatest is the possession of friendship." Again: "Friendship must always be sought for its own sake, although it has its origins in the need for help." And yet again: "That is also very beautiful, the sight of those near and dear to us, when to the bonds of kinship is joined a union of hearts." In his book *The Faith of Epicurus* (London, 1967), Benjamin Farrington aptly compares the saying of William Blake, "The bird a nest, the spider a web, man friendship" (p. 23), and even more appositely since its context is not far removed in time, cites the dictum of Aristotle: "Moreover friendship [*philia*] seems to hold states together and lawgivers are more concerned about friendship than about justice. For concord seems to be akin to friendship . . . , and when men are friends there is no need of justice" (p. 29; *Nichomachean Ethics* 1155a). Friendship is seen, then, not only as a personal tie between individuals but also as the motivating force of a healthy society.

If these ideas indicate the quality of Epicurus's spirituality, his precise attitude to religion must be examined. This is well expressed in his *Letter of Menoeceus,* a letter to a disciple of his to whom he wished to explain the basic principles of his creed. First of all, one must believe that "God is a being immortal and blessed"; then, a little later, he says that "gods certainly exist, since our perception of them is clear." The apparent contradiction here between "God" and "gods" is familiar in previous Greek writing, especially in the works of Plato, who combines a suggestion of monotheism with the traditional polytheism.

Epicurus goes on to say that many false ideas are current about the gods, in particular the popular concept of reward and punishment whereby the injuries suffered by the wicked and the blessings enjoyed by the good are directly conferred by the gods. He then passes on to discuss death, a subject he often broaches in connection with religion. He tells Menoeceus that it is important to realize that death means nothing because it deprives one of all sensation. To realize this makes mortal life more enjoyable in that the desire for immortality is removed. The fear of death and of what may follow it is groundless; the wise man will think reverently of the gods and will be entirely fearless of death. Indeed, he will preserve his peace of mind and "live like a god among men." The life of the gods, as other Epicurean writings make clear, is regarded as one of calm beatitude. They enjoy a blissful existence far away from the turmoil of the human world, free of pain and peril. They take no interest in human affairs and are content with the immortality and supreme blessedness that is theirs.

Perhaps it is Lucretius (94–55 BCE), the Roman exponent of Epicureanism, who has given the most attractive expression to these ideas, both in his depiction of the bliss enjoyed by the gods in their remote paradise and in his searing attacks on popular notions of punishments after death, which were associated with the divine control of Hades. Some of the attacks made by Lucretius on these popular misconceptions sound very much like a condemnation of religion *in toto.* After a breathlessly pathetic picture of Agamemnon sacrificing his own daughter Iphigenia to satisfy the claims of religion, the poet declares, "So many evils was religion able to instigate" (*De rerum natura* 101).

Epicurus himself, on the other hand, is careful to point out that he regularly follows traditional religious observances: "Let it be enough to state now that the divine is in need of no mark of honor, but that it is natural for us to honor it, especially by having pious conceptions of it and secondly, by presenting to all the gods in turn the traditional sacrifices" (Philodemus, *De musica* 4.6, quoting Epicurus). At first sight a palpable contradiction occurs here. If the gods are not concerned with human life, why should human beings bother to honor them with prayer and sacrifice? Do not these religious acts imply a constant concern on both sides? To resolve this dilemma, it seems, one should ascribe to Epicurus the highest form of worship, the utterly disinterested adoration of the divine which expects nothing in return but has the joy of sharing in the divine happiness. Prayer and sacrifice enable such a worshiper to take part in the blessedness of the gods. It was said of Epicurus, "He appeals to the Completely Happy so as to strengthen his own blessedness." It could be argued that he is, therefore, receiving something from the gods, even though the gift is purely spiritual in character, and that the gods are ready to bestow it, thus belying the concept that they are a remote community of beings who have no care or concern for humanity.

Epicurus also recommended prayer because it enabled one to participate in the religious life of one's own country; he viewed it as natural and proper. This contrasts sharply with his constant advice to withdraw completely from political and public activity. But if there is a measure of inconsistency in his sanction of traditional religious rites, his condemnation of the astral religion propagated by Plato in his later years is perfectly consonant with the lofty view of the divine that Epicurus always tried to maintain. His creed is well summed up in the saying of Diogenes of Oenoanda in Asia Minor, who lived in the second century CE: "Nothing to fear in God. Nothing to feel in death."

In one respect the Stoics differed firmly from the Epicureans: They urged active participation in public life, not a retreat from it. While favoring the idea of a world state, they did not shrink from service to their own. Their basic teachings also differed. For them it was virtue, not pleasure, that was the supreme value in life; knowledge was important in the quest for virtue, but the essential thing was to live in agreement with nature since nature leads to virtue. In modern parlance, to follow nature may often imply an uninhibited pursuit of the natural instincts and their pleasures, but the Stoics' interpretation is quite different. For them the formative and guiding principle in nature is reason (*logos*), which is identified with God himself and is said to manifest itself as fate or necessity and as providence. Another special manifestation is human reason, whose guidance it is one's duty to obey. For rational beings such as humans virtue alone is the vital possession, and from virtue alone comes happiness.

Pleasure, on the other hand, is regarded as only a by-product of virtuous living and not as a proper end in itself. Like the Epicureans, the Stoics valued "freedom from disturbance" (*ataraxia*) as a desirable state, as well as "freedom from emotion" (*apatheia*) and "inward independence" (*autarkeia*). The founder of Stoicism, Zeno of Citium (335–263 BCE), was highly regarded for his integrity, and it was said of him that "he made his life a pattern to all, for he followed his own teaching." He was succeeded as leader of the school by Cleanthes (331–232 BCE), who was followd in turn by Chrysippus (280–207 BCE). These philosophers showed varied emphases in their teachings, much more so than did the followers of Epicurus, who adhered closely to the precepts of their founding father and gave him almost divine status.

Among the Stoics, Cleanthes was the most concerned with religion. He is renowned for his beautiful *Hymn to Zeus,* where the god is addressed as the creator of the world and the universe and as a ruling spirit who continues to dwell in the whole of his creation. When this hymn is compared with previous Greek praises of the god, what is striking is the absence of any specific allusions to the mythology or cult of Zeus, and some of the mythology was quite scandalous. Instead, Zeus has become to Cleanthes an abstract figure standing for divine creativity, reason, law, and providence. He does refer to the thunderbolt of Zeus, but he links it to the Stoic doctrine of the conflagration that will end the world: "Nature's own stroke brings all things to their end." He also gives it a moral force, urging Zeus to use it to dispel darkness from the souls of humans.

Both Cleanthes and Chrysippus assembled arguments to prove the existence of God, giving prominence to the argument from design: The order and regularity of the heavenly bodies could not be produced by humanity, it is urged; they must have been produced by something better than humans. "And what name other than God would one give to this?" (Cicero, *On the Nature of the Gods* 2.16, quoting Chrysippus). As has been seen, in its whole view of nature and man early Stoicism assigns a built-in importance to religion. A moral earnestness is also evident in the writings of Stoics in the Roman imperial era, especially those of Seneca (5 BCE–65 CE) and Epictetus (55–135 CE), whose idea of God is practically monotheistic. In their attitude to the gods of tradition, the Stoics were often charged with a pallid reductionism. They tended to equate the gods with the functions associated with them. Plutarch, a middle Platonist not unfriendly to Stoicism, complains in the early second century CE of the facile way in which gods were labeled according to their physical associations; Osiris was thus related to natural fertility while Dionysos was explained as wine and Demeter as grain. Another kind of reductionism was employed by the Stoics to explain myths whose primitive crudities offended them, namely, a wholesale use of allegory. Plutarch himself was prepared to use this method liberally. The Platonist school that he favored continued to flourish, but it had abandoned orthodoxy in its espousal of an open electicism.

The philosophical creeds with their variety of religious ingredients appealed, of course, only to an educated elite. Their quiet colonnades were far removed from the rough-and-tumble of the marketplace, as was the Epicurean Garden. Many confusing cries accosted common people in the marketplace, and they often found it most satisfying, as far as religion was concerned, to follow the emotional uplift and the offer of salvation presented by the mystery religions and by Christianity.

SEE ALSO Apostles; Apotheosis; Astrology; Divination; Emperor's Cult; Gnosticism; Hermetism; Heroes; Incarnation; Jesus; Kingship; Manichaeism; Mystery Religions; Neoplatonism; Oracles; Paul the Apostle; Rabbinic Judaism in Late Antiquity; Roman Religion, article on The Imperial Period; Shape Shifting; Skeptics and Skepticism; Syncretism.

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J. GWYN GRIFFITHS (1987)

HENOTHEISM, a term coined from the Greek *henos* ("one") and *theos* ("god"), was for some time used by F. Max Müller interchangeably with *kathenotheism*, derived from the Greek *kath' hena* ("one by one"). It was Friedrich Schelling (1775–1854) who first used the word *henotheism* in his study of mythology to indicate "relative, rudimentary monotheism," which he supposed was the idea of God in prehistoric consciousness (*Philosophie der Mythologie und der Offenbarung*, 1842). F. Max Müller (1823–1900), in his attempt at "tracing the origin and first growth of human thought," employed the word as a technical term of *Religionswissenschaft* to designate a peculiar form of polytheism that in his view was characteristic of the description of the gods in the *Ṛgveda.* He observed that in the Vedas—the oldest Indian religious literature—although deities are invoked by a variety of names, such as *Agni* ("fire"), *Sūrya* ("the sun"), *Uṣas* ("dawn"), *Maruts* ("the storms"), *Pṛthvī* ("the earth"), *Āp* ("the waters"), and *Nadī* ("the rivers"), that are closely connected with nature, as well as by proper names, such as *Varuṇa*, *Mitra*, *Indra*, and *Aditi*, "to the mind of the supplicant" each god is "at the time a real divinity, supreme and absolute," and not limited by the powers of any other gods. Müller called this "belief in single gods" *henotheism* or *kathenotheism*," a worship of one god after another" (Müller, 1881, pp. 136–137). In his lectures of 1882 he noted that rather than the term *kathenotheism* the "shorter term *henotheism* has found more general acceptance, as conveying more definitely the opposition between *monotheism*, the worship of only one God, and *henotheism*, the worship of single gods" (Müller, 1896, pp. 146–147).

Müller distinguished this Vedic plurality of gods from the idea of polytheism, which, as he pointed out, derived chiefly from Greek and Roman antiquity and designated "a certain more or less organized system of gods, different in power and rank, and all subordinate to a supreme God, a Zeus or Jupiter" (Müller, 1896, pp. 145–146).

Partly in opposition to the thesis of Ernest Renan (1823–1892) that monotheism was a unique tendency of the Semitic race, Müller suggested that a "henotheistic phase" was "a peculiar phase of religion" that was found probably everywhere preceding either polytheism or monotheism (Müller, 1873, p. 142; cf. Müller, 1881, p. 414). He asserted that such a phase existed not only in India but in Greece, Italy, Germany, and elsewhere (Müller, 1879, p. 275; cf. Müller, 1896, p. 163). Müller maintained that this henotheistic phase "tended to become a belief in *one* God, presiding over the other no longer supreme gods—*polytheism*; or a belief in one god, excluding the very possibility of other gods—*monotheism*" (Müller, 1879, p. 362; cf. Müller, 1896, p. 163). In comparing monotheism and henotheism, Müller made the following observation: "There is one kind of oneness which does not exclude the idea of plurality," i.e., henotheism, and "there is another which does" exclude the idea of plurality, i.e., monotheism (Müller, 1881, p. 415).

The association of henotheism with the idea of "rudimentary monotheism," however, never completely disappeared from the minds of some scholars of religion. Thus, henotheism was sometimes confused with monolatry, a term best applied to the religion of ancient Israel before it attained monotheism, when the existence of gods other than Yahveh was admitted but their worship was strictly forbidden (see *Ex.* 22:20). Friedrich Heiler (1961, p. 323) and others have pointed out, however, that monolatry—the exclusive worship of a god by a certain social group—clearly differs from the idea of henotheism expounded by Müller.

Müller's idea of henotheism has a speculative dimension that deals with how a divine reality reveals itself to humans. He recognized in the Vedas a "breaking forth" of the awareness "that all the deities are but different names of one and the same godhead" and that "the primitive intuition of the godhead"—"the main-spring of all later religion"—"is neither monotheistic nor polytheistic. . . . God is God" (Müller, 1881, pp. 136–137 and 414–415). Thus, he asserted that "the unity of the Divine" was at the basis of the henotheistic mode of expression (Müller, 1896, p. 144). From his study of the Vedas Müller concluded that "we learn a lesson—the lesson *how gods were made and unmade*—how the Beyond or the Infinite was named by different names in order to bring it near to the mind of [hu]man [beings], to make it for a time comprehensible, until, when name after name had proved of no avail, a nameless God was felt to answer best the restless cravings of the human heart" (Müller, 1896, p. 163). However, if one disregards these metaphysical assertions, Müller's idea of henotheism appears to be yet another term that designates a certain plurality of gods, entailing a possible confusion with such terms as *monotheism, polytheism, and monolatry.*

The idea of henotheism proposed by Müller is twofold: (1) it designates a certain developmental stage within a religion preceding polytheism or monotheism, and (2) a unique, qualitative "kairological moment," or aspect, of human religious awareness itself (cf. Panikkar, p. 266). Heiler, for one, employs the word *henotheism* for its psychological significance, equating it with "subjective theism," which in his view paves a way to objective monotheism (Heiler, p. 460). The primordial religious intuition that attracted Müller's attention may be compared with one of the two modes of thinking Heidegger identifies, namely with the *besinnliches Denken*, or meditative thinking, as opposed to *rechnendes Denken*, or calculative thinking.

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MICHIKO YUSA (1987 AND 2005)

HERA was the wife of Zeus and, in literature, the most prominent Greek goddess, although her cultic importance was limited. Hera was an ancient goddess, whose name is already attested in Mycenaean times. Etymologically, a relation with the word *heros* seems probable. As the latter most likely means something like "Lord," Hera's name may be interpreted as "Lady," even if certainty is not attainable.

Zeus's first wife was called Dione, who survived only at the margins of the Greek world, yet Hera had already supplanted her in Mycenaean times—a Linear-B tablet of Pylos mentions the combination "Zeus, Hera, Drimios, the son of Zeus." The role of Hera in Homer's *Iliad*, the oldest and most detailed source in the Archaic Age, is threefold. First, she is the wedded wife of Zeus (she was also his eldest sister). Hera sits "on the golden throne" and holds the scepter, and there is no doubt about her importance. Second, the picture of the divinely consummated marriage with Zeus made Hera into a goddess of weddings and marriage throughout Greece. Third, she appears as the jealous wife par excellence, whose unruly behavior is a source of continuous concern for the supreme god. He beats her, threatens her with violence, and even penalizes her by hanging her in the sky with anvils on her feet (*Iliad* 1.566–7, 588; 8.403–5; 16.18–31).

Hera's position as the wife of Zeus most likely goes back to her prominent position in Argos. Even though her name eventually became limited to the city on the Peloponnese, it must have been her position as city goddess of one of the most powerful Mycenaean cities that made it possible for her to supplant Zeus's first wife.

THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS AND MARRIAGE. The education of girls was the sphere of action of several Greek divinities, including Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite, and Hera. In the case of the latter, it is striking that virginity is often emphasized. Hera herself was worshipped as Parthenos (Virgin) in Hermione and Arcadian Stymphalos. The island of Samos was once called Parthenie (the Maidenly), and the river Imbrasos by the sanctuary was also called Parthenios. Yet this prematrimonial association of Hera is only dimly visible.

On the other hand, Hera's position as the goddess of marriage is clear. As Hera Teleia, she "keeps the keys of wedlock," as Aristophanes expressed it in his *Thesmophoriazusae* (973). The epithet was already explained in antiquity by a commentator on line 974 of the play: "Hera Teleia and Zeus Teleios were honored in wedding ceremonies, since they were in charge of weddings." As Teleia, Hera was the "fulfilled" woman par excellence because the Greeks saw the wedding as a girl's life's fulfillment. The relation of the epithet to the wedding also clearly appears from her temple at Plataea. Here, Hera had two statues and two epithets, Nympheuomenê (she who is led as bride during the wedding day), and Teleia (the fulfilled). The wedding of Zeus and Hera was considered to be so important that several Greek communities—such as various cities on Euboea or Cretan Knossos—claimed it took place in their area. The inhabitants of these cities would imitate the wedding near a river at the annual sacrificial festival. The Athenians, as well, remembered the marriage of Zeus and Hera in the month Gamelion, in late winter. Husbands even celebrated the central mystery of this festival, the *Hieros Gamos,* or *Theogamia*, by (rather unusually) staying home and spending an evening with their wives.

Although Plutarch (fragment 157, Sandbach) mentions that in sacrifices to Hera Gamelia the gall was not offered "so that married life might be without bitterness," the goddess's unruly and jealous behavior is often alluded to in the *Iliad.* Hera was also anything but a good mother: in a fit of rage she hurled her son Hephaistos, the divine smith, from Olympus into the sea. The close connection between Hera and Hephaistos is striking and may have something to do with the position of the goddess outside the centers of civilization, just as the smith is at the margin of the civilized and political community.

The negative picture of Hera in Greek mythology can hardly be separated from her role in Greek cult, where both her rituals and the location of her sanctuaries point to a position away from the central social order. In some rituals, this jealousy was actually closely connected to the ritual. In Boeotian Plataea, every ten years a great festival took place—the Daidala—of which the meaning is not at all clear. The myth told how Hera had withdrawn to neighboring Euboea out of jealousy, but returned when Zeus dressed up a wooden doll as his bride and pretended to marry her. The ritual ended with the ceremonial burning of the doll, the sacrificial meat, and the wooden altar (a variant of the widespread fire sacrifices that always carry a slightly unpleasant meaning).

Hera's Cult on Argos. Hera's cult was especially prominent in Argos and on Samos. In Argos, Hera's sanctuary—the Heraion—can be traced from about 800 BCE. It was situated about eighteen kilometers from Argos and five kilometers from Mycenae, and does not seem to have gained importance before the last third of the eighth century BCE. It it is only from around 700 BCE that traces of a stone altar are discovered. The temple proper seems to have been built only a few decades later, and it perished in a fire in 423 BCE. Hera's Argive cult was well-known for its priestesses, who seem to have served her for the entirety of their lives—a rather unusual feat in ancient Greece. The presence of innumerable fibulae shows the importance of the cult for the life of the women, who dedicated their clothes at this sanctuary. The main festival, which was called Heraia and Hecatombaia, was celebrated in the month Panamos, the first month of the Argive year. The festival thus falls within the category of New Year festivals.

During the festival there was a procession from the city to the sanctuary. The procession included Hera's priestess—who traveled the distance in an old-fashioned oxcart—as well as, most likely, the maidens who had woven the new peplos for Hera, whose presentation formed part of the festival. However, as an ancient collection of Greek proverbs says, "those in Argos who had kept their boyhood pure and blameless took up a sacred shield and led the procession: this was their honor according to ancient tradition" (Plutarch, 1.44). Evidently, the festival marked the last stage of the initiation, during which the new male citizens showed themselves to the community.

The initiatory function of Hera also appears from the many votives that represent a kourotrophic goddess. On the island of Lesbos, beauty contests took place in front of Hera's temple, and similar contests in other Greek communities demonstrate that these took place just before the formal adulthood of Greek girls. Such initiations are virtually always the prerogative of the upper class; the many dedications of figurines of Amazons on horses also seem to point to the horse-riding aristocracy. Dedications from central Italy in Hera's sanctuary show the great radius of Hera's Argive cult.

Hera's Cult on Samos. The second center of Hera's cult was Samos. Here the Heraion was situated about eight kilometers west of the city of Samos. The first temple was built in the eighth century BCE, and the final, impressive temple by Polycrates, the powerful ruler of independent Samos before the island was conquered by the Persians, was built at the end of the sixth century BCE. The oldest stage of Hera's cult must have been dominated by women; the typical male features—such as the dedications of miniature boats—appear at a later time. Given the prominence of the shield in Argos, it should be noted that many miniature shields were found in the sanctuary—sure signs of male initiation. As in Argos, Hera was apparently the goddess who supervised the coming of age of the new generation of citizens, both male and female.

The most important festival of Hera was the Tonaia. The myth related the capture of her statue by Etruscan pirates and its subsequent recovery. The story reflects the leaving of the temple by the statue. During the festival the statue was most likely exhibited near the holy *agnus castus*—a negative tree in ancient Greece—where it would have been washed and redressed. Coins from the Roman period show that Hera's statue was tethered; such tethered statues indicated that the relevant divinity was connected with the dissolution of the social order. It is unfortunate, however, that the exact position of the festival in the Samian year is not known, and so its precise function remains obscure.

Hera's Cult in Southern Italy. The goddess Hera was also popular in Southern Italy, where excavations in Foce del Sele, at the estuary of the river Sele, have revealed an important sixth-century sanctuary of Hera. Many objects from the life of women have been found there, such as weights for weaving and perfume bottles. This female character is also evident in Croton, where, because of Pythagoras, the women of Croton no longer dared wear expensive clothes; instead, they dedicated them in the most prominent sanctuary of the town, the temple of Hera Lacinia.

Excavations have shown that this sanctuary in Foca del Sele received dedications from throughout the Greek world and therefore must have been held in high standing. There is litle information, however, about Hera's sixth-century temple in Paestum/Posidonia, although the miniature arms found once again seem to point into the direction of initiation. In her sanctuary in Santa Venera, at the border of the urban area of Paestum, Hera was also worshipped (along with Iovia, a kind of Venus of the Italic Lucani). Though scarce, the data available points to Hera as the goddess who presided over both male and female maturation, as well as the wedding. In ways specific to local customs, this must have been Hera's function throughout Greece.

See Also Artemis; Dionysos; Divination, article on Greek and Roman Divination; Family; Goddess Worship, overview article; Hesiod; Homer; Juno; Marriage; Zeus.

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JAN N. BREMMER (2005)

HERAKLES, the son of Zeus and the Theban queen Alcmene, is the most prominent Greek hero, despite the fact that no poem on his labors is preserved—numerous images, several preserved tragedies, and countless allusions to his myths and cults in Greek and Latin literature attest to his importance. But although he has a mortal mother and dies himself, he is no typical hero. He lacks the close connection with a single city, or with a grave as the focus of his cult. Instead, his mythology connects him especially with the cities of Thebes and Argos, and his cult is panhellenic and makes him appear much more like a god than a hero. One can understand why the poet Pindar (c. 522–438 BCE) blurred the categories and called him a "hero god," (*hērōs theos; Nemean Ode* 3.22).

NAME. Ancient authors, as well as some modern scholars, connected his name with that of the goddess Hera. His name takes the very common form of Greek personal names that are easily understandable as composite nouns: *Hera-kles* means "the glory of Hera," as *Dio-kles* is "the glory of Zeus," or *Patro-klos* "He who brings glory to his father." In mythology, however, such a positive connection with Hera does not exist. He is, after all, the illegitimate son of her husband and a local queen, and in Homeric poetry this turned Hera into Herakles' most bitter enemy (see, for example, *Iliad* 15.25–28). Only after his elevation into Olympus did Hera accept Herakles as an adoptive son. The ancient explanation—that it was none other than the constant persecution by Hera that set Herakles on his steady course to glory (see Pindar, *Fragment* 291)—seems rather farfetched, as is the claim that his first name had been Alcides ("strongman"). In reality, the name Alcides designates Herakles as the grandson of Alkaios, father of Herakles' stepfather, Amphitryon. But modern explanations are not much better; the repeated effort to understand *hēōs* as "young man" rests on no firm linguistic grounds, although Herakles was, among other things, a protector of young warriors.

MYTHOLOGY. Zeus fell in love with the beautiful queen of Thebes, Alcmene. When her husband Amphitryon (grandson of Zeus's son Perseus) was away on a military campaign, Zeus took Amphitryon's shape and seduced her; in order to extend his pleasures, he interrupted the sun's course for three days. The complications that resulted from Zeus's disguise were exploited in late classical drama; the preserved adaptation of a Greek tragedy for the Roman comic stage, Plautus's *Amphitruo* (after 200 BCE), became the first in a long series of early plays in European literature.

Zeus's ever-jealous wife Hera pursued the unborn baby. When, immediately before Herakles' birth, Zeus declared that an offspring of Perseus would become king of Mycenae, Hera hindered Herakles' birth in favor of that of another offspring, Eurystheus, whom Herakles would have to serve for many years. Herakles also had a twin half-brother, Iphicles, the son of Amphitryon, and this brother's son, Iolaos, became Herakles' devoted friend and companion.

In the service of Eurystheus, Herakles performed twelve labors. The series begins in the Peloponnesian neighborhood of Argos, the Iron Age successor of the Bronze Age site Mycenae. He killed the lion of Nemea (near Argos), a monstrous beast with a skin that weapons could not penetrate. Herakles strangled him and turned the hide into his signal armor. With Iolaos's help, he killed the Hydra of Lerna (another town near Argos), a snakelike monster whose many heads regrew as soon as he had cut off one; he used the Hydra's poison on the tips of his arrowheads. He caught the Cerynthian hind, a female deer with golden antlers that was living in Arcadia, and the Erymanthean boar, another Arcadian wild animal. He shot the man-eating birds that were living in the swamps of Stymphalos in Arcadia, and he cleaned the stables of Augias, king of Elis, in southwestern Peloponnese.

The other six adventures expand the geographical frame. To the south of the Peloponnese, he caught the bull that Poseidon had given as a present to the Cretan king Minos and that later was devastating the island; in the north, he tamed the man-eating wild horses of the Thracian king Diomedes. Turning east, he asked for and received the belt of the Amazon queen Hippolyte; in the far west, he abducted the cattle of Geryoneus on an island on the western shore of the Oceanus, and he received, with the help of the giant Atlas, the apples of the Hesperides ("evening girls"); and finally, he descended into the underworld and brought back the three-headed hound of hell, Cerberus. This cycle was fully established before 460 BCE, when it was represented on the temple of Zeus in Olympia.

Other exploits include his service, in female dress, at the court of queen Omphale in Lydia; his fight with death to gain back Alcestis, the wife of his host Admetus; the founding of the Olympian games; his part in a first Trojan war, which preceded the more famous Greek expedition and in which Herakles punished the treacherous Trojan king Laomedon, and a short participation in the voyage of the Argonauts; an often-represented brawl with Apollo over the Delphian tripod; and the shooting of the centaur Nessus when the beast tried to rape Herakles' wife Deianira (with whom Herakles had a son, Hyllus). When Herakles years later abducted young Iole, with whom he had fallen in love, Deianira used the advice of Nessus to impregnate a shirt with Nessus's blood—which was tainted with the Hydra's poison—to use as a love charm. The shirt caused so much pain to Herakles that he burned himself alive on top of Mount Oeta. After his death, he was received among the Olympian gods and married to Hebe ("youth").

The story of Herakles, the mighty, albeit somewhat flawed, mortal who subjects himself to a much weaker person, cleanses the earth from frightful monsters, and finally is rewarded by being made a god, attracted a moralistic reading. In the allegorical interpretation of Stoic philosophers, Herakles became the exemplar of the ideal Stoic sage whose labor and dedication earns him a godlike position. In royal ideology, from Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE) to the emperor Charles V (1500–1558), Herakles more specifically became the embodiment of royal virtues. The personal motto of Charles V depicts the pillars of Herakles at the Strait of Gibraltar with the proud caption *plus ultra* (more beyond)—thus the ruler whose empire included the Americas claimed to have outdone the Greek hero. The myth of Herakles at the crossroads, created in the fifth century BCE by Prodicus, confronts the young hero with Dame Virtue and Dame Lust and makes him opt for the former, despite the latter's many promises; the story survives well into the European Renaissance and the baroque age.

CULTS. In most Greek cities, Herakles had cult followers, although he had very few major sanctuaries. An open-air sanctuary on top of Mount Oeta, where myth placed the pyre in which Herakles burned himself, is archaeologically attested as early as the Archaic Age, and it was the site of an athletic contest. It is the only sanctuary of Herakles that served more than one city. He also had a major city sanctuary on the island of Thasos. Its archaeological exploration points to the importance of ritual (by definition, all-male) banquets in Herakles' cult (myth consistently represented him as an avid eater and even more avid drinker and womanizer). He was among the foremost divine protectors of the city—a relief on a city gate represents him as an archer poised to shoot towards any evil that might approach. In many other cities, especially of the Greek East, he is connected with the military protection of the city and with the able-bodied young male citizens who constituted the city's army; this connection is responsible for Herakles' epithet *kallínikos* (He of the Beautiful Victory). In Athens, he presided over the coming-of-age rituals of young men, who offered him a large libation of wine.

The birth story of Herakles, with the nightly visit of the supreme god to the ruling king's wife, derives from Egyptian royal ideology, although there are no other traces of such a claim in historical Thebes. The Dorian states of the Peloponnese, especially the Spartan royal lineages, regarded him as their divine ancestor whose son, Hyllos, was the ancestor of one of the three traditional Doric tribes. Other aristocratic and royal families claimed him as their ancestor as well, such as the dynasty of the Lydian king Croesus, or the Macedonian royal family. Such claims inevitably involved a cult whose details, however, mostly elude us.

In private cult, Herakles was addressed as a powerful protector; a very common epithet is *alexikakos* ("He Who Protects from Evil"). Like other private protectors such as Isis, he received dedications after he manifested himself in a dream. In Athens he was identified with the healing hero Pancrates ("All-powerful"), who had a small sanctuary in the city. Throughout antiquity, the entrance of houses was guarded either by a symbol of Herakles, such as his club, or a verse written on the lintel: "The son of Zeus Herakles *kallinikos* is living here: no evil may enter."

In the course of the Greek colonization of southern Italy during the eighth and seventh centuries BCE, his cult also came to Italy, and especially to Rome, where he was worshiped as Hercules (a form of his name that presumably developed through the Etruscan name *Hercle*). In Rome he had an open-air altar, the Ara Maxima (Very Large Altar) near the spot where, in archaic times, the Tiber could be traversed in a ford; the cult dates back to the Archaic Age, as does the pediment sculpture of a temple on the nearby Forum Boarium (Cattle Market) that represents his introduction into Olympus. His connection with cattle and its transhumance through the mountains of Italy seem to be old and constant; the connection is also the backdrop to the Greek myth of Geryoneus and its Roman continuation, the killing of the local Roman cattle-rustling monster Cacus. Throughout Italy, women were excluded from Herakles' cult (which in Greece was already concentrating on males). Other cultic roles are less well attested; somewhat by chance we learn that Herakles possessed a lot oracle in the Roman port city of Ostia.

IDENTIFICATIONS. Herakles is identified with a wide variety of local gods, such as the Cilician Santas/Sandon, whose cult centers on an annual fire ritual reminiscent of Herakles' self-destruction on Mount Oeta. Most important was the identification with the Phoenician Melqart, who has his main sanctuary in Tyre and another important cult on the peninsula of Gades (Cádiz) in southwestern Spain. The Greek historian Herodotos claimed that some Greek cults of Herakles derived from Tyre's Melqart, and a few modern scholars followed this theory and extended it to the cult of the Roman Ara Maxima, but the evidence does not seem to bear them out.

SEE ALSO Apotheosis; Cattle; Dragons; Fire; Heroes; Melqart; Monsters; Ninurta; Quests; Reshef; Vṛtra.

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FRITZ GRAF (2005)

HERDER, JOHANN GOTTFRIED (1744–1803), was a German pastor and theologian, a literary critic, and a philosopher of history. The unity underlying Herder's many and varied academic endeavors, which resulted in a seemingly unending flow of publications, stems from his consistently historical approach to the topics he studied. Historical awareness sets him apart most noticeably from the prevalent thought patterns of the ahistorical Enlightenment authors of his time and makes him a pivotal figure in eighteenth-century German intellectual life.

While Herder's significance is easily established in such disciplines as literature and literary criticism, cultural history, and philosophy of history or anthropology, it is much more difficult to define the influence he has exerted through his many contributions to the development of contemporary religious thought. In part this is due to the fact that Herder's approach often is more that of a sweeping questioner than a systematic thinker, and in part this is the case because religious views underlie all of his writings, most clearly his anthropological essays. Understanding the human being as made in the image of God was what moved him, not considerations of theological orthodoxy. Herder, the forceful critic of Enlightenment rationalism in general, favored an emphasis on divine revelation in creation and Scripture over dogma and systematic theology. In his *Briefe an Theophron; Briefe, das Studium der Theologie betreffend,* Fünfter Theil (*Letters to Theophron; Letters Concerning the Study of Theology*, Part V, 1781), Herder states this principle when he says that "the entire purpose of Christianity is something other than erudite exegesis and dogmatism, no matter how invaluable these might be" (*Herder's Sämmtliche Werke,* XI, 194). Given his love for literature, Herder extolled the poetic power of the Bible and, in keeping with his Pietistic heritage, wanted the Bible to speak directly to the individual reader. Living faith, according to Herder, defines true orthodoxy, rather than the other way around.

HERDER'S BACKGROUND. Herder was a contemporary of Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) and Johann Georg Hamann (1730–1788). Like them he grew up in the province of East Prussia and studied in Königsberg (present-day Kaliningrad), where Kant was his teacher at the university and where Hamann became his friend and private tutor, introducing the young student to English language and literature, especially John Milton and William Shakespeare. Following a brief period of formal university studies (1762–1764), Herder assumed a teaching position at the German secondary school in Riga, Latvia, before he was installed in 1767 into the ministry. For the rest of his life he remained in the pastorate. He served three Lutheran churches, first in Riga (1767–1769), then in Bückeburg (1770–1776), and finally in Weimar (1776–1803), interrupted only by a study tour through the Netherlands and France in 1769–1770. Those two years of travel included a memorable voyage of five weeks on the North Sea, which he described in a catalog of new ideas and study plans published posthumously as *Journal meiner Reise im Jahr 1769* (Journal of my travels in the year 1769, 1846), and a period of extremely vigorous and intense discourse with a group of young German poets, the *Sturm und Drang* circle around Johann Wolfgang von Goethe in Strasbourg. Goethe, immediately upon his own move to Weimar in 1775, used his influence with the court there to secure for Herder a high ecclesiastical position in that small German principality. Herder's fame as a preacher never waned. He fused religiosity with his philosophy of humanism in ways that made his sermons easily understood and commonly admired.

HERDER'S PHILOSOPHY. Herder's first major publication, *Über die neuere deutsche Literatur, Fragmente* (On the new German literature, fragments, 1766–1767), contains his important views on language and expresses his love for idiomatic expressions and inverted word order, qualities he deemed essential to poetry. Shakespeare became his model. Shakespeare's use of Nordic mythology impressed Herder and led him to demand that one must seek to understand the cultural and intellectual environment in which a poet lived before attempting to interpret a given work of literature. The psychological-historical approach became a hallmark of Herder's criticism, whether he dealt with the poetry of the Hebrew Scriptures or with Latvian folk songs. In *Kritische Wälder* (Critical forests, 1769) Herder disputes G. E. Lessing's attempt to establish objective criteria for artistic production.

Whereas Lessing saw Homer as the world's greatest poet, Herder considered Homer merely the greatest among the Greeks, claiming instead that individual circumstances, such as national language and ethnic peculiarities, determine appropriate criteria for judgment of works of art.

With *Über den Ursprung der Sprache* (On the origin of language, 1771) Herder joined the debate as to whether language was divinely given or a human invention, attempting to show that there cannot be a satisfactory answer to that question because language and human existence are synonymous. Herder wrote this essay for a contest sponsored by the Berlin Academy and won the prize. In 1774 Herder was awarded another academy prize with his entry "Auch eine Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit" (Another philosophy of history). Instead of delineating the development of the human race from primitive beginnings to a sophisticated and mature present stage (a practice common among Enlightenment authors), Herder denied such absolute progress and looked upon history as a window through which one can observe humanity's progression toward the goal God has established for it. He saw no justification for his contemporaries to consider earlier epochs to be morally, aesthetically, or intellectually inferior. In fact, he had praise for the "darkness" of the Middle Ages, during which virtue, honor, and love were of the utmost importance, and he chastised his own age for lacking in those human qualities. Herder believes that history is the revelation of God's plan for mankind; he eventually defined his own understanding of this plan more and more clearly as the number of his historical investigations grew. His works *Wie die deutschen Bischöfe Landstände wurden* (How the German bishops became an estate of the realm, 1774) and *Ursachen des gesunckenen Geschmacks bei den verschiedenen Völkern da er geblühet* (Causes of the decay of taste in the various nations where it once flourished, 1775) are two examples of his many historical writings.

HERDER'S THEOLOGY Herder's love for biblical hermeneutics was directed mainly at the Old Testament, in which the sense of history and the beauty of poetry he found attractive are especially in evidence. His *Älteste Urkunde des Menschengeschlechts* (The oldest document of the human race, 1774–1776) offers an interpretation of the first few chapters of the Bible. Herder, the knowledgeable literary critic, builds a convincing case for an allegorical interpretation of *Genesis* 3, only to declare that such a reading is insufficient and leads merely to superficial moral teachings. Instead, he reads the account of the fall as history, maintaining, unlike many eighteenth-century theologians, the truth of original sin as an anthropological fact. His major contribution to the philosophy of history, the famous *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (Ideas for a philosophy of the history of mankind, 1784–1791), seeks to establish the purpose of the human race from a Christian metaphysical point of view and to define that purpose as the practical application of humanitarian ideals.

While Herder continued to write about many aspects of the arts and letters and devoted himself (frequently in cooperation with Goethe) to careful study of the natural sciences, during his Weimar years he published with increasing frequency works specifically on religion. His book *Maran Atha, das Buch von der Zukunft des Herrn* (Maran Atha: The book of the coming of the Lord, 1779) represents Herder's poetic explanation of *Revelation,* one of the books in the Bible that rationalistic theologians found quite unacceptable. He wrote *Briefe, das Studium der Theologie betreffend* (Letters concerning the study of theology, 1780–1781) to serve as a handbook for students of theology, offering exegetical insights into the Old and New Testaments. Herder had become much more orthodox during his Bückeburg years, although questions of dogma never occupied a place of great importance in his scheme of thought. The study *Vom Geist der Ebräischen Poesie* (On the spirit of Hebrew poetry, 1782–1783) views the Old Testament as the greatest poetry given to humankind and therefore as a revelation of the ultimate truth. Pietistic influences were in part responsible for this view. Such influences were strong in Herder's youth and were renewed through his conversations and correspondence with Countess Maria Eleanora of Schaumberg-Lippe in Bückeburg and the Swiss pastor Johann Kaspar Lavater (1741–1801), both Pietists. Although Herder in *Gott: Einige Gespräche* (God: Some conversations, 1787) appears to embrace the ideas of Barukh Spinoza (1632–1677), there is widespread agreement that he was not a Spinozist because of his decisive disagreement with the deists. Rather, it is agreed that he used Spinoza's thoughts to clarify his understanding of God. Herder saw God as existing in the world, yet he refused to limit God's existence to this world. This was Herder's method in most of his writings. He reacted critically to what others had written and offered his own insights, yet he rarely presented his ideas in a systematic fashion. His was the role of a fruitful critic more than that of a builder of a complete worldview. The fact that others have seized upon his ideas and developed them constitutes his contribution and his significance.

SEE ALSO Pietism.

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Friedhelm K. Radandt (1987 and 2005)

HERESY

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
CHRISTIAN CONCEPTS

HERESY: AN OVERVIEW

The term *heresy* derives from the Greek *hairesis.* In classical Greek this word has a variety of meanings, all based on the verb *haireo:* "seizure" (of a city), "choice," "election," and "decision or purposive effort." This last meaning is the starting point for the Hellenistic and Christian use of the term to mean "doctrine," "school," or "received opinion," emphasizing the idea of a free decision or free choice of a doctrine or doctrinal authority. The word thus becomes a technical term for a philosophical school, a party, or a religious doctrinal system and its adherents. The term is applied to Stoics, Pythagoreans, Sadducees, Essenes, Pharisees, and Christians (see *Acts* 5:17, 24:5, 24:14, 26:5, 28:22). Neither in Greek nor in Hellenistic Jewish usage does the word have a negative, derogatory sense; it is an entirely value-free designation.

This situation changes with dramatic suddenness, however, with the rise of Christian literature. The New Testament already uses *hairesis* in a negative sense (see *1 Cor.* 11:19, *Gal.* 5:20, *2 Pt.* 2:1); the word therefore conveys suspicion, according to Heinrich Schlier. The semantic development in the direction of "sect, division, erroneous teaching" that is thus initiated continues in the early church; *hairesis* becomes a technical term for "heresy" and is applied primarily to the gnostics but also to Greek and Jewish "sects." (The older meaning of "doctrinal opinion, received view" is inflected, not completely but in large measure, in the direction of "erroneous teaching, false belief.") As Schlier says, "Hence the concept does not owe its meaning to the development of an orthodoxy. The basis of the Christian concept of *hairesis* is to be found in the new situation created by the introduction of the christian *ekklesia. Ekklesia* and *hairesis* are material opposites" (Schlier, 1964, vol. 1, pp. 182–183).

Despite this, the concept of heresy acquired sharp definition only gradually from the second century on; its distinction from the concept of schism took even longer. Furthermore, the process here described was not entirely comparable to the development in Judaism, although there was a strict temporal parallelism: From the end of the first century *hairesis* and the corresponding Hebrew word *min* were used in the derogatory sense of "heresy" and were applied to Christians and Gnostics, among others. One presupposition of this development was the emergence of rabbinical orthodoxy after Jamnia (c. 100).

This brief history of the term, the details of which are fascinating but cannot be presented here, shows in archetypal fashion the characteristic elements in the Christian understanding of heresy. This understanding was already present in the New Testament and did not have to wait for the coming of the later orthodox great church, although because of the "apostolic" authority the church had acquired in regard to doctrine, scripture, and episcopal office, the distinction between heresy and orthodoxy came to be more clearly drawn as the church developed, thus allowing the opposition to emerge with full clarity.

Scholarly Theories about Heresy. The science of religions borrowed the term *heresy* from Christian usage as fixed in canon law and, as a result, has been very much influenced by the history of the Christian church. The traditional view of "orthodoxy" and "heresy" as equivalent to "true" and "false" was first challenged by Martin Luther in his disputation with Johannes Eck at Leipzig (1517), where he let himself be drawn into saying that even councils (of the church) can err, as they did in the case of Jan Hus. Luther and his disciples, though themselves branded as heretics by Rome, did not further develop this aspect of their critical revision of church history. As a result, the opposition of orthodoxy and heresy reappeared within Protestantism itself (the terminology used by the early church in dealing with heretics served as justification). Only after the appalling experience of the seventeenth-century religious wars were minds ready for another view of the matter.

In his *Unparteiische Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie von Anfang des Neuen Testaments bis 1688* (Impartial History of the Church and Heresy from the Beginning of the New Testament to 1688, published in 1699), Gottfried Arnold (1666–1714), a German Pietist theologian, attempted to show that Christian truth is to be found among heretics, schismatics, and sectarians (mystics), and not in the great church itself or in orthodoxy. Although Arnold simply offered a kind of inverted church history in which heresy, especially the views of the mystics, and not orthodoxy was given the seal of approval (by "impartial" Arnold meant "nonconfessional"), his book exercised an important and mellowing influence and blazed a trail for the ensuing period. Among his successors were J. L. von Mosheim (*Ketzergeschichte,* 1746–1748), C. W. F. Walch (*Historie der Ketzereien,* 1762–1785), F. C. Baur (*Die christliche Gnosis,* 1835; *Lehrbuch der christlichen Dogmengeschichte,* 1847, 1858; *Das Christentum und die christliche Kirche der ersten drei Jahrhunderte,* 1853, 1963), Adolf von Harnack (*Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte,* 1886, 1909), and Adolf Hilgenfeld (*Die Ketzergeschichte des Urchristentums,* 1884).

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the work of the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule paved the way for a still more penetrating historical view of heresy and orthodoxy, not only because early Christianity came to be understood and interpreted in the context of its environment, but also because the barrier raised by the canon (considered to be the

New Testament) was dismantled, and the New Testament was increasingly recognized as presenting only some of the many theological concepts and ideas of early Christianity. It became increasingly difficult to make a distinction between heresy and orthodoxy. The multiplicity of competing statements of faith regarding the "saving event" in Jesus Christ and its theological explanation showed ever more clearly that at the beginning of the church's history neither heresy nor orthodoxy was sharply defined or patent; both were concepts developed later.

This view of the matter has been presented most notably by Walter Bauer in his well-known book *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum* (1934; *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity,* Eng. trans. of 2d ed., 1971). A critical study of the early sources for the history of Christianity in Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, and Greece shows that in these ancient Christian centers the Gnosticism later judged to be heresy was evidently regarded as Christianity. An orthodoxy came into being as the result of a lengthy historical and theological process. From a confrontation with other doctrines and practices something emerged that was to be regarded as the orthodox doctrine and practice: a canon, an episcopal office that drew its legitimacy from succession to the apostles (who were subsequently promoted to be the founders of the principal episcopal sees), baptism, imposition of hands, and eucharist.

A MORPHOLOGY OF HERESY. This understanding of the origin of heresy and orthodoxy derived from the history of the Christian church is to a great extent valid for the history of religions. Bauer's thesis is therefore important also for the general study of religions. To that extent the unreflective, traditional concept of heresy is no longer applicable today; it must yield its place to the historical insight that *heresy* and *orthodoxy* are relative terms for religio-historical processes of quite different kinds. In any case the history of religions has no room for a theological and dogmatic judgment of these processes. It uses the concepts as purely historical categories or, better, as umbrella terms that make it possible to manage, in some degree, the multiplicity of contents presented by the history of religions. The history of religions cannot indeed bring about a revision of historical writing that would discard concepts that bear the mark of history. It can, however, exert a very healthy influence on the discussion of this subject by giving a critical presentation of historical events and causes that have led to oppositions between heresy and orthodoxy, which, in turn, have so often had tragic consequences. From the standpoint of comparative religion, an understanding of the applicability of the concept of heresy can shed light on the concept itself.

Religions in which heresy does not appear. Strictly speaking, it is possible to speak of "heresy," "schism," or "sect" only in connection with a certain type of religion, namely, religions founded by an individual or, as this author prefers to call them, "confessional religions." For in all the ancient popular religions that were not explicitly traced back to a founder or that did not have their own canonical document containing a revelation (as, for example, do Zoroastrianism and Judaism) there was no such thing as a "schism" or a "heresy" in a strict and specifically religious sense. This is to be accounted for by the fact that in these religions the particular religion or cult of the gods was coextensive with the people as a whole, that is, religion and national community were inseparable. An "apostasy" from the official cult binding on all meant a withdrawal from the nation; in other words, apostasy brought exclusion from the civic community (for the Germanic community this meant "outlawry"). Furthermore, the idea of a binding confession in the sense of a kind of rule or norm of faith was wholly alien to such a national or popular religion. As a result, divergent views on, for example, the nature of the gods or similar subjects did not immediately lead to a break with tradition and thus to divisions. Popular religions were therefore essentially tolerant and as long as there was no attack on the central cultic life showed themselves liberal toward the cults of other gods.

For illustration of this spirit one need only recall the *interpretatio* of foreign gods, a tested means of adapting and of establishing equivalences. Communities or associations were of course to be found within popular religions, but they were for the most part simply specific manifestations of religio-social life, as, for example, the mysteries based on the ancient cults of the gods. There was no place for "orthodoxy" and "heresy" in the mysteries; indeed, a person could become an initiate in several mysteries. Nor do the groups and associations found in the religions of illiterate tribes form an exception to this rule. When there are no fixed norms set down in the doctrine of an exclusive community there is no room for "heresy."

In this world of national and tribal religions there was, however, an area that served as a very sensitive touchstone of orthodoxy in a broad sense of the term: the area of cult or worship. Here there was indeed the basis for a parting of the ways. It can be said that in a national or popular religion heresies and schisms in the narrow sense did not arise, because the necessary presupposition was lacking, but that on the other hand an individual could bring about a reordering, restructuring, or reformation, which then led to the founding of an entirely new religion or to a new cult. The occasion for such an innovation was almost always a radical critique of the traditional cult and of the sacred tradition closely connected with it. Zarathushtra (Zoroaster), the Buddha, and Muḥammad are the outstanding examples of this phenomenon. In the case of the Buddha, it is true, his community was initially only one philosophico-ascetical group among others. Also to be mentioned here is the pharaoh Akhenaton (Amunhotep IV), who failed in his attempt to introduce monolatry into Egypt.

There was still another area in national or popular religions in which divisions and formations of schools could arise: the area of philosophy, in Greece or ancient India, for example. The formation of new philosophical schools represented an "apostasy," or deviation from a doctrine; in fact, the Greco-Christian concepts of "heresy," "schism," and "sect" were derived precisely from this area of ancient cultural life. The concepts belong primarily to the philosophical and not the religious tradition. It is remarkable how ingenious Hinduism has been in reincorporating the "heresies" that spring from attitudes toward the Vedas. Hinduism is a popular religion (it may be said to be the only Indo-European one still in existence) that has a religious authority, namely the Vedas, as its guiding principle. As a result, a distinction is made between "orthodox" heretics and radical negators such as the Jains, Buddhists, and Sikhs. It is clear from this that the formation of heresies or schisms is connected with an authoritative revelation, whether this takes the form of a canonical document or a person.

Religions that give rise to heresy. Turning to religions that have a founder, one finds a radically different situation. (These "confessional religions" are not, it should be noted, identical with "world religions," and it is better to avoid the unfortunate term *revealed religions,* because it has too many theological associations.) All of the religions in question—Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Christianity, Manichaeism, and Islam—lay claim in one way or other to a normative doctrine. This does not from the outset always take the form of a fixed confession of faith, but there is at least a definite conception of faith and doctrine or, better, a central nucleus of doctrine that is used to separate "true" from "false" and that has taken written form in a sacred canon (thus "religions of the Book"). Such doctrines are, for example, monotheism or Yahvistic henotheism in Israel; the ethical dualism of Zarathushtra; the Buddha's knowledge and practice that lead to deliverance; faith in Jesus of Nazareth as the Christ; the ontological and anticosmic dualism of Mani; the confession of Allāh and of Muḥammad as his messenger.

The historian of the "confessional religions" mentioned above is familiar also with their slow maturation from preliminary stages and their development of a central doctrinal core that then became a distinguishing orthodoxy or orthopraxis. Orthodoxy is not present from the beginning as a fixed quantity (Islam is no exception here, though it might seem such at first glance). It is always a secondary development, establishing itself in the confrontation of divergent interpretations of the founder's "original teaching." Walter Bauer's thesis regarding the slow development of Christian orthodoxy from a number of divergent but, in the beginning, equally acceptable trends in early Christianity is to a large extent valid for the history of religions in general. Orthodoxy is in every case an interpretation of the doctrine or message that the founder has left behind and that frequently shows a lack of internal harmony, to say nothing of the fact that it is usually transmitted only in oral form. On the one hand, it is this state of the founder's teaching that leads to a struggle among the groups that subsequently form within the religious community. Local and social differences also play a part. On the other hand, while the preaching of a founder is indeed open to numerous interpretations in matters of detail, the fact is that once the tradition originating with him has been fixed in writing, his teachings as a whole take on a particular shape and form. The result is a certain uniformity among all his followers in regard to the basic norms of doctrine, belief, and behavior.

How heresy develops. In those religions that give rise to the development of heresy, a number of stages mark the process. Even in the lifetime of a founder there may already be disagreements on matters of doctrine or behavior (e.g., between the Buddha and Devadatta on questions of asceticism). The many-sidedness and occasional lack of clarity in the founder's teachings lead, especially after his death, to the formation of groups in the original community (groups that initially had more or less equal standing). In the struggle among these groups, one group emerges—often as the result of a compromise—that interprets and transmits the founder's heritage in an "orthodox" way. As a result, a point is reached at which there can be heresies or the formation of sects in the strict sense of these terms. (It has been seen in the case of the Christian concept of heresy that the existence of a "church" plays a normative role even before the rise of an "orthodoxy.")

It is difficult at times to determine how one particular movement is able to establish itself as orthodox. In most cases this movement or school preserves the heritage of the founder in a balanced and fully satisfactory way. In some cases only a rough determination of orthodoxy is reached; the result is the continued existence of groups with equal standing (as in early Indian Buddhism and the later Buddhism of East Asia; also in earlier Zoroastrianism as opposed to the official Zoroastrianism of the Sasanids). Islam too may be mentioned in this context because there is no "church" with an attendant hierarchy. The consensus of scholars who act as representatives of the community of believers becomes a regulating agency (the same holds for Judaism). Ideally, however, it is for the caliph as head of the community (*ummah*) to suppress heretics (*kāfir*s) and innovators (*mubtadiʿ*).

A tense opposition between "orthodoxy" and "heresy," "church" and "sect," marks the entire history of the founded religions and is also one of their fruitful major themes. Using the history of the Christian church as an example, Ernst Troeltsch has very impressively described this process as one of conflict between the institutional principle and the principle of voluntarism, both of which are contained in the gospel.

Causes of the rise of heresy. In parallel fashion it is possible to distinguish the following causes that lead to some typical forms of heresy:

1. Dogmatico-theological questions understood as problems of doctrinal tradition and their interpretation (personal factors may at times play a role here, e.g., the apostasy of disciples). This cause is admittedly seldom found in a pure form (as Troeltsch established in connection with Christianity), but it is a main factor in almost all confessional religions (think of Jewish Christianity or Marcionism). Doctrinal questions supply the ideological backbone of almost all heresies and sects (e.g., Mazdaism or the Islamic Shīʿah sects); every "heresy" seeks doctrinal justification as an expression of its immediate self-consciousness.

2. ***Questions of lifestyle*** or, if the reader will, of ethics and morality (in any case, problems of practice). Frequently these are directly connected with the questions mentioned above or else are consequences of divergent doctrines. In most instances sects follow a "radical" line and thus tend to extremism (e.g., in questions of asceticism or discipline in religious orders, as in Buddhism and also in Christianity).

3. ***Questions of ritual and cultic observance.*** Once again, these are usually connected with doctrinal problems but rarely in "book religions" as distinguished from "cultic religions." Even Christianity, a book religion, has known such cases: The controversy over the date of Easter in the second century, for example.

4. ***Social problems,*** which are closely connected with moral and ethical problems. Socio-revolutionary movements come under this heading. Marxist analysis and more recent sociological analyses have shed a great deal of light on this area, showing that a good many heresies have been the expression of critical situations in society (e.g., medieval heretical movements in Christianity and Islam, or the recent "religions of imminent salvation" in nonliterate cultures). Following Troeltsch, English sociologist of religion Bryan R. Wilson has interpreted modern sectary movements within Christianity, especially in the Anglo-American world, as expressions specifically of social protest and has once again shown that periods of social unrest are privileged times for the rise of sects. Social tensions and pressures in a society that is sustained and given its impress by an "established church" lead to movements of religious protest directed against state and church as a single undivided power. In the Middle Ages such movements appeared as "critical" manifestations within feudalism and asserted themselves most clearly in "heretical" movements (Bogomils, Albigensians, Waldensians, and so on). The important part played by this sort of background should not, however, lead one to interpret every religious sect or heresy as a crypto-revolutionary movement. There is good reason to reject the old ahistorical underestimation of such causes, but one should not replace it with a one-sided overestimation of them.

5. ***Political causes.*** These are often closely connected with the social causes described above, because the politico-religious ambitions of a stratum or class usually also involve social interests that can lead to divisions within an established religion of the type being discussed here. In Islam, for example, the vast majority of Shīʿī and other sects or heresies are religio-political movements that have been sparked by concrete disputes concerning, for instance, the position of the community leader. Or, they are simply a consequence of the overall structure of Islam.

6. ***Cultural, anthropological (racial), and ethnic factors*** that are evident in Islam, in the history of the Eastern Christian church, and, to some extent, in Buddhism, for example, are factors that do not, of course, operate in isolation. Also to be mentioned under this heading is the continued influence of past forms of religion, the various forms of "paganism," for instance, which either give the impulse to emerging heresies and divisions or at least supply them with ideological material. Striking examples are Gnosticism, Manichaeism in the Iranian world, and the rise of the Nusayriyah and the Druze in the Islamic world.

7. ***The figure of a charismatic leader*** often plays a role that should not be underestimated in the separate or combined operation of these various factors. The leader has an important part in shaping a heresy and its further course. The leader can develop from the founder of a sect into the founder of a new religion.

A HISTORICAL EXAMPLE: GNOSTICISM. One of the most striking examples of a heresy that had its own original worldview but on encountering another religion (Christianity) became part of its history, is Gnosticism, or Gnosis. In it one is confronted with a cosmopolitan or ecumenical form of religion that is largely parasitical in character. By way of lay intellectuals it made its way into the Christian community as early as the time of Paul or, to put it differently, it attached itself to certain Christian ideas. The result was a development that turned a pre-Christian religious movement into a Christian heresy or, more exactly, a distinct movement or sect in the church. There can be no doubt of this in view of the different roles played in Gnostic systems by the spiritual man who founds a Gnostic sect and by Jesus Christ as authoritative bringer of revelation, and in view, too, of Gnosticism's very different soteriology. But before the point was reached at which Gnosticism became a heresy or sect, it was in many places the church itself, with its own scriptural tradition and exegesis. It is known from numerous Gnostic writings that the Gnostics regarded themselves as the real Christians and intended to be the true church. To Celsus, of course, the Gnostics were Christians. There were groups of Gnostics who formed tightly knit churches, as the letters of Paul, the *Gospel of John,* and the Nag Hammadi writings show in their different ways; even Irenaeus, a father of the church, admits this. Gnosticism was therefore not natively an anti-Christian or antiecclesial movement. Its entire exegesis of scripture disproves this interpretation. It was turned into such by the heresiologists, who, like Paul before them, initiated a process of elimination to which Gnosticism finally fell victim.

The reaction of Irenaeus provides a good mirror in which to study this development. He equates gnosis with paganism; in fact, he attacks the Gnostics as worse than the pagans, a view fully justified from a historical standpoint. He sees them as imitators of the pagans and yet not as genuine *pagani* but rather heretics of the Christian age who disagree with the church on the real origin of things and on true Christian doctrine. Unlike Hegesippus and Hippolytus, Irenaeus knows nothing of an earlier prehistory of gnosticism and is familiar only with Simon Magus as founder and first heretic. To a great extent, Irenaeus's view of the matter determined the course followed by subsequent heresiologists: They knew Gnosticism only as a Christian heresy (a conception that only slowly yielded its place to another during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries).

It was in the confrontation with gnosticism (including Marcionism) that ecclesial orthodoxy took form. Scholars have always realized that this process of distinction and separation was of radical importance, but they have not always understood what the process meant for both sides. It is more than a simple coincidence that to a great extent both the church and the Gnostic "heretics" used the same arguments in their disputes, especially the arguments from tradition and from the unbroken line of witnesses. Both sides made use of the same proofs, as a study of Irenaeus and the texts of the Christian Gnostics shows; these proofs were those of apostolic authority, scriptural exegesis, and tradition. Tradition provided the Gnostics with an impregnable fortress: the secret tradition that is for practical purposes identical with liberating knowledge and that has been entrusted solely to spiritual persons or initiates, and is completely kept from the ignorant (see, for instance, the *Gospel of Thomas*). Recent studies have shown that on certain points of his terminology for the church, Irenaeus was dependent on the gnostics; for example, *diadoche* and *paradosis,* used in connection with the principle of succession, were already current terms among the gnostics. This is why Irenaeus was unable to get the better of the Gnostics with arguments of this kind, even though he repeatedly attempted to do so.

Irenaeus's principal weapon, however, was the concept of gnosis itself: "Irenaeus uses the concept of gnosis to distinguish between Church and heretics by focusing the entire dispute on the fundamental and always presupposed attitude of the human person to revelation and God" (Norbert Brox, *Offenbarung, Gnosis und gnostischer Mythos bei Irenaeus von Lyon,* Salzburg, 1966, p. 170). Another and quite different way of attaining true gnosis, a way essentially different from that of the Gnostics, is available to human beings: the way of humble knowledge of the order of salvation that is attested in scripture, handed on by the apostles, and described in the church's teaching and preaching and that is explained, of course, by Irenaeus himself. True (ecclesiastical) gnosis thus becomes a standard by which heretical gnosis is shown to be an erroneous figment of the imagination. This example makes clear the complicated way in which the distinction between heresy and orthodoxy was achieved and how the two could not become distinct without having first fertilized one another.

Similar processes are to be seen at work in other sectors of the history of religions. Islamic orthodoxy took over to a large extent the philosophical terminology, though classified as heretical, of the Muʿtazilah who had assimilated the Hellenistic heritage. Both Shīʿīs and Sunnīs developed their own *sunnah* or religio-legal tradition and claimed justification for it in Muḥammad (in the case of the Shīʿah, by way of ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, and their sons as the Prophet's spokesmen). In Zoroastrianism the problems of monotheism and dualism, which had their basis in the theology of Zarathushtra, led alternately to orthodoxy and heresy, a process in which the civil authorities played a part. Thus the religion of the god of time (Zurwān) was dominant in the later Arsacid and early Sasanid periods as the accepted interpretation of the Zoroastrian tradition. Later on, however, especially once the Zoroastrian religion had been outlawed, this form became a heresy to be bitterly opposed, and modern Parsis even reject as non-Zoroastrian a dualist interpretation of the message of Zarathushtra. Thus it is made repeatedly clear that the relation between heresy and orthodoxy is one of interplay that does not permit historians of religion to pass any clear value judgment on the matter; rather they see in this situation clear evidence of the dynamism and vitality of religion.

SEE ALSO Apostasy; Cults and Sects; Esotericism; Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy; Schism; Syncretism; Zurvanism.

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HERESY: CHRISTIAN CONCEPTS

Heresy is one of the most explosive terms in Christian vocabulary. Although the term has served a constructive role in Christian self-definition almost from the first days of the movement, modern sentiments have tended to view this label as offensive, unhelpful, and unnecessary.

The problem is that terms of self-definition are coined to describe perceptions of boundaries from the viewpoint of insiders, and, in the customary use of the terms, from the perception of the winners. The terms, then, are not neutral and unbiased, nor do disinterested observers determine their use. The debates between heretics and the orthodox are disputes over the adequacy and accuracy of a tradition's essential boundaries by those who have a vested interest in the tradition. The losers will protest any label that marks them as outsiders. Such disputes are customary in the process of self-definition of ideologically defined systems.

In religious communities, the inside is frequently labeled *orthodox*, which in the Christian tradition has tended to identify Roman Catholic (including its breakaway subspecies, Protestant) and Eastern or Greek Orthodox churches. In the discussion that follows, this broad tradition will be identified by the term *church*. This use of the word *church* is somewhat problematic, for both the heretic and the orthodox claim the title as rightfully theirs. But scholarship has been unable to come up with acceptable neutral replacement terms. Since the Catholic and Orthodox churches have represented the majority of Christians throughout most of Christian history, and since they are heirs of the early tradition that began to distinguish between orthodoxy and heresy, the application of the label *church* to these churches is appropriate.

The word *heresy* (Greek, *hairesis*) occurs nine times in the New Testament; the word *heretic* occurs once. The term *heresy* occurs elsewhere throughout early Christian literature, in Jewish writings of the period (LXX, Philo, Josephus), and in wider Greek literature. Its earliest meaning was choice; it came to mean party or school and sometimes, more pejoratively, a faction or sect. Ecclesiastical use took the term even further in that negative direction, where it came to be used almost exclusively for heresy or heretical group. But whatever the nuance, from neutral to hostile, *hairesis* primarily distinguished groups from others of similar kind; in each of its uses, the idea of boundaries is clear, if not central.

Modern discussions of heresy routinely point out that the Greek term for heresy originally simply meant choice. Some have implied, based on a common fallacy that a word's etymology is the best clue to its meaning, that the negative connotation the term *heresy* came to carry in Christian use is a betrayal of the original neutral sense of the word. But the meaning of a word is more accurately determined by its use in context, not in some etymological quest. Thus, a word means whatever it is made to mean by a particular community. The concern to downplay the negative meaning that Christian use has given the term *heresy* reflects the modern agenda, which generally finds the term distasteful; it does not uncover a supposedly right or better meaning of the term.

Heresy is one of several conditions labeled by the church as hazardous. Schism, apostasy, and belief in another religion or in no religion are others. Heretics, apostates, and schismatics are more closely related to the church than others, for they had at one time been insiders. Heretics still consider themselves insiders, although the church rejects them for having willfully rejected some essential element of faith. Apostates, like heretics, were once insiders, but they have rejected the faith, willfully and in toto. They chose to be outsiders, and they are so counted by the church. Schismatics had also once been insiders. Unlike heretics and apostates, however, schismatics have not rejected essential elements of the faith either in part or in full; rather, they have rejected the recognized authoritative apparatus and discipline of the church in some way. Pagans (or heathens or infidels) and atheists, unlike the other three groups, are not defined in terms of a past association with the church. The church's most difficult labeling has been whether to judge a group as schismatic or heretical; all the other categories are clear.

THE EARLY ASSESSMENT OF HERESY. From the early church's viewpoint, heresy and heretics were as dangerous a foe as the church would encounter, for heresy targeted the essentials by which the group's self-understanding had significance and substance. From the earliest Christian writers who addressed perceived dangerous deviations in beliefs, unmistakably sharp language was used routinely. Those who distorted the truth were "ravening wolves," according to the author of *Acts* (20:28–31). Ignatius of Antioch (c. 35–c. 107) called teachers of error "tombstones and sepulchers" (*Letter to the Philadelphians* 6.1). Their beliefs were "not the planting of the Father" (*Letter to the Philadelphians* 3.1); rather, they were "wicked offshoots, which bear deadly fruit" (*Letter to the Trallians* 9.1). The fate of heretical teachers and their followers is "unquenchable fire" (*Letter to the Ephesians* 16.2).

By the latter part of the second century, numerous books attacking Christian heretics circulated. The best known of these was written by Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons. His massive treatise against Gnosticism, *Detection and Overthrow of the Pretended but False Gnosis* (more often referred to simply as *Against Heresies*), became a template for other refutations of heresy.

The church claimed to possess "the faith that was once delivered to the saints" (*Jude* 1:3)—the true apostolic faith. Early Christian leaders recognized the need to trace heresy to another source, one more hostile and foreign to the circle of Jesus and the apostles, for if the heretics could successfully press their claim that their traditions stemmed from Jesus or the apostles, the heretics might be the faithful bearers of truth and the church itself the heretic. Christian heretical groups understood this principle as keenly as the orthodox did, and they made every effort to locate their traditions in *Letter to the Ephesians* teaching or that of Jesus' close associates. The Gnostics, for example, spoke of secret knowledge that had been handed down privately by Jesus to a few select disciples, and finally to the Gnostics. But the church countered, tracing Gnostic heresies back to the arch-heretic Simon Magus, who according to early Christian tradition was condemned by Peter himself (*Acts* 8:9–25).

The church, largely through its antiheresy writers, presented a strict schema of the relationship between orthodoxy and heresy. Orthodoxy came first; heresy, a deviation from the truth, came later. As Origen, the leading theologian of the third century, declared: "All heretics at first are believers; then later they swerve from the rule of faith." That view was taken up in Bishop Eusebius's *Church History.* His work, which covered Christianity's first three hundred years, informed Christian understanding for centuries after that.

TOOLS AGAINST HERESY. Given that heresy was perceived to endanger the essence of Christian faith, the church quickly developed tools by which to identify and curb heresy. During the second century, four tools began to be refined: canon, creed, clergy, and councils. By the fourth century, these had reached a fairly stable structure.

Canon. The canon (scripture) was the collection of approved writings judged to have authoritative status. By the end of the first century, many of Paul's letters had been collected and were in distribution. By the end of the second century, a collection not unlike the present New Testament was in wide use. Two concerns prompted the establishment of a canon. Some groups, such as the Marcionites, rejected documents that were treated by the church as authoritative. Other groups, such as the Gnostics, promoted new documents to support their novel theological positions, and they presented these documents as authoritative. Against such interests, the church approved a formal canon, which specified the books that had authoritative status and from which the church could distinguish orthodox from heretical beliefs. The claim was that the church's canon had apostolic authorship or authority.

Creed. The creed (from the Latin *credo*, "I believe") was a condensed statement of essential beliefs, and in substance and structure reflected the Rule of Faith referred to in second- and third-century writings. The interrogatory form of the creed ("Do you believe. . .") appears to have been the earlier, being used as a test of the orthodoxy of a candidate prior to baptism; from the mid-fourth century, the declaratory form ("I believe. . .") became more familiar. The primary creed (Niceno–Constantinopolitan, or more simply Nicene) was established by the councils at Nicaea (325 CE) and Constantinople (381 CE), and confirmed at Chalcedon (451 CE). The creed helped to consolidate the core beliefs of widely dispersed churches, and it provided a condensed test by which to distinguish the heretic from the orthodox.

Clergy. By the early second century, principal authority was being consolidated in the hands of the local bishops, under whom were presbyters (priests) and deacons. Toward the end of the century the concept of apostolic succession was developed. This linked the bishops in a line back to the apostles; through this line of bishops the truth was passed on and guaranteed. The church argued that those outside the bishop's church could make no comparable claim or offer such certain guarantee.

Councils. Bishops frequently met in councils to regulate the faith. Creeds were approved there, and individuals were frequently tried and condemned as heretics at the sessions. Bishops were expected to enforce the council's judgment against people in their own territories who confessed the condemned belief. The effectiveness of this repression often depended on which side a bishop or the emperor supported. The Arian-Nicene conflicts of the fourth century illustrate that a decision by a council did not always bring about immediate conformity.

These early tools were so effective that they continued to be used as the principle machinery for identifying and confronting heresy well into the modern period.

TREATMENT OF HERETICS. In the early centuries, the charge of heresy would have brought social stigma within the Christian circle, but little else. The earliest punishment for heresy was excommunication, which meant that heretics were excluded from the fundamental rite of the church, the Eucharist. Such exclusion was often, in itself, the most effective tool by which to recover erring members.

In the early 300s, Emperor Constantine converted to Christianity. The state and church became allied in common cause, and the power of the church increased considerably. Under a Christian empire, the charge of heresy brought serious legal jeopardy, as well as social stigma. In the interests of consensus, Constantine called the first Ecumenical (universal) Council at Nicaea in 325 CE to deal with what came to be known as Arianism, part of the broader trinitarian controversy. This debate focused on the relationship of the Son (Logos) to the Father. Arianism, the loser in the debate, came to be viewed as the archetypical heresy. Many of the beliefs that were condemned as heresy following the Arian controversy were responses to questions that arose from the Arian debate; most therefore dealt with some question about the nature of Jesus (Monophysitism, Nestorianism, Monothelitism, together referred to as the Christological controversies).

The Christian state treated heretics much the same as the pagan state had treated all Christians prior to Constantine's conversion. In each case, the condemned faced serious legal jeopardy, with potential loss of property, and exile or execution. Heresy was pronounced a capital crime in 380, and by the 1200s burning at the stake had become the common fate of heretics.

At times, the interests of the church and state clashed, and sometimes the political leaders were more sympathetic with the theologically losing side (the heretics), which then placed the orthodox in jeopardy. But, in theory, church and state saw themselves with common interests and allied in a common cause. In the modern period, few church-state alliances exist, and individuals now judged as heretics are at risk of excommunication by the church, but little more.

It may seem that the church was often involved in the suppression of heretics. In theory, however, it was difficult for someone to earn the label "heretic." One must not only have held a heretical belief; one must have held it willfully and obstinately. To distinguish between degrees of heresy, the church spoke of objective (material) heresy and the more serious kind, formal heresy.

MEDIEVAL HERESIES. After the great trinitarian and Christological controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries, the fight with heresy subsided, as such beliefs were largely vanquished (as with Arianism) or were located in lands no longer under the church's control (as with Monophysitism and Nestorianism, which largely had come under the new Muslim empire in the 600s). Muslims became the more serious threat to both eastern and western Christians.

By the 1100s the western church and papacy were at the height of their power. At the same time, scholastic speculation flourished as Europe became reacquainted with lost elements of classical learning, new reformist monastic orders and lay movements challenged the norm, and a sense of truth and error was sharpened from European Christendom's conflict with Islam. Crusades against the Muslim infidels in the Holy Land were easily turned to crusades against Christian heretics within Europe as a developing medieval consensus brought a reinvigorated scrutiny of ideas.

The medieval approach to heresy differed from ancient practice. Suspect beliefs were simply associated with some ancient error, which had already been stamped as heretical by the ancient church. Such was the case with the dualism of the Cathars in southern France, condemned as a revival of Gnostic and Manichaean ideas rejected by the church a thousand years earlier. Once a contemporary belief had been linked to an ancient heresy, the church could act to suppress the group that espoused such views without engaging in the kinds of debates by which the ancient church had worked out boundaries between orthodoxy and heresy.

The zeal against heresy and the techniques employed by orthodox authorities varied from place to place. The Spanish Inquisition and the crusades against the Cathars mark what are viewed as the most notorious aspects of the medieval church's suppression of heresy (with witnesses coerced and confessions gained under torture). Other efforts included the establishment of the Dominican order in the early 1200s; its mission was to correct heretical beliefs by focused and informed preaching. Shortly after the rise of Protestantism, the Catholic Church formed the Congregation of the Holy Office (now called the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith) to deal with heresy. To help check the spread of heretical ideas, it developed an Index of Forbidden Books (which had force from 1559 to 1966).

HERETICS RECONSIDERED. The charge of heresy was frequently brought against reforming critics of the church, as well as against those whose theological stances departed from the core of Christian faith. Such treatment often emboldened the critics, who charged that the ecclesiastical elite were the real heretics and enemies of Christ. Indeed, the fourteenth-century English reformer John Wyclif spoke of the pope as antichrist, as did various monastic reformers. Many were burned at the stake for such opinions.

In the early 1500s the situation changed with the rise of Protestantism. Although the church quickly labeled Protestants heretics, the political environment worked in their favor. Local princes, often in sympathy with the Protestant cause, protected the reformers from the usual fate of heretics, and Emperor Charles V, a zealous Catholic, had too many political worries to focus his attention on an insignificant monk such as Martin Luther. Within two decades of Luther's initial protest in the early 1500s, many of the nations and principalities of Europe had Protestant governments. These lands became zones of safety for the new Protestant heretics. This marks the beginning of a pluralism that broke apart the Western medieval consensus. Only in the older, ecclesiastically uniform society had there been sufficient power in the mere labeling of heresy to guarantee effective action against such beliefs.

Interestingly, Protestantism retained, largely intact, the concept of heresy held by the Catholics, for Protestants were as keenly aware of the importance of boundaries. Although at points they disagreed with Catholics as to what constituted heresy, Protestants generally used the same tools by which Catholics had marked off boundaries. Protestants accepted the canon (though they excluded the Apocrypha), and they retained the Creed. The developed hierarchical structure of the church posed more difficulty, particularly regarding the authority of the bishop of Rome, though with some modification Protestants retained clergy and councils, for they feared heresy as much as Catholics did, and they needed appropriate tools to suppress it. John Calvin's approval of the burning of Michael Servetus for Arian-like beliefs and the general Protestant suppression of Anabaptists suggest that the Catholic and Protestant understandings of heresy differed very little. Further, both Catholics and Protestants agreed with the early church's labeling of the ancient Christian heretics. They differed only in regard to which early heresy they accused the other side of espousing.

Some within the Protestant movement developed a more sympathetic reconsideration of groups that had fallen under the judgment of the church. In 1699, Gottfried Arnold, a German Pietist, put forward a daring reassessment of the past in his *Impartial History of the Church and Heresy from the Beginning of the New Testament to 1688*. Emphasizing practical piety over dogma, Arnold reversed the labels: those previously branded as heretics were approved; their orthodox oppressors stood condemned. Some later histories reflect his influence.

Early Christianity reconsidered. More significant challenges to the church's use of the term *heresy* came in the 1800s and 1900s. Although the challenges were quite diverse, all provided grounds for challenging the church's claim that its faith had remained unchanged from the beginning. This muted the church's dismissal of supposedly heretical beliefs on the grounds that heretical beliefs were not identical with the faith of the apostles, for the church's own beliefs were found to reflect development and change.

Four modern reconstructions of Christianity's early period were influential. First, Ferdinand Christian Baur and the Tübingen School argued that second-century Christianity reflected a synthesis of opposing first-century Petrine and Pauline interpretations of the Christian message. Second, theories of Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch allowed orthodoxy to be treated by many as an unfortunate institutionalization of Christianity, contrary to the spirit of Christianity's original charismatic structures. Third, Walter Bauer argued that in many areas of the Roman Empire the so-called heretical forms of Christianity came first. For Bauer, the concept of an original apostolic orthodoxy was a fiction of the church at Rome, which that church developed in the second century to extend its influence throughout the empire. Fourth, under Bauer's influence, scholars began to speak of the multiple forms of Christianity in the first century, tracing trajectories from each of these into later centuries. That gave heresy roots as ancient as orthodoxy could claim.

These reconstructions challenged the traditional definition of orthodoxy—what was believed everywhere by everyone at all times—expressed by Vincent of Lerins in the 400s. If Christianity never had an original uniform message that preceded all other interpretations of the Christian message, then the terms *orthodoxy* and *heresy* appear to lose their power as markers of the inside and the outside. Orthodoxy would become, as Bauer contended, merely the heresy that won out. All beliefs would seem to have an equal claim to authenticity within the Christian circle.

The label *heresy* reconsidered. Many modern scholars object to the use of the term *heresy*, finding it problematic for numerous reasons. First, high stakes are connected to the labeling, for those outside the church are considered to be in deadly error and damned. That judgment seems too uncompromising in the modern world, where societal consensus is rarely achieved and where diversity is the norm and toleration is applauded. Second, the use of the label has shifted over time and place, raising questions about the validity of the application of such a term as a reliable boundary marker for what the church claims to identify: truth from error. Third, the labeling is one-sided, and those marked as heretics have routinely protested, for their perceptions of the boundaries are different, and they claim to be as much a part of the Christian inside as anyone else. Fourth, even though the church framed its debate against heresy in terms of truth and error, it is clear that the labeling of heresy was frequently usurped in the interests of political or social agendas, for common cause against movements of protest or rebellion was often more easily marshaled if the action was seen primarily as a suppression of heresy.

Modern scholars, both ecclesiastical and secular, are rarely interested in the accuracy of the various claims to truth and accusations of error that have marked the Christian discussion of orthodoxy and heresy. Rather, they are curious about the process and players in labeling and drawing of boundaries, and they usually emphasize the political and social aspects in the suppression of heresy, which undeniably were there. In this context, sociological theories of deviance may be particularly illuminating. Matters of social control, power relationships, consensus, and the labeling of normality and deviance are intelligible to both the church and its scholarly critics, for the church's drawing of boundaries to mark off heresy parallels in many ways the drawing of boundaries that most societies engage in to mark off deviance.

In illuminating Christian treatment of heresy, the paradigm of deviance works best, however, for the period of the imperial church and later. For the initial stages of Christian self-definition, the church's fixation on truth and error remains something of an enigma. The modern discussion has shown little capacity to appreciate this interest, which the church has always claimed marked one of its primary concerns.

CONCLUSION. The term *heresy* carries the weight of two millennia of Christian use. It is used less often now, as the Christian church has come to recognize the shifting boundaries of orthodoxy over the ages and the excesses that the regulation of belief has fostered. Increasingly, the tendency has been to expand the inside, to admit a wider pluralism within the boundaries of authentic Christianity. The devastating religious wars of the 1600s, the relativizing influences of the Enlightenment of the 1700s, the ecumenical efforts of the 1800s and 1900s, and modern scholarly reconstructions of earliest Christianity have led many Christian groups to emphasize the commonalities rather than the differences among Christian communities. The positions espoused by the World Council of Churches (founded in 1948) and by Vatican II (1962–1965) reflect the new attitudes.

In the modern period, heresy is out of vogue. Without broad social consensus, the charge of heresy is neither effective nor feared; it brings no legal jeopardy and little, if any, social stigma. In this context, Christianity struggles to maintain a balance between absolute relativity, where concepts of truth and error have little substance, and dogmatic certitude, which has a tainted past.

SEE ALSO Arianism; Cathari; Docetism; Donatism; Ebionites; Gnosticism, article on Gnosticism as a Christian Heresy; Manichaeism, article on Manichaeism and Christianity; Marcionism; Monophysitism; Montanism; Nestorianism; Pelagianism; Waldensians.

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THOMAS A. ROBINSON (2005)

HERMENEUTICS. The term *hermeneutics* is derived from the Greek verb *hermēneuein* ("to interpret") and refers to the intellectual discipline concerned with the nature and presuppositions of the interpretation of human expressions.

INTRODUCTION. The Greek term has etymological associations with the name of the Greek god Hermes, the messenger of the gods and the deity of boundaries. Some have seen this association as reflecting the inherently triadic structure of the act of interpretation: (1) a sign, message, or text from some source requires (2) a mediator or interpreter (Hermes) to (3) convey it to some audience. So considered, this deceptively simple triadic structure implicitly contains the major conceptual issues with which hermeneutics deals: (1) the nature of a text; (2) what it means to understand a text; and (3) how understanding and interpretation are determined by the presuppositions and beliefs (the horizon) of the audience to which the text is being interpreted. Serious reflection on any of these three issues reveals why interpretation is itself a philosophical issue and a subject of interpretation.

Since interpretation is fundamental to all the intellectual disciplines—to the natural sciences as well as the humanities—one might have expected hermeneutics to have arisen earlier in Western culture than it did. Although there were many controversies within Judaism and Christianity concerning the interpretation of the Bible—just as pre-Reformation humanists were concerned with the exegesis of the texts of antiquity—it was not until the middle of the last century that modern hermeneutics was born. Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834) is generally acknowledged to be the founder of modern hermeneutics, but it was Wilhelm Dilthey (1833–1911) who first dreamed of developing a foundational discipline for the cultural sciences (*Geisteswissenschaften*) that would render their conclusions as objective and as valid as those of the natural sciences.

Dilthey's dream was overtaken by the rapid emergence and proliferation of the many specialized disciplines that are now recognized and preserved by the organizational structure of the modern university—art history, anthropology, economics, history, the various literatures, political science, psychology, philosophy, and so on. Each of these disciplines rapidly developed its own intellectual interests and normative procedures for the presentation and adjudication of arguments within them. Methodologies rather than hermeneutics dominated intellectual life.

In recent years, however, powerful intellectual currents have brought hermeneutics once again to the fore, so that interest in it has burgeoned among literary critics, sociologists, historians, anthropologists, theologians, philosophers, and students of religion. These currents include (1) new theories of human behavior in the psychological and social sciences in which human cultural expressions are regarded as manifestations of unconscious and instinctual drives or as reflections of class interests; (2) developments in epistemology and the philosophy of language that have led to claims that what counts as reality for a given culture is a function of the linguistic structures superimposed on experience; and (3) the arguments advanced by philosophers such as Ludwig Wittgenstein and Martin Heidegger that all human experience is basically interpretative, and that all judgments take place within a context of interpretation mediated by culture and language behind which it is impossible to go. Underlying all these currents is the assumption that human consciousness is situated in history and cannot transcend it—an assumption that raises important questions concerning the role of cultural conditioning in any understanding.

It would be an error, however, to conclude from this new interest in hermeneutics that Dilthey's dream of a universal foundational discipline for the cultural sciences is about to be realized. Even a superficial glance at the contemporary intellectual scene reveals little agreement concerning how hermeneutics is conceived or how the discipline should proceed. The intellectual disciplines constituting the modern university have themselves been fractured into parties, each of which has its own method and mode of interpretation. In psychology, for example, there are behaviorists, cognitive psychologists, Freudians, Jungians, and Gestaltists, just as in the social sciences there are functionalists, structuralists, ethnomethodologists, and Marxists.

Paradoxically, it is just this proliferation of parties that partially accounts for the resurgence of interest in hermeneutics in the early twenty-first century. Diversity and conflict of interpretations historically have provided the stimulus and the urgency for acquiring understanding and agreement. Dilthey pointed out, for example, how the rise of modern hermeneutics was itself closely connected with the post-Reformation debates among Protestants and Catholics over the interpretation of Scripture, just as Schleiermacher's own attempt to establish a universal hermeneutics was admittedly prompted by the attempt to overcome misunderstanding.

The incommensurate perspectives that disciplines may adopt concerning the same object (such as a text, language, or human nature) raise profound questions about the nature of human conceptualization, objectivity, understanding, explanation, and translation. Hence it is not surprising that, for many intellectuals, hermeneutics is increasingly coming to occupy the role that epistemology did a few decades ago.

The problems of hermeneutics are more unavoidable in the scholarly study of religion than in many other academic disciplines, for reasons both conceptual and historical. Conceptually, religions themselves may be regarded as communities of interpretation, so that the scholarly study of them takes the form of an interpretation of an interpretation. Since the scholarly interpretation of religion most often rests on different assumptions than the religious interpretation itself, the religious participant frequently regards the scholar's interpretation as reductionistic and alien. Hence there is a perennial debate among scholars of religion regarding the degree to which the scholarly interpretation of religion must do justice to the believer's own point of view.

Historically, the scholarly study of religion—as well as the rise of modern hermeneutics—is closely associated with the religious tradition of liberal Protestantism. Indeed, liberal Protestantism might be said to have emerged through a series of bitter hermeneutical debates concerning the application of historical-critical methods to the Christian Bible. These debates illustrate the phenomena discussed at the beginning of this paragraph, since orthodox Christians regarded the application of these methods to the Bible as an alien mode of interpretation. Liberal Protestantism resolved the issue by defining the essence of religious faith as experience rather than doctrine or historical belief.

Schleiermacher, the founder of hermeneutics as well as of liberal Protestantism, was particularly influential in articulating the outlines of this compromise. He regarded the various religions as culturally conditioned forms of an underlying and universal religious sensibility. Thus he not only moved the locus of faith from belief to experience, but also laid the foundations for a descriptive science of religion to which Rudolf Otto (1869–1937), Joachim Wach (1898–1955), and others were to contribute. This close connection between liberal Protestantism and the scholarly study of religion partially accounts for the fact that liberal theologians have been particularly sensitive to theories of interpretation.

Many scholars would insist that, to answer the many questions arising from the activity of interpretation, it is important to have a hermeneutical theory. Others, however, would insist that the great mistake distorting all modern hemeneutics is precisely the lust for some such theory. Rather than prejudice the issue from the outside by describing alternative hermeneutical theories, this article shall roughly delineate four ways in which modern hermeneutics may be conceived, each of which is dominated by a distinctive question:

1. What is it to understand a text and what are the conditions of its possibility?
2. How are the cultural sciences distinct in method and form from the natural sciences?
3. What are the conditions that make any sort of human understanding possible?
4. How can one resolve certain conceptual puzzles associated with concepts like *understanding* and *meaning,* and how might such a resolution help one to understand the task of interpretation?

Each of these questions, and the conception of hermeneutics it yields, often overlaps with the others, and a theorist of one type may also deal with issues characteristic of another. Nevertheless, these four ways are sufficiently distinctive to be a useful heuristic device for organizing what follows.

HERMENEUTICS AS INQUIRY INTO THE INTERPRETATION OF TEXTS. Modern hermeneutics had its origins in attempts to solve problems and conflicts concerning the interpretation of texts; Schleiermacher is usually regarded as the originating figure. Although there were debates before his time concerning the difference between sacred and profane interpretation, it was Schleiermacher whom Dilthey properly called the "Kant of hermeneutics," because Schleiermacher argued that Scripture required no special type of interpretative procedure, and grasped that the fundamental issue was to develop the basic grammatical and psychological conditions necessary for the understanding of any text whatsoever. It was Schleiermacher again who saw that the nature of language was the crucial theoretical issue confronting hermeneutical theory, because one could gain access to another person's meaning only through the medium of language.

Authorial Intention. Schleiermacher's hermeneutical theory is organized around two foci: (1) the grammatical understanding of any characteristic modes of expression and the linguistic forms of the culture in which a given author lived and which conditioned that author's thinking and (2) the technical or psychological understanding of the unique subjectivity or creative genius of that author. Both these foci reflect Schleiermacher's own indebtedness to Romantic thinkers who had argued that any individual's mode of expression, however unique, necessarily reflects a wider cultural sensibility or spirit (*Geist*). A correct interpretation requires not only an understanding of the cultural and historical context of an author, but a grasp of the latter's unique subjectivity. This can be accomplished only by an "act of divination"—an intuitive leap by which the interpreter "relives" the consciousness of the author. By seeing this consciousness in the larger cultural context, the interpreter comes to understand the author better than the author understands himself or herself.

Schleiermacher's hermeneutics have not had a great influence on secular literary criticism in either England or the United States, although most literary criticism until the 1920s generally assumed that the aim of interpretation was to discover the intention of the author. In the last several decades, however, most literary criticism has been built on the assumption—classically enunciated by T. S. Eliot in his essay

"Tradition and the Individual Talent" (1919) but argued on other grounds by Freudians, Marxists, New Critics, structuralists, and deconstructionists—that a literary text has its own afterlife independent of the author, and that to understand it has little or no relationship to understanding the author's intentions when writing it. In recent years, however, some critics have rediscovered Schleiermacher and reaffirmed his view that some form of authorial intent must be the foundation of a theory of objective meaning. E. D. Hirsch, Jr., for example, has argued in *Validity in Interpretation* (1967) that, if interpretation is to avoid pure subjectivity and arbitrariness, there must be some criteria for determining the correct meaning of a text. This in turn, says Hirsch, requires some theory of determinate meaning. Anyone concerned with objectivity will be driven logically to some discriminating norm, and "the only compelling normative principle that has ever been brought forward is the old-fashioned ideal of rightly understanding what the author meant" (p. 26). This has led Hirsch and others to deal with the many problems this position raises. However, while this view represents the common sense of most laypersons, it is not now widely shared by most literary critics, who have developed hermeneutical theories rejecting authorial intent as the norm of meaning.

Schleiermacher and the Interpretation of Religion. So far as the interpretation of religion is concerned, Schleiermacher's influence is to be found less in his hermeneutical theory, which is dominated by the problem of recovering the author's meaning, than in his views that (1) religiosity is an essential and *a priori* aspect of human nature and (2) language is the medium of all understanding. The first assumption has elicited many attempts to develop what Paul Ricoeur has called a "regional hermeneutics": rules governing the interpretation of religious expressions as a unique and autonomous type. One of the earliest and most influential of these attempts was Rudolf Otto's analysis of the "numinous" in his famous book *Das Heilige* (1917; Eng. trans., *The Idea of the Holy*).

Less explicitly indebted to Schleiermacher, but based on the same assumption of the universality of human religiosity, was the very influential work of Mircea Eliade. He argued that the basic structure of religiosity can be seen most clearly in archaic religions in which human life is regarded as part of a living cosmos. Profound connections are said to exist between the rhythms of human and cosmic life. Myths and religious symbols are systems of micro-macrocosmic correspondences and analogies. Human fecundity, for example, is seen as recapitulating the pattern of divine fecundity. All human activities are thus sanctified and made meaningful. This assumption led Eliade to explore the many variants of certain recurring symbols in the world's religions, as for instance the sacred tree, stones, snakes, fish, and water.

HERMENEUTICS AS FOUNDATION FOR THE CULTURAL SCIENCES. A second way of thinking about hermeneutics is to regard it as providing a foundational discipline for the cultural in contrast to the natural sciences. This discipline would presumably establish the boundary lines separating the various generic types of interpretation—literary, artistic, philosophical, legal, religious, and so forth—and would establish the methods and normative canons of objectivity and validity for each type. It would, in short, be a universal hermeneutics. Wilhelm Dilthey is generally regarded as the most important exponent of this view of hermeneutics, and the Italian historian of law Emilio Betti is perhaps its best-known contemporary advocate. Although profoundly influenced by Schleiermacher—at an early age he wrote a prize essay on Schleiermacher's hermeneutics, and later a monumental biography of him—Dilthey rejected Schleiermacher's assumption that every work of an author is an outgrowth of an implicit principle contained in the author's mind. Dilthey considered this assumption to be profoundly antihistorical, because it does not sufficiently take account of the external influences at work or the author's development. Moreover, Dilthey thought that a universal hermeneutics required the elaboration of epistemological principles that would serve the cultural sciences in the way that Kant's principles accounted for Newtonian physics. If Kant developed a "critique of pure reason," then Dilthey devoted his life to a "critique of historical reason."

Cultural versus Natural Sciences. Dilthey's hermeneutics quite obviously rests on a sharp distinction between the methods of the cultural and those of the natural sciences. The distinctive method of the cultural sciences is understanding (*Verstehen*), whereas that of the natural sciences is explanation (*Erklärung*). The natural scientist explains events by employing universal laws, whereas the historian neither discovers nor employs such laws but, rather, seeks to understand the actions of agents by discovering their intentions, purposes, wishes, and character traits. Such action is intelligible because human actions, in contrast to natural events, have an "inside" that others can understand because they too are persons. Understanding, then, is the discovery of the "I" in the "Thou," and it is possible because of a shared universal human nature.

Insofar as Dilthey's hermeneutics rests on understanding as a distinctive act that requires an imaginative identification with past persons, one can discern the influence of Schleiermacher. But Dilthey developed an elaborate and complex theory of experience (*Erlebnis*) and its relationship to various forms of expression that constitutes nothing less than the philosophical anthropology and epistemology he thought necessary to establish hermeneutics as a foundational discipline of the cultural sciences. Dilthey was never able to complete this enterprise in a way satisfactory to himself or others, and its complexities defy any brief exposition here. Suffice it to say that it contained a sophisticated analysis of the temporality of experience and the way in which human experience is bound together by units of meaning that are subconscious and prereflective. These meanings become objectified in human expressions. He held that one's knowledge of one's own experience as well as of the experience of others is available only through these objectified expressions. Consequently, one comes to know human nature through historical knowledge, that is, through understanding the varieties of objectified forms in which humanity has expressed its own experience of life. Ultimately, history is the variety of ways in which human life has expressed itself over time. Indeed, one can grasp one's own possibilities only through historical reconstruction and understanding. Through understanding (*Verstehen*) of the life-expressions (*Lebensäusserungen* and *Erlebnisausdrücke*) of past persons, one comes to understand the humanity of which one is a part.

Weber and Wach. Like Dilthey, the German sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920) was preoccupied with establishing the objectivity of the results of the cultural sciences, but he was even more interested in the status of generalizations in political economy and sociology. His work therefore stands at the juncture between the humanities and the social sciences. He was interested in the logical relationships between understanding and explanation. Though sympathetic to Dilthey's attempts to establish the autonomy of understanding, he was also interested in generalizations about human collective actions—generalizations he hoped could be made as objective and scientific as those in the natural sciences. His analysis and classification of types of social actions, and his delineation of ideal types, are attempts to solve these conceptual problems. Unlike Dilthey, he was especially interested in the interpretation of religion. His *Sociology of Religion* (1904–1905) is one of the great works in the comparative study of religion, and his *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1922), although now dated in important respects, is one of the influential books in modern sociology.

The significance of Dilthey and Weber for hermeneutics lies primarily in (1) their minimalization of the concern for recovering the author of the text, and their extension of hermeneutics to cover all forms of cultural expression and actions; (2) their efforts to work out the logic of understanding as an activity unique to the cultural sciences; and (3) their attempts to ground the possibility of understanding in some theory of the structure of human nature and its expressions (Dilthey) or of types of social action (Weber).

The hermeneutical theories of Schleiermacher, Dilthey, and Weber deeply influenced the work of Joachim Wach, a German sociologist of religion who immigrated to the United States in 1935. Wach wanted to establish the interpretation of religion as an objective descriptive discipline free of the normative claims of Christian theology. For him as for Dilthey, the proper starting point for such a discipline was the establishment of the necessary conditions for understanding (*Verstehen*). Wach, like Schleiermacher, believed that *Verstehen* generally requires a type of empathy, but that in religion it specifically presupposes a basic "sense for religion" that Wach then explicated in terms of Schleiermacher's notion of an inherent religious propensity in human nature. Wach argued that religions are the expressions of this sense for religion. The challenge of religious studies, then, is to develop a logic of the forms of religious expression, a theory of religious symbolism and language. Wach himself concentrated on arranging and classifying the forms of religious expressions—for example, the theoretical, practical, and sociological, which he then further subdivided and explored.

The attempt to construct a universal hermeneutics for the cultural sciences inevitably leads the theorist to propound some theory of human nature and its expressions. Having uncovered the radically different forms of consciousness and belief exemplified in history, for example, Dilthey then thought it important to develop a psychology that would account for this diversity of worldviews while affirming the "unity of human nature" that made it possible for an interpreter in one culture to understand a person in a strange and different culture. But, it may be asked, how can the appeal to some abstract principle such as the "unity of human nature" aid an interpreter who is actually confronted with cultural expressions so different and strange that a sympathetic act of understanding seems impossible? Dilthey never solved this problem.

Psychological Theories. The degree to which one's hermeneutics is a function of one's view of human nature is most dramatically illustrated by modern psychological theories such as those of Freud and Jung. Here human expression and behavior are explained and understood in terms of unconscious psychical forces. As Paul Ricoeur has shown, Freud's theory of the unconscious led him not only to broaden the theory of human expressions so as to include dreams and slips of the tongue as "texts" but also to propose a hermeneutics in which art and religion were also seen as containing unconscious meaning. According to Freud, for example, religion is best understood as the expression of unconscious wishes rooted in infantile helplessness and molded by the "family romance" in which Oedipal sexual wishes play an important role. Consequently, religion is regarded as a collective neurosis and evaluated negatively. Thus not only does Freud's hermeneutics reject "authorial intent" as a superficial category, but it proposes a different meaning for the classical hermeneutical dictum that the interpreter can better understand an author than the author understands himself. For Schleiermacher and Dilthey, this dictum meant that the interpreter better understands the cultural and linguistic context that conditions the author, and of which the author is unaware. For Freud, this dictum means that the interpreter has the theoretical key to unlock the unconscious meanings of which no past author could possibly be aware. The interpreter understands more scientifically the unconscious drives, instincts, and mechanisms of repression that determine a given form of expression. Texts are semiotic codes for which the scientific interpreter alone holds the key.

HERMENEUTICS AS REFLECTION ON THE CONDITIONS OF ALL UNDERSTANDING. Given the way in which reflection on understanding necessarily drives one to consider basic epistemological and anthropological issues, it should not be surprising that the philosophy of Martin Heidegger (1889–

1976) has been so influential at the turn of the twenty-first century. In *Being and Time,* Heidegger, although profoundly influenced by Dilthey, argues that Dilthey was finally unable to overcome the subjectivistic tendencies of Western thought since Descartes—tendencies that have led to a peculiar dilemma in epistemology, and to a seductive preoccupation with the cognitive ideals of the natural sciences and technology. Crucial to Heidegger's analysis is the argument that human beings already find themselves in a world made intelligible to them by virtue of what he called "the forestructure" of understanding, that is, the assumptions, expectations, and categories that one prereflectively projects on experience and that constitute the "horizon" of any particular act of understanding. An analysis of "everydayness" reveals that what is regarded as problematic as well as intelligible becomes so only against the backdrop of the tacit, prereflective understanding one already possesses. In all explanation one discovers, as it were, an understanding that one cannot understand; which is to say, every interpretation is already shaped by a set of assumptions and presuppositions about the whole of experience. Heidegger calls this the hermeneutical situation. He means that human existence itself has a hermeneutical structure that underlies all one's regional interpretations, even those in the natural sciences. One's prereflective understandings are modified and corrected as they become more self-conscious in the encounter with texts, objects, and other interpretations.

Heidegger's thought has been influential in several directions, two of which are important for religious studies: the interpretation of religion and the conception of hermeneutics generally. Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976), a German New Testament scholar and theologian, saw in Heidegger's analysis of human existence the conceptual basis for an exegesis of the New Testament whereby its basic religious insights could be extracted from the mythical thought-forms of the first century, in which it was originally expressed. To the complaint that this exegesis employed modern presuppositions, Bultmann replied that all exegesis is determined by certain philosophical presuppositions; the only question is whether these are correct. He believed Heidegger to be correct because Heidegger had discovered the inherent historicity of human existence; that is, how it is essentially constituted by acts of decision rooted in a self-understanding oriented toward the future. Moreover, Heidegger had shown that genuine historical understanding requires the encounter with past expressions of human self-understanding that can modify one's own. In this sense, the act of historical understanding has an element that resembles the act of appropriation of a religious message. Although Bultmann was primarily interested in the implication of Heidegger's work for the interpretation of the New Testament understanding of faith, the same hermeneutical procedure could be employed on other religious phenomena, as Hans Jonas has done in his well-known work *The Gnostic Religion* (1958).

It is Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900–2002), however, who in a major work, *Truth and Method* (1960), has done more than any other thinker to reconceive hermeneutics along Heideggerian lines. His theory also involves a criticism of previous conceptions of hermeneutics such as those of Schleiermacher and Dilthey. The difficulty with Schleiermacher's hermeneutics, apart from its limitation to the interpretation of texts, is that Schleiermacher (and Dilthey too) assumed that the historical and cultural distance of the interpreter from the phenomena being interpreted necessarily occasions misunderstanding. Gadamer argues, following Heidegger, that interpretation also assumes a context of intelligibility, and that the presuppositions and assumptions—one might say prejudices—of the interpreter are precisely what enable understanding as well as misunderstanding. Consequently, one's own assumptions and beliefs are not necessarily barriers to understanding but preconditions of it. The quest for a presuppositionless understanding is futile. Every text or object is interpreted from some standpoint in a tradition that constitutes the horizon within which anything becomes intelligible. This horizon is continually modified as it encounters objects, but there is no final and objective interpretation.

Gadamer has been criticized by Emilio Betti for destroying any possibility of distinguishing between a subjective and a universally valid interpretation. Betti argues that texts and cultural expressions have meanings independent of the interpreter's opinions, and that the interpreter can provide no canon for distinguishing right from wrong interpretations. Gadamer replies that the task is not to provide norms and rules for interpretation but to analyze the inherent structure of understanding itself—an analysis that reveals interpretation to be as Gadamer describes it.

HERMENEUTICS AS AN ANALYTIC AND MEDIATING PRACTICE. There is a fourth way of thinking about hermeneutics that is less easily characterized than the others, because it involves no theory of hermeneutics. Those who think in this fashion are not interested in establishing rules for the interpretation of texts nor in providing foundations for the cultural sciences. Their aims appear to be more piecemeal: to analyze, to clarify, and if possible to resolve conceptual issues surrounding *explanation* and *interpretation* in the various contexts in which they are employed; to establish the logical connections between *meaning, truth,* and *validity;* to discover the various normative uses of language; to ascertain what is meant by *rationality* and *irrationality,* especially as it bears on the possibility of translation and the problem of relativism. No one of the various thinkers who think and work in this way may necessarily discuss all these problems systematically, yet the various proposed solutions often bear directly on those problems normally associated with classical hermeneutical theory. For example, some thinkers concerned with the philosophy of science, such as Mary Hesse, have argued that no sharp distinction can legitimately be drawn between explanation and interpretation, since explanations in the natural sciences are as interpretative as those in the cultural sciences. Or again, some philosophers have argued that, since there is no realm of the given to which theories can correspond, the attempt by philosophers since Kant to formulate epistemological theories is a mistake. There is no one right or wrong way to interpret anything, including texts, hence the quest for agreement is not a desideratum.

Generally, this type of thinking about hermeneutics owes much to the writings of Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889–1951), whose later works deal extensively with issues such as "What does it mean to understand?" and "How does one know that another person is in pain?" It was characteristic of Wittgenstein's approach that no simple summary of his views can be given, since he argued that the function of a philosopher is to analyze carefully the concrete uses in specific contexts of words like *understanding.* He believed that it was a mistake to attempt to provide a general theory of understanding. The mind easily becomes bewitched by such general theories, and this bewitchment is itself the source of most philosophical difficulties and illusions. Instead, one should look at how such words are actually employed and embedded in concrete practices. A few students of religion have argued that this approach has important implications for the interpretation of religion. For example, it has been asserted that the hermeneutical theory of Joachim Wach has excessively constricted interpretation by superimposing a single model upon it.

Although Wittgenstein's philosophy is often said to be alien to Heidegger's, there are affinities at surprising points, not the least of which is the notion that explanation and interpretation make sense only within a horizon of presuppositions, practices, and assumptions that individuals' culture mediates to them—their tradition, so to speak. Wittgenstein, like Heidegger, also saw the human situation itself to be hermeneutical. But unlike Heidegger, he did not think this fact justified the construction of an ontology. Rather, he felt it should be the occasion for the painstaking exploration of the concrete forms of discourse—"language games"—in which human beings engage. There can be only regional explorations of the grammar governing specific forms of expression. Presumably, then, the interpretation of religion ought to devote itself to carefully mapping and exploring those characteristics of the distinctively human form of life one calls religious: its structure, presuppositions, and forms of expression.

SEE ALSO Anthropology, Ethnology, and Religion; Biblical Exegesis; Buddhist Books and Texts, article on Exegesis and Hermeneutics; Literature, article on Literature and Religion; Phenomenology of Religion; Structuralism; Study of Religion; Tafsir; Women's Studies in Religion.

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Van A. Harvey (1987 and 2005)

HERMES was recognized in Mycenaean tablets, and his nature was described in early Greek poems as that of a clever mediator among the gods or between gods and men, or as an archetypal messenger. Hermes gave the kings of Mycenae the scepter of Zeus (Homer, *Iliad* 100–108) and the lamb with the golden fleece, a fatal pledge of royalty for the Pelopides (Euripides, *Orestes* 995–1000). The ancient authors show the Peloponnesus as the most ancient and important environment where Hermes' cult had developed, but inscriptions and monuments show him worshiped everywhere in the Greek world. The Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* describes him as the son of Zeus and the nymph Maia, locates his abode in a cave of Cyllene, and ascribes to him the invention of the lyre, made from a tortoise shell.

Hermes is also reported to have stolen fifty sacred cows from Apollo's herd—he hid the theft by forcing the cows to walk backwards in order to produce reversed tracks. Hermes then discovered a means to light a fire, ritually sacrificed two of the cows, then returned to his cave. Apollo discovered the thief in spite of all Hermes' tricks, but his wrath was assuaged when he saw the lyre and accepted it in exchange for the two cows Hermes had sacrificed. This trade was considered to be the beginning of commerce.

Apollo granted Hermes the power of prophecy known to three sacred women at Delphi, and Zeus made him the lord of every herd and the only messenger to Hades (Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* 550–572). The same myth also appears in the *Ichneutai* of Sophocles (fr. 314 Radt) and a Persian version of a Hellenistic novel, the *Vamiq and Adhra* (see Hägg, 1989). Hermes' symbol is the herald's staff and his speed is symbolized by little wings on his boots and cap. The ancestry of the Attic priests Kerykes (literally, "heralds") descended from Hermes (e.g., Pausanias 1.38.3).

Hermes was also worshiped by shepherds (Semonides, fr.18 Diehl; Homer, *Odyssey* 14.435–436); Pan, the god of sheep farming, was his son. Statues of Hermes often depict him with a ram. In addition, Hermes granted fertility to cattle and was thus often represented as a phallus (Paus. 6.26.5) or as a phallic stele called a *herma.* Like Hercules, Hermes stole cattle from the world of gods in order to take them to the world of humans.

Hermes was worshiped by travelers, whom he protected and guided, and he was the focus of a cult in which heaps of stones where piled near roads (Hesychius, s.v. *hermaioi lophoi*). The mythic origin of these heaps was the trial of Hermes, who was judged by the gods after he had killed Argos, the Argive cowherd, causing Io, a priestess of Hera who had been transformed into a cow, to run away from the herd.

Hermes was charged for this murder, but he was carrying out an order of Zeus when he killed Argos, and the gods voted to acquit Hermes by throwing stones, forming the first hermaic heap. Thus, Hermes was called the Argiphontes (Killer of Argos). The murder of Argos was another crime that caused the passage of cattle from the herd of a god (Hera in this case) to the world of humans. In fact, the temples of Hera at Argos and in other towns owned sacred cows, which were used for sacrifices. The astuteness of Hermes and his friendship with humans earned for him the character of a trickster, a clever inferior god who gave people every means of civilization (Burkert, 1984). Hermes was venerated as a giver of fortune—the adjective *hermaios* meant gainful and the noun *hermaion* referred to an unexpected piece of luck.

The cave of Hermes was a passageway to the netherworld. In the *Odyssey* (24.1–14) Hermes acts as the psychopomp and leads by his staff the souls of the Proci through the cave to the doors of Helios and the asphodel meadows, abode of deceased souls. As messenger of the underground realms, Hermes is often appealed to in curse tablets, or *defixiones*, together with Hades and Persephone. Hermes was sometimes considered an inferior or servant god (Aeschylus, *Prometheus* 954, 966, 983) and his cult included subordinate people and even slaves (Athenaeus 14.636 B), although free people and kings (e.g., Odysseus in Homer, *Odyssey* 10.275–306) were helped by him as well.

Hermes played a role in the rituals that preceded weddings; together with the nymphs, Pan, and Aphrodite, he was worshiped by brides (Torelli, 1977, p. 166). At Samothracia, Hermes was identified with one of the Kabeiroi (*Scholium* to Apollonius Rhodius 1.916), and Herodotus (2.51) maintains that the Athenian phallic *hermae* derived from a Samothracian tradition. Hermes was also worshiped in the mysteries of Andania in Messenia (*Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* 736). By the spring of Salmakis, near Halicarnassos, Hermes and Aphrodite were thought to be the parents of a beautiful boy who was beloved by the nymph of a spring; the boy refused the spring's love, but when he entered the water of Salmakis she embraced him and together they transformed into Hermaphroditos (Ovidius, *Metamorphoses* 4.285–388).

According to Apollodorus (3, 28) and many Greek statues, the child Dionysos was entrusted to Hermes to protect him from the wrath of Hera. Hermes became increasingly important in the education of youth; his image and that of Heracles were the most frequently dedicated in gymnasia. The feature of Hermes as the *hermeneus,* the divine interpreter and god of wisdom, underwent much development after the teaching of Plato (*Cratylos* 407 E–408 B). Thus Hermes became the medium between gods and humans, a medium often thought of as the Logos, the word of god (Diogenes of Babylon, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta,* III, 234–235), the divine revelation, and even the donor of language to humans.

Hermes' image and mythology were lent to the Roman and Italic god Mercurius, who was called Turms in Etruria. The Falisci worshiped him as Titus Mercus, the Campani as Mirikus. His name indicates that Mercurius was the god of the *merx,* the wares, a god to whom *mercatores* (merchants) were especially devoted. In this capacity, Hermes was normally depicted as holding a money bag. The character of the ancient Mercurius cult in Rome was plebeian; his temple near the Circus Maximus was dedicated in 495 BCE by the plebeian centurion Laetorius (Livius 2, 27, 5–6), and his festival was celebrated on May 15. At Mercurius's spring near Porta Capena, merchants ritually purified themselves and their wares (Ovidius, *Fasti* 5.663–692). The cult was entrusted to the fraternity of the Mercuriales, who were guarantors of commercial law, as the Fetiales were of the law of war.

In the second and first centuries BCE the community of Italic merchants at Delos organized a cult of thanks to the Hermaistai, a body of six magistri (Bruneau, 1970, pp. 585–589). Colleges of Mercuriales were often engaged in the cult of the emperor. In a private cult, Hermes was worshiped and represented in the Lararia. He was thought to be the father of the two Lares, born of Lara, a nymph whom Hermes raped as he led her to the netherworld. Hermes was also reputed to be the lover of the prophetic nymph Carmenta, and with her the father of Evander. People seeking profits threw stones into heaps at crossroads in honor of Mercurius (Martin of Bracara, *Correction of the Peasants* 7). In imperial times Hermes' staff also became a symbol of peace (Gellius 10, 27, 3) and reason (Julian, *Contra Heracleion* 234 B; Ammianus 25, 4, 14).

Hermes granted his image, his name, and his myth to a number of local gods of other cultures so that they could be reconceived in a Greek or Roman fashion. A local Hermes was recognized by Herodotus (5, 7) as the god worshiped by Thracian kings. Among the Germans, Mercurius (identified with Wodan) was worshiped with human sacrifices (Tacitus, *Germania* 9). Among the Gauls, Mercurius was widely worshiped (Caesar, *De bello Gall.* 6, 17, 1), and the Church Fathers condemned human sacrifices in his honor (Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 6, 1; Tertullianus, *Apology* 9; *Scorpiace* 7). The personality of the Roman Mercurius, god of roads and merchants, perhaps also concealed the figure of Teutates, ancient god of the community, who introduced civilization.

In the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire the tendency toward a solar henotheism, supported by Chaldaeans and Stoics, gave Hermes the solar character we find particularly at Baalbek-Heliopolis. Here Mercurius Heliopolitanus was worshiped in a triad composed of him, Jupiter, and Venus; and Hermes was seen as a solar god who protected cattle and vegetation. Hermes was also identified with the morning star, the messenger of the sun called Azizos at Edessa (Iulian, *Hymn to Helios* 34). In the Mithraic religion the planetary god Mercurius protected the first initiatic grade and was symbolized by the raven, considered to be the herald of the sun god. The initiates of this grade served as waiters at sacred dinners, according to the function of the god in Olympus.

In Egypt Hermes was identified with Thot, the god of wisdom and the scribe of the gods. Later in imperial times, a new god, Hermanubis, was created in order to identify Hermes with Anubis, who prepared the dead for their travel to the netherworld. Like Hermes, both Thot and Hermanubis hold a herald's staff.

SEE ALSO Soul, article on Greek and Hellenistic Concepts.

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HERMES TRISMEGISTOS.

Identified with Hermes in the *Histories* of Herodotos (fifth century BCE), the Egyptian god Thoth was sometimes called *aa aa ur* (or *paa paa paa*). In the Egypt of the Ptolemies at the beginning of the second century BCE, this epithet was rendered approximately as *megistos kai megistos theos, megas Hermēs* ("greatest and greatest god, great Hermes") or, more succinctly, as *Hermes Trismegistos* ("thrice greatest Hermes"; Mahé, 1978–1982, vol. 1, p. 1; vol. 2, p. 469).

Because this meaning soon became obscured, the title was reinterpreted in various ways. According to the eighth-century historian George Syncellus, who in part is confirmed by Augustine (354–430 CE), Manethon (third century BCE) supposedly taught that *trismegistos* is the surname of the second Hermes, son of Agathodemon (the Hellenized name of the god Khnum or Kneph) and the father of Tat (another version of Thoth), who is said to have transcribed the teachings of Thoth, the first Hermes, and stored them in Egyptian sanctuaries (Nock and Festugière, 1945–1954, vol. 3, p. 163). These teachings, which had been engraved on tablets by the first Hermes, his grandfather, before the flood, were supposedly discovered and made available in Greek by Ptolemy II Philadelphus (308–246 BCE). Later, a tradition preserved especially by Hermias of Alexandria (fifth century CE) justifies the title *trismegistos* on the basis that Hermes, after three successive reincarnations in Egypt, had "remembered himself" and "recognized himself" (Mahé, 1978–1982, vol. 2, pp. 474–475), a factor that had to be connected to the Hermetic doctrine of rebirth (i.e., *palingenesia;* cf. *Corpus Hermeticum* 13 and Nag Hammadi codex 6.57–59). It must be noted that the title *trismegistos* is bestowed also by Osiris upon Agathodemon (*Fragmenta Hermetica* 32B).

Thus, that literature in Greek, translated supposedly from the Egyptian (*Corpus Hermeticum* 16.2), that claims to be the teachings of Thoth, the first Hermes, and of his disciples or descendants is called Hermetic. In addition to the names already cited, Hermes Trismegistos converses also with his master Poimandres-Nous ("intellect"; cf. *Corpus Hermeticum* 1.11) and with his disciples Ammon and Asklepios (*Asclepius* 1), grandson of Asklepios-Imhouthes (*Asclepius* 37), himself the son of Ptah-Hephaistos (*Stobaei Hermetica* 23.6). In addition, Isis discusses with her son Horus a revelation from the first Hermes that was given to her by her grandfather Kamephis (ibid., 23.33), probably distinct from Kneph-Agathodemon (Nock and Festugière, 1945–1954, vol. 3, p. 164).

INVENTORY AND CHRONOLOGY OF HERMETIC LITERATURE. To Thoth, the inventor of writing, the ancient Egyptians attributed all sorts of books, especially magical writings, secret techniques employed in temple workshops (e.g., the gilding of statues or the dyeing of fabrics), and theological writings recopied or composed by the priests in the "house of life" (*pransh;* Nag Hammadi codex 6.61.20). Thus the Greek Hermetica that have come down to the present can be divided into two categories: works of occult sciences and philosophical works.

1. Among the works of occult sciences, A.-J. Festugière (1942–1953, vol. 1, pp. 77, 240, 283) distinguishes three kinds: (1) astrology, beginning in the third or second century BCE, (2) alchemy, beginning in the second or first century

BCE, and (3) magic, recorded in papyri of the fourth to seventh centuries CE that reproduce sources obviously much more ancient. The interested reader may turn to Festugière (ibid.) for a thorough exposition of this occult literature in all its abundance and great complexity.

2. The philosophical works were originally grouped as collections of the discourses of Hermes with his various disciples or of them among themselves. Of this undoubtedly very abundant literature, still preserved are only some fragments and the texts of a few discourses that have come down to the present through subsequent intermediaries. These may be grouped into chronological order as follows:

(1) *Fragmenta Hermetica* 1–36 (Nock and Festugière, 1945–1954, vol. 4): various fragments quoted in Greek, Latin, or Syriac by several authors, from Tertullian (second-third century CE) to Bar Hebraeus (1226–1286). To these fragments should be added the Papyri Vindobonenses Graecae 29456r and 29828r (Oellacher, 1951; Mahé, 1984), as well as an Armenian fragment (Mahé, 1978–1982, vol. 2, p. 346; parallel with John Malalas, in Scott, 1924–1936, vol. 4, p. 233) and several Syriac fragments (Brock, 1983, 1984, with some Greek parallels).

(2) *Asclepius* 1–41 (Nock and Festugière, 1945–1954, vol. 2): a Latin adaptation of *Logos Teleios,* finished probably after 320 and before 410.

(3) Nag Hammadi codex 6 (Mahé, 1978–1982): codex 6 of the Nag Hammadi collection (c. 340–370 CE), containing Coptic translations of three treatises:

   (a) Nag Hammadi codex 6.6, preserved without title and currently called *The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth;*

   (b) Nag Hammadi codex 6.7, *The Prayer That They Spoke,* parallel to *Asclepius* 41 and to the Papyrus Mimaut (Greek) of Paris;

   (c) Nag Hammadi codex 6.8, without title, a fragment of *Logos Teleios* parallel to *Asclepius* 21–29 and to three Greek quotations cited by Lactantius around 320, Cyril of Alexandria around 435, and Joannes Stobaios around 500. The allusions of John Lydus (sixth century CE) to this same text can hardly be regarded as mere quotations.

(4) *Stobaei Hermetica* 1–29 (Nock and Festugière, 1945–1954, vols. 3–4): fragments or treatises quoted in Greek by Joannes Stobaios in his *Florilegium,* which he compiled around 500 for the education of his son.

(5) *Definitions of Hermes Trismegistos for Asclepius* (Mahé, 1978–1982, vol. 2), translated from Greek into Armenian, probably in the second half of the sixth century CE. *Definitions* 10.7 repeats *Stobaei Hermetica* 19.1; *Definitions* 11 is an interpolation drawn from Nemesius (c. 390 CE).

(6) *Corpus Hermeticum* 1–14 and 16–18 (Nock and Festugière, 1945–1954, vols. 1–2): a compilation of Hermetic treatises done after Stobaios and before Michael Constantine Psellus (eleventh century BCE). The connection of *Corpus Hermeticum* 18 to Hermetism is debated.

The Arabic Hermetic writings described by Louis Massignon (in Festugière, 1942–1953, vol. 1, pp. 384–400) are mostly original compositions without any direct ties to the Greek Hermetica.

Outside of *Asclepius,* the Middle Ages knew nothing of the philosophical works of Hermes except for some fragments mentioned by a very few Hellenists: *Corpus Hermeticum* 1–14 was translated into Latin by Marsilio Ficino in 1463; *Corpus Hermeticum* 16–18 and a part of the *Stobaei Hermetica* were published shortly thereafter in the sixteenth century; Nag Hammadi codex 6.6, 6.7, and 6.8 were discovered in 1945 but were not made available to scholars until 1970; *Definitions of Hermes Trismegistos for Asclepius* was published for the first time in 1956 in Yerevan, Armenia.

As for dating the composition of the various treatises, the *Logos Teleios* (*Asclepius,* Nag Hammadi codex 6.7, 6.8) is scarcely older than the third century CE. Most of the Greek texts seem to have been written in the second century BCE, yet they rest upon even older sources. Indeed, it is sometimes a case of works or compilations that longer survives such as the *Sayings of Agathodemon* (*Corpus Hermeticum* 10.25, 12.1, 12.8), the *General Discourses* (*Corpus Hermeticum* 10.1, 10.7, 13.1; *Stobaei Hermetica* 4a.1; *Stobaei Hermetica* 6.1; Nag Hammadi codex 6.63.2; *Papyri Vindobonenses Graecae* 29456r and 29828r), the *Diexodica* (*Fragmenta Hermetica* 30; *Asclepius* 1 corr.; Nag Hammadi codex 6.63.3 corr.). In addition, the cited Papyri Vindobonenses Graecae, copied at the end of the second century CE, reveals that at that time a collection of the *logoi* of Hermes to Tat, comprising at least ten treatises, had already been made. Going further, Strabo, on a visit to Egypt in 24–20 BCE, mentions some Hermetic literature that was not only astrological but also philosophical (Festugière, 1942–1953, vol. 1, p. 78). Finally, because *Corpus Hermeticum* 1.31 contains precise allusions to Jewish liturgy, it probably precedes the expulsion of Jews from Egypt after the revolt of 115–117. Yet because *Definitions of Hermes Trismegistos for Asclepius* 9.4 is the source of *Corpus Hermeticum* 1.18, it dates at the latest from the first century CE and could well go back even further (Mahé, 1978–1982, vol. 2, p. 278).

ORIGINS AND ORIENTATIONS OF THE PHILOSOPHICA OF HERMES. Although the distinction between the Hermetic writings on the occult sciences and the philosophical works is easily supported by their differences in tone and content, the break is not total between the two genres. The prayer of *Asclepius* 41 (Nag Hammadi codex 6.7) also appears at the end of a magical formula for union with the sun (Mahé, 1978–1982, vol. 1, p. 141), and the magical papyri often contain invocations or myths comparable to those included in the philosophical writings (Festugière, 1942–1953, vol. 1, pp. 296–308; compare with the prayers of *Corpus Herme-*

ticum 5, 13, and Nag Hammadi codex 6.6, and with the myths of *Corpus Hermeticum* 1, *Asclepius,* and *Stobaei Hermetica* 23). Furthermore, the alchemical writings contain sentences also found in the philosophical writings (Mahé, 1978–1981, vol. 2, pp. 309–310). Finally, certain philosophical treatises contain magical words and symbols (Nag Hammadi codex 6.56.17f., 6.61.10f., 6.62.10f.), while *Stobaei Hermetica* 6 (to Tat, on the decans) is hardly distinguished from an astrological text except by its parenetic epilogue.

Composed in different periods by different authors, the Hermetic philosophical works do not present a consistent teaching. They can be divided according to two tendencies: The one, which is the greater part, is optimistic; the other inclines toward a rather pessimistic and Gnostic dualism (such as *Corpus Hermeticum* 1, 4, 13; or some passages of *Asclepius*). Furthermore, the origin of this literature poses a complex problem. It cannot be conceded that the Greek texts are translations of ancient Egyptian writings. Indeed, nothing that is directly comparable has been preserved either in hieroglyphic or in demotic Egyptian. The documents that Eve A. E. Reymond calls "ancient Egyptian Hermetic writings" (Reymond, 1977) are simply secret writings that show no verbal parallels or perhaps even no lexical affinities with the Greek Hermetica (Mahé, 1978–1982, vol. 2, pp. 478–481).

Moreover, the content of the Greek writings betrays a composite origin in which Egyptian inspiration combines with Hellenic and Jewish influences. Festugière has shown how the decline of Greek rationalism led to disguising traditional philosophical teachings as divine revelations attributed to sages of Egypt or the Orient. Thus, the philosophy of Trismegistos reflects the fundamental themes of Alexandrian Hellenism concerning anthropogony, the origin and final ends of the soul (Festugière, 1942–1953, vol. 3), and the opposition between the cosmic god (ibid., vol. 2) and the unknown god of gnosis (ibid., vol. 4). In addition, many specific arguments are borrowed from Greek philosophy. Thus, *Stobaei Hermetica* 1 illustrates a maxim of Protagoras (fifth century BCE), repeated by Plato (*Timaeus* 28c), that it is impossible to say anything about the divine essence. *Stobaei Hermetica* 2A interprets, with the help of the doctrine of the four elements, the Platonic dogma that nothing exists by itself on earth. *Stobaei Hermetica* 3.1 cites *Phaedrus* 245c and elaborates, along with *Stobaei Hermetica* 4–5, a physical theory of forces and movement, of a very Hellenic inspiration.

The influence of Judaism is equally certain. This is revealed by the use of a vocabulary that is characteristic of the Greek Bible. Thus, God is termed *kurios kai pater* ("lord and father") in *Corpus Hermeticum* 5.2 and 13.21, *Asclepius* 26, Nag Hammadi codex 6.73.24, and *Fragmenta Hermetica* 23. However, these Judaic influences are unequally distributed: They are very strong in some treatises, sporadic elsewhere, and nonexistent in some. Thus *Corpus Hermeticum* 1 (*Poimandres*) contains not only a cosmogony inspired by the *Book of Genesis* (likewise *Corpus Hermeticum* 3) but also an apocalyptic scheme comparable to that of the Slavonic *Apocalypse of Enoch* (*2 Enoch*). It also contains allusions to the Eighteen Blessings in the Jewish liturgy as well as to the recitation of the Shemaʿ (*Dt.* 6:4–9). *Corpus Hermeticum* 13 and Nag Hammadi codex 6.6 are close to the same traditions. Comparison has also been made of the myth of the fall of souls in *Stobaei Hermetica* 23 (*Korē Kosmou*) to that of the fall of the angels in the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Enoch* (*1 Enoch*), which may also have influenced *Asclepius* 25 (Nag Hammadi codex 6.73.1f.). All these indications point to the influence of the canonical books of the Bible as well as of the apocryphal writings that were current among certain heterodox Jewish circles; some of these may have had Gnostic tendencies, judging from *Corpus Hermeticum* 1; others, perhaps Essene, if indeed a tie can be seen between *Stobaei Hermetica* 23 and *1 Enoch.* In addition, the Papyri Vindobonenses Graecae, cited earlier, bear on the front the discourse of Hermes with Tat and, on the back, the *Book of Jannes and Jambres,* an apocryphal text or pseudepigraphon of the Old Testament.

The analogies between the teachings of Hermes and those of the Jewish exegete Philo Judaeus (d. 45–50 CE) could be explained by Alexandrian scholarly traditions rather than by reciprocal influence. Indeed, the orientations of the two authors are distinct. Philo could not endorse pantheism, immoderate esteem for astrology, theurgy, or the praise of statues and idolatry, all of which are often expressed in Hermetic writings (Mahé, 1978–1982, vol. 2, pp. 318–320). Apart from some allusions to divine mercy in *Corpus Hermeticum* 13.3, 13.8, 13.10 (cf. *Ad Titum* 3.5), a treatise highly influenced by Judaism, the God of Hermetism—"innocent" like that of Plato—sometimes sees to it that the guilty are punished, but, unlike the biblical God, hardly ever thinks to pardon them.

Underlining the importance of Hellenic and Jewish influences in the Hermetica does not amount to denying Egyptian inspiration. Contrary to the statement by Festugière (1942–1953, vol. 2, pp. 30f.), it is not Platonic dialogue that lies at the origin of the Hermetic *logos* but rather the collection of ancient Egyptian wisdom (*sbayt*) sayings (*mtrw*) that were formulated as the teachings of a "father" to his "son," because scribal and other intellectual functions were hereditary at that time. In the same way, the oldest Hermetic writings are some gnomologies such as *Stobaei Hermetica* 6 or *Definitions of Hermes Trismegistos for Asclepius.* Subsequently, the sentences (which might be either connected to one another simply by conjunctions, or provided with commentaries, or illustrated by myths, or inserted into prayers) give rise to the Hermetic *logoi.* In these the disciple, generally called "my son," sometimes timidly interrupts the master whom he calls "my father." *The Wisdom of Any* (thirteenth century BCE) contained already the start of such a dialogue.

As in many Egyptian hymns, the Hermetic God is at once "One and All"; he (or some derivative entity) is also "his own father" and "his own mother." He artistically designs the body of man (*Corpus Hermeticum* 5.6–7) with the same care as that of Khnum in the texts of Esna (Mahé, 1978–1982, vol. 2, pp. 291–294). In *Stobaei Hermetica* 23.32 Isis receives from the primordial god Kamephis the gift of the "perfect black," *(to teleion melan),* namely Egypt (*Kah nkēmē,* "black earth"); in *Stobaei Hermetica* 23.42, the lions are termed "sleepless," an ancient Egyptian tradition (Nock and Festugière, 1945–1954, vol. 3, p. ccvi).

New Writings Discovered at Nag Hammadi. Along with Greek and Jewish influences, several passages of the writings discovered at Nag Hammadi bear the stamp of authentic Egyptian inspiration. Nag Hammadi codex 6.8 (parallel to *Asclepius* 21–29) opens with an evocation of the carnal union of man and woman presented, in accordance with Egyptian paganism, as a proper image of divinity. The refusal, expressed next by Trismegistos, to call "statues" the truly living gods fashioned by men calls to mind the belief in *ba,* the soul of idols. Then comes a prediction by Hermes to Asklepios: Someday, under the pressure of foreign invaders, the Egyptians will cease to adore their gods, who will depart from them. Formerly the image of piety, the country, full of barbarians and emptied of its ancient inhabitants, will become the image of impiety. The soil of Egypt and the waters of the Nile will be impotent in the face of these misfortunes. Because Egypt is "the image of heaven" and "the temple of the universe," these human disorders will lead to a cosmic catastrophe: People will cease to adore the world and to respect the soul and will invert their values and ally themselves with the bad angels. Therefore the balance of elements will be upset, and evil will triumph until the Demiurge punishes the guilty and creates the world anew, as it was "the first time." Then returning from the desert of Libya, the gods of Egypt will enter the great "city by the sea," which lies at the head of Egypt on the side of the sunset.

Without excluding the specific influence of foreign, Jewish, and perhaps Iranian apocalypses, one might see a similarity between this prediction and ancient Egyptian oracles: *Iouper* (twenty-second to eighteenth century BCE), Neferty (c. 2000 BCE), Demotic Chronicle (third century BCE) and, during the Hellenistic age, the Greek *Oracle of the Lamb* (under Ptolemy III, c. 246–221 BCE) and the *Oracle of the Potter* (c. 130 BCE). Contrary to Jewish traditions, Hermes here is not an ecstatic visionary. He speaks calmly under the influence of wisdom alone. His vibrant praise of Egypt calls to mind *Stobaei Hermetica* 24.11–15, where Egypt, "our most holy country," is located at the heart of the earth; it is represented, after the image of the god Geb, as a man lying on his back facing the sky. References can be made as well to Nag Hammadi codex 2.122, where Egypt is referred to as an image of paradise. This Egyptian patriotism is countered by the defiance of Philo and other Jews, for whom Egypt is a symbol of idolatry, ignorance, or concupiscence of the flesh (Mahé, 1978–1982, vol. 2, pp. 85–88). The end of Nag Hammadi codex 6.8 is a description of Hades that was not included in *Asclepius,* meaning that the former was entirely unknown before the discovery of the codex. It is essentially an adaptation of Platonic myths in *Gorgias, Phaedo,* and the *Republic* about the journey and judgment of the soul, giving Hades an aerial location. This has some similarities to Jewish apocalyptic, while the Egyptian element is practically nonexistent. After being examined by the Great Demon seated between heaven and earth, the righteous soul goes to its proper resting place, while the evil soul is handed over to be tormented by strangler demons, who scourge it and cast it in the celestial sea where fire and ice mass together. Yet God is innocent of these torments.

In contrast with Nag Hammadi 6.8, Nag Hammadi 6.6 is a Gnostic treatise very similar to *Corpus Hermeticum* 13, but with a more Egyptian setting. An anonymous disciple reminds Hermes of his promise to carry out his initiation by bearing his thought to the Ogdoad and then to the Ennead, that is, to the eighth and the ninth heavens (as in *Corpus Hermeticum* 1.24–26). In the course of a conversation on spiritual regeneration, the disciple learns to recognize his "brothers" and to pray to the "Father of the All." Then the two conversants invoke "the invisible god whom one addresses in silence." Chanting the seven vowels that correspond to the heavenly spheres, they reach the seventh, a symbol of piety according to the divine Law, and exchange a kiss. The power of light then descends upon them, and the first vision of the Ogdoad takes place, if not only for Hermes, at least in an incomplete manner for his disciple. The latter then directs a hymn to his father, during which takes place a second vision, more complete than the first, because the disciple sees the Ogdoad, the Ennead and the One who creates in spirit. He salutes his father with the title *trismegistos.* Then he promises to maintain secrecy and utters a thanksgiving to God, the end of the All, who has allowed him to know Him and to see himself. Next he chants the seven vowels over again and concludes his prayer. Trismegistos orders him to write everything in hieroglyphics on a stela that is to be placed in the open court of the temple of Hermes in Diospolis beneath a specific constellation. The stela will be surrounded by eight guards—the males having the faces of frogs (like the self-generating divinities of the Ogdoad at Hermopolis) and the females having the faces of cats (a solar symbol)—as well as by the "nine of the sun."

In the imprecatory formula of the conclusion, a celestial hierarchy emerges to guard over the writing: the Unbegotten, the Self-begetting, the Begotten, and the Seven Ousiarchs (i. e., the planetary gods penetrated by the demiurgic spirit). This hierarchy also appears in the report of Hippolytus (second to third century CE) on the Perates, in the *Mysteries of Egypt* by Iamblichus (c. 250–300), and in other writings from Nag Hammadi such as the *Gospel of the Egyptians* (Nag Hammadi codex 3.54). A comparison with the exegesis of *Genesis* 1–8 in *Corpus Hermeticum* 1.1–18 reveals a complex syncretism in which the Unbegotten, the Self-begotten, the Begotten, and the Seven Ousiarchs are identified, respectively, with the Creator, Adam, Seth, and the seven generations from Seth to Noah (cf. *Genesis* 5.1–29) on the one hand and with the heavenly spheres on the other hand. Thus, reaching the Ogdoad means not only escaping planetary Heimarmene and subjection to the Law but also recovering the likeness and the glorious condition of Seth, the first man who was begotten in the form and image of the Self-begotten (i.e., Adam), who in turn was made in the image of the Unbegotten Creator. Just as God beholds himself in the Self-begotten, according to *Eugnostos the Blessed* (Nag Hammadi codex 3.74–76), the disciple of Hermes is regenerated by the vision of himself, which makes him similar to the primordial man. This Jewish background of the Hermetic *palingenesia* strongly contrasts with the Egyptian setting of the dialogue.

The Prayer That They Spoke (Nag Hammadi codex 6.7), represented in codex 6 as the part following Nag Hammadi codex 6.6 yet preserved in other contexts in *Asclepius* 41 and in the *Papyrus Mimaut,* concludes with the formula "Once this prayer was said, they kissed one another and went to eat their food that was pure and without any blood." One can question at this point whether any Hermetic brotherhoods existed, and Nag Hammadi codex 6.6 and 6.7 leave little doubt about it: Indeed there were gnostics influenced by Judaism who invoked Hermes Trismegistos. They formed communities like the one described in *Corpus Hermeticum* 1.27–31, in which fraternal meals were held, the kiss of peace was exchanged, and initiations were conducted into the mystery of regeneration as described in *Corpus Hermeticum* 13 and Nag Hammadi codex 6.6.

However, it should not be overlooked that philosophical Hermetism originated in scholarly traditions before the gnostics ever thought of laying claim to it, and that it continued to develop independently of these same Gnostics. Thus, *Definitions of Hermes Trismegistos for Asclepius,* a collection of philosophical definitions, served as a source before 115 CE for *Corpus Hermeticum* 1, a Gnostic treatise, and, in the third century, for the *Logos Teleios* with a very different orientation.

As a place of confrontation for the religious beliefs of ancient Egypt, for Greek philosophy, for Judaism, and for gnosis, the philosophical writings of Hermes do not stand for a single doctrine, and they are not the "bible" of any religion. Instead, they reflect the varied spiritual currents in Alexandria during the first three centuries of the common era. Their relative unity is due mainly to their literary genre, in which the ancient gnomic sources always remain recognizable even when the same sentence is commented upon differently in one treatise as compared to another. The poignant fervor and brilliant stylistic success make certain passages, especially prayers, outstanding testimonials to the spiritual concerns of late paganism.

SEE ALSO Hermetism.

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Studies

A.-J. Festugière's *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste,* 4 vols. (Paris, 1950–1954), remains the fundamental work. However, focused above all on Hellenism, it underestimates Egyptian and Judaic influences. Its excessively rationalistic approach does not penetrate far enough into the mythological intentions of the texts. One can make the same evaluation of the collection of articles in *Hermétisme et mystique païenne* (Paris, 1967) by the same author.

Jean Doresse's "L'hermétisme égyptianisant," in *Histoire des religions,* edited by Henri-Charles Puech, vol. 2 (Paris, 1972), pp. 430–497, briefly surveys the principal monuments of Hermetism (writings in the occult sciences and philosophy, archaeological materials, and iconography). Its main interest lies in the connections to Egyptian civilization and with the respective positions of philosophical Hermetism and gnosticism. He points out the landmarks for the spread of Hermetism in antiquity to Rome and India and in the Middle Ages throughout the Muslim world and the West. The bibliography is very useful.

On the Egyptian inspiration, Richard Reitzenstein's *Poimandres* (1904; Stuttgart, 1966) is always suggestive but ought to be used with prudence. One might rather follow the lines given by Ph. Derchain in "Sur l'authenticité de l'inspiration égyptienne dans le *Corpus Hermeticum,*" *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 161 (January–March 1962): 174–198, and F. Daumas's "Le fonds egyptien de l'hermétisme," in *Gnosticisme et monde hellénistique,* edited by Julien Ries (Louvain, 1982), pp. 3–25.

On Jewish influences, C. H. Dodd's *The Bible and the Greeks* (1935; London, 1964) is still fundamental for the influence of the Greek Bible. It can be completed with Birger A. Pearson's "Jewish Elements in *Corpus Hermeticum I"* in *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions,* edited by Roelof van den Broek and Maarten J. Vermaseren (Leiden, 1981), pp. 336–348; and four essays by Marc Philonenko: "Le Poimandrès et la liturgie juive," in *Les syncrétismes dans les religions de l'antiquité,* edited by Françoise Dunand and Pierre Lévêque (Leiden, 1975), pp. 204–211; "Une allusion de l'Asclépius au livre d'Henoch," in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults,* edited by Jacob Neusner, vol. 2, *Early Christianity* (Leiden, 1975), pp. 161–163; "La plainte des âmes dans la Kore Kosmou," in *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Gnosticism* (Stockholm, 1977), pp. 153–156; and "Une utilisation du *Shema* dans le Poimandrès," *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* (1979): 369–372.

On the connections of Hermetism with gnosis and mystery religions, Hans Jonas's *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist,* vol. 1, *Die mythologische Gnosis,* 3d ed. (Göttingen, 1964), and Gilles Quispel's *Gnosis als Weltreligion* (Zurich, 1951) make penetrating analyses of the *Poimandres.* Karl-Wolfgang Tröger's *Mysterienglaube und Gnosis in Corpus Hermeticum XIII* (Berlin, 1971) perceives a dualist treatise in *Corpus Hermeticum* 13 but places it at the edge of Gnosticism. Tröger considers Nag Hammadi codex 6.6 as a "mysterium" but admits to the existence of Hermetic communities. Gerard van Moorsel's *The Mysteries of Hermes Trismegistus* (Utrecht, 1955) usefully describes the process of interiorization or spiritualization in the mystery practices of the Hermetica.

A history of the research on Hermetism and a discussion of the studies on the subject are outlined in my *Hermès en Haute-Égypte,* vol. 2, pp. 3–43, in which I also attempt to study the range of problems posed by this literature.

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JEAN-PIERRE MAHÉ (1987)
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HERMETISM designates the pagan corpus (written for the most part in the region of Alexandria) of the so-called *Hermetica,* which contains the pagan writings called *Corpus Hermeticum* (second and third centuries CE) attributed to the legendary figure Hermes Trismegistos (also Trismegistus), otherwise called Mercurius. *Neo-Alexandrian Hermetism* (henceforth often referred to as *Hermetism* also) designates the various philosophically and/or esoterically oriented adaptations and commentaries which that corpus has given rise to, particularly in the modern period (i.e., from the Renaissance up to the present time). Neo-Alexandrian Hermetism constitutes one of the modern esoteric currents and is the subject of most of this article. The term *Hermeticism,* which is more vague, frequently has been used as a synonym for *esotericism* and *alchemy.*

The *Corpus Hermeticum* had a strange destiny. In the Middle Ages, besides the *Asclepius,* only a few rare extracts were known, and yet their supposed author Hermes Trismegistos, clouded by an aura of mystery, never ceased to be a subject of great interest. Not until the dawn of the Renaissance did the writings come back to light, a rediscovery that gave rise to a considerable amount of interest.

LATE ANTIQUITY AND THE MIDDLE AGES. The *Corpus Hermeticum* (henceforth referred to as *C.H.*) was written in the second and third centuries CE. It is a collection of eighteen treatises (I–XVIII). Annexed to it is the *Asclepius* (originally known in Greek as *Logos Teleios* and translated into Latin in the fourth century), which in early periods was falsely attributed to Apuleius of Madaura. Unlike the *C.H.* proper, the *Asclepius* has survived in an ancient Latin translation only (the original Greek version has never been found; a large part of it in Coptic translation surfaced only as late as the twentieth century, in the Nag Hammadi Library). The first (numbered I) of these eighteen treatises is the most famous. It deals with the creation of the world, whereas the rest are devoted to the soul's ascension through the celestial spheres and its divine sojourns, a process supposed to bring about the regeneration of the human being. Hermetism is characterized by an eclectic mentality, a philosophical attitude that favors the concrete and eschews ontological dualism. Philosophically, it stresses the positive, symbolic value of the universe. This can be seen, for example, in the treatise in which Nous (Mind) addresses Hermes, who is taught how to reflect the universe in his own spirit, seizing the divine essence of nature and impressing it on the interior of his soul. This process is made possible by the fact that the human being possesses a divine intellect. The predominate theme is the world as a mirror of the divine and object of contemplation (God is known through the contemplation of the world). Hence the focus of the *C.H.* (and of many of the *Hermetica,* for that matter) on the particular, the *mirabilia,* often to the detriment of the abstract and the general. The *C.H.* invites the reader to undertake the work of regeneration through a reascent, which can be accomplished either by means of the intellect via a connection with intermediary spiritual intelligences (such as intermediate spirits) that are used as spiritual ladders, or by theurgical means, or by both. Explicit in Hermetism is a belief in an astrological cosmos, often viewed as the scene of an initiatory journey.

The long trail of the Christian interpretation of philosophical Hermetism originates in the fourth and fifth centuries, namely with the works of Lactantius and Quodvultdeus on the one hand, and Augustine on the other. These men represent two opposing paradigms of response to the *Asclepius.* In his *Divinae institutiones* (304–313), Lactantius cited numerous fragments from the *Asclepius.* He devoted several laudatory lines to Hermes Trismegistos and detected in him a herald of Christ's coming. Lactantius interpreted the created world (the second god of the Hermetic hierarchy) as the Word made flesh. Augustine, although in agreement with Lactantius about the antiquity of Hermes Trismegistos (he lived "a long time before the wise men and philosophers of Greece"), in his *De civitate Dei* (415–417 CE, *City of God,* VIII, 13–26) he condemned the *Asclepius* because of passages that discuss magical processes intended to animate the statues of gods by making spirits descend into them. Augustine denied that *daimones* (demons) could be regarded as necessary mediators between gods and mortals, and he strongly distinguished Hermetic teachings from "true religion." Despite the unquestioned authority of Augustine, Lactantius's views generally prevailed in the Middle Ages, because the *Tractatus adversus quinque haereses* (c. 430) by Quodvultdeus, bishop of Carthage, who stood in Lactantius's wake, was included in a collection of works written by Augustine and therefore falsely attributed to the latter. Clement of Alexandria also mentioned (*Stromateis* 6.4) Augustine, to whom he attributed a great number of philosophical works.

Hermetism seems to have all but disappeared from the scene of Latin culture in the centuries between the dissolution of the Roman Empire and the twelfth century. But from the twelfth century on it resurfaced thanks to the few texts that had survived. Alan of Lille (c. 1128–1203) made frequent use of cosmological Hermetic elements. In his *Summa Quoniam homines* and *Contra haereticos,* he extols the Egyptian sage Hermes's knowledge about the unity of God. The *Glosae super Trismegistum* may be attributed, if not to Alan himself, then to someone who stood close to him. In this work, the author proposes that Mercurius, more than other philosophers, reflected upon the mysteries of the heavenly realities. Two texts in the thirteenth century were the subjects of much commentary. First, the *Liber viginti quattuor philosophorum,* attributed to Mercurius, contains a summary of definitions of God, as formulated by an assembly of twenty-four sages. It is in part the work of a Christian, who endeavors to demonstrate the congruence of Neoplatonic and Hermetic teachings with those of the Bible and of Catholicism. Second, the *Liber de sex rerum principisi* (written sometime between 1147 and 1175) deals with divine and natural causality and establishes a concord between the Platonic tradition and Arab sources.

Toward the end of the twelfth century, Hermetism underwent some changes. First, a number of theological and cosmogonical pseudo-epigraphs attributed to Mercurius surfaced. Second, translations from the Arabic and the Greek appeared that heralded a different kind of Hermetic literature characterized by an impressive number of writings devoted to forms of operational knowledge—that is, to practices like magic, astrology, alchemy, botany, medicine, and divination. This new trend developed alongside philosophical Hermetism without conflict, except in the works of William of Auvergne. This latter, bishop of Paris (1228–1249), was one of the most erudite theologians in such matters. Well-versed in the literature from Greece and Islam, he sharply criticized Hermetism, taking sides with Augustine against Lactantius (see, for example, his *De Legibus,* 1228), at least with regard to "magical" knowledge.

In the same period, Michael Scot in his *Liber introductorius* (1228–1235) and in his commentary on Giovanni Sacrobosco's *De sphaera* attests to the circulation of the *Asclepius.* Toward the middle of the thirteenth century, Roger Bacon (in his *Opus maius* and *Metaphysica,* both completed in 1267) displayed strong Hermetic leanings and showed himself to be an insightful reader of the *Asclepius.* Similarly, Albertus Magnus (Albert the Great) tried to harmonize the philosophical elements of the *Asclepius* and the image of Hermes, in whom he saw the *magus* who has unveiled the secrets of nature and discovered the correspondence between heaven and earth (see for example his *Liber de intellectu et intelligibili,* 1260; *De animalibus,* c. 1260; *De causis et processu universitatis,* 1263–1267). In the fourteenth century Thomas Bradwardine, the famous mathematician and theologian at Merton College (Oxford), in his *De causa Dei* (1335–1344) cites Hermes as the first authority among the philosophers.

Among the authors of the fifteenth century, Nicholas Cusanus demonstrates a good knowledge of many of the available texts. His first reference to Mercurius appears in his *Sermo* I (1430), in which, drawing on Lactantius, he credits Hermes with the real knowledge of the divine Word. Moreover, his Christian interpretation of Hermetism is confirmed by numerous autographic glosses placed in the margins of his copy of the *Asclepius* (MS Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale 10054–10056). On several occasions in his *De docta ignorantia* (1440) he extols the Hermetic doctrine of God as "one and everything."

Finally, another famous text has to be mentioned within this short summary. It is the *Tabula Smaragdina* (*The Emerald Tablet,* or *The Smaragdine Table of Hermes,* henceforth referred to as *T.S.*), also attributed to Hermes Trismegistos. Originally written in Greek (the original version is lost), its earliest extant version (934 CE) is in Arabic, set within a small alchemical and philosophical treatise entitled *The Book of the Secrets of Creation. T.S.* has lent itself to innumerable discussions and esoteric commentaries. Hugo Sanctelliensis, bishop of Tarazona (Spain) translated it into Latin from the Arabic for the first time in the twelfth century, along with the *Liber de secretis naturae et occultis rerum causis quem transtulit Apollonius ex libris Hermes Trismegisti.*

THE REDISCOVERY OF HERMES TRISMEGISTOS IN THE RENAISSANCE. In Florence in 1450, Cosimo de' Medici the Elder (the ruler of Florence and a great patron of letters) entrusted Marsilio Ficino with the creation of a Platonic academy. One of their intentions was to have the available writings of Plato translated into Latin. Then, around 1460, an event occurred that assured the sudden, unprecedented influence of the Hermetic texts. A monk, Leonardo da Pistoria, brought to Florence a Greek manuscript containing fourteen treatises that constituted most of what would later be called the *C.H.* These treatises had already been gathered together in the eleventh century, and it was in that form that the Byzantine Platonist Psellus had known them. Da Pistoria, who had found the document in Macedonia, presented it to Cosimo de' Medici. The latter, having deemed it more urgent to translate the *C.H.* into Latin than Plato's works, assigned the task to Ficino. His translation of the fourteen treatises (*C.H.* I–XIV) was finished in 1463 and printed at Treviso in 1471 under the title *Mercurii Trismegisti Pimander Liber de potestate et sapientia Dei,* or *Pimander,* together with a prefatory argument (*Argumentum*) by Ficino himself. In his *Argumentum,* Ficino also called attention to the *Asclepius,* which he considered as "the most divine" of this kind of literature (an edition had just been printed in Rome in 1469 as an insert in Apuleius's *Opera*). By 1505 the *C.H.* and the *Asclepius* had been combined in a great number of editions. Later, a series of other Hermetic texts, the so-called *Stobaei Anthologium* (compiled c. 500 CE by Johannes Stobaeus of Macedonia) was added to that corpus (part of the *Anthologium* was published in Venice in 1536, another part in Zurich in 1543, and the rest in Antwerp in 1575).

The *C.H.* (often published under the title of the first treatise, *Poimandres,* rendered as *Pimander* since Ficino's

1471 translation) and the *Asclepius* enjoyed considerable success. Up to 1641, no fewer than twenty-four editions appeared, not counting partial ones or translations into other European languages. They became a central element in Renaissance culture and were most popular among the learned and prominent members of society. Anthony Woodville's English translation of a few of these texts in the anthology *The dyctes or sayengis of the philosophers* (Westminster 1477, the first dated book in the history of English printing), published by William Caxton, bears witness to the early, albeit discreet, presence of the *C.H.* in England. Woodville's anthology was later incorporated into other anthologies.

As had been the case prior to that period, the Hermetic treatises were considered the expression of a philosophy that had been transmitted over the sweep of centuries. Ficino called the philosophy *prisca philosophia.* Later it would be called, albeit in a slightly different sense, *philosophia perennis.* This term was introduced by an Italian Augustinian and Vatican librarian, Agostino Steuco (*De perenni philosophia*, Lyon 1540, new ed. 1590). Although staunchly attached to the Church's magisterium, he too tried to reconstruct the ancient philosophy as a foundation for restoring Christian unity. The *C.H.*, the *Asclepius*, and Hermes Trismegistos were thus thought to belong to a far distant past, namely to the age of Moses or even earlier. Although pagan in character, they were considered to foreshadow Christian truths and so to give new depth to the Christian revelation. In his *Argumentum*, Ficino describes a "genealogy of wisdom"—explicitly referred to as *prisca theologia*—consisting of six main figures: Mercurius (Hermes) Trismegistos, Orpheus, Aglaophemus (an Orphic teacher of Pythagoras), Pythagoras, Philolaus, and Plato. That list was later to undergo various changes depending on the author who presented it. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's *Oratio de hominis dignitate* (1486) begins with a reference to the "Magnum, O Asclepi, miraculum" passage of the *Asclepius* (*Ascl.* 6). Pico combined the Hermetic philosophy with the Qabbalah, which he believed had been entrusted to Moses on Mount Sinai.

On Palm Sunday of 1484, Giovanni da Correggio, in bizarre dress and in strange company, appeared in Rome. On the banks of the Manara he put on a crown bearing the inscription "This is my son Poimandres, whom I have chosen" and made a speech in which he called himself the "angel of Wisdom, Poimandres, in the most sublime manifestation of the Lord Jesus Christ." Then, making his way to the Vatican, he deposited diverse objects on the throne of Saint Peter. In 1496 he turned up again in Florence and then in Lyons. Lodovico Lazzarelli, who saw in Giovanni a new and divine prophet whom he considered as his mentor, has left a vivid description of this event in a manifesto titled *Epistola Enoch*, published probably in Milan c. 1490. Another text by Lazzarelli, *Crater Hermetis* (complete title: *A Dialogue on the Supreme Dignity of Man, Entitled the Way of Christ and the Mixing-Bowl of Hermes* which he wrote probably between 1492 and 1494 (it remained unpublished until Lefèvre d'Etaples edited it in 1505) is a fictitious conversation (very much in the form of the dialogues contained in *C.H.*) between Lazzarelli, who plays the role of the initiator, and Ferdinand I of Aragon and his prime minister Giovanni Pontano, who are cast in the role of pupils. *Crater Hermetis* may be among the most interesting examples of Hermetic-Christian syncretism written during the Renaissance. It is certainly one of the important Hermetic texts of its time, if not for its direct influence, then at least with regard to the depth and originality of its contents.

In 1482, Lazzarelli, convinced of the equality of the Bible and the Hermetic writings, dedicated to Correggio a manuscript he had just completed. The manuscript consisted of three parts, each one opening with a dedicatory preface. The first part contained Marsilio Ficino's translation of the *Pimander* (1471, i.e., *C.H.* I–XIV). The second contained the *Asclepius.* The third contained the first Latin translation, by Ficino, of *C.H.* XVI–XVIII—that is, three extra treatises which he had apparently discovered in a separate manuscript (unfortunately not preserved). He titled these treatises *Diffinitiones Asclepii ad regem Ammonem.* Lazzarelli appears to be a pure example of a Christian Hermetist in the Renaissance (in addition to being one of the first noteworthy authors instrumental in the early development of a Christian Qabbalah). Strangely enough, Frances A. Yates almost passed over him in her ground-breaking books published in 1964, and not until recently have scholars (in particular, Claudio Moreschini and Wouter J. Hanegraaff) done him justice.

Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples's first edition of his *Pimander* (Paris, 1494) contains, besides Ficino's translation, a series of commentaries (*Argumenta*) of his own (long attributed to Ficino). The second edition (Paris, 1505) was augmented with both the *Asclepius* and Lazzarelli's *Crater Hermetis* (in an abridged version). Interestingly, it was the first time that the *Asclepius* had been published with the *C.H.* Also at this time, Symphorien Champier, an admirer of Ficino and disciple of Lefèvre d'Étaples, did not hesitate to derive all of Greek philosophy from Hermes. He considered the famous passage from the *Asclepius* on magic and animated statues to be an interpolation by Apuleius and thus not to be attributed to Hermes. He goes as far as to include into the tradition of *prisca theologia* the doctrines of the Druids and elements drawn from the Qabbalah. His *Liber de quadruplici vita: Theologia Asclepii Hermetis Trismegisti discipuli cum commentariis . . .* (Lyon, 1507) contains Lazzarelli's translation of *Diffinitiones Asclepii*, among other texts, but Champier substituted a commentary of his own for Lazzarelli's prefaces.

As exemplified by Lefèvre and Champier, the French were generally much more cautious than their Italian or German counterparts regarding the "magical" elements of the *C.H.* and the *Asclepius.* This tendency to downplay the magical in favor of a more noble, essentially philosophical interpretation can be seen also in Pontus de Tyard, bishop of Châlons (*Deux discours,* 1578). Indeed, almost all French adherents of the *prisca theologia* dealt with Hermetism from the perspective of Christian apologetics. This is reflected, for instance, in Gabriel du Préau's *Mercure Trismégiste ancient Thelogien & excellent Philosophe, de la puissance & sapience de Dieu . . . Auecq' un Dialogue de Loys Lazarel poëte chrestien intitulé le Bassin d'Hermès* (Paris, 1549; new ed., 1557), the first edition in French of *C.H.* I–XIV, of the *Asclepius,* and (as the title indicates) of Lazzarelli's *Crater Hermetis.* Du Préau's book also contains abundant commentaries of his own, some of which were designed to establish parallels between the narrative of creation according to Moses and that of *C.H.* I (*Pimander*).

The French Catholic scholar Adrien Turnèbe published the first edition of the *C.H.* (Paris, 1554) in the original Greek, based on the manuscript used by Ficino and accompanied by the latter's Latin translation, as well as by Lazarelli's translation of the additional treatise. A preface by Angelos Vergerius emphasizes the resemblances of Hermetism to Christianity. In the wake of such scholarly publications, François Foix-Candale, bishop of Aire, near Bordeaux, authored another edition in 1574 (*C.H.* I–XIV, accompanied by some other hermetic texts). Five years later he produced very extensive commentaries of his own in French in his *Le Pimandre de Mercure Trismégiste: de la Philosophie Chrestienne, Cognoissance du Verbe Divin . . .* (Bordeaux, 1579, new ed., Paris, 1587), in which the Hermetic texts serve as topics for meditation on a variety of questions, such as the Soul of the World, the spirits of the elements, and the celestial bodies. Among various sources, Foix drew on the *philosophia occulta* of the Renaissance, and his book foreshadows some of the themes that Christian Theosophy would develop from the seventeenth century onward.

Ficino's *Opera omnia* also appeared in this decade (1576). Six years later at Anvers the Huguenot Protestant Philippe du Plessis-Mornay (called the Pope of the Huguenots) published his famous book *De la vérité de la religion chrestienne . . .* (Antwerp, 1581), written at a time when William of Orange was trying to establish religious tolerance at Anvers. Du Plessis-Mornay employed Hermetism in fashioning a religious position that stood above all religious conflicts, and which was close to that of Erasmus—but with an additional esoteric dimension. He compared the *C.H.* with the Zohar and made mention of Orpheus, Zarathushtra, and the sibyls, but especially of Hermes, "the source of them all." As is common among the French, his Hermetism is mystical and theological. This work was published several times in a Latin translation and proved to be influential in the development of Protestantism in France. Translated into English by Sir Philip Sidney and Arthur Golding in 1587, it is among the main expositions of Hermetism in the tradition of Ficino.

Along with Foix, some other important sixteenth-century authors, such as Giorgio, Bruno, and Agrippa, must be counted as influential in later Hermetism and esoteric literature. Francesco Giorgio (or Zorzi), who belonged to the Order of Friars Minor, authored *De Harmonia Mundi totius Cantica tria* (Venice, 1525; Paris, 1545, 1546; French translation by Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie, Paris, 1578) and *In Sacram Scripturam Problemata* (Venice, 1536; Paris, 1622). These two works represent an original construction aimed at making Ficino's Hermetic *prisca theologia* coincide with Neoplatonism, Qabbalah, astrology, and even alchemy. *De Harmonia Mundi* would enjoy a lasting success in several milieus, in particular among the representatives of most esoteric currents. Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa and Guillaume Postel would be among his enthusiastic followers.

Giordano Bruno recommended a "new" philosophy founded on Hermetism. In his works he makes frequent use of the Hermetic texts (notably in *Spaccio della bestia triomphante*, 1584). In contrast to that of Ficino and the French, his Hermetism represented an aggressive return to Hermetic magic. Unlike most other Hermeticists of his time, Bruno was not a Christian and did not identify the *intellectus* and *Filius Dei* of the *C.H.* with the second person of the Trinity, and thus he did not share the hope nursed by others that general acceptance of Hermetism might effect a religious reconciliation. In fact, Bruno did not desire a reformed Christendom, but rather a return to the cults or beliefs of ancient Egypt as described in the *C.H.* and particularly in the *Asclepius.* In 1591 he tried to win over to his views Clement VIII in Rome, but his radical interpretations led him to the stake in 1600.

In Germany, some of Sebastian Frank's works attest to an interest in Hermetism. His *Die Güldin Arch* (Augsburg, 1538) presents itself as a collection of biblical sayings and paraphrases, together with extracts from "illuminated pagans and philosophers" such as Hermes Trismegistos. In Basel (1542), Frank translated into German both the *Asclepius* and *C.H.* I–XIV and included long commentaries dealing mostly with commonalities between the Bible and Nature. It remains unpublished; the manuscript is preserved in the Stadtbibliothek Augsburg. In the second half of the sixteenth century, Valentin Weigel, the father of Germanic Theosophy (of which Jakob Boehme was to be the greatest exponent at the beginning of the seventeenth century), cites the name of Hermes Trismegistos more than that of any other author of his time—more than Dionysius the Areopagite, Plato, or Augustine. Like Agrippa, however, Weigel invokes this prestigious name more often than he utilizes the Hermetic texts themselves. Traces of Hermetic influence are also noticeable in Copernicus, who cites Hermes in reference to the sun considered as the visible God. Another German, Henricus Cornelius Agrippa focused on the esoteric side of Hermes Trismegistos. Besides quite a few passages in his famous *De Occulta Philosophia* (1533), several writings of his are devoted to a hermeneutics of the *C.H.*, particularly its third treatise: *Oratio in praelectionem Hermetis Trismegisti de Potestate et Sapientia Dei* (Cologne, 1535; an "oratio" given at the University of Pavia in 1515); *Liber de triplici ratione cognoscendi Dei* (1516); and *Dehortatio gentiles theologiae* (c. 1526, a text that, unlike his other two, distances him from Hermetism).

Despite the presence of a famous name like Agrippa, the Germanic countries in general had little part in the golden age of European Hermetism, which lasted approximately from Ficino to Kircher. Agrippa wrote his main works before the Reformation, and Kircher composed his main ones in Rome. This may be due in part to the fact that during this period humanism made only slight progress in those countries, hampered as it was by the barrier that Lutheranism had erected against it. Therefore, neo-Alexandrian Hermetism, by its very nature a legacy of ancient Greek literature, remained mostly a subject of study for the humanists, even after the *C.H.* had been translated into Latin by the Italian Ficino. As a consequence, over that period almost all the noteworthy commentators of the *C.H.* were French and Italian.

Not until the last two decades of the sixteenth century did two other authors of importance emerge. First, the Italian Capuchin Hannibal Rossel, whose *Pymander Mercurii Trismegisti* at six volumes (Cracovia 1585–1590) is not so much a commentary on the *C.H.* as an encyclopedic roll-call of a variety of philosophical themes, along with a presentation of *C.H.* I–VII and the *Asclepius.* This work was popular enough to require a second issue, this time in one volume (Cologne, 1630). Second, Francesco Patrizi's *Nova de universis philosophia* (Ferrara, 1591) contains *C.H.* I–XIV (as established by Turnèbe and Foix de Candale), the *Asclepius, C.H.* XVI–XVIII (*Diffinitiones Asclepii*), the medieval so-called *Theologia Aristotelis,* and a new Latin translation of these texts. In the dedicatory preface, Patrizi asked Pope Gregory XIV to place the *C.H.* on the academic curriculum as an alternative philosophy. Indeed, he sharply criticized Aristotelian philosophy and wanted it to be ousted from Jesuit-run colleges. Patrizi portrayed the true magus as one who is devoted to God, and true *prisca magia* as the true religion. He claimed that a single treatise from the *C.H.* contained more philosophy than all of Aristotle, thereby advocating the study of Plotinus, Proclus, and the early Fathers while discouraging the study of the Scholastics. In the spirit of the Counter-Reformation, he took up the question of a new catechism and recommended the study of the *C.H.* to the Jesuits. He went so far as to suggest to the pope that Hermetic Platonism be assigned in all Christian schools as an aid to converting the Lutherans. In 1592, Clement VIII, won over to some of his ideas, called him to Rome to hold the chair of Platonic philosophy at the University La Sapienza, but once there, Patrizi incurred the displeasure of the Inquisition and his book was placed on the Index. Other reform-minded books followed, such as Mutius Pansa's *De Osculo, seu consensus ethnicae et Christianae philosophiae tractatus* (Marburg, 1605)—the "kiss" mentioned in the title being that which Hermetism and Christianity are supposed to exchange.

Religious Hermetism is Gnostic and irenic by nature. This partly accounts for the fact that in the 1590s, the Puritanism then flourishing in England weakened the theological syncretism that had favored such tendencies. With Edward VI, the English Protestants had already begun to break with the past, going so far as to destroy books and libraries. Under the reign of Mary, a Hispano-Catholic intolerance went even further in that direction. Puritan Anglicanism under Elizabeth lost all trace of Erasmian tolerance, and Hermetism suffered accordingly, at least in the official milieus of the Anglican Church and the universities. It continued to develop within private circles, however, such as those that formed around Sir Philip Sidney and Queen Elizabeth's astrologer, John Dee. In addition to Sidney and Dee, who were enthusiasts of Hermeticism and esoteric literature, is Richard Hooker, who often cited the *C.H.* in his work *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity,* which began to appear in 1593. Hooker, however, did not identify himself with the Hermetic tradition as such.

Any overview of neo-Alexandrian Hermetism must also give attention to the *T.S.*, a short text that circulated in a Latin translation as early as the twelfth century. Its first printed edition, also in Latin and titled *Tabula Smaragdina*, appeared in a compilation of alchemical texts, *De Alchemia* (Nurnberg, 1541). Its brevity permits us to quote it here in full:

> True it is, without falsehood, certain and most true. That which is above is like to that which is below, and that which is below is like to that which is above, to accomplish the miracles of one thing. And as all things were by contemplation of one, so all things arose from this one thing by a single act of adaptation. The father thereof is the Sun, the mother the Moon, the Wind carried it in its womb, the earth is the nurse thereof. It is he father of all works of wonder throughout the whole world. The power thereof is perfect. If it be cast on to the earth, it will separate the element of earth from that of fire, the subtle from the gross. With great sagacity it doth ascend gently from earth to heaven. Again it doth descent to earth, and uniteth in itself the force from things superior and things inferior. Thus thou wilt possess the glory of the brightness of the whole word, and all obscurity will fly far from thee. This thing is the strong fortitude of all strength, for it overcometh every subtle thing and doth penetrate every solid substance. Thus was this world created. Hence will there be marvellous adaptations achieved, of which the manner is this. For this reason I am called Hermes Trismegistos, because I hold three parts of the wisdom of the whole world. This is which I had to say about the operation of Sol is completed. (Linden, 2003, pp. 27–28)

In the sixteenth century, this rather enigmatic prose poem caused torrents of Hermetic, alchemical, and theosophical ink to flow (Faivre, *Annuaire. . .*, 1985–1997). To mention only a few remarkable commentaries in the esoteric literature of that time, the "*T.S.* tradition" was illustrated and enriched by such authors as Johann Trithemius (see his correspondence with Germain de Ganay in 1505) and Gérard Dorn (*Artificii chymistici*, 1569; often re-edited as *Physica Trismegist;* foreshadows the advent of the Theosophical movement).

HERMETIC DEVELOPMENTS AND REAPPRAISALS (1614–1706). Isaac Casaubon, a Protestant minister in Geneva, set out to prove (in a chapter of his *De rebus sacris ecclesiasticis exercitations XVI*, London, 1614) that the *C.H.* had not been written prior to the second or third centuries CE and was therefore a forgery of the early Christian era. Although Casaubon's name has long been attached to that new dating, recent research (see especially Purnell, 1976; Mulsow, 2002) has shown that similar "discoveries" had already been made by other philologists as early as the 1560s. Nonetheless, the claim that the *C.H.* had been erroneously dated could only deal a heavy blow to its authority, since the authority of a text, even at that time, was highly dependent upon its age. But the Hermetic current did not disappear for all that; indeed, from then until now, many esoterically oriented authors and readers have preferred to ignore or to downplay the significance of the new dating of the Hermetic writings.

One of the first highly sympathetic exegetes of the *C.H.* in early seventeenth-century Germany was Heinrich Noll (*Theoria Philosophiae Hermeticae, septem tractatibus*, Hanover, 1617; *Theoria Philosophiae Hermeticae*, Copenhagen, 1617; and *Panergii Philosophici Speculum*, 1623, an initiatic novel). In Italy, Livius Galante, who authored *Christianae theologiae cum platonica comparatio* (Bologna, 1627) is noteworthy. Furthermore, a number of translations of the *C.H.* into European languages appeared. A few extracts were presented in German in "Verba Hermetis in Pimandro" (a section of the anonymous *Occulta Philosophia*, vol. II, Frankfurt, 1613). More importantly, under the title *Sestien boecken* . . . (Amsterdam, 1643; new ed., 1652), Abraham Willemsz van Beyerland published a Dutch version of sixteen treatises of the *C.H.*, based on Patrizi's text. Beyerland, a theosopher who was also a translator of Jakob Boehme, added long, theosophically oriented commentaries of his own. His translation was used by the first translator into German (1706).

John Everard did the first translation of the *C.H.* in English (*The Divine Pymander of Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus, in XVII Books. Translated formerly out of the Arabick into Greek* . . . , London, 1650; new ed., 1657). This Anglican minister, a preacher at Kensington, had already produced in 1640 a detailed commentary (preserved at the Bodleian Library in Oxford) on the *T.S.* He also authored short translations from similar texts and some works of his own (see his *Some Golden Treasures*, London, 1653). The title, and the preface signed J.F., attest to the ignorance of the editor, not least because he claimed that these books were originally in Arabic. The preface deals mostly with the legendary figure of Hermes Trismegistos. Everard's book was very influential in the development of Hermetism in England.

Along with Paracelsianism, Hermetism became part of a medical debate principally represented by one of its proponents, the Dane Olaus Borrichius (Olaf Borch), who composed a vibrant apology for Hermetism and alchemy (*Hermetis Aegyptiorum, et chemicorum sapientia,* Copenhagen, 1674; see also his *De Ortu et progressio chemiae*, Copenhagen, 1688, which contains a detailed history of alchemical literature). *Hermetis Aegyptiorum* was meant as a counter-attack against the German Hermann Conring, in whose *De Hermetica Aegyptiorum vetere et paracelsicorum nova medicina* (Helmstedt, 1648; new ed., 1699) Hermetism and Paracelsianism had come in for their share of harsh criticism. Along these lines, Johann Heinrich Ursinus (in *De Zoroastre bactriano, Hermete Trismegisto, Sanchoniatone Phoenicio, eorumque scriptis, et aliis, contra Mosaicae scipturae antiquitatem*, Nürnberg, 1661) also tried to demonstrate that the *C.H.* was merely a collection of texts plagiarized from Christian sources. Both Conring's and Borrichius's works are of a particular interest because they depend not only on Paracelsianism and Hermetism, but also on alchemical literature. Nevertheless, the *C.H.* was rarely the object of commentaries in the alchemical discourses of the seventeenth century, although Hermes Trismegistos often appeared as the tutelary figure of that science, for instance in Michael Maier's *Symbola Aureae Mensae Duodecim Nationum* (Frankfurt, 1617).

In contrast, the *T.S.* continued to trigger a lot of alchemical commentaries. See, for example, Jacques Nuysement (*Traictez . . . du Vray Sel*, 1621) and Athanasius Kircher (in volume 2 of his *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, Rome, 1653; and *Mundus Subterraneus*, Rome, 1664–1665). The German translation (by Johan Schaubert) of the *T.S.* appeared in 1600. Isaac Newton's commentaries on that text are highly developed and appear in the great quantity of alchemical manuscripts he left to posterity (King's College, Cambridge),and they have recently been the object of a number of scholarly studies. Wilhelm Christoph Kriegsmann produced another most original, albeit fantastic, "philological" commentary (*Hermetis Trismegisti . . . Tabula Smaragdina*, 1657).

Throughout the period and ever since, the tendency in Hermetic literature has been to blend Hermetism not only with alchemy, but also with Jewish or Christian Qabbalah, Rosicrucianism, and the *philosophia occulta* inherited from the Renaissance. Stellatus's (that is, Christoph Hirsch's) *Pegasus Firmamenti, sive introductio brevis in Veterum Sapientiam* . . . (n.p., 1618) associates Rosicrucianism with Hermetism, Paracelsianism, pansophy, and alchemy. Opponents of Hermetism also often grouped these currents together. Two examples may serve to illustrate this. First, one year after the new edition of Zorzi's (Giorgio's) *Problemata* (1622), the famous Catholic priest Marin Mersenne, bent on orthodoxy and a famous opponent of such orientations, published his *Observationes et emendationes ad Francisci Giorgii Veneti Problemata* (Paris, 1623) in opposition to Giorgio's work, as well as Hermetism, Rosicrucianism, and the works of Robert Fludd. The second example is Lutheran minister Ehregott Daniel Colberg's *Das Platonisch-Hermetisches* [sic] *Christenthum* . . . (2 vols., Leipzig, 1690 and 1691; new ed., 1710), which settles scores with the *C.H.* as well as with Rosicrucianism, theosophy, and mysticism, reproaching them for encouraging self-divinization of the human being.

Within esotericism, the Englishman Robert Fludd, particularly in *Utriusque cosmi historia* (Oppenheim, 1617–1621), was instrumental in propagating the "magical" tradition that had been represented by Paracelsus, Agrippa, John Dee, and the Rosicrucian manifestoes of 1614–1615. Fludd did not seem to know about Casaubon's philological criticism, or at least he pretended not to. He gives as much weight to the *C.H.* and the *Asclepius* as to *Genesis* or the *Gospel of John* (on almost every page of his works one can find a quotation from Ficino's Latin translation) in, for example, explaining the creation of the world, of which he gives a "chemical" description that draws on *Pimander* (*C.H.* I). He also frequently associates Hermetism with the Qabbalah, in an original synthesis.

Not surprisingly, the *C.H.* and its supposed author Hermes Trismegistos aroused the interest of the Cambridge Neoplatonists. They generally accepted Ficino's idea of an uninterrupted transmission of ancient wisdom from Moses to Hermes and passing through Zarathushtra, Pythagoras, Plato, and Orpheus. Among the main representatives of that philosophical school, Ralph Cudworth dealt most extensively with the *C.H.* (at least more so than did Henry More). His *The True Intellectual System of the Universe* (London, 1678) contains a lengthy commentary on its treatises, with a particular emphasis on cosmogony. In contrast to Casaubon, Cudworth stressed the presence of Egyptian elements, believing that the *C.H.* could well have preserved certain authentic Egyptian teachings. He also considered that in treating the *C.H.* as one single text (whereas it is actually a collection) arguments that discredit the great age of some treatises do not need to discredit the rest of them (least of all the *Asclepius*).

With Woodville and others (Shumaker, 1972, pp. 236–247; Shumaker, 1988), Hermetism had already made its way into English culture in general. For example, John Milton cites Hermes Trismegistos three times (*Il Penseroso*, lines 87ff.; *Ad Joannem Rousum*, line 77; *De Idea Platonica*, lines 33ff.), and one finds many relevant passages in Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (London, 1590–1596). This process continued well into seventeenth-century England, as documented by works of celebrated authors such as Robert Burton (*The Anatomy of Melancholy*, Oxford, 1621), Sir Thomas Browne (*Religio Medici*, 1643), and Sir Walter Raleigh (*History of the Word*, 1614) who were not Hermetists but who gave its ideas a voice, albeit a modest one. Robert Burton mentions Hermes no fewer than thirty times, along with Ficino, Pico, Paracelsus, and Campanella, but he leaves the impression that mention of these names is merely a show of erudition in the context of an enlarged humanism. Sir Thomas Browne, a skeptical scholar as well as contemplator of the infinite, often evokes the famous Hermetic image of the sphere whose center is everywhere and circumference nowhere. But he is in no way convinced that the ancient wisdom was superior to the modern. It was merely in his capacity as a collector of information and propagandist that he cited Hermes Trismegistos: "The severe schools shall never laugh me out of the Philosophy of Hermes, that this visible world is but a Picture of the invisible" (*Works*, ed. Keynes, 1928–1931, vol. 1, p. 17). Indeed, "where I cannot satisfy my reason, I love to humour my fancy." One finds similar references in the works of William Gilbert (*De magnete*, 1600) and Henry Reynolds (*Mythomystes*, 1632).

The *C.H.* became part of many discourses marked by Egyptomania. Typical of that trend are works of the Jesuit Athanasius Kircher, notably *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (Rome, 1652–1654; see also his *Prodromus coptus*, Rome, 1636), in which he assigns almost as much importance to Hermes Trismegistos and the *C.H.* as Fludd does. Kircher's *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*—one of the first works to stir the Egyptomania that swept Europe over the next three centuries—is replete with quotations borrowed from Ficino's translation, particularly from the *Asclepius*. Kircher readily associates Qabbalah and Hermetism and, like Ficino, sees Hermes as the inventor of the hieroglyphs. Following the example of Renaissance Hermetism, he interprets hieroglyphs as truths about God and the world, especially since Hermes Trismegistos was supposed to have originally written in hieroglyphs. Not surprisingly, most of the hieroglyphs that Kircher referred to were demystified when Jacques-Joseph Champollion deciphered them in 1824 (this was perhaps the second blow, after Casaubon's, delivered to the Egyptian myth). Kircher, however, was not a great admirer of the Hermetic literature and regarded Paracelsus, the Rosicrucians, and Robert Fludd with great suspicion. He used the *C.H.* to make Catholicism palatable, mostly with a view to deterring his readers from Protestantism.

Interestingly, the French Jesuits and theologians involved in missionary activities in the Far East, particularly in China, shared a project similar to Kircher's, though not from an Egyptophile perspective (Walker, 1972, pp. 194–230). Apart from Rapine, these Catholic priests were not interested in Hermetism itself but used it as a tool for converting people to Catholicism. It was a matter of demonstrating that Confucius's teachings, for example, as well as those of Western pagan philosophers—primarily Plato and Hermes Trismegistos—were compatible with monotheism. This missionary program is exemplified by Paschal Rapine's *Le Christianisme naissant dans la gentilité* (Paris, 1655–1659), Paul Beurrier's *Perpetuitas fidei, ab origine mundi . . .* (Paris, 1666; French ed., 1680); Daniel Huet's *Demonstratio evangelica* (Paris, 1678; several re-editions); Philippe Couplet's *Confucius Sinarum philosophus* (1687), and several writings by Joachim Bouvet around 1700, notably his correspondence with Leibniz.

THE PERIOD OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT AND OF ROMANTICISM. Like Everard's English version, the first complete German translation of the seventeen treatises of the *C.H.* was to prove influential on later esoteric literature. Its author, who had had at his disposal the editions of Patrizi and Beyerland, signed himself Aletophilus (perhaps a pen name for Wolf

Metternich) and titled his work *Hermetis Trismegisti Erkänntnüsz der Natur und des darin sich offenbahrenden Grossen Gottes . . .* (Hamburg, 1706; new edition, 1855). His long introduction to the book, in which he shows himself to be a Paracelsian, is noteworthy. He endorses the main legends surrounding the *C.H.* and tries to marry Hermetism with alchemy, extolling the Egyptian elements of the text over the Greek ones.

The *T.S.* exerts a strong influence on Aletophilus's book and, not surprisingly, on numerous other alchemical treatises of the period. Three other German works with long commentaries on the *T.S.* stand out: Ehrd de Naxagoras's *Aureum Vellus* (2 vols, Frankfurt, 1731–1733); the anonymous *Vernünftige Erklärung der Smaragdenen Tafel . . .* (s.l., 1760); and above all Hermann Fictuld's *Turba Philosophorum* (s.l., 1763) This latter work, which blends alchemy and theosophical outlooks, is one of the most important esoteric exegeses in the history of the *T.S.* tradition.

The Enlightenment also saw new German translations of the *C.H.* First came Dietrich Tiedemann's (*C.H.* I–XVIII), titled *Poemander, oder von der göttlichen Macht und Weisheit* (Berlin and Stettin, 1781). It was published three years after the first German translation of the *Asclepius*, at the press of Friedrich Nicolai, one of the most celebrated representatives of the German Enlightenment. Tiedemann's commentaries reflect the intellectual tenor of the Enlightenment and are replete with comparisons between the *C.H.* and Plato, Gnosticism, and Jewish Qabbalah.

Alongside these translations appeared more erudite studies. Some were Hermetic in character, like Hermann van der Hardt's "Poemander" (inserted in his book *Antiquitatis Gloria*, Helmstedt, 1737), a long paraphrase of *C.H.* I in which, for example, Jacob's dream (*Gen.* 28) is compared to Hermes's vision in *C.H.* I, 1. Other studies were more scholarly. The two that stand out are Johann Albrecht Fabricius's *Bibliotheca Graeca* (Hamburg, 1705–1728, see vol. I, 1708, lib 1, chapters VII–XII; new enlarged ed., 1790) and Jacob Brucker's *Kurze Fragen aus der hermetischen Historie* (Ulm, 1730–1736) and *Historia critica philosophiae* (Leipzig, 1743; see vol. I, chapters I–IV). Brucker's works provide a wealth of information on theosophical, alchemical, and Rosicrucian literature, including the *C.H.* and all that Brucker knew about the *Hermetica* in general (see notably *Historia critica philosophiae*, vol. I, lib 3. Brucker deals with works appearing as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century. He was not a proponent of any of these currents, but his very detailed—albeit not always unprejudiced—presentation ensured their continued influence, all the more so since the book of 1743 quickly became essential to most good libraries all over Europe.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, Hermetism started at the top rung of the literary ladder in Germany with two texts by Johann Gottfried Herder. First, in *Über die älteste Urkunde des Menschengeschlechts* (Riga, 1774) he claimed he had found in ancient traditions, particularly in Hermes Trismegistos, keys capable of unlocking a number of mysteries and retrieving a long-lost knowledge. Second, "Hermes und Pymander" (in the journal *Adrastea*, 1801) is a dialogue (inspired by *C.H.* I) between Poimandres and his disciple discussing new scientific discoveries (including those by Isaac Newton) as well as spiritual and material light and the Soul of the World.

In Italy, although Hermetism had all but ceased to exert its presence as an esoteric current, it was still occasionally the object of publications (see for instance an 1820 reprint in Bologna of an edition of the *C.H.* that Carlo Lenzoni published in 1584). In the United States, Ralph Waldo Emerson's *The Dial* (in particular the issues published from 1842 to 1844), a journal expressing the views of the Transcendentalist movement in the United States, published (in vol. IV) a number of "ethnic scriptures," as it called them, including extracts from Everard's translation of the *C.H.* Hermetism seems to have left its imprint, albeit a mostly indirect one, on a number of authors of pre-Romantic and Romantic literature in England and the United States (Tuveson, 1982). Frans von Baader, the main German theosopher in the Romantic period, although not strongly interested in Hermeticism or alchemy, nonetheless made frequent use (notably from 1809 to 1839) of some verses from the *T.S.*, commenting on them and merging them with his theosophical approach. The middle of the nineteenth century saw new scholarly studies such as B. J. Hilgers's *De Hermetis Trismegisti Poimandro commentario* (Bonn, 1855) and Gustav Parthey's study of the Greek text of *T.S.*, *Hermetis Trismegisti Poemander* (Berlin, 1854).

HERMETISM IN THE OCCULTIST CONTEXT. The occultist current flourished from around 1850 to around 1920 and drew upon the esoteric literature of earlier centuries. Hermetism is part of the referential corpus of the occultists. Marie Ragon de Bettignies's widely disseminated *Maçonnerie occulte, suivie de l'Initiation hermétique* (1853) blends Masonic symbolism, alchemy, mythology, and Hermetism. But the presence of Hermetism within the occultist current appears to be rather limited, except in England. In France, for instance, such important representatives of occultism as Stanislas de Guaïta or Papus rarely referred to Hermetism. They did, however, devote many pages to their understanding of the *T.S.*, which they, like so many other representatives of the current, took to be one of the most essential referential documents in Western esotericism and Hermetism (see Stanislas de Guaita's *Le Serpent de la Genèse*, Book II, Paris, 1897). In Italy, the occultist Giuliano Kremmerz authored a long series of commentaries titled "Commento alla Tavola di Smeraldo" (in *Commentarium per le Academia Ermetice. . .*, Bari, 1910).

In Germany, the new edition of Aletophilus's translation of the *C.H.* (1706), along with a new introduction, appeared as *Hermetis Trismegisti Einleitung ins höchste Wissen* (Stuttgart, 1855) in the semi-popular series *Das Kloster* directed by J. Scheible, which from 1849 to 1860 offered new

German editions of texts by Agrippa, Trithemius, Nostradamus, Paracelsus, J. B. Van Helmont, Eliphas Lévi, Catherine Crowe, and many others. Louis Ménard's *Hermès Trismégiste: Traduction complète précedée d'une étude sur l'origine des livres hermétiques* (Paris, 1866, several new editions) influence should not be underestimated. It is a new French translation of *C.H.* I–XIV (relying on Parthey's Greek edition), *Asclepius*, *Kore Kosmou* ("The Virgin of the World," part of Stobaeus's *Anthologium*), and Patrizi's version of the *Diffinitiones Asclepii* (*C.H.* XVI–XVIII). The book also contains a long but sober introduction of 112 pages in which Ménard places these texts in the perspective of a comparative approach to religions. Triggered in part by Ménard's book, a flurry of new English editions of Hermetic treatises appeared, mostly in England and the United States, accompanied by esoterically oriented presentations and/or commentaries. Most of them have little scholarly value, but they are representative of the occultist current, and many were produced by people with a reputation in that field.

The first on this list is a reprinting of Everard's translation by the Rosicrucian Publishing Company in Boston (*Hermes Trismegistus: His Divine Pymander. Also, the Asiatic Mystery, The Smaragdine Tablet, and the Song of Brahm*, repr. Toledo, Oh., 1889). Its editor was the famous Rosicrucian Paschal Beverly Randolph. The strongly Rosicrucian-oriented "Prefatory Note" is signed by Alfred E. Giles and Flora Russell (who also give there a reprinted version of the *Asiatic Mystery*; one of Randolph's Rosicrucian manifestoes). The "Song of Brahm" is a poem by Ralph Waldo Emerson.

There followed a new reprinting of Everard's translation by the Rosicrucian Hargrave Jennings (Madras, 1884, in the *Secret Doctrine Reference* series), who devoted most of his own prefatory text to Hermes Trismegistos and alchemical literature. This book contains the first public mention of the esoteric society the Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor. Almost at the same time there appeared in the same series one of the most influential books of that publishing enterprise, namely *The Virgin of the World of Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus* (London and Madras, 1885), edited by Anna Bonus Kingsford and Edward Maitland, which contains an English version of *Kore Kosmou*, here titled "A Treatise on Initiations" (in fact, a new translation of the *Asclepius*), "The Definitions of Asclepios" (i.e., *C.H.* XVI–XVIII), plus further extracts from Stobaeus's *Anthologium*. In their translation and long introductions, Kingsford and Maitland drew heavily on Ménard's book. They saw in the Hermetic texts a survival of ancient Egypt and believed in a connection between them and Christianity, it being understood that Christianity itself represents, as they say, "a development from or reformulation of a doctrine long pre-existent." Along these lines, they considered their edition to be part of "the revival of Occult Science and Mystical, or Esoteric, philosophy." A new edition of Kingsford and Maitland's anthology soon followed (Bath, 1886), with an appendix on alchemy taken from Mary Anne Atwood's *A Suggestive Inquiry into the Hermetic Mystery* (1850). The appendix was introduced by the famous John Yarker, author of many works in such domains, particularly in esoteric Freemasonry.

Given the number of such books, it is hardly surprising that Hermetism found expression in several esoteric periodicals. For example, we find *Kore Kosmou* (presented anonymously and in a different translation) in *The Occult Magazine* (Glasgow, see issues of 1885–1886). In 1894, William Wynn Westcott, who along with MacGregor Mathers had created the fringe-Masonic Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn in 1887, inserted into the second volume of his series *Collectanea Hermetica* (London, 1893–1896) the Everard version of the *C.H.*, here titled *The Pymander of Hermes, with a Preface by the Editor.* Westcott's preface, more enthusiastic than critical, emphasizes the commonalities between Hermetism, Freemasonry, and Christianity.

On the scholarly side, *The Theological and Philological Work of Hermes Trismegistus, Christian Neoplatonist, Divine Pymander and Other Writings of Hermes Trismegistus* (Edinburgh, 1882), edited by John D. Chambers, reflects a new scientific approach. But it was mostly George R. S. Mead's enterprise that paved the way for deeper and more extensive scholarly research. Three years before breaking with the Theosophical Society, of which he was a prominent member, the society published in three volumes his *Thrice Greatest Hermes: Studies in Hellenistic Theosophy and Gnosis* (London and Benares, 1906; German trans., Leipzig, 1909). Never before had such a complete ensemble of the *C.H.* been gathered together, accompanied by copious notes, excerpts from *testimonia* of the Fathers of the Theosophical Society, and serious historical studies. Mead distanced himself markedly from the English-speaking occultists by displaying a great deal of objectivity in dealing with his material. That said, he did not disguise the fact that he was an esotericist ("To translate 'Hermes' in Greek," he writes in the introduction, "requires not only a good knowledge of Greek, but also a Knowledge of . . . gnosis."). Like his contemporary Arthur E. Waite, Mead was both a scholar and a full-fledged esotericist. His work, even more than Chambers's, heralds the development of twentieth-century critical research.

The last decades of occultism saw more Hermetically oriented publications, of which a few examples follow. *The Shepherd of Men: An Official Commentary on the Sermon of Hermes Trismegistos* (San Francisco, 1916) is by A. D. Raleigh, who called himself Hierophant of the Mysteries of Isis. Although the title of his book implicitly refers to the famous text of Late Antiquity, *The Shepherd of Hermas*, Raleigh's discourse is pervaded by the idea of a perennial philosophy and is blended with a fantastic history of human races, echoing some of the Theosophical Society's teachings. More situated within "classical" Hermetism is the thin volume *The Divine Pymander of Hermes Trismegistus* (n.l., 1923), which presents a short selection drawn from the Everard, Chambers, and Mead editions, along with some commentaries. It is in fact one of the "manuals" published by the Shrine of Wisdom, which was a ritual Order that ran a publishing house and a journal. The Shrine of Wisdom was largely inspired by the works of the Platonist Thomas Taylor.

In closing, a final volume must be mentioned: Manly Palmer Hall's oversized folio *An Encyclopaedic Outline of Masonic, Hermetic, Qabbalistic and Rosicrucian Philosophy* (Los Angeles, 1928) is another product of late occultism and one of the most popular *summae* of Western esoteric traditions. Hermetism is almost ubiquitous in that strange encyclopedia.

SURVIVAL AND DEBATES IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. Most of the editions of and commentaries on the Hermetic texts published during the height of occultism were reprinted in the second half of the twentieth century, which did not lacked for original publications, although they were fewer in number. Among them are *The Gospel of Hermes, edited and translated from the Greek and Latin Hermetica,* introduced by Duncan Greenless and published in 1949 by the Theosophical Publishing Company. More famous is Jan van Rijckenborgh's *De Egyptische oergnosis en haar roep in het Euwige Nú . . .* (Haarlem, 1960–1965), an interpretation of the *C.H.* in the light of the teachings of an initiatory order (the Lectorium Rosicrucianum, of which he was the founder). In his book, ancient Gnosticism, neo-Catharism, Paracelsianism, and Boehmism are blended in an original way. Since its first publication, van Rijckenborgh's book has gone through countless reprints and translations, sponsored worldwide by the Lectorium Rosicrucianum. Noteworthy is the space he devotes to the *T.S.* He uses the text to support the tenets of his own teachings and does not hesitate to claim that it was written ten thousand years ago.

Thus, neo-Alexandrian Hermetism, as one of the several esoteric currents in modernity (i.e., from the Renaissance until the present), has naturally found itself historically intertwined with alchemy, Christian Qabbalah, Rosicrucianism, occultism, and other esoteric movements. In this respect, it is interesting to see how far and in which directions these relationships have developed. For example, despite their commonalities, Hermetism and Christian theosophy (which appeared later, at the beginning of the seventeenth century) have had few contacts and little influence on each other. One reason is that Hermetism, originally a branch of humanism, remained mainly dependent upon ancient sources, notably Greek ones, whereas the theosophical current is rooted in Paracelsus and Jakob Boehme, who represent a German, "barbaric" trend all but devoid of erudite leanings. Even long after the Renaissance, the foremost representatives of theosophy, such as Louis-Claude de Saint-Martin or Franz von Baader, practically never drew on the Hermetic writings. Although Titus Burckhardt, who stood within the so-called perennialist current (or Traditionalist School) has authored one of the most interesting commentaries of the *T.S.* (in his *Alchemie—Sinn und Weltbild*, Olten/Frieburg, 1960), Hermetism cannot be said to have merged with that perennialist current. Other representatives of the perennialists, (such as René Guénon and Frithjof Schuon) do not show much interest in Hermetism (or other Western esoteric currents, for that matter).

Hermetism, considered over the sweep of a little over five centuries, is of great interest to the historian of ideas (and of literature), not least because it reflects the various contexts within which it has taken on ever-changing aspects. It is impossible to define it as a set of fixed, unchanging beliefs. Rather, its manifold manifestations evince a spiritual attitude that contains within itself a principle of constant readjustment. Not surprisingly, it has flourished in times and countries hospitable to religious tolerance. Although its representatives have been people desiring to reform religious systems, the reforms they had in mind were not dogmatic in character and very rarely were designed to overthrow established churches. They rather tended to enrich the churches by prompting them to return *ad fontes*, that is, both to ancient foundational texts and to specific forms of meditation. Far from stressing a war between Good and Evil or Light and Darkness, as is often the case in Christian thought, their discourses have expressed a generally optimistic conception of the inborn powers of humankind, which are able to liberate and expand individual consciousness.

Hermetism continues to thrive. One of the prominent members of the Lectorium Rosicrucianum in the Netherlands, Joost R. Ritman, has founded a library in Amsterdam, the Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica (open to the public since 1984), which is by far the richest in the world in terms of esoteric literature, including manuscripts from the early Renaissance to the present, not to mention a wealth of more ancient materials. This institution is especially noteworthy because Hermetic literature in the proper sense represents its fundamental core, as demonstrated not only by its holdings, but also by its exhibitions and publications. Its editorial board includes such reputable scholars as Frans A. Janssen and Carlos Gilly.

Furthemore, Hermetism is occasionally revived by philosophers who see in the *C.H.* the paradigm of an alternative philosophy able to enrich mainstream philosophy with new insights, or to replace it. For example, Ralph Liedtke's book *Die Hermetik. Traditionelle Philosophie der Differenz* (Paderborn, 1996) calls for a return to older modes of thinking. The author considers the contents of the *C.H.* to be one of the best possible introductions to a desirable and drastic reappraisal of mainstream contemporary trends in philosophy. The philosopher Françoise Bonardel, who brings together Hermetism and alchemy into one common perspective, sees in a "*fertile* Hermetism"—and in an attitude of mind that she calls *hermésienne* (hermesian)—"much more than a system of representation among others," for "the amazing continuity of Hermetic thought bears witness to the fecundity of a gnosis which is timeless because it is inherent in an ever reactualized hermeneutics" (Bonardel, 2002, pp. 179–180). And so, just as Renaissance Hermetism brought about reforms within the Catholic Church, it has become a means of "reforming" philosophy. Also, efforts are made to use it as a method for the fruitful completion or enrichment of psychology. For example, Lietaert Pierbolte (*Poimandres . . . vertaald met een transpersonalistische beschouwing*, Deventer, 1974) presents *C.H.* I in Dutch and explains why it should be used as a method for practicing the kind of transpersonal psychology that he advocates. Moreover, in a manner reminiscent of the New Age movement, the *T.S.* is occasionally interpreted and commented on as a practical guide to spiritual growth. See, for example, Dennis William Hauck's *The Emerald Tablet: Alchemy for Personal Transformation* (Harmondsworth, U.K., 1999).

The number of scholarly works on Hermetism increased considerably over the twentieth century and include research by such distinguished historians and philologists as Richard Reitzenstein, Walter Scott, A. D. Nock, A. J. Festugière, Gilles Quispel, Roelof van den Broek, Jean-Pierre Mahé, and Brian P. Copenhaver. Frances A. Yates's book *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (1964) has been highly instrumental in calling attention to the importance and significance of Hermetism in the history of the Renaissance. Although not without precedent, many scholars whose research is dedicated to Renaissance Hermetism stand in its wake. Even when they do not endorse Yates's views, they are directly or indirectly indebted to her writings. Yates's book has paved the way for an ongoing academic recognition, even institutionalization, of modern Western esotericism as a specialty in its own right. In addition, it has caused a flurry of debates, first over what Robert S. Westman (1977) called the "Yates Thesis" (concerning the relation between Hermetism and the scientific revolution), and more recently over what Wouter J. Hanegraaff (2001) has referred to as "the Yates paradigm." As Hanegraaff pointed out, Yates's book contains a "grand narrative" based on two main assumptions: First, the existence of what she calls "the Hermetic Tradition," understood as a more or less autonomous tradition based upon a covert reaction against both Christianity and the rise of scientific worldviews. Second, however paradoxical it may seem, the extent to which the tradition of "magic"—which she sees as essentially non-progressive—has been an important factor in the development of the scientific revolution. Now, even if neither of these two tenets has proved resistant to close scrutiny, the opinions that gave rise to the "Yates paradigm" will probably cause more ink to flow.

SEE ALSO Astrology; Esotericism; Hermes Trismegistos; Occultism; Theurgy.

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ANTOINE FAIVRE (1987 AND 2005)

HERMITS SEE EREMITISM

HEROES.

It is commonly said that whereas in the twentieth century impersonal forces were believed to make history, in the nineteenth century heroic individuals were believed to make history.

THE "GREAT MAN" VIEW OF HISTORY. The epitome of this nineteenth-century outlook was the English writer Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881). His *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History* (1841) celebrates eleven disparate figures grouped into six categories:

the hero as divinity (Odin)

the hero as prophet (Mahomet [Mohammed] Muḥammad)

the hero as poet (Dante, Shakespeare)

the hero as priest (Martin Luther, John Knox)

the hero as man of letters (Samuel Johnson, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Robert Burns)

the hero as king (Oliver Cromwell, Napoleon).

Carlyle opens his book with a statement that has come to epitomize the "Great Man" view of history: "For, as I take it, Universal History, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom the History of the Great Men who have worked here" (Carlyle, 1897, p. 1). Yet for Carlyle heroes are themselves at the mercy of history. He praises heroes for, above all, their insight into the course of society rather than for the direction they impose on it. Heroes ultimately subordinate themselves to history, the course of which is set by God. Furthermore, the period determines the category of hero needed and even possible. Still, Carlyle is crediting heroes with great accomplishments.

Carlyle's concern with outward accomplishment sharply distinguishes his conception of heroism from that of the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) in Part 1 of his *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* (1883–1885). The achievement of Nietzsche's *Übermensch,* or "overman," is personal, not societal. Rather than praising the *Übermensch* for changing his society, Nietzsche praises the society that produces him.

Carlyle's most vitriolic contemporary critic was the pioneering English sociologist Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), for whom the attribution of decisive events to the talents of individuals rather than to the fundamental laws of physical and social evolution is a hopelessly primitive, childish, romantic, and unscientific viewpoint. In Spencer's famous summary phrase in *The Study of Society,* "Before he [the great man] can re-make his society, his society must make him" (Spencer, 1874, p. 35).

Spencer's metaphysical counterpart in the rejection of the influence of great men on history was the German philosopher G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831). In the introduction to his *The Philosophy of History,* Hegel, unlike Spencer, does praise the hero, but for embodying the World Spirit in its predestined course of development. Whereas Hegel, writing before Carlyle, would have commended Carlyle for emphasizing the hero's "insight," he would have belittled Carlyle for making the hero the cause rather than the manifestation of change.

The twentieth century spawned still stronger skepticism toward the impact of heroes, even in the face of the seemingly all too real impact of dictators like Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) and Joseph Stalin (1879–1953). Defenders of heroism nevertheless remain. Best known is American philosopher Sidney Hook (1902–1989), author of *The Hero in History.* Hook argues for a sensible middle ground between crediting heroes with everything, which he assumes Carlyle to be doing, and crediting them with nothing. Unlike Carlyle, for whom heroes can be men of letters as well as of action, Hook is concerned only with heroes of action. He distinguishes between "eventful men," whose actions happen to change history, and "event-making men," whose actions are intended to change history. Eventful men have no special insight, and someone else in their place might have done the same. By contrast, Hook's event-making men, like all of Carlyle's heroes, alone have the insight to make the decisions they do. For example, Hook concedes that no one could have prevented World War I but he also asserts that it was not inevitable that World War I would be fought the way it was. Despite his use of the term "men," Hook includes females in both groups—for example, Catherine II of Russia (1729–1796) as an event-making woman. Because only event-making men and women act on the basis of their talents, only they deserve the epithet "hero."

HEROES AND GODS. For Carlyle, heroes are not merely celebrated but "worshiped." Yet he does not mean literal worship. His heroes are not gods. Of the eleven discussed in *On Heroes,* the sole exception is Odin, who after death was deified by his followers. Carlyle attributes the deification partly to the boundlessness of his followers' reverence but also to the loss of records that would have kept Odin tethered to humanity. For Carlyle, subsequent heroes have remained mere humans because records have survived. Consequently, the hero as a divinity is gone forever.

Aptly, Carlyle uses the term "mythic" synonymously with "divine": "were there no books, any great man would grow *mythic*" (Carlyle, 1897, pp. 25–26). For even if most heroes are not divine, those heroes whose stories constitute myths are. Hero myths are stories about divine heroes—divine in effect, whether or not formally. To be sure, in the academic study of myth it is conventional to distinguish mere heroes, however glorious, from gods. Folklorists in particular categorize the stories about most heroes as legends rather than myths. Yet contrary to convention, heroism can blur the line between the human and the divine—not by demoting gods to humans but by elevating humans to gods. More precisely, heroism, when recounted in myth, retains the distinction between the human and the divine but singles out the hero for making the leap from the one to the other.

Usually, the gap between the human and the divine is insurmountable, especially in Western religions. The most egregious sin in the West is the attempt by humans to become gods, epitomized by the vain efforts of Adam and Eve and of the builders of the Tower of Babel. The hiatus between the human and the divine applies as fully to polytheistic religions as to monotheistic ones. For ancient Greeks, those who dared to seek divinity were killed for their hubris. Those who directly challenged the gods were often consigned to eternal punishment in Tartarus.

Still, the West permits exceptions. In the ancient world the grandest exception was Herakles (Hercules), who, while born to Zeus, was still mortal. Herakles nevertheless accomplished superhuman feats of strength, outmaneuvered death in his last three great feats, and was rewarded with immortality by Zeus for his industry. Yet to some ancient writers such as Herodotos (c. 484–between 430 and 420 BCE) Herakles' very stature meant that he had been born a god. Greeks did establish cults to worship human heroes, but only after their deaths, when heroes had transcended ordinary constraints (see Farnell, 1921). The grandest exception to the division in the West between humanity and divinity is, of course, Jesus. Yet even his capacity to be at once fully human and fully divine is taken to be a paradox, and a paradox difficult to maintain in practice. Throughout its history, Christianity has often veered between making Jesus merely an ideal human being, as in the Victorian period, and making him a sheer god, as in ancient Gnosticism.

Rather than trying to dissolve the gap between the human and the divine, hero myths transform humans into virtual gods by conferring on them divine qualities. The qualities can range from physical attributes—strength, size, looks—to intangible ones such as intelligence, drive, and integrity. One measure of the humanity of Carlyle's heroes is the limit of their power: to the extent that they cannot alter history, they are merely human. The difference between humans and gods may be of kind: often, gods can fly, can change shape, and live forever. Or the difference may be of degree: typically, gods are bigger, stronger, sexier, and smarter than humans. But so great is the difference of degree that it still puts divinity beyond the reach of most. While anyone can aspire to become a Hollywood star, the few who make it are not coincidentally called "gods" and, as "stars," reside in a heaven far above us. Carlyle himself acknowledges the divine aura of his human heroes and even deems hero worship the source of all religion, including Christianity.

MODERN HEROES. Some heroes, or kinds of heroes, fit only certain periods. For example, it is hard to imagine an aristocratic hero like medieval Spain's Don Juan surviving into the twentieth century. Other heroes do survive, either because their appeal continues or because they are protean enough to adapt to the times. Herakles, the greatest of ancient heroes, was by no means confined to the crude image of him as Rambo-like—the title character in a series of Hollywood films from the 1980s who appeared to be all brawn and no brains—but on the contrary has been depicted as the embodiment of wisdom, the exemplar of virtue, a tragic hero, a glutton, and even a romantic lover (see Galinsky, 1972).

In the twentieth century, as in prior centuries, not only were traditional heroes transformed, but new heroes and new kinds of heroes emerged. If distinctively nineteenth-century heroes were the romantic hero (Lord Byron's Childe Harold) and the bourgeois hero (Gustave Flaubert's Emma Bovary), distinctively twentieth-century heroes include the ordinary person as hero (Arthur Miller's Willy Loman), the comic hero (Philip Roth's Alexander Portnoy), the schlemiel as hero (Isaac Bashevis Singer's Gimpel the Fool), and the absurd hero (Samuel Beckett's Vladimir and Estragon). Far from divine, the contemporary hero is hopelessly human—mortal, powerless, amoral. The present-day hero is often lowly even within the human community—more the outsider than the insider, more the loser than the winner, more the villain than the savior. The contemporary hero is not a once-great figure who has fallen but a figure who never rises. Sisyphus, not Oedipus, let alone Herakles, epitomizes contemporary heroism. Yet Sisyphus is still to be commended for never giving up. Persistence replaces success, survival replaces achievement. Today's hero, for example, is heroic in persisting without success. Because contemporary heroes scarcely reach the stature of gods, their stories scarcely constitute myths.

Yet it would surely be extreme to argue that traditional heroism has died out. Present-day heroes in sports, entertainment, business, and politics are admired for their success, not for their mere persistence, and the acclaim conferred on them often reaches the same divine plateau as in times past. They are "idolized" and "worshiped." At most, the notion of heroism as persistence has arisen alongside the traditional notion of heroism as success.

THEORIES OF HERO MYTHS. The distinctiveness among theories of hero myths is that they profess to know the nature of all hero myths. Like theories of myth generally, theories of hero myths claim to answer the main questions about the myths: what is their origin, what is their function, and what is their subject matter?

The study of hero myths goes back at least to 1871, when, in *Primitive Culture,* the pioneering English anthropologist E. B. Tylor argued that many of them follow a uniform plot, or pattern: the hero is exposed at birth, is saved by other humans or animals, and grows up to become a national hero (vol. I, 1871, pp. 254–255). In 1928 the Russian folklorist Vladimir Propp, in *Morphology of the Folktale,* sought to demonstrate that Russian fairy tales follow a common biographical plot, in which the hero goes off on a successful adventure and upon his return marries and gains the throne. Propp's pattern skirts both the birth and the death of the hero.

Of attempts not merely to delineate patterns but also to determine the origin, function, and subject matter of hero myths, the most important have been by the Viennese psychoanalyst Otto Rank (1884–1939), the American mythographer Joseph Campbell (1904–1987), and the English folklorist Lord Raglan (1885–1964). Rank later broke irreparably with Sigmund Freud (1956–1939), but when he wrote *The Myth of the Birth of the Hero* (1909), he was a Freudian apostle. While Campbell was never a full-fledged Jungian, he wrote *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (1949) as a kindred soul of C. G. Jung (1875–1961). Raglan wrote *The Hero* (1936) as a theoretical ally of J. G. Frazer.

Otto Rank. For Rank, following Freud, heroism deals with what Jungians call the first half of life. The first half—birth, childhood, adolescence, and young adulthood—involves the establishment of oneself as an independent person in the external world. The attainment of independence expresses itself concretely in the securing of a job and a mate. The securing of either requires both separation from one's parents and mastery of one's instincts. Freudian problems involve a lingering attachment to either parents or instincts. To depend on one's parents for the satisfaction of instincts or to satisfy instincts in antisocial ways is to be stuck, or fixated, at a childish level of psychological development.

Rank's pattern, which he applies to thirty hero myths, is limited to the first half of life. It goes from the hero's birth to his attainment of a "career":

> The hero is the child of most distinguished parents, usually the son of a king. His origin is preceded by difficulties, such as continence, or prolonged barrenness, or secret intercourse of the parents due to external prohibition or obstacles. During or before the pregnancy, there is a prophecy, in the form of a dream or oracle, cautioning against his birth, and usually threatening danger to the father (or his representative). As a rule, he is surrendered to the water, in a box. He is then saved by animals, or by lowly people (shepherds), and is suckled by a female animal or by an humble woman. After he has grown up, he finds his distinguished parents, in a highly versatile fashion. He takes his revenge on his father, on the one hand, and is acknowledged, on the other. Finally he achieves rank and honors (Rank, 2004, p. 61).

Literally, or consciously, the hero, who is always male, is a historical or legendary figure like Oedipus of Greek mythology. The hero is heroic because he rises from obscurity to the throne. Literally, he is an innocent victim of either his parents or, ultimately, fate. While his parents have yearned for a child and abandon him only to save the father, they nevertheless do abandon him. The hero's revenge, if the parricide is even committed knowingly, is, then, understandable: who would not consider killing one's would-be killer?

Symbolically, or unconsciously, the hero is heroic not because he dares to win a throne but because he dares to kill his father. The killing is definitely intentional, and the cause is not revenge but sexual frustration. The father has refused to surrender his wife—the real object of the son's efforts. Too horrendous to face, the true meaning of the hero myth becomes shielded by the concocted story. Rather than the culprit, the hero becomes an innocent victim or at worst a justified avenger. What the hero seeks is masked as power, not displayed as incest. Most of all, who the hero is becomes some third party, a historical or legendary figure, rather than either the creator of the myth or anyone stirred by it. Identifying himself with the literal hero, the myth maker or reader vicariously revels in the hero's triumph, which in fact is his own. He is the real hero of the myth.

Literally, the myth culminates in the hero's attainment of a throne. Symbolically, the hero gains a mate as well. One might then conclude that the myth fittingly expresses the Freudian goal of the first half of life. In actuality, it expresses the opposite. The wish it fulfills is not for detachment from one's parents and from one's antisocial instincts but, on the contrary, for the most intense possible relationship to one's parents and the most antisocial of urges: parricide and incest, even rape. Taking one's father's job and one's mother's hand does not quite spell independence of them.

The myth maker or reader is an adult, but the wish vented by the myth is that of a child of three to five. The fantasy is the fulfillment of the Oedipal wish to kill one's father in order to gain access to one's mother. The myth fulfills a wish never outgrown by the adult who either invents or uses it. That adult is psychologically an eternal child. Having never developed an ego strong enough to master his instincts, he is neurotic. Since no mere child can overpower his father, the myth maker imagines being old enough to do so. In short, the myth expresses not the Freudian goal of the first half of life but the fixated childhood goal that keeps one from accomplishing it.

Joseph Campbell. Whereas for Freud and Rank heroism is limited to the first half of life, for Jung it involves the second half—adulthood—even more. For Freud and Rank, heroism involves relations with parents and instincts. For Jung, heroism in even the first half involves in addition relations with the unconscious. Heroism here means separation not only from parents and antisocial instincts but even more from the unconscious: every child's managing to forge consciousness is for Jung a supremely heroic feat.

The goal of the uniquely Jungian second half of life is likewise consciousness, but now consciousness of the Jungian unconscious rather than, as in the first half, of the external world. One must return to the unconscious, from which one has invariably become severed, but the ultimate aim is to return in turn to the external world. The ideal is a balance between consciousness of the external world and consciousness of the unconscious. The aim of the second half of life is to supplement, not abandon, the achievements of the first half.

Just as classical Freudian problems involve the failure to establish oneself in the outer world in the form of working and loving, so the distinctively Jungian problems involve the failure to reestablish oneself in the inner world in relation to the unconscious. Freudian problems stem from excessive attachment to the world of childhood; Jungian problems are the result of excessive attachment to the world one enters upon breaking free of childhood: the external world.

Just as Rank confines heroism to the first half of life, so Campbell restricts it to the second half. Rank's scheme begins with the hero's birth; Campbell's, with his adventure. Where Rank's scheme ends, Campbell's begins: with the adult hero ensconced at home. Rank's hero must be young enough for his father and in some cases even his grandfather still to be reigning. Campbell does not specify the age of his hero, but the hero must be no younger than the age at which Rank's hero myth therefore ends: young adulthood. While some of Campbell's own examples are of child heroes, they violate his scheme, according to which heroes must be willing to leave behind all that they have accomplished at home, and violate even more his Jungian meaning, according to which heroes must be fully developed egos ready to encounter the unconscious from which they have largely become separated. Campbell's heroes should, then, be adults.

Rank's hero must be the son of royal or at least distinguished parents. The hero of the egalitarian Campbell need not be, though often is. Whereas Rank's heroes must be male, Campbell's can be female as well, though Campbell inconsistently describes the hero's initiation from an exclusively male point of view. Finally, Campbell's scheme dictates human heroes, even though many of his examples are of divine heroes. Rank's pattern, by contrast, readily allows for divine as well as human heroes.

Whereas Rank's hero returns to his birthplace, Campbell's marches forth to a strange new world, which the hero has never visited or even known existed. This extraordinary world is the world of the gods, and the hero must hail from the human world precisely to be able to experience the distinctiveness of the divine one. The hero enjoys physical relations with the goddess and marries her—the reason the hero must here be male. He clashes with the male god and defeats him—the reason the hero must here be male. Yet with both gods he becomes mystically one and thereby becomes divine himself.

Whereas Rank's hero returns home to encounter his father and mother, Campbell's hero leaves home to encounter a male and a female god, who are neither his parents nor necessarily even a couple. Yet the two heroes' encounters are seemingly akin. But in fact they are not. Because the goddess is not the hero's mother, sex with her does not constitute incest. And the conflict with the male god is resolved.

When Campbell writes that myths "reveal the benign self-giving aspect of the *archetypal* father," he is using the term in its Jungian sense (Campbell, 1972, pp. 139–140). For Freudians, gods symbolize parents. For Jungians, parents symbolize gods, who in turn symbolize father and mother archetypes, which are components of the hero's personality. A male hero's relationship to these gods symbolizes not, as for Freud and Rank, a son's relationship to other persons (his parents) but the relationship of one side of a male's personality (his ego) to another side (his unconscious). The father and the mother are but two of the archetypes of which the Jungian, or collective, unconscious is composed. Archetypes are unconscious not because they have been repressed but because they have never been conscious. For Jung and Campbell, myth originates and functions not, as for Freud and Rank, to satisfy neurotic urges that cannot be manifested openly but to express normal sides of the personality that have just not had a chance at realization.

By identifying himself with the hero of a myth, Rank's myth maker or reader vicariously lives out in his mind an adventure that, if ever directly fulfilled, would be acted out on his parents themselves. While also identifying himself—or herself—with the hero of a myth, Campbell's myth maker or reader vicariously lives out in the mind an adventure that even when directly fulfilled would still be taking place in the mind. For parts of the mind are what the myth maker or reader is really encountering.

Lord Raglan. As a Frazerian, Lord Raglan focuses on the relationship between myth and ritual. Myth provides the script for the ritual, which is the killing and replacement of the king, in whom the soul of the god of vegetation resides and whose soul is thereby transferred to his successor. The soul is then transferred to the body of the next king. The incumbent is killed either at the first sign of weakness or at the end of a fixed term so short as to minimize the chance of illness or death in office. The king is killed to preserve or restore the state of health of the god and thereby of vegetation: as the king goes, so goes the god, and so goes vegetation.

Venturing beyond Frazer, Raglan equates the king with the hero. Raglan turns Frazer's theory of myth in general into a theory of hero myths in particular. Moreover, Raglan introduces his own detailed hero pattern, which he applies to twenty-one hero myths. That pattern extends all the way from the hero's conception to his death. In contrast to Rank's and Campbell's patterns, it therefore covers both halves of life:

1. The hero's mother is a royal virgin;
2. His father is a king, and
3. Often a near relative of his mother, but
4. The circumstances of his conception are unusual, and
5. He is also reputed to be the son of a god.
6. At birth an attempt is made, usually by his father or his maternal grandfather, to kill him, but
7. He is spirited away, and
8. Reared by foster-parents in a far country.
9. We are told nothing of his childhood, but
10. On reaching manhood he returns or goes to his future kingdom.
11. After a victory over the king and/or a giant, dragon, or wild beast,
12. He marries a princess, often the daughter of his predecessor, and
13. Becomes king.
14. For a time he reigns uneventfully, and
15. Prescribes laws, but
16. Later he loses favor with the gods and/or his subjects, and
17. Is driven from the throne and city, after which
18. He meets with a mysterious death,
19. Often at the top of a hill.
20. His children, if any, do not succeed him.
21. His body is not buried, but nevertheless
22. He has one or more holy sepulchres (Raglan, 1990, p. 138).

Clearly, parts one to thirteen correspond roughly to Rank's entire scheme, though Raglan himself never read Rank. The victory that gives the hero the throne is not, however, Oedipal, for the vanquished is not necessarily his father. Parts fourteen to twenty-two do not correspond at all to Campbell's scheme. The hero's exile is loosely akin to the hero's journey, but for Raglan there is no return. For Rank, the heart of the hero pattern is gaining kingship—or other title. For Raglan, the heart is losing kingship. Wherever Campbell's heroes are kings, the heart is their journey while king.

Campbell's hero can be any adult. Raglan's hero must be not only a male but also a king. Campbell's hero must—or should—be human. Raglan's hero can be either divine or human.

For Rank, heroes are heroic because they dare to serve themselves. For both Campbell and Raglan, heroes are heroic because they willingly or unwillingly serve their communities. Heroes serve their communities by their sacrificial deaths. Myths describe the lives—and deaths—of ideal kings. For Campbell, heroes in myth serve their communities by their return home with knowledge of the divine world. Without Raglan's hero, the community would die; without Campbell's, it would remain benighted.

René Girard. In *Violence and the Sacred* (1972) and many subsequent works, the contemporary French literary critic René Girard (1923–) offers an ironic twist to the theory of Raglan. Whereas Raglan's hero is heroic because he is willing to die for the sake of the community, Girard's hero is killed or exiled by the community for having caused the present ills of the community. Indeed, the "hero" is initially considered a criminal who deserves to die. Only subsequently is the villain turned into a hero, who, as for Raglan, dies selflessly on behalf of the community. The transformation of Oedipus from reviled exile in Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* to revered benefactor in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* evinces the transformation of outcast into saint. Even though Girard, and also Raglan, are vehemently anti-Freudian, both use Oedipus as their fullest example.

The change from criminal to hero is for Girard only the second half of the process. Originally, violence erupts in the community. The cause is the inclination, innate in human nature, to imitate others and thereby to desire the same objects as those of the imitated. Imitation leads to rivalry, which leads to violence. Desperate to end the violence, the community selects an innocent member to blame for the turmoil and usually kills the victim. The scapegoat can range from the most helpless member of society to the most elevated, including the king or queen. Whereas for Raglan myth directs or inspires the killing of the hero, for Girard myth is created after the killing to hide it. The myth first turns the scapegoat into a criminal who deserved to die but then turns the criminal into a hero, who has died willingly for the good of the community. The scapegoat can even become a criminal and a hero simultaneously. For the figure blamed for the turmoil is also credited with ending it, albeit by death or exile. But the criminal can also become even more of a hero thereafter.

SEE ALSO Myth, overview article.

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ROBERT A. SEGAL (2005)

HESCHEL, ABRAHAM JOSHUA (1907–1972), was a Jewish scholar and philosopher of religion. Born and raised in Warsaw, Heschel received his training in the methods of modern scientific research in Berlin, and wrote most of his mature works in the United States. Heschel was born into an intensely traditional Hasidic milieu: He was descended on his father's side from Dov Ber of Mezhirich, successor of the BeSHT (acronym of the Baʿal Shem Ṭov, Yisraʾel ben Eliʿezer), founder of the Hasidic movement that flourished among eastern European Jews in the eighteenth century; Avraham Yehoshuʿa Heschel, known as "the Apter *rebe*"; and Yisraʾel of Rizhyn. On his mother's side, he was descended from Levi Yitsḥaq of Berdichev and Pinḥas of Korets.

As a youth, Heschel received traditional training in Talmud and rabbinic lore, in which he excelled, and immersed himself in the world of Jewish mysticism, the literature of Qabbalah. Having decided to acquire a modern Western education, he enrolled in a secular Yiddish *Realgymnasium* in Vilna (now Vilnius), and in 1927 he moved to Berlin, where he attended the Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums and the University of Berlin. His doctoral dissertation (1933), dealing with the phenomenon of prophetic consciousness, was published in 1936 (*Die Prophetie*). After teaching Talmud at the Hochschule, he was appointed Martin Buber's successor at the Central Organization for Jewish Adult Education in Germany and the Jüdische Lehrhaus in Frankfurt in 1937. After his deportation in October 1938 with the rest of the Polish Jews then resident in Germany, Heschel taught for eight months at the Institute for Jewish Studies in Warsaw. He was enabled to leave Poland before the Nazi invasion only by a call to join the faculty of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, Ohio.

Heschel reached the United States, via England, in 1940, and after five years on the faculty of the Hebrew Union College, he taught at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York as professor of ethics and mysticism, until his death. In the last decade of his life, he became actively involved in a number of public issues. He participated in negotiations with Cardinal Bea concerning the formulation of a declaration on the Jews, which emerged from Vatican Council II, and he also took part in the civil rights movement, opposition to the Vietnam War, and the campaign to enable Russian Jews to emigrate from the Soviet Union.

Heschel's philosophy of religion developed under the influences of his traditional Jewish upbringing and the challenges of modern secular philosophy, science, and psychology. He was impressed by the works of the neo-Kantian philosophers, such as his teacher Heinrich Maier (*Philosophie der Wirklichkeit,* Tübingen, 1926), and by the phenomenologists Edmund Husserl and Max Scheler. But against the neo-Kantians he defended the claim of traditional Judaism that God is more than a postulate of reason. From the phenomenologists he learned to analyze the constitutive traits and structures of experienced reality, without reducing them to alien categories that can distort their unique character. Already in his early work on prophecy, later expanded into his English book *The Prophets* (1962), he asserted that the phenomena of biblical prophecy should not be forced into the categories of Aristotelian metaphysics. The "divine concern" of the living God of the Bible, who takes a passionate interest in his creatures, is the key to Heschel's philosophy of religion.

Heschel rejected the construction of a "religion of reason" in the spirit of the neo-Kantian philosopher Hermann Cohen, because such would substitute philosophy for religion; he rejected the analysis of "religious experience," as in Schleiermacher and Rudolf Otto, because it would replace religion with the psychology of religion; and he criticized the "reconstruction" of traditional Judaism to conform to modern naturalism in the manner of Mordecai M. Kaplan, because it would transform religion into the sociology of religion. If religion is *sui generis,* it must be studied on its own terms, and the interpreter must focus on the preconceptual, ineffable reality of lived religion and on the dynamic relationship between God and humankind disclosed in the classical documents of Judaism and the lives and experiences of pious men.

Heschel consciously adopted a dual approach in his work both as a scholar who pursued historical research in the sources of classical Jewish thought and as an original and imaginative contemporary philosopher and theologian. This approach enabled him to formulate his own thought as an authentic interpretation of his Judaic heritage in all its richness. Heschel's scholarly studies, in addition to his seminal work on prophecy, included a biography of Moses Maimonides, published in 1935; various articles on medieval philosophy, Qabbalah, and Hasidism; and a work written in Hebrew on the doctrines of revelation in Talmudic thought, of which two volumes were published in 1962–1965 and a third still awaits publication. A two-volume work on the life and thought of Menaḥem Mendel of Kotzk, the "Kotzker *rebe,*" and an English volume about Mendel and Kierkegaard (*A Passion for Truth*) appeared posthumously.

The second strand of Heschel's work, in which he tried to offer his contemporaries a theology based on the application of the insights of traditional sources to the problems of modernity, is chiefly developed in *Man Is Not Alone* (1951) and its successor volume, *God in Search of Man* (1955). Here religion is defined as an answer to ultimate human questions. Because modern humanity is often estranged from the reality that informs genuine faith, Heschel thought it was futile to present merely traditional answers to these questions. Hence, he tried first and foremost to recover the significant existential questions to which Judaism offers answers, confronting his readers with the living God of the Bible. To the religiously sensitive person, God is an "ontological presupposition," the ultimate reality, which is later crystallized by discursive thought into the concept of a power, a principle, a cause, or a structure.

Heschel described three ways in which humans can reach an awareness of God. The experience of wonder leads beyond mere facts to an awareness of the grandeur and mystery of reality. Wonder as curiosity becomes the starting point of science that looks beyond given facts (data) to the laws they exemplify. Wonder as "radical amazement" points to the ground and power that stand behind all facts and perceptions of facts. This "evocative" approach to reality results in a panentheistic outlook: Through created things one becomes aware of the God who is within, but who is also beyond all finite existence.

A second approach to awareness of God is reached by delving into the recesses of one's own being, realizing that the self is not a discrete, independent, and self-sufficient entity, but part of something greater and more comprehensive than the individual. This approach tends toward a quasi-mystical view, but it stops short of mystical absorption in the godhead, by emphasizing God as the subject of reality and humans as the object whose dignity and worth are derived from their awareness that they are the goal of divine concern and expectation.

In a third way to God, humankind becomes aware of the voice and word of God. The "holy dimension," discovered by reacting responsively and responsibly to this address, characterizes the biblical view of revelation. By observing the commandments of the transcendent God, Israel entered this holy dimension of challenge and guidance, and by obediently responding to the divine imperative, humanity experiences itself as the object of divine address and concern. The ability to respond to the divine challenge is the root of human freedom; the failures and successes of Israel in responding to God's call constitute the drama of Jewish history as interpreted by faith. Thus the Bible is not so much human theology as God's anthropology.

Because of Heschel's stress on faith as a response to God's demands, he opposed both the scholastic attempts to identify the biblical God with the Greek notion of "being," and the modern process philosophies that describe the deity as the power that makes for goodness, the nisus of the universe, or the moral dimension of reality. His own concept of "divine pathos" makes the idea of concern, or directed attention, the central category of biblical thought. Aristotle's Unmoved Mover must give way to the biblical idea of the Most Moved Mover. Humankind responds to divine pathos with sympathy, and by this act of identifying with divine aims, overcomes its egocentric predicament without having to suppress its own needs. A religious person, by acts of empathy with divine goals, converts divine goals and ends into consciously acquired and deeply felt personal needs. Humans, who share "transitive," outgoing concern with God, not only must have needs but must also be needed, in order to attain true fulfillment.

Heschel's philosophy is shot through with polarities; the pair he calls "pattern and spontaneity" (*qevaʿ, kavvanah*) are basic to life and liturgy and produce a creative tension between, on the one hand, the prescribed and regulated observance of the commandments (*mitsvot*) and, on the other, the novel and individual way in which a Jew ought to respond to the unique experiences of existence. Time and space stand in a similar dialectical relation where things are frozen processes; life is a unity frozen in the process of gathering the past into itself in memory and faithfulness and of reaching into the future in hope, expectation, and anticipatory celebration. The Sabbath, whose celebration is a weekly commemoration of creation, the renewal of the divine-human covenant, and a foretaste of future redemption, is an edifice in time.

Heschel's latest work on the Kotzker *rebe* mirrors his awareness of the tension between mystery and meaning, between natural and crisis theology, between sacramentalism and utopianism—or, in the language of Qabbalah, between the world of unification (*ʿalmaʾ de-yihudaʾ*) and the world of separation (*ʿalmaʾ de-ferudaʾ).* Perhaps Heschel's most important theme is that God is in need of humankind and that humanity's deepest fulfillment can be found by participating in the divine concern.

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HESIOD (Gr., Hēsiodos; fl. c. 730–700 BCE) was one of the earliest recorded Greek poets. The earlier of his two surviving poems, *Theogony,* is of interest to students of Greek religion as an attempt to catalog the gods in the form of a genealogy, starting with the beginning of the world and describing the power struggles that led to Zeus's kingship among the gods. The cosmogony begins with Chaos ("yawning space"), Earth, and Eros (the principle of sexual love—a precondition of genealogical development). The first ruler of the world is Ouranos ("heaven"). His persistent intercourse with Earth hinders the birth of his children, the Titans, until Kronos, the youngest, castrates him. Kronos later tries to suppress his own children by swallowing them, but Zeus, the youngest, is saved and makes Kronos regurgitate the others. The younger gods defeat the Titans after a ten-year war and consign them to Tartaros, below the earth, so that they no longer play a part in the world's affairs.

This saga of successive rulers is evidently related to mythical accounts known from older Hittite and Babylonian sources. Hesiod's genealogy names some three hundred gods. Besides cosmic entities (Night, Sea, Rivers, etc.) and gods of myth and cult, it includes personified abstractions such as Strife, Deceit, Victory, and Death. Several alternative theogonies came into existence in the three centuries after Hesiod, but his remained the most widely read.

Hesiod's other poem, *Works and Days,* is a compendium of moral and practical advice. Here Zeus is prominent as the all-seeing god of righteousness who rewards honesty and industry and punishes injustice.

Also attributed to Hesiod was a poem that actually dated only from the sixth century BCE, the *Catalog of Women,* which dealt with heroic genealogies issuing from unions between gods and mortal women. It enjoyed a status similar to that of the *Theogony,* but it survives only in fragments.

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HESTIA, the Greek goddess of the domestic and communal hearth, is closely allied to the Roman goddess Vesta. Hestia, the eldest child of Kronos and Rhea, was swallowed by her father at birth, and was the last to emerge from the patriarchal "womb" when Zeus liberated his siblings. The motif of first and last recurs frequently in the traditions associated with her. She receives the first and last libation offered at every feast, no matter what divinity is being honored. Although she was an original member of the Olympian Twelve, there is a tradition that at some point she yielded her place to Dionysos—a tradition but, typically, no story. Indeed, there are almost no stories about this least anthropomorphic of the major Greek divinities.

Hestia's name also served as a common noun designating the hearth and its fire; most essentially, she was the fire at the center of Olympus, of the city-state, the family home, and the soul. She was worshiped not at specially designated temples but at the family hearth; in the Classical period altars originally dedicated to her were rededicated to Zeus Ephestios ("Zeus of the hearth"). Her tranquillity and apparent passivity were understood to be inherent to her character and not externally imposed; her virginity was deliberately chosen. Hestia is represented as shunning all adventure or entanglement. Though she had no children of her own, she bestowed her dispassionate and nondiscriminating motherly love on all alike, but especially on motherless orphans. Though Vesta in Rome was attended by virgins chosen before they were six, the Greek goddess's attendants were most typically elderly women who had once been married. Hestia represented the stability and continuity of communal and familial existence; a new colony was established by bringing a log from the mother city's hearth, a new home by lighting a log brought from the daughter's family hearth.

Hestia was often paired with Hermes: She always selfsame, he a shapeshifter; she homebound, he a wayfarer; she ultimately trustworthy, he a trickster. That she was replaced on Olympus by Dionysos suggests the significance of their complementation: Life in his realm had meaning at the extreme, whereas life in hers had meaning at the center. Hestia embodied the Greek recognition of the sanctity to be found in the most ordinary and familiar things, those too easily ignored, too readily devalued.

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HESYCHASM SEE EASTERN CHRISTIANITY; MONASTICISM, *ARTICLE ON* CHRISTIAN MONASTICISM

HETERODOXY SEE ORTHODOXY AND HETERODOXY

HEVAJRA. The term *Hevajra* is a name of the central male deity of the *maṇḍala* described in the text of that name, the *Hevajra Tantra.* The image of Hevajra, which was relatively common in Indian Buddhist art from the tenth century onward, is that of a yogin. Dark blue in color, he is depicted naked yet covered with numerous ornaments, most noticeably a skull garland, skull staff (*khaṭvāṇga*), ritual scepter (*vajra*), and bell, and with his dreadlocks tied up in the impressive crest preferred by Indian renunciant yogins. An idealized image of a yogin, it is naturally the case that the tradition that gave rise to these images, and also the associated textual and ritual practices, originated among the communities of renunciants, who constituted what might be termed the "*siddha* movement" and who from the eighth century onward were an important influence on the development Buddhist Tantric traditions.

The *Hevajra Tantra,* while a Buddhist scripture with identifiably Buddhist elements, was heavily influenced by this movement. Composed by the late eighth century, the *Hevajra Tantra* exhibits the charnel-ground culture of the *siddha* movement, with its emphasis on transgressive practices, particularly in the areas of sexuality and food consumption. Classified as a *"Yoginī"* or "Mother" Tantra, it also places great emphasis upon female deities, although it is arguable to what extent, if any, this translated into increased respect for women. Like most Tantras, the majority of the text deals with ritual, with great focus placed upon magical rites employing *mantras*, often for worldly purposes such as affecting the weather. It is also noticeable for its employment of songs written in the Apabraṃśa dialect, as well as its prescription of a "coded language" (*sandhyā-bhāṣā*) for use by yogins and *yoginīs* in their Tantric feasts. This has been a topic of great interest for scholars, past and present. In traditional Indian and Tibetan Buddhist contexts, the *Hevajra Tantra* played an important role in the development of Tantric hermeneutics, and it thus made an important contribution to Buddhist scholarship from the ninth century onward. This "coded language," which has been previously translated as "twilight language," has also been a serious object of study since the mid-twentieth century, and its interpretation has inspired some controversy.

The *Hevajra Tantra* and its ritual and meditative traditions focus upon a *maṇḍala* as its central iconographic feature. The *maṇḍala* also functions as the premier site for its ritual practices, such as consecration (*abhiṣeka*) ceremonies, and its meditative practice, since many meditations in the tradition require that the adept either visualize himself or herself within the *maṇḍala*, or view the *maṇḍala* as existing within his or her body. While there are many different types of *Hevajra maṇḍalas*, probably the best-known version is the relatively simple "skull cup–bearing" (*kapāladharin*) *maṇḍala*, so called because it centers upon Kapāladharī Hevajra, who in this form has sixteen arms, each of which holds a skull cup. He is depicted as being in sexual union with his consort, Nairātmyā. They are in turn surrounded by a circle of eight *yoginīs*: Gaurī, Śavarī, Caurī, Caṇḍalī, Vetālī, Ḍombinī, Ghasmarī, and Pukkasī. Because the central deity couple are said to be "nondual," it is described as being a nine-deity *maṇḍala.*

The Hevajra tradition is particularly noted for its theory of the four joys (*caturānanda*) achieved via sexual union in the context of Perfection Stage meditation practices that involve focused attention upon the subtle body, and the manipulation of "winds" of vital energy and "drops" of subtle sexual fluids within this body's channels. Of greatest importance is the fourth of these, the "natural joy" (*sahajānanda*). The concept of the "natural" *sahaja* state became an important element in the discourse of the *siddha* movement in India, and it has retained its significance to this day among communities of Tantric Buddhists, particularly in Nepal, Tibet, Mongolia, and elsewhere in the diaspora.

The *Hevajra Tantra* was translated into Chinese by Dharmapāla (963–1058) in 1055 CE, but like other Buddhist Tantras that were translated into Chinese at this time, its practice does not appear to have taken root in China. It was, however, successfully transmitted to Tibet. It was one of the central teachings that the Tibetan scholar Mar pa (Marpa, 1002/12–1096) received from the Indian saint Nāropa (c. 966–1040), and Mar pa in turn passed it on to his famous disciple Mi la ras pa (Milarepa, 1028/40–1111/23), whose disciples would found the Bka' brgyud (Kagyu) orders of Tibetan Buddhism, which continue to transmit the *Hevajra* tradition as one of their central teachings. It was also transmitted to Tibet by one of Mar pa's contemporaries, the translator-scholar 'Brog mi (Dok-mi, 992–1072), who studied at Vikramaśila in Northeast India with Ratnākaraśānti (c. eleventh century). He in turn instructed Dkon mchog rgyal po (Könchog Gyalpo, 1034–1102), one of the founders of the Sa skya (Sakya) school of Tibetan Buddhism. The *Hevajra Tantra* would become one of the central teachings of the Sa skya school, and it provides the basis for its "Path and Fruit" (*lam 'bras*) system of Perfection Stage yoga.

The Sa skya school also played an essential role in the dissemination of Buddhism to the Mongols. During the Yuan dynasty, the Mongols achieved hegemony over Tibet and appointed the Tibetan Sa skya Paṇḍita (Sakya Paṇḍita, 1182–1251) to be their governor of Tibet in 1249. His nephew, the Sa skya lama 'Phags pa (Pakpa, 1235–1280), became a friend and advisor of Kublai Khan (1216–1294). Tibetan interactions with the Mongols continued for centuries following the collapse of the Yuan dynasty in 1368 CE, and the *Hevajra Tantra* was among the many texts and traditions successfully transmitted to the Mongols.

SEE ALSO Tantrism.

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HIERODOULEIA.

Contemporary scholarship uses the questionable expression "sacred prostitution" to refer to a sexual rite practiced in the ancient Near East. In the temples of Ishtar, Astarte, Mâ, Anahita, and Aphrodite, for example, women, often virgins, offered themselves sexually to strangers. Sometimes the temples were staffed by such "sacred prostitutes." Their actions were ritual components of the cult of the goddess in question. In ancient Greece, the word for such women was *hierodoulē,* or "sacred servant." The term used here, *hierodouleia* ("sacred service"), refers to the ritual.

This survey will exclude practices associated with such terms as *bacchanalia, saturnalia,* and *orgy,* which refer to the temporary loosening of sexual restraints that occurs frequently in many societies all over the world during certain festivals, rites of passage, and other types of religious observances. In the current state of scholarship on the topic of cultic sexual activity, it would be premature to try to establish any correlations between such practices and the more institutionalized forms of cultic sexual activity.

The present discussion is limited to the institution of hierodoulēs, as distinct from profane or exclusively commercial prostitution. The distinction between the two imposes itself on the basis of both historical and ethnographic evidence. One of the earliest existing legal written documents for the ancient Near East is the Babylonian Code of Hammurabi, which specifies a severe punishment for a female hierodoulē who goes to a tavern (the word *tavern* is considered by scholars to be synonymous with the word *brothel).* More than three thousand years later, the female servants-cum-courtesans (*devadāsīs*) of the temple of Jagannātha in Puri, Orissa (India), are forbidden still even to walk in the streets frequented by common prostitutes.

The Babylonian evidence indicates that a distinction between cultic and profane sexuality is both ancient and persistent. It is very possible that the distinction became blurred or perhaps even totally obliterated in the minds of most Westerners because in the Hebrew scriptures the term used for the cultic sexual activity of both male and female temple servants—*znh,* "to prostitute oneself"—is also used to refer to apostasy (*Hos.* 2:7, 4:15; *Jer.* 2:20, 3:6, 3:8; *Ez.* 16:15, 23:3, 23:19; *Is.* 57:3). Sexual cultic activity became for the monotheist Yahvists synonymous with abandoning the worship of Yahveh and turning to false gods. Apostasy in the Bible is considered to be the worst of sins, hence terms referring to cultic sexual activity—*prostitution, harlotry,* and *whoredom*—took on extremely negative connotations.

This attitude toward cultic sexual activity seems not, however, to have always existed or to have been established easily. Authors of the Hebrew scriptures mention the existence and activity of hierodoulēs, both male (*qodesh*) and female (*qedushah*), even in the Temple at Jerusalem. Scholarly research has detailed the efforts of the prophets throughout the history of the ancient Israelites to oust such a custom from their midst. It seems to have been finally eradicated only after the fall of Jerusalem (586 BCE) and the Babylonian exile. The eventual triumph of a monotheist Yahvistic religion took place in a polytheistic cultural environment radically different in its religious orientation. According to the Old Testament scholar Walter Kornfeld, the disappearance of this institution was of primary importance to the establishment of the Yahvistic religion. Cultic sexual activity was an essential aspect of religions that venerated a mysterious life-power manifesting itself in a cyclic manner, following the rhythms of nature, which was most often conceived of as feminine. This configuration contrasts markedly with religions that revere a single masculine god who reveals himself at specific moments in history. However, this female life power seems to have survived in altered form in the mystical Jewish tradition in the form of the Shekhinah, the female presence of God. In medieval cabalistic Jewish circles, sacred ritual sexual union between husband and wife was performed to bring about the reunification of the male aspect of God and the Shekhinah.

Some form of cultic sexual activity was practiced by temple servants of both sexes in most of the cultural areas of ancient West Asia. In Mesopotamia the earliest evidence (mostly textual) comes from Sumer, where the cult of the goddess Inanna (Ishtar) was prominent and was associated with such activity. In a hymn written about 2300 BCE by the high priestess of the moon god at Ur and called the *Exaltation of Inanna*, that goddess is referred to as "the hierodule of An" (An was the highest god of Sumer). Other Sumerian texts show that temples to Inanna had at their service many temple prostitutes. The goddess Inanna transformed herself into the Semitic Ishtar with the Akkadian conquest of Sumer during the third millennium BCE, and the women who carried out the sexual aspect of that goddess's cult were called *ishtaritu*. Given the characterization of Inanna as a hierodoulē, it is likely that the women temple servants were considered to be living embodiments of the goddess. Such a conjecture is reinforced by ethnographic evidence on the *devadāsī*s (female servants of a deity) of India.

In Puri, the *devadāsī*s of the temple of Jagannātha are considered to be the living embodiments of Jagannātha's wife Lakṣmī. Lakṣmī is a goddess of prosperity, abundance, and well-being, and the *devadāsī*s who, laden with precious ornaments, dance and sing twice daily in the temple are the visible signs of the goddess's wealth. Their sexual activity as courtesans links them to well-being, since erotic pleasure is considered one of the foremost expressions of that state. They represent the auspiciousness of the married state and embody the active sexuality of the non-widowed wife.

The textual evidence from Mesopotamia seems to point toward a similar identification between the hierodoulē and the married woman. Both wore a veil in imitation of Ishtar, who is always represented wearing a veil. In India also, both *devadāsī*s and married women cover their heads with the end of their sari, a gesture often described as wearing a veil. In paragraph 127 of the Code of Hammurabi, hierodoulēs are said to be protected from molestation in the same way as a married woman. Another parallel between the institution in Mesopotamia and in India is that in both, the consecrated women live in their own houses. Even though the *devadāsī*s are concubines of the king and the priests, they cannot be said to be part of a male establishment. They invite whom they please to their own houses. The *devadāsī*s, like the *ishtaritu*, are not supposed to procreate; they adopt girls to succeed them. In paragraph 178 and subsequently, the Code of Hammurabi speaks only of the adopted children of the temple servants. Similarly, the prosperity and abundance for which the *devadāsī*s stand are the general prosperity of the land and the well-being of the realm: they are specifically not meant to be fertile. The *devadāsī*s are well versed in the *ars erotica* as well as in music, dance, and literature: a wealth of textual evidence in India depicts them as often extremely well educated not only in the arts but in philosophy as well. In Indian epic literature (c. third century BCE–third century CE), the courtesans embody the wealth, refinement, and culture of the prosperous and well-ruled city.

A similar role is played by a harlot in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, one of the oldest and most widely diffused works from ancient Mesopotamia (some of its versions date from the beginning of the second millennium BCE). Gilgamesh, the ruler of the city of Uruk, abuses his people; a goddess named Aruru creates a half-man, half-animal creature named Enkidu to subdue Gilgamesh. Enkidu lives in innocence with the animals in the forest. A harlot is sent to humanize him; she makes love to him and teaches him how to behave as a human being. He is brought into the city of Uruk and eventually tames Gilgamesh, who ceases to mistreat his people. Thus the active sexuality of the prostitute results in well-being for the inhabitants of Uruk.

This story has a close parallel in the myth of Ṛṣyśṛṅga, in Indian literature. This sage, who had a horn on his forehead, was born of a female doe who drank the seed a sage had spilled in a pond. Ṛṣyśṛṅga grows up in his father's forest hermitage, eating berries and roots and never seeing other human beings. In a neighboring kingdom, a terrible drought plagues the realm because of the misconduct of the king. The king is advised that the only way to save the inhabitants from starvation is to bring Ṛṣyśṛṅga into the city. Only the city courtesans are able to do this. One of them cleverly seduces the horned forest dweller, introducing him not only to erotic pleasure but to cooked food, clothes, and other refinements of city life. When she and Ṛṣyśṛṅga enter the city, rain pours from the sky, to the great joy of the people. The active sexuality of the courtesan is—as in the Mesopotamian example—the instrument that safeguards the well-being of the king and the community.

In both stories, the courtesan represents human culture and is able to transform a semi-wild creature into a civilized human being. The similarity between the two stories may be a result of the archaeologically well-established fact of extensive contacts between ancient Mesopotamia and the Indus Valley civilization of Northwest India (c. fourth to second millennium BCE). Even though more than a millennium separates the end of the Indus Valley civilization from the earlier portions of the epics, scholars have traced many features of later Hindu civilization to the earlier, pre-Aryan, agrarian Indus Valley civilization. The hypothesis that temple prostitution may be one such historical continuity from the earlier period must be entertained, especially in view of the striking similarities between the ancient Mesopotamian practices and the Indian institution.

Another complex of ideas embodied in cultic sexual activity is that of the transference to the king of the fertile power of the goddess. The king, both in ancient Mesopotamia and in Hindu India, was regarded as the guarantor of the fertility of the land and its people, and in general of the prosperity and well-being of the realm. In order to carry out this function, the king had to receive this power from a woman. In ancient Mesopotamia the power was transferred through the sacred marriage (*hieros gamos*) ritual, one of the most widely documented rituals for a period of over two thousand years. The earliest accounts come from Sumer in the early third millennium BCE. Essentially, the rite consisted of ceremonial and public sexual intercourse between the king, representing the goddess's consort Dumuzi (the Akkadian Tammuz), and a representative of Inanna, most likely a high priestess, head of the temple hierodules. The point of the intercourse is not procreation but the assurance of abundant crops and the goddess's endorsement of the king's ability to rule.

In Puri, the king, who before the Muslim and British conquests ruled a large empire (until the second half of the sixteenth century), through the coronation ritual is symbolically infused with female generative powers. More literally, the *devadāsī*s, who are the living embodiments of Lakṣmī, infuse the king with the fertile powers of the goddess. This is accomplished in the sexual act when the woman's sexual fluids, containing her power of life (*śakti*), enter the man's body via his sexual organ. In the Hindu case, the sacred marriage rite is carried out not literally but symbolically during the king's coronation and every year afterward.

Besides cultic sexual activity carried out by females, ancient Mesopotamian texts speak of male hierodoulēs who represented the goddess's consort Dumuzi. These men were eunuchs who dressed in women's clothes and engaged in cultic homosexual activity. Dumuzi and his transformations into the Phoenician/Canaanite Baal, the Syrian/Greek Adonis, the Phrygian and Lydian Attis, and the Egyptian Osiris were consorts/sons of the goddess. The Mesopotamian Inanna similarly transformed herself into the corresponding figures of Asherah, Astarte/Aphrodite, Cybele, and Isis.

Common to the mythology of these deities is the theme of the self-castration of the male god and his subsequent death and stay in the underworld, from which the goddess rescues him, bringing him back to life. The death of the god often corresponds in the myth to the barrenness of nature, whose fertility is restored by the goddess's reunion with her consort. An early Babylonian hymn likens Tammuz to plants that quickly fade. This theme is carried down through the millennia and finds expression in the Greek ritual celebrating the death of Adonis, called the Adonia, during which female courtesans sowed certain seeds in baskets that they placed on the rooftops. There the plants quickly germinated and grew in the summer heat but just as quickly faded, since their roots had no time to grow strong. These "gardens of Adonis" metaphorically represent the young god's sterility, since the plants wilt before they can bear fruit, thus echoing in concrete ritual action the mythical theme of the god's self-castration. Certain Roman authors (Servius, Ovid) report that in the Phrygian and Lydian (Asia Minor) cult of Cybele and Attis, male devotees castrated themselves during certain festivals while in a state of trance brought about by dance and music. They then became temple servants of the goddess, wore women's clothes, and engaged in cultic homosexual activity.

The cult of Cybele was brought to Rome in 204 BCE by official decree. Following military difficulties with their enemy Hannibal, the Romans consulted the sibylline oracles, who admonished them to bring the image of the West Asian goddess (a black stone) to Rome. This was done with great ceremony, and the goddess was installed on the Palatine hill. Her eunuch priests, called Galli by the Romans, followed the customs of their cult of origin in Asia Minor. The cult of Cybele in Rome survived until the fifth century CE.

The interdiction against transvestism in the Hebrew scriptures (*Dt.* 22:5) is understood by most scholars as being part of the larger movement against fertility cults. The fact that sterile transvestite eunuchs are symbolically linked to the seasonal renewal of the earth's fertility is attested in several of the myths concerning Ishtar and Tammuz. It is also confirmed ethnographically by a similar phenomenon in India, that of the male transvestites generally known as *hijra*s. For these transvestites, found all over North and South India, self-castration is a caste duty *(dharma)*. It is carried out in a ritual context: the neophyte is seated in front of a picture of the goddess Bahuchara Mata and repeats her name while the operation is being performed. This constitutes the traditional initiation into the *hijra* community. In the myth about this goddess, she cuts off one of her breasts, offering it in place of her body to bandits who would ravish her. By castrating themselves and dressing as women, her devotees achieve a special identification with her.

Most *hijra*s are homosexual prostitutes; their most important religio-cultural function is to sing and dance in houses where a male child has been born. The *hijra*s confer fertility, prosperity, and health on the child and its family. The *hijra*s' connection to the fertility of the land—and not only to that of the people—is preserved in one of the stories they tell, a story strikingly similar to that of the seduction of the ascetic Ṛṣyśṛṅga by a courtesan. Drought was plaguing a kingdom, and only the personal visit by the king to two *hijra*s visiting his city was able to bring about the rains. The parallelism between the institution of the *hijras* and the sacred eunuchs of the ancient eastern Mediterranean is remarkable. As in the case of the parallelism with female cultic sexual activity, the existence at some period in history of contact between the two areas cannot be excluded.

The institution of the transvestite *hijras* and that of the female temple courtesans exhibit the seemingly paradoxical link between sterility and general fertility. The *devadasi*s and, according to the available evidence, the ancient West Asian female hierodoulēs are not supposed to procreate; they adopt children but do not give birth to them. The eunuchs have sacrificed to the goddess their reproductive capacity. Their sexual activity is sterile. A study of the rituals and myths of the courtesans of the temple of Jagannatha in Puri leaves no doubt that it is their sexual activity that ensures general well-being and prosperity. The evidence concerning the *hijra*s and the ancient West Asian sacred eunuchs points to a similar conclusion. The sacrifice of one's reproductive capacity is symbolically akin to death; the link is particularly clear in the myths of the self-castration of Tammuz, Adonis, and Attis, which is soon followed by death. The paradox of general fertility brought about by the sexual activity of persons who have sacrificed their own fecundity may have to be understood as one symbolic expression of the widespread sacrificial theme of renewed life through death.

The ancient eastern Mediterranean/West Asian region and the Indian subcontinent are not the only areas of the world where sexual cultic activity is practiced. Unfortunately, the reports by ethnographers on the subject are rather spotty, and not enough information is available to attain a satisfactory understanding of these practices. Some form of sacred prostitution has been reported for various groups in West Africa. A. B. Ellis, in *The Ewe-Speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa* (London, 1890), reports that in Dahomey the female priestesses who have been dedicated to a deity are considered to be his wives; they do not marry, and they engage in prostitution. They are known as *kosi*, a term derived from *kono,* meaning "unfruitful," since a person so dedicated and any child born to her are lost to their natal lineage and belong to the deity. These women wear a special type of dress and cover their breasts, unlike other women, a peculiarity they share with ancient Indian courtesans, the only women with covered breasts in the painted frescoes of the Ajanta caves (c. seventh and eighth centuries CE). The priestesses of the python god Dangbi are distinguished from those of other deities by having their own organization. Through a trance possession by the python god, any female can join this organization. Her person then becomes sacred and inviolate. These women live together in separate houses and are accorded great personal freedom.

Farther to the east, among the Ibo in what is today Nigeria, the earth goddess had an important shrine in the town of Nguru. Amaury Talbot noted (in *Some Nigerian Fertility Cults*, Oxford, 1927) that about three hundred women had been given to the shrine as virgins. They practiced cultic sexual activity, mostly with sterile men who came to the shrine to pray for increased virility. These women were not supposed to procreate; any child born to them was exposed.

Farther to the west, Ellis reports (in *The Tshi-Speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa*, London, 1887) the existence of a form of sacred prostitution among the coastal tribes of what is today Ghana. The gods are served by both priests and priestesses. The priests marry, but the priestesses do not, since they are, as in India, considered to be married to the deity. These women dance, enter into trance, and prophesy. They have sexual relations with men of their own choice, who are reported to live with the priestesses for the duration of the relationship. The ethnographic record is spotty on the subject, and these African examples are probably not the only instances of institutionalized cultic sexual activity on that continent.

The presence of both transvestite males engaging in homosexual activity and of women who were sexually free has been reported for pre-Conquest Mesoamerica and for Borneo. In the capital of Teocolhuacán, on the Gulf of California in northwestern Mexico, founded by descendants of the Toltec, temples had attached to them male transvestites and women who engaged in some form of cultic sexual activity. In Borneo, several groups have initiated priests and priestesses into some form of prostitution. Among the Posso-Todjo Toraja, the Olo Nyadju, the Olo Dusun, and the Kayan, most of the initiated priesthood are women. The members of the priesthood receive their ritual knowledge from spirits of the sky world. Both priests and priestesses have specialized knowledge of garden magic and of healing. Priestesses conduct the ghosts of the dead, especially those of chiefs, to the land of the dead. They also perform ceremonies concerned with house building. The priests dress as women and act as homosexual prostitutes, and the priestesses act as public prostitutes.

In addition to forms of cultic sexual activity that are practiced regularly by certain men and women, there are cases in which sexual activity is engaged in only during a certain period. The North African Awlad Nāʾil tribe descends from a famous sixteenth-century saint. The women of the tribe are priestesses of saints' shrines. At puberty they go into towns and practice prostitution until they have accumulated a satisfactory dowry. They then return to their villages and marry; no opprobrium whatsoever is attached to their method of accumulating wealth. Edmond Doutté reports (in *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers, 1908) that when the French colonial administration tried to interfere with such practices, the whole population protested vigorously, insisting that to eradicate or curtail the custom would be detrimental to the production of abundant harvests. This example could represent a historical continuity, since Augustine (*City of God* 2.4) reports that the Semitic mother goddess was worshiped in North Africa under the names of Astarte and Tanit. During their festival days, female devotees engaged in sacred prostitution. Similarly, Herodotus notes (1.199) that in Paphos (on Cyprus) women used to prostitute themselves in the service of Adonis/Tammuz before marrying, and Justin writes that they did this to accumulate money for a dowry.

The North African premarital exchange of sexual services for wealth is similar to a custom observed in the Palauan archipelago in the western Pacific (part of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands). After attaining puberty, young girls are sent by their mothers to serve as concubines in the men's clubhouse of another village for three months to a year. In payment for their services, the men send money to the girls' families. This system of temporary prostitution generates an important network of economic exchanges between villages. The institution is also viewed as a form of magical protection for the village in which the women take up temporary residence. This is conveyed in Palau by placing on the gable of the men's house a statue of a nude female prominently displaying her genitalia. The myth explaining the origin of such a figure states that the woman was a concubine in the men's house and therefore from another village. The men from her natal village are classified as her brothers, and for them to gaze on her nakedness would be a grave sin. The men's clubhouse on which such an image is displayed is therefore protected from raids by the men from the villages of its resident female visitors.

A comparative study of institutions involving cultic sexual activity by males and females, on either a permanent or semi-permanent basis, has not been undertaken. The subject is not free from a negative bias, in all likelihood rooted in the ancient association between apostasy and cultic sexual activity.

SEE ALSO Gender Roles; Hieros Gamos; Homosexuality; Sexuality.

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FRÉDÉRIQUE APFFEL-MARGLIN (1987 AND 2005)

HIEROPHANY (from Greek *hiero-,* "sacred," and *phainein,* "to show") is a term designating the manifestation of the sacred. The term involves no further specification. Herein lies its advantage: It refers to any manifestation of the sacred in whatever object throughout history. Whether the sacred appear in a stone, a tree, or an incarnate human being, a hierophany denotes the same act: A reality of an entirely different order than those of this world becomes manifest in an object that is part of the natural or profane sphere.

The sacred manifests itself as a power or force that is quite different from the forces of nature. A sacred tree, for instance, is not worshiped for being a tree. Neither is a sacred stone adored, in and of itself, for its natural properties as a stone. These objects become the focus of religious veneration because they are hierophanies, revealing something that is no longer botanical or geological, but "wholly other."

FORMS OF HIEROPHANY. The forms of hierophanies vary from one culture to another. The matter is complicated for, throughout the course of history, cultures have recognized hierophanies everywhere in psychological, economic, spiritual, and social life. There is hardly any object, action, psychological function, species of being, or even entertainment that has not become a hierophany at some time. Whatever humans come in contact with can be transformed into a hierophany. Musical instruments, architectural forms, beasts of burden, and vehicles of transportation have all been sacred objects. In the right circumstances, any material object whatever can become a hierophany.

The appearance of the sacred in a hierophany, however, does not eliminate its profane existence. In every religious context some objects in the class of things that convey the sacred (e.g., stone, trees, human beings) always remain profane. No single culture contains within its history all the possible hierophanies. In other words, a hierophany always implies a singling-out. Not all stones are held to be sacred in a culture; only some are venerated, or one, because their properties make them fitting vehicles of the sacred. A hierophany separates the thing that manifests the sacred from everything else around it, from all that remains profane.

The sacred appears in cosmic form as well as in the imaginative life of human beings. Cosmic hierophanies cover the spectrum of cosmic structures. Supreme gods of the sky, such as Num, the sky divinity of the Samoyeds, or Anu, the Babylonian *shar shame* ("sky king"), reflect or share the sacredness attributed to the sky. So do the sovereign gods of the sky who display their power through storm, thunder, and lightning, such as the Greek god Zeus, his Roman counterpart Jupiter, and Yahveh, the Hebrew supreme being.

The sacredness of the earth is an important source of hierophany. Worship of Pachamama, mother goddess of the earth, is an ancient and widespread phenomenon in the South American Andes. Local soil is a sacred presence in countless cultures around the globe. The earth is often an important character in myths about the earliest times of creation. Such is the role of Papa ("earth") in Maori creation accounts and of Gaia in the Greek myths presented by Hesiod. Frequently the earth, as a hierophany of sacred being, appears as the creative partner of a heavenly being. Such a divine couple, deified sky and earth, figured prominently in the mythologies of Oceania, Micronesia, Africa, and the Americas.

The sun became a powerful manifestation of the sacred in central Mexico (among the Mixtec), in the Peruvian Andes (among the Inca), in ancient Egypt, and elsewhere. Furthermore, important cultural heroes who figure largely in the mythic history of various societies (e.g., among the Maasai of Africa, the Turco-Mongols, and Indo-Europeans) often have essential ties to the sun's powers.

In many cultures, the fertility of animals and plants is presided over by the sacredness of the moon. Above all others, the hierophanies of the moon convey the sacredness of life's rhythms: rainy seasons, ocean tides, sowing times, the menstrual cycle. Among Pygmy groups of central Africa, for instance, the moon, called Pe, is the fecund source of new life. Women celebrate her sacredness with drinking and dancing feasts held at the time of the new moon. Through the metamorphosis it undergoes each month, the moon displays its powers of immortality and its ability to regenerate a form of life that even includes the experience of death. Women and snakes become epiphanies of the moon's sacred power through their periodic loss of life in the form of blood and skin. Menstruation sometimes is perceived not only as a shedding of blood but as a shedding of the "skin" that lines the uterus each month or of the "skin" that envelops the body of a new child if conception occurs that month. Snakes are sometimes thought to shed not only skin but also "blood": Snake venom is viewed as a species of blood that is "shed" (that is, transmitted from fang to victim) when a snake bites its prey or when venom is consumed in festival brew.

Human physiology itself can become a manifestation of the sacred. Divine kings and the mystical bodies of shamans, transformed by their contact with sacred realities, can themselves become transparent vehicles of sacred powers. Even the breath, soul, blood, pulse, semen, and body warmth of ordinary human beings can be seen as signs of the presence of supernatural forces. In certain yogic traditions, for example, a woman embodies *prakṛti,* the eternal source and limitless creative power of nature. The ritual nakedness of this *yoginī* makes possible the revelation of a cosmic mystery.

Ordinary items such as roots, herbs, and foods may also manifest the sacred in one tradition or another, as may manufactured items, such as swords, ropes, and puppets. Techniques and skills themselves, the processes of manufacture, reveal sacred powers. Ironworking, spinning, and weaving are frequently sacred activities, carried on by consecrated persons in holy places and periods.

The cosmogonic myths of tribal peoples, the Brahmanic tradition of South Asia, the mystical writings of Nichiren and Teresa of Ávila, the enthronement ceremonies of the king in ancient Babylon, the agricultural festivals of Japan, the ritual costumes of dancing shamans in Siberia, the symbolic fixtures of the Borobudur stupa, and initiation rites in various traditions are all hierophanies. They express some modality of the sacred and some moment in its history. Each one of these hierophanies reveals an aspect of the sacred as well as a historical attitude that humans have taken toward the sacred.

STRUCTURE AND DIALECTIC OF THE SACRED. At the most general level of analysis, there exists a structure common to all hierophanies. Whenever the sacred is manifest, it limits itself. Its appearance forms part of a dialectic that occults other possibilities. By appearing in the concrete form of a rock, plant, or incarnate being, the sacred ceases to be absolute, for the object in which it appears remains a part of the worldly environment. In some respect, each hierophany expresses an incomprehensible paradox arising from the great mystery upon which every hierophany is centered: the very fact that the sacred is made manifest at all.

This characteristic structure of manifestation and limitation is common to all hierophanies. The dialectic of appearance and occultation of the sacred becomes a key to understanding religious experience. Once all hierophanies are understood as equivalent in this fundamental respect, two helpful starting points can be found for the study of religious experience. In the first place, all appearances of the sacred, whether sublime or simple, can be seen in terms of the same dialectic of the sacred. In the second place, the entire religious life of humankind is placed on a common footing. Rich and diverse as it is, the religious history of human life evidences no essential discontinuity. The same paradox underlies every hierophany: In making itself manifest, the sacred limits itself.

THEOPHANY AND KRATOPHANY. Although *hierophany* is an inclusive term, one can distinguish different types of hierophany. They depend on the form in which the sacred appears, and the meaning with which the sacred imbues the form. In some instances, a hierophany reveals the presence of a divinity. That is, the hierophany is a theophany, the appearance of a god. Theophanies differ widely from one another in form and meaning, depending upon the nature of the divine form appearing in them. A glance at the gods in the pantheon of South Asian mythology or in Aztec mythology shows that divinities can differ markedly in revealing various divine forms of the sacred, even within the same culture. Needless to say, theophanies from different cultures (e.g., Baal, the storm god of the ancient Semites; Viracocha, the creator god of the Inca; and Amaterasu, the Japanese deity of the sun and ancestress of the imperial line) manifest quite different modalities of the sacred. In the form of divine persons, theophanies reveal the distinct religious values of organic life, cosmic order, or the elementary forces of blood and fertility, as well as of purer and more sublime aspects.

A second type of hierophany may be termed a kratophany, a manifestation of power. Kratophanies preserve the sacred in all its ambivalence, both attracting and repelling with its brute power. The unusual, the new, and the strange frequently function as kratophanies. These things, persons, or places can be dangerous and defiling as well as sacred. Corpses, criminals, and the sick often function as kratophanies. Human beings in powerful or ambivalent circumstances (such as women in menses, soldiers, hunters, kings with absolute power, or executioners) are hedged around with taboos and restrictions. People approach sacred foods with etiquette and manners designed to ward off defilement, sickness, and pollution. The precautions that surround saints, sacrificers, and healers stem from fear of confronting the sacred. Kratophanies emphasize the extent to which the manifestation of the sacred intrudes on the order of things. Kratophanies also bring out the contradictory attitude displayed by human beings in regard to all that is sacred. On the one hand, contact with hierophanies secures, renews, and strengthens one's own reality. On the other hand, total immersion in the sacred (or an improper encounter with it) annihilates one's profane existence, an essential dimension of life.

In any case, a hierophany (whether in the form of a theophany or kratophany) reveals the power, the force, and the holiness of the sacred. Even the forces of nature are revered for their power to sanctify life; that is, to make fertility holy. The forces of nature that appear in divine forms or in certain objects make reproductive life partake of the unbounded power and plenty of the sacred.

IMPACT ON SPACE AND TIME. Hierophanies directly affect the situation of human existence, the condition by which humans understand their own nature and grasp their destiny. For example, hierophanies alter the fundamental structures of space and time. Every hierophany transforms the place in which it appears, so that a profane place becomes a sacred precinct. For Aboriginal peoples of Australia, for example, the landscape of their native lands is alive. Its smallest details are charged with the meanings revealed in myth. Because the sacred first appeared in those places (to guarantee a food supply and to teach humans how to feed themselves), they become an inexhaustible source of power and sacrality. Humans can return to these places in each generation, to commune with the power that has revealed itself there. In fact, the Aboriginal peoples express a religious need to remain in direct contact with those sites that are hierophanic. One may say that the hierophany, connected with the transformed place of its appearance, is capable of repeating itself. The conviction is widespread that hierophanies recur in a place where the sacred has once appeared. This explains why human habitations and cities are constructed near sanctuaries. Ceremonies of consecration, ground-breaking, or foundation-laying for temples, shrines, sacred cities, capitals, and even bridges and houses, frequently repeat or echo acts of fundamental hierophanies, such as the creation of the world. At times they even provoke a sign indicating the location of a hierophany (e.g., the release of an animal and the sacrifice of it on the spot where it is later found; or geomancy). These rituals of foundation and construction ensure that the site will prepetuate the presence of a hierophany that first appeared within the bounds of a similarly structured location and event. The precincts for festival and ceremony are frequently consecrated for the occasion in this way. Thus, for example, the Yuin, the Wiradjuri, and the Kamilaroi, Aboriginal groups of Australia, prepare a sacred ground for their initiation ceremonies. The ground represents the camp of Baiame, the supreme being.

Hierophanies also transform time. A hierophany marks a breakthrough from profane to magico-religious time. Just as spaces sacralized by a hierophany may be resconstructed through acts of consecration, so the acts of hierophany are repeated in the sacred calendar of each year. Rituals that repeat the moment of a hierophany recreate the conditions of the world in which the sacred originally appeared, and at that moment when the sacred manifests itself again in the same way, extraordinary power overwhelms the profane succession of time. New Year ceremonies are among the most striking examples of the periodic recreation of the world in a state as fresh, powerful, and promising as it was in the beginning. Any fragment of time (e.g., the phases of the moon, the transitions of the human life cycle, the solstices, the rainy seasons, the breeding cycles of animals, the growth cycles of plants) may at any moment become hierophanic. If it witnesses the occurrence of a kratophany or theophany, the moment itself becomes transfigured or consecrated. It will be remembered and repeated. The rhythms of nature are evaluated for their power as hierophanies; that is, for signs of the power to renew and recommence cosmic life. Furthermore, hierophanic moments of time are not limited to cosmic rhythms of nature or biology. In the Judeo-Christian tradition, for example, human history is transfigured into a theophany. The manifestation of God in time guarantees the religious value of Christian images and symbols such as the cross, the holy mountain of Calvary, and the cosmic tree.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE STUDY OF SYMBOLIC LIFE. The transfiguration of so many objects into symbols of something else, some sacred reality, has repercussions for understanding the nature of symbols. The study of hierophanies penetrates the meaning of the symbolic life and uncovers the function of symbolism in general. Humans have an innate sense of the symbolic, and all their activities imply symbolism. In particular, religious acts have a symbolic character. From the instant it becomes religious, every act or object is imbued with a significance that is symbolic, referring to supernatural values and realities.

Symbols relate to the sacred in several ways. Sometimes symbolic forms become sacred because they embody directly the spirit or power of transcendent beings (e.g., stones that are the souls of the dead, or represent a god). In these cases the hierophany is effected by a symbolism directly associated with the actual form (i.e., a form apprehended by religious experience, rather than empirical or rational experience) of stone, water, plant, or sky.

At other times the meaning of a religious form may derive from symbolism that is less clear. Religious objects become hierophanies in a less direct way, through the medium of symbolic existence itself. They acquire a religious quality because of the symbolism that imbues them with religious meaning. That is, they become sacred because of their location within a symbolic system. Their sacrality depends upon a consciousness able to make theoretical connections between symbolic expressions. In such cases, the hierophany is effected by the transformation of concrete forms into a nexus of cosmological principles and powers.

For example, the symbolism that has surrounded the pearl throughout history works to transform it into a "cosmological center" that draws together key religious meanings associated with the moon, women, fertility, and birth. The symbolism of the pearl is quite ancient. Pearls appear in prehistoric graves and have a long history of use in magic and medicine. Careful inspection of myths of pearls in many cultures reveals that water imbues pearls with its germinative force. Pearls were included in ritual offerings to river gods. Some pearls have magical power because they were born of the moon. The pearl is like a fetus, and for this reason women wear pearls to come in contact with the fertile powers of hidden creative processes within shells, in amniotic waters, and in the moon. Pearls have also been used in the cure of illnesses associated with the moon. Placed in tombs, pearls renewed the life of the dead by putting them in contact with the powerful regenerative rhythms of the moon, water, and femininity. Covered in pearls, the dead are plunged once more into the cycle of birth, life, death, and rebirth—the career of living forms intimately bound to the moon. In sum, the pearl becomes a hierophany when humans become aware of the cosmological pattern of water, moon, women, and change.

This kind of sacred symbolism has its origins in theory; specifically, a theory of symbols. What gives the sacred object in question (e.g., a pearl) its rich and full religious meaning is the framework of symbolism surrounding it. This is triggered by an awareness of the wider symbolic universe. This conclusion has importance for understanding the role of human reflection in the origin of certain hierophanies. An object becomes sacred, becomes the locus of a hierophany, when humankind becomes aware of the cosmological pattern of principles (e.g., water, moon, change, the cycle of death and birth) centered in it. The theoretical links make possible the experience of the full range of sacrality. The form draws its full meaning from the symbolism that surrounds it and of which it is a part. In fact, symbols extend the range of hierophanies. Objects not directly the locus of a hierophany may become sacred because of their envelopment in a web or pattern of symbolism.

Two related statements should now be made separately. The first consideration is that hierophanies can become symbols. In this respect, symbols are important because they can sustain or even substitute for hierophanies. However, symbols play an even more startling and creative role in religious life: They carry on the process of hierophanization. In fact, the symbol itself is sometimes a hierophany; that is, it reveals a sacred reality that no other manifestation can uncover. A hierophany in its own right, symbolism affords an unbroken solidarity between humankind (*homo symbolicus*) and the sacred. Extending the dialectic of hierophanies, symbolism transforms objects into something other than what they appear to be in the natural sphere. Through symbolism any worldly item may become a sign of transcendent reality and an embodiment of the sacredness of an entire symbolic system. Indeed, one may say that symbolism itself reflects the human need to extend infinitely the process of hierophanization. Looking upon the remarkable number of forms that have manifested the sacred throughout the broad history of religions, one concludes that symbolic life tends to identify the universe as a whole with hierophany and thereby opens human existence to a significant world.

See Also Pearl; Revelation; Sacred and the Profane, The; Symbol and Symbolism.

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HIEROS GAMOS, Greek for "sacred marriage," "sacred wedding feast," or "sacred sexual intercourse," is the technical term of a mythical or ritual union between a god and a goddess, more generally a divine and a human being, and most especially a king and a goddess. The term has had its widest use in the study of kingship in the city cultures of the ancient Near East. The fundamental symbolism however is that of the union of man and woman, a set of opposites as general and as readily available as the opposites east and west, north and south, sky and earth. The latter, sky and earth, are often presented as endowed with sexual characteristics and are therefore inseparable from this subject.

It is useful to state in this introductory orientation that a lingering Victorian prudishness in twentieth-century scholarship, embarrassed and at the same time fascinated by sexual symbolism, has occasionally singled out *hieros gamos* configurations for undue attention. It has done so with euphemisms, adumbrations, and unwarranted explanations, oblivious to the fact that in most civilizations other than those of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Europe and America, sexual references are not matters for this sort of secretiveness. (Typically, in learned translations textual passages with descriptions of pudenda, intercourse, harlots, courtesans, and so on, were translated into Latin until at least the middle of the twentieth century.) It is essential nevertheless to understand sacred marriage symbolism in advanced cultures in the first place as a variation on much older, very general symbolic expressions. The rather mechanistic and blanket explanation of sacred marriage rites as a stimulus or magic for bringing about fertility in people, animals, and fields, in the wake of scholarship by Wilhelm Mannhardt (1831–1880) and James G. Frazer (1854–1941), cannot do full justice to the poetry, profundity, dramatic quality, and complexity of the documents.

Ancient Roots. The French prehistorian André Leroi-Gourhan (b. 1911) was led to the conclusion that certain signs and figures in the art of Paleolithic hunter cultures that stretched from Spain and France into Siberia form a coherent whole in their expressions, in both signs and representations. Among these expressions is the polarity of female and male symbols, for instance, the bison (female) and the horse (male). The American prehistorian Marija Gimbutas has collected a large number of art objects discovered in eastern Europe, dated from c. 7000 to 3500 BCE, hence before the rise of the earliest civilizations in the Near East, and in that large collection the vast majority of objects is conspicuously related to female forms, conjunctions of male and female, and parturition. Details of interpretation are difficult to assess, but researchers are aided by the wide distribution of identical or comparable symbolizations in later cultures, of which the meaning is clearer; they allow one to see general patterns. These very ancient signs and images presuppose articulate languages and mythologies. Moreover, with respect to the subject under discussion, it may be safely inferred that "sexual" and "marital" topics were focal points in religious expression.

Mention must also be made of the fact that next to a sexual union between heaven and earth, of the type of Ouranos and Gaia in Hesiod's *Theogony* and Dyaus and Prthivi in the Vedic texts, there exists documentation of supreme beings that are often called "bisexual." Such a being is both one and two, male and female at the same time. Being two in one, divinities of this type are more properly called "androgynous" than "bisexual." The ancient Mexican supreme being is Ometecuhtli-Omecihuatl ("father-mother"). The figure of Apna-Apha ("our-mother-our-father") occurs in a place on Kisar, an island in the Moluccas. The Konyak Nagas of Assam know a supreme being Ga-Wang ("earth-sky"). It is noteworthy that in several of these cases the female or earth element is mentioned first and seems to be the more important aspect, and also that in a number of myths earth and sky are said to have been one in the beginning, and the act of creation consisted in separating the two.

All these imageries from prehistory and from a variety of tribal cultures are essential for an understanding of the *hieros gamos* symbolism as a particularly fertile imagery in several cultures, each with its own historical impulses and developments that, like the earlier symbolisms, have their focus in the fullness of existence. What sets the later *hieros gamos* apart from its earlier forms is a more highly developed dramatic expression and a tangible association with (political and economic) power.

AGRICULTURE AND SEXUAL SYMBOLISM. The invention of agriculture, the novelty of a community's life henceforward depending on grain or rice, represents a tremendous change. Scholars have become reluctant to exaggerate the significance of this change because of the recent work on prehistory; they are now inclined to see more than mere "hunting magic" in prehistoric art forms and to detect in them much more articulateness and subtlety. Hence the sudden emergence of agriculture may appear less as a break with the past and more as a radical transformation. Tilling the soil is an act performed on the (female) earth. Archaic digging sticks are commonly depicted as phalli. Quite literally, the work of the farmer is a sexual ritual. The process of generation, though certainly not unknown before, now becomes a process in which all forms of existence and the preserving and safeguarding of life itself are at stake. The seasons take on a new significance, and the great goddess is the one who rules over the calendar, that is, over time, as well as over the material world.

In the protohistorical civilization of the Indus valley such a goddess played a role, and the artifacts make clear that she and others elsewhere were associated or identified with the physical expression of vegetational power. The goddess's power is not necessarily linked with a male partner, and even when she is so linked (as is Devi, the great goddess of Hinduism, with Śiva), her uniqueness, or her transcendental character, is not diminished. She is the one inexhaustible source of all that is. Agricultural production has obviously made its marks on religious expression, yet it would be unwarranted speculation to see even in her a figure completely different from the prehistoric female forms of thousands of years earlier, such as the so-called Venus of Willendorf or the Venus of Lespugue, or to deny all continuity with the past.

The goddess's power is expressed in her ability to generate all by herself; her characteristic function is that of *genera-trix* (Przyluski, 1950), and the participation of a male is secondary or irrelevant. Comparison to "ordinary" motherhood is misleading. One is dealing with a religious symbol, and her giving birth by herself points to what in abstract language would be her essential transcendent reality. Typically, a Vedic text (*Ṛgveda* 10.125) refers to the goddess Vāc (Speech) as the queen of the land and bringer of treasures, but also as the first to partake of the sacrifice (i.e., before the other deities) and as the one who really moves when any of the principal gods move. In other words, she is the ultimate ruler even over the divine world.

How can such absolute transcendence be grasped? Here the "classical" marital symbolism of the Neolithic and agricultural world, with its own prehistoric roots, makes its force felt. The farmer's work is the outer circle of a series of concentric circles. In the symbolic expressions sexual and marital imagery form the center.

The economic change brought about by agriculture is the one aspect most immediately visible to a modern spectator. No doubt it is significant that for the first time staple food could be stored. (One understands at once that, from an economic standpoint, this is the birth of a true notion of capital, for without some degree of permanence, "capital" remains a hazy concept.) The ability to store grain creates the conditions necessary for larger communities. These facts are all of significance for the historian, yet they are abstract inferences from situations of which archaelogical finds, ancient art objects, icons, temples, and myths speak directly and concretely. For example, in the culture of ancient Greece, grain was stored in vessels that were half buried in the earth, and such vessels were the place where divinities of the earth (chthonic deities) appeared.

The acts of a great goddess, the divine character of the earth, the significance of women, the ritual nature of work on the land and its bond with sexual involvement all amount to a new, total experience of the everyday world and its ultimate foundation. How novel this entire symbolism was can be seen from the frequency and the ferocity with which outsiders have tried to destroy it. The expansion of Indo-European tribes (c. 3000 to 1500 BCE) religiously pastoral rather than agricultural in orientation, set civilization back considerably (Gimbutas, 1982). Various nomadic raids in

Northwest India and also much later conquests by Muslim invaders, who, like the Indo-Europeans, were basically pastoral in their religious orientation, made havoc of temples; the invaders were particularly provoked by sensual imagery (which for Muslims included the unveiled faces of goddesses and nymphs sculptured in sanctuaries).

In its turn, agricultural life itself became established and traditional; sexual rituals persisted. These latter have rightly drawn the attention of well-known scholars (such as Mannhardt, Frazer, J. J. Meyer, and many others) not only to rites in ancient societies but also in continuing folk customs. The power of naked women to increase the harvest is attested by a number of cultic ceremonies. Images of prehistoric, protohistoric, and traditional goddesses show the ancient significance of nudity, as do those of fully dressed goddesses alternating with trees with dense foliage (Przyluski, 1950). Prosperity and abundance are symbolically integrated in the dynamic of ritual life. Mannhardt and Frazer have recorded many instances where the sex act itself was believed to be an effective magic. The explanation of "magic" makes sense if only one bears in mind that it owes its existence to a coherent vision of this world and its divine complement.

Perhaps many older, prehistoric images of goddesses or perhaps many prehistoric artistic designs interweaving male and female characteristics anticipated comparable ideas and hopes. Whatever the likelihood of this suggestion, there is no doubt that full-fledged agricultural societies, even at a very early date, were in a special position to focus on certain aspects of the symbolism.

EARLY CITY-STATES AND HIERODOULOI. The *hieros gamos* as a royal ritual is the creation of early city-states built on the wealth provided by agriculture. Far from putting an end to the "primitive" village cults, they expanded and stylized them with forms that were derived from, and were variations of, earlier symbolism. One of these is the sexual union of the king and a "priestess" as an episode in the lengthy ancient Babylonian Akitu (New Year) festival. The model for this rite is already given in Sumerian myths and temple customs. It is true that existing knowledge of religious practices among the common people of the ancient Mesopotamian world is inadequate, but it is known that in this world the main ritual procedures for the entire populace were carried out through the mediation of rulers and religious specialists of various kinds. Around 2100 BCE King Gudea had a temple built for the god Ningirsu, who had appeared to him in a dream. Among the rites performed in the new temple was the sacred wedding ceremony of the god and his consort Baba, lasting seven days. Apparently such a marriage was an expected part in the liturgy for each one of the important deities already present in Sumerian culture, as it was later in Babylonian cults, and still later throughout Assyrian and also West Semitic cults.

The *hieros gamos* rite, attached to the New Year festival and celebrated in various cultic centers, symbolized the union of the king of the city and the city's goddess, represented sometimes by the king's consort, more often by a *hierodoulē,* a female servant of the sanctuary, a "priestess." (It may be misleadingly derogatory to translate the Sumerian or Akkadian terms as "sacred prostitute.") Many bloody sacrifices were offered, functioning, as has been suggested, as wedding gifts, but certainly losing none of their proper sacrificial value, involving humankind in activities brimming with the risks of encountering the divine world and venturing its existence in the time to come on this encounter. The entire wedding in the ritual is a replica, a visible counterpart, of the celestial union. Not only was the *hierodoulē* the personification of a goddess, but also the king might be said to represent a god, if only some qualifications are made.

An early prototype of the ritual is the Sumerian story of the goddess Inanna and her relation to Dumuzi. The latter is depicted as a shepherd boy with whom the supreme, all-powerful goddess fell in love. In the drama the goddess descends into the netherworld for reasons that are not altogether clear but are certainly related to her ambition to perfect her rule by extending it even over the realm of the dead. She is defeated in her attempt, and her "elder sister," Ereshkigal (the queen of the great below) makes no exception in her case; she fixes "the look of death" on Inanna. Inanna cannot escape unless a substitute is found. She vows to find one. In her absence, Dumuzi, her love, spends his time with all the paraphernalia of wealth and power, occupying the throne. Although Inanna had no intention of consigning him to the netherworld in her place, she now fixes "the look of death" on him and orders the demons to take him away and torture him. The story ends in a compromise, whereby Dumuzi will be on earth for half the year, and the other half in the realm of death.

It is this type of mythological configuration that served as a model for the Sumero-Akkadian kings, and it is this type of mythology with its many themes, subthemes, and variations that formed the pattern of kingship and religion in the entire world of the ancient Near East. *Ezekiel* 8:14 is one of the texts in the tradition of Israel strongly opposed to most of the religious customs connected with the *hieros gamos;* it tells of women who (ritually) bewailed the fate of Tammuz (Dumuzi) at the gates of the temple. A considerable number of details make it not at all unlikely that also the gospel story of Jesus Christ owes some of its features to the myth of the dying shepherd-god (Kramer, 1969). Dumuzi (Tammuz) is not really presented as a god, and originally he was no god but rather a (human) king whose marriage to the great goddess (Inanna-Ishtar) was required to confer a sacred certainty, a future, and wealth on his land.

It is clear that kingship demanded a sacred foundation that could be provided only through the omnipotence of the great goddess. However, the complexity of the story of Inanna and Dumuzi, even in summary, allows one to see more than a utilitarian purpose, or a mere generalization on an ideology of kingship. The sacred marriage, far from being a mere cerebrally thoughtout, politically effective ceremony, is a manner of coming to terms with the extreme agonies of human existence: defeat vis-à-vis death, the ultimate frustration of any attempt to amass power or wealth, in spite of the necessity to do so. Both the certainty of death and the uncertainty of power and wealth are not only facts of life; they are experiences in the ultimate drama, to be relived each year. The king's place, and through his mediation, humankind's place in the relationship to the goddess and her partner, allow for an initiation into the mystery of existence. Obviously, this is much more than a clarification concerning a destiny after death or an explanation or stimulus for the sowing and reaping of grain, or a comment on the life and death cycle of cereals.

In Babylonian religion, the rule of the supreme god Marduk, just like that of his divine partner Ishtar (the Akkadian name of Inanna), is not limited to one area. Although the goddess's myth shows her as not altogether successful in her journey to the netherworld, she does return and her rule is emphatically presented as universal. In contrast, in the earliest myths, Dumuzi remains associated with pastoral life, and the impression is given that rule on earth has its limits; this same impression is also given in later times. Such rule, however, must have its basis in the *hieros gamos.*

That the certainty of rule over the land and its wellbeing is of the utmost concern is borne out by the king's determination of destiny. Just as the god Marduk's rule was established when he received the "tablets of fate" (in the *Enuma elish,* the most famous creation myth), the king shows himself as king in fixing the rules and regulations that keep the universe functioning properly. The ritual by which he does so is complex, but it is related to the Akitu festival, and the sacred marriage itself is to be regarded as a "third form for the determination of destiny" (Pallis, 1926). Clearly, the union with the goddess is of paramount importance for rule on earth.

THE POWER AND LOVE OF THE GODDESS. It has been seen that the one most striking theme in the mythology and rituals of the sacred marriage is the power of the goddess. It is associated with war and destructive anger but also with irresistible life and with love. This mythology is the root of much love poetry, even in traditions that, with Israel, rejected its symbols and rituals. The words of the *Song of Songs* 8:6, "love is strong as death," derive their force and meaning from the same revolutionary reorientation in the history of humankind that created the *hieros gamos* symbolism.

Although the Mesopotamian imagery of the sacred marriage is the earliest on record, comparable symbolisms have arisen in other religions (e.g., Mexico and India)—always in an agricultural context and in a tropical or temperate region more or less close to the equator. Contrary to ideas that dominated scholarship for a long time, supreme goddesses are not primarily mothers but lovers. When supreme male deities come to the fore, such as Marduk in Babylon or Viṣṇu and Śiva in Hinduism, the devotee turns generally not to the male but to the female partner of the couple, from whom flows grace, and who in her loving relation provides the perfect bridge. In the devotional experience of Vaiṣṇavism (the religion of the distinctly royal, masculine, yet compassionate god Viṣṇu), the devotee calls instinctively on Lakṣmī (Śrī), Viṣṇu's consort, who is depicted in Hindu literature as accessible, even more accessible than Viṣṇu himself. Through many waves of cultural history and religious change the very early experience of the great goddess's love is still tangible.

Perhaps most noteworthy, in Mahāyāna Buddhism, most especially in Tibet, the goddess Tārā has preserved her popularity, in spite of the traditional prominence of the male element in Buddhism, in which according to an almost general consensus only a final birth as a man can open the way to *nirvāṇa.* Tārā however is ranked on the same level as the *bodhisattva*s, those who are prepared to enter *nirvāṇa* but decide not to do so and decide instead to assist the as yet unsaved world. Again, through the female, bliss is most accessible.

SEE ALSO Agriculture; Akitu; Androgynes; Goddess Worship; Hierodouleia; Kingship, article on Kingship in the Ancient Mediterranean World; Marriage; New Year Festivals; Sexuality.

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HIGH GODS SEE SUPREME BEINGS

HIJIRI are Japanese lay ascetics and influential antagonists of priests and monks. The role of the *hijiri* in Japanese folk religion is far more important than that of the ministers of the official religions (priests and monks in Shintō and Buddhism, respectively). The *hijiri* is in many ways the spokesman of the common man. *Hijiri* are the forerunners of the lay leaders of modern Japanese sects, who are considered to embody the spirit of that traditional role. The concept of *hijiri* dates back to the earliest known period of Japanese history, when the *hijiri* (lit., "he who knows the sun") determined and appointed the years, months, and days, and must have been connected with an unofficial and spontaneous cult of the sun goddess Amaterasu. The *hijiri* gradually came to be considered a sage, the one who, like the sun, let the light of his knowledge shine on others. He must have been a charismatic leader, endowed, like a shaman, with supernatural powers and natural skills.

The transmission of Daoism and Confucianism to Japan expanded the meaning of *hijiri* to include the Chinese ideas of the *xian,* the mountain ascetic and hermit, the *shengxian,* the virtuous hermit, and the *shengren,* the holy one or "ultimate man." As the one who is believed to reconcile in himself the opposites of *mu* and *wu,* of nonbeing and being, life and death, male and female, the *hijiri* was considered to live in happiness in the hereafter.

The introduction of Buddhism into Japan in 538 added still other meanings to the notion of *hijiri.* In Buddhism a *hijiri* became in the eyes of the laity the sacred and highly respected antagonist of its official ministers, the monks in their hierarchical ranks. He was believed to be the ideal *ubasoku* (Skt., *upāsaka,* "layman"). In the *Nihonshoki,* one of the oldest Japanese chronicles, two prominent Buddhist lay leaders, the Korean king Song (sixth century) and the Japanese prince regent Shōtoku Taishi (574–622), are depicted as *hijiri.* After Shōtoku Taishi's death the monk Eji cried, "He was verily a great *hijiri*" (Kamstra, 1967, p. 424). As *hijiri,* these leaders combined the old Japanese idea of the wise man and the Chinese ideas of the virtuous, ascetic, and ultimate man with that of the holy *upāsaka.*

A few decades later, people who showed special skill also came to be called *hijiri.* One finds *go no hijiri,* experts in *go; waka no hijiri,* experts in *waka* (Japanese poems); and *sake no hijiri,* experts in producing *sake* (rice wine). From the eighth century on, the *hijiri* gradually became protectors of the common people against the *goryōshin,* the angry spirits of those who did not die like decent people. In doing so, they followed patterns of life different from those of monks and priests: they did not settle down, but wandered in the mountains and from village to village and city to city. They followed one of three kinds of religious and magical practices: *nembutsu* (invocation of the name of the Buddha Amida), Shugendō (mountain asceticism based on Tantrism and Shintō shamanism), and *yin-yang* magic. The most prominent of these three groups were without any doubt the *nembutsu-hijiri.* They served not only to protect against the threat of angry spirits but also performed memorial rites to the spirits of the dead consisting of the recitation of the most powerful *sūtras.* Sometimes they chanted these texts while dancing the *nembutsu* dance. *Hijiri* who gave up their wandering life and settled down lost claim to the title. Some fell to the lowest classes and became producers of bamboo wares, stage actors, or puppet performers. From the fourteenth century onward, the name *hijiri* was also applied to laymen who performed special tasks in Buddhist temples or monasteries. Some of these lay *hijiri* (*zoku hijiri*) served as bell ringers, gardeners, Buddha hall keepers, pagoda keepers, and grave keepers.

SEE ALSO Nianfo; Onmyodo; Shugendō.

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J. H. KAMSTRA (1987)

HILDEBRAND SEE GREGORY VII

HILDEGARD OF BINGEN. Few medieval figures enjoy as much popularity in the contemporary Western world as the German Benedictine abbess Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179). Her influence reflects the combination of authentic discovery and creative misreading that so often characterizes modern appropriations of religious figures from history. She appears in some ways to be very much a twelfth-century phenomenon in her rationalistic optimism, her persistent interest in questions of cosmology, and her openness to the use of art in the service of theological truths as well as her exaltation of virginity and assertion that women are the weaker sex. Hildegard was a visionary, a theologian, a musician, and a correspondent of popes and princes. She founded two religious houses for women and undertook a number of preaching tours.

In her theological writings Hildegard felt able to explore distinctively feminine aspects of the revelation, which is apparent in her imaginative and repeated use of feminine imagery to express the dynamic and creative qualities of God, who is often depicted as a nurturing mother or as Wisdom. Hildegard had an ability to bring her experience as a woman to bear on some of the major moral and doctrinal themes of the day, and she was happy to reinterpret Christian Scripture from a female perspective without any hint that she might be departing from orthodox readings. The fact that Hildegard had the freedom to develop in this way is a reminder of the extent to which she belongs to the twelfth century—before the period of the increased centralization and clericalization of the church and the rise of the universities that characterized the century that followed.

HILDEGARD'S LIFE. Little of Hildegard's background is known, but her biographer records that from her earliest years she possessed an unusual visionary gift of being able to foretell the color of a calf in its mother's womb. This may have prompted Hildegard's parents to offer their tenth child to the nearby Benedictine monastery of Disibodenberg as an oblate. The eight-year-old Hildegard was placed in the care of a noblewoman, Jutta von Spanheim, and together with their servants, Jutta and Hildegard formed the nucleus of the women's community at Disibodenberg.

Hildegard's visions continued throughout her adolescence, but it was not until several years after Jutta's death in 1136, when Hildegard was the *magista* (leader) of the women's community, that she received what she took to be a divine command to disclose the content of her visions. She confided in the provost of the community, a monk named Volmar, who had responsibility for the nuns' spiritual welfare. Volmar was to play an important role in Hildegard's life, encouraging and supporting her, often in the face of sceptical opposition, and acting as her amanuensis. The sense that she was guided by God through her visions was a pivotal feature of Hildegard's spiritual life. When she resisted the divine command, she became sick and was forced to take up her pen, recording not only her visions but letters of instruction, admonishment, and encouragement both to ordinary people and to the secular and religious leaders of her day.

By 1150 Hildegard's community of nuns had outgrown their cramped quarters on Mount Disibodenberg, and they moved to Rupertsberg in the Rhine Valley opposite the town of Bingen. Here, free of the overweening authority of the abbot, Kuno, Hildegard flourished and produced many of the splendid liturgical works that illustrate her vision of the female monastic vocation, with gorgeously dressed virgins occupying the place of honor while singing and giving glory to God. At the age of sixty, following an illness that preceded most of Hildegard's major decisions and after nearly fifty years enclosed in a convent, Hildegard embarked on the first of four preaching tours. In 1165 Hildegard established a second community of Benedictine nuns on the opposite bank of the Rhine at Eibingen, and the successors of this community continue to publish Hildegard's works, sing her anthems, and live according to her inspiration. Hildegard's feast day is celebrated on September 17, the anniversary of her death.

Hildegard's Contributions. Hildegard's personality appears at once complex, appealing, and exasperating. She was imperious toward kings and popes but not free of self-doubt, often taking to her bed for long periods when thwarted or uncertain which way to move. She was deeply touched by God but not free of social snobbery (the communities she founded admitted only highborn women) and possessed a love of finery and dramatic liturgical performance. Her letters reveal her to be both wise and insecure, demanding loyalty and devotion, and peevish when she felt betrayed. Although essentially a conservative figure, indebted to the spirit of orthodoxy and deeply committed to her work as a theologian with a moral and spiritual message, Hildegard also transcended the parameters of her age. Of particular resonance in the twenty-first century is her emphasis on the fertility and fecundity of God, expressed in the recurrent image of *viriditas* or "greenness," a term that encompasses the natural world as the living body of God, the life of the church, the saints in heaven, and the grace given to individual believers.

Although Hildegard has been espoused as an "ecological saint" and in her native Germany is followed for her herbal cures, she is also widely known and appreciated through her musical compositions. For Hildegard, music was not peripheral to the religious life; rather, it invoked the harmony of the celestial spheres. In addition to over seventy liturgical pieces, she wrote an operatic psychodrama composed as part of a healing process for a distressed sister. Two of Hildegard's visionary manuscripts were richly illustrated (although probably not by her hand), and artists have drawn inspiration from the imagery—verbal and pictorial—expressed in these works. It has been suggested that Hildegard's visions are typical of a migraine sufferer, which may also explain her frequent illnesses, but Hildegard's genius is misunderstood if the medium of her visions is confused with the profound and inspirational nature of her theology and art. Hildegard is recognized as a local saint of the Catholic Church, acclaimed by the popular devotion of the people of the Rhineland, and continues to inspire countless people from many nations who rediscover the breadth, beauty, and majesty of her work.

See Also Benedictines; Nuns, article on Christian Nuns.

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Fiona Bowie (2005)
Oliver Davies (2005)

HILDESHEIMER, ESRIEL

(1820–1899), was a German rabbi and founder of the Orthodox Rabbinical Seminary in Berlin. Hildesheimer was born in Halberstadt, Germany, and was educated in the first Orthodox school in Germany to include secular subjects in its curriculum. He continued his studies with Jacob Ettlinger and Isaac Bernays, rabbis who combined their traditional observance with a receptivity to contemporary thought. Both men encouraged Hildesheimer's interest in secular learning, and under their influence he went on to the universities of Berlin and Halle; from the latter he received in 1846 a Ph.D. for a study of the Septuagint. Hildesheimer emerged from his early years as a staunch opponent of Reform Judaism and a major proponent of the modern Orthodox philosophy of *torah ʿim derekh erets,* Samson Raphael Hirsch's slogan that affirmed the worth of modern Western culture and traditional Jewish study and belief.

Hildesheimer's first opportunity to realize his ambitions for the creation of a "cultured Orthodoxy" came in 1851, when he became rabbi of the Jewish community in Eisenstadt, Hungary (now in Austria). There he established the first *yeshivah* in the modern world to have a secular component in its regular course of study. This innovation earned Hildesheimer the wrath of many Orthodox traditionalists in Hungary, and as a result he returned to Germany in 1869. In Berlin he became rabbi of the separatist Orthodox congregation Adass Jisroel. In 1873, with the opening of the Orthodox Rabbinical Seminary, Hildesheimer realized his dream of a school that would train rabbis committed to both Jewish Orthodoxy and *Wissenschaft des Judentums* (the modern scholarly study of Judaism). This institution gained

Hildesheimer a position of leadership among Orthodox Jews, and his institutional accomplishments mark him as a major architect of modern Jewish Orthodoxy.

Hildesheimer himself produced a number of scholarly works; the most prominent is a critical edition (1890) of *Halakhot gedolot,* an important geonic work. In addition, he founded in 1870 a German-language newspaper, *Die jüdische Presse,* for the dissemination of his views. His opinions on contemporary issues are also reflected in his *Gesammelte Aufsätze* (1923), a collection of his major polemical/apologetic essays. His Jewish legal rulings, *Teshuvot Rabbi ʿEsriʾel* (1969–1976), have appeared in two volumes.

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DAVID ELLENSON (1987)
Revised Bibliography

HILLEL (c. 50 BCE–early first century CE), Jewish sage and teacher. Although several modern scholars claim that Hillel, known as "the Elder," had Alexandrian roots, there is no reason to doubt the Talmudic tradition that he was a native of Babylonia. Hillel was a disciple of Shemaʿyah and Avṭalyon, who preceded Hillel and his colleague Shammai as the two leading teachers, or "pairs" *(zugot)*, in Jerusalem. The Jerusalem (Palestinian) Talmud reports (*Pes.* 6.1, 33a, where Hillel is called "the Babylonian") that Hillel was designated *nasiʾ* (patriarch, i.e., head of the court) in recognition for having been able to resolve a difficult question of Jewish law on the basis of a tradition he heard from Shemaʿyah and Avṭalyon. The later patriarchs were regarded as descendants of Hillel, who in turn was said to have been a scion of the house of David (J.T., *Taʿan.* 4.2, 68a). Most scholars do not take the latter claim seriously, as Davidic ancestry is also assigned to the Hasmonaeans, Herodians, Jesus, Yehuda ha-Nasiʾ, and the Babylonian exilarchs. It is possible that Hillel is to be identified with Pollio (Pollion), the Pharisee who appears in the *Jewish Antiquities* (15.3, 15.370) of Josephus Flavius (37/8–c.100), but this may be a reference to Avṭalyon.

Talmudic tradition portrays Hillel as a great spiritual leader who embodied the qualities of humility, patience, peace, love of Torah, and social concern. Many of the well-known sayings attributed to Hillel in Mishnah *Avot* (chaps. 1 and 2) emphasize these ideals. For example: "Be of the disciples of Aaron, loving peace and pursuing peace, loving people and bringing them near to the Torah." "A name made great is a name destroyed." "If I am not for myself who is for me? And when I am for myself, what am I? And if not now when?" "Do not separate yourself from the community." "Do not judge your fellow until you are in his position." A popular tradition (B.T., Shab. 31a) illustrates Hillel's forbearance and contrasts it with the impatience of Shammai, who often appears as his foil. Shammai is said to have rebuffed a heathen who demanded of him: "Make me a proselyte on condition that you teach me the entire Torah while I stand on one foot." When approached by the same heathen Hillel responded, "What is hateful to you do not do to your fellow man. That is the whole Torah, the rest is commentary. Go and learn it." This negative formulation of what eventually circulated as the Golden Rule, like many of Hillel's sayings, has parallels in ancient literature (e.g., *Tb.* 4:15), so the intention is not simply to relate the uniqueness or essence of Judaism. Here Hillel appears as the teacher par excellence; in one utterance he conveys that the central ideals of Judaism are easily delineated, but the path to their fulfillment can be discerned only through further study and commitment.

Several social *taqqanot* ("enactments") are associated with Hillel. The most important of these is the *prozbul,* a legal instrument that enabled creditors to claim their debts after the sabbatical year though biblical law (*Dt.* 15.2) prohibited it (*Sheviʿit* 10.3). The biblical law was intended to protect the poor in an agricultural society. In later times, when the economy depended upon the free flow of credit, people would refrain from lending as the sabbatical year drew near because they feared the money owed them would not be collectible. By means of the *prozbul,* creditors transferred their bonds to the court, thereby retaining the right to collect after the sabbatical year.

Hillel's interest in the intention of the biblical text and its practical application to daily life may be the reason he is credited (Tosefta *San.* 7.11) with the promulgation of seven exegetical principles *(middot),* several of which were known to have existed earlier. These principles were expanded to thirteen by the second century tanna Yishmaʿeʾl ben Elishaʿ (*Sifraʾ,* intro.). While there are very few instances where Hillel (or for that matter, Beit Hillel, the school of thought named after him) is reported to have employed these principles (see B.T., *Pes.* 66a; J.T., *Pes.* 6.1, 33a), their importance increased in the later tannaitic and amoraic periods.

Hillel's significance has been assessed in various ways, all of which acknowledge that he was a pivotal figure in Judaism during the late first century BCE and the early first century CE. Joseph Klausner, Alexander Guttmann, and Judah Goldin have regarded the sage as responsible for establishing the importance of intellect and interpretation along with tradition. David Daube has suggested that Hillel created the basis for the development of Jewish law, narrowing the differences between the Pharisees and Sadducees by showing how the oral law is inherent in the written. Jacob Neusner has credited Hillel with the transformation of the Pharisees from a political party to a society of "pious sectarians" committed to "table-fellowship," that is, to the meticulous observance of tithing laws and the eating of everyday meals in a state of ritual purity.

SEE ALSO Beit Hillel and Beit Shammai.

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ḤILLĪ, AL- (AH 648–726/1250–1326 CE), more fully Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Manṣūr al-Ḥasan ibn Yūsuf ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Muṭahhar, known as ʿAllāmah ("great scholar" or "sage") al-Ḥillī after Hillah, a great center of Shīʿī learning in southern Iraq; hence, a number of famous scholars are known as al-Ḥillī.

Al-Ḥillī studied first with his father and then with his famous maternal uncle, Najm al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim Jaʿfar ibn Saʿīd al-Ḥillī, known as "the Foremost Scholar" (al-Muḥaqqiq al-Awwal), as well as with a number of other Shīʿī and Sunnī scholars. His mentor in philosophy and theology was the controversial astrologer, theologian, and philosopher Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 1274).

Al-Ḥillī wrote in all the religious and rational sciences, as well as in biography, Arabic grammar, and rhetoric. He was the first to apply the scientific study (*ʿilm*) of the *ḥadīth* ("traditions") to Shīʿī tradition, and his methodology remains normative in Shīʿī *ḥadīth* scholarship. The method, however, earned him the hostility of the Akhbārī scholars, who accepted all the traditions in the four Shīʿī *ḥadīth* collections as sound.

The majority of al-Ḥillī's works, numbering over one hundred, or according to some accounts five hundred, have been lost. Among his ten published works, all of them standard textbooks in jurisprudence and theology, is *Sharḥ Tajrīd al-Iʿtiqād*, a commentary on *Tajrīd al-Iʿtiqād* (Divesting the creed [of all details]), a Shīʿī creed by Ṭūsī. This commentary has superseded all other works on Shīʿī dogmatics. Al-Ḥillī's treatise *Al-bāb al-ḥādī ʿashar* (The eleventh chapter) is an important creed and has been translated into English. It was appended to another of his important works, *Minhāj al-ṣalāḥ fī ikhtiṣār al-Miṣbāḥ* (The Proper way to abridge *The Lamp*), an abridgement of Abū Jaʿfar Ṭūsī*'s Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* (The lamp of the vigilant [in the night prayers]).

Around 1305 al-Ḥillī traveled to Persia, where he engaged in many debates with leading Sunnī scholars. Under his influence the eighth Il-khanid sultan of Persia, Öljeitü Khudā-Banda, who had been first a Christian, later a Buddhist, and then a Ḥanafī Sunnī Muslim, was converted to Twelver Shiism. Under Öljeitü the names of the twelve Shīʿī imams were inscribed on mosques, and coins were struck in their names. Thus for the first time, however briefly, Twelver Shiism was officially recognized as the state religion of Iran.

ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī, a contemporary of Ibn Taymīyah and other noted Sunnī scholars, was both admired for his great learning and attacked and vilified as a leading and influential Shīʿī scholar. He was honored by being buried at Najaf in the shrine of ʿAlī, the first Shīʿī imam (and not, as William M. Miller, Dwight M. Donaldson, and S. Husain Jafri mistakenly assert, in Mashhad, Iran: "al-Mashhad al-Ghurawī" is an honorific title for the shrine of ʿAlī in Najaf). Al-Ḥillī's tomb in Najaf is well known and often visited by pilgrims.

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Mahmoud M. Ayoub (1987)

HINCMAR

HINCMAR (c. 805–882) was an archbishop of Reims. He was born in northern France and sent as a boy to be educated at the Abbey of Saint-Denis near Paris under its famous abbot, Hilduin. Hincmar entered the monastic community at Saint-Denis and together with Hilduin spent some long periods at the court of Louis I (r. 814–840). In 845 he was chosen—no doubt with the approval of Charles II (r. 840–877), the son of Louis I—to fill the archepiscopal see of Reims, which had been vacant since the deposition of Ebbo (835). Claiming to have been unjustly deposed, Ebbo had reoccupied his see for a time and had performed ordinations during this period; he and his supporters introduced struggles and complications into Hincmar's career that persisted even after Ebbo's death (851), particularly with respect to the clerics Ebbo had ordained.

A man with a forceful personality and unbounded energy, Hincmar seemed to thrive on controversy; one finds him enmeshed in all the important struggles of his time. The intemperate nature of his language and actions gained him more enemies than friends. On the political level he sided with Louis I and Charles II against the emperor Lothair I (r. 840–855) and his son Lothair II, king of Lorraine (r. 855–869). The emperor, part of whose territory came under Reims's jurisdiction, supported Ebbo and attempted to depose Hincmar. With regard to Lothair II, Hincmar strongly opposed the king's repudiation of his wife Theutberga in order to marry his concubine, and he wrote the well-known treatise *De devortio Lotharii et Teutbergae* to clarify all the doctrinal and canonical issues involved.

As archbishop, Hincmar attempted to reorganize his diocese, to recover ecclesiastical possessions that had been alienated, and in particular to bring all his diocesan bishops into obedient submission to his jurisdiction. This last effort led to a bitter and implacable conflict with his own nephew, also named Hincmar, bishop of Laon, against whom he wrote a treatise called the *Opusculum LV capitulorum.* The archbishop likewise interjected himself into the theological controversies of his day, taking the monk Gottschalk to task on the question of predestination in his treatise *Ad reclusos et simplices* and challenging the monk Ratramnus on the formula *trina deitas* in the treatise *De una et non trina deitate.* On the question of predestination, Hincmar sought an ally in John Scottus Eriugena (fl. 847–877), who also wrote on this matter. But the replies of several other contemporary theologians, Lupus (of Ferriéres), Prudentius (of Troyes), and Florus (of Lyons), show that Hincmar's theological speculations were not viewed as altogether sound.

Hincmar's vast literary output reflects all aspects of his activities. That he was a man of great learning is reflected in the splendid library he accumulated at Reims—many of whose books still survive—and in the scriptural, patristic, and other sources quoted in his treatises. His knowledge of civil and canon law is noteworthy; it is evident especially in his treatises on the divorce question and against his nephew, Hincmar of Laon. Only a fraction (about eighty letters) of his vast correspondence has survived, and several of his treatises are also lost, in particular two treatises on the question of images. Even in his own day he was accused of producing forgeries to support the causes he sponsored. His most recent biographer, Jean Devisse, has not succeeded in eliminating the doubts of scholars on this score. Hincmar is one of the first writers to quote the pseudo-Isidorian decretals, forgeries also dating from his time but almost certainly produced in the camp of his opponents, especially Ebbo and his supporters.

The section of the *Annales Bertiniani* from 861 to 882, which Hincmar composed, has earned the admiration of modern historians. In these pages, Hincmar demonstrates his penetrating mind and his ability to comment shrewdly on contemporary personages and events.

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Paul Meyvaert (1987)

HINDI RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS

HINDI RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS. Forty percent of India's billion-strong population speaks some form of Hindi as a first language, with the great concentration extending across north India from Rajasthan in the west to Bihar in the east. Urdu, Hindi's sister tongue, is spoken by tens of millions more, and is distinguished from Hindi chiefly by its preference for expressions derived from Persian and Arabic. Urdu is a tongue with Muslim associations, while Hindi has a Hindu flavor that is intensified by vocabulary adopted directly from Sanskrit. The membrane between the two languages is by no means impermeable, however, and the religious situation is similar: many of the practices surrounding Muslim holy men (*pīr*s), for example, closely resemble those associated with their Hindu counterparts (gurus, *sant*s, etc.).

Hindi speakers, who see themselves as occupying the geographic center of Hindu culture—what in earlier times was called the Middle Country (Madhyadeśa), where Aryan culture in India flourished—often suppose that regional distinctiveness is something characterizing other areas of the subcontinent more than their own. Local and regional identities are indeed strong in India, even within the Hindi-speaking area; nonetheless, there is a core of religious literature and tradition that sets the Hindi region apart from other areas of India and makes it possible for people whose personal religious emphases vary widely to communicate as members of a single, if large and complex, family.

The Bhakti Core. This core is defined by a corpus of devotional *(bhakti)* poetry generated from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries and associated with such names as Kabīr, Mīrā Bāī, Sūrdās, Tulsīdās, and Nānak. In the compositions of these singer-saints and others contemporary with them, various dialects of Hindi came into their own as media suitable for religious expression. Doubtless, earlier poetry also served as the focus for popular piety, but it seems to have remained largely oral; what survives in writing from the fourteenth and earlier centuries is largely in the nature of epic and romance, touching only obliquely on matters of faith. With but a few exceptions, religious texts apparently remained the province of those versed in Sanskrit and the Jain Prakrits: if there were vernacular texts, they have now been lost.

A written tradition of religious literature in the vernacular began to build in the fifteenth century with adaptations of the great Sanskrit epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The earliest were composed by Viṣṇudās at the court of Gwalior in 1435(?) and 1442. A century and a half later writers began giving vernacular form to the Sanskrit *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The most prestigious medium of literary expression in the western Hindi regions was Braj Bhāṣā, the language spoken from Gwalior northward throughout the Braj region, where the god Kṛṣṇa is said to have spent his youth. To the east, an alternate tradition held sway: Avadhi, the dialect spoken in Avadh, the natal region of the divine king Rāma. Avadhi too played host to vernacular adaptations of Sanskrit works, by far the most influential among them being the *Rāmcaritmānas* (Spiritual lake of the deeds of Rāma) of Tulsīdās, composed toward the end of the sixteenth century. A third major linguistic strand in the religious literature of medieval north India is less regional in character and less associated with myth and legend than either Braj Bhāṣā or Avadhi. Because it apparently had its home in a marketplace environment that made it accessible to Hindi speakers of various classes and regions, it typically contains a great mixture of dialectal forms and varies according to where it was spoken. Such language, which sometimes comes tolerably close to the *khaṛī bolī* that is the basis of modern standard Hindi, is difficult to describe, but insofar as it was productive of a religious literature it is often simply called *sādhukkaṛī bhāṣā*, "what holy men speak." In *sādhukkaṛī bhāṣā* the events of daily life and personal experience play an important role.

Anthologies of vernacular religious poetry, extant examples of which date back to the end of the sixteenth century, can be found in each of these three dialects; often an anthology contains more than one. Collections as different as the massive *Kartāpur Pothī* compiled at the time of Guru Arjun (1604) and the much smaller anthologies prepared for individual merchants or princes suggest by their linguistically diverse contents that songs composed as far west as the Punjab and as far east as Bihar could be considered part of a single network.

Within this overarching tradition, a more or less distinct thematic milieu is associated with each of the three major dialects. Much of the religious poetry in Braj Bhāṣā is devoted to Kṛṣṇa; Rāma is often addressed and described in Avadhi; and in *sādhukkaṛī bhāṣā* one finds a mixed agenda appropriate to the multiformity of the language: important traces of devotion to Śiva and Śakti, for example, sometimes lurk behind a predominantly Vaiṣṇava facade. Sūrdās, Nanddas, and a host of other poets native to the Braj region composed their Kṛṣṇa lyrics naturally enough in Braj Bhāṣā, as did Tulsīdās when he wrote his *Śrīkṛṣṇāgītavalī* (A series of songs to Kṛṣṇa); Mīrā Bāī, traditionally understood to have been a princess of Rajasthan, seems often to have done the same. Braj Bhāṣā was also deemed appropriate as a medium for the praise of Rāma, but when Tulsīdās began crafting his epical *Rāmcaritmānas*, Avadhi presented itself as a ready tool. Avadhi had already established itself as a fit vehicle for epic or elegiac themes such as those that fill the story of Rāma, and in a similar way Braj Bhāṣā, through its identification with the amorous Kṛṣṇa, came to be seen as the most graceful medium for love poetry in Hindi. *Sādhukkaṛī bhāṣā*, associated especially with such figures as Gorakhnāth, Kabīr, Ravidās, and Dādū, expressed its eclectic character in anthologies of poetry associated with the *sant* tradition, those "good folk" who preached allegiance to no particular form of God other than that transmitted through the charisma of one's *gurū*. In the language of *sant*s such as Kabīr, the designation *Rāma* had less to do with the *avatāra* of Viṣṇu who was an exemplary king bearing that name than with the totality of the divine presence.

Historians of Hindi literature have usually accepted a tripartite linguistic and theological division in categorizing medieval devotional poetry. They typically present the first two as divergent expressions of *saguṇa bhakti*—the Kriṣṇaite and the Rāmaite—and the last as *nirguṇa bhakti*. According to the *saguṇa* ("with qualities") persuasion, God can appropriately be worshiped through divine attributes and forms that make themselves felt in the phenomenal world, hence through myth and image. According to the *nirguṇa* ("without qualities") persuasion, the purpose of the religious life is to discard such earthbound symbols and attain a purer apprehension of the divine; this teaching is at the heart of the message of poets such as Kabīr and Nānak.

To overemphasize this tripartite taxonomy, however, is to ignore what binds together this whole array of poet-saints and all who venerate their names. Tradition has recognized these ties by affirming a series of connections—imagined or otherwise—between individual saints. To an extent these links reaffirm the individual dialects and religious traditions to which this article has referred, but they also create confluences between them that have a tendency to draw the group into a single stream. In *sant* poetry, some of these ties are claimed in verses attributed to the saints themselves: Ravidās makes mention of Nāmdev and Kabīr; Dādū adds Ravidās's name to the list; and Eknāth and Tukārām, the Maharashtrian poet-saints, in turn acknowledge Dādū. Other connections emerge in hagiologies as old as the *Bhaktamāl* of Nabhadas (c. 1625) and the *Caurāsīvaiṣṇavan kī vārtā* (c. 1650) attributed in its final form to Gokulnāth. The former depicts Kabīr, Ravidās, and Pīpā as pupils of a common *gurū*, Rāmānand, and the latter draws the catholic Sūrdās into a chain of sectarian poets such as Kṛṣṇadās and Khumbhandās, who were pupils of Vallabha. Other relationships seem to have been postulated later on, such as the tradition that Nānak met Kabīr, that Tulsīdās encountered Sūrdās, or that Mīrā Bāī embraced Ravidās as her *gurū*. And repeated patterns in the biographies of poet-saints on both sides of the *nirguṇa-saguṇa* line—a miraculous and undesired access to wealth, for example—draw these figures into even closer proximity.

Such associations at the level of hagiography echo others that figure in the poetry itself. For all their differences of perspective, the *bhakti* poets seem united in their conviction that one must cultivate personal experience as a way to approach God; hence they downplay and often ridicule the preoccupations of ritual religion. Furthermore, all the *bhakti* poets, with the occasional exception of Tulsīdās, seem to consider both sexes and all strata of society as potentially worthy devotees. Finally, they share a common mode of discourse. Poets as different as Sūrdās, with his tender affection for Kṛṣṇa as a child, and Kabīr, with his predilection for trenchant social criticism, unite in dedicating a significant proportion of their creative efforts to poems in the *vinaya* ("humble petition") genre. These songs of petition and complaint are occasioned primarily by the experience of being separated from God (*viraha*), and although the desire to see God (to have *darśan*, "sight") may seem natural from a *saguṇa* perspective such as Sūr's or Tulsī's, one also encounters it in poems attributed to Kabīr and Nānak. Indeed, these twin themes of *viraha* and *darśan* are persistent in *bhakti* poetry throughout the subcontinent.

THE PRESERVATION OF THE TRADITION. It is a measure of the extent to which the *bhakti* poets of the Hindi area define a regional sensibility that their works have become important elements in curricula used in the early twenty-first century in the public schools of north India. But the religious impact of the poets is felt even more keenly outside the classroom.

Performance. Every autumn, in the period surrounding the festival of Daśahrā or Vijayamadaśamī, when Rāma's victory over the demon Rāvaṇa is celebrated, Tulsīdās's *Rāmcaritmānas* becomes the basis for dramas (*rāma līlās*) depicting salient events in the life of Rāma. The most famous of these *rāma līlās* is performed on the grounds of the palace of the maharaja of Banaras and extends over a period of thirty-one days, drawing pilgrims from far and wide; equally well-attended *rāma līlās* are celebrated in cities and towns wherever Hindi is spoken. In a similar way, the weeks leading up to Kṛṣṇa's birthday Kṛṣṇa Janmāṣṭamī, which comes in August or September in the monsoon season, witness the performance of verses by Sūrdās and other Braj Bhāṣā poets in musical dramas depicting the life of Kṛṣṇa, particularly his childhood and youth. These *rasa līlās* emanate from the Braj region, which is a great center of pilgrimage, especially during the rainy months of Śrāvaṇ and Bhādrapad.

Though the *Rāmcaritmānas* typically becomes the basis for large public performances only in autumn, it serves as the focus of private devotions all year round: often individuals and religious associations engage brahmans to chant it uninterruptedly from start to finish, or do so themselves. Likewise, one can sing the songs of Kṛṣṇa in devotional groups at any time. Indeed, such *bhajan* ("singing") groups provide much of the informal religious life with which Indian villages and cities pulse. The Indian film industry—whose primary medium is Hindi—has adopted many traditional *bhajans* into its films, making them familiar not just in Hindi-speaking areas but throughout the country and beyond. It is difficult to say whether the public consciousness of religious literature in Hindi is now shaped more by schoolbooks and cheap religious pamphlets, by performers and itinerant preachers, or by the many films depicting religious themes, or again by a television series such as Rāmānand Sāgar's hugely successful *Rāmāyaṇ* (1987–1988), which was principally based on the *Rāmacaritmānas* and is available worldwide on cassette.

Communities and orders. Much of the religious life of north India over the past half millennium has been defined by the religious communities, both householder and ascetic, that were established to channel the religious fervor of the medieval period. These provide access to the *bhakti* tradition in both its *saguṇa* and *nirguṇa* modes, with the Gauḍīya, Vallabha, Nimbārka, Haridāsī, and Rādhāvallabha *sampradāyas* ("sectarian traditions") devoted primarily to Kṛṣṇa; the Rāmānandī order devoted especially to Rāma; and the Kabīr, Ravidāsī, Dādū, and Sikh Panths spreading the message of the *sants*.

Among the Kṛṣṇaite groups, the most influential have probably been the Gauḍīya and Vallabha *sampradāyas*. The former looks to the ecstatic saint Caitanya (1486–1533) as its founder—a Bengali who established temple and monastic lineages not only in his native region but in Braj and Orissa as well. The Caitanyaite influence on Braj has undoubtedly had much to do with elevating the worship of Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa's favorite among his milkmaid loves (*gopīs*), to a status almost on a par with his own: she is his consort, consubstantial with him. Other lineages that have their centers in Braj (the Rādhāvallabha, Haridāsī, and Nimbārka *sampradāyas*) share in this adulation of Rādhā, which finds expression in the poetry of such saints as Hit Harivaṁś, Haridās, and Vṛindāvandās.

The Vallabha Sampradāya, which traces its history to the sixteenth-century theologian Vallabhācārya, appears to have attained institutional definition somewhat later than the Gauḍīya Sampradāya, but was very successful in doing so. Though patronized early in its history by Mughal rulers, it was forced to flee the Braj area during the period when Aurangzeb occupied the throne; it transferred its center to Nāthdvārā in western Rajasthan. Partially in consequence of the proximity of Nāthdvārā to the west, Gujaratis have become among the most influential devotees in the Vallabhite fold, and their mercantile connections make them an important force across North India. Vallabha, in sympathy with the general sensibilities of the *bhakti* movement, questioned the propriety of clerical and monastic institutions, feeling that true faith admitted of no boundaries between religious specialists and ordinary people. Vallabha's progeny, however, developed a ritual style sufficiently elaborate, and a following sufficiently prosperous, to transform their homes into grand temples possessing some of the most detailed ceremonial traditions in all of Hinduism. One of the salient aspects of this style is its careful attention to hymnody: through *dhrupad* (a style of classical music) the Sampradāya has preserved a tradition of performing *bhakti* poetry that is otherwise obsolete in modern India.

Membership in both the Gauḍīya and the Vallabha *sampradāyas* involves initiation at the hands of one of their spiritual leaders. Such initiation is open on an ascriptive basis to anyone who seeks it, though family traditions usually determine the teaching heritage with which a person becomes allied. Another restriction pertains to social status. Normally, membership in these communities in confined to members of caste society; Dalits (formerly "Untouchables"), despite the thrust of some *bhakti* teachings, are usually not welcomed and do not seek to belong.

Membership patterns are significantly different among communities whose allegiance is to the *nirguṇa* side of the *bhakti* tradition. The theological emphasis on turning away from particular characteristics and forms attributed to God appears to go hand in hand with questioning the legitimacy of similar distinctions in society. Among *nirguṇa* poets, Kabīr and Ravidās made especially sharp comments about caste, owing in part, no doubt, to their own humble origins; the communities that have formed in their names continue to appeal to a largely lower-caste clientele. With Ravidās this is overwhelmingly true: over the past century—particularly in the Punjab but now elsewhere as well—his name has served as a rallying point for communal pride among the *camār* (leatherworking) caste to which he belonged. Ravidās temples, educational institutions, and community centers have been established, and poetry ascribed to him serves as an essential component of Ravidāsī teaching. The institutional heritage of Kabīr, the Kabīr Panth, is more complex and wide-ranging, embracing both monastic institutions and lay groups. It extends from a center in Kabīr's own city, Banaras, eastward into Bihar, and as far west as Gujarat. Although the Kabīr Panth has a predominantly lower-caste membership, merchant castes also play an important role, particularly in the Dharmadāsī branch.

Mercantile castes have exercised an even greater influence over the development of the Sikh Panth, the community that traces its origins to Nānak, since each of its ten *gurūs*, including Nānak himself, belonged to merchant (*khatrī*) families. The Sikh community is by no means restricted to *khatrīs*, however, and its leadership has been shared at least equally by the Punjabi farming and landowning caste called *jāṭ*. Whereas Kabīr and Ravidās groups often revere their *gurūs* in image form, ensconcing them at the center of their ritual lives, the Sikh community has, at least since the time of the tenth *gurū*, eschewed any such practice. In Sikh worship, the functions that otherwise would cluster around an image or *gurū* are diverted to a book—the *bhakti* anthology that took shape in the *Goindvāl Pothīs* and ultimately emerged as the *Ādi Granth*. For that reason the *Ādi Granth* is referred to as a *gurū* in its own right, the *Gurū granth sahib*. Through it, Sikhs come in daily contact with the words of the *nirguṇa bhakti* saints who stand at the fountainhead of their tradition.

Each of the communities mentioned so far, with the possible exception of the Ravidāsīs, can trace its origins directly to the medieval *bhakti* period, sometimes claiming an individual poet as its founder. But the *bhakti* heritage extends as well to groups whose institutional associations with the medieval saints are harder to establish. Prominent among these is the Radhasoami Satsang, a *nirguṇa* tradition that came into focus in the mid-nineteenth century and has since splintered into a number of *gurū*-centered communities, some with a sizable international constituency. Radhasoami is quite influential in North Indian life: many government bureaucrats count themselves members; its publications are numerous; and when large convocations are held at its center in Beas, Punjab, hundreds of thousands of pilgrims attend. Radhasoami's history features the establishment of several visionary communities, such as the one at Beas, part of whose impetus was to leave behind the encumbrances of caste as members gathered to lead a common life in the presence of a living *gurū*. Curiously, this seemingly plain-spoken egalitarian message from the *bhakti* tradition went hand in hand with an esoteric interpretation of other *bhakti* themes: the traditional importance of listening to the truth within, for example, was transmuted into a doctrine of the *gurū* as the incarnation of an eternal sound-current. When one seeks the roots of this kind of thinking, one is drawn back, through the Dharmadāsī branch of the Kabīr Panth, to the apotheosis of Kabīr himself as a primordial, supernatural force. Here, as in other aspects of the *nirguṇa bhakti* tradition, the demythologizing fervor that was expressed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries seems to have created a vacuum that was filled by remythologizing later on.

HINDI TRADITIONS IN A LARGER PERSPECTIVE. To sketch the religious traditions that have Hindi as their linguistic medium is scarcely to portray the full dimensions of the religious life of Hindus resident in North India. This article has said little about rituals pertaining to days, weeks, months, years, or the life cycle; about the panoply of religious specialists from brahmans to curers to ascetics; about the pantheon revered in various areas; about temple architecture and practice; or about how one's experience of religion is conditioned by one's sex, age, or position in the caste hierarchy, one's urban or rural locale, or one's proximity to a major religious center. Often, one or another of these factors affects patterns of individual piety more profoundly than the specifically "Hindi" traditions discussed here, and often what matters most does not hold constant across the whole Hindi region or the entire social spectrum. In the Hindi area as elsewhere, Hinduism resists easy generalizations. One can, however, point to certain motifs that seem particularly significant in North Indian religion, as contrasted with other areas of the subcontinent.

In the realm of ritual, for example, one might observe that it is somewhat more acceptable in North India than elsewhere for a young man to take on the sacred thread just prior to his marriage; elsewhere, there is greater insistence on keeping these two major rites of the life cycle separate and distinct. As for festivals, Holī, the spring first-fruits celebration that falls in March or April, assumes a bacchanalian intensity one might more easily associate with Gaṇeśa Caturthī in Maharashtra or Dūrgā Pujā in Bengal. Among religious specialists, one might mention the historically formative role played by the iconoclastic Nāth order, with its mixed ascetic and householder membership. The Nāth Sampradāya, which regards Gorakhnāth (c. eleventh century?) as its most important preceptor, was particularly influential in laying the basis for the *sant* tradition as it spread across North India in the early medieval centuries. It is associated with a particular form of yoga that assumed the potential immortality of all and questioned the efficacy of traditional forms of temple and Brahmanic ritual.

This discussion has already touched on several points relating to the pantheon, but it might be stressed in addition that while all of India has tended in recent centuries to foreshorten the distance between the great and local gods by focusing increased attention on intermediary figures such as the elephant divinity Gaṇeśa, North India has led the way in expanding the significance of his monkey cousin, Hanumān. In Hanumān, servant of Rāma, superhuman strength and superhuman devotion unite, making this god the very personification of efficacious *bhakti*; at the same time, he remains peculiarly accessible and unthreatening because he belongs to a subhuman species. The *Hanumān cālīsā* (nineteenth century?), dedicated to him, is one of the most frequently recited texts in North India, and many Hindi speakers turn first to the monkey god in times of peril and stress.

Like all of India's major regions, North India has its own set of pilgrimage places: Puṣkar and Nāthdvārā in Rajasthan; Badrināth and Gaṅgotrī in the Himalayas; Mathurā and Vṛndāvana in Braj; Ayodhyā in Avadh; and Hardvar, Prayāga, Banaras, and Gayā stretching along the Ganges from west to east. What is striking about several of these places, however—certainly Vṛndāvana, Prayāga, Ayodhyā, and Banaras—is that they attract pilgrims not merely from the Hindi-speaking regions but from all over India. Three among these—Vṛndāvana, Ayodhyā, and Banaras—gain their national reputation because they are perceived as the homes, the primary residences, of three great gods in the pantheon: Kṛṣṇa, Rāma, and Śiva. Banaras benefits additionally from its special association with the Ganges, holiest of India's waters; the Jumna (Yamunā), sister to the Ganges and for Hindus a goddess like her, contributes to the status of Vṛndāvana. Prayāga owes its special sanctity to the fact that it marks the confluence of these two rivers; every twelve years it plays host to the most populous of all Hindu festivals, the Kumbha Melā. Participants in the Kumbha Melā come from all corners of the subcontinent to bathe in the confluence of the Ganges, the Jumna, and the invisible Sarasvatī at the auspicious moment when the sun passes into the house of Aquarius; all caste groups, all major religious organizations, and all ascetic orders are represented.

The Kumbha Melā suggests what is perhaps the most distinctive feature of regional religion in the Hindi-speaking area: in some of its most important respects it is pan-Indian as well. One can find at Madurai "the Mathurā of the south" or in the Godavari a Ganges transposed to central India, but never the reverse; the songs of Mīrā Bāī are known all over India in a way that the Tamil lyrics of her south Indian counterpart Āṇṭāl can never be. The fact that Hindi rivals English as a lingua franca for modern India is not the only cause of the tendency among Hindi speakers to feel that the religion they practice somehow sets the Hindu paradigm; it is that history and mythology have made them before all others host to the gods. Kṛṣṇa and Rāma lived where they live, and when Śiva descended from the Himalayas to the plain, his feet first touched a place where Hindi is spoken. Successive invasions and movements of population have complicated and transformed the religious landscape of North India more than most areas of the subcontinent, but nothing can alter the Hindi region's special claim that the gods were there first.

SEE ALSO Ādi Granth; Banaras; Bhakti; Caitanya; Drama, article on Indian Dance and Dance Drama; Gorakhnāth;

Holī; Kabīr; Kṛṣṇa; Kumbha Melā; Līlā; Mīrā Bāī; Nānak; Pilgrimage, article on Hindu Pilgrimage; Rādhā; Rāma; Sikhism; Śiva; Śri Vaiṣṇavas; Sūrdās; Tulsīdās; Vallabha; Vṛndāvana.

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HINDUISM.

Hinduism is the religion followed by about 70 percent of the roughly seven hundred million people of India. Elsewhere, with the exception of the Indonesian island of Bali, Hindus represent only minority populations. The geographical boundaries of today's India are not, however, adequate to contour a full account of this religion. Over different periods in the last four or five millennia, Hinduism and its antecedents have predominated in the adjacent areas of Pakistan and Bangladesh and have been influential in such other regions as Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Southeast Asia, and Indonesia. But in these areas Hindu influences have been superseded or overshadowed by the influences of other religions, principally Buddhism and Islam. This account will treat only of Hinduism as it has taken shape historically in the "greater India" of the Indian subcontinent.

INDUS VALLEY RELIGION.

There are good reasons to suspect that a largely unknown quantity, the religion of the peoples of the Indus Valley, is an important source for determining the roots of Hinduism.

The Indus Valley civilization arose from Neolithic and Chalcolithic village foundations at about the middle of the third millennium BCE as a late contemporary of Egyptian and Mesopotamian riverine civilizations. It engaged in trade with both, though mostly with Mesopotamia. Reaching its apogee around 2000 BCE, it then suffered a long period of intermittent and multifactored decline culminating in its eclipse around 1600 BCE, apparently *before* the coming of the Aryan peoples and their introduction of the Vedic religious current. At its peak, the Indus Valley civilization extended over most of present-day Pakistan, into India as far eastward as near Delhi, and southward as far as the estuaries of the Narmada River. It was apparently dominated by the two cities of Mohenjo-Daro, on the Indus River in Sind, and Harappa, about 350 miles to the northwest on a former course of the Ravi River, one of the tributaries to the Indus. Despite their distance from each other, the two cities show remarkable uniformity in material and design, and it has been supposed that they formed a pair of religious and administrative centers.

The determination of the nature of Indus Valley religion and of its residual impact upon Hinduism are, however, most problematic. Although archaeological sites have yielded many suggestive material remains, the interpretation of such finds is conjectural and has been thwarted especially by the continued resistance of the Indus Valley script, found on numerous steatite seals, to convincing decipherment. Until it is deciphered, little can be said with assurance. The content of the inscriptions may prove to be minimal, but if the language (most likely Dravidian) can be identified, much can be resolved.

At both Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, the cities were dominated on the western side by an artificially elevated mound that housed a citadel-type complex of buildings. Though no temples or shrines can be identified, the complex probably served both sacred and administrative functions. A "great bath" within the Mohenjo-Daro citadel, plus elaborate bathing and drainage facilities in residences throughout the cities, suggests a strong concern for personal cleanliness, cultic bathing, and ritual purity such as resurface in later Hinduism. Indeed, the "great bath," a bitumen-lined tank with steps leading into and out of it from either end, suggests not only the temple tanks of later Hinduism but the notion of "crossing" associated with them through their Sanskrit name, *tīrtha* ("crossing place, ford").

A granary attached to the citadel may also have involved high officials in ceremonial supervision of harvests and other agricultural rituals. Terracotta female figurines with pedestal waists, found especially at village sites, reveal at least a popular cultic interest in fertility. They are probably linked with worship of a goddess under various aspects, for while some portray the figure in benign nurturing poses, others present pinched and grim features that have been likened to grinning skulls: These are likely foreshadowings of the Hindu Goddess in her benign and destructive aspects.

But most controversial are the depictions on the seals, whose inscriptions remain undeciphered. Most prominently figured are powerful male animals. They are often shown in cultic scenes, as before a sort of "sacred manger," or being led by a priestly ministrant before a figure (probably a deity and possibly a goddess) in a peepul tree, one of the most venerated trees in Hinduism. Male animals also frequently figure in combination with human males in composite animal-human forms. With female figures seemingly linked to the Goddess and males associated with animal power, it has been suggested that the two represent complementary aspects of a fertility cult with attendant sacrificial scenarios such as are found in the animal sacrifice to the Goddess in post-Vedic Hinduism. In such sacrifices the Goddess requires male offerings, and the animal represents the human male sacrificer. Most interesting and controveṛṣial in this connection is a figure in a yogic posture who is depicted on three seals and a faience sealing. Though features differ in the four portrayals, the most fully defined one shows him seated on a dais with an erect phallus. He has buffalo horns that enclose a treelike miter headdress, possibly a caricatured buffalo face, wears bangles and necklaces or torques, and is surrounded by four wild animals. Some of these associations (yoga, ithyphallicism, lordship of animals) have suggested an identification with the later Hindu god Śiva. Other traits (the buffalo-man composite form, association with wild animals, possible intimations of sacrifice) have suggested a foreshadowing of the buffalo demon Mashṣāsura, mythic antagonist and sacrificial victim of the later Hindu goddess Durgā. Possibly the image crystallizes traits that are later associated with both of these figures.

The notion that features of Indus Valley religion form a stream with later non-Aryan religious currents that percolate into Hinduism has somewhat dismissively been called the substratum theory by opponents who argue in favor of treating the development of Hinduism as derivable from within its own sacred literature. Though this "substratum" cannot be known except in the ways that it has been structured within Hinduism (and no doubt also within Jainism and Buddhism), it is clear that a two-way process was initiated as early as the Vedic period and has continued to the present.

VEDISM. The early sacred literature of Hinduism has the retrospective title of Veda ("knowledge") and is also known as *śruti* ("that which is heard"). Altogether it is a prodigious body of literature, originally oral in character (thus "heard"), that evolved into its present form over nine or ten centuries between about 1400 and 400 BCE. In all, four types of texts fall under the Veda-*śruti* heading: Saṃhitās, Brāhamaṇas, Āraṇyakas, and Upaniṣads. At the fount of all later elaborations are the four Saṃhitās ("collections"): the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā* (Veda of Chants, the oldest), the *Sāmaveda* and *Yajurveda Saṃhitā*s (Vedas of Melodies and Sacrificial Formulas, together known as the "liturgical" Saṃhitās), and the *Atharvaveda Saṃhitā* (the youngest, named after the sage Atharvan). These constitute the four Vedas, with some early sources referring to the "three Vedas" exclusive of the last. The material of the four was probably complete by 1000 BCE, with younger parts of the older works overlapping older parts of the younger ones chronologically. The Saṃhitās, or portions of them, were preserved by different priestly schools or "branches" (*śākhā*s) through elaborate means of memorization. Many of these schools died out and their branches became lost, but others survived to preserve material for literary compilation and redaction. The subsequent works in the categories of Brāhamaṇa, Āraṇyaka, and Upaniṣad are all linked with one or another of the Vedic schools, and thus with a particular Vedic Saṃhitā, so that they represent the further literary output of the Vedic schools and also the interests of the four types of priests who came to be associated differentially with the ritual uses of the four Saṃhitās. It is from the *Ṛgveda* that Vedic religion in its earliest sense must be reconstructed.

Although the urban civilization of the Indus Valley had run its course by the time of the arrival of the Aryans in about 1500 BCE, the newcomers met heirs of this civilization in settled agricultural communities. The contrast between cultures was striking to the Aryans, who described the indigenous population as having darker skin, defending themselves from forts, having no gods or religious rituals but nonetheless worshiping the phallus. As small stone phallic objects have been found at Indus Valley sites, this is probably an accurate description of a cult continued from pre-Vedic Indus Valley religion that prefigures the later veneration of the *liṅga* (phallus) in the worship of Śiva. In contrast to this predominantly agricultural population, the invading Aryans were a mobile, warlike people, unattached to cities or specific locations, entering Northwest India in tribal waves probably over a period of several centuries. Moreover, their society inherited an organizing principle from its Indo-European past that was to have great impact on later Indian civilization in the formation of the caste system. The ideal arrangement, which myths and ritual formulas propounded and society was to reflect, called for three social "functions": the priests, the warriors, and the agriculturalist-stockbreeders. Early Vedic hymns already speak of three such interacting social groups, plus a fourth—the indigenous population of *dāsa*, or *dasyu* (literally, "slaves," first mythologized as demon foes of the Aryans and their gods). By the time of the late *Ṛgveda,* these peoples were recognized as a fourth "class" or "caste" in the total society and were known as *śūdra*s.

Most crucial to the inspiration of the early Vedic religion, however, was the interaction between the first two groups: the priesthood, organized around sacerdotal schools maintained through family and clan lines, and a warrior component, originally led by chieftains of the mobile tribal communities but from the beginning concerned with an ideal of kingship that soon took on more local forms. Whereas the priests served as repositories of sacred lore, poetry, ritual technique, and mystical speculation, the warriors served as patrons of the rites and ceremonies of the priests and as sponsors of their poetry. These two groups, ideally complementary but often having rival interests, crystallized by late Vedic and Brahmanic times into distinct "classes": the *brāhamaṇa*s (priests) and the *kṣatriya*s (warriors).

Although the *Ṛgveda* alludes to numerous details of ritual that soon came to be systematized in the religion of the Brāhamaṇas, it brings ritual into relief only secondarily. The primary focus of the 1,028 hymns of the *Ṛgveda* is on praising the gods and the cosmic order (*ṛta*), which they protect. But insofar as the hymns invoke the gods to attend the sacrifice, there is abundant interest in two deities of essentially ritual character: Agni and Soma. Agni (Fire) is more specifically the god of the sacrificial fire who receives offerings to the gods and conveys them heavenward through the smoke. And Soma is the divinized plant of "nondeath" (*amṛta*), or immortality, whose juices are ritually extracted in the *soma* sacrifice, a central feature of many Vedic and Brahmanic rituals. These two gods, significantly close to humankind, are mediators between humans and other gods. But they are especially praised for their capacity to inspire in the poets the special "vision" *(dhī)* that stimulates the composition of the Vedic hymns. Agni, who as a god of fire and light is present in the three Vedic worlds (as fire on earth, lightning in the atmosphere, and the sun in heaven), bestows vision through "illumination" into the analogical connections and equivalences that compose the *ṛta* (which is itself said to have a luminous nature). *Soma,* the extracted and purified juice of the "plant of immortality," possibly the hallucinogenic fly agaric mushroom, yields a "purified" vision that is described as "enthused" or "intoxicated," tremulous or vibrant, again stimulating the inspiration for poetry. The Vedic poet (*kavi, ṛṣi,* or *vipra*) was thus a "seeer," or seer, who translated his vision into speech, thus producing the sacred *mantra*s, or verse-prayers, that comprise the Vedic hymns. Vedic utterance, itself hypostatized as the goddess Vāc (Speech), is thus the crystallization of this vision.

Vedic religion is decidedly polytheistic, there being far more than the so-called thirty-three gods, the number to which they are sometimes reduced. Though the point is controverṣial, for the sake of simplification one can say that at the core or "axis" of the pantheon there are certain deities with clear Indo-European or at least Indo-Iranian backgrounds: the liturgical gods Agni and Soma (cf. the Avestan deity Haoma) and the deities who oversee the three "functions" on the cosmic scale: the cosmic sovereign gods Varuṇa and Mitra, the warrior god Indra, and the Aśvins, twin horsemen concerned with pastoralism, among other things. Intersecting this structure is an opposition of Indo-Iranian background between *deva*s and *asura*s. In the *Ṛgveda* both terms may refer to ranks among the gods, with *asura* being higher and more primal. But *asura* also has the Vedic meaning of "demon," which it retains in later Hinduism, so that the *devaasura* opposition also takes on dualistic overtones. Varuṇa is the *asura par excellence,* whereas Indra is the leader of the *deva*s. These two deities are thus sometimes in opposition and sometimes in complementary roles: Varuṇa being the remote overseer of the cosmic order (*ṛta*) and punisher of individual human sins that violate it; Indra being the dynamic creator and upholder of that order, leader of the perennial fight against the collective demonic forces, both human and divine, that oppose it. It is particularly his conquest of the *asura* Vṛtra ("encloser")—whose name suggests ambiguous etymological connections with Varuṇa—that creates order or being (*sat,* analogous to *ṛta*) out of chaos or nonbeing (*asat*) and opens cosmic and earthly space for "freedom of movement" (*varivas*) by gods and humans. Considerable attention is also devoted to three solar deities whose freedom of movement, thus secured, is a manifestation of the *ṛta,* a prominent analogy for which is the solar wheel: Sūrya and Savitṛ (the Sun under different aspects) and Uṣas (charming goddess of the dawn). Other highly significant deities are Yama, god of the dead, and Vāyu, god of wind and breath. It is often pointed out that the gods who become most important in later Hinduism—Viṣṇu, Śiva (Vedic Rudra), and the Goddess—are statistically rather insignificant in the Veda, for few hymns are devoted to them. But the content rather than the quantity of the references hints at their significance. Viṣṇu's centrality and cosmological ultimacy, Rudra's destructive power and outsiderhood, and the this-worldly dynamic aspects of several goddesses are traits that assume great proportions in later characterizations of these deities.

Although it is thus possible to outline certain structural and historical features that go into the makeup of the Vedic pantheon, it is important to recognize that these are obscured by certain features of the hymns that arise from the type of religious "vision" that inspired them, and that provide the basis for speculative and philosophical trends that emerge in the late Veda and continue into the early Brahmanic tradition. The hymns glorify the god they address in terms generally applicable to other gods (brilliance, power, beneficence, wisdom) and often endow him or her with mythical traits and actions particular to other gods (supporting heaven, preparing the sun's path, slaying Vṛtra, and so on). Thus, while homologies and "connections" between the gods are envisioned, essential distinctions between them are implicitly denied. Speculation on what *is* essential—not only as concerns the gods, but the ritual and the *mantra*s that invoke them—is thus initiated in the poetic process of the early hymns and gains in urgency and refinement in late portions of the *Ṛgveda* and the subsequent "Vedic" speculative-philosophical literature that culminates in the Upaniṣads. Most important of these speculations historically were those concerning the cosmogonic sacrifices of Puruṣa in *Ṛgveda* 10.90 (the *Puruṣasūkta,* accounting for, among other things, the origin of the four castes) and of Prajāpati in the Brāhamaṇas. Each must be discussed further. In addition, speculations on *brahman* as the power inherent in holy speech and on the *ātman* ("self") as the irreducible element of personal experience are both traceable to Vedic writings (the latter to the *Atharvaveda* only). This article shall observe the convergence of all these lines of speculation in the Upaniṣads and classical Hinduism.

RELIGION OF THE BRĀHAMAṆAS. The elaboration of Vedic religion into the sacrificial religion of the Brāhamaṇas is largely a result of systematization. The first indication of this trend is the compilation of the liturgical Saṃhitās and the development of the distinctive priestly schools and interests that produced these compendiums. Thus, while the *Ṛgveda* became the province of the *hotṛ* priest, the pourer of oblations and invoker of gods through the *mantra*s (the term *hotṛ,* "pourer," figures often in the *Ṛgveda* and has Indo-Iranian origins), the newer collections developed around the concerns of specialist priests barely alluded to in the *Ṛgveda* and serving originally in subordinate ritual roles. The *Sāmaveda* was a collection of verses taken mostly from the *Ṛgveda,* set to various melodies (*sāman*s) for use mainly in the *soma* sacrifice, and sung primarily by the *udgātṛ* priest, who thus came to surpass the *hotṛ* as a specialist in the sound and articulation of the *mantras.* And the *Yajurveda* was a collection of *yaju*s, selected sacrificial *mantra*s, again mostly from the *Ṛgveda,* plus certain complete sentences, to be murmured by the *adhvaryu* priest, who concerned himself not so much with their sound as with their appropriateness in the ritual, in which he became effectively the master of ceremonies, responsible for carrying out all the basic manual operations, even replacing the *hotṛ* priest as pourer of oblations. A fourth group of priests, the *brāhamaṇa*s, then claimed affiliation with the *Atharvaveda* and assumed the responsibility for overseeing the entire ritual performance of the other priests and counteracting any of their mistakes (they were supposed to know the other three Vedas as well as their own) by silent recitation of *mantra*s from the *Atharvaveda.* As specialization increased, each priest of these four main classes took on three main assistants.

The Brāhamaṇas—expositions of *brahman,* the sacred power inherent in *mantra* and more specifically now in the ritual—are the outgrowth of the concerns of these distinctive priestly schools and the first articulation of their religion. Each class of priests developed its own Brāhamaṇas, the most important and comprehensive being the *Śatapatha Brāhamaṇa* of one of the *Yajurveda* schools. The ritual system was also further refined in additional manuals: the Śrautasūtras, concerned with "solemn" rites, first described in the Brāhamaṇas and thus called *śrauta* because of their provenance in these *śruti* texts, and the Gṛhyasūtras, concerned with domestic rites (from *gṛha,* "home"), justified by "tradition" (*smṛti*) but still having much of Vedic origins. The Śrautasūtras were compiled over the period, roughly, from the Brāhamaṇas to the Upaniṣads, and the Gṛhyasūtras were probably compiled during Upaniṣadic times.

The domestic rites take place at a single offering fire and usually involve offerings of only grain or ghee (clarified butter). Along with the maintenance of the household fire and the performance of the so-called Five Great Sacrifices—to *brahman* (in the form of Vedic recitation), to ancestors, to gods, to other "beings," and to humans (hospitality rites)—the most prominent *gṛhya* ceremonies are the sacraments or life-cycle rites (*saṃskāra*s). Of these, the most important are the rites of conception and birth of a male child; the Upanayana, or "introduction," of boys to a *brāhamaṇa* preceptor or *guru* for initiation; marriage; and death by cremation (Antyeṣṭi, "final offering"). The Upanayana, involving the investiture of boys of the upper three social classes (*varṇa*s) with a sacred thread, conferred on them the status of "twice-born" (*dvija,* a term first used in the *Atharvaveda*), and their "second birth" permitted them to hear the Veda and thereby participate in the *śrauta* rites that, according to the emerging Brahmanic orthodoxy, would make it possible to obtain immortality.

The *śrauta* rites are more elaborate and are representative of the sacrificial system in its full complexity, involving ceremonies that lasted up to two years and enlisted as many as seventeen priests. Through the continued performance of daily, bimonthly, and seasonal *śrauta* rites one gains the year, which is itself identified with the sacrificial life-death-regeneration round and its divine personification, Prajāpati. In surpassing the year by the Agnicayana, the "piling of the fire altar," one gains immortality and needs no more nourishment in the otherworld (see *Śatapatha Brāhamaṇa* 10.1.5.4).

Śrauta rites required a sacrificial terrain near the home of the sacrificer (*yajamāna*), with three sacred fires (representing, among other things, the three worlds) and an upraised altar, or *vedī*. Nonanimal sacrifices of the first varieties mentioned involved offerings of milk and vegetable substances or even of *mantra*s. Animal sacrifices (*paśubandhu*)—which required a more elaborate sacrificial area with a supplemental altar and a sacrificial stake (*yūpā*)—entailed primarily the sacrifice of a goat. Five male animals—man, horse, bull, ram, and goat—are declared suitable for sacrifice. It is likely, however, that human sacrifice existed only on the "ideal" plane, where it was personified in the cosmic sacrifices of Puruṣa and Prajāpati. The animal (*paśu*) was to be immolated by strangulation, and its omentum, rich in fat, offered into the fire. *Soma* sacrifices, which would normally incorporate animal sacrifices within them plus a vast number of other subrites, involved the pressing and offering of *soma.* The most basic of these was the annual Agniṣṭoma, "in praise of Agni," a four-day rite culminating in morning, afternoon, and evening *soma* pressings on the final day and including two goat sacrifices. Three of the most ambitious *soma* sacrifices were royal rites: the Aśvamedha, the horse sacrifice; the Rājasūya, royal consecration; and the Vājapeya, a *soma* sacrifice of the "drink of strength." But the most complex of all was the aforementioned Agnicayana.

A thread that runs through most *śrauta* rituals, however, is that they must begin with the "faith" or "confidence" *(śrāddha)* of the sacrificer in the efficacy of the rite and the capacity of the officiating priests to perform it correctly. This prepares the sacrificer for the consecration *(dīkṣā)* in which, through acts of asceticism *(tapas)*, he takes on the aspect of an embryo to be reborn through the rite. As *dīkṣita* (one undergoing the *dīkṣā)*, he makes an offering of himself (his *ātman*). This then prepares him to make the sacrificial offering proper (the *yajña,* "sacrifice") as a means to redeem or ransom this self by the substance (animal or otherwise) offered. Then, reverṣing the concentration of power that he has amassed in the *dīkṣā,* he disperses wealth in the form of *dakṣinā*s (honoraria) to the priests. Finally, the rite is disassembled (the ritual analogue to the repeated death of Prajāpati before his reconstitution in another rite), and the sacrificer and his wife bathe to disengage themselves from the sacrifice and reenter the profane world.

In the elaboration of such ceremonies and the speculative explanation of them in the Brāhamaṇas, the earlier Vedic religion seems to have been much altered. In the religion of the Brāhamaṇas, the priests, as "those who know thus" (*evamvid*s), view themselves as more powerful than the gods. Meanwhile, the gods and the demons (*asura*s) are reduced to representing in their endless conflicts the recurrent interplay between agonistic forces in the sacrifice. It is their father, Prajāpati, who crystallizes the concerns of Brahmanic thought by representing the sacrifice in all its aspects and processes. Most notable of these is the notion of the assembly or fabrication of an immortal self (*ātman*) through ritual action (*karman*), a self constructed for the sacrificer by which he identifies with the immortal essence of Prajāpati as the sacrifice personified. And by the same token, the recurrent death (*punarmṛtyu*, "redeath") of Prajāpati's transitory nature (the elements of the sacrifice that are assembled and disassembled) figures in the Brāhamaṇas as the object to be avoided for the sacrificer by the correct ritual performance. This Brahmanic concept of Prajāpati's redeath, along with speculation on the ancestral *gṛhya* rites (*śrāddha*s) focused on feeding deceased relatives to sustain them in the afterlife, must have been factors in the thinking that gave rise to the Upaniṣadic concept of reincarnation (*punarjanman*, "rebirth"). The emphasis on the morbid and transitory aspects of Prajāpati and the sacrifice, and the insistence that asceticism within the sacrifice is the main means to overcome them, are most vigorously propounded in connection with the Agnicayana.

In the Brāhamaṇas' recasting of the primal once-and for-all sacrifice of Puruṣa into the recurrent life-death-regeneration mythology of Prajāpati, a different theology was introduced. Though sometimes Puruṣa was identified with Prajāpati, the latter, bound to the round of creation and destruction, became the prototype for the classical god Brahmā, personification of the Absolute (*brahman*) as it is oriented toward the world. The concept of a transcendent Puruṣa, however, was not forgotten in the Brāhamaṇas. *Śatapatha Brāhamaṇa* 13.6 mentions Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa, a being who seeks to surpass all others through sacrifice and thereby become the universe. In classical Hinduism, *Nārāyaṇa* and *Puruṣa* are both names for Viṣṇu as the supreme divinity. This Brāhamaṇa passage neither authorizes nor disallows an identification with Viṣṇu, but other Brāhamaṇa passages leave no doubt that sacrificial formulations have given Viṣṇu and Rudra-Śiva a new status. Whereas the Brāhamaṇas repeatedly assert that "Viṣṇu is the sacrifice"— principally in terms of the organization of sacrificial space that is brought about through Viṣṇu's three steps through the cosmos, and his promotion of the order and prosperity that thus accrue—they portray Rudra as the essential outsider to this sacrificial order, the one who neutralizes the impure forces that threaten it from outside as well as the violence that is inherent within. Biardeau (1976) has been able to show that the later elevation of Viṣṇu and Śiva through yoga and *bhakti* is rooted in oppositional complementarities first formulated in the context of the Brahmanic sacrifice.

The Upaniṣads. Several trends contributed to the emergence of the Upaniṣadic outlook. Earlier speculations on the irreducible essence of the cosmos, the sacrifice, and individual experience have been mentioned. Pre-Upaniṣadic texts also refer to various forms of asceticism as performed by types of people who in one way or another rejected or inverted conventional social norms: the Vedic *muni, vrātya,* and *brahmacārin,* to each of whom is ascribed ecstatic capacities, and, at the very heart of the Brahmanic sacrifice, the *dīkṣita* (the sacrificer who performs *tapas* while undergoing the *dīkṣā,* or consecration). These speculative and ascetic trends all make contributions to a class of texts generally regarded as intermediary between the Brāhamaṇas and Upaniṣads: the Āraṇyakas, or "Forest Books." The Āraṇyakas do not differ markedly from the works that precede and succeed them (the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* is both an Āraṇyaka and an Upaniṣad), but their transitional character is marked by a shift in the sacrificial setting from domestic surroundings to the forest and a focus not so much on the details of ritual as on its interiorization and universalization. Sacrifice, for instance, is likened to the alternation that takes place between breathing and speaking. Thus correspondences are established between aspects of sacrifice and the life continuum of the meditator.

An *upaniṣad* is literally a mystical—often "secret"—"connection," interpreted as the teaching of mystical homologies. Or, in a more conventional etymology, it is the "sitting down" of a disciple "near to" (*upa,* "near"; *ni,* "down"; *sad,* "sit") his spiritual master, or *guru.* Each Upaniṣad reflects the Vedic orientation of its priestly school. There are also regional orientations, for Upaniṣadic geography registers the further eastern settlement of the Vedic tradition into areas of the Ganges Basin. But the Upaniṣads do share certain fundamental points of outlook that are more basic than their differences. Vedic polytheism is demythologized, for all gods are reducible to one. Brahmanic ritualism is reassessed and its understanding of ritual action (*karman*) thoroughly reinterpreted. *Karman* can no longer be regarded as a positive means to the constitution of a permanent self. Rather, it is ultimately negative: "the world that is won by work (*karman*)" and "the world that is won by merit (*puṇya*)" only perish (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 8.1.6). The "law of karma" (*karman*) or "law of causality" represents a strict and universal cause-effect continuum that affects any action that is motivated by desire (*kāma*), whether it be desire for good or for ill. Thus even meritorious actions that lead to the Vedic heaven "perish," leaving a momentum that carries the individual to additional births or reincarnations. The result is perpetual bondage to the universal flow-continuum of all *karman,* or *saṃśara* (from *saṃ,* "together" and *sṛ,* "flow"), a term that the Upaniṣads introduce into the Vedic tradition but that is shared with Jainism and Buddhism. As with these religions, the Upaniṣads and Hinduism henceforth conceive their soteriological goal as liberation from this cycle of *saṃśara:* that is, *mokṣa* or *mukti* ("release").

Mokṣa cannot be achieved by action alone, because action only leads to further action. Thus, though ritual action is not generally rejected and is often still encouraged in the Upaniṣads, it can only be subordinated to pursuit of the higher *mokṣa* ideal. Rather, the new emphasis is on knowledge (*vidyā, jñāna*) and the overcoming of ignorance (*avidyā*). The knowledge sought, however, is not that of ritual technique or even of ritual-based homologies, but a graspable, revelatory, and experiential knowledge of the self as one with ultimate reality. In the early Upaniṣads this experience is formulated as the realization of the ultimate "connection," the oneness of *ātman-brahman,* a connection knowable only in the context of communication from *guru* to disciple. (Herein can be seen the basis of the parable context and vivid, immediate imagery of many Upaniṣadic teachings.) The experience thus achieved is variously described as one of unified consciousness, fearlessness, bliss, and tranquillity.

Beyond these common themes, however, and despite the fact that Upaniṣadic thought is resistant to systematization, certain different strains can be identified. Of the thirteen Upaniṣads usually counted as *śruti,* the earliest (c. 700–500 BCE) are those in prose, headed by the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and the *Chāndogya.* Generally, it may be said that these Upaniṣads introduce the formulations that later Hinduism will develop into the *saṃnyāsa* ideal of renunciation (not yet defined in the Upaniṣads as a fourth stage of life) and the knowledge-path outlook of nondualistic (*advaita*) Vedānta. Even within these early Upaniṣads, two approaches to realization can be distinguished. One refers to an all-excluding Absolute; the self that is identified with *brahman,* characterized as *neti neti* ("not this, not this"), is reached through a paring away of the psychomental continuum and its links with *karman.* Such an approach dominates the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad. Avidyā* here results from regarding the name and form of things as real and forming attachment to them. The other approach involves an all-comprehensive Absolute, *brahman-ātman,* which penetrates the world so that all forms are modifications of the one; ignorance results from the failure to experience this immediacy. In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* this second approach is epitomized in the persistent formula "Tat tvam asi" ("That thou art").

The later Vedic Upaniṣads (c. 600–400 BCE) register the first impact of theistic devotional formulations, and of early Sāṃkhya and Yoga. Most important of these historically are two "yogic" Upaniṣads, the *Śvetāśvatara* and the *Kaṭha,* the first focused on Rudra-Śiva and the second on Viṣṇu. Each incorporates into its terminology for the absolute deity the earlier term *puruṣa.* As Biardeau has shown in *L'hindouisme* (1981), they thus draw on an alternate term for the Absolute from that made current in the *brahman-ātman* equation. The Puruṣa of *Ṛgveda* 10.90 (the *Puruṣasūkta*) is sacrificed to create the ordered and integrated sociocosmic world of Vedic man. But only one quarter of this Puruṣa is "all beings"; three quarters are "the immortal in heaven" (*RV* 10.90.3). This transcendent aspect of Puruṣa, and also a certain "personal" dimension, are traits that were retained in the characterization of Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa in the *Śatapatha Brāhamaṇa* and reinforced in the yogic characterizations of Rudra-Śiva and Viṣṇu in the previously mentioned Upaniṣads. The Upaniṣadic texts do not restrict the usage of the term *Puruṣa* to mean "soul," as classical Sāṃkhya later does; rather, it is used to refer to both the soul and the supreme divinity. The relation between the soul and the Absolute is thus doubly defined: on the one hand as *ātman-brahman,* on the other as *puruṣa*-Puruṣa. In the latter case, the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* describes a spiritual itinerary of the soul's ascent through yogic states to the supreme Puruṣa, Viṣṇu. This synthesis of yoga and *bhakti* will be carried forward into the devotional formulations of the epics and the Purāṇas. But one must note that the two vocabularies are used concurrently and interrelatedly in the Upaniṣads, as they will be in the later *bhakti* formulations.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF CLASSICAL HINDUISM. A period of consolidation, sometimes identified as one of "Hindu synthesis," "Brahmanic synthesis," or "orthodox synthesis," takes place between the time of the late Vedic Upaniṣads (c. 500 BCE) and the period of Gupta imperial ascendancy (c. 320–467 CE). Discussion of this consolidation, however, is initially complicated by a lack of historiographical categories adequate to the task of integrating the diverse textual, inscriptional, and archaeological data of this long formative period. The attempt to cover as much of this span as possible with the name "epic period," because it coincides with the dates that are usually assigned to the formation and completion of the Hindu epics (particularly the *Mahābhārata*), is misleading, because so much of what transpires can hardly be labeled "epic." On the other hand, attempts to define the period in terms of heterogeneous forces operating upon Hinduism from within (assimilation of local deities and cults, geographical spread) and without (heterodox and foreign challenges) either have failed to register or have misrepresented the implications of the apparent fact that the epics were "works in progress" during the whole period. The view one takes of the epics is, in fact, crucial for the interpretation of Hinduism during this period. Here, assuming that the epics already incorporated a *bhakti* cosmology and theology from an early point in this formative period, this article shall try to place them in relation to other works and formulations that contributed to the consolidation of classical Hinduism.

The overall history can be broken down into four periods characterized by an oscillation from disunity (rival regional kingdoms and tribal confederacies on the Ganges Plain) to unity (Mauryan ascendancy, c. 324–184 BCE, including the imperial patronage of Buddhism by Aśoka) to disunity (rival foreign kingdoms in Northwest India and regional kingdoms elsewhere) back to unity (Gupta ascendancy, c. 320–467 CE). The emerging self-definitions of Hinduism were forged in the context of continued interaction with heterodox religions (Buddhists, Jains, Ājīvikas) throughout this whole period, and with foreign peoples (Yavanas, or Greeks; Śakas, or Scythians; Pahlavas, or Parthians; and Kūṣāṇas, or Kushans) from the third phase on. In this climate the *ideal* of centralized Hindu rule attained no practical realization until the rise of the Guptas. That this ideal preceded its realization is evident in the rituals of royal paramountcy (Aśvamedha and Rājasūya) that were set out in the Brāhamaṇas and the Śrautasūtras, and actually performed by post-Mauryan regional Hindu kings.

When one looks to the component facets of the overall consolidation, these four periods must be kept in mind, but with the proviso that datings continue to be problematic: not only datings of texts, but especially of religious movements and processes reflected in them, and in surviving inscriptions. Most scholars ordinarily assume that when a process is referred to in a text or other document, it has gone on for some time.

Śruti and smṛti. Fundamental to the self-definition of Hinduism during this period of its consolidation is the distinction it makes between two classes of its literature: *śruti* and *smṛti*. *Śruti* is "what is heard," and refers to the whole corpus of Vedic literature (also called Veda) from the four Vedas to the Upaniṣads. *Smṛti,* "what is remembered" or "tradition," includes all that falls outside this literature. Exactly when this distinction was made is not certain, but it is noteworthy that the six Vedāṅgas or "limbs of the Veda" (writings on phonetics, metrics, grammar, etymology, astronomy, and ritual) are *smṛti* texts that were composed at least in part during the latter half of the Vedic or *śruti* period. The ritual texts (Kalpasūtras) are subdivided into three categories: Śrautasūtras, Gṛhyasūtras, and Dharmasūtras. Whereas the first two (discussed above under Brahmanic ritual) pertain to concerns developed in the Vedic period, the Dharmasūtras focus on issues of law (*dharma*) that become characteristic of the period now under discussion. Dates given for the composition of these texts run from 600 to 300 BCE for the earliest (*Gautama Dharmasūtra*) to 400 CE for the more recent works. Both Gṛhyasūtras and Dharmasūtras were sometimes called Smārtasūtras (i.e., *sūtra*s based on *smṛti*), so it seems that their authors regarded them as representative of the prolongation of Vedic orthodoxy (and orthopraxy) that the *smṛti* category was designed to achieve. As the term *smṛti* was extended in its use, however, it also came to cover numerous other texts composed in the post-Upaniṣadic period.

This *śruti*/*smṛti* distinction thus marks off the earlier literature as a unique corpus that, once the distinction was made, was retrospectively sanctified. By the time of the *Manāva Dharmaśāstra,* or *Laws of Manu* (c. 200 BCE–100 CE; see *Manu* 1.23), and probably before this, *śruti* had come to be regarded as "eternal." Its components were thus not works of history. The Vedic *ṛṣi*s had "heard" truths that are eternal, and not only in content—the words of the Vedas are stated to have eternal connection with their meanings—but also in form. The works thus bear no stamp of the *ṛṣi*s' individuality. Such thinking crystallized in the further doctrine that the Vedas (i.e., *śruti*) are *apauruṣeya,* not of personal authorship (literally, "not by a *puruṣa*"). They thus have no human imperfection. Further, it was argued that they are even beyond the authorship of a divine "person" (*Puruṣa*). Though myths of the period assert that the Vedas spring from Brahmā at the beginning of each creation (as the three Vedas spring from Puruṣa in the *Puruṣasūkta*), the deity is not their author. Merely reborn with him, they are a self-revelation of the impersonal *brahman.* In contrast to *śruti, smṛti* texts were seen as historical or "traditional," passed on by "memory" (*smṛti*), and as works of individual authors (*pauruṣeya*), even though mythical authors—both human and divine—often had to be invented for them.

Smṛti texts of this period thus proclaim the authority of the Veda in many ways, and nonrejection of the Veda comes to be one of the most important touchstones for defining Hinduism over and against the heterodoxies, which rejected the Veda. In fact, it is quite likely that the doctrines of the eternality and impersonality of the Veda were in part designed to assert the superiority of the Veda over the "authored" and "historical" works of the heterodoxies, whose teachings would thus be on a par with *smṛti* rather than *śruti.* But it is also likely that the *apauruṣeya* doctrine is designed to relativize the "personal" god of *bhakti.* In any case, these doctrines served to place a considerable ideological distance between *śruti* and *smṛti,* and to allow *smṛti* authors great latitude in interpreting *śruti* and extending Hindu teachings into new areas. *Smṛti* thus supposedly functioned to clarify the obscurities of the Veda. But the claim that *smṛti* texts need only not contradict the Veda left their authors great freedom in pursuing new formulations.

Varṇāśramadharma ("caste and life-stage law"). The most representative corpus of *smṛti* literature, and the most closely tied to the continued unfolding orthodox interests of the Vedic priestly schools, is that concerned with *dharma* ("law" or "duty"). As a literary corpus, it consists of two kinds of texts: the Dharmasūtras (600/300 BCE–400 CE), already mentioned in connection with the *śruti*/*smṛti* distinction, and the Dharmaśāstras. The most important and earliest of the latter are the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra,* or *Laws of Manu* (c. 200 BCE–100 CE), and the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* (c. 100–300 CE). But other Dharmaśāstras were composed late into the first millennium, to be followed by important commentaries on all such texts. The main focus of these two classes of texts is fundamentally identical: the articulation of norms for all forms of social interaction, thus including but going far beyond the earlier Sūtras' concern for ritual. Four differences, however, are noteworthy: (1) Whereas the Dharmasūtras are in prose, the Dharmaśāstras are in the same poetic meter as the epics, *Manu* in particular having much material in common with the *Mahābhārata.* (2) Whereas the Sūtras are still linked with the Vedic schools, the Śāstras are not, showing that study and teaching of *dharma* had come to be an independent discipline of its own. (3) The Śāstra legislation is more extended and comprehensive. (4) The Śāstras are more integrated into a mythic and cosmological vision akin to that in *bhakti* texts, but usually ignoring *bhakti* as such, with references to duties appropriate to different *yuga*s (ages), and the identification of north central India as the "middle region" (*madhyadeśa*) where the *dharma* is (and is to be kept) the purest.

The theory of *varṇāśramadharma,* the law of castes and life stages, was worked out in these texts as a model for the whole of Hindu society. There is little doubt that it was stimulated by the alternate lay/monastic social models of the heterodoxies, and no doubt that it was spurred on by the incurṣions of barbarian peoples—frequently named in these texts as *mleccha*s (those who "jabber")—into the Northwest. The model involves the working out of the correlations between two ideals: first, that society conform to four hierarchical castes, and second, that a person should pass through four life stages (*āśrama*s): student (*brahmacārin*), householder (*gṛhasthin*), forest dweller (*vānaprasthin*), and renunciant (*saṃnyāsin*). The first ideal is rooted in the *Puruṣasūkta.* The second presupposes the *śruti* corpus, because the four life stages are correlated with the four classes of *śruti* texts. Thus the student learns one of the Vedas, the householder performs domestic and optimally also *śrauta* rituals of the Brāhamaṇas, the forest dweller follows the teachings of the Āraṇyakas, and the *saṃnyāsin* follows a path of renunciation toward the Upaniṣadic goal of *mokṣa.* But although all the life stages are either mentioned (as are the first two) or implied in the *śruti* corpus, the theory that they should govern the ideal course of individual life is new to the Dharmasūtras. Together, the *varṇa* and *āśrama* ideals take on tremendous complexity, because a person's duties vary according to caste and stage of life, not to mention other factors like sex, family, region, and the quality of the times. Also, whereas a person's development through one life ideally is regulated by the *āśrama* ideal, the passage through many reincarnations would involve birth into different castes, the caste of one's birth being the result of previous *karman.* A further implication is that the life stages can be properly pursued only by male members of the three twice-born *varṇa*s, as they alone can undergo the Upanayana ritual that begins the student stage and allows the performance of the rites pertinent to succeeding stages.

Each of these formulations has peṛṣisted more on the ideal plane than the real. In the case of the four *āśrama*s, most people never went beyond the householder stage, which the Sūtras and Śāstras actually exalt as the most important of the four, because it is the support of the other three and, in more general terms, the mainstay of the society. The forest-dweller stage may soon have become more legendary than real: In epic stories it was projected onto the Vedic *ṛṣi*s. The main tension, however, that peṛṣists in orthodox Hinduism is that between the householder and the renunciant, the challenge being for anyone to integrate into one lifetime these two ideals, which the heterodoxies set out for separate lay and monastic communities.

As to the four *varṇa*s, the ideal represents society as working to the reciprocal advantage of all the castes, each one having duties necessary to the proper functioning of the whole and the perpetuation of the hierarchical principle that defines the whole. Thus *Brāhamaṇa*s are at the top, distinguished by three duties that they share with no other caste: teaching the Veda, assisting in sacrifice, and accepting gifts. They are said to have no king but Soma, god of the sacrifice. In actual fact the traditional *śrauta* sacrifice counted for less and less in the *brāhamaṇa* householder life, and increasing attention was given to the maintenance of *brāhamaṇa* purity for the purpose of domestic and eventually temple rituals that, in effect, universalized sacrifice as the *brāhamaṇa*'s *dharma,* but a sacrifice that required only the minimum of impure violence. This quest for purity was reinforced by *brāhamaṇas*' adoption into their householder life of aspects of the *saṃnyāsa* ideal of renunciation. This was focused especially on increasing espousal of the doctrine of *ahiṃsā* (nonviolence, or, more literally, "not desiring to kill") and was applied practically to vegetarianism, which becomes during this period the *brāhamaṇa* norm. *Brāhamaṇa*s thus retain higher rank than *kṣatriya*s, even though the latter wield temporal power (*kṣatra*) and have the specific and potentially impure duties of bearing weapons and protecting and punishing with the royal staff (*daṇḍa*). The subordination of king to *brāhamaṇa* involves a subordination of power to hierarchy that is duplicated in contemporary rural and regional terms in the practice of ranking *brāhamaṇa*s above locally dominant castes whose power lies in their landed wealth and numbers. *Vaiśya*s have the duties of stock breeding, agriculture, and commerce (including money lending). Certain duties then distinguished the three twice-born castes as a group from the *śūdra*s. All three upper *varṇa*s thus study the Veda, perform sacrifices, and make gifts, whereas *śūdra*s are permitted only lesser sacrifices (*pākayajña*s) and simplified domestic rituals that do not require Vedic recitation.

Actual conditions, however, were (and still are) much more complex. The four-*varṇa* model provided the authors of the *dharma* texts with Vedic "categories" within which to assign a basically unlimited variety of heterogeneous social entities including indigenous tribes, barbarian invaders, artisan communities and guilds (*śreṇi*s), and specialists in various services. Susceptible to further refinement in ranking and regional nomenclature, all such groups were called *jāti*s, a term meaning "birth" and in functional terms the proper word to be translated "caste." Thus, although they are frequently called subcastes, the *jāti*s are the castes proper that the law books classified into the "categories" of *varṇa.*

To account for this proliferation of *jāti*s, the authors asserted that they arose from cross-breeding of the *varṇa*s. Two possibilities were thus presented: *anuloma* ("with the grain") unions, in which the husband's *varṇa* was the same as his wife's or higher (in anthropological terms, hypergamous, in which women are "married up"), and *pratiloma* ("against the grain") unions, in which the wife's *varṇa* would be higher than the husband's (hypogamous, in which women are "married down"). Endogamous marriage (marriage within one's own *varṇa*) set the highest standard and was according to some authorities the only true marriage. But of the other two, whereas *anuloma* marriages were permitted, *pratiloma* unions brought disgrace. Thus the *jāti*s supposedly born from *anuloma* unions were less disgraced than those born from *pratiloma* unions. Significantly, two of the most problematic *jāti*s were said to have been born from the most debased *pratiloma* connections: the Yavanas (Greeks) from *śūdra* males and *kṣatriya* females (similar origins were ascribed to other "barbarians") and the *caṇḍāla*s (lowest of the low, mentioned already in the Upaniṣads, and early Buddhist literature, as a "fifth caste" of untouchables) from the polluting contact of *śūdra* males and *brāhamaṇa* females. It should be noted that a major implication of the prohibition of *pratiloma* marriage is the limitation for *brāhamaṇa* women to marriages with only *brāhamaṇa* men. This established at the highest rank an association of caste purity with caste endogamy (and the purity of a caste's women) and thus initiated an endogamous standard that was adopted by all castes—not just *varṇa*s but *jāti*s—by the end of the first millennium.

This accounting of the emergence of *jāti*s was integrated with further explanations of how society had departed from its ideal. One is that "mixing of caste"—the great abomination of the *dharma* texts and also of the *Bhagavad-gītā*—increases with the decline of *dharma* from *yuga* to *yuga,* and is especially pernicious in this Kali age. Another is the doctrine of *āpad dharma*, "duties for times of distress" such as permit inversion of caste roles when life is threatened. A third doctrine developed in the Dharmaśāstras identifies certain duties (*kalivarjya*s) as once allowed but now prohibited in the *kaliyuga* because people are no longer capable of performing them purely. Through all this, however, the ideal persists as one that embraces a whole society despite variations over time and space.

The four puruṣārthas (goals of humankind). The theory that the integrated life involves the pursuit of four goals (*artha*s) is first presented in the Dharmaśāstras and the epics, in the latter cases through repeated narrative illustrations. The development of distinctive technical interpretations of each *artha,* or facets thereof, can also be followed during the period in separate manuals: the *Arthaśāstra,* a manual on statecraft attributed to Candragupta Maurya's minister Kauṭilya but probably dating from several centuries later, on *artha* (in the sense now of "material pursuits"); the Kāmasūtras, most notably that of Vātsyāyana (c. 400 CE), on *kāma* ("love, desire"); the already discussed Dharmasūtras and Dharmaśāstras on *dharma;* and the Sūtras of the "philosophical schools" (*darśana*s) insofar as they are concerned with the fourth goal, *mokṣa.* Early sources often refer to the first three goals as the *trivarga,* the "three categories," but this need not imply that the fourth goal is added later. The Dharmaśāstra and epic texts that mention the *trivarga* are focused on the concerns of the householder—and, in the epics, particularly of the royal householder—these being the context for the pursuit of the *trivarga.* The fourth goal, *mokṣa,* is to be pursued throughout life—indeed, throughout all lives—but is especially the goal of those who have entered the fourth life stage of the *saṃnyāsin.* The *trivarga-mokṣa* opposition thus replicates the householder-renunciant opposition. But the overall purpose of the *puruṣārtha* formulation is integrative and complementary to the *varṇāśramadharma* theory. From the angle of the householder, it is *dharma* that integrates the *trivarga* as a basis for *mokṣa.* But from the angle of the *saṃnyāsin,* it is *kāma* that lies at the root of the *trivar-*

ga, representing attachment in all forms, even to *dharma.* Paths to liberation will thus focus on detachment from desire, or its transformation into love of God.

Philosophical "viewpoints" (darśanas) and paths to salvation. As an expression of Hinduism's increasing concern to systematize its teachings, the fourth goal of life (*mokṣa*) was made the subject of efforts to develop distinctly Hindu philosophical "viewpoints" (*darśana*s, from the root *dṛś,* "see") on the nature of reality and to recommend paths to its apprehension and the release from bondage to *karman.* Six Hindu *darśana*s were defined, and during the period in question each produced fundamental texts—in most cases *sūtra*s—that served as the bases for later commentaries.

In terms of mainstream developments within Hinduism, only two schools have ongoing continuity into the present: the Mīmāṃsā and the Vedānta. And of these, only the latter has unfolded in important ways in the postsynthesis period. Nonetheless, all six have made important contributions to later Hinduism. It must thus suffice to discuss them all briefly at this point in terms of their basic features and major impact, and reserve fuller discussion of the Vedānta alone for the period of its later unfolding.

Of the six schools, two—Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta—are rooted primarily in the Vedic *śruti* tradition and are thus sometimes called *smārta* schools in the sense that they develop *smārta* orthodox currents of thought that are based, like *smṛti,* directly on *śruti.* The other four—Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṃkhya, and Yoga—claim loyalty to the Veda, yet are quite independent of it, their focus instead being on rational or causal explanation. They are thus sometimes called *haituka* schools (from *hetu,* "cause, reason").

Of the *smārta* schools, the Mīmāṃsā is most concerned with ritual traditions rooted in the Vedas and the Brāhamaṇas, whereas the Vedānta is focused on the Upaniṣads. It is notable that both sustain Vedic orientations that reject (Mīmāṃsā) or subordinate (Vedānta) *bhakti* until the Vedānta is devotionalized in its post-Śaṅkara forms. Beginning with Jaimini's *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra* (c. 300–100 BCE), Mīmāṃsā ("reflection, interpretation") provides exegesis of Vedic injunctive speech, in particular as it concerns the relationship between intentions and rewards of sacrifice. Great refinement is brought to bear on issues relating to the authority and eternalness of the Veda and the relationship between its sounds, words, and meanings. Vedic injunctions are taken literally, the many Vedic gods are seen as real although superfluous to salvation (there is an anti-*bhakti* stance here), and it is maintained that the proper use of injunctions is alone enough to secure the attainment of heaven (not a higher release, or *mokṣa,* as propounded by all the other systems, including *bhakti*). Mīmāṃsā persists in two subschools, but only in small numbers among brahman ritualists.

As to the Vedānta ("end of the Veda," a term also used for the Upaniṣads), the foundational work is Bādarāyaṇa's *Vedānta Sūtra*, or *Brahma Sūtra* (c. 300–100 BCE), an exegesis of various Upaniṣadic passages in aphoristic style easily susceptible to divergent interpretations. These it received in the hands of later Vedantic thinkers.

The *haituka* schools are notable for their development, for the first time within Hinduism, of what may be called maps and paths: that is, maps of the constituent features of the cosmos, and paths to deliverance from bondage. Emerging within Hindusim at this period, and particularly in the schools least affiliated with the Vedic tradition, such concerns no doubt represent an effort to counter the proliferation of maps and paths set forth by the heterodoxies (not only Buddhism and Jainism, but the Ājīvikas). They allow for a somewhat more open recognition of the deity of *bhakti* (Sāṃkhya excepted) than do the *smārta* schools, though none of the *haituka* schools makes it truly central.

Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, systems first propounded in Gautama's *Nyāya Sūtra* (c. 200 BCE–150 CE) and Kaṇāda's *Vaiśeṣika Sūtra* (c. 200 BCE–100 CE), were quickly recognized as a hyphenated pair: Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. Nyāya ("rule, logic, analysis"), emphasizing logic and methods of argumentation as means to liberation, was viewed as complementary to Vaiśeṣika ("school of distinct characteristics"), which advanced a theory of atomism and posited seven categories to explain such things as atomic aggregation and dualistic distinction between soul and matter. At least by about the fifth century, when the two schools had conjoined, Nyāya logic and Vaiśeṣika cosmology served to provide influential arguments from design for the existence of God as the efficient cause of the creation and destruction of the universe and liberator of the soul from *karman.*

Far more influential, however, were the pair Sāṃkhya ("enumeration") and Yoga. The foundational texts of these schools may be later than those of the others, but they are clearly distillations of long-continuing traditions, datable at least to the middle Upaniṣads, that had already undergone considerable systematization. Thus Patañjali's *Yoga Sūtra* is from either about 200 BCE or 300–500 CE, depending on whether or not one identifies the author with the grammarian who lived at the earlier date. And Īśvarakṛṣṇa's *Sāṃkhyakārikās* probably date from the fourth century CE. Even though Sāṃkhya's "atheism" and its soteriology of the isolation *(kaivalya)* of the soul *(puruṣa)* from matter *(prakṛti)* have been modified or rejected in other forms of Hinduism (both doctrines may link Sāṃkhya with Jainism), Sāṃkhya's cosmology and basic terminology have become definitive for Hinduism at many levels: not only in the Vedānta, but in *bhakti* and Tantric formulations as well. In fact, given the preclassical forms of theistic Sāṃkhya founded in the Upaniṣads and the *Mahābhārata* and their use in *bhakti* cosmologies, it may well be that the atheism of the classical Sāṃkhya results from a rejection of *bhakti* elements from a fundamentally theistic system. Sāṃkhya thus posits *puruṣa* without a transcendent, divine Puruṣa, and its *prakṛti* is also abstract and impersonal.

In any case, a number of Sāṃkhya concepts became basic to the Hindu vocabulary, only to be integrated and reinterpreted from different theological and soteriological perspectives by other schools. These include the concepts of the evolution and devolution of *prakṛti,* the sexual polarity of *puruṣa* as male and *prakṛti* as female, the enumeration of twenty-three substances that evolve from and devolve back into the *prakṛti* "matrix," the concept of matter as a continuum from subtle psychomental "substances" to gross physical ones (in particular the five elements), and the notion of the three "strands" or "qualities" called *guṇa*s (*sattva,* goodness, lucidity; *rajas,* dynamism; *tamas,* entropy), which are "braided" together through all matter from the subtle to the gross.

Meanwhile, whereas Sāṃkhya provides the map to be "known," Yoga defines the path by which *puruṣa* can extricate itself from *prakṛti.* The "eight limbs" of Yoga (an answer to the Eightfold Path of Buddhism?) represent the most important Hindu formulation of a step-by-step (though also cumulative) path to liberation. The first two "limbs" involve forms of restraint (*yama*) and observance (*niyama*). The next three involve integration of the body and senses: posture (*āsana*), breath control (*prāṇāyama*), and withdrawal of the senses from the dominance of sense objects (*pratyāhāra*). The last three achieve the integration of the mind or the "cessation of the mental turmoil" that is rooted in the effects of *karman:* "holding" (*dhāraṇā*) to a meditative support, meditative fluency (*dhyāna*), and integrative concentration (*samādhī*) through which the freedom of *puruṣa* can be experienced.

The classical Yoga of Patañjali, known as *rājayoga* ("royal yoga"), diverges from the Sāṃkhya in acknowledging the existence of God (Īśvara). But Īśvara is a focus of meditation, not an agent in the process of liberation. The use of the term *rājayoga,* however, suggests that by Patañjali's time the term *yoga* had already been used to describe other disciplines or paths, resulting in a situation where the terms *yoga* ("yoke") and *mārga* ("path") had become interchangeable. One will thus find *rājayoga* mentioned later along with the more generalized "yogas," or "paths," that become definitive for Hinduism through their exposition in the *Bhagavadgītā* (c. 200 BCE): the paths (or yogas) of *karman* ("action"), *jñāna* ("knowledge"), and *bhakti* ("devotion").

Classical bhakti Hinduism. The consolidation of Hinduism takes place under the sign of *bhakti.* And though Mīmāṃsā ritualism and Vedantic and other "knowledge" trends continue to affiliate with an "orthodox" strain that resists this synthesis, or attempts to improve upon it, classical *bhakti* emerges as constitutive henceforth of mainstream Hinduism, including forms of devotional sectarianism.

Intimations of *bhakti* developments are registered as early as the late Vedic Upaniṣads, and in inscriptions and other records of syncretistic worship of Hindu deities (Viṣṇu and Śiva) alongside foreign and heterodox figures in the early centuries of the common era. However, the heterogeneity and scattered nature of the nontextual information available on the emergence of *bhakti* during this period have allowed for conflicting interpretations of the salient features of the process. But rather than reweave a fragile developmental web from supposedly separate sectarian and popular strands, it is better to look at the texts themselves to see what they attempted and achieved. It should be noted, however, that to the best of existing knowledge it was achieved relatively early in the period of consolidation, for the *Bhagavadgītā*—the text that seals the achievement—seems to be from no later than the first or second century BCE (it is cited by Bārdarāyaṇa in the *Vedānta Sūtra*), and possibly earlier. Of course, continued unfolding occurred after that.

The achievement itself is a universal Hinduism that, following Biardeau's discussion of *bhakti* in "Études de mythologie hindoue" (1976), one may designate as *smārta.* It inherits from the Brahmanic sacrificial tradition a conception wherein Viṣṇu and Śiva are recognized as complementary in their functions but ontologically identical. The fundamental texts of this devotional *smārta* vision are the two epics—the *Mahābhārata* (c. 500 BCE–400 CE) and the *Rāmāyaṇa* (c. 400–200 BCE)—and the *Harivaṃśa* (c. 300–400 CE?). These works integrate much Puranic mythic and cosmological material, which later is spun out at greater length in the classical Purāṇas ("ancient lore"), of which there are said to be eighteen major and eighteen minor texts. The epics and Purāṇas are thus necessarily discussed together. But it should be recognized that whereas the *smārta* vision of the epics and the *Harivaṃśa* is fundamentally integrative and universal in intent, the Purāṇas are frequently dominated by regional and particularistic interests, including in some cases the strong advocacy of the worship of one deity (Śiva, Viṣṇu, or the Goddess) over all others. It is thus tempting to think of the period of Purāṇa composition (c. 400–1200 CE?) as one that extends the integrative vision of the fundamental texts but develops it in varied directions. Still, as it is not clear that instances of Puranic theological favoritism are motivated by distinct sects, it is misleading to speak of "sectarian" Purāṇas.

Taken together, then, the *Harivaṃśa* and the *Mahābhārata* (which includes the *Bhagavadgītā*) present the full biography of Kṛṣṇa, and the *Rāmāyaṇa* that of Rāma. The *Harivaṃśa* (Genealogy of Hari—i. e., Kṛṣṇa), the more recent of the texts concerning Kṛṣṇa, presents the stories of his birth and youth, in which he and his brother Balarāma take on the "disguise" (*veṣa*) of cowherds. Thus they engage in divine "sport" (*līlā*) with the cowherd women (*gopīs*), until finally they are drawn away to avenge themselves against their demonic uncle Kaṃsa, who had caused their exile. The *Mahābhārata* (Story of the Great Bhārata Dynasty) focuses on Kṛṣṇa's assistance to the five Pāṇḍava brothers in their conflicts with their cousins, the hundred Kauravas, over the "central kingdom" of the lunar dynasty (the Bhārata dynasty) at Hāstinapura and Indraprastha near modern Delhi. Both texts incorporate telling allusions to the other "cycle," and because both stories must have circulated orally together before reaching their present literary forms, any notions of their separate origins are purely conjectural. The *Rāmāyaṇa* (Exploits of Rāma) tells the story of Rāma, scion of the solar dynasty and embodiment of *dharma,* who must rescue his wife Śita from the demon (*rākṣasa*) Rāvaṇa. Though each of these texts has its special flavor and distinctive background, they become in their completed forms effectively a complementary triad. Indeed, in the "conservative" South, popular performances of Hindu mythology in dramas and temple recitations are still dominated by three corresponding specializations: *Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa,* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* the latter (c. 800–900 CE?) enriching the devotional themes of the *Harivaṃśa* in its tenth and eleventh books and in effect replacing it as representing the early life of Kṛṣṇa.

The *smārta* universe in these texts is structured around Viṣṇu, and more particularly around his two heroic incarnations, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. Thus other deities are frequently represented as subordinated to or subsumed by these figures. But there is also recognition of Viṣṇu's complementarity with Śiva: some passages that stress mutual acknowledgment of their ontological unity, others that work out the interplay between them through stories about heroic characters who incarnate them, and scenes in which Viṣṇu's incarnations do homage to Śiva. It should be clear that efforts to find "tendencies toward monotheism" in such texts involve the reduction of a very complex theology to distinctly Western terms. The same applies to those Purāṇas that are structured around Śiva or the Goddess rather than Viṣṇu but are still framed within the same cosmology and the same principles of theological complementarity and subordination.

This *smārta* vision is not, however, limited to one theological conundrum, for it extends to encompass Śiva and Viṣṇu's interaction with other major figures: the god Brahmā, masculine form of the impersonal Absolute (*brahman*), now subordinated to the higher "personal" deities; the Goddess in her many forms; Indra and other *deva*s (now "demigods"); their still perennial foes, the demons (*asura*s); and of course humans, animals, and so on. It also presents an overarching *bhakti* cosmology in which the yogic supreme divinity (Śiva or Viṣṇu) encompasses the religious values of *saṃnyāsa, tapas,* knowledge, and sacrifice, and introduces the view that taken by themselves, without *bhakti,* these values may be incomplete or even extreme "paths." Further, it incorporates the *smārta* social theory of the Dharmasūtras and the Dharmaśāstras, and works out its implications within the cosmology. The details of this *smārta* vision are best discussed, however, in relation to the Hindu chronometric theory that is presumed and first articulated in these texts and then further developed in the Purāṇas.

Time is structured according to three main rhythms, hierarchically defined, the longer encompassing the lesser. Most down-to-earth is the series of four *yuga*s named after four dice throws, which define a theory of the "decline of the *dharma*": first a *kṛtayuga* ("perfect age"), then a *tretāyuga* and a *dvāparayuga,* and finally a degenerate *kaliyuga* ("age of discord"). A *kṛtayuga* lasts 4,000 years, a *tretāyuga* 3,000, a *dvāparayuga* 2,000, and a *kaliyuga* 1,000, each supplemented by a dawn and twilight of one-tenth its total. A full four-*yuga* cycle thus lasts 12,000 years and is called a *mahāyuga* ("great *yuga*"). These are not human years, however, but divine years, which are 360 times as long as human years. Thus a *mahāyuga* equals 360 times 12,000, or 4,320,000 human years, and a *kaliyuga* is one-tenth of that total. A thousand *mahāyuga*s (4,320 million human years) is a *kalpa,* the second major time unit, which is also called a "day of Brahmā." Brahmā's days are followed by nights of equal duration. Brahmā lives a hundred years of 360 such days and nights, or 311,040 billion human years, all of which are sometimes said to pass in a wink of the eye of Viṣṇu. The period of a life of Brahmā, called a *mahākalpa,* is the third major temporal rhythm.

Working backward now, one may observe the *modus operandi* of Viṣṇu and Śiva (and of course others) as it is envisioned in the *smārta* Hinduism of the texts.

First, at the highest level, Viṣṇu and Śiva are great yogins, interacting with the rhythms of the universe in terms of their own oscillations between activity and yogic concentration (*samādhi*). At the *mahāpralaya* ("great dissolution"), the deity (usually Viṣṇu in these early texts, but just as often Śiva or the Goddess in later Puranic ones) oversees the dissolution of the universe into the primal *prakṛti* in accord with the cosmological theory of Sāṃkhya-Yoga. This ends the life of Brahmā, but it is also to be noted that it marks the restoration to its primordial unity of *prakṛti,* which—as feminine—is regarded mythologically as the ultimate form of the Goddess. From a Śaiva standpoint, the male (the deity as Puruṣa) and the female (the Goddess as Prakṛti) are reunited at the great dissolution of the universe, a theme that is depicted in representations of the deity as Ardhanārīśvara, "the Lord who is half female." Their union is nonprocreative and represents the unitive experience of the bliss of *brahman.* Creation then occurs when the deity (whether Śiva or Viṣṇu) emerges from this *samādhi* and instigates the renewed active unfolding of *prakṛti.*

The coincidence of the death of Brahmā with not only the dissolution of the universe but the reintegration of the Goddess and her reunion with Śiva is highly significant. The Goddess is an eternal being, worthy of worship because—like Viṣṇu and Śiva—she outlasts the universe and can bestow *mokṣa.* Brahmā, ultimately mortal and bound to temporality, is worshiped not for *mokṣa* but rather—and mostly by demons—for earthly power and lordship. Stories that portray Śiva's severing of Brahmā's fifth head and refer to the "head of Brahmā" (*brahmaśiras*) as the weapon of doomsday, are perhaps mythic echoes of this ultimate cosmological situation wherein the coming together of Puruṣa and Prakṛti coincide with his death.

The primary creation has as its result the constitution of a "cosmic egg," the *brahmāṇḍa* ("egg of Brahmā"). Further creation, and periodic re-creations, will be carried out by Brahmā, the personalized form of the Absolute (*brahman*). Insofar as the *brahman* is personalized and oriented toward the world, it is thus subordinated to the yogin Puruṣa, the ultimate as defined through *bhakti.* Moreover, the activity of Brahmā—heir in his cosmogenic role of the earlier Prajāpati—is conceived in terms of sacrificial themes that are further encompassed by *bhakti.*

It is at this level that the three male gods cooperate as the *trimūrti,* the "three forms" of the Absolute: Brahmā the creator, Śiva the destroyer, and Viṣṇu the preserver. Within the *brahmāṇḍa,* Brahmā thus creates the Vedic triple world of earth, atmosphere, and heaven (or alternatively heaven, earth, and underworld). These three samsaric worlds are surrounded by four ulterior worlds, still within the *brahmāṇḍa,* for beings who achieve release from *saṃśara* but still must await their ultimate liberation. These ulterior worlds are not henceforth created or destroyed in the occasional creations or destructions. As to the triple world, Brahmā creates it by becoming the sacrificial boar (*yajñavarāha*) who retrieves the Vedas and the earth from the cosmic ocean. The destruction of the triple world is achieved by Śiva. As the "fire of the end of time," he reduces it to ashes, thus effecting a cosmic funerary sacrifice. And Viṣṇu, the god whom the Brāhamaṇas identify as "the sacrifice," maintains the triple world while it is sustained by sacrifices, and also preserves what is left of it after the dissolution when he lies on the serpent Śeṣa ("remainder") whose name indicates that he is formed of the remnant of the previous cosmos, or more exactly of the "remainder" of the cosmic sacrifice. This form of Viṣṇu, sleeping on Śeṣa, is called Nārāyaṇa, a name that the *Śatapatha Brāhamaṇa* already connects with the Vedic Puruṣa, the "male" source of all beings. When Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa awakens, Brahmā—who in some fashion awakens with him—recreates the universe. Through all these myths the earth is a form of the Goddess, indeed the most concretized form she takes as a result of the evolution of *prakṛti* (earth being the last of the evolutes emitted and the first to dissolve).

Thus the greater universe whose rhythms are integrated within the divine yoga of Viṣṇu and Śiva encompasses an egg of Brahmā, which encloses a triple world whose rhythms form a round sustained by the divine sacrificial acts of the *trimūrti.* This pattern is transposed onto the third temporal rhythm, that of the *yuga*s. Thus the characteristic religious virtues of the *yuga*s are as follows: *dhyāna* ("meditation") or *tapas* ("asceticism") in the *kṛtayuga*; *jñāna* ("knowledge") in the *tretāyuga*; *yajña* ("sacrifice") in the *dvāparayuga*; and *dāna* ("the gift") in the *kaliyuga.* Thus the two *śruti*-based ideals of knowledge and sacrifice are enclosed within a frame-work that begins with yogic meditation as a divine *kṛtayuga* activity and ends in the *kaliyuga* with the devotional gift. *Bhakti* thus encompasses knowledge and sacrifice.

The distinctive feature of the rhythm of the *yuga* cycle is that it is calibrated by the rise and fall of *dharma* in the triple world. Beings who have achieved release from the triple world oscillate between the four higher worlds, enduring periodic destructions of the triple world and awaiting the great dissolution of the universe that will dissolve the egg of Brahmā (coincident with his death) and result in a vast collective ultimate liberation of reabsorption into the supreme Puruṣa. Needless to say, this is to occur only after an almost incalculable wait. But beings who have attained these ulterior worlds are no more affected by *dharma* than the yogic deity beyond them. The maintenance of *dharma* within the triple world thus engages the deities in their third level of activity, that of "descent." In classical terms this is the theory of the *avatāra.* Though the term is not used in the epics or the *Harivaṃśa* in its later, specialized sense, these texts are suffused by the concept and its *bhakti* implications, which include narrative situations wherein the divinity looks to all concerned, and sometimes even to himself, as a mere human. The programmatic statement of the *avatāra* concept (without mention of the term itself) is thus stated by Kṛṣṇa in the *Bhagavadgītā:* "For whenever the Law [*dharma*] languishes, Bhārata, and lawlessness flourishes I create myself. I take on existence from eon to eon [*yuga* to *yuga*], for the rescue of the good and the destruction of evil, in order to establish the Law" (4.7–8; van Buitenen, trans.).

The classical theory of the ten *avatāra*s—most of whom are mentioned in the epics and the *Harivaṃśa,* but not in a single list—is worked out in relation to Viṣṇu. One thus has the following "descents" of Viṣṇu in order of appearance: Fish (Matsya), Tortoise (Kūrma), Boar (Varāha), Man-Lion (Narasiṃha), Dwarf (Vāmana), Rāma with the Ax (Paraśurāma), Rāma of the *Rāmāyaṇa,* Kṛṣṇa, the Buddha, and the future *avatāra* Kalki, who will rid the earth of barbarian kings and reestablish the *dharma* at the end of the *kaliyuga.* There are various attempts to correlate appearances of the *avatāra*s with distinct *yuga*s and even *kalpa*s, but the one feature that is consistently mentioned in these formative texts is that Kṛṣṇa appeared at the interval between the last *dvaparayuga* and *kaliyuga,* and thus at the beginning of the present age. It is likely that the theory was first formulated around Kṛṣṇa and Rāma along with the Dwarf (the only form to be associated with Viṣṇu in the *śruti* literature) and the apocalyptic Kalki. But in actuality, the *avatāra* theory is more complex. In the epics and in living Hinduism, Viṣṇu does not descend alone. In the literature, his incarnations take place alongside those of other deities, including most centrally Vāyu, Indra, Sūrya, the Goddess, and—at least in the *Mahābhārata*—Śiva. And in localized temple mythologies throughout India, one hears of *avatāra*s of Śiva and the Goddess as well as of Viṣṇu. In devotional terms, the *avatāra* is thus a form taken on earth (or, better, in the three worlds) by any one of the three deities found at the ultimate level of cosmic absorption, where all that remains beside the liberated beings who join them are the eternal yogic deities Viṣṇu and Śiva and the primal Goddess.

The classical concept of the *avatāra,* structured around Viṣṇu, remains, however, the chief Hindu use of the term.

Its formulation in the epics and the *Harivaṃśa* is thus constitutive for succeeding eras of Hinduism, in which it will only be enriched but not essentially changed by later *bhakti* theologies. Looking at these texts comprehensively, then, with the *Gitā* as the main guide, one can outline its main contours. Against the background of the vast, all-embracing *bhakti* cosmology, the involvement of the yogic divinity on earth takes place completely freely, as "sport" or "play" (*līlā*). Still, the god takes birth to uphold the *dharma* and to keep the earth from being unseasonably inundated in the waters of dissolution under the weight of adharmic kings. The *avatāra* thus intercedes to uphold the system of *varṇāśramadharma* and to promote the proper pursuit of the four *puruṣārtha*s. Because he appears in times of crisis, a central concern in the texts is with the resolution of the conflicts between ideals: renunciation versus householdership, *brāhamaṇa* versus *kṣatriya,* killing versus "not desiring to kill" (*ahiṃsā*), *dharma* versus *mokṣa, dharma* versus *kāma* and *artha,* and conflicts between different *dharma*s (duties) such as royal duty and filial duty. But though the texts focus primarily on the two upper castes, the full society is represented by singular depictions of figures who evoke the lowest castes and tribal groups. It is also filled in with figures of real and reputed mixed caste.

Confusion of caste is a particularly prominent issue in the *Mahābhārata,* where it is raised by Kṛṣṇa in the *Gitā* as the worst of ills. Most significantly, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivaṃśa* identify a particularly pernicious form of caste confusion among the barbarian (*mleccha*) peoples of the Northwest (the Punjab), mentioning Yavanas, Śakas, and Pahlavas among others as enemies of the *dharma* and causes for such "mixing." The fact that events of the period from 300 BCE to 300 CE are projected into the distant past indicates that part of the *bhakti* synthesis was the articulation of a mythical theory of historical events. One may thus look at these *smṛti* texts as posing a model for the revival of Hinduism in accord with "eternal" Vedic models, with the descent of the *avatāra*—and indeed of much of the Vedic pantheon along with him—guaranteeing the periodic adjustment of the sociocosmic world to these eternal norms. Furthermore, the tracing of all Hindu dynastic lines back to the defunct if not mythical "lunar" and "solar" dynasties provided the model for the spatial extension of this ideal beyond the central lands of Aryavaṛta where the *dharma,* according to both *Manu* and the *Mahābhārata,* was the purest.

But the focus of the *avatāra* is not solely on the renovation of the *dharma.* He also brings to the triple world the divine grace that makes possible the presence, imagery, and teachings that confer *mokṣa.* The epics and the *Harivaṃśa* are full of *bhakti* tableaux: moments that crystallize the realization by one character or another of the liberating vision (*darśana*) of the divine. Most central, however, is the *Bhagavadgītā,* which is both a *darśana* and a teaching.

The *Bhagavadgītā* (Song of the Lord) takes place as a dialogue between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna just before the outbreak of the *Mahābhārata* war. Although he is the third oldest of the five Pāṇḍavas, Arjuna is their greatest warrior, and Kṛṣṇa's task in the *Gitā* is to persuade him to overcome his reluctance to fight in the battle. Fundamental to the argument is Arjuna's requirement to fulfill his *dharma* as a *kṣatriya* rather than adopt the ideal—unsuitable for him in his present life stage—of the renouncer. Thus the *Gitā* champions the theory of *varṇāśramadharma* as upholding the sociocosmic order.

Kṛṣṇa presents his teaching to Arjuna by revealing a sequence of "royal" and "divine" mysteries that culminate in his granting a vision of his "All-Form" (*Viśvarūpa-darśana*) as God, creator and destroyer of the universe. In this grand cosmic perspective, Arjuna is told that he will be but the "mere instrument" of the deaths of his foes, their destruction having now come to ripeness through Viṣṇu's own agency in his form as cosmic time, or *kāla* (*Bhagavadgītā* 11.32–33). Arjuna thus recognizes this omniform deity as Viṣṇu in this climactic scene.

On the way to this revelation, however, Kṛṣṇa acknowledges the three paths (*yoga*s) to salvation: action, knowledge, and devotion. These are presented as instructions by which Arjuna can gain the resolute clarity of insight (*buddhi*) and yogic discipline by which to recognize the distinctions between soul and body, action and inaction, and thus perform actions—including killing—that are unaffected by desire. Ritual action and knowledge are set forth as legitimate and mutually reinforcing paths, but incomplete unless integrated within and subordinated to *bhakti.* Kṛṣṇa thus presents himself as the ultimate *karmayogin,* acting to benefit the worlds out of no personal desire. He thus bids his devotees (*bhakta*s) to surrender all actions to him as in a sacrifice, but a sacrifice (*karman*) no longer defined in Vedic-Mīmāṃsā terms as a means to fulfill some personal desire. Kṛṣṇa also presents himself as the object of all religious knowledge, the highest *Puruṣa* (*uttamapuruṣa*) and supreme self (*paramātman*), beyond the perishable and the imperishable, yet pervading and supporting all worlds (15.16–17).

One other facet of the *bhakti* synthesis to which the *Gitā* alludes is the transition from traditional Vedic sacrifice (*yajña*) to new forms of offering to the deity (*pūjā,* literally, "honoring"). This corresponds to the theory that the "gift" is the particularly appropriate religious practice for the *kaliyuga.* Thus Kṛṣṇa says: "If one disciplined soul proffers to me with love [*bhakti*] a leaf, a flower, fruit, or water, I accept this offering of love from him. Whatever you do, or eat, or offer, or give, or mortify, make it an offering to me, and I shall undo the bonds of *karman*" (9.26–27; van Buitenen, trans.). The passage probably refers to domestic worship of the "deity of one's choice" (*iṣṭadevata*). But it is also likely to allude to temple worship, for it is known from inscriptions and literary sources from the third to first century BCE that sanctuaries existed for Vāsudeva and Keśava (presumably as names for Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu), as well as for other deities. By the beginning of the Gupta period, around 320 CE, temple building was in full swing, with inscriptions showing construction of temples for Viṣṇu, Śiva, and the Goddess. Temples were built at sites within cities, as well as at remote holy places, and sanctuaries at both such locations became objectives along pilgrimage routes that are first mentioned in the *Mahābhārata.* From very early if not from the beginning of such temple worship, the deities were represented by symbols and/or iconic images.

Certain aspects of temple construction and worship draw inspiration from the Vedic sacrifice. The plan of the edifice is designed on the ground as the Vastupuruṣamaṇḍala, a geometric figure of the "Puruṣa of the Site" (*vāstu*), from whom the universe takes form. The donor, ideally a king, is the *yajamāna.* The *sanctum sanctorum,* called the *garbhagṛha* ("womb house"), continues the symbolism of the Vedic *dīkṣā* hut: Here again the *yajamāna* becomes an embryo so as to achieve a new birth, now taking into his own being the higher self of the deity that he installs there in the form of an image. The temple as a whole is thus a Vedic altar comprising the triple world, but also an expanded image of the cosmos through which the deity manifests himself from within, radiating energy to the outer walls where his (or her) activities and interactions with the world are represented.

But the use of the temple for ordinary daily worship involves radically non-Vedic objectives. The Vedic sacrifice is a means for gods and humans—basically equals—to fulfill reciprocal desires. *Pūjā* rites are means for God and humankind to interact on a level beyond desire: for humans to give without expectation of reward, or, more exactly, to get back nothing tangible other than what they have offered but with the paradoxical conviction that the deity "shares" (from the root meaning of *bhakti*) what is given and returns it as an embodiment of his or her grace (*prasāda*). God is thus fully superior, served as a royal guest with rites of hospitality. Basically four moments are involved: offerings, taking sight (*darśana*) of the deity, receiving this *prasāda,* and leave-taking by circumambulation of the *garbhagṛha* and the image within. The offerings are the *pūjā* proper and comprise a great variety of devotional acts designed to please the deity, some of which may be worked into a daily round by the temple priests, who offer on behalf of others.

Finally, one last element of the consolidation of Hinduism achieved by early Gupta times is the emergence of the Goddess as a figure whose worship is recognized alongside that of Viṣṇu and Śiva and is performed with the same basic rites. Indeed, it is possible that aspects of *pūjā* ceremonialism are derived from non-Vedic *śūdra* and village rites in which female deities no doubt figured highly, as they do in such cults today. The two epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa,* reflect themes associated with the Goddess in the portrayals of their chief heroines, Draupadī and Śita, but the *Harivaṃśa* is probably the first text to acknowledge the Goddess as such. There she takes birth as Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma's "sister" (actually she and Kṛṣṇa exchange mothers). Some of her future demon enemies are mentioned, and there is also reference to her having numerous places of worship and a cult that apparently included animal sacrifice. Thus the Goddess is integrated even within the texts of the early *smārta* Hinduism that are centered on Viṣṇu. But the text that registers her full emergence is the *Devimāhātmyam* (Glorification of the Goddess). Probably from about 400–600 CE, it was included in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.* Here the Goddess is recognized under all her major aspects, as primal matter embodied in the universe yet beyond it, incarnate in many forms, cause of the joys and miseries of this world and of liberation from it, the power (*śakti*) enabling the roles of the *trimūrti,* yet higher than the gods and their last resort in the face of certain demons, most notably the buffalo demon Mashṣāsura, her most dedicated and persistent foe through cults and myths both ancient and current. This emergence of the Goddess is registered more fully in the development of Tantric Hinduism.

TANTRIC HINDUISM. *Tantra* is literally "what extends." In its Hindu form it may be taken, according to its name, as a movement that sought to extend the Veda (whose pedigree it loosely claimed) and more particularly to extend the universalistic implications of *bhakti* Hinduism. However, although it was quick to integrate *bhakti* elements and to influence *bhakti* in nearly all its forms (late Puranic, popular, and sectarian), its earliest and most enduring forms "extend" Hinduism in ways that were directly opposed to the epic-Puranic *bhakti* synthesis. Nonetheless, it is still formulated within the same cosmology.

Early Tantrism developed most vigorously, from the fourth to sixth centuries CE, in areas where Brahmanic penetration had been weakest: in the Northwest, in Bengal and Assam in the East, and in the Andhra area of the South. These are areas where one must assume non-Aryan influences in general, and more particularly probably also tribal and folk practices involving shamanism, witchcraft, and sorcery, and, at least in the East and South, a cult of the Goddess. As Tantrism gained currency in succeeding centuries throughout India, the shamanistic and magical features were assimilated to yogic disciplines, while the elevation of the Goddess gave full projection on a pan-Indian scale to roles and images of the Goddess that had been incorporated, but allowed only minimal scope, in the early orthodox *bhakti* and even earlier Vedic sacrificial traditions. The earliest extant Tantric texts are Buddhist, from about the fourth to sixth centuries. Hindu Tantric texts include Vaiṣṇava Saṃhitās, Śaivāgamas from a slightly later period, and Śākta Tantras (exalting the Goddess as Śakti, or Power) from perhaps the eleventh century on. But from its start Tantrism represented a style and outlook that placed the Goddess at the center of its "extensions" and to a certain extent cut across sectarian and religious distinctions, whether Hindu, Buddhist, or even Jain.

Though Hindu Tantra thus asserts its Vedic legitimacy, its stance is intentionally anti-Brahmanic. It was especially critical of Brahmanic concepts of hierarchy, purity, and sexual status, all of which had been reinforced by the orthodox *bhakti* synthesis and which were in particular bound up with a theology that viewed the supreme divinity as a male (a Puruṣa, whether Śiva or Viṣṇu) whose ultimate form was accessible only beyond the rhythms of the cosmos and its hierarchy of impure and pure, gross and subtle worlds. For Tantrics, dualities were artificial and their experience was the result of delusion. On the analogy of the union between Śiva and Śakti, which in Puranic devotional terms is conceivable only at the end of the *mahāpralaya,* or great dissolution of the universe, Tantric practice (*sādhana*) addresses itself to experiencing the unity of *puruṣa* and *prakṛti* (*puruṣa* being both "soul" and deity, *prakṛti* being both "matter" and Goddess), male and female, pure and impure, knowledge and action, and so on. Most important, all this takes place here and now, not only in this world, where *prakṛti* and *puruṣa* on the macrocosmic scale are one, but in the human body, where their microcosmic embodiments can be experienced. The body thus becomes the ultimate vehicle for liberation, the dissolution of opposites taking place within the psychophysical continuum of the experience of the living adept, who realizes beyond duality the oneness of *brahman.*

In terms of practice, Tantra's rejection of Hindu orthopraxy is even more decisive. And practice is clearly exalted above theological or philosophical formulation. Two types of Tantra are mentioned: "left-hand" and "right-hand." The Tantric rejection and indeed inversion of orthopraxy is most pronounced in the former, as the right-hand Tantra interprets the most anti-Brahmanic practices of the left metaphorically, and also includes under its heading a wide variety of ceremonial rituals assimilated into *bhakti* Hinduism that are simply non-Vedic. These include the use of non-Vedic *mantra*s as well as *yantra*s and *maṇḍala*s, aniconic and non-Vedic geometric devices used for visualization and integration of divine-cosmic forces. Adepts come from all castes, but low-caste and even tribal practitioners and teachers are especially revered. The goal of liberation within the body takes the specific form of seeking magical powers (*siddhī*s), which in orthodox forms of Hinduism are regarded as hindrances to spiritual achievement. Under the tutelage of a guru, who embodies the fulfillment sought and its transmission and who is thus all-important, the *siddhī*s are sought through yoga disciplines that show the impact of Tantra through their anatomical analysis of the "subtle body" (*liṅga śarīra*). First practiced is *haṭhayoga,* the "yoga of exertion or violence," that is, rigorous physical discipline geared to coordinating the body's "ducts" or "channels" (*nāḍī*s) and "energy centers" (*cakra*s). This is followed by *kuṇḍaliniyoga,* which awakens the dormant *śakti,* conceived as a coiled-up "serpent power" in the lowest *cakra* between the genitals and the anus, so that it (or she) can pierce and transform all the *cakra*s (usually six) and unite with Śiva in the "thousand-petaled *cakra*" in the region of the brain.

Beyond these practices, "left-handed" Tantrics pursue in literal fashion the ceremonial of the "five *m*'s" (*pañcamākarapūjā*). That is, they incorporate into their cultic practice five "sacraments" beginning with the syllable *ma:* fish (*matsya*), meat (*māṃsa*), parched grain (*mudrā,* regarded as an aphrodisiac), wine (*madya*), and finally sexual intercourse (*maithuna*). It is likely that most if not all of these practices involve the incorporation of elements of the cult and mythology of the Goddess, who already in the *Devimāhātmyam* delights in meat and wine and is approached by lustful demons for sexual intercourse. Tantric texts stress that these practices are to be carried out within a circle of adepts and supervised by a male and female pair of "lords of the circle" who insist on strict ritual conventions that guard against an orgiastic interpretation. Classically, the male is to retain his semen at the point of orgasm, this being a sign not only of profound dispassion but an actualization of the nonprocreative union of Śiva and Śakti at the dissolution of the universe of dualities.

It is interesting to note that, although their historical validity is debated by scholars, there are strong Indian traditions suggesting that Śaṅkara's philosophical nondualism had practical Tantric repercussions.

ŚAṄKARA'S ADVAITA VEDĀNTA AND SMĀRTA ORTHODOXY. The Advaita (nondualist) interpretation of the Vedānta can be traced back at least to Gauḍapāda (c. 600 CE), but it is Śaṅkara (c. 788–820) who established this viewpoint as the touchstone of a revived *smārta* orthodoxy. Born in a small Kerala village, Śaṅkara spent his alleged thirty-two years as a vigorous champion of the unity of Hinduism over and against intra-Hindu divisions and the inroads of Buddhism and Jainism. He toured India, setting up monasteries (*maṭha*s) near famous temples or holy places at each of the four compass directions, and appointed a disciple at each center to begin a line of renunciant "pontiffs." And he wrote works of great subtlety and persuasiveness, including commentaries on the Upaniṣads, the *Brahma Sūtra,* and the *Bhagavadgītā* that inspired contemporaries, disciples, and authors of later generations to write additional important works from the perspective that he developed.

An essential feature of Śaṅkara's argumentation is that lower views of reality must be rejected as they are contradicted or "sublated" by higher experiences of the real. Finally, all dichotomous formulations must be abandoned upon the nondual experience of the self (*ātman*) as *brahman.* The world of appearance is sustained by ignorance (*avidyā*), which "superimposes" limitations on reality. *Māyā* ("illusion" or "fabrication"), itself neither real nor unreal, is indescribable in terms of being or nonbeing. It appears real only so long as *brahman* is not experienced. But it is empirically real relative to things that can be shown false from the standpoint of empirical observation. *Māyā* is thus said to be more mysterious and unknowable than *brahman,* which is experienced as being, consciousness, and bliss (*sat-cit-ānanda*).

As philosophy, Advaita is thus a guide to *mokṣa,* which is experienced when the ignorance that results from superimposing *māyā* on *brahman* is overcome. Liberation arises with knowledge (*jñāna*), but from a perspective that recognizes relative truth in the paths of both action and *bhakti.* Practically, Śaṅkara fostered a rapprochement between Advaita and *smārta* orthodoxy, which by his time had not only continued to defend the *varṇāśramadharma* theory as defining the path of *karman,* but had developed the practice of *pañcāyatanapūjā* ("five-shrine worship") as a solution to varied and conflicting devotional practices. Thus one could worship any one of five deities (Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā, Sūrya, Gaṇeṣa) as one's *iṣṭadevatā* ("deity of choice"). As far as *varṇāśramadharma* was concerned, Śaṅkara left householder issues largely aside and focused instead on founding ten orders of *saṃnyāsi*s (the *daśanāmi,* "ten names"), each affiliated with one of the four principle *matha*s he founded. But traditional orthodox views of caste were maintained. According to Śaṅkara, as *śūdra*s are not entitled to hear the Veda, they cannot pursue knowledge of *brahman* as *saṃnyāsi*s; rather they may seek *mokṣa* through hearing the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas. Four of the ten *saṃnyāsi* orders were thus restricted to *brāhamaṇas,* and it does not seem that any accepted *śūdra*s until long after Śaṅkara's death. *Bhakti* sectarian reformers were generally more liberal on this point. As to the god (or gods) of *bhakti,* Śaṅkara views the deity (Īśvara) as essentially identical with *brahman* and real relative to empirical experience. But by being identified "with qualities" (*saguṇa*), God can be no more than an approach to the experience of *brahman* "without qualities" (*nirguṇa*). Viewed from the experience of the self as *nirguṇa brahman,* which "sublates" all other experiences, the deity is but the highest form of *māyā.* Clearly, *bhakti* traditions could not rest with this solution. But it should be noted that in opposing Śaṅkara and abandoning the universalist vision of the epic-Puranic devotional synthesis, the sects turned their backs on the main impulses that had attempted to sustain the unity of Hinduism.

SECTARIAN HINDUISM. The elaboration of *bhakti* Hinduism continued to unfold in the later Purāṇas, linking up with the temple and pilgrimage cultus and with local and regional forms of worship. It thus established itself until the time of Śaṅkara as the main expression of Brahmanic orthodoxy and the main shaping force of popular Hinduism. But though it proclaimed a universal Hinduism, it gave little weight to the problem of the immediate accessibility of salvation. While caste hierarchy was to remain in effect on earth to assure, among other things, the pure temple worship of the gods by the *brāhamaṇas*, the ultimate release that the Purāṇas promised was almost infinitely postponed. It is possible that their postponement of a collective liberation was a kind of purification process for liberated souls and thus a prolongation of the concern for *brāhamaṇa* purity on earth. In any case, the remoteness of salvation and the defense of caste purity and hierarchy in the Puranic devotionalism of Brahmanic orthodoxy were probably incentives for the development of alternate forms of *bhakti.* These emerged in sectarian traditions, in movements led by saint-singers who inspired vernacular forms of *bhakti* revivalism, and more generally in local and regional forms of Hinduism.

Sectarian traditions. Sectarianism and *bhakti* revivalism are movements of separate origins that converge for the first time in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the Tamil-speaking area of South India. There the fusion was accomplished in the traditions of the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas and the Śaiva Siddhānta, sects whose names indicate their distinctive theological preferences for Viṣṇu and Śiva. Henceforth, sectarianism and *bhakti* revivalism continued to interact and produce hybrid forms as they spread over all of India.

Generally speaking, sects followed a reformist impulse, and in most of them one can identify the emergence of the *guru* as a new type of figure: not the transmitter of an "impersonal" Vedic teaching, but one who takes inspiration from the personal deity of the sect, with whom he may even be identified. Traditional hierarchy was generally respected, but with the proviso that within the sect divine grace was not limited by caste boundaries. Nonetheless, as groups formed around masters and their teachings, they took on many of the characteristics and functions of castes (endogamy, interior ranking), and certain sects formulated their stands with particularly positive attitudes (the northern school of Śrī Vaiṣṇavas) or negative attitudes (Liṅgāyats and Vīraśaivas) toward *brāhamaṇa*s. Sects distinguish themselves over and against each other by many means, and often quite passionately: by bodily markings, forms of yoga discipline, worship, theology, and in particular by their choice of supreme deity, whether Śiva, Viṣṇu, Śakti, or, in the North, Kṛṣṇa or Rāma. Nonetheless, they generally participate in wider Hindu activities such as pilgrimage, festival, and temple worship (the Liṅgāyats are an exception) and draw upon fundamental Hindu belief structures. Thus most sects acknowledge other deities as subordinate to the supreme deity of the sect. In particular, most have worked out ways of encompassing the relation of the God and the Goddess at some fundamental theological level. Persistently the supreme deity is identified both as the ultimate *brahman a*nd also as in some way personal. The sects also frequently define various stages of divine descent or interaction with the world, various stages of the soul's ascent, and various types of relation between the soul and God. Thus the sects elaborate upon the epic-Puranic cosmology while modifying and refining the theological and soteriological terms. It is only against this background that their formulations are intelligible.

From the historical vantage point, one may note that the consolidation of the separate strands of sectarianism and *bhakti* revivalism occurs after, and is no doubt in part a response to, the growing success of Śaṅkara's Advaita Vedānta. Prior to Śaṅkara, sectarian groups had centered primarily around distinctive ritual traditions that were increasingly influenced by Tantrism: not only in forms of worship and theological formulation, but also, in some Śaiva sects, in actual practice. Thus the Vaiṣṇava Pañcarātras and Vaikhānasas and the Śaiva Pāśupatas (all mentioned first in the late *Mahābhārata*) between the fifth and tenth centuries produced their Saṃhitās and Āgamas to regularize the construction of temples, iconography, and *pūjā* ceremonialism. Some Pāśupatas and Kāpālikas (a Tantric Śaiva sect) also incorporated forms of abrupt anticonventional behavior modeled on Śiva's character as the great yogin ascetic. With the exception of the Pañcarātras, who elaborated an influential doctrine of the emanations (*vyūha*s) of Viṣṇu that paralleled the cosmogonic theory of evolution in the Sāṃkhya system, the theological formulations of these movements were apparently among their secondary concerns.

Saint-singer tradition. Whereas the early sectarian movements were able to spread their impact from north to south using Sanskrit as their medium, the *bhakti* revivalist movement began in the South, drawing on Tamil. Like the sectarian movements, the saint-singers developed their traditions along Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva lines. The sixty-three Nāyaṉmār (or Nāyaṉārs) promoted the worship of Śiva, while the twelve Āḻvārs similarly honored Viṣṇu. Part of the revivalist motivation was provided by the earlier spread of Buddhism and Jainism in the South, both of which lost considerable following as a result of the efforts of the Nāyaṉmār and Āḻvārs, as well as those of their contemporary Śaṅkara.

Some of the most renowned among these two companies of saint-singers have left songs that they composed at the temples of Viṣṇu and Śiva, praising the form and presence of the deity therein, the place itself as his manifestation, and the communal attitude of worship generated there through pilgrimage and festival. Though they honor the deities in terms familiar from Puranic myths, the stories are set in the local terrain. The emotional side of *bhakti* thus draws from deep Tamil traditions, including a revival of classical Tamil poetic conventions involving the correlations between different types of landscape, different divinities, and different types of male-female love. In the hands of the saint-singers, erotic love in particular was drawn on as a metaphor for devotional feelings that stressed the feminine character of the soul in relation to the deity and idealized a softening of the mind or heart that could take the forms of "melting" into the divine, ecstatic rapture, divine madness, and possession.

Following the advent of Śaṅkara, most of the sectarian and revivalist movements found common cause in their devotionalist stance against Advaita nondualism and continued to develop for the most part interdependently. Thus, most formatively, the songs of the Āḻvārs were collected in the ninth century for eventual use by the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas. And the poems of the Nāyaṉmār—supplemented by the songs of Māṇikkavācakar, who apparently lived just after the list of sixty-three Nāyaṉmār had been set (ninth century)—were collected to form parts of the canon of the Śaiva Siddhānta. However, the revivalist and sectarian strains could also at times follow somewhat independent courses. The saint-singer tradition continued to take Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava forms among the Liṅgāyats and the Haridāsas of Karnataka, and also to be associated there with sects (the Liṅgāyats themselves and the Brāhma Saṃpradāya or Dvaita Vedānta tradition of Madhva, respectively). But its spread through Maharashtra, the Hindi-speaking areas of North India, and through Bengal was most focused on Viṣṇu, or more accurately on his forms as Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, who in turn, in the Hindi and Bengali areas, became the deities of different sects. In the case of Kṛṣṇa, erotic devotional poetry opened new dimensions on the theme of Kṛṣṇa's love-play with his "new" consort, Rādhā (her name does not appear before the twelfth-century Sanskrit *Gitāgovinda* by the Bengali court poet Jayadeva). In Hindi and Bengali poems, not only are the emotions of motherly love for the baby Kṛṣṇa and erotic love for the youthful Kṛṣṇa explored, but they are tied in with a classical theory of aesthetic appreciation (*rasa*).

As to the sects, the impact of Śaṅkara's Advaita is evident at many points. Although Śaiva monasticism may predate Śaṅkara by about a century, his establishment of *maṭha*s around India was highly influential. Certain post-Śaṅkara sects thus adopted institutionalized forms of "monastic" renunciation, either like Śaṅkara setting their *matha*s alongside the temples (Śrī Vaiṣṇavas, Dvaita Vedāntins, Śaiva Siddhāntins) or in opposition to the whole temple cultus (Liṅgāyats). Vaiṣṇava sects also assume henceforth the mantle of new "Vedāntas" in order to seek Vedic authority for their advocacy of *bhakti* theologies over and against Śaṅkara's nondualism and in their efforts to subordinate the path of knowledge to that of *bhakti.*

Most distinctive and most important theologically among the Vaiṣṇava schools are those of Rāmānuja (c. 1017–1137) and Madhva (1238–1317), both of whom attempted to refute Śaṅkara's interpretations of the Upaniṣads, the *Brahma Sūtra,* and the *Bhagavadgītā* with their own commentaries on those texts. The more prolific Madhva also wrote commentaries on the *Ṛgveda* and the epics. Rāmānuja, drawing on the ceremonialism and theological formulations of the Pañcaratra sect as well as on the revivalist poetry of the Aḻvars, developed for the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas the first *bhakti* sectarian repudiation of the Advaita. In his "qualified nondualistic Vedānta" (*viśiṣṭādvaita vedānta*), he argued that Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa is the ultimate *brahman,* his relation to the world and souls being "qualified" as substance to attribute. World and souls are thus real, as of course is God—all in opposition to Śaṅkara's view that there is no reality other than *brahman.* For Rāmānuja the three paths not only culminate in *bhakti* but are crowned by *prapatti,* "surrender" to God or "falling forward" at his feet. Criticizing both Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja, Madhva's "dualistic Vedānta" (*dvaita vedānta*) stressed the absolute sovereignty of God and the fivefold set of absolute distinctions between God and souls, God and the world, souls and souls, souls and the world, and matter in its different aspects—all of which are real and not illusory.

On the Śaiva side, the most distinctive sect is the Kashmir Śaiva, or Trika, school, established in the ninth century, with possibly earlier roots. It is nondualist, but from the standpoint that all is essentially Śiva. As pure being and consciousness, Śiva is aware of himself through reflection in the universe, which he pervades as the *ātman* and in which he is manifest through his *śakti* (power, or female energy, personified as the Goddess). The universe is thus an expression of Śiva's aesthetic experience of his creative awareness as self and his delight in unity with his Śakti. "Recognition" of Śiva as the *ātman,* and experience of the self through *spanda* ("vibration")—an attunement to the blissful throbbing waves of divine consciousness in the heart—are among the means to liberation. One of the foremost systematizers of this school was Abhinavagupta (c. 1000 CE), who developed the view that states of aesthetic appreciation (*rasa*s, "tastes") are modes of experiencing the divine Self. Though favoring *śantarasa* (the *rasa* of peacefulness), Abhinavagupta's theories influenced the North Indian medieval devotional poetry that explored *bhakti* itself as a state of *rasa,* with such powerfully evocative modes as love of Kṛṣṇa in the relationships of servant-master, parent-child, and lover-beloved. This type of devotional intensity reached its peak in the person of the Bengali saint Caitanya (1486–1533), founder of the Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇava sect, whose ecstatic dancing and singing enabled him to experience the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Popular tradition regards him as an *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa, a form assumed by Kṛṣṇa to experience in one body his union with his Sakti.

POPULAR HINDUISM. The main current of living Hinduism is popular Hinduism. It has been affected by every change the tradition has gone through and may fairly be assumed to have ancient roots, in some aspects traceable to Indus Valley religion, in others to *śūdra,* village, and tribal forms of religion that were never more than alluded to—and then negatively—in the ancient and classical sources. *Bhakti* and Tantra are two movements within Hinduism that draw inspiration from this broad current, and popular Hinduism today remains dominated by *bhakti* and Tantric expressions.

It is, however, perilous to look at popular Hinduism from the perspective of what it might have once been: that is, to attempt to isolate or reconstruct its Dravidian, pre-Aryan, or non-Brahmanic components. Although hypotheses about pre-Aryan and non-Aryan forms of popular Hinduism are certainly worth pursuing, they must be informed and restrained by a sound understanding of the comprehensive structures through which both popular and Brahmanic forms of Hinduism are integrated at the popular level. Aspects of popular religion that might look non-Aryan turn out on closer examination to involve Vedic prolongations. Nor are recent constructs such as sanskritization, brahmanization, or kṣatriyazation—all useful up to a point, but stressing only the adoption by low-caste groups of high-caste models—adequate to account for the multivectored process that must have occurred for a long time as it continues to occur today.

Amid the bewildering variety of popular Hindu rites, customs, and beliefs, two broad structures can be identified that clarify this overall integration. One involves the working out of the implications of *bhakti* in relation to temple worship; the other involves the working out of the implications of the caste system in relation to local forms of worship more generally. As they function, the two structures are intimately related.

Generally speaking, whether one defines a locality in large terms (a region, a former kingdom) or small terms (a city, town, or village), one will find two types of divinities: pure and impure. The pure divinities are forms taken locally—*avatāra*s—of the great gods Viṣṇu and Śiva. Sometimes the Goddess is also purified to this rank, often with a myth explaining her change from violent to peaceful habits (as with the alleged converṣion of the goddess Kāmākṣi at Kanchipuram, Tamil Nadu, by Śaṅkara). And in certain regions Śiva's sons Murukaṉ/Skanda (in Tamil Nadu) and Gaṇeśa (in Maharashtra) also assume this role. In their temples, these gods are offered pure vegetarian food by brahmans. Today, all castes can worship in such temples, thanks to temple entry legislation by the postindependence government; formerly, low castes were excluded. These castes still maintain their own temples where impure gods are served with nonvegetarian offerings, that is, sacrifices of male animals, usually cocks and goats but occasionally water buffalo. Legislation prohibiting buffalo sacrifices has so far had mixed results.

Whereas worship of pure gods—especially at remote pilgrimage sites—is focused ultimately on renunciation and liberation, that of impure gods is dominated by down-to-earth concerns. One thus finds among the general category of impure gods lineage deities (*kuladevatā*s), caste deities, and village deities (*grāmadevata*s). The first are usually but not always male, and some are deities for brahman as well as low-caste lineages. Caste deities and village deities are usually female, and the category may overlap where the deity of a locally dominant caste becomes also the village deity. Where the village deity (usually a goddess) is the deity of a vegetarian caste or has had her cult purified to bring it into accord with high-caste standards, she frequently has one or more male assistants—impure demons converted to her cause and frequently lineage gods themselves—who handle the animal sacrifice (real or symbolic) for her, often out of her line of sight.

Nonetheless, though opposing principles are each given their play, it is their overlap and interrelation that is most striking. Low castes worship the pure gods in their temples. And high castes acknowledge the power of the impure deities, not only as *kuladevatā*s, but through selective (pure) means of participation in festivals sponsored by lower castes. Through the universalization of *bhakti,* the impure gods are sometimes also the prototypes for the demons whose deaths at the hands of the pure deities transform them into their devotees. These local myths have their roots in Puranic mythologies, and the sacrificial practices they evoke involve at least in part prolongations and reinterpretations of the Vedic animal sacrifice.

The second issue—working out of the implications of the caste system in relation to local forms of worship—has thus already been touched upon, but with the focus of issues of purity and impurity as defined by brahman and low-caste involvements. There remains the issue of the role of the *kṣatriya,* or more particularly the king, as the ruler of the land. The caste system has traditionally functioned in locally defined territories, "little kingdoms," where the local ruler had certain roles to perform. No matter what his actual caste, whether high or low, pure or impure, he had to function as a *kṣatriya.* In his ceremonial status, he performed the role of *jajmān,* engaging him at the core of a system of prestations and counterprestations with other castes as a sort of patron for those who perform services for him. Most significantly, this title derives from the Vedic *yajamāna,* "sacrificer," and prolongs not only the *yajamāna*'s function as patron of other castes (particularly brahmans, who offer sacrifices for him), but that of "sacrificer" itself. The model of the king as *jajmān* on the regional territorial level has its counterpart in the village in the person(s) of the leader(s) of the locally dominant caste, who assumes the role of *yajamāna* at village festivals. When, as was until recently widely the case, the village festival involves the sacrifice of a buffalo, it thus occurs within a continuum that includes the royal buffalo sacrifice traditionally performed in connection with the pan-Hindu festival of Dussera, and the mythology of the goddess Durgā and the buffalo demon Mashṣāsura that is traceable to the *Devimāhātmyam* in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.* There are many local and regional transformations of this pattern, but a basic theme is that the Goddess, who personifies victory, acts for the *yajamāna* and the kingdom or village in her conquest over demonic forces (impure barbarians, drought, diseases) that threaten the welfare of the local terrain over which she, as goddess, presides.

HINDU RESPONSES TO ISLAM AND WESTERNIZATION. Self-conscious Hindu responses to influences from the West were first worked out in the classical period in the epics, the Dharmaśāstras, and the Purāṇas. It seems that military dominance by "barbarian" peoples in that period provided one of the incentives for the articulation of Hindu orthodoxy. Islamic rule and Western rule in India have provided similar incentives, but this often goes unmentioned as historians place their emphasis on what is supposedly new. A full accounting of the impact of almost ten centuries of Islam and five centuries of Western presence in India would have to deal not only with their distinctive new influences but also with the ways in which traditional Hindu models have been revived and applied in new and adaptive ways, often on the folk and popular level. That, however, can only be alluded to here.

Islamic influence on Hinduism has many dimensions, all difficult to assess. From the time of the raids of Mahmud of Ghazni into Northwest India (977–1030) into the period of Mughal dominance, Hindus had to deal periodically with outbreaks of violence and iconoclastic zeal. Regional defense of Hindu traditions against Islam—first by the Rajputs in Rajasthan, then by the Vijayanagar rulers and their successors in South India (1333–eighteenth century), and finally by the Marathas in Maharashtra and the South (late sixteenth century–1761)—clearly fostered the Hindu ideal of the territorial kingdom, big or "little," as a model for the protection of ongoing Hindu values. Under the Muslim rulers, in fact, many Hindu chiefs and petty rajas were left in control of their local realms so long as they paid tribute and supplied military support. In these circumstances, conservative and puritanical tendencies seem to have gained momentum in orthodox Hinduism, particularly in regard to caste and the purity of women. Nonetheless, one finds numerous cases where Muslim themes and figures have been integrated into popular Hindu myth and ritual, but usually in ways that indicate Muslim subordination to a local or regional Hindu deity.

While orthodox, popular, and domestic forms of Hinduism thus drew in on themselves, however, Hindu sectarian traditions multiplied, particularly in the period of the breakup of the Delhi sultanate (1206–1526). Notable at this time were Caitanya in Bengal, and two exemplars of the North Indian *sant* (holy man) tradition: Kabir (c. 1440–1518, from Banaras) and Nānak (1469–1539, from the Punjab). These two latter figures both preached a path of loving devotion to one God that combined aspects of Islamic Sufism and Hindu *bhakti.* They thus formulated probably for the first time in terms partly Hindu an exclusivist monotheism like that found in the Abrahamic traditions of Islam, Christianity, and Judaism. Over and against the direct experience of this one God, all else was mediate and external, whether the practice were Muslim or Hindu. Thus not only caste but idol worship was rejected by these teachers. But though their syncretistic poetry remained highly popular, it did little to change the Hindu practices it criticized. Nānak's work in particular provided the foundation for the Sikh tradition, an increasingly non-Hindu and non-Muslim movement on its own. Nor did the syncretistic interests of the great Mughal emperor Akbar (ruled 1555–1605) do much to encourage theological synthesis, despite the popularity of his, for the most part, religiously tolerant rule. Akbar's successors on the Mughal throne abandoned his policies and pursued expansionist goals that aroused resistance from the heirs of the Vijayanagar and the Rajput kingdoms, and especially from the Sikhs and the new power of the Marathas. The seeds of a nationalist vision of Hinduism may be traced through these movements and back to the imperial ideal of the epics.

Under the British, certain reform tendencies initiated under Muslim rule were carried forward, freshly influenced by Christian missionary activity and Western education. Most notable were the reform movements of the nineteenth century. The Brāhmo Samāj was founded in 1828 by Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772–1833, from Calcutta). In an early treatise Roy wrote an attack on idolatry that showed Muslim influence, but by the time he founded the Samāj he had been more affected by Christianity, and particularly by the Unitarians. Roy thus introduced a kind of deistic monotheism and a form of congregational worship to go along with a rejection of idolatry, caste, sacrifice, transmigration, and *karman.* The

Ārya Samāj, founded in 1875 by Swami Dayananda Sarasvati (1824–1883, from Kathiawar), denied authenticity to Puranic Hinduism and attempted a return to the Vedas. Showing that the Vedas lent no support to image worship and various social practices, he went further to assert that they were monotheistic. As regards caste, he championed the *varṇa* theory as an ancient social institution but denied that it was religious. Both movements split into rival camps.

The Ramakrishna Mission, established on the death of its founder Ramakrishna (1834–1886) and carried forward by his disciples, most notably Vivekananda (1863–1902), is more representative of traditional Hindu values. Strong *bhakti* and Tantric strains converged in the mystical experiences of Ramakrishna and were held in conjunction with an initiation into Advaita Vedānta and experiences of the oneness of all religions through visions not only of Hindu deities but of Jesus and Allāh. For many followers, this humble priest of Kālī has thus come to be regarded as an *avatāra,* in the tradition of Caitanya. Vivekananda, Western-educated and keenly intellectual, attended the World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893, lectured widely, and established the Vedānta Society of New York. When he returned to India as a recognized champion of Hindu self-pride, he helped to organize the disciples of Ramakrishna into the pan-Indian Ramakrishna Mission. The first such teacher to gain prominence in India by popularity gained abroad, he thus inadvertently set up a pattern that has been followed by many prominent gurus and swamis in the twentieth century. Notable among them are Swami A. C. Bhaktivedānta (1896–1977), founder of the Hare Krishna movement (ISKCON) as an outgrowth of the Bengal Caitanya tradition, and Swami Muktananda (1908–1982), exponent of *siddhayoga* teachings that draw on Kashmir Saivism.

An earlier figure, one who attracted a large Western following without ever leaving India, was Śrī Aurobindo (1872–1950), whose career spanned nationalist political activism in Bengal (up to 1908), followed by the establishment of an ashram (hermitage) in Pondicherry for the teaching of a type of integral yoga that stressed the "evolutionary" progress of the soul toward the divine. One must also mention Mohandas K. Gandhī (1869–1948), whose reputation upon returning to India in 1915 after twenty-one years in England and Africa was not that of a guru but a champion of Indian causes against social and economic discrimination. As he took on more and more ascetic and saintly aspirations, however, Gandhī sought to combine an ideal of dispassioned and nonviolent service to humanity, modeled on the *Bhagavadgītā*'s doctrine of *karmayoga,* with work for Indian *svarāj* ("self-rule").

Although sometimes referred to as a Hindu renaissance, the effect of the various reformers since the nineteenth century has been to a certain extent more ideological than religious. Where they founded religious movements, these attracted only small followings. But their religious views—that Hinduism is essentially monotheistic, that caste is not essentially Hindu, that Hindu tolerance does not deny the truths of other religions, that Hinduism is in accord with modern science, and so on—have had major influence on a Western-educated, largely urban elite that, at least for now, controls the media and the educational processes of contemporary India. It remains to be seen how this new vision of unity will square with the traditionally diverse Hinduism of the vast population of the countryside.

SEE ALSO Arya Samaj; Avatāra; Bengali Religions; Bhagavadgītā; Bhakti; Brāhamaṇas and Āraṇyakas; Brahmo Samaj; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Esoteric Buddhism; Cosmology, article on Hindu Cosmology; Dharma, article on Hindu Dharma; Domestic Observances, article on Hindu Practices; Drama, article on Indian Dance and Dance Drama; Goddess Worship, article on The Hindu Goddess; Hindi Religious Traditions; Hindu Religious Year; Hindu Tantric Literature; Iconography, article on Hindu Iconography; Indian Philosophies; Indian Religions, article on Rural Traditions; Indus Valley Religion; International Society for Krishna Consciousness; Kṛṣṇaism; Līlā; Mahābhārata; Marathi Religions; Music, article on Music and Religion in India; Poetry, article on Indian Religious Poetry; Priesthood, article on Hindu Priesthood; Pūjā, article on Hindu Pūjā; Purāṇas; Rāmāyaṇa; Rites of Passage, article on Hindu Rites; Śaivism; Śaṅkara; Śāstra Literature; Southeast Asian Religions; Sūtra Literature; Tamil Religions; Tantrism; Temple, article on Hindu Temples; Upaniṣads; Vaiṣṇavism; Varṇa and Jāti; Vedāṅgas; Vedas; Vedism and Brahmanism; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Hindu Devotional Life.

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HINDUISM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA.

Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, and other sectarian traditions involving the worship of the many gods and goddesses that fall under the rubric of what is today called *Hinduism* have existed in parts of Southeast Asia for over two thousand years. Most of these early Hindu traditions have died out, but the dominance of their presence is attested by a legacy of architecture and performing arts, and to a lesser extent, proper names, manuscripts, and rituals. Small pockets of Hindus from early migrations, as well as descendants of more recent migrations, still live in Southeast Asia. Many of the early kingdoms in Southeast Asia, starting in the first half of the first millennium CE, adopted and adapted the specific Hindu texts, theologies, rituals, architecture, and forms of social organization that were suitable to their times and conditions. These traditions especially their relationship to the sacrality of the land and social structures indicates that Hinduism was characterized by transnational features, which adds nuance to our understanding of the cultural features that were carried by Hindu migrants.

The many areas where Hindu and Mahāyāna Buddhist culture coexisted, peacefully for the most part, included Champa (central and southern areas of Vietnam), Kambuja (Cambodia), Sri Vijaya, Yavadvipa (Indonesia, Java, and possibly Malaysia and other countries), Suvarṇa Dvipa ("the golden island," a name identified with many places), Sri Kshetra (Burma/Myanmar), as well as Thailand and Laos. Although Hindu traditions thrived in all these countries, there were perhaps more Hindu dynasties and a greater degree of state-sponsored Hinduism in Cambodia than in other kingdoms. By about the fifteenth century, with the increasing popularity of other traditions, such as Theravāda Buddhism in Cambodia and Islam in Indonesia, the explicit practice and acknowledgment of the Hindu traditions died out.

The boundaries of most kingdoms fluctuated through the centuries. At the height of its power, for instance, the Kambuja Empire included a major part of Southeast Asia from present-day Myanmar (Sri Kshetra) to central Vietnam (Champa), from the southern Chinese province of Yunnan, all the way down to the Malayan peninsula.

George Coedes (1880–1969) and other scholars called the process by which Hindu and Buddhist cultures and worldviews were transplanted in Southeast Asia *Indianization.* Hindu and Buddhist traders, priests, and an occasional prince traveled to Southeast Asia beginning in about the second half of the first millennium BCE (or earlier) and eventually migrated there. The term *Indianization,* however, should be used with caution; although one can certainly speak about many features of "Indian" culture that took root and still linger in the area, there was a dynamic interaction between local traditions and those brought by Indian traders and migrants. While there was considerable Sanskritization and Brahmanization, the depth of the influence of these traditions for the people is still a matter of scholarly dispute. The most pervasive areas of influence seem to have been in the dissemination of architecture, rituals, and narratives such as the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata.* Many of the traditions, especially those of the epics, are still performed, but the stories are situated in the context of Buddhist traditions.

SOURCES OF KNOWLEDGE. Our knowledge of Hindu traditions in Southeast Asia is based on archaeological sources, icons, inscriptions, temple architecture, texts, and performing arts. Archaeological evidence, including icons of several deities, coins, jewelry, and the like, has been of utmost importance. Most informative are the elaborate Sanskrit inscriptions that mark donations, consecrations of temples and icons, and dedications of public works. Some of the longest Sanskrit inscriptions are found in this region, particularly in Cambodia. The inscriptions are in many Sanskrit meters and reveal an excellent knowledge of Sanskrit literature and literary conceits. Dating of these inscriptions has been problematic, but some of the early ones in the Mi Son temple complex in Vietnam may date to as early as the third century CE. A late fifth-century inscription in the kingdom known as Funan (southern Cambodia and Vietnam) describing Queen Kulaprabhavati's endowment of monies to a hermitage may be one of the earliest inscriptions in Cambodia. Inscriptions have been found in Thailand, Indonesia, Vietnam, and Bali. The rise and decline of Sanskrit as the medium for these inscriptions follow trends that are seen in India. In many cases, as in Cambodia, the Sanskrit inscriptions are followed by records in a local language. Most books and manuscripts in Cambodia have been destroyed over the centuries, but many stelae carry inscriptions.

Chinese texts, including travelogues and descriptions by visiting political missions, also provide extensive information on cities, everyday life, royal processions, and so on. Theatrical performances in Thailand and Indonesia introduce us to the world of Kakawin poetry, said to be descended from the *kāvya* style of literature in India. Manuscripts, copied through the generations in Indonesia, give us various versions of the Hindu epics and stories from the Purāṇas. Temple architecture and iconography also inform us of the depth and pervasiveness of Hindu culture in Southeast Asia, as well as the areas in India from which the migrants may have come.

ORIGIN STORIES. Several founding stories, especially those of the Khmer people, speak about the union of an Indian ancestor with a *nāga* woman. The term *nāga* in Indian (Buddhist, Hindu, and Jain) narratives refers to a semi-divine group of people associated with serpents. Some stories depict them as being descended from serpents, or as having some of their mythical powers. The term *nāga* also referred to a community of people in India during the time of the Buddha. Early Chinese accounts (c. 230 CE) speak of a man from India named Hundien meeting a woman, Liu Ye, who ruled over the land. After a battle, Hundien (Kaundinya?) married the princess. Another story traces the people of Cambodia to the royal holy man Kauṇḍinya who is said to have married the local *nāga* princess, Soma. This version of the story, which some scholars consider a distinct narrative, is recounted in a temple inscription in Mi Son (Champa), which probably dates to around the third century, or perhaps much later. This inscription tells of Kauṇḍinya receiving a javelin or a spear from Asvathamman (the son of Droṇa, a teacher of the princes in the *Mahābhārata*) and throwing it into the air, thus marking his territory. He eventually married Soma, daughter of a *nāga* king. A later Cambodian story that does not turn up until the classical age (c. ninth century CE) tells of a legendary sage Kambu who married a celestial woman called Mera. Some scholars derive the word *K(h)-mer* from the names of these parents. The country born (Skt., *ja*) from the union of Mera and Kambu was called Kambuja.

In these stories, a male ancestor from India marries a divine or local princess; the name Soma ("moon") suggests the alliance between the male ruler from the solar lineage and the woman from a lunar lineage. The solar and lunar dynasties were prominent in Hindu narratives, and almost every Hindu king traced his ancestry to these lines. Some of these stories are connected with the Pallava dynasty, which was in power in the Southeast part of India (Tamil Nadu), particularly near the city of Kanchipuram. Other stories, like those of the *nāga* origin, are strikingly similar to those found near Kashmir.

ORIGINS OF THE MIGRANTS IN INDIA. It is difficult to categorically state the various places in India from which the Hindu migrants in Southeast Asia came. Speculations on places of origin in India are based on fragmentary sources, including inscriptions, histories of maritime expeditions, and stylistic similarities between architecture and sculptures. There seem to have been both sea routes and land routes from India to Southeast Asia.

Two areas that seem to have had regular and extensive contact with Southeast Asia are Kanchipuram (near Chennai, South India) and the areas traditionally known as Kalinga (modern Orissa), farther north on the east coast of India. The temple towers of Angkor Wat (or Vatt), for instance, are strikingly similar to those found in Orissa, particularly the Brahmeshwar Temple (built circa 1061 CE by Queen Kolavati) near Bhubaneshwar. The area between Orissa and Andhra Pradesh near the lower Kṛṣṇa River also seems to have been a place from which there was active contact with Southeast Asia.

Kanchipuram was an important city in South India for several centuries. The Angkor Wat, for instance, is a three-storied, west-facing temple dedicated to Viṣṇu, similar to the Vaikuntha Perumal temple, built in the eighth century in Kanchipuram. The temple in Cambodia replicates some of these features and combines it with the architecture of Kalinga. The area around Kanchipuram also has several temples with icons of Viṣṇu similar to those in Cambodia.

More speculative are theories pointing to other areas near Kashmir as the source for certain aspects of Hindu culture in Southeast Asia. Some Hindu origin stories are similar to those of Kashmir and Nepal. In addition, there are striking similarities in the sculpture and texts of the Chalukya empire (northern Karnataka, c. sixth century CE) and some Southeast Asian cultures.

There are hundreds of place names in Southeast Asia that are similar to names in India.

There were many areas in India that could have been the land of origin for the migrants who settled in Southeast Asia. Hinduism seems to have been global or at least transnational. There seems to have been regular contact with traders, sailors, pilgrims, and migrants, and therefore continuing links between South and Southeast Asia.

EARLY HISTORY AND ASPECTS OF HINDU CULTURE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. Historians believe exchanges of goods and ideas between India and Southeast Asia may have begun as early as 350 BCE; such an exchange had certainly been established by the first few centuries of the Common Era. Traders, their families, and eventually priests came and settled in these lands and eventually intermarried with the local people. The cultures of India may have spread in this way all over Southeast Asia. Some scholars, however, insist that local kingdoms exercised a great deal of control over what they imported from India, that Indian court culture was not a dominant culture imposed from outside on a passive Southeast Asian land, and that local rulers invited Indian *brahmans* to serve them and selected what they wanted of Indian culture. It is certainly true that although there was extensive cultural influence from India, some important features of Indian life—including the dietary culture and the caste system—never took hold in Southeast Asia.

Indian migration to Southeast Asia occurred in small waves, with the migrants following land and sea routes. These new people came with their narratives and literary traditions, a knowledge of construction techniques and the religious principles behind the engineering of temples, as well as public waterworks, performing arts, astronomy and astrology, and statecraft. Small groups of settlers seem to have shared their traditions through the invitation or request of the local elite. Some of these were adopted by the local people, some modified, others jettisoned.

Archaeological data from the Oc Eo area of the Mekong Delta shows evidence of settlements from before the beginning of the Common Era. Chinese texts speak about a state called Funan occupying a part of Cambodia and southern Vietnam. While there are Chinese descriptions of this kingdom from about the third century CE, it may have been in existence as much as two centuries before that. Historically, evidence of early Indianization in Southeast Asia is offered by Sanskrit inscriptions, including an inscription in Champa (at Vo-Canh in the Khanh-Hoa province of modern Vietnam), which dates to the third century CE. Here, the author refers to himself as the delight of the family of Srimar, a king who established a dynasty in Champa in the second century CE.

By the fifth century CE, several small Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms were established in the Indonesian archipelago. The Srivijaya kingdom, based in Palembang in south Sumatra, was very powerful for a while, controlling key trade routes and extending its empire to Thailand in the north and West Borneo in the east. It was largely Buddhist, but Hindu dynasties flourished in central Java. In the Sanjaya (Mataram) kingdom, one of the best known and largest Hindu temples—the Loro Jonggrang at Prambanan (near Yogyakarta)—was built in the ninth century CE. Hindu dynasties ruled in Bali after the ninth century CE.

Clear Indian influence is evident in the names of places and royalty. Many of the early kings in this region had Hindu Sanskrit names, such as Rudravarman, Bhavavarman, or Jayavarman. Almost all the early kings in Southeast Asia bore names ending with the royal *varman,* as was the custom in India, where, according to the *dharma,* names of *kṣatriya* should end with *varman.* There is also evidence of women rulers; the earliest may have been Queen Kulaprabhavati in southern Cambodia in the fifth to sixth centuries CE. Queen Jayadevī ruled in Cambodia in the early eighth century. The earliest capital in Cambodia was called "Hari hara alaya"—the sacred abode of Hari (Viṣṇu) and Hara (Śiva). Some of these names have lingered and have been modified in Southeast Asia.

Coronation and consecration rituals referred to in the inscriptions seem to follow Hindu texts. In Cambodia, after the time of Jayavarman II (early ninth century), we hear about the "*devarāja* [god-king] cult." Hiranyadama, the royal *gurū,* apparently conducted this rite, and it seems to have established Jayavarman's legitimacy. The Sdok Kak Thom inscription (c. 1052) gives many details about the concept of *devarāja* and associates it with a particular temple (Rong Chen) and with specific kings. The concept of *devarāja* involved the concept of the king (*rāja*) as a divine being (*deva*), perhaps centering the royal power in a particular icon of Śiva (a *liṅga*) and divine power in the kings. Perhaps only kings whose hereditary legitimacy was in doubt emphasized the *devarāja* concept.

HINDU DEITIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. Śiva, Viṣṇu, and the goddess Lakṣmī were all popular in Southeast Asia, but in addition, Hari-Hara, an amalgamation of Viṣṇu and Śiva, was revered, particularly in Cambodia. Hari-hara, who is seen in reliefs in the Badami caves (c. sixth century CE, Northern Karnataka in India), became popular after the seventh century. He is mentioned in many inscriptions in Cambodia, and is represented in numerous icons. Icons of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Hari-Hara, Gaṇeśa, Skanda, Nandi (a bull sacred to Śiva), Garuḍa (the eagle mount of Viṣṇu), the nine planets worshiped by Hindus, and other deities have been found all over Southeast Asia. The invocations in inscriptions also express reverence to amalgamated deities like Ardhanārīśvara (a combination of Śiva and the goddess Pārvatī). Several incarnations of Viṣṇu are carved in temples.

Śiva was perhaps the best known deity in all of Southeast Asia. In Cambodia, Śiva is usually depicted with two wives, Umā and Gaṇgā. Rivers in Cambodia were eventually considered to be holy like the Ganges, such as, after the eleventh century, the rivers flowing from the hill Phnom Kulen to irrigate Angkor. The sacrality of these rivers was stated on carvings made on rocks on their banks, which emphasized the identification of such rivers as the Kbal Spean with the Ganges. While Śiva worship, particularly as represented by the creative symbol of the *liṅga,* was popular, the worship of Viṣṇu also flourished across the region. Knowledge of the Indian Vaiṣṇava texts, including the two epics, was widespread, at least among the elite. Long after Śaivism and other forms of Hinduism disappeared from Cambodia as living religions, knowledge of the *Rāmāyaṇa* thrived through the performing arts. Starting with the endowments of Queen Kulaprabhavati in the late fifth century, many endowments were made to temples of Viṣṇu in Cambodia. The walls of many temples are carved with scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Purāṇa*s,* and scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* are carved on the walls of the Prambanan temple near Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

Most temples in Southeast Asia emphasize one deity but consecrate many others in the same place. Śiva, Viṣṇu, and Devī are commonly represented all in the same building. Women seem to have had an important role in consecrating deities in temples; both in Bakong and later in the temple at Bantei Srei in Cambodia, women were involved in the consecration. The Prambanan temple in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, has temples to Brahmā and Viṣṇu, but the main shrine is dedicated to Śiva.

Mahāyāna temples included stupas, along with Buddhist and Hindu deities. Thus, there is a stupa at the center of Preah Khan (near Siem Reap), which was constructed by Jayavarman VII (a Mahāyāna king), as well as a very large Śiva *liṅga* on the western side of the structure. There is also a magnificent panel of Viṣṇu on Ananta, with Lakṣmī at his feet. Similarly, at the Bayon, which was built by the same king, there are many panels depicting Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, and Śiva.

ARCHITECTURE. Hindu traditions have been showcased most prominently in Southeast Asia through architecture. There are hundreds of temples in every country, the most famous being the Loro Jonggrang temple (c. mid-ninth century), popularly known as the Prambanan temple, in Indonesia, and the Angkor Wat (mid-twelfth century) in Cambodia.

The Prambanan temple complex is about 20 kilometers east of Yogyakarta, Java. It is variously attributed to a king of the second Mataram dynasty, Rakai Pikatan, or to Balitung Maha Sambhu. There are well over 250 smaller temples in the Prambanan complex, which is spread out on the Prambanan plain. The main temple to Śiva is about 47 meters high. Viṣṇu had his own shrine (as did Gaṇeśa) and is represented in the carvings of the *Rāmāyaṇa* found throughout the complex. A princess, Loro Jonggrang, who is sometimes identified with Durgā, is also enshrined in this complex. Śiva's temple is flanked by shrines to Viṣṇu and Brahmā. While Brahmā, the minor creator deity, is seldom worshiped in temples in India, there are several icons to him in Southeast Asia. Worship of the three deities (Viṣṇu, Śiva, and Brahmā) probably came to Southeast Asia before Brahmā was reduced to a minor deity in the subcontinent. In India, sculptures depicting Brahmā survived long after he lost his importance in the texts.

All the major buildings in the Angkor area of Cambodia emphasize Hindu principles of construction. Many of them are theologies in stone. Some of the early temples were built on a square or a rectangular foundation; in others, the innermost shrine was to be a square. Temples to Śiva frequently stand on artificial hills of five levels; the number five, associated with the five-syllabled *mantra* "Oṃ namaḥ śivāya," is prominent in all constructions to this deity. The Bakheng, in Cambodia, has 108 towers; from any side, only thirty-three towers are visible. This is said to remind one of the thirty-three *devas* or celestial beings that the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* speaks of—describes eight *vasu*s, eleven *rudra*s, twelve *āditya*s, plus Indra and Prajāpati. Recent studies have shown that the details of the measurements of Angkor Wat correspond to various Hindu deities and their stars, as well as to the Hindu calendar.

Many Cambodia kings built Hindu temples in conjunction with irrigation systems, reservoirs, and the management of water reserves, although the issue of water management is a contentious topic among scholars. Udaya aditya-varman constructed a vast reservoir on the western side of Angkor (the western Baray); it is about 5 miles wide and 1½ miles in length. A temple to Viṣṇu was later built in the center of this area. Angkor functioned as both a sacred temple city and as the administration point of a vast irrigation system.

Sūryavarman II (r. 1131–c. 1150) built Angkor Wat and dedicated it to the Hindu god Viṣṇu. The term *angkor* comes from the Sanskrit word *nagara* (city), and the Buddhists who occupied this building in later centuries called this a place of worship or *wat,* a word derived from the Sanskrit *vatika* (garden). It was one of hundreds of temples built by the Khmers. Angkor Wat, regarded as the highest achievement of Khmer architecture, covers an area of 1,500 by 1,300 meters (4,920 by 4,265 feet) and is surrounded by a vast moat that is 180 meters (590 feet) wide. Balustrades in the shape of giant *nāga*s line the causeway leading to the temple. The Angkor Wat temple, which is built on three levels, has five main towers representing the five peaks of Mount Meru. There are, of course, extensive sculptures throughout the complex.

Viṣṇu is the presiding deity of Angkor Wat. There are many bas reliefs depicting stories from Sanskrit texts, including the *Bhāgavata Purana, Harivaṃśa,* and *Rāmāyaṇa.* Scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* appear on the northern side of the western wall. The reliefs on the entire north wall and the north part of the east wall depict stories of celestial beings and gods fighting various demons. The largest bas relief in the world, on Angkor Wat's eastern wall, depicts a story that seems to be the most popular in all of Hindu and Buddhist Cambodia, although it is relatively unknown in India—the story of the churning of the ocean of milk and Viṣṇu's incarnation as a tortoise. The reliefs on the south wall depict various hells and heavens as described in the Purāṇas. Near the front entrance, symmetrical to the *Rāmāyaṇa* relief, there is a battle scene from the *Mahābhārata.* Returning to the western wall, we first see the brave warriors on their chariots in the battle scene. It culminates with a striking relief of Bhīṣma, an elderly general lying on a bed of arrows with the five Pāṇḍava brothers near him. The story refers to the time when Bhīṣma instructed Yudhiṣṭhira, the eldest of the brothers.

Reliefs of Viṣṇu reclining on his serpent Ananta are common in Southeast Asia, and narratives from the *Rāmāyaṇa* are seen in many temples in Thailand, Indonesia, and Cambodia. References to the churning of the ocean of milk appear in stylized panegyrics, as well as in art. For instance, such kings as Indravarman I (877–889) were compared to Viṣṇu with Sri Lakṣmī, the goddess of good fortune. In South India the story of the churning of the ocean of milk is commonly rendered in dance, but rarely in sculpture. The narrative, found in the Purāṇa*s,* describes how the *deva*s and the demons, consummate enemies, came together to churn an ocean of milk in search of the nectar of immortality. Viṣṇu, who is glorified in this story, initiated the action and then helped by taking the form of a tortoise upon whose back Mount Mandara, used as a churning rod, rested. The snake Vāsuki served as a rope, and after the rising of initial poison, which Śiva swallowed to protect the participants, various treasures emerged. Lakṣmī also appeared and chose Viṣṇu as her husband. Compared to the thousands of sculptures in India relating to Rāma or Kṛṣṇa, the more important incarnations of Viṣṇu, the tortoise incarnation is marginal except in the performing arts.

Many temples in Southeast Asia had an astronomical and calendrical function. Scholars have shown that the positioning of the Angkor Wat temple is coordinated with very precise astronomical configurations, and the measurements correspond to cycles in the Hindu calendar. In some cases, there is also a numerical correspondence, as between the numbers of celestial beings and demons in the large panels and calendrical calculations.

SOCIETY. Sectarian affiliation was flexible among the Hindus, and family members may have followed different sectarian traditions—Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava—in considerable harmony. Many inscriptions, especially in Cambodia, indicate that royalty traced their descent both in matrilineal and patrilineal lines. Importance was given to biological ancestry, and pride was taken in important and learned ancestors who are spoken of as *brahmans* and who were learned in the Vedas. The title *vrahmana* (Skt., *brāhmaṇa*) is also attached to some names in Khmer. However, although great respect was shown to *brahmans* in Cambodian (as well as Thai) culture, the caste system as we know it in India did not exist here. New castes were created by kings, who had the power to assign caste names to subjects. Thus, the caste system existed for *brahmans* and royalty, but beyond that we do not know whether it had much currency. It appears that although the caste (*varṇa*) system existed in Cambodia, the castes were probably largely ceremonial orders, and did not apply to the common people.

There seems to have been a strong matrilineal tendency in Cambodia, but it is not possible to say whether it was a local phenomenon or was imported from South India. The Sdok Kak Thom inscription, for instance, which is one of the most important sources of Cambodian culture, speaks of many generations of kings and priests through a mostly matrilineal descent. Many women apparently held royal office, and they certainly sponsored many pious and charitable projects. The inscriptions also describe many queens—Indra-lakṣmī, Kambuja-rāja-lakṣmī, and Jayaraja-devī—who wielded considerable power. Both men and women made claims to the throne.

It is not clear how the Hindu traditions died out in the many kingdoms of Southeast Asia. Theravāda Buddhism had a strong presence in Thailand, and, after several wars, Buddhism became the religion of Cambodia. Islam became a dominant presence in Indonesia after the fourteenth or fifteenth century. Small pockets of Hindus have lived continuously in some regions like Bali. Although there is a sense of cultural amnesia among Indian Hindus about the spread of Hindu traditions, the Hindu legacy is evident all over Southeast Asia. Hindu narratives are depicted in the performing arts throughout the region. Sanskritized names are still prevalent, even among Muslims in Indonesia. Brahmanical rituals prevail during coronation celebrations in Thailand. Histories of Hinduism will have to take this transnational aspect of the religion into consideration when assessing the region's culture and legacy.

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VASUDHA NARAYANAN (2005)

HINDU PHILOSOPHY SEE INDIAN PHILOSOPHIES

HINDU RELIGIOUS YEAR.

The religious celebrations of the Hindu year appear to be countless, and thus the main difficulty in presenting them here is selecting a pattern that is sufficiently comprehensive to take into account their intricacy. The difficulty is met at two levels. First, diversification occurs not only across broad regional areas, but throughout subregions as well. Second, villagers of a particular locality will share only a part of the series of annual festive observances, most of which vary according to caste, family custom, and sectarian bias. Moreover, even for a festival acknowledged to be pan-Indian, local variations occur concerning the date and the particulars of ritual and mythological background.

Very often, in order to highlight sociological factors, anthropological studies give mere chronological listings of localized festivals. From that perspective, however, the meaning of rituals and of their dating is left open to question. One must be content either with the functionalistic explanation of a fictitious solidarity supposedly reinforced by festivals, or with the obvious general purpose of every ritual, prosperity.

More sophisticated views have been elaborated to account for the multiplicity of local traditions in relation to the Sanskritic-Brahmanic "great tradition" (Srinivas, 1952; pp. 213–228) as well as for the "processes of universalization and parochialization" that McKim Marriott has found to be "generally operative in Indian civilization" (1955, p. 218). Although these theories were initially expressed with careful qualifications, later scholars have sometimes cited them in an almost mechanical manner: The relationship between the "great" and "little" traditions has been reduced to the nineteenth-century pseudohistorical understanding of an irreconcilable dichotomy between Brahmanic religion and the so-called autochthonous tribal, Dravidian (or even pre-Vedic) ones.

With the structural studies of myths and rituals, a renewed interest has grown for the study of Hindu symbolism and, as an outcome, for the study of the Indian calendrical system. When one observes the popular use of intricate almanacs (*pañcāṅga*), one cannot but ascertain the all-inclusive character of the Hindu conception of time in relation to efficient activity and hence to religious celebrations.

The Hindu Conception of Time. The year is the main unit of time in so far as it is equivalent to a day of the gods. From this unit, time computation expands in two ways. The small units, that is, from the year downward, depend on astronomical considerations and directly concern humans in this world. The great units given by the Puranic cosmogonies are on the scale of the gods and have nothing to do with astronomy. However, the eschatological speculation of the cosmogony not only teaches that time is basically cyclical in the very periodical succession of creation-degradation-resorption, but it also institutes a homology among the cosmic periods, the levels of ultimate values, and the divine manifestation for this world (Biardeau, 1981, p. 173). In other words, humankind is at the very center of the cosmos. Because a human is the only being able to act with a goal in mind, by ritual activity at the level of what is at issue on the earth, humans alone are capable of sustaining the whole sociocosmic structure with its two poles, that is, liberation from transmigration and ultimate resorption into the Absolute, as well as the very continuation of this world.

Thus to refer to this world Hindu thought uses the term *karmabhūmi* “earth of (ritual) activity (or of transmigration)”; such activity cannot be but efficacious if the proper actions are observed at the right time and the right place. The principle of appropriateness, which is especially emphasized in the Hindu medical texts, remains at work insofar as every important undertaking of daily Hindu life is related to an astronomical conjunction. It is not a mere question of choosing a good date but of selecting a conjunction of time in which two or more specified astronomical phenomena meet and combine their effects; thus, one is reminded that time is not only cyclical but that it also introduces a rupture in its apparent continuity.

The Hindu Calendrical System. The Hindu calendar combines the solar year with a lunar year, both systems being synchronized by adding or deleting lunar time units. A solar month begins with the *saṃkrānti* (“entry”) of the sun from one *rāśi* (zodiacal sign) to another (the twelve *rāśi*s have almost the same names as the zodiacal signs of the Western system). Because this system disregards the precession of the equinoxes, the vernal equinox, which is supposed to occur when the sun enters Meṣa, or Aries, takes place around the thirteenth day of April. In the same way, the great *saṃkrānti* of mid-January marks the Indian winter solstice and thus the beginning of the solar year, when the sun’s course is northward (*uttarāyana*); from mid-July its course is southward (*dakṣiṇayana*). The distinction between the two halves of the year is one of the important structural oppositions of the Hindu conception of time.

For the lunar months, the waxing and waning of the moon provides the major opposition between a bright and a dark fortnight. The very name of the full moon, *pūrṇimā,* conveys an idea of fulfillment; moonlight gives people strength, and the time of the full moon is thus auspicious for offering sacrifices to the gods. On the contrary, the dark half of the lunar month and the new moon, *amāvāsyā,* “when the sun and moon ‘dwell together,’” are more ambiguous and are often devoted to ancestor worship. Each lunar day (*tithi*) of a fortnight is named in order by a numeral. Some of them are consecrated to a specific god: For example, the fourteenth of each dark fortnight in a year is consecrated to Śiva, but among them, that of February–March is the most important and has been sometimes mythically associated with a *nakṣatra,* or lunar constellation. For in conjunction with the synodical revolution of the moon, the zodiacal belt, already divided into twelve *rāśi*s, is also divided into twenty-seven segments, each taking the name of a *nakṣatra* and each deemed to be ruled by a specific (Vedic) deity with a specific influence. Each lunar month is named for the *nakṣatra* that appears (though sometimes with a slight astronomical variation) to be in regular conjunction with the full moon. When the months are solar months, they have been given either the names of the lunar months, as in Tamil Nadu or Bengal, or those of the *rāśi,* as in Kerala. Whichever the case, both solar and lunar cycles with their related elements are taken into consideration. However, there is a great diversity of regional calendrical systems; sometimes a particular holiday is celebrated on different dates in different regions. The variations derive from several factors: Not only do lunar and solar months coincide, but, depending upon the region, the lunar month is known either as “ending with the full moon” (*pūrṇimānta*) or as “ending with the new moon” (*amānta*). Furthermore, each region has several almanacs based on different textual traditions. As in the Western system, the seven planets (including the sun and the moon) are correlated with the days of the week; to the seven are added two mythical bodies, Rāhu and Ketu, which are said to cause eclipses. In addition, planets interfere at sporadic intervals throughout the year.

For any given celebration, not only is a date fixed corresponding to an astral conjunction, but smaller units of time are also assigned with separate values of their own. The determination of the specific moment (*muhūrta*) for the performance of an auspicious act involves highly sophisticated calculations that must account for the fact that the different sidereal components of the date have varying durations. Additionally, there are seemingly endless values to these many combinations that induce auspicious as well as inauspicious periods when no serious enterprises—especially religious ones—can be undertaken.

It would appear, then, that in the Hindu calendrical system each segment of time derives value from its relation first to the astronomical moment and by implication to the cosmical time. Theoretically speaking, the significance of a religious event comes partly from its occurrence in conjunction with different sidereal cycles and partly from the symbolic meaning attached to each astral phenomenon. From a practical viewpoint, however, this is not so easy to ascertain. But, considering that symbolic meaning always carries several possible interpretations, the conception of time mainly provides for a series of distinctive oppositions—such as bright and dark, pure and impure, and so forth—as a mental framework for (religious) activity.

Furthermore, the notion of a proper or auspicious time would not be so significant if it did not correspond to the notion of a proper place. If crowds gather every twelve years at Prayāga (Allahabad) in northern India or at Kumbakonam in the South for ritual bathing (and with the intent of future salvation), it is because at that very place waters of different sacred rivers are said to mix together at the very time of a special astral conjunction. In a similar way, worship throughout the course of the year takes place not at random but in a delimited space, either in the home or at the temple or at any temporary place that has been set aside according to rule for that purpose. Hinduism emphasizes the relationship of (sacred) time to (sacred) space; that is, the site of the temple or of any home inscribes in its space the same values that are represented in the conceptual square diagram of the earth. The dimensions of space and the positions of the gods are coordinated with the symbolic projections on earth of the solar and lunar cycles and of other astronomical phenomena. The definition of space thus includes a definition of time according to the specific values assigned to each orientation. Consequently, by delimiting a space—or only by facing a specific direction—for worshiping a deity at a prescribed conjunction of time, the worshiper reenacts a cosmos appropriate for his sacrificial relationship with the divine.

STRUCTURE OF THE RELIGIOUS YEAR. Among the diverse kinds of religious celebrations, there is but a thin line demarcating *vrata* (religious obligation usually involving a fast, a purificatory bath, and special worship) from *utsava* (festival). They share many elements, and from a list of almost fifteen hundred *vrata*s and *utsava*s that Kane (1975) has compiled, twenty-two are still celebrated in various Hindu regions.

At least one-fourth of these are observed by all Hindus throughout India and Nepal. There is also some difficulty in distinguishing private from domestic observances, and popular festivals, celebrated at every level of society, are possibly associated with the temple festivals. Some of the largest temples may include in their festive calendar all the sacred days of the Hindu year and other ones as well, according to the personality of the main deity and to the myths of the place. A temple celebration may provide some Hindus for a reason to undergo a *vrata,* sometimes in connection with a pilgrimage. In small, localized temples of goddesses or subordinate male gods the date of the festival, and eventually of the *vrata,* may appear only minimally connected with the general calendrical system. Such events do conform to their proper seasons and to long-lived tradition, and therefore must be understood in relation to the specific regional pattern.

Most religious celebrations are held during the bright half of the lunar months. The full moon is sacred and is observed, if not everywhere on each month, at least in one region or another. The relatively few celebrations that fall during the dark half of the lunar month assume special significance. The three main such festivals are dedicated to Śiva, to Kṛṣṇa, and to the Festival of Lights, Dīvālī. The significance of these sacred *tithi*s of the opposed bright and dark halves of the lunar months is correlated to the structure of the solar year.

In many parts of India the New Year begins with mid-April, at the vernal equinox. In Andhra Pradesh the vernal equinox is called Yugādi ("beginning of a cosmic cycle") and it is often held that this is the time when Brahmā begins the creation. The time of Dīvālī, however, which comes after the autumnal equinox, is also perceived as a beginning. The New Year tends to be celebrated at the balanced time of the equinoxes, whereas both solstices mark an intersection between opposing periods. If one remembers the equivalence of the year to a day of the gods, the solstices are then the metaphorical sunrise and sunset, sensitive transitions that must be manipulated carefully, particularly in the case of the sunset, which is perceived as *pradoṣa* ("break in time," or "fault").

Makara (Capricorn) Saṃkrānti ("transiting") of mid-January, or the winter solstice, is a sacred date almost everywhere in India. It is especially celebrated in regions that observe solar months, such as in the southern state of Tamil Nadu, where the festival of Poṅkal combines worship of the sun, of the ancestors, and of cattle, with a ritual cooking of the new rice and prescribed gift-giving. However, even in areas that observe lunar months, the period of the summer solstice, though not marked by a special day, is the beginning of a period of intense religious activity. At this point seasons must be taken into account insofar as the summer solstice corresponds with the monsoon time of the tropical year. Even in areas with regional climatic variations (in Tamil Nadu the rains do not come from the east until October), everywhere in India the agricultural year begins with the monsoon approximately when the sun begins its apparent course southward. The very accumulation of natural events strengthens the symbolic cosmic drama at issue. Edādaśī (the "eleventh day" of the bright fortnight) in July-August is recognized as the time when Viṣṇu, the king and sustainer of the world, goes to sleep for four months; that celebration is thus called the Cāturmāsya ("four months"). The celebration of Viṣṇu lying on the cobra Ananta (celebrated on the fourteenth day of the bright fortnight of September–October), is reminiscent of a *pralaya,* or a destruction of the world submerged by waters, just before a re-creation. This particular fortnight belongs to the *pitṛ*s ("fathers"), and ancestors are especially worshiped at the new moon of August–September and during the dark half of September–October in a ceremony called Pitṛpakṣa, just before Navarātri. During these four months, the *asura*s (demons) threaten to take the place of the gods and the earth is left to the power of the underworld beings. Thus the *naga*s, or mythic cobras associated with water and fecundity, are propitiated on Nāga Pañcamī, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of August-September.

Because it is felt that people must protect themselves from inauspicious forces, during the full moon of August–

September the twice-born of the upper social orders *(brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya,* and *vaiśya)* reaffirm the close relationship to the divine that is theirs by virtue of the investiture of the sacred thread, the symbol of their second birth. In a custom observed mainly in northern India, a "thread of protection" (*rakṣābandhana*) is tied by the domestic priest to the hand of his clients, or, more commonly, by a sister to that of her brothers. During this period no marriage is allowed, for it is felt that women are the best mediators for helping to pass through this crisis time, which is crucial to the fecundity of the earth and the continuation of the sociocosmic order. Women thus propitiate different forms of the Goddess (from July to September) and undergo *vrata*s for the sake of their husbands on Haritālikā, or Tīj, the third day of the bright fortnight of September–October. Śiva's son Gaṇeśa is worshiped in the fourth of the same fortnight (with a renewed interest, since 1893, in Maharashtra), and the *ṛṣi*s, the archetypal Vedic seers, on the fifth.

However, the birth of Kṛṣṇa on the eighth of the dark fortnight in August–September, and that of Vāmana, the dwarf incarnation of Viṣṇu, on the twelfth day of the bright half of September–October (the Onam festival in Kerala), foretell the final restoration of the sociocosmic order. But the main battle is left again to a feminine power, the goddess Durgā, who, after "nine nights" (Navarātri), from the first to the ninth of the bright fortnight in October–November, killed the buffalo demon. The final "victory of the tenth" (Vijayadaśamī) emphasizes the revival of dharmic kingly rule on earth. On the fourteenth of the dark fortnight in October–November light comes again with Dīvālī, which celebrates Lakṣmī, the goddess of prosperity, with lamps, festivities, and the retelling of stories about Yama, the god of death, and about the inevitable victory of the gods over the forces of evil. At last, Viṣṇu awakes from his sleep on the eleventh of the bright fortnight of November–December.

In South India, the myth of the sleeping Viṣṇu is not well known. Instead, the celebration of Śiva's son Skanda, a favorite god in Tamil Nadu, reflects a popular myth in which Skanda is the slayer of the *asura:* On the sixth of the bright half of November–December the *mūrti*s (images) of Skanda and of the *asura* are taken out in procession, and the priest (or another participant) holds the spear and symbolically kills the demon. The next full moon, called Karttikaidīpa, duplicates the lightings of Dīvālī. Despite regional variations, the second half of the solar year seems to be perceived everywhere in India as inauspicious and dangerous; it is a period in which the gods must assent to the underground, the demonic, and the feminine powers for the very sake of the fecundity and continuation of the earth.

The first part of the year is auspicious and bright, but, as a corollary, it is unfruitful. Early in the season, during Śivarātri (on the fourteenth of the dark fortnight in February–March), Śiva bestows salvation on his devotees, even if they include hunters, who kill animals. As told by a popular tale, a hunter who spent the night of Śivarātri in a forest, pouring water and throwing leaves of the *bilva* tree (which is associated with Śiva) on a buried *liṅga,* thus worshiped Śiva without knowing it and obtained salvation when he died. The narrative recalls that salvation through devotion to Śiva is possible for all people, even for those of the lowest social order who have no access to sacred knowledge. It is reminiscent also of the fact that Śiva himself takes the form of a hunter in some myths. As regards the Śivarātri celebration, Śiva is believed to have originally appeared as an unending column of fire, affirming his supremacy over Brahmā and Viṣṇu, thus recalling his relation to the fire of a cosmic destruction before the universal flood.

The fifth of the bright fortnight of February–March is dedicated to the beginning of spring, personified as Vasanta, the "brilliant" companion of Kāma, the god of love. The celebration of Vasanta seems to be to the season of love what the worship of the *nāga*s (six months previous, during August-September) is to fecundity.

The beginning of spring also marks the beginning of the preparations for Holī, at the full moon of March–April. Holī is a very popular festival in northern India. Often defined as the festival of the *śūdra* (members of the fourth and lowest order of Hindu society), Holī is an occasion in which normal, socially restrained behavior is momentarily forgotten; everyone engages in playful dousing with colored powder and water and shares in the bonfire that symbolically destroys all of the world's evil. In Bengal, Holī is associated with the worship of Kṛṣṇa. Holī is not known in South India, but there the full moon of March–April is variously celebrated, either with the burning in effigy of Kāma, whom Śiva burnt with his third eye, with the marriage of particular gods, or with the worship of Skanda or other deities. The fires of Holī and Kāma are counterpart to the waters on which Viṣṇu sleeps lying upon the cobra Ananta, which occurs six months later, on the day before the full moon of September–October.

Spring merrymaking ends with the turning of the vernal equinox. Again with the bright half of April–May, a Navarātri festival of nine days is held. This festival is the counterpart of the autumnal Navarātri but is less elaborate—often only two or three days are consecrated to the Goddess. However, the birth of Rāma (an incarnation of Viṣṇu) on the ninth echoes the royal restoration of the great Navarātri for the sociocosmic order. With the two next full moons, Yama (or, in Tamil Nadu, Yama's attendant Citragupta, who records the good and evil deeds of human beings) and the *pitṛ*s (in Gujarat) are remembered. The full moon of May–June is dedicated to terrible or warrior forms of the deity (Narāśimha or Skanda). Formerly, on the third of the bright half, a fast was held in some northern areas for Akṣayya ("the inexhaustible"); whatever was given on that day was said to become inexhaustible and undecaying. The *vrata* anticipated the then threatening scarcity of food and water. On that date was also celebrated Viṣṇu's *avatāra* as Parasurama ("Rama with the axe"), who became incarnate in order to kill all *kṣatriyas*, because one of them had stolen his brahman father's cow, the inexhaustible wealth without which no brahman can sacrifice. This mythical event indicates that something has begun to go wrong in the sociocosmic order.

During the oppressive heat of the last month before the summer solstice, people can do almost nothing but wait for the rains. The Ganges River (Gaṅgā) is believed to have come down to earth on the tenth of the bright fortnight of June–July for the salvation of human beings. On that day a bath in the Ganges or in a sacred river is prescribed for destroying sins. This is considered a time of cosmic crisis, for the sun is moving southward (an inauspicious direction), and monsoon floods follow the burning sun of May–June, recalling the image of a cosmic dissolution (*pralaya*) in which destruction by fire is followed by deluge. The month of June–July is called Jyestha ("eldest"); the feminine form of this name is Jyeṣṭha, indicating Lakṣmī's "eldest" sister, Alakṣmī, the goddess of nonprosperity or misfortune. On the full moon of Jyeṣṭha women renew their series of *vratas* by worshiping the goddess Sāvitrī and the ever-growing banyan tree for a never-dying husband.

There are comparatively many more ascetic observances during the second half of the solar year than during the first, for during the first, bright half of the year the emphasis is rather on the direct relationship of human beings to deities, and most of the festivals for family gods (*kuladeva*) and locality gods (*grāmadeva*) seem to be held during that period. These particular festivities have not been taken into account here because they vary so much from region to region. Instead, this article has emphasized the structure of the Hindu religious year with its complementarily opposed halves. The author has also chosen to rely mainly upon the mythological background for these observances, which emphasizes their sociocosmic significance; on the village level, however, this meaning is not always recognized, and the rituals serve mainly pragmatic interests having to do with food, disease, fate, and so forth. From this point of view, there is a correspondence between the different significant levels. Moreover, one must not forget the importance of *bhakti,* pure devotion, which has a particular influence on worship at every level of society.

Finally, the religious calendar taken as a whole does not convey a sense of rigid sectarian bias. Emphasis on one deity or another appears to be primarily a regional matter. Vaiṣṇava devotees, of course, will give more emphasis to celebrations of Viṣṇu, and Śaiva devotees, to those of Śiva. A few exclusive sects may have their own specific festive dates more or less grafted onto the general calendrical system. But in general, the very complementarity of Viṣṇu, Śiva, and the Goddess contributes to the balance of activities throughout the religious year.

SEE ALSO Bengali Religions; Cosmology, articles on Hindu Cosmology, Jain Cosmology; Dīvālī; Durgā Hinduism; Gāṇapatyas; Goddess Worship, article on The Hindu Goddess; Hindi Religious Traditions; Hinduism; Holī; Indian Religions, article on Rural Traditions; Kṛṣṇa; Kṛṣṇaism; Kumbha Melā; Marathi Religions; Navarātri; Śaivism; Śiva; Tamil Religions; Temple, article on Hindu Temples; Vaiṣṇavism; Viṣṇu; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Hindu Devotional Life.

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HINDU TANTRIC LITERATURE.

The genre of religious literature known as Tantra exists in all traditional South Asian religions—Hindu, Buddhist, Jaina, and folk religions. The Hindu Tantras are also divided into Śaiva, Śākta, and Vaiṣṇava. The literature classed as Tantra is not a coherent group of texts, nor are the texts always comprised of any homogeneous materials. Sometimes the name *Tantra* is replaced by *Āgama*, *Nigama*, and *Saṃhitā*, especially when the texts want to emphasize their affinity to the Vedas. There is a convention that Śaiva Tantras are called Āgamas, Vaiṣṇava Tantras are called Saṃhitās, and Śākta Tantras are known as Tantras. But there is no regularity in these divisions. Therefore, Tantric literature must be defined as a theistic literature mainly focused on the cult of one or several deities.

Sometimes a single godhead is the focal point of a group of Hindu Tantras, which gave rise to the categories of Śaiva and Śākta. The meaning of the term *Tantra* is extremely vague; it can just be another name for *śāstra*—the canonical literature of religious teachings and practices. But from the angle of religious history, the word *Tantra* means a particular genre of religious literature that the *Mahābhārata* (12, 349, 64) includes among the five authentic doctrines, namely the Pāśupata and the Pāñcarātra. (This group of five doctrines includes Pāśupata, Pāñcarātra, Sāṃkhya, Yoga, and Vedāraṇyaka.)

Thus, Pāśupata and Pāñcarātra were regarded as authentic traditional religions coming down from Vedic literature. It also proves that these two religions were different from the Vedic tradition of religious practice and philosophy. These two names mentioned by the epic most probably included the two main streams of non-Vedic yet generally accepted tradition, the Śaiva and the Vaiṣṇava.

Sāṃkhya ontology and the Yoga method of meditation are widely accepted by Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava ritual literature; they mainly oppose the Vedic ritual systems and the ideology lying behind them. On the other hand, the early antagonism of traditional Vedic practitioners probably induced these religions gradually to accept some of the Vedic rituals and incorporate quite a number of Vedic *mantras.* As a result, traditional Vedic scholars like Kumārila and Śaṃkara did not completely reject the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava ideologies.

The ritual mainly advocated by Tantric literature is a system of worship in which, by internal and external ritual acts, the worshiper intends to establish his or her identity with the deity worshiped. With a series of rituals conducted by imagination and by physical actions, such as *bhūtaśuddhi, prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā*, and *nyāsa*, accompanied by specific *mudrās* and *mantras,* the worshiper achieves self-apotheosis. Only then can he or she worship the deity and, through the prolonged practice of one-pointed meditation (*samādhi*), achieve his or her soteriological goal. As support of the *samādhi,* there developed a system of iconography, image making, temple construction (and the science of their maintenance), and various classifications of worship programs, such as daily worship, periodic worship, and special worship. A deity is not only represented in image form but also as *maṇḍala*, *yantra*, and other aniconic forms. The practice of yoga also took special forms, such as *laya yoga* and *kuṇḍalinī yoga*. Esotericism is the main feature of these rituals, and the ideology underlying access to the system is also exclusive: initiation is compulsory. Tantric literature comprises all these ritual and supplementary materials.

Besides the two main streams, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava, there are other streams worshiping deities such as Śakti as goddess, Sun, Gaṇeśa, and Skanda. However, the method of ritual worship of these deities more or less follows the earlier model. There are countless Tantras on the worship of the goddess Śakti, designated as the Śākta Tantras. Nevertheless they should be categorized as Śaiva Tantras, because the goddess Śakti is almost invariably connected with Śiva.

The Śaiva canonical texts are divided into two categories, the higher path (*atimārga*) and the *mantra* path (*mantra mārga*). The higher path may have gotten its title from some of the antisocial rites and observances followed by its adherents. Originally it was entirely followed by ascetics.

There are two main branches of the higher-path literature. The first is Pāśupata texts, belonging to the sect known by that name, and the second is called the L(N)ākulīśa Pāśupata. The earliest text available is the *Pāśupata Sūtras*, which is divided into five chapters. It prescribes for its adherents a strict ascetic life and, for a limited period, somewhat antisocial behavior to attract the disapproval of society. This limited period is followed by a period of practicing meditation in total seclusion. The final stage of the practice is carried out at a cremation ground. One important compulsory item of practice is the use of ash for bathing and for a bed. The ultimate goal for the practitioner is salvation (*mokṣa*), which means a total cessation of suffering. Kauṇḍinya wrote a detailed commentary on this canonical text called *Pañcārtha Bhāṣya.*

No text of the Lākulīśa Pāśupata system has survived. However, there is no doubt of its great prevalence in the early period. It must have influenced the emergence of the later sects, the Kālāmukha, Kāpālika, Siddha, and Nātha. Along with the original Lākulīśa sect, all these sects believe in the supreme importance of the human body; its culture (*kāya sādhana*) leads to salvation in this life as well as to supernatural powers. These later sects have produced many texts, such as the *Kaulajñāna-nirṇaya* and the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā.* It is considered that Matsyendranātha introduced the Kaula system of antinomian practices, and Gorakṣanātha the system of Haṭha Yoga.

The texts belonging to the *mantra* path, though having basically the same type of ritual system and soteriological concepts, admit both ascetics and householders. Among these texts are the canons of the Śaiva Siddhānta. These are called Āgamas and consist of ten Śiva-āgamas (such as *Mṛgendra-āgama*) and eighteen Rudra-āgamas (such as *Niḥśvāsa Tantra* and *Raurava Tantra*). Important features of these Tantras are (1) Śakti, as an embodiment of supreme divine power, receives almost no attention; and (2) they do not teach esoteric rituals. The central deity is Śiva.

In the corpus of esoteric Tantras, Śakti as goddess and consort of Śiva occupies an important position. These are divided under two headings, those belonging to the seat of *mantras* (*mantra pīṭha*) and those belonging to the seat of vidyā (*vidyā pīṭa*). The Tantras belonging to the *mantra pīṭha* are called Bhairava Tantras. The dominant deity is Śiva bhairava (the terrifying). According to some traditions, there are sixty-four Bhairava Tantras. The *Svacchandabhairava Tantra* is one of the most important texts of this group.

The Tantras belonging to *vidyā pīṭa* are often centered on a dominant female deity, Śakti, and are divided under two headings, Yāmala Tantras and Śakti Tantras. Of these two groups of Tantras, the former teaches the cult of a couple; that is, the ferocious Bhairava and his consort Śakti, the ferocious goddess Bhairavī. *Picumata-brahma Yāmala* is one of the important Tantras of this group. It teaches secret rites of a sexual type, and the position of Śakti and her human representative, the practitioner's female partner, is exalted. Although these Tantras have moved away from strict ascetic practices, the influence of the Kāpālika tradition is quite conspicuous. The teaching is full of esoteric features; the skull cup, disheveled hair, and other symbols point to the cremation ground as the cult's ideal location.

Another interesting Tantra is the *Jayadratha Yāmala.* This introduces the cult of the goddess Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī, the "Destroyer of Time." This deity is not terrible in form but more like a warrior goddess, adopting the Kāpālika symbolism of holding a skull cup and wearing a deerskin. The Tantra then proceeds to describe more esoteric rituals and iconography of the goddess Kālī. The text possibly represents stages of the development of Kālī's cult, including the twelve Kālīs.

Śakti Tantras are so called because of the ascendancy of Śakti over Śiva, both in the iconography and in the main *mantra* of the central deity. Here is the esoteric worship of Śakti in three hierarchic stages. The supreme one is the goddess Parā śakti. The *śakti* Parāparā stands in the middle of the hierarchy and possesses the characteristics of both the supreme Śakti and the lower *śakti,* who is the goddess Aparā śakti. The latter comes close to the empirical level. A fourth one, who is both the aggregate of all three *śaktis* and the one who transcends them all, then joins this tradition of three *śaktis.* Of the three *śaktis,* Parā is an aspect of the transcendent one. Parā heralds the advent of creation. These three śaktis constitute the core of this cult called the triadic cult (Trika). The *Siddhayogeśvarīmata Tantra*, the *Mātṛsadbhāva Tantra*, and the *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra* belong to this early triadic cult. The iconographic details of the supreme goddess Parā indicate that she is the deity who is the supreme Gnosis and is identified with self-realization.

The development of the Kaula system saw a waning of the ascetic ideology from the original Kāpalika concepts. A text like the *Kulārṇava Tantra* makes this clear. Though dominated by Śakti, the cult accepts the transcendental Śakti, Parā, to be totally united with Śiva, and the pair is enclosed by the three *śaktis* arranged in a triangle. There are two streams or lineages (*kula*) of the Kaula system, Kālikula and Śrīkula. The former presents the cult of Kālī, and the *Kubjikāmata Tantra* belongs to this stream. It deals with the cult of the beautiful goddess Śrī. The *Yoginīhṛdaya Tantra* and the *Nityaṣoḍaśikārṇava Tantra* are among those that belong to this cult.

The Krama school of Śakti Tantras propagates the *kaula* style of worship of Kālī. The *Devīpañcaśataka* belongs to this school. This system later influenced many goddess cults and produced many Tantras, such as the *Mahākāla Tantra.*

Two more streams must be mentioned: the Mahāvidya Tantras and the Cīnācāra Tantras. The *Toḍala Tantra* and the *Śaktisaṃgama Tantra* belong to the former group, whereas the *Mahacīnācāra Tantra* and the *Nīlasarasvatī Tantra* belong to the latter. The Siddha Avadhūta and the Nātha sects also continued to produce Tantras, such as the *Dattātreya Samhitā* and the *Gorakṣa Saṃhitā.*

The Vaiṣṇava Tantras generally belong to the Pāñcarātra sect. According to its own tradition, these texts are divided into four categories, Āgama, Mantra, Tantra, and Tantrāntara. This early Vaiṣṇava sect focused on the Vāsudeva form of Viṣṇu as the godhead. As the name suggests, Vāsudeva is the patronymic of the god Kṛṣṇa, who was a human incarnation of Viṣṇu. The Pāñcarātra philosophy and ritual practice have influenced all Vaiṣṇava sects. The *Mahābhārata* records the sect's three main features: aversion to animal sacrifice, the acceptance of Vāsudeva as the supreme god, and unconditional loyal devotion to Vāsudeva, the only way to remove all human sufferings. There are many Pāñcarātra Tantras. The adherents of the sect hold three texts to be the earliest and the most important, the *Sāttvata Saṃhitā*, the *Jayakhya Saṃhitā*, and the *Pauṣkara Saṃhitā.* The supreme god is the transcendent Vāsudeva/Nārāyaṇa, and Lakṣmī is his inseparable Śakti. The fourfold emanation of Vāsudeva, Caturvyūha constitutes the essence of the Pāñcarātra cosmogony.

SEE ALSO Tantrism, article on Hindu Tantrism.

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HIPPOCRATES (460?–380? BCE) was a celebrated Greek physician, called the "father of medicine." In spite of his reputation as the founder of scientific medicine, the embodiment of medical wisdom, and the exemplar of the ideal physician, little is known with certainty about Hippocrates' life. There are only a few contemporary or near-contemporary references to him. He is mentioned by Plato (*Protagoras* 311b–c, *Phaedrus* 270c), Aristotle (*Politics* 1326a14), and Aristotle's pupil Menon (in *Anonymous Londinensis* 5–6). He is said to have been a native of the island of Kos, off the southwestern coast of Asia Minor, and to have been an Asclepiad (the term may refer to a family or a guild of physicians that traced their origin to Asklepios, the god of healing, or may simply mean "physician"). He was, according to these sources, a teacher of medicine whose fame Plato compared to that of the sculptors Polyclitus and Phidias. He taught that one cannot understand the body without taking into account the whole, and he explained disease as the result of air that forms in the body during the process of digestion.

A biographical tradition that began long after his lifetime incorporated additional details, many of them anecdotal and legendary. Four short biographies are extant. The earliest is attributed to Soranus, a medical writer of the second century CE, while the others were recorded in the *Suda,* a tenth-century encyclopedia; by the twelfth-century Byzantine poet and scholar Tzetzes; and by an unknown late Latin writer. It is uncertain how much of the information they contain is trustworthy. They relate that Hippocrates learned medicine from his father Heraclides, who was a physician; that he studied under the atomist Democritus and the Sophist Gorgias; that he traveled extensively in Greece, visiting Athens, northern Greece, and the Propontis (the present-day Sea of Marmara); that he taught medical students on Kos; and that he died at an advanced age at Larissa in Thessaly, where he was buried. Additional biographical material contained in a collection of spurious epistles attributed to Hippocrates is almost certainly fictitious.

There has come down to the present, under the name of Hippocrates, a large and heterogeneous collection of medical books, the so-called Hippocratic treatises, which consist of some sixty different works, all written in the Ionic dialect. Most of them date from the late fifth or fourth centuries BCE, but some are much later. The collection may have originated as the library of a medical school (perhaps that of Kos) that was brought to Alexandria in the third century BCE where it came to be attributed to Hippocrates. All the works are anonymous and exhibit differences of style and approach. It is widely held today that none can be attributed with certainty to Hippocrates. It is possible that he wrote some of them, but there is no agreement on which, if any, are authentic. The Hippocratic treatises are the work of many hands and represent a variety of points of view, both lay and professional. They include clinical, theoretical, and ethical writings.

The best known of the Hippocratic writings is the so-called Hippocratic Oath. Exactly when it was written is uncertain. Although the earliest mention of it is in the first century CE, it may date from as early as the fourth century BCE. There is no evidence of its use in the pre-Christian era. Those who took the oath swore by Apollo, Asklepios, and other gods and goddesses of healing to guard their life and art "in purity and holiness." Its religious tenor and some of its injunctions (e.g., prohibition of abortions, euthanasia, and perhaps surgery) suggest that it originated among a restricted group of physicians (perhaps the Pythagoreans, a philosophical sect that emphasized moral purity, asceticism, and piety) who lay outside the mainstream of Greek medicine. The oath was later adopted by Christians, Jews, and Muslims, and (with necessary changes) it gained wide use.

According to popular Greek opinion, disease and death were sent by gods or demons. The Hippocratic writers, influenced by the pre-Socratic philosophers, for the most part rejected this supernatural etiology of disease. Hippocratic medicine was both empirical and rational. It was empirical in being based on meticulous clinical observation (its case histories remained unparalleled until the sixteenth century), and rational in rejecting magic and superstition and viewing disease as the result of natural causes. The Hippocratic treatise *On the Sacred Disease* exhibits this rational approach to medicine. The writer does not accept the traditional view that epilepsy is caused by divine possession. It is, he believes, no more sacred than any other disease, and has a natural cause. In rejecting a magico-religious etiology for a natural one, Hippocratic writers did not display an antipathy to religion. Instead, they regarded all things (including disease) as both natural and divine. Medicine itself was a divine art, in which the physician sought the assistance of the gods. "Prayer indeed is good, but while calling on the gods a man should himself lend a hand" (*Regimen* 87). The Hippocratic physicians recognized the healing force of nature (*vis medicatrix naturae*) and attempted to assist the body to heal itself.

There existed alongside Hippocratic medicine a tradition of religious healing centered in the cults of various gods, demigods, and heroes. The most notable was the cult of Asklepios, who by the fourth century BCE came to be the chief healing god of Greece, eclipsing all others as his cult spread throughout Greece. Sanctuaries of Asklepios were later established throughout the Mediterranean world and attracted the sick, who sought miraculous healing from the god. Hippocratic medicine and temple-healing coexisted apparently without antagonism. Temple-healing by Asklepios was regarded as complementing secular medicine, particularly in chronic cases for which medicine could do little. Both secular and religious healing came from the same god, who assisted physicians as well as the sick. Asklepios was the patron of physicians. Galen called himself a servant of Asklepios, and in Athens physicians offered sacrifices to the god for themselves and their patients.

The deontological treatises of the Hippocratic collection are the earliest writings on medical etiquette. They seek to create a distinct identity for the physician and to lay down guidelines for professional conduct. In establishing a standard of behavior by defining the obligations of the physician, they created both a tradition of medical ethics and an ideal of dedicated and compassionate practice, which were subsequently adopted in late antiquity and the Middle Ages by Christian, Jewish, and Muslim physicians. They have continued to influence the Western medical tradition down to the present day and they remain the greatest legacy of Hippocratic medicine.

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GARY B. FERNGREN (1987 AND 2005)

HIRATA ATSUTANE (1776–1843) was a prominent Japanese thinker and ardent nationalist who vigorously argued for the superiority of Shintō and native Japanese institutions over all imported traditions. Atsutane was the fourth son of Ōwada Tsugutane, a member of the warrior class. As an adolescent he was trained in the reading of Chinese texts and in practical medicine. At twenty years of age he left his home province and came to live in Edo, the capital of the Tokugawa government. There, he encountered great difficulty making a living, and was finally forced to do manual labor until he was adopted by Hirata Tōbei, also a member of the warrior class. Thereafter, he went by the name Hirata Atsutane.

In spite of his difficult financial situation Atsutane continued his studies. His first book, entitled *Kamōsho* (Scoldings to a fool), was a criticism of *Bendōsho* (A discourse on the way), a work by the famous Confucianist Dazai Jun. In it, Atsutane accused Dazai of misunderstanding the ancient "way" of Japan. Taking along a handwritten draft of this book, he made a trip to see Motoori Norinaga at his home in Matsuzaka in the hope of being accepted as a disciple. However, it was only in 1803, two years after Norinaga's death, that his discipleship was formally acknowledged by the son of Norinaga. The next year he opened a small private academy in Edo and began to devote himself to writing. He produced two important works during this early period: *Shinkishinron* (A new discourse on *Kami*), a criticism of the Chinese understanding of the fate of the soul and an outline of his own conviction that the soul continues to exist after death, and *Honkyōgaihen* (Additional teachings of the central tradition), a description of ideas regarding the imperial *kami* and life after death, which reveals the influence of Christian texts Atsutane had read in Chinese translation. These works embody the basic attitudes and principles that guided his life thereafter: that truth is one, that Japan is the country in which the original *kami* was born, and that therefore all religions should be interpreted in accordance with Japanese mythology. Hirata also believed that the world of *kami* is the primary, eternal one that controls this world and for which one must prepare during this lifetime.

In 1808 he was certified by the Shirakawa family to teach Shintō priests. This gave him a source of income and made it possible for him to concentrate on teaching and writing. His writings consist of lectures on ancient Shintō, popular Shintō, Confucianism, Buddhism, *waka* poetry, and so forth. Some of his most important works were written in the period beginning in 1811. Typically, Atsutane would append several commentaries to his text in order to avoid mistakes of interpretation. For example, to *Koshi* (Ancient history) are appended two works, *Koshicho* (References to ancient history) and *Koshiden* (Commentaries on ancient history). In 1812, the year his first wife died, he wrote another important work entitled *Tama no mahashira* (The real pillar of the spirit), in which he interpreted the Japanese myth of the creation of the universe in accordance with the principles of astronomy. This methodology had first been attempted by Hattori Nakatsune in *Sandaikō* (A study of the three planets), a discussion of the relationship between mythological deities and the sun, the earth, and the moon, based on knowledge drawn from books imported from Holland. Atsutane's work was influenced by the same line of thought, a major reason why many of his followers lost influence among intellectuals in the early Meiji period.

In the early 1820s, having established an academic reputation in a somewhat narrow sense, Atsutane became interested in ancient Japanese letters and the field of demonology. His work on the latter subject is regarded today as the model that inspired contemporary studies of folk beliefs. In the late 1820s his studies turned to India and China in an attempt to identify Japan as the ideal country mentioned in the ancient texts of those countries. During this period he also tried to make himself known to certain daimyo in order to secure official patronage. In 1830 he was granted a small stipend from the Owari domain of one of the three collateral Tokugawa families.

Toward the end of his life Atsutane explored the fields of divination and metrology. He published *Kōkoku doseikō* (Japanese Metrology) in 1834, much to the consternation of the government, which wanted to maintain strict control over such matters. As a result, his stipend from the daimyo of Owari was canceled. In spite of this, Atsutane began to publish a study of the calendar in 1837, and in 1840 was again questioned by government officials. On the first day of the following year he was ordered to stop writing. He returned to his home province shortly thereafter, all efforts he had made for the freedom to move and to write having come to naught. In the years of social change that followed his death, however, his disciples increased and contributed to the establishment of the new government in the Meiji restoration a quarter century later.

SEE ALSO Kokugaku; Motoori Norinaga.

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UEDA KENJI (1987)

HIRSCH, SAMSON RAPHAEL

HIRSCH, SAMSON RAPHAEL (1808–1888), was a German rabbi and the foremost ideologue of Jewish Neo-Orthodoxy in the Western world. Hirsch was born in Hamburg and educated in an "enlightened-pious" family of Orthodox Jews who rejected the notion that secular culture is incompatible with traditional Jewish faith. Thus he continued his studies with Jacob Ettlinger and Isaac Bernays, rabbis who were receptive to modern culture. He studied at the University of Bonn in 1829 and, in 1830, became *Landrabbiner* of Oldenburg. In 1836 Hirsch wrote his *Neunzehn Briefe über Judentum* (*The Nineteen Letters on Judaism*), which has become a classic expression of Jewish Neo-Orthodox philosophy. A year later, in 1837, he wrote *Choreb, oder Versuche über Jissroels Pflichten in der Zerstreuung* (Horeb: Essays on Israel's "duties" in the Diaspora), his major work on the nature of Jewish revelation and law. These works earned Hirsch a reputation as a champion of Orthodoxy and a steadfast opponent of Reform.

In 1841 Hirsch became rabbi of Aurich and Osnabrück in Hannover (now Lower Saxony), and in 1846 he was appointed *Landesrabbiner* of Moravia. Hirsch's affirmation of Jewish political emancipation, his wearing of a clerical gown during services, and his emphasis upon the study of the Bible (rather than exclusive concentration on the Talmud) appear to have alienated him from more traditional Orthodox elements in the Moravian community. In any event, he moved to Frankfurt, where he served as rabbi of the Orthodox Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft from 1851 until his death. Here Hirsch formulated his policy of Orthodox separatism from the rest of the Jewish community and implemented his conception of Jewish Neo-Orthodoxy through the educational and communal institutions he created.

Hirsch soon became the leading Orthodox proponent of the notion that traditional Jewish belief in the divinity and the immutability of the written and oral laws could be combined with an affirmation of Western culture. He did oppose *Wissenschaft des Judentums,* however, because he feared that it undermined traditional Jewish notions of revelation. Hirsch detested Reform for its rejection of the oral law and charged that it reformulated Judaism in accordance with the demands of the age; against Reform he argued that the contemporary era had to be viewed in light of Judaism.

Like the Reformers, Hirsch proscribed neither secular culture nor secular education. He saw Torah as increasing humanity's knowledge of the true nature of humankind, while he understood secular education as increasing humanity's understanding of God's will as it unfolds itself in both nature and history. In speaking about the relationship between religious and secular knowledge, Hirsch wrote that "both should be put on the same footing" (*Gesammelte Schriften,* vol. 2, p. 450). Hirsch popularized this educational philosophy through the saying found in *Pirqei avot* (Chapters of the fathers) 2.2, "Yafeh talmud torah ʿim derekh erets" ("An excellent thing is the study of Torah combined with worldly occupation"). While *derekh erets* literally means "worldly occupation," Hirsch interpreted it as signifying modern culture; this saying became the rallying cry of Jewish Neo-Orthodoxy in the Western world.

In addition, Hirsch enthusiastically embraced the Jewish emancipation. He saw it as a positive development because it afforded Jews increased opportunities to fulfill their divinely ordained mission. He regarded the duty of patriotism as an obligation of love, and he charged that the Land of Israel "had seduced the people Israel from its allegiance to God" (*The Nineteen Letters on Judaism,* translated by Bernard Drachman, New York, 1960, Ninth Letter, p. 62). Israel's union, for Hirsch no less than the Reformers, was a religious one. "Land and soil," he wrote, "were never Israel's bond of union. That function was always fulfilled solely by the common task set by Torah" (ibid., Sixteenth Letter, p. 107). Jewish separatism was justified because of the universal spiritual mission Israel was mandated by God to fulfill "until . . . humanity as a whole might turn to God and asknowledge Him as the sole Creator and Ruler" (ibid., Seventh Letter, p. 55).

A prolific author, Hirsch articulated these ideals in many other essays, articles, and books. Among the most famous are his commentaries on the siddur and the Pentateuch. In these works, Hirsch argued that the purpose of prayer and devotion is, in terms reminiscent of Kant, an educational one—that is, to prepare the individual philosophically and psychologically for the universal ethical-religious tasks of this world. Furthermore, Hirsch employed Hegelian legal categories in these works and explicated the particular laws and statutes of the Jewish religion in a way that allowed him to identify them with universal concepts and principles of rational thought.

These intellectual characteristics, the pure German literary style evidenced in his writings, his affirmation of emancipation, his embracing of contemporary German standards of aesthetics, and his positive attitudes toward secular education and culture all combined to gain him a great degree of prominence and to mark the emergence of a new type of Orthodox Jewish religious leader. He remains the most important exponent of Jewish Neo-Orthodoxy.

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DAVID ELLENSON (1987)
Revised Bibliography

HISTORIOGRAPHY

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
WESTERN STUDIES [FIRST EDITION]
WESTERN STUDIES [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

HISTORIOGRAPHY: AN OVERVIEW

The English word *history,* as well as the French *histoire* and the Italian *storia,* stems from the Greek *historia,* which was used first to refer to a general inquiry into things and only later to refer to history as it is now understood. Germans speak of *Geschichte* (from *geschehen,* "to happen"); Chinese choose *shih* (meaning both "fact" and "history"); Hindus use terms such as *itihāsa* (tradition; lit., "verily thus it happened") and *purāṇa* (ancient lore); and Arabs alternate *tarʾikh* (derived from the word for dating events), *khabar* ("report"), and *ʿibar* (derived from the verb meaning "to pass on, through, over, or beyond"). Because the meanings of these terms are bound to cultures and periods, etymological analysis does not provide a ready explanation for the universality of the writing of history.

An investigation of time as the basic dimension of human existence yields more profound insights. It demonstrates the relentless change from past to present to future and how that change leads human beings to search for elements of continuity so as to reconcile their memories of the past with their experiences of the present and their expectations for the future. History is the endeavor that reconciles change and continuity by constructing such a unity of past, present, and future. That purpose links history to religion, itself the affirmation of a continuity transcending the world and time. Indeed, the history of historiography is marked decisively by the fate of that link between religion and historiography. In the mythological stage, sacred concepts alone defined the unity in time, telling of the emergence first of the cosmos and then of human society. In the subsequent stage of traditional historiography the ever more multitudinous and complex human phenomena of the ongoing present and the expected future were linked to the sacred past (be it the mythological core or the works of Confucius, the Buddha, Jesus, or Muḥammad) and thereby given meaning. In the later phases of traditional historiography, that creative process of establishing continuity through reference to the sacred past became more complicated as human history revealed more and more of its scope and some self-regulating patterns. The less frequent direct linkage between the present and a sacred past resulted in a greater prominence of human phenomena in the world's traditional historiographies, a prominence in many cases supported by a nascent rationalist undercurrent. Finally, in modern Western civilization, that linkage snapped completely and a historiographical revolution began that challenged the very link between religion and historiography. The repercussions became worldwide.

For centuries, the mythical accounts of how the cosmos and human society were created shaped both the substance and the tenor of historical works. Therefore, it mattered whether the world was perceived as going through endlessly recurrent cycles (ancient Indian accounts) from which human beings strove to escape into a state of timelessness; or as the onetime creation by an all-powerful creator (the three monotheistic religions), which demanded of human beings lives of decision with reference to a Last Judgment at the end of time; or as depending on the mythological age mainly for the substance and legitimacy of its moral and political order (Chinese and Japanese accounts).

Of even greater import to traditional historiography were accounts of the foundation of human society, most often formulated in terms of a loss of perfection. Ancient Indian texts spoke of a decline from the Golden Age, first to one marked by a need to eat and engage in sex, shortening the human life span, and then, crucially, to one of agriculture and private property that necessitated restraints on power and violence through law and government. The process had four stages (*yuga*s): the ideal stage, the *kṛtayuga*; the beginning of degeneration in the *tretāyuga*; the *dvāparayuga*; and the present, destructive stage of *kaliyuga*. In the Jewish and Christian traditions human society resulted from an act of disobedience—Adam and Eve trying to partake of God's full knowledge. Expulsion from the Garden of Eden brought the new human world of toil and suffering but also the possibility of joy and prosperity contingent on the proper relationship between God and human beings. Chinese, Greeks, and Romans spoke of a decline in more general terms: Confucian scholars saw decay as an ever-present threat (if the proper precepts were not obeyed); Greeks knew of the five consecutive ages (or races) of declining quality suggested by Hesiod; and Greek and Roman writers repeated tales of a lost Golden Age. Each of these fundamental views left its imprint on traditional historiography.

TRADITIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHIES.

Historiographies in the traditional manner prevailed in the West until the eighteenth century and outside of the West for two more centuries. Traditional historiography established for all events their continuity with the sacred past by authorizing what constitutes proper memory, by interpreting the why and how of events, and by using a methodology that stresses the consensus of continuing texts rather than verification measured according to human reason. In all of this, the "authority of the past" is dominant.

Indian traditional historiography.

Indian historiography, which has its mythological anchor in the Vedic literature, particularly the fourth Veda—the Upaniṣads—with its exhortation to focus human life on a union with the all-encompassing and changeless Absolute, gives little encouragement to record the world's changing phenomena. Indeed, it has been argued (too sweepingly) that because of this focus Indian culture lacks a historical consciousness. While no large body of ancient historical works exists, there is a body of historical material in the Vedas, the Itihāsa. Among its historical genres, the Purāṇas contained genealogies and stories of kings. The royal genealogies were kept by a special court official, the *sūta* and later the *māghada*; the genealogies traced the king and his family back to the mythological period. Other lists showed the proper priestly succession. These were important because the link to sacred antiquity gave legitimacy to priests and kings. The Itihāsa-Purāṇa tradition also contained stories with clear lessons on conduct. Narrative historiography, as epic history, found an outstanding example in the *Mahābhārata* (uncertain date; some parts extant in the seventh century) and the popular genre of *ākhyāna*. By 300 CE ancient Indian historiography had found its enduring form. From then on, largely undisturbed by the Muslim and European hegemonies, it offered chronicles of the various feudal states and biographies of outstanding persons in the form of the *carita*. All of these manifest the basic characteristics of Indian historiography: a lack of interest in precise dating; a lack of desire to distinguish clearly between legend, fantasy, and fact; a love of poetry; a preference for the idealized over the realistic; and the absence of a method for establishing the congruence of text and preceding text or of text and observable world. All of these characteristics are consistent with the emphasis on achieving union with the Absolute and reflect the resulting relative inattention to the story of human phenomena for their own sake. Thus, history was seen as the outward manifestation of an inner drama, whose logic was not to be found in mechanical cause-and-effect relationships but in *karman*, a structure by which punishments follow wrong deeds and rewards follow good ones.

Into this historiography was fitted, with some considerable modifications of the ancient tradition, both the Buddhist and Jain histories. In their basic tenor these traditions too placed strong emphasis on individuals escaping from the transient world, although they offer somewhat more encouragement for an involvement in that world. Their radically new feature was the reanchoring of history in the teachings and examples of persons who had actually lived in history. Buddhist historiography anchored in the Tripiṭaka, with its account of episodes in the Buddha's life (566–486 BCE), the formulation of his teachings, and the founding of the *saṃgha* ("community"). Thus, Mahānāma's famous *Mahāvaṃsa* (Chronicle of Ceylon) was written in the traditional Indian manner, but, while acknowledging the Vedic core, it stressed the Buddha's life and teachings and the teacher Mahinda's work in Ceylon; none of this was intended to reconstruct accurately the past but to edify readers and listeners. Jain historiography varied Hindu tradition by introducing a succession of twenty-four *jinas* (saints), the last one being Vardhamāṇa Mahāvīra (d. 476?), and by deemphasizing some supernatural explanations in favor of rational ones.

Chinese traditional historiography. Given to the concrete and the particular rather than the supernatural and abstract, Chinese historiography had as its narrow mythological base the mandate of Heaven (*tian-ming*), which required the emperor to organize and maintain a social order according to moral precepts. The mandate deified the emperor without making him a god, but also sanctioned his overthrow if the order was either not maintained or failed to conform to the moral code. Heaven provided for the authority of the ruling dynasty but also for revolution and the subsequent establishment of a new dynasty. That view accorded well with the fifth-century *Chunqiu* (Spring and autumn annals) of the state of Lu. This work, comprising typical annals of military campaigns, events at court, and unusual occurrences, became in the edition attributed to Confucius an instrument of moral and social teaching. Thereafter, the dependence of the fortunes of individuals and dynasties on conformance to the moral code and its correlate political wisdom remained a theme in Chinese historiography. The close connection between the mythical mandate, history writing, the state, and the moral structure of life was maintained when, after 221 BCE, a strong imperial government emerged. Even the destruction by imperial decree (213 BCE) of all previous historical materials emphasized that link: these records fostered the survival of memories dangerous to the new order. History writing was affirmed with the establishment of a commission to collect ancient texts (136 BCE) and a "grand college" (124 BCE), and above all through the sponsorship of the Zhengshi (Standard histories). The pioneering work, the *Shiji* (Records of the historian) by Sima Tan (d. 110 BCE?) and his son Sima Qian (c. 145–85 BCE), contained composite annals (mostly court accounts), genealogical tables of the imperial family, lists of ministers of state, and a biographical section devoted to famous statesmen and scholars. Later, such histories were created by the official history office (*shi guan*). In accordance with the principle of orderly succession—the manifestation of the triumph of peace and harmony over chaos—it became the duty of each dynasty to compose the history of the preceding one, always mindful of linking authority to ancient times and of offering proper lessons from the past. Thus a stable historical record, sustaining and reflecting traditional China, spans the period to the end of the monarchy in 1911. Even Chinese Buddhism with its sense of universal equality and compassion for all human beings, its longing for release from this life, and sense of decline in human history, was adjusted in its historiography to Chinese traditionalism and—partially because of intermittent coercion by the state—never developed a true alternative to the official view of the past.

Japanese traditional historiography. Beginning with the early *Nihonshoki* or *Nihongi* (Chronicles of Japan; 720 CE) and its cruder predecessor the *Kojiki* (Record of ancient matters, 712 CE), Japanese historiography carried the imprint of the well-developed Chinese historiography. But while the Confucian linkage of virtue and fortune was present in them, the stronger feature was the Shintō assertion of an unbroken sequence of emperors originally descendant from the sun goddess. This sacred imperial line made superfluous the Chinese concept of the mandate of Heaven and its rationale for dynastic change. Yet, from the eleventh to the seventeenth century there were no imperial histories, because that historiography did not fit a society in which the power was held by noble families. The Japanese prose writings, the *Rekishi monogatari* (Historical tales) and the *Gunki monogatari* (Military tales), recorded the powerful lords' deeds and their relationship with the imperial family. The dominance of noble families, ruling for and through the emperor, raised the issue of legitimate authority. Works by imperial partisans, such as the fourteenth-century *Jinnō shōtōki* (Chronicle of gods and sovereigns) by Kitābatake Chikafusa, extolled the divine/human position of the emperor as the descendant of the sun goddess, a mode of thinking characteristic for the whole "loyalty to the emperor" school, which centuries later (in 1868) was instrumental in the restoration of imperial power.

Historians sympathetic to the feudal overlords found—in the Confucian manner—the dominance by feudal families legitimate if the law and thus harmony was effectively maintained and—in the Shintō manner—if a genealogical link with the imperial line could be established. In either case the traditionally sanctioned authority of the emperor remained above the rise and fall of political power. The Buddhist priest Jien's *Gukanshō* (1219) illustrates well the complexity of interpretation in Japanese traditional historiography. Although written with an ostensibly political purpose it called upon the Shintō concept of the direct divine descent of emperors, the Confucian linkage of virtue, order, and harmony, and a profusion of Buddhist organizing concepts: *kalpas* (cycles with a first half of decadence and a second one of recuperation); the tripartite scheme of True, Imitation, and Final Law (the last being the worst, when even Buddhist teachings were corrupted); and finally, interwoven into all of these, the Principles (impersonal shaping forces, one for each age). In the end all of these schemes were subject to the Buddhist doctrine of continuous universal decline despite temporary respites, a message that fit the pessimism of a difficult period. With the reemergence of a strong central (although not imperial) government under the Tokugawa shoguns (1600–1868), the Chinese historiographical model emphasizing centralized power became once more attractive and shaped the late seventeenth-century *Honchō tsugan* (Comprehensive mirror of Japan). It stressed the political lessons of history interpreted according to the now strongly encouraged Confucianism.

Greek and Roman historiographies. Greek and Roman historiographies were in their entirety traditional, as they were never decisively shaped by the rationalism and skepticism of their own cultures and, of course, never by that of modernity. The Homeric epics were the mythological core of Greek historiography, and their heroic history befitted the ideals of the Greece before the city state (*polis*) and organized record keeping. The Greece of the *polis* preferred an "unheroic" history, although the lessons of honor and noble passions derived from the narratives of the struggles and tragic fates of heroes were never forgotten. The prose histories with a human dimension, often structured by crude chronologies (generation counts, lists of officeholders, priests, and priestesses), offered grand inquiries into cultures (Herodotos, c. 484–c. 425 BCE) or wished to serve the citizens of the *polis* (Thucydides, c. 460–c. 400 BCE). The Homeric gods who had so frequently and directly interfered in battles and individual lives receded soon into a lesser role, punishing those immoderately in love with money or power (Herodotos) or yielding all influence to the human drive for power (Thucydides). The exact role of the often-mentioned Tyche (fate or fortune) was never clear. Yet many traditionalist historians, despite their admiration for human deeds, still gave proper credit to the gods. The uncertain role of gods and mythology continued in Greek historiography after the latter had lost its city-state focus, in the Macedonian monarchy and subsequently in the monarchical Hellenistic states. Universal history, attempted in the fourth century BCE by Ephorus of Cyme, proved impossible in a tradition that lacked any ingredient conducive to the linking of non-Greek and Greek records into a universal history. Traditional historiography, most often local in nature, received support from the antiquarians, who composed critical histories of ancient religious legends and rituals, hoping to use the increasingly rationalist ideal of accuracy for the support of tradition.

Early Roman historiography was really Greco-Roman. One of Rome's mythological roots reached back to Aeneas, the Trojan refugee who came to Italy and was linked genealogically to the seven legendary Roman kings. The first of these, Romulus, the founder of Rome, was also part of another mythological tradition, that of a Vestal Virgin's two sons, of Romulus and Remus, set out to die and nursed by a she-wolf. Elaborated at great length, these mythological traditions constituted Rome's ancient heritage. A non-mythological ritual tradition had a more direct impact on Roman historiography: the *Annales Maximi* kept for each year by the high priest (*pontifex maximus*) fixed the days when sacred law permitted business and court transactions (the *dies fasti*), and thus began a strong annalistic genre that recorded much of the public Roman life. But until the second century BCE the influence of late Greek historiography, speculative in nature and detached from Roman tradition, was overpowering. Histories in Greek predominated, reaching their peak in the *Histories* of Polybius (c. 200–118 BCE), with its cyclical philosophy of history in which each ideal government form first decays into corruption and then is replaced by another ideal form: monarchy moves to tyranny; aristocracy to oligarchy; then democracy to mob rule, whereupon, it is implied, the cycle begins anew with monarchy. For Polybius this was a cycle only Rome could escape, because only Rome had mixed the three ideal forms in one composite constitution. Decadence also concerned Polybius's contemporary Marcus Porcius Cato the Elder, who condemned the Greek influence as destructive of traditional "Old Rome." This theme persisted, the idea that the "Old Rome" of tradition, where people practiced ancient religious rituals and civic virtues and rendered public service willingly, was being corrupted. But as much as the great Roman historians between 86 BCE and 120 CE (Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus) spoke of decadence, none of them suggested a truly cyclical view of history, because the gods had pronounced Rome eternal.

The Roman state and historiography alike remained linked to the traditional core, and Roman historians never speculated in an abstract manner about general forces and patterns shaping events, as some Greeks had done (e.g., Thucydides, Polybius, and the Stoic Posidonius of Apameia). In the main, Greek and Roman histories focused on individual events and deeds, which they judged according to moral precepts and public benefits. For Romans, decadence stemmed from the failure to affirm the ancient virtues; hence the importance of the Roman antiquarians, particularly Marcus Terentius Varro (116–27 BCE). Such history in support of tradition conformed to Aristotle's dictum that history dealt only with individual phenomena and not with universals (as did poetry and philosophy); hence the firm link of history to rhetoric (as the art of persuasion) rather than to philosophy (as the endeavor to explain).

Jewish historiography. Jewish historiography expressed a unique sense of history—history as sacred memory, telling of God's great acts throughout time and the Jews' reactions to them, most importantly God's choice of the Jews as the instrument for the fulfillment of his purpose. In the covenant that affirmed God's choice of the Jews as the instrument for the fulfilling of his purpose, God promised Abraham to make the Jews numerous and give them land in return for their obedience and faithfulness. Joined to this was the Deuteronomist account of the pre-covenant period. God's creation of the world; Adam and Eve's loss of paradisiacal existence, leading to human life in its present form; and another overreaching deed, the building of the Tower of Babel toward heaven, with the subsequent sudden appearance of many languages and nations. In the world of the covenant, the Jews attempted to fulfill their demanding mission. Thus, in the kingdom period (David and Solomon), they had to translate that mission into actions that satisfied both God's will and the needs of state policies. When as a people possessing free will they often failed, prophets recalled them intermittently to their great purpose. Then, in the time of the Babylonian exile, with no Jewish state left, the eschatological aspect of the Jewish faith (the concern with the last things) was stressed, leading to the apocalyptic views of late Jewish history (the prophet Daniel).

It was important for the fate of the Jews that an authoritative version of this whole sacred history was conveyed by the Hebrew scriptures (Old Testament), a compilation of many sources that had undergone redactions by skilled compilers (such as the Deuteronomist, Yahvist, and Chronicler) until it was put into canonical form in 100 CE. After the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE, Jewish historical writing became insubstantial except for Josephus's *The Jewish War* (75–79 CE) and *Jewish Antiquities* (93? CE). Jewish thought in the Diaspora (the state of being scattered) became ahistorical. The Jewish state, whose fate had offered the possibility of tracing God's will and acts in time, had disappeared. Now Jewish jurisprudence, philosophy, and Qabbalah were perceived as surer guides to pious wisdom than history. But the unique Jewish sense of history, with its totally sacral concept of time, became decisive for Western civilization in its Christian interpretation.

Christian traditional historiography. Christian historiography also had as its basis a historical record, the biblical account (in the Old and New Testaments) of the entrance of God himself into history. Such a rupture in continuous human time at first retarded the formation of a Christian historiography, as some Christians (the chiliasts), expecting the imminent second coming of Christ, denied a historical future, while other Christians (the Marcionites), emphasizing the newness and uniqueness of Christ's first coming, rejected the Old Testament and thereby denied a meaningful past. As time went on, however, Christians accepted history as the process of universal redemption through the gradual education of mankind. Time was the space in which God worked his purpose, and the end would come when "time was fulfilled." Into that process fitted Paul's reinterpretation of Jewish Christianity in the direction of a universal Christianity and the formulation of a positive view of the Roman Empire. Rejection of the empire had come easily because of Rome's pagan mythology and religion and her persecution of Christians. The positive view of Rome pointed to a divine purpose in the Augustan empire, as its peace, order, and communications network facilitated Christian missionary work. When in 313 Christianity became tolerated and then later the favored faith, its linkage to the empire (and subsequently to other secular states) brought about a flourishing traditional historiography, one that sacralized history, wished to encompass all nations and times, and shared certain forms.

The unity of all nations and times found its grand expression in chronology. In his chronological tables Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 263–339) compiled lists of rulers and events from many ancient cultures and synchronized them with the dominant Judeo-Christian line. While his chronology prevailed in the medieval period, discrepancies in the figuring of world eras—the counting of all dates from creation, Adam, or Abraham on—arose early because scholars used different versions of the Old Testament, a work devoid of dates (years elapsed from Adam to Christ ranged from 3952 to 5500). By the late sixteenth century at least fifty different world eras were known, a fact that prepared the way for linking faith and chronology through the presently used scheme of reckoning history from the incarnation, which preserves the sacred nature of time without insisting on the substantial unity of the past.

In early Christian historiography the world's duration was often given as six thousand years (six days of creation times one thousand, since "one day is with the Lord as a thousand years," *2 Pt.* 3:8). Each millennium formed a world age (*aetas mundi*), demarcated by prominent biblical figures or events, such as Adam, Noah, Moses, Abraham, David, the building of the Temple, the restoration of the Temple, and, always, Christ. The scheme of world ages, used by Origen, Augustine, Isidore of Seville, Bede—with or without the one-thousand-year spans—became a favored periodization scheme for world chronicles. It found a rival in the Christian adaptation of a Jewish apocalyptic vision: Nebuchadrezzar's dream about a statue and its eventual destruction by a boulder, interpreted by the prophet Daniel (2:32–41) as the successive appearance in history of four empires, followed by God's kingdom. Such a transfer of power from empire to empire (*translatio imperii*), known to ancient writers, was used by Paulus Orosius (fl. 414–417) in his *Histories against the Pagans.* He stipulated a sequence of Babylonian, Macedonian, Carthaginian, and Roman empires; the latter, blessed by Christ's life and work and being the instrument of the universal mission, would endure to the Last Judgment. Augustine (354–430) mentioned various age schemes but suggested a detachment of Christian views of history from all such rigid and earth-bound schemes in favor of a dynamic perspective: history is seen as the battlefield of the forces fueled by the love of God (City of God) and those propelled by the love of self and the world (City of the Earth). No entities or persons in this world belonged wholly to one or the other of the two communities; all of them were of a mixed state, with the separation and the victory of the good only occurring at the Judgment. Augustine's dynamic view found few adherents in medieval historiography with its usually close attachment to secular institutions. When, after 1100, cultural change accelerated in the West, some new periodization schemes followed the trinitarian pattern: the old one of "prior to the law," "under the law," and "under God's glory" or the new one after the Trinity proper—periods of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. In each case the most recent period was seen as the one most "advanced" and also closest to the end (Adam reborn). Joachim of Fiore (c. 1130–1202) spoke of the age of the Holy Spirit as the final one of universal brotherhood, with monks as the spiritual leaders, while Hugh of Saint-Victor (d. 1142) perceived a gradual development from natural law to written law to the time of grace, a development marked by progress from a primitive understanding of ritual and sacraments to an ever fuller sacramental union with God through Christ.

In traditional Christian historiography divine providence worked through portents, miracles, the never-ending cycle of sin and punishment, and the divinely instituted church. Histories of the church began with Eusebius's *Church History*, which with its continuations was compiled into the widely used *Historia Tripartita* (sixth century). But as long as the church was integrated into the total life, ecclesiastical histories reached far beyond the confines of the institution proper. In the histories of the integration of new peoples into Latin Christendom (Germans, Slavs, Danes, Normans), and of Byzantium's mission to the Slavs and the peoples of the Near East, the church appeared clearly as God's means of accomplishing the universal mission. The church also was central in the histories of the Crusades, those attempts to regain the Holy Land for the Christian world, although the later Crusades already reflect the ascendancy of political and economic motives over the zeal for sacred endeavors.

The Christian view of the past was put forth in a number of often ill-defined genres. The biographies of emperors and kings, as well as the *gesta* ("deeds"), which dealt with a whole series of officeholders (abbots and bishops), gave much praise to individuals. That offense to Christian humility was justified by the inspiration the works offered for proper Christian behavior. The most prevalent genres, however, were the annals and chronicles, often difficult to distinguish from each other. Both fit well the Christian image of time rushing toward its fulfillment (the word *chronicle* derives from *chronikos*, "belonging to time"). Particularly the world chronicle, reaching from creation to the contemporary period and divided according to world ages, represented traditional Christian thinking about history at its best. It therefore was a sign of trouble when, from 1100 on, more and more world chronicles dropped the sacred story (at least up to the incarnation) and could no longer master the ever-increasing data by the usual schemes of world ages and four empires. By the fourteenth century the traditional world chronicle also was losing its nourishing base with the decline of monasticism. When its once clearly perceived structure of the human story collapsed, the world chronicle became encyclopedic and, while it was still a source of inspiration (particularly for Franciscan preachers), it conveyed more in the way of information than of a sense of the grand sacred development—a signal for severe problems to come.

Islamic traditional historiography. Islamic historiography had its firm anchor in the life and teachings of Muḥammad (570–624 CE). The earlier tribal society left its historiographical traces through the epic *Battle Days of the Arabs* (reports on events and persons) and the genealogical records. But Islamic historiography used also the Old Testament narrative to account for the period before Muḥammad, seen as a time of numerous corruptions of faith reversed at certain points by prophets, each of whom pronounced a new *sharīʿah* (law) and founded a new community of the faithful: Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and the final one, Muḥammad, who had to establish true Islam against the most recent falsifications of faith by the followers of Moses and Jesus.

Muḥammad's bringing of the Qurʾān constituted the center of human history, when God had communicated his will to the human race for all time. Thus, the full meaning of history was ascertainable from the *sīrah*, a biography of the Prophet. Of historical material it included the Old Testament account to Ishmael (strong on genealogies), the events in Arabia before Muḥammad (legends and genealogy of Muḥammad), and the life's work of Muḥammad (with many *maghāzī*, that is, histories of the expeditions, their leaders, purposes, and major participants). Traces of pre-Islamic elements, such as a fondness for the inclusion of poetry and narrative reports and a love for biography, appear in the sacred literature of Islam. The reliability of accounts was ascertained by *isnād*, a critical method parallel to that used in Islamic theology and law for inclusion of records into the *ḥadīth* (tradition in the specific sense of verified tradition). It concentrates on establishing an unbroken series of trustworthy transmitters and not on the verification of content. Thus, Islamic traditional historiography could not corrode the sacred core as it was linked to it in method and content.

The task of traditional historians was facilitated by the unity of the Islamic community in the caliphal state with its combined secular and religious authority. With the empire as its given scope, the time flow as its organizing principle, its chronology firmly anchored in the Hijrah (Muḥammad's emigration from Mecca to Medina, 622 CE), and with room for narrative, the annalistic chronicle became the prevalent genre of traditional historiography, reaching its highpoint in al-Ṭabarī's chronicle, the first comprehensive account of Islamic history, reaching to about 915.

While in al-Ṭabarī's history the united empire served as an integrating factor, it was that empire, with its diverse peoples and cultures (of particular impact were Iraq, Syria, and Persia), that gradually made Islamic historiography broader but less homogeneous. The continuing contacts with the outside world and the internal political disintegration also strengthened the centrifugal influences in Islamic historiography. Universal histories slowly became less the conquering story of Islam, starting from the sacred core, and more the story of various cultures, such as in the *Murūj al-dhahab* (Meadows of gold) by al-Ṭabarī's contemporary al-Masʿūdī (d. 956?). In these histories, although they retained many elements of traditional historiography, the central principle of unity was often a philosophical idea, unconnected with the religious tradition and the unified Islamic state. The spreading doubt and uncertainty provoked a conscious traditionalism that caused a reemphasis of traditional ways in historiography but also a deemphasis of history in favor of theology and religious law, which were perceived as more stabilizing. Historians, for their part, tried to gain a broader theoretical basis for Islamic historiography. After 1000 CE, as traditional Islamic historiography was being challenged by the increasing rationalism and skepticism emanating from the study of Greek philosophy and science, histories quite often began with introductory remarks on the theory of history that went well beyond the range of questioning permitted by *isnād.*

The resilient non-Western traditional historiographies. In comparison with biblically based historiographies, particularly the Christian one, other historiographies were considerably more stable. They did not reject their mythological and religious heritage, largely because their historiographical truth-finding process never assigned a truly corrective or intrepretive critical role to reason. Indian historical writing did not draw a sharp line between fact and legend. Chinese (and with it Japanese) methodology expected from reason a careful refinement of the records of the past but not a reinterpretation of the past. Chinese scholars considered a record true if the sources agreed or a documented contradiction was absent (not, as in the West, if multiple independent confirmation were obtained), a standard that assured a high degree of accuracy with a minimal corrosion of tradition. This standard served historians well who strove for the consensus of an ongoing tradition and saw history as the succession of separate, identifiable, and observed events subject to no abstract concept of wholeness and with no structure of a philosophical nature. In Greek and Roman historiographies any radical challenge to tradition was checked by history's divorce from philosophy, its tie to rhetoric, and its role as public servant. Challenges to Islamic traditional historiography were more serious. After 1000, under the influence of ancient Greek philosophy and science, attempts were made to reformulate history's purpose and to construct histories of interconnected phenomena at a distance from sacred tradition. The highpoint of these attempts came with the *Kitāb al-ʿibar* (History) by Ibn Khaldūn (1332–1406), which relies on human reflection, not traditional authority, searches universal history for timeless patterns in human conduct as the core to a theory of culture, and aims not at constructing a theoretical image of reality but at assisting in the realization of an ideal society in given circumstances. The *Kitāb al-ʿibar* stood between traditionalism and rationalism, as would much of Islamic historiography from then on.

THE AGE OF ANTHROPOCENTRIC HISTORIOGRAPHY. Between the 1300s and the 1700s Christian traditional historiography disintegrated slowly but relentlessly and to a degree unprecedented in other cultures. In their quest for authentic texts, Renaissance humanists developed a sophisticated text criticism that stripped layers of later "deposits" from the original texts, beginning the diminution of the aura of ancientness that so far had given weight to tradition and preparing for the view that texts are not the manifestation of universal wisdom but merely the reflection of thought in a particular culture at a given point. Eventually, and with radical consequences, even the Bible would become the object of such critical analysis. Humanist histories also shifted their focus to the world of states and secular individuals, where the religious dimension was secondary.

In the Reformation, Protestants obliterated parts of traditional history when they rejected centuries of ecclesiastical development as periods of religious corruption. In the bitter struggle over the true tradition, Protestants affirmed a new historical continuity by linking the present directly with the (ideal) apostolic church, while Catholics defended the continuous tradition. The geographical discoveries created a global world whose great variety of people had to be integrated into traditional universal history. At stake were the unitary origin of humankind in Adam and the central position of Jewish history in the course of world history. Thus, according to the Jesuit José de Acosta (late sixteenth century), the American Indians were linked to biblical origins by a migration across the Bering Sea. More audaciously, the seventeenth-century pre-Adamite theory of Isaac de la Peyrere separated the general (pre-Adamite) creation of all people from the subsequent story of the Jewish people beginning with Adam, a view unacceptable to Christians because it left most people without a link to Adam and biblical history.

These challenges further eroded the already weakened traditional universal history. Although that history was much cultivated at the new Protestant universities, its specifically Christian features receded gradually into ecclesiastical history. From the late sixteenth century, schemes appeared that separated human history from sacred history. The latter increasingly became ecclesiastical history and lost ground steadily to the human history that concentrated on the world's immanent concerns. In turn, human history soon experienced difficulties in structuring its accounts similar to those difficulties Christian historians had encountered when dealing with the period after Christ, a period (the sixth world age) that lacked easily identifiable biblical "markers." The new world historians, having abandoned the sacred structures although still accepting the biblical story for the early period, experimented with various structures that gave order and unity to their accounts. Finally, in the 1690s, Christopher Cellarius suggested the still popular division into ancient, medieval, and modern periods, which in effect expelled the Christian story from its central place. The sturdily traditional Roman Catholic historiography never experienced these problems because it yielded the place of honor to systematic theology and its less mutable categories and lessons.

Finally, traditional historiography was drawn into the seventeenth-century battles over epistemological questions. Francis Bacon's empiricism appreciated history as the memory of data for observation. But advocates of the new sciences, along with René Descartes (1596–1650), downgraded historiography for not being able to deliver uncontestable general truths. They found history trivial because it did not deduce its insights from a few *a priori* principles. In response, the erudite historians avoided interpretations and restricted their work to establishing an unassailable record of the past through a rigorous criticism of ancient texts and documents. Churchmen, particularly the Jesuit Bollandists and Benedictine Maurists, did pioneering in order to ward off a wholesale rejection of traditional history; indeed, the Maurist Jean Mabillon wrote the *De re diplomatica* (1681), which remained the handbook for historical studies for two centuries.

Adaptation and change of traditional Christian historiography. From the 1400s to the late 1800s, Western historiography saw attempts to reconcile the traditional Christian view of history with developments that favored a secular vision of history. They included the cyclical interpretation of history, the appreciation of ages and cultures on their own merit (historicism), a simple updating of tradition, stipulations of a unitary process including God and the world, and, finally, development of a historical science that still left room for the Christian interpretation of history.

God and the organic pattern. The cyclical model of organic life, particularly its decadence phase, had been part of the classical tradition and recently had been revived as an interpretive view to replace the traditional Christian interpretation of history. Then, in the early 1700s, Giambattista Vico, who accepted biblical history up to the Flood, put forth a systematic cyclical view of history for the time afterward, when human society was formed through the rituals of burial and worship, and the regulation of sex. Divine providence prescribed for history a pattern of *corso* and *recorso* ("cycle" and "recurrent cycle"). Each cycle had three successive stages—the eras of gods, heroes, and men—and was characterized by its own type of life, thought, language, and arts. The last stage, although most advanced, was not superior to the others, because in a paradoxical development the more humane a society became the more subject it became to decay, making the high point of humaneness the beginning of a new barbarism as well. Also using the organic model, Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803) stressed God's special care for the *Volk*, an organic unity of people with its own language, arts, thought, and literature. History told the stories of *Völker*, none superior to the other because all were equidistant from God, although Herder eventually dropped the mere sequence of nations for a hazy developmental theme—the increase of *Humanität* (a refined civility). Herder stood at the beginning of historicism when he endowed each historical phenomenon with its own value, thus refusing to measure the value of historical ages on the scale of progress. The affirmation of the Christian tradition, including divine providence, saved early historicism from the radical relativism inherent in the assertion that each historical phenomenon must be appreciated on its own terms. In the nineteenth century, that historicism pervaded the historical science of the Lutheran Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886). But after 1850, all religious affirmations were removed from historicism, laying bare its inherent relativism and skepticism toward all schemes of meaning beyond the affirmation of the uniqueness of each phenomenon; this in turn initiated in the 1880s a fervent search for historical truth and meaning.

Progress, a radical challenge. The eighteenth century brought a revolution in the interpretation of universal history as the theme of historical progress triumphed over the traditional scheme of Christian universal history. In the previous century, the latter had found its last prominent advocates in Sir Walter Raleigh (1554–1618) and Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627–1704). Now, as interpreted by a philosophy (as opposed to a theology) of history, world history became the story of humankind's emancipation through the progressive ascendancy of reason. At first suppressed by ignorance and superstition, rationality increased under the pressure of human unhappiness until by the eighteenth century it reached maturity in some Western nations, a pattern that was expected to be repeated universally. Christian faith and its views on history were seen as manifestations of an earlier, less developed stage and was valued only for the church's preservation of learning. The meaning of history was entirely immanent, anthropocentric, and entirely determined by the imagined perfect future, a total reversal of the Christian view of the meaning of history as transcendent, God-centered, and dependent on the sacred past. History was no longer the working out of God's will leading to the transcendent kingdom of God but the demonstration of progress, with all ages being stepping stones toward the perfect future age—a secular kingdom of God (although some proponents of the progress view, such as Voltaire, were skeptical of the idea of universal perfection).

This radical challenge to the traditional Christian view of world history called forth Christian responses along the lines of either rejection or adaptation; the challenge was felt most intensely in the German-speaking world, where, in the early nineteenth century, the historical approach in the search for truth became supreme. There, romantic and idealist adaptations to the progress view were based on a fundamental reinterpretation of God's relationship with the world. In the eighteenth century, under the influence of rationalism, God, still perceived as a person, was seen to govern a human history in which human beings could, through the education of their reason (one akin to God's reason), improve the world materially as they simultaneously enhanced themselves spiritually. History was God's education of mankind to an ever fuller comprehension of God (a progress entailing even the overcoming of some biblical concepts that could be considered outdated) until the spiritual, rational, and historical worlds would be identical. In the nineteenth-century idealist and romantic concepts of history, God no longer governed the world from "outside" but rather was immanent in it as *Urgrund* (primal, eternal cause) or as a dynamic spiritual principle. God and the world formed a dynamic whole. The kingdom of God referred simply to the spiritual perfection in and of this world, making all of history *Heilsgeschichte* ("history of salvation"). Thus, in the philosophy of history of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), the complex relationship of creator and creation in time was transformed into the self-realization of the all-encompassing Idea (pure thought), a process reflected in the increasing identity between the universal and the particular and the potential and the actual. The process was driven by the dialectical struggle of the existing against its inherent negation and directed toward the creation of the new. In a grand unitary process, the cosmos including God was in motion toward its goal—not happiness or rationality but the fully realized Idea (complete actualization and freedom).

Idealist adaptations of the Christian theology of history reduced the meaning of many traditional elements: the biblical story became relevant for its own time only; the transcendent kingdom of God was transformed to the end stage of the immanent world process; the Christian faith was now only one (although superior) explication of the universal religious truth, with Jesus being one (although special) explicator. History changed from a dramatic struggle between the forces of light and darkness into a dialectically evolving sequence of stages of ever-greater spirituality. In a few cases this mode of thought even affected Roman Catholicism. In the 1830s, Johann Adam Möhler stipulated the reconcilability of tradition with progress as Christians helped the seeds of faith mature by constantly overcoming the time-bound manners of understanding faith and tradition.

Tradition and historical science. The drive toward a historiography, not based on traditional authority but on rigorous documentation through critically verified sources begun by erudite historiography, owing a great debt to classical philology, and enhanced by the eighteenth-century Göttingen professors of historical, legal, and political studies, finally produced nineteenth-century German historical science. However, its leading figure, Leopold von Ranke, still considered history God's work, accomplished through the "ideas" as guiding forces and intelligible to historians through an intuitive process (*Ahnen*). But the Rankean compromise collapsed, because the new methodology demanded the abandonment of all transcendent elements and because historicism could see in the Christian tradition no more than one of many traditions. Christian scholars who eventually applied text criticism to the Bible in the hope of securing faith through a text properly verified and congenial to modern minds in effect brought about a rapid diminution of the biblical core of traditional historiography. Typical was the attempt to reestablish the authority of the Christian faith in a modern manner through a critically verified biography of Jesus that would reveal what Jesus actually said, did, and taught (see the nineteenth-century "natural" histories of the "prophet" Jesus or Ernest Renan's popular biography of Jesus). Yet, this endeavor failed, because in only a few instances could the Christ of dogmas, miracles, and prophecies be penetrated and make visible the historical Jesus—a problem of great consequence for subsequent attempts to reconcile history and faith.

Religion and a radically anthropocentric historiography. Beginning in the 1880s two developments marked the history writing on various continents. Historical science in its secular and tradition-eroding form exerted its impact on the remaining traditional historiographies of the world, while in the West a not-yet-concluded internal struggle began to gain a firm critically verified basis for historical truth, including a new secular interpretation of history. For their part, Christians continued to reconstruct the traditional Christian view of history.

Impact on traditional historiographies. Strains appeared in traditional historiographies even before the impact of the Western critical theory of history. It proved increasingly difficult to integrate the many and varied phenomena of the changing world into a tradition developed from a sacred core. The strains showed first in methodology, the endeavor charged with devising ways to find and affirm truth. Prior to 1900, some Chinese scholars had attempted to make historical methodology (mainly text analysis) more accessible to rational arguments without weakening the tradition so essential for social stability, continuity, and dynastic legitimacy. Then, when Western intrusions ended the isolation of China and the revolution of 1911 overthrew the monarchy, Chinese historiography's continuity and stability were shattered, too. Chinese historians began their search for a new sense of continuity by stressing those genres of traditional historiography most akin to the modern spirit (histories of scholarship, institutions, statecraft); by adapting the old methodology to the Western model, which meant going beyond text criticism and partially accepting the modern Western worldview; by dethroning the classical tradition, such as turning Confucius from a sage for all ages into a "forward"-looking reformer for his own period only; by fusing Western liberalism and its view of progress to the traditional sequence of Chaos, Peace, and Harmony, identifying the last with democracy; and, finally, by adopting a version of Marxist historical materialism, totally hostile to traditional views of the past.

Japanese traditional historiography knew no rationalist undercurrent, although a critical attitude toward past records was not absent as the work of Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801) showed. Yet he analyzed the language and the ideas of ancient Japanese texts not in the interest of a rationalist ideal but in accord with the Shintō restoration of the Tokugawa period that attempted to cleanse these texts of all Chinese and Buddhist accretions. After the opening toward the West in 1868, the Japanese were first convinced that minor adjustments in their traditional views on history would suffice. At the College of Historiography a record collection began in 1877 as a basis for the ongoing *Dainippon hennenshi* (Chronological history of Japan), a work written after the Chinese pattern. But during the following decades Japanese historians came to know German historical theory and English historical monographs; this led to the founding in 1889 of the Historical Society of Japan, which was dedicated to the Western historiographical model. Yet both the Chinese and the Western historiographical models soon found resistance in a new Japanese traditionalism—nationalism. In 1895 *Dainippon hennenshi* was abandoned because of its Chinese character, and while many Japanese works in the Western manner appeared, pro-imperial traditionalist historiography received increasing support.

Islamic historiography has experienced the coexistence of traditional and Western critical historiography, so common to many modern societies. Attempts to fuse Western historiography with the traditional concepts of Islam coexist with calls from fundamentalists for a return to a strictly traditional historiography. Relative to Islam, however, only Indian historiography has preserved more of its traditional historiography. Traditional chronicles were written in the state of Maratha well into the twentieth century. The absence of a true methodological tradition aiming at the "certain fact" denied Western influence a logical point of entry. Western historical science had to create a separate body of historiographical works.

Christian historiography and the triumph and crisis of historical science. By the 1880s, history perceived as a science had triumphed in Western historiography. Modest success had come to the "natural science" school of historiography that had started in the 1830s with Auguste Comte's three-stage interpretation of history as first theological, then metaphysical, and finally positive. This last, the fulfillment of all of history, recognized no absolutes and essences, only laws governing relationships between phenomena. But no such positive historical laws have been found. German historical science, the attempt to unite history and science without destroying history's autonomy, had become prevalent. It was just as destructive of traditional historiography, because by rejecting the traditional views and interpretations of history it converted pre-nineteenth-century works into mere pools of source materials. In turn, from the 1880s on, the triumphant scientific history was forced to embark on a search for a new logic of historical inquiry, safely distant from religion or metaphysics, but able to forestall the anarchy of opinions that in the absence of a body of traditional truth threatened the very endeavor of history. Since the 1930s that search has accelerated: neo-idealists advocated the process of mental reconstruction of the past (R. G. Collingwood); admirers of the creativeness of life saw historical truth as everchanging with life (Benedetto Croce); neo-positivists looked for laws covering large numbers of phenomena (Carl Hempel); analytical philosophers found the structure of history in the language structure of historical works; and finally there have been scholars who saw in a consistent, densely reasoned, and well-documented narrative the proper basis for historiography.

With much of the Christian historiographical tradition rejected and historical science more certain of its ability to reconstruct the factual past than of its ability to interpret that past, grand ideologies filled the void: liberalism with its faith in inevitable progress; Marxism with its interpretation of history as the story of the dialectical overcoming of all exploitative societies in favor of the socialist/communist society; and fascism with a militantly nationalist interpretation of the past, linked to a romantic notion of the concentration of the "national soul" in a leader. They all in their own ways neutralized religion and other elements of traditional historiography. Those concerned with Christian historiography found the competition fierce and to many of them accommodation to modernity seemed more promising than its rejection.

Enamored by the spirit of progress through the sciences and the Enlightenment, the Jesuit Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (1881–1955) formulated a Christian view of history full of hope closely akin to the modern "religion of the earth." As a biologist he spoke of salvation as the evolution of consciousness to higher and higher levels approaching Christ's perfect consciousness. A modern social reformist spirit shaped the American turn-of-the-century Social Gospel movement, and, since the 1960s, Hegel's and Marx's visions of an immanent kingdom of God on earth have reverberated in liberation theology, with its call to Christians to make common cause with the poor and oppressed of the developing nations. Here the end of time is not only defined as the ultimate union of human beings with God but also as the communion of human beings with each other. It is not clear whether the process is an ongoing one (ever-new identifications with ever-new poor and oppressed) or a state of perfection following a onetime liberation.

Rejecting all easy adaptations to secular philosophies of history, Reinhold Niebuhr's *Faith and History* (1949) put forth a Christian view of history that took into account the achievements and the horrors of the twentieth century, a period whose widespread ignorance of biblical tradition contrasted with the affirmation of the "goodness" of human nature and a belief in progress. Niebuhr demonstrated the irony in history of the best human intentions turning to ill effects and pointed to the greater realism of the Christian historical interpretation, which praises human genius but also is aware of evil, the limitations of the rational mastery of the world, and the futility of a life of immanence. History, in which the sacred and profane could never be fully united, is creative but not redemptive.

In this period of fundamental changes, Christian scholars continued to try to reestablish the authority of the Christian tradition by making its core impervious to modern criticism. For many Protestant scholars this meant reducing the biblical component to a small historically, scientifically, or existentially validated core. Rudolf Bultmann and Paul Tillich held the intrusion of eternity (God) into time (human history) to a minimum. For Bultmann the only historical event of sacred character was the Easter event; all other biblical stories were myths (human images of otherworldly phenomena). The *kerygma,* the challenge to faith in Christ, emanated from an understanding of the Easter event and led to timelessly recurring decisions to faith. There was neither a base nor a need for a Christian interpretation of history. Tillich, who doubted that any religious statement could be more than symbolic (that is, could directly depict divine reality), acknowledged the role of the historical Jesus as demonstrating human existence without worldly distortions and calling all people to a "new being." But since much of human activity reflected to various degrees an "ultimate concern" with the "ground of being," he considered all cultural history to be sacred or religious history.

Other scholars found the price of such a harmonizing with the modern spirit—the abandonment of much of the biblical story as the basis of historiography—too high to pay. Among these scholars were the Protestant fundamentalists, who restored biblically based prophetic history to the center of Christian historical accounts. In the Augustinian and Kierkegaardian vein, Karl Barth (1886–1968) sharply separated time and eternity, insisting that only in biblical times did God reveal himself and not in the course of history, progress, or culture. Christian faith and wisdom rise from the decision individuals make when confronted, in the biblical record, with the story of Christ, and not from the study of the history of cultures and societies. For Barth, history, even ecclesiastical history, is therefore no more than an auxiliary tool of theology.

Large-scale attempts to write the history of cultures from a Roman Catholic viewpoint have been made (Christopher H. Dawson, Martin C. d'Arcy). But since the 1960s such attempts have focused on Roman Catholic Church history, one of the last bastions of traditional Christian historiography. While Protestant historiographical arguments have focused on how much of the Bible could be used in a scientific age as a foundation for interpreting history, Roman Catholic arguments now concentrated on the unique sacred role of the Catholic Church in history. In the 1950s, the traditional view still prevailed that the church, like Christ, represented a unique presence of eternity in time (Jean Daniélou, Henri-Irénée Marrou, Hubert Jedin). At its core, all interpretation of history was explication of doctrine. Then, Vatican II deemphasized the conception of the church as the *corpus mysticum* (mystical body of Christ) in favor of the church conceived as the people of God through time. Some Catholic scholars took this change to mean that the dependence of historical interpretation on theology could now be broken. They attempted to turn church history into a sociological study of an institution or an analysis of the changing behavior of believers in time. With the abandonment of all claims for a special status of the church in history, its history would become one special history among many.

Outlook. The near future should see the beginnings of a solution to the dilemma in historical interpretation, now global in scope. For centuries the ancient myths and then the great religions had created and supported the schemes for explaining and organizing history and, with it, meaning. Also, traditional historical interpretations were part and parcel of the traditional social and political order; thus their diminution in strength meant more than just the fading of some opinions. Their challenger, modern Western historical science, too, is an integral part of a larger whole—the scientific-technological Western culture the achievements of which have radically increased the human potential for good and evil and which for the first time has linked all human societies into an interdependent network. As part of the new "religion of the earth," historical science rejects all sense of mystery and demands that interpretations of history use forces, patterns, and aims immanent to this world. Thus there is the suspension of moral judgment in historical methodology, an endeavor of great sophistication that has not only expunged superficial or false interpretations but also the ascertaining of meaning in history. None of the new models or narratives, brilliant as they are, has as yet been able to match the public role of traditional history. On the other hand, various attempts to continue the traditional historiographies in a manner acceptable to scientific historiography have had only temporary success. In this crisis the age-old link between religion and history writing is at stake. Religion is threatened with becoming irrelevant to interpreting history, doomed to an ahistorical, recurrent reliving of the sacred past by individuals, while the writing of history, supported by a sophisticated methodology, remains a technical endeavor given to the reconstruction of aspects of the past. In such a situation neither religion nor history is able to master the reconciliation of the past, present, and future that in centuries past has enabled them, in conjunction with each other, to serve a public purpose and give meaning to the flow of life.

SEE ALSO Ages of the World; Chronology; Cosmogony; Cosmology; Enlightenment, The; Evolution, article on Evolutionism; Myth, article on Myth and History; Sacred Time; Tradition.

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Within the Jewish and Christian traditions, the origin of philosophical and historical examinations of religion lies in the works of the ancient Greeks. This is equivalent to saying that the point of departure for these traditions' philosophical and historical self-examination is Greek thought. Other attitudes toward the development of religion are undoubtedly to be found in Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, and China before Greek thought intervened, but these attitudes will remain outside my present consideration. I shall here be concerned basically with the examination of religion within the Hellenic tradition.

HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL DICHOTOMY. A significant distinction was imposed by the very nature of the Greek perspective: philosophical examination and historical examination of religion became two distinct branches of knowledge. Indeed, it is characteristic of Greek thought to distinguish in general (at least from the fifth century BCE onward) between philosophy and history. No doubt philosophical criticism operates inside a historical or antiquarian examination of religion, and, reciprocally, the empirical knowledge of cults and myths collected by historians or antiquarians assists philosophical criticism of religion. But the two subjects—philosophical and historical evaluations of religion—are seldom fused or, at least, seldom confused.

To indicate the depth of this dichotomy in Western thought, it is enough to mention David Hume, who was one of the most radical eighteenth-century thinkers about religion—perhaps one of the most radical thinkers about religion of modern times. Hume approached religion from both the historical and the philosophical points of view. In his *Natural History of Religion* (1757) in which he treats religion in historical terms, he states, "As far as writing of history reaches, mankind, in ancient times, appear universally to have been polytheists." Findings about modern tribes only confirm for him the facts adduced by the ancients about the original polytheism of mankind. In the *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*, which appeared three years after his death in 1779, Hume discusses religion from a philosophical point of view. His concern is not the evolution of religion but the validity of religion. He contends that the argument from design for the existence of God is of doubtful value. It is generally recognized that Hume took Cicero's *On the Nature of the Gods* as a formal model for his *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion.* There is no obvious ancient model for his *Natural History of Religion*, but he must have carefully considered Diodorus Siculus's *Historical Library*, book 1 (of the first century BCE) and was familiar with the work of Herodotos and Lucian.

THE ANCIENT GREEKS. After Herodotos (fifth century BCE), history in Greece tended to be confined to what we would call political and constitutional history, although doctors like Galen use the word *historia* to mean a compilation of medical reports in literature. Other aspects of the past such as religious ceremonies, festivals, or sacrifices, were more frequently examined in monographs that were sometimes generically designated *archaiologia* (in Latin, *antiquitates*). Biography was a separate literary genre: if the subject of a biography was a religious personality (a religious reformer, a priest, a holy man, or even a superstitious politician), biography was a contribution to the history of religion. Within Christianity such biographies were written to recount the lives of saints.

Poetry. Two well-known features of Greek Archaic poetry had consequences for the study of religion. The poetry of Hesiod, especially his *Theogony*, shows a marked tendency to treat the world of the gods as a historical world. In Hesiod's poetry there is a succession of generations of gods in which older gods, without necessarily dying, lose their power in confrontations with younger gods. The society of gods is perceived as a society to which new members are added and in which members gain or lose power. There is not only a change of human attitudes toward gods, but there is also a change in the attitudes of the gods themselves. In Hesiod, myth already incorporates the notion of a succession of leading gods: myths are presented as a sort of history of religion. Another important feature of Greek Archaic poetry is its frequent criticism of the gods. Such criticism often radically repudiated commonly held views about the gods. For example, Xenophanes (fl. 500 BCE) remarked that just as the Ethiopians imagine their gods to be similar to themselves, so horses, if they could paint, would paint their gods as horses.

Philosophy. The critical opinions about the gods in Greek Archaic poetry encouraged and inspired philosophical critiques of religion and historical research on the diversity of religions among the nations. Philosophers tended to separate God from mortals to the point of making God almost unintelligible except as the first mover or as a celestial body. The Stoics used allegorical interpretation (which had been current in explaining away embarassing episodes of the *Iliad)* to turn mythology into a confirmation of their pantheistic materialism. In the handbook *Theologiae graecae compendium* by Cornutus (c. 50 CE), one finds a systematic summary of Stoic allegory with some interesting statements about the religious attitudes of primitive humans. Only Epicurus (341–270 BCE) insisted on believing in the existence of the traditional gods; his position did not allow the gods to exercise any influence on men, and he found in their happiness a model for the happiness of philosophically minded men. It is surprising how few references are made to the gods in the extant works of Aristotle; passages about them are almost marginal remarks (*On the Heavens* 2.1.284a; *Metaphysics* 1.2.982b, 11.8.1074b). Hence, in later Greek thought, especially among Neoplatonists, mystical practices were introduced to supplement the scanty information about gods in the discussions of the philosophic masters.

Historical research. Supported by visits to sanctuaries and by travels to foreign countries and remote localities, historical research provided both the raw material and the guiding principles for alternative historical interpretation. As a keen traveler and as one adept in the comparative method (which contemporary doctors used to explain climatic differences), Herodotos provided a model for research on religion. He explained similarities between Greek and Egyptian gods by claiming that the Greeks had derived their gods from Egypt. His account of the Scythians shows his awareness of the difference between reporting and believing. Even more telling of this awareness is his conclusion of the story of Salmoxis: "Whether there was a man called Salmoxis, or this be a name among the Getae for a god of their country, I have done with him" (4.95–96). Herodotos influenced Greek, and later, Roman writers who explored the customs of foreign countries and who also, as natives, explained to Greeks and Romans the characteristic features of their own countries. Accounts by non-Greeks became particularly frequent after Alexander the Great. These non-Greeks, who had adopted the Greek language, include Manetho (fl. third century BCE), Berossus (fl. 290 BCE), and later Josephus Flavius (c. 37–100 CE). Incidentally, Josephus's writings on the Jews comprise the only complete ancient account of a "barbarian" religion by a native to be preserved—although they were preserved through Christian, not through Jewish, tradition. Posidonius (c. 135–51 BCE) of Apamea in Syria deserves special note insofar as he was both a Stoic philosopher of somewhat mystical inclinations and a universal historian who purported to be a continuator of Polybius; he was, however, more anthropologically oriented than his predecessor.

Greek and Roman historians tended to ignore religion, especially when they dealt with Greek and Roman history. Consequently, most of what we know about Greek and Roman cults is derived from specific monographs on religious subjects (e.g., Plutarch on the Delphic oracle and Lucian on the Syrian goddess), accounts by travelers and geographers (e.g., Strabo and Pausanias), or, finally, works by Christian polemicists (e.g., Lactantius and Augustine).

Books on religion during the Hellenistic and Roman period reflect contemporary perspectives and interests. In the third century BCE, the ruler cults were developed by Alexander and his immediate successors. Ruler cults had, of course, existed before in and outside of Greece; but this new expansion was far more powerful and, at least for Greek speakers, involved delicate balances of power between men and gods. Persaeus, the pupil of Zeno the Stoic, and others reminded their contemporaries that past benefactors and kings had been divinized (cf. Cicero, *On the Nature of the Gods* 1.15.38). Hecataeus of Abdera (c. 300 BCE) distinguised two categories of gods: the celestial and the terrestrial. The second category was comprised of benefactors. (Diodorus Siculus in his *Bibliotheca historica* 1.12 probably reflects his teaching.) In his *Sacred History*, Euhemerus (fl. 300 BCE) claimed to have discovered on the island of Panchaia an inscription revealing that Zeus had been a mortal king who had received divine honors for his contribution to civilization; Zeus was born and died in Crete. Whether Euhemerus thought that all the gods had been men like Zeus is uncertain. Though Euhemerus shocked many with his ideas and his forgeries (the latter being the object of a virulent attack by Eratosthenes), his ideas had success: his book was translated into Latin by Ennius in the second century BCE, and was summarized by Diodorus in the first century BCE. Antoine Banier's *La mythologie et les fables expliquées par l'histoire* (3d ed., 1738–1740) shows that scholarship continued to be euhemeristic even in the eighteenth century.

In the second and first centuries BCE, many erudite Greek works tried to preserve the memory of ceremonies that were becoming obsolete. Most of these works were lost, except for what may have passed into later lexicons, such as the so-called *Suda.* A conspicuous model, known to the Latins, of this erudition was the work about Athens by Polemon of Ilium (fl. 200 BCE). In Italy Alexander Polyhistor (d. late first century BCE) gained a reputation for systematic compilations of this kind of information about foreign countries.

ROMAN THOUGHT. The Latins of the first centruy BCE had a state with a vigorous religious tradition of its own; this tradition was considered to be the foundation of and the justification for Rome's enormous power. Roman religion had become a constitutive aspect of Roman prestige among her subjects. On the other hand, Greek philosophy had penetrated Roman thought: antiquarian devotion to the religious past was in conflict with rationalistic and irreverent tendencies. In this context a distinction among the theologies of poets, philosophers, and statesmen, probably borrowed from Greek philosophers, became popular in Rome. This distinction was formulated by the Roman lawyer and pontiff Q. Mucius Scaevola and was accepted by Marcus Terentius Varro and (by implication) by Cicero. Mucius Scaevola preferred the theology of statesmen, finding even the theology of the philosophers dangerous. The hesitation is conspicuous in Cicero who, however, is chiefly the protagonist of the introduction of systematic philosophical criticism into the interpretation of Roman religion. Others were oriented toward a guarded defense, or reconstruction, of Roman religion, though they were aware of philosophical argument. Even in Rome Varro was something of an exception when he produced and dedicated to Julius Caesar his *Divine Antiquities*, a systematic description of Roman religion. Varro had reservations about the traditional religion of Rome, but he was mainly interested in saving what was in danger of being forgotten and in propounding it to the ruling class: unknowingly, he was preparing the ground for the restoration accomplished by Augustus. His work (which, much later, Augustine made the foundation of his criticism of Roman paganism) immediately became more authoritative than that of his contemporary Nigidius Figulus, who was strongly committed to religion. There was a great deal of antiquarian doctrine on Etruscan, Persian, and Egyptian religions—not to mention Greek cults—in Figulus's books (e.g., *On the Gods*). If Varro wanted a reasonable preservation of the Roman past, Nigidius Figulus seems to have been more aggressively in favor of a personal synthesis. He emphasized the power that religious practices give to the individual, not to the state. Varro and Nigidius could hardly ignore their Epicurean contemporaries, such as Lucretius, who preached an almost religious escape from religion.

Traditional Roman religion could never be simply taken for granted after the Caesarian age. Though Augustus put an accent on conservation of the past, the writers of the imperial age, even under Augustus, were explicitly or implicitly conditioned by new religious currents. Some writers remained within the frame of paganism ("Oriental cults"); others preached a god who was incompatible with other gods (Judaism and Christianity). The most difficult pagan writers to assess are those who composed their books when Judaism and Christianity were well known, and yet ignored or gave only perfunctory attention to these religions. There is perhaps no great antiquarian lore behind such writers, but they wrote primarily as historians, rather than as philosophers. It is not very clear why Plutarch (c. 46–after 119) writes what he writes about Isis and Osiris and other religious subjects. The same can be said about Pausanias's *Description of Greece* (second century CE) with its great attention to the history of cults in various parts of Greece. It is also difficult to separate autobiography from antiquarian lore in some of the religious speeches by Aelius Aristides in the same century. With Lucian (c. 120–after 180) we are indeed on the threshold of direct polemics with Christianity ("The Passing of Peregrinus"), though his main contributions to the history of religion are his study of his contemporary Alexander of Abonuteichos, the false prophet, and his description of the cult of Dea Syria in Hierapolis, which was composed in an archaizing style inspired by Herodotos.

CHRISTIAN–PAGAN POLEMICS. Though polemics between Christians and pagans became common in the second century, Judaic circles (as judged from preserved works) were no longer inclined to discuss religious differences either philosophically or historically. A possible exception is the recently published letter by "Anna" to Seneca, which may be a piece of Jewish propaganda on monotheism that was written not later than the fourth century (see Bernhard Bischoff, *Anecdota novis–sima*, Stuttgart, 1984). The Christians had to explain to the pagans why paganism, that is, polytheism, existed and was deplorable. This involved an element of historical explanation. The pagans, on the other hand, did not have to explain their own existence: it was sufficient for them to defend the rationality of their beliefs, as Celsus did, for instance, by explaining the function of polytheism in a plurinational world. Thus, in this exchange, there was more historical interest on the Christian side, a point worth remembering, as the Christian view prevailed. Whether the Christian view attributed polytheism to demonic influences or to the adulation by human beings of human beings, as the pagan Euhemerus had suggested, there was an element of historical conjecture in the Christian point of view. Indeed, Christian writers used pagan erudition to support their argument. It is enough to point to the use made of Varro by Augustine in the *City of God*; before Augustine, Varro's work was used by the Christian writers Arnobius and Lactantius. Furthermore, Augustine (and he was not alone in this) applied to the evolution of Jewish religion the biological scheme of the transition from infancy to maturity that he had met in pagan historians (*City of God* 10).

SECOND TO FOURTH CENTURIES. It would be idle to pretend that the polemics between pagans and Christians in the second to fourth centuries represented more than a secondary contribution to the historical study of religion. Actual historical work is rather to be found in two other types of writing. One is biography of holy men, both pagan and

Christian, which was common in this period of conflict between paganism and Christianity. For example, the biography of Apollonius of Tyana by Philostratus (c. 170–c. 245) precedes the biography of Antony of Egypt by Athanasius (c. 293–373). Biographical exploration now becomes an essential way of describing and understanding religion. Next to it, and hardly less important, is a new form of ecclesiastical history with its peculiar techniques for following up the growth of the church or churches. There is a question about the relation between Eusebius's *Church History*, the prototype of the genre, and the Gospels and *Acts of the Apostles*. It is enough here to underline the fact that, within the tradition of Greco-Roman historiography, first the Gospels and then the *Church History* introduce new and revolutionary types of historiography of religion. *Acts* is, within this literary genre, less original. There is, furthermore, the wider question of whether what we now call pseudepigrapha intended to provide historical information about past situations. This question can be put to such different texts as *4 Maccabees*, the *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah*, and the *History of the Rechabites*; it can even be put to what to us is a novel, the story of *Joseph and Aseneth*.

THE MIDDLE AGES. Insofar as lives of saints and ecclesiastical histories remained extremely fertile genres of historiography in the Middle Ages, there was no shortage of recordings of religious events between the sixth and the fifteenth centuries. Furthermore, the ordinary chronicle was adapted to register events inside religious institutions (e.g., monasteries or cathedral churches), and it may be difficult to distinguish this chronicle from a local ecclesiastical history. Histories of wars had to take into account wars that had overwhelmingly religious meanings, such as the Crusades. Conversely, Ordericus Vitalis (1075–1142?) was not the only chronicler to worry about the encroachments of secular history on that ecclesiastical history that he had meant to write in the early twelfth century.

However mixed in character the single events reported, a definition of new religious experiences emerged everywhere. It is obvious in the "spirit of the Crusades," though one must remember that there were also crusades against heretics. These crusades had their historians (though not many, unfortunately, on the side of the heretics). Our notion of monastic life would be poorer without the autobiography by Abelard and the answer that Héloïse gave to it. The appearance of anchorites among the debris of rural Anglo-Saxon society after the Norman conquest is made vivid by the autobiography of Christina of Markyate, the recluse of the twelfth century. And, of course, there is the assiduous utilization of prophecies by historians of every kind, even by such a hard-boiled historian of the late twelfth century as Giraldus Cambrensis (Gerald de Barri).

These chronicles and biographies, however, seldom analyzed the religious phenomena they described. In the Middle Ages, understanding of religious diversity, if it was even attempted, is in sermons or philosophical treatises rather than in histories. This is true also of what Jews and Muslims wrote about religion: the former, in any case, had little historiography. Jews, Muslims, and Christians shared monotheistic presuppositions. The differences between the three faiths were debated theoretically rather than investigated historically. There was even less urgency among Jewish, Muslim, and Christian thinkers to understand polytheistic religions. Even Thomas Aquinas tended to follow the most unhistorical aspects of patristic thought in explaining the existence of polytheism. This tendency is also apparent in Jewish thought. Yehudah ha-Levi (c. 1075–1141) portrays the king of the Khazars discussing his own conversion with a rabbi without any serious reference to data derived from ordinary historical or ethnographical sources. Even Maimonides (Moses ben Maimon, 1135/8–1204), who claimed that he had read all he could in Arabic sources about the heathens and who had a keen sense of the social conditions of religious life, confined himself to philosophical or theological arguments. Some Muslim, Jewish, and Christian thinkers explained changes in religion by reference to astral influences (Abū Mashar, Avraham ibn Ezra, William of Auvergne, etc.) The Bible was of course the enormous exception; it was quoted by both Jews and Christians as a source of historical information. Though it would be wrong to underrate the medieval (especially Jewish) contribution to biblical criticism, the Bible as a sacred text was kept isolated from profane historiography.

The first beginnings of a different, more historical approach to religion, and especially to polytheism, is to be found in Islamic, Christian, and Jewish works of the eleventh to twelfth centuries that report on the religious situation in countries visited either by the authors or by their informants. Examples of this new approach are found in the writings of al–Bīrūnī on India, Adam of Bremen on northern Europe (as seen from the diocese of Bremen–Hamburg), and Benjamin of Tudela on the Jews of various parts of the world. This approach was developed further by Christian writers in the middle of the thirteenth century and coincides with the remarkable attempt of Christianity to come to terms with the Mongolian Empire as a potential ally against Islam. Giovanni del Pian dei Carpini (John of Plano Carpini) and William of Rubrouck belong to this current, to which one can add Marco Polo. (An English translation of the reports by del Pian dei Carpini and W. Rubrouck is found in *Mission to Asia*, trans. Christopher Dawson, Toronto, 1980.) Knowledge gained through exploration and diplomacy restored paganism as a relevant part of the contemporary world and supplemented classical accounts of polytheism. At least one writer, the Icelandic historian Snorri Sturluson (1179–1241) in the thirteenth century collected the pagan myths of his own country. The accumulation of the new information on pagan countries must have modified Christians' awareness of their own pagan past in Christian countries. More research is needed if we are to fully understand the effect of this accumulation of new data on polytheism in the late Middle Ages.

THE RENAISSANCE. Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century humanism and the Renaissance would have been inconceivable without this double awareness of external and internal paganism. Ancient mythology, ancient religion, and ancient historiography acquired a new relevance in countries like Italy because the pagan past seemed to require reinterpretation. In Italian humanism (one may start with Giovanni Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum gentilium*, 1351–1360), the task of describing the pagans is inseparable from the task of explaining the existence of paganism. Even writers whose goal was the conversion of the infidel (and who used public theological controversy increasingly in efforts to convert Jews) sought more information about paganism. Arabic and Hebrew were studied by Christians in order to dispute with and convert Muslims and Jews. Foreign sacred texts, including the Talmud, were perused. An interest in Indian languages was born, though it did not fully emerge until the discovery and serious study of the sacred texts of India in the eighteenth century. The discovery of America opened up the exploration of a new pagan world in which Hebrew survivals were suspected.

The old interpretative models remained valid: euhemerism, demonic tricks, allegory, and the theory of successive revelations. But the new information acquired a value and created alternatives to the old models. First, the aim of informing readers about the religions of the world was in itself a novelty. One finds, for example, Johann Boemus's *Omnium gentium mores, leges et ritus*, which appeared in 1520 and had successive editions, partly with additions by other authors, during the sixteenth century. His work was followed, for instance, by Lilio Giraldi's *De deis gentium varia et multiplex historia* (1548) and by Alessandro Sardi's *De moribus ac ritibus gentium* (1557). Second, new speculations about languages and nations began to undermine the traditional picture of the early history of mankind. When, for instance, Jean Becan von Gorp made public his discovery that Dutch had been the primitive language of mankind and that Cimbri had taught wisdom to the Greeks (*Origines antwerpianae*, 1569)—one of the many discoveries about the primitive language of mankind—the oddity of the claim was in itself an indication of change.

The new intellectual nationalists of the divided Europe of the sixteenth century could almost simultaneously sympathize with their pagan ancestors and accuse their enemies (most frequently Roman Catholics) of preserving pagan rituals. Such controversial literature is reported in J. A. Fabricius's *Bibliotheca antiquaria* (2d ed., 1716); a prototype, with a physiognomy of its own, is *Apologie pour Hérodote* (1566) by Henri Estienne. The relation between paganism and Christianity then became a question of historical continuity or discontinuity between specific aspects of paganism and Christianity. Conversely, elements in paganism that were judged to be true were ascribed to the survival within paganism of early revealed truths.

An important feature in all these works, notwithstanding the concern with immediate doctrinal issues, is an examination and analysis of the evidence with an attention to detail and with a philological skill that had been unknown to earlier authors. Though ecclesiastic history by Matthias Flacius Illyricus and his collaborators (the so-called *Centuriae Magdeburgenses*, 1559–1579), represents the Protestant point of view, and Cesare Baronio's refutation, the *Annales ecclesiastici* (1588–1607), represents a Catholic version, Flacius and Baronio have more or less the same critical method. The new style of collecting and sifting evidence became more conspicuous as religious polemics became less sharp in the seventeenth century and tended to peter out (or rather to be affected by Deism or by skepticism) in the eighteenth century. This is already manifest in the *Vitae sanctorum* (Lives of the Saints) of the Bollandists, in the many works dedicated to the history of Christian institutions in given countries (for instance, Fernando Ughelli's *Italia sacra*, 1642, and William Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 1655). The Benedictine erudition in France and Italy of the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century is the crown of this method.

SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, pagan antiquities were studied in an effort to understand how the pagans preserved elements of the revelation to the Jews: the Phoenicians were assumed to be the transmitters. This is the subject of Samuel Bochart's *Geographia sacra seu Phales et Chanaan* (1646), G. J. Vos's *De theologia gentili* (1647), Theodore Gale's *The Court of the Gentiles* (1669–1677), and Pierre–Daniel Huet's *Demonstratio evangelica* (1690). At the end of the seventeenth century, the notions that Homer mirrored the age of the patriarchs (Gerard Croese, *Homeros Hebraios*, 1704) and that the religion of Delphi preserved traditions of the age of the Judges (Edmund Dickinson, *Delphi phoenicizantes*, 1655) were not unusual. This type of research went on for the whole of the eighteenth century. (See, for instance, Jacob Bryant, *A New System*, 1744–1746.) In fact one of the most telling titles appeared as late as 1786: Guérin du Rocher's *Hérodote historien du peuple hébreu sans le savoir* (1786). At the same time, it was argued at great length and with great erudition that God had thought it wise to give the Hebrews pagan rites made venerable by antiquity (for example, in John Spencer's *De legibus Hebraeorum ritualibus eorumque rationibus*, 1685). Others, especially Spaniards such as Fray Bernardino de Sahagún in his *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, wanted to insert the new American experience into the context of the old pagan world. But Sahagún's attempt, conducted between 1569 and 1582, was obviously premature: his book remained unpublished until 1820. Joseph-François Lafitau returned with greater maturity to the same subject in 1724. His *Mœurs des sauvages américains comparés aux mœurs des premiers temps* was not only published but found an immediate audience. Yet its importance as a pioneer work in anthropological research was not recognized until the twentieth century.

The gradual apprehension of the religions of India and China with their sacred texts remains one of the great achievements of Western scholarship between the end of the sixteenth and the end of the eighteenth century. For research on China, Juan González de Mendoza's *Historia de las cosas mas notables . . . del gran Reyno de la China* (1585) is considered epoch making. For scholarship in the next century, I shall mention only Athanasius Kircher's *China illustrata* (1663) because the author, a Jesuit, was also the author of *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (1652–1654), a pioneering attempt to decipher the Egyptian hieroglyphs and to reconstruct Egyptian religion. Kircher's work typifies the dual interest in ancient and modern pagan civilizations. Kircher was already in possession of a Sanskrit grammar, but it was not until the late eighteenth century that the first successful interpretation of basic Iranian and Indian texts was achieved. The translation of the Zand Avesta by A.-H. Anquetil-Duperron appeared in 1771 (later Anquetil–Duperron turned to the Upaniṣads), while Charles Wilkins's translation of the *Bhagavadgītā* appeared in 1785. William Jones gave the first clear formulation of the relations between Indian religion and Greek and Roman paganism (1784; see Jones's *Works*, vol. 1, 1799, pp. 229–280). It is well to remember, however, that the distribution in Europe in the 1760s of the translation of a text called *Ezur Vedam* (True Veda) delayed the understanding of early Indian religion and misled Voltaire; the text was a concoction by Christian missionaries with native help. Chinese wisdom had the greater appeal for the rationalists and theists of the eighteenth century. It was left for the Romantic movement, especially in Germany and France, to appreciate the religions of India. But there are other works that confirm the eighteenth-century contribution to collecting the evidence about the religious history of distant countries and sects, such as Thomas Hyde's *Historia religionis Veterum Persarum* (1700) and Isaac de Beausobre's *Histoire critique de Manichée et du manichéisme* (1734).

THE RISE OF MODERN HISTORIOGRAPHY. The factual, empirical, almost antiquarian attitude of the historians of religion in the late Renaissance and in the Baroque age was transmitted to the historians of the Enlightenment and of the Romantic period. No doubt, as Hume and Voltaire show, erudition was often conspicuously avoided for the sake of philosophic generalization. But erudition was always kept within reach even by the most dedicated philosopher. If there was a shift it occurred not in erudition itself, but rather in the purpose of erudition, which was increasingly used to support Deism (Edward Herbert of Cherbury), tolerance (Pierre Bayle), and religious emotions when contemplating nature, in preference to dogmas.

A new approach to religion emerged that can be described as typical of the Enlightenment: the attempt to determine and describe the various stges of the development of religion in mankind at large. In this approach new stages were identified, such as fetishism, that is, the adoration of objects, which was defined, after several predecessors, by Charles de Brosses in 1760, and animism, which was first tentatively postulated in various memoirs by Nicolas Fréret, while Banier resurrected the old euhemerism. It is here that Hume's insistence on the priority of polytheism over monotheism belongs. Hume's *Natural History of Religion* (1755) owed much even in its title to the *Natural History of Superstition* (1709) by John Trenchard. The intention behind these systems was not necessarily anti-Christian, though there were writers who were inclined to straight materialism, such as C. F. Dupuis during the French Revolution. One of the most radical and isolated thinkers, Giovanni Battista Vico, was a devout Catholic who tried to save the ancient Jews from the suspicion of myth making that he saw as essential to ancient paganism. The overall result of this philosophical historical movement was to present schemes of human progress that theologians had to face. For the first time, philosophers and historians joined forces in presenting religion as something that had a history. It was an uneasy collaboration between philosophers and historians, but it was a new and significant one. It was even capable of transforming cultural events into religious experiences, as in Antoine Court de Gébelin's *Le monde primitif* (1773–1784).

NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES. But what is this religious experience? What is religion? It is here that pre-Romantic and Romantic thought came out decisively, even against the Enlightenment, to restate the autonomy of religion as an emotion and as a need within the human experience. From G. E. Lessing and J. G. Herder to Friedrich Schleiermacher and F. L. J. von Schelling, the main effort was to rediscover religion as an emotional experience rather than as a culturally conditioned social manifestation. The philosophers parted company again with the historians, for whom the search for the social roots of religion remained a permanent bequest from the eighteenth century. Research in the field of religion during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries reveals an interaction between these two main approaches: the exploration of religious experience as such and the quest for a historical typology of religious attitudes and practices. The two currents seldom run parallel to each other; more often they cross each other, but never achieve confluence. This interaction can be seen in the continuity from Schleiermacher and Benjamin Constant de Rebeque to, say, Gerardus van der Leeuw and the Chicago school of Joachim Wach (with its German roots) in the effort to create a hermeneutic of religious experience. Though this effort must not be confused with that of the various psychological schools that have studied religious phenomena, such as William James's pragmatism and the psychoanalytic doctrines of Freud and Jung, it shares with the psychological schools a search for the roots of the religious experience as such. The relevance of such psychology or philosophy to theology is direct.

On the other side, the historical exploration of specific religions displayed unprecedented sophistication of methods and techniques. The deciphering of hieroglyphics and cuneiform conditioned the modern research on Egyptian and Mesopotamian religions, and even the partial interpretation of Etruscan texts added a new dimension to the knowledge of ancient Italian religions and helped to disentangle Roman from Greek religion. Knowledge of Buddhism, especially outside India, changed dramatically, and new information about so-called primitive tribes affected our knowledge of (and indeed the terminology we apply to) so-called advanced religions (consider, for example, the scholarly fortunes of the Melanesian term *mana*). The discovery of new texts such as the Dead Sea Scrolls modified the physiognomy of familiar religions.

To these changes, one has to add radical new methods and points of view regarding the examination of traditional texts. The succession (or rather superimposition) of source criticism, comparative studies (especially within Semitic studies), form criticism, redaction criticism, canon criticism, deconstruction, and so on, transformed our understanding of the Bible.

The problem that arose and that dominated the study of religion since the early nineteenth century was how to establish a real connection between theories on the nature of religion (with their hermeneutics of religious experience) and the new "factual" acquisitions about individual religions. Solutions have differed according to intellectual climate and individual preferences. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, for example, G. F. Creuzer tried to create a systematic, symbolic interpretation of ancient mythology (1810–1812). During the middle of the century, F. Max Müller began to develop what he called a "science of religion" on a model offered by the new Indo-European linguists such as Franz Bopp, and English anthropologists, such as E. B. Tylor, tried to improve on their eighteenth-century predecessors by using Darwinian concepts of evolution. The writings of Marx and Engels about the dependence of religion on the economic foundations of society should be mentioned here as well. At the turn of the twentieth century, Wilhelm Wundt developed his "psychology of the nations." Émile Durkheim, followed by his nephew Marcel Mauss, presented religion as the internal transfiguration of society that keeps society going, and Max Weber, followed by Ernst Troeltsch, proposed a sociology of religion with an inherent typology of religious experience as an answer to the never rigorously developed Marxist interpretation of religion.

Two aspects of this process of connecting history of religion with philosophy of religion deserve special notice. One aspect can be presented with the mere name of Ernest Renan. Though he was a radical critic of the Christian tradition, he communicated genuine religious sentiments in his books and exercised a decisive influence in the formation of modernist currents within Catholicism. (He was, incidentally, also a pioneer in the study of Semitic epigraphy, which renewed our knowledge of Semitic religions.)

The other aspect is the increased scholarship of Jews in a field that had previously been dominated by scholars in the Christian tradition. In the late sixteenth century, the original scholar ʿAzaryah dei Rossi, the author of *Me'or eiyneyim* (Light of the Eyes), remained almost unknown to non-Jews and little known to Jews themselves. He was recognized as a pioneer in the study of Judaism by Jews of the generation of Moses Mendelssohn in the late eighteenth century, and his work opened up the path to the so–called science of Judaism (*Wissenschaft des Judentums*) of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Leopold Zunz, Solomon Munk, Heinrich Graetz, Ismar Elbogen, etc.). Other Jews contributed significantly to the understanding of other religions (James Darmesteter on Persian religion, Ignácz Goldziher on Islam) and to the comparative study of religion (Salomon Reinach). It should also be remembered that Durkheim brought a rabbinic education to his sociology.

At present there seems to be a definite preference for sociological interpretations of circumscribed aspects of religion: something less ambitious, say, than the phenomenology of van der Leeuw and Wach, and also less theoretically sophisticated than the sociology of Weber. This preference is due to the realization that many subjects (e.g., the position of women in religion, the function of holy men in different societies, the behavior of sectarians within the "greater societies," and even apocalyptic and messianic movements) have been studied without sufficient consideration of their social context. This preference for the social aspects of religion may well be a transitory fashion. The tension between the discovery of facts about individual religions and the need adequately to define religion itself is bound to continue. History and philosophy of religion are likely to go on disturbing each other, and theology will go on facing both. The triangle of history, philosophy, and theology is still with us.

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Among more modern books, special note should be made of Gustav Mensching's *Geschichte der Religionswissenschaft* (Bonn, 1948); Jan de Vries's *The Study of Religion: A Historical Approach* (New York, 1967), reprinted as *Perspectives in the History of Religions* (Berkeley, 1977); J. D. Bettis's *Phenomenology of Religion* (New York, 1969); Michel Meslin's *Pour une science des religions* (Paris, 1973); Eric J. Sharpe's *Comparative Religion: A History* (London, 1975); Giovanni Filoramo's *Religione e ragione tra Ottocento e Novecento* (Rome, 1985); and Joseph M. Kitagawa's *The History of Religions: Retrospect and Prospect* Two very useful anthologies are Burton Feldman and Robert D. Richardson's *The Rise of Modern Mythology, 1680–1860* (Bloomington, Ind., 1972) and Jacques Waardenburg's *Classical Approaches to the Study of Religion*, 2 vols. (The Hague, 1973–1974).

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ARNALDO MOMIGLIANO (1987)

HISTORIOGRAPHY: WESTERN STUDIES [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

In the Western world the study of religion is normally carried out—with a few exceptions—at universities and other academic institutions located in Europe, America and Oceania. To outline the various approaches of the scholars who have described and interpreted religious phenomena, it is expedient to group them according to their countries of origin and the respective academic traditions (which are profoundly influenced by the dominating religious confession: Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, or secular). The scope of this survey includes the scholars who are active at present or were still active at the end of World War II. The first section deals with that generation of scholars (born between 1880 and 1920) whose education took place before World War II. The second section deals with scholars (born between 1920 and 1950) educated either during the war or immediately after it at the time of the break-up of Europe's colonial empires across four continents. The traditional arrangement of the matter according to the various approaches (historical, phenomenological, anthropological, sociological, psychological), which is best suited to more wide-ranging works, do not do justice to the achievements of the scholars who are committed to grasping the dynamics of religious realities with the minimum of hermeneutic preconceptions and the maximum of disregard for cultural fashions.

THE WESTERN STUDY OF RELIGION IN THE AGE OF EUROCENTRISM AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL SELF-ASSURANCE.

Scandinavia and the Netherlands. The Netherlands and the four Scandinavian countries (with the partial exception of Finland) share the Germanic linguistic stock and the adherence to the Protestant Reform. There is evidently a direct link between the predominance of this specific religious tradition (and the consequent establishment—after some initial resistances—of the teaching of history of religions in the faculties of theology) and the fact that a group of small countries not in the forefront of research in other scientific fields have produced scholars who are undisputed leaders in the field of religious historiography. As great philologists and prominent specialists of various religious traditions (ancient European paganism, Islam, India, Iran), the Dutch Jan de Vries (1890–1964) and the Swedish Tor Andrae (1885–1947), Henryk Samuel Nyberg (1898–1974), Stig Oscar Wikander (1908–1983), all shared a special instinct for comparison and hermeneutics.

Very different from each other were three other major figures, usually collectively labeled as phenomenologists, who played a decisive role in the foundation of the International Association for the History of Religions (IAHR), of which they were respectively first president, third president, and general secretary. Among them the best known is Gerardus van der Leeuw (1890–1950), who is widely regarded as the incarnation of religious phenomenology with an obvious theological concern conditioned by the Protestant experiential tradition. It is important to note here that, in spite of the breadth and depth of his erudition in many fields of humanities, the works he composed as a specialist of ancient Egypt are hardly utilized in current scholarship. The Swede Geo Widengren (1907–1996) has been the champion of a historically oriented phenomenology and has been one of the few scholars to combine a theory of religion (and a method of research, broadly inspired by his teachers Andrae and Nyberg, as well as by the Italian Raffaele Pettazzoni [1883–1959]) with an imposing scientific production dealing with crucial issues of Near and Middle Eastern religious history (Iran, Old Testament, syncretism). His studies, with their emphasis on patternism and scrupulous philology, are (in spite of the haunting ghost of Iran) still a source of inspiration for specialized scholars.

Claas Jouco Bleeker (1898–1983) was a churchman and a phenomenologist like his compatriot van der Leuuw, but, like his close friend and collaborator Widengren (with whom he published a *Handbook for the History of Religions*, Leiden, 1969–1971, designed to emphasize structural similarities in the religions of the world), he consciously took up the historical study of a specific religious tradition (in his case the Egyptian one). In several studies he combined historical empiricism with phenomenological usage of Husserlian principles of *epoché* (suspension of judgment) and eidetic vision (i.e. search of the essence and meaning in a religious phenomenon). Also worth mentioning is the second major representative of the flourishing Uppsala School, Carl-Martin Edsman (1911–), who, based on a first-hand expertise in various fields such as New Testament exegesis, patristics, and folklore, gave notable contributions as a wide-ranging, methodologically alert comparatist.

Germany. A half-Catholic and half-Protestant country, which at the beginning of the century had monopolized the field of philology and theology, Germany was apparently the ideal place for achieving outstanding results in the field of religious studies. Actually, despite their quantity and quality, the works produced in all the domains of religious historiography have hardly left a mark in the development of *Religionswissenschaft* (German for history of religions, whereas *Religionsgeschichte*—without further qualifications—means "religious history"). This is due perhaps to the unsolved tension between the historico-philological approach and various hermeneutic preconceptions. The works indulging to dazzling cross-cultural comparisons by two Jewish scholars, the outsider of the Warburg School Robert Eisler (1882–1949) and the orthodox Jungian Eric Neumann (1905–1960), have always raised suspicions among academic historians and are currently absent from scholarly debate. Paul Tillich (1886–1965) became famous for his conception of religion as the state of being grasped by something of ultimate concern. Ernst Benz (1907–1978) came to the fore for his usage of parapsychology as a hermeneutic tool. Both were engaged as systematic theologians, and so it is no surprise that they have been disregarded by positivist historians.

On the basis of their wide-ranging ethnographic researches in Eurasian and Melanesian societies respectively, Karl Meuli (1891–1968) and Adolf Ellegard Jensen (1899–1965) built daring cultural historical models to explain the origin of cult and civilization from particular kinds of prehistoric sacrifice (comedy of innocence, dema deity) that have been influential in religio-historical research (Walter Burkert [1931–], Károly Kerényi [1897–1973] and the Roman School of history of religions) and subsequently came under fire of intense criticism. On the other hand, very limited influence was exerted outside Germany by scholars, contrasted even in their home country, who adopted a phenomenological approach as professors of religious studies in top German universities such as Marburg, Munich, Bonn. Moving from an impressive cross-cultural study of prayer as the central phenomenon in the history and psychology of religion, Friedrich Heiler (1892–1967) developed a personal version of religious phenomenology which was theologically oriented to the search of essences and meaning and regarded ecumenically all religions as manifestations of the same basic truth.

Though more empirically founded in its insistence on the wealth of historical phenomena, the typology of religion elaborated by Gustav Mensching (1901–1978) is aimed to the recognition of the ultimate unity in the diversity of religions and loyal to the ideas of his mentor Rudolf Otto (1869–1937) even in his definition of religion as experiential encounter with the sacred. As a convinced supporter of a phenomenological approach based on a systematic study of religious forms (and also on his experience as scholar of Renaissance Platonism), Kurt Goldammer (1916–) has raised bitter objections by scholars with historical orientation.

The best-known of these German scholars educated in a theological milieu was Joachim Wach (1898–1955), a devout Protestant layman from a Jewish family, who had to flee to the United States where he founded a thriving school of history of religions in Chicago. He felt the influence of Edmund Husserl (1859–1938) and Otto, but much more he was under the spell of Wilhelm Dilthey's (1833–1911) hermeneutics and Max Weber's (1864–1920) "comprehending sociology." Despite his insistence that the starting point of the history of religions was the empirical study of single religions, he wrote virtually nothing in this specific field. His methodology is based on lucid theoretical premises and personal intuitions which have a limited value for the progress of history of religions as a scholarly discipline.

Great Britain. Great Britain apparently had the potentialities for promoting influential trends in the study of religion: a worldwide colonial empire offering ideal conditions for anthropological fieldwork and an educational system for the ministers (and prospective missionaries) of the Church of England more tolerant and open to doctrinal pluralism and modernity than is anti-modernistic Catholicism dominating in southern Europe or pietist North European Lutheranism. In fact, the functionalist approach advocated by the two leaders of British religious anthropology in the period between the two World Wars, Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown (1881–1955) and Bronislaw Kaspar Malinowski (1884–1942)—an approach based on the method of participant observation as regards investigation and on the emphasis on social structures and functions as regards interpretation—proved to be of great fertility in empiric research. The following developments of the British school of social anthropology, even in a direction with a conscious historical concern, as in the case of Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard (1902–1973) cannot be tackled here.

Despite its sociological and ahistorical (if not antihistorical) stress, functionalism gave impetus to subsequent historiographic work. In this period, the main representatives of comparative religion in Britain (holders of chairs in Cambridge, London and Manchester) were all Anglican clergymen: A.C. Bouquet (1884–?), Edwin Oliver James (1888–1972), S.G.F. Brandon (1907–1971), Geoffrey Parrinder (1910–?). None of them made any notable contribution to the methodological debate and—with the partial exception of Brandon—the style of their comparisons hardly meets the requirements of a historiography founded on philological principles. Characteristically, the British scholar of religion whose work has been most influential in the successive historiographical debate was a representative of the English pugnacious Catholic minority: the prominent Orientalist (with a profound insight into Indian and Iranian matters) Robert C. Zaehner (1913–1974). Despite the various criticisms leveled at his theory of mysticism and at his assertive loyalism to the Catholic faith, Zaehner's outstanding contribution to the comparative and historical study of religions remains undisputed.

North America. The United States is a country obsessed with religion. Even the harshest critics of the Americans' pervading religious attitude appear quasi religious in their iconoclastic zeal. Americans were reported by nineteenth- and twentieth-century European observers as the most religious people in the world, in the same way as the Egyptians and the Etruscans used to be described by Greek or Roman observers in ancient times. Belief in God is the bedrock of American identity and supplies a kind of cultural cement for society, but at the same time the First Amendment to the 1789 Constitution ("Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof") fixes the separation of church and state—so-called religious "disestablishment."

The second paradox is that in the United States the multiplicity of religions (five religious groups have been constitutive: Native Americans, Jews, Roman Catholics, English Protestants, and African Americans) coexists with the oneness of religion. In fact, a kind of religious unity and the consequent cultural cohesion of the American is ensured by the identification of public (civil) religion with the Protestant tradition which has perpetuated its hegemonic position since its early Calvinist and Puritan settlement. This unique social and educational context has created very favorable and at the same time peculiar conditions for the study of religion, in a regime—as it were—of delimited pluralism. Another constitutive factor of the American approach to religious studies has been the presence of pre-modern styles of religiosity as a living tradition among Native Americans.

In effect, the American scholars of religion who contributed the most seminal ideas to the theory and method in the study of religion were anthropologists from the school of Franz Boas (1858–1942). A list of names must include: Alexander A. Goldenweiser (1880–1940), for his influential deconstruction of the category of totemism; Robert H. Lowie (1883–1957) and Clyde K.M. Kluckhohn (1905–1960), for their sober and insightful criticisms of any univocal theories of primitive religion; Paul Radin (1883–1959), for his ambitious if controversial adoption of categories from analytical psychology (the trickster as an archetype); Ruth Fulton Benedict (1887–1948), for her invention of fortunate, though historically unfounded, patterns of (religious) culture; and Margaret Mead (1901–1978), for her challenging views of the interrelation between culture and personality.

In the study of ancient Mediterranean religions, four scholars had a strong historiographical consciousness and dominated their respective ambits of research. Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough (1893–1965), a professed pagan in spite of his Protestant upbringing, taught history of religion at Yale for forty years. His theory that Judaism was deeply hellenized before the birth of Christianity, supported on the investigation of a vast body of archaeological materials hitherto unexploited, has been seminal to successive research. Goodenough's imposing scholarly work is enlivened by his concern with contemporary religious life in the light of scientific progress (psychoanalysis). Arthur Darby Nock (1902–1963), a Briton who taught history of religions at Harvard for thirty-five years was the dominant figure in the study of Greco-Roman religions for the whole span of his life. In his work he combined in a unique way immense erudition, extreme caution and outstanding brilliance. Despite his avowed aversion to theory and generality, he had his own (functionalist) definition of religion and a sort of empathy in approaching his subject.

Theodor Herzl Gaster (1906–1992), a British-born scion of a dynasty of rabbis and scholars, traced the myth-ritualist scenario based on the seasonal drama reenacted by the divine king's sacrifice through the Ancient Near East. He differentiated himself from James Frazer (1854–1941) and the other ritualists by stressing the function of myth in translating the real into terms of the ideal, in a sort of metaphysical plane. Many feel much more at home with the work of his coeval antagonist, the classicist Joseph Fontenrose (1903–1986), who, after having dismantled the dogmas of the "myth-ritual" school, returned to the empirical study of Greek oracles, paying the due attention to the variety in recurrent patterns.

Joseph Mitsuo Kitagawa (1915–1992), a Japanese Episcopal minister who spent all his professional career at Chicago, where he had studied history of religion under Joachim Wach, represents at its best the Chicago approach to the study of religion, called "history of religions." He was conscious of the leading role played by this approach, following in the footsteps of his mentor Wach and his senior colleague Mircea Eliade (1907–1986). The history of religion has both a historical and a systematic dimension, and needs hermeneutics and comparative analysis. His methodology, insisting correctly on the unity of humankind's experience, was not very original, but he made a durable contribution to understanding the religious tradition of his native country. The only significant threat to the dominance in North America of the Chicago approach to the study of religion came from a Canadian (from Toronto) theologian and Islamist brought up in a devout Presbyterian and Methodist background: Wilfred Cantwell Smith (1916–2000). His view of religion as a blend of personal faith (out of the scope of historical inquiry) and cumulative tradition which is subject to change and the object of historical research, entails dropping the usage of the word "religion" inasmuch as the external tradition is concerned. Theological issues (transcendence of pure religiousness, inter-religious dialogue) are certainly present in Smith's approach, but his claim that a dialogical attitude to the adherent of a religious tradition is basic to a scientific understanding poses a serious challenge even to an empirical-oriented historiography.

France. Contrary to expectations based on historical realities, the dominant religion of France is not Catholicism (not even in its Gallican version). On the one hand the rate of religious observance is one of the lowest in Europe; on the other hand the real dominant "political" religion in France is laicism. As a consequence, the study of religion as an autonomous discipline is considered "theology" and is virtually excluded from the curricula of university education. The only exception is Strasbourg because of the Protestant influence due to its past belonging to the German Reich.

In practice the study of the single religious traditions is intensely pursued in the fifth section of the "École pratique des hautes études" and, occasionally, a professorship of history of religions can also be activated at the University of Paris Sorbonne or at the related Collège de France. Moreover, since the historical sciences in France are dominated by an epistemology based on empirical and idiographic principles, every indulgence to systematic or typological interpretative schemes is overtly stigmatized as philosophical and the delinquent scholar is ostracized from the historical guild. Only three scholars have succeeded in overwhelming this strong resistance, and the impact of their theories has proved to be groundbreaking. The fascination of Georges Dumézil's (1898–1986) work lies in a powerful idea that—apart from his original intentions—has been seductive in a postwar atmosphere dominated by a strange blend of materialist (post-Marxist) basic ideas and remythologizing nostalgias (post-Christian): the interconnection between the tripartite socioeconomical organization of men (Indo-European) on earth and the tripartite organization of gods (Indo-European) in heaven. In spite of the fallacy of the linguistic arguments and the hypostatization of the structures, Dumézil's work has revivified the study of specific ancient (Indo-European) traditions. Scholars of Indian, Iranian, Germanic, Celtic and Roman religions had to come to terms with his neo-comparative historical approach. The durability of his contribution to religious historiography is due to the strength of his philology, which rendered his wide-ranging production palatable to specialists who are accustomed to basing their historical works on philological arguments.

Instead, the works of two other representatives of Parisian structuralism are conspicuous by the absence of historical consciousness and philological accuracy. Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908–) would hardly be worth mentioning here if it were not that his thought has been so influential on several self-styled historians of religion and has attracted so much criticism from other historians. He taught religious ethnology but was an arm-chair anthropologist for most of his life. In his work on mythology he was philologically utterly inaccurate. As a storyteller more than a historian, he neglected empirical data and used a deductive procedure. Being the grandson of a rabbi and a convinced atheist, he candidly professed his aversion to religious forms. Many historians and anthropologists who did real fieldwork consider his view on myths (the structure of which is supposed to be synonymous with its meaning) the dream of a Western philosopher advocating the ultimate reconciliation of thoughts and reality. A partly different case is that of Jean-Pierre Vernant (1914–), who, having received—like Lévi-Strauss—a philosophical education, adopted Dumézil's trifunctionalism in the interpretation of Greek mythology and then elaborated a personal hermeneutics under the influence of the sociological and psychological approaches of his mentors Louis Gernet (1882-1960) and Ignace Meyerson (1888–1983). This hermeneutics has been influential on the study of ancient religions and has been applied by his followers to the study of various aspects of Greek religion (esp. sacrifice and images). His approach has been called "historical anthropology," but in fact it is placed on the periphery of history.

Italy. Italy is notoriously a Catholic country, even if the religious sentiment is not so interiorized as in other strongholds of Catholicism such as Poland or Ireland. However, from its see in Rome the supreme authority of the Catholic Church has always heavily conditioned the ways of education in religious matters. In the primary and secondary schools the teaching of religion has always been reserved for the clergy or for laypersons licensed by the ecclesiastical authority (and in practice identified with the teaching of a popular form of Catholic theology). By contrast, after the closing of the faculties of theology in 1876, in the state universities the teaching of biblical sciences is virtually interdicted; instead, despite some resistances from both the Catholic establishment and the academic milieu (permeated by the historicist views of the philosopher and historian Benedetto Croce [1866–1952]), a few professorships of history of religions and even fewer programs of religious studies have been founded and have been able to survive. In these peculiar conditions, two scholars came forth, who in their respective spheres of competence have been perhaps the most prestigious historians of religions of the twentieth century.

Raffaele Pettazzoni (1883–1959) was the dominant figure among the comparative religionists of his own times and the founder of an influential school. He was, in the words of Mircea Eliade, the last of the encyclopedists: he dared to draw analogies between the spread of Christianity throughout Europe and the spread of Buddhism throughout Asia, but he had also the historical and philological equipment to point out the specific differences. His theory of religion was not particularly sophisticated. In his view there is no insurmountable dualism between the history of religions (concerned with individual data and development) and the phenomenology of religion (concerned with the essences): they are simply two interdependent instruments of the same science, whose unity corresponds to that of its subject, namely religion in its two distinct components, interior experience and exterior manifestations. In his own far-reaching research on the most varied topics (monotheism, confession of sins, religious history of Greece and Iran, mystery cults), he employed a solid method which seems especially suited to counteract the opposite dangers of reductionism, structuralism and phenomenology, and obtained results which represent still a challenge for present-day scholars.

Giuseppe Tucci (1894–1984) was not a comparative religionist, but his achievement was not less significant than that of his long-time colleague at the University of Rome. Indeed, he was the greatest Orientalist of his times, displaying a prodigious activity as a philologist, archaeologist and anthropologist at the same time. His contribution to the history of Asiatic religious traditions (from India to Japan, through China and Tibet) is immense, not only for his outstanding scholarly writings but also for the far-reaching influence of his teaching: not only on his numerous disciples who became all prominent specialists in their respective fields but also on personalities of high caliber such as Mircea Eliade. His approach to the study of religions was sympathetic but also strictly critical, very distant from both cold positivism and crypto-theological phenomenology.

Two younger scholars affiliated with the school of Pettazzoni were considerably influenced by Pettazzoni's two-ways approach to the study of religion. The older of the two was Ernesto De Martino (1908–1965), who, being the pupil of the ultra-historicist Adolfo Omodeo (1889–1946), tried to integrate the results of various disciplines and approaches (Croce's absolute historicism, Antonio Gramsci's new science of folklore, psychoanalysis, existentialist philosophy, ethnopsychiatry) into a sort of metahistory labeled as "reformed" or "historical" ethnology and based on a method of "differentiating comparison" and "critical ethnocentrism." De Martino's definition of religion as a means of overcoming the crisis of presence is a synthesis of materialism and psychologism in a Heideggerian frame of reference. This overtly hermeneutical presupposition based on a biased selection of historical data makes his production particularly seductive for some anthropologists and historians but invalidates seriously the explanatory value of his scientific project.

The other scholar is Angelo Brelich (1913–1977). Originally a pupil of the classicist Károly Kerényi, he was deeply influenced by Pettazzoni's comparative historical method, but also by Malinowski's functionalism and Jensen's cultural morphology. His main concern was a precise, historical definition of the main religious types (religion itself, myth, ritual, superhuman beings) and of the tasks of the history of religions as an autonomous discipline, based on the comparative method. This discipline is considered by him one of the most efficient tools for the making of "a new type of integral humanism" (Brelich, 1966, p. 70), aiming—in his particular view—to social revolution (Brelich, 1979, p. 222). In stark opposition to phenomenology and any other irrationalist approach, Brelich stresses the omnipresence of history as a factor of total explanation, a concept that in his illusory persuasiveness is clearly conditioned by a positivist mentality. We find, instead, the legacy of functionalism in his tenet that in front of a religious complex a historian must pose the question "what is it for?," not "what does it mean?." Brelich's considerable production is strongly concerned with issues of cultural change and new religious formation, and it has been stimulating for the scholars of ancient Mediterranean religions by pointing out the importance of the history of religions approach for the interpretation of cultural phenomena (polytheism, initiation, human sacrifice) of crucial importance. His work is characterized by great brilliance and meticulous erudition, but his results are sometimes flawed by unfounded presuppositions.

Vittorio Lanternari (1918–), born to a family of secularized Jews, applied the comparative historical method that he had learned from his master Pettazzoni to the study of preliterate societies, with particular concern for the interplay between religion and economy as well as for issues of cultural change and acculturation caused by the encounter between the traditional values of third-world societies and the cultural innovation imposed by Western settlers and missionaries. His dialectic-dynamistic approach, revealing the influence of Marxism and, at a more basic level, of his previous education as an agricultural scientist, has borne his best fruit in the study of phenomena eminently interactive, such as modern messianisms and millenarisms throughout all the continents. Despite his professed laicism, Lanternari's theory of religion (and the consequent interpretation of historical phenomena) is conditioned by his quasi-theological sociopolitical options.

Hungary and Romania. The two neighboring countries of Hungary and Romania, in various ways antagonistic, gave birth to two famous scholars of religion who had analogous life experiences and worldviews but opened quite dissimilar routes in the academic study of religion. Károly Kerényi (1897–1973) came from Hungary, a Catholic country with a significant Protestant minority and deeply permeated by a middle-European atmosphere. Soon after his expatriation to Switzerland in 1939 he became an internationally recognized authority on the Greek and Roman religions. His contacts with the hermeneutist of Greek religion Walter Friedrich Otto (1874–1958), the psychoanalyst Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961) and the Frankfurt ethnological school of Leo Frobenius (1873–1938) and A. E. Jensen were decisive in the formation of Kerényi's influential hermeneutics of myths as archetypical images. In spite of the accusations of irrationalism and psychologism frequently leveled against him, Kerényi's intuitions—nourished as they are by a painstaking philological and archaeological erudition and a deep humanistic insight—are still to be reckoned with. From the perspective of general history of religions, his attempt at conciliating the viewpoints of psychology, anthropology and history by formulating a dialectic between an archetypical element and a cultural-typical one (a dialectic which is basic to the process of historical individuation) should be taken into consideration on a par with other theories based on historicist or social scientific premises.

The roots of Mircea Eliade (1907-1986) are Romanian, even if he was a cosmopolite throughout his life. From his Romanian heritage he absorbed a romantic attachment to the rural dimension of life, the sensation of being located at the frontier between the East and the West, the so-called terror of history, and a peculiar ritualistic view of Orthodox Christianity. But he was at home in Italy, the land of Renaissance, in India, the land of world-transforming asceticism and "cosmic religiosity," in France, the land of philological erudition and avant-gardism, and in North America, the land where extreme conservatism cohabits with radical innovation. Eliade was the most influential historian of religions of the twentieth century and, notably, the only one to have an audience among the public of laypersons because of his style of thought and his style of writing. Eliade believed that there was no contradiction between his scholarly work and his successful activity as a fiction writer. He was a *historian* who worked in a strictly philological way: he spent three years in India in order to be in contact with the living tradition of the yogis and the original documents of Tantric historical tradition before writing his own book on yoga; he dedicated himself to the grammatical study of a number of dead and living languages; at every time in his career—even when he was an international star—he felt the necessity to peruse all the documents and the secondary literature before dealing with any subject; and finally he was in close contact with specialists of innumerable religious traditions, by whom he was read and appreciated. Eliade's comprehensive surveys of yoga and shamanism can be criticized with philological arguments in points of detail and even in their overall conception, but they should not be rejected on aprioristic methodological or, worse, pseudo-political grounds.

Eliade was vehemently anti-historicist because he was convinced that not all human realities can be resolved in history, which is in itself a construct of Western culture. His hermeneutical and phenomenological presuppositions are patent in that he assigns a hypostatized status to the notion of sacred and he attributes an absolute value—at least in their permanent structures independent from history—to the naturalistic manifestations of this sacred (so-called hierophanies). His emphasis on the values of archaic man and the consequent nostalgia of origins may suggest some connections with the traditional thought and also with the ideology of pre-war Romanian nationalism, but he has always taken his distances from the tenets of René Guénon, and his initial adhesion to the Legionary movement cannot be used as a weapon to destroy his lifelong striving for the liberal humanistic values against every kind of totalitarianism. On the other hand, his plea for the history of religions as a "saving discipline" for the demystifying potentialities of its hermeneutics, together with his juvenile anti-colonialist spirit and his aversion to the Western-centered myth of the indiscriminate technological progress, find an echo in present-day widespread aspirations and give him a distinct place among the advocates of a new humanism which is liberal in its fundaments despite its elitist consciousness.

Eliade, in fact, demystified the doctrines of two famous demystifiers, Karl Marx (1818–1883)and Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), demonstrating that religious motives can be no less deep-grounded than socio-economic or psychological driving forces and can also play a role in the background of professedly secular theories of man and society. Eliade's books are still read and discussed intensely by men of letters, historians, philosophers, theologians, and also by human scientists of various specializations. Further, in the Chicago School a great number of promising students chose their own scholarly direction (sometimes very distant from that of their mentor) and became most influential scholars and teachers of religious studies in North America and Europe. In conclusion, Eliade's method of phenomenological typology (with an obvious stress upon the research of "meaning") is certainly not the only way to do a comparative study of religions, but in judging his work of unparalleled richness we must respect his own intentions by using the same methodology that most scholars advocate for the study of religious phenomena.

THE WESTERN STUDY OF RELIGION IN THE AGE OF DECOLONIZATION AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL DISENCHANTMENT.

Scandinavia and the Netherlands. In postwar times the Nordic countries have maintained a pre-eminent position in the field of religious studies, but the leading role in historiographic work has shifted from the hands of the philologists working on historical reconstructions of the religions of the past to those of scholars studying living traditions with a fieldwork anthropological approach. The Swede Åke Hultkrantz (1920–) has done fundamental work on the Lapp and North American Indian religions with focus on soul conceptions, shamanism and healing systems. In his comparative studies he has developed a religio-ecological approach which—without neglecting the dynamics of history—stresses the importance of the environmental factors in determining a religious typology.

In Finland, where an indigenous tradition of folklore studies was flourishing (Uno Harva, Martti Haavio), Lauri Honko (1932–2002) revitalized the discipline of comparative religion with his strong socio-psychological interest in a functionalist-structuralist perspective applied to the study of folk-medicine and Finno-Ugrian religion as well as to methodological issues of definition (theory of genre, myth, and ritual process). His disciple, Juha Pentikäinen (1940–), has developed a particularly rewarding strategy in the study of Finnish mythology, shamanism in Arctic and sub-Arctic regions, and Saami religious life. In his "regional phenomenology approach," based mainly on fieldwork in close contact with the informant and the usage of religio-anthropological depth-research, he has introduced "world-view analysis" as a new category for scholarship in comparative religion.

Ethnographic in-depth research plays a decisive role also in the work of the Finno-Swedish Nils G. Holm (1943–), concentrating on the study of Pentecostal and Charismatic movements with a focus on the phenomenon of glossolalia. At a methodological level he has developed Hjalmar Sundén's (1908–1993) role theory in the psychology of religion, helping to ensure behavioral sciences an established place in the international field of religious studies.

The Dutch Jacques Waardenburg (1930–) is undisputedly one of the foremost authorities in the field, also on the strength of his skill for trilingual writing and teaching. His contribution to the study of religious historiography is unparalleled, because of its tremendous meticulousness in general and the extraordinary quality of his ground-breaking work on Western Islamic historiography in particular. His lifelong endeavor to define Islam in the frame of the science of religions is based on a multifaceted and "multi-perspective" approach which aims to respect the concerns of "Reason" as well as those of the (Insider's) "Religion." ("Religion and Reason" is the title of an influential series of studies in religion promoted by Waardenburg himself.) If the balance is sporadically tipping in favor of religion to the detriment of reason, this is due to his passionate if secular plea for a new-style phenomenology of religion tuned to its object in order to grasp and understand the so-called religious constructions of reality depending on explicit or implicit intentions.

Germany. In Germany the status of religio-historical studies is quite different. The study of ancient religious documents based on philological principles more strict than during the preceding generation has gained a leading position in the current methodology of religious studies. Starting with a critique of the History-of-Religions School and on the strength of expertise in virtually all the philological domains pertaining to the ancient Mediterranean cultures, Carsten Colpe (1929–) has debated with unequalled acumen innumerable issues crucial to the historical understanding of the New Testament, Gnosticism, Manichaeism, Islam, Iranian and Hellenistic religions. More generally, his contribution to the theory of syncretism, prophecy, monotheism, religious innovation, sacred and profane as well as to the methodology of comparison and religious typology is invaluable, characterized as it is by painstaking erudition and hermeneutic subtlety. An equal range of interests—with primary attention to Mandaeism—and a similar formation against a theological and Orientalist background (Leipzig in place of Göttingen) is perceivable in his peer Kurt Rudolph (1929–). With less theoretical sophistication but more concreteness in producing great historical syntheses, Rudolph has been the international advocate of a historical study of religions opposed to any attempt at reducing the autonomy of the history of religions through philosophical, theological or even political devices.

Walter Burkert (1931–) is a classical philologist by formation, but his work on the Greek religion in its interrelationship with Near Eastern religious traditions has been influential far beyond the territory of classical studies, contributing to a new vision—not particularly edifying—of the culture that is at the base of modern consciousness. Further, his theory of sacrificial ritual, tracing parallels between animal behavior and human religious activity, has opened new paths to an understanding of human culture—in all its historicity—within a broader frame of reference. Based instead on a solid training at the phenomenological school of Gustav Mensching and a first-hand knowledge of several Indo-European and Turkish languages, Hans-Joachim Klimkeit (1939–1999) has done seminal work on political Hinduism, Buddhism and Silk-road acculturation. On this firm footing, he has been instrumental in the expansion of the studies on Manichaeism to which he has given an original contribution by searching literary and artistic motifs in their diffusion throughout the caravan routes of Central Asia. His perceptive studies on encounters of religions and the resulting cultural exchange have left a significant mark in the discipline.

In quite another direction is addressed the scholarly achievement of his peer Hans Georg Kippenberg (1939–), Colpe's foremost pupil. Moving from the traditional background of post-war *Religionswissenschaft* focused on the so-called "Umwelt des Neuen Testaments," he has instilled overdoses of social scientific methodology (Max Weber being the main source of inspiration) and ideology criticism theory into his study of ancient salvation religions, sometimes to the detriment of historical concrete evidence. His history of the emergence of religious historiography in tension with modernity is teeming with exact formulations and stimulating ideas, albeit unilateral in its perspectives. Similarly, Kippenberg's theory of religion is multifaceted and multidisciplinary in its approach, but ultimately quite unilateral, in so far as religion is presented exclusively in cultural terms. Even more versatile is the paradigm proposed by Burkhard Gladigow (1939–), a scholar who has provided stimulating novel contributions in the field of Greek and Roman ancient religions. The material side of a "spiritual" phenomenon emerges forcefully in his perspectives where biology, economics, semiotics and linguistics are called to collaborate on a project of a new science of religions.

More conservative seems the approach of the German-Swiss Fritz Stolz (1942–2001), who, though refusing to give any chance to an old-style phenomenology, sticks to a historically oriented study of traditional themes with focus on ancient Near Eastern religions and Biblical monotheism. However, his attempt at introducing a notion of "worldview" based on three fundamental polarities seems to be a successful strategy for innovating a study of religion concerned with issues of comparison and historical typology.

Great Britain. Although in the post-war years anthropology becomes more and more historical and history more and more anthropological, a listing of all of the important anthropologists is not possible here. Nevertheless, mention must be made of anthropologists such as Victor Witter Turner (1920–1983) and Mary Douglas (1921–) whose achievements have been so influential on religious historiography inside and outside Britain. The decolonization of the enormous British Empire has obviously had a large impact on the academic study of religion, as proved also by the outputs of its main representatives. Ninian Smart (1927–2001), the senior of this company, used to confess that he had his initiation to his "empathic" concept of religion when, being in Sri Lanka as a soldier, he saw the appointment of the first Buddhist chaplain in the British army. Apart from widely popular textbooks combining the phenomenological and historical style at its best as well as specialized studies on Indian philosophy, Smart introduced into the British and Anglo-American discourse on religion the notions of "worldviews" as cross-cultural explorations of human beliefs, and of "dimensions of the sacred" as anatomy of the world's beliefs. Making no concession to modernist sophistication, he unhesitatingly identifies his approach as a phenomenology or morphology of religion, with all the essentialist implications of this definition.

Eric John Sharpe (1933–2000) has written the most complete history of comparative religion, remarkable for both its thoroughness and lucidity. The first incentive to this work came from his interest in Christian missionary activity encountering Hindu traditions, which also led to the biography of Nathan Söderblom (1866–1931), a founding father of the phenomenological approach to the study of religion but also a promoter of the Ecumenical movement. Apparently, Sharpe was intrigued by the relationship between theology and the scientific study of religions. As a rejoinder to Smart's six-dimensional structure of religion he offered his own scheme of four functional "modes" (existential, intellectual, institutional, ethical) as well as a hermeneutical tool tuned in to a post-colonial perspective: the concept of "response threshold" implying the right of the insider to advance an interpretation of his or her own tradition. Japan, where he lived for five years, has been for Michael Pye (1939–) the mirror that India was for Smart and Sharpe. After the remarkable juvenile achievement of an introduction to comparative religion based on a choice of significant source materials and an ingenious method keeping the middle-way between understanding and explanation, Pye has gained a distinguished position in the field of Buddhist studies through a painstaking investigation of the Mahāyāna concept of "skilful means" which is basic to the understanding of Buddhist way of salvation. His discovery that the critical study of religions began early in Japan independently from Western influence is, finally, crucial as a deterrent against the dominating trend towards cultural relativism.

North America. The impact of an anthropologist such as Clifford Geertz (1926–) or a sociologist such as Robert Bellah (1927–) on religio-historical studies has been certainly stronger than that of theorists scarcely active as empirical historians, such as Robert D. Baird (1933–) or Hans H. Penner (1934–). The former is too conservative in his old plea for understanding religion combined with a problematic mix of functionalism and historicism. The latter is too radical in his keenness on imposing structuralist frames on realities that refuse them firmly. More influential in quite different ways have been two scholars both related to the intellectual atmosphere of the Chicago Divinity School.

A broadly humanistic style combined with fine critical insight operates in the religious hermeneutics devised by Charles H. Long (1926–), following Joachim Wach's lesson. As a historian, Long applied this hermeneutics to the study of creation myths and, in another vein, he pioneered the post-colonialist approach offering interpretations of Black religion in America which "demask" a series of metaphors of subordination and elucidate symbolic images of the oppressed and the oppressors.

Jonathan Zittell Smith (1938–) after graduating from Yale with a dissertation on Frazer's *Golden Bough* and a short teaching term at Santa Barbara has spent his career at the University of Chicago. He moves from a wide-ranging in-depth knowledge of Mediterranean religions (with focus on Judaism and Early Christianity in their interrelationship with the Near Eastern and Hellenistic milieus) and an insightful meticulous experience of world-scale anthropological and historical materials. In his concise and intellectually penetrating essays Smith is concerned with testing the adequacy of models developed within the study of history of religions. His inquiries into theories of myth (and truth), ritual and comparison, in passionate critical conversation with such figures as James Frazer, Adolf Jensen and Mircea Eliade, has paved the way for a more self-conscious approach to the comparative study of religion. Smith's philological accuracy and thoroughness in the treatment of secondary literature is matchless, but his selective style in tackling original sources combined with deconstructionist bias may sometimes result in bold assumptions which can meet difficulties gaining the scholars' general consensus. Smith's often quoted dictum, "religion is solely the creation of the scholar's study—there is no data for religion" (Smith, 1982, p. XI), albeit seductive in its blatantly postmodern relativism, seems to be far from complying with the blunt historical data.

France. France and the other French-speaking western countries (Belgium, Switzerland, Canada) have produced in post-war years a great number of religious historians who have been influential in their respective fields, but, for the reasons given above, very few historians of religions. Characteristically enough, the French gurus of postmodernism (Michel Foucault [1926–1984], Jacques Derrida [1930–2004], Pierre Bourdieu [1930-2002], Jean-Louis Lyotard [b. 1924]) who are haunting presences in the current discourse on religion going on in the Anglo-Saxon cultural milieu, are virtually missing in the religio-historical work produced by French scholars. Among them, the most active in the international scene has been the Belgian Julien Ries (1920–). A Catholic priest and a leading specialist in the domains of Gnosticism and Manichaeism, Ries has been meritorious in promoting editorial enterprises including cross-cultural surveys of ancient Mediterranean religious themes, but his (crypto-theological) project of "anthropology of the sacred," inspired by Eliadean hermeneutics (Homo Religiosus) combined with Italian-styled historical typology did not bring any significant innovation into religious historiography.

Likewise, the Swiss Carl-Albert Keller (1920–) is deeply influenced by his Calvinist background. Pastor and professor at Lausanne after seven years of missionary activity in Southern India, Keller was a native speaker of two languages (French and German) and he had philological expertise in two textual traditions (Hebrew and Indian). After various researches on biblical prophecy, Hinduism, Islam and Gnosticism he has devoted all his energies to investigating mystical practices in Western and Eastern traditions (Ramakrishna and Calvin in particular). His approach to mysticism is aimed to respecting the intentions of the mystical practitioner; his vision of religion can be condensed in the formula "communication with the Ultimate (= God)."

Michel Meslin (1926–) had the rare privilege of teaching history of religions at the University of Paris-Sorbonne and has been perhaps the most prestigious—though not the most influential—figure in the discipline. After doing work on ancient Roman and early Christian traditions with focus on their interrelations (persistence of modes and functions in New Year festivals), Meslin came to comparative religion, advocating the practice of "religious anthropology" as the most appropriate method of the discipline. This approach is professedly multidisciplinary and multi-leveled, though it is basically founded on psychoanalytical hermeneutics and fuzzy epistemological premises.

Italy (and Romania). There was nothing decisively new in Italian studies in history of religions with the coming of age of Pettazzoni's younger students. However, while in other countries, in spite of the labels, comparative religion (or history of religions) was in agony, in Italy it was still kept alive. Alessandro Bausani (1921–1988) was trained as a fully fledged Islamist and Iranologist, but the influence of Pettazzoni is apparent in his plea for a "functional-historical typology" applicable to a discipline of Islamic studies embedded in the history of religions agenda. The contribution of Bausani (a Catholic converted to Bahāʾīsm himself) to the historical study of Iranian religious tradition (from Zarathushtra to Baha'u'llah) and fringe Islam (from India to Indonesia) is invaluable; but his endeavors to elaborate an accurate typology of monotheism gain him also a place as a thoughtful theoretician of the science of religions.

Ugo Bianchi (1922–1995), an ancient historian in his formation, has been the most notable prosecutor of Pettazzoni's style of historical comparison. He gave seminal contributions to defining the typology of dualism (from Iran to modern revivals), mystery cults, Orphism, Gnosticism, Manichaeism, transition rites, asceticism. Primarily, Bianchi was engaged in the defense of the historicity of myth (ritual and his social setting was not his main concern), elaborating—in the wake of W. Schmidt, R. Pettazzoni, A. E. Jensen, M. P. Nilsson, F. Cumont, H.-Ch. Puech, H. Jonas and M. Eliade—a paradigm that connected in intricate patterns dualistic trails, mystery initiations, Platonism, and the birth of Gnosticism. His method consisted of reading primary sources in the light of a theoretical model and then convening international scholars to test the relevance of that model to their empiric materials. As a theoretician of religion, Bianchi was keenly conscious of the responsibility of history of religions in attempting to devise categories able to eschew both phenomenological and reductionist traps. To paraphrase his words, religion can neither be allowed to assume the status of an a-priori autonomous category of human experience nor be reduced to the status of a subcategory within some other dominant science—whether the science be social or human (history, ethics or even linguistic and cognitive theories).

The second key figure in Pettazzoni's Roman School is Dario Sabbatucci (1923–2003), a specialist in ancient classical religions who devised theories of Greek mysticism resulting from social revolution and of Roman religion as the product of juridical theory. These theories, which are markedly reductionist though scarcely consistent with the contextual evidence, have interplayed with structuralist tenets from Paris (Lévi-Strauss, Jean-PierreVernant [1914–] and Marcel Detienne [1935–]) and social scientific approaches from Germany (Tübingen School) respectively. More generally, besides an ambitious but amateurish taxonomy of polytheistic religions, Sabbatucci has developed a theory of religion as entirely dissolvable in culture and—in a postmodern vein—as an arbitrary product of Western ethnocentrism. While these figures dominated the academic milieu, two other scholars worked out peculiar approaches to the study of religion that have been widely influential on layperson culture.

Alfonso Maria Di Nola (1926–1997) had the encyclopedic ability of writing on virtually every topic of religious historiography in a learned and intelligible style. Obviously, his innumerable writings rely mostly on second-hand sources with all the imaginable consequences. As an original researcher he studied aspects of Greek religion in cross-cultural comparison as well as animal and healing cults among Italy's contemporary peasants. His approach to religious anthropology is avowedly based on a neo-Marxist methodology influenced by Antonio Gramsci's reappraisal of folklore studies. Coherently, his general views on religion and religious historiography are ferociously anti-phenomenological and conditioned by his ideological options as well as by his unabashed philological inaccuracy.

Elémire Zolla (1926–2002) was in many ways the exact opposite of Di Nola in his concern for the individual's (sometimes elitist) religious experience. Trained as a literary critic and expert in worldwide mystical, esoteric and symbolic traditions, Zolla elaborated a very personal style in reading religious phenomena from the insider's perspective without losing the contact with the cultural setting. His in-depth researches on alchemy, traditionalism, American transcendentalism and the literary image of Native Americans as well as his perceptive reflections on classical issues of comparative religion such as syncretism, shamanism, Gnosticism, and Dionysian ecstasy characterize him as a careful investigator of spiritual modes that are beyond the grasp of scholars utilizing the tools of traditional historiography. As a terminus of this survey it is worth mentioning a scholar belonging to a later generation and to a different cultural tradition (Romanian) who was a disciple of Bianchi as well as a follower of Zolla.

Ioan Petru Culianu (1950–1991), fundamentally Italian in his training, became familiar with the Dutch academy in Groningen and with the North American one in Chicago, where he became the heir to his compatriot Eliade. The foci of his scholarly concern were coincident with the favorite subjects of his mentors (ecstasy, dualism, esotericism, views of afterlife). He shifted from a historical method to a mentalistic epistemology that turns historicism on its head. His death was the death knell for the discipline: At the current state of the art, a style of history of religions like that fostered by Pettazzoni, Brelich and Bianchi seems to be hardly conceivable.

SEE ALSO Study of Religion.

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GIOVANNI CASADIO (2005)

HISTORY

This entry consists of the following articles:

CHRISTIAN VIEWS
JEWISH VIEWS

HISTORY: CHRISTIAN VIEWS

Christians understand history from the perspective of the life of Jesus of Nazareth (c. 4 BCE–30 CE), whom they call the Christ. Christians believe that in Jesus Christ God became incarnate in human history and thereby provided the key to the character, validity, and significance of history. Salient events in Jesus' life in ancient Roman Palestine, as Christian understand them—notably his birth, his ministry, his death by crucifixion, and his resurrection to life—form the basis of the Christian religion. At the same time, the life of Jesus Christ provides the ultimate orientation for understanding the whole of history and the historical process, past, present, and future. To be Christian unavoidably entails bonding with an understanding of history, and over the ages the variety of Christian views has been considerable.

Christian views of history have in common that they encompass all peoples as well as all nonhuman creation. For Christians, history began with the creation of the world and will culminate with the return of Jesus Christ to the world. Christians give a special role within history to the Jews before Jesus' time, to his immediate followers during his lifetime, especially those called the twelve apostles, and to the church and the kingdom of God for the remainder of history after Jesus. For Christians, the ongoing temporal course of worldly existence proceeds according to cycles of worship as well as in cycles of forgiveness and renewal as, under the providence of God, Christians seek to do the will of God and to overcome evil with good.

Christian views of history contrast with the alternatives provided by different ultimate orientations, whether secularist, Islamic, capitalist, Hindu, Buddhist, New Age, or something else. With the secularization of thought and society in European and North American cultures during much of the twentieth century, Christian views tended to shrink to an emphasis on church history. But in tandem with the persistence of religions in pluralist relations with each other across the world, many Christians have reaffirmed the validity of Christian approaches for understanding the whole of history and for engaging in the study of any historical subject.

ELEMENTS OF CHRISTIAN VIEWS OF HISTORY. The first people who gathered around Jesus disclosed what they believed mattered for the Christian religion. This they did not by instruction in ritual or law, not by theological discourse or logical argument, but by telling the history of Jesus. At first the followers of Jesus told each other about what happened to him. Paul wrote letters to several Christian communities that recalled aspects of his life. The earliest Christian historical writings are the accounts known as the Gospels and the *Acts of the Apostles* that emerged out of and consolidated the recollections that people passed on after the death of Jesus. Christians ever since have looked to the Gospels as the source for their knowledge of Jesus and for his message of the coming of the kingdom of God. History came to be seen as the repeated overcoming of the kingdom of darkness by God's kingdom of light. In the words of the Lord's Prayer, "Our father in heaven, holy be your name, your kingdom come, your will be done on earth as it is in heaven."

The experience of the crucifixion and the resurrection of Jesus totally transformed the first Christians' understanding of history. They created the earliest Christian views of history by reworking the views they inherited from Jewish sources. They regarded Jesus as the one whose coming the ancient Hebrew prophets had often promised. *John* called Jesus the Messiah, the Christ, the one anointed by God to be the savior of Israel. The very use of that title constituted an understanding of the role of Jesus in world history. *Matthew* and *Luke* contained genealogies constructed to show that Jesus was the direct descendant of the two greatest names in Jewish history, Abraham and David, and, according to *Luke*, the direct lineal offspring of Adam, regarded as the first human being created by God.

The Gospels and the *Acts of the Apostles* also told how Jesus projected a new horizon for the future. After leaving his followers for a time he would return again to be among them. They caught suggestions of the end of the age, the *eschaton*, some time in the near or distant future, and they anticipated a final resurrection of the dead.

Paul, in his *Epistle to the Romans*, created an understanding of history that explained both the continuity of Jesus with Israel and Adam and the radical innovation that Jesus inaugurated for his followers in the future. Paul viewed Jesus both as the descendant of Adam and as the New Adam. History, for Christians, thus divides into two ages. Before Christ there were the creation, the old covenant, the old self, the way of the law, whereas after Christ there would be the new creation, the new covenant, the new self, the way of grace. Paul thought that the Hebrew scriptures, which Christians knew as the Old Testament, contained many anticipations of Christ. The children of Abraham and David were to be completed by a new Israel called the *ekklesia*, composed of children of Abraham by adoption.

It is important to understand that the early Christians formed their views of history as part of living within the new community of the *ekklesia*, later called the church. Their views of history emerged as they engaged in their worship, read their scriptures, preached their sermons, produced their their art, instructed their young, and uttered their confessions of faith in Jesus Christ. Over the centuries, it was largely through such tangible and close-to-home means that Christians taught, maintained, elaborated, revised, and unfolded their views of history into the wide variety of forms known in the history of Christianity. The writings on history by the great thinkers—such as Paul, Eusebius (d. c. 339), Augustine (d. 430), Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), Luther (d. 1546), Calvin (d. 1564), and Bossuet (d. 1704)—depended upon and emerged from within the experience of the worshipping community. The great creeds of the church—from the simple confession of Peter ("You are the Christ, the son of the living God") to the important Nicene Creed (325), the famous and popular Apostles' Creed (eighth century), and the many creeds of the Reformation era—were affirmations of the faith of the church that entailed reciting the history of Jesus and a Christian version of world history.

What develops is an understanding of universal history that depicts the course of the ages as a sequence of creation, fall, redemption, and culmination. History begins with the creation of the world, Adam, and Eve by God and continues with a decline into sin and suffering. God then offers the possibility of restoration, first through the line of Abraham and Israel, then through Jesus Christ and the church. Finally come the last days, the *eschaton*, when all things culminate in the return of Jesus Christ, followed by the Last Judgment, the appearance of the new heavens and the new earth, the resurrection of the dead, and the experience of eternal life. It is a comprehensive vision that gathers up the past, opens up the future, and explains the meaning of the present.

Seen in this way, the history of the world has a beginning and will have an ending. History is ongoing. Christian writers, like the author of *Hebrews* and Augustine, use the figures of a journey and a pilgrimage, and others following the Gospels use the image of the way to catch the ongoing tendency of things. They endeavor to grasp the meaning of the course of history by identifying the ages through which the world passes. For example, Paul's two ages, the old and the new, could also be regarded as one, the present age, surrounded by eternity before creation and eternity after the end of time. The genealogies in *Matthew* and *Luke* calculated four or five ages. The *Letter of Barnabas* (early second century) turns these into six ages by analogy with the six days of creation. And since a day in the eyes of God is like a thousand years (*2 Pt.* 3:8), this suggested that God would bring the world to an end after six thousand years. Augustine adopted the six-age scheme and noted in the final pages of his monumental *City of God* that the world was then in the sixth and final age. Later writers, notably during the Reformation of the sixteenth century, divided the six thousand years into four monarchies—Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome—based on the Old Testament *Book of Daniel.* In the seventeenth century the threefold scheme of ancient, medieval, and modern came into vogue, appearing first in relation to Christian history. Even then, many Christian writers thought that if the history of the world was analogous to human life they were living in the old age of the world. History was moving toward culmination by way of beneficent decline.

With all this emphasis on ongoing tendencies and periods, many people have asserted that Christian views of history are by definition linear and for that reason distinct from views depicting history as cyclical. They contrasted Christian views as linear with Hindu and Buddhist views as cyclical. However, Christian views are also cyclical, even as Hindu and Buddhist views are also linear, and Christian views offer many ways of understanding the recurrent rhythms of history. The earliest instance was the common meal initiated by Jesus Christ in his last supper, later called the Eucharist or the Lord's Supper, which became a way for Christians when gathered together to remember (*anamnesis*) the life and death of Jesus. The introduction of Sunday as the day of worship symbolized the resurrection of Jesus and gave Christians a recurrent beat for the life of their communities. Paul emphasized the rhythm of creation and re-creation, and Christians over the ages have sought to implement his message by striving repeatedly for the overcoming of evil with good and the renewal of all things. In other guises they know this recurrent rhythm as the pattern of repentance, forgiveness, and restoration by which God repeatedly shows mercy to sinners and brings new things out of old. The symbol of the resurrection itself is an affirmation of the recurrence of blessing and healing in spite of the persistence of death and evil. Following the example of Jesus and Paul, Augustine envisioned world history as a recurrent spiritual conflict between the city of God and the city of this world. In these and other ways, Christian views of history posit the reality of recurrence in the world within the drama of the ongoing course of events from the origins to the *eschaton.*

Christian views of history also have a personal side. They permit Christians to orient their lives within the overall course of history. Over the years Christians as the church have fashioned rituals that, according to their ecclesiastical traditions, they call sacraments, ordinances, or special services. These mark both the linear course of life in the world and the cyclic experience of life in the world: baptism initiates each person, whether at infancy or as an adult, into the church; confirmation or acceptance into church membership marks religious coming of age; marriage establishes companionship on the journey and the procreative relationship; the Eucharist, or Lord's Supper, remembers Jesus Christ's death; penance or prayers for forgiveness register the cycle of sin and restoration; and holy unction, last rites, or the funeral complete the earthly pilgrimage.

Christians gradually came to express their views of history in the form of a calendar that liturgically recalls the events of the life of Jesus Christ in an annual cycle. The first fixture in the calendar became known as Easter and celebrates the resurrection of Jesus, although agreement on when to mark Easter has eluded Christians and yielded diverse representations of the calendar. Christians have remembered the birth of Jesus as Christmas from at least the early fourth century. The advent to Christmas came to mark the start of the Christian new year. Christians later added the events of Epiphany, Holy Week, Pentecost, and the Ascension. Christians also mark the ongoing sequence of years with reference to the birth of Jesus, counting the years from "Our Lord's Incarnation" (AD, *anno Domini*, the year of the Lord). This scheme, which formalized a popular Christian usage, was devised by Dionysius Exiguus (early sixth century) as part of his calculation of the liturgical date of Easter. Much later and more slowly, Christians began to count the years backward from the incarnation, calling them "Before Christ" (BC). By using these important symbols, they claim that the whole course of history centers on Jesus Christ and that the annual cycle of Christian experience recapitulates Jesus' life.

A solid tradition of historical writing reflects the emphasis Christians put on recording the course of events, creating a common memory, and handing on their story in writing to future generations. It began with the Gospels and the *Acts of the Apostles*. Early in the third century Julius Africanus produced a five-volume *Chronology* with the dual purpose of establishing that the antiquity of Moses was greater than that of the Greeks and of tracing the continuity of Christianity with Jesus Christ. Eusebius of Caesarea (early fourth century) stabilized a lasting tradition of Christian historiography with his *Chronology* and his *Ecclesiastical History*. Augustine's magisterial *City of God* formulated what became the most influential Christian reading of world history. Following patterns of explanation found in the Old Testament, he showed how the activities of God, humans, angels, and devils conjoined to produce human history as a struggle between the city of God and the city of this world. Augustine's student Paulus Orosius elaborated upon this. From these sources an immense number of medieval chronicles, annals, and histories took their cue. Between the seventh and the fifteenth centuries writers produced histories shaped by Christian views: histories of the church, of the peoples of Christendom, of rulers and governments, of cities, of the Crusades, of the saints, of monasteries, and of the whole world known to them. Protestants, Anglicans, and Catholics from the sixteenth-century Reformation onward wrote histories that continued the fecund traditions of Christian historiography and that served to enliven their polemics against each other.

Running through Christian views of history is the understanding that many actors generate history. The Bible offered the necessary models, and Eusebius provided the example for how to translate the biblical vision into a reading of the post-biblical course of events. Christian historians in other periods, of whom Merle d'Aubigné (1794–1872) was a stunning case, as well as pastors and preachers in their sermons every Sunday to the present day instantiate the view that history is a lively arena for many actors. God is primary, and, although God's abode is the timeless present of eternity, God acts directly in history. Acting against God are Satan as the Evil One as well as various devils and evil spirits whose deeds impact the course of history. Joined to these are human beings regarded as responsible for what goes on in the course of the ages. Next to all these are the non-human creatures—the animals, the trees, the wind and the rain—that likewise effect what happens in history. How to explain the relations and relative effects of these great actors in history—God, the Evil One, humans, and nature—has been a matter of perennial disagreement among Christians. Christians created the doctrines of divine predestination and human free will in an effort to explain some of this. The Old Testament supplies the model for understanding God's work in history, while the New Testament does the same for the work of the Evil One. Just as God governed Israel by leading the Israelites out of Egypt, taking them into the Promised Land, establishing David on the throne of Israel, and confounding the enemies of Israel, so God governs the church through the ages. And just as God also ruled over Assyria, Egypt, and Babylon, so God rules over all things in the world throughout the whole of history according to God's will. Christians call this wise governance by God "Divine providence."

In a similar way, following the Lord's Prayer, Christians attribute to God's action everything from their daily food to the rise and fall of kingdoms. Yet all the while they know, according to their roles in life, that they are responsible for tending their fields as farmers or governing the commonwealth as rulers. God's central act in history was the incarnation in Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ continues to rule as Lord of history. Christians began to talk very early in the church's history of God's eternal plan of salvation and God's plan for the world. When human actions fulfill the will of God, God bestows blessings; when they do not, God sends judgment instead. The prospect of the Last Judgment came before the people by means of art, especially during the medieval and early modern periods. The providence of God has given Christians confidence and comfort in history, while the Last Judgment has often given them cause to tremble.

TYPES OF VIEWS. From the time of the apostles to the present, Christian views of history have proliferated into at least four dominant types. All types have in common the elements already summarized—orientation by the life of Jesus Christ, the envelopment of universal and personal history, an account of the ongoing and the recurrent matters of history, and so on. They differ, however, in the way they interpret these elements and in the priorities and emphases they assign to them. All appeal to Jesus Christ, the Bible, and the experience of the history of Christianity for justification.

The four types may be called the millenarian, the ecclesiastical, the reform/revivalist, and the mystical. *The millenarian type* of understanding of history appeared quite soon among the early Christians and has reemerged periodically throughout Christian history to the present day. The millenarians, or "chiliasts," emphasize the future of history and eschatology. They are deeply aware of the troubles of the present world. They look forward to the return of Jesus Christ as the means of salvation, and they expect salvific change to be abrupt and total. Their name comes from the anticipated thousand-year rule by Christ at the end of history, the seventh eschatological day after the six days of world history. Their scriptural sources are the *Book of Daniel*, chapter 24 of the *Gospel of Matthew*, and the *Book of Revelation*. The earliest millenarians (see the *First Letter to the Thessalonians*) expected the return of Jesus to occur in their lifetime. Millenarian movements over the years have included the prophets of the end around the year 1000, some elements in the Crusades, Joachim of Fiore (d. 1202), the Fifth Monarchy Men (seventeenth century), and the followers of John Darby (1800–1882). In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries most fundamentalists and evangelicals have been millenarians. They have called themselves "premillenarians" because they emphasize the return of Jesus before the advent of the thousand-year reign of purity, and "dispensationalists" because they emphasize the various ways God has changed the divine mode of working with the world over the ages.

The ecclesiastical type of understanding of history began as the early Christians created the institutional forms of the church community and has carried on to the present by means of the dominant churchly traditions. The ecclesiasticals emphasize the continuity of history expressed by means of a specific sequential connection with Jesus and the apostles (e.g., apostolic succession). They contrast the church and the world, while nonetheless struggling for and often achieving some alliance with the political rulers and some penetration of the general culture with Christian ecclesiastical mores. They believe that salvation comes primarily by means of God's work through the church, notably in the sacraments and in preaching. They value institution-building, maintenance, and stability and seek to control change. Their biblical sources are the letters of Paul, especially *Romans*. The ecclesiastical view emerged with the appearance of bishops and ecclesiastical organization as recounted by Eusebius. The papacy, the church councils, and the Jesuits are among those who perpetuated this view. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, standard Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Orthodox, and Lutherans exemplify this type.

The reform/revivalist type of understanding of history has ridden in tandem with the ecclesiastical type throughout the history of Christianity. The emphasis in this third type has been on renewal and recurrence, together with either a return to some normative past or a renovation to some better future. Its proponents are concerned with overcoming spiritual or moral decline and often stand in judgment against the dominant structures. They see God's salvific work especially in institutional reform or personal spiritual revival. They expect the need for change to be periodic, or as the motto of one strain within the Protestant Reformation expressed it, they aim to be "always reforming." Reformers have readily converted to the ecclesiastical type (in a conservative form) once their reforms have become established. They take their scriptural inspiration especially from Paul's theme of new creation in *Romans* and *Colossians*. Some of the many movements that have viewed history in this way have been the early Benedictines, the early Franciscans, Cluny monks, early Calvinists and Lutherans, early Methodists, and in recent times, the evangelical revivalists and reformational Kuyperians. The Pentecostal movement of the twentieth century has been a major revivalist movement stressing the outpouring of the Holy Spirit and the restoration of the pristine spirit of Christ. Liberation theologians in Latin America are another example.

The mystic type of understanding of history also appeared early and has reemerged periodically throughout Christian history. Mystics seek to transcend the course of mundane history, suspending themselves, as it were, above the process of past-present-future. They have tended to condemn and belittle the history of the world and to seek salvation by union with another realm. Their hope has been to overcome change, yet through all that, they have also consciously intended to exercise an influence upon the affairs of the world. The vision of John in *Revelation* inspired them biblically. Notable examples of the mystic type are the pillar saints (Stylites) of Syria, the contemplative orders, the Neoplatonic tradition, Meister Eckhart (d. 1327?), Teresa of Ávila (d. 1582), Jakob Boehme (d. 1624), and the early Quakers. Many Christians in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have welcomed the influence of Buddhist and Hindu mystics on the Christian practice of meditation and prayer.

DECLINE AND RENEWAL OF CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVES. By the late eighteenth century, as part of the early phases of the secularization of European thought and society, many began to call Christian views of history into question. In particular, capitalist industrialization, the new powers of science and technology, and the thought of philosophers as different from each other as David Hume, Voltaire, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau combined to evoke new faith in humanity and in human powers of control, creativity, and reason. These gave support to new convictions that this world (the *saeculum*) was ultimate and that history was progress toward human improvement.

The practical consequence of the secularizing tendency upon Christian views of history has been the accentuation of two sets of distinctions. First, Christians focused more narrowly on the history of the church and tended to regard the history of the rest of life as a secular concern properly handled by scholars acting as secular historians and not as Christian historians. This contributed to the creation of specialized kinds of histories, such as histories of politics, art, and economic affairs, and treated church history as just another specialization. Second, Christians began to formulate a theology of history—as distinct from a philosophy of history. In the hands of philosophers like Voltaire, J. G. Herder,

G. W. F. Hegel, and a host of more recent thinkers like those of the British analytic school, reflection on the world's history could appear to be an exercise quite remote from what theologians did when they thought about the biblical sources, Jesus Christ, and Christian experience.

In this manner a distinction between sacred and profane history became more pronounced. Church historians and theologians came to see themselves, and to be seen by others, as sociologically set apart from other historians and other scholars of religion. They commonly found themselves employed in seminaries, Divinity schools, and Christian colleges, either separated from universities or other faculties within universities. They associated with each other in specialized professional societies organizationally separated from general scholarly associations. From the perspective of the general culture, people commonly came to regard the church as merely one institution next to others, with the result that the relevance of Christian views of history to life as a whole no longer could be assumed. Liturgy and preaching continued in their cyclic rhythm as the primary vehicles for the transmission of Christian views of history, but with a built-in separation of Christian history from the history of life as a whole, now called secular history. Historians, including those who were themselves Christians, found they could readily explain the temporal course of history solely in terms of human actions in the milieu of the natural environment, without reference to the work of God and the Evil One. This they did quite apart from their still operative belief in the activity of God in history and any Christian vision of universal history. The theories and findings of geology, biology, astronomy, and "prehistory" make a convincing case that the world's history has already taken perhaps billions of years in spite of previously honored calculations of the creation of the world based on *Genesis*. The difficulty, if not impossibility, of genuine prediction beyond the most proximate future made Christian visions of the future *eschaton* seem irrelevant to the course of history if not simply wrong.

In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, however, many historians, philosophers, theologians, writers, and biblical scholars have led a notable renewal of Christian views of history. They have come from a wide range of Christian traditions, including Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Methodists, Reformed, Russian Orthodox, Baptists, and others. Prominent names since the 1930s include Reinhold Niebuhr, Herbert Butterfield, Arnold Toynbee, T. S. Eliot, C. S. Lewis, Christopher Dawson, and Georges Florovsky. After World War II, the renewal formed part of the general ecumenical and church renewal movements associated with the World Council of Churches (after 1948), the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), and the resurgence of evangelicalism and Pentecostalism.

Several trends concerning Christian views of history have become noteworthy since the 1970s, even as the four major types of views continued. First, many Christians stressed the need to integrate Christian views of history with their newly emerging awareness of the diversity of Christianity across the world, and with their renewed appreciation of the genuinely universal character of history. Second, many historians who were Christians explored how Christian insights about human beings and worldly existence might suggest approaches to the historical study of all facets of history, including, in addition to churches, the history of politics, gender, class, economic affairs, art, technology, families, the environment, climate, and so on. Third, the ongoing encounter with other religions of the world, notably Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Judaism, and the primal religions, has led Christians to reevaluate the meaning of the claims about Christianity being a religion of history. Fourth, the experience of the secular religions of humanism, capitalism and Marxism has stimulated revisions of Christian views of history as a way of helping to overcome economic, social, and political oppression and to promote the well-being of the whole human community. Fifth, the disintegration of the dominant modes of scientific history characterized by commitment to facts and emphasis on hegemonic elites has given new life to post-modern discussions of historical methods and epistemology, discussions to which historians enlivened by Christian views of history make distinctive contributions.

SEE ALSO Apostles; Christian Liturgical Year; Christmas; Church, article on Church Membership; Creeds, article on Christian Creeds; Easter; Epiphany; Eschatology, overview article; Eucharist; Free Will and Predestination, article on Christian Concepts; Gospel; Historiography; Jesus; Lord's Prayer; Millenarianism, overview article; Mysticism; Revival and Renewal; Secularization; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Christian Worship.

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HISTORY: JEWISH VIEWS

This article describes the conception of history in the Hebrew scriptures and in rabbinic and medieval Judaism and controversies concerning historical continuity and change in modern Judaism.

Biblical Views. The unusual importance of history in Israelite religion probably predated the articulation of a full-fledged monotheism that explicitly denies the potency of all gods except Yahveh, the God of Israel. The core of the biblical narrative deals with the relationship between Israel and Yahveh, a relationship created and actualized in history. Yahveh is presented as having anticipated, in the calling out of the patriarchs, the formation of the house of Israel (*Gn.* 18:17) and as having liberated the descendants of the patriarchs from Egyptian bondage in order to enter into a covenantal treaty with them at Mount Sinai (*Ex.* 19:3–8, *Dt.* 26:5–9). In the biblical narrative the subsequent history of Israel, a duration of eight centuries, is winnowed and assembled accordingly.

History and time. Whenever it was that monolatry (the sacred obligation to worship only Yahveh and not "other gods," as in exodus 19:5–6, 20:2–3) became monotheism (the explicit negation of the ontic reality of other gods, as in *Isaiah* 45:5–7), the transformation eschewed some of the most widespread ancient mythological themes. Rather than describing the birth of the various generations of gods, the struggles between them to define their respective sovereignties, and the gods' liaisons with other gods and humans, the dramatic foreground of the Hebrew scriptures is occupied by human responses to Yahveh's acts of revelation and salvation, chastisement and consolation. More than embracing narratives of a series of specific moments, however, biblical history moved toward a new sense of historical time.

The contrast is made between mythological time, where ritual and recitation aim at reexperiencing paradigmatic moments, and historic time as a continuum of unrepeatable occasions each possessing independent value. In this regard, the Hebrew Bible is sometimes described as holding to a linear, rather than a cyclical, notion of time, but this concept oversimplifies the biblical meaning of history. *Genesis* 1–11, often called "the primeval history," makes use of ancient Near Eastern mythological materials as reinterpreted by Israelite monotheism. And the biblical notion of history does focus on repetitive patterns (the cycle of sin, punishment, contrition, atonement). The mythological residue and the cyclical patterns are presented in the context of a chain of events reaching back to the absolute beginning of the world and human civilization and forward to a future open in a crucial sense. The cyclical-linear sense of time is also a feature of the prophetic books. Implied in the classical prophets is that past events are guideposts to actions taken in a historical present that is infused by a unique, pregnant tension. The prophet addresses the people and its rulers out of the immediacy of the divine imperative; in order to avert an impending catastrophe, he demands a change of direction (turning, repentance). The prophetic oracles do not embody revelations of predetermined fate but warnings of inevitable acts of divine justice if Israel's behavior continues in the path that the prophet has denounced. The prophet speaks out of the conviction that despite sins committed in the past, the future can assume a different character because God forgives those who reform their habitual ways. The prophet hopes to change rather than predict history and to break through the old cycle of failure to advance the divine demand.

Stages of history. In its final redaction the Hebrew Bible locates the Israelite-God covenant in a world historical context, creating a conception of universal history that shaped the consciousness of European civilization for many centuries. The primeval history in *Genesis* 1–11 in effect narrates the coming-into-being of the human condition, including humanity's division into many nations and tongues. The remaining chapters of *Genesis* trace the precarious continuity of God's blessing of the direct ancestors of Israel during their sojourns in Canaan until the settlement in Egypt. The objective of the exodus from Egypt is the actual formation of the people at Mount Sinai and during their wilderness wanderings, until the twelve Israelite tribes enter Canaan to occupy their patrimonies (through the *Book of Joshua*). A second historical cycle, *Judges* through *2 Kings,* deals with the history of the people in the promised land: The tribes eventually coalesce into an Israelite kingdom that in less than a century is rent in two. The narrative follows the subsequent history of the two kingdoms (extracted, it relates, from royal *Chronicles*, e.g., *1 Kgs.* 14:29, 16:5, 16:14, 16:20, 16:27) together with stories of the prophets who issued judgments on the kings, until the Assyrian destruction of the northern kingdom of Israel in 722 BCE and the Babylonian conquest of the southern kingdom of Judah in 587/6 BCE. The fall of the Israelite kingdoms is attributed, above all, to God's punishment for idolatry condoned by the rulers (e.g., *2 Kgs.* 17:7–18, 21:10–16, 24:3–4). In contrast to the preceding, the Babylonian exile, the return to Zion, and the second commonwealth are recounted episodically in tales of religious fidelity in Babylon (*Dn.* 1–6), accounts of the rebuilding of the Temple and the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah (mainly in the books named for these two men), and the story of the near destruction and last-minute salvation of the Jews of the Persian empire in the *Book of Esther*. A second interpretation of Israelite history up to the Babylonian exile is contained in *1* and *2 Chronicles*.

These accounts of the past are completed by a vision of the future, a conception of the ultimate destiny of humanity. Biblical eschatology is ignored in the historical books but present in the prophetic oracles of the "latter time" concerning the prince of justice who will rule the land (*Is.* 9:2–7, 11:1–10), a utopian age of worldwide peace (*Is.* 2:1–5, *Mi.* 4:1–4), universal worship of Yahveh (*Is.* 56:6–8, *Zec.* 8:20–23), thorough internalization of the covenant and outpouring of prophecy (*Jer.* 31:31–34, *Jl.* 2:28–29), the pacification of nature (*Is.* 65:17–25, *Zec.* 14:1–14), and cataclysmic judgments vindicating God's holiness among the nations (*Ez.* 38–39; *Is.* 24–27, 63:1–6). Some of these and other prophetic visions already show an evolution from the eschatology of classical prophecy to apocalypticism.

Unlike the classical prophet, who is usually located in the text according to the rulers of his own time and the historic situation that he directly addresses, the apocalyptic hides behind the name of an earlier personage who presents a synoptic vision of history through many centuries. For the apocalyptic, history and eschatology are fused in a preordained sequence from the time of the visionary to the final days. In the most developed apocalyptic material of the Hebrew Bible (*Dn.* 7–12), the subject is the future rise and fall of monstrous pagan empires. Eventually "the saints of the Most High" will triumph, God's dominion will be firmly established in the earth, "and many of the dead will awaken, some to eternal life and some to everlasting contempt" (*Dn.* 12:2). The extracanonical Jewish apocalyptic literature that took shape between the second century BCE and the second century CE sought to sustain the people's faith that despite appearances to the contrary, the divine plan would culminate in the destruction of evil and the establishment of God's direct rule over creation. The growth of apocalypticism is but one symptom of a large shift of emphasis, in a period marked by a turning away from concrete history to other themes and interests in Judaism of late antiquity.

HELLENISTIC AND PHARISAIC-RABBINIC VIEWS. While this transformation was occurring, however, a final burst of ancient Jewish historiography adumbrated several historical concerns of considerable importance of Judaism later. The books of the Maccabees, which memorialize the struggle against the Seleucid king Antiochus IV (r. 175–164 BCE) to repress Judaism in Judaea, contain the prototype of the literature of martyrology (2 *Mc.* 6–7) developed by medieval Christian and Jewish writers. Josephus Flavius (37/8–c. 100), who recorded the Jewish war against Rome between 66 and 70 CE that eventuated in the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple, narrated an occurrence of immense practical and symbolic importance for Judaism. Although Josephus's works were not preserved by the Jews in the original, a medieval Hebrew rendition of these events, *sefer yosippon,* probably composed in the tenth century in southern Italy, supplemented Talmudic legends concerning this catastrophic event. The bulk of traditional Jewish knowledge about postbiblical history (the Hasmonean and Herodian kingdoms, the religious movements of the late Second Temple period, the revolts against the Romans in the first and second centuries CE, the personalities and actions of the Pharisaic sages and influential rabbis of late antiquity) were preserved in anecdotal, often legendary, form in the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds and in the Midrash.

Biblical history served as a matrix of lessons and models reinforced by repeated allusion to the personages and experiences of ancient Israel. In the liturgy of holy days, Jews annually relived the turning points of history as distilled from the Bible: creation of the universe (Roʾsh ha-Shanah); exodus from Egypt (Pesaḥ); revelation of the Torah at Sinai (Shavuʿot); divine protection during the wilderness wanderings under the leadership of Moses (Sukkot); the constant availability of divine forgiveness and the holy splendor of the priests, who were the channel for atonement of sin while the Temple stood (Yom Kippur); salvation from threatened extermination in the Diaspora (Purim); the miracle of "those days" in Maccabean Jerusalem (Ḥanukkah); the destruction of Zion and the Temple (Tishʿah be-Av). An indication of the closure and formalization of the rabbinic conception of history is the emergence in late antiquity of a system of dating from the beginning of the world (*anno mundi,* the era of creation), which came to serve as a Jewish alternative to the Christian chronology based on the birth of Christ and, later, the Muslim system dating from the Ḥijrah.

The most prominent essentially historic element of Pharisaic-rabbinic Judaism is the notion of a continuous chain of religious authority from the revelation at Sinai to the (moving) present. In the rabbinic worldview Torah is a transcendent, premundane blueprint for creation containing God's purposes for creating humankind and the people of Israel, and Torah is present in history in two guises: the text of the Pentateuch (the written Torah) and the unfolding body of tradition (the oral Torah) anchored in Moses at Mount Sinai and growing with the teachings of every generation of sages. Torah was passed down by word of mouth from the elders to the prophets to the sages (*Avot* 1.1), given a written form in the Mishnah at the end of the second century CE, and continuously supplemented by the discussions and reasoning of the rabbis in the Talmudic *yeshivot* and thereafter. Tracing the chain of reliable authority became a major interest of medieval Jewish historiography.

MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN VIEWS. The continuity of the rabbinic tradition became a polemic issue in the eighth and ninth centuries with the rise of the Karaites, who denied the authority of the Talmud. The tenth-century Karaite historiographer Yaʿqūb al-Qirqisānī viewed as forerunners of the Karaite movement the Sadducees of the Second Temple period, who had rejected the Pharisaic "traditions of the fathers" (an early stage of the notion of the oral Torah). In the tenth century Sheriraʾ Gaon, head of the Pumbedita *yeshivah,* composed an epistle defending rabbinic authority by explaining how the corpus of Talmudic literature came into being, in the course of which he transmitted considerable historical data. The unbroken continuity of the "order of generations" was one of the principal motives of Avraham ibn Daud's *Sefer ha-qabbalah* (Book of tradition), a schematic account of Jewish history written in the twelfth century that contained undertones of messianic expectation.

As indicated, in the Middle Ages another impetus to the recording of events in Jewish history was the commemoration of Jewish martyrs. The massacres of the Jews of the Rhineland at the inception of the First Crusade was the subject of an Ashkenazic chronicle literature that was augmented as a result of later crises, such as the massacres of the Jews in the Ukraine in 1648–1649. However, most of the medieval Jewish philosophers had little interest in history as such. Moses Maimonides (1135/8–1204) considered the reading of books of history at best a diversion for one's leisure hours (*The Guide of the Perplexed* 1.2) and a waste of time for serious scholars who should occupy themselves with jurisprudence, the natural sciences, and metaphysics. Maimonides does employ history incidentally to explain some of the biblical commandments as means to wean Israel from pagan practices of the ancient world. Of the medieval Jewish philosophers, it was Yehudah ha-Levi (c. 1075–1141), a severe critic of Jewish Aristotelianism, who grounded Jewish faith in the experience of a specific people qualified by their innate aptitude, when in a proper moral condition in the Holy Land, to receive the Torah. Ha-Levi's contrast of the abstract, rational God of the Aristotelian philosophers with the puissant God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob represents a definite, if limited, turning from metaphysical to historical arguments for the truth value of Jewish faith.

Not until the sixteenth century was there a rebirth of Jewish historiography akin to that of the Hellenistic era. Most of the works of this period, by exiles from the Iberian Peninsula, are, in form, medieval chronicles in which there are sometimes found Renaissance elements (the *Sheveṭ Yehudah* by Shelomoh ibn Verga offers a political and social analysis of the expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492). A truly pioneering figure in sixteenth-century Jewish historiography was ʿAzaryah dei Rossi, whose *Meʾor ʿenayim* shows the influence of Renaissance humanism in its recovery of Hellenistic Jewish texts and critical treatment of Talmudic anecdotes.

In contrast to this limited interest in historical research for its own sake was the qabbalistic interest in history, which was meant to establish the authenticity of its esoteric exegesis of the Torah. The most influential text of the Spanish Qabbalah, the Zohar, was presented by its thirteenth-century author as the work of a circle of second-century Galilean rabbis, giving the Zohar a pedigree as old as the Mishnah and antedating by many centuries the spread of rationalistic philosophy among Jews. Metahistorical elements in qabbalistic literature reached an apogee in the teachings of the sixteenth-century mystic Isaac Luria. Lurianic Qabbalah developed a theology of cosmic redemption based on the principle that carrying out the divine commandments with the correct mystic intention (*kavvanah*) liberates divine sparks that had been scattered abroad and trapped in husks of evil during the processes of cosmic creation. The Lurianic version of the Qabbalah, inasmuch as it conceived of human action as necessary to bring the Messiah, lent an intrinsic dignity to the temporal process that history had not had in Jewish thought since biblical times. However, these human acts produced their effects in a spiritual realm invisible to mundane eyes. An attempt to apply this theory on the concrete stage of history, expressing the buildup of messianic tension in early modern Jewry, erupted in the short-lived movement around the mystical messiah Shabbetai Tsevi in the 1660s. The revolutionary enthusiasm was quickly extinguished among most Jews.

MODERN VIEWS. A modern awareness of history entered Judaism in the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* that emerged in Germany in the 1820s. The proponents of the scientific study of the Jewish past argued that an objective knowledge of Jewish history would increase respect for Judaism's contributions to civilization and, at the same time, enable Jews to grasp the essence of their tradition. However, the critical methodology of modern scholarship also posed new issues for Judaism (and other revealed traditions) by calling into question the historicity of formative events and persons, challenging the unity of scripture, and drawing attention to data that contradicted the presumed continuity of the received tradition.

The religious trends that crystallized in nineteenth-century European and American Jewry represent contrasting strategies of response. The Reform movement perceived Judaism as a progressive revelation that is based on the original inspiration of Moses and the prophets and has attained its most adequate formulation in modern times; for the Reformers, historical knowledge provided the basis for distinguishing between the authentic kernel of Judaism and the protective husk of law and custom once necessary but no longer relevant in postmedieval circumstances. The Positive-Historical approach (which in America became the basis for Conservative Judaism) conceived of revelation as in part molded by the gradually developing consensus of the historic Jewish community, which thereby assured continuity of sacred practice and doctrine. For the Orthodox, Torah was a timeless, immutable divine instruction for the ideal human life; intervention in the process of explicating Torah as undertaken by the Reformers and, more moderately, by the Conservatives in order to bring Judaism in line with the spirit of the times was considered by and large destructive. At present, both Conservative and Orthodox Judaism (and some Reform figures) emphasize the continuity of the *halakhah* (religious law) as a normative feature of Judaism but disagree as to what extent present-day rabbis have the right to diverge from earlier sages and the stricter contemporary authorities.

As the nineteenth-century progressed, modern Jewish historiography amassed considerable knowledge of the social and political history of the Jews as well as of the religious and literary history of Judaism. Erudite nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars (preeminently, Heinrich Graetz) published works that educated their readers in the complex and variegated Jewish past, enabling Jews to relate positively to their tradition apart from any commitment to theology or religious praxis. Especially in eastern Europe secular views of Jewish historical identity accompanied the formulation of Jewish nationalist and socialist ideologies (e.g., Simon Dubnow's conception of the centrality of Jewish institutions of self-government in the Diaspora in relation to his ideology of Jewish Diaspora nationalism, and Jewish socialists and Marxists who took economic themes and even the class struggle as central). Most important has been the rethinking of the meaning of Jewish history from the Zionist perspective, emphasizing the age-old longing for redemption from exile and the centrality of the land of Israel as the ancestral homeland to which the Jews were to return to build a new commonwealth, but, in various ways, also seen as a progressive, even revolutionary, advance in history, a kind of active return to history.

Since World War II a theme that has gained prominence in Jewish consciousness is the history of Jewish responses to catastrophe. The Holocaust drew attention to repeated cycles of Judeophobia since ancient times and the ways Jewry has understood itself in relation to the nations of the world. And the Holocaust has raised issues concerning God's relation to history (the traditional problem of theodicy), with reverberations in recent Jewish historical and theological writing.

SEE ALSO Apocalypse, article on Jewish Apocalypticism to the Rabbinic Period; Holocaust, article on Jewish Theological Responses; Jewish Studies, article on Jewish Studies from 1818 to 1919; Qabbalah; Torah; Zionism.

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HISTORY OF RELIGIONS. This article presents an overview of the history of religions as a scientific discipline. It is not intended to provide a comprehensive survey of the specific data that lie within the province of the historian of religions, nor does it attempt to survey the broader history of the discipline. The purpose here is rather to provide a brief description of the nature of the history of religions and to discuss its methods of research. The first part presents a theoretical examination of the dialectical method proper to the discipline. In the second part, attention will be given to the actual field of comparative research through the presentation of a brief historical typology.

THEORETICAL OVERVIEW. The discipline of the history of religions is characterized by the dialectical relationship that exists between its object of study and its methods of research. It is, of course, the concept of religion that best defines the discipline's object. This concept, however, though a necessary precondition for research, is never allowed to function as an *a priori* category, which would predetermine the direction of the historian's inquiries. Instead, it is held in dialectical tension with the ongoing progress of research. The methods employed in this research are in turn adapted to the deeply historical nature of their subject matter. Such methods are essentially inductive, intended to grasp religion in its concreteness, in its historical creativity, and in its meaningfulness for the cultural, social, and individual lives with which it is interwoven. The dialectic that emerges from this interaction of the concept of religion with specific, ongoing historical investigations may be taken as a distinctive feature of the discipline.

The nature of this dialectical foundation of the history of religions may be clarified by contrasting it with several alternative approaches to religion. First of all, it must be distinguished from the hermeneutical approach, which fixes upon a single interpretative key to unlock the mysteries of the phenomenon under investigation. Hans Jonas's intelligent application of modern existentialist categories, such as the feeling of *Geworfenheit* ("thrownness") in his study of Gnosticism, or Rudolf Otto's use of the category of the holy, may be taken as examples of such an approach. In either case, the task of accurate historical description and the construction of a complete and articulate typology of the phenomenon under study are in danger of being neglected. As a result the interpretative key is insufficiently tested against the facts. In addition, the crucial problems of continuity and change, which are unavoidable in the comparative study of religions, tend to be overlooked.

The dialectical character of the history of religions discipline may also be contrasted with the so-called phenomenological method. This method tends to focus only on the synchronic elements of religion, describing and classifying religious forms without reference to particular historical contexts. It aims at capturing the meaning of religious phenomena without committing itself to an analysis of the historical, cultural, social, and psychological settings of those phenomena. It thereby neglects the study of the diachronic, formative processes that give a religious phenomenon its depth and endow it with the colors of real life. In the end, the special sensitivity of the individual phenomenologist is called upon to fill this gap. No doubt there is something valuable in the phenomenologist's capacity for empathy, or *Einführung.* But the historian of religions must attend first and foremost to the fact that the object of his study is a historical object. The dialectical processes of creation and change, development, and even revolution escape the phenomenologist's ahistorical gaze.

It would be a mistake to conclude from the inadequacies of the phenomenologist's method that the proper alternative lies in historicism. On the contrary, historicism, whether in its idealistic or materialistic form, must also be distinguished from the approach of a historian of religions. While religion is a decidedly historical phenomenon, it must not be reduced to history. Historicism makes religion a mere moment in a dialectic that essentially transcends it. This is as true for Hegel as it is for Marx. In addition to these historical forms of reductionism, there are sociological and psychological approaches to religion that are reductive as well. Whatever the particular form, however, all forms of reductionism have in common an appeal to a univocal conception of religion located within a preconceived frame of reference.

It is no solution to counter historical reductionism with an appeal to the irreducible character of religion as perceived by the subjective, experiential sensitivity of the phenomenologist. In both cases, that of the phenomenologist as well as that of the historicist, there is an illegitimate appeal to an *a priori,* preconceived conception of religion. It is this *a priori* character of their respective conceptions of religion that is incompatible with the positive, inductive, comparative-historical approach proper to the historian of religions and to the dialectic that the historian must preserve between his tentative interpretative categories and the ongoing progress of his research.

Theory is equally illegitimate in the history of religions when it is applied in an *a priori,* undialectical manner. Nevertheless, it is not to be rejected out of hand. On the contrary, theory is indispensable when it functions as hypothesis open to verification, revision, or rejection on the basis of empirical research. The distinguished anthropologist E. E. Evans-Pritchard, for example, goes too far in his distrust of theory. He would limit the study of religion to the description of the social and cultural functions of specific religions in order to escape the distortions of general theories of religion. This is overly cautious. In fact, even though theoretical biases are unavoidable, arbitrarily reductive positions can be tested on the basis of positive research and their shortcomings exposed. An excellent example of this is Andrew Lang's criticism of the theory of animism. Using concrete evidence, Lang showed that this theory was reductive in its claim to represent the most archaic form of religion. In fact, the theory was unable to account for the widespread belief in a high god among primitive peoples. This use of empirical, historical evidence to test proposed theories or hypotheses provides ample insurance against the dangers of overextended or reductive generalizations.

So far I have argued that preconceived or *a priori* theories of religion that are not held accountable to the findings of historical research remain outside the dialectic that governs the work of the historian of religions. At most, such theories can function as hypotheses awaiting verification. It may be helpful now to examine the dialectic itself more closely by focusing on the particular problem of the definition of religion. How, if at all, are we to arrive at a clear concept of religion? And how does this concept function in actual research? In raising these questions one is immediately confronted with what at first appears to be a methodological impasse. On the one hand, if such a concept is to escape the problems of an *a priori* characterization of religion, it must itself arise out of actual comparative historical study. On the other hand, it is hard to see how such comparative study is to proceed until this concept is in hand.

The concept of religion. The appearance of an impasse is created by the way in which the problem is posed. If we assume that a concept of religion is at the same time a prerequisite for and a result of comparison, then we are indeed faced with an insurmountable paradox. But this is not the case if we resort to a dialectic that unites the notion with its employment in such a way as to make them mutually dependent. In this case the concept of religion is inductive in origin, and its clarification goes hand in hand with progress in empirical research.

At this point it is clear that an adequate notion of religion is not to be formed through a mere *a priori* selection of data to which research should be extended. The primary problem is not to extend a conception of religion over the widest possible range of material but rather to discover a conception that is adequate to specific historical contexts. The search for a universally adequate definition of religion can lead quickly to a minimal notion of religion, a kind of lowest common denominator with no practical usefulness. Such a univocal definition, which would seek to rank the different religions as so many species under a single genus, is clearly inadequate for a fundamentally empirical discipline. Such a discipline requires conceptual categories that are continuously being created and are always open to further revision in the light of the development of comparative studies. Far from being a univocal concept, the notion of religion that emerges from the continued comparison of new and varied historical materials is an analogical notion.

Things are described analogically when they correspond to each other in certain important respects but differ from one another in other, equally important respects. Analogical notions thus contrast sharply with univocal notions. When we apply the term *vertebrate*, for instance, to a man, a dog, and a crocodile, we are applying it univocally, since the notion of vertebrate is integrally and equally realized in each of these cases. The same cannot be said of analogical notions. When we describe both a feather pillow and our summer's reading as "light," we are speaking analogically, since the quality of lightness applies very differently in each case. To say, then, that the historian of religions must employ the term *religion* analogically rather than univocally means that it cannot be assumed that all the phenomena studied under the rubric of *religion* are all "religious" in the same respect. This is especially true when studies extend beyond the context of closely related cultural milieus.

Now, it is exactly the analogical value of the notion of religion that relieves it of the impossible task of achieving universal extension while remaining responsive to the specifics of history. If the notion of religion is analogical, the aim of research will not be the progressive extension of a univocal concept but the documentation of sets of partial affinities between different systems of belief and practice, which are the segments of the polychromatic network that constitutes the variegated world of religion. It is clear that this procedure is much more in keeping with the comparative-historical aims proper to the history of religions than any merely phenomenological approach. The approach I am describing is meant to remain constantly in touch with the concreteness of its object; facts and sets of facts (historical contexts and processes) are compared directly, without being submitted to an intermediate process of abstract categorization.

If the historian of religions cannot rely on a univocal concept of religion or its deductive use, it follows that he will not be dependent upon philosophy or some metascience for his categories. On the contrary, it is to be expected that comparative-historical research will seek its categories precisely in the historical continuities and discontinuities it studies. The historian of religions is not concerned with facts isolated from their historical contexts and processes but rather with these contexts and processes themselves. The historian of religions aims at discovering the degree and quality of the affinity that exists between religions and that warrants characterizing them as such.

Given the empirical nature of the history of religions and its interpretative categories, and in particular its analogical conception of religion, it becomes apparent that its findings can be neither verified nor falsified through appeals to either *a priori* reasoning or personal convictions. The sole criterion of adequacy becomes empirical. What must be shown is the adequacy of a particular account to the facts it claims to describe, both the facts of a given historical situation and the relationship between one such situation and others. Ultimately, in the comparative context proper to the discipline, this will lead to a principle of holism as the final criterion of adequacy. Accounts will be more adequate as they encompass broader ranges of concrete data.

At this point it may be asked why the concept of religion should be retained at all, even in an analogical sense. Strictly speaking, one could simply refer to various sets of continuities by the use of arbitrary symbols (*x*, *y*, *z*, and so forth). But this analytical procedure would not fit the historical character of the discipline, which is rooted in a cultural milieu and motivated by a specific intellectual interest. It is not by chance that the problem I am analyzing is termed *religion* and not *way*, *law*, or *ethos*, although the latter terms would be equally legitimate labels for comparative study. It is for historical reasons that this particular field is called comparative religion. This does not mean that the validity of the enterprise is merely relative or Eurocentric. It means only that in positing this notion one is conscious that the comparative study of religions began in a particular historical and cultural milieu. It was in this milieu that the term *religion* came to be used in analyzing the problem of continuity and change within systems of belief and ritual behavior. It was in this setting that "true" religion began to be contrasted with the "other" religions. Out of this context arose the history of religions, which rejected the pretense of evaluating different religions normatively (a task, on the other hand, legitimate and unavoidable for philosophy and theology) and instead studied them phenomenologically. On this level it could speak both of the universality of religion, since systems of belief and ritual practice more or less comparable with those in the West can be found everywhere, and of religions in the plural, given the clear differences that distinguish these systems.

These considerations lead us back to the dialectic that is the basis of the comparative-historical methodology proper to the history of religions. The emergence of the notion of religion among Western students of religion was the result of just such a dialectic. This notion was not constructed *a priori* but was already a part of an elaborate cultural and historical milieu that had a Jewish and Christian background. Increased contact with non-Western forms of religious belief and practice initiated the dialectical development just described. This dialectical study continues today as research is progressively extended to new materials, in harmony with the progressively broadened experience of the historian of religions.

This open, dialectical character of comparative historical study will be best served if the actual modalities of this research reflect a consciousness of the analogical character of its categories, especially the category or notion of religion. In this way the distortive effects of the forced employment of univocal terms will be avoided. Dialectical, historical comparison will be free to investigate a wide variety of continuities between different systems of belief and practice without aiming at the reduction of these to a single, comprehensive, univocal referent. The result will be a complex, multidimensional map of religion, a map readable in all directions, on which a given feature or set of features will appear now central, now peripheral. Buddhism, for instance, may appear peripheral when the map is read "theistically" and yet occupy a central place when viewed in terms of its monastic institutions. Similarly, it may appear central when viewed in terms of the widely held belief in transmigration, but more peripheral in its denial of the reality of the transmigrating soul.

Holistic approach. In addition to restricting itself to an analogical use of its interpretative categories in creating such a map of the religious universe, the history of religions must also attempt to be holistic in its approach to its materials. It must study religious beliefs and practices within the specific contexts that give them their full meaning. Within these contexts, functional interpretations will often be of positive value. This is particularly true in the case of simple societies where the functions of religion are relatively undifferentiated from the rest of social life. But the fundamentally analogical character of religion prevents the use of such functional models to explain religion as a whole. As a whole, it remains a concrete whole, and the holisms characteristic of the history of religions must be realized not at the level of univocal theory but at the level of contextualized historical description. This description will aim at the construction of an exhaustive historical typology, a multidimensional map of the actual religious terrain.

The achievement of such an historical typology of religions will result from modalities of historical comparison that must be further specified. In the first place, comparative-historical research in the history of religions must be distinguished from what we may call "idiographic" research, namely, research concentrated on religion in a particular cultural context. Such specific, noncomparative studies are necessary but not sufficient. Nor can the comparative-historical research envisioned here be identified with a systematic, purely formal typology, nor with a phenomenology that neglects issues of origin, growth, and change. The goal is rather the establishment of specific sets of synchronic and diachronic continuities and discontinuities that apply to more than one religion and perhaps to an entire cultural area. In any given case these patterns may be explained either on the basis of cultural diffusion or as the result of independent but parallel developments. In the latter case, parallelism need not signal a unilinear evolution in the history of religions but may rather point to analogies between specific historical and cultural circumstances.

It will often be difficult to decide whether a given pattern is to be explained on the basis of diffusion or parallelism. What is important is to avoid an *a priori* theoretical option in favor of either. This was the mistake of those who, in reaction to the theories of unilinear evolution typical of the nineteenth century, adopted an equally monolithic hypothesis of universal diffusionism. The fact is that one of the major gains in the field of comparative-historical research has been the discovery of partly similar cultural achievements in the field of religion and culture that are not due to phenomena of diffusion, not even stimulus diffusion. A typical example is the birth and diffusion of polytheism. The connection of polytheistic cults and their typical features (such as theogony, theomachy, specialized sanctuaries and priesthoods, anthropomorphic and hypermorphic gods, etc.) with what are known as archaic high cultures is too evident to be overlooked. It is impossible at the present day to explain all such connections solely on the basis of diffusion, even though a diffusionist hypothesis remains obligatory in some well-defined cases (as, for instance, in the case of the widespread cultural and religious diffusion of cuneiform literature).

HISTORICAL TYPOLOGY OF RELIGION. Having dwelt on some methodological issues concerning the history of religions as a comparative-historical discipline, I shall turn now to a brief overview of the subject matter of this discipline, that is, to the presentation of a concise and inevitably selective historical typology of religion. But first a few preliminary remarks on earlier attempts to map the most general features of the religions may be in order.

In such earlier attempts we meet with notions that owe much to the different cultural epochs in which they were conceived and to the different theories of the origin and development of religion current at the time. Many of these notions are a legacy of philosophical and theological discussion. The best example here is the concept of monotheism, especially as contrasted with polytheism, deism, and pantheism. Many more concepts, including animism, preanimism, animatism, manism, and—more ancient than these—fetishism, owe their origin to the positivistic evolutionary theories typical of the nineteenth century. All of these notions were conceived as expressing primitive or archaic stages of religious thought. As such they presupposed a view of religion as primarily concerned with the mental representation of reality. The cultic and ethical aspects of religion were underestimated, as well as the structural and historical complexities of so-called primitive forms of religion (and it was particularly on primitive religions that the new history of religions discipline focused). This rather exclusive emphasis on the conceptual aspect of religion was typical of nineteenth-century anthropology and should be distinguished from what we may call its rational aspect, which had been emphasized both by Scholastic theology and by the Deism of the eighteenth century. These one-sided excesses of the past should serve as a *caveat* for today's historian of religions. This does not mean, however, that attention to the conceptual dimensions of religion should be lessened or arbitrarily reduced in turn.

A very different but equally problematical approach to the study of religion, one mentioned above, was the descriptive and interpretative tendency associated with the familiar concepts of "the holy" and "the numinous," a tendency already in existence before Rudolf Otto's famous book *The Idea of the Holy* (1917, first German edition) gave it a permanent place in religious studies. This new tendency was the opposite of the analytical and conceptual approach just mentioned, and this difference was clearly expressed by Otto's refusal to conceptualize the experience of the holy or to trace it to a specific source, such as God, the gods, spirits, or anything else. Otto's analysis of the essence of religion as the experience of the holy was focused on terms such as *immortality*, *freedom*, or *the absolute*. According to him, man is made intuitively aware of the transcendent reality to which these terms refer through his experience of their opposites on earth. Apart from the similarities of this kind of argument with the ontological argument for the existence of God found in some medieval and modern philosophical systems, the historian of religions must question whether such negative characterizations of the holy are as universal as Otto believed. In fact, they appear to be intertwined, from the point of view of both history and metaphysics, with peculiar notions concerning God, the divine, and religious values, both on the individual level and, as Walter Baetke aptly pointed out, on the social level.

A historical typology of religion should avoid the danger of employing a merely analytical and classificatory conceptualization, particularly if this is intended to reduce the issue of religious ideas and experiences to an issue of mental representations, or to the so-called *imaginaire*. It should also avoid reliance on selective intuitions in the guise of a scientific phenomenology of religion. Both attitudes ultimately prove to be reductive and ethnocentric. As was made clear in the previous section, a historical typology of religion will serve to map specific sets of analogically related affinities that are neither merely conceptual nor phenomenological but in the best sense historical.

Viewed historically, then, religions can be divided into two broad groups, and this divison will provide the general framework for a genuinely historical typology. This initial division is between those religions that are described as ethnic and those that are founded.

Ethnic religions. Ethnic religions are a part of the culture of a people and do not owe their origin to a historical founder. No single individual has endowed these religious traditions with the unmistakable impress of his personality. Rather, ethnic religions are historical formations that are originally indistinguishable from the formation processes of the cultures and populations to which they belong. Ethnic religions are not restricted to tribal or nonliterate cultures. They may also be found in highly developed literate cultures. Their exact character, which may thus range from unitary to syncretistic, depends upon specific cultural and historical circumstances.

The historical character of ethnic religions, including those of nonliterate cultures, requires that they be studied holistically. Their actual contents and functions in the epochs and contexts for which there is documentary evidence must be closely examined. This must be done without losing sight of the changes and adaptations that these traditions undergo in the course of time, due to internal, developmental tendencies or to influences and stimuli coming from outside.

The fact that even nonliterate ethnic religions are parts of a larger world means that the purely descriptive or "idiographic" study of these traditions cannot do without a comparative outlook. Comparison becomes inevitable when the scholar's attention is drawn to the cross-cultural affinities or "family resemblances" that link the cultural and religious expressions of different countries and areas.

Approaches to comparison. Two main approaches to comparison may be distinguished in the history of religions. The first developed in the nineteenth century, and the other took shape at the end of that century and at the beginning of the twentieth. Each of these warrants a brief discussion before I continue.

The first approach, practiced in the nineteenth century, was inseparably linked to evolutionary thought and to the elaboration of general theories concerning the origins and the growth of religion on a world scale. It was on this basis that notions such as animism and animatism were introduced into what was understood to be scientific research (hence the German name of this field, still with us, of *Religionswissenschaft*). These notions were intended to apply cross-culturally, indeed universally. There is no need to repeat what I have already said about the negative reductive tendencies implicit in such an approach. It was of course highly reductive and arbitrary, insofar as its unilinear evolutionist presuppositions were effective. But it also had some positive effects, inasmuch as it made possible the identification of conceptual, ritual, behavioral, and ethical affinities or continuities that transcended such older categories as idolatry, paganism, and superstition, which were no longer suitable for a descriptive approach.

The rise of a descriptive phenomenology of religion contributed to a further refinement of these new patterns. Take, for instance, the case of the notion of shamanism. Once shamanism was differentiated from the generic notion of animism and considered not only as a peculiar element of religious behavior but also as an element of a structure implying a cosmology and a worldview, it could contribute to the transition from an evolutionistic outlook too fond of concepts and representations to a cultural-historical study based on the discovery of cultural wholes and cultural areas. In other words, the elaboration of a more rigorous, multidimensional, and descriptive phenomenology of religion allowed the history of religions (*Religionswissenschaft*) to survive the inevitable crisis of evolutionism and its universal and unilinear stages and to enter a more rewarding phase characterized by a new form of comparison, namely cultural-historical comparison.

This new form of comparison proved effective when, at the beginning of the twentieth century, cultural-historical research was able to concentrate on area studies, as in the pioneering works of Bernhard Ankermann and Leo Frobenius (on Africa), Fritz Graebner (on Oceania), and Franz Boas (on the North Pacific). On this basis it was possible to connect phenomenological and historical research in the study of a particular group of ethnic religions belonging to nonliterate cultures. In this way the originally negative term *nonliterate* acquired positive content. Nonliterate ethnic traditions became definable on the basis of undeniable categorical continuities (e.g., shamanism) that were at the same time specific to particular areas. As a result, the so-called primitive religions ceased to be studied in terms of a procrustean bed of an alleged, indiscriminate primitivism. Such attributions now had to be demonstrated on the basis of cultural-historical inquiry. In this way the study of nonliterate religions entered with full rights into the field of religio-historical research proper. At the same time, the historian of religions was not obliged to renounce his fundamental interest in comparison and (where appropriate) study of historical development, two aspects that had been neglected by the heirs of the older anthropological methods and the practitioners of an exclusively functional social anthropological research.

High cultures. I have already noted that ethnic religions are found among literate as well as nonliterate cultures. In particular, the high cultures of antiquity produced ethnic religious traditions that make special demands on the historian. Study of them requires a philological competence that clearly excludes any simplistic or superficially phenomenological approach. It remains true, however, that even the historian of religions lacking such specialized knowledge can still contribute to a fuller understanding of these religions on the basis of his typological-historical experience. Take, as an example, the discovery of some of the classical characteristics of the demiurgic trickster in such diverse figures as the Greek Prometheus, the ancient Egyptian Seth, and Yurugu, also named Ogo, of the Dogon of West Africa. This discovery and the accompanying insight into the dualistic cosmology that provides the backdrop for such figures would have been impossible for the classicist or Egyptologist working only within his own speciality. It resulted rather from the comparative method of the historian of religions. This comparative approach can be particularly successful in the comparison of the mythologies of cultures that belong to the same subcontinent but have had different histories. It could, for instance, be expected to shed much light on the difficult question of the relationships between ancient Egyptian culture and other African cultures, both in the sense of an African substratum of Egyptian culture and of an Egyptian influence on sub-Saharan Africa.

Another fascinating problem for comparative research concerns the continuities and discontinuities between the nonliterate cultures and religions on the one hand and the high cultures and their religious systems on the other. Given the differences that exist between them as well as the differences that exist within the respective traditions themselves, the question of their mutual interrelationships becomes quite complex. Particularly important is the question of the partial continuities that exist between the high gods of some nonliterate cultures and the heavenly deities who head the pantheons of some of the typical polytheistic formations in the high cultures of antiquity. This kind of partial continuity, which sometimes extends to founded and universalistic religions as well (as in the case of the God of heaven among the Israelites and the high divinity of pre-Islamic Arabia), is one of the most interesting phenomena in the history of religions.

Monotheism and polytheism. Closely connected to the question of continuities between cultures is the question of the exact nature of monotheism. This question has been the subject of a long debate within the history of religions. Some have claimed to find monotheism in the religions of nonliterate cultures, particularly among hunters and gatherers. Others, in contrast, have viewed it as a late phenomenon in the process of evolution, or even, as Raffaele Pettazzoni put it, as a revolutionary stance against a preceding form of polytheism. Actually these alternatives cannot be formulated so rigidly. The explicit and polemical formulations of monotheism that we find in the Bible and the Qurʾān have little in common with the high gods of contemporaneous nonliterate cultures. Although the latter are not necessarily *dei otiosi*, severed from the cult and from the world of men, they are nevertheless far from the intense dynamism of the God of the Bible and the Qurʾān. It must be admitted that not all religious complexes extraneous to polytheism are *ipso facto* monotheistic. The most developed polytheistic systems did not "evolve" in the direction of monotheism, nor did they express a revolutionary movement in that direction. Rather, they tended to become progressively monistic, elaborating the notion of a deity who is "polyonymous" (as is Isis in the aretalogies of the Hellenistic period) or is *pantheos*, a god containing all the gods. In its most mature form, such a deity was conceived as "theopantistic," that is, as identical with the cosmos and at the same time transcending it. Such is the picture of Zeus presented in an Orphic poem: "Zeus is the beginning (or head), Zeus is the middle, from Zeus all things came into existence," or in a fragment of Aeschylus: "Zeus is all these things, and what is beyond them." This assessment of Zeus bears comparison with the theopantistic speculation concerning the figure of Purusa in Vedic India.

It is important to realize that polytheism, as a historical type of religion, is much more specific than a merely formal notion of a plurality of gods. In fact, polytheism is not found in all types of culture, but is specifically linked to the high cultures of antiquity (and also to some in modern times, particularly in East and South Asia). These cultures characteristically possess an advanced form of cereal agriculture and show a degree of social stratification, with an attendant differentiation of classes, professions (including scribes), a priesthood and nobility, established sanctuaries, and the like. The cosmos itself is represented as having a departmental organization. Such cultures are found in the ancient Mediterranean area, and in West, South, and East Asia. Further instances can be found in the Nordic countries of Europe, in Central America and Peru, in the medieval kingdoms of the Sudan (owing to Mediterranean influences), and to an extent in Polynesia. The social and historical specificity of polytheism as a religious type would seem to require that opposition between it and monotheism become acute only in particular historical and religious situations. Such situations include the historical emergence of the Hebrew people and their religion in the Near East, the vogue of the cult of Ahura Mazda in Iran, the rise and diffusion of Christianity in the Mediterranean world, and the preaching of Muhammad against the religion of the pre-Islamic Arabs. Clearly, the problem of polytheism and its relation to monotheism is not to be solved on the basis of a general phenomenological "stratigraphy" of religion and its main forms, any more than it was solved by a unilinear evolutionism. It is not a question of relative anteriority between polytheism and monotheism, homogeneous in themselves, but of specific, noninterchangeable historical formations that can interact with different types of religious and cultural organization. Monotheistic formations may present themselves either as immemorial tradition, as a novelty, or as the message of the one God and his triumph over false deities. Other formations could have evolved into pantheons that inspired and also reflected the complex organization of the high cultures of antiquity. Roman religion, for instance, is the product of many different cultural influences, having been almost completely reshaped in the course of time on the basis of long-lasting Greek influence (particularly in its pantheon). Nevertheless, it never lost its continuity with its most primitive expressions. Among these was the notion of a heavenly god, Jupiter, who had an Indo-European heritage. This god was to dominate Roman religion under the name of Optimus Maximus, yet this did not prevent him from being assimilated to the supreme god of the Greek pantheon, Zeus, and to all types of religious, ethical, philosophical, and symbolic notions.

I have already had occasion to note that the general type that I have identified as ethnic religions and contrasted with founded religions admits of a certain amount of internal diversity. Thus ethnic religions need not be those of nonliterate tribal societies but may also be found in more complex literate societies. I shall now introduce two further subtypes of ethnic religions, those that are scriptural and those that are national.

Scriptural and national religions. Some ethnic religions are in fact characterized by the existence of sacred scriptures, organized on the basis of a "canon." Acceptance of these is considered an essential aspect of religious affiliation. The outstanding example is the function of the Vedas in Hinduism. Ethnic religions possessing scriptures exist in a situation midway between the nonscriptural religions of tribal societies, where religious affiliation is indistinguishable from the simple fact of social life, and at the other extreme, the universal religions, where the individual as such becomes a convert to the "good news" of a prophetic message written down in a book.

Another important subtype among ethnic religions is that of the national religions, those cults that promote a national and political consciousness. This is the case with state Shinto as practiced in some periods of Japanese history, with some forms of Hinduism, with Zoroastrianism in the Sasanid empire, and with the official cults in ancient Rome, such as the cult of Capitoline Jupiter and the cult of the emperor. It must be added that some of the founded religions may initially embrace a national outlook. Islam, for instance, may have been conceived originally as a prophetic message addressed to the Arab nation, although, to be sure, it is considered to be the final form of the historical revelation of God. The situation is similar in Judaism, whose universalism was mediated through the entire course of Hebrew history. There were also particular occasions when Christianity, though possessed of a universalist message, became bound up with specific national, cultural, and political interests, as, for instance, those of the Byzantine empire.

Founded religions. I shall now look more closely at the founded religions, which include, in addition to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, the religions of Zarathushtra (Zoroaster) and the Buddha, the religion of the Sikhs, and, with certain qualifications, the plethora of prophetic-nativistic cults and the "new religions." These traditions, which all trace their origin to a specific historical founder, raise fundamental historical questions. When a religion is founded, this obviously takes place in a cultural milieu already characterized by specific religious notions and institutions. The relation of the prophet or founder and his original followers to this milieu may vary considerably, depending on whether the preceding religious environment had been predominantly of the ethnic type or had already known prophets and forerunners. In general there is a vivid sense of novelty in the foundation of these religions, sometimes even a revolutionary novelty. The founder nevertheless often conceives his mission as in part a restoration of primordial values long since lost. In some cases this question of partial continuity is decisive and helps illuminate the religious quality of the founder's message. This can be seen in the case of Buddhism. Many of the notions fundamental to Buddhist doctrine, such as *dharma*, *karman*, *saṃsāra*, and *mokṣa*, already played an important religious role in India at the time of the Buddha. An understanding of the Buddha's appropriation and modification of these terms is thus of great importance for a typological assessment of his message as a "religious" message, bound up with the religious traditions that preceded him.

Among the founded religions the universal religions stand out as a definite subtype. These religions are based on a universal message of salvation, not limited to any particular group, ethnic or otherwise. They are characterized both by eschatological and otherworldly perspectives and by strong this-worldly ethical and social commitments. Their message is addressed to the individual and demands conversion and adherence to a religious community that, in sociological terms, may be described as a church. This community typically undergoes a rapid initial expansion, sometimes suffers persecution, and actively engages in missionary activities aimed at making new converts. These characteristics clearly distinguish the universal religions from the ethnic and national religions, even though, as noted above, universal religions may occasionally become closely associated with specific cultures.

The emphasis on a universal message and personal conversion in response to it, an emphasis that transcends all racial and social barriers, differentiates the universalistic religions from the cults of antiquity that were sometimes their rivals. These cults, such as the mystery religions, would be better described as cosmopolitan rather than universal. Unlike commitment to any of the universal religions, participation in such cults could coexist with whatever other religious commitments an individual might have had, such as to the gods of the tribe, city, or state; the universal religions, however, demanded the individual's total allegiance.

This contrast becomes less clear in the case of the syncretistic tendencies found at the popular levels of the universal religions. Christianity and Islam, for instance, have been influenced, in some of their popular or ethnic manifestations in South America and Africa respectively, by local traditions of animism or "spiritism." The same lack of a clear differentiation between the universal and the local is found in the prophetic-nativistic cults that reinterpret the message of the great universal religions in strictly local terms, although not infrequently these same cults are inimical to preexisting forms of local magic and sorcery.

The case of Buddhism is somewhat unique. Although it displays many of the features that were attributed above to the universal religions, it nevertheless resembles the mystery cults of antiquity in its ability to coexist, in the belief system of a single individual and in a single cultural milieu, with other forms of locally preexistent religious belief and practice. This is especially evident in contemporary Japan, where a single individual may have a double allegiance to Buddhism and Shinto, according to the circumstances. The rather peculiar status of the universalism of Buddhism is linked to the equally peculiar status of Buddhism as a "religion."

Finally, another historical type of religion is comprised of those mysteriosophic (i.e., Orphic) and Gnostic movements of antiquity and the Middle Ages that drew heavily on the universal religions of Christianity, Islam, and Zoroastrianism, borrowing many of their basic terms but totally reshaping them to suit their own needs. This procedure is found as well in the scientistic theosophy of some contemporary Gnostics, whose reinterpretations of the basic tenets of different religions are for the most part superficial.

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HITTITE RELIGION.

The exact origin of the Hittites, an Indo-European people, is not known. Invading Asia Minor from the east, by the middle of the second millennium BCE they had established an empire covering the greater part of that region. Their empire declined after 1200 BCE, owing to Indo-European invasions and the growing power of Assyria.

NAMES OF GODS. Knowledge about Hittite society, culture, and religion has increased since the deciphering of their cuneiform writing, on clay tablets found early in the twentieth century CE at Bogazköy (in Turkey). Hittite society was ethnically and linguistically diverse, with Hattian, Hurrian, and even some Semitic elements, and this diversity is evident in the divine names.

The earliest identifiable stratum is the Hattian. The Hattians were resident in central Anatolia before the Indo-European Hittites arrived. They had a long tradition of settled urban life. It is understandable that a people open to influences from its neighbors, as the Hittites were, would early adopt the worship of Hattian deities. Because the Hattic language is still very poorly understood, one can only partially understand the meanings of the divine names. Some are common nouns for elements of nature: *Eshtan* ("sun, day") *Izzishtanu* ("favorable day"), *Kashku* ("moon"), *Kait* ("grain"). Others denote status: *Kattahha* ("queen"), *Wurunkatte* ("king of the land"), *Shulinkatte* ("king of the *suli*"), *Kattishhabi* ("king god"), *Teteshhawi* ("great god").

The Hurrian language is better understood than Hattic. Still, because the number of Hurrian words that can be translated is not large, it is not possible to interpret many Hurrian divine names. The influence of Sumerian and Akkadian religious vocabulary and divine epithets is obvious. Aya, Ishhara, Ellil (Enlil), Anu, and Alalu were originally Mesopotamian deities.

NATURE OF DEITY. In Hittite art the gods were depicted either by their animal totems or anthropomorphically. The texts concur in depicting them in human terms. Gods needed to eat, drink, sleep, and exercise. They needed companionship, ego-building, and love (including sexual intercourse). They made mistakes through lack of knowledge. They could be deceived. They needed to be informed by others. Each possessed a specialized skill that put him in demand by both mortals and other gods. In myths gods were born and died (i. e., were killed). But very little, if anything, indicates that they aged or became senile. That what they did was not always just or fair is clear from the prayers, in which the human petitioner chides them for mistakes and pleads for fair treatment. Although no god was omniscient, some possessed very wide knowledge and every god was superior to humans in knowledge. In instructions to priests and temple officials, mortals who thought to conceal their offenses from a god were warned of the futility of the attempt. Although every god was more powerful than any mortal, none was omnipotent, and degrees of power were quite diverse among them.

FUNCTIONS OF A DEITY. As each mortal had his rank and function in human society, so each deity had his position and role, not only among his fellow deities but in concourse with humanity and the cosmos.

General functions. While it is not possible to completely reconstruct the hierarchy of Hittite deities, it is clear that in convocations of gods certain figures naturally assumed leadership. In the Old Hittite vanishing-god myths it is the storm god who presides. But although he presides, he is not always able to enforce his will on the other gods. He must ask advice, plead his case, and seek volunteers for missions. Occasionally he is able to command another figure.

Hierarchical organization is also seen in the New Hittite pantheon. There is a fixed sequence in the god-lists in the state treaties, and there is an order of both gods and goddesses in the processional reliefs at Yazilikaya, near Bogazköy. In the myths *Kingship in Heaven* and *The Kingship of the God Lamma* may be seen how rival factions fight over the position of king of the gods. The god Lamma boasts that his exalted position allows him to control the other gods. In the prayers of Hattusilis III and of his queen, Puduhepa, lower-ranked gods are requested to present the mortals' prayers favorably to their superiors in the pantheon. To be sure, the question is not entirely one of rank. The intercessor god is usually a favorite child or grandchild of the senior god. Indeed, the hierarchy described is that of a large, extended family in which the patriarch and matriarch possess considerable power to direct their descendants and the descendants of their brothers and sisters.

In their prayers the Hittites reminded the gods that they required worshipers who would bring regular food-offerings; thus it was in their own interest that they protect and bless the community of faithful worshipers. But aside from this maintenance of the cult, mortal assistance was rarely needed by the gods. In a mythological context one sees examples in the two versions of the Illuyanka myth. The disabled storm god must be helped to vanquish his adversary, the great serpent Illuyanka. On the divine level he is assisted by the goddess Inara. She in turn, for no obvious reason, needs the help of the mortal Hupashiya, which she bargains for by consenting to have sexual intercourse with him. But though she subsequently lives with him as a sex partner, she dominates him completely and apparently punishes his unfaithfulness to her with death. Outside of the mythological texts, when a god needed the service of a mortal he revealed himself through omen, oracle, or dream. His request was always viewed as a command, which could not be ignored.

Gods "served" mortals by ensuring material prosperity, protecting them from enemies and natural catastrophes, hearing their prayers, making known to them their sins, and forgiving them (sometimes after a punishment). Although the Hittites apparently believed in an afterlife, at least for their kings and queens, there is no evidence that they prayed or made sacrifices in order to obtain life after death or a better quality of existence in that afterlife.

Specialized functions. Just as there were storm gods who sent rain and winds to fertilize the crops and make them prosper, so there were deities of grain and vineyards, deities of the rivers who gave water for irrigation, deities of springs, deities of the forest, and deities of wildlife who gave success in hunting. Under the influence of Mesopotamian concepts, the sun god Ishtanu was the all-seeing dispenser of justice to humans and even to animals. There were war gods (the Zababa type) who gave victory to the Hittite armies. There was a god who could confer invisibility on the Hittite troops and enable them to attack the enemy by surprise. There were deities who sent and withdrew plagues, both upon the Hittites and their enemies. There were deities of human sexual potency. And although one might ask one's personal god for any of these boons, there were divine specialists for many tasks.

PANTHEON. The Hittites called the aggregate of gods and goddesses "the thousand gods," and there may indeed have been that many. The total number of divine names known from the tablets and inscriptions is slightly more than six hundred, a total arrived at by culling the entire written corpus. The number of deities worshiped in any one Hittite city or town would be much smaller. Lists of divine names are found in state treaties, where the gods of both contracting parties are invoked to ensure that the oaths taken will be kept. Divine names are sometimes listed together with offerings to be made to them either at a particular festival or during the course of a year. In the famous imperial sanctuary at Yazilikaya, carved in low relief on the walls of the sanctuary, is a dual procession of gods and goddesses, the males proceeding from left to right and the females from right to left, with the chief male and female deities meeting at the architectural focus point. The total number of divine figures in the preserved parts of the two processions is seventy-one. This assemblage represents the official imperial pantheon of the last half century of the Hittite kingdom. It is a completely Hurrianized pantheon, with deities of the Hattian and Hittite-Luwian strata syncretized, where possible, with Hurrian deities. This process of syncretism made possible a considerable reduction in the total number of deities, because several could be included under one (in this case, Hurrian) name. Other divine names in the inscriptions may represent either gods without a cult (e.g. purely literary figures) or gods from cult sites away from the capital who were never admitted into the official state cult.

MYTHOLOGY. Mythological texts in the Hittite language may be subdivided into two groups: those of Anatolian origin and those of foreign origin. Myths deriving from Old Hittite originals are all Anatolian. The deities who figure in the Old Hittite Telepinu and Illuyanka myths and the other disappearing-god myths are a mix of what Emmanuel Laroche calls Hattian and Asianic. The myth of the moon falling from heaven occurs in both a Hattic and a Hittite version. There is very little about the Hittite version that linguistically recalls Old Hittite, yet it is surely possible that a long tradition of recopying has removed almost all traces of its original Old Hittite language. Although Kamrushepa is a Hittite replacement for the original Hattic name of this goddess of magic, there is no reason to doubt that the myths in which she figures also belong to this Hattian group. All of the Anatolian myths are associated with incantations or rituals. The myths of non-Anatolian origin are all post-Old Hittite. They are generally independent of any incantation or ritual. One exception is the Ashertu myth, part of which describes a ritual to exorcize and purify Baal.

Vanishing-god myths. These myths, the best known of which is about the god Telepinu, are paradigms for dealing with natural catastrophes such as drought, blight, and diseases affecting livestock. The god who disappears must be located, appeased, and brought back. On the mythological level this is accomplished by nonhuman agents. The bee searches for, finds, and stings awake the sleeping god. The goddess Kamrushepa carries out a ritual to appease him. When transferred to the real world of those who are suffering from such a catastrophe, the search for the missing god entails a determination by oracle of which god is angry. Texts recording such oracular inquiry are extremely common in the New Hittite period, but have now been identified in the Old Hittite script, showing that his procedure was probably as common in the earlier period as in the later one. The pacification and return of the god is accomplished by a magic ritual of the type called *mugawar* in Hittite. Directions for such *mugawar*s accompany the vanishing-god myths; other *mugawar*s are described in ritual texts. It is a characteristic ritual form among the Hittites.

Illuyanka myths. Two stories on the same tablet are about the conflict between the storm god and his antagonist, the great serpent Illuyanka. *Illuyanka* is in fact not a name but a common noun, meaning "serpent" or "snake." But this particular reptile is clearly large and strong enough to have once defeated and disabled the storm god. In both stories the initially defeated storm god secures the help of a mortal who utilizes a trick to help the storm god triumph in his return match with the reptile. In the first version the goddess Inara and her mortal partner, Hupashiya, make Illuyanka and his brood drunk so that they cannot go back down into their hole in the ground. While they are helplessly drunk, Hupashiya ties them up, and when the storm god comes he is able to kill them. In the second version the storm god's own son by a mortal woman marries the daughter of Illuyanka and apparently uses his right as a son-in-law to ask a gift from Illuyanka. He receives his father's eyes and heart, which he passes on to the storm god. Renewed in his powers, the storm god defeats Illuyanka.

Like the vanishing-god myths, these two stories express natural catastrophes in the mythological terms of a disabled storm god. The disabled god is incapable of restoring himself and needs mortal cooperation, which is but a mythological counterpart of the actual mortal activity in the realm of magic rituals. The breakdown in nature is expressed mythologically as a giant serpent that must be subdued and killed. Reptiles are not a common symbol of evil in Hittite, but it is a fact that in the New Hittite myth of Hedammu a giant reptile is opposed by the goddess Ishtar. Unlike other Hittite myths, the first version of the Illuyanka story is localized, through the mention of the land of Tarukka, in north-central Anatolia. The second version takes place near an unnamed sea.

Kumarbi cycle. The theme of this group of stories is kingship among the gods. In *Kingship in Heaven* kingship is first held by Alalu, one of a previous generation of gods, who at the time of the Hittite storyteller are envisaged as dwelling in the netherworld and who bear the name "former gods." After a mere nine years of reign Alalu is driven from his throne by his erstwhile cupbearer, Anu, and he takes refuge in the netherworld. Alalu's own son, Kumarbi, becomes Anu's cupbearer for nine years. Then Anu and Kumarbi do battle, and Kumarbi drives his father's usurper from the throne. Because Anu (Sum., An) was the god of the sky, he tries to escape to the sky. But Kumarbi catches him, drags him down, and emasculates him by biting off and swallowing his genitals. Anu curses Kumarbi and prophesies the birth, from the swallowed genitals, of the god who will ultimately displace Kumarbi. Because Kumarbi is Alalu's son, he hopes to prevent his own removal by Anu's issue. This is the motivation for the emasculation. But fate cannot be denied. The genitals produce in Kumarbi several gods who are "born" from him, one of whom is Teshub, the storm god, who eventually deposes Kumarbi. In the *Song of Ullikummi* the deposed Kumarbi produces issue of his own, a great stone monster conceived by his intercourse with a huge rock, to depose and destroy Teshub. Another myth in this cycle, the *Kingship of Lamma,* also treats the theme of kingship among the gods. Thus the entire cycle of Kumarbi myths deals with struggle among the gods for supremacy.

Tales of Appu, the Cow and the Fisherman, and the Hunter Keshshi. These stories, of which unfortunately only a portion is preserved, were edited almost forty years ago as Hurrian tales in Hittite translation. But it is now known that only the Keshshi story has a Hurrian background. No names in the Appu story, either of gods or humans, are Hurrian, although the geographical setting appears to be somewhere to the east of Mesopotamia. Nor is there any indication of Hurrian elements in the *Cow and the Fisherman.* The fisherman's city is Urma, which is unlocalized. Keshshi marries a woman with the Hurrian name Shintalimeni, whose brother is Udubsharri. The theme of the Appu story is twofold: (1) One cannot escape the fate that marks one at birth; and (2) although evil appears to prevail for a time, the justice of the gods will ultimately triumph. Appu has two sons, to whom the names Unjust and Just are given, and they grow up to fulfill their names. Unjust takes advantage of Just until their case comes to the attention of the gods. And although the end of the story is on a part of the tablet that has broken away, the short prooemium introducing the story predicts the end: The gods always vindicate the just and destroy the unjust.

Not enough is preserved of the *Cow and Fisherman* to discern a theme. Very little is preserved also of the Keshshi story, but it appears that Keshshi has angered the gods by neglecting their cult and doting on his new wife, and that he will suffer for this.

Baal, Elkunirsha, and Ashertu. This West Semitic myth about three deities, familiar from the Ugartic myths and the Old Testament, was somewhat inaccurately translated into Hittite. Clues to the wording of the West Semitic original can be found in those places where *parallelismus membrorum* in the original was distorted in translation. The story iteself resembles the incident of the patriarch Joseph and Potiphar's wife. Ashertu propositions Baal, and when he refuses, she threatens to get even. He reports the incident to her husband, Elkunirsha, who gives him permission to humble her. He does so, telling her that he has killed her sons. Thereupon Ashertu laments their death and eventually becomes reconciled to Elkunirsha, even turning him against Baal. Ishtar (Astarte), Baal's sister, overhears them plotting against her brother and flies "like a bird" to meet him in the desert, where she warns him. There the tablet breaks off, leaving the narrative unfinished. An attached ritual describes the purification of Ball, which probably followed some injury to him connected with this plot.

THE HITTITE TEMPLE. Six Hittite temples have been excavated at Bogazköy. In addition to the cella, where the cult image of the deity was found, each contained a number of rooms that were used to house the permanent personnel and to store temple revenues. Each temple had a central courtyard. Worshipers crossing the courtyard from the temple entrance passed through a portico into the cella, which apparently could accommodate only priests and a small number of worshipers. Some larger temples, such as the principal temple in the lower city at Bogazköy (Temple I), may have contained two or more cellae and therefore housed the cult images of more than one god. In the terminology of the texts, therefore, going from the "house" of god A to the "house" of god B might have been possible without leaving the confines of a single multiroomed structure.

As in other cultures, the Hittite temple—through its craftsmen personnel, its real estate farmed by sharecroppers, and its shares of booty taken by the king in battle—generated a large amount of revenue. Because of the lack of private economic documents, it cannot be discerned whether in Hatti, as in Babylonia, the temple served as a lending agency, similar to a modern bank. It is not, however, improbable that it did so.

Cult images. Although, thanks to rock reliefs depicting Hittite gods and goddesses, researchers have some idea of the appearance of their cult images, these latter (being made of precious metals, which would have been carried off by the destroyers of Bogazköy) have not survived. Small images in gold or silver have indeed survived, but the full-size cult images that stood in the temple cella have not. About these there is information in the inventory texts called statue descriptions, which give a fairly good idea of the appearance of the statues. Here is a quoted example.

> The Storm God of Invocation: a gold statue of a standing man with wings coming out of his shoulders. In his right hand he holds a gold ax. In his left hand a gold symbol of good. He stands on an *awiti*-animal, its teeth plated with silver, its chest plated with gold. To the left and right of the wings stand [the attendant goddesses] Ninatta and Kulitta. The Storm God of the Sky: a gold-plated statue of a seated man. In his right hand he holds a *hattalla*-club. In his left hand he holds a gold symbol of good. On top of two mountain gods, portrayed as standing men, silver-plated. Underneath is a silver base. Two silver rhytons. . . . The Storm God of the House: a silver model of a bull's head and neck, facing forward. . . . The Warrior God (Zababa): a silver statue of a standing man. In his right hand he holds a *tukul*-mace. In his left hand he holds a shield. Underneath stands a lion. Under the lion is a silver-plated base . . . one silver *ashshuzeri*-vessel. He has no attendant. Sun God of the Sky: a silver statue of a seated man. On his head are silver fishes. Beneath him is a wooden base.

From reports of oracle inquiries one learns that the god was thought to be angered when the platings of gold and silver on his statue became worn. When an oracle indicated this, the king had to instruct goldsmiths or silversmiths to replate the image.

Temple personnel. Periodically, the king commissioned a census of the temples of the realm. Each city, town, or village was listed with its deities and temple(s). For each deity the census listed two types of male clergy and one type of female clergy. If for any reason a sanctuary lost any of its quota of clergy, it was restaffed. A small staff of two or three clergy was necessary even for a small sanctuary; in the main temple at Bogazköy there were many more. No term corresponding to *high priest* is known in Hittite, but a presiding official for the large, urban temples must have existed.

The larger temples also maintained a staff of craftsmen. A list of the craftsmen employed in the main temple at Bogazköy enumerates goldsmiths and silversmiths, potters, leatherworkers, stonecutters, engravers, weavers, kitchen personnel, and various kinds of musicians. They lived and worked in a precinct just south of the main temple complex. Surviving texts describe the elaborate measures taken to ensure the ritual purity of these temple workers and their counterparts who served the needs of the king. Temple watchmen patrolled the precincts night and day to guard against fire and the intrusion of unwanted "unclean" animals. Visitors had to be escorted by temple guards from the main entrance to their appointments inside the temple and back to the exit once their business was done. Unauthorized persons were not allowed access to the holy precincts. In general, foreigners were not allowed in the Hittite temple; only privileged foreigners, perhaps ambassadors at the court, were allowed admittance under special circumstances.

Cultus. As stated above, the gods were treated like rich and powerful men. The description of the transporting of the images uses verbs inappropriate to the transporting of living persons, indicating that the Hittites were well aware that the image was not in fact the god but merely symbolized his presence. Still, the image was treated with the same deference that would be paid to any important personage. It was put to bed at night in the god's bedroom. In the morning it was aroused, washed and groomed, presented with food, and brought out to its cult platform for the day's round of receiving visitors (priests, dignitaries, and so on). On festival days it was put on a litter and carried through the streets to a pleasant meadow outside the city, where ceremonies, prayers, offerings, and even music, acrobatics, and games were performed to entertain the deity. The invisible divine beings symbolized by these statues were also viewed as leading a busy and active life. Ritual prayers invoking their presence in times of great need recognized that the god in question might have gone on a journey to the mountains or even to some foreign land.

No extant tablet contains the entire cultic calendar for the temples of Bogazköy. Texts describing festivals, however, make it evident that the busiest seasons of the year for festivals were fall and spring. The summer was occupied with harvesting and with the king's annual military campaigns. In the winter it was too cold for the outside activity often required at festivals, although it is now known that the Festival of the Year took place toward the end of the winter. There exist elaborate descriptions of some of the major festivals and lists naming many other festivals about which relatively little is known. The personal participation of the king (and sometimes also the queen) was very important. At times of military crisis a king might even have to leave command of the armies to a subordinate in order to return to Bogazköy to celebrate a religious festival. Not to do so constituted an unforgivable affront to the gods that could prove disastrous.

The activities of worship were prayer (addressing the god either to invoke, praise, or petition him), sacrifice (presenting to the god gifts of food and drink), and entertainment (music, games, reciting myths). The musical instruments were drums, stringed and reed instruments, and horns. Singing was done in any of various languages, depending upon the deity's ethnolinguistic background: Hattic, Luwian, Hittite, Palaic, Hurrian, or Babylonian. In the cult of the Hattian gods a lead singer and a chorus sang antiphonally. Hattian deities were addressed in worship under two names: the name used among mortals and that among the gods.

The premise underlying all Hittite prayer is that gods thought like mortals and could be influenced by pleasant words and gifts. The paradigm for the divine-human relationship was a master-slave one. A human could expect from his divine lord or lady just what a slave could from his master.

More than one Hittite noun was used to designate what may be called "prayer." *Mugawar* (*mugeshshar*) referred to the invocation of the god's presence through words and ritual acts. Praise, adulation, and adoration were called *walliyatar;* petition was *wekuwar.* Reply to accusations of sin (i.e., self-justification or protestation of innocence) was *arkuwar.* A single Hittite prayer often contained several of these types of expression.

Sacrifices were made of domestic animals, principally bulls, cows, sheep, and goats. For certain Hurrian rituals, birds were sacrificed. The cult never prescribed the sacrifice of a wild animal. The animal was killed and its meat prepared to serve as the god's food; no expiatory use was ever made of the blood of the sacrifice.

Animals given to the god were to be healthy specimens. Persons who knowingly substituted scrawny or unhealthy animals for healthy ones were guilty of a serious offense. In some rituals alternate, less expensive victims were accepted from poor worshipers. All sacrifices were to be presented promptly at the prescribed time, and delayed sacrifices or rituals were not accepted. Priests were warned in instructive texts not to tolerate excuses from worshipers who wished to postpone required rites of sacrifice. Especially appropriate at the time of their first harvesting were vegetable and grain offerings; they too had to be brought promptly.

REVELATION. The gods communicated their will to mortals in several ways. A surviving oracle text in Old Hittite script proves that oracular inquiry already existed at that time. In the Old Hittite *Telepinu Proclamation,* warnings from the gods about serious offenses came through the words of the "men of the gods," whom a number of scholars have taken to be prophets of some type. A third method—dreams—is not attested earlier than the New Kingdom. Communication of a god's will to a king, queen, or prince is first mentioned in the prayers of Mursilis II and first attested in the childhood of Hattusilis III, the son of Mursilis II. At a certain point in a ritual for a man suffering from sexual impotence, the sufferer is instructed to sleep in a holy place and report his dreams.

SIN, DEATH, AND THE AFTERLIFE. Several Hittite words are translated as "sin," "offense," or "crime." Those occurring in prayers are *washtai-, washtul,* and *shalla-kardatar.* The first two refer to a deed with evil or unpleasant consequences and in most cases they must be translated as "sin." But either "sin" or "offense" can be expressed by the word *haratar.* A particularly serious offense of a special sexual nature is *hurkel,* which in most instances coincides with what one would call incest. *Shallakardatar* is a deliberate and high-handed offense against a deity.

From the Hittite point of view, sins against the gods could be deliberate or accidental. In either case they had to be identified, confessed, and (in most cases) corrected. Identification of sins committed unwittingly was possible only through consulting the god by oracle. The process was an involved one. By posing questions requiring only a "yes" or "no" answer one gradually narrowed the field of possibilities until a specific offense was determined. Then the question was posed: "Is the god angry for this reason only, and not for any additional reason?" If the answer to this was "yes," the inquiry was terminated. If "no," the inquiry continued until the final cause was identified.

Confession necessitated a promise to make amends. If the offense was the neglect of some religious duty such as a sacrifice, the offender promised to make up the sacrifice, sometimes with a greater outlay of offerings. Two Hittite words denoted gifts to make amends for these sins of neglect: *sharnikzel* and *mashkan.* The former also referred to compensation for injury or breach of contract in civil law, while the latter in profane usage meant a gift or bribe. If the gods punished a person for committing a sin, this did not absolve the sinner from the obligations of confession and compensation. Animal sacrifices were not used to expiate sin, nor did the compensatory gifts mentioned above constitute an expiation. Rather, one's offense against a god was viewed as completely analogous to his offense against another person, and the terminology (e.g., *sharnikzel)* was identical.

Relatively little is said in the surviving Hittite texts about the fate of the deceased after death. The Old Hittite Kantuzzili prayer rather philosophically observes that if one were to go on living under the present circumstances eternally, that might turn out to be a nightmare, for the ills of this life would become eternal. This would turn out to be a grievance (*kattawatar*), that is, a ground for complaint against the gods. In the description of the lengthy ritual for cremation and interring of the ashes of a dead king is the information that certain farming implements were burned in order to accompany the deceased king to the next life, so that he might cultivate the soil there. In the Hittite laws, a clause dealing with a wife's predeceasing her husband decrees that before her dowry can be released to her widowed husband, he must burn certain of her personal possessions. This burning doubtless served the same purpose as the burning of the farming implements for the dead king. In many cultures, items of personal value to the deceased are placed in the grave with the dead body, a practice strongly suggesting use of the articles in an afterlife. In the case of the Hittite king the texts explicitly confirm this interpretation. Descendants of the dead man continued to make offerings to his spirit. This practice is also attested in Hittite texts. In one instance, King Muwatallis, when he moved the royal residence from Bogazköy to Tarhuntassa, transferred to the new residence the statues of the gods and the "dead [ancestors]."

A Hittite religious belief maintained that the spirit of a dead person with a grievance against a living person might continue to haunt the latter until the grievance was resolved. The precise nature of the grievance was determined in the same way as sins against a god: by oracular investigation. When the grievance had been resolved and the spirit had been pacified, the deceased was "set on the road," that is, was sent on his or her way to the abode of the dead.

Hittite texts never reveal where that abode was. The Hittite cosmology allowed for a heaven above, where most of the gods dwelled, and the netherworld beneath, where the remainder lived. But it is not known if the dead resided in either of these places. In a ritual intended to remove certain evils and safely dispose of them forever where they could not harm humankind, the dead were magically put into large copper vessels and covered with lids of lead. According to one version of the incantation, these vessels were at the bottom of the sea; according to the other version, in the netherworld. This, of course, does not prove that the spirits of the dead were confined in the netherworld. It only suggests that unwelcome things were kept there.

SEE ALSO Hurrian Religion.

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HARRY A. HOFFNER, JR. (1987)
Revised Bibliography

HMONG RELIGION SEE SOUTHEAST ASIAN RELIGIONS, *ARTICLE ON* MAINLAND CULTURES

HOBBES, THOMAS

HOBBES, THOMAS (1588–1679) features in intellectual histories as a philosopher and a political theorist and his *Leviathan* as one of the most important political treatises ever written in English. During the last decades of the twentieth century, though, Hobbes came to be regarded as a writer significantly relevant to the history of religious ideas and his *Leviathan* as an early example of a vogue of rational criticism of the Bible that was to become current in the nineteenth century.

LIFE. Hobbes was born in Malmesbury, England, on April 5, 1588. He recalls in his verse autobiography that his mother brought forth "twins at once, both me and fear" for she had given birth when the Spanish Armada was approaching the English coast. Hobbes entered Magdalen Hall, Oxford University, in 1603, and immediately after he earned his degree he was offered employment by William Cavendish as tutor of his son. Hobbes remained attached to the Cavendish family throughout his life. Scholars have stressed the classical-humanistic twist in Hobbes's intellectual upbringing as one of the clues that may explain his later standing as a prominent figure in a "European republic of letters" (Malcolm, 2002, p. 474). Although Noel Malcolm's remark refers to Hobbes's posthumous fortune, the roots of this late intellectual prestige are found in the dense network of personal contacts and acquaintances he managed to set up in the course of a number of trips to the Continent as a tutor, as a private man of letters, and later as a refugee from English religious strife. It is worth noting that Hobbes published his masterwork, *Leviathan*, in Paris in 1651. As to Hobbes's elderly years, what is striking is his constant preoccupation with withstanding the attacks of people as well as institutions whose sympathy he had managed to alienate (e.g., the universities, one of the major targets of his polemical concerns) and his interest in exposing the "lies" of his religious adversaries. Indeed the word *Hobbism* became a major current of discourse to label doctrines with a ring of atheism and immorality.

THE STATE OF NATURE. Hobbes's early philosophical works include the *Elements of Law* and *De Cive*, where Hobbes addresses religious issues in ways that prelude the more thorough and lavish treatment of Christian religion in *Leviathan* as well as in such later works as the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and the Appendix to the Latin edition of *Leviathan.* That Hobbes, as A. P. Martinich has argued in *The Two Gods of Leviathan* (1992), did not mean to divorce theology from his general philosophical project becomes apparent if one takes a closer look into the subtitle *(The Matter, Forme, and Power of a Commonwealth, Ecclesiastical and Civil)* and the famous frontispiece of *Leviathan.* The subtitle yields insights on how to decipher the latter, which in fact is construed as a sort of emblem, featuring a giant visible from the waist up, wielding in his right hand a scepter, a symbol of the civil power, and in the left a crosier, a symbol of the ecclesiastical power. Across the foreground, before the vigilant gaze of the giant, stretches the image of a well-ordered community, probably reminiscent of the pages in which Hobbes contends that industry, culture of the earth, use of commodities, and so on only take place in times of peace. Hobbes alleges that peace is nothing but a quick and tentative lapse from what he calls the "natural condition of mankind," which is a condition of enduring war, where "war consisteth not in actual fighting, but in the known disposition thereto during all the time there is no assurance to the contrary" (*Leviathan*, 13, p. 8). Thus the frontispiece's image of the well-ordered state is the image of an artifact, something that cannot be found in nature. Therefore Hobbes distances himself from Aristotle, who in his *Politics* had pointed out that the state "belongs to the class of things that exist by nature."

THE LAWS OF NATURE AND THE SOVEREIGN. The natural disposition of humans to war ensues from Hobbes's radical nominalism, namely, from his belief that humans cannot agree upon what is good. By rejecting the existence of an agreed-upon natural good, Hobbes destroys the rational teleology steeped in the Aristotelian underpinnings of the major philosophical and theological currents of the time. Given that the words *good* and *evil* "are ever used with relation to the person that useth them, there being nothing simply and absolutely so" (*Leviathan*, 6, p. 7), there is no way to detect a natural good by means of one's own private discernment. Thus agreement and accord are commodities hardly to be found in nature. Human intellect, though, provides the means by which human beings can anticipate the vantage of a social accord and so escape the state of nature: Hobbes calls these means "laws of nature." Thus Hobbesian individuals are bound to escape this natural predicament and reach a safer condition, whose distinctive feature is its artificiality. These natural individuals have forced themselves to abide by the laws of nature by giving up their natural right *in omnia* to a third party, which from now on will be entitled to establish what is right and what is wrong, namely, to transform the natural laws into commandments made effective by the third party's irresistible will.

What is striking here is that the laws of nature are coterminous with the laws of God. Hobbes was concerned throughout with how to prevent people from attaining a private apprehension of the laws of God and, in this way, bypassing the dictates of the lawful sovereign. Hobbes's crucial question in the third book of *Leviathan* was not the one that had traditionally puzzled the exegetes of the Scriptures, namely, "from whence the Scriptures derive their Authority," but rather "by what Authority they are made Law" (*Leviathan*, 42, p. 36). Hobbes was wary of the consequences that would fall upon the state if the sovereign were deprived of his authority. Hobbes was particularly wary of those "deceivers," namely, self-appointed interpreters of the word of God, who set about persuading people that a workable shortcut to the kingdom of God was already at hand in this world. One of the conditions Hobbes indicates for social stability is that citizens have "to be taught that they ought not be led with admiration of the virtue of any of their fellow subjects" (*Leviathan*, 30, p. 8). Any impulse to admire one's neighbor (modern moral philosophers would use the words *partiality* or *attachment* instead of *admiration*) is potentially conducive to the eroding of the very basis of social stability.

ABUSES OF THE SCRIPTURE. According to Hobbes, a typical "abuse of the Scripture" sustains a workable natural law that is said to convey the mystical installment of the kingdom before the end of time. This law, though natural insofar as it bypasses the will of the sovereign, could turn out to be at odds with "the doctrine established by him whom God hath set in the place of Moses" (*Leviathan*, 40, p. 8). Hobbes tracks down a time in which God had reigned directly over humans, and this image of a peaceful *arché*, in which God governs humans, can already be found in Plato (*Statesman*, 271 e). Yet during the time of "regeneration"—as Hobbes calls the time frame "between the ascension and the general resurrection" (*Leviathan*, 42, p. 7)—with God withdrawn from earth, humans cannot but obey the laws promulgated by their earthly sovereign. A difficulty that immediately arises concerns those individuals who "confound Lawes with Right," for they "continue still to doe what is permitted by divine Right, notwithstanding it be forbidden by the civill Law" (*De Cive*, 14, p. 3). The political problem individuals have to address as soon as they reject the direct domination of God consists in setting up enduring institutions in the absence of God's commandments and possibly avoiding the risk of taking "for His law whatsoever is propounded by every man in His name" (*Leviathan*, 42, p. 46).

BIBLICAL HISTORY. Hobbes, as Paul in the synagogue of Antiochia (*Acts* 13:16–41), expounds a narrative of biblical history, starting from the exile of the people of God in Egypt through the announcement of the second coming of Christ. Biblical history constitutes the meaning-making framework in which the birth of *Leviathan* takes place. The narrative of biblical history becomes a "politically authoritative history," and it is worth noting that the "tendency to disregard biblical history has been particularly evident, for example, in many contemporary discussions of Hobbes and Locke for whom, it is often argued, the nonhistorical social contract is their seminal contribution to the history of political thought" (Mitchell, 1993, p. 5).

This refusal to provide historical investigation of the intellectual roots of modernity with the backing of a specific authoritative history has somehow impaired the ability to make sense of those parts of Hobbes's work mostly concerned with religion. But taking biblical history as a politically authoritative history is not just a workable technique for highlighting those bits of texts that have not received much consideration by scholars: if one assumes that biblical history refers to both the narrative account of sacred events and the political history of the biblical text, namely, the history "of its establishment, in particular circumstances, as an authoritative text" (Malcolm, 2002, p. 427), then it is by restoring the authoritativeness of biblical history that one can see how, underlying the materialism and reductionism of modern exegesis, there might be a latent reception of the Hobbesian text. The Catholic theologian Peter Henrici pointed out that there would not be any reason to puzzle about the "reductionist techniques of interpretation performed by Hobbes, if these techniques had not become the exegetical canon of the theology of the kingdom of God over two centuries—from Spinoza to protestant theology in XIX century" (Henrici, 1986, p. 134).

POLITICAL THEOLOGY. Modern debates concerning the issue of political theology have contributed to opening up "a new historical horizon for the interpretation of Hobbes" (Schmitt, 1984, p. 108). The opening of such a new horizon enabled the overcoming of the standard account of Hobbes's philosophy as a brand of rational skepticism. Debates on political theology have raised significant questions concerning secularization and the meaning of technology in the modern age. Political theology does not just entail the mutually illuminating encounter between rationalist philosophy and a faith-ruled policy guided ultimately by the authority of the Bible. A crucial problem for political theology is that the possibility of creating a nonthreatening acquaintance among humans, though ultimately relying on the absence of theological foundations, seems hardly to be achieved on the sole plane of rational stipulations. Hobbes figures in these debates as the thinker who managed to envision a community in which God's effective withdrawal from human history (*1 Sm.* 8:7) is not ideologically concealed but, rather, taken to its extreme consequences. But political theology also entails that, having withdrawn God, people must establish their bearings without falling back upon the authority of God's perspicuous commands. Yet Hobbes's state supplies neither an ultimate end nor a workable direction on how people should regulate their conduct: by reducing politics to a technology of social bonding aimed at minimizing discord, Hobbes seems to indicate a pattern of political existence over which individuals cannot exercise effective control.

SEE ALSO Morality and Religion; Sociology, article on Sociology of Religion; Violence.

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ROBERTO FARNETI (2005)

HOCKING, WILLIAM ERNEST (1873–1966), was an American philosopher of religion and metaphysician who also wrote on the philosophies of law, education, selfhood, and civilization. His magnum opus, *The Meaning of God in Human Experience* (1912; 14th ed., 1962), combined Josiah Royce's idealist concern for meaning and the Absolute with William James's pragmatist commitment to science and experience. Hocking's original contribution was his solution to the problem of solipsism. One shares the mind of another, he argued, through the common perception of, and mutual concern for, a particular object. Mind *is* its content. One cannot simply think (*pace* Descartes); one must think something. This particular object of common concern is the content of eveyone's common mind.

The experience is articulated dialectically. Natural realism regards the world as objectively "outside" one's self. Subjective idealism responds that people know only their own individual reality "within" the mind. A dialectical synthesis discovers a world made objectively real by common perception. Hence science assumes public verifiability, and hypothesis becomes fact only when various individual experimenters acknowledge a common perception.

Empirical minds come and go, however, and yet one experiences particular objects as real even when one is alone. How so? One intuits the presence of a nonempirical mind that is constantly a co-observer. One is never absolutely alone. Objective reality is thus grounded in the attention of an Absolute Mind. As personal reality, this caring presence of the Absolute is the meaning of God in human experience.

Hocking relates this natural theology both to Christianity and to the problem of world religious pluralism in three later books: *Re-Thinking Missions* (1932), *Living Religions and a World Faith* (1940), and *The Coming World Civilization* (1956). There is a natural religion of humankind, shared by ordinary believers the world around. The substance of this religion is compatible with Christian faith. A life lived out of this natural perception will be different from one lived in the light of Christianity's supernatural revelation, but the relation is a natural one. So, in *Human Nature and Its Remaking* (1918), Hocking argues that the natural human will to power finds fulfillment in the evangelism of the Christian world mission, because, ideally, mission seeks to confer power on others, rather than gain power over them.

Nevertheless, the Christian missionary movement has historically been insensitive to non-Western cultures; and Christian theology has been exclusivistic in relation to other world religions. The integrity of the Christian message can be maintained without violence to other religious traditions through a relational model that is neither the indiscriminate amalgamation of synthesis, nor the exclusivism of radical displacement. Encounter causes each religion to rethink basic positions. The world's living religions will not die, nor will the emerging world faith necessarily be called Christian. This way of reconception will, however, lead to a future in which the natural religion of humankind and the substance of historic Christianity will be conjoined, providing the binding ingredient for cultural and religious pluralism in the coming world civilization.

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Hocking's *The Meaning of God in Human Experience* (New Haven, Conn., 1912) was the first of his twenty books. Other major writings on religion include *Human Nature and Its Remaking* (New Haven, Conn., 1918); *Living Religions and a World Faith* (New York, 1940); *The Coming World Civilization* (New York, 1956); and *The Meaning of Immortality in Human Experience* (New York, 1957), originally published as *Thoughts on Death and Life* (New York, 1937). For evaluations of Hocking's work see my festschrift for Hocking, *Philosophy, Religion and the Coming World Civilization* (The Hague, 1966), and my *Within Human Experience: The Philosophy of William Ernest Hocking* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969).

LEROY S. ROUNER (1987)

HOFFMANN, DAVID (1843–1921), was a German rabbi, Jewish legal authority, Orthodox communal leader, and biblical and rabbinic scholar. David Tsevi Hoffmann was born in Hungary and studied in the *yeshivot* of Moses Schick and Esriel Hildesheimer. Hildesheimer, who affirmed the worth of secular culture and traditional rabbinic scholarship, had a profound influence on Hoffmann. This influence led Hoffmann to Pressburg (now Bratislava, Slovakia), where he studied in both the famed Sofer Yeshiva and the Evangelical Gymnasium. Hoffmann began his university studies in 1865 in Vienna and immigrated in 1866 to Germany, where he completed his university education at Berlin and Tübingen; he received his doctorate in 1870 for his *Mar Samuel, Re-*

ktor der Jüdischen Akademie zu Nehardea in Babylonien (Mar Samuel, rector of the Jewish Academy at Nehardea in Babylonia). This work was severely criticized by Samson Raphael Hirsch for its application of critical methods to the study of Talmud, although Hoffmann himself felt that his own application of this method did not negate the divine authority of the oral law. In 1873 Hoffmann joined the faculty of the Orthodox Rabbinical Seminary in Berlin; in 1899 he became rector of the seminary. He served, simultaneously, as rabbi of the Berlin separatist Orthodox congregation, Adass Jisroel.

Hoffmann insisted that a defense of traditional Jewish religious belief could be combined with an affirmation of contemporary secular culture and scholarship, and he displayed this commitment through hundreds of essays and numerous books of both scholarly and apologetic natures. His defense of the unitary authorship of the Bible is contained in his commentaries on *Leviticus* and *Deuteronomy* and in his famed *Die wichtigsten Instanzen gegen die Graf-Wellhausensche Hyposthese* (The most important arguments against the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis, 1904). Hoffmann also defended German Jews against the attacks of German anti-Semites in *Der Schulchan-Aruch und die Rabbinen über das Verhaltnis der Juden zu Anderglaubigen* (The *Shulhan ʿarukh* and the rabbis on the relationship between Jews and Gentiles, 1885). Hoffmann's studies in Midrash and Talmud were seminal in the development of modern Jewish scholarship in these areas, and his collection of Jewish legal decisions, *Melammed le-hoʾil* (1926–1932), evidences a remarkable sensitivity to the German environment and an absolute determination to preserve Orthodoxy against the encroachments of Reform Judaism. His modern approach to Jewish Orthodoxy provided an important model for Jews in Germany and throughout the West, and, because of this, Hoffmann remains a critical figure to the understanding of the development of Jewish Orthodoxy in the modern world.

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DAVID ELLENSON (1987)
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ḤOKHMAH.

ḤOKHMAH. The Hebrew feminine noun *ḥokhmah* (variation of *ḥokhmot, Prv.* 1:20, 9:1, 14:1) reflects a common Semitic root, attested in Akkadian, Ugaritic, Phoenician, Aramaic, and Arabic. *Ḥokhmah* is conventionally rendered as "wisdom," though biblical usage has a broader semantic range than the English term. In itself an ethically and religiously neutral term, *ḥokhmah* denotes, along with intellectual prowess and sagacity, the mastery of crafts ranging from such concrete skills as spinning cloth (*Ex.* 35:25), working in metal, wood, and stone (*Ex.* 31:3–6), and navigation (*Ps.* 107:27), to the more subtle arts of dream interpretation (*Gn.* 41:8), ritual wailing (*Jer.* 9:16), sorcery (*Is.* 3:3), epigrammatic speech (*1 Kgs.* 5:9–14), diplomacy and court politics (*2 Sm.* 20:16–22; *1 Kgs.* 2:6, 2:9; cf. *Eccl.* 9:13–18;), and the exercise of kingship (*1 Kgs.* 5:26; cf. the ironic use in *Is.* 10:13 and *Ez.* 28:4–5, 28:12).

***ḤOKHMAH* IN BIBLICAL PIETY.** Human *ḥokhmah* is also interpreted as and identified with piety (literally "fear of the Lord") in the so-called wisdom literature (i.e., *Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, Ben Sira, Wisdom of Solomon*) and elsewhere (e.g., *Is.* 33:6). In *Proverbs*, *ḥokhmah* indicates ethical virtue and character as well as practical accomplishment: wisdom and its antithesis, folly, are equivalent to the paralleled righteousness and wickedness found in other proverbs. *Ḥokhmah* is evident in industry; integrity; circumspect behavior; felicitous, effective, and truthful speech; respect for parents; and care for the poor. To some degree these are pragmatic measures that make for successful living, with promised results in societal honor, security, and protection from the divine wrath attendant upon transgressions. Thus the formulation that "the beginning of *ḥokhmah* is the fear of the Lord" reflects, on one level, utilitarian self-interest. But the notion also takes a more speculative turn: fear of the Lord is the means to life and knowledge of God (e.g., *Prv.* 9:10–11, 14:27, 19:23; cf. *Ps.* 111:10).

Ḥokhmah is attributed to the deity, especially to the technical skill with which God created the world (*Jer.* 10:12, 51:15; *Prv.* 3:19–20; *Ps.* 104:24). Extraordinary wisdom of mortals can merit the hyperbole of divinelike *ḥokhmah* (*1 Kgs.* 3:28; *Ezr.* 7:25; cf. *2 Sm.* 14:20, "like the wisdom of a divine angel"), and exceptional human *ḥokhmah* is sometimes considered God's gift (*Ex.* 28:3; *2 Chr.* 1:10–12). God also may impart the "spirit" of *ḥokhmah*, as to the anointed king (*Is.* 11:1–2) or to Joshua, Moses' charismatic successor (*Dt.* 34:9). The exemplar is Solomon in *1 Kings* 3 who, when offered a boon by God in a dream, asks for a "listening heart" and is granted riches and honor as well. (Much of the biblical wisdom literature thus claims explicitly or implicitly to come from Solomon, though this is pseudonymous attribution.)

More typical is wisdom gained through human efforts (e.g., *Prv.* 3:13, 4:5, 4:7, 23:23, 29:15). Though aware of ambiguity and human limitation (e.g., *Prv.* 16:1, 16:9, 16:33, 26:4–5), *Proverbs*' ethos remains optimistic about this quest. The tradition takes a skeptical turn in *Ecclesiastes*, however, where injustice and death lead the author to a sense of meaninglessness ("all is vanity") and the opinion that one who increases wisdom increases sorrow (*Eccl.* 1:18). The *Book of Job* also severely relativizes human wisdom in comparison to God's.

THE FEMALE PERSONIFICATION OF *ḤOKHMAH*. The paradox of wisdom sought by humans and also conferred by God appears strikingly in passages that personify *ḥokhmah* as a woman. The theme's most restrained treatment is found in *Job* 28. This elegant poem treats of the rarity and elusiveness of true wisdom—here perhaps only an abstraction rather than a full personification—whose place in the created order is known only to the Creator. In contrast to *Job*'s hidden wisdom is its—now "her"—easy accessibility in *Proverbs* 1–9, where she is met in the streets, the markets, the city gates, and her house, offering life to followers of her ways (*Prv.* 1:32–33, 8:35–36, 9:1–6, 9:11). This message, as well as the female figure itself, unites the several personification poems in these chapters; however, there are also variations in Ḥokhmah's portrayal.

In *Proverbs* 1 Ḥokhmah's rhetoric is much like the angry diatribe of a scolding prophet. Woman Wisdom threatens to turn a deaf ear to those who reject her in good times but seek her counsel when calamity strikes. She will ignore their pleas, laughing scornfully at their downfall (*Prv.* 1:20–33). Although women (e.g., Deborah, *Jgs.* 4–5; and Huldah, *2 Kgs.* 22:14–20) as well as men could be prophets, Ḥokhmah's female gender predominates in passages that cast her as the wife or lover and source of honor to the man who loves and embraces her (*Prv.* 4:5–9, 7:4). This relational imagery links her with the sexually desirable wife (*Prv.* 5:15–19) and with the industrious worthy woman depicted in the book's concluding poem (*Prv.* 31:10–31), who is herself a paragon of *ḥokhmah*. Both the wife and Wisdom protect their mates from the dangerous "strange woman," who lures the unsuspecting man into sexual misadventure (*Prv.* 5:20–23, 7:5–23, cf. 2:26–19). Social commentary regarding proper family bonds finds expression here, although these poems are one of the few places in the Hebrew Bible where the sexual double standard is not in evidence: men are enjoined to fidelity as much as women. The patriarchal mindset nonetheless emerges in the binary opposition of good woman and bad woman.

Other poems use the female imagery to constitute competing superhuman forces. The path of the strange woman, who appears as personified Folly in the concluding poem of *Proverbs* 1–9, leads to death: "her guests are in the depths of Sheol" (*Prv.* 9:18, cf. 2:18–19, 5:5–6, 5:23, 7:27). Wisdom, in contrast, offers life, an offer whose credibility is enhanced by the remarkable poem in *Proverbs* 8. As in chapter 1, she speaks in the first person, here offering a calmly reasoned exposition of her merits. The setting is once again a public one (*Prv.* 8:2–3), and her appeal is universal (if gendered), to all "men" (*Prv.* 8:4). The words of her mouth represent the timeless virtues of truth and justice. Her self-assertion builds in power as she claims to be the source of just governance (*Prv.* 8:15–17), before touching back to the love language of the earlier poems. Her worth exceeds that of gold and silver, yet she will also fill the treasuries of her righteous lovers (*Prv.* 8:18–21), an allusion perhaps to the story of wise Solomon. The climax of her argument (*Prv.* 8:22–31) asserts nothing less than a cosmic pedigree, placing herself with God before creation.

The language of this section is dense with multiple meanings, creating a complex and shifting picture of her relationship to the deity. Following the Greek translation of *Proverbs* 8:22, most English versions read, "The Lord created me at the beginning of his work." The verb (*qnh*) more typically means "acquire," however, and is used of a man acquiring a wife. It can also be construed as "engender," biological conception language that continues in *Proverbs* 8:24–25, where Wisdom says she was "brought forth" *(ḥll)*, the usual term for birthing. Is she then God's creation, God's wife, God's daughter? Another crux comes in *Proverbs* 8:30 with the unusual word *ʾamon*, translated by some as "darling child," by others as "master architect." She plays before the deity, delighting him, but finds her own delight in the human world (*Prv.* 8:30–31).

In *Proverbs* 9:1–6 the images of the wise homemaker and the divine companion at creation conjoin in the accomplished architect of her own seven-pillared edifice, a structure that has received diverse interpretations (architectural, cosmic, astrological, mythological). From her house she sends out her maids to call to the simple to come partake of the food and wine she has prepared, thus obtaining the life-giving substance of Wisdom herself.

PERSONIFIED WISDOM IN THE ANCIENT CONTEXT. While Wisdom's association with acceptable human female roles—including village leaders identified as "wise women" (2 *Sm.* 14:1–20, 20:16–22)—may have contributed to her appropriation into a largely patriarchal culture and monotheistic text, the ancient understanding of this figure has been the subject of much scholarly debate. The personification of *ḥokhmah* may be compared to the personified attributes Faithfulness *(ḥesed)*, Truth *(ʾemet)*, Well-being *(shalom)*, and Right (*tsedeq*) in *Psalms* 85:11–14 and thus understood as merely a literary device, female by virtue of its grammatical feminine gender. Reference to the "spirit of wisdom" provides a further biblical parallel (e.g., *Ex.* 28:3; *Dt.* 34:9; *Is.* 11:2). *First Kings* 22 depicts a vision in which God holds court, surrounded by the hosts of heaven; the "spirit" of Falsehood steps forward, volunteering to do the divine bidding. This ancient belief in independent divine beings attendant upon Yahweh may suggest that *ḥokhmah*'s personification is no mere literary trope but reflects a view of wisdom as "hypostasis," an independently existing manifestation of divine wisdom, or of the order inherent in the divine creation. The Aramaic *Book of Aḥiqar* (fifth century BCE), where *ḥokhmata* is spoken of as "of the gods," "precious to the gods," and whom "the lord of holy ones has exalted," provides a close parallel in extrabiblical literature.

Ancient Near Eastern literature also depicts a number of goddesses who have been argued, with varying degrees of success, to provide a model, or perhaps a repressed background, for female Wisdom. Both the literary forms and iconography associated with the Egyptian Maat (the term designates both the concept of cosmic order and its divine hypostasis) parallel to some degree the presentation of biblical Wisdom, but it is difficult to establish a direct linkage. Closer yet is Isis, who gains international currency in the Hellenistic period, perhaps a bit later than the *Proverbs* poems but clearly reflected in the Greek-language *Wisdom of Solomon*'s rendition of Ḥokhmah as Sophia (see below). Inscriptional evidence discovered in the late twentieth century shows the ongoing presence of the Canaanite goddess Asherah in Israelite religious practice (perhaps as Yahweh's consort); the ultimate success of her suppression in the biblical literature leads some to suggest that she appears in sublimated form in Woman Wisdom.

The larger literary role played by the female imagery in *Proverbs* may provide one window into the social setting of those who deployed and developed the *ḥokhmah* concept. The book consists of twenty-one chapters (10–30) constituted mainly by collections of individual two-line proverbs. The proverb (Hebrew, *mashal)* is a constant feature of verbal rhetoric across all oral cultures (see, e.g., *Jgs.* 8:21 and *1 Sm.* 16:7 for proverb performance in Hebrew narrative). Proverbs were taught in the home and village environment by mothers and fathers (cf. *Prv.* 1:8) as well as used by society's leaders. In the *Book of Proverbs*, however, the collected *meshalim* are removed from their life contexts and shaped into bilinear parallel form, probably by the educated elite in the royal court. The instructional poems in chapters 1–9 and 31 then bracket the proverb collections, providing structure to the book as a whole. Here their situational, utilitarian wisdom is construed as an exemplar of a universal Wisdom, embodied in both divine and earthly female form. This literary work is no doubt that of scribes, probably connected with the Jerusalem Temple during the period of Persian and Hellenistic rule (likely fifth through third centuries BCE). Ironically then the female imagery that is excluded from the Second Temple Judaean cult is maintained, if also tamed, in the Ḥokhmah of the scribes who produce the Bible.

FEMALE WISDOM IN LATE ANTIQUITY AND THE MIDDLE AGES. The Wisdom figure constitutes a unique and surprising elevation of the feminine in the Hebrew Bible that reappears in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, sometimes with striking elaboration and innovation. In *Ben Sira* 24:1–21 (composed by a Temple scribe about 180 BCE), Wisdom again speaks on her own behalf, telling of her origination before creation "from the mouth of the Most High." Seeking a resting place, she makes her dwelling in Zion, this focus on the temple replacing *Proverbs*' focus on creation. Following Ḥokhmah's own words, the narrator explicitly identifies her with the law of the covenant (v. 22). So too a hymn to Wisdom in *Baruch* (3:9–4:4) declares Wisdom to be "the book of God's laws," God's special revelation to Israel. While *Ben Sira*'s Wisdom finds a home in Jerusalem, fragments of a Ḥokhmah myth preserved in *1 Enoch* 42 recount how Wisdom, not finding any suitable dwelling place among humankind, returns to her original place among the angels.

In *Ben Sira* 51:13–30 the scribe celebrates his acquisition of Wisdom, making novel reference to her "beauty" and the desires it arouses. The Dead Sea Scrolls contain another version of this passage that speaks through bolder, more suggestively erotic double entendre (11QPs^{a} cols. xxi–xxii). In the *Wisdom of Solomon* (8:2), composed in Greek, the wise king recalls how he sought to take Wisdom (Sophia) as his "bride." This Alexandrian text from the first century BCE or CE depicts Wisdom as an independent being, seemingly radiated out from the deity, an auralike emanation of God's glory and light (*Wisd. of Sol.* 7:25–26). Articulating what is only suggested in *Proverbs*, she is an associate, if not the active force, in creation (*Wisd. of Sol.* 7:22, 8:4), sitting by God's throne (*Wisd. of Sol.* 9:4). The rehearsal of Israel's early story in *Wisdom of Solomon* 10 goes so far as to place Sophia in God's saving role.

The Talmud and early midrashim devote little attention to speculation on personified Ḥokhmah. There she is effectively replaced by personified Torah, though there is the odd remnant from *Proverbs*. "If one dreams he has had intercourse with his sister, he may expect to obtain wisdom, since it says, Say to wisdom, thou art my sister" (Berachoth 57a). More typical is R. Eleazar: "The deduction is made from this text: Say unto wisdom, 'Thou art my sister,' and call understanding thy kinswoman, devise [mnemonic] signs for the Torah" (Eiruvin 54b). In *Genesis Rabbah* 1:1, Torah rather than Ḥokhmah is made by God at the beginning of his way and serves as God's architect in creation. Similarly the bread and wine offered in *Proverbs* 9:5 is Torah, with Wisdom's first person reference assimilated to God's voice. The rabbinic interpreter of Torah nonetheless is known as a *ḥakham*, a wise man or sage. Rabbinic reticence about *ḥokhmah*'s personification may have been partially conditioned by Wisdom's prominent role in the cosmology of Christian and non-Christian Greek Gnostic traditions, which further incorporated the Hebrew term into their system in the form of Achamoth, said to be a daughter or lesser form of Sophia.

In Jewish mystical literature, Qabbalah, *ḥokhmah* is the second of the ten *sefirot*, or divine emanations, hearkening back to its important role in Greek Jewish and Gnostic speculation. The imagery varies. The ten *sefirot* sometimes form a tree, growing downward from the first *sefirah* (*keter*, "crown"). Here *ḥokhmah* may be part of the trunk or the water that makes the tree grow. When the *sefirot* form a human, *ḥokhmah* is part of the head.

In another system the first *sefirah* is nothingness, zero, and *ḥokhmah* is the primordial point intermediate between nothingness and being, imaged as the center of a palace, as a river's source, or as a seed in the womb, with the third *sefirah* (*binah*, "understanding") comprising, respectively, the palace, the river, or the womb. Whereas in the Bible these two terms are essentially synonyms, here *ḥokhmah* represents a masculine principle, described as Father in the Zohar, requiring the balance of *binah*, the metaphorical Mother. The *sefirot* sometimes reveal different forms of the divine name, with *ḥokhmah* as Yah. Relatedly the divine emanations may be of language as well as creation, tying *ḥokhmah* again to Torah. The preexistent Torah, its most secret aspect, is sometimes identified with God's primordial wisdom. Qabbalah's personifications of *Shekhinah* (God's presence) and Sabbath also took on motifs similar to those associated with personified Ḥokhmah in biblical and apocryphal literature. The praise of the wise wife in *Proverbs* 31 became a hymn to *Shekhinah*, which was in turn identified with Queen Sabbath, met as the mystic Bride.

SEE ALSO Sophia.

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HOLDHEIM, SAMUEL (1806–1860), was a rabbi and spokesman for the more radical Reform Jews in Germany. Born in Kempen, Posen, Holdheim mastered the traditional study of rabbinic texts as a youngster. He was also attracted to secular culture, however, and as a young man gained fluency in German and attended the universities of Prague and Berlin. He became rabbi in Frankfurt an der Oder in 1836 and in 1840 succeeded to the post of chief rabbi of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. He became well known in these positions as a champion of Reform and emerged from the Reform rabbinical conferences of 1844–1846 as the leader of its extremist elements. In 1846 he was elected rabbi of the Reform congregation in Berlin, a post Abraham Geiger refused because of the congregation's separation from the general Jewish community. Holdheim served there until his death.

Holdheim articulated his philosophy of Reform Jewish belief and practice in numerous articles, sermons, pamphlets, and books, including *Ueber die Autonomie der Rabbinen und das Prinzip der jüdischen Ehe* (The autonomy of the rabbis and the principle of Jewish marriage laws; 1843), in which he advanced the thesis that the laws of the state and not rabbinic legislation should regulate matters of marriage and inheritance for Jews. In his philosophy of Reform Judaism, he distinguished between religious-ethical and national components in Judaism. The latter, he claimed, constituted the "perishable shell" of Jewish teachings and were no longer binding in the modern era. The religious-ethical elements, in contradistinction, comprised the "everlasting kernel" of Jewish faith and remained valid in the contemporary period. Thus, he was able to write, "The Talmud speaks with the ideology of its own time, and for that time it was right. I speak from the higher ideology of my time, and for this age I am right" (quoted in W. Gunther Plaut, *The Rise of Reform Judaism,* New York, 1963, p. 123). While Holdheim was not alone among the Reformers in expressing these views, his prominence among the leadership of the movement made him a significant exponent of these sentiments.

Holdheim's thought found practical expression in his enthusiastic support of Jewish political emancipation as justifying the radical transformation of Judaism, in his sanctioning of mixed marriages, and in his advocating that the Jewish Sabbath be transferred from Saturday to Sunday, "a civil day of rest." Holdheim also supported the almost complete removal of Hebrew from, and the adoption of the vernacular in, Jewish prayer services (although he advocated the reading of Torah in Hebrew) and, in his Berlin congregation, introduced radical reforms into the prayer book and ritual. His approach to Reform found expression in America through the efforts of David Einhorn of Baltimore and later Philadelphia; Holdheim can thus be identified as an architect of the "classical Reform" position in the United States.

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HOLĪ is a popular North Indian festival noted for its Saturnalia-like excitement celebrated each year at the full moon in the lunar month of March–April. The ceremony is not found in South India, but a similar festival in honor of the god of love, Kāma, takes place there at the same time. While there does not seem to be a direct link between the two rites, literary sources suggest that both occasions are examples of an age-old tradition of celebrating the arrival of spring.

People in northern India usually celebrate Holī during the few days after the full moon. However, in many places the festival starts before the full moon, sometimes as early as Vasanta ("spring"), the fifth day of the waxing moon in the lunar month of February–March, when the Holī fire is first prepared for lighting. At this time, people begin to collect and contribute wood and cowdung to pile up around a central pole; in addition, a pot is sometimes filled with seeds and buried beneath this pile. The main Holī ritual centers around a bonfire ceremoniously kindled at the time of the rising moon. Both men and women circumambulate the fire, into which they often throw coconuts or on which they roast new barley. Divinations of the coming harvest are cast by interpreting the direction of the flames (when the fire is burning) or by the state of the seeds in the buried pot (when the fire has gone out). People sometimes take embers from the fire to their homes in order to rekindle their own domestic fires; they also collect the ashes from the Holī fire for use as protection against disease.

The Holī fire is also regarded as a funeral pyre (Marriott, 1966, pp. 201, 204), for it is understood to destroy a female demon commonly known as Holikā. Certain through a boon she was granted that she was never to die by fire, Holikā climbs the pyre taking in her lap Prahlāda, a faithful devotee of Viṣṇu who is either her brother or the son of her brother Hiraṇyakaśipu (Viṣṇu's enemy). Prahlāda, who is sometimes identified with the central pole that rises out of the fire, survives the ordeal through his fervent devotion to Viṣṇu; Holikā, the evil one, perishes in the flames.

This exemplary narrative does not really explain the erotic and occasionally violent mood of "playing Holī." People—usually members of the lower social strata—drench each other as well as powerful and prestigious members of the upper classes with water stained with various powders, cattle urine, and mud. Those victims of the various tricks and pranks played on them, including those men who during the festival have been beaten with sticks by women, must simply go along with their reversed status for the time being. The Holī celebration is marked by the selection of the King of Holī, the hearty enjoyment of lewd singing and shouting, the drinking of *bhang*, a drink of hashish mixed with milk and yogurt, and the fondling of phallus-shaped effigies. Anthropologists have been intrigued by these rites. McKim Marriott, for example, notes that "the dramatic balancing of Holī—the world destruction and world renewal, the pollution followed by world purification—occurs not only on the abstract level of structual principles, but also in the person of each participant" (Marriott, 1966, p. 212). The negation of social status is, however, a limited one, and Holī does not involve the complete reversal of everyday norms (Babb, 1975, p. 174). According to Hindus of northern and central India, the frenzy and licentiousness of the festival is merely a reenactment of the *līlā*s of Kṛṣṇa, the amorous and frolicsome "plays" that the god enjoys with cowherd boys and girls. Indeed, Holī is the "feast of love" (Marriott, 1966), and its excesses are clothed in the emotional feelings and motives of Kṛṣṇa *bhakti* movements (Biardeau, 1981, pp. 156–161).

In a Bengali variant of the festival, the burning of a human effigy is associated with the Kṛṣṇaite swing festival (Bose, 1953). In India, the swing carries erotic connotations and may be an element of a generalized marriage ritual. Although Kṛṣṇa does not appear in all variations of the celebrations, the burning of a human or animal effigy is ubiquitous and has gone on for years (ibid., p. 83).

In Andhra Pradesh, the festival to Kāma mentioned earlier retains some of the frenzy of the North Indian Holī (Christian, 1982, p. 255). Such ritual delirium does not appear to any significant extent in Tamil Nadu. Although a festival to Kāma may take place here and there in orthodox Śiva temples, Tamil celebrations usually involve only small local groups instead of entire villages. The Kāma festival begins after Śivarātri and runs until the full moon. An effigy of Kāma is constructed while people recount his story. Assisted by the effects of alcohol, the participants dance wildly, some of them dressed like tribal women (which evokes a good deal of erotic behavior). The effigy of Kāma is burnt in the fire in a ritual reenactment of a well-known tale in which Kāma sends an arrow to Śiva in order to distract him from his meditation long enough to allow the god to father a son. Enraged, Śiva destroys Kāma with a bolt of lightening from his third eye, reducing the Lord of Desire to ashes. However, the terrible yogin (Śiva) himself becomes "Desire" for a short time and enjoys the pleasures of sexual union with Pārvatī. For that moment Śiva becomes, in effect, Kāma. The theological reversal echoes the ritual reversal.

The element of *bhakti* does not appear in the South Indian festival, but here the ritual is more explicit. First, in conformity with the Hindu sacrificial context, the Kāma rite focuses on the element of desire—its fulfillment and destruction. Although *kāma* (the fulfillment of desire) may be the lowest of the four traditional goals of life (the others being *artha,* or "prosperity"; *dharma,* or "religious duty"; and *mokṣa,* or "salvation") it is just as essential as the others, for no aspect of the other three goals can be met withough desire (Biardeau, 1981, pp. 49–54, 78). The ascetic Śiva is also Kāma, and thus sires Skanda, for the heroic son must eventually save the world by destroying the demons who are forever threatening the power of the gods. In addition, *kāma*—desire without knowledge—is the goal attributed particularly to the *śūdra,* the noninitiated, lowest order of Hindu society. In the springtime, the time of cosmic renewal, everyone ritually becomes a *śūdra* in order to re-create the world. This temporary inversion of the social hierarchy and of the four goals of Hindu life is marked in the ritual when Kāma, or Holī, is crowned king.

SEE ALSO Hindu Religious Year; Śiva.

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HOLINESS MOVEMENT is the term commonly used to identify a perfectionist sector of renewal and reform which sometimes paralleled and sometimes fused with the broader stream of the Protestant revivalism in the United States of the nineteenth century. The focal point of the movement's mission and ethos was the perfectionist call by John Wesley (1703–1791) to Christian believers, subsequent to their justification, to be entirely sanctified in a second work of grace and by faith alone. Wesleyans believed that this work of the Holy Spirit cleansed the hearts of believers from their bent to sinning and restored in them God's image of love. It established a relationship with God of continuing faith in which it was possible to live without willful rebellion, but never without the possibility of again falling into sin through willful unbelief and disobedience. The movement that gathered around these beliefs left an enduring imprint upon the subsequent theological, cultural, and institutional life of Protestant evangelicalism.

THE FORMATIVE YEARS. Pioneer bishop Francis Asbury (1745–1816) set this call to personal and social holiness as the keystone of American Methodism's religious life and evangelism. However, by the 1830s the church's phenomenal growth fostered concerns that its mission of spreading Wesley's evangelical Arminian message of free grace, free will, and freedom from sin was being compromised. In 1835 weekly class meetings for women, led first by Sarah Lankford (1806–1896) and then by her sister Phoebe Palmer (1807–1874), became the seedbed of Holiness promotion and renewal. These "Tuesday Meetings" for conversations and testimonies of spiritual experience held in the New York home shared by the sisters and their spouses became the model for a network of hundreds of similar centers across the nation. Within a short time, the meetings attracted clergy and laity of both sexes and participants from many non-Wesleyan churches. In 1839 friends of Palmer's began publication of the *Guide to Holiness*, which was dedicated to coordinating the revival's activities and promoting its cause.

Palmer's promotion of Holiness had always met with opposition in Methodism, but continued support by many of the church's most respected leaders of the period made it difficult to criticize her; instead, opponents attacked the movement's understanding of Wesleyan perfectionism as skewed. They challenged the immediacy of the revival's call for simple faith in the naked word of God as the promised path to one's experience of cleansing and holiness of heart. Palmer taught that God said it, faith grasps it, and it is done; this "shorter way," her opponents charged, was "un-Wesleyan." Some contemporary theologians see in Palmer's simple spiritual formula an omen of the "Name it, claim it" theology that rose in late twentieth-century revivalism. Palmer's four years of ministry in Great Britain, largely among the constituencies of the gathering evangelical alliance, strengthened the already existing interrelationships that characterize the history of U.S. and British and European revivalism. Her forty years of Holiness evangelism, her numerous widely read publications, and her public ministry in Methodist and other churches and camp meetings in the United States and Canada made her the spiritual mother of the Holiness movement.

Palmer's ministry became the model for the freedom and authority of women in the movement. She stoutly defended women's participation in the public life of the church. Her book, *The Promise of the Father* (1866), was the first systematic defense of women's rights to public ministry written by a woman. In it she claimed that Joel's promise that the Spirit of God would fall on "all flesh" made the Pentecostal text the authoritative text for interpreting any other texts, which traditionally had been used to deny women a public ministry. Her example inspired the cofounder of the Salvation Army, Catherine Booth (1829–1890), to exert her rights to leadership and ministry.

The revival's milieu also gave birth to other radical reform movements. In 1843 thousands of Methodist abolitionists, with Congregationalists and others, left their denominations to form the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America. Their leader, Orange Scott (1800–1847), rooted the new church's call for immediate emancipation of slaves in the ethical implications of Wesley's perfectionist theology. In 1860 a second group, the Free Methodists, led by Methodist pastor B. T. Roberts (1823–1893), became the first to organize a Holiness denomination in response to what they perceived to be Methodism's rejection of Wesleyan perfectionism and its increasing neglect of Wesley's concerns for the poor. The new church also called for the immediate abolition of slavery.

The success of the Wesleyan revivalists became the catalyst for the rise of parallel Holiness movements in New School Calvinism. Wesley's writings contributed directly to the Oberlin perfectionism of Charles Finney (1792–1875) and Asa Mahan (1799–1899). Finney sought to keep his Holiness convictions within the confines of his New School theology; Mahan embraced Wesleyanism more openly. Princeton University professor B. B. Warfield (1851–1921) strongly criticized Finney's and Mahan's forms of "Wesleyanism," but Finney and Mahan are enshrined in Wesleyan/Holiness hagiography along with others in the Reformed tradition.

THE POST-CIVIL WAR REVIVAL. In the summer of 1867 thousands responded to the call of a committee of Methodist Episcopal pastors to attend a national camp meeting in Vineland, New Jersey, dedicated to the promotion of Christian holiness. The success of the venture prompted the pastors to create the National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness. Under the leadership of Methodist pastor John Inskip (1816–1884), the association's national committee changed the dynamics of Holiness promotion. Hundreds of affiliated local, county, and state interdenominational Holiness evangelistic associations, most with their own annual camp meetings, became the preaching circuit for hundreds of Holiness evangelists. The camp meetings became the primary centers for the movement's nurture and revivalism. The family atmosphere encouraged by living together for an extended period of time, the private and corporate prayer, praise, solemn hymns, and spirited gospel songs created the ambience that prepared the campers for the urgency of the evangelist's call to decisions for salvation and sanctification. The camps became the dominant shapers of the ethos and mores that were common to the hundreds of small associations that formed the heart of the movement. Through them, and the wealth of journals and publications that reinforced their cause, the movement became the major platform for the rising divine healing movement. The mingling of non-Methodist themes with the Holiness message, and the adoption of Plymouth Brethren preacher John Nelson Darby's (1800–1882) dispensational premillennialism by large sectors of the movement in opposition to Methodism's traditional postmillennialism, began to weaken institutional Methodism's control of the movement.

Many Holiness associations that became Holiness church congregations at the end of the century made salvation, sanctification, healing, the second coming of Christ, and the free worship style of the Holiness camp meeting their church model; they became known as "camp meeting churches." The freedom promised by Holiness teaching and worship style attracted increasing numbers of African Americans to the movement out of the existing African American Methodist and Baptist churches. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the African American woman evangelist Amanda Smith (1837–1915) became one of the most respected of the Holiness movement's itinerant preachers.

From 1873 to 1875 Hannah Whitall Smith (1832–1911), author of the best-selling devotional classic *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life* (1875) and an ardent Holiness advocate, feminist, and advocate of temperance and women's suffrage, spread the Holiness message with her husband Robert Pearsall Smith (1827–1898) to both the established and free churches of England and continental Europe. A series of Holiness conferences at Oxford and Cambridge Universities, and the annual camp meetings held on the Broadlands estate of Lord and Lady Mount Temple culminated in an 1875 meeting at Brighton, England. Thousands of pastors, theologians, and university students from all across Europe attended. The impact of the Smiths' brief Holiness ministry upon the British and European churches was significant. In Germany it excited the renewal of the pietistic German Fellowship Movement and the Inner-City Movement within the established churches, and the formation of the German Holiness Movement within the free churches. In England the most enduring result was the rise of the Keswick Movement, whose annual meetings for the promotion of scriptural holiness sparked renewal among Reformed evangelicals, both Anglican and free. Keswick gave birth to faith missions movements and student Christian movements around the world.

INSTITUTIONALIZATION. By the closing decades of the nineteenth century, many Methodists, tired of the decades-long tensions over the "holiness question," turned from Wesley's perfectionist vision to the theologies rooted in the Enlightenment. In addition, the revival's expansion into non-Methodist environments weakened the national committee's control over the movement as Holiness Baptists, Quakers, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Mennonites, and Episcopalian evangelicals sought to assimilate the Holiness message into their own theologies and experiences. Holiness adherents, together with more numerous "populist" association leaders, began to challenge the increasingly strained efforts of the Methodist-controlled National Holiness Association to keep a vibrant and diverse interfaith movement under the aegis of institutional Methodism.

Between 1882 and the century's end disenchanted Holiness Methodists, joined by converts to the independent Holiness associations who had never been Methodists, formed new Holiness denominations and institutions out of the revival's constituency. This period marked the largest creation of new denominations in so short a period in U.S. religious history. Other sectors of the revival, within the ministries of Dwight L. Moody (1837–1899), A. T. Pierson (1837–1911), A. J. Gordon (1836–1895), and A. B. Simpson (1843–1919), all rooted in the revivalistic Calvinism of the day, became centers for promoting a Higher-Life theology, the name commonly given to the holiness revival in the Calvinist churches. Organizations of new African American Holiness churches also gathered sectors of the movement to themselves in this organizational phase of the movement's life.

As the major segments of the Holiness/Higher-Life revival movement were finding homes in new denominations and agencies, a third movement gathered around the pregnant eschatological expectations born of the revival's steadily increasing emphasis on the significance of the Pentecost event and anticipated new age of the Spirit. The new Pentecostal movement's structure, leadership, and major theological and worship cultures all were born within the diverse milieu of the Holiness revival. With few exceptions, most established Wesleyan/Holiness leaders quickly condemned the new movement's teachings as "heretical," particularly its insistence that "speaking in unknown tongues" was a necessary element of Spirit baptism. Today, although the theological differences between the two movements still exist, their common membership in the National Association of Evangelicals and other interdenominational agencies have lessened the stridency that had often marked the interaction between the two closely related movements.

By the second decade of the twentieth century the movement had largely located within the confines of its new Holiness institutions, with the major exception of the thousands of Holiness adherents who stayed with the older denominations out of hope for renewal from within. Most Wesleyan/Holiness churches and their international affiliates and agencies maintain an informal association with one another and other independent Holiness mission agencies and educational institutions through the Christian Holiness Partnership, the direct descendant of the National Camp Association. A similar association, the Interchurch Holiness Convention, has brought together a group of smaller Holiness adherents who in the post–World War II period separated from the larger Holiness bodies in protest to what they saw as the established movement's tendencies to modernism. The worldwide constituency of the Wesleyan/Holiness churches numbers 10 to 15 million. The Church of the Nazarene, the Salvation Army, the Church of God (Anderson, Indiana), the Wesleyan Church (the result of a 1968 merger of the Wesleyan Methodist and the Pilgrim Holiness Churches), and the Free Methodist Church are the largest Holiness Churches. Several of these are active members of the World Methodist Council.

As a whole, these Wesleyan evangelical churches, which have continuing commitments to the plenary inspiration of the Bible and its final authority for doctrine and life, often find themselves in a mediate position in world Protestantism, between the more socially conservative stances of some fellow evangelicals and the more liberal theologies that pervade the religious culture of much of contemporary Protestantism.

SEE ALSO Evangelical and Fundamental Christianity; Methodist Churches; Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity; Salvation Army; Smith, Hannah Whitall; Wesley Brothers.

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MELVIN E. DIETER (2005)

(HOLMBERG-) HARVA, UNO SEE HARVA, UNO

HOLOCAUST, THE

This entry consists of the following articles:

HISTORY
JEWISH THEOLOGICAL RESPONSES

HOLOCAUST, THE: HISTORY

From the French Revolution to the 1860s, the Jews of western and central Europe experienced political emancipation. Unencumbered by ties to an agrarian way of life, many Jews also experienced economic prosperity and social mobility during the following decades of industrialization and urbanization, as they seized the opportunities that a period of rapid change offered. However, late nineteenth-century Europe also witnessed the emergence of radical protest movements by those who bore the cost of modernization. Such movements were usually anti-Semitic, as the Jew was an easy symbol of all that these people perceived to be the ills of modern society: urbanization; democratization; disruptive social mobility; and a large-scale, impersonal market economy undermining the livelihoods of tradesmen, artisans, and peasants. The adoption of the Jew as such a symbol was facilitated by a ready-made and widespread negative Jewish stereotype fostered by centuries of religious anti-Semitism. A racist brand of Social Darwinism that emerged at this time was quickly utilized to provide a veneer of pseudoscientific respectability suited to a more secular age. In this later view the Jews had such a baneful influence because they were by nature rootless and subversive cosmopolites who could never become true members of a national community shaped by "blood and soil."

In Germany and Austria this antimodernist protest was known as the *völkisch* movement, and it received added impetus after World War I from the humiliating defeat, revolutionary turmoil, and disintegrative inflation that afflicted central Europe. The most successful mobilizer of this discontent was the National Socialist German Workers' Party of Adolf Hitler, and the antimodernist, anti-Semitic *völkisch* tradition was the ideological force behind most of its early activists. For Hitler himself, however, the Jew was an even deeper psychological obsession. He saw the Jew not only as the cause of present ills, manifested above all in the rising Bolshevik threat, but also as the very metaphysical source of evil itself spanning the centuries. Thus, in addition to a war of expansion in the east assuring Germany of the territorial base (*Lebensraum*) necessary for its status as a major power, Hitler also advocated the "removal" of the Jews from Germany. But Hitler did not come to power because of his promises for war and racial persecution. A much broader, often contradictory appeal for a "renewal" of German life underlay the Nazis' electoral breakthrough in the early 1930s. The hopes for the restoration of effective government to deal with the communist threat and the economic depression, the reconciliation of a highly factionalized German society into a unified racial entity with a common purpose, and a new meritocracy opening up careers to the professionally disadvantaged of Germany's tradition-bound society won votes from all sectors of the population but above all from the middle and lower-middle classes. With the votes of more than one-third of the German population behind Hitler, the old elites gambled that they could use him for their own purposes (many of which partially overlapped with Hitler's own goals). He was appointed chancellor in January 1933.

While Hitler consolidated his dictatorship in short order, an equally rapid solution to the Nazis' self-imposed Jewish problem was not forthcoming. Hitler's obsessive anti-Semitism provided sanction for various kinds of attacks upon the Jews but neither assured coordination of such attempts nor clarified the ultimate goal. Furthermore, Hitler and the Nazis had to take into account various inhibitive factors, such as the fragile state of the economy, foreign reaction, and the sensibilities of their conservative allies and the German public. What emerged was a cyclical pattern of intensifying persecution, as periodic pressure from party radicals for violent attacks upon the Jews was mollified with legislative discrimination more conducive to economic stability and less disturbing to the majority of the German public. In 1933 the Jews were deprived of civic equality and barred from various professions. In 1935 the Nuremberg Laws completed the social ostracism of Jews by forbidding marriage or sexual intercourse between Jews and "Aryans." In 1938 another wave of legislation impoverished the Jews by systematically stripping them of their property.

The party radicals made one last attempt to take control of Nazi Jewish policy when Joseph Goebbels incited the *Kristallnacht* riots of November 9–10, 1938. The arson of synagogues and vandalism of Jewish businesses throughout Germany caused dismay among many Germans who did not want to be confronted with a choice between their loyalty to and illusions about the regime on the one hand and their innate respect for property and order on the other. Heinrich Himmler and Hermann Göring joined forces and, with Hitler's approval, centralized control of Jewish policy, effectively excluding Goebbels. Henceforth the persecution of the Jews would be carried out through the orderly administration of the German bureaucracy, not through the violent pogroms of local party activists. Unobtrusive but relentless, this bureaucratic persecution proved far more conducive to the indifference of the German public and far more dangerous to the Jews.

With the growing role of Himmler's *Schutzstaffel* (SS) (a complex and expanding conglomeration of elite party organizations, police forces, and eventually even military formations) in shaping Nazi Jewish policy, one clear vision gradually emerged—a Germany free of Jews through emigration. But it was a vision unrealized. Faced with mounting immigration barriers in a world gripped by economic depression and thus decidedly unsympathetic to impoverished refugees, German Jews were reluctant to abandon career, property, and a country to which they were deeply attached. Emigration proceeded slowly, and the addition of Austrian and Czech Jews in 1938–1939 brought more Jews into the Reich than had emigrated over the past six years. The *Kristallnacht* had removed any remaining illusions of waiting out the Nazi regime, and almost all German Jews were now desperate to leave. The SS conducted experiments in coerced emigration organized by Adolf Eichmann to get rid of the Austrian and Czech Jews as quickly as possible. Nevertheless, time ran out. The outbreak of war in September 1939 closed most borders, and the acquisition first of two million Polish Jews and then another half million Jews in western Europe by June 1940 shattered any expectation of a solution to the Jewish question through emigration.

The Nazis now sought a solution to their Jewish "problem" through increasingly ambitious expulsion schemes. First the Jews of Germany, especially the additional 550,000 of the newly annexed Polish territories, were to be expelled to a "Jewish reservation" in the Lublin region of Poland. Then, with the defeat of France the Nazis conceived a scheme for expelling all the Jews of Europe to the French island colony of Madagascar. Neither plan proved feasible, but in the meantime the Polish Jews were herded into the major cities of Poland and gradually ghettoized. With economic ties severed and most of their property confiscated, the Jews of these frightfully overcrowded ghettos seemed destined to extinction through starvation and disease. One-half million Jews died in the ghettos between 1939 and 1941. The rest survived while Jewish leaders, forced into Jewish councils on German orders, tenaciously struggled to restore minimal communal life and above all a viable ghetto economy that would keep the Jews alive by giving the Germans a stake in the productive potential of Jewish labor.

Germany's decision to invade the Soviet Union posed once again the dilemma engendered by military success, which inevitably would bring more Jews into the expanding German empire. To break this vicious circle, Hitler called for an unprecedented "war of destruction" in the east, that was simultaneously a campaign for territorial conquest, an ideological crusade against Bolshevism, and a racial struggle against the Slavs and Jews. In the first month following the June 22, 1941, invasion of the Soviet Union, the Germans experienced spectacular success. In the euphoria of seeming victory, the mass murder of "potential enemies" by mobile SS firing squads (*Einsatzgruppen*) as well as other police and military units quickly escalated to include the killing of all Soviet Jews. The previous policies of expulsion and ghettoization had at least implied a decimation of the Jewish population, but now the leap to systematic mass murder, at least on Soviet territory, had been taken.

Intoxicated by victory and the prospect of a whole continent at their feet, Hitler and other leading Nazis contemplated extending the "final solution" to all European Jews. The firing-squad method was proving inadequate even on occupied Soviet territory because of the lack of secrecy of the mass executions, the psychological burden on the killers, and the staggering number of victims to be murdered. The technocrats of the Nazi regime solved these problems, however, by inventing the death camp. Secrecy, efficiency, and psychological detachment were to be achieved by deporting the victims to "factories of death" where a small staff would apply assembly-line methods to rob, gas, and cremate thousands of arriving Jews within a few hours. This vision was approved by Hitler in late September or early October 1941, and construction of the two earliest death camps, Belzec and Chelmno, was soon underway. The construction of four additional death camps eventually followed: the Birkenau section of Auschwitz, Sobibor, Treblinka, and Majdanek. When Reinhard Heydrich met with representatives from the various German ministries at the Wannsee Conference on January 20, 1942, to coordinate the deportation of all European Jews "to the east," the "final solution" to the Nazis' self-imposed Jewish problem was at hand.

In Poland the Germans descended upon the ghettos in savage "ghetto-clearing" operations, taking off the nonworking population first. Everywhere Jewish leaders faced the same excruciating dilemma. Resistance in the ghetto invited instant and overwhelming German retaliation against the entire community. Escape of the young fighters to the forests involved the abandonment of families. Compliance meant the incremental destruction of the community but at least initially held out hope that a remnant of workers would survive. This course was thus generally followed by Jewish leaders as the least intolerable evil, until family members had been lost, along with the illusion that the Germans were sufficiently utilitarian to preserve skilled labor. Only then did armed resistance seem rational. The Warsaw ghetto uprising, for instance, broke out in April 1943 when only seventy thousand of its nearly one-half million Jews were still alive.

Outside Poland and Russia the number of prospective victims was much less but the political obstacles to deportation to the death camps were much more complicated. Within the Third Reich both the police and a wide variety of local authorities handled the uprooting process. In the areas of German military administration and among Germany's allies and satellites, help from local collaborators was essential to identify and round up the Jews. Throughout all these regions the complex deportation program was coordinated by Heydrich's specialist, Eichmann. Deportations began from the Third Reich in the fall of 1941, and from Slovakia, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Norway in 1942. In 1943 the deportation effort spread to Greece, Bulgaria, Denmark, and Italy, though it faltered in Bulgaria and was thwarted almost entirely in Denmark through local obstruction. In Romania and Yugoslavia most of the Jews perished locally without resort to deportations. Finally, in May and June of 1944, nearly one-half million Hungarian Jews were the victims of the largest single deportation of the war.

As the Holocaust ran its course within the German empire, the outside world gradually learned of but never truly comprehended the magnitude and significance of the disaster. The first reports of a German plan to murder the entire Jewish population of Europe reached the West in the summer of 1942 through contacts in Switzerland. By November the reports had been fully confirmed, and an Allied declaration followed that condemned the Nazi actions and threatened punishment after the war. But little more was done.

Old bureaucratic attitudes and patterns of behavior, shaped in an era when policy had been to turn back the tide of refugees from Nazism, did not change quickly. Rescue through military victory provided an easy excuse for inaction, and Allied leaders did not insist upon a fundamental change in priorities necessary to alter this situation. The vast majority of Hitler's victims were beyond any rescue effort, but inability to stop the murder of millions was only made more horrifying by the pervasive passivity of the Allies concerning the possible rescue of additional thousands of threatened Jews.

When the Nazi regime finally collapsed in defeat, between five and six million Jews (approximately one-third of world Jewry) had perished in the Holocaust. A nearly equal number of non-Jews were also murdered by the Nazis: more three million Russian prisoners of war, the physically and mentally handicapped, the Roma and Sinti, the Polish intelligentsia, political opponents and resisters, homosexuals and others defined as "asocials," numerous slave laborers kept in unlivable conditions, and countless victims—especially Russians, Poles, and Yugoslavs—of mass reprisals and indiscriminate terror aimed at subduing the civilian populations of occupied territories. The Nazi regime showed itself capable of mass murder against virtually any group of people. But no other group of victims occupied the role in Hitler's mind of metaphysical evil incarnate as did the Jews. No other victims were threatened so totally and pursued so relentlessly. And no other victims died so helpless and abandoned.

SEE ALSO Anti-Semitism; Persecution, article on Jewish Experience; War and Warriors, overview article; Zionism.

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HOLOCAUST, THE: JEWISH THEOLOGICAL RESPONSES

The Holocaust (Heb., *sho'ah*), the willed destruction of European Jewry and the intended complete eradication of world Jewry by the Nazi regime, casts its shadow over all Jewish realities in the post-Holocaust era. The nature of this event, and the particularity and peculiarity of its assault against Jewish life and Jewish dignity, force a fundamental reexamination of all inherited Jewish norms, not the least of which are Judaism's traditional theological foundations. This is not to assert that these classical assumptions will necessarily change or prove inadequate to the test, but only that they must again be asked to answer age-old questions of theodicy.

To grasp the challenge of the Holocaust one must understand the unique racial/Manichaean *Weltanschauung* of Nazism and the role of the Jew in it. For Hitler and his Reich, anti-Semitism and the struggle against world Jewry were not only subjective sentiments of personal will but also actualizations in history of metahistorical antitheses, and as such, necessary and inevitable. Killing Jews, or more precisely eliminating "the Jews," or Judaism itself, was in this modern Gnostic myth a sacred obligation. "The Jew," the collective singular, was the generic, supranatural enemy. The *Endlösung,* the "final solution," was not primarily understood by its cruel initiator as a political or socioeconomic force. It was not an expression of class struggle or nationalism in any recognizable sense. It was intended as, and received its enormous power from, the fact that it aimed at nothing less than restructuring the cosmos. "Those who see in National Socialism nothing more than a political movement," Hitler unflinchingly observed, "know scarcely anthing of it. It is more even than a religion: It is the will to create mankind anew" (Hermann Rauschning, *Gespräche mit Hitler,* Zurich, 1940, pp. 231f.). Thus, as if it were the conclusion of an immutable tautology, Hitler felt that the Jewish people must be annihilated.

In responding to the catastrophic consequences of this racial fantasy, which claimed six million Jewish lives, Jewish thinkers have explored many theological avenues—some old, some new. As to the old, Jewish history is no stranger to national tragedy and, as a consequence, there is an abundance of traditional explanatory models that could be and have been adapted and reapplied to the Holocaust. From these, six have regularly been looked to by modern thinkers as providing maps for understanding the theological complexities raised by the Holocaust.

THE ʿAQEDAH. The ʿAqedah, or "binding," of Isaac, the biblical narrative recounted in *Genesis* 22:2ff., is often appealed to as a possible paradigm for approaching the Holocaust. (See, for example, Berkovits, 1973, pp. 124–125, and Neher, 1981.) Such a move is rooted in Jewish tradition, especially that of the medieval martyrologies of the Crusader and post-Crusader periods, in which the biblical event became the prism through which the horrific medieval experience became refracted and intelligible. Like Isaac of old, the Jewish children of Europe, and more generally all of slaughtered Israel, are seen as martyrs to God who willingly sacrifice themselves and their loved ones in order to prove beyond all doubt their faithfulness to the Almighty (see Shalom Spiegel, *The Last Trial,* New York, 1967, and the medieval religious poems collected in A. M. Habermann's *Sefer gezerot Ashkenaz ve-Tsarfat,* Jerusalem, 1945).

The appeal of this interpretation lies in its conferring heroic status on the dead because of their sanctity and obedience to the God of Israel. Their death is not due to sin, to any imperfection on their part, or to any violation of the covenant; rather, it is the climactic evidence of their unwavering devotion to the faith of their fathers—not its abandonment. As a consequence, the traditional (and present-day) reproach, that what befell Israel is "because of our sins," is wholly inappropriate. Not sin but piety is the key factor. God makes unique demands upon those who love him and whom he loves, and, as did Abraham, so too do the Jewish people respond with a fidelity of unmatched purity and selflessness. As such, the dreadful events become a test, the occasion for the maximal religious service, the absolute existential moment of the religious life, whose benefits are enjoyed both by the martyrs in the world to come and by the world as a whole, inasmuch as it benefits from such dedication.

In evaluating the appositeness of this reading of the Holocaust one appreciates its positive elements: It does not assign sin to the victims and denies sin as the cause of the horrific events that unfolded; it praises Israel's heroism and faithfulness. Yet the analogy between biblical and modern events breaks down before other elemental features of the ʿAqedah paradigm. First, in *Genesis* it is God who commands the test. Are Jews likewise to impute Auschwitz to a command of God? Second, in the original it is Abraham, God's especially faithful servant, who is tested because of his special religious status: "Take now thy son, thy only son, whom thou lovest" (*Gn.* 22:2). One cannot transfer, as the analogy requires, Hitler and his *Schutzstaffel* (SS) into the pivotal role of the Abraham who would sacrifice his "beloved." Finally, in the biblical circumstance the angel of the Lord brings the matter to a conclusion with no blood being shed: "Lay not thy hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything to him" (*Gn.* 22:12).

JOB. The biblical *Book of Job,* the best-known treatment of theodicy in the Hebrew Bible, naturally presents itself as a second possible model for understanding the Holocaust. (See, for example, Maybaum, 1965, p. 70, and Greenberg, 1981.) According to such a rendering—which is not unlike that offered by the ʿAqedah—Job provides an inviting paradigm because again Job's suffering is not caused by his sinfulness but rather by his righteousness, which is perceived by Satan as a cause for jealousy. Moreover, the tale ends on a "happy" note, as Job is rewarded for his faithfulness with God's double blessing. On a deeper level, the resolution of Job's doubts is never really clear; God's reply through the whirlwind is, in important ways, no answer to Job's questions; and Job's first wife and family are still dead through no fault of their own.

Job presents details that lead away from rather than toward an analogy with the Holocaust, and hence disallow the use of Job's faithfulness as an appropriate response to Hitler's demonic assault. First, the reader of *Job* knows, by way of the prologue, that the pact between God and Satan over the conditions of Job's trial explicitly stipulates that Job not be killed. This, above all, renders the situation of Job and that of Auschwitz altogether different. Second, except for the few who survived them, all theological ruminations are the work of those who were not in the death camps, and hence the theologian's situation is not that of Job but, as Eliezer Berkovits has said, of Job's brother. Third, the haunting matter of those who died in order to make the test possible finds no resolution in *Job.* God's capriciousness appears all too manifest. Finally, the climax of *Job* occurs when God reveals himself. He may not provide an answer to the specific bill of complaints raised by Job, but at least Job knows there is a God and hence, at a minimum, some reason to "trust in the Lord," even if he does not understand his ways. Job receives some sort of "answer," as Martin Buber among others has emphasized, through this manifestation of God's presence: "I had heard of thee by the hearing of the ear; but now mine eye sees thee; wherefore I abhor my words and repent" (*Jb.* 42:5–6; see Martin Buber, *At the Turning,* New York, 1952, pp. 61ff.). By contrast, those who went to their death in the death camps received no such comforting revelation of the divine.

The Suffering Servant. One of the richest theological doctrines of biblical theodicy is that of the Suffering Servant. Given its classic presentation in the *Book of Isaiah* (especially chapter 53), the Suffering Servant doctrine is that of vicarious suffering and atonement in which the righteous suffer for the wicked and hence allay, in some mysterious way, God's wrath and judgment, thus making the continuation of humankind possible. According to Jewish tradition, the Suffering Servant is Israel, the people of the covenant, who suffer with and for God in the midst of the evil of creation. By suffering for others, the Jewish people make it possible for creation to endure. In this act of faithfulness the guiltless establish a unique bond with the Almighty. As they suffer for and with him, he shares their suffering and agony and comes to love them in a special way for loving him with such fortitude and depth. (For the rabbinic use of this concept see, in the Babylonian Talmud, *Sanhedrin* 98b, *Berakhot* 5a, and *Sotah* 14a.)

In Jewish theological writings emanating from the Holocaust era itself and continuing down to the present day, this theme has been enunciated. One finds it in the writings of Hasidic *rebeyim* (see, for example, Kalman Kalonymus Spiro, *Esh qodesh* [Holy fire], Jerusalem, 1960, and the material presented in *Eleh ezkerah* [These will I remember], edited by Isaac Lewin, 6 vols., New York, 1956–1965). It is also evinced in the work of Conservative thinkers such as Abraham Joshua Heschel (1954 and 1955) and in that of Orthodox thinkers such as Eliezer Berkovits (1973) and Irving Greenberg (1981). "God's servant," writes Berkovits, "carries upon his shoulders God's dilemma with man through history. God's people share in all the fortunes of God's dilemma as man is bungling his way through toward Messianic realization" (p. 127).

One theologian, Ignaz Maybaum, a German Reform rabbi who survived the war in London, takes the paradigm outside the traditional Jewish framework and uses it to construct a more systematic, theological deconstruction of the Holocaust. First in the "servant of God" in *Isaiah,* then in the Jew Jesus, and now at Treblinka and Auschwitz, God uses the Jewish people to address the world and save it: "They died though innocently so that others might live" (Maybaum, 1965, p. 67). According to this reading of the Holocaust the perennial dialectic of history is God's desire that the Gentile nations come close to him while they resist this call. To foster and facilitate this relationship is the special task, the "mission," of Israel. It is they who must make God's message accessible in terms the Gentile nations will understand and respond to. But what language, what symbols, will speak to the nations? Modern Israel repeats collectively the single crucifixion of one Jew two millennia ago and by so doing reveals to humankind its weaknesses as well as the need for its turning to Heaven. In a daring parallelism Maybaum writes: "The Golgotha of modern mankind is Auschwitz. The cross, the Roman gallows, was replaced by the gas chamber. The gentiles, it seems, must first be terrified by the blood of the sacrificed scapegoat to have the mercy of God revealed to them and become converted, become baptized gentiles, become Christians" (ibid., p. 36). For Maybaum, through the Holocaust the world moves again forward and upward, from the final vestiges of medieval obscurantism and intolerance, of which the Shoʾah is a product, to a new era of spiritual maturity, human morality, and encounter between the human and the divine.

Applied to the Holocaust, the doctrine of the Servant seems worse than the problem: It means that God can act cruelly, demand terrible sacrifices, and regulate creation by "unacceptable" means. Surely the omnipotent, omniscient creator could have found a more satisfactory principle for directing and sustaining his creation. Recourse to mystery, to saying "God's ways are not our ways," is not an explanation; rather, it is a capitulation before the immensity of the Shoʾah and a cry of faith.

The more specific, elaborate, form given the doctrine by Maybaum empties Jewish life of all meaning other than that intelligible to and directed toward the gentile nations. Only the Christocentric pattern now applied to the people of Israel gives this people's history and spirituality meaning. In addition, this view is predicated on a false analogy between the Holocaust and Good Friday. Christians are able to declare that "Christ died for the sins of humankind" for (at least) two cardinal reasons. The first and most weighty is that

Christ is believed to be God Incarnate, the second person of the Trinity: The crucifixion is God taking the sins of humanity on himself. He is the vicarious atonement for humankind. There is thus no terrible cruelty or unspeakable "crime" but only divine love, the presence of unlimited divine grace. Second, the human yet divine Christ, the hypostatic union of humanity and God, mounts the cross voluntarily. He willingly "dies so that others might live." How very different was the Shoʾah. How very dissimilar its victims (not martyrs) and their fate. The murdered were not divine, they were all-too-human creatures crushed in the most unspeakable brutality. If God was the cause of their suffering, how at odds from the traditional Christian picture this is. For here God purchases life for some by sacrificing others, not himself. Furthermore, the Jews were singled out "unwillingly"; they were not martyrs in the classical sense—though some may wish to transform this fate for their own needs by seeing them as such.

The disanalogy of the Holocaust and Good Friday would yet reveal something more. According to Maybaum, the symbol of the crucifixion is one of vicarious atonement. But given the circumstances of the vicarious sacrifice of the Shoʾah, is it not the case that the nature of the atonement is far more criminal and infinitely more depraved than the sins for which it atones? What sort of *kohanim* ("priests") were the Nazis, and what sort of sacrifice could they bring about? Can one truly envision God, the God of Israel, making such a vicarious expiation?

HESTER PANIM. In wrestling with human suffering, the Hebrew Bible appeals, especially in the Psalms, to the notion of *hester panim,* "the hiding of the face" of God. This concept has two meanings. The first, as in *Deuteronomy* 31:17–18 and later in *Micah* 3:4, is the causal one that links God's absence to human sin. God turns away from the sinner. The second sense, found particularly in certain psalms (e.g., *Ps.* 44, 69, 88 and variants in, e.g., *Ps.* 9, 10, 13; see also *Jb.* 13:24), suggests protest, despair, and confusion over the absence of God for no clear reason, and not as a consequence of sin. Here humankind stands "abandoned" for reasons that appear unknown and unfathomable. Thus the repetitive theme of lament in the Psalms as the psalmists implore God "why" or "how long" he will be absent.

In the rabbinic sources the term *hester panim* is further developed in a variety of contexts, most notably in response to the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE. Its employment is an indication (1) that the traditional, more widely used explanation for that event—that it was brought on by sin—is either not compelling or is being rejected; and (2) that the sages were profoundly perplexed by this and related events and yet could not or would not account for it through appeal to either human sinfulness or divine capriciousness. Their faith in divine providence required that they not abandon trust in God, but just how his will and presence was to be deciphered seemed increasingly uncertain; hence the appeal to *hester panim.*

In applying the doctrine of *hester panim* to the Holocaust, modern theologians are attempting to vindicate Israel, to remove God as the direct cause of the evil by suggesting that evil is something humans do to other humans, and to affirm the reality and even the saving nature of the divine despite empirical evidence to the contrary. *Hester panim* is not merely or only the absence of God; rather, it entails a more complex exegesis of divine providence stemming from an analysis of the ontological nature of the divine. God's absence, *hester panim,* is a necessary, active, condition of his saving mercy; that is, his "hiddenness" is the obverse of his "long-suffering" patience with sinners. In other words, being patient with sinners means allowing sin. "One may call it the divine dilemma that God's *Erekh Apayim,* his patiently waiting countenance to some is, of necessity, identical with his *hester panim,* his hiding of the countenance, to others" (Berkovits, 1973, p. 107). *Hester panim* also is dialectically related to the fundamental character of human freedom without which human would not be human. It should also be recognized that this notion is an affirmation of faith. The lament addressed to God is a sign that God exists and that his manifest presence is still possible. Even more, it proclaims that God in his absence is still, paradoxically, present. It is a sign that one believes that ultimately evil will not triumph, for God will not always "hide his face." For some contemporary Jewish theologians, like Emil L. Fackenheim, Eliezer Berkovits, Irving Greenberg, and Martin Buber, the state of Israel is proof of the vindication of the forces of good over evil, light over darkness.

Martin Buber, in his contemporary idiom, modernized the biblical phrase and spoke of the era, during and after the Holocaust, as a time of "the eclipse of God" (as he titled his book, 1952). This felicitious description represents Buber's wish to continue to affirm the existence of God despite the counterevidence of Auschwitz. Yet this again is an appeal to faith and mystery despite strong evidence to the contrary. Also, this gambit still fails to answer the pressing question: Where was God in the death camps? Given the moral attributes, the qualities of love and concern, that are integral to God's nature, how can one rest in the assertion of his self-willed absence, that is, in passivity, in the face of the murder of a million Jewish children. The solution only produces a larger conundrum.

MIPPENEI ḤATAʾEINU. In biblical and later Jewish sources the principal though not unique "explanation" for human suffering was sin, as has been seen. There was a balance in the universal order that was inescapable: Good brought forth blessing and sin retribution. Both on the individual and collective level the law of cause and effect, of sin and grief, operated. In the present time it is not surprising that some theologians—particularly traditional ones—and certain rabbinical sages have responded to the tragedy of European Jewry with this classical "answer." Harsh as it is, the argument advanced is that Israel sinned grievously and God, after much patience and hope of return, finally "cut off" the generation of the wicked. The reasoning is expressed in the phrase *mippenei* *ḥata᾽einu* ("because of our sins" are Jews punished). Though the majority of those who have wrestled with the theological implications of the Sho᾽ah have rejected this line of analysis, an important, if small, segment of the religious community have consistently advanced it.

Two questions immediately arise in pursuing the application of the age-old doctrine to the contemporary tragedy of the Holocaust. The first is: "What kind of God would exact such retribution?" Christian thinkers who "explain" Auschwitz as one of many punishments of a rebellious Israel for the crime of deicide, and Jewish thinkers who pronounce Israel's sinfulness are both obligated to reflect, to be self-conscious, about the implications of their idea of God. Could a God of love, the God of Israel, use a Hitler to annihilate the Jewish people?

Second, what sin could Israel be guilty of to warrant such retribution? Here the explanations vary depending on one's perspective. For some, such as the Satmar *rebe* Yo'el Teitelbaum (1888–1982) and his small circle of Hasidic and extreme right-wing, anti-Zionist followers, the sin that precipitated the Holocaust was Zionism. For in Zionism the Jewish people broke their covenant with God, which demanded that they not try to end their exile and thereby hasten the coming of the Messiah through their own means. In return "we have witnessed the immense manifestation of God's anger [the Holocaust]" (*Sefer va-Yo᾽el Mosheh,* Brooklyn, New York, 5721/1961, p. 5). For others on the right of the religious spectrum the primary crime was not Zionism but Reform Judaism. In this equation the centrality of Germany as the land that gave birth simultaneously to Reform Judaism and Nazism is undeniable proof of their causal connection. (See, for the presentation of this position, Elḥanan Wasserman, *ʿIqvata de-meshiha᾽* [In the footsteps of the Messiah], Tel Aviv, 5702/1942, p. 6; Ḥayyim ʿOzer Qanyevsqi, *Ḥayyei ʿOlam* [Eternal Life], Rishon Le-Zion, 5733/1972.) In a similar, if broader vein, others of this theological predisposition identified Jewish assimilation as the root issue. Again the key role played by Germany is "proof" of the mechanism of cause and effect. Alternatively, in these same very traditional Orthodox circles, Issachar Teichthal saw the negative catalyst not in the Jewish people's Zionist activity but just the reverse, in their passionate commitment to life in exile and their failure to support willingly and freely the sanctified activity of Zionist upbuilding and thereby bring the exile to a close. In his book *Em ha-banim semeḥah* (The mother of children is happy), written in Hungary in 1943, Teichthal, writing in the belief that the twin events of the Holocaust and the growth of the Zionist movement marked the beginning of the messianic era, declaimed: "And these [anti-Zionist leaders] have caused even more lamentation; [and because of their opposition] we have arrived at the situation we are in today . . . this abomination in the house of Israel—endless trouble and sorrow upon sorrow—all because we despised our precious land" (*Em ha-banim semeḥah,* Budapest, 5703/1943, p. 17).

THE FREE WILL DEFENSE. Among philosophical reflections concerning theodicy, none has an older or more distinguished lineage than that known as the free will defense. According to this argument human evil is the necessary and ever-present possibility entailed by the reality of human freedom. If human beings are to be capable of acts of authentic morality they must be capable of acts of authentic immorality. Applying this consideration to the events of the Nazi epoch, the Sho᾽ah becomes a case of the extreme misuse of human freedom. At the same time such a position in no way forces a reconsideration of the cosmological structure in which the anthropological drama unfolds, nor does it call into question God's goodness and solicitude, for it is humanity and not God who perpetrates genocide. God observes these events with his unique divine pathos, but refrains from intercession in order to allow human morality to be substantively real. At the same time that he is long-suffering with evil elements of humanity, his patience results in the suffering of others.

This situation, however, is not ultimate or final in the Jewish context, for there is also the deeply held contention that God must absent himself for humankind to be but must also be present in order that meaninglessness does not ultimately gain final victory. Thus God's presence in history must be sensed as hiddenness, and his anonymity must be understood as the sign of his presence. God reveals his power in history by curbing his might so that humankind too might be powerful. In Israel's experience, as Berkovits declares in making this case, one sees both attributes of God. The continued existence of the Jewish people despite its long record of suffering is the strongest single proof that God does exist despite his concealment. Israel is the witness to God's presence in space and time. Nazism understood this fact, and its slaughter of Jews was an attempt to slaughter the God of history. The Nazis were aware, even as Israel sometimes fails to be, that God's manifest reality in the world is necessarily linked to the fate of the Jewish people.

This defense has been—not surprisingly, given its historical tenacity and intellectual power—widely advocated by post-Holocaust thinkers of all shades of theological opinion. The two most notable developments of the theme in the general theological literature are in Berkovits's *Faith after the Holocaust* and Arthur A. Cohen's *The Tremendum.*

In trying to estimate the power of the free will argument in the face of Auschwitz, two counterarguments are salient. First, could not God, possessed of omniscience, omnipotence, and absolute goodness, have created a world in which there was human freedom but less evil—or even none at all? The sheer gratuitous evil manifest during the Holocaust goes beyond anything that appears logically or metaphysically necessary for the existence of freedom and beyond the bounds of toleration for a just, all-powerful God. Secondly, it might be argued that it would be morally preferable to have a world in which evil did not exist, at least not in the magnitude witnessed during the Sho᾽ah, even if this meant doing without certain heroic moral attributes or accomplishments. That is to say, for example, though feeding and caring for the sick or hungry is a great virtue it would be far better if there were no sickness or hunger and hence no need for such care. Here it is important to recognize that free will is not, despite a widespread tendency so to understand it, all of one piece. Free will can be limited to apply only in certain, specific circumstances, just as action can be constrained in certain ways. Consider, too, that God could have created a humankind that, while possessing free will, nonetheless also had a proportionately stronger inclination for the good and a correspondingly weaker inclination to evil.

A NEW REVELATION. To this point the first six positions analyzed have all been predicated upon classical Jewish responses to national tragedy. In the last two decades, however, a number of innovative, more radical, responses have been evoked from contemporary post-Holocaust thinkers. The remainder of this article will concentrate on the most important of these explorations, beginning with the contention argued by Emil L. Fackenheim, that the Holocaust represents a new revelation. Rejecting any account that analyzes Auschwitz as a *mippenei ḥaṭaʾeinu* event, or, in fact, any notion of an "explanation" for the Holocaust, Fackenheim, employing a Buberian model of dialogical revelation, revelation as the personal encounter of an I with the eternal Thou (God), urges Israel to continue to believe despite the moral outrage of the Shoʾah. God, in this view, is always present in Jewish history, even at Auschwitz. One does not, and cannot, understand what he was doing at Auschwitz, or why he allowed it, but one must insist that he was there. Still more, from the death camps as from Sinai, God commands Israel. The nature of this commanding voice, what Fackenheim has called the "614th Commandment" (there are 613 commandments in traditional Judaism) is: "Jews are forbidden to hand Hitler posthumous victories" (1970, p. 84); that is, Jews are under a sacred obligation to survive; after the death camps Jewish existence itself is a holy act; Jews are under a sacred obligation to remember the martyrs; Jews are, as Jews, forbidden to despair of redemption or to become cynical about the world and humanity, for to submit to cynicism is to abdicate responsibility for the world and to deliver the world into the hands of Nazism and similar potentially evil forces. And above all, Jews are "forbidden to despair of the God of Israel, lest Judaism perish" (ibid.). The voice that speaks from Auschwitz above all demands that Hitler win no posthumous victories, that no Jew do what Hitler could not do. Fackenheim invests the Jewish will for survival with transcendental significance. Precisely because others would eradicate Jews from the earth, Jews are commanded to resist annihilation. Paradoxically, Hitler makes Judaism after Auschwitz a necessity.

This interesting, highly influential response to the Shoʾah requires detailed analysis. How do historical events become "revelatory"? And what exactly does Fackenheim mean by the term *commandment?* In the older, traditional theological vocabulary of Judaism, it meant something God actually "spoke" to the people of Israel. Fackenheim, however, would reject this literal meaning in line with his dialogical premises. It would seem that for him the word has only analogical or metaphorical sense in this case; if so, what urgency and compelling power does it retain? Secondly, should Hitler gain such prominence in Jewish theology, to the extent that Judaism survives primarily in order to spite his dark memory? Raising these two issues only begins to do justice to the richness and ingenuity of Fackenheim's position.

THE COVENANT BROKEN: A NEW AGE. A second modern thinker who has urged continued belief in the God of Israel, though on new terms, is Irving Greenberg. For Greenberg all the old truths and certainties have been destroyed by the Holocaust. Any simple faith is now impossible. Greenberg explicates this radical notion in this way. There are three major periods in the covenantal history of Israel. The first is the biblical era. What characterizes this first covenantal stage is the asymmetry of the relationship between God and Israel. The biblical encounter may be a covenant, but it is clearly a covenant in which "God is the initiator, the senior partner, who punishes, rewards and enforces the punishment if the Jews slacken" (Greenberg, 1981, p. 6). This type of relationship culminated in the crisis engendered by the destruction of the First Temple in 587/6 BCE. To this tragedy Israel, through the prophets, in keeping with the logic of this position, responded primarily through the doctrine of self-chastisement: The destruction was divine punishment rather than rejection or proof of God's nonexistence.

The second, rabbinic phase in the transformation of the convenant idea is marked by the destruction of the Second Temple. The reaction of the rabbis was to argue that now Jews must take a more equal role in the covenant, becoming true partners with the Almighty. "The manifest divine presence and activity was being reduced but the covenant was actually being renewed" (ibid., p. 7). For the destruction signaled the initiation of an age in which God would be less manifest though still present.

Greenberg believes that a "third great cycle in Jewish history" has come about as a consequence of the Holocaust. The Shoʾah marks a new era in which the Sinaitic covenantal relationship was shattered and thus an unprecedented form of convenantal relationship, if there is to be any covenantal relationship at all, must come into being to take its place. "In retrospect, it is now clear that the divine assignment to the Jews was untenable. After the Holocaust, it is obvious that this role opened the Jews to a total murderous fury from which there was no escape. . . . Morally speaking, then, God can have no claims on the Jews by dint of the Covenant." What this means, Greenberg argues, is that the covenant

> can no longer be commanded and subject to a serious external enforcement. It cannot be commanded because morally speaking—covenantally speaking—one cannot order another to step forward to die. One can give an order like this to an enemy, but in a moral relationship,

> I cannot demand giving up one's life. I can ask for it or plead for it—but I cannot order it. (ibid., p. 23)

Out of this complex of considerations, Greenberg pronounces the fateful judgment: The Jewish covenant with God is now voluntary. Jews have, quite miraculously, chosen to continue to retain their Jewish identity and to build a collective Jewish state, the ultimate symbol of Jewish continuity. But these acts are, after Auschwitz, the result of the free choice of the Jewish people. The consequence of this voluntary action transforms the existing covenantal order. First Israel was a junior partner, then an equal partner, and finally, after Auschwitz, it becomes the senior partner, "so in love with the dream of redemption that it volunteered to carry on with its mission" (ibid., p. 25).

In turn, Israel's voluntary acceptance of the covenant and its continued will to survive suggest three corollaries. First, these factors point, if obliquely, to the continued existence of the God of Israel. By creating the state of Israel, by raising Jewish children, Israel shows that "covenantal hope is not in vain" (ibid., pp. 37–38). Second, in an age of voluntarism rather than coercion, living as a Jew under the covenant can no longer be interpreted monolithically, that is, only in strict halakhic (traditional rabbinic) fashion. Third, any aspects of religious behavior that demean the image of the divine or of humanity, such as racial prejudice, sexism, and oppression of all sorts, must be purged.

Interpretation of Greenberg's view must turn on the following issues: the correctness of his theological reading of Jewish history, an open and difficult question; the theological meaning and status of key categories such as "covenant," "revelation," "commandment," and the like—that is, on the one hand, whether Greenberg has done justice to the classical meaning of these terms, and, on the other, whether his revised rendering is justifiable and functional; and whether Jews should allow Hitler and the Holocaust such decisive power in determining the inner, authentic nature of Jewish theology.

A REDEFINITION OF GOD. An important school in modern theological circles known as "process theology," inspired by the work of Alfred North Whitehead and Charles Hartshorne, has argued that the classical understanding of God has to be quite dramatically revised, especially in terms of Jewish conception of God's power and direct, causal involvement in human affairs. According to those who advance this thesis God certainly exists, but the old and the more recent difficulties of theodicy and related metaphysical problems emanating from classical theism arise precisely because of an inadequate description of the Divine, a description that incorrectly ascribes to God attributes of omnipotence and omniscience.

Arthur A. Cohen, in his *The Tremendum: A Theological Interpretation of the Holocaust* (1981), made a related proposal. Although he draws on the writing of F. W. J. Schelling (1775–1854) and Franz Rosenzweig (1886–1929) and on Qabbalah (Jewish mysticism) as his sources, he is no doubt also familiar with the work of the process theologians. After arguing for the enormity of the Holocaust, its uniqueness, and its transcendence of any meaning, Cohen suggested that the way out of the dilemma posed by classical thought is to rethink whether "national catastrophes are compatible with our traditional notions of a beneficent and providential God" (p. 50). For Cohen the answer is no, at least to the extent that the activity and nature of the providential God must be reconceptualized. Against the traditional view that asks, given its understanding of God's action in history, how it could be that God witnessed the Holocaust and remained silent, Cohen would pose the contrary "dipolar" thesis that "what is taken as God's speech is really always man's hearing, that God is not the strategist of our particularities or of our historical condition, but rather the mystery of our futurity, always our *posse,* never our acts" (p. 97). That is, "if we begin to see God less as an interferer whose insertion is welcome (when it accords with our needs) and more as the immensity whose reality is our prefiguration . . . we shall have won a sense of God whom we may love and honor, but whom we no longer fear and from whom we no longer demand" (ibid.).

This redescription of God, coupled with a form of the free will defense, made all the more plausible because God is now not a direct causal agent in human affairs, resolves much of the tension created by the *tremendum.*

This deconstruction of classical theism and its substitution by theological dipolarity fails to deal adequately with the problem of God's attributes. Is God still God if no longer the providential agency in history? Is God still God who lacks the power to enter history vertically to perform the miraculous? Is such a "dipolar" God still the God to whom one prays, the God of salvation? Put the other way round, it certainly does not appear to be the God of the covenant, nor the God of exodus and Sinai, nor yet the God of the prophets and the *ḥurban bayit ri'shon* ("destruction of the First Temple") and the *ḥurban bayit sheni* ("destruction of the Second Temple"). These counterevidences suggest that Cohen's God is not the God of the Bible and rabbinic tradition. Hence it is legitimate to ask whether, if Cohen is right—indeed, particularly if Cohen is right—there is any meaning left in Judaism, in the idea of God in Jewish tradition, or any covenantal role or meaning left to the Jewish people? Cohen's revisionism in this particular area is so radical that it sweeps away the biblical ground of Jewish faith and tradition and allows the biblical evidence to count not at all against his own speculative metaphysical hypotheses.

Secondly, is the dipolar, noninterfering God "whom we no longer fear and from whom we no longer demand" yet worthy of "love and honor?" This God seems closer, say, to Plato's Demiurge or perhaps better still to the God of the deists. What difference in Jewish lives is there between this God and no God at all? What sense is there, given his noninterference, in calling him a God of love and salvation?

Nevertheless, *The Tremendum* is an important work of Jewish theology that forces scholars to engage in theology as few recent books by Jewish authors have and that is saturated with an intense concern with the people of Israel; it is the product of a deep and broadly educated mind.

God Is Dead. It is natural that many should have responded to the horror of the Holocaust with unbelief. Such skepticism usually takes a nonsystematic, almost intuitive, form: "I can no longer believe." However, one contemporary Jewish theologian, Richard L. Rubenstein, has provided a formally structured "death of God" theology as a response to the Shoʾah.

In Rubenstein's view the only honest response to the death camps is the rejection of God, the statement "God is dead," and the open recognition of the meaninglessness of existence. One's life is neither planned nor purposeful, there is no divine will, and the world does not reflect divine concern. Humankind must now reject its illusions and recognize the existential truth that life is not intrinsically valuable, that the human condition reflects no transcendental purpose, and that history reveals no providence. All theological "rationalizations" of Auschwitz pall before its enormity and, for Rubenstein, the only worthy reaction is the rejection of the entire Jewish theological framework: There is no God and no covenant with Israel. Drawing heavily upon the atheistic existentialists such as Camus, Sartre, and earlier Nietzsche, Rubenstein interprets this to mean that in the face of history's meaninglessness human beings must create and project meaning.

What makes Rubenstein's theology a Jewish theology are the implications he draws from his radical negation with respect to the people of Israel. Rubenstein inverts the ordinary perception and argues that with the death of God, the existence of the *community* of Israel is all the more important. Now that there is nowhere else to turn for meaning, Jews need each other all the more to create meaning: "It is precisely because human existence is tragic, ultimately hopeless, and without meaning that we treasure our religious community" (1966, p. 68). Though Judaism has to be "demythologized," that is, it has to renounce all normative claims to a unique "chosen" status, at the same time it paradoxically gains heightened importance in the process.

Coupled to this psychoanalytic revisionism in Rubenstein's ontology is a mystical paganism in which the Jew is urged to forgo history and return to the cosmic rhythms of natural existence. The modern Jew is exhorted to recognize the priorities of nature. So, for example, he or she must come to understand that the real meaning of messianism is "the proclamation of the end of history and return to nature and nature's cyclical repetitiveness" (ibid., p. 135). The future and final redemption is not to be the conquest of nature by history, as traditionally conceived in the Jewish tradition, but rather the conquest of history by nature and the return of all things to their primal origins. Humanity has to rediscover the sanctity of its bodily life and reject forever the delusion of overcoming it; humans must submit to and enjoy their physicality—not try to transform or transcend it. Rubenstein sees the renewal of Zion and the rebuilding of the land with its return to the soil as a harbinger of this return to nature on the part of the Jew who has been removed from the earth (symbolically, from nature) by theology and necessity for almost two thousand years. The return to the land points toward the final escape of the Jew from the negativity of history to the vitality and promise of self-liberation through nature.

Rubenstein's challenging position raises two especially difficult issues. The first has to do with how one evaluates Jewish history as "evidence" for and against the existence of God. It may well be that the radical theologian sees Jewish history too narrowly. He takes *the* decisive event of Jewish history to be the death camps. Logic and conceptual adequacy require that if one gives negative theological weight to Auschwitz one must give positive theological weight to the re-creation of the Jewish state, an event of equal or greater import in Jewish history. Another issue raised by the question of "evidence" is the adoption by Rubenstein of an empiricist theory of meaning as the measure by which to judge the status of God's existence. History, in its totality, provides evidence both for and against the nonexistence of God on empirical or verificationist grounds—that is, there is both good and bad in history.

Mystery and Silence. In the face of the Holocaust, recourse to the God of mystery and human silence are not unworthy options. However, there are two kinds of silence, two kinds of employment of the idea of a God of mystery. The first is closer to the attitude of the agnostic: "I cannot know." Hence all profound existential and intellectual wrestling with the enormous problems raised by the Shoʾah and with God after the Shoʾah are avoided. The second is the silence and mystery that Job and many of the prophets manifest, to which the Bible points in its recognition of God's elemental otherness. This is the silence that comes after struggling with and reproaching God, after feeling his closeness or his painful absence. This silence, this mystery, is the silence and mystery of seriousness, of that authenticity that will not diminish the tragedy with a too quick answer, yet that, having forced reason to its limits, recognizes the limits of reason. Had Abraham accepted God's judgment at Sodom too quickly, or Job his suffering in a too easy silence, they would have betrayed the majesty and morality of the God in whom they trusted. In the literary responses to Auschwitz by survivors one finds this attitude more commonly than in works of overt theology. It is preeminent, for example, in the novels of Elie Wiesel, André Schwarz-Bart, and Primo Levi and in the poetry of Nelly Sachs. Assuredly, there is great difficulty in ascertaining when thought has reached its limit and silence and mystery become proper, but, at the same time, there is the need to know when to speak in silence.

See Also Jewish Thought and Philosophy, article on Modern Thought.

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HOLY, IDEA OF THE.

[*This entry attempts an assessment of the role of the German theologian Rudolf Otto and his book* The Idea of the Holy *in setting forth a distinctively phenomenological interpretation of the nature of religion.*]

Rudolf Otto's work during the first half of his career culminated with his publication, at the age of forty-eight, of *Das Heilige* (1917), translated as *The Idea of the Holy* (1923). Published in an age of high hopes for science, it has as a central concern the assertion of the autonomy of religion. Otto's position is diametrically opposed to what has come to be called reductionism, that is, the explanation of religion as a creation of human culture, a response to psychological or social needs that is in some sense the product of those needs. Otto, by contrast, asserts the autonomy of religion in the sphere of its own activity and its status as a response to a power transcending the human.

A landmark among theories of religion, Otto's book appeared only five years after the major work by the French sociologist Émile Durkheim (1858–1917), *Les Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse.* To situate Otto in European intellectual history, it will be useful to discuss Durkheim briefly. This is not because of any direct response by Otto to Durkheim; as far as can be told, they never met in person, nor did the German theologian and the French sociologist discuss each other's works. Rather, the contrast between these two influential books demonstrates the presence of an issue that has persisted in the interpretation of religion. Durkheim, who analyzes the sacred as originating in a symbolic projection of the clan or tribal group identity, stands as a polar opposite to Otto, who portrays the holy as a power far greater than, and lying far beyond, the human realm.

Although Otto does not seem to have reacted directly to Durkheim, he did write an article in 1910 that was sharply critical of a figure Durkheim found attractive: the German psychologist Wilhelm Wundt, whose *Völkerpsychologie* (Leipzig, 1900–1909) offered an evolutionary theory of religion as a social phenomenon, the product of group fantasy. Otto flatly denied the possibility of a social account of customs and myths in the absence of a capacity for religious feeling in the individual, and he asserted the uniqueness of such a feeling as a distinctively human spiritual capacity.

The significance of Rudolf Otto's work is that it takes account of the cumulative critical and scientific tradition of modern Europe and claims a place of respect for religious experience and religious thought in a modern age. That critical heritage, too vast to be set forth in detail here, included the institutional challenges to church authority of the Renaissance, Reformation, and French Revolution. It included the rationalist critique of revealed knowledge made by the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. It included nineteenth-century scientific discovery, comprehending a view of the evolution of human biology that many saw as paradigmatic for culture as well. And it included comparative linguistic, historical, and cultural studies fueled by an expanding fund of information from Europe's contact with the rest of the world; this new knowledge tended to remove the element of uniqueness from various aspects of the Christian heritage. Otto, then, was a product of modern European culture, seeking an up-to-date but sympathetic expression of religion in terms of what that culture had at its disposal.

RELIGIOUS FEELING. By and large, the use of the expression the holy as a noun has spread since the appearance of Rudolf Otto's book, and as a direct result of it. Otto was not the first to employ *the holy* as a noun; that distinction may belong to the German philosopher Wilhelm Windelband (1848–1915), who did so in an essay in 1903. In any event, the pattern of making noun concepts out of adjectival qualities was not new; for instance, the term *das Göttliche* ("the divine") is found in the writings of the German philosopher G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831).

In the academic study of religion in the English-speaking world, reference to the holy has implied an appreciation of divine potency as a reality. The usefulness of the term has been generic: It has been possible to take references to the source or object of religious veneration as examples of human religiosity generally, without committing oneself to the affirmations or practices of a particular community and tradition.

The subtitle of Otto's *The Idea of the Holy* declares his agenda: *An Inquiry into the Nonrational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and Its Relation to the Rational.* Otto was not seeking to deny an important role to rationality. Far from it. Otto, in the tradition of Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), insisted that reason could operate a priori to establish mathematics, rules of inference, and the like, and could operate a posteriori to distill impressive amounts of information from sense data. In particular, Otto sought to extend and refine the application of the Kantian critique of reason promoted by Kant's disciple Jakob Friedrich Fries (1773–1843). Those today who read *Das Heilige* in isolation should note Otto's priorities in his foreword to the 1923 English translation: "I feel that no one ought to concern himself with the 'Numen ineffabile' who has not already devoted assiduous and serious study to the 'Ratio aeterna.'" Religious orthodoxy in general, and Christian doctrine in particular, have a tendency toward rationalization, Otto asserts. But while highly developed rational, conceptual systems have their place, Christian theology has tended to overlook the nonrational element in religious experience. It is this element that Otto seeks to characterize and illustrate in *Das Heilige* as "something remarkably specific and unique" (p. 4).

The principal and abiding interest of Rudolf Otto's philosophy of religion has centered on his description of religious experience. In *Das Heilige* Otto presented as characteristic of religion a particular awareness of the presence of divinity for which he coined the word *numinous.* He derived the word from *numen,* the Latin term for a divine spirit or localized power that the ancient Romans perceived in nature. The numinous, for Otto, is a feeling that one has as a creature in the presence of a superior power. Otto gives it a three-factor explication: It is the awareness of a mystery (something wholly other than one's self); which is *tremendum* (awe-inspiring, overpowering, possessed of its own emotion-like initiative) yet at the same time fascinating (such that one is drawn to seek communication with it). Having set this forth in forty pages, Otto seeks in the balance of the book to describe ways in which the sense of the numinous is expressed in religious art, in biblical literature, and in the writings of the Christian mystics. Writing as a Lutheran, Otto is particularly interested in mystical elements in the faith of Martin Luther.

Although *Das Heilige* seems to start out as a treatment of a philosophical problem, namely the role of the rational and the nonrational as sources of religious knowledge, the bulk of the book is not so much an argument as a collection of illustrations. Herein perhaps lie both the book's weakness and its strength. The reader is drawn into material from the history of religious life rather than the history of doctrine, drawn into territory that is more psychological or symbolic than conceptual. Bit by bit, the reader is shown that a religiously satisfying response to the Kantian problem of knowledge of the transcendent is likely to be a deeply personal rather than a rationally analytical one. Otto is by no means the first religious philosopher to have made such a point; the limits of reason had been discussed by early Christian theologians, and the twelfth-century Muslim thinker Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī proposed a particularly appealing synthesis of the roles of reason and experience. But Otto's innovation appears to have been to provide a structure for the description of feeling and in so doing to commend feeling itself to people of a rational bent.

Otto's term *numinous* has subsequently become part of the general vocabulary of the study of religion, often in two senses. In one of these senses, the quality inheres in the experience; one has a numinous experience or feeling, numinosity or numinousness is an aspect of that experience or feeling, and the reality that is held to exist is an event in the consciousness of the religious individual. In the other of these senses, *numinous* refers to the quality of that presumed reality beyond the individual; it produces, or is the object of, that experience or feeling, and it is held by religious participants and religiously committed observers to be a reality far transcending the experience of any one individual.

Essentially, in the rhetoric of Otto's presentation, both of these connotations of the term *numinous* are implied; Otto wants the term to function in both senses. On page 7 of *The Idea of the Holy* he says, "I shall speak, then, of a unique 'numinous' category of value and of a definitely 'numinous' state of mind, which is always found wherever the category is applied." The overall thrust of Otto's presentation involves the conviction that there exist not only a state of mind and a realm of value as two distinct realities, but that the first of these is intimately linked to the second and constitutes a form of evidence for it.

For centuries a recurring problem of religious philosophy has been whether anything in the realm of the transcendent or divine can be demonstrated to the uncommitted or skeptical inquirer to be an existing reality. On the whole, the post-Kantian consensus has been that there is no "objective" knowledge of the transcendent possible through the operation of reason on the data received from the senses. Experience of the transcendent, however compelling to the person who has it, is not necessarily compellingly transferable to the person who does not have it.

Although the bulk of Otto's book amounts to a descriptive inventory of various people's intense experiences of divine power, which seeks to elicit an appreciation of intensely felt religion (particularly of mysticism) from the reader, the inescapable fact that Otto himself realizes is that there is no demonstration by argument that can substitute for religious experience itself. Perhaps the best-known phrases in *The Idea of the Holy* appear on page 8:

> The reader is invited to direct his mind to a moment of deeply-felt religious experience, as little as possible qualified by other forms of consciousness. Whoever cannot do this, whoever knows no such moments in his experience, is requested to read no farther; for it is not easy to discuss questions of religious psychology with one who can recollect the emotions of his adolescence, the discomforts of indigestion, or, say, social feelings, but cannot recall any intrinsically religious feelings.

This fundamental element of religion, the sense of the numinous, is held to be a primary datum of human experience. The explicit contention appears to be that, as in the case of physical sensations, emotions, or aesthetic feelings, if one has not had the experience, one cannot understand the subject; and it is at least loosely implied that if one has had the experience, one can.

Otto appears to expect people to have had religious experience. But his memorable injunction "to read no farther" takes on significance because it is evident that religious experience is not universal—that is, it is something that some people have and others do not. Even if most people have it and only a few lack it, there are still some persons who must be treated as rational, as perceptive, yet not as religious. Thus religiousness, however characteristic it may be of humans in general, and however "normal" it may be, is not universal. This normality or normativeness of religion, not the universality of religion, can be seen as both a strength and a weakness of Otto's position: a strength, in that many have been tempted to take the objects of religion as experientially evident without exhaustive rational proof; but a weakness, in that for those who seek such a proof there is nothing conclusive forthcoming.

SEMANTICS OF "HOLY" IN ENGLISH. One of the more interesting aspects of the use of Otto's discussion of the holy in the two generations since his book appeared is the widespread equation between the terms *the holy* and *the sacred* in writings sympathetic to religion in general.

Speakers of English are not surprised to find in their language two common and near-synonymous terms for the same phenomenon. In instance after instance, a word of Germanic (Anglo-Saxon) background such as *get* or *gut* will be matched by a word of Romanic (Latin or French) origin such as *obtain* or *intestine.* Frequently the Germanic word is felt to be more direct or down-to-earth. But while the word of Romanic origin may connote greater sophistication, its denoted meaning may often be the same as the Germanic. The result is that speakers of English can display a tendency to expect synonyms, to assume for practical purposes an equivalence in terminology, without seriously testing the matter.

An instance of this disposition is that in the English-speaking world, writers on the nature of religion in general have referred sometimes to *the holy* and sometimes to *the sacred* as though the phenomena were identical and the terminology a rather incidental matter of personal taste. This has been true not merely when the subject has been mentioned in passing apropos of another argument; it has also been the case in critical works on this very topic, such as Mircea Eliade's *The Sacred and the Profane,* or in discussions of Eliade such as Thomas J. J. Altizer's *Mircea Eliade and the*

Dialectic of the Sacred (Philadelphia, 1963, p. 24). Eliade's generation has invested *the sacred* with the same connotations that Otto's generation found in *the holy,* a point to which this article shall return shortly. Otto's English translator, John W. Harvey, assumes the sacred and the holy to mean the same thing in a sentence he adds to the text of *The Idea of the Holy* at a prominent juncture at the end of the first chapter. And in his own appendix to the English translation, "The Expression of the Numinous in English" (*The Idea of the Holy,* pp. 216–220), he finds *holy* "a distinctly more numinous word than *sacred"* but does not specify a difference in denotation. Indeed, for Harvey the two terms are part of "the English wealth of synonyms" that "has presented the translator with an embarrassment at the very outset" (p. 216).

On equivalency of vocabulary, it should be noted that while English is one of the world's more self-consciously cosmopolitan languages, it is by no means the only one. The Norman conquest of England in the eleventh century, which superimposed a Latin vocabulary on a Germanic one, is suggestively parallel to the Islamic conquest of Iran in the seventh century, which gave Persian a massive inventory of Arabic loanwords as synonyms for the vocabulary of pre-Islamic Iran.

What does the English word *holy* mean? For the range of its usage, with dated examples of the first appearance of various senses, the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1933) provides three copious pages of material. For the purposes of this article, the usage divides into three categories: first, the attributes of God (who is definitively holy) or the divine; second, the attributes of things that derive their holiness from association with God; and third, the attributes of people and actions conforming to what is held to be God's expectation. On God as holy, one has such phrases as "Holy art thou," "the Holy One of Israel," and the like. Examples of holy things are the Holy Bible and the Holy Grail. For people and actions, consider the phrases "holy man," "to lead a holy life," etc. Inevitably, there are borderline cases: "Holy matrimony" falls under the second heading if one regards it as an institution (and therefore a "thing"), but under the third if it is seen as an activity.

Sacred may today be a near equivalent of holy, but it differs in two important respects. First, it is more recent as a word in English. Whereas *holy,* a term of Germanic origin, occurred in Old and Middle English, *sacred,* coming from Latin by way of French, made its appearance only gradually in the centuries after the Norman conquest. Second, *sacred* took over some, but by no means all, of the semantic range of holy: Specifically, it referred to respected or venerated objects but not to the divine itself and not to persons as individuals. The God of the Bible did not become the "sacred one of Israel," nor did a "holy man" become a "sacred man."

What was at stake in the extension of the word *sacred* in English usage appears to have been an effort to describe the veneration accorded by human beings rather than to assert that the thing in question had been hallowed by God. *Sacred,* a past participle of a now-archaic verb *sacren,* meaning "to consecrate," implicitly commits the speaker or writer merely to a description of human veneration, whereas holy may more likely imply that the user of the term holds that the object in question has indeed been hallowed by God. Sacred, though frequently used by religiously committed persons, had also the potential of being a descriptive term used by an outsider to a religious community, while *holy* was much more exclusively a participant's term. Thus, one says "the holy Bible" in a context where the book is treated with reverence, but in referring to others' scriptures one is comfortable with expressions such as "the sacred books of the East."

A telling illustration of this difference appears in English translations of the Bible. In the King James Version of 1611, the Hebrew *qadosh* is regularly rendered as *holy,* whereas in the Revised Standard Version of 1946–1952, it is sometimes *holy* but in other cases *sacred;* the instances in which the twentieth-century translators departed from the usage of their seventeenth-century predecessors have primarily to do with the cultic utensils of the Hebrew temple, a ritual expression of religion from which mid-twentieth-century Protestant biblical scholarship appears to have sought to keep a distance, feeling presumably that God's real intent for people was located elsewhere than in the Hebrew sacrifices.

Conduct is an area in which *sacred* has never taken over the territory of *holy.* A person, to be holy, must conform to the divine standards of conduct: either ritual, or moral, or both. Thus holiness, through the centuries, has been the pattern of obedience put forward as the ideal for the pious devotee that, when most supremely achieved, renders one a holy person—a "saint." Holiness, in this sense of religious practice, was a prime goal for a religiously motivated person, and was self-consciously reflected on. Indeed, the content of articles on holiness in theological dictionaries and encyclopedias prior to the twentieth century was regularly a discussion of the ideals of the religious life and not a generic discussion of the holy as it has come to be treated.

The second decade of the twentieth century saw a shift from such devotional discussions of holiness to a more comparative treatment. A pioneer in this development was the Swedish historian of religions (and subsequently archbishop) Nathan Söderblom (1866–1931), who contributed a substantial article on holiness to the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (vol. 6, 1913). As Otto would do four years later, Söderblom sought not to discuss so much the practice of holiness in the sense of an attribute of human conduct as the awareness of it in the sense of an attribute of divinity. To accomplish this discussion cross-culturally, Söderblom recapitulated various terms suggestive of supernatural power, such as the positive holiness of *mana* and the negative holiness of *taboo,* from the languages of tribal societies—terms that had come to be used by late nineteenth-century European and American theorists of religion to indicate the most pervasive, the simplest, the most fundamental, and presumably the original feature of religion throughout human culture. Cross-cultural discussions of the nature of religion had been common since the work of F. Max Müller on comparative mythology in the mid-nineteenth century. It appears, however, to have been Söderblom who first applied the term *holiness* to such a topic.

TRANSLATION EQUIVALENTS. The semantic differentiation between *sacred* and *holy* that this article has sketched is limited to English and is not necessarily found in other languages. Elsewhere one might expect to find (a) two (or more) terms, possibly with a different distinction than that between *sacred* and *holy* in English; (b) one term, covering both senses; or (c) no readily identifiable vocabulary equivalent.

Latin and the languages descended from it are an example of the first possibility; German and Russian, of the second; and the languages of certain tribal cultures appear to furnish examples of the last category.

Latin has two words that have been frequently translated as "holy": *sanctum* and *sacrum.* Unlike the situation in English, where two words have etymological sources in different languages, the two Latin terms go back to the same Indo-European root, *sak-,* with an *-n-* infix occurring in the case of *sanctum.* The spheres of use of the two Latin terms, however, appear roughly parallel to English. On the whole, *sanctum,* like *holy,* generally commits the speaker to an endorsement of the holiness in question as a reality, and it applies to the divine power (God is sanctus) and to the conduct of individuals (*saint* being derived from *sanctus*). *Sacrum,* on the other hand, denotes human veneration.

Latin's "daughter languages," which emerged from vernacular Latin in the Middle Ages, preserve this vocabulary distinction. From *sanctum* come s*anto* in Italian and Spanish, *saint* in French; while from *sacrum* come Italian *sacro,* Spanish *sagrado,* and French *sacré.* Yet in the usage of these various languages, it is not always the case that the same adjective is applied to a particular object. If for *holy* one would expect *sanctum* and its derivatives rather than *sacrum,* then French usage will meet one's expectations with *la sainte Bible,* but Latin, Italian, and Spanish will surprise one with *Biblia sacra* (or, in Spanish, *sagrada*). Could it be that Catholic Europe did not hold the Bible in as high regard as did the Protestants, who turned to it as a source of authority over against that of the church? Such a view might fit in with the Italian and Spanish usage, but hardly explains the expression *la sainte Bible* in French. This illustration, then, may be sufficient to convince one that the semantic distinction between *holy* and *sacred* can serve as an indicator of a potential confusion but not necessarily as a precise tool with which to resolve it.

German has not classically had two terms to use. To be sure, there is a word *sakral,* meaning "cultic," but only in recent years has it seen much use as in noun form for an organizing concept, and even then it is primarily used to translate *the sacred* from works in other languages. Prior to the mid-twentieth century, *heilig* covered what has been reviewed as the participant's semantic field of English *holy* as well as the observer's connotation of English *sacred.* As long as Western discourse regarding religion dealt almost exclusively with the received Judeo-Christian tradition, and as long as the disposition of most speakers was to accept at least a major subset of the tenets of that tradition, pressure for precision tended not to arise. Indeed, it can be argued that Rudolf Otto tapped the predispositions of a largely willing audience when he published *Das Heilige.* Writing in a language in which *the holy* and *the sacred* are one and the same, he was able to combine a participant's appreciation of religious experience with an observer's range of comparative detail. To a very considerable extent, the excitement that he generated revolved around his call for a participant's appreciation of religion, but this was focused on his discussion of experience; neither he nor his readers directed attention to the "insider" connotation built into the German term *heilig.* To the extent that readers thought about the word, it appears they gave Otto credit for having given it a more comparative or cross-cultural denotation.

The capacity of the German word *heilig* to leave open the possibility of God-given holiness, while also referring to human respect, has had more than minor consequences. A German scholar, Albert Mirgeler (1901–1979) mentions the semantics of holiness as a contributing factor to the medieval investiture controversy, a major political struggle involving northern versus southern Europe over the role of the Roman church in the designation of rulers (*Mutations of Western Christianity,* London and New York, 1964, pp. 96–97). What may have been only a claim for human respect in the Latin name *sacrum imperium Romanum* came to be understood as a more sweeping claim in its German translation, *heiliges römisches Reich* ("Holy Roman Empire"). One must be cautious in pressing this point, for, after all, a divine sanction for the power of the state *was* claimed; and, moreover, many examples could be adduced to show that where words are ambiguous people do have ways of identifying the ambiguity and deciding which sense of a word applies. Still, the possibility of confusion was clearly present.

Russian is another language with only one common word for *holy* and *sacred: sviaty.* Rudolf Otto expressed fascination with the chanting of this term, which he had heard from the lips of Russian priests. Again in the Russian case, there are theopolitical overtones. For centuries prior to the victory of Marxist atheism, Russians referred to their land (both its territory and its tradition as a state) as *sviaty Rus,* "holy Russia." Russia is not the only territory that has been called holy; specific temple precincts frequently are, and the land of the Bible is called "the Holy Land" ("Terra Sancta," etc.) in the various languages of Christendom. But the holiness claimed for Russia is probably best understood at the level of Latin *sacrum,* not *sanctum,* at a level, in short, not like the spiritual holiness associated with the Holy Land but like the institutional sacredness of the Holy Roman Empire.

Researchers in comparative and cross-cultural studies have generally been ready to suppose that there exists in tribal societies on all continents, as well as in all the great classic traditions of the Eurasian land mass, a universal human pattern of setting apart certain moments in time or precincts in space and of finding in them hints of a transcendent power or value. It seems to be granted that the *phenomenon* of a sense of the sacred or holy is virtually universal. It is, however, far less clear that appropriate *vocabulary* is equally widespread. There appear to be languages without an equivalent covering the same range of meaning as the word *holy.* This is a problem encountered frequently by Bible translators, whose attempts to render *Holy Spirit* have sometimes yielded expressions like "clean ancestor" in the target language.

Indeed, much of the principal ritual expression of holiness is bound up with the notion of purity. For persons most familiar with the religious tradition of the Hebrew and Christian scriptures, this may be not immediately evident, because many interpreters in recent centuries have concentrated on an ethical conception of holiness, crediting the Hebrew prophets or Jesus with a repudiation of ritual. The intimate relationship between holiness and purity can also be overlooked because a separate vocabulary for purity exists in both Hebrew and Greek. But the notion that the holy itself, as well as human beings who seek to draw near to it, should be kept apart from the profane, finds symbolic as well as practical expression in the avoidance of various sorts of contaminating or polluting substances and actions. Jewish avoidance of pork, Muslim traditions regarding fasting, Christian practice of celibacy, Zoroastrian precautions to safeguard the holy fire, traditional Hindu deitary and social taboos, Shintō ablutions at shrines—all these and many more are instances of the maintenance of some sense of purity worthy of holiness in the "great" religions. It should be no surprise that when investigators of tribal traditions have looked at behavior expressing a sense of, or response to, the sacred, the maintenance of standards of purity has been a salient finding. Where an explicit theoretical conceptualization of holiness has seemed to be lacking, emphasis on ritual purity has offered an obvious approximation in the custom and the languages of tribal societies.

OTTO'S LEGACY. One of the principal options in the study of religion in the mid-twentieth century has been termed the "phenomenology" of religion. Definitions of this term have varied from strict to loose. Understood strictly, the phenomenology of religion is supposed to be a precise application to religion of insights from the European philosophical movement known as phenomenology, launched by Edmund Husserl (1859–1938), in which the self's awareness of what presents itself to consciousness is explored. Phenomenology in that sense has little to do with Rudolf Otto, because he antedated many of the philosophical phenomenologists and did not employ their terminology; to the extent that philosophical phenomenology has influenced the phenomenology of religion, that influence has occurred through certain comparativists writing since Otto's time, particularly in Holland.

In a looser sense of the term, however, Otto was a phenomenologist of religion, indeed one of the pioneers of the enterprise. If by *phenomenology* one means the type of sympathetic treatment of material from a variety of religious traditions, seeing recurring features of religion as a response to a divine stimulus, in the pattern of the Dutch comparativists of the 1930s through the 1960s, then this name for the approach can be applied retroactively to Rudolf Otto. After Otto's time, this sympathetic treatment of religion in general, stressing similarities (which refrained from arguing the superiority of one tradition over another, stressing differences), would become a major methodological option in the academic study of religion. Many of its practitioners would look back to Rudolf Otto's work of 1917 as a charter document for phenomenology's attitude of sympathy for religion (Mircea Eliade does this in *The Sacred and the Profane,* for example), just as they would look back to P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye's *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* (Manual of the science of religion; 1887–1889) as a prototype of phenomenology of religion's taxonomic treatment of data from various religions.

One does not need to be a comparativist to appreciate, and to be influenced by, Rudolf Otto's presentation of the holy in *Das Heilige.* In fact, what made Otto's book a theological best-seller was only marginally the existence in the first quarter of the twentieth century of a cross-cultural cosmopolitanism with respect to religion. Such an interest would account far more for the sales of James G. Frazer's *Golden Bough* (1897; 3d ed., 1907–1911), whose net effect was to explain away various religious practices as benighted and to suggest that modern men and women had outgrown traditional religion. Much more important was a widespread desire to hold that traditional religion could be felt, if not proved, to be authentic even in a modern age. Most people who read Otto were looking for intellectual and psychological respectability for their own religious faith, not for an elaboration of the faith of others. And it has become commonplace to suggest that the events of World War I, by shattering many easy assumptions of the inevitability of human progress, turned many people to a renewed quest for religious values. This development is often cited as a factor in assessing the impact of Karl Barth in *Der Römerbrief* (1919), a book differing sharply in its religious assumptions from *Das Heilige* but sharing with it the status of theological best-seller in the aftermath of the war.

However much Rudolf Otto was aware of the diversity of religions, he made his principal mark by contributing to the faith-and-reason agenda of Western philosophy of religion and Christian theology. Immanuel Kant, in demonstrating convincingly the limits of rational proof, had "made room for faith" as not only unprovable but undisprovable. After him, Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834) was to characterize religion as rooted in a *feeling* of absolute dependence. Otto's presentation of the "sense of the numinous" likewise takes feeling or experience as what must be dealt with rather than questioned. In the decades since Otto, probably the most illustrious bearer of this intellectual lineage has been the Protestant theologian Paul Tillich (1886–1965), who (in contrast with Karl Barth's emphasis on revelation) argues from human concern as the starting point for discourse about God.

The type of position that largely since Otto's day has come to be known as religious existentialism, arguing from experience and commitment as a primary datum, remains, despite the obvious problems of objective proof, a major twentieth-century option in the philosophy of religion. To call Otto an existentialist philosopher of religion would be a retroactive designation of the same kind as my calling him a phenomenologist of religion.

In the end Otto's *Das Heilige* remains a classic in the field probably not because his attempts at a solution have great enduring value but because he has put some of the basic questions in an arresting fashion. Many who pick up the book today feel that they have the measure of it by the fortieth page. Just as a standard newspaper article must face the "cut off test," it seems to make its main point at the beginning, following that up with optional detail. But the challenge of page 8, "whoever knows no such moments in his experience, is requested to read no farther," is as compelling today as when Otto wrote it. Page 8 of *The Idea of the Holy* will be with Western civilization for a long time to come.

SEE ALSO Otto, Rudolf; Sacred and the Profane, The.

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HOLY ORDER OF MANS was a prominent New Age spiritual community whose radical transformation into an Eastern Orthodox Christian brotherhood during the 1980s illustrates the instability of charismatically led religious communities during their founding generation. As the renamed Christ the Saviour Brotherhood, the community has shrunk to a few hundred members unified primarily by a commitment to Orthodoxy and a shared odyssey through late-twentieth-century America's pluralistic religious marketplace.

The order had its origins in the cultural ferment of mid-1960s San Francisco. Its founder, Earl W. Blighton (1904–1974), was a retired electrical engineer and social worker whose spiritual explorations in California's alternative religions subculture led him to such organizations as the Theosophical Society, the Subramuniya Yoga order, the Spiritualist church, and the Ancient and Mystical Order Rosae Crucis. Together with his wife, Helen Ruth Blighton, he opened a prayer shrine in 1966 to minister to the young people who were wandering the streets of San Francisco in search of spiritual enlightenment. The committed core of disciples who gathered around the Blightons evolved into an intentional spiritual community organized according to traditional Christian monastic rules. The Holy Order of MANS (there is some controversy surrounding the meaning of the acronym, which was purportedly revealed only to initiates) was incorporated on July 24, 1968.

Blighton's order developed a unique system of initiatory spirituality that included elements of qabbalism, Rosicrucianism, New Age millennialism, New Thought philosophy, and Tantrism. The mission of the order was to prepare the earth and its peoples for an imminent golden dawn of spiritual enlightenment by initiating the masses into the "ancient Christian mysteries." These mystical teachings, Blighton maintained, had disappeared from view once Christianity became a powerful, wealthy institution. In the New Age that was dawning, these esoteric teachings were being revealed again to the world. The order ordained priests under the auspices of the Great White Brotherhood, a hierarchy of advanced spiritual masters who were believed to be responsible for humankind's evolution. Blighton claimed to have received the power to ordain these priests from Christ through revelation. The priests were empowered to perform "solar initiations" that represented stages of the soul's evolution to "mastery." The order's initiations were believed to be recreations of the sacramental initiations of the early Christian church, whose true function had been forgotten with the passage of time.

In the first initiatory rite, baptism, aspirants declared their dedication to the path of spiritual regeneration under the order's guidance. Blighton taught that the rite triggered an infusion of the "Christ force" into the disciple's body and purged the body of the effects of past errors. The second initiation, "illumination," implanted and sealed the "new body of light" in the aspirant. The rite included an awakening of the *kuṇḍalinī* energy at the base of the spine and an activation of the aspirant's chakra currents. The third initiation, "self-realization," was a neoshamanic rending of an etheric veil that was believed to cover the indwelling spark of divinity at the core of the aspirant's being. After this rite, the disciple could receive interior revelation from the Godhead and was considered a functioning "God-Being." The order also administered a daily communion rite, which was understood as a work of spiritual alchemy in which the wine and bread were transmuted into Christ's body and blood. Communicants believed that they were being infused with the attributes and experience of the Master Jesus, who had taken on the being of the Cosmic Christ during his earthly sojourn.

Between 1969 and 1974, Blighton's order spread quickly throughout the United States. It established mission stations and "brotherhouses" in over sixty cities in forty-eight states. Like traditional monks, order members took vows of obedience, service, poverty, purity, and humility, practiced regular fasting, wore clerical robes, and held all assets in common. Unlike traditional monasteries, however, order centers were coeducational, elevated women to the priesthood, and embraced spiritual practices from non-Christian sources. During this early period, the order also expanded its organization to include a lay discipleship movement and lay families (Christian Communities) that were interested in practicing the order's path of esoteric spirituality. Blighton also established two suborders, the Immaculate Heart Sisters of Mary and the Brown Brothers of the Holy Light, to provide intermediate training for renunciate members. Members of the suborders performed community service and special Marian devotions, and they engaged in missionary teaching. In 1971 the order opened Raphael House, a shelter for the homeless and for victims of domestic violence. This service outreach would spark a movement across the United States to establish anonymous shelters for battered women and children.

Blighton's sudden death in 1974 precipitated a four-year leadership crisis for the order. A succession of "master-teachers" (the movement's highest level of spiritual attainment) took charge of the group and attempted to impress upon it their own personal interpretation of Blighton's teachings. This period of instability did not impede recruitment, however. The movement reached its height of membership, three thousand, in 1977. Also during this period, international centers opened in London, Bordeaux, San Sebastian, Amsterdam, Buenos Aires, Tokyo, and San Juan, Puerto Rico.

In the spring of 1978, Andrew Rossi was elected director general of the order. Rossi was an erudite former Roman Catholic preseminarian whose résumé included a stint as a Chinese-language specialist with the Intelligence Section of the U.S. Navy. In his first public statements, Rossi embraced Blighton's Gnostic and New Age vision of the order's mission. He proclaimed that Jesus was calling all peoples to a new understanding of his teachings and divinity, an understanding based on "living Revelation" and unbound by past symbols, dogmas, and scriptures. Though he was the "very form of God Incarnate" and was due the greatest respect and honor, Jesus was not to be worshiped as God himself. The order's mission, according to Rossi, was to present Jesus' teachings in a universal and inclusive way in the dawning millennial age. This new way would lead Christians beyond religion, beyond form, and beyond the figure of Jesus himself, to a state in which all would find their true being in the "Father-Mother God." In obedience to this mission, the order would redouble its efforts to remove the barriers that separated humankind, especially those that had been erected in Jesus' name.

On November 18, 1978, the first reports of the Jonestown mass suicide-murder reached the national media. Within a short time, the cultural context in the United States with regard to new religions changed from one of tolerance and acceptance to one of suspicion and outright hostility. The anticult movement used the national mood of shock and revulsion at the Jonestown events to intensify its efforts to convince politicians and judges to regulate "dangerous cults." Soon, increasingly hostile public scrutiny was brought to bear on the order, which heretofore had enjoyed a positive public image because of its service outreach in local communities. The order also appeared on the "cult lists" of such leading countercult groups as the Christian Research Institute and the Spiritual Counterfeits Project. To make matters worse, the order community began to experience increasing member defections and a steep drop in recruitment rates.

In response to this crisis, Rossi initiated a strong defense of the order in various public forums. The culmination of these efforts was Rossi's 1980 article in the order's journal, *Epiphany.* Titled "By Their Fruits Ye Shall Know Them: Proclaiming the Spiritual Authenticity of the Holy Order of MANS in a Counterfeit Age," the article laid out a carefully reasoned apology that defended the order's Christian pedigree, as well as its ecumenical and nonsectarian foundations. Rossi declared that the brotherhood's purpose was to develop a Christian community built around the worship of God, discipleship to Christ, and service to the world. The order, he claimed, lived "within the norms of the Christian Tradition." Rossi also inaugurated a search by the order's membership for precedents in the history of Christianity for what the movement was attempting to accomplish in the world. This would allow members to explain the order to mainstream Christians in terms that were comprehensible and familiar to them.

These initiatives began to move the order's public and private identity away from its New Age and Rosicrucian/Gnostic origins and towards mainstream Christianity. After flirtations with Protestant evangelicalism and Roman Catholic traditionalism, Rossi directed the group to study Eastern Orthodox Christianity, and in particular its tradition of light mysticism. This directive followed Rossi's secret personal conversion to Eastern Orthodoxy during the early 1980s. At the same time, the order's director general consolidated the group into ten large communities in the United States and Europe and began to jettison its system of esoteric initiatory spirituality. Between 1982 and 1986 the brotherhood focused its energies on the preservation of "authentic cultural traditions of ancient Christianity," the celebration of seasonal festivals, and the creation of alternative schools for its children based on traditional Christian principles.

With the assistance of a defrocked Russian Orthodox monk, Herman Podmoshensky, Rossi orchestrated a gradual conversion of order members during the mid-1980s to Orthodox monastic spirituality. Blighton's core teachings and practices were replaced with Orthodox doctrines and rituals. Following several years of negotiations with various Orthodox jurisdictions, the order community was received into the autocephalous Archdiocese of Queens, New York, in 1988 by its metropolitan, Pangratios Vrionis. The brotherhood's remaining 750 members were rebaptized and renamed as Christ the Saviour Brotherhood. They proclaimed their new mission as "bringing the light and truth of Orthodox Christianity to the spiritually perishing peoples of these darkening and crucial times."

The order's decision to become Orthodox led to a steady loss of both members and vitality during the 1990s. Its cohesiveness as a community disintegrated with the disbanding of its renunciate (monastic) brotherhood and the consolidation of its membership into nuclear families. Another problem was the nonrecognition of Pangratios's archdiocese by the Standing Conference of Orthodox Bishops in the Americas (SCOBA), the main legitimating body for Orthodox jurisdictions in North America.

In the late 1990s, following documented proof of Pangratios's conviction for sodomy with minors, Christ the Saviour Brotherhood member communities distanced themselves from the Archdiocese of Queens and negotiated acceptance into SCOBA-approved Orthodox jurisdictions throughout the United States. Although some members have joined the Serbian Orthodox Church or the Russian Orthodox Church outside Russia, most Christ the Saviour Brotherhood parishes have been received into communion with the Orthodox Church in America. Some of the brotherhood's remaining members have set up small Orthodox missions throughout the country that sell Orthodox books and periodicals and sponsor periodic Orthodox liturgies.

The order's legacy is best realized in three initiatives pioneered in its early history. The first is the Raphael House movement, which has led to a growing national awareness of domestic violence and the need for anonymous shelters for battered women and children. The second is Rossi's Eleventh Commandment Fellowship, which was instrumental in the creation of the North American Conference on Christianity and Ecology and in the raising of ecological awareness among mainstream Christians. The third significant initiative is the order's early advocacy of spiritual equality for women and its ordination of women to its priesthood. Many mainstream denominations now ordain women, including the Episcopalians and the Lutherans. Women also now play an increasingly influential role in Roman Catholic parishes, serving as parish administrators and liturgical leaders among other roles. Ironically, Christ the Saviour Brotherhood now accepts Eastern Orthodoxy's traditional proscription of women priests.

The order's history also provides persuasive evidence that the glue holding new religious communities together can be primarily affective in nature rather than ideological. In short, the many shifts in doctrine that characterize new religious movements in their first generation do not necessarily threaten group cohesiveness if that cohesiveness is based on strong feelings of group solidarity and affection. Finally, the order's history stands as a paradigmatic example of how new religious movements are shaped by their surrounding cultural environment. Blighton's eclectic, nonsectarian, and universalist movement reflected the innovative, tolerant, and experience-seeking mood of the 1960s and 1970s. In a similar manner, Rossi's exclusivist and traditionalist Eastern Orthodox brotherhood reflected the conservatism and yearning for "traditional values" of America in the 1980s.

SEE ALSO Anticult Movements; Eastern Christianity; Jonestown and Peoples Temple; New Age Movement; Rosicrucians; Theosophical Society.

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HOLY PLACES SEE GEOGRAPHY; PILGRIMAGE; SACRED SPACE

HOLY SPIRIT SEE GOD; TRINITY

HOLY WAR SEE CRUSADES; JIHĀD

HOME is a universal concept of central importance to religious thought. Like such other general symbols as sun and earth, it recurs from prehistoric times across cultures, in contrast to more culture-specific analogues such as the cross and the Kaʿbah. Besides its symbolic importance, home is also a significant locus of ritual in many traditions.

As with most sacred symbols, home is simultaneously an abstraction and a concrete object (as when it is embodied in a dwelling). The development of home as dwelling place can be traced from animal to human habitats; from the dens, windbreaks, and caves of nature to the tents, huts, and houses of culture. To automatically equate house and home, however, is to oversimplify, for home transcends all physical dwellings. Nonetheless, this distinction must be applied cautiously, for it assumes a secular separation of symbol and referent alien to preliterate thought.

The qualities that make home a sacred symbol include the way it traditionally functions as an ordering symbol. As such, it is a kind of *maṇḍala,* or symbol of wholeness, containing within itself all opposites. Among the Tiv of Nigeria these opposites are primarily social. Spatially, home (the compound of huts and granaries) represents kin and domestic group. Genealogy typically governs both hut and compound location. Consequently, a death in the family necessitates readjustment of hut positions to reflect the resultant social order. When a father dies, his son assumes the father's reception hut and allows the houses of the father's wives to decay. He then builds new huts for the widows among those of the heirs, usually brothers, of the deceased, who now become the women's new husbands through a practice known as levirate. Meanwhile, new huts are built for the son's wives adjacent to his reception hut. With the death of a compound head, fission of a compound often occurs so that sets of brothers and their families leave the compound with a new leader.

Commonly the home symbolizes a cosmic order, as exemplified by the tents of the prerevolutionary Mongol Buriats. The Buriats divided their dwellings into four sections: the south portion from the door to the hearth was the low-status half; that from the hearth back, the high-status half. Each half was then again divided, the west side being male and ritually pure, the east, female and ritually impure. Therefore male visitors would stay in the southwest quadrant, female in the southeast. The seat of honor for the host and high-status guest always rested in the northwest sector. Even objects were categorized in this way; valuables and hunting equipment, for example, were male, household utensils female.

Most Native American cultures saw similar cosmic correlations, leading them to characterize their dwellings as both temple and house. For the Plains Indians, the floor of the tipi represented the earth, the walls the sky, and the poles the paths linking earth and humanity to the sky and Wakantanka ("the great mystery"). A small altar of bare earth behind the fireplace, often with sod and roots removed and the earth pulverized and swept clean, represented Mother Earth. Sweet grass, cedar, or sage were burned here as incense to the spirits.

In Africa, the layout of Dogon villages and houses also correlates cosmos, village, house, and individual in a series of scales. Both village and house approximate the figure of a man, some of whose "body parts" are female. The outer door of the house is a phallus, its kitchen door a vagina, and the entire ground floor a woman on her back, ready for sex. The ceiling is her male partner. Such cosmic correlations of home and universe are common to the folklore of many archaic cultures.

HOMELESSNESS. When connections linking self, ancestors, society, and cosmos dissolve, homelessness ensues. Dread of such a state is universally expressed in conceptions of the "unhoused" dead. In ancient Greek and Roman thought, for example, the unburied were doomed to wander forever as phantoms incapable of stopping for the offerings necessary to rescue them. The connection to home is also threatened by enslavement, which severs all bonds to family, tribe, and village, and by banishment, a punishment frequently imposed in preindustrialized cultures.

CONSECRATION AND DOMESTIC RITUALS. Consecration initiates the process whereby dwelling becomes home. Worldwide, various kinds of foundation rites effect this transformation. Typically they begin by employing divination (such as the elaborate system of feng-shui in China) or astrology (as in India) to select the appropriate site. Exorcism follows, and then the foundation is laid according to the directions of a priest or sorcerer. Archaeological evidence indicates the universality of foundational "charms" from at least as early as the Shang period in China (c. 1751–1028 BCE), when humans were customarily sacrificed at each house post; similar customs were observed into the twentieth century by groups such as the Maori. Thought to underlie such blood-related offerings is the belief that victims of violent death become demons who make powerful house spirits. Animal substitutes have long been used in foundation rites, as among the Arabs of ancient Moab (present-day Jordan), who sacrifice a sheep to pacify the jinn before laying a tent. Other surrogate victims have included statues (Rome), images of the house god (India), and animal parts, pottery, and vegetable remains (Europe).

In the Korean shamanistic tradition known as *mudang,* this essential process of consecration (*sŏngjo baji*) is repeatedly reenacted even today to symbolize cosmic renewal. Typically, pine branches are hung on the gate and white papers on the roof beams of the central hall room to protect and renew the home. Additional rituals of renewal, the Ttŏkkosa and Sulkosa, are held at every full moon to correlate cosmic change to the building ground of the new home: as the moon appears the ground is renewed. In this tradition the house replaces the more common archaic symbols of mountains or cosmic trees as symbols of the *axis mundi.*

In Judaism, *ḥanukat-habayit,* "dedication of the home," is based on *Deuteronomy* 20:5 ("What man is there that has built a new house and has not dedicated it? Let him go back to his home, lest he die in the battle and another man dedicate it"). No established form exists for this ceremony beyond the uttering of appropriate blessings and the affixing of a *mezuzah,* a parchment believed to protect the occupants from committing sin, inscribed: "And you shall write them on the doorposts of your house and on your gates" (*Dt.* 6:9, 11:20).

In some traditions, domestic rituals augment or replace practices otherwise performed in sacred places specifically set aside for religious purposes. Daily prayers are common to many religions, but more elaborate home-based rituals occur in the post-Vedic Hindu *pūja* rites, in which images of deities must be attended daily. In the morning the deity is awakened, bathed, dressed, perfumed, garlanded, and fed. Food is again proffered at noon and at night, with an evening song closing the day. Domestic rituals also significantly characterize Orthodox Judaism, Korean *mudang,* Haitian Voodoo, and the resurgent practice of witchcraft, or Wicca.

POLLUTION. In contrast to consecration, which is designed to vitalize and protect a dwelling by installing a strong protective spirit, prophylactic processes are enacted to exorcise malevolent spirits or evil substances, the most malevolent of which involve blood as in giving birth, fatally wounding an occupant, or natural death. Death especially pollutes a dwelling, so that its occupants must be ritually purified before freely resuming their lives. Among the Yoruba, for example, if purification rites fail and a dwelling is believed to be ghost-infested, it will be abandoned.

Pollution almost universally attends the onset of menstruation as well, and a young woman is frequently required to leave her home until ritual purification renders her fit again for home life. This ritual is enacted by various tribal cultures, such as that of the Bolivian Yuracare who require her to live in a specially constructed leaf hut for four days. Similarly, an almost universal pattern of purification rites attends childbirth in preindustrial cultures. Houses that fail in these various struggles against pollution are often considered demonic, as *Leviticus* 14:43–44 describes: "If the disease has spread in the house, it is a malignant leprosy in the house; it is unclean." The motifs in folklore of people-eating and haunted houses are additional manifestations of this phenomenon.

On a daily basis, too, pollution of the home must be guarded against, as Judaism well illustrates. In a traditionally observant Jewish home, all food must be kosher, meaning that it must conform to Jewish dietary laws developed from *Leviticus* 11:1–43 and must be prepared properly, using one set of dishes and cooking utensils for meat, another for dairy products. If mixing accidentally occurs, the polluted object becomes impure and must be rendered ritually and legally fit again, or discarded.

DEATH AND DWELLING PLACES. "Home" means belonging, dwelling in one's proper habitat. In this sense, the term applies equally to the living and the dead, the grave being as much a home for the dead as a house is for the living. The nearly universal custom of bestowing grave goods on the dead underscores this connection, as does the custom of constructing tiny dwellings specifically for the soul, a practice common in the Yang-shao period of China and in ancient Egypt. The present-day Sakai of the Malay Peninsula similarly fill huts with doll-sized furniture and implements for use of the dead, and images of ancestors are kept in miniature "soul houses" in parts of Papua and Melanesia.

Such intimate connection between home and deceased family members is dramatically expressed in the dwellings of the Kwakiutl of the Northwest Coast of North America. For them, the house itself lives as a kind of double of its owner, becoming "empty" or "broken" when he dies. When the family regroups around its new head, a new house is built. Characteristics of the "life" of the house are its "speaker's posts," open-mouthed figures through which ceremonial words of welcome emerge as if from the ancestor himself, and the gigantic mouth of the frontal pole that "swallows" those who enter.

HOUSEHOLD SHRINES. From Neolithic times, the practice of setting aside a corner or room of a dwelling as a shrine has been common to many traditions. In ancient Egypt this domestic shrine, usually recessed in the wall of the central hall and adorned with religious scenes, contained a figure of a household god made of pottery or precious metal. Among the Banyankole in Africa each hut contains a special grass-covered, hard-beaten mound of earth, about a foot high, to hold sacred objects. Among the Gold Coast tribes, an honored place is set aside in one corner of the home for special offerings to the domestic spirit known as the *suhman.* The Yoruba place a humanized image of the house god Olarosa at the door and make a recess in the wall for their personal fetish as well. Among the Udmurts, the *vorsud* or clan god customarily resided on a shelf in the outhouse. Household altars also prominently characterize domestic observances in China, Japan, and Tibet.

HOUSE SPIRITS, DOMESTIC DEITIES, AND FAMILY. Almost universally, home, as opposed to mere dwelling, is vivified by a spirit of some sort, usually an ancestor. Evidence in the form of cave burials, skull cults, and sacrifices to the dead dates from the Paleolithic era, suggesting a sacred connection linking ancestors with dwelling places. In pre-Christian Europe, the house god was commonly represented as a snake, which was believed to be a vehicle for the souls of the dead. Among the Lithuanians, for example, the paterfamilias typically maintained his serpent (*givojitos,* "the living ones"; *givoitos,* "immortal ancestor") in a corner of the house where he offered it food and sacrificed to it.

An elaborate system of household deities existed among the ancient Romans: the *manes* were the benign gods, an undifferentiated collective of ancestors; the *penates* were gods of the store closet; and the *lar familiaris* was the primitive concept of home personified, to which offerings were made on all family anniversaries. Among the Teutons, the household spirit often assumed manikin form. The *cofgodar* ("house gods") of the Anglo-Saxons have their counterparts today in the *Kobolde* and *Butzen* of the Germans; Puck of the English; the brownies of the Scots; and the *gardsvor, tomte,* and *nisse* of the Scandinavians, all still frequently believed to be spirits of ancestors.

Among the Slavs every house has a *domovoi,* the spirit of the founder of the family. At festivals commemorating ancestors, this little old grayhaired man in old-fashioned dress is honored, too. Before the family moves, its members pray, offering bread and salt to entice the house spirit to accompany them. Before Lent, the head of the house invites the *domovoi* to supper by going into the yard and bowing to the four cardinal points. In Russia the spirit is named according to location: in the cattle shed he is the *chlevnik;* in the yard, *dvorovoi;* in the drying kiln *ovinnik;* and in the bathroom, *bannik.*

Among the shamanistic Samoyed of the Arctic coast of Russia, the domestic spirits (*haha*), usually one male and one female, are represented by oddly shaped roots and stones or anthropomorphic figures kept on a special *haha* sledge. Whenever the family moves, special *haha* reindeer carry it. No woman, even a shaman, may uncover the *haha* or care for the domestic gods. The *haha* sledge ordinarily stands behind the *chum* ("tent") on the outer side of the *si*, the place of honor, occupied only by the eldest family male.

In most West African tribes, the family fetish and a class of ancestral spirits known as the "well-disposed ones" protect their particular village and family. Among the Kenyahs, a rude image of the minor deity Bali Atap, who protects the house against sickness and attack, stands beside the gangway connecting house and riverbank. A different god, Bali Utong, brings prosperity.

Among the Ainu of Japan a family spirit, *inaw,* is invested with life, dwelling in a special corner of the hut behind the heirlooms. In times of trouble he is stuck in the hearth and offered prayers. The incorporeal *eingsaung nat* of the Burmese scares off burglars; it lives in the southern post of the house, which is devotionally adorned with leaves. The Burmese also pray to images of respected relatives as house guardians.

THE SACRED HEARTH FIRE. The sacred quality of household spirits and deities has frequently been associated with one of the most common attributes of home, the sacred hearth fire. In Brahmanism, the householder rekindled the sacred fire whenever religious rites were performed. For all domestic ceremonies (*smārta-karman*) the fire of a clay hearth (*gṛhyāgni*) was sufficient. Every morning the family assembled around the fire in prayer before "feeding" it with bits of consecrated wood (*samidh*) from the *palāśa* tree. If the smoldering embers were inadvertently extinguished, the household would be plunged into chaos; only for an expiatory ceremony (*prāyaścitta*) was the fire intentionally rekindled. The fire god, Agni, functioned as both the god of the household and of the clan, protecting both from evil, much as Hestia did in Greece and Vesta in Rome.

Among Native Americans of the Northern Hemisphere the sacred fire burned by day in the hearth at the center of the dwelling. Fire, a gift of the gods, symbolized the sun, much as the surrounding home symbolized the universe. The door or tent flap was positioned facing the east to catch the morning's first rays.

Since ancient times the sacredness of the hearth fire has been symbolized in China by the stove god, Zao-wang, and in Japan by the kitchen gods Okitsuhiko and Okitsuhime and the god of the stove, *kama no kami.* Bronze Age Chinese dwellings all had a central opening for smoke called "the center of the house." The spot beneath it was sacred to the tutelary god of the ground on which the house stood. Here food was prepared and eaten, family council held, and the god worshiped. Originally, the god represented the mystery of fire, guardianship of the house ground, and the family's ideals and traditions.

SECULARIZATION. In traditional cultures, "home" is a sacred symbol capable of transforming chaos into cosmos and engendering personal wholeness. But for many industrial and postindustrial cultures, home has become a purely secular institution, particularly in those societies that accept Plato's denigration of the private sphere associated with home in favor of the public one associated with politics. Accordingly, two strongly opposed orders are thought to govern existence. One, to which all humans belong, is the natural order of things determined by biology, in which woman bears children and man maintains the life of the family. The center of this existence, which is ruled by necessity (*anagkē*), is the hierarchically arranged household (*oikia*) dominated by the eldest male. Contrasting with and transcending this order, however, is the city-state, the *polis*, in which every member is equal. In this "higher" realm of the *polis*, members are most truly alive, as they engage in the two "highest" forms of human activity, action (*praxis*) and speech (*lexis*). But only citizens can be members—women, children, slaves, and foreigners are automatically excluded.

Both implicitly and explicitly, this praise of the public and denigration of the private elevates males to a place of existence from which women, by virtue of their anatomy, are barred. Historically, the public sphere of men is extolled while the domestic sphere of women, the home, is both trivialized and despised (except briefly in Victorian times in the West when it was sentimentalized). Thus, much as Freud in *Totem and Taboo* openly derides the concept of God as a believer's internalized image of his or her father, many contemporary Western feminists, Marxists, and utopian thinkers now ignore or dispise the institution of home. For them home has become an ugly image of privatism instead of a symbol of cosmic order and personal wholeness.

SEE ALSO Demons; Domestic Observances; Exile; Fire; Foundation Rites; Geomancy.

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KATHRYN ALLEN RABUZZI (1987)

HOMER (eighth century BCE), according to unanimous ancient Greek tradition, was the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey.* His authorship of other epic poems and of long hexametrical hymns was already disputed in antiquity. Tradition assigns to him several dates, all earlier than the foundation of the Olympic Games in 776 BCE. All ancient information, however, is much later than any of these dates and has rightly been seen as unhistorical in modern scholarship. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are now seen as the result and culmination of a long tradition of oral poetry; in their substance, they were composed between the late eighth century BCE and the early seventh century BCE, with a growing consensus for a later rather than an earlier date. As part of a tradition reaching back to the Late Bronze Age, the poems are an important source of information on early Greek religion and cult practice. Because throughout most of later Greek culture the poems had become normative, they in turn shaped the Greek way of perceiving polytheism.

RELIGION IN HOMER. Homer's gods are fully anthropomorphic, with the exception of river gods, whose descriptions oscillate between anthropomorphism and their element. Anthropomorphism regards not only the gods' appearance but also their way of thinking and feeling. The major gods live together as a loose family that comprises Zeus, patriarch and king; his siblings Poseidon and Hera (who is also his wife); and his children from several women—Apollo and Artemis, Ares, Aphrodite, Hephaistos, and Athena. Only Demeter and Dionysos are curiously nonexistent. They live in a palatial setting on Olympus, a mythical place that in Homer has already transcended its starting point in geographical reality, Mount Olympus, the highest mountain in Greece. Their common meals are usually the occasion for extensive and often heated policy debates that precede the decisions of Zeus. Although the other gods have some independence of action, Zeus's will runs the world. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* differ somewhat in their views of how human life relates to the divine world. The *Iliad* tends to see humans helplessly exposed to divine caprice, even though Zeus's decisions are just and well balanced, whereas the *Odyssey* explicitly rejects divine causation of bad moral decisions by humans. The overall impression is that the gods of the *Odyssey* are more willing to warn and sometimes even guide humans, but in the end to let them take their decisions alone. This reflects different concerns with theodicy in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey.* Whereas the *Iliad* juxtaposes Zeus and Fate without ever clarifying their mutual relationship or exploring the origins of bad things, the *Odyssey* makes it clear at its very beginning that Zeus is not responsible for evil but that humans (such as Aegisthus) often act foolishly and against the will and warning of Zeus and thus cause their own downfall.

Divine mythology in Homer is independent from specific local and cultic traditions. The local connections of some gods are acknowledged, such as Hera's with Argos, Apollo's with Delphi and Delos, or Aphrodite's with Cyprus, but the myths are not the local cult stories of Argos, Delphi, or Delos. To some extent this is even true for the four long and early *Homeric Hymns.* Only the "Hymn to Demeter" narrates a cult myth, the foundational story of the Eleusinian mysteries, and the "Hymn to Apollo" combines the Delian birth story with the foundation myth of the Delphian oracle. This independence from local traditions made Homeric mythology extremely well suited to give a translocal, Panhellenic appearance to the Greek gods.

The world of ritual practice that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* depict must to some degree reflect the contemporary religion. Cities possess temples of their important gods (Athena or Apollo in Troy, Apollo in Chryse, Poseidon at the Phaeacian harbor, Apollo in a grove near Ithaca's town). Athena's Trojan temple contains a sitting image of the goddess. The major Panhellenic sanctuaries—Delphi, Delos, Dodona—are known; Delphi has a stone temple, Delos a famous altar. Humans perform festivals (for example, the festival for Apollo on Ithaca) and sacrifices, either as a group or individually. Twice Homer describes these sacrifices in loving detail, and once he describes an oath sacrifice. Homeric sacrifice is similar to later sacrificial practice with one exception. Whereas later a seer inspected the killed animal to determine whether it was welcome to the gods or not, this custom is absent in the Homeric poems. It is somewhat unclear whether this is a conscious stylization or an indication of contemporary usage. Divination as such is known to Homer, and seers appear in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey.* But their art seems to concentrate on observing omens, especially from the flight of birds. Extispicy, especially the art of consulting the liver of a sacrificial animal, is widespread in the ancient Near East and in Iron Age Etruria, where it must have arrived from the Orient. It is conceivable, although somewhat surprising, that the transfer of extispicy to the Greek world resulted from cultural contacts in the Early Iron Age at about the epoch of Homer.

It is still debated how much the Homeric poems owe to ancient Near Eastern culture, mythology, and literature. Given that both Bronze Age and Geometric Greece were part of a much wider Near Eastern common culture, the influence should not be underrated. On a general level are the common and widespread mythological patterns, such as the succession myth Homer (as well as Hesiod) shares with Near Eastern mythologies. On a second, more specific level are direct influences in mythological motives, such as the (rather isolated) mention of Okeanos and Tethys as "ancestors of the gods" (*Iliad* 14.201). This reflects the Akkadian Apsu and Tiamat as ancestors of the gods as narrated, for example, in the *Enuma elish.* On a third level are highly specific narrative motives shared between literary works, such as the apparition of Patroclus's shadow to Achilles in a dream (*Iliad* 23.65–107), which recalls the apparition of the dead Enkidu to Gilgamesh and points to a close connection between two narrative traditions.

HOMER'S INFLUENCE ON GREEK RELIGION. In the course of the Archaic epoch, the poems of Homer became normative for Greek culture. The poems' descriptions of the gods decisively shaped a Panhellenic mythology and iconography. But the anthropomorphism of the Homeric gods that made them act and react like humans provoked the criticism of religious thinkers who were devising a theology in which the gods were viewed as ideal moral beings and who were transcending anthropomorphism for the sake of theology. Xenophanes of Colophon (c. 570–c. 480 BCE) rejected anthropomorphism as a human projection onto the divine, and he heavily criticized Homer and Hesiod for their representations of immoral gods who "steal and lie and commit adultery." Plato (c. 428–348 or 347 BCE) went even further. In the *Republic* he proposed that the ideal state would censure poetry and prohibit immoral representations of the gods.

As a way of dealing with these criticisms, rhapsodes and later Stoic philosophers developed the allegorical explanation of such Homeric scenes. The assumption was that the poet was hiding physical or ethical statements behind a misleading narrative surface; allegorization would reconstruct these original intentions of Homer. Originally developed by the rhapsodic interpreters of Homer, such as Stesimbrotos of Thasos (fifth century BCE), allegorical interpretation turned into a major tool for adapting the understanding of canonical texts to a given society without changing their textual forms.

SEE ALSO Aegean Religions; Zeus.

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FRITZ GRAF (2005)

HOMO RELIGIOSUS.

When the Swedish botanist Linnaeus developed his system of biological classification in the eighteenth century, the Enlightenment's ideal of rationality strongly governed views of humanity. As a result, Linnaeus designated the human species *Homo sapiens.* Soon, however, the Romantic movement and the incipient human sciences accentuated other dimensions of humanity than the rational. In time, new terms were coined on the Linnaean model to designate humanity in various distinctive aspects: *homo ludens* (G. F. Creuzer and, later, Johan Huizinga), *homo faber* (Henri Bergson), *homo viator* (Gabriel-Honoré Marcel), and others. Perhaps the nineteenth century's growing awareness of the universality of religion, especially in the realm of the "primitives" (as they were then known), made it inevitable that a phrase would emerge to express that aspect of humanity that the Enlightenment's ideal had so opposed: *homo religiosus,* "the religious human." In some circles the expression has gained wide currency, but its sense has not remained constant. Three general meanings of *homo religiosus* are most important to students of religion.

HOMO RELIGIOSUS AS RELIGIOUS LEADER. In one meaning, *homo religiosus* refers to a particularly religious person within a given (religious) community, that is, to a religious leader. The roots of this usage are much older than the Enlightenment and Linnaeus's *Systema naturae.* In antiquity *religiosus* denoted persons who were scrupulously but not excessively attentive to observances due to gods and humans (Festus, pp. 278 and 289 M; Cicero, *De natura deorum* 2.72). In this sense, Cicero could speak of *homines religiosi* (*Epistulae ad familiares* 1.7.4). Christianization brought overtones of distinctiveness—*religiosi* became persons of special ecclesiastical standing—and this usage was transferred to the vernaculars, as in the English noun *religious* and expressions such as "religious folk" (*Romance of the Rose* 6149).

Later, in reaction to the Reformation's universalization of the religious life, Pietist and Puritan movements emphasized a religious distinctiveness whose center was subjective and individual rather than objective and institutional (a personal *Nachfolge Christi*). Friedrich Schleiermacher thought of religion as neither knowing nor doing but as an experiential awareness of one's absolute dependence upon God. He conceived Christ as the unique person in whom this consciousness received ultimate expression, the person whose fully immediate and perfectly open relationship with the Father qualified him to be the mediator of the divine.

In the twentieth century *homo religiosus* as religious leader has inherited both the medieval meaning of *religiosus* and the liberal Protestant tradition initiated by Schleiermacher. According to Max Scheler, who developed a full version of this view, *homo religiosus* is a particular type of human personality: "the man who has God in his heart and God in his actions, who in his own *spiritual figure* is a transformer of souls and is able in new ways to infuse the word of God into hearts that have softened and yield" (Scheler, 1960, p. 127).

Scheler distinguished the *homo religiosus* from four other exemplars of value: the artist, the leading spirit of a civilization, the hero, and the genius. These other figures are each exemplary in some aspect or other: the hero in deeds, for example; the genius in works. *Homo religiosus*, however, is exemplary in his entire being, which in its totality calls for unquestioning imitation *(Nachfolge).* Moreover, Scheler distinguished several types of *homo religiosus.* Of these, the most significant is the original *homo religiosus*, for historical religious traditions, the founder. Unique in his or her own community, the founder is the medium for a positive revelation of the holy. The various derived *homines religiosi*—followers, martyrs, reformers, priests, theologians, and others—are lesser in stature and reflect the absolute claim advanced by the existence and nature of the perfect *homo religiosus.*

Among modern historians of religions, Joachim Wach spoke of *homo religiosus* in this sense. Unlike Scheler, however, Wach was heavily indebted to Max Weber. He saw the distinctive character of the *homo religiosus* not in an intrinsic quality or activity of the personality but in the historical and sociological effect of his personal or official charisma.

RELIGIOUS HUMANITY. Today, two other senses of *homo religiosus* have eclipsed the definition of *homo religiosus* as religious leader, at least in Anglo-American scholarly parlance. In both cases the term is employed not in a particularistic sense—the *homo religiosus* or *homines religiosi*—but in a generic sense, *homo* referring not to an individual but, as with Linnaeus, to humanity. In one usage, the term is a general designation for all human beings, referring specifically to religion as one constitutive aspect of humanity distinct from others. This usage assumes a fundamental unity of all humankind that is much more than biological, and its proponents speak more of the human condition than they do of concrete religious phenomena.

The Dutch historian of religions Gerardus van der Leeuw openly set this sort of *homo religiosus* in opposition to Scheler's. For van der Leeuw, the human as such emerges in the existential tension between two poles: on the one hand, a fully united collective identity in which the individual is submerged (that is, a primitive mentality, the realm of mysticism); on the other, a duality of subject and object in which a human being strives to render everything a technical object, in the end even itself. With humanity there emerges at the same time both *conscientia* (conscience and consciousness) and, from existential anxiety, a sense of sin—hence God and religion. While van der Leeuw is not unaware of the existence of atheists and agnostics, in his formulation such persons can never escape their own selves, their own *conscientiae.*

More recently, Wilhelm Dupré has seen religion as both a "universal pattern of human self-realization" and a "constitutive presence . . . in the emergence of man" (Dupré, 1975, p. 310). Dupré exposits his conception of humanity by using three expressions, *homo existens, homo symbolicus,* and *homo religiosus*, each of which necessitates the next. The symbol, not the existential situation of the subject in the world, is the pivot upon which Dupré's conceptions turn. Because religion is for him both the quality that gives intensity to any process of symbolization and the dimension in which symbolization originates, Dupré sees humanity as inevitably religious.

HOMO RELIGIOSUS AND HOMO MODERNUS. In a third meaning, as in the second, *homo religiosus* is a generic term, but here it does not extend to the entire species. Instead, it characterizes the mode of human existence prior to the advent of a modern, secular consciousness. Thus, this usage differs from the second in the seriousness with which it takes secularization as an abandonment of religion and in the weight it assigns religious elements within the modern, secularized world. Its adherents are able to conceive religion in terms of concrete phenomena normally considered religious (such as myths and rites), without recourse to subtle redefinitions governed by their views of humanity in general. At the same time, they may still appreciate religion's secular manifestations. Because this view appears above all in the influential writings of Mircea Eliade, it is perhaps the most widely known modern use of *homo religiosus.*

Eliade is struck by the difference between the nature and use of symbols in the ancient classical religions and especially among archaic cultures as opposed to the modern Western intelligentsia. He contrasts two distinct modes of existing in and experiencing the world. His *homo religiosus* is driven by a desire for being; modern humanity lives under the dominion of becoming. *Homo religiosus* thirsts for being in the guise of the sacred. *Homo religiosus* attempts to live at the center of the world, close to the gods and in the eternal present of the paradigmatic mythic event that makes profane duration possible. The experience of time and space for *homo religiosus* is characterized by a discontinuity between the sacred and the profane. Modern humanity, however, experiences no such discontinuity. For *homo religiosus,* neither time nor space is capable of distinctive valorization. *Homo religiosus* is determined indiscriminately by all the events of history and by the concomitant threat of nothingness, which produces a profound anxiety.

The break between the two, however, cannot be complete. Determined by history, modern humankind is thereby determined by its unrenounceable precursor, *homo religiosus.* For support, Eliade points to religious structures in the modern world, such as mythic images suppressed in the modern unconscious and the religious symbols and functions of modern entertainment. Nonetheless, there is a profound difference between archaic reality and modern relic. For *homo religiosus,* recognized structures determine a whole world and a whole person. For modern humanity, these unrecognized structures are particular and private, repressed or relegated to peripheral activities.

The influence of Eliade's notion of *homo religiosus* can be gauged by the amount of discussion it has provoked among scholars. Some, especially anthropologists, question Eliade's data and methods and have come to the radical conclusion that Eliade's *homo religiosus* is never encountered in the field (see Saliba, 1976).

Others point out hidden biases that have skewed what they see as otherwise careful work. Those concerned with women's issues, for example, may find Eliade's view of the genuine human life basically androcentric: Eliade's *homo religiosus* is actually *vir religiosus* (see Saiving, 1976).

A third tack grants Eliade's universal structures but challenges the inferences that he draws. Some wonder, for example, whether archaic structures and their modern survivals might not simply arise from "the organic and psychological constitution of *Homo sapiens*" (Brown, 1981, p. 447). Given human biological unity, they question whether Eliade's differentiation of modern humankind from *homo religiosus* is relevant.

A final critique questions not Eliade's notion of *homo religiosus* but what it sees as his program of revitalizing religious humanity. For example, Kenneth G. Hamilton, a proponent of the death-of-God theology, finds Eliade's preferences opposed to historical faith (see Hamilton, 1965). Religious humanity surrenders questioning and particularity for openness and universality, and as a result abandons history and morality.

HOMO RELIGIOSUS IN THE STUDY OF RELIGION. Clearly, scholars give the term *homo religiosus* a variety of distinctive meanings. In addition, they use it with great variation in specificity and frequency. The expositions given here rely on careful and exact discussions, but many scholars also use the expression casually, and the precise meanings they intend are often difficult to determine. Again, some in the field assign *homo religiosus* a prominent place in their thought, but others do quite well without mentioning the term at all.

The formulation of an adequate concept of *homo religiosus* as such is only rarely a primary scholarly goal. As the varied and often incompatible meanings of the term show, scholars are generally driven by deeper and more substantive questions about religion, and they formulate different views on religious matters in which a phrase like *homo religiosus*—a Latin expression that attracts the reader's attention—can perform a range of services. Nonetheless, so long as the study of religion is conceived of as a human study, some students will find *homo religiosus* a convenient and useful expression.

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Gerardus van der Leeuw develops his views on *homo religiosus* in the context of a discussion of primitive mentality; see his *L'homme primitif et la religion: Étude anthropologique* (Paris, 1940). Similarly, Wilhelm Dupré comes to reflect on the universality of religion when he examines primitive peoples in his *Religion in Primitive Cultures: A Study in Ethnophilosophy* (Paris, 1975).

Indispensable for Eliade's view of *homo religiosus* is his *The Sacred and the Profane* (New York, 1959), which discusses the experience of *homo religiosus* with reference to space, time, nature, and life. The volume contains dispersed contrasts of *homo religiosus* and modern humankind. For these contrasts, see also, among other writings, Eliade's *Myths, Dreams and Mysteries: The Encounter between Contemporary Faiths and Archaic Realities* (New York, 1960) and his *Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return* (New York, 1954). A recent article by Eliade discusses technology and mythology in the archaic and modern worlds: "*Homo Faber* and *Homo Religiosus,*" in *The History of Religions: Retrospect and Prospect,* edited by Joseph M. Kitagawa (New York, 1985).

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HOMOSEXUALITY. Sexual activity between persons of the same sex is known from many places far and near throughout history. Because the word *homosexuality* derives from the Greek *homos,* meaning "same," and not from the Latin *homo,* meaning "man," the term refers both to sex between males and sex between females, though in practice *lesbianism* is used to refer to sexual relations between females. The image of homosexuality has a special history in the social, medical, and religious discourse of Western culture. This image equates the sexual behavior, personal identity, and sociosexual orientation of a person, often under a negative rubric. Other cultures, however, do not make this equation. Thus to say that someone engages in homosexual activity is different from saying he or she is "homosexual." Moreover, since about the eleventh century CE homosexuality has been seen as antithetical to Western ideas of church, family, and state; this attitude generally reflects a traditional Judeo-Christian cosmology. Homosexual relations in religious contexts outside the Western tradition have a wider meaning.

It has been argued both that homosexuality is universal and, to the contrary, that it is culture-bound to certain societies or historical periods. Part of this controversy depends upon how homosexuality is defined. Victorian scholars such as Krafft-Ebing suggested that homosexuality as an essence indicated nervous degeneracy that produced an inversion of innate instincts. Others, such as Havelock Ellis, saw it differently; and Freud believed that it was "remarkably widespread" in simple societies, because "all human beings are capable of making a homosexual object-choice" based upon bisexual potential and social experience *(Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality,* New York, 1962, pp. 5–11). The ancient Greeks were an especially puzzling case, as Jeremy Bentham noted, to Victorian scholars, who admired their beautiful art and their accomplishments in literature and philosophy but who detested their customary homosexuality.

Modern research has confirmed Freud's view that homosexual activity occurs in many simple societies. In a classic comparative study of sexual behavior patterns, Ford and Beach (1951) found that homosexual activity was considered socially acceptable and normative for certain people in 64 percent of the seventy-six societies studied. Moreover, institutionalized homosexuality is known among peoples from parts of Africa and Asia, among North and South American Indian tribes, among peoples on the islands of the Pacific, including New Guinea, and among the Australian Aborigines; it occurs as a religious theme in the ancient world among the Greeks (especially the Dorians and the Spartans), the Celts, and the Romans, in ancient Arabia and Islamic fringe areas, in feudal Japan, in ancient China and Indochina, and in selected Indo-European traditions. Here, religious—or, to be more precise, ritual—homosexuality occurs in relation to phallic cults and fertility symbolism, mythology, and ideas about spirit, seed, and soul, particularly as they concern the creation of the cosmos and maleness in humankind. In some societies, however, same-sex relationships are disliked or defined as taboo; certainly ritual homosexuality is not universal. An analysis of cross-cultural sexual variations does show that in the cultural traditions listed above homosexuality plays a role in respect to the experience of the sacred.

It has been demonstrated that there are three forms of the cultural structuring of homosexual activities and organization the world over: (1) age-structured homosexuality, in which people of the same sex but of different ages are sexually involved; (2) gender-reversed homosexuality, wherein a person adopts the dress, mannerisms, and sexual activities of the opposite sex; and (3) role-specialized homosexuality, in which a person, by virtue of his or her social or religious role, is entitled to engage in homosexual activity. In simple societies these forms usually do not occur together but are mutually exclusive. As described below, most cross-cultural examples of these forms concern only male homosexuality; institutionalized female homosexuality is rare. Contrary to popular Western thought, the first type—age-structured homosexual behavior—seems the most frequent. These social types can be studied in different ways, each of which provides a somewhat different interpretation. A focus on overt homosexual behavior, for instance, may reveal little about the experience or identities of the persons involved. But it is clear that such ritual homosexual forms do not create the lifelong, habitualized identity that in the West is labelled "the homosexual." Nor do non-Western homosexual customs necessarily indicate the sexual orientation of the persons involved, because participants in the age-structured type later marry, have children, and may or may not engage in extramarital homosexual relations. The exact causes of these homosexual forms are still unknown. Moreover, to ask what causes these types of homosexuality is very different from understanding how they function or affect individuals and societies. This article shall here examine the latter dimension, on which reliable information exists.

AGE-STRUCTURED HOMOSEXUALITY. The most common form of ritual homosexuality is organized through customary sexual relationships between older and younger males. In some cultures the practice is obligatory and universal for all males, usually early in the life cycle and, for the junior partner, before marriage. Age-organized homosexuality is associated with militarized societies as well. Ritual and ceremonial practices frequently provide a social basis for it, thus linking sexuality and religion, though this association is by no means true of all the relevant examples.

Of all age-structured systems, that of the ancient Greeks, the West's cultural ancestors, is the most famous. In the Hellenic world homosexuality is known among the militaristic Dorians at least as early as 800 BCE. Senior and junior males engaged in homosexual relationships as a part of masculine development. Among the Dorians on Crete, Ephoros describes the experience as an initiation that begins with a ritual capture (*harpagē*) of a boy by his lover; the community acknowledged this by gift giving and feasting, recalling the myths of the pederastic captures of Chrysippus by Laius and of Ganymede by Zeus (see Bremmer, 1980, p. 285). Early Greek homosexuality was fundamentally related to the concept of *aretē,* which in Homer's time meant "warlike prowess." *Aretē* implied masculine valor, beauty, and nobility, symbolized, on the earthly plane, by the heroic strength of warrior and athlete, by the spirit and speed of horses, and, on the spiritual plane, by the power of the gods (Jaeger, 1945). Male lovers were known as *erōmenos* ("boy, beloved") and *erastēs* ("senior, lover"). The ideal was for the senior to transmit the noble qualities of *aretē* to his junior through teaching, love, and sex, the senior receiving sexual pleasure.

The military aspect of Hellenic homosexuality is widely noted. Some scholars feel it has been exaggerated (Hoffman, 1980); certainly it changed over time. The Thebans and Spartans were said to have taken boy lovers with them as comrades and bedmates. The youths in turn learned warrior values and the military arts. The Theban military corps known as the Sacred Band was said to derive its strength from the homoerotic unity of male warrior couples. Many ancient texts tell celebrated stories of how male lovers overthrew tyrants and defeated invaders. And Plutarch says that "an army consisting of lovers and their beloved ones, fighting at each other's side, although a mere handful, would overcome the whole world" (Westermarck, 1917, vol. 2, p. 479). In Classical Attic culture, however, the educational and social dimensions of homosexual love were stressed over the military aspect (Dover, 1978).

What did male love mean to the ancient Greeks? The subject has long been a source of controversy, for the ancients have only their texts and art to speak for them. While homosexuality was not directly supported by Greek religion, the polymorphous sexuality of the Greek gods—Zeus himself, for instance, engaged in homosexual love capture, and Aphrodite served as patroness of both heterosexual and homosexual love—is noteworthy. Perhaps polytheism in Greece and in non-Western cultures contributed to the acceptance of homosexuality.

Certainly there is no question that the widely known figures of Greek philosophy, the teacher Socrates and his students Plato and Xenophon, among others, engaged in homosexual relationships as a part of the educational process. The teacher transmitted the noble qualities of *aretē,* knowledge, and virtue in the context of homoerotic love with his students (Dover, 1978). In the Hellenic world, an act could be described as homosexual or heterosexual, but not a person—a view markedly in contrast with the modern one. This was no doubt complemented by the sexual segregation and the taboo on adultery among the Greeks. Still, homosexuality was frowned upon between peers (except with slaves, as among the Romans), and the *erōmenos* went on to marry, father children, and play the role of *erastēs,* which strove toward honor and beauty, "the very heart of the Greek view of life" (Jaeger, 1945, p. 13).

Plutarch reports that in Sparta, at least, noblewomen loved girls as well. There, female initiation involved age-structured lesbian relationships like those of males. The writings of Sappho suggest a similar ritual background.

Age-asymmetric homosexuality was also known in ancient Rome, though the Roman attitude toward it was more ambivalent. The Romans drew upon and emulated Greek culture in many ways, and Livy reports male homosexual intercourse as a part of Bacchic rites in the early Roman Republic. Homosexuality among nobles seems to have elicited a mixed reaction among Romans. Most Romans focused upon the negative character of effeminacy, seduction, and prostitution among those who engaged in homosexual activity, consistent with their patriarchal culture and imperialistic worldview. Nonetheless, there was probably no law against homosexuality until late in the Roman Empire. The masculine senior role in homosexual relationships was widely regarded and honorable; one need only recall the emperor Hadrian's unending devotion to his dead male lover, the Greek youth Antinous, as a renowned expression of erotic fidelity. The complexity of the Roman response to homosexuality may have to do with many and diverse influences, which, through Roman conquests, trade, and the advent of Christianity, introduced heterogeneous standards into Roman culture and cosmology.

Age-structured homosexuality appears as a more general theme in various Indo-European traditions from which historical evidence has survived. Most sources suggest that the Celts practiced ritual pederasty, whereas the Irish and Welsh probably did not (see Bremmer, 1980, p. 288). Obligatory homosexuality existed in ancient Germany and Albania and was no doubt linked to their warrior traditions. Here again, age-structured homoeroticism belonged to a transitional period before adulthood, young men engaging in anal intercourse with boys. Because these peoples strongly condemned passive homosexuality in adults (as did the Greeks and Romans), it is reasonable to conclude that whereas for boys the passive role was required, honorable, and masculine, for adults it was dishonorable and despised.

The evidence indicates that homosexuality was broadly accepted and known from the Near East and Mediterranean in biblical times. Homosexual prostitution was known in ritual cults of Mesopotamia and Canaan. Mesopotamian law codes do not mention homosexuality. The Hittite code prohibits only father-son incest, and the Middle Assyrian code forbids only homosexual rape. In the Hebrew scriptures only *Leviticus* 18:22 and 20:13 generally prohibit male homosexuality. It has been argued that negative attitudes toward homosexuality, however, did not take hold until late antiquity. Both Hebrew and Christian dualistic oppositions between good and evil, spirit and flesh, male and female promulgated an ascetic ethos, which repudiated pleasure of all kinds as detrimental to salvation and spirituality. Early Christianity assimilated a view that opposed all sexual pleasure and was generally antagonistic to homosexuality (Greenberg and Bystryn, 1982). Following this, church doctrine was ambiguous regarding homosexuality until about the eleventh century CE; thereafter, ecclesiastical law and centralization of the church in the context of European state formation increasingly restricted and criminalized homosexual contact.

Islamic societies held a different and more tolerant, informal attitude toward homosexuality. Indeed, Ṣūfīs saw homosexual relations as an expression of the spiritual link between man and God. Some authorities suggest that Islamic ideas influenced the biblical practice of oath taking on the father's penis. They point to *Genesis* 47:29–31, wherein Jacob, on his deathbed, makes his son Joseph swear he will remove him from Egypt, pledging loyalty by touching Jacob's penis. This practice may have been a symbolic survival of noble homosexuality in ancient Arabia that involved a primitive rite of transference of male force, from a powerful adult warrior to a younger recruit homoerotically attached to him in order to acquire military and civic education. The same authorities compare the practice to Dorian homosexuality. Modern examples of male homosexuality are known from North Africa and Morocco, and female homosexuality is reported in harems of certain Muslim societies around the world. Age-structured homosexuality of the ancient Arabian form has been reported in modern times in the Oasis of Siwa.

Love between men in ancient China was seen as an alternate erotic expression not antagonistic to the family or to heterosexual marriage. In some respects the dualistic cosmology of the ancient Chinese, with the principles of yin and yang, was neutralized in the homosexual act. Homosexual love appears to have reached a popular high point in the Han dynasty, when the emperor Aidi cut off the sleeve of his robe when called to court audience rather than awaken his male lover; after this, in Chinese literature, homosexuality was known as "the love of the cut sleeve." Many similar stories are found in feudal Japanese literature.

Age-structured homosexuality was prevalent and esteemed in the militarized feudal order of Japan up to the beginning of the Meiji era (1868). Some of the great shoguns and samurai kept male lovers to provide emotional and sexual support. The youth in this role was esteemed and was given a secure position in the feudal hierarchy. In the seventeenth-century Japanese novelist Saikaku Ihara's book *Comrade Loves of the Samurai* (Tokyo, 1972), are found romantic tales of how samurai sons were urged by their families to form homoerotic alliances with warriors that matured into lifelong companionships, alongside their marriages. The Japanese attitude toward women was similar to that of the ancient Greeks: Women were to be married and produce heirs, whereas boys were for pleasure and companionship. "*Samurai* warriors would select a particular youth as a favorite and like the Homeric Greeks, a *samurai* would keep a particular lover by his side during battle" (George DeVos, *Socialization for Achievement,* Berkeley, Calif., 1973, p. 269). Because of this homoerotic interest, both male and female houses of prostitution were known in feudal Japan, though the male inmates were probably not boys of noble or samurai birth. The Kabuki theater of Japan is said to have originated from a shogun's preference for male performers.

The Azande of Africa also practiced an age-structured kind of "military homosexuality." The king's household contained hundreds of wives and some boys, all of whom were "married" to him. Young warriors married boys, and a commander could have more than one "boy-wife." When they married, the boy was given spears by his lover; warrior and boy addressed each other as "my love" and "my lover." They traveled together, and the boy kept the senior's household in order. When he matured, the warrior gave him bridewealth so he could marry in turn and take boy lovers of his own. The example of the Azande suggests that asymmetric homosexuality flourished in a situation in which few females were available for marriage because of polygyny, complexity of marriage arrangements, and warrior segregation (themes also present in Pacific island societies).

The most recent and detailed studies of age-structured homosexuality come from Melanesia, a culture area in which the ancient influence of phallic cults and initiation rites provides striking parallels with the warrior homosexual ethos noted elsewhere. It has been demonstrated that between 10 and 20 percent of all Melanesian societies, ranging from Fiji and New Caledonia to Malekula Island in Vanuatu and other off-lying islands and lowland areas of New Guinea, practiced ritualized male homosexuality; in the Papuan Gulf region of New Guinea it was universal. Moreover, various Australian Aboriginal tribes, especially those of the Kimberleys and central desert area, had similar customs. The current evidence indicates that these traditions resulted from an ancient migration of peoples into the area around Melanesia some thousands of years ago.

In these societies ritual initiation customs placed homosexuality in a highly structured socioreligious context. The adjective *ritualized* applies best to the Melanesian situation because (1) homosexual practices were implemented through male initiation rites (2) that had sacred significance for society and the individual, (3) the cultural rules and social roles of which were supported by the wider moral-jural force of society or of a secret men's society, (4) which prescribed sexual intercourse between senior and junior males based upon social and kinship taboos. Typically, Melanesian homosexual contact made older adolescent or married men the dominant partners and prepubescent or adolescent boys the passive partners. In most groups age-asymmetric homosexuality was obligatory for all males. It was by nature a transitional sociosexual form that masculinized boys, making them into mature men who eventually married. However, in certain societies, such as the Malekula, the Marind-anim of southwest New Guinea, and the Ingiet secret society (of New Britain), older men were expected to be dominant inseminators of boys, even though they were married and could be grandfathers. In such societies, then, it is appropriate to speak of a pervasive bisexual orientation in the male life cycle.

The military character of Melanesian homosexuality was elaborate and should be underlined. Virtually all of the relevant cultures were caught in a web of intensive and constant Stone Age warfare. Their phallic cults and secret societies not only promoted fertility but constituted the warriorhoods that defended the community and raided neighboring tribes. Initiation into the men's club thus meant entry into military life. Women and children were excluded from secret cult activities, as would be expected in the extreme form of patrilineal culture found there. Phallic worship was omnipresent. John Layard in *Stone Men of Malekula* (London, 1942, p. 489) states that in the New Hebrides (Vanuatu) the penis is held in "high esteem" and the glans penis is accorded "extreme reverence"; elsewhere he refers to these groups as "male admiring societies."

Melanesian homosexual rites involved the transmission of male power by physical means, anal or oral insemination strengthening a boy's penis, body, and masculine character. Little wonder that Arnold van Gennep, in his classic *Les rites de passage* (Chicago, 1960, pp. 169–171), refers to coitus as a rite of great efficacy, and to homosexual insemination as a final ceremony of incorporation into these male cultures. Such rites should be seen in the broader context of customs that effect boys' submission to the sacred authority of gods and elders. For the Marind-anim, ritual homosexuality was bound up with daring headhunting raids into distant enemy groups; for the Keraki of Papua and the Sambia of the Papuan fringe, the attainment of manhood required participation in war raids, followed by serving as dominant homosexual partners for initiated boys. Homosexuality thus went hand in hand with military training and socialization into the masculine role.

Sexual antagonism is a prominent theme in these Melanesian tribes; some sexual segregation of men and women occurred in all of them. Institutionalized secrecy was supported by ritual sound-producing instruments, such as sacred flutes and bull-roarers, that both protected the cult and symbolized its power over others, thus serving as symbols of male religious orthodoxy. The secret significance of these instruments has been shown to stem from heterosexual hostility and segregation and from men's envious imitation of women's procreative powers. In this context the Dutch authority Jan van Baal goes so far as to refer to Marind-anim homosexuality as the "dark secret" of a phallic religion. Women often were perceived by men as fertile, polluting, and depleting of male life force. Strict taboos on adultery, menstruation, childbirth, and virginity were common. Marriage practices were political arrangements without much freedom of choice. Sister-exchange and bride-wealth marriage customs created alliances between clan groups or villages and enemy groups. It has been found that senior men were expected or allowed to inseminate their wives' younger brothers (i.e., their brothers-in-law) in tandem with impregnating their wives. Polygyny and a shortage of women, too, made institutionalized homosexuality a pragmatic sexual outlet for unmarried mature males. Among the Big Nambas tribe of Vanuatu, it reached an extreme form, in which chiefs were said to exercise a monopoly over females as wives and over boys as lovers, some chiefs becoming so attached to boys that they preferred them to their wives. It is notable that Vanuatu is the only Melanesian area in which institutionalized lesbianism is known.

In the Melanesian world, ritual in general and homosexual rites in particular drew a special boundary between the sacred and profane arenas of culture. The belief system underlying the differences between male and female development must be noted. Females were widely perceived to be "naturally" fast-growing, fertile, and reproductively competent, males slow to grow and not "naturally" fertile or reproductively competent. Here semen and menstrual blood were antithetical; groups such as the Sambia believed they must eradicate "female blood" from boys and then inseminate them through homosexual intercourse in order for them to attain manhood. Thus, women naturally procreated, and men used ceremonies to create spiritually and symbolically "reborn" boys. Insemination thus placed boys in the sacred realm, and initiation created a years-long liminal phase of development ultimately leading to the profane and sexually dangerous adult experience of heterosexual marriage.

This dichotomy sheds light on a puzzling bifurcated pattern of homosexuality in Melanesia. Are homosexual relations "real" or "mythical," in Layard's terms? In the vast majority of these societies it has been found that actual homosexual activity occurs for years, as noted. In a small number of societies, however, actual homosexual intercourse may or may not occur, may occur only once, as among the Ingiet cult, or may occur only as a theme in social consciousness or mythology. In most groups, homosexual penetration and submission stress a stronger relationship to the sacred; those cultures that de-emphasize it place homosexuality closer to the profane arena. An intermediate example is the Kaluli of New Guinea, for whom homosexuality was voluntary rather than obligatory, and who stressed symbolic marriage to female spirits as a transition into actual heterosexual relations later (Schieffelin, in Herdt, 1982). Thus the Kaluli saw homosexuality as a profane counterpart to heterosexuality, which was, for them, socially and spiritually higher.

Many scholars have noted the similarities between age-structured homosexual organizations the world over. The comparison of the ancient Greeks and Melanesians is widely cited and seems appropriate, in spite of the cultural differences between their worlds. The Melanesian systems are more closely like those of lowland Amazon tribes, wherein ritualized homosexuality, warfare, and sexual antagonism are also prominent. Yet, Jane Harrison's idea (in *Themis,* New York, 1961) that among the Greeks and primitive peoples, initiations transform boys from a "woman thing" into a "man thing" seems to be borne out. The trend of age-structured homosexuality everywhere was to promote and accomplish the masculinization of boys.

GENDER-REVERSED HOMOSEXUALITY. A different social form is based on the adoption of the gender role, dress, and mannerisms of the opposite sex, leading to a different type of homosexual contact. Sometimes this is referred to as institutionalized transvestism, or cross-dressing. It has been found to occur in selected indigenous societies of North and South America, island Polynesia, and Southeast Asia, and among preliterate and peasant groups in mainland Asia and Africa. Gender-reversed homosexuality is associated, although not exclusively, with shamanism as a religious institution. Though the phenomenon is reported in both sexes, male examples are more frequent in the literature. Usually this form exists in societies where it is believed that a small number of individuals in each generation aspire to the gender role of the opposite sex. Gender reversal usually begins in childhood, has recognized customs associated with it, and is acknowledged by the society.

Gender-reversed homosexuality is inextricably linked with symbols of sexual ambiguity in many cultures. Role and erotic inversion here make this symbolic association understandable. If blurring of the genders is present in the cosmology of a society, gender reversal can be expected in socioreligious practice. In the Greek pantheon, for instance, Athena and Dionysos were born of Zeus, blurring on the cosmic plane the boundary between male and female reproduction. In India, Śiva reproduced by spilling his sperm, and Samba, the divine son of Kṛṣṇa, not only engaged in homosexuality but also dressed as a woman to seduce the wives of other gods. Likewise, the *hijāda* role provides a contemporary example of actual gender reversal in Northwest India. Males in this role wear women's clothes, beg alms, and perform as women in ceremonies, though it is unclear whether they engage in homosexual activity. Other examples from ancient and modern times reveal the same link between cosmic sexual ambiguity and actual gender reversal (Carrier, 1980; Hoffman, 1984).

The institution of the berdache (from the Arabic word *bardaj,* meaning a boy slave kept for erotic purposes) is perhaps the best-known anthropological example of gender-reversed homosexuality. Some 115 North American Indian tribes had this traditional role. Most of these groups were hunters and gatherers, some of which permitted a surprising degree of sexual equality. Among the Plains Indians, warfare was also common. Though the male-to-female form of gender reversal is most famous, some 35 of these cultures also recognized female berdaches, who as girls acted and dressed as boys. Three signs indicated that a person could become berdache: preference for occupations of the opposite sex, the adoption of dress and mannerisms indicative of the other sex, and the choice of same-sexed persons as sexual partners. Some berdaches became ritual experts and shamans, and cases are reported of female berdaches who were skilled hunters and great warriors. Few berdaches were biologically abnormal or hermaphroditic. These societies both recognized and legitimized the berdache "calling," which occurred usually in childhood or by vision-quest experiences in adolescence. Berdaches could marry, adopt children, acquire property, and generally participate in most aspects of tribal life. Hostility to the institution of berdache by white settlers and missionaries resulted in the abandonment of the role by the late nineteenth century, though a recent report suggests the survival of acculturated berdaches in some places.

The ranked societies of Polynesia, Tahiti in particular, are associated with gender-reversed homosexual organization. The role of the *mahu* in Tahiti has been reported in depth, and the cross-dressing and feminization of *mahu* males appear very similar to those of the berdache. Female *mahu* are also historically reported. In modern times community response to the *mahu* has varied, with approval of gender-role reversal but disapproval of homosexual behavior. Religious activity seems unrelated to the role.

The obvious sociosexual trend of gender-reversed homosexuality for males is feminization; this is in marked contrast to the age-structured form. Moreover, these traditional gender-reversed roles suggest a lifelong pattern of exclusive homosexual activity, a pattern also at variance with those developed where the age-structured type is practiced. It should be noted that among Melanesian societies, cross-gender and transvestite behavior are very rare (Herdt, 1984), as was true for the ancient Greeks and others. Hermann Baumann (1955) was perhaps the first scholar to recognize that the age-structured masculinizing form of homosexuality is fundamentally different from the feminizing gender-reversed type found elsewhere. Moreover, he demonstrated that the masculinizing role should not be equated with the androgyne figure in myth or ritual.

ROLE-SPECIALIZED HOMOSEXUALITY. The third form of homosexual organization is based solely on the entitlements of a status or role not widely held in a culture. Thus, for example, the person who became a shaman among the Chukchi tribe of Siberia was entitled by supernatural intervention to reverse gender roles and to engage in homosexual behavior, though this was disapproved for others in the society. Here one must consider the element of what Mircea Eliade calls "divine bisexuality," the idea that a special role—usually religious—"is fraught with sacredness" (*Birth and Rebirth,* New York, 1958, p. 25). In simple societies this is different from the obligatory involvement in age-structured homosexuality for all males and from individual expression of gender reversal for selected people noted above. However, examples also show that role-specialized homosexuality in complex societies diverges from a purely religious basis to encompass wider meanings. Because some complex examples do not involve gender reversal, moreover, it is important to avoid confusing the categories of gender-reversed and role-specialized homosexuality.

In ancient societies numerous examples of role-specialized homosexuality drew their support from the religiosity of divine bisexuality. Male and female temple prostitutes who engaged in homosexual activity under the protection of religious cults in Mesopotamia and Canaan are relevant. In the Roman world Semitic cults that utilized gender reversal and homosexuality were role-specialized, the most famous priest in this context being Elagabalus. In these social settings religious morality legitimized homosexual conduct. One should not forget, however, the negative and chaotic consequences of "good" versus "bad" moral choices that could flow from homosexual customs in certain ancient traditions like that of the Greeks. Here a combination of divine royal power and aberrant homosexual choice, as in the Greek myth of Oedipus, arises repeatedly and hangs over the mythology of Western sexuality. It will be recalled that Laius, the father of Oedipus, abducted the boy Chrysippus out of homosexual desire. In rage the goddess Hera, guardian of marriage, sent the Sphinx to destroy Thebes. Eventually, by trickery, Jocasta produced a son from Laius: Oedipus, whom Laius tried to kill. The rest of story is well known; it ends in incest, patricide, Oedipus's self-inflicted blindness (symbolic self-castration), and madness, themes reflected in Shakespeare's great tragedy, *Hamlet.* These mytho-symbolic images of "bad" moral choice foreshadow the ambiguous status of role-specialized homosexuality in the modern Western era.

Role-specialized homosexuality in tribal societies is strongly identified with shamanism. The divine or celestial origins of shamanic curative and medicinal powers is widely attested. What is more, transvestite shamans having important supernatural powers are known on both sides of the Pacific and into Indochina as well. The Chukchi shaman is particularly well known in this respect, and it has been demonstrated that Chukchi shamans cross-dress and engage in homosexual relations, some even taking husbands. Among those who remain heterosexual, their spirit guides still oblige them to dress as women.

An intermediate case of role-specialized homosexuality, which began in a shamanic tradition but changed into a secular form, is provided by the so-called flower boys (*hwarang*) of Silla, known from the Yi dynasty in Korea. Here the concept of *midong* ("good-looking boys," with pederastic overtones) is noteworthy. These boys dressed as girls and accompanied wandering musicians and players. They were sometimes married to the latter, and served as entertainers; they would thus seem to suggest attributes of both age-structured and gender-reversed homosexuality. Yet, they were historically associated with popular shamanic performances and were referred to in terms of the literary and theatrical homosexual traditions of China and the chivalrous homosexual code of medieval Japan.

A more recent and secularized role-specialization example—this one concerning lesbianism—is known from the nineteenth-century Canton Delta in China. Certain villages in this patriarchal class society established girls' houses, wherein girls formed strong affectional and economic bonds with each other. It was notorious throughout China that many of these girls formed lesbian relationships. Non-Buddhist religious sects influenced the young women by stressing sexual equality and purity through nonmarriage. The introduction of the silk industry in this area in the 1860s supported the practice of lesbianism, because families encouraged their daughters to take vows of "popular spinsterhood," rather than lose their income. These spinsterhood bonds were not deviant but were accepted at the time; no other institutional form of lesbian contact occurred in these communities or was acceptable. Remnants of this lesbian sisterhood are still to be found in Hong Kong and Taiwan today. In other words, this role-specialized social form involved homosexual relations but was not gender-reversed or age-structured.

How is homosexual behavior in modern Western society to be interpreted, particularly in light of the trichotomy described here? A partial answer to this question was provided in the historical perspective on homosexuality, noted above, following the fall of the Roman Empire. Role-specialized homosexuality is the most complex category of the three, for it implies elements of social support and ambivalence, normative and gender-reversed behavior, and specialization of socioeconomic and cultural interests. Over the past century homosexuality has undergone a dramatic transformation, from the "disease of effeminacy" to the modern gay rights movement. It must be made clear, however, that the modern social category and erotic identity signified by the term *gay* is not the same as homosexual organizations or roles found in ancient times and in other cultures (cf. Boswell, 1980); it is in several respects a unique development in human society. This suggests a change from a predominantly gender-reversed feminization to a more frequent masculinization of overt homosexuality in popular culture. In Latin American cultures, such a symbolic transformation is problematic, for as Joseph Carrier notes, gender roles are still defined with respect to the hypermasculine ideal model known as machismo. Western culture, more broadly, has seen a gradual change from the specific identification of gender-reversed homosexuality with specialized roles in the theater and art world. Was it not Freud (*Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego,* 1960, p. 94) who said, "In the great artificial groups, the church and the army, there is no room for woman as a sexual object"? In this sense, contemporary age-asymmetric masculine homoerotic bonding in complex societies was until recently restricted to male clubs, military boarding schools, and the armed services. The gay rights movement and related social changes are altering this view, as homosexuality is increasingly decriminalized and removed from the medical category of psychopathology in Western countries.

Recent Western attitudes toward homosexuality are strongly linked to religious history and theology, but broader socioeconomic trends since the late Middle Ages have played an equally powerful role. Historical research has challenged the widely held view that hostility toward homosexuality was merely the result of the Judeo-Christian tradition (Greenberg and Bystryn, 1982). It has been demonstrated that polytheistic societies are generally more tolerant of homosexuality than are monotheistic ones (Hoffman, 1984), though exceptions to this generalization are plentiful. Perhaps the institutionalization of religiously supported sexual morality, as much as anything, fosters disapproval of sexual behavior deviating from heterosexuality. Other factors, such as trends to urbanization and the establishment of capitalistic industrial apparatus, have undoubtedly contributed to changes in Western attitudes toward homosexuality (Boswell, 1980; Foucault, 1978), yet these trends too cannot account for certain historical examples (Greenberg and Bystryn, 1984). The development of complex state and church bureaucracies, with associated unconscious responses to all deviance, including homosexuality, may eventually provide more adequate institutional and psychosocial explanations of the special image homosexuality occupies in Western discourse.

SEE ALSO Agōgē; Androgynes; Gender Roles; Hierodouleia; Masculine Sacrality; Phallus and Vagina.

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HŌNEN (1133–1212), more fully Hōnen Shōnin Genkū, was a Japanese Buddhist priest and reformer, and the founder of the Jōdoshū sect of Japanese Buddhism. Hōnen's life reflects the changing times in which he lived as well as his role in those changes. He was born in the fourth month of 1133 in Mimasaka province (modern Okayama prefecture) into a provincial military family. The military clans of Japan were then embroiled in a struggle with the nobility for control of agricultural lands, and in 1141 Hōnen's father, Uruma Tokikuni, was killed in a skirmish over possession of a local manor. The young Hōnen was sent to a nearby Tendai Buddhist temple, the Bodaiji, probably for protection from his family's enemies. Hōnen seemed a promising candidate for a clerical career and was therefore sent in 1145 to continue his novitiate at the Tendai main temple of Enryakuji on Mount Hiei near Kyoto. His training went well, and in 1147, at the age of fourteen, he was formally ordained into the Tendai priesthood.

Hōnen was a serious and dedicated monk. His early biographies reveal that in the years following his ordination he read the entire Buddhist canon three times and mastered not only the Tendai doctrines but those of the other contemporary schools as well. Conditions then, however, were every bit as unsettled on Mount Hiei as elsewhere in Japan and hardly conducive to a life of study and contemplation. The great national struggle between the nobility and the provincial military clans (the same struggle that had claimed the life of Hōnen's father) was rapidly increasing in intensity, and the monastic establishments of the day, including the Tendai order, had become deeply involved in this struggle. Not only was political intrigue rife on Mount Hiei, but numbers of monks had been organized into small armies that engaged in constant brawls with the monastic armies of other temples and with the troops of the Taira military clan, which had by then occupied Kyoto, the capital.

In 1150 Hōnen sought refuge at the small Tendai retreat of the saintly master Eikū (d. 1174) located at Kurodani on the flanks of Mount Hiei. Eikū's small community was a center of Pure Land Buddhist devotion. Hōnen spent twenty-five years there studying the Pure Land scriptures and cultivating *nembutsu zammai,* a meditational trance (*samādhi*) in which the devotee concentrates upon Amida Buddha (Skt., Amitābha or Amitayus), the Buddha of the Western Pure Land.

The worship of Amida Buddha had been growing in Japan since the late tenth century, when the Tendai monk Genshin (942–1017) published his compendium on Pure Land thought and practice, the *Ōjōyōshū* (Essentials of Pure Land rebirth). This Buddhism, which had enjoyed wide popularity in China from the sixth century CE, teaches the existence of a purified Buddha field, a "pure land" presided over by Amida Buddha and situated far to the west of the known world. Those who wholeheartedly devote themselves to this Buddha can be saved by rebirth in this Pure Land after death. Those reborn there will receive the status of a *bodhisattva* and achieve their own enlightenment and buddhahood in but one final lifetime.

The appeal of this kind of Buddhism was growing in Hōnen's time because of a deepening conviction at all levels of society that Japan and all the world had entered the age of the decadent *dharma* (Jap., *mappō)*—a desperate time predicted in the scriptures when the Buddhist establishment, teachings, and even the spiritual capacities of humankind would plummet and the world would be plunged into strife and natural calamity. This conviction was based not only upon an assessment of the decadent monastic institutions and bloody civil conflicts of the age in Japan but also upon consideration of the appalling conflagrations and famines that ravaged the capital district in those times. Because none could achieve emancipation through his own efforts in the traditional ways of discipline, works, and wisdom, the only recourse was rebirth in the Western Pure Land through devotion to Amida Buddha. The swelling tide of Pure Land faith in Hōnen's time was further augmented by its appeal to a new clientele that had until then been largely disenfranchised from participation in the Buddhist quest—common people and especially the rural folk.

Hōnen also found spiritual solace in Pure Land faith. While at Kurodani he absorbed himself in the Pure Land scriptures and in cultivation of the *samādhi* of meditation upon Amida. This practice was a legacy of Genshin's *Ōjōyōshū,* which teaches a fervent contemplation (meditative envisualization) upon Amida's resplendent body while invoking his name with the formula "Namu Amida Butsu" ("Homage to the Buddha of Limitless Light"), and repeatedly circumambulating his image. The primary goal of this practice was an ecstatic realization of the nondual Buddha mind—that is, a profound enlightenment experience. A secondary goal was to assure one's rebirth into the Pure Land by achieving a perfect vision of Amida as he would appear in welcoming descent at the moment of one's death.

Hōnen did not, however, find spiritual satisfaction in these exercises even after many years at Kurodani. His later writings reveal that he was convinced that he himself dwelt in an age of decadent *dharma.* He considered the achievement of enlightenment by himself or his contemporaries to be all but impossible, and even the attainment of a perfect vision of Amida to be impractical. In this conviction, Hōnen had recourse to an alternative Pure Land teaching.

In addition to the extremely arduous *nembutsu zammai,* Genshin had also prescribed a practice of simply calling upon the name of Amida Buddha (invocational *nembutsu*), constantly and with deep devotion, but especially at the moment of death, in the hope of thereby eliciting Amida's compassion and being brought by him for rebirth into the Pure Land. Within orthodox Tendai circles, this was considered a practice inferior to *nembutsu zammai* and suitable only as a last resort for sinners and others incapable of the correct practice. Hōnen became convinced that this last resort was the only resort for him and his contemporaries. This conviction was based not only on his own experiences but also on the teachings of the great Chinese Pure Land master Shandao (613–681), whom Hōnen discovered in *Ōjōyōshū.* Shandao emphatically taught, and Hōnen came to agree, that calling upon Amida Buddha's name was not an inferior practice at all, but the practice especially designed by Amida for the salvation of otherwise hopelessly damned humankind during the age of the decadent *dharma.*

In the spring of 1175, at the age of forty-two, Hōnen acted upon his new conviction. He left Eikū's Tendai retreat, took up residence in the suburbs of the capital, and began to teach and practice the exclusive cultivation of invocational *nembutsu.* This marked a definitive departure of the Japanese Pure Land movement from its traditional Tendai home. Hereafter it would pursue an independent course both doctrinally and as a community. The Jōdoshū sect of Japanese Pure Land Buddhism, which became the first independent Pure Land Buddhist community in East Asian history, dates its founding from this time.

During the next quarter century, Hōnen taught widely and wrote voluminously on the way of the Pure Land. He gathered around himself a small community of disciples and lay followers. He also became one of the most respected clerics of his age, preaching and ministering to nobility, lecturing at the national temple, Tōdaiji, and becoming the personal chaplain to the regent to the throne, Kujō Kanezane.

Hōnen's most important composition during this period was the *Senchaku hongan nembutsu shū* (Treatise on the selected *Nembutsu* of the original vow). Composed in 1198 at the request of the regent Kanezane, this work establishes the principles of an independent Pure Land movement with regard to both theory and practice. It divides Buddhism into two paths, the difficult path to enlightenment, impractical in an age of decadent *dharma,* and the easy path for all, that of rebirth in the Pure Land. Moreover, Hōnen's work maintains the legitimacy of a Pure Land school (Jōdoshū) and designates this school's patriarchal lineage and scriptural canon. It also demonstrates that, among all possible means to Pure Land rebirth, the *nembutsu* of calling on Amida's name is the practice especially selected and guaranteed by Amida Buddha because it is the easiest practice, available to all. Further, the *Senchakushū* repeatedly urges its readers to keep the Nembutsu constantly on their lips so as to avail themselves of rebirth into Amida's Pure Land and emancipation from the sufferings of both this life and countless future transmigrations.

Hōnen's following and influence had by now become so great as to be seen as a challenge by the established monastic orders. His Pure Land teachings rejected the fundamentals of their faith and his claim of legitimacy for the Pure Land school flew in the face of one of their most cherished presumptions: that only the emperor could establish a legitimate Buddhist institution. These resentments took a serious turn in 1204 when the monks of the Tendai order petitioned their abbot to suppress Hōnen's movement. Hōnen responded by imposing on his disciples a seven-article pledge (the Shichikajō Seikai) to abstain from such excesses as criticizing other schools of Buddhism, encouraging violation of the Buddhist precepts (on the pretext that those who rely on the Nembutsu need have no fear of committing evil), and spreading heretical doctrines while falsely claiming them to be those of their master Hōnen.

This mollified the Tendai establishment for a time, but in the following year (1205) the powerful Kōfukuji order of Nara presented a formal petition to the Cloistered Emperor Go-Toba, accusing Hōnen's movement of nine specific heresies and infractions and demanding its suppression. This Kōfukuji petition (*Kōfukuji sōjō*) accused Hōnen and his followers of (1) presuming to establish a new Buddhist school or sect, (2) making new and unauthorized icons, (3) neglecting Śākyamuni Buddha, (4) condemning practices other than *nembutsu,* (5) rejecting the Shintō gods, (6) distorting the Pure Land teachings by rejecting practices other than *nembutsu* as means to rebirth, (7) misrepresenting *nembutsu* by rejecting the superior meditative and contemplative *nembutsu* in favor of the inferior invocational *nembutsu,* (8) rejecting the Buddha's monastic community and discipline, and (9) instigating disorder and rebellion in the nation.

No immediate action was taken by the emperor, and Hōnen might well have weathered this storm, for he was highly regarded in court circles. But late in 1206 two of his disciples engaged in an indiscretion that had serious repercussions. During the absence of Go-Toba, the priests Anraku and Jūren led the emperor's ladies in a Pure Land devotional service that continued throughout the night. The jealous emperor was furious and acceded to the demands of the Kōfukuji monks. Early in 1207, Jūren and Anraku were executed, the cultivation of exclusive *nembutsu* was prohibited, and Hōnen and several of his disciples were exiled to distant provinces. Hōnen was not allowed to return to the capital until late in 1211, and he died shortly thereafter in the first month of 1212. Two days before his death, he dictated to his disciple Genchi (1182–1238) his final testament (*Ichimai kishōmon*). It begins thus: "My teaching is neither the contemplative *nembutsu* taught by the wise of both China and Japan, nor is it enlightenment by means of learned meditative *nembutsu.* It is nothing other than to utter 'Namu Amida Butsu' for the purpose of rebirth in the Pure Land without a single doubt of achieving that rebirth." He died with the Nembutsu on his lips and, according to his disciples, amid auspicious signs of Pure Land rebirth. He was seventy-nine.

These events were grievous impediments to the Pure Land movement, but they did not stem what was to become a great tide of Pure Land faith. Several of Hōnen's chief disciples, notably Benchō (1162–1238) and Shinran (1173–1263), carried his message to the provinces and organized Pure Land communities. These later became established as the influential Jishū and enormously popular Jōdoshū (Pure Land) and Jōdo Shinshū (True Pure Land) sects.

Though Hōnen initiated sweeping changes in the religious life of Japan, he was not a revolutionary. He was a highly respected cleric in his day, admired for his scholarship and revered for his piety by clerics and laity alike. In some ways, he was deeply conservative. Although he urged on his followers the exclusive cultivation of invocational *nembutsu,* he himself never abandoned his monastic vows of chastity and poverty, and to the end of his life he cultivated contemplative *nembutsu.* Yet he definitively broke with the monastic, elitist Buddhism of his times. He provided both the intellectual foundations and the inspired personal leadership for the first independent Pure Land Buddhist movement.

SEE ALSO Jōdoshū; Mappō; Nianfo.

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HONJISUIJAKU is a technical term in Japanese Buddhism that originally designated a theory of emanation pertaining to Shintō and Buddhist divinities. Later, it came to be applied to the interpretative framework of the associations among them (*shimbutsu-shūgō*). The term is a compound: *Honji,* usually translated as "original nature," designates the limitless potentiality of the Buddha to manifest himself in as many forms as he wishes in order to lure living beings toward awakening; *suijaku,* usually translated as "manifestation" or "hypostasis," designates those forms. The original use of the term is to be found in the various Chinese commentaries of the *Lotus Sūtra* (Skt., *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra;* Chin., *Miaofa lianhua jing;* Jpn., *Myōhorengekyo*). These commentaries propose a twofold division of the scripture in which the first fourteen chapters are called (in Japanese) *jakumon* ("teaching by manifestation") and the second fourteen chapters, *hommon* ("fundamental teaching"). The *jakumon* part is the collection of the doctrines propounded before the *Lotus Sūtra,* whereas the *hommon* part is the Lotus doctrine according to which the historical Buddha (Śākyamuni) was the mere manifestation of a transcendent principle.

This theoretical scheme was generally applied to the various members of the Buddhist pantheon, so that even *bodhisattva*s could manifest themselves under variegated guises, using the doctrine of salvific means, or clever devices (Skt., *upāya;* Chin., *fangbian;* Jpn., *hōben*), in order to guide living beings of different psychological inclinations or intellectual abilities toward the realization of buddhahood. As Buddhism came into contact with other religious systems in Asia the *honjisuijaku* theory was then applied to interpret the divinities of these religions as lower manifestations of the members of the Buddhist pantheon. This interpretation had surfaced in China at varied levels of religious life, but it played a central role in Japan from the Nara period (710–784 CE) on.

Buddhism was officially recognized in the records of the Japanese state by the middle of the sixth century CE. Relationships between the Buddhist sects and the evolving systems of religious cults loosely referred to as Shintō began soon thereafter: The legends describing the arrival of Buddhism in Japan in the *Kojiki* (Record of ancient matters, 712) show evidence of the fact that mythological and ritual structures of autochthonous creeds were used to interpret the phenomenon, and there is little doubt that Buddhism was treated as an advanced form of Shintō. Various Buddhist scriptures and rites were used in the traditional context of protection of the state and in agrarian rituals; other rites were used to reinforce the legitimacy of the rulers. Shintō shrines were built to symbolize sociopolitical and economic structures; Buddhist temples came to be built along similar lines, often next to Shintō shrines. As a consequence, Buddhist monks came to officiate next to Shintō priests, to the point that they joined them in rites surrounding the funerals of emperors.

From the early Heian period (794–1185) on some monks were ordained specifically in connection with major Shintō shrines and received as such the name of *shimbundosha* (monks ordained for Shintō divinities). As time passed, the Buddhist ecclesiasts came to administrate the economic, political, and ritual affairs of the shrines they were associated with, and associations between Shintō and Buddhism began to occur at the levels of thought, ritual, literature, and art. Japan thus evolved syncretic systems that were locally grounded in shrine-temple complexes, in which the different particular divinities of the Shintō shrines were associated with the different Buddhist divinities of the adjacent temples. It is there that the *honjisuijaku* theory played fully: Shintō divinities were seen as manifestations of Buddhas or *bodhisattva*s, and their virtues were explained accordingly.

Because these systems of association were occurring in shrine-temple complexes, the *honjisuijaku* theory permeated many local cults during the classical and medieval periods of Japanese history; but during the Kamakura period (1185–1333) the major cultic centers housing the headquarters of the important sects of Buddhism developed integrative philosophical and ritual systems in which the *honjisuijaku* theory was central. Mount Hiei (Hieizan), center of the Tendai school of Buddhism, developed the syncretic sect Sanno Ichijitsu Shintō, and Mount Kōya (Kōyasan), center of the Shingon school of Buddhism, developed the syncretic sect Ryōbu Shintō.

By the middle of the medieval period, almost all Shintō divinities of Japan were essentially linked to Buddhist divinities at all levels of religious life and experience. Virtually all medieval records of shrines show the name of the Shintō divinity, and immediately thereafter indicate the following: "a *suijaku* of" such and such a Buddhist divinity. The result of these systematic associations was the creation of a composite culture in which one easily recognizes the Indian, Chinese, and Japanese ingredients. It should be noted, however, that historically the *honjisuijaku* theory had an implicit vertical power relationship, aptly suited to Buddhism's superority in political, economic, and ritual areas. But most of the associations between the divinities were not perceived, originally, to be couched in the context of power, but rather in the context of association and metaphor. These associations were expressed or interpreted according to word games in which initiated people could read subtle meanings and thereby decode the original and fundamental unity of the divinities of both religions.

However, during the Muromachi period (1336–1573) some priests of Shintō shrines, jealous of Buddhist institutional power and motivated by nationalistic reasons, created other syncretic systems in which the *honjisuijaku* theory was reversed to their advantage: Instead of seeing Shintō divinities as hypostases of Buddhist divinities, they claimed that the Buddhas and *bodhisattva*s were in fact manifestations of Shintō *kami* (divinities). First and foremost in this respect was Yoshida Kanetomo (1435–1511), a priest of the Yoshida shrine in Kyoto, who authored apocryphal scriptures, designed rituals, and formed a "Shintō-sided" sect of syncretism known as Yūitsu Shintō. This sect was of some importance in Japanese religious and cultural history, for it was granted, in the seventeenth century, the authority to license Shintō priests. From that time on Buddhism faced mounting criticism, it lost much of its economic and political support, and the nature of its relationships with Shintō changed accordingly. In 1868 the Meiji government decreed the official separation of Shintō from Buddhist divinities. Shintō was then changed in order to become the state religion: This marks the historical end to the meaningful existence of the *honjisuijaku* theories and practices in Japan.

In the light of these historical processes, the interpretation of the *honjisuijaku* theory becomes quite complex, for if on the one hand one wants to propose a strictly sectarian interpretation of the term, on the other hand one must keep in mind the various interpretations given to it in the course of history, and there is some discrepancy between the two. The Japanese have, in time of crisis, interpreted the theory as a model of power relationships, whereas in time of peace they have interpreted it as a model of peaceful coexistence. It may be said that many associations remain in the minds of some Japanese religious practitioners, and that composite culture is still a major aspect of Japanese religiosity and culture; but in any case, the *honjisuijaku* theory is no longer applicable as a structural device for communication processes between religious systems.

SEE ALSO Kami; Shintō; Syncretism; Upāya.

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Most of the relevant material for the study of *honjisuijaku* still needs to be thoroughly researched by scholars; the official separation of Shintō from Buddhism has resulted in a general lack of interest in this important area of Japanese religious history. However, in the last few years important studies have appeared in Japan. One may consult with benefit all the works by the historian Murayama Shūichi; particularly recommended is his *Honjisuijaku* (Tokyo, 1974), which is most detailed and provides brilliant analyses. The reader is also referred to the works of another historian, Kuroda Toshio. Among these, *Kokka to shūkyō,* volume 1 of *Nihon shūkyōshi kōza,* edited by Ienaga Saburō et al. (1959; rev. ed., Tokyo, 1971), gives his insightful remarks on the political background of the associations between Shintō and Buddhism. His book entitled *Jisha seiryoku* (Tokyo, 1980) is a systematic exposition of the economic and institutional aspects of Shintō-Buddhist associations and provides many openings for future research. The only book-length study in English is Alicia Matsunaga's *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation: The Historical Development of the Honji-Suijaku Theory* (Tokyo and Rutland, Vt., 1969), but this work needs to be revised to a considerable extent.

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ALLAN G. GRAPARD (1987)
Revised Bibliography

HONKO, LAURI (1932–2002) was a Finnish scholar of comparative religion and folklore and one of the most prominent scholars of cultural and religious studies in late-twentieth-century Finland and abroad. His prolific literary output reflects his status as professor of folklore and comparative religion at the University of Turku as well as stints with the Academy of Finland, UNESCO, Folklore Fellows Communications (FFC), and other national and international learned societies.

Honko began his career in the 1950s at the Finnish Literature Society as a student and assistant of Martti Haavio. Honko's doctoral dissertation discussed folk medicine and phenomenology of religion. His 1962 publication *Geisterglaube in Ingermanland* was a breakthrough that extended research on supernatural experiences into the perception and social psychology of religion on the basis of the folk beliefs he had thoroughly studied in peasant Ingrian society, using archival and field materials gathered from Ingrian refugees in Finland and Sweden.

Honko worked actively to legitimize the academic study of comparative religion in Finnish universities. He was a founder of the Finnish Society for Comparative Religion in 1963, and he launched its journal *Temenos* in 1965 as well as *Uskontotieteen näkökulmia* (Viewpoints on comparative religion) seven years later. He fought equally hard for the discipline of cultural anthropology, which entered Finnish university curricula with *Kulttuuriantropologia*, the 1970 textbook he wrote with Juha Pentikäinen.

Honko emphasized the importance of observation in empirical research. His early studies of Ingrian narrations and Karelian laments focused on function and genre analysis, oral poetry in relation to rites of passage, and perception psychology in folk belief. His 1967 fieldwork extended into the *lappmarks* (territorial divisions) of Lappland.

Honko also cofounded the Academy of Finland Sami Folklore Project, in which the Sami themselves worked to establish a folklore collection. He directed the Nordic Folklore Institute (NIF) from 1972 to 1990, producing volumes on such subjects as the ecological tradition. Honko's career culminated in the 1990s with annual visits to India, where he made audiovisual recordings of epic singers. The trips were detailed in his publications *Intian päiväkirja*, *Textualising the Siri Epic*, and *The Siri Epic as Performed by Gopala Naika I–II.*

Honko's main theoretical contributions were discussions on the phenomenology of religion and the religious traditions of both oral presentations and sacred texts. He wrote several books and encyclopedias on Finnish and Finno-Ugric religions and published numerous works on the Kalevala and other epics, tracing their histories from oral tradition to literary transcription. His last book, a study of Setu (south Estonian) epics, was published posthumously in 2003.

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JUHA PENTIKÄINEN (2005)

HOOKER, RICHARD (1554–1600), was an apologist and theologian of the Church of England, famous for his work *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (hereafter cited as *Laws*). Born at Heavitree near Exeter, Hooker received his basic education in the Exeter Grammar School. His parents could not afford more advanced schooling for him, but his uncle took the boy to see Bishop John Jewel of Salisbury (1560–1571), who agreed to be his patron and arranged for his admission as a clerk at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1568. His tutor was Dr. John Rainolds (1549–1604), a leader of the moderate Puritans at the university.

Hooker received his B.A. in 1574 and his M.A. in 1577. He was made a fellow of the college and a lecturer in Hebrew, and in 1581 he was ordained. His wide learning, gentle disposition, and genuine piety were admired at Oxford. Among his pupils two became lifelong friends and advisers in the writing of the *Laws:* Edwin Sandys, son of Bishop Edwin Sandys of London (1570–1576; archbishop of York, 1576–1588), and George Cranmer, grandnephew of Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury (1533–1556).

In December 1584 Hooker received the living of Drayton Beauchamp, Buckinghamshire, but a few months later he was appointed master of the Temple in London. He was soon involved in bitter controversy with Walter Travers, the afternoon lecturer at the Temple, who was a noted Puritan of presbyterian views and ordination. Instead of living in the master's house, which was in disrepair and partly occupied by Travers, Hooker took lodging in the nearby home of John Churchman, a prosperous member of the Merchant Taylors' Company and a friend of Sandys. In February 1588, Hooker married Churchman's daughter Joan, who bore him two sons (both of whom died in infancy) and four daughters.

Hooker resigned from the Temple in 1591 and was given the living of Boscombe, near Salisbury. It is doubtful if he was ever resident there, for he was already writing the *Laws* in the Churchmans' home, where he lived with his growing family. There also Sandys, who had entered Parliament, and Cranmer could easily confer with him about the work. In 1595, Hooker moved with his family to a living in Bishopsbourne, near Canterbury. He remained there, except for frequent visits to London, until his death on November 2, 1600.

In the preface to the *Laws,* Hooker outlined the themes of his eight projected books and made clear the purpose of the work. It was a defense, based on scripture, the tradition of the church, and reason, of Queen Elizabeth's settlement of the Church of England against the radical Puritans. The latter sought to overthrow the settlement by abolishing the royal supremacy, episcopacy, and *The Book of Common Prayer* and to substitute a presbyterian system of church government and discipline modeled on Calvin's church at Geneva.

Because Hooker had difficulty finding a publisher, Sandys contracted with a printer, John Windet, Hooker's cousin, to produce the work. Sandys agreed to bear the entire cost. Archbishop John Whitgift of Canterbury gave his license, and the preface and first four books were issued in early March 1593. The publication, as Sandys had hoped and planned, came just before the opening of Parliament to consider (and pass) the Act to Retain the Queen's Subjects in Obedience, a stringent ruling against all who refused to attend the Church of England's services or who were "present at any unlawful assemblies, conventicles, or meetings, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion."

Book 5, much longer than the others, appeared in 1597. Hooker completed drafts of the last three books before his death. They were not published for many years—books 6 and 8 in 1648 and the complete work, with book 7, in 1662. Their authenticity, often questioned, is now generally accepted. A large portion of the beginning of book 6 has been lost, although notes on it by Sandys and Cranmer are extant, and Hooker's manuscript pages of book 8 were left in some disorder.

Books 1–4 deal with laws in general: the divine law of God himself, the immutable natural law implanted by God in creation, and the positive law of human societies. Yet human reason, impaired by the fall but assisted by divine revelation and grace, can understand the natural law and be guided in positive law according to times, circumstances, and experience. No positive law is perfect, but it is always reformable.

Against the radical Puritans, Hooker argued that the scriptures were not self-authenticating. Their authority had been determined by the church. Nor did the scriptures contain a detailed ordering of the governance and worship of the church, but only its basic principles. These principles were different from the unchanging and essential revelation for faith and salvation. On the basis of scriptural principle, Hooker defended in book 5 the rites and customs of *The Book of Common Prayer* and in book 6 its mode of penitential discipline.

In book 7 he based episcopacy not on any divine institution but on the universal practice of the church since apostolic times. Book 8 on the royal supremacy is cautiously ambivalent. Hooker defended on scriptural grounds the necessity of obedience to constituted civil authority by the consent of the people. In his England, as in ancient Israel, civil and ecclesiastical societies were coextensive. He was aware, however, that the Crown had used its prerogatives to limit the church's freedom in ordering its own internal life.

Hooker's extensive and erudite documentation of his arguments, the richly textured eloquence of his style, and his openness to reforms in the Church of England have made his work a constant resource in the later development of Anglican theology. His political philosophy has been judged as both a conservative apology for the status quo and a liberal critique of the Elizabethan church. He has been acclaimed as the first major prose writer in modern English literature. Yet his lasting legacy has been his appeal to reason in the interpretation of scripture, the church's government, and worship.

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MASSEY H. SHEPHERD, JR. (1987)

HOOKER, THOMAS

HOOKER, THOMAS (1586–1647), was an English and American Puritan minister. Born in Leicestershire, Hooker took his B.A. and M.A. at Cambridge, where he was variously Dixie fellow, catechist, and lecturer in Emmanuel College. As a minister he became active in the unofficial meetings of Puritan ministers then taking place. When William Laud moved to restrict nonconforming ministers in the late 1620s, Hooker fled, first to the Netherlands, thence to New England in 1633. He and Samuel Stone organized the first church in Newtown (now Cambridge), Massachusetts. Partly because of religious and political disputes in the Bay Colony, partly because of his parishioners' dissatisfaction with their land allotments, Hooker led in 1636 a removal to Connecticut, where he and his group founded Hartford. When the General Court of Connecticut first met in May 1638 to draw up its Fundamental Orders, Hooker's sermon on the occasion described the proper relationship between the people and their magistrates. Although an important political statement of early New England, the sermon is no longer commonly accepted, as it once was, as evidence of Hooker's democratic attitudes. Hooker maintained his influence in Boston, returning in 1637 to serve as a moderator of the synod called to deal with Anne Hutchinson and the antinomian threat, then later in 1645 to participate in the meeting called to consider responses to the Westminster Assembly. The first of these meetings marked the triumph of Hooker's preparationist theology as a nearly official view of the process of salvation for the New England churches. At the later meeting Hooker presented his *Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline* (London, 1648), which became one of the definitive statements of the congregational church order in New England. He died at Hartford on July 7, 1647.

More than thirty volumes appeared over Hooker's name or were legitimately credited to him; the most important, in addition to the *Survey,* are collections of sermons that examine the spiritual stages the soul passes through on the way to conversion. Under the influence of Richard Sibbes and other English preparationist theologians who held that the individual soul could not earn grace but could prepare itself for its reception, Hooker preached extensively on the subject and made his final survey of the soul's progress during his pastorate at Hartford. These sermons were published posthumously in the two volumes entitled *The Application of Redemption* (London, 1656–1659). Hooker was well known in his own time for his direction of troubled spirits in the process of discovering saving grace in themselves, and this concern is evident in his various sermonic works on the theology and psychology of conversion. He was also interested in the role meditation could play in the spiritual life of a soul under the workings of grace, and he has been recognized in this century as one of the significant Puritan exponents of the meditative process.

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Frank Shuffelton (1987)

HOPE

HOPE. If we define religion as the systematic expression of the interplay between traditional faith and transforming hope, then hope is of the essence of religion. It is the impetus of religious renewal, as fear is often behind hardening tradition. Priestly conceptions of religion may accentuate the equation of religion with tradition and the past. Prophetic calls for renewal also may emphasize a return to pristine purity. But each major tradition posits a future leader who focuses the hope arising from past faith. Jewish traditions speak of a messiah, Islam of a hidden imam. Christians look for the second coming of Christ. Buddhists speak of Maitreya (Jpn., Miroku) as the Buddha to come, and Hindus of Vaiṣṇava orientation look for another avatar of Viṣṇu. The hope is for a final realization of what is now only anticipated, in continuity with the patterns of devotion fostered by the central figure or founder of the present community.

Until modern times, the emphasis tended to be on reform rather than renewal. Myths of ending were shaped by myths of beginnings. The biblical motif of a return to paradise lost is a case in point. The conception of the new as better comes in European thought with the inversion of the chain of being, the change from classical, hierarchical conceptions of emanation (typically beginning with the spiritual and settling into the material) to contemporary, developmental conceptions of evolution and revolution (beginning with the inorganic and culminating in consciousness). Whether retrospective or prospective, religious thought, to be religious, must be characterized by the hope that present vicissitudes will be overcome, that faith will be vindicated, and that the group, if not the individual, will realize a joy or bliss of which we now experience only passing intimations. Even those who conceive of eternity as timeless and ever present acknowledge that this realization of bliss remains, for most, a future possibility on the horizon of daily living. However conceptualized, the fact of such hope for the future often makes devotees ready to become martyrs to their cause.

Religious hope is necessarily transforming because of the focus in religion on ways of liberation or salvation, often expressed in terms of a movement from death to full life, error to right knowledge, disease to perfect health, despair to assurance of ultimate satisfaction. Patterns of transformation, or ways to realization of a religious end, were classically conceived in terms of refinement, renunciation, reintegration or resurrection and, more recently, in terms of revolution and reconstruction. Each pattern is generated by different concepts of self and of ultimate reality, although different traditions embody features of more than one means of transformation; as, for instance, in monastic Christian ideas of paradise, where Hebrew visions of restoration or resurrection melded with Hellenistic versions of renunciation.

Refinement is typically of the cultured or cultivated self in repudiation of barbaric, chaotic elements presently disrupting society. The ideal is of the sage, as exemplified in China by Confucius and taken up in the Enlightenment strand of modern Western thought by such thinkers as Voltaire and John Dewey. Renunciation is of material things for spiritual value, or of the demands of the body for the sake of the soul, as in the case of Socrates or the story of Gautama the Buddha. Reintegration is of the whole self as microcosm with the harmonies of earth and heaven as macrocosm, as articulated in the Daoist literature of China and the psychology of C. G. Jung. Restoration may be of the faithful people, as in Israel under King David. But restoration in its Christian pattern, resurrection, is of the individual and corporate self, both body and spirit, re-created by God within a whole new order of being, identified in medieval times with heaven but biblically imaged, especially in the *Book of Revelation*, as both a new heaven and a new earth. Modern transformations may be described as reconstruction, when the emphasis is on the mechanistic thrust of science and technology, notably through medicine, where it is the material order which is renewed. Or we may speak of revolution, partly technological (as in the industrial revolution or the contemporary movement for women's liberation, insofar as this relates to childbearing and housework) but primarily political and economic, as in the call for collective renewal by Marx and Mao.

As already noted, the different ways of transformation may be blended with each other. The story of Socrates includes motifs of refinement and renunciation. Christian ascetics link renunciation with resurrection, while modern theologies of liberation link resurrection with revolution. Relevant for our topic is the fact that the grounds for hope vary according to the way in question. Resurrection presupposes the reality of transcendent divine power, which can create out of nothing. Revolution comes through human action, whether in solidarity with a wholly human collective or in communion with God. Reintegration affirms the forces of nature in all of us. Thus, religious hope hinges on different conceptions of ultimate transformation—theistic, humanistic, and/or naturalistic—and is not necessarily tied to a particular belief in the existence of a supernatural agent or god. Where classical myths portray gods and goddesses as immortals, modern stories revolve around heroes and antiheroes. What gives each story religious significance is the hope of ultimate transformation, not the reference to god as such.

The subject of transformation is the self; but by self may be meant just a part or principle of life as we first experience it. As mentioned, ways of renunciation deny the physical body but affirm the continuity of a spiritual self. In the extreme case of Buddhism, both mind and matter are identified with the present cycle of miserable existences *(saṃsāra)*, and what is affirmed is a principle (the Buddha nature, which has realized *nirvāṇa*). Reintegration is of the whole self, body and mind, with the present cosmos. By contrast, resurrection entails the gift of a new body and an individuating spirit in a new world (whereas immortality implies a true spiritual self, or soul, now trapped in the body and only really at home in a supernatural realm). Both resurrection in the religion of Israel and revolution in modern times emphasize the community, of which a remnant is restored or gains the ideal condition aspired to by all. In tribal this-worldly traditions, hope for the future is focused on the children and succeeding generations as they return to the ways of their ancestors (a variant on refinement, especially in the ancestral cult called Confucianism by Western scholars). Thus, who and what is hoped for varies, according to conceptions of selfhood and the nature of ultimate reality.

Again, while a common religious hope may be for life after death, this is not necessarily the case. If the sense of self is of an individual or of a pattern of characteristics transmigrating through a possible infinite series of bodies, then the expectation of life after death may instill fear, not inspire hope. The Buddhist doctrine of no self (Sanskrit, *anātman;* Pali, *anatta*) was developed in just such a context. Even when life is thought to be singular, not cyclical, the expectation of an afterlife may be fearful if the prospect is of a ghostly loss of place or of torment in hell. Traditional notions of purgatory arose to meet this fear and to give grounds for hope to those who despaired of immediate entry to heaven.

The scope of renewal may be temporary or permanent, partial, individual, communal or cosmic. Renunciation is for the sake of permanent renewal of the spiritual self or permanent realization of *nirvāṇa.* Reintegration presupposes a permanent process on the cosmic scale, but individual integration within this process may be temporary and partial. Resurrection, in classical Christian and Muslim eschatologies, is of the whole individual with the whole people of God, involving permanent enjoyment of God's enlivening presence for the faithful and perpetual punishment for the faithless. The vision of a new heaven and a new earth includes the whole created order within the compass of the promised renewal. The emphasis falls on faith because it is what God does for humankind, and not unaided human effort, that carries the promise of salvation. By comparison, refinement and revolution are primarily humanistic ways that include the rest of nature only as the setting for human fulfillment.

Reconstruction presupposes the permanence of nature and, through applied science, makes this increasingly available to human beings: for instance, through computerized memory banks, artificial limbs and hearts, and artificial insemination (where hope is concentrated on survival through one's children). In principle, such hope is available to all, but in practice, access is limited to the affluent. Science fiction often illustrates how the current limitations on reconstruction may be overcome, at least in our imagination. In general, it seems fair to say that the dominant global cultures, including their religious systems, are increasingly universal in scope and are expanding the range of human expectations from tribal lands to the whole earth, from the earth to the universe, and from the known universe to all possible galaxies and states beyond the terrestrial.

Symbols of hope reflect the blending of traditions and motifs of transformation. In Buddhism, the tree reflects the rootedness of perfect enlightenment conquering ignorance. The tree of life in images of paradise reflects the garden setting for creation in Mesopotamian cultures. Daoist Chinese images include bowls of life-enhancing fruit. By contrast, the cross of Jesus provides a reverse image for Christians, linking the tree of life to the historical paradigm of suffering and atonement. The evergreen tree in northern climes, combined with images of mother and child, is a Christian example of conflated symbols, whose meaning varies according to the story told. The Buddhist wheel, by contrast, can suggest both abhorrence of the cycles of existence and the teaching that reverses the patterns of alienation. The lotus is a reminder that beauty arises even out of the mud.

Symbols are especially important in expressions of hope because hope is always for what is possible but not yet fully realized. As already noted, the sense of ultimate reality shapes the horizon of hope. Symbols of journeys and arrival at the far shore suggest both present separation and eventual satisfaction. Where this world is all there is, hope through children or through lasting achievements dominates, and hope is linked to memory. Where all possibilities seem closed off, despair sets in. We owe to Søren Kierkegaard the definitive contrast, expressed in modern literature, between despair of ever realizing the authentic self and despair caused by realizing what the self has become. Since Plato, Western religious thought has emphasized being as the ideal end of becoming. Asian thought, by comparison, has often posited an ultimate emptiness of individuating features, such that despair more typically has been despair at continuing to be as one is.

Hope, as the obverse of despair, may be hope for oneself as individual or group, hope for one's world, or hope for the ultimate nature of things. As such, classical thought counted hope a virtue. In Chinese traditions, a world in disarray was evidence of the lack of virtue among earthly and heavenly rulers. The concept of the mandate of heaven for the virtuous gave reformers hope that order might be restored. On the Indian subcontinent, despair over the lack of virtue throughout the hierarchy of being led to expectations of periodic, cosmic cataclysms, followed by renewal. Echoes of this idea appear in biblical stories of Noah and the flood followed by the rainbow. In Christian thought, hope is a theological virtue, along with faith and love. According to Thomas Aquinas (*Summa theologiae* 2.1.25.3), hope is always for some future good that is difficult but possible to attain. There is no hope for the damned, while the blessed no longer need hope since they enjoy the direct vision of God. It is theological, since the gift of the possibility comes from God, and a virtue, since the gift may be refused.

With regard to hope for oneself, increasing differentiation in the evolution of modern culture has put more and more emphasis on the individual. To live for the reflected glory of an earthly or heavenly lord no longer appeals to those who would be rulers of their own destiny. In *The Myth of Sisyphus* Albert Camus carries this line of thought to its final point. In existential psychology, the importance of hope was most insisted on by Viktor Frankl. Drawing on his experience in the concentration camps of the 1930s and 1940s, he realized both that while there's life there's hope and that to go on living we must have hope.

SEE ALSO Atonement; Enlightenment; Healing and Medicine; Mokṣa; Redemption.

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PETER SLATER (1987)

HOPKINS, EMMA CURTIS. Emma Curtis Hopkins (1849–1925) was the oldest of nine children born to Lydia Phillips Curtis and Rufus Curtis. She grew up with her Congregationalist family in Killingly, Connecticut, and became a teacher. In 1874 she married a schoolteacher, George Hopkins, and they had a son, John, born in 1875.

In 1881 Emma had a healing experience using the methods of Christian Science. She heard Mary Baker Eddy (1821–1910) speak in 1883 and subsequently became a member of the Church of Christ, Scientist, traveling to Boston for lessons with Eddy. Recognizing her talents, Eddy appointed her to serve as the first full-time (and unpaid) editor of the *Christian Science Journal* in September 1884. After a year and a half, Hopkins was asked by Eddy to leave the position. Financial constraints or theological differences were most likely the reasons for the split. Hopkins resigned from the Christian Science Association in October 1885.

Hopkins and her family relocated to Chicago in early 1886. There was a burgeoning women's movement there and she was an immediate success in her educational ventures and healing ministries, which dovetailed with the social activism of the time. George Hopkins later moved back to New England, and they were divorced in 1900. In 1886 Emma Hopkins and a colleague, Mary Plunkett (d. 1900), founded the Hopkins College of Christian Science, which taught an idealistic theology with a focus on serene lifestyles, prosperity, and positive thinking. The first graduates of the initial class in 1886 formed the backbone of the Hopkins Metaphysical Association, which grew in numbers and evolved into the first organized association of the New Thought movement in the United States. At that time, *Christian Science* was a generic term used by many to denote the mental healing movement. It continued to be used in a generic way until Eddy threatened to sue any group that used the term. By the 1890s *New Thought* became the standard term for groups not affiliated with Eddy.

Graduates of the Hopkins College, functioning as religious entrepreneurs and trained as practitioners and teachers, transported Hopkins's idealistic theology to every region of the United States and later to Great Britain and New Zealand, making New Thought an American export. Hopkins's student, Frances Lord, was the first to systematize and teach New Thought's prosperity principles, expounding upon Hopkins's ideas. By the end of 1887 there were seventeen or more New Thought associations around the United States affiliated with Hopkins College and Hopkins's philosophical tenets. The college's graduates, most of them women, traveled by train as missionaries, setting up Truth Centers around the country and checking in with the Hopkins Association in Chicago. From 1887 until 1894, the association served as the social and theological hub for their religious activity.

In 1887, Hopkins, now a national figure as well as a social activist, was invited to speak to large gatherings in San Francisco, Milwaukee, and New York. These lectures gained new proponents for her approach to mental healing and her theology of a monistic, impersonal God who, as Divine Mind, was omniscient, pure, and perfect. Widely read, Hopkins drew upon Gnostic ideas of the immanence of divinity and she rejected the traditional Christian notion of sin, replacing it with a belief that human failings were merely spiritual errors, which could be overcome. She had a theory similar to what would later become Jungian ideas. She believed that racial memory was something akin to what Jung would describe as the collective and individual unconscious. These stored memories, embedded within the genetic code of the individual when triggered, recall disease, traumatic events and health challenges from the individual and collective past. She believed these cases of racial memory could be cured through silent healing. Convinced that the advent of spiritual healing methods ushered in the second coming of Christ, Hopkins dissolved her college and reorganized her teaching to fit an ecclesiastical structure. Believing her mission to be sacred, a hallmark of the second coming of Christ, she organized the Christian Science Theological Seminary in late October 1887. She meant for her top-ranked disciples to be trained in a religious manner and ordained. Those not taking the most advanced course with her on a one-to-one basis were licensed as teachers and practitioners. She selected talented faculty, such as Annie Rix Militz (1856–1924), who later founded the Homes of Truth, to teach classes in the manner of Protestant seminaries. In 1888 an early graduate, Ida Nichols, founded the periodical *Christian Science,* for which Hopkins, a prolific writer, authored feature articles. Hopkins's classic texts, *Class Lessons 1888* (1888) and *Scientific Mental Practice* (1890), also became seminal lessons to understanding her teachings. At this time she was also asked to write *International Bible Lessons*, a weekly column for the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* newspaper that ran for nine years.

What was unique about Hopkins was that she did not found a church; she thought the sick people of the world were her church. It was her disciples and ordinands that founded churches. Every prominent New Thought church surviving today was started by her students and disciples.

The predominantly female social milieu in which Hopkins operated, and her ideas about the innate goodness of women that she associated with the Holy Spirit of the Trinity, prepared her to act as bishop. On January 10, 1889, she ordained twenty-two ministers to the independent Christian Science ministry. During the next four years, 111 students graduated from her seminary. The importance of her graduates and ordinands, coupled with their success in founding and forming New Thought churches and Truth Centers, earned for her the sobriquet "teacher of teachers" of the New Thought movement.

During 1894, content that her dedicated students had established ministries and were teaching "the newer ways," she closed the seminary, sold the property, and relocated to New York. There, as a reclusive mystic she taught primarily one-to-one in her private hotel suite in Manhattan. She taught Mabel Dodge Luhan (1879–1962), Hutchins Hapgood (1869–1944), Neith Boyce (1872–1951), and other prominent writers working for a more democratic treatment of minority peoples. She taught Elizabeth Duncan, the older sister of the dancer Isadora Duncan (1877–1927), and supported their progressive school for children. Her teachings advocated for Native American and African American rights. One of her students, Emilie Hapgood, supported the first all-black theater troupe to perform on Broadway, while Luhan labored all of her life for Native American rights.

Every major contemporary New Thought organization can be traced directly to Hopkins's teachings. She ordained Myrtle Fillmore (1845–1931) and Charles Fillmore (1854–1948), who founded Unity; Malinda Cramer (1844–1906), Nona Brooks (1861–1945), Fannie James, and Alethea Small, who founded Divine Science in Denver; and Harriet Emilie Cady (1848–1941), who wrote Unity's all-time bestseller, *Lessons in Truth.* During the New York years, she taught a young Ernest Holmes (1887–1960), who founded

Religious Science in Los Angeles and inspired the theology of Norman Vincent Peale (1898–1993) and Robert Schuller (b. 1926). Other speakers and teachers who appropriated Hopkins's work and taught it in more secular form number in the thousands, and they spread her teachings to millions. Prior to her death from heart failure in 1925, Hopkins wrote the culmination of her life's work, *High Mysticism* (1912–1917).

SEE ALSO Christian Science; New Thought Movement; Unity.

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GAIL M. HARLEY (2005)

HORNER, I. B. The British scholar Isaline B. Horner (1896–1981) devoted her considerable intelligence and energy to furthering scholarly and popular understanding of Buddhism, especially in the English-speaking West. After earning her B.A. (1917) at Newnham College—then one of only two women's colleges at Cambridge University—Horner stayed at the college as assistant librarian (1918–1920) and then acting librarian (1920–1921). In 1921 she accepted an invitation to accompany the college principal's sister, D. J. Stephen, on a trip to Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), India, and Burma (now Myanmar). Although Stephen probably considered the trip a Christian mission, she and Horner shared an interest in Eastern religions, and Horner filled her letters home with descriptions of Buddhist and Hindu practices she encountered in these British colonies.

After two years abroad, Horner returned to Newnham as librarian, a position she would hold until 1936. Shortly thereafter, she began studying the religion she had witnessed in Ceylon: Theravāda Buddhism. At that time Western scholars of Asian religions tended to regard scriptures as repositories of the earliest and, therefore, most authentic forms of these religions. Thomas Rhys Davids had founded the Pali Text Society (PTS) in 1881 to facilitate the study of Theravāda Buddhism by producing editions in roman characters, and translations into English, of the Theravāda tradition's scriptures, written in the language called Pali. In 1925 Horner contacted Caroline Rhys Davids, Thomas's wife and successor as president of the PTS following his death in 1922. Caroline Rhys Davids encouraged Horner to research the topic of women in early Buddhism, in part by studying English translations of Pali texts. Horner followed this advice, while studying the Pali language with Cambridge professor E. J. Rapson.

Horner's *Women under Primitive Buddhism* came out in 1930, and her second book about Theravāda Buddhism based on study of Pali texts, *The Early Buddhist Theory of Man Perfected*, was published in 1936. Both books were well received by scholars of Buddhism and by the intellectual English-reading public. *Women under Primitive Buddhism* remained the only book-length study of women in Buddhism for nearly fifty years. When scholars eventually took up this topic again, they rediscovered—and acknowledged their gratitude for—this book. Several of them corresponded with Horner late in her life, and she encouraged their efforts to build on her work. Although some of Horner's characterizations of early Buddhism in these two books from the 1930s appear outmoded in light of later scholarship, her grounding in the Pali texts ensured the lasting relevance of much of this work.

Horner's greatest contribution to the study of Buddhism came through her work on the Pali literature and her leadership of the PTS. By the early 1930s Horner had begun to edit and translate Pali texts for publication. Over the next fifty years she edited four volumes of Pali scripture and translated fifteen volumes of Pali texts into English for the PTS.

But Horner's impact on the study of Theravāda Buddhism through its Pali scriptures extended far beyond even this impressive list of published Pali editions and translations. Groomed by Caroline Rhys Davids to step in as her successor at the PTS, Horner served the PTS first as honorary secretary (1942–1959) after her mentor's death and later as president (1959–1981). For nearly four decades Horner actively recruited scholars from Europe, America, and Asia to contribute to the work of the PTS, and she then politely but persistently pushed them, and helped them, to complete their projects. Horner guided fifty-six new volumes of PTS publications through the complex process of book production, from initial correspondence with potential editors and translators through final negotiations with printers and distributors. Many acknowledgments of and grateful thanks for Horner's help appear in the prefaces and introductions to these PTS publications. Over the same period, Horner monitored the stocks of PTS books and managed the reprinting of 223 out-of-print and revised volumes.

Horner's indefatigable dedication and financial backing ensured that the PTS continued to publish one to four volumes annually throughout the twentieth century. For decades she inspired and encouraged students to take up the study of Pali and scholars to work on Pali texts without pay or even royalties. Horner actively pursued funding for the work of the PTS and often paid for its publications herself when she could not drum up sufficient financial support from other sources. Horner also left the PTS a substantial legacy in her will that has continued to support many of its activities into the twenty-first century.

In addition to her contributions to the scholarly study of Buddhist texts, Horner influenced the growing popular practice of Buddhism in the West by giving countless lectures to Western Buddhist groups and writing articles for their publications. Horner hesitated to call herself a Buddhist because she did not meditate, but she constantly demonstrated her commitment to propagating what she saw as the true teachings of Buddhism, always grounded in the Pali texts. She had little patience for Western Buddhists who corrupted the teachings of Buddhism with those of Hinduism or ideas of their own devising. Her interpretations of Buddhism for practitioners impressed even Asian Buddhist monks and scholars, including her many friends and admirers in Sri Lanka, Burma, and Thailand, who frequently asked her to contribute articles to their publications and to give lectures when she traveled in Asia (1934–1935, 1938–1939, 1950, 1953–1954).

The University of Ceylon granted Horner an honorary doctor of letters in 1964, as did Nava Nalanda Mahavihara in 1977. In 1980 Horner received an Order of the British Empire award from Queen Elizabeth II for her services to the PTS. Having lived to see the celebration of the first one hundred years of the PTS, Horner died in London on April 25, 1981.

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GRACE G. BURFORD (2005)

HORNS. The physical power and reproductive potency of horned animals, which were so important in the economy of ancient hunting and agricultural societies, made them ideal symbols of strength and fertility. The primitive use of horns as plows and the symbolic view of plowing as the impregnation of Mother Earth led to the belief that horns were charged with sexual power. The association of horns with fertility was further encouraged by their phallic shape and symbolic identification with both the rays of the sun and the crescent moon.

The association of horns with power and fertility accounts for the proliferation of horned gods and goddesses in both the East and the West. The Sumerian gods Anu, Enlil, and Marduk wear horned headdresses, as do the Egyptian deities Hathor, Isis, Nut, Seth, and Amun. The Hindu god Śiva and the Greek god Poseidon share the same emblem, a trident, a symbolic representation of horns. In Greek mythology, Dionysos, Pan, the satyrs, the river gods, Hera, Io, and Aphrodite all have horns as attributes. The Cretan ceremony of bull vaulting involved grasping the horns, the source of fertility and power; and the Cretan symbol of the double ax is probably a pair of stylized horns.

The Canaanite gods Baal and El were horned bull gods as was, originally, Yahveh, which is why horns decorate the altar described in *Exodus* 27. Moses, too, has been associated with horns. In *Exodus* 34:29–35, the Hebrew verb *qaran,* which means either "to send forth beams" or "to be horned," occurs three times in the phrase *qaran ʿor panav,* describing the beaming face of Moses upon his descent from Mount Sinai. In the Vulgate, however, this phrase is translated as *facies cornuta* ("horned face"), and the symbolism of this mistranslation has persisted over the centuries. The horns on the head of Michelangelo's *Moses,* sculpted about 1515, are one well-known example.

In Christian iconography, the foremost association of horns is with devils and demons, although the Virgin Mary is sometimes depicted with the "horns" of the moon. The Vedic and Buddhist divinity Yama is horned. In ancient China, Shen Nong, one of three legendary divine emperors, is traditionally pictured with two horns on his head, as a symbol of his connection with nutrition and animal life. Celtic gods and goddesses are often horned.

The horned headgear of the gods was appropriated by humans to indicate their divine mandate and power. Babylonian and Assyrian kings wore rounded caps with horns. Alexander the Great identified himself with the horned god Amun and appears on coins with ram's horns. Etruscans, Celts, Vikings, and Anglo-Saxons wore horned headdresses, as did American Indian chiefs and shamans. Medieval crowns, and even the miters worn by Christian bishops, owe their shape to earlier horned headdresses.

The association of horns with fertility accounts for the metaphoric use of *horn* for "phallus" (*Ps.* 132:17, *Jer.* 48:25), as well as for the worldwide consumption of powdered horn as an aphrodisiac. The image of cornucopias, or horns of plenty, is a well-known symbol of abundance. Horn amulets have been found on every continent. One of their most important uses was in detecting poison, because horned animals, particularly unicorns, were thought to be the natural enemies of venomous serpents. The Chinese still use ivory for this purpose, reserving carved rhinoceros horns for the decorative function of symbolizing prosperity and strength. The prophylactic properties of horn extends to the sounds made by horned instruments, which have been valued throughout the world for their ability to ward off evil spirits, ghosts, demons, and devils.

Not all associations with horns are positive. Horned animals are dangerous. From the Stone Age on, horns were used as weapons. (The curved shape of swords and daggers reflects this primitive usage.) Potions made from powdered horns may be poisonous. The association of horns with fertility made them the ideal symbol of cuckoldry. The symbolism connecting horns with the moon has negative, as well as positive, implications. While the waxing of the moon is a sign of rebirth, the waning moon symbolizes death, darkness, and the underworld. Horns are, therefore, ideal attributes for evil and libidinous demons, devils, and monsters. Aside from the Devil of Christian folklore, sometimes known as "Old Hornie," the Babylonian demon Pazzuzu was horned, as were the libidinous satyrs of ancient Greece. Japanese *oni* are evil spirits depicted as humans with bull horns. Most monsters have horns or horny scales.

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A full appreciation of the ramifications of horn symbolism requires a look at mythology and religion throughout the world. A good way to start is by consulting Jack R. Conrad's *The Horn and the Sword: The History of the Bull as Symbol of Power and Fertility* (New York, 1957) and Frederic T. Elworthy's *Horns of Honour* (London, 1900).

ALLISON COUDERT (1987)

HORSES have played an essential role in the life, and therefore in the religion, of all the peoples who have had direct contact with them, particularly the Indo-Europeans, the ancient Mesopotamians and Egyptians, the Arabs, the Chinese, and the North American Indians. It is fair to say that horses have always captured the mythic imagination through their ability to symbolize a number of related phenomena: power, wealth, divinity, sexuality, flying, and the tension between taming and freedom.

Among the earliest evidence of the importance of the horse to human culture are the magnificent wall paintings in the caves of Lascaux, in southern France, dating from around 30,000 BCE. There the grouping of horses with other wild animals such as stags and bison suggests that they were probably animals that were hunted rather than harnessed or ridden. Even so, it has been proposed that certain structures depicted on the walls at Lascaux represent corrals, implying that some sort of taming may already have begun. André Leroi-Gourhan has argued that the horse is part of the male half of a general sexual bipartition in the animal symbolism at Lascaux. If this is so, there is very early evidence indeed of the horse in association with both taming and sexuality, perhaps even with the combined concept of the taming of sexuality, which is a dominant theme in the Indo-European religious symbolism of the horse.

But the true history of the horse in human religious conceptualization must begin with the first certain evidence of its domestication: the use of the chariot, which, for several centuries before horses were ridden, was employed as a means of transport, of farming, and as an instrument of war. Starting before 2000 BCE from a location somewhere in the area of the Caspian and Mediterranean seas, the use of the horse to pull a chariot spread eastward through Persia to India, then south through Syria to Egypt, then west through Anatolia to Greece, and then northwest into eastern Europe. Among the Hittites, a Mittannian named Kikkulis, who was employed as Master of the Horse by the Hittite king Sepululiumas, composed the earliest known book that deals with nothing but horses, about 1360 BCE. And the earliest known Egyptian figure of a horse appears on a bronze axhead of the eighteenth dynasty (c. 1450 BCE), which shows a horse led in hand in a manner assumed to be that of a charioteer rather than that of a rider. Horse chariots were also found in the tomb of Tutankhamen and are depicted on a wall painting from Thebes dated about 1400 BCE.

A particularly vivid description of the Egyptian chariots, and one that places horse and horseman in a religious narrative context, is the fifteenth chapter of *Exodus* in the Hebrew scriptures, a chapter that some scholars have dated as early as the twelfth century BCE. The passage that celebrates the parting of the Red Sea and the subsequent drowning of Pharaoh's men, horses, and chariots begins "I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea." The term *rider* may not necessarily refer to a mounted horseman; it is a generic term that could apply as well to a charioteer. But it is worth noting that the horse is here associated with several themes that occur often in the mythology of the horse: armies, evil, death, and, most striking, the bottom of the ocean.

ANCIENT INDO-EUROPEAN HORSE SACRIFICES. With the Greeks and the Vedic Indians, and later with the Romans, the horse truly came into its own as a religious symbol, one that pervades both myth and ritual. Rituals involving horses, more particularly rituals that involve the killing of a white stallion, are attested throughout the Indo-European world. Among the ancient Norse, a white horse symbolizing the sun and accompanied by women was killed in a ritual that included obscene references to the phallus of the horse, ritual castration, and an intoxicating drink. In the Roman festival of the October Equus, a horse dedicated to Mars was killed in the course of a ritual, and a chariot race took place; in the Roman Parilia, a horse was mutilated (perhaps castrated). Among the Greeks, white horses were sacrificed to Poseidon and to the sun; a white mare was sacrificed at the grave of a maiden who had been raped and had committed suicide; black horses were inauspicious. Both Roman and Greek sources indicate a fertility cult associated with the horse, one that often agrees in striking detail with the Vedic cult of the horse. The Persians tell of a battle between an evil black horse and a good white horse, whose victory released the fertilizing rains; and the Iranians regarded white horses as symbolic of the sun (Pausanias, 3.4.20; Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 8.3.11). Among the Indo-Europeans in general, it appears, the white horse was sacred.

This article shall examine the Indian and Irish models of these rituals in greater detail, but in this introductory survey it is useful to note a linguistic link between these far-flung Indo-European cults of the horse. The Gallic proper name *Epomeduos* may be cognate with the Sanskrit *aśvamedha;* both royal names are possessive compounds designating kings who have (performed) horse sacrifices. The first element of the compound simply means "horse"; the second element is more difficult to pin down, but it has the connotations of a ritual drink (such as mead) or an intoxicating drink. Thus the term as a whole may mean "intoxication with the horse"; Jaan Puhvel, who has noted these linguistic implications, remarks that "the early Indo-Europeans were undoubtedly 'crazy about horses,' and so were the Gauls" (Puhvel, 1955). It may, however, mean "one who has performed a ritual involving a horse and a sacred drink" or even—as is supported by the evidence provided by the Indian and Irish horse sacrifices—a ritual in which the horse itself supplied the substance or the sacrificial food and drink for the king, a ceremony in which a horse was ritually eaten. Whether eaten or not, horses were sacrificed by the Greeks (Herodotus, 7.113; Ovid, *Fasti* 1.385), by the Armenians and Massagetes (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 4.5; Herodotus, 1.216), and by the Scythians, of whose spectacular royal burials Herodotos provides a hair-raising description (4.71–72).

Still, it is the Vedic, Roman, and Irish horse sacrifices that provide the triangle on which the Indo-European evidence rests, however shakily. The facts of congruence in existing sources are impressive, although the weight and substance of documentation are grotesquely dissimilar. The Vedic ceremony is by far the best documented, both in terms of the contemporaneous nature of the ritual and the text describing it (both dating from 900 BCE but referring to the hymns to the horse in the *Ṛgveda,* perhaps as much as three hundred years earlier) and in terms of the volume of data: hundreds and hundreds of pages of Sanskrit texts. The Roman ritual is a poor second, cursorily described by Polybius (12.4b), Plutarch (*Quaestiones Romanae* 97), and Festus (ed. Lindsay, pp. 178.5ff.) with distressing discrepancies and lacunae. The Irish ritual is even more problematic, having been described only in the twelfth century CE by a Christian monk who could scarcely believe his eyes, so appalled was he by the obscenity of the rite (Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topographia Hibernica,* ed. Brewer, p. 169).

Yet the parallels are truly striking. In India, a ritually consecrated stallion was killed after a chariot race; the chief queen than pantomimed copulation with the stallion, to the accompaniment of verses (spoken by priests) regarded as obscene even by the contemporaneous texts (which prescribe a "perfumed" verse to be recited at the end, to wash out the mouths of the participants). In Rome, after a race the right-hand horse of the winning chariot was sacrificed to Mars; its tail was carried to the Regia, where its blood was sprinkled on the altar (Plutarch) or the hearthstone (Festus). Men from the Sacra Via and the Suburra did battle for the head, the latter (if they won it) carrying it to the Turris Mamilia, the former to the wall of the Regia. In Ireland, the king pantomimed (or performed) copulation with a live mare who was afterward dismembered and cooked; the king bathed in her broth and drank it, and the broth was then distributed to the people.

The common thread in all three rituals is the killing of an equine. In two of the rituals (India and Rome) the horse is a stallion; in two of the rituals (India and Ireland) there is a sexual union as well as a death. It could be argued, from the writings of Georges Dumézil and others, that the ritual emphasizes a different one of the three Indo-European functions in each of the three cultures in which it appears: the Roman primarily martial, the Indian royal and sacred, the Irish fertile and nourishing. But all three rituals can and do incorporate all three levels of symbolism. A ceremony that is about royalty and the power of the king not only can but, in a sense, must also be about sexuality and nourishment: for the ancient Indo-European stallion symbolized at once the powers of the warrior; of the king, and of the virile male.

ANCIENT INDO-EUROPEAN HORSE MYTHS. Given the primacy of the stallion in the aggressively virile cultures of the Indo-Europeans, how is one to explain ritual focus on the Irish mare? It could be argued that the Irish variant is properly Gallic, rather than Indo-European, and make the case (as Robert Graves did in *The White Goddess,* 1948) for an ancient Gallic horse goddess whose cult was superseded by that of an Indo-European horse god. In support of this contention is the Gallic cult of the goddess Epona, almost the only goddess worshiped in the same guise by both continental and insular Celts. Intimately connected with the Welsh Rhiannon and the Irish Macha, whom shall soon be encountered, and thematically connected with the horseheaded Greek Demeter, Epona is often depicted as a woman riding on a mare, or as a mare, or with a mare's head; she is also associated with a male horse god, Rudiobus. Epona, whose name comes from the Proto-Indo-European **ékwos,* "horse" (Lat., *equus;* Skt., *aśva*), is particularly concerned with pregnant mares and with foals. Pseudo-Plutarch (parallel 29; cited by Le Roux, 1963, p. 133) gives what may be the only ancient record of a Celtic hierogamy like the one that is described, as a ritual, by Giraldus Cambrensis so many years later: "A certain Phoulouios Stellos, who hated women, had intercourse with a mare. In time, she brought forth a beautiful maiden whom she named Epona, a goddess of horses."

Celtic mythology offers rich support for the concept of an ancient horse goddess. The Irish *Táin Bó Cuailnge* narrates the myth of Macha, a tri-functional equine goddess who, forced to run in a chariot race while she is pregnant, dies bringing forth twins or who, in another avatar, brings forth a son at the very moment when a mare in the stable gives birth to twin foals (Kinsella, 1970; Gricourt, 1954). And the Welsh *Mabinogi* tells the story of Rhiannon, who appears to King Pwyll riding on a white horse, marries him, and bears him a child while a mare has a foal at the same moment; accused (falsely) of killing the child, Rhiannon is condemned to carry guests from the mounting block to the court on her back.

The myth of the mare goddess has a broader Indo-European distribution as well. In India, the myth begins with references in the *Ṛgveda* to the wife and false-wife of the sun, a myth that is told in greater detail in the Brāhmaṇas and the Purāṇas: Vivasvant, the sun, married Saraṇyū, who fled from him and substituted for herself another female, Chāyā ("dark shadow") upon whom Vivasvant begat a son, Manu, the ancestor of the human race. Meanwhile, Saraṇyū took the form of a mare and fled from Vivasvant, but he took the form of a stallion, followed her, and covered her; upon giving birth to the twin horse-gods, the Aśvins, she abandoned them. The parallels with Celtic myths are striking: A goddess in the form of a white mare takes human form and mates with an aging sun king; impregnated by him, she gives birth to hippomorphic twins, the ancestors of the human race, whom she injures or abandons, and she leaves the king to return to her heavenly home. The inversions and reversals that take place over the wide Indo-European area and through the centuries are complex, but clearly this is some sort of protean mythic core.

Greek mythology supplies further evidence in support of this corpus. Demeter, who is often depicted with a mare's head, mated with Poseidon (the god of the sea, to whom horses were sacrificed, and who was himself called Hippios, "equine"; Apollodorus, 3.6.8; Pausanias, 8.25 and 8.42); in Arcadia, Demeter is portrayed as Black Demeter, with the head and mane of a horse on the body of a woman (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 6.406b). Poseidon is also involved in several myths in which a woman is raped by a god in the form of a stallion and gives birth to foals that she attempts to destroy; he is more distantly involved in a Greek cycle of myths about overprotective fathers of equine goddesses who destroy their suitors (the myths of Hippodameia, Hippomenes, and Alcippe). Glaucus and Diomedes of Thrace are said to have had savage mares, made more savage by their enforced chastity, who devoured men, and Hippolytus (well known from Euripides' tragedy), who worshiped Artemis and denied Aphrodite, was dragged to death by chariot horses that were frightened by a monster sent by Poseidon from the sea.

EUROPEAN MYTHS OF EVIL MARES. The pattern of myths of evil mares is almost exclusively Indo-European, which is hardly surprising, given the special place of the horse in Indo-European culture. The negative symbolism of the Indo-European mare is epitomized by the myth, widely documented in India, in which a demonic female full of anger and destructive lust is tricked into taking the form of a mare with flames shooting out of her mouth. While she dwells at the bottom of the ocean, the flames in her mouth keep the ocean from overflowing its bounds and the ocean keeps her flames from destroying the world. On doomsday she will emerge from the ocean; her flames will destroy the universe with fire; and the uncontrolled waters of the ocean will flood the world. The underwater mare is thus a symbol of the tension between uncontrolled powers and the dangers that arise from the brutal suppression of those powers; it is a symbol of the paradox of the wild and the tame, in all three Indo-European spheres: the sacred, the martial, and the sexual.

The underwater mare appears, in various transformations, throughout later European mythology. Celtic mythology describes aquatic monsters known as Goborchinn ("horseheads") as well as horse eels and water horses, the forerunners of sea serpents and dragons like the Loch Ness monster, whose heads are often surprisingly equine. And, closer to home, one can see this symbolism at the heart of the climactic scene in Richard Wagner's opera *Götterdämmerung* (The twilight [or doomsday] of the gods). Brünnhilde is one of the Valkyries, the female warrior spirits who ride their winged horses through the skies to bring fallen warriors to Valhalla; at the end of the opera, Brünnhilde mounts her white horse and rides through a wall of fire to her death, whereupon the waters of the Rhine rise and flood the world.

In folklore, the more anthropomorphic aspects of the myth, particularly the implications of the relationships between the mare and her children, are stressed. The Antti Aarne-Stith Thompson index of tale types and motifs gives many examples of myths in which a queen is falsely accused of the murder of her children and condemned to death, myths in which horses usually play a part. The accused woman sets out on a mare, and the wicked fairy who calumniates her is torn to pieces by a horse (TT 451); the unfaithful wife is transformed into a mare, like adulteresses in the *Arabian Nights* as well as in Finnish, Russian, and Italian tales (TT 449). Witches are closely associated with mares: A witch may be accompanied by a horse, she may appear as a horse, she may transform a man into a horse and ride him, or she may become a man-eating mare. The equine witch appears consistently as the villain in Indo-European folklore: She is the female fiend who eats children and rides her victims (an image with psychological overtones of fear and sexuality); she is the black maiden from hell, riding on her white horse; or she is the leader of the wild chase of witches on their phallic broomsticks, the horses of death. The image of the erotic woman on the white horse is not necessarily negative—there is always Lady Godiva, not to mention naked women on horseback in contemporary soft-core pornography—but her very eroticism is a negative value in the ancient Indo-European conceptual system, in which women should be not erotic but chaste.

The term *nightmare,* even though it is etymologically unrelated to the word for the female horse, comes to assume explicit equine overtones from an early period in European mythology, in part through the attraction of assonance and in part through the influence of an already developed mythology. The true etymology is from the Old English *mare* ("hag"), and a nightmare, according to the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary,* is a "female monster . . . supposed to settle upon people and animals in their sleep, producing a feeling of suffocation." The prototype of the nightmare who presses down on the sleeper or has intercourse with him while lying on top of him is the mare who rides perversely astride her husband or victim. In modern reinterpretations of the image of the nightmare, in literature and art (the horse in Fuseli's haunting painting entitled *The Nightmare,* or in Blake's *Death on a Pale Horse,* or the tortured horses in Picasso's *Guernica)*, the cluster of meanings related to the several homonyms often merge: mother (Fr., *mère*), female horse (Eng., *mare*), ocean (Lat., *mare;* Fr., *mer*), death (IE, **mer,* **mor*), and the underlying Old English etymological meaning, "hag."

One can postulate chronological levels in the history of the degradation of the symbolism of the mare. At first there may have been one mare goddess, an awesome, dangerous, sacred creature (sacred in Rudolf Otto's sense of the word: *mysterium fascinans et tremendum*), who was sought by the king, captured, and wooed. She is a source of power, who invigorates the aging king by her annual ritual copulation with him; she dies in a sacrifice of her immortality to his mortality. At this period, the mare is simultaneously maternal, sororal, and erotic. In Semitic and Babylonian myths, she is manifest in the figures of Inanna and Ishtar, both of whom were said to copulate with horses. But in later European mythology, the mare goddess was split into two parts, the good mother and the evil whore, and the benevolent white mare is given a malevolent, black alter ego.

This transition is even more sharply marked in the closely related mythology of the swan-maiden. Mares in many Indo-European myths about evil women are closely associated with birds: They assume the form of birds or appear as winged horses. In the swan-maiden variants of the theme, a woman from the other world assumes the more delicate and feminine form of a white bird, instead of a white horse; she lives with a prince for a while and then leaves him when he violates the condition that she had set for their cohabitation (not to ask her name, or not to see her naked). This may be a very old Indo-European motif indeed, judging from archaeological evidence from Europe before 3500 BCE depicting the bird goddess. Her mythology begins with the Vedic myth of Pururavas and Urvasi and extends to the ballet figures of *The Firebird* (the firebird is the Russian version of the magic sunbird) and *Swan Lake,* in which Odette, the good, chaste White Swan, is opposed by Odile, the evil, seductive Black Swan. Then, too, when the Valkyries are not riding horses they become swans.

But the demotion from mare to swan was not the last step in the degradation of the symbol. The swan became male. In Greek myth, Zeus assumes the form of a white swan in order to seduce Leda as she is bathing in a river (Leda's two sons, Castor and Pollux, became known as the Dioscuri, or equine twins, the Greek parallel to the Vedic Asvins). And in the legend of Lohengrin, it is he, not she, who rides in the swan boat. In Lohengrin's story the more ancient myth of the immortal woman who visits the mortal man or king came to be replaced by the myth of the immortal man who rescues the mortal woman. In a skiff drawn by a white swan (here a male), Lohengrin rides, as on a white horse, to the rescue of Elsa; the helpless female awaits the great horse/swan god who deigns to visit her and who will make her promise never to ask him his name or his lineage. Now Leda awaits Zeus, awaits the moment when she may, in Yeats's words, "put on his knowledge with his power / before the indifferent beak could let her drop."

THE RIDER ON THE WHITE HORSE. Thus the white stallion came to supplant the white mare in Indo-European mythology at a very early period. His mythology, like hers, was a mythology of ambivalence, of the coincidence of opposites, but the powers in question were different. The stallion came to symbolize not only death (as had the mare) but also rebirth, not only the taming of the wild (as had she) but also complete freedom from all social bonds.

Plato likened the human soul to a charioteer who had harnessed two horses to his chariot, one pulling him toward brutish sensuality, the other to a higher spiritualism; and, before Plato, the Indian Upanisads had likened the senses to horses that must be controlled if they are not to remain vicious and wild. The locus of this taming is the mouth of the horse, whence are derived such metaphors as "to bridle," "to curb," "to take the bit between the teeth," and so forth. The horse's mouth was therefore seen as the point of dangerous interaction. This notion is a misconception (for, as every horseman knows, although horses can indeed bite, it is the other end of the horse that poses the real danger, and horses are in any case strict vegetarians); nevertheless, it is the source of the many myths in which horses devour people, myths in which doomsday flames come out of the horse's mouth (or nostrils). That the mouth of the mare is believed to be dangerous is an instance of the projection of aggression, assuming that she will injure you with the organ where you have injured her (through the bit).

In Christian mythology, doomsday appears as the four horsemen of the apocalypse, or the rider on the white horse; in India, death becomes incarnate as the centaur or white horse named Kalki, an avatar of Viṣṇu who will usher in the final Kali Age and the end of the world. This is the image captured in Peter Schaffer's play *Equus,* in which an adolescent boy confuses together in his fantasies the tortured mouth of the horse-god that he rides naked in sexual ecstasy and the tortured head of Christ bridled in his crown of thorns. And it is the image that begins James Joyce's famous poem:

> I hear an army charging upon the land
> And the thunder of horses plunging, foam about their knees.
>
> Arrogant, in black armour, behind them stand,
> Disdaining the reins, with fluttering whips, the charioteers. (from *Chamber Music,* 1907)

But the other, positive aspect of the horse never lost its symbolic power. Centuries before the Roman invasions, someone carved into the chalky hillsides of the English Downs several colossal images of a white horse. The horse by itself, unharnessed, unbridled, unridden, was always at home in the mountains, close to its divine home and far away from the ropes of humans. The horse thus remained always a symbol of freedom. In the ancient Indian horse sacrifice, the stallion wandered freely for a year before the ceremony, attended by his herds and followed by the king's men, to claim for the king whatever grazing land he cared to wander through. This image of freedom was somehow preserved rather than canceled by the later composite image of the white horse and its noble rider, who were thought of as a single creature, ideally a kind of centaur. The horse transferred its freedom and nobility to its rider, even as the ancient Indian stallion transferred these qualities to the king during the sacrifice. Thus Saint George, always mounted on a white horse, kills the very dragon that is, as has been seen, a variant of the demonic underwater mare, the shadow side of the white stallion itself; and medieval equestrian imagery placed not only knights and kings but princes of the church on horseback, to symbolize all that was not only noble, but divine.

The horse carried humanity from earth to heaven. In India and Greece, as well as in medieval Europe, one reads of princes who are lured by white stags (or white swans, or white horses, or unicorns) from the safe territory of the royal parks to the thick of the forest, to the Other World, where they may meet their princess or encounter their dragon (or both, or both in one). The many tales of winged horses, as well as the conflation of horse and bird, often transform this horizontal voyage into a vertical flight. Not until the advent of photography in the mid-nineteenth century did people come to realize that a galloping horse did not actually fly, with forelegs stretched forward and hindlegs backward, and even then galloping continued to feel like flying. In many of the shamasitic myths of Inner Asia, China, and India, the initiate mounts a white horse and is suddenly carried off, out of control, into the world of the gods, where the initiation takes place. Thus the horse leads humankind from the world of the tame to the world of the wild, the magic, supernatural world of the gods.

This symbolism found its expression in the mythology of the American West, where the magnificent white mustang who can never be caught stands on the mountains with the wind lifting his mane, symbolizing all that is wild and free. Yet the stallion is caught, to become the alter ego (in India one would say the vehicle, or *vahana*) of the cowboy, who comes himself to represent the last bastion of male freedom—freedom from sexuality (the cowboy rides alone, like

Lancelot, whose chastity was his power), from the law (for even the lawmen tend to be mavericks, and the outlaws are good outlaws), but most of all from being tamed or "fenced in."

Humankind can never entirely succeed in taming the horse. This is the charm and the challenge of any intimate association with a wild animal, that it retains some measure of its wildness. But the horse untames humans, transferring to them—or, one might say, sacrificing for them—some of its own wildness and freedom.

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HORUS. In ancient Egypt there were originally several gods known by the name Horus, but the best known and most important from the beginning of the historic period was the son of Osiris and Isis who was identified with the king of Egypt. According to myth, Osiris, who assumed the rulership of the earth shortly after its creation, was slain by his jealous brother, Seth. The sister-wife of Osiris, Isis, who collected the pieces of her dismembered husband and revived him, also conceived his son and avenger, Horus. Horus fought with Seth, and, despite the loss of one eye in the contest, was successful in avenging the death of his father and in becoming his legitimate successor. Osiris then became king of the dead and Horus king of the living, this transfer being renewed at every change of earthly rule. The myth of divine kingship probably elevated the position of the god as much as it did that of the king. In the fourth dynasty, the king, the living god, may have been one of the greatest gods as well, but by the fifth dynasty the supremacy of the cult of Re, the sun god, was accepted even by the kings. The Horus-king was now also "son of Re." This was made possible mythologically by personifying the entire older genealogy of Horus (the Heliopolitan ennead) as the goddess Hathor, "house of Horus," who was also the spouse of Re and mother of Horus.

Horus was usually represented as a falcon, and one view of him was as a great sky god whose outstretched wings filled the heavens; his sound eye was the sun and his injured eye the moon. Another portrayal of him particularly popular in the Late Period, was as a human child suckling at the breast of his mother, Isis. The two principal cult centers for the worship of Horus were at Bekhdet in the north, where very little survives, and at Idfu in the south, which has a very large and well-preserved temple dating from the Ptolemaic period. The earlier myths involving Horus, as well as the ritual performed there, are recorded at Idfu.

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HOSEA, or, in Hebrew, Hosheʿa (mid-eighth century BCE), was a Hebrew prophet whose words are recorded in the biblical *Book of Hosea.* Hosea prophesied during the reign of Jeroboam II of the northern kingdom of Israel (787/6–747/6 BCE), which was a period of economic prosperity and political stability. There are, however, a number of allusions in the book to either war (5:8ff.) or political anarchy (7:1ff., 10:3, 13:10–11), which may suggest that Hosea continued to prophesy until the fall of Samaria in 722. This fits well with the superscription's list of the Judahite kings (Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah) during whose reigns Hosea prophesied. Hosea's prophetic emphasis is mainly on domestic affairs, especially the cultic situation.

Hosea's Marriage and His Prophetic Message. The information on Hosea's background is minimal. There is information, however, about a unique personal experience in his life, a peculiar marital episode. God had commanded Hosea to marry a harlot, one Gomer, daughter of Diblaim (1:3), who bore him two sons and one daughter. This marriage and its consequences, interpreted in religio-theological terms, form the major theme of chapters 1–3. The story of the marriage is told twice. The first account (chap. 1) is in the third person, while the second (chap. 3) is reported directly by Hosea. The significance of Hosea's marriage to a harlot and the text's repetition of the story of this marriage have been major issues in research on *Hosea.* Should God's order to "go, take to yourself a wife of harlotry and have children of harlotry" (1:2) be read literally or only as a metaphor for the nation's religious attitude, with Hosea the faithful husband representing God, and Gomer the unfaithful wife representing Israel? Is a "harlot" defined as a professional prostitute or as a sacred prostitute (cf. *Amos* 2:7)? There are no clear answers to these questions. One should not ignore, however, the prophets' tendency to dramatize events literally (e.g., *Is.* 20:2, *Jer.* 28:10, *Am.* 8:1–3) and therefore the possibility that Hosea married a harlot (professional or sacred) to symbolize the content of his message. The root *znh* ("harlotry") appears no fewer than nineteen times in his prophecy, always in key passages. Hosea's personal experience is thus the paradigm of his prophetic message that Israel has betrayed God. The relationship between God and Israel is like that between man and woman, husband and wife, where Israel is the unfaithful wife and God the loving and forgiving husband, who calls to his wife to repent and come back to him (see 2:14ff. [Masoretic text 2:16ff.]). The names of Hosea's three children, dictated to him by God, further express his prophetic message. The elder son is called Jezreel because "I will punish the House of Jehu for the blood of Jezreel" (see *1 Kgs.* 19:15–17; *2 Kgs.* 9–10) and "I will put an end to the kingdom of the house of Israel" (*Hos.* 1:4). His daughter is named *Loʾ-ruḥamah* ("not pitied"), "for I will no more have pity on the house of Israel" (1:6), and the younger son is called *Loʾ-ʿammi* ("not my people"), "for you are not my people and I am not your God" (1:8).

No other prophet has portrayed the relationship between God and the people of Israel in such rich images of harlotry and vivid descriptions of the unfaithful wife. Indeed, the key words of Hosea's message are words that connote "fidelity" (*ḥesed;* 4:4, 6:4, 6:6), an emotional relationship with God (*daʿat Elohim*; 4:1, 6:6) and repentance (*shuvah;* 6:1, 6:11, 7:10, 12:7).

Hosea's protestations against the unfaithful marriage also raise questions as to the nature of the Israelite religion of this time, because the Hebrew word for "husband," *baʿal,* also connotes the chief Canaanite god. Thus, a renewed relationship of fidelity between God and Israel will be expressed in new terms for marital relationships: "And in that day, says the Lord, you will call me 'my man' [*ʾishi*], and no longer will you call me 'my husband' [*baʿali*]" (2:16 [MT 2:18]). Scholars call attention to the possibility of religious syncretism that may have taken place in Israel. Archaeological findings in Kuntillet ʿAjrud in Sinai may indicate that a cult of Yahveh, with Baal as either an alternative name or a co-god, existed toward the end of the ninth century BCE. Hosea may thus have been protesting against a cult of fertility that involved sacred harlots and was practiced in his own agricultural society. Hosea also called to renew the *berit* between Israel and God. Many scholars translate *berit* as "covenant" and reject the existence of the concept of formal covenant between God and Israel prior to the later appearance of the Deuteronomistic school. Nevertheless, *berit* occurs in *Hosea* at least five times (see especially 6:7 and 8:1) and may be understood in terms of faithful marriage, as the context of Hosea's prophecy suggests.

HOSEA AND EARLIER TRADITION. Hosea is opposed to fundamental institutions of his society. He criticizes the priests (4:4–10) as well as the political leaders and even the monarchs of his kingdom.

> Where now is your king, to save you;
> where are all your princes, to defend you—
> those of whom you said, "Give me a king and princes"?
>
> I have given you kings in my anger,
> and I have taken them away in my wrath. (13:10–11, RSV)

He is the only prophet to anchor his reservations about kings in ancient antimonarchical traditions (see *1 Sm.* 8:5ff.). Hosea's disappointment in the kings of Israel may also mirror the political situation that followed the death of Jeroboam II. Jeroboam's son Zechariah ruled for six months and was assassinated by Shallum, who governed for just one month and was killed by Menahem (*2 Kgs.* 15:8ff.). Two other Israelite kings were also assassinated before the fall of the kingdom, for a total of four out of six kings murdered within approximately twenty-five years.

Hosea does not see himself as an innovator. He speaks for and identifies himself with the long prophetic tradition that started with Moses (12:13 [MT 12:14]; see also 6:5, 9:7, 12:10 [MT 12:11]). He has no illusions about the effect of his address, as he points out in 9:7: "The prophet is a fool, the man of the spirit is mad." But he does not withdraw, regarding himself as "the watchman of Ephraim" (9:8), following prophetic tradition (cf. 3:17ff.). (In *Hosea* this tribe's name is often used for the entire northern kingdom.) He is familiar with traditions about the patriarch Jacob—his birth (*Hos.* 12:3 [MT 12:4]), his struggle with the angel (12:4 [12:5]), his devotion to his beloved wife Rachel, and his flight from the land of Aram (12:12 [12:13]). He refers to the period of the Exodus (2:15 [2:17], 11:1, 13:4); to Moses, the prophet who brought Israel up from Egypt (12:13 [12:14]); and to Israel's unfaithful behavior in the desert at Baʿal-peʿor (9:10; see *Nm.* 25:1–18), when God punished the people by means of a plague for committing cultic-sexual sins. Hosea even refers to a certain version of the Decalogue (4:2; cf. *Jer.* 7:9). But he also emphasizes God's care of the Israelite people in the desert (13:5). Thus he shows that Israel's relationship with God has a long history, yet the people have ignored the ancient traditions that demonstrate God's devotion and commitment. For him, fulfillment of the moral commandments is the ultimate condition for the survival of the land and its people (4:3), for this constitutes faithfulness to this relationship with God.

LANGUAGE, STRUCTURE, AND AUTHORSHIP. Hosea's identification with the prophetic tradition as well as certain linguistic affinities with *Deuteronomy* suggest that his ideas and language influenced the Deuteronomic ideology and terminology. It may be that after the fall of Samaria, either Hosea himself or his disciples moved to Jerusalem, where his speeches were collected and preserved. Hosea's portrayal of God and Israel as husband and wife is also reflected in the prophecy of Jeremiah (cf. *Jer.* 2:17ff., 3:1ff.), who was very familiar with the style of the Deuteronomist.

Hosea was a great poet, a master of language; his verses in 11:8–9 are among the most moving lines in the prophetic literature. His language is a mixture of prose and poetry. His verses are longer than is typical and often break the symmetrical pattern of parallelism, enabling the isolation and emphasis of a specific idea through the device of climax.

> What shall I do with you, O Ephraim?
>
> What shall I do with you, O Judah?
>
> Your love is like a morning cloud, like
> the dew that goes early away.
>
> Therefore I have hewn them by the prophets,
> I have slain them by the words of my mouth,
> and my judgment goes forth as the light.
>
> For I desire steadfast love and not sacrifice,
> the knowledge of God, rather than burnt offerings.
> (6:4–6, RSV)

No other prophet employs so many figures of speech, especially simile, as Hosea. He may use a series of similes to create a single long poetic image, as in developing the figure of the oven in 7:4ff. He refers to God as a lion (5:14), a leopard (13:7), and a bear (13:8), images that illustrate his effort to attract his audience's attention in an unconventional way and to deliver his message as effectively as possible.

Hosea's language is complicated, however, and every study of the book struggles with the difficulties of the text. The language, especially beginning with chapter 4, is very often puzzling. Perhaps the text has been poorly transmitted, or, as some scholars suggest, perhaps Hosea speaks in a northern dialect, which may sound odd to the modern reader of the Hebrew Bible, who is used to the Judahite style.

The *Book of Hosea* is divided into two major parts: chapters 1–3 and 4–14. The first part includes three literary genres: biography (chap. 1), autobiography (chap. 3), and prophetic speech (chap. 2). There have been discussions concerning the chronological order of these chapters, with some scholars suggesting that chapter 3 precedes chapter 1, so that the biography (chap. 1), which develops the theme of the marriage, elaborates Hosea's personal account. Others, who attempt to preserve the present order, point to the words "Go again, love a woman" (3:1), which may indicate that chapter 3 refers to a second marriage and not to Gomer.

Chapters 4–14 are a compilation of poetic orations, and determining each prophetic speech unit is sometimes difficult. In light of the stylistic differences and the personal approach of chapters 1–3, it has been suggested that two different books composed by two prophets were combined. However, the intense imagery of harlotry, the motif of repentance, and the return of the wife to her husband dominate the second part of the book as well and thus suggest that the entire book is Hosea's composition.

In contrast to many other prophetic books, most of the material in *Hosea* has been assigned by scholars to Hosea himself or to his close disciples, except verses such as 1:7 and 3:5, which may reflect a redaction in terms of a Judahite salvation eschatology. The various historical allusions (which are not always readily obvious), such as the Syro-Ephraimite war (5:8ff.), and 13:9–16, which may refer to a military occupation toward the end of the existence of the northern kingdom, may suggest that the book was edited into chronological order.

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YEHOSHUA GITAY (1987)
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HOSPITALITY. The word *hospitality* is a translation of the Latin noun *hospitium* (or the adjective *hospitalis*), which in turn derives from *hospes,* meaning both "guest" and "host." Behind this double connotation is the Greek concept of the *xenos,* the stranger who receives a welcome or, less frequently, acts as a welcomer of others. A great many cultures attach religious and ethical value to the establishment of friendly exchanges between those who view one another as different—in rank, race, or tribe—and, therefore, potentially dangerous. In order to provide a focus for interpreting the diverse traditions that relate to this subject, the present entry concentrates upon the prescribed behaviors for guests and hosts, particularly at meals, and the reasons (whether stated or implied) for these mores.

Pictures of hospitality abound in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Indeed, the practice of hospitality can be perceived as a cardinal virtue among the Homeric characters. Odysseus, the great wanderer, is praised for his exemplary hosting (Homer, *Odyssey* 1.176). In both epics hospitality represents that aspect of fearing the gods that creates a readiness for reciprocal relationships with strangers. Those who do not attain such openness are deemed barbarians (*Odyssey* 6.120ff.). Conversely, a single act of welcoming on the part of one family group toward another, usually by means of a meal, can result in a bond of friendship that lasts for generations (*Iliad* 6.215ff.). Thus, hospitality is an eminently practical virtue; through gift exchanges and the sharing of food or shelter, peace and harmony are achieved in what would otherwise be a chaotic world.

In Greek epic tradition, the gods themselves sometimes put on human disguises and assume the role of guests. On those occasions when they are welcomed, they respond with good news (*Odyssey* 1.180ff.) or extraordinary gifts (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.678ff.). In this reciprocity there exists a link with the ancient bedouin tradition concerning Abraham's gracious reception of three strangers by the Oaks of Mamre (*Gn.* 18:1ff.). The strangers are variously understood to be human messengers, angels, or, in later Christian thought, the Trinity. Thus, icons of the orthodox churches depict Abraham's *philoxeny*, or love of strangers, as the believer's enjoyment of communion with the divine presence. In the biblical story, Abraham's guests respond to the lavish banquet that he and Sarah have prepared for them with the miraculous news that Sarah, advanced in years like her husband, will soon bear a son, Isaac. It is not surprising that in rabbinic Judaism, early Christianity, and Islam, Abraham becomes a kind of patron saint of hosts. Enmeshed in this tradition is the premise that hospitality merits a reward from God and must therefore be encouraged. One version of the premise occurs in Matthew 25:33ff., where Jesus appears as the judge of all nations and announces that hospitable acts performed for the least of his brothers and sisters have actually been done for him and that, moreover, the end result of these acts is the opening up of God's kingdom to those who have undertaken them. The special vocation of Christian monastics to care for strangers and the needy, in part through the founding of hospitals, may be understood as an attempt to embody this teaching.

Rabbinic Judaism sometimes employs hospitality as a metaphor for the teaching and learning of Torah ("Let thy house be a place of meeting for the wise, and dust thyself with the dust of their feet and drink their words with thirst"; *Avot* 1.4). Sometimes hospitality is thought to be blessed by the bestowal of God's presence ("Three who have eaten at one table and have said over it words of Torah are as if they had eaten from the table of God"; *Avot* 3.4). Similar thoughts occur in New Testament stories where Jesus and Paul receive material hospitality as guests but then demonstrate by their words and actions that they are agents of God's kingdom, blessing their hosts with divine gifts. (*Luke* 24:28–35; *Acts* 20:6–12; 28:7–9).

Jesus in particular is seen as one who welcomes sinners and marginal people (*Matt.* 11:19; *Luke* 15:1–2); typically the gospels picture him doing this at meals to which he has been invited as a guest (*Mark* 2:15ff.; *Luke* 7:36–50;19:1–10). The major exception is what Christians have come to call the last supper, a meal during the week of Passover, just before Jesus' death, when he initiates a guest-meal for his disciples. In the Synoptic Gospels Jesus blesses bread and wine at this meal with words relating them to his body and blood. For Christians, this event is usually seen as the institution or forerunner of the Eucharist or Lord's Supper, which often functions today as a welcoming ritual but also, in some branches of the church, as a means of self-definition that excludes nonmembers. According to the Fourth Gospel, the last supper featured a special act of hospitality by Jesus: the humble washing of his disciples' feet followed by an exhortation to perform this act for one another (*John* 13:1–14).

In Islam, the fundamental notion underlying the theory and practice of hospitality is protection. This is expressed in the Arabic term *djiwar*, which denotes neighborliness or the granting of refuge to wayfaring strangers and resident visitors who are not members of one's own tribe. Such practices could have their origin in the bedouin conviction that guest and host alike (the Arabic word *dayf*, like *xenos*, refers to both) stand at the mercy of a hostile environment and must adhere to firm rules for the sharing of necessities to ensure their common survival. Foremost among these rules is a custom according to which travelers may count on receiving food and lodging from a given host for three days. At the end of this period, they are expected to continue their journey unless unusual circumstances intervene (see also the early Christian writing *Didachē* 11–12). From this fundamental rule, refinements of hospitality evolve. Hosts who are especially virtuous prevail upon their guests to stay longer, and they emerge from their tents to welcome passing strangers. Some hosts furnish provisions for their guests when they resume their journeys and even escort them on their way.

Articulations of hospitality that are explicitly religious occur with regularity. For example, proximity to a sacred place is thought to confer protection; and it is said that when one becomes a Muslim, one is henceforth God's *djar* (protected neighbor). Perhaps it is this trust in God's care that stimulates Islamic practitioners of hospitality to extend such largess to their guests. H. R. P. Dickson reported that in the 1920s he was greeted by a number of Saudi Arabian hosts with this couplet: "O Guest of ours, though you have come, though you have visited us, and though you have honored our dwellings / we verily are the real guests, and you are the

Lord of this house" (Dickson, 1951, p. 118). A story from about this same period concerns the German diplomat Leopold Weiss who is reputed to have converted to Islam as a result of reflection on a guest-meal. When a poor bedouin traveling with him aboard a merchant ship brought out his millet bread and olive oil and insisted on sharing half of it with Weiss, he was overcome with the man's generosity and wanted to know more about his religious convictions (*Islamic Voice*, November 2000). Whether intended or not, the practice of hospitality often becomes a missionary gesture.

In Hinduism of the classical period and, to a lesser extent, Hinduism today, practices of hospitality are shaped primarily by the caste system and the fourfold stages of life through which an individual (i.e., student, householder, hermit, or homeless wanderer) passes. According to some of Hinduism's oldest sacred texts, members of one caste may not interdine with those of another. Under this constraint the basic foundation for mutuality between strangers, utilized by most cultures, is eliminated. Nevertheless, Hinduism recognizes an alternate code of hospitality whereby the *brahman* (Skt., *brāhmaṇa*), or member of the priestly caste, accepts food from members of other castes (under carefully prescribed conditions) in return for spiritual services, especially the reciting of the Vedas. Moreover, *brahmans* are enjoined to be generous hosts to members of other castes, albeit at separate tables and after their fellow *brahmans* have been provided for (*Laws of Manu* 3–4). The lowest caste, the *śūdra*, is understood to be servant to the other three, although the higher castes must see to the basic material needs of the lowest (*Mahābhārata* 12). In general, *brahmans* are to assume the task of hosting the gods on behalf of other castes by offering sacrifices of food.

With regard to the fourfold stages of life, householders and hermits are the chief host figures, while students and homeless wanderers typically play the role of guests. In all encounters between individuals an exchange of spiritual and material gifts is expected, although not necessarily at large common meals. All gifts are reproductive to the donor; that is, they bring an increase during one's present life and/or in subsequent reincarnations. Gifts of food in particular exercise special influence over an individual's *karman*. Indeed, "one is reborn in the other world with the nature of those whose food one accepts, or of those whose food is in one's stomach, or with the nature of the food itself" (Mauss, 1954, p. 126). Today some of Hinduism's ancient societal barriers no longer prevail, and a number of castes that had traditionally maintained strict separation from one another practice interdining when it is perceived to be in their common social and economic interests.

Tradition has it that as the Buddha lay dying at the home of Cunda the smith, who had served him poisonous mushrooms by mistake, he ordered his disciples to tell the grieving host that he must not feel guilty about the demise of his guest. On the contrary, said Gautama, Cunda's meal had granted him final passage to *nirvāṇa* and therefore ought to be praised. In addition to portraying Gautama's extraordinary compassion, this story illustrates a constant theme in Buddhist depictions of hospitality: whenever hosts share food with guests, especially when the guests are monks or revered teachers, merit accumulates for all parties.

In Theravāda Buddhism, no ritual acts as such are prescribed. In the canonical texts, however, two public occasions of a religious nature are presupposed: the feeding of monks and preaching. In Sri Lanka, these are often combined in an event called the *pinkama* ("act of merit"), during the course of which a *dānė* (gift-meal) is provided, usually by laypeople, and *baṇa* (preaching) or *pirit* (recitation of sacred texts) is contributed by the monks. These events may be large festal gatherings at temples, private visits by monks to the households of laypeople, or funeral meals attended by families and friends. The common feature of all of them, however, is the transferring of merit, which is accomplished when a host expresses his wish that the benefits of the food and drink being served might accrue to others who are not visibly present. Normally, gods, dead relatives, or *preta*s (homeless, hungry spirits) are named, but in the popular understanding merit transferred at a *pinkama* also contributes toward the enlightenment of its ordinary human guests. Indeed, according to the "perfection of donation" tradition in Mahāyāna Buddhism, a *bodhisattva* may reassign the merit produced by his giving so that it benefits every living creature. The merit itself is then conceived of as food, for the *bodhisattva* vows: "I turn over into full enlightenment the meritorious work founded on jubilation. May it feed the full enlightenment (of myself and of all beings)" (*Aṣṭasāhasrikā* 6.138; trans. Conze, 1954). In effect, the *bodhisattva* becomes host to the entire universe.

One sees in this vow a conviction that everyone associated with feeding events will experience spiritual gain. Sometimes the gain is equated with a convivial happiness among the guests, which earns them even more merit than that achieved by the host. Thus, Richard F. Gombrich reports that a priest in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), who had spent five thousand rupees on a *pinkama,* told him how any villager responding to this meritorious act with sympathetic joy could accumulate more merit than the priest—and without spending any money (Gombrich, 1971, p. 226). One may conclude then that for Buddhists hospitality in the form of the guest-meal typically functions to extend compassion; through the meal an endless process toward universal enlightenment is initiated.

In Confucian thought and practice, represented by documents dating from the Zhou dynasty (c. 1150 BCE to 256 BCE), gatherings for the sharing of food and drink are occasions that honor the natural distinctions between individuals or groups and at the same time provide opportunities for a decent, orderly communion among all the participants. When those involved follow the prescribed rites, harmony is achieved, and this harmony has cosmic as well as societal implications. According to Marcel Granet's reconstruction of the ancient Ba Zha agricultural festival, all those present were divided into two groups, one acting as hosts, the other as guests. These two groups embodied all the opposing forces of the universe (e.g., *yin* and *yang*), which produce great blessings when they meet under the proper conditions. Similar types of ritual meetings for the sake of harmony are the community drinking ceremony, as pictured in Xunzi's description; the elaborate protocols for state visits and feasts transmitted by the authors of the *Yili* (Book of etiquette and ceremonial) and the family ancestor festivals, during which the living and the dead are united through offerings of food. By means of such offerings, the dead are aided in their journey to the Western Heaven of Happiness, and the living are enabled to appropriate their merit. Thus, everyone benefits from the common feast.

The potlatch assemblies of the American Indians of the Northwest Coast appear to be altogether different from Confucian ceremonies in character and purpose, for their chief visible feature is an almost orgiastic competition in gift giving, which obligates guests to hosts and virtually enforces role reversals at future meals for fear of losing face. Tribal and individual statuses are determined by the ability to give everything away in ritual acts of consumption or destruction. Nevertheless, as Marcel Mauss has shown in his classic work on gift exchanges among archaic peoples, even the radical potlatch (the literal meaning of which is both "nourish" and "consume") becomes a form of acting out natural laws, according to which a reciprocal flow of giving and receiving between those of different ranks must occur in order to preserve society. Guests and hosts are seen to be deeply linked with each other in a cosmic order that requires them to change their roles periodically so as to ensure proper redistributions of wealth and value (Mauss, 1967, pp. 31–45). However much the potlatch differs from its Chinese counterparts in matters of decorum, it resembles them in embodying a basic harmony. For potlatch societies, however, that harmony is one of great flux.

All guest-host events within the life of religious communities involve a certain degree of ritual activity, even when spontaneity is prized. Sometimes the rituals evolve into elaborate liturgies, as in celebrations of the Eucharist or Lord's Supper among members of the more catholic branches of Christianity. Even more stylized forms of hospitality are found in practices associated with the Japanese tea ceremony or *chanoyu*, the origin of which can be traced to ancient China. The sharing of tea by sages is recounted in an old legend concerning the Daoist master Laozi. Upon accepting an invitation to tea from a mountain hermit, the former rewards his host with a copy of the *Dao de jing*. Here again hospitality functions to promote gift exchanges, as well as a certain degree of equality. While Confucian officials used tea ceremonies to solidify status and hierarchical order in society through insuring that only those recognized as the greatest could be hosts, more egalitarian practices prevailed among Chinese Buddhists, especially those of the Chan group. These apparently involved rituals in which monks drank out of a common bowl before the image of Bodhidharma, the order's Indian founder.

The Way of Tea or *chado* reached Japan in the ninth century CE through the monk Eichu, who returned to his homeland after studying with Chinese Buddhists. Later, Zen Buddhists added most of the distinctive features of the ceremony as we know it today, including the philosophy of hospitality underlying it. The sixteenth-century Zen master Sen Rikyū is reputed to have stated that "through concentrating on *chanoyu* both guests and hosts can obtain salvation," by which he probably meant *satori* (Anderson, 1991, p. 53). Indeed, Rikyū gave a privileged place to the tea ceremony as a vehicle by which all participants could attain enlightenment. In performing the intricate duties prescribed for them, guests and hosts are thought to disclose and even create personal tranquility and harmony with nature. Today many practitioners hold that when the ceremony is done well, everyone present is able to "participate fully in a cooperative act of ritual world maintenance" (Anderson, 1991, p. 8).

By way of summary, it may be noted that in virtually all the cultures and traditions examined above, hospitality, especially when it takes the form of the guest-meal, is marked by exchanges of spiritual goods along with the sharing of food and drink. These exchanges frequently have the effect of multiplying blessings or merit for the participants beyond the sum total of resources brought by the guests and hosts. Indeed, some cosmic progress is effected. Often gods, dead relatives or founding figures, and forces of nature are thought to be present at the meal. When this happens, their influence is felt, typically as a communion or productive alliance with the deeper forces of the universe. In many ways hospitality shows itself to be a universal force for good, at least when it is practiced without guile. In the wide variety of cultures studied here, guest-host events nearly always serve to promote an honoring of the "other," even when that other seems strange or hostile. Host figures are generally perceived to be both powerful and magnanimous, while guests are often expected to be bearers of gifts and, in some cultures, divine messengers (*Heb.* 13:2). One can even speak of hospitality as a catalyst for virtues. Generosity, gratitude, humility, and openness to peaceful relationships among parties otherwise suspicious of one another characterize many guest-host events.

SEE ALSO Gift Giving; Potlatch.

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work, *Precept and Practice: Traditional Buddhism in the Rural Highlands of Ceylon* (Oxford, 1971), proves invaluable. Also useful are the texts and interpretations provided in *Buddhist Texts through the Ages*, edited by Edward Conze, I. B. Horner, David Snellgrove, and Arthur Waley (New York, 1954). With regard to Hinduism, the collected papers of Louis Dumont, published as *Religion, Politics, and History in India: Collected Papers in Indian Sociology* (Paris, 1971), furnish a helpful sociological perspective on guest-host relationships. John Koenig's *New Testament Hospitality: Partnership with Strangers as Promise and Mission* (Minneapolis, 1985; Eugene, Ore., 2001) contains information on spiritual conceptualizations of hospitality in early Christianity and rabbinic Judaism. For Islamic practices of hospitality, especially those based on bedouin traditions, one may consult H. R. P. Dickson's sharp-eyed account of his experiences in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, *The Arab of the Desert*, 2d ed. (London, 1951). The story of Leopold Weiss's encounter with Islamic hospitality occurs in the editorial "Living Islam," in *Islamic Voice*, vol. 14-11, no. 167. Two works on Chinese religion, Marcel Granet's *Festivals and Songs of Ancient China,* translated by E. D. Edwards (New York, 1932), and Francis L. K. Hsu's *Under the Ancestors' Shadow* (New York, 1948), deal specifically with the transcendent aspects of meals. *An Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual* by Jennifer L. Anderson (Albany, N.Y., 1991) is an accessible source for the history, practice, and ideology of the ritual in its various forms.

JOHN KOENIG (1987 AND 2005)

HOTTENTOTS SEE KHOI AND SAN RELIGION

HOWITT, A. W. (1830–1908), was an English-born explorer, geologist, and amateur anthropologist who made first-hand studies of Aboriginal life in southeastern Australia. To the many aspects of indigenous culture that he described (social and political organization, as well as religion), Alfred William Howitt brought a comprehensive and systematic approach. He did have blind spots, however. He doubted, for example, whether Aboriginal beliefs in the supernatural were religious, apparently because of their remoteness from an ideally conceived Christianity. One of his notable achievements was to show that prolonged and highly organized ceremonies could be celebrated by people with a simple economy and material culture.

Howitt's descriptions of human-making ceremonies (initiation rites) in Southeast Australia, such as the Kuringal and Jeraeil ceremonies, stand comparison with the renowned studies of such rites in other parts of Australia made by Walter Baldwin Spencer and Francis James Gillen. His studies are especially valuable, however, because Aboriginal beliefs and ceremonies have become moribund in the Southeast, whereas much traditional culture survives in the central and northern parts of the continent. Howitt made it clear that ceremonies are ordered sequences of action, and he brought out the complex articulation of art, myth, choreography, and social organization that characterizes them. In documenting these vital aspects of sequence and articulation, Howitt displayed an intuitive grasp of the structural considerations stressed around the turn of the century by the French comparatists—by Arnold van Gennep in analyzing rites of passage and by Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss in analyzing sacrificial rites. Another of Howitt's services was to show how widespread in the Southeast, and how essential to the intelligibility of the ceremonies, was belief in the powerful sky spirit he named the All-Father.

In addition to his obvious importance as recorder of a now-vanished way of life, Howitt is noteworthy for his urge, at that early date in the history of Australian anthropology, to typify and generalize. It was no mean feat to see in the Kuringal, Jeraeil, and many other ceremonies particular examples of a general type, to classify all Aboriginal initiations as belonging to either an eastern or a western type, or to perceive the All-Father in such diverse mythic personages as Baiame, Bunjil, Daramulun, Kohin, and Mungan-ngaua.

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Howitt published many articles and notes on aspects of Aboriginal culture. Most were drawn upon, together with additional material, in his major work, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (London, 1904), which is the essential source for an understanding of his anthropological contribution. *Come Wind, Come Weather* (Melbourne, 1971) is a comprehensive and readable biography of Howitt by his granddaughter, Mary Howitt Walker. It includes several chapters on his work in geology and anthropology, as well as complete bibliographies.

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KENNETH MADDOCK (1987)
Revised Bibliography

HROTSVIT (c. 935–c. 1000, alternate spellings include Hrotswitha and Hrosvitha) was canoness in the Abbey of Gandersheim in tenth-century Saxony. Hrotsvit is known today as Europe's first woman playwright, indeed the first known dramatist of Christian Europe. Her six extant plays, written in rhymed Latin prose, offer a Christian response to the Roman comedies of Terence (c. 190–159 BCE), incorporating the traditions of medieval hagiography. Blending comic intrigue and disguise motifs with conflicts between pagan and Christian values, Hrotsvit's plays typically feature strong-willed female protagonists who undergo physical ordeals and achieve redemption. Hrotsvit also created a parallel sequence of eight poetic saint's legends and two historical verse epics.

The appearance of such a figure in the "dark ages" of the tenth century may seem surprising, but the social and intellectual contexts of Hrotsvit's life reveal that she grew up in privileged circumstances, at the height of what is known today as the Ottonian Renaissance. Only recently Christianized, the Saxons became dominant in Germany in the tenth century as inheritors of the empire of Charlemagne. The daughters of the Saxon aristocracy not chosen for dynastic marriages were sent to nunneries to be educated and comfortably housed in circumstances befitting their rank. Hrotsvit was such an aristocrat, closely related to the royal family, and Gandersheim was a uniquely rich and independent foundation. Entering as a canoness rather than a nun, Hrotsvit would have been permitted to retain her own private property, employ servants, and travel at will from the cloister, as well as receive an education in the writings of both classical and Christian authors.

At Gandersheim Hrotsvit mastered the arts of the Latin language and was encouraged to begin her own compositions; appropriately, her Saxon name, *Hro-suit*, is usually translated as "strong voice." Her earliest works were the eight sacred legends, written in the classical measures of dactylic hexameter and elegiac verse. Two poems commemorate incidents in the life of the Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ; the remainder present the lives of Christian saints and martyrs. The legends tell lively tales of pagan-Christian conflicts, and Hrotsvit's taste for sensational incidents is evident.

There is some indication that Hrotsvit's dramas were intended to complement the verse legends, forming part of a larger unified sequence of works. However the immediate stylistic impulse of the plays is a response to the pagan comic dramatic texts of Terence, valued for their refined Latin style. Hrotsvit's innovation was to write new Latin dramas in a similarly refined style, but with Christian characters and subject matter, rather than clever servants and love intrigues in the Roman tradition.

Although sometimes carelessly described as adaptations of Terence's dramas, Hrotsvit's six plays are retellings in dramatic form of the lives of Christian saints and martyrs, borrowing Terentian phrases and plot devices, but leading her central characters through ordeals and tortures to salvation, rather than comic happy endings. *The Conversion of General Gallicanus* features a pagan general who is converted to Christianity on the battlefield, and later suffers martyrdom at the hands of Julian the Apostate. The remaining plays, all with female central figures, were given titles by modern editors that would suggest otherwise; in the summaries below, Hrotsvit's original titles are employed, with the traditional titles in parentheses.

The Martyrdom of the Holy Virgins Agape, Chionia, and Hirena (*Dulcitius*) tells the story of three Christian maidens pursued by a farcically lustful pagan governor and then tortured cruelly by the emperor—an ordeal that they survive without pain, gaining martyrdom in the process. *The Resurrection of Drusiana and Callimachus* (*Callimachus*) also recounts the martyrdom of a Christian woman who chooses death before dishonor. In *The Fall and Repentance of Mary, the Hermit Abraham's Niece* (*Abraham*) a young novice in a nunnery runs off to become a notorious prostitute. Her uncle, a monk, disguises himself as a customer and confronts her, winning her repentance. In a similar vein, *The Conversion of the Harlot Thaïs* (*Paphnutius*) dramatizes the encounter of a monk and a prostitute. In this case, the harlot Thaïs is a secret Christian who gives up her jewels and gold for a foul-smelling cell in a cloister. The final drama in Hrotsvit's sequence is *The Martyrdom of the Holy Virgins Fides, Spes, and Karitas* (*Sapientia*), another tale of pagan-Christian conflict, featuring the ordeals and martyrdom of the three allegorically named daughters. All of these works were completed by the year 973, and there are no further records of Hrotsvit's life.

Were these dramas intended for performance, and if so, in what form? Earlier scholars assumed that the plays were intended solely for reading, but most of Hrotsvit's contemporary critics think it likely that the texts were intended for some dimension of performance, whether in a group reading in the abbey or in a more formal performance at the Saxon court.

For many centuries after her death Hrotsvit was a forgotten figure, but all this changed in 1493 when the German humanist Conrad Celtes discovered a manuscript of her work in a monastery. Soon Hrotsvit was celebrated as the first poet of Germany, and her works were printed in 1501 in an elegant edition with woodcuts by Albrecht Dürer and others. Surviving claims by misogynist critics that her works were forgeries invented by Celtes, Hrotsvit is today recognized as a remarkable and unprecedented literary figure. Whether or not her works were intended for performance, there has been no shortage of stage revivals of her work, beginning in 1888 with a marionette performance in Paris inspired by Anatole France, who modeled his popular novel *Thaïs* on Hrotsvit's original. By 1914 her plays had reached the London stage, with Ellen Terry in the role of Thaïs. Since that time performances of Hrotsvit's plays have taken place regularly in Britain, Germany, and the United States, generally in academic settings and often with a feminist focus.

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ROBERT POTTER (2005)

HSIAO See XIAO

HSIAO PAO-CHEN See XIAO BAOZHEN

HSIEN See XIAN

HSIN-HSING See XINXING

HSI-WANG-MU See XI WANG MU

HSÜAN-TSANG See XUANZANG

HSÜN-TZU See XUNZI

HUANGDI, the Yellow Emperor, is a pan-Chinese culture hero and the mythic first emperor of history. In order to avoid the very narrow connotations of the term *emperor,* the word *di* is often rendered *lord, monarch, thearch, ancestor,* or *god.* The complex mythology of Huangdi is roughly composed of three traditions that evolved during the first millennium BCE and that appear together in the first universal history of China, the *Shiji* (Records of the historian), in the second century BCE: Huangdi as celestial deity, as perfect sovereign, and as patron of the esoteric arts.

As the personification of the central part of heaven, surrounded by the four "emperors" of the four orients, Huangdi received a cult from feudal lords in the Zhou kingdom. After the unification of the empire by the Qin (221 BCE), the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) affirmed its heaven-ordained rule by unifying the cults to the five emperors and their celestial regions (corresponding to the Han dominion of "all under heaven"). Besides being the color associated with the center of the four directions, *huang* ("yellow") also means "radiant"; there are traces of a sun god myth of Huangdi. More important is the fact that the graph *huang* ("yellow") is often used for another *huang* ("august, sovereign"), thus blurring the distinction between the Yellow Emperor and the "August Emperor," that is, the supreme celestial deity Shangdi of the feudal religion. This might explain why, by the second century BCE, the majority of feudal clans claimed Huangdi as their ancestor. From the same period dates Huangdi's place in Chinese astronomy. Under his personal name, Xianyuan, and in the form of a yellow dragon (the imperial emblem) he is an asterism in the southern section of the sky (*Jin shu* 11A).

Huangdi's reign at the dawn of history was a "golden age of perfect peace," or *taiping* (*Shiji* 1). Although the Daoists saw in this first ruler the initiator of humanity's decline into artificial and superficial civilization *(Zhuangzi),* Huangdi became for them the paragon of emperors who heed the advice of their counselors. The Daoist traditions of Han times propagated the "teachings of Huang (-di) and Lao (-zi)," hence their name: Huang-Lao Dao. The association of Huangdi with the paragon sage Laozi signifies the double relationship between the ruler-disciple and his adviser-master. Although the adviser is socially inferior to the ruler, the latter's charisma is but a manifestation of the sage's wisdom. Like a puppet moved by invisible hands, the emperor is the tool of the sage; their interplay symbolizes the invisible Dao and its manifest efficacy *(de).* Inspired by these teachings, the millenarian Taiping rebels of 184 CE aimed at the re-creation of Huangdi's golden age and wore yellow head scarves (hence the name Yellow Turban Rebellion) as a sign of the imminent rule under the aegis of the "yellow agent" (earth) of Huangdi. In the many sacred scriptures attributed to him, Huangdi is always the disciple being instructed by a sage or divine master. These scriptures concern not only philosophy and the art of government but also longevity techniques and the martial arts.

The earliest alchemists taught the Han emperor Wu (140–87 BCE) the art of making gold and becoming immortal "like Huangdi," who had cast a sacred crucible and ascended to heaven on a dragon (*Shiji* 28). Daoist lore contains traces of Huangdi's role in archaic confraternities of metalworkers and in medical, pharmaceutical, and yogic traditions that all contributed to the formation of Daoist immortality techniques. The oldest book on medicine, *Huangdi neijing suwen* (The pure questions of Huangdi, esoteric canon of medicine), is a dialogue between Zhi Bo, a Celestial Master, and his disciple Huangdi. Other texts present him as being instructed by two female deities in the related arts of sexual and military techniques. Xuannü ("the dark woman") taught him a magic dance to overcome the rebel Chi You and, according to later legend, revealed to him a Daoist manual of military strategy, the *Yinfu jing* (Classic of the yin talisman; c. eighth century CE). Xuannü or Sunü ("the clear woman") taught the emperor the immortality-conferring "arts of the bedchamber." A *Sunü jing* (Classic of the clear woman), now lost, was popular in the Middle Ages; it probably contained Sunü's sexual instructions to the emperor. Furthermore, Xuannü is his teacher in one of the earliest Daoist treatises on alchemy, the *Huangdi jiuding shendan jing* (Yellow Emperor's canon of the nine vessel magical elixir).

In the official traditions throughout history Huangdi's image has been pale but distinct. His prestige as ancestor of the Chinese people and founder of their culture has recently been reasserted in a syncretist movement, the Xianyuan Jiao. Under the shock of defeat and flight to Taiwan in 1949, its founder, Wang Hansheng, had a vision of Huangdi and his sacred crucible (which is also a symbol of dynastic legitimation). Established in Taibei in 1957 and claiming one hundred thousand followers in 1981, the Xianyuan Jiao teaches a mixture of Daoist, Confucian, and Moist ideas and labors for a renaissance of Chinese culture and for the reunification of the empire.

SEE ALSO Chinese Religion, article on Mythic Themes; Kingship, article on Kingship in East Asia.

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ANNA SEIDEL (1987)
Revised Bibliography

HUAYAN. A major tradition of Buddhist doctrine and practice that emerged in seventh-century China, Huayan (Jpn., Kegon; Kor., Hwaŏm) was soon transmitted to Korea and Japan, and has continued even into modern times to exert great influence on many aspects of religion, thought, and culture throughout East Asia. A product initially of the fruitful encounter between Mahāyāna Buddhism and elements of the native Chinese religious worldview, Huayan is especially noted for its liberating vision of the radical interrelatedness or interpenetration of all events and experiences, a unity amidst diversity wherein each and every particular phenomenon is seen both to incorporate and be absorbed by all other phenomena, without ever losing its own unique identity. It has often been characterized as a syncretism and, although more original than that description might suggest, it does in fact combine classical Mahāyāna themes like "emptiness" (*śūnyatā*), "representation only" (*vijñaptimātratā*), and the embryonic Buddhahood of all beings (*tathāgatagarbha*) with such native Chinese motifs as cosmic harmony, the essential rightness of the natural world, and the intrinsic goodness of human nature.

Although not at all lacking in practical relevance to such forms of actual religious life as meditation and morality, Huayan has traditionally been regarded, along with Tiantai, as one of the more theoretical or philosophical of Buddhist traditions, and as such has commonly been contrasted to supposedly more practical traditions like Chan (Zen) or Pure Land. That this contrast is an invidious oversimplification is seen in the actual history of the tradition, which abounds in examples of the amalgamation of practice with theory. This was the rule during the several centuries in which Huayan maintained its identity as a separate teaching lineage and it was even more apparent later when, having waned as a distinct "school," it continued to flourish either as a basic ingredient in other Buddhist traditions like Zen and Tantrism or as an influence upon non-Buddhist traditions like neo-Confucianism.

SCRIPTURAL FOUNDATION. The scripture on which Huayan was based, and from which it took its name, is the *Da fangguang fo Huayan jing* (Sanskrit, following the Tibetan, *Mahāvaipulya Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra*), known most commonly by the abbreviated title *Huayan jing* (*Avataṃsaka Sūtra*) and usually referred to in English as the *Flower Garland* or *Flower Ornament Scripture*. This is a very long text composed of a number of originally independent scriptures of diverse provenance, all of which were combined, probably in Central Asia, sometime during the late third or the fourth century CE. It is a Mahāyāna scripture, mythopoeic and visionary in character like most of its genre and replete with grand descriptions of the Buddha, his extraordinary powers, his retinue of *bodhisattva*s and other heavenly beings, their qualities, and the myriad world-systems of Buddhist cosmology. Its occasion is the primal event itself, for the matters related by the text, insofar as they may be deemed temporal at all, are thought to have occurred during the period immediately following the Buddha's own experience of enlightenment, while he was still absorbed in the ineffable meditative experience (*samādhi*) of all things as they really are.

Of special importance among the text's various themes is that of the *bodhisattva* path, with its many stages and wondrous spiritual attainments. All of this is conveyed in vivid imagery dominated by the motif of light and translucency. Pervasive radiance, the most salient feature of the scripture's world, is understood to represent the boundless scope and unimpeded force of the Buddha's insight, which reaches everywhere and before which nothing remains opaque. The text culminates in a final chapter, by far the longest and most cohesive, known in China as the *Ru fajie pin* (Chapter on entering the realm of truth) but elsewhere better known as the originally independent *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra*. This is the story of the youth Sudhana (Shancai), who represents all sentient beings aspiring to enlightenment, and of his long pilgrimage, during which he takes instruction from a number of spiritual advisers (fifty-two to fifty-four, depending on how one counts) and in effect accomplishes the *bodhisattva* path charted throughout the rest of the scripture. It is especially rich in the symbolism of fusion, interpenetration, and unity within multiplicity that would later inspire Huayan doctrine.

The earliest surviving version of the full text of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* is the Chinese translation done by Buddhabhadra between 418 and 420 CE (T.D. no. 278). That version comprises sixty fascicles (scrolls) and thirty-four chapters and is divided into eight "assemblies" (*hui*) or scenes held at seven different locations. This was the version used by the earliest Huayan thinkers in their creation of the tradition. Another complete translation was done between 695 and 699 CE by Śikṣānanda (T.D. no. 279). This is in eighty fascicles and thirty-nine chapters, and it is usually divided into nine assemblies held at seven places. Shortly after its completion, this later version effectively supplanted Buddhabhadra's as the canonical foundation of the Huayan tradition.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE. Study of the *Huayan jing* began almost immediately after Buddhabhadra's translation. The chronicles of fifth- and sixth-century Chinese Buddhism reveal not only that it was then a popular focus of scholarly scrutiny but also that it figured prominently in the devotional lives of many practitioners as a text to be chanted, copied, celebrated in maigre feasts, meditated upon, revered for its magical powers, and employed by artists as a repertory of themes. However, it was not until the early seventh century that anything even remotely like a distinctive Huayan "school" or lineage (*zong*) can be said to have emerged. Scholars now trace such an origin to the Sui dynasty (589–618) and the opening decades of the Tang dynasty (618–907). Special attention has recently been given to a trio of monks associated in those years with the Zhixiang monastery, located in the Zhongnan mountains just south of the capital of Chang'an (Xi'an). The eldest was Dushun, also known as Fashun (557–640), a meditation master and thaumaturge who was especially inspired by the *Huayan jing* and whose use of it in the performance of miracles earned him considerable prominence in local traditions of popular piety. He is also credited (but perhaps erroneously so) with the authorship of certain early Huayan treatises, the most important of which was the *Fajie guanmen* (Contemplations of the realm of truth), the *locus classicus* of the most famous of all Huayan doctrines, namely, the teaching of principle *(li)*, phenomena (*shi*), and the various modes of their interpenetration. Dushun was anointed by the later tradition as its "first patriarch," but it should be borne in mind that the conception of Huayan as a master-disciple succession in the manner of the Chan lineages is an anachronistic fiction.

Dushun's contemporary Zhizheng (559–639) was a scholar-monk, heir to several of the scholastic traditions of sixth-century Chinese Buddhism and noted especially for his exegesis of the *Huayan jing.* These two men shared an outstanding student in the person of the monk Zhiyan (602–668), traditionally held to be Huayan's second "patriarch." Zhiyan combined in his career both the emphasis on practice learned from Dushun and the breadth of scholarship fostered by Zhizheng and other of his teachers. He was expert particularly in the learning of two early Chinese traditions of Yogācāra Buddhism that incorporated important elements of Tathāgatagarbha thought, the Dilun school, based on Vasubandhu's *Daśabhūmivyākhyāna* (Exposition of the ten stages scripture) and the Shelun school, based on Pāramārtha's sixth-century translation of Asaṇga's *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* (Compendium of Mahāyāna). He went on to apply his knowledge of these traditions in the study of the *Huayan jing* and composed several fundamental texts that are among the earliest pieces of distinctively Huayan literature. In the composition of these works Zhiyan created many of the doctrines that came to be characteristic of Huayan, not the least of these being the classical fivefold doctrinal classification (*panjiao*) system, the rudiments of the sophisticated Huayan view of causation and dependent origination (*yuanqi*), the teaching of "nature origination" (*xingqi*), and the doctrine of the instantaneous achievement of buddhahood (*yi'nian chengfo*).

Among Zhiyan's disciples, two were of special note. Ŭisang (625–702) was a Korean monk who studied with Zhiyan in Chang'an in the mid-660s. He then returned to his homeland to establish Huayan as one of Korea's most important Buddhist traditions, beginning the process whereby Huayan came to enjoy proportionately greater and more enduring eminence in Korea than in either China or Japan. Ŭisang's fellow student Fazang (643–712), later judged to be the tradition's third "patriarch," was a man of enormous erudition and a prolific author especially skilled in the eloquent and methodical exposition of doctrine. He was Huayan's great systematizer and its first publicist. Much of his career was spent in codifying and elaborating the doctrines first formulated by his teacher and in adding to them teachings of his own devising, notably those born of his study of the *Dasheng qixin lun* (The awakening of faith in Mahāyāna).

The development of Huayan during the several decades following Fazang's death is complex. One of his disciples, the Korean monk Shimsang (Jpn., Shinjō; d. 742), was instrumental in transmitting Huayan to Japan, where it shortly became one of the dominant scholastic and ecclesiastical traditions of the Nara period (710–794). Shimsang's lectures on the *Huayan jing* helped motivate Emperor Shomu (r. 724–749) to construct the great Tōdai Temple and to install there the monumental Great Buddha, which ever since has stood as one of the foremost examples of Huayan influence on the arts. Another of Fazang's disciples, Huiyuan (c. 673–743), departed from his master on several key doctrinal issues and was unfortunately dismissed by the later tradition as a kind of heretic. Familiar with Fazang's works, although never his student, was the layman Li Tongxuan (635?–730?), whose several writings—including what was perhaps the first complete exposition of the eighty-fascicle translation of the *Huayan jing*—are marked throughout by very original interpretations of Huayan themes.

The next phase in the history of Huayan is signaled by the contributions of its reputed fourth "patriarch," Chengguan (738–839?). Born twenty-six years after Fazang's death and thus not his direct descendant, Chengguan nevertheless mastered the Huayan system, which he studied with a student of Fazang's student Huiyuan. He resided for many years in northern Shanxi, in the complex of monasteries located on the Wutai Mountains, long a center of Huayan devotion and study. His many treatises and exegetical works earned special distinction, particularly his immense commentary on the eighty-fascicle version of the *Huayan jing*, which would later vie with Li Tongxuan's work for pride of place among all commentaries on the scripture. Perhaps his most notable accomplishment was to have laid a foundation on which Huayan could consort with other kinds of Buddhism, not only the Monastic Discipline (Vinaya) tradition, Tiantai, and Sanlun (all of which he had studied) but also, and most significantly, Chan. Chengguan was a student of Chan during a crucial period in its history, just as it was in the process of taking the forms that would come to be regarded as classical. The Chan lineage with which he was most closely associated was the Oxhead (Niutou) tradition and this, in turn, had direct links with the classical Chan lineage *par excellence*, the Hongzhou school. Since Chan was then on the verge of becoming paramount among all Chinese Buddhist traditions, Chengguan's efforts to bring Chan and Huayan together were especially important; they helped assure a future for Huayan during the subsequent centuries of Chan dominance.

The last of the five great "patriarchs" of Huayan was the literatus-monk Zongmi (780–841). An accomplished prose stylist and a scholar as well versed in China's "secular" traditions as in Buddhism, Zongmi combined a devout religious life with a successful clerical career and was cultivated by some of the foremost court scholars of his day. Like those of Chengguan, his Buddhist studies were by no means confined to Huayan. He too was a Chan monk, especially faithful to the Heze or "Southern Lineage" deriving from Shenhui (670–762). He was especially noted for his advocacy of a text associated with none of the established traditions, the *Yuanjue jing* (Scripture of complete enlightenment), a Chinese composition devoted to themes of a Tathāgatagarbha sort. Against the background of mature Huayan doctrine, Zongmi classified all the varieties of Buddhism, including all forms of Chan, into a comprehensive and hierarchical overview of Buddhist doctrine and practice. He then extended that classification to include both Confucianism and Daoism by composing the famous *Yuanren lun* (Enquiry into the origins of man), a reply to the critique of Buddhism found in essays of similar title by Han Yu (768–824), the great precursor of neo-Confucianism. Of special importance for the future of Huayan was his advocacy of a unification of Chan and the more doctrinal (*jiao*) forms of Buddhism, Huayan being in his view the foremost of the latter. He is also sometimes identified as a bridge between Buddhism and neo-Confucianism.

After Zongmi, Huayan's history becomes rather diffuse. Traditional accounts continue to speak of a Huayan lineage extending through the end of the Tang into the Song dynasty, and such lineages did persist in Korea and Japan, but after the late ninth century the truly significant developments in Huayan were those occurring in other traditions that made use of Huayan themes. Huayan thought was particularly important in several lineages of Five Dynasties and Song dynasty Chan, the Linji master Dahui (1089–1163), for example, being only one of a great many prominent Song Chan figures indebted to Huayan. It was also absorbed just as deeply into Korean Chan (Sŏn), as may be seen in the thought of Chinul (1158–1210), Korea's greatest Chan teacher. And in Japan, where Esoteric Buddhism (Mikkyō) developed further than anywhere else in East Asia, Mikkyō practitioners like Myōe Shonin (Kōben; 1173–1232) made unique use of Huayan motifs in their Esoteric contemplations and writings.

THE TEACHINGS. Underlying the often bewildering array of technical doctrines that comprise Huayan is the single, unitary vision of a world in which all things—both the particular phenomenal things (*shi*, "phenomena") that comprise conventional worldly experience and the general noumenal truths or principles *(li)* that govern phenomenal reality—are seen "to be without mutual obstruction" (*wu'ai*), that is, to enter, include, penetrate, absorb, and fuse with each other, but to do so without losing their respective identities. In traditional Buddhist terms, this is simply a novel and ingenious reiteration of the cardinal doctrine of dependent origination (Skt., *pratītya-samutpāda;* Chin., *yuanqi*), whereby things are said neither to exist in themselves (the error of eternalism) nor not to exist (the error of annihilationism). However, whereas it is more typical of earlier Buddhism to employ negative, "neither/nor" phrasing to express this teaching and its corollaries, Huayan favored more affirmative locutions, even if they required figurative rather than literal language.

Perhaps the best known and most effective example of this is the metaphor of the "net of Indra." This inspired trope pictures a universe in which each constituent of reality is like a multifaceted jewel placed at one of the knots of a vast net. There is such a jewel at each knot, and each jewel reflects not only the rest of the jeweled net in its entirety but also each and every other jewel in its individuality. Thus, each particular reflects the totality, the totality so reflected is both a unity and a multiplicity, and the reflecting particular maintains its distinctive but not discrete reality. All things and beings, Huayan teaches, are like these jewels. When this "metaphysical" insight is made to yield its soteriological or gnoseological implications it is seen to entail, among other things, the essential Buddhahood of each sentient being, the potential enlightenment at the core of all ignorance, the fundamental purity of all defilements, the eternality of each instant, the presence of the Buddha mind in all objects, and the final attainment implicit in even the most elementary stage of the path.

According to Huayan's five-part scheme of doctrinal classification, all other forms of Buddhism saw only a part of this comprehensive truth. Hīnayāna Buddhism saw the emptiness of beings, their selflessness, but not the emptiness of all events (*dharma*). Elementary Mahāyāna—the emptiness teaching and the version of the Representation Only teaching that held the mind to be essentially corrupt—saw the insubstantiality of all things and beings, and the inveterate ignorance and impurity of the mind which infected and distorted the world, but it did not see the countervailing actuality of those things and beings or the deeper purity of their underlying wisdom. Mature Mahāyāna—the Tathāgatagarbha tradition and the version of the Representation Only teaching that affirmed the essential purity of the mind—saw the immanence of transcendental reality, for example, the buddhahood in each sentient being, but ran the risk of a kind of docetism in which particular mundane things were subordinated to the universal supramundane truths they harbored and were not valued in themselves. The so-called sudden teaching (*dunjiao*)—associated initially with the theme of silence in texts like the *Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa* (The discourse of Vimalakīrti) but later with the translinguistic character of Chan practice—saw the limits and snares of language and conceptualization and emphasized the all-at-once nature of liberation, to which words and ideas can make no gradual approach, but it ran the risk of underestimating the need for effortful practice and the importance of language and imagination in practice. It was only Huayan itself—the "complete" or "perfect" (*yuan*, literally "round") teaching—that comprehended the whole truth without succumbing to partiality or extremes. In this respect Huayan saw itself as the "one vehicle," identical (*tong*) with all other vehicles combined insofar as it included them all, but also separate (*bie*) from them in that it surpassed them all.

There was something about the Huayan worldview that East Asian cultures, shaped as they were by the values of classical Chinese civilization, found quite congenial. Perhaps it was the deft way in which Huayan thinkers combined Chinese values and notions, like the affirmation of "this world" or the conception of reality as a concrete order governed by principles of harmony and complementarity, with basic Buddhist concepts like insubstantiality, interdependence, and the essentially mind-made character of all things. No doubt the abstruse character of Huayan discourse needed the leaven of an emphasis on practice and experience, a leaven of the sort it was to find in its collaboration with Chan and Mikkyō, but with that it rose to be a major ingredient in the intellectual and religious life of the whole East Asian world, and it stands even today as a paramount example of the East Asian transformation of Buddhism.

SEE ALSO Chinul; Dushun; Fazang; Kōben; Pratītya-samutpāda; Ŭisang; Zhiyan; Zongmi.

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Three different translations of the *Huayan jing* are now under way. Thomas Cleary's *The Flower Ornament Scripture*, of which the first volume has already appeared (Boulder, Colo. 1984), is an excellent rendering of the eighty-fascicle version of the Chinese text. The same version is being translated by members of the International Institute for the Translation of Buddhist Texts in Talmage, California. Theirs is a resolutely literal translation with interspersed commentary by the contemporary Chinese monk Xuanhua; more than ten volumes have so far appeared. Apart from a few standard pieces like Fazang's *Golden Lion Treatise* or Zongmi's *Enquiry into the Origins of Man*, which appear in indifferent translations in certain popular anthologies, not much of the enormous corpus of Huayan literature composed in China, Korea, and Japan has yet been translated into Western languages, but Thomas Cleary has recently published a collection of fine though sparsely annotated translations of several shorter works by Dushun, Zhiyan, Fazang, and Chengguan. The collection is entitled *Entry into the Inconceivable* (Honolulu, 1983).

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Robert M. Gimello (1987)
Revised Bibliography

HUBBARD, L. RON (1911–1986), the founder of the Church of Scientology, emerged in the last half of the twentieth century as one of the most controversial leaders of new religious movements. Hailed by the members of his church as one of the most creative minds of the century, he was equally assailed by his critics.

Lafayette Ron Hubbard was born on March 13, 1911, in Tilden, Nebraska. His father, Harry Ross Hubbard, was an officer in the U.S. Navy. Hubbard spent much of his childhood in Montana on his grandfather's ranch. He was able to take advantage of his father's occupation, however, to make two trips during his youth to the Orient and returned with vivid memories of his time in China.

Hubbard attended the Swavely Preparatory School in Manassas, Virginia, and began his college work at George Washington University in 1930. College proved not to be his forte, and he dropped out after only two years. He spent the rest of the decade participating in a variety of expeditions as an explorer (which earned him membership in the Explorers Club) and writing. He published more than 150 short stories and nonfiction articles. The subject matter ranged from aviation to western adventure stories, though his most memorable work was in science fiction.

Hubbard was commissioned as a lieutenant in the navy in 1941. Holding a variety of posts and commands, he finished World War II at Oak Knolls Naval Hospital, Oakland, California, where he gained the initial insights that led to his development of Scientology. After the war Hubbard continued to make his living as a writer as he accumulated insights into the human mind. His new ideas first appeared in several articles and culminated in *Dianetics: The Modern Science of Mental Health.* The book describes his therapeutic techniques for ridding individuals of the causes of aberrant behavior and leading them to a state he termed *clear.* The response to his book, including the emergence of many amateur efforts to practice the book's teachings, led Hubbard to found the Hubbard Dianetic Research Foundation and to write a set of texts on the proper application of his theories.

The next few years proved to be intense and decisive. Hubbard continued his exploration of human existence, shifted his focus from the mind to the spirit, and expanded Dianetics into a complete philosophical and religious system he began to call Scientology. The change proved costly in some respects, as many of his early supporters were unable to accept his new findings (such as the preexistence of the human soul) and withdrew. In 1954, however, the first Church of Scientology opened in Los Angeles, California. Hubbard now turned his full attention to the development of the church (including the writing of a detailed organizational manual) and the growth of Scientology into a comprehensive scientific religion.

Hubbard resigned all official positions he held in the church in 1966 and turned his attention to further research into the higher levels of Scientology, in which the soul (which Hubbard termed the *thetan*) learns to operate free of the body. The first of the Operating Thetan (OT) levels, or training steps, was released in 1966, with others released periodically through Hubbard's lifetime. Beginning in 1967 he conducted a significant part of OT research aboard an ocean-going vessel in company with a group of his more dedicated followers. There he founded the Sea Organization, or Sea Org, an ordered though nonmonastic community originally designated to take charge of the delivery of the OT levels. The 1970s were a time of extensive writing on all phases of Scientology.

Hubbard encountered the next crucial test of his ideas at the end of the 1970s. In 1979 a number of church officials connected with the Guardian's Office, including Hubbard's wife, were arrested. The Guardian's Office, which had been established in 1966 to handle a variety of attacks upon the church, had engaged in several clandestine operations to uncover U.S. government files believed to be the source of its problems. The conviction of those arrested led to the disbanding of the Guardian's Office, a complete reorganization of the church at the highest levels, and the assumption of control by the Sea Organization of the church's international and policy-making offices.

Hubbard spent the last years of his life in seclusion, his whereabouts disclosed to only a few friends and high church officials. He returned to fiction writing and produced a major novel, *Battlefield Earth* (1982), and a ten-volume science fiction series, Mission Earth (1985–1987). He died on January 24, 1986, in Crestone, California.

Hubbard left his considerable wealth and all his copyrights to the church, which had already assigned scriptural status to his Scientology texts. The church subsequently established a new corporation, Author Services, to handle the ongoing publication and licensing of Hubbard's non-Scientology writings. The church has published a number of smaller works describing Hubbard's various accomplishments, although no comprehensive critical biography had appeared by the beginning of the twenty-first century.

See Also Scientology.

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J. GORDON MELTON (2005)

HÜGEL, FRIEDRICH VON (1852–1925), Roman Catholic layman who at the turn of the twentieth century became involved in the modernist crisis and who later became recognized as an outstanding authority on mysticism and religious philosophy. Born in Austria, von Hügel moved with his family to England in 1867. Mainly self-educated, von Hügel became a friend of the French exegete Alfred Loisy (1857–1940) and of the English Jesuit George Tyrrell (1861–1909). He immersed himself in the new scriptural criticism and championed Loisy's right to publish when the latter faced church condemnation. He also generally supported Tyrrell, who was expelled from the Society of Jesus in 1906. The official church saw in the ideas of a number of writers at the time, including Loisy and Tyrrell, a denial of the transcendence of God and of church authority. It labeled their ideas "modernism" and condemned them in the encyclical *Pascendi* in 1907. Von Hügel and others believed that the church's very broad condemnation was unfair and to a degree a misunderstanding. But he gradually cooled to some of Loisy's ideas, although he continued to support the cause of the freedom of the exegete. He showed external respect in every way he could for the church's decrees, but he never essentially changed his position.

Toward the end of the modernist crisis von Hügel published his great work, *The Mystical Element of Religion as Studied in St. Catherine of Genoa and Her Friends* (1909). Around the biographical core of the book he developed his ideas on religion and mysticism. The chief forces of Western civilization he saw as Hellenism, Christianity, and science. He worked out three elements in all religion: the institutional, the intellectual, and the mystical. The thirst for religion and mysticism is at bottom metaphysical, arising from a keen sense of imprisonment in the contingent. "If man did not somehow have a real experience of objective reality and truth, he could never suffer so much from the very suspicion of a complete imprisonment within purely human apprehensions and values."

In 1912 von Hügel published *Eternal Life,* a study of the eternal and the absolute in religion. Time, he insisted, is a composite phenomenon containing two elements: clock time, or succession, and duration. In duration, the human being stands open to the infinite and experiences a quasi eternity. In 1921 he published *Essays and Addresses on the Philosophy of Religion,* in which he underlined the transcendent element in religion and also included a probing essay on the apocalyptic element in Jesus' teaching. Some of his work was published posthumously. *Essays and Addresses on the Philosophy of Religion, Second Series* (1926) contains discussions on institutional religion, church authority, and suffering in God. Von Hügel's unfinished work on the Gifford Lectures was published as *The Reality of God and Religion and Agnosticism* (1931).

Von Hügel became an outstanding spiritual director. He was a major influence on Evelyn Underhill, who was later to publish her remarkable works on mysticism. His deep spiritual life is seen in *Letters from Baron von Hügel to a Niece* (1928) and *The Life of Prayer* (1929). He received an honorary doctor of law degree from the University of Saint Andrews in Scotland in 1914, and in 1920 he became the first Roman Catholic since the Reformation to be honored with an honorary doctor of divinity degree from Oxford University.

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JOHN J. HEANEY (1987 AND 2005)

HUGH OF SAINT-VICTOR (d. 1142) was a regular canon of the Abbey of Saint-Victor, Paris, and influential thinker with lasting and decisive contributions to biblical exegesis, theology, and spirituality. The date and place of Hugh's birth are unknown. Both Saxony and the Low Countries have been plausibly suggested as the place of his birth. By 1125 he was at Saint-Victor teaching in the abbey school, where he founded the vigorous and creative Victorine intellectual tradition. At the same time, the first abbot, Gilduin, was winning royal favor and rich endowments for the young community, which had been founded in 1108 by William of Champeaux upon his retirement from teaching in the Parisian schools.

Hugh's learning was broad and deep. He united in a special way a religious vocation, keen intellectual curiosity, a strong historical sense, theological creativity, and dedication to the contemplative life. The breadth of Hugh's knowledge is illustrated by his *Didascalicon,* a guide to the study of philosophy and biblical exegesis. Philosophy, embracing all knowledge, was divided into four parts (theoretical; practical, including ethics; mechanical, including weaving, farming, et al.; and logical) that were to remedy the ignorance, vice, and bodily weakness resulting from the fall.

In biblical studies Hugh introduced the idea that history, allegory, and tropology, the traditional three levels of meaning in the biblical text, should be seen as three areas of study to be pursued in succession. This idea had the important effect of making the systematic study of the historical, literal meaning of the text the foundation for all further biblical study. Moreover, Hugh consulted Jewish rabbis about the literal meaning of the Hebrew text and incorporated their comments into his exegesis. In the Victorine program of studies theology was studied systematically to prepare for allegorical exegesis, while tropology was the context of examining not only ethics but also the discipline of body and mind leading to contemplative experience.

For each area of study—historical, theological, and mystical—Hugh wrote important books. His *Chronicon* contained a treatise on the art of memory and numerous tables for biblical chronology and the history of the Christian church, European rulers, and the papacy. *De sacramentis Christianae fidei* (On the sacraments of the Christian faith), Hugh's handbook to prepare for allegorical exegesis, was the first systematic summa of Christian theology and thus initiated a major form of medieval theological literature. Hugh's theology incorporated a unique sense of historical development and distinguished between the divine works of foundation in six days and the divine works of restoration that extend through all history from beginning to end. His doctrine of the sacraments was important for his definition of a sacrament and his recognition of valid sacraments in all historical periods.

Hugh introduced ideas from the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite into the mainstream of theological and mystical discussion. The major sources for Hugh's mystical teachings are two treatises on Noah's ark (*De arca Noe morali* and *De arca Noe mystica*) and a set of sermons on *Ecclesiastes.* In the ark treatises Hugh describes a complex, maṇḍala-like drawing that represents with a subtle iconography the cosmos, salvation history, and the mystic's inward journey to union with the divine as these are related to Christ the creative, sustaining, incarnate, judging, and contemplative Word. This powerful symbolic representation of the spiritual quest is a major document in the development of medieval Christian mysticism.

Hugh's successors at Saint-Victor tended to emphasize single aspects of his thought. Andrew of Saint-Victor (d. 1175) devoted himself to the literal sense of scripture, advancing even further the historical understanding of the biblical text and drawing, like Hugh, on Jewish exegesis. Richard of Saint-Victor (d. 1173), one of the greatest medieval mystical writers, advanced Hugh's analysis of contemplation and his use of Dionysius in treatises combining subtle symbolic interpretation of scripture, psychological insight, and deep contemplative experience. Through Richard and Hugh, the Victorine tradition influenced the theological and contemplative writings of the great Franciscan writer Bonaventure.

In poems of complex symbolism and theological depth, Adam of Saint-Victor brought the liturgical sequence to a high point in its development. The sermons of Abbot Achard of Saint-Victor (d. 1171) embodied the combination of contemplative and preaching traditions so characteristic of the abbey. The Victorine theological tradition was continued by Godfrey of Saint-Victor (d. after 1194) in *Fons philosophiae* and *Microcosmus,* while a narrow, antidialectical spirit at odds with other Victorines emerged in the writings of Walter of Saint-Victor (d. 1180). Thomas Gallus (d. 1246), a Victorine who became abbot of Vercelli, continued Hugh's interest in the works of Dionysius and wrote a commentary on them. All told, Hugh began an influential intellectual tradition at the abbey, a tradition that exercised a widespread influence on medieval thought and life in many areas.

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GROVER A. ZINN, JR. (1987)

HUICHOL RELIGION.

The twenty to twenty-five thousand Huichol-speakers of the Sierra Madre Occidental are the only sizable indigenous population in Mexico whose aboriginal religion survives with only minor Spanish additions, and almost none of the syncretistic adaptations to Christianity typical of the rest of Mesoamerican Indian cultures. The first missions in Huichol country were established in 1722. More than two and a half centuries later Spanish Roman Catholicism is evident only in the addition of the Virgin of Guadalupe, Jesucristo, and some saints to the extensive native pantheon of male and female nature deities. The Huichol have also added nominal baptism practices; feast day celebrations of the respective patron saints of the five independent, self-governing *comunidades* that make up the mountainous Huichol homeland; and observance of portions of the Christian ritual calendar to their ritual life. The celebration of these holy days is accompanied by recitations and dramatic enactments of a Christian myth cycle so drastically altered to conform to the native worldview that it resembles the New Testament only in broad outlines.

DEITIES. In contrast, in the native ceremonial round and in prayers, the Huichol deities have retained their ancient names, personalities, and associations, rather than having become identified with Christian supernatural beings. Some Huichols believe that the Virgin of Guadalupe is really Our Mother Young Eagle Girl, a female sky deity who usually takes the form of a bicephalic eagle; on the other hand, few Huichols have followed the neighboring Cora, and other Indian peoples, in identifying Jesucristo with the indigenous solar deity. The supernaturals are addressed in kinship terms, prefaced by the pronoun *ta* ("our"): for example, the fire god Tatewarí ("our grandfather"); the sun god Tayaupá ("our father"); the whitehaired old earth and creator goddess Tatutsi Nakawé ("our great grandmother Nakawé"); Tamátsi Kauyumari ("elder brother Káuyumarie"), the trickster / culture hero who manifests himself as deer; another deer deity, Tamátsi Maxa Kwaxí ("elder brother deer tail"); the corn goddess, who also personifies the earth made fertile by rain, Tatéi Utuánaka ("our mother"; lit., "our aunt"); and so forth. Female deities personify rain, water holes, lakes, ponds, maize, and squash. Agricultural, human, and animal fertility and fecundity are also personified by female deities, who are often depicted as snakes in ceremonial art. Many of the male deities are associated with the dry season, the hunt, and game. Some male and female deities function as owners of animal or plant species. The divine cactus, peyote, is personified as Sacred Deer, Master of the Deer, in a system of interdependent and interchangeable symbols that, since the shift from hunting and gathering to slash-and-burn agriculture, has also come to include maize. As a group the deities, or divine ancestors, are variously called *kákaima* or *kakayaríxi* (apparently archaic expressions that convey the sense of "gods" or "greater spirits"). Female deities are collectively known as *tatéima* ("our mothers"). Tatewarí is the most prominent deity in the western part of the Huichol territory, and in the eastern part it is Father Sun. The fire deity is also the first shaman, who, with grandmother Nakawé, put the world in order in the "first times," and is often addressed simply as Mara'akáme *(mara'akáme* is the Huichol term for shaman or singer). Charismatic shamans may be identified with Tatewarí, as is the leader of the peyote pilgrimage. Probably as many as one-third to one-half of the adult Huichols, particularly the men but also some women, are sufficiently schooled in the sacred traditions to function as low-level shamans who are able to divine, conduct curing rites, and communicate with ancestral deities through chants, prayer arrows, symbolic designs of wool yarn and/or beads and beeswax, decorated gourd bowls, and food and drink offerings. To practice the higher level of shamanic and priestly activity, a person must gain community consensus and prestige and trust sufficient for him or her to have assumed successful leadership of at least five peyote pilgrimages.

SACRED SPACES. Beyond the local *rancho,* ritual centers on the large circular sacred house or temple, *tuki* or *tukípa* in Huichol, with the meaning of Big House. Several of these *tuki* or *tukípa* are found scattered through each of the five *comunidades.* They contain a doorway that faces east, a fireplace that represents Tatewarí, an altar, a hole in the center of the floor and another below the roof (from which subterranean gods, divine ancestors, and celestial spirits may emerge), sacred paraphernalia, prayer offerings, a low bench along the interior wall, and sometimes a squared, hollowed-out log that serves as a foot drum, whose sound is intended to alert subterranean ancestors and supernatural beings and to invite them to participate in the ritual.

Individual ranches have a sanctuary, called *xiriki,* that is constructed like the dwellings of the Huichol; the sanctuary houses carved stone and wood images of supernaturals, personal ceremonial paraphernalia, bows, arrows and deerskin quivers that are used on the peyote pilgrimage, an upright log drum with deerskin head, snares for ceremonial deer hunting, a supply of peyote, clay pots for the ritual maize beer *(nawá)* and so on. The most important occupant of the sanctuary is the *urukáme,* which is a small rock crystal tied in a sacred bundle to the shaft of a hunting-arrow-like prayer arrow and that represents a deceased ancestor, usually a shaman. This miniature medicine bundle functions as supernatural guardian of the ranch community, who gives spiritual and practical counsel to the ranch elder or family shaman.

Numerous shrines associated with one or more deities are located in and around the Huichol territory, most prominent among them the great cave of Teakáta, home of the old earth goddess and other important deities, in the *comunidad* of Santa Catarína. Other shrines as far away as the Pacific coast and Lake Pátzcuaro, south of Guadalajara, also draw Huichol pilgrims with offerings to such local deities as Tatéi Haramára, divine personification of the Pacific Ocean. A whole series of shrines lies along the three-hundred-mile pilgrimage route to Wirikúta, the Huichol name for the sacred homeland of the divine peyote cactus, *Lophophora williamsii, híkuri* in Huichol, just north of the Tropic of Cancer in the high desert of the state of San Luis Potosí.

Peyote was prominent in Aztec religion and divinatory curing, and is still important to several Indian populations of northwestern Mexico. But nowhere does it play so central a role in religious ideology and ritual as among the Huichol. The mythic charter of the Huichol peyote "cult" has a historic ring: in ancient times a group of divine male ancestors, who later become the principal deities, calls on the great *mara'akáme* Tatewarí to cure them of a variety of physical and spiritual afflictions. He diagnoses their ills as having been caused by their separation from Wirikúta, home of the sacred Deer Peyote in the distant north-central high desert, and by their failure to follow the ancestors in hunting and consuming the divine cactus that lives there in the form of deer. He orders them to abstain from sex, salt, food, and drink and leads them on a pilgrimage so lengthy and arduous that some fall by the wayside. Along the way, within sight of the distant sacred mountains of Wirikúta, they are saved from death by thirst by female deities, who meet them with lifegiving offerings of water at a place of desert springs called Tateimatiniéri ("where our mothers dwell"). From there the male and female supernaturals proceed to Wirikúta, where, under the leadership of the great shaman, they track and slay the sacred deer. Peyote sprouts from the deer's antlers and his body transforms into peyote. They grind the antlers with sacred water from the desert springs, and when they drink the mixture they experience visions that restore their health and help them "find their life."

Huichol are enculturated as infants into the sacred geography and meaning of the peyote pilgrimage during an annual first fruits ceremony, in which the family shaman "transforms" the infants into hummingbirds and, to the beat of the deerskin drum and the chanting of the peyote tradition, leads them on a magical flight to Wirikúta and back. The myth becomes reality during the dry season when small groups of Huichol set out for Wirikúta under the leadership either of an experienced *mara'akáme* or one still in training. The pilgrims assume the identities of the ancestral deities who made the first vision quest, their leader becoming Tatewarí, Grandfather Fire. The three-hundred-mile pilgrimage is a journey back in time and space to the Huichol's sacred origins, where ordinary language and time are reversed, sand becomes water, night day, and the oldest man *nunútsi* ("a baby"). For novices, who are blindfolded until they reach the sacred female springs, the pilgrimage serves as symbolic birth and initiation rite into the mysteries of the peyote medicine. Along the way, the pilgrims acknowledge the stopping places of the divine ancestors, and the most solemn and emotion-charged of the rites is reserved for Wirikúta and the first peyote to come into view. As in the myth, peyote is deer; thus, the plant is literally shot with arrows. Each party of pilgrims forms at least a temporary society of *hikuritámete,* that is, a community of veterans of the peyote hunt that disbands at the conclusion of the ritual. In former times the *hikuritámete* may have functioned as a shamanistic medicine society similar to those of North American Indians. Following a solemn communion-like meal of the first peyote, the pilgrims scatter to collect *híkuri* for their own individual vision quests, and large quantities are harvested for future use.

Notwithstanding the emphasis on peyote as *the* divine psychoactive substance, there survive among the Huichol remnants of a former use and veneration of *Solandra,* a class relative of datura. Personified as the supernatural sorcerer Kieri, *Solandra* has its own myth cycle with historical overtones and prayer offerings similar to those given to peyote. So far as is known, however, no actual use of the solonaceous *Solandra* or datura survives among the Huichol, as it does, for example, among the Native American populations of the Southwest.

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PETER T. FURST (1987 AND 2005)

HUINENG (638–713) was a Chan Buddhist teacher, who is best considered in terms of two entirely different persona: historical and legendary.

THE HISTORICAL FIGURE. Very little is known about the historical Huineng. He was included in an early list of the ten most important students of Hongren (601–674), the primary figure of the East Mountain Teaching phase of early Chan. However, the list identifies him as a teacher of merely regional significance, and the only credible detail known about him is that after his death his family home was donated to the *saṃgha* (i.e., the Buddhist monastic community) for use as a temple, which implies a certain degree of wealth and local prominence. Presumably because of Huineng's place of residence in the far south of China, no awareness of his religious teachings was conveyed either to the Buddhist centers of the Yangzi River valley or the two capitals of Luoyang and Chang'an. Nor did Huineng's famous student, Shenhui (684–758), know very much about his own teacher—or at least this great storyteller provides us with no anecdotes about him. Furthermore, Shenhui was apparently unable to provide Wang Wei (699?–759) with even the most basic biographical details for an epitaph that the great poet, literatus, and Buddhist devotee wrote for Huineng in 739 or shortly thereafter.

THE FIGURE OF LEGEND. The legendary account of Huineng portrays him as a penniless and illiterate layman living in Nanhai in the far south (Guangdong province) and supporting his widowed mother by selling firewood. This account derives primarily from the *Platform Sūtra,* the earliest known version of which dates from about 780, almost seven decades after the historical Huineng's death. This text begins with an entertaining and instructive anecdote in which Huineng has a flash of religious insight upon hearing someone recite the *Diamond Sūtra,* after which he travels to Hongren's monastery in the middle Yangzi area (Huangmei, in modern Hubei province). In his first encounter with Hongren, who is depicted as first treating the newly arrived southerner as a bumpkin, Huineng reveals his inner wisdom by pointing out that there was no distinction of north and south in the possession of the buddha-nature, the luminous potential for enlightenment inherent within all sentient beings. In spite of his precociousness, Huineng is sent off to work threshing rice, treatment that may indicate his laborer origins. In the process, however, he becomes one of the temple's lay practitioners (a pre-ordination track in the two-tier system of becoming formally ordained in Tang-dynasty Buddhism).

The story continues to the effect that Hongren, having decided to appoint a successor, instructs his students to write verses expressing their levels of understanding. The only one to do so is the senior student Shenxiu (606?–706), *dharma* instructor to the other students, who with great trepidation writes:

> The body is the *bodhi* tree. The mind is like a bright mirror's stand. At all times we must strive to polish it and must not let dust collect.

In response, the illiterate but inspired layman Huineng dictates the following (only one of several variants is given here):

> *Bodhi* originally has no tree. The mirror also has no stand. The Buddha-nature is always clear and pure. Where is there room for dust? (McRae, 1986, pp. 1–2)

Despite his lack of formal qualifications to become head of the community—illiterate, penniless, of humble family background, and not even an ordained monk—Huineng is appointed "sixth patriarch" by Hongren. The balance of the text is devoted to his explanation of the *dharma,* which is identified as the teaching of "sudden enlightenment." However, the verses and Huineng's sermon, when considered together, actually describe a threefold structure consisting of: (1) the constant teaching of *bodhisattva* practice (in the verse attributed to Shenxiu); (2) the deconstruction of the terms of that teaching through the doctrine of *śūnyatā,* or emptiness (in the verse attributed to Huineng); and (3) a restatement of Chan practice in highly metaphoric terms, culminating in bestowal of the "formless precepts" (in Huineng's sermon that follows).

Although the *Platform Sūtra* follows Shenhui in accepting Huineng as Hongren's sole successor, it effectively writes Shenhui out of the story, saying nothing of his famous campaign and belittling him as a foolish young monk. The *Platform Sūtra* account is demonstrably ahistorical, for Shenxiu studied with Hongren in the 650s, not toward the end of the master's life. In addition, the clever drama by which Hongren selects a single successor could only have made sense after Shenhui's vigorous campaign to have Huineng recognized as the "sixth patriarch" of Chan, which stipulated for the first time that the transmission had to be strictly unilinear.

In spite of the fictive quality of the *Platform Sūtra,* the text had inestimable value as a religious scripture throughout East Asia, based on its inspired depiction of Huineng as an unlettered sage. The legendary persona of Huineng had an everyman quality to it, implying that book learning or even difficult religious training was not necessarily required for spiritual enlightenment, only the innate capacity to understand the ultimate truth. At the same time, this seemingly liberal message had a conservative underside: by showing that the Chan school would go so far as recognizing someone who was so lacking in formal qualifications, the text also implied the converse, that anyone the Chan school installed as abbot (i.e., the patriarch of a given monastic community) was therefore an enlightened individual, no matter what role social privilege or other factors might have played in his selection.

The *Platform Sūtra* is a masterful synthesis of ideas from various early Chan sources. For example, in the text Huineng famously redefines "seated meditation" so that "seated" actually means "not to activate thoughts," while "meditation" means to see the buddha-nature within oneself. This style of radical redefinition is associated with both the Northern and Oxhead schools; indeed, a member of the latter faction may have edited the earliest known version of the text. The threefold structure described above also seems to be characteristic of Oxhead Chan. Substantial material was added to the scripture over the years, so that the standard editions used from the thirteenth century onward are well over twice the length of the original.

In addition to the fame accorded him through Shenhui's campaign and his depiction in the *Platform Sūtra,* the legendary Huineng is also recognized as the teacher of two figures from whom all later Chan lineages are said to derive. (There is no reliable biographical evidence that these or any of the other supposed students of Huineng's actually studied with the historical figure.) These are Nanyue Huairang (677–744) and Qingyuan Xingshi (d. 740), who are known only through their identities as the teachers of Mazu Daoyi (709–788) and Shitou Xiqian (710–790), from whom derive the later Linji and Caodong lineages (Japanese, Rinzai, and Sōtō).

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PHILIP YAMPOLSKY (1987)
JOHN R. MCRAE (2005)

HUI-NENG SEE HUINENG

HUITZILOPOCHTLI ("hummingbird of the south") was the most powerful god in Aztec religion. The tribal god of the wandering Méxica, he became the patron deity of the Aztec ceremonial capital, Tenochtitlán (1325–1521). Primary sources depict the dual nature of the god, including a human aspect as left-handed warrior hero and a divine aspect as the solar god who kills the powers of the night. Both aspects express a single fact about Huitzilopochtli: He was a terrible, overwhelming warrior who completely dominated his enemies.

At the time of the Spanish conquest in 1521, Huitzilopochtli's shrine was situated, along with that of the rain god Tlaloc, on top of the largest pyramid in the Aztec empire, the Templo Mayor (Great Temple) of Tenochtitlán. His spectacular religious development from a tribal god to the principal god of the imperial capital is reflected in two mythical episodes that were ritually celebrated by the Aztec. The first, telling of the founding of the city, appears in the *Historia de la nación mexicana* and in the Codex Boturini, which recount how Huitzilopochtli led the Méxica from Chicomoztoc ("place of the seven caves") into the Valley of Mexico. In a second episode, Huitzilopochtli appears in the form of a giant eagle landing on a blooming cactus growing from a rock in the center of Lake Tezcoco in 1325 CE, the date of the founding of the Aztec capital. This event, pictured in the Codex Mendoza, is marked by the construction of a shrine to Huitzilopochtli and the division of the community into five parts.

This shrine (which became the Templo Mayor of Tenochtitlán) and much of the ritual activity associated with it were modeled after the myth of Huitzilopochtli's birth recorded in book 3 of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún's *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España* (1569–1582; also known as the Florentine Codex). The *teotuicatl* ("divine song") of the god's birth depicts a society of the gods preparing for war at the cosmic mountain, Coatepec ("serpent mountain"), where the mother of the gods, Coatlicue, has been mysteriously impregnated by a ball of feathers. Her four hundred children, enraged at her pregnancy, launch an attack. At the critical moment, Coatlicue gives birth to Huitzilopochtli, fully grown and dressed for war. He takes his *xiuhcoatl* ("serpent of lightning") and slaughters the attacking siblings. This episode has been variously interpreted by scholars as depicting a historical event or an astral encounter of the sun conquering the moon and stars.

Huitzilopochtli's supreme power was lavishly celebrated at the festival of Panquetzalitzli ("raising of banners"), which involved special human sacrifices following an opening ritual called Ipaina Huitzilopochtli ("the swiftness of Huitzilopochtli"). In the latter ritual, according to Fray Diego Durán in *Los dioses y ritos* and *El calendario* (c. 1581), a swift runner carried a dough image of the god through the streets of the capital, pursued by a multitude of "travelers" who never managed to catch him. This signified that Huitzilopochtli was never captured in war, but was always triumphant over his enemies.

Historically, following the formation of the Aztec state with the successful revolution against the empire of Azcapotzalco in 1428, the cult of Huitzilopochtli came to include massive human sacrifices of captured warriors, women, and children, which, the Aztec believed, contributed to the integration of the Aztec state, cosmic order, and Huitzilopochtli's dominance.

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HUIYUAN (334–416), more fully Shi Huiyuan or Lüshan Huiyuan, Chinese Buddhist monk. Born to a literati family named Jia in Yanmen (Shanxi province), Huiyuan went to Henan at the age of thirteen to study both the Confucian classics and the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi.* When he was twenty he met the eminent Buddhist monk Dao'an (312–385), whose personality and explanation of the philosophy of the "perfection of wisdom" (Skt., *prajñāpāramitā*) impressed him so much that he embraced Buddhism and became his disciple. He remained with Dao'an for twenty-four years, residing mostly at Xiangyang. In 378 the invading Qin army forced master and disciple to separate. Huiyuan went south and eventually settled on Mount Lü in Jiangxi, where one of his colleagues from his days in Xiangyang, Huiyong, interceded on his behalf to have the Donglin Monastery built for him around 384. He remained there until his death thirty years later.

The Donglin Monastery soon became the most famous center of Buddhism in southern China and continued to be so for several centuries after Huiyuan's death. Much of this prestige derived from the high esteem in which Huiyuan was held by the courts of the Eastern Jin dynasty in the South and the Yao Qin dynasty in the North, and by local rulers, who regarded him as the bulwark and paragon of Buddhist virtue. Huiyuan was active as a scholar and proponent of Buddhism, improving its status in China by increasing the number of texts available in translation and by defending the religion against its opponents. He sent certain of his disciples west to gather scriptures, of which over two hundred were eventually translated. He was also involved in the activities of many translators, three of whom represented three important tendencies in Buddhism: Saṃghadeva (Abhidharma texts), Buddhabhadra (*dhyāna* texts), and Kumārajīva (Mādhyamika texts). In 404, in response to the anti-Buddhist policies of Huan Xuan, the usurper of the Eastern Jin, Huiyuan elaborated his position on church-state relations in his influential *The Śramaṇa Does Not Pay Homage to the Ruler.* Here he argued that of the two groups in Buddhism, the laity and the clergy, the former is subject to temporal authority but not the latter, since its members had abandoned society for nonworldly ends.

Huiyuan also enjoyed enormous popularity among the gentry of South China, for it was to this group that he primarily directed his literary efforts. Some thirty of his works, in the form of letters, essays, prefaces, eulogies, or inscriptions, are extant. Unlike Dao'an, who primarily wrote commentaries for the Buddhist clergy, Huiyuan addressed issues that most concerned the gentry: rebirth, the immortality of the soul, the doctrine of *karman,* and the nature of the *dharmakāya.* His previous classical training made him successful in explaining these concepts in terms of the philosophical outlook of the Chinese elite, which at the time was dominated by *xuanxue* ("dark learning") speculations into the underlying source (*ben*) of phenomena. That he never once quoted a Buddhist sūtra by name but made numerous allusions to the Confucian classics attests to his fervent desire to bring Buddhism into the mainstream of Chinese spiritual and intellectual life. Modern scholars have identified certain areas in which Huiyuan's understanding of important Buddhist concepts deviates from that of the Indian texts. They have attributed this both to his concern to present Buddhist notions in a form comprehensible to the Chinese, as in his postulation of a cosmic soul (*shen*) as a means of explaining the process of rebirth, or to his frank inability in some instances to master the subtleties of Buddhist doctrine. This is particularly evident in his treatment of the Mādhyamika concepts introduced into China by Kumārajīva. Huiyuan's correspondence with this, perhaps the greatest of all Buddhist translators, is one of our richest sources of information on the development of Buddhist thought in fifth-century China.

Among Huiyuan's many accomplishments, his devotional group probably had the most enduring influence on Chinese Buddhism. In 402 Huiyuan and 123 lay and clerical disciples gathered before an image of the Buddha Amitābha and made a collective vow to be reborn together in his Pure Land. Huiyuan's devotional group served as a model for the lay-based Buddhist societies of the mid-Tang and Song periods, the most well known of which is the White Lotus Society of the early twelfth century. This group claimed to take its name from that of Huiyuan's confraternity; modern scholarship, however, has shown the name to be of later origin. The deliberate evocation of Huiyuan's legacy some eight hundred years after his death, however, attests vividly to his enduring prestige in the Chinese Buddhist community. His influence continues to be acknowledged by the Pure Land traditions of both China and Japan, which have traditionally regarded Huiyuan as their founder and first patriarch.

SEE ALSO Dao'an; Jingtu; Kumārajīva; Millenarianism, article on Chinese Millenarian Movements.

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HUJWĪRĪ, AL- (d. AH 469?/1076? CE), more fully ʿAlī ibn ʿUthmān ibn ʿAlī al-Jullābī al-Ghaznawī al-Hujwīrī, was the author of *Kashf al-maḥjūb* (The unveiling of the secrets), a very early textbook of Sufism in the Persian language. Almost all the facts of al-Hujwīrī's life that can be trusted come from what he says about himself and his contemporaries in the *Kashf al-maḥjūb.* His name relates that he was a native of Ghaznīn; Jullāb and Hujwīr were apparently quarters of that town. From the descriptions of his contemporaries, it is clear that he was born around the beginning of the eleventh century. He studied Sufism with Abū al-Faẓl Muḥammad Khuṭṭalī and read some other sciences with Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Ashqānī. Al-Hujwīrī traveled widely through Central Asia, Afghanistan, Iran, Azerbaijan, Iraq, and Syria as a dervish, staying in Ṣūfī hospices (*khānqāhs*) and apparently subsisting on alms. For the first eleven years that he was a mystic, he says, he had been preserved from marriage; but then either a marriage or a love affair (for the words are not clear) created a dangerous diversion, although he was able to escape after one year. By the time he wrote the *Kashf al-maḥjūb* he had already composed as many as nine works, all of which, except for a collection of verses (*dīwān*), were devoted to mysticism and ethics. Of these none has survived.

Contrary to later tradition, al-Hujwīrī does not seem to have had a single spiritual guide (pir), and certainly his visit to Lahore, to judge from his own words, was not at this unnamed pir's orders. He says that he was separated from his books in Ghaznīn and forced to be (*giriftār*) among strangers (*nājinsān*) in Lahore. The use of the past tense suggests that he was no longer in Lahore when he was writing the *Kashf al-maḥjūb,* and from a passage on contemporary saints it would seem that he was then in Ghaznīn. His tomb in Lahore is, therefore, not likely to be genuine. The traditional year of his death (AH 465) inscribed on this tomb is probably not far wrong, however, though Nicholson believes that he might have died within the next four years.

Al-Hujwīrī's *Kashf al-maḥjūb* became a classic text for later Persian and Indian Sufism, partly because of its comprehensive nature, partly because of its moderation, and partly because of its eclecticism. Al-Hujwīrī wrote when many of the later elements of Sufism—the erotic concept of relationship with God, the total submission to the pir (leading to the "chain" of teachers, or *silsilah*), and the doctrine of pantheism—were either subdued or held only in secret. These are, therefore, not prominent in the text, though, as in the section on Manṣur al-Ḥallāj, al-Hujwīrī shows himself capable of both rejecting and tolerating pantheism; elsewhere he attempts a distinction between *maḥabbah* and *ʿishq* to grapple with the tendency toward eroticism. The separate Ṣūfī discipline, of which the pir was later to become the kingpin, is boldly elaborated: The life of poverty, acceptance of alms, the patched garment, the practice of verse recitation (*samāʿ*), even the trend toward celibacy, are all expounded, though always with a willingness to state or even tolerate contrary opinions. In his treatment of the *ḥājj,* he expresses the same curious reserve toward the actual performance of that ritual as is found in subsequent Ṣūfī tradition.

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HUMAN BODY

This entry consists of the following articles:

MYTHS AND SYMBOLISM
HUMAN BODIES, RELIGION, AND GENDER
HUMAN BODIES, RELIGION, AND ART

HUMAN BODY: MYTHS AND SYMBOLISM

One of the great intellectual and spiritual problems throughout human history has been posed by the fact that certain material substances, which are now termed "organic," possess life, while other matter does not. The observation that some things eat, drink, grow, and reproduce for a finite period of time, then cease to do so, prompts fundamental inquiries into the nature of life and death, time and change, meaning and meaninglessness, and also gives rise to speculation about the nature of living substances—specifically as to what it is that sets them apart from those that are dead and inert. Such speculations, until the very recent past, were hardly confined to technical issues of biochemistry and biophysics. Rather, physiology entailed the study of life, humanity, and the universe; as such, it had always a profoundly religious dimension.

Although there have been countless different systems of religio-physiological speculation that enjoyed currency at one time and place or another, two general patterns are particularly well attested and noteworthy for the pointed way in which they frame the problematic of organic matter. These are the dualism of body and soul (which radically differentiates the life principle from all else) and the homologization of microcosm and macrocosm (which systematically correlates the body with the world outside).

With regard to the first, dualistic physiology posits a radical distinction between base matter and some nonmaterial life principle which inheres only within certain material aggregates for a period of finite duration. The entry of this life principle—be it defined as soul, spirit, breath, warmth, or the like—vivifies and energizes the matter in which it resides; when it departs, death is the result. Such a dualism is implicit in the familiar account of the creation of the first human being in *Genesis* 2:7, where the body is carefully differentiated from the life principle, with only the latter deriving directly from Yahveh himself: "Then the Lord God formed man of dust from the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living being."

Such a dualism inevitably connotes a devaluation of the body in relation to the life principle. To a certain extent, the two are contrasted to one another so that soul is to body as sacred is to profane. The logic of this analogy, however, demands a mythology, cosmology, and metaphysics that attempt to resolve the questions of how and why a divine, immaterial life principle can reside within a profane material body, and what the ultimate fate of this life principle may be. *Genesis* posits an earthly origin for the body of the first man (whose very name, *Adam,* "clay," underscores this fact) and a divine origin for his life principle, breathed into him by a benevolent creator. The analysis of death in Hebrew scripture follows as a corollary to this, for the body is returned to the dust from which it came, while the life force is breathed back to God with the final (literal) expiration (*Eccl.* 12:7, *Ps.* 104:29).

A more emphatically dualistic understanding of the human condition, supported by a much more elaborate mythology and cosmology, is to be found in the Manichaean system. Although the details differ somewhat from one textual source to another, the basic outlines of Mani's views are reasonably consistent throughout. Within Mani's universe, two realms initially stood separate from one another, these being characterized sometimes as the realms of light and darkness, good and evil, God and matter, or the truth and the lie. From the realm of light, it is told there ventured forth a being, a son of God, known as Primeval Man, Ohrmazd, and by other names. This figure took with him his own five sons, who were the beneficent elements of air, wind, light, water, and fire (but note the absence of earth!), and he attached these elements to his body in order that they might serve as armor to protect him. His expedition, however, ended in defeat, and as a result particles of light came to be intermixed with dark, gross, earthly matter. As one Manichaean hymn describes it:

> Angry became Āz ["Desire"],
> that evil mother of all demons,
> and she made a heavy disturbance
> for the sake of helping herself.
> And of the dirt of the demons
> and of the filth of the she-demons
> she made this body,
> and she herself entered it.
> Then from the five Elements of Light,
> the armor of Lord Ohrmazd,
> she formed the good soul
> and fettered it into the body.
> She made it like one blind and deaf,
> unconscious and deceived,
> that he at first might not know
> his true origin and family.
> She created the body and prison,
> and fettered the grieved soul. (trans. Jes P. Asmussen)

The problem that then faced Manichaeans was how to regain knowledge of the origin and true nature of the light within them, how to separate it from the disgusting bodily matter with which it was now commingled, and how to return it—along with as many other light particles as possible—to the celestial realm of light. In pursuit of salvation, the Manichaean elect were called upon to purify themselves through meditation, sexual abstinence, withdrawal from normal labor, and a fascinating set of dietary practices. Above all, their prescribed diet emphasized items that were extremely light in color, such as melons and cucumbers, for these were considered to have within them many particles of light. Proper ingestion was thus understood to be the absorption of light, while defecation was the voiding of dark matter. Over time the elect was expected to modify the mixture of darkness and light within his body in favor of the latter, in preparation for the ascent of this concentrated light to its primordial, heavenly home. Bodily processes thus, ironically, became the mechanism for salvation from the bodily prison. Turning to the second general pattern of religio-physiological speculation, one may take as an example of the homologization of microcosm and macrocosm the general Indo-European system of creation mythology. This system rests upon two elegantly symmetrical myths: a cosmogony, in which is described the creation of the universe from the body of the first man; and an anthropogony, describing the creation of the first man out of parts of the universe. Germanic sources offer excellent examples of both. Consider, for instance, this cosmogonic account:

> From Ymir's flesh the earth was made
> and from his sweat, the sea;
>
> Mountains from his bones, trees from his hair,
> and heaven from his skull.
>
> From his brows built the gentle gods
> Midgard for the sons of men;
>
> And from his brain shaped they all the clouds,
> Which were hard in mood. (Grímnismál 40–41)

Although the following anthropogonic account exhibits a superficial Christianization, having been written in the fifteenth century CE, the bulk of its contents derive from the pre-Christian tradition, as is seen from the way it preserves the same pattern as the pagan cosmogony cited above:

> God made the first man—that was Adam—from eight transformations: his bone from stone, his flesh from earth, his blood from water, his heart from wind, his thoughts from clouds, his sweat from dew, the locks of his hair from grass, and his eyes from the sun. (Code of Emsig)

What is established in texts such as these—Indic, Iranian, Baltic, Slavic, Greek, Roman, and Celtic parallels could also be adduced—is the fundamental consubstantiality of the human body and the universe. The intent of these myths is to demonstrate in convincing detail that the cosmos is composed of the very same matter as is the body, and vice versa, the only difference between the two being one of scale. Flesh, for instance, is only the small-scale version of soil, and stone the large-scale version of bones, the two latter being the dense hard matter located within earth and flesh, respectively. A less obvious homology is that between brain and clouds, which seems to rest upon three perceived similarities: location in the upper regions of the body or world, crenellated shape, and quasi insubstantiality (although this last is more appropriate to thoughts than to the brain itself).

Like flesh and earth or bones and stones, brain and clouds were understood to be alloforms—alternative incarnations—of one another. In all, nine sets of alloformic homologies, beyond the general one of body/universe, may be confidently reconstructed for the Indo-European system: flesh/earth, bone/stone, hair/grass, blood/water, eyes/sun, mind/moon, brain/cloud, skull/rim of heaven, and breath/wind. These detailed homologies gave concrete expression to a sweeping religious vision in which the unity of humanity and the cosmos, of matter and spirit were resoundingly affirmed; they also provided the basic building blocks for a variety of ritual actions.

Among these rituals, one of the most important was sacrifice. This was no mere gift exchange but a ceremony in which the very cosmos was sustained as matter drawn from the bodily parts of the victim was transformed into its macrocosmic alloform, replenishing and renewing thereby the universe, in repetition of the cosmogony: bones became stones, flesh became earth, and so on. Healing rituals were also based upon knowledge of the homologic relation between body and cosmos. Broken bones might thus be knit by the introduction of matter drawn from stones, flesh injuries healed by application of earth, and loss of hair reversed by rubbing plants into the scalp—as is attested in an Indic charm, in which the priest addresses first the plant to be used and then the patient:

> You are a goddess, born upon the divine earth, O Plant!
> We dig you now, you who stretch downward, in order to make the hairs firm.
>
> Make the old ones firm; cause to be born those which are
> still unborn, and make those which have been born grow longer.
>
> That hair of yours which falls out, and that which is
> cut off with its roots still attached—
>
> This now I sprinkle with the all-healing herb!
> (*Atharvaveda* 6.136)

The posited efficacy of this cure rests on the alloformic relation of hair and plants. Plants were taken to be nothing other than an alternative form for the same matter also present in hair, and the knowledgeable priest could ritually transform this matter back into hair when the need arose. Traces of this ideology and ritual persist today in the enduring popularity of herbal shampoos, conditioners, and hair tonics.

The same physiological views that gave rise to such cures for baldness inform more serious questions of life and death, for at death, bodily matter was taken to be transformed into its macrocosmic counterparts, again in repetition of cosmogonic events. Witness this Middle Persian text:

> There are five collectors, receptacles of the corporeal substance of those who have died. One is the earth, which is the keeper of flesh and bone and sinew. The second is water, which is the keeper of blood. The third is the plants, preservers of bodily hair and the hair of the head. The fourth is light, the recipient of fire. Last is the wind, which is the life-breath of creatures at the time of the Renovation. (*Zadspram* 34.3–7)

The Renovation (Frashokereti) referred to in the last line of this passage is the eschaton, the moment of world renewal and final purification. The reference is a pointed one, for among the culminating events of this end time is the resurrection (Pahl., *ristāxēz*) of the dead, a process that reverses that of death, taking matter from its macrocosmic incarnation and restoring it to bodily existence; this is spelled out in another Middle Persian source, which states that in order to accomplish the resurrection "Ohrmazd [the Wise Lord] summons bone from the earth, blood from the water, hair from the plants, and life-breath from the wind" (*Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying Dādistān i dīnīg* 48.55).

If death repeats the cosmogony of this system, it is also apparent that resurrection repeats the anthropogony. Bodily incarnation is but one phase of an eternal existence, in which the same material substance moves from body to cosmos to body to cosmos ad infinitum, death and (re)birth being but moments of transition. Knowledge of the body thus amounts to knowledge of the universe, from which it is inseparable and of which it is the counterpart. Moreover, reverence for one amounts to reverence for the other.

In presenting these two systems—body-soul dualism and homology of microcosm and macrocosm—we have focused on attitudes toward and analyses of the origin, nature, and destiny of the body: on the material body as a topic for speculation. But one must also consider the body as a metaphor and a means of communication, for in addition to its being a topic for thought, the body is also a medium for expression. Highly visible to others, the body is something social as well as material, something that does not simply exist but acts and speaks as well. Displayed, viewed, commented upon, criticized, and interpreted, bodies provide powerful vehicles for the discussion of cultural norms and values.

Among the Navajo of the American Southwest, for example, central cultural values are elegantly summarized within the multiple usages of the term *hózhǫ́,* the semantic range of which spans social norms and etiquette, health and healing, ethics, religion, and aesthetics. Usually translated "beauty," *hózhǫ́* denotes something considerably broader than its English equivalent, referring specifically to a state of order, harmony, dynamic balance, and well-being—in short, all that is desirable and makes life pleasant, stable, interesting, and worthwhile. Yet the translation "beauty" is more a condensation than an oversimplification, for it is possession of these qualities that, according to the Navajo, makes and marks anything as beautiful.

Given such a view, physical beauty is quite naturally highly valued, for it is understood to be the visible form produced by an inner state, specifically by that inner state that makes a person cooperative, dependable, productive, and beneficial to others. Moreover, such beauty is contagious, and can be transmitted from one person to another. That is to say, one who is at peace with himself/herself, possessing a balanced, well-ordered (*hózhǫ́*) mental and emotional state, communicates this to others, leading them to relax and enjoy the same well-being, which they may then transmit to still others. That physical beauty may also be transmitted follows as a natural corollary of this line of thought, and a regular feature of a Navajo woman's initiation ritual is the "molding" of the initiand by an older woman who is recognized as beautiful in the fullest sense of the word. By the pressure of her body—applied in strenuous massages—and by the force of her personality, this woman is expected to shape the body and life of the young woman so that she too will enjoy and exhibit *hózhǫ́.*

Costume and adornment may also carry *hózhǫ́* and transmit it, as is most clearly stated regarding silver jewelry. These objects will be beautiful only if they have been made by artisans who are in a state of *hózhǫ́,* the visible beauty of the objects being the result and expression of their makers' inner beauty. Worn proudly, they communicate balance, rhythm, energy, order, and stability to those who wear them and to any who behold them, transforming their lives and making them more beautiful in the process.

Body decoration is also an important means for communicating cultural values and transforming life experience throughout New Guinea, as is evident, for instance, in the Mount Hagen area, where such practices have been intensively studied by Andrew and Marilyn Strathern (1971). For all important public occasions, Mount Hageners decorate their faces with brilliant painted patterns, and their bodies with oils, shells, plumes, furs, wigs, and fancy aprons. Most of these items are obtained through trade or loan, and involve the wearer in a complex system of socioeconomic bonds, the successful maintenance of which is indispensable in putting together an impressive costume. Moreover, the wearing of such a costume is a public display of one's success in establishing and maintaining the friendship, kinship, marital, and trading relations necessary for costuming and for life. Nor is body decoration merely the proud display of past success in these relations; it is also a means to ensure future success, especially in marriage and trade, for an effective costume is understood to be one that is attractive—that literally attracts future wives and trading partners to the wearer.

It should be stressed that among Mount Hageners, body decoration is not an individualistic display born of personal ambition or vanity. Rather, it is something undertaken by a corporate group, most often a clan, who paint their faces and arrange their ornaments for a given occasion in accordance with a prearranged pattern set by a "Big Man." Within the clan, members compete to produce the finest costume while adhering to the common pattern, but they also compete as a group against other clans for the prestige of having the finest decorations. Success in such competition can come only when the clan has the support of its ancestral spirits, and such support is ensured by two methods. First, sacrifices to the ancestors are offered prior to any occasion of public display, thereby cementing good relations between the living and the dead. Second, good relations among clansmen must also be maintained, for the ancestors are outraged by moral failings and friction within the clan group, and will withhold their support should these be present.

In the Mount Hagen area, then, not only is it true that body decoration is a means for announcing and commenting upon social values, but the set of rituals and beliefs associated with body decoration serves as a buttress for those values. As the Stratherns cogently argue:

> The two central values are clan solidarity and prestige, and individual wealth and well-being. This suggests why it is so appropriate that Hageners decorate *themselves* for it is men and women as persons who remain the points of reference of these values. This is not to deny that the value of group solidarity could be expressed in many other ways, for example by cult buildings or statues. But decorations and dancing provide an excellent mechanism for demonstrating both of the two values together. Moreover, the values are to some extent complementary rather than opposed. . . . Hageners hold, in fact, that in this context the prestige of the clan coincides with that of its members. It is themselves that they decorate, for it is through men's personal achievements that renown is brought to them and their clan alike. (Strathern and Strathern, 1971, pp. 172–173)

The Navajo and Mount Hagen examples and others like them are particularly important for showing the rich and varied ways in which the body may be used to articulate and activate complex systems of thought and values. At a more general—and thus, of necessity, more superficial—level, certain recurrent patterns of symbolic discourse centered on the body have been identified and analyzed, Raymond Firth, for instance, has singled out four general styles of body symbolism, which may be termed the gestural, the membral, the reliquary, and the corporate, although Firth himself does not make use of these (or any other) specific identifying terms.

Gestural symbolism, for its part, involves the use of an individual actor's body in a deliberately chosen stance or motion to express an attitude or idea, as, for instance, when one kneels in prayer or submission as a means of acknowledging the superior power and stature of some other being, while simultaneously showing one's humility in the face of that being. In contrast, membral symbolism is utilized more in speech acts than in bodily action, for it employs reference to a specific bodily part in order to make statements about abstract personal qualities, as in the common metaphors "big-hearted" (generous) or "silver-tongued" (eloquent). Reliquary symbolism is related to both gestural and membral symbolism in certain ways. Like the latter, it makes use of bodily parts rather than bodily wholes, but like the former, it employs a real body rather than an imagined or metaphorical one. In specific, in reliquary symbolism a piece of the body of some revered figure—a saint, prophet, ancestor, or lover, to cite a few possibilities—becomes the focal object for one's emotional attachment, as with a lock of hair worn around the neck or a saint's enshrined remains.

Most interesting and important, however, is the corporate pattern, in which the entire human body is presented as a model or replica of the social "body," with detailed resemblances between the constituent units of society and the bodily members. Political leaders or others in positions of primacy may thus be described as the "head," "heart," or "backbone" of society, as a means to describe the ways in which they direct, vivify, or support the social grouping. More unusual is the way in which a Roman legend, the so-called Apologue of Menenius Agrippa, employs corporate imagery. The story, as told by Livy and others, is that at a certain moment in Roman history, the lower classes of society (the plebes) withdrew from the city of Rome, outraged at their exploitation by the ruling Patrician class. Unwilling to confront them militarily—for victory or defeat would be equally disastrous—the Patricians sent an ambassador, one Menenius Agrippa, who recounted the following parable to the rebellious orders:

> There was a time when man's bodily parts did not agree in unity, as they do now, but individual limbs had their own opinions and their own powers of speech. Then, the other parts were outraged at having to work for the belly, while the belly rested idly, savoring their delicious gifts. So they plotted that the hands would not take food to the mouth, the mouth wouldn't swallow, and the teeth wouldn't chew. As a result, they starved the belly and all of them wasted away together. It thereby became apparent that the belly is no idler, but just as others feed it, it feeds the rest of the body. (Livy, 2.32.9–11)

Debate here centers on whether the upper classes are parasitic or not, an issue discussed through body symbolism; the parable asks how the belly shall be understood, but it is evident from the frame-story that the real issue is how society will be ordered.

Often, corporate symbolism is used to charter and legitimate social stratification, as in the celebrated Vedic creation hymn, *Ṛgveda* 10.90 (see especially verses 11–12), in which priests are said to have been created from the first man's mouth, warriors and kings from his arms, the class of food producers and merchants from his thighs, and the servant class from his feet. Similar systems are found in Slavic and Greek texts (the *Poem on the Dove King* and Plato's *Timaeus* 69d–70a and *Republic* 431a–d), although certain details differ. In all cases, however, the position of the dominant social class—numerically smallest but greatest in power and prestige—is justified by comparison to a bodily part (usually the head, sometimes an organ within the head, like the mouth or brain) that is smaller than other bodily parts, representing other social classes, but is placed vertically above them and enjoys some measure of executive control over them. Through this use of corporate imagery, the social order is represented as if it were a natural, thus inviolable, order.

On the horizontal plane, as on the vertical, corporate imagery is also regularly used to represent and reinforce social hierarchies. The polarity of right and left (dextrous and sinister) is here a dominant symbol, by use of which subordination of women to men or of radicals to reactionaries, to cite but two examples, may conveniently be coded. The power of such imagery derives in large measure from the numerous polarities to which right and left are consistently associated, among them light/dark, even/odd, hand used in eating/hand used after defecation, culture/nature, purity/pollution, and sacred/profane.

The distinction between what is inside the body and what is outside is also crucial for countless systems of corporate symbolism that stress the difference between what is self and what is alien, what is contained and what is not, what ordered and what chaotic. Reflections on bodily images of inside and outside, moreover, give rise to the extremely thorny problematic of mediation, for there are certain places—the bodily orifices—where inside and outside meet, and certain substances—food and bodily products of all sorts (urine, feces, tears, sexual fluids, saliva, mucus, pus)—which pass from outside to inside or vice versa. Attitudes toward, and proscribed behaviors (taboos) regarding, these interstitial places and products may thus serve as a means for expressing and working out attitudes toward other borders—social, political, ethnic, taxonomic, or broadly cognitive—as has been forcefully argued by Mary Douglas (1966).

It would be a relatively simple matter to multiply examples almost endlessly for these and other patterns of body symbolism and speculation upon the nature of the body, so widespread have they been. Any thorough study of the religious significance of the body ought to include discussions of systems of physical discipline and the overcoming of fleshly existence, as found in Yoga, among the Jains, and within branches of Christian monasticism; attempts at the winning of bodily immortality as in Daoist and Western alchemy; and systems of bodily ornamentation and expression such as tattooing, scarification, dance, and masquerade. It is important to bear in mind that rich examples may as easily be drawn from one's own culture as from exotic realms, a point delightfully made in Horace Miner's classic essay "Body Ritual among the Nacirema" (1956), in which he describes the cultic significance of such Nacirema (*American* spelled backward) customs as the brushing of teeth and the use of deodorants. Nor is Miner's point mere satire; the rituals and ideology of European and American bodybuilders, dancers, dieters, joggers, healthcare professionals, and fashion designers might well stand comparison to those of the Manichaeans, Navajo, or Mount Hageners.

SEE ALSO Bodily Marks; Clothing; Eye; Feet; Hair; Hands; Head; Heart; Knees; Nudity; Phallus and Vagina; Postures and Gestures; Relics; Soul; Yoni.

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HUMAN BODY: HUMAN BODIES, RELIGION, AND GENDER

Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) famously described human beings as sick animals, caught between the apparent transcendence of rationality and the immanent reality of being physical creatures that need food to survive, that defecate, that reproduce through sexual intercourse, and who will die. While one need not accept all Freud's claims, this distinction between two different types of human experience provides a useful starting point for exploring the historical development of ideas concerning the relationship between the human body, religion, and gender. While Freud is at pains to accept the significance of the body (and particularly sexuality) for human self-understanding, in effect questioning the extent to which rationality can be understood as the defining feature of human being, other interpretations of these different experiences have tended to undervalue or belittle physicality. Religious theorizing has made a consistent separation between the intellect and the body, the spiritual and the physical. This distinction is particularly notable in the Western tradition, although by no means exclusive to it. Here, the religious division of existence into that which is "sacred" and that which is "profane" is underpinned by an equally persistent philosophical theory of the human person as consisting of two unequal properties. For Plato (c. 428–347 BCE), the true self is equated with the soul (see *Phaedo*), an idea that is built upon by René Descartes (1596–1650) in his division of the human subject into a mind whose existence can be proved, and a body whose existence is subject to doubt (see *The Second Meditation*).

THE BODY IN CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS OF PERSONHOOD. Twentieth-century developments in the philosophy of mind, most notably in the work of Gilbert Ryle (1900–1976) and Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889–1951), challenged this dualistic understanding of the human person that distinguishes "mind" from body and values the former at the expense of the latter. Significantly, feminists have added to this analysis by exposing the unspoken gender assumptions that lie beneath the dualistic construction of the human person. Historically, the visually obvious role that the female plays in reproduction has led to her consistent identification with the body and the processes of nature. At the same time, the male has been equated with the mind and rationality, and spirituality has been defined in terms of those elements that transcend the natural world. In such a context, it is perhaps not surprising that the desire to impose order upon nature, or perhaps to evade nature entirely, has disproportionately affected women, as control of the female can easily be conflated with control of nature itself. And just as the attributes associated with the male have been equated with the spiritual realm, so it can be argued that the concept of the divine has been created in the image of those masculine values conceived as distinguishable from the potentially chaotic forces of the natural world.

Recent philosophical and theological theorists have begun seeking a return to the body, taking seriously human physicality and refusing to see the body as a disposable container for the human soul. In such a context, issues such as gender and race are revealed as significant indicators for the way in which human beings have understood their placing in the world. At the same time as attention is being directed towards the body, postmodern theorists have challenged any attempt to understand the body in a straightforwardly "natural" or obvious way. The body, like every other aspect of human life and society, is subject to "infinitely variable social constructions" (Coakley, 1997, p. 3). One cannot separate "the body" from its cultural representation.

An analysis of the history of religion in this context is particularly significant, for in the guise of addressing the issues that arise from being a physical being, particular and exacting disciplines have been imposed upon what has been taken to be a potentially unruly and dangerous site of experience. Michel Foucault (1926–1984) has argued that the sexual character of the body has itself been shaped by political intervention. More often than not, women have been associated primarily with the physical, and as such the female body has been disproportionately affected by the attempts of the religious to control the body.

THE FEMALE BODY IN RELIGIOUS WRITINGS. According to Émile Durkheim (1858–1917), religion is best understood in terms of its social function. Religious practices and beliefs function as part of the attempt made by human beings to impose order upon the apparently chaotic world of nature. The body is not exempt from this attempt to distinguish what is pure, ordered, and thus holy from what is dirty, disordered, and impure. As the anthropologist Mary Douglas points out, ideas of holiness and social order are closely related to the symbol of the body. The body stands as a symbol for society, and "its boundaries can represent any boundaries which are threatened or precarious" (Douglas, 2000, p. 142). In seeking to impose order on their surroundings, human beings render as problematic that which defies order, and this is particularly true of the human body that stands as a microcosm for the world. The discharges of the body, immune to any attempt at ordering, are thus seen as potentially defiling, and in need of careful control (Douglas, 2000, p. 64).

While male and female bodies are both subject to various forms of discharge and excreta, the female body has been associated most intimately with the perceived dangers of discharges (notably menstruation) and has been subjected to all forms of religious stricture and control. Indeed, it can be argued that a pessimistic attitude to the body as a means of achieving spiritual fulfillment leads irrevocably to misogyny. For example, the Hindu *Laws of Manu* (6.76–7) states that the body is "foul-smelling" and "filled with urine and excrement," and this fundamentally pessimistic attitude toward the body is coupled, argues Wendy Doniger, with an explicit misogyny. Excrement is indeed a popular metaphor for the hidden dangers of the female that crosses religious and cultural boundaries. For Nāgārjuna (second century CE), one of the greatest thinkers of Mahāyāna Buddhism, one who lies with a woman may think that he lies with the most beautiful of creatures, but in fact he "merely lies on top of a woman's bladder" (Williams, 1997, p. 210). In almost identical fashion, the Christian Saint Odo of Cluny (c. 878–942 CE) notes that "to embrace a woman is to embrace a sack of manure."

"Dirt is dangerous," as Douglas points out (2000, p. xi), but to categorize bodily emissions as "dangerous" simultaneously suggests something of their power, and goes some way toward explaining the attitude towards the female in many religious traditions. In prehistoric times, a strong association seems to have been made between the female body and the processes of fertility. Small statuettes of female figures portrayed with large breasts, pregnant stomachs, and prominently marked genitals have been found dating back to Paleolithic times. While the ability to reproduce suggests something of women's ability to create (for cultures that probably did not fully understand the male role in reproduction, seemingly *ex nihilo)*, the attempt to control such power has led to taboos being constructed around both menstruation and birth. Menstruation was, and in some cases remains, subject to rigid practices in most religions. In Orthodox Judaism, a menstruating woman is kept separate from contact with male family members. In Hinduism, both menstrual blood and the blood of birthing are considered unclean. In Christianity, menstruation is described as "the curse," punishment for the disobedience of Eve, and in medieval times a menstruating woman was not allowed to participate in the Eucharist.

Feminist scholars suggest that this suspicion of the female body and its apparently unruly but also awe-inspiring nature lies at the heart of patriarchal attempts to control the natural world. For Rosemary Ruether "patriarchal religion is built on many millennia of repressed fear of the power of female bodily processes" (quoted in Joseph, 1990, p. 18). Naomi Goldenberg develops such reflections, suggesting that religion arises as "a result of the sustained practise of gender," for men can, in these cultural arenas, "safely pretend to be women, especially in regard to matters of nurture and reproduction" (Goldenberg, 1998, pp. 193, 199). Under this reading, men envy the power of women to procreate, and religious systems provide a symbolic setting where they can pretend that they are, in fact, the life-givers.

Goldenberg's theory goes some way toward offering an explanation for the ambivalence shown towards women in the various world religions. As has been noted, the female body has been seen as potentially dangerous, its "unruly nature" subject to a range of taboos: yet at the same time women's bodies have also been praised for their virginal and maternal qualities. In Christianity, this veneration gains its supreme expression in the figure of the Virgin Mary, who stands as the embodiment of both. Yet far from forcing an engagement with what it means to be a sexual being, Mary is invariably constructed in theological discourse as an asexual woman, neutered and rendered safe by an overarching male hierarchy. She poses little challenge to patriarchal definitions of what it is to be a woman: she is, after all, defined according to her perceived sexual status and her relationship to the men in her life, be they human or divine. Simultaneously, she provides "real" women with an impossible ideal to emulate: she is the virgin who is also a mother. Indeed, reflection on Mary suggests an apparent distortion in understandings of what it means to be an embodied being that is brought into play by the Christian account of sin.

In the religions of classical antiquity, notions of virginity were not necessarily associated with the bodily integrity of an unbroken hymen: to call a goddess "virgin" was simply to highlight the autonomy of the deity, who was perceived as being beyond the control of men. Thus Artemis and Athena are virgin goddesses not primarily because they "know not man" but because they are not constrained by male power. Once the idea of original sin, transmitted through the sexual act, became the orthodox Christian position, explicated in its fullest form by Augustine of Hippo (354–430 CE), virginity takes on an altogether different hue, becoming the way *par excellence* of being spiritual. In such a context, the woman who gives expression to her sexuality is particularly problematic, for she moves outside not simply male control but also the divine order.

Even the apparently safe construction of woman as mother is not altogether removed from the sleight of sin. Childbirth is not enough to remove the inherited guilt of being a daughter of Eve, the first seductress of man. In part, this theological underpinning explains the ritual of "churching" women after childbirth. A Christian form of the purification rite that was prescribed for new mothers in *Leviticus* 12, contemporary forms emphasize the aspect of thanksgiving for the safe delivery of a child. Yet the liturgical emphasis is on the status of the maternal body rather than upon that of either baby or father, suggesting that it is the potentially polluting power of the maternal body that must be addressed and rendered safe by the appropriate religious rite.

The ambiguity felt towards the mother is not peculiar to Christianity. In the Indian tradition, the goddess Kālī expresses the power of the mother both to sustain and annihilate. A manifestation of the mother goddess Devī, she is invariably represented as a dark goddess, wearing a girdle of dead men's hands or penises, her face and breasts covered in blood. As such, she provides a subversion of the constraining, conventional formulation of motherhood in the Indian tradition. This terrifying apparition gives expression to the deep-seated fears of the maternal power to consume as well as to succor. For feminists like Vrinda Dalmiya, Kālī provides a model for challenging and confronting the forces that shape patriarchal constructions of motherhood.

Kālī provides an explicit image of the consistent connection that has been made between women and death. The ability to give birth is not conceived in a straightforwardly positive way, for just as the mother gives life, so she also introduces the child to the world of decay and death. Samuel Beckett (1906–1989) expresses succinctly the perceived ambiguity of the mother: Women "give birth astride a grave, the light gleams an instant, then it's night once more" (*Waiting for Godot*, 1953, Act II). In her role as progenitrix of the species, woman stands at the boundary between life and death. Existence is never only about being, for it also contains the inevitability of nonbeing. Paradoxically, then, emphasizing the role of the female body in reproduction exposes a further connection between woman and death. The desire to instigate control over the terrifying world of fecundity, change, and decay has already been noted. Indeed, recognizing mortality can lead to a desire to evade the physical, and even the most cursory glimpse at the history of religion suggests that the connection between sexuality and mortality has been developed in such a way as to suggest that by resisting the former the consequences of the latter might be, if not avoided, at least brought under control. In early Sufism, sex was seen as that which disturbed "the pure surrender of the soul" to God. Resistance to the sexual was mirrored in a tacit disgust for women that reflected the disgust felt towards the world that got between the soul and its God. Woman was "the world" for she was an integral part of the process of physical renewal (Schimmel, 1997).

Reflection on gender is of crucial significance at this point, for rather than see sexuality as a fundamental part of what it is to be human (or even *male*) this troubling feature has been consistently projected onto the female. Spirituality in diverse traditions becomes less an engagement with the facts that emerge from accepting that we are creatures that will die, and more an attempt to evade the realm of the body personified by woman. Even Buddhist thought, uncompromising in its attempt to engage with the facts of mortality, is not immune from this process of identifying woman with the spiritual death that comes from valuing physical things. Thus the Buddha is reported to have said:

> It would be better, foolish man, to put your male organ into the mouth of a terrible and poisonous snake than into a woman. . . It would be better, foolish man, to put it into a blazing, burning, red-hot charcoal pit than into a woman. Why? On account of *that*, foolish man, you might die, or suffer deathly agony, but that would not cause you to pass, at the breaking up of the body after death, to a lower rebirth, a bad destiny, to ruin, to hell. But on account of this, foolish man, [you may]. (*Vinaya* III 19)

Danger is associated with women's sexuality rather than with the sexual desires of the man himself, although often such negative comments on the female body are accompanied by the proviso that "your own [male] body is as filthy as a woman's" (Nāgārjuna, quoted in Williams, 1997, p. 211). Despite such comments, connecting the female body with the perceived problems of the body and sexuality in general gives the impression that these features are female rather than male, and thus avoiding the female can help the male to overcome these dangers. The debates surrounding the ordination of women to the priesthood of the Anglican Church are a case in point. Analogies used to resist the possibility of ordaining women suggested a clear identification of woman with the (apparently) "lower" physical world. One opponent argued that one might as well ordain a pot of anchovy paste as ordain a woman (Smith, 1989, p. 48), a comment that suggests there is something primal, vegetative, and fundamentally inhuman about woman, and that spirituality will involve resisting all things female. In such a context, a "woman priest" is an anomaly. Women's bodies thus become battlefields upon which the struggle against mortality and the physical world takes place.

The areas of monasticism and asceticism prove fruitful for examples of this construction of (male) spirituality as resistance to the (female) body. A story told of the Desert Father Saint Anthony (c. 250–356) describes him falling prey to the seduction of a demon disguised as a beautiful woman who visits him in his cave. She is exhausted from traveling, and he offers her shelter. They talk, and simply talking with "her" is enough to engender lustful thoughts. Eventually, overcome with desire, the monk seeks to consummate his passion, at which point the demon reveals "herself" and leaves, laughing at the continuing power lust has over him.

Woman is the temptress who lures man away from the path of spiritual perfection into the imperfect world of the physical, often described in overtly sexual terms. The thirteenth-century Ṣūfī sage Jamāl Hānswī gives a suitably gendered interpretation of the different paths confronting the soul: "The seeker of the world is feminine, the seeker of the other-world is a hermaphrodite, and the seeker of the Lord is masculine" (Schimmel, 1997, p. 274). Given this typology, it is not difficult to take the next step: not only is the female body associated with the physical, but it also provides a fitting model for damnation. The image of the *vagina dentata* ("the womb with teeth") is used in psychoanalytic theories to illuminate the male fear of the castrating female: yet its primary grounding is in religious art and imagery, where the image of the devouring mouth is commonly used as a representation of hell. In this context, the mouth and the womb are connected in what Freud would call "an upward displacement." Identical images are used to describe both the female sexual organs and the mouth of hell. Boccaccio

(1313–1375), reflecting on the insatiability of the womb, uses explicitly infernal images: "That gulf, then, is certainly an infernal abyss which could be filled or sated as the sea with water or the fire with wood" (Blamires, 1992, p. 176). Jerome (c. 342–420) and Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), separated by nearly a thousand years, are similarly obsessed with the claim in *Proverbs* 7:27 that a wicked woman's "house" is "the way to hell, reaching even to the inner chambers of death." The womb, like the mouth, is that which devours, hence a Muslim saying: "Three things are insatiable: the desert, the grave, and a woman's womb." The life-giving power of the female body is thus reworked as an image for annihilation.

"THE RETURN TO THE BODY" IN CONTEMPORARY RELIGIOUS THEORIZING. Contemporary feminist theology has played a significant role not only in exposing the ways in which women have been consistently identified with the despised physical: recent work in the area has sought a more positive reconstruction of the place of the body for developing an appropriate contemporary spirituality. "Body theologians" have sought to reclaim women's bodies from patriarchal interpretation and control, seeking to "allow celebration to take the place of guilt and repression" (Isherwood and Stuart, 1998, p. 19). In this context, the body emerges not as an entity to be resisted, but as a site for knowledge. The philosophical and theological dualism of mind/body is disrupted, leading to the integration of the spiritual into the physical. The logic of such an approach has an impact upon not only the way in which *human* being is conceived. James Nelson, applying feminist insights to the development of an embodied male spirituality, resists the idea that sexuality should be viewed as an aspect of "man's" lower, animal nature. Integrating spirituality and sexuality leads him to reappraise the nature of God. God is not as an entity transcendent from the world and its processes, but is found in relationship.

This reappraisal of the dichotomy between divine and human is also addressed in the contemporary women's spirituality movement. The publication of *Womanspirit Rising* (1979), edited by Carol Christ and Judith Plaskow, was a significant landmark in the development of this movement. The women who contributed to this collection came from a number of religious traditions, and sought to reclaim the sacrality of the female body. For some contributors, this involved actively seeking "the female divine." To adapt Carol Christ's words, "women need the Goddess," and writers such as Starhawk and Monica Sjöö have since developed a form of Goddess feminism that links the realization of female power with the rediscovery of a female divine principle. Melissa Raphael, the chief commentator on this movement, argues that Goddess feminism reconstructs the female body as a site for the sacred, disrupting the old ideas of the female body as something profane. Of particular importance to the movement has been the attempt to rediscover and reclaim the biological cycles of the female body. In part this has involved an engagement with the maternal body, not simply as an aspect of (some) women's experience, but as a cipher for the creative processes of the cosmos.

Similar reflections are developed—albeit in a rather more abstract way—in the writings of feminist philosophers of religion. In her quest to develop a feminist philosophy of religion, Grace Jantzen proposes that natality (the fact that we are born) replace mortality (the fact that we will die) as the paradigm for understanding human being. This shift in focus leads to a different set of values from those advanced by patriarchy: flourishing and human relationship are fostered, in contrast to the individualistic concerns with immortality and the self cultivated by an overemphasis on death. Such conclusions have been questioned, for reflection upon mortality and death need not lead to the kind of solipsism that Jantzen resists, but can similarly highlight the dependence of human beings upon each other and upon the cosmos itself.

Indeed, reasserting the body affects how the earth itself is understood. Sallie McFague's "ecotheology" results in part from her attempt to break down the dichotomy between transcendence and immanence, and thus to rethink the earth, not as the physical opposition to the spiritual divine, but as "the body of God" (McFague, 1993). Accepting "the interconnect[ed]ness of Spirit and all created beings" (Primavesi, 1991, p. 265) leads to a greater willingness to work with, rather than against, the processes of the physical world.

Reappraising the body thus affects much more than just an understanding of human being. Such reflection can even influence the method for studying religion. Amy Hollywood suggests that an adequate philosophy of religion will reflect not so much on the beliefs that people hold, but upon the way in which bodily practice shapes religious experience and subsequent belief. Adopting Marcel Mauss's (1872–1950) description of mystical states as resulting from specific "body techniques," Hollywood argues that ritual action creates "certain kinds of subjects, dispositions, moods, emotions, and desires." Focusing upon specific religious practices necessitates an acknowledgment of "those differences inscribed in and on bodies (often through rituals and bodily, mental, and spiritual practices themselves)." Bodily experience, under this reading, is both "physiological and cultural" (Hollywood, 2003, pp. 230, 226, 231), a claim that coheres with the way in which social and religious norms have shaped female bodily experience. Her ideas, however, move beyond a simple discussion of the female body: if her claims are taken seriously, it will be difficult to generalize about "religion" just as it will become impossible to separate belief from practice.

Indeed, reflection on the female body opens up a range of topics that transcend any isolated or simplistic engagement with gender. Accepting the significance of difference for understanding bodily practice moves beyond any uniform account of "the body." Yet such a conclusion need not invalidate the significance of focusing on the body. For example, Nancy Eisland suggests that reflection on the experiences of people with disabilities supports the claim that the body must be seen as central for human self-understanding. People with disabilities, she notes, "become keenly aware that our physical selves determine our perceptions of the social and physical world" (Eisland, 1994, p. 31).

Eisland's work, far from challenging the significance of engaging with the body, suggests that this engagement must be complex. Addressing the "lived experience" of disability suggests that it will be difficult, if not disingenuous, to talk of "the body" in a simplistic way. This realization has led some feminists to a more critical engagement with feminism itself. Tina Chanter has suggested that the turn to the body means that mainstream (invariably white) feminism will be forced to take seriously issues of race. Similarly, Ellen Armour resists the notion that there can be any unified, generalized account of "the female body" that fails to take account of "its" multiple differences. It is not just patriarchs who have sought to make such generalizing assertions: feminists have also tended to speak in an unproblematic way of the female body. Armour challenges such theorizing by employing the deconstructionist category of *différance*. Whitefeminists (Armour's term for "mainstream" feminist theologians) have singularly failed to recognize the different ways in which black women experience the female body. As womanist theologians have argued, black women have been more closely identified with the body than white women. In the United States (the focus for Armour's study), black women have been identified with nature, while white women have been identified with culture. And this suggests very different experiences of what it means to be female: for the black woman, it may mean being treated as a "beast of burden"; for the white woman, being treated as "the angel in the house." Just as men are encouraged to reflect upon their own sexual embodiment rather than projecting such features onto women, so white women should be encouraged to grapple with their racial demarcation and what this means, instead of seeing race as an issue only in relation to black women, who are too easily given the mantle of "the other."

Reflection on the body, then, opens up a rich vein for the study of religion. The constructions of "woman," spirituality, race, and even the way in which religion itself is studied must be considered once the significance of the body is accepted. And precisely because it opens up such a plethora of subjects, it is important not to ignore the lived experience of being human that underpins such cultural and intellectual constructions. As Lisa Isherwood and Elizabeth Stuart comment: "What must be guarded against at all costs is the disappearance of the real, lived, laughing, suffering, birthing and dying body underneath the philosophical and theological meaning it is called to bear. It would indeed be foolish to allow 'the body'; to become a disembodied entity" (Isherwood and Stuart, 1998, p. 151).

SEE ALSO Asceticism; Birth; Blood; Bodily Marks; Death; Desire; Ecology and Religion, overview article; Feminine Sacrality; Gender and Religion, overview article; Lesbianism; Masculine Sacrality; Menstruation; Sexuality; Thealogy; Virginity.

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BEVERLEY CLACK (2005)

HUMAN BODY: HUMAN BODIES, RELIGION, AND ART

The subject matter of this entry is the depiction, inclusion, and interpretation of the human body in works of art premised on religious principles or beliefs. Investigations of visual presentations of the human body are examinations of the meanings and roles of the various intersections of art and religion. The implicit question of the dichotomy, whether real or imagined, between sacred and secular art is implied throughout any discussion of the human body. Artistic and religious dimensions of the human form highlight cultural values and societal attitudes toward gender, figurative art, and the relationship between humanity and divinity. The fundamental issue is whether art must include the human figure in order to be religious.

GENERAL PERCEPTIONS OF HUMAN BODIES, ART, AND RELIGION. The role and meaning of the human body incorporates a diverse range of cultural forces, including but not limited to art and religion. Different cultures and eras interpret the meaning and value of the human body in distinctive ways. The various interconnections of ideas, especially concepts related to art and religion, reflect more than aesthetic or devotional applications. As a historical and cultural category, the human body undergoes numerous transformations as prevailing social, political, and economic forces change. Race, gender, and class, as well as religious and cultural values, have been imprinted on depictions of the human body and sanctioned throughout history. Representations of the human body in art, whether identified as religious or secular, raise questions concerning structures of power, ideology, and identity. Artistic renderings and religious interpretations of the human body privilege it as a symbolic value and a political agent, especially during periods of protest against societal norms and definitions of gender as sexual identification.

The broader history of changing attitudes toward corporeality, or the bodily dimension of human existence, raises a question: Can art be identified as religious if it is nonfigural; that is, if it omits the human figure? The human body is the pivotal organizing principle for the expression and comprehension of humanity's position within society and the universe. Traditionally, artistic presentations of bodily proportions, physical motions, and facial or manual gestures were visual signifiers of the internal movements of the soul. For many cultures, including Renaissance Europe, the presentation of the human body was a visual means of classifying knowledge about the world.

The depicting of human bodies draws connections between theology and artistic styles, including presentations of asceticism, the cult of chastity, and the family. Typically, depictions of the human body are predicated on theological and cultural interpretations. For example, in religious cultures like the Christian West, in which the human body is seen as shameful, fallen, and in need of discipline against sin, representations of the human body have emphasized physical weakness through unnatural but symbolic caricatures of such specific body parts as arms, hands, and torsos. In contrast, those religious cultures in which the human was seen as a mirror of the divine, such as classical Greece or Hindu India, emphasized the beauty and balance of the human form. These cultures interpreted the human body as the locus and signifier of internal modes of religious life and thought.

Discrete systems for naming and presenting identical objects evolved naturally within world cultures. The human body was one individual object that possessed both singular and communal identities. Interwoven within the cultural fabric of each distinctive work of art was a simultaneous recognition of both the universality and the uniqueness of the human body. The implicit recognition of the human body, cultural matrix, and religious values reinforced the collective memory of artist and observer.

Western cultural attitudes toward the human body are categorized by three types: classical, medieval, and modern. Referencing philosophic and religious concepts of the human form as an expression of divinity, classical art emphasizes harmony and order as well as a culturally conditioned concept of beauty. Medieval art reflects the preoccupation of Latin-speaking Christianity with finitude and guilt as the human body becomes a visual signifier of corruption and decay. This art tends to distort or exaggerate representations of the human form. Contemporary Western attitudes are extraordinarily varied and complex, which may be as much the result of multiculturalism and globalization as advances in artistic techniques. The human body is often depicted in modern art as an active agent of political and societal protest (especially against social and sexual orthodoxies) or as a victim of aging and disease. The optic metaphor for these varied identities is presentations that depict bodily fragmentation and religious disruption, or physical idealization and theological conformity.

Given the universal nature of humanity, artistic presentations of the human body become the means of drawing viewers' attention and then enticing them into a gradual unfolding of religious narratives or events, thereby forming strong emotional and psychological connections with the underlying religious message. Interactions between human figures, or between human figures with either animals or inanimate objects, convey the psychological and spiritual dimensions of religious teachings. The religious dichotomy between the material and spiritual is symbolized by the human body in naturalistic, representational, and symbolic depictions.

Certain religious cultures, such as those of Judaism and Islam, ban the production and enjoyment of art, either completely or with specific regard to religious usage. Other religious cultures prohibit the creation of figural images for ceremonial purposes. The imaging of the human body as the reference or entry point for viewers is found in these religious cultures through the arts of poetry or music, or through the use of discrete visual symbols denoting the body through abstraction or attribute. Other religious cultures that are characterized initially as aniconic (opposed to the use of figural images) establish symbolic codes that signify the presence of the human form—as in Buddhism, where the earliest images of the Buddha were not anthropomorphic but represented his swaddling clothes and his footprints.

A crucial question in analyzing the various interconnections of the human body with art and religion is the manner in which one comes to describe and understand the ways in which one sees one's own image and in which other peoples see their own images. Since the 1970s there has been an increasing emphasis among Western scholars in studying marginalized groups—rarely studied categories such as women, racial and ethnic minorities, and people of diverse sexual orientations—whose roles, positions, and influences on culture should be factored into human history. Anthropologists and artists recognize differing body types due to climatic and nutritional variations, or due to different religious or aesthetic definitions of the ideal body. Discussions of the meaning and significance of racial and ethnic types within religious art were initiated within studies of marginalized groups.

The perception and interpretation of images of the human body within one culture or across cultures has been amplified significantly since the 1970s. The process of seeing and creating images of the human body is a multilayered syntax composed of sociopolitical, economic, and cultural factors. The fundamental Western attitude of entrancement with one's own image leads to the appreciation of separate elements in the image, including muscular structure, individuality, or culturally conditioned ideas of beauty. This Western perception is derived from the classical Greek view of the human body as a reflection of divine beauty, as a disciplined physical mechanism, and as the temporal home of the human spirit. History and art scholarship has recognized this Western attitude as normative, thereby privileging the Western ideal as the appropriate model for the comprehension and production of images of the human body.

IDENTIFYING HUMAN BODIES IN ART AND RELIGION. The "reading" of works of art, especially in terms of the presentation of the human body in religious art, depends on a series of visual cues that provide viewers with information related to the appropriate models of behavior from ceremonial and devotional purposes to religious teachings of gender and morality. The symbolic role of the human body in visual discourse conveys messages through identifiable images and imagery known through cultural memory and the common cultural matrix of religious traditions. These visual cues include the values expressed through gestures and postures, hieratic art, and body symbolism. The physicality of the human body assumes a variety of forms, from naturalistic bodily representations to geometric and linear depictions, ideographic simplifications, or exaggerations. The essence of being human—especially with relation to divinity and cultural concepts of humanity—must be transformed into substantive and convincing shapes, whether natural or abstract.

In religious art, the question of function is paramount in discerning the message conveyed. Whether the work is intended or used for institutional, communal, or personal purposes determines more in this regard than does its size or cost. The manner and mode of depicting the human body and the interpretation placed upon the depiction are predicated on the idea, teaching, or story presented to viewers. The human body is unconsciously viewed as a model of social reality and an element in the larger structures of society, culture, community, and the world. Specific artists, patrons, or religious traditions encode particularized information within artistic renditions of the human body. More than the bearer of cultural concepts of beauty and gender or sex, the human figure embodies religious and cultural values as well as engendered and social behavior. As a result, the focus of investigation becomes the nature and types of tasks that are assigned to the human body in religious art.

Artistic representations of the human figure can be manipulated or designed in multiple ways to signify religious meaning and values. Traditionally—that is, before the advent of interest in marginal groups— art historians construed the prime connector between Eastern and Western art as cultural and religious understandings of the human body as tangible manifestation of the otherwise imagined shapes of divinity. The Greek principle of the idealization and perfection of the human form as a visible image of divine beauty privileged the Western attitude. The Eastern artistic tradition developed the parallel practice of relating the essence of transcendent ideas abstractly through the human body. Considerations of the human body as a signifier of engendered power, racial and ethnic identities, class distinctions, or sociopolitical values encoded with religious meaning and cultural constructs are issues raised by the study of marginalized people. Attention must be given to the relationship between the privileging of Western categories even to the point of asking questions about what constitutes art and what are appropriate themes for analyses of the intersection of the human body, art, and religion.

Traditional Western art incorporates figural representations, as opposed to the abstractions of the human body found in modern Western art. This difference clarifies the generalization that traditional art emphasizes the object that is portrayed, while modern art accentuates the process of seeing the object. Traditional art is the creative expression of a society, while modern art emphasizes the creative expressions of individual artists. Both artistic modes appropriate visual symbols and signs as revelatory of supernatural or transcendental powers that created and now govern earthly cultures. Whether identified as pedagogical or ceremonial in function, or mystical or aesthetic in intent, religious art includes the anthropomorphic representations of divinity as it gives material shape to that which is otherwise intangible and imperceptible.

THE HUMAN BODY AS AN EXPRESSION. From signification of fertility and maternity to objectification of disciplined perfection, the human body becomes the visual locus of a multilayered discourse connecting humanity and divinity. Whether interpreted as culturally conditioned carriers of engendered meaning or sources of sensual pride, artistic renderings of the human figure within the framework of religious language are physical sites of fear and anxiety. The imagery of the human body communicates religious ideas and moral values in the arts through eight categories of expression.

The first expression is creativity and fertility, which are most often represented by the female body. The earliest signifiers of fecundity were primal female bodies like those of the so-called Venus of Willendorf and Cycladic statuettes of goddesses, which emphasize the hips, thighs, and abdomen while deemphasizing the head (particularly the individualized face) and the upper body. The universal recognition of the importance of female fertility figurines—all of which exaggerate those features of the female body that evoke sensuality, invite sexual attention, and signify the fecundity of both the goddess and the earth. Depictions of male fertility, typically symbolized by a tumescent phallus, appear less frequently over the course of history. Expressions of female fecundity were gradually transmuted from figurines of adult females to representations of mother and child, often in the posture of the nursing mother. Subliminally a personification of fertility, the imaging of mother and child became the universal visual purveyor of moral values, the sanctity of the family, and physical and spiritual nurture. Reaching new heights of stylization in presentation and meaning, the iconography of the mother and child was a powerful communicator of religious ideas, values, and significance. The theme of creativity is embodied in artistic depictions of the nine Greek muses and female inspiration of creative activity.

The second expression is religious devotion. The first subcategory of the human body in devotional art is that of the receiver of acts or offerings of devotion. The second subcategory is that of devotees who proffer ceremonial honor, prayer, adoration, and gifts. Bodily postures and gestures signify both the performed action and provide a model from which viewers can learn to enter into acts of religious devotion. Such activities, whether identified as sacred or secular, turn viewers into participants and are categorized as participative art. The fundamental modes of religious participation—prayer, fasting, ascetic practice, and partaking of sacraments or religious rituals—transform minds and bodies. An encounter with a devotional artwork provides an alternate site for transformation or transcendence through participation.

The third expression is form, particularly ideal form that connotes sacrality and spirituality through the human body, or the distortions resulting from physical suffering and frailty that denote human finitude. Culturally specific as well as universal, the imaging of physical perfection is an ocular metaphor for spiritual presence, evidenced in depictions. The aesthetics of the human body communicates such moral concepts as self-sacrifice, discipline, self-respect, and personal honor. Presentations of a suffering, injured, emaciated, or tormented body in religious art signifies asceticism, sacrifice, or martyrdom.

The fourth expression is gender, which became problematic after the field of women's studies began to influence the fields of art and religion in the late 1970s. Traditional understandings of sex as defined by biological characteristics and gender as a socialized mode of being in the world were questioned in the new fields of women's studies, men's studies, and gay studies. Gender studies became an umbrella term applicable to all these disciplinary categories. All three designations of gender—an inclusive field of study; sexual identification; and a socialized mode of being in the world—are possible in presentations of the human body in art. Investigations and analyses of gender in religious art expanded exponentially throughout the 1980s and 1990s and were closely connected to the themes of power, dress, and nudity.

The fifth expression is power, whose essential characteristic is the visible interactions between individuals or groups. Power has many meanings and iconographic representations. One is the fundamental anthropological category of *mana*, which is a supernatural force that may be concentrated in persons or inanimate objects. *Dynamis* is a force released through the relationship between form—specifically the human body—and the artistic process. The work of art is empowered through the process of embodiment. A form of sociopolitical power is communicated through the bodily figures of the hierarchy of authority, whether social, academic, governmental, military, or religious. Dress is a visual delineation of social order, economic class, and military position. Power is signified through the bodily presentations of monarchs, chiefs, ancestors, guardians, and warriors, including depictions of dress, postures, and gestures. These figures of protection are normatively identified through physical and spiritual attributes that may include physical stature, symbolically enlarged body parts, and expressions of moral or physical strength. As protective figures guarding devotees in sacred or domestic spaces, these embodiments of authority often integrate animal features to represent the primeval forces of nature.

The sixth expression is motion or movement as a medium of communication, through posture and gesture, for ideas, religious values, and moral ideals. Posture includes stance, position, and pose; gesture involves communication through facial contortions, hand signals, and the arrangement of the feet. Combining these elements, the human body conveys messages or ideas, tells stories, or articulates attitudes, emotions, and passions. There are three basic bodily postures in religious art: standing, seated, and recumbent—as exemplified by the Buddha, who stands in contemplation, sits in meditation or pedagogy, and lies on his bed at the moment of his *parinirvāṇa,* or death. Hand gestures, known as *mudrās* in both Buddhism and Hinduism, are a repertoire of digital and manual poses that communicate such specific ideas as protection by the deity (*abhaya*), signified by the raised hand, or the simple gesture of obeisance (*anjali*).

The seventh expression is dress and nudity, a dichotomy greater than the simple distinction between being naked or clothed. First, there is the moral and cultural evaluation of the body as biologically either male or female, as well as the multilayered syntax of nudity. The nude as an artistic category represents a specific set of attitudes toward the depiction of the human body in a state of undress. The classical nude is rooted in the religion and philosophy of ancient Greece, in which the ideal human body is identified as a locus of sacred presence. Depictions of nudity in the Jain tradition reflect perfect yogic control, while in Hindu art such nude female figures as the Yakshī are aligned with female sensuality associated with fertility spirits. The irony here is that noted by Kenneth Clark (1956), who identified nakedness as a state of embarrassment and nudity as a state of ease and comfort with one's body.

In contrast to nudity, dress and drapery enhance the appearance of the human body and reflect the social status of the wearer. In a practical sense, dress is a form of protection, whether from difficult climatic conditions and the elements, from animals, or from the gaze of other human beings. Dress is a moral value, as appropriate garments provided for both women and men testify to the normative conditions of modesty, virginity, or motherhood. Dress is connected to costume, which is a category of dress that identifies a person's social position, military rank, or authoritative status. Drapery, as a specific category of dress, enhances the appearance of the human body because loose flowing fabric creates an illusion of delicacy and motion, or of shadow and light, from the viewer's perspective, thereby enlivening the depiction of the body.

The eighth expression is portraiture, which, as a universal genre, is divided into two categories: realistic portraits of identifiable individuals and idealized depictions of a type, such as a ruler or saint. Portraiture can be created with only one figure, several figures (as in family portraits), or a larger group representing a community. It can be achieved by both the imagining of oneself and of others. Portraits may be intended for either private use or public display. Portraiture is a testament to success in life or as a remembrance of a deceased person; it is a mode of legitimizing authority and hierarchical power.

THE HUMAN BODY AS A MEDIUM OF SYMBOLIC DISCOURSE. A myriad of early texts on aesthetics and the nature of human beings, especially from classical Greece, described the human body as a small-scale copy of the universe, as a microcosm of the macrocosm. Through this smaller but harmonious image of the divine, the human came to identify himself or herself, others, and the world. The beautiful female and handsome male statues of deities attest to the universality of this concept across the classical world, from Egypt, Greece, and Rome into Persia and India. As the idea of individuality emerged within these classical cultures, humanity interpreted itself at the center of a world of symbols in which the human body participated through a series of analogies and correspondences with the universe. In this way, bones signified the earth, blood signified water, and the head signified fire, as delineated in an almost universal pattern of ascent found in sources as different as the sages of the Upanishads and the Fathers of the early Christian Church. The human being was the only creature that connected with the three cosmic levels in such a way that the feet touched the earth, the torso dwelt in the atmosphere, and the head reached the heavens.

The classical Greek cult of physical perfection was based on these correspondences between the human body and the structure of the universe. The athlete was the model of divine perfection and demonstrated this identification by competing in the nude. Buddhism affirmed the existence of an eternal divine Buddha with the teaching of levels of being ascending from the *nirmāṇakāya* (body of manifestation) to the *saṃbhogakāya* (body of bliss) and the *dharmakāya* (body of law). Renderings of the human body were shaped by technical artistry and religious attitudes toward humanity either as symbols of the divine, ideals, or historical individuals.

THE HUMAN BODY AS EXPRESSIVE POTENTIAL. Varied artistic and religious approaches to the forming and informing of images of the human body confirm that the central issue is not the specific messages that are conveyed by bodily metaphors, but the ways in which the human figure functions as the central element in art and religion. The endowment of the concept of humanity with an identifying physical form finds two normative categories of expressive potential in art and religion: anthropomorphic (fully human in shape or form) and therianthropic (partly human and partly animal in shape or form). The application of recognizable natural forms for men and women, either as a whole or a part, is found in the majority of world religious art. Whether the formations of that human body are deemed ideal, perfect, corrupted, distorted, or elegant is simultaneously culturally conditioned and theologically defined. Therianthropic bodies depend on recognition of the equality of humanity and animals beyond the symbolic exchange that is fundamental to Christian typology. This combination of human and animal forms raises questions related to the meaning and value of humanity.

Another mode for the human body as expressive potential is *pars pro toto*, or the part for the whole, in which the symbolic employment of body parts—hands, feet, or heads—signifies both coded messages and individual persons. Any transformation, transmutation, or reformulation of body imaging communicates the artist's intention to express an idea or transfer a message by accentuating either the distinct body part or its function. The enlarged eyes or ears of a Byzantine Christ denotes his extraordinary senses and abilities as the creator and guardian of the universe. Exaggerated features or body parts may inspire fear or ridicule, conveying additional symbolic messages and removing the viewer from recognition of the subject's "reality" or "humanity." Alternately, exaggerations of body parts are eloquent examples of the multivalent nature of visual symbols, as in the Buddhist *ushnisha*, or topknot—that singular protuberance on the top of Buddha's head designating his extraordinary wisdom and intelligence.

A third mode is abstraction, in which the essence of the idea, message, or meaning is extracted from larger representational image. The visual emphasis in abstraction results in a minimized if not radical simplification of form for emotional expressiveness or organic structure. Through an economical but elegant use of lines, the essence of humanity is revealed through the separation, reduction, and rearrangement of bodily components. Transformed into decorative patterns of shapes or geometric structures, abstractions appear initially to have little relation to the traditional figure of the human body; re-presentations affect the viewer's emotions and intellect.

THE HUMAN BODY AS SUBJECT OF ART AND RELIGION. Historians of sculpture from Herbert Read to Tom Flynn have argued persuasively that 90 percent of sculpture is about the human body. Sculpture's fundamental tactile nature combined with the intrinsic qualities of mass and volume attest to the one-for-one valuing of sculpture with the human body. Until the twentieth century's fascination with abstract and nonfigurative art, the majority of artworks incorporated the human figure as the main focus of aesthetic or thematic interest. The human body was the subject of art and religion even to the point of substituting the human image for the bodiless divinities and celestial personae.

THE HUMAN BODY AS OBJECT OF ART AND RELIGION. Body art transforms the human body from the subject to the object of art and religion. Whether specified as permanent or temporary painting of the body or face, tattooing, or the intentional scarification (permanently marking the body by cutting, without the use of pigments) of the body, body art has multivalent purposes, ranging from an emblem of identification or sign of initiation to the impersonation of an ancestor or divinity. As an art form accessible to all social and economic classes, ethnic groups, and sexes, body art celebrates the generic beauty and prowess of the human body, and it refines the individual body aesthetically. The normative source for the designs is the religious iconography of each community. Body or face painting reconnects individuals with ancestors or ancestral spirits and presages the reappearance of that ancestor as a protector and guide. Regardless of its modality or function, body art is a universal art form that fashions the human body into a bearer of the sacred.

THE HUMAN BODY AS MEDIUM OF ART AND RELIGION. Dance and the other performing arts transfer the role of the human body in art and religion from subject or object. Gerardus van der Leeuw identified the human body as the primary agent of the arts in his magisterial *Sacred and Profane Beauty: The Holy in Art* (1963). Whether identified as primal or literate, as indigenous or imperialist, all religious traditions incorporate the human body into expressive rituals and ceremonies. The natural and rhythmic movement of the human body, whether in ecstasy, agony, trance, or prayer, is the elemental form of religious expression. Bodily movements accentuated through gestures, postures, facial expressions, costume, and music have affected religious iconography throughout history. As religious drama, music, and ritual were incorporated within cultural analyses of performance and display, the concept of the human body as medium of art and religion became an established reality.

FURTHER PERSPECTIVES. Since the 1970s, the critical relationships between the human body, art, religion, and marginalized groups was articulated predominantly by feminist scholars, especially in the recognition of variable body types and their meanings. Regional and ethnic studies extended that critique into discussions of colonialism and the centrality accorded to body types based on the Greek ideal. Power, in terms of engendered power and male dominance, was a focus of these post-1970s studies as the Western cultural appreciation of the human body, especially of the nude in art and religion, was questioned in relation to voyeurism, pornography, and "the gaze." Caroline Walker Bynum's *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity* (1995), Linda Nochlin's *The Body in Pieces: The Fragment as a Metaphor of Modernity* (1994), and Margaret R. Miles' *Carnal Knowing: Female Nakedness and Religious Meaning in the Christian West* (1989) provide a feminist lens through which to critique the various meanings of the human body in religion and art.

The interdisciplinary motifs and methodologies for the study of the human body, art and religion have, until the late twentieth century, been treated by Western scholars within the framework, language, and motifs of Western history. Future comparative analyses of this subject may well prove the thesis that the Western preoccupation with order, clarity, and ideal types may be inappropriate or inapplicable to non-

Western art and religion (Apostolos-Cappadona, 1996). Gender distinctions as religious values (and their visualizations) may prove to be discrete and defy traditional patterns of iconographic and iconological examination, thereby expanding both the borders and the methods of scholarship. Three exceptional comparative cultural analyses of human bodies, art, and religion are available for examination in the exhibition catalogue *In Her Image: The Great Goddess in Indian Asia and the Madonna in Christian Culture* (1980); the exhibition catalogue for *The Human Image* (2000); and several special issues of *P+ Art and Culture Magazine.*

SEE ALSO Aesthetics, article on Visual Aesthetics; Art and Religion; Bodily Marks; Dance, article on Dance and Religion; Iconography, articles on Iconography as Visible Religion; Nudity; Symbol and Symbolism.

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DIANE APOSTOLOS-CAPPADONA (2005)

HUMANISM.

The Christian humanism of the Renaissance and Reformation period was a complex intellectual movement, primarily literary and philological in nature, but with important historical, philosophical, and religious implications. Humanism was rooted in the love of classical antiquity and the desire for its rebirth, both in terms of form (primarily a search for new aesthetic standards) and of norm (a desire for more enlightened ethical and religious values). The return to original sources is reflected in a parallel way in the reformers' emphasis upon the scripture as norm and New Testament Christianity as the ideal form of church life. Humanism developed in Italy during the fourteenth century and persisted through the Reformation well into the age of the Enlightenment.

The word *humanism* came from the phrase *studia humanitatis* or *humaniora,* the liberal arts or humane studies, a concept derived largely from Cicero. The liberal arts curriculum emphasized grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy. While the course of studies owed something to the traditional education of the medieval cathedral schools, it was less concerned with dialectic or logic, natural science, and Scholastic metaphysics. The term *humanist* was originally applied to professional public or private teachers of classical literature who continued the medieval vocation of the *dictatores,* who taught the skills of letter-writing and proper style in speech and writing. But the word gradually came to assume a more comprehensive meaning, referring to all devotees of classical learning. Humanism came to be cultivated not merely by professional educators but by many men of letters, historians, moral philosophers, statesmen, and churchmen, including regular as well as secular clergy. They set the *aurea sapientia,* or golden wisdom, of the ancients against the arid dialectic of the Scholastic doctors. Christian humanism tended toward religious syncretism, moralism, and ethical Paulinism, and also toward a Christocentrism that emphasized Christ as an example of good living, rather than a Christology that focused on Christ's sacrifice on the cross as sin-bearer, substitute, and savior.

ITALIAN RENAISSANCE HUMANISM.

It was natural that humanism should emerge most strongly in Italy, given the Roman inheritance and the artistic and architectural reminders of ancient glories. Toward the end of the thirteenth century, a form of protohumanism developed in the north of Italy, in Padua, Verona, and Vicenza, and in Arezzo and Florence in Tuscany. But the "father of humanism" was Francesco Petrarch (1304–1374), who gave to Italian literary humanism its basic character. He is perhaps best remembered for his vernacular lyrics, chiefly love poems to Laura; he was crowned poet laureate on the Capitoline Hill in Rome in 1341. Petrarch stressed the purity of the classical Latin style, revived enthusiasm for ancient Rome, and helped develop a sense of distance from the past and a revulsion toward the medieval "dark ages." He raised important personal and religious questions in such writings as *On the Solitary Life,* the *Secretum, Ascent of Mount Ventoux,* and *On His Own Ignorance and That of Many Others,* in which he wrote as an apologist for the Christian view of humanity and the humanists' appreciation of the worth of the individual against certain neo-Aristotelians whose natural philosophy subverted those values.

Petrarch's friend Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375) gained renown for his *Decameron,* a collection of a hundred short stories, for books on famous men and women, and for an encyclopedic *Genealogy of the Gods,* an important handbook of mythology. Petrarchan humanism spread through Italy, largely as a lay, upper-class, and elitist movement. In the search for classical manuscripts, humanists such as Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459), Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481), Cyriacus of Ancona (c. 1391–1457), and Giovanni Aurispa (1374–1450) excelled, rediscovering key works of Cicero, Quintilian, Vitruvius, Plautus, Pliny the Younger, Tacitus, Thucydides, Euripides, Sophocles, and other ancient authors.

Humanism gained new momentum and direction with the Greek revival. In the final decades of the fourteenth century the Byzantine emperor, threatened by the Ottoman Turks, who were encircling Constantinople, made two expeditions to the West, in 1374 and 1399, to seek help. His efforts were futile, but some Greek scholars, such as Manuel Chrysoloras (c. 1355–1415), John Bessarion (1403–1472), and Gemistus Plethon (c. 1355–1450), remained in the West and introduced Greek literature, patristics, and philosophy. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, other scholars fled to the West, notably John Argyropoulos, Demetrius Calcondylas, and John and Constantine Lascaris, adding new momentum to the Greek revival and broadening the dimensions of philosophical discussion.

Certain humanists placed their rhetorical gifts in the service of the Florentine republic against the threatening tyrants of Milan and Naples. These civic humanists, such as chancellor Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406) and Leonardo Bruni (c. 1370–1444), stirred up the patriotic impulses of the citizenry for the defense of the state. In a broader sense civic humanism was more than an ideology of embattled republicanism, for it stood for a life of action spent for the common good. Giannozzo Manetti (1396–1459), who wrote *On the Dignity and Excellence of Man,* once described the whole duty of humanity as being to understand and to act. Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472), a truly universal man, the architect of Renaissance churches, palaces, and fountains, wrote treatises that for many decades dominated theory on architecture, painting, and the family.

In order to convey humanist ideals to youth, humanist educators not only wrote influential treatises on education but also established schools to put their theories into practice. Generally optimistic about the educability at least of the upper classes, the humanists cultivated the liberal arts to develop leaders with sound character and lofty vision. Pietro Paolo Vergerio (1370–1444) wrote a treatise on the morals befitting a free man, drawing extensively on Plato, Plutarch, and Cicero. Vittorino Rambaldoni da Feltre (1378–1446) and Guarino da Verona (1370–1460) set up model schools with a humanist curriculum and introduced such innovations as physical education and coeducation.

Among the disciplines emphasized was history, for the humanists valued both ancient and contemporary history. What the humanists learned from classical historians was reflected in their own histories, from the *History of Florence* of Leonardo Bruni to the *History of Florence* of Niccoló Machiavelli and the *History of Italy in His Own Times* by Francesco Guicciardini (1483–1540). Flavio Biondo (1389–1463), the founder of modern archaeology, produced massive topographical-historical works on Rome and all of Italy. Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457) anticipated many of the questions raised later by Luther, such as free will and predestination, errors in the Vulgate, and the value of lay piety in contrast to monasticism. In a treatise titled *On the Donation of Constantine,* he proved with philological and historical critical arguments that the *Donation of Constantine* was a forgery purporting to prove that when Constantine moved the capital of the Roman empire to the East, he had given the Lateran Palace and outlying provinces to Pope Sylvester I and his successors, as well as conferring immense privileges upon them.

During the second half of the fifteenth century classical scholarship was more closely integrated with literary composition in the vernacular, printing spread rapidly following the establishment of the first printing press in Italy in 1465, and a new metaphysical emphasis superseded the relatively uncomplicated moral philosophy of the literary and civic humanists with the development of Neoplatonic, neo-Pythagorean, neo-Aristotelian, Hermetic, and qabbalistic philosophies and theodicies. Neoplatonism became the most prominent and characteristic form of Renaissance philosophy. The renewal of interest in patristic writings, aided by scholars such as Ambrogio Traversari (1386–1439), and especially in the Greek fathers, added impetus to the Greek revival. Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464) was concerned with the search for unity between the infinite One and the infinite multitude of finite things, the *coincidentia oppositorum,* a panentheism that raised the specter of pantheism. Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), the most eminent Renaissance philosopher, presided over the "Platonic Academy" endowed by Cosimo de' Medici, the de facto ruler of Florence. Ficino did editions of Plato's works and edited the *Enneads* of Plotinus and works of Greek pagan Neoplatonists such as Proclus and Porphyry, as well as of Dionysius the Areopagite, whose christianized Neoplatonism was so influential throughout the medieval period. Among his own influential works were the *Theologia Platonica* and the *De religione Christiana,* in which he used Neoplatonism apologetically as a support for the Christian faith. His understudy, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), sought to find the religious truth common to Christianity, Platonism, Aristotelianism, Hermetism, Islam, and Qabbalah. He published for public disputation nine hundred theses, the *Conclusiones,* in which he sought to summarize all learning. In his oration *On the Dig-*

nity of Man, sometimes described as the most characteristic Renaissance document, he places humankind at the center of the "great chain of being," the object of special creation, able to rise upward toward God or to sink downward to the sensate animalistic level, as it chooses. Giordano Bruno (1548–1600), combining Nicholas of Cusa's Neoplatonism and Hermetic ideas with the physical implications of Copernican astronomy, synthesized a philosophy that verged on pantheism. Aristotelianism persisted in the universities, and Neo-Aristotelianism found advocates such as Pietro Pomponazzi (1462–1525), who wrote on the nature of immortality, fate, free will, predestination, and providence.

NORTHERN HUMANISM. Thanks to close political, commercial, ecclesiastical, and university ties with Italy, the new humanist culture came earlier to Germany than to other countries of northern Europe. The pioneers included wandering poets such as Peter Luder, schoolmaster humanists such as Johannes Murmellius and Rudolf von Langen, half-Scholastic humanists such as Conrad Summenhart and Paul Scriptoris, and moralistic critics of church and society such as Heinrich Bebel, Jacob Wimpfeling, Sebastian Brant, and the preacher Johann Geiler von Kaisersberg. But the man credited with being the father of German humanism was Roelof Huysman (Rodolphus Agricola, 1444–1485), known as the "German Petrarch." After a decade in Italy he returned to "the frozen Northland" and presided over a group of young humanists in Heidelberg, to whom he expounded his theories of rhetoric. One of his disciples, Conrad Pickel (Conradus Celtis, 1459–1508), the "German arch-humanist," organized young humanists into the Rhenish and Danubian sodalities to promote humanism and to do a topographical-historical work entitled *Germania illustrata,* never completed.

At the universities humanists struggled with Scholastics for positions, and by 1520 humanism had spread to urban centers and to both ecclesiastical and princely courts. The lawyer Conrad Peutinger, the historian Johannes Turmair (Aventinus), the city councilor Willibald Pirckheimer, a friend of Conrad Pickel, and the Nuremberg artist Albrecht Dürer were patrons and advocates of humanism. The clash of humanists and Scholastics came to a head in the celebrated Reuchlin controversy. Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522) did a Hebrew vocabulary and grammar and wrote two major works, *On the Wonder-Working Word* and *On the Qabbalistic Art,* in which he used the Jewish mystical Qabbalah in support of Christianity. Reuchlin defended some Hebrew books from a vicious book-burner, Johannes Pfefferkorn, a converted Jew, and was in turn attacked by certain Scholastic doctors at Cologne. An Erfurt humanist, Johann Jäger (Crotus Rubianus, c. 1480–1545), and the young knight Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1523) wrote a biting satire, *The Letters of Obscure Men,* ridiculing the Scholastics and defending Reuchlin. In Gotha the canon Mutianus Rufus (1471–1526) gathered a circle of young humanists from the University of Erfurt to promote classical learning.

Although there were early ties with Italy during the Avignon papacy and some promise of a flowering early in the fifteenth century, for example in the circle gathered around chancellor Jean de Montreuil (1354–1418), the Hundred Years' War and the struggle between France and Burgundy delayed the full development of humanism in France. The great flowering of humanism came from 1515 to 1547, during the reign of Francis I, a great patron of art and literature. Guillaume Budé (1468–1540) did a commentary on the *Pandects* (a digest of Justinian's law), a work on numismatics, a commentary on the Greek language, and a major work on Hellenism. Lefèvre d'Étaples (1455–1536) worked on biblical texts, doing a critical edition of *Psalms* and commentaries on Paul's letters and on the four Gospels; this work was important to Luther and the French reformers. Margaret of Angoulême, Francis I's sister, was not only an author but also a patroness of humanists and young reformers, along with Bishop Guillaume Briçonnet. François Rabelais (c. 1495–1553), author of the witty, gross, and satirical *Gargantua and Pantagruel,* offered criticism through the story of a giant and his son. Although sometimes called a skeptic, Rabelais is now seen more as an Erasmian Christian humanist interested in reform. The famous essayist Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592) was the greatest French literary figure of the age.

In Spain, Erasmianism, Lutheranism, and mysticism found followers, but nonconformity was effectively suppressed. Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros (1436–1517) instituted rigorous clerical reforms, founded the University of Alcalá with a trilingual college, and endowed the publication of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible. Antonio de Nebrija (1441–1522), at Salamanca, was an outstanding classicist. The greatest literary figure of Spanish humanism was Miguel de Cervantes (1547–1616), author of *Don Quixote.*

English humanism developed during the fifteenth century from political and ecclesiastical contacts with Italy. Classical studies were cultivated seriously at Oxford by Thomas Linacre (c. 1460–1524), William Grocyn (c. 1466–1519), and William Latimer (c. 1460–1543). John Colet (1467–1519), dean of Saint Paul's and founder of Saint Paul's School, modeled somewhat after the humanist schools of Italy, corresponded with Ficino and was intrigued by Neoplatonism. But he had a serious theological bent, and in his lectures on *Romans* he emphasized humanity's sinfulness and need for God's forgiveness. Thomas More (1478–1535) wrote the most famous work of English humanism, *Utopia.*

The prince of the northern humanists was Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1469?–1536), who articulated the loftiest ideals of Christian humanism. A great classicist and patristics scholar, he expressed social and ecclesiastical criticism in *The Praise of Folly* and the *Colloquies,* expounded his "philosophy of Christ" in the *Enchiridion* and in *Paraclesis,* and did editions, with long introductions, of Latin and Greek classical authors and church fathers. His fame was eclipsed by the advent of the Reformation, and he reluctantly attacked Luther on the question of the freedom of the will.

Erasmus inclined toward moralism and spiritualism rather than consequential soteriology, emphasizing Christ the teacher and example rather than the Savior who died on the Cross for the salvation of humankind.

HUMANISM AND THE REFORMATION. The Reformation owed much to humanism for its success; contributing to an atmosphere favorable to the Reformation were humanism's emphasis on knowledge of the biblical languages and a return to the sources; its criticism of ecclesiastical and social abuses; its negative attitude toward Scholasticism; a concomitant romantic cultural nationalism; the use of the printing press; and the activities of the cadres of young humanists who carried Luther's message to all parts of the Holy Roman Empire in the early years. Luther referred to the Renaissance as akin to John the Baptist heralding the coming of the gospel. The so-called magisterial reformers, Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, Melanchthon, Bucer, Beza, and others, were all university men with some background in classical studies and humanist learning. Led by Luther, they reformed the university curricula in favor of humanist disciplines, reformed old and founded new universities, and established secondary schools, *Gymnasium*s and *lycée*s, to promote the liberal arts. They insisted upon compulsory education for boys and girls, thus expanding education beyond the elitist upper-class concerns of the Italian humanists. They stressed teaching as a divine vocation. While Luther loved the classics, rejected Scholasticism, and favored humanism, his colleague Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560) was the major influence in promoting classicism. In line with Italian humanism, the reformers deemphasized dialectic and stressed the value of rhetoric, poetry, moral philosophy, and history. Along with their concern for pure theology, the proper distinction between law and gospel, and the centrality of sin and grace, the reformers viewed higher culture as a sphere of faith's works and became strong advocates of humanist learning. Learned Protestants such as the polymath Joachim Camerarius (1500–1574), the educator Johannes Sturm (1507–1589), the historian Johannes Philippi (Sleidanus, 1506–1556), the irenic theologian Georg Calixtus (1586–1656), and a host of neo-Latin poets, playwrights, and philosophers carried humanism into the seventeenth century and the beginnings of the Enlightenment. Catholic reformers, too, especially the Jesuits, saw the value of the *humaniora,* or humane studies, and introduced them into their academies, colleges, and universities. The Reformation owed much to humanism and repaid the debt richly by broadening the popular base of education and carrying humanist learning into modern times.

The Reformation brought to an end the role of Renaissance humanism as an independent cultural force, for thereafter it became associated closely with the various Christian confessions. Lutheran, Calvinist, Catholic, and radical humanist learning was cultivated in secondary schools and universities. Where humanism was transmitted in this academic way, it was preserved much longer than where it remained a matter of a few individuals or groups; but humanism took on a more pedantic and less spontaneous character in the universities.

Humanist impulses were not only widespread horizontally on a European scale but reached down vertically through the centuries. Where humanist influence was strong, it nourished tendencies toward universalism, or at least toward latitudinarianism, especially in England and the Netherlands, and fostered an irenic spirit. The humanist way of thinking has remained in evidence into the twentieth century.

SEE ALSO Bruno, Giordano; Enlightenment, The; Erasmus, Desiderius; Ficino, Marsilio; Neoplatonism; Nicholas of Cusa; Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni; Reformation; Scholasticism.

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HUMAN RIGHTS AND RELIGION.

Human rights are a secular, supposedly normative (because often defined as "universal") doctrine of ethical behavior embedded in national, regional, and international systems of law under the authority of the United Nations (UN) and implemented with varying degrees of success and failure. Indicative of the enhanced role of religion in global politics, the relationship between religion and human rights remains complex and diverse, covering a variety of ever-fluctuating geopolitical situations.

UNIVERSAL HUMAN RIGHTS. The 1945 Charter of the United Nations sets out basic principles upon which international legal standards have been developed. On December 10, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, thirty articles that remain fundamental for all subsequent covenants, conventions, and treaties in the field. The preamble to the declaration states that the "recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world." The preamble also recognizes that "disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind." It hopes for "the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want," proclaimed as "the highest aspiration of the common people."

From these aspirations arose the International Bill of Human Rights, which is a collection of five documents, consisting of:

- Universal Declaration of Human Rights (December 10, 1948)
- International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (December 16, 1966; into effect January 3, 1976)
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (December 16, 1966; into effect March 23, 1976)
- Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (December 16, 1966; into effect March 23, 1976)
- Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, aiming at the abolition of the death penalty (December 15, 1989)

Given how wide-ranging the statement of human rights is—from basic civil and democratic political freedoms to rights in education, employment, and health—it is not surprising that in an effort to make social progress through subsequent human rights work, the nature and extent of the rights framework has become extremely complex, not to say controversial.

RELIGION AND POLITICS. The immediate aftermath of the end of the Cold War was a time of ideological triumphalism. If Western models of governance based upon democracy and universal human rights had seemingly come out victorious from a struggle against Soviet Communism, then books such as *The Clash of Civilizations* by Samuel Huntington controversially revitalized an ancient notion that differing value systems will inevitably come into conflict. Some people, such as Francis Fukuyama, suggested that Western models of governance based on democracy and universal human rights had triumphed, receiving collective recognition as the best political system the world had yet produced. This new international consensus over political values demonstrated, according to Fukuyama, nothing less than an end of history. According to this analysis, if secularization theory has widely predicted the marginalization of religion to a private domain rather than a sphere of public influence, then religion simply did not come into the equation to any significant degree.

Arguably more astute commentators were beginning to suggest that the end of the Cold War might mean something different—what significant scholars of religion had always argued: that the place of religion in world politics had in the modern era been seriously underplayed. In *The World's Religions,* Ninian Smart, foremost among such scholars, argued for the relevance of religion in a number of dimensions. While this might be expected from a scholar of religion, such a notion, unfashionable for so long outside religious studies, came to take on importance in politics and sociology. Jeff Haynes's analysis of religion in world politics builds on Jose Casanova's foundational theoretical work in sociology.

Casanova's *Public Religions in the Modern World* began seriously to challenge the largely accepted secularization thesis, that in modern societies religion becomes less and less relevant to public discourse, and any influence it might have would be relegated to people's private lives. Both Haynes and Casanova demonstrated from a series of geopolitical case studies how the secularization thesis was no longer supportable or at least presented evidence that it needed to be refined to explain how religious traditions were gaining an increasingly public profile, from the rise of Islam in political contexts across innumerable states to increasing conflicts between cultural and religious traditions, notably in Africa, Asia, and the former Soviet Union.

RELIGION AND HUMAN RIGHTS. Since the formation of the United Nations, human rights issues related to religion and belief have been the focus of several international instruments:

- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)
- The Arcot Krishnaswami Study (1959)
- The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966)
- The International Covenant on Social, Economic, and Cultural Rights (1966)
- The Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief (1981)

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights includes a number of articles of relevance to freedom of religion and belief. These include Article 2 (forbidding prejudicial distinctions of any kind, including those related to religion) and Article 26 (on the rights to a particular religious education). The foundation stone of freedom of religion and belief, though, is found in Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This states, "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship, and observance."

Nathan Lerner in *Religion, Beliefs, and International Human Rights* offers one of the most authoritative commentaries on religion in the UN system. As Lerner suggests, Article 18 greatly influenced the texts incorporated in the 1966 covenants and was influential in regional treaties and the 1981 declaration. Some key international legal standards relating to freedom of religion and belief include:

- Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief (November 25, 1981);
- Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious, and Linguistic Minorities (December 18, 1992);
- Oslo Declaration on Freedom of Religion and Belief (1998);
- World Conference against Racism, Xenophobia, and Related Forms of Discrimination (September 2002).

The preamble to the UN Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief (1981) restates the wider context of the charter of the United Nations. Notably this reiterates the "dignity and equality inherent in all human beings," international commitment on the promotion of universal human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, "without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion," and the principles of "nondiscrimination and equality before the law and the right to freedom of thought, conscience, religion, and belief."

Issues of religion have increasingly come to the fore in a United Nations formally cautious about being explicit about arguably the most contentious of all human rights, while an increasingly intense post–September 11 context has highlighted the issue of potential violent conflict in the world. The wider significance of these issues might be summarized by four points. First, after a long neglect (or low-level treatment) of religion explicitly, the UN system from the late 1970s and especially with the 1981 declaration began to recognize the international significance of religion for a stable world order.

During the 1990s religion emerged explicitly in numerous international statements, gaining a new and unprecedented prominence. These included the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam (1990) and the Fundamental Agreement between the Holy See and the State of Israel (1993). The Vienna Declaration and Plan of Action (1993) and the follow-up to the World Conference on Human Rights, the office of the UN High Commissioner on Human Rights (1993), also gave some prominence to freedom of culture and religion, an important development given the respective post-Yugoslavia and post-Rwanda contexts. The new prominence given to religion culminated in the Oslo Declaration on Freedom of Religion and Belief (1998).

Second, and indicated by both the 1981 declaration and the 1998 Oslo declaration, the notion of freedom of religion was itself extended to freedom of religion and belief to allow for a wider interpretation of worldviews. Third, this in turn has had the effect of linking issues such as "freedom of thought, conscience, and religion" to what Carl Wellman in

Mass Slaughter Since the 1948 Convention Against Genocide

Date	State	Victims	Deaths
1943–1957	USSR	Chechens, Ingushi, Karachai	230,000
1944–68	USSR	Crimean Tartars, Meskhetians	57,000–175,000
1955–77	China	Tibetans	Not available
1959–75	Iraq	Kurds	Not available
1962–72	Paraguay	Ache Indians	90,000
1963–64	Rwanda	Tutsis	5,000–14,000
1963	Laos	Meo Tribesmen	18,000–20,000
1965–66	Indonesia	Chinese	500,000–1 million
1965–73	Burundi	Hutus	103,000–205,000
1966	Nigeria	Ibos in North	9,000–30,000
1966–84	Guatemala	Indians	30,000–63,000
1968–85	Philippines	Moros	10,000–100,000
	Equatorial Guinea	Bubi Tribe	1,000–50,000
1971	Pakistan	Bengalis of EasternPakistan	1.25–3 million
1971–9	Uganda	Karamajong Acholi, Lango	100,000–500,000
1975–79	Cambodia	Including Muslim Cham	2 million?
1975–98	Indonesia	East Timorese	60,000–200,000
1978–	Burma	Muslims in border regions	Not available
1979–86	Uganda	Karamanjong, Nilotic Tribes Bagandans	50,000–100,000
1981	Iran	Kurds, Bahais	10,000–20,000
1983–7	Sri Lanka	Tamils	2,000–10,000
1994	Rwanda	Tutsis	500,000–million
1992–5	Bosnia–Herzegovina	Mainly Bosnian Muslims	200,000

(Ryan, in Gearon, 2002)

TABLE 1.

The Proliferation of Rights has called rights of human solidarity, notable in connections publicly made between religious intolerance and the ending of racism, xenophobia, and discrimination. For example, the 1981 Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief was followed just over a decade later by the UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious, and Linguistic Minorities (1992).

Fourth, also related to Wellman's notion of human solidarity are the rights affecting particular groups of the world's population, including children and indigenous peoples. In terms of religion and human rights, the major issue here is women and human rights in the world's religions. The prominent and influential World Conference on Women was held in Beijing in 1995, the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. The resulting Beijing declaration was careful to set the event in the context of other conferences. Cited conferences included those on women in Nairobi in 1985, on children in New York in 1990, on environment and development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, on human rights in Vienna in 1993, on population and development in Cairo in 1994, and on social development in Copenhagen in 1995. Convinced that "women's empowerment and their full participation on the basis of equality in all spheres of society, including participation in the decision-making process and access to power, are fundamental for the achievement of equality, development and peace," commitments made by the Beijing declaration included (1) full implementation of the human rights of women and of the girl child "as an inalienable, integral, and indivisible part of all human rights and fundamental freedoms" and (2) the empowerment and advancement of women, "including the right to freedom of thought, conscience, religion, and belief."

TENSIONS IN EQUALITY: THEORETIC EQUALITY VERSUS FACTUAL INEQUALITY. Heightened emphasis upon religion and culture in international relations shows a world that continues to reflect considerable tensions between worldviews when dealing with ideals such as human rights. These tensions are of four kinds: first, between between particular cultural and especially religious systems and the notion of universal human rights; second, between religious traditions and different culture's worldviews; within and between human rights themselves; and between a stated universality of rights and factual inequality in their distribution.

Human rights. There are tensions between particular cultural and especially religious systems and the notion of universal human rights. Examples include the right to freedom of expression that might give offense to some religious sensibility or the tension between democratic political systems and religiously inspired systems of governance or, and perhaps especially, issues of universal rights between men and women. Most critically on December 18, 1979, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women was adopted by the UN General Assembly. It entered into force as an international treaty on September 3, 1981.

While marking significant progress and the culmination of three decades of work by the UN Commission on the Status of Women (established 1946), the Beijing and Beijing +5 meetings show that the equal status of women remains in many countries and cultures a distant ideal, despite the fact that basic equality in human rights was fundamental to the UN charter and the Universal Declaration. The convention states that discrimination against women is extensive and details the areas (health, education, employment, and legal and political status) where progress needs to be made. The convention also devotes much time to reproductive rights, issues around maternity, and rights centered on marriage. Of general importance is the disparity between the UN definitions of women's rights and those perceived within certain cultural and religious traditions. In reality each religion will address particular issues of integrating or rejecting women's rights within their respective traditions. And these will be tempered by political circumstances.

For political case studies on women's rights, major nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in the field, like Human Rights Watch, often focus on similar specific issues. Human Rights Watch has continually updated studies of each of the world's geographical regions. In general the legal difficulties in combining the equalities, rights, and freedoms of religion with the equalities, rights, and freedoms of women are real, representing arguably the most significant tension between international systems of human rights and religious traditions. On the technical legal side of such matters, Kelly D. Askin and Dorean M. Koenig's *Women and International Human Rights Law* (1999) is certainly worth consulting.

Worldviews. There are tensions between religious traditions and different culture's worldviews. Religious, cultural, and ethnic differences remain the major source of conflict in a post–Cold War world. After two world wars and with a clear awareness of the systematic mass murders of the Holocaust, the 1948 Genocide Convention was born out of a never-again mentality. Since then genocide, defined here as the systematic and deliberate targeting for extinction of particular sections of a population, has happened repeatedly. Genocide in the twentieth century became fundamental to human rights discourse in the twenty-first century.

Between rights themselves. There are tensions within and between human rights themselves, for example, between freedom of religion or belief and freedom of expression. Here the conflict between religious traditions and universal human rights contributes to these tensions between rights that seem to compete rather than be complementary.

Stated universality and factual inequality. A wider tension exists between a stated universality of rights and factual inequality. The 1993 World Conference on Human Rights attempted to address this with the Vienna Plan of Action. Priorities for the global implementation of human rights were listed and, as with the majority of UN world conferences, a five-year review was planned. The UN commissioner for human rights concludes his Vienna +5 review with this paragraph:

> The international community must conclude that five years after Vienna, a wide gap continues to exist between the promise of human rights and their reality in the lives of people throughout the world. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, making all human rights a reality for all remains not only our fundamental challenge but our solemn responsibility.

In the UN system, human rights imply universality. Yet human values are by their nature contested, and history reveals a tragically imperfect world where inequalities abound and justice is too often absent. The World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna expressed "its dismay and condemnation that gross and systematic violations and situations that constitute serious obstacles to the full enjoyment of all human rights continue to occur in different parts of the world." It is this most fundamental sense of inequality—over and above differences between religious traditions and secular notions of human rights—that arguably presents the greatest cause of conflict the world over. As Albert Camus once remarked, "The spirit of revolt can only exist where a theoretic equality conceals great factual inequalities."

CONCLUSION. Many nation-states now regard issues of religion and human rights as essential barometers of wider democratic freedoms. In the United States, for example, the 1998 International Religious Freedom Act made it a requirement for the U.S. secretary of state to publish an annual report on religious freedom worldwide. Published each September, the

Annual Report on International Religious Freedom is submitted to the Committee on International Relations in the U.S. House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations in the U.S. Senate. The report is extensive and provides country-by-country accounts of religious freedoms and infringements on and improvements in these freedoms. The report contains an extremely useful executive summary and clearly links freedom of religion with the likelihood that countries that preserve this right will respect other fundamental rights.

SEE ALSO Law and Religion, article on Law, Religion, and Human Rights.

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LIAM GEARON (2005)

HUMAN SACRIFICE

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
AZTEC RITES

HUMAN SACRIFICE: AN OVERVIEW

Human sacrifice, defined as the killing of humans or the use of the flesh, blood, or bones of the human body for ritual purposes, has been a widespread and complex phenomenon throughout history. Most contemporary scholars try to explain human sacrifice in terms of earlier theories of sacrifice in general. Though the explanations given for the purposes of sacrifice have been almost as varied as the phenomena themselves, they may be reduced to nine common themes drawn from four of the classic works on sacrifice. These themes may be illustrated with descriptions of human sacrificial practices in differing cultural contexts.

E. B. Tylor (1832–1917) theorized that the origin of religion lay in the primitive tendency to "animate" the entire world with "soul-ghosts." Human sacrifice released these soul-ghosts so that they might join their ancestors and function as a gift to gain particular ends, as homage to a deity, or as a form of renunciation.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES. According to W. Robertson Smith (1846–1894), sacrifice originated in totemism. Sacrifice was a communal meal shared between the people and their god, who was simultaneously their totemic animal and their kinsman. Smith postulated two types of sacrifice. The first, the honorific, was a gift either on a friendly basis of exchange or as a part of homage to a powerful deity. The communion meal became a cannibal feast when a tribe, such as the wolf tribe, offered to the god the appropriate food—the members of the sheep tribe, for example. The second, the piacular or expiatory sacrifice, took on a mystical, sacramental flavor when a tribe's own totemic animal was offered as a redemption for a misdeed. The animal, who as a kinsman was also a representative of the people themselves, was killed and then shared in a communion in which people achieved atonement by physically assimilating into their own bodies the totemic form of themselves. The sacrificed animal was reborn by being assimilated into the living bodies of the people who ate it, and since those people were identified with the totemic animal, they too were reborn through this ritual.

James G. Frazer (1854–1941) developed a theory of regeneration of fertility according to which the sacrificial offering possessed tremendous potency. Sacred kings and human vegetative gods were killed to pass on their power to a younger successor, to incorporate their potency into the living who consumed their bodies, and to prevent their decay in old age since decay would endanger the fertility of earthly existence. Frazer also suggested that animals and plants were eventually substituted for the original human sacrificial offering because of the fear inherent in killing humans.

In their essay on Vedic and Hebrew sacrifice (1898), Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss considered sacrifice to be a religious act which, through the consecration of an offering, modified or transformed the condition of the person who accomplished that act by joining the divine and mortal via the sacrifice. Moreover, the self-sacrifice of a god in human form was the ideal abnegation, for it was an offering of one's own life.

Nine basic purposes of human sacrifice have been commonly cited from these early theorists: (1) humans are sacrificed in order to release souls for the service of the dead ancestors; (2) human sacrifice is a gift that binds deities to people in an exchange or that serves to propitiate the gods either as homage or as renunciation; (3) human sacrifice is a communion meal in which the power of life is assimilated and thus regenerated; (4) the offering of human sacrifice serves as an expiation of past transgressions and has a redemptive character; (5) it brings about atonement, (6) the regeneration of earthly fertility, or (7) immortality; (8) it transforms human conditions; and (9) it unifies the divine and mortal. Although some new approaches have been added taking into consideration factors such as the role that cosmology plays or the ordering capacities of human sacrifice, contemporary interpreters of human sacrifice still find these themes fruitful in a variety of cultural settings.

HISTORICAL CORROBORATION. The burials at Chan Chan (fourteenth–fifteenth centuries) in Peru are illustrative of the theme of soul-release and kinship with the dead. In this capital of the Chimu empire, many adolescent females were sacrificed and buried with their king. It is known that later, during Inca domination (fifteenth–sixteenth centuries), the king was considered alive after death and was treated as a participant in the affairs of his surviving kin. A kinship was established between the dead and the living in the Shang period (c. 1500–1050 BCE) in China as well. According to David N. Keightley (1978), in the Shang political system the dead and the living formed a bureaucracy together. The dead received "salaries" in the form of human sacrifices for their jobs as intercessors between the king and the high god Di. Without this, earthly prosperity could not continue. At Anyang (c. 1500–1400 BCE), the entombment of an entire company of soldiers, four charioteers, their companions, the horses, and the chariots has been unearthed.

The themes of expiation, redemption, and communion were central in the sacrificial tradition of the early Christian church. The early martyrs believed that their sufferings were evidence that the millennium was close at hand. By recapitulating Christ's death, they shared in his resurrection and were instantly transported into his presence. Ignatius of Antioch (Antakya, Turkey) echoed the themes of redemptive communion when he joyously declared that he looked forward to being crushed by the teeth of beasts so that he might become wheat for God's bread.

Themes of redemption and abnegation can also be found in the self-sacrifices of the samurai in Japan. Drawing on a warrior tradition dating back to the eleventh century that stressed kinship and extreme loyalty in the face of failure, the Bushidō cult arose in the peaceful Tokugawa period (1600–1868). Since there were few wars for the samurai to fight, Confucian ideals were joined with the earlier warrior ethic to create a martial cult in which the warrior was to give complete loyalty to his lord by rendering service in office rather than in war. If *seppuku* (ritual suicide) was demanded, the samurai were to comply without question. The reasons for *seppuku* might include atonement for transgressions, the avoidance of capture in war, the death of one's lord, or a final protest to a lord who failed to follow the samurai's good advice—an act of selflessness intended to bring the foolish lord back to his senses. *Seppuku* became a refined art in which the samurai, with tremendous self-control, slashed his own belly. Often an assistant then decapitated him in such a way that the head was left hanging by a bit of flesh. In one incident forty-seven samurai chose this ritual to avenge the disgraceful death of their lord. The kamikaze pilots of World War II also followed this ancient warrior tradition.

In the Hawaiian Islands, sacrifice stands for transformation, communion, and the capacity to reorder what has been disordered. In Hawaiian theology, gods, humans, and nature are one human species. Gods are no more than differentiated manifestations of the undifferentiated cosmic Pō (of which people and nature are extensions) so that the entire world is related by kinship. The sacrificial ritual begins with some perceived lack, which is understood as a kind of disorder. The offering is consecrated to the god, who eats a part of the sacrifice, thus assimilating into himself its *mana* (effective potency). The sacrifice then passes back to the participants, who assimilate it. In this communal sharing, life is reordered and thus regenerated via the mutual assimilation of the sacrifice—an assimilation made possible by the shared kinship of gods and humans. A transformative reordering is made.

The evidence for human sacrifice in Vedic India (c. 1500–600 BCE) is still largely contested. However, by drawing on both textual and archaeological sources, Asko Parpola has suggested that rituals that were precursors of the Agnicayana (Vedic fire sacrifice) included the killing of humans. These earlier rites were part of a yearly cycle of two seasons devoted to war and agriculture, the two divisions marked by sacrifices in which the Aśvamedha (horse sacrifice) was equated with the *puruṣamedha* (human sacrifice). Death and regeneration were central concepts in these two sacrifices as they were in the Agnicayana. Even in the early twenty-first century, the Agnicayana symbolically involves human sacrifice: The mythic sacrificial dismemberment of Puruṣa (Cosmic Man) is recalled as the fire altar is constructed brick by brick, an act that reorders both Puruṣa and the cosmos. Five heads originally were buried under the altar—those of a man, a horse, an ox, a sheep, and a goat. Today a live tortoise is buried because of its cosmic and regenerative symbolism. The first layer of bricks represents Puruṣa's thousand eyes, and the finished altar is shaped like the firebird who will carry the sacrifice to heaven. J. C. Heesterman has suggested that human sacrifice was eliminated in the Brāhmaṇas (c. 900–700 BCE), which substituted animals and rice cakes, in an attempt to control the fear of disorder inherent in the ritual killing of humans.

The themes of order and disorder also play a role in Aztec sacrifice as does the theme of sacrificial exchange. A central myth of the Aztec tells of the birth and destruction of four ages prior to the Fifth Sun, the age of the Aztec. Each previous age is named for the way in which the sun was totally destroyed. The Fifth Sun, called the "age of movement," was also doomed to destruction by earthquakes and famine. The sun of this age was born by the willing self-sacrifice of the gods, and so shall people sacrifice themselves for the gods in return. In a cosmic exchange, gods are the maize of people's existence while people are tortillas for the gods to eat. But just as all people are born, eat food, grow old, and die, so too will the Fifth Sun meet its demise, no matter how much it is fed. The Aztec universe was thus unstable—wobbling between periods of order and disorder. Only human sacrifice could stay the end, and that only temporarily. In this eschatological setting, massive sacrificial rites were performed that may have offered people a chance to take some control of their inevitable destruction, a chance to control the uncontrollable.

Human sacrifice may seem remote to civilized sensibilities. Nevertheless, as a human act it must be at least partly intelligible to other humans. On November 18, 1978, in Jonestown, Guyana, 914 members of the People's Temple took their own lives by means of a cyanide-laced fruit drink. Most of them did so willingly. The complex reasons for this massive sacrifice of human lives are both disturbing and challenging to one's capacity to understand. Yet some familiar themes may be recognized. The people of Jonestown, like the Christian martyrs, believed in a utopian world on "the other side." Like the samurai, they chose death as a "revolutionary act" to protest against the racism that they had failed to overcome, and like the Aztecs, they preferred to choose the time and place of their own deaths. As Jim Jones said during that "white night": "I haven't seen anybody yet didn't die. And I like to choose my own kind of death for a change."

SEE ALSO Afterlife, article on Chinese Concepts; Bushidō; Puruṣa; Suicide; Vedism and Brahmanism.

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An extraordinarily rich source of information on the Aztecs was compiled by a sixteenth-century Franciscan father, Bernardino de Sahagun, in his *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España,* translated by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble as *Florentine Codex: A General History of the Things of New Spain,* 13 vols. (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 1950–1982). Volumes 2, 3, and 7 are particularly good for ritualistic and mythic sources on human sacrifice. A general discussion of Aztec sacrifice can be found in *Time and Sacrifice in the Aztec Cosmos* by Kay Read (Bloomington, Ind., 1998), and an excellent synthesis and application of a number of classic and contemporary theories on Aztec sacrifice appears in *Envisioning Power: Ideologies of Dominance and Crisis* by Eric Wolf (Berkeley, Calif., 1999, pp. 134–195).

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HUMAN SACRIFICE: AZTEC RITES

One of the most vivid examples of the Aztec ritual of sacrificing human beings (*tlamictiliztli*) appears in Bernal Díaz del Castillo's book *The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico* (1632; Eng. ed., 1953). Díaz del Castillo, a foot soldier in Hernando Cortés's army, describes seeing his comrades, who had been captured in a recent battle, being dragged by force up the steps of the temple of Coatepec by Aztec warriors and priests. As the "dismal drum" of the war god, Huitzilopochtli, mixed with the ominous sounds of shell and horn trumpets, the Aztecs decorated their captives with Aztec costumes and "with fans in their hands they forced them to dance before Huichilobos [Huitzilopochtli]" (p. 191). After this ceremonial preparation, we are told that the Aztecs lay the Spaniards "on their backs on some rather narrow stones which had been prepared as places for sacrifice, and with some knives they sawed open their chests and drew out their palpitating hearts and offered them to the idols that were there" (p. 191). Following this offering to the gods at the temple, the victims were rolled back down to the bottom of the steps where ritual experts "cut off their arms and feet and flayed the skin off the faces, and prepared it afterwards like glove leather with the beards on, and kept those for the festivals when they celebrated drunken orgies and the flesh they ate in chilimole" (p. 191).

This shocking description of an apparent massacre represents what Burr C. Brundage in his book *The Fifth Sun* (1979) calls "the central fact of Aztec life . . . the nuclear cult of war, sacrifice and cannibalism." In this no doubt biased selection, major ritual elements of Aztec human sacrifice can be identifed that help illuminate some aspects of Aztec religion. Among the outstanding elements in the text are the centrality of the sacred temple of Tenochtitlan, the ascent and descent of the temple stairs, ritual dressing, dancing and music, the heart sacrifice of enemy warriors, the dismemberment and flaying of the victim, cannibalism, and an atmosphere of political and military crisis. While it is significant that even in the report of an enemy soldier like Díaz del Castillo a number of indigenous facts of Aztec ritual sacrifice are communicated, it is important to acknowledge that many crucial dimensions are missed. First, the Nahuatl word that is closest to "sacrifice" was *nextlaoalli* (paying of the debt). In many parts of the Mesoamerican world, the ritual killing of plants, animals, and humans was carried out within a deep-seated belief that the deities had created the universe out of their own self-immolations or the giving of some part of their essences. Secondly, this gift of life put a debt on human beings whose responsibility it was to pay back the gods through ritual sacrifice and the production of blood that would result in the rejuvenation of the divine forces that sustain the world. Thirdly, this commitment to paying the debt had many ritual and theological dimensions that the Spaniards could not understand including the Mesoamerican belief that the reliability of many crucial transitions between months, years and larger cycles of time depended on the ritual giving of blood. These are just some of the key meanings of human sacrifice that is often overlooked by public and scholars alike.

As a means of understanding these elements within a comprehensive setting, this essay will focus on the following: (1) the social-political world of the Aztec Empire, characterized as a pulsating polity marked by ferocious rivalries between the capital city of Tenochtitlan (the center) and the allied and enemy territories of the state (the periphery); (2) the cosmological setting of Aztec religion and human sacrifice; and (3) the practice and paraphernalia of human sacrifice. This approach will show Aztec ritual sacrifice as both text and context, ritual order and ritual destruction aimed at cosmic and social revitalization. The Aztec warrior and worshiper powerfully experienced the gods not only in the poetry, art, and architecture of the ceremonial centers of the empire but also in the elaborate preparations of ritual places, plants, animals and people for sacrifice through the deadly thrust of the sacrificial knife, the eruption of blood on the temple, and sometimes the transformation of human flesh into ritual food.

The Social World of Center and Periphery. The social world in which Aztec ritual sacrifice developed was a rapidly expanding empire, organized around the capital city of Tenochtitlan between 1426 and 1521. This state organization was created and maintained, in part, by military force and a religious cosmology pervaded by themes of competition, conflict, agricultural regeneration, warfare,and the ritual killing of gods and men. In the ninety-plus years of the rise of Aztec power, the elites of Tenochtitlan—who conceived of their world as *cemanahuac*, a "land surrounded by water" that was divided by the gods into four quadrants emanating from the capital—constructed the largest and most powerful political state in Mesoamerican history. This achievement of centralization was accomplished through the military conquest of scores of communities that lay in all directions from the capital. This center-oriented cosmological and social world was hampered by a pulsating political process marked by constant rebellions, secessions, and realignments by allies. One of the major political and religious instruments in stabilizing peripheral territories, and in the acquisition of massive tribute payments such as maize, beans, cloth, war service, and labor, was the periodic, sometimes large-scale sacrifice of enemy warriors at the major temples of Tenochtitlan. Some of these sacrifices constituted theatrical ritual displays of the ideology, wealth, and symbolism of the exemplary center for the purpose of establishing and expanding Aztec authority within and beyond the Valley of Mexico.

This pattern of conquest, tributary control, and human sacrifice was already a traditional practice in Mesoamerica when the Aztec ancestors, the *Chichimec* (sons of the dogs), migrated into the valley in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. At that time, the Valley of Mexico was politically fragmented into a myriad of small, warring city-states (each with a population of between ten and fifty thousand) in constant competition and conflict for political, ritual, and economic control. While human sacrifice as an instrument of political intimidation and religious devotion was widely practiced and regulated by several calendars, the Aztec expanded its uses during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

The most powerful city-state encountered by the Aztec during their rise to dominance was the Tepenac empire, which consolidated some areas of the central valley in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Around 1424, the Aztec of Tenochtitlan and the city-states of Texcoco and Tlacopan successfully rebelled against the Tepenac and formed a state organization called the Triple Alliance, which took over the Tepenac patterns of conquest, territorial control, and tribute payments. However, during the next ninety years, Aztec *tlatoanis* (chief speakers/rulers) directed aggressive military campaigns to the north, south, east, and west of the city and central valley in order to expand their territorial and tributary empire. In some cases, large-scale military campaigns were carried out at great distances from the capital. These expansions into peripheral territories resulted in both new acquisitions of land and tribute but also terrible defeats of the Aztecs at the hands of the Tlaxcala-Puebla Valley kingdom in the east and the Tarascan state in the west.

The Flowery Wars. One of the most important ritual and political institutions of the Aztec Empire was the *Xochiyaoyotl* (Flowery Wars), which lasted from 1450 to 1519 and consisted of a series of scheduled battlefield confrontations between warriors of the Triple Alliance and warriors of the Tlaxcala-Puebla Valley kingdoms. In recent years a controversy has arisen over the causes and significance of the Flowery Wars. According to indigenous accounts that reflect the ideology of Aztec elites, the "wars" were staged primarily to provide sacrificial victims for ritual festivals and to keep the warriors in training. One argument is that the devastating famines of 1450 to 1454, during the reign of Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina (Moctezuma I) (1466–1520) were interpreted by the priestly elites as a sign of angry gods who needed a greater supply of warrior sacrifices. A sixteenth-century chronicler, Fray Diego Durán, states that the Flowery Wars were instituted for the specific purpose of supplying victims for the Templo Mayor (Great Temple) of Tenochtitlan, where the shrines of Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc stood. Whereas the actual social causes were almost certainly more complex, the argument put forth by Tlacaellel, the chief adviser of Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin (Moctezuma II) (1502–1520) represents the Aztec vision well. He compared a warrior going to the Flowery Wars with a merchant going to distant markets to purchase luxuries. The god and his army went to the battlefield to purchase blood and hearts, the luxuries of the temples.

Recent research has expanded our understanding of the Flowery Wars by revealing that they

> began almost as demonstration wars or tournaments, with limited numbers of elite combatants, no intentional killing, and the release of prisoners. A convincing display of superiority could lead to capitulation, but if that failed, the war escalated over a period of years: ever larger numbers of combatants were involved; the types of weapons allowed expanded to include those, such as bows and arrows, that inflicted indiscriminate death; captives were sacrificed and battles became lethal confrontations. (Hassig, 2001, p. 320).

Thus, these military confrontations resulted not just in the capture of warriors for temple sacrifice but eventually in large-scale battlefield killing that left the competing armies depleted and in disarray. In these cases, the Flowery Wars reflect true warfare conditions between states, not simply the acquisition of warriors for sacrifice in the capital. Further, it is certain that during periods of truce between these ritually warring kingdoms, rulers of enemy territories were invited to witness the theatrical sacrifice of warriors in the ceremonial center of Tenochtitlan. Hidden behind special canopies, these visiting lords witnessed the ritual devastation of allied and enemy warriors. According to Johanna Broda, the Aztec rulers organized the ceremonies so that their enemies could see "the greatness of Mexico" and in order to "bewilder them, fill them with fear, . . . in order to show that the Aztecs were the masters of all the riches of the earth" (Broda, 1970, p. 234). In this case, the rulers from the peripheries of the Aztec state were brought to the center to witness the ceremonial authority of the capital, Tenochtitlan, which assisted the Aztec in their purpose of achieving political superiority.

Whereas the Aztecs were able by the middle of the reign of Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin to consolidate scores of city-states into their empire and to intimidate many others into uneasy alliances, their world was repeatedly shocked by rebellions and defeats at the peripheries of their empire. These tensions put the Aztec state in an atmosphere of periodic crisis and regeneration and likely contributed to the escalation of ritual human sacrifices in the ceremonial center of the capital.

It must be noted, however, that human sacrifice was practiced prior to the Aztec Empire and in many parts of Mesoamerica. There is evidence of human sacrifice among the Olmecs who date back to 1200 BCE and the Classic Maya inscriptions have a special glyph for the notion of sacrifice that sometimes referred to the ritual killing of a defeated, rival king. The ritual torture of prisoners at ceremonial temples as well as the ritual dismemberment and beheading of prisoners is shown on murals and painted vessels from numerous Maya archaeological sites. As González Torres writes, sacrifice is now known to have taken place at the great city of Teotihuacan in central Mexico.

> Recent excavations in Teotihuacan have proved that human sacrifice was practiced there on a large scale. So far, 126 skeletons have been found in or around the temple of Quetzalcoatl, and archaeologists think there were at least 272 individuals represented in remains associated just with this building. One hypothesis is that they constituted a foundation sacrifice that may have been part of a great ceremony dedicated to the deities of water, just before the completion of the temple. (González Torres, 2001, p. 103)

Whereas this essay focuses intensely on the Aztec patterns and practices, other Mesoamerican cultures devised elaborate sacrificial practices that deserve further attention.

COSMOLOGY OF HUMAN SACRIFICE. In the various creation myths and sacred histories found in such representative works as the *Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas*, the *Leyenda de los soles*, and Fray Bernardino de Sahagún's *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España* (1569–1582), the Aztec cosmos is shown to have several distinctive qualities, including a dynamic, unstable, and destructive cosmic setting that is marked by sharp alternations between order and disorder, cosmic life and cosmic death. This oscillation reflects historical developments in which the collapse of specific city-states or kingdoms resulted in the initial fragmentation but later proliferation of new communities.

At least three major cosmogonic episodes contain paradigms for the Aztec practices of warfare and human sacrifice. A review of these episodes reveals three important patterns: first, a widening of the pattern of sacrifice from sacrifice to a single deity to sacrifice to masses of deities, and, second, the conquest and sacrifice of gods from the periphery of the cosmos by the gods and warriors at the center of the world. In some cases a third pattern appears—the victory of a weaker god or brother over the dominant sibling or deity.

A major cosmogonic episode related to human sacrifice is reported in Sahagún's *Florentine Codex* as occurring after the universe has passed through the first four cosmogonic ages. We are told that during the night the gods gathered around a divine fire at Teotihuacan (abode of the gods) to discuss who take it upon himself to "be the sun, to bring the dawn" (vol. 7, p. 6). Following four days of penance and ritual, the god Nanahuatzin (the pimply one), dressed in ceremonial garb, hurled himself into the fire, followed by a second deity, Tecuciztecatl (lord of snails). Immediately, an eagle and a jaguar rose from the flames. "From this event it is said, they took the custom whereby one was called valiant, a warrior" (vol. 7, p. 6). Then the dawn appeared in all directions. Uncertain as to where the sun would rise, the gods fell upon their knees. Quetzalcoatl looked eastward and "when the sun came to rise, when he burst forth, he appeared to be red, he kept swaying from side to side" (vol. 7, p. 7). The gods were faced with an unstable, threatening cosmic orb born out of the self-sacrifice of two of their number. Because of the motionless sun, the gods decide to sacrifice themselves, saying, "Let this be, that through us the sun may be revived. Let all of us die" (vol. 7, p. 7). The wind god, Ecatl (Ehécatl), "deals death" to the mass of deities, but the sun still fails to "follow his path." In desperation, Ecatl "exerted himself fiercely, and violently as he blew" and the sun "went on his way" (vol. 7, p. 7). Thus began the fifth and present age—the Aztec age—created when one courageous warrior god sacrificed himself, followed by the sacrifice of almost all of the gods. It may be that this cosmogonic sacrifice served as the religious justification for the increase in sacrifices at later ceremonial cities such as Tenochtitlan.

COSMIC SACRIFICE OF HUITZILOPOCHTLI. The cosmic pattern of mass sacrifice to energize the sun is repeated in a subsequent episode in which terrestrial warfare and human sacrifice are created by the gods to provide for their nourishment. In one version, the god Mixcoatl (cloud serpent) creates five women and four hundred Chichimec warriors to stir up discord and warfare. While the warriors pass their time hunting and drinking, the god sends the five human beings to slay them. In this account, war is created specifically to provide sacrificial victims for the gods but again we see a large number of sacrifices taking place.

However, the specific paradigm for massive sacrifices of enemy warriors at Tenochtitlan appears in the *teotuicatl* (divine song) of the birth of Huitzilopochtli, the Aztec war god. This narrative illustrates the pattern of the conquest and ritual killing of warriors from the periphery of the state at the major temple in the heart of the capital. The story begins when the mother of the gods, Coatlicue (serpent skirt), becomes pregnant while sweeping out the temple at Coatepec (serpent mountain). When her daughter Coyolxauhqui hears of the pregnancy, she incites her 399 siblings to dress for war. The text in book 3 of Sahagún's *Historia* reads, "They were very angry, they were very agitated, as if the hearts had gone out of them. Coyolxauhqui incited them, she inflamed the anger of her brothers, so that they should kill her mother" (p. 6). Next, Coyolxauhqui directs them to dress for war: "They distributed among themselves their paper garb, the anecuyotl, the nettles, the streamers of colored paper, . . . their arrows had barbed points, . . . then they began to move" (p. 6). Following a journey through many towns, the army, led by Coyolxauhqui, charges up Serpent Mountain to kill Coatlicue. As they reach the top, Huitzilopochtli is born fully dressed and attired for war. Attacking Coyolxauhqui, he cuts off her head and dismembers her. The text notes, "The body of Coyolxauhqui rolled down the slope; it fell apart in pieces; her hands, her legs, her torso fell in different places" (p. 7). Next, Huitzilopochtli attacks the other warriors: "He pursued them, he chased them like rabbits, all round the mountain . . . four times, . . . with nothing could they defend themselves. He chased them, he drove them away, he humbled them, he destroyed them, he annihilated them" (p. 7). Following the killing of the enemy warriors at the mountain, he takes off their costumes and "introduces them into his destiny" (p. 7).

As the significant excavations (1978–2003) of the Templo Mayor of Tenochtitlan have revealed, this mythic episode was replicated in the architecture and ritual action of the temple, which was dedicated to Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc. It has been learned that the temple was called "Coatepec" by the Aztec. Its arrangement of parts, with Huitzilopochtli's shrine at the top of one of the great stairways and the eleven-foot-diameter round stone depicting the dismembered Coyolxauhqui located at the bottom, is an architectural repetition of this mythic episode. Ethnographic research has shown that the largest number of ceremonial sacrifices of enemy warriors from surrounding communities took place at this temple. As the divine song of Huitzilopochtli's birth states at the end,

> The Méxica venerated him, made sacrifices to him, honored and served him. And Huitzilopochtli paid back those who behaved that way. And his cult was taken from there, from Coatepec, the Mountain of the Serpent, as it was practiced in ancient times. (Sahagún, vol. 3, p. 8)

As remarked earlier, many mythic episodes related to sacrifice constitute an "overthrow" episode in which the younger, weaker or more vulnerable sibling or god overcomes the older or more powerful sibling resulting in the death of the latter and the creation of a new age, place or era. In the three cases above, we see this pattern acted out when Nanahuatzin becomes the hero god of the Fifth Sun, when the five women take on the role of sacrificing the lazy male deities and when the miracle child Huitzilopochtli defeats his fully grown, experienced warrior sister. In these and many cases, the universe is renewed as a result of an "overthrow" of the younger sibling against the older and more powerful god.

PRACTICE AND PARAPHERNALIA OF HUMAN SACRIFICE. It must be understood that the "debt payments" by humans to the gods who created them and the universe—what we are calling human sacrifice—were carried out within a larger, more complex ceremonial system in which a tremendous amount of energy, wealth, and time was spent in a variety of ritual festivals dedicated to a crowded and active pantheon of divinities who needed to be nurtured. This dedication is reflected in the many metaphors and symbols related to agricultural renewal, war and sacrifice. Blood was called *chalchiuh-atl*, meaning "precious water." Human hearts were likened to fine burnished turquoise, and war was *teoatltlachinolli*, meaning "divine liquid" and "burnt things." War was the place "where the jaguars roar," where "feathered war bonnets heave about like foam in the waves." And death on the battlefield was called *xochimiquiztli*, meaning "the flowery death."

The crowded ceremonial schedule was acted out in the many ceremonial centers of the city and empire. The greatest single ceremonial precinct, that surrounding the Templo Mayor, formed the axis of Tenochtitlan and measured 440 meters on each of its four sides. It contained, according to some accounts, more than eighty ritual temples, skull racks, schools, and other ceremonial structures. Book 2 of Sahagún's *Historia* contains a valuable list with descriptions of most of these buildings, including "the Temple of Uitzilopochtli [Huitzilopochtli] . . . of Tlaloc . . . in the middle of the square; . . . it was higher; it was taller; . . . [it] faced toward the setting of the sun." Sahagún's work also contains descriptions of the kinds of sacrifices performed at various sacred places. At Teccizcalli, the Florentine Codex reports, "Moctezuma did penances; . . . there was dying there; captives died there." At Mexico Calmecac "dwelt the penitents who offered incense at the summit of the Temple of Tlaloc, quite daily." At Teccalco "there was casting of men into the fire." At the Great Skull Rack "there also . . . used to be slaying." At the Temple of Cinteotl, "the impersonator of Chicomecoatl died, at night only. And when she died, then they flayed her . . . the fire priest put on the skin." At Coaapan "the fire priest of Coatlan bathed himself." At Tilocan, amaranth-seed dough was "cooked . . . [for] the image of Uitzilopochtli." And, finally, at Acatl Yiacapan Uey Calpulli, "they gathered together the sacrificial victims called Tlalocs . . . when they had slain them, they cut them to pieces there and cooked them. They put squash blossoms with their flesh . . . then the noblemen ate them, all the high judges: but not the common folk—only the rulers." (All quotations in the preceding passage are from Sahagún, vol. 2, pp. 179–193.)

Though important variations of ritual activity were carried out at these temples, schools, skull racks, and bathhouses, the general pattern of debt payment/human sacrifice was as follows. Most Aztec ritual began with a preparatory period of priestly fasting (*nezahualiztli*) that lasted four (or a multiple of four) days. An important exception was the yearlong fast by a group of priests and priestesses known as the *teocuaque* (god eaters) and the greatly feared *in iachhuan Huitzilopochtli in mocexiuhzauhque* (the elder brothers of Huitzilopochtli who fasted for a year). This preparatory period also involved nocturnal vigils (*tozohualiztli*) and offerings of flowers, food, cloth, rubber, paper, and poles with streamers, as well as incensing (*copaltemaliztli*), the pouring of libations, and the embowering of temples, statues, and ritual participants. Dramatic processions of elaborately costumed participants moving to sacred songs played by musical ensembles passed through the ceremonial precinct before arriving at the specific temple of sacrifice. The major ritual participants were called *in ixiptla in teteo* (deity impersonators). All important rituals involved a death sacrifice of either animals or human beings.

Autosacrifice and bloodletting. It is often overlooked that autosacrifice or the willful piercing and bleeding was the most common form of sacrificial action carried out by the Aztecs on their own bodies. A simple way to understand the meaning of autosacrifice is to state that Mesoamerican peoples shed their own blood at the completion of major temporal cycles and periods. This reflects their understanding that the continuation of life on the cosmic and local scales depended on the ritual offerings of one's own internal divine substance—namely blood. As Cecelia Klein writes in her superb summary of this ritual practice "Maya rulers let their blood during what we now call 'period endings,' which could mark the successful completion of a *katun* (twenty-year period), *baktun* (four-hundred-year period), or even longer time cycle. On those occasions, autosacrifice was intended to encourage the safe transition between the old cycle and the new, and thus the continuation of life" (Klein, 2001, pp. 64–66).

Klein shows that as early as the ninth century BCE, Mesoamerican peoples were using stingray spines and other sharp instruments to ritually bloodlet themselves. This practice, as shown in the archaeological (obsidian, flint blades, animal bones—sometimes found in the foundation of buildings), iconographic (lintels, pictorial manuscripts sometimes showing the ritual instruments as elaborately decorated) and documentary (sixteenth-century accounts) evidence was carried out throughout Mesoamerican history. These practices were carried out by elites and commoners alike with the former sometimes using sharpened jaguar bones and the latter using stingray spines. The Aztecs had elaborate rules determining when and what parts of the body were to be bled. In colonial manuscripts it describes Aztec priests piercing their tongues, thighs, calves, and there are written reports that the most committed priests pierced their tongues and penises, sometimes splitting them in two. All people—men, women, and children—were apparently expected to carry out ritual bloodletting and several Maya carvings depict royal women involved in highly important scenes of autosacrifice. As Klein writes,

> These women are invariably wives or mothers of a male ruler, who typically accompanies them in the image. The most famous example is Lintel 24 from Yaxchilan. In his sixteenth-century *Relacion de las cosas de Yucatan,* the Franciscan bishop Diego de Landa reports that bloodspattered paper strips used in autosacrificial rites by the Conquest-period Yucatec Maya were eventually burned. The smoke from the burning bloodletters and bloodied papers was thought to transmit nourishment to the gods, since blood was perceived as an analogue of both fertilizing water and semen. (2001, p. 64)

The most dramatic and valued sacrifices were the human sacrifices of captured warriors and slaves. These victims were ritually bathed, carefully costumed, taught to dance special dances, and some were fattened or slimmed down during the preparation period. They were elaborately dressed to impersonate the specific deities to whom they were sacrificed. What must be emphasized—if one is to gain a deeper understanding of the indigenous practices, is that these rituals utterly transformed the identity of the human beings to be sacrificed into *teotl ixiptlas* (living images of the gods) as they had lived in the mythic times before the establishment of the daily life of the present age. This point has been made most clearly by Alfredo Lopez Austin who writes that these deity impersonators or

> *teteo imixiptlahuan,* . . . men possessed by the gods, who, as such, died in a rite of renewal. The idea of a calendric cycle, or a periodic returning, in which the power of a god was born, grew, decreased, and concluded made it necessary in a rite linking the time of man to mythical time that a god would die so his force might be reborn with new power. It was not men who died, but gods—gods within a corporeal covering that made their possible ritual death on earth. If the gods did not die, their force would diminish in a progressively aging process. Men destined for sacrifice were temporarily converted into receptacles of divine fire, they were treated as gods, and they were made to live as the deity lived in legend. Their existence in the role of *ixiptlatin,* or "images" could last from a few days up to four years. (Lopez Austin, 1988, p. 377)

Various sacrificial techniques. The different primary sources reveal a wide range of sacrificial techniques, including decapitation (usually for women), shooting with darts or arrows, drowning, burning, hurling from heights, strangulation, entombment and starvation, and gladiatorial combat. Usually, the ceremony peaked when splendidly attired captors and captives sang and danced in procession to the temple, where they were escorted (sometimes unwillingly) up the stairways to the sacrificial stone. The victim was quickly thrust on the sacrificial stone *(techcatl),* and the temple priest cut through the chest wall with the ritual flint knife *(techpatl).* The priest grasped the still-beating heart, called "precious eagle cactus fruit," tore it from the chest, offered it to the Sun for vitality and nourishment, and placed it in a carved circular vessel called the *cuauhxicalli* (eagle vessel). In some cases, the body, now called "eagle man," was rolled down the temple steps to the bottom, where it was dismembered. The head was cut off and the brains taken out. In some ceremonies the victim was beheaded and the head was placed on the *tzompantli*, a skull rack consisting of long poles laid horizontally and loaded with skulls. In many cases, the captor was decorated (for instance with chalk and bird down) and given gifts. Then, in some cases, together with his relatives, he consumed a ritual meal consisting of a bowl of stew of dried maize called *tlacatlaolli.*

Although this pattern of ritual preparation, ascent, and descent of the temple, as well as heart sacrifice of enemy warriors, dismemberment, and the offering to the gods in order to nurture them was typical, it is also important to emphasize the diversity of sacrificial festivals, which involved variations and combinations of these elements. For instance, during the feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli (the feast of the flaying of men), a prisoner of war "who came here from lands about us" was taken by a priest called the "bear man" and tied to a huge, round sacrificial stone, called the *temalacatl,* that was placed flat on the ground. The captive was provided with a pine club and a feathered staff to protect himself against the attacks of four warriors armed with clubs of wood and obsidian blades. When he was defeated he was taken off the stone, his heart was taken out, and he was flayed. His skin was then prepared to be worn by relatives of the captor and then paraded around the city going from house to house asking for gifts.

Another distinctive festival, called Toxcatl, was dedicated to the protean god Tezcatlipoca. Elaborate efforts were made to find the perfect deity-impersonator for this festival. The captive warrior had to have a flawless body and musical and rhetorical skills. For a full year prior to his sacrifice, he lived a privileged existence in the capital. He had eight servants to ensure that he was splendidly arrayed and bejeweled. Four wives were given to him during the last twenty days of his life. Just before the end of the sacrificial festival, he arrived at a small temple called Tlacochalco. "He ascended by himself, he went up of his own free will, to where he was to die. As he was taken up a step, as he passed one step, there he broke, he shattered his flute, his whistle." He was then swiftly sacrificed (see Sahagún, vol. 2, p. 71).

Still another remarkable ceremony was the New Fire Ceremony, also called the Binding of the Years, held only once every fifty-two years on the summit of the Hill of the Star outside Tenochtitlan. At midnight, when the star cluster called *Tianquiztli* (marketplace; the Pleiades) passed through the zenith, marking the end of the fifty-two-year calendrical cycle, a captive warrior was sacrificed. In his chest cavity a new fire was started, marking the regeneration of the cosmos. The fire was then taken to the Templo Mayor and thence to all the cities and towns in the empire.

A remarkable festival, celebrated on the first day of the month of Atlcuaualo, involved the paying of debts to Tlaloc, the rain god. On this day, children (called "human paper streamers") with two cowlicks in their hair and favorable day signs were dressed in costumes—some set with pearls—of dark green, black-striped with chili red, and light blue were sacrificed in seven different locations. The flowing and falling of tears of the children insured the coming of rain. It should be noted that some sources indicate the difficulty that priests had in carrying out these particular "debt payments." The meaning of the rain-blood exchange in this ritual has been interpreted by the historian of religions Phil Arnold as follows. These child sacrifices physically constituted

> the central theme of correspondence between human life and the landscape; blood and water. The former is a bodily water and the basis of human life, the latter is an earthly or heavenly blood and logically the basis of Tlalocan or the landscape's life. The reciprocal nature of life and death was a central element in most of Aztec religious life. The ritual acquisition of water required paying a high price in children's blood, which offset the costs of the sacrifice given by Tlaloc. The exchange was a liquid one. (Arnold, 1999, p. 227)

CONCLUSION. In recent years a controversy has broken out in academic and popular literature as to whether there is any reliable evidence that the Aztecs and other Mesoamerican peoples actually carried out human sacrifice. It has been argued in polemical tones that all the evidence is the result of either distorted archaeology or terribly biased Spanish sources. One motive for these denials is to protect contemporary indigenous peoples from being labeled as descending from uncivilized even monstrous cultures. For years, the word Aztec has been equated—like no other world culture—with the worst and most violent forms of human violence. In books, films, and art, the Aztecs are degraded in ways that sometimes makes a fulsome understanding and appreciation of their culture impossible. The solution is not to deny what is so clearly in the record pre-conquest and post conquest—namely that ritual violence against humans was one of the many ways the Aztecs and their precursors carried out their religious commitments, military expansions, and political dominations. The more useful approach is to study the Aztecs in the full range of their expressions in daily life and political glory—including their extraordinary linguistic achievements, their astonishing aesthetic expressions, their architectural and political practices, and their bellicose traditions of imagining and treating the human body as a receptacle of divine fire that needed to be magically transformed into a divinity, cultivated in spirit, and cut open so the plants and political forces of the world could be rejuvenated. This duality with its apparent contradictions is what makes the study of the Aztecs and all Mesoamerican peoples so interesting, challenging, and necessary. It also demonstrates in dis-comforting ways that their contradictions—however distant from modern practices—are similar to people in modern times.

With all this cosmology, social history, and ritual practice in mind, it can be seen that Bernal Díaz del Castillo witnessed more than a massacre. He glimpsed and was later able to record with some accuracy fragments of an elaborate ritual tradition struggling to maintain the dominance of the Aztec city and its temple against threats from enemy warriors, who, like the siblings of Huitzilopochtli (and like the Spaniards), had come from the edge of the world to conquer and kill.

SEE ALSO Aztec Religion.

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DAVÍD CARRASCO (1987 AND 2005)

HUME, DAVID

HUME, DAVID (1711–1776), was a Scottish philosopher and historian. Hume was born in Edinburgh on April 26, 1711, to Joseph and Katherine Home. Most of his childhood was spent on the family estate at Ninewells, in Berwickshire, forty miles south of Edinburgh near the border of England. At age eleven Hume entered the University of Edinburgh, and upon leaving the university three years later, began to prepare for a career in law. Hume's interest in law was soon eclipsed by his passion for literature, history, and philosophy; over the following decade most of his time was spent studying what he called "polite authors" such as Shaftesbury, Butler, Locke, and Cicero. In 1734, at age twenty-three, Hume left Scotland to take a position as clerk with a Bristol merchant. It was here that he changed the spelling of his surname from *Home* to *Hume,* because in Scotland *Home* is pronounced as *Hume* is in England; Hume preferred that his name be pronounced correctly, even if it meant changing the spelling. After four months in Bristol, Hume left for the south of France, determined to pursue a life of letters.

In 1737 Hume returned from France with the two volumes of *A Treatise of Human Nature* in manuscript form. Being sure that the work would bring him instant fame and fortune, he was eager to publish without delay. In his own words, however, the *Treatise* "fell dead-born from the press." This is not to say that it was not widely read both in Britain and on the continent. Hume undoubtedly meant that the ideas put forth in the *Treatise* fell dead-born on the minds of those who read it. Reviews of the *Treatise* were universally negative.

Hume's disappointment was profound. During the six-year period from 1739 to 1745 he lived in virtual seclusion at Ninewells, writing the third volume of the *Treatise* (published in 1740) and experimenting with the essay form as a medium of expression. Hume's first efforts as an essayist resulted in a two-volume work published in 1742 under the title *Essays Moral and Political.* This was Hume's first successful publication. Only a small selection of the twenty-seven essays therein contained can be counted as serious philosophical pieces, and these were not the ones that accounted for the popularity of the collection as a whole.

Short of money, in 1745 Hume took a position as tutor to the marquis of Annandale, and in the same year applied for the chair of Ethics and Pneumatical Philosophy at the University of Edinburgh. Hume judged that a regular academic appointment would provide both the income and leisure necessary to pursue a full-time life of study. However, his application was opposed by the principal of the university, who accused him of atheism, heresy, and skepticism. His failure to secure this appointment was the second great disappointment of his life.

Hume's next two years were spent traveling in France as secretary to James St. Claire, a general in the British army. The army was of interest to Hume for financial reasons only: He stayed just long enough to accumulate the money needed for another retreat to his study. Between 1747 and 1751 he composed and published his two great treatises: *An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding* (originally titled *Philosophical Essays concerning Human Understanding*), and *An Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals.* These were the first of Hume's serious philosophical works to achieve acclaim.

In 1752 Hume secured an appointment as librarian to the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh. This was the first time Hume had had steady access to a major library. He took the opportunity to pursue a project of long-standing interest—the detailed study of English history. Between 1754 and 1761 Hume published, in installments, his masterful six-volume *History of England.* Regarded as a classic in Hume's own time, this text remained the standard in its field until the end of the nineteenth century.

In 1763 Hume became secretary to the British embassy in Paris, spending the next three years writing and conversing with the luminaries of the Parisian intellectual set. By this time he was generally regarded as Britain's foremost man of letters. Hume returned to England in 1766 as under secretary of state, but he resigned from the diplomatic service three years later, retiring to Ninewells. In 1775 Hume was stricken with an internal disorder that claimed his life on August 25, 1776.

David Hume was a man of gentle bearing—humane, tolerant, charitable, and generous in his opinions of others. In his autobiographical essay "My Own Life," Hume characterized himself as being of "cheerful nature." From all reports, his wit was sparkling; he was a favorite both in the polite salons of Paris and the rude pubs of Edinburgh. To his French intimates he was known as "le bon David," while his many friends in Scotland referred to him as "Saint David." Although Hume never married, he was not unpopular with the ladies; his charm and good humor more than compensated for his obese physical appearance.

Directly following its poor reception in 1739, Hume made two attempts to stimulate interest in *A Treatise of Human Nature.* In 1740 he published an essay titled "An Abstract of a Treatise on Human Nature," which identified the nub of the work's method and summarized some of the conclusions of the text. At the same time, Hume was busy at Ninewells preparing a corrected edition of the first two volumes, which he hoped would remove the misunderstandings that his first efforts had generated. But the corrected edition never appeared. The only changes made during this period that survived in printed form were included in an appendix to the *Treatise* published together with the third volume in 1741. Neither the publication of the *Abstract* nor the materials appended to the *Treatise* had the desired effect. It was not until Hume cast the basic theses of the *Treatise* into essay form and released them in the *Enquiries* that the ideas first delivered in the *Treatise* received the sort of attention Hume thought they deserved. In later years, Hume in effect abandoned the *Treatise* in favor of his *Enquiries.* In the "Author's Advertisement" printed in volume 2 of the 1777 edition of Hume's works, Hume described the *Treatise* as a "juvenile work," stating that he had made an "error in going to press too early," and announcing that the *Enquiries* rather than the *Treatise* should be taken as expressing his considered views on the topics therein discussed. Still, succeeding generations of scholars have, as it were, rediscovered the *Treatise.* Most students of the history of philosophy now regard it as Hume's foremost contribution to philosophical literature.

Regarding the impact of the philosophical views first expressed in the *Treatise* and restated in the enquiries, two comments are in order. First, book 1 ("Of the Understanding") and its companion, *An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding,* are generally thought to contain definitive statements of the epistemological theses associated with classical British empiricism and generative of the empiricist trends in Western philosophy during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the introduction to the *Critique of Pure Reason,* Kant acknowledges Hume as the one who inspired his own probing into the foundations of human knowledge. The empiricist elements in the philosophies of Mill, Russell, Carnap, and Wittgenstein are in no small measure traceable to the direct or indirect influence of Hume.

Second, it should also be noted that, in book 3 of the *Treatise* and in *An Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals,* Hume sets the stage for much of what follows in nineteenth- and twentieth-century moral philosophy. Here Hume works out a hedonistic, rule-based, and utilitarian theory of ethics very much like the one suggested more than a hundred years later by John Stuart Mill in chapter 5 of *Utilitarianism.* This theory has served as one of the major foci of moral-theoretical reflection in twentieth-century philosophical literature. It might be added that at least some commentators (e.g., A. J. Ayer, 1980) claim to find in Hume's ethical writings rudiments of the so-called emotive analysis of ethical language—a theory not brought to maturity until the mid-twentieth century, but very influential in British-American moral philosophy since that time. Whether or not this last claim can be sustained, it is clear that Hume stands as a major figure in the history of ethics. Putting it all together, it is hard to imagine how the last two hundred years of Western philosophy would have gone, had the ideas expressed in the *Treatise* really fallen dead-born from the press.

The corpus of Hume's writings includes seven texts that specifically treat religious topics. In order of their appearance in published form, they are: (1) "Of Superstition and Enthusiasm," published in 1742 as one of the *Essays Moral and Political;* (2) "Of Miracles" and (3) "Of a Particular Providence and of a Future State," which appeared in 1748 as parts 10 and 11 respectively of *An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding;* (4) "The Natural History of Religion," one of *Four Dissertations* published in 1757; (5) "Of Suicide" and (6) "On the Immortality of the Soul," brought out together in 1777 under the title *Two Essays;* and (7) the *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion,* which occupied Hume's attention periodically during the last twenty-five years of his life and was finally published in 1779.

All these texts are critical of religion—of religious institutions, religious practices, theological doctrines, and/or theological arguments. Correlatively, all were greeted in orthodox circles with suspicion and, in some cases, with hostility. Most were in one way or another suppressed either by Hume or by his publishers for fear of reprimand from the religious community. Thus, "Of Miracles," written prior to 1739 and originally intended for inclusion in the *Treatise,* was deleted from the text prior to publication, because Hume judged that it might be found scandalous and thus detract from the reception of his work. Similarly, "Of Suicide," "Of the Immortality of the Soul," and an early version of *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion* were all scheduled for publication in 1756, but they were suppressed by Hume's publisher for prudential reasons. All three were published only after Hume's death and even then without the author's or publisher's name attached. It should be recalled that in 1745 Hume's appointment at the University of Edinburgh had been opposed because his writings were judged wanting on religious grounds. Eighteenth-century Britain could be hard on religious dissenters; neither Hume nor his publishers sought to cause offense.

Although Hume is best known for his views in epistemology and moral philosophy, the essay "Of Miracles" and the *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion* are generally regarded by contemporary philosophers as classics in the philosophy of religion. "Of Miracles" is centered on the question of whether evidence supporting the claim that a given miracle occurred could ever be strong enough to warrant belief, given the facts that (1) a miracle is by definition an event whose occurrence violates natural law, and (2) the evidence supporting the claim is derived entirely from human testimony. Hume's negative verdict is based on a general historiographical principle that is applicable not only in the study of religion, but in any area of inquiry that relies on human testimony as a major source of evidence: namely, that the credibility of any given piece of testimony is in part a function of the plausibility of what is affirmed within it.

Dialogues concerning Natural Religion is focused on a very special version of the argument from design used by a number of eighteenth-century devotees of Isaac Newton's theological writings. In the course of the discussion, Hume not only delivers what many believe to be the definitive refutation of the argument from design (even anticipating the nineteenth-century Darwinian account of adaptation in nature), but he also presents a series of sharply penetrating critical studies on a wide variety of other important theological topics such as divine attribution, the cosmological argument for the existence of God, and, especially, the problem of evil. It should be added that, apart from its stunning philosophical merits, Hume's *Dialogues* can also be credited with what is perhaps the most beautifully executed employment of the dialogue form in Western philosophical literature.

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comments briefly but broadly on Hume's writings on religious topics.

NELSON PIKE (1987)

HUMOR AND RELIGION

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
HUMOR AND RELIGION IN EAST ASIAN CONTEXTS
HUMOR AND ISLAM
HUMOR, IRONY, AND THE COMIC IN WESTERN THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY

HUMOR AND RELIGION: AN OVERVIEW

The topic of humor and religion poses a puzzle. As witnessed by notions such as *Homo ridens* and *Homo religiosus,* both humor and religion have been regarded as defining the human condition. Somewhat differently, both have often been held to be universals found throughout history and across cultures. Even if one questions their use to define the human condition or their status as universals, one must admit that both humor and religion do seem to be found almost everywhere. The relation of religion and humor, however, has not formed a central topic for reflection in the study of religion. Although a number of well-known instances of the conjunction of the two—such as that of tricksters or the Christian festival Carnival—have drawn considerable attention and theoretical reflection, both classic and more current theorists of religion rarely give the topic extended, if any, treatment. In addition, no prominent general studies of the topic exist. Introductory textbooks for the study of religion and encyclopedias of religion have also given the topic rather scant attention.

The puzzle might be stated thus: humor and religion seem to be ubiquitous, yet their relation is rarely treated. Two possible explanations present themselves. The first is that religion and humor represent two different modes of awareness, experience, or cognition that exist only occasionally in any significant relation to one another. This view can be seen, for instance, in the still rather commonly held idea that religion deals with serious matters and humor with the nonserious. A second explanation is that the relation of religion and humor is of more importance than has generally been recognized and deserves fuller exploration and reflection. This overview will attempt, through offering a provisional map of some of the ways humor and religion are related, to suggest that the second explanation is closer to the truth.

Humor and religion clearly share one thing in common. Discussions of the two terms frequently claim at some point that definition of the concepts is almost impossible. Rather than attempt formal definitions here, a characterization of the relation of religion and humor in terms of the interplay of congruity and incongruity will be offered as a means of orienting the discussion. Whether cast in terms of salvation, order, meaning, or redemption, religion frequently has been characterized as preoccupied with congruity, with bringing human hopes, expectations, actions, and longings into agreement with an ideal that may be described either as conformity with some form of cosmic order or as liberation from some form of oppressive order. Such characterizations of religion are of value as long as religion is not viewed solely in terms of a concern with congruity. A preoccupation with congruity must inevitably result in—perhaps even inevitably generate—an encounter with a range of incongruities including those of both a tragic and humorous sort.

Religion then may be conceived as a complex interplay of congruity and incongruity that inevitably entails humor. Humor here is understood in the most inclusive sense as embracing phenomena such as wit, satire, and comedy from which it is sometimes distinguished. Whatever form it may take, humor may be said to involve a perception of incongruity generated by the intrusion of an unexpected event, logic, or perception that calls into question, at least temporarily, some standard expectation, belief, or orientation.

Humor and religion share something else in common. Although the value of both has been questioned by many throughout history, there is still a widespread assumption at present that religion and, perhaps especially, humor are inherently good, healthy, and liberating. Both seem best approached, however, as morally neutral terms. Humor and religion may serve at times to free people from imposed conceptual constraints, overcome a sense of self-importance, and establish community, yet both may also function to denigrate others, enforce social hierarchies, and underscore the differences between communities.

HUMOR IN MYTH, SACRED TEXTS, AND LITERATURE. Although there are no comprehensive comparative studies, humor has played important roles in the central myths and sacred texts of many religious traditions. It has even been argued that a fundamental characteristic of mythic narratives is their humorous nature. In this view, myths in a variety of ways present humorous incongruities that serve to challenge the confines of normal, everyday patterns of thought (Bolle, 1968, pp. 35–72). Although only a few preliminary observations can be offered here, a comparison of the roles of humor in myths, tales, and sacred texts would seem to be a promising project: Are mythic narratives inherently humorous? What sort of sense of humor, if any, do the gods possess? What roles are accorded humor in the interaction of gods and people? What roles does humor play in bringing into being, maintaining, or disrupting cosmic order?

Humor has figured significantly in the mythologies, stories, and folklore of what have been variously termed savage, primitive, nonliterate, primal, indigenous, tribal, or traditional religions. Most attention here has been focused on figures known as tricksters, a term that seems first to have been applied to the often humorous, disruptive, seemingly amoral, and yet at times creative figures appearing in Native American myth and folklore. The term has been extended to mythological figures in Africa, South America, Southeast Asia, and well beyond. Trickster or tricksterlike figures have even been taken as a fundamental characteristic of traditional religions (Smith, 1995, pp. 1093–1094).

Tricksters usually are presented as having inhabited the world in mythic times when the world was moving toward its present form and a range of supernatural beings was active and present, though some figures identified as tricksters are active and present in this age. Tricksters often exhibit a combination of divine, human, and animal characteristics, and their actions contribute to shaping the world and human condition. They are also frequently preoccupied with their bodies, sexuality, bodily orifices and excretions, and boundaries and limits of all kinds. Tricksters' excesses and experimentation with the body often lead to comic situations. As their name suggests, they often play tricks, with their tricks sometimes backfiring and rendering themselves rather than their victims the objects of humor. Among the many functions and meanings attributed to tricksters is mocking and calling into question both human and divine solemnity.

The usefulness of the category of the trickster has been questioned, and the term has no doubt often been overextended, including applications to the Marx Brothers, Jesus, the Japanese media, and Thomas Merton (1915–1968). For the purposes of this essay, however, scholarship on the trickster clearly establishes a valuable point. Whether narratives of tricksters or tricksterlike figures form a part of central myths or whether they exist as separate narratives commenting on other myths, they clearly demonstrate that humor in a variety of forms has played a central role in the myths of many traditional religious communities. In other words, even if the trickster does not represent a coherent category or concept, the variety of figures gathered under the term at least testify to the importance, if not centrality, of humor in traditional religions.

The history of the study of tricksters is also of significance for reflecting on the relation of humor and religion. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when missionaries and anthropologists were encountering religious communities with myths, tales, and rituals containing humor linked with sexuality, scatology, and other "scandalous" elements, such myths, tales, and rituals were linked with savagery, primitiveness, and childishness. At work here of course were normative assumptions about the nature of proper religion, derived largely from Christianity as well as from the Enlightenment's preoccupation with rationality. The ensuing century or so, however, has seen some change; tricksters and the sensibilities they embody are as like as not to be viewed as positive, as possessing something modernity and Christian traditions have regrettably lost. The reappraisal in the last hundred years of what were deemed "primitive" traditions has at least partially hinged, in other words, on a reappraisal of the humor to be found in such traditions.

Humor has played important roles as well in the myths of religions beyond those once deemed primitive. The gods of Greek myth, whom Christians came to regard as immoral, are a case in point. While not infrequently laughing at and mocking humans, the gods also acted much like humans: they played tricks on one another, made foolish mistakes, committed adultery, and laughed at and made fun of one another. Being sexual beings themselves, at least some of the Greek gods also had an appreciation for the humorous dimensions of sexuality. As seen in the myth of Demeter, getting the gods to laugh was one way of restoring the world to order and fertility. Dionysos was a god of laughter linked with sexual excess and inebriation. In short it is difficult to conceive of the Greek gods and their relations to humans without taking into account humor.

There is probably no corpus of myth richer in humor than that of India. Though India has produced as refined, abstract, and sublime conceptions of the divine as anywhere, Indian deities, despite all the powers they may possess, share with humans most if not all of the elements necessary to generate a wide variety of humor: folly, ambition, excessive sexual appetite, curiosity, conflicting desires, a delight in trickery, and so forth. Humor is linked also to an important theme running throughout Vedic, epic, and Puranic myths: "the excess of anything, bad or good—such as the virtue of an ascetic—poses a threat to the balance of a closed universe" (O'Flaherty, 1973, p. 282). Mythic exploration of the consequences of excess frequently leads to comic situations, humor, and laughter. When confronted with Śiva's aim to overcome attachment to sexuality through ascetic practices, Kāma, the god of sexuality, commented: "If a man who is wise and intent upon release tries to slay me, I dance before him as he devotes himself to attaining the bliss of liberation—and I laugh at him" (*Mahābhārata* 14.13.16–17). Given Indian deities' explorations of the consequences of excess and the delight of at least some gods in trickery, a number of divine or semidivine figures in Indian myth such as Indra, Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, and the sage Nārada have sometimes been identified as tricksters or tricksterlike figures. It has also been suggested that the Indian view of this world as *māyā* (illusion) in contrast to another level of ultimate reality sets up a potentially comic or humorous situation: suddenly seen from the perspective of a higher truth, the events of this world can take on the quality of a joke.

Given the influence they have had on the Western study and conceptualization of religion, the sacred texts of the Abrahamic traditions deserve special attention. The holy books of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam have frequently been characterized as being devoid of humor, particularly when satire and ridicule are excluded from the category of humor. This in itself, of course, is evidence of an important, if negative, relation between humor and religion and has done much to shape Western conceptions of the relation of humor and religion by suggesting that sacred matters and texts are or should be marked by an absence of humor. There has been a growing effort in recent years, however, to recover the humorous dimensions of these sacred texts.

Though conceived in various ways, the god of the Abrahamic traditions stands apart from the gods of many other Middle Eastern religions in not having, with some notable exceptions, what might be termed an active sexual life and in rejecting many of the sexual aspects of fertility rituals that were elsewhere a source of humor and laughter. Humor seems, for instance, to have been an issue in the confrontation between the cult of Baal and the cult of Yahweh. In the cult of Baal (as in many traditional religions throughout the world), laughter was associated with rituals of renewal and fertility that included sexual symbolism and practices; joy, sexuality, laughter, and fertility were often linked. The prophets of Israel opposed and ridiculed such practices as well as the gods associated with them.

Perhaps the most prominent mode of humor found in the Hebrew scriptures is the humor of mockery and derision. In *Psalms* 1 and 2, which are often held to serve as guides for reading the entire book of *Psalms,* mockery plays a central role. In *Psalm* 1 the righteous and those who scoff at their implausible beliefs are contrasted. In *Psalm* 2 the Lord "sits in the heavens and laughs" at those who oppose him. A number of the *Psalms* return to these themes, with the righteous being laughed at by the unrighteous and vice versa. The Lord is portrayed as a god who laughs at the unrighteous, knowing that they will come to ruin and eventually understand that what they took as implausible or incongruous is not so.

In addition to the aggressive humor of satire and ridicule, the Hebrew scriptures are marked by other types of humor. The most noted episode involving humor and laughter is found in *Genesis* 17 and 18 where God reveals to Abraham and then Sarah that they shall have a child. The initial response of both Abraham and Sarah is to laugh at the implausibility of the aged Sarah bearing a child. God upbraids Sarah for laughing at his pronouncement. In addition, God stipulates that the child shall be named Isaac, which means "laughter" or "he laughs," and Sarah exclaims that God has given her reason to laugh. Although the story has been interpreted in various ways, it is difficult to deny that humor based on a perception of incongruity is at the heart of this story of the interaction of God, Abraham, and Sarah. A crucial moment in the Abrahamic tradition is thus marked, in more than one way, by laughter and reflection on the appropriateness of laughter.

Arguments have been made for the existence of a wide variety of forms of humor in various parts of the Hebrew scriptures. Considerable attention has been given to humorous punning, verbal wit, and irony in a number of texts ranging from *Genesis* to *Proverbs; Jonah* has been treated as a parody of the standard prophetic narrative or, alternatively, as a satire of a prophet; and figures such as Jacob have been discussed as tricksters. Many of the Hebrew Bible's narratives, including *Job,* have also been understood as comedies—narratives resolving in a more or less happy ending and, at least in some readings, involving humor.

Considerable humor has also been found in the commentary on sacred texts found in the Talmud and in the Midrash. Included here are witty disputations, farcical animal fables, humorous stories about sinners as well as pious fools and rabbis, portrayals of God as being a bit of a trickster, and some joking at the expense of Jesus and Christians. The flavor of some of this humor is suggested by an encounter between Moses and God: "When Moses went up to God he found God weaving crowns for the letters of the Law. God said to him: Do men give no greetings in your city? Moses said: Does a slave greet his master? God replied: You ought to have wished me success. Then Moses said: May the power of the Lord be great, according as *Thou* hast spoken" (Jónsson, 1985, p. 54). There is also, of course, a rich literature of satire, parody, humorous tales, and jokes to be found throughout Jewish traditions which forms an additional "commentary" on sacred texts. In many traditions the understanding of more "serious" sacred texts has often been conditioned and qualified by humorous commentary on or alternative versions of sacred texts.

Though there is a long tradition denying that Jesus ever laughed (and thus also perhaps that he lacked a sense of humor), growing attention has been given to the question of humor in the New Testament. There has been considerable debate about whether the sayings, repartee, and parables of Jesus can be regarded as humorous. Some have pointed, for instance, to passages such as *Matthew* 19:24—"It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God"—as evidence of Jesus' use of humorous incongruity in teaching. Even if the debate about Jesus' humor is unresolved, it is obviously of crucial importance in that it involves fundamental issues concerning the image of Jesus as well as the meaning of his pronouncements and the ways they were understood. Despite the immense progress which has been made in the study of the canonical Gospels, scholars are still uncertain as to whether Jesus was joking or serious and, if joking, uncertain as to how to understand his humor. One of the fundamental ways in which Jesus remains an enigma, in other words, concerns his relation with humor.

In the New Testament humor also functions to define the boundary between and relation of the righteous and nonrighteous or believers and unbelievers. *Luke,* for instance, has Jesus describing the coming of the kingdom of God in terms of a reversal of who will be able to laugh: "Blessed are you who weep now, for you will laugh" and "Woe to you who are laughing now, for you will mourn and weep" (*Luke* 6:21, 25). In the canonical Gospels, humor also plays a role in the trial and crucifixion of Jesus, who is mocked and ridiculed as a powerless figure claiming to be (or proclaimed by some to be) a king.

Varying accounts of the crucifixion of Jesus also illustrate how the presence or absence of humor can signal radically different religious orientations. In the canonical Gospels, clearly there is little in the way of humor on Jesus' part during the Passion. However, in one of the gnostic gospels, the *Apocalypse of Peter,* Jesus is depicted as laughing because his physical body is only an illusion and, despite what his persecutors may think, he is not really in pain. The joke is reversed, with Jesus now laughing at those who ridicule him, and marks a radically different conception of Jesus and the nature of his presence in the world than that found in some Christian traditions.

The Qurʾān is not usually thought of as containing much in the way of humor. Like the sacred scriptures of Judaism and Christianity, the Qurʾān makes much of the opposition between believers and unbelievers, with the unbelievers mocking the believers and taking them as fools. Allāh in turn will mock the unbelievers (*Sūrah* 1: 11–15). The Qurʾān also makes some use of irony, humor, and wordplay. Much of this dimension of the Qurʾān, however, is lost when the Qurʾān is interpreted into another language without detailed commentary on the original Arabic.

Though humor is not prominently featured in the Qurʾān, it would be a mistake to conclude that humor is thus of little importance in Islam. Though some Muslim theologians have expressed reservations about humor and laughter, this has done little it seems to curb the Muslim appreciation of humor, as witnessed by the numerous collections of jokes, anecdotes, and humorous tales to be found in Arabic literature from a relatively early date. Franz Rosenthal observes in *Humor in Early Islam* that "the otherworldliness of Islam did little to stop the actual enjoyment and literary appreciation of humor. With all his seriousness and the foreboding of impending doom, the prophet Muhammad himself possessed much cheerful humanity and his followers through the centuries have always preserved a good-natured love of jokes and pranks" (1956, p. 5). Indeed some traditions present the Prophet as a bit of a practical joker. As Rosenthal relates, "he told an old woman that old women were not admitted into Paradise, and when she was greatly upset by his statement, he quoted Qurʾān 56. 35–7/34–6 to the effect that all women in Paradise would be equally young" (1956, pp. 5–6).

Because it is difficult if not impossible to deduce the attitudes about humor to be found in a religious community based solely on an examination of its most central or sacred texts, attention should be given to the vast body of tales, folklore, and literature that, often from the perspective of both religious communities and scholars, lies outside the bounds of sacred myths and texts proper. Many of these stories and texts have humorous aspects and treat or comment on the themes of what are usually regarded as more sacred myths and texts. In Europe, Mexico, and the American Southwest, for instance, there is a rich body of folktales presenting Saint Peter as a tricksterlike figure (Hynes and Steele, 1993). How religious communities have understood and experienced their sacred myths and texts cannot be grasped without an appreciation of how they stand in relation to the less sacred stories and texts that often offer a humorous perspective on them.

HUMOR AND RITUAL. Humor plays important roles in both the central and more peripheral rituals of religious communities. It should be noted that, even when it is not present, humor is important for ritual. Many religious rituals are marked of course by seriousness and solemnity. In such cases the exclusion of humor is a major strategy for marking the sacred nature of the occasion.

When humor is present in ritual it often exhibits a range of related but not always present features: an at least seeming absence of social control; a reversal or inversion of norms, status, social roles, and conventional behavior; explicitly sexual and scatological behavior; mocking or burlesque of authority, sacred rituals and beings, and foreigners; the appearance of comic, ambiguous, and incongruous figures such as jokesters, fools, and clowns; and an appearance of disorder and chaos. Various meanings and functions, some compatible and some not, have been attributed to ritual humor: conflict resolution; the cathartic release of tension and emotion; entertainment; maintenance of order and social control; the establishment of community; the marking of boundaries between groups; subversion and the questioning of authority; the use of incongruity and ambiguity to facilitate ritual and symbolic transformations; and the use of humorous incongruities to reflect on religious, cosmological, and metaphysical concepts. In short, there is no theoretical consensus on the meaning of ritual humor, and the precise meanings and functions of ritual humor are often context specific.

Although some traditions contain clear charter myths for the use of humor and laughter in ritual, the roles humor and laughter may play in ritual cannot be deduced merely from an examination of sacred texts and theological pronouncements. The New Testament contains little to encourage humor explicitly and Church Fathers often cautioned against it, yet the presence of humor and laughter in Christian ritual is hardly unknown. Easter rituals in some Eastern Orthodox communities, for instance, have made use of ritualized laughter as part of the celebration of Jesus' resurrection.

Ritual humor has formed a key component of both calendrical rituals and life-cycle rituals in traditional societies and has received considerable attention from anthropologists, particularly in their studies of Native American and African societies. In many traditional, agriculture-based societies, rituals linked with the start of the agricultural cycle often involve obscene joking, licentious behavior, or pantomimes of sexual acts. Such rituals of course parallel the fertility-related rituals rejected by Israelite religion and Christianity. Humor, often including scatological and sexual elements, may also be found in puberty rites, weddings, funerals, and a variety of initiation rituals. Humor is integrated into such rites in numerous ways and serves various roles.

The use of humor in some initiation rites illustrates how humor may play a role in encouraging reflection on religious concepts and practices. A famous example here is Victor Turner's analysis of an initiation rite for the cult of Chihamba among the Ndembu people of Zambia. At one point in the rite, initiates are ordered to strike with rattles an effigy of the deity Kavula hidden under a white cloth. The initiates are then told they have killed the deity. They are soon told, however, that they have not really killed him, and the white cloth is pulled back to reveal nothing more than a few everyday objects. Laughter results (1962, p. 87). The point of the joke seems to be the destruction of any simple-minded identification of the deity with a material object. Humor works here to free one from overly simple conceptions. Reflecting on such examples, Jonathan Z. Smith has gone so far as to suggest that many if not most initiations have the character of a practical joke (1978, p. 301).

Considerable attention has also been given to the role of ritual humorists or clowns (sometimes also referred to as fools or buffoons) in traditional cultures. Anthropologists have focused in particular on ritual clowns in the Americas and Africa, though examples can be found throughout most parts of the world. The role of ritual humorists in the Americas and Africa is at times but by no means inevitably linked to tricksters appearing in myth and folklore. Some have even regarded ritual humorists or clowns as a characteristic though not universal feature of the ritual life of traditional religions (Smith, 1995, pp. 1093–1094). If the category of ritual humorist is extended to include fools, buffoons, and jesters of various sorts, then ritual humorists can be found in many if not most religious traditions. Particularly noteworthy here are court jesters and fools who have played important roles in relation to kings and rulers in China, India, Mesoamerica, medieval and early modern Europe, and the Muslim Middle East.

The history of the study of ritual clowns and humor in traditional religions is instructive and parallels that of the study of the trickster. When initially encountered by missionaries and anthropologists in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, religious ritual involving humor as well as often scatological and sexual elements were perceived as strange, exotic, and unusual. According to Mahadev L. Apte, one of the reasons for the attention given these rituals by anthropologists "may have been the 'exotic' nature of the rites, since they often involved scatological and sexual acts that appeared to be a strange combination of the 'sacred' and the 'profane' to the Western mind" (1985, p. 153). Observers were encountering dimensions of religion that Christianity had for the most part managed to exclude from the domain of the sacred. Such rituals were initially perceived by some as immoral and irrational and as evidence of the primitive and undeveloped character of such cultures. Interpretation of such rites has shifted over the course of the last century, however, to one of celebration rather than denigration.

Within the context of larger ritual systems, some rituals and festivals stand out as distinct because of the central role accorded humor. Two noteworthy examples are the Jewish Purim and the Holī festival of northern India. One of the most widely discussed examples of such ritual humor is the Christian festival Carnival, as exemplified by the medieval Feast of Fools which generally took place between Christmas and Epiphany. In the course of the festival a choir boy was elected King of the Fools to serve as bishop, a parody of the Holy Mass was staged, and revelry of various sorts took place both within the cathedrals and in the streets of the cities. Unlike the ritual humor found in many traditional societies which was generally accepted as a legitimate and even essential part of rituals and the ritual calendar, the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church struggled, with limited success, for hundreds of years to control, temper, and do away with Carnival. Though the Feast of Fools eventually died out, Carnival has continued in Europe and throughout the Americas despite being modified, controlled, and restrained by both church and secular authorities.

Although the parody of the Mass in the Feast of Fools was not universally approved within the Catholic community, parodies or burlesques of religious rituals that seem to be generally accepted by the community are one notable type of ritual humor. The activities of ritual clowns in many cultures often include comic parodies of priestly figures and sacred rituals. In Japan many rituals are presented in both a serious mode and comic mode (known as *modoki*), with the serious ritual usually being followed by a comic version. Such parodies of religious ritual may, however, reflect tensions and different orientations within communities. There are a number of studies which report on women engaging in comic imitations of rituals wherein men are the major actors. Kwakiutl women, for instance, have at times performed parodies of the potlatch ceremonies so important for determining male prestige and status (Apte, 1985, p. 160).

The interpretation of the role of humor in ritual requires a careful analysis of such factors as kin relations, religious hierarchy and status, and gender. Anthropologists of an earlier generation preoccupied with structural-functional theories of society devoted great efforts to the study of institutionalized kin-based (including extended kin, interclan, and intertribal) joking relationships, particularly in East Africa. Though the content of the joking was not necessarily of an explicitly religious nature, kin-based relationships were frequently if not characteristically understood in religious terms, and such joking relationships frequently impinged upon religious ritual. For example, in the *utani* relationship in some East African tribes, at funerals the joking partner of the deceased was allowed, if not expected, to make fun of the deceased.

The relation of gender, ritual, and humor, however, is a topic only beginning to be explored. It is important to note that there are few women who function as ritual clowns or humorists. There has been considerable research on women's cults and initiations in various religions, yet the issue of women's humor and the gender dimensions of ritual humor seem to deserve fuller exploration (Sands, 1999, pp. 442–444). Historical documentation for women's activities is not as great as that for men's. In addition it is only in recent decades that a growing number of women anthropologists have been able to gain access to settings in traditional societies in which only women are permitted (Apte, 1985, p. 78). There are also reports, particularly regarding wedding ceremonies and female rites of passage, of extensive mockery of men by women. Indeed a growing body of scholarship suggests that women have not always taken men's activities—often including religious activities—terribly seriously.

If the relation of women and humor has not received the full attention it deserves, the relation of children, ritual, and humor has received even less. Though there seems to be little research on the topic, there have been reports of children engaging in imitations of religious rituals in both a serious and comic mode. Ijaw children in Nigeria, for instance, have been reported to play by imitating sacred dances used to appease the spirits of the ancestors. Early in the twentieth century in France, sets of paraphernalia were available for children so that they could play at enacting their own versions of the Catholic Mass. It has also become common in some Protestant services to invite young children to the front of the sanctuary, usually prior to the serious sermon, to receive a more informal teaching from the minister. The children often find parts of this informal sermon amusing and funny; the adults almost invariably find funny moments to laugh at. A humorous mode of teaching, in other words, is used to instruct both children and adults; and the message is conveyed that a sense of humor is part of Christian identity. These examples suggest that the role of humor and play in the socialization of children into a religious life deserves fuller exploration.

One last extensive topic deserves at least mention in a discussion of ritual and humor. Even if one does not accept theories that understand drama as having emerged from ritual, one cannot deny that many forms of drama have been linked to religious ritual at some point and that often it is difficult to draw a clear line between ritual and drama. Many forms of drama of course are comic or humorous, and such dramas have played a considerable role in ritual and festival systems throughout the world. In addition to commenting often from a humorous or comic perspective on religious themes and topics, such dramas are often considered as offerings to the gods. Not a few religious communities, as well as the gods themselves, thus seem to be open and receptive to humorous reflection on the relations of people and gods.

THE DARK SIDE OF HUMOR. Religious traditions and communities have not infrequently considered humor to be a problem. At times this has resulted in a near outright rejection of humor. More frequently certain types of humor have been rejected or humor excluded from certain occasions and situations. Whether an effort is made to reject, critique, or control humor, the effort serves at least partially to define a particular religious orientation, moment, or mode.

Even in religious communities where humor is markedly present in myth, tales, or rituals, there is never a total embracing of humor. Even if humor is present in some rituals, there are other ritual moments and occasions marked by solemnity and seriousness. Even if some religious themes, rituals, gods, or religious figures are treated humorously in certain rituals, myths, or texts, they are not always treated humorously. In other words, efforts are frequently made to control the distribution of humor in the life of a religious community. Despite the appearance of chaos, disorder, or total freedom in humorous expression that sometimes occurs, humor is usually limited by rules as to who can make light of what and whom under what circumstances.

Aspects of what we might now classify as falling under the category of humor also emerged as a problem for philosophers and religious thinkers at a relatively early date. Plato (c. 428–348 or 347 BCE) discusses laughter primarily as the laughter of ridicule directed at other people's ignorance about themselves. Aristotle (384–322 BCE) also closely links laughter with the ridicule and derision of others. Both suggest that at least some aspects of such laughter and ridicule are morally questionable. Cicero (106–43 BCE) and others throughout classical antiquity echoed similar concerns about at least some aspects of laughter and humor. Such doubts and concerns have continued throughout much of Western philosophy. Some have even read Western philosophical and theological traditions, with some notable exceptions, as basically rejecting humor (Morreall, 1989).

Humor has been treated with some suspicion outside of the West as well. In one of the first analyses of literature in China, *Wenxin diao long* (*The Literary Mind and Carving of Dragons*), Liu Xie (465?–520?) conceded the value of some forms of humor but criticized from a Confucian perspective other forms of humor involving jests, riddles, and puns as undermining the correct and proper use of language. Inappropriate forms of humor were also deemed misleading, possibly immoral, capable of disrupting social order, and not suitable to those of high social standing. An ambivalent and at times negative attitude toward humor runs throughout the Confucian tradition.

What have sometimes been classified as "otherworldly" or "world-rejecting" religions have at times considered humor and laughter particularly problematic. At times, though not invariably, the rejection of humor seems to be linked with the rejection of worldly entertainments and a rejection of or effort to control sexuality. The propriety of at least some forms of humor has been questioned, for instance, within Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam.

In reaction to the laughter of dancing girls attempting to entertain him, the prince Siddhārtha Gautama wondered to himself: "How can anyone laugh who knows of old age, disease, and death?" (*Buddhacarita* 4.59). After his enlightenment the Buddha repeated the question in slightly different form: "How can there be mirth or laughter when the world is on fire?" (*Dhammapada* 146). Within the Buddhist tradition, humor and laughter are also rendered problematic by the noble eightfold path, particularly the precept concerning right speech that can be read as inveighing against at least some forms of humor, laughter, and mirth. The rejection of sex by Buddhist monks and nuns also would seem to preclude humor associated with sexuality. Buddhism has, however, been anything but a humorless religion. The Buddha himself, at least as portrayed in some texts, seems somewhat to have recovered his sense of humor. There are also many well-known examples within the Buddhist tradition linking insight and enlightenment with humor.

Christianity presents some of the clearest examples of the rejection of humor. As noted, at least some within Judaism and Christianity rejected the humor associated with fertility cults. In addition the writings gathered together as the New Testament express little in the way of explicit humor, despite the best efforts of some to locate it there. The Church Fathers were generally suspicious of and often hostile toward humor and laughter. John Chrysostom (c. 354–407), for instance, made a point of noting that Jesus never laughed, raised the question of how Christians could possibly laugh when they thought of the suffering of Christ, spoke of laughter and mirth as leading to sin, and, like Jesus in *Luke,* predicted that those laughing now will be wailing in torment on the day of judgment. As Chrysostom also complained that members of his congregation were laughing when they should have been praying, not all Christians seem to have shared his views. Part of the rejection of humor by the Church Fathers also seems to be linked to the rejection of entertainments, theater, and rituals linked with pagan religions. The rejection of humor and laughter may also be found among ascetics, hermits, and monks. Christian ascetics "shared with Greek and Jewish ascetics the ideal of the perfect human who never laughed" (Gilhus, 1997, p. 64). Like Jesus, Saint Anthony (c. 250–356) has been regarded by many as a model who never laughed.

Those expressing an ambivalent or even negative attitude toward at least some forms of humor have a point. Although humor may serve to bring people together, humor in the guise of ridicule and satire has also been used to divide peoples, to mark others as somehow inferior, and to enforce social control. If the we/they distinction is a basic component of any group's identity, communities have frequently, if not invariably, partially established their identity by ridiculing others. This seems to hold true for religious communities as well. What is now referred to as "ethnic humor" frequently involves ridicule of other religions and does not seem to be a phenomenon of recent origin.

Ridicule, mockery, and satire of foreign gods, cults, and kings is not uncommon in the Hebrew scriptures. In *1 Kings* 18:27, for instance, Elijah mocks the Baal prophets when their god seemed not to reply to their entreaties: "And it came to pass at noon, that Elijah mocked them, and said, Cry aloud: for he *is* a god; either he is talking, or he is pursuing, he is on a journey, *or* peradventure he sleepeth, and must be awakened." Prophets themselves of course were also subject to mockery and ridicule. Following Elijah's ascent, Elisha was mocked by young children saying: "Go up, thou bald head; go up, thou bald head" (*2 Kings* 2:23). Mockery of prophets, however, is sometimes dangerous. After being cursed by Elisha, the children were eaten by two bears.

Even if the entire history of religions could not be written as a history of the ways in which different religions have made fun of one another, a good portion of it probably could be. A suggestive essay here is the unsigned article "Religions of Antiquity" included in *The HarperCollins Dictionary of Religion* (Smith, 1995). The essay provides an overview of religions of antiquity in which humor (along with death and magic) is a major theme. Humor is examined in terms not only of how it functions within a religious community but also of how it functions with regard to competition and rivalry between different religions or between different communities within the same religion.

The way in which ridicule can shape religious identity is clearly illustrated by examples drawn from the history of Christianity. Early Christians were frequently subject to ridicule because many people found some Christian beliefs laughable. Some Christians such as Paul responded to ridicule by embracing the role of "fools for Christ's sake." In turn Christian figures such as Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–215) and Tertullian (c. 160–c. 220) made fun of pagan religions. So-called heretical Christian groups were also ridiculed by those of a more orthodox orientation. Conversely some gnostic texts have been read as making fun of or being parodies of more orthodox texts. In his later years Martin Luther (1483–1546) penned satirical portrayals of Catholicism and the pope which made free use, in "primitive" fashion, of scatological themes. As illustrated by the designations Quakers, Shakers, and Methodists, the names of some Christian groups derive from terms of ridicule often initiated by fellow Christians of a different persuasion.

Religions frequently have been subjected to ridicule, mockery, and satire not only by those of different religious orientations but also by those who might be described as unbelievers. Satirical treatments of religion appear at a relatively early date in India, China, Japan, and the West, though determining whether a rejection of all religion is entailed is often difficult. Some satirists in late antiquity, such as Lucian of Samosata (120–c. 180), seemed to be making fun of most if not all religions. As for modernity, it is difficult to conceive of it without taking into account satirical treatments of religion. Although the United States is often described as the most religious of modern nations, a truly American literature was initiated, according to some, by an author whose works are replete with satires of Christianity as well as religion in general: Mark Twain.

In some instances it is possible to argue that ridicule of religion has a profound impact on the development of some religions and the surrounding culture. An example here would be the 1925 trial of John Scopes (also called the "monkey trial") that pitted Clarence Darrow (1857–1938), representing a modern scientific orientation, against William Jennings Bryan (1860–1925), representing a Christian perspective embracing a literal reading of the Bible and its account of creation. Although Darrow initially lost the case (the ruling was eventually overturned), he effectively defeated Bryan by exposing, at least to many, Bryan's position to be a foolish one. Much of the press at the time joined in the ridicule of Bryan and the views he represented. Some have suggested that this event had a profound effect on segments of the conservative Christian community, causing them to withdraw from mainstream public life until resurfacing, decades later, when they had regained their confidence.

Religion's use of ridicule and the ridicule of religion are deeply connected to contemporary studies of religion. Introductory textbooks on religion almost invariably state that the purpose of studying religions (and especially religions not one's own) is to gain sympathetic understanding of others so that we no longer see them as strange and, though this is rarely explicitly said, funny. In North America what is called political correctness has repeatedly reminded us that we should not make fun of others. Scholarly studies of groups perceived by some as odd and funny not infrequently remind the reader that we should not laugh at or make fun of these people (though it is hard to imagine that the readers of such books need to be reminded). Although at least some of this effort is no doubt well and for the good, it is possible that this mission to rid the world of negative humor also blinds us in some aspects. It is difficult to find a book on religion that clearly makes the point that religions have sometimes defined themselves by making fun of others.

There is yet another way in which humor plays a role in distinguishing peoples and defining the other. Other peoples can be made to seem strange and alien either by denying them a sense of humor or attributing to them a strange, inappropriate, or inferior sense of humor. As noted many Westerners have found the humor of "primitives" to consist of a scandalous mixing of the sacred and the profane that was taken as evidence of childishness, a lack of civilization, or even immorality. In similar fashion, Lucien Lèvy-Bruhl judged the humor of "primitives" to be inferior to that of Europeans because it was lacking in rationality (Chidester, 1996, pp. 230–32). For much of the period after World War II the Japanese were widely perceived as being without humor or, just as disturbingly, given to laughing and giggling at inappropriate times. In the culture and literature of the United States a common characterization of the religious or "overly religious" is that they are without a sense of humor. At present it is difficult to locate studies on the relation of humor and Islam. Either Muslims are humorless or Muslim humor has simply not been explored. The latter alternative is no doubt closer to the truth. The image of Muslims as humorless of course fits well with the image of Muslims as fanatical or overly religious in some way.

CELEBRATIONS OF HUMOR. Humor has also been celebrated as possessing particular religious value within some religions or movements within religions. In such cases humor may be regarded as a teaching tool, a way of awakening religious realization, or a sign of a holy or enlightened state, or a fundamental aspect of the structure of the cosmos; it may also relate to the basic functions of certain religious specialists or even help define the basic orientation of a religious community.

The study of the celebration of humor within religions is closely related to scholarly evaluations of humor and might indeed be linked to a growing celebration of humor within Western thought. As already noted, Western philosophical and theological traditions, from the Greeks through the Enlightenment, have expressed at best an ambivalent attitude toward humor. Humor was considered suspect on a number of grounds. The cruelty of humor, as expressed in ridicule and other forms, was rejected on moral grounds. Humor too closely connected with sexuality, the body, or the emotions was also frequently questioned as undermining either spirituality or the dictates of rationality. Whether considered from the perspective of Christian theology, Enlightenment rationality, or the demands of modern civilization, humor was something more to be controlled or constrained rather than celebrated.

There has been, however, a growing reappraisal of the importance of humor. Amid increasing doubts about the values of modernity, Enlightenment rationality, and traditional Christian theology, not a few have concluded that their costs are too high and that one of these costs is the loss of traditional forms of humor. This loss has been traced to a variety of sources, including Christianity in general, Protestantism in particular, Enlightenment rationality, bourgeois sensibilities, and the modern bureaucratic state. Humor in this reappraisal is accorded a positive, liberating value both emotionally and cognitively. Some have linked this revised view of humor with postmodern sensibilities. Whether or not the West has somehow been lacking in humor and whether or not the cause has been rightly identified, such views are of importance for the ways they have shaped scholarship.

At least some of the roots of this recent reappraisal of humor can be found within Western traditions. *The Praise of Folly* (1511) by Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536) anticipates later celebrations of folly and medieval Carnival from both a Christian and non-Christian perspective. Thinkers as diverse as Francis Hutcheson (1694–1746); Anthony Ashley Cooper, the first earl of Shaftesbury (1621–1683); Immanuel Kant (1724–1804); and Jean Paul (1763–1825) all treated humor in terms of a perception of incongruity and attributed to it a cognitive value. Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855) was preoccupied with irony throughout much of his work and linked the comic with a perception of the contradiction or incongruity between infinity and the finite. For Kierkegaard such a perception was regarded as the precursor to religious insight or faith.

In the twentieth century a number of thinkers also granted importance to humor and related ideas. Johan Huizinga's *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture*

(1938) defined the human condition in terms of play, an activity closely related to humor, and inspired many in their reflections on the importance of humor. In a similar fashion Arthur Koestler's *The Act of Creation* (1964) placed humor at the center of human thought and culture. Another widely influential work is Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin's *Rabelais and His World* (1965), a celebration of medieval Carnival which argues that the modern world is impoverished in comparison to the fulfilling and liberating culture of laughter existing in the medieval period. Umberto Eco's best-selling novel *The Name of the Rose* (1983) at least implicitly makes a similar argument, with readers being asked to contemplate the cost of the church's supposed suppression of Aristotle's work on comedy. Scholars with orientations based in Marxism, postmodernism, or cultural studies have also come to focus on humor whenever it might be viewed as somehow "subversive" of Enlightenment rationality, social hierarchy, or the political, economic, and cultural hegemony of the West.

Humor has also served to define basic orientations of and within various religions. Saint Paul's presentation of Christians as being "fools for Christ's sake" (*1 Corinthians* 4:10) indicates a recognition that Christian belief and behavior were perceived as folly, if not madness, when viewed from other religious and nonreligious perspectives of the time. At least some Christians in early Christianity willingly embraced the role of the fool. Although this embrace of folly was not inevitably humorous in itself, it was grounded in a willingness to accept mockery and ridicule for embracing what seemed like folly to much worldly and religious wisdom. Jesus himself, indeed, had been subjected to mockery and ridicule. The embrace of folly and acceptance of ridicule and mockery, however, was accompanied by the expectation of reversal: the foolish would be shown to be wise and the wise foolish.

Once Christianity established itself, became a religion of empire, and came to wield considerable political power, Christians were no longer as widely regarded as fools and perhaps less inclined to welcome the designation of fool. Within both Eastern and Western Christianity, though, some continued to embrace the role of fools for Christ's sake. However, many Christians seemed to regard these fools as merely ordinary fools rather than holy fools. There are a number of celebrated holy fools to be found in both Catholic and Orthodox traditions, with the Orthodox traditions more clearly recognizing and celebrating holy fools. Though the list is extensive, prominent examples from the Catholic and Orthodox traditions include Theophilus and Maria of Antioch and Saint Symeon of Emesa in the sixth century, Saint Andrew the Fool of Constantinople in the tenth and eleventh centuries, Saint Isaac Zatvornik of Kiev and Saint Basil the Innocent in the eleventh century, and Saint Francis of Assisi in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Among the range of behaviors embraced by such fools were nakedness, self-humiliation in a variety of forms, association with sinners, radical poverty, an itinerant existence, and engaging in joking and parody. Such figures, it should be noted, frequently set their folly in opposition not simply to worldly wisdom but also to the wisdom of the church.

Within Christianity, mention should be accorded to Meister Eckhart, considered by many to represent the pinnacle of Christian mysticism for identifying, if in somewhat cryptic fashion, laughter as playing a crucial role in the genesis of that most mysterious of Christian mysteries, the Trinity: "Indeed I say, the soul will bring forth Person if God laughs to her and she laughs back to him. To speak in parable, the Father laughs into the Son and the Son laughs back to the Father; and this laughter breeds liking, and liking breeds joy, and joy begets love, and love begets Person, and Person begets Holy Ghost" (Pfeiffer, 1947, p. 59). The genesis and nature of the relation among the persons of the Trinity and people is imagined in terms of laughter.

Within Islam, Ṣūfī traditions have also at times granted a special place to humor. Throughout at least part of the history of Sufism, Ṣūfī communities have existed outside of or in tension with more orthodox orientations, and Ṣūfī figures have rejected some of the local strictures of daily behavior as well as questioned the adequacy of orthodox formulations either to communicate or to express union with the divine. All of these factors have led Ṣūfīs to be sometimes regarded as fools. The name itself, meaning "wool-wearer" in reference to the ascetic garb of early Ṣūfīs, may well have originated as a term of ridicule. Ṣūfīs are also well known for the use of humorous tales in their teaching, as witnessed by considerable use of tales concerning Khezr and Mullā Narsruddin, who both make use of humor and who are at times seemingly willing objects of humor themselves. While closely linked with Sufism, tales of these two figures have been appreciated more widely throughout much of the Muslim world. Some Ṣūfīs have also clearly linked laughter and humor with the highest of religious experiences. The Ṣūfī Rūmī (c. 1207–1273) is reported to have observed: "If you want special illumination, look upon the human face: See clearly within laughter the Essence of Ultimate Truth" (Shah, p. 5).

Within Asian religious traditions a range of religious specialists and movements might be viewed as embracing foolishness and humor. Throughout the region a variety of Indian gurus, wandering ascetics, Daoist sages, and Buddhist monks are well known for their use of humor and embrace of folly. The Chan or Zen school of Buddhism has frequently been singled out for special attention here. In addition to pointing to the wide use of humorous tales and teaching methods in Zen, some have even defined the basic Zen orientation as humorous or comic. This celebration of the comic orientation of Zen, however, is much more prominent in the West than in Asia, suggesting that Western images of Zen as particularly humorous perhaps represent in part a fantasy concerning what is sensed to be missing in the West.

In the course of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, some in certain parts of the world have come to identify Judaism as a religion that is fundamentally comic or humorous in orientation. At least in English and in the United States, there has been an endless stream of mostly popular books celebrating Jewish humor (though at times the humor relates more perhaps to questions of Jewish identity than to Judaism itself, though the two of course cannot be clearly separated). There seems to be, however, relatively few scholarly works on Jewish humor that clearly relate the Jewish humor of the modern period to the history of the Jewish traditions. Even if Judaism is not inherently more humorous in orientation than other religious traditions, the modern perception of Judaism as a particularly humorous religion is of interest and importance in itself.

Mention might also be made of a reappraisal of the importance of humor in popular Christian theology which seems to have begun in the 1960s and is exemplified by works such as Elton Trueblood's *The Humor of Christ* (1964), Harvey Cox's *The Feast of Fools: A Theological Essay on Feast and Fantasy* (1969), Cal Samra's *The Joyful Christ: The Healing Power of Humor* (1986), Conrad Hyers's *And God Created Laughter: The Bible of Divine Comedy* (1987), and Earl Frank Palmer's *The Humor of Jesus: Sources of Laughter in the Bible* (2001). All of these works are united by the notions that Christianity, somewhere along the line, lost its sense of humor and that properly valuing humor is central to the Christian message. Although some of these works have served to raise interest among scholars and theologians in the topic of the relation of religion and humor, none seems to have generated enough interest among Christians at large to engender new Christian movements or orientations embracing humor as a central Christian value. Within some charismatic movements in recent years, however, hysterical or uncontrolled laughter in worship services has come to be taken as a sign of a visitation of the Holy Spirit. It is possible that the perception of the importance of humor in religions such as Judaism and Zen has influenced this reappraisal of the role of humor by some Christian theologians.

THE HUMOR WE HAVE MISSED. The importance of the various relations of humor and religion seem to have been overlooked for a number of reasons. Despite all the critical reflection, in the last one hundred fifty years or so, devoted to the study of religion, assumptions concerning the "holy" and the "sacred" deriving primarily from the sacred scriptures of Judaism and Christianity still seem to haunt Western conceptions of religion. Most obvious of these assumptions is that religion is somehow fundamentally connected with what is serious and solemn rather than with what is humorous.

The failure to connect religion and humor might also be traced to the tendency of many Enlightenment philosophers to draw essentialistic distinctions between phenomena such as religion and art by linking them with essentially distinct faculties, epistemologies, or modes of symbolization. Some Enlightenment philosophers, such as Kant, treated humor under the category of the aesthetic and thus neatly separated it from religion. Undoing such essentialistic distinctions has taken time. It is only in recent decades, for instance, that scholars have begun to explore more fully the connections between religion and the arts.

Vastly different conceptions of religion might have arisen if other sacred texts and other philosophical traditions had formed the starting point for (or had truly been given equal weight in) reflection on religion. For instance, if Japanese myth had formed a starting point for the study of religion, it would have been difficult to form a conception of the "holy," "sacred," or "divine" that was not closely connected to humor. In the myth of the heavenly cave, a central narrative episode in Japanese myth, the gods employ humor and laughter to restore order to the cosmos as well as to establish the basic forms of ritual by which people should relate to the gods.

An additional reason for the neglect of humor in the study of religion is the social location of much humor. Humor and religion have been given scholarly attention most often when humor is institutionalized in myths, texts, rituals, or formal joking relationships. As many have observed, there is a great deal of humor that exists in noninstitutionalized spaces: humor often emerges in informal interactions that comment on the more institutionalized aspects of life. Much of this humor is ephemeral, unrecorded, and often unnoticed.

Historians have access to such moments only when they happen to be recorded in texts, the visual arts, or archeological remains. Although such sources allow us to reconstruct, with varying degrees of certainty, the rituals, myths, and beliefs of the past, we have precious little indication, for example, of what peoples of the past were doing and saying before, after, and perhaps surreptitiously during rituals. If we assume that people have always had recourse to humor and humorous commentary on "serious" matters, then we are perhaps missing an important dimension of the religious life.

Though anthropologists have had direct access to moments of informal humor, they have done little better than historians in bringing the significance of these moments to light. Anthropological theory has not often attuned anthropologists to the importance of such moments, documenting informal interaction is difficult and time consuming, anthropologists have often lacked the near native command of a language required to appreciate and understand humor, and much of the informal joking anthropologists are able to observe is humor provoked by the presence of a strange being—the anthropologist (Driessen, 1997). In addition, not a few have suggested that, even with a command of the language, informal humor is often the most difficult part of a foreign culture to fathom and understand.

What we have lost here is well documented and illustrated in Samuel C. Heilman's *Synagogue Life: A Study in Symbolic Interaction* (1976). In addition to an account of the ritual activity occurring at a synagogue, Heilman also offers an analysis of the joking that takes place at informal moments, such as the coffee hour, at the synagogue. Some of the joking makes use of or comments on the more serious and solemn moments of ritual activity. Such joking is obviously an important part of the participants' experience of ritual and religion. The lesson here is a simple one: we cannot get a serious sense of people by looking only at serious, formal moments. If we can assume that such moments of informal joking have been ubiquitous in human experience, then we have perhaps seriously misconstrued the degree to which and the ways in which people have been "serious" about their religion.

As suggested above, the history of the study of religion in the last one hundred and fifty years might well be written in terms of a gradual and not yet complete coming to terms with the various ways humor has formed a part of the religious lives of many outside the West. This can be seen in the shifting attitudes to tricksters and ritual clowns. Initially treated as evidence of childishness, primitiveness, a lack of civilization, or even immorality, tricksters and ritual clowns now tend to be celebrated as representing a sensibility and insight into the human condition which many in the modern West have lost. It can also be seen in the ways some religions, such as Zen, have come to be celebrated in the West as possessing an appreciation of humor lacking in Christianity. To an extent at least, the European encounter with the humor of others has led to changes in Western notions of religion, has played a not unimportant, albeit often overlooked, role in the development of the study of religion, and has even entailed a rediscovery of the humor to be found in Western religious traditions.

SEE ALSO Carnival; Clowns; Drama; Holī; Myth, overview article; Paradox and Riddles; Play; Purim; Purim Plays; Ritual; Tricksters, overview article.

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RICHARD GARDNER (2005)

HUMOR AND RELIGION: HUMOR AND RELIGION IN EAST ASIAN CONTEXTS

An overview of humor and religion in East Asia is complicated by a number of factors. While the area is united by millennia of cultural exchange, exemplified by the spread of the Chinese writing system, it is also marked by sharp cultural and linguistic divides. East Asia has also been influenced by an Indian tradition, Buddhism, which both transformed and was transformed by the religions of the area. In addition, it is difficult to neatly separate religious traditions such as Buddhism, Confucianism, Daoism, and Shintō; though distinctions were made, there was a constant tendency to combine and blur traditions sometimes now thought of as distinct. What are today thought of as the major traditions have existed in complex relations with what have been variously styled as local, indigenous, or folk traditions.

INDIGENOUS CONCEPTS AND ORIENTATIONS. While the English word *humor* has been absorbed into and widely used in both Chinese and Japanese in the modern era, there is a long history of related or analogous indigenous concepts to be found throughout the languages of East Asia. Since there is, however, little in the way of systematic studies of such concepts, only the importance of exploring them further can be suggested here. In Chinese, one related term that was also made use of in Korea and Japan is *huaji,* combining *hua* (slippery) with *ji* (a bobbling motion), a word for ancient jesters, acrobats, jugglers, and entertainers. An integral part of ancient Chinese court and ritual life, *huaji* wore costumes asymmetrically half red and half black. These specialists were mad, or topsy-turvy, and by their frenzy threw the normal world out of its order. Comic jesters were deemed indispensable to the efforts of kings to mediate between heaven and earth. Both the Korean and Japanese languages are also replete with a number of terms and concepts related to humor.

In ancient China, a central locus for the development of humor in religion was the ritual cycle of offerings and performances for the ancestors and gods. As is documented by oracle bone inscriptions, it was hoped that the higher gods could be influenced by establishing smooth relations with the recently dead. Royal ritual life in early China was thus organized in great detail around the need to mollify the dead, with special efforts being made to please them with food and entertainment. Records from the Shang period (late second millennium BCE), show the existence of rituals to "entertain" the ancestors. As the writing system developed, it generated, as a means to express this notion, a system of interchangeable graphs and a network of concepts relating to the terms *pray* (celebrate, intone), *pleasing, elder brother* (who conducted ceremonies for ancestors), *music, joy, sacred speech,* and *laughter.* Laughter was thus implicated in a network of concepts for conceiving of the relations among people, ancestors, and gods.

In early Japan, a charter myth relating to the role of humor in religion is found in *Kojiki.* The myth narrates how the Sun goddess, Amaterasu, faced with the outrageous behavior of her brother Susano-o (who has sometimes been identified as a trickster), secludes herself in a cave and thus throws the heavenly realm into chaos and darkness. The other gods, however, devise a plan to lure Amaterasu from the cave by pretending another goddess is present. As part of the ruse, Ame no Uzume performs a dance on an overturned tub and exposes herself. Ame no Uzume's performance produces uproarious laughter on the part of the other gods. Not able to understand why the gods are laughing when she has hidden herself away, Amaterasu is told another goddess is present, and thus is lured out of the cave. The myth testifies to the efficacious power of laughter, as well as the gods' appreciation of humor. In the medieval Nō play *Ema* (The votive tablet), Amaterasu is even portrayed as wanting to reenact the myth so that she can enjoy the joke again. Ame no Uzume's performance is also often cited as the origin of *kagura* (ritual song and dance offered to the gods), rites of possession, and many traditional forms of theater and performance.

Though the issue has not been fully argued, some have suggested that the religions of East Asia are inherently more open to humor than the monotheistic religions of the West. There is probably a degree of truth in this argument. The gods of East Asia tend to be more human than those of the monotheistic traditions and not nearly as fastidious about sexual matters, one of the great sources of humor in human life.

CONFUCIANISM, DAOISM, AND BUDDHISM. Though the traditions of Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism have greatly influenced one another and often existed in symbiotic relation to one another, they nevertheless exhibit somewhat distinctive orientations to humor.

Confucianism. Neither Confucius nor Confucianism is particularly noted for humor. One should never underestimate, however, the continuous presence of puns, wordplay, sarcasm, and ridicule throughout the Chinese tradition. The works of the early ritualists, chroniclers, and philosophers were often invested with puns, wordplay, ambiguity, and amusing stories. In a text purporting to chronicle events of 574 BCE (*Chronicles of Zuo*, 17th year of Duke Cheng), Confucius is, for instance, recorded telling some jokes involving puns about foot amputation that may well have had deeper cosmological implications. Confucius is also depicted (*Analects* 17.4) laughing at an elaborate ritual held in a town of very modest importance, characterizing the villagers as "using a beef cleaver to cut a chicken!" When his students remonstrated, Confucius admits that he had only been joking.

As the body of early texts was canonized and made into the so-called Confucian classics, the Ru (Ritualist or Confucian) school more and more became an arbiter of cultural orthodoxy. With its emphasis on decorum, morality, and the proper use of language, and particularly in its role as state ideology, Confucianism has perhaps rightly been characterized as a dry religion. An early work on literature in the Confucian tradition, which was also of some influence in Japan, is Liu Xie's (465?–520?) *Wenxin Diaolong* (The literary mind and carving of dragons). The work expresses an ambivalent opinion of the value of humor, particularly in the way it undermines the clear and proper use of language. Perhaps inevitably, Confucianism also became a straight man for humor and ridicule. Ridicule of slavish imitators of Confucius or Confucians became a popular topic in Chinese jest books (Harbsmeier, 1990, p. 152).

Confucianism was sometimes even linked with moves to suppress humor. In the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, Japan witnessed a boom in comic literature that illustrates how religion can be subject to satire and parody and how some religious orientations can oppose humor. Informed by Confucian notions of morality and decorum, the Tokugawa regime made frequent, and mostly futile, efforts to suppress the upsurge of comic and satirical literature that made fun of most aspects of Japanese social, political, and religious life. One early anonymous work was *Hijiri yûkaku* (The pleasure quarter of the sages), in which the Buddha, Confucius, and the Daoist sage Laozi congregate in Japan for the purpose of visiting an Osaka brothel run by the Tang poet Li Bo, with his colleague Bai Ju-i as an entertainer. While some political and religious authorities took offense at much of this satire, it is unclear whether the buddhas and gods were offended or not.

Daoism. Daoism has taken many forms throughout Chinese history, and the term is highly contested. As used here, it denotes primarily what has sometimes been referred to as philosophical Daoism, centered on the texts *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi.* While the first of these texts maintains a relative air of dignity and seriousness, *Zhuangzi* is marked by a more humorous orientation and makes considerable use of irony, paradox, and amusing stories. In its philosophical and literary forms, which advocated a radical relativism of opposites and distinctions, Daoism seems inherently open to a comic and humorous perspective as a way of freeing oneself from the unnatural constraints imposed by society, the state, and an overly rational approach to the world. Daoism also shares with Buddhism a sense of the limits of language to describe reality, thus opening the way for ironic and humorous displays of the limits of language and concepts. Not a few scholars have argued that Daoism contributed much to the Chinese transformation of Buddhism, especially to the use and appreciation of humor in the Chan or Zen schools.

The *Zhuangzi*, of course, is a *locus classicus* for many hilarious images of human limitation that suggest the uselessness of usefulness, the usefulness of uselessness, the irrationality that undermines the very notion of rationality, and in general the possibility of liberation from all such categories. The famous tale of Zhuang Zhou dreaming he was a butterfly (and then on waking not knowing whether he had dreamed of being a butterfly or whether the butterfly was now dreaming of being him) is an amusing and humorous account of a basic human conundrum. The text also makes fun of a variety of human proclivities, such as the desire to better oneself: "A youth of Shouling in the state of Yan studied the proper way of walking in Handan, the capital of Zhao. He failed to learn the distinguished gait of Handan. Moreover he unlearned his original way of walking. So he came crawling back home on all fours" (Harbsmeier, 1989, p. 303).

The general Daoist orientation was also one factor making possible the appearance of a type of religious figure characterized by extreme eccentricity, drunkenness, or madness. Well-known examples of such eccentric figures are Liu Ling (221–300) and the other members of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove at the time of the transition from the Han dynasty to the Jin dynasty. Liu Ling, who often went around his house naked, is remembered for his retort to the objections of an offended guest: "The universe is my house, and this room is my trousers. What are you doing here inside my trousers?"(Welch, 1957, pp. 124–125)

Buddhist ambivalence. While Buddhism is frequently celebrated in the West for its appreciation of humor, the Buddhist attitude to humor has often been ambivalent. The Buddha himself questioned how any one could laugh given the suffering that marked the world. Early Buddhist scholastics debated whether the Buddha had ever laughed (it was decided that only the faintest of smiles had crossed his lips), and the precept concerning right speech was often interpreted as rejecting laughter and joking. Buddhists have nevertheless managed to develop at times a rich appreciation of humor.

The most celebrated aspect of the relation of Buddhism and humor is no doubt the use of humor in Chan, or Zen. In an overstatement of his case, D. T. Suzuki argued that Zen was the only religion to find room for laughter. In many respects, Zen schools took to a radical extreme the Buddhist teaching that the truth could not be fully conveyed in symbols, concepts, and words. Whether expressed in dialogues, *kōans,* tales, or behavior, humor became a pedagogical tool for teaching the limits and constraints of conventional teachings and concepts. Humor was, in short, a technique for ensuring that one did not take the finger pointing at the moon as the moon itself. Laughter was also often taken as a sign of enlightenment, as a mark of having realized the comic absurdity of attempting to apprehend the truth in rational distinctions, concepts, and categories. How humor might teach and how laughter is a sign of understanding is concisely communicated in a tale about the Chinese master Yangqi, who, when about to lecture his disciples on the path to enlightenment, simply said: "Ha! Ha! Ha! What's all this! Go to the back of the hall and have some tea!" (Blyth, 1959, p. 90)

Throughout East Asia, Chan/Zen teachers or figures, be they historical or legendary, often exhibited the behavior of clowns or fools. In China, the "foolish" figures Hanshan and Shide are well-known both in paintings and tales about them. In Japan, Zen figures such as Ikkyū, Ryōkan (whose name means "great fool"), and Hakuin were known not only for their foolishness but also as self-consciously embracing the role of fool. The Japanese Zen master Harada Sogaku (1871–1961) even elevated the Buddha himself to the status of fool. "My admonition, then: Be a Great Fool! You know, don't you, that there was a master [Ryōkan] who called himself just that? Now, a petty fool is nothing but a worldling, but a Great Fool is a Buddha. Śākyamuni and Amitābha are themselves Great Fools, are they not?" (Hyers, 1989, p. 43). The foolishness of Zen figures was directed not only at upsetting the common-sense assumptions of the day but also the rigidity of Buddhist and Zen teachings themselves.

LOCAL, INDIGENOUS, AND FOLK TRADITIONS. As has been suggested, what have sometimes been styled as "great traditions" were not only not easily separable but also existed in complex relations with what have sometimes been referred to as local, indigenous, or folk traditions in China, Korea, and Japan. Such traditions and practices embraced a variety of types of humor and were also subject to a variety of forms of control, suppression, and systematization as they were harnessed to the agendas of emerging kingdoms, imperial systems, and modern nation states. As part of these "civilizing" processes, local traditions were often regarded as "superstitions," and the humor they embraced was at times deemed inappropriate.

Whether motivated by the desire to celebrate auspicious occasions, restore harmony, or divine the future, the center of religious life throughout the indigenous religions of East Asia has been daily and periodic interaction among people, ancestors, and gods. Much of the humor related to religion throughout the area may be traced indeed to this ongoing interaction. In contrast to the gods of the monotheistic traditions, the gods and ancestors of the region seem more human in their engagement in and appreciation of a variety of types of humor. In addition, the coming together of people, ancestors, and gods often aims at the creation of a "happy atmosphere" (Chinese, *xiqi*) or "celebration" (Japanese *iwai*) in which people, as well as gods and ancestors, are entertained. Given that all involved have an appreciation of humor, the coming together often involves a variety of humorous performances and interactions.

Divination in various forms has played a central role in ritual practices throughout East Asia. At present, Chinese divination activities continue on a daily basis both at home in front of the ancestors' shrine and publicly in temples. The most common articles for divination now are comma-shaped pieces of wood that are flat on one side and convex on the other. The inquirer must throw a pair of such blocks in such a way as to produce one up and the other down. If both land flat, the god has refused the request, but if both land rocking on the round side, the gods are "laughing." This is not an outright refusal; the inquirer continues. Humor has also played a role in divinatory practices in Japan. The Nō play *Ema* (The votive tablet) even presents the gods as making fun of people for wanting to divine the future when the gods have already pledged to bestow their blessings.

Ritual and festivals. Ritual life and festivals—be they Buddhist, Shintō, or, as was more often the case, a complex symbiosis of the two—have been marked by humor throughout Japanese history. Though there are solemn Buddhist and Shintō rituals, many ritual complexes contain humorous dimensions, the gods and buddhas of many shrines and temples enjoy humorous performances, and serious rituals often have a comic counterpart known as *modoki.* There is even a tradition of festivals devoted to laughter—*warai matsuri,* or laughing festivals—in which the central ritual act is laughing. As seen in a ritual held annually in May at the Atsuta Shrine in Nagoya, even shrines closely linked with Imperial Shintō (and thus more focused on maintaining an air of dignity and solemnity) are marked by laughter. Following rites of purification to commemorate the shrine's being entrusted with a sacred sword (one of the imperial regalia), the priests begin to laugh aloud and are soon joined in laughter by the crowds gathered there. Folklorists remain a bit uncertain, however, about just what everyone is laughing about.

Some of the ritual humor to be found throughout East Asia is of a sexual nature and is often linked with agriculture and fertility rituals. At a small festival in the mountains of Mikawa in Japan, the gods Ebisu and Daikoku appear. The latter must declare what he has brought with him, and the fun involves him producing, after some hesitation, a larger-than-life-size phallus. Yanagita Kunio (1875–1962), a pioneering scholar of folklore and humor in Japan, has noted that some female mountain deities seem to be amused by and partake in the laughter provoked by the display of a small dried fish. Furthermore, in China, occasions of festivity sometimes involve ribald humor such as in the Yangge (rice-sprout songs) performances at Chinese New Year or in the dances featuring masked figures in the Nuo rituals still held in peripheral areas of China or among minority groups. Ribald humor is also found throughout Korean folk songs. Efforts have often been made, it should be noted, to suppress or sanitize sexual humor. Under Mao Zedong, extensive attempts were made to recast Yangge dances into properly revolutionary terms. Throughout the Meiji period (1868–1912) in Japan, efforts were also made to suppress or tone down some of the more ribald aspects of ritual in an effort to nationalize and civilize some aspects of Shintō. Despite such efforts, at least traces of earlier practices continue.

Humor has a prominent role to play in the *kut,* the ritual conducted by *mansin* (shamans), that plays a central role in Korea's indigenous religion and aims at harmonizing the relations of gods, ancestors, and the living. The *kut* has been described as a "living and loud event with some mistakes, much skill, clumsy moments, copious wine, and considerable laughter" (Kendall, 1985, pp. 20–21). While various aspects of the interaction of gods, ancestors, shamans, and people in the *kut* can provoke laughter, there is one being in particular that the shaman can call upon and embody who frequently, if not inevitably, will add humor and levity to the interaction. This is Changbu, a female, clownlike figure linked with the spirits of actors, singers, and acrobats. In addition to offering advice, Changbu engages in making fun of people, particularly if they do not seem disposed to accept the advice the shaman has offered or have not sufficiently contributed money to support the proceedings. By engaging in actions such as tweaking the breasts of the recalcitrant, Changbu sometimes transgresses the boundaries of decorum in a way that causes consternation to some and provokes laughter in others. In a somewhat similar fashion, shamanistic rituals in Taiwan not infrequently involve similar comic behavior on the part of the gods and spirits evoked.

Korean tiger, Chinese Budai. In Korea, humor is also linked with the activities of the tiger, an important figure in myth and folklore who has sometimes been understood as a trickster figure. Like tricksters, the tiger appears in a variety of guises and roles; exhibits contradictory features (sometimes benevolently working for good, at others wreaking havoc); and frequently plays tricks, many of which backfire on him or her. In addition to serving as the messenger and companion of the mountain god, tigers have also served as guides and aids of shamans. In many tales, tigers are identified as Horangi (young boy tiger), a name suggestive of such tigers' playfulness and mischievousness. It is a bit difficult to determine whether all of these tigers are the same tiger or whether there are different types of tigers. When appearing in his more malevolent form, the tiger's tricks and plans often backfire, and he becomes an object of laughter. When appearing as a more benevolent figure, the tiger often serves to reveal the foolishness of people's actions and preoccupations. Images of the tiger are also common in the visual arts. A common folk painting of Horangi, believed to be capable of repelling evil or bad fortune, often depicts the tiger in humorous fashion as smiling, sometimes almost idiotically.

An important humorous figure in East Asia who illustrates the difficulties of discussing religion in terms of discrete schools and traditions is the Chinese figure Budai (Japanese, Hotei), who is sometimes referred to as the Laughing Buddha and whose legends, at least by some accounts, are based on the life of a Chinese monk of the Tang dynasty (618–907). The name Budai means "sackcloth" and was supposedly given to the monk because of his habit of carrying his meager worldly possessions in a sackcloth over his shoulder. In sculpture and painting, Budai is portrayed as a jolly, fat monk with his large stomach protruding from his disheveled robes. One of his major activities seems to have been playing with children. Budai also came to be regarded as an incarnation of the future buddha Maitreya, both popularly and by some schools of Zen that sometimes enshrine images of Budai as Maitreya. In China, Budai as Maitreya appears as a masked laughing man dancing with dragon dancers at festive occasions such as New Years. In Japan, Hotei appears as one of the Seven Gods of Fortune (*shichifukujin*) and is the patron deity of fortune-tellers and liquor merchants. His sack of material goods now inexhaustible, Hotei is also regarded as a source of material blessings.

HUMOR, RELIGION, AND THE ARTS. Another vast area providing evidence of the links between humor and religion is to be found in the rich traditions of visual art, literature, folk tales, theater, and a range of performing arts, including song, dance, music, and storytelling, found throughout East Asia. The origins of many of these art forms are traced to the activities of the gods, cultural heroes, and various types of holy personages. In addition, all of these art forms have at one time or another been offered at shrines, temples, and other places for the entertainment of the gods. It is not unusual for art forms such as sculpture, song and dance, or theater to be conceived as vehicles for rendering the gods present in this world. Comic, humorous, and ribald elements are not at all rare in these art forms.

Throughout the region, temples and shrines often contain a stage or area set aside for the performance of rituals, plays, dances, and a variety of other performing arts. Such performances have pleased the gods throughout history and frequently contain humorous elements. At Takachiho in Kyushu, as well as other places throughout Japan, performances offered as entertainment for the gods depict an old couple attempting to have sex with somewhat hilarious results. In contemporary Taiwan, some temples are equipped with a television appropriately placed so that the gods may view it without impediment.

Various forms of theater and performance throughout the area also make extensive use of humor and satire in relation to religion. The Japanese *Gigaku* (Korean, *Giak*) is a form of Buddhist masked drama originating in China and transmitted from Korea to Japan in the seventh century. A fourteenth-century Japanese text describes the masked performance as containing comic scenes making fun of the evils of drunkenness and lewd behavior. Traditional forms of theater, however, also make fun of religious figures and, at times, even the gods themselves. The traditional Korean masked dance play *Sandae* (some of whose roots may perhaps be found in *Giak*) incorporates Buddhist and shamanistic music and frequently holds up Buddhist monks and members of the literati for ridicule. In the comic Japanese *Kyōgen* theater, monks and other religious figures are often the object of humor, and the gods themselves are often portrayed in comic fashion. In the play *Asaina,* Enma—the god of the underworld—lets a hunter off lightly for the crime of killing animals when the hunter introduces the god to the delights of eating roasted meat. The humor directed at religion in these plays, however, cannot be simply taken as a rejection of religion. As suggested above, such plays were not infrequently understood as being performed for the entertainment of the gods.

The literary traditions of East Asia are also replete with stories, novels, tales, poems, and songs in which humor and religion are entwined in every conceivable way. A single example must suffice here: *Xiyouji,* translated as *The Journey to the West*, one of the most celebrated of Chinese works of literature. The work narrates the journey of the monk Tang Sanzang, aided by Sun Wukong, or Monkey, to India for Buddhist scriptures to bring back to China. The tale might be regarded as a comedy and contains numerous humorous episodes. Towards the beginning of the tale, the Buddha agrees to confer divine status on Monkey if he is able to jump over the Buddha's hand, but to make him do penance if he fails. Having acquired magical powers and believing himself up to the task, Monkey thinks the Buddha a fool and accepts the proposition. Jumping to what seems the outer edge of the cosmos, Monkey writes his name on five pillars he finds there to mark his achievement. For good measure, he also pisses on one before leaving. When Monkey returns to where the Buddha is waiting, the Buddha holds up one hand with Monkey's name written on each finger and with one finger stained yellow.

As suggested, the visual arts throughout the region also include many works linking humor and religion. A well-known subject in painting is the Three Doctrines, which portrays the Buddha, Confucius, and Laozi together as away of symbolizing the unity of the three religions (though it has been noted that some of the paintings do attempt to subtly suggest the superiority of one of the three). At least in a number of the paintings, such as that by the early-fifteenth-century Japanese painter Josetsu, there is a general comic air, and the Buddha and Laozi are depicted as smiling in such a way as to suggest that they are either chuckling or about to chuckle. Confucius, it must be admitted, looks a bit somber. There is the suggestion, however, that a degree of mirth is involved in the coming together and recognition of the unity of the three religions.

SEE ALSO Carnival; Clowns; Tricksters.

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ber of popular books on humor in East Asia have appeared throughout the twentieth century. Some of these works are still capable of providing inspiration. A classic, popular work of this sort is R. H. Blyth's *Oriental Humor* (Tokyo, 1959), a work that covers China, Korea, and Japan and touches frequently on religion. Reference here might also be made to George Kao, ed., *Chinese Wit and Humor* (New York, 1974), an anthology of Chinese humor giving considerable place to the humor to be found in the Chinese classics. In many respects, the work of scholars has yet to appreciate and develop the insight about the importance of humor in culture and religion to be found in such works.

A useful starting point for exploring more scholarly discussions of the topic is *Philosophy East and West* 39, no. 3 (1989), an issue of the journal devoted to the role of humor in Asian thought. Particularly useful for placing the topic in comparative perspective is John Morreall's "The Rejection of Humor in Western Thought," pp. 243–266, which suggests how certain philosophical assumptions have led many Western scholars to downplay the importance of humor. Morreall's *Comedy, Tragedy, and Religion* (Albany, N.Y., 1999) contains a chapter devoted to Asian religions that, like his article, attempts to put the issues in comparative perspective.

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HUMOR AND RELIGION: HUMOR AND ISLAM

"Do not seek to put man in a cosmic dimension, but to humanize the cosmos, for there surely is laughter, and strength against tragedy" (Orfalea and Elmusa, p. 153). Thus the Arab American poet Eugene Paul Nasser neatly sums up the interdependency of religion and humor while acknowledging a certain inevitable tension between those of earnest and those of ironic inclination. Laughter, like music, dance, alcohol or drugs, love, and poetry, can be considered threatening to religion because of its powerful attraction. Although it can be co-opted, repressed, or embraced, it cannot be ignored. A Tunisian trickster tale was the author's introduction to the world of humor and Islam. Shared by an unlettered thirty-five-year-old North African mother of four over tea on a cold spring afternoon in 1967, the tale for some might humanize the cosmos a little too much, but for many over the centuries and around the Mediterranean Sea, it has borne an essential charm. In it the trickster Juha, not a religious figure, finds himself at odds with a religious practice and religious authority. He is annoyed at the noise of his small town muezzin's early morning call to prayer and the subsequent arising of his mother, who takes their only blanket for prayers. Juha's simple solution is to cut off the muezzin's head and pitch it down a well. Juha is unfazed by his deed, but his mother covers up for him by secretly throwing a ram's head down the well so it is what is discovered when the townspeople search for the missing muezzin. The punch line, yelled up by the investigator from inside the well, is, "Oh townspeople, does your muezzin have horns?" (Dundes, p. 310; Chanfrault, pp. 54–55).

To associate humor with Islam might disconcert readers of publications that stereotype Muslims as essentially humorless and incompatible with the West, members of "a different civilization" living in the "land of bloody borders" (Huntington, 258). And indeed some Muslims, like some Christians and Jews, are serious. Yet M. Conrad Hyers, in *Holy Laughter*, cautions that "the [religiously] over zealous, the fanatic, the excommunicator and executioner . . . are nearly always serious, contemptuous of frivolity and giggles" (Hyers, p. 245). He finds in religious humor the antidote to zealotry. Like the tale above, such humor tends to cluster around areas of social or personal tension or difficulty—in Juha's case, the challenge of required prayers.

The examples of Islam and humor that follow, selected from different centuries, regions, and classes and from both oral and written sources, tend toward breaking down hierarchies, creating liminal spaces that offer a chance to see facets of the Muslim experience afresh as they are played out in personal and congregational, micro and macro situations. In some examples secular humor is used to critique religion, whereas in others religious humor is used to highlight social ills. Some examples have been chosen for their Muslim subject matter, some because the Muslim humorist drew on humor for religiously informed ethical instruction, and some because the protagonist of a humorous joke or anecdote is represented as a religious figure and thus a lesson might be expected. Each is offered to crystallize a certain facet of Muslim artful managing of confluences of humor and Islam or to point to a locus where humor seems often to emerge within a religious context. No doubt other loci will occur to readers from their own experiences. (Nonreligiously referenced joking behavior of people who happen to be Muslim is beyond the scope of this entry.) Although women's humor as well as laughter in noninstitutionalized or marginal spaces is attended to here, more study of humor from the geographical, social, gender, religious, and class hinterlands from whence new thoughts and practices tend to emerge and the taken-for-granted interrogated needs to be done. Some examples of debate about the appropriateness of humor in Islam are offered in the conclusion.

Humor appears in religiously central Muslim texts, including the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*s, in texts or oral traditions of specific locales, embedded in larger ritual and festival practices, and as a central expectation within certain antinomian Muslim groups. The joking behavior can be directed toward fellow practitioners or, as in the Juha story, to the arduousness of following the basic directives, or can emerge from a generational dissonance. For example, the son of a famous Ṣūfī irreverently refers to the formulaic and protracted exchange of greetings, compliments and blessings between his Ṣūfī father and members of his brotherhood as "ping-pong." Further, humor can ease tensions or comment on relations between Muslims and non-Muslims. These humorous incursions reflect but also overtly or obliquely comment on, evaluate, and reimagine shared and personal religious (and other) phenomena (Webber, 1987). A humorous look at religious practice can be a resource for vulnerable or marginalized Muslims, as in many trickster stories, providing a safety valve and sometimes protection for the subaltern, the old, the poor, and the young—especially young women or minorities—to resist power or to defend themselves by humorously calling attention to the fates of those who harm them. In all cases the cosmos is made relevant to the human condition.

RELIGION AS EVERDAY LIFE. Religion is a marked off category so that a certain comportment is expected in the presence of religious leaders, sacred texts, sacred performances and sacred space. Sometimes these expectations get in the way of what really matters and laughter can restore the balance.

Boundaries between the religious and the every day are often relaxed in the "little traditions," and this is a locus of criticism by the more conservative keepers of the "great tradition," itself in flux. The effects of this collapsing vary from one situation to another, but the incongruity catches the attention of the audience—in a narrative, an essay, a *mawlid* (birthday, anniversary), children's play—and opens up the space for insight or revelation.

Children. The religious behaviors of children provide unexpected, amusing examples of interweaving of the sacred with playfulness. In 1968 in a Tunisian kindergarten little boys sometimes used the school's dolls to play funeral—with procession and improvised prayers—causing the Muslim teachers to gasp and laugh. In 1985 in a mosque in Toledo, Ohio, startled smiles were elicited from adults who noticed little boys lined up between their fathers for prayer bowing forward contrapuntally to the grownups to play peekaboo with their small friends to their left and right in the row of worshippers. In such circumstances children innocently play the part of outsiders, the uninitiated, and thus remind adult adherents of the constructedness of religious practice.

Memories of childhood religious rituals from an adult's perspective are also a source of humor and perhaps problematize that ritual. In “Theft in Broad Daylight” the scholar Abdulaziz Abbassi recalls the day as a young schoolboy in his Moroccan hometown that he was tricked into his Muslim-ordained circumcision:

> And why were the barbers [at his friend Hassan’s house]? Was it to cleanse or purify you before you were allowed to play with Hassan’s [pet] rooster? Or, was it to cleanse and purify you after the incident . . . when a female cousin on the verge of womanhood tricked you into playing body-intertwine with her? Were these people going to let the rooster’s blood or yours? . . . All efforts to struggle out of their tight grip proved futile. The last thing you remembered before fainting was biting desperately at someone’s arm. Later you found out that poetic justice had prevailed. It was rumored that it took Hassan’s father months of doctor’s visits, frequent dressings, and medication before the bite healed. (Abbassi, pp. 226–227)

The elderly. Postmenopausal women are both powerful and supposedly naive and thus able to commingle the religious and religiously abjured without the communal censorship that any others except young children, holy fools, or the simpleminded might incur. The following joke about an old lady returning from pilgrimage going through Egyptian customs takes this to extremes. Each duty-laden item in her bag is respectfully forgiven by the customs official due to its religious import (e.g., the imported television she claimed she needed for the sermons of a well-known religious leader, the tape recorder to listen to Qurʾanic recitations) until the customs official finds the whiskey. “Whiskey, oh *ḥājja* (pilgrim)?” She explains that as an old lady the circumambulation of the Kaʿbah was too much for her. Thus, she says, “I drink two glasses, and the Kaʿbah goes around me!” (Ibrahim, p. 207). This joke critiques the use of the *ḥājj* as a shopping trip (a kind of money changers in the Temple critique) and religious hypocrisy, while appropriating the hajja’s deployment of her old lady status to evade a younger male authority figure.

Women. Passion within marriage is considered necessary, and it is not out of bounds for women to allude to it humorously even in some religious settings. So, one afternoon in the late 1970s in Tunisia women and children were sitting in the shrine of a walī (Sidi Ahmed) celebrating with feasting the recovery one woman’s husband from an accident. At this *ziyāra* (visit) to a local *walī* tomb, some women in the cool, dusky shrine were getting semi-permanent small, lacy decorations of *harcous,* a black, smoky and clove-scented cosmetic painted on their hands or feet. Admiring the intricate scented decoration on her little finger, a young wife laughed, “I am putting this right next to [my husband’s] nose tonight” (Webber 1991, p. 188)—yet another example of bringing the cosmos home.

The convergence of the sacred and sexual, especially as it relates to women’s desires, seems to be less problematic for the Muslim community than for Judaic or Christian communities. The Qurʾān itself does not ignore God-given desires or their human and humorous consequences. In the Joseph Sura v. 30–32 the wife of Potiphar, the Egyptian who bought Joseph, has attempted to seduce him and her lady friends are condemning her. Thus follows an amusing scene when she invites the women to dine. As they are peeling fruit she has Joseph appear unexpectedly and her guests are so affected by his beauty that they lose control of their knives and, en mass, knick their hands instead of the fruit, intimating that they might have behaved no better than she had they been in her situation. Again, this humor in the Qurʾān collapses the distance between the sacred and the everyday, brings some Muslims closer to God and even helps believers not fear death (Mir, 1991).

Female modesty can also be a locus of humor when juxtaposed with a new technology. In an 1874 cartoon in an Istanbul journal, a veiled woman instructs her photographer, “above all . . . I want a good likeness.” (Georgeon, p. 109)

Muslims in the West. Sometimes a participant observer finds the juxtaposition of sacred and profane humorously and touchingly jarring. The poet H. S. Hamod finds himself next to a busy South Dakota highway as his father, grandfather, and father’s friend have insisted that he stop his car so they can pray on their Navaho blanket-turned-prayer-rug as night falls:

> me, driving the 1959 Lincoln ninety miles an hour “STOP, STOP this car.” . . . I stop . . . car lights stream by more than I’ve ever seen in South Dakota . . . they discuss which direction is East after a few minutes it’s decided it must be that way they face what must surely be South they face their East . . . . Three old men chanting the Qurʾān in the middle of a South Dakota night *Allahu Ahkbar Allahu Ahkbar* . . . more cars flash by *malik a youm a deen* . . . . I’m embarrassed to be with them *en umta ailiy him* . . . people stream by, an old woman strains a gawk at them *willathouu leen* . . . . I’m standing guard now. (Orfalea and Elmusa, pp. 165–168)

The refusal of the older men to acknowledge “mundane” difficulties to fulfilling prayer requirements puts the worldlier poet into a betwixt and between situation, striving to mediate for himself and his readers religious and everyday, East-West perspectives.

Ḥijābs (head scarfs), sometimes a focus of cultural tension in both east and west, can also be mediated through humor. In a comedy club in the United States, Tissa Hami, an American stand-up comedian who is “covered,” lets her scarf introduce part of who she is to her audience as she jokes about the marginality of Muslims in the United States. “It was scary growing up Iranian in this country,” she tells her audiences, “but when other kids teased me, I threatened to take them hostage” (Potier, p. 2). Another joke told by contemporary American Muslims not only collapses together religious and secular concerns, but also comments on U.S. religious diversity, assumptions about Muslims, immigrant name changes, and immigrant fears about generational divisions and loss of identity. A Muslim immigrant named Mohamed starts his first day of school in his new country. As the youngsters introduce themselves, the teacher tells him that Mohamed is not an American name. They will call him Mike. That night when his parents ask how his day went, he doesn't answer, until finally he announces that they must now address him as Mike. He is spanked for being insolent. The next day his teacher asks him how his first day in America had gone. He grouses, "One day in America and I'm attacked by two terrorists."

Powerful Words and Impetuous Iterations. In curses the sacred and profane are often collapsed together, and Muslim profanities can be a locus of humor. Many, probably most, curses are not meant seriously, and Muslims do not feel that an impulsive curse is binding or effective but a momentary loss of control that can bring laughter in the appropriate context. In 1996 in Tunisia an extended family was socializing while a fragile old auntie was praying in the midst of them, as women often do. Small children disrupted her by their tumbling on and around her prayer mat—oblivious to her or a sacred space and moment. She stopped in the middle of her prayers, roundly cursed them and then continued praying. Youths and other adults in the room then had to step quietly outside, muffling their laughter. (Laughter in prayer time, as opposed to, say, a smile, invalidates the prayer.) In literary collections as well, humorous accounts of inappropriate behaviors during mosque prayers or attempts to repress one's laughter in the holy site abound. However, this particular example might also be likened to the singlemindedness of the old men praying on their Navaho rug by the side of a superhighway in South Dakota. For most, these incidences of less-than-perfect prayer performances offer occasions to celebrate the lives of the prayers and the unexpected gift of a good story.

In 1967 the author and another Peace Corps volunteer were team teaching with two teenage Muslim women in a Tunisian kindergarten. One day the Muslims remembered the curse "[When you die] may you be buried in the graveyard of the Christians" and "cursed" their Christian counterparts with giggling glee. During the colonial period, just ended at the time, this was a bitter curse "othering" a fellow townsperson who might be a bit of an "Uncle Ahmed." Using it in a new context, among friends, conveyed a good bit about the new leveling of hierarchies. Similarly parents quite often rain curses down on the heads of their misbehaving young children only to shift their ire to any other adult who would dare to intone, "amen" (Webber, 1991, p. 189, n.18).

Even when a curse works, it is sometimes cause for, if not unabashed laughter, a satisfied snort. In a Tunisian town a descendant of a well-known *walī* [holy person] had a philandering husband. After enduring years of his roaming, she finally cursed him with a deadly disease, and he caught it and died. As time passes and the story is told and retold, the regret for the death recedes and the local community wryly takes note of divine justice for a woman seemingly without recourse.

Impetuous words that cannot legally be unsaid are the cause of laughter for all but the miscreant who is caught with his or her self-control down. Conflation of the sacred, secular, and sexual often results in humorous moments. According to *sharīʿah*, once a man swears thrice that he divorces his wife, she is divorced, and they cannot be remarried unless she is first married to and divorced from another. Mirth and good stories arise from cases in which a divorced wife is wed supposedly temporarily to a friend of the former spouse, who she then decides she prefers. It is a cautionary tale that depends for its effectiveness on humorous sexual humiliation.

Subaltern Resistance, Humor, and Islam. Muslim authorities recognized the vulnerability of their religion to the condescension of nineteenth-century colonizers of Asia and Africa. The Orientalist impulse to appropriate the East's intellectual heritage included an assumed mastery of and thus right to critically interrogate its religions. Foreign scholars found fault with Islamic and other religious practices of the colonized. For their part, the colonized, made marginal to their own religious traditions, could through religious-based humor resist, mediate, and educate across religions and cultures. In his work on the Egyptians of the early 1800s, Edward Lane strives to document Egyptian (usually Cairene) lifestyles with little regard for individual personalities or humanity. But in the few cases in which Egyptians are quoted, readers glimpse witty, appealing Muslim individuals. In one anecdote an Egyptian Muslim friend learns that another Egyptian has asked Lane for his watch (*saʾah*). Because *saʾah* also means "hour" or "period of general judgment," Lane's friend suggests that Lane return an "equivocal and evasive answer" taken from the Qurʾān: "Verily the *saʾah* shall come: I will surely make it to appear" (Lane, pp. 280–281). Whereas Lane uses this humorous riposte to illustrate what he sees as an unfortunate Muslim tendency to confound the sacred with the everyday, readers might rather glimpse an appealing personality in the unnamed Egyptian friend, a man steeped in the witty culture of Muslim literati (*udabaʾ*) that often depends for effect on a shared knowledge of the Qurʾān.

In another story Lane challenges a Muslim friend concerning the propriety of a certain book that when closed has a page relating a scene of debauchery covering a page of prayer. His friend jokes that Lane could simply turn the book over so that the prayer page would cover the debauchery—the sin would then be covered by forgiveness. To Lane the incident proved Egyptians hypocrites. "The generality of the Arabs," Lane concludes, are "a most inconsistent people" (Lane, p. 280). Readers might find, however, that the Muslim's urbane witticism provides proof of a more subtle, multinuanced world than the one Lane perceived.

Tricksters. Muslim tricksters, like the Mediterranean Juha, who is also sometimes Jewish or Christian, are humans whose humorous escapades only intermittently attend to religion. Juha's religiously linked escapades are irreverent and collapse hierarchies so that Juha in some narratives can even outsmart or bargain with God, much as he outsmarts the rich or the learned. Two other tricksters are Nasruddin Hodja or Mullah Nasruddin—poor, rural, low-level religious teachers or scholars, sometimes judges. They, like Juha, are at least quasi-legendary with times of birth and death and place of burial contradictorily noted in various sources. Sidi Khadir, like some *walī*s and *walīyya*s, has supernatural powers and is trickster-like, causing confusion through his miracles (Webber, 1991, pp. 143, 160, 189). Like Juha, Nasruddin Hodja or Mullah Nasruddin are found in various transformations around the Mediterranean. Perhaps because the rough and tumble antics of Juha are tempered in the latter two tricksters by the quasi-respectability endowed by their religiously evocative honorifics, the latter two tricksters take on somewhat more respectable personae. They are comic geniuses, folk philosophers, and a bit less messy and more socially acceptable than Juha. Depending on the listener's or reader's acceptance of the trickster protagonists' credentials, the stories might be expected to offer a religious or ethical life lesson even if the narrative itself is not overtly religious. In *adab* (Arabic corpus of belles lettres) tricksters are often a humorous Sancho Panza–type sidekick or a master of disguise, but again their escapades only incidentally involve religion.

The following Nasruddin account, one of thousands, could be used as the opener to a speech to raise charitable donations or in a conversation with a family member who is borrowing or lending money. Like most of the hodja and mullah stories, it addresses topics of communal tension, such as haves and have-nots, money, and judgmental individuals. The story's seeming senselessness amuses and intrigues the listener or reader long enough that some underlying recurrent cultural and communal quandaries can be confronted:

> The Mullah went to see a rich man. "Give me some money." "Why?" "I want to buy . . . an elephant." "If you have no money, you can't afford to keep an elephant." "I came here," said Nasruddin, "to get money, not advice." (Shah, p.13.)

Why the impulse in the Abrahamic traditions toward humorous human tricksters like Till Eulenspeigel, Pedro de Urdemalas, and Juha? A trickster in human form, it seems, has a different cultural role than trickster as animal or as god (or as animal-supernatural being). These legendary, lower-class tricksters, rogues, and fools are not so other as magical or supernatural tricksters: their behaviors, however foolish, quirky, or outrageous, can be identified by listeners or readers with their own curtailed impulses or moments of whimsy but writ large and run out to their logical (illogical) conclusions.

In many trickster escapades involving encounters with the religious establishment, tricksters violate the most basic rules of Islam. Thus, their reverently irreverent behavior is reminiscent of that of socially vulnerable antinomian Ṣūfīs, dervishes and holy fools and their real-life uses of humor and taboo breaking. By definition these trickster-like religious figures, like the storied tricksters, violate social norms and embrace unconventional and liminal behavior including disregard of Islamic ritual practices and contravention of religious law (Karamustafa, pp. 17-18). Poverty, of course, accentuates perceptions of deviance and sometimes antinomians even gave up great wealth to embark on their antinomian way.

Ahmet Karamustafa's (1994) intriguing work on the antinomian dervishes, wandering Ṣūfī groups that spread from Egypt to South Asia between 1200 and 1550 BCE, illustrates some of the behaviors of the religious groups known for mirth and merrymaking and assessed as riffraff by the elite, who felt that "Islam was at the mercy of spiritual delinquents" (Karamustafa, p. 9). The boisterous commentary of these "men of good humour" actually puts the dervishes in danger from the establishment, religious and otherwise, by their trickster-like behaviors—combining mirth and merrymaking with dance and ecstasy, wine drinking, hashish smoking, homosexuality (or chastity), "dependence on love to the point of disregarding reason," and so on (Karamustafa, p. 72). Evoking the image of a holy fool, the leader of one group, the Abdals, brought merriment when he "danced like a bear and sang like a monkey" (Karamustafa, p. 1). Thus, like the tricksters, the antinomians tend toward a motley of dress, ignoring of boundaries—social, temporal, and spatial—and amorality, exhibition of human-animal dualism, and so on.

TRADITIONAL *ADAB*, RELIGION, AND HUMOR. What comprises *adab* has varied over the centuries, but its core genres might be defined at any one time and place as those established *udaba*ʾ (masters of *adab*) choose to include in their broad repertoires: knowledge of philosophy (Greek, Roman, Persian, Arabic), history, manners, theology, sermons, travel narratives, biography and autobiography, sex manuals, proverbs, riddles, tall tales, humorous narratives; a keen assessment of middle-class society; and the ability to write engagingly about such topics according to or challenging aesthetic norms. Although *adab* shares plots, themes, tales, motifs, and genres with popular aesthetic culture, a central distinguishing feature of *adab* is that it is written and transmitted by a renowned author living the lifestyle of an artist who was, even in the fairly recent past, sometimes on the fringes, less frequently in the center, of a rarified court lifestyle (Allen, p. 170). Basic to all scholars was their thorough knowledge of religious texts—beginning with Qurʾān memorization. In many cases this training continues in the twenty-first century.

Being able to write humorously was an important talent for the *udaba*ʾ, especially during those times when they were dependent on wealthy patrons, so humorous incidents about misreading or misuse of Qurʾanic verses are drawn on as accessible to most everyone. In early *adab* ridicule also surfaced in debates over the relative merits of other religions, especially Zoroastrianism and Christianity. Franz Rosenthal does not see this early humor as an attack "upon the established religion or expressions of a liberal and skeptical spirit" but comic relief on notice of unexpected deviation from well-known "literary expressions and ritualistic practices" (Rosenthal, p. 28). Some *adab* humor, however, definitely seems to express the liberal or ironic outlook of a jaded, bohemian community. In his satiric debate "The Pleasure of Girls and Boys Compared," for example, the Basran *adib* Jahiz (c. 776–868 CE), who was also a religious scholar, has his fictional debaters cite verses from the Qurʾān to bolster their sexual preferences for boys or girls. Such quotes from the Qurʾān as those of Jahiz and the quote from Lane's friend cited previously are humorous because they are frivolous applications from a sacred source. Mistakes in use of Qurʾanic references, which most people knew so well, could also cause laughter: "Abu ʿAlgamah mentioned the name of the wolf who ate the Biblical and Qurʾanic Joseph, and when he was told that Joseph was not eaten by a wolf, he said that the name he had mentioned, then, was the name of the wolf that did *not* eat Joseph" (Rosenthal, p. 10, n. 5).

Inability to recognize a common Qurʾanic quote can also cause laughter. The *adib* Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani (d. 967 CE) notes an occasion in the mosque when the *imām* recited, "And why should I not serve Him Who created me?" (Qurʾān 36:22), a witty effeminate, al-Dalal, responded, "I don't know," and caused most of the worshippers to laugh and invalidate their prayers (Rowson, p. 683).

A theme that runs though earlier *adab* is attribution of humorous, daring statements to the Prophet, seemingly again humanizing the cosmos. The early poet Hassan ibn Thabit observes "that the Prophet was not as puritanical as some people imagine" (cited in Mir, p. 162). Sexual banter is attributed to the Prophet in the form of *ḥadīth* (Rosenthal, p. 29). And class-based humor also invokes the Qurʾān as when Yusuf Shirbini, cited by Nelly Hanna, quotes the ignorant commoners' ʿulamāʾ as claiming to have a copy of the Qurʾān in the author's handwriting, or as asking for a summary of the Qurʾān since the original is too difficult for his students (Hanna, p. 77).

The practice of listing *ḥadīth* transmitters is also made light of. Rosenthal reports that the famous early *adib* Ashʾab, on being advised by religious critics that it would be more becoming for him to transmit traditions than tell his inappropriate jokes, offered this *ḥadīth*, "I was told by Nafiʾ . . . on the authority of Ibn ʿUmar that the Messenger of God said: 'A man in whom there are found two qualities belongs to God's chosen friends.'" When his critic then complimented Ashʾab and asked what these two qualities were, he replied that Nafiʾ had forgotten one and he, Ashʾab, had forgotten the other (Rosenthal, p. 117).

The five pillars of Islam—profession, prayers, almsgiving, fasting, and pilgrimage—also are resources for *udabaʾ* wit. "A man on pilgrimage was glaring at a slave girl as though she were a heathen in the pulpit. Her arms were bare, her skin was as white as palm-core and she was mouthing one obscenity after another. 'How dare you talk like that on pilgrimage! It's not me on pilgrimage, stupid, it's my camel! Can't you see that I'm the one sitting and it's doing the walking?'" (Colville, p. 206).

Not surprisingly given the number required each day, speedy prayer is also a source of humor. *Udabaʾ* report their protagonists—buffoons, tricksters, and effeminates—drawing upon quotes from the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth* for proof that making long prayers is a sign of false piety or accusing the slower prayer of having an inordinate number of sins to assuage.

ISLAM AND HUMOR: CRITIQUES AND DIALOGUE. Humor in religion introduces a bit (or more) of the chaotic into what some feel should be a sober and controlled cultural domain—hence attempts to control the uncontrollable. Some joking behavior might be acceptable only among insiders. Some Islamic leaders in colonial Cairo felt that the kinds of humor incorporated into the *mawlid* festivals, the levity and buffoonery, made Islam appear ridiculous in Western eyes and so attempted to manage them. Censorship of religious humor, like that of certain mullah tales in Iran following the fall of the shah, results in risky humor retreating to oral and private venues.

And yet there are apologists for some joking behavior even on the fault lines of religious sectarianism. "The joking is not a problem," one middle-aged family man told the author in 1986 about the jokes Muslim and Coptic neighbors in Cairo tell on each other, "It's time to worry when the joking stops." Laughter might be troubling but also allows space for insight or creativity. Altogether most Islamic leaders viewed joking and laughter relatively positively, although bringing in examples from the behavior of the Prophet and his companions would be taboo for some. Only hurtful, mocking laughter is consistently criticized.

Still debates about the place of humor in Islam surface in times of change or crisis, and sometimes this results in harsh treatment of the perceived irreverent. For example, an *imām* of the early fifteenth century, Ibn Sudun al Busbugawi, wrote in Egypt during a time of failing economy due to the costs of a large army, of recurrent plague, and of famine. Religion and humor were not his principal preoccupation (rather perhaps food and hashish), but in his work *The Diversion of the Souls: Bringing a Laugh to a Scowling Face*, after presenting his favorite rice recipes, he mildly joshes Muslim potion sellers about the efficacy of their products as well as Muslims who claim exclusive access to heaven: "He who eats two platefuls [of the rice] after lunch and two platefuls after dinner for forty years on end . . . will never fall sick, unless from some disease, and he will not die, except when his allotted time is up; and if he should die a Muslim he will enter Paradise" (cited in Vrolijk, p. 28). Indeed he also penned a loving, rather humorous poem about his mother upon her death—behavior that was (and still is) criticized later by more conservative Muslims but which is evocative of some contemporary memorial services or of wake reminiscences.

He remembers, "When I ran away from my teacher and my dad was chasing after me to send me back, my mother always found me a hiding place" (Vrolijk, p. 45). And he jokingly reproaches her for her choice of heaven over him: "You've gone up to heaven to God who forgives all / How on earth could it please you to leave me / you were never like that before" (Vrolijk, p. 134). Again, a familiar approach collapses the distance between the cosmos and the quotidian and thus between the son and his missed mother. Perhaps the hard times account for that fact that Ibn Sudun's humor and decadent behavior displeased both his father and Cairene religious authorities to such a degree that he was exiled to Damascus near the end of his life.

Another incident of attempted repression of humor occurred in 1877, when the Ottoman parliament debated the issue of press humor during wartime. More conservative members—Muslims and non-Muslims alike—felt that humor was frivolous and dangerous, whereas others felt that it was religiously encouraged even though printing presses at that time (like the Internet of the twenty-first century perhaps) had made a much broader dissemination of humor possible. In fact the Egyptian Boulaq Press had already, almost fifty years earlier, published a collection of Ottoman Turkish Nasruddin Hodja tales. The great majority of deputies defended humor as having a social utility.

Whatever is officially decided in any one time or place about the relation between humor and Islam, humor will accrete to Islam and to its texts and practices, and Muslims will be the first to find, through irreverence, a means to point out the dissonances between Islamic ideals and the practices of those claiming to adhere to them (Sultan-Qurraie, chap. 4). In Casablanca in the last decade of the twentieth century, the new Hasan II Mosque, a pet project of the king of Morocco, had just been completed in a slum area by the Atlantic Ocean. It is absolutely lovely and drew on the talents of Moroccan artisans for stonework, woodwork, and mosaics. It has the tallest minaret in the world. The problem was that the middle classes especially felt that their financial contributions (the mosque cost $800 million) were more extortions than contributions and that, besides the sewage and flooding problems the mosque has exacerbated in the slum, the contrast between the opulence of the mosque and the poverty of its surroundings jars on some of the faithful. Thus jokes about the mosque abound in the realm of private, verbal art of the local Muslim community. Most popular seemed to be an ironic caution about standing outside one's local mosque during crowded Friday noon prayer time waiting to get in to pray. "Let's go home," goes the punch line, "'he' might decide to build another one."

SEE ALSO Mawlid; Tricksters, overview article.

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Kilpatrick, Hilary. “Review of *Vorbild und Vernunft* by Ludwig Ammann.” *Der Islam* 76 (1999): 177–180. A useful review of Ammann’s book that covers in detail its contributions to the topic and notes that the complexities of *adab* literature’s treatment of humor need to be more thoroughly addressed.

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Masliyah, Sadok. “Curses and Insults in Iraqi Arabic.” *Journal of Semitic Studies* 46, no. 2 (2001): 267–308.

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Rowson, Everett K. “Review of *Arabia Ridens* by Ulrich Marzolph.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115, no. 3 (1995): 493–496. A thorough review that also points out some possible weaknesses in Marzolph’s work.

Rowson, Everett K. “Review of *Vorbild und Vernunft* by Ludwig Ammann.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115, no. 3 (1995): 491–493. Rowson concludes that Ammann’s “picture of both life and literature in medieval Islamic society is . . . on the whole considerably grimmer than what the evidence actually suggests” (p. 493).

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Vrolijk, Arnoud. *Bringing a Laugh to a Scowling Face: A Study and Critical Edition of the “Nuzhat Aljj-nufus Wa-mudhik Al-ʿabus” by ʿAli Ibn Sudun al-Basbugawi (Cairo 810/1407–Damascus 868/1464).* Leiden, Netherlands, 1998. The mid-fifteenth-century “Cairene lowlife character” Ibn Sudun, a trained theologian known also as a buffoon and hashishi was exiled finally from Cairo to Damascus by judgmental Mamlūk authorities. His work is in the *adab* tradition, showing facility with diverse literary styles. The first part, "Serious Poetry," is only half as long as the second part, "On Pleasantries," which contains numerous examples of humor and Islam. Chap. 3 of Vrolijk's work contrasts the broader outlook of Ibn Sudun's libertine attitude with that of contemporary Egyptian and Western critics. A 178-page Arabic, critically edited synthesis of several redactions is included.

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Sabra J. Webber (2005)

HUMOR AND RELIGION: HUMOR, IRONY, AND THE COMIC IN WESTERN THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY

In the history of Western theology and philosophy, humor and religion have had a stormy relationship. Attitudes to humor and joking—and especially to laughter—have ranged from wholesale condemnation, to qualified acceptance and praise of certain forms of humor, to more enthusiastic acceptance.

The Separation of Humor and Religion. The separation of humor and religion cannot be understood without understanding attitudes to laughter in the history of Western philosophy and theology. For centuries, the condemnation of laughter was commonplace. Among the ancient Greeks, for instance, Plato associates indulgence in laughter with the loss of self-control. In his *Republic,* the guardians who are to govern the ideal society must not be "too fond of laughter" (388e), and no literature portraying the gods or other reputable characters as overcome with laughter can be permitted in the ideal *polis.* Aristotle is rather more charitable, and as we shall shortly see, views wit (*eutrapelia*) as a virtue. Nevertheless, in the *Poetics* he still associates comedy with something "lowly." In comedy we laugh at the imitation of those inferior to us because of their "ridiculousness . . . a particular form of the shameful" (1449a). A comic character is ludicrous in respect of some "error or unseemliness that is not painful or destructive" (1449a). Numerous Greek, Jewish, and Christian ascetics took as an ideal the perfect human who never laughed. In the Christian tradition, Luke 6:25 reports Jesus as saying "Woe to you who laugh now, for you will mourn and weep." Much was made of this verse by early Christian ascetics in judging laughter to be contemptible. John Chrysostom (347–407 CE) has been cited as the first to point out that the gospels never portray Jesus as laughing, and the former's condemnation of laughter is typical of a common attitude in early Christianity:

> When . . . thou seest persons laughing, reflect that those teeth, that grin now, will one day have to sustain that most dreadful wailing and gnashing, and that they will remember this same laugh on That Day whilst they are grinding and gnashing! Then thou too shalt remember this laugh! (*Concerning the Statutes, Homily* XX. Cited in Gilhus, p. 63)

But if laughter was contemptible, weeping—over Christ's death, one's own sin, and the threat of eternal damnation—was to be praised and recommended (for more on this idea see Gilhus, chapter 4). This condemnation of laughter seems largely to do with its bodily nature, the idea being that laughter had to be conquered as part and parcel of controlling the body. As Gilhus puts it, "The more the body was closed against the world, the more the soul was opened up to God" (p. 67).

The Feast of Fools: A More Positive View. Though there were exceptions to the disapproving view of humor in early Christianity—chiefly among the Gnostics, several of whose myths included laughter as a reaction to a clash between a material and spiritual interpretation of events—it was not until the medieval period that a far more positive view of laughter and the comic emerged. According to several scholars, this was largely the result of a changed view of the human body, related not least to the centrality of the Eucharist and an increased emphasis upon Christianity as a religion of incarnation. It is from such factors that Mikhail Bakhtin generates his influential view of the Middle Ages' "laughter culture" in his seminal book *Rabelais and His World.* The festivals of this period included the Feast of Fools, nearly all the rituals of which were, according to Bakhtin, "a grotesque degradation of various church rituals and symbols and their transfer to the material bodily level: gluttony and drunken orgies on the altar table, indecent gestures, disrobing" (pp. 74–75).

Certainly, parody and revelry of various kinds were central to such carnivals. The contrast between the likes of John Chrysostom and the writers of an apology for such activities issued by the Paris School of Theology in 1444 could hardly be starker. The apologists claim that "foolishness" is humanity's "second nature," and stress the importance of its being given the opportunity to "freely spend itself at least once a year." Humans are compared to badly constructed wine barrels, "which would burst from the wine of wisdom, if this wine remains in a state of constant fermentation of piousness and fear of God." Just as such wine must be given air so that it does not spoil, so the church must allow folly on certain days "so that we may later return with greater zeal to the service of God" (quoted by Bakhtin, p. 75). This can be seen as an embryonic version of the so-called relief or release theory of humor or laughter, later developed in more detail by Herbert Spencer and Sigmund Freud.

Striking the Mean: St. Thomas Aquinas. But the Middle Ages also provide a mean between the extremes described by Bakhtin and the ascetic despisers of laughter. St. Thomas Aquinas, for instance, shows a markedly greater tolerance of laughter than does John Chrysostom. Drawing on Aristotle, according to whose *Nicomachean Ethics* wit (*eutrapelia*) is a virtue, Aquinas argues that the lack of mirth is a vice. Following Aristotle, he commends *eutrapelia,* an application of the doctrine of the golden mean to the sphere of play:

> Those who go to excess in merry-making [Aristotle] calls buffoons (*bomolochoi*) . . . these people are always ready to seize anything which they can turn to ridicule. Such men are a nuisance through their efforts at all costs to raise a laugh. . . . But he says also that those who do not want themselves to make a joke and are annoyed by those who do, because they feel insulted, appear to be "agrii," that is, "boorish," and hard, because they are not softened by the pleasure of play. . . . Thus Aristotle shows what is the mean in playing. He says that those who exercise moderation in play are called *eutrapeloi,* "well-turning," because they are able to turn aptly into laughter what is said or done. (St. Thomas Aquinas, *In decem libros Ethicorum Aristotelis ad Nichomachum,* lib. iv, lect. 16. Cited in Hugo Rahner, "*Eutrapelia:* A Forgotten Virtue," in Hyers, 1969, p. 193)

The fact that Aristotle, so respected a source for medieval Christianity, praises wittiness and its concomitant laughter appears to be a problem for laughter's religious enemies. This issue is given a memorable fictional portrayal in Umberto Eco's novel *The Name of the Rose* (1980), in which the laughter-hating monastery librarian Jorge is prepared to kill rather than allow the discovery of his library's secret treasure, the lost second book of Aristotle's *Poetics* which praises comedy and laughter. Though Aquinas's view of laughter and the comic is clearly more measured than that found among certain celebrants of the Feast of Fools, it has often been noted that by the medieval period, the church had moved from an almost entirely negative view of laughter to fostering it actively through religious plays and feasts.

THE REFORMATION AND BEYOND. However, the Reformation's more negative view of the body, exemplified by such moves as the spiritualization of the Eucharist, marked a turn in the opposite direction: in England, for instance, one Particular Baptist group agreed that future members must never make jokes, and certain Puritan pamphlets, putting the case for the closure of theaters, seem to urge a return to John Chrysostom's view. (For a somewhat contrary view that discusses the significance of Martin Luther in the history of laughter, see Zwart, chapter 4.)

It is from this general trend that Bakhtin derives his view that, in contrast to the Renaissance view of laughter that he associates with Rabelais, Cervantes, and Shakespeare, for whom laughter "has a deep philosophical meaning . . . Certain aspects of the world are accessible only to laughter" (p. 66), from the seventeenth century onwards, what laughter is left becomes diminished: its "cold humor, irony, sarcasm" (p. 38) and the like are "a laughter that does not laugh" (p. 45). This attitude culminates in one of the best-known of all comments on laughter, from one of Lord Chesterfield's mid-eighteenth-century letters to his son: "There is nothing so illiberal, and so ill-bred, as audible laughter. . . . I am sure that since I had full use of my reason, nobody has ever heard me laugh."

In this view, laughter per se is vulgar, which is in some respects a return to Plato's view. Several scholars have suggested that this is rooted in a low evaluation of the body in relation to the soul: as Gilhus puts it, "laughter with its anchorage in the body was . . . devalued against superior reason" (p. 101). However, the tide turns again with the increasing association of laughter with humor, understood as being rooted in incongruity. Since the ability to perceive incongruity requires rational capacities, rational beings can view laughter more positively. There is a certain irony in the association with incongruity being viewed as a point in humor's favor, however, since others have taken quite a contrary view. George Santayana, for instance, in *The Sense of Beauty,* insists that the pleasure of humor or the comic cannot inhere in incongruity itself; since as rational animals, we are incapable of finding incongruity, absurdity, or nonsense pleasurable.

Overall, then, what we note is a deeply ambivalent relationship to humor, the comic, and laughter in the religious thought of the West. For long periods, humor and comedy were condemned, due largely to their association with such an inherently bodily phenomenon as laughter, but also because of their association with derision or scorn. However, there are more positive views of the connection between religion and humor, irony, and the comic, such as Aquinas's commendation of *eutrapelia* and, in the Renaissance period, Erasmus's *Praise of Folly.* In this respect, two thinkers in particular deserve special mention: G. W. F. Hegel, for whom the comic consciousness plays an important role in the history of religion; and Søren Kierkegaard, for whom Christianity is "the most humorous view of life in world history."

HEGEL. G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831) discusses tragedy and comedy in the section on religion in his influential *Phenomenology of Spirit.* Central to Hegel's philosophy is the belief that the world is rational, and the purpose of human enquiry is to bring this rationality to consciousness. Hegel characterizes the *Phenomenology* as an introduction to his philosophical system, and in it, he traces the story of Spirit (*Geist*) progressively coming to know itself. A vital part of Spirit's progress is through various manifestations of religion: from "natural religion" (e.g. the idea of God as light, and of plant and animal spirits); through various forms of "religion in the form of art" (exemplified by the Greeks); to "revealed religion" (Hegel's version of Christianity).

Hegel briefly discusses epic, tragedy, and comedy in a section entitled "The Spiritual Work of Art" (pp. 439–453). In an epic, the actions and destiny of the heroes are controlled by the gods. In tragedy, by contrast, individuals seem to have more control over their fate. However, this is largely illusory, since the hero or heroine is often destroyed by trusting in the seemingly obvious meaning of an ambiguous utterance of the gods: "The double-tongued character of what they announced as a certainty deceive him" (p. 446). The hero or heroine's true powerlessness in relation to the gods is revealed by the chorus, which "clings to the consciousness of an alien fate" for him or her (p. 445).

The divine forces in tragedy represent a split between the "feminine" pole of family and the "masculine" pole of state or government. Think, for instance, of Agamemnon, commanded by the gods to sacrifice his daughter Iphigenia in exchange for winds favorable to the fleet, so that it can sail and sack Troy. Agamemnon is torn between his love for his daughter Iphigenia (the family pole) and his duty as king (the state pole). However, the focus on the character of the tragic hero or heroine brings about a change in the way the religious consciousness thinks of the gods. Rather than see them as agents directing the lives of the heroes, the divine becomes viewed as fate, and this "completes the depopulation of Heaven. . . . The expulsion of such shadowy, insubstantial picture-thoughts which was demanded of the philosophers of antiquity thus already begins in [Greek] Tragedy" (p. 449).

This is where comedy enters the picture. In comedy, "actual self-consciousness exhibits itself as the fate of the gods" (p. 450): that is, even the gods become selves that are in an important sense indistinguishable from the actor or spectator. Everyone, including the gods, is reduced or leveled, as the religious consciousness no longer distinguishes between the divine and itself. "It is the return of everything universal into the certainty of itself . . . [a] complete loss of fear and of essential being on the part of all that is alien" (pp. 452–453). Hegel thinks that this contains an element of truth: in the words of J. N. Findlay, "The truth of comedy is that all the great big essential fixtures that stand over against self-consciousness are really products of, and at the mercy of, self-consciousness" (in *Phenomenology of Spirit,* 1977, p. 584). Yet this leveling has a downside, as we shall shortly see. In contrast to the lonely isolation of the tragic hero or heroine, Hegel characterizes comedy in terms of the self-assertion of the common man in what Findlay calls "his revolutionary disrespect for everything" (p. 584). Both the comic consciousness and religion in the form of art are the spirit of an age in which pure individualism is starting to get out of control. For Hegel, this is a period, such as the early Roman Empire, which stresses the rights of an abstract self. But Hegel thinks that such a conception of a right is an empty abstraction that needs to be filled by the Spirit of a particular people: a particular community or epoch. Thus the ostensibly liberating universal disrespect in which the comic consciousness revels is not the liberation it appears to be. And the "comic consciousness that is perfectly happy within itself" (p. 455) is brought to completion by its counterpart, the unhappy consciousness, which sees the abstract self for the chimera that it is.

Thus the secular outlook of the comic consciousness will not do, but crucially, it is its inherent instability that gives rise to the highest stage of religion, "revealed religion," in which God achieves self-consciousness through humanity. Christianity, for Hegel, constitutes the highest form of religious consciousness, in its recognition that "the divine nature is the same as the human" (p. 460): in its incarnation, the "absolute Being" ascends "for the first time to its own highest essence" (p. 460); the world is able "to behold what absolute Being is, and in it to find itself" (p. 461). In this way, the comic consciousness has a vital role to play in the development of what is, for Hegel, the highest form of religion: Christianity as speculative knowledge.

KIERKEGAARD. A rather different view of the relationship between humor and religion is to be found in a philosopher who is influenced by, and yet in many respects opposes himself violently to, Hegel: the Danish thinker Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855). It is ironic that the thinker who makes one of the most explicit connections between religion and the comic is typically caricatured as "the melancholy Dane." As well as being capable of dazzlingly witty and amusing prose, Kierkegaard makes some striking remarks about humor's relation to Christianity in particular and also to a more general religious worldview. In his *Journals and Papers,* he makes the extraordinary claim that Christianity is "the most humorous view of life in world history" (vol. 2, entry 1681).

Kierkegaard had a lifelong fascination with Socrates, "the greatest master of irony," on whom he wrote a dissertation, *The Concept of Irony with Continual Reference to Socrates,* and he viewed the notoriously obscure writer J. G. Hamann as "the greatest humorist" (entry 1554). Kierkegaard's richest and most extended discussion of religion and the comic, however, is in the *Concluding Unscientific Postscript* (1846), published under the pseudonym Johannes Climacus, a character who describes himself as a "humorist." As well as containing some of Kierkegaard's most famous satire at the expense of Hegelianism (for the philosophical significance of this, see Lippitt, 2000, chapter 2), the *Postscript* develops important existential roles for irony and humor, subcategories of Kierkegaard's more generic term "the comic."

Irony and humor serve as *confinia,* or "boundary zones," between the aesthetic, ethical, and religious existence-spheres or "stages on life's way." Climacus sees the ironist as being on the boundary between the aesthetic and the ethical life. The ironist has seen the limitations of the aesthetic life—a life which involves an endless evasive toying with existential possibilities—but has not made the movement to the ethical, in which serious choices and commitments for one's own life are made. The contrast here is between a life of fragmented episodes (the aesthetic) and a life of coherent narrative unity (the ethical). The ironist possesses an insight, albeit limited, into the stage "beyond." He or she thus occupies a transitional stage between the two spheres of existence: aware of the limitations of the former, but unable or unwilling to make the move to the latter.

One key difference between humor and irony, for Climacus, is that whereas irony is proud, and tends to divide one person from another—Climacus describes it in terms of self-assertion and "teasing" (p. 551)—humor is rather more gentle, and is concerned with those tragicomic elements of the human condition shared by all human beings. Humor thus has a sympathy that irony lacks (p. 582). Moreover, the humorist also has a more profound understanding of important elements of life than the ironist: in particular, the humorist understands that suffering is essential to human life. (There is a complicated relationship, for Climacus, between humor and pain.) It is this insight into such aspects of the religious life as resignation, suffering, and guilt that places humor, but not irony, at the boundary of the ethical and the religious.

Climacus equivocates as to whether humor is on the boundaries of the ethical and Religiousness A (his term for a sort of generic religious consciousness that is aware of the centrality to human life of resignation, suffering, and guilt), or on the boundary of Religiousness A and Religiousness B (Christianity). But the overall idea seems to be that, as one ascends the existence-spheres from the aesthetic to the ethical to the religious, one develops an ever deeper and more profound sense of the comical in life. Hence Climacus's claim that a sense of and taste for the comic is intimately related to one's existential capabilities: "the more competently a person exists, the more he will discover the comic" (p. 462).

The religious person is described as one who has "discovered the comic on the greatest scale" (p. 462). Such a person views life as a "jest," in that she is able to see that all one's efforts are as nothing, because one is capable of nothing without God. However, there are limits to Climacus's praise for humor. First, he stresses that for the seriously religious person, such jest is mixed with "earnestness," in that one's ultimate dependence upon God does not detract from the need for existential striving. Second, he insists that there are limits to what may legitimately be laughed at: there is nothing comic, for instance, about religious suffering (p. 483). (For more on Climacus's account of when the comic is legitimate, see Lippitt, 2000, chapter 7.)

Finally, as well as being "boundary zones," irony and humor play a second important role as "incognitos" for ethical and religious individuals respectively. By acting as a kind of existential disguise, irony and humor allow such individuals to protect their "inwardness." Yet also, somewhat paradoxically, they act as means by which what it is to live ethically or religiously can be communicated indirectly to those on the boundaries of ethical or religious life. That is, irony and humor can function as forms of "indirect communication," drawing those with the relevant sensitivity towards an ethical or religious life. In this way, Kierkegaard and his pseudonym Climacus effectively suggest that developing a sense for the comic can play a vital part in a radical shift in one's view of life. More recently, this idea has been developed by others to suggest that prolonged exposure to humor of an appropriate sort can have an important role to play in the development of moral and religious virtues, as part of the process of moral education as habituation espoused by Aristotle. (For more on this, see Roberts, 1988, and Lippitt, 2005).

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY TO DATE: THEORIES OF HUMOR. By the latter portion of the twentieth century, it had become common among philosophers and other scholars interested in humor to treat theories of humor as falling into three broad types, based around incongruity, superiority, and relief (or the release of energy). *Humor* had by now become the standard umbrella term, with irony, satire, wit, and so on treated as subcategories thereof.

The incongruity tradition is commonly treated as originating in the remarks of Immanuel Kant and, in particular, Arthur Schopenhauer. In *The World as Will and Idea* Schopenhauer claims that "the cause of laughter in every case is simply the sudden perception of the incongruity between a concept and the real objects thought through it in some relation" (vol. 1, p. 76). Recent writers in this tradition have disagreed as to whether what really causes amusement is the perception of incongruity itself, or the resolution of that incongruity: the fitting of an apparent anomaly into some conceptual schema.

The term *incongruity* has been used to cover a wide range of phenomena, from logical impossibility via ambiguity (such as double entendres) to mere inappropriateness (such as importing into one context what belongs to another). Indeed, so wide has the range of application of the term been that it becomes reasonable to wonder whether it has not been stretched so far, or used so vaguely, as to cease to be a particularly informative term at all.

Another difficulty is whether the incongruity tradition puts all the emphasis on form or structure at the expense of content or context. Even if it were possible to point to an element of incongruity in any instance of humor, to what extent is it the incongruity (as opposed to, say, the subject matter, or the surrounding social context, or some combination of factors) that is the real cause of amusement? For example, one joke may be rated as much funnier than another that is entirely identical in structure simply because the former is about sex and the latter about a more neutral topic. This raises a serious question as to whether, in such cases, it can really be a purely formal notion such as incongruity that is doing all the work. These problems notwithstanding, probably a majority of theorists now subscribe to some version of the idea that incongruity is a central element in humor.

The second major theoretical tradition revolves around superiority. This can be traced back to Aristotle's association of comedy with the "lowly," and finds its most famous early modern treatment in Thomas Hobbes's claim, in his *Human Nature,* that laughter is "sudden glory arising from some sudden conception of some eminency in ourselves, by comparison with the infirmity of others, or with our own formerly"

(p. 46). If this is all there is to laughter, it becomes easier to see why so many have held a negative view of it.

But the superiority view is haunted by some problems equivalent to those that haunt the incongruity tradition. First, why do some feelings of superiority (or instances of incongruity) manifest themselves in laughter, but not others? Second, isn't Hobbes's view excessively narrow? It is hard to deny that the misfortune or alleged deficiencies of others is a staple topic of comedy, from the hackneyed example of the man slipping on the banana peel to various kinds of racist and sexist humor. But how plausible is it to claim that *all* humorous laughter involves *Schadenfreude* or one of its close relatives?

One twentieth-century follower of Hobbes, Anthony Ludovici, aims to tackle this problem by explaining all laughter—humorous and non-humorous—in terms of "superior adaptation." Under this heading, he includes experiences as diverse as *Schadenfreude* and the pleasure taken, such as when enjoying nonsense and absurdity, in a temporary escape from the need to obey the rules of logic and reason. Thus Ludovici is able to account for a greater variety of humor than is Hobbes. But he achieves this only by stretching his use of terminology in a similar, but arguably more extreme, manner than sometimes happens in the incongruity tradition.

Both Hobbes and Ludovici seem to overlook the attitude of childlike playfulness that is important to the enjoyment of so much humor. They also have difficulties adequately explaining the phenomenon of laughing at oneself. For Hobbes, the self at whom I laugh is a former self to whom I am now superior; for Ludovici, finding myself in a position of inferior adaptation, I feign the sign of superior adaptation. Both explanations overlook the fact that one could possibly find one's own current self genuinely amusing, and that this capacity is central to the ability genuinely to laugh at oneself.

Moreover, this point seems especially relevant to an important "religious" use of humor. Many who have seen a positive ethical or religious function for humor (such as Kierkegaard) have done so because they recognize our capacity to transcend ourselves in humorous laughter. But as Kierkegaard's location of humor as a boundary zone on the verge of the genuinely religious suggests, it is important to recognize, *pace* Hobbes, that it can be one's current, flawed, self at which one is genuinely laughing, rather than some former self that one has already transcended.

Another twentieth-century thinker often treated as part of the superiority tradition is Henri Bergson. Central to Bergson's treatment of laughter is that it functions as a social corrective. For Bergson, mechanism and inelasticity are the key elements of the comic, such that what is funny is "something mechanical encrusted on the living" (p. 84). Society requires us to adapt our behaviour to its demands: those who fail demonstrate unsociability, treated by Bergson as a kind of inelasticity, and are thereby comical. Seeing others laughed at for such behaviour coerces us into acting as society demands: laughter is a kind of policeman of the social order. Again, Bergson's account seems excessively reductionist, and he too seems to overlook the childlike playfulness that is so far removed from this laughter of social correction.

The third major tradition revolves around relief, or the release of tension or psychic energy. Herbert Spencer propounded a relatively simple version of this theory, though the most important and elaborately worked-out version of it is that of Sigmund Freud in *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious.* Freud divides jokes into "innocent" and "tendentious," the latter category being further subdivided into "hostile" and "obscene." Freud's view of tendentious jokes is in some ways the opposite of Bergson's view of laughter as the policeman of the social order. For Freud, civilization forces us to repress our aggressive and sexual desires. Tendentious jokes allow us to enjoy these pleasures by circumventing the obstacle that stands in the way of the satisfaction of the hostile or lustful instinct. Though the general idea that laughter can provide a release of nervous energy seems plausible, Freud's key error, in trying to offer his theory as a scientific one, is to take the notion of "psychic energy" too literally, and to aim to quantify it in a somewhat implausible manner.

Various connections can be drawn between these three theoretical traditions and our earlier discussions. Kierkegaard, for instance, treats the essence of the comic as rooted in contradiction or incongruity, and the interplay of congruity and incongruity has even been seen as the central feature around which the whole discussion of humor and religion can usefully be oriented. As suggested earlier, the idea that humor and laughter are rooted in one's own perceived superiority probably accounts, at least in part, for why laughter has so commonly been condemned as irreligious. And, as also noted, the justification of "foolishness" given by the apologists for the Feast of Fools seems to trade on an embryonic version of the release theory. However, the idea that these three traditions are exhaustive should be treated with caution, as the significance of many thinkers' contributions to this debate will be missed if one attempts to shoehorn their ideas into one or other of these three traditions.

SEE ALSO Carnivals; Clowns; Hegel, G. W. F.; Humor and Religion, overview article, article on Humor and Islam, and article on Humor and Religion in East Asian Contexts; Kierkegaard, Søren; Tricksters.

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JOHN LIPPITT (2005)

HUNAʾ (c. 216–c. 297) was a leading second-generation Babylonian amora, based in the city of Sura. Along with his colleague Yehudah bar Yeḥezqeʾl, Hunaʾ expanded the work of the first amoraim who employed the Mishnah to spread rabbinic Judaism. He focused directly on the Mishnah, clarifying it and citing alternative or disputing tannaitic sources. He played a key role in presenting the traditions of Rav, his main teacher (B.T., *Shab.* 128a), and, in explaining Rav's and, occasionally, Shemuʾel's dicta, he treated unclear legal points and new cases and developed independent teachings (Epstein, 1964). He instructed students and other rabbis in such diverse areas as ritual laws, ethics, and practical behavior (e.g., B.T., *Ber.* 6b, *Shab.* 23b, *Pes.* 105a). Stories, possibly reflecting educational developments, attribute outstanding features to his study sessions (B.T., *Ket.* 106a) and prominently associate him with the *kallah,* a periodic academic convention that lasted several days and was open to masters and disciples (Goodblatt, 1975, pp. 156–157, 168).

In receiving exilarchic authorization to judge civil and property matters, Hunaʾ applied rabbinic principles in the marketplace and in such areas as divorce and inheritance (e.g., B.T., *San.* 7b; Neusner, 1968). Stories describe his pious acts for the poor and the sick (B.T., *Taʿan.* 20b–21a), and a dictum claiming that "whoever only studies Torah resembles a person without God" (B.T., *ʿA.Z.* 17b) stresses the importance of good deeds. The Talmudic tradition, on the other hand, elevates his Torah study, in that its merit is what protected Hunaʾ from natural calamities and enabled him effectively to hurl curses (B.T., *Moʿed Q.* 27b, *Taʿan.* 20b).

He also emphasized the human inability wholly to know God's nature and ways (*Gn. Rab.* 12.1) and, like his contemporaries, saw both divine justice and mercy as well as reward and punishment at work (e.g., B.T., *Ber.* 7b, *R. ha-Sh.* 17b; Neusner, 1968, pp. 149–158). The accounts of miraculous events attending his burial underscore the esteem Babylonian and Palestinian Jews held for Hunaʾ even after his death (B.T., *Moʿed Q.* 25a; cf. Neusner, 1968, pp. 51–53). His exilarchic backing, however, laid the foundations on which he was able to build his influential career of piety and teaching.

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BARUCH M. BOKSER (1987)
Revised Bibliography

HUNGARIAN RELIGION. Hungarian belongs to the Uralic languages, which can be traced back by historical linguistic methods at least to 5000–4000 BCE. Its subdivision, the Finno-Ugric languages, can be traced back similarly to 4000–3000 BCE. To reconstruct the earliest possible phases of Uralic or Finno-Ugric religions, we could find their roots in etymologies in the northernmost parts of Central Eurasia. The Ugrians (i.e., today's Voguls, Ostyaks, and Hungarians) might have lived to the east of the Ural Mountains from about 3000 BCE. They were hunters, fishermen, and gatherers around the taiga area. We do not know with any certainty when the Hungarians finally separated from the Ob-Ugrians remaining in Siberia, but their long westward migration lasted more than two thousand years. Thus, the forefathers of the Hungarians crossed the steppes and finally learned animal husbandry and some agriculture. When Byzantine and other sources describe in the eighth- and ninth-centuries CE the way of life of the Hungarians (whom they called Turks), they mention their military ability, the "worship of the fire" and burials, their "sacred kings," and a rather complicated social structure of tribes and auxiliary tribes characteristic of nomads. By about 896 CE the seven Hungarian tribes invaded the central regions of the Carpathian Basin. Hungarian sources in medieval times were already calling the event the Conquest or Land-Taking. It was the turning point in the history of religions among the Hungarians.

Only after that time do we find relevant historical, linguistic, and archaeological data that reflect the religion of early Hungarians. Since then Europeans have seen them as relatives of the Huns, and that false association became the origin of the term *Hungarian* in European languages. The ethnonym *Magyar,* a term that can be traced back to Ugrian time, is identical with the ethnonym of the Voguls, *Mansi.*

Inseparable from the establishment of the feudal Hungarian kingdom, Christianity was declared the official religion in 1000 CE by the Roman church. But we know from historical and linguistic data that even before that time Hungarians had already had contacts with Byzantine, Czech, German, and Italian priests, and already among the "conquering" Hungarians were adherents of the Christian, Jewish, and Muslim faiths. Hungarian Muslims, called *böszörmény,* originally meaning "Musulman," lived in Hungary until about the fourteenth century. Several times the Jews in the Middle Ages were expelled from Hungary. Then Sephardic Jews came together with the Ottomans in the sixteenth century, but they left the country by the end of the seventeenth century. Immediately thereafter the forefathers of today's Hungarian Jews emigrated from Central Europe. The majority of the Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazi came from Galicia in the nineteenth century, when northeast Hungary was a haven for famous Hasidic "wonder-making rabbis."

HYPOTHETIC EARLY FORMS. Five thousand years of early Hungarian religion remains thus a field for comparative studies, based sometimes on speculation rather than research. In Hungarian there are Uralic words reflecting the dualistic concepts of the soul (*lélek,* "soul of the breath," later also with the meaning "spirit" or "ghost," as opposed perhaps to the later *íz,* a "spirit of disease"). A curious Hungarian word, *reg-,* "being intoxicated," can be compared with the "heat" component of the Siberian shaman's séance. If it is a cognate word to Hungarian *rejt,* "to hide," it might be connected with the activity of early seers too. The names for two figures in modern Hungarian folk beliefs, *tudós* and *táltos* (both "persons with supernatural power or knowledge") also have solid Uralic etymologies. On the other hand, the possible traces of Uralic totemism or shamanism in modern Hungarian are not known. No origin myth or legend among the Hungarians can be connected with such a distant time. Several scholars such as Róheim, Diószegi, and Hoppál have argued for such connections—for example, for the origin myth concerning the stars in the Milky Way (being "the path of the souls of the dead") or for the myth on chasing the mythical elk/deer—but their arguments are not convincing. The phratrial system of the Ob-Ugrians stresses a distinction between "raw meat eating" and "cooked meat eating" kinship groups, but this distinction was unknown among the Hungarians. In Hungarian there are no direct references even to the archaic Siberian cosmology (tripartite word, cosmic tree, the sky and stars as a tent with holes), and the Hungarian data (on upper and lower worlds, more precisely on the "other world," *másvilág*) are too vague and too widely dispersed to date them back five millennia and exactly to the Uralic or Altaic area. Also, the oldest terms in Hungarian traditional healing, including the word *beteg,* "sick person," have Siberian parallels, which makes them hard to interpret.

During the time of the migrations the early Hungarians had long, steady, or fortuitous contact with several Turkic and Iranian peoples, and judging by the loanwords in Hungarian and some funeral customs, early attributes of the god(s) can be traced to that time. The South Siberian Altaic word for "shaman" *(bö)* was known in early Hungarian too, perhaps with the meaning "head of the sib, chieftain." At the time of the migration two interesting forms of totemism may have been developed: tribes and their leaders associated themselves with predatory birds (such as falcons and eagles), and an "agricultural totemism" developed in personal names. (The name of the leader of the Hungarians at the time of the Conquest, Árpád, literally "barley" plus a personal diminutive, is a good example.) In both cases the terminology comes from Turkic languages, which might have been the tongue of the tribal elite. The names for the "seven" tribes do not show direct religious indications.

A series of the most important words used even today in Hungarian religious terminology can be dated back prior to the Conquest. Examples include *isten,* "god"; *ördög,* "devil"; *bűn,* "sin"; *üdv,* "cheer," later "salvation"; *bocsá/j/t,* "to let free," later "to forgive"; */v/imád,* "to worship," later "to adore" or "to pray"; and even *kereszt,* "cross." Since the words *gyász,* "mourning," and *tor,* "burial feast," belong to the same time, in those cases a continuation of customs and beliefs in later Hungarian folklore seems to be more plausible.

But even with such elaborate religious terminology, we do not find any name of any god among the Hungarians. We do not find any hints to a "mythology," even in the restricted sense of the word in which we can speak of the Ob-Ugrian "deities" or "mythology." On the other hand, the oldest known Hungarian word for "sacred" (*igy*) was already used at this time. An alleged opposition between *Boldogasszony,* today the common name for "Holy Virgin Mary," more precisely "happy lady/woman," and *szépasszony,* "fair lady/woman," later a taboo name for "witch," can be dated back to that time; the problem is that we do not know the "first" meaning of those words. The word *hiedelem,* "belief," originally "a cool place, refrigerium," might have originated from this time, but it is registered only in late medieval Hungarian texts. Archaeological excavations from the time after the Conquest (in the territory of today's Hungary) show very rich tombs of tribal and military leaders mounted on their horses. The Hungarian tribes were surely for a while a part of the Khazar Kaganate and accepted also the institution of the Sacred King. Perhaps the father of Árpád, whose name was Álmos, "from a dream," was such a sacred ruler.

RELIGION AFTER ACCEPTING THE CHRISTIAN FAITH. The conversion of the Hungarians was conducted through the drastic force of the state. Soon "pagan uprisings" (1046 and 1061) tried to restore old habits, including non-Christian dress, hairstyles, horse-meat eating, and horse sacrifices, and to destroy Christian churches and kill their priests. But behind these acts more political and less religious motivations were prevalent. From the decrees made by the first synod in Hungary (1092, organized by King László I) we learn of the strict prohibition of "pagan sacrifices beside springs, trees or stones," but the question arose: do the decrees reflect the actual religious situation in Hungary, or are the texts simply copies of Carolingian ecclesiastical law? As we know from the *Regestrum Varadinense,* ordeals (oaths upon red-hot iron) were imposed by the church; between 1208 and 1235 there were 389 such cases. "Great sinners" from Hungary had to pay to take faraway pilgrimages; for example, Georgius Miles de Ungaria (1353) and Lőrinc Tar (1410) had to visit St. Patrick's Purgatory.

The church in Hungary (in spite of good contacts with Byzantium) followed the Roman model. The imposing list of early dynastic saints in Hungary speaks to the strength of the new religion in Hungary. From the House of the Árpáds King Stephen I, Prince Imre (both canonized in 1083), King László I (canonized in 1192), Princess Elisabeth of Thuringia (canonized in 1235), and later Princess Margit (d.1270) were canonized. Among other countries in Europe, Hungary was proclaimed too as *Regnum Marianum* ("the Kingdom of the Holy Virgin Mary"). The veneration of King Stephan's "holy right hand" is known from 1083 on, and that of the "Holy Crown of Hungary" dates back as early as the fourteenth century (and is practiced today as well). The only religious order that emerged from Hungary (by about 1263) was the Paulians, named after the famous Hermit in Thebes. From the Angevin rulers from Naples Hungarian kings (since the fourteenth century) inherited "royal healing power" (also inherited later by the Hapsburgs). Large numbers of troops for the First, Second, and Third Crusades marched through Hungary, and King András II himself participated with Hungarian soldiers (1217–1218) in the Fifth Crusade. Among the places for pilgrimage for Hungarians, the most important were Rome; from 1307 the cathedral in Aachen (where King Louis the Great erected soon afterwards the magnificent Hungarian Chapel); from the thirteenth century Mariazell (where again King Louis built the Gothic Chapel in 1366); and later the tomb of Friar John of Capistran, who died in the famous 1453 Hungarian victory over the Turks. The various copies of the register of pilgrims from such cities as London, Paris, and Rome, *Miracula Ioannis de Capistrano* (1460), list from 180 to 621 (mostly healing) miracles there.

We do not know of early heretics active in Hungary. The *bogomils* in Bosnia from the twelfth century were persecuted by the Hungarian kings. We know of some flagellant groups strolling through Hungary. A few (German) Waldensians lived in west Hungary. The Hussites had some influence in Hungary too. Even a peasant revolt in Transylvania, led by Antal Budai Nagy (1437), expressed the same tendency of establishing a people's religion. The first extensive Bible translations into Hungarian date back to the second half of the fifteenth century. The religious terminology of the Hungarian translations of the Hussite Bible hints back to earlier centuries. From its very beginning (twelfth–thirteenth centuries) the vernacular literature in Hungary used elaborate religious terminology, including expressions of Mariology and mysticism. It was further developed by the Franciscans, who preached in Hungarian, and especially during the time of the Reformation.

Humanism in Hungary reached its highest point in the court of King Matthias Corvinus. He invited Italian scholars, who spread Neoplatonism, hermetism, and astrology among the elite. Johannes Regiomontanus (from 1468 on) worked in Buda in cataloging Greek astronomical manuscripts in the royal library, and in 1471 he made suggestions for a new university in Pozsony. Late Humanism in Hungary easily adopted the ideology of the Reformation. For example, Péter Bornemisza in his printed book *Ördögi kísértetek* (1578) added actual Hungarian narratives to Philipp Melanchthon's Lutheran devil lore. But only members of high society knew about magic, occultism, and alchemy. Paracelsus visited Hungary, John Dee wrote his *Monas Hieroglyphica* (1563) in Hungary, and even later he (and Edward Kelly) had Hungarian contacts. Count Boldizsár Batthyány collected a rich library of occult and alchemical works between 1570 and 1580. Later István Weszprémi, in his biography of medical doctors in Hungary (1774–1787), could list a dozen alchemists working in Hungary. The "golden age" of alchemy in Hungary, however, took place in the decades before the French Revolution after it was practiced generally in Europe.

The fall of the independent Hungarian kingdom was first marked by the great peasant revolt (1514) led by György Dózsa with anticlerical and antifeudal violence, but it was not marked by the fanatism of a "new religion" (as in Germany). In 1516 the winner of the decisive battle at Mohács was Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent. Some years later the Reformation won quickly the larger part of the country, but the Ottoman invasion of the central region of Hungary (lasting about 150 years) ended the ecclesiastic structure too. The Counter-Reformation (from the early seventeenth century), supported by the Hapsburg rulers, was successful: two-thirds of the population again became Roman Catholic.

The Reformation in Hungary (and in Transylvania) went on in steps: first the moderate Lutherans, then the more presbyteranian Calvinists gained the majority. Somewhat later in Transylvania the Unitarians and Antitrinitarians organized their churches, making there a haven for refugees from Europe. The more radical movements (e.g., the Sabbatists) remained in fact small religious groups. In spite of Ottoman rule in central Hungary, the conversion to Islam was in fact insignificant (which makes a difference to several Balkan areas). The rest of the people there, without the church hierarchy, established small religious communities. The Reformation stressed the individual's or the community's direct responsibility for its spiritual welfare, including the constant fight against sin and the devil's tricks.

There are in Hungarian archives about five thousand documents of witch trials from about 1408 to about 1768. They follow the general European pattern, and we find little "great" or "politically motivated" witch-hunting. The majority of the witches were peasant women; thus, the trials had a strong flavor of Hungarian folk belief. The Inquisition proper was not active in Hungary then, but we know of a shortened Hungarian version of the *Malleus Maleficarum* from Mátyás Nógrádi's *Lelki próbakő* (1651). Hungarian Protestant theologians studied at German, Dutch, Swiss, and other universities, bringing home the ideas of Cartesianism and Puritanism. Visionary and chiliastic tendencies can be observed from the seventeenth to the late eighteenth centuries. Johannes Amos Comenius was professor of education in Hungary from 1650 to 1654. The then generally accepted actual and political prophecies of Miklós Drábik (Nicolaus Drabitius) were also published by Comenius (*Lux e tenebris,* 1655; *Historia relevationibus,* 1659).

Inchoative religious propaganda (following the Tridentinum principles) was very active in Hungary: miracle stories and private religious pictures were distributed through the eighteenth century. In the second half of the eighteenth century the Roman Catholic Church tried to regulate practically all folk customs. (See the activity of Bishop Márton Pedantic Biro from 1744 on.) At the same time Queen Maria Theresa and King Joseph II modernized education and health care; the later instructed a radical secularization of "nonteaching" religious orders. It was the age of the first anticlerical pamphlets in Hungary. Historians have tried to collect material on early forms of Hungarian religion too. Freemasons, Rosicrucians, and alchemists were active in Hungary in the second half of the eighteenth century. The founder of homeopathy, Samuel Hahnemann, was a medical doctor in his youth in Transylvania. But then Hungary was better known in Europe as a land of the vampires. Dom Augustin Calmet published his *Dissertations sur les Apparitions des Anges, des Démons et des Esprits et sur les Revenants et Vampires de Hongrie, de Bohème, de Moravie et de Silésie* (1746), which was one of the most widely read books in Europe. The Hungarian cases he refers to are not very authentic. (The same identification of vampires with Transylvania, well known from Bram Stoker's book *Dracula* [1897], represents another false allegation.) Hungarian folk-belief narratives tell about werewolf-like figures in Transylvania, most probably a borrowing from Romanian folk beliefs.

FROM "HUNGARIAN MYTHOLOGY" TO THE STUDY OF FOLK BELIEFS: THE IMPORTANCE OF RESEARCH ON RELIGION IN HUNGARY. Describing the origin and development of "ancient religion" among the Hungarians was for a long time a preoccupation of Hungarian scholars. From the eighteenth century on there were various attempts, for example, by Ferenc Otrokocsi Fóris (1648–1714), Daniel Cornides (1732–1787), and others. In 1847 the Hungarian Academy announced a competition for describing "Ancient Hungarian Religion." The winner, Ferenc Kállay (1790–1861), and even Bishop Arnold Ipolyi (1823–1886) and others, tried to show a hypothetical "historical" stratification of religious practices among early Hungarians, called "Hungarian mythology," which is the equivalent to *Deutsche Mythology* by the brothers Grimm. There was much discussion about the topic but little in the way of acceptable results from a scholarly standpoint. During the last hundred years positivism, Freudianism, some forms of sociology, the neo-ritual school, and Marxism served as innovative methods.

Among contemporaneous Hungarian folklorists, Vilmos Diószegi (1923–1972) and Mihály Hoppál (1942–) follow the historical-reconstructionalist school. Innovative ideas were expressed by Géza Róheim (1891–1953), founder of psychoanalytic folklore research. Recently Vilmos Voigt (1940–), Gábor Klaniczay (1950–), Éva Pócs (1936–), György Endre Szőnyi (1952–), Gábor Tüskés (1955–), and others want to show the European and comparative horizons of the history of religion in a wider sense of the term. Their papers have been published in numerous languages. Hungarian religion is a very important field for comparative studies because Hungarians are the only non-Indo-European people in Central Europe, with their own traditions, at the same time representing fully the common European background of religions (at least during the last thousand years).

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, popular works against superstitions were published. New Protestant churches (Adventists, Baptists) developed in Hungary. Before the First World War new communities appeared, from Jehovah's Witnesses to Nazarenes and Tolstoianists. Atheism gained a free voice too. The Marxist state after World War II struggled against religion, but to a lesser degree than other East European countries. Among the "new religions" since the 1970s, first Hare Krishna and Bahaism arrived. Today there are several small modern Hindu and modern Buddhist churches. New Age or modern "heathen" religions are insignificant. The reconstruction of the "Old Pagan Hungarian Religion" is a preoccupation of a few intellectuals. A handful of "urban shamans" learn from old sources the techniques of ecstasy and combine it with rock-music-style performances. The Hit Gyülekezete ("Congregation of Faith") is the only new Hungarian church. One should not forget that Zionism was created by a Jew born in Hungary: Theodor Herzl (1860–1904). Rudolf Steiner (1861–1925), founder of Anthroposophy, spent decisive years of his youth in Hungary. At time of the Holocaust 90 percent of Hungary's Jews were killed, but today there is a Jewish revival in Hungary, though it often lacks religious motivations.

Hungarian folklorists have made summary descriptions of folk beliefs and customs during the last two centuries. Thank to professor Sándor Bálint (1904–1980), the study of (mostly Roman Catholic) popular religion is very productive. The "lay prayers" were collected and published by Zsuzsanna Erdélyi (1921–). József Török (1946–) has studied the early Christian liturgy in Hungary. Catholic pilgrimage and imagery were studied by Gábor Barna (1950–) and József Liszka (1956–). Greek United folklore is a special topic of Elek Bartha (1956–) and others. The Antitrinitarian (and similar) movements were the research topic of Antal Pirnát (1930–1997), Róbert Dán (1936–1986), Mihály Balázs (1948–), and others. Adventists and Protestants in general were studied by László Kardos (1918–1980), Ambrus Molnár (1922–2000), and Professor Jenő Szigeti (1936–). Jewish studies have a glorious past in Hungary. See the works of Immanuel Löw (1854–1944), Vilmos Bacher (1850–1913), Bertalan Kohlbach (1866–1944), and—last but not least—the director of the Rabbinic Seminar in Budapest, Sándor (Alexander) Scheiber (1913–1985), who was one of the best-known Jewish folklorists. Hungarians are conducting important fieldwork studies in Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, and Carpatho-Ukrainia, discovering archaic beliefs and at the same time interethnic contacts.

The study of the sociology of religion in Hungary (especially in recent works by Miklós Tomka (1941–), István Kamarás (1941–), and others) is today again in progress. On the religious history of Hungary only the first sketches have been made. Still a new handbook on religions in Hungary has not yet appeared.

SEE ALSO Alchemy; Anthroposophy; Astrology; Crusades; Dömötör, Tekla; Finno-Ugric Religions; Judaism, articles on Judaism in Northern and Eastern Europe to 1500, Judaism in Northern and Eastern Europe since 1500; Magic; Pilgrimage; Reguly, Antal; Shamanism; Witchcraft.

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VILMOS VOIGT (2005)

HUN RELIGION. Over the centuries, the name *Hun* has been widely and indiscriminately applied to a multiplicity of Inner Asian nomad peoples. In this article only the "genuine" Huns will be considered, those who in the second half of the fourth century CE took possession of the North Pontic steppes (the steppes to the north of the Black Sea) and for about eighty years—particularly under the rule of Attila (433?–453)—played a major role in the history of Europe. I shall also take into account those Huns who, following the disintegration of Attila's empire, established and maintained in the northern Caucasus a kingdom that lasted to the end of the seventh century.

By the standards of Inner Asian historiography, the history of the Huns is reasonably well documented, mainly by written sources, among which the (alas!) fragmentary text of Priscus's eyewitness account of daily life in Attila's entourage is particularly valuable. Archaeology contributes next to nothing to the picture; so far it has not been possible to isolate more than a few finds incontestably Hun. Among these, some typical bronze caldrons have, on occasion, been considered sacral vessels, but there is no evidence in support of such an opinion.

The statement by the fourth-century historian Ammianus Marcellinus (31.2.11) that the Huns were not "bound by any reverence for religion or superstition" is contradicted by other, contemporary sources. These do give some clues about Hun religious beliefs, although, with one exception, none attempts to give a systematic description thereof. This exception is to be found in the Armenian chronicle attributed to Moses Daskhuranci, who does give some interesting, trustworthy data on the Caucasian Huns of the second half of the seventh century. He speaks of their "satanically deluded tree-worshipping errors" and mentions that they use horses as burnt offerings in the worship of "some gigantic savage monster whom they invoke as the god T’angri Khan, called Aspandiat by the Persians." In the first of these names it is easy to recognize the Turco-Mongol deity Tengri ("sky" or "heaven"), whose cult is first attested among the Hsiung-nu in Mongolia in the centuries just before and after the beginning of the common era. The Huns also "made sacrifices to fire and water and to certain gods of the roads, and to the moon and to all creatures considered in their eyes to be in some way remarkable."

Moses pays special attention to the funeral rites of the Huns who, "possessing completely anarchical minds," so he says, "stumble into every sort of error, beating drums and whistling over corpses, inflicting bloody saber and dagger cuts on the cheek and limbs, and engaging naked in sword fights—O hellish sight—at the graves, man against man and troop against troop. . . ." Although, to my knowledge, sword fights between groups are not noted elsewhere in such a context, the self-inflicted wounds and the laceration of the mourners' faces were a widespread custom among medieval Turkic peoples, described in classical as well as in Chinese sources, and also represented on wall paintings preserved in Chinese Turkistan. Fragment 23 of Priscus relates that at the death of Attila, the Huns, "as is the custom of that race, cut off part of their hair and disfigured their faces horribly with deep wounds so that the distinguished warrior might be bewailed, not with feminine lamentations and tears, but with manly blood." Before burying their dead the Huns were wont to lay out the body and, at least in cases in which the deceased had been a man of importance, the mourners would ride around the bier at full gallop "as in the circus games." The body was put in a coffin and a funeral feast preceded the burial. Priscus gives the Hun word for this repast, *strava,* a term for which no acceptable etymology has been proposed. If not due to a scribal error, the initial consonant cluster excludes the possibility that the word is Turkic or Mongol.

It was customary to place valuable objects in the tombs. Attila was interred by night, in great secrecy, and those who buried him were slaughtered so that—in Priscus's opinion—they should not be able to divulge the location of the tomb. It could be that a human sacrifice was performed. Analogies to this case can be found among the early (sixth-century) Türk. Captives were said to have been sacrificed "to victory" by the Huns upon their arrival on the Pontic steppes, but Jordanes' sixth-century account of this period contains many fictional elements.

There is evidence to show that the services of diviners were appreciated. According to Jordanes, Attila "sought counsel of omens in all warfare." He reports that the method used by the soothsayers consisted in the examination of the entrails of cattle and of "certain streaks in bones that had been scraped." The remark refers probably to scapulimancy, widely practiced in Inner Asia. The sources provide no evidence of the very likely use of shamans.

The practice of worshiping a sacred sword, often referred to in the secondary literature, cannot be established. At best, such references can be traced to a remark by Attila who, so it would appear, once declared that a sword that had been accidentally unearthed by a shepherd and brought to him would ensure his supremacy over the whole world.

In the Caucasus, in the Asian or European provinces of Byzantium, in Italy, and in their campaigns through Germanic lands, the Huns were in constant touch, friendly or inimical, with Christians. It can be taken for granted that many of the Huns were converted, a fact that allowed Jerome to write to Laeta in 403 that "the Huns are learning the psalter, the frosts of Scythia are warmed by the fire of faith" (107.2). Perhaps Jerome's, as it turned out unjustified, optimism was motivated by the news of the missionary efforts of John Chrysostom and others. Success came only to the Albanian bishop Israel who in 681 and 682 stayed with the Huns of the Caucasus, converted their leaders, destroyed their idols, and burned their sacred trees. The Hun prince Alp Ilteber promised, in the words of Moses Daskhuranci, to "burn the sorcerers and wizards who will not adopt the faith, and [to] put to the sword any person who acts like a pagan." Thus, Western civilization arrived among the Huns of the epigone kingdom, putting an end to the religious tolerance so typical of Inner Asian states, including that of the Huns, those "unreasoning beasts" (to quote Ammianus Marcellinus), "utterly ignorant of the difference between right and wrong."

SEE ALSO Inner Asian Religions; Tengri.

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DENIS SINOR (1987)

HURGRONJE, CHRISTIAAN SNOUCK SEE SNOUCK HURGRONJE, CHRISTIAAN

HURRIAN RELIGION.

A Near Eastern phenomenon dating mainly from the second millennium BCE, the Hurrian religion is known more from contemporary and later Hittite documents than from native Hurrian sources. The Hurrians were an apparently Armenoid people who moved into northern Syria and northwestern Mesopotamia by at least 2300 BCE. The cities of Nuzi, in the eastern Tigris region, and Alalah, in northern Syria, were major centers of Hurrian culture by circa 1500 BCE. Wassukkanni was the capital of the reign.

The term *Hurrian* is an ethnic designation, and *Subartu* (roughly equivalent to the Hurrian *Aranzah*) is the Sumero-Akkadian name of the Hurrian-dominated area north and northeast of the Tigris. Mitanni was a Hurrian kingdom of the mid-second millennium in northern Syria and Iraq that had an Indo-Aryan aristocracy, and Urartu (whence Ararat) was a successor kingdom that flourished in southern Armenia circa 800 BCE. The Hurrian language, written in Sumero-Akkadian cuneiform (and, later, in Ugaritic alphabetic cuneiform), is neither Semitic nor Indo-European in origin.

Some prominent European scholars would deny that the Horites of the Old Testament are Hurrians (in *Gn.* 14 the Horites are enemies of Abraham; in *Dt.* 2 they are dispossessed by the Edomites; in *1 Chr.* 1 they are the ancestors of Esau), but most American authors favor the identification. (Similar efforts to identify the Old Testament Hivites with the Hurrians are less convincing.) While admitting the presence of biblical anachronisms, the American scholars cite the extensive evidence that the Hurrians had moved down into the coastal areas and probably into Palestine at least by the Amarna age (mid-first millennium BCE). By the final quarter of the second millennium BCE there was, for example, a large and flourishing Hurrian population farther north at Ugarit, on the Syrian coast. Also notable are the remarkable parallelisms of legal and social customs between Nuzi documents of the fifteenth century BCE and the *Genesis* patriarchal narratives.

HURRIAN RELIGIOUS ASSIMILATIONS. Because of the limited natively Hurrian resources, it is difficult to distinguish specifically Hurrian religious and cultic elements from those of their neighbors. The Hurrians borrowed heavily from Mesopotamian religion, either by assimilating Assyro-Babylonian divinities into their own pantheon outright or by identifying these divinities with indigenous Hurrian gods. In turn, some of the Hurrian gods and religious practices were adopted by the Hittites. The Hittites also absorbed into their religion pre-Hittite elements and elements from other Anatolian peoples such as the Luwians. Since it is mostly from Hittite mythic and religious texts that scholars have access to the Hurrians, the situation is complicated indeed; many authors have resorted to referring simply to an "Anatolian religion" and have made no substantial effort to separate its strands. The major Hittite sources for Hurrian religion are the archives from Boğazköy (Hattushash), the ancient Hittite capital, and the stone carvings from the shrines at Yazilikaya, about two miles east of Boğazköy.

Hurrian culture is equally notable as a vehicle of exchange of religious concepts and practices, especially from east to west, and as a source of original contributions. The flow of such ideas over almost three millennia was generally from the Mesopotamians to the Hurrians, from the latter to the Hittites and northwestern Semites (Amorites, Canaanites, and Phoenicians), and thence ultimately to Greece and Rome. Recent scholarship suggests that the Hurrians played a far larger role in this process than had previously been detected. Because of the Indic element among their aristocracy, it is also likely that the Hurrians were purveyors of some Indo-Aryan religious motifs to the west.

HURRIAN PANTHEON At the head of the native Hurrian pantheon was the weather god Teshub, the "king of heaven," the later Urartean Teisheba. One of his ancient centers of worship was the yet unidentified town of Kumme (Kummiya). His genealogy varies somewhat, depending on the way in which the relevant Babylonian material was assimilated. In Hittite texts stemming from the Hurrian myth cycle of Kumarbi (the father of the gods), and in some other texts, it is told that Alalu (chthonic divinity, with Mesopotamian origin) was the first king in heaven and was dethroned by Anu (heavenly god, also with a Mesopotamian name). Kumarbi, Alalu's son, dethroned Anu and swallowed his genitals, to prevent him from having offspring. But Kumarbi became pregnant and gave birth to Teshub, among other gods.

Early Anatolian iconography uses the symbol of a bull or of lightning bolts in connection with Teshub and other weather gods. Teshub, like other gods of this kind, have storm, wind, rain, and lightning as weapons. He provides rain, and is therefore also protector of vegetation and agriculture.

Teshub's consort was Hebat, or Hepat, who was an ancient Syrian goddess who was known in Ebla and was assimilated by Hurrians and turned into the queen of heaven. Although she is not prominent in the extant mythological texts, worship of her was very widespread, and she was syncretized with other Near Eastern goddesses in later times. In Hittite iconography she is apparently identified with the sun goddess of Arinna, whose name is not known. Hebat has a rather matronly appearance in Anatolian art, and she is frequently depicted standing on the back of a lion.

The son of Teshub and Hebat was Sharruma, whom the Hittites associated with the weather gods of Nerik and Zippalanda. Sharruma was originally an Anatolian mountain god of the Anatolian and Syrian borderland. At Yazilikaya the god who is represented by a pair of human legs immediately behind Hebat is doubtless Sharruma. The iconography from Yazilikaya reflects the religious reforms of Hattushili III, who tries to assimilate the divine triad into the imperial family. Teshub is identified with the king, the Sun-goddess with the queen, and Sharruma with the heir.

Shaushka, who in Hittite myths about Kumarbi is called Teshub's sister, is prominent in the extant texts and in works of art, where she is often shown as a winged goddess standing (like Hebat) on the back of a lion. Shaushka's nature is very elusive. The Hittites identified her with the Mesopotamian Inanna-Ishtar, herself a goddess of extraordinarily complex origins and characteristics. In the Hurrian world she is the goddess of war and sex. Shaushka was said to have had two ladies-in-waiting, Ninatta and Kulitta, known also as musicians.

Kumarbi, already mentioned in a Hurrian tablet from Mari, about 1700 BCE, had scarce importance in the worship but was a major figure in the myths. He had the power in primeval years and was dethroned by Teshub, but tries to recover the throne again and again. The god is identified with the Mesopotamian god of grain, Dagan, with the Sumero-Akkadian Enlil, and with the Ugaritic El.

Other Hurrian gods are Sheri ("day") and Hurri ("night"), who pull Teshub's wagon and are portrayed as bulls (the name of Hurri is replaced by Tilla in the eastern tradition); the moon god Kushuh (the same as the proto-Hattic Kashku), who is the protector of oaths, and his consort, Nikkal, corresponding to the Sumerian Ningal; a sun god, Shimigi (the Urartean Shiwini), who is linked with omens because he sees everything on earth; Shuwaliyatti and his consort, Nabarbi; Teshub's vizier, Tasmisu; and Ashtabi, the god of war. The later Urartean pantheon included Tesheba, Shiwini, and the national god, Haldi. An inscription found at Sargon II names the goddess Bagbarti as Haldi's consort.

The Hittite myths mention often a group of underworld gods, called "ancient gods," whose names come in rhyming pairs such as Nara-Napsara, Minki-Ammunki, Muntara-Mutmuntara. They were the earlier generations of gods, but they were driven into the underworld by Teshub. The "ancient gods" are a sort of opposite of the upper gods, because they are "impure" and represent the disorder.

In the treaty between the Hittite king Shuppiluliuma and Mittanian Shattiwaza, Indo-Aryan gods such as Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, and the Nasatya are mentioned as guarantors.

This fact indicates that the Indo-Aryan aristocracy mantained its ancestral gods as protectors of the kings of Mittani.

In addition to personal gods, Hurrians had impersonal divinities such as earth and heaven or mountains and rivers, the mountains being considered as companions of the storm god or as independent deities.

MYTH CYCLES. Hurrian mythic narratives are known almost exclusively through their Hittite versions in which the material is considerably intermixed with other Anatolian elements. Only scarce fragments remain from the Hurrian version of some myths, although it is almost impossible to obtain some information about them. The most significant myth cycle is that of the god Kumarbi. This myth tells how Kumarbi was dethroned by Teshub and how the dethroned deity tries repeatedly to recover his power, fathering one son after another. The major texts, all in Hittite, are a myth whose title was probably *Song of Kumarby* (conventionally called *Kingship in Heaven*), a tale of the struggle for divine kingship strikingly similar to Hesiod's *Theogony,* the *Song of Hedammu,* and the *Song of Ullikummi,* the best-preserved poem, although it is not complete either.

The most remarkable fact is that the poems of Kumarbi cycle, in contrast to other ancient myths, are not part of rituals or cults. They are pure literature, didactic poems that inform people about the history of the world and explain the role that human beings have in the world order, especially in their relations with the gods.

In *Kingship in Heaven,* Alalu (a chthonic god) is king of heaven for nine years, and Anu (the Sumerian sky god), "first among the gods," worships at his feet. Anu, however, battles with Alalu and defeats him, reigning in turn for nine years, with Kumarbi, Alalu's son, now worshiping him. Anu and Kumarbi engage in combat and Anu flees up to the sky. Kumarbi seizes him, drags him down, and bites off his genitals, laughing with glee. Anu cautions: "Do not laugh, for you have a heavy burden: I have impregnated you with the storm god [Teshub], the river Aranzah [the Tigris], and Tasmisu." Kumarbi spits and gets free of part of his burden. Later, a god called KA.ZAL came up out of Kumarbi's skull and Teshub out of the "good place." On the other hand, Tasmisu is born from Mount Kanzura, fertilized by Anu's seed, which Kumarbi had spat. Then Kumarbi tries to swallow his sons, but the god Ea gives him a stone wrapped in diapers. What ensues is not clear, but apparently Teshub captures the kingship from Kumarbi.

There are striking similarities between myths told in *Song of Kumarbi* and some tales from other cultures. In the Babylonian *Enuma elish,* Apsu and Tiamat are the primeval couple. Apsu is deprived of his tiara (a euphemism, because the tiara symbolizes male vigor that goes together with royalty). Other generations of gods follow the primeval couple: Anu, Ea, and Marduk, who, like Teshub, finally seizes the power among gods. On the other hand, Hesiod mentions only three generations of gods: Ouranos (Sky), Kronos, and Zeus, although Ge (Earth), who generates Ouranos and is relegated at a given moment, corresponds quite well to Hurrian Alalu. It is her son Kronos who, like Kumarbi, will take revenge on the celestial divinity that has her relegated when he castrates Ouranos with a sickle. At the end, Zeus defeats Kronos and seizes power. In the Orphic Theogony commentated in the Derveni Papyrus, Night begins the series of generations, followed by Ouranos, Kronos, and Zeus; Kronos castrates Ouranos, but Zeus swallows Ouranos's phallus and he becomes pregnant, as a result of which he gives birth to all the gods. However, in the *Phoenician History* by Sankuniaton, preserved in Philo Byblius's Greek version, the divine kings are Elioun (called in Greek Hypsistos, "the Highest")—a god only mentioned by his Greek name, Epigeios, corresponding to Greek Ouranos (who is also castrated); El—in Greek Kronos; and Zeus Demarus—corresponding to Phoenician Baal Hadad.

But there are also significant differences between the quoted versions. The most remarkable one is that in Babylonian and Greek myths every god is son of the previous, while in the Hittite text, Kumarbi, the god that reigns in third place, is "Alalu's offspring," or the son of the first king. On the other hand, Anu, the second god in heaven, does not seem to have any relationship with Alalu, in spite of what is read in some studies, such as those of Kirk or Wilhelm, who believe that there is one (genealogical) line of gods in the Hittite myth. In the Hittite tale, then, according to the text, there is a conflict between two lines of gods that compete for supremacy: one of a netherworld god, Alalu, whose descendant is Kumarbi, and the other of a celestial god, Anu. The conflict is solved because Teshub is a result of Anu's seed, but Kumarbi, with his pregnancy, plays the role of the mother of the god.

In the *Song of Hedammu,* Kumarbi tries to regain the throne and mates with Sertapsuruhi, the huge Sea's daughter, who gives birth to a snake whose voracious appetite leads him to devour all kinds of animals and vegetables. As a result of this, human beings are starving. Since human beings cannot give sacrifices to the gods, the gods are hungry too. In a meeting of the gods, Ea reproaches Kumarbi with having harmed the gods. He fears that gods themselves must work. Then Ishtar seduces Hedammu with the sight of her naked body. The end is not preserved, but probably the monster is defeated and world order recovered.

In the *Song of Ullikummi,* Kumarbi plots against his upstart son, Teshub. Kumarbi mates with a stone and she bears him another son, Ullikummi, made of diorite. The name *Ullikummi* contains the name of Kumme, the city consecrated to Teshub, and probably means "destroyer of Kummi(ya)." Various helper gods place Ullikummi on the shoulders of Ubelluri, an Atlas figure that bears on his shoulders the earth and the sky, and the young Ullikummi grows rapidly. The sun god notices the mighty figure of Ullikummi rising from the sea and warns Teshub, who weeps bitterly. Teshub appeals to the god Ea, who eventually takes in hand the blade that had originally severed the earth from the heaven and cuts Ullikummi off at the ankles. Presumably (here the story breaks off), Kumarbi and his powerless monster-son are defeated and Teshub's rule is assured.

There are striking similarities between Hedamu and Ullikummi's myths and other Hesiodic themes. In the *Theogony* the Titans and Typhoeus challenge Zeus's power and they are defeated. But there are again differences between Hurrians and Greeks in their view of divinities. In Hesiod, Zeus remains as undisputed lord of gods and men. This has nothing to do with instability of Teshub's power. His whining image when he sees Ullikummi and the description of his defeat and humiliation contrast with the Hesiodic image of Zeus as a strong god with a total control of the situation.

Scarce fragments of other poems belonging to Kumarbi's cycle are preserved. In one of these poems a god called KAL becomes king of heaven. During his reign, humans enjoy excessive welfare, but they neglect worship. Because of that, Ea orders the mutilation of the king. This theme has similarities with the Prometheus's myth. According to the Hurrian conception, the proper relationship between gods and human beings requires that the latter not be excessively pressed (as in *Hedammu*) nor enjoy excessive welfare (as in the poem of KAL). A balance between both extremes is the ideal.

Another poem of the cycle deals with Silver, a character whose Hurrian name Ushu is mentioned in a very fragmentary Hurrian text: "Hail, Silver, the lord that has become king!" Although it is very difficult to reconstruct the plot of the poem from its scarce remains, Silver is another of Kumarbi's sons, who overthows Teshub and is later defeated by the storm god.

The *Myth of Kessi,* only a few fragments of which are preserved, is the story of a stalwart hunter, and the *Song of Release* is a poem composed of several parables and non-mythological narratives. The parables deal with mountains, animals, cups, or other objects that behave in a bad manner and receive punishment, and later they are compared with the actions of human beings. Many authors who have written on Hurrian myths with religious motifs include the folktale of Appu of Lulluwa and his wife, prosperous folk who go to bed fully clothed and wonder why they cannot conceive. The gods set them right and they bear two sons, Good and Evil. Later both sons fight for the inheritance. The plot has similarities with the story of Hesiod and his brother Perses in *Works and Days.* Others, however, believe that this tale does not have a Hurrian origin.

HURRIAN WORSHIP. Little is known of the actual cultic practices and worship of the Hurrians. From syncretic Hittite texts, mostly from Boğazköy, there is evidence for sympathetic magic, bird sacrifices (also attested in texts from Ugarit), and various forms of divination. The interpretation as omens of abnormal natural phenomena, such as eclipses or streaks of lightning, was also a common practice among the Hurrites. Frequently they resorted to the interpretation of birds' flight or to analysis of bird entrails in order to explain such phenomena. The translation into Hurrian of Babylonian collections of omens shows Hurrian interest in these practices. The Hittites in their turn translated their texts about this topic.

The cult included offers of food and drink. In addition to this the gods' images were anointed with scented oil. Instrumental or choral musical accompaniments were also frequent. Rites could be performed in temples, sacred groves, or shrines in the rocky cliffs.

As with the Hurrian pantheon, there was clearly much Babylonian influence on the Hurrian cult, and in turn, the Hurrian cult apparently was partially assimilated into that of the Hittites.

SEE ALSO Hittite Religion; Teshub.

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HUS, JAN (1372/3–1415), also known as John Huss, was a Czech reformer of the Christian church. Hus was called John of Husinec after the village in southern Bohemia in which he was born of peasant parents. During his university years, he shortened his name to Hus. After earning a master's degree, in 1398 Hus became a member of the faculty of liberal arts at the University of Prague. He was ordained a priest in 1400, served as dean of the faculty from 1401 to 1402, and matriculated in the faculty of theology to work toward the degree of doctor of theology. Because of his subsequent activities and the controversies that developed around him, Hus never completed the degree.

In 1402 Hus was appointed preacher at Bethlehem Chapel in Prague, where sermons were delivered in Czech rather than Latin. He became a leader in the national Czech reform movement, which emphasized moral reform and preaching in the vernacular. Through his teachers Hus had been introduced to the thought of Milíc of Kromeríz (c. 1325–1374) and Matthew of Janov (c. 1355–1393), early leaders of the reform movement.

Hus, along with other reformers, also became interested in the thought of John Wyclif. Prior to 1402, Hus appears to have known only Wyclif's philosophical writings. But after Hus's friend Jerome of Prague brought a number of Wyclif's theological and reformist works to Prague in 1401, and again in 1406, Hus began to use some of Wyclif's less radical ideas for reform in his own sermons at Bethlehem Chapel. He also translated Wyclif's *Trialogus* into Czech. In 1403, the conflict between the nominalism of the German members of the faculty at the university and the philosophical realism of Wyclif and the Czech faculty members contributed to an academic (not an ecclesiastical) condemnation of the heretical sense of forty-five articles drawn from Wyclif's writings.

The archbishop of Prague, Zbyněk Zajíc, who was primarily a soldier, not a theologian, at first supported both the clerical reform party and Hus. In 1405, he appointed Hus preacher to the Prague synod. However, by attacking clerical vices and abuses in his sermons, Hus aroused increasing clerical opposition to the reform party. Innocent VII and Gregory XII both exhorted Zbyněk to check the growing interest in Wyclif's views. Hus's friends Stanislav of Znojmo and Stephen Páleč later became his bitter enemies after they were forced to defend themselves against charges of heresy by renouncing Wyclif's views (particularly the doctrine of remanence, i.e., that bread and wine remain unchanged after the words of consecration in the sacrament).

Hus lost the archbishop's support when he and other Czech faculty members sided with Wenceslas, king of Bohemia, in his recognition of Alexander V, who in 1409 had been elected pope by the Council of Pisa in an attempt to end the schism that was dividing Western Christendom into three factions. The council had deposed and excommunicated Gregory XII and Benedict XIII, who both, however, refused to abdicate in Alexander's favor. When Zbyněk and the German members of the faculty supported Gregory XII, Wenceslas changed the constitution of the university in a manner that the Germans could not accept, with the result that they left Prague. (Some of them founded the University of Leipzig.) Zbyněk then obtained support from the antireformist clergy and acknowledged Alexander V as legitimate pope in order to secure papal approval of his proposed actions. To silence Hus, the archbishop forbade preaching in private chapels, but Hus continued to preach. Zbyněk retaliated by ordering the burning of Wyclif's books and sending charges of heresy against Hus to the Curia Romana.

When John XXIII, successor of Alexander V, issued indulgences for sale to raise funds for his crusade against Gregory XII and Gregory's supporter Ladislas of Naples, Hus opposed the methods used to sell the indulgences, but not the doctrine of indulgence itself. He thus lost the support of King Wenceslas, who was profiting from the sale of the indulgences. Hus was placed under a stricter ecclesiastical ban, and because his presence threatened Prague with an interdict, he left the city in 1412. He sought refuge in the castles of friends in southern Bohemia, where he completed important works in Czech and Latin, including his famous *De ecclesia* (1413).

Wenceslas's brother Sigismund, king of Hungary and king of the Romans, seeking to crush heresy and to end the papal schism, brought pressure to convoke in 1414 the

Council of Constance. Threatened by an interdict for tolerating heresy in Bohemia, Wenceslas was forced to agree to Sigismund's plan to send Hus to the council. Hus arrived in Constance in 1414 with Sigismund's assurance of safe-conduct, but there he was questioned, imprisoned, and tried for heresy. He was found guilty and was burned at the stake at Constance on July 6, 1415.

Hus's religious views have been interpreted as being derived from the writings of Wyclif, and thus as both heretical and devoid of originality. They have also been interpreted as the culmination of the national Czech reform movement, modified by some of Wyclif's less radical ideas. In this interpretation, Hus is seen as essentially orthodox in his scholastic views, unlike his colleagues, some of whom advocated radical Wyclifite heresies. Some recent Czech writers have seen Hus and his followers as representatives of the lower classes in their revolt against a feudal society.

Hus had what is now called an ecumenical view of the church. He thought of the Roman church as but one among several branches of the church militant and defined the true church as the totality of the predestinated. Thus his judges at the Council of Constance interpreted his views correctly when they accused Hus of denying that the Roman church is the only true church but were wrong in their interpretation that he refuted the valid existence of the church militant. Denying the supreme authority of popes and councils, Hus accorded supreme authority for faith and practice to Christ's teachings and life, as chronicled in scripture; however, he granted a subordinate authority to the traditions of the church, and as a scholastic theologian did not exclude appeals to these traditions. Hus was not, strictly speaking, a pre-Lutheran advocate of *sola scriptura.* Neither was he an advocate of *sola fide,* justification by faith alone. He emphasized (with rare exceptions) the necessity of good works for salvation in the sense of *fide caritate formata,* faith formed by love. He believed in transubstantiation rather than in the doctrine of remanence. Toward the end of his life, in a letter from the Council of Constance to his substitute at Bethlehem Chapel, Hus approved the distribution of both bread and wine, not bread alone, to the laity, a practice that his followers continued.

Hus's influence was especially pronounced among the moderate Hussites who were known as Utraquists (from *utraque,* "each of two," referring to the two Communion elements), and also as Calixtines (from *calix,* "goblet, drinking vessel"). His teachings strongly influenced the members of the Unitas Fratrum (Unity of Czech Brethren), who separated from the other Hussites in 1467. The Czechoslovak Hussite Church (or Czechoslovak National Church), founded in 1920, continues the Hussite tradition.

SEE ALSO Wyclif, John.

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ḤUSAYN IBN ʿALĪ, AL-

(AH 4–61/626–680 CE) was the son of Fāṭimah, the daughter of the prophet Muḥammad, and the Prophet's cousin ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. Al-Ḥusayn was born in Medina on 3 Shaʿbān 4 (January 626). He and his elder brother, al-Ḥasan, were the only grandsons of the Prophet, and many accounts survive in Muslim tradition of the Prophet's affection for them. The Prophet is reported to have said: "al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn are the lords of the youth of Paradise," interpreted by the Shīʿah as proof for their *imāmah.* The Prophet is also reported to have said "al-Ḥusayn is from me and I am from al-Ḥusayn," which signals the intimate relationship between grandson and grandfather, or in the Shīʿī conception, between the Prophet and his third successor as *imām.* Al-Ḥusayn is best known as the archetypal martyr of the Shīʿī cause and a pristine, moral Islam. His tragic death with a small band of followers at Karbala in Iraq on 10 Muḥarram 61 (October 680), an event that according to Shīʿī tradition was foretold and lamented by the Prophet himself, became the pivotal event in Shīʿī salvation history.

HISTORY. Al-Ḥusayn grew up as a member of the Muslim elite in Medina. He was a child when the Prophet died, and he suffered the death of his mother soon after. He also saw how his father—according to the Shīʿah—was continuously denied his right as the legitimate religious and political successor to the Prophet until the chaos of 656, when, following the murder of the third caliph, ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān, by disaffected Egyptian rebels, ʿAlī was chosen as caliph by the community in Medina. Some, however, were not willing to accept his leadership and ʿAlī had to fight fellow Muslims to assert his authority. ʿUthmān's kinsman, Muʿāwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān, governor of Syria, disputed ʿAlī's authority, claiming that the blood of the dead caliph had not been revenged, ushering in what is known in Muslim tradition as the first civil war. After the famous and inconclusive battle at Ṣiffīn on the northern borders of Syria and Iraq, ʿAlī was coerced by a group of his forces, who were unable to countenance further internecine blood, to accept arbitration. This led to the discontent of some of his supporters, who declared him to be an unbeliever for accepting arbitration over what they regarded as the rule of God. These Khārijīs rebelled and were crushed at Nahrawān. But the movement survived and in 661 one of its members assassinated ʿAlī in the mosque at Kūfah, the caliphal capital.

Al-Ḥasan succeeded his father. But the intrigue against him and his lack of support led him to agree to terms whereby he abdicated the caliphate in favor of Muʿāwiyah. According to the agreement, Muʿāwiyah would safeguard the life and property of the supporters of ʿAlī, cease the public cursing of ʿAlī from pulpits in Syria, and ensure that his successor would be decided by consultation, probably in favor of al-Ḥasan or al-Ḥusayn. Al-Ḥasan died in 671, poisoned by Muʿāwiyah according to Shīʿī tradition, which also affirms that Muʿāwiyah never kept his side of the bargain.

MARTYRDOM. The hope of the Shīʿah turned to al-Ḥusayn. He stood by the agreement with Muʿāwiyah and refused to revolt in his lifetime. But when Muʿāwiyah died in 680, ensuring the succession of his son Yazīd, universally regarded in Muslim tradition as an immoral and unjust tyrant, al-Ḥusayn became the leader of those who refused to acknowledge the succession. Yazīd ordered the governor of Medina to seek the allegiance of the notables in the city, especially al-Ḥusayn, who was the surviving grandson of the Prophet. Al-Ḥusayn evaded this demand and left for Mecca and its sanctuary. The Shīʿah in Kūfah, upon hearing of al-Ḥusayn's action, urged him to come to Iraq to lead a revolution against Yazīd. Responding to their call, al-Ḥusayn sent his cousin, Muslim ibn ʿAqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib, to Kūfah to assess his support. Yazīd, however, appointed ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, the son of a close confidant of Muʿāwiyah, as the governor, with the mandate to crush any resistance. Ibn Ziyād quelled the discontent in Kūfah through coercion and bribery, and he executed Muslim and his protectors, especially Hāniʾ ibn ʿUrwah. Ibn Ziyād then sent out forces to intercept al-Ḥusayn, who had set out from Mecca towards Kūfah with a band of family and followers. As news of events in Kūfah spread, al-Ḥusayn's following dwindled. The remainder was intercepted by Ibn Ziyād's forces, led by al-Ḥurr ibn Yazīd, and the group was forced to stop on the banks of the Euphrates at Karbala. Ibn Ziyād then sent a further force, under the command of ʿUmar ibn Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, to urge al-Ḥusayn to submit or to suffer the fate of a rebel. Al-Ḥusayn's party was surrounded and denied water. The Battle of Karbala took place on 10 Muḥarram 61 (October 680), the day known as ʿĀshūrāʾ.

Al-Ḥurr, appalled by the possibility of being responsible for the death of the Prophet's grandson, switched sides. But the forces of the governor, which included many who had initially called al-Ḥusayn to Kūfah to support them against Yazīd, persisted, demonstrating the success of Ibn Ziyād in transforming the rebellion. All of al-Ḥusayn's followers were killed, including his infant child and other children of his family. Al-Ḥusayn was executed, decapitated, and his body trampled under the hooves of horses. Possessions were plundered and the women and children were taken as captives, first to Kūfah and then to Damascus, where they were paraded as defeated rebels. Only one son of al-Ḥusayn, ʿAlī, who had been sick throughout, survived. In Shīʿī accounts, the humiliation is amplified by the fact that few in Syria even recognized them as the family of the Prophet.

HISTORICAL LEGACY, MARTRYOLOGY, AND COMMEMORATION. The martyrdom came as a great shock to the Muslim community and inspired many Shīʿī revolts aimed at revenging the blood of al-Ḥusayn. The earliest, known as the Penitents (*al-Tawwābūn*), were Kūfans who regretted their failure to support al-Ḥusayn. When the ʿAbbāsids came to power in 750 through a revolution, the call for avenging al-Ḥusayn was a key aspect of their *kerygma.* Nevertheless, once the rights of the family of the Prophet and the Shīʿah remained unfulfilled, Shīʿī rebellions continued. Vengeance for al-Ḥusayn still lies unfulfilled in Twelver Shīʿī theology until the coming of the messianic *mahdī*, the descendent of the Prophet and al-Ḥusayn, who at the end of time will eradicate injustice, thus avenging the blood of al-Ḥusayn, and usher in a final era of peace and justice.

The emotional affect of al-Ḥusayn's martyrdom inspired elegies and accounts of what happened. These accounts, the earliest being the Kūfan Shīʿī Abū Mikhnaf al-Azdī's *maqtal*, were central to mobilization for the Shīʿī cause. The *maqātil* (accounts of the martyrdom) literature proliferated in a variety of vernaculars from Arabic to Swahili (and continues to be written—the contemporary Arabic *maqtal* of the Iraqi scholar Sayyid Muqarram is very popular). As powerful rhetorical devices that represent and express Shīʿī theology, the *maqātil* signal the devotion, aspirations, thought, and collective memory of the Shīʿah. Over time, more miraculous stories and details were layered into the account. These accounts, along with the rituals of commemoration, developed elaborate forms, including sermons recounting the martyrdom (known in the Persianate East as *rawzeh* after a key text of the fifteenth-century, the *Rawḍat* *al-shuhadāʾ* of Ḥusayn Vāʿiẓ Kāshifī). Concurrently, pilgrimages to the shrine of al-Ḥusayn in Karbala developed, and rulers expressed their piety and devotions through the construction of works at the shrine and charitable endowments. Prayer and pilgrimage manuals set out the excellences and rites of visitation (*ziyārah*) and salutations upon the martyred *imām*, through which the Shīʿah would renew their covenant of allegiance to the *imām*s of the family of the Prophet. The visitation also recognizes the spiritual vitality of the *imām* as an enshrined saint.

The commemoration rituals during the month of Muḥarram, known as *taʿziyah*, take on various cultural forms and illustrate the translations of Shīʿī aspirations and grief for the death of al-Ḥusayn. The earliest public sponsorship of the ʿĀshūrāʾ commemoration occurred during the Būyid period in fourth-century Iraq. In the Fāṭimid period and in subsequent Shīʿī states, such as the early modern Safavids in Iran, patronage of the commemorations was central to the affirmation of Shīʿī identity and dynastic legitimacy. On the Indian subcontinent, processions from the late Mughal period have been the main expression, with mourners, flagellants, and devotees carrying replicas of the shrine of al-Ḥusayn and war banners streaming through the streets. In Iran and Bahrain, passion plays recounting the events are enacted. They are socially and even politically significant, as every political tyrant is equated with Yazīd and every seeker of justice with al-Ḥusayn. It is not insignificant that the Iranian revolution in 1979 was sparked during the Muḥarram commemorations. More recently in Iraq, the fall of Ṣaddām Ḥusayn in 2003 was celebrated with free Shīʿī commemorations for the fortieth day after ʿĀshūrāʾ for the first time in more than twenty years. According to some accounts, up to four million pilgrims were in Karbala for the occasion. The vitality of the symbol of Karbala and the martyred al-Ḥusayn remains a strong strand in the life of the world's Shīʿī communities.

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SAJJAD H. RIZVI (2005)

HUSSERL, EDMUND (1859–1938), German philosopher, founder and central figure in the twentieth-century philosophical movement or approach known as phenomenology. Born in Prossnitz (Prostejov), Moravia, Husserl studied at the universities of Leipzig and Berlin and received his Ph.D. from the University of Vienna in 1882. After becoming an assistant to the mathematician Karl Weierstrass in Berlin, he moved to Vienna where, largely under the influence of the philosopher Franz Brentano, he changed his field from mathematics to philosophy.

Husserl's three teaching positions roughly correlate with three periods in the development of his phenomenological philosophy. His stay at the University of Halle (1887–1901) coincided with a prephenomenological period, during which he attempted to provide a psychological basis for mathematics and logic; it culminated in the influential *Logical Investigations* (2 vols., 1900–1901), which laid the foundation for his descriptive phenomenology. During his tenure at the University of Göttingen (1901–1916), Husserl established his role as founder of the "phenomenological movement." He developed the phenomenological project that he had introduced in the second volume of his *Logical Investigations* and, in his *Ideas* (1913), he turned to a "pure" or "transcendental" phenomenology—a philosophical turn that was rejected by many of his followers. His work at the University of Freiburg (from 1916 to 1929) brought a radicalization of this phenomenological idealism, in which phenomenology was conceived as a renewal of life, a realization of one's ethical autonomy, and an overcoming of the crisis of European science. The years from 1929 to 1939, during which Husserl lived in Freiburg after his retirement from the university, may be designated as a fourth period. This period comprises the works of the "late Husserl." Though isolated by social and political pressures as a man with Jewish parentage in Nazi Germany and, finally, by illness, Husserl developed, during this period, his existential notion of "life-world" (*Lebenswelt*) with which he explored the intersubjective and historical dimensions of experience.

Since Husserl was continually rethinking his phenomenological project, his works never formed a closed philosophical system. There are, however, several themes that can be found throughout his writings. Phenomenology, for example, was to be a descriptive, "rigorous science," free from unexamined presuppositions, and each step was to have a sense of self-evident necessity. Husserl continually searched for radical "new beginnings," that is, for an absolute foundation on which to ground his phenomenology and to grasp the constitution of meaning.

Husserl conceived phenomenology to be a radically descriptive approach, free from our normal, unexamined preconceptions; it was to utilize a phenomenological method that would allow it to describe the phenomena that appear in immediate experience and to gain direct intuition into their essential structures and meanings.

Husserl's attitude toward religion is open to several interpretations. Though the majority of Husserl scholars have assumed that he had little or no interest in religion, several scholars, largely on the basis of unpublished manuscripts, correspondence, and conversations, have submitted that religion and "the problem of God" were serious concerns for Husserl.

Born to Jewish parents, Husserl became an Evangelical Lutheran in 1887. A few individuals have claimed that he had a religious conversion on his deathbed, but this report has been widely challenged. In general, Husserl's phenomenological suspension of all judgments about what is real produced a tolerance toward all "genuine" religious phenomena. In addition, many scholars have commented that Husserl often conceived his phenomenological approach in terms of a "conversion," and that he regarded his philosophical mission with a kind of religious fervor. It does seem, however, that Husserl had little interest in a personal God or in any other aspect of traditional religion; he rejected the externals of religion and all theological dogma. On the other hand, scattered references to God appear in *Logical Investigations* and *Ideas*; passages with religious reference or implication are found also in later works such as *The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology* (1936) and in Dorion Cairns's *Conversations with Husserl and Fink* (1976); and a greater number of religious references appear in Husserl's diaries and in later unpublished manuscripts and correspondence.

Although these passages tend to be vague, underdeveloped, and open to conflicting interpretations, it is apparent that, according to Husserl, God is neither a personal deity nor a cause of the world, but an "idea" within the context of universal teleology. God as idea is the *telos*, that is, the universal and ideal end and the transcendent motivating force and final principle in the evolution of reason. Furthermore, Husserl cryptically comments that only with an understanding of the "transcendental consciousness" of phenomenology can one "understand the transcendence of God," and that "ethical-religious questions are the last questions of phenomenological constitution" (Cairns, *Conversations*, 1976, p. 47).

Husserl's major contribution to the study of religion is found in later attempts by scholars to apply a modified Husserlian analysis to religion. Husserl's influence can be seen in the phenomenological works of Max Scheler, Gerardus van der Leeuw, Paul Ricoeur, and many others. Phenomenology of religion has characterized itself as radically descriptive and antireductionistic. It has often adopted Husserlian terms, such as *epoche* and "eidetic vision," and has sometimes utilized aspects of Husserl's phenomenological method.

To a lesser extent, Husserl's phenomenology has influenced philosophy of religion and theology. In the appendix to his *Ecclesial Man* (1975), Edward Farley surveys the impact of phenomenology on numerous Catholic and Protestant philosophers and theologians, submitting that Max Scheler was the dominant figure in the field during the period between 1921 and 1934, and that the philosopher and theologian Henri Duméry, who applies a Husserlian method to the study of religion, has dominated the period from the 1950s. Many scholars maintain that French phenomenology, deeply influenced by Husserl, took a religious and even a theological turn in the 1980s and 1990s.

Starting in the 1990s, there has been a revival in philosophical phenomenology of religion. This has involved both renewed interest in older phenomenologists and the emergence of younger phenomenologists of religion. In this renewal of phenomenology of religion, most of these scholars either trace their phenomenology back to Husserl or at least interact with Husserl's foundational formulations. Among philosophers considered by other scholars as contributing to the renewal of phenomenology of religion are Martin Heidegger, Paul Ricoeur, Emmanuel Levinas, Jacques Derrida, Michel Henry, and Jean-Luc Marion.

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Although there have been thousands of titles devoted to Husserl (Lapointe lists 3,879 publications), relatively few are con-

cerned with religion. Perhaps the best source on this subject is *The Teleologies in Husserlian Phenomenology,* edited by Anna-Teresa Tymieniecka, volume 9 of "Analecta Husserliana" (Dordrecht, Netherlands, 1979). This volume includes several articles on Husserl, religious experience, and theology, of which Stephan Strasser's "History, Teleology, and God in the Philosophy of Husserl" is especially noteworthy. Edward Farley's *Ecclesial Man* (Philadelphia, 1975) utilizes Husserl's phenomenology in formulating a phenomenological theology and surveys the impact of Husserl's phenomenology on Catholic and Protestant philosophy of religion and theology. Among the works of "the new phenomenology," primarily written by French phenomenologists of religions, one may cite Jean-Luc Marion, *Reduction and Givenness: Investigations of Husserl, Heidegger, and Phenomenology,* translated by Thomas A. Carlson (Evanston, Ill., 1998). See also *Phenomenology and the "Theological Turn": The French Debate* by Dominique Janicaud and others (originally published in French, 1991; New York, 2000).

Douglas Allen (1987 and 2005)

HUTCHINSON, ANNE (1591–1643), was the central figure in the antinomian controversy in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1636–1637. A native of Alford, Lincolnshire, Anne Marbury married William Hutchinson, an affluent merchant of that town, and mothered a large family. Around 1630 she came under the religious influence of John Cotton, vicar of Saint Botolph's in nearby Boston, and four years later she and her family followed him to the newly settled town of Boston in New England.

The Puritans of the English Congregational churches had sought to leaven John Calvin's harsh predestination decree by incorporating a concrete assurance of election that would be contingent on the moral responsibility of the elect. They asserted that the hopeful believer could prepare his or her soul for the reception of God's saving grace through a life of purity that might offer evidence of salvation. John Cotton, however, warned that this innovation imperiled the basic Protestant doctrine of justification by faith alone. The believer must receive "witnesse of the Spirit itselfe," he wrote, before being able to advance his or her moral condition as evidence of a state of grace.

Anne Hutchinson incautiously distorted Cotton's doctrine by asserting that the gift of grace implied the actual indwelling of the spirit of the Lord, mystically uniting the elect to himself, thus rendering superfluous all other evidence of salvation. This conclusion verged perilously on the antinomian heresy, which held that Christians are freed from the moral law of the Old Testament by the new dispensation of grace proffered in the gospel.

Hutchinson communicated her beliefs in the guise of an informal exegesis of Cotton's weekly sermons. Large numbers of people attended these doctrinal discussions at her home in Boston, and a majority of the local congregation, including most of the town's political and mercantile leaders, became enthusiastic disciples. When, at last, she accused all the Massachusetts clergy except Cotton of preaching a covenant of works, she precipitated a factional division that aroused the colony. Soon the religious breach assumed political dimensions and threatened the public safety.

The orthodox leaders, seeing the future of the colony at stake, regained political ascendancy by enlisting the support of outlying agricultural communities. A clerical synod declared Hutchinson guilty of holding numerous erroneous opinions, most of them inferential extensions of her central doctrine. Arraigned before the General Court in November 1637, Hutchinson unguardedly boasted that she had received revelations from the Holy Spirit, a heretical claim that horrified all orthodox Puritans. Repudiated by Cotton, excommunicated from the Boston church, and banished from the colony, she fled with family and friends to neighboring Rhode Island. Further dissension prompted her removal to New Netherland where, in 1643, she and her younger children were massacred by Indians.

Hutchinson left behind neither a religious organization nor a fixed system of belief. Although a remarkably intelligent and courageous woman, she seems to have been intolerant of religious doctrines other than her own. But the struggle of such sectarians who sought freedom of conscience for themselves prompted a diversity of beliefs that paved the way to a general freedom of religion for later generations.

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Emery J. Battis (1987)

HUTTERIAN BRETHREN. The Hutterian Brethren are a branch of Anabaptist Christians originally organized by Jacob Hutter (d. 1536). Hutter's followers, known still as Hutterites, accept the year 1528 as the date of their founding because it was then that the founders decided to pool their resources and—unlike their Anabaptist counterparts the Amish and the Mennonites—to hold "all things common." Although they have no objection to the name Hutterites, they prefer to be known as Hutterian Brethren or simply Brethren.

Jacob Hutter, a hat maker whose surname means *hatter*, was a Swiss Anabaptist minister who promulgated the practice of adult baptism, rejection of oaths, pacifism, and nonassimilation. He apparently had some education, since he spoke well and had knowledge of geography and basic mathematics. He was also a firm disciplinarian and a brilliant organizer. Journeying in 1529 from the Tyrol to Moravia, he found disarray and dissension among various congregations of Anabaptists. With an unwavering hand, he was able to overcome the schisms and impart a sense of mission.

Hutter was a man of indomitable will and exceptional courage. During a trip to the Tyrol in 1536, he was abducted and imprisoned by his enemies. Despite torture, he refused to give up his beliefs in the separation of church and state, and he refused to take oaths, to bear arms, or to abandon his economic communalism. In February of that year he was burned at the stake. After only three years as leader, he had become a martyr.

Following the death of Jacob Hutter, Hans Amon became head of the church. After Amon's death in 1542, Peter Riedeman, one of Hutter's former assistants, assumed leadership. Like Hutter, Riedeman was a man of total conviction. His beliefs, heretical to prevailing ones, prompted his imprisonment for nine years. Following his death in 1556, the Brethren continued to grow. By 1600 they numbered some 25,000 members.

The so-called golden years ended abruptly, however, and during the 1600s and 1700s persecution became relentless. Hutterite numbers dwindled, and those who remained faithful were forced eastward, to Moravia, Transylvania, Slovakia, and the Ukraine. Under a promise of religious freedom, the Brethren were able to survive in Russia from 1770 to 1870, at which time the promise was withdrawn. Between 1874 and 1877 the entire Hutterite population, more than one thousand members, emigrated to the United States. The communal members, approximately four hundred, settled in South Dakota in three separate colonies known as Bruderhofs. These proved to be successful and growth was rapid. By the time of World War I, some seventeen hundred Brethren lived in seventeen Bruderhofs.

Because of their refusal to bear arms, the war brought great difficulties to the Hutterites. Hostility caused all but one Bruderhof to relocate to Canada, but after the war many returned to the United States. During World War II, the Brethren were granted conscientious-objector status.

Each Bruderhof is a self-supporting agricultural community employing modern farm machinery. All property is owned communally by approximately 150 members. If a group grows beyond this number, branches are set up. The Bruderhof is administered by five or six men elected for a lifetime; women do not serve on the council, nor are they permitted to vote. The minister of each Bruderhof is both the spiritual and the secular head.

By the beginning of the twenty-first century, the Hutterites had grown to over 400 colonies with a population of more than thirty thousand members throughout the midwestern United States and Canada. Three groups of Hutterites exist (though their differences are more traditional and geographical than doctrinal): the Schmiedeleut, the Dariusleut, and the Lehrerleut. In 1992, the Schmiedeleut branch of the Hutterian Brethren split when a large group of Schmiedeleut Hutterites (also known as Committee Hutterites or Group 2) became dissatisfied with some community policies. Thus, the committee Hutterites created a new church constitution and installed a committee of elders to look after their own affairs.

SEE ALSO Anabaptism; Mennonites.

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WILLIAM M. KEPHART (1987)
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HYPOSTASIS is a Greek noun that became an important term in philosophical and theological speculation. The use of the term in Greek philosophy, especially in Platonism, contributed directly to its use as a technical term in Christian theology and in Gnosticism. The term is also used in modern scholarship in the history of religions. This article will stress the use of the term *hypostasis* in early Christianity and Gnosticism.

GENERAL USAGE. As a verbal substantive the Greek word *hupostasis* depends for its meaning on the verb *huphistēmi* (lit., "stand under"); it can mean the act of "standing under" or the result of that action. A wide range of meanings flow from these possibilities, including such abstract meanings as "origin," "substance," "real nature," and so on.

GREEK PHILOSOPHY. The fifth-century Christian historian Socrates, in the context of his discussion of the Synod of Alexandria (362), relates that the founders of Greek philosophy never used the term *hupostasis,* though they often used another term, *ousia* ("being," "substance," etc.). While the ancient philosophers ignored the term *hupostasis,* the more recent ones (in Socrates' terms) have used the term as an equivalent of *ousia.* This statement and its context imply (correctly) that the use of the term *hypostasis* in Christian theology is largely dependent upon its usage by the Greek philosophers.

Stoicism. It is among the Stoics that *hupostasis* was first used as a philosophical (ontological) term. In Stoicism *hupostasis* comes to be used to refer to being that has "attained reality," that is, objective or concrete reality. It is Posidonius (first century BCE) who gives the noun *hypostasis* this particular sense. Posidonius also uses the term in an antithesis: Objects in nature such as rain and hail "have *hypostasis*" (i.e., reality), in contrast to the rainbow, which exists "according to semblance" (*katʾ emphasin*). Another Stoic, Cornutus (first century CE) applies the term to theology: Zeus is "father of gods and men" in that he is the cause of their hypostasis, that is, their objective reality. The Roman Stoic Seneca (first century CE) uses the Latin term *substantia* in an analogous sense, referring to centaurs, giants, and so on, which are fanciful beings not having *substantia* ("reality").

Platonism. Plato did not use the term *hupostasis.* Later Platonists adopted the term from the Stoics, probably by way of Posidonius. Middle Platonists of the second century deny that sense-perceptible objects have their own hypostasis. That is, the term *hupostasis* cannot be used to refer to matter, for the truly real is immaterial. In the Platonic context one can regard *hupostasis* ("reality") as virtually identical with *ousia* ("being, substance"). When they are distinguished in Neoplatonic usage, *hupostasis* has the sense of a more particular reality that has been brought into actuality by a higher cause.

Plotinus (third century) is the originator of the Neoplatonic doctrine of the hypostases, or "first principles," though in fact his use of the term *hupostasis* is still rather fluid. He developed the doctrine of three "first principles" (*archai*): the One (*to hen*), Intellect or Mind (*nous*), and Soul (*psuchē*). The *locus classicus* of this doctrine is *Enneads* 5.1, to which Porphyry gave the title *Concerning the Three Primal Hypostases.*

Plotinus's hierarchy of being, involving the doctrine of the hypostases, can be summarized as follows. (1) Being flows from being. (2) The realization of the lower hypostasis occurs as a result of the next higher one's "activity" *(energeia).* (3) Yet the higher level is not thereby diminished. (4) Each perfect hypostasis is dependent upon the preceding one, as multiplicity is to unity. (5) The One is ground of all being. (See Dörrie, 1955, p. 72.) Plotinus also says of the "first hypostasis," that is, the One, that it is "prior to *hupostasis*" and "beyond being." (See Witt, 1933, pp. 337–342.) That the One transcends hypostasis is the standard view of the later Neoplatonists. The usage of Proclus (fifth century), for example, involves the tendency, generally observable in Neoplatonism from Iamblichus (fourth century) on, to multiply hypostases and levels within them. Proclus sees in each hypostasis a triadic movement of remaining, procession, and reversion. One can then define the term *hypostasis* as distinct from two other important ontological terms, *huparxis* ("existence") and *ousia* ("being"). While *ousia* is sometimes used as a synonym of *hupostasis* and sometimes as a synonym of *huparxis,* the latter connotes unity, whereas *hupostasis* connotes triplicity. *Ousia* is thus a more flexible term in Neoplatonism. (See Gersh, 1973, pp. 31–37.)

THE SEPTUAGINT AND PHILO. Christian usage of the term *hupostasis* presupposes not only some of the philosophical background already discussed but also the use of the term in the Greek Bible (the Septuagint) and in Hellenistic (Greek-speaking) Judaism, such as is represented by Philo of Alexandria.

The Septuagint. *Hupostasis* occurs in the Septuagint some twenty times, corresponding to twelve different words in the Hebrew scriptures (in some cases *hupostasis* is hardly a correct translation). The meaning of the word in the Septuagint is very fluid, corresponding to general usage, though the notion of "reality" is present in a number of cases. For example, *Ruth* 1:12, where *hupostasis* means "reality" as a guarantee, renders the Hebrew word for "hope." The most important meaning of the word in the Septuagint is "underlying reality behind something" (Koester, 1972, pp. 581–582).

Philo. Philo's use of *hupostasis* reflects both Stoic and Middle Platonic influences. Philo says, for example, that a ray of light "does not have its own *hupostasis,*" that is, it does not have its own "substantial existence" (*On the Eternity of the World* 88), reflecting a Stoic use of *hupostasis.* The Middle Platonic example is found in a passage where Philo refers to the immaterial "intelligible world" (*kosmos noētēs*) as "the world of intelligible *hupostasis,*" that is, of reality, to which is contrasted the material world of sense perception (*On Dreams* 1.188). But Philo would finally attribute ultimate reality only to God, the ground of all being. Using a form of the verb *huphistēmi,* Philo says, "God alone subsists in being," basing his statement on *Exodus* 3:14 (*The Worse Attacks the Better* 160).

EARLY CHRISTIANITY. A wide variety of meanings of the word *hypostasis* can be found in early Christian literature, but from the fourth century on the term comes to be used in special senses in dogmatic formulations on the Trinity and the doctrine of Christ (Christology). Greek philosophical influence becomes more and more evident in these contexts.

The New Testament and early patristic literature. *Hupostasis* occurs five times in the New Testament, twice in *Paul* and thrice in *Hebrews.* The two Pauline instances are *2 Corinthians* 9:4 and 11:17, where in both verses the term means something like "situation" (not "confidence"). In *Hebrews* 1:3 Christ, as Son of God, is called the "reflection of [God's] glory and the stamp [*charaktēr*] of his *hupostasis*," that is, of God's transcendent reality. *Hebrews* 11:1 contains a famous definition of faith (*pistis*) as "the *hupostasis* of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen," wherein the word *hupostasis* means "realization" (rather than "assurance," as in the usual psychologizing interpretation; see Mathis, 1922, p. 87). *Hebrews* 3:14 should be interpreted accordingly: In this verse *hupostasis* refers to the "realization" (by faith) of Christ, already commenced in the life of the Christian community. (See Koester, 1972, p. 587.)

Beginning with Tatian in the second century, the term *hupostasis* comes to be used more often and takes on a distinct philosophical and theological cast. Tatian refers to God as the *hupostasis,* or "absolute reality," of the universe, inasmuch as he has brought all things into being. Tatian can also refer to the *hypostasis,* or "real nature," of the demons as "reflections of evil." The author of the *Epistle to Diognetus* (2.1) challenges the heathen to reflect on what sort of *hupostasis* ("real nature") or form their so-called gods have. In one of the recently discovered Coptic texts from Nag Hammadi, *The Teachings of Silvanus,* a Christian document whose Greek original probably dates from the second century, it is said that "Christ has a single *hupostasis*" (99.13) and that he is "incomprehensible with respect to his *hupostasis*" (102.3). Here the term means "real nature." This text represents a transitional stage in the development of a trinitarian and Christological use of the term *hupostasis.*

Trinitarian theology. The main issue confronting early Christian theologians was how to reconcile a belief in the deity of Christ (and the Holy Spirit) with the belief in only one God, a fundamental inheritance from Judaism. In the development of Christian trinitarian dogma such basic philosophical terms as *ousia* and *hupostasis* come to play a decisive role. But it was not immediately evident how these terms should be defined in relation to each other. The same fluidity of usage can be seen among Christian theologians as has already been observed in the discussion of Greek philosophy.

Socrates stated that the terms *hupostasis* and *ousia* were being used as equivalents by Greek philosophers. It has been seen, however, that the terms come to achieve greater specificity in later Neoplatonism. The same thing happens in Christian theology. Origen (third century), while sometimes using the terms as virtual equivalents, does speak of the one God as monad, but also as a *trias* ("trinity") containing three *hupostaseis,* Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Origen is also probably the first to speak of Christ as *homoousios* ("of the same substance") with the Father. (The Gnostics had already used this word, but in another context; see Stead, 1977, pp. 190–202.) Thus Origen posits for the Deity a unity of *ousia,* or "substance," as genus, but a triad of *hupostaseis,* in the sense of three distinct species (Wolfson, 1970, p. 322). It is this language that becomes standard in Greek trinitarian theology.

It is possible that the second-century Gnostic Valentinus "was the first to think of three *hypostaseis* and three persons [*prōsopa;* lit., "faces"], Father, Son and Holy Spirit" (fragment 9), but this statement may reflect a later terminology. (The fragment is found in Pseudo-Anthimus, who is perhaps identifiable as Marcellus of Ancyra, of the fourth century.)

Tertullian (second to third century) used the Latin term *substantia* as equivalent to the Greek *ousia* (though its exact Greek etymological counterpart is *hupostasis*), and expressed the unity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as *una substantia.* He used the term *persona* (probably derived from juridical language) to refer to each of the three members of the Trinity. This is the language that became standard in Latin trinitarian theology.

It was not until the fifth century that orthodox trinitarian terminology became standardized. The Council of Nicaea (325), in rejecting the Arian heresy and adopting the *homoousios* formula to express the relationship between Father and Son, nevertheless used the words *ousia* and *hupostasis* as synonyms. At the Synod of Alexandria in 362, under the influence of Athanasius, the designation *treis hupostaseis* ("three hypostases") was officially adopted, though even there *mia hypostasis* was conceded to express the unity of the divine being as well as *mia ousia.* The Cappadocian Fathers of the fourth century, especially Basil of Caesarea, were influential in the eventual differentiation of *ousia,* as the more common term, from *hupostasis,* the more particular. Hence the Council of Chalcedon (451) could define the unity of God as a unity of *ousia* and characterize the individual members of the Trinity as three perfect *hupostaseis* or three perfect *prosōpa* (Lat., *personae*).

It should be noted that Christian theological development of the term *hypostasis* runs parallel to that of the Neoplatonist philosophers. But, in the final analysis, in orthodox Christian trinitarian language the three hypostases are coordinated, whereas in Neoplatonism lower hypostases are subordinated to the higher in a chain of being, and all hypostases are ultimately subordinated to the One.

Christology. As the distinction between *hupostasis* and *ousia* was gradually being defined a new problem was arising:

the relation between *hupostasis* and *phusis* ("nature") in the context of Christology, that is, in descriptions of Christ as both God and humankind. Apollinarius of Laodicea (fourth century) virtually equated the two terms, maintaining that Christ, even after the incarnation, is "one nature, one *hupostasis.*" Apollinarius was widely denounced as a heretic. In the early fifth century a very different Christology was propounded by Nestorius: Christ has two natures (*phuseis*), divinity and humanity, and each *phusis* has its own *hupostasis* ("substantial reality"). Cyril of Alexandria, the archenemy of Nestorius, developed the notion of a "hypostatic union": Christ has two natures, but they are united *kath' hupostasin* (lit.,"according to hypostasis," i.e., in reality). Pope Leo I, in his famous *Tome,* defined the relationship between Christ's divinity and humanity as a duality in nature but a unity in person or *hupostasis,* and it is this formula that became standardized at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 ("two natures . . . one *prosōpon* and one *hupostasis*"). However, the distinction between *hupostasis* and *phusis* thus achieved was never accepted by the so-called monophysite churches, which continue to reject the Chalcedonian formulation.

GNOSTICISM. The word *hupostasis* was used by certain second-century Gnostics, as attested both in Greek patristic testimonies and in the recently available Coptic texts from Nag Hammadi.

Greek testimonies. It has already been noted that Valentinus may have been the first to think of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as three *hupostaseis.* Other Valentinian Gnostic uses of the term are more reliably attested. In the system of Ptolemy, as reported by Irenaeus, a primal divine Ogdoad is posited as the "root and *hupostasis* of all things" (*Against Heresies* 1.1.1). Here the term has the connotation of "origin" as well as "underlying reality." Later in the same system three "underlying" (*hupokeimenoi*) entities are posited: "matter" (*hulē*), "the psychic" (*to psuchikon*), and "the spiritual" (*to pneumatikon*). These entities are subsequently referred to with the terms *ousia* and *hupostasis,* used interchangeably. These entities exist also in humans, and the *pneumatike hupostasis* is the "spiritual reality" of the Gnostic, incapable of being sullied by anything in the world (1.6.2.). The Valentinians can even refer to the "spiritual *hypostasis*" of evil, quoting *Ephesians* 6:12 in this connection (1.5.4). Here the term means "reality" or "real nature," as in other second-century Christian literature (e.g., Tatian).

Marcus, a Valentinian Gnostic teacher, developed a speculative system based on the letters of the alphabet. Irenaeus, in describing this system, says that Marcus constructs the *ousia* and *hupostasis* (i.e., "real nature") of the incorporeal and insubstantial Father out of many letters of the alphabet, but the technical terminology here may be that of Irenaeus himself. Monoemus the Arab, a Gnostic known to us only from the testimony of Hippolytus, applied numerology in his interpretation of the Bible. The composition of numbers as "corporeal *hupostaseis*" (i.e., "realities") out of the primal monad is for him an analogy to the generation of the Son of man from the unknown Perfect Man (*Refutation of All Heresies* 8.13).

Plotinus accuses the Gnostics known to him of introducing "other *hupostaseis,*" such as "exiles" (*paroikēseis*), "impressions" (*antitupoi*) and "repentances" (*metanoiai*) (Enneads 2.9.6), referring doubtless to a Gnostic mythological-metaphysical system in which those entities occur, presumably as "levels of reality." (These terms actually occur in some of the Coptic texts known to us—*Zostrianos,* for example—though the term *hupostasis* is not found in that connection.)

Coptic texts. The fourth tractate in Nag Hammadi Codex II is given the title *The Hypostasis of the Archons* and has as its main subject matter the "reality" of the cosmic "rulers." The meaning of the term in that text, which opens with a quotation from *Ephesians* 6:12, is akin to that of the Valentinian usage noted above ("*hupostasis* of evil"), but it also bears the connotation of "origin," as the content of the text attests (*hupostasis* is so used at 93.35).

In the *Apocryphon of John*, the term *hupostasis* is used of the "being" created by the Demiurge according to the image of God (15.9); of the seven psychic "substances" out of which Adam's psychic body is created (15.25); and of the "reality" of the flesh borne by the Gnostic before his final redemption (25.34).

In the *Gospel of the Egyptians,* it is said that the Demiurge "trusted in his *hupostasis,*" that is, his "nature" (59.1). In the *Sophia of Jesus Christ,* the term *hupostasis* is used twice of the "real nature" of the universe (91.3, 92.4).

In *A Valentinian Exposition,* the Son is said to be the "*hupostasis* of the Father," that is, the Father's "real nature" (24.23). Later he is called "the *hupostasis* of the All" (25.33), that is, the "underlying reality," or perhaps "origin," of the All.

The term *hupostasis* is also used in two non-Christian gnostic texts of the late second or early third century, both of them heavily influenced by Platonic philosophy: *Allogenes,* a text known to Plotinus and his school, and *Marsanes.* In *Allogenes* a divine being called the Triple Power or Autogenes is said to be a "*hupostasis* of the primacy of the One who truly exists." Here the term means "real nature" but also has the connotation of "first principle" or "hypostasis" in the Neoplatonist sense. In *Marsanes* the term also means "real nature": of the Three-Powered One (9.17); of the Dyad (32.18); and of the redeemed Gnostic (40.1).

In Gnosticism the term *hupostasis* was used in a variety of ways under the influence of popular (mainly Platonist) philosophy, but it never achieved a consistent philosophical or theological definition, even if Gnostic usage contributed, positively or negatively, to the formulations of Neoplatonist philosophy and Christian theology.

HISTORY OF RELIGIONS SCHOLARSHIP. The English term *hypostasis* is used in modern scholarship in the study of religion to refer to various "hypostatizations" (or "hypostasizations"), that is, mythic objectifications or personifications of divine qualities, gifts, or attributes or of abstract concepts or aspects of human existence, whereby such entities assume an identity of their own. Such "hypostases" are very widespread in ancient religions. Examples are Dike ("justice") in ancient Greece, Maat ("truth") in ancient Egypt, and Hokhmah ("wisdom") in ancient Israel. Such hypostases proliferate in the religious syncretism of the Greco-Roman world, and some of them (e.g., Tyche, "fortune") even acquire their own cultus. Wisdom is an especially important hypostasis in biblical religion (*Prov.* 8:22–31; *Ben Sira* 24:1–22), and her manifestation as Sophia in Greek-speaking Judaism (*Wisdom of Solomon;* the works of Philo Judaeus) is of great importance for the development of early Christian Christology as well as early Gnostic mythology.

It should be stressed that the use of the term *hypostasis* for such entities is a modern development of the Greek term, though ultimately derived from the ancient philosophical usage. (See Ringgren, 1947, 1959.) An ancient intimation of such usage can be found in Plotinus (*Enneads* 3.5.2): The heavenly Aphrodite, as child of Kronos ("mind") is "the most divine kind of Soul" and "a separate *hupostasis.*" (See Koester, 1972, p. 577.)

See Also Jesus.

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I

I See REN AND YI

I AM. The “I AM” Religious Activity emerged in the 1930s as a major new representative of the Western Esoteric tradition, drawing most of its theology and imagery directly from the Theosophical Society. It subsequently gave birth to a number of groups that have, with minor variations, generally adopted the unique ideas and practices of the “I AM” while organizationally separating from the parent body.

History. “I AM” founders Guy Ballard (1878–1939) and Edna W. Ballard (1886–1971) were already steeped in esoteric thought when the seminal events in the movement’s formation occurred. Guy Ballard had been employed as a mining engineer when in the early 1930s he visited Mount Shasta in northern California. In several esoteric books, Mount Shasta previously had been identified as a location of spiritual significance, most recently in 1931, in a book published by the Ancient and Mystical Order Rosae Crucis, *Lemuria, the Lost Continent of the Pacific.*

On the slope of the volcanic mountain, Ballard claimed he encountered a man who identified himself as Saint Germain, an important personage in the eighteenth-century European esoteric community, who since his earthly existence had become an ascended master. In Theosophical lore, ascended masters are spiritually evolved individuals who formerly had incarnated in earthly bodies but who no longer participate in the cycles of reincarnation. From their exalted state, they now collectively guide humanity’s spiritual destiny.

Saint Germain described his current purpose as initiating a new spiritual activity, the Seventh Golden Age. He had found Ballard as an embodied human fit to receive and pass on to humanity the Laws of Life. He eventually designated Ballard, his wife Edna, and their son Donald as the only accredited messengers of the ascended masters. Operating as a messenger entailed allowing different masters to speak through oneself (in a manner analogous to Spiritualist mediums or channels). During his lifetime, Guy Ballard was

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Clockwise from top left corner. Relief of the ancient Egyptian deities Horus and Isis with Euergetes II at Kom Ombo in Aswan, Egypt. *[©Roger Wood/Corbis]*; Twelfth-century Byzantine mosaic of Christ with the Virgin Mary in Hagia Sophia, Istanbul, Turkey. *[©Charles & Josette Lenars/Corbis]*; Colossal stone Buddha (destroyed in 2001) in Bamiyan, Afghanistan. *[The Art Archive]*; Fifteenth-century Inca ruins at Machu Picchu in Peru. *[©Alison Wright/Corbis]*; The Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. *[©Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.]* .

the only one of the three to operate as a messenger. Edna operated as a messenger only briefly in the last years of her life, and Donald, though active in the movement, never functioned as messenger.

Ballard initially described his experiences with Saint Germain in a set of letters to his wife, sent from Mount Shasta to the family residence in Chicago. It is of some interest that at the time he wrote these letters, he was also reading a set of books by Baird Spaulding, *The Life and Teachings of the Masters of the Far East*, whose description of the masters and their work coincided with what Ballard was learning from Saint Germain. Ballard described his own experiences in more detail in the manuscripts of two books, *Unveiled Mysteries* (1934) and *The Magic Presence* (1935), both written under the pseudonym Godfré Ray King. Upon his return to Chicago, Ballard founded the "I AM" Religious Activity in stages. After deciding in 1932 to release the two books, the Ballards founded the Saint Germain Foundation and its publishing arm, the Saint Germain Press. In 1934 they held a ten-day class at which Guy Ballard for the first time operated as a messenger in a public setting. The first book, *Unveiled Mysteries,* appeared in 1934, and a periodical, *The Voice of the I Am*, which carried the text of newly received messages, was first issued in 1936.

"I AM" Beliefs. The "I AM" Religious Activity centered its attention on the "I AM" Presence, God in Action, which emanates from the Great Central Sun, the impersonal source of the universe. The Great Central Sun is a knowable aspect of the supremely unknowable and transcendent God. The universe has come into being as a series of emanations from God, the material world being the lowest level of those emanations. Each emanated level of the universe is inhabited by evolved beings that together constitute a spiritual hierarchy, frequently referred to as the Great White Brotherhood. At the lowest level of the spiritual hierarchy are the Lords of the Seven Rays (of light), spiritual beings who most easily and often communicate with humans. Saint Germain is seen as one of those Lords, as is Jesus and El Morya (one of the masters believed to have initiated the Theosophical Society).

Individuals are seen as sparks of the divine "I AM" Presence now embodied in the physical word. However, individuals have through history misused the powers available to them, resulting in the individual and social discord that is the current lot of humanity. The problems created by humans are carried over from one incarnation to another. Most individuals remain trapped in a limited situation characterized by evil and discord, but a few people have risen above and learned to attune themselves to their divine nature, the "I AM" Presence. Those who have completely aligned themselves with the "I AM" become ascended masters. The present Lords of the Seven Rays had previously incarnated as outstanding spiritual leaders. Saint Germain, for example, was at different times on Earth as the Jewish prophet Samuel, the British Christian leader Saint Alban, and Francis Bacon. Ballard, who is now seen as having ascended in 1939, was previously on Earth as George Washington.

The "I AM" Presence individualizes as the essence of each embodied soul. Activated, it is the means of cleansing the person of karmic conditions and assisting the process of spiritual evolution. The best means of activating the "I AM" is the use of decrees, affirmative commands calling upon the "I AM" Presence to initiate actions, a practice that appears to have originated early in the twentieth century within the New Thought movement. Decrees are spoken aloud in a chant–like fashion. Decrees, like prayers in other movements, may be of a general nature or directed to specific and immediate concerns. The words *I am* that begin the decrees serve to identify the individual with the divine action being affirmed.

Whereas most decrees are very positive, emphasizing the spread of positive virtues, decrees may also be directed specifically to the dissipation of evil forces. The "I AM" movement has become its most controversial when it has identified specific evils that were subsequently targeted and against which decrees have been directed.

Color forms an important element of "I AM" belief. Those masters who oversee humanity most closely are the Lords of the Seven Rays (of the light spectrum), each color being associated with a particular virtue or character trait. Saint Germain is associated with violet, and the most important activity in the "I AM" Religious Activity is calling upon the Violet Flame pictured around each individual to burn away undesirable personal conditions. Most colors are positive, but two—red and black—are to be avoided. Thus, all "I AM" literature is printed with colored (usually purple) ink rather than black ink.

Through the 1930s, the movement had its creative center in the public classes at which Ballard brought forth messages from the masters. Beginning with the initial class, held in the Civic Opera House in Chicago, subsequent classes were held in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Miami. A class in Los Angeles a short time before Ballard's death attracted some 7,000 attendees. From these came a book of decrees and a hymnal that were used to provide a format for local groups to emerge, and the movement spread across North America. It claimed more than a million students by 1939, though the number who had had more than a single superficial encounter with the movement was far less.

Later History. The forward progress of the "I AM" Religious Activity was brought to an abrupt halt in 1939 when Guy Ballard, only in his early 60s, suddenly died. Many in the movement were distressed, as they expected him to bodily ascend rather than face a normal human death. A group of vocal critics arose, led by Gerald B. Bryan, who wrote a series of booklets challenging the integrity of the teachings. Legal authorities moved against Edna and Donald Ballard and the foundation staff. Given First Amendment guarantees of religious freedom, prosecutors found an opening in the movement's use of the mail to send out "I AM" material. They brought the Ballards to trial for mail fraud and argued that because no rational person could believe what the Ballards were teaching, they had to be knowingly perpetuating a fraud. It was a false religion, and they knew it to be false.

Convicted at the trial level, the Ballards' appeal took them to the U.S. Supreme Court twice and resulted in one of the most important rulings in American jurisprudence concerning religion. In his opinion in *U.S. v. Ballard* (1944), Justice Douglass suggested that the courts get out of the business of examining "other people's faiths." Individuals, he suggested, "may not be put to the proof of their religious doctrines or beliefs." The ruling did not completely end the "I AM" problems, however, as the initial trial verdict had led the U.S. Postal Service to reject the movement's right to distribute material through the mail, a privilege only returned in the 1950s.

Because of its experience in the courts, the "I AM" Religious Activity adopted a low profile, partially accounting for a paucity of scholarly comment on the movement. While continuing to exist, it became largely invisible on the religious landscape, many believing it had been dissolved. In 1978 the foundation moved into new facilities in Schaumburg, Illinois (a Chicago suburb), joined there four years later by the Saint Germain Press. The press continued to publish the messages originally received from Guy Ballard, becoming available in some fifteen volumes of "I AM" Discourses. Land purchased in the 1950s on the slope of Mount Shasta became the site for a range of summer retreats and an annual passion play depicting the life of Jesus (adapted to an "I AM" interpretation concentrating upon his final ascension). Over 300 "I AM" sanctuaries (local centers) exist across the United States.

BREAKAWAY GROUPS. Conditions internal to the "I AM" Religious Activity led to several schisms. Beginning in the 1930s, people emerged claiming also to be in contact with the masters, but the decades following Guy Ballard's death when no new messages were being received made many yearn for continued contact with the ascended masters. The movement also had strictures against translating messages into other languages, thus inhibiting its growth into Spanish-speaking communities. As early as 1944, Geraldine Innocente began to receive messages from Ascended Master El Morya and to publish them under the pseudonym Thomas Printz. Following Innocente's refusal to stop publishing the messages and her break with Edna Ballard, her work, which was also translated into Spanish for distribution in Puerto Rico and Cuba, became the basis of an organization called the Bridge to Spiritual Freedom.

Also in the 1950s, other groups formed which claimed they were receiving messages from the masters independently of the "I AM." One such group was the Lighthouse to Freedom in Philadelphia. Originally a member of the Lighthouse to Freedom, Mark L. Prophet (1918–1973) founded the Summit Lighthouse in 1958 and began publishing the messages he was receiving primarily from El Morya. The Summit gained a large following prior to Prophet's sudden death in 1973. Prophet's widow, Elizabeth Clare Prophet (b. 1939), however, picked up the messenger's mantle and expanded the organization's work as the Church Universal and Triumphant. The church grew significantly in the 1970s and, unlike the "I AM" Religious Activity, assumed a high profile and identified strongly with the New Age Movement. It also became quite controversial after being labeled a "cult" and being subjected to several lawsuits. During the 1990s, following the rise of a period of apocalyptic fervor, the church underwent a thorough reorganization, culminating in the retirement of Mrs. Prophet, who had become increasingly incapacitated by Alzheimer's disease. The church differs from the "I AM" Movement on several points, most noticeably in the manner in which decrees are repeated in a very fast mode and Prophet's emphasis on world religions (especially Buddhism) alongside esoteric Christianity.

SEE ALSO Church Universal and Triumphant; New Age Movement; Prophet, Mark and Elizabeth Clare; Theosophical Society.

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IBĀḌIYYA. The Ibāḍiyya sect (also known as the Ibāḍī sect, or simply as the Ibāḍīs) constitutes one of the main branches of Islam. The Ibāḍīs are relatively few in number in comparison to the Sunnīs and the Shīʿah, and for many centuries they have lived largely in isolated areas, principally Oman and Zanzibar, Tripolitania in Libya, the island of Jerba in Tunisia, and the Mzab area of Algeria. This isolation has meant that until the late twentieth century almost all of what is known about the Ibāḍīs has come through prejudiced and hostile Sunnī sources. However, since the accession of Qaboos b. Said to the sultanate of Oman in 1970, there has been a sustained program for the publication of major Ibāḍī works, so that it is at last becoming possible to view the Ibāḍīs through their own tradition. Among the works that have come to light are a number that date back to before 800 CE and are crucial for an understanding of the development of Islamic thought in general. Unfortunately, very little has so far trickled through into English.

The origins of the Ibāḍīs go back to not much more than twenty years after Muḥammad's death. They have their roots in the groups, collectively known as Khārijites, that came into existence during the First Islamic Civil War (656–661 CE). The basic doctrinal beliefs of the Khārijites were the same as those of all Muslims: the five pillars of Islam. It was in the further tier of doctrine that did not fully emerge until after Muḥammad's death that they had differences with the rest of the nascent Muslim community. Even in these further doctrines there were, in this early period, more similarities than differences with the other parts of that community. Like those who were the precursors of the Sunnīs, the early Khārijites held the views that infidels had no legal existence or protection unless they were Jews or Christians, that Muslims should not live among infidels, and that unprotected infidels should be fought until they were converted or killed.

What split the early Islamic community in the first instance were views about the actions of the third caliph, ʿUthmān, and the fourth caliph, ʿAlī. There was much opposition both to ʿUthmān, who was murdered by some of his opponents, and to ʿAlī. With the Khārijite groups that opposition acquired a doctrinal underpinning. Already outraged by the wrongdoings of ʿUthmān in his later years as caliph, they were further appalled when ʿAlī, during fighting against those who sought vengeance for the death of ʿUthmān, agreed to arbitration about the rights and wrongs of the killing. Summing up their feelings in the slogan "Judgment belongs to God alone," they broke away from the majority of the believers. They took a stern view of those believers who did not share their opinions, holding that their actions and beliefs had caused them to return to unbelief. At first they designated their opponents by the simple term *al-qawm*, "those people," a phrase that, somewhat confusingly, their opponents also used of them. For the Khārijites, *al-qawm* had fallen into a state of *barāʾa* (dissociation), having lost the *walāya* (loyalty both to God and fellow-Muslims) that was central to the community of true believers. This applied to those members of the community who accepted the legitimacy of ʿUthmān or ʿAlī. However, the Khārijites could not agree among themselves about how to deal with the *qawm.* The majority of early Khārijite groups favored armed confrontation with those whom they considered to have lapsed into infidelity, but a minority favored a live-and-let-live stance. Whenever an opportunity arose, the activist majority pursued its views to the death.

When ʿAlī was killed by a Khārijite activist in 661 CE, the Umayyad dynasty came to power, and for a time some stability was imposed. It appears that this was the period when there was a growth in the number of those Khārijites who, while holding that the majority of the Muslim community had lapsed into unbelief, came to the conclusion that those who had lapsed should be merely spurned rather than given the choice of submission or the sword.

By the time of the Second Civil War (688–692 CE), the principal quietist group, living mainly in Basra, had become known as the Ibāḍiyya. This name derives from ʿAbdallāh b. Ibāḍ, who appears to have been the political mentor of the group, though its spiritual leader was Jābir b. Zayd, a man universally recognized for his learning and piety, who became the first *imām* of the group.

While Jābir was alive, the Ibāḍiyya were tolerated by the central authorities (unlike the violent Khārijite groups, who fought and were fought to the death). The community devised rules, which still hold, to enable them to survive among a non-Ibāḍī Muslim majority (the *qawm*). Thus it is permitted to marry non-Ibāḍīs and to enjoy mutual inheritance with them. Religious dissimulation (*taqiyya*) is also permitted, though not to the point of serving non-Ibāḍī rulers.

After the death of Jābir in 711 CE, the Ibāḍīs found it more and more difficult to live in Basra, and their next two *imām*s encouraged them to migrate to places where they could follow their own faith without harassment. Most moved to the remote parts of the Arab world—Oman, the Hadramawt, Yemen, and North Africa—although some also went to Khurasan. It was only in Oman and the Mzab that they survived in numbers, with a religious, legal, and political tradition going back unbroken to their earliest days in Basra. In North Africa, in particular, the Ibāḍīs suffered from some schisms. None of the breakaway groups was particularly important, and only one, the Wahbiyya, survived to the twenty-first century.

The early Ibāḍīs were an earnest lot, much concerned with the coherence and rectitude of their beliefs and with their relationships with the *qawm,* whom they now increasingly called *ahl-al-qibla* (people who use the *qiblaʾ),* or *ahl al-jumla* (people who utter the *shahādaʾ*), both phrases ironically indicating the superficial nature of any belief that such persons might have. These included not only those now called Sunnīs and Shīʿah but also the violent, activist Khārijite groups, such as the Azāriqa and the Najdiyya, and other movements that have failed to survive, such as the Murjiʾa. The Ibāḍīs designated such "lapsed" Muslims as infidels of a special category, classing them as hypocrites who claimed to be Muslims but whose deeds showed them to be ungrateful for the blessings of God (*kāfir kufr niʿma*). As such, they were to be shunned and not killed unless they had committed a capital offence or become mischief makers (*muḥdithūn*). Ibāḍīs who are corrupt or do serious wrong also lose their *walāya.*

Because of their doctrines about *walāya* and *barāʾa*, the Ibāḍīs have also retained the original Khārijite view about who may be the leader of the community, the *imām*. They believe that any believer who is morally and religiously irreproachable may be elected *imām*, regardless of his race or tribe, "even if he is an Ethiopian slave," as the texts graphically put it. Equally, the community has the right to vote to depose an *imām* from office if he goes astray and becomes corrupt, and it must take every step to remove him if it possibly can do so. This is the most democratic stance toward leadership in traditional Islamic thinking and is one of those points that sharply differentiates the Ibāḍīs from the Sunnīs, who basically believe that the *imām* must be from Quraysh, the tribe of Muḥammad, and from the Shīʿah, who believe that he must be from the family of ʿAlī.

In legal matters the Ibāḍīs put more weight on the Qurʾān and less on the *ḥadīth* than other branches of Islam. Thus, they do not impose the (non-Qurʾanic) punishment of stoning for adultery. The nature of their community has also led to more thinking through of problems *(ijtihād)* than is found in the other branches, and unlike the Sunnīs but like the Shīʿīs, they have never "closed the gates of *ijtihād*." Ibāḍī scholars have never shut their eyes to the value of major works by writers from other sects, particularly Sunnīs and Muʿtazilīs, though such writings are always viewed from the standpoint of Ibāḍī intellectual tradition, which has always managed to flourish despite its isolation.

The fact that the Ibāḍīs differed so radically from the Azāriqa and the Najdiyya in their views about infidels led some Ibāḍī thinkers to deny their Khārijite origins. This view appears to have emerged in the ninth century, and it has become stronger ever since. Modern Ibāḍīs, therefore, tend to minimize these Khārijite origins, and even those whose accept that there is a historical link are outraged to be classed as latter-day Khārijites. This has recently become a matter of some importance, as modern Islamist groups have sometimes been likened to the activist Khārijites of the early Islamic era. It is a matter of pride for the Ibāḍīs that they have consistently opposed terrorist activity for over thirteen hundred years.

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Alan Jones (2005)

IBERIAN RELIGION. The term *Iberian religion* is used here geographically. It refers to the religious systems of Iberia, the name the Greeks gave in antiquity to the Iberian Peninsula, from the arrival of the Phoenicians (documented by the ninth century BCE) to the time these places were incorporated into the Roman Empire in the first centuries CE.

Tartessos is the name that identifies the peninsula in the first historical records dating to ancient Greek literature. That is the time of the expansion of Eastern cultural influence on other parts of the Mediterranean (from the eighth to sixth centuries BCE). Tartessian culture had its core in lower Andalusia and seems to have developed from the cultural contact between the indigenous late Bronze Age population and Semitic colonizers who arrived from the eastern Mediterranean. Later, a secondary Greek presence contributed to the culture.

Tartessos and Religious Contact with the Phoenician World. Phoenician materials appear in several shrines, most importantly in Gadir (Cádiz), the site of the famous temple of Melqart, patron god of Tyre, assimilated to Herakles and described by such authors of the Roman Empire as Strabo (*Geographica* 3.5), Silius Italicus (*Punica* 3.1–44), and Philostratus (*Vita Apollonii* 5.5). Other examples are El Carambolo, near Seville, and the Cerro de San Juan, in Coria del Río, probably dedicated to Baal Saphon, protector of navigation. Phoenician religious pieces, such as altars, betyls, and liturgical bone spoons, are documented also in the interior, near Carmona (in the province of Seville), and in Cancho Roano in the municipality of Zalamea la Real, province of Badajoz. The latter complex was destroyed in the late fifth century BCE and seems to have been an Easternized indigenous sanctuary that served as a dwelling—the residence of the ruler and his family. It also fulfilled economic, political, and religious functions. It was a space to display power and a site to worship ancestors, and it also allowed control of access to the region. The Poggio Civitate complex in Murlo, Etruria, with its multiple functions, was comparable to Cancho Roano.

The problem presented by these sites is that of their identity. Are they indigenous sanctuaries influenced by the Phoenician religious system? Or are they Eastern enclaves placed in indigenous locations that would have also operated as centers of commerce? The sanctuaries of Muela de Cástulo in the province of Jaén; El Acebuchal in Carmona, Seville; and Montemolín in Marchena, Seville, are special cases. They show evidence of sacrifices performed on platforms or altars and dating to the seventh century BCE. The cooking and consumption of sacrificial animals (cows, goats, sheep, and pigs) recorded in these sites are well-known practices documented in the biblical texts of *Exodus* (29:15–18) and *Leviticus* (7:32–33).

The few existing Phoenician inscriptions, generally property marks preserved on ceramic vases or other objects, document names associated to Melqart, Baal, Eshmun, and Astarte. An inscription associated with Astarte found on an image in El Carambolo (Seville) suggests that indigenous elites would have been attracted to the cult by assimilating Astarte to an indigenous fecundity goddess. The same could have happened with Melqart, who like Reshef is always depicted in the statuettes.

The necropolises document characteristic elements of Phoenician funeral rites, such as the use of plates, libation jars, and perfume burners. The "treasure" of La Aliseda, like the necropolis of Medellín in the province of Bodajoz, is proof that Eastern objects spread out by land all the way to the northeast of the peninsula, the source of mineral wealth. The graveyards (La Joya in Huelva and Los Alcores in Carmona) display evidence of both cremation and inhumation; stelae and markers are common features. Especially interesting is the necropolis of Las Cumbres in Castillo de Doña Blanca, province of Cádiz. There the oldest cremation sites, dating to the first half of the eighth century BCE, were local and presented little evidence of social differences. A later group of burials, dating from the seventh century BCE, evidenced funeral rites that included libations, incense, and oil-based perfumes, all Phoenician traits that indicate a clear social hierarchy.

Besides the archaeological data, there is extensive literary data from Greek and Latin authors who speak of two "mythical" dynasties in the region. The first is that of Geryon, about whom Stesichorus of Himera wrote a poem (*Geryoneia*) in the sixth century BCE. The poem narrates how Herakles stole Geryon's bulls and carried them off to Mycenae. Geryon is depicted in archaic Greek pottery as a three-headed being, and it is possible that the tricephalous image evidences an influence of Celtic culture in the Tartessian world.

The second dynasty is that of Gargoris and Habis, recorded in Justin's third century CE summary of the work of the historian Pompeius Trogus *(Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi)*. Gargoris, the ancient god of the Curetes, forest-dwelling hunters, discovered the value of honey and taught his people to use it. Gargoris's incestuous relationship with his daughter begot Habis, who was abandoned to be devoured by wild beasts but miraculously survived (a frequent theme in the story of a hero's infancy, as in those of Sargon, Moses, Cyrus the Great, and Romulus and Remus). As king, Habis "tied the people to the law and the oxen to the plow" (Justin, *Epìtoma* 44.4, 11). He is thus the prototype of the civilizing and legislating king. This myth illustrates the transition from a barbarian state (Gargoris) to one of urban culture (Habis). The debate centers on whether these are expressions of an indigenous culture or simply an invention of the Hellenic scholars in which some previous historical elements, perhaps of Tartessian origin, subsist.

The ancient poem about the seacoast by a Punic or Greek author from the sixth century BCE, *Ora Maritima*, which inspired Rufus Festus Avienus in the fourth century CE, mentions a series of sacred places located in Tartessos. As happened later with Punic and Iberian deities, the poem translates, through the process the Romans called *interpretatio*, the name of the Tartessian or Phoenician gods into those of their Roman or Greek counterparts, or into Greek and Roman deities that fulfilled similar functions to them, such as Herakles, Venus, or Saturn.

RELIGION OF THE IBERIAN PEOPLES. After the late sixth century BCE,the Iberian culture was influenced by the contacts between the peoples of the south and east of the peninsula (living between the Huelva estuary and the Rodanus in France) and the Greek and Punic colonizers. After the late third century BCE those contacts included the Romans. The study of Iberian cultural spaces and necropolises has increased among modern scholars.

Following the decline of the Tartessian world, monumental funerary complexes confirm the existence of an aristocratic power. The complex of Pozo Moro (Albacete), shaped like a tower and dated to around 500 BCE, is reminiscent of Eastern monuments, such as Amrit or the tomb of Cyrus the Great, and neo-Hittite models in its art. The monument displays extraordinary iconography—the scene of a sacrificial banquet with a human victim and an animal one and a hero carrying the tree of fertility and uniting in hierogamy with a goddess. Perhaps it is a depiction of a mythical tale of origin or an exaltation of the heroic deeds of the dynasty's ancestors or the ruling elite. By the first half of the fifth century BCE another imposing funeral complex was built in Cerrillo Blanco within the municipality Porcuna (Jaén) that depicts as a central element a hero's struggle with a lion or gryph (which has such well-known parallels as the stories of Dumuzi, Sargon the First, and Melqart or Herakles). It also shows combat between armed warriors.

Besides the towerlike burials of the kind found at Pozo Moro, Iberian necropolises present two types of arrangement of monumental sculptures in "princely" graves. One is known as "stelae pillars," which depict, atop columns, sculptures of bulls, sphinxes, lions, does, or wolves of an apotropaic nature (typical of Contestania, a region between Valencia and Murcia that seems to have been the true center of Iberian culture). The second kind consists of the arrangement of sculptures directly on the funeral mounds, as found in Los Villares (La Hoya Gozalo, Albacete).

Toward 375 BCE there must have been a social crisis that translated into the destruction of several complexes and resulted in important changes to the society of the "princely graves." There is a documented transition to the world of sanctuaries, where the collective image of society is expressed through deities and where new sources of expression emerge, such as silver trays and especially pottery, that developed their richest iconography after the third century BCE. Of the two distinguishable periods in pottery iconography, the first (300–150 BCE) shows, through its depictions of warriors, hunters, and ladies, the values of the urban ruling classes, whereas the second (200–50 BCE) centers more on the depiction of deities, myths, and religious rituals (Aranegui Gascó, 1998).

Sanctuaries and rituals. Punic materials are characteristic of such sanctuaries as La Algaida in the mouth of the Guadalquivir River, where thousands of votive offerings have been found, some from Etruria and the eastern Mediterranean. They are also characteristic of the Gorham Cave (Gibraltar), Carteia (Algeciras), the Peñón de Salobreña and the Cerro de la Tortuga near Málaga, Baria (Villaricos, Almería), and the Cova d'Es Cuyram (Ibiza) devoted to the Carthaginian goddess Tanit. The last contained splendid terra-cotta figurines, now exhibited in the island's archaeological museum. In these sanctuaries Astarte did not replace Tanit, but rather the two were assimilated beginning in the middle of the fourth century BCE.

Greek and Latin authors related the existence of sanctuaries on the coast of the peninsula that were devoted to certain deities "translated" into their Greek and Roman counterparts, Herakles, Kronos, Hera, Asklepios, Phosphorus, Hephaistos, and Aletes—the mythic discoverer of the silver mines of Carthago Nova, according to Polybius (*Historiae* 10.10.1). Technical progress in archaeology and the increased number of excavations have broadened the evidence considerably, and it is possible to classify the different sacred spaces.

There is a distinction between urban and nonurban sanctuaries. Among the latter there are three kinds: suburban or periurban sanctuaries in close proximity to inhabited centers; great supraterritorial sanctuaries; and rural sanctuaries, including caves, which are characteristic of the Valencian region.

Sierra Morena in Jaén is the center of the most characteristic territorial and mountain sanctuaries in the Iberian world. These played an important role in the territorial development of the Oretanian peoples. The Collado de los Jardines (Santa Elena) in Despeñaperros and El Castellar de Santisteban were probably centers of salutiferous cults. The most characteristic elements of these sanctuaries are bronze figurines depicting males and females offering gifts (or praying), warriors, riders, and even priests.

The complex rituals typical of the southeast have different characteristics. El Cerro de Los Santos and El Llano de La Consolación in Montealegre del Castillo, Albacete, were characterized by stone statuary. Other good examples include El Cigarralejo (Mula) and Nuiestra Señora de La Luz (Verdolay, Murcia). Of the more than two hundred statues that have been found in Cerro de Los Santos, the most famous are of worshiping females, which probably depict devout aristocrats or priestesses. Most of these sanctuaries were active into the advanced Roman imperial age.

The last category of sanctuaries includes those located in urban settlements. Martín Almagro-Gorbea and Teresa Moneo (2000) developed a typology that includes three parameters of differentiation. The three descriptions of domestic/dynastic family, properly urban, and entrance sanctuaries correspond to the three parameters within the category of urban sanctuaries. First are domestic or dynastic family sanctuaries, which were integrated into a noble family's dwelling inside the *oppidum* or fortified village. La Serreta de Alcoy in Alicante; Sant Miquel de Lliria in Valencia, and Ullastret in Girona are good examples.

Second are urban temples (*Templos urbanos propiamente dichos*), isolated structures with an autonomous relationship to the *oppidum.* These include two kinds. First are the "open-air" areas (La Alcudia de Elche and Campillo Island in Alicante), which consist of square enclosures (*temenos*) and the remains of columns or structures that have been interpreted as altars or offering tables typical of the Phoenician world. The other type consists of buildings set on stone bases and located on the highest point of a settlement. Typical examples include Azaila (Teruel) and Ullastret (Girona). They present influences from Emporion (Ampurias) in the expansion of this kind of Roman-Hellenic temple.

Third are "entrance sanctuaries" located next to a settlement's entrance, in some instances inside the walls (especially in the east and northeast of the peninsula) and in some outside the walls. Sanctuaries located outside the city walls are often located near caves or springs, associated to offerings that suggest fertility rites and rites of passage or social incorporation. Some of these sanctuaries are associated with river ports, such as that in La Muela de Cástulo, or seaports, like that of Artemis, in Sagunto.

The third century BCE is the time of the emergence of great periurban sanctuaries at the territorial level, while territory-wide periurban sanctuaries associated with the construction of ethnic or political projects, coincide with the decline of ritual caves, which were especially common in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. Some of the complexes (El Cerro de Los Santos, La Luz, and La Encarnación in Caravaca Murcia) experimented with a process of monumentalization in the second and first centuries BCE, when they adopted Italo-Hellenistic concepts. Human terra-cotta masks found in some sanctuaries may have been used by the faithful when performing ritual dances like those known to have taken place in the Artemis Orthia sanctuary in Sparta and other locations.

Necropolises show a wide diversity of funerary practices related to cremation. The exceptions are child burials, performed inside homes. Bodies range in age from fetuses to six months old and have been documented in eastern Spain (from Alicante to the French Languedoc) and in the mid–

Ebro River valley. When the remains are found within structures, such as walls or benches, they have been interpreted as sacrificial in nature, having a functional or propitiatory character, and are accompanied by or substitute for animal sacrifices. They have some parallels with those from Etruscan Tarquinia, Latium, and the Greek world.

The iconography offers valuable information about initiatic rites and rites of passage into puberty or heroization. Such subjects as the struggle between a youth and a beast of the underworld, often incarnate in a wolf (portrayed in the pottery of La Alcudia de Elche and in sculptures from the "frontier" sanctuary at El Pajarillo in Huelma, Jaén) were set within city territory. The "goddess of the wolves" found in Moratalla, Murcia, was probably an initiatic figure. Hand-to-hand combat scenes between warriors and hunting scenes also reflect the value system (*ethos*) of the elites. Sacrificial scenes are depicted in such objects as the silver tray of Tivissa (Tarragona), which is dated to the third century BCE; depictions of dances and processions are found in the pottery of Sant Miquel de Lliria (Valencia). It is possible that certain themes, such as the sphinx carrying the deceased found in the park of Elche, the pillar of Jumilla, and the wolves with open jaws and human heads of Santisteban del Puerto in Jaén, refer to travel to the afterlife.

The presence of priests in the Tartessian world of the period of Hellenization is documented in the Phoenician sanctuary of Melqart in Cádiz by Silius Italicus (*Punica* 3.1), who writes that the priests wore linen tunics with purple embroidery and shaved their heads. There is no such information regarding the Iberian period after 500 BCE, although archaeological data suggests there was a priesthood. The existence of priests is inferred from sacrificial knives found in graves and sanctuaries, the tonsured characters found in the Collado de los Jardines (Jaén), and the bronze from Segura de la Sierra (Jaén), which is dated to the fifth century BCE and depicts a man slaughtering a goat on the water of a river. These priests would have been recruited among the ruling class and hierarchized according to the types of sanctuaries. Domestically they would have been heads of household.

Elusive divinities. In contrast to Indo-European Hispania, the names of the gods worshiped by the Iberian peoples of the coastal regions are not known, with few exceptions, probably because religious acculturation had occurred for centuries and the divine personae were expressed through Punic and Phoenician names (or the Greco-Roman ones with which the Semitic deities were assimilated). One example of such assimilation is in Torrepardones, Jaén. On the forehead of a female stone figure a devotee inscribed, in the second or first century BCE, the caption "Dea Caelestis," the Latin name of Carthage's goddess Tanit.

Fortunately iconography contributes to the understanding of certain divine characters. It seems clear that there was a protecting goddess associated with the earth, death, and regeneration. Some depictions, besides aniconic representations such as pillars, are the statue of the Lady of Baza, the sitting Ladies of El Cigarralejo, La Alcudia of Elche, El Cabecico del Tesoro in Verdolay, and probably the Lady of Elche. That goddess, sometimes winged and linked to the Punic Tanit, appears "emerging" from the earth and associated with birds or flowers in Elche-Archena pottery, whereas on some Turdetan coins she is represented as a stalk of wheat. There are about ten examples of representations of the *despotes hippon*, the "horse-taming" god originally from the Aegean, which appear from Villaricos (Almería) to Saguntum (Valencia). Some votive pieces depicting horses are associated with that deity, like the ones found in El Cigarralejo (Murcia) and Pinos Puente (Granada), as are the Iberian coins from the Ebro Valley, which show the typical rider brandishing a spear or palm, a divinity or mythical ancestor that illustrates the values of the equestrian elites.

The iconography of perfume burners with female heads—associated with Demeter or Tanit—is reproduced in a limestone female head uncovered in La Luz (Murcia), probably a cult image. Perhaps the most interesting of divine iconographies is that of a woman holding her suckling child. Such images were known in Cyprus in the first millennium BCE and were documented in a bronze from the Fundación Gómez-Moreno in Granada, in some sitting statuettes from Alicante and Murcia, and especially in a terra-cotta group from the sanctuary of La Serreta in Alcoy (Alicante) dated to the third and second centuries BCE. Ricardo Olmos Romera (2000–2001) has suggested that the image represents a regional feast where the mothers of the area present their children to the goddess, an event similar to some documented in Locri (southern Italy) and Greece.

Some scenes are interpreted in a mythical key. That is the case of the farmer with a team of oxen depicted in a vase from Cabezo de La Guardia de Alcorisa (Teruel), probably a representation of the god or mythic ancestor who taught men to plow (as Habis did in the Tartessian myth).

RELIGION IN INDO-EUROPEAN HISPANIA.

Latin epigraphy from the first centuries CE have offered more than five hundred names of deities from Indo-European Hispania (which does not mean so many gods were worshiped, because several names can refer to the same god invoked under different epithets). There is a clear contrast between the western and northwestern regions in the peninsula and the eastern Celtiberian Plateau. Most of the names preserved originate in the former, where Lusitanian, an Indo-European language more archaic than the Hispano-Celtic language known through Celtiberian texts, was spoken. Fewer indigenous names of deities have been preserved in the central areas of the two plateaus of the peninsula or in Celtiberia. That is the result of broader religious acculturation from the Greco-Roman world, which influenced the Iberian peoples of the coast.

The gods. The literature on Indo-European gods in Hispania is minimal. Strabo (*Geographica* 3.3.7) states that the peoples of the north sacrificed hecatombs of men and horses to a war god he identifies with the Greek Ares. In another passage Strabo (*Geographica* 3.4.16) says the Galicians were atheists, whereas the Celtiberians and their northern neighbors worshiped an unnamed deity, in honor of whom they danced on nights of the full moon. The supposed atheism of the Galicians contradicts the abundant religious offerings in the northwest, and thus should be interpreted as a denigrating strategy by Strabo to underline the extreme barbarism of the peoples living farther away from the Mediterranean. A minor degree of barbarism must have been that of the Celtiberians, whose gods were yet unnamed (like those of the pre-Greek Carions mentioned by Herodotos (*Historiae* 2.52). On the other hand, Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.19.5) mentions that the Accitani of Granada worshiped a god named Neto, astral in nature and equated with Mars, named in a couple of Lusitanian inscriptions and probably appearing as the Neito of the first Celtiberian Bronze Age in Botorrita (Zaragoza).

The cultural geography of the Hispanic Indo-European pantheon allows several levels of differentiation. First are those gods worshiped in ancient Celtica, such as Lugus, the Matres, or Epona. Lugus is the deity worshiped in the mountains of Peñalba de Villastar (Teruel), a great "border" sanctuary between Celtiberia and the eastern Iberian world. His name is also found in Northwest Celtiberia (in the plural, Lugoves). He is an astral god, interpreted to be the Gallic Roman Mercury (Caesar, *Bellum Civile* 6.17). The Matres, who show the Celtic influence of triads (and thus appear represented on a stone in Aquae Flaviae in Chaves, Portugal), are fecundity goddesses worshiped mostly in Celtiberia, as was Epona, the Celtic goddess of horses.

A series of gods are documented mostly in the west of the peninsula. The most common group is formed by four names, Bandua (or Bandis), Cosus, Nabia, and Reva, addressed with various epithets, which probably document the emergence of federative deities and those that protect the territory. But the best-documented Lusitanian deities are Endovellicus and Ataecina. The sanctuary of the former (who seems to be related to Vaelicus, worshiped by the Vettones in the sanctuary of Postoloboso, Avila) is in San Miguel da Mota (Alardoal, Alto Alemtejo, in Portugal), which is under excavation. There are scores of inscriptions with his names, which makes him one of the best-documented gods in the western provinces of the Roman Empire. There are nearly forty inscriptions related to Ataecina, fifteen in the sanctuary of El Trampal (Alcuéscar, Cáceres). Some include the epithet Turobrigensis, a city in Celtic Beturia (Pliny, *Naturolis Historie*, 3.14), from which her cult extended to Sardinia or Noricum. She is mentioned in some execratory inscriptions, and she was assimilated into Proseprina, which suggests she was a diabolical deity.

Sacred spaces and rites. In Indo-European Hispania rites were performed in the open air, often in hierophanic spaces and in some instances documented in rupestrian inscriptions. Some sources document human sacrifices among peninsular peoples, such as the Lusitanians (divinatory in nature, Livy, *Periochae* 49; Strabo, *Geographica* 3.3.6), the Bletonenses near Salamanca (Pliny, *Naturolis Historie* 30.12), and the mountain people in the north of the peninsula (Strabo, *Geographica* 3.3.7). The subject is a commonplace of Greco-Latin writings on druidic religion, but such sacrifices must have been exceptional. Such sources are likely to have been used to emphasize the barbarism of "others."

There is much more evidence of animal sacrifices, documented in sanctuaries, such as the one in Picote, Tras-os-Montes; in inscriptions, such as those in Marecos–Penafiel or Cabeço das Fraguas in Portugal; and in various depictions. Among the depictions are six "sacrificial bronzes" from different locations in the northwest of the peninsula that include cauldrons, torques, or axes. The species mentioned in the Lusitanian inscription from Cabeço das Fraguas (bull, sheep, and pig) correspond to those shown in these bronzes and are similar to the victims of Roman *suovetaurilia* and Indian *sautramani.*

The sanctuary excavated in Castrejón de Capote, Badajoz, is especially important. The site, destroyed by the Romans in the mid-second century BCE, includes an altar with a running bench that opens into the main street of the town. The animal and material remains (knives, a stake, grills, cups, and glasses) give proof of collective sacrifices and banquets celebrated with the cooked flesh of the animals (Berrocal-Rangel, 1994). Similar rituals took place in rupestrian sanctuaries, characterized by the presence of ladders, cavities, and receptacles of different sizes in which the victims' blood would have been gathered and their entrails handled. They are characteristic of the Celtiberian area, the plateau, and especially the Galician-Lusitanian northwest. The ritual sanctuaries of Ulaca (Avila) and Panoias in Portugal, where inscriptions mention the continuation of the cults into the Roman era, are the most important ones.

Posidonius and other authors (Diodorus, *Bibliotheca Historica* 5.29; and Strabo, *Geographica* 4.4.5 regarding the Gauls) documented the rite among Celtic peoples of "cutting off the head" ("*cabezas cortadas*") of a prisoner or a defeated foe. In the Iberian Peninsula the practice is recorded in a type of fibula, in which the human heads are depicted hanging from horses, with or without riders, and in some skulls, sometimes perforated by nails, unearthed in Numantia, Ullastret, Puig Castellar, and Garvâo, Portugal. They are similar to the skulls displayed in the Celtic-Ligurian sanctuaries of Provence.

There is significant data regarding the role of priests, mostly Celtic, in Indo-European Hispania. Proof of their role is the oracular practice in the sanctuary of Endovellico, in San Miguel da Mota (where epigraphic formulas indicate they received instructions from the deity through dreams—*incubatio*). Further evidence appears in some Celtiberic words that point at priestly functions and in the iconography (in a vase from Numantia, an individual wearing a trunklike tiara sacrifices a rooster on an altar).

Some of the literature sheds light on funeral rites different from the traditional cremation. Silius Italicus (*Punica* 3.340–343) and Elianus (*De natura animalium* 10.22) document how Celtiberians and Vacceans performed a ritual of leaving dead warriors in the open to be devoured by vultures, which carried their souls to the heavens (Sopeña Genzor 1995). The ritual indicates some concepts about an afterlife in the heavens (thus the rich astral iconography found in the Hispano-Roman gravestones of these areas). This is confirmed by scenes depicted in the different stelae and in pottery from Numantia. The rite seems to have been common among other peoples of Celtic Europe and explains the boldness and fearlessness of these peoples for whom, according to Lucanus (*Pharsolio* 1.468), death was but the halfway of a long life.

The statues of the so-called Lusitanian warriors, created under the influence of Romanization, seem to depict deified ancestry and in some instances were placed in the entrance to a village (Santa Comba, Mozinho, or Sanfins). The golden diadems of Moñes in Piloña, Asturias, should be interpreted as scenes of warrior heroization. They depict warriors and riders, birds and fish together with figures carrying enormous cauldrons—receptacles that in the Celtic tradition symbolize abundance and immortality—a key element that is a symbol of the "last voyage."

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IBN ʿABD AL-WAHHĀB, MUḤAMMAD

(AH 1115–1206/1703–1792 CE), Islamic fundamentalist teacher who established the Wahhābi movement. He was born in Najd, a central region in Arabia. His father was the judge in the town of al-ʿUyaynah and also taught jurisprudence according to the strict Ḥanbali legal school and traditions. Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb began his study of the Qurʾān and basic Ḥanbalī texts under his father but set out on travels "in search of knowledge" when he was about twenty years old. He went first to Mecca and Medina, where he studied mainly with ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sayf and Muḥammad Ḥāyat al-Sindi. ʿAbd Allāh was a Ḥanbali scholar from Najd who had settled in Medina. Through him, Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb became tied to the traditions of Syrian Ḥanbalī scholarship. Ibn Sayf transmitted the course of studies of the seventeenth-century Syrian teacher ʿAbd al-Bāqi al-Ḥanbalī and instructed him in the works of the great Ḥanbalī jurist and theologian Aḥmad ibn Taymīyah (d. 1328). Al-Sindi was not a Ḥanbalī scholar but a scholar of traditions who came from India; in Medina, he was part of a group of teachers who inspired a spirit of socio-moral revival in students from many areas. It was this basic education, with his father and after, that prepared Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb for his life's mission: the purification and renewal of Islamic society.

He went next to the city of Basra and the region of al-Ḥasā in eastern Arabia. Although he continued his studies, he also began his mission of purification. In Basra in particular, he opposed popular religious customs as well as the beliefs of the large Shīʿī Muslim population. Some sources suggest that Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb also went to Persia, Syria, and even Egypt; this is, however, highly unlikely, for the sources closest to his lifetime make no mention of these broader travels.

Sometime between 1731 and 1737, he returned to Najd and lived in Ḥuraymilā, where his father was at the time. Following his father's death in 1740, Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb returned to al-ʿUyaynah and received the support of the local ruler for his purification efforts. Soon forced to leave by local opposition, however, he moved to al-Darʿīyah; there the local leader, Muḥammad ibn Saʿūd, swore in 1744 to protect Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and to support his mission. This alliance created a new state based on the fundamentals of Islam.

People from many areas were persuaded by the teachings and writings of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. In addition, as conflicts arose, the military power of the new state brought victory and further expansion. Following Ibn Saʿūd's death in 1765, Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb remained a major counselor to his successor, ʿAbd al-Azīz, and continued to preach and write until his death in 1792.

Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb left many works. Although he addressed varied subjects, his writings on *tawḥīd,* or the oneness of God, are the most prominent; the major text in this group is *Kitāb al-tawḥīd.* For him, *tawḥīd* was more than a monotheistic affirmation: it was a rejection of "saint worship" and veneration of anything other than God. A summary of his teachings is presented in *Al-uṣūl al-thalāthah wa-adillatuha* (The three roots and their proofs). Some of his sermons have been published in *Khuṭab al-shaykh* (Sermons of the shaykh), while some legal decisions are presented in the history written by Ibn Ghannām.

Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb created a movement of renewal at a time of ferment within the Islamic world. During the eighteenth century there were many Muslim groups working for socio-moral reconstruction on the basis of a strict interpretation of Islamic fundamentals. Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb was not unique, but he was the most rigorous of the major leaders in rejecting medieval "innovations" and the most intractable in opposing compromises with popular religion.

The immediate result of his work was the creation of a state community in Arabia dedicated to the implementation of his mission. This state was militarily defeated in the nineteenth century but experienced a revival in the twentieth, when it became the kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's influence, however, goes beyond this political aspect. Islamic renewal in its Wahhābi form inspired later Muslim thinkers and activists in a variety of areas. For much of the nineteenth century, "Wahhābism" played a role in the Islamic world similar to that of "Khomeinism" in the last part of the twentieth. In intellectual terms, what Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb wrote and taught about themes such as *tawḥīd* became part of the fundamentalist mood in modern Islam. His work was respected by a wide spectrum of thinkers ranging from the relatively fundamentalist Rashīd Rīda in Egypt to the South Asian modernist scholar Muḥammad Iqbāl.

SEE ALSO Wahhābīyah.

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JOHN O. VOLL (1987 AND 2005)

IBN ADRET, SOLOMON SEE ADRET, SHELOMOH BEN AVRAHAM

IBN AL-ʿARABĪ

IBN AL-ʿARABĪ (1165–1240 CE), known throughout the Islamic world simply as the "greatest master" *(al-Shaykh al-akbar),* is acknowledged to be one of the most important spiritual teachers within the mystical tradition of Islam. A vastly prolific writer and visionary, he is generally known as the prime exponent of the concept of the Unity of Being *(wahdat al-wujūd),* even though that particular term, by which his teachings came later to be designated, was hardly used in his own milieu. His emphasis, as with any mystic, lay rather on the true potential of the human being and the path to realizing that potential, which reaches its completion in the Perfect or Complete Man *(al-insān al-kāmil).* Ibn al-ʿArabī wrote at least 300 works, ranging from minor treatises to the huge thirty-seven-volume *Meccan Illuminations (al-Futūhāt al-Makkīya)* and the quintessence of his teachings, *The Bezels of Wisdom (Fusūs al-Hikam).* Approximately 110 works are known to have survived in verifiable manuscripts, some 18 in Ibn al-ʿArabī's own hand. He exerted an unparalleled influence, not only upon his immediate circle of friends and disciples, many of whom were considered spiritual masters in their own right, but also on succeeding generations, affecting the whole course of subsequent spiritual thought and practice in the Arabic-, Turkish-, and Persian-speaking worlds. In recent years his writings have also increasingly become the subject of interest and study in the West, leading to the establishment of an international academic society in his name.

Ibn al-ʿArabī's thought is characterized by a profound visionary capacity, coupled with a remarkable intellectual insight into human experience and a thorough knowledge of all the traditional sciences. It has been tempting for scholars to characterize him as a mystical philosopher, a formulation that is rather at odds with his own teachings on the limitations of philosophical thinking. He was as much at home with Qurʾanic and *ḥadīth* scholarship as with medieval philology and letter symbolism, philosophy, alchemy, and cosmology. He could write with equal facility in prose or poetry, and utilized the polysemous ambiguity of the Arabic language to great effect—the characteristic resonances of rhymed prose *(sajʿ),* which are to be found in the Qurʾān, abound in his works. In recent years Western scholars such as Michel Chodkiewicz have begun to explore the radical way in which Ibn al-ʿArabī's thought is underpinned and inspired by the Qurʾān. He adopts the rich vocabulary of spiritual phenomenology that previous mystics had built up, and gives it both a scriptural basis and an ontological grounding.

The complexity of his writings makes him one of the most demanding of authors, and difficult to comprehend, leading some Islamic scholars to oppose and even reject his positions. Among his admirers, his writing was always considered to be the most elevated exposition of mystical thought in Islam, and therefore unsuitable for the untrained mind. He combines a detailed architecture of spiritual experience, theory, and practice, with descriptions of the attainments of other masters he met and of his own personal visions, insights, and dreams. It is his propensity to recount stories from his own direct experience, primarily in order to make a teaching point, that allows readers to gain such a detailed insight into his inner world, and also allows us to reconstruct his life and times with some accuracy.

IBN AL-ʿARABĪ'S LIFE. Born on July 28, 1165, in Murcia, Abū ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ibn al-ʿArabī al-Hātimī al-Tāʾī, as he signs himself (often shortened to simply Ibn ʿArabī), was brought up from the age of seven in Seville, the provincial capital of the Almohad Empire during the heyday of Andalusian Muslim culture. His father served as a professional soldier in the sultan's entourage, and for a time the son seemed destined to follow in his footsteps. Contrary to the romantic picture painted by later writers, the family was well-off, but neither noble nor very religious. He seems to have been blessed with an extraordinary visionary capacity from a very young age, and the seminal experience of his youth took place when he was about fifteen or sixteen years old. Without having had any formal training and apparently under the impulsion of an irresistible inner demand, he undertook a retreat alone just outside Seville, probably in the ruins of the old Roman city of Italica, where he had a remarkable dream-vision of the three major prophets, Jesus, Moses, and Muḥammad. According to his own testimony, each of them is said to have given him a piece of advice: Jesus, whom he referred to as his first teacher, exhorted him to follow the spiritual life, and instructed him to practice renunciation and detachment; Moses, whom Ibn al-ʿArabī regarded as epitomizing the reception of divine inspiration, promised that he would be given knowledge by God directly, without any intermediary; and, finally, Muḥammad, who rescued him from a host of assailants, told him: "Hold fast to me and you will be safe" (Hirtenstein, 1999, p. 55). As a consequence of this instruction, Ibn al-ʿArabī says, he began his study of *ḥadīth* (reports of the prophet Muḥammad's words and deeds).

This triple vision also had one other direct result: the great Aristotelian philosopher, Ibn Rushd (Averroës), who was nearing the end of his life in Cordoba, asked to meet him, and their celebrated meeting included a most extraordinary exchange, touching on the very nature of the spiritual quest: in response to Ibn Rushd's question about whether mystical illumination produces the same results as rational inquiry, Ibn al-ʿArabī replied: "Yes and no, and between the yes and the no spirits take wing from their matter, and necks are separated from their bodies" (*Futūhāt* I.153), leaving the philosopher dumbfounded. This response not only indicates Ibn al-ʿArabī's understanding of the gulf between the philosophical and the mystical, between intellectual reflection and spiritual retreat, but also his appreciation of how mystical thought can include and accommodate apparently contradictory notions.

Within two years, Ibn al-ʿArabī had irrevocably dedicated himself to a rigorous spiritual life, turning his back on the military career that his father had wanted him to pursue, and entrusting everything he possessed into his father's keeping. From this time he began to frequent other spiritual masters. An account of the many Ṣūfī teachers, male and female, that he met in Seville, Córdoba, and other major cities of Andalusia and North Africa is given in one of his most accessible books, *The Spirit of Holiness (Rūḥ al-quds fī munāsahāt al-nafs),* which provides a wonderful insight into spiritual teaching in his time. Some of his teachers were poor and illiterate and referred to Ibn al-ʿArabī as their spiritual son, like his first master, al-ʾUryānī, who demonstrated a Christ-like spirituality, or one of his female teachers in Seville, Fatima bint Ibn al-Muthanna, who was already ninety-six years old when they met and appeared superficially as a simpleton, "though she would have replied that he who knows not his Lord is the real simpleton" (Austin, 1988, p. 143). Others were more apparently learned, and introduced Ibn al-ʿArabī to the teachings of the great saint of North Africa, Abū Madyan (1115–1198), and to central texts of Sufism. Perhaps the most crucial influence was his friend and mentor in Tunis, ʿAbd al-ʾAzīz al-Mahdawī, a master who seems to have shared Ibn al-ʿArabī's depth and subtlety of mind and with whom he spent two extended periods. In addition to these contacts, Ibn al-ʿArabī undertook a lengthy retreat of at least nine months, following which, in Cordoba in 1190, he experienced a remarkable vision of all the prophets and messengers, from Adam to Muḥammad. In many ways the fruition of the initial triple vision he had had in Seville, this vision would also presage the claim he would later make to being what he called the Seal of Muhammadian Sainthood, the saint who encompasses all the inner meanings of the prophetic message of Muḥammad.

After his first visit outside Andalusia to Tunis where he stayed with al-Mahdawī in 1194, Ibn al-ʿArabī composed probably his first major work, *Contemplation of the Mysteries (Mashāhid al-asrār)*, a series of fourteen visionary episodes and dialogues with God, written specifically for the disciples of al-Mahdawī. His parents died soon after, and as the clouds of war gathered prior to the Almohad victory over the Castilian army at Alarcos in 1195, Ibn al-ʿArabī took his two sisters to the peaceful Moroccan city of Fez, where he arranged for them to be married. With all his family commitments completed, he spent another two years in Fez, where his reputation as a spiritual master in his own right grew. It was here that he experienced his mystical ascension in imitation of the Prophet, recounted in detail in *The Night-Journey (Kitāb al-Isrā):* "I gained in this night-journey the true meaning of all the Divine Names, and I saw them returning to One Named and One Essence. This Named was my very object of contemplation; that Essence was my very being" (*Futūhāt* III.350).

In 1198 Ibn al-ʿArabī returned to the Iberian Peninsula for the last time, to bid farewell to the land of his birth. At the same time several other substantial works flowed from his pen, often in response to direct requests from friends and disciples, in particular his Ethiopian companion, friend, and servant, Badr al-Habashī. In Córdoba he attended the funeral of Ibn Rushd, which, poignantly, featured a donkey laden with the master's body in a coffin on one side, counterbalanced by his works on the other. His decision to leave Andalusia for good may have been partly in response to instability in the wake of the death of the Almohad sultan in 1199, which many saw as marking the end of an age. At the same time, his leaving was certainly also motivated by the desire to accomplish the pilgrimage to Mecca. As he traveled on his way to Marrakech in 1200, he again underwent a spiritual transformation. He had a vision in which a Ṣūfī saint of two centuries earlier informed him that he had attained the highest degree of sainthood, known as the Station of Closeness.

After spending another six months in Tunis with his friend al-Mahdawī, Ibn al-ʿArabī visited all the major sites of pilgrimage: Hebron, where the Patriarchs are buried; Jerusalem, the city of David and later prophets; Medina, where Muḥammad is buried; and, finally, Mecca, where he arrived in mid-1202. For him, this pilgrimage was a physical reenactment of the ascension he had undertaken inwardly. Three episodes held special significance for him. The first was a meeting with a young girl, Nizam, who "surpassed all the people of her time in refinement of mind and cultivation, in beauty and in knowledge" (Nicholson, 1911, p. 14). The love that she evoked within Ibn al-ʿArabī's heart led to an outpouring of yearning, and she became the inspiration for his famous collection of poems, *The Interpreter of Ardent Desires (Tarjumān al-ashwāq).* In the style of the great Arabic *qasīda,* these poems express the poet's longing for the Divine Beloved, who is ever out of reach but whose traces can be found in the abandoned encampments of the caravan train. This was for Ibn al-ʿArabī the first awakening of love of women, characterized by the tradition that God made women worthy of love for His prophet, and as a consequence he married Fatima, the daughter of a Meccan notable. While Nizam personified wisdom and beauty, her father was a well-known *muhaddith,* or transmitter of prophetic traditions, and Ibn al-ʿArabī assiduously collected these, making one of his works, the *Mishkāt al-anwār,* a collection of 101 *hadīth qudsī* (divine sayings, in which God speaks through the mouth of the Prophet). Ibn al-ʿArabī also states that when he came to know the tradition that God had made women worthy of love for His prophet, he was awakened to love of women, and relinquished his near-monastic life to marry the daughter of a Meccan notable.

The second significant event took place at the Kaʿaba in 1202. During the circumambulation Ibn al-ʿArabī encountered a mysterious Youth, "both speaker and silent, neither alive nor dead, both complex and simple" (*Futūhāt* I.47), who described himself as Knowledge, Knower, and Known. The youth's being inspired in Ibn al-ʿArabī a series of insights, which he was told to write down and which became his *Meccan Illuminations (Futūhāt).*

Finally, while writing the *Meccan Illuminations* preface, Ibn al-ʿArabī had a vision of his own role as heir to Muḥammad's spiritual teaching and Seal of Muhammadian Sainthood: just as Muḥammad had been given the totality of prophetic messages and meanings, so Ibn al-ʿArabī saw himself being granted the "gifts of Wisdoms" in a solemn ceremony of investiture. This privileged status as one who summarizes and completes the spiritual dimension of Islam was confirmed in a dream in the following year, in which he saw himself as two gold and silver bricks that completed the walls of the Kaʿaba.

The momentous years in Mecca saw not only the completion of several works and the initiation of the *Futūhāt,* but also brought Ibn al-ʿArabī into contact with many well-known figures from the eastern lands of Islam. These included direct disciples of the great Baghdad Ṣūfī ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (1077–1166), as well as the adviser to the Seljuk court of Anatolia, Majduddīn Ishāq al-Rūmī(died c. 1215). The latter became a close friend and patron of Ibn al-ʿArabī, and they traveled together to Konya to meet the Seljuk sultan. Typically for that time, Majduddīn was both a man of political power and a spiritual teacher: as adviser to the Seljuk royal family, he encouraged Ibn al-ʿArabī to settle in Majduddīn's native town of Malatya in southeastern Anatolia, to raise his growing family there, and to benefit people with his teachings. While Ibn al-ʿArabī did live a more settled life writing in Malatya for a time, he also traveled in the Levant, building relations with and serving as adviser to kings and princes throughout the region, from Konya to Baghdad, Aleppo, and Damascus. He had at least two wives and three children—two sons and a daughter. In addition, after Majduddīn died, he took on responsibility for Majduddīn's son, Ṣadr al-Dīn Qūnawī (d. 1274), who would become his heir and most influential disciple. Ibn al-ʿArabī's connections to Anatolia would have profound implications for the future course of Sufism there, as his teachings became part of mainstream Ottoman culture.

For the final seventeen years of his life Ibn al-ʿArabī lived in Damascus, under the patronage of a wealthy and influential judge, Ibn al-Zakī. If Tunis may be considered the fulcrum of his Western life as the place where his spiritual training was completed, then Damascus was certainly the axis around which his Eastern career revolved. The writing continued unceasingly, with the first draft of the *Futūhāt* being completed in 1231 and a second recension of the entire work in 1238. As was customary at that time, the whole book was read aloud in sections before a group of friends and disciples, sometimes as large as thirty or more, with the author himself checking that the handwritten text was correct and the names of those present meticulously recorded. These listening certificates *(samāʿ)* are testimony to the enormous respect accorded to Ibn al-ʿArabī by all sections of the spiritual and religious elite, in keeping with which he was named Muḥyī al-Dīn ("the reviver of the religion"), as was his great theological Ṣūfī predecessor, Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (1058–1111), who had also taught in Damascus a century before.

It was not only the *Futūhāt* which sealed his reputation: there were other works, most notably a huge *Dīwān* of poetry completed in 1237, and the work that is perhaps his most influential masterpiece, *The Bezels of Wisdom (Fusūs al-Hikam),* which he states was received from the hand of the prophet Muḥammad in a dream in 1229. The *Fusūs* contains twenty-seven chapters, each related to a particular wisdom as exemplified by one of the prophets whose stories are told in the Qurʾān: for example, the Wisdom of Divinity in the word of Adam (who was created in the divine image, and thus, just as Allāh is the Name which includes all the Names, is the prototype who includes all humanity); or the Wisdom of Elevation in the word of Jesus (describing the elevated reality of Jesus, born of the water of Gabriel and the water of Mary, as spirit and son of spirit). These twenty-seven prophets represent the different modalities of human spirituality, facets displaying the jewels of divine wisdom, the full meaning of which is understood through the jurisdiction and collective wisdom of Muḥammad, the Seal of prophets. This book has had a perennial appeal, giving rise to at least one hundred commentaries over several centuries and in several languages, and these constitute a whole history of Islamic mystical thought in themselves.

IBN AL-ʿARABĪ'S THOUGHT. Ibn al-ʿArabī's writings reflect a comprehensive explanation of *tawhīd,* the "Unity of God," or the assertion that God is One. While this has often been taken to mean the doctrine of the Unity of Being *(wahdat al-wujūd),* the concept his school was later associated with, the crux of his teaching is perhaps better described as the perfectibility of Man, that is to say, the human potential for the fullest realization of Unity, the true nature of existence and the place and function of the human being within the universe. The one who asserts God's Unity and believes it to be true is capable of being transformed into one who knows what It means *(ʿārif).* It is becoming a "knower" or Gnostic that is the prime purpose of all of Ibn al-ʿArabī's teaching.

Ibn al-ʿArabī deconstructs all systems and reference points except for Being itself, the essence of the Real. This is the only absolute, the base for all phenomena, from which they have come and to which they return. At the same time, we may intellectually conceive of another absolute, pure nonexistence, even though this cannot actually exist, and it is this conception that allows us to distinguish different aspects of Being. Sheer Being or Light cannot be perceived, embraced, or understood by any other than Itself, so none knows God but God. In fact this Absolute One is a total negation of all things, without exception. It is absolutely nonmanifest, undetermined, unarticulated: even Allāh, God, can only be considered as Its outward face with regard to things. Being is refracted as "things," which lie in the relative ambiguity of being both existent/light and nonexistent/dark. Thus the world of creation, which is everything other than God, from the highest spirits to the densest matter, can be viewed as either dark or light, relative nonexistence or existence. In one respect, the thing is He; in another respect, it is not Him. This plurality is one of aspects, not an ontological multiplicity. All aspects refer to God, the One who is named by all Names. "The creation is intelligible," Ibn al-ʿArabī writes, "and God is perceptible and visible, according to the people of faith and the people of unveiled insight and experience" (Austin, 1980, p. 108). He emphasizes the mutual dependence of God and the world: without the world of creation, God cannot be known as Creator; without living things, God cannot be recognized as the Living.

According to Ibn al-ʿArabī, these two mutually dependent sides must constantly be borne in mind, if the relationship between God and universe, Reality and appearance, is to be truly understood: on the side of nonexistence there are all the possibilities of being or immutable entities *(al-aʾyān al-thābita),* which he says "have never smelt the breath of existence" (Austin, 1980, p. 76); on the side of existence there are the divine names, attributes, qualities, and actions. It is because of nonexistence that God is described as transcendent *(tanzīh),* and because of existence that He is known as immanent *(tashbīh).* The first qualification is accomplished through the use of reason, whereas the second is made through the exercise of imagination. By employing both faculties, reason and imagination, together properly, the mystic becomes "the one with two eyes," that is to say, someone with perfectly balanced vision. The two aspects of God, transcendence and immanence, are summarized for Ibn al-ʿArabī by the Qurʾanic verse "There is no thing like Him, and He is the Hearer, the Seer" (Qurʾān 42.11).

Ibn al-ʿArabī's creed of rigorous Unity is at the same time one of supreme tolerance of diversity and openness to fresh understandings. Throughout his writings he frequently cites an earlier author who wrote that "in everything there is a sign pointing to the fact that He is One" (*Futūhāt* I.491). Each created thing is at once a "receiver" of Divine Being and a "place" where God is manifest *(mazhar).* Whether it is a gnat or an angel, every created thing has a particular dignity and closeness to God that demands respect. Insofar as it has no being of its own, its quality is what is implied by nonexistence, i.e., total dependence and humility; insofar as it manifests the Divine Being, it is imbued with divine qualities such as Knowing and Living.

The two fundamental aspects of all existence, which give rise to all the paradoxes and ambiguities of life, are reconciled for Ibn al-ʿArabī in the heart of Perfect or Complete Man, who is receptive to all possible manifestations at every level, and has no particular inclination to one side over the other. While everything in the universe manifests certain divine aspects, it is only in and to Man that God is fully revealed and the meaning of the universe is made clear. Ibn al-ʿArabī uses a Qurʾanic account to contrast, for example, the elevated glorification of God by which the angelic host praise Him with the divine command for them to prostrate before Adam. Although the angelic nature appears to be the closest to the divine, the angels do not possess the all-embracing nature of Man, who is created in the divine image and possesses knowledge of every level and degree.

Because the ordinary perception of the world is that of multiple existences, each self-subsistent and different from others, it follows that human beings are veiled from their true reality by ideas of self-existence. Revelation, in different forms at different times but culminating in the total revelation granted to Muḥammad, is needed to establish proper divinely guided modes of living. True fidelity to the essentials of religious law, however, is only possible for one who realizes its inner spiritual significance. To return to one's primordial nature voluntarily while in this world (rather than by the inevitable way of death) demands the shedding of illusions. This journey of awakening ends with the complete annihilation *(fanāʾ)* of all other than God, out of which arises a new kind of existence (*baqāʾ,* literally "remaining") in full consciousness. Here the true human being becomes "the one with two eyes," seeing the One and the many, God in the creature and the creature in God, without being veiled by either. The world is seen as the theater of divine theophanies *(tajallī),* renewed at each instant by the "breathing-out" of God. This Ibn al-ʿArabī calls "the Breath of the All-Compassionate," a loving outpouring relieving the Divine Names from their state of constriction in latency and allowing them fullness in expression. There is, he stresses, "no repetition in revelation": no two moments are the same for anyone, nor is one moment the same for two people.

Prophets and saints are those who have realized their essential nonexistence, and return again to the world as guides who act in accordance with the celebrated divine saying *(hadīth qudsī):* "I was a Hidden Treasure and I loved to be known; so I created the world that I might be known." (*Futūhāt* II.399). For them God is forever manifest, as the veil of their own selfhood has been rent.

CONTINUITY AND INFLUENCES. The impact of Ibn al-ʿArabī's teachings is difficult to measure: although no dervish order was founded in his name, their influence has been at the heart of much of Ṣūfī teaching ever since. Commentaries on well-known texts have sometimes used Ibn al-ʿArabī's terminology and teachings, as in, for example, the famous commentary on Rūmī's *Mathnāwī* by the Mevlevi *shaykh,* Ismāʾīl al-Anqarāwī (d. 1631). The list of those who can be considered his direct followers reads like a roll call of some of the most famous masters and authors in Sufism: from his adopted son and heir, Ṣadr al-Dīn Qūnawī—who taught in Konya at the same time as his friend, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, successfully transmitting the heritage of Ibn al-ʿArabī to succeeding generations, and whose famous library preserved so many of his works—to Muʾayyiduddīn Jandī (d. 1300), ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Kāshānī (d. 1329), Dāʾūd al-Qaysarī (d. 1350), and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 1492). Ibn al-ʿArabī's work also inspired poets, such as the wandering dervish Fakhr al-Dīn ʿIrāqī (d. 1289) and the author of the *Gulshan-i-rāz* (The rose-garden of mystery), Maḥmūd al-Shabistarī (d. 1320), as well as those of a more philosophical mind like Mullā Ṣadrā of Shiraz (d. 1640). There were many others who did not write books of their own but developed a very deep spiritual affinity with Ibn al-ʿArabī, such as Mehmet Uftade (d. 1580), one of the great Ottoman masters who numbered Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent among his disciples.

While Ibn al-ʿArabī's works have been publicly adopted at certain times by some Islamic governments, notably the Ottoman Empire and Iran, they have not been universally accepted within the Islamic world and have often been rejected as heretical. Later Muslim scholars have disagreed about the validity of his teaching: some were bitterly antagonistic to what they saw as heretical philosophizing endangering the moral framework of the whole community; others were equally keen to defend Ibn al-ʿArabī's religious orthodoxy and spiritual stature. This long polemic over Ibn al-ʿArabī's legacy, with all its ambiguities and shifting positions, has lasted until the present day, and reflects both the central importance of the issues he addressed, and the fascination that the multifaceted writings and personality of the "Greatest Master" have exerted.

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STEPHEN HIRTENSTEIN (2005)

IBN AL-FĀRIḌ (AH 576–632/1181–1235 CE), more fully Abū Ḥafṣ or Abū al-Qāsim ʿUmar ibn Abī al-Ḥasan

ʿAlī ibn al-Murshid ibn ʿAlī; often called the greatest mystical poet in the history of Arabic literature. His father, known as al-Fāriḍ because his profession was the allocation of shares *(furūḍ)* in cases of inheritance, migrated from his native Hama in Syria to Cairo, where Ibn al-Fāriḍ was born and where he lived and died.

Though little is known about his life, there is evidence that he married and had at least two sons and a daughter. He studied *ḥadīth* and Shāfiʿī law in his youth, but his spiritual bent was such that he preferred solitary devotion in the desert or on Mount al-Muqaṭṭam, east of Cairo, and he finally became a Ṣūfī. After a long sojourn in Mecca, he returned to Cairo and was venerated by the populace as a saint.

He is said to have been handsome, righteous, and awe-inspiring yet pleasant and sociable. Later generations ascribed supernatural powers to him, following the example of his own grandson, ʿAlī, who wrote an introduction to Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* (Collected works) and filled it with several fantastic tales. This may have been a defensive effort to exonerate the poet from accusations of heresy such as those made by Ibn Taymīyah (d. 1328) and others regarding the practices and pantheistic tendencies of certain Ṣūfīs.

The *Dīwān* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ is slim, and the poems in it are of varying lengths. Dominated by the theme of love, they are couched in a beautiful style of great tenderness and sensitivity in which the sounds, patterns, and rhetorical conceits of the language are natural elements of the moods and ideas they convey. Capable of being read as love lyrics, they are intended to be expressions of mystical yearning for God. This is true even of the only wine poem in the *Dīwān*, in which intoxication with wine is but a symbol of union with the divine beloved.

Almost half of the *Dīwān* is occupied by a single poem of 761 verses entitled *Naẓm al-sulūk* (Poem of the way), often referred to as "The Greater Ode Rhyming in T" to distinguish it from a shorter poem of 103 verses also rhyming in the letter *t*. Considered Ibn al-Fāriḍ's masterpiece, this ode is unique in its description of the mystic's experience of God and of the harmony achieved through realizing the union of phenomenal existence and pure Being. It has so intrigued subsequent generations of Ṣūfīs by its exquisite beauty and mystical truths that many have written large volumes commenting on it, including al-Farghānī (d. 1300), al-Qāshānī (d. 1334), al-Qaysarī (d. 1350), Jāmī (d. 1492), al-Būrīnī (d. 1615), and al-Nābulusī (d. 1730). The commentaries of the last two were combined by Rushayd ibn Ghālib al-Daḥdāḥ (d. 1889). Commentaries have also been written on the *Khamrīyah* (Wine poem) illuminating its mystical symbolism and explaining its religious and literary allusions.

A Ṣūfī order named al-Fāriḍīyah was known to exist in Egypt during the sixteenth century and claimed to originate from Ibn al-Fāriḍ, but it does not seem to be in existence today. The poet's tomb, however, still stands in a well-known shrine at the foot of Mount al-Muqaṭṭam in Cairo.

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ISSA J. BOULLATA (1987 AND 2005)

IBN ʿAṬĀʾ ALLĀH (AH c. 650–709, c. 1252–1309 CE), more fully Ahmād ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn ʿAṭā Allāh al-Iskandarī, was an Arab Ṣūfī saint and sage of Egypt. He was the third great master of the Shādhilī order of Sufism founded by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 1258) and the first shaykh of the order to reduce its teachings and practices to writing. Born in Alexandria into an illustrious dynasty of Mālikī religious scholars, he early evinced mastery in all of the religious disciplines and became an authority on Islamic law while professing antagonism toward Sufism. But a chance encounter with his future Ṣūfī shaykh, Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Mursī (d. 1287), dramatically transformed him into an ardent contemplative, and he became an authority in both the law and the spiritual path in a relatively short time. Most of his life was spent in Cairo as a Ṣūfī shaykh and as a teacher of the exoteric religious disciplines.

He wrote many works on Sufism and religious topics, a half dozen of which have been particularly popular in Ṣūfī circles over the centuries and have gone through a number of reprints in recent times. The best known of these is his *Kitāb al-ḥikam* (Book of Aphorisms), a series of maxims of great beauty on Ṣūfī spirituality that has produced many commentaries by Ṣūfīs and become a classic in the field because its comprehensive and poetical formulations may easily be memorized. He defended Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1240) and other Ṣūfīs against the Ḥanbalī fundamentalist theologian Ibn Taymīyah (d. 1328), who objected to their monistic speculations.

In the course of time, some of the works of Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh have become practically canonical among the Shādhilīyah; later masters constantly cite him. At his death his funeral procession was immense. He was buried in the

Qarāfah cemetery of Cairo where his tomb, recently totally renovated with a new mosque and minaret, has for long centuries been visited by the pious. Lately he has become the object of a number of studies by scholars because of his preeminence in Sufism and the fact that the Shādhilī order has shown a continuing vitality down to the present.

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Victor Danner (1987)

IBN BĀBAWAYHI or Ibn Bābūyah (AH 306?–381/918?–991 CE), Abu Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī, known as al-Ṣadūq ("the veracious"), was a Twelver Shīʿī jurist and traditionist. Very little is known of his life. According to popular belief, he was born after his father, a leading figure in the Twelver community of Qom, had asked the Hidden Imam to pray that he be granted a son. The father had a decisive influence on Ibn Bābawayhi's early upbringing and education. Following the custom of his day, Ibn Bābawayhi traveled widely in search of knowledge. He came to Baghdad in 963 CE and, after a stay of more than a year, proceeded to Mecca to perform the pilgrimage before returning to Baghdad via Kufa in 966.

Ibn Bābawayhi was a frequent visitor to Nishapur and other Khorasani cities and was regarded by many as the leading light of Khorasani Twelver Shiism. His travels took him as far as Transoxiana, which he visited in 979. At some point in his career he established contacts with the western Iranian city of Rayy. These contacts were reinforced around 983, when Rukn al-Dawlah, the Buyid ruler of Rayy, asked him to take up residence at the court. Rukn al-Dawlah became Ibn Bābawayhi's patron, and in return Ibn Bābawayhi provided answers to questions that his benefactor put to him on matters of doctrine. Ibn Bābawayhi was highly esteemed in Rayy, although his influence seems to have waned somewhat toward the end of his life. He died and was buried in Rayy, where a domed shrine was erected over his tomb.

Ibn Bābawayhi was a prolific writer, although fewer than twenty of some three hundred works ascribed to him have survived. Even so, the surviving works are greater in number than those of any other older or contemporary Twelver author, and their impact on subsequent generations has been considerable. *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu al-faqīh* (Every man his own lawyer) is Ibn Bābawayhi's best-known work. As the title suggests, the need for such a work arose after the disappearance of the twelfth imam—the so-called greater occultation (*ghaybah*), which began in 941—who was no longer available to answer questions on religious practice. This work was completed in 979 and became one of the four standard legal textbooks of Twelver Shiism. Shorter legal compilations are *Al-hidāyah* (Guidance) and *Al-muqniʿ fī al-fiqh* (Sufficiency in jurisprudence).

Ibn Bābawayhi's mastery of Twelver traditions also comes to the fore in works such as the *Thawāb al-aʿmāl* and *ʿIqāb al-aʿmāl,* which include traditions on the reward and punishment, respectively, for praiseworthy or evil actions; the *ʿIlal al-sharāʾiʿ,* in which many traditions are adduced in explication of the reasons underlying various religious obligations; and the *Kitāb al-khiṣāl,* where traditions describing myriad qualities and actions are grouped in order of increasing numbers, from one to one million. Ibn Bābawayhi's *ʿUyūn akhbār al-Riḍā* is an invaluable mine of information on the life and times of the eighth imam, ʿAlī al-Riḍā (d. 818), while *Ikmāl al-dīn wa-itmām al-niʿmah* (The perfection of religion and completion of blessing, a title harking back to *sūrah* 5:3 of the Qurʾān) is one of the earliest and most exhaustive expositions of the doctrine of the twelfth imam, his occultation, and his future reappearance as the Mahdi (Messiah).

Ibn Bābawayhi's interest in questions of dogma led him to compose the *Risālat al-iʿtiqādāt,* the earliest extant Twelver creed. The views that he upholds there are in general agreement with those of earlier Twelver thinkers, yet they are at times less deterministic and anthropomorphic. He thus holds that the will of God encompasses everything, including evil deeds, but then defines this will as foreknowledge. In contrast to some Twelver traditionists, he denies the possibility that God may be seen in the hereafter. Because of his declared opposition to theological disputation (*kalām*), Ibn Bābawayhi, in the creed and elsewhere, relies almost totally on traditions of the imams, to the exclusion of reasoning. For this he was criticized by his renowned pupil Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 1022) in the latter's *Taṣḥīh al-iʿtiqād* (Correction of the Creed). Al-Mufīd also attacked Ibn Bābawayhi's position on some specific matters, such as his contention that the immunity *(ʿiṣmah)* of prophets and imams from sin and error did not preclude the possibility of inadvertent mistakes, which God might induce in them to show that they were merely human. In his later years Ibn Bābawayhi was obliged to modify his anti-*kalām* views in the face of attacks by the Muʿtazilah, whose rationalist theology came increasingly to dominate Twelver thinking. This change is particularly evident in his *Kitāb al-tawḥīd* (The book of the unity of God).

As the example of al-Mufīd shows, Ibn Bābawayhi was not without his critics, whose main complaint was that he relied on traditions of dubious authenticity. It is perhaps to counter such complaints that the honorary appellation al-Ṣadūq was conferred on him. later generations of Twelver scholars are virtually unanimous in viewing Ibn Bābawayhi as one of the pillars of Twelver Shiism. His work may in fact be regarded as adumbrating the full-fledged Twelver literature of the eleventh century.

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Etan Kohlberg (1987)

IBN BĀJJAH (d. AH 533/1139 CE), known in Arabic as Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn al-Ṣāʾigh and in Latin as Avempace, was the founder of Islamic metaphysics in Andalusia. Ibn Bājjah was also a poet and musician, an astronomer who dismissed the Ptolemaic epicycles, a politician, and a man of affairs. Born in Saragossa, reportedly of Jewish ancestry, he became a vizier when Saragossa fell to the Almoravids in 1110, but he was subsequently imprisoned while on an embassy to the former ruler. After his release, he avoided the Christian conquest of Saragossa by withdrawing to Valencia, only to be imprisoned for heresy at Játiva. This time Ibn Rushd's father or grandfather secured his release. He served twenty years as vizier to Yaḥyā ibn Yūsuf ibn Tāshufīn, lived in Seville and Granada, circulated to Oran, and died in Fez, reportedly poisoned.

Some thirty brief works preserve Ibn Bājjah's philosophy. Despite the distractions that, according to Ibn Ṭufayl, prevented him from fully clearing the storehouses of his wisdom (Goodman, 1983, p. 99), Ibn Bājjah contributed three distinctive, closely related ideas to the philosophical progression from al-Fārābī to Ibn Rushd.

1. His theory of the soul's "conjunction" *(ittiṣāl)* with the divine (namely, the Active Intellect) explains the common goal of mysticism, philosophy, ethical self-perfection, and metaphysical quest Platonically, as the consummation of an intellectual progress by which humankind is purified of material attachments and regains its true spiritual identity. By speaking of "contact" rather than simply union, and by interposing the Active Intellect between humankind and God, Ibn Bājjah attains a balance that eluded the more "inebriated" mystics (whom he criticized for their sensuality) and avoids their twin paradoxes—that humanity's identity is lost when it is finally fulfilled and that human becomes God just when it has annihilated the self. For pantheistic oneness Ibn Bājjah substitutes at-oneness, by reading "union" cognitively, as communion. Thus the intellectuality of Ibn Bājjah's vision preserves a quasi identity for the beatified soul.

2. The beatified souls, which ceaselessly sanctify God, are united to the Active Intellect by their contact with it; lacking matter as a principle of individuation, they cannot be differentiated from one another. This artful application of the Neoplatonic insight that the notions of ordinary arithmetic do not apply to disembodied substances is later taken up in Ibn Rushd's mono-psychism; it is further clarified by Ibn Ṭufayl's deployment of the Plotinian argument that the notions of identity and difference proper to the arithmetic of bodies are inapplicable to spiritual substances. Maimonides, who proudly stated that he studied under a disciple of Ibn Bājjah, treated Ibn Bājjah's approach (when properly qualified by the realization that disembodied things can still be differentiated as cause and effect) as the solution to the problem of the arithmetic of souls.

3. Much as Plotinus had recoiled from "this blood-drenched life," Ibn Bājjah looked to fulfillment for the individual despite rather than through the social community and its cultural traditions. In a synthesis of prophetic and ascetic withdrawal, he suggests, like al-Fārābī, that the spiritual adept find a true home beyond the very categories of this life. The gesture is completed again in Ibn Ṭufayl's vivid contrast of the cultural confinement and symbolic opacity of legalism and ritualism with the free and individualistically responsible insight of the spirit of the "solitary."

Ibn Bājjah's philosophy contrasts sharply with his worldly life, but Ibn Ṭufayl, the disciple who never met him, clearly paints in the lines of force that mark the powerful movement of the philosopher from revulsion with pettinesses, shams, and hypocrisies to the higher, purer realm that achieves fuller definition by the contrast.

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L. E. Goodman (1987)

IBN DAUD, AVRAHAM (1110–1180), known in rabbinic texts by the acronym RABaD I (Rabbi Avraham ben David), to distinguish him from Rabad II, Avraham ben Yitsḥaq of Narbonne, and Rabad III, Avraham ben David of Posquières, was a Spanish astronomer, historian, and philosopher. Avraham ibn Daud ha-Levi is best known for his history of the Jewish people, *Sefer ha-qabbalah* (*The Book of Tradition*; 1161), and his comprehensive Jewish philosophy, *Al-ʿaqīdah al-rafiyah* (*The Exalted Faith;* 1168). He also published a work on astronomy (1180) that has not survived.

The Book of Tradition consists of a history of (1) the biblical period, (2) the Second Commonwealth, (3) the tannaim, (4) the amoraim, (5) the savoraim, (6) the Geonim, and (7) the rabbis after the Geonic period. On the surface, this work is a history of the Jewish people from its origins to the time of Avraham ibn Daud. But in reality, as the work's prologue and epilogue make clear, it is a detailed theological polemic that uses history. Against the Karaites, Muslims, and Christians who claimed that rabbinic tradition does not correctly record the revelation given to the children of Israel at Sinai, Avraham argues that rabbinic tradition is authentic. It is an unbroken chain of transmission of testimony to the true meaning of the divine revelation at Sinai by witnesses whose integrity is beyond question. In other words, the goal of *The Book of Tradition* is not to write the history of a people; rather, it is to show that the rabbinical account of the revelation at Sinai is true. The rabbis' testimony is to be accepted because all of the leaders of the rabbinic communities involved in the chain of tradition from Moses through Ezra to the rabbis of Andalusia in the twelfth century were individuals of intelligence and good character who therefore could be trusted to understand what they were told and to communicate the information they received honestly, without prejudice or distortion. Therefore, all accusations by Israel's enemies to the effect that rabbinic Judaism is a perversion of the theophany at Sinai are without foundation.

Whatever will be the ultimate judgment of historians on the accuracy of Avraham's history, *The Book of Tradition* has served as a prime source of information about Jewish history for Jewish and Christian historians from Avraham's own day to the twenty-first century. The seventh part of the book is considered authoritative for the history of Andalusian Jewry, because it in effect amounts to an eyewitness report. But the earlier sections of the history also continue to have great authority for modern Jewish history; for example, they remain the basis for the list of the generations of tannaim and amoraim in the studies of classical Judaism by scholars such as Isaac Weiss, Hermann Strack, and G. F. Moore.

The Exalted Faith is the first work of Jewish philosophy to apply the diverse elements in the thought of Aristotle to a religious philosophy of Judaism. Avraham's arguments and statements are not so developed as those of later Jewish Aristotelians such as Levi ben Gershom (Gersonides, 1288–1344), but his work is the most comprehensive of all the Jewish Aristotelians. Avraham does not cite his contemporary sources, but he was clearly influenced by Ibn Sīnā (980–1037), Saʿadyah Gaon (892–942), and Yehudah ha-Levi (c. 1075–1141).

The Exalted Faith is divided into three books. Book 1 deals with those presuppositions in Aristotelian natural science that are needed to explain what Avraham considers to be the basic principles of Judaism. Book 2 uses the claims in book 1 to explain what Avraham judges to be the basic principles of Jewish faith, namely, God's existence, oneness, and attributes (Principles 1–3); the existence and function of angels (Principle 4); the authenticity of the written Torah and rabbinic tradition (Principle 5); and divine providence (Principle 6). Book 3, "On Spiritual Healing," reads as an addendum to the treatise, the proper conclusion of which is the final principle of book 2.

Avraham asserts that the whole of *The Exalted Faith* was written to solve the problem of necessity and human choice. In the past the rabbis knew a great deal about science and religious law, but in his own time that is not the case. Those who know science know little about Jewish law, and those who know Jewish law know almost no science. This deplorable state of affairs leads many religious Jews to think that the study of science is in itself harmful to Jewish religious commitment. But the price they pay for ignoring science is that they lack the appropriate training that would enable them to grasp the fundamental principles of religious law. Hence, they are not equipped to provide a viable solution to fundamental questions of Jewish faith. The treatise is intended for Jews who have mature minds but insufficient knowledge and, in consequence of both conditions, are religiously confused. In other words, *The Exalted Faith* is intended to be a guide for the perplexed Jews of Avraham's time.

The Guide of the Perplexed (1190) of Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon, 1135/8–1204) overshadowed *The Exalted Faith* in subsequent Jewish philosophy. Maimonides' writings clearly exhibit Avraham's influence, but that is not to say that the two Jewish philosophers have the same philosophy. Clearly they do not. For example, Maimonides rejects Avraham's claims that being Jewish in some way is relevant to the qualifications for prophecy, and that to some extent God's relations with the world enable human beings to have positive knowledge of God. Also, Avraham's accounts of all of the sciences are vastly more detailed than the mere hints of information contained in *The Guide.* In fact, no other work in Jewish philosophy is so comprehensive as Avraham's. Book 1 in itself is an excellent introduction to medieval Aristotelian philosophy and science for modern students. It includes a reasonably detailed explanation of philosophical concepts such as substance and accident, as well as all of Aristotelian physics, psychology, and astronomy. (Only Levi ben Gershom presented a more detailed astronomy.) Similarly, book 2 provides an excellent introduction to classical Jewish philosophy and theology for modern students. In addition to its topical breadth, Avraham's work combines the atomistic and Neoplatonic teachings of the earlier generations of Jewish philosophers such as Saʿadyah Gaon and Yehudah ha-Levi (whose works he transcends but does not abandon) with new Aristotelian themes that subsequent Jewish philosophers such as Levi ben Gershom and Ḥasdai Crescas would develop in the fourteenth century. Students of Jewish history and Avraham's *Book of Tradition* will be especially interested in the fifth principle of part 2, in which Avraham spells out in detail the philosophical grounds and the theological purposes of his earlier history of the Jews.

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NORBERT M. SAMUELSON (1987)
Revised Bibliography

IBN ʿEZRAʾ, AVRAHAM (c. 1089–c. 1164), was a Jewish biblical commentator and poet. Born in Christian Spain, Ibn ʿEzraʾ was educated both in traditional Jewish literature and in secular subjects. He was a friend of the theologian and poet Yehudah ha-Levi and recorded his answer to Yehudah's question about God in his commentary on *Exodus* 20:2. After leaving Spain in 1140, Ibn ʿEzraʾ spent the rest of his life traveling through Italy, France, and England. Most of his works were written during this period.

In his travels Ibn ʿEzraʾ carried with him the intellectual achievements of Judeo-Muslim culture in Spain. One of the first to write on secular subjects in Hebrew (rather than Arabic), which required that he develop a technical vocabulary for standard scientific terms, he exposed Jews outside the Iberian Peninsula to the sophisticated study of Hebrew grammar and to other new areas of scholarly investigation.

Ibn ʿEzraʾ wrote several original treatises on mathematics, astronomy, and scientific instruments, chapters of what may have been intended as an encyclopedia of astrology, and Hebrew translations of Arabic scientific works, some no longer extant in the original. More a systematizer than a profoundly original scientific thinker, he was important for his transmission of Arabic science to the West and for his efforts to integrate all bodies of knowledge with biblical exegesis and Jewish doctrine. Some traditionalists viewed him as a dangerous proponent of possibly heretical teachings.

The poetry of Ibn ʿEzraʾ broke away from classical Andalusian Hebrew poetics to a more popular mode. *Ḥay ben Meḳiẓ,* modeled after Abū ʿAlī Ibn Sīnā's (980–1037) *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān,* is perhaps the first attempt at sustained allegory in medieval Hebrew literature. At the same time Ibn ʿEzraʾ was one of the last of the Spanish liturgical poets. His commentary on *Ecclesiastes* 5:1 contains an apologia for the newer, Spanish style, celebrating clarity of expression and purity of biblical diction. His commentary also contains an incisive critique of the older form, represented by the great medieval liturgical poet Elʿazar Kallir, for its intermixing of biblical and rabbinic Hebrew, grammatical errors, and intentional obscurity. Poetry used in prayer, he argued, must be intelligible to the masses.

Yesod Moraʾ (c. 1160) treats many standard problems of medieval Jewish religious and ethical thought. The *Iggeret ha-Shabbat* was written to defend the traditional Jewish view that the Sabbath begins at sundown on Friday evening.

Ibn ʿEzraʾ composed commentaries on all the books of the Hebrew Bible, although some have been lost. The introduction to his commentary on the Torah provides a critical review of contemporary biblical exegesis. Four types of commentators are censured: (1) those who frequently incorporate scientific treatises into comments on biblical phrases; (2) the Karaites, who reject rabbinic tradition; (3) those who make the Torah into a cryptic expression of esoteric doctrine; and (4) those who fill their commentaries with homiletic interpretations from the rabbis. Ibn ʿEzraʾ then outlines his own method, heavily dependent upon grammar and semantics. His plan was first to explain each problematic word and then to explicate the simple meaning of the passage as a whole.

These biblical commentaries remained the most enduringly influential part of Ibn ʿEzraʾ's oeuvre, engendering more than a dozen supercommentaries, many of which attempted to elucidate the "secrets" to which he occasionally referred. Some of his interpretations were scathingly rebutted by Moses Nahmanides (Mosheh ben Nahman, 1194–1270), who referred to his "open rebuke and hidden love" for Ibn ʿEzraʾ. Barukh Spinoza (1632–1677), in chapter eight of *Theological-Political Treatise* (1670), cited the comments of

Ibn ʿEzraʾ on *Genesis* 12:6 and *Deuteronomy* 1:1 as evidence that the medieval commentator had anticipated his own position in questioning the Mosaic authorship of the entire Pentateuch.

SEE ALSO Literature, article on Critical Theory and Religious Studies; Nahmanides, Moses; Spinoza, Baruch; Yehudah ha-Levi.

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IBN GABIROL, SHELOMOH (c. 1021–1058), known in Latin texts as Avicebron, Avencebrol, and Avicembron; Jewish poet and the first Jewish philosopher in Spain. Ibn Gabirol was born in Malaga, was raised in Saragossa, and died in Valencia. He is best known in the Jewish community as the author of secular, ethical, and liturgical poetry that reflects Jewish faith under the influence of both Neoplatonism and Ṣūfī poetry. His poems include *Ha-ʿanaq*, a 400-verse Hebrew grammar that he composed when he was twenty years old; *Azharot*, a rhymed enumeration of the 613 commandments of the Torah; and *Keter malkhut* (*The Royal Crown*), his most famous liturgical poem, which is a part of the liturgy for the Day of Atonement.

The Royal Crown contains four sections. The first two deal with names of God, the third presents Ibn Gabirol's cosmology, and the fourth is a confessional prayer. The overall theme of the poem is the great distance between God and man, and Ibn Gabirol's description of the structure of the heavens in section three reinforces his account of this vast separation. The universe is arranged in five parts, consisting of the sublunar world, the supralunar world (the heavens), the sphere of Intelligence, the "Throne of Glory," and the Will of God (or God's Wisdom).

Of particular importance in Ibn Gabirol's spiritual cosmology are the doctrines of divine glory (*kavod*) and the throne of glory (*kisse ha-kavod*). The soul is generated from the radiance of the former, and the latter is the place under which the souls of the righteous are stored after their separation from their bodies and until the end of days. Ibn Gabirol's eschatology reflects the tension within his own thought between his affirmation of the traditional rabbinic belief in a final end of humanity that is a return to corporeal life and his interpretation of this belief via a Neoplatonic schema that identifies the realm of spirit with good and the realm of body with evil. The result of the tension is that he spiritualizes the nature of the world to come (*ha-ʿolam ha-ba*). Hence, the final vision is not of a particular place at a particular time, but simply of an idealized perfection, a *summum bonum*, of the human soul.

In 1045 Ibn Gabirol composed an ethical study in Arabic, *Islah al-akhlaq* (On the improvement of the moral qualities), which was translated into Hebrew by Yehudah ibn Tibbon in 1167 under the title *Tiqqun middot ha-nefesh*. Man's soul, Ibn Gabirol says, comes from the realm of Intelligence and enters Nature, but it remains between these two realms throughout its embodied life. Its goal during this life is to return to the level of Intelligence by means of knowledge and practice. Perhaps the most original part of this book is the correlation that Ibn Gabirol draws between virtues and vices, the external human senses, the humors, and the four elements of the sublunar world (air, water, earth, and fire). All human beings are composites of these elements and corresponding humors. A proper balance of these components produces human virtues, whereas an imbalance produces vices.

Ibn Gabirol's major philosophic work is *Yanbuʿ al-hayat* (*The Fountain of Life*), of which no copies of the original Arabic text have survived. It was translated into Latin in 1150, under the title *Fons vitae*, by Dominicus Gundissalinus, archbishop of Segovia, with the assistance of a Jewish convert. In the thirteenth century Shem Ṭov ben Yosef Falaquera translated excerpts from the original into Hebrew under the title *Liqqutim mi-sefer meqor hayyim*; Jewish scholars apparently felt no need to prepare a Hebrew translation of the entire work, since the Aristotelian Avraham ibn Daud had judged it to be excessively verbose, philosophically shallow, and religiously questionable. Ibn Daud's critique of *The Fountain of Life* in his work *The Exalted Faith* (1168) is a major reason why Ibn Gabirol's philosophic masterpiece was ignored by subsequent generations of Jewish philosophers.

A philosophic study of matter and form, *The Fountain of Life* is devoid of any direct reference to biblical or rabbinic texts or doctrines, which in itself explains why subsequent Christian scholars could mistake this book's author for a Muslim or a Christian. In fact it was only in 1845 that Salomon Munk identified Avicebron, the author of *Fons vitae*, as Ibn Gabirol, the author of *Meqor hayyim.*

The Fountain of Life is divided into five treatises. The first is a general introduction of the topic of matter and form and their relation to physical substances. The second deals with the substance or matter that underlies the corporeality of the sublunar world. The third is a proof of the existence of simple substances, which function in Ibn Gabirol's ontology as intermediaries between God and the physical world. The fourth is a proof that these simple or spiritual substances are composed of form and matter, and the fifth treatise is an account of the universal form and universal matter that underlie everything in the universe except God.

The main thesis of the work is that everything in God's universe has matter as well as form, a doctrine severely criticized by Ibn Daud and ignored by all subsequent Jewish philosophers until Barukh Spinoza. While *The Fountain of Life* had little influence on Jewish thought, it was a major influence on thirteenth-century Christian philosophy. The main thesis was adopted by Duns Scotus and the Neoplatonic Franciscans, while it was opposed by Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and the Aristotelian Dominicans. Among the Christian thinkers who explicitly referred to Avicebron were Dominicus Gundissalinus, William of Auvergne, Alexander of Hales, Bonaventure, William of La Mar, and Giordano Bruno.

SEE ALSO Ibn Daud, Avraham; Jewish Thought and Philosophy, article on Premodern Philosophy.

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IBN ḤANĀBILAH SEE ḤANĀBILAH

IBN ḤAZM (AH 384–456/994–1064 CE), more fully Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn Saʿīd ibn Ḥazm, was a Muslim theologian and man of letters. Born in Cordova to a rich and influential family, Ibn Ḥazm received a distinguished education in religious sciences, literature, and poetry. Nonetheless, he grew up in a period of disruptive ethnic and clan rivalries that saw the decline of the Umayyad caliphate at Cordova and the formation of tiny kingdoms fighting among themselves. His own childhood was marred by the disgrace of his father after the fall of Caliph Hishām II and by the destruction of the family home at Balāṭ Mughīth in the course of bloody battles between Arabs and Berbers.

As a result of his political activities on behalf of the legitimist (Umayyad) party, Ibn Ḥazm met with imprisonment, banishment, and flight but was appointed to high positions as well, serving as vizier at least twice, under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Murtaḍā and ʿAbd al- Raḥmān V al-Mustaẓhir, and possibly a third time under the last caliph, Hishām al-Muʿtadd. Profoundly disappointed by his political experience and offended by the conduct of his contemporaries, Ibn Ḥazm subsequently left public life and devoted his last thirty years to literary activities.

His writings are quite personal, shaped by the intensity of his own reactions and rigorous in their condemnation of what is, in fact, only human nature. *Ṭawq al-ḥamāmah* (The dove's neck-ring), a youthful work that was clearly revised later, is interesting in several respects. As a collection of prose passages and poetic illustrations on the subject of love and lovers, it offers a fairly standard treatment of a popular theme in Arabic literature. What sets it apart, however, is Ibn Ḥazm's penetrating observation of human psychology, a trait found in his later study of characters and conduct, *Kitāb al-akhlāq wa-al-siyar,* as well. Underlying the delicate charm of the prose and poetry in *Ṭawq al-ḥamāmah* is an uneasy sensibility. Questioning, for example, the sincerity of exchanges between women and their lovers, Ibn Ḥazm finds a gap between what is said and what is thought and concludes that language often serves to mask thought. This otherwise commonplace discovery of dishonesty provides him in turn with a basis for profound reflection on language and its wider uses, and it is here that he introduces the notion of *ẓāhir,* the "apparent" or literal meaning of words.

This line of thought is further developed when Ibn Ḥazm examines the word of God. In opposition to the Mālikīyah, he argues that people are bound to obey only the law of God, in its *ẓāhir* or literal sense, without restrictions, additions, or modifications. Although he was originally a Shāfiʿī jurist, Ibn Ḥazm joined the Ẓāhirī school and brought to it a systematic structure of logic. For the interpretation of sacred texts, he put together a Ẓāhirī grammar in which he specifically eliminates the ambiguities that grammarians were using to explain certain syntactical forms. He takes the position that language itself provides all that is necessary for the understanding of its content and that, therefore, God, who revealed the Qurʾān in clear (*mubīn*) Arabic, has used the language to say precisely what he means. Each verse should be understood grammatically and lexically in its immediate and general sense: When God wants a verse to have a specific meaning, he provides an indication *(dalīl)*, in the same verse or elsewhere, which allows the meaning to be restricted.

The significance of a Qurʾanic text can also be determined by a *ḥadīth* recognized as authentic after careful critical examination; a verb in the imperative, for example, can be taken as a command, but also as a suggestion: The meaning can be determined only from the literal sense of the context. From this position, it follows that Ibn Ḥazm strongly criticizes the use of reasoning by analogy (*qiyās*) and the principles of personal evaluation: the pursuit of what is considered good (*istiḥsān*), the pursuit of values for the common good (*istiṣlāḥ*), and most of all, the recourse to personal opinion (*raʾy*) by which the jurists sought to extend divine law to cases not mentioned in the texts (*nuṣūṣ*). In the same spirit, he limits the basis of consensus (*ijmāʿ*) to the companions of the Prophet; the agreement of the community of scholars on a legal question does not authorize the derivation of a law.

In *Al-iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām* (Judgment on the principles of *Aḥkām*), Ibn Ḥazm develops his method for classifying human acts within the five established juridical categories (*aḥkām*) of obligatory, recommended, disapproved, forbidden, and lawful: For an action to fall into one of the first four categories, there must be a text (Qurʾān or authentic *ḥadīth*) that establishes its particular status; otherwise, the act is lawful. This method is further applied in his voluminous treatise on Ẓāhirī law, *Kitāb al-muḥallā* (The book of ornaments).

Ibn Ḥazm is also famous for his great work, the *Fiṣal* (Detailed critical examination), in which he offers a critical survey of different systems of philosophical thought in relation to religious beliefs among the skeptics, Peripatetics, brahmans, Zoroastrians and other dualists, Jews, and Christians. Using the examination of these religions to establish the preeminence of Islam, he also attacks all the Muslim theologians, the Muʿtazilah and the Ashʿarīyah in particular, along with the philosophers and mystics. His main objection is that each of them raises questions about the revealed text only to resolve them by purely human means. Ibn Ḥazm does not deny recourse to reason, because the Qurʾān itself invites reflection, but this reflection must be limited to two givens, revelation and sense data, because the so-called principles of reason are in fact derived entirely from immediate sense experience. Thus reason is not a faculty for independent research, much less for discovery.

By submitting humans exclusively to the word of God, Ibn Ḥazm's literalism frees them from any choice of their own. His drive for synthesis leads him to demonstrate the harmony of all the Qurʾanic and prophetic texts through the application of Ẓāhirī principles. As a result, his work constitutes one of the most original and important monuments of Muslim thought.

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burgh, 1965), which provides a useful summary of cultural and political history as well as a detailed bibliography. D. B. Macdonald's *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory* (1903; reprint, New York, 1965) and Ignácz Goldziher's classic work *The Ẓāhirīs: Their Doctrine and Their History,* translated and edited by Wolfgang Behn (Leiden, 1971), shed light on the legal and theological currents of which Ibn Ḥazm was a part.

A work that specifically concerns Ibn Ḥazm is my *Grammaire et théologie chez Ibn Ḥazm de Cordoue: Essai sur la structure et les conditions de la pensée muṣūlmane* (Paris, 1956). Miguel Asín Palacios's *Abenházam de Córdoba y su historia crítica de las ideas religiosas,* 5 vols. (Madrid, 1927–1932), is an analytical edition and partial translation of Ibn Ḥazm's most famous work, *Kitāb al-faṣl fī al-milal wa-al-ahwāʾ wa-al-niḥal.* His *Ṭawq al-ḥamāmah fī al-ulfah wa-al-ullāf* has been translated by A. R. Nykl as *A Book Containing the Risala Known as the Dove's Neck-ring, about Love and Lovers* (Paris, 1931) and by A. J. Arberry as *The Ring of the Dove* (London, 1953).

Roger Arnaldez (1987)
Translated from French by Miriam Rosen

IBN KHALDŪN (AH 732–808/1332–1406 CE) was a Muslim historian, famous as the first systematic theoretician of the social, economic, psychological, and religious forces that determine human history and society. Born in Tunis into an aristocratic and scholarly family that had left Seville for Northwest Africa almost a century earlier, he received the thorough education customary among the Muslim middle and upper classes. Entering government service shortly after he lost his parents and many of his teachers to the Black Death, he soon left Tunis and in 1354 arrived in Fez, where he was well received by the Marinid ruler but also had to suffer the customary tribulations of political involvement.

The Northwest African period of his life included a sojourn of a little over two years in Andalusian Granada (December 1362–February 1365), during which he undertook a diplomatic mission to Christian Seville, and over three years of quiet retirement from active politics (1375–1378) in rural Qalʿat Ibn Salāmah (province of Oran). There he started work on his great history of the world (*Kitāb al-ʿIbar*) and completed its "introduction," the *Muqaddimah,* in 1377. Returning to his native Tunis in order to complete the history, he reentered government service but soon felt that his position at court was shaky. Under the pretext of going on the pilgrimage to Mecca, he left Tunis in October 1382 for Egypt. There he spent the rest of his life as a college professor and administrator and achieved the zenith of his career with an appointment to the prestigious and influential Mālikī judgeship. His religious experience was enlarged by a pilgrimage to Mecca (1387–1388) and, in particular, a visit to the holy cities of Palestine (1400). A meeting with the Mongol ruler Timur in Damascus early in 1401 was another noteworthy event of his Egyptian period. He died unexpectedly in Cairo on March 17, 1406.

Ibn Khaldūn's approach to religion was conditioned by the fact that he lived in a Muslim society and was a prominent member of its religio-juridical establishment. Both as an enormously complex institution and as a powerful religious force in society, Islam is always present in his work and his thought. The encyclopedic outline of Muslim civilization in the *Muqaddimah* contains brief and factual sketches of the religious sciences and institutions; these sketches are admirably persuasive and have proved useful, for Muslims and non-Muslims alike, as a first introduction to the subject. The historical development of the sciences connected with the Qurʾān, the prophetic traditions *(ḥadīth)*, and jurisprudence is analyzed in a deceptively simple manner, and the great political-theological problems agitating Muslim society, such as the character of the caliphate and the ever present messianic expectations, are discussed astutely.

A matter of vital concern in Ibn Khaldūn's life and time was the religious and social meaning of the relationship of Islam, in its dominant traditional manifestation as a sum of fundamentalist theology and law, to the individual and group emotionality of internalized religion represented by Sufism (*taṣawwuf,* "mysticism"). He is credited with a legal responsum *(fatwā)* and historical description and discussion of theories on mysticism, that expands on the chapter devoted to Sufism in the *Muqaddimah.* He supports traditional Sufism and rejects its ecstatic, seemingly antinomian forms, while being fully aware of their great impact on society. Other supernatural sciences, that were taken very seriously throughout medieval Islam, such as sorcery, astrology, and "scientific" attempts at divining the future, are discussed as to their compatibility with the traditional religious outlook. In general, Ibn Khaldūn applies a sense of realism to his basic concern with the forces governing human society. His approach to the religious/political institutions and religious sciences of Islam is predicated upon the assumption that human rationality, different though it is from revealed religion, affects them as it does all other cultural activity. Even where psychological or supernatural factors appear to be involved, humankind's task is to rely on reason, seconded by observation and experience, for understanding and explaining its world.

This approach raises the question of how Ibn Khaldūn reconciled his views on the normal course of human affairs with the dominant religious traditions and beliefs. The importance of his work results from his remarkable attempt to explain the historical processes in human terms, assumed by him to possess universal validity. Culture, equated with human life, is seen as dependent upon population density, a natural assumption in premodern times possibly confirmed for people in the fourteenth century by the devastation of the Black Death. The innate human psychological need to belong and give political support to a group dominated by one or more leading personalities, for which Ibn Khaldūn chose the code word *ʿaṣabīyah,* translated approximately as "group feeling," is instrumental in producing the circular ebb and flow of concentrations of political power necessary for all civilization; religious convictions are beneficial, at times even indispensable, for an *ʿaṣabīyah* to achieve its potential. Economic factors—to a large extent controllable by proper human management, provided that the wisdom and will for it are present—complete the picture of human society, or societies, as based upon reason, numbers, and psychology.

What role, then, belongs to the principal religious tenets of Islam, such as God, prophecy, and the other world? Ibn Khaldūn could not disregard this question. He takes for granted the undeniable reality of the vast metaphysical structure set up by traditional Islam. Although he argues that prophecy cannot be proved by logical means, and he explains prophecy, on the human side, as depending on an extraordinary power of the soul, he accepts as a matter of course the existence of a succession of chosen human beings who are transmitters of the divine message, culminating in the prophet Muḥammad. Metaphysical forces are seen to have exercised a large, and often lasting, influence in certain ages, particularly at the origin of Islam. The potential for divine interference in human affairs at any given time continues to exist. Such interference, however, as in the form of miracles whose occasional occurrence cannot be denied, constitutes an interruption of the ordinary and need not be reckoned with in studying human society and the rules governing it. The widespread speculation about the end of the world concerned him only inasmuch as it was a belief that tended to conflict with political realities. There was practically no need for him to discuss life after death, which he accepted as a powerful belief.

It is tempting to ascribe to Ibn Khaldūn a kind of secularism and even claim for him a tendency to separate religion from politics and sociology. This view is anachronistic and disregards Muslim reality. Ibn Khaldūn was not an original religious thinker, but he showed a deep and no doubt genuine appreciation of the importance of Islam and religion in general. As befitted his position in life, he was sincere in his reverence for traditional Islam and the dogmas and practices it had produced. His individual religious views were not such as to cause much of a stir among his contemporaries, and there was little reason for later generations to pay attention to them. It was his way of looking at history that deeply impressed succeeding historians, especially among the Ottoman Turks. The full significance of his achievement began to find worldwide appreciation in the nineteenth century.

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A good introduction to the thought of Ibn Khaldūn remains Muhsin Mahdi's *Ibn Khaldûn's Philosophy of History* (London, 1957). While there are numerous studies of his sociological, philosophical, and historical thought, few are devoted to the specifically religious aspects of his work; among them is Ignacio Saadé's *El pensamiento religioso de Ibn Jaldûn* (Madrid, 1973).

FRANZ ROSENTHAL (1987)

IBN RUSHD (AH 520–595/1126–1198 CE), better known in Western sources as Averroës, was the last outstanding Arab philosopher and commentator of Aristotle. Ibn Rushd was born in Córdoba, the capital of Muslim Spain (*al-Andalus*) in 1126, into a family of prominent (Mālikī) religious scholars. His full name in Arabic is given as Abū al-Walīd Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Rushd, and he is reported to have studied jurisprudence (*fiqh*), Arabic letters (*adab*), theology (*kalām*), philosophy, and medicine with a number of eminent teachers, some of whose names are given in the biographical sources. None of his philosophy teachers are mentioned by name, but he is reported to have had the highest regard for Ibn Bājjah (Avempace, d. 1139), who was responsible for introducing Aristotle into al-Andalus and was the first Arab philosopher in that part of the Islamic world. In addition, Ibn Rushd was a friend of Ibn Tufayl (d. 1185), author of a well-known philosophical novel, *Ḥayy Ibn Yaqzān*, which has been compared to *Robinson Crusoe.* Ibn Tufayl, who was the royal physician of the caliph, Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf, introduced Ibn Rushd in 1169 to that prince, who was apparently genuinely interested in philosophy, but complained of the "abstruse idiom of Aristotle or his (Arabic) interpreters." Thereupon, Ibn Rushd was commissioned to comment on Aristotle's works for the use of the caliph and was appointed Mālikī judge (*qāḍin*; *qāḍī*) of Seville and later chief judge of Córdoba. In 1182, he was appointed royal physician at the court of Marakesh, where he died in 1198 at the age of seventy-two; he was buried in his birthplace of Córdoba.

When Abū Yūsuf, surnamed al-Manṣūr, succeeded his father in 1184, Ibn Rushd continued to enjoy royal patronage, but in 1195, probably in response to public pressure instigated by the Mālikī jurists, who were averse to the study of philosophy and the "ancient sciences," Ibn Rushd's fortune took an adverse turn; he was exiled to Lucena, to the southeast of Córdoba; his books were burned; and the study of philosophy and the sciences, with the exception of astronomy, medicine, and arithmetic, was prohibited. Ibn Rushd's disgrace, however, did not last long and he was soon restored to favor, but died shortly after.

WRITINGS. Ibn Rushd's writings fall into five distinct categories: philosophical, theological, juridical, medical, and linguistic.

His philosophical writings consist of a series of commentaries—long, intermediate, and short (i.e., summaries or paraphrases)—of the whole Aristotelian corpus with the exception of the *Politics*, totaling thirty-eight titles, which have survived in Arabic, as well as Hebrew and Latin translations. In addition, he wrote paraphrases of Plato's *Republic* and the *Isagoge* of Porphyry; commentaries on *De intellectu* of Alexander of Aphrodisias, the *Metaphysics* of Nicolaus of Damascus, and the *al-Magest* of Ptolemy; and a series of original tracts titled *On the Intellect*, *On the Syllogism*, *On the Conjunction with the Active Intellect*, and *On the Heavenly Sphere*. To these tracts should be added a number of polemical tracts, aimed at al-Fārābī (d. 950) and Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037).

The theological treatises include the *Decisive Treatise (Faṣl al-Maqāl)* and the *Exposition of the Methods of Proof (al-Kashf)*, to which his rebuttal of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī's *Incoherence of the Philosophers*, discussed below, might be added. Ibn Rushd's juridical writings include two treatises on jurisprudence, of which the *Primer of the Discretionary Scholar (Bidāyat al-Mujtahid)* has survived. His medical writings consist of *al-Kulliyāt*, translated into Latin as *Colliget*, as well as the short tracts *On Fever*, *On the Humors*, and *On Theriac*. There are also a number of paraphrases or summaries of Galen's medical treatises and finally a commentary on Ibn Sīnā's medical proem, known as *al-Urjūzah*. Ibn Rushd also wrote a solitary treatise on Arabic grammar.

DEFENSE OF PHILOSOPHICAL DISCOURSE. Philosophy, which found its way into the Arab Muslim world in the eighth century, was not always well received in intellectual Islamic quarters, but came into collision with Islamic theology (*kalām*) towards the middle of the ninth century. The philosophical-theological confrontation reached its climax in the last quarter of the tenth century, when al-Ghazālī, generally regarded as the greatest theologian of Islam, launched his onslaught against the philosophers in a classic work of antiphilosophical polemic entitled *Incoherence of the Philosophers* (*Tahāfut al-Falāsifah*), published in 1085. Almost a century later, Ibn Rushd took up the cudgels against al-Ghazālī in a book entitled *The Incoherence of the Incoherence* (*Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*, 1180). Shortly before, Ibn Rushd wrote the already-mentioned *Decisive Treatise* (1178) and *Exposition of the Methods of Proof* (1179) to defend the thesis of the harmony of the religious law (*sharīʿah*) and philosophy (*ḥikmah*) and to define the subject matter of theological enquiry respectively.

In the first of these two treatises, Ibn Rushd sets out to prove that religious law has indeed "commanded" the study of philosophy, which he defines as "the investigation of existing entities and their consideration insofar as they reveal their Maker." He supports this claim by reference to a series of Qurʾanic verses that call upon humankind to "investigate the kingdom of the heavens and the earth" (7:184), "to reflect upon the creation of the heavens and the earth" (3:191), and "to consider, you people of understanding" (59:2).

This investigation, reflection, or consideration, Ibn Rushd goes on to argue, is only possible by means of rational deduction (*qiyās*), which he contrasts with legal deduction, or analogy, which had been sanctioned from the earliest times by legal scholars. If the latter is religiously admissible, he says, the former ought to be as well. To do this, the seeker of religious truth must first acquire a thorough knowledge of the various forms of deduction, the demonstrative (*burhānī*, *apodeictic*), the dialectical, the rhetorical, and the sophistical, corresponding to the four types of syllogism given in Aristotle's *Organon*. The highest of these forms of deduction, according to Ibn Rushd, is the demonstrative, which is the prerogative of the philosophers, followed by dialectic, the prerogative of the theologians (*Mutakallimūn*), and the rhetorical, the prerogative of the masses at large. The sophistical form is naturally excluded as invalid.

To illustrate the methodology he proposes in the *Decisive Treatise*, Ibn Rushd proceeds in the *Exposition* to list and discuss the major propositions that constitute the subject matter of what was known in the Middle Ages as Scholastic theology, discussed for instance in the *Summa Theologica* of Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274). The list opens with the existence of God, his attributes, and his creation of the world, followed by questions concerning the commissioning of prophets, divine decree and predestination, and resurrection.

In connection with the proofs of the existence of God, Ibn Rushd is critical of the Ashʿarite proof, which rests on the two premises of the creation of the world in time and its composition of indivisible particles or atoms, neither of which, according to him, is demonstrable or certain. His own proof, which he believes to be embodied in the Qurʾān, is the teleological, or as he calls it, the proof from divine providence (*ʿināyah*) or invention (*ikhtirāʿ*).

REBUTTAL OF AL-GHAZĀLĪ'S *INCOHERENCE OF THE PHILOSOPHERS*. A pivotal aspect of Ibn Rushd's philosophical output is the rehabilitation of philosophy, which had come under constant assault almost from the start. The most devastating such assault was launched by the great Ashʿarite theologian and mystic al-Ghazālī in his *Incoherence of the Philosophers*, by whom he meant al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, the chief Islamic interpreters of Aristotle, according to him. Those philosophers, al-Ghazālī argues, should be charged with irreligion (*kufr*) on three questions and heresy or innovation (*bidʿah*) on seventeen. The former questions or propositions are the pre-eternity of the world, God's knowledge of universals but not of particulars, and the denial of bodily resurrection. The remaining seventeen include the post-eternity of the world; the inability of the philosophers to prove conclusively the existence of God, his unity, or his simplicity; and their assertion of a necessary causal "correlation" between natural occurrences that neither observation nor reason warrants.

In his rebuttal, Ibn Rushd counters the first charge by arguing that the philosophers distinguish between "continuous" and "discontinuous" creation and hold that the former, known in the Middle Ages as *creatio ab aeterno*, is more appropriately predicated of God. Ibn Rushd counters the second charge by arguing that God's knowledge is generically different from human knowledge insofar as it is the *cause* of the object known, whereas human knowledge is the *effect* of that object, on the one hand, and its modality is unknown to us on the other. Finally, he counters the third charge by asserting that bodily resurrection is a matter in which all the religious scriptures, including the Qurʾān, the Gospels, and the Jewish scriptures, concur. Belief in bodily resurrection and the similar religious dogmas should not be questioned insofar as they are preconditions of happiness and virtue in this life, and, although not philosophically demonstrable, they should be adhered to on moral, social, and pragmatic grounds.

On the question of necessary causation, Ibn Rushd argues along Aristotelian lines that the repudiation of causality is tantamount to the repudiation of scientific knowledge altogether, since such knowledge is grounded in the knowledge of the specific properties of existing entities and the way in which they impinge on each other as causes and effects.

ETHICS AND POLITICS. Ibn Rushd's contribution to ethics is embodied in his summary of Aristotelian ethics and a middle commentary on the *Nicomachean Ethics*, which has survived only in Latin translations. More interesting in this context is his *Paraphrase of Plato's Republic*, which has survived in Hebrew and Latin translations and in which he discusses at some length the interrelation of the two "practical" sciences of ethics and politics. He states in the preface that he has elected to paraphrase Plato's famous political treatise because Artistotle's *Politics* "has not fallen into our hands." He does not appear to be aware of the fact that the Aristotelian treatise was never translated into Arabic in his day and was only translated from Greek in 1957 by Augustin Barbara.

In his paraphrase (*jawāmiʿ*), Ibn Rushd distinguishes the two practical sciences of ethics and politics, whose object is action, from the theoretical, whose object is scientific knowledge. Ethics, he then argues, has a certain analogy with medicine insofar as it has, like medicine, two subdivisions: hygienic and therapeutic. The former is concerned with the way in which habits and voluntary modes of behavior or traits become ingrained in the soul; the latter with the way in which those habits or modes of behavior are restored once they are gone. All the practical virtues, however, are subservient to the theoretical, which consist of the rational, deliberative, moral, and technical, corresponding to Artistotle's table in the *Nicomachean Ethics* VI, or reason (*nous*), practical wisdom (*phronesis*), and practical art (*techne*).

Politics, by contrast, is concerned with those modes of association in which the human is a political animal (*zoon politcon*) and is forced to choose, by dint of the need for security and survival, as Plato held in the *Republic*, Book I. Ibn Rushd agrees with Plato that the state, like the individual soul, has three parts—the rational, the spirited (*thymos*), and the appetitive—with which the perfection of each is bound up. Thus, a person is described as wise to the extent the rational part of his or her soul rules the spirited and the appetitive. A person is courageous to the extent his or her spirited part is subservient to the rational, and temperate to the extent his or her appetitive part is subservient to the rational as well. The same is true of the state and its parts. When all the parts of the soul or state are rationally ordered, the supreme virtue of justice arises. This virtue is defined at the individual level as "the way in which everyone of the (soul's) parts (i.e., the rational, the spirited, and the appetitive) does only what it has to do in the appropriate manner and at the appropriate time." At the collective or the political level, justice is stated to be "nothing more than that every man in the state does the work that is his by nature in the best way he possibly can." This is achieved once the class that possesses the virtues of knowledge and wisdom (i.e., the philosopher-king and the guardians) are allowed to rule the two subordinate classes of auxiliaries (the military) and laborers.

LATIN AVERROISM: IBN RUSHD IN THE WEST. Less than three decades after his death, the commentaries of Ibn Rushd found their way into Western Europe in Hebrew and Latin translations. The interest of the Jews in his writings stemmed from the high regard in which he was held by his countryman, the great Jewish Aristotelian, Moses Maimonides (d. 1204). By 1230, Michael the Scot, Herman the German, and William of Luna rendered into Latin the greater part of Ibn Rushd's commentaries. No sooner had these translations found their way into learned circles in France and Italy than they caused a major intellectual stir. First, they led to the rediscovery of Aristotle, whose philosophy was almost completely forgotten since the time of Boethius (d. c. 525), the Roman consul and author of the *Consolations of Philosophy*, who had translated the whole logical corpus of Aristotle, known as the *Organon*, and commented on parts of it. Secondly, they contributed to the rise of Latin Scholasticism, one of the glories of late Medieval philosophy, as Étienne Gilson has put it, which prior to that rediscovery was inconceivable. Thirdly, they contributed to the rise of European rationalism, which Gilson has attributed in his *Reason and Revelation in the Middle Ages* (1938) to the influence of that "Arabian philosopher (meaning Averroës). . .who bequeathed to his successors the ideal of a purely rational philosophy, an ideal whose influence was to be such that, by it, even the evolution of Christian philosophy was to be deeply modified" (p. 38).

By the middle of the thirteenth century, as a consequence of Ibn Rushd's influence, Latin philosophers and theologians split into rival groups, the pro-Averroists, represented by Siger of Brabant (d. 1281), Boethius of Dacia (d. 1284), John of Jandun (d. 1328), and others; and the anti-Averroists, represented by Thomas Aquinas, his teacher Albertus Magnus (d. 1280), and others. The controversy between the two groups reached such a pitch that the bishop of Paris, Etienne Tempier, was forced to issue in 1270 the first condemnation of fifteen heretical propositions, thirteen of which were of Averroist inspiration. This was followed in 1277 by a second condemnation of 219 propositions of Averroist and Aristotelian inspiration.

In the next century, Dante Alighieri (d. 1321) advanced in his *De Monarchia* an antipapalist and secularist thesis based on Averroës's theory of the "possible intellect," which was met with staunch opposition from ecclesiastical quarters. In 1327, Dante was condemned as an Averroist and his *De Monarchia* was burned in the public square of Bologna by order of Pope John XXII.

The anti-Averroist group, led by Thomas Aquinas, challenged the Averroists on three major counts: the unity of the intellect, the eternity of the world, and the scope of divine providence. In his famous tract, *De unitate intellectus, contra Averroistas*, Thomas Aquinas challenges Averroës's interpretation of Aristotle's view of the intellect as both universal and transcendent, and accordingly susceptible of immortality in both its possible and active capacities.

On the question of the eternity of the world, Thomas Aquinas contends, following the lead of Maimonides in his *Dux Perplexorum*, that Aristotle did not actually assert the eternity of the world in a conclusive way, but had in two of his works, *Topica* and *De Coelo*, regarded it as simply probable. As regards the scope of divine providence, Averroës explicitly, and Aristotle by implication, were accused of a rigid determinism that left no scope for divine intervention in the form of miracles.

Latin Averroism continued to gain ground in Padua, Bologna, and elsewhere in Italy well into the sixteenth century. The chief Averroists of the period were John of Jandun (d. 1328), Marsilius of Padua (d. 1343), Urban of Bologna, Paul of Venice, and others.

Pietro Pomponazzi (d. 1525), who tended to follow Alexander of Aphrodisias in his interpretation of Aristotle, was nevertheless in agreement with Averroës that religion has a purely pragmatic, social, and ethical function insofar as it contributes to private and public morality. The chief Averroists of the sixteenth century included Niphus and Zimara, the two most accomplished commentators on the works of Aristotle and Averroës during that period.

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MAJID FAKHRY (2005)

IBN SĪNĀ (AH 370–428/980–1037 CE), more fully Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sīnā, known in Latin as Avicenna; Muslim philosopher and physician. Ibn Sīnā was born in Afshana, a village near Bukhara. Today a city in Uzbekistan, Bukhara was at that time the capital of the Samanid rulers, for whom Ibn Sīnā's father worked.

EDUCATION. Ibn Sīnā grew up in a bilingual environment; his native language was Farsi (Persian), but the language of his education was Arabic. The heritage of these two cultures was to lead to the two very different lines of his influence on later thinkers.

The education provided for Ibn Sīnā by his father was very wide-ranging, encompassing both Muslim religious studies and secular subjects from the Arabic, Greek, and Indian traditions. He began by memorizing the Qurʾān and much of the didactic literature known as *adab*, then went on to study Muslim jurisprudence (*fiqh*). His father and brother were followers of the Ismaʿīlī branch of Shīʿī Islam, which encouraged the study of hermetic philosophy, Neoplatonism, and mathematics. Ibn Sīnā did not become an Ismaʿīlī but did study these subjects, as well as "Indian calculation," probably meaning the use of the Hindi (Arabic) numerical system. When he reached ten years of age, his father hired a tutor to teach him Greek philosophy and science. For the next several years he studied Aristotle's logic, Euclid's geometry, and Ptolemy's astronomy and quickly surpassed his tutor in his knowledge of these subjects.

From age fourteen or fifteen Ibn Sīnā continued his studies on his own, reading the texts and commentaries in the natural sciences, metaphysics, and medicine. He excelled in this last subject, to the point that he was practicing and teaching it by the time he was sixteen. He completed his education in the following year and a half, reviewing and mastering all the branches of philosophy: logic, mathematics, natural science (or physics), and metaphysics. He was helped in his understanding of metaphysics by the commentary of Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (d. 950 CE), whose commentaries on Greek philosophy and original writings had a great influence on Ibn Sīnā. In his attack on both Ibn Sīnā and al-Fārābī, the great theologian al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) was to consider their views virtually identical.

PUBLIC LIFE. Ibn Sīnā's entry into public life began during this period of study, when he was summoned to treat the Samanid emir in Bukhara and then became part of his court. He was to spend the rest of his life—the next forty years—as a courtier, with all of the vicissitudes of fortune which that position usually entails. He held both medical and political positions in a number of courts in areas that are today part of Iran and the central Asian republics, usually being forced to leave a given territory by "necessity," as he laconically calls it. At several courts he was an important minister, but the jealousy of rivals and an undoubtedly arrogant attitude toward his intellectual inferiors (virtually everyone he met) brought about his downfall and imprisonment or hasty escape from most of these courts.

During the time of this active political involvement, Ibn Sīnā was also engaged in writing a large and influential corpus of works on medicine and all branches of philosophy. Many of these works have been lost, and many that exist today are unedited, so we cannot speak with certainty about his philosophical development. Most of his major writings have survived, however, with the exception of *Al-inṣāf* (The judgment), in which he compared the Eastern and Western views of Aristotle's philosophy. This work was lost during his lifetime; it might have answered some of the questions about his philosophy which exist even today. The two most influential of his works, *Al-qānūn fī al-ṭibb* (The canon of medicine) and *Al-shifāʾ* (The healing [of the soul]), were written over a period of years and were intended to be compendia of their subjects, medicine and philosophy. Most of his other major writings that can be dated were composed during the last thirteen years of his life, which he spent in Isfahan or on campaign with its ruler, as his official physician and courtier. During this period he composed some works in Farsi, such as the *Dānish-nāmah-i ʿAlāʾī* (ʿAlāʾī philosophy), and oversaw the translation of some of his earlier Arabic treatises into Farsi. In all, more than 130 works by Ibn Sīnā have survived to this day, many of them found only in manuscript form in Middle Eastern libraries.

Ibn Sīnā was interested in all branches of knowledge, religious and secular. Once, in order to avenge a slighting remark about his knowledge of Arabic philology, he spent three years studying the subject, then wrote several letters imitating exactly the greatest prose stylists in the language, and concluded his study by writing a book on the subject. Most of his surviving writings are of this sort: accounts of one aspect or another of the learning of his time, often in response to questions posed by his contemporaries. His philosophy is presented more systematically in his major works: the *Shifāʾ*; the *Najāt* (Salvation [from error]), a selection of the most important parts of the *Shifāʾ; Ishārāt wa-al-tanbīhāt* (Instructions and remarks), the last of his major writings; and the *Dānish-nāmah-i ʿAlāʾī.* The *Shifāʾ*, for example, is divided into four parts, treating logic, physics, mathematics, and metaphysics; the first three parts are further subdivided, thus covering virtually all of the subjects of philosophy.

THOUGHT. As can be seen from his major writings, Ibn Sīnā wished not merely to study all knowledge but to synthesize it as well. Aristotle's philosophy, Neoplatonism, Islamic religious teachings, and quite possibly Zoroastrian concepts were all present in his intellectual background, and traces of all of these traditions can be found in his thought. In his cosmology, for example, he adopts the Neoplatonic theory of emanation from a Necessary Existent through a series of Intelligences to the Active Intelligence, from which emanate the vegetative, animal, and rational souls and the material basis of the sublunary world. This emanation is necessary, since it is implicit in the nature of the Necessary Existent, as is its absolute goodness.

The Necessary Existent is the only exception to Ibn Sīnā's absolute distinction between essence and existence. For the Necessary Existent, essence and existence are identical; for all other existents they are separate. Even though the Necessary Existent is the Prime Cause of the created universe, the latter is independent of the Necessary Existent, which has no control over the good and (necessary) evil resulting from the process of emanation. Thus he employs Neoplatonic ideas in his attempt to harmonize the theory of Aristotle, which regards matter as coeternal with the Prime Mover, and the belief in creation by God *ex nihilo* held by Muslims. He was later criticized by Ibn Rushd (Averroës; d. 1198) for not following Aristotle more closely and was accused of heresy by al-Ghazālī for not accepting creation *ex nihilo.*

In his exposition of the relationship between human beings and the Necessary Existent, Ibn Sīnā likewise advocates a position that draws upon Neoplatonism to synthesize the various positions current in his time. Each human being, he states, is composed of body, soul, and intelligence. The highest aspect of the human being, the intelligence, desires to reach its perfection, to return to the source from which it has emanated. Passing back through the various stages of emanation, which Ibn Sīnā compares to passing through the stages of the mystical path, the individual intelligence ultimately achieves union with the Necessary Existent. There are similarities between this view and Aristotle's position that the greatest human happiness is found in the godlike activity of contemplation. However, in no sense could a part of the human soul become identified with the Prime Mover in Aristotle's system. Ibn Sīnā is closer to an Islamic position in his discussion of the relationship of humans to the Necessary Existent. But it is not the orthodox theological doctrine, which stresses the absolute separateness of human beings and God, that he approaches in his account. Rather, it is the Ṣūfī, or mystical, view of the divine-human relationship. His mysticism differs from that of most Ṣūfīs, however, in his argument that the *ʿārif* ("knower," or, perhaps, "Gnostic") can attain the *maʿrifat Allāh* ("knowledge of God") by his own will; he does not need God's grace to achieve this state of illumination.

In recent years, students of Ibn Sīnā's religious thought have found traces of Zoroastrian influence, in addition to the influences of Aristotelian, Neoplatonic, and Islamic ideas. His theory of the role of the Intelligences in the universe bears a resemblance to the angelology of Zoroastrianism, and much less to the traditional Islamic view of angels as God's vicegerents and messengers. The individual must awaken to the knowledge that his intellect is a part of the world of the angels; at that point the mystical journey begins. Ibn Sīnā's view of the material universe as eternal, evil (mixed with good), and completely determined is related not only to the tenets of Gnosticism and Manichaeism that still survived in the Iran of his time, but also to the late Zoroastrian doctrine of Zurvanism, which held even God to be bound by fate. In his development of a philosophical vocabulary in Farsi, he shows a knowledge of Zoroastrian terminology and adapts it to his own system.

INFLUENCE ON THE WEST. In canto 4 of his *Inferno* Dante includes Ibn Sīnā with the great pagan writers of antiquity in Limbo, the highest circle of Hell. Muslims were generally seen as schismatics—Dante in fact puts Muḥammad and ʿAlī among the schismatics in canto 28—so it is surprising to encounter Ibn Sīnā alongside Homer, Plato, and Aristotle. Dante placed him in this high position quite likely because of the great influence his writings had exerted on Christian thought over the previous century and a half. His influence on Dante's ideas was especially strong.

Ibn Sīnā's influence in the West began almost as soon as his works began to be translated in twelfth-century Spain. Most of the *Shifāʾ* was translated into Latin before 1150, and it presented Christian thinkers with their first exposure to a completely coherent cosmology and system of metaphysics. It had a seductive attraction because of its comprehensiveness and was in some respects easier to accept than Aristotle's philosophy. Because Aristotle's works were being translated at the same time as those of Ibn Sīnā, and because some Neoplatonic works were attributed to Aristotle (e.g., the *Liber de causis*, a collection of extracts from Proclus's *Elements of Theology*), it was not always easy to distinguish the ideas of the two philosophers. During the thirteenth century, however, students of their works and commentators on them were able to separate the two men and identify the spurious works attributed to them. At this point it was discovered by Christian theologians, as al-Ghazālī had alleged over a century earlier, that Ibn Sīnā's cosmology and metaphysics posed a danger to orthodox monotheism, whether Christian or Muslim.

Ibn Sīnā's philosophical system was too well constructed to refute completely and too widespread to ignore. Virtually all of the scholastic theologians accepted some of his ideas, although none went so far as to become "Latin Avicennists." The Christian writer who came closest to adopting his philosophy completely was his twelfth-century translator, Dominicus Gundissalinus, who wrote a number of works which borrowed heavily from the psychology and metaphysics of Ibn Sīnā, which Gundissalinus had translated into Latin. Gundissalinus's works, as well as those of Ibn Sīnā, were viewed critically by William of Auvergne (or William of Paris, c. 1180–1249). He accepted Ibn Sīnā's distinction between essence and existence but strongly rejected his emanationist creation theory, including the hierarchy of Intelligences existing between humans and God. In this rejection he was followed by Albertus Magnus (1206–1280) and Thomas Aquinas (1224–1274).

The two most important Christian thinkers strongly influenced by Ibn Sīnā were the British Franciscans Roger Bacon (c. 1214–after 1292) and John Duns Scotus (c. 1265–1308). Bacon did not compose a systematic theology but, rather, wrote a scientific encyclopedia resembling in many ways Ibn Sīnā's *Shifāʾ*. Neither Ibn Sīnā nor Roger Bacon wished to compare each point with the views of the ancient philosophers; as Ibn Sīnā told his chief disciple, Jūzjānī, "If you would be satisfied with my composing a work in which I would set forth what, to me, is sound in these sciences, without debating with those who disagree or devoting myself to their refutation, I would do that" (Gohlman, 1974, p. 55). Bacon also believed that Ibn Sīnā was, after Aristotle, the prince of philosophy. Even so, Bacon could not follow Ibn Sīnā completely: he substitutes God for Ibn Sīnā's creating Active Intelligence, for example. Duns Scotus adopted Ibn Sīnā's definition of metaphysics as the study of being *qua* being, and his discussion of universals was largely based on that of Ibn Sīnā as well.

INFLUENCE IN THE MUSLIM WORLD. Ibn Sīnā had a number of disciples who continued studying and teaching his philosophical system. The orthodox Islamic revival of the eleventh century CE, however, crowned by al-Ghazālī's attack on the philosophers, limited the spread of his ideas to those areas not under the control of the Seljuk dynasty. The fact that he did not found a school like the Academy or Lyceum also restricted his influence to the occasional scholar or group of scholars. It is ironic that his philosophical writings became a part of the curriculum of European universities but not of the *madrasah*s (colleges) established in the Muslim world.

Ibn Sīnā's influence on Muslim writers, especially in the Farsi-speaking area of the Muslim world, was, nevertheless, important. The most significant impact of his thought was on Sufism, more specifically on the Ishrāqī (Illuminationist) school of Sufism founded by Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā Suhrawardī (1153–1191). The source of this influence was not his great encyclopedia of philosophy, the *Shifāʾ*, but rather several short treatises, *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, *The Bird*, *On Love*, and *Salmān and Absāl*, as well as the last sections of his *Ishārāt.* There is a dispute among contemporary scholars concerning the extent to which Ibn Sīnā intended these works to be interpreted exoterically as mystical treatises. The Ishrāqī Ṣūfīs, however, read them in this way and combine them with the obviously mystical theosophy of Muḥyi al-Dīn ibn al-ʿArabī (1165–1240) and the ideas of his contemporary Suhrawardī to form the most influential school of mystical philosophy in the Farsi-speaking Islamic world.

The aspect of Ibn Sīnā's writings that attracted Suhrawardī and his followers was his Eastern (*mashriqīyah*) philosophy. The Arabic words for "Eastern" and "Illuminationist" (*mushriqīyah*) are written identically; according to Suhrawardī they mean the same thing in Ibn Sīnā's works. Unfortunately, the most important of his writings on Eastern philosophy, *Al-inṣāf*, was lost, but his references to the East in *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* and *The Bird* convinced Suhrawardī that Ibn Sīnā was on the right track. Suhrawardī translated the latter into Farsi and wrote a companion work to *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, which he called *Western Exile*. In his basic treatise *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* (Illumination wisdom), Suhrawardī points out that the sources of wisdom that Ibn Sīnā lacked were precisely those writings of Zoroastrianism, Pythagoreanism, and Hermetism which were both Eastern and Illuminationist. He rejects Ibn Sīnā's distinction between essence and existence, saying that existence has no reality outside the intelligence that abstracts its essence. Ibn Sīnā's view of form and matter, similar to that of Aristotle, is transformed by Suhrawardī into light and darkness; the human soul is composed of light. He interprets Ibn Sīnā's treatises to be symbolic accounts of the return of the soul/light to the Supreme Light, and wrote several treatises that describe this journey of the soul to God.

The Ishrāqī tradition was most influential in Iran after the establishment of the Safavid regime (1499–1722) and its adoption of Shīʿī Islam as the official state religion. In Isfahan, the Safavid capital after 1598, the two greatest exponents of the Ishrāqī school were Mīr Dāmād (d. 1631) and his pupil Mullā Ṣadrā (1571/2–1640). Mīr Dāmād wrote a commentary on the metaphysics of the *Shifāʾ* in which he combined the teachings of Ibn Sīnā and Suhrawardī, particularly in the area of angelology. Mullā Ṣadrā, the greatest of the Ishrāqī theosophers, founded a school that continues to the present day. His synthesis of philosophy, revelation, and illumination follows Ibn Sīnā's principle of the primacy of existence and its division into necessary, possible, and impossible existents. He departs from Ibn Sīnā's views and relies more on Ibn al-ʿArabī, the Neoplatonists, and Islamic revelation in holding that the sciences of the "otherworld," learned by illumination and revelation, are true knowledge and far superior to the sciences of this world. Just as the Europeans had accepted only one aspect of Ibn Sīnā's thought, the philosophical/scientific, the Ishrāqīyah selected only the other aspect, the mystical, for inclusion in their system of belief.

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William E. Gohlman (1987 and 2005)

IBN TAYMĪYAH

(AH 661–728/1263–1328 CE), more fully, Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm ibn ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ḥarrānī al-Dimashqī, was a jurisconsult, theologian, and Ṣūfī. He was born in Harran, and at the age of six he fled with his father and brothers to Damascus during the Mongol invasions. Ibn Taymīyah devoted himself from early youth to various Islamic sciences (Qurʾān, *ḥadīth*, and legal studies), and he was a voracious reader of books on sciences that were not taught in the regular institutions of learning, including logic, philosophy, and *kalām.*

Early Career. Ibn Taymīyah studied law under the direction of his father and Shams al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Maqdisī (d. 1283). Under several teachers of *ḥadīth* he studied a number of works, in particular the *Musnad* of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, (a *ḥadīth* collection that he read several times), the "six books" of *ḥadīth*, and the biobibliographical *Muʿjam* of al-Ṭabarānī. He studied Arabic grammar and lexicography for a brief period under Sulaymān ibn ʿAbd al-Qawi al-Ṭūfī (d. 1316); then, on his own, he mastered Sībawayh's text on grammar. He became qualified to issue legal opinions before the age of twenty; at twenty-one, upon the death of his father in 1283, he succeeded him as professor of *ḥadīth* and law at Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Sukkarīyah, a Ṣūfī monastery and college of *ḥadīth* founded around the middle of the thirteenth century in Damascus. Ibn Taymīyah was a prolific writer, described as "fast to learn and slow to forget": It was said of him that once he learned something, he never forgot it.

Ibn Taymīyah also succeeded his father at the Umayyad Mosque, where he gave lectures on Qurʾanic exegesis. His biographers record that, lecturing without notes, he would give materials for two or more fascicles. On one of these Fridays of Qurʾanic exegesis in the Umayyad Mosque in 1291, Ibn Taymīyah lectured briefly on the divine attributes. This was his first known public venture into controversial dogmatics. The reaction was quick among his opponents, who tried to prevent him from lecturing further in the mosque but failed in their attempt. Ibn Taymīyah's treatment of the divine attributes was given as part of his profession of faith, the *ʿaqīdah.* The Shāfiʿī chief *qāḍī* Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khuwayyī declared: "I am in agreement with the creed of Shaykh Taqī al-Dīn [ibn Taymīyah]." When he was reproved, he continued: "because he has sound intelligence, speaks from extensive knowledge, and says only what he knows to be sound."

In 1292 Ibn Taymīyah went on the pilgrimage to Mecca, where he gathered materials for his work *Manāsik al-ḥajj* (Rituals of the pilgrimage), denouncing a number of practices in the rituals of the pilgrimage as condemnable innovations.

The Shāfiʿī historian Ibn Kathīr, in the events of the year 1293/4, treats of the affair of ʿAssāf al-Naṣrānī ("the Christian"), who was reported by witnesses to have cursed the Prophet. Ibn Taymīyah and a companion, al-Fāriqī, apparently implicated in the affair for encouraging the assault and battery to which ʿAssāf and his bedouin protector were victims, were flogged and put under house arrest. This was the episode behind Ibn Taymīyah's work *Kitāb al-ṣārim al-maslūl ʿalā shātim al-rasūl* (The sharp sword drawn against the reviler of the messenger [of God]).

In 1296, at the death of his professor Zayn al-Dīn ibn Munajjā, Ibn Taymīyah succeeded to the chair of law thus vacated in the Madrasah Ḥanbalīyah. His biographer Ibn Rajab said that he read an autobiographical note in Ibn Taymīyah's own hand to the effect that Ibn Taymīyah was offered, before the year 1291 (thus before the age of thirty), the post of *shaykh al-shuyūkh,* or head of the Ṣūfīs, and the post of chief *qāḍī,* but he refused them both. Refusals to assume such posts usually meant that the scholar wished to stay aloof from the central power, out of desire for a private scholarly life, or in order to pursue the ascetic life, or to remain free to criticize practices he deemed not in keeping with the tenets of Islam. When Ibn Taymīyah's subsequent life is taken into consideration, his refusal clearly appears to have been based on the last of these reasons.

OPPOSITION TO THE ASHʿARĪYAH. Ibn Taymīyah lived in a period between those of two notable propagandists of the rationalist Ashʿarī movement in theology: Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 1176) and Subkī (d. 1370). The attempt of the Ashʿarī movement to obtain legitimacy by infiltrating the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* (school) of law—an attempt that surfaced in the eleventh century—was still developing and had to face two implacable forces blocking its goal. The traditionalist movement was represented particularly by two *madhhabs* of law: the Ḥanbalī and the Shāfiʿī. The former was the obvious obstructive force, while the latter included the Ashʿarī faction, which was hard at work to gain the adherence of fellow Shāfiʿīs to Ashʿarī thought, an effort destined to fail in the face of the alliance between the traditionalists of the two *madhhabs.*

Already in the days of Ibn ʿAsākir the traditionalists had introduced an institution that was conceived to correct, among other things, the detrimental consequences of the exclusory principle in the *madrasah,* according to which only those students who chose to belong to the *madhhab* represented by the *madrasah* were admitted. This policy tended to be divisive, separating members of the traditionalist movement who belonged to all the Sunnī *madhhabs,* while allowing the Ashʿarīyah to stay within one *madhhab,* the Shāfiʿī. The new institution that helped to correct the situation was the Dār al-Ḥadīth, wherein the principal subject of instruction was *ḥadīth* rather than law, and students of any of the four *madhhabs* could attend. Thus a Ḥanbalī professor, such as Ibn Taymīyah, could have students belonging to the Shāfiʿī *madhhab,* such as al-Birzālī, Mizzī, and al-Dhahabī. The first Dār al-Ḥadīth was founded in Damascus by the Zengid ruler Nūr al-Dīn (d. 1173).

To the philosophical theology of the Ashʿarīyah, Ibn Taymīyah opposed his famous professions of faith (*ʿaqīdah;* pl., *ʿaqāʾid).* His first full-length *ʿaqīdah,* written at the request of the people of Hama in the year 1299 and therefore known as *Al-ʿaqīdah al-ḥamawīyah,* was very hostile to the Ashʿarīyah and their *kalām*-theology. According to Ibn Rajab, Ibn Taymīyah wrote this *ʿaqīdah* in one sitting. His other important profession of faith is the *ʿAqīdah wāsiṭīyah,* written for a group of religious intellectuals in Wāsiṭ (Iraq) before the arrival of the Mongols in Damascus. Both professions of faith were attacked by his enemies, and he was taxed with anthropomorphism. In a meeting in the house of the Shāfiʿī *qāḍī* Imam al-Dīn ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qazwīnī (d. 1299) the *ʿAqīdah ḥamawīyah* was studied; Ibn Taymīyah was questioned regarding various points, and it was deemed to be satisfactory. Regarding the *Wāsiṭīyah,* even the Ashʿarī-Shāfiʿī Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Hindī (d. 1315) found it to be in conformity with the Qurʾān and *sunnah.* Nevertheless, his enemies tried hard to keep him in prison, even to have him executed, but failed on both counts.

Ibn Taymīyah's polemic activity extended to the philosophers, especially the logicians, against whom he wrote a refutation, *Al-radd ʿalā al-manṭiqīyīn.* He wrote extensively against the monistic (*ittiḥādīyah*) and incarnationist (*ḥulūlīyah*) Ṣūfīs and condemned as heretical innovations many of the Ṣūfī practices of his day. Nevertheless, Ibn Taymīyah was praised by the Ṣūfī Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Qawwām, who said: "Our Sufism became sound only at the hands of Ibn Taymīyah," implying that Ibn Taymīyah was not an outsider to Sufism. Recently discovered evidence shows that Ibn Taymīyah belonged to the Ṣūfī order of the Qādīriyah, named after the Ḥanbalī Ṣūfī ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, whom he praised and preferred to the other Ḥanbalī Ṣūfī, al-Anṣārī al-Harawī.

On the theological question of the divine attributes, Ibn Taymīyah held that God should be described "as he has described himself in his book and as the Prophet has described him in his *sunnah.*" This classical traditionalist doctrine goes back to al-Shāfiʿī (d. 820) and to Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 855), the two great leaders of the movement, in whose works Ibn Taymīyah was thoroughly versed. Ibn Taymīyah and his famous disciple Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah (d. 1350) drew much of their inspiration from the works of al-Shāfiʿī and Ibn Ḥanbal. From the genesis of the traditionalist movement the principal message has always been that the basic sources for belief and practice are the book of God and the practice *(sunnah)* of the Prophet.

Ibn Taymīyah, in the title of one of his numerous works, emphasized the place of the Prophet in relation to the two fundamental sources: *The Steps Leading to the Knowledge That the Messenger of God Has Already Made a Clear Exposition of the Roots and Branches of Religion.* For the Prophet, as messenger, brought the book of God and was himself a living example of what should be followed. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah quotes from the introduction to al-Shāfiʿī's *Risālah:* "Praise be to God . . . who is as he has described himself, and who is exalted above all the attributes given to him by those among his creatures who have described him." And again: "No event shall befall an adherent of God's religion but that there is a guide in the book of God showing the right way to be followed." These two statements were quoted against the Ashʿarīyah, the rationalist movement of the period of Ibn Taymīyah and Ibn Qayyim, as al-Shāfiʿī had said them some five centuries before in condemnation of the Muʿtazilah, the rationalist movement of his day.

UNDER ATTACK. Ibn Taymīyah's troubles came chiefly from his opposition to Ashʿarī thought working from within the Shāfiʿī *madhhab,* and also from his criticism of extremist Ṣūfī thought and practices. His troubles (*miḥan;* sg., *miḥnah*) were treated extensively by his Shāfiʿī disciples al-Birzālī, al-Dhahabī, and Ibn Kathīr, and by the Ḥanbalī biobibliographer Ibn Rajab.

Ibn Taymīyah's enemies finally succeeded in removing him from the scene. The opportunity was presented by one of his legal opinions (*fatwā*s) titled "Travel to the Tombs of the Prophets and Saints," in which Ibn Taymīyah prohibited such travel. His opponents pounced on this *fatwā* and charged him with demeaning the prophets and with unbelief (*kufr*). Eighteen jurisconsults, led by the Mālikī *qāḍī* al-Ikhnāʾī, wrote *fatwā*s condemning him. The four chief *qāḍīs* of Cairo issued their decision that he be imprisoned in the citadel of Damascus. Other jurisconsults, including the two sons of the leading Mālikī jurisconsult Abū al-Walīd, had issued *fatwā*s condemning that decision. They stated that it had no valid basis against Ibn Taymīyah because he had simply cited the divergent opinions of the jurisconsults on the subject of the visiting of tombs (*ziyārat al-qubūr*) and had given preponderance to one side of the question, a choice that was legitimate to make. But the decision stood without appeal. Ibn Taymīyah was never to leave the citadel alive; he died there some two years later. Three months before his death, his enemy al-Ikhnāʾi, against whom he had written a refutation, complained to the sultan, who ordered that Ibn Taymīyah be deprived of the opportunity to write; his ink, pen, and paper were taken away from him. But to the very last, his enemies could not quite get the better of him.

The biographers cite a number of statements made by Ibn Taymīyah during his imprisonment that show the man's stature and state of mind. "A prisoner is one who has shut out God from his heart." "A prisoner is one whose passions have made him captive." "In this world there is a paradise to be entered; he who does not enter it will not enter the paradise of the world to come." "What can my enemies possibly do to me? My paradise is in my breast; wherever I go it goes with me, inseparable from me. For me, prison is a place of retreat; execution is my opportunity for martyrdom; and exile from my town is but a chance to travel." In reference to his enemies who strove to have him imprisoned: "If I were to give all the gold it takes to fill the space of this citadel, I could not possibly reward them for the good they have done me." And he often repeated the following prayer: "O God! Help me to move my tongue incessantly in your praise, to express my gratitude, and to serve you in perfect worship."

On 20 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 728 (September 26, 1328), Ibn Taymīyah died in the citadel at the age of sixty-five. The populace turned out in the hundreds of thousands for the funeral procession, which was compared to that of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. He was buried next to his brother, Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh, in the Ṣūfī cemetery where other Ṣūfī members of his family were buried.

Ibn Taymīyah's influence has reached modern times. His teachings, first followed by Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 1792), became the basis of the Wahhābī movement in the nineteenth century and the guiding principles of the Wahhābī state of Saudi Arabia. Again, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, through Muḥammad ʿAbduh and Rashīd Riḍā, they influenced the modernist Salafīyah movement.

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ICELANDIC RELIGION See GERMANIC RELIGION

I-CHING See YIJING

ICONOCLASM

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
ICONOCLASM IN THE BYZANTINE TRADITION

ICONOCLASM: AN OVERVIEW

Iconoclasm can be defined as the intentional desecration or destruction of works of art, especially those containing human figurations, on religious principles or beliefs. More general usage of the term signifies either the rejection, aversion, or regulation of images and imagery, regardless of the rationale or intent. Any investigation of either the historical events or the concept of iconoclasm raises questions regarding the valuing and meaning of imagery, particularly sacred art and ecclesiastical doctrines. Traditionally, doctrinal pronouncements defined roles, functions, and meanings of art or iconoclasm within specific religious traditions.

Any study of iconoclasm is premised on the bifurcation of a historical event or a cultural attitude or idea. As a historical event, iconoclasm can be interpreted as being either active or passive. The former category includes legitimate accounts of the damaging of images; whereas the latter category corresponds to the promulgation and the contents of religious doctrines. Evaluations should incorporate motivations, meanings, and results of either form of the iconoclastic enterprise. As a cultural idea or attitude, iconoclasm requires analysis from the perspective of valuing art and imagery within the individual culture, the formative role of religious values on that culture, and the role of the visual within that religious tradition.

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the English word *iconoclasm* is a composite formed from two Greek words: *eikon* (icon) and *klasma* (breaking); whose primary meaning is "[t]he breaking or destroying of images; *esp.* the destruction of images and pictures set up as objects of veneration; the attacking or overthrow of venerated institutions and cherished beliefs, regarded as fallacious or superstitious." With the same Greek roots, the *Oxford English Dictionary*'s primary definition of an iconoclast is as "[a] breaker or destroyer of images; *spec.* (*Eccl. Hist.*) One who took part in or supported the movement in the 8th and 9th centuries, to put down the use of images or pictures in religious worship in the Christian churches of the East; hence, applied analogously to those Protestants of the 16th and 17th centuries who practised or countenanced a similar destruction of images in the churches." The *Oxford English Dictionary* lists an important secondary definition to the broader concept of iconoclasm and iconoclast as "[o]ne who assails or attacks cherished beliefs or venerated institutions on the ground that they are erroneous or pernicious." The rarely invoked term *iconomachy* is delineated in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as being from the ecclesiastical Greek, *eikonomachia* is defined as "[a] war against images; hostility or opposition to images, esp. to their use in connexion with worship."

The primary reference for iconoclasm has been religion, and in particular, Western monotheism. This reference raises critical issues in any discussion of the meaning of iconoclasm in world religions. Foremost among these issues is the role of religious belief in the formation of cultural and individual identity. If the procedures by which an individual learns about, assents to, is initiated into, and becomes a member of a religious community is analogous to those for entry into political and social communities, then a socialization process orients perception. How we come to see and interpret what we see is predicated on our disciplined sense of values. Orientation into a religious confession privileges the acceptance of the normative and appropriate, and simultaneously defines the abnormal and inappropriate.

However, if Ernst Cassirer (1962/1944), Moshe Barasch (1992), Mircea Eliade (1992/1986), and Marshall G. Hodgson (1964), to name only a select few, are correct, then how do we resolve their commitment to the basic human activity of "symbol making" with the privileging status of religion in the process of seeing and the discussion of iconoclasm? If iconoclasm is limited to the preconceived categories of Western monotheism, then is it independent of the otherwise universal relationship between art and cultural memory and religious traditions? As the basic nature of human beings is to make symbols—visual as well as auditory and oral symbols—then imaging can be defined as a universal human activity.

All world religions have an attitude toward art and imagery; some have a bifurcated view, others a single lens through which they see and define art. The remaining religions vacillate throughout their individual histories as ambiguous or ambivalent toward imagery. Nonetheless, art and cultural memory are embedded within religion and encoded with religious meaning and value. This reality must be evaluated within the late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century recognition that there is no innocent eye; rather, feminist, deconstructionist, and postmodernist scholarship argues persuasively that *le regard* is more than an engendered gaze. *Le regard* offers a nonreligious basis for the recognition that there is a right and a wrong way to look and that the process through which one comes to see properly and to recognize impropriety is socialization, into a political, religious, or societal system.

GENERAL PERCEPTIONS OF ICONOCLASM. The general perceptions of iconoclasm, whether in Eastern or Western cultures, is that it is a religious phenomenon generated from a position of belief and right action as defined within that belief system. There is the recognition that the role of belief in defining cultural identity is primary, and trumps all other constructs of political, societal, and cultural values.

The multilayered syntax of iconoclasm, especially in the Western monotheistic traditions, provides a linguistic analogy to the complexity of its etymology, implementations, and functions. There is the internal correspondence between image and word within each religion. In those traditions in which image plays a primary or even a secondary role, iconoclasm is read as an attack on the orthodoxy of that religion. While in those traditions that question or deny the place or role of images, iconoclasm is not interpreted as a defense of religious orthodoxy.

Despite the placement of the visual modality within the religious hierarchy, the existence of images—especially icons as sacred portraiture of persons, events, or concepts—exists parallel with the fear of idols. Whether named image, icon, or idol, the visual object is presupposed by the believer to contain or partake of sacred energy and power. Whether that power is deemed as positive or negative expression depends on what is depicted.

The "power" of images is critical to *iconoclasm* as both an activity and a concept. Intrinsic to any image, power is the foundation for the fear in some cultures and/or religions results in the primacy of the word and the banning of images. If that power is characterized as sensual in nature, and thereby bifurcated in its moral character, the interpretation may be predicated on a generic cultural or religious distrust of what is seen—"the evidence of our eyes"—or of a fear of the sensory and the sensual.

The question of whether or not images have power, and the nature of that power, is elementary to the variations of cultural and religious definitions of iconoclasm. If a religion assumes that images have power, then iconoclasm is a necessary form of control of or deterrent to that power. How power is defined and manifested is characterized by its generative cause, in the arts named as creativity or the creative process. This power can be transferred either to, by, or through the artist whether native to the artist or gifted through an external source, and then transferred between the artist and the created object, or from the artist to the object, or from the artist through the object to the audience. Alternatively, this transmission could occur without the implied or actual presence of the artist who is merely a vehicle through which an external or other force operates. Thereby, power is exchanged from created object to audience, between object and audience, or from audience to object. In certain religions, this communication of power occurs only through the ceremonial or ritual function of the created object, or in coordination with its religious consecration. These multiple models for the transfer of "power" can be categorized within the discussions of the nature of creativity and the creative process, sacralization process, and response theory (see especially Freedberg, 1989).

Further questions arise either as to the appropriation or denial of the power of images, especially how that power is manifested, or used, in conjunction with cultural and religious interpretations of both images and iconoclasm. When interpreted as sacred energy, this power is transmitted in the form of healing, enlightenment, spiritual renewal, or protection. However, if initiated from a negative source, this power is interpreted as "misdirected" to effect harm, enchantment, danger, or subversion. Certain forms of religious iconoclasm are intellectual denials of the power or the existence of images.

Throughout his seminal text *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (1989), David Freedberg expands the boundaries of his early historical studies of iconoclasm in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Holland into an analysis of the concept of iconoclasm. Essential to the "power of images" are the ambiguities that arise in any confrontation between fear and religious devotion. This form of fear is specific: what images might do if their usage, effects, and powers were unmonitored. For Freedberg, the iconoclastic motive is not universally and totally destructive of all images. It is a physical, oftentimes violent, response that operates within a series of parameters—geographic, chronological, social, and religious. Iconoclasm is not a total rejection, denial, or destruction of *all* images either for a particular historical moment or throughout history.

Another variant of iconoclasm is defined as iconophobia. This form of the iconoclastic enterprise is detailed in distinctively different studies by Patrick Collinson (1986), and Marshall G. Hodgson (1964). For the former, iconoclasm transmogrifies into a series of spirited "attacks"—verbal, visual, physical, or violent—on unacceptable images. This action is premised on a discernment of inappropriate or false images, although it is not a denial or repudiation of all images. Limitations on the types and styles of appropriate imagery permit visual delight within the iconoclastic hegemony of religion and religious values. For Collinson, iconoclasm moves from a "simple" distrust or suspicion of images and destruction of falsely identified "sacred art" to a complex "horror" or hatred of all imagery. Iconophobia is not an innocent "fear of images," but a total repudiation of all images that becomes a pervasive cultural attitude predicated on religious values.

Hodgson proffers an understanding of iconophobia as a "mistrust" of symbols that rooted simultaneously in religious values and class struggle. Emphasizing the connections between symbols, worship, and moral impulse, especially in the monotheistic traditions of Judaism and Islam, Hodgson correlates this mistrust of symbols to the distrust of the aristocracy as an exploitive, privileged class. The connector between aesthetic mistrust and social distrust is art. The foundation is in the unspoken realm of human feeling and emotions as symbols arise from the condition of being human, and art operates through symbols. As a transmitter of feelings and emotions, art, especially in worship, trumps the liturgical or ceremonial rites as it communicates directly and interpersonally. The primordial objections to idols are transferred to images and symbols, and then to art. Mistrust springs from the rigorous moralism found in the prophetic monotheisms of Judaism and Islam. Combined with the economic value of art, the native ambivalence of lower classes toward images becomes synonymous with economic and social status. Thereby, politics merges with religion as the privileged class is rejected by the populace, and the mistrust of images becomes iconophobia.

Prejudices about iconoclasm. Whether defined as a mode of behavior or a historical event, studies of iconoclasm are prejudiced by popular "misperceptions" of its origin, intent, and activity. The first misperception is that iconoclasm is an act of complete destruction, most typically described as "the smashing" of images. Second, that this destructive act is premised on a distrust, fear, and perhaps a hatred of images. Third, that iconoclasm is simultaneously a religious act that unifies all believers, regardless of class and gender, and that it is a monolithic response of that religion. Fourth, that iconoclasm is an activity with two historical Christian expressions: Byzantine and Reformation. Fifth, that Judaism is the original historically identified religious expression of iconoclasm. Finally, that twenty-first century demonstrations of iconoclasm by Islamic fundamentalists are solely religiously motivated acts as Islam is iconoclastic monotheism par excellence.

Although iconoclasm is identified as both a generic religious and a Christian attitude predating Byzantium, the most common reference is the Byzantine iconoclastic controversies of the seventh and eighth centuries. Without doubt, the basic tendency—cultural, philosophic, and religious—toward iconoclasm pervades all religious traditions and predates the foundations of Western monotheism. Normatively interpreted as an attack on religious imagery, iconoclasm is any attack on imagery whether works of "high," "low," or popular art. Consideration must be given to the related political issues of censorship and the affinities between religious and cultural definitions of *le regard* with its basic implications that there is a right and a wrong way to look.

The object of *le regard* is the work of art that engenders the wrath, admiration, or passions of viewers. The rarely discussed but regularly experienced "power of images" evokes a response through the mystery of the aesthetic dimensions. This evocation is associated with an energy or power beyond the human, so that the religious believer is divided between the divine and the demonic. Among iconophilist religions, the experience of spiritual affirmation through an encounter with art attests to its salvific value. While those images that excite the senses and exude sensuality are condemned in an iconophilist milieu but destroyed in an iconoclastic culture.

A primary consideration distinguishing images from idols is religio-cultural attitudes toward the human body, especially in terms of measure and form. Carefully rendered human forms, either life-size or monumental, create the experience of a direct encounter with another living being. The life-size depiction of a beautiful nude female or male figure awakens the senses, sensuality, and often sexuality of viewers. The more erotic, or exotic, the presentation of the human figure, the more heightened the viewer's sexual response.

The question is whether or not religious or sacred art requires the human figure for even geometric and abstract imagery can evoke an aesthetic experience or arouse human sensuality. A classic argument for the removal and desecration of images in iconoclastic religions is their conviction that the believer's attention is diverted from the sacred, the holy, or God by art. Thereby, the aesthetic experience trumps, and must be separated from, the religious experience.

Closely related to the "fear of the senses and the sensual" is the recognition that the violent acts wrought on art are generated by passionate and opinionated reactions that in combination with religious vocabulary and the religious impulse can only be manifested in a physical response. Perhaps inexplicable if related solely to intellectual or theological upheavals, the physicality of this heightened emotional state is a curiosity not yet fully comprehended or studied. An investigation of the modes by which an otherwise acknowledged inanimate object so inflames the human senses as to garner a physical response might provide a new foundation toward understanding iconoclasm. Interrelated issues include why such physical violence is identified as a "punishment"? What is the religious impulse that motivates an act of physical violence? Is physical violence, even unto the assault on inanimate images, a justifiable physical response to fear, especially to fear inspired by religion? The further reality is that acts of mutilation or destruction are levied against "generic" images—not identifiably religious in nature, motif, or iconography—simply because they are art.

Recognition of this tenuous but direct relationship between iconoclasm and physical violence orients attention to the modes of cultural and political behavior named censorship and vandalism. Throughout history and cultures, innumerable images, objects, and monuments—whether religious or secular in origin—have been replaced, relocated, renamed, modified, updated, defaced, stolen, confiscated, and placed in storage. Beyond the simple inquiry of how this happens, is the more significant issue of the meaning of such actions, and whether they are justifiably categorized as acts of censorship, vandalism, or iconoclasm. Recent commentaries in art history and visual culture note the affinities between censorship and iconoclasm (Hoffman and Storr, 1991b; Hoffman, 1996), and iconoclasm and vandalism (Boime, 1998; Gamboni, 1997). These homologous activities are organized within the matrix of art, politics, religion, and society delineated by Hodgson (1964) in his discussion of the role of art and culture in Islam.

Barbara Hoffman defines censorship as the "[c]ontrol of expression that is regarded as outside of and a threat to the religious, political, and social orthodoxy of the time" (1996, vol. 6, p. 174). Premised on the distrust of images—most cogently explicated by Plato (c. 428–348 or 347 BCE) as the deception of forms and the ability to evoke human emotions, and later echoed in a variety of religious and secular documents in the West—iconoclasm as censorship is an expression of power, albeit political or moral power.

Even in the model secular society, the United States of America, prominent acts of public censorship executed ostensibly on behalf of the government and within the purview of the legal system, resulted in outcries of injustice and hegemony of the religious, especially fundamentalist Christian, values of the minority over the body politic. From the nationwide controversies provoked by the withdrawal of federal funding through National Endowment for the Arts grants, to individual artists like Andre Serrano for the creation of his now infamous *Piss Christ* (1989), or to museums that sponsor exhibitions such as the retrospective of Robert Mapplethorpe's black-and-white photographs cancelled by the Corcoran Gallery of Art (1989), the overt concern has been violation of the individual's constitutional rights, while the sub rosa fear is the control of artistic expression by those religious individuals driven by a moral impulse that they identify publicly as patriotism but that is in fact a form of religious fundamentalism. The questionable act of government censorship in the threatened withdrawal of city funding to the Brooklyn Museum of Art by Rudolf Giuliani, the then-mayor of New York City, was because of the exhibiting of Chris Ofili's painting of *The Holy Virgin Mary*, which Roman Catholics found to be morally offensive. This "spin" was motivated as much by the mayor's own personal sense of affront as by the politics of his bid for reelection and his recognition of the meaning of Roman Catholic values (1990). This discussion of the affinities between religion and censorship through the formation of cultural values is advanced further with consideration of the fate of Serrano's infamous photograph. When *Piss Christ* was knocked off the wall of a public museum and damaged irreparably by visitors who identified themselves as "outraged believers" (1997), was this an act of public censorship given the public arguments over the allocation of public funds for this work, or was it an act of religious iconoclasm or vandalism?

It is difficult to decipher acts of vandalism as simple but senseless acts of destruction from iconoclastic events. Religious and moral values have motivated the destruction, or desecration, of images and monuments under the guise of "religious iconoclasm as a defense of orthodoxy" or "vandalism as a moral outrage" by religious believers and invading armies. If these are justifiably deemed as acts of iconoclasm, then what are we to make of the theft of the then recently restored Byzantine icons from Russian churches following the fall of communism (late 1980s–early 1990s), the exploding of the giant Buddhas at Bamiyan (2001), or the looting of the Baghdad museums and the toppling of statues of Saddam Hussein (2003).

One final variant of iconoclasm should be identified: The "silent iconoclasm" of those religious traditions that espouse a nonviolent rejection of images and icons as, for example, among the Āryā Samāj of Hindu India, the Sthānakvāśis and Terāpanthis of Jainism, and Lutheran Christians. This passive form of iconoclasm is doctrinally practiced and pronounced, and can thereby be considered a form of iconoclastic or religious censorship.

Process of defining iconoclasm. Throughout human history, culture has been organized around religious identity whether a named religion or a coalition of religions as in the Judeo-Christian tradition. This organizational schema privileges what is typified normatively as culture by religious valuing. Individual and communal discourses are embedded with religious references. The initial consideration is whether iconoclasm is a religious act or a religious act encoded with and motivated by economic, political, or societal purposes.

The integral elements in the process of defining iconoclasm range from the religious impulse to intellectual rationale. The arrangement, or rearrangement, of these elements in distinctive patterns is premised on religious and cultural values. Basic to any study of iconoclasm is a discussion of the meaning and purpose of images, especially with regard to the "power of images." Analyses of iconoclasm, especially with regard to religion either generally or specifically, become mired in the divisive dichotomy of image veneration versus image destruction. Consideration is not adequately given to the possibility that the iconoclastic impulse is native to human creativity and should be examined in relationship to the definition of art and artist with the exception of Freedberg's seminal study (1989).

As the visual definition of citizenship, public imagery illustrates the narratives of cultural history and national origin, and is recognized as the common denominator of national identity. These symbols and images envision the political and societal discourse of power, and during invasions or occupations need to be destroyed to "accept" the new government. Such acts of iconoclasm ostensibly motivated by political considerations are in reality deeply rooted in the socialization process from childhood through which an individual learns to accept or deny the "truth claim" of images. Cultures are oriented around religious values, discourse, and meanings, so that any act of political iconoclasm is not a simple secular performance. Similarly, iconoclasm is embedded in economic, societal, or political conflict whether that conflict is defined as class, race, or gender struggles or major cultural shifts such as the Renaissance. With the exception of the recent studies of Albert Boime (1998) and Dario Gamboni (1997), there have been insufficient studies of the consequences of the social and cultural function of imagery, especially of national symbols and monuments.

The term *the artist* requires careful attention. There is a history and an etymology to this word that has evolved, or been denied, through a variety of cultural and religious transformations, transmogrifications, and adaptations. For example, the Western apprehension that began with a coalition of artisan, craftsman, and teacher was transformed by early Christianity into a vehicle for divine expression, by the Renaissance into a cult of the genius, by the nineteenth century into a romantic rebel, and by the twentieth century into a critical, prophetic voice oftentimes self-defined as shamanic. Each definition or redefinition arose from a new way of seeing and valuing human experience. The sanctification of the artist initiated by the Renaissance cult of the genius, strengthened by the nineteenth-century rebel, and affirmed by the twentieth-century shaman, was cultivated in tandem with the secularization of Western culture. Iconoclasm as both event and ideology shifted from the political arena to the religious realm onto the national scene and, ultimately, to a religio-political enterprise.

Iconoclasm is a term loaded with diverse meanings from the "simple" whitewashing of images or placement in storage to the violent acts of total destruction. As both a term and an event, iconoclasm has traversed as complex and undulating a course as have the images and imagery it endangers. Whether the act of "smashing" is incited by the threat of idols to temple worship, by the power of the narrative of a living but particular image, or by the investment of imagery into political and societal narratives, the cardinal fear may be simply Plato's claim that images fail us by not telling the truth. Images must be apprehended with a hermeneutics of suspicion, thereby, an internal tension exists between iconic and iconoclastic, between image makers and image breakers.

A series of relationships, rarely studied before the initiation of the study of the previously marginalized in the late 1960s and early 1970s, should be amalgamated into the complex alliance of the disparate pieces of the puzzle named "iconoclasm"; for example, the association between class and "taste," or the affinities between gender and violence. Additionally, there is a cultural or a religious indifference to images. This is not to intend that "silent iconoclasm" of Lutheran Christians or the Brahmā Samāj, but rather an investigation into the indifference, if not, denial of the power of images wrought by the gluttony of images found among the populace through popular culture, mass media, and the information highway of the internet. The question becomes: Can an individual and a society become numbed by images, as Thomas J. J. Altizer argues happened with words?

Tangential to this anesthetic of images is the subject of the figure and figuration in the arts. The issue is whether or not religious art requires the human figure, and if it does, what type of human figure: idealized, realistic, to scale, or monumental—the possibilities are limitless, but the concept may prove limiting and maybe even threatening. If religious art were basically aniconic, then would it instill the same level of fear, anxiety, or danger within the eyes and hearts of those predisposed to iconoclasm? As with iconoclasm, not every religion or culture defines or delineates the human in identical terms. Rather, the actuality of a pluralistic world privileges a systematic analysis of cultural contacts and of mutual or contradictory concerns rather than a single explanation for phenomena as diverse as iconoclasm.

Cultural permutations. Historically, a distinction has been made by both art historians and historians of religion between the cultural and religious forms distinguished by the geographic and cultural categories identified as East and West. Among the most "glaring" distinctions is the minimal, if nonexistent, conversation about iconoclasm outside of Western monotheism. While there may be an intellectual and historical foundation to iconoclasm as it was identified and studied in terms of Western monotheism, it was not believed to exist in other religious traditions, whether indigenous, preliterate, native, or Eastern. Every religion and every culture has an attitude toward art and commensurately toward iconoclasm. The traditional "single explanation" for such diverse phenomena demands to be reframed and refashioned.

The following survey of cultural permutations of the idea of iconoclasm can be read as a series of suggestions that illustrate differing bases for the intellectual and emotional parallels identified in Eastern and Western religions. These attitudes suggest that there are differing forms of (religious) iconoclasm and that these differences can be clarified most sharply in coordination with examination of the relationships with culture, politics, and society. The distinguishing qualitative characteristic may be to paraphrase the art historian Oleg Grabar (1975), the simple difference between Iconoclasm with a capital *I* and iconoclasm with a lowercase *i.* Confirmation of the distinctions between iconoclasm as a historical event, mode of behavior, ideology, and attitude toward image must be carefully evaluated. The critical question is whether or not iconoclasm should be defined from the perspective of a cultural or religious entity, and equitably from the historical categories of geographic or religious distinctions.

Eastern permutations of iconoclasm. Whether perceived as a historic event, a mode of behavior, or an ideology, iconoclasm exists within the multiple cultures identified today as Asian. Culture is directly conjoined with religion, and thereby religious values become enshrined as cultural values. Violent acts of iconoclasm are not supported by or integral to either traditional Indian culture or orthodox Hinduism. As an abstraction without individual parts (Sanskrit *niskala*), the Hindu divinity comes to be known through abstract symbols or figural absence as at Chidambaram. The constant flow of invaders entering the Indian subcontinent proffers an exemplum for cultural and religious syncretism. Investigations into the nature and meaning of iconoclasm need to detail the destruction, displacement, and replacement by invading groups. The absence of figurations or forms results in an aniconism understood as elemental in the historical displacement of indigenous icons by Aryan invaders in northern India (c. 1500 BCE). The dearth of religious buildings and monuments can be credited to both invasion and construction from perishable materials such as light woods, paper, or clay; for single or minimal use; and then prepared for destruction and replacement. These practices remain prevalent in all parts and religions of India. Violent acts of iconoclasm such as the destruction of the temple in Somanatha built by Mahmūd of Ghazna (971–1030) were the results of Muslim invasions in northern India in the eleventh century. Such iconoclastic activity was spurred forward by a rigorous monotheism, a hostility to images, and the moral impulse.

From the eighteenth through the late twentieth century, there was a recognition of the irreparable damage "done" to Indian culture by invasions and invaders. The British occupation of India brought not simply a taste for British cultural values and political status, but an uncompromising allegiance to Protestant Christianity. Incorporating this Protestant indifference to images, the evolution of modern forms of Hindu esotericism, such as Advaita Vedānta, practiced a philosophic monism and rejected religious imagery. Nonviolent rejection of images, icons, and idols was found in the silent forms of iconoclasm as practiced by the Brahmā Samāj and the Āryā Samāj.

The geographic location of the Indian subcontinent made it an attractive site for multiple invasions, religious and philosophical cross-fertilizations, and cultural fusions. Several religious traditions originated or flourished simultaneously on Indian soil including Hinduism, Buddhism, Sikhism, Jainism, and Islam, as well as a variety of Christian traditions. This religious syncretism influenced both attitudes toward images and commensurately iconoclasm. Images whether free-standing forms, monuments, or carved or painted onto buildings reflect these varied religious and philosophical perspectives, multicultural aesthetics, and stylistic advances. Not all works were made for the ages; rather, some ancient monuments and temples were raised for new edifices while others made from perishable materials were regularly replaced (similar to the Shintō practice in Isē-shima, Japan). Individual representations of specific deities or spirits and sand or flower mandalas were created for a single occasion or rite, others for a few days or for several months. Images for popular worship and devotion made of clay, paper, or soft woods, necessitate a short life span. These temporary images were created for specific ceremonial purposes with the specified intention of ritual iconoclasm.

Tantrism affirms a theoretic commitment to interiorized forms of mental worship as the higher form of devotion, while external worship with tangible images is the lowest form. Daily practice is far from the espoused theory, as the Tantric tradition incorporates regular use of visual images. Initially a devotional and reformist movement within Hinduism, Sikhism partially distinguished itself by its iconoclastic ideology. As with other religions, this initial iconoclasm acceded to iconicism in which images of Gurū Nānak (1469–1539) emerged as a form of religious pedagogy and visual inspiration for piety and good works.

Buddhism encountered the spectrum of attitudes and modes of behavior toward images and iconoclasm ranging from the theoretic iconoclasm of Zen to the iconolatry of Hinayana and Mahayana. More icon or recipient of veneration, the image of Buddha became deified as an object of worship and provoked reaction against state-imposed Buddhism in a fashion reminiscent of Hodgson's (1964) discussion of the political rejection of art as a category of social privilege. The destruction of Buddha images in the Bayon temple at Angkor Wat by Hindu iconoclasts followed the death of the Mahayana Buddhist king Jayavarman VII (c. 1120–1215 or 1219). The doctrine that Buddha nature pervades all created things and beings affirms the practice of ritual iconoclasm throughout the Buddhist world. Given both the spontaneity and nonconformist mode of satori, or enlightenment, Buddhism aligns iconoclasm with the cessation of visualization during meditation, and the destruction of the canon. Written authority is replaced with the intuitive immediacy between student and master as in Zen Buddhism. The basic ambivalence toward images is in direct correspondence to the developmental stage of an individual's spiritual consciousness. Tangible images are necessary for the initiate to enter into the meditation, however, material objects of attachment, images are to be transcended. The Buddha counsels individuals to learn to extricate themselves from attachment to material objects like mandalas and images.

As practiced in monastic environments, Zen iconoclasm differs from other forms of Buddhist iconoclasm that occur in temples, urban and rural environments, and domestic settings. Accounts of the destruction of the objects ranging from Hui-neng's (638–713) physical shredding of scriptures (sixth century) to Tan-hsia's (1064–1117) incineration of a Buddha-image (ninth century) may be intended more as parables than as documented history. Images, whether text or artwork, are not to become either attachments or objects of worship; rather, they are simply reminders of the Buddha's way to enlightenment that each person must follow for him- or herself. Hui-neng's action was a model of Zen's rejection of written authority in favor of the monastic tradition of intuitive insight as taught by master to disciple. Similarly, Tan-hsia's story witnessed the Zen practice of nonattachment and the moving away from an external object as the entry point to meditation. Relics of the Buddha, like Buddha images, are accorded due reverence by both the Buddhist traditions and monastic disciplines. Humor is a normative vehicle for the vernacular of Zen iconoclasm. The Zen technique of relentless overthrow of idols employs laughter to effect positive response in believers and a not so positive response in the idols. The sound of laughter causes the idols to turn over on their heads, thereby removing their aura of dignity and simultaneously their claims of authority and truth.

The final, and not often mentioned, category of iconoclasm initiated on the Indian subcontinent is the silent iconoclasm found in both Hinduism—the Āryā Samāj and the Brahmā Samāj—and Jainism—Sthānakvāśis and Terāpanthis. This silent iconoclasm is characterized by a nonviolent rejection of all images, icons, and idols predicated on a religious moralism.

Western permutations of iconoclasm. Western understandings of iconoclasm have been deemed normative as historical events, modes of behavior, and ideologies, as well as subjects for scholarly evaluation. This privileging of iconoclasm by Western monotheism raises concerns for wider investigations. As iconoclasm is almost synonymous with monotheism, investigators must consider whether iconoclasm in all of its definitions and etymologies is simply a monotheistic entity; and not applicable to world religions and cultures. Most documentation, analyses, and scholarship related to iconoclasm discusses Christian, more specifically Byzantine or Protestant, forms of iconoclastic activities. This survey suggests additional modes of iconoclasm within Western religions.

The establishment of monotheism in the West transformed cultural attitudes, societal structures, and dispositions toward images. Dedication to the one God as the singular divine source reconfigured the conceptual and spiritual relationality with human beings. This exclusive deity was defined as unique in substance and as transcending traditional boundaries of gender, sexuality, and bodily forms, and was uncircumscribable in visual depictions or cognitive classifications. He spoke authoritatively and through his speech created the world, its contents, and human beings (*Gen.* 1–2). This emphasis on divine utterances enhanced the primacy of the word over the image in Western religions, the written scriptures over the icon.

Western monotheism was initiated by the "new religion" established by the pharaoh Akhenaton (r. 1379–1362 BCE) in his devotion to Aton. Aniconism prevailed in images of Aton while figural depictions of pharaoh and his family were significantly transformed in bodily presentations from earlier pharaonic portraits on monuments and manuscripts. As Aton become singular and aniconic, Akhenaton, his wife Nefertiti (fourteenth century BCE), and their children, were rendered naturalistically even unto physical characteristics of ageing from double chins to sagging bellies. This earliest Western monotheism humanized portrayals of the aristocracy while symbolizing a nonfigural deity without rejection or destruction of all images. Ironically, iconoclasm in Egypt occurred in the desecration of the monuments honoring Akhenaton and the only female pharaoh, Hatshepsut (r. 1503–1482 BCE), whose portraits and written names were "erased" from all records of Egyptian history. Whether these acts were simply expressions of political power or religiously motivated, especially the restoration of the Egyptian pantheon and its priesthood, may be singular case studies in Western iconoclasm.

Western monotheism and its unique prophetic iconoclasm were instituted through the Old Testament religion of Israel. This specific iconoclasm was predicated on adherence to a strict moralism pronounced by a prophet, or series of prophets, inspired by the one God to reveal a message of hope, judgment, and obedience to the transcendent supreme creator. There is a qualitative distance between God and humanity. Faith in God involves fulfillment of moral demands as believers receive a direction and purpose to human history. The faith community is dependent on the commandments and laws that this God has directed be written in "the book." God is beyond any concepts or forms known to human beings; neither anthropomorphic imaging or identification is possible. Such religions abound with elegant verbal symbols and images in oral and written texts denying the visual.

Defining and differentiating Judaism from its neighbors, the religious hierarchy and prophets named its singular religious identity and ethical practices. As many scriptural citations (e.g., *3 Kings* 11:5; *Dan.* 14:2; *Judg.* 10:6) affirm the neighboring cultic practice of worshiping idols, Judaism demarcates itself attesting to God's singularity, primacy of the Word, and obedience to a strict moral code. Judaism fostered the ideology of idolatry as "the other" necessitating rigorous iconoclasm. The normative interpretation of Judaism was a religion rich in verbal imagery and symbolism nurturing religious pedagogy, liturgical ceremonies, and spirituality. Archaeological excavations at Dura Europos and Bet Alpha, and cultural studies of Jewish history, question this traditional description of Judaism as a nonvisual culture (Julius, 2001; Mann, 2000).

Historically, Christianity has had a bifurcated attitude toward images that arose from the dual heritage of Hebraic (prophetic) iconoclasm and Hellenistic philosophy. Christian iconoclasm is understood by its two historical expressions: Byzantine and Reformation. However, the concept, if not the violence, of iconoclasm operates in all forms of Christianity, all geographic regions, and among all races, classes, and gender. With the exception of Byzantine iconoclasm, several of the other modes of Christian iconoclasm will be reviewed herewith.

Whether perceived or experienced as an idea or object, art is ambiguous. Although inanimate, art operated humanly communicating and evoking a response from viewers, and was interpreted as a danger as well as a delight. Evidence of this equivocal attitude is found in early Christian art, as there is no portrait of Jesus (c. 6 BCE–c. 30 CE) rather visual symbols, allegories, and signs. The Council of Elvira (309) issued contradictory decrees in which idol worship and sacrifice were denounced, while the breaking of idols was identified as unwarranted according to the scriptures. Among Church Fathers, notably Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–between 211 and 215), Tertullian (c. 155 or 160–after 220), and Augustine of Hippo (354–430), there was affirmation of Plato's distrust of art as deception. The sensuality and superstition associated with images as idols that created the greatest apprehension within the early church. Initially, Christian iconoclasm included pronounced condemnations and physical removal or destruction of pagan idols and secular images. By the third century, images played an integral role in Christian worship and catechesis. Qualifications were announced in conciliar decrees, patristic texts, and sermons. Christian mistrust of images was reformed by the sixth century into a trust in images with *achieropaeic* (not made by hands) icons created through the direct contact with Jesus, especially the miraculous portraits known as the Mandylion of Edessa and Veil of Veronica. The seventh-century synod in Trullo (692) reaffirmed the doctrines of the incarnation and proscribed symbolic or allegorical images, such as the lamb, for Christ. Synodical documents demanded anthropomorphic images of Christ, although not necessarily in the politically motivated placement of his portrait on imperial coins by Justinian II (c. 669–711).

Contemporary to the Byzantine iconoclastic controversies is the little studied Carolingian iconoclasm. As early Christian iconoclasm must be studied in concert with the political and societal establishment of the church, Carolingian iconoclasm demands consideration of both political relations between Constantinople and Aachen, and the Spanish heresy of Adoptionism. The immediate effects of Carolingian iconoclasm are more evident than any permanent attitude or theological shift in Western Christianity. A survey of Carolingian art reveals the conundrum that although Charlemagne imagined himself in the mold of the Roman Empire, there are no surviving depictions of him in any court manuscripts. A similar near-total absence of illustrations of the life of Christ affirms Carolingian iconoclasm espousal of parallels between Christology and the image. Promulgated at the Council of Frankfurt (794), the *Libri Carolini* (Caroline Books) condemned Adoptionism and qualified images in terms of the spirit of Gregory the Great (540–604) as appropriate for pedagogy, aesthetic adornment, and moral inspiration, but not adoration. A conceptual debate on the Christian moral relationship between art and materialism might have occurred between Bernard of Clarivaux (1090–1153) and the Abbé Suger (1081–1151). Bernard, who vilified the expense of images, declared them a hindrance to the contemplation of the divine as witnessed in Benedictine purity and simplicity which cleansed abbey churches of stained-glass windows, wall paintings, and sculptures. Simultaneously, Suger proceeded with his design for the world's first Gothic cathedral, Saint Denis, an innovative model in elegant and inspired Christian aesthetics. The more pertinent theological issue of the abuses of devotional imagery led to violent iconoclasm in medieval Christianity.

Reform, especially as theological thinking on artistic imagery, was initiated in the fourteenth century, if not earlier. John Wycliffe (c. 1330–1384), the English reformer, and his "Lollards" (mumblers) debated the value of imagery and sought the destruction of human-figured forms. While the Dominican monk Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498) preached against materialism and the decadence of humanism, decrying, for example, the nude figure in Renaissance art and inspiring the infamous "Bonfire of the Vanities." Influential not only on a majority of Florentines, Savonarola motivated artists such as Sandro Botticelli (1445–1510) and Michelangelo (1475–1564) to mutilate or destroy their own works.

Sixteenth-century Protestant Reformers resurrected the prophetic iconoclasm of the Judeo-Christian foundations and inspired attitudinal reposition from iconoclasm to iconophobia. Like the Byzantine iconoclastic controversies, Reformation or Protestant iconoclasm was equitably motivated by economic, political, aesthetic, and theological issues. The central question of defining or redefining the God-human relationship affected both the concept and the violent acts of the iconoclastic impulse. Reformers were divided in their individual definitions: Martin Luther (1483–1546) acknowledged the didactic use of religious art and decried the "destructive cleansing" advocated by Bodenstein von Karlstadt (c. 1480–1541). John Calvin (1509–1564) initially defended religious art as didactic but later opposed images given the tendency toward veneration; however, like Luther, he did not support violent iconoclasm. Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531) banned religious art as a distraction from worship and supervised the closing and cleansing of churches by whitewashing the interior walls and removing all statues, images, and stained-glass windows. Proponents of the Church of England advocated public spectacles such as the "Bonfire of the Virgins" (July 1538) to champion the reform process. Calvin's and Zwingli's followers were driven by the "horror of imagery" to destroy not simply individual religious images but entire buildings but to move toward iconophobia as an attitude and activity destructive of all images.

The Christian iconoclastic impulse extended into the colonizing of Latin and South America in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The danger, or threat, of idolatry was transformed by European missionaries and explorers to the New World into native images as purveyors of false religion. The destruction, either physically or by assimilation into Roman Catholic imagery, of native religious art signified the concurrent replacement of popular religion with Christianity. The European interpretation of indigenous religion was colored by the perception of art as "craft" and as inferior in quality to the "high art" of the West. This relating of image with religion colored the inculcation of "European" culture and religion on the Americas.

Further violent acts of, or inspired by, Christian iconoclasm include the transformation or "secularization" of Western culture through political and social revolutions from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. Foremost is the spontaneous and wanton destruction of religious art and monuments by the lower classes in establishing the secular state of the French Revolution. This havoc was motivated by the economic, political, and societal abuses the aristocracy and the church—identified as one and the same entity—

wrought on the working poor. Similarly, the political and ideological "revenge" of the Russian people, or at least the leadership of the new Russian government, against the czar and the church was the establishment of a secular state and the disestablishment of a state church.

Given its theocentric universe and resolute avowal of monotheism, Islam interpreted the existence of images not merely as simple idolatry but as an assault on the integrity of God. Aware that he is the sole eternal creator, the qualitative difference between God and humanity becomes immense. Beyond the boundaries of human limitations and descriptors, there is no attempt to humanize God as this would be interpreted as both an act of idolatry and tantamount to the unforgivable sin of *shirk*. Although there is no formal condemnation of the visual arts or of images in the Qurʾān, neither is there affirmation. The Qurʾānic silence on art, human creativity, and the visual modality is interpreted through the lens of inference, so that the passages, for example, such as those relating Solomon's wealth and power (34:12–13), Abraham's opposition to idols (6:74), and Jesus' transformation of the clay bird to life (3:43) attest to a disapproving attitude toward representation. As God is the creator, any discussion or description of the artist as a "creator" proclaims a competition that is not permissible. The Prophet Muhammad (c. 570–632), who denounced the indigenous Arabic customs of idol worship, is credited by tradition with pronouncing that artists as they perceive themselves as "creators" will be severely tested and punished on Judgment Day. Angels, he is further credited with saying, would neither enter or protect a home with pictures or images. Several hadiths identify the artist as a deceiver or idolater, while a variety of texts—Arabic, Persian, and Turkish—of both Sunni and Shīʿah origins, denounce both the artist and art as blasphemous.

Grabar (1975) espouses the position that early Islam was indifferent to images, however, there is reference to an Islamic opposition to representation and to the artist as competing with God in the texts of Thawdhurus Abū Qurrah (c. 750–825). Except for legendary references and a contested episode in the life of Muhammad, there is no public or authoritative "debate on images" in Islam similar to those in Christianity, especially the Byzantine iconoclastic controversies. However, for some commentators the simple historical synchronicity of the rise of Islam during the latter Christian crises is a signifier of a homogeneous ethos or intellectual disposition.

The Islamic rejection of figural representation transformed the art of writing, whether inscriptions or calligraphy, into an artistic vehicle for theological expression. Similarly, abstract, geometric, and floral pictoriality defined the otherwise "religious" arts of Islamic cultures. Aniconism may have so dominated the Islamic attitude toward art that critical issues such as the amorphous relationship between the act of representation and the object represented, and the forms of possible representation of the divine or abstract concepts, were rarely, if ever, discussed. Rather, Islamic art reflected the cultural matrix of a social and moral ethos and denied expression in figurative forms. Nevertheless, within Islam's earliest centuries, iconoclasm flourished sporadically, depending on local interpretations of the Qurʾān and hadiths, economic and political struggles, and moral affirmation of the integrity of the one God. Islamic iconoclasm, if this is a justifiable phrase, is an umbrella term for a variety of phenomena ranging from wanton destruction or vandalism in military campaigns to the whitewashing of images of other religions or cultures. Historically documented violent acts of Islamic iconoclasm were related most often either to conquests or to transformations of buildings in central Asia (Buddhist), India (Hindu), Anatolia, Turkey, and Al Andaluz, Spain (Christian). Whenever adherents rigorously define Islam as the prophetic witness to the one God, who is the transcendent and invisible creator, and who cannot be restricted by or contained within figural images, such a theological position with which the Taliban might identify itself, then the violent acts of iconoclasm such as the destruction of the giant Buddhas at Bamiyan (2001) may be interpreted as self-justification.

FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE STUDY OF ICONOCLASM. Studies of iconoclasm as a mode of behavior or an ideology converge with the issues and methodologies employed in the analyses of response theory (Freedberg, 1989), optics and vision (Elkins, 1996; Kemp, 1990), and the dynamics of class, race, and gender, especially through the lens of visual culture and popular culture (Morgan, 1998; Nochlin, 1998/1995; Plate, 2002/2003). Early twenty-first century history including the destruction of the giant Buddhas at Bamiyan heightens the recognition of the affinities between iconoclasm and violence and points toward both psychologically and religiously based analyses. The censoring of "religious art" such as Chris Ofili's *The Holy Virgin Mary* motivates in-depth examinations of the affiliations between iconoclasm and censorship. Clearly, both relationships sharpen interest in the connectives between the economy, politics, and religion as the integral matrix sustaining iconoclasm, particularly violent iconoclasm.

The more complex nature of iconoclasm particularly as a religious act requires a thorough investigation into the patterns of iconoclasm in both Eastern and Western religions. A comparison of variations according to cultural patterns, religious values, political structures, and gender and class struggles provides a methodology for examining iconoclasm as both a mode of behavior and historical event. The basic nature of the iconoclastic impulse is clarified by detailed comparison of the singularity of the Western model in and against the global evidence for iconoclasm as a value larger than the limitation of Western monotheism.

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DIANE APOSTOLOS-CAPPADONA (2005)

ICONOCLASM: ICONOCLASM IN THE BYZANTINE TRADITION

Byzantine iconoclasm in all its facets remains an unresolved subject. Key sources are still to be published in modern editions, and interpretation of those that have been published have not yet achieved a consensus. Nonetheless the lengthy bibliography on this topic not only marks its significance but also the breadth of interests potentially, if not necessarily, encompassed by the somewhat misleadingly titled "era of iconoclasm" (literally, the destruction of images) in the eighth and ninth centuries and the iconomachy (contest over the images) that preoccupied the minds of theologians at that time.

The precise dates given by historians to the iconoclastic crisis are not fixed. Modern scholarship has dismissed the historical reality of the traditional opening moment, the destruction in 726 CE of Christ's icon on the Chalke Gate of the Great Palace in Constantinople. Instead, 730 CE, when Emperor Leo III (r. 717–741 CE) forced the resignation of Patriarch Germanos I (r. 715–730 CE), has now become the preferred opening moment of this debate. Given this, it remains possible to trace the origins of the crisis back to legislation enacted at the Quinisext Council held in Constantinople in 691/692 CE. This first phase of iconoclasm was brought to an end by the Seventh Ecumenical Council that met at Nicaea in 787 CE. Iconoclasm returned in 815 CE, when Emperor Leo V (r. 813–820 CE) encouraged the revival and refinement of the iconoclastic case made in the eighth century. This second phase is usually considered to have ended in 843 CE with the first celebration of the Triumph of Orthodoxy. Iconoclasm continued to be discussed, most notably in the writings of Patriarch Photios I (r. 858–867 and 877–886 CE) in the period leading up to and during the Eighth Ecumenical Council that met in Constantinople in 869–870 CE.

PRELUDE. Long cast as an atavistic reaction to the increasing popularity of images, the precise origins of Byzantine iconoclasm remain open to debate. The influence of Islam and Judaism as well as imperial adventurism, social and cultural crises, and military failure have all been cited as potential causes for the onset of iconoclasm. These have tended to downplay the internal theological questions that drove and continued to drive the terms of the debate within the Orthodox Church itself, as theologians grappled with the problem of finding an appropriate language to justify the incorporation of images and their veneration into legitimate Christian practice. This problem was raised by the eighty-second canon of the Quinisext Council, which declared that it was inappropriate for Christians to use symbolic representations of Christ (such as the Lamb of God) when the fact of Christ's incarnation made his corporeal representation a necessity.

FIRST PHASE. Knowledge of the earliest iconoclastic case against the images is scant. From the reports embedded in iconophile responses, it appears that the iconoclasts asserted the continuing value of Old Testament prohibitions on images, such as those found in the second commandment. In response, iconophile theologians argued that these prohibitions against idols and their worship were no longer valid for Christians, whose God, thanks to the incarnation, had become a historical being, whose acceptance of the spatial and temporal limits of a human body had made him visible and hence available for representation in icons. The primary advocates of this position were Patriarch Germanos I of Constantinople, whose views are known from three letters included in the documents of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, and John of Damascus (c. 675–749 CE), whose three orations on the images remain an influential discussion of the role of images in Orthodox Christianity. The arguments proposed by Germanos and John are crucial in that they linked the fate of the icon to Christological thought, thus making the debate over the image continuous with the Christological debates of the preceding centuries.

SECOND PHASE. The second phase of the iconoclastic era belongs to the early 750s CE. In preparation for an iconoclastic council to be held in 754 CE, Emperor Constantine V (r. 741–775) issued a series of *Enquiries* on the image question. These challenged the Christological case made by the first generation of iconophiles. Constantine deployed a Trinitarian conception of the image to show that the Christological defense of images was insufficient. In particular, he argued that the iconophiles had failed to account for how an icon could represent a divine being such as Christ without either dividing his dual natures or limiting his person. Constantine's position was largely endorsed by 338 bishops and other participants at the iconoclastic Hieria Council held at Chalcedon in 754 CE. The remaining years of Constantine's reign were marked by an intensified persecution of iconophile opponents to this conciliar decision. One further consequence of the council was that it reinforced papal opposition to what had come to be seen as an imperial policy of iconoclasm. This opposition to iconoclasm was expressed in the Lateran Council of 769 CE and in the numerous letters written by Pope Adrian I (r. 772–795) in regard to the Seventh Ecumenical Council held at Nicaea in 787 CE and the Council of Frankfurt in 794 CE. It is arguable that this opposition also contributed to the papal alliance with the emergent Carolingians that began in the 750s CE and that was to culminate with Charlemagne's coronation as Holy Roman Emperor in 800 CE.

The second phase was brought to an end by the ecumenical council that brought together 350 delegates at Nicaea in 787 CE. This council was held under the auspices of Empress Irene (r. 797–802 CE) and her son Constantine VI (r. 780–797 CE) and came about with the strong support of Pope Adrian I. The council was shaped by Patriarch Tarasios I of Constantinople (r. 784–806 CE) and was a direct response to the iconoclastic council of 754 CE. The greater part of the discussion was devoted to the establishment of the continuing tradition of the icon in the life of the church. The enormous array of testimony gathered toward this end remains a primary witness to the early history of the icon. Having established that icons belonged within the traditions of the church, the council reiterated that the icon was essential for the commemoration of the reality of the incarnation and that this function made the icon worthy of veneration.

THIRD PHASE. In 815 CE Emperor Leo V forced Patriarch Nikephoros I (r. 806–815) to resign. This emperor had sponsored a revival of the iconoclastic theology espoused during the reign of Constantine V. Under the auspices of a committee led by the monk John the Grammarian, who became Patriarch of Constantinople in 837 CE, these ninth-century iconoclasts developed aspects of their iconoclastic predecessors' theology. This included an acceptance of the visual representation of holy persons, although these images were to be denied veneration and were also considered to be a lesser medium than verbal representations.

Resistance to this fresh outbreak was led by Patriarch Nikephoros I of Constantinople and Theodore of Stoudios (759–826). Nikephoros wrote an extensive series of treatises against the unfolding iconoclastic theology, whereas Theodore's primary contribution lay in his three refutations of iconoclastic arguments. Both authors built upon the Christological defense of images. To this they added a rigorous use of Aristotelian logical terminology. This enabled them to clarify the language that framed the icon and to provide a precise description of iconic representation. Above all the icon was defined in relational terms as a likeness of the one depicted therein. An icon was thus understood to represent the formal, nonessential aspects of the visible properties of a historical subject. Furthermore, this relational model was also applied to the question of the veneration of icons. Iconophile theologians vigorously denied that the veneration of an image could lead to any confusion between the icon and its subject. Rather, they continued to build upon Basil of Caesarea's (c. 329–379 CE) fourth-century dictum that the honor addressed to an image was passed on to the person whose portrait was conveyed by that object. Following the death of Emperor Theophilus (r. 829–842 CE), Emperor Michael III (r. 842–867 CE) and Empress Theodora (r. 842–858 CE), guided by the eunuch Theoktistos, installed Methodius (c. 825–884 CE) as Patriarch of Constantinople (r. 843–847 CE) and removed the iconoclastic ban on the cult of images.

AFTERMATH. The years of debate that marked Byzantine iconoclasm confirmed the centrality of the icon for Orthodox Christians. Thereafter, the icon was deemed an exact and truthful eyewitness and confirmation of the reality of Christ's incarnation. The arguments presented by John of Damascus, Nikephoros of Constantinople, and Theodore of Stoudios continued to define the key issues concerning the place of art in Byzantine Christianity. The Synodikon of Orthodoxy, first composed before 920 CE, summarized and memorialized the iconophile argument. When this text was read each year on the first Sunday of Lent to mark the Triumph of Orthodoxy, it both reiterated the iconophile defense of the icon and affirmed the centrality of the icon to the definition of orthodoxy. Furthermore the arguments of these iconophile fathers continued to be studied and invoked in Byzantine debates over the image that took place in the eleventh and fourteenth centuries. Later in the West their ideas were "rediscovered" by the Counter-Reformation theologians of the sixteenth century as they searched for models for a Catholic defense of images.

Indeed, the Council of Trent, Vatican II, and Pope John Paul II's *Letter to Artists* demonstrate the continuing value of Byzantine theology of the icon for Catholic theologians. Each of these texts shows that the ideas addressed during Byzantium's debates over the status of the icon remain fundamental to any discussion of Christian image making and image use.

SEE ALSO Icons.

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CHARLES BARBER (2005)

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED IN THIS WORK

abbr. abbreviated; abbreviation
abr. abridged; abridgment
AD *anno Domini,* in the year of the (our) Lord
Afrik. Afrikaans
AH *anno Hegirae,* in the year of the Hijrah
Akk. Akkadian
Ala. Alabama
Alb. Albanian
Am. *Amos*
AM *ante meridiem,* before noon
amend. amended; amendment
annot. annotated; annotation
Ap. *Apocalypse*
Apn. *Apocryphon*
app. appendix
Arab. Arabic
ʿArakh. *ʿArakhin*
Aram. Aramaic
Ariz. Arizona
Ark. Arkansas
Arm. Armenian
art. article (pl., arts.)
AS Anglo-Saxon
Asm. Mos. *Assumption of Moses*
Assyr. Assyrian
A.S.S.R. Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
Av. Avestan
ʿA.Z. *ʿAvodah zarah*
b. born
Bab. Babylonian
Ban. Bantu
1 Bar. *1 Baruch*
2 Bar. *2 Baruch*
3 Bar. *3 Baruch*
4 Bar. *4 Baruch*
B.B. *Bavaʾ batraʾ*
BBC British Broadcasting Corporation
BC before Christ
BCE before the common era
B.D. Bachelor of Divinity
Beits. *Beitsah*
Bekh. *Bekhorot*
Beng. Bengali
Ber. *Berakhot*
Berb. Berber
Bik. *Bikkurim*
bk. book (pl., bks.)
B.M. *Bavaʾ metsiʿaʾ*
BP before the present
B.Q. *Bavaʾ qammaʾ*
Brāh. *Brāhmaṇa*
Bret. Breton
B.T. Babylonian Talmud
Bulg. Bulgarian
Burm. Burmese
c. *circa,* about, approximately
Calif. California
Can. Canaanite
Catal. Catalan
CE of the common era
Celt. Celtic
cf. *confer,* compare
Chald. Chaldean
chap. chapter (pl., chaps.)
Chin. Chinese
C.H.M. Community of the Holy Myrrhbearers
1 Chr. *1 Chronicles*
2 Chr. *2 Chronicles*
Ch. Slav. Church Slavic
cm centimeters
col. column (pl., cols.)
Col. *Colossians*
Colo. Colorado
comp. compiler (pl., comps.)
Conn. Connecticut
cont. continued
Copt. Coptic
1 Cor. *1 Corinthians*
2 Cor. *2 Corinthians*
corr. corrected
C.S.P. Congregatio Sancti Pauli, Congregation of Saint Paul (Paulists)
d. died
D Deuteronomic (source of the Pentateuch)
Dan. Danish
D.B. Divinitatis Baccalaureus, Bachelor of Divinity
D.C. District of Columbia
D.D. Divinitatis Doctor, Doctor of Divinity
Del. Delaware
Dem. *Demaʾi*
dim. diminutive
diss. dissertation
Dn. *Daniel*
D.Phil. Doctor of Philosophy
Dt. *Deuteronomy*
Du. Dutch
E Elohist (source of the Pentateuch)
Eccl. *Ecclesiastes*
ed. editor (pl., eds.); edition; edited by

ʿEduy. *ʿEduyyot*
e.g. *exempli gratia,* for example
Egyp. Egyptian
1 En. *1 Enoch*
2 En. *2 Enoch*
3 En. *3 Enoch*
Eng. English
enl. enlarged
Eph. *Ephesians*
ʿEruv. *ʿEruvin*
1 Esd. *1 Esdras*
2 Esd. *2 Esdras*
3 Esd. *3 Esdras*
4 Esd. *4 Esdras*
esp. especially
Est. Estonian
Est. *Esther*
et al. *et alii,* and others
etc. *et cetera,* and so forth
Eth. Ethiopic
EV English version
Ex. *Exodus*
exp. expanded
Ez. *Ezekiel*
Ezr. *Ezra*
2 Ezr. *2 Ezra*
4 Ezr. *4 Ezra*
f. feminine; and following (pl., ff.)
fasc. fascicle (pl., fascs.)
fig. figure (pl., figs.)
Finn. Finnish
fl. *floruit,* flourished
Fla. Florida
Fr. French
frag. fragment
ft. feet
Ga. Georgia
Gal. *Galatians*
Gaul. Gaulish
Ger. German
Giṭ. *Giṭṭin*
Gn. *Genesis*
Gr. Greek
Ḥag. *Ḥagigah*
Ḥal. *Ḥallah*
Hau. Hausa
Hb. *Habakkuk*
Heb. Hebrew
Heb. *Hebrews*
Hg. *Haggai*
Hitt. Hittite
Hor. *Horayot*
Hos. *Hosea*
Ḥul. *Ḥullin*
Hung. Hungarian
ibid. *ibidem,* in the same place (as the one immediately preceding)
Icel. Icelandic
i.e. *id est,* that is
IE Indo-European
Ill. Illinois
Ind. Indiana
intro. introduction
Ir. Gael. Irish Gaelic
Iran. Iranian
Is. *Isaiah*
Ital. Italian
J Yahvist (source of the Pentateuch)
Jas. *James*
Jav. Javanese
Jb. *Job*
Jdt. *Judith*
Jer. *Jeremiah*
Jgs. *Judges*
Jl. *Joel*
Jn. *John*
1 Jn. *1 John*
2 Jn. *2 John*
3 Jn. *3 John*
Jon. *Jonah*
Jos. *Joshua*
Jpn. Japanese
JPS Jewish Publication Society translation (1985) of the Hebrew Bible
J.T. Jerusalem Talmud
Jub. *Jubilees*
Kans. Kansas
Kel. *Kelim*
Ker. *Keritot*
Ket. *Ketubbot*
1 Kgs. *1 Kings*
2 Kgs. *2 Kings*
Khois. Khoisan
Kil. *Kilʾayim*
km kilometers
Kor. Korean
Ky. Kentucky
l. line (pl., ll.)
La. Louisiana
Lam. *Lamentations*
Lat. Latin
Latv. Latvian
L. en Th. Licencié en Théologie, Licentiate in Theology
L. ès L. Licencié ès Lettres, Licentiate in Literature
Let. Jer. *Letter of Jeremiah*
lit. literally
Lith. Lithuanian
Lk. *Luke*
LL Late Latin
LL.D. Legum Doctor, Doctor of Laws
Lv. *Leviticus*
m meters
m. masculine
M.A. Master of Arts
Ma ʿas. *Maʿaserot*
Ma ʿas. Sh. *Maʿ aser sheni*
Mak. *Makkot*
Makh. *Makhshirin*
Mal. *Malachi*
Mar. Marathi
Mass. Massachusetts
1 Mc. *1 Maccabees*
2 Mc. *2 Maccabees*
3 Mc. *3 Maccabees*
4 Mc. *4 Maccabees*
Md. Maryland
M.D. Medicinae Doctor, Doctor of Medicine
ME Middle English
Meg. *Megillah*
Me ʿil. *Meʿilah*
Men. *Menaḥot*
MHG Middle High German
mi. miles
Mi. *Micah*
Mich. Michigan
Mid. *Middot*
Minn. Minnesota
Miq. *Miqvaʾot*
MIran. Middle Iranian
Miss. Mississippi
Mk. *Mark*
Mo. Missouri
Moʿed Q. *Moʿed qaṭan*
Mont. Montana
MPers. Middle Persian
MS. *manuscriptum,* manuscript (pl., MSS)
Mt. *Matthew*
MT Masoretic text
n. note
Na. *Nahum*
Nah. Nahuatl
Naz. *Nazir*
N.B. *nota bene,* take careful note
N.C. North Carolina
n.d. no date
N.Dak. North Dakota
NEB New English Bible
Nebr. Nebraska

Ned. *Nedarim*
Neg. *Negaʿim*
Neh. *Nehemiah*
Nev. Nevada
N.H. New Hampshire
Nid. *Niddah*
N.J. New Jersey
Nm. *Numbers*
N.Mex. New Mexico
no. number (pl., nos.)
Nor. Norwegian
n.p. no place
n.s. new series
N.Y. New York
Ob. *Obadiah*
O.Cist. Ordo Cisterciencium, Order of Cîteaux (Cistercians)
OCS Old Church Slavonic
OE Old English
O.F.M. Ordo Fratrum Minorum, Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)
OFr. Old French
Ohal. *Ohalot*
OHG Old High German
OIr. Old Irish
OIran. Old Iranian
Okla. Oklahoma
ON Old Norse
O.P. Ordo Praedicatorum, Order of Preachers (Dominicans)
OPers. Old Persian
op. cit. *opere citato,* in the work cited
OPrus. Old Prussian
Oreg. Oregon
ʿOrl. *ʿOrlah*
O.S.B. Ordo Sancti Benedicti, Order of Saint Benedict (Benedictines)
p. page (pl., pp.)
P Priestly (source of the Pentateuch)
Pa. Pennsylvania
Pahl. Pahlavi
Par. *Parah*
para. paragraph (pl., paras.)
Pers. Persian
Pes. *Pesahim*
Ph.D. Philosophiae Doctor, Doctor of Philosophy
Phil. *Philippians*
Phlm. *Philemon*
Phoen. Phoenician
pl. plural; plate (pl., pls.)
PM *post meridiem,* after noon
Pol. Polish
pop. population
Port. Portuguese
Prv. *Proverbs*
Ps. *Psalms*
Ps. 151 *Psalm 151*
Ps. Sol. *Psalms of Solomon*
pt. part (pl., pts.)
1Pt. *1 Peter*
2 Pt. *2 Peter*
Pth. Parthian
Q hypothetical source of the synoptic Gospels
Qid. *Qiddushin*
Qin. *Qinnim*
r. reigned; ruled
Rab. *Rabbah*
rev. revised
R. ha-Sh. *Roʾsh ha-shanah*
R.I. Rhode Island
Rom. Romanian
Rom. *Romans*
R.S.C.J. Societas Sacratissimi Cordis Jesu, Religious of the Sacred Heart
RSV Revised Standard Version of the Bible
Ru. *Ruth*
Rus. Russian
Rv. *Revelation*
Rv. Ezr. *Revelation of Ezra*
San. *Sanhedrin*
S.C. South Carolina
Scot. Gael. Scottish Gaelic
S.Dak. South Dakota
sec. section (pl., secs.)
Sem. Semitic
ser. series
sg. singular
Sg. *Song of Songs*
Sg. of 3 *Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men*
Shab. *Shabbat*
Shav. *Shavuʿot*
Sheq. *Sheqalim*
Sib. Or. *Sibylline Oracles*
Sind. Sindhi
Sinh. Sinhala
Sir. *Ben Sira*
S.J. Societas Jesu, Society of Jesus (Jesuits)
Skt. Sanskrit
1 Sm. *1 Samuel*
2 Sm. *2 Samuel*
Sogd. Sogdian
Soṭ. *Soṭah*
sp. species (pl., spp.)
Span. Spanish
sq. square
S.S.R. Soviet Socialist Republic
st. stanza (pl., ss.)
S.T.M. Sacrae Theologiae Magister, Master of Sacred Theology
Suk. *Sukkah*
Sum. Sumerian
supp. supplement; supplementary
Sus. *Susanna*
s.v. *sub verbo,* under the word (pl., s.v.v.)
Swed. Swedish
Syr. Syriac
Syr. Men. *Syriac Menander*
Taʿ an. *Taʿanit*
Tam. Tamil
Tam. *Tamid*
Tb. *Tobit*
T.D. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō,* edited by Takakusu Junjirō et al. (Tokyo,1922–1934)
Tem. *Temurah*
Tenn. Tennessee
Ter. Terumot
Ṭev. Y. *Ṭevul yom*
Tex. Texas
Th.D. Theologicae Doctor, Doctor of Theology
1 Thes. *1 Thessalonians*
2 Thes. *2 Thessalonians*
Thrac. Thracian
Ti. *Titus*
Tib. Tibetan
1 Tm. *1 Timothy*
2 Tm. *2 Timothy*
T. of 12 *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*
Ṭoh. *ṭohorot*
Tong. Tongan
trans. translator, translators; translated by; translation
Turk. Turkish
Ukr. Ukrainian
Upan. *Upaniṣad*
U.S. United States
U.S.S.R. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Uqts. *Uqtsin*
v. verse (pl., vv.)
Va. Virginia
var. variant; variation
Viet. Vietnamese

viz. *videlicet,* namely
vol. volume (pl., vols.)
Vt. Vermont
Wash. Washington
Wel. Welsh
Wis. Wisconsin
Wis. *Wisdom of Solomon*
W.Va. West Virginia
Wyo. Wyoming
Yad. *Yadayim*
Yev. *Yevamot*
Yi. Yiddish
Yor. Yoruba
Zav. *Zavim*
Zec. *Zechariah*
Zep. *Zephaniah*
Zev. *Zevaḥim*

* hypothetical
? uncertain; possibly; perhaps
° degrees
+ plus
– minus
= equals; is equivalent to
× by; multiplied by
→ yields

COMMERCE OF IMAGES

Although certain definitions of religion would like to portray worship and the contemplative life as devoid of anything so profane or secular as commerce, in fact, work, trade, and religion are often inseparable, and can even be indistinguishable. And no religion is without fundamental economic aspects. If commerce is broadly understood as any system of exchange in which goods, services, or capital act as a medium of human relations, it is not difficult to see how commerce also characterizes much religious behavior. Human traffic with the divine may be described as a commerce of sorts, and often precisely as a system of exchange in which human beings barter for goods and services that will enhance their lives. Images are often the coin by which the metaphysical economy of exchange is conducted with the gods or divine forces whose benefits may be acquired by the expenditure of moral or spiritual capital betokened by the image. In other cases, images promote or facilitate consumption that is infused with religious meaning.

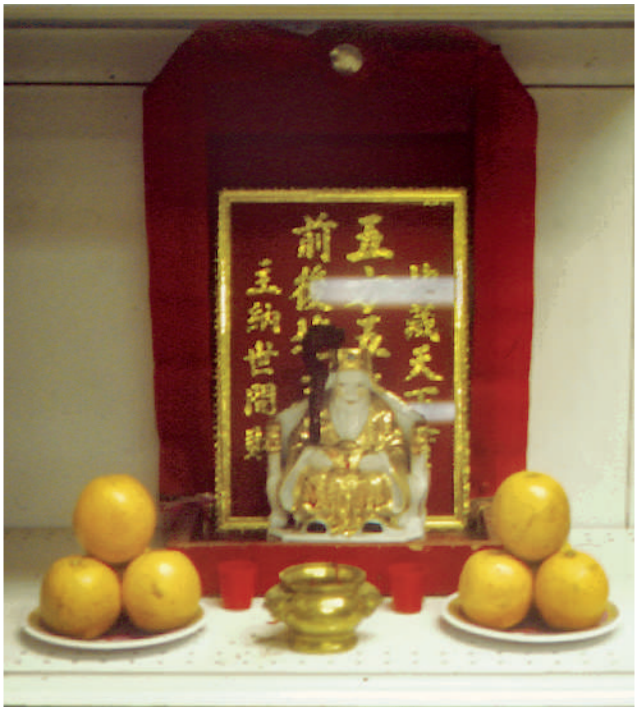
(a) A small shrine with offerings of food and incense at a grocery store in Chicago's Chinatown in 1999. *[Photograph by David Morgan]*

The food and incense offered to earth gods by a Chicago Chinatown grocer in the small shrine reproduced here **(a)** are propitiations, that is, inducements to blessing or favorable action. The food is not simply a form of literal sustenance, though the practice of offering food to ancestors and the dead is common in many religions. But in such cases, as with the earth gods of the Chinese American grocery store owner, the food symbolizes the giver's mindfulness and plea. The offering, in other words, betokens a desired relationship, not a mere material dependency. The gods, like the dead, do not wish to be forgotten. Remembering them curries their favor because it engages them in a deliberate relationship with the living. They respond benevolently not because they are paid to do so, but out of their sense of gratitude to the human recognition of their needs or because of the respect they are due. Such an economy humanizes the otherwise unpredictable power of the divine. A world in which the devout can engage the divine in acts of civility is a world less hostile and inhumane. The earth gods invoked by the grocer's shrine respond by promoting the sale of food in a way that parallels their propitiation in rural China, where they could assist good harvests.

The practice of displaying thanks for healings and deliverance or posting petitions for such blessings is familiar in Roman Catholicism and Shintō. Small paintings **(b)** are commissioned and displayed in cathedrals by those who wish to thank the Mother of God for her intervention in difficult circumstances. Public displays of this visual form of thanks are an essential part of the ritual since they are a kind of reciprocation that recognizes the Virgin's benevolence. Catholic women often post their petitions and thanks to Saint Jude at his shrines or in shrine publications as part of seeking his assistance in overcoming obstacles. Shintō pilgrims who visit shrines and holy places, such as mountains in Japan, display their petitions on pieces of wood purchased and then deposited at the shrines **(c)**.

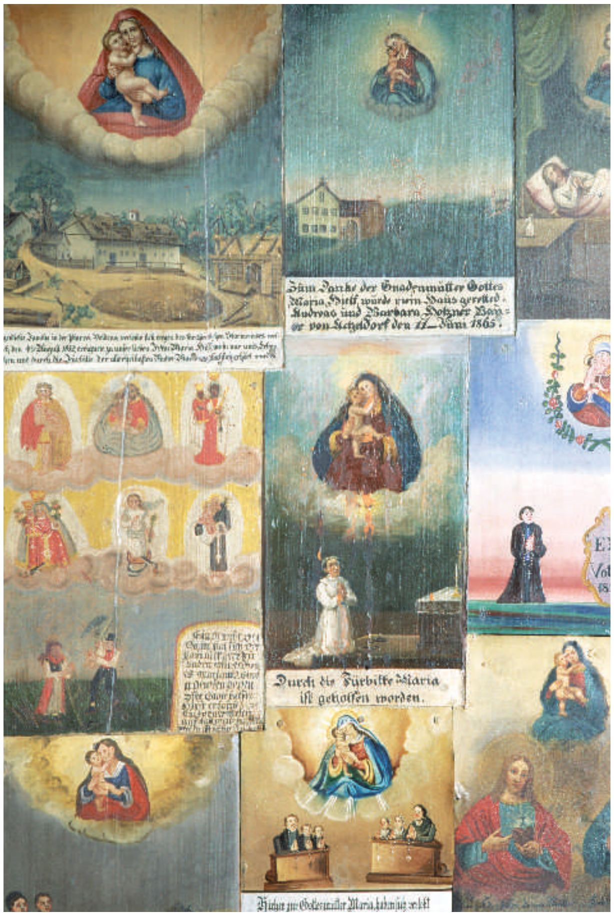

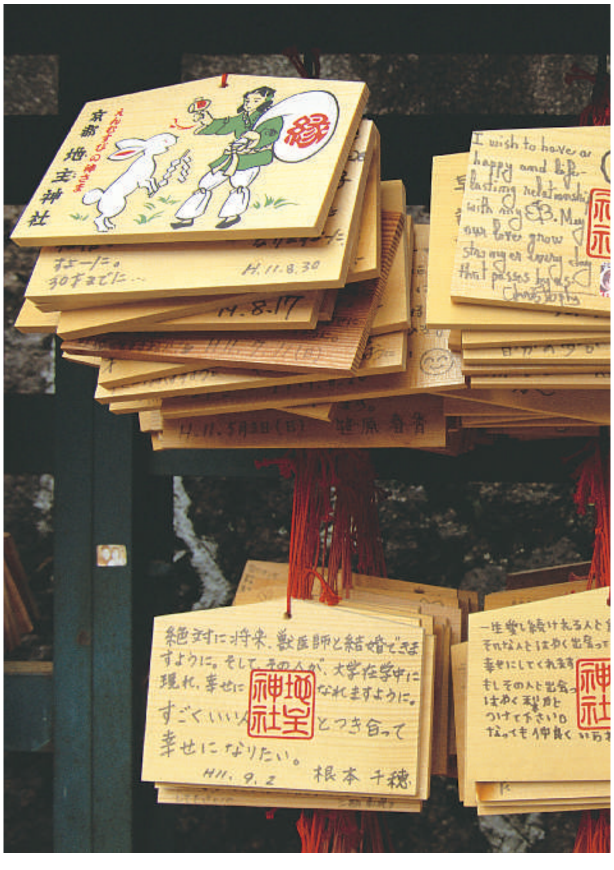

(b) **Above.** Nineteenth-century ex-votos for the Virgin Mary on a church wall in Vilsbiburg, Germany. *[©José F. Poblete/Corbis]* **(c)** **Right.** Wooden prayer tablets with requests for favors from the gods for sale at a Shintō shrine in Kyoto, Japan. *[©Catherine Karnow/Corbis]*

In the later Middle Ages in Europe, Christians were able to procure time off from extended stays in purgatory for themselves or dead loved ones by purchasing indulgences, which were delivered as tokens on paper **(d)**. Letters of indulgence were drawn up by ecclesiastical authorities and awarded to particular churches or religious orders, authorizing the sale of indulgences to those who visited shrines or churches where they might venerate relics or images and offer prayers. Indulgences were often associated with pilgrimage churches and offered lucrative benefits to the towns, orders, bishoprics, and the Vatican. Images and medallions were sold at pilgrimage sites as tokens of pilgrimage and as devotional items that were used in prayer and even enshrined for devotion afterward. Sales at religious festivals helped ensure local artisans of income and boosted local economies, as well as church coffers **(e)**.

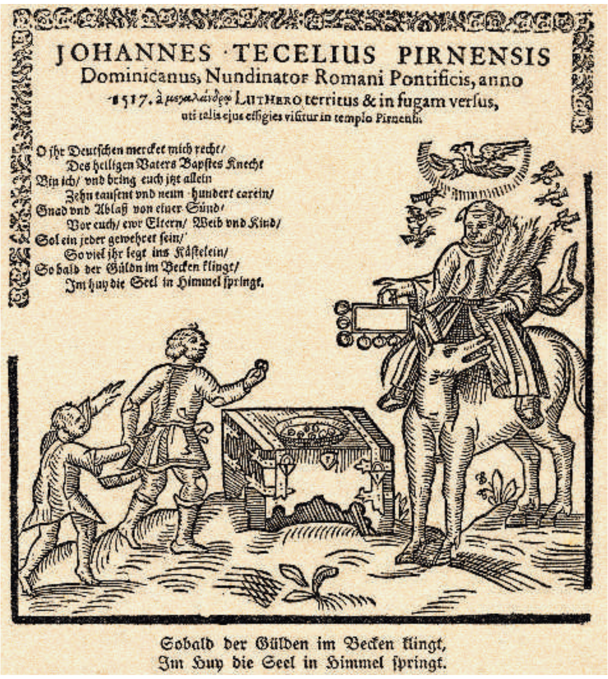

JOHANNES · TECELIUS PIRNENSIS
Dominicanus, Nundinator Romani Pontificis, anno
1517. à μεγαλάνδρῳ LUTHERO territus & in fugam verſus,
uti talis ejus effigies viſitur in templo Pirnenſi.

O jhr Deutſchen mercket mich recht/
Des heiligen Vaters Bapſtes Knecht
Bin ich/ vnd bring euch jtzt allein
Zehn tauſent vnd neun hundert carein/
Gnad vnd Ablaß von einer Sünd/
Vor euch/ ewr Eltern/ Weib vnd Kind/
Sol ein jeder gewehret ſein/
So viel jhr legt ins Käſtelein/
So bald der Gülden im Becken klingt/
Im huy die Seel in Himmel ſpringt.

Sobald der Gülden im Becken klingt,
Im Huy die Seel in Himmel ſpringt.

(d) Right. A sixteenth-century woodcut flyer advertises indulgences to be purchased from John Tetzel, an indulgence seller. *[©Bettmann/Corbis]* **(e)** Below. Jörg Breu the Elder, *Sale of Indulgences*, c. 1530, woodcut. *[©Art Resource, N.Y.]*

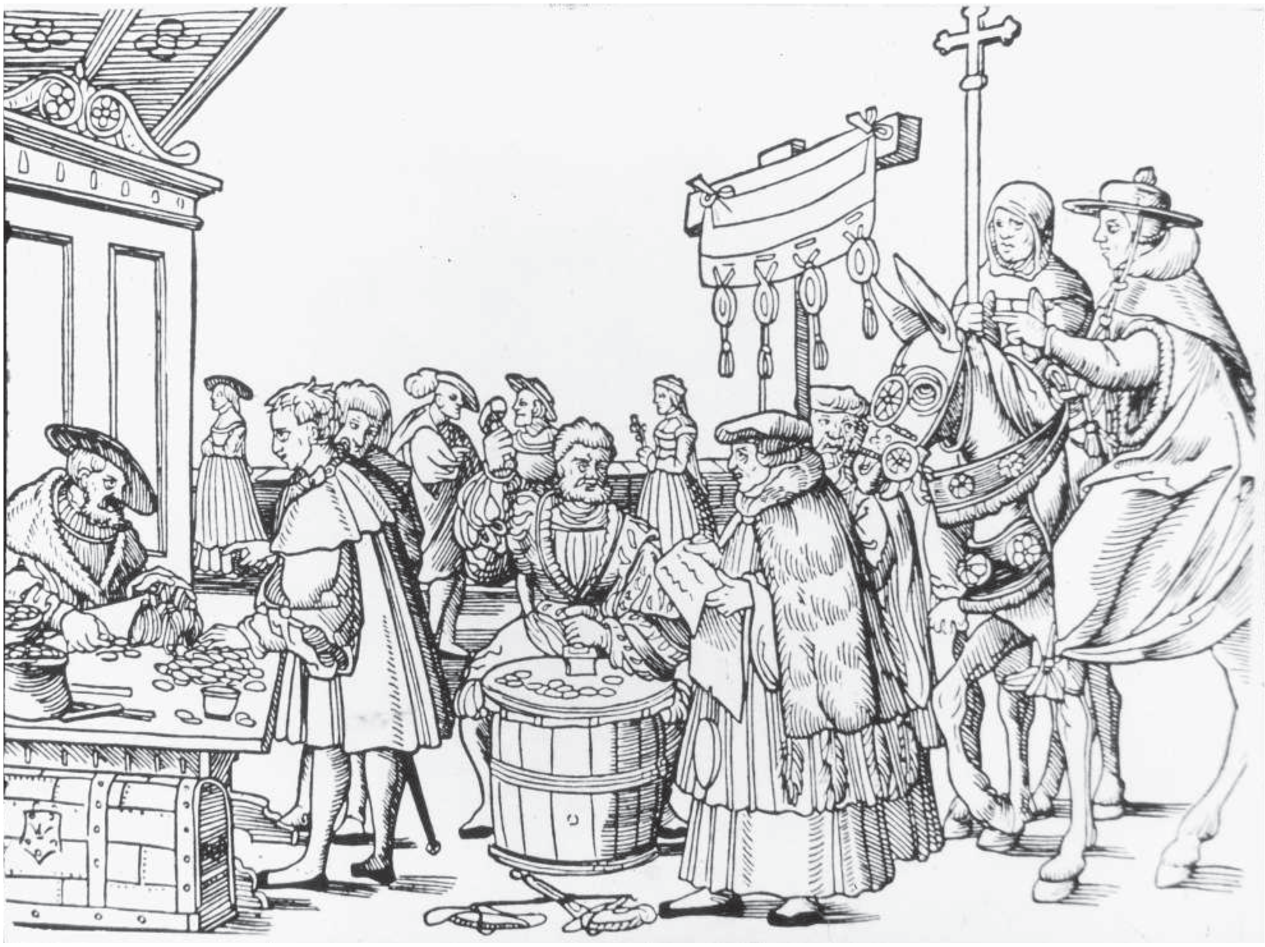

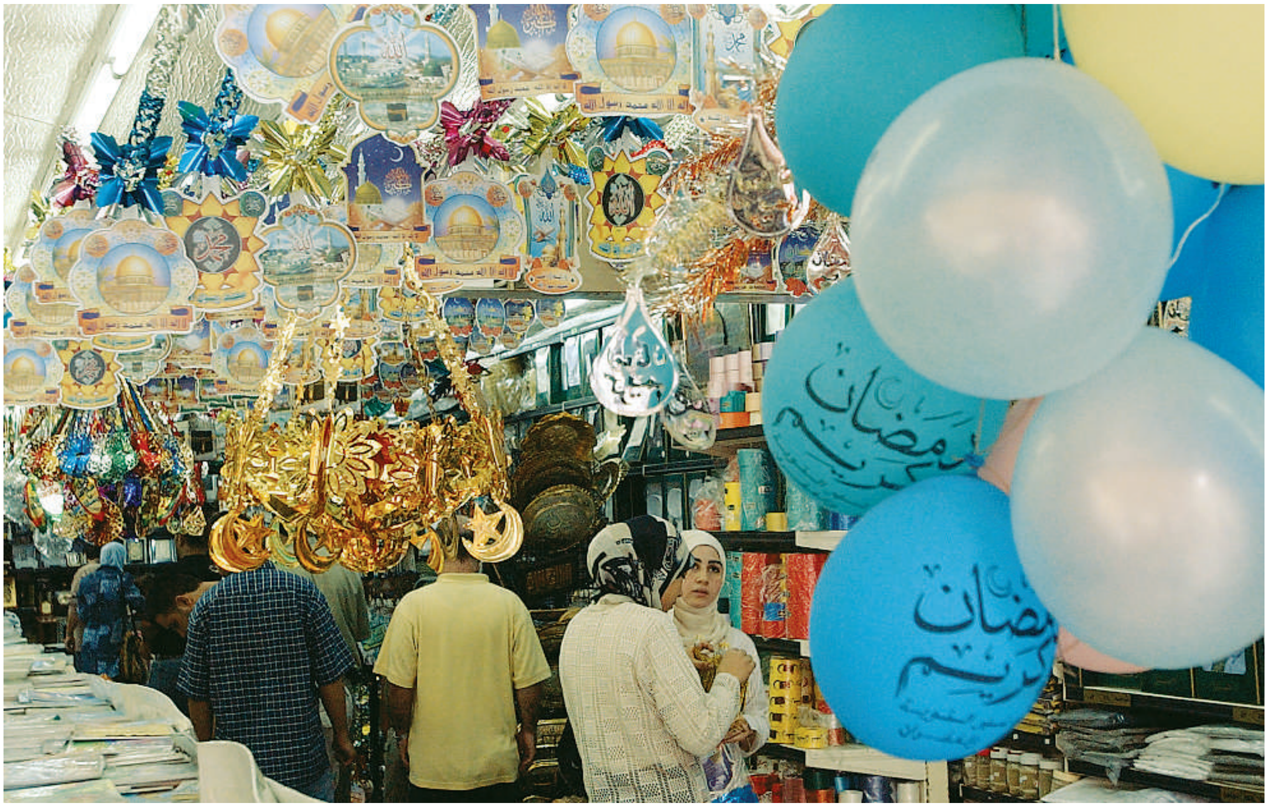

Festivals such as Ramaḍān, Ro'sh ha-Shanah, Christmas, and Easter are commonly celebrated the world over by the sale of all manner of decorations **(f)**. Muslims, like their Christian and Jewish counterparts, purchase inexpensive, brightly decorated items for domestic display **(g)**. These objects are often mass-produced, but typically recall premodern forms of craft and handmade production. Highly decorative, they incorporate explicitly religious symbols and motifs that will encourage ritual mindfulness during the festival and support rituals of gifting that

(f) Top. Ramaḍān decorations for sale in 2003 in Beirut, Lebanon. *[AP/Wide World Photos]*

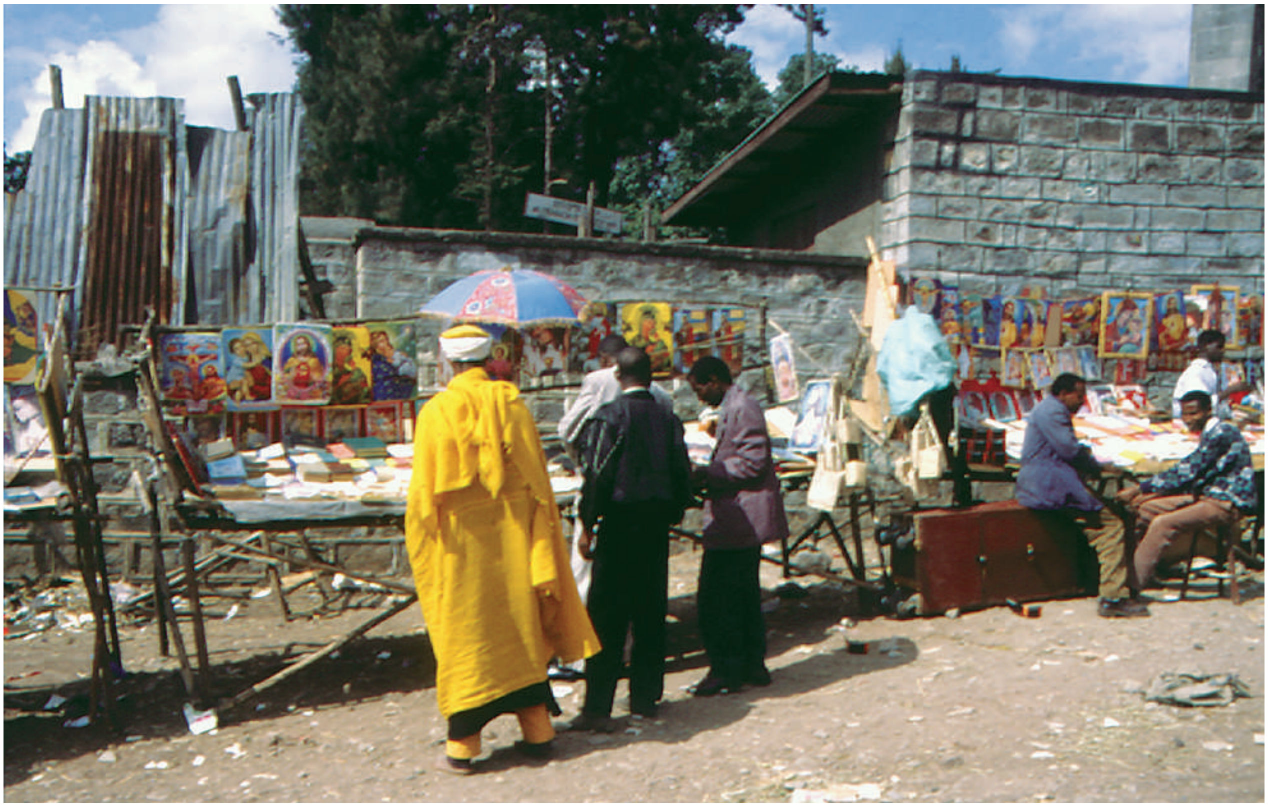

are common on the occasions of such holy days. Even daily devotional life finds a hearty place for artistic goods, as seen in two different African religious marketplaces, which show an Ethiopian Orthodox priest and lay persons patronizing image peddlers outside of a temple in Addis Ababa **(h)** and two Muslim men in front of a vendor's glass painting display in Dakar, Senegal **(i)**. Consumption, therefore, is a familiar form of religious observance. Religious practices such as Vodou, which are perhaps most commonly experienced as forms of problem-solving by practitioners, rely on proprietors who create the material

(h) **TOP.** Religious images for sale near an Ethiopian Orthodox Church compound in Addis Ababa in 1999. *[Photograph by David Morgan]* **(i)** **RIGHT.** Senegalese men view images of Ṣūfī leaders and tourist themes for sale in 2001 in Dakar. *[UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History; photograph by Lynne K. Brodhead]*

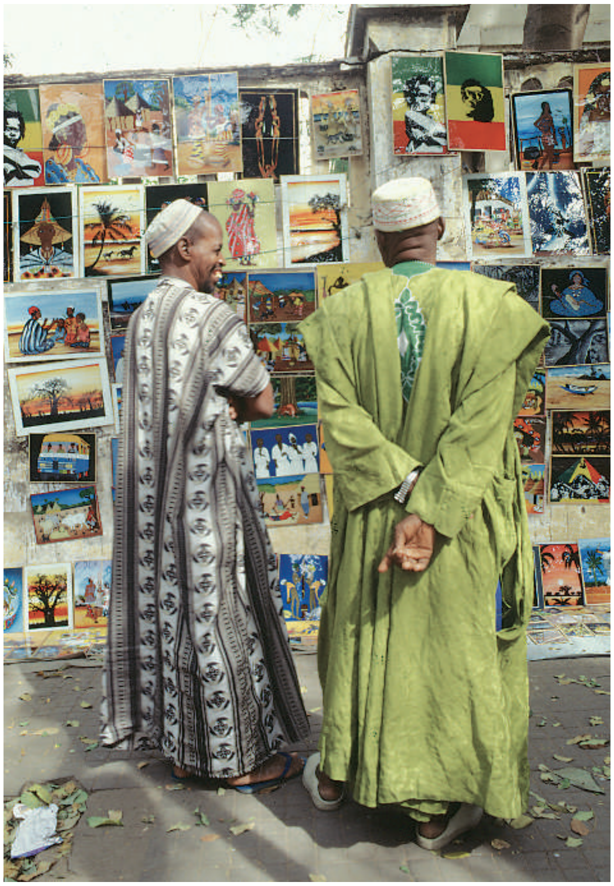

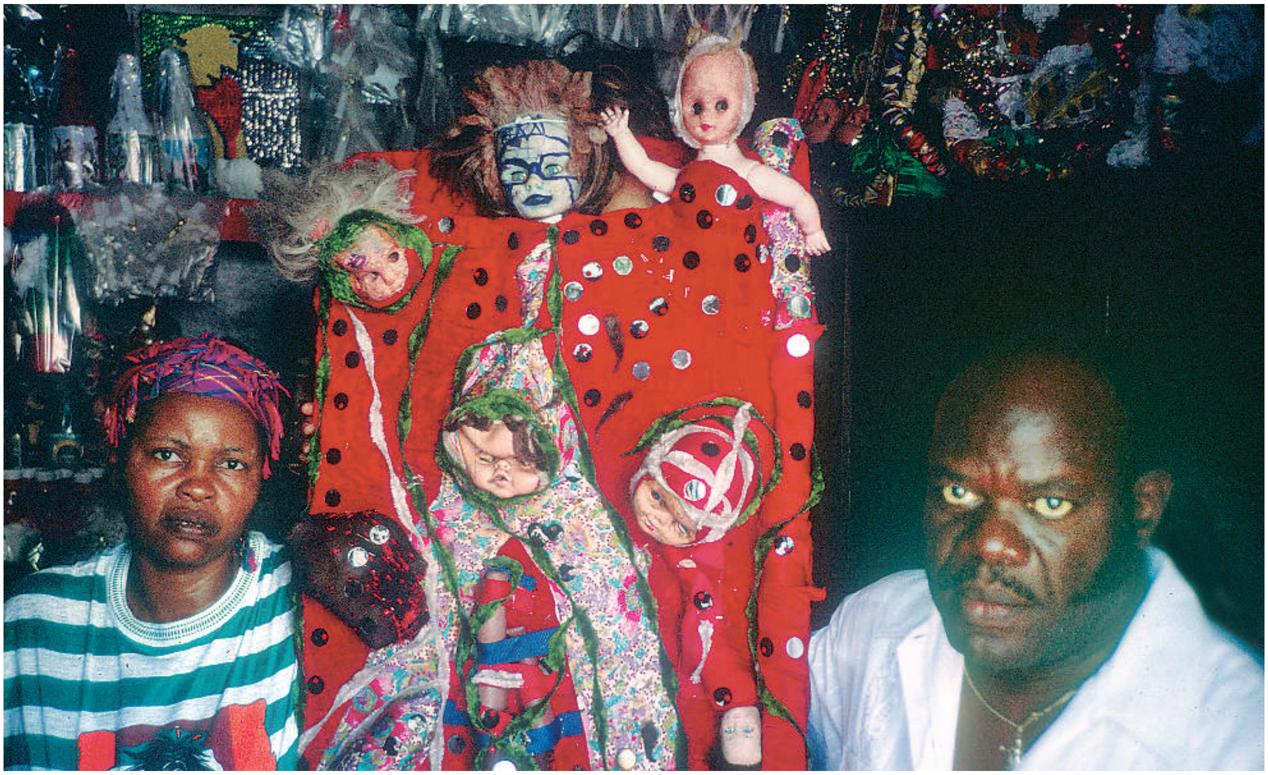

culture of liturgy, ritual action, and petition that priests and laity purchase in commercial shops for later use **(j)**.

Religion is market-friendly even among those traditions that criticize and seek to reform certain economic practices. By challenging and ultimately subverting the metaphysical economy of indulgences used among Roman Catholics, the renegade monk Martin Luther and the Reformation he led and inspired replaced it with an alternative economic system of belief. Arguing that God himself provided the means of redemption in a theology of substitutionary atonement, in which the debt of sin was paid for by the sacrificial blood of Christ's death, Luther rejected the believer's dependence on an economic relationship with the divine that was mediated by the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Inspired by the success of Luther's use of print and the commercial viability of print production, Protestants formed tract and bible societies that published and distributed materials domestically and internationally, often as the cornerstone of their mission outreach **(k)**. In effect, Protestantism tended to transform faith into the affirmation of a message that was inexpensively circulated on a vast scale as mass-produced information or "news." These printed items were often illustrated, since images both attracted consumers and effectively condensed information into economically viable forms of advertisement.

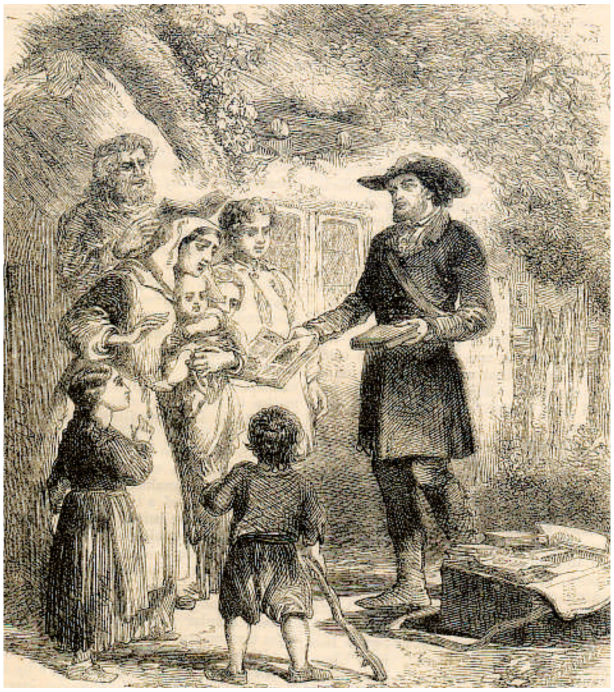

(j) **TOP.** Two Haitian merchants display Vodou items for sale in the Iron Market in Port-au-Prince in 1994. *[Photograph by Doran Ross]* **(k)** **ABOVE.** The *Colporteur on his Rounds*, an illustration from *The Sunday at Home* (vol. 8, no. 345, December 6, 1860, page 776). *[Courtesy of the Billy Graham Center Museum, Wheaton, Ill.]*

Advertisement was understood as a form of evangelism, as the mural painted by an evangelical sign painter in Los Angeles **(l)** clearly shows. The pithy, attention-grabbing image was accompanied by the richly visual language of the Bible to deliver its urgent message in a direct way.

The very efficacy of Protestantism's use of imagery in mass-produced media during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries encouraged the exploitation of biblical narrative as a form of mass entertainment. Cecil B. De Mille's sensational portrayal of the life of Moses in *The Ten Commandments* (1956) was not only a box office hit in the United States, but in several countries. The promotional poster reproduced here **(m)** advertised the film to Japanese viewers in a way that capitalized on the star power and charisma of the Hollywood commodities of celebrity and extravaganza.

Making work and religion indistinguishable is not a peculiarly Protestant habit. Islam anticipated the integration of work and belief by centuries. This is perhaps most assiduously practiced by the Mourides, a Senegalese Ṣūfī ethnic group that regards work as a spiritual practice par excellence. This attitude is strongly conveyed by the

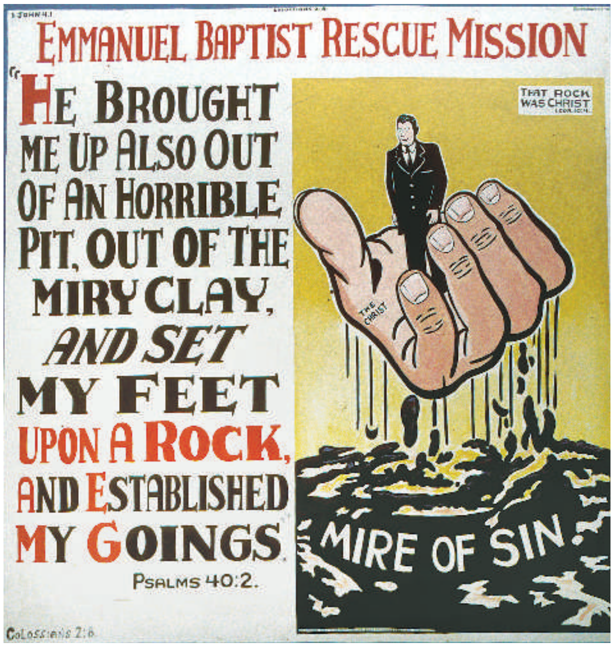
I JOHN 4:1
EMMANUEL BAPTIST RESCUE MISSION
"HE BROUGHT ME UP ALSO OUT OF AN HORRIBLE PIT, OUT OF THE MIRY CLAY, AND SET MY FEET UPON A ROCK, AND ESTABLISHED MY GOINGS
PSALMS 40:2.
THAT ROCK WAS CHRIST
THE CHRIST
MIRE OF SIN
Colossians 2:6

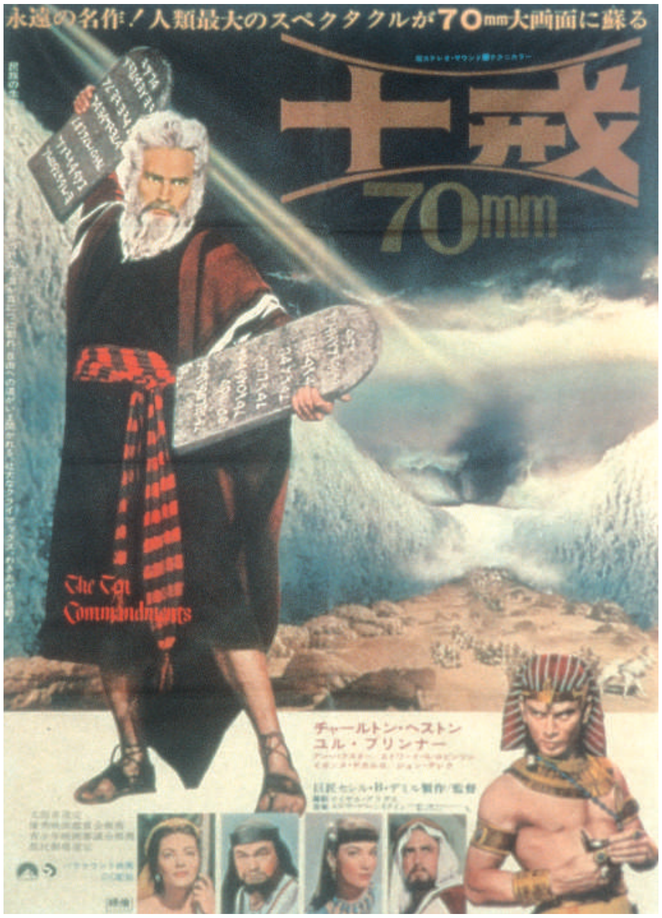
永遠の名作！人類最大のスペクタクルが70mm大画面に蘇る
十戒
70mm
The Ten Commandments
チャールトン・ヘストン
ユル・ブリンナー

(l) Above. *Mire of Sin*, a mural by John B. D. at the Emmanuel Baptist Rescue Mission in Los Angeles. *[©Camilo José Vergara, reproduced by permission.]* **(m) Left.** A Japanese poster advertising Cecil B. De Mille's 1956 film *The Ten Commandments*. ***[Courtesy of the Billy Graham Center Museum, Wheaton, Ill.]***

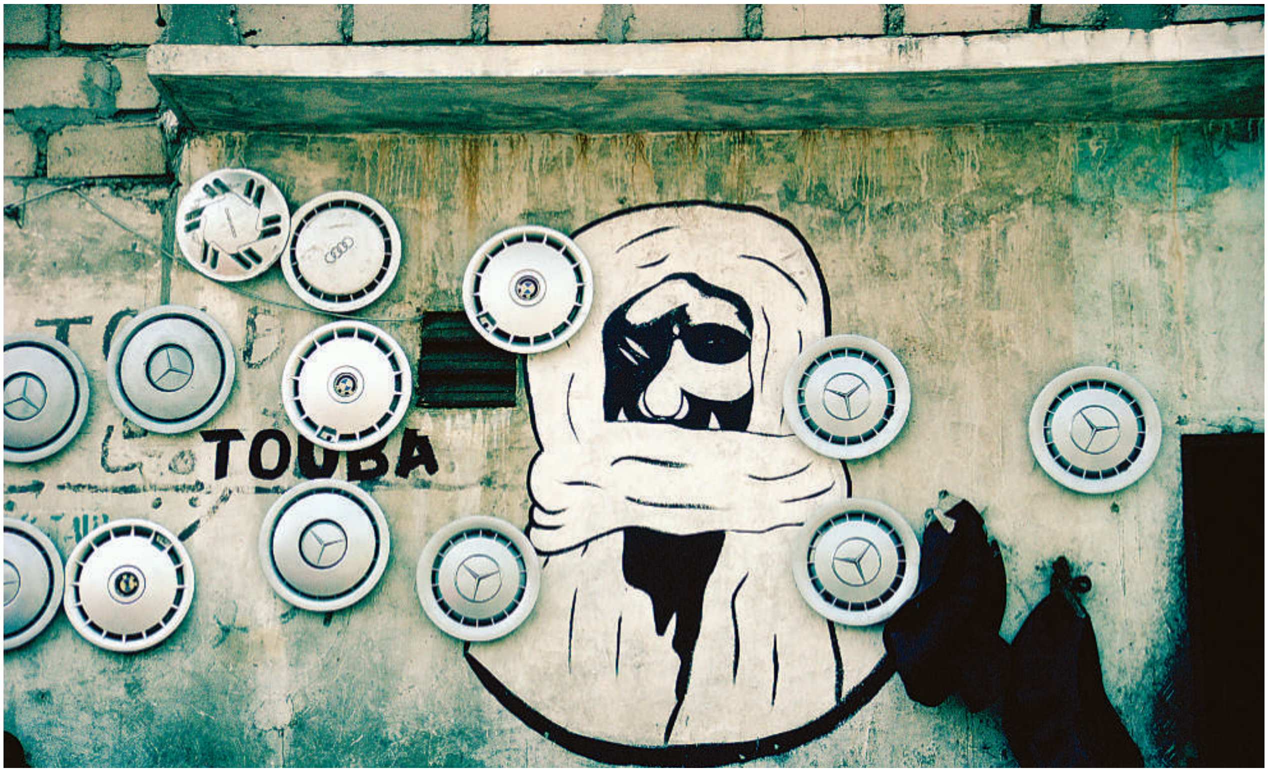

(n) An image of Amadou Bamba, a Mouride saint, on the wall of a hubcap shop in Dakar, Senegal, in 1994. *[Photograph by Mary N. Roberts and Allen F. Roberts]*

intermingling of the portrait of the Mouride saint, Amadou Bamba, on a wall of a hubcap shop in Dakar **(n)**. Buying hubcaps at this store promises a special blessing to devout consumers. For Muslims and Christians, business is an ideal medium for religious practice because it carries belief into the heart of the daily world, infusing the most mundane acts with a transcendent significance.

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DAVID MORGAN (2005)

ICONOGRAPHY

This entry consists of the following articles:

- ICONOGRAPHY AS VISIBLE RELIGION [FIRST EDITION]
- ICONOGRAPHY AS VISIBLE RELIGION [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]
- TRADITIONAL AFRICAN ICONOGRAPHY
- AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL ICONOGRAPHY
- NATIVE NORTH AMERICAN ICONOGRAPHY
- MESOAMERICAN ICONOGRAPHY
- MESOPOTAMIAN ICONOGRAPHY
- EGYPTIAN ICONOGRAPHY
- GRECO-ROMAN ICONOGRAPHY
- HINDU ICONOGRAPHY
- BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY
- DAOIST ICONOGRAPHY
- CONFUCIAN ICONOGRAPHY
- JEWISH ICONOGRAPHY [FIRST EDITION]
- JEWISH ICONOGRAPHY [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]
- CHRISTIAN ICONOGRAPHY
- ISLAMIC ICONOGRAPHY

ICONOGRAPHY: ICONOGRAPHY AS VISIBLE RELIGION [FIRST EDITION]

Iconography literally means "description of images," but it also refers to a research program in art history that exposes the different meanings of images vis-à-vis the beholder.

WORDS AND IMAGES. Religious iconography defines a relationship between word and pictorial scheme, each of which follows its own logic. Visual forms are not discursive: they do not represent their message sequentially but simultaneously. While the meanings given through verbal language are understood successively, those given through visual forms are understood only by perceiving the whole at once. Susanne Langer, who argues for such a distinction in her *Philosophy in a New Key* (1951, pp. 79–102), calls this kind of semantics "presentational symbolism," indicating that we grasp it not by reasoning but by feeling. From this basic difference it follows that word and image sometimes compete against each other and sometimes supplement each other. There is no universal law for this rela-

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CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT CORNER. Relief of the ancient Egyptian deities Horus and Isis with Euergetes II at Kom Ombo in Aswan, Egypt. *[©Roger Wood/Corbis]*; Twelfth-century Byzantine mosaic of Christ with the Virgin Mary in Hagia Sophia, Istanbul, Turkey. *[©Charles & Josette Lenars/Corbis]*; Colossal stone Buddha (destroyed in 2001) in Bamiyan, Afghanistan. *[The Art Archive]*; Fifteenth-century Inca ruins at Machu Picchu in Peru. *[©Alison Wright/Corbis]*; The Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. *[©Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.]* .

tionship; I shall illustrate some of the possibilities with examples from the history of ancient religions.

In ancient societies, the artist who shaped statues or carved stamps and seals was included among the artisans, a disparate group of producers who came to form a rank of their own. In Iran, as elsewhere, the three age-old social groups of priests, warriors, and peasants were joined in Parthian times (third century BCE–second century CE) by that of the artisans. But this new group was unable to elevate its status, as confirmed by the *Book of Ben Sira* (second century BCE). This text, which enumerates a list of craftsmen, acknowledges that without such skilled workers as the engravers of seals, the smith, or the potter, a city would have no inhabitants and no settlers or travelers would come to it. Yet, the writer points out, the artisans "are not in demand at public discussions or prominent in the assembly," since the assembly needs the wise men who are engaged in study rather than manual labor (*Ben Sira* 38:24–39:5).

The low reputation of the artisans is also reflected in the anonymity of their work. Artists working on behalf of a temple, a palace, or a private customer became alienated from their work. Although Greek vases were presumably signed by their painters for the first time about 700 BCE, the majority of artists were still unknown in later times and remained dependent on their patrons. The carvers of the Achaemenid rock reliefs (Iran, sixth–fifth century BCE), for example, relied completely on the political visions and models of the imperial court and were obliged to create a visual legitimation of Achaemenid kingship. (See Margaret Root's *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*, Leiden, 1979).

Other trends of patronage can be observed with seals, stamps, amulets, and pottery. In Hellenistic Egypt, for example, the god Bes is represented in clay figures more often than the official and well-known Egyptian gods. The artisans in the provincial workshops obviously had to take into account the taste of private customers, who were looking for a deity able to avert evil powers and to protect men and women. The frightening appearance of Bes that the artisans shaped served as protection against such perils and met the demands of the laity (see Françoise Dunand in *Visible Religion* 3, 1985). The history of Greek vase paintings provides us with similar phenomena. While some paintings represent typically heroic attitudes toward dying, others display an unheroic, plebeian fear of death (see H. Hoffmann in *Visible Religion* 4, 1985–1986). Here the dependency on the court has been replaced by a dependency on citizens: the artisans were obviously serving civil demands and had to respond to changing social values. But in Egypt and Greece alike, the priests were scarcely able to control the artisans' relations with their customers. If there existed a market for religious objects and if there were influential lay employers, then priests could be expected to lose control of this part of religion. To make the point in positive terms: craft products sometimes reflect a popular comprehension of religion and thus can be used to trace the rulers' demands for political legitimation, on the one hand, and citizens' demands on the other. Yet, these materials have scarcely begun to be used for the study of political and civil conceptions of religion apart from the well-known priestly one.

Another factor should be noted: the scarcity of pictorial schemes. As there existed only a limited number of well-known stereotypes suitable for representing gods, we often find a certain break between image and inscription. A particularly dramatic example appears on a jar from Palestine (about 800 BCE), decorated with two figures similar to the Egyptian Bes (with feather crown, phallus, and crooked legs). An inscription declares: "I will bless you by Yahveh my [our] protector and his Ashera" (*Monotheismus im Alten Israel und seiner Umwelt*, edited by Othmar Keel, Fribourg, 1980, pp. 168–170). The pictorial representation of God of course violates the ban on images (*Ex.* 20:4), though this prohibition originally concerned cult statues *(pesel)* alone and was extended only later to a comprehensive ban on pictorial representation (Robert P. Carroll in *Studia theologica* 31, 1977, pp. 51–64). Nor does the chosen pictorial scheme fit the official literary conceptions of Yahveh. But this incongruency does not prove that inscription and image are disconnected. There were only a small number of pictorial schemes appropriate for the representation of sky gods. In the second and first millennia BCE, three main schemes were used: the figure of a seated old man with a beard, dressed in a long garment with a horn-crown on his head; the figure of a standing young man with a club in his right hand; and the figure of a wild bull (Peter Welten in *Biblisches Reallexikon*, 2d ed., Tübingen, 1977, pp. 99–111).

Here we obviously touch on a characteristic of all traditional imagery: it tends toward the most simple schemes, which will be evident to almost all beholders. We know that ancient Jewish literature was aware of these schemes. The psalms refer to Yahveh as a smiting god (*Ps.* 29, for example; see Othmar Keel's *Die Welt der altorientalischen Bildsymbolik und das Alte Testament*, 2d ed., Zurich, 1977, pp. 184–197), while *Daniel* 7:9 refers to Yahveh as the old god. These schemes were welcome as textual symbols, but for visual form they were rejected by the priests and prophets. Nonetheless, images such as Yahveh as Bes may well have been a pictorial representation not admitted by priests and prophets, and in fact, the ban on images so poorly argued in the Hebrew scriptures should be carefully reviewed in this context of pictorial schemes.

Further examples will suggest other aspects of the relationship between word and image. In India the concretization of gods in images reduced their geographical universality and emphasized their local function (Heinrich von Stietencron in *Central Asiatic Journal* 21, 1977, pp. 126–138). In Greco-Roman religions, gods that originally belonged to the same tradition could be split by different representations (Hendrik Simon Versnel in *Visible Religion* 4, 1985–1986). These are only two instances where images have had an impact on the conceptual tradition. But we can also observe the contrary: a ban on images in the literary tradition can deeply affect the pictorial representation. Medieval and modern Shīʿī Muslim artists usually paint their holy imams as men without faces; the incomplete and mutilated human figures testify to an image-critical tradition. In other cases, as in Munich in 1534–1535, a ban on images could result in full-fledged iconoclasm (*Bildersturm*, edited by Martin Warnke, Munich, 1973). Yet a thorough analysis of iconoclasm must pay close attention to the different functions these images have had: a political one in the case of state art, a civic one in the case of objects created by artisans for their fellow citizens, and finally, a sacerdotal one in the case of temple art. The destruction of rulers' emblems, the smashing of amulets, or the cleansing of the temple can all be justified by the same ban on images. But in fact each of these actions has its own rationale and must be described in separate terms.

APPROACHES TO ICONOGRAPHY AND ICONOLOGY. The study of iconography within the discipline of art history explores the symbolic references of pictorial representations. The first modern scholar to address such issues was Aby Warburg (1866–1929), who specialized in the art of the European Renaissance. Erwin Panofsky (1892–1968) proceeded to develop a comprehensive model for the description of pictorial arts based on three strata of meaning, each entailing particular analytical and terminological tools. According to Panofsky, the first level resides in the world of natural objects and events and is evident to every beholder. The second level, that of conventional meanings, can be detected in the motifs of works of art; it is the domain of iconography in the narrow sense of the word to identify these conventional meanings. Finally, there are underlying principles of *symbolic values*, in the sense defined by Ernst Cassirer, and he described the intuitive process of detecting them as *iconology* (see *Studies in Iconology*, pp. 3–31).

While Panofsky's design for reading images has been widely accepted, it has also been refined over time. Besides the Gestalt psychologists, the influence that Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889–1951) has exerted on the general theory of symbols has been felt in the field of iconology. In his *Philosophical Investigations* (1953), for example, Wittgenstein presents a figure that can be read as either a duck or a rabbit. What we see, he demonstrates, depends on our interpretation. In other words, there is no innocent eye; seeing is an active process, not a passive one. As recent research into pictorial representation emphasizes, the share of the beholder is decisive; the likeness between drawing and object is of minor importance. What might be called a critical rationalism of viewing dictates that when we read a drawing we are looking for stereotypes we have in mind already. This view, promoted most influentially by Ernst H. Gombrich (1977), implies that there is no clear-cut division between natural and conventional meanings as Panofsky maintained; reading images mainly involves the recognition of conventional schemes. Different cultures develop different schemes for identical objects; thus, we believe that we recognize likeness, but in fact we only recognize stereotypes well known in our own culture. Once the viewer's role is seen to be greater than Panofsky allowed, new problems are raised. How can we describe the way other people see their images? How do we distinguish between subjective association and objective perception? Where do we draw the line between true and false inference?

A second criticism of Panofsky's original scheme has been advanced by George Kubler, who reproaches the seeming preference for words over images in *The Shape of Time* (1962). Separating forms and meanings, he argues that artifacts have to be studied as forms of their own; their development must be traced regardless of the meanings connected with them. By including architecture and sculpture along with painting, Kubler has also conclusively extended the field. He reminds us that images and symbols are not free-floating but regularly connected with particular art forms and that, conversely, art forms have an affinal relationship with images and symbols. This phenomenon can be described in terms of iconological genres: images and symbols, like literary concepts, became institutionalized in genres (see Gombrich's introduction to *Symbolic Images*, 1972). The art form (a coin, for example, or a vase) is the place where an artisan combines a functional object with symbolic values. The study of continuity and variety in the designs of these art forms, therefore, yields insights into symbolic values. This analysis of iconological genres seems to offer a much more controlled approach to iconology than the intuition that Panofsky had in mind, since it allows us to discern between true and false implications.

It is evident that no verbal description can enter into details as much as a visual depiction. This means that each text leaves a certain free play to the imagination of the artist, and the manner in which artists have used this freedom is in no way accidental. To cite one example, the first Christian artists working in the Roman catacombs depicted Jesus as the Good Shepherd with a lamb on his shoulders, a motif obviously inspired by *Matthew* 18:12–14 and *Luke* 15:4–7. But there was a change in meaning: while the parables emphasize the concerns of the shepherd for the individual gone astray, the artists of the third century depicted Jesus with a lamb on his shoulders to emphasize the value of protection in the "age of anxiety." Later on, as social values changed, other motifs were demanded (see Moshe Barasch in *Visible Religion* 2, 1983). This episode neatly illustrates the subject of Panofsky's iconology: an image—in itself an illustration of a story—can be explained as a reflection of the symbolic value of an age, and therefore changes in the representation indicate changes in basic attitudes.

Panofsky himself perceived the risks connected with his approach. There is always the danger, he observed, that iconology, which should relate to iconography as ethnology relates to ethnography, will instead parallel the relationship between astrology and astrography (*Meaning in the Visual Arts*, p. 32). This danger of excessive interpretation is due to the very ambiguity of images and to the difficulty of comparing them. Every iconological statement must therefore be carefully argued and submitted to certain control. In the case of the history of Mediterranean religions and arts, two approaches appear to meet this fundamental demand, one focusing on styles, the other on the institutional function of images.

Changes of style. A comparison of art from early Egyptian and late Roman times immediately reveals certain changes in the means of depiction. The Egyptian mode, which Gerhard Krahmer has described as paratactical or preperspective (*Figur und Raum in der ägyptischen und griechisch-archaischen Kunst*, The Hague, 1931), can be seen on the famous Narmer Palette of about 2800 BCE. The details of the image are disconnected. Even the body is not a whole, for every part of it is depicted as an independent unit: head and legs are shown from the sides, eye and trunk from the front. The picture does not presuppose a spectator who perceives the depiction as a whole; rather, it tells a story by means of signs and symbols that are not interrelated. The visual and discursive systems of representation have not yet been separated: the visual does not evoke illusion, while the Egyptian system of writing represents discursive speech with pictorial symbols (see Herman te Velde in *Visible Religion* 4, 1985–1986). Only with classical Greek art does the depiction come to rely on an ideal beholder and deliberately evoke what we call illusion. These differences, of course, have nothing to do with skill or lack of it. More aptly, we should explain them in terms of a different *Kunstwollen*—a word used by Alois Riegl and only inadequately translated by "artistic intention" (Otto J. Brendel, *Prolegomena to the Study of Roman Art*, New Haven, 1979, p. 31). If one accepts the notion of *Kunstwollen*, however, the different artistic intentions remain to be explained.

At this point Panofsky again becomes useful because he looked for the symbolic values underlying artistic products. In this case, the change from paratactical to hypotactical (or perspectival) art can be analyzed as a change in worldview. By the fifth century BCE in Greece, an archaic conception of person and nature lacking the notion of organic coherence had been replaced by one stressing the organic interrelationship of different parts. Later on, in Hellenistic and Roman times, this organic conception of person and nature was replaced by yet another one stressing mechanical order. The individual object (a statue, for instance) then became part of a spatial scheme submitting different constructions and objects to a superior artificial order. The arrangements of space in late Roman art not only evoke military order but also reflect the values of a bureaucratic society that succeeded in crushing the civil structure of the *polis* (Hans Peter L'Orange, *Art Forms*, Princeton, 1965). There exist only a few of such large-scale comparisons of styles, but they are sufficient to prove the value of such an approach, and similar cases could be made for other cultures.

Genres. A second iconological approach describes and compares images as reflections of certain principles of decorum. Free-floating symbols can be assigned various meanings, but this variety will become more limited if symbols are regularly associated with specific art forms. The use of an object clearly influences the beholder's perceptions and associations: function guides the projection that the beholder makes. This phenomenon is also familiar from literature, where the reader's expectations are shaped by literary genre. The same holds true for visual representations: an image of a god on a coin evokes other associations than those summoned by the same image on an amulet: whereas the coin conveys political legitimacy, the amulet is associated with personal feelings of veneration. Thus, only by studying genres are we able to specify meanings, and only by studying institutional contexts can we discern between the true and false implications of images.

There are basically two theoretical models that can be invoked to explain the meaning of pictures: images can be read as elements of a structure, and they can be read as models of social reality. The two main theories of symbols, namely those of Claude Lévi-Strauss and Ernst Cassirer, are also used in the field of iconography. For Lévi-Strauss, the meanings of symbols are based on their own logical interrelationships, while for Cassirer, symbols provide a conceptual means to grasp reality.

These approaches can be illustrated with recent scholarship on Greek material. Herbert Hoffmann has studied the paintings on Greek vases as structural codes. The scenes on the vases illustrate myths, but these illustrations can be read as paradigms referring to social values. Death, for example, is sometimes represented as the monster Gorgon whom the hero courageously encounters, and sometimes it is represented as an ugly demon pursuing human beings. Behind the choice of different mythological themes hide two distinct conceptions of death, one heroic and the other plebeian (*Visible Religion* 4, 1985–1986).

An approach more in the line of Cassirer is used in Wiltrud Neumer-Pfau's study of possible links between Hellenistic Aphrodite statues and the social position of women. Such links are not unlikely, because ancient physiognomic literature postulated a connection between body posture and the moral qualities of the person depicted. In fact, the posture of the Aphrodite statues changed in the course of time. In the early Hellenistic period the nude Aphrodite is shown reacting to an unseen beholder who has disturbed her; thus the spectator looking at the beautiful nude woman is freed from feeling any guilt. Later statues portray the nude goddess as less shy and modest: she allows the invisible beholder to admire her. Finally there are statues showing the goddess frankly exposing her nude beauty to the spectator. The moral qualities ascribed to the subject have gradually changed, and this change cannot be isolated from the fundamental impact that ancient Near Eastern culture had on the social and legal position of women in the Greek world. While women were under male tutelage in ancient Greek society, they enjoyed a certain independence in Egypt and the Near East. Thus the change of visual representation reflects the change of social reality. (See Neumer-Pfau, *Studien zur Ikonographie und gesellschaftlichen Funktion hellenistischer Aphrodite-Statuen*, Bonn, 1982).

These two theoretical models are valuable tools for enlarging scientific knowledge about past and foreign cultures. Iconography as a description of how other cultures read their images enables us to reconstruct hitherto undiscovered aspects of ethos and worldview.

SEE ALSO Aesthetics, article on Visual Aesthetics; Archetypes; Architecture; Cassirer, Ernst; Colors; Human Body, article on Human Bodies, Religion, and Art; Images; Symbol and Symbolism.

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H. G. KIPPENBERG (1987)

ICONOGRAPHY: ICONOGRAPHY AS VISIBLE RELIGION [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

Since 1988, discussions related to the topic of iconography as a form of visible religion have expanded the boundaries previously established by Ernst Cassirer (1874–1945), Ernst Gombrich (1909–2001), Suzanne Langer (1895–1985), Erwin Panofsky (1892–1968), and Aby Warburg (1866–1929). The forms and directions of research questions have been re-shaped and re-formulated as the study of religion has been effected by the widening boundaries of gender studies, investigations of the body, and the study of economic, ethnic, engendered, and/or racial minorities. The study of art, ranging from art history through theories of appreciation, aesthetics, and art criticism has been expanded similarly to incorporate material culture, popular culture, and visual culture. The growing recognition among religious scholars of the significance and meaning of the iconographic elements in film, television, video, photography, and the mass media was prompted by the studies of Lynn Schofield Clark, Gregor Goethals, Stewart M. Hoover, Nissan N. Perez, and S. Brent Plate. New scholarship has extended the study of art and religion into geographic areas previously investigated to a lesser extent, such as Pre-Columbia, Latin America, Africa, and Oceania, as for example in the work of Carol Damian, Rosalind I. J. Hackett, and Albert C. Moore.

Interest in response theory (especially in relation to the arts) has affected the attitude toward and methodologies for the study of iconography. Attention in the last ten years has been placed on the religious valuing and influence of popular culture, and more recently, visual culture. These appear in the work of art historians such as Jeffrey F. Hamburger, Sally Promey, and Gary Vikan, and among religion scholars such as Erika Doss, Colleen McDannell, David Morgan, and Stephen Prothero. They have begun a transfer of interest from the traditional focus of iconographic analysis to new categories of engagement. Simultaneous to these renovations, reappraisals of the theories and methods developed by Cassirer, Gombrich, Langer, and most especially Panofsky, have reframed the fundamental starting points for analysis.

New Perspectives. As linguistic analyses and technology advance our understanding of the epistemological and aesthetic processes, future directions for the study of iconography as a form of visible religion will emerge in coordination with a growing recognition of global and multicultural discourses as pioneered in the comparative studies of traditional iconographic motifs by Helene E. Roberts. New modes of analyses will incorporate nonlinear patterns of thinking as initiated in the "visual thinking" of the philosopher Rudolf Arnheim and the creative linguistics of physician Leonard Shlain. Further, the studies of the significance of optics and vision as communicators of cultural values and ideas in the recent work of art historians James Elkins and Martin Kemp will impact the study of iconography as a form of visible religion.

The rapid transfer of information via visual global media raises new questions regarding the communication of information, knowledge, and ideas beyond the traditional boundaries of cultural and religious frames. The need for developing a methodology that incorporates globalism, multiculturalism, and modern technology will become more apparent, and hopefully filled in conjunction with the development of a language to discuss the visual. Similarly, the continuing study of the visual codes of traditional cultures, especially among indigenous peoples, provides the necessary foundation for current and future study significantly expanding the field of religious studies.

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Diane Apostolos-Cappadona (2005)

ICONOGRAPHY: TRADITIONAL AFRICAN ICONOGRAPHY

Africa is enormous, and the diversity of peoples and complexities of cultures in sub-Saharan black Africa warn against generalizations, especially when discussing visual images, the significance of which is inextricably linked to local religious and aesthetic sensibilities. Hence, in order to understand the iconography of traditional African religions, one must use a comparative approach. Only by examining the religious iconography of a variety of cultures can one fully understand how visual images represent distinctive ways of experiencing the world for the peoples of sub-Saharan Africa.

ANCESTORS AND KINGS: TWO CASE STUDIES. On the granary doors of the Dogon people of Mali, rows of paired ancestor figures called *nommo* stand watch over the precious millet stored within. Similar figures, at times androgynous, are placed next to the funeral pottery on ancestral shrines of families and on the shrine in the house of the *hogon,* the religious and temporal leader of a clan. Their elongated, ascetic bodies and proud, dispassionate faces image the Dogon's myths of origin, as well as their perception of themselves when life is filled with spiritual vitality, *nyama.*

Oral traditions recall a great drought in the fifteenth century that occasioned the migration of the Dogon in two successive waves from southwestern regions to the area of the Bandiagara cliffs and plateau. There they displaced the Tellem people, whose shrine sculpture they retained and used, and established themselves in small villages, often situated in pairs. In an environment largely devoid of permanent watercourses, the Dogon dug wells to great depths, cultivated subsistence crops of millet, and fashioned houses, shrines, and granaries of a mud-masonry architecture using the geometrical forms, such as cylinders, cones, and cubes, that can also be seen in Dogon wood sculpture.

The Dogon trace their descent to the "four families" who made the legendary migration, but this history of origins is inextricably intertwined with an elaborate creation mythology which profoundly informs their social and religious life. The variations in the myth, as in the sculptured forms expressing it, reflect the strong sense of individuality that each Dogon village possesses. It also permits the free play of the sculptor's imagination, whose work then generates new mythological interpretations.

Dogon myth, ritual, and iconography express a view of life in which, through a process of differentiation and pairing of related beings (*nommo*), an ordered, fruitful world is to be created. But the creative process of complementarity, or twinness, contains within it the potential of opposition and conflict. The primordial being, or *nommo,* who was a blacksmith, stole iron and embers from the sun and descended to earth within a well-stocked granary. It was he who led the descendants of the eighth *nommo* in civilizing the earth. Thus creation involves human participation through ritual actions that restore life and maintain an ordered world. Among the materials of the ritual process are village shrines representing a set of twins; shrine sculpture, as well as granary doors with their bas-relief of paired figures, snakes and lizards, zigzag patterns, and female breasts, all symbolically associated with the creation myth; geometric patterns or "signs" on shrine walls, which refer to the basic ontological properties of the world; funerary masquerades and dances through which the deceased is transformed into a venerated ancestor; and secret languages through which the incantations and texts describing the creation of the world and the appearance of death are conveyed from one generation to another. These are the means by which the Dogon can act effectively in their world, strengthen the creative process, and at the very least provide a momentary stay against confusion.

Among the Edo people along the coastal forest of southeast Nigeria, the iconography of the Benin kingdom reflects a culture with a very different spirituality, one shaped by a monarchical tradition. The present dynasty traces its origins to the fourteenth century, beginning with Oba Eweka I, who was fathered by Òraǹmíyań, son of Odùduwà (Odua), the Yoruba creator-god and first king of Ife (although, according to oral tradition, even before Eweka, the Benin kingdom was said to have been ruled by the Ogosi kings). Thus, for centuries the political and religious life of the Edo people has focused upon the person and powers of the *oba,* or king.

The magnificently carved ivory tusks projecting from the top of the bronze memorial heads on the royal ancestral shrines (until the British punitive expedition of 1897) symbolized the powers of the king—his political authority and his supernatural gifts. While his authority depended upon statecraft and military conquest, it was by virtue of his descent from *oba*s who had become gods and his possession of the coral beads, said to have been taken from the kingdom of Olokun, god of the sea, that the *oba* had *ase,* "the power to bring to pass," the power over life and death.

Over the centuries the royal guild of blacksmiths created more than 146 memorial bronze heads of deceased *oba*s, queen mothers, and conquered kings and chiefs; and the royal guild of carvers portrayed on 133 ivory tusks the king, his wives, chiefs, and retainers, as well as leopards and mudfish, emblems of his power over forest and water and of his ability to move across boundaries distinguishing disparate realms. Although the memorial heads and the carved tusks were created in honor of particular *oba*s, and the rites that are performed before them are always in the name of an individual *oba,* the bronze heads and carved figures do not portray the individuality of past *oba*s in either form or expression. It is an aesthetic and a religious principle in Benin culture that the particular is subordinated to the general. The reigning *oba* depends upon the collective royal ancestors and yields to their commands, and the same is true of the iconography of the ancestral shrines and ritual artifacts of the Edo people generally. Thus, the ancestral shrines and their sculptures are not merely memorials but also serve as a means of communication with the living dead.

As in most other African religious traditions, the Edo distinguish between a high god, Osanobua, and a pantheon of deities that includes Olokun, god of the sea and bestower of wealth, Ogun, god of iron, and Osun, god of herbal leaves, whose shrines and rituals articulate the religious life for king and commoner as one of response to the powers upon which individuals are dependent but over which they have relatively little control. However, in a monarchical society, with its divisions of labor among craftsmen, hunters, farmers, warriors, and traders (with the Portuguese, Dutch, and British) and its high regard for individual enterprise and prowess, the Cult of the Hand, *ikegobo,* also known as *ikega,* provides a means for celebrating the ability of the individual to accomplish things and, within limits, to achieve new status. Containers for offerings to the Hand, crafted in bronze for kings and in wood for titled persons, bear images of power such as an *oba* sacrificing leopards, a warrior holding the severed head of an enemy, Portuguese soldiers with guns, or the tools and emblems of office for the blacksmith, carver, or trader. All shrines for the Hand bear the image of the clenched fist, showing the ventral side, with the thumb pointing upward and outward. The directness with which the ritual symbolism is expressed is unusual in African religious art but quite consistent with a ritual of self-esteem.

Form and Meaning. Notwithstanding the particularity of traditional African iconography, it is, in general, essentially conceptual and evocative. It is not representational and illustrative, and it is not abstract.

Although the principal subject of African art is the human figure, there is rarely any concern to portray individual likeness, even where a sculpture has been commissioned to commemorate a particular person, as in Akan funerary pottery, Yoruba twin figures, or, as noted above, the Benin bronze heads on royal ancestral shrines. And there is rarely any attempt to visualize in material form spiritual powers, although an elaborately constructed masquerade of cloth, wood, and raffia or a sculpted figure on a shrine may "locate" for ritual purposes the ancestral presence, the god, or the spirit. Rather, African iconography is primarily concerned with expressing the essential nature and status of those powers to which one must respond and with providing models of appropriate response to such powers.

Presence of power. Among the Ìgbómìnà Yoruba of southwestern Nigeria the costumes of the masquerades for the patrilineal ancestors, *eguńguń paaka,* combine materials of the forest with those of human manufacture, such as layers of richly colored cloths, bits of mirror, and beaded panels. The carved headdress portion often melds animal and human features. Packets of magical substances are secreted within the costume. It is the peculiar state of being of the living dead, who cross boundaries and move between two realms, who dwell in heaven yet profoundly affect the well-being of the living, that is materialized, for masquerades are created to reveal a reality not otherwise observable and to evoke an appropriate response, such as awe and dependency, on the part of the observer. Thus, among the Pende the concept of *mahamba* signifies an object, such as a mask, or a ritual given by the ancestors to the living for the common good and through which the ancestors periodically manifest themselves and communicate with their descendants.

A similar observation may be made about the reliquary figures of the Kota people of Gabon. Referred to as *mbulu-ngulu,* "image of the dead," the two-dimensional figures consist of large ovoid heads above simple, diamond-shaped wooden bases. On a shrine, the sculptured form is seated in a bark container holding the bones of several generations of ancestors. The ovoid face and coiffure are created by applying thin sheets or strips of brass and copper to a wooden form in a variety of interrelated geometric patterns. In every case, it is the power of the eyes that holds and penetrates the beholder, expressing the bond between the living and the deceased and the protective power of the ancestors in and for the life of the extended family.

It is not only the reality of the ancestral presence that Africa's religious art presents. Among the Ẹ̀gbá, Ẹ̀gbádò, and Kétu it is the power of "our mothers" that is celebrated in the spectacle of the Ẹ̀fẹ̀/Gẹlẹdẹ festival of masquerade, dance, and song at the time of the spring rains. "Our mothers," *àwọn ìyá wa,* is a collective term for female power, possessed by all women, but most fully by female ancestors and deities and by elderly women in the community who are thus able to sustain or inhibit the procreative process and all other human activities upon which the entire society depends. Balanced on the heads of the dancers—for they always appear in pairs—are sculptures depicting the composed face of a beautiful woman, above which there may be a dramatic scene of conflict between snakes and a quadruped, or scenes depicting domestic activities or social roles. The total sculpted image is perceived as a visual metaphor, often understood as having multiple levels of significance. Likewise, in the deliberate pairing of the delicate face masks and the massive forms and aggressive imagery of zoomorphic helmet masks of the Poro society among the Senufo people of the Ivory Coast one also observes images that refer to the complementary roles of female and male, both human and spiritual, by which life is sustained. In these masquerades, as in Kuba helmet masks worn by the king, African artists are not concerned with the representational illusion entailed in copying nature. Rather, they concentrate on that which they know and believe about their subjects, and they seek to construct images to which the distinctive spirituality of a people can react.

This is also true of emblems of office, such as the beautifully carved bow stands owned by Luba chiefs. The bow stands are considered sacred and are usually kept with ancestral relics, where only the chief and special caretakers are permitted to see them. The work images Luba political and spiritual power. It is through the maternal line that chiefs inherit their office. In the sculpted female figure at the top, woman as genetrix is conveyed in the lifting of the maternal breasts, the elaborately scarified abdomen, and the exposed genitals. The closed eyes of the serene face convey the inner, cerebral power that contrasts with the reproductive and nurturing power of her body. And the soaring three-pronged coiffure, expressing her status and beauty, repeats as an inverted pattern the sculptural treatment of the breasts and the legs, each of which frames a central vertical element. On ritual occasions, the chief's bow and arrows, signs of his political authority, would rest in her elaborate coiffure at the top of the staff. Below her, the metal tip of the staff is thrust into the earth, the realm of the ancestors. It is maternal power that provides the link with the ancestral power on which a Luba chief's power depends.

Models of response. Ritual sculpture provides not only images of the powers on which the living depend but also models for appropriate response to gods and spirits. The naked male or female with arms at their sides or touching their abdomens which appear on Lobi shrines in Burkina Faso, as well as the figure of a kneeling woman with a thunder-ax balanced upon her head and holding a dance-wand for the Yoruba god Sañgó, are images of man and woman as devotees, as inspirited and powerful. They are images through which persons see their spirituality and by which their spirituality is deepened.

The distinction between imaging the nature and status of spiritual powers and imaging the religious self in the posture of devotion and power cannot in most instances be clearly drawn: much African iconography combines the two processes, less so perhaps where there are ancestral associations and more often where the reference is to gods and spirits. On the shrines of the Baule people of the Ivory Coast, men and women place figures representing the spouse that they had in the other world before they were born. The figure is thus the locus for one's spirit-spouse and the place where one attends to the claims of that other. But at the same time the sculptures—many of them carved with great skill—present idealized images of male and female, often in the maturity of life, the hair or beard carefully groomed, the body decorated with scarification patterns and adorned with beads, the face composed, the stance well-balanced. Likewise, among the Igbo people of southeastern Nigeria, the tutelary gods of a town are imaged in wooden figures based upon an idealized human model, for the gods not only have life-giving powers but are also the guardians of morality. The sculptures—for they are often in groups—are looked upon as the "children" of the deity honored. Hence, in their presence the devotee is confronted with conceptions of the self that constrain him or her in thought and action to a deepened awareness of the self that that person is and is not.

Perhaps the most extraordinary images of self and of personal power are carvings that incorporate magical substances (in or on images) to the extent that they alter the human form of the image. They are found for the most part among the Songye and Congo peoples of the lower Congo basin. Some figures have an antelope horn filled with "medicines" projecting from the head, others have nails and small knives pounded into the body, or a magic-holding resin box embedded in the belly. They are visualizations in the extreme of ritual action as manipulative power. Using such carvings in conjunction with words of invocation, the priest or owner of the image engages with the evil in the world, either to project or deflect its aggressive power.

RITUAL ACTIVITY. It is evident that the iconography of African peoples must be understood in the context of ritual activity, where the world as lived and the world as imaged become fused together and transformed into one reality. There are essentially two types of rituals—those in which a person or group undergoes a change in status, usually referred to as rites of passage, and rituals of world maintenance, through which a person or group affirms and seeks to secure in the words and actions of sacrifice a worldview.

Rites of passage. Among many African peoples the masquerade is associated with rites of passage, as, for example, the seasonal rituals of sowing, tilling, and harvesting among the Bwa and Bamana, the funeral rites of the Dogon and the Yoruba, and the rituals of initiation of youth into the societies of the Dan and Mende peoples of West Africa.

Among the Mende people of Sierra Leone, Nowo, a female spirit, appears in dance and masquerade to girls being initiated into the Sande (also known as Bundu) ceremonial society. As far as is known, it is the only female mask danced by a woman in Africa. Although primarily associated with the Sande society and thought of as the Sande spirit, Nowo also appears in other ritual contexts. Her image is carved on the finals of the rhythm pounders used in the boys' initiation rites, on the staff carried by the leader of the men's Poro society, and on the carved mace of the Mende king, as well as on divination implements, women's ritual spoon handles, and on weaving-loom pulleys. But it is only to the female initiates into Sande that Nowo appears in the fullness of the masquerade and the movements of the dance.

In the rituals, Nowo is a spiritual presence and images the beauty and power, the nobility, of woman. Thick, dyed-black fiber strands, suspended from a wooden helmet mask, cover the dancer's body. The carved headdress depicts a composed face with faintly opened eyes that see but may not be seen. The head is crowned with an elaborate coiffure into which are woven cowrie shells and seed pods, symbols of wealth and fertility. Black is said to be woman's color, the color of civilized life. The glistening black surface suggests the lustrous, well-oiled skin with which the initiates will reenter the world. Nowo thus provides an image of the physical beauty and the spiritual power of woman to those about to take their place as adults in Mende society.

World maintenance rituals. The role of iconography in Africa's rituals of world maintenance is no less important than in rites of passage. Among the Yoruba, to cite only one example, paired bronze castings of male and female figures joined at the top by a chain, *ẹdan,* are presented to an initiate into the higher ranks of the secret society that worships Onílẹ̀, "the owner of the earth." The society is known as Ògbóni in Ọ̀yọ́ and the region once under the influence of the Ọ̀yọ́ Empire in the eighteenth century. In this instance Onílẹ̀ has feminine connotations and exists in a complementary relationship to Olódùmarè, the high god, who is usually thought of in masculine terms. Among the southern Yoruba, the same society is called Ọ̀ṣùgbó, who also worship Onílẹ̀.

However, the pronunciation of *Onílẹ̀* requires that the term be translated as "owner of the house." The house is the cult house, which is thought of as a microcosm of the universe. (Yoruba is a tonal language. The word *ilẹ̀* with a high tone on the concluding letter means "house," and with a low tone and shortened vowel refers to the "earth.") The secret, visualized in the linking of male and female, appears to refer to a vision of life in terms of its completion and transcendence of time.

The titled members of the Ògbóni/Òṣùgbó society are the elders of the community. They are beyond the time of procreative concerns. For them, sexual differentiation is no longer as important as it once was. Furthermore, kinship distinctions are secondary to the worship of Onílẹ̀, because identification of person by patrilineage is replaced by the allegiance to the unity of all life in Onílẹ̀. Thus, the Ògbóni/Òṣùgbó elders participate in the settling of conflicts that divide the body politic. The sacred emblems of the society, the *ẹdan,* are placed on those spots where the relationships among persons have been broken and blood spilled. Expressing the unity of male and female, they possess the power of reconciling and adjudicating differences and atoning through sacrifice for the violation of the essential wholeness of life, whether imaged in "earth" or "house."

The seated male and female figures present to the viewer the signs of their power and authority, *àṣẹ*. The female holds a pair of *ẹdan,* as she would twin children. The male figure, with clenched fists, makes the sign of greeting Onílẹ̀. Four chains with tiny bells are suspended from the sides of each figure's head. The number four, as well as multiples of four, are important in Ifa divination; Ọruńmìlà (also called Ifá), the divination god, knows the secret of creation and the sacrifices that will make one's way propitious. Above the spare, ascetic bodies, the heads of the paired figures radiate with their *àṣẹ*. Twelve chains are suspended from the plate below each figure. Twelve is a multiple of three and four, also numbers associated with Ògbóni/Òṣùgbó and Ifá ritual symbolism. In their combination, there is completion and wholeness born of the secret knowledge of Ògbóni/Òṣùgbó and Ifá, a secret readily revealed to the informed eye.

SEE ALSO Dogon Religion; Edo Religion.

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JOHN PEMBERTON III (1987 AND 2005)

ICONOGRAPHY: AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL ICONOGRAPHY

Art has a central place in Australian Aboriginal religion. The substance of Aboriginal ceremonies and rituals consists of enactments of events from the Dreaming, or ancestral past, events that are conserved in the form of the songs, dances, designs, and sacred objects that belong to a particular clan or totemic cult group. Such forms are referred to collectively by a word that can be translated as "sacred law," and it is as "sacred law" that art mediates between the ancestral past and the world of living human beings. Designs that were created in the Dreaming as part of the process of world creation are handed down from generation to generation as a means of maintaining the continuity of existence with the ancestral past.

Designs can be referred to then as "Dreamings," and they are manifestations of the ancestral past in a number of senses. Each originated as a motif painted on an ancestral being's body, as an impression left in the ground by that being, or as a form associated in some other way with ancestral creativity. In many regions myths relate how ancestral beings gave birth to or created out of their bodies the sacred objects associated with particular social groups and land areas. The meaning of the designs on the objects often refers to the acts of ancestral creativity that gave rise to the shape of the landscape; in this respect, the designs can be said to encode Dreaming events. Finally, designs can be a source of ancestral power. Paintings on the bodies of initiates are thought to bring the individuals closer to the spiritual domain; sacred objects rubbed against their bodies can have a similar effect. Upon a person's death in eastern Arnhem Land, designs painted on his or her chest or on the coffin or bone disposal receptacle help to transfer the soul back to the ancestral world for reincorporation within the reservoirs of spiritual power associated with a particular place. Art is linked with the concept of the cycling of spiritual power through the generations from the ancestral past to the present, a concept that characterizes Aboriginal religious thought. The same design may later be painted on an initiate's chest, signifying what Nancy Munn refers to in *Walbiri Iconography* (1973) as the intergenerational transfer of ancestral power, which conceptually integrates the Dreaming with present-day experience.

Aboriginal art varies widely across the continent. Any similarities that exist tend to reside in the properties of the representational systems that are employed—the kinds of meanings that are encoded in the designs and the way in which they are encoded—rather than in the use of particular motifs. One notable exception appears to be what Munn refers to as the circle-line or site-path motif (0 = 0 = 0), which forms a component of designs throughout Australia. In such designs, the circles usually refer to places where some significant event occurred on the journey of a Dreaming ancestral being, and the lines refer to the pathways that connect the places.

Likewise, designs in Aboriginal art exist independent of particular media. The same design in Arnhem Land may occur as a body painting, a sand sculpture, an emblem on a hollow log coffin, or an engraving on a sacred object *(rangga).* In central Australia the same design may be incised on a stone disc *(tjurunga),* painted on the body of a dancer in blood and down, or made into a sand sculpture. Further, it is the design that gives the object its particular ancestral connection: the designs are extensions of ancestral beings and are sometimes referred to as their "shadows." Thus, they can be used in different contexts for different purposes. The same basic design may be used as a sand sculpture in a curing ceremony, painted on the bodies of initiates to associate them with particular ancestral forces or signify membership in a social group, or painted on a coffin to guide a dead person's soul back to the clan lands for reincorporation within the ancestral domain.

SYSTEMS OF REPRESENTATION. Meaning in Aboriginal art is encoded in two distinct systems of representation, one iconic and figurative, the other aniconic and geometric. The iconography of Aboriginal religious art arises out of the interplay between these two complementary systems. This distinction extends outside the area of the visual arts to dance and ceremonial action, which involve some components and actions that are essentially mimetic and represent the behavior and characteristics of natural species, as well as other components that are abstract and have a conventional and nonrepresentational meaning. The balance between the figurative and the geometric varies from one region to another. The art of central Australia, of groups such as the Warlpiri, the Aranda, the Pintubi, and the Pitjantjatjara, is characterized by geometric motifs, whereas western Arnhem Land is associated with a highly developed figurative tradition. Nonetheless, there is a figurative component in central Australian art, and the *marayin* designs, clan-owned body painting designs used in certain western Arnhem Land initiation ceremonies, are largely geometric.

The forms of Aboriginal art are systematically linked to its various functions. The figurative art presents images of the Dreaming that at one level can be readily interpreted as representations of totemic species and the forms of ancestral beings. The X-ray art of western Arnhem Land, for example, is a figurative tradition that creates images of totemic ancestors associated with particular places, thus linking them directly to the natural world.

The title of Luke Taylor's book, *Seeing the Inside*, aptly expresses the capacity of X-ray art to look beyond the surface form of things. The figures are in part accurate representations of kangaroos, fish, snakes, and so on. However, they are more than that. The X-ray component, representing the heart, lungs, and other internal organs of the animal, adds an element of mystery to the figures and differentiates the representations from those of ordinary animals. Moreover, the art includes representations that combine features of a number of different animals in a single figure. For example, the figure of the Rainbow Snake, an important mythical being throughout Arnhem Land, may combine features of a snake, a kangaroo, a buffalo, an emu, and a crocodile. Such figures in X-ray art, together with songs and dances associated with them, are part of a system of symbolism that decomposes the natural world into its elements, breaks the boundaries between different species of animals, and alludes to the underlying transforming power of the Dreaming. The western Arnhem Land X-ray figures are public representations of the ancestral world and, painted on cave walls, are projections of the ancestral past into the present in a fairly literal form. Their presence on rock surfaces acts as a sign of the ancestral transformations that created the form of the landscape and a reminder of the creative forces inherent in the land.

Much of the ceremonial art and most of the secret art of Australia is, however, geometric in form. The geometric art encodes meaning in a more elusive way, well suited to a system of esoteric knowledge in which some of the meanings of art are restricted to the initiated. Without some assistance, its meaning will remain a mystery: in order to be understood it has to be interpreted and its meanings have to be revealed. Geometric art gives priority to no single interpretation, and as a person grows older he or she learns increasingly more about the meaning of particular designs. Thus, geometric art is potentially multivalent, and different meanings and interpretations can be condensed into the same symbol or design.

This property of geometric art enables it to encode the relationship between different phenomena or orders of reality. On one level, a circle in a design may represent a water hole, and the line joining it may represent a creek flowing into the water hole. On another level, the circle may be said to represent a hole dug in the ground and the line a digging stick. On yet another level, the circle may be interpreted as the vagina of a female ancestral being and the line as the penis of a male ancestor. All three interpretations are related, for digging in the sand is an analogue for sexual intercourse, and the water hole was created through sexual intercourse between two ancestral beings in the Dreaming. The design of which the circle is a part may belong to a particular clan and be identified as such. The design as a whole thus represents ancestral beings creating features of the landscape in territory associated with a particular social group. It is this set of associations that characterizes the iconography of Aboriginal art: the designs mediate between the present and the ancestral past by encoding the relationship between ancestral being, people, and place. Aboriginal religion firmly locates the identity of people in the spirituality of place, and designs infused with the power of ancestral beings provide an important transportable medium of connection.

The geometric art represents the ancestral world both semiotically and aesthetically, by expressing ancestral power in an artistic form. The Dreaming beings are often complex concepts, and their encoding in abstract representations provides one of the ways by which people develop shared understandings that help to order their collective experience of the ancestral past. For example, in the case of the Yolngu people of northeastern Arnhem Land, the Wild Honey ancestor consists of the whole set of things associated with the collection of wild honey: the hive, the bees, the honey; pollen and grubs; the paperbark tree where the hives are found and the swamps where the trees grow; the hunter, his baskets, and the smoke made by the fires he lights. All things associated with wild honey are attributes of the Wild Honey ancestor. In painting, the Wild Honey ancestor is represented by a complex diamond pattern representing the cells of the hive. The diamonds are cross-hatched in different colors to signify different components of the hive: grubs, honey, pollen, and bees. The bars across some of the segments represent sticks in the structure of the hive, and the dots within the circles represent bees at its entrance. On another level, elements of the design signify smoke, flames, and ash from the hunter's fire, and on still another level, the diamond pattern represents the rippling of floodwater as it passes beneath the paperbark trees. The Wild Honey ancestor is all of those things and more.

SYSTEMS OF INTERPRETATION. As people go through life they learn the meanings of designs such as the Wild Honey pattern; they associate it with places created by the ancestral being and with ceremonies that celebrate that being's creative power. For the individual, the design is no longer an abstract sign but a manifestation of the ancestral being concerned. Aesthetic aspects of the design reinforce this understanding, as Howard Morphy has shown in *Ancestral Connections*, his book on the aesthetics and iconography of Yolngu ritual art. In northeastern Arnhem Land, Yolngu body paintings convey a sense of light and movement through the layering of finely cross-hatched lines across the skin surface. Similar effects are created in central Australian painting through the use of white down and the glistening effect of blood, fat, and red ocher. These attributes of paintings are interpreted by Aboriginal people as attributes of the ancestral being: the light from the ancestral being shines from the painting as symbol or evidence of the power of the design.

Throughout much of Australia, rights to designs and other components of "sacred law" are vested in social groups that exercise some control over their use and have the responsibility to ensure that they continue to be passed down through the generations. Such rights are of considerable importance, as "sacred law" provides the charter for ownership and control of land. Hence, designs not only represent sources of ancestral power but are politically significant in demonstrating rights over land and providing a focal point for group solidarity and identity. This dimension is reflected in the iconography insofar as designs often vary on the basis of group ownership, each group holding rights to a unique set of designs.

There is enormous regional variation in Australian Aboriginal art, and the specific symbolism of the designs can only be understood in their regional context. However, the underlying principles of the art have much in common everywhere. Moreover, belief in the spiritual power and mediating functions of the designs is to an extent independent of knowledge of their meaning. For both these reasons, designs and other components of ritual can be passed on to other groups—from neighboring or even quite distant places—and become part of those groups' ancestral inheritance. In this respect, religious iconography is integral to the process of religious change, enabling religious ideas to be exchanged with other groups and diffused across the continent. Changes also can occur internally through the Dreaming of new designs. This allows the iconographic system to adjust to sociopolitical reality or to the creation of new groups and the demise of existing ones. However, from the Aboriginal viewpoint, such changes are always revelatory: they ultimately have a Dreaming reference and will always be credited to the past. The designs not only encode meanings that help endow everyday events and features of the landscape with cosmic significance, but are themselves extensions of those Dreaming ancestors into the present.

Since the 1970s, through the popularity of Aboriginal bark and acrylic paintings, art has become an increasingly important means by which Aboriginal people communicate religious ideas to a wider audience. While non-Aboriginal audiences have been attracted by the aesthetic dimension of the works, they also have been exposed to the religious ideas and values that are integral to them. Exhibitions of Aboriginal art emphasize the religious values that the works embody: the idea of the Dreaming, the immanence of the sacred in the form of the landscape, and the emergent nature of spirituality.

Aboriginal people also have responded to and accommodated religious ideas through their art. Yolngu artists from Arnhem Land carried on a dialogue with Christianity from the arrival of the first missionaries in 1935. This dialogue resulted in the placing of painted panels of Yolngu religious art on either side of the altar of the new church built in 1962. Subsequently, as Fred Myers has shown, the Pintubi artist Linda Syddick's paintings combine Christian themes concerning crucifixion with reflections on separation and identity stimulated by the science fiction character E.T., all represented through central Australian iconography. This dynamic aspect of Australian Aboriginal art and its capacity to reach diverse audiences within and outside the society is one of the factors that has enabled Aboriginal religion to continue to make a contribution to global religious discourse.

SEE ALSO Dreaming, The; Tjurungas; Wandjina.

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HOWARD MORPHY (1987 AND 2005)

ICONOGRAPHY: NATIVE NORTH AMERICAN ICONOGRAPHY

Iconography is a living force in North American Indian religious life, past and present. Rooted in mythical imagery, it informs the content of individual dreams and nourishes the themes of contemporary Indian art. A study of the iconography of a people provides a unique opportunity to gain insight into what Werner Müller calls the "pictorial world of the soul" (*Die Religionen der Waldlandindianer Nordamerikas,* Berlin, 1956, p. 57).

The following exposition of the major themes of religious iconography in North America is restricted to the evidence of the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries of ethnographic research. As a result, the beautiful pottery and stone remains of the prehistoric peoples of the Southwest and Southeast are not represented here, nor are the remains of the Mound Builder cultures of the river regions.

The iconographical themes follow the general lines of myth and religious beliefs. As such, they can be cataloged in the following manner: the cosmos, supreme beings, tricksters/culture heroes, guardian beings, other mythic beings, astronomical beings, weather beings, animal beings, vegetation beings, human beings, geological beings, and abstract symbols. But it is not always the case that the verbal images of the myths are equivalent to iconographical images: one notorious example of divergence is the Ojibwa trickster, Rabbit, who, when pictured, is actually human in form.

Concerning the wide variety of media used, the following general distribution can be observed: in the Far North—ivory, bone, and stone; the Northeast and Southeast Woodlands—wood, bark, skin, quillwork, and beadwork; the Plains—skin, beadwork, pipestone, quillwork, and painting of bodies and horses; the Northwest Coast—cedar, ivory, argillite, blankets, and copper; California—baskets and some stone; the Southwest—sand painting, wood, stone, baskets, pottery, jewelry, and dolls.

THE COSMOS. Cosmologies vary from tribe to tribe in both content and imagery. But whereas the mythical image of the universe (its cosmography) may be highly detailed, the iconographical rendering is necessarily restricted. The cosmos is most often graphically limited to those elements that characterize its basic nature and structure, including its nonvisual aspects.

The most widespread symbol of the whole cosmos is the ceremonial lodge, house, or tent. The fundamental idea of the ceremonial lodge, such as the Delaware *xingwikáon* ("big house"), is that all of its parts symbolize, and in ritual contexts actually are, the cosmos. Usually the realms of this cosmos are interconnected with a central post, which is conceived of as extending itself like a world tree up to the heavens. Renewing such a house constitutes the actual renewal of the cosmos.

Similar ideas are found among the Plains Indians, for whom the sacred camp circle constitutes an image of the world, and the central pole of the Sun Dance tipi, the whole cosmos. In fact the Crow call this tent the "imitation" or "miniature" lodge, a replica of the Sun's lodge.

Representations of the cosmos can refer to the more subtle manifestations of the world, as in the sand paintings of the Luiseño of California, but they can also approach the reality of topographical maps, as in the sand paintings of the neighboring Diegueño. In a completely different approach to the visualization of the cosmos, the well-known Navajo sand painting of Father Sky and Mother Earth illustrates the anthropomorphic representation of the cosmos.

Concerning nonvisual aspects of the cosmos, it is not uncommon that ethical ideals or holistic images of proper human life, which are extensions of the theological bases of many cosmologies, are also visualized iconographically. The most common image of this type is that of the right, or the beautiful, path. The Delaware big house has a circular path on its floor, which the visionary singers and other participants in the big house ceremony walk and dance upon. This path is called the Good White Path, the symbol of the human life. It corresponds to the Milky Way, which is the path of the souls of the dead. The Ojibwa bark charts of the Midewiwin ceremony consist of illustrations of the degrees of initiation into the Mide secret society. All of the degrees are represented as connected by the path of the initiate's life, starting in the image of the primordial world and ending upon the island of direct communication with the supreme being. This path is pictured with many detours and dramatic occurrences.

SUPREME BEINGS. Among the myriad images found in North American Indian iconography are certain divine beings whose representations cut across taxonomic groups; these include supreme beings, tricksters/culture heroes, guardian beings, and other mythical beings. Since the majestic, all-encompassing supreme being is difficult to visualize, its morphology is relatively simple. When not visualized as some object or animal intimately associated with the supreme being, its form tends to be anthropomorphic. For example, the Ojibwa song charts visualize the supreme being, Kitsi Manitu, with a pictograph of a human head, belonging to an initiate in the Mide secret society.

On the other hand, the all-pervasiveness of the supreme being among the Plains Indians can result in the use of symbols of lesser deities to represent it. Thus Wakantanka, of the Oglala Lakota, has various manifestations such as the Sun, the Moon, Buffalo, and so on, all of which are pictured on hides or, as with Buffalo, represented by a buffalo skull.

TRICKSTERS/CULTURE HEROES. The most widespread iconographic trickster type is theriomorphic: Raven, Coyote, or Rabbit. The most well-known image is that of Raven among the Northwest Coast tribes, a character who encompasses all of the classical features of the trickster. He is pictured in raven-form on virtually every object throughout the Northwest, usually in the context of a mythical event that somehow affected the ancestor of the house in which the object is found, be it house pole, settee, or some other form. As part of shamanic paraphernalia, his image imparts one of his main characteristics: that of transformation. Even though the trickster is an animal, in mythical thought he can change to human form, and this process is often reflected iconographically, as with the Navajo Coyote and the Delaware and Ojibwa Rabbit.

The culture hero is a divine or semidivine mythic figure who, through a series of heroic deeds—especially the theft of such an important item as fire or light—starts humanity upon its cultural road. When he is not the theriomorphic trickster, he is often simply visualized as a human being.

GUARDIAN BEINGS. Guardian beings associate themselves most often on a personal level with single individuals, and they function as guardians who bring blessings to their human partners. In the Plains and Northern Woodlands cultures, to seek and receive a personal vision of just such a guardian is necessary in order to secure an individual's station in life. These guardians can appear in just about any form taken from the natural or the mythological world. Among the Oglala it may be necessary to paint a version of one's vision on the tipi in order to secure its validity, although generally images of the guardian are painted on shields.

In the cultures of the Far North and Arctic areas, the shaman and his guardians are a constant iconographic theme. His guardians are portrayed in several general ways: as diminutive human beings clustered near the shaman or as human faces clustered together, as a human visage under an animal visage such as seen in Alaskan masks, as an animal form reduced in size and resting on the head or shoulders of the shaman, as birdlike shamans or shamans in transformation, as flying spirits being ridden by shamans, as an animal or human being with skeletal markings, or as flying bears or other usually flightless beasts. These images are portrayed in contemporary drawings, ivory sculpture, masks, stone sculpture, bone sculpture, drumsticks, shaman staff, and so on. Throughout North America the shaman also uses organic parts of his guardians in his ritual paraphernalia, or else he can use the entire skin of his guardian animal to transform himself.

Guardians appear in nonvisionary and nonshamanistic cultures as well. The Pueblo deities of the six world regions are considered to be guardians of humanity. Another type of guardian is Rainbow Serpent, pictured on almost all Navajo sand paintings. This figure encircles the entire painting but remains open toward the east. Its function is to keep the evil spirits out of the reinstated cosmic region.

OTHER MYTHICAL BEINGS. Among the mythological figures who are pictured iconographically, one important group is that of monsters. The most common monster motif is an image of the primordial horned, flying serpent, the cause of floods and earthquakes. He is known all over the Americas and is generally pictured in exactly the form described. Another monster known all over North America is Thunderbird, usually pictured on shields, shirts, and beadwork as an eaglelike creature.

There is also a whole group of evil beings who, in one form or another, are believed to exercise a malignant and dangerous influence on humanity. Such creatures are usually theriomorphic but not necessarily so.

ASTRONOMICAL BEINGS. The sun, the moon, and the stars are pictured as beings throughout North America. The sun is portrayed most intensely where it is strongest, in southeastern and southwestern North America. The Hopi portray the Sun, Taawa, anthropomorphically but, in keeping with Hopi iconography, he wears a mask that consists of a circular disk fringed with radiating feathers and horsehair. This radial representation of the sun is the most common image known. The Ojibwa, on the other hand, have a completely different image, which is horned, winged, and legged.

The moon is usually represented in its quarter phase, although images of the full moon are sometimes found. The stars most often pictured are the Morning Star (Venus), the Pleiades, Orion, Altair, the constellation Ursa Major (which is invariably pictured as a heavenly bear), and the Milky Way. Stars are shown with four, five, and six points and are often associated with human figures.

METEOROLOGICAL BEINGS. This group consists of Thunder, Wind, Rain, and Lightning. Thunder is often pictured as the Thunderbird, but other birds can also be used. Wind, on the other hand, is generally associated with the cardinal regions and therefore not visualized directly. Cultures with anthropocentric morphology, however, such as the Navajo and the Ojibwa, picture even this being in human shape.

Rain is usually illustrated as lines falling from cloud symbols or as a being from which rain is falling. Lightning is always shown as zigzag lines regardless of the tribe in question. The lines usually end in arrowheads, for there is a conceptual link between lightning and arrows. Lightning and thunder are usually considered to be the weapons of the widely known Warrior Twins.

ANIMAL BEINGS. There are a number of animals which are known and visualized throughout North America, such as the bear, the deer, and the buffalo. However, other animals peculiar to a particular region are the more common iconographical subjects, such as the whales and seals of the northern coasts, or the lizards and snakes of the desert regions. The general rule is that the animal is depicted in its natural form.

Representations of animals may signify the spirit or master of their species or the form of some deity, guardian being, or primordial creature, or they may indicate the totem animal. All animal images used in ritual contexts have religious significance. But the most common use of animal images occurs in heraldry, which casts some doubt on the exclusively religious significance of its use and meaning.

The Northwest Coast Indians are the most conspicuous users of totem symbols. These symbols are represented in literally every conceivable medium: poles, house fronts, hats, aprons, spoons, bowls, settees, boat prows, spearheads, fishhooks, dagger handles, facial painting, masks, speaker staffs, paddles, drums, rattles, floats, bracelets, leggings, pipes, and gambling sticks. The question of religious significance may be resolved by the fact that the totem animal is considered either a direct ancestor of the clan or somehow associated with an ancient human ancestor. Thus the symbol at least, if not its use, has religious meaning.

VEGETATION BEINGS. Corn is the plant most commonly visualized. The representation can simply refer to the plant itself, but frequently a maize deity is being invoked. The latter is the case throughout the Southwest, whether among the Pueblo or the Athapascan peoples. The maize deity is usually clearly anthropomorphized. Hallucinogenic plants such as peyote, jimsonweed, or the strong wild tobaccos are more or less realistically pictured; such images refer to the deities of these potent plants. Others beings who somehow influence plant growth are also visualized iconographically; these include the Yuki impersonations of the dead, who have a decided influence on the abundance of acorns, or the Hopi impersonations of cultic heros and heroines whose rituals influence crop growth.

HUMAN BEINGS. This category concerns not only human ancestors but also a miscellaneous collection of beings that have human form. The first type are effigies of once-living human beings. These are most commonly figured on Northwest Coast mortuary poles, but they are also found elsewhere: the Californian Maidu, Yokuts, Luiseño, and Tubatulabal, for example, all burn effigies of prominent people two years after their deaths.

Human images can also be material expressions of the ineffable. During the Sun Dance the Shoshoni and the Crow each bring out a stone image in diminutive human shape, which is then attached to a staff or the center pole of the tent. It is said to represent the spirit of the Sun Dance. Human images, such as dolls, can symbolize or are actually considered to be small spritelike creatures who can have an array of functions and duties and who play a part in ceremonial contexts as well. Human representations can also signify the heroes or founders of cults; such is the case with many images on Pueblo altars and other representations on Northwest Coast poles.

GEOLOGICAL BEINGS. This category of images is based on a type of religious geomorphology. It is not a numerically dominant theme, but it is nonetheless of singular importance. The most prominent geological being envisioned is Mother Earth, although it is seldom that direct representations of it occur. In such anthropocentric iconographies as that of the Navajo, it is no problem to illustrate Mother Earth as a somewhat enlarged female human being. Usually, however, Mother Earth is symbolized by some fertility image, such as an ear of corn, or by a circle. Among the Delaware, the earth is symbolized by the giant tortoise who saved humankind from the flood and upon whose back the new earth was created by Nanabush. Sods of earth can also be used to represent Mother Earth, as in the Cheyenne buffalo-skull altar in the medicine lodge.

Another group of geological beings consists of images of mountains. Except for isolated pockets of flatlands and desert basins, most of North America is covered with mountains, and these are usually believed to be alive or at least filled with life, that is, they are the abodes of the gods. This feature of mountains is highly important and is also recognized iconographically.

Finally, some mention should be made of stones and prehistoric implements. Animacy or power is attributed to implements such as ancient pipe bowls, mortars, and blades, any odd-shaped stones, and stones resembling animal, vegetable, or human outlines. Such stones symbolize whatever they resemble.

ABSTRACT SYMBOLS. The dynamic and highly stylized geometric patterns on Southwest Indian pottery, which represent categories already discussed (such as clouds, rain, lightning, the sun, and so on), also belong to the category of abstract symbols. Cultures with highly developed artistic iconographies, such as those of the Northwest Coast, the Southwest, and the Woodlands peoples with their birchbark illustrations, also develop series of signs referring to abstractions inherent to their systems. On the Ojibwa Midewiwin scrolls, for example, the symbol of bear tracks in a particular context represents a priest's four false attempts to enter the Mide lodge. These four false attempts can also be symbolized by four bars.

SEE ALSO North American Indians; Shamanism, article on North American Shamanism; Tricksters, article on North American Tricksters.

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ICONOGRAPHY: MESOAMERICAN ICONOGRAPHY

Each major Mesoamerican culture developed its religious imagery in a distinctive fashion, although all were historically interlinked and drew from the common pool of Mesoamerican stylistic-iconographic tradition. This type of pictorialization was especially important in an area cotradition that lacked fully evolved phonetic scripts. It constituted an effective technique of visually communicating in a standardized, codified manner the basic concepts of the religious-ritual systems that played such a crucial sociocultural role in pre-Hispanic Mesoamerica.

ISSUES OF INTERPRETATION. The Mesoamerican iconographic systems that were functioning at the time of the Spanish conquest in the early sixteenth century can be interpreted with the aid of a broad range of data, including written sources compiled in Spanish and in the native languages. The iconographies of the earlier cultures must be studied without the assistance of texts of this type and pose much greater interpretative difficulties. The technique most often employed has been to invoke similarities between the Conquest period images, whose connotations are reasonably well understood from ethnohistorical information, and those of the earlier traditions, assigning to the latter generally similar meanings. This procedure, employing the elementary logic of working from the known to the unknown, is often referred to as the "direct historical approach" or "upstreaming."

This technique has been criticized, particularly when long temporal spans are involved. Disjunctions between form and meaning in religious imagery, it has been pointed out, have been common in iconographic history (above all in the Western tradition with the sharp ideological breaks that accompanied the rise of Christianity and Islam). However, those who sustain the validity of the direct historical approach argue that no major disjunctions of the type that occurred in the West took place in pre-Hispanic Mesoamerica. They cite various examples of imagic continuity from Olmec to Aztec and suggest that Mesoamerica can be more fitly compared to pre-Christian Egypt or to India and China, areas well known for their long-term iconographic continuities of form and meaning. These disagreements among leading scholars indicate that considerable caution is advisable when appraising the accuracy of interpretations of religious images and symbols of the more ancient Mesoamerican cultures.

OLMEC. Most archaeologists agree that the earliest sophisticated religious iconographic system in Mesoamerica was that of the Olmec, which flourished between about 1200 and 400 BCE (Middle Preclassic), and was centered in the Gulf Coast region of eastern Veracruz and western Tabasco. Olmec style, which conveyed religious concepts imaginatively and effectively, was one of the most striking and original esthetic expressions ever achieved in pre-Hispanic Mesoamerica. Unfortunately, accurately ascertaining the connotations of the intricate Olmec symbol system presents formidable difficulties, and interpretations of prominent students often differ radically.

A major characteristic of Olmec iconography is the blending of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic features. Much of the controversy surrounding the interpretation of Olmec iconography has focused on these fused images, which often exhibit additional overtones of infantilism and dwarfism. The most popular interpretation has been that they merge feline with human characteristics, and the term *were-jaguar* has become fashionable to refer to them. Frequently cited in support of this interpretation are two well-known Olmec monumental sculptures from two small sites near the great Olmec center of San Lorenzo, Veracruz, that supposedly represent a jaguar copulating with a human female, thus producing a hybrid feline-human race, the "jaguar's children." In this view, the composite creature, connoting rain and terrestrial fertility, constituted the fundamental Olmec deity, the archetypical ancestor of all later Mesoamerican rain-and-fertility gods. However, another interpretation would give preeminence to crocodilian rather than feline imagery; the rattlesnake and the toad also have their vigorous proponents.

Other Olmec composite beings are recognized, but opinions differ concerning the precise zoological identification of their constituent elements. A considerable case has been presented for the importance of a polymorphic, essentially saurian creature with various aspects. Called the Olmec Dragon, it has been postulated as the ancestor of a variegated family of celestial and terrestrial monsters prominent in later Mesoamerican iconography.

To what extent Olmec religious imagery indicates the existence of discrete, individualized deities has also elicited considerable debate. Some scholars argue for a fairly sizable Olmec pantheon, often linking its members with prominent contact-period gods. Others view Olmec symbolism as connoting various generalized supernaturalistic concepts but not recognizable deities—which, in their opinion, did not emerge in Mesoamerica until much later. However, it seems likely that at least prototypical versions of various later deities were already being propitiated in "America's first civilization."

IZAPA. A series of closely interrelated stylistic and iconographic traditions known as "Izapan," after the major site of Izapa, Chiapas, Mexico, flourished between about 500 BCE and 250 CE (Late Preclassic-Protoclassic) in the area flanking the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, concentrated in the Pacific slope region of Chiapas, Guatemala, and El Salvador. Izapan iconography bears a close relationship to Olmec, from which it partly derives, but its formats are generally somewhat more complex. The style is most typically expressed by low-relief carving, commonly on the perpendicular stone monuments known as stelae, which are sometimes fronted by plain or effigy "altars."

Izapan iconography frequently displays a narrative quality in its compositions, depicting a variety of ritual-mythic scenes, some of considerable complexity. These scenes are often framed by highly stylized celestial and terrestrial registers, interpreted as monster masks. As in Olmec, polymorphic creatures, ostensibly merging feline, saurian, and avian elements, are common. Even more than in the case of Olmec, identifying recognizable deities is difficult, but prominently featured in Izapan iconography is the profile mask of the "long-lipped dragon," depicted in numerous variants including the "scroll-eyed demon." Another significant Izapan composite creature was the "bi- and tricephalous monster," apparently with both celestial and terrestrial connotations. Also prominent on Izapan monuments are downward-flying, winged, anthropomorphic beings, downward-peering celestial faces, combat scenes (humanoid figures versus double-headed serpentine creatures), polymorphic bird monsters, cosmic trees with "dragon-head roots," and diminutive human ritual celebrants accompanied by various ritual paraphernalia. This region during the Late Preclassic and Protoclassic periods produced some of the most iconographically intriguing sculptures of Mesoamerica.

CLASSIC LOWLAND MAYA. The Izapan tradition led directly into the most sophisticated of all Mesoamerican iconographic and stylistic traditions, that of the Classic Lowland Maya (c. 25–900 CE) As in the case of Izapan, which lies in its background, Maya art in general is essentially two-dimensional and painterly but is also more structured and mature in its expressive power than the earlier tradition. Nearly all of the most common Izapan iconographic themes were retained and often further elaborated. These included the bi- and tricephalous polymorphic celestial-terrestrial creature now frequently conceived as the "ceremonial bar" held by the rulers, the long-lipped dragon in numerous manifestations that eventually evolved into the long-nosed god of rain (Chac), celestial and terrestrial enclosing frames, cosmic trees, and avian composite creatures (serpent birds). Some deities that were clearly prototypical to those represented in the iconography of Postclassic Yucatán can be discerned in Maya religious art of the Classic period. Classic Maya stelae—accurately dated, erected at fixed intervals, and containing long hieroglyphic texts—display profile and frontal portraits of the great Maya dynasts. Their elaborate costumes are replete with religious symbols that invested them with the aura of divinity.

A particularly complex Lowland Maya iconography is portrayed on Late Classic painted ceramic vessels usually encountered in burials. An extensive pantheon of underworld supernaturals is featured in these scenes. It has been suggested that they frequently display connections with the Hero Twins of the *Popol Vuh*, the cosmogonical epic of the Quiché Maya of Highland Guatemala. The representations on these vessels were probably derived at least in part from painted screenfold paper books. Although no Classic period examples have been found, the surviving Postclassic specimens (known as Codex Dresden, Codex Paris, and Codex Madrid) provide some notion of the magnitude and importance of this lost Classic Maya "iconographic archive." The recent progress that has been made in the decipherment of Lowland Maya hieroglyphic writing has resulted in a considerably improved understanding of the meaning of the religious imagery so richly developed in this most spectacular of ancient New World cultures.

MONTE ALBÁN. Another major Mesoamerican cultural tradition, connected in its origins with Olmec and having some Izapan ties, was that of Monte Albán, so named from the huge site near the modern city of Oaxaca. Already well developed in Late Preclassic times (Monte Albán I-II, c. 600 BCE–100 CE), its full flowering occurred during the Classic period (Monte Albán IIIa–b, c. 100–700 CE). Monte Albán iconography is one of the richest and most structured in pre-Hispanic Mesoamerica. There is general agreement that a numerous pantheon of individualized deities was portrayed, especially in the famous funerary urns, theomorphic ceramic vessels placed in tombs. Many deities are identified by their "calendric names," the day in the 260-day divinatory cycle on which they were believed to have been born. Some can be tentatively connected with deities known to have been propitiated by the Zapotec-speakers who occupied most of the area around Monte Albán at the time of the Conquest, including the basic rain-and-fertility god, Cocijo. The walls of a few tombs at Monte Albán display painted images of deities or deity impersonators, some of them identical to those depicted on the ceramic urns. The hieroglyphic writing of Monte Albán is still poorly understood, but it has been of some aid in interpreting the iconography of one of the greatest of the Mesoamerican Classic civilizations.

TEOTIHUACAN. Dominating the Classic period (c. 100–750 CE) in central Mexico—and spreading its influence throughout Mesoamerica—was the dynamic civilization of Teotihuacan, centered in the urban metropolis known by that name at the time of the Conquest and located about twenty-five miles northeast of Mexico City. Teotihuacan iconography, evidenced by a plethora of ceramic and stone pieces and numerous mural paintings, was one of the most intricate and variegated of ancient Mesoamerica. Symmetry and repetitiveness were hallmarks of Teotihuacan formats, which, particularly in the murals, include processions of ritual celebrants, frontal anthropomorphic and zoomorphic images flanked by profile figures, and complex scenes involving numerous personages engaged in a variety of activities. The dominant theme was clearly the promotion of fertility, featuring what appear to have been at least two major aspects of the preeminent rain-and-fertility deity that was prototypical to the Aztec Tlaloc. Aquatic and vegetational motifs are ubiquitous.

To what extent clear-cut deity representations are present in Teotihuacan iconography, as in the case of the earlier Mesoamerican traditions already discussed, has generated considerable differences of opinion. Various motif clusters have been defined, which some have suggested might have connoted distinct cults. Certain images have also been identified as discrete deities of the Aztec type, and they have often been labeled with Nahuatl names. They include Tlaloc, the rain-and-earth god; a female fertility deity who may be the prototype of various Aztec goddesses (Chalchiuhtlicue, Xochiquetzal, Teteoinnan, and others); an old fire god (Aztec Huehueteotl or Xiuhtecuhtli); the flayed god (Xipe Totec); a butterfly deity, the Fat God (possibly prototypical to Xochipilli/Macuilxochitl, the Aztec god of sensuality); and, perhaps, prototypes of Quetzalcoatl, the feathered serpent creator-and-fertility god; Xolotl, god of monsters and twins; and Tecciztecatl, the male lunar deity. As in earlier and contemporary Mesoamerican traditions, composite zoomorphic images are another hallmark of Teotihuacán iconography. Some, such as the feathered serpent, may have served as the "disguises" or avatars of various deities, as in the Aztec system.

CLASSIC VERACRUZ. During the Early Classic period (c. 100–600 CE), after the fade-out of the Olmec tradition in the Gulf Coast region, a distinct regional stylistic and iconographic tradition emerged, climaxing during the Late Classic and Epiclassic periods (c. 600–900 CE). It was best expressed at the major site of El Tajín, in northwest Veracruz, where a sophisticated style of relief carving, featuring double-outlined, interlocking scroll motifs, decorates a number of structures; these include the famous Pyramid of the Niches, two ball courts with friezes portraying complex sacrificial rituals connected with the ball game, and even more complicated ceremonial scenes on a series of column drums in the Building of the Columns.

The most famous exemplars of Classic Veracruz iconography are the handsomely carved stone objects worn by the ball players or replicas thereof: yokes (ballgame belts); *hacha*s, thin stone heads; and *palma*s, paddle-shaped stones, the latter two objects attached to the yokes worn by the players. Sculptured on these pieces are various anthropomorphic and zoomorphic beings, especially a monstrous creature probably symbolizing the earth. A major tradition of ceramic sculpture also flouished in this region during the Classic period. Some examples appear to represent deities that were prototypical to those of Postclassic times. They include the Old Fire God; versions of Tlaloc and long-lipped beings probably related to the iconographically similar Izapan and Maya rain-and-fertility deities; male and female figures wearing human skins, evidencing rituals similar to those of the Aztec fertility deities Xipe Totec and Tlazolteotl/Teteoinnan; the Fat God; perhaps a proto-Ehécatl (wind god); and a whole complex of smiling figures seemingly expressing aspects of a cult of sensuality—possibly involving the ritual ingestion of hallucinogens—similar to that of Xochipilli/Macuilxochitl of later times. Complex ceremonial scenes are also represented on mold-pressed, relief-decorated ceramic bowls.

XOCHICALCO. With its apparent *floruit* during the Epiclassic period (c. 750–900 CE), the extensive hilltop site of Xochicalco flourished in what is now the state of Morelos, Mexico, and gave rise to another distinctive stylistic and iconographic tradition, mainly expressed in relief sculpture. The greatest amount of sculpture decorated one remarkable structure, the Pyramid of the Feathered Serpent. Aside from huge, undulating representations of the feathered serpent, various cross-legged seated personages, reflecting Lowland Maya stylistic influence, are depicted, many identified with their name signs and in some cases, seemingly, place signs as well. Calendric inscriptions are also present, and some scholars have suggested that the carvings may commemorate a major gathering of priests to discuss calendric reform and other ritual-religious matters. Another possibility is that this conclave involved some important dynastic event, perhaps a royal coronation. Other Xochicalco monuments, such as three elaborate stelae now in the Museo Nacional de Antropología, feature hieroglyphic inscriptions and different deities, including a version of the rain god, Tlaloc, and a fertility goddess.

TOLTEC. At the outset of the Postclassic period a new political and cultural power arose north of the Basin of Mexico, at Tollan, modern Tula, in the state of Hidalgo. Flourishing between about 900 and 1200, Tollan was a major metropolis, capital of an extensive empire. Its stylistic and iconographic tradition was quite eclectic and represented an amalgam of various earlier traditions (Teotihuacan, Xochicalco, El Tajín, and others).

Toltec iconography is known primarily from relief sculpture, decorated ceramics, figurines, and some remarkable cliff paintings at Ixtapantongo, southwest of Tula in the Toluca Basin. The relief carvings frequently depict armed, elaborately attired personages on quadrangular pillars and, in processional files, on bench friezes. Some of these figures are identified with their name (or title) signs and seem to depict actual individuals. The militaristic flavor of Toltec imagery was also expressed by alternating representations of predatory animals and birds: jaguars, pumas, coyotes, eagles, and vultures. Recognizable deity depictions are rare in the reliefs but can be more readily identified in the ceramic figures and especially in the Ixtapantongo cliff paintings. Many appear to be prototypical forms of Aztec deities: Tlaloc, Quetzalcoatl, Xipe Totec, various fertility goddesses, *pulque* deities, solar and Venus gods, and others. Toltec iconography was particularly haunted by the feathered-serpent icon symbolizing Quetzalcoatl; the related "man-bird-jaguar-serpent" motif was also important.

MIXTECA-PUEBLA AND AZTEC. During the Toltec period a new stylistic and iconographic tradition was apparently emerging to the southeast, centered in southern Puebla, Veracruz, and western Oaxaca (the Mixteca), which has been labeled "Mixteca-Puebla." During the Postclassic period its pervasive influence was felt throughout Mesoamerica, as a kind of final iconographic synthesis of the earlier traditions already described. In contrast to its predecessors, it was characterized by a greater depictive literalness, plus a particular emphasis on symbolic polychromy. An extensive pantheon of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic supernaturals was represented with relatively standardized identificatory insignia.

The Aztec sytlistic and iconographic tradition, which flourished in central Mexico during the last century or so before the Conquest, can be considered, from one aspect, a regional variant of Mixteca-Puebla. It differs principally in displaying an even greater naturalism in human and animal imagery. It also was expressed much more frequently in monumental three-dimensional stone sculpture, particularly deity images. Because of the wealth of available ethnohistorical documentation, the Aztec iconographic tradition can be interpreted with considerably more success than any other Mesoamerican system. Virtually all of its principal symbols have been correctly identified as well as the great majority of the numerous deity depictions, which include almost every member of the crowded pantheon mentioned in the primary sources. Those who advocate maximum utilization of the direct historical approach in the analysis of pre-Hispanic Mesoamerican iconography stress the importance of this extensive corpus of information concerning the Aztec system as a key point of departure for interpreting the much less well-documented pre-Aztec traditions.

SEE ALSO Aztec Religion; Maya Religion; Mesoamerican Religions, article on Mythic Themes; Olmec Religion; Temple, article on Mesoamerican Temples; Toltec Religion.

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H. B. NICHOLSON (1987)

ICONOGRAPHY: MESOPOTAMIAN ICONOGRAPHY

Any discussion of the religious iconography of ancient Mesopotamia is hampered by the fact that we have, on the one hand, religious texts for which we possess no visual counterparts and, on the other, representations—sometimes extremely elaborate ones—for which we lack all written documentation. Mesopotamia lacked raw materials such as stone, metal, and wood, and these had to be imported. As a result stone was often recut and metal was melted down; nor has wood survived. In time of war, temple treasures were carried off as booty, and divine statues were mutilated or taken into captivity, so that virtually none remains. Indeed we should know very little of Mesopotamian sculpture of the third and second millennia BCE were it not for the objects looted by the Elamites in the late second millennium BCE and found by the French in their excavations at Susa in southwestern Iran from 1897 onward. In time of peace the temples themselves frequently melted down metal votive objects in order to produce others. Occasionally a hoard of consecrated objects was buried near the temple, however, presumably to make room for others. The Tell Asmar and Al-ʿUbaid hoards dating to the second quarter of the third millennium BCE are two examples of this practice. In only a few cases has fragmentary evidence survived to indicate how temples were decorated (the leopard paintings at Tell ʿUqair, for instance), but their elevations are often depicted on monuments and seals, and facades decorated with date-palm pilasters or water deities have been found. The decoration of secular buildings, among them the painted murals from the palace at Mari and the limestone reliefs that ornamented the palaces of the Assyrian kings, provide some evidence for religious iconography.

Our best sources for religious iconography are therefore the small objects that are more likely to have survived. Plaques and figurines made of local clay often illustrate a more popular type of religion. At certain periods painted pottery is the vehicle for representations that have religious significance. Decorated votive metal vessels, stone maces, and small bronze figures also occasionally survive. Without seals, however, our knowledge would be extremely scant. Prehistoric stamp seals were replaced during the second half of the fourth millennium by small stone cylinders that were used as marks of administrative or personal identification until the end of the first millennium BCE. These cylinder seals were carved with designs in intaglio and could be rolled across clay jar-sealings, door-sealings, bullae, tablets, or their clay envelopes so as to leave a design in relief. Such miniature reliefs are the vehicle for the most complex and tantalizing iconographic representations.

EARLY IMAGERY. Nude female figurines are among the earliest artifacts to which a religious significance can be attached. Among the prehistoric figurines of Mesopotamia are the tall, thin, clay "lizard" figures with elongated heads, coffee-bean eyes, slit mouths, and clay pellets decorating the shoulders. "Lizard" figurines have been found at southern sites in both male and female versions though the latter is dominant. Farther north, at Tell al-Sawwan, female figurines and male sexual organs were carved from alabaster. These figurines also have elongated heads and prominent eyes but are more rounded in shape. In the north, clay figurines often have abbreviated heads, and the emphasis is on a well-rounded, full-breasted body. An opposite trend is attested, however, at Tell Brak, where "spectacle" or "eye idols" were found in a late fourth-millennium temple. Here the eyes are emphasized to the exclusion of everything else, and there has even been debate as to whether they might not, in fact, represent huts. Although there is always a risk in attributing a religious significance to a figurine when there is no written evidence to corroborate this, it does seem likely that these figures had fertility connotations.

Animal combats. One motif that seems to have had a special significance throughout Mesopotamian prehistory and history shows a heroic male figure in conflict with wild animals. A pot of the Halaf period (c. 4500 BCE) shows an archer aiming at a bull and a feline. A figure traditionally known as the priest-king appears on a relief and a seal of the Uruk period (late fourth millennium) shooting or spearing lions and bulls, and the same theme reappears in the Assyrian reliefs of the ninth and seventh centuries BCE and forms the subject of the Assyrian royal seal. After the hunt the king is shown pouring a libation over the corpses, thus fulfilling his age-old function as representative of the god and protector of the country against wild cattle and lions. This function must have been particularly important when animal husbandry and agriculture were in their infancy but would have lost some of that immediacy in Assyrian times, when animals had become scarce and were specially trapped and released from cages for the hunt.

At certain periods the theme of animal combat became dominant in the iconographic repertoire. For several centuries during the third millennium, and at various times later on, heroes are shown protecting sheep, goats, and cattle from the attack of lions and other predators. Generally the heroes are either naked except for a belt, with their shoulder-length hair falling in six curls, or they are kilted and wear a decorated headdress. They are often assisted by a mythic creature who has the legs and horns of a bull and a human head and torso. Attempts have been made to equate the figures with the legendary king Gilgamesh and his wild companion Enkidu, but the evidence is lacking. We probably have here an extension of the theme already discussed, with the emphasis on the protection of domesticated animals from their aggressors. Prehistoric stamp seals showing figures who often wear animal masks and who are involved with snakes, ibex, and other animals probably reflect a more primitive animistic religious tradition.

Early urban imagery. The advent of an organized urban society in the second half of the fourth millennium led to the development of more varied vehicles for the transmission of iconographic concepts. Some examples of monumental sculpture have survived, among them an almost life-size female head which was probably part of a cult statue. The wig and the inlay that once filled the eye sockets and eyebrows have vanished and make this sculpture particularly attractive to modern Western aesthetic taste. Uruk, where the head was found, was the center of worship of the fertility goddess Inanna, and a tall vase is decorated with a scene where the robed goddess in anthropomorphic form, accompanied by her symbol, the reed bundle, receives offerings from a naked priest and a (damaged) figure who wears a crosshatched skirt; this latter is probably the priest-king mentioned above. In his role as *en* ("lord") he is depicted feeding flocks and cattle, engaging in ritual hunts, or taking part in religious ceremonies; in his role as *lugal* ("owner") he triumphs over prisoners. He too has survived in sculpture in the round, on reliefs, and on cylinder seals.

Other significant motifs are known only from their impression on clay sealings. It seems that certain types of seals were used by particular branches of temple administration: boating scenes used by those connected with fishing and waterways, animal file seals for those dealing with herds. Certain designs, for instance those showing variations on a pattern of entwined snakes and birds, are more difficult to fit into this scheme of things. Other seals are squat, often concave-sided, and cut with excessive use of the drill to form patterns. These might have been used by an administration dealing in manufactured goods since potters and weavers are depicted. Some show a spider pattern, and it is tempting to associate these with the temple weavers, whose patron deity was the spider-goddess Uttu. Some more abstract patterns are difficult to interpret.

If we have dealt at some length with this early period it is because many of the iconographic concepts found later have their roots in the late fourth-millennium repertoire, including depictions of both the physiomorphic and the anthropomorphic form of deities, cult scenes with naked priests, the attitude of worship with hands clasped and large, inlaid eyes to attract the deity's attention, as well as the royal hunt, the sacred marriage, and banquet scenes. Even such quasi-abstract concepts as the rain cloud received its iconographic shape during this period, as testified by seal impressions showing the lion-headed eagle. Later he is shown on seals, vessels, reliefs, and particularly on a huge copper relief that adorned the temple at Al-ʿUbaid.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS. Banquet scenes were especially popular in Early Dynastic times (mid-third millennium) and are often associated with scenes of war: seals, plaques, and mosaic panels depict these ritual banquets, which are probably to be interpreted as victory feasts in some contexts and as marriage feasts in others. They are to be distinguished from later neo-Hittite funerary meals, but the preparation of food for the gods is a favorite iconographic motif in the second half of the second and early first millennia BCE.

Deities and their attributes. The representation of deities developed slowly, though by the middle of the third millennium they were wearing horned headdresses as a means of identification. In Akkadian times (2340–2180 BCE) distinct iconographies were established for the more prominent deities, and their position facing left became fixed, though the detailed representations of myths on seals of this period are generally incomprehensible to us. The role of some deities can be identified by the attributes they hold, others by the sprigs of vegetation, streams of water, rays, or weapons which issue from their shoulders. Often these serve only to establish that the deity is, for instance, a vegetation or a warrior god without being more specific.

In fact, it is only a very few representations which can actually be identified with any degree of certainty. Plows are frequently depicted, especially on Akkadian seals, but this is not always a shorthand for Ninurta (who is, however, depicted in a chariot on the famous Stela of the Vultures). Warrior gods on Old Babylonian seals are probably also to be equated with him in many cases, and he appears on Assyrian reliefs. The temple of Ninhursaga at Al-ʿUbaid was decorated with friezes showing dairy scenes. There are clear representations of the water god Enki/Ea in his watery house or with water flowing from his shoulders on Akkadian seals. His Janus-faced attendant, Usmu, is also shown, as is the Zu bird who stole the tablets of destiny. Later the water god fades from the iconography and comes to be represented by a turtle. A neo-Assyrian seal showing a divine figure running along the back of a dragon is often taken to represent the Babylonian god Marduk with the primeval monster Tiamat, but there is no proof that this is so.

The moon god Nanna/Sin was a major deity, but there are surprisingly few representations of him. A stele from Ur and one of the wall paintings from the palace of Mari are perhaps the most convincing representations of this god, but where gods in boats can be identified with any certainty, they seem to be the sun god. The moon's crescent below the sun disk is also extremely common. The iconography of the sun god Utu/Shamash is, however, well attested. He is frequently shown with rays rising from his shoulders, placing his foot on a mountain and holding the saw-toothed knife with which he has just cut his way through the mountains of the east. Often he is accompanied by his animal attribute, the human-headed bull (probably a bison), or by attendants who hold open the gates of dawn. Scorpions likewise can be associated with the sun god, but they are also symbols of fertility and attributes of the goddess of oaths, Ishara. A famous plaque shows the sun god seated in his temple in Sippar; he also appears as the god of justice, holding a symbolic rod and ring, on the law code of Hammurabi of Babylon.

From Old Babylonian times onward the storm god Adad occurs frequently, often standing on a bull and holding a lightning fork. His consort Shala may appear briefly, on seals and in the form of mass-produced clay figurines of the Old Babylonian period, as a nude goddess, shown frontally. Ishtar (Inanna), the Uruk fertility goddess, appears on Akkadian seals holding a date cluster, calling down rain, and often winged with weapons rising from her shoulders as goddess of war. It is this last aspect that becomes predominant, and the Old Babylonian representations are so standardized that it is tempting to see in them the depiction of a well-known cult statue. It may be her aspect as "mistress owl" which is shown on the famous Burney relief (on loan to the British Museum). Her earlier symbol, the reed bundle, is later replaced by a star. One early seal may show her consort Dumuzi (Tammuz) as a prisoner in the dock, but otherwise he is difficult to identify. Ningirsu is often identified as a lion-headed eagle or thunderbird. There are several representations of what is probably Nergal as a warrior god. The god in the winged disk on Assyrian reliefs has generally been identified as Ashur but is more likely the sun god Shamash. Amurru, the god of the Amorites, appears on Old Babylonian seals accompanied by a gazelle and holding a crook.

Unidentifiable figures. From the wealth of symbols which represent deities, many can only be tentatively identified. The Babylonian boundary stones show these symbols on podia and list names of deities, but there is often no correlation between image and text. This is also the case on Old Babylonian seals of the earlier part of the second millennium BCE where we have frequent representations of unidentifiable figures and a large number of inscribed seals mentioning divine protectors: the names do not generally have any bearing on the representation. It seems that the owners of the seals were "hedging their bets" and invoking some deities in pictorial form, others in written form, and still others by their symbols.

It has also been suggested that the deities invoked most frequently were those most likely to be depicted; again this cannot be so since Ishtar, for instance, is frequently depicted and is almost never mentioned in the inscriptions. It is likely that certain deities had a well-established iconography (like the popular saints of medieval Christianity), probably based on a commonly known cult statue or wall painting, while others were invoked by name because their iconography was not as immediately recognizable. The picture becomes even more complex in neo-Assyrian times when demons played an ever-increasing part in religion: we have descriptions of the demons, but these are difficult to reconcile with the representations.

The rich and tantalizing iconography of Mesopotamia is also responsible for key images in the Judeo-Christian tradition. To cite only one example, the huge, winged, human-headed lions and bulls which decorated and protected the Assyrian palace entrances are the basis for Ezekiel's vision (*Ez.* 1:4–13) and by extension for the symbols of the four evangelists as we know them, combining human intelligence with the wings of the eagle and the strength of the bull or lion, the most powerful creatures in heaven and on earth.

SEE ALSO Mesopotamian Religions, overview articles.

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Most studies on religious iconography have appeared in catalogs of cylinder seals, beginning with Henri Frankfort's pioneering attempt to relate the seal designs to the texts in his *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939). Edith Porada's *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, vol. 1, *The Pierpont Morgan Library Collection* (Washington, D.C., 1948), is also a mine of information. The same author has more recently edited *Ancient Art in Seals* (Princeton, 1980), which includes an essay by Pierre Amiet relating the iconography of Akkadian seals to a seasonal cycle. In her introduction Porada summarizes the advances in glyptic studies which have taken place since Frankfort wrote. Many of the objects referred to here are illustrated in André Parrot's *Sumer* (London, 1960) and *Nineveh and Babylon* (New York, 1961) or in J. B. Pritchard's *The Ancient Near East in Pictures relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton, 1969).

DOMINIQUE COLLON (1987)

ICONOGRAPHY: EGYPTIAN ICONOGRAPHY

The principal iconographic sources for ancient Egyptian religion are the representations of scenes, both ritual and mythological, carved in relief or painted on the walls of Egyptian temples and tombs, as well as the numerous images and statues of gods and pharaohs. Additionally, there are many objects of ritual or practical function decorated with carved or painted religious motifs, and finally, numerous hieroglyphic signs belonging to the Egyptian writing system are representations of gods, religious symbols, and ritual objects. These types of sources remain constant throughout the more than three thousand years of ancient Egyptian history from the Old Kingdom to the Roman period (c. 3000 BCE–395 CE).

Egyptian gods were depicted both as human beings and as animals; a composite form combining a zoomorphic head with a human body enjoyed special popularity in relief and statuary alike. Anthropomorphic representations of Egyptian gods relate to their mythological functions and reveal narrative aspects of their relationships, whereas other forms may be defined as their "metamorphoses" or symbols, emphasizing one particular feature or event. In this symbolic realm one divinity could be represented by various animals or objects—for example, the cow, the lioness, the snake, and the sistrum (a musical instrument) are all manifestations of the goddess Hathor. Conversely, one animal could embody various gods; thus, the protective cobra that appears on the forehead of each pharaoh could be identified with almost all goddesses. The divine identity of an animal may differ in various local pantheons. Particularly numerous were iconographic variations of the sun god, which illustrate various phases of the sun's *perpetuum mobile.* Some male gods associated with generative powers (Min, Amun-Re, Kamutef) are depicted ithyphallically. A particular shape, that of a mummified human body, was attributed to Osiris, the god of the dead. This form also occurs in some representations of other gods, especially when they appear in the realm of the dead. Diads and triads of gods, frequent in Egyptian statuary, as well as larger groups of divine beings represented in reliefs and paintings, are visual expressions of various relationships among numerous divinities. Syncretistic tendencies in Egyptian religion, popular after the Amarna period, take concrete form in the composite features that combine the iconographic features of different gods.

Scenes carved on the walls of tombs and temples as well as on furniture and ritual objects most frequently show the gods in the company of a king making offerings or performing other ritual acts (such as censing, purifying with water, or embracing the god). All representations of the king facing a divinity illustrate the ongoing relationship of reciprocity between them. In return for the precious object that he presents to the god, the pharaoh receives symbols of life, strength, stability, many years of kingship, and the like.

STATUARY. Numerous Egyptian statues made of all possible materials, such as stone, wood, gold, bronze, and faience, represent one, two, or three gods often accompanied by a king. Both gods and king wear crowns and hold characteristic insignia, among which the most frequent are the sign of life (*ankh*) and various types of scepters. Many elements of the king's dress are identical with those of the gods, thus visualizing the divine aspects of the monarch's nature. The shape of their artificial beards is distinctive, however: the beard of the god is bent forward at the end, while that of the king is cut straight in its lower part.

The size of the statues varies according to their function. Small bronze statuettes of votive character were common, especially in the first millennium BCE. Many represent animals sacred to Egyptian gods; sometimes these figures are set on boxes containing mummies of the animals represented. The mummified bodies of larger animals, such as bulls, ibis, crocodiles, and cats, have been found buried within special necropolises near places connected with the cults of various gods.

Large stone statues served as cult objects in Egyptian temples. Pairs of colossal effigies of the seated king usually stood in front of the temple pylons. The sphinx, with its body of a lion and head of the king, was often placed in the front of the temple to symbolize the monarch's identity as solar god. Rows of sphinxes lined both sides of processional ways leading to the principal temple entrances.

FUNERARY ART. Another important part of our knowledge about ancient Egyptian iconography comes from the decoration of Egyptian tombs and coffins that comprises the great Egyptian religious "books"—literary compositions that combine spells of magical, mythological, and ritual character with pictures illustrating Egyptian visions of the netherworld. The most ancient of these "books" are the Pyramid Texts carved on the walls of some of the rooms inside the royal pyramids (Old Kingdom, c. 3000–2200 BCE). The illustrations accompanying this sort of text appear for the first time in the Book of Two Ways, which is part of the Coffin Texts (Middle Kingdom, 2134–1600 BCE) painted on the sides of wooden coffins.

Subsequent literary compositions of religious character are generally accompanied by elaborate tableaux, often in the form of vignettes drawn above a column of text written on papyrus. From the New Kingdom (1569–1085 BCE) on, the most popular of these "books" was the *Book of Going Forth by Day* (the so-called *Book of the Dead),* a copy of which was a necessary element of the funerary offerings of every noble. The visual aspects of royal eschatology are best known from a composition called *Amduat* (That Which Is in the Netherworld), which was painted or carved on the walls of royal tombs. Illustrations show the nightly wandering of the sun god through the netherworld. Beginning with the New Kingdom and continuing into the Roman period, fragments of these "books" also decorate many tombs, coffins, and ritual objects belonging to the nobles.

TEMPLES. As the abode of the gods, Egyptian temples were accessible only to the kings and priests. The king, considered the mediator between the gods and the people, is usually shown in front of the gods in the ritual scenes that decorate the temple walls, although in reality it must have been the priests who performed the rituals in the king's name.

The sanctuary, usually situated at the far end of the temple along its axis, contained the sacred image of the god to whom the temple was dedicated. The statue of Amun-Re, the chief divinity of Thebes and the state divinity since the time of the New Kingdom, stood inside a shrine on a portable bark placed upon a sled. In Theban temples this effigy is often represented in connection with the Opet Feast or the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, during which it was transported along or across the Nile on a huge ceremonial boat adorned with reliefs and statues.

Narrative cycles. Many temple scenes form standardized sequences of pictures showing summarily, sometimes almost symbolically, successive episodes of mythicized rituals that often refer to important historical events, such as the miraculous birth of the king, his coronation, his victories over enemies, his jubilee, and the founding of the temple. These representations appear in the inner parts of the temple, together with tableaux depicting the daily ritual performed before the statue of the temple's principal deity and scenes showing various offerings being made. Often the iconographic repertory of the decoration of the pillared hall—the central part of many temples—constitutes something of a "showcase," reviewing in abbreviated form all the important elements of the temple's relief decoration.

The interior of the walls enclosing the courts are often decorated with episodes of the most important feasts, while the grandiose tableaux found on the exterior of the walls and on the gates (frequently in the form of pylons) commonly illustrate the king's military achievements. Standard scenes on the pylon faces show the king smiting foreign captives, presenting them to a god, and images of the king offering a figure of the goddess Maat—the personification of truth, justice, and order—to the main divinity of the temple. Another iconographic pattern frequently occurring on the pylons and on the socle of royal thrones is the symbolic representation of subjugated peoples, the so-called ring-names, showing legless human figures, with hands bound, behind an oval ring containing the name of the foreign province. The facial features of these figures were meant to characterize the physiognomy of each particular people.

Symbolic motifs. In addition to these scenes referring to particular events, the temple walls are also decorated with numerous motifs of a more symbolic nature, which give visual form to religious, political, or geographical ideas. The so-called geographical processions, for instance, symbolize the provinces of Egypt in the form of hefty divinities personifying the Nile, each bearing offerings in their hands.

Various iconographic patterns invented by the Egyptians give shape to the idea of the unification of Lower and Upper Egypt. The central motif of a great number of them is the heraldic symbol called *sma-tawy*, which is composed of two plants, papyrus (for Lower Egypt) and a kind of bulrush (for Upper Egypt), bound together around the spinal cord and the lungs of an animal. Two divine personifications of the Nile—the motive power of this unification—are often shown holding and binding together the two plants

Geographical and religious at the same time, the concepts of the country's division into two parts—either north and south or east and west—belong to the most important principles prevailing in Egyptian iconography. They find expression in symmetrical or antithetical compositions of scenes placed in the axial rooms of temples and tombs, as in the disposition of the various gods representing north and south or east and west, especially on the decoration of lintels, doorposts, and rear walls.

The netherworld. The Egyptian realm of the dead lay in the west. The best illustration of ancient Egyptian visual concepts of the netherworld appears in the decoration of New Kingdom royal and noble tombs situated in west Thebes; these iconographic patterns remained a favorite and repeated subject right up to the Roman period. Of the two principal groups of scenes depicted there, the first, usually found in the first room of the tomb, refers to various episodes in the earthly life of the deceased, including such religious ceremonies or feasts as the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, the royal jubilee, the New Year festival, or the harvest feast. Included in all these scenes are processions, offerings (including burnt offerings), incense burning, and performances with playing, singing, and dancing. Of special importance among Egyptian musicians was the harpist, who came to be represented by the squatting figure of a blind man shown in profile.

The other group of scenes, found in the inner room, illustrates various episodes of the funeral rites, such as the embalming ritual, the symbolic "pilgrimage to Abydos" by boat, and various processions with the mummy being dragged on sledges. The ritual of "opening the mouth" was one of the most important ceremonies of the long funeral cycle. Performed on the statue of the deceased or on his mummy, it was composed of episodes including censing, pouring libations, purifying, and "opening the mouth" with special instruments, all of which were intended to revive the spirit of the deceased.

Cult of the dead. Of particular importance in every tomb were the places intended for the cult of the deceased. These featured niches with statues of the dead person (and sometimes of members of his family), stelae often depicting the deceased adoring and making offerings to various gods or royal personages, and lastly, false-door stelae constituting a symbolic passage between the realm of the dead and the world of the living.

Enabling the deceased to enjoy the sight of the shining sun is another idea that predominates in the eschatological visions depicted and described on the walls of royal tombs. Such great religious compositions as the *Amduat*, the *Book of Gates*, and the *Book of Caverns* depict, among other things, the nightly journey of the sun god, who is often identified with the king. The monarch is thus endowed with the ability to reappear in the morning as a form of the solar divinity.

Most important in each tomb, however, was the burial chamber, commonly situated underneath the accessible rooms at the bottom of a deep vertical shaft. Here were contained the sarcophagus with the mummy of the deceased and all the funerary offerings, including the four Canopic jars for the viscera of the deceased, the mummiform figures known as *shawabti*s (*ushabti*s), a copy of the *Book of Going Forth by Day* written on papyrus, and various ritual objects. The sarcophagi and coffins, made of wood or stone, took the form of cubical or body-shaped cases decorated with painted or carved religious motifs. The four Canopic jars were associated with the four sons of the royal deity Horus, with the four cardinal directions, and with the four protective goddesses; they each had distinctive stoppers, often representing the heads of the four sons of Horus or simply anthropomorphic heads. Numerous *shawabti*s holding various objects, such as hoes, baskets, or religious symbols, and most frequently made of faience or stone, accompanied the deceased in his tomb in order to help him in the netherworld. In some tombs the number of these figures were considerable: more than one thousand were recovered in the tomb of King Taharqa (r. 689–664 BCE). Particularly rich were the grave goods of the royal tombs; the most complete version of such a funeral outfit has been found in the tomb of Tutankhamen (r. 1361–1352 BCE) located in the Valley of the Kings, the New Kingdom necropolis in west Thebes.

The evolution of iconographic patterns in the three-thousand-year course of ancient Egyptian history parallels general changes in religious concepts, which are themselves a function of political and social changes. A "democratization" of religious beliefs during the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate period resulted, on the one hand, in the depiction of direct relations between gods and human beings and, on the other hand, in identifying the dead with the god Osiris. Religious conflicts during the eighteenth dynasty, probably reflecting political struggles and culminating in the "heresy" of Amenhotep IV-Akhenaton, led first to a disproportionate emphasis on solar cults and then to a development of religious concepts concerning the realm of the dead, with a dual focus on Osiris and the solar god. The union of these two once-competing deities occurs frequently after the Amarna period and contributes to a development of theological concepts as well as their iconographic renderings. This syncretism increases during the Third Intermediate period and generates an unparalleled variety of forms during the Ptolemaic period.

SEE ALSO Pyramids, article on Egyptian Pyramids; Temple, article on Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean Temples.

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ICONOGRAPHY: GRECO-ROMAN ICONOGRAPHY

The religious structures of both Greeks and Romans conform to the typical patterns of divinity and belief found among the Indo-European peoples. Most notable of these is an organized pantheon of deities related by birth or marriage and presided over by a god of the sky who is both ruler and father (e.g., Zeus Pater and Jupiter). Nevertheless, although it is clear that such gods accompanied the movement of the Indo-Europeans into Greece and Italy, it is impossible to state with certainty what iconographic representation, if any, was used to worship them during this earliest period. The attempt to discern early iconographic patterns is further hampered by the fact that both peoples were invaders whose later religious outlook was influenced by older, settled cultures. When the Greeks arrived at the beginning of the second millennium BCE, they found not only an indigenous population on the mainland (whom they called the Pelasgians) but also the flourishing civilization of nearby Crete, whose art and architecture show evidence of Egyptian and Near Eastern influences. Thus, not only all the gods who constituted the classical Greek pantheon but also their iconography must be considered the products of a long process of syncretism and synthesis of Indo-European, pre-Hellenic, Cretan, and Near Eastern concepts of divinity. Similarly, the Indo-European settlers in Italy mixed with a variety of peoples already well established on the peninsula. Therefore, any attempt to understand the development of the form and content of Greco-Roman iconography must necessarily entail a consideration of the often disparate parts of the traditions.

MINOAN-MYCENAEAN ICONOGRAPHY (2000–1200 BCE). The study of Cretan (Minoan) religion may be compared to a picture book without a text. The two symbols of Minoan civilization, the double ax and the horns of consecration, clearly had religious significance, perhaps as tools of worship, but their function is not understood. From the archaeological evidence, however, which includes frescoes, seals, and figurines, one may conclude that the representation of the divine was both anthropomorphic and theriomorphic. Found are depictions of female deities encoiled by snakes or with birds perched upon their heads; these figures may explain the prominence of snakes in later Greek religion as well as the association of Greek deities with specific birds. In addition, animal-headed figures reminiscent of contemporaneous Egyptian material have been uncovered. One such type, a bull-headed male, may be the source for the Greek myth of the Minotaur. Also found are representations of demonlike creatures who appear to be performing various ritual acts; these have been cited as evidence of Mesopotamian influence. A number of seals portray the figures both of a huntress, who is called "mistress of the beasts" and whom the Greeks associated with Artemis, and of a male deity, who stands grasping an animal by the throat in each hand. Finally, the seals present strong evidence for the existence of tree cults and pillar cults, the survival of which perhaps may be seen in the Greek myths about dryads, the woodland spirits of nature who inhabit trees. To what extent the traditions of Minoan iconography immediately influenced the Greeks can be explored through a consideration of Mycenaean remains. Indeed, although the Linear B tablets from Pylos have provided valuable linguistic evidence about the names of the earliest Greek deities, most of our information, as in the case of Crete, comes from archaeological sources. From the excavations at Mycenae have come a number of clay snakes, and at Tiryns a fresco depicts a crocodile-headed creature reminiscent of those seen on Crete. Persistence of the Minoan traditions may also be found in the Lion Gate of Mycenae, over which two lions, carved in relief and leaning on a central pillar, stand guard. Providing further evidence for the continuing influence of Minoan iconography are a number of Mycenaean seals, rings, and ornaments that display representations of sacred trees, bird-decorated shrines, and demons carrying libations. To what extent, however, the continuity of form indicates a continuity of content is difficult to determine. In 1969, further excavations at Mycenae uncovered the Room of the Idols, which contained a quantity of clay statues with arms either raised or outstretched. Although possessing only an approximation of human form, each has a distinctive individuality; it has been suggested they may be the earliest representations of those Olympian gods later described by Homer. However, perhaps most characteristic of Mycenaean religious iconography are the thousands of clay statuettes called *phi* and *psi* figurines (after their distinctive shapes). Although most are rendered recognizably female by the accentuation of the breasts, they do not necessarily portend future anthropomorphic representation. They are often found in graves, but there is no general agreement as to their function. It is possible that they once served as votive offerings but that, like much of later Greek art originally sacred in nature and function, they became separated from their original purpose.

ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL ICONOGRAPHY. The difficulty of establishing the continuity of the iconographical tradition from the Mycenaean into the later periods of Greek history is illustrated by a comment of the historian Herodotus (fifth century BCE), who credits Homer and Hesiod with describing the gods and "assigning to them their appropriate titles, offices, and powers," but who concedes that the two poets had lived not more than four hundred years before him. Homer and Hesiod are in fact our earliest sources for the iconography of the Greek gods after the Mycenaean age. But another four hundred years separate the destruction of Mycenae and the life of Homer, and the poet's descriptions of the Olympian gods bear little resemblance to the representations of the divine found at Mycenaean sites. Hesiod's account of the birth of the gods in his *Theogony* indicates that, while earlier generations of deities were often monstrous in appearance as well as behavior, the victorious Olympian gods, with Zeus as their ruler, were clearly anthropomorphic. Homer elaborates upon this concept, describing not only their very obviously human physical appearance but also their often all-too-human behavior. It has been suggested that the source for the relentlessly anthropomorphic quality of the Greek gods in both literature and art is a general rejection of the concept of an abstract deity. Despite criticism by philosophers such as the pre-Socratic Xenophanes, who commented rather cynically that "mortals consider that the gods are born and that they have clothes and speech and bodies like their own," or Plato, who banned poets from his ideal state because they told lies about the gods, the Greeks persisted in depicting their gods as human in form and action. Nevertheless, there is a great deal of evidence to indicate that, in the conservative ritual of Greek religion, the older forms of representation of the divine persisted. Aniconic images of the divine, such as the *omphalos* at Delphi, provide proof of its survival. This stone, which in Greek myth was described as the one that Rhea gave to Kronos to swallow when he wished to devour his infant son Zeus, and that the ruler of the Olympians then placed at the center of the world, is clearly a baetyl, a sacred stone that contains the power of the divine. Similarly, the widespread appearance of the herm, a pillar on which was carved an erect phallus and that acted as an agent of fertility and apotropaic magic, points to the survival of earlier conceptions of the divine. Myth also provides a clear illumination of the remnants of a theriomorphic iconography: Zeus changes himself into a bull in order to rape Europa and into a swan in order to seduce Leda; Athena and Apollo metamorphose themselves into vultures to watch the battle between Hector and Ajax. The amalgamation of a number of functional deities during the Archaic and Classical periods can be seen in the great variety of epithets by which each god was addressed. In the use of such epithets, we see once again the particularism of Greek religion. The disparate types, which link seemingly unconnected functions from both the world of nature and the world of humans in a single deity, are probably a result of the continuing processes of synthesis and syncretism described above. Owing to the conservative nature of Greek religion, no epithet was ever discarded. Thus, the most primitive expression of the power of nature embodied in the god as well as the most sophisticated conceptions of divine political power can be found in the iconography, but it is clear that not all aspects of a deity can be equally well expressed through the various cultic epithets. Nevertheless, many of the epithets of the Olympians can be considered as proof of older iconographic substrata that reveal functions closely linked to the world of nature: horselike Poseidon, owl-eyed Athena, cow-eyed Hera, cloud-gathering Zeus. Although deities were often portrayed with their attributes of nature—the thunderbolt of Zeus, the trident of Poseidon—the connection between iconography and function may at times be difficult to establish because it is clear that many of the earlier "nature" functions of individual deities could not be expressed with clarity in the monuments. The frequent dichotomy between mythic meaning and ritual function also presents one with difficulties in understanding the iconography of a particular god. In Greek myth, Poseidon is clearly the god of the sea, who appears in sculpture and vase painting brandishing his trident or rising from the sea in his chariot. Yet, Poseidon was also worshiped as a god of horses, and he is depicted on coins in the form of a horse. Likewise, the Artemis of myth is the eternal virgin, yet it is clear from both cult and iconography that she was worshiped as a goddess of fertility. It would seem that myth often serves to create a coherent portrait while religious ritual and practice see no such need. The medium, too, often shapes iconographic conceptualization: the narrative of myth can be more readily portrayed in vase painting and reliefs than through freestanding sculpture. The evolution of the form and content of Greek iconography as a means of expressing spiritual ideals generally parallels that of Greek art, especially in sculpture. The earliest religious sculpture and architecture were executed in wood and have vanished; but in the seventh century BCE we see the development of monumental stone architecture and sculpture. The most representative forms of sculpture are the *kouros* and the *kourē* (female) figures that stand rigidly with stylized features and dress. Perhaps votive offerings, they have been variously identified as divine or human but may represent something in between: an idealized existence shared by gods and mortals alike. One cannot divorce iconography from the history of Greek art and architecture, for there is no such concept as purely hieratic art: the Classical Apollo, for example, is not only presented as the youthful god, naked and beardless, but comes to embody the idealization of youth. Similarly, a bronze statue of a muscular, bearded god with his left arm stretched out in front of him and his right arm extended behind as if to hurl something is identified as either Zeus or Poseidon; without lightning bolt or trident, it is impossible to distinguish between the spheres of sky and sea. Increasing emphasis on the beauty of the human form in repose and in action informs both Greek sculpture and the understanding of the divine. Furthermore, iconography is linked not only with the development of the artistic ideal but with that of the political as well. As the institutions of the state evolved, the original gods of nature were made citizens of the polis and given civic functions as protectors and benefactors of the city. Thus, the gold and ivory statue of Athena in the Parthenon portrayed the armed goddess in full regalia as the protector and patron of Athenian civilization, the goddess who had led her people to victory against the Persians. The Parthenon itself is a symbol of the bond between Athena and her city, for the temple frieze depicts the procession of the Panathenaea, a festival held in honor of both the goddess and the powerful city that worshiped her, the pediment portrays scenes from the life of Athena, and the metopes record various victories of Greeks over barbarians. Similarly at Olympia, which served as the religious and political center of Greece during the Classical period, the Phidian Zeus sat enthroned in the inner sanctuary of the great temple, the concrete expression of the god's power and majesty. Crafted of gold and ivory, nearly twelve meters high, the Lord of the Universe held in one hand a statue of Victory and in the other a golden scepter on which sat an eagle. Behind the throne were the Graces and Hours, goddesses of the seasons and regulators of nature. The worlds of nature and culture become one. Phidias himself reportedly said that he had meant to portray the king in his supremacy as well as in his magnanimity and nobility. The god may be seen as the source out of which all reality—sacred and profane—flows. The temple itself was also an expression of the all-encompassing might of Zeus: twenty-eight meters wide, sixty-nine meters long, and twenty meters high, its colossal size emphasized those attributes of power and universality that Phidias had sought to convey in his sculpture.

HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN ICONOGRAPHY. The declining political fortunes of the Greek states after the Peloponnesian War paved the way for the rise of Macedon and the magnificent career of Alexander the Great. His military conquests produced a new cultural synthesis of East and West that radically altered the perception and portrayal of the divine; for although the Classical understanding of the nature of deity survived, it was now informed by new religious, social, and political ideals. Absolute monarchy, an altered concept of the divine as embodied in Eastern mystery cults, and the rise of a middle class eager to display its wealth all contributed to the development of different iconographic sensibilities. Religious iconography in the Hellenistic period presents a curious admixture of Eastern and Western values, of monumentalism and individualism, of divine rationality and pathos, amalgams that expressed themselves in the formal magnificence of the tomb of Mausolus at Halicarnassus as well as in the representations of Aphrodite that emphasize her naked human beauty, in sleeping satyrs and playful cupids as well as in the struggling Laocoön doomed by the gods. The Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamum, with its wide monumental stairway, was encompassed by a frieze that, in depicting the ancient Greek myth of the war between the Olympians and the Giants, displays a remarkable range and intensity of human emotions. In a world where kings were hailed as living gods and apotheosis was a constant possibility, and where gods suffered and died, the division between sacred and profane iconography became even less distinct. With the conquest of the Hellenistic kingdoms the Romans acquired the values that had informed later Greek religious art and architecture. Although the earlier Etruscan culture of Italy had been strongly influenced by Greek and Oriental ideologies, it shows evidence of a religious outlook distinct from both. Tomb paintings from the Archaic period, for example, portray lively Dionysian revels and rowdy funeral games that, while drawing on Greek sources, perhaps indicate a more optimistic view of the afterlife than that of the Greeks. Roman iconography, on the other hand, reflects the conscious choice of the Greek ideal. Roman religion seems to have remained rooted in nature to a much greater extent than civic Greek religion had; the early anthropomorphic representations of Mars and Jupiter are exceptions, perhaps occasioned by their clear identification with the political rather than the agricultural life of the Roman people. Mars was the father of Romulus and Remus and thus the ancestor of the Roman people; but even so it was the she-wolf, nurse of the twin boys, who became the emblem of Rome's auspicious origins. Only when old Italic spirits of nature became identified with their anthropomorphic Greek counterparts did the Romans build temples as houses for their gods and represent them in human form. The conservative values of Roman religion not only inhibited the development of a distinctive iconography but at the same time led to the adoption of those elements in Hellenistic art that seemed best to reflect those values. Although Augustus's attempt to recreate the old Roman religious values through the resurrection of archaic rituals and priesthoods and the rebuilding of ancient temples and shrines was ultimately unsuccessful, his Altar of Augustan Peace (Ara Pacis) illustrates the Roman understanding of the connection between traditional expressions of piety and political success. One of its panels depicts Augustus offering solemn sacrifice; another reveals Mother Earth holding on her lap her fruitful gifts. The peace and prosperity of mortals and gods are attributed to Augustus's piety and devotion. More than three hundred years later, the Arch of Constantine was to reflect the same themes: celebrating the victory of the emperor over his enemies, its inscription attributes his triumph to the intervention of an unnamed divine power and his own greatness of spirit. Over three millennia, the iconography of Greek and Roman religion became increasingly concrete, locating the divine first in nature, then in objects, and finally within the human realm.

SEE ALSO Temple, article on Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean Temples.

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ICONOGRAPHY: HINDU ICONOGRAPHY

Viṣṇu, Śiva, and Devī are the basic visual images of Hinduism. Each of these deities is worshiped in a concrete image *(mūrti)* that can be seen and touched. The image is conceived in anthropomorphic terms but at the same time transcends human appearance. With certain exceptions, Hindu images have more than two arms. Their hands, posed in definite gestures, hold the attributes that connote the deity's power and establish its identity. While the images are concrete in their substantiality, they are but a means of conjuring up the presence of deity: this is their essential function. The image serves as a *yantra*, an "instrument" that allows the beholder to catch a reflection of the deity whose effulgence transcends what the physical eye can see. The divine effulgence is beheld in inner vision. As a reflection of this transcendental vision, the image is called *bimba.* This reflection is caught and given shape also by the *yantra*, a polygon in which the presence of deity during worship is laid out diagrammatically. The *yantra* is constructed with such precision that the "image" emerges in its unmistakable identity.

Deity, beheld by the inner eye, by an act of "imagination," is translated in terms of the image. In this respect the image is called *pratimā*—"measured against" the original vision of the deity as it arose before the inner eye of the seer. Iconometry in the case of the anthropomorphic three-dimensional image corresponds to the geometry of a linear *yantra.* Thus the anthropomorphic image is at the same time a reflection of a transcendental vision and a precise instrument for invoking the divine presence during worship in the manmade and manlike figure of the image. It has its place in the temple, where it is worshiped not only as a stone stela in high relief in the innermost sanctuary but also on the outside of the walls. There, a special niche or facet of the wall is allotted to each of the images embodying aspects of the image in the innermost sanctuary.

Viṣṇu, Śiva, and Devī (the Goddess) are represented in many types of images, for each of these main deities has multiple forms or aspects. These are carved in relief in niches on the outer side of the temple walls, each niche suggesting a sanctuary correlated in the main directions of space to the central image—or symbol—in the innermost sanctuary. While the images of Viṣṇu and Devī are anthropomorphic and partly also theriomorphic, the essential form in which Śiva is worshiped is in principle without any such likeness.

ŚIVA. The main object of Śiva worship is the *liṅga.* The word *liṅga* means "sign," here a sign in the shape of a cylinder with a rounded top. The word *liṅga* also means "phallus" however; some of the earliest Śiva *liṅga*s are explicitly phallus shaped. However, this sign is not worshiped in its mere anthropomorphic reference. It stands for creativity on every level—biological, psychological, and cosmic—as a symbol of the creative seed that will flow into creation or be restrained, transmuted, and absorbed within the body of the yogin and of Śiva, the lord of yogins. In its polyvalence the *liṅga* is Śiva's most essential symbol, while the images of Śiva, each in its own niche on the outside of the temple wall, are a manifestation of Śiva in a particular role offering an aspect of his totality.

The images of Śiva visualize the god's two complementary natures: his grace and his terror. Like all Hindu divine images, that of Śiva has multiple arms; their basic number, four, implies the four cosmic directions over which extends the power of deity in manifestation. Śiva's image of peace and serenity in one of its forms, Dakṣiṇāūmurti, is that of the teacher. Seated at ease under the cosmic tree, he teaches the sages yoga, gnosis, music, and all the sciences. In another image, standing as Paśupati, "lord of animals," Śiva protects all the "animals," including the human soul.

He is also the celestial bridegroom, Sundaramūrti, embracing his consort (Āliṅganamūrti) or enthroned with her (Umāmaheśvara), while as Somāskanda the seated image of the god includes his consort, also seated, and their dancing child. These images assure happiness within the human condition, whereas Ardhanarisvara, the "lord whose half is woman," the androgyne god, his right half male and left half female, is an image of superhuman wholeness.

Myths and legends in which Śiva annihilates or pardons demons of world-threatening ambition are condensed in images of him as victor over destructive forces and death (Tripurāntaka, Kālāri). Another class of images visualizes the god as a young, seductively naked beggar (Bhikṣātaṇa) and, in a later phase of the selfsame myth, as an image of terror, an emaciated, skeletal—or, as Bhairava, bloated—god who is sinner and penitent on his way to salvation. Bhairava is an image of the lord's passion on his way to release. There he dances as he danced on the battlefield in his triumph over fiends. Śiva's dance is the preeminent mode of the god's operation in the cosmos and within the microcosm, in the heart of man. The image of Śiva Nāṭarāja dancing his fierce dance of bliss subsumes ongoing movement and stasis in the rhythmic disposition of limbs and body as if the dance were everlasting: in his upper hands are the drum and flame, the drum symbolizing sound and the beginning of creation, the flame symbolizing the end of creation; one arm crosses over the body and points to the opposite, while his raised foot signals release from gravity and every other contingency in the world. The whole cycle of the eternal return is laid out in the *yantra* of Śiva's dancing image. In another image, that of the cosmic pillar, Śiva reveals himself to the gods Brahmā and Viṣṇu; an endless flaming pillar of light arises from the netherworld. The image of Lingodbhava shows the anthropomorphic figure of Śiva within the *liṅga* pillar bursting open.

The *liṅga* as both abstract symbol and partly anthropomorphic shape is the main Saiva cult object. In some of the sculptures, a human head adheres to the cylinder of the *liṅga*, or four heads are positioned in the cardinal directions, implying a fifth head (rarely represented) on top. Five is Śiva's sacred number, and the entire Saiva ontology—the five senses, five elements, five directions of space, and further hierarchic pentads—is visualized in the iconic-aniconic, five-faced *liṅga*. This concept underlies the image in the innermost sanctuary of the Caturmukha Mahādeva Temple in Nachna Kuthara, near Allahabad (sixth century), and that of Sadāśiva in the cave temple of Elephanta, near Bombay (mid-sixth century). These are ultimate realizations and constructs embodied in sculptural perfection.

The facial physiognomy of the image reflects the nature of the particular aspect or manifestation of the god. His calm, inscrutable mien as well as Bhairava's distorted countenance are shown with many nuances of expression that convey the significance of each particular manifestation, defined as it is by specific attributes and cognizances. The ornaments, however, the necklaces, belts, earrings, and so on, are not essentially affected by the specific manifestation. Likewise some of Śiva's attributes, particularly the trident, serpent, crescent moon, rosary, and antelope, are part of the god's image in more than one manifestation. Invariably, however, Śiva's crown is his own hair. He is the ascetic god, and his crown shows the long strands of the ascetic's uncut hair piled high on his head in an infinite variety of patterns, adorned by serpents, the crescent moon, and the miniature figure of the celestial river Gaṅgā (Ganges) personified. Lavish presentation here nonetheless constitutes iconographic economy, for each of the various symbols implies an entire myth, such as that of the descent from heaven of the river goddess Gaṅgā, whose impact would have wrought havoc on earth had not Śiva offered his hair as a temporary station for her.

An essential cognizance particular to Śiva among gods—though not present in every Śiva image—is the god's third eye (which also graces deities derived from the Śiva concept, such as Devī and Gaṇeśa). Vertically set in the middle of Śiva's forehead above sun and moon, his two other eyes, the third eye connotes the fire of the ascetic god. It broke out when Pārvatī, his consort, playfully covered the god's other eyes with her hands: darkness spread all over the cosmos. This fire also blazed forth to destroy the god Kāma, "desire," in his attempt to wound Śiva with his arrow.

Whether distinguished by one symbol only or by a combination of symbols, the identity of Śiva is unmistakable in his images. There is also no inconsistency if, for example, the crown of Śiva, lovingly enthroned with Pārvatī, is wreathed with skulls (Umā-Maheśvara from Belgavi, Karnataka, twelfth century). The total being of Śiva is present in the particular aspect.

Facing the *liṅga*, the image of Nandin, the zebu bull carved in the round and stationed in front of the entrance of the temple or in its hall, is at the same time the animal form of Śiva, his attendant, and conveyance (*vāhana*). In more than one respect, Nandin, the "gladdener," conveys Śiva.

VIṢṆU. The pervader and maintainer of the universe is represented by his anthropomorphic image in the innermost sanctuary. Invariably the image stands straight like a pillar, and its four arms symmetrically hold the god's main attributes: conch, wheel, mace, and lotus. The conch—born from the primordial ocean—with its structure spiraling from a single point, is a symbol of the origin of existence. The wheel represents the cycle of the seasons, of time. The mace stands for the power of knowledge, while the lotus flower symbolizes the unfolded universe risen from the ocean of creation. According to their respective placement in the four hands of the Viṣṇu image, these four attributes define the particular aspect under which the god is worshiped according to the needs of the worshiper. Each of the twenty-four images—the total permutations of the four symbols in the four hands—has a name. The supreme god, Viṣṇu has a thousand names in which those of the twenty-four images are included.

In addition to the standing image in the innermost sanctuary—an anthropomorphic version of the concept of the cosmic pillar—Viṣṇu may assume two other positions, seated and recumbent. Indeed, no other Hindu god—except a Viṣṇu-derived allegory, Yoganidrā—is shown recumbent, and together, these three positions render the mode of the god's pervasive presence in the cosmos and during its dissolution, when in yoga slumber Viṣṇu reclines on Śeṣa, the serpent whose name means "remainder," floating on the waters of the cosmic ocean. In South India each of the three types of images occupies its own innermost sanctuary, on three levels in three-storied temples. According to the needs of the worshiper, each of these three types of images fulfills four goals: total identification with the god, desire for wish fulfillment in worldly matters, desire for power, and desire for success by magic. According to their desired efficacy on these four levels, the images are more or less elaborate in the number of attendant divinities, with the images granting wish fulfillment on the worldly plane the most elaborate.

The twenty-four varieties of the four-armed, standing Viṣṇu image are emanations (*vyūhas*) of the supreme Viṣṇu. Four of the emanations, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Vāsudeva, Pradyuma, and Aniruddha, are considered primary, though their names occur as the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth in the list of twenty-four.

Theological doctrine and its supporting imagery each follow an inherent logic. The *vyūha* or emanation doctrine is as relevant to the twenty-four types of the Viṣṇu image as the *avatāra* or incarnation doctrine, according to which the supreme Viṣṇu was fully embodied in a specific shape, be it that of fish or boar or man or god. One or the other of these incarnate forms, however, including that of the dwarf (Vāmana) or of Kṛṣṇa, also figures among the twenty-four varieties of the main cult image of Viṣṇu.

Viṣṇu is also conceived in his fivefold aspect: as ultimate, transcendental reality (*para*); in his emanation (*vyūha*); in his incarnation (*vibhava*); as innermost within man (*antaryāmin*), the inner controller; and as *arcā* or consecrated image, this fifth instance being an *avatāra*, a "descent" into matter.

Each *avatāra* is assumed by the supreme Viṣṇu for a particular end, as the situation demands. Yet each *avatāra* or divine descent, though known to have come about at a definite time, remains valid for all times. The number of *avatāra*s or incarnations (*vibhavas*) is generally accepted as ten, but twelve further *vibhav*s are also described. The ten shapes are those of the (1) fish (Matsya); (2) tortoise (Kūrma); (3) boar (Varāha); (4) man-lion (Narasiṃha); (5) dwarf and "[god who took] three strides" (Vāmana and Trivikrama); (6) Rāma with the ax (Paraśurāma), who reestablished the leading position of the brahmans; (7) Rāma, the ideal king; (8) Kṛṣṇa; (9) Buddha; and (10) Kalkin, the redeemer yet to come. In niches of the temple wall, the *avatāra*s are imaged in anthropomorphic, theriomorphic, or combined anthropotheriomorphic shapes.

The Matsya *avatāra* incorporates a deluge myth, telling how a grateful small fish saved by Manu in turn saved Manu, who became the founder of present-day mankind. The tortoise myth tells of the cosmic tortoise that lent its body as the firm support for the world mountain, which served as a churning stick at the churning of the primeval ocean. The third of Viṣṇu's descents similarly illustrates a creation myth out of the cosmic waters. While the Matsya *avatāra* establishes the existence of mankind on earth and the Kūrma *avatāra* guarantees the firmness of its support, the boar incarnation shows Viṣṇu as the savior who lifted the earth from the depth of the ocean waters to the light of the sun. In the man-lion incarnation, Viṣṇu assumes this combined shape, bursting out of a pillar in the demon king's palace in order to disembowel this fiend who had questioned Viṣṇu's omnipresence. The fifth incarnation, the dwarf, gained from the demon king Bali a foothold on which to stand and took the threefold stride by which he traversed the cosmos. The four following *avatāra*s appeared in the shape of man as hero or god. The images of Kṛṣṇa as the child of superhuman powers (Balakṛṣṇa) and as flute-playing young god have their own visual iconography, particularly in metalwork. Two forms of Kṛṣṇa are unlike other images of Hindu gods. The one is Jagannātha, "lord of the world," whose center of worship is in Purī, Orissa; the other is Śrī Nāthjī, whose center of worship is Nāthadvāra in Mewar, Rajasthan. Both these images are roughly hewn and painted wooden chunks only remotely anthropomorphic. From the sixteenth century on, Kṛṣṇa appears in miniature paintings incomparably more frequently than any other Hindu god. In front of Viṣṇu temples, the image in the round of Viṣṇu's partly anthropomorphic vehicle, the bird Garuḍa, is supported by a high pillar.

DEVĪ. The Great Goddess, Devī, represents the creative principle worshiped as female. She is Śakti, the all-pervading energy, the power to be, the power of causation, cognition, will, and experience. She is the power of all the gods; she wields all their weapons in her main manifestations or images. She is the origin of the world, the conscious plan of creation, the mother; she is the goddess Knowledge. Her main image is that of Durgā in the act of beheading the buffalo demon, the mightiest of the demons whom she defeats. This huge, dark, demonic animal, an embodiment of stupidity, is her archenemy. In her image as killer of the buffalo demon, the young and lovely goddess is accompanied by her mount, the lion.

In certain traditions the buffalo demon while still in human shape adored the goddess. In some of the sculptures of the goddess as slayer of the demon—his body that of a man, his head that of a buffalo—he ecstatically surrenders to her as she slays him. When not depicted in action but standing straight in hieratic stance, the goddess is supported by a lotus or a buffalo head.

The Great Goddess has many forms. Like Śiva she has three eyes; like Viṣṇu, in her form as Yoganidrā, "yoga slumber," she is represented lying, an embodiment of Viṣṇu's slumber. Yoganidrā is most beautiful and has only two arms, whereas the Goddess displays from four to sixteen arms in her other images. Although the lion is the *vāhana* or vehicle of the Great Goddess, as Rambhā she rides an elephant; as Gaurī, the White Goddess—the aspect under which the gods contemplate her—she stands on an alligator. In her horrific, emaciated aspects, the owl is her vehicle. Like Śiva, the Goddess is seen in divine beauty or in a shape of horror as Kālī or Cāmuṇḍā.

When worshiped in her own image, the Goddess is the center of the composition, but as the *śakti* or creative power of a god she is figured by his side, smaller in stature, and with only two arms, for she is the god's consort. Pārvatī is Śiva's consort, whereas Bhūdevī and Śrīdevī—the goddess Earth (Bhū) whom Viṣṇu rescued in his boar incarnation, and the goddess Splendor (Śrī)—are shown by Viṣṇu's side.

If the images of these gods are cast in bronze, they are modeled in the round. These are processional images, meant to be visible from all sides, in contrast to the stone images in the innermost sanctuary or on the temple walls, where they confront the devotee as he or she approaches them. However, where the image of Devī is represented as the supreme goddess, she may be flanked or surrounded by smaller figures of gods and demons who play a role in the particular myth represented. Attendant divinities may further enrich the scene.

Devī is not only represented in her own right as supreme goddess or as the consort of one of the main gods, she is also embodied as a group, particularly that of the "Seven Mothers" (*saptamātṛkās*) where, as Mother Goddess, she is shown as the *śakti* of seven gods, including Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva. Brahmā, although the creator in ancient times, is rarely figured in the present-day Hindu pantheon and has but few temples of his own. In South India his image figures on the south wall of a Viṣṇu temple opposite that of Śiva Dakṣiṇāmūrti on the north wall.

Brahmā's consort Sarasvatī, the goddess of knowledge and speech, is worshiped in her own image to this day. The image of the "Seven Mothers" arrayed in one row are worshiped in their own sanctuary. Another assemblage of "group goddesses," though of lower hierarchical standing, is worshiped in hypaethral temples, which allow their total of sixty-four images to be worshiped separately. The iconography of the Goddess has its counterpoint in the (originally imageless) diagrams. Both these instruments of contemplation of the goddess—her image and the geometrical diagram—are man-made. The Goddess is also worshiped as a stone in its natural shape.

Stones in themselves are sacred. A *śālagrāma* stone, a fossilized ammonite embedded in dark stone, represents Viṣṇu, with the spiral of the fossil structure evoking Viṣṇu's wheel. The *śālagrāma* is worshiped in domestic rituals. Similarly another stone, the *bāṇaliṅga*, washed by the water of the river where it is found into *liṅga* shape, is sacred to Śiva. Among *liṅga*s, which can be made of any material, whether clay or precious stone, the *svayambhū liṅga*, a natural outcrop of rock like a menhir, has special sanctity.

Today most of the preserved images are made of stone or metal. The few paintings that have survived over the last four centuries are in watercolor on paper, as a rule small in size, and narrative rather than iconic. To this day the gods are painted in their iconographic identity on walls of houses and on portable paper scrolls. Color, according to ancient texts, was essential to the image: its use was primarily symbolic and expressive of the nature of the respective deities. However, different colors in different texts are prescribed for the same deity.

GAṆEŚA. Gaṇapati or Gaṇeśa, the lord of hosts and god of wisdom, who is also called Vighneśvara ("the lord presiding over obstacles"), has an obese human body topped by the head of an elephant. Worshiped throughout Hinduism, he is invoked at the beginning of any enterprise, for his is the power to remove obstacles but also to place them in the way of success. His shape is a symbol charged with meaning on many levels. His huge belly, containing the world, is surmounted by his elephant head, signifying the world beyond, the metaphysical reality. The head is maimed; it has only one tusk, thus signifying the power of the number one, whence all numbers have their beginning. Every part of Gaṇeśa's shape is a conglomerate symbol, and each is accounted for by more than one myth. According to one tradition, the dichotomy of Gaṇeśa's body resulted from Śiva's beheading of Vighneśvara, Pārvatī's son, in a fit of anger. Śiva then ordered the gods to replace Vighneśvara's head with that of the first living being they met. This was an elephant; they cut off its head and put it on Vighneśvara's body. According to another source, Gaṇeśa was the child Kṛṣṇa whose head was severed by Śani (Saturn) and replaced by that of the son of Airāvata, elephant of the god Indra.

In the *Ṛgveda* (2.23.1) Gaṇapati is a name of Bṛhaspati, the lord of prayer, the lord of hosts. From the fifth century CE, images of Gaṇeśa are numerous. An elephant-headed deity is shown on an Indo-Greek coin of the mid-first century CE. Today, Gaṇeśa is invoked at the beginning of all literary compositions and all undertakings. Every village, every house has an image of Gaṇeśa, seated, standing, or dancing—like Śiva. Some of his images have a third eye. In one of his (generally) four hands he holds the broken-off tusk. His vehicle is the mouse or the lion. In his form as Heramba, Gaṇapati has five heads; as Ucchiṣṭa Gaṇeśa, he is accompanied by a young goddess. He is red, yellow, or white in different varieties of his image.

SEE ALSO Avatāra; Durgā Hinduism; Gaṇeśa; Goddess Worship, article on The Hindu Goddess; Maṇḍalas, article on Hindu Maṇḍalas; Mūrti; Śiva; Temple, article on Hindu Temples; Viṣṇu; Yantra; Yoni.

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ICONOGRAPHY: BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY

In Buddhism, the very nature of a sculptural image is complex. Not only have the conception and function of images varied over the course of Buddhist history, but also according to the particular ritual, devotional, and decorative context in which they are situated. Although there has been considerable scholarly debate about the matter, it seems clear that Buddhists began to depict the Buddha very early on, perhaps even before he died, although no such images survive. The Buddha himself is recorded in some commentaries on the Pali *sutta*s to have said that images of him would be permissible only if they were not worshiped; rather, such images should provide an opportunity for reflection and meditation. However, in other commentarial texts images also are discussed as viable substitutes for the absent Buddha. In any case, virtually all Buddhist temples and monasteries throughout the world contain sculptural images—of the Buddha, *bodhisattvas,* minor divinities, *yakṣas,* and significant monks and saints. These images range from very simple early Indian stone sculptures of the Buddha, standing alone delivering a *dharma* talk, to incredibly intricate medieval Japanese depictions of a *bodhisattva* like Kannon with a thousand heads, elaborate hand gestures, and iconographic details.

IMAGES OF ŚĀKYAMUNI (THE "HISTORICAL BUDDHA"). The earliest surviving Buddhist sculpture dates to roughly the third century BCE, and the images that were produced contextually functioned as decorations and visual "texts" in monasteries. Significantly, however, the Buddha himself is absent from these very early images. Instead of his physical form, early Buddhist artisans employed a range of visual symbols to communicate aspects of the Buddha's teachings and life story:

1. The wheel of *dharma,* denoting the preaching or "turning" of his first sermon, and also, with its eight spokes, the eight-fold Buddhist path.
2. The bodhi tree, which represents the place of his enlightenment (under the tree) and comes to symbolize the enlightenment experience itself.
3. The throne, symbolizing his status as "ruler" of the religious realm, and through its emptiness, his passage into final *nirvāṇa.*
4. The deer, evoking both the place of his first sermon, the Deer Park at Sārnāth, and also the protective qualities of the *dharma.*
5. The footprint, which denotes both his former physical presence on earth and his temporal absence.
6. The lotus, symbolic of the individual's journey up through the "mud" of existence to bloom, with the aid of the *dharma,* into pure enlightenment.
7. The stupa, the reliquary in which the Buddha's physical remains are contained—a powerful symbol of both his physical death and continued presence in the world.

Later Buddhism added countless other symbols to this iconographic repertoire. In the Mahāyāna, for instance, the sword becomes a common symbol of the incisive nature of the Buddha's teachings. In the Vajrayāna, the *vajra,* or diamond (or thunderbolt), is a ubiquitous symbol of the pure and unchanging nature of the *dharma.*

Much of the very early art produced in India is narrative in both form and function, presenting episodes from the Buddha's life and, particularly, scenes from his prior lives. At sites such as Bhārhut and Sāñcī in modern Madhya Pradesh, Bodh Gayā in modern Bihar, and Amarāvatī in modern Andhra Pradesh, huge stupas were erected as part of the large monastic complexes that were built in these locations beginning in the third century BCE. In addition, elaborate carvings were made on and around these stupas, particularly on the railings that encircled the monuments themselves. Many of these were scenes from the Buddha's prior lives, which also were verbally recorded in the *Jātaka* and *Avadāna* literature. These included representations of prior Buddhas, as well as depictions of key events in the Buddha's life such as miraculous conception, his birth, and his departure from the palace in search of enlightenment.

Typically, it has been assumed that because the earliest Buddhist artistic images did not depict the Buddha, there must have been a doctrinally-based prohibition against such depictions. First articulated by the French art historian Alfred Foucher in 1917, this idea—generally referred to as the "aniconic thesis"—has deeply influenced our understanding of early Buddhist art. The basic assumption has been that there must have been a prohibition against representing the Buddha in the early centuries after his death. Perhaps this was because the Buddha had, at the time of his *parinirvāṇa*, passed forever out of existence, and therefore could only be represented by his absence.

In the late twentieth century scholars began to rethink this basic assumption, arguing that perhaps these early sculptures are not reflective of a theological position, but instead frequently represent scenes after the Buddha's death, scenes of worship at prominent places of pilgrimage linked to key events in his life—such as Bodh Gayā, Lumbinī, and Rājagaha—and are thus intended to serve as ritual records and blueprints, and visual prompters for correct veneration. In any case, what seems clear is that early Buddhists had a complex understanding of both the form and function of the Buddha's representations, and that any attempt to articulate a univocal theory of early Buddhist art is probably misguided, precisely because of the complex interactions of original intent, ritual and aesthetic context, and individual disposition. Fundamentally, then, Buddhist images project an open potential.

Actual images of the historical Buddha began to appear sometime around the turn of the first millennium, prominently in two regions: in Mathura, near modern Agra, and in Gandhara, in what is now modern Afghanistan. In Mathura, large standing images of the Buddha were made in red sandstone. The Buddha in these images is depicted as broad shouldered, wearing a robe, and marked by various *lakṣana*s, the thirty-two auspicious marks with which he was born. Described in several early texts, these included the *uṣṇīṣa*, or protuberance atop the head, elongated earlobes, webbed fingers, and *dharmacakra* on the palms. In the Gandhara region, the Buddha typically was depicted in what appears to be a Greek style of representation, wearing a robe that resembles a toga, and with distinctly Western facial features. These details may be evidence that an iconographic exchange took place with the Greeks who inhabited the region at the time of Alexander the Great. Many of the Gandharan Buddha images depict him seated, forming the *dharmacakra mudrā*—literally the "turning of the wheel of *dharma* gesture"—with his hands. In other images he is presented in a meditative posture, his body withered by the years of extreme asceticism that preceded his enlightenment. These different iconic forms were employed by Buddhist artisans (and their royal, monastic, and lay patrons) to emphasize different moments in the Buddha's life story, and to convey visually different aspects of the *dharma.*

By the fifth century CE, the Buddha was represented in a large array of forms and sizes. Some of these representations were truly colossal, cut from cliffs and reaching upward of 100 feet—a practice that would continue throughout the Buddhist world for the next millennium. The sheer size of these images seems to have been intended to convey an understanding of the superhuman qualities of the Buddha, many of which were also expressed in contemporary biographical stories contained in various Nikāyas, the *Lalitavistara*, *Buddhacarita*, and several other well-known texts. Furthermore, such massive images would have served as a potent means of attracting new followers.

Stone and metal sculptures of the Buddha were produced in abundance throughout India. These were in addition to painted images, many of which were in caves, such as those that form the massive monastic complexes at Ajantā and Ellora. Many of these images presented the Buddha in a single pose, representing a particularly significant moment in his life. Among these, the giving of his first sermon was especially common. The Buddha typically is seated in such images, forming the *dharmacakra mudrā.* Oftentimes, he is flanked by several smaller figures: the five monks who first heard the sermon, the laywoman Sujatā who offered him the modest gift of food that gave him strength to attain enlightenment, two deer, and an image of the wheel.

Another common form is the Buddha at the moment of defeating the evil Māra—the embodiment of temptation, illusion, and death in Buddhism. In these images, the Buddha is seated in what is sometimes called the *bhūmisparśa mudrā*, or "earth-touching gesture," visually evoking the moment when the Buddha calls the earth goddess as witness to his enlightenment, and marking the final defeat of Māra. This iconographic form, sometimes presenting the Buddha as a crowned figure and including the seven jewels (*saptaratna*) of the ideal king, became extremely popular in medieval north India, where it seems to have been complexly involved in royal support of Buddhism by the Pālas, the last line of Buddhist kings in India, evoking as it does the image of the *Dharmarāja*, the righteous ruler.

By the eighth century, a fairly common means of representing the Buddha—especially in the monastic stronghold of northeastern India—was a standardized set of eight scenes known as the *aṣṭamahapratiharya.* This presented a kind of condensed version of the Buddha's life—birth, enlightenment, first sermon, various miraculous events in his biography, and death—that enabled the viewer of the image to participate ritually and imaginatively in the entire life of the Buddha by looking at and venerating a single image. In this sense, then, such images were more than visual texts or narratives; they served as means to embark upon visual pilgrimages. As such, they not only recorded past events in the Buddha's life and ongoing ritual activity, but also allowed the viewer to participate in the Buddha's life. In short, they evoke a sense of the Buddha's continued presence in the world despite his physical absence.

BODHISATTVAS. As the various Mahāyāna schools emerged and developed in India, Tibet, and later in East Asia, the Buddhist pantheon expanded tremendously and was reflected in both art and iconography. In India, particularly in the northeast, there was a virtual iconographic explosion after the eighth century. Although images of various *bodhisattvas* had been produced in the early art of Gandhara and Mathura, they became particularly prominent in the Mahāyāna. Images of Mañjuśrī were quite common in India after about the fifth century, and he is sculpturally depicted in dozens of forms. Typically, he is depicted as a handsome young man holding aloft a sword—the incisive sword of wisdom, with which he cuts through delusion and ignorance—in one hand and a lotus in the other. A consistent element in his iconography is the representation of the book—sometimes he holds the text aloft, sometimes it rises out of a lotus to one of his sides. In contemporary iconographic manuals, this is described as the *Perfection of Wisdom* text, of which he is the manifestation. In the Vajrayāna context, Mañjuśrī frequently is depicted in a wrathful form, as Yāmantaka, a buffalo-headed demon who does battle with Yāma, the god of death. Avalokiteśvara, the embodiment of compassion and the bodhisattva who sees all suffering and comes to the aid of his devotees, is perhaps the single most popular figure in the Buddhist world after the Buddha himself. He is depicted in a vast range of forms. Avalokiteśvara frequently is shown with several eyes, denoting his compassionate omniscience, and sometimes with multiple heads, as in the *das'amukha* (ten-faced) iconographic form prevalent particularly in Nepal.

In addition, Avalokiteśvara almost always has multiple hands, in which he holds various implements that aid him in his salvific endeavors. In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* and several other Mahāyāna texts, he is described as a great protector whom one invokes against a standardized set of perils (snakes, beasts, robbers, poisons, storms, and so forth), which are sometimes iconographically depicted with him. Avalokiteśvara becomes extremely popular in East Asia, where he is known as Kannon (in Japan) and Kuan-yin (in China); as Kannon, he sometimes is depicted with 1,000 heads, and as Kuan-yin he is manifested as a female figure. Maitreya, the Buddha of the future, is often depicted as a crowned, royal figure (often with a Buddha image or stupa in his forehead). He typically displays the *dharmacakra mudrā*, the gesture of religious discourse, since it is he who will deliver the final version of the *dharma* that will release all beings from *saṃsāra.* In medieval China, after the Tang period, Maitreya is sometimes iconographically transformed into Budai, a jovial, pot-bellied figure who spreads good cheer and is the special friend of children.

TRANSCENDENT BUDDHAS. The various Mahāyāna schools articulated complex understandings of the continued presence and power of the Buddha in the world, understood broadly as *buddhatā*, or "buddhaness." One particularly common manifestation of *buddhatā* was the five celestial Buddhas, sometimes called Jina or Dhyāni Buddhas. More properly deemed the *pancatathāgāta*s, this set represents the manifestation of different aspects of the Buddha's teaching and salvific power, and is depicted in both sculpture and painting (particularly *maṇḍala* paintings in the Vajrayāna). The five celestial Buddhas are Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi.

Iconographically, each of five Buddhas bears specific symbols and a specific color (when painted in a *maṇḍala*, for example), as well as specific *mudrās.* For instance, Akṣobhya (the "unshakable one") occupies the eastern quadrant of the *maṇḍala* and displays the *bhūmisparśa mudrā*, since he is the manifestation of the Buddha's steadfastness and unshakable calm, even in the face of Māra, or the embodiment of death. Vairocana, the "radiant one," is the manifestation of the Buddha's supreme *dharma,* and thus his standard iconographic form displays the *dharmacakra mudrā.* In the Pure Land schools that developed in China and later took root in Korea and Japan, Amitābha, the Buddha of the West, became particularly important. In a wide variety of images—stone and metal sculptures, bas-reliefs, cave temples, and paintings—Amitābha frequently is depicted at the center of a large entourage of *bodhisattvas* and buddhas, or more commonly is presented in a standard triad, flanked by Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya. As Amida, Amitābha continues to be very popular in contemporary Japan, and is depicted in a variety of modern images including metal and plastic sculptural forms, paintings, and even animated comic books.

WRATHFUL FIGURES. With the rise of the Vajrayāna in northeastern India around the ninth century, and its later development in Tibet, the divine pantheon expanded to a seemingly limitless degree, with a vast range of Buddha families, *bodhisattvas,* goddesses, *yoginīs*, and all manner of fierce divinities. There are numerous categories of wrathful beings in the Vajrayāna pantheon, including *vajradhāra*s, *heruka*s, *lokapāla*s, and *dharmapāla*s. These beings are projections of the base aspects of human nature: lust, anger, delusion, greed, and so on. However, when propitiated these figures are transformed into saviors who destroy the passions of the mind and protect the faithful. Their faces are depicted with strikingly wrathful expressions, their mouths contorted into angry smiles, from which protrude long fangs, sometimes dripping with blood.

Particularly in Tibet, *maṇḍalas* frequently depict vastly complex Buddha families and their associated divinities. Meditation and rituals focused on such divinities typically are intended to bring the divinity to life. For instance, in the practice of deity yoga the meditator can bring the divinity to life in him or herself by realizing the inseparability of the self and the divinity. In the esoteric schools that developed in Japan, the *lokapāla*s often flank a central *bodhisattva* and are depicted as sometimes fierce and menacing dark-skinned foreigners. Consistent with the early literature that lays out Buddhism's basic cosmological view, in a relative sense, such beings are very real and very active in the world. However, in an absolute sense they ultimately are creations of our minds, and therefore, like everything else, are empty. Therefore, the iconographic presentation of these divinities is intended to provide an opportunity for meditation on the very nature of reality.

WISDOM GODDESSES. A range of divine and semidivine female figures also is depicted in Buddhist iconography, many of which are elaborately described in medieval texts such as the *Sādhanamālā* and *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. The female divinity Tārā emerges in the Mahāyāna as a divine savior who protects and nurtures her devotees. Her name literally means "star," and she was perhaps originally associated, in particular, with guiding sailors. Tārā is sometimes referred to as *jagat tarinī*, the "deliverer of the world." She is depicted in numerous forms—sometimes seated with a book, sometimes standing displaying variations of the *abhāya mudrā* (the gesture of no fear) or making a hand gesture of giving—and is intimately associated with the lotus, denoting her characteristic purity. In addition to her very common benevolent forms, in the Vajrayāna Tārā is sometimes depicted as wrathful figure who transforms into the benign savior for her devotees when properly worshiped. Tārā was and continues to be extremely popular throughout the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna worlds, particularly in Nepal and Tibet, and she is frequently associated with Avalokiteśvara. Sometime around the seventh century, the *Perfection of Wisdom* texts (Prajñāpāramitā sūtras) became personified in the figure of *prajñāpāramitā*, wisdom incarnate, the divine "mother" of all enlightened beings. She typically is seated, legs crossed, and has either two or four arms. *Prajñāpāramitā* almost always forms the *dharmacakra mudrā,* holding both a lotus (emblematic of the purity of her teachings) and the text of which she is the embodiment.

SAINTS, ARHATS, AND MONKS. As Buddhism spread beyond India, an elaborate iconographic lexicon related to arhats, monks, and saints emerged. In China, the veneration and representation of important patriarchs became prominent; arhats were frequently represented, occasionally individually but more commonly in groups. In the Chan schools in particular, where monastic lineage was central, portraits of important patriarchs were common. Most prominent was Bodhidharma, who typically is depicted as an aged monk deep in mediation. Sometimes, he is depicted floating in the ocean atop a reed, representing his voyage from India to China. Bodhidharma also is represented in a kind of aniconic form, as an abstract face painted on papier-mâché or wooden balls, and occasionally as a lascivious old man, often in the company of courtesans. This conveys Chan's understanding that enlightenment can be found in the most mundane, and even the most conventionally polluting, of activities. In Tibet, images of Padmasambhava, who is said to have introduced Buddhism and tamed the demons who inhabited the region, are common. He frequently is depicted as a robed monk with a crown, often holding an alms bowl and *vajra.* Prominent monks such as Atīśa and Xuanzang are common in both the sculpture and painting of China and Japan. Particularly in Japan, individual monks, often specific to a particular monastery, are presented in remarkably realistic images, sometimes life-size, three-dimensional sculptures. As with images of Śākyamuni, such sculptures function as meditational aids to be emulated, pedagogical prompters, and outright objects of devotion.

IMAGES AND RITUAL. The *Sādhanamālā* and *Niṣpannayogāvalī* are two medieval Indian iconographic manuals, written in Sanskrit and still used in the early twenty-first century. These texts—and the countless other lesser-known manuals that deal with three-dimensional icons, paintings, and *maṇḍalas*—describe in sometimes minute detail the proper way to construct an image. They cover the purifying rituals to be performed prior to the start of work, the materials to be used, the iconographic details, the specific proportion, as well as detailed instructions for the ritual practices that are associated with the image.

From the moment they appeared in the Buddhist world, visual images were intended to narrate aspects of the Buddha's life and teachings, and therefore function on the ground as visual texts to be read. In addition, they were very much intended to be objects of ritual worship. A wide range of texts are available for making and consecrating Buddhist images, from locally-produced manuals in the vernacular to pan-Buddhist iconographic manuals. Perhaps the most common form of worship in the Buddhist world is *buddha pūjā*, literally "honoring the Buddha." This is a ritual that typically involves making some sort of offering to a Buddha image (or to a relic or a stupa), such as a flower, a small lamp, food, or even money. Many images, particularly the stelae that were abundantly produced in the medieval Indian milieu—although this also is an iconographic theme on some of the very earliest Buddhist images—actually depict such worship as part of the sculpture. These depictions usually are found along the base of the image, at what would in a ritual context be eye-level for the worshiper. The iconography in such cases, then, serves as a kind of visual guide to proper ritual action.

Across the Buddhist world, image construction and consecration are embedded in elaborate ritual structures. Images are made by specially trained and sanctified artisans, who follow extremely precise iconographic guidelines that dictate the proportions and specific details of a particular image. In northern Thailand, for instance, images are constructed using local ritual texts that include iconographic proportions, recitation of special protective chants (*paritta*), and elaborate consecration rituals, which "enliven" the image. Of particular interest in this regard is a clearly articulated correlation between the various parts of the image—which in the ritual becomes the "form body" (*rupakāya*) of the Buddha—and the *dhammakāya*, or "teaching body" of the Buddha. According to these Thai texts—and there are similar manuals in other ritual contexts in Tibet, China, Japan, Sri Lanka, and other Asian countries—a properly constructed and consecrated Buddha image is one that makes the ritual participant feel as though he or she is in the presence of the Buddha himself.

For the laypeople and monks who participate in such rituals, the Buddha image has a special apotropaic power, often heightened by the accompanying recitation of *paritta* texts and various *mantra*s. In some instances, part of the consecration ritual involves the "instructing" of the image in the life story and teachings of the Buddha, which provides, also, the opportunity for the laity to receive this same instruction. Finally, the construction, consecration, and ritual veneration of images in virtually all Buddhist contexts provide an opportunity for laypersons to generate merit by way of donations made to the image—food, money, material objects—and by sponsoring such rituals.

Frequently, Buddhist iconography is intended to focus the mind of the worshiper on the Buddha and his teachings, serving as a visual aid and helping the practitioner to engage in *buddha anusmṛti*, or "recollection of the Buddha." This important form of meditation involves contemplating the Buddha's magnificent qualities and internalizing them, very often with the use of a sculpture or painting. The iconography of such images, then, serves a mimetic function in that the meditator is to emulate the iconographically presented Buddha. In the process, the practitioner creates a mental image by internalizing the external iconographic form, thereby becoming like the image, and like the Buddha himself.

SEE ALSO Bodhidharma; Buddha; Buddhism, overview article; Buddhist Meditation, articles on East Asian Buddhist Meditation, Theravāda Buddhist Meditation, and Tibetan Buddhist Meditation; Buddhist Philosophy; Lotus; Mudrā; Stupa Worship; Temple, articles on Buddhist Temple Compounds.

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ICONOGRAPHY: DAOIST ICONOGRAPHY

Like Daoism, Daoist iconography is not easily described as a unity. The focus in this entry will be on the visual expressions of the organized religion whose origins can be traced to the second century CE, but this religion and its iconography cannot be understood without reference to the intellectual and religious developments that formed its background.

BACKGROUND. Many of the tenets that the Daoist religion came to embrace evolved during the last four centuries BCE, the period that forged the worldview of imperial China. A chief concern for the competing rulers of the late Warring States period (403–221 BCE) and the founders of the succeeding Qin (221–206 BCE) and Han (206 BCE–220 CE) dynasties was the sanction of political power, based on the previous conception of a mandate (*ming*, also meaning "destiny" and "life") bestowed by heaven (*tian*) on one who possessed perfect virtue or "inner power" (*De*). From the fourth century BCE on, Chinese thinkers speculated about the relationships between this inner power, the concept of an ineffable way (Dao) underlying the functions of the cosmos as a whole, and the notion of *ming* in its double sense as heaven's mandate to rule and as the mandate of life granted by heaven to each individual. To many of these philosophers, *de* or inner power, believed to derive from the ability of aligning oneself with the Dao, was the prerequisite quality of both the sage ruler and the saint capable of preserving his life. In the *Dao de jing* (Scripture on the way and inner power), attributed to the paradigmatic figure of the "Old Master," Laozi, the saint and sage ruler are equivalent. This also holds for the texts *Guanzi* (compiled between the fourth and the second centuries BCE) and *Huainanzi* (submitted to the Han emperor Wu in 139 BCE). The book *Zhuangzi* (the earliest parts are attributed to the fourth-century BCE philosopher Zhuang Zhou), however, envisages the ideal, "fully realized person" (*zhenren*)—whether female or male—gaining boundless freedom by forsaking all political aspirations.

While some Warring States rulers quickly caught on to the idea of a direct connection between heaven-endowed power and longevity or immortality, a dialogue between various court professionals (astrologers, calendarologists, and health specialists) and philosophers led to the systematization of a theoretical framework by which the cosmic functions of the great Dao could at least approximately be understood and controlled. Modern Western scholars have termed the resulting system—based on the theories of yin and yang, of *qi* (the vital pneuma and material basis of the universe), and of the five cosmic driving forces (*wuxing*; also rendered five elements, phases, or agents)—*Chinese correlative cosmology*. Its symbolic expressions included animal figures (e.g., the tiger and the dragon standing for yin and yang), color schemes, and trigrams derived from the ancient *Yi jing* (Book of changes). The system, which united the divine, natural, social, and moral orders into one interconnected whole, henceforth became the mainstay not only of traditional Chinese cosmo-political thought, but also of the gamut of Chinese sciences, including medicine and the immortality arts, and of Chinese religion in general.

Just as, according to correlative cosmology, the order of the cosmos was manifest in the human realm in the form of administrative structures, the universe as a whole came to be viewed as administered by a bureaucracy of divine forces. The figure of the Yellow Emperor took the central position, analogous to the elemental force of "yellow" earth, among a group of five celestial thearchs correlated with the *wuxing*. By the early Han dynasty, the Yellow Emperor was the paradigm for the sage ruler. Believed to have not only civilized the world, but also succeeded in the cultivation of life, he became the model for Emperor Wu's (r. 140–87 BCE) quest for universal rule and immortality. But some two hundred years later, the emperors of the declining Han dynasty pleaded their hopes for longevity, male posterity, and the dynasty's survival before a far more powerful divinity: Laozi, who by then was seen as the very embodiment of the eternal Dao itself.

Demonstrative of the experience that for ordinary humans immortality is attainable only in an afterlife, most artifacts testifying to ancient Chinese beliefs about the cultivation of life have been discovered in tombs. A second-century BCE Han tomb in Mawangdui contained the almost perfectly preserved body of a woman belonging to the high aristocracy. A painted silk banner presenting the lady's ascent from the tomb to the immortal realms covered the innermost of four coffins encasing her. Other finds in tombs of Han dynasty elites include Boshan (Universal Mountain) censers, incense burners with perforated, mountain-shaped lids depicting the marvelous world of the immortals; bronze mirrors, whose backsides show the Queen Mother of the West, often along with her male counterpart, the King Father of the East; and so-called money-trees, stylized tree-sculptures in bronze with coin-shaped leaves, their branches carrying divinities such as the Queen Mother of the West, immortals, and fabulous beasts.

The Queen Mother, a deity of ancient origin, became one of the foremost idols of the Han immortality cult. By the second century CE, she was believed to rule over a paradise of immortals on the mythic Kunlun Mountain located at the far western rim of the Han empire. Her picture—identified by her phoenix-patterned headdress, her throne flanked by a tiger and dragon, and animals such as a bird, hare, toad, and fox—frequently adorns Han dynasty stone sarcophagi and mortuary architecture. As Wu Hung has demonstrated, her increasingly iconic representation—showing her frontally, seated, and centered—derives from images of the Buddha, which became known in China around the same time. Indeed, in the second century CE, the Buddha (recognizable by the *uṣṇīṣa* protuberance on his head, his halo, Ghandaran-style gown, and hand gestures or *mudrās*) began to appear in Chinese funerary art as an equivalent of the Queen Mother of the West, promising, like her, immortality beyond the tomb.

Evidently, the hope for postmortem immortality in some paradisiacal region was counterpoised by fears of an afterlife in the drab realms of death. Texts excavated from graves of commoners reveal that the netherworld was already in the late fourth century BCE imagined as a bureaucratic institution. By the second century CE, this administration was believed to be headquartered in China's Five Sacred Mountains and ruled by the Celestial Emperor or Yellow God. The texts usually express people's trepidation at the possibility of untimely death, either on account of an error in the netherworld bookkeeping, or because the deceased might have suffered or committed severe wrongs during life. Surviving family members buried human figurines of ginseng and lead with the bodies of the deceased to redeem their guilt and serve as surrogates for the living, lest they might fall ill and die by implication.

EARLY DAOIST RELIGION. Early Daoists shared and refined this broader worldview as they constructed their tradition between the second and fifth centuries CE. Among several politico-religious movements in the second century, the Way of the Celestial Master alone survived and established the fundamental liturgical and organizational structures of the Daoist religion. Celestial Master followers worshiped Laozi as the supreme embodiment of the Dao, whose limitless pneumata (*qi*) could, however, take the shape of innumerable other divinities. Originally more concerned about death and its harbinger, disease, than the pursuit of immortality, Celestial Master priests sent petitions to the Three Bureaus, the other world's legal institution, to relieve parishioners from the consequences of the crimes of deceased family members. Subordinated to the Three Bureaus were twelve hundred officials, including their civil and military staffs, whose divine intervention could be invited depending on the specific circumstances of each case.

These were fairly concrete notions about a bureaucratically functioning spirit world, wholly inscribed in Laozi's divine body of the Dao, but, in accord with the *Dao de jing*'s assertion that the Dao ultimately has no concrete forms, early Daoists hesitated to give outside visual form to any of these ideas. A second-century commentary to that scripture, whose author stood at least close to the Celestial Master religion, even warns against picturing the Dao in the form of innercorporeal divinities. This evidently marked an extreme, since anthropomorphic visualizations of the numinous forces indwelling the body—a microcosm of Laozi's cosmic body—quickly became central to the Daoist work of regulating universal flows through meditation. The fourth-century Shangqing (Higher Purity) scriptures contain the most detailed instructions for such visualizations, although there are prior guidelines for actualizing microcosmic deities—even Laozi himself—through mentally created images of their appearances, including their size, garb, headgear, coloring, and accoutrements.

Apart from this eidetic technique of imaging, however, Daoists presented the forces of the divine preferably in abstract, symbolic ways. Diagrams, sacred maps, and various forms of secret script early on played important roles. The yin-yang symbol (*taiji tu*) with its two comma-shaped fields inscribed in a circle, which became so prominent from the Song dynasty (960–1279) on, may not just be traced to a Tang dynasty (618–907) Buddhist antecedent, as Isabelle Robinet has shown, but to even earlier Daoist, albeit nontransmitted, diagrams. Maps of the interior of the Five Sacred Mountains existed already in early medieval times, even though the extant diagrams only replace the long-lost originals. But the chief key to access divine forces was writing. This accounts for the centrality of Daoist *fu*, secret tallies (or talismans), which Daoists drew in order to tap particular numinous sources. Moreover, from the fourth and fifth centuries on, Daoist scriptures were held to incorporate the blueprint of the cosmos itself in their original celestial-script versions. That is why so much weight was put even on the calligraphic quality of the transcripts of such scriptures in human hands.

DAOIST SCULPTURE. Concrete material images, however, constituted in Daoist eyes only crude attempts to give fixed shape to the ever-changing modalities of the Dao and its hypostases. Fully sculpted icons of durable materials presented the bottom rank on that scale, and were considered dangerous, because their coarse materiality might easily invite impure and potentially malevolent spirits instead of the deities whose likeness they purportedly produced. Even in late imperial times, Daoist texts frequently mention demons possessing such icons as causes of disease, but already a fifth-century source, attributed to the famous southern Chinese Daoist Lu Xiujing (406–477), complains that lay believers installed sculpted images in their ritual chambers like the followers of vulgar cults. Curiously, despite all Daoist claims of the formlessness of the Dao, a seventh-century Buddhist author accuses precisely Lu Xiujing of plagiarizing Buddhist icons in sculptures of Daoist Heavenly Worthies (an epithet of the Dao's embodiment as supreme deity in three different aeons).

Archaeologically, the earliest examples of Daoist sculpture date indeed to the fifth and sixth centuries CE; but they come from north China, where the Daoist Kou Qianzhi (d. 488) supposedly first promoted such icons. These images, carved on stelae and dedicated by private donors to the weal of the government and the happiness of their ancestors, ostensibly relate to a well-known Buddhist practice of merit-transfer. Indeed, there are indications that religious differences barely mattered to followers of the custom. Several of the stone monuments combine images of both Buddhist and Daoist divinities, which are distinguished only by minor features. While the figures of buddhas and *bodhisattvas* feature *uṣṇīṣas* or crowns and monastic garb, Daoist deities, often bearded and holding fans, wear hats and belted Chinese garments. Otherwise, the posture and grouping of the Daoist gods, with the chief divinity flanked by two attendants, conform entirely to Buddhist iconography. Nor are there differences in the appearance of Daoist deities identified by distinct titles; whether a figure is referred to as Lord Lao (specifically Laozi as the body of the Dao) or Heavenly Worthy (a general appellation for hypostases of the Dao), their images are the same. Only late in Daoist history, the Three Purities, or main hypostases of the Dao, developed their individualized iconographies with Yuanshi tianzun (Heavenly Worthy of Prime Origin) holding a pearl, Lingbao tianzun (Heavenly Worthy of the Numinous Treasure) carrying a scepter, and Daode tianzun (Heavenly Worthy of Dao and De) retaining the features of the white-haired, bearded Lord Lao (Laozi).

While Six Dynasties (220–589) Daoist sculpture was predominantly a matter of private devotion, the situation changed dramatically under the Tang dynasty, which traced its ancestral line to Laozi and therefore strongly supported Daoism in its official cult. Tang emperors established a nationwide network of Daoist temples in which large freestanding statues of the holy ancestor were set up. Empress Wu (r.

684–705), before she founded her own interim dynasty and turned to Buddhism for legitimization, decreed that sculptures of Laozi's mother should accompany those of Laozi; and Xuanzong (r. 712–756), the most powerful of the emperors of the re-established Tang, even had his own likeness installed in temples along with images of Laozi.

If statuary began to play a role in state-endorsed Daoist temples in connection with the imperial cult, the rules for the production and worship of these images followed Buddhist models. A relatively early Daoist source (ascribed a pre-Tang date by many scholars, but more probably compiled in the early Tang) determines a code of "auspicious marks" (Skt., *lakṣaṇa*) for different types of icons and, prescribing monthly vegetarian offerings and ritual cleansings for them, ascertains their sacrality. In the early tenth-century, a prominent court Daoist welcomed all ideological efforts at demonstrating the miraculous powers of Daoist over Buddhist icons.

Still, Daoists remained reluctant about attributing statuary a central place in their innermost ritual practice. Even today, effigies are generally eschewed in the inner sanctum of the enclosed temporary altar constructions, where the essential rites of Daoist services take place. As a rule, only painted images of the Daoist high divinities are allowed here, while sculpted icons from community temples and household altars are relegated to the outer areas of the sacred space as onlookers. If statues have any immediate ritual functions, such as the figures of altar guardians, messengers, or the newly deceased in funeral services, they are made of paper. These images are animated at the beginning of the ritual through the so-called eye-opening rite (*kaiguang*), and burned as soon as the spirits legitimately possessing them during the ritual have fulfilled their tasks.

DAOIST PAINTING. Court support was also a chief factor in the development of Daoist painting. Wu Daozi (fl. 710–760), reportedly a Daoist priest, created his famous murals and scroll paintings on both Buddhist and Daoist themes under Emperor Xuanzong's sponsorship. None of his originals has survived, but textual references and transmitted works of later artists, most of whom placed themselves in Wu Daozi's tradition, bespeak the main features of his style: movement, dramatic facial expressions, individualized figures, and narrative composition.

Beautiful examples of the illustrative art that the Daoist pictorial tradition eventually produced survive in the fourteenth-century murals of the Eternal Joy Temple (Yongle gong in Shanxi province) depicting the lives of the Immortals (*xian*) Lü Dongbin and Wang Chongyang. But more expressive of what inspired Daoist painting at its core is the brilliant rendition of the theme known as the "Audience with the Origin" in the temple's main hall. The frescoes show the various monarchs of the Daoist universe, including the Jade Emperor; the Purple Tenuity Emperor of the North Pole; the Queen Mother of the West; her spouse, Lord of the Dao in the East; Houtu, the royal matriarch of earth; and their retinues, all turning towards the Dao, which in its threefold aspect was represented by statues of the Three Purities (now lost).

Depictions of the Daoist pantheon at audience with the Dao's higher hypostases may go back to the tenth century. Other examples of narrative religious painting in China, such as the tableaus related to the "Water and Land" ritual of universal salvation (*shuilu zhai*) and the earlier "transformation pictures" (*bianxiang*) of hell (which existed already by the seventh century and of which Wu Daozi reportedly also was a master) are associated with Buddhism; and Buddhism is considered to have inspired Daoist painting in general. But such paintings on Buddhist themes were early on connected with popular performances and rituals in China and likely received indigenous Chinese and Daoist influence from the beginning. Surviving "Water and Land" frescoes, hell frescoes, and scrolls of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and beyond, at least, clearly manifest the impact of Daoism (which then had incorporated them in its liturgy) in their hierarchic-bureaucratic vision of the numinous realms and the inclusion of Daoist gods.

Nonetheless, Buddhist iconography unquestionably shaped the appearance of Daoist deities. One example is the Great Monad Heavenly Worthy Saving from Suffering (Taiyi jiuku tianzun), who, already by the tenth century, had assumed features of the *bodhisattvas* Avalokiteśvara (Guanyin), Kṣitigarbha (Dizang), and Mañjuśri (Wenzhu). Central to Daoist funerary rituals, Taiyi jiuku tianzun is still represented on painted scrolls next to the Three Purities in mortuary altar settings. Particularly influential was the submerged Tantric Buddhist tradition in China. As Daoist liturgical texts of the twelfth through fourteenth centuries show, esoteric Buddhist rituals and popular spirit possession practices greatly enriched the Daoist exorcistic tradition and its pantheon of star deities, thunder gods, and divine marshals or generals. As a result, some Daoist deities, such as the multihanded Mother of the Seven Dipper Stars (Doumu), became directly modeled on Tantric divinities. In others, the multiple eyes, heads, and arms of Tantric spirits were combined with traditional Daoist symbols and the names and features of popular gods; in the chief thunder gods, iconographic synthesis produced new chimerical shapes. Daoist sources nonetheless understand these composite divinities in quintessentially Daoist terms as manifestations of pure cosmic forces, re-created through the cycling and blending of corporeal *qi* in visual meditations. As in earlier Daoist texts, these visualizations follow exact descriptions of the deities' semblance and attributes and their cosmological significance; only the iconographic vocabulary has become far more diverse. Even the *fu* tallies, originally abstract graphs designed to contract divine powers, take in these late ritual manuals, often the form of calligraphic pictures of the deities and their symbols.

The general agreement between such liturgical sources and depictions of Daoist divinities in late imperial and modern religious paintings suggests a connection between ritual performance and pictorial representation. Indeed, just as the Audience with the Origin was not merely an iconographic theme, but originally denoted the culmination of Daoist meditation (when the divinities of an adept's or priest's bodily microcosm are brought face to face and merged with the original oneness of the Dao), authentic artworks, and particularly paintings, were to reflect the internal visions of Daoist priests and the iconographic codes thereby established. That this continuity between liturgy and the visual arts always remained an ideal and never led to the iconographic standardization achieved in the Buddhist tradition is partly due to Daoism's internal diversity and comparatively loose organization, partly to difficulties in institutionalizing links between clerical and art traditions, and, of course, also to the disruptions of modern times.

While already in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, scrolls portraying the Three Purities, the Jade Emperor, the Purple Tenuity Emperor, the Heavenly Worthy Saving from Suffering, and other Daoist high divinities surrounded the inner, most sacred area of Daoist altars, these paintings, surprisingly, were not accorded full sacred status. Even today, the actual seat of Daoist divinities during rituals is in the *shenwei*, small tablets inscribed with their names, not in the paintings. An exception here is the Daoist tradition of the Yao minority, which clearly emphasizes the sacrality of altar paintings through special rites of consecration and deconsecration (once they have outlived their ritual life spans).

DAOIST ICONOGRAPHY IN POPULAR CHINESE ART AND RELIGION. Daoist visions of gods and immortals, as well as demonic beings and their realms, have had a tremendous influence on popular religious iconography. Temple murals and altar hangings evidently played important roles, but Daoists also propagated their views through narrative and performance arts. The most eloquent proof of this exists perhaps in some of the great vernacular novels of the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries that feature the eminently hybrid pantheon of popular Chinese religion, including immortals, Daoist and Buddhist divinities, and entirely composite and often even renegade gods, all under the Jade Emperor's rule. Even contemporary Chinese cite these novels as sources of information about the backgrounds, functions, symbolism, and iconography of the deities worshiped by them, whether in statues and murals in community temples, or in wood-block book illustrations and New Year's pictures at home. As these explanations again are frequently traced to Daoist liturgical literature, they point—in line with the motto favored by late imperial Daoists, that all religious paths eventually run into the Great Way—to Daoism as the most important factor in the formation of popular Chinese religion and iconography.

SEE ALSO Afterlife, article on Chinese Concepts; Calligraphy, article on Chinese and Japanese Calligraphy; Dao and De; Daoism; Temple, article on Daoist Temple Compounds; Xian; Yinyang Wuxing.

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ICONOGRAPHY: CONFUCIAN ICONOGRAPHY

Over the centuries, the terms "Confucian" and "Confucianism" have been constructed in different ways, both in China and in the West. The adjective "Confucian" here is used loosely, referring not only to the writings of Confucius (551–479 BCE) but also to that larger body of learning and praxis transmitted in other (often older) ancient classical texts and their later commentaries (which are being compiled to this day). This collection of works is very diverse and its boundaries are difficult to determine. The more important titles, which date to Warring States times (403–221 BCE) or earlier, are the *Book of Odes* (*Shijing*), *Book of Documents* (*Shangshu*), *Book of Rites* (*Liji*), *Master Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu Zuozhuan*), and the *Analects* of Confucius. Somewhat later is the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) *Book of Filial Piety* (*Xiaojing*). The term "iconography" is used here in a very general sense to refer to visual depictions of the phenomena recorded in such classical texts, and it also refers to later products of the visual culture that was based in some fashion upon that written legacy.

CONFUCIAN DIVINITIES AND MYTHIC BEINGS. Early texts describe an expansive pantheon of divinities, numinous powers, ideal beings, and culture heroes. These include the Lord on High; heaven and earth; spirits of mountains and rivers; powers of cold, heat, and celestial bodies; mythic suprahuman beings; sage rulers; and ancestral spirits, to name a few.

Historiographic issues. The ways in which these beings were visually understood in pre-Han times, however, is unclear. The pre-Han archaeological record preserves depictions of a wide range of mythic beings. However, they are neither readily identifiable nor easily associated with figures from "Confucian" written works.

More specifically, using painted or sculpted figural images as objects of reverence to depict these beings is not clearly attested in early texts. Later Confucian historiography, beginning at least as early as the Song dynasty (960–1279), insisted that anthropomorphic images of deceased human beings, or of nonhuman divinities, were not used in ritual contexts in Warring States times or earlier. Both written records and the archaeological record as it was then known support this notion.

For example, according to the *Book of Rites,* ancestors were instead "imaged" (*xiang,* a term used as both noun and verb) or represented by a personator (or impersonator) of the dead. The personator (*shi*) was a living descendant of the deceased who temporarily took upon the identity of the departed ancestor, whose laid-out body was simultaneously called a *shi,* during commemorative rites that feted the personator/deceased with food and liquor. The consanguineous relationship between the dead and the personator (the bodies of descendants were moreover considered consubstantial with those of their forebears) often ensured a close physical resemblance between the personator and his or her ancestral "prototype."

Personators were not widely used after the Warring States era, but the notion that an image should resemble its prototype became crucial in later times, when validity of an image was determined by its perceived similitude to its prototype. Some Chinese scholars of the Song and Ming (1368–1644 CE) dynasties believed that the custom of using personators to image the deceased was in fact the origin of the later use of anthropomorphic images in sacrificial offerings. According to this historiographic interpretation, after Warring States times the living descendant was replaced with painted or sculpted images of the deceased, which were held to high standards of semblance.

Such ancestral portraits were widely used by the Song dynasty, and were called *ying,* or "shades." Conceptually, the term *ying* incorporates the meanings of both "shadow" and "reflection," and can be understood as an emanated projection from the human body that is visible in sunlight and reflected in mirrors and other clear or flat surfaces, such as the surface of an ancestral painting used in rites to commemorate the deceased. In folk tales such as the Ming dynasty *Peony Pavilion,* shades sometimes become doppelgängers of the original body and take on lives of their own—even after the prototype body is deceased. Ancestral portraits are still widely used in modern times, although they have been largely replaced by photographs, which ensure greater verisimilitude than paintings. In fact, the modern expression "to photograph" is literally *she ying,* "absorb the shade."

Images in early China. Confucian images often emerge from or appear in mortuary, visionary, or other liminal contexts. One of the earliest known textual descriptions of an image in a Confucian text is of an image (*xiang*) created to depict a man seen in a vision. The *Book of History* records how a bereft ruler went into mourning and underwent the usual austerities of isolation, fasting, silence, and occlusion of the senses. This typically led to visionary experiences, and not unexpectedly the ruler saw in a dream a man whom he understood was to be his helpmate or body-substitute. This helpmate would replace the ruler while he remained secluded in mourning. The ruler ordered an image created of the man he saw and sent it about the kingdom until someone was located who resembled it. This person was then established as the ruler's prime minister. Visions of the deceased, as well as the living, were commonplace in the pre-sacrificial vigils of commemorative offerings presented by pious descendants to their ancestors. It was here that one could see them again, even though they were now in the realm of spirits, which were otherwise formless, invisible, and ineffable.

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE OF CONFUCIAN FIGURES. Virtually nothing is known of the actual physical appearance of particular figures from Confucian lore, or even of Confucius himself.

Han dynasty iconography. By Han times, thinkers and artists began to create their own visual interpretations of important figures. Extant sculpted stone bas-reliefs on shrines, tombs, and steles from the Han and early medieval periods (to 618 CE) depict narrative representations of daily life, historic figures, mythic beings, and prognosticatory omens. These reliefs were didactic in nature and, when located in tombs or shrines, were the backdrop for the mortuary rites convened there.

Confucius appears frequently in these early depictions, never alone and sometimes accompanied by a retinue of disciples and even by half-human, half-animal hybrid creatures. He is yet far from being depicted as the premier sage of the *Analects*—or even as the "uncrowned king" that contemporary philosophical texts claim him to be—but is more commonly shown to be a pedant instructed by recluses, farmers, or even children. He frequently appears in conversation with the legendary Laozi and the child prodigy Xiang Tuo. The assemblage of these three figures constitutes an admixture of mythic accounts from several textual sources, some of which are not "Confucian." In this grouping, Confucius is understood to be a middle-aged man who is the pupil of both the older master ("Lao" means simply "old" or "elderly") and the precocious child. Tales of Confucius's apocryphal conversations with Xiang Tuo appear in Dunhuang literature (a trove of documents dating to Tang times discovered in the Dunhuang caves of Central Asia), and both texts and illustrations of the encounter are still commonly included in yearly almanacs distributed among Chinese populations worldwide.

Other bas-reliefs from Han and early medieval times depict culture heroes and heroines from antiquity: the model rulers Yao, Shun, and Yu; exemplars of filial piety; paragons of female courage; and men of remarkable character. The medium does not allow for "realistic" renderings, and the figures are highly stylized and sometimes only identifiable by virtue of their insignia or textual cartouches. Didactic representations, such as those of the Wu clan shrines in Shandong, depict their subjects in the very act of performing virtuous deeds: a wife allows herself to be murdered in order to save her husband and father; the culture hero Yu digs the waterways that preserved the world from floods; a mother rescues a nephew at the expense of her own child.

Early medieval images. These Han images are murals in shrines, but during the Tang dynasty (618–907), spirits of all kinds also were represented at their "spirit places" (*shenwei*) on temple altars by spirit tablets (*zhu*), which were vertical planks that recorded the name and title of the divinities they represented. Written records indicate that by this time period, Confucius and other famous literati also were represented by two- or three-dimensional anthropomorphic images on altars where they were given state-sponsored food offerings. Debates ensued over how certain figures should be represented; being depicted sitting rather than standing was considered a mark of honor. These arguments paralleled debates over which textual or spiritual traditions should be granted greater authority: personal disciples of Confucius, or later scholars who transmitted the learning of a particular classic. Because few Tang images exist, their actual appearance is unknown.

One of the most widely known depictions of Confucius is traditionally attributed to the famous Tang painter Wu Daozi (fl. 710–760), although the image's authenticity is questionable. This rendering depicts Confucius as a solitary standing figure, hands held at his chest. A long beard attests to his age and seniority; he is no longer a pupil who bows politely to seek wisdom from others, but is an autonomous, iconic figure presented visually as a model of authoritative gravitas. It is this Confucius who is the subject of modern sculptures in Chinatowns throughout the world.

In other Tang and Song renderings, Confucius is no longer accompanied by his "teacher," Xiang Tuo, who has instead been replaced by Confucius's favorite disciple, Yan Hui. In contrast to the child prodigy, Yan Hui was noted for his humility. Elsewhere, Confucius is found in poses similar to those of the Buddhist layman Vimalakīrti: he sits on a raised platform and holds a fan. However, instead of an entourage of monks and *bodhisattvas,* he is accompanied by his disciples. These images exist as narrative scrolls on paper and silk, and also as stone carvings displayed in temples.

POLITICAL AND SOCIETAL ACCEPTANCE. Some Song scholars began to express discomfort with anthropomorphic renderings of both historic figures and spirits of natural phenomena, particularly when they were used in ritual contexts.

Images in the Song dynasty. The brothers Cheng Hao (1032–1085) and Cheng Yi (1033–1107) questioned the use of ancestral portraits, especially those wanting in verisimilitude. In addition, Chen Chun (1159–1223) ridiculed the practice of depicting the spirit of sacred Mount Tai as a human king. Taking anthropomorphizing to its logical conclusion, Chen wondered where such a geographically isolated mountain range was likely to find a queen. Distaste for perceived Buddhist influences on Chinese practices, and for the charlatanry that passed for Buddhism, was not far below the surface. Zhu Xi (1130–1200) was troubled that images of Confucius were depicted in ahistorical Buddhist poses, and Cheng Hao ordered the decapitation of a Buddhist statue that gained notoriety by purportedly emitting rays of light.

Elsewhere, artists of the Song dynasty found their subjects in classical texts. Such famous artists as Li Gonglin (c. 1041–1106) created illustrations for the *Book of Filial Piety,* and others illustrated the *Women's Book of Filial Piety.* These works were created in the hand scroll format: a long scroll of paper or silk about one foot in height and several yards in length was illustrated alternately with text passages and accompanying illustrations. Intended for the moral edification and aesthetic appreciation of the viewer, the scroll would be unfurled slowly and the images viewed one at a time, perhaps with the help of an instructor. The twelfth-century painter Ma Hezhi and his calligraphic collaborator, Song emperor Gaozong (1107–1187; r. 1127–1162) chose as their subject the verses of the ancient *Book of Odes.* The cryptic verses and liturgical hymns of the *Odes* were believed to embody the epitome of human sensibility, and were thus a fitting subject for the ruler himself.

For millennia, vessels of bronze and objects of jade have been the vehicles for presenting food offerings and displaying pious sentiments to spiritual beings, and even illustrations of those objects bear iconic status. Several compilations of woodblock illustrations, depicting ritual objects, were created during the Song dynasty. Thereafter, this genre remained popular for centuries. Some of these texts were created for an audience of connoisseurs and antiquarians. However, others were intended as handbooks for those who officiated at rites or were used as visual inventories of sacred objects appreciated for their own sake. The display, arrangement, directionality, and number of particular objects used in ritual performances was of great concern, and Ming (1368–1644 CE) and Qing (1644–1911 CE) dynastic records provide line illustrations that document the placement of each goblet and saucer for spiritual beings of all ranks.

Images in later imperial times. In the Ming, scholars began to question more fundamentally the use of anthropomorphic images in sacrificial offerings. To some thinkers, human-shaped images of clay or paint created by mere artisans blasphemed the subtle formlessness of spirits. Images that did not look like their prototypes were considered invalid. Images of Confucius, for example, could not possibly look like Confucius, for none of them even looked like one another. Others presented xenophobic arguments against Buddhist customs imported from India and against Mongolian Buddhist tendencies (China had been ruled by Mongol people in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries) toward iconophilia. By the 1530s, sentiment against anthropomorphic images in temples to Confucius and other literati was so strong that they were ordered eliminated by imperial decree. Sculpted images of clay were replaced by wooden tablets that bore only the names and titles of the deceased. In officially sponsored temples, images remain largely absent from temple altars to this day, although during the late Ming dynasty the ban was occasionally circumvented by hiding images inside temple walls.

Paradoxically, even as sculpted images were being cleansed from the altars of officially sponsored temples, other kinds of images flourished. The expansion of the publishing industry resulted in an unprecedented variety of woodblock illustrations. Many illustrated collections that depicted important events (largely apocryphal) in the life of Confucius were printed, as were illustrated books of filial piety and ritual paraphernalia. Another popular genre was collected volumes of portraits of famous people: historical figures, rulers and ministers, sages and worthies, local heroes, filial children, and exemplars of women's virtues.

In late imperial times Confucius also was popularly depicted in "Three Teachings" images that illustrated how the Confucian, Daoist, and Buddhist traditions (represented by Confucius, Laozi, and Śākyamuni Buddha, respectively) were deeply interrelated. Not everyone believed that Buddhism was a heterodox religion that profaned the teachings of the sages of ancient China. To make the philosophical point that the three traditions were different manifestations of a common substratum, the three figures are sometimes shown schematically as intertwining shapes that form one body, or *ti* (a term that can be applied to a human body as well as a canonical corpus). Other depictions recall the Han representation of Confucius, Laozi, and the child Xiang Tuo. However, in the late imperial images Xiang Tuo is replaced by an infant named Śākyamuni, who is held in Laozi's arms.

During the Qing dynasty, images of Confucius were largely proscribed from official temples and shrines to Confucian sages and worthies, but they were not eliminated at the Kong (the Chinese family name of Confucius) ancestral temples in Qufu in Shandong province, which also maintained a collection of family portraits of "the Sage's" descendants. During the early twentieth century, there was a revival of interest in visual depictions of Confucius. At this time, Confucian associations from around the world returned to Qufu to locate "real" images of Confucius that could be duplicated and distributed in large quantities to promote the values of the *Analects.* The search for verisimilitude was partially fueled by the development of photography.

Twentieth-century trends. During the first half of the twentieth century, political regimes employed images of Confucius or of the Kong family temples to promote their own agendas. In China, the facade of a temple also is understood as a *mian,* or face. Several governments featured Confucius's visage, or that of his temple at Qufu, on their currency. By doing so, they attempted to fortify their own cultural legitimacy and establish a cultural symbol that was palatable to the hundreds of diverse cultural and ethnic groups within China. Even the Japanese puppet government of Manchuria adopted Confucius on its currency, thus claiming sovereignty over the cultural homeland of Shandong.

With the establishment of the avowedly iconoclastic People's Republic of China in 1949, however, religious and cultural symbols of all kinds (other than those promoted by the Communist Party) were erased in the name of revolution. Even though thinkers such as Kuang Yaming tried to depict Confucius as a "man of the people," "Confucianism" became synonymous with cultural stagnation and economic backwardness. In the civil strife of the Cultural Revolution, the Confucian images at Qufu were disemboweled and paraded around the town in dunce caps, much as if they were living entities. Communist propaganda distributed to adults and children depicted Confucius as a hideous, deceitful, and decrepit old man who was deservedly punished for his reactionary ways by muscular young peasants and laborers.

CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENTS. By the end of the twentieth century, revolutionary zeal was supplanted by financial ambition as China became a larger force in the world economy. As China reshaped its image of itself as a nation among equals, it rehabilitated its own culture heroes. Municipal governments and schools refashioned their own civic monuments and replaced statues of Mao with public sculptures of famous world figures from the sciences, the arts, and philosophy. In addition to Newton, Copernicus, Einstein, and Beethoven, these included representations of Confucius. In cinema, the mythic life of Confucius has been featured in several lengthy television series and feature films, where he is often depicted as a virtuous man who successfully withstands adversity.

Confucian temples in Taiwan continue to preserve the Ming tradition of using tablets instead of images, and their walls are dominated by textual and calligraphic icons, when decorated by anything at all. Blood-red tablets mark the names of hundreds of famous literati and invoke their bodies of written work. Inside shrines, altars stand before oversized calligraphed renditions of the *Great Learning,* clearly marking the text as an object of reverence.

In Beijing, which has been an imperial capital since the fifteenth century, the presence of numinous powers also is marked by simple tablets, as well as extensive architectural structures and sacred spaces. The late-imperial Temple of Heaven complex at the southern end of the north-south axis of the city marks the sacrality of the earth with a large open-air circular altar; of heaven, with a smaller, closed structure roofed in blue tiles. The larger Hall of Yearly Harvests architecturally represents the intersection of time and space: the numerical arrangement of columns and shrines marks the four seasons, twelve months, and calendrical days of the year. This complex is oriented with additional temples to the sun and moon in other quadrants of the city's cosmography, making all of Beijing a sacred space shared by humans and spiritual powers.

SEE ALSO Chinese Religion, overview article; Confucianism in Japan; Confucianism in Korea; Confucianism, overview article; Confucius; Temple, article on Confucian Temple Compounds.

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ICONOGRAPHY: JEWISH ICONOGRAPHY [FIRST EDITION]

Jewish iconography, whether actually represented in works of art or existing only as traditional imagery (and occasionally referred to in literature), was determined from the first by the biblical "prohibition of images." This prohibition, transmitted in the Bible in several versions, could be understood (1) as forbidding, in a religious context, all images, regardless of their subject matter (*Ex.* 20:4, *Dt.* 4:15–18), or (2) specifically forbidding the depiction of God and the ritual use of such a depiction as an idol (*Dt.* 27:15). While the first interpretation of the prohibition did not prevail (the Bible itself provides evidence of this in *1 Kgs.* 6:23–29, *Ez.* 8:5–12), the other was consistently implemented. Possibly the most striking feature of Jewish iconography throughout the ages is the systematic avoidance of any depiction of the figure of God. To a large extent this is also true for saintly personages: though hagiographical literature emerged in Judaism, it was not accompanied by any visual imagery of saints. From the beginning, then, Jewish religious iconography developed in marked contrast to the traditions predominant in the Christian West. Since the loss of political independence in 71 CE, Jewish imagery could not be formed within the framework of a state art and did not enjoy any official support for its symbols. As the art and imagery of a religious minority, however, it flourished in the Diaspora throughout the ages. The iconography that emerged within these limitations developed mainly in a few periods and thematic cycles.

HELLENISM. The meeting between Judaism and the Greek world—a process that lasted from early Hellenism to late antiquity (roughly, second century BCE to fifth century CE)—resulted in a body of religious images. While the Mishnah and Talmud were being compiled (roughly second to sixth centuries CE) Jewish communities produced a large number of representations, which have been uncovered in Jewish remains (mainly synagogues and burial places) from Tunisia to Italy and eastward to the Euphrates; sites in Israel are particularly rich. Occasionally this imagery includes human figures, either in biblical scenes or in pagan myths (frequently the image of Helios, the Greek sun god).

More often, however, these survivals show objects with definite ritual connotations. Most prominent are the seven-branched *menorah* (candelabrum), Aron ha-Qodesh (the Ark of the Covenant), *lulav* and *etrog* (palm branch and citron), and shofar (ceremonial animal horn). These objects (which reflect the crystallization of Jewish ritual) have no strict hierarchy, but the *menorah*, and the Ark of the Covenant, representing the law itself, are more important than the others. When both are shown together, they always occupy the central place. Besides such explicitly ritual objects, Jewish remains abound in artistic motifs, taken over from Hellenistic art, whose symbolic character is obscure. A good example is the vine, most likely derived from contemporary Dionysian imagery and often found in Jewish cemeteries. But whether in Jewish communities it carried the meaning of salvation that it had in the pagan world is a matter of dispute. Some modern scholars tend to see these motifs as "decoration" devoid of articulate symbolic meanings; others, especially Goodenough, attribute established symbolic meanings to them.

MIDDLE AGES. In the European Middle Ages, especially between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, Jewish religious imagery developed further. The illumination of manuscripts is the central aesthetic medium of the period; of particular significance are the manuscripts produced in Spain, Italy, and Germany. All these manuscripts are of a ritual nature, the most important groups being the Haggadah for Passover and prayer books for the holidays, the *maḥzor.* The illuminations (and later, printed illustrations) represent many ritual utensils, but they also include, more often than in Jewish art of other periods and media, human figures, especially in biblical scenes. The iconographic repertoire is enlarged by mythical motifs, attesting to messianic beliefs. Among these motifs are the legendary beasts (such as the *shor ha-bar*, a kind of wild ox), on which the just will feast on the day of redemption; these are particularly prominent in manuscripts produced in Germany. The future Temple that, according to common belief, is to be built after the redemption, is another frequent mythical motif, especially in Spanish and German manuscripts; it is sometimes patterned after contemporary Christian models. Both the temple building and the ritual utensils (the latter sometimes rendered on the opening folios of Bible manuscripts produced in Spain) may be taken as expressions of "the ardent hope and belief" to see the "restored Temple in the messianic future." In countries under Islamic rule, Jewish art readily adapted the aniconic attitude and the repertoire of decorative motifs common among the Muslims, although in literature, visual imagery continued to thrive in the form of metaphors and descriptions.

QABBALISTIC SYMBOLISM. The qabbalistic tradition is a special field of iconographic creation. Qabbalistic literature abounds in visual metaphors, since the authors often tend to express (or to hide) their thoughts and mysteries in visual images and descriptions of supposed optical experiences. Since the beginnings of Jewish mysticism in late antiquity, a continuous tradition of visual symbols has persisted. Considerably enriched in the Middle Ages, and in the seventeenth century, this tradition remained unbroken up to, and including, Hasidic literature. The central image of qabbalistic symbolism is the Tree of Sefirot. The godhead is imagined as structured in ten spheres, each of them representing a "divine quality" (Heb., *sefirah*). The shape and place of the spheres, and the spatial relationships between them, are firmly established in the qabbalistic imagination. The overall pattern vaguely resembles a tree (hence the name), but the basic character of the image is abstract rather than figurative. Though the Tree of Sefirot has frequently been depicted (mainly in simple form, primarily in popular printed editions) and has exerted some influence on contemporary Jewish painters, the image is not primarily an artistic one; rather, it is still widely known from the literary sources.

Qabbalistic literature produced other visual symbols, among them the images of broken vessels, scattered sparks, Adam Qadmon (primordial man) as a figure of God, and so forth. Scholem has also shown that an elaborate color symbolism emerged in the qabbalistic literature. In modern civil societies, Jewish iconography is still in the process of formation and has not yet been properly studied.

SEE ALSO Biblical Temple; Qabbalah; Synagogue.

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MOSHE BARASCH (1987)

ICONOGRAPHY: JEWISH ICONOGRAPHY [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

In his 1987 *Encyclopedia of Religion* article, Israeli art historian Moshe Barasch surveyed some of the important issues and artistic genres in the history of Jewish art as they were understood by historians of Jewish art of his generation. Within that community, scholars were often reacting against a deep prejudice against Jewish art—and even the possibility of Jewish art—that was deeply ingrained in the Western discourses on art and on the relation of art and Judaism. This reaction against prevalent notions that Judaism was aniconic (without symbols or icons), iconophobic, or otherwise antithetical to art resulted in the discovery, publication, and exhibition of artifacts of Jewish art and archaeology.

APOLOGETICS AND EARLY RESEARCH. With few exceptions, late nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholarship did not face the prevailing prejudice against Jewish artistic production head on. Rather, it was refuted indirectly through discovery, scholarly publication, and the public exhibition of Jewish art (often in museums established by Jewish communities for the purpose). Early scholarship was carried out mainly by non-Jewish scholars, generally with Jewish financial backing. This was thought to afford this research with greater veracity. Notable among scholarly writings of this early period was art historian J. von Schlosser's pathbreaking work on Hebrew manuscripts, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo: Eine spanisch-judische Bilderhandschrift des Mittelalters* (1898), with Jewish scholar D. H. Müller and a contribution by David Kaufmann; classicists Heinrich Kohl and Carl Watzinger's *Antike Synagogen in Galilaea* (1916); and Heinrich Frauberger's revolutionary work on Jewish ceremonial art, *Üeber Alte Kuntusgegenstände in Synagoge und Haus* (1903).

Since World War I the majority of scholarship has been carried out by Jews, usually within the contexts of Judaic studies. The prominent exceptions all focused on the Greco-Roman period: Carl Kraeling's exceptional final report of the Dura Europos synagogue, Kurt Weitzmann's interest in this material for the study of early Christian art, and Erwin R. Goodenough's provocative *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* (1953–1967). Zionist and Israeli scholarship has been particularly prominent as Jewish art scholarship was formulated in nationalist terms. E. L. Sukenik's studies of Jewish archaeology—particularly his discovery of ancient synagogues and Second Temple (536 BCE–70 CE) period tombs—and Mordecai Narkiss's studies of ceremonial art and his project of building the Bezalel National Museum (now part of the Israel Museum in Jerusalem) are notable, particularly Narkiss's *The Hanukkah Lamp* (1939, in Hebrew). His son Bezalel Narkiss's work during the second half of the century focused on medieval manuscripts and the assembly of an *Index of Jewish Art* to serve as an adjunct to the Princeton Index of Christian Art, which is the main project of his Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Narkiss founded *The Journal of Jewish Art* (now *Jewish Art*) in 1974 as an annual, although for the last decade it has appeared less frequently. At midcentury important contributions were made, particularly by expatriate Germanophones in America and Israel—most prominently by Rachel Wischnitzer, Franz Landsberger, Michael Avi-Yonah, and Stephen S. Kayser. More recently, Isaiah Shachar, Joseph Gutmann, Rachel Hachlili, Abraham Kampf, Carole Krinsky, Shalom Sabar, Vivian Mann and others have made Jewish art from antiquity to the modern period widely available and known. Much of this scholarship has focused on primary publication of artifacts (and in Mann's case, also primary texts) and building the corpus of Jewish art. The varied audiences for whom scholars wrote are significant. Some focused on academic Jewish studies contexts (e.g., M. Narkiss, Wischnitzer, Kayser, Kraeling, Shachar, Gutmann, Sabar, and Mann), others located their work within general art history and archaeology (e.g., Avi-Yonah, Kraeling, Weitzmann, B. Narkiss, Gutmann, Krinsky, and Hachlili), and still others sought to integrate it within the history of religions approach (e.g., Goodenough).

More recently social historians with less of an object-focus have developed interests in Jewish art. Most prominent among these are Richard I. Cohen and Ezra Mendelsohn. Explicit reflection on the study of Jewish art has been rare. Perhaps the most interesting conceptualization developed during the first half of the twentieth century was presented by German/Israeli art historian Heinrich Strauss, who, against the tide, referred to Jewish art as a "minority art." Most reflection tended to be apologetic, as in Cecil Roth's introduction to his seminal widely influential edited volume, *Jewish Art,* first published in 1956 and still in print in Hebrew. Roth's anthology, which begins with the Biblical period and concludes with then-contemporary art and architecture, was intended to serve as an introduction to Jewish art through the ages. He begins this monumental project with the apology that "the conception of Jewish art may appear to some to be a contradiction in terms: for there is a widespread impression that in the past visual art was made impossible among the Jews by the uncompromising prohibition in the Ten Commandments. . ." (Roth, 1961, p. 11).

As late as 1988 archaeologist Rachel Hachlili introduced her important study, *Ancient Jewish Art and Archaeology in the Land of Israel* with the confession: "For some time now I have felt the need for a comprehensive study, which would support my thesis for the existence of an ancient Jewish art." (Hachlili, 1988, p. xxi). For most of the twentieth century the backdrop for Jewish study of this material was often the need to prove and legitimize its very existence. This project has been intertwined with the opening and expansion of Jewish museums (of which there are now around fifty in the United States alone), the Center for Jewish Art, excavation of archaeological sites, the publication of popular books, and the use of Jewish art as a source of symbols by the State of Israel. Ideology has generally not impinged on the quality of scholarship. During the closing decades of the century the apologetic impulse was in steep decline both in the public sphere and in scholarship.

Beginning during the mid-1990s and continuing into the twenty-first century, a major reevaluation of the place of Jewish art in Western culture has been undertaken by Annabelle Wharton, Catherine Soussloff, Kalman Bland, Margaret Olin, Yaakov Shavit, Avner Holtzman and other scholars. This reassessment is very much in motion, although it has already begun to receive some critical response. Writing in the postmodern mode, each of these scholars has focused on the historiography of Jewish art, setting scholarship of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries within the general discourses on art and Judaism during this period. This scholarship follows a general trend in history writing during this period, in which reevaluation of humanities scholarship across the spectrum has been a major preoccupation.

The contemporary art world's ambivalent attitude toward Judaism was addressed in Norman Kleebatt's *Too Jewish: Challenging Traditional Identities,* a major traveling exhibition of contemporary art with Jewish themes organized by the Jewish Museum in New York in 1996. Annabelle Wharton (1994) was the first to address these issues in an American academic context, focusing on the colonialist ways that the Dura Europos synagogue has been studied since its discovery in 1932 and the ways that these approaches have colored interpretation. The academic watershed, however, was Catherine Soussloff's edited volume, *Jewish Identity in Modern Art History,* published in 1999. The assembled studies, composed by historians and art historians (although significantly, no specialists in Jewish art) suggest the absolute ambivalence (if not contempt) that art historical scholarship, often carried out by Jews, has shown toward Judaism and Jewish art. The importance of this volume is in the fact that it brought together scholars working in diverse areas of art history to shine a focusing lens on the issue of art historical constructs of Jewish visual culture. This early statement of the problem was the harbinger of the first monographs to approach Western conceptions of Jewish art.

Kalman Bland, a contributor to Soussloff's volume and a colleague of Wharton's at Duke University produced the first monograph on Jews and art. Bland discussed the nineteenth century philosophical roots of this phenomenon in his *The Artless Jew: Medieval and Modern Affirmations and Denials of the Visual* (2000). Still schematic in its approach, Bland succeeds in tracing the denial of Jewish visuality to the thought of Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), who praised Jews for being aniconic like German Protestants, and G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831), who damned them for the same supposed aniconicism. Bland also began to show ways that Jews of different allegiances responded to these approaches. In general, classical Reform Jews, who denied Jewish peoplehood also denied the existence of Jewish art, a national art being impossible for a nonpeople. This conception brought Judaism close to Protestant ideals. The stakes in Jewish aniconism were large for Protestants, who believed that the earliest Christians were aniconic—like the ancient Jews, their religion corrupted by pagan influences, resulted in Christian art, and the "idolatry" of the Catholic church. Jews committed to Jewish peoplehood (both Zionist and non-Zionists), however, reacted strongly to the notion that Judaism was artless and set out to prove this paradigm wrong. These Jews found support in Catholic praise of ancient Jewish art, which Catholic scholars saw as the predecessor to their own artistic tradition. It is not surprising that the earliest Jewish art scholarship was centered in Catholic Budapest, where Kaufmann and his students worked within a generally supportive intellectual environment—and not in Protestant lands.

Margaret Olin, a contributor to both Kleebatt's and Souseloff's volumes, published *The Nation Without Art: Examining Modern Discourses on Jewish Art* in 2002. This monograph presents case studies in the historiography of art history regarding Jews. Olin's discussions of nineteenth and twentieth century conceptions in the German academy and

Jewish responses to this artlessness are particularly relevant. Olin's main focus is the notion that each nation has a unique and distinctive national art (with its own style and iconography), and the problems created by such classifications. For Judaism in particular, notions of Jewish peoplehood and nationality were basic to the construction of Jewish identity during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and hence the existence or nonexistence of Jewish art was an important statement of Jewish self-understanding and the ways that Jews were viewed by the majority Western cultures. Olin focuses on Zionist responses to Jewish artlessness, David Kaufmann's early scholarship on Jewish art, and art historical approaches to the Dura Europos synagogue, as well as attitudes toward more contemporary art by Jews. Her study of Dura is particularly insightful, exposing a deeply anti-Semitic strain in European scholarship (associated with proto-Nazi scholar Josef Strzygowski, who placed the origins of Christian art firmly in the East, in a Jewish context) and ways that it influenced scholarship on Jewish art at midcentury (particularly by the philo-Semitic German expatriate art historian, Kurt Weitzmann). Her discussions of more contemporary manifestations, as expressed in studies of Clement Greenberg, George Segal, and others point to the continuation of this phenomenon through the second half of the century.

Parallel to the development of this corpus, Yaakov Shavit (1992; 1997) followed by Avner Holtzman (1999) has focused on ways that Zionists conceptualized art against the background of Eastern European Jewish ambivalence toward non-Jewish art forms and the place of art in Jewish-Palestinian culture of the pre-State era before 1948.

SECOND WAVE. The second wave of studies dealing with these issues is being written by historians who are applying the insights of previous studies directly to the study of ancient art and religion. In a series of articles influenced by Olin and others, British classicist and art historian Jaś Elsner has moved from a rather negative position vis-à-vis Jewish art and its relation with Christian art during late antiquity to a position that subsumes Jewish, Christian, and pagan art together under a broader category of Late Antique art. According to Elsner's new approach, Jewish art is not merely a backdrop to Christian art but an equal. Steven Fine's *Art and Judaism During the Greco-Roman Period* (2005) discusses ways that the "artless Jew" trope affected historiography of ancient Judaism, particularly the work of E. R. Goodenough, M. Smith, and Smith's students (among them Jacob Neusner, S. J. D. Cohen, and Lee Levine). The assumption that Jews are artless was transformed by Goodenough into the notion that whereas Jews created art, the Talmudic rabbis were anti-art. Extant Jewish art was therefore often conceived as nonrabbinic. Reevaluating ancient Jewish attitudes toward art as reflected in both literary and archeological sources, Fine demonstrates coalescence between Jewish and general Greco-Roman art except in areas in which Jewish values (which were scripture-based, but open to varying interpretations and circumstances) were at variance with general attitudes.

Recent developments in the historiography of Jewish art have changed the conceptual frame within which this discipline functions. By exposing the often anti-Semitic (and sometimes anti-rabbinic) roots of many of these conceptions, scholars of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century have created a level playing field in which the study of Jewish material culture may be pursued without engaging in the types of implicit and overt apologetics that were so often necessitated during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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STEVEN FINE (2005)

ICONOGRAPHY: CHRISTIAN ICONOGRAPHY

For the greater part of Christian history, the church's images have been drawn from its liturgical texts, scriptures, and pedagogy, and they have been rendered in the styles of the particular age and place the images served. In modern times, the sources for Christian iconography have expanded to include psychological, sociopolitical, and nontraditional elements.

The most distinctive characteristic of Christian iconography is its preoccupation with the person and role of Jesus Christ (and his followers). The image of Christ as earthly founder and heavenly savior is central to the religion, especially insofar as the church defines itself as the body of Christ on earth. Thus the changing repertoire of images of Jesus and his followers reveals the nature of the religion in its many cultural and historical manifestations.

EARLY CHRISTIANITY. Early Christian art surviving from the first half of the third century reflects the diversity of the Greco-Roman context from which it emerged. The earliest iconographic figures, borrowed directly from late antique conventions, were placed in new compositional and environmental settings on jewelry and other minor arts. For example, the common pose of the shepherd Endymion, a reclining male nude resting on one elbow with ankles crossed, was the type borrowed by artists to depict the Old Testament figure of Jonah resting under an arbor. For Christians, Jonah represented an image of resurrection and, as such, was used in funerary paintings and low-relief carvings on sarcophagi. Old Testament figures used in early Christian iconography appeared almost exclusively as typologies of Christ and his followers.

The earliest images of Christ were concerned with his person and role on earth and were borrowed from classical types of teaching figures, miracle workers, and heroes. Conventions for depicting divine attributes were missing, and there was no attempt at historical accuracy. Jesus did not look like an early-first-century Jewish man from Palestine, but like a Roman teacher-philosopher or like an Apollo-type mythic hero such as the Christos-Helios mosaic figure in the necropolis of Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome. Frustration with the limitations of these typologies seems to have led to symbolic representations, such as the ubiquitous Christ as Good Shepherd and the emblematic cross and wreath symbolizing the Trophy of Victory on sarcophagi. The Good Shepherd image was adapted from pagan culture, while the Trophy was the earliest representation of the Christian cross.

IMPERIAL CHRISTIANITY. Following the adoption of Christianity as a state religion by the Roman emperor Constantine in the early fourth century, the figure of Christ as the imperial reigning Lord emerged. Jesus enthroned as the leader of the church, or in the heavens as an imperial judge, reflected the power the church had gained in that era. Within a hierarchically structured society, Jesus was depicted as a reigning philosopher-emperor who dispensed grace and judgment above all earthly power (see, for instance, the enthroned Christ in the apse mosaic of Santa Pudenziana in Rome).

Theological teachings and conciliar rulings are reflected in the Christian iconography that followed. From the fourth through the sixth century the figure of Jesus, elevated to a ruler over all, came to represent the power of the church over state and society. Christ seated in majesty above the heavens in the apse mosaic of the mausoleum of Santa Constanza in Rome (c. 350) or in the apse mosaic of the Church of San Vitale in Ravenna, Italy (c. 550), reflects Christological formulations. Mary appears as an enthroned queen in the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, after the Council of Ephesus in 431, which declared her *theotokos,* Mother of God. Two types of Christ figures occupy the twenty-six mosaic panels of the Christ cycle in San Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (c. 520). The figure in the scenes of Christ's ministry and miracles is an Apollo type—young, beardless, and dressed in royal purple—while the figure in the scenes of Christ's last days on earth is a philosopher type—older, bearded, also dressed in purple. These two figure types reflect Pope Leo the Great's late-fifth-century theological treatise on the two natures of Christ.

Explicit representation of the crucifixion of Jesus is conspicuously absent from early Christian iconography prior to the fifth century. The visual representation of Jesus' crucifixion and resurrection was reserved to be seen only for those who have been baptized. By the early fifth century, on rare occasions, crucifixion scenes appeared on liturgical objects and other church furnishings, such as the wooden doors of the Church of Santa Sabina in Rome. Nonetheless, the crucifixion is missing as an episode in the Christ cycle of the nave mosaics in the early-sixth-century Church of San Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna. Once the crucifixion came to be widely depicted, the preferred type in both East and West through the ninth century was a robed, open-eyed, victorious Christ hanging on the cross, such as the ones in the illuminations of the Rabula Gospels from Mesopotamia (dated 586) or on the wall decorations of the Church of Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome.

From early Christian times to the ninth century, themes of rescue, delivery, and victory were dominant. Figures introduced as graced believers eventually became regal symbols of transcending powers. Mary, for instance, in third-century Roman fresco painting, was a Roman citizen; in the fourth century she acquired the dress of an aristocratic lady, and in the fifth, she was the queen of heaven. By the ninth century she was a reigning personification of the church.

BYZANTINE ART. Within the art of the Eastern Orthodox Church, the image (as icon) relates to the liturgy in a manner distinguished from that of its Western counterparts. An icon can appear in a variety of media: painting, mosaic, sculpture, or illuminated manuscript. Its subject matter includes biblical figures, lives of the saints, and scenes and narrative cycles that relate specifically to the liturgical calendar. To the present day, Byzantine tradition relies heavily on iconography in its worship. On the iconostasis—the screen extending across the front of the worship space in the Byzantine tradition—icons of Christ, Mary, and the saints appear as physical representations of the real spiritual presence of these figures for the worshipers, thereby creating the most integral and dynamic use of iconography in worship among all Christian traditions.

Over the centuries, rules for iconographers in the East were formalized, and copy books determined the style and subject matter of iconography. Paintings of the crucifixion in the Byzantine tradition, for example, often include the figures of Mary and Saint John at the foot of the cross in attitudes of grief, and the corpus traditionally hangs in a limp curve against the rigidity of the cross. This form then became popular in the West, especially in medieval Italy, and influenced painters such as Cimabue (d. 1302?).

Icons of the Madonna as the Blessed Virgin, Mother of God, emphasizing her role as mediator and eternal spirit of consolation and blessing, are numerous in Eastern iconography, but the single most imposing and austere composition in Byzantine iconography is the Pantocrator icon of Christ. The frontal presentation of this image emphasizes the presence of Christ as coeternal and coexistent with God the Father. Theologically, the Pantocrator gave visible form to the church's teachings on the consubstantiation of Father and Son, just as the Transfiguration icon visualized its teachings on the incarnation of God in Christ. The religious and social power of icons in society is reflected in the Iconoclastic Controversy of the eighth and ninth centuries, which produced a body of writings on the theology of iconography never again matched in Christian history.

MIDDLE AGES. While saints, heroes, and narrative episodes from scripture dominated medieval iconography, rich patterns of decoration and reference to everyday contemporary life worked their way into the art of the church in the West. Sculptural programs on church buildings and marginalia in illuminated manuscripts introduced genre scenes such as the symbols for the labors of the months and images for the seven liberal arts.

Christian iconography produced in the eighth and ninth centuries became regionally acculturated as its Roman origins disappeared in the face of indigenous expression. Elaborate decorated surfaces enclosed Christian symbols and figures, where, in the service of beautiful patterns, iconography became abstract and emblematic, especially on painted vellum in books.

During the ninth and tenth centuries a shift in emphasis from Christ the victor to Christ the victim took place in the thinking of the church; accordingly, images of the crucifixion with the victorious reigning Lord on the cross were replaced by those of the suffering human victim. The Gero Crucifix in the Cathedral of Cologne, Germany (c. 960), is one of the earliest representations of Christ as a suffering, dying figure. Under the influence of Anselm (d. 1109) the emphasis on the purpose of Christ's sacrifice shifted from the act necessary to defeat the devil to the act necessary to satisfy God on behalf of the world. Christian iconography of the crucifixion reflected that shift. Simultaneously, the role of Christ as a stern and eternal judge was emphasized in sculptural programs on the exterior of monastic churches such as those at Moissac and Autun in France. Images of Mary as mediator, together with the lives of the saints as models of virtue and fidelity, presented an array of images for instruction and contemplation.

By the twelfth century the decorative, narrative, and didactic role of the arts gave way to an explicitly sacramental function, one in which the imagery appeared in a context believed to be a model of the kingdom of heaven, the church building. Iconography in the church was believed capable of building a bridge that reached from the mundane world to the threshold of the divine spirit. Described in twelfth-century Christian literature as anagogical art, iconography served as an extension of the meaning of the Mass. Visual images led believers from the material to the immaterial (see Suger, 1979). In a Gothic cathedral the sculptural programs (statue columns, tympana, archivolts, capitals, screens) and painted glass included figural compositions that narrated scripture, historical events, literature, and daily life, and all were considered to have an anagogical function.

In the Gothic era a proliferation of Old Testament imagery reflected renewed theological and political interests in manifestations of God working within and through royal hierarchies. During this period the suffering Christ of the Romanesque style became a more benign savior. More types of Christ figures appear in the sculptural program and stained glass of Chartres Cathedral from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries than in the most elaborate Romanesque iconographic schemes. The quantity of figures was more important to the Gothic planners than to any of their predecessors, owing to the twelfth-century belief in the anagogical function of art.

In the late Gothic period (approximately the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) across northern Europe, the iconography of Christianity was populated with aesthetically appealing, elegant figures and decorative surfaces known in modern scholarship as the International Style. Attitudes, dress, and colors emphasized soft, flowing lines, gentle expressions, and rich textures.

RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION. Christian iconography of the Renaissance in Italy acquired classically human characteristics as interest in Greco-Roman literature and art was revived. Jesus and his followers appeared in a human guise heretofore unknown. Scenes of biblical episodes and historically religious significance were given the illusion of three-dimensional settings that emphasized their reality in the natural world. Fifteenth-century Renaissance art reflected renewed interest in pagan mythology and Christian subject matter alike; therefore, pagan iconography competed with traditional Christian iconography. Proportion, perspective, and human experience were new ingredients in the iconography of the Renaissance. For example, between 1495 and 1498 Leonardo da Vinci completed the *Last Supper* on the wall of the refectory of Santa Maria della Grazie in Milan, Italy. Leonardo's painting of the figures within a perspectival view of a room centered on Christ renders the moment as one of self-conscious and anxious questioning among the twelve apostles. This painting has become the most popular and most often reproduced object of Christian iconography.

In an age in which "man was the measure of all things," the types of human figures ranged between idealized and ethereal images, such as Raphael's *Madonna del Granduca* (1505) and the anxious and suffering figures in Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel *Last Judgment* (1536–1541). In the latter, terror lurks in the consciousness of the sinful, and the blessed rise passively to a severe and enigmatic Lord.

In northern Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, exaggerated realism in the treatment of subject matter and pre-Reformation currents of thought shaped Christian iconography. Matthias Grünewald's famous crucifixion panel in the Isenheim Altarpiece (1510–1512) presents Christ as a victim whose physical appearance betrays mutilation and disease; the panel emphasizes divine participation on behalf of human suffering.

Specifically Reformation iconography illustrated biblical teaching and liturgical practices by the reformers. Lucas Cranach the Elder, a painter and a friend of Martin Luther, presented the subject matter of one of Luther's sermons in the figure of the crucified Christ in the Wittenberg Altarpiece of 1545. Here, Christ appears classically proportioned, alive, and without signs of maltreatment. Albrecht Dürer's engravings and woodcuts, known to a wide-ranging public, in some instances reflected contemporary religious thought as well. Whereas the old *Andachtsbild* (image for contemplation) tradition in medieval Christian iconography served prayer and meditation, many of Dürer's engravings engaged the intellect and gave focus to religious thought and theological propositions.

Reacting against "papist" imagery, Reformation iconoclasts destroyed vast amounts of iconographic imagery and liturgical furnishings. For its part, the Roman Catholic Church consciously appropriated iconographic programs in their churches in order to counteract the reforming movements. The Council of Trent, held in the middle of the sixteenth century, formulated instructions on the uses of iconography on behalf of the church. If the Reformation in some areas limited or forbade the use of images in the church, the Counter-Reformation encouraged a proliferation of them, thereby stimulating the introduction and expansion of the Baroque style of art. Eventually the church's use of Baroque forms extended beyond traditional sculptural programs and painted panels to wall-surface decor, ceiling plaster, frescoes, elaboration of vestments and liturgical vessels, and extensive programmatic designs for altars and chapels. Dramatic highlighting, theatrical effects, and atmospheric illusions were used with iconographic programs to convince believers that the authentic home of spirituality and the true seat of the church's authority was in the Roman Church.

SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES. Protestant iconography in the seventeenth century emphasized individual experience, and images of Jesus stressed his humanity and participation in the human condition. Rembrandt's portraits of Jesus, for example, show a thirty-year-old Jewish man; his *Deposition from the Cross* (1634) emphasizes a Christ broken and dead. Roman Catholic iconography, by contrast, stressed the sacramental presence of a heroic Christ in programmatic sequences, such as Peter Paul Rubens's early altarpieces and Nicolas Poussin's two series of paintings entitled *The Seven Sacraments* from the 1640s.

Eventually, architects created iconographic environments in church interiors that approximated a heavenly realm, decorated with ethereal figures of saints. As the German Rococo churches attest (see, for example, the Bavarian pilgrimage churches of Balthazar Neumann at Vierzehnheiligen and Dominikus Zimmermann at Wies), the setting for the sacrament was an integration of iconography and architecture that established a place separate from the natural world.

THE NEW WORLD. While the excesses of Rococo iconographic decoration engulfed worship spaces in eighteenth-century Europe, the New World seemed austere by contrast. Late-seventeenth-century Christian iconography in North America consisted primarily of small, colorful panel paintings for the Spanish-American communities of the Southwest and of a conservative form of monochromatic portraiture on the East Coast. The art of the Southwest reflected a Spanish Roman Catholic culture with its indigenously adapted Baroque forms. By contrast, the arts introduced by the Puritans in New England were understated to the point of asceticism and iconoclasm. The elimination of imagery and decoration left a Christian iconography of simple abstract elements created by natural materials and excellent craftsmanship. Early American meetinghouse architecture symbolized a community's place of contact with itself and with God, specifically the word of God. Shaker communities, for instance, made a virtue of functional beauty and created a repertoire of objects that were revered for their clarity of form and usefulness. Cemetery art in eighteenth-century New England relied on simple abstract symbols reduced to line drawings in stone, representing angels' heads or skulls with wings.

The earliest Christian imagery in North America, as found in Western Hispanic communities and the Puritan centers in the East, drew on separate European traditions and enjoyed no cross-fertilization. In the Southwest, images of Christ's crucifixion served Roman Catholic liturgical traditions, public and private. In New England any iconography that suggested a Roman Catholic influence was considered "papist" and inappropriate. Not only were images of the crucifixion rare, but many churches refused to display the symbol of the cross in order to avoid appearing idolatrous.

By the late eighteenth century, the major trends in Christian iconography were competing with the secularization of Western culture and the impact of the Enlightenment. The American and French revolutions witnessed the destruction of institutional hierarchies and the great Christian monuments associated with them. In France, for instance, the dismantling of the medieval monastery at Cluny and the destruction of royal imagery on Gothic churches at Notre-Dame and St.-Denis in Paris demonstrated the negative power of Christian iconography that appeared to be royalist.

Nonetheless, during this period the private vision of artists dealing with Christian themes added an enigmatic dimension to religious iconography. For instance, William Blake's figures from the late eighteenth century combined traditional Christian subject matter with his own imaginative intuition. Whereas the human condition had always impinged upon and shaped the priorities of traditional Christian iconography, personal insight shaped primary subject matter in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

NINETEENTH CENTURY. Prior to the Enlightenment, the life of the Christian church, theologically and liturgically, influenced the images and forms of art directly: Christian iconography reflected the "mind" of the church. In the nineteenth century, Christian iconography served more private and artistically formal purposes. The recovery of historical styles in nineteenth-century art and architecture carried with it renewed interest in Christian iconographic themes. The English Pre-Raphaelites, for example, sought to recover the artistic values and qualities of the high Middle Ages. (See, for example, the Edward Burne-Jones mosaic decoration for Saint Paul's Within-the-Walls in Rome, begun in 1881.) Generally speaking, nineteenth-century Christian iconography was created to celebrate a popular style—whereas in the past, style had been shaped by its ecclesiastical settings and patrons.

Claims about the sublime as perceived in nature or in the depths of human consciousness created new aspects of religious iconography in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. After the Enlightenment, the canon of iconographic subject matter became open-ended. As the formal aspects of artistic production became foremost for artists who in previous centuries would have been concerned with narrative force and meaning, iconographic expression became more independent and individual. For instance, Vincent van Gogh (d. 1890), who in his early life had been a Christian missionary, created a personal iconography that eschewed, for the most part, any specifically Christian subject. Paul Gauguin's (d. 1903) paintings of Old Testament subjects, the crucifixion, or religious imagery from life in Tahiti created a recognizable but private iconography that reflected individual interests and goals. The institutional church, for the most part, disengaged itself from major artists and movements. Under these circumstances, by the late nineteenth century a great part of Christian iconography had become copy work, sentimental and remote from the society at large.

TWENTIETH CENTURY. A highly individualized Christian iconography was shaped in the twentieth century by the religious consciousness of individual artists. The German expressionists, for example, insisted upon interpreting and revealing their individuality. When Wassily Kandinsky (d. 1944) wrote *Concerning the Spiritual in Art,* what was revealed in the art included the feelings of the artist and the expressive properties of color. Emil Nolde's nine-part *Life of Christ* altarpiece (1911–1912) combines Nolde's interest in the impact of color with a traditional Christian format. George Rouault, more than any other recognized twentieth-century artist, sought to create compelling Christian imagery. His 1926 *Miserere* series compares Christ's suffering with twentieth-century experiences of human sufferings in war. The work of Max Beckmann (d. 1950) equates the fall of Adam and Eve with the grotesque dimensions of the human condition under fascism. In contrast, the most popular and most often reproduced image of Jesus in the United States in the first half of the twentieth century was W. H. Sallmon's *Head of Christ* (1940), a sentimental, idealized figure with widespread influence.

Fantasy painters such as Salvador Dali and Marc Chagall used Christian subject matter in a unique manner in order to suggest visions of the mind or vistas of a dreamworld fashioned out of the subconscious. Paintings such as Dali's *Sacrament of the Last Supper* (1955) and Chagall's *White Crucifixion* (1938) identify a private vision in which traditional Christian iconography is reinterpreted. Pablo Picasso's *Guernica* (1937) has been interpreted as Christian iconography because some traditional imagery appears to enhance its reference to human terror and death, and because it suggests religious meanings. Abstract art in the twentieth century created the possibility for a broadly Christian iconography without recognizable subject matter. For instance, the purely abstract compositions of Piet Mondrian (d. 1944) were intended to provide an image of universal truths, religious in nature, that reflected theosophical beliefs.

Radical individuality and sociopolitical realities influenced the content of Christian iconography in the twentieth century. Revolutionary movements produced Christian iconography that placed traditional religious figures in advocacy relationships with human beings suffering social and political injustice. In predominantly Communist countries, socialist realism that emphasized the heroic stature of the worker or the revolutionary fighter replaced Christian iconography. In other cultures, indigenous forms were integrated into Christian imagery. African sculpture, South American painting, and Asian graphics, for example, often provided indigenous twentieth-century iconography. One aspect of the Christian ecumenical movement around the world was to encourage the diverse international community to reclaim and clarify their cultural heritages. Liturgical arts and iconography in non-Western cultures emphasized their individual locales and traditions.

Following the lead of religious leaders such as the Dominican artist-priest M. A. Couturier (1905–1957) from France, who encouraged abstract and modern artistic treatment of Christian themes, various modern artists entered the arena of religious art. In France, Henri Matisse's windows and wall drawings at Vence, from the late 1940s; Le Corbusier's chapel at Ronchamp (1950–1955); and the stained glass, tapestries, and altar cloth of Fernand Léger at Audincourt (1951) all present Christian iconography in specifically twentieth-century forms.

In the United States, the work of the abstract expressionists from the early 1950s to the 1970s summarized much of the religious consciousness that had been expressed in modern art during the first half of the century by various abstract and expressionist movements. In works such as Robert Motherwell's *Reconciliation Elegy* (1962), Mark Rothko's chapel in Houston, Texas (1970), or Barnett Newman's *Stations of the Cross* (1958–1962), religious subject matter seems identical with expressions of radical individuality.

The twentieth century also saw the emergence of Christian iconography in new media, notably film and electronic communications. Biblical stories presented in films with such titles as *The Bible, The Ten Commandments, The King of Kings,* and *The Gospel according to St. Matthew* engaged a public separate from the church. The mass media, which now included home video, offered traditional Christian subject matter in extended narrative form as dramatic entertainment. In 2004 the film entitled *The Passion of the Christ* drew worldwide attention. Such presentations of Christian stories are a form of Christian iconography, but in their cultural context they appear to be no more than stories from one literary source among many, iconography for entertainment rather than worship.

CONCLUSION. The function of Christian iconography has varied in each generation. It has always been a living language of images invented by the religious consciousness of communities and individuals. Until the modern era, the figures of Jesus and his followers were always central to iconographic programs, but during the twentieth century the focus shifted to the individual iconographer on the one hand and to major cultural presentations of the stories on the other. At the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century, individual parishes, independent religious communities, and various national responses have introduced their own Christian themes to the iconographic vocabulary. For instance, the so-called African experience or Asian experience have been given renewed attention through their arts.

Religious art continues to be affected to some extent by political and social forces. Censorship efforts on the part of religious communities have attracted headlines, but these efforts have not been effective in the general public. Pornography has been attacked for religious reasons but remains a major media industry. Antireligious attitudes have caused small episodes of outrage, but in the end the art world has not been seriously affected.

Within the large variety of Christian communities around the world, expanded interest in iconographic imagery has produced a wealth of artistic activity. Nevertheless, the proliferation of art in the Christian church has not become a major factor in the art markets of the world. Leading collectors of Christian art, for instance, have not been identified, and museums do not offer major collections of Christian art unless it has some other value than just being religious.

However, interest in religions, generally, has risen in the twenty-first century for political reasons, and interest in religious art and architecture has increased accordingly. It may be that the academy and the general public will become more interested in the arts of world religions in the near future because religion has become a central theme. Other factors leading toward a larger role for religious art are the expanding place of museums in society and the relaxation of the traditional split, in the United States at least, between church and state.

Another tendency that is emerging in the twenty-first century has to do with the way various distinctive cultures in the world have artists who are reinterpreting the Christian biblical stories in their own cultural vernacular. Earlier efforts that translated the biblical story into the major languages of the world have led artists to apply traditional Christian iconographic themes to a variety of modern cultural settings. Such works of art also remind observers that the same was true when Christian iconography was first invented and emerged within the context of the Roman Empire. Cultural settings have always shaped Christian iconography and will continue to do so.

SEE ALSO Aesthetics, article on Visual Aesthetics; Basilica, Cathedral, and Church; Iconoclasm; Icons; Images, article on Veneration of Images; Monastery.

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JOHN W. COOK (1987 AND 2005)

ICONOGRAPHY: ISLAMIC ICONOGRAPHY

Islam is generally considered an iconoclastic religion in which the representation of living things has been prohibited from its very beginning. However, the Qurʾān nowhere deals with this problem or explicitly speaks against representation. Rather, the prohibition of pictorial activities was derived from certain *ḥadīth,* the traditions attributed to the prophet Muḥammad and his followers. It has often been argued that the development of figural painting in Iran was due to Iran's Shīʿī persuasion, which would have taken these *ḥadīth* less seriously, but this idea likewise is not in keeping with historical fact, because the Shīʿīs follow the tradition as strictly as the Sunnīs, and furthermore, Shiism was declared Iran's state religion only in 1501.

Islam's attitude toward representation is basically in tune with the stark monotheistic doctrine that there is no creator but God: To produce a likeness of anything might be interpreted as an illicit arrogation of the divine creative power by humans. Such an attitude may have hardened at the time of the Byzantine Iconoclastic Controversy; thus, in Persian poetical parlance, "pictures" are often connected with (Christian) "convents." Furthermore, the Islamic prohibition may have first been concerned primarily with sculpture, for sculptures—as they existed in the Kaʿbah in Mecca in pre-Islamic times—could lead humankind again into idolatry, and, indeed, hardly any sculptural art developed in Islam until recently.

EMERGING IMAGERY. The feeling that representation was alien to the original spirit of Islam resulted in the development of abstract ornamental design, both geometric and vegetal, notably the arabesque as the endless continuation of leaves, palmettes, and sometimes animal-like motifs growing out of each other; it also gave calligraphy its central place in Islamic art. However, it would be wrong to claim that early Islam was without any pictures. In secular buildings such as palaces, there was no lack of representations of kings, musicians, dancers, and the like, and expressions in Persian poetry such as "like a lion painted in the bathhouse" point to the existence of wall painting (albeit with the additional, negative meaning of "something lifeless"). Decorative painting on ceramics includes not only more or less stylized animal or human figures as individual motifs but also scenes from (often unidentified) tales and romances. Although the Arabic and Persian texts scribbled around the rims of the vessels sometimes give a clue to the scene, little is known about such pictorial programs, which are found on metalwork as well. Theories about pre-Islamic (Sassanid or Turkic) or astronomical symbolism have been proposed. In the early Middle Ages, certain Arabic books were illustrated either for practical purposes, namely medical and scientific manuscripts, or for entertainment, as in the *Maqāmāt* (Assemblies) of al-Ḥarīrī or the animal fables known as *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah.*

New stylistic features came with the growing Chinese influence during the Mongol occupation of Iran in the late thirteenth century. (Persian literature speaks of China as the "picture house," where Mani, the founder of Manichaeism, acts as the master painter.) Henceforward, illustrative painting developed predominantly in Iran, where the great epic poems (an art form unknown to the Arabs) inspired miniaturists through the centuries to the extent that the iconography of Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāmah* (Book of kings) and Niẓāmī's *Khamsah* (Quintet) became almost standardized. Early historical works, such as the world history of Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 1317), were rather realistically illustrated. Human faces are clearly shown (and later sometimes mutilated by orthodox critics), and even the prophet Muḥammad appears with his face uncovered.

The same originally held true for a branch of painting that has continued from the fourteenth century to the present day, namely, pictures of the Prophet's night journey (*isrāʾ*, *miʿrāj*) through the heavens on the mysterious steed Burāq. In the course of time, Muḥammad's face was covered partly, then completely; at present, no representation of the Prophet is permitted at all: In the numerous popular pictures of the Miʿrāj, he is represented by a white rose or a cloud. Burāq, meanwhile, has become a centerpiece of popular iconography: Pictures of this winged, donkey-shaped creature with a woman's head and a peacock's tail not only appear today on cheap prints but are also painted on trucks and buses, especially in Afghanistan and Pakistan, as a kind of protective charm.

Truck painting in these areas has developed into a new art form, and the religious and political ideals of the owners become visible in the pictorial and calligraphic decorations of their vehicles. Similarly telling are wall paintings in Turkish or Afghan coffee- or teahouses, where one may find realistic scenes from the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* (Stories of the prophets) or allusions to folk romances.

There was and is apparently no aversion to representing angels in Miʿrāj scenes, romances, or works on cosmology, or else as single figures, even in relief on walls. Their faces are always uncovered. Gabriel with his many enormous wings and Isrāfīl with the trumpet of resurrection are most prominent.

Islamic painting reached its zenith in Iran and India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when, partly under the influence of European prints, naturalistic portraiture was developed to perfection. The Mughal emperor Jahāmgīr (r. 1605–1627) inspired the court painters to express his dreams of spiritual world-rule in his portraits by using the motif of the lion and the lamb lying together, or by showing him in the company of Ṣūfīs.

THE SHAPE OF SPIRITUALITY. Portraits of Ṣūfīs and dervishes are frequent in the later Middle Ages: Many drawings capture the spiritual power or the refinement of a solitary Muslim holy man or illustrate the "sessions of the mystical lovers" (*majālis al-ʿushshāq*). Ṣūfīs are also shown as teachers or in their whirling dance. However, little has been done to identify them, although the color of their garments (or the shape of their headgear) sometimes betrays their affiliation with a certain Ṣūfī order (thus, a cinnamon- or rose-colored frock is typical of the Ṣābirī branch of the Chishtīyah). Colors are also used to indicate the spiritual state the mystic has reached.

Manuscripts of the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*s were never illustrated but were written in beautiful calligraphy that sometimes assumes an almost "iconic" quality, as Martin Lings has pointed out. Qurʾanic themes, however, as retold in the stories of the prophets or in poetry such as the *Yūsuf and Zulaykhā* by Jāmī (d. 1492), have developed a pictorial tradition of their own. Some mystical epics, especially ʿAṭṭār's *Manṭiq al-ṭayr* (The conversation of the birds), have inspired painters, but the few examples of Rūmī's *Mathnavī* with pictures, which date from fourteenth-century India to nineteenth-century Iran, lack any trace of Ṣūfī spirituality.

Sometimes seemingly simple motifs are interpreted mystically; this author's Turkish Ṣūfī friends explain the frequent use of tulips on the tiles in Turkish mosques with the fact that the word *lālah* ("tulip") has the same letters and thus the same numerical value as the word *Allāh*, that is, sixty-six. This is also true for the word *hilāl*, "crescent," and the *hilāl* has come to be regarded as the typical sign of Islam although its first appearance on early Islamic coins, metalwork, and ceramics had no religious connotations. It seems that in the eleventh century, when some churches (such as Ani in Armenia) were converted into mosques, their cross-shaped finials were replaced with crescent-shaped ones. A *ḥājj* ("pilgrimage") certificate of 1432 shows drawings of the sacred buildings in Mecca with such crescent finials. The Ottoman sultan Selim I (r. 1512–1520) used the *hilāl* on his flag, but only in the early nineteenth century was it made the official Turkish emblem, which appeared on postage stamps in 1863. Other Muslim countries followed the Turkish example, and now it is generally seen as the Islamic equivalent of the Christian cross (thus, the Red Crescent parallels the Red Cross).

There was no inhibition in representing pilgrimage sites in medieval guidebooks for pilgrims. In the late nineteenth century, photographs of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina became prized possessions of pilgrims and of those who were unable to perform the *ḥājj,* just as many Muslim homes now contain prints, posters, or wall hangings with representations of the Kaʿbah and/or the Prophet's mausoleum.

While naturalistic representation of the Prophet and his family was increasingly objected to, other ways of presenting him developed. One might put a *ḥadīth* in superb calligraphy on a single page or write his *ḥilyah,* an elaboration of the classical Arabic description of his outward and inward beauty, in a special calligraphic style, as was done in Turkey from about 1600. The Prophet's footprints on stone, or representations of them, along with more or less elaborate drawings of his sandals, still belong to the generally accepted items in the religious tradition. One could also produce "pictures" of saintly persons such as ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib from pious sentences written in minute script (although in Iran quite realistic battle scenes showing the bravery and suffering of Ḥusayn and other members of the Prophet's family are also found in more recent times).

Calligraphic images have become more and more popular: The letters of the word *bismillāh* ("in the name of God") can be shaped into birds and beasts; Qurʾanic passages of particular protective importance, such as the "throne verse" (*sūrah* 2:256), appear in animal shape; and whenever a calligraphic lion is found, it usually consists of a formula connected with ʿAlī, who is called the "Lion of God" (Asad Allāh, Ḥaydar, Shir, and so forth). Most frequently used is the invocation "Nādi ʿAlīyan . . ." ("Call ʿAlī, who manifests wondrous things . . ."), which appears on many objects from Safavid Iran and Shīʿī India, as do the names of the twelve Shīʿī *imāms.* The names of the Panjtan (Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn) combined with the word *Allāh* are used to form human faces, as in the Bektāshī tradition in Turkey. The names of protective saints such as the Seven Sleepers (*sūrah* 18) are also used as a calligraphic design (but their figures appear as well in Persian and Turkish painting, with their faithful dog Qiṭmīr or his name always in the center). Invocations of Ṣūfī saints may be written in the shape of a dervish cap (typical is that of Mawlānā Rūmī); other pious exclamations appear as flowers or are arranged in circular form.

Indeed, the most typical and certainly the most widely used means of conveying the Islamic message was and still is calligraphy. The walls of Persian mosques are covered with radiant tiles on which the names of God, Muḥammad, and ʿAlī in the square Kufic script give witness to the Shīʿī form of faith; Turkish mosques are decorated with Qurʾanic quotations or with an enormous *Allāh.* In Turkey, various calligrams are based on the letter *w,* and the central statements of the faith are written in mirrored form.

Lately, under European influence, a very colorful popular iconography has developed in some parts of the Muslim world. On posters, religious motifs from various traditions are strung together in highly surprising form: Raphael's little angels appear along with the Lourdes Madonna around a deceased Muslim leader in a lush Paradise, or an apotheosis of Ayatollah Khomeini is coupled with the earthbound figure from Andrew Wyeth's *Christina's World.* (Here one is reminded of some pictures in the Indian Ismāʿīlī tradition that show ʿAlī as the tenth *avatāra* in the blue color of Kṛṣṇa, with Hanuman the "monkey-chief" carrying the royal umbrella over ʿAlī's white mule, Duldul.) Such syncretistic pictures are certainly not acceptable to the large majority of pious Muslims. On the other hand, the calligraphic traditions are gaining new importance from Morocco to Indonesia, and some attempts at producing a kind of Qurʾanic scriptorial picture (thus Sadiqain and Aslam Kamal in Pakistan) are remarkably successful and deserve the attention of the historian of religion and the art lover.

SEE ALSO Calligraphy, article on Islamic Calligraphy; Mosque.

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ICONS. The term *icon* (from the Greek *eikōn,* "image") is applied in a broad sense to all sacred images worshiped by Christians in eastern Europe and the Middle East regardless of the image's media; thus icons may be mosaics, frescoes, engravings on marble or metal, or prints on paper. In its current use the term describes portable sacred images painted on wood, canvas, or glass.

BEGINNING AND GROWTH OF THE VENERATION OF ICONS. Portable icons first appeared in Egypt in the third century. The oldest works that have been preserved to this day bear a striking resemblance to the funeral portraits that replaced the masks on the anthropoid coffins of the Hellenistic period. The Judaic tradition, which relied on the biblical prohibition of the use of images in religious worship, was confronted in the eastern Mediterranean area with the Greek tradition, theoretically substantiated by Neoplatonism, according to which the material symbol is an expression of spiritual reality and the image has a didactic function. This latter tradition gained ground even in some Jewish communities; for example, frescoes based on biblical subjects were painted on the walls of the synagogue at Dura-Europos (present-day Salahiyeh, Syria) in the third century. It was the Greek tradition that caused the emergence as early as the second and third centuries of sacred imagery in the Christian church, which had originally used only symbols (e.g., the cross, lamb, fish, and dove). The didactic function of images was generally accepted throughout the Christian world, but the veneration of images did not spread to all areas: It remained a specific cult of Christianity in the Greco-Byzantine tradition.

The earliest icons, like the Hellenistic funeral portraits, originally had a commemorative value: They were representations of martyrs, apostles, the Virgin, and Jesus Christ. As early as the fourth century a typology of characters took shape, and their sacred nature was marked by a nimbus. The authenticity of portraits was an essential concern: The images of Christ and the Virgin were believed to be of miraculous origin, "made without hands" (Gr., *acheiropoiētos*); those of the saints were rendered according to descriptions preserved by traditional—oral or written—sources. The oldest icon representing the Virgin originated in Palestine and, with the exception of the visage, was attributed to the apostle Luke; the visage was said to have been painted miraculously, without the touch of the human hand. According to tradition, the representation of Christ relied on a portrait Jesus had sent to the king of Edessa, Abgar Ukkama, "the black" (d. 50 CE), and on the veil of Veronica, said to bear the imprint of the Savior's face (recent research suggests that the name Veronica derives from the Latin *vera icona,* "true face").

As Christian icon painting developed after the fourth century, themes relating to the historical cycles of Christ's mission (miracles, scenes from his life) and then events from the lives of saints and from the history of the Christian church were introduced. In the sixth century icon worship spread throughout the Byzantine Empire. Icons were displayed to the faithful in churches or during processions, and they were also to be found in private homes. They were either in one piece or were combined from two or three pieces, forming, respectively, diptychs and triptychs. The strength of the development of icon worship, the miraculous powers attributed to certain icons, and the fact that in the minds of the faithful icons were identified with the character they represented, aroused, even from the beginning, opposition and hostility from some of the fathers of the church. This led in the eighth century to the iconoclastic crisis, which resulted in the destruction of a large number of icons, especially in areas under the direct authority of the Byzantine emperors. Nevertheless iconoclasm was unable to prevent the further development of icon worship at the periphery of the empire; hence the oldest icons, dating from the fifth and sixth centuries, were preserved in Georgia (Transcaucasia), on Mount Sinai, and in Cyprus. With the official restoration of the veneration of icons in 843, the practice of veneration became generalized not only in the Byzantine Empire but also in other regions where the Eastern Orthodox church had become predominant, such as the Balkan Peninsula and Russia.

Following the triumph of the doctrine claiming the legitimacy of icon worship many more wall icons were displayed in sanctuaries, and the iconostasis (Gr., *eikonostasis,* "support for icons") was introduced, a screen of icons that separated the altar from the nave of the church. The iconostasis apparently developed from the *templon,* a barrier made of stone, marble, or ivory that enclosed the main apse or chancel, where the sacred table was contained.

THEOLOGY OF ICONS. The final elaboration of the theology of icons resulted from the disputes caused by iconoclasm and the rules formulated by the Second Council of Nicaea (787). The earliest elements of the doctrine had already been enunciated in the second to the fourth centuries. Arguing against the Christian apologists who condemned idols as "devilish," such Neoplatonic thinkers as Celsus (latter half of the second century), Porphyry (c. 234–c. 305), and Emperor Julian the Apostate (d. 363) attempted to give a metaphysical justification of sacred images and statues as material symbols expressing external and spiritual realities and fulfilling at the same time a significant didactic function. According to Neoplatonists the relationship between image and prototype is not one of sameness: Images serve only as vehicles by which to approach the divine prototype, which is hidden from humans because of the limitations of their corporeality. The arguments adduced by the Neoplatonists are to be found in subsequent developments of Christian theology. Thus, the concept according to which "sensible images are vehicles whereby we accede, as far as possible, to divine contemplation" was clearly stated by Dionysius the Areopagite (c. 500) in his treatise *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* (1.2). The relationship between image and its divine prototype would be later clarified in the same vein in the writings of John of Damascus (c. 679–749) and other authors of the Eastern church.

The Christian authors of the eighth and ninth centuries who formulated the theology of icons relied on a belief that icon worship was a consequence of the incarnation of the Son of God. According to Germanus I, patriarch of Constantinople (r. 715–730), the Son could be portrayed because he "consented to become a man." An icon representing Christ is not an image of the "incomprehensible and immortal Deity" but rather that of the "human character" of the Logos (the Word) and serves as proof that "indeed he became a man in all respects, except for sin." Christ could be represented only "in his human form, in his visible theophany." John of Damascus, who wrote three treatises in defense of "sacred icons," gave the following definition of the painted image of the Deity: "I represent God the Invisible not as invisible but to the extent he became visible to us by partaking of flesh and blood."

John of Damascus and, especially, Theodore of Studios (759–826) and Nikephoros, patriarch of Constantinople (r. 806–815), further clarified the relationship between the sacred image, or icon, and its divine prototype. To them image is essentially distinct from the original: It is an object of relative veneration (Gr., *proskunēsis skhetikē).* Through the mediation of the icon the faithful actually address the prototype it represents, and so the relative veneration of the image becomes adoration (Gr., *latreia*) that is exclusively offered to the Deity. This distinction between adoration of the model and relative veneration of its image removed the danger of turning icons into fetishes, a danger that was inherent in their worship. Theodore of Studios emphasized that "veneration was not due to the essence of the image but rather to the form of the Prototype represented by the image . . . since matter cannot be subject to veneration."

These clarifications stressed the intimate connection between the theology of icons and the Christological question posed by the heresy of docetism, which questioned the real humanity of Christ and claimed that Christ's body was only apparent. In contradistinction, the icon was claimed to represent the image of an incarnation of the Son of God, thus, according to Germanus, "proving that he invested our nature by means other than imagination." Indescribable by his divine nature, Christ is describable by the complete reality of his historical humanity.

According to Theodore of Studios, "the fact that God made man after his likeness showed that icon painting was an act of God." The theology of icons confers upon icons an almost sacramental role. As the early painters saw it, their art did not belong to aesthetics but rather to liturgy. The perfection of form was no more than an adequate expression of the doctrine. The painter was not an artist in the modern sense of the word but a priest: His talent was a necessary, but not sufficient, condition. He was chosen and guided by a master; the beginning of his apprenticeship was marked by a ritual (e.g., prayer and benediction) quite similar to that of an initiation.

The earliest painters of icons never signed their works because their individuality was believed to be of no consequence. (The first icons to be signed, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, signaled the beginning of decadence in the art of icon making.) Seen as mere interpreters of the truth, the painters of old had to follow strict rules: The subjects of their paintings could only be previously established models, scenes from the holy books, or, more rarely, acknowledged visions; they did their work after having fasted and received the Eucharist; and some even mixed holy water with their colors.

DIFFUSION OF THE CULT OF ICONS. After the conclusion of the iconoclastic crisis, icon painting in Byzantium, under the Palaeologus dynasty (1261–1453), witnessed a remarkable period in which artistic perfection was reached; that style further influenced the art of icon making down to the present time. In the Greek territories the main icon-producing centers were Mount Athos and the imperial workshops in Constantinople, Thessalonica, and, after the fall of Byzantium, Crete. Cretan painters, having remained outside the area of Ottoman domination between 1453 and 1669, produced a great many works that were disseminated throughout the Orthodox world. Their icons displayed a certain lavishness, to be explained by the comfortable conditions in which they were produced; they were increasingly influenced by the contemporary Italian painting not only in the rendering of human visages and bodies, and of space, but even in iconography.

In eastern and southeastern Europe the cult of icons was disseminated by the early missionaries and through contacts with Byzantium. At first icons were brought from the Byzantine territories, but later they began to be produced in local workshops: at Preslav and Veliko Tŭrnovo in Bulgaria; at the courts of Serbian kings and Romanian princes; in Walachia and Moldavia; and in major monasteries in all these countries. They were characterized by their faithfulness to the Byzantine prototypes, but starting in the eighteenth century, popular local tastes made an impact on the choice of colors, the design of costumes, and the decoration of space. The union of a part of the Eastern Orthodox Romanians in Transylvania with the church of Rome gave rise to a unique phenomenon in Eastern Christian art: Icons were painted on glass by peasant artists, producing works that strongly resembled naive folk painting.

Of the oldest icons imported to Russia after the baptizing of the Russians in 988, only works of Byzantine origin dating from the eleventh century have been preserved. In the same century the earliest local icon-making centers began to emerge, first in Kiev and then in Novgorod and Vladimir-Suzdal. The earliest masters were from Byzantium, but soon a specific Russian style took shape; it developed from a spiritualized and ascetic attitude to a search for artistic and didactic effects, a taste for minute detail, and naturalism. The Council of the Hundred Chapters held in Moscow in 1551 reacted against the penetration of Western elements into the art of icon painting and put down rigid, mandatory rules to be followed by painters. This led to a proliferation of handbooks that provided authorized versions (Ch. Slav., *podliniki,* "outlines") of the holy images; these guides were equivalent to the ones used in the Byzantine Empire beginning in the eleventh century. The reforms enacted by Peter the Great (r. 1682–1725) inhibited the further development of icon painting, and the art subsequently lapsed into conservatism.

In the East after the Council of Chalcedon (451), the church (under the patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem) followed the orthodox doctrine upheld against Monophysitism. In the seventeenth century the style of icon painting known as Melchite developed under new influences—Arabic, in terms of decoration; western European, in terms of subject matter.

SEE ALSO Docetism; Iconoclasm; Images, article on Veneration of Images.

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IDEALISM. Idealism is the metaphysical view that reality is of the nature of mind. It stands in contrast with scientific philosophies, such as naturalism, realism, and pragmatism that assume that natural life in the natural world is philosophy's appropriate point of departure. Idealism is not grounded in an empirical evaluation of fact. It is grounded in an intuitive evaluation of meaning. Because all philosophy presupposes that things have a meaning and that something, at least, of that meaning can be known, all philosophy has an idealistic element.

Idealism does not deny the reality of the physical world. It insists only that the apparent self-sufficiency of the natural world is deceptive. Nature seems to go its own way, to be self-sufficient, eternal, and operating on the basis of its own laws without need of a creator or outside force to initiate and sustain its motions, but idealism maintains that it relies on mind or spirit or idea for its forcefulness, purposiveness, and inherent meaning. Idealism therefore always distinguishes between appearance and reality, but its emphasis can either be objective or subjective. Subjective idealism sees the physical world as metaphysically insubstantial. Objective idealism regards physical substance as a necessary counterpart of mind.

SUBJECTIVE IDEALISM. The doctrine of the world as *māyā* or illusion in Śaṅkāra's Advaita Vedānta philosophy in India is the most systematic statement of subjective idealism, although George Berkeley's philosophy is the best-known statement of subjective idealism in the West. Berkeley observed that one's visual perception of the physical world is that of shapes and colors, not of any substantial "thing." People project "physical substance" into the picture because they assume that there must be some "thing" that "has" these perceived qualities.

All one ever knows, however, are the perceived qualities. Reality, therefore, is a perception on the part of a perceiver. Hence Berkeley's principle *esse est percipi* ("to be is to be perceived"). He pointed out that one seems to see distance; in fact, however, three-dimensional depth perception is a learned projection of the mind, not a physical reality that impinges directly on one's senses. He added that the physical sciences are not concerned with some "substantial" reality of a physical object, but rather with those perceptions known to mind. To test a yellow metal to see if it is gold, for example, the chemist does not test "substance," but properties—solubility in different acids, combining proportions, and weight. The "substance" of gold is only a fact of experience that these properties bring together. Berkeley concluded that the distinction between what Locke had called primary qualities and secondary qualities—real "substance" as opposed to "appearances" (of color, shape, etc.)—was mistaken. Nature is, he insisted, whole. If space is mental, then all the other qualities of the natural object must also be mental. Reality is entirely an observer's perception.

But what of objects that are alone and unobserved by any human knower, like the tree in the deserted forest or the living-room furniture in the dead of night? Berkeley argued that natural laws hold for events past as well as future because there is an eternal mind to think them. The living-room sofa exists as an object in the eternal perception of the mind of God. God alone guarantees the eternal endurance and order of nature.

The most consistent subjective idealist in modern Western philosophy was G. W. Leibniz, who held that each self is a "monad" of self-enclosed experience. He accepted a plurality of worlds—my world must be different from yours—and solipsism, the view that each person is *solus ipse,* a "windowless monad."

Here subjective idealism runs afoul of the "ego-centric predicament." Confined to his or her own ideas, the self-confessed solipsist nevertheless assumes that he or she knows what it might be like *not* to be so confined; otherwise the assertion has no significance. Each self is conscious, necessarily, of what it is not, in order to know itself as a distinct and separate entity. Solipsism, therefore, is self-refuting.

OBJECTIVE IDEALISM. Objective idealism, mindful of this pitfall, grants to naturalism that the physical world is given from "outside" one's self, and must be received passively, but agrees with subjective idealism that one's experience of this given world is, in large part, an interpretation shaped by one's own mind. Both subjective and objective idealism are rooted in the intuition that reality is essentially mind. Objective idealism is distinguished by a nondual view in which the physical world shares metaphysical reality.

The historic relation between idealistic philosophy and religious reflection stems from this common concern for showing how an immaterial power gives the material world its reality and true being. The idealistic commitment to mind as ultimately real expresses, in the language of experience, a view that overlaps the religious commitment to spirit as the enabling power of being. This tradition in Western philosophy was first explored systematically by Plato, for whom reality lay in the eternal forms, or ideas, that were the meaning of any particular thing. These particulars, however, were always imperfect because they were necessarily material. Matter, for Plato, is an admittedly indispensable context for existence. More significantly, however, it is a hindrance to realization of the true meaning of things, which is their ideal form. Plato is unclear as to why nature should exist, and matter remains a dark and unresolved dilemma in his philosophy. Aristotle gave matter greater status by making it the counterpart of form or idea in any particular. Matter is therefore the possibility of a new form. Mind or spirit or form shapes matter, as the idea of a pot in the mind of a potter transforms a lump of clay into a utensil for human use.

Plato and Aristotle incline toward idealism but remain dualists. It was only after Immanuel Kant that idealism offered an integrated view of reality that did justice to natural fact. Beginning with the radical distinction between mind and matter with which René Descartes had first fashioned the modern mind, idealists argued that mind and matter are different but interdependent. J. G. Fichte argued that will is the essence of mind, and will requires the recalcitrant opposition of material stuff in order for work to teach the moral lessons of industry, perseverance, and devotion to factual truth. For Fichte, nature is "the material for our duty, made sensible." For Friedrich Schelling and G. W. F. Hegel, nature is necessary in order that mind attain full self-awareness. Hegel argued that useful knowledge is always acquired through a double movement: first one gains an intimate knowledge of the particular thing, and then one learns something of what it is not. To know one's own language for what it truly is, for example, one must know something of a different language. So, to generalize from that experience, mind must know something that is not mind. It must wander in an alien world before it can return home to know itself truly for the first time. Nature, therefore, is the "otherness of spirit," the alien land in which the mind wanders in order to gain full possession of itself. Or, to put it less metaphorically, natural objects are the necessary content of mind. There is no thought without an object; one must think something. Whereas subjective idealism, in both the monadology of Leibniz and the Advaita Vedānta of Śaṅkara, argues that mind alone is the really real, objective idealism argues that objective nature is a necessary condition for the reality of mind. Reality is therefore not a univocal state; it is a dialectical process.

IDEALIST ETHICS. Idealism also proposes an ethics, developed from its metaphysical view that mind or spirit constitutes an eternal and purposive transcendent order. As the metaphysical reality of any particular is derived from the idea that is its ultimate meaning, so the norms and values of human behavior are derived from the transcendent idea of love, power, justice, or so forth.

Unlike modern naturalisms, which regard ethical values as entirely relative to the social and psychological needs of natural groups, idealism holds that there are what Kant called categorical imperatives, or moral absolutes. Kant stated the foundational principle of all idealistic ethics, people always should be treated as ends in themselves and never as a means to some end; but his dogmatic categorical imperative lacks metaphysical justification. It was his successors who developed an independent metaphysics that could flesh out Kant's intuitive insight with a rational argument. Hegel supplemented the Kantian view with a dialectical interpretation of concrete freedom that seeks to ally itself with whatever is objectively rational and universal in the laws and institutions of one's community. This view turned idealism toward social realism. Josiah Royce later argued that the objective reason that Hegel sought in institutions could not be found there if, as Hegel himself noted, institutions rise and fall. Rejecting Hegel's conservatism, Royce argued that one's loyalty is not just to the institutionalized rationality of the past but to the hoped-for rationality of the future. For Royce, therefore, one's primary loyalty is not to institutions but to those creative causes that some institutions sometimes serve. There will be different interpretations as to what these causes should be, but the authentic common spirit of cause-servers everywhere will always be one of loyalty. Royce's categorical imperative is therefore that one should be loyal to loyalty wherever it is found.

Various forms of idealism were influential during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when there was confidence in reason and hope for the future. The prevailing spirit since the late twentieth century has become skeptical of rationalization and pessimistic about the future, so idealistic philosophy is less influential. However, when religious thinkers look for a rational and universal language of experience in which to articulate the dramatic, poetic, and mythological convictions of the great religions with their message of a divine *Logos* that assures the ultimate fulfillment of a divine purpose, that language is inescapably some form of idealism.

SEE ALSO Metaphysics; Naturalism; Nature, article on Religious and Philosophical Speculations.

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IDOLATRY. The word *idolatry* is formed from two Greek words, *eidōlon,* "image," and *latreia,* "adoration." Etymologically, *idolatry* means "adoration of images." Authors have given *idolatry* and *idol* widely differing definitions thereby revealing the complexity of the problem. Eugène Goblet d'Alviella uses the term *idol* to mean images or statues "that are considered to be conscious and animate" and sees idolatry in the act of "regarding an image as a superhuman personality" (Goblet d'Alviella, 1911, p. 126). In a relatively recent article, J. Goetz (1962), trying to get a better grip on the problem, establishes, first, that in the wake of etymology idolatry "designates the adoration of images by emphasizing the specific nature of the cult surrounding the objects, a cult of adoration, which strictly speaking expresses a feeling of absolute dependence, especially through sacrifice." He then states that the terms *idolatry* and *idol* remain inaccurate, and that "the authors who have tackled the problem of idolatry most often defined the idol as an object in anthromorphic form, intended to represent a spirit, the object of worship." Finally, venturing onto the terrain of religious phenomenology, he risks a definition of *idol:* "any material object that receives a form of worship more or less structured," idolatry being this form of worship.

The concept of idolatry originated in a very specific historico-religious context: the monotheism of Israel. Consequently, an authentic approach to the concept must refer to the Hebrew scriptures. In his research on the prophetic reaction to pagan religious concepts, Christopher R. North presents two ideas taken directly from the prophets. First, "Idolatry is the worship of the creature instead of the Creator and, to make matters worse, the creature is made by man, who is himself a creature" (North, 1958, p. 158). He then states: "Idolatry is the worship of what in modern terms we should call process, the 'life-force,' the *élan vital,* or what we will, instead of the Creator who transcends and is in some sort external to creation" (ibid., p. 159). Finally, here is another, more recently formulated definition: "Idolatry may be defined as the worship of an idol (*eidōlon,* image, portrait) considered as a substitute for the divine" (M. Delahoutre, "Idolâtrie," *Dictionnaire des religions,* Paris, 1984).

This brief survey should help situate this article's discussion. The concept of idolatry originated in the application of the second commandment. It acquired definitive formulation in censure by the prophets of Israel of the pagan cults and their influence on the chosen people. This biblical heritage passed into the New Testament and early Christianity, blazing its way through the forest of pagan cults. The monotheism of Islam adopted this Judeo-Christian concept and made it one of the foundations of its beliefs and its faith.

Beginning with these notions formed with the help of the dogmatic thought as well as the polemic stance of the three great monotheisms, the historian of religions enlarges his vision of idolatry by studying this religious phenomenon through the behavior of *homo religiosus* in relation to the representation of divinity. However, this study becomes vast and includes other very important aspects: images for worship, symbolism in religions and cults, religious art, veneration of images, iconoclasm. The present study is limited to idolatry, which it will approach on two levels: On the one hand, the historico-religious fact that the three great monotheisms censured the worship of idols; and, on the other hand, the phenomenon of humankind's attitude of worship in the presence of a visible representation of divinity. The study of these two aspects is made with reference to the historical documentation left by the *homo religiosus* concerned.

HISTORICAL SEMANTICS. In ancient Greek texts since Homer one rarely finds the word *eidōlon.* Formed from *eidos* (n.), "aspect, shape," the word *eidōlon* has diverse meanings: "phantom, undetermined form, image reflected in a mirror or in water." It also means an image formed in the human mind. Thus in the ancient Greek world, *eidōlon* did not have a religious meaning.

One must therefore turn to the biblical Greek world, where *eidōlon* is found in the Septuagint. Used 70 times in the protocanonical texts, it translates 16 different Hebrew words, as for example *aven,* vanity; *elil,* nothing; *gillulim,* excrement; *pesel,* carved statue; *tselim,* image. For these protocanonical texts the Vulgate uses *idolum* 112 times and *simulacrum* 32 times in order to translate 15 Hebrew words. *Eidōlon* also appears many times in the apocryphal writings. The Hebrew Bible uses 30 different nouns in order to talk about idols and mentions 44 pagan divinities. Thus *eidōlon* designates the false gods and does so with a scornful nuance, for they are vanity, lies, nothingness, vain images, molded metal, carved wood. It is therefore through choices made by Greek translators of the Bible that *eidōlon* acquired the religious sense of representing a pagan divinity considered to be a false god. Thus the Septuagint gave *eidōlon* a new pejorative and polemical meaning. (By extension, *eidoleiōn* means a temple in which idols are found.)

Eidōlon passed into the Greek New Testament. The word does not occur in the Gospels, but it appears elsewhere (*Acts* 7:41, 15:20; *Rom.* 2:22; *1 Cor.* 8:4, 8:7, 10:9, 12:2; *2 Cor.* 6:16; *1 Thes.* 1:9; *1 Jn.* 5:21; *Rev.* 9:20). The Vulgate sometimes translates it as *idolum* and sometimes as *simulacrum.* One passage (*1 Cor.* 7:10) has the word *eidoleion,* "temple of idols," which the Vulgate preserves, Latinizing it as *idolium.* The New Testament passages show that in the eyes of the compilers, the pagan gods have no substance (*Gal.* 4:8). Behind their worship hides the work of demons (*1 Cor.* 10:19).

The word *eidōlon* passed into patristic terminology. Its usage is common from the second century on. In the *Epistle of Barnabas,* the *eidōla* are the pagan gods to which the Hebrews turned in the desert. Justin Martyr (*1 Apology* 64.1) designates as an *eidōlon* a statue of Kore, who was considered to be the daughter of Zeus. In speaking of pagan gods, Clement of Alexandria made use of all the richness of Greek vocabulary of his time. Evidence of this can be found in chapter 4 of the *Exhortation to the Heathen,* devoted to statues of gods, *agalmata.* He calls them idols (4.53.1) and includes them among the demons (4.55.1), which are impure and base spirits. He invites his readers to approach these statues (*agalmata*) in order to uncover the error that they conceal: "Their exterior clearly shows the mark of your demons' inner dispositions" (4.57.1). Later he reproaches the Greeks for having given themselves models of sensuality in these idols (4.61.1). Justin proclaims that Christ came to liberate people from the domination of idols (*Dialogue with Trypho* 113.6). These pagan gods are only phantoms that take possession of the human spirit and give the pagans the illusion of divine worship (Athenagoras, *Libellus* 23). These few samples, taken from the arsenal of the polemic of the apologists and the Greek fathers, show how the meaning of *eidōlon* expanded in the Greek world during the first centuries of the common era.

The Latin fathers adopt the same vocabulary and an identical stance. Tertullian shows that the pagan gods have no substance (*Apologetics* 10.2); then he attacks the statues as inert matter, *simulacra* made of material related to that of vases and ordinary utensils (12.2). In a similar fashion, Firmicus Maternus speaks of the *imagines consecratas* of public pagan worship (*Octavius* 24.5). Augustine gives a definitive structure to this criticism of idolatry made by the Latin apologists. Speaking of the pagan gods, he shows the semantic relationship between *simulacrum* and *idolum:* "*simulacra,* which in Greek are called idols" (*Expositions on the Psalms* 135.3). In his eyes, the idol worshipers are *daemonicolae.* The idol lets the demon make his own revelation (Mandouze, 1958).

The words *eidōlolatria* and *eidōlolatrēs* are found neither in secular Greek texts nor in the Septuagint nor in the writings of Philo Judaeus. They are a specific contribution of the New Testament and Christian literature of the first Christian centuries. Paul considers idolatry a grave sin and puts it on the list of sins that Christians must avoid (*1 Cor.* 5:10–11, 6:9, 10:7, 10:14; *Gal.* 5:20; *Col.* 3:5; *Eph.* 5:5). The writer of *1 Peter* 4:3 speaks in analogous fashion of the worship of idols that ought to be rejected by Christians. The same idea appears in *Revelation* 21:8 and 22:15.

The use of the two words becomes constant in Greek patristic literature. Clement of Alexandria even leaves a definition of idolatry: "the extension to numerous divinities of what is reserved for the one true God" (*Miscellanies* 3.12). The Christian church opposed idols and condemned their manufacture. The second-century apologists left a veritable arsenal of arguments on which Christian polemicists would draw until the age of Augustine.

IDOLATRY AND THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES. The formal condemnation of idolatry is found in *Exodus* 20:3–5. The biblical God (whose unvocalized name is YHVH) simultaneously forbids the worship of foreign gods and the making of images that claim to represent him, because it is impossible to represent the God of Israel. A confirmation and amplification of this commandment are found in *Deuteronomy* 4:12–19. The interdiction pertains to both theriomorphic and anthropomorphic images. It pertains also to symbolic animal representations of the divinity. Thus idolatry is vested with a double aspect: the idolatrous worship of Yahveh as well as the worship of false gods.

The Mosaic prohibition. The second commandment forbids the making of representations of the divinity (*Ex.* 20:4–6; *Dt.* 4:15–19 and 5:6–9; *Lv.* 26:1). A rigorous tendency took this Mosaic prohibition literally by banishing all ornamentation of religious buildings. This tendency, which became widespread among the Pharisees, insisted on the spiritualization of God and radically opposed the danger of idolatry. A more liberal tendency has always existed, however, as attested by the animal and human decoration of certain synagogues discovered by archaeologists.

Idolatrous worship of YHVH. Biblical texts refer to this worship on various occasions. The Hebrew tribes underwent the influence of Canaanite culture (*Jgs.* 3:5–6, *Dt.* 7:1–5). Micah of the tribe of Ephraim made a *pesel* and a *massekhah,* a carved image and idol of cast metal (*Jgs.* 17:1–13), perhaps an image of God. After his victory over Midian, Gideon made use of the gold taken from the enemy to make and set up an *efod* (*Jgs.* 8:22–27). Moreover, there is evidence of the tauriform cult of YHVH in the northern kingdom of Israel after the schism of 935 (*1 Kgs.* 12:26–32, *2 Kgs.* 15:24). In *1 Kings* 12:28, Jeroboam presents God, symbolized by the bull (Hadad and Teshub, fertility gods), as the liberator of Israel at the time of the flight from Egypt. The writer of *2 Kings* 15:24 speaks of the erection of statues of divine bulls. This is the religious tradition of the golden calf.

The prophets fought the use of images because they represented the danger of superstitition. *Hosea* 3:4 assails the stelae (*matstsebot*) erected next to the altars, the *efod,* which are either images or instruments for interrogating Yahveh, and the *terafim,* which closely resemble the *efod.* Thus, the prophet aims at the elimination of even the accessories to worship. Jeremiah went even further, proclaiming around 587 BCE that he would no longer speak of the Ark of the Covenant of Yahveh, which would be neither remembered nor missed, and which would never be built again (*Jer.* 3:16).

The prophetic argument is simple. It rejects all tangible representation of God as dangerous because the image is distinct from God. Hosea, moreover, refers to the past, to the youth of Israel, and to the flight from Egypt (*Hos.* 2:17). Thus, prophetic polemics find support in the Mosaic tradition. It is in this context that the incident of the golden calf (*Ex.* 32) must be understood and seen in terms of a protest against the worship of the tauriform Yahveh. Clearly, one is confronted here with a total rejection of the symbolism of the idol.

Idolatry as worship of false gods. The second aspect of idolatry holds a much larger place in the Bible; to understand it is necessary to review the history of idolatry in Israel. The ancestors of the chosen people practiced polytheism. Joshua recalled this in his address to the assembly at Shechem: The father of Abraham and Nahor served other gods (*Jos.* 24:2, 24:14), and even in Egypt some Hebrews worshiped pagan divinities. Upon their return from Egypt, the seminomadic Hebrew tribes who settled in Canaan came under the influence of the surrounding pagan culture and were always tempted to adopt their gods (*Jgs.* 10:6; *1 Sm.* 7:4, 12:10). Furthermore, kings often advanced polytheism by the introduction of foreign wives who kept their gods (*1 Kgs.* 11:7, 11:33). Amos accuses his contemporaries of worshiping Sakkuth and Kaiwan (*Am.* 5:26), two astral divinities. The prestige of the Assyrian pantheon exercised a profound influence on the populations of Israel. During the reign of Manasseh (688–642 BCE) a serious religious crisis broke out. Shaken by the triumphs of the Assyrians and the Chaldeans, the faithful turned to the gods of the conquerors (*2 Kgs.* 21:1–9, 23:4–14). They worshiped the sun, the moon, the *baal*s, and the Astartes (*Jer.* 2:8, 7:9). Nergal and other divinities reigned in the sanctuaries (*2 Kgs.* 17:30–31). After 587 came the trial of exile, followed by a spiritual reform. The prophets' orations were beneficial for the piety of Israel, which regained consciousness of its monotheistic faith. Upon returning from exile, they were vigilant about keeping their distance from idolatry, which continued to threaten the people because of the populations that remained in Palestine, especially in Samaria. The reaction against idolatrous cults was especially characteristic of the syncretic attempts under Antiochus IV Epiphanes (*2 Mc.* 6:2). The entire Jewish nation drew tightly together around the faith in Yahveh.

The most formidable opponents of idolatry were the prophets and their prophecies. At the solemn unveiling of the golden calf at Bethel, a prophet appeared before Jeroboam and announced Yahveh's threat (*1 Kgs.* 13:1–32). Elijah and Elisha fought against the worship of Baal and his priests (*1 Kgs.* 18:22–40). Amos reproached his Judean compatriots for letting themselves be seduced by idols (*Am.* 2:4). Hosea spoke harshly also, because in his eyes the worship of Israel had become idolatry (*Hos.* 4:12–13). Isaiah attacked the idols and announced their fall (*Is.* 2:20, 17:7–8, 30:22).

One of the important themes of the prophetic polemic is the emptiness of false gods. Idols are nothing but stone and wood (*Jer.* 16:20). Hosea does not hesitate to liken idolatry to fetishism, for in his eyes the image is set up in place of God (*Hos.* 8:4–6). Isaiah writes veritable satires of the Babylonian gods, whom he compares to nothingness (*Is.* 44:14–17). These mindless gods are carried about by beasts of burden (*Is.* 46:1–2). The theme of the idol as vacuous will continue its march, to be exploited by subsequent prophets (*Bar.* 6, *Dn.* 13:65–14:42). Moreover, it will crystallize into an imposing number of ironic and scornful terms: *nothingness, insubstantial puff of wind, lie, corpse.* Ezekiel's favorite word is *gillutim* ("dunghill"). Derision of false gods is a biblical tradition antedating the prophets and continuing after the exile (Preuss, 1971).

The *Wisdom of Solomon,* written in Greek on the eve of the common era, holds a veritable trial of idolatry, especially in chapters 13–15. The author rejects the worship of nature, idolatry, and zoolatry (worship of animals). However, while remaining completely faithful to the biblical tradition, he reflects his time by paying homage to the beauty of nature and works of art. He attacks the Stoic conception of gods according to which Zeus was the ether, Poseidon the ocean, and Demeter the earth (*Wis.* 13:1–19). He attacks the dynastic cult of the Ptolemies (14:17–20) and the mystery religions (14:23). In his view, the adherents of zoolatry have completely lost their reason (15:18–19). It is in terms of an authentic Yahvism that he judges pagan religions. He considers idolatry a fundamental disorder because it gives the name of God to that which is not God (13:2, 14:15, 14:20). Furthermore, the faithful adore dead idols that are incompetent and powerless. This disorder, which comes from seduction, leads to a mental aberration that in the end produces a moral deficiency among the faithful, who fall into error if not into lechery. Yet even while condemning these mistaken ideas from which Abraham and the chosen people escaped, the author speaks of his admiration for art. The *Wisdom of Solomon* has left a veritable synthesis of biblical polemics against idols, a synthesis into which certain ideas from the contemporary Greek world have already entered.

IDOLATRY AND CHRISTIANITY. The study of idolatry from the point of view of early Christianity is linked to problems of the birth of Christian art and the question of images, their worship, and the refusal to worship them. The attitude to adopt toward idols had been prescribed to the Christians from the first decades of the church. The Christians coming from Judaism had very strong traditions. Christians who converted from paganism radically separated themselves from idols and their worship. They all lived in the midst of pagan populations who had proliferated temples, altars, statues, sacrifices, processions, and festivals in Egypt, Greece, Rome, and the Middle East. The rapid expansion of Christianity into the provinces of the empire obliged the church to take very clear positions in regard to pagan cults.

The biblical heritage. Traces of the Old Testament opposition to idols are found in the New Testament, where *eidōlon* appears several times in the Pauline epistles. *Galatians* 4:8 takes up the common theme of pagan gods who have no substance. In *1 Corinthians* 10:19, Paul states that when one venerates idols, one is appealing to demons. This idea had already appeared in *Deuteronomy* 32:17 and was developed after the exile as a result of the success of demonology. The Pauline polemic revives the notion that the pagans offer sacrifices to demons. Demonolatry is also denounced in *Revelation* 9:20. The double biblical theme of the emptiness of idols and the demonic character of idolatry will be taken up later by the apologists and the church fathers.

The biblical heritage concerning idols also reached Christians by a second route, namely that of Philo Judaeus. In *Allegory of the Law* Philo tries to differentiate the divinity from any human likeness, because "anthropomorphism is an impiety greater than the ocean" (*On the Confusion of Tongues* 27). In *On the Decalogue* (52–80) and *Of the Contemplative Life* (3–9), he writes two accounts of the pagan gods. Both follow the same five-point outline: (1) a critique of the deification of the elements (earth, water, air, fire); (2) a critique of the deification of the sun, the moon, and the cosmos; (3) a critique of the gods considered as actors in mythology; (4) an attack against idolatry; and finally (5) a critique of zoolatry. J. Schwartz (1971) has called this "the Philonian schema." It influenced the critique of idolatry by Greek and Latin apologists, who drew on it for part of their own polemical material. On the subject of the worship of statues and divine images, Philo writes, "Their substance is of rock and wood, which was completely formless just a little while before. . . . Fragments which were their brothers or their family have become vessels for bath water or foot-washing basins" (*On the Contemplative Life* 7).

The Greek apologists and fathers. In his first *Apology* (9.1–5), Justin Martyr collects the principal themes of second-century polemics against idols: The human form is not suitable to divinity; idols have no soul and are made from a base substance; they are works of depraved artisans and bait for thieves; they bear the names of maleficent demons in whose appearance they are clothed. In his *Apology* Aristides of Athens has no sympathy for the idols of the Greeks. He severely condemns the sin of worshiping created things but is even harsher toward the barbarians, who revere earth, water, the sun, and the moon, and create idols they present as divinities. In his *Libellus,* another Athenian, Athenagoras, attempts to show that making statues of divinities is recent. All such statues are the works of people whose names are known. The artists have therefore made gods who are younger than their creators. In short, all these idols are no more than fragments of creation that the faithful adore in place of the creator. After this interpretation of idolatry in the sense of fetishism, Athenagoras explains the manipulation of idols by demons. The demons urge the faithful to block around the idols, then during the sacrifices they lick the blood of the victims. But all these gods had once been humans. A heritage of the secularized Greek age of the centuries just prior to the Christian era, this theme of euhemerism was to be a weighty argument, one the Fathers would use continuously.

Clement of Alexandria wrote his *Protrepticus* in order to convince the worshipers of the gods of what he held to be the stupidity and baseness of pagan myths. He first tries to determine the origin and nature of idols. Blocks of wood and pillars of rock in ancient times, they became human representations thanks to the progress of art, of which the author gives a well-documented survey. Then Clement poses the fundamental question: Where did the gods represented by idols come from? The historical response to this question, inspired by euhemerism, is the deification of human beings, of kings who have declared themselves divine, and of kings by their successors. Clement then gives a theological answer, partly inspired by Plato: The pagan gods are demons, shadows, infamous and impure spirits. Consequently,the error and moral corruption of idolatry becomes clear. The error is serious, for it leads the faithful to worship matter and demons as divine. The corruption of morals is a consequence of error: Idols excite lust and sensuality, which were invented by demons. To idolatry, Clement opposes the adoration of the true God, who shows humanity its proper dignity. Clement indicates this path of happiness by invoking *Deuteronomy* (5:8), *Exodus* (20:4), the *Sybilline Oracles* (4:4–7, 24:27–30), and Christian doctrine (*1 Pt.* 2:9; *Rom.* 6:4; *Jn.* 8:23). Chapter 4 of the *Protrepticus* is a veritable synthesis of the Christian concept of idolatry at the end of the second century.

The Latin apologists. The position taken by the Latin apologists in regard to the pagan gods constitutes a final stage. Here one again finds the Philonian schema of the *De vita contemplativa* (3–9). Yet, this schema is not a dead weight that condemns the argumentation of the Fathers to die-hard conservatism. Two facts emerge from the study of these documents: On the one hand, the researcher is witnessing a permanent renewal of the antipolytheistic argument; on the other hand, the authors take into account changes in the pagan cults, especially the rise of the mystery cults with their new religiosity. The documents appear at intervals from the late second to the fourth century: *To the Nations, Apology,* and *On Idolatry* by Tertullian; *Octavius* by Minucius Felix; *To Donatus, To Quirinius, To Demetrianus, Quod idola di non sint* by Cyprian; *Divinae institutiones* and *Epitome* by Lactantius Firmianus; and *De errore profanorum religionum* by Firmicus Maternus.

The pagan gods are not idols, states Tertullian: "We stopped worshiping your gods once we realized they do not exist" (*Apology* 10.2). He first substantiates his statement through history, for it is known where these gods were born and where their tombs are. He reproaches the pagans for claiming that their gods became gods after death because of their merits in the service of humans. After these considerations inspired by euhemerism, Tertullian tackles the question of *simulacra.* The statues are only inert matter, just like vases, dishes, and furniture. Insensitive to outrage or homage, these statues are given over to commerce if not to destruction. Tertullian treats these questions at greater length in *On Idolatry,* which undertakes to show that idolatry is the gravest sin, encompassing all others. He condemns painting, modeling, sculpture, and participation in public festivals, because idolatry hides beneath seemingly innocent actions. Furthermore, he forbids Christians to teach or to conduct business, for both pursuits require contact with idols. In short, all the powers and dignities of this world are alien to God; for this reason, Christians must likewise be forbidden the military life.

The Latin apologists also developed the idea that pagan gods are demons. Demonology held a place of honor at the beginning of the common era. Both Greek and Latin apologists transformed the false gods into demons. The fathers seized the opportunity to turn these demons, intermediary beings between humanity and divinity, into characters lurking in the shadows of idols. Minucius Felix explains that "the demons hide behind statues and sacred images and, by exhaling their breath," exercise their mysterious effects—spells, dreams, prodigies (*Octavius* 27.1–3). In *To the Nations* Tertullian speaks of the pagan gods represented by idols that the demons use as masks to deceive men, and in *On Idolatry,* he curses artists and workers who fashion these bodies for the demons. Minucius Felix does not hesitate to make the demons the beneficiaries of sacrifice. Taking up Tertullian's notion that the devil, in the mysteries of Mithra, mimics the Christian faith, Minucius Felix accuses the devil of having plagiarized Christian ritual in the religions of Mithra and Isis. Firmicus Maternus develops this theory further and discovers the devil everywhere in paganism—in idolatry, zoolatry, the deification of sovereigns, and astrology. Thus a shaken paganism faces a decisive condemnation of idolatry and idols.

Augustine. In his *Against the Pagans,* completed in 311, the convert Arnobius attacked paganism, denounced the anthropomorphism of the pagan cult, ridiculed the pagans' conception of the gods, censured their myths, and attacked the mystery cults. His disciple Lactantius, converted, like him, under the persecution of Diocletian, and began his *Divinae institutiones* in 304. Lactantius demonstrates that monotheism is the only form of belief in God consistent with truth and reason. Speaking of the general evil of polytheism, he explains it by euhemerism and by the ruse of demons who get themselves adored under divine names first in families and then in cities.

On August 24, 410, the hordes of Alaric entered Rome and subjected the city to pillage. The pagans accused the Christians of having destroyed the worship of the gods and thus chased away the city's protectors. Augustine's answer was the *City of God,* written between 413 and 426, whose twenty-two books constitute the last great apologetic work against ancient paganism.

The pagan gods were a prime target, but Augustine found himself confronting a paganism with multiple and contradictory aspects. Besides the divine populace of country rituals, there were the gods of the classical pantheon, deified men, and a Stoic pantheism that turned Jupiter into a world soul. Throughout the first ten books of *City of God,* Augustine launches a critique, in turn acerbic and ironic, of the Roman gods, polytheism, and mythology. To strike a fatal blow at the idols, he brings in Varro, Cicero, Seneca, Euhemerus, Apuleius, and Plato. He tries to fight Varro's theology with its false gnosis of etymologies of divine names and its tripartition of gods introduced by poets, philosophers, and heads of state. But Augustine knows that idols are not mere beings without substance, invented during the course of history. These idols are also in the hearts of worshipers, for idolatry consists of worshiping creation or a part of it as God. This theme is developed in *On Christian Doctrine* and *On True Religion,* in which Augustine, not content with a critique of the idol, launches a critique of the idol's worshiper, whom he considers a devil worshiper.

Thus, an essential aspect of Augustine's criticism of idolatry is his study of demonology. After having reviewed some of the major themes of his predecessors, he virtually psychoanalyzes the work of demons in the life of idol worshipers. Evoked by humans, demons take possession of idols. The *simulacra* become animate, and the work of demons can be achieved because the idol is no longer inert: An invisible *numen* is present. The idol serves as body for the demon. It receives life from the demon, to whom it lends itself. By this means, the demon accomplishes his revelation. For this reason, Augustine repeats incessantly, "The gods are demons, and worshipers of idols are worshipers of demons." Yet in book 8 of *City of God,* he diminishes the power of demons somewhat, because they are not gods. For Augustine, these false gods are lying angels who continue their struggle against the true God. The malice of the sin of idolatry is thus exposed.

Christianity since Augustine. Ever since the conversion of the empire to Catholicism, paganism had been in retreat. After one last revival under the emperor Julian, it found a tough opponent in Theodosius the Great (r. 379–395), who forbade idolatry as a crime of lèse-majesté. The fifth century witnessed the demolition of temples and idols; Augustine gave the final blow to pagan theology. But the church remained vigilant in order to uproot the last implantations of paganism and squelch its influence among the people. This preoccupation would be translated in three ways: penitential discipline enacted against the sin of idolatry; the teaching of morality, beginning with the writings of Tertullian; and the constant purification of Christian worship and vigilance regarding the veneration of saints. Several great controversies, especially iconoclasm and the Reformation, show that idolatry remained a preoccupation. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Protestants often accused the Catholic church of maintaining ceremonies and traditions tainted by idolatry. Recent discussions about the cult of the saints, the worship of images, and the origin of Christian worship show the historical and theological importance of the problem.

IDOLATRY AND ISLAM. An Arab proverb recorded by al-Maydānī says, "When you enter a village, swear by its god." On the eve of the Hijrah, Arab tribes venerated many gods. In his work *Kitāb al-aṣnām* (Cairo, 1914), Ibn al-Kalbī described the prosperity of the cult of idols in the pre-Islamic age (Jāhilīyah). These idols were *anṣāb,* or raised stones; *garis,* or stones upon which the blood of sacrifice was poured; sacred trees; and statuettes that were bought and sold at fairs and markets. Another word used by al-Kalbī, which is also found in the commentators of the Qurʾān, is *ṣanam* (pl., *aṣnām*), "an object venerated next to God." The word has a Semitic origin and seems close to the Hebrew *semel,* "representation." The word is found five times in the Qurʾān (6:74, 7:134, 14:38, 21:58, 26:1), designating the "idol" rejected by Muslims. In the pre-Islamic age *ṣanam* designated diverse objects: statues sculpted like the god Hubal, statues around the Kaʿbah in Mecca, and sacred trees and stones. These stones, which received libations and became objects of worship, were *anṣāb* (sg., *nuṣub*); the Arabs carried them in their migrations. Therefore *ṣanam* does not mean "divinity."

Al-Azraqī says that in Mecca there was an idol in every house. Through this proliferation of idols, the Arab invoked divinity. The gods of this vast pantheon brought the divine into the everyday realities of existence. The distinctions between various epiphanies resided in the names given them and the numerous sanctuaries. Onomastic documentation takes one back to a distant age where these idols existed, epiphanies of the divine. In addition, Hellenism introduced into Arab paganism heroes, ancestors, and genies from Petra, Palmyra, and other Hellenistic cities.

Another word is *shirk* (*mushrikūn*), which designates the act of associating a person with divinity; it is the word for polytheism. In the Qurʾān the word appears in the Medina *sūrahs*, where its use is frequent in Muḥammad's attacks on the associators, the *mushrikūn* (*sūrah* 6:94, 10:19, 30:12, 39:4). Such persons are to be avoided by believers. One must not pray for them, even if they are relatives (9:114). Their sin will not be pardoned. The word *kāfir,* "unbeliever," is more general and includes both the associators and the possessors of scripture (Jews and Christians). In the Qurʾān *shirk,* "associator," is the opposite of *muslim,* "worshiper of God." *Shirk* retains this meaning in the *ḥadīth*.

Muḥammad's opposition to idolatry is a Judeo-Christian inheritance. Abraham becomes the prototype of the monotheistic faith that Muḥammad espouses. Abraham is to the prophets what the Arabs are to other Muslim peoples. Beginning with Abraham's revelation, Muḥammad goes on to see in Islam not only the true monotheism but primordial hanifism (from *ḥanīf,* one who follows the original and true monotheistic religion; a Muslim), which was transmitted by Abraham's son Ishmael, following in his father's footsteps. It is in this original path that one discovers the Qurʾān's opposition to idolatry.

Idols are the enemies of God and his worshipers. Referring again to Abraham, the Qurʾān condemns them along with the whole Semitic ancestral tradition, which is the origin of their worship, a worship radically opposed to the worship of the one true God (26:69–83). The same idea is found in the text of *sūrah* 21:53/52 to 70, which tells how Abraham smashed the idols worshiped by his countrymen. These idols had no substance and were incapable of creating anything (25:3–5/4). Moses had to intervene against the sons of Israel who, after their flight from Egypt, began to worship the idols that they made for themselves (7:134/138). Thus Muḥammad orders his followers to avoid the stain of idolatry and to serve God in complete fidelity (22:31/30).

Throughout the whole Qurʾān is found opposition to idols and idolatry. One must turn away from them (15:94) for they bring unhappiness to their worshipers (41:5/6), who are nothing but liars upon whom God will inflict torment after torment (16:88/86–90/88). The idolators' error is a grave one because they have no faith in God (12:106), to whom they compare mere creatures (30:30). A terrible punishment awaits them: They will be treated like their idols (10:29/28), who will abandon them to their sad fate when they stand before the fire (6:23–29). Because of the seriousness of this error, the law of the Qurʾān demands that Muslims neither marry a woman idolator nor give their daughters to idolators in marriage (2:220–221). The Qurʾān makes a distinction between idolators (associators) on the one hand, and possessors of scripture on the other, that is to say, Jews and Christians. However, the two categories of non-Muslims are guilty of infidelity in respect to God, as emphasized in surah 98. In *sūrah* 22:17 (evidently a later text), is found the opposition between Muslims on the one hand, and Jews, Christians, Sabaeans, and Zoroastrians on the other. The Qurʾān demands that Muslims fight idolators (9:36).

Idolatry consists of associating a god or gods with God (51:51, 50:25–26). This idea keeps recurring; it is the Qurʾān's definition of idolatry, whence the word for associators. Idolatry is an insult to God, because honors reserved for him alone are bestowed on false gods. *Sūrah* 17:111 shows that there are three degrees of association: children, associates in kingship, and protectors (sg., *walī*). The idea of the protector is found several times in the Qurʾān. In *sūrah* 39:4/3, saints are divinities that the faithful worship because they consider them intermediaries who will bring them closer to God. From the beginning, in Islam, fear of idolatry led to the suppression of all mediation between the faithful and God. Association in kingship consists of putting false gods on an equal footing with the one and only God (14:35/30, 26:92, 26:98). It involves an actual insult to God, for the power of the Creator is given to beings who have no substance (32:3/4, 40:69/67, 29:41/42). These idols are only names (12:40); God is the sole master of the world and people. A third means of association consists of attributing children to God (43:81), an idea that appears repeatedly in diverse forms. The Qurʾān is undoubtedly alluding to polytheistic myths and statues of divinities in temples. *Sūrah* 23:93/91 tells of the quarrels of the gods who claim to be superior to each other. There is also mention of goddesses, daughters of God (43.15, 52:39). The most famous passage is *sūrah* 53:19–21, satanic verses about the three goddesses of the Kaʿbah. These goddesses were highly honored in the pre-Islamic Arab world, with great financial returns for the tribe of Quraysh. At the beginning of his preaching, the Prophet did not dare touch them. After the seizure of Mecca in 630, however, he had all the idols of the Kaʿbah destroyed in his presence.

The essence of idolatry resides in the insult to God by the associators, who confer on mere creatures the honors and worship reserved for the Unique, the Creator, the Master of the World. Like the apologists and the Fathers of the church, the Qurʾān insists on the work of the demon who impels men toward idols. Abraham asks his father not to worship Satan (19:45/44), who turns men away from the worship of

God (27:24). The demon is the patron of idolators (16:65/63) and as such is opposed to God (4:118/119). Consequently, idolatry becomes the demon's auxiliary (25:57/55). In *sūrah* 4:117, the Qurʾān says that idolators pray only to females, or to a rebellious demon.

Allāh is the creator God, judge, dealer of retribution, unique and one in himself, all-powerful, and merciful. He reveals himself through his prophets. He does not show himself, but is recognized in the signs of the universe, in the signs of God, *āyāt Allāh.* He can be known only by his word, his names, his attributes, and his deeds. In any case, he cannot be represented by an image or a representation. Islam is a religion without icons.

IDOLATRY AND HOMO RELIGIOSUS. Idolatry is a historical-religious concept that finds expression in the response and behavior of the three great monotheisms when confronted with the beliefs and the practices of the polytheistic religions they encountered along their way. This concept was developed in the course of discussions and confrontations with these monotheisms: three religions of the Book, depositories of a revelation, animated by prophecy and doctrines of salvation—religions that join humanity to a personal God who appears in history. Idolatry means divine worship of beings who are not God in the eyes of those who have defined worship as idolatrous. The word has a negative and pejorative connotation because to the faithful of a monotheistic religion, attitudes, behaviors, and rites that should be strictly reserved for the true God are turned by the idolator toward false gods. Thus, idolatry is a fundamental religious disequilibrium due to two paradoxical facts: on the one hand a divine cultus, on the other a substitute for the divine that is not God.

Fetishism is a historical-religious concept developed in the modern age by ethnologists and historians of religions, with a view to explaining the creeds of primal black peoples of western Africa. In *Du culte des dieux fétiches* (1760), Charles de Brosses tried to apprehend humankind in its archaic state of raw nature. He observed that ancient peoples worshiped animals, trees, plants, fountains, lakes, seas, stars, and rivers as contemporary primitives still do. To this worship, de Brosses gave the name *fetishism,* a term formed from the Portuguese *feitiço* ("witchcraft, bewitched subject"). Humanity sees an active presence in the fetish, which provokes fear and the need for protection. Humankind obtains protection through the observance of rites. Thus, the fetishist worships the object directly, unlike in polytheism, which de Brosses viewed as a more structured religion in which symbols are characterized above all by the image and the statue.

Research has made the notion of fetishism more precise. Fetishism is the belief in the existence of a power, concentrated in beings or objects, that humanity must harness for its own well-being. This power is obtained by means of individual or collective rites. The beneficial result will be a function of the force obtained; therefore humankind uses a whole web of rituals in order to increase the force and then capture it. The context here remains one of worship, but one in which ritual receives the greatest emphasis.

This parallel between two phenomena of worship, idolatry and fetishism, will allow one to better situate idolatry as a religious phenomenon perceived by the historian of religions. In this view, idolatry is the worship of a divinity represented by a substitute for the divine, called an idol. To grasp the different dimensions of this worship, the historians of religions center their research on *homo religiosus* at work in the exercise of this worship. They seek to understand human behavior through human rites and in the implementation of the human symbolic system.

In the Greco-Roman world, voices were raised against the adoration of divinity in human form by Heraclitus, Xenophanes, Pythagoras, Euripides, Diogenes and the Cynics, and Stoics such as Zeno and Seneca. Reflecting on the divinity, these thinkers tried to establish themselves as intermediaries between the philosophers' religion and that of the people. In this area, Plutarch's thought becomes apparent. Seeking to avoid the two extremes of superstition and atheism, he emphasizes that divine life and intelligence are not subordinate to humans. Likewise, he refuses the application of gods' names to insensate natures or inanimate objects (*De Iside* 66–67). In Egypt, he confronts zoolatry, which may lead to repugnant aberrations because of the worship of sacred animals. However, observing that the Egyptians were extraordinary inventors of symbols and emblems, Plutarch accepts the symbolism of the divine manifested in the life of beings. Consequently, he approves of those for whom these beings are an occasion to worship the divine.

During the first century of the common era, Dio Cocceianus (Chrysostomos) of Prusa, writing an apology for Greek art, affirmed: "We invest God with the human body since it is the vessel of thought and reason. In the complete absence of a primitive model we seek to reveal the incomparable and the invisible by means of the visible and the comparable, in a higher manner than certain barbarians who, in their ignorance and absurdity, liken the divinity to animal shapes." For Dio, plastic beauty expresses the divine. A century later the eclectic Platonist Maxim of Tyre treated the question of the legitimacy of portraying the gods. He notes that the Persians adored the divinity in the ephemeral image of fire; that the Egyptians contemplated their gods in objects and beings worthy of scorn; and that though the images may vary, the essential thing is to worship divinity: "God, the father of all things and their creator, existed before the sun and is older than the sky. . . . Since we cannot grasp his essence, we seek help in words, names, animal shapes, figures of gold, ivory, and silver" (*Philosophumena* 2.10).

Augustine leaves numerous allusions to the allegorical interpretation of idolatry by pagan authors. In *Expositions on the Psalms* 113 he speaks of certain people who claim that their worship does not really address itself to the elements themselves but to the divinities who are their masters. The same idea is found elsewhere in the same work (96), where the idolator declares that he worships the statue he sees, but submits to the god he does not see; the statue is only a substitute for the divinity. The pagan authors targeted by Augustine are perhaps the emperor Julian, Porphyry, and Varro.

The history of religions approaches idolatry in terms of those four fundamental aspects of religious belief and practice that *homo religiosus* has been evolving from prehistoric times down to the present: the sacred, myth, rite, and symbol. The idol represents a hierophany in which humans perceive a manifestation of the sacred that clothes the object in a new dimension. This dimension is obtained by means of rites consecrating the objects of worship, altars, divine statues, and temples: Sacral presence and sacred space are indispensable. Through consecration, the image or object now belongs to the divinity and can no longer serve a secular use. The Egyptian rituals for opening the mouth, eyes, nose, and ears of a statue made to represent a divinity attest to a theology of the sacred in which the idol is an incarnation of power and life, a personification; it evokes the greatness of the god. Greek art tried to render this sacral dimension through the whiteness of marble or through protective coatings applied to the idols. Worship reactualizes myths that put the worshiper in contact with primordial time and furnish him models for his life. Thanks to this celebration, humanity again becomes contemporary with the primordial event, which awakens and maintains its awareness of a world distinct from the secular world.

This mythical behavior of *homo religiosus* is likewise found in Christian worship, but with an essential difference: The return to a primordial event is not a return to mythical time, but to the historical time of the life of Christ. The Incarnation is effected in a historical time: The Christians who celebrate the mysteries of Christ know that they are simultaneously attaining the historical time of Jesus and the transhistoric time of the Word of God.

Idolatry is the area in which rites and symbols are multiplied. For humankind, it is a matter of transcending the human condition through contact with the sacred. The human reference point remains the archetype. This is the role of ritual. Religions have left extraordinary documentation on the rites of celebration, as for instance the sacrificial rites of ancient Greece and Rome, as well as sacred meals with mystical participation of the gods through statues led in procession; rituals of sacrifice with three fires in the Indo-European world; rites of *soma* in India and of *haoma* in Iran; the symbolism of the cults of Cybele and Mithra; the rites of daily worship in Egyptian temples; the power of the rite and of the word in the imitation of the primordial gesture of the god Thoth, creator of the cosmos; funeral rituals of embalming in ancient Egypt, linked to the Osiris myth; and the symbolism of the altar and of gestures in Hindu temples. Incorporated in the life and existence of *homo religiosus,* the symbolism of worship has the function of revelation, for it is the language of hierophany. It reveals a dimension that transcends the natural dimension of life. Consequently, it introduces a new significance into the life of individuals and society. In the celebration of worship, such sacred symbolism, myths, and rites help humankind to penetrate the mystery of salvation, a mystery that is represented by the holy history of human religion and culture.

SEE ALSO Anthropomorphism; Demons; Devils; Fetishism; Hierophany; Iconoclasm; Iconography, article on Jewish Iconography; Images; Synagogue.

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IGBO RELIGION. The Igbo are the largest ethnic group of southeastern Nigeria, numbering about fifteen million people in 2000. Until the mid-twentieth century the overwhelming majority of Igbo were farmers, raising yams as their staple crop. Traditionally, the Igbo lived in villages or village-groups surrounded by their farms. The village-group was the primary unit of political authority; there was no sustained tradition of centralized states within Igbo society. Rather, there were strong ties of the village community, the extended family system, age-group associations, and the various religious organizations that were important to community life. The Igbo have been exposed to Christian missionary activity since 1841; in 1857 an Anglican mission was opened at the important town of Onitsha along the Niger River. The Roman Catholics came in 1885. By the mid-twentieth century most Igbo had adopted Christianity, though the tensile strength of Igbo traditional religion sustained millions of devotees.

Igbo religion distinguishes between three types of supernatural beings: God, the spirits, and the ancestors. Ndigbo believe that there is only one supreme being, who is variously known in different parts of Igboland as Chukwu, Chineke, Ezechitoke, Osebuluwa or Obasi di n'elu. Each name privileges certain attributes. He created the world and sustains it from above, and one of his praise names is "the one who is known but never fully known." Igbo parents honor Chukwu by naming their children in praise of his power: Chukwudi ("God lives"), Chukwu nyelu ("God gave"), Chukwuneke ("God creates"), Chukwuma ("God knows"), Chukwuka ("God is greater"), Ifeanyichukwu ("nothing impossible with God"), Chukwuemeka ("God has been very kind"), Kenechukwu ("thank God"), Ngozichukwu ("blessing of God"), Chukwumailo ("God knows my enemies"), and Chukwujioke ("God is the sharer").

Chukwu is seen as a powerful, munificent God, the one who holds the knife and the yam and provides people with wealth, rain, and children, and who is merciful toward rich and poor, male and female, child and aged. Every morning the father of the family offers prayers to the supreme being. Chukwu does not intervene in the minor details of human existence, however; such matters he leaves to the spirits and ancestors, who are often described as his messengers.

The spirits *(alusi)* are powerful beings who inhabit the three dimensions of space—sky, earth (land and water), and ancestral world. There are several categories of spirits. Powerful sky deities manifest through thunder, lightning, sun, and moon; nature spirits inhabit rocks, hills, caves, trees, and land or farms. The guardian spirit of the earth is Ani/Ala, the earth mother. There is also a spirit associated with each day of the Igbo four-day week: Eke, Orie, Afor, and Nkwo. Patron spirits serve as guardians of hunters, farmers, fishermen, medicine men, and other professional guilds; the matron spirit is called Nne Miri or Mami Wata. Marine spirits inhabit rivers and streams. Human spirits, called *chi,* determine each individual's destiny. Spirit forces energize medicine that individuals can conjure and deploy for strength, protection, or to harm enemies. Ancestral spirits are the living dead who inhabit the spirit world but are involved in the lives of progenies in the human world. During festivals, they visit the human world as guests in form of masquerades. Evil spirits live in both human and spirit worlds. Only those who lived honest lives, did not die from inexplicable diseases, and had full burial rites can be ancestors or reincarnate. The spirits of evil people wander as *akalogolu* who appear on lonely farm roads to frighten people. Among the most dreaded evil spirits are *ogbanje*—spirits who manifest as children, covenanted to return to the marine world after a brief sojourn among human families. Their mission is to participate exuberantly in life events, tantalizing parents with their excessive beauty, friendliness, joy of living, and precocious habits. Near the appointed time of return, they develop unusual illnesses and die very suddenly. *Ogbanje* spirits tend to possess females. Parents consult *dibia afa* (divining healers, as opposed to *dibia ogwu,* who are adept with herbs), make sacrifices to marine spirits, and use facial scarifications on the children to discourage their return to the human world. Body marks at birth may betray an *ogbanje* child (modern medicine suspects sickle cell anemia).

Benevolent spirits have shrines, priests, and religious festivals as part of their worship. The wicked spirits receive no regular cultic activity except the occasional offering made with the left hand as the supplicant asks to be left alone. Major ancestors have statues, which recall their spiritual power, located at a family shrine. Before drinking palm wine, the Igbo pour out a few drops in honor of the ancestors. The ancestors are believed to help the living reap a good harvest, have many children, and protect the family from misfortunes. Ancestors may also be reincarnated among the children of their descendants.

Acts of religious worship permeate daily life and are often conducted on behalf of family or village groups. A father's morning prayer to Chukwu is offered on behalf of his entire family. Individuals invoke the name of a spirit or even that of Chukwu when they sense danger, have cause to rejoice, when they sneeze, or when they approach a spirit's shrine. Prayers also accompany ritual sacrifice. They are offered to God, the spirits, and the ancestors, and can be prayers of petition, praise, or thanksgiving. The Igbo perceive time as cyclical, from birth to death and reincarnation. Rites of passage are celebrated: naming ceremonies, puberty rites, marriage rites, membership in secret and open societies, adult roles in communal governance, and funerary rites. Both the poor*, ogbenye,* and the rich, *ogalanya,* are judged after this life by their honest commitment to communal values.

Sacrifice is central in Igbo religious life. Sacrifices are offered for the expiation of sins, for protection from misfortune, to petition for assistance, and to offer thanks. Most are offered to spirits and ancestors, but in certain cases sacrifices of white chickens are offered directly to Chukwu. Sacrifices at family shrines are performed by the senior man of the family. Each spirit has its own priests who perform sacrifices at the shrine. Offerings include eggs, chickens, fruits, goats, cows, and (in a few rare cases of community sacrifices) human beings. Sometimes the victim—animal or human—is offered to a spirit and a little of its blood is shed as a sign of an offering, but the victim is allowed to live as a devotee who is consecrated to the spirit. Human sacrifices are sometimes connected with adjudication of disputes at oracular shrines. Oracles are graded according to purview. The three with the widest geographical patronage that extended beyond Igboland were Ogbunorie, Igwe-ka-Ala, and Ibin Ukpabi. The last acquired notoriety because the Arochukwu, who served as middlemen in the transatlantic slave trade manipulated the oracle by soaking the stream near the ravine that housed the oracle with red ochre wood and declaring that Ibin Ukpabi had eaten the guilty party in the arbitration. Meanwhile, they sneaked the hapless victim through the forest to a waiting slave boat. The colonial government conducted a raid on the Arochukwu community between 1901 and 1902, but could not wipe out the oracle. They followed this with four other four raids between 1912 and 1925 against the oracle, still to no avail.

Healing is central to Igbo religion. *Ndi dibia ogwu* (herbalists) employ a variety of techniques to discern the spiritual cause of a particular malady or misfortune: a violation of taboos/prohibitions, moral failure, an offense against a spirit, or a bad personal fate *(chi).* A spirit, *agwu,* possesses the herbalist after he recites incantations, and it identifies the herb and the location in the forest for the cure.

Social control models include socialization into acceptable values *(omenali),* restriction through satires and peer joking relationships, punishment for those who flout the salient values, and reward for those who uphold them. Each control is legitimized with religion. For instance, theft from a farm threatens the food security of the community, so the elders invoke the spirits of Ahiajioku (the god of the yam who also guards farms), Ani/Ala (the earth mother), or ancestors to detect and punish the thief. The earth spirit and ancestors serve as guardians of morality. The most serious crimes are abominations committed against the earth spirit, such as patricide, suicide, incest, theft of crops or livestock, giving birth to twins, and killing sacred animals. Itinerant priests from Nri conduct the expiation of such abominations. Ndigbo employ covenants with the gods of their fathers to preserve social order, enhance the well-being of individuals and communities, and preserve the highest values, *nka na nzere*—long life and prosperity. They sacralize the whole of life.

SEE ALSO God, article on African Supreme Beings.

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IGNATIUS LOYOLA (c. 1491–1556) was the author of *Spiritual Exercises,* founder and first superior general of the Jesuits, and a Christian saint. Iñigo López de Loyola was born to noble, wealthy Basque parents in the castle at Loyola, near Azpeitia, Guipúzcoa province, in northernmost Spain. Beginning in the mid-1530s he more and more frequently called himself Ignatius, although he also used his baptismal name Iñigo (Enecus in Latin). Up to 1521 his career gave no premonition of his subsequent development into one of the most influential religious figures of the sixteenth and later centuries.

Early Life and Education. In the patriarchal family in which Iñigo spent his boyhood, loyalty to Roman Catholic doctrines was unquestioning, and observance of religious practices and moral standards was about average for its social class. At about the age of twelve Iñigo received the tonsure; but his father may well have intended this not to mark the start of a clerical vocation, but merely to be the means of procuring the income from a local benefice at his disposal.

A momentous change in the youngster's life occurred when he was between twelve and sixteen years of age. His father (who died in 1507, long after his wife) accepted the invitation of Juan Velázquez de Cuéllar to receive the boy into his home at Arévalo in Castile, and there raise him as if he were his own son, while preparing him for a career in politics, public administration, and arms. The wealthy and famous Velázquez would act as the boy's patron at the royal court, while utilizing his services as a page. Velázquez was the master of the royal treasury and a confidant of King Ferdinand the Catholic; his wife was an intimate friend of the queen. Baldassare Castiglione's famous *Book of the Courtier* (1528), a manual for the training of the polished gentleman and model courtier, details the type of education furnished to the young page, with emphasis on courtly manners and conversation, proficiency in music and dancing, fastidiousness about dress and personal appearance, devotion to the ruler, and skill in arms. Iñigo's literary schooling proved superficial, consisting mainly of avid reading of tales of chivalry, then very popular. As he later admitted, his mind was filled with the military and amorous adventures of Amadis of Gaul and other fictional heroes. These novels proved an important formative influence, however, for they fired an ambition to gain fame by great feats of arms.

As Iñigo developed into manhood—short (about five feet, two inches tall) but robust, well-formed, fair-haired with long locks—his activities included gaming, dueling, and amorous affairs. In 1515 he and his brother Pero, a priest, were hailed before a secular court for some unspecified deeds of premeditated violence perpetrated at night during the carnival at Azpeitia. They escaped sentence by appealing to an ecclesiastical court, whose judgment remains unknown. Another revealing incident took place a few years later in Pamplona. While Iñigo was walking along a street, a group of men headed in the opposite direction shoved him against a wall. Drawing his sword, he chased them and would have run them through had he not been restrained.

When Velázquez died in 1517, his page promptly entered the service of the duke of Nájera, viceroy of Navarre, as a courtier, with obligations to military duty if needed. During the revolt of the Comuneros, Iñigo fought in the forefront of the duke's forces in the victorious storming of Nájera (September 1520), but he refused to participate in the customary sack of the town as an act unworthy of a Christian or a gentleman. When the French invaded Navarre in 1521 and attacked Pamplona, its capital, the townsfolk surrendered without a struggle. Almost alone at a council of war, Iñigo advocated resistance to death in the fortress above the city. In the absence of a priest, he prepared for the end by following a medieval custom of confessing his sins nonsacramentally to a comrade-in-arms. During the six-hour bombardment of the citadel on May 21, a cannonball struck Iñigo, injuring his left leg and breaking his right one below the knee. This calamity moved the small garrison to surrender; it also effected a metamorphosis in the wounded man's life.

Chivalrously but inexpertly, the French tended Iñigo's injuries and then permitted their vanquished enemy to be carried back to his family home on a litter. In resetting the limb there, the surgeon shortened the broken leg and left a large, unsightly protrusion on the kneecap. Impelled by vanity, by a determination to return to his former lifestyle, and by romantic notions about impressing a lady of very high, perhaps royal, lineage, whose name is still the subject of conjectures and who may have been an imaginary figure, Iñigo insisted on further surgery. The lump was sawed off and the leg was stretched almost to normal length. During all these excruciatingly painful operations, performed without anesthesia, the iron-willed patient voiced no complaint.

To while away the tedium of convalescence, the sick man turned to reading. Because the meager family library lacked his preferred tales of chivalry, he accepted Spanish versions of Ludolph of Saxony's life of Christ and Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend,* a collection of saints' lives. As he kept rereading and reflecting on these two famous works of edification, Iñigo developed an aversion for his worldly ideals and ways. He resolved to serve and imitate Christ alone and to emulate the deeds of the saints, although in a manner as yet undetermined.

Spiritual Life and Leadership. Early in 1522 Iñigo left home and started on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Soon he took a vow of perpetual chastity, dismissed his two servants, and disposed of all his money. At the Benedictine monastery of Montserrat on March 22–25, he gave away his mule and his fine clothes, donning a coarse pilgrim's garb of sackcloth. Then he made a knightly vigil of arms, praying all night before the altar of Our Lady, where he discarded his sword and dagger. From Montserrat he proceeded to the nearby town of Manresa, where his stay, originally intended to last only a few days, extended to eleven fateful months. At Manresa, the pilgrim, as he now termed himself, refused to divulge his true identity. He led a life of great austerity and underwent bodily penances so severe that they permanently impaired his rugged constitution. Unkempt in appearance, he obtained food and lodging by begging, a practice he was to follow for years. At times he dwelt in a cave. Besides devoting seven hours daily to prayer on his knees, he read pious books, especially the *Imitation of Christ,* and performed works of charity.

At Manresa Iñigo also composed the substance of *Spiritual Exercises,* although he continued revising and expanding the text until 1541. In its opening paragraph the slender book describes spiritual exercises as "every method of examination of conscience, of vocal and mental prayer, and of other spiritual activities that will be mentioned later . . . to prepare and dispose the soul to rid itself of all inordinate attachments; and after their removal, to seek and find God's will concerning the disposition of one's life for the salvation of the soul." Along with a number of annotations, rules, and notes, the text proposes points for methodical meditations and contemplations on various Christian doctrines and on some key topics original to the author, but mostly on incidents in the life of Christ.

Divided into four stages, called weeks, the exercises in their fullness are meant to occupy the memory, imagination, understanding, and will of a retreatant, under a director and secluded from temporal affairs, for thirty days, although considerable elasticity in length is permitted. Primarily the book is a manual of practical directives for a retreat director. Highly compressed and lacking in literary embellishments, the text is not designed for continued pious reading in the usual sense. The book was mainly the product of the author's own experiences within himself and with others. It soon won acclaim as a spiritual masterpiece, original, unified, outstanding for its sound religious psychology and pedagogy, and remarkably well organized. Its contents manifest the essence of Ignatian and Jesuit spirituality, and it has exerted an enormous influence throughout the Catholic world down to the present day. As early as 1548, Paul III's *Pastoralis officii* gave what has been termed the most explicit and honorable papal approval ever accorded a book. A long list of popes have added their own commendations, culminating with Pius XI, who in 1922 officially designated Ignatius as the patron saint of spiritual exercises.

From Manresa the pilgrim traveled by foot and by ship to Jerusalem, arriving on September 4, 1523, by way of Barcelona, Gaeta, and Rome and Venice. Only because he was denied permission to reside permanently in the Holy City, where he had hoped to spend his days visiting the sacred places and evangelizing, did he decide to return to Spain. He set sail for Venice on October 3, 1523, and arrived in Barcelona in February 1524.

Study, motivated by a desire to help souls, preoccupied the next eleven years. After applying himself to Latin in Barcelona (1524–1526), Iñigo undertook university courses in philosophy at Alcalá (March 1525–June 1527) and Salamanca (July–September 1527). Extracurricular apostolic activities won the student a number of followers, mostly women, and aroused official suspicions regarding his apparent adherence to the heretical Alumbrados. During their investigations, diocesan officials at Alcalá imprisoned the uncomplaining suspect for forty-two days and those at Salamanca for an additional twenty-two, but in both cases Iñigo was exonerated. To escape the restrictions attached to his freedom, he migrated to the University of Paris (1528–1535), where he gained a master of arts degree in philosophy in 1534 and then studied philosophy for a year and a half.

In Paris, new followers were attracted by Iñigo's spiritual exercises. On August 15, 1534, in a chapel on Montmartre, he and six companions vowed to dedicate their lives to the good of their neighbors, while observing strict poverty, and to journey to Jerusalem on pilgrimage or, if this proved impossible (as it did because of war), to place themselves at the disposal of the pope. Three others joined in the renewal of this vow a year later, bringing to ten the original membership of the as yet unforeseen Society of Jesus.

Heading for Jerusalem, Ignatius traveled in December 1535 to Venice, where his nine companions joined him in January 1537. He and six of the nine were ordained priests there the following June. After long deliberations with the whole group, Ignatius resolved to make their association a permanent, structured one, to be called the Society of Jesus. His First Formula of the Institute, a brief draft of a constitution, received solemn confirmation from Paul III on September 27, 1540, canonically establishing it as a religious order. The new order aimed at the salvation and perfection of its members, popularly known as Jesuits, and of all humankind. To this end it incorporated a number of innovations in its organization, manner of life, and scope of ministries.

In 1541 the other nine cofounders of the Society of Jesus unanimously elected Ignatius superior general for life. Under his leadership, membership increased rapidly, reaching about 940 at the time of his death, on July 31, 1556. Members dispersed throughout Europe and penetrated Africa, Asia, and the Western Hemisphere. They engaged in numerous pastoral, educational, and missionary labors, while moving to the forefront of the work of the Catholic revival and Counter-Reformation. As head of the highly centralized society, Ignatius played the key role in all this activity, as well as in the internal development of the order. He it was who devised, organized, supervised, or at least approved all these ministries, keeping in close contact with them through an enormous correspondence; some seven thousand of his letters have since been published. Besides admitting new members, choosing superiors, and regulating the spiritual life of his fellow religious, he composed the Jesuit Constitutions, along with other religious instructions and rules. In Rome he founded the tuition-free Roman College (now the Gregorian University) and the German College to train priests for Germany. In addition he founded and won support for several charitable institutions.

Because of his rare combination of talents, Ignatius influenced modern religious life as few have done. He was at once a man of prayer, a contemplative, a mystic who reported many visions, a man of action, and a born leader not only in individual spiritual direction but also in practical projects of great magnitude. He was zealous in promoting the greater glory of God, and he was a sharp judge of persons and events: reflective, imperturbable, prudent, decisive, and wise in adjusting means to ends. His mode of government, while stressing obedience, was paternal, not at all military, as is sometimes argued. In personal contacts he was inevitably courteous, tactful, grave but pleasant and genial. He was beatified in 1609 and canonized in 1622.

SEE ALSO Jesuits.

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IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH (c. 35–c. 107) was a bishop and Christian saint, martyred in Rome. His name may be derived from the Latin *ignis,* which means "fire," but nothing is known of his origins. Origen relates that Ignatius was the second bishop of Antioch after Peter, but Eusebius of Caesarea writes that he was the third bishop of Antioch after succeeding Peter and Euodius (d. around 69) and thus the predecessor of Heron of Antioch (70–107). He may have met the apostles and most probably John and Paul, but there is no confirmation of this. In his letter to the Ephesians (9.2), he calls himself *theophoros,* that is, "God-bearer," a man who bears in himself God and Christ. Indeed, his letters show him to be an exceptional man with an exceptional faith in Christ.

Although Ignatius lacked formal education, his rule as bishop was an illustrious one. During the persecutions of Emperor Trajan he was arrested, condemned, and ordered to be executed at Rome. Because of his high reputation, his execution in Rome would provide an example to the growing numbers of Christians in the East and at the same time an entertainment for the Romans, who delighted in witnessing the execution of prominent Christians. On his way to Rome, Ignatius was taken under the guard of ten soldiers to Smyrna, whence he wrote letters to the Christians of Ephesus, Magnesia Tralles, and Rome. From Troas he wrote letters to the churches in Philadelphia and Smyrna and to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna. Apparently, throughout the long and exhausting journey, he was received by the Christian communities with great respect and reverence. Finally he was executed in the Colosseum of Rome. Another tradition, originating in Antioch and recorded in the sixth century by John Malalas, holds that Ignatius suffered martyrdom in Antioch, but such information is without any historical foundation. The Eastern church commemorates Ignatius's name on December 20 and the Western church on February 1.

Most patrologists today accept the authenticity of seven letters of Ignatius. Because of Ignatius's emphasis on the importance of the office of bishop, a dispute arose among patristic scholars during the fifteenth and then during the sixteenth centuries concerning the authenticity of the letters. Although there are four versions of these letters, the dispute has settled on the authenticity of the so-called long recension and short recension. The first contains thirteen letters and the second only three (those to the Ephesians, Romans, and Polycarp). Through vigorous discussion and debate by John Pearson (1672), Joseph B. Lightfoot (1885), and others, the authenticity of the seven letters has been accepted. Most recently, J. Rius-Camps (1980) advanced the theory that a forger, availing himself of the genuine ending of the letter to the Ephesians, and through a process of interpolation and plagiarism, composed three spurious letters to the churches of Philadelphia and Smyrna, and to Polycarp. The chief motive of the alleged forger, according to Rius-Camps, was to emphasize church unity and absolute obedience to the bishop. Such an elaborate hoax cannot be proved beyond dispute. The seven letters of Ignatius can still claim credibility and acceptance.

Although not a man of secular erudition, Ignatius, with his simplicity of style, his biblical language and idioms, and his emotional and passionate devotion to Jesus Christ, is one of the most attractive of the early church fathers. His great faith, humility, and willingness to suffer martyrdom for Christ are reflected movingly in his letters, which emphasize three central themes: Christ, the unity of the church under the bishop, and the Eucharist. He is probably the first father of the church to emphasize in clear terms both the divinity and the humanity of Christ: "There is only one physician—of flesh yet spiritual, born yet unbegotten, God incarnate, genuine life in the midst of death, sprung from Mary as well as God, first subject to suffering then beyond it—Jesus Christ our Lord" (*Letter to the Ephesians* 7.2). He is ready to die for Christ and only for him. "Of no use to me will be the farthest reaches of the universe or the kingdoms of this world. I would rather die and come to Jesus Christ than be king over the entire earth" (*Letter to the Romans* 6.1).

Ignatius is the first Christian writer to use the term *catholic* for the church, and he insists on the unity of the church under the auspices of the bishop. In his letter to the church at Smyrna he says

> You should all follow the bishop as Jesus Christ did the Father. Follow, too, the presbytery as you would the apostles; and respect the deacons as you would God's law. Nobody must do anything that has to do with the Church without the bishop's approval. You should regard that Eucharist as valid which is celebrated either by the bishop or by someone he authorizes. Where the bishop is present, there let the congregation gather, just as where Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church. (8.1–8.2)

Other letters declare the bishop to be *tupos,* or likeness, of God the Father and charge that nothing should be done "without the bishop." This unity under the bishop must have practical applications. To the Magnesians he writes, "Hence you must have one prayer, one petition, one mind, one hope, dominated by love and unsullied joy—that means you must have Jesus Christ. . . . Run off—all of you—to one temple of God, as it were, to one altar, to one Jesus Christ, who came forth from one Father, while still remaining one with him, and returning to him" (7.1–2).

Ecclesiastical unity should be expressed most especially during the Eucharist. Ignatius admonishes the Ephesians to

> assemble yourselves together in common, every one of you severally, man by man, in grace, in one faith and one Jesus Christ, who after the flesh was of David's race, who is Son of Man and Son of God, to the end that you may obey the bishop and the presbytery without distraction of mind; *breaking one bread, which is the medicine of immortality and the antidote that we should not die but live for ever in Jesus Christ.* (20.2)

To the Philadelphians, he writes: "Be careful, then, to observe a single eucharist. For there is one flesh of our Lord, Jesus Christ, and one cup of his blood that makes *us* one, and one altar just as there is one bishop along with the presbytery and the deacons, my fellow slaves" (4.1). The message is clear: one God the Father, one Jesus Christ, one Holy Spirit, one church, one Eucharist, one altar, one bishop. Only through this kind of unity will the Christians prove themselves real disciples of Christ and will Christ dwell in them.

The impact of Ignatius's letters was great. He dispelled the notion that the new religion offered a magical way of salvation and propagated the teaching that only through real unity in the life of the church and in the sharing of the corporate eucharistic life will Christians taste the joy of salvation and become members of the kingdom of God.

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IGNORANCE SEE KNOWLEDGE AND IGNORANCE

IʿJĀZ is the concept of the "miraculousness of the Qurʾān." That the Qurʾān is the miracle of Muḥammad is an Islamic doctrine of the utmost importance because it is held to prove the divine source of the holy Book, and hence its authority, as well as the authenticity of the Prophet to whom it was revealed. But what constitutes this miracle is a subject that has engaged Muslim thinkers for many generations. By the early part of the third century AH (ninth century CE), the word *iʿjāz* had come to mean that quality of the Qurʾān that rendered people incapable of imitating the Book or any part thereof in content and form. By the latter part of that century, the word had become a technical term, and the numerous definitions applied to it after the tenth century have shown little divergence from the key concepts of the inimitability of the Qurʾān and the inability of human beings to match it even when challenged.

The idea of the challenge is based on several verses of the Qurʾān: in *sūrah* 52:33–34 there is a challenge to produce a discourse resembling it; in *sūrah* 17:88, to bring forth a like of it; in *sūrah* 11:13, to contrive ten *sūrahs* similar to it; in *sūrahs* 10:38 and 2:23–24, to compose only one *sūrah* matching it, the latter *sūrah* adding, "and you will not." The Qurʾān declares also that even if men and jinn were to combine their efforts, they would be incapable of producing anything like it (17:88) or even like one surah of it (10:38).

The argument, as in *Ḥujaj al-nubūwah* (Proofs of prophethood) of al-Jāḥiẓ (d. AH 255/869 CE), that Muḥammad's pagan Arab contemporaries failed to take up the challenge to discredit him, although they were masters of rhetoric and strongly motivated by opposition to Islam and by tribal pride, led some Muslim thinkers to associate the miracle with the Qurʾān's sublime style. Others supported this argument by reference to the contents of the Qurʾān, highlighting its information about the distant past, its prophecies of future and eschatological events, its statements about God, the universe, and society—all of which were beyond an unlettered man like Muḥammad.

Early in the theological discussion, al-Naẓẓām (d. 846) introduced the concept of the *ṣarfah* ("turning away") and argued that the miracle consisted in God's turning the competent away from taking up the challenge of imitating the Qurʾān, the implication being that otherwise the Qurʾān could be imitated. This notion was acceptable only to a few, such as Hishām al-Fuwaṭī (d. 833?), ʿAbbād ibn Sulaymān (ninth century), and al-Rummānī (d. 996). On the whole, the Muslim consensus continued to hold to the stylistic supremacy of the Qurʾān. In his systematic and comprehensive study entitled *Iʿjāz al-Qurʾān*, al-Bāqillānī (d. 1013) upheld the rhetorically unsurpassable style of the Qurʾān, but he did not consider this to be a necessary argument in favor of the Qurʾān's uniqueness and emphasized instead the content of revelation. On the other hand, al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār (d. 1025) insisted on the unmatchable quality of the Qurʾān's extraordinary eloquence and unique stylistic perfection. In volume 16 of his extensive *Al-mughnī* (The sufficient book), he argued that eloquence (*faṣāḥah*) resulted from the excellence of both meaning and wording, and he explained that there were degrees of excellence depending on the manner in which words were chosen and arranged in any literary text, the Qurʾān being the highest type.

The choice and arrangement of words, referred to as *naẓm*, have been treated in several books entitled *Naẓm al-Qurʾān,* such as those by al-Jāḥiẓ, now lost, al-Sijistānī (d. 928), al-Balkhī (d. 933), and Ibn al-Ikhshīd (d. 937). Al-Rummānī offered a detailed analysis of Qurʾānic style in his *Al-nukat fī iʿjāz al-Qurʾān* (Subtleties of the Qurʾān's inimitability) and emphasized the psychological effect of the particular *naẓm* of the Qurʾān without, however, disregarding other elements of content that render the Qurʾān inimitable. His contemporary al-Khaṭṭābī (d. 998) argued in his *Bayān iʿjāz al-Qurʾān* (Clarification of the Qurʾān's inimitability) that the source of *iʿjāz* the insuperable manner in which Qurʾanic discourse binds meaning and wording, using various styles that combine literary qualities characteristic of the Qurʾān alone and that are conducive to a special psychological effect.

The author who best elaborated and systematized the theory of *naẓm* in his analysis of the *iʿjāz* is ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 1078) in his *Dalāʾil al-iʿjāz* (Indicators of inimitability). His material was further organized by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1209) in his *Nihāyat al-ījās fī dirāyat al-iʿjāz* (Extreme concision in the comprehension of inimitability) and put to practical purposes by al-Zamakhsharī (d. 1144) in his exegesis of the Qurʾān entitled *Al-kashshāf* (The elucidator), rich in rhetorical analysis of the Qurʾanic style.

Hardly anything new has been added by later writers on *iʿjāz*. In modern times, Muṣṭafā Ṣādiq al-Rāfiʿī (d. 1937) emphasized two points in explaining the sources of *iʿjāz* in his *Iʿjāz al-Qurʾān wa-al-balāghah al-nabawī-yah* (Cairo, 1926), namely, the insufficiency of human capabilities to attempt an imitation and the persistence of this inability throughout the ages. A more recent writer, ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Khaṭīb, offers four points in the same vein in his two-volume study *Iʿjāz al-Qurʾān: Dirāsah kāshifah li-khaṣāʾiṣ al-balāghah al-ʿarabīyah wa-maʿāyīrihā* (An elucidating study of the characteristics of Arabic rhetoric and its criteria; 2d ed., Beirut, 1975), namely, the absolute truth of the Qurʾān; its authoritative, all-knowing tone of speech; its beautiful *naẓm*; and its spirituality, which derives from the spirit of God.

SEE ALSO Qurʾān; Tafsīr.

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ĪJĪ, ʿAḌUD AL-DĪN AL- (AH 680?–756/1281?–1356 CE) was a Muslim theologian and jurist of the Il-khanid period. He originated from a well-to-do family of notables and judges living in the town of Īg in the province of Shābankārah, near the strait of Hormuz in the Persian Gulf. As a young man, he tried to make a career at the court of the Mongol dynasty reigning in Iran, the Il-khanids in Tabriz, and succeeded in winning the favor of the powerful vizier Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, a Jew who had converted to Islam when the Mongols themselves finally gave up their inherited shamanist or Buddhist convictions. Rashīd al-Dīn gave him a teaching post at a mobile "university" that accompanied the Il-khanid ruler Öljeitu during his campaigns, but because al-Ījī was a Sunnī, his position may have become precarious when Öljeitu turned to Shiism in 1310. In the long run, he seems to have returned to Shābankārah, where, after the death of his father in 1317, he had to administer large estates that secured the wealth of his family in the form of a charitable trust *(waqf)*. When Rashīd al-Dīn was executed in 1318, al-Ījī severed his relations with the court and returned only when Rashīd al-Dīn's son Ghiyāth al-Dīn managed to take over the vizierate in 1327; he then became chief judge of the empire. However, with the end of the Il-khanid dynasty in 1335, he moved to Shiraz where he found the protection of the provincial ruler Abū Isḥāq Injü and became chief judge of the town. His salary was much lower than before, but he enjoyed the atmosphere of an art-loving court and the company of poets such as Ḥāfiẓ Shirazi (d. 1390?). This phase of quiet life lasted for almost twenty years until, in 1354, al-Ījī's patron was driven out of Shiraz by Mubāriz al-Dīn, a rival ruler whose sphere of influence also included Shābankārah. Al-Ījī therefore prudently knotted secret connections with the new man and escaped to his native town shortly before Shiraz was captured. His treason did not, however, go unnoticed. Apparently at the initiative of a former adherent of Abū Isḥāq Injü, he was imprisoned in a fortress near Īg and died there in 1356.

Al-Ījī was a prolific writer. Many of his works are dedicated to Ghiyāth al-Dīn or Abū Isḥāq. Intended as systematic handbooks for teaching in high schools, they have no claims to originality, but they are well structured and reflect the long scholarly tradition of the Muslim East, which had never been completely interrupted by the Mongol invasion. They cover the disciplines of scholastic theology, jurisprudence (according to the Shāfiʿī school), Qurʾanic exegesis, rhetoric and dialectics, ethics, and, to a certain extent, historiography. Their popularity is attested by the great number of commentaries on them. Some of them are still used in religious universities such as al-Azhar in Cairo. They have, however, been almost completely neglected in Western scholarship. The most important work among them is the *Kitāb al-mawāqif* (Book of stations), a concise *summa theologica* that, after the example of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, explains traditional Ashʿarī doctrine in philosophical terms borrowed from Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna). It consists of six books, of which only the last two deal strictly with theological problems, which are subdivided into matters depending on reason (the essence of God and his attributes) and on revelation (eschatology, belief and sin, and so forth). The first four books are concerned with the general conceptual framework of theological discourse: epistemology, philosophical principles (such as necessity, possibility, eternity, and contingence), accidents, and substances.

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IJMĀʿ. The Arabic term *ijmaʿ,* which means "agreement" or "consensus," becomes in Islamic jurisprudence the designation for one of the four sources of law posited by classical Sunnī theory, namely the consensus of the Muslim community. This consensus ranks as the third of the four sources, the first, second, and fourth of which are the Qurʾān, the *sunnah* (custom) of the prophet Muḥammad, and analogical reasoning (*qiyās*). For the majority of Sunnī legal theorists, the work of constructing legal rules is carried on by qualified scholars, called *mujtahid*s, on behalf of the community as a whole. Whatever these scholars agree upon is therefore constitutive of the consensus of the community, and it is not necessary for them to take into account the views of an unqualified laity. The majority of theorists further hold that an authoritative consensus is fully constituted at the very moment when the community's living scholars agree unanimously on a rule of law; it is not necessary to allow additional time for individual scholars to reconsider their decisions or to wait until the entire body of scholars involved in the consensus has passed away, thus eliminating any possibility of reconsideration. Once constituted, a consensus is irrevocable. It represents, in the view of all Sunnīs, an infallible and immutable statement of the divine law, or *sharīʿah.* As such, it is worthy to be made the basis of further legal constructions by individual scholars through either interpretation or analogical deduction. It is for this reason that *ijmāʿ* is included among the sources of law.

Sunnī theorists agree that the authority of consensus must rest upon revealed declaration and that all attempts to base that authority upon purely rational considerations are futile. The only self-constituted authority is that of the Creator-Lord; the authority of consensus can be nothing more than its derivative. However, the search for a clear-cut divine endorsement for the authority of consensus has been one of the most arduous tasks undertaken by classical Islamic jurisprudence. The various loci classici employed in this search have all proved to be in some degree problematic: The relevant Qurʾanic passages allow diverse interpretations, and the relevant dicta of the Prophet (as recorded in *ḥadīth*, the literary embodiment of the *sunnah*) are not only open to differing interpretation (despite their being in some cases more precise than the Qurʾān in their support of the authority of consensus, as in the case of the well-known dictum, "My community will never agree upon an error") but are also fraught with text-critical uncertainties. Scholarly opinion has therefore been divided as to whether or not the textual evidence for the authority of consensus is entirely conclusive. Among those who acknowledge that it is not, compensation for the resulting element of uncertainty is found in the principle that on issues relating to human conduct, an authority need not be conclusively grounded in the texts in order to acquire validity, so long as there is sufficient textual evidence to make the legitimacy of that authority more likely than its nonlegitimacy. In this view, the case for the authority of consensus thus rests upon the principle of the sufficiency of probable textual evidence.

While a few Sunnī theorists have conceded to the consensus the privilege of engendering rules that have no demonstrable textual basis, the great majority have restricted its role to granting finality to rules constructed on the basis of the texts. Accordingly, the consensus must emerge from the exegetical deliberations of individual scholars. Individuals qua individuals can at best, according to the general view, produce only probable constructions of the law; their exegesis can never be more than tentative. This exegesis is in fact called *ijtihād* (“exertion,” whence the term *mujtahid)* precisely because of its tentative character. The exegetes, as fallible mediators of the divine law, exert themselves in the effort to achieve, through philological procedures and analogical reasoning, the most accurate construction of that law possible *for them.* When the results of their efforts are confirmed by the consensus of their contemporaries, then, and only then, do these results acquire the stature of an infallible and immutable pronouncement. This confirmation may take the form of either explicit espousal or silent consent. The theorists differ, however, as to the value of the latter. The confirmation must, furthermore, be unanimous; a consensus cannot be constituted by a mere majority.

Because the Islamic tradition does not provide for the public certification or official convening of legal scholars and because unanimity on a scale vast enough to embrace the entire Muslim world would be difficult to achieve in the best of circumstances, the consensus, as conceived in the classical theory, has been virtually unrealizable throughout the greater part of Islamic history. While few theorists have accepted the view of Dāʾūd al-Ẓāhirī (d. AH 270/884 CE) and his followers, which restricted the prerogative of consensus making to the first generation of Muslims who were still alive after the Prophet’s death, it is not surprising that the classical theorists have generally drawn their examples of consensus from that generation. In so doing, they have implied that only in the earliest period of Islam, when those Muslims who had been in sufficient contact with the Prophet to be deemed authorities (“Companions of the Prophet”) were still concentrated in one locality, did the circumstances required for the constitution of a true consensus exist and that thereafter the consensus has remained more a theoretical possibility than a historical actuality. The notion that the consensus is identifiable with Muslim public opinion is distinctly modern.

In Shīʿī theory, consensus is reckoned among the sources of law, but it cannot, according to that theory, be regarded as properly constituted unless the divinely appointed leader, the imam, is present within the community. Because the word of the imam is considered infallible apart from the consensus, the consensus is deprived of the role it occupies in Sunnī theory as the infallible finalizer of rules of law and becomes, in effect, the community’s affirmation of solidarity with the imam, such that its teaching and his are one and the same. Thus, from the Shīʿī point of view, the consensus may be deemed a source of law only by special license, and this status is granted only insofar as the consensus is presumed identical with the doctrine of the imam.

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BERNARD G. WEISS (1987)

IJTIHĀD. The Arabic word *ijtihād,* which in ordinary usage means “strenuous endeavor,” has become in the Muslim scholarly tradition a technical term for the endeavor of an individual scholar to derive a rule of divine law (*sharīʿah*) directly from the recognized sources of that law without any reliance upon the views of other scholars. Since these sources consist preeminently of texts, namely the Qurʾān, the *ḥadīth* (narratives recording the divinely sanctioned custom of the Prophet), and dicta expressing the consensus of Muslim scholars, *ijtihād* is a fundamentally text-related activity embracing two principal tasks: the authentication of texts and the interpretation of texts. These entail not only deliberation upon actual texts but also the working out of appropriate methodological principles. In carrying on *ijtihād,* a scholar, while not relying for final answers upon other scholars, does interact with scholars holding contrary opinions in a setting of a highly formalized process of disputation. The rules of law that the great scholars of the past have arrived at through *ijtihād* are recorded in the literature of *fiqh,* whereas the methodological principles of *ijtihād* are set forth in the literature of *uṣūl al-fiqh.*

THE TASKS OF IJTIHĀD. The text-critical tasks entailed in *ijtihād* relate mainly to *ḥadīth* and, to some extent, to historical material used to determine the existence of a consensus in an earlier generation. The Qurʾān itself is considered by Muslim scholars to be of incontestable authenticity and therefore not in need of attestation through formal text-critical procedures. The focus of attention in all Muslim text criticism is upon the "chain of transmitters" *(isnād)*, rather than upon the contents of the texts themselves. The examination of these chains itself entails a complex methodology, which is explored at length in the *uṣūl al-fiqh* literature. Considered as a purely individual scholarly activity, this transmission-criticism claims to be able to establish, at the very most, the *probable* authenticity of a text, although the degree of probability may—as in the case of "sound" (*ṣaḥīḥ*) *ḥadīth*—be very high. Once the degree of probability of a text's authenticity has been determined, the scholar faces yet another task before he may proceed to interpret the text: He must determine whether or not, during the course of the Prophet's lifetime, the text was abrogated by some other text, for only if it was not may he endeavor to derive a rule from it.

The process of deriving rules from the texts entails two distinct activities: (1) the determination of rules that lie within the meaning of the text, and (2) the determination of any additional rules that may be deemed analogous to these rules. The first of these activities constitutes a derivation of rules from the texts in the sense that it brings to light rules that are not immediately obvious from any particular text taken in isolation. One seldom encounters in the texts legally precise statements of rules, that is to say, statements having a form such as "*x* is obligatory upon all Muslims without exception" (*x* representing an unambiguous reference to a human act considered as a class or category). Such statements, which are necessary to the development of law in Islam, must therefore be extrapolated from the texts by scholars. In carrying on this task, scholars must deal with a host of problems relating to the language of the texts. A good example of these problems is the imperative form of the verb, which appears frequently in the sorts of texts that Muslim legal scholars tend to focus upon. One may not assume from the presence of an imperative in a text such as *aqīmū al-ṣalāt* ("Perform the prayer," *sūrah* 2:43 and elsewhere) that an obligation is intended, for imperatives are used not only to impose obligations but also to invite, exhort, warn, permit, and so on. If, therefore, an obligation is intended, this can be known, according to the majority of Muslim scholars, only from the context. This context need not consist of the larger passage immediately surrounding the text in question, since *any* text within the corpus of recognized texts may shed light on any other text. This being the case, each text must be interpreted in the light of the entire corpus of texts, since virtually no text is free of some degree of ambiguity, vagueness, or generality. As the corpus of texts is vast and the greater part of it—namely, the *ḥadīth*—is subject, in greater or lesser degree, to text-critical problems, the work of Muslim legal scholars is perceived by the scholars themselves to be extremely demanding, and one can thus readily appreciate why they chose to call it *ijtihād.*

The use of analogical reasoning (*qiyās*) to deduce further rules from rules established through exegesis of the texts has been a matter of considerable controversy among Muslims. The main living adversaries of this method are the Twelver Shīʿī scholars. Among Sunnīs of all four surviving schools of law, the method is universally accepted, although an earlier school, namely that of Dāʾūd al-Ẓāhirī (d. 884), rejected it, and there is some evidence of its having been rejected by some scholars within earlier "traditionist" circles out of which the Ḥanbalī school arose. In any case, *ijtihād* is clearly not to be identified solely with *qiyās*, as some Western writers have been wont to do, since *ijtihād* has been as vigorously undertaken by opponents of analogical reasoning as by its partisans. In place of analogical reasoning, some Twelver Shīʿī scholars have espoused certain more strictly rational operations as valid methods of legal inquiry, which they have subsumed under the heading of *ʿaql* ("reason").

In consideration of the enormity of the text-critical, interpretive, and deductive tasks just described, the Sunnī scholarly tradition acknowledges that certainty about rules of divine law is rarely possible and that the formulations of rules that emerge out of *ijtihād* represent the opinions (*ẓann*) of scholars, not hard knowledge *(ʿilm)*. That this is so is especially evident in the face of differences of opinion that arise among scholars. On the other hand, the exegetical tentativeness of the rules constructed by scholars is deemed among Sunnīs to be no barrier to the validity and binding character of these rules. If the *ijtihād* of a scholar is truly representative of his very best efforts, then the opinions emerging from it are binding upon the scholar himself and upon all less qualified persons (*muqallids*, lit., "imitators") who choose to follow his teaching.

The practice of following the opinion of a scholar in preference to engaging in *ijtihād* on one's own is called, in Arabic, *taqlīd* ("imitation"). Through the *taqlīd* of the majority of Muslims, the *ijtihād* of scholars, whose number must necessarily be relatively small, is able to acquire authority within society at large and thus to engender law as a social force. The Shīʿī tradition recognizes both *ijtihād* and *taqlīd* but allows less scope for variation of opinion, emphasizing its preference for knowledge over opinion.

MUJTAHIDS. Since the law of God comprehends, in principle, the whole of life, it must be continually expounded as novel life situations present themselves. Consequently, the exercise of *ijtihād* is not a right but a responsibility, one that rests in every age upon the community as a whole. As with all communal responsibilities, it is discharged by the few (that is, the appropriately qualified scholars) on behalf of the many and could in principle be discharged by a single scholar. Those who engage in *ijtihād* bear the title of *mujtahid,* which, though in form a participle, becomes thus denotative of a status. While the claim to this status is theoretically a matter of individual conscience, any such claim becomes effective only after it has been validated by a substantial number of scholars. The validity of such a claim is considered to be contingent upon the satisfaction of certain requirements, which are discussed at length in the *uṣūl al-fiqh* literature. These fall into two general categories: (1) mastery of the belief system of Islam and of its rational basis and (2) mastery of the rules of legal interpretation, text criticism, and (among Sunnīs) analogical deduction.

Eventually Muslim scholarship drew distinctions between different ranks within the general status of *mujtahid,* the highest being that of the "unrestricted *mujtahid"* (*mujtahid muṭlaq*), whose holders are free to engage in *ijtihād* within any field of law and to disregard the established doctrine of any school. *Mujtahid*s in the various subordinate ranks, on the other hand, were bound to the general doctrine of a particular school and permitted to explore only those questions that had not been fully resolved within that school or were restricted to certain fields of law. The rigor of the scholarly qualifications varied from rank to rank.

Muslim jurisprudents debated the issue of whether it was possible for the Muslim community to exist in any age without the presence of at least one *mujtahid* (a situation commonly referred to in later Muslim literature as "the closing of the door of *ijtihād"),* but a consensus seems never to have been reached on this matter. The general presumption of Muslim scholarship down to the modern age seems, in any case, to have been that *ijtihād* is, at least in its restricted forms, an ongoing process, even if it be on occasion temporarily interrupted. The requirements for the rank of *mujtahid muṭlaq,* however, were regarded as so demanding as to render the claim to this high rank extremely rare. Muslim jurisprudence has generally shown great deference for the great *mujtahid*s of the early centuries of Islam, especially the founders of the schools of law. In Shīʿī Islam, this deference is intensified by the fact that the founders of Shīʿī law were none other than the infallible imams.

In the modern age, the concept of *ijtihād* has sometimes been applied, in an entirely unprecedented manner, to reformist legislation introduced by, or at least subject to the ratification of, elected parliamentary bodies. It has also been adopted by a variety of reform-minded Muslim thinkers, both "modernist" and "fundamentalist," as a rationale for programs calling for fundamental social change or intellectual reorientation.

SEE ALSO Qiyās; Uṣūl al-Fiqh.

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IKHWĀN AL-MUSLIMŪN, AL- SEE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

IKHWĀN AL-ṢAFĀʾ

IKHWĀN AL-ṢAFĀʾ (Brethren of Purity) is a pseudonym assumed by the authors of a well-known encyclopedia of the philosophical sciences who described themselves as a group of fellow-seekers after truth. Members of a religio-political movement, they deliberately concealed their identity so that their treatises, entitled *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* (Epistles of the Brethren of Purity), would gain wider circulation and would appeal to a broad cross-section of society.

AUTHORSHIP AND DATING. Over the centuries, the authorship of the *Epistles* has been ascribed to the Muʿtazilah, to the Ṣūfīs, to Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, and to the great astronomer and mathematician al-Majrīṭī. The assertion of Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 1023) that the treatises were composed by a group of learned men in Basra during the middle of the tenth century was widely accepted. Al-Qifṭī (d. 1248), the famous biographer of physicians and philosophers, expressed his skepticism of al-Tawḥīdī's attribution by acknowledging the prevalence of the belief that the treatises were composed by an ʿAlid imam. In 1932 Husayn Hamdani stated that the Ismāʿīlī Mustaʿlī-Ṭayyibī tradition attributes the *Epistles* to the hidden imam Aḥmad. He also pointed out marked features of the treatises that are manifestly Ismāʿīlī in character.

The Ismāʿīlī character of the *Epistles* is therefore no longer in dispute. What is yet to be determined is the precise identity of their authors within the Ismāʿīlī movement. Zāhid ʿAlī and Wilferd Madelung consider the authors to have been Qarāmiṭah from Basra. On the basis of al-Tawḥīdī's comments and certain information provided by another contemporary Muʿtazilī author, al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār (d. 1025), S. M. Stern also implies that the authors were Qarāmiṭah from Basra. Yves Marquet affirms the Ismāʿīlī authorship of the *Epistles* and suggests that the composition might have begun under the hidden imams and that the authors mentioned by al-Tawḥīdī might have been later editors.

Abbas Hamdani has pointed out the weaknesses in al-Tawḥīdī's assertion and the untrustworthiness of his report and has published the earliest reference to the *Epistles* found in the Ismāʿīlī literature. He therefore rejects the Qarmati authorship of the *Epistles* and argues that they were compiled by the Ismāʿīlīyah as an ideological spearhead before the establishment of the Fatimid state in North Africa in 909.

CONTENTS OF THE EPISTLES. *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* consists of fifty-two philosophical treatises arranged in four groups, a compendium (*Al-risālah al-jāmiʿah,* ed. Jamīl Ṣalībā, Damascus, 1949), and a compendium of the compendium (*Risālat jāmiʿat al-jāmiʿah,* ed. ʿĀrif Tāmir, Beirut, 1959). The four sections are (1) "The Mathematical Sciences," fourteen treatises on numbers, geometry, astronomy, music, geography, theoretical and practical arts, morals, and logic; (2) "The Physical and Natural Sciences," seventeen treatises on physics, generation and corruption, mineralogy, botany, the nature of life and death, the nature of pleasure and pain, and the limits of human beings' cognitive ability; (3) "The Psychological-Intellectual Sciences," ten treatises on the metaphysics of the Pythagoreans and of the Brethren themselves, the intellect, the cycles and epochs, the nature of love, and the nature of resurrection; and (4) "The Divine Religious Sciences," eleven treatises on beliefs and creeds, the nature of communion with God, the creed of the Brethren, prophecy and its conditions, actions of the spiritual entities, types of political constitutions, providence, magic, and talismans.

The Brethren attempted to popularize learning and philosophy among the masses. Appealing to a multiplicity of races and religions, they developed a strong strain of interconfessionalism. Their attitude toward other religions is therefore strikingly liberal. They argued that religious differences stem from accidental factors such as race, habitat, and time and do not affect the unity and universality of truth.

The complete text of the *Epistles* was first published in 1305–1306/1887–1889 in Bombay, then in 1928 in Cairo (ed. Ziriklī), and most recently in 1957 in Beirut. However, a critical, reliable edition based on the widely scattered original manuscripts of the treatises has yet to be compiled.

SOURCES OF THE EPISTLES. The *Epistles* draw on a variety of sources. The Greek element has been dominant throughout; for example, Ptolemy in astronomy, Euclid in geometry, Hermes Trismegistos in magic and astrology, Aristotle in logic and physics, Plato and Neoplatonists in metaphysics. Another pervading influence is that of the Pythagoreans, especially in arithmetic and music. Of the Neoplatonists, Plotinus and Porphyry exercised the strongest influence. In astrology there are traces of Babylonian and Indian elements. There are also stories of Indian (Buddhist) and Persian (Zoroastrian and Manichaean) origin, and quotations from the Bible. Despite these diverse sources the authors have achieved a remarkable overall synthesis.

PARABLES AND THE ANIMAL STORY. The Brethren employ fables, parables, and allegories to illustrate and prove their doctrine while concealing their own identities; as a result, much of their doctrine remains hidden from the careless reader. The reason they give for hiding their secrets from the people is not their fear of earthly rulers, but a desire to protect their God-given gifts. To support their contention they invoke Christ's dictum not to squander the wisdom by giving it to those unworthy of it.

The dispute between humans and animals (part of the twenty-second epistle, entitled "On How the Animals and Their Kinds Are Formed") is an allegorical story in which the animals complain to the just king of the jinn about the cruel treatment meted out to them by human beings. In the course of the debate, the animals refute humanity's claim of superiority over them by denouncing the rampant injustice and immorality of human society. This fable is a good example of the Brethren's sociopolitical criticism of Islamic society couched in animal characters. The most severe criticism is leveled against the wealthy (who go on amassing fortunes without caring for the needy), the privileged, and the ruling classes. The point is rendered more explicitly in the compendium *(Al-risālah al-jāmiʿah),* wherein it is stated that the animals in the story symbolize the masses who blindly follow their rulers, and the humans represent "the advocates of reasoning by analogy" (those who deduce legal prescriptions from the Qurʾān and the *sunnah* by reasoning and by analogy), the disciples of Satan, the adversaries of the prophets, and the enemies of the imams.

The story enjoyed wide popularity among the masses. It was translated into Hebrew during the fourteenth century and was rendered into Urdu-Hindustani by Mawlavī Ikrām ʿAlī (Calcutta, 1811). In modern times it was translated into English by L. E. Goodman as *The Case of the Animals versus Man before the King of the Jinn* (Boston, 1978).

PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEM. The philosophical system of the *Epistles* is a synthesis of reason and revelation wherein the cosmos is viewed as a unified, organic whole. The philosophical structure and the cosmology are derived from Neoplatonism and Neo-Pythagoreanism. Eclectic in nature, the system draws on various faiths and philosophies, with a strong undercurrent of rationalism. The Brethren offered a new political program under the aegis of an ʿAlid imam, and their utopia, referred to as *al-madīnah al-fāḍilah al-rūḥānīyah* ("the spiritual, virtuous city") or *dawlat ahl al-khayr* ("the government of virtuous people"), was to be governed by a lawgiving philosopher-prophet. The organization and arrangement of the *Epistles* and their classification of the sciences reflect this ultimate objective.

God is described as absolutely transcendent, beyond all thought and all being. He is the One, the originator and the cause of all being. He is unique in every respect, and nothing can be predicated of him. The universe, which is quite distinct from the divine unity, is related to God by its existence *(wujūd)*, permanence (*baqāʾ*), wholeness (*tamām*), and perfection *(kamāl)*. The universe is derived by emanation *(fayḍ)*, whereas creation, when it is spoken of, is understood as a form of adaptation to theological language.

The superstructure of the hierarchy of beings originates with the intellect emanating from God. The intellect, therefore, is described as the first existent being that emanates from God's munificence *(jūd)*. It is a simple spiritual substance with the qualities of permanence, wholeness, and perfection. It contains the forms of all things and is in fact the cause of all causes. Second in the hierarchy is the soul, which emanates from the intellect. It is a simple spiritual substance with the qualities of permanence and wholeness but lacking the quality of perfection. Third in the hierarchy is prime matter, which emanates from the soul. It is a simple spiritual substance that has permanence but lacks wholeness and perfection. It is also susceptible to form.

The cause of the intellect's existence is God's munificence, which emanates from him. The intellect accepts God's munificence and virtues (permanence, wholeness, and perfection) instantaneously, without motion, time, or exertion, on account of its proximity to God and its utmost spirituality. Because of its perfection it overflows with munificence and virtues into the soul. But as its existence is through the intermediacy of the intellect, the soul is deficient in receiving the virtues, and thus its status is below that of intellect. To procure goodness and virtue, it turns sometimes to intellect and at other times to matter. Consequently, when it turns to intellect for goodness, it is distracted from doing good to matter, and vice versa. Being imperfect, the soul becomes attached to matter, which lacks not only the virtues but also the desire to receive them. The soul, therefore, turning to matter, takes special care in its advancement by acting on the matter and by making manifest the virtues inherent in it. Hence the soul is afflicted with exertion, hardship, and misery in reforming and perfecting matter. When matter accepts the virtues, it attains wholeness, while the soul achieves its own perfection. When the soul turns to the intellect, is attached to it and united with it, it attains tranquillity.

The process of emanation terminates with matter. As the soul acts on matter, the matter receives its first form—the three dimensions (length, breadth, and depth)—and thereby becomes absolute body (*al-jism al-muṭlaq*) or universal matter (*hayūlā al-kull).* Thenceforth begins the realm of the composite (*ʿālam al-murakkabāt*). Next, absolute body takes its first form, which is circular because that is the best form. Thus, the spheres and the stars are formed from absolute body. Subsequently come the nine spheres beginning with the outermost sphere, which encompasses all spheres. Next to it is the sphere of fixed stars, followed by the spheres of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the sun, Venus, Mercury, and the moon. The higher the position of the sphere, the purer and finer its matter. The spiritual force that directs and manages each sphere is called the particular soul of that sphere.

Under the sublunar world comes the physical matter (*hayūlā al-ṭabīʿah*) of the four elements, fire, air, water, and earth. The earth, being farthest from the One, is the coarsest and darkest kind of physical matter. The active force of the soul that operates on the four elements through heat, cold, dryness, and wetness is known as "the nature of generation and corruption." It moreover produces the generated beings that form the three kingdoms of minerals, plants, and animals. The active force operating on each of these generated beings is called the particular soul. Thus, the process wherein the soul mixes the elements to various degrees and thereby produces the generated beings terminates with man, who is the culmination of that process. Humanity is therefore the noblest of all creation, and the rest of the three kingdoms have been made subservient to it. The unity and complexity of the human being's soul and body make him or her a microcosm. Humans, by virtue of their position, are the central link in the long chain of beings; below them is the animal kingdom and above them is the world of angels, and they are connected to both. In the Perfect Human Being, who has realized his divine origin, the process of generation in descending order comes to an end and the reverse journey in ascending order starts. The human being, therefore, fulfills the purpose of creation.

The *Epistles* occupy a unique position in the history of Islamic thought and exercised a great influence on the Muslim elite. The existence of a large number of manuscript copies of the text scattered throughout the Muslim countries is an eloquent witness to their popularity and influence.

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ISMAIL K. POONAWALA (1987)

IKKYŪ SŌJUN (1394–1481) was a poet, calligrapher, Zen eccentric, and revitalizer of the Daitokuji line of Rinzai Zen. Ikkyū was likely, as legend suggests, the unrecognized son of the hundredth emperor of Japan, Gokomatsu (1377–1433; r. 1392–1412), by a rather low-ranking court lady. At an early age, perhaps for lack of any other option, his mother placed him in the Gozan temple of Ankokuji, in Kyoto. He spent the rest of his childhood in Ankokuji and in Tenryūji, yet another Gozan establishment. A quick student, Ikkyū was precocious in both scriptural studies and in the literary arts that had become a focus of the aesthetically oriented Gozan movement.

In 1410 Ikkyū left Tenryūji to live in the streetside hermitage of the eremetic monk Kenʾō Sōi (d. 1414). Kenʾō belonged to the Daitokuji-Myōshinji lineage of Rinzai. Because these two temples had long been out of the Gozan orbit patronized by the shoguns, and because Kenʾō lacked formal certification of enlightenment from his own master, Ikkyū's decision to take him as spiritual master left the young monk doubly removed from the orthodox Zen establishment and clearly illustrates his desire to reach the substance of the Zen tradition rather than grasping for the formal honors offered by the power brokers of his day.

Ikkyū's devotion to the rigors of meditative life in preference to the aesthetic glory and institutional pomp of establishment Zen led him, after Kenʾō's death in 1414, to leave Kyoto to join the circle of the demanding master Kasō Sōdon (1352–1428), twenty-second abbot of Daitokuji, at his small hermitage at Katada on the shores of Lake Biwa. There, in 1420, Ikkyū attained *satori* but following the example of his early master, Kenʾō, refused to accept Kasō's certification.

Shortly thereafter, apparently following an extended squabble with Kasō, Ikkyū left Katada to spend several years in Sakai, a booming port town on the Inland Sea. There he gained a reputation for wild eccentricity, in part due to his repeated bouts of tavern and brothel hopping. These establishments, he claimed, were far better sources of enlightenment than the corrupt temples of Kyoto and Kamakura. Even Daitokuji came under his criticism, and although he was briefly appointed abbot of Daitokuji's Nyoi-an subtemple in 1440, he soon stormed out in disgust at the temple's general pretentiousness and in particular at the role taken there by Kasō's chief disciple, Yōsō Sōi (1376–1458).

By the 1440s Ikkyū had once again taken up practice of the arts. He was eventually to become known for his unconventional poetry and his powerful, at times even unsettling, calligraphy. He was, as well, the confidant and friend of a number of key figures in the development of the new urban middle-class arts—the *nō* playwright Komparu Zenchiku (1405–1468); the early tea master Murata Shukō (1427–1502); the painters Bokkei Saiyo (dates unknown) and Motsurin Shōtō, also known as Bokusai (d. 1492), who wrote the earliest biography of Ikkyū; and the *renga* poet Sōchō (1448–1532)—and was thus an important conduit for Zen ideas and attitudes geographically outward from Kyoto and socially downward to the largely nouveau riche audience for these emerging arts.

In his later years, Ikkyū made peace with the hierarchy of Daitokuji and was appointed abbot of the temple in 1474, at a time when the temple was but a shell, its buildings having been almost entirely destroyed in the early battles of the Ōnin War (1467–1477). It was, indeed, in no small part Ikkyū's connections with the upwardly mobile merchant class of Sakai that provided the funds for the rebuilding and revitalization of Daitokuji and laid the foundation for it and its sister temple, Myōshinji, to fill the spiritual vacuum left by the intertwined collapse of the Ashikaga shogunate and the Gozan establishment. Ikkyū's final years were also marked by his famous autumnal affair with a blind woman singer called Mori. He died in 1481 at the age of eighty-seven. Popular fiction of the Tokugawa period made much of Ikkyū's eccentricities and transformed him from a serious historical figure into an amusing, but stereotypical, folk image, an image whose most recent manifestation was as the hero of a cartoon show on Japanese television.

Several literary works are attributed to Ikkyū. The most important of these are his collection of more than a thousand poems, the *Kyōunshū* (Crazy-cloud anthology), and the related collection the *Jikaishū* (Self-admonitions). He was also the author of six prose works on Buddhist themes: the prose poem *Gaikotsu* (Skeletons); *Amida hadaka* (Amida laid bare); *Bukkigun* (The war of the buddhas and demons); *Mizukagami me-nashi gusa* (Mirror for the sightless), which includes the sometimes separated *Futari bikuni* (Two nuns); *Kana hōgo* (A vernacular sermon); and *Maka hannya haramitta shingyō kai* (Explication of the Heart Sūtra). Two *nō* librettos, *Yamamba* (Old woman of the mountains) and *Eguchi,* are also ascribed to Ikkyū, but these attributions are doubtful. A fair number of examples of his extraordinary calligraphy survive, as do a number of forgeries.

SEE ALSO Calligraphy; Gozan Zen.

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ILLUMINATIONISM SEE ISHRĀQĪYAH

ILMARINEN. According to the list of pagan Finnic gods compiled in 1551 by Michael Agricola, who introduced the Reformation to Finland and established the Finnish literary language, Ilmarinen was the creator of both wind and calm weather and controlled travel on water. There is no evidence that Ilmarinen was ever worshiped, but what is probably the oldest stratum of *Kalevala*-type poetry concerning the exploits of Ilmarinen connects him with various cosmogonic acts. Elias Lönnrot's redaction of the *Kalevala* includes material from this ancient folk tradition but increases the number of his appearances, featuring him in twenty-seven out of the fifty divisions of the epic. Lönnrot also enhances Ilmarinen's personality with a human dimension.

The name *Ilmarinen* is probably derived from the Finno-Ugric word *ilma,* meaning "air," and, by extension, "weather" and "world." The Udmurts (Votiaks), distant relatives of the Finns and inhabitants of the region northeast of Moscow between the Kama and Vyatka Rivers, called their sky god Ilmar or Inmar. A famous Saami (Lapp) witch drum, presented in 1692 as an exhibit in court, depicts a god named Ilmaris as having the power to raise and calm storms at sea.

Among the epithets applied to Ilmarinen in the epic tradition is "shaper of the mysterious, luck-bringing *sampo.*" *Sampo* is a difficult term, and scholarly research has produced more than sixty definitions for it, but according to the most widely held view, the *sampo* is a support of the world. A close derivative of the term is *sammas,* meaning "statue." A frequent substitute or parallel for the term is *kirjokansi,* meaning "brightly worked cover," which in other contexts stands for the sky. Certain Saami cult images in stone and wood are believed to be late representations of the *sampo.*

One folk poem places the forging of the *sampo* shortly after the genesis of the sky, earth, sun, moon, and stars, all of which, the poem claims, were formed by the breaking of an eagle's (in some versions, a waterfowl's) egg. The poem, which goes on to relate how Ilmarinen and his brother Väinämöinen steal the *sampo,* resembles the ancient Nordic sagas. But the epithet "shaper of the mysterious, luck-bringing *sampo*" refers to the tradition in which Ilmarinen creates the *sampo* himself, as in the episode in which, as a result of this act, he wins a competition against his brother for the beautiful maid of Pohjola. Together, Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen strike the primeval spark in the upper aerial regions.

Ilmarinen is also credited with forging a golden maid, who eventually proves no match for a real women. Ilmarinen as smith-god later developed into a culture hero who makes useful objects for people and takes part in various adventures, including love-quests.

See Also Finnish Religions; Lemminkäinen; Väinämöinen.

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IMAGES

This entry consists of the following articles:

VENERATION OF IMAGES
IMAGES, ICONS, AND IDOLS

IMAGES: VENERATION OF IMAGES

The veneration of images involves humans or other subjects showing respect and homage to objects that visually represent, point to, or embody sacred beings or realities held to be especially worthy of honor. While such practices have been disputed in many religious traditions and decisively rejected by a few, the veneration of images has been a remarkably widespread form of ritual practice throughout history in many parts of the world.

The English terms used here, *veneration* and *image*, both derive from Latin, but they may be adequately used to translate such indigenous terms as the Indic *mūrtipūjā*. Deriving from the same etymological root as Venus, goddess of beauty and love, veneration refers both to feelings of deep respect and reverence toward some person or thing and to practices by which that respect and reverence are demonstrated or enacted. These practices may be bodily gestures, physical offerings, verbal expressions, emotional dispositions, or mental presentations. The subjects making these acts of veneration are most often humans but may also include animals, semidivine beings, divinities, other images, or even nature itself. Recipients may be venerable living persons like kings or religious teachers, remains or relics of venerable persons, images of divine or human beings, other objects considered particularly sacred such as holy books, or invisible presences. The range of religious practices of veneration then is very broad, and the veneration of images is only one part of this larger category.

The term *image* comes from Latin *imago*, which denotes an imitation, a copy, a likeness, among several other meanings. In its earliest English usage, image referred to a fabricated imitation or representation of the external form of an object and applied particularly to sculpted figures of saints and divinities that were treated as objects of religious devotion. As an ideal type, the veneration of images may be taken as venerative acts directed toward physical icons that represent divinities or other sacred beings anthropomorphically. However, divine beings are notoriously multiform, and they are promiscuous in making themselves present in a great variety of objects. Not just sculpted images but paintings and drawings, abstract forms, diagrams, stones, trees, and other physical objects as well as mentally projected visualizations may serve as objects of veneration. More than simply signifying those beings, icons are often considered and honored as living beings, animated by the actual presence of the beings they represent.

In every ritual culture that engages with images, venerative practices take on a distinctive pattern in accord with the broader practices and premises of that tradition. Some ritual cultures may specify, for example, who is eligible to perform image worship according to criteria of birth, gender, age, initiatory status, or special training, whereas others leave the practice open to all devotees. Some may require that the worshiper undertake special preparations, such as physical purifications or mental concentration, before entering into worship, or that one wear special clothing. So too ritual cultures may prescribe how the image is to be prepared: its conception, fabrication, consecration, and regular maintenance as a venerated object. Ritual cultures may differ from one another as to the specific vocabulary of actions one should employ in venerating images and in the degree to which they formalize a prescribed etiquette of veneration. Religious traditions may develop distinctive theological understandings of the relationship of the image to the deity it represents, instantiates, or embodies. They may ascribe agency—moving, talking, miracle working—to the image or to the deity acting through it. Finally, different ritual cultures understand the efficacy of venerative practices in varied ways.

Widespread and varied as it is, the veneration of images has been a fiercely disputed practice. Even within ritual cultures strongly attached to the worship of images, adherents debate not only proper methods and understandings of such practices but also their ultimate value. Greek philosophers like Xenophanes and Heraclitus and Hindu ones like Śaṅkara sought to deprecate or delegitimate the venerative practices of their own societies. In some cases religious traditions have defined themselves through a shared opposition to the worship of images. Around the sixth century BCE Israelite prophets began to articulate a critique of the image-related practices of their Near Eastern neighbors, and this decisive break with image veneration subsequently became a defining feature of Judaism. Similar critiques were later deployed by the other Abrahamic monotheisms, Christianity and Islam, in their own moments of self-definition. Among all religions, Christians have shown perhaps the most complex historical ambivalence toward images, and this has led to several episodes of intense internal controversy and iconoclastic destruction.

Critiques of image worship originating with the Greeks and the Israelites have also had a decisive impact on the scholarly study of religion, as many scholars have observed. Earlier generations of comparative religionists constructed teleological schemes in which the veneration of images figured lower on an evolutionary scale than aniconic forms of religiosity. Others developed what Peter Brown calls "two-tiered" models, where intellectual elites allegedly detach themselves from such popular practices as the worship of images. More subtly, as Leo Oppenheim noted in 1964, a scholarly ambivalence toward "idols" has often led scholars away from the serious investigation of image veneration in other religious traditions and toward the study of religious practices considered more comprehensible and acceptable in Western terms.

Only in the last two decades of the twentieth century, with calls to "rematerialize" the study of religion, did the exploration of the veneration of images, in its great historical and ethnographic variety as well as its history of dispute, become a more central topic in the history of religions and related disciplines. In his wide-ranging study *The Power of Images* (1989), the art historian David Freedberg seeks to identify and substantiate an innate human responsiveness to the image. At the other pole, the intellectual historian Alain Besançon, in *The Forbidden Image* (2000), traces a common philosophical disposition toward the absolute underlying the history of Western opposition to images from the Greeks up to twentieth-century Russian painters. In between the iconophilic and the iconoclastic, many scholars working in particular religious traditions have begun to explore more deeply the multiplicity of image-venerating ritual cultures. Drawing on this scholarship, this article outlines several examples of historical traditions that have practiced the veneration of images. It is not intended as comprehensive, but it does aim to illustrate some of the variety this practice takes in different settings and some of the ways it has been disputed.

MESOPOTAMIANS. Among the earliest known religious images are numerous female figurines, commonly called *Venuses*, found in European, Asian, and Middle Eastern archaeological sites and dating to the late Paleolithic and Neolithic periods. Some scholars have seen these as icons in a widespread cult of the "Great Goddess" linked to fertility and the emergence of agriculture. While they are intriguing as possible evidence for the ancient veneration of images, indications of how or even if these objects were employed ritually remains sketchy.

The earliest full evidence for image veneration comes from the early urban civilizations of Mesopotamia. Archaeological evidence, inscriptional records, and later texts all point to a ritual culture centered around images starting as early as the Sumerian period of circa 2500 BCE and continuing for nearly two thousand years. Within the Mesopotamian ritual culture, images that represented the gods were consecrated through a rite of "mouth opening," then were maintained inside temples with regular offerings, and were processed outside their temples for annual festival celebrations. The best documented of these involve deities closely associated with city-states, such as Marduk in Babylonia and Anu in Uruk. Cults of these palladial deities were highly institutionalized and closely related to the political order.

In Mesopotamia the key ritual by which a human-made wooden statue was transformed into an animate divine icon was known as "opening the mouth" *(mīs pī)*. As cited by Christopher Walker and Michael B. Dick in "The Mesopotamian *mīs pī* Ritual," "The statue cannot smell incense, drink water, or eat food without Opening the Mouth." Motifs of gestation and birth appear throughout the mouth-opening rites, for the ritual sought to give birth to the living presence of the deity. Moreover the ritual distances the image itself from any suggestion of human fabrication. Artisans would have their hands symbolically cut off with a wooden sword, and they were required to swear that they had not created the image. Rather, they averred, the patron deities of their guild had done so.

Once consecrated, the image took its place on a pedestal in the temple, often located in an elevated part of the city. The wooden image would be plated with gold, dressed in sumptuous clothing, and adorned with jewelry. It would be surrounded by other images that composed the god's family and court, much as a king would sit in state surrounded by attendants. The daily services for such divine rulers were carried out by ritual specialists and consisted chiefly of elaborate feasts. At Uruk the god Anu ate twice a day. His meals, specified in detailed texts, included milk, beer, and other drinks; meat; bread; cake; fruit; and sweets. Musicians played during the repast, and priests burned incense to perfume the sanctum. After the god had eaten his fill of the offerings, the remainders were taken to the king as particularly potent nourishment. Receiving god's leftovers was a definite marker of royal status.

Kings were also present in the temples in the form of royal images. Starting around 2100 to 2000 BCE, consecrated images of ruling kings were introduced as both venerators of the gods and recipients of veneration. A standing figure of the king might offer worship to the seated image of the god, while a seated image of the king could receive worship from his human acolytes.

In addition to the regular patterns of daily worship, the divine images celebrated special festivals. Central to many of these were public processions. If cultic practices within the temple were restricted to the religious and political elite, processions were occasions for much broader participation. The image-deities would leave their private temple-palaces and journey through the streets of the city to a festival temple in the countryside. On such occasions the more general public veneration reasserted the special relationship between deity and city-state.

GREEKS. In the *Iliad*, Homer describes Hekabe's veneration of an image. The Trojan warrior Hector, Hekabe's son, leaves the battle to ask the women and elders of the city to solicit the aid of the gods. Hekabe calls together the women and then selects her most beautiful brocaded robe as a presentation. The women process to the temple of the goddess Athena, on the Troy acropolis. The temple priestess Theano allows them to enter, and while the women cry out aloud, Theano takes Hekabe's robe and places it on the seated image's knees. The priestess petitions Athena. If the goddess favors the Trojans by "breaking the spear" of their fierce opponent Diomedes, she prays, they will sacrifice twelve young heifers on her altar. Athena evidently does not agree to the terms, for as Homer relates, she turns away her head. Deities may be swayed by offerings but remain ultimately autonomous in their powers.

From Homer's time through the classical period (roughly 800–300 BCE), the Greek gods and goddesses were present in anthropomorphic forms in myriad temples throughout the Greek world. Some ancient icons, like the famous olive wood Athena Polias in Athens, were said to have "fallen from the sky," whereas others were explicitly associated with their human sculptors, such as the Athena Parthenos, also on the Acropolis in Athens, made by the celebrated Pheidias (between 447 and 438 BCE). The purpose of images was to make the gods visible to humans and to facilitate interactions between them. As Pythagoras is supposed to have said, "People who enter a temple and see the images of the god close up get a different mind" (Burkert, 1988). Greeks interacted with their gods in three ritual ways: sacrifice, votive offerings, and prayer.

Of these, animal sacrifice was preeminent in Greek ritual culture. Sacrificial altars were placed before the images in their temples. However, sacrifice does not require image or temple. A sacrifice offered on an altar in the open air could just as easily reach the gods dwelling on Mount Olympus. Greeks also made offerings of more permanent objects in association with vows. As Hekabe presented her brocaded gown to Athena, petitioners offered all sorts of valuable items to the gods in their temples: garments, vessels, weapons acquired as war booty, bronze tripods, gold bricks, statuettes, and votive tablets. Votive offerings (*anathema*) were showpieces meant to delight the recipient deity as well as to impress other human visitors to the temple. The gods and goddesses evidently enjoyed seeing themselves, for many of the tablets featured their representations along with the donor in the act of prayer or sacrifice. Greek temples often filled up with these showpieces, so much so that it might become difficult to see the deity. The sumptuous wealth deposited in the temples also made it necessary to protect them from thieves and looters. A common depiction of the temple priestess shows her holding a large key.

Beyond these special acts of worship, scholars know something about the ordinary etiquette of the Greek cult of images. Water basins near the temple entry indicate that physical purification was a prerequisite to entering. Once inside, worshipers greeted the divine image by falling to their knees and sought physical contact by touching or kissing it. Bodily acts of bathing and dressing the image were common venerative practices. Ritual specialists mediated these acts of worship between humans and the gods, as the priestess Theano did with Hekabe's exchange with Athena. Unfortunately, however, Greek ritual specialists did not leave behind records of their priest craft. Scholars do not know exactly how they performed the ritual of installation for new images or the daily liturgical routines for maintaining deities in their livelihood. And while Greek authors copiously recorded the mythological deeds of their gods and goddesses, they wrote little about the theological conception of the divine image. Much of what is written moreover is the work of critics.

To subvert the image worship of their fellow Greeks, the pre-Socratic philosophers Xenophanes (c. 560–478 BCE) and Heraclitus (c. 540–480 BCE) presented two primary arguments. According to Xenophanes, humans project their own attributes, with all their human flaws, onto the gods. If horses had hands and could create images of the gods, he argued, gods would appear as horses. Images are projections of humanity, not true representations of the divine. Heraclitus focuses on the materiality of images. To pray to a sculpted image is like trying to hold a conversation with a house; the image does not hear and does not give. Later Greek satirists picked up on the theme of an image's inanimate helplessness. So in parodies like "The Battle of the Frogs and Mice," Athena complains that mice are nibbling away at her garments and fouling up her garlands. It is not possible to say how broadly these critical views were shared among Greeks of the classical period, though it is certain that many continued to address prayers to images and to present new robes to Athena.

JAINS. The earliest Indic inscription to refer to a venerative icon, dating to the first century BCE, concerns an image of Mahāvīra called the "Kalinga Jina." The inscription reports how this icon, evidently of political import, had previously been taken away by the Mauryan ruler and was now recovered and ritually installed by Kharavela, ruler of the Kalinga territory. In addition to inscriptional evidence, archeological finds and early Jain texts indicate that the Jains developed and maintained a flourishing culture centering around the worship of Jina images in the early centuries CE.

Early Jain texts prescribe worship practices similar to those later classified as the eightfold *pūjā*, which is still the central form of worship among the majority Śvetāmbara Jain community. The eightfold *pūjā* is an individual form of image veneration. After first purifying himself or herself, a Jain worshiper enters the temple, approaches the image of worship, honors it with mantras, and circumambulates it in a clockwise direction. Worshipers mark their foreheads with sandalwood paste and then offer the eight components of worship. The first three offerings are applied directly to the body of the image: worshipers pour bathing water over it, smear marks of sandalwood paste on its limbs, and adorn it with flowers. The following five offerings are made in front of the image, not onto it. Worshipers offer incense, lamps, broken rice grains, food, and fruit before the image. After these physical offerings (*dravya-pūjā*) have been given, worshipers should perform mental veneration (*bhāva-pūjā*), an inward contemplation of the exemplary qualities of the Jina.

Among Jains, the dominant understanding of these venerative practices is reflexive. Because the Jain *Tīrthaṃkaras* are fully liberated beings who do not engage in the world after liberation, Jain worshipers do not expect them to inhabit their icons, and they do not expect them actually to consume food or fruit. Nor do they seek direct aid from the *Tīrthaṃkaras* in their lives. Jains view the veneration of images as an act of renunciation that is valuable for a worshiper in the shedding of karmic bondage. During each offering, worshipers recite verses that interpret the actions in terms of key Jain values and the worshipers' own states. While offering food, worshipers identify the Jina as the "noneating one" and express a wish that through renunciation they might also reach this state.

This austere conception of image veneration did not prevent Jains from developing an opulent temple culture, which reached its apogee in the image-filled hilltop temple cities of Shatrunjay and Mount Abu. Nor did it preclude lively devotional practices, such as the Jain laywomen who sing hymns of praise to accompany rituals of worship.

However, the issue of image worship was central to the primary sectarian split among the Śvetāmbara Jains. Starting from the critique of the fifteenth-century monk Lonka, the faction that came to be called the Sthānakvāsins argued that image worship is a feature of a corrupt world age and advocated instead mental worship and the veneration of living ascetics. The majority group remaining loyal to their image practices came to be called Murtipujakas, the image worshipers.

BUDDHISTS. Buddhist traditions often ascribe the first images of the Śākyamuni Buddha to the founder's own lifetime. When the Buddha left Kausambi to teach elsewhere, the story goes, King Udayana requested that the monk Maudgalyāyana supervise the fabrication of a stand-in image so that the king might continue to pay respects to the teacher during his absence. Thus was made the "Udayana Buddha." When Śākyamuni returned to Kausambi, the animated image rose to honor its prototype. But the Buddha understood the pedagogic value of the image, for he honored it in return and predicted that it would play a great role in disseminating his teachings.

Modern historians of Buddhism have usually discounted such claims. While the question of the "origin of the Buddha image" has long been a topic of vigorous scholarly debate, a general consensus ascribes the earliest three-dimensional images of the Buddha to the period of the Kushans, who ruled during the first through the third centuries CE. The innovative step of fabricating physical icons of the Buddha was taken, more or less simultaneously, in two centers of the Kushan dominion, the Gandhara region of northern Pakistan and the city of Mathura.

Whenever the Buddha image did appear historically, the etiquette of veneration was already well established within Buddhist ritual culture. The earliest recipient of such honor was the Śākyamuni Buddha himself. Early Buddhist texts are replete with accounts of humans, animals, semidivine Nāgas and *Yakṣas*, divinities like Indra and Brāhmaṇ, and even nature itself demonstrating veneration to the body (*śarīra*) of the Buddha through acts of prostration, circumambulation, flower garlanding, gift giving, and reciting of verbal praises. With the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* and cremation, Buddhist venerative practices shifted to the Buddha's physical remains (also called *śarīra*) and other objects or places associated with this life. His relics were interred in moundlike stupas. These became flourishing cult centers of Buddhist veneration at least by the time of the Mauryan emperor Aśoka (r. 260–230 BCE). Worshipers honored the stupas, enlivened by the presence of Buddha's remains, much the same way they had once honored the teacher: with prostrations and circumambulations, flowers and incense, banners and parasols, and food offerings. More ambitious donors might arrange to have the entire stupa decorated with lamps or to have musicians serenade it. These appear to have remained relatively spontaneous and unstructured practices, because there are few liturgical prescriptions within the early Buddhist literature.

The introduction of the Buddha image offered another way of making the Buddha present. But there were debates over the degree of this presence. Worshipers might address the image as if it were the living Buddha, but as with the Jains, they generally understood the efficacy of veneration to reside not in the recipient but in the karmic benefits of the pious act itself. The image of the Buddha was a particularly fertile "field of merit" in which to sow the seeds of generous acts, but the Buddha did not directly reward such acts.

On the other hand, by the Gupta period in the fourth and fifth centuries CE, inscriptions point to a greatly enhanced sense of the Buddha's presence. During this period Indian monastic layouts regularly set aside a special cell, facing the entrance, where the Buddha image resided. Monks were assigned to tend to the needs of the Buddha, and endowments provided for the regular supply of flowers, incense, oil lamps, and other requisites to the Buddha. Moreover the inscriptions speak of the Buddha as the owner of the monastic property. Clearly the Buddha image became more fully established as a real living presence in the institutional life of the monastery. This significant change in Buddhist ritual culture may correspond to the introduction of new, more expansive philosophical ideas about the nature of Buddha's personhood.

Buddhist image practices figured prominently in the spread of Buddhism from India to other parts of Asia. According to tradition, Emperor Ming (r. 58–75 CE) of the Han dynasty had a dream of a radiant golden Buddha flying through the air and promptly sent emissaries to India to bring back Buddhist Scriptures and the famous Udayana Buddha. Images were so central to the early implantation of Buddhism that the Chinese referred to Buddhism as the "religion of images." The wealth of Buddhist imagery and venerative practices appear to have stimulated other competing ritual cultures of China, including Daoists and Confucians, to integrate some aspects of image veneration.

HINDUS. Modern Hinduism may well feature more venerated images per capita that any other religious tradition. This was not always the case, though. In early India the primary forms of public religion receiving elite patronage were aniconic. The Vedas (composed roughly 1500–300 BCE) prescribed an elaborate program of fire sacrifices to deities who remained invisible. The earliest images of recognizable Hindu deities date from the Kushan period, contemporary with the early Jain and Buddhist images, and the earliest texts describing protocols for image worship appeared still later, around the fifth and sixth centuries CE. By the early medieval period (700–1200 CE), however, Hindu elites and ritual specialists had positively embraced the icon as an instrument of religious practice, and the veneration of images became the normative ritual culture of the public sphere.

In the early medieval period Hindu priests articulated new theologies and elaborate ritual programs for their divine images, and their formulations have continued to be influential over many centuries. For these Hindus, images are understood as one of the means by which a deity who is both transcendent and immanent makes himself or herself present and accessible to human votaries. Vaiṣṇava theologians speak of Viṣṇu's "incarnation as an image," parallel to his other incarnations (*avatāra*). Just as Viṣṇu manifests himself in human and animal bodies, so he can also enter into fabricated physical representations of himself.

Hindu image veneration places much emphasis on the act of seeing, known as *darśana.* A physical representation enables worshipers to see their god, who might otherwise remain beyond their ken, and the beauty of the divine body attracts their gaze and awakens their devotion. But the gaze is reciprocal; the god looks back. The key moment in consecrating a new Hindu image is not opening the mouth, as the Mesopotamians would have it, but opening the eyes. So Hindus often refer to the act of worship as "taking *darśana*," seeing and being seen by the deity present in the icon.

Hindu image veneration is offered daily, both by devout worshipers in private home shrines on their own behalf and by priests in public temples on behalf of the entire community. Prescriptions in medieval Śaiva priestly guides, for example, call for elaborate preparatory purifications. The worshiper, the place of worship, the icon, the substances to be offered, and even the *mantras* to be used in worship must all be purified. The priest approaches the primary icon, the abstract Śiva linga. Though Śiva is considered to be already present in the linga, the priest performs a detailed invocation, such that Śiva becomes "specially present" there for the duration of worship. At this point the offerings or services (*upacāras*) that are the core of Hindu image veneration may begin.

Through these services, the worshiper treats the divine person present in the icon as an especially esteemed guest or as the sovereign lord of the cosmos. Priestly guides suggest that one may offer five, eight, sixteen, or as many as twenty-five services, depending on one's resources and ambitions. Among these services are many of the same offerings employed in Jain and Buddhist worship, such as flowers, incense, lights, prostrations, hymns, and food. If they share some of the venerative vocabulary, though, Indic ritual cultures have different ideas about many details, such as food offerings. According to Viṣṇu worshipers, that god partakes of the subtle portion of the food, and the substantive remains of Viṣṇu's meal, transfigured by contact with the divine, are then distributed to the community of worshipers as a physical manifestation of Viṣṇu's grace, called *prasāda*. Śaiva Siddhāntins also believe Śiva eats the subtle portion of food offerings, but they consider food that has come into contact with Śiva too powerful for human consumption. In Śaiva temples leftovers are passed on to another image, one of Śiva's semidivine followers, who is better able to handle them.

In medieval India, with its great temples, image veneration became the most visible manifestation of Hindu religiosity but not without opposition from other Hindus. Those loyal to the earlier Vedic practices of aniconic sacrifice fought a long discursive battle against the veneration of images. Others, like the devotional Vīraśaivas, satirized the cult of images in favor of more spontaneous and unmediated expressions of devotion (*bhakti*). Still others, like the nondualist philosopher Śaṅkara (c. 700–750 CE), advocated more "subtle" forms of practice as superior, such as "mental *pūjā*" offered through meditation to a nonsubstantive and imperceptible Supreme.

Hindus have selectively adapted new technologies to their practices of image veneration. New print technologies were adopted in the late nineteenth century and the twentieth century to enable the mass reproduction of inexpensive lithographic "God pictures," which pilgrims can purchase and incorporate into their home shrines. Large temples employ monitors to televise the venerated image so that a larger audience may partake of *darśana*. And with the development of the Internet, prominent Hindu temples in India have developed websites so that far-flung worshipers can offer cyber veneration.

Over the centuries, despite internal and external critiques, Hindus have maintained their practices of image veneration, modifying and transforming them along the way. When Hindus emigrated from India in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, images traveled with them. The multitude of new temples that Hindus constructed throughout the United States and the United Kingdom in the late twentieth century demonstrate the flexibility and vitality of Hindu venerative practices.

INCAS AND ANDEANS. In the fifteenth century and the early sixteenth century the Incas of Cuzco (Peru) built a large empire, subordinating more than one hundred different ethnic groups over an area along the Pacific Coast and through the Andean Highlands. Within this newly established empire the Incas promoted a central state religion. They recognized a hierarchy of gods, in which the highest were Viracocha, the creator, and the Sun, first descendent of Viracocha. This imperial cult, however, coexisted uneasily with the ritual traditions of the conquered cultures, who had their own divine figures and practices. Both the Incas and their subjects venerated images.

In the center of Cuzco the Incas constructed a massive temple for the Sun, whom the Incas took as their own ancestor. Within the temple the Sun appeared in the form of a young boy made of pure gold. The image was put to bed at night and awakened in the morning. At noon women brought him his meal: a dish of maize, a serving of meat, and a cup of maize beer. After the Sun had consumed what he would of his meal, the remainders were burned in a silver cauldron, and the beer was poured into a drain through which it nourished the earth. Officiants then raised their hands to the Sun and proclaimed their gratitude. Normally access to the inner sanctum was highly restricted, and ritual officiants observed high degrees of personal purification before entering. On special occasions, however, the Sun image was brought out into the central square of the city and received his meal in a more public setting.

The Incas constructed new Sun temples in areas they brought under control, and they required their subjects to show veneration to the Sun. Often these Sun temples competed directly with the shrines of local deities, called *huacas*. In Cajamarca on the coast, for instance, one of the most powerful of the *huacas*, named Pachacámac, occupied a massive pyramid temple. The Incas built a still taller temple to the Sun next to it. Local stories reflected the tension that subsisted between these two cult deities in which Pachacámac reluctantly ceded his preeminent status.

Huacas had once been superhuman beings walking the earth, and they were responsible for creating the landscape. But after completing their creative deeds or through conflict with another deity, the *huacas* turned into stone, sometimes in icon form and other times simply as prominent parts of the natural landscape. In such physical forms they lived on and continued to play a role in human affairs. *Huacas* were unpredictable. They were benevolently responsible for the health and prosperity of the community, but they might also bring disease, earthquakes, and crop failure. Therefore it was wise to attend to their needs assiduously.

Pachacámac resided in his pyramid in the form of a wooden pole whose top was carved in the figure of a man. Here too access was strictly limited. Priests fasted for a year before they could enter the inner sanctum. Properly attended and solicited, this deity, like many other *huacas*, could speak. Pilgrims from throughout the area brought him gifts of gold and textiles, conveyed their messages to Pachacámac through the priests, and hoped to receive an answer. In addition to the local *huacas*, Andeans also venerated special lineage gods in icon form and household deities who appeared as small animal-shaped stones.

The Inca Sun, the more localized *huacas* and other deities, and their icons were all part of the complex ritual culture of the Andean region that the Spanish conquistadores encountered in 1532. As Catholics, the Spaniards brought with them a different attitude toward images.

CRITICS OF THE IMAGE: JEWS, CHRISTIANS, AND MUSLIMS. Most image-venerating ritual cultures coexist with their critics, as shown, for the public worship of images seldom appears as an uncontested practice. It is possible also to trace a more sustained critique of images and their veneration in the West, deriving from both Greek and Israelite sources. Early Christian critics of the image drew on Greek writings as well as the Hebrew Bible in formulating their positions, and later the Islamic founders adapted them to their own theological vision.

Scholarship suggests that the strong monotheism and vigorous prohibition of image veneration in the Hebrew Bible may reflect the triumph of one group of "Yahweh-alone" partisans among the Israelites in the wake of the disastrous events of the sixth century BCE. After the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 BCE and the debilitating exile, this group advanced its own vision of the Israelite past and its notion of a proper Israelite ritual culture by exercising a dominant role in editing the Bible.

The Hebrew Bible opposes the veneration of images in two main ways. One is through direct prohibition. The Israelites were surrounded by ritual cultures, such as those of Mesopotamia and Egypt, that represented their gods in image form. In the second commandment Yahweh distinguishes himself as the God who refuses to be so represented. An insistence on Yahweh's exclusive divinity in the first commandment coupled with the prohibition of images defines a distinctive identity for the Israelites and helps insure that they will not assimilate the cults of their neighbors. The second method of articulating opposition was through prophetic parody, such as those of Jeremiah and Isaiah. Jeremiah carefully describes all the steps in fabricating an icon: the cutting of the tree in the forest, carving the wood into an image, decorating it with silver and gold, and nailing it into place. However, he asserts, these practices are false. With its material roots, the image is "only wood." There is no breath of life in it. Like Heraclitus, the Hebrew prophets argued that an image of wood or stone, fashioned by human hands, necessarily remained inanimate and could not serve as a vehicle for a god like Yahweh.

Early Christians, true to their Jewish legacy, maintained a critical attitude toward the use of images. Paul's encounter with the Greek images of Athens, recorded in the *Acts of the Apostles*, serves as a paradigm. In Athens, Paul was revolted by the sight of "a city given over to idolatry." However, in his speech to the Areopagus council, he did find one monument to praise: an empty altar inscribed "To an Unknown God." In Paul's view this unrepresented divinity is the one the Christians worship. God does not reside in human-made shrines or images, because God is not dependent in any way on human hands. Following Paul, the early Christian writers of the second and third centuries CE attacked image veneration from several different angles. Justin Martyr (c. 100–165 CE) argued that images are without souls and cannot represent God. As essentially demonic forms, they constitute an insult to God. Tertullian (c. 155–220 CE) focused on the social dangers of idolatry and held that image veneration could unleash unwelcome emotional outbursts. Moreover in Tertullian's view idolatry was an index of pagan culture, and it was crucial for Christians to distinguish themselves from the dominant Roman culture.

A more complex attitude began to develop in the fourth century CE, as Christianity itself became the dominant culture. With Emperor Constantine's conversion around 313 CE, the Christian movement became an imperial religion. Whereas early Christians had been criticized for their impoverished ritual culture, with no altars and no temples, now Christians began to develop their own architecture and art. They also destroyed competing pagan images, such as those of Zeus. The introduction of a Christian representational art was also criticized from within. Augustine (354–430 CE) disapproved of those who would look for Christ on painted walls rather than in his written word. Other Christians looked for ways to accommodate the didactic value of Christian institutional imagery with the negative attitude toward images. Most influential was the distinction articulated by Pope Gregory I (r. 590–604 CE). Images are placed in churches, he ruled, not for worship, but solely for instructing the minds of the ignorant. Christian images would be officially educational and not venerative in purpose.

Gregory's distinction provided one important legitimation but did not finally resolve the issue for Christians. The greatest debate, usually known as the Iconoclastic Controversy, began in the next century. By the eighth century the veneration of icons—painted images of holy persons regarded as particularly powerful and efficacious—had become widespread throughout churches and monasteries. Worshipers prostrated before the images, kissed them, and solicited their aid. During the same period the Byzantine Empire suffered political reversals at the hands of an expanding Ummayad Islamic polity, and this sense of threat from a more iconophobic religious community contributed to the vigor of the debate. Some argued that God was using Islam to punish Christians for having fallen into idolatry.

Similar to the Israelites, early Muslims insisted first on the principle of *tauhid*, the exclusive divinity of Allāh. Images pose a threat to that divine hegemony, for there is always a danger that humans may come to venerate those images rather than Allāh. Moreover Muslims identified Allah as sole creator. The *ḥadīth* traditions therefore especially condemn those who make images, because they seem to be laying claim to the creative prerogative of Allah. Later Muslims in some settings adopted more relaxed attitudes toward representational art, but the Islamic prohibition on the veneration of images remained firm.

Against this political background, Emperor Leo III initiated the controversy in 726 CE with an effort to purge from the church "the idolatry of image worship." The iconodules, notably John of Damascus (675-749), responded by defending the "relative worship" of images without idolatry. As representations of the material appearances of Jesus, Mary, and saints in the flesh, their images could suggest or evoke for viewers spiritual realities that lay beyond. Leo's next move was more forceful. In 730 CE he ordered all holy images removed from churches and all recalcitrant bishops removed from their positions. This put Christians in a new position altogether, for it required that they destroy not only pagan images but also statues and paintings of Jesus Christ and revered saints. The battle was joined for several decades, with repeated episodes of iconoclasm and persecution. Finally, in 787 CE the iconodule Irene (acting as regent for her son Constantine and later as empress) convened a council at Nice with monks sympathetic to her cause and issued a new decree. Holy images of Christ, Mary, and the saints may be set up in churches and honored with relative worship, though the highest form of veneration would be reserved for the imageless divine nature alone.

The unstable position of "relative worship" did not prevent further debates among the Christians. However, it did provide a reasonable legitimation for the icon-veneration practices as they developed in the Eastern Church, and it also laid the groundwork for the main institutional position of Western Christianity during the medieval period. With the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the battle of images surfaced once again. Starting in the 1520s Christians in many parts of Europe acted to reform their ritual culture by entering churches and cleansing them of images and other sacerdotal objects.

CONQUEST, CENTRALIZATION, AND ACCOMMODATION. Images and the ritual practices of veneration do not exist in isolation. They enter into larger religious debates about divinity and the world and into political struggles as well. In *Kings and Councillors* (1936), the anthropologist A. M. Hocart observed that religious iconoclasm and political centralization have gone hand in hand throughout history. In Hocart's genealogy of iconoclasm, the Egyptian king Akhenaton (fourteenth century BCE) is the earliest recorded opponent of image veneration and the first to seek a single unified divine cult. This went with Akhenaton's attempts to unite Egypt politically. Hocart followed his observation into the twentieth century and British-ruled Fiji, where the centralizing agenda of the Colonial Office sought to suppress the dispersed icons of the local spirit cults. Powers committed to colonial control have often—though by no means always—opposed the image venerating ritual cultures of the colonized.

In the Andes region, when the Incas conquered their neighbors, they extended their state cult into the region, but this did not entail the suppression of local *huaca* cults. Both groups of icons could live side by side, albeit in a hierarchical relationship. When the Spanish arrived in 1532, however, they proceeded along different lines. The public extinction of all prominent sites of indigenous idolatry was a key element in the policy of conquest. In Cuzco they systematically looted the Temple of the Sun, desecrated it, and converted it into a monastery. In Cajamarca, they broke down the door that kept Pachacámac sequestered and erected a tall cross on his shrine.

The Spanish victory in the Andes was rapid, and the Inca Sun images in their highly visible temples quickly succumbed. Many of the more deeply rooted local *huacas* were not so easy to conquer. By the seventeenth century the veneration of *huacas* was still widely practiced, though now their rites were performed in secret. Believing the process of Christianization incomplete, church authorities initiated a series of inquisitions to extirpate idolatry. Their task had become complex, however, for the boundaries of what were initially distinct ritual cultures had become permeable. Many Andean peoples viewed Christianity not as an exclusive salvific message but as one new source of spiritual powers among many. They incorporated Catholic practices with older local ones, even as the old ways were adapted to fit new circumstances. Ritual healing specialists might maintain icons of Jesus Christ and Mary along with those of *huacas* and lineage gods to employ their powers in curing the sick. Christian celebrants might venerate the local *huacas* with offerings of guinea pig and llama blood at the start of the feast of Saint Peter.

To the inquisitors all this appeared as idolatry. They collected the idols and publicly destroyed them. But even as they did so, other churchmen recognized that the links their parishioners made between Catholic statuary and their longstanding deities enhanced religious devotion. Statues of the Virgin Mary might take on characteristics of Pachacámac, Andean goddess of the earth, and the Inca Sun might lend its rays to Jesus' halo. Devotees believed that notable images like the Virgin of Copacabana performed miracles and made pilgrimages to solicit their help. The new venerative practices might not meet Pope Gregory's principle concerning pedagogic imagery only nor qualify with John of Damascus as relative worship. Yet out of these mutual accommodations Catholic churchmen and local Andean converts constructed a new ritual culture in which the veneration of significant Christian images played an important role.

VENERATION IN THE SECULAR WORLD. At first glance modern secular cultures might not seem hospitable to the religious veneration of images. Yet scholars have persuasively argued that venerative practices of a ritual character may be found in many secular locations.

In the context of national struggle, a religious image like the Virgin of Copacabana in Bolivia may come to be revered as a popular icon of nationhood without leaving her cathedral. Political elites in many secular polities generate their own iconographies of the nation in the form of flags, statues, and monuments intended to symbolize or embody founders, leaders, and national ideals. Examples range from the ubiquitous personal imagery and the extraordinary Victory Arch erected by Ṣaddām Ḥusayn in Iraq to public monuments like the Statue of Liberty and Mount Rushmore in the United States. Such national icons have their own venerative rites: ceremonial dedications, pilgrimage itineraries, and on-site guides who enforce proper decorum and instruct viewers on their meaning. Likewise acts of iconoclasm directed at these instantiations of the nation, from flag burning to the toppling of Ḥusayn's statue during the U.S. invasion of 2003, take on an iconic significance of resistance or conquest.

Visitors to modern art museums may also recognize that they are entering settings for secular ritual. In these temples viewers are asked to observe respectful conduct and to pay close, contemplative visual attention to the images they encounter there. Indeed many of the objects—particularly those in the Mesopotamian, classical, medieval, and non-Western sections—formerly resided in religious institutions, where some of them received their proper ritual offerings. Now relocated to the comprehensive institutions of the West, these same images are understood by new audiences to embody the collective artistic accomplishment of their cultures and of humanity as a whole. Museum viewers may hope for a transformative experience not through the intervention of Athena or Śiva but through a kind of communion with the artists and cultures of the collective human past.

SEE ALSO Icons; Idolatry.

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IMAGES: IMAGES, ICONS, AND IDOLS

One way to categorize religious traditions is whether or not they accept or advocate the use of two- and/or three-dimensional objects to symbolize or embody the divine. Some traditions, such as temple Hinduism, Buddhism, and Orthodox and Catholic Christianity, see the use of such images as central to their theologies and rituals. In these traditions images can serve three functions. They can be understood to be representations or likenesses of deities, symbols of deities, or the deities themselves. Other traditions, such as some schools of Islam, Judaism, and Reformed Protestant Christianity, are iconoclastic or otherwise oppose the use of images. Still others, such as Lutheran Christianity and the Advaita Vedānta school of Hinduism, are ambivalent or indifferent to the use of images.

Scholars of art and religion generally prefer the use of the terms *image* and *icon* to *idol*, as they argue that the former terms are more objective and less judgmental. For most English speakers the word *idol* is inevitably associated with *idolatry* or *heathen idolatry*, and so brings with it theological implications of the biblical and Protestant critiques of images. *Idolatry* in this theological usage is just one of a number of forms of false religion, so one finds actions, beliefs, and ideologies as varied as market capitalism, warfare, violence, the contemporary U.S. military and its budget, nuclear weapons, undue reliance on technology, an individualistic focus on self rather than community, slavery, racism, apartheid, patriarchy, adulation of cultural heroes, contemporary mass media, National Socialism, Communism, nationalism, and even scientific objectivity decried by their critics as forms of idolatry.

Anthropologists, on the other hand, tend to be comfortable using the word *idol* and argue that it more accurately reflects the theological and ritual understanding of Hindus, Buddhists, and Jains who themselves use *idol* in English. Furthermore, they say not to use the term is to disrespect those who in good faith do use it, by implying that their use of the term betrays an ignorance of the negative connotations of *idolatry* in Abrahamic theologies. Still other scholars of religion prefer to use *idol* on the grounds that *image* is too neutral a term. These scholars argue that *image* does not convey adequately the depth of feelings aroused by idols in both devotees and critics. Notwithstanding the good arguments in favor of using *idol*, this essay will use *image*.

TYPES OF IMAGES. The difference between an *image* and an *icon* is in many cases an arbitrary one. In Christian usage, *icon* refers only to two-dimensional representations of Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary, or a saint, and so for many English-speakers *icon* calls to mind a two-dimensional object. Many scholars follow this theological distinction and use the term *icon* to refer only to two-dimensional objects. Most historians of art and religion use *image* to refer to any of many material objects, both of two and three dimensions, and restrict the use of *icon* to an image that is ritually consecrated and/or in some way participates in the divine substance of that which it represents.

Three-dimensional images can be of stone, metal, wood, lacquer, or clay. An image can be a figurative likeness (iconic) or abstract (aniconic). In India, the original image at a shrine is oftentimes an aniconic natural feature, understood to be a manifestation of divine power. As its popularity grows, patrons build increasingly elaborate shrines around the image and replace the original natural image with a humanly crafted iconic one.

Two-dimensional images generally are iconic. They can be on paper, wood, or cloth, and the figure can be painted, woven, or embroidered.

Some traditions, such as Buddhism and Catholic Christianity, employ both two- and three-dimensional images. Others, such as Hinduism and Jainism, exhibit a preference for three-dimensional images over two-dimensional ones. In Eastern Orthodox Christianity only two-dimensional images function as formal liturgical icons. Some objects, such as Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain *maṇḍala*s and *yantra*s, are low-relief carvings and castings that at the same time share visual features with two-dimensional icons.

Iconic images can be anthropomorphic and so represent a human form. Other iconic images depict animals, divine beings that combine human and nonhuman traits, or inanimate symbols such as a cross, a book, or a throne. The multiplication of images leads to issues of identity, as different forms are used to depict the same deity. Traditions with iconic images therefore develop an iconography, a detailed formal canon of distinguishing features of anatomy, color, clothing, ornamentation, and attributes held in the hands that allow the viewer to identify which deity or saint is depicted. The multiplication of images can also contribute to understandings of divinity as plural and diverse. Complex iconographies contribute to explicit polytheisms, with many deities, such as we find in the Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, Shintō, Daoist, Egyptian, and Greco-Roman traditions. They also contribute to implicit polytheisms of minor deities and/or saints, such as we find in Catholic and Orthodox Christianity. In contrast, explicit monotheisms tend to employ a simplified iconography or be iconoclastic.

The physical nature of images connects them to many other objects in the material culture of religions, such as relics, shrines, altars, clothing, staffs, scepters, ritual implements, and books. Only some of these objects, such as images, relics, books, and in some cases clothing, engender long-standing and heated ideological disagreements. Images and relics in particular have been the focus of extended critiques and defenses, since they are most clearly tied to theological understandings of the relationships among divinity and humanity, and spirit and matter.

Images serve different functions in religious life. Some of them are visual symbols. They can be visual tools in the meditation of specially trained religious practitioners, who use two- or three-dimensional forms as props for visualization of deities. Images, especially two-dimensional ones with narrative themes, serve to educate people concerning essential religious truths or the history of a religious community. The Catholic pope Gregory the Great in the sixth century thus termed images "books of the illiterate." This equation of images with books is often found in elite criticisms of images as being suitable only for commoners or other more childlike and less-educated members of a religious community.

Images often appear on the outside of temples and shrines. Here they can serve as markers of sectarian identity. On the outside and inside of temples images can also serve an ornamental function, as they add to the grandeur of a building.

CONSECRATION. When images function as visual markers, there is usually no need to prepare the image through special consecratory rituals. But many other functions do require such rituals. In particular, the Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain traditions developed complex rituals whereby images are infused with divine presence or otherwise consecrated for ritual use.

Mesopotamian texts from the first half of the first millennium BCE describe in detail a two-day ritual sequence for consecration that involved multiple mouth-washings (Babylonian *mīs pî),* each of which involved mouth-opening rites (Babylonian *pīt pî).* References to these rituals are found in texts from as early as the twenty-second century BCE. Egyptian texts from the first half of the first millennium BCE describe a consecration ritual also known as the opening of the mouth; some texts also describe these rituals as involving the opening of the eyes, nose, and ears of the image. Hindu images are consecrated in multiday-festivals that both install vital breath in the image (Sanskrit *prāṇa pratiṣṭhā*) and anoint the image with pure water and many other liquids (*abhiṣeka*). Jain consecration rituals distinguish between the enlivening of the image through opening its eyes in a rite called literally the "eye-needle" (Sanskrit *añjana-śalākā*), and the establishment (Sanskrit *pratiṣṭhā*) of the image on an altar for worship. Buddhist rituals throughout Asia employ the two ritual paradigms of opening the eye of the image (Sanskrit *netra-pratiṣṭhāpana*) and anointing it (*Buddha-abhiṣeka*). In Tibetan Buddhist consecrations the focus is on the establishment (Tibetan *rab gnas*) of the Buddha-nature (Tibetan *ye shes sems dpa'*, Sanskrit *jñānasattva*) in the image. Tantric Buddhist consecrations involve placing consecrated objects such as scriptures and relics inside the image. In East Asia, some images are consecrated by placing the cremated ashes and other relics of a deceased Buddhist master in a cavity in the image. The periodic reconsecration of the wooden image of the Hindu deity Jagannātha in Orissa also involves transferring a sacred object from the old image into a cavity in the back of the new one. These rituals show the overlap between icons and relics.

IMAGES AS DIVINE PRESENCE. All these rituals effect the transformation of the image from a humanly manufactured object into a receptacle or real presence of divinity. In the Mesopotamian case the image is understood to have been produced by the cooperation of humans and gods. In many traditions there are stories of images that either were created by divine beings, or else were spontaneously material incarnations of the deity him- or herself.

This dual character of the image, as at once humanly created and a body for the divine, is reflected in various ways in the rituals. In the Mesopotamian ritual priests use a wooden sword symbolically to cut off the hands of the artisans, whereas the artisans themselves swear an oath that the image was made not by them but by their craft deities. In the Buddhist ritual in Sri Lanka the act of painting in the eye of the image to open it is considered so dangerous that no one can look at the image during this process, and even the craftsman who performs the act must do it with a mirror. This would appear to indicate a powerful presence in the image, greater than anything within normal human experience.

It is often not clear whether the image is a representation of a particular deity, or is the deity itself. The language of hymns and rituals, as well as stories concerning images, allow for both interpretations. Some paintings of images clearly depict an image in a temple. In others it is unclear if the painter has depicted the deity or an image of the deity.

A further ambiguity seen in consecration rituals is whether the image is the sole abode of a particular deity, or the abode of a deity who equally resides in other images. While the language and actions of the consecration ritual usually indicate that the image has now become a permanent abode of the divine, the language and actions of some daily rituals simultaneously indicate an understanding that the ritual practitioner invokes the deity into the image and then dismisses the deity at the conclusion of the ritual. Most images are the subject of annual or periodic rituals of purification and renewal. In some cases these rituals consist of a set of purifications; in others the image itself is repaired, reornamented, or even, as in the case of the Jagannātha, entirely refabricated.

In some traditions, such as the Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Hindu, and Mahāyāna Buddhist, there is little or no theological problem caused by positing the presence of the deity, either in whole or as a partial incarnation, in the image. But other traditions deny this possibility. In Theravāda Buddhism and Jainism the Buddha and the Jina, respectively, are understood no longer to be present in this world in a tangible sense. These traditions engage in more complicated explanations of what, if anything, is present in the image, and tie the presence to the intentions and actions of the Buddha or Jina several thousand years ago. Christian theology also denies the possibility of *real presence* in an icon or image, reserving this (according to the Eastern Orthodox, Catholic, and some Protestant traditions) to the sanctified bread and wine in the Eucharist. A careful analysis of rituals and stories in traditions that theoretically deny presence, however, shows that many people act *as if* there were a divine presence in the image, so scholars must beware placing too much emphasis on theological arguments of absence.

Images and miracles. Stories of images frequently recount miracles. Some miracle stories account for the existence of the image itself, as the image or deity arranges for a person, animal, or deity to find or receive the image and install it for worship in a shrine. For example, in the early sixteenth century the image of Śrīnāthjī that had earlier appeared from within the sacred Mount Govardhan summoned the Vaiṣṇava saint Vallabhācārya (Vallabha, 1479–1531) and revealed its true identity, and in 1672 the image, which had been removed from the danger of spoilage by the Mughal rulers, indicated its eventual home in Nathdwara by preventing the bullock cart carrying it from leaving that site. In 1531 in Guadalupe the Virgin Mary appeared to the Mayan Indian peasant Juan Diego and left an image of herself on a cloth. In circumstances where there is extensive iconoclastic opposition to and destruction of images, many miracle stories relate how images saved themselves from destruction and thereby verified the theological correctness of the cult of images. Miracle stories also recount ways that images have saved cities and towns from hostile armies. The *Hodegetria* icon of the Virgin Mary was displayed by the emperors of Constantinople to help protect the city from invaders. Politically and socially important images also become the source of attention for the state's enemies. The *Hodegetria* was sought by the Venetian conquerors of Constantinople in 1204, and later cut into four pieces by the Turkish conquerors of the city in 1453. While the Venetians were unable to locate and seize the *Hodegetria* icon, they did seize another icon of Mary, the *Nicopeia*, which had been on the chariot of the defeated commander of the Greek army, and transported it and many other images back to Venice for installation in the cathedral of San Marco.

Most miracle images come to have a distinct personality that is indicated by its name. Examples of these are the Emerald Buddha in Thailand, the Zenkōji icon of Amida, Japan, the Jain Śaṅkheśvara Pārśvanātha in Gujarat, India, the Infant Jesus of Prague, the *Hodegetria* icon of the Virgin Mary, and the Vladimir Mother of God icon now in Saint Petersburg, Russia. These images are readily identifiable to members of the religious community. Replicas of these images are known by the same name, and the spread of such images creates a *replication cult.* Replication cults appear to be most prominent in Buddhism, Jainism, and Christianity. As Hinduism has spread outside of India in recent decades, many temples built in Europe and the United States represent a replication cult, such as the temple outside of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, that replicates the temple of Veṅkateśvara in Tirupati in southern India. Related to replication cults is the widespread practice of pilgrims obtaining inexpensive replicas of icons to take home and place in a household shrine. These reproductions tend to be two dimensional more often than three dimensional, and rarely undergo formal consecration rites. Just as consecrated images exhibit an ambiguity concerning whether they are the sole and unique abodes of particular deities, so also replication images at once share in the presence of the original and point away from themselves to that unique and easily identifiable original.

Images and religious conversions. Images often play an important role in the spread of religions and in conversions. Chinese texts call Buddhism "the teaching of the [Buddha] images" (*xiangjiao*). The introduction of Buddhism into the Korean kingdom of Silla in the early sixth century was effected by a miracle, as the severed head of a pro-image martyr spouted a fountain of pure white blood. The introduction of Buddhism into Japan later in the same century was also effected by a miracle, as an image that opponents had thrown into a canal arranged for a commoner to rescue it and in return revived his dead son. Images have also proved to be bridges between different religious communities, such as the Virgin Mary of Guadalupe in Mexico, of whom there were different but overlapping understandings by the indigenous Mayans and the conquering Spaniards.

RITUAL USES OF IMAGES. Consecrated images are the foci of many rituals. Viewing an image is itself an efficacious ritual in many traditions, which leads to the elaborate ornamentation of images. In many cases, such as Hindu, Jain, and Christian images, the ornamentation is so extensive that it almost totally covers the image, so the image's identity is established more by the ornamentation than by the underlying "original" image. In Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism images are offered flowers, incense, lamps, edibles, and other physical substances. In Hindu Vaiṣṇava traditions the deity is understood to consume the subtle essence of the offerings that are then returned to the person as *prasāda*, literally "divine grace." In contrast, Jain and Hindu *Śaiva* traditions explicitly restrict such transactions. Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain rituals also involve the anointing of images with water, milk, and other liquids in a ritual idiom that shares much with the consecration of kings. In Christianity devotion to an image is usually expressed through kissing it and praying in front of it.

Rituals can differ according to the deity symbolized or embodied by the image. In Jainism, the eight-part ritual offering (Sanskrit *aṣṭaprakārī pūjā*) is done only to images of the enlightened and liberated Jinas, whereas images of unliberated deities receive a different number of offerings. The Eastern Orthodox theologian Saint John of Damascus distinguished between veneration (Greek *proskinesis*, Latin *dulia*) directed toward a saint, and worship (Greek *latreia*, Latin *latria*), which is appropriate only toward Jesus as God. This distinction was adopted by Catholic theologians, who added an intermediate rite of special veneration (*hyperdulia*) in which the Virgin Mary was named the Mother of God.

Image cults often involve processions, in which an important image is periodically taken out of the shrine and processed around the village or neighborhood. In some cases it is the central image of a shrine that is processed. In other cases the main image remains permanently in the shrine, and a portable image stands in for it in the procession. Processions spread the power and blessings of the image throughout the geographical area encompassed by the procession. In traditions such as Hinduism before Indian independence, in which entry to many temples was prohibited to some lower castes, the procession also allows access to the image on the part of the total population.

Vows taken before an image may have the same binding significance as those taken before the deity or a religious leader. In the Jain tradition, for example, a person should be initiated into monkhood by another monk, but several twentieth-century Digambara monks initiated themselves in front of Jina images. Shingon Buddhist monks in medieval Japan also performed self-ordinations in front of Buddha images to start new monastic lineages. Buddhist monks in many traditions perform rites of confession in front of Buddha images.

COMMISSIONING AND MAKING OF IMAGES. The most obvious reason people commission images for installation in shrines is devotion to and faith in the deity represented by the image, although in the case of replication cults this devotion may be directed to the particular icon as much as to the deity. This devotion may be a generalized response to the deity on the part of the donor, or it may be motivated by a request from the deity or other miraculous event. In many traditions the donation of images earns religious merit for the donor. Images are donated as the result of vows, in which a person pledges to donate an image in response to the fulfillment of a particular desire for health, success, or other form of well-being. Images can be donated to enhance the social prestige of the donor. This intention is often underscored by an inscription or other testimonial, such as inclusion of a portrait of the donor in the painting or sculpture, that publicly links the image to the donor's name.

In many cultures images are made by hereditary craftsmen. In India there is no requirement that the craftsmen be of the same religious tradition, so the Vaiṣṇava stone carvers of Jaipur also make images for *Śaivas*, goddess worshipers, and Jains, and in some places in India nonconsecrated images are even made by Muslims. In other traditions there is an expectation that the craftsman be within the same tradition, for the making of a religious image, especially one to be consecrated, requires a higher degree of moral purity or spiritual insight than making a nonreligious image. In some Tibetan Tantric esoteric traditions the painters of *thangkas* are expected to have taken formal initiation in the cult of the deity. Old Believers of the Russian Orthodox Church said that the only way to be sure that an icon was not actually an icon of the antichrist was to insist that icon painters live in a state of near-monastic spirituality and simplicity. Painters of Greek Orthodox icons are also expected to be in a condition of heightened reverence, for icon painting is understood not as a form of artistic self-expression, but as an act in imitation of the first image of Christ, the icon "made without hands" (Greek *acheiropoietos*) or cloth true portrait (Greek *mandylion*) made when Christ imprinted the features of his face on a cloth.

ICONOCLASM AND JUSTIFICATIONS OF IMAGES. Traditions that devote extensive theological and ritual attention to images almost always generate countermovements in criticism or opposition to images. The destruction of images (iconoclasm) is oftentimes accompanied by criticisms of other aspects of the material culture of the religion, of priestly hierarchies with special prerogatives and extensive powers, and of theological decentralizing through either polytheism or the development of cults of multiple subsidiary deities or saints. In some cases, as in the critiques of the Ārya Samāj in Hinduism, the Sthānakavāsīs and Terāpanthīs in Jainism, and Lutherans in Christianity, iconoclasm is nonviolent and aims at convincing people to ignore and eventually reject images. In other cases, such as the Christian Iconoclastic Controversy of the eighth and ninth centuries and the Calvinist Reformation, the iconoclasm was more violent, with extensive destruction of images. Iconoclastic movements also lead to the development of self-conscious defenses of images and the cult of images. Saint John of Damascus and Saint Theodore of Studion articulated the Orthodox Christian theology of the image during the Iconoclastic Controversy, the Council of Trent confirmed the Catholic theology of images in response to the Protestant Reformation, and Mūrtipūjaka Jain thinkers developed their philosophy of images in response to the Sthānakavāsī critiques. Iconoclastic opposition to images can also come from outside a tradition. It can be physically nonviolent, as in the case of the Christian polemics against Hindu idols in nineteenth- and twentieth-century India, or it can result in the violent overthrow of images as witnessed most recently in 2001 by the destruction of the Buddha images at Bamiyan in Afghanistan by the Taliban.

SEE ALSO Iconography; Icons; Idolatry.

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IMAGINATION SEE AESTHETICS; ART AND RELIGION

IMAMATE. The Arabic term *imam* means in general "leader" or "master." In nontechnical usage it is often applied to a leading authority in a field of scholarship or to the leader of a community. As a technical term in Islamic law and theology, it refers to the legitimate supreme leader of the Muslim community and also to the leader of the ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*). The imamate, as the office of imam, will be dealt with here in these two technical senses.

SUPREME LEADERSHIP OF THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY. The question of leadership, in theory and practice, has historically evoked different responses within the different branches of Islam.

The Sunnīs. Representing the great majority of Muslims, the Sunnīs have generally viewed the historical caliphate as the legitimate leadership of Islam after the prophet Muḥammad. For them, the imam is thus identical with the ruling caliph. Actual rule, even if reduced to a minimum, is indispensable for the legitimacy of the imam. Throughout history, however, the Sunnīs were primarily concerned with preserving the unity and solidarity of the Muslim community under a single imam and were prepared to compromise on the ideal of his legitimacy and justice. Sunnī theory generally held that the true and exemplary caliphate, meaning the vicegerency of prophecy (*khilāfat al-nubūwah*) was restricted to the first four, or "Rightly Guided" (Rāshidūn) caliphs, Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, and ʿAlī. This view was embodied in a well-known *ḥadīth* attributed to Muḥammad, according to which the caliphate was to last for only thirty years after his death and to be followed by mere autocratic kingship (*mulk*). Sunnīs considered the first four caliphs to be the most excellent of humankind after Muḥammad and thus entitled to his succession as leaders of the community.

This judgment did not apply, however, to the later caliphs, many of whom were seen as unjust and impious. While the later caliphate was thus recognized to be imperfect, Sunnī doctrine viewed it still as a divinely sanctioned and indispensable institution and stressed the obligation of every Muslim to obey and actively support the established imam, be he just or oppressive, pious or immoral, except in violation of the religious law. Conservative traditionalist opinion, especially that of Ḥanbalī jurists, virtually equated power and legitimacy, affirming the validity of the imamate gained by usurpation. In their view, the imamate could become binding without any act of recognition by the Muslim community. The only prerequisite for the rightful imam was that he be a Muslim of the Quraysh, the tribe of Muḥammad.

A less radical view of the caliphate was taken by another current of Sunnī thought, represented in particular in the legal school of al-Shāfiʿī. The Shāfiʿī jurists did not confine the legitimate imamate to the most excellent of the community and allowed that a less excellent candidate might be chosen, especially in order to avoid discord. They considered the late caliphate essentially as a legitimate continuation of the ideal rule of the four Rightly Guided caliphs, to be judged by the standards they had set. On this basis they elaborated a comprehensive legal doctrine concerning the qualifications, election, rights, and duties of the imam. Their activity reached its peak with al-Māwardī (d. 1058), whose book *Al-aḥkām al-sulṭānīyah* (The statutes of government) came to be widely regarded as an authoritative statement of classical Sunnī teaching on the imamate.

Classical theory. Classical Sunnī theory considered the imamate as an institution necessary for the legitimacy of all acts of government. Thus it held that the Muslim community was under the obligation to set up an imam as its supreme head at all times. It allowed for only a single imam at any time and considered rival caliphs, even if they were in clear control of part of the Islamic world, to be illegitimate. The imam was to be of Qurayshī descent, male, major, free, physically fit, and capable to execute the political and military duties of the office. He was to have the knowledge of the religious law required for the judgeship and probity as required for legal testimony. The imam could be either appointed by his predecessor or elected. These alternative modes of investment were based on the fact that the second caliph, ʿUmar, was appointed by his predecessor, Abū Bakr, but, before his death, set up an electoral council (*shūrā*) of six prominent companions of the Prophet to choose his successor. The later caliphs in most instances appointed their successors, commonly their sons.

In the case of election, the law considered any Muslim of probity, discernment, and with knowledge about the nature of the office qualified to act as an elector. The number of electors required to make the election binding on the whole Muslim community was generally held to be small, and a common view considered a single elector sufficient. The legal doctrine here reflected the fact that in the absence of an appointed successor a handful of powerful men were usually able to impose a successor of their choice. The election was not intended to be a free choice between candidates, but a selection of the "most excellent" in religious terms. The election of the "less excellent" was viewed as permissible only for proper cause.

The imamate became legally invalid through loss of liberty and of mental or physical fitness. Many Shāfiʿī authorities also held it to be forfeited by loss of probity through immoral conduct, injustice, or heterodoxy; this view was denied, however, by others and by Ḥanbalī and Ḥanafī opinion in general. In practice there was no way to apply this rule. Sunnī law defined the duties of the imam as: guarding the faith against heresy, protecting the peace in the territory of Islam, defending it against external enemies, conducting *jihād* against those outside the territory of Islam resisting its supremacy, enforcing law and justice between disputants, administering punishments *(ḥudūd)* under the religious law, collecting legal alms and other taxes and the fifth of war booty due to the imam, spending revenue according to the provisions of the law, and appointing trustworthy and qualified officials in delegating his authority.

Subsequent developments. The overthrow of the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad by the Mongols in 1258 confronted Sunnī legal theory with a new situation. The Abbasid shadow caliphate set up by the Mamluk sultans in Cairo was generally ignored. After the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1516, the claims of the Ottoman sultans to the caliphate gained some popular support. Sunnī jurists, however, mostly considered the imamate to be in abeyance. Relying on the legal principle of necessity (*ḍarūrah*), they maintained that because the actual exercise of power was essential to the imamate, its functions had devolved upon the rulers of the Muslim world, whoever they were. The formal abolition of the Ottoman sultanate (1922) and caliphate (1924) by the Turkish National Assembly has led to a renewed interest in the question of a supreme and universal leader of Islam. Although some modernists have denied the need for the imamate, others among them, as well as fundamentalists, have advocated its restoration. Here the ideal model is the caliphate of the four Rightly Guided caliphs rather than the later dynastic caliphate. Modernists have stressed in particular the principle of rule by consultation (*shūrā*), often seen to imply the need for an elected parliamentary council to advise the supreme ruler, and the principle of election rather than appointment by the imam's predecessor.

The Shīʿah. While Sunnī Muslims were essentially motivated to back the actual holder of supreme power as the guarantor of the unity of the Muslim community, the Shīʿah have primarily emphasized the principle of legitimacy of the imam, which they see vested in the family of the prophet Muḥammad. The majority of Shīʿī imams, except among the Zaydīyah, never held political power, though the Shīʿah considered them solely entitled to the supreme leadership of the Muslim community and viewed the historical caliphs, with the exception of ʿAlī, as illegitimate usurpers. Partly as a result of their lack of political power, the Shīʿah have tended to endow their imams with great religious authority and to place the imamate at the center of religion.

Twelvers. Twelver Shīʿī doctrine bases the imamate on the permanent need for a divinely guided, infallible ruler and teacher of religion. This need was recognized through human reason rather than revelation. After the age of the prophets had come to a close with Muḥammad, these divinely guided leaders were the imams, beginning with Muḥammad's cousin and son-in-law, ʿAlī. They were, like the prophets, fully immune from sin and error and shared the same function and authority, though they would not bring a new divine scripture because the Qurʾān was final. The imamate thus assumed the same religious significance as prophecy. Ignorance or disobedience of any of the imams constituted infidelity equal to ignorance or disobedience of the Prophet. For the Twelvers, the imamate is handed down by divinely directed designation (*naṣṣ*) of the successor. Thus the great majority of the companions of Muḥammad and the Muslim community at large had become apostates when they recognized Abū Bakr as the imam in place of ʿAlī, who had been publicly designated by Muḥammad as his successor. After Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, the grandsons of Muḥammad, the imamate was to be transferred only from father to son among the descendants of Ḥusayn.

In 874 the death of the eleventh imam without apparent son caused a crisis that was eventually resolved by the affirmation that a son had been born to him and continued to live on earth, though in concealment (*ghaybah*) from humankind. The twelfth imam was identified with the eschatological Mahdi or Qāʾim who is expected to appear before the end of the world and to rule it in glory. Because the twelfth imam is present on earth and may show himself to some of the faithful in person or in a dream, he is held to be essentially still able to fulfill his supreme function of conveying infallible divine guidance. His more practical legal duties and rights have either been assumed gradually by the Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ* (religious scholars), who claim a general deputyship of the imam during his concealment, or remain in abeyance.

Twelver Shīʿī tradition ascribes to the imams numerous miracles and supernatural powers. They are described as having complete command of all crafts and languages, including those of animals. Though they are not endowed with a natural knowledge of the hidden, God gives them knowledge of anything they wish to know: "what has been and what will be." Because they inherit the knowledge of the prophet Muḥammad, they are perfectly informed of both the outer (exoteric) and the inner (esoteric) meaning of the Qurʾān. They are in possession of all revealed scriptures as well as books containing secret knowledge, including the *Saḥīfah, Jafr, Jāmiʿah,* and the *Muṣḥaf* of Fāṭimah. They receive divine guidance from an angel who speaks to them and informs them, though unlike the messenger prophets, they do not see him.

The imams are endowed with the Holy Spirit. In numerous passages of the Qurʾān they are evoked by terms such as "the light of God," his "witnesses," his "signs," those "firm in knowledge." They are the "vicegerents" of God on earth and the "gates" through which he may be approached. In popular piety the privilege of the imams to intercede with God for the sinners of their community has always loomed large and has inspired the frequent pilgrimages of the faithful to their tombs. Later esoteric Twelver Shīʿī teaching, influenced by Ṣūfī and Ismāʿīlī thought, defined the permanent essence of the imamate as *walāyah,* the quality of a *walī,* "friend of God," and as the esoteric aspect of prophecy. The imam was viewed as the initiator to the mystical truths.

Ismāʿīlīyah. When, after the sixth imam, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, the Ismāʿīlīyah separated from the group developing into the Twelver Shīʿah, they retained the idea of a permanent need for a divinely guided, infallible leader and teacher but developed from it a cyclical view of the history of the true religion. For the Ismāʿīlīyah, prophetic revelation progresses through seven eras. Each of the first six is inaugurated by a "speaker prophet," who brings a scripture with a law and is followed by a "silent fundament." The fundament reveals the esoteric truth concealed in the scripture and is followed by seven imams in sequence, the seventh of whom rises in rank to become the speaker of the following era. The imam takes the place of the speaker prophet in guarding and applying the literal aspect of the revealed law, while his *ḥujjah* ("proof"), representing the rank below the imam in the hierarchy, succeeds the fundament in revealing the esoteric truths to the initiate.

In the sixth era, that of Muḥammad and Islam, ʿAlī was the fundament and Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiqʿs grandson Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl the seventh imam from Ḥasan. As such he was expected, after his imminent advent from concealment, to rise in rank to become the seventh speaker prophet, who was identified with the Mahdi and Qāʾim. This early Ismāʿīlī expectation was modified in the tenth century by the rise of the Fatimid caliphs, who claimed to be imams. Some Ismāʿīlī backers of the Fatimid caliphate recognized the first Fatimid caliph as the Mahdi, while others continued to expect the early return of Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl and considered the Fatimids his lieutenants. As Fatimid rule continued, however, these eschatological expectations receded, and the Fatimid caliphs were viewed as a continuous line of imams within the era of Islam.

After the fall of the Fatimid dynasty, the Ismāʿīlīyah survived mainly in two branches. The Ṭayyibīyah recognized al-Ṭayyib, an infant son of the Fatimid caliph al-Āmir about whose fate nothing is known, as their imam and denied his death. They hold that al-Ṭayyib, though in concealment, remains in touch with his community and will return. He is not identified, however, with the eschatological Qāʾim. In later Ṭayyibi gnostic thought, the imam is described as having both a human nature (*nāsūt*) and a divine nature (*lāhūt*). His human, physical nature, also called the "camphoric figure," is composed of the vapors that arise from the souls of the faithful three days after their death. The divine nature is described as a light temple formed by the assembly of light points of the souls of the faithful and the teaching hierarchy. This light temple will, after the death of the imam, rise to the horizon of the Tenth Intellect, the demiurge, where it will assemble with the temples of the other imams to form the immense light temple of the Qāʾim.

The Nizārī branch recognized Nizār, a son of the Fatimid caliph al-Mustanṣir, as their imam and has continued to adhere to a line of present imams leading, for the great majority, to the Aga Khans. The proclamation of the resurrection (*qiyāmah*) in 1164 and the subsequent return to an age of concealment brought major reforms of the esoteric doctrine of the imamate. The imams were now raised in rank above the prophets. As a potential Qāʾim, each imam was held to have the authority to suspend or apply the religious law as the circumstances required. The imam was in his spiritual essence defined as a manifestation of the divine word or command, the cause of the spiritual world. The faithful attain spiritual birth, or resurrection, through recognition of the essence of the imam. In the era of concealment, spiritual union with the imam was restricted to his *ḥujjah,* who was his gate for the faithful and the sole dispenser of spiritual truth.

Zaydīyah. Unlike other Shīʿī Muslims, the Zaydīyah do not consider their imams divinely protected from error and sin and do not recognize a hereditary line of imams. They hold that after the first Shīʿī imams, ʿAlī, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn, who were appointed by the prophet Muḥammad through a descriptive designation, the imamate belongs to any qualified descendant of Ḥasan or Ḥusayn who rises against the illegitimate rulers. Apart from his descent, the legal qualifications of the imam are substantially the same as in Sunnī law. Special emphasis is placed, however, on religious learning, competence to render legal judgment, moral integrity, and courage. Zaydī imams have generally been scholars of rank and authors of the most authoritative Zaydī religious works. The imamate becomes legally binding upon the issuance of a formal call to allegiance (*daʿwah*) and rising against illegitimate rule, not through election or appointment by a previous imam. After his call to allegiance, recognition and active backing of the imam is incumbent upon every believer. The imamate is forfeited by loss of any of the qualifications, in particular by moral offenses. According to the prevalent doctrine, only the most excellent claimant is entitled to the imamate, and if a more excellent candidate arises to claim it, the excelled imam must surrender it to him. This has been disputed, however, by some later authorities. In practice rival claims to the imamate have often divided the allegiance of the Zaydī communities, both in Yemen and in the coastal regions south of the Caspian Sea.

Although in Zaydī legal theory there must always be a qualified candidate for the imamate, the Zaydī imamate has often been in abeyance for prolonged periods. The list of recognized imams has never been definitely fixed, though there is consensus on many of them. Many Zaydī ʿAlīd rulers did not claim the imamate or were not recognized as imams by later Zaydī opinion because they did not fulfill the requirements, especially that of religious learning. These were often considered as "restricted" imams, or "summoners" (*duʿāt*), with limited authority.

Khārijīs. Whereas the Shīʿah historically based their repudiation of the Sunnī caliphate on the principle of legitimacy, the Khārijīs founded their opposition on an uncompromising concept of the justice and moral integrity of the imam. In Khārijī doctrine the imam loses his legitimacy by any violation of religious law and must be removed, by force if necessary. The unjust or immoral imam and his supporters are to be treated as infidels unless they repent. ʿUthmān and ʿAlī are viewed as initially legitimate imams who became infidels by their illicit acts and thus were rightfully murdered. Any Muslim who does not dissociate himself or herself from them and their supporters shares their state of infidelity. Likewise any Muslim who does not affirm solidarity with just imams such as Abū Bakr and ʿUmar is an infidel. The Khārijīs also unanimously rejected the elitist Sunnī doctrine restricting the imamate to the Quraysh. They held that any qualified Muslim, even of non-Arab and slave origin, was eligible. An exceptional view extended this egalitarian principle to women as well. The other qualifications and functions of the imam were similar to Sunnī doctrine, with special emphasis on the Qurʾanic duty of "commanding what is proper and prohibiting what is reprehensible" and on the imam's leadership of the *jihād* against non-Khārijī Muslims.

Only the most moderate sect of the Khārijīs, the Ibāḍīyah, survived the first centuries of Islam. The Ibāḍīyah took a more accommodating view toward non-Khārijī Islam at large, and their doctrine came to recognize different types of imams corresponding to the four states in which the community of the faithful could face its enemies. These include the state of manifestation, when the community was strong enough to overcome the opponent; the state of defense, when it could merely hope to ward off the enemy; the state of self-sacrifice, when a small group of the faithful seeking martyrdom would choose to attack a powerful enemy; and the state of concealment, when the faithful were forced to live under the rule of the opponent and to practice dissimulation. Only the imam of the state of manifestation was entitled to exercise all the functions of the imamate.

LEADERSHIP OF THE RITUAL PRAYER. The ritual prayer, which is obligatory for every Muslim five times daily, may be performed individually or in group with a leader who is called the imam. The same applies to several special prayers, which are merely recommended, on the occasion of festivals and solar or lunar eclipses, prayers for rain, and supererogatory and funeral prayers. In most of these cases group prayer, preferably in a mosque, is the recommended form whenever possible. The congregational Friday prayer, which is generally obligatory for those in easy reach of a congregational mosque (*jāmiʿ*), can only be performed in group with an imam.

The imam must face the *qiblah,* the direction toward Mecca. In the mosque he stands in front of the *miḥrāb,* or prayer niche, which indicates this direction. In the early time of Islam a staff or lance was placed in the ground before him. The congregation stands in rows behind the imam; no one is permitted to be in front of him. If there is only a single worshiper following the prayer, he may stand at the imam's right, and a second one may stand at his left. The members of the congregation must strictly follow the imam in every movement and recitation. While the imam recites in a loud voice, however, they should generally not be heard. If the congregation is too large for everyone to see and hear the imam, special "conveyors" (sg., *muballigh*) may be employed to repeat his *takbīr*s, marking the transition to the next phase of the prayer, for the worshipers in the back rows or outside the mosque.

The obligation to imitate strictly the movements of the imam applies even if a worshiper belongs to another legal school prescribing different prayer rituals. While this rule has been generally accepted among the four Sunnī schools, there have at times been problems. Some Ḥanafī authorities held that raising the hands during the bowing (*rukūʿ*) and lifting the head, as practiced by the Shāfiʿīyah and others, invalidates the prayer and ruled that a Ḥanafī must not pray behind a Shāfiʿī imam. This matter provoked friction between the two schools for centuries.

A group praying outside a mosque may generally choose its own imam. Preferably he should be the most worthy among them, with particular consideration given to probity, knowledge of Qurʾanic texts for recitation during prayer, knowledge of the ritual, and freedom from speech defects. While a woman may act as prayer leader only for other women, the imam may be a minor boy, a slave, or a moral offender among men and women alike. Prayer led by an imam with a speech defect is invalid. In a private home, the owner is most entitled to lead the prayer even if otherwise more worthy men are present.

Mosques have generally appointed official imams. Whenever the official imam or a substitute appointed by him is present, he is entitled to lead the prayer. In the congregational mosques or others maintained by the caliph, his governors, or, in modern times, the government, the imam is appointed by them. In private mosques maintained by individuals or local communities, the imam is chosen by the neighborhood. Once chosen he cannot be removed except for cause. The imam has usually the right to choose and direct the muezzin, who makes the call to prayer.

The imam of the Friday congregational worship may be appointed separately from the imam of the daily prayers. He is normally also the preacher (*khaṭīb*), who delivers the official sermon (*khuṭbah*) with the prayer for the ruler before the Friday prayer. In early Islam the Friday congregational prayer in particular was led by the caliph himself in the capital and by his governors in the provincial capitals. Later they generally deputed imams. The Friday prayer remained closely associated with government authority, however, and some of the legal schools held it to be invalid without the presence of the supreme imam (caliph) or his appointed representative. In Twelver Shiism, for instance, the Friday worship has been generally held to be in abeyance in the absence of the rightful supreme imam. Only when the Safavids established a Shīʿī regime in sixteenth-century Iran did the matter become controversial, and some Shīʿī jurists maintained that Friday worship was obligatory in the presence of a qualified legal scholar. Today the Friday prayer is performed among the Twelver Shīʿah, though not as widely as among Sunnīs. Sunnī concern for maintaining the unity of Islam by backing the established rulers, whatever their moral failings, found expression in the affirmation contained in many Sunnī creeds that every Muslim must "pray behind every imam, be he righteous or immoral." The Shīʿah and Khārijīs generally reject this attitude and prohibit prayer behind an imam who is known to be either immoral or heterodox.

SEE ALSO Aga Khan; Caliphate; Ghaybah; ʿIsmah; Nubūwah; Walāyah.

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ĪMĀN AND ISLĀM.

Islām, a noun derived from the verb *aslama* ("to submit or surrender [to God]"), designates the act by which an individual recognizes his or her relationship to the divine and, at the same time, the community of all of those who respond in submission. It describes, therefore, both the singular, vertical relationship between the human being and God and the collective, horizontal relationship of all who join together in common faith and practice.

In its communal aspect *islām* has come to be the commonly accepted term for the religion of the followers of the prophet Muḥammad and today claims many millions of adherents. As the personal act of response to the oneness of God and his commands *islām* often has been viewed as coordinate with another term basic to Muslim theology. This is *īmān,* most commonly understood as faith, from the verb *amana* ("to be secure, to place one's trust [in God]"). While *islām* as a verbal noun appears only eight times in the Qurʾān, *īmān* is found over five times as often in the sacred scripture.

QURʾANIC CONTEXT. The Qurʾān as understood by Muslims is not a theological document per se, although it does reveal something of the being and will of God. It is rather a record of the revelations to the prophet Muḥammad that details the ways in which men and women of faith are to respond to the fact of divine oneness. It also sets forth the specific ways in which they are to conduct their daily lives in preparation for the reality of the final day of judgment and recompense. Terms such as *islām* and *īmān* therefore are not defined and analyzed in the Qurʾān. In some instances they are apparently interchangeable in meaning, and in others Qurʾanic usage seems to suggest that the two have different emphases, particularly as they relate to works. In one place only (sura 49:14) is a clear discrimination between *islām* and *īmān* implied.

Here a distinction is drawn between the verbal acknowledgment of *islām* by the tongue and the *īmān* that has entered the heart. The suggestion that *islām* is the outward sign and *īmān* the inward, however, runs counter to the general understanding of the Qurʾān that they are essentially synonymous and that they both designate the religious response by which one heeds the message of God's oneness and thereby escapes the eternal retribution of the Day of Resurrection.

Ḥadīth. Many kinds of references to *islām* and *īmān* are to be found in the collections of *ḥadīth*, the narratives or "traditions" that record the community's memory of the sayings and actions of the prophet Muḥammad and his companions. Individual traditions often fail to suggest a distinction between *islām* and *īmān.* The Prophet is sometimes quoted as having indicated that the essentials of *islām* are the Shahādah, the twin testimonies to the oneness of God and the prophethood of Muḥammad, as well as the other duties constitutive of formal *islām,* with no specification of the components of faith. More often, however, the reports seem to imply that the terms connote at least different aspects of the same response, if not two separate kinds of responses.

One particularly interesting narrative found in a range of renditions presents the Prophet defining *islām* as clearly distinct from *īmān.* In the best-known version the story is told about a stranger with a beautiful face, black hair, and a white robe (usually understood to be the angel Gabriel) who joins the Prophet and a group of his companions and asks "What is *islām?*" (or, in other versions, "Tell me about *islām*"). The Prophet answers that *islām* is the performance of certain duties. The specifics of these duties differ in the various renditions of this *ḥadīth*, but the most commonly cited are witnessing that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is his Messenger (*shahādah*), submitting to God with no association of anything else, performing the prayer ritual (*ṣalāt*), paying the alms tax (*zakāt*), observing the Ramaḍān fast (*ṣawm*), and making the pilgrimage *(ḥājj).* If the first two of these are combined, the list then reflects the elements that commonly have been accepted in Islām as the five duties that constitute the "pillars" (*arkān*) of the individual Muslim's religious responsibilities.

After this enumeration the stranger assures the Prophet that the definition is correct. He then goes on to ask about *īmān* and is told that it consists of faith in the following (again differing somewhat according to the several versions): God, his angels, his books (or book), his messengers (or messenger), the resurrection, the garden and the fire, and other eschatological realities. Though less commonly classified than the *arkān,* the elements in this list generally are identified as the key components of the creeds that have been developed by members of the Muslim community. Several versions indicate that after thus defining *islām* and *īmān* the stranger asks the Prophet, "If I do that am I a *muslim* and a *muʾmin?*" to which the Prophet responds "Yes."

The continuation of the story includes commentary on *iḥṣān,* a third element beyond *islām* and *īmān,* which the Prophet says is the state of being perfected and serving God as if he were always before your eyes. From the structure of the narrative it is clear that the discussion was intended to suggest degrees of religious response, with *islām* as the first and most basic and *iḥṣān* as the last and highest. This kind of ranking is supported by another commonly cited narrative in which the Messenger of God says that *islām* is external while *īmān* belongs to the heart. For reasons that are not entirely clear, scholastic theology (*kalām*) did not generally develop the concept of *iḥṣān* but centered its subsequent discussions primarily on the first two terms.

Other *ḥadīths* seem to suggest that faith is a component element of *islām.* When asked about *islām* on one occasion the Prophet is said to have replied, "Witness that there is no god but God and that I am the Messenger of God, and have faith in all foreordinations, their good and evil, their sweetness and bitterness." On another occasion, the Prophet says that the more virtuous *islām* is *īmān,* which consists of faith in God, his angels, his books, his messengers, and the resurrection. Here *īmān* becomes a kind of subdivision of *islām,* with the most virtuous *īmān* said to be the emigration (Hijrah) and so on through a series of subcategories. In several traditions *islām* seems to consist of *īmān* plus works, as when the Prophet says that one should say "I have faith" and walk the straight path.

THEOLOGY. The respective definitions of *islām* and *īmān* became increasingly important in the early Muslim community as the nation of Islām grew through great numbers of conversions, and its members early on began to struggle with the question of who was or was not a Muslim. In a variety of ways, and for political as well as theological reasons, sects, schismatic groups, individual thinkers, and schools of theology adopted positions by which they tried to determine membership in the Islamic community. To this end clearer and firmer distinctions came to be drawn between *islām* and *īmān,* and the various groups in the young Muslim community often defined their positions according to those distinctions.

Khārijīs. Theological speculation is often said to have begun with the political movement of the Khārijīs, the earliest of the Muslim sects. It was, however, a movement not of passive reflection but of active involvement in the effort to purify Islam. As decades passed after the death of the Prophet, some began to feel that those in power were betraying the basic understanding of the faith. All the members of the community were being called *muʾminūn* ("persons of faith") regardless of the degree of their piety and their adherence to the essentials of Islam. The Khārijīs, in their zeal to ensure that the Muslim community was led by those most qualified in matters of faith and obedience, focused attention on the question of who is a true *muslim*/*muʾmin* and who is a *kāfir* (best defined not as unbeliever or infidel but as one who actively rejects the will of God). *Īmān* and *islām* were seen by the Khārijīs as essentially synonymous: Both include verbal and intellectual assent as well as works and are in absolute opposition to *kufr* ("rejection"). Rather than trying to define the *muslim/muʾmin* the Khārijīs concentrated on the *kāfir* and adopted often ruthless means of condemning and in fact excommunicating such a person from the community.

Murjiʾah. The sect known as the Murjiʾah (lit., "those who postpone") was politically and, on this issue, theologically opposed to the Khārijīs. This group felt that it is wrong to condemn a member of the community as a *kāfir,* no matter what his or her actions. Judgment of human conduct and final determination of one's state of punishment or felicity must be left in the hands of God, they said, postponed until the Day of Resurrection.

Gradually, however, this doctrine came to mean for them not simply the postponement of judgment. In addition, they gave works a place of secondary importance behind faith by saying that good works are not a necessary indication of faith. This was in distinction to the Khārijīs, who stressed the importance of outward acts of piety in conformity with God's laws. The Murjiʾah thus became the first in the Muslim community specifically to address the question of the internal structure of *īmān.* While there clearly were different schools of Murjiʾah (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī breaks them into three main groups, and al-Ashʿarī identifies twelve different strands), their overall contribution to Islamic theology was in their identification of the nature of faith as separate from works and in their assurance for the *muʾmin* of a place in paradise despite his or her failure to observe the laws of God.

Virtually all of the succeeding theoretical discussions about the nature of faith took as their starting point the issues and problems raised by the various schools of the Murjiʾah. There was general acceptance of the Murjiʾī thesis that the main elements to be considered in the understanding of *īmān* are affirmation (*taṣdīq*) and verbal acknowledgment (*iqrār*) of that affirmation. (While most later thinkers stressed the primary significance of *taṣdīq* as heartfelt affirmation, however, the Murjiʾah rather understood affirmation as intellectual assent or knowledge.) While they assented to the importance of *taṣdīq* and *iqrār* as necessary constituents of *īmān,* the Murjiʾah clearly rejected works.

As a consequence of this doctrine the Murjiʾah, in clear opposition to the Khārijīs, did not believe that the quality of one's faith could be determined by the commission of sins, even major or grave sins. One school of the Murjiʾah, the Karrāmīyah, went so far as to maintain that *īmān* consists strictly of the saying of the two *shahādah*s, the testimony of the oneness of God and the prophethood of Muḥammad, and involves neither affirmation nor works.

Later discussion. The debates between sects such as the Khārijīs and the Murjiʾah were based on crucial questions of membership in the Muslim community and were therefore far from strictly intellectual issues. They were, in fact, quite often matters of life and death. As time passed, however, and the community began to stabilize after its initial growth, a stage was reached in which these kinds of questions were seen less as issues requiring decisive action and more as matters of intellectual engagement and decision. Thus the nature of *islām* and *īmān* continued to be discussed by the leading thinkers of the community.

One way of treating the relationship of, or distinction between, submission and faith is to consider which is the broader category under which the other is subsumed. Not surprisingly, different Muslim interpreters and schools of theology have reached different conclusions, often based on traditions from the Prophet such as those cited above.

If one understands *islām* as consisting of the five pillars or duties (the testimony, prayer, fast, alms tax, and pilgrimage) it is possible to argue that the first of these, witnessing to God's oneness and the prophethood of Muḥammad, can be considered an act of faith. In that way *īmān* is part of the larger category of *islām.* Thus Ashʿarī theologians such as al-Bāqillānī (d. 1013), for example, concluded that all *īmān* is part of *islām,* but not all *islām* is part of *īmān.* Al-Ashʿarī (d. 935) himself said that *islām* is wider than *īmān* and that therefore not all the former is part of the latter.

The later Ḥanbalī thinker Ibn Taymīyah (d. 1328) carefully developed another way of seeing this relationship in his analysis of the *ḥadīth* in which the Prophet seems to rank *islām, īmān,* and *iḥṣān.* Because of the very ranking, he said, *iḥṣān,* while characteristic of the most select number of the faithful, in fact connotes the most inclusive definition. That is, the person of faith (*muʾmin*) must by definition be a submitter (*muslim*), and the person of perfection (*muḥṣin*) must therefore be both of the former. *Īmān,* therefore, contains *islām.* Ibn Taymīyah's conclusion was more than academic. It is clear, he felt, that *islām* is an external act while *īmān* is a matter of the heart. For Ibn Taymīyah the Ashʿarī conclusion that *islām* is wider than *īmān* implies that while all those who submit are persons of faith, not all who profess faith are *muslim*s, a conclusion with which he totally disagreed. And in fact the majority Ashʿarī view was that although faith can exist without *islām,* failure to do the works characteristic of *islām* is a grave sin. For Ibn Taymīyah, to have faith but not to do works of obedience is an impossible contradiction.

While some in the Muslim community continued to debate these and other theological issues, others turned to the task of systematizing the conclusions reached by thinkers within the various schools into creedal formulations. One of the most popular of the creeds over the centuries has been the *Sharḥ al-ʿaqāʾid* of the Ḥanafī jurist al-Nasafī (d. 1143). The creed was later commented on by the Ashʿarī scholar al-Taftāzānī (d. 1389). *Īmān,* said al-Nasafī, is affirmation (*taṣdīq*) of that which the Prophet brought from God and confession (*iqrār*) of it. While acts of obedience may increase, faith neither increases nor decreases. Then, in a very interesting conclusion, he declares that *īmān* and *islām* are one; they are so, al-Taftāzānī explains, because obedience (*idhʿān*) is the essence of both *islām* and *taṣdīq,* which, in al-Nasafī's definition, is *īmān.*

Despite the common element of obedience, al-Taftāzānī did not completely identify the terms but rather said that one cannot exist without the other. In the Ḥanafī creed *Fiqh akbar II* (Greater understanding II), attributed to Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 767) but probably written in the tenth century, *īmān* and *islām* share the common ingredient of submission and overlap so much that they are essentially interchangeable.

Qurʾān commentators analyzing the eight verses in which *islām* is mentioned all have stressed the essential component of submission, usually in relation to God's initiative. To the extent to which they have dealt with faith in relation to submission they have made it clear that *īmān* (most commonly defined as *taṣdīq* and *iqrār*) is identified in some clear ways with *islām.* The degree to which they have equated the terms, however, has varied considerably. In his monumental commentary on the Qurʾān, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan taʾwīl āy al-Qurʾān,* al-Ṭabarī (d. 923) suggests a kind of bipartite *islām.* On one level is the verbal acknowledgment of submission by which one becomes part of the community of Islam, and on a deeper level is that *islām* that is in fact coordinate with the act of faith (*īmān*) and that involves the complete surrender of the body, the mind, and the heart. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1209), in the *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* (Keys to the mystery), insists that while the two are different in generality they are one in existence. If *islām* is not of the heart, he said, it cannot be called *islām.* Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, the twentieth-century Egyptian author of the *Manār* commentary, suggested a similar interpretation when he said that the true meaning of both *islām* and *īmān* is what he calls *īmān khāṣṣ,* interiorized faith, which is the only means of salvation. In this understanding *islām* and īmān converge in a single reality (*ḥaqīqah*).

Most Qurʾān commentators through the centuries, however, have seen *islām* and *īmān* as more distinct than al-Ṭabarī, al-Rāzī, or Rashīd Riḍā have. They admit that *islām* can have a purely external meaning, while *īmān* always involves confirmation of the heart. Although they differ in their attempts to interpret the distinctions between the terms, in no instance have they seen them as irreconcilable. And despite the variety of responses reflected in the works of theology, general usage of the terms *islām* and *īmān* has revealed some common understanding both of their respective definitions and of the ways in which these terms together express the totality of the Muslim's response to the being and will of God.

See Also Ummah.

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Works in Arabic

For a full collection of traditions from the prophet Muḥammad in which the terms *islām* and *īmān* are used, see Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad,* 6 vols. (1895; reprint, Beirut, 1969). The earliest extensive Qurʾān commentary that analyzes the relation of the terms in their scriptural usage is Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī's *Jāmiʿ a-bayān ʿan taʾwīl āy al-Qurʾān,* 30 vols. in 12 (Cairo, 1954–1968). Of the several creedal formulations dealing the juxtaposition of faith and submission in the thinking of the early Muslim community, one of the most popular is ʿUmar ibn Muḥammad al-Nasafīyah's *Sharḥ al-ʿaqāʾid,* with commentary by Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (Cairo, 1974). A rich treatment of the meaning of faith and its relation to submission is found in the *Kitāb al-īmān* of the fourteenth-century theologian Ibn Taymīyah (Damascus, 1961).

Works in Western Languages

Such basic works as A. J. Wensinck's *The Muslim Creed* (1932; reprint, New York, 1965) and Louis Gardet and M. M. Anawati's *Introduction à la théologie musulmane,* 2d ed. (Paris, 1970), are helpful for a general understanding of the significance of the *īmān/islām* discussions in the development of Islāmic theology. More specific treatments such as Helmer Ringgren's *Islām, ʾaslama, and muslim,* "Horae Soederblomianae," vol. 2 (Uppsala, 1949), and "The Conception of Faith in the Koran," *Oriens* 4 (1951): 1–20, analyze Qurʾanic usage of the terms. Toshihiko Izutsu provides an extensive study of the interpretation of *īmān* in the history of Islamic thought, with a chapter on its relation to *islām,* in *The Concept of Belief in Islamic Theology* (Tokyo, 1965).

Jane I. Smith (1987)

IMMANENCE See TRANSCENDENCE AND IMMANENCE

IMMERSION See BAPTISM

IMMOLATION See SACRIFICE

IMPLICIT RELIGION. In the age of secularization and debate within the social sciences on how to approach the religious factor, two trends have intersected. One proclaims a progressive disenchantment with a decline of the religious factor's role and plausibility; within a wide range of social attitudes, religion seems destined to social irrelevance or to occupying a purely personal dimension. The second trend of thought sees a recovery and renewal of the role of religion in contemporary society, after a period of neglect, with particular reference to ancient religions.

The concept and problem of implicit religion is situated within a different perspective. Beyond the oppositions that locate the religious factor amongst those "religious" institutions balanced between death and resurrection, this concept initiates the observation that there is a widespread separation between believing and belonging, and in particular between the numerous paths of existentialism within a culture and the dimensions of daily life with specific intentionality and therefore specific dimensions of ultimate meaning.

The concept of implicit religion is recent, and arose as a result of semantic difficulties related to reflection on the meaning and value of religiousness itself. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, during his imprisonment, proposed that a supernatural deviation of the spiritualistic tendencies of Catholicism and Protestantism usually results in a tendency to make sacred the world. Both Catholicism and Protestantism achieve the same result, that is, conceiving Christian life as based on the idea of a separation from the world. Bonhoeffer's proposal becomes dramatic when he reaches the conviction that there exists an insurmountable incompatibility between faith and religion.

The evocation of implicit religion is therefore not merely an academic expedient or a pleonastic concept. It is rather an analytical occasion, an instrument of the less visible and differentiated layers of the radical demand for meaning that exists in human life. Nor can it be interpreted as an indirect proof within the line of the resurgence of the religious factor.

The term *implicit religion* is one among a number of terms that have become familiar in the literature of sociology of religion, including *invisible religion* (Luckmann, 1967) *common religion* (Towler, 1974, pp. 145–162), *surrogate religion* (Robertson, 1970), *quasi-religion*, and *para-religion* (Greil, 1993). These terms have been introduced to help scholars deal with that which appears to be like religion, but is not actually religion, as well as that which does not appear to be religion, but actually is religion. Another such concept is *civil religion*, which refers primarily to a more integrated set of values and symbols that is, to some degree, actually held in common by a group of people (Bellah, 1970).

The concept of implicit religion, according to Edward Bailey, refers to people's commitments, whether or not they take a religious form. The study of implicit religion began in earnest in 1968, in the context of debate about secularization, and concentrated upon the spirituality and ethos of secular expression. This focus was determined because religious studies already generally concentrated on organized forms of religious belief, ritual, and community. In his conclusion to three studies on implicit religion in contemporary society, Bailey wrote:

> Implicit religion which largely includes the empirical Christianity as well as the secular face of contemporary society, unlike archaic religion, is neither ecstatic nor corporate; and unlike historical religion, it is neither segmented nor visionary. So for most men, religion in general, and implicit in particular, is, and is likely to remain, dimensional in character, with extensive influence, rather than relational, with specific power. Yet moderation, or even inertia, can be held to as doggedly as apocalyptic or eschatology is preached or conversions are pursued. Belief may be fanatical, although still implicit (Bailey, 1983, p. 81).

Through the discussion of these relationships a number of questions relating to the meaning and application of the term *implicit religion* are raised. Wilhelm Dupré discusses various areas in which the critical potential of implicit religion becomes obvious (Dupré, 1991). These areas appear in situations in which developments in implicit religion account for considerable modifications in both the explicit religion and the cultural environment, and they extend as far as the many instances in which the concept of implicit religion has a critical impact on the perception of reality. Through a consideration of the main criteria used to define such concepts, a systematic but tentative typology is suggested.

In attempting to locate implicit religion within this typology, it has been found that it might be equivalent to: (1) a nonreligious meaning system; or (2) Thomas Luckmann's invisible religion; or it may include (3) generically both a nonreligious meaning system and invisible religion; or (4) even more generically nonreligious meaning systems, invisible religion, para-religion, and quasi-religion. Some scholars have appealed for a more appropriate conceptual tool kit and terminology to deal with this range of phenomena (Hamilton, 2001, pp. 5–13). To this end, the 1980s saw the appearance of sociologist Arnaldo Nesti's *Il religioso implicito* (1985) and the first issue of the journal *Religioni e Società,* both focusing on issues of implicit religion in society.

Although the notion of implicit religion is recent, one can find traces of it within the traditional social sciences. Even though the term itself and its exact references are not used in the socioreligious sphere, the problem and the dynamics from which its meaning and form derive are perceivable (Weber, 1920–1921; Schutz, 1932).

Max Weber's contributions, particularly regarding the polytheism of values, include the topic of intentionality in Edmund Husserl, the social character of *Lebenswelt* in Alfred Schutz (1932), and lessons connected to the dark side of personality in C. G. Jung. As an example, it is advisable to remember that the "polytheism of values" implies that the antagonism between different divinities has become "an everyday reality," depriving itself from any residual fascination coming from the myth. "To know how to face such an everyday life" is the difficult duty of modern humans, in opposition between the ethics of conviction and the ethics of responsibility. For Weber, the meaning of the polytheistic experience marks the descending course of Jewish-Christian monotheism and implies a viewpoint including the subject's act, whose meaning cannot be traced back to an exclusive theodicy (Weber, 1920–1921, pp. 264–265).

According to Nesti, implicit religion is a phenomenon, an analytical cipher of the difficulties of existential independence and of the symbolic-prescriptive transignification in progress in contemporary society, particularly in Western Christianity. The extent of such religiousness involves three factors. The first factor is connected to symbols and beliefs and rules and practices characteristic of the explicit "religious factor." Between the explicit morphology and the meaning dimension correlated to it, a level that is in itself ambivalent is wedged in: consider silence and voice phenomenology, as well as the symbolicity of ritual dynamics.

The second factor must be traced among the "topoi" critical to the Christian "religious system" as a source of plausibility. Thus, an implicit religiousness can be traced in: (1) Christianity without faith; (2) Christianity without church; and (3) Christianity from an esoteric approach. A third factor must be reconstructed outside and in contrast to the "religious system" itself. There is, thus, an implicit hidden religiousness outside the "sacred fence." In particular, such an implicitness is acquired in: (1) agnosticism; (2) skepticism characterized by the art of living in the uncertainty of the present; and (3) atheism as metaphor provided with a radical meaning.

The specific nature of implicit religion lies in the attempt to override prejudices and stereotypes with the mechanism of forced repetition, so as to understand life and the world as experienced by people in the process of living. It is necessary to go beyond such common schemes as the identification of the religious with churches, sects, and institutions, or the dichotomy of secular and sacred, as well the antonyms visible and invisible, sacred and profane.

The outlined survey, in all its diversity, refers to a presence, to a unifying principle. Even if the word and the exact reference is missing within the socioreligious tradition, the perception of its issues and of the dynamic from which its meaning derives, is not absent. By applying the concept of implicit religion, we are induced to pass beyond conventional representations of religion to a concept of religion that begins with the experience of the subject, and thus to a new reading of the religious within the objective religious pluriverse.

SEE ALSO Invisible Religion; Popular Religion; Secularization; Society and Religion.

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IMPURITY SEE PURIFICATION

INANNA.

Inanna, the Sumerian astral deity representing the planet Venus, was known throughout the Mesopotamian world. The Akkadians (and later the Assyro-Babylonians) called her Ishtar. For both the Sumerians and the Akkadians she was the principal goddess in their respective pantheons. Inanna-Ishtar's closest counterparts to the west are the Canaanite Astarte and the later goddesses of Greece and Rome, Aphrodite and Venus.

When the Semitic Akkadians settled in the lower Tigris-Euphrates Basin, they assimilated the preexisting, predominantly Sumerian culture. Comparative Semitic evidence suggests that the Akkadian Venus deity was originally masculine but became completely feminized when identified with the female Sumerian deity Inanna. Because of the eventual syncretism of the Sumerian and Akkadian pantheons, the traditions concerning Inanna-Ishtar are extremely complicated. By one such tradition she is the daughter of the sky god An, by another the daughter of the moon god Nanna-Sin (and thereby the sister of the sun god Utu-Shamash), and by still another the daughter of Enlil or Ashur. Similarly, Inanna-Ishtar was associated with more than one consort, alternately Zababa of Kish, Ashur, An, and Dumuzi (called Tammuz by the Akkadians). Although her main cult center was Uruk, she was worshiped in many other localities, each of which gave her rather diverse epithets and characteristics.

INANNA IN SUMERIAN AND AKKADIAN MYTHOLOGY.

The myth entitled "Inanna Takes Command of Heaven" tells the story of how Inanna managed to bring down the Eanna, "the house of An," from heaven and thus become "mistress of heaven." Unfortunately the text has many lacunae, missing many passages of this remarkable adventure. The narrative begins with the decision of Inanna to take control of the Eanna and her appeal to her brother Utu for help in this task. The inner motives of the goddess, if her words are accurate, are the result of her wounded pride at being raped and a vague promise by An. However, no one knows where on earth the house of An is. Consequently, Inanna asks the assistance of a fisherman who has experience in sailing in the marsh. He willingly agrees, and after repeated attempts Inanna finally finds the Eanna in the marsh. It is impossible to know what defenses An had set up so the house would not be robbed, but certainly the scorpion with which Inanna fights must have been one. The text resumes with An's hurt and regret for the theft that has occurred, but at the same time he makes the prudent decision to leave things as they are. The Eanna will from now on be the "most splendid temple in Sumeria." A summary of the myth is given in lines 159–163, where the theft that has taken place and the new reality are once more emphasized. The Eanna will be the abode of the rule of Inanna, who is praised as "the greatest of all the heavenly gods."

Completely different in tone is the narrative better known as the "The Descent of Inanna to the Underworld." It could be renamed "The Ascent of Inanna to the Land of No Return" because, on the basis of continuing scholarship and the recovery of less ambiguous epigraphic evidence, the country to which the goddess goes is once again the Kur, "the mythical mountain" located east of Sumer, in modern Iran. As Silvia Chiodi (1994) has shown, there is no mention in the Sumerian texts that the mythical Kur—from which life arose, including the gods and plants, and to which the spirits of the dead return, as it were to return to the life-giving element from which they originated—is located beneath the earth. Besides, the ambiguous verb *e11* (to go up and to go down) used in this myth has been greatly clarified in the myth of Inanna and Shukalletuda by the variant verb *íla*, which can mean nothing except "to go up." The myth, which is written in an expansive, grandiose style and in highly poetic language, describes the attempt, on this occasion unsuccessful, made by Inanna to expand her sphere of influence by taking control of the Kur, the undisputed realm of Queen Ereshkigal.

After Inanna has decided upon this action, she leaves earth and the sanctuaries dedicated to her, dresses in an appropriate fashion with clothes and jewels that symbolize her divine power, and sets off on her journey. Before she leaves she tells her faithful ambassador Ninshubur that if things go wrong she must go to Nippur, Ur, and Eridu to plead for the assistance of the gods on her behalf. Inanna presents herself at the gates of the great palace, which is defended by seven walls, and asks Neti to allow her to come in. Neti asks her to wait so he can obtain permission from the queen. Ereshkigal apparently agrees but orders that Inanna should observe all the rituals customary in the Kur. No one may enter her realm dressed in finery, as the mistress of heaven had intended to do. So Inanna is allowed to enter, but at every gate she has to take off part of her clothing. When she comes before Ereshkigal, she is completely naked. Ereshkigal has a fit of uncontrolled rage when she sees her sister and turns her into a "corpse."

"Three days and three nights have passed," and Ninshubur carries out the orders Inanna gave her. Ninshubur goes to Nippur first and then to Ur, where she begs the gods of the two towns to save Inanna, who is being held in the Kur. But the two gods are unyielding. Ninshubur must go to Eridu. There the god Enki feels sorry for Inanna, although he criticizes the way she has behaved. Enki creates two sprites and gives them the job of saving Inanna by bringing her "the food of life and the water of life." Galatur and Kurgarra, the two sprites, go down to the underworld, and after a detailed discussion with Ereshkigal, they are allowed to take away the corpse of Inanna, which they bring back to life. But no one may break the unbending rules of the underworld, so Inanna must provide a substitute in her place. When she leaves the Kur, she is accompanied by demons ready to seize and take back the one who is to replace her. On her return Inanna meets Ninshubur first, then Shara her son, then Lulal, but she refuses to allow the demons to take any of them because they had mourned the disappearance of the goddess. Continuing the journey, the group arrives in Uruk, where Inanna's husband Dumuzi, instead of weeping, is amusing himself. The goddess becomes angry and lets the demons take Dumuzi. However, Dumuzi asks the god Utu to transform him into a serpent to escape from the demons trying to capture him.

In the variant from Ur, the demons are tired of the goddess's outbursts and ask her to return to the Kur, so Inanna hurries to have her husband seized. At this point the appeal to Utu and the request to be transformed into a serpent are repeated, and Dumuzi takes refuge in the house of his sister Geshtinanna. The demons arrive at Geshtinanna's house and ask for her brother, but she does not reveal that he has taken refuge with her. The demons nevertheless find Dumuzi in the sheepfold, where they capture him. When the main text resumes, the fate of the fly is decided, for reasons that elude the reader, and Inanna decides that Dumuzi's sister should share his fate: "six months for him, six months for her." The concluding doxology sweetly praises the queen of the underworld. Similar descriptions of the land of the dead are in the myth of Nergal and Ereshkigal and the classic *Epic of Gilgamesh.*

Of the two Akkadian recensions of the myth, the Middle Assyrian version, because of its shortness (a mere eleven lines), does not provide new information of any importance. The New Assyrian recension is 138 lines long and is complete, but a comparison with the Sumerian version of the so-called "descent" of Inanna to the underworld, over 400 lines long, is required despite their clearly different cultural milieus. The main events and divine characters are certainly similar if not identical. The queen of the underworld in both myths is the same, Ereshkigal, the Sumerian goddess who rules the realm of the dead. The heavenly goddess who goes to the other world is Inanna in the Sumerian myth, whereas in the New Assyrian myth it is Ishtar. The two goddesses had been amalgamated by Mesopotamian religious tradition. The other gods who become involved are mostly the same, starting with Dumuzi and ending with Sin and Ea (Nanna and Enki, respectively). The herald is different, Ninshubur in the Sumerian recension, Papsukkal in the New Assyrian version.

The New Assyrian account, though more condensed and concise than the Sumerian version, still provides substantial new elements. For example, the scribe stresses the disastrous consequences for humanity and livestock caused by Ishtar's departure from the earth, described by Papsukkal when he tries to get first Sin and then Ea to secure the release of the goddess from the underworld. He also describes the far from pleasant nature of life in the underworld, not only for the dead but also for the queen of the underworld. In place of the two sprites, Galatur and Kurgarra, created by Enki to save Inanna, here Ea creates "Asushunammir, the court jester," who is assigned the task of moving Ereshkigal. The ending of the story is also different. In the New Assyrian version the return of Dumuzi from the underworld altogether with the dead is mentioned, albeit optatively, something which is quite incomprehensible, as Wolfram von Soden (1967) points out in his commentary on the passage.

Once again the Kur is the main focus of Inanna's attention in the following myth, which illustrates the fundamental point that the Sumerians considered the "mythical mountain" the source of life and all good things. Inanna turns to her brother Utu, the sun god, and asks if she can sail with him in his daily journey across the vault of heaven toward the Kur to enjoy the wonderful plants there. She is particularly interested in discovering the secret of female charms and the techniques of love with man. Only after she has experienced what love may mean is she prepared to go back to the city of her birth and resume her family role as mother, mother-in-law, and sister-in-law. The text concludes with a new hymn to the sun god that emphasizes his assistance to all those in trouble, from travelers to widows and orphans. The final sentence expresses the joy and relief of all those who can travel in his light.

Another interesting Sumerian text begins with a description and a hymn to the goddess with clear warlike qualities. An auto-eulogy describes the activities of Inanna and observes that only the Kur has refused to submit. The goddess dresses suitably and appears before her father An, seeking justice. She virtually asks him to agree to her interfering in the Kur, but An strongly advises his daughter against such action because he is convinced that this is another of Inanna's tantrums. Inanna remains implacable and engages in deadly combat with the Kur. She sends a torrent of water and a burning fire to subdue the lively spirits of the Kur, and she reduces the mountain, previously an earthly paradise, to a silent desert. At this point the goddess describes the outcome of the war and sets out the fate of the vanquished. She follows with a new, haughty auto-eulogy, in which she praises her memorable victory over the Kur. The concluding doxology is addressed to Nisaba, the goddess of academia, from where this text definitely originated.

In Sumerian literature the following myth is often called "Theft of the Divine Powers by Inanna from Enki." In fact, nothing could be more inaccurate and inconsistent. On this occasion Inanna has done nothing wrong to anyone, and what has been considered "theft" is in fact a completely voluntary gift from the god of wisdom. As the myth begins the goddess of Uruk is standing in front of a mirror admiring her beauty, including her private parts. Inanna is not content, however; she needs something further to complete her portrait. So she decides to go to Enki and ask him for something related to sex. The god of wisdom foresees her visit and gives orders for Inanna to be received with full honors. When Inanna arrives, Enki's herald Isimud extends full hospitality and lays on a banquet for the guest, which Enki attends. But Enki drinks too much and becomes drunk. At this point Enki volunteers to give Inanna divine powers or the essence of all things, and she accepts them happily. She makes a list of all the good things she has received, loads the gifts on her ship and sets off back to Uruk.

When Inanna has left port, Enki becomes himself again and, aware that he has been thoughtless, wants to recover the divine powers now heading to Uruk. After an interlude about a frog, whose fate is determined by Enki, the god sends Isimud on a mission to ask Inanna to return the gifts she has been given. Six times Inanna, with the aid of Ninshubur's magic, manages to prevent the monsters sent by Enki from taking control of her ship, which is sailing the arc of heaven. The ship finally reaches Uruk, where it is welcomed joyfully. Enki still cannot take in what has happened and sends his herald to Uruk with a list of the goods taken by Inanna. Meanwhile, the joyous atmosphere at Uruk affects everyone. Inanna renames all the city districts and assures her people of all the benefits that will result from the arrival of the divine powers. At this point Enki has no choice but to accept the loss and forecast the undoubted future greatness of Uruk.

LOVE STORIES. Among the accounts of the lovers and love stories of the goddess is the myth of "Inanna and Shukalletuda." The main theme is the misfortune of Inanna when she is raped by a mortal man, who must be punished with death. The story begins with a description of the goddess Inanna and her journey to the Kur, where she aims to enhance her divine powers. After the first break comes the story of the creation of the palm tree by Enki and the raven. Now the second main character Shukalletuda is introduced, seen trying desperately to water a flowerbed. Then follows the key moment in the myth, the rape of the virgin Inanna while she is resting under the shade of the only poplar in the garden. When Inanna realizes what has happened to her, she intends to punish the perpetrator. She sends plagues to the earth, first putting blood in the wells of the country, then she sends a hurricane and a sandstorm, in the end completely sealing off every road in the land.

Shukalletuda has been able to escape the anger of the goddess by hiding among his own people, so the goddess turns to Enki for help. Enki allows her to find Shukalletuda, who is condemned to death. The wrongdoer tries to excuse himself, explaining to the goddess that he was not really to blame, but this only angers her even more. Her only promise is that the name of Shukalletuda will be remembered in song after his death. After Shukalletuda's fate has been settled there is a hymn of praise for the holy Inanna.

The myth concerning the death of Dumuzi, the beloved husband of Inanna, on the other hand, is part of a series of stories about the strained relationship between Inanna, the mistress of heaven and of Uruk, and Dumuzi, the shepherd whom she loves, at least according to the love poems that have survived. A completely negative view of the lovers of Inanna is presented in the three redactions of the *Epic of Gilgamesh* that recount the episode when Ishtar falls in love with the hero. The passage in which Gilgamesh rejects Ishtar's offer that he become her husband, completely enraging the goddess, who at once sets about punishing him for this insult by sending down to earth the Bull of Heaven, has no equivalent in the Sumerian story of the same episode, where the reason for the quarrel seems to be political rather than emotional. To find anything like what is described here, it is necessary to resort to Sumerian literary texts on love concerning the goddess Inanna.

The detailed list of the jilted lovers of Ishtar spans the human and divine worlds and even includes the beasts of the earth, who have all received scant reward for their love of the goddess. Following is a list of the lovers and their rewards:

Dumuzi	year after year of mourning
the bird Alallu	broken wings
lion	ditches dug
horse	bridle, whip, and reins
shepherd	changed into a wolf
Ishullanu the gardener	turned into a mole

It can be understood why Gilgamesh refuses her enticing offer, especially when it becomes clear that the goddess is offering the king of Uruk a kingdom in the underworld.

The myth of "Ishtar and Saltu" was intended to be sung and includes notes on how it should be sung, as well as evidence of a refrain. It is reasonable to conclude that it was divided into more than ten songs that tell of the occasion when the gods were forced to take strong measures to curb the high spirits of the goddess. Its composition can be dated with certainty to the Old Babylonian period, more accurately during the reign of Hammurabi, who is mentioned by name. At the beginning the goddess and all her qualities are described, especially the strength that makes her so cut out for war. But the goddess certainly overdoes matters, because all the gods, particularly the god of wisdom Ea, find her behavior completely unacceptable. Ea decides to check the goddess's reckless behavior by creating a match for her. The new creature is formed from the dirt underneath the nails of the god of wisdom, and she is aggressive as well as beautiful. The god Ea gives her the task of defeating Ishtar, along with useful advice. Ishtar has learned of the changed situation, however, and sends her herald Ninshubur to find out what Saltu (meaning "strife") is like and how powerful she is. The contest between the two goddesses is fierce, but because they are evenly matched, neither wins or loses. Ishtar, at this point in the story, has a new name, Agushaya. She is unable to bear the shame of defeat, so she turns to Ea, asking him for an explanation of the changed situation and to eliminate her opponent. Ea willingly agrees to what Ishtar asks, reconfirming the function of the goddess on earth and inviting humanity to celebrate a feast to mark the creation of Saltu and the ultimate victory of Ishtar. In the doxology Ishtar and her patron Ea are praised for the defeat of Saltu.

SEE ALSO Dumuzi; Gilgamesh; Goddess Worship, overview article; Hierodouleia; Hieros Gamos; Mesopotamian Religions, overview article.

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INCANTATION. The practice of incantation (Lat., *incantatio*, from *incantare*, "to chant a religious formula") differs considerably from culture to culture. For the purposes of this cross-cultural overview, however, incantation can be understood as the authorized use of rhythmically organized words of power that are chanted, spoken, or written to accomplish a desired goal by binding spiritual powers to act in a favorable way.

Since incantation uses words to move spiritual powers and accomplish a desired result, this practice is related to other uses of sacred language such as prayer, invocation, blessing, and cursing. Verbal formulas associated with prayer beseech the spiritual powers for certain actions or maintain communication by praise and submission. However, verbal formulas associated with incantation are designed to perform the desired result by "obliging" (Lat., *obligare*, "to bind") spiritual powers. Invocation, blessing, and cursing are used with both prayer and incantation.

THE POWER OF INCANTATION. Even though practices of incantation differ widely from culture to culture, its validity or efficacy appears to depend on cultural consensus about a number of primary factors, namely, the power of the chanted verbal formula, the authority of the incantor, the receptivity of spiritual forces both good and evil, the connection with the religious or mythological tradition, and the power of the accompanying ritual.

The power of the formula. Societies that use incantations understand them to be performative, that is, they accomplish what they say. The act of chanting the verbal formula itself has power. Scholars have put forth a variety of explanations concerning the effect incantations have for people. Older theories considered incantation to be a form of magic, an attempt to control and manipulate the forces of nature. More recent theories have suggested that incantations are expressive of needs and wishes or symbolize a desired result, or that they have the psychological effect of restructuring reality in the minds of people. Although these explanations may provide certain insights into the meaning of incantation, it must be remembered that, to the people involved, the proper chanting of the formula itself has performative power. To them it does not express or symbolize some other action—it *does* it. When, for example, the incantation experts of the Trobriand Islanders chant over the newly planted yam vines, "Raise thy stalk, O taytu. Make it flare up, make it lie across!" (Malinowski, 1935, vol. 1, p. 146), the people know that the "hearing" of these commands by the tubers is what makes them sprout and grow.

It is not, however, just any words that have such power. Incantations are special verbal formulas that in a variety of ways, depending upon the particular cultural tradition, tap into sacred power. They may, for example, contain powerful scriptural expressions, mantras, or sacred names. They are usually rhythmically organized and chanted repeatedly. They may use special devices such as foreign or unintelligible words, "abracadabra" nonsense phrases. The Anglo-Saxon medical-incantation treatise *Lacnunga* provides an example, using powerful names and impressive nonsense words:

> Sing this prayer over the black blains nine times: first, Paternoster. "Tigath tigath tigath calicet aclu cluel sedes adclocles acre earcre arnem nonabiuth aer aernem nidren arcum cunath arcum arctua fligara uflen binchi cutern nicuparam raf afth egal uflen arta arta arta trauncula trauncula. [In Latin:] Seek and you shall find. I adjure you by the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit that you grow no larger but that you dry up. . . . Cross Matthew, cross Mark, cross Luke, cross John." (Grattan and Singer, 1952, p. 107; my trans.)

It should be noted that, although the primary power of an incantation resides in its oral presentation, once these formulas could be written down, the chirographic (handwritten) text itself contributed to the potency of the incantation. From before 600 CE come Jewish-related Aramaic incantation texts written by experts on bowls and designed to ward off various sorts of evil. Such power could now be extended even into the realm of the dead, as in the case of Middle Kingdom Egyptian incantations inscribed on the inside wall of coffins, by which the various gods and demons encountered by the soul would be bound to act beneficially.

The chanter's authority. Closely connected to the power of the verbal formula is the authority of the incantors. These may be experts in terms of learning or ecclesiastical authority, like Daoist priests or Christian monks; they may be people who have been specially initiated into the use of such power, like various kinds of shamans; they may be charismatic holy ones who keep certain special observances or practices that sanction their authority. In the incantation itself, the chanter often clothes himself in the aura of divine authority and power. A Malay shaman, drawing authority from both Hinduism and Islam, outroars a thunderstorm:

> Om! Virgin goddess, Mahadewi! Om!
> Cub am I of mighty tiger!
> ʿAli's line through me descends!
> My voice is the rumble of thunder, . . .
> By virtue of my charm got from ʿAli

And of Islam's confession of faith. (Winstedt, 1925, p. 59)

Receptivity of the spiritual forces. The power of the incantation further derives from the people's shared understanding of the nature and receptivity of the spiritual powers to be moved and bound by the powerful words. That spiritual entity may be simply an object or person that is to perform in a certain way. At other times, the incantation invokes, with careful mention of names, spirits, or gods who control aspects of nature and life, empowering or binding them to act beneficially. Ritual specialists of Java, when burying the umbilical cord of a newborn baby, intone the following words: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! Father Earth, Mother Earth, I am about to leave in your care the birthcord of the baby. . . . Don't bother the baby. This is necessary because of Allah. If you do bother him, you will by punished by God" (Geertz, 1960, p. 46).

A great many incantations are addressed to evil spirits or demons, conjuring them to leave or stay away. It is extremely important that the incantor name and identify the origin and characteristics of the evil power in order to bind it. Pre-Spanish Maya incantations, for example, list detailed knowledge about the evil spirit of the disease, recounting its parentage, its lustful impulses that inspired its shameful birth, and all its characteristics; they then proceed to consign the spirit to the foul-smelling underworld or to cast it into the wind to fall behind the sky. An Aramaic incantation becomes very specific in naming one of the many demons: "I adjure you, Lilith Ḥablas, granddaughter of Lilith Zarnai, . . . the one who fills deep places, strikes, smites, casts down, strangles, kills, and casts down boys and girls, male and female foetuses," while another text conjures by name nearly eighty demons and spirits of evils or sicknesses (Isbell, 1975, pp. 61, 121–122), showing that, occasionally, an incantation will name a whole series of evil spirits and demons—just to be sure that the right one is included.

Connection of the chant with tradition. The successful operation of the incantation depends on its connection with the religious or mythological tradition of the people. In one way or another, the incantation fits the specific human circumstance into the larger pattern of sacred existence and power as known in the religion of the people. Incantations in which such patterns are made explicit can be called narrative incantations. For example, Scottish incantations are regularly grounded in stories or legends about Christ and his disciples, as in this example: "Christ went on an ass, / She sprained her foot, / He came down / And healed her foot; / As He healed that / May He heal this, / And greater than this, / If it be His will to do" (Carmichael, 1928, vol. 2, p. 17). An ancient Egyptian narrative incantation, relating at great length how Isis rescued her son Horus from a scorpion's bite, concludes with the main point: "It means that Horus lives for his mother—and that the sufferer lives for his mother likewise; the poison is powerless!" (Borghouts, 1978, pp. 62–69).

The accompanying ritual actions. While incantations can be used alone without any accompanying actions, in most cultures the chanting of incantations is usually associated with the power of other ritual actions. The incantation may be related to a ritual object that it empowers with sacred force. For treating a child with worms, the Javanese doctor chants over a special herb: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! Grandmother spirit, Grandfather spirit. . . . The harmful worms—may they all die. The good worms—may they stay for the whole length of the child's life" (Geertz, 1960, p. 93). Cherokee specialists almost always chant their incantations over tobacco, "remaking" or empowering the tobacco to perform the desired benefit. A Daoist priest chants this incantation over a small puppet as he rubs it over a patient: "Substitute, be thou in place of the fore part of the body, . . . be thou in place of the back parts, . . . be thou in place of the left side, that health may be ensured to him for year upon year" (de Groot, 1967, vol. 6, p. 1260). Incantation texts are often accompanied by directions for ritual actions. For example, an ancient Mesopotamian incantation for potency commands: "Let the ass swell up! Let him mount the jenny! Let the buck get an erection! Let him again and again mount the young she-goat!"; then the ritual directions follow: "Pulverized magnetic iron ore you put [into] puru oil; you recite the incantation over it seven times; the man rubs his penis, the woman her vagina with the oil, then he can have intercourse" (Biggs, 1967, p. 33). Incantation and ritual together accomplish the desired result.

FORMS OF ADDRESS. Within the great diversity of forms taken by the incantation formulas in different cultures and even within the same culture, a number of standard types can be discerned in the way spiritual powers are addressed. Many operate with the command form, using imperatives or statements of obligation to bind the spiritual powers to the desired action. Other incantations use the declaratory mode to establish the hoped-for result. And there are other incantations that approach the prayer mode, beseeching or charming the spiritual powers to take the beneficial action. Many times, of course, incantations use a combination of these three forms.

The command form, at its simplest, consists in naming the spiritual power and binding it to the desired action with an imperative. The High German "Pro Nessia" incantation from the ninth century CE, driving out the worm spirit that causes disease, is pure command:

> Go out, nesso,
> with the nine little ones,
> out from the marrow into the veins,
> from the veins into the flesh,
> from the flesh into the hide,
> from the hide into this arrow.
> Three paternosters. (Hampp, 1961, p. 118; my trans.)

In Burma, an exorcist addresses many powers of the supernatural world in a general incantation in order to focus his powerful command on the *ouktazaun* (minor spirit) that is possessing his client: "To all the *samma* and *brahma devas* of the sky heavens; to all the ghosts, monsters, and other evil creatures; to the ogres of the earth; to the master witches and the wizards; to the evil nats and the *ouktazauns:* I command you to leave. I command you by the glory of the Triple Gems [Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha]" (Spiro, 1967, p. 177).

Very often incantations use a declaratory mode to perform the intended result of binding evil forces or compelling the good, declaring the desired state to be a reality in the present or the future. A Cherokee incantation designed to break up a happily married couple, for the benefit of a forgotten lover, simply declares the result to be so:

> Now! Very quickly pillow your head upon the Soul of the Dog, outside, where there is loneliness!
>
> Your name is ______.
>
> In the very middle of your two bodies loneliness has just come to think.
>
> You are to be broken in the Pathway.
>
> Now! Where the joining is has just come to be divided.
>
> Your two souls have just come to be divided somewhere in the Valley.
>
> Without breaking your soul, I have just come to stupefy you with the Smoke of the Blue Tobacco. (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick, 1965, pp. 139–140)

When the Trobriand sorcerer tours the gardens with their budding leaves, he intones, "The yam rises and swells like a bush-hen's nest. The yam rises and swells like a baking-mound. . . . For these are my yams, and my kinsmen will eat them up. My mother will die of surfeit, I myself will die of repletion" (Malinowski, 1935, vol. 1, p. 146). It is in this declaratory mode that blessings and curses are often formulated, focusing on the person or thing to be involved and declaring the favorable or unfavorable state to be a reality.

A third mode of expression in many incantations is that of beseeching or charming the sacred powers to act benevolently. This form approaches that of prayer and, at times, is indistinguishable from it. Yet the typical expressions, "May you," "Let God," "I ask you," and the like, can also be understood as compelling or binding the spiritual powers, not just beseeching them. A Burmese doctor chants a prayer-spell over a sick girl, repeating it three times as he empowers many spiritual beings for action: "May the five Buddhas, the nats, and the Brahmas rest on the forehead [of the patient]; may Sakka rest on the eyes and ears, Thurasandi Devi on the mouth, and Matali on the hands, feet, and body, . . . and may they guard and protect me" (Spiro, 1967, p. 152). And the Malay incantor turns even to Iblis (Satan) and the other spirits and devils and firmly requests direct action on behalf of his lovesick client:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!
> Friend of mine, Iblis!
> And all ye spirits and devils that love to trouble man!
> I ask you to go and enter the body of this girl,
> Burning her heart as this sand burns,
> Fired with love for me. (Winstedt, 1925, p. 165)

PURPOSES OF INCANTATION. Purposes for the use of incantation differ widely and cover the whole gamut of life needs of individuals and societies. It is possible, however, to classify incantations, according to their purpose, into three broad categories: defensive, productive, and malevolent.

Defensive incantations. Among defensive incantations, a major purpose is prophylactic or apotropaic, that is, warding off evil spirits and their troubles, especially in the critical passages of life. Classic among apotropaic incantations are those widespread in the ancient Near East, directed against demonic powers called liliths—ghostly paramours of men, who attack women during their periods and at childbirth and who devour children. An incantation bowl binds these demons:

> I adjure you, every species of lilith, in the name of your offspring which demons and liliths bore. . . . Woe, tramplers, scourgers, mutilaters, breakers, disturbers, squeezers, muzzlers, and dissolvers like water. . . . You are fearful, terrified, and bound to my exorcism, you who appear to the sons of men—to men in the likeness of women and to women in the likeness of men—you who lie with people during the night and during the day. (Isbell, 1975, pp. 17–18)

Vedic incantation from ancient India is directed against the fiends who cause pregnant women to abort: "The blood-sucking demon, and him that tries to rob health, Kanva, the devourer of our offspring, destroy, O Prisniparni [medicinal plant], and overcome!" (*Atharvaveda* 2.25.4, as cited in Bloomfield, 1964, p. 22). The Egyptian Coffin Texts testify to the need for incantations to ward off the evil powers who feast on the soul in the passage of death.

The other major use of defensive incantations is for the expulsion of evil powers that have taken up abode. A Malay Muslim shaman exorcises the demon of disease, reciting first the creation story and then chanting,

> Where is this genie lodging and taking shelter?. . .
> Genie! if thou art in the feet of this patient,
> Know that these feet are moved by Allah and His prophet;
> If thou are in the belly of this patient,
> His belly is God's sea, the sea, too, of Muhammad. . . .
> (Winstedt, 1925, pp. 62–63)

Sickness can also be seen as the result of attack by rival humans, and then the appropriate measure is a counterincantation. The Atharva priest of ancient India chants over a special ritual plant: "The spell which they skillfully prepare . . . we drive it away! . . . With this herb have I destroyed all spells. . . . Evil be to him that prepares evil, the curse shall recoil upon him that utters curses: back do we hurl it against him, that it may slay him that fashions the spell" (*Atharvaveda* 10.1.1, 4–5, as cited in Bloomfield, 1964, p. 72).

Productive incantations. A second purpose of incantation is beneficial, that is, it promotes growth, health, and happiness either by urging on the responsible inherent powers or by causing beneficial interference by divine powers. A curer in Java uses a massage and a spitting ritual with this incantation:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!
> May the Prophet Adam repair [the person],
> May Eve order [the person].
> Untangle the tangled veins,
> Right the dislocated bones,
> Make the fluids of the body feel pleasant, . . .
> Health falls with my white spittle,
> Well, well, well, by the will of God. (Geertz, 1960, p. 94)

A great many incantations of the productive type have to do with love and sexual attraction, marriage, home and family, potency, successful birth, and the like. The Cherokee, for example, have a large variety of love incantations, for creating loneliness in the desired person, for retaining affection of a wandering mate, for acclimatizing a newlywed wife, or compelling a runaway spouse to return. Cherokee men and women can use incantations to "rebeautify" themselves and thus become attractive to a potential mate:

> Now! I am as beautiful as the very blossoms themselves!
>
> I am a man, you lovely ones, you women of the Seven Clans! . . .
>
> All of you have just come to gaze upon me alone, the most beautiful.
>
> Now! You lovely women, already I just took your souls! I am a man!
>
> You women will live in the very middle of my soul.
>
> Forever I will be as beautiful as the bright red blossoms! (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick, 1965, pp. 86–87)

At times, productive incantations are needed to bring about pregnancy, as this one from ancient India: "Into thy womb shall enter a male germ, as an arrow into a quiver! May a man be born there, a son ten months old!" (*Atharvaveda* 3.23.2, as cited in Bloomfield, 1964, p. 97).

Malevolent incantations. A third purpose of incantation is related to the need to harm, punish, or take revenge on enemies or rivals. A jilted woman can target her erstwhile lover with this fierce imprecation:

> As the best of the plants thou art reputed, O herb; turn this man for me today into a eunuch that wears his hair dressed! . . . Then Indra with a pair of stones shall break his testicles both! O eunuch, into a eunuch thee I have turned; O castrate, into a castrate thee I have turned! (*Atharvaveda* 6.138.1–3, as cited in Bloomfield, 1964, p. 108)

The Cherokee bent on revenge learns from the shaman to recite the name of his adversary, repeating the following incantation four times and blowing his breath toward him after each rendition: "Your Pathways are Black: it was wood, not a human being! Dog excrement will cling nastily to you. You will be living intermittently. . . . Your Black Viscera will be lying all about. . . . Your Pathway lies toward the Nightland!" (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick, 1967, p. 127).

CONCLUSION. Incantations, as rhythmic or formulaic words of power used to accomplish a desired goal by binding spiritual powers, have sometimes been considered as magic rather than religion, or as a form of religious practice lower than prayer. It is true that incantations oblige the powers to perform the action rather than prayerfully request them for it. And it is also true that incantations have to do with self-interest, sometimes at the expense of others. Yet they do represent a religious mode of being in the world, albeit a mode of aggression rather than simple submission to spiritual powers. The power of chanted words fits the events of human life into the pattern of the sacred realities that underlie and support human existence. Far from being trivial, incantations provide help for whatever deeply troubles or concerns humans: health, birth, love, marriage, family, prosperity, death. Human existence is understood as a drama involving the interaction of many spiritual powers, and, through the power of the chanted formula, a restructuring of these powers is performed so that life can become more healthy, secure, prosperous, and happy.

SEE ALSO Magic; Mantra; Names and Naming; Spells.

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THEODORE M. LUDWIG (1987)

INCA RELIGION. The pre-Columbian Andean cultures, of which the Inca empire was the final heir, extended over a geographical area that the Inca believed corresponded to the four quarters (*tahuantinsuyu*) of the world. At the time of the Inca empire's fall to Spanish forces under Francisco Pizarro in 1532, the Inca occupied large portions of present-day Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Chile. The great Andean civilizations flourished in this setting of contrasting ecosystems (coastal desert ribbed with fertile valleys, arable highlands at altitudes of more than four kilometers, Amazonian and montane rain forests) that offered resources for pursuing a variety of means of subsistence, including fishing, hunting and gathering, agriculture, and the herding of llamas, guanacos, and alpacas.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND. The great pre-Inca civilizations that flourished in what is now Peru were the Chavín (after about 800 BCE), the Nazca and Moche (c. 100–800 CE), the Tiahuanaco (c. 200–1000), the Huari (c. 800–1200), and the Chimu (c. 1200–1400). None of these cultures, the Inca included, appears to have possessed a written language, though this function was filled, to some extent, by the use of *quipus*, or knotted strings. (The geometric plastic arts of the ancient Andean peoples may one day be shown to comprise a system of ideograms.) Aside from scattered archaeological evidence—including figurative and abstract images on stone and wood, funerary pieces, and some fresco fragments—we possess documents (written in Spanish and, less frequently, in Quechua) that were composed during the years following the Conquest and that detail the religious practices of indigenous Andean peoples. (The Inca were reported to have painted mythological scenes on canvas and wood, but these are now lost.)

Despite their separation in time and the contrasts between their ecological milieus, the Andes high cultures and their religious systems manifested a common spirit. Religious practices permeated all aspects of public and private life. These religions for the most part included cults of the dead, of ancestors, of a founding culture hero, and of a divine king. Offerings and sacrifices (often human) were performed, and reflected beliefs in the needs of the "living corpse" and in the exigencies of the cosmic powers on which the cycles of nature depended. These deified powers were portrayed as monstrous beings that combined human, animal, and vegetable traits. The images of the principal deity throughout these cultures were basically variations on constant themes. This deity, which in images is variously characterized as an anthropomorphized feline (a puma or jaguar), a one- or two-headed serpent, a condor, or an ear of maize, is often portrayed brandishing weapons or other instruments.

The temples of the urban centers of these civilizations were built either in the form of truncated, stepped pyramids or as series of enclosures. Some possessed underground vaults, with or without labyrinths. In some locations, temple architecture is suggestive of the structure of the cosmos, comprising three vertical levels. Elsewhere, rows or circles of stones testify to astral observations and to cults connected to the organization of sacred time and space, in which the movements of the sun, moon, and stars, the alternations of day and night and dry and rainy seasons, the cycles of the earth and sea, and human, animal, and vegetable fecundity all seem to play a role. Calendars were based on the cycles—individually or in combinations—of the sun, the moon, the planet Venus, and the Pleiades. The Sun and Moon pair of deities and the pair composed of this couple's sons (often seen as enemy twins) were important pan-Andean deities. Among coastal groups, the Moon, represented in bird form and associated with the sea and the dead, was the preeminent deity. Divine symbols and religious rites were not, however, always directly related to the ecosystem within which the particular culture flourished, as is evident when one compares pre-Inca iconography with Inca mythology and with the myths of present-day Amazonian peoples.

INCA COSMOLOGY. The Inca religious system is usually attributed to either the Inca Tupac Yupanqui or his predecessor, the Inca Pachacuti, and dates to at most one hundred years before the European conquest. The expansion of Cuzco, the Inca capital, was carried out in the name of the superiority of its gods over those of other peoples who, once they were assimilated into the empire, left their principal idol (or its replica) in the Inca capital. The colonization, or federation, was founded on a system of reciprocity overseen by Cuzco. Certain cults and temples were richly endowed by the Inca (the title given the head of the empire); others were suppressed. The great social and religious leaders of the empire went regularly to the capital city, and the Inca brought colonies of collaborators (*mitima*) to the temples of the empire and sometimes had himself named priest of honor. The sanctuaries of the provinces paid tribute in kind to Cuzco, contributing, for example, young children to be sacrificed during the Capacocha ceremony, which was held to ensure the Inca's health and prosperity. Rites of communion were held periodically to ensure the political and religious cohesion of the empire. Generally, these rites took place at the Temple of the Sun, in the center of the *tahuantinsuyu,* which center was located at the junction of the two rivers of Cuzco. Slow processions or rapid messengers departed from and returned to this center, traveling along the roads that divided the empire into four regions (*chinchaysuyu* to the northwest, *antisuyu* to the northeast, *contisuyu* to the southwest, and *collasuyu* to the southeast) or along the forty-one *ceque* (theoretical lines radiating from the center, on which 428 shrines were placed), and returned. Although the Inca authorized the conservation of certain regional religious structures in the cities of the empire, they also reproduced Cuzco's geometrical organization of sacred space and built replicas of the capital's principal temples in all the ceremonial centers. The bipartition of villages and adjacent territories—the distribution in halves—was common throughout the Andes. In Cuzco these halves were called *hanan* (which roughly means "high, superior, right, masculine") and *hurin* ("low, inferior, left, feminine"). Other categories of opposition and complementarity could intersect or be superimposed over this base, determining various socioreligious complexes. Such halves (or moieties) were linked respectively with the cosmic powers of the lower and upper worlds, and with two cardinal points.

The inhabitants of the Andean region worshiped a great number of gods, idols, and spirits, which were designated by the generic name *huaca,* a term that was also applied to the shrines. The oral traditions frequently related the adventures of the great *huaca*s (gods or parents of gods), their births and metamorphoses; the magical creation of wells, lakes, and irrigation canals; hunts, rivalries, wars, and conquests of lands, waters, and women who were captured by force or trickery; and the powers of the *huaca*s over men and men's duties toward them. All this took place "in the time when the *huaca*s were men . . . afterward they were turned into stone." Each family—and, at the higher level, each village and province—claimed to descend from a given *huaca* (a particular man-god, conquering ancestor, founder, or civilizer), who represented a cosmic power and whom they venerated in the form of a mummy, a stone, an animal, or a constellation of stars. The codification of these beliefs was founded on the oppositions and complementaries of nature—binary or ternary (e.g., man-woman, the head and the two arms), biological and parental, or cultural (conqueror-conquered, interior-exterior, etc.)—expressed in the representation of cosmic forces. Similarly, certain numbers, probably the results of astronomical calculations, gave order to the sacred.

INCA GODS. The kings of Cuzco, reputed to be sons of the Sun, formed a religious, cosmic, and territorial imperial structure in which the Sun reigned over the Andean highlands and the heavens and the god Pachacámac ruled over the lowlands and the underworld.

The Coricancha, the great Temple of the Sun in Cuzco, was flanked by two golden pumas and its walls were covered with gold and silver plaques. The halls contained statues and cosmic representations, and the mummies—or their replicas—of earlier kings and queens. There were three sculptural triads of the Sun; each included a father and two sons, each triad symbolizing, respectively, the heavenly body, its light, and its vital warmth. One of these statues, Punchao, depicts two pumas between whom is seated a man with serpents at his waist and rays emanating from his shoulders. It contained a reliquary filled with a powder made from the entrails of dead kings. The temple sheltered a large number of priests (the first priest was a close relative of the Inca) and the "virgins of the Sun" (*aclla*), who dedicated themselves to making cloth and corn beer for the cult of the Sun, and who also served as concubines to the Inca (who was himself the manifestation of the Sun) or to dignitaries.

From the dark bowels of the cosmos, Pachacámac caused earthquakes and sent pestilence. With his wife Pachamama ("mother of the earth"), he ruled the waters of the underworld, and, with his daughters, he controlled the depths of the sea. His temple was located at the seacoast. Although represented by a golden fox, he was also worshiped in the form of a wooden pillar, which was sculpted in a dark chamber atop a truncated adobe pyramid.

Illapa, who represented thunderbolts, lightning, rain, hail, snow, and frost, was venerated by a large cult in the highlands. He was conceived of as a triad (father, brother, and son). One of the three was represented by a man holding a club in one hand and a sling in the other. It was said that the *huaca*s, sons of Illapa from whom various tribes were descended, had been thrown off a mountaintop and were raised by humans. They were identified with the mountain and became masters of its animals and plants. The mountains were personified and arranged hierarchically and were the object of a cult.

The serpent Amaru represented the striking thunderbolt and also the animal or monster who, according to the myths, rose from the lake and moved toward the upper world. With one head at each of his extremities, Amaru symbolized communication between the upper and lower parts of the cosmos.

Women were the principal participants in the cult of Quilla, the Moon, who was the sister and wife of the Sun.

The Coya ("queen") was believed to be the daughter of the Moon, just as the Inca was believed to be the son of the Sun. The anthropomorphic statues of Quilla were silver, while those of the Sun were gold. A lunar calendar was used along with a solar calendar. Quilla was associated with the earth and the dead. Traditionally, she pursued dead thieves into the underworld at night. One month of the year was especially sacred to her. Men also worshiped her, in Cuzco and elsewhere, particularly in the temple of Nusta, which was located on an island in Lake Titicaca.

When they were not visible, the stars, like the sun and the moon, were believed to go under the earth. The Milky Way—thought of as two rivers—may have inspired the construction of the Coricancha at the junction of the two rivers of Cuzco. Among the constellations, that of the llama, visible during the dry season, was of special importance to cattle raisers. The Pleiades were associated with the rainy season. If they appeared clearly at the end of May, a good harvest was augured.

After death, one of the two souls that were attributed to a man returned to its place of origin, either before or after a journey strewn with obstacles, and dwelt in the land of the souls, which was not unlike the world of the living. The kind of afterlife enjoyed by this soul was conditional on the type of death, social rank, and virtues of the dead. The other soul remained in the body, which had to be preserved intact, and which had the same needs as the living person. The bodies of nobles, kings, and queens were mummified, kept by their families, and often moved about. The mummies of ancient kings—or their replicas—were set out hierarchically in parallel series (*hanan* and *hurin*) of four. At the head was the common founding ancestor, theoretically androgynous, of whom the first was Manco Capac. The ancestors, associated with the netherworld and germination, were considered oracles of the past, the future, and distant events, and they were consulted by expert priests.

Viracocha was the supreme god of the Inca. The Spanish missionaries—monotheists and monogenists—would have liked to make him or perhaps Pachacámac into a creator god who was unique, abstract, and infinite. But in Andean thought, each tribe had been transformed (rather than created) from water, earth, animals, and so forth, by a particular god at the beginning of a cosmic cycle, and the role of all deities was to have given, and to continue to give, the breath of life and strength *(cama)* to humankind and to nature.

Viracocha was one of these personified gods. He was also a complex deity and was thought of as both one and many, the principle of transformation. Two others of his names were Con-Ticsi-Viracocha and Pachayachachic ("he who gives order to the world") and he had a large family with several sanctuaries. Viracocha was associated with water and the foam of Lake Titicaca, whence he had come, and with the foam of rivers and the surface of the ocean, where, according to some myths, he (in human form) disappeared to the northwest, walking on the waves. These attributes associated him with the rainy season, and others made him the representative of the fire of the heavens and of the triumphant Sun. Under the name of Huari Viracocha (an androgynous being) he was able to draw to himself all the cosmic functions of the upper and lower worlds. He had created the sun, the moon, the stars, and the prototypes of the Andean tribes—including the Inca—thus separating night from day and ushering in the solar cosmic cycle, which he entrusted to the Inca Manco Capac. The latter, accompanied by his brothers and sisters (the Ayars), was plunged into the earth by Viracocha and reemerged from the central window of Pacaritambo, to the south of Cuzco, at dawn, in order to reflect the first appearance of the sun. Viracocha's sons, Imaymana and Tocapu, taught the Andeans the names and virtues of the flora and fauna. Their travels, like Viracocha's, may have corresponded to astronomical observations.

Some prayers to Viracocha have been preserved. Around 1575, a number of prayers were recorded by Fray Cristóbal de Molina (collected in *Las crónicas de los Molinas,* Lima, 1943). The first of these may be rendered in English as follows:

> O Creator, you who are at the ends of the earth, peerless, who has given being and force to men, who has said, "Let this one be man and that one be woman." You made them, you gave them shape, you gave them being. Let them live in health, free from danger, in peace. Wherever you may be, whether up in the heavens, below with Thunder, or with the clouds of the storm, listen to me, answer me, grant me my prayer, give us eternal life. Keep us forever in your hand. This offering, receive it, wherever you are, O Creator.

INCA RITES. The Inca was considered to be the son of the Sun and the Earth, Viracocha's chosen one and equal. In this world, between the two vertical halves of the cosmos, he was the synthesis of their opposition, acting as center and mediator. A *huaca* himself, he had ambiguous powers over the *huaca*s, with whom he either negotiated or made war. He contributed to the upkeep and vigor of the cosmic cycle in which he lived by seeing that the order of Pachayachachic was respected. Specialized priests (for such matters as divination, interpreting oracles, making sacrifices, hearing confessions, etc.) conducted the rites that measured the cycles of agriculture and husbandry, which were spread throughout the year, and which corresponded to the solstices and equinoxes, the alternation of rainy (October to March) and dry seasons, and the alternation of day and night. Each month a particular segment of Cuzco society dedicated itself to the prevailing cult. One of the most important festivals was Hanan Raymi (held at seedtime in December), during which the initiation rites of the young nobility took place, and after which the Citua was celebrated to expel the illnesses brought on by the rains. Another important ceremony was Inti Raymi, which took place at harvest time in June.

The great religious ceremonies were publicly celebrated in Cuzco. The sacrifices were designed to nourish and placate the gods, and offerings were selected from the great complementary ecosystems of nature (plants, birds, shells, the blood of animals—particularly llamas—and humans) and culture (maize, coca, pepper, corn beer, cloth, statuettes). At the center of the ceremonial place was the *usnu,* a small edifice on which the Inca sat enthroned and that was pierced at its base by underground canals leading to the temples of Viracocha, the Sun, and Illapa. Here the Sun was given "drink," which acted to placate and balance the powers of the lower and upper worlds. The *usnu* may also have served as an astronomical observatory. The golden statues of Viracocha, the Sun, and Illapa, the silver statue of the Moon, and the mummies of dead sovereigns—or their replicas—were set out on ceremonial occasions.

The performance of these ritual duties was also intended to ward off cataclysms *(pachacuti),* especially those caused by excessive heat ("suns of fire") or water (floods). Such cataclysms were believed to result from the dissatisfaction of the cosmic powers of the upper and lower worlds. They were believed to have occurred before, ushering in new cycles, and it was thought that they could happen again. These ideas, which were based on the observation of the movements of the sun and moon and the oppositions of day and night, dry and rainy seasons, and fire and water, were projected through time to construct an explanation of the history of the world. In any case, the important Quechua word *pacha* means both "time" and "space."

CONCLUSION. It is impossible to show in this short essay the wealth and the complexity of the official Inca religion, which was itself superimposed over the no less rich religions of the conquered provinces. Religion imbued and governed all private and public activities of the Andean people. Daily tasks and major undertakings alike were performed with equal passion and competitive spirit, for the dualism of the religion imparted its dynamism to society. The great ritual festivals of participation and communion involved the population from the capital as well as that from the countryside, thus assuring the cohesion of the social and ethnic groups of the empire. The deification of power guaranteed its intangibility and the stability of the social order. Finally, it is known that piety was general, and that members of the elite did not hesitate to offer their children for sacrifice.

To be sure, no Andean religious books exist. But there is much to discover in the colonial documents. Recent years have seen considerable progress, especially in scholarly knowledge of Andean astronomy. Religion, culture, and philosophy were built around several fundamental ideas: the opposition of contraries, the search for their conciliation in a harmonious equilibrium, and concern for the natural and human laws, which religion had as its object to predict and to regulate.

But this religion also had its failings in regard to the social order, owing especially to the importance attributed to the oracles and to the divinization of the Inca, factors that certainly facilitated the conquest of the empire by the Spaniards. Given the present state of Andean studies, it is difficult to talk about theology in connection with Inca religion. One can, however, speak of a complex metaphysic in connection with the major god Viracocha, the conception of whom was forced to enrich and complexify itself during the final days of the empire.

The religious spirit of the Andeans revealed its full intensity after the Spanish conquest, especially in the cruel but vain attempts to make the indigenous priests confess the locations of hidden treasures. After the official religion had been forbidden and destroyed by the invaders, after it had disappeared with the empire, the rural religions, which in general antedated the Inca conquest, continued to be practiced secretly despite the fierce assaults of the itinerant Inquisition upon the Indians. During the colonial centuries, the indigenous religions formed the core around that crystallized the spirit of resistance and the preservation of the cultural identity of the Andeans.

SEE ALSO Calendars, article on South American Calendars; Knots.

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INCARNATION.

The concept of incarnation (Lat., *incarnatio,* "being in flesh") has been applied in the Christian community to the mystery of union between divinity and humanity in the person of Jesus Christ. More generally, the concept has been extended to take into account a variety of forms of incarnation that the history of religions has described in various lands and among different peoples. The term *incarnation* is broadly defined here as the act or state of assuming a physical body (as a person, an animal, a plant, or even an entire cosmos) by a nonphysical entity such as the soul, the spirit, the self, or the divine being.

Typologically speaking, there are two sharply contrasting evaluations of incarnation. One of them is a tragic view, according to which the union of the soul, the spirit, or the self with the world of matter, hence with the physical body, is interpreted as a fall from its proper place into an alien abode, an imprisonment, or an enslavement. Salvation consists, according to this view, in the soul's escape from the world into which it has fallen by dissociating and liberating itself through purifications, rites of initiation, or meditation, from the chains of its captivity. There is, on the other hand, a positive interpretation of incarnation, which sees the assumption of a bodily form by the soul, the spirit, or the divine being as occurring for the purpose of saving or sanctifying the phenomenal world. This type of bodily manifestation is seen, for example, in the leaders of small tribal communities, the founders of religions, and the heads of theocratic states. In a certain sense, the history of religions has been the history of persistent battles fought between these two distinctive visions of the incarnation.

THE "PRIMITIVE" TRADITION. The belief in the divine incarnate can be attested as early as the late Paleolithic period, in a considerable number of pictures of human beings in animal forms, often in dancing posture. Among the best known is a figure of the "great sorcerer" in a Trois Frères cave, sporting a deer's head crowned with huge antlers. The same cave has also preserved the portrayal of a dancer disguised as a bison, playing a bow-shaped instrument, possibly a kind of flute. It is certain that the early hunters wore masks and skins of animals for the celebration of their magico-religious ceremonies. These masked figures and many parallel examples were probably believed to be the incarnations of spirits or divine beings akin to the Lord of the Animals.

Wearing masks has been one technique for incarnating souls or spirits in premodern societies. In Inner Asia, for example, a shaman's mask symbolizes the incarnation of a mythical personage (ancestor, mythical animal, or god). For its part, the costume transforms the shaman into a spiritual being. In Polynesia and Melanesia, the souls or spirits of dead ancestors are believed to come from the land of the dead at certain fixed times, especially when the old year passes into the new year. They appear in disguise, wearing terrifying masks and strange costumes; the "dead" call on villagers, praising them for their good conduct and rebuking them severely for any wrongdoing they have committed. The "dead" also perform the rites of initiation for young novices. Finally, they give blessings for a good crop in the coming months and, after receiving hospitality from the villagers, return to their homeland far across the sea. In fact, the spirits of the dead are impersonated by members of secret societies (e.g., the Dukduk of the Bismarck Archipelago, the Arioi of the Marquesas Islands), but these awe-inspiring "sacred visitors" wield such terror over the noninitiated that they are truly believed to be the incarnations of the ancestral spirits. Significantly, the arrival of the spirits from the world beyond announces the renewal of time, the advent of the new year, and the renovation of the entire universe. A similar belief in the sacred visitors (*marebito*) is also attested in Japan.

The belief in the preexistence and incarnation of souls is abundantly documented in the "primitive" world. According to the Caribou Inuit (Eskimo), for example, the immortal soul of a dead person leaves his body, ascending to the supreme being Pinga in heaven who receives it. If the person lived properly according to the rules of life, Pinga lets the soul assume a bodily form, human or animal. Such a belief is also widespread among the North American Indians. Especially noteworthy is the belief found among the Aranda in central Australia, according to which every human being has two souls: the mortal soul, which comes into being with the fetus as a result of intercourse between the parents, and the immortal soul, which predates and really creates the entire human personality. More concretely, the immoral soul is a particle of life of the totemic ancestor who unfolded his sacred history in the beginning of mythical time; every individual is what he is today because of the incarnation in him of the immortal soul, a spark of his primeval ancestor's life. The Aranda becomes aware of this mystery of life as he undergoes the rites of initiation, in which he learns the sacred history of his ancestors. It is a sort of anamnesis, a remembering of the preexistence of his immortal soul in the mythical sacred history—a recollection accompanied by the acute realization of the immortal soul's involvement in temporary, phenomenal existence.

GREECE, INDIA, IRAN. The ancient Greek doctrine of metempsychosis presupposes the incarnation of preexistent and immortal souls in successive bodies, human and animal, and even in inanimate substances. Pythagoras certainly believed in the transmigration of souls (Xenophanes, frag. 7); according to him, the human soul, despite its immortality, has been imprisoned in the body and condemned to a cycle of reincarnation due to the fall from its original state of bliss. A similar idea was held by Empedocles: The immortal human soul has fallen from its proper abode into the world, into the physical body, due to its primal sin. Condemned to the physical world, the fallen soul is destined to wander through a series of incarnations until it is restored to the primeval state of bliss from which it has fallen. Plato contrasts the immortal part of the soul, which the Demiurge has created, with the mortal part, including perception, which is added by the created deities at the moment of union with the body (e.g., *Timaeus* 69c–d). Immediately before incarnation, the immortal soul drinks from the waters of Lethe ("forgetfulness"); "burdened with a load of forgetfulness and wrongdoing," the soul "sheds her wings and falls to the earth" (*Phaedrus* 248c), that is, it falls into the physical world, into the body that is a "tomb" (*Gorgias* 493c), imprisoned by the cycle of becoming and incarnation. But, it is still possible for the immortal soul to learn, to recall its extraterrestrial experience of the perfect condition that existed prior to the fall (cf. especially *Meno* 81c–d). For Plato, to live fully and meaningfully is, after all, to remember a discarnate, purely spiritual existence; it is an anamnesis of the soul's true identity, that is, a recognition of its heavenly origin.

This Greek mythology of the soul, more or less hostile to the world of matter and the physical body, was incorporated into Gnosticism, a set of doctrines characterized by anticosmic dualism. Humankind, as viewed by the Gnostics, is constituted by three components: the self, the soul, and the body. The physical body belongs to the deficient world of nature (*phusis*), but the soul is also part of this evil world. Psychic human activities arise from and are limited by the continual flux of natural events. It is only the self that transcends the evil world. It is divine in nature, hence not subject to time and change; it is indestructible. Where is the original home of the divine self, the spiritual part of humanity? The Gnostic myth narrates, with manifold variations, the fate of the self, its origin in the world of light, its tragic fall into the alien world, and its imprisonment in the physical body. Salvation consists, in the last analysis, in the emancipation of the self from the dark world of matter and the physical body and its return to its genuine home, the world of light.

India presents a doctrine similar to gnosticism, namely, Sāṃkhya-Yoga, whose central message may be summed up as follows: (1) humanity's destiny in the world is conditioned by the mysterious interplay between the self (*puruṣa*), which is indestructible, eternal, and not subject to change, and matter (*prakṛti*), which is subject to time and transformation and which constitutes humankind's psychophysiological complex; (2) the self is essentially a stranger to the world of matter, into which for unknown reasons it has fallen and been enslaved, resulting in the oblivion of its original, true identity; and (3) deliverance (*mokṣa*) begins when the self remembers its eternal freedom and tries to dissociate itself through the practice of yoga from the world of matter.

However, in India the tragic view of the incarnation coexists peacefully with another, more positive view. The Hindu god Viṣṇu, out of his profound concern for the welfare of the universe, has frequently embodied himself wholly or partially in the phenomenal world. According to one of the earliest versions of the doctrine contained in the *Bhagavadgītā*, he incarnates himself in the person of Kṛṣṇa, but he is also able to manifest himself in other bodily forms, human and animal. "Whenever the law of righteousness withers away," Viṣṇu declares, "I come into being age after age for the protection of the good, for the destruction of evildoers, and for the setting up of the law of righteousness" (*Bhagavadgītā* 4.7–8). While Hindu myths and rituals have concentrated attention on Viṣṇu's ten primary incarnations, in some formulations four saviors appear as his *avatāra*s, or incarnations, each ushering in one of the four cosmic ages constituting a *mahāyuga,* a complete cosmic cycle. In the *kṛtayuga,* which lasts 4,800 divine years (with one divine year corresponding to 360 human years), Viṣṇu makes his appearance as the sage Kapila, while in the *tretāyuga,* lasting 3,600 divine years, he appears as the universal monarch Cakravartin. In the third cosmic age, *dvāparayuga,* of 2,400 divine years, the supreme being incarnates himself as the sage Vyāsa, and in the final cosmic age, *kaliyuga,* lasting 1,200 divine years, he will manifest himself as Kalki, a sort of messianic figure who will come in glory to establish the golden age, judging the wicked, rewarding the virtuous, and ruling over the entire universe in peace and prosperity.

The ancient Iranians of the Parthian period had an ardent hope or expectation for Mithra incarnate, who would come at the end of the world as the great universal monarch and savior. This king and savior will descend on the Mount of Victories in the form of a column of light or a shining star to be born in a cave. He will be given birth by a human mother, but in truth he is of heavenly origin; he descends from above with the light, that is, he is the child of light. There were, in fact, magi who lived near the Mount of Victories; every year, at a certain fixed date, they climbed the mountain in which there was a cave, and quietly prayed to the heavenly god for three days, waiting for the appearance of the star.

KINGS, EMPERORS, IMAMS. The status of kings was often defined in terms of God incarnate. In ancient Egypt, for example, the king was believed to be divine in essence. His coronation, usually celebrated at the beginning of the new year, signified not an apotheosis but an epiphany, a self-manifestation of the god. As long as he ruled, the king was identified with the god Horus; in fact, he was Horus incarnate in his early existence, but upon his death he was mystically assimilated to Osiris, the god of rebirth and immortality.

The Greco-Roman world generally dissociated itself from the notion that the king was the incarnation of a certain god, despite the fact that royal titles such as *The Young Dionysos* and *Epiphanes* were often used by kings in the Hellenistic period. According to Arthur Darby Nock, the only exception was Ptolemy XIII of the mid-first century BCE, who demonstrably considered himself to be Dionysos incarnate, probably under the influence of the pharaonic conception of the king as Horus incarnate.

While the Chinese emperor was generally called Son of Heaven (*tianzi*) and as such was considered the earthly representative of Heaven or heavenly will, some emperors were regarded as incarnations of the Buddha. For example, the founder of the Northern Wei dynasty (386–534), Taizi, was regarded by the eminent monk Faguo as the Tathāgata in person, an incarnation of the Buddha. This idea was iconographically represented in the caves of Yungang to the west of Datong, the capital of the empire until 494. Moreover, toward the end of the seventh century the Empress Wu Zhao, who was a strong supporter of Buddhism, was considered to be the incarnation of Maitreya, the future Buddha. Among the Tibetans, the Dalai Lama has been accepted as an incarnation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.

In ancient Japan, the emperor was explicitly called the *akitsumi kami* ("manifest *kami*"), that is, the god who manifested himself in human form in the phenomenal world. The essential part of the Japanese conception of sovereignty was the belief in the emperor's heavenly origin, and this belief was clearly expressed in the myths of Ninigi, the grandson of the sun goddess Amaterasu. Ninigi is born in the heavenly world and then descends onto the summit of Mount Takachiho, carrying the three items of the sacred regalia as well as the heavenly mandate guaranteeing his eternal sovereignty on earth. The emperor was identified with this mythic figure at the annual harvest festival as well as on the occasion of his enthronement festival.

In Islam, more particularly among the Shīʿah, the imam enjoyed a truly exalted and significant status; while among the Sunnīs an imam is no more than a leader of congregational prayer at a local mosque, among the Shīʿah the imam was endowed with a power at once political and religious. Like the caliph, he was one who ruled the community in mercy and justice, but unlike the caliph, who had no legal authority, the imam was empowered to interpret the *ḥaqīqah,* or esoteric meanings of the Qurʾān and Islamic law. This power was based on the Shīʿah conviction that Muḥammad's charisma, or spiritual gift, which he received from God, would be transmitted genealogically only within his household. It was natural that the imam became the central focus of Shīʿah faith to such an extent that he was believed to be the embodiment of the divine light. Some extreme sects of the Ismaʿīlī movement went even further in believing that the imam was the incarnation of the godhead itself. The Druze of the Lebanon Mountains hold the Caliph Ḥākim (r. 996–1021) of the Fatimid dynasty in Egypt to be the incarnation of the godhead, now in concealment but with the promise of a return.

BUDDHISM. Buddhism was founded by Siddhārtha Gautama of the Śākya clan in India, who left his home in quest of truth, devoted himself to the practice of meditation, and finally attained enlightenment. Hence he is also called the Buddha, the Enlightened One. During the early centuries of the history of Buddhism, this historical Buddha commanded the primary attention of Buddhists.

However, as a new trend of the Buddhist movement called the Mahāyāna developed in the course of the second century BCE, a shift occurred in Buddhology; emphasis was now placed less on the historical Buddha than on the Eternal Buddha. This Eternal Buddha is transcendent, absolute, and infinite, embodying the universal and cosmic truth. Hence he is called the *dharmakāya* ("body of the law"), the essential Buddha who is the ultimate reality as viewed by Mahāyāna Buddhism. The Eternal Buddha does not wish, however, to hold himself aloof from the phenomenal world; out of his deep compassion for humanity in pain and suffering he has incarnated himself in the person of Siddhārtha Gautama, as the *nirmāṇakaya* ("body of transformation").

This doctrine is elaborated, for example, in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra,* also known as the *Lotus Sūtra.* The scripture presents the Buddha in two aspects: his absolute aspect in the form of the Eternal Buddha, which is dealt with in the section following chapter 15, while the section preceding this chapter is concerned with his relative aspect in the person of the historical Śākyamuni Buddha, who assumed human form for the sake of benefiting all sentient beings. According to the doctrine of the "Tendai school" in medieval Japan, the absolute and the relative are in essence qualitatively equal; they represent the two different aspects of the Buddha but, in reality, are one and the same.

Japanese Buddhism, more particularly, the Shingon school of Buddhism, has also unfolded what may be called a cosmotheism, a fascinating conception of the cosmos as the embodiment of the Buddha Mahāvairocana. The place of central importance in Shingon Buddhism is occupied no longer by the historical Buddha but rather by the Cosmic Buddha Mahāvairocana (Jpn., Dainichi, "great sun"); just as the sun is the source of light, illuminating the whole universe and giving life to all forms of existence, so Mahāvairocana is the Great Illuminator of all existence, both animate and inanimate. He is transcendent, absolute, and eternal because he is identified with the *dharmakāya.* However, Mahāvairocana is not only transcendent but also immanent in the universe. This Buddha is cosmic in nature because, according to Shingon Buddhism, he embodies himself in the six great elements constituting every form of existence in the universe: earth, water, fire, wind, space, and mind. These six elements are interfused and in a state of eternal harmony. In fact, the whole universe is viewed as the "*samaya* (symbolic) body" of the Buddha Mahāvairocana. When the universe is referred to as the Buddha's *samaya* body, it means two things at the same time: First, the cosmos symbolizes and points to the ultimate reality, Mahāvairocana identified with the *dharmakāya;* and second, while the ultimate reality embodies itself in the cosmos, for its part the cosmos participates substantially in the ultimate reality itself. Accordingly, the cosmos is a sanctified world endowed with the quality of the sacred, assuming profound soteriological value.

CHRISTIANITY. That God was incarnated in the person of Jesus of Nazareth in order to save humankind is a basic tenet of Christianity. One of the earliest confessions of faith pronounced by the primitive church (*Phil.* 2:6–2:11) speaks of the preexistent divine figure Christ Jesus, who condescended to take on human form, won victory in his death over the cosmic forces of evil, and reigns now with God in heaven. In the *Gospel of John,* dating from the end of the first century, Christ Jesus is presented as the incarnate Word (Logos) of God (*Jn.* 1:1–1:14). In sharp contrast to the portrait of the life of Jesus in the synoptic Gospels, John identifies him as the preexistent divine being who, descending from heaven, moves mysteriously through human life, proclaiming heavenly messages and working miracles, and who even foretells his ascension to heaven following his impending suffering and death. John's language may sound preeminently Gnostic, but the content of his central message, namely, that the divine Logos had become human flesh, was certainly anti-Gnostic.

Christian Gnostics accepted the belief that Christ was the divine Logos, the chief intermediary between God and humans. However, they rejected the idea that the Logos took on human flesh, because to them the flesh was both evil and insubstantial. Characteristically, they denied the reality or historicity of the incarnation: The human life of Christ was spiritual but not material; Christ hovered over mortal life, never really participating in the birth, suffering, and death of the historical Jesus. The Christian church set itself against this docetic view in such affirmation of the Apostles' Creed as "God the Father Almighty, creator of heaven and earth." By implication this was an affirmation of the goodness of all God's creation, material as well as spiritual. Similar affirmations concerning Jesus' birth, suffering, and death were directed against the Gnostic denial of the incarnation of Jesus Christ. Moreover, the assertion in the Apostles' Creed of the resurrection of the dead affirmed the salvation of the whole person and not merely the discarnate soul, spirit, or self. It is thus significant that Christian orthodoxy affirmed the humanity of Christ and the goodness and reality of the cosmos against Gnosticism and any form of the Gnostic view of man and the universe. "After the Incarnation," Mircea Eliade states in his *Myth and Reality* (p. 172), "the World has been reestablished in its original glory." The phenomenal world, humanity's world, the world as it is, is a *sanctified* cosmos because Jesus Christ the Savior has dwelt in it.

The Christian church attempted to articulate the nature of the person of Jesus Christ as God incarnate at the First Council of Nicaea (325). It adopted a creed that included such phrases to define Christ as "begotten not made," "begotten before all ages," and "of one essence with the Father." Thus Christ was declared to be *homo-ousios,* "consubstantial," with God the Father, a doctrine that was to be formulated later by Augustine as *una substantia tres personae* ("one substance in three persons"); Christ was essentially divine without being a kind of "second God." Once this result was generally accepted, a further question arose: How are the divine and human elements related to each other in the person of the historical Jesus? After apparently endless debates and anathemas, the orthodox view was formulated at the Council of Chalcedon (451): Two natures of Christ, divine and human, are perfectly blended in one person; Jesus Christ is *vere Deus vere homo* ("truly God and truly man").

TWENTIETH-CENTURY VIEWS. While the affirmative view of incarnation has apparently won the victory, the tragic view of the destiny of the soul, as it was classically expressed by Plato, Gnosticism, and Sāṃkhya-Yoga, is far from dead; on the contrary, it has often asserted itself ever since. In fact, as Martin Buber has aptly stated, human self-understanding has gained "depth" in those crisis periods in history when humankind has felt homeless in the physical world in which it lives, becoming aware of its acute alienation from the world. The twentieth century, one such crisis period, demonstrated a keen interest in the Gnostic outlook on life and the universe, as it is reflected in the writings of C. G. Jung, Hermann Hesse, and Martin Heidegger. For Heidegger, for example, the world is no longer a home for modern humankind but an alien realm; humanity is homeless in the world. Moreover, humankind lives in a period of cosmic night, and the darkness of this cosmic night is to continue for some time. According to him, the soul is not in its proper place in this evil world; here, it is a stranger, imprisoned in the physical body. The soul is destined to leave this world behind and, becoming "a blue soul," to set out for the dark wandering, journeying toward the land of the evening.

SEE ALSO Avatāra; Docetism; Kingship; Masks; Reincarnation; Soul.

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INCENSE. The term *incense* (from Latin *incendere,* to burn or kindle) has the same meaning as the word *perfume,* i.e., the aroma given off with the smoke (*per fumar*) of an odoriferous substance when burned. Incense may then be associated with the perfume arising from the burning of substances that produce a pleasant odor. Aloe, camphor, cloves, sandalwood, myrrh, frankincense, cedar, juniper, balsam, galbanum, and turpentine have been used as incense. Since ancient times incense has been an important part of religious rites and practices in various regions of the world. Incense has been used to appease the gods, sanctify a place or an object, display reverence and respect, honor commitments, tie bonds, and seal promises and friendships. Valued as a precious commodity, it was offered as a gift to honored personages: Frankincense and myrrh were two of the gifts the wise men of the East brought to the infant Jesus.

In association with concepts of purity and pollution, incense plays a major role in purification rites and customs. Incense smoke is used for these purposes because of the transforming powers of fire, as well as the seemingly purificatory powers of sweet smells. Because its fragrance is thought to be pleasing to the gods, incense has played an important role in worship and is used in ceremonies of offering, prayer, intercession, or purification. It is used to attract the attention of, or establish a connection with, a deity and is also used to exorcise evil or harmful forces.

THE FAR EAST AND INDIA. In Chinese, the word *xiang* can mean both "aromatic" and "incense." In China incense was sometimes burned in conjunction with aesthetic enjoyments like reading, writing compositions, or performing music; in Japan it was an important part of the tea ceremony. In Chinese Daoism, incense was used to disperse evil and to appease the gods; it was also employed in rituals for the cure of disease. Considered a punishment for evil deeds committed by the sufferer himself or by an ancestor, illness was regarded as a punishment by the San Guan (Three Officials), the judges and officials of the dead. During the rituals for curing sickness, a formal appeal was made to mitigate and revoke the officials' judicial severity. Using the rising flame and smoke from the incense burner in the center of the oratory to transmit a message borne by spirits exteriorized from within his own body, the Daoist libationer submitted petitions (*zhang*) to the appropriate bureau of the Three Heavens (San Tian), where officials pronounced judgment on the appeal and marshaled celestial forces against the offending demons responsible for the illness. Incense played a major role in another Daoist ritual for fending off disease, the Mud and Soot Retreat or Retreat of Misery. The ritual was usually performed outdoors at a specially delimited sacred area, or altar (*tan*). It was a ceremony of collective contrition where the combined effects of clouds of incense, the light of many lamps, and the sound of the chanted liturgy produced a cathartic experience in the participants.

Incense is also central to the Daoist Jiao liturgy, which renews the community through communication with the gods. Jiao rites may be held for the ordination of priests or the birthdays of gods or may be held to ward off calamities. For the Jiao ritual, a village feast is held outside the temple, and an esoteric liturgy is performed inside the closed temple. In the temple ritual the main incense burner, the central object in the temple, is the focus of the rite. A symbolic incense burner is "lighted" inside the body of the main priest, whose meditation transforms him into a mediator with the divine and makes possible the efficacy of the rite. Incense is employed for the ecstatic symbolic journey to heaven performed inside a sacred area demarcated by five buckets of rice. Together with the burning incense, a document is burned ("sent off to heaven") as a "memorial to the throne" (*zhang*), which announces to Heaven the performance of the liturgy.

Incense also forms an important part of the Buddhist ritual ceremonies in Korea. When taking the vows of Buddhist priesthood, young initiates undergo a rite called Pultatta, or "receiving the fire." In this ceremony a moxa, or cone of burning incense, is laid upon the arm of the novice after the hair has been shaved off; the ignited cone is then allowed to burn slowly and painfully into the flesh. The remaining scar is considered a mark of dedication and holiness and commemorates the ceremony of initiation. Incense is used in ancestor worship as well; tablets containing the names of the departed written in gilt and black characters are placed on every household altar, where sacrifices are offered and incense burned.

At least until the late nineteenth century, incense timekeepers were used in Japanese Buddhist temples to mark the intervals at which the priest struck the great bell to call the people to prayer. The use of incense to measure time was an idea borrowed from China, and so in Japan these sticks were called "Chinese matches." In China the first literary mention of incense being used as a time indicator appears in the sixth century, although it may have been used much earlier. It was widely used from the tenth century on. To make the timekeepers, hardened-paste incense was prepared in sticks or spiral coils and marked into hourly intervals. Depending on the season, the burning time of the sticks was usually between seven to eleven *ke,* one *ke* being equivalent to about a half an hour of modern time. Sometimes a continuous trail of powdered incense was marked off into equal lengths and burned to indicate how much time had passed. The legacy of using incense sticks as timekeepers has been transferred to Hawai'i, where many Japanese and Chinese have migrated.

In India, incense is used in both Hindu and Buddhist rituals. In Hindu rites it is offered in temples as an act of homage before the statue of the devity; in the *āratī* ceremony, for instance, the increase censer or stick is rotated before the image of the deity in order to make an offering and evoke blessings. Fragrant incense was also used to waft prayers to the gods and to drive off foul-smelling demons.

THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST. In ancient Egypt, incense was frequently used in cultic rituals. According to Plutarch, the Egyptians burned incense to the sun three times a day; Herodotos recounts that incense was daily burned before an image of a cow. Sacrifices were offered to the pharaoh, and incense was burned before him in the coronation procession. The importance of offering incense is evident from the title of a courtly official, the "Chief of the House of Incense." It was also an important element of funerary practices, because the soul of the dead was considered to ascend to heaven by the smoke of the burning incense.

Incense also figures in Mesopotamian mythology. In the Mesopotamian *Epic of Gilgamesh,* Gilgamesh's mother Ninsuna supplicated the gods, asking them to protect and befriend her son. She burned incense and offered it to the god of creation, Shamash, to show her reverence and receive his blessings. As Gilgamesh embarked on his mission to kill the Evil One, Huwawa, he heard the words of his mother and remembered the fragrant aroma of the incense.

JUDAISM, CHRISTIANITY, ISLAM. According to the Hebrew scriptures, in ancient Israel incense was considered a holy substance and was reserved for Yahveh; it was included with the bread offered to him on the Sabbath (*Lv.* 24:7). Incense was placed in the Tent of Meeting (*Ex.* 30:34) and was used in the offerings of the first fruits (*Lv.* 2:15–16); it was offered in censers on the Day of Atonement when the high priest appeared before the mercy seat (*Lv.* 16:12ff.). Its use as a perfume is indicated in *Song of Songs* 3:6, which states that it was used to scent Solomon's couch. In Psalm 141 incense is likened to prayer.

Until the time of Constantine, incense was not used in public worship ceremonies of the Christian church. Its use as an offering was severely condemned by the early Fathers (e.g., Cyril of Alexandria and John Chrysostom) because of its association with pagan practices. Christians were identified by their refusal to burn incense before a statue of the emperor; Saturninus and Sisinnius were martyred for their refusal to do so. Those Christians who capitulated in order to escape death were known as *turificati,* or burners of incense. However, by the ninth century incense was used in some churches for the dedication and consecration of the altar. Incense was later incorporated into the liturgical services of both the Eastern Orthodox and Western churches.

In the Islamic tradition, incense is burned to create a pleasant aroma in places of worship, although it does not have any specific religious significance. The Muslims of India burn incense sticks on auspicious occasions such as weddings, births, or religious festivals. Incense is frequently offered at the tombs of saints, which people visit in order to obtain blessings. In the Ṣūfī *samāʿ* incense is often burned as the *dhikr* is chanted.

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HABIBEH RAHIM (1987)

INCUBATION SEE ASKLEPIOS; DREAMS

INDIAN PHILOSOPHIES. Over the past four hundred years India has witnessed a break in its sociocultural and intellectual life with which it is still in the process of coming to terms. It is not, contrary to general belief, the legacy of colonialism that Indian philosophy and culture has had to contend with, but rather the compelling influence of the structure, rationality, and method of the European Enlightenment and its modernity. Since the eighteenth century, academic attempts at recovery of the classical tradition, efforts at translation, and philosophical analyses have all been mainly in the shadow of this modernity which separates as well as differentiates the study of science, politics and religion/metaphysics or *jñāna, karma* and *bhakti.*

Thus, contemporary scholarship in Indian philosophy is divided between, on the one hand, Indological enquiry engaged in the clarification and preservation of an "authentic" classical Indian philosophy, in all its details, and, on the other hand, an orientalist interest in appropriating the tradition to compare and compete with Western philosophy accepting the latter's standards and parameters of philosophical discussion. For a thorough and comprehensive history of Indian philosophy S. N. Dasgupta's five volumes titled *History of Indian Philosophy* (1922–1955) still represent the most systematic attempt. J. N. Mohanty's *Classical Indian Philosophy* (2000) is a lucid and independent exposition based on a classification according to issues in epistemology, ethics, or politics and religion. In *Presuppositions of India's Philosophies* (1991) by Karl Potter, the reader will find a serious attempt to consider and articulate the technical aspects of Indian philosophy in a manner in which they can address fundamental issues in philosophy and not be restricted to discussions within the tradition itself. Nevertheless, since a discussion of method and structure is lacking in these studies, even Potter's analysis does not ultimately succeed in bringing to bear the implications of what he himself characterizes as the speculative orientation of Indian philosophy towards the realization of freedom.

According to the *Sangarva Sūtra,* the Buddha classified his discussants into four categories—traditionalists, rationalists, metaphysicians, and experimentalists—and regarded himself as an example of the class of experimentalists (see Mohanty, 2000). It is this epistemological space for experiment within the framework of tradition that this article will attempt to trace.

THE STRUCTURE OF ORTHODOX AND HETERODOX SYSTEMS. Indian philosophy is generally thought to be comprised of six orthodox systems of thought—Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Mīmāṃsā, and Vedānta—and three so-called heterodox systems: Cārvāka, Jainism, and Buddhism. The orthodox schools are so described because they accept the authority of the Vedas, whereas the heterodox do not. However, the development of the schools is not linear and is characterized by a dialectical relationship entailing contradiction, correspondence, and complementarity, for which reason they are better approached as mutual elucidations rather than as a series of attempted improvements or revisions. Perhaps this is why they are called *darśanas.* Showing and seeing are both a part of the meaning of the term *darśana*; therefore, the term *revelation* appropriately defines it, implying the possibility of a plurality of revelations of the One.

Thus one may argue that the unity in plurality and plurality in unity of all religious tradtions—Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, and Christian, vernacular and classical, and not merely of the six orthodox and three heterodox schools—defines the limit of Indian philosophy. The basis for this unity lies in the fact that they represent experiments with the method of non-dualism of knowledge, praxis, and faith. Gandhi was not the first nor the last of the martyrs to testify to this in his writing and in his life. Dara Shikoh, the eldest son of Shahajahan, the Mogul emperor of India, held guilty of apostasy and martyred in 1609, wrote in the preface to his *Sirri-i-Akbar* (1067; a translation of the Upaniṣads) that it was his conviction that "the utterances of God elucidate and explain one another."

The different systems represent attempts to understand the epistemological, cosmological, and metaphysical presuppositions that underlie the relation between the Origin and the universe, the Unmanifest and the manifest, and the Unity and the plurality. It may be argued that there is a division of focus between the schools: Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika address epistemological questions, the first from the point of view of the subject or knower and the other from the point of view of the object of knowledge. Sāṃkhya and Yoga are cosmological schools, the first addressing the question of the macrocosm and plurality, and the second, unity, the microcosm, and humankind as witness. Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta are primarily metaphysical systems, the former focusing on praxis or means and the latter on the nature of the end. The three sets can be seen as different modes of understanding the relation between God, man, and nature through *jñāna* (knowledge), *karma* (praxis), and *bhakti* (faith).

The Cārvāka school (founded prior to first millennium BCE), Jainism (founded in the sixth century BCE), and Buddhism (dating to the sixth century BCE) present vernacular critiques of the Vedic tradition. They consider the epistemological, cosmological, and metaphysical presuppositions of civil society and material culture, and do so with an emphasis on the vernacular,which is seen as capable of expressing not merely the lay but also the sacred, on custom, and on the crafts, as opposed to orthodox Hinduism's focus on Sanskrit, tradition, and the sciences. Thus they lay the foundations for the tradition of the saints and the modern religions of Vīraśaivism (also known as Liṅgāyatism; founded in the twelfth century CE; in using the term *Liṅgāyatism* we are avoiding the usual orientalist opposition of Saivism versus Vaisnavism and drawing attention to the self description of the follower of this religion as the *the wearer of the* liṅga—which is the sign of the union of Śiva and Śakti), Sikhism (originating in the sixteenth century CE); and Gandhism (developed in the twentieth century CE). It may then perhaps be more apt to classify Indian philosophies according to their relationship to either the Śravaṇa tradition (of the hearers of the Word) or the Śramaṇa tradition (of the "laboring" devotee), rather than on the basis of orthodoxy or heterodoxy.

The focal point of Jainism's critique is the recognition that the Truth is always relative to a point of view, even if it seems absolute from a particular perspective. The hegemony of a single tradition as custodian of the Truth is thus broken. Buddhism characterizes reality as suffering, and thus finds it essential to demonstrate the impermanence or momentariness *(kṣaṇabhaṅgavāda)* of this reality, as the condition for the possibility of liberation *(nirvāṇa)* from it.

The Cārvākas are materialists representing the lay point of view. Knowledge of their perspective is mainly derived from representations made by philosophers who opposed them. They are characterized as infidels or sophists, or as proponents of a form of nature lore. This last description suggests that Cārvāka could be seen as representing a kind of metaphysical materialism that bridges the classical and vernacular traditions. Though Cārvāka rejects *mokṣa* (liberation) as a goal to be achieved outside and beyond this world, it asserts its possibility in this world, without the usual associations of pain and penance, associating it with pleasure instead. It is significant that the four elements—earth, water, air, and fire—are held to be eternal. The soul or consciousness does not exist independently of the body. It springs from a mixing of the elements that is characterized by their individual potencies, and that forms a fifth element, as it were. Formulated this way, Cārvāka philosophy can be seen as presenting a counter-Advaitic point of view. If Advaita argues the ultimate identity of the individual soul with *brahman,* the Unmanifest and transcendent principle of the universe, the Cārvākas argue the ultimate identity of the soul and the body, in this world, thus presenting the other limit of the spectrum. If the Mīmāṃsākas defend the potency of the Word, the Cārvākas defend the potency of matter. They together define the limits of the relationship between spirit and matter, the Word and the flesh, *mantra* (invocation) and *prasāda* (consecrated offering/partaking).

Thus Jainism, Buddhism, and the Cārvākas represent principles of civil society in their respective engagements with continence, the love of all creation being its positive force, suffering and its overcoming, and pleasure and its possibility in this world. All three schools are strongly critical of the ritualism of Hindu society and its making a travesty of the *varnāśrama* classification of society, resulting in a rigid social hierarchy between *brahmans, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas* and *śūdra*s. The *āśramas* refer to the different roles or stages that members of each of the *varṇas* pass through in life. Classical Hinduism talks of four *āśramas*: *brahmachārya* (of the novice), *gṛhastha* (of the householder), *vanaprastha* (of the recluse), and *sannyāsa* (of the renouncer of society). *Saṃnyāsāśrama* frees man from the laws that govern *varṇa:*

> For the social system of caste was always surrounded in India by a penumbral region, as it were, of non-caste, where flourished the renunciatory religious orders whose principles abrogated those of caste, lineage, and birth: and the fourth *āśrama (saṃnyāsa)* constituted a door through which the individual was recommended to pass from the world of caste to that of its denial. The mutual relation of the two worlds, and I have no doubt that it was mutual, is of the greatest significance to a full understanding of either of them. (Uberoi, 1996, p. 14)

It may be argued that with the rejection of *varṇa,* Jainism and Buddhism followed a classification of society into only two classes, the monastic *(bhikṣu)* and the householder *(gṛhastha),* mediated by the congregation or *saṃgha.* Significantly, the tantric tradition also holds that only these two *āśramas* characterize society in *kaliyuga* (Kālī age).

UNITY, PLURALITY, AND THE TRINITY. The term referring to the Unity or the One is Brahman. The conceptualization of its nature and role and the theological issues that surround it make Brahman in many ways analogous to Yahveh in the Judaic tradition, God in the Christian tradition, and Allāh in the Islamic tradition. Just as with these three traditions, a central concern of Indian philosophies has been to relate the one to the plurality that characterizes the manifest world. As with Christianity, Trinity mediates between Unity and plurality. In place of the trinity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the Vedic tradition posits the trinity of Brahmā, the Creator; Viṣṇu, the All Pervading (Spirit); and Maheśvara/Śiva, the Destroyer. Brahmā is the eternal conceiver of name and form that constitute the very essence of plurality in the universe. Viṣṇu is the breath of God, as it were, the Holy Spirit that pervades the universe and enables nature to reflect the attributes of its maker. Finally, Śiva is the destroyer not of the plurality of the universe as is generally believed, but of the duality of unity and plurality. Thus he is the beginning and the end, the first and the last, marking at once the destruction of plurality and the realization of Unity—as well as the destruction of Unity and its manifestation in the plurality. This is the theological role envisaged for Christ and Muḥammad who are in their respective religions mediator and intercessor, between God, humans, and nature.

Three possible relations between the Unity and the plurality emerge from this understanding of the Trinity, and these three positions are reflected in the points of view of the three major thinkers of the metaphysical schools of Vedānta, namely: (1) of the plurality emerging or being carved out of the Unity (the position held by Śaṅkara, of the Advaita school); (2) of the Unity and the plurality being independent realities, as it were, though bound by the Holy Spirit/*prāṇa* (the position held by Madhva, of the Dvaita school); and (3) of the Unity in the plurality (the position held by Rāmānuja, of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school).

The common reading of the Advaitic school is that it regards the universe constituted by name and form as a mere illusion *(māyā).* This leads to the misconception by contemporary scholars that the reality of this world must be forsaken to achieve identity of the individual soul *(ātman)* with Brahman. In fact Śaṅkara's position is that Brahman projects himself in the universe only in name and form. This of course implies that in reality He does not change or project himself but the statement has the added significance that Brahman, if he may be known in this universe, can be known only through name and form. To consider the universe of name and form as independent of Brahman is the illusion. Name and form are then neither real nor unreal, neither self nor not-self. Thus Śaṅkara effectively demonstrates the contradiction and complementarity, the difference and correspondence, that exist in the relation between Brahman and the universe. In Swami Gambhirananda's translation of Śaṅkara's *Brahma-Sūtra Bhāṣya,* Śaṅkara writes:

> Nothing but Brahman can be different from name and form, since the whole of creation consists of a manifestation of name and form. And the manifestation of name and form in an absolute sense is not possible for anything but Brahman; for the Upanishad mentions that Brahman is the agent of their revelation: "Let me manifest name and form by Myself entering as the individual soul." (1972, p. 239)

And Śaṅkara goes on to explain this further:

> the intention here is to declare the identity of the individual soul and Brahman (and not agentship). From this very declaration of the manifestation of name and form, creatorship etc., as the indicatory signs of Brahman become stated ipso facto. (1972, p. 239)

It may be argued then that to know name and form is to know them in their relation to the Unity/Brahman, which is to say to know them as a sign, symptom, or symbol *(liṅga)* of the relation between Unity and plurality. The name is a sign of the covenant between God, humans, and nature.

Depending on which type of relationship between the Unity and the plurality is assumed, names may refer either to substance, attribute, or relation. When plurality is seen to emerge from the Unity, names primarily refer to substance and there can be no real separation of substance and attribute. Śaṅkara thus posits that the essential nature of Brahman is such that a distinction cannot be made between substance and attribute, and for him the ultimate goal is the identity of the individual soul with Brahman. For those for whom Unity and duality are conceived of as separate realities, name and form may refer either to substance, to attributes of substance, or to relations between substance and attributes. Thus Madhva sees the possibility of attaining to three types of goals—of gods, seers, and humans, according to the merit of one's actions. These correspond respectively to the names of substance, of relations, and of attributes. For those for whom Unity exists in the plurality, all names and forms refer to a relation of the two. According to Rāmānuja, Brahman therefore has only auspicious attributes while the name and form of other objects in the universe may refer both to good or evil attributes.

Sāṃkhya, which means "number," characterizes the plurality of the universe as being constituted of *liṅgas* (specific combinations of the constituents of matter—*sattva, rajas,* and *tamas*) that in their turn individually associate with *puruṣa,* the spirit that is witness, enjoyer, and seeker of liberation, thus giving rise to a plurality of *puruṣas*/persons. The Sāṃkhyakārikā characterizes their relation thus: "From their association, the non-intelligent *liṅga* becomes intelligent as it were; and so too, though agency is of the constituents, the indifferent One (Puruṣa) becomes agent as it were"(Īśvara Kṛṣṇa [Īśvarakṛṣṇa], 1948, ch. 20, pp. 43–44). *Prakṛti and puruṣa* come together so that *prakṛti* ("nature") may be contemplated on through *liṅga* by *puruṣa* and so that *puruṣa* in turn may be released from the three-fold misery that constitutes the universe; this is the necessary condition for the possibility of creation. Here the use of the term *liṅga,* indicating a particular form of the specific person evolving from this association, is significant since it points to the fact that it is only through *puruṣa* seeing himself in name and form that liberation is possible. According to Yoga, then, it is *liṅga* that is the object of meditation. Unlike knowledge by inference or testimony, *liṅga* refers to the determinate object and the individual soul, and not to something general. Such knowledge arising from the meditation upon the *liṅga* is "truth/reality-bearing."

From this, one can argue that though it is a topic not given much attention in the secondary literature, the mediation between Brahman and the universe—or between transcendence and empirical existence—is the crux of the issue, and not the nature and reality or unreality of one or the other. Such mediation is achieved through the specific example (of *liṅga*) and its contemplation. Thus, knowledge of name and form as signs of this mediation is the basis of knowledge *(jñāna),* vocation (*karma),* and invocation *(bhakti).* It is not by accident then that the saints of the Bhakti and tantric traditions, the new religions of Liṅgāyatism (Virasairism) and Sikhism, and Mohandas Gandhi's experiments with Truth, share a recognition of the potency of the name. Bhakti does not, as is generally believed, have its basis merely in experience, or simple faith, but in an understanding of the theory of names as the quintessence of the classical tradition and as crucial to the mediation between God, humankind, and nature—in other words, to the mediation of religion, politics, and science. This mode of prayer is considered to be available to men and women of all *varṇas.*

Jñāna, Karma,* and *Bhakti. Philosophers like Karl H. Potter and Jitendra Nath Mohanty have attempted to find unity in the variety of systems that comprise Indian philosophy by claiming that they are all, with the possible exception of Cārvāka, metaphysical schools with the goal of achieving liberation or *mokṣa.* However, not all schools articulate such an engagement with *mokṣa* explicitly, nor are they all necessarily theistic. Other scholars attempt to make a distinction between the schools on the basis of whether a particular system follows the path *(mārga)* of *jñāna, karma,* or *bhakti.* Here the specific meaning these terms take on in a particular system is of importance. For instance, it is often said that Śaṇkara Vedānta accepts *jñāna mārga* and is of the view that all *karma* ceases when the identity of Brahman and *ātman* is achieved. It is only a sense of agency that assumes the distinction of subject and object that is denied here and not action. So, there may be action but it is as if there is none. Thus the dichotomization of the question of *jñāna, karma,* and *bhakti* in contemporary readings is a forced one. Failure to understand their unity and method arises from an incomplete realization of the implications of the fact that Indian philosophies do not separate the scientific or cognitive from the spiritual, nor do they separate theory from practice or means from ends. Furthermore, it may be argued that there exists a unity of method amongst the different systems. They all attempt, with varying emphasis, a non-dualism which presupposes a necessary and systematic relation between *jñāna, karma,* and *bhakti.* It is significant that etymologically *bhakti* means "partaking," referring to humanity's share in Creation, through labor in production and reproduction. Thus humanity's participation in this universe, in *jñāna, karma,* and *bhakti,* involves the principle of compassion for all creatures. One may note therefore that according to the *Nyāyasūtra,* compassion is a necessary requirement for the person who may bear witness—that is, for the speaker of truth *(āpta).* By inference, then, truth must itself be such that it embodies this principle of compassion. If the trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva represents the conditions for the possibility of the Unity translating itself into the plurality, *jñāna, karma,* and *bhakti* represent the means or conditions for the possibility of the realization of the Unity in the plurality by humankind.

Texts: *Śruti, Smṛti,* and *Itihāsa.* Texts of the Vedic tradition are classified into three categories: (1) *śruti,* or revelation, comprising a compendium of hymns found in the four Vedas (*Ṛk, Sāma, Yajur,* and *Atharva*), rituals in the Brāhmaṇas, and interpretations of vedic sacrifice in the Āraṇyakas, which include the Upaniṣads; (2) *smṛti,* meaning remembrance; and (3) *itihāsa,* meaning history or proof.

Etymologically, *śruti* refers to "that which is heard." As has been said already, the orthodox systems of philosophy accept the authority of the Vedas, which are *śruti* texts. *Śruti* is eternal and impersonal *(apauruṣeya).* Some interpret *apauruṣeya* to mean nonhuman and infer a transcendental author of *śruti.* As the etymology of the term *śruti* suggests however, what is indicated is a "hearer" and not a transcendent speaker. Thus it is an eternal and universal revelation that may be heard by one who is chosen (or, that is, has the capacity to "hear"), and the ones who hear may speak in different tongues *(vāṇi).* Thus *śruti* and *vāṇi* make a pair, the one ineffective without the other. This is demonstrated by the fact that the Mīmāṃsaka, who believe in the eternalness of the Word, deny the possible contradiction to this assumption posed by the fact that a variety of sounds may associated with a single letter, by explaining that the modification of letter sounds is only in the hearing.

The philosophical systems and treatises in science, politics, medicine, art, architecture, and so on are classified as *smṛti. Smṛti* etymologically means remembrance (of *śruti*), and refers to the invocation of the name, which, as has been said, is the sign of the covenant between God, humankind, and nature. Thus *smṛti* in conjunction with *śruti* refers to the law that governs religion, politics, and science and identifies the law of God as the law of nature. Each discipline works out the laws in their specific determination in that specific science in such a way that the application of the law is at once the invocation of God/Unity by that specific name and the means to the realization of Unity through that calling and discipline. This presumes therefore the love of the All (creation) and makes necessary the principle of nonviolence in the constitution and application of all laws whether in science, religion, or politics.

Itihāsa, or "history," includes the Purāṇas and the two great Indian epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata.* They embody the dialogic and dramatic defense of and attack on the truth of the *śruti* and *smṛti* in the history and living experience of man in his relation to God, society, and nature.

EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH: RELIGION, PHILOSOPHY, AND CIVIL SOCIETY. This section will deal with Liṅgāyatism (Virasaivism), Sikhism, and Gandhism as examples of religio-philosophical schools that experiment with truth, and thus herald the modern period of Indian philosophy and history. Like Jainism, Buddhism, and Cārvāka philosophy, they also represent the vernacular tradition and the strength of civil society with regard to religion and the state. They critique Hindu dogma and ritualism, and its rigid and alienating social stratification. Without denying the essential truth of the Vedas, they emphasize the importance of experiment and of a living faith. Their example serves as proof of the existence of a principle of motion within Indian philosophy, society, and history.

It is not often noticed that the critique of *varṇāśramadharma,* in whatever form, is accompanied by a realization of the necessary relation between the theory of the name and *bhakti.* This is significant because the social stratification along lines of *varṇa* was based on a division of labor and office. The theory of the name and *bhakti* together bring into focus the relation between vocation and invocation, labor and sacrifice, and service and office in the "partaking" of the creative and reproductive aspect of the universe. It may be said, then, that they announce for the modern age a theory and method of following one's calling and conscience, which, while breaking away from medieval class hierarchy and rigidity, does not lapse into dichotomies of opportunism and idealism, or of individualism and communism.

Lingayatism was founded by Basava (also known as Basavaṇṇa or Basaveśwara) in South India in the twelfth century CE. It proposed a system of thought called Śakti-viśiṣṭādvaita, which argues that the principles of Unity (Śiva) and the potency (Śakti) to become plurality are inalienably and necessarily united in the *liṅga* (sign). The trinity that forms the conditions for the possibility of the transfiguration of the plurality through the realization of the Unity consists of *sthala* (substance/substratum), *liṅga* (sign/relation), and *aṅga* (part/attribute of the body of Śiva). *Liṅga* and *aṅga* are in a relation of complementarity and correspondence, as the object of service or worship is to the one who offers service or worship, as the macrocosm is to the microcosm, and as the whole is to the part. One may read Lingayatism as referring to a theory of signs and the trinity above as referring to the names of substance, relation, and attribute. Since the sign itself mediates between Unity and plurality, it refers to the category of relation.

The Vīraśaiva initiate wears a *liṅga* around his neck as a sign of being in a constant state of worship; the *aṅga* being incomplete without the *liṅga,* they are witness, each to the other. *Kāyaka,* the orderly conduct of life in this world, is itself "heaven" *(kailāśa).* The Liṅgāyat is at once householder and renouncer, as Śiva himself is. Thus the division of society into the monastic and householder's way of life established by Jainism and Buddhism is overcome. The potency (Śakti) of the One (Śiva) has two modes—Śakti and *bhakti.* Though *bhakti* is a modification of Śakti, paradoxically it is the former that is considered superior since the latter is the impulse towards separation and plurality, veiling herself and her Lord, while *bhakti* is the impulse towards unity with the Lord. Men and women, high and low, all without exception have equal access to salvation in and through their respective vocation and station in society.

Sikhism carries further the experiment to bridge the dichotomy between religion and civil society and between the householder and the renouncer by taking into account their relation with a third category, the political, represented by the state. As J. P. S. Uberoi comments:

> The new departure of Sikhism, in my structural interpretation, was that it set out to annihilate the categorical partitions, intellectual and social, of the medieval world. It rejected the opposition of the common citizen or householder versus the renouncer, and of the ruler versus these two, refusing to acknowledge them as separate and distinct modes of existence. It acknowledged the powers of the three spheres of *rājya, sannyās [saṃnyāsa],* and *gṛihasta [gṛhastha],* but sought to invest their virtues conjointly in a single body of faith and conduct, religion-in-society-and-history, inserted by grace and effort as mediation between heaven and the world, or the *ātma* and *Paramātma,* the individual and the All, as the modern Indian form of non-dualism of self, the world and the other. (1996, p.16)

Uberoi argues that the five, along with an unstated sixth, symbols of Sikhism—the *kēś* (unshorn hair) and *kaṅga* (comb) of Saṃnyāsa yoga, the uncircumcised state which is not stated but structurally indicated and the *kachh* (tailored loin garment) of *gṛhastha* yoga, and the *kirpan* (sword) and *kaṛa* (band of ritual constraint) of *rājya* yoga—signify the assumption of the offices of these three spheres, by an "ordered renunciation of renunciation," and not as opposed to one another

The five symbols of Sikhism may be fruitfully compared with the eight *āvarṇas* ("sheaths") of the Vīraśaiva, which form four pairs of symbols—*gurū* (example) and *liṅga* (sign of the unity of Śiva and Śakti), *jaṇgama* (the *jīvanamukta* "moving"/living in this world) and *vibhūti* ("ashes," symbolizing renunciation), *rudrākṣa* (Śiva's eye, indicating the status of being witness) and *pādodaka* (the water that has cleansed the feet of *gurū, liṅga,* and *jaṇgama,* indicating service), and *prasāda* ("grace"; the potency of that which we partake of through one's vocation in the presence of the congregation) and *mantra* (invocation/potency of the name). These pairs reflect the juxtaposition of form and name, being in the world and renunciation, through self-restraint and self-denial with respect to the world and the other, the inner and outer aspects of worship, and grace and potency in the world and the word respectively. Though it is perhaps right to argue that Vīraśaivism, unlike Sikhism, does not oppose religion and society to the state, the two traditions are nonetheless united in assigning primacy to the worship of the name, the life of renunciation in (and not "of") this world, and worship through sacrifice and service.

With Sikhism is introduced the notion of the *saṃgha* (or congregation) as a society of the saved, membership of which is the condition for the reception of service and worship. This may be compared with Liṅgāyatism, which emphasizes the service and worship of the Ishtalinga (a personal deity) and the union of Śiva and Śakti symbolizing the possibility of creation, production, and reproduction of the species as the condition for the possibility of its reception The notion of the congregation also plays a significant role in Gandhi's philosophy.

The trinity that forms the foundation of Gandhian philosophy is comprised of truth, nonviolence, and experiment. Gandhi demonstrates through example and experiment that the study of the self cannot be separated from the study of the other and the world, in religion, politics, and science, and therefore that the truth of the one can not be independent of that of the other. According to him the adherence in spirit and practice to the principle of nonviolence, based on a love that embraces the meanest of God's creatures, alone can be the method of investigation by which one may arrive at the truth. Thus he was as much against vivisection as a means of scientific study and progress as he was against the evil of untouchability as a social institution:

> I abhor vivisection with my whole soul. I detest the unpardonable slaughter of innocent life in the name of science and society so-called, and all the scientists' discoveries stained with innocent blood I count as of no consequence. If the circulation of blood theory could not have been discovered without vivisection then humankind could well have done without it. And I see the day clearly dawning when the honest scientist of the West will put limitations upon the present methods of pursuing knowledge. Future measurements will take note not only of the human family but of all that lives and even as we are slowly but surely discovering that it is an error to suppose that Hindus can thrive upon the degradation of a fifth of themselves or that people of the West can rise or live upon the exploitation and degradation of the Eastern and African nations, so shall we realize in the fullness of time, that our dominion over the lower order of creation is not for their slaughter, but for their benefit equally with ours. For I am as certain that they are endowed with a soul as that I am. (*Collected Works*, vol. 29, pp. 325–326)

Thus Gandhi presents a new theory of experiment as the discovery of nonviolent means of realizing truth in every aspect of life with the self as the subject and the object of study in its relation of service to God, humankind and nature; it is new as much to the idea of the Indian tradition as it is to the modernity of the Enlightenment. Without deferring to either, it establishes the conditions for the possibility of true *swaraj (svarāj)* or self-rule of individual, society, and nation through labor, service, self-denial, and self-sacrifice in religion, politics, and science. The *satyāgrahi,* the nonviolent seeker after truth, equipped with fearlessness and a spirit of self-sacrifice, and invoking the name of God *(Rāmanāma),* is at once devotee, community/political worker, and scientist, combining service and experiment in faith, experiment and faith in service, and faith and service in experiment.

Denying that *varṇa* and *āśrama* had anything to do with caste, Gandhi drew attention to the fact that *varṇāśrama* asserts the law governing one's being in in society, refers to the calling by which we earn our bread, defines one's duty not right, and emphasizes that all callings must necessarily be conducive to the welfare of all humanity. From this he concludes: "It follows that there is no calling too low and none too high. All are good, lawful and absolutely equal in status. The callings of a Brahmana—spiritual teacher—and a scavenger are equal, and their due performance carries equal merit before God and at one time seems to have carried identical reward before man" (1987, pp. 12–13).

According to Gandhi individual prayer is only a prelude to collective prayer and is ineffective without the latter. It is a necessary means to the realization of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God, and to the realization of membership in society, and is necessary training for the use of the "weapon" of *satyāgraha* ("soul force"). Congregational prayer lays the foundation for the unity in plurality and the plurality in unity of religions, which is achieved through equality and difference, and complementarity and competition between them:

> It becomes man to remember his Maker all the twenty-four hours. If that cannot be done we should at least congregate at prayer time to renew our covenant with God. Whether we are Hindus or Musalmans, Parsis, Christians or Sikhs, we all worship the same God. Congregational worship is a means for establishing the essential human unity through common worship. (1987, pp. 194–195)

CONCLUSION. The method of the non-dualism of *jñāna, karma,* and *bhakti,* in Indian philosophy, is based on a presupposition of the necessary relation between theory and practice, fact and value, means and ends, and the individual and the collective. This method therefore defines the nature and scope of both the dialectic within the scriptural traditions and between them and the vernacular traditions. The specific examples of issues and of religions discussed above demonstrate, albeit not exhaustively, the existence of a principle of motion within Indian philosophy that inspires the direction and development of its problematic in history and society.

In method, spirit, and project Indian philosophies present a species of modernity diametrically opposed to the modernity that derives from the European Enlightenment. The former presents a systematic working out of experiments to consider the necessary relation between religion, politics, and science in philosophy, history, and society, whereas, the project of the latter is to separate, systematically, their study in theory and practice.

SEE ALSO Buddhist Philosophy; Cārvāka; Jainism; Mīmāṃsā; Nyāya; Sāṃkhya; Vaiśeṣika; Vedānta; Yoga.

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ANURADHA VEERAVALLI (2005)

INDIAN RELIGIONS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
RURAL TRADITIONS
MYTHIC THEMES
HISTORY OF STUDY

INDIAN RELIGIONS: AN OVERVIEW

The Indians, anthropologically a mixture of immigrant Aryans and partly autochthonous peoples, gradually elaborated a many-sided, highly developed culture rooted in the archaic structure of the human mind. This culture is characterized by an often almost complete integration of heterogeneous elements, by unity in diversity, by homogeneity despite the utmost variety and complexity of its ethnic and social composition, by a multitude of languages and different cultural patterns, and by a great diversity in mental character and socioreligious customs, cults, beliefs, practices, and ways of life varying widely both regionally and, within the same region, from class to class. Indian culture gives free scope to the emotional and imaginative sides of human nature, to speculative, more or less visionary thinking and modes of apprehension, and it has long preserved the cohesion of its provinces: religion, art, literature, and social organization.

VEDISM. The religious life reflected in the oldest Indian literature in preclassic Sanskrit, the Veda (from about the thirteenth century BCE), is that of a predominantly ritual and sacrificial system (Vedism) developing, almost in seclusion, at first in the Punjab, later in the Ganges Plain, among the immigrant Aryans (Indo-Europeans), whose ideas and representations of the divine constitute an almost unified synthesis embodied in an elaborate mythology partly paralleled by ritual equivalences. Vedic thought was based on the belief in an inextricable coordination of nature, human society, ritual, and the sphere of myth and the divine; it was also founded on the belief that these spheres influence one another continuously and that men have, by means of ritual, an obligatory part to play in the maintenance of universal order and the furtherance of their common interests. In later times also, Indians have constantly sought correspondences between objects and phenomena belonging to distinct spheres of nature and conceptual systems. Many hymns and individual stanzas of the oldest literary corpus (the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā,* an anthology drawn from family traditions) were intended for the cult and used in the liturgy of spectacular solemn (*śrauta*) ceremonies, which gradually increased in number, length, and complexity. These ceremonies were to ensure the orderly functioning of the world for the benefit of noble or wealthy patrons. The rites were performed in the open on a specially prepared plot—there were no temples or idols—by specialized officiants. Part of this literature was employed, along with texts from the *Atharvaveda Saṃhitā,* in the domestic or magic ritual performed by a householder or single priest to ensure an individual's health, safety, success, prosperity, and longevity. These texts and the ritual formulas of the *Yajurveda,* which invariably fulfill some ritual function, are collectively called *mantra*s. They are believed to be revelations of aspects of the divine, the product of the exalted experiences of sages (*ṛṣi*s) and hence constitute sacred and inherently powerful verbal formulas for producing a desired result. Some Vedic *mantra*s remained in Hinduist rites, which, however, generally require other ones.

No definite chronology can be established for Vedic literature or the development of religious ideas and ritual practices. It is known that the collections of hymns were succeeded by the Brāhmaṇas, texts that discuss rites and rituals and explain their origin, meaning, and validity. These sacral acts, being the counterpart of the cosmic drama, are in fact also the symbolic expression of speculations about the origin and functioning of the universe and the significance, activity, and operation of the powers, personal and impersonal, presiding over its provinces and manifesting their presence and influence. Thus the ceremonious construction of a special place for the ritual fire is believed to reintegrate the creator god, enabling him to continue his creative activity and to bring about a transformation and higher existence of the patron of the sacrifice, who in and through this ritual is identified with the creator and delivered from death. Mainly based on the Brāhmaṇas are the Śrauta-sūtras, manuals in which the rites are for practical purposes systematically and authoritatively described. No information is given on the earlier, prehistoric cult, which cannot be reconstructed. These works arrange the solemn rites in three classes: the partly inherited bloodless sacrifices, the more elaborate animal sacrifices, and the typically Indian soma ceremonies. In the course of time these elite *śrauta* rituals fell largely into disuse and were superseded by Hinduist rites performed at the expense of and for the benefit of much larger parts of the population.

HINDUISM. Some prehistoric forms of Hinduism—the civilization of the Hindus, consisting of their beliefs, practices, and socioreligious institutions—must have existed at the Vedic period, especially in the unrecorded religion of the lower classes, and probably earlier. Domestic ritual, which is entirely different from the solemn rites, consists of many rites that, though described and systematized by *brahman* authorities in the Vedic Gṛhyasūtras, are in essence not typically Vedic, or rather constitute Vedic varieties of widespread rites of passage, rites of appeasement, cult of the dead, and so on. Later chapters of this literature show markedly non-Vedic and post-Vedic influences, such as strong leanings toward Vaiṣṇava ritualism, which attest to the gradual incorporation of non-Vedic rites and substitution of extra-Vedic elements for those recognized by the original compilers of Hindu rites and practices. Gradually these elements became more prominent.

Non-Aryan influences. How much influence was exerted by the religions of the non-Aryan inhabitants of India on the formation and development of Hinduism is a matter of dispute. Although aborigines may have contributed some elements, their religion is generally different in many respects (e.g., they do not venerate the cow, and they allow their widows to remarry). The Vedic religion had no demonstrable relation with the great civilizations of Harappa, Mohenjo-Daro, and vast regions to the east of the Indus Valley (c. 2500–1500 BCE). As long as the graphic symbols on seals from these sites are not convincingly deciphered and the language is not identified (that it was Dravidian—the name of non-Aryan languages of southern India—is still unproved conjecture), most of the conclusions drawn from archaeological material and argumentation regarding links with elements or characteristics of older and even contemporary Hinduism remain as speculative as the hypothesis of a predominantly influential Dravidian substratum. Do the clay figurines of women really attest to some form of worship of a mother goddess that continued in the historical period, or to the existence of a prehistoric Śaiva *śakti* cult? Is the figure of a male dancer identical with the dancing Śiva? The wide distribution in various countries of, for instance, objects that may have been amulets or votive offerings should prevent one from hastily regarding their occurrence in Hinduist religions as an uninterrupted continuance of a function supposedly attributed to certain Indus objects.

General characteristics. The main current of Hinduism, the so-called great tradition, is a remarkably continuous whole. The tendency to maintain continuity has always been deep-rooted but did not exclude the constant accretion and integration of further elements derived from non-Aryan peoples, extraneous sources (invaders on the northwestern frontier may have contributed to the custom of *satī,* the self-immolation practiced by widows, for example), and the activities of individual religious leaders. While continuity and change have been the prevailing patterns, incorporation and synthesis between the new and the traditional usually were more obvious than the often almost imperceptible elimination of those elements that no longer had a useful and recognizable function. Nevertheless, it is more common to draw upon the past than to invent anew, and apparently original ideas may be foreshadowed by concepts apparent centuries earlier. Thus many features of Hinduism have their roots in the Vedic past, and some characteristic ideas inherited from that past and developed in a few main currents—primarily doctrines of salvation—have up to the present largely determined the Indian view of life and the world.

The older Upaniṣads are the first recorded attempts at systematizing Indian philosophical thought. They are esoteric supplements to the Brāhmaṇas, intended for advanced pupils with a bent for reflection, abstract speculation, and philosophical discussion rather than ritual theory, and therefore answering the needs of ascetics and anchorites. Few Indians are inclined to reject the contents of these Upaniṣads, with which every subsequent philosophy had to show itself in accord. While emphasizing the philosophical value of the Vedic tradition, they are essentially concerned with describing the nature of what is alternately called *brahman* (the Absolute) or *ātman* (universal soul), and its relation with the individual soul (often called *jīva*). The realization of the identity of the latter with the former came to be substituted for the ritual method of conquering death and attaining integral life, the ultimate goal of all speculation. Being compilations, the Upaniṣads do not present a homogeneous philosophical theory, but there was a move to reconcile the references to the dualistic and evolutionistic doctrines of what was to become the influential Sāṃkhya school of philosophy with the prevailing monistic doctrines. Hinduism, directed by these works toward monism, has largely sought its inspiration in them.

There are a number of more or less constant elements of Hinduism. The central focus of India's spiritual life is the belief in and search for an uncreated eternal, fundamental principle (*brahman*), the ultimate source and goal of all existence. *Brahman* is the One that is the All and the sole reality, which transforms itself into the universe, or causes all existence and all beings to emanate from itself, and which is the self (*ātman*) of all living beings. *Brahman* may also be conceived of as a personal "high god" (usually as Viṣṇu or Śiva), characterized by sublime and adorable qualities. Further elements are the confidence that one's own existence and the culture of one's community are founded on an eternal and infallible basis, and the craving for building one's life and ideals on this firm foundation; the recognition of a pristine body of religious literature (the Veda) as an eternal and absolute authority considered to be *brahman* appearing as words, however unknown its contents; and acknowledgment of the spiritual supremacy by birth of the *brahman*s, another manifestation of *brahman,* who are regarded as representing the norm of ritual purity and who enjoy social prestige. The keystone of Hinduist ethics is the belief in the unity of all life and its corollary respect for life and fellow feeling with all living beings *(ahiṃsā);* the doctrine of transmigration and rebirth (*saṃsāra,* a post-Vedic term), first adumbrated in one of the oldest Upaniṣads (c. 600 BCE), and its complement, the belief in *karman* (previous acts) as the factor determining the condition into which a being is reborn, a consequence of a cyclic view of all worldly processes and existence. These doctrines encourage the opinion that mundane life is not true existence (the so-called Indian pessimism) and hence relate to the conviction that human endeavor should be directed toward final emancipation (*mokṣa*) from the mechanism of *karman* and transmigration, the only goal of this effort being the One (*brahman*) that is beyond all phenomenal existence. In view of the above, Hinduism exhibits a natural tendency to speculation hand in hand with religion as well as to a monistic philosophy and mysticism that has left intact traditional mythology and common beliefs. Finally, it is characterized by a complex polytheism subsumed in a fundamental monotheism and by a propensity to ascribe the attributes of other gods to the deity one is worshiping.

Early history. The history proper of Hinduism begins with the emergence of the great works on *dharma*, the totality of traditional custom and behavior that, agreeing with standards considered to derive their authority from the Vedas, manifests and maintains order and stability. This is also the age of the epics, especially the *Mahābhārata* (c. 300 BCE–300 CE), that "encyclopedia of Hinduism" that shows, even then, what appears to be a varied and confused conglomerate of beliefs and practices. However, there are two main currents, soteriologies when viewed from their doctrinal aspect and religions from the viewpoint of their adherents: Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism. Neither current is in itself a unity. Yet all Vaiṣṇavas are essentially monotheistic, believing in Viṣṇu as their immanent high god (Īśvara), although in many contexts he appears as one of the divine polytheistic figures (*deva*s). In the Vedas, Viṣṇu represents universal pervasiveness; his beneficent energy, in which all beings abide, reaches the world through the *axis mundi,* the central pillar of the universe. Vaiṣṇavas often worship him through his manifestations or incarnations (*avatāra*s), such as Rāma or Kṛṣṇa. These and other originally independent figures had fused with Viṣṇu mainly as a result of the tendency to identify the various representatives of the Highest Person with the Primeval Person (Puruṣa), whose self-limitation, according to a Ṛgvedic hymn, inaugurated the era of creation. Preference for an *avatāra* is mainly traditional; in the North, Kṛṣṇa is more often worshiped; in the South, it is Rāma, Viṣṇu himself, or Viṣṇu's consort, Śrī. In many myths the versatile Viṣṇu performs, often in well-known Indian places, great and miraculous deeds to confirm the *dharma,* protect humanity, and preserve the world. The *Bhagavadgītā,* an episode of the *Mahābhārata* and the most seminal of all Vaiṣṇava works, founded Vaiṣṇava ethics: Fulfilling their duties disinterestedly, humans should realize God's presence in themselves, love him and their fellow beings devotedly, and dedicate all their actions to him so as to earn the prospect of final emancipation.

The Hinduist worship, in many different groups and currents, of Śiva in his various manifestations results from a complex development to which the often malevolent outsider god Rudra of the Vedas has contributed much. (There may also have been Dravidian influences.) Rudra, primarily representing the untamed aspects of uncultivated nature, was called Śiva ("the mild one") when the benevolent and auspicious aspects of his nature were emphasized. Śaivism is an unsystematic amalgam of pan-Indian Śaiva philosophy, local or folk religion, mythological thought, and popular imagery. Śiva's many-sided character, to which accreted features of great gods as well as demoniac powers, is split up into many partial manifestations representing aspects of his ambivalent nature. As Īśvara he is the unique and almighty Supreme Person, representing an abstract, sole principle above change and variation, less human than Viṣṇu, and much less active, although elsewhere, in his role as Nāṭarāja the dancer, he originates the eternal rhythm of the universe. He is both mild and terrible, a creator and destroyer, an ascetic and a sexualist. Thus Śiva represents a composite god who is a unity to his devotees, and he plays many apparently contradictory roles in myths, which, on various levels, resolve logically irreconcilable contradictions.

BUDDHISM AND JAINISM. The same period saw the spread of two heterodox soteriologies, heterodox because they reject the authority of the Veda and the social prejudices of the *brahman*s, although they scarcely attack the fundamentals of Hindu belief and practices. The way in which the early Buddhists presented their doctrines has much in common with the oldest Upaniṣads, which must antedate the spread of the Aryan culture to the south and the activity of Gautama (c. 560–480 BCE). Gautama, the Buddha, first gave an exposition of his basic doctrine in Banaras. He taught that those who wish to be delivered from *saṃsāra* and the automatism of *karman,* which does not rely upon a permanent transmigrating soul (whose existence the Buddha denied), should realize four basic truths: (1) earthly existence is pain; (2) the cause of pain is craving for existence, leading to rebirth; (3) cessation of that craving is cessation of pain; (4) an eightfold path leads to that cessation. Final deliverance is realized only in an ascetic and monastic life by those who, after having successfully observed definite rules of life and reached complete meditation (*samādhi*), experience the undefinable state of *nirvāṇa,* the cessation of all becoming. The daily activities of Buddhist monks were recitation, meditation, instruction, and collecting alms from the laity (who largely continued adhering to Hindu belief and observing Hindu practices). As the number of adherents increased, the Buddhist order received large gifts that led to the establishment of monasteries. The multiplying order spread to different parts of India, including the south and Sri Lanka (third century BCE). In the beginning of the fourth century BCE the community began to be split by successive schisms, each of which made its own collection of canonical texts. After about 500 CE, Indian Buddhism began to decline.

The Buddha was not the only illuminated teacher who, after renouncing the world, organized his initiates into a community. In Bihar one of his contemporaries, Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, reformed an existing community and founded the predominantly monastic Jainism, which spread to northern and central India, Gujarat, and the Deccan, and in the last few centuries BCE split into two groups, not on philosophic disagreement but on points of rules for the monks. Jainism is systematic and has never changed in its basic ideology. Its philosophy is dualistic: It posits nonliving entities (including space and time) pervaded by (partly transmigrating, partly emancipated) immaterial and eternal souls; the world, eternal and changeless, is not governed by a supreme being; the system is characterized by the absence of gods (*deva*s); *karman* is the central power that determines the destiny of unemancipated souls. Humans have to perfect their souls and those of their fellow creatures; *ahiṃsā* and universal tolerance are the main duties and cardinal virtues. Whereas the adherents of Buddhism were from a variety of social classes, Jainism attracted the wealthy and influential. The Jains erected beautiful temples with statues of their perfect souls (*siddha*s) and produced an enormous body of moral and narrative literature. Nowadays they often tend to return to Hinduism, against whose social order they have never revolted.

HINDUISM AFTER ABOUT 300 BCE. When Buddhism and Jainism enjoyed royal protection, they could extend their influence. However, the masses doubtless always remained Hinduist, even under the Maurya dynasty (c. 326–c. 187 BCE), from which time the epigraphical records left by kings create the impression of a Buddhist supremacy, and in the first and second centuries of the common era, when foreign rulers accorded Buddhists protection. Until the fourth century, inscriptional and numismatic evidence of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism is scanty, but the period of the Gupta dynasty (320–c. 500 CE), which patronized the *brahman*s and the Hinduist communities, saw the full development of classical Sanskrit and the rise of a non-Buddhist architectural style. The construction of a temple, a rite based on mythical reality, a sacrifice leading to a higher level of self-realization for the builder, is, like the construction of the great Vedic sacrificial fire-place (usually, though inaccurately, called "fire altar"), always the material expression of the doctrine of reintegration. At the temple the god is worshiped through his image (*mūrti*), whose beauty contributes to its force as a sacred instrument. In elaborate ceremonies the god, as an exalted personage and royal guest, is offered food, flowers, and incense. His iconography, consecration (introduction of the god's spirit), and installation, as well as the *mantra*s used, the significance of the material and requisites, and the spirit animating the execution of temple and images, are all meticulously described. This daily worship (*pūjā*) probably continues many non-Aryan elements that were gradually received by the higher classes and incorporated into the Brahmanical literature. *Pūjā* is also performed at home by the householder. As far as the uncomplicated older private cult survived, it was supplemented by the traditional (*smārta*) cults of Viṣṇu, Śiva, and other gods, morning and evening rites, oblations in the consecrated fire, recitation, and mental adoration.

During many centuries after about 300 CE there arose an enormous body of mainly Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva literature. The Puraṇas, stemming from various circles and regions, but significantly all attributed to the redactor of the Vedas and the *Mahābhārata* and claiming to be inspired, deal with cosmogony, cosmology (the universe exists cyclically, its eternal return implying the eternal return of souls to bondage and suffering), mythology and legends, principles and philosophy, religious practices and ceremonies, local cults and sanctuaries, sacred rivers and places of pilgrimage. The many, still-influential Āgamas, also in Sanskrit, mainly teach the practical realization of religious truths, while largely governing temple and household ritual and the traditional religious life and behavior of Hindus. Their subject matter is theoretically divisible into four categories: higher knowledge, which gives access to final emancipation; physical, mental, and psychic concentration, that is, complete control of all corporeal and mental functions, leading to the same goal (yoga); meritorious works; and rites, including the many socially and religiously important festivals that are believed to stimulate and resuscitate the vital powers of nature. The Āgamas favor various philosophical doctrines. A feature of the Vaiṣṇavāgamas, usually called Saṃhitās, is *bhakti*, "participation (of the soul in the divine)," devout and emotional worship and adoration of a personal deity in a spirit of deep affection, amounting to surrender to God. Because these works also teach non-Vedic tenets, they are often considered heterodox, in that they deviate from the Hindu *dharma*. Some religions, such as the northern Śaiva Pāśupatas, have propagated consciously divergent rites and practices. Most Vaiṣṇavas, among them the Pāñcarātras, however, deny that they deviate from the generally accepted tradition; many southern Śaivas regard their Āgamas (although with no certain proof) as the sanskritization of an originally Dravidian tradition; some assume the influence of oral esoteric doctrines. In fact, numerous elements are, notwithstanding argumentation to the contrary, non-Brahmanical in origin.

ŚAIVA RELIGIONS AND TANTRISM. Some religions of India do deviate from common Hinduist traditions and institutions. In contrast to the Śaiva Siddhāntins of the Tamil-speaking South—who, basing themselves also on the mysticism of the Śaiva Tamil saint-poets (Nāyaṉārs), teach that God in the shape of a spiritual guide, or *guru,* graciously permits himself to be realized by the purified soul—the Vīraśaivas, or Liṅgāyats, in southwestern India (not mentioned before the twelfth century) abandon many traditional elements (e.g., caste, image worship). Doctrinal dissent is always possible. The religio-philosophic idealist and monist Kashmir school of Śaivism disagrees in certain important respects with the teaching of Śaṇkara (eighth century), the founder of Advaita monism, derived from the Upaniṣadic Vedānta as a system of absolute idealism that is mainly followed by the intellectual elite. Śaṇkara, a native of Malabar who resided in Banaras and traveled throughout India, was a superb organizer; he established a monastic order and monasteries (*maṭha*s), which, like the many hermitages (*āśrama*s) and the great shrines, became centers of religious activity and contributed to the realization of his ideal of Hindu unity.

From about 500 CE, Tantric ritual and doctrines manifest themselves more or less frequently in Buddhism, Śaiva Siddhānta, and Pāñcarātra. Tantrism, primarily meant for esoteric circles, yet still an important aspect of Hinduism, is a systematic quest for spiritual excellence or emancipation through realization of the highest principle, the bipolar, bisexual deity, in one's own body. The possibilities of this microcosmos should be activated, sublimated, and made to exert influence on the macrocosmos, with which it is closely connected (physiological processes are thus described with cosmological terminology). Means to this end, partly magical, partly orgiastic, include recitation of *mantra*s, contemplation of geometrical cosmic symbols (*maṇḍala*s), leading the performer of the rites to the reintegration of consciousness; appropriate gestures (*mudrā*s), and meditation. Tantric *pūjā* is complicated and in many respects differs from conventional ceremonies. Especially in Bengal, Tantrism has tended to merge with the Śākta cult. The term *Tantra* commonly applies to Śaiva or Śākta works of the Tantric tradition. Śāktism, not always clearly distinguishable from Śaivism, is the worship of the Supreme as divine creative energy (*śakti*), a female force that creates, regulates, and destroys the cosmos; when regarded as a person, she usually is Śiva's spouse, often the dreadful goddess Durgā or Kālī. In contrast to the so-called right-hand Tantrists, who emphasize yoga and *bhakti,* the left-hand Tantrists seek to realize the union of the male and female principles in the One by combining control of the senses with the sexual act; in addition, they make sacramental use of what is forbidden (e.g., meat) to the *brahman*s.

VAIṢṆAVA RELIGIONS AND BHAKTI. Although Vaiṣṇavism, less coherent than Śaivism, had, in the sixth century, spread all over India, it reached predominance in Tamil Nadu, which became the cradle of important schools and movements that still have many adherents. The tradition known as the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas was inaugurated between about 900 and 1130 by Yāmuna, the first apologist of Vaiṣṇava theology, and consolidated by the great philosopher Rāmānuja (c. 1017–1137). The Śrī Vaiṣṇavas introduced into their temple ceremonies the recitation of Tamil hymns of the Āḻvārs, which evince a passionate belief in and love of God. Considering these poets and their great teachers (*ācārya*s) integral parts (*aṃśa*s) of God's nature, they often worship images of them in their temples. According to Rāmānuja, *brahman* is as a "person" (*puruṣa*) the sole cause of his own modifications (emanation, existence, and absorption of the universe), immaterial, perfect, omnipotent, the soul of all being, the ultimate goal of all religious effort, to which God induces the devotee who wishes to please him. The purificatory significance of the ritual, meritorious works, disinterested discharge of duties, and *bhakti* are emphasized.

The influential *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (c. 900?), also composed in Tamil Nadu, teaches that God through his incomprehensible creative ability (*māyā*) expands himself into the universe, which is his outward appearance. On the basis of this teaching, Bengal Vaiṣṇavism developed the theory of a relation of inconceivable difference in identity and identity in difference between God and the world, as well as the belief that God's creative activity is his sport (*līlā*). The emotional and erotic description of young Kṛṣṇa's sport with the milkmaids (*gopī*s), who represent souls pervaded by *bhakti* who yearn for God, enjoys lasting popularity. In this Purāṇa, *bhakti* religiosity was expanded, deepened, and stimulated by singing, meditation, and looking at Kṛṣṇa's image. As the safest way to God, *bhakti*, a mystical attitude of mind involving an intuitive, immediate apprehension and loving contemplation of God, often overshadows the devotee's aspirations to final emancipation and assumes a character of uncontrollable enthusiasm and ecstasy, marked by tears, hysteria, and fainting.

In northern and central India the *bhakti* movement flourished from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century, producing a vast and varied literature in vernacular languages. Even today these areas feel the influence of a long succession of saint-poets, passionate itinerant preachers (among them Caitanya, in Bengal, 1485–1533), and *guru*s. These mystics and religious (rather than social) reformers propagated public singing of their devotional songs and *kīrtana* (the praise of God's name and glory), and preached a nonextremist way of life. While so addressing the masses, *bhakti* influenced almost all religious communities and contributed as a unifying force considerably to a revival of Hinduism.

REACTION TO FOREIGN RELIGIONS. The revival of Hinduism in the south and the spread of the *bhakti* movement also prepared the Indians to withstand the proselytizing of external religions, particularly Islam. From 1000 CE onward, the Muslims conquered the Northwest, made Delhi their capital, and extended their influence to Bengal, the Deccan, and the

South, destroying temples and idols and making many converts, particularly among the untouchables. But Islam scarcely affected the Hindu way of life; rather, it provoked a counterreaction in the form of increased adherence to the Hindu *dharma* and the Hindu religions and stricter observance of rites and ceremonies. Nevertheless, the presence of Islam in India involved an age-long conflict between strict monotheism and the various manifestations of Hinduism. In one field, however, Islam and Hinduism could draw near to each other: Muslim and Hindu mystics have in common the idea of an all-embracing unity. To be sure, the Ṣūfīs made this idea a channel of Islamization, but some Indian spiritual leaders tried to bridge the gulf between Islam and Hinduism. Kabīr (c. 1450–1525), an itinerant ascetic, mystic, and strictly monotheist poet and eclectic teacher and preacher, rejected traditional ritual and Brahmanical speculation but retained the belief in basic concepts such as *karman* and *saṃsāra.* In the course of time his syncretistic religion became largely Hinduized. Nānak (1469–1539) was likewise a strict monotheist who stated that any pluralistic and anthropomorphous idea of the Supreme should dissolve in God's only form, the really existent. An opponent of caste and idolatry, he organized his followers, the Sikhs, in an exclusive community, an amalgam of Islam and Hinduism, which gradually was transformed into an armed brotherhood hostile to Islam but separated from the Hindus. Supreme authority resides in their holy scripture (*Granth*), the reading of which is their main form of worship.

India's contact with the West, Christianity, and modern life since the early nineteenth century has led to the emergence of many new religious movements and spiritual groups, as diverse in their principles, ideals, and reactions to foreign influences as the personalities of their founders; most distinguish themselves from traditional devotional movements by a more pronounced interest in ethical, social, and national issues. The extent of their influence in India has, however, often been exaggerated in the West, for the beliefs and customs of the Indian masses are still largely traditional.

The first product of this cultural encounter, the Brāhmo Samāj, a partly social, partly religious organization, was founded by the Bengali *brahman* Ram Mohan Roy (1772–1833), who, using modern vehicles of propaganda such as the press, advocated social reform and a reformation of Hinduism, which, if purged of abuses and with its monotheistic features underscored, might become the foundation of a universal religion. Schisms resulting mainly from the activities of the *bhakti* mystic Keshab Chandra Sen (1838–1884) led to the coexistence of various small groups of differing aims and ideals. In the second half of the nineteenth century, anti-Muslim and anti-Western ideas as well as religious nationalism led to movements of reformation and modernization or to the propagation of what was considered the essence of traditional Hinduism. One such reformation movement representing the former tendency is the Ārya Samāj, founded in 1875 by Dayananda Sarasvati (1824–1883). Sarasvati advocated absolute adherence to the religion of the Vedic hymns, which he regarded as a continually misinterpreted source of pure monotheism, moral and social reform, and guidance toward the right way to salvation; however, most of the doctrines Sarasvati accepted (e.g., *karman*) were post-Vedic. Opposed to foreign religions, the Ārya Samāj propagates a refined nationalist and democratic Hinduism without symbols and local cults but including the worship of God with praise, prayer, meditation, and daily ceremonies. The main object of Ramakrishna (1836–1886), perhaps the best-known modern Hindu saint, was the propagation of the Vedānta as a superior and comprehensive view of life that synthesizes all faiths on a higher level of spiritual consciousness. A devotee of Rāma and later of Kṛṣṇa, he practiced the Vaiṣṇava form of love; convinced that Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity all lead to the same God, he also adopted Christian methods. Under his disciple Vivekananda (1862–1902), who turned the trend of Vedānta philosophy toward new values, the Ramakrishna Mission (founded 1897) became, in India, an important force for spiritual regeneration and unification.

SEE ALSO Ājīvikas; Bengali Religions; Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas; Buddhism; Cārvāka; Durga Hinduism; Gāṇapatyas; Hindi Religious Traditions; Hinduism; Indo-European Religions, overview article; Indus Valley Religion; Jainism; Kṛṣṇaism; Marathi Religions; Parsis; Śaivism; Saura Hinduism; Sikhism; Sinhala Religion; Tamil Religions; Vaisnavism; Vedas; Vedism and Brahmanism.

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INDIAN RELIGIONS: RURAL TRADITIONS

The religious beliefs and practices of rural India reflect the influence of three general cultural traditions that throughout history have mingled and mixed in varying degrees. Grouped generally, these traditions are those of agricultural cultures, food-gathering communities, and nomadic societies.

Since the third millennium BCE the most stable groups within these three traditions have been those of the agricultural cultures, which are typified by their development of written script and by their emergent sophistication in the production of artifacts reflecting a pervasive consciousness of the earth and its vegetation. The myth-bound lives of people in these cultures have long been linked to the cycles of time experienced in the circular movement of the seasons and in the resulting change in the earth's character. The fundamental energy that gave life to sprouting seeds was commonly understood to be feminine and was represented in female images—although a variety of icons, figurines, and magical geometric drawings painted on home floors and walls also reveal a pervasive worship of the sun, water, grain, and other natural phenomena. Possessed of an archaic knowledge of tools and agricultural methods, these people were India's first inventors and creators and have given as their cultural inheritance to India agrarian technologies that until recently remained unchanged for five thousand years.

A second general cultural stream arose from the archaic food-gatherers living in India's forests and mountain regions and whose myths reflect the notion that they are the firstborn of the earth. Made up mostly of tribal societies with a remote past and no recorded history, these groups established kingdoms and ruled large areas of the vast interior of India, but then disappeared again into the wilderness, where they lived in caves, hunted animals, and collected wild foodstuffs from the dark and pathless forests. These peoples, too, experienced life as power and developed magical and sacerdotal means by which they could please or combat the intensely felt but unseen and terrible potencies of the natural world. Like the ancient agriculturalists, they also felt kinship with the earth but in their case revered the animals and wild plants of the forest rather than of the domestic arena. They, too, knew the earth intimately and understood her to whisper her secrets to them as long as they did not wound her breasts with the plough.

The third cultural stream was comprised of nomadic peoples, wanderers across the lands who have bequeathed to their descendants a racial memory of ancient migrations across wild deserts, over rugged mountains, and through lush valleys. These were cattle herders and horse riders who first entered India, the land of rivers, seeking water for their stock. They had a penetrating visual vocabulary based on an astute appreciation of color and light. Their rituals and art forms share in this vibrant experience of the world. Their bards and dancers were vigorous drinkers who lived a free and spontaneous life full of the passion of war and love.

India's rural religious traditions arose from the confluence of these three cultural streams. These ancient societies are the predecessors of the rural people today whose farming techniques, arts, and rituals give form to primordial tribal myths. When women today paint ceremonial drawings, when artisans create fecundative images, when singers and performers tell of epic conquests, they concretize the legends and mysteries of these ancient groups. From this archaic unconscious come rural myths of cosmic power, of cyclical destruction and creation, of natural processes in which human beings live their lives.

Women of today's higher castes in northern Mithila recount a myth that is identical both in form and meaning to a legend sung by autochthonous women of the deep south who worship the goddess Pedammā. The long history of the myth indicates a substratum of powerful and energetic female memories, the unconscious source of which is transmitted through feminine culture and given form in the act of communication between mother and daughter. In this myth are to be found remnants of ancient wisdom regarding creative power that carries the germ of its own destruction. Out of this tradition arises values that are deeply understood by the women of Mithila, who say with great simplicity that "these insights come from a time without beginning; we carry this wisdom in our wombs."

Candrakālā Devī, a traditional artist of Mithila, narrates the following myth:

> First there was Ādi Śakti ("primordial power"), another name for whom was Mahāmāyā ("great creator"). She was the one, alone. She desired [a partner] and, displaying her *māyā,* created the manifest world out of the void. A cosmic egg appeared and the new male gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva emerged when it hatched. As these gods grew to young manhood, Ādi Śakti turned with fiery passion to Brahmā and sought to marry him. Brahmā recoiled, saying, "You are our mother!" The goddess laughed at him and reduced him to ashes. The same thing happened to Viṣṇu: He, too, retreated, filled with horror and he, too, was consumed by fire. The luminous goddess then approached Śiva, the young, beautiful, long-limbed youth who, hearing her demands, smiled and accepted her as his bride.

The story's versions as told in the South and the North are the same to this point. But now they diverge. In the legend as told in Mithila (in the North), Śiva responds to the goddess Ādi Śakti by asking her to accept him as her disciple. She agrees to his request, and Śiva learns from her the secrets of life and various incantations for raising the dead. Having mastered these mysteries and ancient secrets of power, Śiva then destroys the primordial Ādi Śakti by engulfing her with flame and reducing her to ashes, promising to her as he does so that he will marry her again after many aeons when she is reborn as Satī, the daughter of Daksa. The story acknowledges that this second marriage did, indeed, eventually take place.

The Dravidian variant—one in which passionate youth is said to lead irrevocably to old age and decrepitude—is darker and more archaic. As in the northern version, Śiva agrees to marry Ādi Śakti after the goddess has reduced Brahmā and Viṣṇu to ashes for refusing to do so. In the southern account Śiva is then said to ask Ādi Śakti if he may have as a gift from her the brilliant jewel that shines as brightly as ten thousand suns and that rests on her forehead. Infatuated, she agrees to the request and hands the jewel to her young lover. As he takes it from her hand the goddess ages frightfully, as if centuries had just elapsed in the moment's duration. Formerly a beautiful goddess who lived unhindered by time, she is now suddenly a bent and undesirable old woman. Time, the devourer of all things, has entered the world. Śiva merely smiles; for he is Kālā, the lord of time. With this action, the new gods have taken over. The primordial primacy of female power is reduced to ashes, its brilliance usurped. The female takes second place in the Puranic pantheon to the male.

Candrakālā Devī molds images of Ādi Śakti out of clay and paper pulp to which has been added *methi* (cumin seed), ground to a paste. The image of the goddess has many arms, an elongated body, and hollow eyes. She is reminiscent of the ancient and universal Mātalas, the earth mothers. Their gaunt, passionless, masklike faces have crater-deep eyes, stark with the secrets of death and life.

Images of Ādi Śakti, the primeval mother, are made at harvest time. Also known as Aṣṭabhuja ("eight armed"), she holds in her hands the cosmic egg as well as a cup that holds the seed or blood to fertilize the fields; she also holds the sun and moon, the earth (depicted as a flat plate and covered with grass and sprouts of other plants), two bullocks pulling a plow, a plowshare, a flower, and a sword.

By the beginning of the second millennium (no one knows exactly how early), groups of peoples migrated into India from the Northwest. They were not of one tribe, nor had they all reached the same levels of cultural development or of artistic abilities. The best-known of these migrating groups were the Vedic Aryans. Strong, heroic, and proud of their identity, these people had wandered the steppes for generations, never settling long enough to establish any cities.

The Vedic Aryans were warriors who brought with them into the river valleys of northern India the songs and poems that came to be included in the *mantra*s (hymns) of the Vedic religious textual tradition. Their songs were robust, loud, and full of life: hymns to the awesome processes of nature; invocations to Aditya, the sun god; praises to Vāyu, the wind, and to Uṣas, the maiden of the dawn. Moving into the decaying or destroyed Harappan urban areas, the Vedic Aryans introduced to those agricultural peoples the instruments of war, new dimensions of language, new volumes of sound, new relationships with nature, and pulsing vitality.

In successive waves through the centuries the Vedic Aryans moved on their horse-driven chariots along the densely forested banks of the Indus, Ganges, and Yamunā rivers. It took a thousand years for them to reach the Narmada River in central India (in modern Madhya Pradesh), by which time they had merged into the cultures of the vast hinterland through intermarriage and by adopting local customs, skills, and tools.

It is likely that the Vedic Aryans found the original inhabitants of India living at various levels of technological culture, those groups living within the walled cities of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa contrasting vividly with the Paleolithic societies living in the dense forests along the banks of the Ganges or in the caves of the Vindhya Mountains. Five-thousand-year-old ruins scattered throughout the Harappan sites indicate that the people of the Indus Valley had established a highly developed society: They had discovered the wheel, with which they transformed their methods of transportation and increased the sophistication with which they molded their clay pots; they had developed simple tools with which they could measure angles and with which they could build structures with precision and accuracy; they had learned to grow and spin cotton, to weave and dye cloth, to mold clay, and to cast bronze into figurines.

Intense intellectual and psychological activity accompanied the tremendous revolution in technology and the production of tools brought about by these early city dwellers. They had developed a script to illumine their pictographs, and they practiced yoga and other meditative techniques to expand their minds.

With the fall of the cities to natural and martial forces, large numbers of people took refuge in the wilds of central India, traveling all the way to the banks of the Narmada and Tapti rivers and even farther south. They carried with them into the inner lands of the subcontinent their knowledge of agriculture, technology, ritual, and magic. The influence of these urban skills and perceptions appear in their symbols, worship, and magical practices.

The migrations of nomadic peoples onto the fertile plains of India were to continue through the centuries. One of the most important of these tribes to the development of Indian culture and its rural traditions were the Ahirs, who came to be known in the epic *Mahābhārata* as the "snake-loving" Abhiras.

The figure of Kṛṣṇa also was known as Māyōn or Māyavan in ancient Tamil *samgam* literature; the dark-skinned, non-Aryan god emerged in the culture of Mathurā and reflects a mixture of elements from Ahir and tribal backgrounds. The name itself, *Kṛṣṇa* ("dark one"), is pregnant with early Aryan scorn; but it was Kṛṣṇa who was to supply the generative vitality that transformed Indian arts and culture.

Stories about the personalities and affairs of Kṛṣṇa, of the Goddess, and of other local heroes were collected by the compilers of the epic poems the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa.* These tales, as well as myths and legends recounted in the various Purāṇas, traveled by word of mouth through the vast lands of India. Transmission of these stories was enhanced by their widespread multifaceted use of song, dance, mime, drama, and iconography. These various media allowed all kinds of people, particularly members of those tribal groups living outside the mainstream of society, to experience the sensory nature of the divine presence and to express the immediacy of that presence through an active, personal, and contemporaneous participation.

Rural painters and balladeers drew their inspiration and source material from Ahir love songs, accounts of brave and victorious heroes, and tales of the Puranic gods and their erotic adventures. The most famous of these ballads was the *Lorikagan,* which was composed in Avadhi (a dialect of Hindi) and which recounts the love held by Lorik, an Ahir from the Mithila country, for Chaṇḍa, the wife of Śrīdhara. According to the tale, Śrīdhara had become impotent as a result of a curse placed on him by the goddess Pārvatī. Chaṇḍa then fell in love and eloped with Lorik. Śrīdhara searched for the couple, only to be killed by Lorik when he found them. The young couple then approached the master gambler Mahāpatra Dusadh and engaged him in a game of dice. Lorik lost Chaṇḍa and all his wealth to Mahāpatra Dusadh. But Chaṇḍa argued with Dusadh that the stakes involved in the game did not include her clothing and demanded that the gambling continue. On resumption of the game she sat down in front of Dusadh and exposed her beautiful body. Intoxicated by the sight of Chaṇḍa's nakedness, Dusadh lost control of the game and was defeated by Lorik, who later killed him. This legend finds expression in paintings, theater, and song.

The tribal kings of central India also had an ancient bardic tradition. The Gond *rāja*s included in their courts official tribal genealogists and musicians known as Pardhans, who recounted to the royal household the ancient stories of the Gond hero-kings and warriors. Serving also as priests and diviners, in time the Pardhans absorbed Hindu legends, gods, and even ethics into their tribal epics, ballads, and other expressions of folklore.

A Pardhan today worships his musical instrument, the *bana,* as the god Bara Pen. "As his sacred books [are] to a Brahmin, as his scales [are] to a Bania, as his plough [is] to a Gond, so is the bana to the Pardhan" (Hivale, 1946, p. 66).

It is said that the original Pardhan was timid when he first played his wonderful new music in the house of the Gond brothers. But he played so divinely that all those residing in the heavenly as well as earthly worlds were enchanted. Even the supreme god, Nāyāyaṇ Deo, stood watching in amazement. Then the Pardhan forgot his shyness and completely lost himself in his music. He danced ecstatically with his *bana,* with which he produced sounds the world had never heard before. On that day, it is said, three new *par*s (sounds or combination of sounds) known as Sarsetī Par, Nāyāyaṇ Par, and Pujan Par were first created.

Pābujī is a folk hero who is especially popular among the Bhils, a tribal group living in Rajasthan. According to legend, Pābujī was suckled as an infant by a lioness and grew to be a brave warrior. He was given a powerful black mare named Kālmī by Devaḷ, a *cāraṇ* woman of a pastoral community. In return for this gift Pābujī promised to protect Devaḷ's life and cattle, and he eventually died in the attempt to keep his promise. Among the Bhils are a group of bardic musicians (*bhopā*s) who travel through the countryside with a fifteen-foot long painted scroll known as the Pābujī-ka-Pad (Pābujī's scroll). In its center lies the main figure, a portrait of Pābujī himself, painted in vibrant red, black, olive, and yellow ocher. Surrounding this main figure are depictions of warriors engaged in battle, images of horses, lions, and tigers, and scenes of heroic incidents that serve to illustrate the legend of Pābujī. Performers reenact stories based on that legend at night. The scroll is stretched out, oil lamps are lit, and the *bhopā* sings his story. As he sings, a woman lifts the lamp to the cloth in order to illumine for the crowd the figures of warriors on horseback, animals, birds, and other elements of the tales. She joins with the *bhopā* in singing the refrain and, at times, dances.

The bards of the Santāls in Bengal and Bihar are known as *jādu paṭuā* ("magic-painters"), who carry from village to village their painted *paṭ*s depicting scenes from the Puraṇas as well as their own tribal cosmogonic and anthropogonic myths.

The fundamental assumptions of male supremacy in Brahmanic culture were established by the time of the classical law books such as the *Manusmṛti* (c. 200 BCE–100 CE) and the various Dharmaśāstras. According to these and other texts, a girl was dependent on her father and then, as a woman, was inferior to her husbands and sons. Such ideals of Indian womanhood as obedience and faithfulness to the male were embodied in the images of the goddesses Sītā and Savitrī.

Vedic learning was closed to women by the time of the *smṛti* ("remembered") literatures. However, in the vast and flat countryside that encircled the cities and in the rural life of the village and fields surged a powerful, flexible, ancient, and secret undercurrent among women, wandering yogins, Tantric adepts, and magician-priests, who focused their religious sensibilities on the primeval female, Śakti, and on Śiva, the mysterious god of the autochthonous tribes.

The earliest, almost primordial, images of the earth mother glorified a feminine creative principle made manifest by the image itself, which often celebrated the secrets of birth and death. The dark earth-bound goddess was a mother, yet a virgin, for "no father seemed necessary to the society in which she originated" (Kosambi, 1962, p. 90). Originally represented aniconically through hieroglyphs and vegetation symbols, through the centuries the primeval mother came to be represented in animal and finally in anthropomorphic images of Śakti, who had a thousand names and forms. Potent with the energy of life itself, and holding within herself the essence of her earlier incarnations, she had the capacity to heal and transform. Such earlier forms find expression in the hieroglyphic triangle resting on her heart or generative organs. Her vegetal nature appeared in the plants she held in her hands. Her animal incarnations were transformed into the various beasts on which she rode. As the primary physical and spiritual essence of the universe, Śakti was alive in the experience of color, form, taste, and fragrance. In her final form she was Durgā—the holder of all life, brighter than a thousand suns.

Tantric texts describe Durgā's symbols: "The Goddess of renowned form assumes in times of protection the form of a straight line. In times of dissolution, she takes the form of a circle. Similarly for creation she takes the brilliant appearance of a triangle" (Sastry, 1906, p. 280).

A new priesthood and new relationships with the gods became inevitable with the rise of the male godhead into the Puranic pantheon. The emergent potent male deity was known as the *kṣetrapal* (guardian of the field and womb), Thakur Dev. The *kṣetrapal* protected and fecundated the earth and field, the body of the goddess. In the religious rites the people expressed their search for cosmic transformation, embodied in the act of sexual union between the God and Goddess. Agricultural magic fused with alchemical and Tantric practices.

Either the aboriginal magician-priest known as the *baiga* or a priest from the potter, the barber, or the *camār* community presided at ceremonies worshiping trees and river-washed stones held at the village or forest shrines honoring the primeval mother, the Goddess, various deities, or the tribal hero. The potency of his magic was recognized and accepted by the villagers and householders living in the sheltered rural societies. The Tantric doctrines outlined in the Āgama and Nigama textual traditions, the frenzied ecstatic worship of Śakti through ritual performance and *mantra*-recitation, had pervaded the Indian psyche to the depths of the cultural subconscious. In prosperous villages the Puranic gods were worshiped; but along with this praise, and at a deeper level, a worship of the pre-Vedic deities continued and the practice of Tantric rituals remained.

One of the attributes of the Goddess was *jāgaritṛ* (wakefulness). Through practicing such *vrata* ("vow") rites as fasting, meditative concentration, and other observances, the woman votary directly invoked the power of the goddess by awakening her power (*śakti*) inherent in various symbols, stones, trees, and water pots. She drew geometric shapes (*maṇḍala*s) on the ground and on the wall of houses, worshiped the interlocking triangle known as the *yantra* dedicated to the Goddess, and performed in the darkness various rituals accompanying the sprouting of corn. Songs, dance, and image-making flourished as part of the ceremonies. The worshiper hoped through creative expression, *vrata,* and ritual song and dance to awaken Śakti and to ensure that, once awakened, that primal energy was not dissipated or dispersed.

Unlike the temporary clay images of the *grāma mātṛkā*s ("village mothers"), which have mysterious links with the earth and its cyclical patterns of creation and destruction, the images of the *vīra*s (deified "heroes") and the *kṣetrapal*s are shafts embodying virility and power carved in stone and wood. Rising as pillars to the sky and toward the sun and yet rooted in the earth, the harsh simplicity of the flat visual planes thus gives to the images a heroic dimension representing the sanctity of the immovable and the eternal divine presence.

The term *vīra* ("hero") is often used to refer to the valiant ancestors killed in battle while protecting women, fields, and cattle. It also is used to describe the alchemists, yogins, magicians, and enlightened ones who gained control over and conquered the ways of their bodies and minds. Both types of *vīra*s were deified and worshiped in the form of the *vīrakā̱l* and *pā̱liā* stones. The *vīra* cult itself is an ancient one that centers on an admixture of ancestor worship, veneration of the heroic protectors and guardians as well as of magicians and seers, and praise of such figures as the Hurā Purā (deified heroes) or the Āyi Vaḍil (deified ancestors) of the Bhil tribes. The cult also includes the worship of a wonderfully rich symbolic complex associated with the *yakṣa*s, spirits of the forests and rivers known by the compilers of the *Atharvaveda* and the Purāṇas. Depicted as having tall male bodies (which they are mysteriously able to transform), the *yakṣa*s were regarded at first as malevolent beings, but underwent a significant change at some point when they became associated and identified with the *kṣetrapal*s and the *vīrā*s, with whom they protected and watched over the welfare of the earth and the Goddess.

India's most powerful symbol of the hero is a rider on a horse. Carved in memorial stones or cast in metal icons and amulets, the image displays the vitality and energy of the heroic male.

Elements of the *vīra* cult evolved through time into the worship of Śiva, the supreme god of rural India. Śiva is described as late as the third century CE as a *yakṣa* who is to be propitiated in the wild regions beyond the village walls. Rural customs still exist in India that reflect Śiva's autochthonous origins. In the Punjab and in Himachal Pradesh, for example, women are not permitted the worship of Śiva. Women in Uttar Pradesh can worship Śiva in the form of the *liṅga,* but they must carry their offerings to the god in the corner of their *sārī*s and must never allow their hand to touch the phallic form as they circumambulate it.

The tribal Bhils worship Śiva as their first ancestor. The Gonds of Bastar sing an epic, Lingo pen, in which they describe the appearance of Śiva in human form:

> There the God Mahādev was ruling from the upper sea to the lower sea. What was Mahādev doing? He was swimming like a rolling stone, he had no hands, no feet. He remained like the trunk [of a tree]. Then Mahādev performed austerities for twelve months. And Bhagavān [i.e., Śiva] came and stood close to Mahādev and called to him. "Thy devotion is finished, emerge out of the water." He said, "How shall I emerge? I have no hands, no feet, no eyes." Then Mahādev received man's form. Thus man's form complete was made in the luminous world. (Hislop, 1866, pp. 2–3)

Next to their drawings of the corn goddess the Warlis of Maharashtra often display an image known as Pāñc Siryā Dev, a headless male figure with five sheaves of sprouting corn emerging from his body. Among the Bhils of Gujarat a five-headed figure with an erect penis is cast in metal and is called Pāñc Mukhi Dev. Both images are linked to Śiva and to cultic fertility rites.

In some regions of West Bengal the roles and personalities of Śiva and the sun god fuse into the worship of Dharma Thākur. The *maṇḍala* (village headman) performs rituals centered on the marriage of Śiva and Gaurī at which Kalighat painters used to congregate in order to sell their paintings to pilgrims.

At the Nilā Gajan or Gambhira festivals Śiva is worshiped as Nilākaṇṭha (*nilā* is an indigo cloth worn by low-caste devotees of Śiva who worship the planets and for whom the Gambhira is a key harvest ritual). Singing abounds in these rites. One song describes Śiva as a cultivator of cotton and as one who loves Koch tribal girls:

> The month of Baisakh came,
> The farmer ploughed the field;
> The month of Āṣāḍh came,
> God Śiva planted cotton seeds,
> As the planting was over,
> Śiva went to the quarter of the Koch women.
> He stayed and stayed on there,
> Until he knew that cotton had grown.
> Śiva returned to gather cotton,
> He placed the stuff in the hands of Gaṅgā,
> She spun yarn out of it.
> Śiva wove a piece of cloth,
> The washerwoman Netā washed it clean,
> She washed it by water from the ocean of milk.
> (Bhattacharya, 1977, pp. 60–61)

Having become the central deity in rural areas, Śiva then became the figure from which all of the minor rural gods emerged. The elephant-headed Gaṇeśa ("lord of the folk"), for example, is regarded as the son of Śiva, though no legend specifically relates the nature of his birth. Originally worshiped as a malevolent spirit and the creator of obstacles, Gaṇeśa underwent a transformation during the time of the composition of the Purāṇas and assumed the role of protector of the people and the remover of obstacles. Hanumān (or Māruti), the devotee of Rāma, is also known to be an incarnation of Mahābhairav, who, in turn, is one of Śiva's many manifestations. No forest or village masculine deity is free of an intimate association with Śiva, the central personality of the cosmos and locus of the processes of creation and destruction.

Deep within the religious practices and ideologies of rural India lie the recognition of cosmic transformation marked by the flexive flow of creation and destruction, the appreciation of the vital forces of life, and the longing to be protected from the powers of the physical and spiritual worlds. The gods fuse and merge, or they are transformed, or they vanish with the receding forests and disappearing tribes. New gods come into being and new rituals emerge, bringing with them changes in the form and content of religious expressions. But the sacredness and the mystical power of rural religious sensibilities survive the many changes in deities and rituals throughout history.

SEE ALSO Alchemy, article on Indian Alchemy; Bengali Religions; Goddess Worship, article on the Hindu Goddess; Hindi Religious Traditions; Horses; Indus Valley Religion; Kṛṣṇa; Mahābhārata; Maṇḍalas, article on Hindu Maṇḍalas; Marathi Religions; Purāṇas; Rāmāyaṇa; Śāstra Literature; Śiva; Tamil Religions; Tantrism; Yantra.

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PUPUL JAYAKAR (1987)
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INDIAN RELIGIONS: MYTHIC THEMES

India, like other civilizations, has myths that deal with themes shared by all human beings—the great themes of life and death, of this world and the world beyond—which she inflects with her own personal colorations and thus makes different from the myths of other civilizations. Moreover, Indians have been inspired to create myths on themes that have not appealed to other civilizations with the same intensity, or on themes that simply do not exist outside of India. One can go further in laying out this spectrum of the general and the particular, beginning with the universals and moving through large shared cultures (such as the Indo-European) down through India as a whole until one reaches the many particular, local traditions within India. This approach views myths on the analogy of languages (as F. Max Müller taught), which can be broken down into language families (again, the Indo-European), languages, dialects, and regional dialects. Indeed, if one wishes, one can go still further, until one reaches, in India, at least a single language (or dialect) that is said to be spoken by a single person. So, too, at the end of the line (and perhaps at the beginning of the line too, *in illo tempore*), each myth exists in a unique version in the mind of the individual who knows it.

In attempting to present an overview of Indian mythic themes, the author of this article has chosen to begin with the great universal themes as they appear in their Indian incarnations (primarily Hindu forms, though with some passing references to the Buddhist variants of the pan-Indian themes) and to move through the narrower Indo-European functions of the myths in India to variants that are uniquely Indian. There the article shall perforce stop; it would be impossible to trace the regional subvariations in an essay of limited size and wide range, and of course the subsubvariations in the minds of all the individual myth-knowers are infinite. But it must never be forgotten that these subvariations do exist (and have been recorded in some of the books listed in the bibliography attached to this article) and that, moreover, they flow not only downstream (from the pan-Indian to the local) but upstream, from the local to the pan-Indian, in a cybernetic process that lends the great myths much of their particular flavor, texture, and vivid detail.

ANIMALS. Although it is no longer believed, as it once was, that all mythology is somehow connected with totemism, it is certainly still true that you cannot have a mythology without animals. Animals and gods are the two communities poised on the frontiers of the human community, the two "others" by which humans define themselves. And though all animals can be mythical, certain animals tend to be more mythical than others, more archetypal, if the reader will. Birds and snakes recur throughout the mythologies of the world, both individually and as a matched pair. Individually, birds (and eggs) are symbols of creation; their wings make them part of the kingdom of heaven, where they come to function as symbols of God (in Christianity) or of the magic woman from the other world (the swan-maiden of European folklore). Snakes slough their skin to become symbols of rebirth, or bite their tails to become symbols of infinity (the Uroboros); they bring about the loss of innocence (as in the *Book of Genesis*) or the loss of immortality (as in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*). Together, birds and snakes symbolize the elements of air and subterranean water, spirit and matter, good and evil, or simply the principle of opposition, through the observed natural enmity of the two species.

All of this symbolism is found in Indian mythology, together with more narrowly Indo-European themes: the killing of the dragon-serpent (Indra killing Vṛtra, Kṛṣṇa subduing Kāliya); the battle between birds and snakes (the quarrel between Vinatā, the mother of snakes, and Suparṇā, the mother of birds, in the opening books of the *Mahābhārata*). Also found in the *Mahābhārata* are traces of the more subtle Indo-European theme of the battle between the snake and the horse (of which is found echoes in paintings of Saint George, always mounted on his white horse, killing the dragon): In the course of the quarrel between Vinatā and Suparṇā, the black snakes form the hairs of the tail of the sacred horse, a trick that leads eventually to a great sacrifice in which snakes are killed in place of the usual stallion. But as might be expected in a country as snaky as India, snake symbolism is more luxuriant than it is elsewhere. The *nāgas,* half serpent, half deity, who inhabit the waters of the lower world, participate in many myths and adorn most temples; Viṣṇu sleeps on Ananta, the serpent of eternity, and Śiva wears snakes for his bracelets, his necklaces, his sacred thread, and (with occasionally embarrassing results) his belt. Birds of a rich mythological plumage are equally pervasive; Viṣṇu rides on the *garuḍa* bird (a descendant of the Vedic sunbird), Skanda on a peacock (an appropriate emblem for the general of the army of the gods), and Brahmā on a royal goose or swan (the *haṃsa* that is also a symbol of the transmigrating soul).

Another important Indo-European pair of animals, the horse and the cow, remain essential to the mythology of the Vedas and to that of later Hinduism. The stallion loses in India some of his ancient power as a symbol of royal, martial, and fertile functions (the Indo-European triad), although he remains an important figure on the local, village level, where one still encounters many minor horse deities and equine heroes, as well as charming terra-cotta horses, some of enormous size. The mare became in India a symbol of the voracious female who must be tamed (like the submarine fire in the form of a mare held in check by the waters of the ocean, until the moment when she will emerge at doomsday to destroy the universe). But the animal who truly usurped the stallion's place of honor is the cow, which became symbolic of all the values of the society of the newly settled Ganges Valley (in contrast with the nomadic, warring Indo-European society that was so well symbolized by the stallion); the cow represented motherhood, nourishment, chastity, and noninjury (the cow being an animal able to furnish food without having to be slaughtered). The bull plays a relatively minor role, primarily as Nandi, the vehicle of Śiva.

A more purely Indian symbol is the elephant, representing royalty, power, wisdom, fertility, longevity, and much else. The mother of the future Buddha dreamed, upon conceiving him, that a white elephant had entered her womb; Lakṣmī, the goddess of good fortune, is lustrated by two elephants; elephants support the earth and the quarters of the sky; the god Gaṇeśa, patron of scribes and of all enterprises, has the head of an elephant, the source of his cunning and of his ability to remove obstacles. At the other end of the Indian animal spectrum is the dog, already maligned in Indo-European mythology (Kerberos, the dog of Hades, appears in the *Ṛgveda* as the two Sārameyas, the four-eyed brindled dogs of Yama, the king of the dead). In India, the dog became a vehicle for all the negative values of the caste system; he was regarded as unclean, promiscuous both in his eating habits and in his (or, more often, her) sexual habits; dogs are said to be the food of untouchables (who are called "dog-cookers," *śvapakas,* in Sanskrit). Yet Yudhiṣṭhira, the righteous king in the *Mahābhārata,* refused to enter heaven until the gods allowed to enter with him the dog that had followed him faithfully through all his trials, a dog who turned out to be none other than the god Dharma himself, incarnate.

In addition to these individual animals, Indian mythology teems with animals of a more miscellaneous sort. Every Indian god has an animal for its vehicle (*vāhana*). This association means not only that the god is literally carried about on such an animal (for the elephant-headed Gaṇeśa is awkwardly mounted on a bandicoot, or large rat) but also (and more importantly) that the animal "carries" the god in the way that a breeze "carries" perfume, that the god is always present in that animal, in all of its manifestations (the bandicoot, for example, shares Gaṇeśa's nimbleness of wit and ability to get past anything, and so is indeed an appropriate vehicle for the god). This is the only sense in which animals (including cows) are sacred in India; the tendency not to kill them (which does not, unfortunately, generally extend to a tendency not to ill-treat them) arises from something else, from the concept of noninjury (*ahiṃsā*) that discourages the taking of any life in any form. In addition to these official vehicles, many gods appear in theriomorphic or semitheriomorphic forms; Viṣṇu becomes incarnate as the man-lion Narasiṃha, but he also is often represented with the head of a boar and the body of a man in his *avatāra* as the boar. When Śiva makes war on Viṣṇu the boar, he takes the form of a *śarabha,* a beast with eight legs, eight tusks, a mane, and a long tail.

More generally, whether or not people get the gods they deserve, they tend to get the gods that their animals deserve; the natural fauna of any country has a lot to do with the ways in which the people of that country perceive their gods. For example, two animals that play an important role in Indian mythology are the monkey and the tiger. Although neither of these animals is the vehicle of a god, the monkey is a cousin of Hanuman, the monkey ally of Rāma, the divine hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa,* and the tiger sometimes replaces the lion as the vehicle of the goddess Devī (especially in places where lions have long been extinct). But the influence of monkeys and tigers extends far beyond their recorded roles in the mythology. The ingenious mischievousness of the monkey and the uncanny cruelty and beauty of the tiger are qualities that have found their way into the images of many Hindu gods and goddesses. If Judaism has a mythology of lions, and

Christianity a mythology of sheep, India has a mythology of monkeys and tigers.

THE TREE AND THE MOUNTAIN AT THE CENTER OF THE EARTH. Many, if not all, of the mythologies of the world have located a tree or a mountain, or both, at the center of the world. In India, the sacred mountain is Mount Meru, the golden mountain, wider at its peak than at its base. The sacred tree, too, is inverted, the banyan with its roots in the air. The particularly Indian variants of this myth begin in the *Ṛgveda,* where the sacred *soma* plant, which bestows immortality on the gods, functions as the *axis mundi,* or cosmic pillar, in propping apart heaven and earth. The same *soma* plant is said to have been stolen from heaven by Indra, mounted on an eagle, who carried the plant down to the mountains of earth. This is the Indian variant of the Indo-European myth of the theft of fire; Prometheus carried fire down to earth in a hollow fennel stalk, while Indra (who also embodies the lightning bolt) carries the fiery liquid of *soma* in its own hollow stalk. The association of the mountain, the sacred plant, and the theft continued to produce offshoots in later Hindu mythology. In the *Rāmāyaṇa,* Hanuman is sent to fetch a magic plant that will revive the fallen hero; he flies to the magic mountain and, unable to decide which plant it is that he wants, uproots the entire mountain and brings it to the battlefield. Elsewhere in the *Rāmāyaṇa,* and in the *Mahābhārata,* the gods and demons join forces to use the sacred mountain Mandara as a churn with which they churn the waters of the ocean to obtain the *soma.* As soon as they get it, the demons steal the *soma* from the gods, and the gods steal it back again.

Snakes are also associated with the mountain and the magic plant (as is the serpent in Eden) and with the cosmic waters: When the serpent Vṛtra has wrapped himself around a mountain, holding back the waters (which are homologous both with the *soma* juice that Indra loves and with the rains that he controls), Indra pierces him so that the waters flow again; it is a snake, Vasuki, who is used as the rope for the churn when the gods and demons churn the ocean for *soma*; and when Viṣṇu sleeps on the serpent of eternity in the midst of the cosmic ocean, a lotus plant grows up out of his navel—the navel of the universe. This web of associations forms the framework for the many local myths about particular trees (banyan trees, coconut palms, the sacred mango tree in the temples of South India) and particular plants sacred to particular gods (the *tulsi* of Viṣṇu, the *rudrākṣa*s of Śiva).

COSMOGONY, THEOGONY, AND ANTHROPOGONY. Most Indian mythologies seem to agree about the way in which the universe is arranged: It has a sacred mountain in the center, and concentric oceans and continents around the center; the sacred mountain connects the earth with heaven above and the underworld below. This is the basic Indian cosmology. But there are many different explanations of how the universe came to be the way that it is; these are the Indian cosmogonies. The earliest source, the *Ṛgveda,* refers glancingly to many different theories of creation. Sometimes the world is seen as the result (often apparently a mere by-product) of a cosmic battle, such as the victory of Indra over Vṛtra, or as the consequence of the seemingly unmotivated act of separating heaven and earth, an act that is attributed to several different gods. These aspects of creation are woven in and out of the hymns in the older parts of the *Ṛgveda* (books 2–9). But in the later, tenth book one encounters for the first time hymns that are entirely devoted to speculations on the origins of the cosmos. Some of these hymns seek the origins of the existence of existence itself, or of the creator himself, the golden womb or golden embryo (later to become the golden egg or the golden seed of fire in the cosmic waters). Other hymns speculate upon the sacrifice as the origin of the earth and the people in it, or upon the origins of the sacrifice itself. Sacrifice is central to many concepts of creation, particularly to those explicitly linked to the sacrificial gods or even sacred speech itself, but it also appears as a supplement to other forms of creation, such as sculpture or the spreading out of dirt upon the surface of the waters.

In more anthropomorphic conceptions, creation takes place through a primeval act of incest. In the Brāhmaṇas, the incestuous father is identified as Prajāpati, the lord of creatures; his seed, cast into the fire in place of the usual oblation of clarified butter or *soma* juice, was distributed into various life-forms, ritually creating the living world. Later Indian cosmogonies in the epics and Purāṇas continue to combine the abstract with the anthropomorphic. Sometimes the universe is said to arise out of the waters of chaos, from a flame of desire or loneliness that expresses itself in the creation of living forms as well as such abstract entities as the year, logic, grammar, and the thirty-six musical scales. Sometimes a single god (Brahmā, the creator, or Śiva or Viṣṇu, according to the sectarian bias of the text, or even an undifferentiated sort of Vedantic godhead) arises out of the primeval waters and begins to create, more precisely to emit, the world from within himself; this emission (*prasarga*) is the act of projecting his mind onto formless chaos to give it the form that is its substance. In this latter case, the god usually continues to create by taking the form of an androgyne or by producing a woman out of his own body. From there creation proceeds through anthropomorphic methods, often by a combination of sexual intercourse and the generating of ascetic heat, or *tapas.*

The link between abstract cosmogony and highly inflected anthropogony is made explicit in the Purāṇas, which are traditionally expected to deal with five basic topics: the primary creation (of the universe) and the secondary creation (of gods and humans and all the other living creatures); the dynasties of the sun and of the moon (that trace their lineage back to those divine celestial bodies and forward to the rulers at the time of the recension of the text that contains the list); and the ages of the Manus or ancestors of humans, generally said to be fourteen (the present time is the seventh Manus age). A different sort of cosmogony-cum-anthropogony begins back in the *Ṛgveda.* This is the Indo-European theme of the dismemberment of a cosmic giant or primeval man (Puruṣa), a theme that also appears, outside of India, as the dismemberment of the primeval androgyne. In the *Ṛgveda,* this man is the victim in a sacrifice that he himself performs; the moon is born from his mind, the sun from his eye, the gods from his mouth, and so forth. Moreover, from this dismemberment there arise the four classes, or *varṇas,* of ancient Indian society: the *brahman*s from his head, the rulers and warriors from his chest, the workers from his arms, and the servants from his feet. The Indian text thus extends the three original Indo-European functions that Georges Dumézil taught researchers to recognize (priest-kings, warriors, and producers of fertility) by adding a fourth class that is "outside" the original three, for these three alone receive the epithet "twice-born" (that is, reborn at the time of initiation) throughout Indian social history.

But the myth of the dismembered man says little about theogony, and the *Ṛgveda* contains no systematic narration of the birth of the gods as a whole, although the births of various gods are described in some detail: Indra, kept against his will inside his mother's womb for many years, bursts forth out of her side and kills his own father; Agni, the god of fire, is born of the waters; and so forth. One important late hymn does speak of the birth of the gods in general, from a female called Aditi (Infinity), who is more particularly the mother of the sun and who remains the mother of the solar gods or *adityas* (who are contrasted with the *daityas,* or demons, the sons of Diti) throughout later Indian mythology.

In the epics and Purāṇas, the creation of the gods (and, in turn, of humankind and the animals) is usually attributed to whichever god is regarded by the text in question as the supreme god; thus the Vedic tendency to worship several different gods, but to regard the god one is addressing at the moment as God (a kind of theological serial monogamy that F. Max Müller dubbed henotheism or kathenotheism, "one god at a time") continues into post-Vedic theogonies and anthropogonies.

ESCHATOLOGY AND DEATH. At the end of each aeon comes doomsday, or *pralaya,* when the universe is destroyed by a combination of fire and flood until at last the primeval waters of chaos close back over the ashes of the triple world. In anthropomorphic terms, this is regarded as the moment when God, whose waking moments or whose dream has been the source of the "emission" of the universe from his mind, falls into a deep, dreamless sleep inside the cosmic waters. And at the end of that sleep, at the end of the period of quiescence, the universe, and the consciousness of the god, is reborn once more out of the waters of chaos.

Thus, eschatology is necessarily the flip side of cosmogony; the wave set in motion by the act of creation is already destined to end in a certain kind of dissolution. The particular Indian twist on the Indo-European model, which added a fourth class to the original three in the anthropogony, places its stamp on the Indo-European eschatology, with its twilight of the gods. First of all, India developed, like Greece, a theory of four ages of declining goodness; where the Greeks named these ages after metals, the Indians called them after throws of the dice, the first and best being the *kṛta-yuga,* which is followed by the *tratā,* the *dvāpara,* and finally the present age, or *kaliyuga* (the equivalent of snake-eyes in dice). The choice of the metaphor of dice, with its implication of a fortuitous, impersonal controlling mechanism (which is, moreover, a negative one—the house always wins), is not itself fortuitous; it expresses a basic Indian belief in the inevitable loss of goodness and happiness through the fault of no conscious agent, but just "through the effects of time." The Indian version of the loss of Eden (which appears in Buddhist and Jain as well as Hindu texts) further emphasizes a change in quality between the first three ages and the fourth: The first three are the mythic ages, while the last is real, happening now. And the "end" that comes after the fourth age is not the end at all; the linear decline is combined with the circular pattern of cosmogony and eschatology that has already been seen, and the end becomes the beginning. Time spirals back in on itself like a Möbius strip.

This eternal circularity of time is further developed in India within the context of the unique Indian mythology of *karman,* according to which there is a substance that is intrinsic to all action (*karman,* from the Sanskrit verb *kṛ,* cognate with the Latin *creo,* "to do, to make") and that adheres to the transmigrating soul throughout its life and across the barrier of death, determining the nature of the next rebirth. There are many assumptions embedded in this theory: that there is a transmigrating soul; that one's positive and negative actions are tallied up and carried across the bottom of the ledger page at the end of each life. But the mythology of *karman* reveals a hidden ambivalence in the values expressed by the theory of *karman.* That is, in many myths of *karman,* people want to go on being reborn, in better and better conditions of life, and ultimately in the heaven of the gods. These are the myths within the Vedic and Puranic corpus that exalt *pravṛtti,* or active involvement in worldly life (*saṃsāra*). But there are many other myths in which people want to escape from the wheel of rebirth, to cease from all activity (*nivṛtti*), to find release (*mokṣa*); these are myths influenced by Vedānta and by Buddhism and Jainism. In this latter view, the universal eschatology is replaced by the individual eschatology (or soteriology), the ultimate dissolution of the individual soul (*ātman*) in its final release from the universe itself.

A parallel development took place in the mythology of death. In the *Ṛgveda,* death is vaguely and uneasily alluded to as the transition to a place of light where the ancestors live, a place ruled by Yama, the primeval twin and the first mortal to die. Much of the subsequent mythology of the Brāhmaṇas is an attempt first to explain the origin of death and then to devise means by which death may be overcome, so that the sacrificer will be guaranteed immortality. The Upaniṣads then begin to speak of the terrors of re-death, and to begin to devise ways of obtaining not immortality but release from life altogether, *mokṣa.* And in medieval Hinduism, *bhakti,* or the passionate and reciprocated devotion to a sectarian deity (Śiva, Viṣṇu, or the Goddess), was thought to procure for the worshiper a kind of combination of the Vedic heaven and the Vedantic release: release from this universe into an infinite heaven of bliss in the presence of the loving god. In this way, the mythology of *bhakti* resolved the conflict between the Vedic desire for eternal life and the Vedantic desire to be free of life forever.

HOUSEHOLDER AND RENOUNCER, *DHARMA* AND *MOKṢA.* A similarly irreconcilable conflict of values is addressed in the Hindu mythology of the householder and the ascetic. Again, one can, if one wishes, see this simply as the Indian version of the widespread theme of the conflict between involvement in the world and a commitment to otherworldly, spiritual values, the conflict between God and mammon. But one can still view the development of this theme within the particular context of Indian intellectual history, more particularly as another instance of the pattern that adds a (transcendental) Indian fourth to an older, Indo-European societal triad. Originally, there were three stages of life, or *āśrama*s, in ancient India: student, householder, and forest dweller. That this was in fact the original triad is substantiated by the three "debts" that all Hindus owe: study (the first stage), the debt owed to the Vedic seers, or *ṛṣi*s; the oblation (performed by all married householders) to the ancestors; and sacrifice (offered by the semirenunciatory forest dweller) to the gods. And there were three goals of life: (*puruṣārtha*s): success (*artha*), social righteousness (*dharma*), and pleasure (*kāma*). At the time of the Upaniṣads and the rise of Buddhism, Jainism, and other cults of meditation and renunciation, a fourth stage of life was added, that of the renouncer (*saṃnyāsin*), and a fourth goal, *mokṣa.* Although these fourth elements were basically and essentially incompatible with the preceding triads, revolutionary negations of all that they stood for, the dauntless eclecticism of Hinduism cheerfully embraced them as supplements or complementary alternatives to the other three. (Similarly, the *Atharvaveda,* a text wholly incommensurate to the other three Vedas in style and purport, was tacked on as the fourth Veda during roughly the same period.) This conjunction of opposites inspired many ingenious responses in the mythology. In some myths, the covert, ancient, antiascetic bias of worldly Hinduism was expressed through tales of hypocritical, lecherous, and generally carnal renouncers; in others, the self-deceptive aspirations of otherworldly householders were dashed or ridiculed. In yet others, the uneasy compromise of the forest dweller—half householder, half renouncer, and the worst half of both—was exposed as a double failure; the myths in which Śiva mocks the sanctimonious sages of the Pine Forest and their sex-starved wives, or the myths in which the impotent and jealous sage Jamadagni curses his lubricious wife, Reṇukā, are important examples of this genre.

The mythology of renunciation, particularly as it interacted with the mythology of the ancient, nonrenunciatory orthodox caste system, gave rise to an important cycle of myths about kings and untouchables. Even in the Vedic period, the ritual of royal consecration included a phase in which the king had to experience symbolically a kind of reversal, renunciation, or exile before he could take full command of his kingdom. In the later mythology of the epics, this theme is crucial: Both the heroes of the *Mahābhārata* and Rāma in the *Rāmāyaṇa* are forced to dwell in exile for many years before returning to rule their kingdoms. In several of the early forms of this myth, the period of exile is spent in association with untouchables; thus Hariścandra, Viśvāmitra, and other great kings are "cursed" to live as untouchables among untouchables before being restored to their rightful kingship. In terms of world (or at least Indo-European) mythology, one can see this theme as the Indian variant of the motif of the true king who is kidnapped or concealed for his own protection at the time of his birth (the slaughter of the innocents) and raised among peasants before returning to claim his throne. This theme is well known through such figures as Moses, Jesus, Oedipus, Romulus, or even Odysseus, and, in India, Kṛṣṇa. But the particularly Indian aspect of this theme emerges from two special applications of the phenomenon of renunciation or exile.

First, this experience happens not only to kings but also to *brahman*s, many of whom are cursed or otherwise condemned to live as untouchables for a period before they are ultimately restored to their brahmanhood. This adventure is neither politically necessary nor psychosexually expedient (in the Freudian mode); it is simply an aspect of the initiation into suffering and otherness that is essential for the fully realized human being in Indian myths. For the king, at the top of the political scale, the experience among the untouchables is a descent from power to impotence; for the *brahman*, at the top of the religious scale, it is a descent from purity to defilement. The experience of impotence is regarded as just as essential for the wise execution of power as the experience of defilement is essential for the dispassionate achievement of purity.

Second, the Indian development of the myth of renunciation and exile does not always end with the resumption of political power. The most famous example of this alternative denouement is the myth of Gautama, the Buddha Śākyamuni, who dwelt among the Others not by actually leaving his palace to live as an untouchable but by seeing and empathizing with the quintessential "other" from the standpoint of a young king who had been sheltered from every form of weakness or sadness: the vision of an old man, a sick man, a dead man, and a renouncer. As a result of this vision, the Buddha left his palace, never to return again. This myth served as a paradigm not only for many Buddhist (and Buddhist-influenced) myths of renunciant kings but also for many local, sectarian myths about saints and the founders of heterodox traditions, who left the comfort of orthodoxy to dwell among the Others—not necessarily true untouchables, but non-*brahman*s, even women, people who did not know Sanskrit and had no right to sacrifice—and who never returned.

A final cycle within the corpus of myths of renunciation is the series of myths in which "good" demons "renounce" the canons of demonality in order to become ascetics or devotees of the sectarian gods. The myth of the demon Prāhlada, who loved Viṣṇu and was saved from the attacks of his truly demonic father by Viṣṇu in the form of the man-lion, is the most famous example of this genre. One could view these myths as covert attacks on the threat posed by the ideal of asceticism to the worldly basis of conventional Hinduism: Anyone who strove for renunciation, instead of remaining within the bourgeois, sacrificial Hindu fold, was "demonic." To this extent, the myths of good demons can with profit be related to other, non-Indian myths about conscientious devils and saintly witches, myths in which religious innovators or inspired misfits are consigned by the religious establishment to the ranks of the ungodly. But, as always, the Indian variant is peculiarly Indian; here, these myths become myths about caste, and although there are many systems that may resemble caste, there is nothing outside India that duplicates the caste system.

The myths of the good demon are myths in which the overarching, absolute, pan-Indian values of universal *dharma* (*sanātana dharma,* which includes truthfulness, generosity, and noninjury) are pitted against the specific, relative, mutually contradictory, and localized values of "one's own *dharma*" (*svadharma*), which is peculiar to each caste. Thus, some castes may be enjoined to kill animals, to kill people in battle, to execute criminals, to carry night soil, or even to rob. As the *Bhagavadgītā* relates, it is better to do one's own duty well (even if it violates absolute *dharma*) than to do someone else's duty (even if it does not violate absolute *dharma*). The good demon—good in relativistic, demonic terms—would be good at killing and raping, not good at telling the truth. Thus, in the mythology of orthodox Hinduism, the gods send Viṣṇu in the form of the Buddha to corrupt the "good" demons, to persuade them (wrongly) to give up Vedic sacrifices in favor of noninjury and Buddhist meditation. Stripped of their armor of absolute goodness, the demons are destroyed by the gods, while the demons who remain safely within the fold of their relative goodness survive to contribute their necessary leaven of evil to the balance of the universe. In the later mythology of *bhakti,* however, which successfully challenged caste relativism, the "good" demons are not destroyed; on the contrary, they are translated out of the world entirely, forever absolved of the necessity of performing their despicable duties (despicable in absolute terms), to dwell forever with the God for whom caste has no meaning.

These myths may also express the conflict between life-affirming Vedic values (which, traditionally, have included killing one's enemies in battle as well as killing sacrificial animals) and life-renouncing Vedantic values (of which *ahiṃsā,* the ideal of noninjury, is the most famous if not the most important). They may also be viewed as conflicts between contradictory cosmogonies. The traditional Hindu universe, or "world egg," was closed; those who died must be reborn in order to allow life to recirculate; those who were virtuous had to be balanced by others who were evil in a world of limited good. This reciprocity was further facilitated by the *karman* theory, which held that one's accrued good and bad *karman* could be transferred, particularly through exchanges of food or sexual contact, from one person to another; if one gained, the other lost. Thus, if there are to be saints, there must be sinners. Nor may the sinners refuse to sin, or the demon to rape and pillage, if the saint is to be able to bless and meditate. (Or, in another part of the forest, the householder must not refuse to sacrifice and produce food if the renouncer is to be able to remain aloof from sacrifice and yet to go on eating.) Yet the renouncer wished, ideally, to leave this universe altogether; the good demon wished to abandon demondom forever. The *bhakti* mythology of good demons was thus inspired to create a series of liminal heavens in which the devotee, or *bhakta,* demonic or human, could satisfy the absolute demands of universal *dharma* while disqualifying himself from, rather than defying or explicitly renouncing, the demonic demands of his own *svadharma.*

GODS VERSUS DEMONS. But it is a mistake to view demons as merely the symbolic expression of certain human social paradoxes. Demons *exist,* and are the enemies of the gods. Indeed, in India that is what demons primarily are: non-gods. In the earliest layer of the *Ṛgveda,* which still shares certain important links with Avestan mythology and looser ties with the Olympian gods and Titans, gods and demons were not different in nature or kind; they were brothers, the children of Prajāpati, the lord of creatures. The demons were the older brothers, and therefore had the primary claim on the kingdom of heaven; the gods were the usurpers. The gods triumphed, however, and post-Vedic mythology (beginning with the Brāhmaṇas) began to associate the divine victors with a cluster of moral virtues (truthfulness, piety, and all the other qualities of universal *dharma*) and the demonic losers with the corresponding moral flaws. The "good" demons of the medieval pantheon, therefore, were not so much upstarts as archconservatives, reclaiming their ancient right to be as virtuous as the gods of the arriviste establishment.

These palace intrigues in heaven had interesting repercussions on earth, in the relationship between humans and gods. In the *Ṛgveda,* humans and gods were pitted against demons. Humans and gods were bound to one another by the mutually beneficial contract of sacrifice: The gods kept humans prosperous and healthy in return for the offerings that kept the gods themselves alive and well and living in heaven. The demons were the enemies of both gods and humans; the major demons or *asura*s (the ex-Titans) threatened the gods in heaven, while the minor demons, or *rākṣasa*s (more like ghouls or goblins), tormented people, both in their secular lives (killing newborn children, causing diseases) and in their sacred offices (interfering with the sacrifices that maintained the all-important bond between heaven and earth).

But with the rise of the ideal of renunciation as a challenge to the sacrificial order, these simple lines were broken.

For demons might offer sacrifice, but if they sacrificed to the gods they strengthened their enemies, which went against their own interests, while if they offered the libations into their own mouths (as they were said to do in the Brāhmaṇas) they exposed their innate selfishness, and the powers of truth and generosity abandoned them, taking with them their power to overcome the gods in battle. But if demons amassed ascetic power they could not be faulted on traditional moral grounds—for they had, in effect, renounced traditional moral grounds—and their power could not be neutralized by the powers of the gods. In this situation, demons were like human ascetics, who could bypass the entire Brahmanic sacrificial structure and strike out as religious loners, outside the system, with powers that, although gained by nonsacrificial methods, could nevertheless challenge the sacrificial powers of the gods on equal grounds, because the heat (*tapas*) generated by the ascetic was of the same intrinsically sacred nature as the heat generated by the sacrificial priest. In the myths, this challenge is expressed by the simple transfer of heat: The *tapas* generated by the demonic or human ascetic rises, as heat is wont to do, and heats the throne of Indra, the king of the gods; Indra immediately recognizes the source of his discomfort (for it recurs with annoying frequency) and dispatches from heaven a voluptuous nymph (an *apsaras*) to seduce the would-be ascetic by siphoning off his erotic heat in the form of his seed. In this middle period, therefore, the epic period in which Indra ruled in heaven, humans and demons could be pitted against the gods.

A further realignment took place with the rise of the great sectarian gods, Viṣṇu and Śiva. The mythology of the "good" demon brought into play a mythology of the "good" untouchable or the good non-*brahman* in local and vernacular traditions; one aspect of this development has been seen in the myths of the king among the untouchables. For in *bhakti* mythology the devotional gods are on the side of good humans and good demons alike; they are against only evil humans and evil demons. The straightforward lines of Vedic allegiance are thus sicklied o'er with the pale cast of morality. While in classical orthodox Hinduism, it was one's action that mattered (ortho*praxy*), now it was one's thought that mattered (ortho*doxy*). Thus, devotional Hinduism can be generous to untouchables, and even to Buddhists and Muslims, whose ritual activities made them literally anathema to orthodox Hinduism, but it can be bitterly intransigent toward wrong-thinking Hindus (and, of course, to wrong-thinking Muslims, Buddhists, and untouchables), no matter how observant they might be of caste strictures governing behavior. In this view, what one is (demon or untouchable) or what one does (kill, tan leather) is not so important as what one thinks, or, even more, feels (love for the true God).

ILLUSION. This emphasis on what is thought or felt in contrast with what is done or brought into existence is basic to all of Indian mythology. Its roots go back to the Vedas, where the gods use their powers of illusion (*maya*) not merely to delude the demons (themselves masters of illusion) but to create the entire universe. The Upanisadic doctrine that the state of unity with the godhead is closer to dreaming sleep than it is to waking life (and closest of all to dreamless sleep) paved the way for the concept, already encountered in the myths of cosmogony, that the universe is merely a projection or emanation from the mind of a (sleeping) god, that humankind is all merely a dream of God. The belief that the gods are seen most closely in one's dreams is encountered widely outside of India and accounts, in part, for the universal value set on premonitory dreams. But just as Indian philosophy, particularly Mahāyāna Buddhist philosophy, developed the doctrine of illusion to a pitch unknown in other forms of idealism, so too Indian mythology played countless imaginative variants on the theme of dreams and illusion.

In its simplest form, the theme could transform any myth at all into a myth of illusion: At the end of any number of complex adventures, the god appears *ex machina* to say that it was all nothing but a dream. All is as it was at the beginning of the story—all, that is, but one's understanding of what the situation *was* at the beginning of the story. This is a motif that is known from other cultures (although not, one suspects, from any culture that could not have borrowed it from India). But in its more complex form, the theme of illusion is combined with the folk motif of the tale within a tale, the mechanism of Chinese boxes, with the peculiar Indian Möbius twist: The dreamers or tellers of tales are dreaming of one another, or the dreamer of the first in a series of nested dreams, one within the other, turns out to be a character inside the innermost dream in the series. Ultimately, the worshiper is dreaming into existence the god who is dreaming him into existence.

THE PANTHEON. This article has left until last the theme that is usually regarded as the meat and potatoes of mythology: the pantheon of gods and goddesses. These will all be treated separately elsewhere in this encyclopedia, so for this author it remains only to remark upon their interrelationships and the patterns of their interactions. The basic structure of the Indian pantheon might be viewed, appropriately enough in the home of *homo hierarchicus,* in terms of a decentralized hierarchy. At the center of the pantheon is a single god, or a godhead, recognized by most Hindus. They may refer to it (him/her) as the Lord (Īsvara), the One, the godhead (*brahman*), or by a number of other names of a generally absolute character. This godhead is then often identified with one of the great pan-Indian gods: Śiva, Viṣṇu, or the Goddess (Devī). The concept of a trinity consisting of Brahmā the creator, Viṣṇu the preserver, and Śiva the destroyer is entirely artificial, although it is often encountered in the writings of Hindus as well as Western scholars. If there is any functional trinity, it is the triangle of Śiva, who is married to Devī, who is the sister of Viṣṇu.

On the third level of differentiation, Viṣṇu may be worshiped in the form of one of his *avatāra*s (of which Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are by far the most popular), and Śiva may be worshiped in one of his "manifestations" or "playful appearances" on earth. Devī is often identified with a local goddess who brings as her dowry her own complex mythology. In general, local gods are assimilated to the pan-Indian pantheon through marriage, natural birth or adoption, or blatant identification: Durgā marries Śiva; Skanda is the natural son of Śiva; the demon Andhaka becomes Bhṛngin, the adopted son of Śiva; and Aiyanar *is* Skanda, a god by another name. These assimilations work in the upstream direction as well; the pan-Indian concept of the dancing Śiva probably originated in South India, and the erotic liaison of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in Bengal. Such cross-fertilizations result in gods and goddesses who are truly and literally multifaceted; their many heads and arms reflect not merely the many things that they are and can do, but the many places they have come from—and are heading toward.

At this point, the pantheon splinters into a kaleidoscope of images and tales that demonstrate how the one God became manifest right here, in Banaras or Gujurat or Madurai, how this particular temple or shrine became the center of the earth. For, like a hologram, the entire Indian mythological panorama is always present in its entirety in every single spot in the Indian world.

SEE ALSO Avatāra; Bhakti; Birds; Cosmology, articles on Hindu Cosmology, Jain Cosmology; Dharma, article on Hindu Dharma; Elephants; Horses; Karman; Mahābhārata; Māyā; Monkeys; Nāgas and Yakṣas; Purāṇas; Rāmāyaṇa; Saṃnyāsa; Snakes; Tapas; Varṇa and Jāti.

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INDIAN RELIGIONS: HISTORY OF STUDY

As is the case with other great traditions, the study of and interest in Indian religions cannot be described in terms of academic research alone; nor is it confined to the accumulation of factual information. It also involves questions of motivation, hermeneutic conditions, religious commitment, philosophical reflection, and interaction and dialogue between India and the West. It reflects the work and attitudes of missionaries and philologists, travelers and philosophers, anthropologists and theologians. It has roots and repercussions in the general trends and developments of Western science, religion, and philosophy. Its impact upon Indian as well as Western self-understanding is undeniable and still growing. More than other religions, Indian religions and specifically Hinduism are integrated into the totality of forms of culture and life, and to that extent, Indian studies in general have a direct or indirect bearing upon the religion of Hinduism. In such broad and comprehensive application, the term *religion* itself has become subject to questioning and reinterpretation.

BEGINNINGS OF INDOLOGICAL RESEARCH. Although institutionalized Indological research and systematic and organized study of Indian religions are not older than two centuries (initiated in part by the foundation in 1784 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and by the establishment in 1814 of the first chair for Indian studies at the University of Paris), the Western encounter with the Indian religious tradition was by no means an unexpected and unprepared event. Since the days of classical Greece, and in particular since the Indian campaign of Alexander the Great (327–325 BCE), there has been interest in and speculation about Indian wisdom and religion. On the one hand, such interest was nurtured by the idea that the origins of the Greek religious and philosophical tradition were to be found in the East; on the other hand, it may also have reflected a search for alternatives and correctives to the Greek tradition. In spite of this interest, however, verifiable contacts between West and East were rare; the linguistic and cultural barriers were usually insurmountable. Even Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador at the Maurya court in Pataliputra (today Patna, Bihar) from 302 to 291 BCE, was unable to explore Indian religion in its original textual sources. The rise of the Sassanid empire and then of Islam virtually precluded direct contacts between India and Europe for many centuries, and there was little more than a repetition and rearrangement of the materials inherited from Greek and Roman antiquity. However, a highly original and thorough study of India, based upon textual sources as well as travel experiences and accompanied by an unprecedented hermeneutic awareness, was produced in Arabic by the great Islamic scholar al-Bīrūnī (973–1051). But his work remained unknown in contemporary Europe, and even in medieval Islam it was a unique and somewhat isolated phenomenon.

The Portuguese explorers who reopened direct Western access to India (a development marked by Vasco da Gama's arrival in 1498 in the South Indian port city of Calicut) were motivated not by any interest in Indian religion or philosophy but by trade and missionary interests. Yet, the urge to teach and to proselytize turned out to be a powerful incentive to explore the contexts and conditions for spreading the Christian message. For several centuries, missionaries were the leading pioneers in the study of Indian languages and of Indian religious thought. Their greatest representative, Roberto de Nobili (1577–1656; active in Madurai, South India), learned Tamil and Sanskrit and acquired and unequaled knowledge of the Indian tradition. But his writings remained unpublished during his lifetime and were only recently rediscovered. The work of another missionary, Abraham Roger's Dutch-language *De opendeure tot het verborgen* *heydendom* (The open door to the hidden heathendom), published in 1651, was translated into other European languages and widely used as a sourcebook on Indian religion. The works of travelers like François Bernier and Jean-Baptiste Tavernier provided additional information.

The ideological movements of Deism and the Enlightenment opened new perspectives on India and on non-Christian religions in general. One characteristic argument (used, for example, by Voltaire) was that the basic ideas concerning God and religion are older, more original, and less deformed in the ancient cultures of Asia than in the Christian West. Similarly, a certain deistic openness toward a universal religion can be found in the works of two eighteenth-century British pioneers of the study of Hinduism, Alexander Dow and John Z. Holwell. Like them, the French scholar A.-H. Anquetil-Duperron (1731–1805) did not have direct access to Sanskrit; instead, his Latin version of fifty Upaniṣads, published in two volumes in 1801–1802 under the title *Oupnek'hat* and of seminal importance for the appreciation of Indian religious thought in continental Europe, was based upon a Persian translation (*Sirr-i Akbar,* 1657). Even William Jones (1746–1794), founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and one of the most influential pioneers of modern Indology, initially studied Persian before gaining access to the Sanskrit language. Charles Wilkins (1749–1836), the first English translator of the *Bhagavadgītā* (1785), and Henry Thomas Colebrooke (1765–1837), whose wide-ranging studies set new standards for Indian studies, continued the work of Jones. The general British attitude toward India was, however, under the impact of more practical interests, and, accordingly, it viewed Indian religion most often in its association with social, administrative, and political issues.

The situation was significantly different in continental Europe, and specifically in Germany, where the Romantic movement produced an unparalleled enthusiasm for ancient India, celebrated as the homeland of the European languages and of true religion and philosophy. German scholars contrasted the original spiritual purity and greatness of India with a progressive degeneration and obscuration in more recent times. In several cases, this enthusiasm led to a serious study of the original sources and to a more sober assessment; a certain disenchantment, for example, is documented in Friedrich Schlegel's classic *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier* (On the language and wisdom of the Indians, 1808). August Wilhelm Schlegel, who shared his brother's early enthusiasm, became the first professor of Indology in Germany (at the University of Bonn in 1818) and a pioneer in the philological treatment of Indian texts. The Romantic influence persisted to the time of F. Max Müller (1823–1900), a German-born leader of nineteenth-century Indology and at Oxford University an influential advocate of comparative religion and mythology. In general, the discovery of the Indian materials had a special, often decisive impact upon the development of comparative studies in the humanities.

CLASSICAL INDOLOGY. Textual and historical scholarship of the nineteenth century has laid the foundations for the current access to ancient and classical Indian sources. Dictionaries prepared during this period as well as catalogs of manuscripts and editions and translations of religious texts are still considered indispensable. Throughout the nineteenth century there was a particular fascination with the Vedas, the oldest religious literature of Hinduism, and especially with the *Ṛgveda.* The first complete editions of the *Ṛgveda* were prepared by F. Max Müller (1849–1874) and Theodor Aufrecht (1861–1863). Müller saw in it the origins and early developments of religion as such; his contemporary Rudolf Roth took a more philological approach. Interest in the vast ritualistic literature of the Brāhmaṇas remained more limited, and pioneering work was done by Albrecht Weber (1825–1901) and Willem Caland (1859–1932). For earlier scholars the Vedas had been primarily a record of Indo-European antiquity, and at the core of its religious impulse they had seen a mythology of natural forces. Subsequently, other dimensions of the Vedas were emphasized, and they were interpreted more specifically in their Indian context and with reference to later developments. Moreover, Western interest in the Vedic and Upaniṣadic texts further enhanced their reputation in India. Between 1816 and 1819 the Bengali reformer Ram Mohan Roy published Bengali and English translations of some of the Upaniṣads, which in Anquetil-Duperron's Latin version had already impressed European thinkers, most conspicuously Arthur Schopenhauer; Roy is an early example of an Indian author who contributed to the modern exploration and dissemination of ancient Indian religious documents. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, Schopenhauer's admirer Paul Deussen (1845–1919) made further significant contributions to the study of the Upaniṣads and to the Vedānta system, which is built upon the interpretation of the Upaniṣads.

The great epics the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* were studied as both religious and literary documents. In particular, the most famous episode of the *Mahābhārata,* the *Bhagavadgītā,* which was first translated into English by Charles Wilkins (1785) and has since appeared in numerous new translations and editions, has become in the present time the most popular piece of Indian religious poetry in the West. The Purāṇas, by contrast, attracted much less interest in spite of the outstanding efforts of H. H. Wilson (whose English translation of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* was published in 1840) and Eugène Burnouf (whose edition and French translation of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* was published 1840–1847; a French version based upon a Tamil version had been published in 1788). A full exploration of this vast literature has begun only in the twentieth century. Serious scholarly work on the Tantras has lagged behind still further and is still in its infancy. The collection and description of Tantric manuscripts begun by Rajendralal Mitra and others, and the editions and studies done in this area by John George Woodroffe (pseudonym, Arthur Avalon), the chief justice of Bengal, broke new ground. R. G. Bhandarkar's *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism* *and Minor Religious Systems* (1913) gave an authoritative summary of the information on sectarian Hinduism available at the time it was written.

Apart from his extensive Vedic studies and his contributions to other fields such as Brahmanic literature, Albrecht Weber laid the foundations for modern Jain studies, an area in which he was followed by scholars like Georg Bühler and Hermann Jacobi, who established the distinctive and extra-Vedic character of the Jain tradition. Another representative Indologist of the nineteenth century, Monier Monier-Williams (1819–1899), tried to combine textual learning with an understanding of living Hinduism and of practical missionary and administrative problems; this effort was visible, for example, in his work *Modern India and the Indians* (1878). By and large, popular Hinduism and the practical, institutional, or social dimensions of Indian religions were not among the topics of classical Indological research. Up to the beginning of the twentieth century, these phenomena were recorded principally by missionaries in accounts such as the controversial yet very influential report of Jean-Antoine Dubois entitled *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies* (1816, a translation of a French manuscript completed in 1805–1806). Further valuable information on social and religious life was provided by various gazetteers of India. Missionaries or scholars with missionary background also contributed richly to the study of religious literature in vernaculars, especially in South India, where they compiled most of the early dictionaries of Dravidian languages; and they produced as well the first accounts of the tribal religions of India, which are more or less outside the great scriptural traditions. The missionary J. N. Farquhar covered the whole range of Hindu religious literature in his still useful *Outline of the Religious Literature of India* (1920); his *Modern Religious Movements in India* (1915) is one of the first surveys of neo-Hinduism and related phenomena.

PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACHES TO INDIAN RELIGIONS. The results of Indological research have affected the thought of various Western theologians and philosophers. In turn, Western systems of thought have provided motivations and interpretive frameworks for the study of Indian religions or have even influenced Indological research directly. These influences are exemplified by three important nineteenth-century philosophers, namely, G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831), Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1860), and Auguste Comte (1798–1857).

Hegel rejects the Romantic glorification of India. Nonetheless, he is a careful witness of the beginnings of Indological research and deals with Indian religious thought and life in considerable detail. In Hegel's view, the way of the *Weltgeist* ("world spirit") leads from East to West. Eastern and in particular Indian thought represents an introductory and subordinate stage of development that has been transcended (*aufgehoben,* i.e., canceled, conserved, and exalted all at once) by the Christian European stage. The inherent and distinctive principle of Indian religion and philosophy (systems that Hegel sees as inseparable) is the orientation toward the unity of one underlying "substance." God is conceived of as pure substance or abstract being (*brahman*), in which finite beings are contained as irrelevant modifications. The individual human person has to subdue and extinguish individuality and return into the one primeval substance. In this light, Hegel tries to give a comprehensive and coherent interpretation of all phenomena of Indian life and culture and to establish the basically static, ahistorical character of the Indian tradition. Whatever the deficiencies of this interpretation may be, it has had a significant impact upon the treatment of India in the general histories of religion, and it has largely contributed to the long-lasting neglect of Indian culture in the historiography of philosophy.

Schopenhauer's association with Indian thought is much more familiar to Western readers than that of Hegel, and his attitude is conspicuously different. He does not accept any directedness or progression in history, and he can recognize insights and experiences of foreign and ancient traditions without having to subordinate them to the European standpoint. In the religious metaphysics of Vedānta and Buddhism he rediscovers his own views concerning the "world as will and representation" and the undesirability of existence, and he claims these traditions as allies against what he considers to be the errors and evils of the Judeo-Christian tradition, such as the belief in historical progress and in the uniqueness of the human person. He sees the Old Testament as a worldly book without the genuine sense of transcendence and of final liberation that he discovers in the Indian religious documents. In the New Testament he finds more to appreciate; his speculations that its teachings were influenced by Indian sources are not uncommon in the nineteenth century. He hopes that the Indological discoveries will initiate a "New Renaissance." While in fact this may not have happened, Schopenhauer's ideas nevertheless have stimulated much interest in Indian and comparative studies, though largely outside the academic world. Among the followers of Schopenhauer who contributed to the textual exploration of Indian religion and philosophy Paul Deussen remains the most outstanding example.

Comte does not show any noticeable interest in Indian thought, but his conception of "positive philosophy" and his programmatic ideas about transforming philosophy into sociology and anthropology (i.e., the systematic study of the human phenomenon) have set the stage for important developments in European, specifically French intellectual and scholarly life, such as the work of Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, Émile Durkheim, and Marcel Mauss in ethnology, sociology, and religious studies. In general, these writings have provided a broad ideological background for the anthropological and sociological study of religion. Paul Masson-Oursel's *La philosophie comparée* (1923; translated as *Comparative Philosophy,* 1926) reflects this tradition in its own way. By juxtaposing and comparing the "facts" of philosophical and religious thought in India, China, and Europe, Masson-Oursel tries to explore the full range of human potential and to discover the basic regularities of its development. Indeed, he presents himself as a disinterested cartographer of the human mind, an observer no longer attached to one particular cultural tradition or metaphysical viewpoint.

The three approaches just outlined remain exemplary and influential. There are, of course, numerous variants, as well as other, genuinely different approaches. Among the latter is a wide spectrum of attempts to find a common core or horizon of religiosity or a "transcendent unity of religions" (as proposed by Frithjof Schuon) or to approach the Indian tradition in the name of "religious experience" or "comparative mysticism" (as proposed by Rudolf Otto); another approach, with a psychological and agnostic emphasis, was taken by William James. Again, instead of Hegel's European self-confidence or the rigid Christian absolutism of such theologians as Karl Barth, there is now found a variety of more or less far-reaching ideas about encounter and dialogue, adaptation, and even synthesis. Among Catholic theologians, Karl Rahner has set new standards of openness toward other religions. Psychological or psychoanalytic methods and viewpoints have repeatedly been applied to the study of Indian religions, most conspicuously and influentially in the works of C. G. Jung and some of his followers. Other methodologies or ideologies, too, have had an explicit or implicit bearing upon the study of Indian religions; in particular, structuralist orientations have gained momentum. A Marxist interpretation of the Indian tradition exists as well, represented by Walter Ruben and others.

SCIENTIFIC CONTRIBUTIONS. The study of Indian religions by anthropologists and other social scientists is largely a phenomenon of the period after 1945. These studies rely principally on field investigations of living communities to generate their descriptions and models of Indian religions, and only indirectly on historical works or classical textual sources.

From their predecessors in the study of Indian religions, social scientists have inherited the following major questions about Indian religions. What is the nature and structure of the dominant religious traditions of India? What is the relationship between the legacy of norms, concepts, and beliefs contained in the great textual traditions of India and the day-to-day religious lives of its people? In what way does religion in India affect social structure (and, in particular, the caste system)? To what degree do the religions of India inhibit its economic development and vigor? Social scientists have inherited also a tendency to focus on Hinduism, the majority religion of the subcontinent, so that minority religions, including Islam, have till recently not been the focus of sustained research except insofar as they support or refute ideas about Hindu social forms.

In the period since 1945, social scientists trained principally in India, England, France, and the United States have translated these overarching questions into a series of more manageable ones about the functioning of religion at the village level of Indian society, addressing the following subjects: the ritual aspects of hierarchy in village life; the structure of the village pantheon; the links between social mobility and changed religious practices; the Hindu grammar of purity and pollution; indigenous ideas about power and authority; Indian explanations of fate, misfortune, and determinacy; and Hindu conceptions of space and time, death and liberation. Although much of this investigation has been conducted and communicated within the village framework, there has been throughout this period a concomitant countertradition of synthetic works that aim to capitalize on and generalize from these many local studies. The four decades after 1945 can, for expository convenience, be divided into three phases, which are sequentially discussed below. The following discussion focuses on major or representative works, approaches, and authors, rather than on more specialized, peripheral, or transient trends.

The first phase, which began in 1945, was dominated by the publication of *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India* by M. N. Srinivas (1952). In this study, Srinivas used the term *Sanskritization* to characterize a general mobility strategy that enabled Coorgs, and many other groups, either to enter the social fold of Hinduism or to rise within its hierarchy. This concept, which has been much invoked, debated, and refined since then, rested on the assumption of a critical historical, linguistic, and conceptual gap between local religious beliefs and customs and those of what Srinivas called "Sanskritic Hinduism," that is, the Hinduism of esoteric texts, literate priests, and cosmopolitan centers. This approach dovetailed very fortuitously with the ideas of the American anthropologist Robert Redfield regarding the difference between "great" and "little" traditions in peasant civilizations. Subsequently, an influential group of anthropologists centered at the University of Chicago set themselves to refining, synthesizing, and operationalizing the ideas of Redfield and of Milton Singer as they applied to Indian religions and society. A collection of essays edited by McKim Marriott and titled *Village India* (1955) signals the beginning of this trend, and Singer's *When a Great Tradition Modernizes* (1972) marks its zenith. This latter work also contains the most thorough anthropological critique available of Max Weber's influential thesis about the antagonism between caste ideology (with its Hindu assumptions) and modern capitalistic enterprise. This first phase, rooted in the empirical study of village religion, was dominated by the problem of reconciling village-level diversities with what were perceived as pan-Indian uniformities in religious belief and practice.

In the second phase, inaugurated by the publication of *Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and Its Implications* by Louis Dumont (1966; first English translation, 1970), this problem was largely replaced by a concern to analyze the conceptual core of Hinduism. Dumont, whose intellectual starting point was the opposition of pure and impure in Hindu thought (an opposition first remarked by Celestin Bougle, 1908), denied the conceptual gap between "great" and "little" traditions on the grounds of a shared conceptual scheme that animated Indian religious systems at all levels. He argued that the Hindu religious understanding of hierarchy was the philosophical basis of the caste system, and suggested that there was a radical incompatibility between approaches appropriate to the analysis of Western societies, which assume the axiomatic importance of equality and the individual, and those appropriate to the study of Indian society, with its cultural axiom of hierarchy—based on religiously defined purity—and its assumption of the priority of the social group. Dumont's work, in spite of its controversial qualities, has generated two decades of anthropological and sociological writing on India characterized by a concern with hierarchy, an almost exclusive focus on Hinduism, and a tilt toward the conceptual rather than the behavioral aspects of religious life in India.

Starting approximately in 1975, there has been a turning away from some of these larger debates and a return to more focused ethnographic and thematic investigations. Recent approaches have included anthropological analysis of both specific Hindu texts and textual traditions in an effort to learn of their cosmological assumptions; more systematic effort to investigate the local incarnations and involutions of dominant civilizational concepts; and a rediscovery of oral traditions, which, together with local performance genres, reveal important variations on civilizational themes and motifs. This most recent phase continues to explore traditional problems in the study of Indian religions, but makes more explicit and self-conscious use of methods and theories developed recently in folklore, linguistics, and philosophy. But perhaps the most promising recent trend has been the turn toward historical analyses of religious institutions, processes, and symbolic forms, a shift that has involved renewed dialogue between historians and anthropologists. This trend has produced a number of studies reminding researchers that Indian religions are not unchanging ways of expressing timeless truths.

RECENT TRENDS AND DEVELOPMENTS. There is no single spectacular work separating modern from traditional Indology; instead, there is continuation and expansion, combined with gradual changes in orientation. The tradition of classical Vedic scholarship has been continued by Heinrich Lüders, Louis Renou, Jan Gonda, and others; these scholars have also reexamined the problems of continuity and change between Vedic and Hindu India. The quantity of available source materials has increased rapidly, and more scholars of different geographical, cultural, and religious origins and disciplinary backgrounds participate now in the process of research, which is no longer a primarily European affair. In the United States, the tradition of classical Indology (first represented by scholars such as William Dwight Whitney and Maurice Bloomfield) continues to some extent; but the study of Indian religion is pursued more vigorously in the context of other disciplines and of so-called area studies in the university curriculum. In Japan, which adopted Western academic institutions and methods of research in the late nineteenth century, research interests have focused on Buddhism, but much significant work has been done also on the other religious traditions of India, primarily in the field of textual studies (by Ui Hakuju, Nakamura Hajime, and others). From the beginning of modern Indology, the participation of Indians as collaborators in the process of research and as interpreters of their own tradition has been indispensable. In the twentieth century, particularly since India's independence (1947), their role has become more active, and their growing presence at Western universities, specifically in North America, has had a significant impact upon the exploration and teaching of Indian religions. Indian scholars have not traditionally been attracted by historical and philological methods; yet certain massive projects necessitating such methods could be executed properly only in India. Such a project was the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata,* which was inspired by Western philologists but actually produced in India (by V. S. Sukthankar and others). More recently, Indians have begun a systematic textual exploration of the Purāṇas, Āgamas, and Tantras, and of the vast devotional and philosophical literature of the sectarian movements. Still, there is on their part some reluctance to devote serious scholarly attention to religious literature considered to have lesser theoretical status (such as the *māhātmya* literature) or written in a vernacular language. The wide field of connections between religious texts on the one side and art, architecture, and iconography on the other also remains an important area for further studies; scholars like Ananda K. Coomaraswamy and Stella Kramrisch have made stimulating, though to some extent controversial, contributions in this area.

Much work remains to be done in the study of Indian religions. A new area of research (and speculation) was opened during the 1920s by the archaeological discovery of the pre-Vedic Harappan civilization; the religious practices of this civilization and its connection with Vedic India are still open to question. The Vedas themselves are being approached in new and unorthodox ways, for example, in the *soma* studies of R. Gordon Wasson. The vastness of classical and later Sanskrit materials available for study is made evident by the New Catalogus Catalogorum (edited since 1949 by V. Raghavan, continued by K. Kunjunni Raja), a comprehensive listing of extant Sanskrit texts. In addition, the materials in Prakrit (specifically in Jainism) and numerous South and North Indian vernaculars still await comprehensive cataloging and exploration. These are particularly relevant for the study of sectarian and theistic movements, such as the South Indian Śaiva Siddhānta or Śrī Vaiṣṇava traditions; moreover, the increasing awareness of the details and inner differentiations of the Hindu tradition leads to new questions concerning its identity and coherence and its manifold and ambiguous relations to Buddhism and Jainism, but also to Islam, which has been present in India for more than a thousand years, and finally to Christianity. This emergent complexity has been an occasion for discussions concerning the meaning and applicability of the idea of tolerance in the Indian context. Furthermore, because of the pervasive role of religion in India, its study has to be based upon a wide variety of sources, including, for example, the Dharmaśāstras (law books); the work of such Dharmaśāstra scholars as P. V. Kane is immediately relevant for the study of Indian religion. More specifically, philosophical literature supplements religious literature because it is, with few exceptions, built upon religious foundations or motivated by religious goals; it also provides religious practices and ideas with a theoretical framework that at times challenges conventional Western understanding of such theological concepts as revelation, grace, or creation. Such interdependence gives the work of historians of Indian philosophy—for example, Surendranath Dasgupta—obvious importance for the study of Indian religion.

In the past few decades, the relationship of textual norms and theories to actual religious life has become an increasingly significant issue. A variety of nontextual approaches have been suggested to correct or supplement the understanding that can be gained from the texts alone. Combinations of textual and nontextual methods have been applied to such topics as the caste system, world renunciation, religious devotion (*bhakti*), and the doctrine of *karman* and rebirth in order to clarify not only their theoretical meaning but also their practical functions in the life of the Indian people. By means of such combined methods, local cults are correlated and contrasted with the standards of the great traditions; precept and practice, text and social context are investigated in their mutual relations. The pioneering works of Max Weber (1864–1920) continue to have an impact upon the sociological study of Indian religion. Anthropologists and other specialists have tried to construe theoretical frameworks to be applied to the textual-contextual continuum and to provide heuristic models for further research in this direction.

In a general and inevitably simplifying sense, it may be said that three basic attitudes dominate the current study of Indian religion:

(1) the historical and philological approach, which derives its data and its direction from the Indian texts themselves and is primarily interested in historical reconstruction;

(2) the sociological and anthropological approach, which tries to understand religious life in a functional manner, with reference to—or even directly in terms of—social, economic, ethnographic, political, and behavioral phenomena; and

(3) the more existentially or ideologically involved approaches, which find in the Indian religious tradition a genuine religious, philosophical, or theological challenge and which respond to it in the name of specific worldviews or religious convictions.

These three approaches are not mutually exclusive; they can be and have been combined with one another. Still, they represent clearly distinguishable types of scholarly interest and orientation.

Finally, the development of Indological studies in the West has had a remarkable influence on India's interpretation of its own traditions. Not only do Indians now participate in the Western study of their religious past, but they also respond to it and to the challenge of Western thought in general, thus opening a religious dialogue with potentially far-reaching implications. Traditional Indian thought had not previously sought such dialogue or shown interest in non-Indian traditions, and yet it has produced a rich heritage of debate and refutation, as well as of coordination and harmonization of different standpoints. But foreign religions, including Islam and Christianity, did not become part of this process until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when Hinduism opened itself to the impact of Western ideas and entered into a fundamentally new relationship with the non-Indian world. At that time, Ram Mohan Roy (1772–1833) and others initiated a movement of reform and modernization of Hinduism that combines apologetics and self-affirmation with reinterpretation, adaptation, and universalization.

Thus, Western ideas and terms have been used not only to interpret the Indian religious tradition to foreigners but also to articulate a new Indian self-understanding. Modern reinterpretations of such key concepts as *dharma* exemplify the ambiguity of India's reaction to the Western challenge and specifically to the Christian notion of religion. In response to missionary activities, Christianity and other religions have been readily incorporated into traditional Hindu schemes of concordance, where they appear as different approaches to the same goal or as preliminary stages on a path often seen as culminating in the philosophical religion of Advaita Vedānta. In this context, "comparative religion" has found many advocates in India; similarly, against the Hegelian subordination of Asian thought to that of the West, Brajendranath Seal (1864–1938) formulated his program of "comparative philosophy." In general, there has been a tendency to respond to science and technology and to Western political domination by invoking religion and spirituality, which have been presented as genuinely Indian phenomena by such successful advocates of neo-Hinduism as Vivekananda (1863–1902; represented Hinduism at the World Parliament of Religions, Chicago, 1893). The concept of religious experience plays a crucial role in the modern self-presentation of Hinduism in the West. In increasing numbers, Indian scholars, teachers, gurus, and founders of syncretistic movements have come to the West and contributed to a growing awareness of the Indian religious tradition. At the same time, these developments are themselves continuations and transformations of the tradition, and they are a legitimate topic of study and research. Among those who have contributed to the scholarly and critical evaluation of Neo-Hinduism, Paul Hacker (1913–1979) ought to be mentioned especially.

The hermeneutic and religious position of neo-Hinduism is still problematic and tentative and has had difficulties in finding an adequate language for presenting the Indian religious tradition to the modern world. Accordingly, the situation of the religious dialogue between India and the West is still precarious. Nonetheless, the fact that the Indian religious tradition is no longer just an object of Western study but now speaks back to the West, questioning some of the very basic presuppositions of Western historical research, is in itself a highly significant event. It affects not only the modern Western perception of India but also the religious and philosophical situation of the modern world.

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INDO-EUROPEAN RELIGIONS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
HISTORY OF STUDY

INDO-EUROPEAN RELIGIONS: AN OVERVIEW

The study of Indo-European religion has a relatively recent origin, for the very existence of the Indo-European language grouping was not recognized until a celebrated lecture given by Sir William ("Oriental") Jones in 1786. Speaking to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Jones first observed that there were striking philological similarities between Greek, Latin, Sanskrit (the ancient language of India), and Persian, too numerous and precise to be explained by simple borrowing or chance. Going further, he suggested that the Celtic and Germanic languages exhibited many of the same features and argued that all of these geographically and historically far-flung languages were best understood as separate derivates of a common parent language, a language nowhere preserved in written form, but which might be reconstructed through systematic comparison of the derivate stocks.

Later research has confirmed the relations among these languages, adding not only Germanic and Celtic firmly to the family now known as Indo-European but also Baltic, Slavic, Armenian, Albanian, Anatolian (chiefly Hittite), and Tokharian (an obscure language found in western China and Turkestan). Rigorous and systematic comparison of words in these various languages has permitted scholars to posit numerous prototypes as a means to explain the systematic resemblances that have been adduced. As a simple example of how this is done one might consider certain words for "god," assembling a set of correspondences (to which other reflexes might be added) as shown in table 1.

From these correspondences, along with the knowledge of Indo-European phonetics gained from hundreds of other such comparisons, linguists can reconstruct a prototype **deywo-s* (the asterisk denotes a reconstructed form unattested in any written source), which means "god, deity." Phonetic rules explain the various sound shifts in each language, but one must also note semantic changes in certain stocks, each of which is instructive for the history of the corresponding religion. Thus, for instance, the old word for "god" has become the most important word for demonic beings in Avestan (the Iranian language in which the most ancient Zoroastrian scriptures were composed), a transformation that seems to originate in the prophet Zarathushtra's renunciation of the old Indo-Iranian pantheon.

The Greek reflex of **deywo-s* has also lost its sense as "deity," being replaced in this usage by *theos.* The older term survives as an adjective, however, which reveals one of the fundamental attributes of deity in Indo-European thought: gods are celestial beings, characterized by light, for the word **deywo-s* (whence the Greek *dios,* "celestial") is derived from a verb that means "to shine." In contrast, one of the most important words for "human" identifies people as "terrestrial" beings (note the relation of the Latin *homo,* "man," and *humus,* "soil"), while humans and deities are further contrasted in other terminology that identifies them as "mortals" and "immortals" respectively.

This relatively simple example reveals some of the possibilities and some of the pitfalls of research into Indo-European religion. Careful examination of lexical items provides insight into the nature of thought on religious topics. But each of the separate Indo-European families differs from the other families in important regards, and just as Latin phonology differs from Iranian phonology for all that they are related (to cite but one example), so Roman religion is not identical to Iranian: a *deus* is not the same thing as a *daēva.*

Reconstruction that proceeds along linguistic lines is relatively safe, however, compared to research that seeks out correspondences in the myths, rituals, laws, cosmologies, and eschatologies of the various Indo-European peoples and that attempts to recover their hypothetical antecedents. Such research is possible, to be sure, but in all instances it is extremely risky and difficult, involving the adducement of parallel phenomena (usually called "correspondences" or "reflexes") attested in the religions of several different Indo-European families; the study of each reflex in its cultural specificity; the isolation of those features that the scattered reflexes hold in common; the explanation of those features that diverge (often called "transformation"); and the positing of a hypothetical prototype that is capable of accounting for evident similarities, along with a train of historical development that explains the forces producing each transformation. Finally, the reconstructed prototype ought to be set within a plausible set of assumptions regarding the nature of Indo-European culture in general.

Based on linguistic and archaeological research, the ancient Indo-European peoples are generally considered to have been semisettled pastoralists, whose wealth consisted of relatively large herds, including domesticated sheep, pigs, goats, and, most important, cattle. Horses were also highly significant, especially when yoked to chariots and used in warfare, but cattle remained the normal draft animals for peaceful purposes, the source of most foods, and the fundamental measure of wealth. Some agriculture seems to have been practiced, although this was much less important and prestigious an activity than herding or war. The pursuit of warfare, especially the raiding of livestock from neighboring peoples, was facilitated not only by use of chariots but also by an elaborate weaponry built on a single metal, probably copper or bronze.

Linguistic data are insufficient to posit the existence of either a homeland or a proto-Indo-European community, and it is possible to view the similarity of the various Indo-European languages as the cumulative result of complex borrowings, influences, and cultural interrelations between multiple social and ethnic groups over many centuries. Some scholars have sought to employ archaeological evidence to demonstrate a specific point of origin for proto-Indo-European society. Of such theories, the most widely accepted is that of Marija Gimbutas, who has delineated what she calls the Kurgan culture, dating to the middle of the fifth millennium BCE and located in the southern Russian steppes, in the area that stretches from the Urals to the land north of the Black Sea, and including such groups as the Jamna culture of the Ural-Volga region north of the Caspian and the Srednii Stog II culture north of the Black Sea.

MYTHIC LEGITIMATIONS OF SOCIETY, ECONOMY, AND POLITY. Comparison of texts in which are described the patterns of social organization among the Indian, Iranian, and Celtic peoples reveals a common structure, which is also preserved in the ideal republic envisioned by Plato. This system is characterized by the distinction of three hierarchically differentiated classes—or "functions," as they are called by Georges Dumézil (1958), who was first to recognize their importance. Moreover, it is possible to reconstruct a number of myths that describe the origin of these classes, their nature, and their sometimes problematic interrelationships.

Most important of these is the creation myth, a complex, polyphonic story that told how the world was created when the first priest (often bearing the name Man, *Manu) offered his twin brother, the first king (often named Twin, *Yemo), in sacrifice, along with the first ox. From Twin's body, the world was made, in both its material and social components. Portions of two reflexes of this myth may conveniently be cited: the first, from the Indic "Song of Purusa" (*Ṛgveda* 10.90.11–14) dates to about 900 BCE; the second, the Old Russian *Poem on the Dove King,* is mentioned in sources dating to the thirteenth century CE and was still circulating orally in the nineteenth century:

When they divided Purusa, how many pieces did they prepare?
What was his mouth? What are his arms, thighs, and feet called?
The priest was his mouth, the warrior was made from his arms;
His thighs were the commoner, and the servant was born from his feet.
The moon was born of his mind; of his eye, the sun was born;
From his mouth, Indra and fire; from his breath, wind was born;
From his navel there was the atmosphere; from his head, heaven was rolled together;
From his feet, the earth; from his ears, the directions.

Our bright light comes from the Lord,
The red sun from the face of God,
The young shining moon from his breast,
The bright dawn from the eyes of God,
The sparkling stars from his vestments,
The wild winds from the Holy Spirit.
From this our little Tsars are on earth—
From the holy head of Adam;
From this princes and heroes come into being—
From the holy bones of Adam;
From this are the orthodox peasants—
From the holy knee of Adam.

Language	Phonetic Form	Semantic Sense
Latin	*deus*	"deity"
Lithuanian	*diēvas*	"deity"
Greek	*dios*	"celestial"
Hittite	^{d}*Šiuš*	"deity"
Sanskrit	*deváḥ*	"deity"
Avestan	*daēva*	"damon"

TABLE 1. Indo-European words for "God"

Although this article shall return to the cosmic dimensions of this myth, it is its social contents that are of concern now. Among these, the following four should be noted:

(1) Society consists of vertically stratified classes, with priests or sovereigns in the first position, warriors in the second, and commoners—those entrusted with the bulk of productive labor—in the third. To these, a fourth class of relative outsiders—servants, or the like—was sometimes added, as in the Indian example cited above.

(2) The characteristic activity of each of these classes is explained and chartered by the part of Twin's body from which they originated. Thus, the intellectuals who direct society by exercise of thought and speech come from his head; those who defend society by their physical prowess come from his chest (heart) and arms; those who produce food, reproduce, and provide material support for the other classes come from the lower body, including belly, loins, legs, and feet.

(3) The priest, following the model of Man, has as his prime responsibility the performance of sacrifice, sacrifice being the creative act *par excellence.*

(4) The king, following the model of Twin, combines within himself the essence of all social classes and is expected to sacrifice himself for the good of the whole.

Another myth, which has as its central character the first warrior, whose name was Third (*Trito), provided an analysis of the warrior class. Within this story, it was related that cattle originally belonged to Indo-Europeans but were stolen by a monster, a three-headed serpent who was, moreover, specifically identified as a non-Indo-European. Following this theft, it fell to Third to recover the stolen cattle, and he began his quest by invoking the aid of a warrior deity to whom he offered libations of intoxicating drinks. Having won the god's assistance, and himself fortified by the same intoxicant, Third set forth, found the serpent, slew him, and recovered the cattle, which had been imprisoned by the monster.

This myth, which is attested in more reflexes than any other (its traces are still apparent in countless fairy tales), speaks to the eternal themes of wealth and power. It asserts, first, that cattle—the means of production and of exchange in the most ancient Indo-European societies—rightly belong exclusively to Indo-Europeans, falling into other hands only as the result of theft. Theft is condemned here because of its reliance on stealth and treachery, and it is set in contrast to raiding, which—far from being condemned—is heartily endorsed. Raiding emerges as a heroic action sanctioned by the gods, hedged with ritual, and devoted to regaining what rightfully belongs to the Indo-European warrior or his people. Throughout Indo-European history, Third in his various reflexes has remained the model for warriors, who repeatedly cast themselves in his image—raiding, plundering, and killing their non-Indo-European neighbors, convinced all the while that they were engaged in a sacred and rightful activity.

Yet another myth emphasized the importance of the commoner class to the social totality, although no individual heroic figure was provided as a model for commoners. Rather, the myth begins with separation and even hostility existing between the generalized representatives of the upper classes and those of the commoners. After an inconclusive struggle, however, members of all classes recognize their need for one another, and they merge into a larger, all-encompassing society. Thereafter the classes are expected to cooperate and live harmoniously, although the commoners continue to occupy a subordinate position, a considerable portion of their labor being diverted for the support of the noble classes of priests, warriors, and kings. At the level of mythic ideology, however, if not of actual social process, commoners were assured of their superiority to even the most privileged members of society, for an important set of myths, recently studied by Cristiano Grottanelli, focused on the conflict of a humble woman who was the mother of twins (thus signifying abundant reproductive power) with a king's horses (the emblem of martial and royal power), in which the lowly woman emerged victorious.

COSMOLOGY AND THE GODS. While Georges Dumézil and his followers have consistently argued that the Indo-European pantheon mirrored the organization of social classes, other scholars have at times been skeptical of this view. Chief among its difficulties is the fact that Dumézil's proposals include none of the gods for whom names can be linguistically reconstructed, all of whom are personified natural phenomena—Shining Sky (*Dyeus), Sun (*Swel), Dawn (*Ausos), and so forth—while reconstructible names exist for none of the deities he proposes.

In general, as noted above, deities were characterized as radiant celestial beings. In addition to the **deywo-s,* however, there was another class of divinities associated with the waters beneath the earth's surface and with darkness. These deities—whose names were regularly formed with the preposition signifying downward motion (**ne-,* as in Latin *Neptunus,* Greek *Nēreus,* Germanic *Nerthus,* Sanskrit *Nirṛti*)—figure in myths that are nothing so much as meditations on the interconnections between "above" and "below," involving immergence into and emersion out of the world ocean, as has recently been demonstrated by Françoise Bader.

Speculation on the nature of the cosmos also forms an important part of the creation myth, the social contents of which was touched on above. It must be noted, however, that beyond this social discourse, the myth established a series of homologic relations between parts of the human body and parts of the physical universe—that is to say, an extended parallelism and consubstantiality was posited between the microcosm and the macrocosm. Many texts thus tell of the origin of the sun from the eyes of the first sacrificial victim, stones from his bones, earth from his flesh, wind from his breath, and so forth, while others invert the account—as for instance, in the following medieval accounts, the first Germanic and the second Slavic:

> God made the first man, that was Adam, from eight transformations: the bone from the stone, the flesh from the earth, the blood from the water, the heart from the wind, the thoughts from the clouds, the sweat from the dew, the locks of hair from the grass, the eyes from the sun, and he blew in the holy breath. (from the Old Frisian *Code of Emsig*)

> And thus God made man's body out of eight parts. The first part is of the earth, which is the lowliest of all parts. The second is of the sea, which is blood and wisdom. The third is of the sun, which is beauty and eyes for him. The fourth is of the celestial clouds, which are thought and weakness. The fifth is of the wind—that is, air—which is breath and envy. The sixth is of stones, that is, firmness. The seventh is of the light of this world which is made into flesh, that is humility and sweetness. The eighth part is of the Holy Spirit, placed in men for all that is good, full of zeal—that is the foremost part. (from the Old Russian *Discourse of the Three Saints*)

In these and other texts the elements of the physical universe are converted into the constituent parts of a human body, as cosmogony (a story of the creation of the cosmos) becomes anthropogony (a story of the creation of humankind). In truth, cosmogony and anthropogony were regarded as separate moments in one continuous process of creation, in which physical matter eternally alternates between microcosmic and macrocosmic modes of existence. Bones thus become stones and stones become bones over and over again, matter and change both being eternal, while the body and the universe are only transient forms, alternate shapes of one another.

RITUAL ACTION. The myths that have been under consideration were closely correlated with and regularly represented in numerous ritual forms. Thus, the creation myth was inextricably connected to sacrifice, the most important of all Indo-European rites. Insofar as the first priest created the world through the performance of a sacrifice in which a man and an ox were the victims, so each subsequent priest recreated the cosmos by sacrificing humans or cattle. This was accomplished through manipulation of the homologies of macrocosm and microcosm, such that when the victim was dismembered, its material substance was transformed into the corresponding parts of the universe. Thus, for example, an Indic manual of ritual practice, the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (2.6), provides instructions for the sacrificial dismemberment of an animal victim in terms drawn directly from the creation myth:

> Lay his feet down to the north. Cause his eye to go to the sun. Send forth his breath to the wind, his life-force to the atmosphere, his ears to the cardinal points, his flesh to the earth. Thus, the priest places the victim in these worlds.

Without this matter drawn from the bodies of sacrificial victims all the items of the material world—earth, stones, sun, wind, water, and the like—would become depleted; it is only because they are replenished in sacrifice that the cosmos continues to exist.

If sacrifice is thus a sort of "healing" of the cosmos based on principles articulated in the creation myth, medical practice was also based on the same principles and bears a curious relation to sacrifice. For if in sacrifice the priest shifted matter from the body to the universe, then in the healing of a broken limb—as attested in the famous Second Merseberg Charm and corresponding materials throughout the Indo-European world—the healer took matter from the universe and restored it to a broken body, creating new flesh, bones, blood, and the like out of earth, stones, and water.

Royal investiture was based on yet another elaboration of ideas contained within the creation myth, as is suggested by the researches of Daniel Dubuisson. Investigating accounts of ancient "coronation" rituals in Ireland and India, he has shown that a king was ritually constructed by having the essential properties of the three Indo-European social classes placed within his body, symbolic gifts, clothing, unctions, and the like being employed toward this end.

Other rituals were closely related to the myth of Third. Embarking on cattle raids—which were raised to the status of a sacred act as a result of this mythic charter—Indo-European warriors invoked the assistance of martial deities, poured libations, partook of intoxicating drinks, and aspired to states of ecstatic frenzy. Moreover, each young warrior had to pass through certain initiatory rituals before he attained full status as a member of the warrior class. Regularly his first cattle raid was something of a rite of passage for the young warrior, and other initiations were consciously structured on the myth of Third and the serpent. It appears that in some of these, a monstrous tricephalous dummy was constructed, and the initiand was forced to attack it. If able to summon up the necessary courage to do so, he discovered that his seemingly awesome opponent was only a joke, with the implicit lesson that all of his future enemies, however fearsome they might seem, would be no more formidable than this dummy. Those enemies, of course, were to be cast in the role of the serpent—a monster, a thief, and, what is most important, an alien (i.e., a non-Indo-European)—the plunder and murder of whom was established by myth as not only a rightful but also a sacred act.

While the use of intoxicants was an important part of warrior ritual, these had other applications as well. The oldest Indo-European intoxicating beverage was mead, later followed by beer, wine, and a pressed drink known as *soma* to the Indians and *haoma* to the Iranians; the symbolism and ideology surrounding all of these remained relatively constant. In all instances, the drink appears as a heightener of abilities and activities. When consumed by a priest, it increases his powers of vision and insight. Similarly, it makes a poet more eloquent, a warrior more powerful, a king more generous and just.

A large group of rituals served to forge bonds of community and to cement important social relations. Extremely important in this regard were certain formalized reciprocal obligations, including hospitality and gift exchange, whereby individuals, lineages, and even larger units were brought into repeated contact and friendly interchange. Marriage also must be considered as a prolonged exchange relationship between social groups, given the predominant preference for exogamy. An individual marriage was thus as much a part of an ongoing exchange between lineages or clans as it was a permanent bond between two individuals.

Verbal rituals—including those of vow, oath, and treaty—played a highly important part in the establishment and preservation of social bonds; accordingly, truth and fidelity were cardinal virtues. Initially, this must be related to the lack of literacy among the most ancient Indo-European peoples, a state of affairs that also contributed to the high development of verbal art (epic poetry, for instance) and mnemonic techniques. But even after the introduction of writing among the scattered Indo-European peoples, a marked preference for the oral transmission of religious lore remained, for the spoken word was perceived as a live vehicle, in contrast to the dead written letter, and was preferred accordingly.

If verbal rituals could serve to establish social connectedness, they could also be used to sunder unwanted connections, as is attested in a formula of outlawry that survives in Hittite and Germanic reflexes, the former dating to 1600 BCE. Here, particularly disreputable individuals (an abductor and murderer in the first instance, a grave robber in the second) are told "You have become a wolf" and "May he be a wolf" respectively, the wolf being the most feared predator of pastoral societies, a dangerous outsider ever to be kept at bay. Ironically, however, it was not only outlaws who were regarded as wolves, for Indo-European warriors also styled themselves wolflike beings, as is attested by the many ethnic names derived from the word for "wolf" (thus the Luvians, Lykians, Hirpini, Luceres, Dacii, Hyrcanii, and Saka Haumavarka), personal names so formed (Wolfram, Wolfhart, Wolfgang), and the Greek term *lussa* ("rabies, wolfish rage"), which denotes the highest pitch of fury attained by heroes such as Achilles and Hector in the *Iliad.* Apparently what legitimated the wolfish violence of these heroes is that it was directed outside the community of Indo-Europeans, in contrast to that of outlaws, which was directed internally, an inference that is supported by the fascinating name of a heroic warrior attested in the *Ṛgveda:* Dasyave Vṛka, "wolf to the Dasyu," that is, to the non-Indo-European.

DEATH, RESURRECTION, AND ESCHATOLOGY. A central issue in Indo-European religions, as in most religions, was what becomes of an individual after death. Although several scholars have devoted attention to certain details of funerary ideology, the full nature of Indo-European thought on this topic remains to be worked out. Among the major contributions thus far are the studies of Hermann Güntert (1919), who showed that there was a goddess *Kolyo ("the coverer") whose physical form incarnated the mixture of fascination and horror evoked by death, for she was seductively beautiful when seen from the front, while hiding a back that was repulsive—moldy and worm-eaten—in the extreme. Paul Thieme (1952) has also contributed an important study of the view of death as a reunion with departed ancestors, and Kuno Meyer (1919) has shown that in Ireland as in India it was the first mortal (*Yemo, the twin) who founded the otherworld.

If ideas regarding the fate of the soul are unclear—no reconstructible word approximates the semantic range of the English *soul,* the nearest equivalent being a term for "life-breath"—those on the fate of the body are extremely precise and reveal a remarkable religious content. For death is seen as the last sacrifice that an individual can offer, in which his or her own body is itself the offering. Moreover, that body is transformed into the elements of the physical universe, just as were those of Twin at the time of creation, each death being not only a sacrifice but a representation of the cosmogonic sacrifice. Such a view is preserved, for instance, in Euripides' *The Suppliant Women:*

> Let the corpses now be covered with the earth,
> From which each of them came forth to the light
> Only to go back thither: breath to the air
> And body to earth. (531–534)

Or in the funeral hymn of the *Ṛgveda:*

> Your eye must go to the sun. Your soul must go to the wind. You must go to the sky and the earth, according to what is right.
> Go to the waters, if you are placed there. You must establish the plants with your flesh. (10.16.3)

This is not a final fate, however, for it would seem that nothing within the cosmos was perceived as final. Just as cosmogony was seen to alternate with anthropogony, so also death and resurrection. That matter that assumes its cosmic form when one specific human body dies will once again assume bodily form when that specific cosmos itself dies, as must inevitably happen. Greek, Germanic, and Indo-Iranian evidence permits reconstruction of a temporal scheme involving four world ages, the first of which is most pure and stable, followed by ages in which human virtue and the very order of the cosmos gradually break down. At the end of the fourth world age, there is an apocalyptic collapse, followed by the creation of a new, pure, and regenerated world. One of the cardinal features of the eschatological destruction of the cosmos, however, is the resurrection of the dead, their bodies being formed out of the material substance freed when the cosmos falls apart. The new creation that follows is then in most versions accomplished with an initial act of sacrifice. Descriptions of the resurrection are preserved, *inter alia,* in the *Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādistān i dīnīg,* a Zoroastrian text of the ninth century CE, and in Plato's *Politicus:*

> [In order to accomplish the resurrection] Ohrmazd summons the bone from the earth, the blood from the water, the hair from the plants, and the life from the wind. He mixes one with the other, and in this manner, he keeps on creating. (*Pahlavi Rivayat* 48.98–107)

> When the transition of the old people to the nature of a child is completed, it follows that those lying [dead] in the earth are put back together there and brought back to life, the process of birth being reversed with the reversal of the world's rotation. (*Politicus* 271b)

Behind these formulations stand several very simple, yet very profound, principles: (1) matter is indestructible; (2) matter is infinitely transmutable; (3) living organisms and the physical universe are composed of one and the same material substance; (4) time is eternal. While change is thus constant, it is also meaningless, for nothing that is essentially real is ever created or destroyed. Worlds come and go, as do individuals of whatever species, but being—material being—is always there.

The gods are also subject to the same rhythms of dissolution and reemergence, but in truth the gods seem to have been of much less concern than mythic ancestors such as Man, Twin, and Third. Certain statements made above, however, must be corrected in light of what has just been said about the nature of time and the cycles of creation and destruction. For whereas this article initially called these figures the "first" king, priest, and warrior respectively, it must now be concluded that they were merely the first of the current world age, time and the world receding infinitely into the past as well as stretching eternally into the future.

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INDO-EUROPEAN RELIGIONS: HISTORY OF STUDY

Strictly speaking, the history of comparative Indo-European studies begins in the late eighteenth century as a direct result of the momentous discovery that the ancient languages now classified as "Indo-European" (e.g., Latin, classical Greek, Sanskrit, Old English, Old Persian, Old Icelandic, Old Church Slavonic, Old Irish, Hittite, etc.) all stemmed ultimately from a common source, that is, Proto-Indo-European. As shall be seen, it soon became apparent that the speakers of these languages, which can be considered along with their progeny as members of a grand "family" of languages, shared more than simply a common linguistic heritage, and that among the most important features of this extralinguistic, Indo-European heritage was a common body of religious beliefs and practices.

To be sure, the taproots of the discipline can be traced back to classical antiquity, to the theories of Euhemerus (fl. 300 BCE) and other Greek and Roman scholars who attempted to come to grips with the origin and meaning of myth. It is also possible to trace the immediate source of the ideas that flowered in the nineteenth century to the ideas of such eighteenth-century precursors as Bernard de Fontenelle (1657–1757), Giovanni Battista Vico (1668–1744), and Charles de Brosses (1709–1777), who first suggested that a search for natural metaphors might be preferable to the traditional euhemeristic and allegorical approaches that had heretofore been the rule. These ideas may also be traced as well to that curious (albeit all-pervasive) philosophical, literary, and artistic movement called Romanticism, adumbrated in the works of J. G. Herder (1744–1803), which profoundly influenced most of the scholars who first began to conceive of a distinctly Indo-European religious tradition in the early nineteenth century. But these ideas belong properly to the general history of comparative mythology and religion; for the purposes of this article, the survey begins with the discovery of the Indo-European language family.

DISCOVERY OF THE INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGE FAMILY. Until the last quarter of the eighteenth century, most theories about the nature and origin of language were grounded in philosophical speculation, much of it centering on the idea of degeneration. Thus, the primordial language was often held to be Hebrew, since it must have been spoken in the Garden of Eden. Following the ancient notion of degeneration from an assumed "Golden Age," many writers on the subject maintained that Greek was a degenerate form of Hebrew, Latin a degenerate form of Greek, and that the modern languages of Europe were all degenerate offspring of Latin.

However, thanks to the voyages of discovery and the rapid expansion in European awareness of the range and diversity of human languages, and impelled by the romantic emphasis on national origins, which effectively precluded the notion that all languages were necessarily descended from Hebrew, scholars had begun to suspect that the degeneration hypothesis, whether secular or religious, was inadequate to explain the historical relationships among languages. Nowhere was this more obvious than in India, which, by the latter part of the eighteenth century, had become in effect the private preserve of the British East India Company. As European awareness of this vastly complex region deepened, it became clear that Sanskrit, the ancient language of the Hindu sacred texts, occupied a position in religious and literary affairs similar to that occupied by Latin in Europe during the Middle Ages. Indeed, several scholars, beginning with Filippo Sassetti in 1600, had remarked on the curious similarities between Latin and Sanskrit, but these similarities defied explanation in terms of the "degeneration hypothesis," as Sanskrit was patently as ancient as either Latin or classical Greek. Furthermore, the modern languages of North India—Hindi, Bengali, and the rest—seemed to bear the same immediate relationship to Sanskrit as French, Spanish, Italian and other members of what later came to be called the Romance languages did to Latin.

The problem was finally solved in 1786 by William Jones (1746–1794), who is generally considered the founder of scientific linguistics. An amateur philologist (he was reputed to have been fluent in some twenty-two languages), Jones had recently been appointed chief justice of the East India Company's establishment at Calcutta, and in his off-hours he immediately set about learning Sanskrit. In September 1786, at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, he gave an after-dinner speech in which, for the first time, the idea of the language family was first clearly articulated. As Jones saw it, the relationship among Sanskrit and the ancient languages of Greece and Rome, as well as those spoken by the ancient Germans and Iranians, was that of a set of orphaned siblings: all were descended from a common parent language that had long since disappeared. That parent language, however, might be reconstructed by rigorously comparing the grammars and lexicons of these attested languages. The whole ensemble could be described as a family tree, one to which Hebrew, Arabic, and other Semitic languages did not belong, for they were members of another, wholly distinct language family.

Thus was born both comparative philology and the idea of the Indo-European language family. Although Jones himself never followed up his monumental discovery, others soon did, and by the beginning of the third decade of the next century the science of comparative philology, together with the discipline now referred to as comparative Indo-European religious studies, was well under way.

Almost from the outset, the practitioners of this new science, almost all of them steeped in romantic idealism, found themselves confronted by more than simply a set of linguistic similarities. The primary source materials—the *Ṛgveda,* the *Mahābhārata,* the *Iliad,* the Iranian Avesta, the Icelandic Eddas, and so forth—were religious and/or mythological texts, and it soon became apparent that the gods, heroes, rituals, and events described in these texts could be compared using the same basic methodology that Jones and others had developed, that is, the *comparative method,* which is predicated on the assumption that anterior stages and/or prototypes can be systematically reconstructed from attested evidence, linguistic or otherwise. Thus, comparative mythology, and especially comparative Indo-European mythology, rapidly took its place as a sister discipline of comparative philology.

EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY. As might be expected, many early nineteenth-century scholars, even those who were not directly concerned with Indo-European linguistic studies, had something to say about various aspects of the newly discovered parallels among the several Indo-European pantheons. This was especially true in Germany, where romantic concern with the origins of the *Volk* (German and otherwise) had become almost a national passion. Thus, Karl O. Müller (1797–1840) and G. F. Creuzer (1771–1858) drew heavily, albeit selectively, upon the linguistic evidence in their attempts to reconstruct the prototypes of Greek and other Indo-European gods and heroes. Even the philosopher G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831), in whose works Romantic idealism reached the apex of its development, seems to have been strongly influenced by the new comparativism, and, as Richard Chase puts it, "longed for a 'polytheism in art' and imagination, a plastic and mythological philosophy" (*Quest for Myth,* 1949, p. 39).

Most of the pioneer philologists, among them Franz Bopp (1791–1867), Friedrich Schlegel (1772–1829), and Rasmus Rask (1787–1832), also made important contributions to comparative Indo-European mythological and religious studies. In many respects, the most distinguished member of this group was Jacob Grimm (1785–1863), who, with his brother Wilhelm (1786–1859), was responsible for amassing the great collection of tales that bears their name. However, Jacob Grimm was more than a mere collector of folk tales; he was also a preeminent philologist, and in 1823 he articulated the principle that later came to be known as "Grimm's law," which firmly established the phonological connections among Latin, Greek, and the ancient Germanic languages. His most important single contribution to Indo-European religious studies was a two-volume work entitled *Deutsche Mythologie* (1835). In it he developed the thesis that the *Märchen* he and his brother had collected were the detritus of pre-Christian Germanic mythology. This argument is bolstered by a host of etymologies, as well as comparisons to other Indo-European traditions. A good example of the latter is Grimm's suggestion that the ancient Scandinavian account of a war between the gods (Óðinn, Vili, and Vé) and an earlier generation of giants (Ymir et al.) is cognate to the Greek Titanomachy, or the war between the Olympians and the Titans (that is, between Zeus and his siblings and the supernatural beings of the previous generation, led by Kronos).

Elsewhere in Europe and in America interest in mythology, if not exclusively Indo-European mythology, also ran high. In Britain, for example, most of the Romantic poets—Wordsworth, Coleridge, Blake, Shelley, Keats, Byron, and others—drew extensively upon mythological themes; and

Thomas Bulfinch's *The Age of Fable* (1855) popularized the study of mythology like no other work before it. Thus, by the middle of the nineteenth century, the science of comparative philology had reached maturity, interest in mythology and the history of religions had become widespread, and the stage was set for the appearance of the first grand paradigm in the history of Indo-European religious studies.

THE FIRST GRAND PARADIGM: F. MAX MÜLLER AND THE NATURISTS. In his seminal book, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1970), the eminent philosopher of science Thomas S. Kuhn makes a persuasive case for the proposition that all scientific knowledge expands in what amounts to an ascending and ever-widening spiral. In its earliest stages a new discipline necessarily finds itself groping for a central focus, for an overarching model in terms of which theories can be generated. Eventually, however, thanks to the efforts of a few scholars, a breakthrough is made, and there emerges a grand paradigm, which not only organizes the knowledge heretofore gained, but by its very nature generates a host of new discoveries and/or interpretations. The emergence of such a paradigm is revolutionary in its impact, and constitutes a quantum leap forward in the history of a discipline.

Kuhn, of course, focuses his attention upon the growth of the physical sciences, which so far have known at least two grand paradigms—Newtonian mechanics and quantum mechanics/relativity—and which may well be on the verge of a third. But the model applies generally. For example, in the history of linguistics, William Jones's discovery led to that discipline's first grand paradigm, which indeed precipitated the study of Indo-European religions. However, it was not until the 1850s, almost sixty years after Jones's death, that Indo-European religious studies finally achieved its own grand paradigm.

The person most responsible for this "revolution" was F. Max Müller (1823–1900), a German-born Sanskrit scholar, philologist, and student of Indian religions who had studied with Bopp and the eminent French Sanskritist Eugène Burnouf. Shortly after completing his formal studies, Müller accepted a position at Oxford University as a lecturer in Sanskrit and Indian religions; as it turned out, he spent the rest of his career there, eventually becoming one of the Victorian era's most distinguished men of letters.

In 1856, seven years after arriving at Oxford, Müller published a long essay entitled simply "Comparative Mythology" (published in *Oxford Essays,* 1856), and the revolution was launched. Although he went on to publish a veritable library of books, as well as innumerable collections of essays, articles, introductions, and so forth, most of his basic ideas were laid out in "Comparative Mythology."

Solar mythology and the "disease of language." First and foremost among Müller's ideas was the notion that the gods and heroes of the "Aryan" (i.e., Indo-European) peoples were basically metaphors for the sun, in all its aspects. To be sure, this was not a brand-new idea. In 1795, Charles-François Dupuis (1742–1809) had suggested that Jesus Christ was a solar metaphor and that the twelve apostles could be interpreted as the signs of the zodiac. But it was Müller who escalated the notion into a full-blown paradigm, one that had special relevance to the ancient Indo-European-speaking domain. Moreover, as a philologist, Müller insisted that the key to understanding these solar metaphors lay in the etymologies of divine names.

Müller asserted that language, including Proto-Indo-European, which he identified in effect with the earliest form of Sanskrit, was in its pristine state eminently rational. Objects such as the sun, the moon, stars, and other natural phenomena were labeled without reference to any divine beings or concepts, as the earliest dialects were incapable of expressing abstractions. But as time went on, Müller concluded, a curious malady set in, a "disease of language," the prime symptom of which was metaphor. What had begun as simple, descriptive terms gradually evolved into increasingly complex and abstract metaphors, and these in turn came to take on a life of their own. In short, by the time the earliest religious texts (e.g., the *Ṛgveda* and Hesiod's *Theogony*) were composed, the disease of language had become terminal; myth and religion had replaced reason and rationality. By judicious use of the comparative method, however, one could cut through the layers of metaphoric accretion and arrive at the root meanings underlying divine and heroic names. Thus, for example, the equation between Zeus and the Indian figure Dyauh, which clearly stemmed from a Proto-Indo-European conception of the sky god, could be traced back to a series of abstract conceptions relating to light, brightness, dawn, and so on, which, in turn, ultimately derived from metaphors for various solar attributes. Although he admitted that other natural phenomena play a part in generating mythical metaphors, Müller constantly emphasized the sun as the prime source of Indo-European religious inspiration: "I am bound to say that my own researches have led me again and again to the dawn and the sun as the chief burden of the myths of the Aryan race" (*Lectures on the Science of Language,* 1864, p. 520).

Müller's solar mythology rapidly began to gain adherents, both in Great Britain and abroad. Perhaps the most important of these was the English classicist George W. Cox (1827–1902), author of *The Mythology of the Aryan Nations* (1887). Despite his obsession with "pan-Aryanism" and with solar and other natural metaphors, Cox added a new and important dimension to comparative Indo-European mythology through his emphasis upon structural as well as etymological equations. As shall be seen, this prefigured more recent theories about the nature of the Indo-European religious tradition. Another major disciple was the Semitist Robert Brown (b. 1844), who extended the paradigm far beyond the Indo-European domain and used it to explain the ancient Near Eastern divinities as well as those of the *Ṛgveda.* Two American scholars, John Fiske (1842–1901) and Daniel G. Brinton (1837–1899), also made significant contributions to the literature of solar mythology. In *Myths and Mythmakers* (1888) Fiske attempted to reconcile the meteorological and solar varieties of naturism, and Brinton, in *The Myths of the New World* (3d ed., 1896), sought to demonstrate the parallels between North American Indian and Indo-European mythological figures.

It should be pointed out that Müller's was by no means the only naturistic school of comparative Indo-European mythology to flourish in the late nineteenth century. Indeed, the "first paradigm," as it has been termed here, actually included several rather distinct subparadigms, all of which shared essentially the same methodology and basic assumptions. For example, in 1859 Adalbert Kuhn (1812–1881) published his famous *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks,* in which thunderstorms and their attendant bolts of lightning, rather than the sun, were conceived to be the prime source of Indo-European (and other) mythological and religious metaphors. Kuhn's most famous onomastic equation, later shown to be totally incorrect, was the assumed etymological connection between Prometheus and the Indian figure Pramantha. Both were seen as archetypal "fire bringers," and Kuhn and his followers were as assiduous in discovering other Indo-European fire gods as Müller and others were in discovering their solar divinities. Another prominent naturist was the Italian philologist Angelo de Gubernatis (1840–1913), who emphasized animal metaphors; thus, where Müller and Kuhn saw the sun and the lightning bolt, Gubernatis saw wild beasts, especially beasts of prey. Still others sought to find lunar and/or stellar metaphors in the Indo-European and other ancient mythological traditions.

Collapse of the first paradigm. While Müller, Kuhn, Cox, and the rest were developing their naturistic models, another scholarly approach to myth and religion per se was quietly taking a shape that would ultimately prove to be the undoing of these models. This approach was fostered by the pioneer anthropologists, such as E. B. Tylor (1832–1917), John Lubbock (1834–1913), and John McLennan (1827–1881), who, as might be expected, came to focus their attention not on the Indo-European tradition, but rather on the vast corpus of data that had come to light relative to the beliefs and practices of contemporary "primitive" peoples. In his *Primitive Culture* (1871), for example, Tylor laid the foundations for the theory of animism, that is, the notion that all religious beliefs are rooted in the concept of the human soul. The anthropologists were for the most part not trained philologists—although they did, of course, make use of the comparative method in its broadest sense—and therefore were not as attuned to etymologies and the metaphoric significance of names. The result was a profoundly different conception of the origin and evolution of human religious beliefs.

By the late 1880s the naturists and the anthropologists found themselves on a collision course. The anthropological attack was led by a brilliant and iconoclastic Scotsman, Andrew Lang (1844–1912). A sometime disciple of Tylor, Lang set about to destroy naturism in general and the theories of Max Müller in particular. In a series of books, essays, and popular articles he hammered at Müller's assumptions and etymologies, and by the end of the century had effectively demonstrated the weaknesses in the naturistic paradigm so effectively that it did not long survive the death of its chief proponent in 1900.

It would be impossible here to trace all of the thrusts and counterthrusts that marked this famous scholarly debate, but Lang's principal objections can be summed up as follows: (1) Müller's theory—and, by extension, the theories of Kuhn, Cox, Fiske, and the rest—was implicitly based on the fallacious linkage of "degradation" to Original Sin, which, although the chosen people in this instance were the so-called Aryans (i.e., Indo-Europeans) rather than the Jews, was modeled on traditional Judeo-Christian historiography and did not take into account the comparative data from contemporary non-Western cultures; (2) too much emphasis was placed upon language and linguistic processes, especially metaphor and etymology, and too little on the differential effects of the social, cultural, and physical setting wherein myths and religious concepts originated; and (3) there was too much concern with origins and not enough with the historical development of myths and mythmaking, nor was enough attention paid to the universal, evolutionary stages evident in the Indo-European tradition. Needless to say, Müller attempted to answer these charges as best he could, and indeed his criticisms of unilineal evolutionism are remarkably similar to those of later critics. But in the end Lang was triumphant, and solar mythology, together with the other varieties of naturism that had flourished since the middle of the century, went into a permanent eclipse.

EMPIRICAL REACTION AND EMERGENCE OF NEW MODELS: 1900–1920. Thus passed the first grand paradigm in comparative Indo-European religious studies. As the new century dawned, the majority of scholars working in the field—classicists, Indologists, Germanists, Celticists, and so forth—rapidly abandoned the naturistic/etymological approach in favor of more intense efforts to explain the various Indo-European religious traditions on their own terms. As in other disciplines at this time, including anthropology, a new spirit of empiricism came to the fore, marked by a growing distrust of comparativism. Most of these specialists, as they may be termed (e.g., the Celticist Joseph Vendryes), relied heavily on the methods of textual criticism, phrasing their analyses in terms of new translations, new specific etymologies, and the like. Indeed, save for the purposes of linguistic reconstruction, the idea of a common Indo-European religious and/or mythological heritage was rarely mentioned in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

At the same time, unrelated, for the most part, to Indo-European studies, several new theoretical models for the study of religion emerged, two of which were to have an important impact on the future development of this discipline.

In his massive survey of primitive religion, *The Golden Bough* (3d ed., 12 vols., 1911–1915), James G. Frazer (1854–1941) came to the conclusion that religion everywhere was rooted in magic, and that all belief systems, including those of the ancient Indo-European-speaking communities, were predicated on a sacrificial ritual wherein a god was killed and replaced so as to renew the world. Among Frazer's prime examples was the death of Baldr, the Apollo-like son of the chief Norse god, Óðinn, who, thanks to the machinations of Loki, was unintentionally killed at the peak of his youthful vigor by his sibling, the blind god Hǫðr. Thus, through a form of "sympathetic magic" the gods, and the forces they incarnated, were periodically manipulated so as to keep them perpetually vigorous and fertile. Although largely rejected by subsequent generations of anthropologists, Frazer's influence lingered on in the so-called ritualist school of mythology associated with Jane E. Harrison, Francis M. Cornford, Jessie L. Weston, Gilbert Murray, F. R. S. Raglan, and H. J. Rose, all of whom drew heavily on Greco-Roman beliefs and practices in the formulation of their theories (indeed, most were classicists by academic training).

A second theoretical development occurred in France under the aegis of Émile Durkheim (1858–1917), one of the founding fathers of contemporary social science. In 1903, in collaboration with his principal student and disciple, Marcel Mauss (1872–1950), Durkheim published a short monograph entitled "De quelques formes primitives de classification: Contribution à l'étude des représentations collectives" (*Année sociologique* 6, 1903, pp. 1–72), which argued that social classification systems are necessarily "collectively represented" in a society's belief systems. This was followed in 1912 by his *magnum opus, Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse* (translated as *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life,* 1917), in which he persuasively demonstrated that society itself is the stuff of the divine and that humans necessarily fashion their gods as collective representations of fundamental "social facts." To be sure, Durkheim's prime examples were drawn from the belief systems of the Australian Aborigines, but the implications for the study of religion per se were clear: a new primary source of religious metaphors had been identified, and the immediate implications for the study of Indo-European belief systems were also clearly present from the outset, as Durkheim's ideas themselves were in some measure influenced by the demonstration (1907) of Antoine Meillet (1866–1936) that the Iranian god Mithra (equivalent to the Vedic god Mitra) was the personification of the idea of "contract." Indeed, as shall shortly be demonstrated, Meillet, perhaps the most eminent Indo-European philologist of his time, had more than a little to do with the development of the second grand paradigm in Indo-European studies.

NEO-COMPARATIVISTS AND THE SEARCH FOR A NEW PARADIGM: 1920–1938. Although comparative Indo-European religious studies suffered a marked decline in the generation following Müller's death, the basic questions he and his colleagues had addressed regarding the fundamental similarities among the several ancient Indo-European pantheons remained, and in the early 1920s the pendulum began to swing once again in the direction of what can best be labeled neo-comparativism. For example, Albert Carnoy began to speak in no uncertain terms about a "religion indo-européenne," and shortly thereafter, although they differed widely in inspirations and orientation, a number of German scholars, among them Walter F. Otto, Hermann Güntert, Friedrich Cornelius, and F. R. Schröder, came to the same general conclusion: that it is impossible to understand any single ancient Indo-European religious system without reference to a common set of deities, rituals, and myths, and that it is indeed possible to conceive of such a common Indo-European tradition without reference to the discarded theories of Müller and Kuhn. Another driving force in this new effort was provided by Meillet, who, although he himself never attempted with Indo-European mythological materials the kind of broad synthesis that characterizes his *Introduction à l'étude des langues indo-européennes* (1922), encouraged his students to undertake such studies. One of these students was Georges Dumézil (1898–1986), a young philologist and historian of religions who took his doctorate under Meillet in 1924.

Like the other neo-comparativists, Dumézil sought to find a viable theoretical basis upon which to build a new paradigm for comparative Indo-European mythology. In his early studies, for example, *Le festin d'immortalité* (1924), *Le crime des Lemniennes* (1924), and *Le problème des Centaures* (1929), which focused on what he came to call the "ambrosia cycle," that is, the common Indo-European traditions surrounding the preparation and consumption of a deified beverage (*soma,* mead, ambrosia, and so forth), he drew heavily on Frazer's theory of death and rebirth and of the ritual sacrifice of the king. But as he himself later observed, the Frazerian model ultimately proved to be insufficient for his purposes; it simply could not explain the multitude of common motifs that pervaded the several Indo-European traditions.

After a decade of grappling with the problem, Dumézil took an extended leave from his academic duties in the early 1930s and undertook the study of ancient Chinese religion under the guidance of Marcel Granet (1884–1940), an eminent Sinologist who had also been one of Durkheim's most devoted disciples. Yet although the project began as an attempt to gain a perspective on the Indo-European tradition by coming to grips with a wholly different ancient belief system, it ended by providing Dumézil with the framework he had been searching for and that he came to call *la méthode sociologique.* Thus, in 1938, not long after he had completed his studies with Granet, Dumézil achieved the breakthrough he had been seeking, and the second grand paradigm in Indo-European studies was born.

THE SECOND GRAND PARADIGM: DUMÉZIL AND THE NEW COMPARATIVE MYTHOLOGY. Although the breakthrough itself came in 1938, the first hint of what Dumézil now refers to as the tripartite ideology actually surfaced shortly before he began his Chinese studies. In 1930 he published an article comparing the three divisons of ancient Scythian society—the "Royal Scyths," the "Warrior Scyths," and the "Agricultural Scyths," each of which was believed to have descended from one of the sons of the primeval figure Targitaus (Herodotos, 4.5–4.6)—with the three *varṇa*s, or classes (later to become full-fledged castes) of Vedic India: the Brāhmas (priests), the Kṣhatriyas (warriors), and the Vaiśhiyas (herders and cultivators, that is, the food producers). He also recognized that the sovereignty of the Royal Scyths was based on the myth that their ancestor, Targitaus's youngest son, had managed to recover three fiery golden objects, a cup, an ax, and a yoked plow, each symbolic of one of the social divisions, that had fallen from the sky, although the full import of this symbolism did not become apparent until the new paradigm had fully crystallized. Two years later, in 1932, the linguist Émile Benveniste arrived independently at a similar conclusion relative to the parallels not only between the Scythian and Indian situations, but also among these two and the social classes of ancient Iran. However, all of the societies concerned belonged to the Indo-Iranian substock, and at the time there seemed to be no reason to conclude that this tripartite hierarchy of priests (or priest-kings), warriors, and cultivators was necessarily pan-Indo-European.

Nevertheless, in the years that followed, Dumézil began to pick up hints of an analogous structure in the Roman tradition (see, for example, *Flamen-Brahman,* 1935), especially in the makeup of the most ancient of the Roman priestly colleges, the *flamines maiores.* Could the distinctions between the *flamen Dialis,* or chief priest of Jupiter, the *flamen Martialis,* who presided over the cult of the war god Mars, and the *flamen Quirinalis,* who served the popular divinity Quirinus, an incarnation of the mass of Roman society, reflect the same structure he and Benveniste had discovered in the Indo-Iranian tradition, especially in light of the probable etymological connections between the two terms *flamen* and *brahman*? It was not until he had focused his attention upon the ancient Germanic pantheons in the course of giving a series of lectures at the University of Uppsala in Sweden in the fall of 1938 that he finally came to the realization that this threefold hierarchy was in fact pan-Indo-European, and that it was reflected in both the structure of the pantheons and the structure of society itself, especially in the system of social stratification. And here, of course, his recent exposure to Durkheimian theory in the course of his studies with Granet served him well. The Old Norse gods Óðinn, Thórr, and Freyr reflected the same basic type of social organization, even though the priestly, or Brahmanic, level had long since disappeared as a viable social entity by the time the myths were transcribed by Snorri Sturluson and Saxo Grammaticus. Óðinn (Odin), like Jupiter and the Vedic god Varuṇa, was a collective representation of ultimate sovereignty; Thórr was the incarnation of the warrior stratum and thus was cognate to Mars and Indra; while Freyr (together with his father Njorðr), like Quirinus and the Vedic Asvins ("divine horsemen"), represented the producing classes, that is, the herders and cultivators upon whom the other two classes depended for nourishment.

Dumézil's discovery was in large measure confirmed by his Swedish colleague Stig Wikander's conclusive demonstration that among the most prominent features of ancient Indo-European social organization was the *comitatus* ("war band"), which typically formed itself around the person of a chief. According to Wikander, the *comitatus* was mythologically reflected by such otherwise diverse phenomena as Indra and his Marut (i.e., the Rudriyas) and the war bands that followed Irish heroes like Cú Chulainn and Finn (see *Der arische Männerbund,* 1938). Thus, thanks to Wikander, who became one of Dumézil's earliest and most productive supporters (see below), a major piece of the puzzle had fallen into place.

A preliminary statement of the new model appeared in *Les dieux des Germains* (1939), which was based on the lectures Dumézil had given in Sweden, and for the next decade the discoveries came thick and fast. Dumézil rapidly came to the conclusion that the sovereign level, shortly to be labeled the "first function," was in fact represented by two complementary divinities: Varuṇa, Jupiter, and Óðinn were primarily concerned with the maintenance of cosmic order (e.g., the Vedic concept of *ṛta*), while Mitra, Týr, and the otherwise obscure Roman divinity Dius Fidius were concerned with social and juridical sovereignty. This idea of the "joint sovereignty" formed the major focus of *Mitra-Varuna: Essai sur deux représentations indo-européennes de la souveraineté* (1940). The first comprehensive statement of the new paradigm appeared a year later in a book entitled *Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus* (1941). Although Dumézil here focuses on Rome and its mythological origins, this book spelled out in detail for the first time the concept that came to be known as the "three functions" of social organization, that is, the "first function" (cosmic and juridical sovereignty in all its manifestations), the "second function" (the exercise of military prowess), and the "third function" (the provision of nourishment, health, physical well-being, wealth, the welfare of the masses, etc.).

In short, by the end of the 1940s, in a remarkable series of books, monographs, and shorter works, Dumézil had fully articulated the basic elements of the second grand paradigm in comparative Indo-European religious studies. The Iranian and Celtic traditions had been brought into the picture, and a great many secondary themes had been discovered; for example, the recognition that the juridical sovereign (e.g., Mitra and Týr) typically had two ancillary manifestations, each of whom was concerned with an aspect of this function. In the Vedic texts, these were the figures Aryaman and Bhaga, who represented, respectively, the Aryan community itself, along with its most basic social relationship, marriage; and the equitable distribution of goods and rewards. This idea was first enunciated in *Le troisième souverain* (1949).

In his first articulations of the new paradigm Dumézil had relied heavily on the previously mentioned Durkheimian proposition that "social facts" give rise to "supernatural facts," or "collective representations." However, as he himself observed, around 1950 his orientation began to shift, and he took what amounted to a long step beyond strict Durkheimianism and "la méthode sociologique." Adopting what in retrospect may be called a more structuralist perspective, he began to conceive of the three functions as expressions of a deep-seated, tripartite ideology that was manifest in both social and supernatural contexts, but which ultimately lay outside either sphere. Thus, the functions were gradually redefined as "un moyen d'analyser," a method of analysis, and this revised orientation is, in some respects, not dissimilar to the structuralist vision espoused by Claude Lévi-Strauss (b. 1908). There is, however, a major difference between the two French scholars: Lévi-Strauss (in such works as *Le cru et le cuit,* 1964) is concerned primarily with the "deep structure" of the human mind per se, while Dumézil remains committed to the proposition that the tripartite ideology is uniquely Indo-European, and that other major language families, such as the Sino-Tibetan, the Hamito-Semitic, and the Uto-Aztecan, are probably characterized by their own unique ideologies. Perhaps the best way to describe this approach is to label it "structural relativism."

In the course of the next three decades more important discoveries were made, not only by Dumézil himself, but also by the scholars who have come to adopt the paradigm. One of the earliest of these was Stig Wikander, who in 1947 demonstrated the extent to which the heroes of the *Mahābhārata* (Yudhiṣṭhira, Arjuna, Bhīma, Nakula, and Sahadeva) were at bottom transpositions of the major Vedic divinities (Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and the Nāsatya) and showed that the tripartite ideology could be detected at the epic as well as the mythological level. Other early followers of Dumézil were Lucien Gerschel, Jan de Vries, Edgar Polomé, Robert Schilling, Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, François Vian, and Marie-Louise Sjoestedt.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s a new generation of scholars was attracted to the Dumézilian model, including Jaan Puhvel, Donald J. Ward, Françoise Le Roux, and myself, and the paradigm was extended even more broadly. Among the major subthemes discovered by Dumézil and his colleagues over the years, in addition to Wikander's 1947 breakthrough, were (1) the "three sins of the warrior," that is, the recognition that Indo-European warrior figures (e.g., Indra, Herakles, and the Norse figure Starkaðr) typically commit three canonical "sins," one against each of the functions, and (2) the "war between the functions," manifested principally in the Roman and Germanic traditions, wherein representatives of the first two functions defeat representatives of the third and incorporate them into the system, rendering it complete (e.g., the Sabine war and the conflict between the Æsir and Vanir).

In the early 1970s Dumézil pushed the paradigm in yet another important direction (see *Mythe et épopée*, vol. 2, 1971, especially "L'enjeu du jeu des dieux: Un héros") through his discovery that Indo-European warrior figures such as the Vedic character Śiśupāla are in the final analysis but counters in a game played by the gods, and that the gods themselves can be sorted into "dark" and "light" categories—that is, those who represent the chaotic forces of nature and those who seek to control these forces. In the Indian tradition this dichotomy is reflected in the difference between the "dark" divinity Rudra and the "light" divinity Viṣṇu; in ancient Scandinavia it appears in that between Óðinn and Thórr. The full implications of this discovery are being probed by several of Dumézil's disciples, among them Udo Strutynski and the author of this article.

In the course of what may be termed his *phase de bilan,* Dumézil's remarkable scholarly output continued unabated. Among his subsequent books were a reexamination of the Indo-European concept of sovereignty (*Les dieux souverains des Indo-Européens,* 1977) and a disquisition on Indo-European attitudes toward marriage (*Mariages indo-européens,* 1979). He also published several collections of earlier writings, all of which bear on one or another aspect of the tripartite ideology. Dumézil's career was capped in 1979 when he was elected to the Académie Française.

This is not to imply that the "new comparative mythology" has become universally accepted by Indo-Europeanists. Indeed, almost from the outset it has been the subject of intense and persistent criticism from a variety of scholars, many of whom have suggested that Dumézil imposed the tripartite model on the data, and that it has no existence save in the minds of the researchers concerned. Among the most persistent of these critics was Paul Thieme, an Indologist, who asserted on numerous occasions that Dumézil's interpretation of the Indic pantheon, especially the role played by the god Aryaman, was wholly incorrect. Thieme interpreted the Sanskrit root *ari-* to mean "stranger" rather than "the people" (or "the shining ones"), the common meaning of most ethnic self-identification terms, modern as well as ancient—for example, Hopi, Diné (Navajo), and so forth. Other prominent critics have included H. J. Rose (who took Dumézil to task for ignoring the "manaistic" basis of Roman religion), Jan Gonda, Angelo Brelich, the Germanist E. A. Philippson, and John Brough, a Sanskrit scholar who claimed to have discovered the tripartite ideology in the Bible and therefore asserted that it was not uniquely Indo-European.

Dumézil vigorously responded to these and other criticisms, and to date no single critic has emerged as a potential "Andrew Lang" as far as this paradigm is concerned. Indeed, it is fair to say that the majority of contemporary scholars in the field of comparative Indo-European mythology and religion continue to make effective use of the general theoretical and methodological framework developed by Dumézil and his colleagues in the course of the last five decades. A good example is Joël Grisward, whose brilliant analysis of the medieval French legends of Aymeri de Narbonne and the extent to which they have Indo-Iranian counterparts (see his *Archéologie de l'épopée médiévale,* 1981) is, as Dumézil himself noted, perhaps the most important contribution to the new comparative mythology since Wikander's discovery of epical transposition in 1947. Another excellent example can be seen in Udo Strutynski's convincing demonstration that the English weekday names, at least from Tuesday through Friday, and their cognates in other modern Germanic languages, represent a persistence of a tripartite ideological formula—that is, "Týr's day," "Óðinn's day," "Thórr's day," and "Frigg's day" (see his "Germanic Divinities in Weekday Names," *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 3, 1975, pp. 363–384).

It would be impossible in the space of this brief article even to mention, let alone discuss in any detail, all of the significant research that has been pursued since the late 1960s by specialists in comparative Indo-European religion and mythology who have oriented their work around the Dumézilian paradigm. For example, Atsuhiko Yoshida, a Japanese Hellenist who studied with Dumézil for the better part of a decade, has demonstrated the strong probability that the development of Japanese mythology was profoundly influenced, either directly or indirectly, by Indo-European themes in the late prehistoric period (that is, the fourth and fifth centuries CE), and that the most likely source of this influence was one or another tribe of North Iranian-speaking steppe nomads (Scythians, Alans, etc.) that managed to reach East Asia during this period (Yoshida, 1977). The late Ōbayashi Taryō, an anthropologist at the University of Tokyo, and the author of this article subsequently joined Yoshida in this effort. Bruce Lincoln has published a book comparing Indo-Iranian and contemporary East African religious attitudes toward cattle (*Priests, Warriors, and Cattle,* 1981). David Cohen has expanded the understanding of the "three sins" typically committed by the Indo-European warrior (see above) in a penetrating analysis of the Irish hero Suibhne ("Suibhne Geilt," *Celtica* 12, 1977, pp. 113–124).

In France, Daniel Dubuisson, who took his doctorate under Dumézil in 1983, has attempted to develop a quasi-mathematical approach to Indo-European myth, based in large part on his Indological research. More recently, in 1994, he published a major overview of the current status of comparative Indo-European mythology. Bernard Sergent has illuminated the dual kingship at Sparta by judicious application of the Dumézilian paradigm ("La représentation spariate de la royauté," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 189, 1976, pp. 3–52). And in 1984 Dean A. Miller investigated the trifunctional implications of the "three kings" in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* from what can best be termed a neo-Dumézilian standpoint. Other scholars who have extended the paradigm in a variety of new and potentially important directions include Steven O'Brien, Miriam Robbins, Alf Hiltebeitel, David B. Evans, and Jean-Claude Rivière.

SOME RECENT DEVELOPMENTS. Like all grand paradigms that have been pushed to their effective limits, the Dumézilian paradigm is fraying a bit at the edges, and several of the most important recent advances in Indo-European religious studies have involved matters that transcend the tripartite ideology. One of these is the matter of "dark" and "light" divinities mentioned earlier. Indeed, Dumézil himself suggested that this dichotomy cuts across the three functions, and perhaps reflects a more fundamental binary structure that underlies social and supernatural tripartition. If this proves to be the case, it may well be that the ideological model Dumézil first detected some fifty-odd years ago is but a special case of a broader and more deep-seated mental template, as it were, that is shared by *homo religiosus* as a whole. Such a template, if it exists, would closely parallel the presumably universal "deep structure" of the human psyche posited by Lévi-Strauss.

Another extremely significant development involves the nature of the common Indo-European cosmology, something Dumézil never really came to grips with and which, heretofore, had defied all attempts at elucidation via the tripartite ideology. In 1975, Puhvel and Lincoln, working independently, reached compatible conclusions; they agreed that the elusive cosmology was in fact embedded in a theme, present in the Roman, Indo-Iranian, and Norse traditions, wherein a primeval being kills his twin and makes the world from the latter's remains. This theme closely approximates the nearly universal concept of what Adolf E. Jensen calls the "*dema* deity," that is, a sacrificial victim whose body parts provide the *materia prima* of either the world itself or some important part thereof (as in the Ceramese myth of Hainuwele; see Jensen, *Myth and Cult among Primitive Peoples,* 1963).

For Puhvel, the point of departure was the pseudo-historical account of Romulus and Remus, in which the latter is killed shortly after the founding of Rome. Underlying the names *Romulus* and *Remus,* Puhvel suggests, are **Wironos* ("man") and **Yemo(no)s* ("twin"), to which may be compared *Yama* (Skt.), *Yima* (Av.), and *Ymir* (ON), as well as *Mannus* and *Tuisto,* mentioned in Tacitus's *Germania.* Although Romulus/*Wironos did not explicitly "make the world" from Remus/*Yemos's remains, Remus's death seems clearly to have been somehow essential to the building of the city, like a sacrificial offering, and the fact that Remus's "crime" consists of jumping over the newly dug foundation for the city wall implies that the victim's essence was in one way or another mixed with the mortar that eventually filled the ditch. Lincoln's point of departure was the Indic manifestation of the theme and its implications as they relate to the *dema*-deity concept, that is, the account in *Ṛgveda* 10.90 wherein Manu (i.e., "man") sacrifices Yama (or Puruṣa, as he is called in the Vedic text) and creates the world from his corpse. (Unlike Remus/*Yemos, Puruṣa was a willing victim, and Manu is credited with originating the institution of religious sacrifice; however, the basic context of the two accounts is remarkably similar.) As luck would have it, Lincoln sent a draft of his manuscript to Puhvel for comment and criticism, and the result was a pair of seminal articles that in 1975 appeared back-to-back in *History of Religions.*

The paradigmatic implications of this discovery are still under investigation, and various questions have been raised by scholars. Does the ideology itself spring from this primordial sacrifice? Is it possible that the account of Romulus and Remus, who began life as the foster children of a shepherd, became warriors, and finally went off to found a city, is a euhemeristic survival of an ontological myth wherein the three functions emerge successively after a primeval fratricide? And is there a connection between the *dramatis personae* of this primeval drama and the dark/light dichotomy (see above)? Or does the theme in question lie totally outside the parameters of the paradigm? As yet no clear answers have been provided to these questions.

Yet another extremely significant discovery relating to Indo-European religion was N. J. Allen's 1987 compelling case for the existence of a "fourth" ideological function (or "F4," as he labels it) that lies outside the tripartite paradigm per se and can thus be described as "other." A good exmaple of a "fourth function" phenomenon in the Indic tradfition the Shurdra caste, that is, the non-Aryan outisders, who are "other" to the three twice-born Aryan *varna* (that is, the Brāhmaṇs, Kṣhatriyas and Vaiśhiyas, who reflect "F1," "F2" and "F3," respectively). This concept adds a new and extremely important dimesion to the Dumézilian paradigm, the implications of which are only just beginning to be appreciated.

The common denominators among the the several Indo-European epic traditions have also been the subject of some important recent research. For example, Dean A. Miller's book *The Epic Hero* (2000) has materially advanced the understanding of this most important aspect of the Indo-European worldview, while Julian Baldick's (1994) convincing demonstration that the *Iliad* is fundamentally cognate not to the *Mahābhārata*, as has long been held, but rather to the *Rāmāyana*, has led some scholars, including the author of this article, to the conclusion that the two epics in question are, at bottom, reflexes of a common Indo-European concern with abducted brides and their rescurers. Other reflexes of this concern may include the medieval European tale of Tristan and Isolde and the Middle High German Kudrun epic, both of which involve figures broadly similar to Helen, Sītā, Rāma, Menelaus, Agamamnon, and the rest. Moreover, Baldick has gone on to suggest that the *Mahābhārata* is cognate to the *Odyssey,* in that they both involve accounts of exiled kings who eventually return to reclaim their thrones after a climactic battle (e.g., the Battle of Kurukshetra in the *Mahābhārata,* in which the Pāndava defeat their enemies and restore Yudhisthira to his rightful throne, and Homer's account of the slaying of Penelope's suitors by Odysseus and Telemachus).

Finally, the importance of binarism in the Indo-European tradition, that is, the all-pervasive difference between "light" and "dark," which, as has been noted, Dumézil came to recognize late in his career, is something that may link it to far older Nostratic and even, perhaps, Eurasiatic traditions dating as far back as the Upper Paleolithic (that is, prior to 10,000 BCE), has begun to be recognized (see Littleton 2002). Indo-European religion is thus beginning to be grounded in the broader context of the Eurasian tradition, which took shape in Central Asia millennia before anything identificable as Proto-Indo-European appeared on the scene.

In sum, as the field of Indo-European religious studies enters its third century it remains a vigorous and intellectually viable discipline. In the course of the last two hundred-plus years it has managed to develop and then transcend one grand paradigm (naturism) and is currently dominated by a second (the new comparative mythology). How long this second paradigm will continue to reign is uncertain; as has been indicated, there are already signs that it may have begun to outlive its usefulness. But whatever may be the ultimate fate of the Dumézilian model—and one suspects that it will eventually become a "special case" of a much broader paradigm, the outlines of which cannot yet be clearly perceived, although Allen's aforementioned seminal discovery of a fouth function does provide a glimpse of what may lie ahead—the discipline itself will almost certainly persevere, and will continue to contribute important insights not only into a fundamental aspect of the heritage shared by all Indo-European speakers, but also into the nature of religion per se.

SEE ALSO Comparative Mythology.

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C. SCOTT LITTLETON (1987 AND 2005)

INDRA. In India the worship of the god Indra, king of the gods, warrior of the gods, god of rain, begins properly in the *Ṛgveda,* circa 1200 BCE, but his broader nature can be traced farther back into the proto-Indo-European world through his connections with Zeus and Wotan. For although the *Ṛgveda* knows a sky father called Dyaus-pitṛ, who is literally cognate with Zeus-patēr and Jupiter, it is Indra who truly fills the shoes of the Indo-European celestial sovereign: He wields the thunderbolt, drinks the ambrosial *soma* to excess, bestows fertility upon human women (often by sleeping with them himself), and leads his band of Maruts, martial storm gods, to win victory for the conquering Indo-Aryans.

In the *Ṛgveda,* Indra's family life is troubled in ways that remain unclear. His birth, like that of many great warriors and heroes, is unnatural: Kept against his will inside his mother's womb for many years, he bursts forth out of her side and kills his own father (*Ṛgveda* 4.18). He too is in turn challenged by his own son, whom he apparently overcomes (*Ṛgveda* 10.28). But the hymns to Indra, who is after all the chief god of the *Ṛgveda* (more than a quarter of the hymns in the collection are addressed to him), emphasize his heroic deeds. He is said to have created the universe by propping apart heaven and earth (as other gods, notably Viṣṇu and Varuṇa, are also said to have done) and finding the sun, and to have freed the cows that had been penned up in a cave (*Ṛgveda* 3.31). This last myth, which is perhaps the central myth of the *Ṛgveda*, has meaning on several levels: It means what it says (that Indra helps the worshiper to obtain cattle, as he is so often implored to do), and also that Indra found the sun and the world of life and light and fertility in general, for all of which cows often serve as a Vedic metaphor.

It was Indra who, in the shape of a falcon or riding on a falcon, brought down the *soma* plant from heaven, where it had been guarded by demons, to earth, where it became accessible to humans (*Ṛgveda* 4.26-27). Indra himself is the *soma* drinker *par excellence;* when he gets drunk, as he is wont to do, he brags (*Ṛgveda* 10.119), and the worshiper who invites Indra to share his *soma* also shares in the euphoria that *soma* induces in both the human and the divine drinker (*Ṛgveda* 9.113). But Indra is a jealous god—jealous, that is, of the *soma,* both for lofty reasons (like other great gods, he does not wish to allow mortals to taste the fruit that will make them like unto gods) and for petty reasons (he wants to keep all the *soma* for himself). His attempts to exclude the Aśvins from drinking the *soma* fail when they enlist the aid of the priest Dadhyañc, who disguises himself with a horse's head and teaches them the secret of the *soma* (*Ṛgveda* 1.117.22).

But Indra's principal function is to kill enemies—non-Aryan humans and demons, who are often conflated. As the supreme god of the *kṣatriyas* or class of royal warriors, Indra is invoked as a destroyer of cities and destroyer of armies, as the staunch ally of his generous worshipers, to whom Indra is in turn equally generous (Maghavan, "the generous," is one of his most popular epithets). These enemies (of whom the most famous is Vṛtra) are often called Dāsas or Dasyus, "slaves," and probably represent the indigenous populations of the subcontinent that the Indo-Aryans subjugated (and whose twin cities, Mohenjo Daro and Harappa, in the Indus Valley, may have been the citadels that Indra claims to have devastated). But the Dāsas are also frequently identified with the *asuras,* or demonic enemies of the gods themselves. The battles thus take place simultaneously on the human and the divine levels, and are both political and cosmogonic.

Indra's reputation begins to decline in the Brāhmaṇas, about 900 BCE, where his supremacy is preempted by Prajāpati, the primordial creator. Indra still drinks the *soma,* but now he becomes badly hungover and has to be restored to health by the worshiper. Similarly, the killing of Vṛtra leaves Indra weakened and in need of purification. In the epics, Indra is mocked for weaknesses associated with the phallic powers that are his great glory in the *Ṛgveda.* His notorious womanizing leads, on one occasion (when the sage Gautama catches Indra in bed with Ahalyā, the sage's wife), to Indra's castration, though his testicles are later replaced by those of a ram (*Rāmāyaṇa* 1.47–48); in another version of this story, Indra is cursed to be covered with a thousand *yonis* or vaginas, a curse which he turns to a boon by having the *yonis* changed into a thousand eyes. When Indra's excesses weaken him, he becomes vulnerable in battle; often he is overcome by demons and must enlist the aid of the now supreme sectarian gods, Śiva and Viṣṇu, to restore his throne. Sometimes he sends one of his voluptuous nymphs, the *apsaras,* to seduce ascetic demons who have amassed sufficient power, through *tapas* ("meditative austerities"), to heat Indra's throne in heaven. And when the demon Nahuṣa usurps Indra's throne and demands Indra's wife, Śacī, the gods have to perform a horse sacrifice to purify and strengthen Indra so that he can win back his throne. Even then Indra must use a combination of seduction and deceit, rather than pure strength, to gain his ends: Śacī goads Nahuṣa into committing an act of hubris that brings him down to a level on which he becomes vulnerable to Indra.

Old Vedic gods never die; they just fade into new Hindu gods. Indra remains a kind of figurehead in Hindu mythology, and the butt of many veiled anti-Hindu jokes in Buddhist mythology. The positive aspects of his person are largely transformed to Śiva. Both Indra and Śiva are associated with the Maruts or Rudras, storm gods; both are said to have extra eyes (three, or a thousand) that they sprouted in order to get a better look at a beautiful dancing *apsaras;* both are associated with the bull and with the erect phallus; both are castrated; and both come into conflict with their fathers-in-law. In addition to these themes, which are generally characteristic of fertility gods, Indra and Śiva share more specific mythological episodes: Both of them seduce the wives of *brahman* sages; both are faced with the problem of distributing (where it will do the least harm) certain excessive and destructive forces that they amass; both are associated with anti-Brahmanic, heterodox acts; and both lose their right to a share in the sacrifice. And just as Indra beheads a *brahman* demon (Vṛtra) whose head pursues him until he is purified of this sin, so Śiva, having beheaded Brahmā, is plagued by Brahmā's skull until he is absolved in Banaras. Thus, although Indra comes into conflict with the ascetic aspect of Śiva, the erotic aspect of Śiva found new uses for the discarded myths of Indra.

SEE ALSO Jupiter; Prajāpati; Śiva; Vedism and Brahmanism.

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INDUS VALLEY RELIGION is the goddess-centered religious system of the urban civilization that emerged in the Indus Valley of western India around 2500 BCE and declined into a series of successor posturban village cultures after 1750 BCE. The antecedents of this religion lie in the village cultures of Baluchistan and Afghanistan, which were part of a larger regional cultural system in western Asia that also included the village cultures of southern Turkmenistan and the Elamite culture of southwestern Iran. Common religious patterns within this larger region continued into the early stages of urbanization in Elam, Turkmenistan, and the Indus Valley, after which the unification of the local regions and subsequent historical changes led to separation: Elam was drawn into the orbit of Sumerian and Akkadian culture; Turkmenistan was settled by new groups from the northern steppes; and Indus settlement shifted eastward into the Ganges-Yamuna Valley in the North and Gujarat and the Deccan Plateau in the South as the original cities in the Indus Valley were abandoned. After the entry of Aryan tribes into northern India around 1500 BCE, the continuity of Indus Valley religion is found mainly in the Dravidian cultures of South India, although various elements were also preserved in the village cultures of North India and in the synthesis of Aryan and non-Aryan cultures that marked late Vedic and post-Vedic developments in the Ganges-Yamuna Valley.

THE WESTERN ASIAN SETTING. The evolution of the Neolithic cultures of western Asia that preceded the Indus civilization cannot yet be reconstructed in detail, but a pattern is emerging from current evidence that sheds new light on the basic features of the Indus Valley religious system. Archaeological research in southern Turkmenistan has revealed a continued sequence of village cultures north of the Kopet Dagh Mountains from at least 6000 BCE onward, culminating in a regional urban culture at Namazga and Altin around 2500 BCE. Research on the proto-Elamite and proto-Dravidian languages points to a common proto-Elamo-Dravidian ancestry among a pastoral people moving southward from Central Asia into Iran sometime between 8000 and 6000 BCE, combining the herding of goats, sheep, and cattle with the cultivation of wheat and barley, and gradually separating into two branches: a proto-Dravidian branch that settled eastward in Afghanistan and Baluchistan, and a proto-Elamite branch that continued westward across southern Iran to the Zagros Mountains. The broadly based set of common cultural features established throughout western Asia in this early period and reinforced by later interregional contacts is reflected in similar patterns of proto-urban development and urbanization between 3500 and 2500 BCE in the various localized regions.

Because the Indus civilization's script has not been deciphered, the proto-Dravidian identification of the Indus language remains uncertain. There is broad scholarly consensus, however, that a form of proto-Dravidian was the dominant language of the Indus urban culture, and this is substantiated by parallels between cultural and religious features of the Indus civilization and later Dravidian village culture. These parallels, in conjunction with the pre-urban cultural affinities with Elam and Turkmenistan, provide a framework for interpreting the evidence from village and urban sites in the Indus Valley region and constructing a hypothetical picture of Indus Valley religion.

The single most significant religious feature in all of the western Asian village cultures is the importance of female powers or goddesses, as evidenced by stylized clay and terracotta female figurines in a variety of types that appear—often in conjunction with figurines of bulls or rams—from the early levels of village culture on into the urban periods in Turkmenistan, Elam, and the Indus Valley. Whether they represent specific goddesses or powers is impossible to determine without more information, and the villages are mute. Evidence of coherent mythologies only appears in the richer range of artifacts at the urban level, and by then, in all of the urban regions, clearly defined goddesses had become part of complex urban cultic systems that reflect at least in part differences in regional urbanization. Enough affinities remain, however, to provide clues to the Indus Valley system.

Turkmenistan, where extensive excavation has been carried out, provides a valuable point of reference for parallel developments in Afghanistan, Baluchistan, and the Indus Valley. Turkmenistan village sites show four millennia of clay and terracotta goddess figurines and figures of male animals, most often rams and bulls. The goddesses appear in a variety of styles and are often marked with painted stripes, dot-centered circles, or clusters of pocked depressions; most have concentrated attention on the breasts, thighs, and buttocks, and they often have either no arms or vestigial stumps. One distinctive type, the so-called foot profile style, shows the truncated legs and torso of a female in a semireclining posture.

Evidence from early sites indicates that special areas were set aside as shrine rooms for a likely domestic cult. Enclosed village shrines appear by the fifth or fourth millennium along with a new type of Namazga III "foot profile" figurines with elaborate hairdos. The Bronze Age Namazga IV culture, concurrent with developments in early Elam and the pre-Indus village cultures of Baluchistan and Afghanistan, has evidence of more elaborate shrines and a range of figurine types. Finally, around 2500 BCE, a full urban culture appeared in the Namazga V period that was contemporary for several centuries with the early phases of the Indus cities.

Urbanization in Turkmenistan brought not only greater complexity but also dramatic new religious forms. A massive brick platform, with three stepped tiers reaching forty feet in its final height, was built on the edge of the Namazga V site of Altin. This was certainly a center for public rituals, and implies a class of professional priests or priestesses. A richly endowed burial of a woman holding two female figurines in her hands has been tentatively named a "priestess's grave." Namazga V figurines are in a new and highly abstract style: flat fiddle-shaped cutouts with no legs, stylized triangular arm extentions, pinched maskedlike faces usually without a mouth, conical breasts, and a stippled pubic triangle with a vaginal line. There is evidence of a more standardized iconography and a clearer identification of individual figurines, including the use of different hair styles and engraved markings that resemble signs found in the Elamite and Indus writing systems.

Goddess worship in Turkmenistan clearly survived the transition from Neolithic to Bronze Age culture and subsequent urbanization. The styles of representation changed, the identities and meanings of individual goddesses may have varied, and the form of cultic practice certainly differed dramatically at the urban level from that in early villages, but the goddesses and their powers remained the central focus of religious life throughout the millennia. Much the same pattern can be seen also in the Elamite culture of southwestern Iran.

The foundation of Elamite culture was laid by proto-Elamite-speaking settlers who brought wheat and barley cultivation and the herding of sheep, goats, and cattle into the southern Zagros Mountain region of Iran sometime after 7000 BCE. By 4000 BCE, cultivation had been carried into the lowlands of Khuzistan at the western base of the Zagros, providing an agricultural base for urbanization. Sumer, across the Tigris in southern Mesopotamia, achieved urbanization around 3500 BCE. By 3200 BCE, Khuzistan and the Zagros highlands had been united in the rival urban civilization of Elam, with a highland capital at Anshan near later Persepolis and a lowland capital at Susa. Within the next two centuries, a proto-Elamite script had been developed and Elam had extended its influence eastward along a trade network that passed through Tepe Yahya in southern Iran as far as the Nal village culture of southern Baluchistan.

The expansion of Elamite urban culture was limited to the early third millennium, and its eastern trading centers had been abandoned several centuries before the first Indus cities emerged. The similarity between the later Indus script and the proto-Elamite script provides circumstantial evidence for the transfer of writing during this period, because the proto-Elamite script had been replaced by cuneiform by the middle of the third millennium; there is, however, no evidence of direct Elamite influence on Indus urbanization. Yet if Elam cannot be assigned a significant causal role in the creation of Indus civilization, it nonetheless provides an important model for understanding Indus Valley religion because of the many evident parallels between the two traditions.

Pre-urban cultural levels at Persepolis and Susa reveal a familiar pattern of female figurines and goddess worship, and painted pottery at these sites reveals a related concern for serpents as objects of religious veneration—a combination found also in the Dravidian villages of South India, and further evidence for an earlier common culture. Terracotta female figurines from Susa and other sites in the early third millennium show that goddess worship survived the transition from agricultural villages to urbanization in Elam as in Turkmenistan. The religious data from urban proto-Elamite sites such as Susa, however, are much richer than that of Turkmenistan and reveal not only the importance of goddesses in urban religious life but also an elaborate system of myths, symbols, and cultic practices.

Cylinder seals in a distinctive proto-Elamite style provide the most valuable evidence for the symbolism of this period. Many of the motifs in the proto-Elamite seals can be traced back to painted designs on earlier village pottery, but the more elaborate seal designs reflect a new urban sophistication: complex mythic or ritual scenes; symbolic designs involving mountains, trees, and animals (bulls and rams most often, but also lions and other felines); and an androgynous bovine in a variety of humanlike poses characteristically found in the figurines of goddesses. This latter figure is most likely the animal form or surrogate of the main Elamite fertility goddess, a moon goddess who was born from the Primeval Bull and was both the protector and soul of cattle—roles certainly consistent with the symbolism of the seals. None of the other figures can be identified with any certainty, and the meaning of individual symbols and scenes remains obscure in the absence of explanatory myths. In general, however, the symbolism reflects a developed fertility religion with its roots in the village past—probably a mountain past—but with new dimensions and new meanings in the urban culture: a religion in which the village goddesses have become patron deities of the city as well.

Cylinder seals, supplemented by other data, allow at least a partial reconstruction of proto-Elamite cultic practices. One seal shows a goddess or priestess being drawn in procession in a chariot flanked by moon symbols and horned cattle; another shows a tree in procession in a similar chariot, also with horned cattle and moon symbols; another shows an image or shrine on a palanquin flanked by attendants carrying moon symbols and what are either snakes or snake symbols in their hands. The goddess being honored in all of these scenes is almost certainly the moon goddess, whose connection with trees, serpents, and horned animals is indicated on a seal from the late third millennium that shows priests wearing belts or girdles of snakes around their waists and a device on their heads that combines the symbolism of crescent-shaped horns and trees.

Ritual processions and pilgrimages to sacred sites were apparently important features of Elamite religion. Elamite reliefs from around 2000 BCE depict long lines of worshipers in procession, confirming the evidence from earlier proto-Elamite seals. Sumerian texts from the same period describe similar practices associated with the moon goddess Inanna, whose characteristics closely match those of the main Elamite goddess with whom she was later assimilated. A hymn to Inanna vividly describes a parade of priestesses, musicians with harps, drums, and tambourines, and a priest who sprinkles blood on the goddess's throne, and notes that men in the procession "adorn their left side with women's clothing" while women "adorn their right side with men's clothing" (Wolkstein and Kramer, 1983, p. 99).

The centers of Elamite worship were the shrines and temples erected for the goddess, usually in high places and with an associated sacred grove. In Susa, temples to the major deities were located on an elevated sacred area on the western edge of the city between the river and the royal establishment. The main ritual activity in the temples was animal sacrifice, and raised altars with drains attest to the emphasis on blood in these sacrificial rites. The major sacrificial festival to the goddess at Susa was descriptively called a "day of the flowing sacrifice" in tribute to the quantity of blood offered on this occasion.

THE ELAMO-DRAVIDIAN PATTERN. The significance of these features of Elamite religion for comparative purposes is the light they shed on those aspects of Indus Valley religion for which there is no available Indus evidence. Indus seals and votive figurines, for example, suggest that Indus religion was based on some form of animal sacrifice centered around goddesses, but there is no direct evidence of ritual practice. Indus stamp seals, however, depict goddesses, trees, tigers, and horned animals such as rams, bulls, and water buffaloes in various combinations in mythic or cultic scenes. In other symbolic settings snakes appear as sacred animals. One scene portrays a line of androgynously appareled worshipers parading before a buffalo-horned goddess in a tree. This is the same basic set of symbols—goddesses, trees, lions/tigers, horned animals, snakes, and androgynous figures—found on Elamite cylinder seals, and indicates a significant body of shared religious concepts that reflect the common proto-Elamo-Dravidian ancestry and presuppose a common ritual practice. The relevant ritual in Elamite religion was blood sacrifice to the goddess, as it was also, along with many of the same symbols, in later Dravidian village religion. It is thus highly likely that Indus Valley religion followed the same Elamo-Dravidian pattern.

This is not a case of wholesale borrowing of Elamite religion or of basing Indus urban culture on external models. There are well-documented influences from Turkmenistan for at least a millennium prior to urbanization in the Indus Valley, and there must have been some degree of contact with Elam during the late stages of Indus urbanization to account for the similar scripts. Indus urbanization may have been stimulated by these contacts, just as trade and interregional contacts stimulated urbanization throughout western Asia. The similarities between Indus urban culture and other western Asian cultures, however, were general family resemblances, like those between the Elamite and Dravidian language systems. Indus urban culture was both unique and uniquely Indian, as much a product of the regional setting as of the common western Asian heritage, with characteristic features that were deeply rooted in the pre-urban cultures of Afghanistan and Baluchistan.

The groundwork for Indus urbanization was laid by a series of village cultures in the highlands west of the Indus Valley, the earliest of which dates from around 6000 BCE. Archaeological research since the 1950s has revealed several early aceramic settlement sites with subsequent pottery development and domestication of local plants and animals, proving that the Indus region contributed to the Neolithic revolution and was not just a recipient of imported culture. By the early fourth millennium local village cultures had been established in northern and central Baluchistan, and by the mid- to late fourth millennium these cultures had been linked by trade with the Namazga III culture of southern Turkmenistan.

By around 3000 BCE, when Elam was extending its influence eastward, the Nal culture had emerged in southern Baluchistan and the Nal-related Amri culture had expanded into the southern Indus Valley. By early in the third millennium another related culture known as Kot Dijian had expanded northward along the Indus from the region of later Mohenjo-Daro as far as the later sites of Harappa and Kalibangan. These new developments laid the foundation for urbanization.

Goddess worship was an integral part of Indus village culture, as can be seen from the example of Mehrgarh, the oldest known continuous settlement site within India proper. Discovered in the 1970s at the eastern end of the Bolan Pass, Mehrgarh spans the range from aceramic settlement around 6000 BCE to the brink of urbanization around 2600 BCE. Goddesses in the form of female figurines appear at every cultural level, and their evolution is intertwined with the development of the Indus region.

The earliest figurines from Mehrgarh date from the sixth and fifth millennia, a period when pottery was being developed, cultivation was expanding, and local animals—especially humpbacked cattle (zebus)—were being domesticated to replace the earlier reliance on hunting. The style of these first Indian village goddess figurines was the "foot profile" style found also in Turkmenistan, and this style continued essentially unchanged down to around 3000 BCE. At that point, reflecting Mehrgarh's greater involvement in regional trade, there was a convergence toward the pinched-faced, goggle-eyed “Zhob mother goddesses” from the Zhob culture in northern Baluchistan. During the village’s final century, from 2700 to 2600 BCE, nude goggle-eyed female figurines were being produced commercially by the thousands at Mehrgarh and are for the first time in a standing position like Zhob figurines. Nude male figures, also standing, with shoulder-length hair and Zhob-like goggle eyes, suggest for the first time the possibility of a divine couple.

The end of Mehrgarh’s final century marks the beginning of urbanization. As in Turkmenistan, the new iconography of female figurines and the appearance of male figurines coincided with the building of monumental ritual platforms. At Mehrgarh, the platform was a massive structure of brick faced with plaster with a colonnade of square mud-brick columns in front. This was contemporary with others in the larger contiguous area, one of which, near Quetta, had drains in the center and a stone-built hollow containing a jawless human skull, perhaps evidence of a “building sacrifice” in the platform’s construction. Near this platform were found figurines of females and cattle with painted stripes.

Other platform structures of note belonged to the Kulli culture, which gradually replaced the Nal culture in southern Baluchistan after about 3000 BCE and was still flourishing when the Indus civilization emerged on its eastern boundaries about five centuries later. Near the fertile stretches of the Porali River elaborate ceremonial centers were built on a new vast scale: At one typical site are two stone-built platforms about thirty feet high with ramps to the top and, nearby, a complex of over forty buildings. The Kulli ceremonial centers are set apart from the nearby agricultural villages with which they share common artifacts such as pottery and figurines. As the latter include both goddess figurines and striped cattle, it is likely that the cattle were votive offerings to the goddess. The whole combination, with platforms, wells, and drains, clearly suggests a ritual pattern involving sacrifice and ablution. The goddess figurines show a combination of originally Elamite postures with other styles (Zhob, Mehrgarh) developed regionally in western India. Although the Indus Valley civilization synthesizes elements from all these cultural styles, Kulli figurines and ceremonial centers provide its most direct prototypes.

HARAPPA AND MOHENJO-DARO. The Indus civilization has been widely noted for its rapid development and continued stability over a seven-hundred-year period from around 2500 to 1750 BCE. Over an estimated 500,000 square miles, the same basic cultural features recur from the cities to the several hundred towns and villages so far discovered. Such uniformity is striking, because unlike the concentrated settlement patterns in Mesopotamia, Indus sites were often well over fifty miles apart. It was the long-established base of village agriculture—wheat and barley cultivation along with cattle herding—that by the mid-third millennium provided the base for urbanization. The new cities, however, also broke with traditional village cultural patterns, and imposed new developments upon them. The two largest, Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, both seem to go back to the civilization’s beginnings. Their founding was no doubt decisive in setting the new political, economic, and religious styles. To the north, Harappa was built over an earlier Kot Dijian farming village, while to the south, Mohenjo-Daro’s new urban culture dominated and soon replaced the neighboring village of Kot Diji and the local culture of Amri farther south. Similarly, at the smaller Indus city of Kalibangan farther east, the imposition of the new urban culture included construction of an Indus style ritual platform on the mound of an earlier fortified Kot Dijian agricultural settlement.

Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa were both built on a similar plan, one that smaller sites replicate. The cities were divided into two basic components: a lower city, about three miles in circumference with rectangular grid streets, and an upper area on each city’s western edge formed by a brick-walled platform on an artificial mound that leveled some twenty feet above the surrounding plain. The massive exterior walls of the two major cities, over forty feet thick at the base, served to protect against flooding: Mohenjo-Daro from the Indus River, Harappa from the Ravi. Mohenjo-Daro was the larger of the two, and in most matters preserves the best evidence, as most of the Harappa mound was destroyed either by erosion or by its dismantling in 1856 by British engineers to provide ballast for a railroad. It was not until the early 1920s that the antiquity of Indus sites was recognized.

The lower city’s residential and commercial character is evident at Mohenjo-Daro. The exterior baked-brick walls lining the main street were for the most part without adornment or direct street access. Residences range from barrack-like dwellings to multistoried complexes, two of which have been dubbed a palace or hostel, but the typical residence was of a still-common South Asian type: small rooms around a central courtyard. Interspersed among residences were various shops and ateliers, and a large area with threshing floors has been found at Harappa. The lower city shows no clear evidence of dominant religious structures. In continuation of village patterns, there probably was a domestic cult centered in the home, perhaps connected with the terracotta female figurines and the elaborate drainage system that suggests a concern for hygiene and purity. But for the culture’s larger religious patterns one must turn elsewhere, and first of all to the raised platform mound on the western edge of the urban complex.

The standardization of the urban plan suggests that dominant political and religious sanctions lay behind the civilization’s conservatism. It is noteworthy that the two major cities show none of the gradual growth that occurred in Mesopotamian cities, but were built from the very beginning with their dominant platform mounds. One may assume from this that the civilization’s basic values were set and preserved by those who established these structures, and that their functions were connected with the architectural eminences they created.

These platform structures—often misleadingly called citadels—did not have a primarily defensive purpose. Though the heavily walled mounds at some of the more decentralized locations like Harappa and Kalibangan may have been used defensively, and the Mohenjo-Daro platform had watchtowers fortified with pellets, it is noteworthy that at a time when Mesopotamian rulers had for several centuries raised large armies to extend their power, the Indus cities leave no traces of arrows, spears, or swords.

Rather than citadels, the monumental platforms are thus no doubt continuations of the structures found at pre-urban village sites, but on a far grander scale, with a surface area large enough for several big buildings. With such structures, they differ from unoccupied platforms elsewhere (most notably Altin in Turkmenistan). But they bear a resemblance to the "acropolis" at Elamite Susa, also on the west of the city, and the purpose is clearly similar: to give prominence to the institutions and activities set apart and above. It is even possible, with the Kulli culture as an intermediary, that Elam provided the model for the Indus platforms, as for its script. But in specific features the Indus platform reflects an independently emergent tradition with its own cultural dynamics.

Most of the structures on the Mohenjo-Daro mound have been variously identified. A large columned building was probably an assembly hall; another has been dubbed a college. Definite is a granary; with grain as the primary measure of wealth and medium of exchange, the control of grain distribution was tied to civic authority. Yet most distinctive was a structure called the Great Bath.

The Great Bath itself was both literally and no doubt also symbolically the center of this complex. A large rectangular bitumen-lined tank in a colonnaded courtyard, it had steps leading down into its water from both ends. Clearly the steps were for bathing, and possibly for crossing from one end to the other. Moreover, the trouble taken to build such an *elevated* bath probably reflects an intensified concern for purification already evident in the lower city. In later Indian notions, higher waters are purer. Quite likely the whole complex—with wells, bathing rooms, and bath—served for the performance of purification rites supervised or enacted by priests. And because it was situated adjacent to the granary, such concerns probably also tied in conceptually with an interest in agricultural fertility.

In all this one is faced with a combination of concerns similar to those that underlay the practices connected with the platform mounds of pre-Indus villages. There is a new assertion of political, economic, and religious authority in the building of such massive structures in the heart of the riverine plain. The platforms themselves, however, must have been more than *assertions* of power by a new urban elite; they must also have been intended as *sources* of power: not because they were dominant physically, but because they provided a stage for rituals that would bring the ascendant cultural forces into harmony with the divinely empowered order of nature so evident in the nearby rivers, herds, and fields of grain.

One representation of divinity in Indus sites has been met: the terracotta female figurine, a surviving type from pre-urban village cultures, with the closest analogues being from Kulli and Zhob. Similar figurines also reappear in classical periods of Hinduism and serve as models for the *yakṣīs* on early Buddhist stupas. The basic Indus type has bare breasts, tapered or full-length legs, a girdle, heavy pendant necklaces, and an elaborate hairdo. Whether one or more goddesses is represented is uncertain, but parallel evidence from Elam suggests an iconographic differentiation. A few male figurines have also been found. While human figurines are predominantly female, animal figurines are invariably male. Most common are various bovines: zebu, short-horned bulls, and water buffalo. Most likely different kinds of potency were represented: that of the female in the form of the anthropomorphic goddess, that of the male in animal form, perhaps linked with symbols of civic power.

INDUS VALLEY SEALS. For further insights into the religious conceptions of the Indus Valley civilization, however, one must turn to a new iconography that has no precedent in the pre-urban village cultures. This comes from the controversial evidence of the Indus Valley seals. Here again, however, one must reckon with prior developments in Sumer and Elam, which produced cylinder seals earlier than the flat steatite (soapstone) stamp seals—measuring about ¾–1¼ inches per side—of Indus sites. Although Elamite seals are linked typologically to Sumer, their subjects are distinctively Elamite, and in certain cases present images with Indus counterparts, indicating the likelihood of iconic cross-fertilization. Thus, two cylinder seals from Susa seem to draw on familiar Indus motifs: one a series of bulls eating from a manger, and the other a composite bull-antelope with long wavy horns facing a stylized pipal tree.

It is not, however, only the older urban civilizations that shed light on the Indus seal iconography, but also the likely continuities from Indus urban culture to the Dravidian village culture of South India. For not only is there the likelihood of linguistic continuities, but there is also archaeological evidence of cultural continuities from the Indus civilization, through Gujarat, to the Dravidian culture of the Deccan Plateau. Moreover, the urban models that the Indus cities provided during the Indus period not only reshaped village life in Indus times, but transmitted patterns that long outlived the Indus cities.

The Indus Valley stamp seals, found by the hundreds, confirm impressions gained from the terracotta figurines, most notably the tendency to accentuate female power in human form and male power through animal forms. But the situation with the seals is also more complex, as there are also humanized males and human-animal and even human-animal-plant composites of apparently both genders. Of single animals, many are drawn from nature: short-horned bulls, zebu, buffaloes, rhinoceroses, tigers, elephants, antelopes, crocodiles. Composite human-animal forms reach such complexity as one with tiger hind quarters, ram forepart, bull horns, elephant trunk, and human face. Others show animal heads radiating from a central trunk.

The most frequently depicted seal animal is a "unicorn" bull or ox of generalized bovine traits with a single erect horn that faces an apparently sacred object, perhaps a brazier or incense burner. The unicorn's horn is sometimes shown as a thin curved shaft crossed by lines that taper toward the tip, suggesting an affinity between animal and plant forms. Some of the naturally drawn animals also sometimes face simpler brazier or manger type objects. It is thus likely that "real" animals were linked with ritual symbols as well, and mythologically marked no less than the more clearly "mythic" figures like the composites, multicephalics, and unicorns.

It is the seals with humanoid figures, however, that take one beyond the general sense of mythic and ritual markers to evidence for a cult with a complex of sacrificial symbols. Females appear in various such scenes, but the most important are a series of scenes that portray a recurring ensemble involving goddesses, trees, tigers, and water buffaloes. Three seals show these interrelationships most dramatically. In one, a slender goddess with a crescent-shaped headdress kneels on a branch of a neem (margosa) tree, her arm outstretched toward a tiger below that turns its neck around to face her. The goddess's position replicates a worshiping pose in other seals and suggests that she beckons the tiger with her outstretched arm. In the second seal, the goddess, now descended from the neem tree, stands behind the tiger about to seize it from the back. Yet both goddess and tiger are strikingly transformed. The goddess has assumed multiple traits of the water buffalo: Along with filling out the stylized crescent horns, her legs and feet have become flanks and hoofs and her ears pointed and flapped. Meanwhile, the tiger has sprouted horns that replicate the serrated V branch and leaf pattern of the neem, which now stands behind the goddess.

These two seals seem to suggest that the goddess has her primary affinity with the buffalo, and an opposition to the tiger. But a third seal shows a fusion of the goddess and the tiger, joined together so that the goddess retains a standing human form as the forepart of a tiger's body that extends back from her hips and rear. Here, where the goddess's affinity is with the tiger, she has wavy ram's horns rather than buffalo-like horns. There is thus the suggestion that while the goddess has affinities with both the tiger and the buffalo, the two animals themselves remain in an oppositional and unfused tension.

This sense of a tiger-buffalo opposition is further reinforced in the so-called proto-Śiva seal from Mohenjo-Daro. But before discussing this seal, one should observe the primary seal evidence for a connection between the transformational themes that link the goddess to these and other animals and to a sacrificial cult. Clearest in this regard is the so-called ritual seal from Harappa depicting a goddess in the U-shaped twin branches of a stylized pipal tree, which rises from a circular platform base or altar. The goddess has crescent buffalo-like horns and a pony tail like the goddess who descends toward the tiger from the neem. But her horns have a third central peak, and she does not have the hind legs or hoofs of the buffalo. Standing at rest, her bangled arms loose at her sides, she observes a horned and pony-tailed figure much like herself kneeling at the base of the pipal in the same "suppliant" posture that the goddess in the neem adopts toward the tiger. The kneeling suppliant has led before the goddess in the pipal a composite animal with buffalo hind quarters, ram horns and forepart, and a large masklike human face. Seven figures in thigh-length tunics, single backward-curving horns, pigtails, and bangled arms stand or possibly file before this scene, which clearly depicts the essentials of a sacrifice. The horned goddess is the recipient of an offering, its composite nature no doubt representing something of the range of victims she receives: the ram, buffalo, and the human face. Whether all are real offerings, or the human face solely symbolic, cannot be ascertained.

The kneeling figure making the offering in the "ritual seal" has an intermediate status between the horned goddess whose dress he affects and the composite human-animal he offers. The precise nature of his sacrificial role eludes researchers. But it is striking that the combination of elements that the seals configure remain coherent in the setting of still-current South Indian village rituals. In that Dravidian context, the neem, a female tree, is itself a form of the goddess. It is linked to her fierce side, and more specifically to the forms she takes to "cool" and thus overcome violent forces like smallpox, fevers, and various demons. The pipal, on the other hand, is the male tree the goddess marries, so the two trees will be planted to actually intertwine. It is highly suggestive that while the seal goddess on the neem branch descends to overcome the fierce and *wild* tiger, the goddess in the pipal stands tranquilly in a position to receive as a sacrifice the composite of human and *domesticated* animals that would seem to reflect the range of her regular cult.

Since the discovery of the Indus civilization, the one seal most central to a succession of different interpretations of the religion has been the so-called proto-Śiva seal from Mohenjo-Daro. This designation, however, now appears to have been based on a combination of misattributions: most notably the "three heads" that actually outline the dewlap of a buffalo face, and the "trident" headdress that actually consists of buffalo horns enclosing a central fan-shaped and stylized tree or sheaf of grain reminiscent of the tree-and-horns headpiece worn by Elamite and Sumerian priests. Moreover, above this "mitre" is what looks like a stylized pipal tree. The main figure is thus a humanlike water buffalo with a buffalo head and horns, axially centered on representations of a plant and/or tree. He sits with his knees out to the side and his feet drawn in below an erect phallus. The posture has usually been identified as yogic, though it is also reminiscent of the posture of the androgynous bovine seated in the pose of the goddess on an Elamite seal. Possibly the series of V-shaped stripes that end at his waist—sometimes regarded as necklaces—represent tiger stripes, making him a figure in whom the tiger-buffalo tension finds a resolution in a yogic or more likely regally dominant self-discipline.

The central buffalo figure in the "proto-Śiva" seal seems to be the male counterpart to the goddess, who herself combines both tiger and buffalo attributes in various transformational modes. But in this male figure, what remains tense and dynamic in the goddess seems to find poise, dominance, and resolution. This is especially suggestive in view of the four animals that surround him, for the tiger and buffalo appear among these along with the elephant and rhinoceros. By analogy with later Indian iconographies, the four together are likely to have had a directional symbolism: the elephant linked with the east, the rhino with the west, the tiger with the north, and the buffalo with the south. Most strikingly, while the elephant and rhinoceros appear indifferent to each other, both facing east, the tiger and buffalo, which most directly flank the buffalo-man's horns, face each other in a state that has the look of combative arousal. Furthermore, a stick figure appears over the back of the charging tiger: possibly a form of the goddess herself.

Of the four "wild" animals on the seal, two—the elephant and water buffalo—are susceptible to some degree of domestication even though they retain their "wild" traits. There is some evidence that elephants were captured and trained for heavy forest work during the Indus period, and it is likely that domestication of the water buffalo for agricultural use in the river valley was one of the major achievements of the Indus civilization, complementing the village cultures' earlier domestication of the zebu in the highlands. It is significant that the water buffalo played the main symbolic role in Indus urban culture instead of the zebu, despite the latter's longstanding economic importance. This suggests that the buffalo had a critical role in the riverine agriculture on which the Indus system was based, and that it symbolized the control of both nature and culture that made urban civilization possible.

The central water buffalo figure on the proto-Śiva seal seems to have the same general symbolic meaning of power-under-control as does the bull in Mesopotamian symbolism, and like the latter it probably also represents the king or ruling authority. Because the figure is male, it may be assumed that the Indus rulers also were male, as the few examples of protrait sculpture at Mohenjo-Daro suggest. There is little doubt, however, that the Indus people considered the goddess to be the real power and the ruler only her surrogate, empowered by her and thus responsible to her and for her. This is certainly consistent with the symbolism of the seal, where the central figure seems to bring into a regulated and authoritative image the various forces that the goddess oversees: agriculture, animal sacrifice, and the dangerous forces associated with the truly wild regions beyond the domain of civilization.

What kind of authority—priestly, political, economic—this figure represented still remains uncertain. The urban background of the ritual complex on the platform mound leaves all these possibilities open, and the distinctively Indian features of Indus symbolism make it risky to explain the Indus civilization on the basis of other urban cultures, even the closely related proto-Elamite culture. There is little doubt, however, that Indus Valley religion played a major role in establishing and maintaining that authority, and there is even less doubt that sacrifices to the goddess were the primary form of cultic practice. All of the external evidence—earlier village cultures, contemporary and related western Asian urban cultures, and later Dravidian culture—points to this conclusion, and the Indus evidence seems to confirm it.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS. Taking the evidence as a whole, it is possible to construct a model of Indus Valley religion that explains its major known features and its place in the Indus civilization. The central element was certainly worship of the goddess at both the domestic and public levels, with corresponding levels of cultic practice. At the domestic level, votive sacrifices involving figurines were the likely form of worship, with a related emphasis on bathing and ritual purity. At the public level, represented by the raised platform mounds, worship must have involved more powerful blood sacrifices.

Mohenjo-Daro seems to have been the major cultic center for the system as a whole and the site for the most important sacrifices. Indus symbolism and later Dravidian practice point toward water buffalo sacrifices as the most important cultic rituals. The buffalo is the husband of the goddess in Dravidian cult sacrifices, and on Indus seals he appears as both the goddess's surrogate and the symbol of centralized rule; it is likely that Indus cultic practice involved these elements, at least on major ceremonial occasions, but there is no direct evidence for how this might have been conceptualized.

The interpretation of Indus Valley religion cannot proceed beyond such speculation at the present time. Much has been learned about the Indus civilization since its discovery in the 1920s, and the pattern of Indus Valley religion is beginning to emerge from the growing body of data, but there are still many gaps to fill. The major task, moreover, has hardly begun: to trace the contributions of the Indus system to later Indian religious developments and to understand the place of the Indus system in the larger pattern of religious history.

SEE ALSO Goddess Worship; Hinduism; Indian Religions, articles on Mythic Themes, Rural Traditions; Iranian Religions; Nāgas and Yakṣas; Prehistoric Religions, article on The Eurasian Steppes and Inner Asia; Tamil Religions; Vedism and Brahmanism.

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Understanding Indus Valley religion has been a concern of investigators since Marshall and Mackay offered their first tentative interpretations, and the issue receives significant attention in the cited works by Wheeler and Fairservis. Indus seals in particular have been studied for clues to Indus religious concepts, with the so-called proto-Śiva seal receiving the greatest interest. A major new interpretation of the symbolism on this seal is found in Alf Hiltebeitel's "The Indus Valley 'Proto-Śiva,' Reexamined through Reflections on the Goddess, the Buffalo, and the Symbolism of *vahanas,*" *Anthropos* 73 (1978): 767–797. Earlier interpretations of this seal and of other supposedly related Indus data are challenged in Doris Srinivasan's "Unhinging Śiva from the Indus Civilization," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1984 pt. 1): 77–99. New insights into the meaning of Indus seals, especially those dealing with goddess-and-tiger motifs, are presented in Pupul Jayakar's *The Earthen Drum: An Introduction to the Ritual Arts of Rural India* (New Delhi, 1980), a beautifully illustrated book that interprets Indus religious data by drawing comparisons with the art and religious practices of later Indian folk traditions.

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INITIATION

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
MEN'S INITIATION
WOMEN'S INITIATION

INITIATION: AN OVERVIEW

The term *initiation* in the most general sense denotes a body of rites and oral teachings whose purpose is to produce a radical modification of the religious and social status of the person to be initiated. In philosophical terms, initiation is equivalent to an ontological mutation of the existential condition. The novice emerges from his ordeal a totally different being: he has become "another." Generally speaking, there are three categories, or types, of initiation.

The first category comprises the collective rituals whose function is to effect the transition from childhood or adolescence to adulthood, and which are obligatory for all members of a particular society. Ethnological literature terms these rituals "puberty rites," "tribal initiation," or "initiation into an age group."

The other two categories of initiation differ from puberty initiations in that they are not obligatory for all members of the community; indeed, most of them are performed individually or for comparatively small groups. The second category includes all types of rites of entering a secret society, a *Bund*, or a confraternity. These closed societies are limited to one sex and are extremely jealous of their secrets. Most of them are male, constituting secret fraternities (*Männerbünde*), but there are also some female societies. However, in the ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern world, such sites, or "mysteries," were open to both sexes. Although they differ somewhat in type, we can still classify the Greco-Oriental mysteries as secret confraternities.

Finally, there is a third category of initiation, the type that occurs in connection with a mystical vocation. On the level of archaic religions, the vocation would be that of the medicine man or shaman. A specific characteristic of this third category is the importance of personal experience. Initiation in secret societies and those of the shamanic type have a good deal in common. What distinguishes them in principle is the ecstatic element, which is of greatest importance in shamanic initiation. Despite their specialized uses, there is a sort of common denominator among all these categories of initiation, with the result that, from a certain point of view, all initations are much alike.

PUBERTY RITES. The tribal initiation introduces the novice into the world of spiritual and cultural values and makes him a responsible member of society. The young man learns not only the behavior patterns, techniques, and institutions of adults but also the myths and the sacred traditions of the tribe, the names of the gods, and the history of their works; above all, he learns the mystical relations between the tribe and supernatural beings as those relations were established at the beginning of time. In a great many cases, puberty rites, in one way or another, imply the revelation of sexuality. In short, through initiation, the candidate passes beyond the "natural" mode of being—that of the child—and gains access to the cultural mode; that is, he is introduced to spiritual values. Often, on the occasion of the puberty rites the entire community is religiously regenerated, for the rites are the repetitions of operations and actions performed by supernatural beings in mythical time.

Any age-grading initiation requires a certain number of more or less dramatic tests and trials: separation from the mother, isolation in the bush under the supervision of an instructor, interdiction against eating certain vegetable or animal foods, knocking out of an incisor, circumcision (followed in some cases by subincision), scarification, and so forth. The sudden revelation of sacred objects (bull-roarers, images of supernatural beings, etc.) also constitutes an initiatory test. In many cases, the puberty initiation implies a ritual "death," followed by a "resurrection" or a "rebirth." Among certain Australian tribes the extraction of the incisor is interpreted as the neophyte's "death," and the same significance is even more evident in the case of circumcision. The novices isolated in the bush are likened to ghosts: they cannot use their fingers and must take food directly with their mouths, as the dead are supposed to do. Sometimes they are painted white, a sign that they have become ghosts. The huts in which they are isolated represent the body of a monster or a water animal: the neophytes are considered to have been swallowed by the monster, and they remain in its belly until they are "reborn" or "resuscitated." The initiatory death is interpreted either as a *descensus ad inferos* or as a *regressus ad uterum*, and the "resurrection" is sometimes understood as a "rebirth." In a number of cases, the novices are symbolically buried, or they pretend to have forgotten their past lives, their family relations, their names, and their language, and must learn everything again. Sometimes the intiatory trials reach a high degree of cruelty.

SECRET CULTS. Even on the archaic levels of culture (for example, in Aboriginal Australia), a puberty initiation may entail a series of stages. In such cases sacred history can be revealed only gradually. The deepening of the religious experience and knowledge demands a special vocation or an outstanding intelligence and willpower. This fact explains the emergence both of the secret cults and of the confraternities of shamans and medicine men. The rites of entrance into a secret society correspond in every respect to those of tribal initiations: seclusion, initiatory tests and tortures, "death" and "resurrection," bestowal or imposition of a new name, revelation of a secret doctrine, learning of a new language. A few innovations are, however, characteristic of the secret societies: among these are the great importance attached to secrecy, the particular cruelty of initiatory trials, the predominance of the ancestors' cult (the ancestors being personified by masks), and the absence of a supreme being in the ceremonial life of the group. In the *Weiberbünde*, or women's societies, the initiation consists of a series of specific tests, followed by revelations concerning fertility, conception, and birth.

Initiatory "death" signifies both the end of the "natural," acultural man and the passage to a new mode of existence, that of a being "born to the spirit," that is, one who does not live exclusively in an immediate reality. Thus the initiatory "death" and "resurrection" represent a religious process through which the initiate becomes "another," patterned on the model revealed by gods or mythical ancestors. In other words, one becomes a real man to the extent that one resembles a superhuman being. The importance of initiation for the understanding of the archaic mind centers essentially in the fact that it shows that the real man—the spiritual one—is not automatic, is not the result of a natural process. He is "made" by the old masters, in accordance with the models revealed by divine beings in mythical times. These old masters form the spiritual elite of archaic societies. Their main role is to transmit to the new generations the deep meaning of existence and to help them assume the responsibility of real men, and hence to participate actively in the cultural life of the community. But because culture means, for archaic and traditional societies, the sum of the values received from supernatural beings, the function of initiation may thus be summarized: it reveals to every new generation a world open to the transhuman; a world, one may say, that is transcendental.

SHAMANS AND MEDICINE MEN. As for shamanic initiations, they consist in ecstatic experiences (e.g., dreams, visions, trances) and in an instruction imparted by the spirits or the old master shamans (e.g., shamanic techniques, names and functions of the spirits, mythology and genealogy of the clan, secret language). Sometimes initiation is public and includes a rich and varied ritual; this is the case, for example, among the Buriats of Siberia. But the lack of a ritual of this sort in no way implies the absence of an initiation; it is perfectly possible for the initiation to be performed in the candidate's dreams or ecstatic experiences. In Siberia and Central Asia the youth who is called to be a shaman goes through a psychopathic crisis during which he is considered to be tortured by demons and ghosts who play the role of the masters of intiation. These "initiatory sicknesses" generally contain the following symbolic elements: (1) torture and dismemberment of the body, (2) scraping of the flesh and reduction to a skeleton, (3) replacement of organs and renewal of blood, (4) a sojourn in the underworld and instruction by demons and the souls of dead shamans, (5) an ascent to heaven, and (6) "resurrection," that is, access to a new mode of being, that of a consecrated individual capable of communicating personally and directly with gods, demons, and souls of the dead. A somewhat analagous pattern is to be found in the initiations of Australian medicine men.

The little we know about Eleusis and the initiations in the Hellenistic mysteries there indicates that the central experience of the initiand (*mustēs*) depended on a revelation concerning the death and resurrection of the divine founder of the cult. Thanks to this revelation, the *mustēs* acceded to another, superior mode of being, and concurrently secured for himself a better fate after death.

THE MEANING OF INITIATORY ORDEALS. In many puberty intiations, the novices must not go to bed until late in the night (see some examples in Eliade, 1958, pp. 14–15). This initiatory ordeal is documented not only among nonliterate cultures (e.g., Australia, coastal California, Tierra del Fuego) but even in highly developed religions. Thus, the Mesopotamian hero Gilgamesh crosses the waters of death to find out from Utanapishtim how he can gain immortality. "Try not to sleep for six days and seven nights!" is the answer. But Gilgamesh at once falls asleep, and Utnapishtim wakes him on the seventh day. Indeed, not to sleep is not only a victory over physical fatigue but is above all a demonstration of will and spiritual strength; to remain awake is equivalent to being conscious, present in the world, responsible.

Another puberty initiation ordeal is the interdiction against eating for a few days, or against drinking water except by "sucking it through a reed" (Australia, Tierra del Fuego). Among some Australian tribes, the dietary prohibitions are successively removed as myths, dances, and pantomimes teach the novices the religious origin of each kind of food. But most puberty ordeals are cruel and terrifying. In Africa, as in Australia, circumcision is equivalent to death; the operators, dressed in lion and leopard skins, attack the novices' genital organs, indicating that the intention is to kill them. In the Kongo or the Loango coast, boys between ten and twelve years old drink a potion that makes them unconscious. They are then carried into the jungle and circumcised. Among the Pangwe, the novices are taken to a house full of ants' nests and are badly bitten; meanwhile, their guardians cry, "You will be killed; now you must die!" (See examples in Eliade, 1958, pp. 23ff., 30ff.) Excesses of this kind sometimes result in the death of the boy. In such cases the mother is not informed until after the period of segregation in the bush; she is then told that her son was killed by the spirit, or that, swallowed by a monster with the other novices, he did not succeed in escaping from its belly.

The assimilation of initiatory tortures to the sufferings of the novices in being swallowed and digested by the monster is confirmed by the symbolism of the cabin in which the boys are isolated. Often the cabin represents the body or the open maw of a water monster, a crocodile, for example, or of a snake. In some regions of Ceram the opening through which the novices pass is called the snake's mouth. Being shut up in the cabin is equivalent to being imprisoned in the monster's body. On Rooke Island (Umboi), when the novices are isolated in a cabin in the jungle, a number of masked men tell the women that their sons are being devoured by a terrifying, demonic being. In New Guinea, the house built for the circumcision of the boys has the form of the monster Barlun, who is believed to swallow the novices; that is, the building has a "belly" and a "tail." The novice's entrance into the cabin is equivalent to entering the monster's belly. Among the Nor-Papua the novices are swallowed and later disgorged by a spirit whose voice sounds like a flute. The initiatory cabin represents not only the belly of the devouring monster but also the womb. The novice's "death" signifies a return to the embryonic state.

It is in the interval between initiatory "death" and "resurrection" that the Australian novice is gradually introduced to the sacred history of the tribe and is permitted to witness, at least in part, its pantomimes and ceremonial dances. Learning the myths of origins, that is, learning how things came into existence, the novice discovers that he is the creation of supernatural beings, the result of a specific primordial event, the consequence of a series of mythological occurrences, in short, of a sacred history. Such revelations, received through the ordeals of a ritual "death," characterize most of the age-grading initiations. The "resurrection," or "rebirth," proclaims the coming into being of a new person: an adult aware of his religious condition and of his responsibilities in the world.

FROM TRIBAL INTIATION TO SECRET CULT. Female puberty initiations are less widespread than boys' initiations, although they are documented in the ancient stages of culture (Australia, Tierra del Fuego, and elsewhere). The rites are less developed than those for boys' initiations. Furthermore, girls' initiations are individual; that is, they begin with the first menstruation. This physical symptom, the sign of sexual maturity, compels a break—the young girl's separation from the community. The length of the girl's segregation varies from culture to culture: from three days (in Australia and India) to twenty months (New Zealand), or even several years (Cambodia). Consequently, in many parts of the world, the girls do in the end form a group, and then their initiations are performed collectively, under the direction of their older female relatives (as in India) or of other old women (Africa). These tutors instruct them in the secrets of sexuality and fertility and teach them the customs of the tribe and at least some of its religious traditions—those accessible to women. The instruction is general, but its essence is religious: it consists in a revelation of the sacrality of women. The girl is ritually prepared to assume her specific mode of being, that is, to become a "creator of life," and at the same time is taught her responsibilities in society and in the world—responsibilities that are always religious in nature.

Among some peoples, there are several degrees of female initiation. Thus, among the Yao of Thailand initiation begins with the first menstruation, is repeated and elaborated during the first pregnancy, and is only concluded with the birth of the first child. There are also a number of women's cult associations, most probably created under the influence of the male secret societies. Some African female secret associations include masculine elements (for instance, the directress, symbolizing a leopard, attacks and "kills" the novices; finally they "kill" the leopard, and free the novices from its belly). Among the Mordvins of Russia there existed a secret women's society whose emblem was a hobbyhorse and whose members were called "horses." But such masculine influences have been exercised chiefly on the external organization of female societies. (On female intiations, see Eliade, 1958, pp. 44ff., 78ff., and especially Lincoln, 1981.)

The morphology of men's secret societies is extremely complex, and their origin and history are still obscure. But there is a continuity between puberty rites and rites of initiation into men's secret societies. Throughout Oceania, for example, both initiations of boys and those requisite for membership in the men's secret societies involve the same ritual of symbolic death through being swallowed by a sea monster, followed by resurrection—which indicates that all the ceremonies derive historically from a single center. In West Africa, we find a similar phenomenon: the secret societies derive from the puberty initiations. (For other examples, see Eliade, 1958, pp. 73ff., 153.)

The socioreligious phenomenon of secret male cults and masked confraternities is especially widespread in Melanesia and Africa. As in the tribal initiations, the rites for entrance into men's secret cult societies present the well-known pattern: seclusion, initiatory ordeals and tortures, revelation of a secret doctrine, bestowal of a new name, instruction in a special language.

In the two American continents, the climbing of a tree or a sacred pole plays an important role not only in puberty initiations (as, for example, in the north of the Gran Chaco, and among the Mandan, the Kwakiutl, and the Pomo) but also in public festivals (the Festival of the Sun held by the Ge; various festivals among the Tupi, the Plains Indians, the Salish, the Delaware, the Maidu), or in the ceremonies and healing séances of shamans (Yaruro, Araucanian, Maidu). The climbing of the tree or of the sacred pole has the same goal: to meet with the gods or heavenly powers in order to obtain a blessing, whether a personal consecration, a favor for the community, or the cure of a sick person.

MARTIAL AND HEROIC INITIATIONS. In ancient Greece, some heroic scenarios can be identified in the saga of Theseus; for example, his ritual descent into the sea (an ordeal equivalent to a journey into the beyond) or his entering the labyrinth and fighting the monster. Other initiatory ordeals survived in the famous Spartan discipline of Lykurgos, under which an adolescent was sent away to the mountains, naked, to live for a full year on what he could steal, being careful to let no one see him. In other words, Lacedaemonian youths led the life of a wolf for a whole year.

Among the ancient Germans, a young man had to confront certain ordeals typical of the initiations of warriors. Tacitus tells us that among the Chatti the candidate cut neither his hair nor his beard until he had killed an enemy. A Taifali youth had to bring down a boar or a wolf; among the Heruli, he had to fight unarmed. Through these ordeals, the young man took to himself a wild animal's mode of being; he became a dreaded warrior in the measure in which he behaved like a beast of prey. Such warriors were known as berserkers, literally, "in shirts (*serkr*) of bear," or as *úlfheðnar*, "men with the skin of a wolf." They thought that they could metamorphose themselves into wolves by the ritual donning of a wolfskin. By putting on the skin, the initiand assimilated the behavior of a wolf; in other words, he became a wild-beast warrior, irresistible and invulnerable. "Wolf" was the appellation of the members of the Indo-European military societies.

The martial initiatory ordeal *par excellence* was the single combat, conducted in such a way that it finally roused the candidate to the "fury of the berserkers." The ancient Germans called this sacred force *wut*, a term that Adam of Bremen translated as *furor*; it was a sort of demonic frenzy, which filled the adversary with terror and finally paralyzed him. The Irish *ferg* (lit., "anger") is an almost exact equivalent of this same terrifying sacred experience, specific to heroic combat.

The initiation of the youthful hero Cú Chulainn admirably illustrates such tumultuous and burning "fury." While still a little boy, Cú Chulainn asked his uncle, the king of Ulster, for arms and a chariot, and set off for the castle of his uncle's three famous adversaries. Although those heroes were supposed to be invincible, the little boy conquered them and cut off their heads. But the exploit heated him to such a degree that a witch warned the king that if precautions were not taken, the boy would kill all the warriors in Ulster. The king sent a troop of naked women to meet Cú Chulainn, and the lad hid his face, that he might not see their nakedness. Thus they were able to lift him from the chariot and place him in successive vats of cold water to extinguish his wrath (*ferg*). The first vat burst its staves and its hoops; the next boiled with big bubbles; "the third vat into which he went, some men might endure it and others not. Then the boy's *ferg* went down, and his garments were put on him" (*Táin Bó Cuailnge*, trans. Joseph Dunn, London, 1914, pp. 60–78).

INITIATION IN THE CHRISTIAN AND WESTERN WORLD. Initiatory scenarios can be recognized in many medieval and postmedieval religious, mystical, and esoteric groups, some, but not all of them, considered heretical by the ecclesiastical authorities. The matter is too complex, and as yet insufficiently researched, to permit a brief summary. Still, throughout almost all of rural Europe, and down to the end of the nineteenth century, the ceremonies marking the passage from one age class to the next still reproduced certain themes characteristic of traditional puberty initiations. Furthermore, the symbols and rituals of a secret society can be recognized in the military organizations of youth: the ordeals of their entrance, their peculiar dances (for example, the Scottish sword dance), and even their costumes. Also, the ceremonial of the artisans' guilds has an initiatory pattern, especially among the blacksmiths and masons. Finally, the closed milieus of the alchemists contained many recognizable elements; indeed, the *opus alchymicum* implies the well-known pattern of initiation: tortures, "death," and "resurrection" (Eliade, 1978, pp. 142ff.).

It is significant that in medieval and postmedieval times, some initiatory patterns were conserved in the oral as well as written literatures, for instance, in folk tales, in the Arthurian cycle, in the neo-Greek epic *Digenis Akritas*, in the ecstatic poems of *Fedeli d'amore*, and even in certain children's games (see some examples in Eliade, 1958, pp. 124ff.; Eliade, 1969, pp. 120ff.). No less significant is the survival of initiatory scenarios in many pre-Romantic and Romantic novels, from Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* to Balzac's *Séraphita*. With regard to the initiatory rituals practiced by the various secret associations of the same period, only that of Freemasonry seems to prolong an authentic tradition. Most other secret groups are recent creations, and their initiation rites were either constructed by their founders or inspired by certain esoteric literature. The same phenomenon of improvising secret associations with more or less complicated initiatory ordeals continued into the twentieth century (see Eliade, 1976, pp. 58ff.).

But such pseudo-initiatory improvisations have a religious significance. In recent times, literary critics have recognized initiation themes in much modern European and American literature; Nerval (*Aurélia*), Jules Verne (*Voyage au centre de la terre, L'île mystérieuse*), T. S. Eliot (*The Waste Land),* and many other contemporary writers, such as Sherwood Anderson, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Thomas Wolfe, and William Faulkner, have made use of this notation (see Eliade, 1969, pp. 123ff.). Other authors have deciphered initiatory scenarios in contemporary plastic arts and especially in cinema. Thus, in the modern Western world, initiatory symbols have survived on the unconscious level (i.e., in dreams and imaginary universes). It is significant that these survivals are studied today with an interest difficult to imagine sixty or seventy years ago. In the desacralized Western world, the sacred is present and active chiefly in the realms of the imaginary. But imaginary experiences are part of the total human being, no less important than his diurnal experiences. This means that the nostalgia for initiatory scenarios, a nostalgia deciphered in so many literary and artistic creations, reveals modern man's longing for a total and definitive renewal, for a *renovatio* capable of radically changing his existence.

SEE ALSO Berserkers; Frenzy; Mystery Religions; Ordeal; Shamanism.

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INITIATION: MEN'S INITIATION

The word *initiation* implies a new beginning, as the Latin *initium* suggests. By means of a rite of passage or transition, a person is separated from one social or religious status and incorporated into another. From a religious perspective, initiation may be seen as an encounter with the sacred. The transition is therefore a profound one, with the initiand emerging from the passage changed not only socially but existentially and spiritually as well. This radical transformation is almost universally symbolized by images of death and rebirth. One is not simply changed; one is made new.

The study of initiation in general, particularly in primitive society, has been almost synonymous with the study of men's initiation in particular. This situation exists, in part, because the vast majority of ethnologists, anthropologists, and even untrained observers were male and, therefore, had greater access to the secret rituals of their own sex. More germane, however, is the fact that male initiations are frequently given more importance, both social and religious, than female initiations. They are, in any event, usually more elaborate and therefore more conspicuous than their female counterparts. Men's initiation may be divided into three categories: puberty rites; specialized initiations into secret societies or confraternities; and specialized initiations into religious vocations or mystical careers.

PRIMITIVE PUBERTY RITES: METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES. These invariably obligatory rituals effect the transition from childhood or adolescence to manhood. The boy is separated, often quite literally, from the world of women and children, emerging from his seclusion a man in the company of men. For the male, the arrival of biological puberty is not as punctuated an event as it is for the female. Male initiations are therefore largely cultural rather than biological transitions. Relatedly, boys are usually initiated in groups.

The nature and purpose of male puberty rites have been interpreted from three primary perspectives: history of religions, anthropology, and psychoanalytically oriented schools of psychology. Although they emphasize different aspects of the ritual, these approaches often complement rather than conflict with one another.

Historians of religion, most notably Mircea Eliade, are essentially concerned with interpreting the meaning of the ritual, particularly its symbols of transformation, such as death and rebirth. Historians of religion seek to make intelligible the existential moment experienced by the initiand himself. Their inquiry ranges well beyond primitive society in general and puberty rites in particular in an effort to discern universal patterns in initiation per se. As a consequence this approach is more concerned with cross-cultural symbols than it is with either the varying social frameworks in which those symbols appear or the structure of the rite as such.

By comparison, structure is a primary concern for the anthropologist. Beginning with Arnold van Gennep's *Rites of Passage* (1909), the "career" of the initiand has been analyzed from the perspective of its three basic stages: "separation" from one social status, "transition," and "incorporation" into another social status. Like Eliade, van Gennep clearly recognized the religious dimension of initiation in primitive society. Developing the views of van Gennep and Bronislaw Malinowski, contemporary anthropology concerns itself primarily with how the rite "functions" in primitive society. Its emphasis is, therefore, on how rites reinforce social values, maintain social stability, promote group solidarity, and provide needed instruction and psychological support for the individual.

Unlike Eliade and van Gennep, however, the contemporary social sciences regard initiation as an essentially secular activity. Concerning themselves almost exclusively with male initiation, they suggest that adolescent boys, because of their increasing prowess, strength, and sexual capacities, threaten the order of society and its social equilibrium. Puberty rites help socialize these individuals, thereby allaying their socially disruptive potential. Although theories that stress group solidarity are applicable in a primitive context, they often shed little light on individual initiations in post-primitive society.

Psychoanalytically oriented schools of psychology have shown great interest in men's puberty rites. In fact, it is only this particular aspect of primitive society that has attracted their attention. Using Freudian theory, particularly oedipal conflict and castration anxiety, as a starting point, most exponents of these schools concern themselves not with puberty rites in general but rather with ritual details such as circumcision.

PUBERTY RITES: PATTERNS AND ISSUES. From a cross-cultural standpoint, three comprehensive traits characterize male puberty rites in primitive society. First, as noted, is the structure of separation, transition, and incorporation. This scenario is frequently correlated with images of death and rebirth. Second is the disclosure of sacred knowledge, particularly mythical paradigms. Third is the performance of ritual operations on the body and the often related presence of ordeals.

Separation and incorporation/death and rebirth. As illustrated by Eliade, separation from childhood and the female realm is often dramatic and symbolized by death. In Australia, for example, mythical beings in the form of masked men snatch the boys from their mothers and "devour" them. The mothers mourn for the novices just as one mourns for the dead.

The transitional period between separation and incorporation is often prolonged, particularly in the elaborate rituals afforded the male. This period, referred to as one of "liminality," has attracted increasing attention. The social anthropologist Victor Turner draws particular attention to the "liminal persona" as one that is neither this nor that, neither here nor there, but rather betwixt and between. The period of liminality is one of ambiguity and paradox. The initiand may be seen as neither living nor dead, but as both at the same time. Much of the symbolism accompanying this rite is accordingly bivalent. The hut in which the secluded initiand dwells, for example, symbolizes both devouring monster and generative womb, that is, both death and rebirth. During this period, the initiand is seen as pure possibility or primal totality. Males are often dressed as females, thus representing androgyne. Again, they are neither male nor female, but both. The liminal persona is in many ways "invisible," living beyond the norms and categories of society. Traditional taboos and moral injunctions do not apply to him. Liminal personas are sacred, even dangerous. It is therefore often necessary that they be purified before reentering society.

Disclosure of knowledge and mythical paradigms. Some scholars, particularly the psychoanalytically oriented, have suggested that little, if any, significant knowledge is imparted during initiation. Most other scholars, however, suggest that instruction is, in fact, central to the primitive rite. A more significant issue concerns the type of knowledge imparted. Sociologists emphasize instruction in behavior that will be appropriate to the new social status of the person. Historians of religion tend to emphasize the revelation of sacred myths and the true meaning of ritual objects. To a certain degree these two forms of knowledge are interrelated; it is through the myth that the initiand learns who he is and what he is to be. It is, however, the revelation of sacred myth and, relatedly, divine-human relations that require the ritual to be kept secret from women and the uninitiated. Almost always, it is the men only who receive instruction in these matters. Male initiation frequently takes place on a secluded and sacred ground to which women have no access. According to the myths in many cultures, it is on this very ground that the first initiation took place. Among the Kamilaroi of Australia, the sacred ground is the first camp of the All-Father, Baiame. The novices not only learn of mythical events, they reexperience them, returning to the primordial time when the first initiation took place.

Ritual operations and ordeal. Ritual operations on the body are widely performed during primitive puberty rites. The body may be cut, scarred, pierced, branded, or tattooed in innumerable ways, often with great ingenuity and artistic skill. The operation symbolizes differentiation from uninitiated individuals as well as permanent incorporation in a new group. Particularly painful operations, along with harsh treatment, tests of endurance, and other imposed hardships are common in all but the most archaic of male initiations. Invariably, such an ordeal symbolizes ritual death and has a mythological model.

Although van Gennep regarded genital operations as simply another form of bodily modification with no unique significance, circumcision in particular has attracted uncommon interest and generated great controversy. Circumcision of males at puberty is a widespread, if not universal, practice among archaic tribes. Many societies see it as equivalent to initiation itself and regard uncircumcised men as children. Mythologies and rituals of circumcision are generally dramatic; death symbolism is often conspicuous. The masters of initiation frequently portray mythical animals that seize and symbolically destroy the genitals of the novice. Like Freud himself, many psychoanalytically oriented scholars see in male puberty rites a ritual confirmation of Freudian theory. They regard circumcision as a symbolic form of castration and a primary means of generating castration anxiety within the adolescent male. The ritual act is seen as an ongoing repetition of a primal punishment imposed by a primal father on his rebellious sons. The ritual produces submission to the father's will and reinforces the taboo against incest. Adherents of this school regard ordeal as the essential aspect of the ritual and see instruction as insignificant or peripheral.

Far less prevalent than circumcision is the practice of subincision, whereby the undersurface of the penis is slit open. The initial cut is made some time after circumcision, but may be subsequently lengthened until the incision extends along the entire penile urethra. The wound is periodically opened and blood is drawn. Various explanations and interpretations have been offered. In certain cases, particularly where the incision is explicitly equated with a vulva, the intent of the rite is apparently to provide the male, in symbolic fashion, with both sex organs. The initiand takes on a bisexual or androgynous character, thereby emulating a divine totality. Relatedly, the blood periodically drawn from the reopened wound may symbolize menstrual blood. In Australia and elsewhere, blood is sacred, and males are often anointed with it during the initiation ritual.

The psychologist Bruno Bettelheim offers interpretations of both circumcision and subincision in primitive society. He observes that adolescent boys experience anxiety because they lack a clear biological confirmation of sexual maturity such as the female's first menstruation. Departing from mainstream Freudian theory, Bettelheim sees circumcision as a means of allaying rather than increasing anxiety. Circumcision, in effect, demonstrates to the boys their sexual maturity. Subconsciously at least, they desire it. Their anxiety alleviated, they can more easily adjust to their new social roles. Subincision, for Bettelheim, is rooted in the male's subconscious envy of the female, her sexual organs, and her reproductive ability. Such envy may be seen as the male counterpart of "penis envy" experienced by females, according to Freudian theory. The ritual of subincision creates a vagina; its periodic opening recreates menstruation; and the ritual, according to Bettelheim, helps the male master his envy of the opposite sex.

Despite evident differences, ritual homologues of the primitive puberty rite are found in every major religion: confirmation in Christianity, Upanayana in Hinduism, and bar mitzvah in Judaism, to name a few. This last-named rite will serve as a representative illustration. Properly speaking, the term *bar mitzvah* refers not to the ritual but rather to the initiand. On the day following his thirteenth birthday, the Jewish male becomes a "son of the commandments," as the term suggests. Separated from religious and moral childhood, he is incorporated into a life of ethical responsibility and ritual obligation. He is incorporated, too, into the *minyan*, the ten persons necessary for the recital of public prayer. Of great importance is the first public reading of the Torah (the Pentateuch) by the initiand. This simultaneously demonstrates his religious knowledge and his place in the adult world. In many communities an examination was given prior to the ceremony. In certain traditional communities the boy is expected to present a *derashah*, or scholarly discourse on the Talmud (the collection of Jewish law and tradition), at the celebration that follows. The initiand's investiture with sacred objects is also central to the rite, as it was for the primitive youth. Having become a bar mitzvah, the male is obligated and permitted to wear the *tefillin*, two cubical leather boxes containing four biblical passages, expressing four basic precepts. The two containers, connected to leather thongs, are ritually bound to the arm and the forehead during recitation of the morning prayers. These boxes contain passages from the Pentateuch (*Dt.* 6:4–9; 11:13–21) requiring the Jew to "bind" the Law as a sign between the eyes and on the hand (arm). This the bar mitzvah now does literally and for the first time.

SPECIALIZED INITIATIONS. Religious man (*homo religiosus*) seeks an ever-increasing participation in the sacred. Initiations of a specialized nature are therefore appropriate. These rites are invariably voluntary. Particularly in primitive society, puberty rites enable the novice to fully enter the human condition. Specialized initiations, by comparison, enable the individual to transcend that condition. In primitive, classical, and modern society, specialized initiations for men may be divided into two categories: (1) initiation into secret societies or male confraternities and (2) initiations into religious vocations or mystical careers. These specialized initiations are morphologically similar to puberty rites. Patterns and motifs characteristic of primitive puberty rites reappear in specialized initiations, even those in classical and modern society.

Initiation into secret societies. Initiations into primitive secret societies or male confraternities tend to be more selective, more severe, more dramatic, and more secretive than puberty rites. Again, however, we find the ubiquitous symbols of death and rebirth or resurrection. The "mystery" cults of the ancient Greco-Roman world may clearly be regarded as secret societies. The Greek word *mustērion* indicates a rite performed only for initiates. Unlike the formalized state religions of the time, the "mysteries" afforded the worshiper a highly personal experience. Invariably the mysteries promised a resurrection or rebirth beyond the grave. This posthumous resurrection found its temporal equivalent and precondition in ritual rebirth. It was, in fact, at a highly secret initiation during which sacred objects were revealed that this rebirth took place. Invariably, too, the triumph or rebirth of the initiand found its model in the paradigmatic victory of a god or celestial hero.

Although most Hellenistic "mysteries" were open to both sexes, there was one major exception. Mithraism, the secret cult surrounding the celestial Mithra, was open only to men. This confraternity, with its evidently masculine and austere emphasis, had a particular appeal for the soldiers of Rome. The paradigmatic myth relates how the lord Mithra sacrificed the primal bull. From its dying body and shed blood issued the bread and wine of a fecund earth. Plants and animals, too, sprang forth as new life issued from death. Relatedly, at the initiation rite, the new member was baptized in the blood of the dying bull, after which he shared a sacred meal of bread and wine. This ritual feast found its model in the original banquet celebrated by Mithra after the ritual slaying.

Just as Mithra ascended to heaven, passing through the seven planetary spheres, so too does the initiand pass through seven stages or grades of initiation. The seven ritual grades correspond also to the planetary journey of the initiand's own soul after death, winning for him immortality beyond the grave.

The initiatory process was characterized by test and ordeal, befitting the military and austere constituency of the confraternity. Although information here is obscure, it appears that the initiand was branded, subjected to extremes of heat and cold, and, with hands bound, possibly hurled across a pit. The use of crypts and tombs as sites of initiation clearly reinforced the death imagery. Initiation at the mysteries, including the Mithraic rite, was essentially concerned with effecting a personal transformation of the initiand rather than simply imparting information.

In the modern world, initiations into secret societies have become semireligious vestiges of their archaic counterparts. Although the actual experience of transcendence, sacrality, and renewal has become rare, the desire for it often remains. This is clear in modern Freemasonry. Initiation to the level of master mason will serve as a representative example. Although Freemasonry began as an institution in the seventeenth century, it has generated a mythology, or legendary history, according to which its origins are to be found in the biblical reign of Solomon and the building of his temple. According to this mythology, the master architect, Hiram Abiff, was slain by assailants just before the completion of the temple, because he refused to divulge the secrets of a master mason. His actions at that time constitute the paradigmatic gestures now reiterated and explained during the ritual of initiation. As he died, so now dies the initiand. A coffin, an open grave, or the depiction of a grave on the floor make this symbolically clear, as do the skull and crossbones surrounding it. The initiand is "lowered" into the grave from which he is, however, "resurrected," symbolizing his rebirth and incorporation into the circle of master masons who assist in the resurrection. The ordeal accompanying the ritual is essentially symbolic rather than real. Just as Hiram Abiff refused to divulge the secrets of a master mason to the uninitiated, so does the initiand now swear himself to secrecy under penalty of death. Not only are his knowledge of myth and symbol tested at this level, but higher levels of knowledge and interpretation are disclosed. The tools of the stonemason assume a sacred significance as ritual objects. Their symbolic significance, which invariably contains a moral message, is now disclosed.

Initiation into a religious vocation. A representative illustration is afforded by the Buddhist monk. Prior to the ordination proper, initiation into a probationary period takes place. This step, the *pravrajyā*, or "going out," literally implies a "departure" or separation from the normal world. This initiation often takes place at the age of eight and, like the Upanayana in Hinduism, is a homologue of primitive puberty rites. In some Buddhist countries of Southeast Asia, the novice is sometimes so cut off from the world that no woman, not even his mother or sister, may approach him. Having attained the age of twenty and completed the probationary period, the novice undergoes ordination proper, or *upasaṃpadā*. Here again, separation from the world and symbolic death are evident. In Laos, the women of the house ritually weep on the eve of the ordination, reminiscent of primitive practice. It is frequently the Buddha himself, leaving behind his world of pleasure, who provides the mythical and paradigmatic model for the ritual activity. In Cambodia, for example, the future monk, dressed in princely robes to represent the Buddha's preascetic life, rides toward the monastery amid the joyous cries of friends and relatives who represent the gods in their praise of the future Buddha. Others attempt to hinder the initiand's progress, just as Māra, the Buddhist devil, attempted to impede the future Buddha.

Ordination, or *upasaṃpadā* is, however, literally an "arrival." The initiand is very clearly "incorporated" into the body of monks, the Buddhist order, as is evident at the completion of the rite when the monks surround the newly ordained member, symbolizing refuge in the Buddha, his teachings, and the order itself. The exact moment at which the monks close in around the novice is carefully recorded, as his rebirth takes place and his new life begins at this time. The assumption of a new name is commonplace.

Many of the ordination activities find their model in the events that transpired at the council of Rājagṛha shortly after the Buddha's death. The participants at this council and their activities demonstrate a mythical quality. Just as Ānanda, the Buddha's favorite disciple, was tested by the early *arhat*s or "enlightened ones," so now is the novice tested and subjected to ordeal. Just as Ānanda did then, so must the initiand now confess his sins, be banished from the gathering, and then be permitted to return. In Tibet and elsewhere the initiand is presented with certain sacred objects such as robes and books.

The Roman Catholic rite (sacrament) of ordination to the priesthood also illustrates many traditional initiatory motifs. The rite is, however, public, as are its ritual equivalents (e.g., Buddhist ordination) in most modern religions. After a period of candidacy, the ordinand is examined, declared worthy, and presented to the bishop for election. Just as Jesus selected priests for his ministry, so is the ordinand now selected. The paradigmatic Jesus serves as model throughout the rite. He is referred to not only as teacher and shepherd, but also as priest. His paradigmatic death and rebirth-resurrection are continually evident. The bishop states in the revised rite: "In the memorial of the Lord's death and resurrection, make every effort to die to sin and to walk in the new life of Christ."

Central to the rite is the "laying on" or "imposition of hands" by the bishop. Already in the Old Testament (*Nm.* 8:5–11), the tribe of Levi is "set apart" for service to God by this gesture. As the Latin *ordo* (a social body separate from the people at large) originally made clear, the priest is set apart or separated from the people by this rite. Yet, following the laying on of hands by the bishop, all the priests present lay their hands upon the ordinand. This ancient ceremonial is a symbol of incorporation, homologous to the Buddhist monks surrounding their new member. Like the Buddhist initiand, the Roman Catholic ordinand is "received into" an order.

After being anointed on the palms, the new priest is empowered to offer Holy Communion (the Eucharist) for the first time. The sacred objects are given him: a chalice of wine and a paten (silver plate) with the host (bread). Just as Jesus offered bread and wine, so now does the ordinand. In the Mass they become the body and blood of Christ; thus the last supper becomes a contemporary event and the Lord's death and resurrection are shared by the congregation.

SEE ALSO Blood; Circumcision; Mithraism; Ordeal; Rites of Passage.

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INITIATION: WOMEN'S INITIATION

Although rituals of women's initiation resemble in numerous ways those celebrated for men, there are also highly significant differences that reflect the biological and—more importantly—the social distinctions between men and women. For instance, it has often been noted that whereas males are usually initiated as a group, women's initiation is quite frequently performed separately for each individual. In part, this may result from the fact that a dramatic individual physiological event—the onset of menstruation—marks the moment at which women's initiation is to take place in many cultures. But one should also note that whereas strong sociopolitical solidarity is established among those males who are initiated together as a corporate group or age-set, the isolation of women in initiation reflects and helps perpetuate a situation in which females are not integrated into any broadbased, powerful, or effective sociopolitical unit.

The task of initiatory rituals is the making of an adult: the transformation of a child into a productive, responsible member of society, prepared to assume the rights and obligations of the particular status marked out for him or her by tradition. Within any ritual of women's initiation, one may thus expect to find encoded the expected norms of female existence as defined by a given society, for it is in that ritual that girls are led to adopt those norms, or—to put it differently—that those norms are imposed on each girl by society as a whole. Here, the observations of Simone de Beauvoir in *The Second Sex* (New York, 1961) are particularly appropriate: "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman. No biological, psychological, or economic fate determines the figure that the human female presents in society; it is civilization as a whole that produces this creature, intermediate between male and eunuch, which is described as feminine" (p. 249).

Although women's initiation is widely practiced—statistical studies show it to be current among more of the world's peoples than its male counterpart—it has rarely received the degree of attention directed toward men's corresponding rituals. In part, this unfortunate state of affairs may exist because male fieldworkers have been unable to gain admission to these ceremonies, or they may simply have been uninterested in making the attempt. Thus, only a few examples have been reported in any real detail, and still fewer subjected to thorough analysis. Some attempts have been made to draw conclusions from statistical surveys based on the Human Relations Area Files (New Haven), but the findings proposed—correlating performance of women's initiation with matrilocal residence patterns, for instance—have been called into serious question. The field remains largely unexplored, and more work is urgently needed.

Among the examples that have been most thoroughly reported and studied is the Nkang'a ritual of the Ndembu, witnessed by Victor and Edith Turner. This ceremony, which is performed for each Ndembu girl at the time when her breasts begin to develop, but before her menarche, consists of three stages that lead up to the initiand's marriage. The first of these phases, Kwing'ija ("causing to enter"), begins when the prospective bridegroom of the initiand exchanges arrows with the mother of his bride-to-be and also gives an arrow to a specially selected woman who will serve as the girl's instructress and who presides over her initiation. On the next day, dances are held for the girl by the women of her village (men being for the most part excluded) at a consecrated *mudyi* tree just outside the village. The *mudyi* tree, which is the focus of this day's rituals, has strong symbolic associations to numerous referents; among these are the central Ndembu principle of matrilineal descent, the relation of mother and child, female breasts and their milk, and, more broadly, life, learning, the tribe as a whole, and tribal custom in general. Throughout the day's dancing, the initiand lies motionless and naked in a clear *regressus ad uterum,* tightly wrapped within a blanket. Meanwhile, another important symbolic item is introduced to the ceremonial apparatus: After the bridegroom's (phallic) arrow has been inserted into the roots of the *mudyi* tree, a string of white beads, representing the emergent fertility of the initiand, the children she will bear to her husband, and the continuity of her matrilineage, is draped over the arrow. Shortly before this, the women sing:

> They are giving you Nkang'a.
> You have grown up, my child,
> When you have passed puberty you will be pregnant.

Late in the day, a seclusion hut is prepared for the initiand on the side of the village opposite the *mudyi* tree; at sunset she is taken there, carried through the village on the back of the instructress. Here she will spend some weeks or even months, in the second stage of the rite, Kunkunka ("seclusion in the hut"). During this time, she is subjected to numerous ritual interdictions and is given detailed instruction, primarily in dance and in sexual technique. Men may not enter the seclusion hut, with one significant exception: When the girl is first placed within, her future bridegroom enters to light a new fire for her, representative of their impending marriage. The white beads with which the initiand was earlier presented are now wrapped around a miniature bow (the female counterpart to the male arrow) and placed at the apex of the seclusion hut, where an arch is formed of two poles from the *mudyi* tree, symbolic of the female thighs spread in the position of intercourse. The apex thus represents the genitals, and the beads, once again, the children the initiand will bear. Throughout her period of seclusion, however, the initiand is forbidden to look up and see this mystery that rests over her.

The final phase of the ritual, Kwidisha ("bringing out"), begins with a number of mock confrontations between the kinship group of the initiand and that of her bridegroom, in which the latter group is expected to prevail. At dawn, after a night of dancing, the initiand, once again wrapped in a blanket, is carried from her seclusion hut to a place outside the village. There she is washed, shaved, rubbed with oil and red earth, adorned with rattles, and dressed in a skirt, although her now more fully developed breasts remain exposed. Most importantly, her hair is carefully coiffed, leaving a central part into which the string of white beads is placed. The entire coiffure is then covered with densely packed oil and earth. Many of the women present also remove their beads and place them on the head and shoulders of the novice, so that she bears upon her the fertility of all womankind while hiding her own personal fertility as a secret within.

Once adorned, the initiand is led to the village dance place, where she dramatically exhibits the dance skills she has acquired while in seclusion, receiving compliments and gifts from all assembled. In these dances, she is at the height of her power, as is evident from the fact that at a certain moment she is given the eland-tail switch, emblem of the village headman's authority, to carry. Shortly thereafter, however, she must kneel before the drums of the men of the village, dance kneeling, and then spit before the drums "in blessing and thanksgiving." When the dance is concluded, the initiand is led to her bridegroom's hut, where the marriage is consummated. If all goes well, on the following morning the newly married woman, her initiation complete, washes and takes the white beads from her hair in the presence of her husband, shaking the red earth—perhaps signifying the blood of parturition or menstrual blood—from her hair. The beads are then carried to her mother, who will keep them until the rituals for her daughter's first pregnancy are performed, at which time the beads are returned to her.

In assessing this complex and fascinating ritual, Victor Turner (1968) has called attention above all to the way in which it serves to adjust the Ndembu social field when it has been temporarily disrupted by the emergence of a female member from childhood to adult status. This transition calls into focus the deep-seated contradiction in Ndembu social organization between matrilineal descent and virilocal residence: When a girl reaches maturity and marries, she is lost to her lineage, the very lineage that she is expected to perpetuate through the birth of her children. Thus, in the ritual she is first systematically separated from her mother and then gradually handed over to her husband through the intermediary of the instructress; at the same time, the mother is reassured that her daughter's children—represented by the string of white beads—will be returned to her and will ensure the continuity of her matrilineage, as well as the continuity of the Ndembu people as a whole.

Beyond this, one must also consider the effects of the Nkangʾa ritual on the initiand herself, for her fertility—what makes her a woman and no longer a girl—is symbolically and ceremonially created within the course of the ritual through her association with the *mudyi* tree, with the apex of the seclusion hut, and, above all, with her string of white beads. But for all that a woman's creative power in fertility is celebrated, her position of sociopolitical subordination is also unambiguously asserted: After a brief flirtation with power as she carries the eland-tail badge of authority, she is quickly forced to kneel before the men's drums.

The ways in which traditional social definitions of ideal female nature are effectively impressed upon successive generations of women through initiation rituals are given striking expression in the Kinaaldá ("first menstruation," or perhaps "house sitting") ceremony of the Navajo, as reported by Charlotte Johnson Frisbie (1967) and others. A major part of this four-night, five-day ceremony is the repeated massaging of the initiand by older women of known good character. Known as "molding," this practice has as its explicit goal the definitive reshaping of an individual woman, both in terms of bodily form and moral character: for it is stated that at the time of her initiation, a girl's body becomes soft again, as it was at birth, so that she is susceptible to the pressures exerted on her by the hands, minds, and speech of those around her.

The events of the Kinaaldá are all patterned upon the first Kinaaldá, performed for the goddess Changing Woman (also known as White Shell Woman), recounted at length in the blessingway, one of the longest and most important of Navajo sacred chants. The initiand is dressed as Changing Woman, and she is systematically identified with her through sacred songs, just as the girl's family dwelling, where the ritual is celebrated, is identified with that occupied by the goddess at the dawn of time.

Changing Woman, in the opinion of many the most important of Navajo deities, is an enormously complex figure who defies easy categorization. In part the paramount representative of the abstract principle *hózhǫ́* (lit., "beauty," but also "harmony," "balance," "goodwill," etc.), the Navajo *summum bonum,* she is also identified with the earth, vegetation, fertility, growth, abundance, and ideal womanhood. Moreover, as recounted in the blessingway, having become pregnant by the Sun, she gave birth to the twin culture heroes of Navajo mythology, who rid the world of monsters and established civilization as humans know it.

For the first four days of the Kinaaldá, the initiand's actions are quite restricted. Most of her time must be spent in the family hogan grinding corn, and through her vigorous labor at this time it is expected she will come to be industrious—industry being a highly prized female virtue for the Navajo—for the rest of her life. Repeatedly she is "molded," and three times each day she must run eastward from the hogan in pursuit of the Sun. Ultimately, this pursuit seems to be successful, and it is implied that the initiand will conceive by the Sun, as did Changing Woman. But this will not happen until the initiand is thoroughly assimilated to the goddess in the course of an all-night sing held for her on the fourth night of the ritual. In the songs chanted at that time, the family hogan is identified with that of Changing Woman, located at Gobernador Knob, the sacred mountain where she was born out of the union of Sky and Earth. Further, all those who attend the sing take on the identity of the gods who participated in the initiation of Changing Woman; most important, the initiand is herself thoroughly identified with the goddess, as in the following song:

> I am here; I am White Shell Woman, I am here.
> Now on the top of Gobernador Knob, I am here.
> In the center of my white shell hogan I am here.
> Right on the white shell spread I am here.
> Right at the end of the rainbow I am here.

At dawn on the fifth day, as an all-night sing comes to a close, the initiand runs to the east for the last time, toward the rising sun that has just cast its light on her through the hogan's eastern door. Shortly thereafter, the participants in the sing move outside to eat a sweet circular corn cake that has been baking in an earth oven overnight. Compressed within this cake are symbols of the sun and earth, male and female, vegetation, pregnancy, birth, the four cardinal points, and the zenith and nadir. All partake of this cake except the initiand, who offers it to the others as if she herself has given birth to it and to all it represents. The Kinaaldá is expected to ensure universal rebirth consequent upon a woman's initiation, for as Changing Woman was told at the first such ritual, as a result of its proper performance, "there will be birth. Vegetation, as well as all without exception who travel the surface of the earth, will give birth; that you will have gained."

Emergent sexuality is celebrated as the means for the renewal of life, society, and the cosmos in both the Kinaaldá and the Nkang'a rituals, although ceremonies of female initiation celebrated within cultures that hold a more ambivalent attitude toward sex can be expected to treat things quite differently. Thus, for example, as Audrey I. Richards reported in her 1956 study of the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia, among the Bemba sexual intercourse is considered a "hot" activity that can pollute domestic and ritual fires by which approach ought be made to the ancestral spirits central to all cultic activity. Only if a man and wife purify themselves after sex, using a small secret pot conferred upon the wife at the time of her initiation (Chisungu), may these dangers be avoided. The Chisungu—which is somewhat unusual in that it is a corporate ritual in which a group of girls are secluded together for a month or more—thus involves considerable instruction in the mysteries of sexuality, pollution, and purification. By the application of those principles that are learned during initiation, and through the pot that is conferred only upon those who have been initiated, women are able to bring the dangers of sexuality under control. But the tensions, anxiety, and aggression implicit in male-female relations are emphatically dramatized in the culminating acts performed on the final night of the ceremony, when mock bridegrooms appear at the Chisungu hut, singing loudly, "I have tracked my game, / Now I have speared my meat," after which they symbolically carry off their "brides."

Such ambivalence toward emergent female sexuality is not particularly common among agricultural populations, who regularly associate a woman's fertility with the desired fertility of the land. But among peoples whose means of subsistence is hunting and/or fishing, the situation is different, for there it is often perceived that an excess of human fertility results in overpopulation that threatens a fragile ecosystem. Such considerations clearly affect the cultural norms of ideal womanhood as they are transmitted—or better, continually recreated—in initiatory rituals. Thus, for instance, the initiand in the Tucuna Festa das Moças Novas (Festival of the New Maiden) is menaced by a variety of demons (the *noo*) who, according to the myths of this fishing people of the northwest Amazon, avenge themselves mercilessly on those who disrupt the delicate balance of humans and game. Isolated within the large familial residence (*maloca*) in a chamber that bears the name of the underworld of the *noo,* the initiand is told these spirits will kill her, suck the viscera from her body, and carry off her empty corpse, should she violate any of her ritual prescriptions; each night she hears the "voices" of the *noo* in the form of sacred trumpets hidden from women's view by men. Upon emerging from her seclusion chamber—like a butterfly from a cocoon, according to Tucuna metaphor—the initiand is again assaulted by the *noo,* now represented by a host of masked dancers, who only in the course of a wild night of drink and dancing shed their costumes and resume human identity. Should the girl survive this ordeal, she is taken on a symbolic tour of heaven, earth, and multiple underworlds, and is finally bathed in a contraceptive solution passed upward from her feet to her head, "to prevent her becoming prematurely pregnant." Only when these magico-ritual checks upon her potentially excessive fertility have been established is the Tucuna woman accorded adult, marriageable status.

In general, specialized initiatory rites for women tend to disappear in urban and later in industrial societies; often they blend into marriage ceremonies or into those lacking gender specificity, such as graduation from school. Still, it is sometimes possible to recognize the traces of older women's initiation rituals within a new context and dramatic program. Thus, for example, such scholars as Angelo Brelich and Walter Burkert have been able to show how, within the Greek *polis,* broader rituals of women's initiation came to be narrowed so that only a few individuals, drawn always from wealthy, prominent families, passed through a series of initiatory schemata, serving perhaps as representatives of all women in general. In his *Lysistrata* (lines 641ff.), Aristophanes preserves a list of the age-grades through which these women passed: *arrēphoros, aletris, arktos,* and *kanēphoros,* each status conferred by ritual means. While the details of each grade are complex, it may be noted briefly that the last two of these were celebrations and consecrations of a young girl's virginity prior to marriage: As an *arktos* (lit., "bear") she took up residence with Artemis in the wilds; as a *kanēphoros* she carried a basket holding sacred objects for the Panathenaia festival celebrated in honor of Athena. (Artemis and Athena were the goddesses most protective of virgins and virginity.) Having played the role of *kanēphoros,* however, a girl was considered eligible for marriage; in myths such as that of Oreithyia women are abducted and raped while or shortly after appearing as *kanēphoros.*

Although they may appear in combination in any specific ritual complex, four general "ideal types" of women's initiation have been recognized. These are (1) rituals of bodily mutilation, involving such operations upon the initiand's physical self as tattooing, scarification, clitoridectomy, or other genital surgery as well as such processes as the Navajo "molding"; (2) rituals involving identification with a mythic heroine, whether goddess, culture heroine, primordial ancestress, or some other prototypical figure; (3) rituals involving a cosmic journey, in which the initiand is symbolically conveyed to heavens, underworlds, the four quarters, and other places of cosmologic significance, as a means of lifting her beyond her normal locus and identity; (4) rituals focused upon the play of opposites, wherein such normally exclusive categories as male/female, human/divine, above/below, right/left, black/white, and wild/tame are somehow united within the initiand, establishing her as a being who transcends the dualities of fragmented mundane existence.

In all of these types, three interrelated levels of transformative action are regularly claimed to be accomplished. First, it is claimed that rituals of women's initiation transform a girl into a woman, conferring upon her marriageable status. Second, it is claimed that they renew society, providing it with new members ritually empowered to play productive and reproductive roles for the good of the social totality, whether lineage, tribe, or other corporate entity. Third, it is claimed that they renew the cosmos, by virtue of the homology between the initiand's fertility and that of nature at large. This last claim is the most audacious and fascinating of all.

It must be emphasized, however, that in contrast to male initiations, women's rites do not usually advance those who have completed them toward political offices of power and prestige. For while the status of a woman may be ritually changed from that of child to adult (from unmarriageable to marriageable or even married), the woman's sphere of influence and activity has been restricted in virtually all human societies to the home. In light of this, it appears a reasonable hypothesis that the exorbitant claims of cosmic transformations wrought by women's initiation and of the cosmic significance of an adult female life offer a form of false consciousness that deflects women's attention and lives from the sociopolitical arena, offering a religio-cosmic ground of meaning and action in place of the sociopolitical one reserved—and preserved—for men.

SEE ALSO Feminine Sacrality.

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INNER ASIAN RELIGIONS. Inner Asia, essentially a historical concept, was that great land mass surrounded by the civilized worlds of Rome, Greece, Arabia, Persia, India, and China. Central Eurasia, the more scholarly term for the region, should not be confused with Central Asia, which, in the strict sense, comprises the modern-day Uzbek, Turkmen, Kirghiz, Kazakh, and Tajik republics; or, in a broader sense, adds Chinese Turkistan (Sinkiang). Until modern times, the boundaries that separated Inner Asia from the rest of the Eurasian land mass were in constant flux, expanding or contracting according to the relations of the peoples within Inner Asia toward the surrounding sedentary states.

Inner Asia is a vast area with a multitude of peoples, speaking a variety of languages, possessing distinct religious practices, yet culturally united in a unique civilization. The languages spoken in Inner Asia belong to a number of linguistic families, the largest of which is Altaic (comprising the Turkic, Mongol, and Tunguz languages), followed by Uralic (the Finno-Ugric and Samoyed languages), Paleosiberian or Paleo-Asiatic, Indo-Iranian, and the isolated languages of the Caucasus. The noninstitutionalized forms of religion in Inner Asia, as reported by early travelers and recorded by historians, were most evident in their myths of origin, in the ceremonial activities present in daily life, such as rituals performed before hunting or connected with funerals, and in art. Tolerance of outside religions was the norm, rather than the exception, and Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity all exerted great influence on the region.

Ecologically, Inner Asia is divided into four great longitudinal belts: the tundra in the far north, the forest (taiga), the steppe, and finally the desert in the south. The existence of these four separate zones has led to the inaccurate stereotyping of the economic activity practiced in the north by the Finno-Ugric, Samoyed, and Tunguz peoples as hunting, fishing, and gathering, and that practiced in the south by the Turkic and Mongol peoples as exclusively nomadic herding. However, just as hunting and limited agriculture were a part of Turkic and Mongol economies, so was animal husbandry a part of the economy of the more northern peoples. The prevailing climatic conditions severely limited agricultural potential without manmade changes in the environment, giving rise to one of the most important unifying features of Inner Asia: the relationship between horse and pasture. As the mainstay of Inner Asian economy, the horse, dependent only on pasture, was either traded for basic necessities, particularly armaments that could only be manufactured by the surrounding sedentary civilizations, or used for military conquest. It thus became the key to the rise of the great nomadic civilizations.

Major problems arise in dealing with the history of Inner Asia. Indigenous written material is extremely scant, existing only from the eighth century CE. Much of the Inner Asian tradition was preserved only orally, transmitted by storytellers, singers, shamans, and priests. Most often the early history of Inner Asia was recorded by the surrounding civilizations, eager to protect their own ways of life and highly critical of different customs and manners. Because the written records are in a variety of nonindigenous languages, the correct identification of names in Inner Asia presents problems. Ethnonyms and toponyms, not to mention personal names and titles, that appear, for example, in Chinese sources are extremely difficult to equate with names or terms given in Greek or Arabic sources. When a name such as *Scythian* or *Hun* or *Turk* first appeared, it meant a specific people; later, the name would often become a generic term applied to any barbarian people. Imprecise geographical knowledge only added to the problems; distances were exaggerated, and few people from the surrounding sedentary civilizations had actually visited Inner Asia. The history of the region therefore must be filtered from ideas and ways hostile to its peculiar civilization and drawn from the precious scraps of indigenous material—written fragments, archaeological data, art—often literally scraped out of the desert sands or the frozen soil of the tundra.

To most peoples from other parts of the world, Inner Asia was seen as one vast zone. The world, from the time of Homer (c. tenth century BCE) until the beginning of the Russian expansion into Asia in the late sixteenth century, saw Inner Asia as a land shrouded in mystery and myth, defined only by its barbarousness. It was the inhospitable land of the north, unfit for man or beast.

ANCIENT VIEWS OF INNER ASIA. Early Chinese and Classical Greek sources spoke of Inner Asia, but many of the peoples mentioned were imaginary and showed the civilized world's lack of real knowledge about the region. To the Greeks these were the peoples who inhabited such places as the City of Perpetual Mist or the Rhipaean Mountains. These regions and the peoples who lived there were removed, beyond the pale of Greek civilization, their barbarous nature, according to Hippocrates (460?–377? or 359? BCE), directly determined by the environment in which they lived. The Greek geographer and historian Strabo (c. 63 BCE–24 CE) reminded his readers that before the Black Sea was navigable the barbarous tribes surrounding it as well as the fierce storms on it caused it to be called Axine ("inhospitable"); not until the Ionians established cities on its shores did it become known as Euxine ("hospitable"). This case is an example of one of the myths perpetuated about Inner Asia by external historians: the lack of cities was equated with a lack of civilization. On the other side of Inner Asia, the Chinese held similar views. The Inner Asian lived in the "submissive wastes," the "great wilderness," the region of the "floating sands," in the barren lands "where frost came early." The "five grains" would not grow there. Chinese emperors were often challenged by their ministers on the wisdom of trying to expand

Chinese territory into these wastelands. This attitude perpetuated another myth: the lack of agriculture meant the people were uncivilized.

EARLY MEDIEVAL JUDAIC, CHRISTIAN, AND ISLAMIC VIEWS. In the Judeo-Christian and Islamic traditions, the peoples of Inner Asia had been driven into the barren, desolate lands of the north, to the hidden, dark regions of the world—to the land of Gog and Magog. When Jeremiah was asked by the Lord what he saw, he answered, "I see a seething pot; and the face thereof is toward the north" (*Jer.* 1:13). Within this "seething pot" were the unknown kingdoms of the north, which, at the end of time, would rise and the contents spill upon the land, bringing death and destruction. Classical Arab and Persian geographers (ninth to eleventh century) located Gog and Magog in the fifth and sixth climes and warned of their cold, bestial nature, but others recognized their brave, warriorlike qualities. To al-Kāshgharī (fl. eleventh century) they were an army, the army of the prophet Muḥammad, to be sent out when he was angry with a people. This army, called Turk, would come at the end of time. The fear that medieval man had regarding the peoples of the north was also manifest in the *Roman d'Alexandre*, in which the hordes of Gog and Magog are sealed off behind an iron gate.

The armies of Inner Asia did not exist in myth alone; the fears of medieval man had been justified by repeated invasions from the steppe lands. Walls—such as the Roman *limes* or the Great Wall of China—were monuments of the civilized world's futile attempt to contain the encroaching and often unknown peoples from Inner Asia. When the hordes of Inner Asia broke through, they did bring death and destruction with a terrible swiftness. It was because of such invasions that the peoples of Inner Asia first entered recorded history in some detail and accuracy.

THE HISTORY OF INNER ASIA. The peoples of Inner Asia who lived in the tundra and taiga were widely dispersed in small communities and posed no threat to their neighbors. It was the peoples of the steppes, formed in large tribes with vast herds of sheep, goats, camels, cattle, and horses, who were highly mobile and had the organizational ability to lead military excursions against their sedentary neighbors. When these peoples first appear in historical sources, they come from two great steppe regions: the south Russian (or Pontic) steppe and the Mongolian steppe.

Scythians. The first important Inner Asian people, the Indo-Iranian Scythians, appeared on the south Russian steppe in the eighth century BCE and began to fade out of the historical scene around 175 BCE, although some remnants survived until the third century CE. While little is known about their origin, a detailed description of their mode of life and some remarks on their history are given by Herodotos (c. 480–420 BCE) in book 4 of his *Histories*. The Scythians were the first historically known people to use iron, and having defeated the Cimmerians, they assumed full command of the south Russian steppe. Their greatness as steppe warriors was recognized when Darius I (r. 521–486 BCE), king of Persia, led a campaign against the Scythians north of the Black Sea from 516 to 513. These Scythian mounted archers soon frustrated Darius by seemingly fleeing before him, attacking when and where he least expected, all the while drawing him farther and farther into their land. In the end, Darius was forced to retreat to Persia. This type of warfare and the ability of the skilled horseman to turn and shoot behind him—the Parthian shot—became a trademark of the Inner Asian warrior.

In Persian sources these people were called Saka, and three kinds were enumerated: the Saka beyond the sea, the pointed-hat Saka, and the Saka who revered Hauma. The Scythians of Herodotos lived north of the Black Sea, while the Saka of Persian sources lived beyond the Oxus River (the modern Amu Dar'ya) and south of this area in Iran. The social structure of the Scythians was tripartite: agriculturists, warriors, and priests. They had cities, centers of metallurgy, and a highly developed, stylized animal art.

Animals, particularly horses and cattle, as well as humans were sacrificed as offerings to the gods. Herodotos listed the Scythian gods with what he thought were their Greek equivalents, the supreme deity being Tabiti (Vesta). Images, altars, and temples were used. Scythian soothsayers were called into service when the king was ill; Enarees, womenlike men among the Scythians, practiced divination; elaborate funeral and burial rites, a strong will to protect the tombs of their ancestors, and prescribed ceremonies for oath taking existed. By the late second century BCE, the ethnically and linguistically related nomadic tribes of the Sarmatians began to replace the Scythians, who had reached a degree of civilization perhaps unparalleled by any other Inner Asian empire.

Xiong-nu. On the eastern edge of Inner Asia, the Xiong-nu were the first clearly identifiable and important steppe people to appear on the borders of China, constantly menacing the frontier with raids that sometimes penetrated deep into Chinese territory. Their center of power was the Mongolian steppe. Appearing in Chinese sources around 230 BCE, an account of the Xiong-nu was provided by the grand historian of China, Ssu-ma Qian (c. 145–86 BCE). By about 56 BCE internal revolts had begun to rack the Xiong-nu empire and some tribes moved to the west; in 48 CE the Xiong-nu finally split into two major groups: the Southern Xiong-nu and the Northern Xiong-nu. The former continued to be a serious threat to China and finally faded from the historical scene around 400 CE, while the Northern Xiong-nu remained on the original homeland of the Mongolian steppe. The Northern Xiong-nu never regained their former power, however, and about 155 CE they were destroyed by another steppe people, the Xianbei.

The language of the Xiong-nu is unknown. Long thought to be Mongol or Turkic, more recent studies seem to indicate that it comprised some elements of the Yenisei branch of the Paleosiberian languages. Since the eighteenth century, it has been popular to equate the Xiong-nu of the east with the Huns of the west: at best the theory is controversial.

The military power of the Xiong-nu, like that of the Scythians, lay in their remarkable skill as highly disciplined mounted archers. In fact, Ssu-ma Qian considered warfare their main occupation. Made up of numerous tribes, the Xiong-nu confederation was most highly organized in its relations with foreign states, depending upon the horse for both military superiority and for economic gain. The Chinese set up border markets in an attempt to weaken the Xiong-nu by supplying them with luxuries and fostering a dependence on Chinese goods. Even though there was a hereditary aristocracy within the Xiong-nu confederation, internal organization was loose, each tribe having its own pastures. A son would marry his stepmother when his father died; a brother would marry a deceased brother's widow—both practices aimed at preventing the extinction of the clan.

At set times of the year, sacrifices were offered to ancestors, gods, heaven and earth, while auspicious days were chosen for major events, and the stars and moon were consulted for military maneuvers. Burials were elaborate, particularly for the ruler, with many of his concubines and loyal ministers following him in death. Although condemned by the Chinese for lacking in morals, not understanding court ritual, and not showing respect for the aged, the Xiong-nu had laws, customs, and manners of their own that contradicted the ethnocentric views of the Chinese.

Yuezhi, Wusun, and Kushans. The Xiong-nu greatly affected the history of Inner Asia to the west and south of their domains where, in 160 BCE, they inflicted a terrible defeat on the Yuezhi, an Indo-European people located on the Chinese border of modern Gansu province. This caused the Yuezhi to divide; the Lesser Yuezhi moved to the south while the Greater Yuezhi began moving west. As the latter migrated through the Ili River valley, they abandoned the Mongolian steppe to the complete control of the Xiong-nu, while they themselves displaced the Sai (or Saka) tribes. The majority of the Yuezhi continued to move west into the Greek state of Bactria. At about the same time, the Chinese emperor Wudi (r. 140–87 BCE) sent Chang Qian to the Greater Yuezhi to form an alliance against the Xiong-nu. Leaving in 139, Chang Qian had to pass through Xiong-nu territory, where he was detained and held prisoner for more than ten years. Chang Qian's account, made to the Chinese emperor on his return, brought the first real knowledge of the western regions to China, information that would allow China to expand westward and become actively involved in Central Asia. Although his mission to the Yuezhi failed, he was sent again in 115 to try to form a different alliance against the Xiong-nu, this time with the Wusun, another people probably of Iranian origin, who accepted the gifts that Chang Qian brought as well as an imperial princess to become the wife of their ruler, but who also refused to cooperate. It was not until the Xiong-nu empire was disintegrating that the Wusun inflicted serious defeats on them.

The Yuezhi tribes that settled in Bactria were later united under one tribe, the Kushans, probably in the first century BCE. Besides Bactria, their kingdom included extensive domains in Central Asia and large portions of Northwest India, where centers of Greco-Buddhist art were established at Gandhāra and Mathurā. The Kushan period is extremely controversial, and the dates and order of kings are widely disputed. But it was during the reign of Kaniṣka, a patron of Buddhism, that this Indian religion began to spread into Central Asia and China, heralding a new era for the region. Chinese monks began to travel to India and Sri Lanka to obtain the Buddhist sūtras, passing through Dunhuang, Khotan, and Turfan on the edge of the Tarim Basin, as well as Ferghana and Sogdiana. Most notable are the accounts left by the monks Faxian (traveling from 399 to 413 CE) and Xuanzang (traveling from 629 to 645). Buddhist texts had to be translated into Turkic languages; the routes used by pilgrims were destined to become active trade routes, linking east and west.

Huns. With the appearance of the Huns toward the end of the fourth century CE, a new movement began on the south Russian steppe. Rumors of invasions spreading fear and panic reached Jerome (c. 347–420) in Palestine, where he wrote that these "wolves of the north"—the Huns—spared neither religion nor rank nor age." It was with this turmoil on the steppe north of the Sea of Azov that the *Völkerwanderung*, or migration of the peoples, began. The name *Hun* first appears in the writings of Ptolemy (fl. second century CE), but later historians of the Huns such as Ammianus Marcellinus (c. 322–400), Priscus (fl. fifth century), and the less reliable Jordanes (fl. sixth century) portray a culture typical of Inner Asian society and very different from Roman civilization. Aided by civil wars in Italy that occupied the Roman army, some Hun tribes had established themselves by 409 on the Roman *limes* and in the Roman province of Pannonia (on the right bank of the Danube). When, in 434, a Hun king named Rua died, he was succeeded by his nephews, Bleda and Attila.

Hun penetration into Europe and the displacing of existing tribes were instrumental in the formation of modern Europe. Aetius, the great fifth-century general and power broker of the Western Roman Empire, provoked some Hun tribes to attack the Burgundians in 437 in order to shatter Germanic power and to strengthen Roman rule in Gaul. The Visigoths, who had been pushed from the east into the Toulouse area, forced the Vandals into Spain and North Africa, an event that caused great consternation to the entire Roman Empire. However, Aetius's attempt to use the Huns to defeat the Visigoths failed in 439. Turmoil continued, this time in the Eastern Roman Empire with the Persian decision to attack Byzantium; at the same time, Attila attacked the Byzantines from the north, gaining new treaty concessions. Then in 445 Attila murdered Bleda, thus becoming the sole ruler of the Hun tribes of Pannonia. In the end, a nervous Aetius allied himself with the Visigoths to meet Attila in the Battle of the Catalaunian Plain (451) near Troyes, France, where the Visigoth king Theodoric II lost his life and the Romans withdrew in a battle that left neither Hun nor Roman the victor. With Attila's death in 453, Hun influence on Europe rapidly crumbled.

Where the Huns had originated is unknown, but written sources leave no doubt on their physical appearance, which was clearly mongoloid. No text in the Hun language has been found; archaeological finds from Hun areas remain controversial. What is certain is that despite their impact on the formation of Europe, the Huns never attained the power of the great Inner Asian states such as those of the Türks or the Mongols.

Xianbei and Ruanruan. As already mentioned, the Northern Xiong-nu state was replaced around 155 CE by that of the Xianbei, who probably spoke a Mongol language. Through this victory, the Xianbei became the dominant tribal confederacy on the Mongolian steppe. With other nomadic peoples, including the Southern Xiong-nu and the Wuhuan, they continued attacks on China but were repulsed, particularly by the famous Chinese general Cao Cao. When the Xianbei first appeared, during the Wang Mang interregnum (9–23 CE), they had no supreme ruler; unified leadership is not ascribed to them until just before their defeat of the Xiong-nu. Oral tradition embellished this first leader, Tanshihuai (d. between 178 and 183), with a "miraculous birth," heroic qualities, and the wisdom to be a chief, yet the Xianbei failed to create a lasting empire in this fragmented period of steppe history.

From approximately 400 to 550 a new power emerged on the Mongolian steppe: the Ruanruan (or Jou-jan). Their origins are uncertain but future research may clarify their relation to the Hua and to the Avars who appeared in Europe in the fifth century. According to a widely accepted but yet unproven theory, the Ruanruan in the east are identified with the Avars in the west. Personal names, as given in Chinese, do not appear to be either Turkic or Mongol, but it is with the Ruanruan that the title *kaghan* is first used for the ruler. In 546 the last ruler, A-na-kui, was approached by a man named Bumin (Tumen), whom he called a blacksmith slave, and who had the audacity to request the hand of one of A-na-kui's daughters. He was rudely refused—so the story goes—whereupon Bumin and his followers revolted, overthrew the Ruanruan, and established their own Türk empire.

Türk. The appearance of the Türk—the first Inner Asian people whose language is known and the first also to use with certainty a Turkic idiom—marks a turning point in the history of the steppe. According to Chinese sources they were metallurgists employed by the Ruanruan, but it is not clear whether the revolt led by Bumin (d. 552) was social in character or a minority uprising. After Bumin's death the empire split, one group, led by his son, establishing itself on the Mongolian steppe, while the other group, under the leadership of his brother Ishtemi, ruled over the more western part of the empire. They encountered the Ephthalites (or White Huns) on the borders of Persia. The Türk made an alliance with Sasanid Persia (226–655), encircled and destroyed the Ephthalites, establishing thereby a common border with Persia, but also obtaining control of the lucrative silk trade. Because of its commercial interests—represented mainly by Sogdian merchants—the Western Türk empire then found itself embroiled in the conflict between Persia and Byzantium. Persian attempts to stop silk from reaching Byzantium forced the Türk to go directly to Byzantium by a northern route. It was for this reason that embassies were first exchanged between Türk and Byzantium, opening up entire new horizons for Romans as well as for the Chinese. The first Türk embassy, headed by a Sogdian named Maniakh, reached the court of Justin II (r. 565–578) in 567. The Türk embassy remained in Constantinople, then part returned to the Türk with the Byzantine ambassador Zemarkhos. A later Greek ambassador arrived at a Türk camp at the death of the ruler and witnessed the funeral rites, which included laceration of the faces of the mourners and the sacrifice of horses and servants. The Western Türk empire disintegrated around 659.

The Eastern Türk empire, in a semipermanent state of war with China and plagued by internal dissension, was finally defeated in 630. Chinese rule then lasted until 682 when the Türk revolted and again seized power, forming a second Türk empire that was overthrown in 743 by the revolt of three Turkic tribes: the Basmil, the Karluk, and the Uighur. It was from the period of the second Türk empire that the first indigenous texts from Inner Asia—as stated above, written in a Turkic language—have been found. The most famous of these are funeral-stela inscriptions written in a runiclike alphabet found in the area of the Orkhon River and dedicated to the Türk ruler, Bilge Kaghan (r. 716–734), his brother Kül Tegin, and the prime minister Tonyuquq. These texts give not only a history of the Türk people but also provide valuable insight into Türk society and customs, including their belief in *tengri* ("heaven, sky"), in the sacred mountain of Ötükän, and in the erection of *balbal* (stone pillars) on the tomb of a warrior inscribed with the name of an enemy he had killed. Chinese sources recorded three Türk legends of origin quite different from one another: the child raised by a wolf, the child born of the spirit of wind and rain, the child born of the spirit of the lake. Such a multiplicity of ancestral traditions would suggest that the Türk empire was most likely a confederation of tribes of diverse origin.

Avars, Khazars, and Bulgars. The Greek historian Priscus wrote of a migration of peoples taking place from 461 to 465 on the south Russian steppe. An embassy from the Oghur, Onoghur, and Saroghur had arrived in Byzantium, reporting that they had been pushed by the Sabir, who in turn were being displaced by a people in Central Asia called Avar. For almost a century there was no news of them, but in 558 the Avars, now in the Caucasus, sent an embassy to the Byzantine emperor Justinian I (r. 527–565) requesting land in exchange for military protection. Fleeing from the

Western Türk, the Avars were given asylum in the Byzantine Empire by Justin II, an act that infuriated the Türk, who considered the Avars their own, fugitive subjects. It is a well-documented Inner Asian concept that ruling tribes owned the peoples whom they had conquered. Settled in the Carpathian Basin, the Avars remained there for some two and a half centuries, becoming an effective wedge between the northern and southern Slavs. When they had arrived in the Carpathian Basin, the Avars found two Germanic tribes, the Gepids, whom they destroyed, and the Lombards, who fled and settled in northern Italy. The Avars also menaced the Byzantines and the Franks. In 626 the Avars and the Persians jointly attacked Constantinople and were defeated only when the Byzantine forces destroyed the Persian fleet as it attempted to cross the Bosphorus.

Meanwhile, the south Russian steppe continued to be a place of turmoil. The Turkic-speaking Khazars became increasingly powerful with the weakening of the western Türk, and by the mid-seventh century achieved independence. Christian and Islamic missionaries had already had some influence among the Khazars, but in 740 the Khazar ruler and his entourage adopted Judaism. Not an empire bent on conquest, but practicing a settled, mixed economy based on cattle breeding, agriculture, and trade, the Khazars nevertheless caused some movement on the steppe and prevented Arab and Islamic penetration into eastern Europe. Pushed by the Khazars, the Bulgars (a Turkic-speaking people who had lived on the Pontic steppe from the late fifth century) split around 680. One group, moving north to the Volga-Kama region, was, in 921, visited by an Arab embassy described by one of its members, Ibn Faḍlān, who left an invaluable account of both the Khazars and the Volga Bulgars. A Christian Bulgar prince, Kovrat, and his son Asparukh led other Bulgar tribes, mostly Turkic, to the lower Danube region where Asparukh created a Bulgar state between 679 and 681. Some of the Bulgars settled with the Avars in the Carpathian Basin, but the formation of this Bulgar buffer state between the Avars and Byzantium effectively ended Avar-Byzantine relations by 678. As a result, the Avars led a reasonably quiet life for over a century until they were attacked and greatly weakened (although not defeated) in 791, 795–796, and 803 by Charlemagne. The Avars slowly disappeared over the next eighty years until Hungarian (Magyar) tribes filled the vacuum and maintained the non-Slavic wedge in central Europe.

Uighurs. The final blow to the Türk empire was delivered by the Uighurs who, as we have seen, had been a part of the Türk confederacy. Their language was basically the same as that of the Türk, with some of their texts written in runic script and some in a script borrowed from the Sogdians, one that would become a major script used in Inner Asia. Unlike the Türk, whom they overthrew in 743, the Uighurs often allied themselves with China; thus, during the reign of Mouyu the Uighurs helped China to quell the An Lushan rebellion (755–757). When Mouyu visited Luoyang in 762–763, he was converted to Manichaeism, which had been propagated in China by the Sogdians. A description of his conversion appears on the trilingual inscription (in Uighur, Sogdian, and Chinese) of Karabalghasun, the Uighur capital city. When Mouyu returned home he took Manichaean priests with him and made Manichaeism the state religion. Thus, the Uighurs became the first Inner Asian people to adopt an institutionalized, major religion. Many Uighurs disliked the influence gained by Sogdians in Uighur affairs and an anti-Sogdian faction, led by the uncle of Mouyu, revolted and killed the *kaghan* and his family. There followed a succession of rulers embroiled in family intrigues, plagued by assassinations and suicide. Even so, Sogdian and Manichaean influence remained in a kingdom dominated by Buddhism. An Arab traveler, Tamīm ibn Baḥr, visited Karabalghasun in 821 and left an account of what he saw. Of particular interest are his remarks about the flourishing town of Karabalghasun and other small settlements, located in richly cultivated areas. The picture he draws contradicts the stereotyped image of the incompatibility of Inner Asian civilization and urban development. In 840 the Uighurs were attacked by a new Turkic power, the Kirghiz, who lived north and west of the great Mongolian steppe.

Not absorbed into the new ruling Kirghiz confederacy, the Uighurs moved. Some went to China, settling in today's Gansu province, where some of their descendants can still be found; the majority moved to the Tarim Basin and created a new state centered on the city of Kocho (850–1250), where a sophisticated, multilingual, and multiethnic civilization developed. A cultured leisure class in the refined society supported Buddhism, Manichaeism, the arts and letters, and lavish entertainments. Here, the Uighurs adopted a completely sedentarized life based on agriculture supported by extensive irrigation works. As Kocho was a main stop on the east-west trade route, economic prosperity played a major role in the growth of Uighur civilization. When the Kitans, a Mongol people who overthrew the Kirghiz in 924, offered to let the Uighurs return to their former steppe lands, the Uighurs declined to move, preferring their life in Kocho. In 1250, the kingdom of Kocho voluntarily submitted to the Mongols. Uighur script was adopted by the Mongols and many Uighur scribes became skilled administrators for the Mongols. The famous German Turfan expeditions of 1902–1903, 1904–1905, and 1905–1907, led by A. Grünwedel and Albert von Le Coq, unearthed from the dry sands of the Tarim Basin the glories of the kingdom of Kocho: unparalleled art treasures including Manichaean and Buddhist frescoes and manuscripts in many languages, illuminating the splendor of Uighur civilization.

Mongols. The rise of Mongol power and the domination of the Chinggisid states brought unification to Inner Asia in a way that had not existed since prehistoric times.

Central Asia before the Mongol conquest. Arab penetration into Central Asia began in 652 and culminated in the Battle of Talas (751), thus permitting the spread of Islam into Central Asia. Wars with the Uighurs had forced the Karluk west and in 999 they seized Bukhara, an act that brought strong Turkic influence to the region. Farther to the west on the steppe north of the Black and Caspian seas lived the Turkic tribes of the Kipchaks (known also as Cumans or Polovtsy), whose move to these regions is shrouded in mystery. To the south of them, the Oghuz tribes—mentioned in the Orkhon inscriptions—were steadily moving westward, into Anatolia, where they were to form the basis of the Ottoman state.

The rise of Inner Asian powers in Manchuria. A mixture of forests rich in game, agricultural land made fertile by abundant rainfall, and pastures suitable for horse and cattle breeding determined the basic economy of Manchuria. The settled way of life also made pig raising an important feature of all Manchurian civilizations. In the fourth century, the Mongol-speaking Kitan began to gain dominance in the region, entering into relations with China in 468, but by the sixth century, they came under Türk domination. A new Kitan rise to power was signaled by their attack and defeat of the Kirghiz ruling over the Mongolian steppe in 924; they then expanded their rule over North China, adopting the Chinese dynastic title of Liao (927–1125). In 1125 Kitan domination was replaced by that of the Jurchen, a Tunguz-speaking Manchurian people who had been Kitan subjects. The Jurchen assumed the Chinese dynastic title of Chin (1125–1234) and maintained their rule over northern China until the Mongol conquest. When the Jurchen moved into North China, some Kitan tribes, with the permission of the Uighurs, moved west across the Tarim Basin through the kingdom of Kocho to Central Asia, where a third Kitan state was founded (after those of Manchuria and China), that of the Karakitai (Black Kitan or Kitai) centered at Bala-sagun in the Chu River valley.

Chinggis Khan and the Mongol conquest. Between Central Asia and Manchuria, two major mongolized Turkic tribes, the Naiman and the Kereit, were vying for power in the eleventh century. Both tribes had been strongly influenced by Nestorianism; the conversion of the Kereit around 1000 was related by the Syriac chronicler Bar Hebraeus (fl. thirteenth century). The first united Mongol kingdom ended in the late eleventh century, followed by a period of internecine warfare between Mongol tribes and against the neighboring Tatar tribes. It was not until Chinggis (known as Temüjin before he was elected khan) had defeated all of his rivals that a new and powerful Mongol state emerged. These events, chronicled in *The Secret History of the Mongols* (mid-thirteenth century), were only the first shadows of what was to come as the Mongol empire spread over the Eurasian continent.

Chinggis, angered by the Naiman leader Küchlüg, who had defeated the Karakitai in Central Asia, began the great push west, defeating the Naiman in 1218, and then led a punitive campaign against Khorezm aimed at avenging the murder of Mongol envoys. Before Chinggis's death in 1227, Central Asia had been devastated, and the campaigns of the famous Mongol generals Jebe and Sübetei had spilled into Georgia, across the Caucasus, and into Russian territory, where the Russian forces and their Cuman allies were defeated in the Battle of Kalka in the late spring of 1223. The Mongols advanced as far as the city of Bulgar where they were turned back at the very end of the year 1223. With the death of Chinggis, the Mongol empire was to be divided among his four sons. But the eldest son, Jochi, predeceased Chinggis and his appanage of the westernmost Mongols, the so-called Golden Horde, went to his son, Chinggis's grandson, Batu. Of the remaining sons, Čagadai's domains were in Central Asia, Tolui remained on the homeland, and Ögedei was elected great khan in 1229.

The Mongols in Europe. Defeating Bulgar in the winter of 1237–1238, the Mongols then swept into eastern and central Europe with a great offensive begun in the winter of 1239–1240: Kiev fell on December 6, 1240, German forces were defeated at the Battle of Liegnitz on April 9, 1241, and the Hungarian army fell two days later. Suddenly, in 1242, the Mongols withdrew from Europe and returned to the rich pastures of the south Russian steppe. All of Europe now accepted the Mongol threat as real, however, an attitude that opened a period of rapprochement in Mongol-Western relations, begun by Pope Innocent IV (r. 1234–1254) at the Council of Lyons (June 1245). Three groups of papal emissaries were sent to the Mongols: the Dominican Ascelinus, the Dominican Andrew of Longjumeau, and the Franciscan Giovanni da Pian del Carpini, who brought back the first extensive accounts of the Mongols, as did the later Franciscan missionary William of Rubrouck, who journeyed to the Mongols from 1253 to 1255.

The Golden Horde and the Il-khanids. With Batu's death in 1256, his brother Berke (r. 1257–1267) became ruler of the Golden Horde. He converted to Islam, thus placing the Golden Horde at odds with the Il-khanids of Persia. The Il-khanids came to power under Hülegü, who sacked Baghdad in 1258 and ended the Abbasid caliphate. The Mamluk sultan Baybars (r. 1259–1277), powerful foe of the Crusaders but also of the Mongols, defeated the Il-khanid forces in the Battle of Ain Jalut (1259), thereby stopping the Mongol conquest of the Arab world. During the reign of the Il-khan Arghun (r. 1284–1291), Buddhism was declared the state religion and close contact was maintained with Europe, particularly with the Vatican and the kings of France and England. Under severe economic pressure, Il-khanid Persia declined and religious tension forced Gazan (r. 1295–1304) to proclaim Islam the official religion. With the death of Abu Saʿīd in 1335, Il-khanid Persia fragmented. Meanwhile, the power of the Golden Horde reached its apogee under Özbeg (r. 1313–1341), but attempts to expand its territory brought it into military conflict with ambitious Muscovite princes and the great military leader Timur (Tamarlane; 1336–1405) in Central Asia. Finally, the Golden Horde split into three successor states: the khanates of Kazan, Astrakhan, and the Crimea.

The Mongols in China. It was Khubilai (r. 1260–1294), the last great Mongol khan, who brought China under Mongol rule (the Yuan dynasty, 1264–1368). With the extended visit of Marco Polo to Khubilai's court (1271–1292) the first reliable information about China came to the West. After the death of Khubilai, Mongol rule in China began to weaken until they were overthrown in 1368 by the Chinese. What remained of Mongol power returned to the steppe where the western Mongols (Oirats, Dzungars, Kalmuks) became a factor in Central Asia, with two successive Oirat states menacing the territory between the western Mongolian steppe and the Caspian Sea from the mid-fifteenth century until their final defeat in 1758 at the hands of the Chinese.

With the decline of the Mongol empire, the patterns of Inner Asian civilization were well established. The development of firearms eliminated the advantages of the Inner Asian warrior: the economic structure of Inner Asia could not technologically advance. The change from land routes to sea routes considerably diminished Inner Asia's role as an intermediary between east and west. Even though the last Chinese dynasty, the Qing (1644–1911) was Manchu, founded by Tunguz-speaking peoples from Manchuria, it rapidly became sinicized, losing much of its Inner Asian character at a very early date. The simultaneous penetration by Russia and China had profoundly changed the structure of Inner Asian civilization. The history of these later periods, not typically Inner Asian, does not shed light on what made the civilization of Central Eurasia unique.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Central Asia; Chinggis Khan; Hun Religion; Hungarian Religion; Islam, article on Islam in Central Asia; Manichaeism, overview article; Missions, article on Buddhist Missions; Mongol Religions; Nestorian Church; Prehistoric Religions, article on The Eurasian Steppes and Inner Asia; Sarmatian Religion; Scythian Religion; Tengri; Turkic Religions.

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Revised Bibliography

INNOCENT I (r. 401–417) was a bishop of Rome. Nothing is known about Innocent's early life save the fact that, according to Jerome, he was the son of his predecessor, Anastasius I (r. 399–401). His episcopacy took place during the period of Rome's decline and witnessed some important events, namely, the displacement of Milan by Ravenna as the seat of imperial administration in the West (c. 404) and the sack of Rome in 410 by Alaric the Goth. Only thirty-five of Innocent's letters survive, in a variety of sources. A few are short administrative documents, but others are more personal and reveal a vigorous personality with decided views. The severe proscriptions against heretics issued at Rome in 407 by the emperor Flavius Honorius and later incorporated into book 16 of the Theodosian Code were probably inspired by Innocent.

In ecclesiastical matters Innocent took a strong stand with regard to the prerogatives of his see, which he viewed as the ultimate court of appeal in all important ecclesiastical cases, claiming Roman supremacy over church councils and church courts. Through his letter to Decentius, bishop of Gubbio, Innocent was the first pope to voice such a claim of dominion in the realm of liturgy as well. The church at Gubbio was considering using some liturgical rites (probably deriving from Gaul) that deviated from Roman practice. Innocent asserted that Decentius should not depart from the Roman norm—an understandable attitude, because Gubbio was a suffragan see—but went on to censure all other churches in the West (Spain, Gaul, Sicily, and Africa) for not following Roman usage. This stand of Innocent's was without precedent. The letter to Decentius remains a precious historical source on the Roman liturgy of this period.

Innocent's letters to Victricius and Exsuperius, bishops of Rouen and Toulouse, deal with numerous points of ecclesiastical discipline. His statement (to Exsuperius) that marital relations are forbidden to married men from the time of their ordination may indicate that his own birth occurred early in the career of his father, Anastasius I. Other groups of letters show Innocent's involvement with events in Africa and the East. His correspondence with the bishops of Africa deals with the Pelagian controversy; five bishops, including Augustine, had appealed to Innocent for a condemnation. He denounced the error but did not contest the decision of the Palestinian bishops, who had pardoned Pelagius. In the East, Innocent intervened as a supporter of John Chrysostom, the persecuted and exiled bishop of Constantinople, and of Jerome in his struggle with John, bishop of Jerusalem. Innocent also brought the churches of eastern Illyria, which had been part of the Eastern Empire since 388, back into Western jurisdiction.

The principles and precedents established by Innocent became the foundation for many of the claims later made by the medieval papacy. Innocent's policies reflect both his own strong personality and the ecclesio-political situation of the time, when the ascendancy of a new Rome at Constantinople, and the decline of the old Rome, helpless before Alaric, invited the consolidation and assertion of power by the incumbents of the see of Peter, the only apostolic see in the West.

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PAUL MEYVAERT (1987)

INNOCENT III (Lothar of Segni, 1160?–1216) was a pope of the Roman Catholic church (1198–1216). Innocent was the son of Trasimund of Segni, a count of Campagna, and Clarissa Scotti, daughter of a distinguished Roman family. He was educated first in Rome, possibly at the Schola Cantorum; then in Paris, where he studied theology; and finally in Bologna, where he probably studied law for a short time. Clement III elevated him to the cardinal diaconate of Saints Sergius and Bacchus in 1190. Before becoming pope, Innocent was active in the Curia Romana and took part in a number of legal cases as an auditor. As cardinal, he wrote three theological tracts, *De miseria humane conditionis* (Misery of the human condition), *De missarum misteriis* (Mysteries of the Mass), and *De quadripartita specie nuptiarum* (Four typologies of marriage), in addition to sermons. *De missarum misteriis* and *De miseria humane conditionis* enjoyed enormous popularity until the sixteenth century. Innocent was not a profound theological thinker. His thought was derivative and conventional, even a little old-fashioned.

When Innocent became pope in January 1198, the political situation in Italy and the German empire was very unstable. Emperor Henry VI had died in 1197 after subjecting most of the Italian peninsula to imperial authority. He left a young son, the future Frederick II, and two rival claimants for the imperial throne, his brother, Philip of Hohenstaufen, and Otto of Brunswick. Innocent skillfully extracted promises from both candidates that they would respect the integrity of the papal states. He regained control over the city of Rome and gradually reasserted papal hegemony over the Patrimony of Saint Peter. Although he eventually turned to Henry VI's young son Frederick in 1212, Innocent used the rivalry of Philip and Otto to establish the pope's right to judge a disputed imperial election in an important decretal, *Venerabilem.* He also indicated the importance of imperial affairs for the church by entering many letters, papal and secular, in a special register, the *Regestum super negotio imperii.*

Lack of imperial leadership during his pontificate permitted Innocent to strengthen papal prerogatives outside the papal states and inside the church. He received the kingdom of Sicily as a fief and was regent to young Frederick. In the Roman church he reorganized the Curia and managed the complex administrative and judicial affairs with consummate skill. He developed a new vision of papal monarchy, using earlier traditions, but with a powerful change of emphasis. An ingenious biblical exegete who cleverly used the Bible to support his vision of papal monarchy, he exalted the pope and his authority within the church as no earlier pope had done, and also attempted to mediate the affairs of secular rulers. He extolled the pope's status as Vicar of Christ, placing him above man but below God. The pope exercised divine authority granted by Christ only to him and held fullness of power (*plenitudo potestatis*) within the church.

Innocent formulated most of his ideas about ecclesiastical government early in his pontificate. His theories had practical consequences of strengthening the judicial hierarchy of the church, underlining the pope's position of supreme judge, and, at the same time, fundamentally destroying the last vestiges of the decentralized church of the early Middle Ages. He demanded the subordination of the bishops to the pope and insisted that all episcopal translations, resignations, and depositions fall entirely under papal jurisdiction. His anonymous biographer and other chroniclers drew a picture of a pope with enormous capacity and skill in judicial affairs, who frequently participated in the cases before the papal court and enjoyed the exercise of authority.

During Innocent's pontificate, law became a central concern of ecclesiastical government. He authenticated a collection of his decisions and sent them to the law school in Bologna in 1209–1210. This collection, the first officially promulgated code of canon law, signaled Innocent's awareness that the papacy was an institution with many of the same concerns as secular states. He heard appeals from all parts of Christendom, issued rulings on disputed points of law, and established a professional cadre of trained men in Rome to carry out his policies.

CRUSADES. Innocent called for a new, papally led crusade in August 1198 and imposed a special tax on the clergy to support it. Although the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) lacked strong leadership and sufficient money, Constantinople, capital of the Byzantine Empire, was successfully assaulted in 1204. Innocent hoped that the conquest of Constantinople would result in the reunification of the Latin and Greek churches, but his hopes were in vain.

In 1218 he summoned another crusade, for which he made final arrangements at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). Although he died before the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221) departed, it bore his imprint. Financed by the church and directed by the papacy, this crusade was a more sophisticated attempt to elaborate the policies Innocent had conceived in 1198. It was the last attempt of the papacy to organize a crusade without strong secular leadership.

Innocent also turned his attention to the proliferation of heretics, especially in the papal states. In 1199 he issued *Vergentis,* which decreed that condemned heretics should be dispossessed of their lands because heresy is treason. In effect, he defined the church as a state that the heretics had betrayed. This new conception of heresy led to his calling a crusade against the heretics of southern France, the Albigensian crusade (1208–1229). An army was gathered together under the leadership of a papal legate, Arnold Amalric, and at a heavy cost in lives the crusade was successful in extirpating heresy in Languedoc.

PASTORAL CARE AND REFORM. Innocent exalted the authority of the pope but also had a profound understanding of his pastoral duties. His ability to balance power and solicitude marks him as the greatest pope of the Middle Ages. In November 1215, some 412 bishops convened in Rome to take part in the Fourth Lateran Council. The council's seventy-one canons reflect Innocent's concerns. Heresy and the crusade were important items on the agenda—canon 8 established the foundations for the Inquisition—but the canons covered a wide range of other topics. Canon 18 forbade the participation of clerics in ordeals, which necessitated changes of judicial procedure in secular courts; canon 21 dictated that all Christians should confess their sins and receive Communion once a year; canon 50 changed the limits of consanguinity and affinity for marriage from seven to four degrees. Innocent also promulgated a number of canons regulating the lives of the clergy and the administration of churches.

The Fourth Lateran Council was the most important general council of the Middle Ages and provided a fitting end to Innocent's pontificate. Its canons are a measure of Innocent's strengths and serve as a guidepost for his policies. Innocent may have, in the words of the thirteenth-century Franciscan Salimbene, involved the church too much in worldly affairs, but he was a militant pastor and a great monarch.

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KENNETH PENNINGTON (1987)

INNOKENTII VENIAMINOV (John Popov Veniaminov, 1797–1879), known in English as Innocent, was a Russian Orthodox missionary to Alaska, bishop of Siberia and Alaska, and metropolitan of Moscow. Born into a poor clerical family in the village of Anga, near Irkutsk (south-central Siberia), John Popov received his early education from his father, the church sacristan. From 1806 to 1818 he attended the seminary in Irkutsk, where he was an outstanding student. During this period, his surname was changed to Veniaminov.

After his marriage, Veniaminov served as a priest in Irkutsk. When the Russian-American Company called for volunteers to serve as missionary priests, he at first refused, but changed his mind after hearing of the zeal of the Aleuts for the Christian message. In 1823 he set out with his wife, son, brother, and mother for the fourteen-month journey to Unalaska in the Aleutian chain. His first task there was to build his own house and a church.

Veniaminov studied the Aleutian language, creating an alphabet and teaching the Aleuts to read and write. One of the books he wrote in Aleut, *A Guide to the Way to the Heavenly Kingdom,* was translated into Russian and went through forty-six editions. Veniaminov was also an outstanding scientist and anthropologist. A series of his articles, published in Russia, aroused so much interest that they also were published in French and German journals. His three-volume *Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska District* remains a basic reference work. Veniaminov's main interest, however, was in the conversion of the Aleuts. His careful work in evangelism and teaching left an established church.

After ten years in the Aleutians, Veniaminov was transferred to Sitka in southeast Alaska and commenced work among the Tlingit, a tribe previously hostile to both Russian culture and religion. Upon completing fourteen years of missionary service, he returned to Russia to oversee the printing of his Aleutian translations. When his wife died, he entered the monastic ranks, taking the name Innokentii. He was then made bishop of the newly created Diocese of North America and Kamchatka (1840).

Innokentii returned to Sitka in 1841, but was not content to direct affairs from his episcopal residence. He traveled widely over his scattered diocese, visiting areas that had rarely seen a priest. He changed his episcopal residence three times to be on the front line of the missionary expansion of his diocese. As the result of his efforts, the synod enlarged his diocese and elevated him to archbishop in 1850.

In 1868, at the age when he normally would have retired to a monastery, Innokentii was elected primate of the Russian church. This honor was truly a crown to his life's work, as it enabled him to submit new plans and to press for reforms in the Orthodox church. The most far-reaching project was the establishment of the Orthodox Missionary Society (1870), which put Russian missionary activity on a sound financial footing for the first time. The society was an attempt to mobilize the whole church by the formation of local diocesan committees, and its work continued into the twentieth century.

Innokentii's influence extended beyond his own dioceses. He encouraged Nikolai Kasatkin, Orthodox chaplain to the Russian consulate in Hakodate, Japan, to learn Japanese. Kasatkin credited Innokentii's advice and example as part of the impetus that resulted in the establishment of the Japanese Orthodox church. Innokentii worked toward the establishment of an independent Diocese of North America with the episcopal see to be located in either San Francisco or New York. He was canonized on October 6, 1977, by the Holy Synod of the Church of Russia and honored with the title Evangelizer of the Aleuts and Apostle to America.

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JAMES J. STAMOOLIS (1987)

INQUISITION, THE

This entry consists of the following articles:

THE INQUISITION IN THE OLD WORLD
THE INQUISITION IN THE NEW WORLD

INQUISITION, THE: THE INQUISITION IN THE OLD WORLD

The long history of the Inquisition divides easily into two major parts: its creation by the medieval papacy in the early thirteenth century, and its transformation between 1478 and 1542 into permanent governmental bureaucracies—the Spanish, Portuguese, and Roman Inquisitions, all of which endured into the nineteenth century. What unites both phases is the struggle of the Roman church to suppress various forms of heresy, which ecclesiastical authorities believed posed serious threats to proper worship in Christian communities. It is worth stressing that, for more than five centuries, the average European Christian approved of the activities of the Inquisitions. Inquisitions had no coercive powers and depended upon the cooperation of local people to denounce heretics and upon local secular authorities to punish them. Interestingly, the inquisitors never composed written justifications for their activities because their basic purpose seemed self-evidently beneficial to good Christians. Until the mid-eighteenth century, inquisitors almost never encountered serious opposition, except in rare situations where heretics either formed a majority or were deeply embedded among the local ruling class. For example, in the sixteenth century the Spanish Inquisition was perceived as an instrument of foreign tyranny by both Catholic Neapolitans and heretical Netherlanders; in both cases an ultimately successful "popular" opposition was manipulated by local magnates.

Originally directed primarily against the Cathars of southern France, inquisitors spread to many other regions of continental Europe; only places that rarely used canon law, such as the British Isles or Scandinavia, never had them. After eliminating the Cathars, papally appointed inquisitors targeted primarily Waldensians, but they also investigated a variety of other heretics, including the Spiritual Franciscans and the antinomian "Brethren of the Free Spirit" (who never existed as an organized sect) as their activities spread into northern Italy, Germany, the Low Countries, Switzerland, Bohemia, and northeastern Spain. After 1430, inquisitors in Switzerland and Germany further broadened their range of activity by helping define and punish the newly defined offence of diabolical witchcraft (it was a "mixed" crime, punishable by either inquisitors or secular courts). Meanwhile, in a different kind of extension, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella created the Spanish Inquisition to punish Jewish behavior among Spain's large and influential communities of converted Jews; a generation later, another state-run Inquisition was created in Portugal for the same purpose. After 1520 the spread of Protestantism gave fresh business to inquisitors wherever the institution survived or was rebuilt, as in Italy. After 1540 the largest group of heretics arrested in Spain were baptized Muslims, who outnumbered converted Jews and Protestants combined.

Medieval Inquisitions: Origins and Procedures. Unlike Byzantium, the Latin church felt no need to develop any special proceedings against heretics until the twelfth century. Two separate but almost simultaneous developments created the preconditions for a revived and intensified investigation of religious dissenters. The first development was the great increase in heresy in several parts of western Europe. By the twelfth century, the Cathars appeared to form the most dangerous group. However, their political strength was broken after 1209 by a new type of crusade, directed against internal rather than external enemies of the church. As Catharism was gradually eliminated during the thirteenth century, it was replaced by other, more widespread, forms of organized heresy, not imported from the East but indigenous. Consequently, defining and condemning heretical beliefs and practices occupied much of the papacy's attention at the time of the third and fourth Lateran councils in 1179 and 1215.

Ever since the conversion of Constantine and the Christianization of the Roman Empire, heresy had been a punishable crime. The primary responsibility for disciplining heretics rested with the hundreds of bishops scattered across Christian Europe, who had the authority to use the ancient Roman procedure of *inquisitio,* involving *ex officio* investigations. Throughout the Middle Ages and beyond, each bishop had the right to name an inquisitor for his diocese or even perform the duty himself. The most famous medieval inquisitorial register, describing the elimination of the last Cathar heretics in the Pyrenean village of Montaillou, was kept by an early fourteenth-century French bishop who later became pope. Subsequently, the trial of a famous German mystic, Meister Eckhardt (1328), was begun by the archbishop of Cologne, but it was later transferred to the papal court. Moreover, although much inquisitorial history has been written as though papally appointed inquisitors were the only zealous pursuers of heretics in medieval Europe, the inquisitors were always less violent, and often less zealous, than secular judges in dealing with heretics. The Albigensian Crusade, with its powerful (if apocryphal) slogan "Kill them all! God will know his own!" offers vivid testimony of just how bloodthirsty ordinary Christians could be.

However, the spread of heresy led the medieval papacy, whose power had increased steadily since the Investiture controversy, to substitute its own central authority for local episcopal inquisitions, especially during the pontificate of Innocent III (1198–1216). Like most major medieval popes, Innocent had been trained in the relatively new discipline of canon law; it was a fateful coincidence that church law, based largely on Roman precedents, developed simultaneously with heresy in twelfth-century western Europe. With his decretal of 1199, *Vergentis in senium,* Innocent III took the crucial step of combining heresy with the Roman-law doctrine of *lèse-majesté,* thereby accusing heretics of treason against God and enabling both ecclesiastical and secular authorities to apply the full force and procedure of Roman law against them. In 1207, Innocent III also ordered that the houses of convicted heretics be torn down and their property (like that of convicted traitors) confiscated: one part of the proceeds went to the accuser, one part to the court, and the remainder was invested in building prisons. After the murder of a papal legate in 1208, Innocent III proclaimed the Albigensian crusade, a twenty-year campaign that decisively tilted the long-term trend of the Western Christian clergy away from persuasion of unbelievers in favor of coercion.

Besides the growth of heresy and canon law, one must also consider the role of the new Dominican order, founded in 1220, before one can understand the thirteenth-century papal Inquisition. Saint Dominic did not intend to punish heretics but to convert them—his order, founded in the old Cathar capital of Toulouse, was (and is) named the Order of Preachers. But the founder's stress on proper theological training, together with the fact that the new order was directed by a minister-general responsible only to the pope, made the Dominicans uniquely valuable in Rome's ongoing struggles against heresy, and they quickly became inquisitors as well as preachers. In 1231, Gregory IX commissioned a German Dominican monk as a judge-delegate under papal authority with orders to go anywhere he wished to preach and also to "seek out diligently those who are heretics or reputed as heretics." Although medieval inquisitors included Franciscans and other clerics, Dominicans dominate medieval inquisitorial history, from the diary-like notices of the early Dominican Pelisso describing the activities of inquisitors at Toulouse in the 1230s to the careers of Tomás de Torquemada and the German authors of the *Malleus maleficarum* in the 1480s. It is certainly no accident that both major fourteenth-century codifiers of inquisitorial procedure, a Frenchman and a Catalan, were Dominicans.

Between 1230 and 1260, such legally trained popes as Gregory IX and Innocent IV completed the process of transforming their delegated judges into papal inquisitors of heretical pravity. The process was piecemeal; no single papal bull or other document provides an exact official date of birth for the medieval papal Inquisition, but some benchmarks do emerge. Besides his commission to the German Dominican prior, in 1231, Gregory IX also issued the decretal *Excommunicamus,* clarifying that death was the appropriate punishment for unrepentant heretics. A short manual for papally delegated inquisitors, produced at Toulouse around 1248 or 1249, outlined the correct procedures they should follow, from their original appointment through the pronunciation and implementation of final sentences against convicted heretics. In 1252, Innocent IV's bull *Ad extirpandum* legalized the use of torture to detect heretics and compel confessions, although inquisitors could not apply it themselves.

The basic procedures of medieval inquisitors changed relatively little between the short guide of 1248–1949 and the far more elaborate manual of Nicolas Eymeric a century and a quarter later, and they changed even less between Eymeric and the nineteenth century. Nearly always, inquisitorial procedure followed normal rules of canon law. The newly appointed inquisitor, normally assigned to a particular region for a specified number of years, began with a sermon that urged his listeners to denounce suspected heretics and announced a grace period, during which voluntary confessions that implicated fellow heretics would be accepted without legal consequences. Officially, repentance rather than punishment of heretics remained the primary purpose of the inquisitors: they wanted heretics to abjure their errors, accept whatever penance was imposed upon them, and assist the Inquisition. Hearings were held in private, but the penances were always pronounced in public, with all physical punishments carried out by local secular officials.

Inquisitorial punishments emphasized shaming and humiliating heretics rather than killing them. No first offender who confessed at any stage of the trial was executed; only obdurate heretics and repeat offenders were "relaxed to the secular arm." Most offenders were therefore punished with some mixture of monetary fines, whippings, and imprisonment (a sentence of "perpetual" imprisonment generally meant seven years and could be reduced for good behavior). Many penitents were also forced to wear special garments in public. Like secular courts under Roman law, inquisitors could also condemn heretics who were already dead or absent, after which they might burn a skeleton or an effigy and confiscate property from their heirs.

Much ink has been shed, especially in Protestant countries, about the legal iniquities of the Inquisition. However, in many ways it provided a fairer form of justice than most secular courts or jury trials. Because inquisitors, unlike secular courts, were ultimately concerned with saving the soul of the accused, their prisons were better run than secular jails (clever prisoners tried to be transferred from secular to inquisitorial jurisdiction, but never the reverse). Inquisitors discounted the truthfulness of confessions wrung out under torture, and generally employed torture only against heretics who had already been convicted in order to discover their associates and leaders. Although defendants had no right to choose their own lawyers, inquisitors provided prisoners ample opportunity to name and discredit all of their personal enemies and provided a free "public defender" to avoid formal miscarriages of justice. In terms of procedure, inquisitors were unusual in only one significant respect: as their earliest guide of 1248–1949 insisted, "we do not deviate from established legal procedure except that we do not make public the names of witnesses." They did this in order to protect the well-being of their informers, employing a simpler and cheaper method than the current witness-protection program used in the contemporary United States. This famous provision served the Inquisition well: for six hundred years, there was no serious effort to change it.

Another common misconception about both the medieval and modern Inquisitions is their role in the ugly record of European witchcraft. It is undeniable that fifteenth-century inquisitors in the Swiss and northern-Italian Alps contributed heavily to transferring the notion of a satanic conspiracy from secret nocturnal meetings of heretics to gatherings of old women who cast harmful spells on their neighbors. Moreover, a German inquisitor produced the *Malleus maleficarum,* Europe's first and most famous practical guide to conducting a witch trial. However, theory is one thing and practice is another. Even in the fifteenth century, most "witches" were executed by secular rather than inquisitorial courts. After 1530, fewer than fifty were executed by all Inquisitions combined, a tiny number compared with the nearly forty thousand burned by Europe's secular courts. Around 1615 the Spanish Inquisition, not usually considered an example of "enlightened" justice, pioneered the skeptical investigation of material evidence and confessions of witchcraft.

THE "MODERN" INQUISITIONS: SPAIN, PORTUGAL, ROME. Two major limitations of the thirteenth-century inquisitorial system should be stressed. One was institutional: papally appointed inquisitors lacked any permanent organization or central direction. The other limitation was geographical: in several parts of medieval Europe, including places with numerous heretics, such as England or northern France, heresy cases were tried by secular rather than inquisitorial courts. In its long history, the papally appointed Inquisition eventually managed to partially overcome the first difficulty, but it never overcame the second. In fact, after the Protestant Reformation, the Inquisition's sphere of activity shrank considerably: a generation after a German Dominican inquisitor gave Europe its first detailed guide for trying witches in 1486, the Inquisition disappeared from the Holy Roman Empire and Bohemia after Martin Luther's successful defiance of papal inquisitors. In 1539 a former inquisitor was himself burned for heresy by a secular court at Toulouse, the Inquisition's original birthplace in southern France. After the mid-sixteenth century, the Inquisition's history was essentially reduced to Mediterranean Catholic Europe, south of the Alps and Pyrenees, where it had been reshaped into three government-controlled permanent institutions—the Spanish, Portuguese, and Roman Inquisitions.

The oldest and most famous of the "big three" was the Spanish Inquisition. Chartered by the papacy in 1478 at the request of Spain's "Catholic kings," Ferdinand and Isabella, in order to discipline and punish crypto-Jewish behavior among their uniquely large and prominent population of *conversos,* or baptized Jews, the Spanish Inquisition held its first *auto-de-fe* at Seville in 1480 and lasted until its third and final abolition in 1836. The most important departure separating Spain's Holy Office from its medieval predecessors is that its inquisitor-general (Torquemada was the first) was named and paid by the king and merely approved by the pope. Since the inquisitor-general appointed all of his local subordinates, the Spanish Inquisition became effectively a branch of the royal government (in Spanish court protocol, the Supreme Council of the Inquisition occupied fifth place in the hierarchy). The Inquisition was also the only royal institution that functioned identically in both Isabella's Castile and Ferdinand's Aragon. With few and insignificant exceptions, the papacy exercised no supervision or control over its operations.

The overall pattern of its activities falls into four stages. A bloodthirsty first half-century was directed almost exclusively against Spain's numerous and influential communities of baptized Sephardic Jews (*conversos*). Incomplete records suggest at least two thousand of them were burned, along with an approximately equal number of cadavers and effigies (one of Torquemada's earliest rules insisted that "trials of the living must never take precedence over trials of the dead"). Although the scale of its public slaughter of "Judaizers" was unprecedented in the annals of the medieval Inquisition, such numbers appear small by modern standards; the number of Jews killed at Nazi gas chambers in one August day of 1944 probably surpassed the number of officially Christian *conversos* executed by Spain's Holy Office across three and a half centuries.

Afterwards, between 1530 and 1630, the Spanish Inquisition greatly extended the range of its investigations while reducing its relative severity: about ten people were executed each year throughout the entire system. Spanish *conversos* now accounted for barely 10 percent of those arrested or executed, while Protestants (mostly foreigners) and especially *Moriscos* (baptized Muslims) comprised its principal heretical prisoners. The following century (1630–1730) saw a greatly reduced rate of activity—annual executions dropped from ten to two—and Judaizers, now principally immigrants from Portugal, again became its primary victims, especially during a final and little-explored surge of cruelty in the 1720s. In the final century of its activities, the Spanish Inquisition did relatively little damage to anyone before Napoleon abolished it in 1808; it was restored twice, once after Spanish liberals abolished it in 1821.

The range of the activities of the Spanish Inquisition from 1530 to 1630 is indeed remarkable. During this century every tribunal held regular *autos de fe* with a variety of prisoners, and submitted annual reports to the Supreme Council (enabling historians to follow their activities with remarkable precision). Most of its forty thousand prisoners were ordinary Spaniards, often charged with blasphemy or infringing the requirements of the Council of Trent; the Holy Office became the coercive arm of Spanish confessionalization. Many were charged with "mixed" crimes, like bigamy or witchcraft, which could be tried in either royal or inquisitorial courts. Men accused of homosexual or bestial "sodomy," another "mixed" crime, which inquisitors judged in only three northeastern tribunals, accounted for 170 burnings, almost as many as Protestantism or Islam. However, the Spanish Inquisition executed only two dozen witches—a smaller number than those killed for "opposition to the correct and proper functioning of the Holy Office" (e.g., by murdering its witnesses, reminding us again why their names were concealed). In a truly bizarre extension of inquisitorial logic, several dozen prisoners were charged with heresy for smuggling horses to French Protestants.

The Spanish Inquisition developed extremely long arms, both geographically and socially. During the reign of Philip II, it expanded to the Americas, establishing tribunals in Mexico City, Lima, and later Cartagena (Colombia). Although most subjects of the Aztec and Inca empires were converted to Catholicism before the Inquisition was introduced, the Holy Office cannot be considered a form of "colonial" exploitation; Philip II had ruled that native Americans were not "reasonable people" (*gente de razón*) and thus not subject to the Inquisition, although mestizos and baptized African slaves were subject to it. Meanwhile, its reach in Spain was boundless; almost nobody was exempt from the Spanish Inquisition, one of the few European institutions that—then or now—overrode all social privileges. The Inquisition imprisoned and punished numerous powerful *conversos* holding important offices; it also punished some high-ranking "pure-blooded" Spaniards, including an archbishop of Toledo, Philip II's most trusted private secretary, and the grandee who headed the crusading order of Montesa. In such cases, the Spanish Inquisition did not take lives, but it most certainly ruined careers.

When Ferdinand and Isabella expelled Spain's remaining practicing Jews in 1492, many of them took the short and easy route across the Portuguese border. Five years later, when Portugal's king wanted to marry a Spanish heiress, Spanish diplomatic pressure provoked forcible Christian baptisms of thousands of these Jewish religious refugees. It was only a matter of time before Portugal's extremely unconverted "New Christians" encountered a virtual carbon copy of the Spanish Inquisition, which the papacy chartered in 1536 and reinforced in 1547.

The Portuguese Inquisition was even more closely connected to the crown than the Spanish model. Portugal's first inquisitor-general was the son of a king and eventually became king himself. During the Spanish occupation of Portugal (1580–1640), his second successor combined the offices of viceroy and inquisitor-general. Because Portugal was much smaller than Spain, the Portuguese Inquisition had only three European tribunals, but it expanded overseas even sooner, establishing a tribunal in India by 1560. Although relatively harmless after 1774, Portugal's Holy Office lasted until 1821. Its remarkably well-preserved records show a tenacious obsession with Judaizing by descendants of the New Christians of 1497: they accounted for almost 80 percent of all trials in mainland Portugal and for almost all of its thousand-plus public executions between 1540 and 1761. In India, Asian Christians formed the majority of the Portuguese Inquisition's thirteen thousand prisoners, but even here most of those burned were Sephardic New Christians.

In 1542, frightened by the Protestant movement in Italy, Pope Paul III created the Roman Inquisition with the bull *Licet ab initio*. Like its Iberian counterparts, it was restricted by some "enlightened" princes after the mid-eighteenth century and suffered greatly from Napoleon; but unlike them, it revived quickly and held jurisdictional power until the unification of Italy in 1861. The Roman Inquisition continues to exist in toothless form, being renamed the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith in 1965. Because Italy remained politically divided until 1861, the Roman Inquisition was far more complicated than either Iberian model. The Congregation of the Holy Office, a standing committee of cardinals, often presided by the pope in person, regulated a network that eventually included forty-six tribunals; a few of them (e.g., Malta) lay outside Italy, while large parts of modern Italy (e.g., the entire south plus Sicily and Sardinia) avoided it. Within Italy, the Inquisition resembled a governmental agency only in the ten tribunals of the papal states. The Roman Inquisition's largest single cluster (fifteen tribunals) belonged to the Venetian Republic, which imposed various restrictions on its standard operations; minor restrictions affected the Inquisition elsewhere. Whereas almost all inquisitors in Spain or Portugal after 1550 were secular clerics trained in canon law, the Roman Inquisition followed medieval precedents by appointing only Dominican (or sometimes Franciscan) monks.

Unlike the Spanish and Portuguese tribunals, the origins of the Roman Inquisition had nothing to do with baptized Jews; perhaps not coincidentally, there is enough evidence to affirm that the Roman Inquisition seems far less bloodthirsty than either Iberian tribunal. The likeliest guess is that the Roman Inquisition put only about 125 people to death, the vast majority being Italian Protestants; about half of its victims were burned in Rome and two dozen others were drowned secretly in Venice. The Roman Inquisition succeeded in its original purpose of controlling Protestantism on the Italian peninsula, but it did so through suffocation rather than burning it out. The most convincing explanation for the Roman Inquisition's success is the co-optation of confessors, who were required to denounce to the Holy Office any penitent admitting any unorthodox behavior.

Public knowledge of the operations of the Roman Inquisition was hampered until 1997 by the closing of its central archive and the disappearance of the records of its trials, which were mostly destroyed in Napoleon's time. To some extent, the lack of quantitative information about the Inquisition's operations has been offset by the exceptional richness of a few famous trials that have been studied in exemplary depth. The Roman trial of the Florentine mathematician and astronomer Galileo Galilei in 1634, which ended with the condemnation of Copernican astronomy and the perpetual house arrest for this aged prisoner, surely constitutes the single most famous case in the history of any Inquisition. Its execution in 1600 of another Copernican and renegade Dominican monk, Giordano Bruno, is known to all Italians. The Inquisition's two trials of Domenico Scandella, better known as "Menocchio," an obstinate and argumentative miller in a remote village of northeastern Italy who was finally executed in 1599, have made him almost as famous.

DID THE INQUISITIONS SUCCEED? Both the medieval and modern forms of the Inquisition compiled a mixed record with respect to their principal purposes. Dominic saw Cathars as the most dangerous heretics of his day, and a century after his death they had been eliminated. However, the Waldensians, who constituted the principal targets of the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century inquisitors, outlasted their persecutors and still exist today. The record of the early modern state-run Inquisitions is comparably mixed. It is difficult to deny that the Roman and Iberian Inquisitions played a major role in eliminating all serious traces of native Protestantism in Mediterranean Europe. But the baptized Muslims of Spain could not be coerced into behaving like Tridentine Catholics, and their expulsion in 1609 constituted a major defeat for the Spanish Holy Office.

The Spanish Inquisition's record with Sephardic *conversos* remains controversial. One could assert, however, that the relative scarcity of prosecutions after 1530 implies that most of them, like the ancestors of Saint Teresa of Avila or the Jesuit general Diego Laynez, became proper Catholics. Although Portuguese New Christians resisted Tridentine Catholicism far more stubbornly, part of the explanation is surely the circumstances of their 1497 "conversion," and Portuguese historians claim that their persecution across eight or nine generations has social rather than religious roots.

SEE ALSO Heresy, article on Christian Concepts; Marranos; Persecution, article on Christian Experience; Torquemada, Tomás de.

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INQUISITION, THE: THE INQUISITION IN THE NEW WORLD

The institution developed by the Roman Church to combat heresy in the Old World operated in several forms in the New World. Initially organized under papal authority in Italy, France, and Germany during the thirteenth century, inquisitions emerged under royal auspices in the Iberian kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, and Portugal in the late fifteenth and mid-sixteenth centuries. They became part of the colonial apparatus in Spanish and Portuguese America from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century. Although its procedures and goals were essentially the same in both hemispheres, the institution confronted several unique and changing circumstances in the New World and adapted its organization, jurisdictions, and operations accordingly. Beginning with the delegation of authority to a series of bishops and missionaries, the Holy Office of the Inquisition (as the institution was known in both Spain and Portugal and their dominions) expanded its presence with periodic visitations, networks of operatives, and, in Spanish America, autonomous tribunals, alongside related episcopal activity that addressed heterodoxy among the indigenous inhabitants. Over the course of three centuries, the institution went from being a modest instrument for rooting out heresy to facilitate evangelization, to an elaborate bureaucratic organization attempting to control moral, spiritual, and intellectual life in the colonies. But it experienced a long period of decline before its final dissolution in the face of Enlightenment ideas and independence movements.

OLD WORLD ORIGINS. Although the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions functioned as separate entities in the New World, they shared similar and somewhat related origins. The Catholic Monarchs, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, initially brought the institution to the Iberian peninsula to help effect the political and religious consolidation of what would become Spain, an area in which three faiths—Christianity, Judaism, and Islam—had co-existed for several centuries. Responding to growing public anti-Semitism and allegations that certain "New Christians" or *conversos* (recent converts to Roman Christianity from Judaism or Islam) were still practicing their old religion, the monarchs secured a series of papal bulls, between 1478 and 1483, authorizing the appointment of inquisitors and the establishment of tribunals and a Supreme Council (known as the Suprema) under royal control. By the summer of 1492, the Inquisition had executed many wealthy *conversos* and confiscated their assets, while Isabella and Ferdinand had given Jews the ultimatum of conversion or expulsion. Tens of thousands went to Portugal, only to face a similar order to convert in 1497 from King Manuel. After a series of negotiations and papal concessions between 1531 and 1547, the Portuguese Holy Office came into being, along the lines of the neighboring Spanish model, with regional tribunals and a General Council under the monarchy's control. Both countries would integrate the institution into the ecclesiastical and political machinery of their colonial empires.

The inquisitorial procedures employed in the New World had already taken their general form in the peninsula before crossing the Atlantic. When an inquisitor first came to an area or embarked upon a new campaign, the populace was assembled in the main church for a solemn ceremony. In a display of unity between the temporal and spiritual realms, the civil and ecclesiastical authorities offered their deference and support to the inquisitor, who issued an "edict of faith" or monitory, warning of the iniquities of heresy and outlining the various offenses that the Holy Office then considered to be heretical or otherwise unorthodox or immoral. Confessions and denunciations were solicited and duly recorded during a prescribed grace period, after which the inquisitor summoned additional testimony about those implicated in the information gathered.

Three credible denunciations judged sufficiently culpable by examiners (theologians and canonists) could lead to an individual's arrest and the initiation of proceedings. The identity of accusers and witnesses was kept secret, although a list of enemies provided by a suspect could bring about the nullification of denunciations thought to stem from enmity. Defendants had the benefit of legal counsel and the opportunity to address the charges and testimony against them. Those who confessed to offenses were assigned penance, while those who denied the charges were incarcerated and often had their assets sequestered to cover their maintenance while in custody. Inquisition officials sometimes employed prison informants and torture to obtain additional information or confessions before or after conviction or sentencing. Penalties for minor offenses included fines, flogging, and various lighter forms of penance aimed at publicly humiliating the offender. Those convicted of major heresies usually had their assets confiscated and could receive exile, imprisonment, galley service, or even death in the case of an obstinate or repeat offender. The Inquisition's goal was to get convicts to admit their guilt, receive absolution, and then be reconciled with the Church. Unreconciled heretics were turned over or "relaxed" to the secular authorities for civil execution, usually by fire at the stake, although last-minute confessions normally entitled the condemned to strangulation before burning.

The procedural process culminated with another solemn ceremony, in this case an auto-da-fé (act of faith), in which the authorities announced and implemented the sentences of all the recent offenders, who appeared in penitential garb before the entire community. The public humiliation of penitents in these elaborate and dramatic affairs served as a deterrent against heterodoxy and an effective form of social control. Although these general procedures stayed remarkably constant throughout the colonial period, several changes in terms of organization, jurisdiction, and the delegation of authority occurred during the early decades of colonization, as the Holy Office experimented with ways to extend its reach across the Atlantic.

EARLY DEVELOPMENT IN THE AMERICAS. Inquisitorial activity initially arrived in the Americas to assist in Spain's evangelical mission. From the Church's perspective, Spanish dominion in the New World derived from a papal donation that required the monarchs of Castile to oversee the conversion of the indigenous population to Christianity. When Columbus returned to the Caribbean in 1493 on his second voyage, he brought a missionary contingent led by Bernardo Buyl, an apostolic delegate who, some have speculated, may have possessed and exercised inquisitorial authority during his brief stay in the hemisphere. In 1510, Columbus's son Diego Colón, as governor of Hispaniola, asked the king for the authority to name an inquisitor on the island. Bartolomé de las Casas, in turn, called for the introduction of the Inquisition to help protect Indian neophytes and mentioned that two heretics already had been burned in a report he addressed to Cardinal Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros in 1516. Ximénez, who was then inquisitor general as well as regent of Castile, responded the following year with an order granting bishops "in the Indies" apostolic powers to deal with heretics and apostates observing the "sects of Moses and Muḥammad." Many years later, Henrique, the king and inquisitor general of Portugal, would likewise extend apostolic authority to the bishop of Salvador da Bahia in Brazil.

These delegations of apostolic inquisitorial authority to bishops in the Americas were expressly granted in addition to the episcopal authority they already held, as ecclesiastical judges or ordinaries, to conduct inquisitions within their own dioceses. Along with bishops, the Holy Office also selected monastic superiors to be inquisitors, thus the first two appointed in the New World in 1519 were Alonso Manso, the bishop of San Juan (Puerto Rico), and Pedro de Córdoba, the Dominican vice-provincial in Hispaniola. In 1522, as the activity of Spanish conquistadores and missionaries moved farther away from the established dioceses and sees in the Caribbean, Charles V obtained the *Omnímoda,* a papal concession extending episcopal powers to monastic prelates more than two days' travel from a bishop, which allowed them to try inquisitorial cases as ordinaries. These apostolic, episcopal, and monastic forms of inquisitorial authority and jurisdiction would be variously combined at different times and places, as the Holy Office and church officials tried to adapt to rapidly changing developments in the New World.

Regarding the first two inquisitors, Córdoba died in 1521, but Manso continued to execute his charge in the Caribbean until 1539. In 1524 the Holy Office attempted to erect a Tribunal of the Indies under the San Juan bishop. It was expected to support itself, as the peninsular tribunals did, from penitential fines and the assets confiscated from heretics, which in the Americas then, and for some time to come, were meager at best. Manso nevertheless managed to appoint auxiliaries in the islands and conduct various cases against the colonists, although contemporaries complained to the Crown that the activities of the bishop and his delegates were often arbitrary, despotic, and in excess of their authority.

As the Spanish colonial project advanced onto the continent, inquisitorial activities expanded alongside the conquest and conversion effort. After the 1521 fall of Tenochtitlan, the great Mesoamerican urban center in the Basin of Mexico, priests accompanying the conquistador Fernando Cortés tried various cases, the earliest known involving an Indian accused of concubinage. A short time later, Franciscan missionaries began arriving to convert the millions of native inhabitants in what would become the viceroyalty of New Spain. Their superior Martín de Valencia served as inquisitor and apparently was the first to condemn Indians to the stake for practicing idolatry. Beginning in 1526, a series of Dominican prelates exercised the charge, including Domingo de Betanzos, who tried several cases of blasphemy among the conquistadores and settlers, and Vicente de Santa María, who held the first auto-da-fé in Mexico and relaxed two New Christians for "Judaizing."

The next apostolic inquisitor was Juan de Zumárraga, a Franciscan who became the first bishop of Mexico and whom the Holy Office authorized to organize an episcopal tribunal. Between 1536 and 1543 he conducted at least 152 cases involving European, Indian, black, and *mestizo* (mixed European and Indian) men and women, whose range of offenses included blasphemy, bigamy, heretical propositions, Judaism, Protestantism, idolatry, sorcery, and superstition. He initiated several proceedings against Indian practitioners and elites he considered impediments to the evangelization campaign. The most notable of these cases culminated in the 1539 execution of Carlos Ometochtzin, a prominent native leader accused of being a "dogmatizing heretic," and earned Zumárraga a reprimand from the Suprema and the removal of his inquisitorial authority.

VISITATIONS AND AUTONOMOUS TRIBUNALS. The activities of both Zumárraga and Manso prompted a reexamination of inquisitorial organization in Spanish America at a time when the Crown was attempting to implement the reforms lobbied for by Las Casas in the "New Laws" of 1542. Faced with these excesses and economic realities in the New World, the Holy Office abandoned the idea of tribunals in favor of the inquisitorial *visita,* an official visitation or inspection conducted for a given amount of time. In 1544, the Spanish crown sent Alonso López de Cerrato to the Caribbean and Francisco Tello de Sandoval to New Spain to inspect all colonial institutions and enact various reforms. The Holy Office made them both apostolic inquisitors and assigned Tello, who had served as an inquisitor in Toledo, to review the finances and cases of Zumárraga's tribunal (especially the trial of Carlos Ometochtzin), and Cerrato to do the same with Manso's record. In 1546, Pedro de la Gasca, of the Suprema, was sent to the new viceroyalty of Peru to put an end to the civil unrest among the colonists and to reassert royal authority. While the institution clearly had become an important tool in the monarchy's strategy to consolidate colonial rule, it would be nearly another quarter-century before the Inquisition would achieve its definitive form and presence in Spanish America.

Within a few years, the *visitadores* had left and inquisitorial authority reverted back to the bishops and monastic prelates acting as ordinaries. In New Spain, at least, it seems that the Crown made a conscious effort to avoid further abuses when appointing the Dominican theologian Alonso de Montúfar, who had been an examiner for the Holy Office in Spain, as the new archbishop of Mexico. For the next two decades episcopal activity increased throughout Spanish America, but during these years of the Counter-Reformation and the Council of Trent (1545–1563), it focused primarily on the growing presence of Protestants and on maintaining orthodoxy among the clergy, leaving the Indians relatively unmolested.

This was not the case, however, in the wave of monastic activity in New Spain during the 1560s that climaxed with a brutal inquisition directed by Diego de Landa in Yucatan. Claiming authority from the *Omnímoda,* the Franciscan provincial unleashed a reign of terror upon thousands of Maya Indians after finding some "idols" in a cave. Many were tortured, harshly disciplined, or committed suicide to avoid interrogation, before the first bishop of Yucatán, Francisco de Torral, intervened and sent Landa back to Spain to answer for his actions. Although Landa eventually was exonerated, this episode was influential in Philip II's decision to establish permanent tribunals of the Holy Office in Spanish America and to remove the Indians from its jurisdiction.

In 1569, after an accumulation of petitions complaining of abuses against both Spaniards and Indians, increased penetration of foreign Protestants and Protestant literature, and a general concern about unorthodox and immoral behavior in the colonies, the Crown authorized the creation of two autonomous tribunals, directly subordinate to the Suprema, in the capitals of the American viceroyalties. The Mexico City tribunal had jurisdiction over all of New Spain, from New Mexico to Panama to the Philippines, while the Lima tribunal in the viceroyalty of Peru covered all of Spanish South America until 1610, when a third tribunal was established in Cartagena to monitor New Granada (roughly Colombia and Venezuela) and the Caribbean islands.

Although numbers varied over time and by location, the bureaucracy of these tribunals consisted of inquisitors, prosecutors, secretaries, notaries, examiners and consultants, defense advocates, constables, jailers, and guards, as well as treasurers and accountants to manage the revenue and property acquired in fines and confiscations. The vast territorial jurisdictions of the American tribunals also required establishing provincial branches, each run by a commissary, who initiated investigations and proceedings, transferred serious cases to the main tribunal, and was assisted by a notary, a constable, and a jailer. Inquisitors and commissaries additionally relied on a network of lay officials known as familiars, dispersed throughout the empire, who supplied intelligence and assisted in investigations and arrests. The Holy Office also maintained inspectors in the ports to prevent prohibited books and suspected heretics from entering the colonies and fugitives from leaving.

In contrast to the experience in Spanish America, the Portuguese never created an autonomous tribunal in the New World. Although the Crown in 1560 established an overseas tribunal at Goa (India) whose jurisdiction extended from the Cape of Good Hope to the Far East, Portugal's Atlantic holdings, including Brazil, remained under the authority of the Lisbon tribunal. In 1579, Cardinal-King Henrique invested apostolic inquisitorial authority in the bishop of Salvador da Bahia, António Barreiros, to act in consultation with a group of Jesuit theologians, just one year before Philip II consummated his claim to the Portuguese throne and ushered in sixty years of Spanish rule. Although the Holy Office of both countries maintained their autonomy in the "Iberian Union," the Spanish Crown nevertheless pressured the Portuguese institution to proceed against *conversos* suspected of "Judaizing" in the colonies. Until that time inquisitorial activity in Brazil had been minimal and many New Christians and Jews emigrated there to avoid persecution in Portugal, or paradoxically were exiled there by the Holy Office. From the very beginning of colonization, they had been instrumental in providing capital and developing enterprises, first in brazilwood, then sugar production, and finally gold mining in the eighteenth century. In 1591, the General Council of the Inquisition appointed Heitor Furtado de Mendonça to conduct the first Holy Office visitation (*visitação*) and he spent five years dispatching cases in the northeast provinces. In 1622, Philip IV ordered the creation of an autonomous tribunal in Brazil that never materialized, most likely because of opposition from Flemish interests in Pernambuco and Bahia, the Jesuits, and even the Holy Office itself, which preferred to maintain peninsular control over inquisitorial activity in the colony. Thus the Lisbon tribunal continued its vigilance through a combination of periodic Holy Office visitations, diocesan visitations conducted by bishops and ordinaries, and a network of commissaries and familiars, who identified and forwarded suspects to Portugal. Although inquisitors investigated a wide variety of offenses, most of the cases originating in Brazil involved New Christians, many of whom were denounced by "Old Christians" for purely economic or political reasons.

INQUISITIONAL ACTIVITIES AND OFFENSES. Pursuing "Judaizing" *conversos* was also a priority for the new tribunals in Spanish America, as many Portuguese New Christians had entered Peru, New Spain, and New Granada during the period of the Iberian Union (1580–1640). In Mexico, there were two periods of heightened activity against *conversos.* The first came between 1585 and 1601, and was dominated by the prosecutions of members and associates of the Carvajal family. The second occurred from 1642 to the great autos-da-fé of 1647 and 1649, when the Holy Office arrested and tried hundreds of New Christians, fearing their subversion after Portugal's extrication from Spanish hegemony in 1640. In Peru, such activity steadily increased until peaking with the "Great Conspiracy" and the extraordinary 1639 auto-da-fé in Lima.

Protestantism, since the beginning of the Counter-Reformation, was considered especially dangerous and had been one of the primary reasons for establishing the American tribunals. Generically referring to it as the "heresy of Luther," the inquisitors made little distinction between Lutherans, Anglicans, Calvinists, and other sectarians and usually dealt with them all quite harshly. The condemned offenders included pirates, smugglers, and shipwreck victims captured on Iberian-American shores, French Huguenot interlopers (notably in Florida and Brazil), and English and German merchants who ventured, legally or illegally, into Spanish and Portuguese ports and cities in the New World. By the mid-seventeenth century, however, prosecutions of foreign Protestants had declined because of treaty obligations and pragmatic commercial concerns.

Inquisition officials also worried about blasphemy and the spread of various "heretical propositions" associated with Protestantism or other Old World movements. Common examples were denying the virginity of Mary, criticizing the veneration of saints and images, questioning the existence of Purgatory or the notion of original sin, claiming that the Mass had no significance or that excommunication offended God, or rejecting the sacrament of confession or the Eucharist. Blasphemy cases, ubiquitous throughout the colonial period, also included slaves who renounced their faith in the heat of being punished or mistreated by their masters. In terms of Old World movements, in addition to Erasmians, the Inquisitors were especially concerned with adherents of Spanish Illuminism and Quietism, who aspired to spiritual perfection through mystical reflection and direct union with God, because they often counseled others to forsake the Church's intercessory role. Moreover, believing they were incapable of sin in that direct union sometimes led to sexual transgressions. These *alumbrados,* many of them pious women (*beatas* and nuns), included mystics and visionaries, who issued prophecies and claimed to receive divine revelations. They were steadily prosecuted well into the eighteenth century, along with their followers and supporters, many of whom were members of the regular clergy. Inquisitors also tried clerics for other theological errors and a variety of offenses related to church discipline and the sacraments, such as improperly celebrating the Eucharist, marrying while in the consecrated state, or soliciting sex in the confessional.

The Holy Office also began to monitor familial and sexual morality, especially after the Council of Trent's pronouncements upholding the dissolubility of monogamous marriage and the prohibition of deviant moral behavior that was quite common in the New World. Bigamy, for example, was one of the most frequently tried offenses, surely reflecting the long distances, poor communications, and personal mobility in the Americas. Concubinage also thrived in the colonial environment, between conquistadores and Indian women, masters and slaves, native elites and subjects, and others preferring cohabitation to marriage. Although jurisdiction over adultery, fornication, and sodomy (at this time meaning any sexual activity not destined for procreation) traditionally resided with the civil authorities, the Holy Office increasingly intervened in cases it deemed to have heretical implications because they contradicted Tridentine decrees.

Thus inquisitors were often more interested in disciplining offenders for certain commonly held beliefs—such as fornication was not a sin, or living together was better than being in a bad marriage—than for the acts themselves.

Other inquisitorial activity related to the indigenous inhabitants and their Christian conversion. The evangelization of the Indians in the New World was uneven at best and often involved "guided syncretism," indigenization, and transculturation, which incorporated many native beliefs and practices, and "relapses" were common. When establishing the American tribunals, the Spanish Crown decided that the transgressions of these neophytes should not elicit the Holy Office's harsh sentences for heresy or apostasy, but rather more lenient responses from episcopal authorities acting as ordinaries. The Holy Office, nevertheless, continued to investigate Indian heterodoxy to gather evidence against the rest of the population who *were* under its jurisdiction. It turned its findings over to the episcopal courts, which had established their own special tribunals under various names (Provisorato de Indios, Tribunal de Naturales, Inquisición Ordinaria). Headed by the *provisor* or vicar general of the diocese, these Indian tribunals also employed inquisitorial methods, issued edicts of faith, held autos-da-fé, and meted out penitential sentences that included haircutting, flogging, incarceration, forced labor, and exile for offenses such as bigamy, concubinage, idolatry, superstition, and sorcery. In Peru, successive Lima archbishops, especially Pedro de Villagómez (1641–1671), augmented these tribunals with systematic extirpation campaigns in indigenous communities conducted by a *visitador* of idolatries. Throughout their existence, these episcopal tribunals often clashed with the Holy Office over jurisdictional matters, which became even more complicated when cases of Indian bigamy and polygamy were returned to its authority in 1766. In Brazil, baptized Indians had always remained under the Portuguese institution's jurisdiction. During the first visitation in Bahia, the *visitador* Furtado investigated a Tupi millenarian sect called Santidade that integrated elements of Catholicism, prophesied the end of slavery and the Portuguese, attacked colonial interests, and astonishingly enjoyed the protection of a powerful planter and sugar mill owner. In both Spanish and Portuguese America, however, the vast majority of inquisitorial cases concerned whites, blacks, *mestizos,* and other racial mixtures rather than the Indians.

By the seventeenth century, the population was becoming more diverse with increasing European immigration, continued importation of African slaves, and a rising number of American-born whites, *mestizos,* and other miscegenational combinations. In this dynamic biological and social environment a vibrant and fluid popular culture emerged in which African, American Indian, and European beliefs and practices were creatively combined in ways that deviated from the orthodoxy that the Holy Office was entrusted to maintain. This was especially apparent in the genre of cases the inquisitors variably classified as superstition, sorcery (*hechicería/feitiçaria*), or witchcraft (*brujería/bruxaria*), which involved male and female practitioners of all racial backgrounds. This activity included astrology, fortunetelling, necromancy, and other forms of divination, the healing practices of *curanderismo,* the use of magic, spells, curses, charms, bundles, talismans, and potions for protection or to elicit desired effects, and the use of peyote, mushrooms, coca, and other psychoactive substances to induce visions, revelations, and prophecies. Early on, the inquisitors vigorously pursued such offenses as true heresies thinking they were dealing with supernatural powers linked to the devil, but years later when this activity had grown beyond all control, their interest waned as they increasingly attributed these cases to chicanery and ignorance among the lower classes.

By the late seventeenth century, inquisitional activity had already peaked and was in a state of decline. In Spanish America, a shift occurred around mid-century as cases of major heresies such as "Judaizing" and Protestantism gave way to lesser offenses among the clergy and the masses, resulting in diminishing revenue in fines and confiscations for the Holy Office and fewer and less elaborate autos-da-fé. During the eighteenth century, although bigamy and solicitation still dominated the docket, the institution started to take on a more political character as Spain's Bourbon monarchs sought to defend royal absolutism from liberal republicanism. The Index of Prohibited Books, begun in 1559, was now burgeoning with works from the Enlightenment, which inquisitors tried to suppress by monitoring imports, presses, booksellers, and private collectors. In the latter half of the century, cases citing "disloyalty to the Crown," sedition, Freemasonry, materialism, or republicanism as heretical offenses began to appear and during the turbulent years of popular uprisings and independence wars the Holy Office sided with the royalists. Nevertheless, after years of bitter financial and jurisdictional disputes, even the local royal authorities showed little sympathy when the Spanish Inquisition was suppressed in 1813 and definitively abolished in 1820. In Brazil, after some late activity involving *conversos* in Minas Gerais, the last Holy Office visitation occurred in 1763, several decades before the liberal Portuguese Constituent Assembly dissolved the institution in 1821.

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SCOTT SESSIONS (2005)

INSECTS appear in mythology not only as the gods, often as the creators of the world, but also as messengers to the gods. They serve sometimes as the agents of creation and frequently function as symbols of the human soul. Moreover, some insects, such as cicadas, beetles, and scarabs, often symbolize rebirth, resurrection, or eternal life.

According to the Lengua, a South American tribe of the Gran Chaco, a god in the shape of a huge beetle created the world and peopled it with mighty spirits. He holds aloof, however, from his creation and is not invoked in prayer. The butterfly is often worshiped as a god, sometimes as the creator. In Madagascar and among the Naga of Manipur, some trace their ancestry to a butterfly. According to the Pima of North America, at the time of beginning the creator, Chiowotmahki, assumed the form of a butterfly and flew over the world until he found a suitable place for humankind.

It is, however, the spider that plays a prominent part in the myths of North American Indians; it appears as the creator (e.g., among the Sia Pueblo Indians) or culture hero, or at least as the trickster (among the Dakota Indians). The Jicarilla Apache believe that at the time of beginning, when creatures lived in the underworld, the spider spun a web in the hole leading up to the earth and, together with the fly, came up on it before the people emerged. The spider and the fly were told by the Holy Ones to make a web and extend it to the sky in order to bring down the sun. According to the Navajo, Spider Man and Spider Woman are supernatural beings who instructed their mythical ancestors in the art of weaving and established the four warnings of death. The spider is also conspicuous in West African myths. In some myths, he is creator of the world; in others, he plays the role of culture hero, as in the stories in which he steals the sun. However, his usual role is that of a crafty and cunning trickster who prospers by his wits.

In Hindu mythology, ants are compared to a series of Indras. One day Indra in his palace receives a visit from a boy dressed in rags, who is Viṣṇu in disguise. While the boy speaks of the innumerable Indras who people the innumerable universes, a procession of ants appears in the great hall of the palace. Noticing them, the boy suddenly stops and bursts into laughter. "What are you laughing at?" asks Indra. The boy replies, "I saw the ants, O Indra, filing in long parade. Each was once an Indra. Like you, by virtue of pious deeds each one ascended to the rank of a king of the gods. But now, through many rebirths, each has become again an ant. This army is an army of former Indras."

In West Africa, ants are often viewed as the high god's messengers. In the Romanian creation myth, the bee serves as God's messenger. It also helps God to complete his creation with advice that it overhears from the hedgehog. Although the angry hedgehog puts a curse on it, condemning it to eat only ordure, God blesses the bee so that the filth it eats may become honey.

The bee is still an important symbol in Islam. The Qurʾān explicitly mentions it as a model of an "inspired" animal, and both Muḥammad and, even more, ʿAlī are connected in folklore with the pious and useful bee. Honey becomes sweet, it is said, because the bees hum blessings for the Prophet as they go about their work.

In some earth-diver myths, which speak of the origin of the earth from the primordial waters, insects serve as agents of creation. According to the Garo of Assam, the goddess Nosta-Nōpantu was to carry out the work of creation on behalf of the god Tattaro-Robuga. To get a particle of soil from the bottom of the primeval ocean, she sent in turn a large crab, a small crab, and a dung beetle. Only the dung beetle succeeded in bringing up a little clay, and from this Nosta-Nōpantu formed the earth. The Semang Negritos of the Malay Peninsula (such as the Menik Kaien, Kintak Bong, and Kenta tribes) similarly believe that the earth was brought up from the primeval ocean by a dung beetle, although in this version the insect seems to have dived on its own initiative. Among the Shan of Burma, the divers are ants. In North America, too, insects are known as earth divers among the Cherokee. In contrast to earth-diver myths are stories that speak of the celestial origin of the earth—as in the Indonesian and Micronesian cosmogonies—and in these myths, too, insects play an important role. The Toba and the Batak of Sumatra, for example, have preserved the tradition that a swallow and a large dung beetle brought down a handful of earth from the sky.

While bees, ants, and dragonflies often symbolize the souls of the dead, the image of the butterfly as the human soul is widely diffused in Europe, Asia, and the Pacific islands. The early Greeks sometimes depicted the soul as a diminutive person with butterfly wings, and later as a butterfly. A similar belief was shared by the Romans. The Maori of New Zealand believe that the soul returns to earth after death as a butterfly, and in the Solomon Islands a dying person, who has a choice as to what he will become at death, often chooses to become a butterfly. In Japan, the motif has been incorporated into *nō* dramas, and in the world of Islam, it is one of the favorite images of Sufism: The moth that immolates itself in the candle flame is the soul losing itself in the divine fire.

The cicada, on account of its metamorphosis, was well known in ancient China as a symbol of rebirth or renewal of life. According to the Arawak of Guyana, at the time of beginning the creator came down to earth to see how humankind was getting along. But humans were so wicked that they tried to kill him; so he deprived them of eternal life and bestowed it instead on animals that renew their skin, such as serpents, lizards, and beetles. In ancient Egypt the scarab, a beetle of the Mediterranean region, was identified with the sun god Khepri and thus became a symbol both of the force that rolled the sun across the heavens and of the rising sun, self-generated. Scarab amulets made of green stone set in gold were placed over the heart of the dead during the funeral ceremony as a sign that just as the sun was reborn, so would the soul of the deceased be born again.

Insects are not always viewed as beneficent creatures. According to Northwest Coast Indians such as the Tlingit, the Haida, and the Tsimshian, mosquitoes are pests that originated from the ashes of an ogre's burned body. The same motif is found among the Ainu and in southern China. In Japanese mythology, spiders appear as a symbol of the evil forces that were subjugated by the heavenly gods before the imperial dynasty—and with it, Japan—was established.

SEE ALSO Tricksters.

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INSPIRATION. As it appears in the general history of religions, *inspiration* may be defined very broadly as a spiritual influence that occurs spontaneously and renders a person capable of thinking, speaking, or acting in ways that transcend ordinary human capacities. Taken in this general sense, the term refers to a form of religious experience that is widely distributed and found in a great variety of forms. Taken more narrowly, the actual term (which derives from the Latin *inspirare,* "to blow or breath upon") implies the existence of a *spiritus,* or "breath," that is breathed into the soul and enlivens it. Although inspiration may often be conceived in this way, its specificity as a religious phenomenon should not be located in an explicit notion of spiritual breath or divine spirit, because such a notion may be absent in cases where one would still wish to speak of inspiration. In such cases, inspiration may be attributed to the direct action of a god, or even to the effects of a particular kind of food or drink. What is common to most forms of inspiration is its efficacy as an influence that motivates or facilitates action, very often in the form of inspired speech or song. An understanding of inspiration is thus closely related to questions of human agency and its transcendence.

The use of the term *inspiration* should probably be restricted to those cases where human agency is transformed but not totally displaced. This would make it possible to contrast inspiration with trance, because in the latter, human agency is simply canceled out, to be replaced in most cases by the action of a possessing god, spirit, or ancestor. The notion of possession itself, however, which need not always imply a state of trance, can sometimes be used to account for particularly intense experiences of inspiration. The essential point is that inspiration never leads to a state of complete dissociation of the personality and subsequent amnesia, as is the case with trance.

One of the earliest historical forms of inspiration is that experienced by the *ṛṣis,* or poet-seers, of the *Ṛgveda.* In composing their liturgical hymns, the *ṛṣis* often invoked their gods to inspire their songs. The gods Mitra and Varuṇa, the Aśvins, and in particular the god Agni were asked to stimulate the visions of the seers, to animate or impel their speech, and to set their songs in motion. The verbs used in these contexts convey a sense of power: *cud-* ("to impel, animate"); *tuj-* ("to strike, instigate"); *hi-* ("to set in motion, urge on"). One of the most famous verses in the *Ṛgveda* (3.62.10), the so-called Gāyatrī, is in fact a prayer addressed to the god Savitṛ, asking for such inspiration, a verse that is recited daily by traditional Hindus. This example of the inspiration of the Vedic seers may be taken as representative of the phenomenon of inspiration among the ancient Indo-European peoples generally. This is illustrated most clearly by the Indo-European root **vat-* ("to blow," or more figuratively, "to inspire"). This root not only appears in the *Ṛgveda* and *Avesta* but also underlies the Latin word *vates* ("seer, prophet, poet") and the Old Irish term *fáith* ("prophet, seer").

The Vedic seers also sought inspiration by drinking a special beverage called soma, which was used in the Vedic sacrifice. Here again one finds Indo-European parallels, both in the *haoma* found in ancient Iran, and in the legendary mead of the ancient Scandinavians, a drink that was believed to make anyone who drank it a poet or a visionary.

Whatever its exact source, inspiration is experienced as an impulse that either comes from without, or, if it arises within, does so spontaneously, in independence of the individual's will. In principle this trait distinguishes it from the ecstatic experience that is the defining characteristic of shamanism, because once initiated the shaman is capable of acting on his own and controlling the inhabitants of the spirit world for his own ends. This autonomy is what gives shamans their importance as "technicians of the sacred." The inspired person is by contrast much more dependent upon a continuing source of inspiration.

In classical India an experience of spontaneous inspiration was sometimes referred to as *pratibhā,* a "flash" of insight that arose in an inexplicable way, free of any intentional cognitive act on the part of the subject. In Indian poetics, *pratibhā* became a common term for poetic inspiration. In early Mahāyāna Buddhism, it took on a distinctly religious value, referring to the inspired speech uttered spontaneously by a disciple in praise of the Buddha. It is, however, in later Hindu devotionalism (*bhakti*) that are found the most striking Indian examples of inspiration. In inspired states that are often hard to distinguish from states of possession, the devotees of Viṣṇu and Śiva (the Āḻvārs and Nayanars) composed thousands of hymns in honor of their god. One of the greatest of these, the Vaiṣṇava poet-saint Nammāḻvār (9th–10th century CE), spoke of being taken over by Viṣṇu, such that Viṣṇu himself sang through his mouth (*Tiruvāymoḻi* 7.9.1).

The connection of inspiration with poetry and song was also recognized in ancient Greece, where poets sought the inspiration of the Muses, much as their Indian counterparts might pray to Sarasvatī, the goddess of eloquence. Plato describes the inspiration of the Muses as a form of mania ("madness or frenzy") and makes the poet's art wholly dependent upon it. It is because the poet's mind is "taken away" by the gods that the reader knows that it is the gods who speak and not the poet himself. Poets are "simply inspired to utter that to which the Muse impels them" (*Ion* 534).

Poetic inspiration was not the only type of mania that Plato recognized, however. In the *Phaedrus* (265a–b) he distinguishes four different types: Besides the poetic mania of the Muses there are also prophetic, telestic (ritual), and erotic forms of mania. All save the telestic are described as forms of inspiration (*epipnoia*). In many respects the most important of these was prophetic or mantic inspiration, the type given by Apollo for purposes of divination, and most important in connection with the Delphic oracle. Although the famed "frenzy" of the Pythia at Delphi has been shown to be largely a product of the literary imagination (Lucian's in particular), there is no doubt that she was at all periods believed to be genuinely inspired by the god Apollo. Mention should also be made of those enigmatic, quasi-legendary figures of antiquity, the sibyls. Their inspired oracles were collected and consulted at Rome, while many later Christians looked upon some of them as pre-Christian prophecies of Christ.

The fact that Plato classified both poetic and prophetic inspiration as forms of madness is indicative of the Greek tendency to view inspiration in terms of possession, a tendency already noted in South India, and which is very widespread among tribal cultures the world over. Inspiration as a form of mania is conceived of as a manifestation of *enthousiasmos,* literally the presence of a god within the inspired person, that is, possession. It shall be seen that this theory exerted an important influence on some early Jewish and Christian theories of inspiration, only later to be rejected.

In the ancient Near East inspiration was closely associated with the phenomenon of prophecy. In its earliest form, the Near Eastern prophet served primarily as a counselor of the chief or king, giving advice in the form of inspired oracles. His role was distinguished from that of the cultic priest by the fact that the latter employed technical means of divination while the prophet relied primarily on inspiration. The more familiar figure of the prophet as the inspired critic of both king and cult derives from the later history of prophecy in Israel, where the prophet became the divinely elected spokesman of Yahveh. The ecstatic behavior and utterances of prophets such as Saul, Elijah, and Elisha were the effect of the powerful spirit (*ruaḥ*) of God. In the later, so-called classical prophets the experience of inspiration is less violent and takes on the character of a close personal encounter.

In general the role of the prophet in this more familiar noncultic sense and the nature of inspiration as a religious phenomenon seem to be very intimately connected. The spontaneity and dynamism that characterizes inspiration achieve an almost paradigmatic realization in the figure of the itinerant prophet, who feels free to confront the established centers of power in the name of his god. It is surely not by chance that some of the clearest instances of inspiration among the peoples of Africa are found among the African tribal prophets who have appeared since the end of the nineteenth century in struggles against foreign domination. Prophetic inspiration, in one form or another, has historically been an important factor in a large number of nationalistic, nativistic, and resistance movements.

The experience of inspiration in the early Christian communities was interpreted as the outpouring of the Spirit predicted by the prophet Joel, and was dramatically symbolized by the descent of the Holy Spirit in a rush of wind and in tongues of fire at Pentecost (*Acts* 2). The inspiration of the Spirit brought with it a variety of ecstatic experiences, which included speaking in tongues and a revival of prophecy. In the light of such experiences, and given the Christian belief in the divinity of the Holy Spirit, it is not surprising that some early Christians found theories of inspiration congenial that were hardly distinguishable from theories of possession. Thus the apologist Athenagoras could say that the Spirit made use of the prophet as a flute player makes use of a flute. Justin Martyr also seems to have had a "mantic" view of inspiration. Such theories may well have derived from Philo Judaeus, who explicitly ascribed scriptural prophecy to divine possession, in this undoubtedly being influenced by Plato. As a whole, however, the Christian tradition resisted such notions, and from the time of Origen on affirmed the importance of the active involvement of the inspired subject.

The Christian theological concept of the Holy Spirit as a divine person gave the concept of inspiration a theological importance that it could not have in either Judaism or Islam, where the strong sense of divine immanence implied in such a notion was viewed with suspicion. This is made clear by the role ascribed to inspiration in the constitution of the scriptures of these three religions. While affirming the supreme authority of the Torah, the rabbis denied that it was inspired. Rather it was given directly to Moses by God verbatim. The intervention of an inspired author would have served only to weaken its authority. Only the Prophets and the Writings could properly be described as inspired. Similarly in Islam, a clear distinction is drawn between revelation (*waḥy*), which is applied to the *verbatim* transmission of the Qurʾān to Muḥammad through the angel Gabriel, and inspiration (*ilhām*), which is restricted to the inspiration of individuals on matters that are of primarily personal concern. In Christianity, by contrast, it is precisely the concept of inspiration that is traditionally invoked to account for the authoritativeness of scripture.

This should not be taken to mean, however, that the concept of inspiration is unimportant in either Judaism or Islam. The rabbinical notion of the *ruaḥ ha-qodesh* (lit., "holy spirit"), while not to be confused with the Christian notion, nevertheless fulfills some of the same functions. It was used by the rabbis to explain prophetic inspiration, and was also believed to be present to holy souls, and in particular to those who taught the Torah in public. According to a Midrash, "All that the righteous do, they do with the power of *ruaḥ ha-qodesh*" (*Tanḥumaʾ Va-yeḥi* 13).

In Islam the fact that the revelation made to Muḥammad is distinguished from the inspiration received by the individual believer should not prevent anyone from recognizing in Muḥammad an inspired prophet. Nor can one fail to note the similarity between the oracular structure of some of the earliest *sūrahs* of the Qurʾān and the inspired oracles encountered elsewhere in the history of religions, in particular among the *kāhin,* or soothsayers, of pre-Islamic Arabia.

The later Ṣūfīs recognized the validity of another type of ecstatic utterance, called *shaṭḥ,* which they believed to be divinely inspired. The saying of al-Hallāj, "Anā al-ḥaqq" ("I am the Truth"), is probably the most famous of such utterances, but one that unfortunately encouraged misunderstandings that eventually led to his death. Inspiration did not always take such a dramatic form, however. The experience of *ilhām* remained an essentially inner experience that was believed to be authoritative only for the saintly soul who received it as a gift from God.

These few examples must suffice to illustrate the variety of ways in which inspiration has been experienced from the earliest times down to the present day. Throughout human history are found such examples of men and women who are open to a form of experience that ultimately defies any attempts to explain, or even understand. Friedrich Nietzsche put it beautifully, in describing his own personal experience of inspiration: "One hears—one does not seek; one takes—one does not ask who gives: a thought suddenly flashes up like lightning, it comes with necessity, unhesitatingly—I have never had any choice in the matter" (Nietzsche, 1954).

SEE ALSO Beverages; Enthusiasm; Glossolalia; Oracles; Prophecy; Shamanism; Sibylline Oracles; Spirit Possession.

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INTELLECTUALS are persons who produce or intensively study intellectual works. Intellectual works are coherent complexes of symbolic configurations that deal with the serious or ultimately significant features of the cosmos, the earth, and human beings. An intellectual work is unified by logical connectedness and the substantive identity of its subject matter, and it is set forth in a conventional form.

Religious intellectual works are those that deal with transcendent powers and their verbal, physical, and inspirational manifestations. They deal with the relations of transcendent powers to texts that are regarded as sacred, and with the influence of transcendent powers in the genesis and working of the cosmos, in human life and destiny, and in the norms that guide human action.

Religious activities, both intellectual and practical (i.e., religious practices), have as their objective the engendering or maintaining of a state of belief that comprises a relationship to transcendent powers. Religious intellectual activities, embodying this particular state of mind or belief, aim at attaining and transmitting knowledge or understanding of transcendent powers and their manifestations. The attainment of a religious state of mind encompasses practices such as the performance of prescribed rituals, the incantation of sacred songs, the reiteration of sacred words, and the ingestion, handling, and bearing of sacred objects. Such practical religious activities are infused with symbolic components and are hence intimately related to the intellectual religious activities that have constructed their underlying symbolic configurations. The intellectual elucidation of the meaning of practical religious activities and objects creates an intimate bond between the intellectual and practical spheres of religious activity.

Bodies of religious beliefs and practices differ, however, in the degree to which beliefs and practices have been elaborated and rationalized. Religions that are built around sacred texts are more susceptible to an elaborate variety of interpretations than are those that have no sacred texts. These elaborate interpretations are possible only on the basis of prolonged and intensive study by religious intellectuals who study the religious intellectual works that are central to the complex of beliefs espoused by the religious community and who produce works of their own.

“PRIMORDIAL” AND “WORLD” RELIGIONS. Not all religious communities, that is, communities with common religious beliefs and practices, cultivate or depend upon intellectuals. The majority of these religions without intellectuals are primordial religions, that is, the religions of societies that define themselves by locality and lineage and in which no written texts contain their fundamental ideas. Such religions have beliefs and ritual practices, but they do not have doctrines. Their religious beliefs remain centered on local, occasional, and functional deities. Their rituals often have been codified, as was the case with Roman religion, and they sometimes have developed priesthoods as distinct professional strata; but, having no sacred books, they generally have no religious intellectuals to construct doctrines that could become integrally connected with their ritual observances. The larger, differentiated, and literate societies that continue to adhere to their primordial religions have produced intellectuals, including religious intellectuals, but the latter have had no ecclesiastical role. In these societies, such as those of ancient Greece and Rome, the construction of theological-philosophical theories has been left to laymen whose theories remained outside the realm of religious practice and influence.

Both in theory and in fact, however, the line dividing primordial religions from “world” or “universal” religions, that is, doctrinal religions that have acquired their doctrines through the work of religious intellectuals, cannot be precisely delineated. A primordial religion could in principle acquire an intellectual constituent. Its mythological pantheon could be rationalized and its rituals given a more pronouncedly transcendent reference; its magical procedures could be given a more explicit symbolic interpretation. World religions contain much that has been taken from the primordial religions that were indigenous to the territories from which they emerged or into which they entered. Yet no primordial religions that were indigenous to the territories from which they emerged or into which they entered can be turned into world religions without sacred or canonical texts and without intellectuals to construct doctrine from these texts.

DOCTRINE. The world religions have been primarily doctrinal religions in which articles are defined and ritual observances prescribed; belief and observance are required of members. Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam are unqualifiedly such religions. Confucianism has no primordial qualifications: It is open to all who can study the classical texts. In Hinduism, one is in principle a Hindu by being born into a Hindu caste, but it is also a religion centered around sacred writings and the rituals prescribed in the sacred writings. In this respect, Judaism is also in a marginal position. It is certainly a religion of doctrines insofar as it has a tradition contained in a sacred text and elaborated by commentary, but it is also a primordial religion: A Jew is one who is born of Jewish parents. Nevertheless, both of these world religions, despite this primordial element, have allowed prominent places to religious intellectuals.

Although the world religions, once established, recruit their members from among the offspring of their existing members, in order for transmission and expansion to occur, there must be a doctrine that is susceptible to simplification and exposition. Even if the founder of the religion is, in Max Weber’s terms, an “exemplary” rather than an “ethical” prophet, this exemplification has to be transformed into expoundable and teachable doctrine as a condition of its expansion. The doctrine is precipitated into intellectual works; the construction of this doctrine is the accomplishment of religious intellectuals.

Primordial religions have expanded territorially with the movement of their adherents, but they have not expanded to become the religions of entire societies to which they were not indigenous. Having no doctrines, they could not become world religions.

The combination of the written works, commentary, and systematic speculations of religious intellectuals has given to the world religions an influence in world history that the fragmentary, unwritten, and inchoate beliefs of the devotees of primordial religions could not achieve. The self-confidence of the propagators of the world religions within and outside the societies of their origin has rested, in part, on the collective consciousness of participation in a system of beliefs that answers urgent ultimate questions. It was difficult for the devotees of doctrineless religions to stand up against the forceful proclamations and denunciations of a world religion that possessed an elaborated and rationalized doctrine. To the charismatic force of the prophetic founder and his sacred text was added the derivative charismatic force of an elaborated doctrine that expanded the concentrated and intense charisma of the founder. Local primordial religions fell before the expansion of the world religions pushing outward from their centers of origin.

In contrast, world religions have been resistant to one another's expansion. The Chinese, for example, were fortified by the intellectually elaborated outlooks of Confucianism and Buddhism against the intellectual argument of Christian missionaries. The expansion of world religions has been made primarily at the expense of primordial religions that have had no significant intellectual rationalization to resist attacks from an intellectually elaborated world religion. As world religions have expanded, the primordial religions, as visible collective entities, have been all but obliterated. They have survived within this expansion only through their unacknowledged assimilation. Their traditions were powerful enough to survive in fragmentary form, but they were not sufficiently rationalized to be able to survive as recognizable wholes.

TRADITION AND ORIGINALITY. An affirmative attitude toward a particular tradition is inherent in the activities of religious intellectuals, because they claim to carry forward sets of beliefs that rest on the revelations of a founder, or a divinely engendered sacred text, or both. Religious intellectuals are committed to a tradition that continues, with some attenuation, the sacrality of the founding moment or period in the past. All subsequent truths must be demonstrably continuous with that sacred past event or sequence of events.

Originality in the world religions is admitted only for the founder of the religion or for the sacred scriptures in which the founder serves as the voice of a transcendent power. This conception of the originating sacredness of a body of scriptures does not acknowledge any subsequent originality by the religious intellectuals who take upon themselves the responsibility for expounding and interpreting them.

Prophetic—charismatic, founding, and renewing—originality is acknowledged in most world religions. Interpretative rationalizing originality is not acknowledged as originality. Yet originality does occur within the traditions of Buddhism and in the work of Jewish rabbis, Roman Catholic and Protestant theologians, Islamic theologians and Hindu philosophers. It is not, however, regarded as originality. It is treated either as clarification of unchanging doctrine or it is rejected as heretical. In addition to rationalizing interpretative originality, there is in the world religions the originality of the mystic who, while affirming his acceptance of the most fundamental objects of the religion, breaks out of the constraints of rationalized theological doctrine and routine ritual.

Religious intellectuals are not less creative or less original than secular intellectuals who produce works of science, literature, and art that are appreciated for their creativity or originality. Because the meaning of a sacred text is not self-evident, interpretation is necessary. Interpretation is intended to discern the "true," or preexistent, meaning of a sacred text. The successful discovery of this "true" meaning is perceived to be not an addition to existing knowledge but a reassertion and confirmation of an already existent truth. Nevertheless, a considerable degree of originality within the tradition might in fact be attained.

When intellectuals elaborate doctrines that are based on inherently problematic sacred texts, divergent and hence conflicting doctrinal currents of belief appear. Such conflicts have occurred in every world religion and have led to intense disputes until one current has become prevalent over the others and has been established as the orthodox position. There is, however, an important difference between a prevailing doctrine that is orthodox solely through a substantial intellectual consensus and a prevailing doctrine that is promulgated as orthodox by an authoritative institution. An authoritatively promulgated doctrine is a dogma. Where there is dogma, heterodoxies are proscribed, and their intellectual proponents are suppressed.

The authorities that the religious intellectuals must confront are the authority of the sacred writings and the doctrines formed from them, the authority of the religious intellectual community, and that of ecclesiastical institutions. In principle, the authority of the sacred writings is inviolable. In fact, however, the authority of these writings is the authority of the prevailing doctrinal tradition and of those who espouse it within the institution. Critical interpretation of sacred texts is thus perpetually a potential threat to the effective "official" authority of the religious institution.

Within more complex societies, even those of very restricted literacy, there have been some self-taught laypersons different in their occupation and status from the majority of religious intellectuals in their society. They may be called lay or amateur religious intellectuals. Sometimes they have been merchants or craftsmen, sometimes scribes, officials, or soldiers. These laymen have studied the texts zealously and sometimes arrived at conclusions different from the prevailing doctrines. They have also resented the pretensions of the officially acknowledged and self-assertive priestly, academic, or monastic religious intellectuals. Their dissenting interpretations of sacred writings have occasionally broken into passionate public dissent from the prevailing doctrines and from the priestly and academic representation of those doctrines. These autodidactic intellectuals, sometimes reinforced by renegades from the more established stratum of religious intellectuals, have often furiously denounced the main body of the priesthood as departing fundamentally from the "true" meaning of the sacred texts. The priests, and especially the higher level of the priestly hierarchy, have been accused of excessive subservience to the ruling house and to the powerful landowning families.

Heterodox or dissenting doctrines have occasionally been the work of intellectuals within the priesthood itself. Such interpretations at first lived an "underground" life. Some of them were cultivated in seclusion by dissenting, autodidactic religious intellectuals. The latter have often been subtle, learned, and ingenious.

Among the greatest of these intellectuals who were critical of the priestly or orthodox interpretation have been those prophets who were founders of new religions, that is, religions that declared themselves to be distinct from the hitherto prevailing body of religious belief and its proponents. The Buddha, Jesus, and Muḥammad were such prophets. They were the beneficiaries of new revelations or illuminations.

Jesus said he was divinely chosen to fulfill the mission of earlier prophets. The Buddha was a profoundly original prophet, but he too was a continuator of Hinduism. Muḥammad claimed to be not only the recipient of a new revelation but to have realized more truly the religion of Abraham and Jesus. In contrast, Confucian scholars in China claimed no authority from revelation, and they did not bring forth prophets from their ranks.

There have also been prophets who have claimed to realize the true intentions of long-accepted doctrines against those who had falsified them. The Hebrew prophetic intellectuals did not claim at any time to found a new religion. They demanded the restoration of the religion of the Jews to its prior condition of purity. Martin Luther, John Wyclif, and the monastic reformers of Christian religious orders must be placed in the same category as the prophetic intellectuals who thought that their religious community had departed from its original meaning and had succumbed to the ways of the earthly world.

Religious intellectual traditions alter as they pass from region to region and from generation to generation. The world religions—Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—have experienced numerous doctrinal vicissitudes and variations. They have survived largely because their doctrines have been received and retransmitted with modifications and increments by religious intellectuals. Without the constant reaffirmation and modifications of doctrinal traditions by religious intellectuals, there could be no religious communities with more or less uniform practices and beliefs over extended periods and large geographical areas.

SECULAR AND RELIGIOUS INTELLECTUAL ACTIVITIES. In no large societies have religious intellectual activities been the only intellectual activities. Yet except in ancient Greece and Rome, most intellectual activities in the societies of the ancient world were carried on by religious intellectuals. In the modern age, the increased volume of intellectual works, the increased differentiation of objects of intellectual activity, and the increased specialization of intellectuals in dealing with aspects of the world (which is now thought to be relatively independent of transcendent powers) have been associated with a great increase in the proportion of secular intellectuals and a recession of the jurisdiction of religious intellectuals.

In territories where autonomous intellectual traditions—both religious and secular—were well developed, religious intellectuals often assimilated intellectual traditions that lay outside their own religious tradition. This occurred, for example, in Christianity and later in Islam when they became established in the territory of Hellenistic civilizations. Christian intellectuals found affinities between their own Christian beliefs and Platonic, and later Aristotelian, philosophy. Islamic intellectuals quickly absorbed the Hellenistic philosophical and scientific knowledge that had been cultivated in Syria and other parts of the Middle East under the Seleucids and the Romans. By the end of the European Middle Ages, Christian religious intellectuals drew knowledge directly from ancient secular Western sources. By the seventeenth century, both the quantity and the intellectual authoritativeness of secular intellectual works gained the ascendancy. Religious intellectuals absorbed some of this secular knowledge and attempted to render it compatible with Christian belief.

The humanistic intellectuals of the Renaissance, taking up the traditions of the secular cultures of Greece and Rome, continued to be Christians, but their attention moved toward the study of earthly things. After the Reformation this differentiation and multiplication of secular intellectuals continued. Religious intellectuals also declined more and more in status in comparison with secular intellectuals.

Religious intellectuals now constitute a small minority of the intellectuals of European and American societies. Many of them have made very far-reaching concessions to the substantive and technical standards of secular intellectuals. They have accepted the findings of the research of physical and biological scientists and the approaches and analyses of secular historians and social scientists.

In modern times, religious intellectuals have confined their intellectual activities to religious objects in a restricted sense: theological studies, textual and historical analysis of sacred writings and their commentaries, the archaeology of sacred sites, church history and the history of religious doctrines, and closely related topics. But even within some of these restricted spheres of religious study, a secular criterion of validity has prevailed. Secular modes of study in the analysis of religious phenomena have become predominant, and in certain fields, such as church history, the history of doctrines, and the sociological and anthropological study of religion, the techniques of research and the interpretations of secular intellectuals have come to predominate.

For centuries, religious intellectuals were an integral part of the political life of their respective societies. The earthly centers of power could not claim the legitimacy of their ascendancy without its attestation by religious intellectuals. It was thought that social order could be assured only if the earthly center was properly aligned with the transcendent center. The earthly centers called upon religious intellectuals for administrative services. The education of young persons and children was entrusted to religious intellectuals. There was, by and large, a relationship of mutual support between religious intellectuals, princes, and great landowners. In the bourgeois age, religious intellectuals became more critical of the new plutocratic elite and of the bourgeois order of society. In Western European countries and North America religious intellectuals increasingly joined with secular intellectuals in oppositional political activities.

In the once-colonial territories, now sovereign states, "traditionalistic," revivalistic religious intellectuals have become more active. In these countries, during the period of foreign rule, traditional religious intellectuals had been mainly passive toward the foreign rulers. Indigenous rulers enjoyed the same submission of intellectuals in Asian societies that remained independent. Such passivity among traditional religious intellectuals is no longer so common. In Iran, for example, they have succeeded in establishing a theocracy. In a few other Islamic countries, they have been influential enough to compel secular military and civilian rulers to designate their states as "Islamic" and to install "Islamic constitutions." Christian religious intellectuals in the formerly colonial societies have not been so active politically; in their religious intellectual activities, they have sought to overcome their "alien" situation by reinterpreting Christianity to render it compatible with indigenous cultural traditions.

In Western countries in the twentieth century religious intellectuals narrowed their intellectual activities in accordance with the prevailing tendencies toward specialization and professionalization. At the same time, they acquired many of the scientific, cultural, moral, and political traditions of the secular intellectuals. In many respects, religious intellectuals in Western countries have become very much like secular intellectuals.

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INTELLIGENT DESIGN studies features of objects that signal the action of an intelligent cause. Designed objects, like Mount Rushmore, exhibit characteristic features that point to an intelligence. Such features or patterns constitute *signs of intelligence.* Proponents of intelligent design, known as design theorists, purport to study such signs formally, rigorously, and scientifically. Intelligent design may therefore be defined as the science that studies signs of intelligence.

Intelligent design is controversial because it purports to find signs of intelligence in nature and specifically in biological systems. According to the evolutionary biologist Francisco Ayala (2004), Charles Darwin's greatest achievement was to show how the organized complexity of organisms could be attained apart from a designing intelligence. Intelligent design therefore directly challenges Darwinism and other naturalistic approaches to the origin and evolution of life. Leading proponents of intelligent design include Michael Behe, Phillip Johnson, and William Dembski. Leading critics include Kenneth Miller, John Haught, and Michael Ruse.

Although intelligent design is incompatible with a naturalized, nonteleological understanding of evolution, it has no complaint against evolution per se. Intelligent design is compatible with common descent, the claim that all organisms trace their lineage to some last universal common ancestor. At the same time intelligent design is also compatible with special creation, the claim that organisms, except for small-scale evolutionary changes, were all separately created.

Given this flexibility, intelligent design is not readily shoehorned into the usual spectrum of explanations for evolutionary change, which places naturalistic evolution at one end, scientific creationism at the other, and theistic evolution somewhere in the middle. Intelligent design argues that intelligence played a discernible role in the history of life. Whether that intelligence acted through an evolutionary process or by special creations is a separate question, and proponents of intelligent design come down on both sides of this question. (Behe, for instance, accepts common descent.)

DEFINING SIGNS OF INTELLIGENCE. The idea that an intrinsic intelligence or teleology inheres in and is expressed through nature has a long history and is embraced by many religious traditions. The main difficulty with this idea since Darwin's day, however, has been to discover a conceptually powerful formulation of design that can fruitfully advance science. What has kept design outside the scientific mainstream since the rise of Darwinism has been the lack of precise methods for distinguishing intelligently caused objects from unintelligently caused ones.

For design to be a fruitful scientific concept, scientists have to be sure they can reliably determine whether something is designed. Johannes Kepler, for instance, thought the craters on the moon were intelligently designed by moon dwellers. It is now known that the craters were formed by purely material factors (like meteor impacts). This fear of falsely attributing something to design only to have it overturned later has hindered design from entering the scientific mainstream. But design theorists argue that they now have formulated precise methods for discriminating designed from undesigned objects. These methods, they contend, enable them to avoid Kepler's mistake and reliably locate design in biological systems.

As a theory of biological origins and development, intelligent design's central claim is that only intelligent causes adequately explain the complex, information-rich structures of biology and that these causes are empirically detectable. To say intelligent causes are empirically detectable is to say there exist well-defined methods that, based on observable features of the world, can reliably distinguish intelligent causes from undirected natural causes. Many special sciences have already developed such methods for drawing this distinction—notably forensic science, cryptography, archaeology, and the search for extraterrestrial intelligence (SETI). Essential to all these methods is the ability to eliminate chance and necessity.

The astronomer Carl Sagan wrote a novel about SETI called *Contact* (1985) that was later made into a movie. Sagan based the SETI astronomers' methods of design detection squarely on scientific practice. Why do the radio astronomers in *Contact* draw such a design inference from the signals they monitored from distant space? SETI researchers run signals collected from space through computers programmed to recognize preset patterns. These patterns serve as a sieve. Signals that do not match any of the patterns pass through the sieve and are classified as random.

After years of receiving apparently meaningless, random signals, the *Contact* researchers discover a pattern of beats and pauses that corresponds to the sequence of all the prime numbers between 2 and 101. (Prime numbers are divisible only by themselves and by one.) That startles the astronomers, and they immediately infer an intelligent cause. When a sequence begins with 2 beats and then a pause, 3 beats and then a pause, and continues through each prime number all the way to 101 beats, researchers must infer the presence of an extraterrestrial intelligence.

The rationale for this inference is that nothing in the laws of physics requires radio signals to take one form or another. The prime sequence is therefore contingent rather than necessary. Also the prime sequence is long and hence complex. Note that if the sequence were extremely short and therefore lacked complexity, it could easily have happened by chance. Finally, the sequence is not merely complex but also exhibits an independently given pattern or *specification* (it is not just any sequence of numbers but a mathematically significant one—the prime numbers).

Intelligence leaves behind a characteristic trademark or signature—what within the intelligent design community is now called *specified complexity*. An event exhibits specified complexity if it is contingent and therefore not necessary, if it is complex and therefore not readily reproducible by chance, and if it is specified in the sense of exhibiting an independently given pattern. Note that a merely improbable event is not sufficient to eliminate chance—by flipping a coin long enough, one will witness a highly complex or improbable event. Even so, one will have no reason to attribute it to anything other than chance.

The important thing about specifications is that they be objectively given and not arbitrarily imposed on events after the fact. For instance, if an archer fires arrows at a wall and then paints bull's-eyes around them, the archer imposes a pattern after the fact. On the other hand, if the targets are set up in advance (specified) and then the archer hits them accurately, one legitimately concludes that it was by design.

The combination of complexity and specification convincingly points the radio astronomers in the movie *Contact* to an extraterrestrial intelligence. Note that the evidence is purely circumstantial—the radio astronomers know nothing about the aliens responsible for the signal or how they transmit it. Design theorists contend that specified complexity provides compelling circumstantial evidence for intelligence. Accordingly specified complexity is a reliable empirical marker of intelligence in the same way that fingerprints are a reliable empirical marker of an individual's presence. Moreover design theorists argue that purely material factors cannot adequately account for specified complexity.

BIOLOGICAL DESIGN. In determining whether biological organisms exhibit specified complexity, design theorists focus on identifiable systems (e.g., individual enzymes, metabolic pathways, and molecular machines). These systems are not only specified by their independent functional requirements but also exhibit a high degree of complexity.

In *Darwin's Black Box* (1996) the biochemist Michael Behe connects specified complexity to biological design through his concept of *irreducible complexity.* Behe defines a system as irreducibly complex if it consists of several interrelated parts for which removing even one part renders the system's basic function unrecoverable. For Behe, irreducible complexity is a sure indicator of design. One irreducibly complex biochemical system that Behe considers is the bacterial flagellum. The flagellum is an acid-powered rotary motor with a whiplike tail that spins at twenty thousand revolutions per minute and whose rotating motion enables a bacterium to navigate through its watery environment.

Behe shows that the intricate machinery in this molecular motor—including a rotor, a stator, O-rings, bushings, and a drive shaft—requires the coordinated interaction of approximately forty complex proteins and that the absence of any one of these proteins would result in the complete loss of motor function. Behe argues that the Darwinian mechanism faces grave obstacles in trying to account for such irreducibly complex systems. In *No Free Lunch* (2002) William Dembski shows how Behe's notion of irreducible complexity constitutes a particular instance of specified complexity.

Once an essential constituent of an organism exhibits specified complexity, any design attributable to that constituent carries over to the organism as a whole. To attribute design to an organism one need not demonstrate that every aspect of the organism was designed. Organisms, like all material objects, are products of history and thus subject to the buffeting of purely material factors. Automobiles, for instance, get old and exhibit the effects of corrosion, hail, and frictional forces. But that does not make them any less designed. Likewise design theorists argue that organisms, though exhibiting the effects of history (and that includes Darwinian factors such as genetic mutations and natural selection), also include an ineliminable core that is designed.

INTELLIGENT DESIGN AND RELIGION. Intelligent design's main tie to religion is through the design argument, and perhaps the best-known design argument is William Paley's. Paley published his argument in 1802 in a book titled *Natural Theology.* The subtitle of that book is revealing: *Evidences of the Existence and Attributes of the Deity, Collected from the Appearances of Nature.* Paley's project was to examine features of the natural world (what he called "appearances of nature") and from there draw conclusions about the existence and attributes of a designing intelligence responsible for those features (whom Paley identified with the God of Christianity).

According to Paley, if one finds a watch in a field (and thus lacks all knowledge of how the watch arose), the adaptation of the watch's parts to telling time ensures that it is the product of an intelligence. So too, according to Paley, the marvelous adaptations of means to ends in organisms (like the intricacy of the human eye with its capacity for vision) ensure that organisms are the product of an intelligence. The theory of intelligent design updates Paley's watchmaker argument in light of contemporary information theory and molecular biology, purporting to bring this argument squarely within science.

In arguing for the design of natural systems, intelligent design is more modest than the design arguments of natural theology. For natural theologians like Paley, the validity of the design argument did not depend on the fruitfulness of design-theoretic ideas for science but on the metaphysical and theological mileage one could get out of design. A natural theologian might point to nature and say, "Clearly the designer of this ecosystem prized variety over neatness." A design theorist attempting to do actual design-theoretic research on that ecosystem might reply, "Although that is an intriguing theological possibility, as a design theorist I need to keep focused on the informational pathways capable of producing that variety."

In his *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781) Immanuel Kant claimed that the most the design argument can establish is "an architect of the world who is constrained by the adaptability of the material in which he works, not a *creator* of the world to whose idea everything is subject" (Kant, 1929, p. 522). Far from rejecting the design argument, Kant objected to overextending it. For Kant, the design argument legitimately establishes an architect (that is, an intelligent cause whose contrivances are constrained by the materials that make up the world), but it can never establish a creator who originates the very materials that the architect then fashions.

Intelligent design is entirely consonant with this observation by Kant. Creation is always about the source of being of the world. Intelligent design, as the science that studies signs of intelligence, is about arrangements of preexisting materials that point to a designing intelligence. Creation and intelligent design are therefore quite different. One can have creation without intelligent design and intelligent design without creation. For instance, one can have a doctrine of creation in which God creates the world in such a way that nothing about the world points to design. The evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins wrote a book titled *The Blind Watchmaker: Why the Evidence of Evolution Reveals a Universe without Design* (1996). Even if Dawkins is right about the universe revealing no evidence of design, it would not logically follow that it was not created. It is logically possible that God created a world that provides no evidence of design. On the other hand, it is logically possible that the world is full of signs of intelligence but was not created. This was the ancient Stoic view, in which the world was eternal and uncreated and yet a rational principle pervaded the world and produced marks of intelligence in it.

The implications of intelligent design for religious belief are profound. The rise of modern science led to a vigorous attack on all religions that treat purpose, intelligence, and wisdom as fundamental and irreducible features of reality. The high point of this attack came with Darwin's theory of evolution. The central claim of Darwin's theory is that an unguided material process (random variation and natural selection) could account for the emergence of all biological complexity and order. In other words, Darwin appeared to show that the design in biology (and by implication in nature generally) was dispensable. By showing that design is indispensable to the scientific understanding of the natural world, intelligent design is reinvigorating the design argument and at the same time overturning the widespread misconception that the only tenable form of religious belief is one that treats purpose, intelligence, and wisdom as by-products of unintelligent material processes.

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WILLIAM A. DEMBSKI (2005)

INTERLACUSTRINE BANTU RELIGIONS.

The term *interlacustrine Bantu,* as used here, encompasses a variety of peoples who live between the Great Lakes of east-central Africa and speak closely related Bantu languages.

Their territory includes some of the most densely populated regions of Africa, consisting of all of Uganda south of the Victoria Nile, the states of Rwanda and Burundi, and a substantial portion of northwest Tanzania. Before independence, most of the area was divided into a number of traditional kingdoms, the largest of these being Rwanda and Burundi in the south and the four Uganda monarchies of Buganda, Bunyoro, Toro, and Ankole in the north. There were also about a dozen smaller but structurally similar units in the Tanzanian sector. The mass of the people are agriculturalists, but in many areas a cattle-owning minority, called Huma, or Hima, in the north and Tutsi in the south, formed a dominant and hereditary upper class.

Today most of the people of the region are at least nominally Christians; there is also a substantial minority of Muslims. But the indigenous cults are still widespread and are remarkably similar throughout the area.

THE SPIRIT POWERS. All the peoples of the area have the idea of a supreme being, known as Imana in the south, Ruhanga in the Nyoro-speaking north, and Katonda in Uganda; the last two names mean "creator." In some myths the hierarchical class structure mentioned above is ascribed to him, which to a certain degree may have sanctioned its acceptance by the less privileged. But, in a familiar pattern, the creator god, having made the world, was disappointed by it and withdrew from active participation in human affairs. Shrines are not made for him, nor are sacrifices offered as they are to the other gods (though here Buganda seems to have been an exception). In contrast to the lesser spirit powers, no mediumship cult is dedicated to the supreme being. He is, however, thought to be generally well disposed toward humans, and brief prayers and thanks may be offered up to him on a casual basis.

Far more significant in everyday life are the powerful spirits known as *embandwa* or *emandwa.* The most important of these form a group of hero-gods, whose names are well known throughout the area. They are linked in the south with a quasi-mythical ruler called Ryangombe and in the north with a shadowy ruling dynasty whose members are called *cwezi.* These heroic figures are the subject of a rich mythology; sometimes they are represented as the earliest descendants of the creator, sometimes as having come from a distant country. In either case they were great warriors, larger than life, and the doers of marvelous deeds. They were accompanied by retinues of kin and servants, and their women are included among their number. Like the Greek gods, some are identified with particular features of the environment; thus Wamara is associated with rain and rivers, Kagoro with thunder and lightning, Mulisa with cattle and cattle herding, Mugasa with the Great Lakes, and so on.

Eventually this heroic race vanished from the world: some say that the *cwezi* disappeared into one of the lakes in the area; Ryangombe is said to have been killed by a wild buffalo while hunting. But whatever their fate, it is believed that they left the institution of spirit mediumship behind for the benefit of their successors. This institution involved both possession and mediumship; it is believed that the possessing spirit, while "in the head" of its medium, may enter into communication with the living within an accepted framework of values and beliefs. Traditionally, these cults focused especially on the hero-gods who were, and still are, regarded as primarily beneficial, concerned especially with human fecundity. In Bunyoro and some neighboring areas the *cwezi* are known as the "white" *embandwa;* the color white signifying purity and blessing. These traditional cults, centered on the *cwezi* in the north and on Ryangombe and his associates in the south, may be said to form the core of interlacustrine Bantu religions.

There are many other spirits of nonhuman and sometimes of foreign origin that can be approached through mediumship ritual. These are sometimes known in the northern areas as the "black" *embandwa,* and they include spirits associated with the bush, with certain illnesses, and with some neighboring countries. In the interlacustrine area (as elsewhere in Africa) more recent spirits have come to represent new and formidable forces of all kinds, such as hitherto unknown illnesses, manifestations of Western power such as motorcars, airplanes, and even army tanks, as well as such abstract qualities as "Europeanness." All these elements and a great many more have been readily incorporated into the mediumship cults.

In addition to the high god and the wide and growing variety of *embandwa* spirits, there are the ghosts of the dead. Ghost cults are not necessarily ancestor cults. An ancestor cult is concerned with the deceased forebears of a lineage, who are usually conceived as a collectivity and are believed to be directly interested in the well-being of their descendants. Though traces of such a cult are still found in parts of the interlacustrine area, it has none of the importance of such fully developed cults as have been described among, for example, some West African peoples.

But the cult of ghosts is important throughout the region. It is believed that ghosts are left by people after they die; diffused like the wind, such ghosts are sometimes associated with a shadowy underworld, and it is thought that they may bring death, illness, or other calamity on those who have injured or offended them while they were alive. Ghosts are not necessarily kin or affines of their victims, though very often they are. Disputes are especially likely to arise within a person's circle of relatives, and it is believed that these may readily take the form, postmortem, of ghostly vengeance. Anyone, relative or not, who dies with a grudge against another may "leave a ghost" to obtain revenge.

Throughout the interlacustrine area, ghosts are seen as malevolent rather than benevolent, more concerned to punish than to reward. They are feared rather than revered, though if they cannot be exorcised it is desirable to remain on good terms with them. In either case, recourse must be had to the possession cults.

CULTS. Generally people have recourse to the cults as a response to some misfortune, and when things go wrong, the first step is to consult a diviner. He, or possibly she, using one of a wide variety of techniques, is likely to ascribe the client's trouble to an *embandwa* spirit, an offended ghost, or sorcery. If the responsible agent is found to be an *embandwa* spirit or a ghost there are two possibilities. If the ghost is that of a stranger (or of a very distant relative) or if the affliction is attributed to a minor spirit such as might be sent by a sorcerer, then there are special ritual techniques for exorcising it and either destroying it or turning it away from its intended victim forever.

But the more important *embandwa,* and the ghosts of closely related kin or affines, cannot be dealt with so summarily. The afflicted person must become initiated into the mediumship cult as the spirit's human medium. This establishes an enduring relationship between person and spirit, a relationship that should be sustained from time to time by further possession ritual. In the course of these séances the possessing power is believed to be able to communicate with the living through its medium, who is supposed to be in a state of trance while this is happening. The spirit may begin by announcing its identity, and then greet and be greeted by all present. It may go on to explain what offended it and ask for food and drink—an offering that should be given to it there and then while it is "in the medium's head." Or it may demand the sacrifice or dedication to it of a cow or a goat, or the building for it of a spirit hut. And it may, if it is the ghost of a close kinsman, ask for the reconciliation of quarreling family members. Before it "leaves the head" of its medium, a spirit, if it is mollified, is likely to bless all present and to promise them good fortune, and especially more children, in the future. Séances are dramatic occasions, involving drumming, dancing, and the singing of special songs, and mediums may assume the language and gestures appropriate to their possessing spirits.

While possessed, mediums appear to be in a state of trance and may claim afterward that they have no recollection of what happens to them when they are possessed. But evidence from several parts of the area indicates that complete dissociation is seldom, if ever, achieved; generally, the medium is "putting on an act." But this does not mean that they are fraudulent; the play they are performing is a religious one, a "liturgical drama" in Luc de Heusch's phrase. And, in addition to providing a ritual means of influencing powers over which there are no other means of control, the mediumship cults are also a source of dramatic entertainment in their own right.

Admission to the cults requires a complex (and expensive) cycle of initiation ritual, often lasting for several days and culminating in the possession of the novice by the spirit concerned. The pattern of cult initiation is broadly similar throughout the area. First, the initiate's change of status is stressed. He, or more probably she, is reborn into a new family, that of her fellow mediums, and this rebirth may be symbolically enacted. Second, the secrets of cult membership have to be learned; in particular, the novice may be told how to simulate possession and mediumship even though she does not actually achieve these states. Threats of the fearful consequences of disclosure confirm the candidate's commitment to secrecy. And third, the process of initiation puts the aspirant in a condition of ritual impurity, needing special ritual to remedy it.

SOCIAL CONTEXT. Important throughout much of the area was the role of the household medium, in the Nyoro-speaking region called *omucwezi w'eka* or, if female, *nyakatagara.* One member of the family, usually female and preferably initiated while still a child, links the domestic group with one of the traditional *embandwa* spirits as its medium: this spirit is supposed to have a special concern for the well-being of the family members. Here especially the purity and auspiciousness of the traditional cults are stressed; for only a gentle and well-mannered child is acceptable to the spirits as a household medium. In some areas there is, in addition, a broader association between particular traditional spirits and particular clans, but generally this does not involve any special ritual over and above the "domestic" cults just mentioned.

The relationship between the *embandwa* cults and the traditional kingships was commonly one of implicit or explicit opposition. In several kingdoms, most notably those of Bunyoro and Rwanda, members of the royal clan (including the king himself) were debarred from participation in the mediumship cults. Kings in the interlacustrine region were not priests. Instead, they maintained priests at court—professional mediums who, like everyone else, were subject to the royal authority. Among the larger kingdoms it was only in Buganda, by far the most politically centralized of the interlacustrine states, that the royal line was closely identified with the mediumship cult. The official Ganda cult centered on the ghosts of former kings, whose tombs, carefully maintained, provided the locus for state ritual. But even here it was the *lubale* (i.e., *embandwa*) "priests," and not the king, who were the mediums for the royal ancestors.

In the twentieth century the opposition between religion and state was exemplified in the rise and decline of the Nyabingi cult. This cult focused on a powerful female *embandwa* called Nyabingi and her associates, whose cult has been ascribed to various sources but may have originated in northern Rwanda, whence it spread rapidly into southwest Uganda. It appears to have begun as a reaction both against the traditional Ryangombe cults and against Rwanda's ruling class, the pastoral Tutsi. But with the coming of European colonial power, the cult became a protest movement against all governmental authority. In the 1920s a revolt by Nyabingi adherents against the local administration was crushed by military force, though the cult survived in attenuated form for many years.

It is not surprising that the *embandwa* cults found themselves in opposition to the Christian mission churches, which, with only very limited justification, regarded them as being involved with witchcraft. Because the traditional cults were generally seen as beneficent and as being especially concerned with childbearing, attempts by government officials and missionaries to eradicate them were readily interpreted by the traditionally minded as aimed, in the long term, at the elimination of the indigenous peoples themselves. Mention should also be made here of the revivalist and fundamentalist Balokole ("the Saved Ones") movement within the Anglican church. Although this movement affected only a small minority of Christians, its uncompromising evangelism brought it into conflict not only with the *embandwa* cults—with which it had certain things in common, for example, the notion of being "born again"—but also with the secular authorities.

How, finally, is one to explain the continued survival of the cults, old as well as new, throughout much of the area? Some of the reasons are implicit in what has been said above. But among the most important of them is the cults' eclecticism. Inimical aspects of the environment, and in particular the disruptive effects of social change, are not denied or rejected; rather they are assimilated and dealt with through dramatic ritual. To give concrete expression to the forces that shape human lives (even if this is done in symbolic form) provides the interlacustrine Bantu with one basis for coping with these forces.

SEE ALSO East African Religions, article on Northeast Bantu Religions.

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There are several brief accounts of the religious beliefs and rituals of particular peoples in the area; see, for example, Lucy P. Mair's "Religion and Magic," chapter 9 of her book on the Ganda, *An African People in the Twentieth Century* (1934; New York, 1965); J. J. Maquet's "The Kingdom of Ruanda," in *African Worlds,* edited by Daryll Forde (London, 1954); and John Beattie's "Spirit Mediumship in Bunyoro," in *Spirit Mediumship and Society in Africa,* edited by John Beattie and John Middleton (New York, 1969). A monograph by a Norwegian anthropologist, Svein Bjerke, *Religion and Misfortune: The Bacwezi Complex and the Other Spirit Cults of the Zinza of Northwestern Tanzania* (Oslo, 1981), provides a detailed account, based on field research, of the cults among one of the less well known peoples of the region. Relevant to the study of religion in its political context is Elizabeth Hopkins's "The Nyabingi Cult of Southwestern Uganda," in *Protest and Power in Black Africa,* edited by Robert I. Rotberg and Ali A. Mazrui (Oxford, 1970), a history of the rise and influence of an anticolonial spirit cult. Finally, for an African academic's view of his own traditional religion, see Abel G. M. Ishumi's "Religion and the Cults," chapter 6 of his *Kiziba: The Cultural Heritage of an Old African Kingdom* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1980)

JOHN BEATTIE (1987)

INTERMEDIATE BEINGS SEE ANGELS; DEMONS; DEVILS; FAIRIES; GHOSTS; MONSTERS

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR KRISHNA CONSCIOUSNESS

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR KRISHNA CONSCIOUSNESS (ISKCON) is the missionary form of devotional Hinduism brought to the United States in 1965 by a pious devotee of Kṛṣṇa who wanted to convert the English-speaking world to "God-consciousness." By 2003, ISKCON had become an international movement with more than 350 temples and centers worldwide (approximately fifty in the United States).

ESTABLISHED AS CHARISMATIC MOVEMENT. The founding guru of ISKCON, A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada, was born Abhay Charan De in 1896 in Calcutta. Educated in a Vaiṣṇava school and later in Scottish Church College, he was a sporadically successful businessman in the pharmaceutical industry. However, after he was initiated in 1922 by Bhaktisiddhanta Sarasvati, a Gauḍiya (Bengali) Vaiṣṇava, in the line of the sixteenth-century saint and reformer Caitanya, he began increasingly to invest time and money in his religious interests. In 1944 Prabhupada established the magazine *Back to Godhead,* and in 1952 he formed the Jhansi League of Devotees. He gave up his life as a householder (*gṛihastha*) in 1954 and took the formal vows of an ascetic (*saṃnyāsin*) in 1959.

In September 1965, at the age of sixty-nine, Prabhupada arrived in New York City with less than ten dollars in his pocket and a suitcase full of his translations of the Kṛṣṇa scripture, called the *Śrīmad Bhāgavatam.* He lived with various Indian and American supporters in Manhattan, where he daily chanted and sang the praises of Kṛṣṇa. Prabhupada's lectures and devotional services initially attracted many counterculture youths, and preaching centers were established in Los Angeles, Berkeley, Boston, and Montreal. By the early 1970s, Los Angeles had become the headquarters of ISKCON and its publishing office, the Bhaktivedanta Book Trust, which has printed more than fifty different translations and original works by Prabhupada and hundreds of other ISKCON treatises since his death.

From the earliest years of the movement, Prabhupada's disciples have been known for their public chanting (*saṅkīrtan*) of the Hare Kṛṣṇa mantra and their distribution of *Back to Godhead* magazine and Prabhupada's books. Like his Indian godbrothers, Prabhupada believed that the recitation of God's name was necessary for salvation. Further, his guru had instructed him to bring "Krishna consciousness" to the English-speaking world. Consequently, the "Hare Krishnas" have been both very visible and evangelical in India, America, and globally.

In July 1970, Prabhupada formed a Governing Body Commission (GBC) of twelve advanced devotees to administer an increasingly widespread and complex ISKCON and to allow him to spend his time preaching and translating. At this same time, he instituted a series of standardized religious practices that made ISKCON devotees more like their Indian counterparts. Male devotees who entered the temple had to wear the traditional saffron dress of the monastic novice and shave their heads, while women wore traditional Indian saris. All temples were to follow a daily regimen of rising at 4:00 AM for morning devotional services *(pūjā),* chanting sixteen rounds of the Kṛṣṇa mantra on 108 prayer beads *(jāpā),* and attending a lecture on a scriptural passage. A clear distinction was made between *brahmācarin,* or "student," devotees who intended to take the four monastic regulative principles (no meat eating, no intoxicants of any kind, no sexual activity of any kind, and no gambling) and *gṛihasta,* or "householder," devotees who intended to live in marriage (often outside the temple) and who might also take a modified version of the four vows.

EXPANSION AND EXTERNAL OPPOSITION. Throughout the 1970s and early 1980s, ISKCON became more conscious of its Indian roots at the same time that it was expanding to every continent on the globe. Prabhupada frequently returned to India from 1970 until his death in Vṛndāvana, India, in November 1977. He received a hearty welcome from most Indians, who jokingly called his devotees "dancing white elephants." He established temples and preaching centers near Bombay, in Vṛndāvana (the birthplace of Kṛṣṇa), and in Māyāpur (the birthplace of Caitanya). By the early 1980s, the Bombay temple had more than six thousand Indian "lifetime" congregational members, and the Vṛndāvana temple was included on most Kṛṣṇa pilgrims' circuits. Back in America, Indian immigrants became members of ISKCON temples and were often strong supporters of this transplanted devotional Hindu movement.

Prabhupada circled the globe eleven times in his twelve years of missionary activity and established temples in England and continental Europe as well as in India, Australia, and South Africa. Just before his death, he appointed eleven disciples as initiating gurus to keep his Caitanya chain of discipleship unbroken and to missionize the rest of the world. By the mid-1980s his disciples had established forty-five temples or farms in Europe, ten in Africa, thirty-five in Asia, and forty in South America. Whereas the full-time membership of the American temples remained constant or declined in the decade after Prabhupada's death, ISKCON branches grew rapidly overseas, where they often found more welcoming environments.

During the 1990s, ISKCON's primary growth came in the former Soviet states with twenty temples formed in Russia alone. In April 1998, ISKCON's status as an accepted Hindu tradition was confirmed as the prime minister helped inaugurate a new temple and museum complex in New Delhi, India.

Throughout its history in America, ISKCON has encountered opposition from anticult groups such as the Citizens' Freedom Foundation, the Cult Awareness Network, and the American Family Foundation. The movement's methods of book distribution and fund-raising have most often been at the heart of both external and internal criticism. These questionable practices were often the result of the unbounded enthusiasm of devotees and organizational inconsistencies during the first two decades of ISKCON's development. The early decades of this charismatic movement also spawned several internal crises that fully emerged after the founder's death.

INTERNAL CRISES. Existing leadership problems were heightened after the founder's death. ISKCON began as a charasmatic movement founded on the strength of Prabhupada's pious faith and practices. While the administrative and religious authority of the founder could be transferred to his eleven appointed successors, his piety and depth of faith could not. The initial practice was for the eleven guru successors to provide spiritual and administrative leadership for a geographical "zone" and to act as though they were Prabhupada (i.e., they initiated disciples, accepted guru worship, and so on). Some of the new ISKCON gurus even claimed that their individual authority was superior to that of the GBC. But one by one, many of these young gurus succumbed to the temptations of sex or the abuse of their power. By the late 1980s, six of the original eleven had either voluntarily stepped down or had been removed by the GBC. By the mid-1980s the GBC authorized the inauguration of nearly two dozen new initiating gurus and assigned more than one guru to each geographical zone where devotees lived. Throughout the 1990s the guru and leadership debates continued with many Kṛṣṇa devotees (including some gurus) defecting to start their own movement or to become the disciple of one of the Indian godbrothers of Prabhupada. Several waves of reform during the 1980s and 1990s altered the power and scope of individual gurus. In 2003 the supreme court in India was asked to adjudicate leadership squabbles among temple leaders who quarreled over the powers of current ISKCON gurus in India. In the absence of the founding guru, the GBC and the appointed gurus together have tried to provide leadership for the worldwide movement in the face of economic and legal crises that have threatened the movement's very survival.

A second serious internal crisis for ISKCON has been the abuse of children. In the early 1970s the number of married devotees was rising, and some of the initial devotees accepted the life of the "renounced" *saṃnyāsin.* This shift of authority in the Kṛṣṇa temples to the celibate devotees created a lower social status for families (and especially women and children) than had been true in the 1960s. Schools for children called *gurukulas* (guru schools) were established in Dallas and Los Angeles in America and in Vrindaban, India. The schools were often run by *saṃnyāsins* who had no experience in child rearing, and initially parents were strongly discouraged from maintaining contact with their children. In 1974, stories of child abuse (e.g., harsh punishments and psychological depravations) arose surrounding the Dallas *gurukula.* Less than a year later the school was closed, and school reforms were put in place. Yet throughout the 1970s into the early 1980s, abuses ranging from overzealous corporeal punishment and food deprivation to sexual abuse occurred in some *gurukulas* with some children.

In 1990 the GBC established policies requiring abuse-prevention training and mandatory reporting of abuse allegations in Kṛṣṇa schools. In 1996, ten former *gurukula* students spoke at an annual North American GBC meeting about their abuse. As a result, the Children of Krishna organization was formed to provide counseling and educational resources for Kṛṣṇa youth. In 1997 a professionally staffed Child Protection Office was formed to investigate and adjudicate child abuse allegations. However, in June 2000, a $400 million lawsuit was filed on behalf of former *gurukula* students against two dozen Kṛṣṇa temples. The case was dismissed from federal court in 2002 but refiled on behalf of ninety-one former students in the Texas State Court. In 2003 the ISKCON temples named in the suit sought Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection. All of the boarding *gurukulas* in the United States had closed their doors by the mid-1990s, but Kṛṣṇa day schools continue to educate many devotee children.

The third persistent internal issue of considerable magnitude concerns the role and status of women in ISKCON. Since the Middle Ages in India, Vaiṣṇava and other devotional traditions have afforded women greater spiritual status than traditional Vedic beliefs and practices had. However, it is still often assumed in India that a woman's material body requires her to be "protected" by her father in her youth, her husband in her middle years, and her sons in her old age. When Prabhupada first came to America, he treated women and men devotees with considerable equality. Women were permitted to lead worship services, to give lectures on the Kṛṣṇa scriptures, and even to hold offices in temples. He argued that spiritually there was no difference between men and women, which was a more liberal view than most of his Indian godbrothers. But with the ascendency of the *saṃnyāsin,* or "renounced," movement in the early 1970s, women found themselves to be second-class devotees in ISKCON. From the mid-1970s through the mid-1990s, women devotees in most temples were forbidden to lead chanting, to give *Bhāgavatam* class, or to hold high offices in a temple or the GBC.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, some women and men came forward to insist on the equal spiritual, social, political status that women had enjoyed earlier under Prabhupada. In the mid-1990s some temple leaders in Europe and the United States said that discrimination against women must cease and permitted women to engage in religious and leadership roles equal to men. In 1996 an American woman devotee was appointed to the GBC, which had previously been open only to men (i.e., gurus and laymen). This act signaled that women could be equal to men as "advanced devotees" and policymakers for ISKCON—even though men alone can be gurus. In 1997 ISKCON held its first conference for Women's Ministry and explored the pent-up issues that previously had been taboo. In 1998 a second woman was added to the international GBC, and in 2000, at the International GBC meeting in Mayapur, India, a resolution was passed that provided for the "equal facility, full encouragement, and genuine care and protection of women members of ISKCON." By 2000, several temples in Europe and the United States were led by women presidents. However, the role of women in ISKCON still depends to a considerable degree on whether they live in or outside India, and on whether the local temple practices derive from the notions of the equality of spirit or they insist on the differentness of gender. The role of women in ISKCON will always be lodged in the context of a Hindu and Indian view of women that will make full equality difficult to achieve. And yet ISKCON is constantly molded by global processes of institutionalization and accommodation that include pressure to give women a greater voice.

INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND MATURATION. ISKCON is truly an international religious movement and, as such, is very diverse, depending on whether the locus is the Los Angeles temple, the Bhaktivedanta Manor in London, or the pilgrimage center in Māyāpur, India. Yet there are certain common trends toward the "Hinduization" of ISKCON that bring it into the sphere of other Vaiṣṇava traditions in India and have attracted many Indian members to its temples throughout the world. Likewise, there are trends toward institutional maturation in ISKCON that are revealed in an acadmic seriousness that has led more than a dozen leading devotees to earn Ph.D.s in the 1990s and the creation of several academic journals. ISKCON has created leadership classes for temple officials that range from economic and managerial lessons to instructions on the proper place and treatment of children and women in the movement. ISKCON has initiated interfaith conversations such as the "Vaishava-Christian Dialogue" and has established a European ministerial college in England. To be sure, its "Indianness" (e.g., circular concept of time, or *saṃsāra*) and "Hinduness" (e.g., its focus on Kṛṣṇa rituals and scriptures) will always make ISKCON a minority religious tradition outside of India. Still, its capacity to accommodate its beliefs and practices globally according to the medieval Vaiṣṇava dictum of "time, place and circumstance" should serve it well into the future as it seeks an enduring place in the religious landscape of a twenty-first-century multicultural world.

SEE ALSO Caitanya; Kṛṣṇaism; New Religions, overview article; New Religious Movements, articles on New Religious Movements in Europe, New Religious Movements in the United States; Vaiṣṇavism, overview article.

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LARRY D. SHINN (1987 AND 2005)

INTI was the Inca sun god, worshiped in the Andes at the time of the Spanish conquest in the first half of the sixteenth century. The Sun was the Inca's dynastic ancestor and imperial god. The Inca ruler was believed to be the son of the Sun; his commands were divine oracles. According to one variant of the Inca creation myth, the Sun, having been created by the god Viracocha on a sacred island in Lake Titicaca (on the Bolivian-Peruvian Altiplano), rose over the lake and spoke to the first Inca ruler, Manco Capac, to whom he gave instruction in Sun worship. The Sun was the most important sky god, with Thunder (or Weather), Moon, and the star deities trailing in rank. There may have been a tripartite division of the Sun, but this is not clear. As was often true in New World religions, the Sun had various aspects or names. Inti was the royal deity; he was also identified with Punchao, the Sun of the day—that is, daylight. There may also have been specifically identified Suns of solstices or other astronomical events.

Inca sun worship was intimately integrated with the growing of maize. The sun was of vital importance in an expanding agricultural society mostly situated in hail-ridden altitudes with frequent frosts. The sun also regulated planting times. In the Inti Raymi ("sun festival"), held at the winter solstice (June), priests made a pilgrimage toward the east, and a ceremony took place in which the Inca ruler lifted a cup of *chicha* (a fermented maize drink) to the Sun, then sprinkled the liquid on the ground. There were sacrifices to the Sun on neighboring hills.

The legend of the founding of Cuzco, the capital city, indicates the agricultural basis of Inca religion. The wandering Inca, led by Manco Capac, were told to establish the city in a place where a gold rod given to them by the Sun would sink into the earth with one blow, indicating good planting ground. The Coricancha ("golden enclosure"), begun by Manco Capac as a humble shrine on the spot where the rod sank, was later expanded into the Temple of the Sun, an impressive structure of finely worked stone buildings around a courtyard; the facade was decorated with sheets of gold that reflected sunlight. (Manco Capac had originally presented himself to the Cuzco Valley people dressed in sun-catching gold ornaments.)

The Coricancha was the primary religious center, a place of pilgrimage, and a model for other Sun temples throughout the vast Inca empire. The priests of the Sun were of the highest rank (the chief priest was a relative of the Inca ruler), and there were many of them. At the Coricancha lived the "chosen women," wives of the Sun, who performed ritual duties including the preparation of ceremonial maize and *chicha* and the weaving of fine cloth to be offered to the Sun. At Inti Raymi, maize was specially prepared by them because it was thought to be a gift from the Sun. During several festivals only maize could be eaten. It was grown in the garden of the Coricancha, and three times a year, during festivals, maize plants fashioned of gold were displayed there. The best lands and largest herds of llamas belonged to the Sun, who also received the finest offerings, including pure-white llamas and objects of gold.

SEE ALSO Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo; Viracocha.

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ogy of Cuzco (Cambridge, Mass., 1944) includes a detailed section on the Coricancha.

ELIZABETH P. BENSON (1987)

INTOXICANTS SEE BEVERAGES; PSYCHEDELIC DRUGS

INTUITION. The term comes from the Latin *intuitio,* which is derived from *intueri,* meaning to look at attentively (with astonishment or admiration), gaze at, contemplate, or pay attention to. At first confined to direct visual experience, the term came to denote the process of insight as well as its object. Intuition in this first sense is a direct "look" at a particular thing that shows itself immediately in its concrete fullness without the mediation of any other knowledge, procedure, or content. The roots of this meaning lie in the visual character of the Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew mentalities as reflected in the Platonic-Augustinian tradition. In the later and wider sense, the word designates the direct apprehension of an object in its present, concrete reality through either sense perception (including memory and imagination) or the intellect. *Intuition* is today almost exclusively understood in a metaphorical sense; the word designates the human capacity for instant and immediate understanding of an object, a person, a situation, and so forth. The immediacy of intuition sets it in opposition to the discursive function of the intellect, which is mediated by concepts and propositions. In this sense, intuition entails the direct, nonmediated presence of the object to the knowing faculty; it sometimes extends to a partial or total fusion of subject and object. Knowledge of this kind excludes all rational, gnoseological, or even psychological analysis or justification.

The many, sometimes divergent, uses of the word can be classified into several distinct types: (1) sensory (aesthetic) or empirical intuition is a nonconceptual, nonrational grasp of reality; (2) intellectual, logical, or mathematical intuition is the self-evident grasp of fundamental ideas, axioms, principles, or truths; (3) essential intuition is a grasp of the inner essence of a thing, a being, a cause, a situation; and (4) spiritual intuition is the immediate contemplation of the highest order of things, an insight gained neither through the senses nor through intellectual reflection, but stemming from the "inner man" and akin to the receiving of a revelation.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL TRADITION. In Plato's works, especially the dialogue *Phaedrus,* with its myth of the soul that contemplates the heavenly ideas before its embodiment, intuition is of these eternal essences, which are visible only to the intellect. In Plotinus, for whom the *nous* is able to apprehend the true world in itself, and the Neoplatonic mystics, the role of intuition in the spiritual sense looms large. Aristotle recognized the existence of intuitive knowledge (*Posterior Analytics* 1.9.76a21) in relation to the first principles, which are not in need of any demonstration. Augustine of Hippo, who believed that "the truth lies in the inner man," considered intuition a form of mental contemplation. Thomas Aquinas attributed to God the veritable creative intuition; he defined human intuitive cognition as "the presence, in some way, of the intelligible to the intellect" (*Commentaries on the Sentences* 1d3.94a5). The medieval scholastics used "intuitive cognition," as opposed to "abstractive cognition," to designate knowledge in which the object is delivered directly to the senses. For Descartes, intuition constitutes each successive link in a chain of deductions that are noninferential concepts of the "pure and attentive mind." For Spinoza, it is the third and highest degree of cognition. Kant recognized only sensible intuition. The German Idealists (Schelling, Fichte, Schopenhauer) and Husserlian phenomenologists viewed intellectual intuition as a deep and instantaneous understanding of things, essences, and situations given in perception. For Henri Bergson, intuition signifies an immediate awareness akin to instinct and sympathy, capable of penetrating its object while unfolding in the unique, qualitative time ("duration") of each living being. Bergson opposed intuition to intelligence, the proper dimensions of which are geometrical space and mechanical clock-time; for him, intuition alone is capable of grasping the dynamic nature of things in its original simplicity.

RELIGIOUS INTUITION. In religion, the term *intuition* functions on several levels; the specific meanings are mostly variants of the spiritual intuition defined previously. The following aspects of religious intuition may be distinguished: (1) the understanding of divine commands; (2) the perception of the divine in religious or numinous experience, in the sense of a peering into the mysterious elusive presence of the transcendent in ways simultaneously sensory (seeing, hearing, or "smelling" divinity), intellectual, and suprasensory; (3) the illuminating understanding of the meanings hidden in metaphors and other literary tropes of sacred writings; and (4) the means of communicating and communion among believers.

All forms of mysticism and Gnosticism rely on intuition in the formulation of cognitive claims regarding the ineffable understanding of religious mysteries. The highest states of mystical contemplation may be conceived as uninterrupted chains of intuitive acts. The experience of nonduality in Advaita Vedānta, for example, is based on the insight of oneness and the disappearance of the distance between subject and object. "Suchness" (*tathatā*) in Mādhyamika Buddhism may be called an intuition of the ultimate as the invisible reality underlying all things. The Buddha's enlightenment constitutes an intuitive peak—the highest form of mystical contemplation. Zen Buddhism, with its abhorrence for the discursive intellect, emphasizes *satori* as the immediate grasp of the Buddha nature. The crux of Zen meditational disciplines, whether of gradual enlightenment (in the "*zazen* only" Sōtō school) or of sudden enlightenment (the *kōan*-solving Rinzai school), lies in the all-pervading illumination of the mind, an insight that reaches into that which is beyond any subjectivity or objectivity.

In Jewish mysticism, the secret contents of the Qabbalah are considered highly intuitive, obtained by a form of supernatural illumination. The poverty of ordinary human faculties does not allow proper cognition; intuition alone, tantamount in its "fine points" to divine inspiration, can create a felicitous "science of God" that reasoning is incapable of encompassing. Hence the claim, characteristic of Jewish mysticism, that true tradition and true intuition coincide, a tenet that plays an important part in the history of Qabbalah, that of maintaining the balance between tradition and innovation.

In Islam, intuition plays a role in connection with *al-ʿaql,* a cognitive faculty often mentioned in the Qurʾān that binds humankind to God (the root *ʿql* means literally "to bind"). Religious knowledge is participatory knowledge, higher than rational yet not opposed to the intellect. Direct vision by a "third eye," as opposed to the indirect knowledge yielded by intellectual ratiocination, is emphasized. In Islamic theology and philosophy, but especially in Ṣūfī mysticism, where the heart is traditionally considered the locus of intelligence and spirituality, the actually intuitive "knowledge of the heart" is connected with the creative imagination of the perfected universal man; such knowledge alone counts before the divine and is essential for salvation. In the esoteric tradition, some commentators of the Qurʾān considered the intuitive faculty a gift of revelation by the Holy Spirit (the archangel Gabriel), an illumination received by the intellect.

In Daoism, the doctrine of "no knowledge" or "ignorance" is aimed at obtaining true wisdom or intuition. Creativity is unconscious of accumulated technical knowledge, but it relies on the certainty and precision of intuitive knowledge.

SEE ALSO Knowledge and Ignorance.

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INUIT RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS.

The Inuit (Eskimo) live in the vast Arctic and sub-Arctic area that stretches from the eastern point of Siberia to eastern Greenland. Of the approximately 105,000 Inuit, 43,000 live in Greenland, 25,000 in Arctic Canada, 35,000 (plus 2,000 Aleut) in Alaska, and 1,500 (plus a small number of Aleut) in Russia. Language has been used as the basic criterion for defining the Inuit as an ethnic group. The "Eskimo languages" (as they are invariably referred to) are divided into two main branches, Inuit and Yupik. Inuit is spoken from northern Alaska to eastern Greenland, forming a continuum of dialects with mutual comprehension between adjacent dialects. Varieties of Yupik are spoken in Siberia and in southern Alaska as far north as Norton Sound.

The word *Eskimo* seems to be of Montagnais origin and has been erroneously believed to mean "eater of raw meat." The word *Inuit* means "people." *Inuit* as a self-designation is used primarily in Canada and, to some extent, in Greenland (where the more common self-designation is *Kalaallit*). *Yupik* means "a real person," just as *Inupiat,* which is the self-designation in northern Alaska, means "real people." *Inuit,* however, is the common term used to designate themselves collectively by the members of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, an organization established in 1977 by representatives from Greenland, Canada, and Alaska.

Traditionally the Inuit are divided into many geographic groups. The members of each group, or band, were connected through kinship ties, but the band was without formal leadership. The nuclear family was the most important social unit, but the extended family often cohabited and worked cooperatively. Dyadic relationships, such as wife-exchange partners and joking partners, were also common.

Today, most Inuit live in the so-called Arctic area, north of the treeline and the 10° celsius July isotherm. The Inuit were hunters who adapted to the seasonal availability of various mammals, birds, and fish. Hunting sea mammals with harpoons was characteristic, but hunting inland during the summer was also part of the subsistence pattern of many Inuit. A few groups in northern Alaska and in Canada have spent the entire year inland, hunting caribou and fishing for arctic char. In southern Alaska, the wooded valleys along the long rivers were inhabited by Inuit who relied upon the great run of the fish as well as the migrations of sea mammals and birds.

Most Inuit in Canada lived in snow houses during the winter; others settled in winter houses built of stone and sod or wood. Stone lamps that burned blubber were used for heating, lighting, and cooking. Skin boats and, except in southern Greenland and Alaska, dog sledges were used for transportation; kayaks were used for seal hunting and large, open umiaks for whale hunting. Although some Inuit are still hunters and fishermen, today's Inuit societies are modernized. Money economy has replaced subsistence economy; modern technology and education have been introduced; television plays an important role; and so on. Except for the small population in Siberia, the Inuit have become Christians, and even the Inuit in Siberia no longer observe their religious traditions.

Historically, the Inuit held many observances to insure good hunting, and in the small and scattered hunting and fishing communities many local religious practices were observed. Generally, ritual life was more elaborate in Alaska than in Canada and Greenland. In Alaskan settlements there were usually one or more big men's houses, called *qarigi* among the Point Barrow Inuit and *qasiq* among those of the Bering Sea, where people gathered for social and religious feasts. In Canada, the Inuit built temporary festival snow houses, but no eyewitness accounts exist of festival houses in Greenland.

RELATIONS BETWEEN MEN AND ANIMALS. According to eastern Inuit religious tradition, each animal had its own *inua* (its "man," "owner," or "spirit") and also its own "soul." Within the western Inuit religious tradition, the *inua* seems to have been identical to the soul. The idea of *inua* was applied to animals and implements as well as to concepts and conditions (such as sleep). Lakes, currents, mountains, and stars all had their own *inua*, but only the *inua* of the moon, air, and sea were integral to the religious life of the Inuit.

Since the Inuit believed that the animals they hunted possessed souls, they treated their game with respect. Seals and whales were commonly offered a drink of fresh water after they had been dragged ashore. Having received such a pleasant welcome as guests in the human world, their souls, according to Inuit belief, would return to the sea and soon become ready to be caught again, and they would also let their fellow animals know that they should not object to being caught. When the season's first kill of an important species of seal was made, the meat was distributed to all of the inhabitants of a settlement. This practice divided the responsibility for the kill among the entire community and increased the possibility of good hunting.

Inuit rituals in connection with the polar bear are part of an ancient bear ceremonialism of the circumpolar regions of Eurasia and North America. In southern Greenland, for example, the head of a slain polar bear was placed in a house facing the direction from which the bears usually came so that the bear's soul could easily find its way home. During the five days that the soul was believed to require to reach its destination the bear was honored: its eyes and nostrils were closed so that it would not be disturbed by the sight and smell of human beings; its mouth was smeared with blubber; and it was given presents.

Whaling was of great social, economic, and ritual importance, especially among the North Alaska Inuit. In the spring, all hunting gear was carefully cleaned, and the women made new clothes for the men. The whales would not be approached until everything was cleaned. During the days before the whaling party set out, the men slept in the festival house and observed sexual and food taboos. The whaling season terminated with a great feast to entertain the whales.

TABOOS, AMULETS, AND SONGS. Unlike cultic practices in connection with the deities, which had relatively minor significance, taboos, amulets, and songs were fundamentally important to the Inuit. Most taboos were imposed to separate the game from a person who was tabooed because of birth, menstruation, or death. A separation between land and sea animals was also important in many localities, reflecting the seasonal changes in hunting adaptation. An infringement of a taboo might result in individual hardship (for example, the loss of good fortune in hunting, sickness, or even death), but often, it was feared, the whole community would suffer. Usually a public confession under the guidance of the shaman was believed sufficient to reduce the effect of the transgression of a taboo.

Amulets, which dispensed their powers only to the first owner, were used primarily to secure success in hunting and good health and, to a lesser degree, to ward off negative influences. Parents and grandparents would usually buy amulets for children from a shaman. Amulets were usually made up of parts of animals and birds, but a wide variety of objects could be used. They were sewn on clothing or placed in boats and houses.

One way to increase the effect of the amulets was through the use of food totems and secret songs. Used primarily to increase success in hunting, secret songs and formulas were also used to control other activities and were often associated with food taboos. Songs were either inherited or bought. If a song was passed on from one generation to the next, all members of the family were free to use it, but once it was sold it became useless to its former owners.

RITES OF PASSAGE. In many localities in Canada and Alaska, women had to give birth alone, isolated in a small hut or tent. For a specified period after the birth, the woman was subjected to food and work taboos. Children were usually named after a person who had recently died. The name was regarded as a vital part of the individual, and, in a way, the deceased lived on in the child. The relationship resulted in a close social bond between the relatives of the deceased and the child.

The family celebrated particular stages in a child's development, especially in connection with subsistence activities. For example, when a boy killed his first seal, the meat was distributed to all the inhabitants of the settlement, and for each new important species a hunter killed, there was a celebration and ritual distribution.

Death was considered to be a passage to a new existence. There were two lands of the dead: one in the sky and one in the sea (or underground). The Inuit in Greenland considered the land in the sea more attractive because people living there enjoyed perpetual success in whale hunting; those in the sky, on the other hand, led dull existences. It was not the moral behavior of the deceased that determined the location of his afterlife, but rather the way in which he died. For example, men who died while whaling or women who died in childbirth were assured of an afterlife in the sea. Conceptions of the afterlife, however, differed among the Inuit. The Canadian and Alaskan Inuit believed the most attractive afterlife was found in the sky. Some Inuit had either poorly conceptualized beliefs in an afterlife or no beliefs at all.

While death rituals usually included only the nearest family members and neighbors, the Great Feast of the Dead, celebrated in the Alaskan mainland from the Kuskokwim River to the Kotzebue Sound, attracted participants even from neighboring villages. The feast was given jointly, and the hosts' social status was demonstrated by the quantity of food, furs, clothing, and implements that were given away.

The Bladder Feast, an important calendar feast celebrated in Alaska from Kodiak Island to Point Hope, was held in midwinter. At this feast, the bladders of all the seals that had been caught during the previous year were returned to the sea in order that their souls might come back in new bodies and let themselves be caught again. The skins of all the small birds and animals that the boys had caught were displayed in the festival house, and gifts were given to human souls, to the souls of the seals, and to those who were present.

SHAMANS. In Greenland and Canada, the shaman (*angakkoq*) played a central role in religion. In Alaska, however, where it was common for an individual to become a shaman as the result of a calling, many rites did not demand the expertise of the shaman. Prospective shamans often learned from skilled shamans how to acquire spirits and to use techniques such as ecstatic trances. In Greenland and Labrador, the apprentice was initiated by being "devoured" by a polar bear or a big dog while being in trance alone in the wilderness. After having revived, he was ready to become master of various spirits.

Shamans in Greenland always used a drum to enter a trance. Masks were also instrumental, especially in Alaska, both in secular and religious connections. The shaman might summon his familiar spirits to the house where a séance was taking place, or he might go on a spiritual flight himself. The Canadian shaman might, for example, go down to the *inua* of the sea, that is, the Sea Woman, to get seals. In Alaska, a shaman on Nunivak Island would go to the villages of the various species of animals in the sea. In the Norton Sound area he would go to the moon to obtain animals for the settlement.

Although shamans were the principal revealers of unknown things, some other people could also acquire information from the spirits by using a simple technique called *qilaneq*. It required that an individual lift an object and then pose questions, which were answered affirmatively or negatively according to whether the object felt heavy or not.

Shamans also functioned as doctors. For example, they would suck the sick spot where a foreign object had been introduced or try to retrieve a stolen soul. Sorcerers—often believed to be old, revengeful women—were also common, and shamans were sometimes called to reveal them. There were instances, however, in which the shaman himself was accused of having used his power to harm someone; in such cases the shaman could be killed.

THE DEITIES. The Inuit of Canada and Greenland believed that the *inua* of the sea, the Sea Woman, controlled the sea animals and would withhold them to punish people when they had broken a taboo. Franz Boas (1888) transcribed the name given to her by the Inuit on Baffin Island as *Sedna*, which probably means "the one down there."

The Inuit of eastern Baffin Island ritually killed Sedna during a feast that was held when the autumn storms came and whose purpose was to make sealing possible again. The Sedna ceremony included, *inter alia*, a ritual spouse exchange and a tug-of-war, the result of which predicted the weather for the coming winter.

While Sedna represented the female principle of the world, the *inua* of the moon, Aningaaq, represented the male principle. An origin myth tells how he was once a man who committed incest with his sister. She became the sun, he the moon. Otherwise the sun played no part in the religion of the Inuit, but the moon was associated with the fertility of women. He was recognized as a great hunter, and some Alaskan Inuit believed that the moon controlled the game.

The air was called Sila, which also means "universe" and "intellect." The *inua* of the air was a rather abstract but feared figure; if it was offended when taboos were broken, it would take revenge by bringing storms and blizzards.

The Raven appeared, primarily in Alaska, as a creator, culture hero, and trickster in a cycle of myths that included those of the earth diver and the origin of the light. The Raven, however, played a negligible role in religious practices.

The differences between and sometimes vagueness in Inuit religious ideas may be related not only to their wide and scattered distribution but also to the fact that their societies had a loose social organization and were without a written language before contact with the Europeans. For all Inuit, however, a close and good relationship with the animals on which they depended for their survival was believed to be of vital importance.

SEE ALSO Bears; Sedna; Tricksters, article on North American Tricksters.

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INGE KLEIVAN (1987)
Revised Bibliography

INVISIBLE RELIGION. The term *invisible religion* was introduced by the German sociologist Thomas Luckmann and became widespread following the publication in 1963 of *Das Problem der Religion in der modernen Gesellschaft,* published in English as *The Invisible Religion: The Transformation of Symbols in Industrial Society.* The concept of invisible religion emerged from the difficulty of maintaining a traditional religious life in societies to which the industrial revolution brought radical differentiation processes, both in social structures and ways of living, as people were forced, in mounting progression, to change residences, workplaces, habits, and worldviews. Luckmann agrees with sociologists who consider the secularization trend, which they view as a crisis of ecclesiastic-oriented religion, as irreversible. On the other hand, and more importantly, Luckmann extends the significance of religion by arguing that one's worldview, as an objective social and historical reality, fulfills an essentially religious function. This "elementary social form of religion," according to Luckmann, is universal in human society.

In his book, Luckmann considers the notion—diffused in nineteenth-century philosophy and among the secularization theorists of the following century—that modern life is without religion, if not essentially areligious; that is, that the "irrationality" of religion should yield precedence to the "rationality" of modern life. Luckmann argues that this idea is partially wrong. It is true that, unlike Australian aboriginal societies and those of ancient Egypt and medieval Europe, postindustrial societies seem secular and rationalistic. Their political and economic institutions no longer need traditional legitimizations, especially religious ones. Most people living in modern industrial societies do not consider themselves to be tied to each other by officially institutionalized religious communities, dogmas, and religious rituals. Taking all these circumstances into account, Luckmann agrees that modern social structures are "secular." Nevertheless—and this is his central thesis—human beings in modern societies, no matter how much their lives differ from that in other cultures and societies, have not lost the "religiousness" that has characterized human life (as opposed to the lives of other species) since ancient times. Therefore, even the deep social and cultural changes that produced "modernity" have not changed the fundamentally religious nature of human existence.

In his analysis of the "religious nature of human existence," Luckmann refers to the writings of his mentor Alfred Schutz (1899–1959), particularly those dealing with the concepts of "appresentation" and "symbol/transcendence." Schutz claimed that when human beings perceive an object, they perceive directly only certain aspects of it, but other aspects that do not appear to them directly are immediately grasped as well. The directly perceived part of the object "appresents" the unseen part. Schutz also introduced a concept of transcendence that became important to Luckmann's concept of religion. In his essay "The Transcendence of Nature and Society: Symbols" (1932). Schutz argues that everything that surrounds human beings (e.g., the world, the cosmos) goes "beyond" their direct experience of time and space. The social environment in which people live refers to a horizon of potential social environments, just as in space there exists an infinity of objects that cannot be reduced to the human capacity for manipulation and control—they are "beyond." Humans can only apply to them appresentative references of a higher order, the "transcendent." From this point Schulz tackles the issue of symbol, which he defines in the following way: "A symbol can be defined in first approximation as an appresentational object, fact, or event within the reality of our everyday life, whereas the other appresented member of the pair refers to an idea which transcends our experience of everyday life" (1962–1966, vol. 1, p. 331). Thus, the issue of transcendence is located, according to Schutz, in the appresentative relationship between two realities: fact, which is a part of everyday life; and idea, which transcends and refers to something other than everyday life.

The religious problem in Luckmann is based on this relationship, to which he confers a social dimension. Luckmann distinguishes the *transcendent,* which is such only in relation to what is referred as "immanent," from *religion,* which is normally seen as the whole of human experience made visible and localized in symbols, holy places, and holy temples, and the people and activities concerned with them. All this is evident, according to Luckmann, in the case of tribal religions, ancestral cults, universal religions (especially when institutionalized under the form of churches and sects), and so on. Furthermore, the historical institutionalization of the symbolic and sacred nucleus of a worldview is included in the specifics of a universally human social process. The fundamental function of religion is therefore to transform the members of the species *Homo sapiens* into actors belonging to a specific historical-social order. Any component of social reality that is essential to this function can be legitimately called *religious,* whether or not it refers to the supernatural explicitly or implicitly.

Luckmann insists that the fundamental function of religion—that is, the transformation of the members of a species into morally responsible actors within a social order—is motivated by historical deposits of social interaction: "The objectivation of a symbolic universe as a system of meaning presupposes that the subjective experiences entering into its construction be meaningful. The meaningful quality of subjective experience, however, is a product of social processes" (1967, pp. 44–45). This meaningfulness is a "quality," so "it is inkeeping with an elementary sense of the concept of religion to call the transcendence of biological nature by the human organism a religious phenomenon. . . .We may, therefore, regard the social processes that lead to the formation of Self as fundamentally religious" (p. 49).

Here Luckmann's approach diverges from that of Schutz. The concept of transcendence in Schutz is born from the experience of going beyond the contingent that every person experiences everyday. Thus, the present natural and social environment refers to a horizon of potential natural and social environments, and an opening is made manifest to a double transcendent infinity of the natural world and the social world. Transcendence, according to Schultz, marks the expressive limits and the limits of movement of human beings, while it also enables people to construct a complex net of socially approved terminals between significants and meanings. This "net" constitutes the symbolic activity of humans. The symbol, being a typically human construction, is a link between the two poles: (1) a fact or an event within the reality of everyday life, and (2) an idea that transcends everyday experience.

In accordance with the research of anthropologists, ethnologists, and historians of religion, Schutz considered hierogenetic and mythopoetic activities to be typical activities of the human mind. The framework in which Luckmann locates the notion of transcendence is more radical. He strongly emphasizes its social construction as the giver of meaning to the symbolic process because "it is true that a genuinely isolated subjective process is inconceivable" (1967, p. 45). He also recovers the terms *religion* and *religious,* qualifying them as intrinsic modalities to the self's transcendent process and to the world belonging to the symbolic-cognitive aspects of the human species. Such a process presents a twofold modality: (1) an organism becomes a self when devoting itself with others to the construction of a universe of objective and moral significance; and (2) transcendence of biologic nature is a universal phenomenon of humankind. Luckmann identifies in the formation of consciousness and conscience "the universal yet specific anthropological condition of religion" (1967, p. 49).

According to Luckmann, the worldview as an "objective and historical social reality performs an essentially religious function and can be defined as an *elementary form of religion*" (1967, p. 53). In turn, religion as traditionally intended can be defined as a worldview with "social, objective, and historical reality." Religion manifests itself in particular social institutions that are the product of the articulation of a sacred cosmos within the worldview, which is in turn constituted by a set of representations that refer "to a domain of reality that is set apart from the world of everyday life" (1967, p. 61). According to this perspective, religious representations constitute a sacred universe definable as a specific and historical form of religion.

Throughout history there have existed societies characterized by a diffusion of religious ceremonies that were expressed through experience and the acknowledgment of the extraordinary. But the boundary between everyday life and the extraordinary is far from clear-cut; therefore, theoretical elaboration of the sacred did not occur. Societies belonging to this type (especially the simpler and more primitive forms of social organization, such as societies of hunters and gatherers) show a remarkable variety of cultural content, in spite of their basic similarities in social structure and in their social, "diffused" form of religion. According to Luckmann, a transformation of great importance in the social form of religion is an element of the framework of socio-structural "adaptations" of the so-called agricultural revolution. Sedentary life, high population density, urbanization, and the institutionalization of power are associated with a marked growth in the institutionalization of religious ceremonies, which, in relation to centralized power and the canonization of sacred life, could lead to a high level of stability in the theocratic variants of ancient hydraulic civilizations. In the West, the next great transformation consisted in the complete specialization of religious ceremony, and eventually in the appearance of the problems associated with pluralism and secularization.

In *The Invisible Religion,* Luckmann examines some of the most important conditions characterizing the institutionalization of religion in the post-Constantine church. Such a process constitutes the background of what was his main interest: the raising of a new, "privatized" social form of religion in the industrial societies of the West. As for the relationship between individual religiosity and social forms of religion, Luckmann maintains that in tribal societies an individual religiosity is modeled exclusively by the social form of religion relatively diffused, whereas in societies characterized by the presence of a "theocratic" institutionalization of religious and political forms, the modeling of individual religiosity by the social form of the prevailing religion remains similar, despite a more complex stratification of society. Churches present the individual with "official" models. But other models begin to enter into competition—and when conditions of pluralism are established for economic and political reasons, the circumstances under which full institutional specialization can succeed cease to exist.

According to Luckmann, if at least one religion is accessible in the condition of "diffused" politico-religious and specialized institutionalization, the individual can deviate from such forms of religion for merely contingent reasons. But if other models are in competition, various systematic types of individual religious development are possible: fundamentalism, syncretism, new religious movements, a return to traditional devotion, or detachment from any form of religion. In the case of institutional specialization, orthodox and heterodox models are in competition. The privatized social form of religion is characterized by the fact that—from a sociological point of view—talking of orthodox and heterodox models makes little sense. In fact, in an interview granted to the Italian journal *Religioni e Società* in 1986, Luckmann stated that:

> A wide range of different actors are involved on the social scene in the social constructions of several kinds of transcendence. The fundamental structure of the process is the one of a "market." There are mass media and there are Christian churches that, in addition to being monuments to a former period characterized by institutional specialization of religion and despite some restoring and fundamentalist tendencies, are trying to reinsert in the processes of modern social constructions of transcendence. Moreover sub-institutional communities have emerged, more or less recent and religious (in the traditional sense), which are trying to play an important part in this process. (Prandi, 1986, p. 37)

Luckmann's complex theory thus comes to the idea that, in modern life, social structure has ceased to mediate coherently between subjective conscience and its experiences of transcendence, and between the communicative reconstruction of such experiences and the competing social constructions of the "sacred universes." At any rate, the present co-location of religion in society—that is, its privatization—is not characterized by something that *is,* but rather by something that *is not.* It is characterized by the absence of compulsory social models, generally plausible with regard to persistent universal human experiences of transcendence.

SEE ALSO Implicit Religion; Secularization; Society and Religion; Sociology, article on Sociology of Religion; Study of Religion.

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Carlo Prandi (2005)

IOANN OF KRONSTADT (Ivan Il'ich Sergeev, 1829–1908), also known as John of Kronstadt, was a Russian Orthodox priest. Ioann was born in the village of Suro in the Arkhangelsk province of Russia and at the age of ten was sent to the parochial school in Arkhangelsk. He later entered the seminary there, finishing at the top of his class in 1851. He then enrolled in the Theological Academy of Saint Petersburg, one of the four graduate faculties of theology in the empire. High-strung, physically weak, overworked, and radically committed to his life of study, prayer, ascetic discipline, and spiritual struggle, Ioann suffered greatly during these academic years. An added burden was the constant necessity to support himself by outside work. He finished the academy near the bottom of his class in 1855, was ordained deacon on November 11 of that year, and priest on the very next day.

Before accepting priestly ordination, Ioann dreamed of becoming pastor of Saint Andrew's Cathedral in the port city of Kronstadt, a naval base and penal colony on the island of Kotlin in the Gulf of Finland near Saint Petersburg. Kronstadt, teeming with outcasts and criminals, was notorious as a place of dirt, darkness, and sin. Because parish priests as a rule could not be celibate, Ioann married Elizaveta Nesvitskii, the daughter of Saint Andrew's retiring pastor, but he never consummated the marriage, a fact that has caused much debate because it remains unclear whether the bride had consented to such an arrangement.

Ioann served as pastor of the Kronstadt church until his death on December 20, 1908. His priestly career was distinguished by numerous acts of social, charitable, and educational work, both personal and institutional. Ioann established philanthropic agencies such as the Home for Constructive Labor, which provided free schools, workshops, training centers, libraries, counseling services, medical care, and food, for people of all ages. He also taught religious classes in the parish school for thirty-two years, not freeing himself from this obligation until 1889.

Ioann's greatest fame, however, was not as a philanthropist or a pedagogue but as a man of prayer. He was sought by people of all classes and religions from all parts of the Russian empire and beyond as an intercessor before God. From early in his priestly career he began the unprecedented practice, even for monastics, of celebrating all of the Orthodox church services every day, including the eucharistic liturgy. He did so with great fervor and devotion, spending long hours at the altar praying for those who begged his intercession. He often added his own words to the official church prayers and always insisted that the thousands of people who thronged to his church each day participate fully in the worship by receiving Holy Communion. To make this radically innovative practice possible, Ioann further instituted public confession whereby the crowds of penitents openly acknowledged their sins before all while the praying priest walked about the church bestowing absolution and offering counsel.

Ioann, who had come to be known as the "all-Russian pastor," was violently attacked by his detractors for his radical practices, and only the protection of the tsar kept him from becoming the object of punitive action. His spiritual diary, *My Life in Christ,* is a classic of contemporary Russian Orthodox spirituality.

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Thomas Hopko (1987)

IPPEN (1239–1289), also known as Chishin; a Japanese holy man, founder of the Jishū, an order of Pure Land Buddhist itinerants. Ippen was born in the province of Iyo (modern Ehime Prefecture) to a long-powerful military clan, the Konō, which had recently suffered a serious defeat in the Jōkyū War of 1221. Ippen's grandfather died in exile, and Ippen, three of his brothers, and his father all became monks. At the age of twelve, Ippen was sent to Kyushu to study the doctrines of the Seizan branch of the Jōdo (Pure Land) sect. Upon the death of his father in 1263, he returned to household life in Iyo. Perhaps because of intraclan strife, he left home again eight years later, and spent the rest of his life on the road as a holy man (*hijiri*).

Ippen initially went on pilgrimages to the great Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines and underwent austerities in the mountains of Shikoku. While on a pilgrimage to Kumano in 1274, he had the climactic experience of his life. The Shintō deity (*kami*) of the main shrine, believed to be a manifestation of Amida Buddha, appeared before him and commanded him to distribute to all people, regardless of their belief or unbelief, purity or impurity, paper talismans (*fuda*) on which were printed the words "Namu Amida Butsu" ("Homage to Amida Buddha"). This Ippen did for the rest of his life, traveling throughout the Japanese archipelago.

By 1278, Ippen had attracted a small group of followers that he called the Jishū, or "time group," referring to its chanting of Amida's name at all times. Before his death, this group numbered perhaps more than two hundred men and women, and Ippen had established rules for group poverty and incessant wayfaring. In addition, he had enrolled 251,724 names in a register of lay supporters.

In 1279, this Jishū began its distinctive dance (*odori nembutsu*) celebrating the instantaneous salvation available in Amida's name. Originally spontaneous and ecstatic, the dance became a regularized performance by members of the Jishū on the grounds of shrines and temples, and in other public areas such as beaches and markets. After being brutally driven out of Kamakura, the shogunal capital, in 1282, Ippen led his Jishū to the provinces around the imperial capital (modern Kyoto). Here he met with great success and was even invited to many notable temples and shrines. In 1288, Ippen led his group to his home in Iyo and then back across the Inland Sea, where he died in 1289. He is buried near the modern city of Kobe.

Ippen interpreted the Pure Land sutras to mean that Amida's enlightenment and the rebirth (*ōjō*) of all beings into Amida's Pure Land were precisely the same event. Since Amida's enlightenment had occurred ten *kalpa*s ago, so too must have the rebirth of all beings. Both, furthermore, had their origin in "Namu Amida Butsu," the "six-character name" established through the vows Amida had made while still a bodhisattva. For this reason, the name alone was sufficient to effect the rebirth attained ten *kalpa*s ago and to obliterate the distinctions between then and now, between this world and the Pure Land, and indeed between all beings and buddhahood. Ippen's paper talismans, therefore, immediately saved all who received them, regardless of their faith, practice, or morality. The dance served as a celebration of this absolutely universal salvation.

Ippen's thought was largely derived from that of the Seizan branch of the Jōdo sect, itself strongly influenced by Esoteric *(mikkyō)* Buddhism. His originality lay in using these ideas to employ for Buddhist salvation existing popular traditions of shamanistic holy men and magic. The Jishū became the largest itinerant order of medieval Japan, absorbing earlier, similar groups, and several of its members were important in the literature and arts of the Muromachi period (1338–1573). Many samurai supported the Jishū, attracted by its endorsement of Shintō, and used its members both as a cultural entourage and as participants in funeral and memorial services. The fortunes of the order declined dramatically, however, with the turmoil that swept the country at the end of that period, and the Jishū continues in the early twenty-first century as only a minor Buddhist sect with headquarters in the city of Fujisawa.

Nevertheless, the practices and beliefs of the Jishū were widely diffused among the Japanese during the medieval period. Ippen's dance, for example, continues as a feature of folk Buddhism in several regions and is tied to the legendary founding of the Kabuki theater. The *Ippen hijiri e* (Illustrated life of the holy man Ippen), a work of twelve scrolls completed in 1299, is one of the masterpieces of Japanese painting and the single most important source for studying popular life in thirteenth-century Japan.

SEE ALSO Nianfo.

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JAMES H. FOARD (1987 AND 2005)

IQBĀL, MUḤAMMAD (1877–1938), influential Muslim poet-philosopher of the Indian subcontinent. Born at Sialkot (presently a Pakistani town on the border of India), Iqbāl received his early schooling in his native town and his college education at Lahore (where he studied philosophy with the British Islamicist T. W. Arnold). In 1905 he went to Europe, where he followed M'Taggart's lectures in philosophy, took his doctorate from Munich with a thesis on the development of metaphysics in Persia, and was called to the bar from Lincoln's Inn in London in 1908. In the same year he returned to Lahore where he taught for a while at the Government College and pursued a hectic but unsuccessful law practice. He was knighted in 1922 for his contributions to poetry (about 60 percent of which is in Persian and 40 percent in Urdu). In 1927 he was elected to the Punjab Legislative Assembly, and in 1930 he gave the historic presidential address to the annual session of the Muslim League at Allahabad, wherein he suggested that the solidly Muslim areas of northwest India might be given autonomy so that Muslims could run their affairs according to Islamic norms, the idea that later took the shape of Pakistan. During his last years he was often ill and did not appear in public after April 1936. He died on April 21, 1938, and was buried in the complex of the Imperial Mosque of Lahore. Iqbāl's commitment to the creation of Pakistan was a direct result of his philosophic thought, which was so powerfully expressed in his poetry.

Iqbāl had displayed his unusual talent as a moving and eloquent poet with a "grand style" even in his college days. Before going to Europe he had been a Platonic idealist, an Indian nationalist, and a romanticist of the past who sang hymns to the Himalayas, to intercommunal understanding, and to universal love. In Europe, he discovered Islam with a vengeance, having been shocked by his experience of the European double standards that combined liberal morality and democracy at home with colonial exploitation abroad and, even at home, with the capitalistic exploitation of the working classes. Coupled with this disillusionment he saw the increasing dilapidation of human values in the machine age and the decline of the family institution. But looking at the Eastern and particularly the Muslim societies, he found them in deep somnolence. At this point, he discovered the "true Islam" of the Qurʾān and of Muḥammad, an Islam that was dynamic and not static; in its dynamism he discovered a creative impulse that directed the raw materials of history into a positive moral channel. The modern West, unlike the world of Islam, was industrious enough, but it lacked a positive moral direction for the uplift of humanity; it was inventive but not creative and was, in fact, destructive to the human moral fiber. Henceforth, he invited the whole world, both Muslim and non-Muslim, to join this energizing and ethically positive Islam.

In the development of this dynamic philosophy, which is expressed in Bergsonian vitalistic terms (although unlike Bergson, Iqbāl regards God as being outside the process of history), the key role is played by the twin terms *khudī* ("self") and *ʿishq* ("absorbing love," or *élan vital).* The goal of this ethical dynamism is to expand and fortify the self (which is the only way to individual survival after death), since only when an enlarged and fortified self is realized can a meaningful community of the faithful be launched on earth as the prophet Muḥammad was able to do. Although in the early years of his intellectual development after his discovery of Islam Iqbāl was not optimistic about a similar reawakening on the part of the Muslim community at large, he did eventually come to place his faith in such a development. Through both his poetry and his major prose work, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (chapter 5), he tried to urge Muslims to create a new future through *ijtihād*, literally "exerting oneself," a Muslim legal term for independent reasoning, which Iqbāl used to describe the exercise of new creative thought within the framework of Islam.

Iqbāl, who had been known as a good poet in Urdu early on, first indicated his concern with the Muslim cause in the two great poems *Shikwah* (Complaint) and *Jawāb* (Answer, that is, God's response to the complaint), but he subsequently turned to Persian in order to reach a larger group of educated Muslims. His *As-rār-i khudī* (Secrets of the self), first published in 1915, speaks of that individual human core that should be strengthened until it reaches its highest fulfillment. The duties of this "self" in the community were discussed two years later in the *Rumūz-i bīkhudī* (Mysteries of selflessness). The Persian collection *Payām-i mashriq* (Message of the East) acknowledges Iqbāl's spiritual debt to Goethe, who was his Western guide as much as Mawlānā Rūmī was his Eastern master. His major Persian work is the *Jāvīd-nāmah* (Jāvīd's book), written for his son in 1932. In this spiritual journey through the spheres in Rūmī's company, he discusses religious, political, and social problems with Muslim and non-Muslim poets and thinkers alike. Among his Urdu poetry, *Bāl-i Jibrīl* (Gabriel's wing) is outstanding.

The titles of Iqbāl's works point to his understanding of himself: he wanted to use "the rod of Moses" (*ẓarb-i kalīm*) and assumed the role of "the sound of the camelbell" (*bāng-i darā*) that had led the Muslims in the caravan of the Prophet back to Mecca. The general impression among Westerners that Iqbāl indulged in romanticization of the past glory of Islam is not correct. While he did show romanticizing tendencies before his "conversion," after his discovery of the dynamic nature of Islam, he was anything but a romanticist of the past. He continually called for the creation of a new future, although he singled out, for the sake of inspiration, certain past achievements of the Muslims, as, for example, in his poem *The Mosque of Cordoba*, which appears in *Bāl-i Jibrīl.*

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FAZLUR RAHMAN (1987)
Revised Bibliography

IRANIAN RELIGIONS. Because of the scarce and fragmented data in our possession, we do not know the religions of ancient Iran, other than Zoroastrianism, as organic systems endowed with a specific pantheon, a mythology, particular creeds, cosmogonic and cosmological ideas, and precise eschatological notions. We can postulate the existence of other religions only through a careful analysis of those elements contained within Zoroastrianism that can be linked to a pre-Zoroastrian paganism and through an Indo-Iranian comparison. That is to say, we have no sources, other than the Zoroastrian, for any Iranian religion. Some scholars have viewed as testimony of a non-Zoroastrian cult those few religious references found in the royal Achaemenid inscriptions (sixth to fourth century BCE), as well as Herodotus's mention of "the Persian religion" (1.131–132), although, as is well known, Herodotus never refers to Zarathushtra (Zoroaster). Given these meager materials, we cannot be sure that the cults referred to were not affected in some way or at some time by the Zoroastrian "reform." In fact, it is probably most prudent to consider the religion of the Achaemenids—whose inscriptions also never mention Zarathushtra—as belonging to the Zoroastrian tradition and as a stage in its troubled and complex historical development.

Having said this, it is nonetheless possible to reconstruct a few essential elements of ancient Iranian religions through traces of ideas and beliefs that appear to be independent of the Zoroastrian tradition. Some of these are completely original, but most are held in common with ancient, especially Vedic, India. Such elements pertain mainly to rituals, the pantheon, concepts of death and the afterlife, and cosmology.

Rituals included libations *(zaothra),* offered both to Āpas ("water") and to Ātar ("fire"). The latter was called Agni by the Indians. The libations offered to water were a blend of three ingredients: milk and the juice or leaves of two plants. Those offered to fire were also a blend of three ingredients: dry fuel, incense, and animal fat. In both the libations to water and fire, called *āb-zōhr* and *ātakhsh-zōhr* in late Zoroastrian literature, we find the symbolism of the number three, which also occurs in a number of Brahmanic practices, as well as the blending of ingredients from the animal and vegetable worlds.

These offerings to water and fire, typical of a daily and familiar ritual, were also at the heart of the priestly ritual called the Yasna by the Iranians and Yajña by the Indians, from the root *yaz* ("sacrifice, worship"). Animal sacrifice was certainly practiced in the oldest Yasna and was accompanied by prayers that made it sacred and justified it as a religious act through which the spirits of the household animals being sacrificed became absorbed into a divine entity called Gēush Urvan, the "soul of the bull." Herbs also played an important role in the Yasna, and the priest who carried out the sacrifice held a bundle of herbs in his left hand, called a *baresman* by the Iranians. In time the bundle of herbs was discarded in favor of a bundle of consecrated twigs.

Undoubtedly, *haoma* (*soma* in India) constituted a central element in the cult. The offering made to the waters at the conclusion of the Yasna was prepared by blending milk, the leaves of a plant, and the juice squeezed from the stems of a different plant. The substance's name, *haoma,* applied to both the sacrificial matter and its *yazata,* that is, the "being worthy of worship," or deity, whom it represented. *Haoma,* which was endowed with hallucinogenic and stimulating properties and was seen as a source of strength for warriors, inspiration for poets, and wisdom for priests, was extracted in a stone mortar during a preparatory ritual, after which the consecrated substance was consumed by the priests and by those taking part in the ceremony.

The premises, the instruments, and the ingredients for the ceremony were purified with water in a meticulous and careful way. Purifying and disinfectant properties were also attributed to cattle urine *(gōmez),* a substance that played an important role in the Zoroastrian ritual of the Great Purification, Bareshnūm, as well as in the initiation of priests and corpse bearers, in accordance with practices and notions that were certainly Indo-Iranian in origin.

Libations offered to water and fire, essential components in the ceremonial aspects of the cult, cannot be understood without an awareness of the complex symbolism linked to those two elements, both in Zoroastrian and pre-Zoroastrian Iran, as well as in ancient India. The Indo-Iranian background is particularly evident in the symbolism of fire: in the three ritual fires and in the five natural fires found in Iranian and Indian thought. We can trace the concept of the three fires, those of priests, warriors, and farmers, as well as the concept of five fires burning before Ahura Mazdā, in the bodies of men, animals, plants, clouds, and the earth, respectively, to the Indo-Iranian background. Two *yazatas,* Apam Napāt ("grandson [or son] of waters") and Nairyōsanha ("of manly utterance"), are linked to fire and have Indian counterparts in Apāṃ Napāt and Narāśaṃsā, an epithet for Agni, whose name also belongs to a different god in the Vedas.

Concerning the pantheon, an Indo-Iranian comparison provides considerable help in reconstructing the pre-Zoroastrian religious environment in Iran. There are many divine entities that derive from a common cultural heritage, although they do, at times, present significant differences. Particularly important in such comparisons is the section of the Avesta known as the *Yashts,* or hymns to the various *yazatas*, which mostly perpetuate the worship of gods from an ancient, pre-Zoroastrian cult through a veil of Zoroastrianization after the fact. Worthy of mention, in addition to the cult gods Āpas, Ātar, Gēush Urvan, and Haoma, are the nature gods, such as Asman ("heaven"), Zam ("earth"), Hvar ("sun"), Māh ("moon"), and the two winds, Vāta and Vāyu. A juxtaposition with the Vedic religion clarifies many aspects of an ancient theology dating back to a period that we can definitely call proto-Indo-Iranian. According to some scholars, a few of these divine beings, as well as others well known to the Zoroastrian tradition, such as Zrvan (Zurwān) and Mithra, were originally high gods of Iranian religions other than the Zoroastrian and were thus in competition with Ahura Mazdā, the creator god of Zoroastrianism. Apart from a few specific details in the theories propounded by various scholars (H. S. Nyberg, Stig Wikander, Geo Widengren), and apart from the complex question of the so-called Zurvanist heresy, it is hard not to recognize a certain degree of verisimilitude in their reconstructions, as we find embedded in the Zoroastrian tradition, and not only in the *Yashts,* clear traces of a plurality of heterogeneous elements gradually absorbed and modified.

The Iranian pantheon, like the Indian, was subdivided into two main groups of divine beings, *ahura*s and *daiva*s, although there exists sufficient evidence to hold that in Iran the latter word at one time indicated the gods in general. This can be inferred from the Avestan expression *daēva/mashya,* analogous to the Vedic *deva/martya,* to which correspond the Greek *theoi/andres (anthrōpoi)* and the Latin *dii/hominesque,* all of which mean "gods and men." *Daiva*s, as gods of an ancient polytheism condemned by Zarathushtra, acquired negative connotations only with the Zoroastrian reform. This happened also with some of the Indo-Iranian gods, such as Indra, Saurva (Śarva in India), and Nānhaithya (Nāsatya in India). The term *ahura* ("lord"; *asura* in India), on the other hand, maintained its positive connotations and became part of the name of the supreme god of Zoroastrianism, Ahura Mazdā, as well as being attached to the name of some of the ancient gods from the Indo-Iranian pantheon, such as Mithra (Mitra in India) and Apąm Napāt.

We are not able to establish whether, behind the image of Ahura Mazdā, which was probably created by Zarathushtra himself, there lies the Vedic Indian god Varuṇa or an Indo-Iranian god named Ahura or Asura. This problem, however, is not critical, for even if Zarathushtra's god were a sublimation of the ancient Varuṇa by the Iranian prophet's great religious reform, Varuṇa would certainly have already attained a higher status than that of other gods, such as Mitra or the other sovereign gods of the Indo-Iranian pantheon (Dumézil, 1968–1973).

If the Iranian Mithra corresponds to the weaker Indian Mitra, then Anāhitā, the other great divine being of the triad mentioned in the Achaemenid inscriptions, corresponds to the Indian Sarasvatī, through the Avestan Aredvī Sūrā Anāhitā. The latter, however, presents some very complex problems. Most likely, this ancient Indo-Iranian goddess was subject at an early date to the influence of religious concepts belonging to the Anarian substratum of the Iranian world. Even Herodotus (1.131), speaks of an "Assyrian" and an "Arabian" origin of the great goddess, who certainly shows traits typical of the Great Goddess of the most ancient settled civilizations of the Near and Middle East. In fact, in attempting to reconstruct Iranian religions other than Zoroastrianism, one must rely heavily on elements obtained through an investigation of the Indo-Iranian background. One must, however, try to ascertain, with the help of archaeological findings, what part was played by the Anarian substratum, from the Elam civilization to the so-called Helmand civilization, which came to light in the 1960s during excavations at Shahr-i Sokhta, in Iranian Seistan. A thorough investigation into more recent times is also necessary in order to see whether there are to be found, among the religions of the Hindu Kush, between Nuristan and Dardistan, any fossilized remains of ancient proto-Indo-Aryan religions (Jettmar, 1975; Tucci, 1977).

An Indo-Iranian comparison also provides many other elements pertaining to the pantheon, as well as mythical figures and epos. The latter has been the object of particularly detailed study in recent decades (Dumézil, 1968-1973; Wikander, 1949-1950; Molé, 1953). In this context, we find cast in a leading role the Iranian god Verethraghna, whose Indian name, Vṛtrahan ("slayer of the dragon Vṛtra"), is an epithet of the god Indra. Behind the sacred figure of Verethraghna, who represented victory in the Zoroastrian tradition, was, most likely, the idea of overcoming an obstacle to the activity of the cosmos, which is manifest through the flow of waters.

In the cosmogony of pre-Zoroastrian Iran, we find signs of a myth of separation of heaven and earth, in which the figure of Vāyu, the god of wind and of the atmosphere, the intermediate zone, must have played an important role. It is likely also that the doctrine of seven consecutive creations, of the sky, of water, earth, vegetation, animal life, man, and fire, which we find in late sources, in fact dates from very ancient times.

Essential elements are also provided by an Indo-Iranian comparison in matters pertaining to cosmology. Both Iranians and Indians believed that the world was divided into seven regions, whose Avestan name was *karshvar* (Pahl., *kēshwar;* Skt., *dvīpa*), and that it was surrounded by a mountain range. The central region was called Khvaniratha in Iran and Jambūdvīpa in India, and at its center was a high mountain, called Mount Harā in Iran and Meru or Sumeru in India. South of the mountain was the Tree of All Seeds, just as, in Indian cosmography, we find the Jambū Tree south of Mount Meru. The Tree of All Seeds was thought to be at the center of the great sea Vourukasha, to the south of the mountain standing at the center of the world, also called, in Avestan, Hukairya ("of good activity") or, in Pahlavi, Hukar and Cagād i Dāidīg ("the lawful summit").

The views of death and of the afterlife in the most ancient Iranian religions, before the Zoroastrian reform, seem to have included the survival of the soul *(urvan).* After wandering around the earth for three days, the soul was thought to enter a gray existence in a subterranean world of shadows, ruled by Yima, the first king, or king of the Golden Age, and the first man ever to have died. (The figure of Yima seems to correspond, although not without some question, to the Indian Yama.) There also appears to have been a notion of survival of a sort of "double" of the soul, the *fravashi,* linked to a concept of immortality typical of an aristocratic and warrior society, in which were present the values of the Indo-Iranian *Männerbund* (Wikander, 1983). There was, as well, the idea of a terrible trial to be overcome by the dead man's spirit: the crossing of Chinvat Bridge, a bridge that could become wider or narrower, to the width of a razor's edge, depending on whether the dead man had been just *(ashavan)* or evil *(dregvant).* There was probably a test, analogous to this trial after death, used in initiation rites (Nyberg, 1966).

Traces of a common concept of initiation can be found in both Iran and India. It is related to the basic Indo-Iranian religious idea of *asha* (in the Avesta) or *ṛta* (in the Vedas), which remained central even in Zarathushtra's reform, although modified by partly new and different aspects. If we compare the Indian and the Iranian ideas, we can see clearly that a vision of *asha* (or of the sun, which, in turn, is the visible manifestation of the Vedic *ṛta*), was considered by both as a step in the spiritual fulfillment of the believer, who thus became *ashavan* (Av.; OPers., *artāvan*), that is, a participant in the supreme state of possessing *asha/ṛta.* In fact, the Indo-Iranian concept, which the Zoroastrian tradition transformed into one of the Amesha Spentas, contained various positive meanings, from that of truth (its exact translation) to that of a cosmic, ritual, and moral order. The Iranian *ashavan* (Pahl., *ahlaw/ardā[y]*) and the Indian *ṛtāvan* stood, although with different shades of meaning, for "the initiate" and, more generally, for those who, alive or dead, would succeed in penetrating a dimension of being or existence different from the norm.

The idea of the need for an initiation in order to achieve the supreme state of *asha/ṛta,* held in common by the ancient Indo-Iranian world and by what we may call "Aryan mysticism" (Kuiper, 1964), was also linked to the experience of illumination and of the mystic light. The blessed state of *asha* manifests itself through light (*Yasna* 30.1), and *asha* is to be found in "solar dwellings" (*Yasna* 53.4, 32.2, 43.16). The initiate is, then, first of all a "seer," one who has access to the mysteries of the otherworld and who can contemplate a luminous epiphany.

The experience of a mystical light and a complex symbolism connecting spirit, light, and seed form part of a common Indo-Iranian heritage and constitute, therefore, specific elements of an ancient Iranian religion that precedes Zarathushtra's reform. It may not be pure coincidence that we find in the *Gāthās* no mention by Zarathushtra himself of the concept of *khvarenah* ("splendor"), which was a notable aspect of Iranian religious thinking; yet we see it becoming part of the Zoroastrian tradition, as, for example, in *Yashts* 19. *Khvarenah* is a luminous and irradiating force, a sort of igneous and solar fluid (Duchesne-Guillemin, 1962), that is found, mythologically, in water, in *haoma,* and (according to an anthropological concept found in the Pahlavi tradition) in semen.

Khvarenah is an attribute of Mithra, of royalty, of divine and heroic figures belonging to a national and religious tradition, of Yima, of Zarathushtra, and of the Saoshyant; it does not have an exact Indian counterpart but is found in a context that, both literally and in terms of mythological structure, is strictly analogous to the Indian. In the Indian tradition, we find concepts concerning light—its splendor, its activity, its energy, and its effects—such as *ojas* (Av., *aojah*), *varcas* (Av., *varecah*), and *tejas,* meaning, respectively, "strength," "energy," and "splendor," concepts that closely resemble some in Iranian anthropology. The same adjective is used to describe "splendor" in both Iran and India: *ughra* (Av.) and *ugra* (Skt.), meaning "strong."

The Iranian religions other than Zoroastrianism, can, as we have seen, be partially reconstructed, not as organic systems, but rather in some of their particular and characteristic elements: cult and pantheon, cosmogony and cosmology, individual eschatology, anthropology, and psychology, as well as a concept of the experience of initiation substantially common to the entire ancient Indo-Iranian world. Such a common heritage was handed down in ancient Iran by schools of sacred poetry, which left their mark both on Zarathushtra's *Gāthās* and on the *Yashts* of the Younger Avesta.

SEE ALSO Ahura Mazdā and Angra Mainyu; Ahuras; Anahita; Chinvat Bridge; Cosmology, articles on Hindu Cosmology, Jain Cosmology; Daivas; Fravashis; Haoma; Indo-European Religions; Khvarenah; Magi; Mani; Manichaeism; Mazdakism; Mithraism; Saoshyant; Yazatas.

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Translated from Italian by Ughetta Fitzgerald Lubin

IRENAEUS

IRENAEUS (c. 130–c. 200) was a bishop of Lyons (177/78–c. 200), theologian, and antiheretical writer. Claimed by both Roman Catholics and Protestants as their progenitor, Irenaeus framed the catholic concept of authority that helped to pull diverse churches together in a period of identity crisis created by gnosticism, Marcionism, and other movements. Opposing the radical accommodation of Christian thought to Hellenistic culture, he pointed to canon and creed as interpreted by bishops in churches of apostolic foundation. Until the discovery of a gnostic library at Nag Hammadi (modern-day Chenoboskion, Egypt) in 1945, Irenaeus's treatise *Against Heresies* also supplied the main and most reliable information on gnostic thought.

LIFE. Nothing is known of Irenaeus's ancestry or of the date or place of his birth. He grew up, however, in Smyrna, where he sat at the feet of Polycarp, the distinguished bishop martyred about 155, who, according to Irenaeus, had known the apostles, specifically John, in Asia. From Polycarp perhaps he drew his penchant for biblical theology, for, he observed, Polycarp "related all things in harmony with the scriptures," which he then noted "not on paper, but in my heart." Irenaeus witnessed Polycarp's debate with Anicetus in Rome about 155 and studied in Justin's school, gaining much from Justin's apologetic methods but diverging sharply from him in his partiality for a biblical theology rather than for Platonism. After 164 he went to Lyons, where he was ordained a presbyter. He narrowly missed the pogrom that took place in Lyons and Vienne in 177, when Pothinus, the nonagenarian bishop of Lyons martyred in the persecution, sent him to Rome with a letter for Eleutherius (pope, r. 175–189) in which Pothinus characterized his protégé as "zealous for the covenant of Christ" and "among the first as a presbyter of the church."

On returning to Lyons, Irenaeus succeeded Pothinus as bishop. When Victor, bishop of Rome (189–199), rashly excommunicated the Christians of Asia because they observed Easter according to the Jewish Passover, whatever day of the week that might fall on, and not always on a Sunday, as in Rome, Irenaeus intervened with a stern rebuke. Writing in the name of "the brethren in Gaul," he pointed out that although variety of practice was customary among Christians from ancient times, they had always lived in peace with one another. Victor's predecessors in Rome, he added, all adhered to the Roman custom but did not excommunicate the Asians on account of a different practice. Anicetus and Polycarp once had a direct confrontation; although neither could persuade the other to change, they remained in communion with each other. Apart from his writing activities, little more is known about Irenaeus's career as bishop of Lyons. About 576 Gregory of Tours reported that Irenaeus was martyred in the persecution under Septimius Severus, but the lateness of the account makes this unlikely.

WRITINGS. Two major works of Irenaeus—*Refutation and Overthrow of Knowledge Falsely So-Called* (usually referred to as *Against Heresies*) and *Proof of the Apostolic Preaching*—have survived. In addition, three letters—one to Blastus, *On Schism;* a second to Florinus, *On Monarchy* or *That God Is Not the Author of Evil;* and a third to Victor on the Easter controversy—are quoted partially or wholly in the *Church History* of Eusebius. Other works have survived only in fragments or not at all, including a treatise against Valentinian gnosticism titled *On the Ogdoad;* an apology, *On Knowledge, against the Greeks;* and comments on scriptures under the title *Dissertations.* Irenaeus's works, especially the treatise

Against Heresies, circulated widely and exerted a widespread influence on Christian theology in subsequent centuries, particularly in the West.

Composed at the request of a friend and usually dated 185–189, *Against Heresies* is somewhat repetitious and disjointed. In book 1 Irenaeus outlines the gnostic system of Valentinus and his pupil Ptolemaeus and refutes it briefly on the grounds of inconsistency and diversity, especially in handling scriptures (in contrast to the unity of the catholic church's teaching); in a similar way he sketches and refutes the practices and thought of the Marcosians; and he gives thumbnail sketches of the variegated teachings of other heretical teachers or sects: Simon Magus (the archheretic, according to Irenaeus), Menander, Saturninus, Basilides, Carpocrates, Cerinthus, the Ebionites, the Nicolaitans, Cerdo, Marcion, Tatian, and the Encratites, Barbeliotes, Ophites, Sethians, and Cainites. In book 2 Irenaeus undertakes a more detailed rational refutation of the Valentinian system with its elaborate cosmology. In book 3 he constructs his famous argument for catholic teaching based on scriptures and tradition. In book 4 he pursues the refutation of Marcion (d. 160?) that he begins at the end of book 3. Following in the train of his teacher Justin, whose treatise *Against Marcion* is no longer extant, Irenaeus argues from scriptures the oneness of the God of the Old Testament and the God who had disclosed himself in Jesus of Nazareth. Christ bore witness to the God of the Old Testament; the scriptures of the Old Testament bore witness to the Christ of the New. In book 5 Irenaeus sustains chiefly the Christian doctrines of resurrection of the flesh, incarnation, and last things against gnostic "spiritualizing." Like his teacher Justin, Irenaeus adopts the eschatology of the *Revelation to John* with its expectation of the millennial reign of Christ.

The *Proof of the Apostolic Preaching,* long lost but rediscovered in an Armenian translation in 1904, is a catechetical treatise, addressed to a certain Marcianus, that Irenaeus describes as "a manual of essentials." Basically a summary of salvation history, the first part focuses on theological matters (divine monarchy, Trinity, baptism) and the second on christological matters (Jesus as Lord, Son of David, Christ, Son of God; the glory of the Cross; the kingdom of God). "Proofs" for various doctrines come principally from the Old Testament.

THOUGHT. Irenaeus, responding to gnostics and Marcionites rather than presenting an apology to Gentiles, rejected Justin's concept of the Seminal Logos who illuminated the minds of both Jews and Greeks. Although he could praise Plato faintly, he had few compliments for nonbiblical writers and writings. He placed his confidence, rather, in the Old Testament and in writings beginning to be collected into a New Testament. Against Marcion and some of the gnostics, he asserted vigorously that one and the same God inspired both. In his understanding of inspiration he came closer to the rabbinic concept of the spirit indwelling an individual who faithfully adheres to the established tradition of truth than to the Greek mantic theory, but he never denied the latter. He regarded the Old Testament in the Greek Septuagint as canonical in its entirety. Although the limits of his New Testament canon are not clear, he left no doubt that it included at its core the four Gospels and thirteen letters of Paul.

In his polemic against the gnostics Irenaeus criticized especially their use of allegorical exegesis, but he himself resorted freely to this method even in interpretation of the New Testament, the first orthodox writer to do so. He struggled to solve problems posed by the Old Testament by way of a theory of progressive education of the human race; but, although biblical, he lacked historical sensitivity in treating of the Old Testament. In the final analysis, Irenaeus saw the basis of religious authority as the tradition committed to the churches by the apostles, as a collective and not as an individual witness. The "living voice," a continually renewed understanding of the church's heritage, was his actual authority.

Irenaeus's theology reflected throughout a strong biblical and especially Pauline slant. Against gnostic and Marcionite dualism he affirmed Jewish monotheism. One God, the creator, created ex nihilo and not through emanations (as in Valentinian gnosis). To prove at once the immanence and the transcendence of God, Irenaeus developed the distinctive doctrine of "the two hands of God." Through the Son and the Holy Spirit (or the Word and Wisdom), God acted directly in creation, not through intermediaries, and God continues to act in inspiration or revelation. Scholars have often tried to decide whether Irenaeus held to an "economic," or "modalist," concept of the Trinity (that God appeared at one time as Father, at another time as Son, at a third time as Holy Spirit), but the "two hands" doctrine is scarcely compatible with such a concept. For Irenaeus, God is the living God of the Old Testament. Although he counterbalanced this understanding with ideas drawn from the philosophical leanings of earlier apologists, he always leaned heavily toward the biblical side. Whereas Justin thought of the Logos as the hypostatized Divine Reason, for example, Irenaeus conceptualized the Logos as the Word of God depicted in *John* 1:1–14. Also, whereas Justin could call the Logos a "second God" (*deuteros theos*), a part of God, for Irenaeus the Logos is God—God self-disclosed.

Unlike his precursor Justin, Irenaeus was also profoundly biblical and Pauline in his doctrine of redemption. According to his famous recapitulation theory, Jesus traversed the same ground as Adam but in reverse. Through his obedience he overcame the powers that hold humankind in thrall—sin, death, and the devil. To establish his theory, Irenaeus contended that Jesus experienced every phase of human development—infancy, childhood, youth, mature adulthood—sanctifying each by obedience. On the basis of a comment in the *Gospel of John* ("You are not yet fifty," *Jn.* 8:57), he argued that Jesus lived to age fifty. To be sure, alongside the motif of Christus Victor in his recapitulation theory, Irenaeus also gave attention to the Greek concept of divinization by way of the vision of God in the incarnate Son. "He became man," said Irenaeus, "in order that we might become divine." This idea, however, did not dominate his theology as did that of recapitulation. As Irenaeus used it, moreover, it had both Pauline and Johannine roots. Thus, although nodding to Hellenism, Irenaeus did not depart from a strong biblicism.

There has been much debate among Protestant scholars about Irenaeus's emphasis on free will. In opposition to the gnostic division of humankind into three groups—material, psychic, and spiritual—he insisted on the survival of freedom even after the fall. Distinguishing "image" (*eikon*) and "likeness" (*homoiosis*) in the *Genesis* account of creation, as did Valentinus, he held that the fall affected only the "likeness." The "image," the whole bodily and spiritual nature with no added supernatural gift, was unaffected. Loss of the divine "likeness," however, resulted in a disordered human nature, death, and enslavement to Satan. Thus every person is born in sin, but this does not mean, as it did to Augustine, inheritance of guilt. Realizing that moral responsibility necessitates freedom of choice, Irenaeus viewed sin as wrong moral choice by a responsible agent. Although this meant that he sometimes minimized the need for grace, he was far from being a forerunner of Pelagius (fl. 410–418), who emphasized "natural grace" almost to the exclusion of supernatural. The fall, Irenaeus would say, attenuated free will, although it did not obliterate it.

In his understanding of the church Irenaeus again reproduced much of Paul's thought. The church is Israel under a new covenant, the true Israel, the priestly people of God. Although he believed in a universal priesthood, Irenaeus nevertheless lacked Paul's concept of the church as the body of Christ. He understood the church rather as a corporation composed of individuals and seldom spoke of being "in Christ" or "in the Spirit."

Irenaeus did not comment at length on the sacraments. Baptism, according to him, is a sign of faith and marks the beginning of the Christian life. He presupposed adult baptism, although one allusion connected with his recapitulation theory has often been pressed in support of infant baptism. The Eucharist, or Lord's Supper, played a minor role in his thinking. With Ignatius he could designate it "the antidote of life," or with Justin he could say the elements were "no longer common bread." Yet he preferred the phrase "the new oblation of the new covenant." Rich as his writings were in the formation of catholic theology, however, he did not approach the medieval idea of transubstantiation. The Eucharist is a "sacrifice" of praise symbolic of the recapitulating death of Christ; it proclaims and sets forth Christ's saving truth, the raison d'être of the church.

Irenaeus's understanding of ecclesiastical authority has evoked fierce debate between Protestants and Roman Catholics, for the meaning of a crucial statement is uncertain. Citing Rome as an example of an "apostolic" church, "founded and organized by Peter and Paul," and possessed of a reliable succession of bishops, Irenaeus added, "Ad hanc enim ecclesiam propter potiorem principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam." Roman Catholics have preferred to translate this sentence as "For it is necessary that every church agree with this church on account of its more powerful authority"; Protestants as "For it is necessary that every church come together with this church on account of its greater antiquity." Lack of a Greek original makes certainty impossible.

In eschatology, Irenaeus followed in the footsteps of his mentor Justin. Indeed, he was more rigorous than Justin in demanding adherence to millenarian beliefs. Countering the gnostics' dualism, he attached great importance to the idea of general resurrection, and he insisted on a resurrection of the flesh. Curiously, unlike Justin, he expected the general resurrection and the Last Judgment of both human beings and fallen angels to precede the millennium. Citing Papias (c. 60–130), bishop of Hierapolis, he believed the devil and his angels (demons) would be consigned to an everlasting fire while the saints would reign with Christ during the millennium. This millennial vision capped Irenaeus's theory of the evolution of religion.

INFLUENCE. Irenaeus's integration of biblical and Hellenistic thought, more cautious than that of his predecessor Justin or his contemporary Clement of Alexandria, was to have a significant impact in subsequent centuries. Eastern theology adopted his Christus Victor motif and his idea of the perfectibility of human nature consummated in immortality. A strong emphasis on free will in Eastern thinking probably also has its roots in Irenaeus. In the West both Roman Catholics and Protestants have claimed Irenaeus and Augustine as their leading mentors. Roman Catholics have cited Irenaeus on authority, Protestants on the Bible. Neither, however, has felt entirely at ease with the bishop of Lyons. Although Irenaeus came up with a "catholic formula" for truth, he left much uncertainty about Rome's place in safeguarding it. Similarly, although he was basically a biblical theologian, the Protestant reformers felt uncomfortable with both his idea of authority and his "Pelagian" tendencies. In the present ecumenical climate, fresh studies of Irenaeus are aiding in the reexamination of theology that must inevitably accompany progress toward Christian unity.

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E. GLENN HINSON (1987)

IROQUOIS RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS.

The League of the Iroquois consisted, at the time of contact with Europeans, of five "nations" (the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca). In 1724, these groups were joined by the Tuscarora to form the Six Nations of the Iroquois. These tribes form part of a larger complex of Iroquoian-speaking peoples. The northern language group of which the members of the league are a part also includes the Saint Lawrence Iroquois, Huron, Wyandot, Susquehanna, Nottoway, Erie, Wenro, and Neutrals. The Cherokee form the southern language group. The separation between the northern and southern groups probably occurred between three and four thousand years ago, with further dialects developing over time.

Geographically, the early-seventeenth-century Iroquois inhabited the area from 42° to 44° north latitude and from 74° to 78° west longitude. In the late seventeenth century, the League of the Iroquois controlled territory from the Mohawk Valley in the east to Lake Erie in the west, and from Lake Ontario in the north to the mountains of western and south-central New York State and northwestern Pennsylvania in the south.

At contact the Iroquois were a matrilineal and matrilocal people living in clusters of longhouses situated on hilltops. The villages were usually palisaded and semipermanent. The men involved themselves in hunting, fishing, and making war; the women took care of the fields and gathered berries, nuts, and roots. The clan mothers elected the fifty sachems, or chiefs, who guided the external policies of the league from Onondaga.

COSMOLOGY. The cosmological structuring of space into three tiers provides the Iroquois with the basic categories with which to interpret human experience. The sky world and the underworld represent extremes of both a spatial and an existential nature. The sky world is order, goodness, warmth, light, and life. The underworld is chaos, evil, coldness, darkness, and death. In the in-between world—the world of ordinary human experience—the qualities of both worlds are intertwined in a myriad of ways. One of the ways is cyclical, as when night follows day; another is antagonistic, as when good struggles with evil.

Mythically, this world was the creation of two twins, one good and the other evil. The former, the Master of Life, was the creator of flora and fauna. He held the sky world in mind at all times while creating living things, and he gave customs to humans modeled after those of the sky world. His brother tried to imitate his creative acts, but what issued instead were all of the nasty, noxious, and monstrous forms of life. The evil twin is described as cold and hard, like ice and flint, and his influence is believed to infect all areas of existence. Each of the twins left behind spirit-forces and other manifestations of his orientation and power. The general thrust of Iroquois religion is toward increasing and renewing the power of those forces that sustain life and reducing or eliminating those forces that diminish life, such as disease and pain.

COMMUNITY RITUALS. To live in harmony with the spirit-forces is the essential requirement of Iroquois religion. These fundamental relationships that sustain community life are renewed, intensified, and celebrated in the calendrical cycles of the Longhouse religion. This final form of the Iroquois ceremonial cycle crystallized in the nineteenth century under the influence of the Seneca prophet Handsome Lake (1735–1815). The Longhouse religion, as it is practiced today, is a synthesis of elements from the hunter-gatherer traditions of the Middle Woodland and early Late Woodland periods (300–1000 CE) and the agricultural complex that gradually took hold during the Late Woodland period (1000–1500 CE).

The fundamental attitude of the Iroquois community toward the benevolent spirit-forces of the universe is thanksgiving. Thus all Iroquois ceremonies begin and end with a thanksgiving address, a paean to all the forces of earth, sky, and the sky world that create, support, and renew life. The address is divided into three main parts. The first part includes prayers of thanksgiving for the earth, waters, plants and trees, animals, birds, and the "three sisters" (the staple Iroquois foodstuffs—maize, beans, and squash). The second section gives thanks to those spirit forces that have greater power: wind, thunder, sun, moon, and stars. The final section gives thanks to the spiritual guides of the Iroquois: Handsome Lake, the creator, and the Four Beings (protectors of humans and messengers from the creator to Handsome Lake).

The epitome of the synthesis represented by the Longhouse religion is the Midwinter festival. Concentrated into its eight days are all of the major themes and components of Iroquois ceremonialism. The first half of the Midwinter rite is the older and contains many elements from the hunting-forest complex that centered on shamanic practices. It is given over to the symbolic expulsion of the old year through rites of confession, ashes-stirring, and dream fulfillment, as well as medicine-society curing ceremonies, False Face society rituals, and the White Dog sacrifice (no longer practiced). These expiatory and cathartic rituals clear the path for the new year and for the second half of the festival, whose structure largely reflects the farming-village complex. The "four sacred rituals"—a feather dance, a skin (or drum) dance, a personal chant, and a bowl game—are considered the gifts of the creator, modeled after ceremonies in the sky world. A tobacco invocation, a kind of thanksgiving address, beseeches all of the spirit-forces to bless the people during the coming year. Both the Our Sustenance Dances and the performance by the Husk Faces anticipate a fruitful agricultural season. The yearly ceremonial cycle unfolds from the Midwinter festival and returns to it.

While the ceremonial cycle may vary slightly from longhouse to longhouse, a representative list would include the Midwinter festival, the Bush Dance, and the Thanks-to-the-Maple, Seed Planting, Strawberry, Raspberry, Green Bean, Thunder, Little Corn, Green Corn, and Harvest ceremonies.

MEDICINE SOCIETIES. Not only has Iroquois religion been concerned with affirming and intensifying life, it has also been concerned with countering those things that diminish life. The spirit-forces that assist humans in this battle revealed themselves long ago and entered into covenants with individuals, families, and societies. Through fasting, dream-visions, and ecstatic states, the ancient shamans sought to divine the causes of illness, pain, famine, and sudden or widespread death. Other shamanic specialists had their own ceremonies and skills that brought healing power. At times groups of shamans who possessed similar secrets joined together into sodalities. With the demise of individual shamanism, these "medicine societies" grew in importance in Iroquois life and became the preserver of the ancient shamanic traditions.

The significance of medicine society rituals in Iroquois life differs from that of the communal ceremonies. The latter are thanksgiving-celebrative, follow the agricultural cycle, are directed toward the major spirit-forces, and are held in the longhouse. The former are power-evocative and occasional, invoke the tutelary spirit of the particular medicine society, and are usually conducted in private homes. Membership in a society is generally limited to those who have been cured by one of that society's rituals. The medicine societies have their own myths, songs, dances, prayers, costumes, and ritual paraphernalia. A listing of Iroquois medicine societies and their major characteristics follows.

1. *The Society of Medicine Men* (also known as Shake the Pumpkin) is the largest medicine society. Most members of the other societies also belong to it. The society began with a covenant relationship between the medicine animals and its founders. In return for feasts offered in their honor, the animals promised to cure diseases, ease pain, and get rid of bad luck. Practices of this society, such as juggling red-hot coals and wearing masks without eye holes, are quite ancient.

2. *The Company of Mystic Animals* includes the Buffalo, Otter, Bear, and Eagle societies. In varying degrees the members imitate their tutelary animals in their dances, songs, and practices. They continue the shamanic tradition in which humans and animals communicate with, and can be transformed into, one another.

3. *The Little Water Medicine society,* like its ally in the Eagle society, was originally associated with war and the healing of wounds received in war. The Iroquois say that its medicine, concocted from parts of animals, birds, and plants, is the most potent made by any society. Ceremonies are held at night, several times a year, to renew the medicine.

4. *The Little People society* (also known as Dark Dance) also holds its ceremonies at night. This society fosters a good rapport with the *jo-ga-oh* ("little people"), elflike spirits who help humans in a variety of ways and who adopt many different forms for mischievous purposes.

5. *The False Face society* is the favorite of the Iroquois. The wooden masks worn by its members are filled with power. Reverence and ritual surround both their carving and their care. The most common practices of the Faces today were noted among the Huron by seventeenth-century observers: blowing ashes, handling hot coals, imitating hunchbacks, and carrying sticks. It is quite possible that the Faces came to the Iroquois from the Huron. The False Face society holds rites for cleansing the community of disease in the spring and fall. It sponsers rites at Midwinter both for its own members and for the broader community in the longhouse and performs individual curing rites when needed.

6. *The Husk Faces* are dedicated to the agricultural spirits. They also cure by blowing ashes and handling hot coals. During Midwinter they burst into the longhouse and announce that they are going to the other side of the world to till the crops.

7. *The Towii'sas society* is a woman's society honoring corn, beans, and squash. It participates in the Green Corn ceremony and also has its own curing ceremonies.

8. *The Ohgiwe society* conducts ceremonies for people who have been dreaming of ghosts. A feast is held to feed the ghost and to dissuade it from bothering the living. Just as the sharing of food brings harmony into human relationships, so does it harmonize relations between living and dead. The Iroquois both respect and fear the dead and therefore conduct a number of feasts for them. In addition to the feasts conducted by the Ohgiwe society, there is a community Feast of the Dead (also called Ohgiwe) that is held annually or semiannually. All souls, but especially those of the recently deceased, are invited. Songs and dances are performed, and a post-midnight feast is held. There are also frequent family feasts for the dead during the winter months. These celebrations both fulfill the family's obligations to the dead and serve as a means of bringing together relatives of the deceased.

THE INDIVIDUAL. In traditional (i.e., pre-nineteenth-century) Iroquois lore, access to the power and guidance of the spirit-forces was not limited to the community (through its collective ceremonial life) nor to the curing societies. The individual Iroquois had an array of spiritually vital allies, including charms, medicine bundles, guardian spirits, and his or her own soul.

The most common medium for communication with these forces was the dream-vision. During puberty rites of shamanic training a guardian spirit would reveal itself to the individual through the dream-vision. The spirit could take the form of a human being, or animal, or a bird such as a raven or crow. An intimate and powerful relationship was established between the person and the guardian spirit. A person who had such a friendship had greater inner power and confidence than one who did not. The guardian spirit revealed its desires in dreams. To ignore this ally or to fail to understand its desires could result in illness. Such an illness signified a dangerous disruption of the relationship between spirit-forces and humans. Should someone become ill, his dreams would be consulted to ascertain what the guardian spirit desired. Sometimes the efforts of everyone in the community would be needed to fulfill the dream. They willingly undertook this.

Similarly, an alienation could occur between a person's ego and soul. The Iroquois believed that the soul was the source of biological as well as mental well-being. Dreams were its language. To lose touch with or deny the desires of the soul could cause it to revolt against the body. Dreams were carefully investigated in order to avoid such a possibility or to remedy it when illness occurred. The dream-guessing rite that even today forms a part of the Onondaga Midwinter festival was performed quite frequently by the seventeenth-century Huron. The ill person's soul's desire would be given in riddle form; whoever guessed it correctly had to fulfill the desire. This might involve an object, a feast, the performance of a particular ritual, or any of a number of other actions.

Dreams were also thought to contain warnings about future events—events whose actual occurrence might be prevented by acting out the dream and thereby fulfilling it. Thus, a warrior who dreamed that he had been captured, bound, and tortured by an enemy might, upon waking, ask his fellow tribesmen to tie him up and make cuts or burns in his flesh in order that the greater pain and shame predicted by the dream might be avoided. Dreams also affected hunting, fishing, military, and political plans.

There was no aspect of life among the ancient Iroquois and Huron that was not touched by the dream. Religiously it played both a conservative and an innovative role. That is, it confirmed within an individual's experience the culturally transmitted religious system while also initiating changes in the beliefs and rituals that constituted this system. It would not be going too far to say that most of Iroquois religion was constructed of dream material. Through this building process, the individual hierophany became symbolized and available to all. The last series of significant changes introduced into Iroquois life by the dream resulted from the revelations given to Handsome Lake, which were eventually institutionalized into the present-day Longhouse religion.

Today the majority of Iroquois live on reservations in Canada and New York State. Perhaps one-fourth of the approximately twenty thousand Iroquois adhere to the traditionalist Longhouse religion. In addition to the ceremonies described above, they perform partial recitations of the *Gaiwiio* ("good word") of Handsome Lake on the first mornings of both the Midwinter festival and the Green Corn ceremony. This formalization of the dream-vision revelations received by the prophet from 1799 until his death in 1815 provides the moral, ceremonial, social, and theological context in which followers of the Longhouse religion live. A complete recitation by an authorized preacher may occur every other fall at a meeting of the Six Nations, depending upon which longhouse is sponsoring the meeting.

SEE ALSO Handsome Lake.

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DONALD P. ST. JOHN (1987)

IRVING, EDWARD (1792–1834), was a controversial Scottish minister associated with the founding of the Catholic Apostolic church. Born in Annan, Dumfriesshire, Irving was educated at the University of Edinburgh. After serving as a schoolmaster at Haddington in 1810 and Kirkcaldy in 1812, he was licensed to preach in the Church of Scotland in 1815. He became Thomas Chalmers's assistant at Saint John's, Glasgow, in 1819 but left Scotland in 1822 to become pastor of Caledonian Chapel, a small, struggling congregation in Hatton Garden, London. His dynamic preaching drew such large crowds that a new church had to be built at Regent Square in 1827.

Avowal of controversial doctrines soon undercut Irving's popularity. In the mid-1820s, Irving became a millenarian through the influence of James Hatley Frere, Henry Drummond, and Drummond's Albury Circle. He published *Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed of God* (1826), in which he predicted the second coming of Christ in 1864; translated *The Coming of Messiah in Glory and Majesty* (1827), a millenarian work by the Spanish Jesuit Manuel Lacunza; lectured on the *Book of Revelation* at the University of Edinburgh (1828); and was a regular contributor to Drummond's prophetic journal *The Morning Watch* (1829–1833).

Citing his *The Doctrine of the Incarnation Opened* (1828) and *The Orthodox and Catholic Doctrine of Our Lord's Human Nature* (1830), the London Presbytery in 1830 charged Irving with teaching the sinfulness of Christ's human nature. He vigorously denied the charge, arguing that though Christ shared humanity's weak and infirm nature, his reliance on the Holy Spirit kept him without sin. Further, Irving refused to recognize the presbytery's authority.

Irving also believed in the continuation of the charismata of apostolic times and urged his congregation to pray for their outpouring. In the fall of 1831, glossolalia, faith healing, and prophetic visions broke out at Regent Square. As a result, Irving was deposed from the church in 1832 and excommunicated by his Scottish presbytery in 1833. He then became a wandering preacher, while several hundred of his London parishioners established the sacramental, millenarian, and charismatic Catholic Apostolic church. Eventually Irving was ordained a deacon in the new church, but he never assumed any significant leadership role. He died at Glasgow and was buried in the cathedral there.

Always the controversialist, Irving attacked the cold and somewhat complacent spirit of orthodoxy in the Church of Scotland. Through his adoption of millenarian and charismatic views, he became an early shaper of those movements in British and American evangelicalism.

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TIMOTHY P. WEBER (1987)

ISAAC, or, in Hebrew, Yitsḥaq; the second of the biblical patriarchs and the only son of Abraham and Sarah. Although not known from elsewhere, the name *Yitsḥaq* conforms to a well-known Northwest Semitic type and means "may God smile"; Ugaritic texts from the thirteenth century BCE refer to the benevolent smile of the Canaanite god El. The Bible, however, ascribes the laughter to Isaac's mother, who was amazed to learn that she would have a child despite her advanced age.

Isaac is the only patriarch whose name was not changed. The Bible treats him primarily as Abraham's son or the father of Jacob and Esau. He was the first ancestor of the Israelites to be circumcised on his eighth day in accordance with God's command (*Gn.* 17:12). At an unspecified age he was taken to be sacrificed in order to test Abraham's faithfulness; however, Isaac himself did little except ask why his father had not brought an animal for the offering. His later marriage to Rebecca, a cousin, was arranged by Abraham and provided comfort to Isaac after his mother's death. In his old age, Isaac was deceived into giving Jacob the blessing intended for the older Esau.

Isaac's only independent actions are found in *Genesis* 26, in which he tells King Abimelech that Rebecca is his sister, a story reminiscent of one told twice about Sarah and Abraham. The same chapter mentions his involvement in agricultural activities and his resolution of a dispute over water rights between his shepherds and those of Abimelech. Isaac died at the age of 180 and was buried alongside Rebecca at Machpelah.

Postbiblical Jewish interpretations focus largely on the story of Abraham's intended sacrifice of Isaac, called the *ʿaqedah* ("binding"), and often elaborate his role beyond the biblical description. According to one version he actually died and was then revived. Christian tradition, perhaps attested as early as the writings of Paul (*Rom.* 8:32), views this incident as prefiguring the Crucifixion. Paul contrasted Isaac, representing Christianity, with Ishmael, the rejected older son who symbolizes Judaism (*Gal.* 4:21–30).

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FREDERICK E. GREENSPAHN (1987 AND 2005)

ISAAC THE SYRIAN (d. 700 CE?), also known as Isaac of Nineveh, was a bishop in the ancient Nestorian church of Syria; a monk, recluse mystic, and creative writer whose discourses have had widespread influence on Christian and, some think, Ṣūfī spirituality. The English world at first greeted his work, originally written in Syriac, with culture-bound coolness, but has eventually come to recognize him as one of the most sublime and original mystic writers of the Christian East.

Little is known about Isaac's life. Born in a region around the Persian Gulf, he became a monk and for a time the bishop of Nineveh (modern Mosul), an office he resigned after only five months. He then withdrew to one of the monasteries in the mountains of Huzistan (southwestern Iran), where he practiced strict solitude (hesychasm) as a way of pursuing unceasing communion with God. In order not to break the rule of solitude, as Isaac himself relates in a stirring personal account, he refused to go to the deathbed of his brother, a monk in another monastery. Toward the end of his life a burning love led Isaac to write a profusion of illuminating discourses on Christian perfection—the fruit of his assiduous study of scripture, his reading of Christian authors, and his own experiences, about which he is discreetly modest.

Isaac's writings were translated into Greek, Coptic, and Arabic, and became influential from Byzantium to Ethiopia. Later Latin and Spanish translations made him known to the West. The Greek translation (ninth century) was printed in a partly critical edition by Nikēphoros Theotokēs (1770), and this edition was in turn the basis of a Russian translation by Feofan the Recluse (nineteenth century), excerpts of which were rendered into English by Eugénie Kadloubovsky and G. E. H. Palmer in *Early Fathers from the Philokalia* (1954). Earlier, A. J. Wensinck, working on Paul Bedjan's critical edition of the original Syriac discourses (1909), had published his English translation of *Mystic Treatises by Isaac of Nineveh* (1923), valuable but unfortunately inadequate in correctly rendering key patristic terminology derived from the Greek fathers. A new translation, *The Ascetical Homilies of St. Isaac the Syrian,* based on the Greek and Syriac, is in preparation by the Holy Transfiguration Monastery, Brookline, Massachusetts.

Only the earnest student will be rewarded by reading Isaac's work in English; wide cultural differences, the sublimity of Isaac's thought, and the fact that it is addressed principally to other solitaries, not ordinary Christians, add to other problems of translation. Although he cites Evagrios of Pontus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and others who are in some respects suspect to orthodox theology, there is nothing specifically Nestorian about Isaac's Christology. Isaac strictly avoided dogmatic disputations and was completely grounded in the traditions of Eastern Christianity's piety and spirituality. He frequently quoted not only the Old and New Testaments but also the ascetics of Egypt and eminent church fathers such as Ephraem of Syria, Athanasius, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory the Theologian, and Chrysostom. Isaac was interested primarily not in mysticism but in God; his originality lies in his luminous descriptions of the deep stirrings of the Holy Spirit in the heart, the new birth, the gift of tears, and profound stages of prayer leading to ecstasy. For him the goal of Christian perfection is the love of God, of "the food of angels . . . which is Jesus."

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THEODORE STYLIANOPOULOS (1987)

ISAIAH (fl. 740–701 BCE), or, in Hebrew, Yeshaʿyahu or Yeshaʿyah, was a Hebrew prophet. Isaiah, son of Amoz, prophesied during the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah (see *Is.* 1:1). He was a contemporary of the prophets Micah and Hosea and lived soon after Amos. (Amos and Hosea were active in Israel, or Ephraim, while Micah prophesied in Judah.) This was the period of the Syro-Ephraimite war (734/3–733/2 BCE), in which these kingdoms to the north of Judah surrounded Jerusalem, threatening to replace the house of David (*Is.* 7:1–6 [verse citations are according to the English version]). It was also the time of the Assyrian invasions, a chain of military campaigns that caused the fall of the northern kingdom of Israel in 722 and made Judah a vassal of the Assyrian Empire. During this stormy political period, Isaiah addressed the political elite and the people of Jerusalem, delivering God's word, which often did not correspond with the rulers' political views. He repeatedly criticized the rulers for the prevailing social injustices.

COMPOSITE NATURE OF THE *BOOK OF ISAIAH.* *Isaiah* contains sixty-six chapters and is the largest prophetic book in the Hebrew Bible. The existing structure had appeared by the beginning of the second century BCE. *Ben Sira* apparently knows *Isaiah* as a whole (*Sir.* 48:17–25), and the Dead Sea Scrolls, as well as the New Testament, regard the entire sixty-six chapters as a single composition. There are, indeed, certain stylistic usages that are common to the entire book, such as the combination "Holy of Israel" (*Is.* 1:4, 5:16, 5:19, 5:24, 6:3, 10:20, 12:6, 30:11, 30:12, 30:15, 31:1, 41:14, 41:16, 41:20, 43:3, 43:14, 45:11, 47:4, 48:17, 49:7, 54:5, 55:5, 60:9, 60:14) and the expression "Thus says God," in the imperfect tense instead of the usual perfect, "said" (*Is.* 1:11, 1:18, 33:10, 41:21, 66:9; cf. 40:1, 40:25).

Contrary to these early sources, however, modern scholarship on *Isaiah* generally differentiates between chapters 1–39 of the book and chapters 40–66, treating them as distinct major works by different authors. The first 39 chapters of *Isaiah* bear the title "The Vision of Isaiah the Son of Amoz" (1:1); chapters 40–66 are ascribed to an anonymous prophet to whom scholars refer as "Second Isaiah," or "Deutero-Isaiah." Some scholars also recognize the existence of a "Third Isaiah," or "Trito-Isaiah," the author of chapters 56–66, because the tone and approach of these chapters is more critical and condemning than that of chapters 40–55.

The division of the *Book of Isaiah* into two sections follows from the fact that the two parts are concerned with two distinct historical periods, the Assyrian and the Persian, and different political situations during these periods, which are reflected in the different topics and particular prophetic themes of the book. The author of the first part is concerned with social problems and concentrates on the moral and ethical misconduct of the rulers of Jerusalem, while the author of the second part responds to the national religious crisis of the exiled Jewish community in Babylonia. Accordingly, speeches of judgment distinguish the first part, while words of encouragement and oracles of salvation characterize the second. The prophet of the second part anticipates the collapse of Babylon in 539 BCE and the triumph of Cyrus II (558–529), the founder of the great Persian Empire. He knows about the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem (587/6 BCE), and assigns Cyrus the task of building the new temple (*Is.* 44:28, 45:1; cf. 52:5, 52:11). Historical evidence thus dates the second part of *Isaiah* to the second half of the sixth century BCE, approximately two centuries later than the first part. The division in *Isaiah* was already recognized in the twelfth century CE by the Hebrew commentator Avraham ibn ʿEzra (in his commentary on *Is.* 40:1), and the literary-thematic distinction has recently been confirmed by a computer analysis (Y. T. Radday, *The Unity of Isaiah in Light of Statistical Linguistics,* Hildesheim, 1973).

But how were these distinct compositions tied together? One can only speculate. Perhaps it was just a technical matter in which a shorter scroll was attached to a longer one for preservation, and the origin of the work as two separate manuscripts was later forgotten. Or perhaps the combination was intentional, the product of a school of religious thought that sought to create a continuous ideological composition in which the period of judgment had been fulfilled, thus confirming the old Isaian prophecies and pointing out the validity of the new ones concerning the new era of salvation. Or perhaps the composer of the second book considered himself Isaiah's faithful disciple. This hypothesis may explain the lack of superscription in the second part as well as the similarity of idioms and phrases in the two parts. For example, in a rare passage in which Second Isaiah refers to himself, he describes God's word as *limmudim,* "teaching" (*Is.* 50:4), language that resembles that of Isaiah (*Is.* 8:16). Isaiah's spiritual disciple responds to his teacher's feeling of "distress and darkness" (*Is.* 8:22), which caused the master to seal his testimony (*Is.* 8:16–17). The disciple feels that times have changed. He notices that God again reveals himself (*Is.* 40:5), and he considers himself the one who bears the leader's testimony.

THE FIRST ISAIAH. It appears that Isaiah, the son of Amoz, was from Jerusalem (unlike his contemporary Micah, who grew up outside the city). He was familiar with city life (see, e.g., *Is.* 3:16–23), and Jerusalem was the center of his activity. He married a woman whom he called "the prophetess" (*Is.* 8:3). They had at least two sons, whose names are associated with their father's prophetic message (cf. *Hos.* 1:3–9): Shearjashub (lit., *Sheʾar yashuv,* "a remnant shall return"; *Is.* 7:3) and Maher-shalal-hash-baz (lit., "pillage hastens, looting speeds"; 8:3). Isaiah may have had a third son, ʿImmanuʾel ("God is with us"; 7:14; cf. 8:18), whose name refers to trust in God even in moments of political despair. Isaiah is rarely mentioned outside of his book, but is referred to in *2 Kings* 19–20 and *2 Chronicles* 26:22, 32:20, and 32:32, where he appears not just as a prophet but as the king's healer and the court chronicler. All the sources indicate that Isaiah was closely associated with King Hezekiah, especially during the Assyrian siege of Jerusalem. He had access to the king (*Is.* 7:1ff.) and was the king's political counselor (37:1ff.). He makes frequent reference to the forms and vocabulary of the wisdom literature and is clearly familiar with the scribal profession (30:8; cf. *2 Chr.* 26:22).

There are a number of traditions about Isaiah's role and activities that make it difficult to reconstruct the "real" Isaiah. His close ties with Hezekiah as portrayed in the narrative (*Is.* 36–39, *2 Kgs.* 19–20) may create the impression that he functioned as a court prophet, but his confrontation with King Ahaz (*Is.* 7) depicts him as an independent prophetic figure. The portrayal of Isaiah as a healer in *Kings* 20:1–7 is significant—"And Isaiah said: bring a cake of figs. And let them take and lay it on the boil, that he may recover" (*2 Kgs.* 20:7)—and is repeated in the appendix of the *Book of Isaiah* (*Is.* 38:1–8). That *Isaiah* inserts this deed of healing at the end of Hezekiah's poem as an excursus may reflect a tendency to minimize Isaiah's role as a healer and portray him instead in the role of God's messenger, who does not perform miracles in the tradition of the earlier prophets (such as that of Elisha, described in *2 Kgs.* 2–5). Note, however, that even in chapters 1–35, which deal directly with Isaiah's prophecy, the prophet does not appear only as God's messenger but performs symbolic acts in the tradition of the earlier prophets, such as Elijah. For example, he walks barefoot and naked in Jerusalem for three years as a symbol of the fate that would overtake Egypt and its ally Ethiopia at the hands of Assyria (*Is.* 20:1–6). One must keep in mind, however, that this is but a single episode.

Speeches and additional material. The major critical issue surrounding the book of Isaiah is the determination of his original speeches. It has been noted that even chapters 1–39 do not constitute a single composition. The poetic, oratorical language is replaced in chapters 36–39 with a historical narrative (as well as Hezekiah's prayer in 38:10–20). The *Book of Isaiah* seems to have a long literary history. Rabbinic sources hint at an editorial process in which it was not Isaiah himself who wrote the book but later scribes (Hezekiah and his school). Modern criticism attempts to establish clear criteria for the distinction between the authentic and the added material. Some scholars distinguish between oracles of judgment and prophecies of salvation, with the latter, reflecting the days to come, considered a later theological addition. Style is another criterion for analyzing the editorial process. Isaiah is regarded as a poet. Thus some hold that only the material in verse is authentic. Accordingly, passages such as 1:18–20, which breaks the poetic structure, and 4:2–6, a prosaic text differing from the poetic material surrounding it, are considered late. Similarly, this view does not regard texts such as 2:2–4/5 and 11:1ff., which are prophecies of salvation, as Isaiah's compositions. It has also been suggested that verses referring to the fall of Assyria (e.g., 8:9–10, 10:16–19, 10:20–23, 10:24–27, 10:33–34) are the product of an "Assyrian redaction" added in the period of Josiah's territorial expansions and Assyrian decline, toward the end of the seventh century BCE. The goal of the redactor, in this view, was to update Isaiah's original prophecy and show how it was fulfilled through God's determination of political events. Thus there is a complete theological paradigm: First God appears as the accuser and punisher of Israel, and later he reveals himself as Israel's savior. Scholars of the redactional school such as Barth, Clements, and Kaiser assume that Isaiah was not a prophet with a complete political vision, but merely a deliverer of judgmental oracles.

It is the opinion of this author, on the other hand, that Isaiah had a politico-religious worldview that was not limited to contemporary conditions. As a man of vision, he had a total religious concept which looked beyond the day of judgment which was imminent. Isaiah was not just a social critic and man of protest; his proclamation of judgment led to his prophetic outlook for the future as well. There is neither stylistic nor philological evidence that the oracles designed for the days to come (included in chapters 1–35) are products of later hands, unless one imposes on the text specific external critical theories (for certain exceptions, see below). Rather than regarding style (verse versus prose) as the criterion for distinguishing between the original and added text, one should consider that stylistic variations and mixing of styles may be the function of the subject matter and may have been intentional in a particular prophetic message. Subject and function determine Isaiah's style; the question of how it has been said is related to the issue of what has been said. Isaiah employs a significant variety of stylistic forms: *mashal* ("parable"; 5:1ff.), comparison (1:2–3), vivid description (1:4–9), polemic discourse (1:10–17), lament (1:21), satire (3:4ff.), vision (6:1ff.), prediction (7:7–9), and narrative (7:11ff., 8:1ff.), among many others.

The rich language and varied stylistic modes reveal that the prophet was not a narrator who merely reported events. Isaiah sought to appeal to his audience by the force of his language, a goal that, in light of the prophetic office, requires the use of religious language. This language uses metaphor and an imaginative style to create an array of sensory impressions. For example, the description of the foreign influence in Judah is hyperbolic: "Their land is filled with silver and gold, and there is no end to their treasures; their land is filled with horses, and there is no end to their chariots" (2:7). The prophet's stylistic technique creates a vivid and dynamic word picture. The poem of the vineyard in 5:1ff. aims to illustrate a specific aspect of the people's misconduct. The use of a parable, that is, the rhetorical description of the situation in a different context, enables Isaiah to focus his audience's attention and get their sympathy. If he had presented his criticism directly, it might have been rejected by the hostile audience. Another illustration of this technique is the vision of the future in 4:2–6, written in a prose style and following the description, in vivid imagery, of the corrupted daughters of Zion (3:16ff.). The present reality is described in verse in order to stir the emotions and move the audience. However, in this context if a description of the future were delivered in verse, it might have been received as an imaginative discourse having nothing to do with the present reality. Isaiah therefore employs a prosaic style, the language of historical fact, and the address, though it refers to the days to come, seems to have an air of reality.

Chronological order of the speeches. The speeches of chapters 2–5 (as well as those of 1:21–31) differ thematically from the material of 7:1ff., and it has been suggested that each topic mirrors a different political era. The sharp social criticism is replaced by political addresses. The first cycle of speeches (chaps. 2–5) is assigned to the days of Uzziah (c. 787–c. 736), a time of political stability, security, and economic prosperity (see *2 Kgs.* 15:1–7, *2 Chr.* 26:1–23). The social and political elite of Jerusalem regained their strength, creating severe social tension in Judah that affected the poor. Isaiah criticizes the rulers for oppressing their citizens. The speech of 7:1ff. refers to the days of Ahaz (who became king probably in 741 and was coregent until 725), during the Syro-Ephraimite war. Here Isaiah is responding to political developments rather than to the domestic situation. This historical reconstruction of Isaiah's activity assumes, however, that 1:4–9, which describes a major war that has endangered Jerusalem, is either not in order or that the whole of the chapter is an introduction to Isaiah's prophecy and does not belong to his early activity in the days of Uzziah. However, if one does not ignore 1:4–9 and read chapters 1–5 chronologically in their existing order, they reflect a period of war that had gravely threatened Jerusalem. Isaiah is concerned here with the cause of the military disaster. He indicates that corrupt domestic conditions are the reason for the political and military defeat and the people's suffering, which are God's punishment. In chapters 7–8 however, he focuses on King Ahaz's foreign policy. Isaiah's major thrust is directed not toward Uzziah's time but Ahaz's.

Isaiah's prophecy is thus a series of responses to specific political and domestic situations that, in his view, are mutually related. He reveals his deep involvement with and specific viewpoint regarding these political events and offers his unique prophetic interpretation of the political situation through a series of speeches that attempt to persuade. Isaiah does not speak as a political analyst or as a political philosopher; he uses rhetoric or any other means of appeal to reach his audience (see, e.g., 7:10ff.). Accordingly, the various speeches must be analyzed as a whole, and each speech or vision studied in light of Isaiah's thematic prophetic ideology and not as a separate entity. Prophecies of salvation follow from oracles of judgment, and both are integrated into Isaiah's prophetic worldview.

Political context and arrangement of the speeches. The book deals with two major political events that shocked Judah: the Syro-Ephraimite war and the Assyrian threats (734–701). Isaiah's prophecy is presented in light of his overall prophetic conception, which does not see the actual events as mere politico-military developments, although they shaped the prophet's political views. In the Syro-Ephraimite war the kings of Aram (Syria) and Ephraim (Israel) sought to fight against Assyria and needed Judah's active support. Ahaz, the Judahite king, refused, and as a result the northern coalition launched a military attack meant to replace Ahaz with their favorite, who was not a descendant of the house of David (see *Is.* 7:1–6). God's sacred promise to David and his house of an eternal throne in Jerusalem (see *2 Sm.* 7:1–17) was thus endangered. The sacred status of the house of David is the starting point of Isaiah's prophetic responses. It forces him to deal with the cause of the problem, which was, in his view, the social and ethical misconduct of the rulers (see 1:4–5, 1:10–17, 1:21–23, 3:14–15, 3:16ff., 5:1ff.). The war is God's punishment (see 1:4–9). At the last moment (1:9) the city will be purified, and justice will be restored (1:25–27, 2:2–4/5, 4:2–6; hence the above-mentioned connotation of the name of Isaiah's son Shear-jashub, "a remnant shall return." This teleology, the faith that God will interfere on behalf of the people and for the sake of Jerusalem, leads Isaiah to oppose Ahaz's political attempts at saving himself by means of the foreign powers of Assyria or Egypt (7:18–25), and to assure the king that the enemies of the north will collapse (7:5–9). Furthermore, a series of speeches delivered by Isaiah emphasize the continuity of the Davidic dynasty (9:1–6, 11:1ff.). Chapters 10–11 should be read with the implications of the Assyrian threat in mind. Aram and Ephraim, Judah's enemies, had collapsed, and Judah itself was powerless against Assyria. The new political development invited the prophet's interpretation, and Isaiah delivers a series of speeches that interpret the meaning of the situation. Again, he points to moral and ethical misconduct as the cause of the military threat (10:1–4). God's response is direct: Assyria is his means of punishment (10:5–6), but that empire overestimates its power and will be punished (10:7ff.).

It has been suggested that the collection of oracles against the nations in chapters 13–23 may include material that is not Isaian (particularly chapters 13–14 and perhaps also chap. 23). The collection, which includes a prophecy against Judah concluding with a personal attack on two officers (22:1ff.), is an integral part of Isaiah's prophetic ideology. The structure of this collection resembles the work of Amos, who starts with a series of oracles against the nations and climaxes with a prophecy against Israel (1:2–2:16), his major point. The common theme in Isaiah's prophecies against the nations is that they will suffer military defeat. Isaiah repeatedly reveals his basic religious and political belief that the international political situation does not exist in a vacuum but is determined by God, who does not exclude Judah. Consequently, Judah's efforts to protect itself through military and political means will fail (22:1ff.).

The visions of chapters 24–35 abstractly summarize once again Isaiah's prophetic ideology: God's absolute universal domination and his punishment for misbehavior in the form of military defeat (24:1–5, 24:21–23, 28:14–22, 29:13–14, 30:1–3, 34:1ff.). Isaiah, a master of language, moves from visionary to more concrete speech and characteristically, concludes with an optimistic vision of the future (35:1ff.). It is unnecessary, therefore, to regard chapters 34–35, with their enthusiastic tone, as part of Second Isaiah's prophecy, as a number of scholars suggest.

Such a thematic reading of Isaiah's speeches raises the question of the place and function of chapter 6, which is regarded by many as Isaiah's call, his "inaugural vision." Was it originally placed at the beginning of the book? If so, why would the message of the vision be to harden the hearts of the people (6:9, 6:10)? Perhaps this is, in fact, a response to the people's stubbornness and their denial of Isaiah's earlier comments on their political and military troubles. In this light the vision of chapter 6 would seem to be in its correct chronological setting, reflecting Isaiah's despair over the people's unresponsiveness.

Alternatively, those who read *Isaiah* as a series of discrete speeches of judgment have suggested that the book's editors intended its literary structure to reflect a specific theological view that incorporated the late prophecies of salvation. For example, the literary passage 5:25–30 may be read together with a group of invective threats in 9:8–21, and the *hoy* ("woe") oracle of 10:1–4 may be associated with a series of *hoy* oracles in 5:8–24. It has been suggested as well that these two series of threats and *hoy* oracles were broken apart and rearranged in a chiastic order. The intent was to frame Isaiah's actual encounter with Ahaz in a way that would recall the fall of Israel and would also warn seventh-century Judah (the time of Josiah) by recalling the realization of Isaiah's words. Thus, in this view, the prophecies were rearranged, and the book was edited in light of the political climate of Josiah's times.

"SECOND ISAIAH." The Babylonians exiled the social and political elite of Judah (see *2 Kgs.* 24:12–26, *Jer.* 52:16–30) to Babylonia. Evidence suggests that many of the Jews in exile preserved their national and religious identity. The Sabbath emerged as the expression of the covenant between God and the Jewish people, a view that has distinguished the Jews since the exilic period (see *Is.* 56, 58:13–14). The exilic period is also noted for its nationalistic-religious literary activity.

The masterpiece of biblical historiography, the Deuteronomist work, was developed and shaped in this period. Nevertheless, there was a feeling of despair in the exiled Jewish community. The prophet Ezekiel asked hopelessly, "How are we to go on living?" (*Ez.* 33:10; see also 37:11). *Lamentations* repeatedly conveys a feeling of pessimism: "There is no one to comfort me" (*Lam.* 1:2, 1:16, 1:17, 1:21). Psalm 137 also reflects a hopeless situation, and Second Isaiah himself struggles with an attitude of religious and national despair: "A voice says: 'cry'! And I said: 'What shall I cry?' All flesh is grass and all its beauty is like the flower of the field" (*Is.* 40:6; RSV). The people felt the fall of Jerusalem, the destruction of the Temple in 587/6 BCE, and then the exile to be a hopeless situation that resulted from God's disappearance from the political stage. The exiles were indifferent to the momentous developments that were occurring on the international scene. The sensational victories of Cyrus I, king of Persia, did not affect the pessimistic religious attitude of the Jewish community in Babylonia. In 539 BCE, however, Babylonia surrendered to Cyrus II, and in 538 Cyrus announced his famous declaration allowing the Jewish community in exile to return to Jerusalem and restore the Temple (*Ezr.* 1:3–5 [*2 Chr.* 36:23], 6:3–5).

An important issue in the interpretation of Second Isaiah's prophecy is thus whether he addressed the exiles before or after the fall of Babylonia. Cyrus's edict is not quoted in Second Isaiah's speeches, and in light of his struggle with his audience's skepticism about God's control of contemporary political events, the speeches would sound inappropriate if Cyrus had already publicly granted permission to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem. One should also take into account that Second Isaiah's description of the fall of Babylonia is not realistic. In contrast to inscriptions that report that the city fell peacefully, Second Isaiah describes Marduk, Babylon's god, being carried into captivity (46:1–2), which suggests that the prophet prophesied prior to 539 BCE.

The unknown prophet, the so-called Second Isaiah, was aroused by these significant political developments and considered that his prophetic goal was to persuade the exilic community that the immediate future held great promise and new hope. He considered the great king, Cyrus II, to be an agent of God, "who says of Cyrus: 'He is my shepherd. And he shall fulfill all my purpose,' saying of Jerusalem; 'she shall be built,' and of the Temple, 'your foundation shall be laid'" (44:28; see also 45:12–13). He rejected the spiritual crisis of the exiles and proclaimed two major themes: that God is not hidden from the Jewish people and that God is directing the new political events on their behalf. But first, Second Isaiah had to struggle with and reject the basis of the religious crisis. The cry "there is no one to comfort me" (*Lam.* 1:21) was replaced with "Comfort, comfort my people, says your God" (*Is.* 40:1). Furthermore, there was no reason for the people's feeling of guilt that they suffered because of their forefathers' sins; a new spiritual and religious era has begun: Jerusalem's warfare has ended and she has been pardoned (40:12). This explains the absence of threat, so characteristic of the biblical prophets, in Second Isaiah's speeches and sheds light on his style. His aim was to persuade, to appeal to his audience through words of comfort and encouragement, not by means of threat and judgment.

The major issue in research on Second Isaiah is the demarcation of the prophetic speech. There are almost no formal indications of the beginning or end of the address. In general, two opposite approaches have been taken. The first considers the book to be a product of planned literary activity and regards Second Isaiah's work as composed of large units. The second approach argues that Second Isaiah delivered his speeches orally, and that the book is a collection of a number of short, distinct oracles. This approach raises the issue of the arrangement of the material and the editorial principles behind it. It has been suggested that the short, independent oracles were arranged mechanically according to a principle of keywords or similarity of theme, with each speech placed on the basis of its association with the preceding unit. One should note, however, that the question of defining the individual speech depends on the function of Second Isaiah's prophecy, which was to change his audience's religious attitude. He thus appealed to his audience by employing numerous means of persuasion; he thus relies on argument and style. Second Isaiah paid close attention to the organization of his addresses; each emerged from and is a response to a particular situation. An analysis of the text in light of the prophet's rhetorical goal and his efforts to affect his listeners reveals that his speeches are not short thematic oracles but are relatively long, thus enabling him to develop his argument at some length.

Second Isaiah was a master of language and employed his skill to stress his point and attract the attention of his audience. He often repeats himself to emphasize a certain point. On the other hand, he often varies his style by using a colorful and rich vocabulary to create an aesthetic effect. He is very flexible in his use of language and often employs unusual words or phrases with the intention of providing variety and avoiding clichés.

The beginning of Second Isaiah's prophecy, 40:1–2ff., is a good illustration of his style. His first announcement, "Comfort, comfort my people" is brief and clear. The entire section, verses 1–2, is explicit in structure, with no coloration or figures of speech, and is designed to express clearly and straightforwardly his primary announcement. But the audience may miss a message delivered in such an unadorned style. Therefore, Second Isaiah uses the stylistic device of repetition and repeats the key word of his message, *comfort.* The reiteration of the word is intended to make a deep impression on the audience. The verb *comfort* in the form used here was coined by Second Isaiah based upon the lament "no one comforts her" (*Lam.* 1:2). Yet Second Isaiah uses it in a positive sense, to stress the motif of rejoicing, while in *Lamentations* the expression connotes religious despair. Thus at the beginning of his address, Second Isaiah employs a familiar expression in a way that changes its meaning. By using a familiar expression in an unexpected manner, he attracts attention and also cancels its earlier, negative meaning. In addition, verse 1 reverses the normal order and places the opening formula, "says your God," at the end. Because Second Isaiah wants to convey his message's immediacy, he has adjusted the formula accordingly. In addition, as is well known, rhyme is not highly developed in biblical prosody. In order to unify the various elements in a verse, the biblical poets developed the literary device of the sound effect. Sound plays an important role in this verse. *Alliteration* holds the verse together and focuses attention on the consonant *ḥeit*(*ḥ*) in the opening words *"nahamu, nahamu."* The sound is then repeated at the end of verse 2 (*ḥaṭṭoʾteikhah*) thus binding the entire statement into a whole.

The songs of the "servant of the Lord [ʿeved YHVH]" have received special attention from scholars. There are four poems that speak about the servant (42:1–4, 42:5–7, 49:1–6, 50:4–9) and an additional two poems that may be related to them (50:10–11, and 52:13–53:12). These poems share a common theme: Their subject, the servant, suffers when he is ignored by the people who surround him. In the future, however, the servant will be recognized as God's servant, who has a mission to restore justice, which will be fulfilled. The poems occupy a distinct place in the history of sacred interpretations and have theological significance in the histories of Jewish and Christian religious interpretation. The major critical issue for Second Isaiah is whether to isolate the poems from their context or to consider them as an integral part of his prophecy. There is the further question of the identity of the servant, with scholars divided between an individual and a collective identity. Thus there have been various attempts to identify the servant as a specific public or historical figure, such as Jeremiah, Josiah, Zerrubbabel, or even the prophet himself. Second Isaiah makes other allusions to the servant of God, however (41:8ff., 41:13, 42:19, 44:1–2); and in light of the frequent references to Israel as God's servant (see, e.g., 49:3), it has been suggested that the servant be seen as the people of Israel, sympathetically portrayed by Second Isaiah to arouse hope and a feeling of mission and fulfillment as well as to convey the message that the current suffering has not gone unnoticed. Another view holds that the servant is neither a particular figure nor a group, but the combination of a mythological cultic and royal figure.

"THIRD ISAIAH." Concerning chapters 56–66, it has already been mentioned that these may constitute a separate collection by another anonymous prophet, called Third Isaiah, or Trito-Isaiah, who was active after Second Isaiah, during the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, in the fifth century BCE. Third Isaiah is no longer located in Babylonia but is based in Judah. His prophecies presuppose the existence of the Temple in Jerusalem (which was dedicated in 515). There is no clear thematic line in this work as is found in the speeches of Second Isaiah. The collection of Third Isaiah emphasizes ritual requirements. It starts with words of encouragement to those who observe the Sabbath, including the eunuchs, and stresses the importance of Sabbath worship (56:1–8). It continues with a critique of the leaders (56:9–12), a short lament on the death of the righteous (57:1–2), a stormy attack on foreign cults (57:3–13), a prophecy of comfort (57:14–19), and a criticism of those who fast ritually without thought (58:1–7). Chapters 60–61 contain another prophecy of salvation in the style of Second Isaiah. In 63:7–64:11 there is a communal lament, and 66:1–4 rejects both the building of the Temple and the sacrificial cult. This attitude reflects a view opposite that held by the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, who encouraged and supported the rebuilding of the Temple. It has been suggested that Third Isaiah was a disciple of Second Isaiah and his redactor as well. Another view holds that Second Isaiah returned to Jerusalem following Cyrus's edict and continued his prophetic activity there. His prophecies in Judah would then constitute chapters 49–66, in which Zion is the background for the speeches (see 49:14ff., 51:17–23, 54:1ff., 60:1ff., 62:1–9).

TEXTS OF ISAIAH FOUND AT QUMRAN. The scrolls found in 1947 on the northwestern shore of the Dead Sea reveal two almost complete manuscripts of the entire *Book of Isaiah,* dated to the second or first century BCE. As a rule, the scrolls of *Isaiah* reflect the Masoretic text. Of the two scrolls, one (found in Cave I) shows certain corrections and interlineations from a more popular edition, but these are mainly matters of spelling and stylistic characteristics rather than important editing. This scroll shows indications that it may actually have been composed of two manuscripts: There is evidence that the existing chapter 34 was started on a new sheet of leather, which may mean that it was a new manuscript. This may have influenced the modern critical division of the book into Isaiah of Jerusalem and Second Isaiah (and the remainder of the book).

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Revised Bibliography

ISHIDA BAIGAN (1685–1744) was a Japanese philosopher of the Tokugawa period (1603–1868) who developed the concept of a moral or ethical philosophy known as Shingaku. Ishida was born on September 15, 1685, in the village of Tōge in Tamba province (modern Kameoka City, Kyoto prefecture), the second son of a farmer. At the age of ten (eleven by Japanese count) he was sent to Kyoto as a merchant's apprentice. There he spent his leisure time studying Shintō doctrine and attending lectures by local Confucian scholars, Buddhist monks, and experts on the Japanese classics.

When Ishida reached the age of about thirty-five he began to feel an inner restlessness; he felt that he did not know the nature of human beings. In his search for a guide or a direction, he met a Buddhist monk, Ryōun, who led him to an awakening of the spirit such as that described by the Chinese founder of Daoism, Laozi. It was then that Ishida realized that humanity's true nature was egoless. In his writings, he pointed out that once one understood this aspect of human nature, one's life would automatically coincide with what he called the "universal principle" and one's *kokoro* ("soul" or "spirit") would be content and at peace. Ishida believed it would be possible to reach an egoless, natural state and to acquire instinctive knowledge by meditative restraint of the senses. In accordance with his convictions, he lived as a celibate ascetic, although he acknowledged that social responsibilities were also inherent in his view of human nature.

In 1727 Ishida left the service of the Kyoto merchant; two years later, he began to conduct lectures at his home in Kyoto. At these lectures, which were free and open to all, Ishida encouraged his listeners to seek individual awakening through meditation. To make learning accessible to all, Ishida distributed simplified manuscripts of his interpretations of Chinese and Japanese classical literature. He repudiated the critiques of scholars, whom he believed were interested only in the meanings of words. Ishida strove instead to capture the essence of the classics as he understood them, although his views did not always agree with the original intent of the authors.

In his search for a fundamental principle, Ishida believed that the first and last step in the learning process was to understand the human heart and thereby gain insight into human nature. He adopted the term *jinsei,* which refers to the total capacity of the mind, from the Chinese Confucian thinker Mengzi. According to Ishida, one must utilize all one's spiritual and mental capacity to overcome desires. Only when one's *kokoro* is empty and free of human desires is it possible to unite with the universal spirit. Overcoming the ego and its desires will enable one to carry out one's duty in life. One can then develop a spirit of self-sacrifice toward one's ruler, be properly filial toward one's parents, and discover one's proper vocation in life.

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ISHMAEL, or, in Hebrew, Yishmaʿeʾl; eldest son of Abraham. Ishmael's mother was Hagar, an Egyptian slave girl whom Sarah gave to Abraham because of her own infertility; in accordance with Mesopotamian law, the offspring of such a union would be credited to Sarah (*Gn.* 16:2). The name *Yishmaʿeʾl* is known from various ancient Semitic cultures and means "God has hearkened," suggesting that a child so named was regarded as the fulfillment of a divine promise.

Ishmael was circumcised at the age of thirteen by Abraham and expelled with his mother at the instigation of Sarah, who wanted to ensure that Isaac would be Abraham's heir (*Gn.* 21). In the New Testament, Paul uses this incident to symbolize the relationship between Judaism, the older but now rejected tradition, and Christianity (*Gal.* 4:21–31).

In the *Genesis* account, God blessed Ishmael, promising that he would be the founder of a great nation and a "wild ass of a man" always at odds with others (*Gn.* 16:12). He is credited with twelve sons, described as "princes according to their tribes" (*Gn.* 25:16), representing perhaps an ancient confederacy. The Ishmaelites, vagrant traders closely related to the Midianites, were apparently regarded as his descendants. The fact that Ishmael's wife and mother are both said to have been Egyptian suggests close ties between the Ishmaelites and Egypt. According to *Genesis* 25:17, Ishmael lived to the age of 137.

Islamic tradition tends to ascribe a larger role to Ishmael than does the Bible. He is considered a prophet and, according to certain theologians, the offspring whom Abraham was commanded to sacrifice (although *sūrah* 37:99–111 of the Qurʾān never names that son). Like his father Abraham, Ishmael too played an important role in making Mecca a religious center (2:127–129). Judaism has generally regarded him as wicked, although repentance is also ascribed to him. According to some rabbinic traditions, his two wives were Aisha and Fatima, whose names are the same as those of Muḥammad's wife and daughter. Both Judaism and Islam see him as the ancestor of Arab peoples.

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ISHMAEL BEN ELISHA See YISHMAʿE'L BEN ELISHAʿ

ISHRĀQĪYAH,

ISHRĀQĪYAH, from *ishrāq* ("illumination"), is the name of a school of esoteric philosophy in Islam. The two major currents of thought in the development of Islamic philosophy, one exoteric and the other esoteric, are known respectively as *falsafah* ("scholastic philosophy," derived from Aristotle and Plato) and *ʿirfān* (a special type of philosophy derived from a metaphysical experience of Being through spiritual realization). Introduced into the West from the twelfth century onward through numerous translations from Arabic to Latin, it was *falsafah* that almost exclusively came to constitute "Islamic philosophy" in the West, while the other important tradition, that of *ʿirfān*, was left in complete obscurity. But *ʿirfān* has always been a creative force in Islamic spirituality, and as such it has produced a type of philosophy that is quite different from, and in many respects sharply opposed to, *falsafah.*

IMAGINAL THINKING. The word *philosophy* tends to suggest the inner act of thinking as a logical outcome of reason. One has to be reminded, however, that philosophic thought is not necessarily activated only on the level of pure reason. Because human consciousness is extremely complicated and multilayered, various forms of thinking can be realized at different levels of the mind. "Imaginal" thinking is one of them.

"Imaginal" thinking, also known as "mythopoeic thinking" or "mythopoesis," is a peculiar pattern of thinking that evolves through interconnections and interactions among a number of archetypal images in a particular depth-dimension of consciousness. In the technical terminology of Islamic *ʿirfān*, this depth-dimension is called the *ʿālam al-mithāl*, meaning literally the "world of symbolic images." The type of philosophy produced by this kind of thinking naturally manifests remarkable differences from philosophy as a product of pure reason.

Imaginal thinking is not confined to Islamic *ʿirfān.* Quite the contrary; many different systems of philosophy that have come into being in various Asian regions reflect self-expressions of "imaginal" consciousness. The "illuminationism" (*ishrāqīyah*) of Suhrawardī represents one case, the "unity of being" (*waḥdat al-wujūd*) of Ibn ʿArabī another. Complicating the matter with regard to the Islamic variety of "imaginal" or esoteric philosophy, however, is the fact that the majority of the first-rate thinkers in this domain were also great masters of Scholastic, exoteric philosophy, so that both the "imaginal" and the rational modes of thinking appear in subtle entanglements on the textual surface of their works. This is notably the case with men like Suhrawardī and Ibn al-ʿArabī.

Suhrawardī, in particular, is known to have written three voluminous books on scholasticism, *Kitāb al-talwīḥāt*, *Kitāb al-muqāwamāt*, and *Kitāb al-muṭāraḥāt*, the famous trilogy attesting to his rarely surpassed accomplishment as an exoteric philosopher, prior to embarking upon the production of his major work on Illuminationism, *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* (Theosophy of Illumination). As indicated by the title, this is essentially a product of imaginal thinking, representing a peculiar kind of esoteric philosophy based on a metaphysical experience of light. Yet it begins with a sober exposition of the principles of Aristotelian logic before gradually becoming an "imaginal" presentation of the hierarchic structure of the angels of light. It is important to note that this seemingly odd combination of the exoteric and esoteric modes of thinking, together with the very conception of *ishrāq*, can be traced back to Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna).

IBN SĪNĀ AND "ORIENTAL PHILOSOPHY." In a number of respects, and particularly with regard to the idea of *ishrāq*, Ibn Sīnā may be considered an important precursor of

Suhrawardī. Quite characteristically, however, in Ibn Sīnā's work the rational and "imaginal" modes of thinking are still consciously and methodically separated from one another, so that *falsafah* and *ʿirfān* are conceived as two independent and essentially different types of philosophy (although in the process of the structuralization of Ibn Sīnā's symbolic narratives, we sometimes notice technical concepts of Aristotelianism creeping into the "imaginal" space of *ʿirfān*).

It is important to note that of the two types of philosophy Ibn Sīnā himself laid greater weight on the imaginal (i.e., esoteric) than on the rational (i.e., exoteric). At the outset of his *magnum opus*, the famous *Kitāb al-shifaʾ* (Book of Remedy, known in the West in Latin translation as *Sufficientia*), which is a huge systematic exposition of Peripatetic philosophy, Ibn Sīnā declares that what he is going to write does not represent his personal thought but is intended to acquaint the students of philosophy with the thought-world of the ancient Greeks, Aristotle in particular.

As for his own "true thought," he seems to have long cherished the idea of giving a direct expression to it in a completely different book, *Al-ḥikmat al-mashriqīyah* (Oriental Philosophy), of which the now extant *Manṭiq al-mashriqīyīn* (The Logic of the Orientals) is only the introductory part. Whether completed or not, the book itself has not come down to us. Besides this work we have a few short treatises of esotericism and some symbolic tales from his own pen.

Ibn Sīnā's use of words meaning "Orient" and "Oriental" is significant here, for the word *mashriq* ("Orient"), from the root *shrq*, literally means the "place (*ma-*) where what is designated by the root *shrq* becomes activated," that is, the original point of "illumination" (*ishrāq*). The "Orient," in other words, is not a geographical notion, but a term designating the East in a mythopoeic or spiritual geography.

The "Orient" in this particular context is the sacred locus from which the divine light makes its appearance, illuminating the whole world of being, "the place where the sun rises," the ultimate origin of all existence. In the Persian commentary on Ibn Sīnā's mythic-symbolic tale, *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓan* (a proper name, literally "Living, son of Wakeful"), one of his disciples (Abū ʿUbayd al-Juzjānī?) explicates the symbolism of "Orient" and "Occident" in the following manner. Utilizing in his own way the Aristotelian theory of the distinction between "form" and "matter," he begins by stating that matter in and by itself has no existence, whereas form is the source of existence. Matter, in other words, is pure nonexistence. But his Iranian frame of reference naturally and immediately translates this proposition into another, namely, that matter in itself is sheer darkness. And he assigns matter (as darkness) to the Western region of the cosmos in the "imaginal" map of his symbolic geography.

The implication of this position is clear. Ibn Sīnā defines the Orient as the original abode of form (light), and thus symbolically as the world of "forms," or existential light, while the Occident is the world of "matter," that is, of darkness and nonexistence.

Matter turns into existence only by the influx of the all-existentiating luminous energy of form, coming from the divine Orient through the intermediary of ten angels—the number limited to ten in conformity with the ten celestial spheres of Hellenistic astronomy. Directly reflecting the divine light, the angels embody the highest degree of existential luminosity, while all other beings and things that become luminous (i.e., existent) through the illuminating activity of the angels are less bright (i.e., less densely existent). The existential luminosity naturally grows less and less intense as the rays of the divine light go down the scale of being (i.e., become further and further removed from its original source), until they merge almost totally into the darkness of matter when they reach the lowest stage of being.

As long as they do exist factually, the "things" in the empirical world are not sheer darkness. They are shadowy existents, faint reflections of the divine light. But since it is matter that is overwhelmingly dominant in this domain, the empirical world is "imaginally" represented as a world of darkness. In some privileged cases (notably the prophets), however, the human consciousness may suddenly flare up in glorious light under the influence of the Active Intellect (Gabriel, the angel of revelation), illuminating the world of darkness in which the souls of ordinary human beings are imprisoned—a typical theme of Gnosticism.

Such, in brief outline, is the general plan of the "Oriental philosophy" of Ibn Sīnā. Underlying it is clearly a vision of the cosmos as the interplay of light and shadow, a vast "imaginal" field in which the divine light appears in infinitely various and variegated forms, determining itself in accordance with various degrees of interfusion with material darkness through the light-transmitting activity of the angels. It is a Gnostic vision of the world permeated with the "imaginal" presence of the angels of light.

SUHRAWARDĪ, FOUNDER OF THE ISHRĀQĪ SCHOOL. The esoteric worldview manifested in Ibn Sīnā's philosophy, with its strong Gnostic influences, was inherited in turn by Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā ibn Ḥabash ibn Amīrak al-Suhrawardī (1153–1191), the real founder of the Illuminationist school in Iran. Significantly enough, Suhrawardī, who has come to be known by the honorary title Shaykh al-Ishrāq, "master of illumination," traces the "tradition" of his Illuminationist philosophy back to Hermes Agathodaemon (who appears in Islam under the figure of the prophet Idrīs). It must be remembered that long before the rise of Islam, the Mediterranean school of Hermetism had established itself in Alexandria, and from this center it had infiltrated into the wide domain of the Middle East. There, in the city of Harran, the "followers of the prophet Idris," the Sabaeans who venerated the *Corpus Hermeticum* as their scripture, cultivated the esoteric learning of Hermetism and propagated it in various directions. Through one of these it must have reached Suhrawardī.

In the "imaginal" dimension of Suhrawardī's consciousness, however, the history of Illuminationism (which he straightforwardly identifies with the history of philosophy in general) takes on a remarkably original and peculiar form. Ishrāqī wisdom as the only authentic actualization of the "perennial philosophy" (*ḥikmah ʿatīqah*) of mankind has its ultimate origin in the divine revelations received by the prophet Idris, that is, Hermes, who thereby became the forefather of philosophy. This Hermetic wisdom was transmitted to posterity through two separate channels: Egyptian-Greek and ancient Iranian. The first branch of Hermetic wisdom, after flourishing in ancient Egypt, went to Greece, where it produced such Gnostic sages as Pythagoras, Empedocles, Plato, and Plotinus. The tradition was maintained in Islam by some of the eminent early Ṣūfīs, including Dhū al-Nūn (d. 859) and Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 896).

The second branch of Hermetism, represented in ancient Iran by the mythical priest-kings Kayūmarth, Farīdūn, and Kay Khusraw, developed into the Sufism of Bāyazīd al-Basṭāmī, generally known in the West as al-Bisṭāmi (d. 874), and Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (d. 922).

Suhrawardī considered himself the historical point of convergence between the two traditions, unifying and integrating into an existential, organic whole all the important elements of the Hermetic wisdom elaborated in the long course of its historical development. And to the integral whole of Gnostic ideas thus formed Suhrawardī gave a peculiar philosophical reformulation, structured in terms of the Zoroastrian symbolism of light and darkness—the term *Zoroastrianism* here understood in the sense of the spiritual, "esoteric" teaching of Zoroaster as distinguished from the "exoteric."

East-West symbolism. In approaching Suhrawardī's Illuminationist philosophy, the first thing we must pay attention to is the symbolism of East and West. *Qiṣṣat al-ghurbah al-gharbīyah* (The Narrative of the Occidental Exile), which he composed in Arabic—most of his symbolic tales or narratives are in Persian—makes it clear that he attaches the same "imaginal" meanings to "Orient" and "Occident" as did Ibn Sīnā. Thus, the Orient for him too means the Orient of lights, the sacred place in which divine light originates, the source of spiritual as well as cosmic illumination, whereas the Occident is the abyss of material darkness, in which the human soul is imprisoned and from which it must set itself free so that it may go back to its real home, the Orient.

Hierarchy of lights. Rejecting (or radically modifying) the Aristotelian doctrine of hylomorphism, which explains every existent in terms of a conjunction of matter and specific form, Suhrawardī employs a completely different ontology, of Gnostic origin, explaining all things as degrees of light (or as various mixtures of light and darkness); the Aristotelian "form" thereby appears metamorphosed into an angel as a luminous being. Suhrawardian philosophy thus turns out to be an ontology of light, with varying degrees of intensity, in a hierarchical order.

Light, says Suhrawardī, is that which illuminates itself, and by so doing illuminates all other things. Light, otherwise expressed, is that which exists by and in itself (i.e., light *is* existence) and by its own existence brings into existence all things. Light thus defies definition, while all other things can and must be defined in reference to it. Light, in short, is nothing other than the ontological "presence" (*ḥuḍūr*) of the things; it is the ultimate source of all existence. It follows, therefore, that the whole world of being must be realized as a grandiose hierarchy of lights, beginning with the absolute light in the highest degree of luminosity and ending with the weakest lights just about to sink into the reign of utter darkness (*ghasaq*), that is, absolute nonexistence.

What stands at the top of this cosmic hierarchy of light is the "light of lights" (*nūr al-anwār*), which, in the terminology of Islamic theology, is God. Beneath it, spreading down to the domain of the densely dark bodies in the physical world, are various degrees of light (existence), which, in Suhrawardī's system, characteristically appear in the guise of angels who govern the world of being.

Unlike Ibn Sīnā's angelology, which is Neoplatonic, Suhrawardī's is fundamentally Zoroastrian. Rather than being limited to ten (corresponding to the ten heavens of Ptolemy), the number of angels is innumerable. Their function, moreover, is not limited to the Neoplatonic angels' triple intellection of their origin, of themselves, and of those that come out of them. As a result, the hierarchy of Suhrawardī's angelology is far more complicated than that of Ibn Sīnā. There are, to begin with, two different basic orders of angels, "longitudinal" *(ṭūlī)* and "latitudinal" *(ʿarḍīi)*, with regard to their successive generations, their spatial disposition, and their functions.

Longitudinal and latitudinal order. The longitudinal order of angels lays the primary foundation of the world of being in its entirety as a "temple of light," or rather, a dazzling complex of "temples of light" (*hayākil al-nūr*; sg., *haykal al-nūr*), radiant with angels reflecting the "light of lights" and mutually reflecting each other. Their procession is described by Suhrawardī in the following manner.

From the "light of lights," representing the highest and ultimate point of cosmic-metaphysical luminosity, proceeds the archangel Bahmān, who is the "nearest light" (*nūr aqrab*). Directly contemplating his own origin, the "light of lights," the archangel Bahmān reflects it without any intermediary. And this immediately brings into being another light-entity, or archangel, which is doubly illuminated, receiving as it does illumination directly from the "light of lights" and from the first light from which it has arisen. The double illumination of the second light immediately generates the third light, which is now illuminated four times, once by the "light of lights," once by the first light, and twice by the second light (the second light being, as we have just seen, itself doubly illuminated). And so continues the downward procession of the archangels, resulting in the constitution of the "longitudinal" order of lights. Each one of these angelic lights is called in Suhrawardī's technical terminology a "dominating light" (*nūr qāhir*), with "forceful domination" (*qahr*) one of the basic principles determining the activity of these angels.

This longitudinal order of archangels of light has in itself two mutually opposed aspects, the masculine and the feminine, from the former of which issues an essentially different order of angels, the latitudinal. Unlike the archangels of the longitudinal order, the latitudinal angels do not generate one another, but simply coexist horizontally, positioned side by side, thus constituting the world of eternal "archetypes" that are "imaginal" equivalents of the Platonic ideas. Suhrawardī calls them in this capacity the "lords of the species" (*arbāb al-anwāʿ*; sg., *rabb al-nawʿ*). Every thing in the empirical world specifically stands under the domination of a lord of the species; in other words, every individual existent in our world has its corresponding metaphysical archetype in the angelic dimension of being, somewhat like the ontological relationship between the individual and universal realms in Platonic idealism. Each existent in the empirical world is technically called the "talisman" (*ṭilasm*) of a particular angel governing and guarding it from above. And the angel in this capacity is called the "lord of the talisman" (*rabb al-ṭilasm*).

As for the feminine aspect of the longitudinal order of angels, it primarily has to do with such negative attributes as being dominated, being dependent, being receptive to illumination, being remote from the "light of lights," nonbeing, and so on. The fixed stars and the visible heavens come into being from it as so many hypostatizations of the luminous energies of the archangels. And this marks the ending point of the Orient and the beginning point of the Occident.

The latitudinal order of angels gives rise to still another order of angels, whose basic function is to govern the species in the capacity of vicegerents of the "lords of the species." These deputy angels are called by Suhrawardī the "directive lights" (*anwār mudabbirah*; sg., *nūr mudabbir*). Using the characteristic Persian word *ispahbad*, meaning "commander-in-chief," Suhrawardī calls them also "light-generalissimos" (*anwār isfahbadīyah*). These are the angels who are charged with maintaining the movement of the heavens, and who, as the agents of the "lords of the species," govern all the species of the creatures in the physical world, including human beings, whose shared "lord of the species" is the archangel Gabriel (Jibrīl). The "deputy governor" (*ispahbad*, the "light-generalissimo") of Gabriel resides in the inmost part of the soul of each human being, issuing directions concerning his or her internal and external acts.

As will be clearly observable even from this very brief, and necessarily incomplete, exposition, Suhrawardī's Illuminationist worldview is fundamentally mandalic in nature. The world of being in its entirety is conceived or imaged as a vast cosmic mandala composed of innumerable angels of light spreading out in geometric designs along longitudinal and latitudinal axes. Here we have a typical product of mandalic consciousness completely self-realized in the form of a vision of the whole world of being appearing as an "imaginal" space saturated with light.

POST-SUHRAWARDIAN DEVELOPMENTS. Suhrawardī's life was extremely short; in the citadel of Aleppo where he was imprisoned as a propagator of anti-Islamic "new ideas" he was murdered at the age of thirty-eight in the year 1191. But after his death the influence of his Ishrāqī teaching grew stronger in the Islamic world, particularly in Iran, where it exercised the greatest influence on the historical formation of the philosophy of Shiism.

The long chain of followers of the Master of Illumination begins with Shams al-Dīn Shahrazūrī (thirteenth century), who studied personally under Suhrawardī or under one of his direct disciples. He wrote the first systematic and most extensive commentary on the *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*, thereby preparing the ground for subsequent interpretations of this fundamental work of Illuminationism. It was, as a matter of fact, in complete reliance on this commentary that Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī (d. 1311) composed his famous commentary on the *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*.

Shahrazūrī was in reality a far more original thinker than Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī, and his commentary was far more important and interesting than Quṭb al-Dīn's, which is now known to be an abbreviated version. Quṭb al-Dīn's fame, however, soon overshadowed that of his great predecessor, so that his commentary came to be regarded as virtually *the* commentary on the *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*; thus from the early fourteenth century until today almost all those who have been interested in Suhrawardian Illuminationism have read or studied the book mainly through the interpretation given by Quṭb al-Dīn.

The historical importance of Quṭb al-Dīn lies in the fact that besides being an ardent propagator of Illuminationism, he was also a disciple of Ṣadr al-Dīn Qūnawī (or Qunyawī), a personal disciple of Ibn al-ʿArabī and his son-in-law, and that through this channel he was well versed in the *waḥdat al-wujūd* type of philosophy. In fact, Quṭb al-Dīn is counted among the greatest expositors of Ibn al-ʿArabī's ideas. Combining thus in his own person these two important currents of the post-Avicennian Islamic philosophy, Quṭb al-Dīn fundamentally determined the subsequent course of the development of the Ishrāqī school. Indeed, after Quṭb al-Dīn, Suhrawardian Illuminationism quickly assimilated into its structure the major ideas of the "unity of existence" that had been independently developed by the school of Ibn al-ʿArabī.

The work of integration reached its first stage of completion in the Safavid period in Iran. The two centuries of the Safavid dynasty (1499–1720), during which the city of Isfahan was the political and cultural center and Twelver Shiism was the recognized form of Islam, realized what is often called the "renaissance of Islamic [Shīʿī] culture." It was in the flourishing city of Isfahan that the intellectual heritages of Ibn al-ʿArabī and Suhrawardī were harmoniously integrated into an organic whole through the works of generations of outstanding thinkers. These thinkers are now referred to among historians of Islamic philosophy as the "school of Isfahan," the greatest figure in which is uncontestedly Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī (popularly known as Mullā Ṣadrā, 1571–1640).

Mullā Ṣadrā's philosophy is a colossal and complicated system, synthesizing ideas derived from various sources in conjunction with his own quite original thoughts. As regards Illuminationism, Mullā Ṣadrā made thoroughly explicit what had from the beginning been implicit (and occasionally explicit), namely, the complete identification of "light" with "existence." In this way, "existence" became totally synonymous with "luminosity." The existence of each thing is in the metaphysical-"imaginal" vision of Mullā Ṣadrā nothing other than a degree of light, a luminous issue or illumination from the "light of lights." The "light of lights" itself is completely identified with what is referred to in Ibn al-ʿArabī's *waḥdat al-wujūd* system as the "one," that is, existence in its primordial state of absolute undetermination, but ready to start determining itself in an infinity of different ontological self-manifestations.

SEE ALSO Falsafah; Hermetism; Ibn al-ʿArabī; Ibn Sīnā; Images; Mullā Ṣadrā; Nūr Muḥammad.

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TOSHIHIKO IZUTSU (1987)
Revised Bibliography

ISHTAR SEE INANNA

ISIDORE OF SEVILLE (560–636), bishop of Seville (603–636), proclaimed "eminent teacher and an honor to the church" by the Council of Toledo of 653. Member of an eminent Andalusian family, Isidore was prepared to inherit the see of Seville by his older brother Leandro, also bishop of Seville. In his youth the king, Leovigild (r. 569–586), was able to stabilize the Visigothic kingdom, in which a minority of Visigoths (Germanic peoples who entered the Iberian Peninsula in the fifth century) and a vast majority of ancient inhabitants (the Hispano-Romans) coexisted. Under Reccared (d. 601) the Goths abjured the Arian doctrine and embraced the Catholic faith (c. 589). In 614 the Jews were forced by Sisebut to convert to Christianity.

Through his pastoral leadership, Isidore imbued the Visigothic church with the same concerns that dominate his writings: respect for the political authority of the Goths, incitation for increasing participation of the Hispano-Romans in the life of the church, and an overriding intellectual and moral commitment. A famous orator, he presided at the Council of Seville of 619 and at the Council of Toledo of 633. Mild and conciliatory, Isidore was a man of great human and Christian optimism; he struggled with his own strict education and with the intransigent atmosphere of the church after the triumph of catholic orthodoxy against the Arians, and over tensions with Jews after 614.

Isidore's writings, cataloged by his friend Braulio (d. 651), bishop of Zaragoza, may be grouped as follows:

1. biblical studies;
2. handbooks for clergy and monks: *Concerning the Ecclesiastical Offices, A Monastic Rule, Vademecum of the Catholic Faith for Use in Discussion with the Jews,* and *Catalog of Heresies;*
3. guides for personal and public spiritual development: *Synonyms* and *Sentences*;
4. works on civic education: *About the Universe,* an explanation of the system of the world and of natural phenomena for the purpose of preventing fear and superstition;
5. works extolling the national glory: *History of the Goths, Vandals, and Suevi; Praise of Spain; Chronicle of the World;* and *Catalog of Illustrious Men,* an innovation in this genre insofar as it introduces persons distinguished by their pastoral activity; and
6. works on general education, based largely upon linguistic or grammatical explanations: *Differences between Words,* his first writing, and *Etymologies,* on which he labored until his death and which was completed by Braulio.

He also wrote poems and letters, and he probably took part in preparing the *Collectio canonica Hispana* (Collection of church councils), covering both ecumenical and Spanish councils. Both Christian and non-Christian authors are cited in Isidore's writings with admiration and appreciation.

Isidore is best known through his *Synonyms* (known in manuscripts as "Soliloquies," a dialogue between humanity and its reason), which employed a new technique of parallel phrases with progressive variation of words. This work was simultaneously a source of practical vocabulary and a mechanism of catharsis that promoted in the reader a unified spirituality. It includes simple moral teaching and formulas for spiritual enlightenment. In three books, *Sentences* (*On the Greatest Good* in manuscripts) summarizes the spiritual organization of the human community by duties and obligations. It is in the form of easily memorized proverbs based upon Christian authors, and it combines moral knowledge with living experience. *Etymologies* (also named *Origines*), in twenty books, classifies and defines, according to a personal system of etymological interpretation, all the knowledge of Isidore's time as drawn from ancient sources through commentaries, glosses, and scholastic handbooks. In the Middle Ages it was considered the basic reference work for understanding texts and for coherently interpreting the world.

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ISIS is one of the most important deities in the Egyptian pantheon. The hieroglyph for her name was the throne, and she was portrayed with a headdress in the shape of a throne. Scholars postulate that Isis was the personification of the throne or that her name means "the one who has ruling power." Jan Bergman concludes in "Isis" (1980, col. 188) that the explanation of her name points to a later priestly interpretation. The name Isis appears securely for the first time in the fifth dynasty (2465–2325 BCE) and in the *Pyramid Texts* at the end of the Old Kingdom (2650–2152 BCE). The first depiction of the goddess occurred almost a thousand years after the first textual mention in the eighteenth dynasty (1539–1295 BCE).

In the Heliopolitan rendering of the nine premier Egyptian gods, Isis was the daughter of Geb and Nut (Earth and Sky). Osiris was her brother and husband, Horus their son. Seth and Nephthys, also offsprings of Geb and Nut, were Isis and Osiris's opponents. Seth killed his brother Osiris and dismembered him, and Isis searched for the scattered body parts across Egypt. She found all the parts except for the phallus. Isis then fashioned a replacement for the missing part and reassembled her brother-husband's body. With the help of Thoth, she revived Osiris for a short time. In this period of revival Isis conceived Horus, who became his father's avenger.

Being a mother herself, Isis helped women in childbirth. In the New Kingdom (1539–1069 BCE), Isis was depicted as midwife. Greco-Roman renderings of Isis show her with a knot on the front of her dress. This knot indicated life and protected pregnant women as well as their babies. The goddess was also a healer. When a scorpion stung and killed her son Horus, Isis revived him. In another myth Isis fashioned a snake that bit the supreme god Re. As Re lay dying, Isis promised to heal him if he gave up his secret name and thus world dominion. Re refused at first, but in the end he gave Isis what she sought. In another succession myth, Horus raped and decapitated his mother, the latter as punishment for Isis's disloyalty when she did not allow the destruction of her brother Seth. The Greek writers Diodorus Siculus (1.13–27) and Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 12–19) provide the most continuous myths surrounding Isis. Various aretologies emphasize her henotheistic, singular divine force of creation; she was the goddess with a thousand names (*myrionyma*).

Isis was linked to the goddess Hathor. She wore Hathor's headdress, the cow horns. In his "Isis," Bergman points to another connection with Hathor (Bergman, 1980, col. 189f.). After Horus decapitated his mother, she received a cow head as replacement. Like the cow horns and cow head, Isis acquired the uraeus snake from Hathor. In addition, Isis was equated with Selket and appropriated that goddess's animal form, the scorpion. Isis was also linked to the female hippopotamus, a white sow, and a lion. Bergman notes that the goddess appears as a water- and food-providing tree goddess. In the celestial sphere Isis was connected with Sothis or Sirius, the Dog Star (Canis Major). She was the bringer of the Nile's annual flooding (Bergman, 1980, col. 192), which was essential for Egypt's agriculture. Isis's manifestations are manifold due to syncretism, an inbuilt fluidity that allowed gods to merge with each other. Depictions of Isis from Egyptian to Greco-Roman times show this confluence of representative elements most succinctly. Isis was not only *myrionyma* in name but also in terms of her iconographic signifiers.

DISSEMINATION OF THE CULT. Greeks, who had economic links with Egypt since the seventh century BCE, knew of Egyptian deities. They explained these deities by way of analogies. In this way Isis was equated with Demeter (Herodotos, *Histories*, 2.42ff.). The Ptolemaic period, however, ushered in a more intensive propagation of the cult of Isis outside Egypt. In this era, as in Roman times, the most important temple structure of Isis was on the island of Philae in southern (Upper) Egypt. Alexander's successor, Ptolemy I Soter, chose Sarapis as his dynasty's guardian deity. This god then became Isis's Hellenized consort.

An inscription from Pireus (Vidman, 1969, inscription no. 1), the port city of Athens, dated to 333 BCE suggests that cult adherents were first Egyptians who had economic ties with Athens. By the end of the third century BCE Athenian citizens held the various priesthoods. On Delos, the most important location for the westward dissemination of the cult, Egyptians held the priesthoods initially, followed by Delians and then Athenians. Françoise Dunand demonstrates in *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée* (1973) that, in all of Greece, Isis had the lowest impact on the Peloponnese. Michel Malaise shows in "La diffusion des cultes égyptiens dans les provinces européennes de l'Empire romain" (1984) that merchants were the most important propagators of the cult. When Archelaos, a general of Mithridates VI, the king of Pontos, captured the island of Delos in 88 BCE, Italian merchants returning to Italy brought with them the goddess Isis and intensified the goddess's presence where she was already known before this time.

Isis, for example, was established before 88 BCE in the port cities of Pompeii, Puteoli, and Ostia. The temple of Isis in Pompeii was built toward the end of the second century BCE, the temple of the Alexandrian gods in Puteoli dates to approximately 105 BCE. However, it seems that, in the wake of the forceful return of Italian merchants from Delos, Isis made her way to Rome. The second century CE author Apuleius states in his *Metamorphoses*, also known as *The Golden Ass* (11.30), that the first association of Isiac priests (*collegium pastophorum*, college of carriers of sacred objects) in Rome was founded at the time of the dictator Sulla (82–79 BCE). An inscription, unfortunately now lost, established a strong connection between Delos and Rome (Vidman, 1969, inscription no. 377). In "Iside Capitolina, Clodio e i mercanti di schiavi" (1984) Filippo Coarelli convincingly dates the inscription to 90–60 BCE and points to families of slave traders as a decisive link between the Aegean island and the capital. Ladislav Vidman suggests in *Isis und Sarapis bei den Griechen und Römern* (1970) that the Late Republican period was favorable to the Egyptian cult. Subsequent research showed that it was not unbridled passions of the simple and disfranchised that brought about this acceptance. Egyptian scenes and representations of Isis's headdress, rattles (*sistra*), Egyptian snakes (uraei), obelisks, and lotus flowers were components of an artistic repertoire. Control marks on coins were not expressions of a social revolution but an artistic realization of a Late Republican cultural reality.

The reactions against the cult in 58, 53, and 48 BCE were of a political nature (Tertullian, *Ad Nationes*, 1.10; Dio Cassius, 40.47 and 42.26). The Roman Senate found itself stripped of its political power and, as a consequence, dictated these expulsions of the cult of Isis. Expulsion as well as acceptance and subsequent introduction of a foreign cult into Rome's religious system were privileges of the Senate. These actions demonstrated, confirmed, and secured the Senate's political authority. Isis, however, did not disappear from Rome. Far from it, the triumvirate in charge of restoring the Republic voted in favor of a temple of Isis in 43 BCE (Cassius Dio, 47.15.4). Two later regulations (28 and 21 BCE; Cassius Dio, 53.2.4 and 54.6.6) curtailing the cult within the city of Rome were intended by Augustus to demonstrate his resolve vis-à-vis the traditional code of behavior (the *mos maiorum*) and the traditional, Greco-Roman gods.

In 19 CE Tiberius ordered the removal of Jews and Isis worshipers from Rome (Tacitus, *Annals*, 2.85.5; Josephus, *Antiquities*, 18.72; Suetonius, *Life of Tiberius*, 36.1). It has been suggested that the emperor intended to cleanse the capital of foreign cults, especially those perceived as undermining Roman morality, but is seems more likely that the reason was political. Germanicus, Tiberius's designated successor, had traveled to Egypt and, in a public relations stunt, opened the granaries. Unfortunately, this gesture of generosity led subsequently to famine in Rome (Tacitus, *Annals*, 2.67). Germanicus also visited Memphis without imperial permission. The priests of Memphis, the guardians of the living and dead Apis bulls, made and unmade pharaohs, even if only symbolically at this time (Maystre, 1992).

In the Roman construct of reality, politics and religion were intertwined; hence Rome's success was thought dependent on the gods and the gods favored a people who worshiped them properly and in a timely fashion. Whenever a political crisis occurred that undermined Rome's social order, the problem was thought to lie in the religious sphere; that is, it was believed that the gods had turned away from the Romans, who had failed in their ritual performance. Isis was Alexandria's most powerful god, and the city had the largest number of Jewish inhabitants in the Roman Empire. The expulsion of Jews and Isis worshipers from Rome demonstrated the emperor's political power and symbolized the reestablishment of traditional order.

With the consolidation of the new political order (the principate, which began with the emperor Augustus [r. 27 BCE–14 CE]) and the integration of Egypt as a province of the Roman Empire, Isis and her cult could no longer be thought illegal. The cult was officially recognized at the end of Caligula's reign or at the beginning of Claudius's. The first to establish this time period was Georg Wissowa in *Religion and Kultus der Römer* (1971), and Anthony Barrett in *Caligula* (1989, pp. 220f.) further developed the argument. The connection with the imperial house (the *domus Augusta*) occurred during the reign of Vespasian (69–79 CE). Vespasian had been proclaimed emperor by his troops while he was in Alexandria. Upon his return to Rome, he and his son Titus stayed in the temple of Isis in the Field of Mars, the *Iseum Campense*, the night before their triumphal procession into Rome (Josephus, *Jewish Wars*, 7.123f.). Domitian, Vespasian's youngest son, renovated many temples of Isis during his reign (81–96 CE). After Vespasian's acclamation in Alexandria, the family had a connection to Isis, and their subsequent actions are demonstrations of piety toward the goddess.

There was an increasing interest in Egyptian and Egyptianizing objects at the time of the emperor Hadrian (114–141 CE), which had to do with the emperor's interest in Egypt. The city of Alexandria possessed the most important libraries of antiquity. Hadrian was a philhellene (a lover of Greek culture), and the Alexandrian libraries were the guardians of Greek literature and culture. It also happened that Hadrian's beloved Antinous had drowned in the Nile while visiting Egypt with the emperor. The death of a friend and accessibility to a cherished cultural heritage made Egypt so prominent in Hadrian's life that it brought about a new artistic movement. Even Hadrian's villa outside Rome featured an Egypt-inspired area.

Inscriptions asking for the well-being (*salus*) of the imperial household (*domus Augusta*) in the name of Isis's Hellenistic consort Sarapis appear predominantly in the period after Emperor Marcus Aurelius's victory over the Quadi, a Germanic people. István Tóth established in "Marcus Aurelius' Miracle of the Rain and the Egyptian Cults in the Danube Region" (1976) that the dedicators of these inscriptions were the emperor's generals. As the Quadi were close to victory on a blazing hot day, Arnouphis, a *hierogrammateus* (cultic scribe) and member of Marcus Aurelius's entourage, induced rain and alleviated the Roman legions' debilitating thirst. The Romans thus gained the advantage over their adversaries (Cassius Dio, 71.8). Isis and her consort Sarapis were now fully accepted guarantors of the Empire's well-being. Ultimately, at the time of the Severi (193–235 CE), the Roman dynastic ideology corresponded to the pharaonic-Ptolemaic one. Like Vespasian more than a century earlier, the legions of the East had made Septimius Severus, the founder of the dynasty, emperor.

RELIGION PRACTICES. Two major festivals in honor of Isis are known: the public launching of the ship of Isis—the *navigium Isidis,* or *ploiaphesia*—which was celebrated on March 5 (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, 11.8–17), and the finding of Osiris—the *inventio* or *heuresis Osiridis*—from October 28 to November 3. A cult association had five *antistites* (priests or carriers of sacred objects), *pastophori* or *hierophoroi*, who in the cult hierarchy were below a *sacerdos*, priest. These five carried various insignia during a procession (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, 11.10). A *sacerdos* (man or woman) held his or her position for a year, sometimes for life. The lower priesthoods and cult positions were most often held for life. Inscriptions name guardians of temples (*neokoroi* or *zakoroi)*, who may have helped during sacrifices. In the West the *pastophori* were equated with *hierophoroi* (both carriers of sacred objects) or *hagiophoroi* (carriers of the sacred) during imperial times. Greeks living in Egypt translated the title of the highest priest in the cult as *prophetes* (prophet). Outside Egypt, however, a *prophetes* is best thought of as *pastophorus.* In the Egyptian system the dresser (*stolistes*) held the second highest position after the prophets. Documentation, however, records dressers of statues only in Athens in the second and third century CE.

In the West there is only one inscription of a dresser, an *ornatrix fani* (Vidman, 1969, inscription no. 731). Scribes (*scriba, grammateus*, or *hierogrammateus*) (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, 11.17), follow the dressers in the Egyptian priestly hierarchy. They are, however, like astrologers *(horoskopoi* or *horologoi)* and singers *(hymnodoi)*, not documented outside Egypt. *Therapeutai* or *cultores* were cult adherents without rank and function. The official heading the *ploiaphesia* in March, the *nauarchus*, *trierarchos*, *hieronautes*, or *naubates*, is only known through inscriptions from Rome's imperial period. He or she was not a priest but a lay member of the cult association. In general, one notes that priests and lay cult functionaries could have the same designation. In addition, not every dedicator of an inscription was a cult initiate. Most of the personal inscriptions were put up in fulfillment of a vow (ex-voto), and most of the official ones (*pro salute imperatoris,* for the well-being of the emperor) were political in nature.

In Roman times, temples of Isis (*Isea*) were most often found outside the religious border of a city (the *pomerium)* and in an aqueous area in the vicinity of a river, an important water source, a marsh, or a port. Unlike Greco-Roman temples, *Isea* were not oriented toward public spaces. Even the innermost part of a temple of Isis, the *cella* (*naos*), opened only inward. The doors of the temple were opened and closed in connection with a morning and an afternoon ceremony. Sacrifice was given during these ceremonies. Although Plutarch mentions sacrifice of a white and a saffron-colored rooster to Osiris (Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 61; see Griffiths, 1970, p. 518) and red cattle to Seth (Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 31; Griffiths, 1970, pp. 414–415), his treatise does not reveal what kind of sacrifice Isis received. Apuleius, in his *Metamorphoses* (11.21ff.), indicates that there were three initiation rituals. Whether this was indeed true is not known with certainty. As was the case with other mystery cults, the preparations of an initiate included abstinence and purification. The initiate (*mystes*) experienced death and through it achieved new life. In contrast to public cults, social standing did not translate to a comparable position in the hierarchy of this mystery cult. The origins of the Isiac mysteries are not easily discerned, but it seems that there was an Egyptian element (Bianchi, 1980; Griffiths, 1970, pp. 390–392; Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 27; Junge, 1979; and Kákosy, 1999). The premier temple of Isis, the *Iseum* on Philae, closed its doors forever during the reign of Justinian I (527–561 CE).

SEE ALSO Goddess Worship, article on Goddess Worship in the Hellenistic World; Mystery Religions.

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ISLAM

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ISLAM: AN OVERVIEW [FIRST EDITION]

The root *slm* in Arabic means "to be in peace, to be an integral whole." From this root comes *islām*, meaning "to surrender to God's law and thus to be an integral whole," and *muslim*, a person who so surrenders. It is important to note that two other key terms used in the Qurʾān with high frequency have similar root meanings: *īmān* (from *amn*), "to be safe and at peace with oneself," and *taqwā* (from *wqy*), "to protect or save." These definitions give us an insight into the most fundamental religious attitude of Islam: to maintain wholeness and proper order, as the opposite of disintegration, by accepting God's law. It is in this sense that the entire universe and its content are declared by the Qurʾān to be *muslim*, that is, endowed with order through obedience to God's law; but whereas nature obeys God's law automatically, humanity ought to obey it by choice. In keeping with this distinction, God's function is to integrate human personality, both individual and corporate: "Be not like those who forgot God, and [eventually] God caused them to forget themselves" (*sūrah* 59:19).

ORIGIN AND HISTORY. Muslims believe that Islam is God's eternal religion, described in the Qurʾān as "the primordial nature upon which God created mankind" (30:30). Further, the Qurʾān claims that the proper name *Muslim* was given by Abraham (22:78). As a historical phenomenon, however, Islam originated in Arabia in the early seventh century CE. Two broad elements should be distinguished in that immediate religious backdrop: the purely Arab background and the penetration of Judeo-Christian elements. The Qurʾān makes a disapproving reference to star worship (41:37), which is said to have come from the Babylonian star cult. For the most part, however, the bedouin were a secular people with little idea of an afterlife. At the sanctuaries (*ḥarams*) that had been established in some parts, fetishism seems to have developed into idol worship; the most important of these sites was the Kaʿbah at Mecca.

The bedouin Arabs believed in a blind fate that inescapably determined birth, sustenance (because of the precarious life conditions in the desert), and death. These Arabs also had a code of honor (called *murūwah*, or "manliness") that may be regarded as their real religious ethics; its main constituent was tribal honor—the crown of all their values—encompassing the honor of women, bravery, hospitality, honoring one's promises and pacts, and last but not least, vengeance (*thaʾr*). They believed that the ghost of a slain person would cry out from the grave until his thirst for the blood of vengeance was quenched. According to the code, it was not necessarily the killer who was slain in retaliation, but a person from among his kin equal in value to the person killed. For reasons of economics or honor, infant girls were often slain, and this practice, terminated by the Qurʾān, was regarded as having had religious sanction (6:137).

In southwestern Arabia, a rather highly sophisticated civilization had existed since the Sabian period, with a prosperous economy and agriculture. The Sabian religion was, at the beginning, a trinitarian star cult, which was replaced, in the fourth century CE, by the monotheistic cult of al-Rahman (a term that appears to have traveled north and found a prominent place in the Qurʾān, where it means "the merciful"). In the sixth century CE, Jewish and Christian ideas and formulas were adopted, with the term *al-Raḥmān* applied to the first person of the Trinity.

As for the Judeo-Christian tradition, it was not only present where Jewish and Christian populations existed (Jews in Medina—pre-Islamic Yathrib—in the south and in Khaybar in the north; Christians in the south, in Iraq, in Syria, and in certain tribes), but it had percolated in the air, generally speaking. Indeed, there had been Jewish and Christian attempts at proselytizing the Meccans, but these were unsuccessful because the Meccans wanted a new religion and scripture of their own, "whereby they would be better guided than those earlier communities" (35:42, 6:157). In the process, the Meccans had nevertheless come to know a good deal about Judeo-Christian ideas (6:92), and several people in Mecca and elsewhere had arrived at the idea of monotheism. Even so, they could not get rid of the "intermediary gods" for whom they had special cults, and there was still no cult for God, whom they called "Allāh," or "the God." In addition to these limitations, there was also a great disparity between the rich and the poor and disenfranchised in the thriving commercial community of Mecca. Both of these issues are strongly emphasized from the beginning of the Qurʾanic revelation, making it clear that the primary background of Islam is Arab rather than Judeo-Christian, although the latter tradition has strongly influenced Islam. In its genesis, Islam grew out of the problems existing in an Arab Meccan society.

Early development of the community. During a twelve-year struggle in Mecca (610–622 CE), the prophet Muḥammad had gathered a devoted group of followers, largely among the poor but also among the well-to-do merchants. Yet his movement seemed to reach an impasse because of the unflinching opposition of the mercantile aristocracy, which saw in it a threat to both of their vested interests—their Kaʿbah-centered religion, from which they benefited as custodians of the sanctuary and recipients of income from the pilgrimage, and their privileged control of trade. After Muḥammad and his followers emigrated from Mecca to Medina in 622 (the beginning of the lunar Islamic calendar, called the *hijrī*, or "emigration," calendar), at the invitation of the majority of the Arab inhabitants there, he became the head of both the nascent community and the existing polity. However, while he gave laws, waged peace and war, and created social institutions, he never claimed to be a ruler, a lawgiver, a judge, or a general; he referred to himself always as a messenger of God. As a result, not only were Islamic "religious" doctrine and ritual in the narrower sense regarded as Islamic but so were the state, the law, and social institutions. Islam is thus the name of a total way of life and does not merely regulate the individual's private relationship with God.

In Medina, then, the Prophet was able to institute his social reforms through the exercise of the religious and political power that he had been denied in Mecca. After three battles in which Muslims gained the upper hand over the Meccans and their allies, Islam, now in rapid ascendancy, was able to take Mecca peacefully in AH 8/630 CE along with a large part, if not the whole, of the Arabian Peninsula. In Medina, too, the Muslim community (*ummah muslimah*) was formally launched in 2/624 as the "median community," the only community consciously established by the founder of a religion for a specific purpose, as the Qurʾān speaks of those "who, when we give them power on the earth, shall establish prayers and welfare of the poor and shall command good and forbid evil" (22:41). At the same time, the Qurʾān (22:40) provided this community with the instrument of *jihād* (utmost exertion in God's cause, including peaceful means but also cold and hot war). Finally, Mecca was declared to be the goal of annual pilgrimage for the faithful and also the direction (*qiblah*) for prayer instead of Jerusalem. Both the constitution and the anchoring of the community were complete.

After a brief lapse into tribal sovereignty following the Prophet's death, Arab resistance to the acknowledgment of Medina's central authority was broken by force. The tribesmen's energies were turned outward in conquests of neighboring lands under the banner of Islam, which provided the necessary zeal for rapid military and political expansion. Within a century after the Prophet's death, Muslim Arabs were administering an empire stretching from the southern borders of France through North Africa and the Middle East, across Central Asia and into Sind. Muslim rule in the conquered territories was generally tolerant and humane; there was no policy of converting non-Muslims to Islam. The purpose of *jihād* was not conversion but the establishment of Islamic rule. Nonetheless, partly because of certain disabilities imposed by Islamic law on non-Muslim subjects (mainly the *jizyah*, or poll tax—although they were exempt from the *zakāt*, or alms tax levied on Muslims, the *jizyah* was the heavier of the two, particularly for the lower strata of the population) and partly because of Islamic egalitarianism, Islam spread quickly after an initial period during which conversions were sometimes even discouraged. This was the first phase of the spread of Islam; later on, as we shall see, Muslim mystics, or the Ṣūfīs, were the main vehicles of Islamic expansion in India, Central Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa, although the role of traders in the Indian and Indonesian coastal areas and China must not be minimized. Even in the twentieth century, Turkish soldiers brought Islam to South Korea during the Korean War.

Several major developments in this early period affected the religious texture of the Muslim community as a continuing phenomenon. Less than half a century after the Prophet's death, political dissensions over succession led to civil war. A number of groups called the Khārijīs ("those who went out") declared war on the community at large because it tolerated rule by "unrighteous" men; they claimed that a Muslim ceased to be a Muslim by committing a reprehensible act without sincerely repenting, and that other Muslims who did not regard such a person as non-Muslim also became non-Muslim. In reaction to the Khārijīs and the ensuing civil strife, the community (both the Sunnī mainstream and the Shīʿah, or party of ʿAlī) generally adopted a religious stand that not only was tolerant of religious and political deviations from strict Islamic norms but was even positively accommodating toward them. The members of the community who took this stand were known as the Murjiʾah (from *irjāʿ*, meaning "postponement," in the sense of not judging a person's religious worth, but leaving it to God's judgment on the Last Day). The net result of this basic development was that excommunication was ruled out so long as a person recognized the community as Muslim and professed that "there is no god but God and Muḥammad is his prophet."

This formula created or rationalized accommodation for an amazing range of different religious opinions and practices under one God and Muḥammad's prophethood. Oddly enough, the only systematically rigid and illiberal school of doctrine that persecuted its opponents, after it became state creed under the Abbasid caliph al-Maʾmūn in the first half of the ninth century, was the liberal rationalist school of the Muʿtazilah. The emergence of this school was largely the result of the impact on the Islamic religion of the wholesale translations of Greek works of science, philosophy, and medicine into Arabic on the orders of al-Maʾmūn. The Muʿtazilah tried to create necessary free space by insisting on freedom of human will and God's rational justice, but the Muslim orthodoxy, countering with doctrines of the inefficacy of human will and the absolutism of God's will and divine predeterminism, actually provided more accommodation for varying opinions and human actions and thereby halted the growth of the rationalist school.

With the advent of the Abbasids, there were other political, social, and religious changes as well, among them the improvement of the status of the Iranians, who, under Umayyad rule, were denied an identity of their own as "clients" (*mawālī*) of the Arab tribes; and the espousal and implementation of legal measures created by the religious leadership, which had been largely alienated from the Umayyads. All of these developments combined to facilitate the rapid spread of Islam.

Medieval and later developments. With the weakening of the central caliphal authority in Baghdad, the tenth century saw not only the virtual fragmentation of the Abbasid Empire and the rise of *de facto* independent rulers (sultans and emirs) in the provinces but the almost ubiquitous rise of the Shīʿah. While Baghdad came under the political and fiscal "management" of the orthodox Twelver Shīʿah through the Persian Buyid family, Egypt and North Africa came under the rule of the Ismāʿīlī Fatimids. But if the Buyids were able to influence Islamic practices in some ways—such as the observance of ʿĀshūrāʾ, the tenth of Muḥarram (the first month of the Islamic calendar) as the commemoration of the martyrdom of the Prophet's grandson Ḥusayn at the hands of the Umayyad troops—Fatimid rule, by and large, did not leave much of a trace on later Muslim thought and institutions, despite the fact that the Ismāʿīlīyah had offered a revolutionary ideology claiming to usher in a new world order through the establishment of a universal religion.

In purely religious terms, indeed, it was not so much Shiism as the rise and spread of Sufism that constituted the new and greatest challenge to Islamic orthodoxy, in terms of ideas and spiritual orientation, and indeed, it was Shiism that suffered most, in terms of following, as a result of the new movement. From modest beginnings as an expression of refined piety on the part of a spiritual elite in the eighth and ninth centuries, Sufism became a mass religion from the eleventh century onward. In its origins as a deepening of the inner "life of the heart," Sufism was largely complementary to the outer "life of the law," which was the domain of the *ʿulamāʾ*, the religious scholars who functioned as custodians of the *sharīʿah* (sacred law) and never claimed to be pastors or custodians of the soul.

In its later development, however, through networks of brotherhoods that spread from the shores of the Atlantic to Southeast Asia, it practically took the place of "official" Islam, particularly in the countryside. Feeding on certain pantheistic ideas of eminent Ṣūfīs and generating latitudinarian, indeed protean, tendencies, it served to convert to Islam large populations in the Indian subcontinent, Central Asia, Africa, and Indonesia. A long line of orthodox Ṣūfīs, beginning in the eighth and ninth centuries and culminating in the monumental work of al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), struggled hard, with a good measure of success, to bring about a synthesis that would ensure a respectable place for Ṣūfīs spirituality in the orthodox fold. After the advent of Sufism, and particularly after al-Ghazālī's success, the number of converts to Islam expanded dramatically, and the number of Shīʿah shrank equally dramatically, apparently because the demands for an inner life that Shiism had satisfied through its esoteric claims were now satisfied by Sufism.

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Islam penetrated into the Malay archipelago largely through Arab traders, who went first to the coastal areas of Java and Sumatra and afterward to Malaysia. Shortly after the advent of Islam, however, these lands fell under western European domination. Because the structure of British power in Malaysia differed from Dutch colonialism in Indonesia, in that British overlordship was exercised through regional sultans whereas the Dutch ruled directly, Islam was inhibited in Indonesia: a large percentage of the population of the interior remained *abangan*s, or "nominal Muslims," whose life is still based on ancient custom (*ʿādat*) under a thin Islamic veneer. Recently, however, a large-scale thrust of islamization has changed this picture considerably. In Djakarta, for example, a little more than a dozen years ago, there were only a few cathedral mosques for Friday services, but now the number has multiplied spectacularly; indeed, there is a mosque attached to every government department. This process of "consolidation in orthodox Islam," necessitated by the initial compromises made by Ṣūfīs with local cultures, has been going on for some decades in the Indian subcontinent as well.

In Africa south of the Sahara, Islam appears to have penetrated through both traders and pilgrims. Although, as noted above, Islam spread there through the influence of Ṣūfī orders, one unique feature of African Islam seems to be the combination of Sufism with militancy, the latter acclaimed as the result of the Islamic teaching on *jihād*, although it is also congruent with the spirit of local tribalism.

Africa is the only continent where Muslims are in the majority, while in Europe, Islam now constitutes the second largest religion, mainly comprising emigrants from Muslim lands but a few Western converts as well. In North America, Muslims are said to number around two million, most of whom are emigrants from Muslim countries. But there is also in the United States a significant phenomenon of conversion among local blacks, originating in the social protest movement against white ascendancy. The earliest group, known as the Black Muslims, called itself the Nation of Islam during the lifetime of its founder, Elijah Muhammad, and was a heterodox movement. After his death in 1973 it moved closer to the rest of the Muslim community, taking the new name of American Islamic Mission and receiving financial help from oil-rich Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia, Libya, and Kuwait. (The organization was dissolved in 1985.) There are also other numerous, though small, Afro-American Muslim groups scattered throughout the United States.

Arriving at a precise estimate of the Muslim population in China presents a serious problem. According to data collected unofficially by Chinese Muslims in 1939–1940 and extrapolations from these data in terms of population growth, Chinese Muslims might number close to one hundred million in the 1980s. The official Chinese figure given in the early sixties, however, was ten million, a figure revised to between fifteen and twenty million two decades later (religion is a factor not counted in the Chinese census). According to the 1979 United Nations statistics, the world Muslim population is just under one billion.

THE SYSTEMATIC CONTENT OF ISLAM

With the rise of Islamic legal and theological thought in the eighth century CE, a framework had to be articulated within which religious developments were to be set. The most basic sources in this framework were the Qurʾān and the *sunnah* of the Prophet.

The Qurʾān.

The God of the Qurʾān is a transcendent, powerful, and merciful being. His transcendence ensures his uniqueness and infinitude over and against all other creatures, who are necessarily characterized by finitude of being and potentialities. Hence God is all-powerful, and no creature may share in his divinity (belief in such sharing is called *shirk* and is condemned in the Qurʾān as the most heinous and unforgivable sin). This infinite power is expressed, however, through God's equally infinite mercy. The creation of the universe, the fact that there is plenitude of being, rather than emptiness of nothing, is due solely to his mercy. Particularly with reference to humanity, God's creation, sustenance, guidance (in the form of revelations given to the prophets, his messengers), and, finally, judgment, are all manifestations of his power in mercy.

God created nature by his command "Be!" In fact, for whatever God wishes to create, "He says, Be! and there it is" (36:82). But whatever God creates has an orderly nature, and that is why there is a universe rather than chaos. God puts into everything the proper "guidance" or "nature" or laws of behavior to make each part fit into the entire pattern of the universe. "All things are measured" (e.g., 54:49), and only God is the measurer; hence he alone is the commander, and everything else is under his command. This command, which is a fact of automatic obedience in the case of nature (3:83), becomes an "ought" in the case of humans, for whom moral law replaces natural law. Nature is, therefore, a firm, well-knit machine without rupture or dislocations.

Here it is interesting and important to note that while the Qurʾān patently accepts miracles of earlier prophets (67:2–3), in response to pressure from Muḥammad's opponents for new miracles (e.g., 2:23, 10:38, 11:13), the Qurʾān insists that it is itself the Prophet's miracle, and one that cannot be equaled. As for supernatural miracles, they are out of date because they have been ineffective in the past (17:59, 6:33–35). Nature is, therefore, autonomous but not autocratic, since it did not bring itself into being. God, who brought nature into being, can destroy it as well; even so, although the Qurʾān, when speaking of the Day of Judgment, often invokes a cataclysm that strongly suggests destruction (see, for example, *sūrah* 81), in many verses it speaks instead of a radical transformation and a realignment of the factors of life (e.g., 56:60–63). Finally, the universe has been created for the benefit of human beings, and all its forces have been "subjugated" to them; of all creatures, only they have been created to serve God alone (e.g., 31:20, 22:65).

In its account of the human race, while the Qurʾān holds that humans are among the noblest of God's creatures and that Adam had indeed outstripped the angels in a competition for creative knowledge, a fact testifying to his unique intellectual qualities, it nevertheless criticizes them for their persistent moral failures, which are due to their narrow-mindedness, lack of vision, weakness, and smallness of self. All their ills are reducible to this basic deficiency, and the remedy is for them to enlarge the self and to transcend pettiness. This pettiness is often represented by the Qurʾān in economic terms, such as greed, fraud, and holding back from spending on the poor (as was the case with the Meccan traders): "If you were to possess [all] the treasures of the mercy of my lord, you would still sit on them out of fear of spending [on the needy]" (17:100). It is Satan who whispers into people's ears that they would be impoverished by spending, while God promises prosperity for such investment (2:268). Instead of establishing usurious accounts to exploit the poor, believers should establish "credit with God" (2:245, 57:11, 57:18 et al.).

In its social doctrine and legislation, the Qurʾān makes a general effort to ameliorate the condition of the weak and often abused segments of society, such as the poor, orphans, women, and slaves. People are asked to free slaves on freedom-purchasing contracts, "and if they are poor, you give them from the wealth God has bestowed upon you" (24:33). An egalitarian statement concerning males and females is made, but the husband is recognized as "one degree higher" (2:228) because he earns by his strength and expends on his wife. Polygamy is limited to four wives with the provision that "if you fear you cannot do justice [among them], marry only one" (4:3), and the further admonition that such justice is impossible "no matter how much you desire" (4:129). Kind and generous treatment of wives is repeatedly emphasized; celibacy is strongly discouraged, although not banned outright. The basic equality of all people is proclaimed and ethnic differences discounted: "O you people, we have created [all of] you from a male and a female, and we have made you into different nations and tribes [only] for the purpose of identification—otherwise, the noblest of you in the sight of God is the one who is the most righteous" (49:13).

In the economic field, the widespread practice of usury is prohibited. The *zakāt* tax is levied on the well-to-do members of the community; it was meant as a welfare tax to be spent on the poor and the needy in general, but *sūrah* 9:60, which details the distribution of *zakāt*, is so comprehensive in its scope that it covers practically all fields of social and state life. In general, fair play and justice are repeatedly advised. Detailed inheritance laws are given (4:7ff.), the main feature of which is the introduction of shares to daughters, although these shares are set at half of what sons receive. Communal affairs are to be decided through mutual consultation (*shūrā baynahum*, 42:38), a principle that has never been institutionalized in Islamic history, however.

One noteworthy feature of the moral teaching of the Qurʾān is that it describes all wrong done against anyone as "wrong done against oneself" (*ẓulm al-nafs*, as in 2:231, 11:101, 11:118). In its teaching on the Last Judgment, the Qurʾān constantly talks of "weighing the deeds" of all adult and responsible humans (101:6–11, 7:8 et al.). This doctrine of the "weight" of deeds arises out of the consideration that people normally act for the here and now; in this respect, they are like cattle: they do not take a long-range or "ultimate" (*ākhirah*) view of things: "Shall we tell you of those who are the greatest losers in terms of their deeds? Those whose whole effort has been lost [in the pursuit of] this life [i.e., the lower values of life], but they think they have performed prodigies" (18:104). The rationale of the Last Judgment is to bring out the real moral meaning, "the weight" of deeds. But whereas the Last Judgment will turn upon individual performance, the Qurʾān also speaks about a "judgment in history," which descends upon peoples, nations, and communities on the basis of their total performance and whether that performance is in accord with the teaching of the divine messages brought by their prophets: many nations have perished because of their persistence in all sorts of disobedience and moral wrong, for "God gives inheritance of the earth [only] to good people" (21:105).

The Qurʾān, therefore, declares unequivocally that God has sent his messages to *all* peoples throughout history and has left none without guidance (35:24, 13:7). These messages have been essentially the same: to reject *shirk* (associating anyone with God) and to behave according to the law of God. All messages have emanated from a single source, the “Mother of All Books” (13:39) or the “Hidden Book” (56:78) or the “Preserved Tablet” (85:22), and although every prophet has initially come to his people and addressed them “in their tongue” (14:4), the import of all messages is universal; hence it is incumbent on all people to believe in all prophets, without “separating some from the others.” For this reason the Qurʾān is severely critical of what it sees as proprietary claims upon God’s guidance by Jews and Christians and rejects Jewish claims to special status in strong terms (62:6, 2:94–95, 5:18, et al.). Despite the identity of divine messages, moreover, the Qurʾān also posits some sort of development in religious consciousness and asserts that on the Last Day every community will be judged by the standards of its own book and under the witness of its own prophet(s) (4:41, 16:84, et al.). The Qurʾān protects, consummates, and transcends earlier revelations, and Muḥammad is declared to be the “seal of the prophets” (33:40).

Finally, the Qurʾān states five basic constituents of faith (*īmān*): belief in God, in angels, in revealed books, in God’s messengers, and in the Last Day. Corresponding to these five items of belief, a fivefold practical doctrine was formulated very early on. These “Five Pillars” include (1) bearing witness in public at least once in one’s lifetime that “There is no god but God and Muḥammad is his prophet”; (2) praying five times a day (before sunrise, early afternoon, late afternoon, immediately after sunset, and before retiring), while facing the Kaʿbah at Mecca; (3) paying *zakāt*; (4) fasting during Ramaḍān (the ninth month of the Islamic lunar year), with no eating, drinking, smoking, or sexual intercourse from dawn until sunset, when the daily fast is broken; and (5) performing the annual pilgrimage to the Kaʿbah at least once in one’s adult lifetime, provided one can afford the journey and leave enough provisions for one’s family.

The pilgrimage is performed during the first ten days of the last month of the Islamic year. One may perform the lesser pilgrimage (*ʿumrah*) at other times of the year, but it is not a substitute for the great pilgrimage (*al-ḥajj al-akbar*). The pilgrimage has, through the centuries, played an important role, not only in strengthening general unity in the global Muslim community but also in disseminating religious ideas both orthodox and Ṣūfī, for it provides the occasion for an annual meeting among religious leaders and scholars from different parts of the Muslim world. For the past few decades, it has also served to bring together political leaders and heads of Muslim states. In recent years, too, because of new travel facilities, the number of pilgrims has vastly increased, sometimes exceeding two million each year.

Sunnah. The word *sunnah* literally means “a well-trodden path,” but it was used before Islam in reference to usage or laws of a tribe and certain norms of intertribal conduct accepted by various tribes as binding. After the rise of Islam, it was used to denote the normative behavior of the Muslim community, putatively derived from the Prophet’s teaching and conduct, and from the exemplary teaching of his immediate followers, since the latter was seen as an index of the former. In the Qurʾān, there is no mention of the term *sunnah* with reference to the Prophet’s extra-Qurʾanic precepts or example, but the term *uswah ḥasanah*, meaning a “good model” or “example” to be followed, is used with reference to Muḥammad’s conduct as well as the conduct of Abraham and his followers (33:31, 60:4, 60:6). The term *uswah* is certainly much less rigid than *sunnah* and does not mean so much a law to be literally implemented as an example to be matched.

Even so, there is clear evidence that the concept of *sunnah* was flexible in the early decades of Islam because, with hardly any written codifications of the *sunnah* (which was used in the sense of an ongoing practice rather than fixed formulas), there was no question of literal imitation. As political, legal, and theological dissensions and disputes multiplied and all kinds of positions sought self-validation, however, the opinions of the first three generations or so were projected back onto the Prophet to obtain the necessary authority, and the phrase *sunnat al-nabī* (the *sunnah* of the Prophet) gradually took the place of the term *sunnah*.

During the second and third centuries AH, the narration and codification of the *sunnah* into *ḥadīth* was in full swing. A report that claims to convey a *sunnah* (or *sunnah*s) is called a *ḥadīth*. It is reported that while earlier people used to accept a *ḥadīth* as genuine on trust alone, after the civil wars of the late first to early second centuries AH, a *ḥadīth* was accepted only on the basis of some reliable authority. From this situation emerged the convention of the *isnād*, or the chain of guarantors of *ḥadīth*, extending from the present narrator backward to the Prophet. The *isnād* took the following form: “I, So-and-so, heard it from B, who heard it from C, who said that he heard the Prophet say so-and-so or do such-and-such.” Then followed the text (*matn*) of the *ḥadīth*. A whole science called “principles of *ḥadīth*” developed in order to lay down meticulous criteria for judging the reliability of the transmitters of *ḥadīth*, and the discipline stimulated in turn a vast literature of comprehensive biographical dictionaries recording thousands of transmitters’ names, their lives, character, and whether a transmitter actually met or could have met the person he claims to transmit from. The canons for criticizing transmitters were applied rigorously, and there is hardly a transmitter who has escaped criticism.

The experts on *ḥadīth* also developed canons of “rational critique” alongside the critique of the chains of transmission, but they applied the former with far less rigor than they did the latter. Although the specialists divided *ḥadīth* into several categories according to their “genuineness” and “reliability,” to this day it remains the real desideratum of the science to work out and apply what is called historical criticism to the materials of *ḥadīth*. The six authoritative Sunnī collections of *ḥadīth* date from the third century AH, while the famous Shīʿī collection of al-Kulīnī, *Al-kāfī* (The Sufficient), dates from the early fourth century. In modern times, the authenticity of *ḥadīth* and hence of the recorded *sunnah* of the Prophet (although not so much the biographies of the

Prophet and historical works) has come under general attack at the hands of certain Western scholars and also of some Muslim intellectuals—and this is happening increasingly—but the *ʿulamāʾ* have strenuously resisted these attacks because a large majority of Islamic social and political institutions and laws are either based on *ḥadīth* or rationalized through it.

Law. The well-known dictum among Western Islamicists that, just as theology occupies the central place in Christianity, in Islam the central place belongs to law is essentially correct. Law was the earliest discipline to develop in Islam because the Muslims needed it to administer the huge empire they had built with such astonishing rapidity. Recent research has held that the early materials for Islamic law were largely created by administrators on the basis of *ad hoc* decisions and that, in the second stage, systematic efforts were made by jurists to "islamize" these materials and bring them under the aegis of the Qurʾān and the *sunnah.* (The content of the latter, in the form of *ḥadīth*, developed alongside this activity of islamization.) This picture is probably too simplistic, however, and it would be more correct to say that the process of subsuming administrative materials and local custom under the Qurʾān and the *sunnah* went hand in hand with the reverse process of deriving law from the Qurʾān and whatever existed by way of the *sunnah* in the light of new administrative experiences and local custom.

Although clarification of this issue requires further research, it is certain that up to the early third century AH the schools of law were averse to the large-scale use of *ḥadīth* in the formulation of law and that, in fact, some scholars explicitly warned against the rise of "peripheral *ḥadīth*" and advised the acceptance of only that *ḥadīth* that conformed to the Qurʾān. However, the need for the anchoring authority of the Prophet had become so great that in the latter half of the second century AH al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/819) made a strong and subsequently successful bid for the wholesale acceptance of "reliable" *ḥadīth*—even if narrated by only one person. As a result, *ḥadīth* multiplied at a far greater rate after al-Shāfiʿī than before him. Nevertheless, the followers of Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 767) continued to reject a single-chain *ḥadīth* in favor of a "sure, rational proof derived from the *sharīʿah* principles," just as the followers of Mālik (d. 795) continued to give preference to the early "practice of Medina" over *ḥadīth.*

The final framework of Islamic jurisprudence came to recognize four sources of law, two material and two formal. The first source is the text of the Qurʾān, which constitutes an absolute "decisive proof"; the second is *ḥadīth* texts, although these can vary from school to school, particularly between the Sunnī and the Twelver Shīʿī schools. In new cases, for which a "clear text" (*naṣṣ*) is not available, a jurist must make the effort *(ijtihād)* to find a correct answer himself. The instrument of *ijtihād* is analogical reasoning (*qiyās*), which consists in (1) finding a text relevant to the new case in the Qurʾān or the *ḥadīth*, (2) discerning the essential similarity or *ratio legis* (called *ʿillat al-ḥukm*) between the two cases, (3) allowing for differences (*furūq*) and determining that they can be discounted, and (4) extending or interpreting the *ratio legis* to cover the new case. This methodology, although neatly formulated in theory, became very difficult to wield in practice primarily because of the differences of opinion with regard to "relevant texts," particularly in the case of *ḥadīth.*

The fourth source or principle is called *ijmāʿ*, or consensus. Although the concept of consensus in the sense of the informal agreement of the community (for Islam has no churches and no councils to produce formal decisions) has in practice an overriding authority, since even the fact and the authenticity of a Qurʾanic revelation are finally guaranteed by it, there is no consensus on the definition of consensus: it varies from the consensus of the *ʿulamāʾ*, through that of the *ʿulamāʾ* of a certain age, to that of the entire community. There is also a difference of opinion as to whether a certain consensus can be repealed by a subsequent one or not; the reply of the traditionalists is usually, though not always, in the negative, while that of modern reformers is in the positive.

A special category of punishments called *ḥudūd* (sg., *ḥadd*) was established by jurists and includes penalties specified in the Qurʾān for certain crimes: murder, theft, adultery, and false accusation of adultery, to which was later added drunkenness. The theory is that since God himself has laid down these penalties, they cannot be varied. But in view of the severity of the punishments, the jurists defined these crimes very narrowly (adultery, for example, is defined as the penetration of the male organ into the female) and put such stringent conditions on the requisite evidence that it became practically unattainable (for example, in order to prove adultery, four eyewitnesses to the sexual act itself were required). The legal maxim "Ward off *ḥadd* punishments by any doubt" was also propounded, and the term *doubt* in classical Islamic law had a far wider range than in any other known system of law. In addition, Muslim jurists enunciated two principles to create flexibility in *sharīʿah* law and its application: necessity and public interest. The political authority, thanks to these two principles, could promulgate new measures and even suspend the operations of the *sharīʿah* law. In later medieval centuries, the Ottoman rulers and others systematically promulgated new laws by invoking these particular principles of the *sharīʿah.*

After the concrete and systematic establishment of the schools of law during the fourth and fifth centuries AH, original legal thought in Islam lost vitality; this development is known as "the closure of the door of *ijtihād.*" It was not that new thinking was theoretically prohibited but rather that social, intellectual, and political conditions were unfavorable to it. However, a procedure known as *talfīq* (lit., "patchwork") was introduced whereby, if a certain provision in one legal school caused particular hardship, a more liberal provision from another could be borrowed, without necessarily taking over its reasoning. Thus, given the impracticality of the Ḥanafī school's regulation that a wife whose husband has disappeared must wait more than ninety years before remarrying (according to the reasoning that the wife must wait until her husband can be presumed dead through natural causes), the Mālikī school's provision that such a wife may marry after four years of waiting (Mālik reasoned that the maximum period of gestation, which he had himself witnessed, was four years) was taken over in practice.

Of the four extant Sunnī schools of law, the Ḥanafī is prevalent in the Indian subcontinent, Central Asia, Turkey, Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Iraq; the Mālikī school in North Africa extends from Libya through Morocco; the Shāfiʿī, in Southeast Asia, with a considerable following in Egypt; and the Ḥanbalī school, in Saudi Arabia. Within Shīʿī jurisprudence, the Jaʿfarī (Twelver Shīʿī) school prevails in Iran. At one time, the "literalist" (Ẓāhirī) school was represented by some highly prominent jurists, but it has practically no following now, while the Khārijī school is represented in Oman, and to a limited extent in East and North Africa.

It must finally be pointed out that when we speak of Islamic law, we mean all of human behavior, including, for example, intentions. This law is therefore very different from other systems of law in the strict sense of the term. Islamic law does not draw any line between law and morality, and hence much of it is not enforceable in a court, but only at the bar of conscience. This has had its advantages in that Islamic law is shot through with moral considerations, which in turn have given a moral temper to Muslim society. But it has also suffered from the disadvantage that general moral propositions have very often not been given due weight and have been selectively construed by jurists as mere "recommendations" rather than commands that must be expressed in terms of concrete legislation: the result has been an overemphasis on the specific dos and don'ts of the Qurʾān at the expense of general propositions. For example, the Qur'anic verse 4:3, permitting polygamy up to four wives, was given legal force by classical Muslim jurists, but the rider contained in the same verse, that if a person cannot do justice among co-wives, then he must marry only one, was regarded by them as a recommendation to the husband's conscience that he should do justice.

Theology. At an elementary level, theological speculation in Islam also began very early and was occasioned by the assassination of ʿUthmān, the third caliph (d. 665), but its rise and development was totally independent of the law, and the first great theological systems were constructed only in the third and fourth centuries AH. The first question to become the focal point of dispute was the definition of a true Muslim. The earliest political and theological schism was represented by the Khārijīs (from *khurūj*, meaning "secession"), who contended that a Muslim ceases to be a Muslim by the commission of a single serious sin such as theft or adultery, no matter how many times that person may recite the profession of faith, "There is no god but God and Muḥammad is his prophet," unless he or she repents sincerely. They held that ʿUthmān and ʿAlī (the fourth caliph) had both become *kāfir*s (non-Muslims), since the former was guilty of serious maladministration, including nepotism, and the latter had submitted his claim to rule to human arbitration, even though he had been duly elected caliph. The Khārijīs, who were exemplars of piety and utterly egalitarian, and who believed that the only qualification for rule is a person's goodness and piety, without consideration of race, color, or sex, were mostly bedouin, which largely explains both their egalitarianism and their fanaticism. They were "professional rebels" who never united but always fought successive governments in divided groups and were almost entirely crushed out of existence by the middle of the second century AH.

While the Khārijīs were not a systematic theological school, a full-fledged school, that of the Muʿtazilah, soon developed from their milieu. These thinkers, who emerged during the second and third centuries AH, held that while grave sinners do not become *kāfir*s, neither do they remain Muslims. Their central thesis concerned what they called "God's justice and unity," which they defended to its logical conclusion. God's justice demands that human beings have a free and efficacious will; only then can they be the locus of moral responsibility and deserve praise and blame here and reward and punishment in the hereafter. They carried this belief to the point of holding that just as God, in his justice, cannot punish one who does good, neither can he forgive one who does evil, for otherwise the difference between good and evil would disappear. This position certainly offended religious sensitivities, since the Qurʾān repeatedly mentions that God will forgive "whom he will" (2:284, 3:129 et al.).

For the Muʿtazilah, God plays no role in the sphere of human moral acts, except that he gives man moral support provided man does good by himself; God's activity is limited to nature. All anthropomorphic statements in the Qurʾān were interpreted by the Muʿtazilah either as metaphors or as Arabic idioms. They rejected *ḥadīth* outright because much of it was anthropomorphic and refused to base law upon it on the ground that *ḥadīth* transmission was unreliable. They further held that good and evil in terms of general principles (but not the positive religious duties) were knowable by human reason without the aid of revelation but that revelation supplied the necessary motivation for the pursuit of goodness. In conformity with this view, they believed that one must rationally ponder the purposes of the Qurʾanic ordinances, for in laying these down, God had a positive interest in furthering human well-being (*maṣlaḥah*). This presumably means that law should be rationally grounded; there is, however, no evidence that the Muʿtazilah ever attempted to work out a legal system.

On the issue of God's unity, the Muʿtazilah rejected the separation of God's attributes from his essence, for this would entail belief in a multiplicity of eternal beings, amounting to polytheism. They did not deny that God is "living," "knowing," and "willing," as divine activities, but they denied that God is "life," "knowledge," and "will," as substantives. The development of this particular doctrine was possibly influenced by Christian discussions on the nature of the Trinity, and how and whether three hypostases could be one person, because the terms in which it is formulated are all too foreign to the milieu of pristine Islam. As a consequence of this doctrine, the Muʿtazilah also denied the eternity of the Qurʾān, the very speech of God, since they denied the substantiality of all divine attributes. When their credo was made state creed under Caliph al-Maʾmūn, they persecuted opposition religious leaders such as Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 855), but because of these very doctrines—denial of God's forgiveness and of the eternity of the Qurʾān—they became unpopular, and Caliph al-Mutawakkil (d. 861) brought Sunnism back to ascendancy.

What is in fact called Sunnism means nothing more than the majority of the community; it had its content defined in large measure as a reaction to the Khārijīs and the Muʿtazilah, for Sunnī orthodoxy is but a refined and sophisticated form of that popular reaction that crystallized against these groups. There, no small role was played by popular preachers and popular piety, which had already found its way into *ḥadīth*. In doctrinal form, this reaction can be described as Murjiʾism (from *irjāʿ*, "postponement"), the belief that once adults have openly professed that there is no God but Allāh and Muḥammad is his prophet, if there is no reason to suspect that they are lying, mad, or under constraint, then such people are Muslims, irrespective of whether their deeds are good or whether their beliefs quite conform to orthodoxy, and that final judgment on their status must be "postponed" until the Last Day and left to God.

In conscious opposition to the Khārijīs and the Muʿtazilah, the Murjiʾah were content with minimal knowledge of Islam and Islamic conduct on the part of a believer. On the question of free will, they leaned heavily toward predestinarianism, and some were outright predestinarians. There is evidence that the Umayyad rulers supported the Murjiʾah, apparently for their own political ends, since they were interested in discouraging questions about how they had come to power and set up a dynastic rule that abandoned the first four caliphs' model and high moral and political standards. However, it would have been impossible for these rulers to succeed if popular opinion had not swung toward the Murjiʾah, particularly in reaction against the Khārijīs.

The chief formulator of the Sunnī creed was Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī (d. 935), a Muʿtazilī who later came under the influence of the traditionists (*ahl al-ḥadīth*) and turned the tables on his erstwhile preceptor and fellows among the Muʿtazilah. For al-Ashʿarī, people cannot produce their own actions; rather, God does, and neither man nor nature has any powers or potencies before the actual act. At the time of the act, for example, when fire actually burns, God creates a power for that particular act. Thus God creates an action, while human beings "appropriate" or "acquire" (*kasaba*) it and thereby become responsible for "their" acts. The Ashʿarī theologians are, therefore, atomists in terms of both time and space, and they reject causation and the entire idea of movement or process. God is under no obligation to do what human beings call justice; on the contrary, whatever God does is just. Justice involves reference to certain norms under which the agent works; since God has no norms to obey, there is no question of doing justice on his part. He also promised in the Qurʾān that he will reward those who do good and punish those who do evil, and this is the proper and only assurance we have of the fate of human beings; if he had chosen to do the reverse, no one could question him. It also follows that good and bad are not natural characteristics of human acts, but that acts become good or bad by God's declaration through the revelation that he has been sending since Adam, the first prophet. It is, therefore, futile to probe rationally into the purposes of divine injunctions, for these are the result of God's will.

On the question of divine attributes, al-Ashʿarī taught that these are real, although they are "neither God, nor other than God." God has an eternal attribute of "speech," which al-Ashʿarī called "psychic speech," manifested in all divinely revealed books. Although the Qurʾān as God's "psychic speech" is eternal, as something recited, written, and heard it is also created: one cannot point to a written copy of the Qurʾān or its recital and say "This is eternal."

A contemporary of al-Ashʿarī, the Central Asian theologian al-Māturīdī (d. 944), also formulated an "official" Sunnī creed and theology that in some fundamental ways was nearer to the Muʿtazilī stance. He recognized "power-before-the-act" in man and also declared good and bad to be natural and knowable by human reason. Whereas al-Ashʿarī belonged to the Shāfiʿī school of law, which was based principally on *ḥadīth*, al-Māturīdī was a member of the Ḥanafī school, which gave greater scope to reason. Yet, in subsequent centuries, the former's views almost completely eclipsed the latter's, although in the Indian subcontinent such prominent thinkers as Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1624) and Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi (d. 1762) criticized Ashʿarī theology. The reason behind this sweeping and enduring success of Ashʿarī theology seems to be the overwhelming spread of Sufism (particularly in its pantheistic form), which, in theological terms, was much more akin to Ashʿarī thought than to that of Muʿtazilah or even the Māturīdīyah, in that it sought to obliterate the human self in the all-embracing and all-effacing self of God, the most important nodal point of this conjunction being al-Ghazālī.

In the intellectual field, as we shall see, Sufism grew at the expense of theology and utilized the worldview of the Muslim philosophers. On the moral and spiritual planes, however, the powerful corroboration of theology and Sufism stimulated the vehement reaction of the jurist and theologian Ibn Taymīyah (d. 1328). Struggling all his life against popular Ṣūfī superstitions, against worship of saints and their shrines, and against Ashʿarī theology, he tried to resurrect the moral activism of the Qurʾān and the *sunnah*. He regarded the Muʿtazilī denial of God's role in human actions as an error but considered the Ashʿarī denial of human free and effective will as extremely dangerous and, in fact, stated that pantheistic Ṣūfīs and the Ashʿarī theologians were considerably worse than not only the Muʿtazilah but even the Zoroastrians. He held that the Zoroastrians' postulation of two gods was undoubtedly an error but argued that they had been forced into this belief by the undeniable distinction between good and evil that both Ashʿarī theology and pantheistic Sufism virtually obliterated, leaving no basis for any worthwhile religion. (As we shall see, a similar argument was conducted within Sufism by a later Indian Ṣūfī, Aḥmad Sirhindī.) Ibn Taymīyah sought to solve the perennial problem of free will versus divine omnipotence by saying that the actual application of the principle of divine omnipotence occurs only in the past, while the *sharīʿah* imperatives are relevant only to the future. His teaching remained more or less dormant until the eighteenth century, when it inspired the Wahhābī religious revolution in the Arabian Peninsula.

Sufism. The mainspring of Sufism lay in the desire to cultivate the inner life and to attain a deeper, personal understanding of Islam. Among the many proposed etymologies of the word *ṣūfī*, the most credible is the one that derives it from *ṣūf*, meaning "coarse wool," a reference to the kind of garb that many Ṣūfīs wore. The first phase of this spiritual movement was definitely moral, and the works of most early Ṣūfīs, those of the second and third centuries AH, show a preoccupation with constant self-examination and close scrutiny of one's motivation.

Ṣūfī doctrine. The dialectic of the trappings and self-deception of the soul developed by Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. 898) in his *Khatm al-awliyāʿ* (The seal of the saints) provides one extraordinary example of spiritual insight, but this strongly moral trend continues from Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 728) through al-Muḥāsibī (d. 857) to his pupil al-Junayd (d. 910). The essence of their doctrine is moral contrition and detachment of the mind from the "good things" of the world *(zuhd).* But from its very early times, Sufism also had a strong devotional element, as exemplified by the woman saint Rābiʿah al-ʿAdawīyah (d. 801). The goal of love of God led to the doctrine of *fanāʾ* or "annihilation" (that is, of the human self in God). There were definitely Hellenistic Christian influences at work here. But the annihilation ideal was soon amended into "survival (*baqāʾ*) after annihilation," or (re)gaining of a new self, and this formula was given different interpretations.

Most Ṣūfīs taught that, after the destruction of the human attributes (not the self), mortals acquire divine attributes (not the divine self) and "live in" them. The firm view of the orthodox and influential Ṣūfīs al-Junayd was that when a person sheds human attributes and these attributes undergo annihilation, that person comes to think that he or she has become God. But God soon gives that person the consciousness of otherness (not alienation) from God, which is extremely painful and is only somewhat relieved by God's also giving the consolation that this is the highest state attainable by human beings. Yet there were also Ṣūfīs who, most probably under the influence of Hellenistic Christianity, believed in human transubstantiation into God. In 922, al-Ḥallāj, a representative of this school, was charged with having uttered the blasphemous statement "I am God" and was crucified in Baghdad. Yet, a somewhat earlier mystic, al-Bisṭāmī (d. 874), who is said to have committed even graver blasphemies, was never touched by the law. It may be, as some contend, that the real reasons behind al-Ḥallāj's execution were political, or it may be related to the fact that al-Ḥallāj was in the capital, Baghdad, whereas al-Bisṭāmī lived in an outlying province.

This example of such divergent interpretations of a fundamental doctrine should warn us that with Sufism we are dealing with a truly protean phenomenon: not only do interpretations differ, but experiences themselves must differ as well. However, under pressure from the *ʿulamāʾ*, who refused to acknowledge any objective validity for the Ṣūfī experience, the Ṣūfīs formulated a doctrine of "spiritual stations" (*maqāmāt*) that adepts successively attained through their progressive spiritual itinerary (*sulūk*). These stations are as objectifiable as any experience can be. Although the various schools have differed in the lists of these stations, they usually enumerate them as follows: detachment from the world *(zuhd),* patience (*ṣabr*), gratitude (*shukr*) for whatever God gives, love (*ḥubb*), and pleasure *(riḍā)* with whatever God desires.

After the violent death of al-Ḥallāj, another important doctrine of the dialectic of Ṣūfī experience was developed by orthodox Ṣūfīs. According to this doctrine, the Ṣūfī alternates between two different types of spiritual states. One type is the experience of unity (where all multiplicity disappears) and of the inner reality. In this state the Ṣūfī is "absent" from the world and is "with God"; this is the state of "intoxication" (*sukr*). The other state, that of "sobriety" (*ṣaḥw*), occurs when the Ṣūfī "returns" to multiplicity and is "with the world." Whereas many Ṣūfīs had earlier contended that "intoxication" is superior to "sobriety" and that, therefore, the saints (*awliyāʾ*) are superior to the prophets (who are "with the world" and legislate for society), the orthodox Ṣūfīs now asserted the opposite, for the goodness of saints is limited to themselves, whereas the goodness of prophets is transitive, since they save the society as well as themselves.

On the basis of this doctrine, al-Ḥallāj's famous statement was rationalized as "one uttered in a state of intoxication" and as such not to be taken at face value. But it was al-Ghazālī who effected a meaningful and enduring synthesis of Ṣūfī "innerism" and the orthodox belief system. A follower of al-Ashʿarī in theology and of al-Shāfiʿī in law, al-Ghazālī also studied thoroughly the philosophic tradition of Ibn Sīnā (known in the West as Avicenna, d. 1037), and although he refuted its important theses bearing on religion in the famous work *Tahāfut al-falāsifah* (The Incoherence of the Philosophers), he was influenced by it in important ways as well. He then adopted Sufism as his "way to God" and composed his *magnum opus*, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* (The Revivification of the Sciences of the Faith). His net accomplishment lies in the fact that he tried to infuse a new spiritual life into law and theology on the one hand and to instill sobriety and responsibility into Sufism on the other, for he repudiated the Ṣūfī *shaṭaḥāt* (intoxicated utterances) as meaningless.

Within a century after al-Ghazālī's death, however, a Ṣūfī doctrine based on out-and-out monism was being preached by Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1240). Born in Spain and educated there and in North Africa, Ibn al-ʿArabī eventually traveled to the Muslim East; he lived for many years in Mecca, where he wrote his major work, *Al-futūḥāt al-makkīyah* (The Meccan Discoveries), and finally settled in Damascus, where he died. Ibn al-ʿArabī's writings are the high-water mark of theosophic Sufism, which goes beyond the ascetic or ecstatic Sufism of the earlier period, by laying cognitive claims to a unique, intuitive experience (known as *kashf*, "direct discovery," or *dhawq*, "taste") that was immune from error and radically different from and superior to the rational knowledge of the philosophers and the theologians.

Ibn al-ʿArabī's doctrine, known as Unity of Being *(waḥdat al-wujūd),* teaches that everything is in one sense God and in another sense not-God. He holds that, given God, the transcendent, another factor that in itself is not describable "either as existent or as nonexistent" comes to play a crucial role in the unfolding of reality. This factor is neither God nor the world; it is a "third thing," but it is God with God and world with the world. It is the stuff of which both the attributes of God (for God as transcendent has no names and no attributes) and the content of the world are made. It is eternal with the eternal and temporal with the temporal; it does not exist partially and divided in things: the whole of it is God, and the whole of it is the world, and the whole of it is everything in the world. This "third thing" turns out finally to be the Perfect or Primordial Human Being (who is identified with the eternal, not the temporal, Muḥammad), in whose mirror God sees himself and who sees himself in God's mirror. This immanent God and Human Being are not only interdependent but are the obverse and converse of the same coin. There is little doubt that Ibn al-ʿArabī represents a radical humanism, a veritable apotheosis of humanity.

This monistic Sufism found certain devoted and distinguished exponents in Ibn al-ʿArabī's school, in both prose and poetry, the most illustrious and influential representative of the latter being Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273), whose *Mathnavī* in Persian has been hailed as the "Qurʾān in the Persian language." Through poetry, moreover, it has had a profound and literally incalculable influence on the general intellectual culture of Islam, in terms of a liberal humanism, indeed, latitudinarianism, and among the lower strata of Islamic society even antinomianism. A striking feature of this antinomianism, where orthodoxy was unashamedly scoffed at and ridiculed for its rigidity and narrow confines, is that it was tolerated by the orthodox only when it was expressed in poetry, not in prose. Also, because of the latitude and broad range of Ṣūfī spirituality, from roughly the twelfth century to the impact of modernization in the nineteenth century, the more creative Muslim minds drifted from orthodoxy into the Ṣūfī fold, and philosophy itself, although it remained rational in its methods, became mystical in its goals.

I have already noted the severe reaction against Ṣūfī excesses on the part of Ibn Taymīyah in the fourteenth century. It may be mentioned here that for Ibn Taymīyah the ultimate distinction between good and evil is absolutely necessary for any worthwhile religion that seeks to inculcate moral responsibility, and further, that this distinction is totally dependent upon belief in pure monotheism and the equally absolute distinction between man and God. He sets little value on the formal fact that a person belongs to the Muslim community; he evaluates all human beings on the scale of monotheism. Thus, as seen above, he regards pantheistic Ṣūfīs (and, to a large extent, because of their predestinarianism, the Ashʿarīyah as well), as being equivalent to polytheists; then come the Shīʿah and Christians because both consider a human being to be a divine incarnation; and last come Zoroastrians and the Muʿtazilah, since both posit two ultimate powers.

Later, the Indian shaykh of the Naqshbandī order, Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1624), undertook a similar reform of Sufism from within. His massive *Maktūbāt-i Aḥmad Sirhindī* (Letters), the main vehicle of his reform, besides the training of disciples, was twice translated into Ottoman Turkish and was influential in Turkey; in the Arab Middle East, his reformist thought was carried and spread in the nineteenth century. Sirhindī, who accepts Ibn al-ʿArabī's philosophical scheme at the metaphysical level, introduces a radical moral dualism at the level of God's attributes and, instead of identifying the temporal world with the stuff of divine attributes, as Ibn al-ʿArabī does, regards that world as being essentially evil, but evil that has to be transformed into good through the activity of the divine attributes. The basic error of the common Ṣūfīs, for him, is that instead of helping to transform this evil into good, as God wants to do through his attributes, they flee from it. The spiritual heights to which they think they are ascending are, therefore, a pure delusion, for the real good is this evil, "this earth," once it has been transformed. But this realization requires a constant struggle with evil, not a flight from it. It is a prophet, then, not a saint, who undertakes the real divine task, and the true test of a person's ascent to real spiritual heights is whether he or she reenters the earth in order to improve and redeem it. Despite the efforts of Ibn Taymīyah, Sirhindī, and other figures, however, Ibn al-ʿArabī's influence has been, until today, very strong in the Muslim world, not just on Sufism but on Islamic poetry as well.

Ṣūfī orders. Up to the twelfth century, Sufism was a matter of limited circles of a spiritual elite that might be aptly described as "schools" with different spiritual techniques and even different spiritual ideologies. From the twelfth century on, however, they developed into networks of orders, involving the masses on a large scale. Systems of Ṣūfī hospices—called variously *zāwiyah*s (in Arabic), *tekkes* (in Turkish), and *khānagāh*s (in Iran and the Indian subcontinent)—where the Ṣūfī shaykh lived (usually with his family in the interior of the building) and guided his clientele, grew up from Morocco to Southeast Asia. Although in some of the hospices orthodox religious disciplines such as theology and law were taught along with Ṣūfī works, orthodox education was generally carried on in the *madrasah*s, or colleges, while only Ṣūfī works were taught in the Ṣūfī centers.

Ṣūfī orders can be divided into those that are global and those that are regional. The most global is the Qādirī order, named after ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 1166), with branches all over the world that are tied only loosely to the center at Baghdad. Somewhat more regional are the Suhrawardī and the Naqshbandī orders. The latter, which originated in Central Asia in the thirteenth century, formulated an explicit ideology early in its career to try to influence the rulers and their courts, with the result that they have often been politically active. One of its branches, the Khalwatīyah, played a prominent role in modernizing reform in Turkey during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Several of the Ṣūfī orders have been associated with guilds and sometimes, particularly in Ottoman Turkey, have been directly involved in social protests and political rebellions against official oppression and injustice.

Another broad and important division is that between urban and "rustic" orders. The former, particularly the Naqshbandī order and its offshoots, were refined and close to the orthodoxy of the *ʿulamāʾ*, with the result that an increasingly large number of the *ʿulamāʾ* gradually enrolled themselves in these urban Ṣūfī orders, particularly the orthodox ones. By contrast, many of the rustic orders were without discipline and law (*bī-sharʿ*), especially in the Indian subcontinent, where they were often indistinguishable from the Hindu *sādhūs* (monks). With the spread of modernization, Sufism and Ṣūfī orders have suffered greatly; in Turkey, they were suppressed by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in the 1920s, and their endowments were confiscated by the government. It is interesting to note, however, that since the mid-twentieth century some orders have experienced a revival in the industrial urban centers of Muslim lands, probably in reaction to the excessively materialistic outlook generated by modernization, while in Central Asia their underground networks are waging anti-Soviet activities in an organized manner. Correspondingly, in the West, several intellectuals, such as Frithjof Schuon and Martin Lings, have actively turned to Ṣūfī devotion to escape the spiritual vacuity created by their own overly materialistic culture.

Sects. There are two broad divisions within the Muslim community, the Sunnīs and the Shīʿah. The theological views and the legal schools of the Sunnīs—the majority of the community—have been dealt with above. The Shīʿī schism grew out of the claim of the Shīʿah (a word meaning "partisans," in this context "the partisans of ʿAlī") that following the Prophet, rule over Muslims belongs rightfully only to ʿAlī, Muḥammad's cousin and son-in-law, and to his descendants. This doctrine, known as "legitimism," was opposed to the Khārijī view that rule is open to any good Muslim on a universal basis and to the Sunnī view, which was no more than a rationalization of actual facts, that "rulers must come from the Quraysh," the Prophet's tribe, but not necessarily from his clan or house.

The Shīʿah, in early Islam, were primarily sociopolitical dissidents, sheltering under the umbrella of "the house of the Prophet" but actually representing various elements of social protest against Umayyad Arab heavy-handedness and injustices. But it was not long before they began establishing an ideological and theological base for themselves. Until well into the third century AH, Shīʿī theology was crude and materialistic: it asserted that God was a corporeal being who sat on an actual throne and created space by physical motion. Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam (d. 814?), among the best known of the early Shīʿī theologians, is reported to have said that God was "a little smaller than Mount Abū Qabīs." There were several other early Shīʿī theologians who attributed some kind of body, including a physical body, to God, but beginning in the latter half of the ninth century, Shīʿī theology was radically transformed, inheriting and asserting with increasing force the Muʿtazilī doctrine of human free will against the Sunnīs.

In the thirteenth century CE, through the work of the philosopher, theologian, and scientist Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 1273), philosophy entered Shīʿī theology, a process that was further facilitated by Ṭūsī's student, the influential theologian al-Ḥillī (d. 1325). In his work on the creed, *Tajrīd al-ʿaqāʾid* (Concise Statement of the Creeds), which was subsequently commented upon by both Shīʿī and Sunnī theologians, Ṭūsī describes man as "creator of his own actions." Ṭūsī, however, rejects the philosophical thesis of the eternity of the world. Here it is interesting to compare this Shīʿī development with the Sunnī position that was articulated about three-quarters of a century earlier at the hands of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1209), who expanded the official Sunnī theology by incorporating into it a discussion of major philosophical themes. But whereas the Shīʿah accepted many philosophical theses into their theology, al-Rāzī and other Sunnīs after him refuted all the philosophical theses point by point, thus erecting a theology that was an exclusive alternative to philosophy. Against this background is probably to be understood the fact that while philosophy was exorcised from the curricula in the Arab world from the thirteenth century on and declined sharply in the rest of the Sunnī world, it reached its zenith in Shīʿī Iran in the seventeenth century and continues unabated until today, although many of the orthodox Shīʿah continue to oppose it.

In law, the Twelver Shīʿī school has long been recognized as valid by the Sunnīs, despite differences, the most conspicuous being that Shīʿī law recognizes a temporary marriage that may be contracted for a fixed period—a year, a month, a week, or even a day. Among the Shīʿah, the nearest school to Sunnism, particularly in law, is that of the Zaydīyah in Yemen, whose founder Zayd ibn ʿAlī (d. 738), a brother of the fifth imam of the Shīʿah, was a theology student of the first Muʿtazilī teacher, Wāṣil ibn ʿAṭāʾ (d. 748).

But the most characteristic doctrine of the Shīʿah is their esotericism. This has a practical aspect called *taqīyah*, which means dissimulation of one's real beliefs in a generally hostile atmosphere. This doctrine, apparently adopted in early Islamic times, when the Shīʿah became a subterranean movement, as it were, in the wake of political failure, subsequently became a part of Shīʿī dogma. But in its theoretical aspect esotericism is defined by the doctrine that religion, and particularly the Qurʾān, has, besides the apparent, "external" meaning, hidden esoteric meanings that can be known only through spiritual contact with the Hidden Imam. In the early centuries of Islam, this principle of esotericism was probably unbridled and fanciful in its application, as is apparent from the ninth- to tenth-century Qurʾān commentary of al-Qummī. But as Shiism was progressively permeated by rational thought, esotericism became more systematic, even if it may often seem farfetched (as in certain philosophical interpretations of the Qurʾān). As pointed out earlier, the Ṣūfīs also patently practiced esotericism in understanding the materials of religion, particularly the Qurʾān; the ultimate common source of both Shiism and Sufism lies in Gnosticism and other comparable currents of thought, and, indeed, Ibn al-ʿArabī's interpretations are often purely the work of his uncontrolled imagination.

Beginning from about the middle of the tenth century, when the Sunnī caliph in Baghdad came under the control of the Shīʿī Buyid dynasty, there were public commemorations of the martyrdom of Ḥusayn at Karbala on the tenth of Muḥarram (ʿĀshūrāʾ). These ceremonies caused riots in Baghdad and still do so in some countries such as Pakistan and India today. The commemoration is traditionally marked by public processions in which participants lamenting the death of the Prophet's grandson beat their breasts and backs with heavy iron chains. Scenes of Ḥusayn's death are re-created in passion plays known as *taʿziyah*s, and he is eulogized in moving sermons and poetry recitals. Fed from childhood with such representational enactments of this event, a Shīʿī Muslim is likely to develop a deep sense of tragedy and injustice resulting in an ideal of martyrdom that is capable of being manipulated into outbursts of frenzied emotionalism, like the spectacular events of the Iranian Revolution.

Shīʿī subsects. In the first and second centuries of the Islamic era, Shiism served as an umbrella for all kinds of ideologies, with a general social protest orientation, and the earliest heresiographers enumerate dozens of Shīʿī sects, several with extremely heretical and antinomian views. The main surviving body, the Ithnā ʿAsharīyah, or Twelvers, number probably between fifty and sixty million people. All other sects (except the Zaydīyah of Yemen) are regarded even by the Twelvers themselves as heretical extremists (*ghulāt*). The main one among these, the Ismāʿīlīyah, or Seveners, broke with the Twelvers in a dispute over which son of the sixth imam was to be recognized as the latter's successor: the Twelvers refused to recognize the elder son, Ismaʿil, because he drank wine, while the Seveners did recognize him (thus the name Ismāʿīlī) and continue to await his return.

The Ismāʿīlīyah established a powerful and prosperous empire in North Africa and Egypt from the tenth to the twelfth centuries. Prior to this, the Ismāʿīlīyah had been an underground revolutionary movement, but once they attained political power, they settled down as part of the status quo. Since the late eleventh century, they have been divided into two branches: the Nizārīyah, commonly known by the name Assassins, who were active in Syria and Iran, and in recent years have been followers of a hereditary Aga Khan, and the Mustaʿliyah, who are mainly centered in Bombay. Ismāʿīlī philosophy, which is reflected in the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* (Epistles of the Brethren of Purity), produced by a secret society in the late ninth century, is essentially based on Neoplatonic thought with influences from Gnosticism and occult sects.

The Ismāʿīlī sect, which was organized and propagated through a well-knit network of missionaries (*duʿāh*), adheres to a belief in cyclic universes: each cycle comprises seven Speakers, or Messengers, with a revelation and a law; each Speaker is followed in turn by one of the seven Silent Ones, or Imams. The last imam, when he appears, will abrogate all organized religions and their laws and will institute a new era of a universal religion. During the leadership of the third Aga Khan (d. 1957), the Ismāʿīlī community started drawing closer to the mainstream of Islam, a trend that seems to be gaining further strength at present under Karim Aga Khan's leadership: Ismāʿīlī intellectuals now describe their faith as the " Ismāʿīlī *ṭarīqah* [spiritual order] of Islam." There are other "extremist" subsects within the Shīʿah, including the Druze, Nusayriyah, and ʿAlawīyūn. Of these, the Druze are the most prominent. This sect arose in the eleventh century as a cult of the eccentric Fatimid ruler al-Ḥakīm, who mysteriously disappeared in 1021.

Later sects. In more recent times, there have been two noteworthy sectarian developments, one within Shīʿī Islam in mid-nineteenth-century Iran and the other within Sunnī Islam in late nineteenth-century India. During an anticlerical movement in Iran, a certain Muḥammad ʿAlī of Shiraz claimed to be the Bāb, or "Gate," to God. He was executed by the government under pressure from the *ʿulamāʾ* in 1850. After him, his two disciples, Subḥ-i Azal and Bahāʾ Allāh, went different ways, and the latter subsequently declared his faith to be an independent religion outside Islam. While the origin of the Bahāʾī religion was marked by strong eschatological overtones, it later developed an ideology of pacifism and internationalism and won a considerable number of converts in North America early in the twentieth century. In

Iran itself, Bābīs and Bahāʾīs are frequent targets of clerical persecution, and many of them have been executed under the Khomeini regime.

The Sunnī sect called the Aḥmadīyah arose in the 1880s when Ghulām Aḥmad of Qadiyān (a village in East Punjab) laid claim to prophethood. He claimed to be at once a "manifestation" of the prophet Muḥammad, the Second Advent of Jesus, and an avatar of Kṛṣṇa for the Hindus. It is possible that he wanted to unite various religions under his leadership. After his death, his followers constituted themselves as an independent community with an elected *khalīfah* (successor; i.e., caliph). When the first caliph died in 1911, the Aḥmadīyah split in two: the main body carried on the founder's claim to prophethood under Aḥmad's son, Bashīr al-Dīn, while the other, the Lahore group, claimed that Ghulām Aḥmad was not a prophet, nor had he claimed to be one, but rather that he was a reformer or "renovator" (*mujaddid)* of Islam. Both groups have been active with missionary zeal, particularly in Europe and America. In 1974, the National Assembly of Pakistan, where the main body had established its headquarters after the creation of the state, declared both groups to be "non-Muslim minorities."

Modernism. In the eighteenth century, against a background of general stagnation, a puritanical fundamentalist movement erupted in Arabia under Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (1703–1792). The movement called for a return to the purist Islam of the Qurʾān and the *sunnah* and its unadulterated monotheism, uncompromised by the popular cults of saints and their shrines. Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb married into the family of Saʿūd, a chieftain of Najd, who accepted his teaching and brought all Arabia under his ruling ideology. At the same time, in the Indian subcontinent, Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi, a highly sophisticated intellectual (said to have been a fellow student of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb during his stay in Medina), also advocated a return to pristine Islam although, unlike his Arabian contemporary, he was a Ṣūfī at a high spiritual level.

In the nineteenth century a reformist militant group called the Jihād movement arose out of Walī Allāh's school, and three more movements followed in Africa—the Sanūsī in Libya, the Fulbe in West Africa, and the Mahdists in the Sudan. Although these three movements emerged from different environments, common to all of them was a reformist thrust in terms of the recovery of the "true pristine Islam" of the Qurʾān and the Prophet, particularly emphasizing monotheism; an insistence upon *ijtihād*, that is, rejection of the blind following tradition in both theology and law in favor of an attempt to discover and formulate new solutions to Islamic problems; and finally, resort to militant methods, including the imposition of their reformist ideologies by force. In addition, these movements generally brought to the center of consciousness the necessity of social and moral reforms as such, without recourse to the rewards and punishments of the hereafter. In other words, all three were characterized by a certain positivistic orientation.

While these premodernist reform movements laid great emphasis on *ijtihād*, in practice their *ijtihād* meant that Muslims should be enabled to disengage themselves from their present "degenerate" condition and to recover pristine Islam. Also, it is a general characteristic of all fundamentalist movements that in order to "simplify" religion and make it practical, they debunk the intellectualism of the past and discourage the growth of future intellectualism. In such cases education becomes so simplified that it is virtually sterile, thus leaving little possibility for *ijtihād*. Of the fundamentalist groups I have described above, the progenitors of the Indian and Libyan movements were sophisticated and accomplished scholars, but the leaders of the other three had only a modicum of learning and were primarily activists.

Nonetheless, these movements signaled real stirrings in the soul of Islam and paved the way for the intellectual activity of the Muslim modernists—Muslims who had been exposed to Western ideas and who, by integrating certain key ones among them with the teaching of the Qurʾān, produced brilliant solutions to the crucial problems then faced by Islamic society. The influence of premodernist reformism upon the modernists is apparent from the fact that they keep the Qurʾān and the tradition of the Prophet as ultimate referents for reform while criticizing or rejecting the medieval heritage. Thus, although their individual views regarding, for example, the relationship between faith and reason differ, all of them insist on the cultivation of positive sciences, appealing to numerous verses of the Qurʾān that state that the entire universe has been made subservient to good ends of humankind and that we must study and use it.

In the political sphere, citing Qurʾān 42:38, which says that Muslims should decide all their affairs through mutual consultation (*shūrā*, actually a pre-Islamic Arab institution confirmed by the Qurʾān), the modernists contended that whereas the Qurʾān teaches democracy, the Muslims had deviated from this norm and acquiesced to autocratic rule. Similarly, on the subject of women, the modernists argued that the Qurʾān had granted equal rights to men and women (except in certain areas of economic life where the burden of earning and supporting the family is squarely laid on men), but the medieval practice of the Muslims had clearly departed from the Qurʾān and ended by depriving women of their rights. Regarding polygamy, the modernists stated that permission for polygamy (up to four wives) had been given under special conditions, with the proviso that if the husband could not do justice among his co-wives then he must marry only one wife, and that finally the Qurʾān itself had declared such justice to be impossible to attain (4:129).

Of the half-dozen most prominent names in Islamic modernism, two were *ʿulamāʾ*-trained along traditional lines: Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1839–1897), a fiery activist with a magnetic personality, and his disciple, the Egyptian shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1845–1905). Three were lay intellectuals with modern education: the Turk Namik Kemal (1840–1888) and the two Indians Ameer Ali (d. 1928) and

Muḥammad Iqbāl (1877–1938), while the Indian Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817–1898), the most radical of them all in theological views, was a premodern lay-educated scholar. Yet, despite their differences and the fact that none of them, except for al-Afghānī and ʿAbduh, ever met any of the others, they shared the basic tenet—*à la* premodernist reform movements—that medieval Islam had deviated on certain crucial points from the normative Islam of the Qurʾān; this argument runs through all the issues that they discuss.

However, while these modernists sought reform within their own societies, they also waged controversies with the West on the latter's understanding of Islam, and some of them, particularly Iqbāl, argued about the West's own performance on the stage of history. Iqbāl bitterly and relentlessly accused the West of cheating humanity of its basic values with the glittering mirage of its technology, of exploiting the territories it colonized in the name of spreading humanitarian values, which it itself flouted by waging internecine wars born of sheer economic savagery, and of dewomanizing the women and dilapidating the family institution in the name of progress. Iqbal was an equally strong critic of the world Muslim society, which for him represented nothing more than a vast graveyard of Islam. He called the whole world to the "true Islam" of the Qurʾān and the Prophet, a living, dynamic Islam that believed in the harnessing of the forces of history for the ethical development of mankind.

Iqbāl and others, such as the Egyptian Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1935), proved to belong to a transitional stage from modernism to a new attitude, perhaps best described as neofundamentalism, for unlike the fundamentalism of the premodernist reform movements, the current neofundamentalism is, in large measure, a reaction to modernism, but it has also been importantly influenced by modernism. This influence can best be seen on two major issues: first, the contention that Islam is a total way of life, including all fields of human private and public life, and is not restricted to certain religious rites such as the Five Pillars (to which the Islam of the traditionalist *ʿulamāʾ* had become practically confined); and, second, that cultivation of scientific knowledge and technology is desirable within Islam.

Besides emphasis on technology (although Iran appears to pay only lip service to science and technology), neofundamentalists have, on the one hand, oversimplified the traditionalist curriculum of Islamic studies, and, on the other, embarked upon a program of "islamization" of Western knowledge. Besides these points, the most basic factor common to the neofundamentalist phenomena is a strong assertion of Islamic identity over and against the West, an assertion that hits equally strongly at most modernist reforms, particularly on the issue of the status and role of women in society. This powerful desire to repudiate the West, therefore, leads the neofundamentalist to emphasize certain points (as a *riposte* to the modernist, who is often seen as a pure and simple westernizer) that would most distinguish Islam from the West. Besides the role of women, which is seen to lie at home, the heaviest emphasis falls on the islamization of economy through the reinstitution of *zakāt* and the abolition of bank interest (which is identified with *ribā*, or usury, prohibited by the Qurʾān). No neofundamentalist government in the Muslim world—including Iran and Pakistan—however, has been successful in implementing either of the two policies, while the Libyan leader Muʿammar al-Qadhdhāfī has declared that the modern banking institution is not covered by the Qurʾanic prohibition of *ribā*.

Neofundamentalism is by no means a uniform phenomenon. Apart from the fact that there exist, particularly in the Arab Middle East, extremist splinter groups of neofundamentalists that are strikingly reminiscent of the Khārijīs of early Islamic times, on most crucial issues, such as democracy or the nature of Islamic legislation, even the mainstream elements are sharply divided. While in Libya, for example, Muʿammar al-Qadhdhāfī has taken a most radical stand on legislation, repudiating the precepts of *ḥadīth* as its source and replacing them with the will of the people, the current rulers of Pakistan and Iran show little confidence in the will of the people. The most interesting attitude in this connection is that of the religious leaders of Iran: while almost all reformers since the mid-nineteenth century—including Shīʿī thinkers such as Ameer Ali—have insisted that there can be no theocracy in Islam since Islam has no priesthood, the Iranian religious leaders are asserting precisely the opposite, namely, that Islam does have a priesthood and that this priestly class must rule, a position expounded even prior to the Islamic Revolution by Ayatollah Khomeini, the chief ruler of Iran, in his work *Vilāyat-i faqīh* (Rule of the jurist, 1971).

Finally, the phenomenon of international Islamic conferences in modern Islam is also to be noted since, in the absence of political unity in the Muslim world, these help the cause of unity of sentiment, if not uniformity of mind. The beginnings of this phenomenon go back to the 1920s, when conferences were held in Cairo and Mecca to deliberate on the possibility of reinstituting the caliphate after Atatürk abolished it with the secularization of the Turkish state. But from the mid-1940s on, as Muslim countries gained independence from European colonial rule, the sentiment for international Muslim gatherings became progressively stronger. In the mid-1960s all the national and international private Islamic organizations became affiliated with the semiofficial Saudi-sponsored Muslim World League (Rābiṭat al-ʿĀlam al-Islāmī), headquartered in Mecca; the league finances Islamic causes both in the Muslim world and in Western countries, where large numbers of Muslim settlers are building mosques and Islamic centers and developing Islamic community life, including programs for education.

At the same time, since the 1969 Muslim Summit Conference held in Rabat, Morocco, an Islamic Secretariat has been set up in Jiddah, Saudi Arabia, as the administrative center for the Organization of Islamic Conferences (OIC) on the state level. Besides holding summit meetings, this organization maintains a developmental economic agenda through which interest-free development banks have been set up, financed principally by oil-rich Arab countries to help poorer Muslim countries (this is in addition to the aid given to non-Muslim countries). All these conferences, whether organized by the OIC or the World Muslim League, discuss political problems affecting the Muslim world and try to formulate a common response to them, through the United Nations and its agencies or through other channels.

Islam's attitude to other religions. According to Qurʾanic teaching divine guidance is universal, and God regards all peoples as equal. Every prophet's message, although immediately addressed to a given people, is nevertheless of universal import and must be believed by all humanity. Muḥammad himself is made to declare, "I believe in any book God may have revealed" (Qurʾān 42:15), and all Muslims are required to do likewise. This is so because God is one; the source of revelation is one, and humankind is also one. The office of prophethood is, in fact, indivisible.

Muslims, however, have, from earliest times, considered Muḥammad to be the bearer of the last and consummate revelation. Nevertheless, there is a tension within the Qurʾān itself on this issue. In keeping with its fundamental teaching that prophethood is indivisible, the Qurʾān, of course, invites Jews and Christians to Islam; it insists on the unity of religion, deplores the diversity of religions and religious communities, which it insists is based on willful neglect of truth, and denounces both Jews and Christians as "partisans, sectarians," with "each sect rejoicing in what itself has" (30:32).

On the other hand, it states that although religion is essentially one, God himself has given different "institutions and approaches" to different communities so that he might "test them in what he has given them," and that they might compete with each other in goodness (5:48), which implies that these different institutional arrangements have positive value and are somehow meant to be permanent. In fact, the Qurʾān categorically states that whether a person is a Muslim or a Jew or a Christian or a Sabian, "whosoever believes in God and the Last Day and does good deeds, they shall have their reward with their Lord, shall have nothing to fear, nor shall they come to grief" (2:62; see also 5:69). This tension is probably to be resolved by saying that it is better, indeed incumbent upon humankind to accept Muḥammad's message, but that if they do not, then living up to their own prophetic messages will be regarded as adequate even if it does not fulfill the entire divine command.

The organization of Muslims as a community—which was inherent in the message of the Prophet—set in motion its own political and religious dynamics. The Qurʾān itself, while strongly repudiating the claims of Jewish and Christian communities to be proprietors of divine truth and guidance, frankly tells Muslims also (for example, in 47:38) that unless they fulfill the message they cannot take God for granted. Soon after the time of the Prophet, however, the community came to be regarded as infallible, and a *ḥadīth* was put into currency that the Prophet had said "My community shall never agree on an error." This development was necessitated partly by intercommunal rivalry, but largely by the internal development of law, since the doctrine of legal consensus had to be made infallible.

In his last years, the Prophet decided on the policy of forcible conversion of Arab pagans to Islam and gave religious and cultural autonomy to Jews and Christians as "people of the Book" (although Jews were driven out of Medina by Muḥammad and later from the rest of the Arabian Peninsula by ʿUmar I). Muslims had to determine for themselves the status of Zoroastrians, Hindus, and Buddhists when they conquered Iran and parts of Northwest India. It was decided that these populations were also "people of the Book" since they believed in certain scriptures, and consequently they were allowed to keep their religion and culture, like the Jews and Christians, on payment of the poll tax (*jizyah*). In contrast with their stance toward Jews and Christians however, Muslims were prohibited from having social intercourse or intermarrying with these other groups.

Indeed, when the community became an imperium, further developments took place that had little to do with the Qurʾān or the *sunnah* of the Prophet but rather were dictated by the logic of the empire itself. The law of apostasy, for example, which states that a Muslim apostate should be given three chances to repent and in the case of nonrepentance must be executed, has nothing to do with the Qurʾān, which speaks of "those who believed and then disbelieved, then once again believed and disbelieved—and then became entrenched in disbelief" (4:137; see also 3:90), thus clearly envisaging repeated conversions and apostasies without invoking any penalty in this world. It is, therefore, important to make these distinctions and to treat historic Islam not as one seamless garment but rather as a mosaic made up of different pieces.

There are numerous other laws that are the product neither of the Qurʾān nor of the Prophet's *sunnah*, but of the Islamic imperium, such as the inadmissibility of evidence of a non-Muslim against a Muslim in a criminal case. In this legal genre also falls the juristic doctrine that the world consists of three zones: the Abode of Islam (*dār al-Islām*), where Muslims rule; the Abode of Peace (*dār al-ṣulḥ*), those countries or powers with whom Muslims have peace pacts; and the Abode of War (*dār al-ḥarb*), the rest of the world. This doctrine was definitely the result of the early Islamic conquests and the initial Islamic law of war and peace resulting from them. But during the later Abbasid period, the concept of *jihād* was formulated in defensive terms, because the task then was the consolidation of the empire rather than the gaining of further territory through conquest. To this general problem also belongs the consideration advanced by several Western scholars that Islam cannot authentically be a minority religion because the presumption of political power is built into its very texture as a religion. What is true is that Islam requires a state to work out its sociopolitical ideals and programs, but this does not mean that Muslims cannot live as a minority; indeed they have done so throughout history. The Qurʾān, in fact, envisages some sort of close cooperation between Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, and it invites Jews and Christians to join Muslims in such a goal: "O People of the Book! Let us come together on a platform that is common between us, that we shall serve naught save God" (3:64).

SEE ALSO African American Religions, article on Muslim Movements; Aḥmadīyah; ʿAlawīyūn; Arabian Religions; Ashʿarīyah; ʿĀshūrāʾ; Assassins; Attributes of God, article on Islamic Concepts; Bābīs; Bahāʾīs; Caliphate; Creeds, article on Islamic Creeds; Darwīsh; Domestic Observances, article on Muslim Practices; Druze; Elijah Muhammad; Eschatology, article on Islamic Eschatology; Falsafah; Folk Religion, article on Folk Islam; Free Will and Predestination, article on Islamic Concepts; God, article on God in Islam; Ḥadīth; Ḥaram and Ḥawṭah; Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Muḥammad; Iʿjāz; Ijmāʿ; Ijtihād; Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ; Imamate; Īmān and Islām; Islamic Law, articles on Personal Law and Sharīʿah; Islamic Religious Year; Islamic Studies; Jamāʿat-i Islāmī; Jihād; Kaʿbah; Kalām; Khānagāh; Khārijīs; Madhhab; Madrasah; Malcolm X; Maṣlaḥah; Modernism, article on Islamic Modernism; Mosque; Muḥammad; Muslim Brotherhood; Muʿtazilah; Nubūwah; Pilgrimage, article on Muslim Pilgrimage; Qarāmiṭah; Qiyās; Qurʾān, article on Its Role in Muslim Practice and Life; Ṣalāt; Ṣawm; Shahādah; Shiism, articles on Ismāʿīlīyah and Ithnā ʿAsharīyah; Sufism; Sunnah; Tafsīr; Taqīyah; Ṭarīqah; Taʿziyah; Ummah; Uṣūl al-Fiqh; Wahhābīyah; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Muslim Worship; Zakāt.

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ISLAM: AN OVERVIEW [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

The "Preface" to the first edition of *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (1987), edited by Mircea Eliade, highlighted the "radical change of perspective" and the "impressive advances in information and understanding" that had affected religious studies and that underlined the impetus behind a new *Encyclopedia.* In his entry, "Islam: An Overview," Fazlur Rahman sought to capture and synthesize some of these changes and advances in rewriting an understanding of the Muslim strand in the religious history of humankind. His continuing influence on scholarship in the field is a testimony to his contribution to *The Encyclopedia of Religion* and to wider scholarship on Islam.

Fazlur Rahman belonged to a small group of Muslim academics who received training in two different contexts: a traditional Muslim one (primarily from his parents and also from private tutors) and a modern, Western academic experience. He became over time one of the most prominent representatives of bringing to the study of Islam a scholarly approach and to an interested world a reflection of an "enlightened" Islam. In the course of his academic life he faced open hostility from those who rejected and undermined his approach and a level of indifference or even suspicion from modern Muslim intellectuals, who having adopted a more secularized view, regarded his emphasis on the relevance of faith as misplaced.

These footnotes to the article, as it were, engage some of the issues he raised in the light of further advances, changes, and challenges in current scholarship, and also suggest additional perspectives that take into account developments in the ongoing history of Muslims and scholarly discourse in the wider academic world.

The first set of questions arises with regard to the uses and meanings of the term *Islam.* This remains a major concern of contemporary scholars and a significant topic of debate. This has highlighted the need for a clearer distinction between *Islam* understood as a defined faith tradition, that is to say as a theologically organized system of beliefs and rituals, on one hand, and the historical contexts and developments that have engaged Muslims in articulating their faith on the other. The historian Marshall G. S. Hodgson proposed a set of concepts such as *Islamdom, Islamicate,* and the like to differentiate various historical representations of Islam. Although Fazlur Rahman was aware of the necessity of such distinctions (he mentions the need to "treat historic Islam not as one seamless garment but rather as a mosaic made up of different pieces") the logic of his stance awaits a fuller development, precisely to avoid the kind of reductionist stance that the editors of the first edition clearly wished to avoid.

In the same article, Fazlur Rahman stated that, "Islam is . . . the name of a total way of life and does not merely regulate the individual's private relationship with God." Such a view builds on the concept of the precedent set by the Prophet to create institutions and manage the community's growth and development as a Prophet, not merely as a ruler, a lawgiver, a judge, or a military head. This interpretation, which has been supported by many modern Muslim interpreters, had been challenged by several of his contemporaries including, Ali Abderraziq, Maʾruf Rusafi, and more recently Mohamed Arkoun, among others. According to their perspectives, the kind of leadership exercised by the Prophet in his life was to be understood as an "exceptional" and historically contingent moment in history. It was much later, and very gradually, that the fusion of religion and temporal matters (including politics) was constructed, first by the invention of the title "caliph" ("successor" of the Prophet), and during the Abbasid dynasty later, with the definition of a caliphate modeled in theory, if not always in practice, as a theocracy.

The historical reality of the lived experience of Muslims was that they drew the conceptual framework of their collective life, in ethics and politics, from diverse sources, including Persian and Indian traditions, Greek philosophy, and local customs. In reality, as Fazlur Rahman shows, political power had become de facto separate from religio-legal power. From that perspective one can only study Islam as it has been appropriated, interpreted, and invoked in human contexts, by Muslims and non-Muslims, in contrast to Islam as an essentialist notion or as a purely metaphysical idea "out there." The focus on the histories, cultures, and material contexts of people for whom Islam has been and continues to be a powerful force can thus benefit from all of the critical scholarly apparatus and questions that arise across the full spectrum of the study of religion. Given such an approach, it might be inappropriate to speak of a mainstream construction of "orthodoxy" because all Muslim traditions did not invoke or appropriate the sources in the same way. This would suggest a more comparative approach in the study of Muslim societies, when, like other religions, developments within were affected by interactions—theological, cultural, legal, and political—that had profound effects on how certain patterns came to monopolize Muslim discourse. This is not to suggest that religious traditions themselves do not invoke normativeness; rather that the goal of religious studies is to show how such notions are developed, constructed, and institutionalized, and that Islam like other religions is plural and pluralistic.

This has interesting implications for understanding historical appropriation in contemporary Muslim history and societies where Muslims, like others, are increasingly seeking inspiration and markers of identity from the past. This constituted an important part of Fazlur Rahman's scholarly work. Mohamed Arkoun, Abuzayd and Abdul Karim Soroush have more recently addressed the relationship of new methodologies and approaches to the study of Islam and of the Qurʾān and identified the limitations of both traditional scholarship and modern Muslim apologetics. The idea of religious reform that Fazlur Rahman sought to analyze as it emerged from the nineteenth century onwards has in contemporary contexts taken on an urgent relevance in global affairs and scholarly and public debates, within and outside Muslim societies.

The first "reformists" of the nineteenth century were Muslim intellectuals, including religious scholars, officials, and senior functionaries in administration, originating from similar social strata and having received more or less identical training in legal and religious matters. They were individuals who belonged to the tiny minority who had access to the written heritage of Muslims, and who could compare the current status of affairs with norms, models, and rules set by earlier generations. Their judgment was that Muslims had fallen short of the real expectations of their faith and the achievements of their predecessors. Such a view, however, took no account of the variety of formations within the larger Muslim *ummah.* The focus on the views of certain reformers distorted both how Muslims had experienced their respective histories but also the different way in which they memorialized their past. The need for redress or rectification (this is the original meaning of their main slogan, *iṣlāḥ*) was therefore identified with a kind of return to normality, that is, a movement back to fundamentals as they were enacted by earlier generations. The early Muslim community was considered de facto as more pious (thus the expression *salaf salih*). This "normativeness" was retrospectively imagined to mirror values similar to those exemplified in European contexts of the time, including rationality, toleration, and ethically determined behavior.

The increasing availability of primary sources for groups such as the Shīʿah, Khwarij, Muʿtazilah, and others suggests that we can no longer accept a monolithic view of how Muslims enacted responses to change. The pluralization of discourses within the early community, as indeed within different communities of interpretation, needs now to become an integral part of the study of Islam. This becomes particularly relevant in addressing significant shifts or "turns" in the history of Muslim thought. Contemporary scholarship highlights, for instance, the mode and process by which al-Shāfiʿī's synthesis of jurisprudence assumed a normative dimension. A similar pattern would occur later in the dynamics of legal formulation in Twelver Shiism. However these "turns" occurred after long periods of debate, challenge, and even competition, which, when allied to particular political contexts, created conditions for the empowerment of certain traditions over others. This offers a more nuanced view of the flow of Muslim intellectual history and its consequences for representing the primacy of law over philosophical thought and for the widespread influence of Sufism to offer alternative patterns for expressions of piety and personal direction.

Early reformers did not ignite the mass mobilization they had hoped for, and were therefore not able to give impetus to a sustainable process for redressing the conditions through a reform of ideas and practices grounded in Islam. However, their thought contributed, on the one hand, to creating support for nationalist movements and, on the other hand, to reviving conservative trends that considered the return to the purity of the norms and the pristine models of the past as the panacea. A few Muslim thinkers did recognize major shifts in history with the advent of the industrial revolution in Europe and its links to dramatic social change as well as unprecedented developments in science, technology, and the arts. Those among them who called for a reexamination of the self based on proper acknowledgement of this turn were rejected as unfaithful to the sacred heritage and to the cause of Muslim self identification and emancipation. The most lasting effect of the first reformist wave was therefore the establishment of a *salafī* (traditionalist) trend and the laying of seeds for more radical perspectives to emerge in time. There was however a shared belief that the modern state was a key mode through which to liberate Muslims from foreign domination and to re-Islamize society through reenactment of the original norms. The older dynamic between faith, power, and governance thus found new spaces in which to be played out.

The more globalized environment of the last few decades has, in spite of dramatic failures to create stable civil societies in many parts of the Muslim world, opened worlds of meanings, concepts, and methods that have prompted alternative views and attitudes for a new generation of Muslims. In the last two decades, the cumulative efforts of scholars across the globe have resulted in the accumulation of new data and categories of interpretations. The interplay of the two has shed new light and raised more questions for an emerging generation of scholars, who, while investigating the historicity of forms and expressions of Islam, are also questioning the stability of assumptions about what were regarded as core religious beliefs, institutions, and ethical principles. The analysis and intelligent adaptation of values inherited by Muslims to modern conditions was an important goal for the generation led by Fazlur Rahman. It seems appropriate that the next phases will build on that legacy to develop a space for discussion of Islam within a more universal framework within the history of religions.

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AZIM NANJI (2005)
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ISLAM: ISLAM IN NORTH AFRICA

The term *North Africa* usually denotes the region that includes the countries of Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, and Mauritania. Because this region corresponds to what Arab writers call the Maghreb (the "west"), this article shall use both terms here with no distinction of meaning. The unity of this region originates in its continuous settlement: From the dawn of history it has been inhabited by Berbers who came mostly from the banks of the Red Sea and who were later joined by Europeans, Semites, and blacks. North Africa was in contact with all the great civilizations of antiquity and became an integral part of the Islamic world at the end of the seventh century CE. Although it has never become wholly Arabized like Greater Syria and Egypt, it was totally Islamized, with the exception of a Jewish minority that has always been in existence there. Moreover, from the twelfth century CE, the vast majority of the population has followed the Mālikī legal tradition (*madhhab*).

In North Africa as elsewhere, Islam may be considered either as a religion or as a form of culture, and according to the point of view adopted, the same facts may be interpreted in quite different ways. In the following pages Islam is referred to not as a culture that has been more or less influenced by the Qurʾanic message but as a religion. Discussion will center on the movements, the works, and the people who have formed the feelings and the religious behavior of the inhabitants of the Maghreb.

PRE-ISLAMIC RELIGION. The message of the prophet Muḥammad itself bore the marks of Arab polytheisms, and the Islamization of North Africa was likewise influenced by the religious situation already present there.

The prehistoric substrate. The prehistory of the Berbers remains obscure. The Libyan inscriptions guard their secrets, and funerary monuments and rock drawings can be interpreted in diverse ways according to whether Egyptian, Mediterranean, or Saharan influences are discerned in them. Scholars do agree, however, on two points: The ancient Berbers did not differentiate between magic—a technique used to harness the powers of nature—and religion—the worship of a divinity with a more or less distinct identity. Later their divinities were exclusively local ones.

Thus, say the specialists, it is better to refer not to a Berber religion as such, but to a specific attitude toward the sacred, which the inhabitants of North Africa associate even today with caves, springs, certain trees, certain stones, and so on. This strategy of the sacred was aimed at satisfying basic needs, such as causing rain, curing an infertile woman, or guaranteeing victory. Its presence has been noted by writers as far apart in time and space as the Greek historian Herodotus (sixth century BCE), the Moroccan traveler Ibn Battutah (fourteenth century CE), and the Finnish anthropologist Edward Westermarck (twentieth century). The notion of *barakah* (a polymorphous power linked to holiness), the institution of the *zāwiyah* (a brotherhood centered on a sanctuary), the *ziyārah* (cult of saints), the *shaṭḥ* (a ritual dance), and the *samaʿ* (ritual music) have all played an important role in the religious feeling of the Maghreb people until quite recently, despite the fact that official Islam has opposed them for centuries; many anthropologists maintain that such features can only be explained in terms of this fundamental attitude toward the sacred that had already colored the Phoenician religion, Roman polytheism, and Christianity well before the arrival of Islam.

The Phoenico-Punic influence. The Phoenicians reached the shores of North Africa at the beginning of the first millennium BCE, founded Carthage, and set up a large number of trading posts along the coast. A seafaring nation of traders, they did not venture far into the interior until well into the fifth century BCE. What was their influence on local culture? Historians differ in their assessments, but they all maintain that it was crucial, for the Berbers were also from the East. The punicization of Maghrebi culture did not coincide, however, with the period when Carthage was at the height of its power: It was only after the city was overcome and destroyed (146 BCE) that the *aquellid*s ("kings") of Numidia and Mauritania adopted the most characteristic features of Carthaginian civilization. Both epigraphic and archaeological discoveries have shown that the cult was colored by the Phoenico-Punic religion, that the goddess Tanit was accorded an important position, and that child sacrifice, so loathsome to the Romans, was commonplace. This speeding up of the process of punicization seems to have been a deliberate challenge to imperial Rome. According to Stéphane Gsell, the French specialist on ancient African history, it also prepared the population for Islamization later on.

Romanization and christianization. Roman polytheism as it spread to the peoples of North Africa was inseparable from Romanization, which had been, in many respects, quite remarkable. But, challenged by the Carthaginian divinities and soon undermined by Christian propaganda, the Roman religion never had time to gain a permanent foothold. Many studies have shown that it was profoundly africanized. Latin names only superficially mask pre-Roman divinities: Jupiter has been identified with Amun, Saturn—that most African of gods—with Baal-Hammon, Juno-Caelestia with Tanit, Asklepios with Eshmun, and so forth.

The problem of specific local characteristics also arises with reference to African Christianity. The new religion rapidly made converts, especially in the towns, as can be seen from the number of followers affected by the persecutions of the third century CE. Nor can one forget the appearance of such great thinkers as the apologist Tertullian (d. after 220 CE), Cyprian, bishop of Carthage (d. 258), and Augustine the church father (d. 430). However, the most significant phenomenon during this period was undoubtedly the Donatist schism, which deeply divided Roman Africa throughout the fourth century. Whether this was an attempt to found a national church or a movement of social protest, the basic point is that it reveals a permanent aspect of the psychology of the Maghrebians. They seem to accept foreign cultures easily enough but select from them one element that they then transform into a symbol of their own identity. In this sense it may be said that the Donatists foreshadowed the Muslim Khārijīs of three centuries later.

Berber religiosity. North Africa was thus subjected in turn to Egyptian, Phoenician, Greco-Roman, and Christian influences, without any real alteration of its fundamental religious attitude. Foreign religions, which gave the appearance of being accepted without any difficulties, were in fact profoundly transformed on the day-to-day level. Professions of faith, institutions, and cults changed, but what remained intact was a type of religiosity: Characterized by its vehemence, its extremism, and its tendency to intellectual simplification, it is to be found at each stage of the development of Maghrebi Islam.

Excessive intellectualism was linked with a strong attachment to the humblest of popular cults, as though the North Africans refused to see religion as a means of individual salvation: The social always took precedence over the individual, the concrete and useful over the purely spiritual. For them, religion was above all a communal ethic. The simpler and clearer the creed, the better it fulfilled its role. Both local cults and elaborate dogma, however far apart they might seem to be from a purely formal point of view, nevertheless tended toward the same end: holding the social body together.

A single religious consciousness expressed in diverse religious forms—this is a hypothesis of continuity that many specialists would be reluctant to accept. However, a number of historians have adopted it, at least as a starting point for their work, even if it has proved necessary to alter it later for a clearer explanation of how the Maghreb became Muslim.

Islamization, in North Africa as elsewhere, was a dual process. Islam originated as a set of beliefs and behaviors indigenous to the Arabs of the Middle East, but the long and rich experience of the Maghrebi population that received it was also to determine its final form. Three centuries before the appearance of the first Muslim missionaries, the region, with the exception of Carthage, was totally free from foreign influence. Independent principalities, whose internal histories are relatively obscure, had come into being. Epigraphic evidence proves that the Punic religion and Christianity persisted, that Judaism was spreading, and that Donatism and Manichaeism were flourishing again. It was within this extremely complex situation, with its strange syncretisms, that Islam was to develop. The belief that North Africa went directly from Christian orthodoxy to Sunnī Islam is nothing but an illusion.

THE ARAB PERIOD. This term, inadequate as it might seem, refers to the period from the second to the fifth Muslim centuries (seventh to eleventh centuries CE). With its own distinctive features, the period was Arab only in a very restricted sense. But under this rubric shall be considered first of all the conquest, or the taking of political power by the warriors from the Middle East; second, Islamization, or the adoption of rites and beliefs defined by the Qurʾān; and finally, Arabization, in its dual ethnic and cultural senses as a change in the actual makeup of the population and as the adoption of Arab language and customs. These three developments were far from identical.

The conquest. The first Arab armies arrived in Ifrīqiyā (formerly known as Byzacene) in AH 26/647, but the conquest began only nine years later, when ʿUqbah ibn Nāfiʿ founded the city of Kairouan as a permanent base for his soldiers. ʿUqbah decided to skirt the northern towns that had been fortified by the Byzantines and to follow the inland route of the high plateaus, where the independent principalities had been set up. At first these tactics paid off, for the Arab general, after defeating the Berber chief Kusaylah, was able to cross the whole country as far as the Atlantic Ocean without meeting any further resistance. However, on his way back he found that the Berbers and the Byzantines had united to cut off his lines of communication, and his army, which he had misguidedly divided into small groups, was wiped out. Another leader of the conquest, Ḥassān ibn al-Nuʿmān, drew the logical conclusions from this defeat and decided to attack Carthage, which was the center of Byzantine power. He took it by storm in 691, lost it, then recaptured it definitively in 695. It was at that moment that the mountain people of the Aures, who had fought fiercely for their independence against the Vandals and the Byzantines during the past two centuries, rose up in revolt under the leadership of a woman the Arabs called al-Kāhinah ("the sorceress"). Because the conquerors are interested only in our wealth, al-Kāhinah reasoned, let us turn our land into a desert and they will leave. She then gave the order to cut down all the trees, thus causing a terrible deforestation with consequences that are still felt today. Is this truth or legend? In either case, this last-ditch effort did not have the anticipated results. The Arabs did not leave the devastated land, and al-Kāhinah, seeing how things were turning out and herself unable to surrender, advised her sons to go over to the enemy. Military operations continued for another ten years or so in the west of the country. The new general, Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr, returning to the policy of one of his predecessors, Abū al-Muḥājir, widely applied the system of *walāʾ* ("adoption") and took into the Arab aristocracy the sons of the vanquished leaders. This ethnic interpenetration was so rapid that the conquest of Spain, which began in 711, was led by a *mawlā* ("client") of Mūsā, the Berber Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād.

Unlike the centralized monarchies of Egypt, Persia, and Spain, whose destinies were sealed by the outcome of a single battle with the Muslims, the Maghreb was conquered definitively only after a half-century of fighting. There were several reasons for this. Mountainous, compartmentalized, and politically fragmented, the country was always difficult to conquer. The Arabs were faced with several different groups: Rūm (Byzantines), Afranj (Romans), Afāriq (punicized Berbers), nomad and sedentary peoples. Each of these groups had its own defense tactics and had to be countered by an appropriate attack. Berber resistance varied between the policy of Kusaylah and that of al-Kāhinah, and the Arab strategy also wavered between the rigor of ʿUqbah and the liberalism of Abū al-Muḥājir. Moreover, the conquering armies felt the repercussions of the crises that shook the Muslim caliphate from 660 to 694.

Some historians who are not specialists on Islam believe that the first Arab conquerors were nomads such as the Banū Hilāl, who invaded the country more than three centuries later. This belief is wholly erroneous; they were in fact highly skilled horsemen, trained in the latest cavalry tactics. Most of them came from Syria and were the descendants of people who had been in contact with the Romans and the Byzantines for generations. Thus they came to the Maghreb as heirs of ancient civilizations. As time went on, the neo-Byzantine character of the Arab administration became more and more obvious.

Arabization. From an ethnic point of view, the process of Arabization seems to have been very limited in scope. According to the most reliable historians, the number of Arabs settled in the country during the first Muslim century did not exceed fifty thousand. The local population, especially in Ifrīqiyā, was already fairly mixed; this characteristic was accentuated by the conquest, for the "Arab" armies in fact included Byzantines, Persians, and, very early on, Berbers, probably nomads, who were later known as Zanātah.

The adoption of Arab customs, habits, costume, and language was doubtless very rapid; the early Arab chroniclers all emphasize the Himyarite (Yemenite) origin of the Berbers, which suggests that a feeling of distant ethnic solidarity existed. The system of *walāʾ* meant that many Berber clans were linked with the Qahtanites (southern Arabs). The word *berber* rapidly lost its original etymological meaning and came to designate the inhabitants of isolated mountain regions. Since Islamization, the fundamental distinction in North Africa has been sociocultural rather than ethnicolinguistic.

Cultural arabization was naturally enhanced when political authority was in Arab hands. During the period under consideration the power of the Arabs was solidly established in what is now Tunisia and in that part of Spain bordering on the Mediterranean. These were populated, prosperous regions, easy to defend, where the Punic influence had been deep and lasting. Kairouan and Cordova, the capitals of the two provinces, maintained uninterrupted relations with the other Muslim metropoles and were the starting points for the spread of Arab culture and orthodox Islam.

After the conquest the Maghreb was governed by emirs appointed by the Umayyad caliphs in Damascus. With the Abbasid Revolution of 750, which saw the capital transferred to Baghdad, the empire became more Persian than Arab, more Asian than Mediterranean. The western provinces, which from then on would be more difficult to watch over, began to break away one after the other. In 755 an Umayyad prince who had fled to Spain founded an independent emirate there. In 787 Idrīs I, a descendant of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, did the same in Morocco. Finally, in 800, Ifrīqiyā achieved autonomy under the Aghlabid dynasty, with the consent of the caliph.

In the ninth century, the Umayyad and Aghlabid emirates exercised military and commercial control over the whole of the western Mediterranean. Muslim Spain, which became a caliphate in 929, retained its preeminence right up to the great crisis of 1009; its capital, Cordova, was the equivalent of Baghdad or Cairo. The western half of the Maghreb lived in the sphere of Spain's cultural and political influence; the princes of Ceuta, Fez, Tlemcen, and elsewhere, whether Arabs or Berbers, were clients of the caliph of Cordova, and as such they spread Andalusian culture and Umayyad orthodoxy.

As for the Aghlabid emirate, it fell victim to the propaganda of the Shīʿī Fatimids, who maintained that only the descendants of ʿAlī and Fāṭimah, the cousin and daughter respectively of the prophet Muḥammad, could legitimately lay claim to the caliphate. One of their *dāʿīs* ("missionaries") who had come from the Yemen settled among the Kutāmah Berbers in the mountainous region of Little Kabylia. There, surrounded by a population favorable to the ʿAlids and out of the reach of Aghlabid power, he patiently bided his time. The Aghlabid army, weakened by the quarrels that split the reigning family, was crushed at al-Urbus (ancient Laribus) in 909, and the residence of the emirs, Raqqādah, was taken by storm. A year later the real pretender arrived and officially adopted the title of ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdi. But for the victorious Fatimids Ifrīqiyā was no more than a base for the conquest of the Abbasid empire. Once they had taken command of Egypt in 969, they abandoned Ifrīqiyā to their Kutāmah allies. Thus two dynasties were born: the Zirids in what is now Tunisia, and the Hammadids in the east of present-day Algeria; both were descendants of Zīrī ibn Manād, the army general who became regent after the departure of the Fatimid caliph, and both were to prosper until the mid-eleventh century.

Applied to this period, then, the term *Arab* is clearly inadequate. It was indeed princes from the East who founded states and created cities where the army, the administration, and the religious institutions spread Arab culture, but very early on political power was shared; without the Awribah, Idrīs I would never have reigned, and without the Kutāmah, ʿUbayd Allāh could never have laid claim to the caliphate.

There is no doubt that the process of Arabization was very slow. Epigraphic finds have shown that Punic and Roman-Christian influences subsisted for a long time after the conquest, but the importance of such relics must not be exaggerated. The narratives that tell the story of the beginning of the Fatimid dynasty show clearly that the Kutāmah homeland, although it was far from the capital and isolated by its mountainous surroundings, was nevertheless open to the influence of the cities, which were themselves wholly given over to the distinctive values of Arab culture. Arabization was set in motion by Arab governors, but it did not cease when the power passed into Berber hands, as can be seen from the behavior of the Zirid and Hammadid princes, who were direct descendants of the Ṣanḥājah Berbers.

Islamization. In 660 a serious crisis split the eastern Muslim community. Two opposing clans were struggling for the caliphate: the supporters of Muʿāwiyah and the Umayyad family in general, and the followers of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and, by extension, the Hashimites, the Prophet's clan. Later there appeared a more neutral faction who maintained that authority should be conferred by election and that the caliph could be non-Qurayshī and even non-Arab. The last mentioned were known as Khārijīs; the second were called Shīʿah; and the first, *ahl al-jamāʿah,* that is to say, the supporters of the majority, who were later to become the Sunnīs (orthodox ones). At first all three factions were similarly Arab; but when the conquering Umayyads set up a predominantly Qurayshī administration in Damascus, the Shīʿah and the Khārijīs turned toward the newly converted, and, confronted by Sunnism—an official, conservative, moderate Islam that was also an Arab Islam—they took up a non-Arab and sometimes even a frankly anti-Arab stance.

Islam spread more rapidly in North Africa than did the Arab language. This was a paradoxical result of the schismatic propaganda, for the autonomy movement, which was directed against the political power of the Arabs and their clients, endowed Islam with a profoundly national character.

After the death of al-Kāhinah in 701, the conquest was almost completed. The new rulers, seeking to reorganize the country, imposed a regular tax system. But since the decline of the Roman Empire the population had become used to living in small, independent communities. As early as 720 the Berbers of Ifrīqiyā rose up and killed the emir, Ibn al-Ḥabḥāb. In 740 a more serious revolt broke out in northern Morocco and soon spread throughout the whole of North Africa. One of the main rebel chiefs, Maysarah, had lived in Kairouan, where he had come under the influence of the Ṣufrīyah, who were Khārijī extremists. Thus the Berbers rose up in the name of those values of justice, equality, and austerity that had been taught by Islam itself but that, in the Berber view, had been betrayed by the Umayyads. In 740, on the banks of the Chelif River, in the center of what is now Algeria, the flower of the Arab aristocracy fell in the Battle of the Nobles *(ghazwat al-ashrāf)*. Thenceforth, the western half of the Maghreb was independent. The struggle continued to the east, but no decisive battle was won against the rebels. The new rulers of the empire, the Abbasids, despairing of a rapid victory over this distant province, delegated their authority to Ibrāhim ibn al-Aghlab, a brilliant general who had defended Zāb, in the south of present-day Tunisia, against the insurgents; this event led to the birth of the Aghlabid dynasty within the frontiers of what had been Roman Africa.

The Khārijīs were now in command of the central and western Maghreb, but they soon proved to be incapable of establishing a great state. As proponents of absolute equality, they refused any form of hierarchy or discipline; they accepted without discrimination all those who shared their beliefs. They had a taste for theological controversies and, in case of disagreement over a point of dogma, they would depose their imams and, in some cases, kill them. The principalities that they founded after 754 had shifting frontiers and rudimentary structures. Entrepôt towns such as Tāhart in western Algeria and Sijilmāsah in southwestern Morocco were situated at the junction of the important communication routes between east and west, between the Sahara and the Mediterranean, and as such were busy and prosperous despite their political instability. The state of Barghwāṭah, founded at the same period on the rich Atlantic plains, was just as prosperous, according to travelers in the tenth century; the fruit of the Khārijī revolt, it tended more and more toward a very broad syncretism.

After Khārijīsm, it was Shiism that dominated the political and religious history of the Maghreb. Indeed, the founding of the Idrisid kingdom was probably not fortuitous. There is some evidence for the existence of a real network of Shīʿī missionaries who took to the western routes from Medina or Iraq to spread their good word. They began by questioning students and pilgrims from the Maghreb about the state of mind of their countrymen. If the latter seemed to nurture some sympathy for the ʿAlīds and if they were unhappy with their rulers, then a missionary was sent over to find out firsthand what the situation was and perhaps prepare the ground for the arrival of the ʿAlīd pretender. The success of Idrīs I encouraged several of the descendants of Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī to follow his example. In the middle of the eleventh century, nearly a dozen Ḥasanid princes were established in the west of Algeria. Some confined themselves to the role of honored guests, while others were regarded as local chiefs, although their ambitions were limited by the fact that they had no armies. Owing to the presence of so many ʿAlid "guests," Shīʿī ideology was able to permeate Maghrebi society, sometimes replacing Khārijī thought, sometimes combining it with older beliefs to produce strange syncretisms. One example may be found in the region of Ghumārah, south of Tetuan, where a pseudo-prophet called Hāʾ Mīm founded a separate cult in conjunction with his aunt, Tangīt. The victory of the Fatimids would be incomprehensible without the preliminary activity of the Shīʿī missionaries. The notion of Mahdi (messiah), the dispenser of justice who brings to a close an era of injustice, may or may not have sounded the echo of ancient beliefs, but henceforth it was to become a permanent aspect of the mentality of the Maghreb, before taking on official status with the Almohads.

The Islam that was spread among the Berbers by the schisms now seems to be very unorthodox, but can one really speak of orthodoxy in relation to that far-off time when no remotely hierarchical institution existed? As long as there was no strong state capable of imposing an official ideology throughout North Africa, there was room enough for different interpretations of dogma, and these ultimately deepened the impact of the Qurʾanic message. The Fatimids were the first to attempt the political and ideological unification of the Maghreb; the Khārijīs were almost completely eradicated, with the exception of the Mzab region in southern Algeria and Jabal Nafūsah to the west of what is now Libya, where communities persist down to the present day. It was with the Almoravids that Mālikī Sunnīsm was to triumph, mainly because islamization had already been achieved through the activity of the schismatics.

Literary works. Berber literature has always been basically oral. Berber prophets such as Ṣāliḥ of the Barghwāṭah or Hāʾ Mīm of the Ghumārah probably employed oral means of communication. Although the eleventh-century Andalusian geographer al-Bakrī asserts that the Barghwāṭah had a Qurʾān in Berber, no trace of this has been found so far.

If no written document exists to shed light on the syncretisms, this is not so for the Khārijīs. After the fall of Tā-hart, the survivors fled to Mzab with their sacred books, and in this way two important works were saved. The first, *Kitāb akhbār al-Rustumīyīn* (Memorable Events in the History of the Rustimid Imams), was written by Ibn al-Ṣaghīr (d. 894), who was alive at the time of the events he recorded; the second, *Kitāb al-sīrah wa-akhbār al-aʾimmah* (Lives and Works of the Imams), is a later work—its author, Abū Zakarīyāʾ, lived in the eleventh century—although it remains with in the limits of the period under consideration. Both texts are concerned above all with enlightening the faithful; nevertheless they provide some historical information and clues to the psychology of the Khārijīs in the Maghreb.

The early Shīʿī movement did not leave behind comparable works; it is known only through the prehistory of the Fatimid dynasty as it was recorded by Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān ibn Ḥayyūn (d. 974). This writer was the main ideologue of the Fatimids. In his major work, *Iftitāḥ al-daʿwah* (Our First Missions), he describes, with remarkable objectivity and accuracy, the region that escaped the political control of the Aghlabids while remaining open to their cultural influence.

The most important works of this period, however, were conceived in Kairouan. Until the eleventh century, profane literature was dominated by émigrés from the East, but local writers won renown in the field of religious culture. At first Ifrīqiyā followed the example of Baghdad and adopted the legal tradition of Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 768), but it soon came to favor that of Mālik ibn Anas (d. 796). What was the reason for this preference? It seems that there were several. Students and pilgrims from the Maghreb went more readily to the Hejaz, Malik's home, than to Iraq, where Abū Ḥanīfah was born. Because he had lived all his life in Medina, Mālik seemed to guarantee greater fidelity to the tradition of the Prophet. Many of the inhabitants of the Maghreb wished, perhaps unconsciously, to dissociate themselves from the East but without falling into the schisms. Finally, the Mālikī school, which was simpler than the Ḥanafī, was better suited to the society of Ifrīqiyā, which was still predominantly rural and thus relatively homogeneous.

But whatever the causes, the results were of major importance. The Mālikī school in Kairouan took decisive steps toward the ideological unification of the Maghreb. ʿAbd al-Salām ibn Saʿīd, known as Saḥnūn (d. 854), set down in his *Mudawwanah* (a handbook of Mālikī law) the code of the civil society of the Islamic Maghreb. Doubtless many ancestral or even prehistoric customs persisted, but they were judged by reference to the model laid down in the *Mudawwanah.* From now on the Mālikī *faqīh* (jurisprudent) was one of the two most important figures in society. The other was the *ʿābid* (man of God) who disdained any honors offered him, was always ready to criticize the powers that be, and thus was able to channel popular discontent. The master among these was Buhlūl ibn Rāshid (d. 799), who, along with others like him, was said to have prepared the blossoming of those brotherhoods (*zawāyā*) that were so characteristic of Berber religiosity. If Sunnism prevailed in the end, it was thanks to men like him, whose example suggested how to influence the government by means other—and better—than bloody rebellion. As the society became more urbanized and more stable, such an example found even greater echoes. These ascetics have not left any written works, but their attitude has been described in detail and their sayings recorded in the *manāqib* (hagiography) literature, beginning with the *Ṭabaqāt ʿulamāʾ Ifrīqiyā wa-Tūnus* (Biographies of the religious scholars of Ifrīqiyā and Tunis) by Abū al-ʿArab Muḥammad ibn Tamīm (d. 944).

When, in the middle of the tenth century, the Kutāmah Berbers inherited a stable, prosperous state that soon gained its autonomy, they encouraged the growth of a genuinely local literature. The second Zirid emir, al-Manṣūr ibn Buluggīn (984–996), left Raqqādah, the former Aghlabid residence, and went to live in great luxury in Ṣabrā-Manṣūrīyah, where the court life, so typical of Islamic civilization, favored the development of *ādāb* (profane literature). Here may be mentioned the names of three men whose fame extended far beyond the frontiers of Ifrīqiyā. Ibrāhīm ibn al-Raqīq (d. 1027) was chancellery secretary and a committed Shīʿī; his vast historical work, *Taʾrīkh Ifrīqiyā wa-al-Maghrib,* served as a reference for all subsequent chroniclers, although very little of it has come down to the present. Muḥammad ibn Saʿīd ibn Sharaf (d. 1067) was known as both a poet and a historiographer; his treatise of literary criticism, *Masāʾil al-intiqād,* has been translated into several European languages. Ḥasan ibn Rashīq (d. 1064), a poet and anthologist, has left to posterity a book of rhetoric (*Kitāb al-ʿumdah*) that is remarkable for the depth of its analysis and the elegance of its style.

The mosques of Kairouan and Sousse, the remains of the palace in Raqqādah, the fortresses of Belezma and Baghāʾī, the citadels of Sousse and Monastir, all bear witness to the wealth of the reigning dynasties and the adaptation of Islamic art to North Africa. The architecture of this period resulted from a harmonious symbiosis of the Byzantine heritage, the influence of Abbasid Iraq, and a spirit of sobriety that was expressed in the asceticism of a man such as Buhlūl.

THE BERBER PERIOD. The culture of Ifrīqiyā reached its peak in the eleventh century and then spread throughout the Maghreb as a result of the unifying policies of the Almoravid, Almohad, and Marinid dynasties. For want of a better name, the three hundred years from the mid-eleventh to the mid-fourteenth century, when supreme power was in the hands of the Berber dynasties, is known as the Berber period, but the term is as unsatisfactory as the adjective *Arab* that this article applied to the previous three centuries. Indeed, neither arabization nor islamization had been halted, and on the contrary, it was in this period that they reached the point of no return.

The three Berber dynasties practiced an imperial policy aimed at the unification of the Maghreb; although this attempt failed in the end, it left indelible traces. In the eleventh century there was an obvious difference between the eastern and western halves of the Maghreb. The former was Arab in culture and politically unified, while the latter was fragmented into numerous principalities that were fought over by the rulers of Cordova and Kairouan. Maghrāwah and Miknāsah, alternately serving the interests of one and the other, wore themselves out in a series of fruitless conflicts. Quite suddenly and for various reasons, the caliphate of Cordova disappeared in 1031, and the Zirid and Hammadid emirates in 1052; with this vacuum on the North African political scene, the time of the western Maghreb had come. The Almoravid Lamtunah, starting from the Atlantic region of the Sahara, built an empire around Marrakesh (founded in 1062); this empire, which lasted until 1146, stretched from Andalusia to the Sahara and from Algiers to the Atlantic. The Almoravids were replaced by the Almohads, whose main strength came from the Maṣmūdah of the High Atlas; extending the empire they had inherited as far as Tripoli, they reigned in Marrakesh until 1276 and, under the name of the Hafsids, in Tunis until 1573. Then came the turn of the Zanātah shepherds from the borders of Algeria and Morocco, who, as the Marinids and then the Wattasids, reigned in Fez until 1550 and, as the Zayyanid-ʿAbd al-Wadids, in Tlemcen until 1554.

Unlike the Kutāmah, the Berber groups from the western Maghreb had not set out at the call of an Arab refugee. In both cases, however, the seizure of power by a Berber dynasty was accompanied by cultural Arabization that owed its fast pace to the luxurious life of the court. Ethnic Arabization was intensified too, because the Banū Hilāl Bedouins, who were responsible for the fall of the Zirid and Hammadid emirates, continued to emigrate to the Maghreb right up to the fifteenth century; the last to arrive, the Banū Maʿqil, Arabized the province of Shangīṭ, which lies to the north of what is now Mauritania.

The Almoravid movement. One of the leaders of the Lamtūnah, on his way back from a pilgrimage to Mecca, attended the lessons given by Abū ʿImrān al-Fāsī, a famous man of law from Morocco. "My countrymen," he told the teacher, "know nothing of true Islam and have need of a guide. Who would you recommend?" Abū ʿImrān replied, "Go on my behalf to see Wajjāj, who knows your region well." Wajjāj in turn directed the Lamtūnah chief to a *faqīh* from Sijilmāsah called ʿAbd Allāh ibn Yāsīn. When they got back to the Sahara, the warrior chief and the missionary founded a *ribāṭ* (monastery) where the future leaders of the movement gathered together; for this reason they were given the name *al-murābiṭūn,* transformed by the Spanish into Almoravids. Later, under the leadership of Yūsuf ibn Tāshfīn, the disciples of Ibn Yāsīn set out to conquer a vast empire.

This story closely resembles that of Abū ʿAbd Allāh, the Fatimid *dāʿī,* apart from the fact that this time the missionary was Sunnī. The Almoravid movement in the West, like the Seljuk movement in the East, belonged to the vast counteroffensive launched by the Abbasids in the eleventh century to destroy Shiism and repel the Christian crusade. One of the spiritual fathers of the movement, the Mālikī *qāḍī* al-Bāqillānī (d. 1013), was Abū ʿImrān's teacher, and it was with the blessing of the grest jurisprudents of the East that Yūsuf ibn Tāshfīn overthrew the Andalusian princes and took the title of Amīr al-Muslimīn ("commander of the Muslims"), which symbolized his supreme authority in the Muslim West under the suzerainty of the Abbasid caliphs.

In the new Almoravid state the *faqīh*s held pride of place. Chosen from among the early adherents of the movement, they set out to defend and spread the official ideology. They gave advice to local emirs, kept a close watch on the verdicts of the courts, preached asceticism to the governed and austerity to the governing. Qāḍī ʿIyād of Ceuta (d. 1149) was the embodiment of this clerical caste. He left many works, two of which were of considerable importance. His *Shifāʾ* (Book of Healing), which draws a complete portrait of the Prophet, simultaneously gives readers an example to follow at every moment of their lives, thus proving that, contrary to Shīʿī thought, they had no need of an imam to guide them to the truth. In the *Kitāb al-madārik* (Book of Exploits), he drew up a long list of the celebrities of the Mālikī school. This book completed the work that Abū al-ʿArab had begun by putting together what can be considered a veritable patrology of Maghrebi Islam.

However, in spite of the wholehearted support of the state, Mālikī preeminence was short-lived, and with the coming of the Almohad dynasty the Maghreb was once more to experience a schism. Official Almoravid ideology seems to have lagged behind the sociointellectual evolution of the rest of the Islamic world. Whereas in the East, thanks to al-Ghāzalī (d. 1111), Sunnism had succeeded in integrating dialectical theology (*kalām*), logic (*manṭiq*), and mysticism (*taṣawwuf*); and while in Andalusia, Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064) was pioneering new directions in juridical thought, the Mālikīyah of the Maghreb remained blindly attached to the school of Kairouan and refused any kind of reform. When in power they applied a reactionary policy in the true sense of the term, refusing to systematize the *fiqh* in the manner of al-Shafiʿī (d. 820), condemning and burning all the works of al-Ghāzalī, and declaring war on popular piety. They formed an isolated, activist minority that refused the spirit of the *sunnah,* that is, to choose the middle way and always seek the consensus of the majority. It was not until they had suffered bitterly from the persecution of the Almohads that they discovered the virtues of moderation.

The Almohads. From a political point of view, the Almohad century represented the apogee of North African history, but from a religious point of view it was simply an interlude. The official ideology, which from the very beginning had been opposed by the *ʿulamāʾ* and later was to be seen as schismatic by a majority of the population, was eventually repudiated by the descendants of those who had established it in the first place. How can its appearance be expalined? Was it a belated offshoot of earlier schisms? An original creation stemming from the Berber mentality? A national religion comparable with what was to become Twelver Shiism in Persia? All of these remain questions without answers.

Muḥammad ibn Tūmart, the Almohad ideologue, unlike Ibn Yāsīn, was not the propagandist of a movement that was external to his native region. Toward 1107 he left southern Morocco for Cordova, where he immersed himself in the teachings of Ibn Ḥazm, then traveled on to Iraq where, according to some biographers, he may have met al-Ghazālī. About 1116 he began to return homeward, stopping off for a long time in Alexandria, Tunis, Bougie, Tlemcen, Fez, and Meknes. In each of these cities he set himself up as the arbiter of morals, antagonizing the local authorities but gaining disciples who, like ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Gūmī, became fanatical followers. When he arrived in the Almoravid capital of Marrakesh, he challenged the *faqīh*s and led them into theological controversies for which they were ill prepared. An advocate of strict monotheism *(tawḥīd)* who made no concessions to popular imagination, he accused his adversaries of anthropomorphism (*tajsīm*). In fact, *Almohad* is a Spanish distortion of the Arabic *al-muwaḥḥid* ("unitarian").

Expelled from the capital in 1121, Ibn Tūmart took refuge in Tinmal in the High Atlas; there, surrounded by his followers, and with the support of the Hintātah Berbers, a clan of the Maṣmūdah, he put himself forward as a candidate for the imamate. He spent seven years organizing a veritable revolutionary army, then set out in 1128 to attack Marrakesh. The Almoravid empire was still in the prime of youth, and the attacking army was repelled with serious losses, although Ibn Tūmart's forces were able to regain a place of refuge without being pursued. Ibn Tūmart died soon after this defeat, but he left behind him a perfectly tuned instrument of warfare. His successor, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, had only to choose tactics of attrition to overcome the power of the Almoravids.

Ibn Tūmart was closely involved in the ideological training of his disciples and for their benefit wrote a series of theological texts that have come down to the present. Like the Khārijīs, he held that faith (*imān*) should not be passive, and he believed that he had to actively follow good and fight against evil. Like the Muʿtazilah, he defined the divine attributes in strictly rational terms, with recourse if need be to *taʾwīl* (allegorical interpretation). As the leader of an independent school, he applied *ijtihād,* following his own opinions without reference to a particular legal school. As a pretender to political power, he claimed ʿAlid ancestry and presented himself as the infallible imam (*maʿṣūm*), the Mahdi whose coming had been so long awaited by the weak and the oppressed. Here one is far from the Mālikī school, but the only point that was really unacceptable to a Sunnī Muslim was the doctrine of infallibility, and this was to be abandoned in Marrakesh in 1229 and later in Tunis by the Hafsids. If Ibn Tūmart had contented himself with claiming the right to *ijtihād,* the *faqīh*s would have have been able to do no more than question his abilities, without ever going so far as to condemn him for heresy.

The arrival of a man such as Ibn Tūmart in a region that was so far from the great cultural centers shows to what extent the Maghreb had been Islamized; however, it would be a serious error to consider the Almohads a purely local phenomenon; their ideology expressed a general desire to go beyond the narrow legalism of the Mālikī school, to apply logic to both law and theology. This was in fact achieved in the following century. To the extent that there is today a homogeneous Maghrebi people, in spite of their internal diversity, this is the result of the policy of the Almohad caliphs. Ibn Tūmart owed his victory to the support of the Maṣmūdah in the Moroccan High Atlas, who were then to play a leading role in the empire. However, his successor, Caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, came from western Algeria, and, according to the chroniclers, he brought forty thousand of his countrymen with him to Morocco in order to reinforce his personal power. During his later campaigns, when he came up against the Zanātah, Arabized Berbers migrating along the Algerian-Moroccan borders, he moved them to the regions of Meknes and Taza; he likewise sent the Banū Hilāl, Arab Bedouins from Ifrīqiyā, to the Atlantic plains. He imposed military service on both groups and in return granted them *iqṭāʿ*s, tax farms for vast tracts of land. Thus there came into being a caste of soldiers who were superimposed on the local population and who brought with them their Arab culture and language. In this way the Arabization of the plains and plateaus of the Maghreb was completed. Both toponymy and anthroponymy bear witness to the fact that the same groups were to be found everywhere.

This period also saw the development of a pietistic religious movement that had its origins in Almoravid times. Encouraged by the victory of the Almohads, it was nonetheless distinguished from them from the beginning by its aims and methods. Ibn Tūmart's intellectualism was permeated with great fervor, and yet its austerity left no room for the religious sentimentality that the people doubtless needed. Numerous ascetics left for the countryside to spread the word of God to the people in a colorful language that was simple enough to be understood by the least educated. Only a very few of them were real *faqīh*s, and some were even quite uneducated, but they were all men of God. They settled in lodges (*zāwiyah*s) far from any town, where they spent their days in prayer and meditation. For the scattered populations that still had no fixed homes, these lodges became centers where they could gather, and in fact they were the forerunners of what are today the *mawasim* (annual fairs; sg., *mawsim*). The biographies of these men, the greatest of whom was ʿAbd al-Salām ibn Mashīsh (d. 1128), can be found in the *Tashawwuf* of Ibn al-Zayyāt. It was with this movement that Islam truly became the culture of the people of the Maghreb.

Two centuries later than Ifrīqiyā but on a larger scale, the western Maghreb in its turn witnessed a court life that was to familiarize it with Arab-Islamic civilization. By emulating the Andalusian émigrés, Moroccans such as Abū Jaʿfar ibn ʿAṭīyah (d. 1158), Ibn Ḥabbūs (d. 1174), and Aḥmad al-Jarāwī (d. 1212) distinguished themselves in the field of profane literature. A school of historiography also came into being, and through it are obtained the first glimpses of the interior of the western Maghreb. The most important authors in this field were Ibn al-Qattān, who lived during the reign of Caliph al-Murṭadā (1248–1266), ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī (d. 1230), and Ibn ʿIdhārī (d. after 1213). For the first time, too, a Maghrebi capital, Marrakesh, could be compared with Cordova or Cairo. The celebrated Andalusian philosophers and jurists Ibn Ṭufayl (d. 1185) and Ibn Rushd and Ibn Zuhr (who both died in 1198) lived there for many years and wrote some of their most important works there. During the Almohad period the art of the Maghreb reached the height of its greatness and harmony. Rigor, sobriety, and modesty were the characteristics ascribed to the ideology of Ibn Tūmart and to the collective psychology of the Maghrebi people.

The post-Almohad period. The Almohad empire, exhausted by its wars in Andalusia against the combined forces of Christendom, finally gave way to three dynasties that divided the North African territory among themselves. Under the descendants of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar, one of the first disciples of Ibn Tūmart, Ifrīqiyā once more became autonomous within its former frontiers. The Hafsids remained loyal to Almohad ideas for a certain time, then dissociated themselves and were reconciled with the Mālikī *ʿulamāʾ.* The rest of the Maghreb was shared between two Zanātah groups: the Marinids in Fez and the Zayyanids in Tlemcen. The Marinids, who considered themselves the sole rightful heirs of the Almohads, attempted to rebuild the empire but failed, and after 1350 the three dynasties coexisted more or less peacefully.

The Maghreb of the fourteenth century was homogeneous. Various names were used for what was in fact the same political organization, the Almohad *makhzan* (state government) that had been directly inherited by some and copied by others. The army was dominated everywhere by the Banū Hilāl, the bureaucracy by the Andalusian émigrés who brought with them their refined system of etiquette. The retreat of the Andalusians from Spain marked the third step in the cultural arabization of the country. Fashions in dress or cooking, language, music, architecture, decoration, all the framework of a certain kind of middle-class existence, still bear witness to this cultural influence today. The same names, the same customs, the same way of speaking are to be found in Fez, Tlemcen, and Tunis.

The failure of Ibn Tūmart's extremism left the field clear for a renewed Sunnism that was both faithful to the heritage of the past and open to the new questions that the Almohad crisis had brought to light. The Marinids, who had no ideological pretensions, took the advice of the *ʿulamāʾ* and, following the example of the Seljuks in the East, set up *madrasah*s, colleges where the Islamic disciplines were taught from an orthodox viewpoint. These were immediately copied by the Zayyanids and Hafsids. The teaching was organized by the authorities, but its content was defined by the consensus of the *ʿulamāʾ,* based on a tradition that was nurtured by the vast body of biographical literature of the *ṭabaqāt.* The growing number of pupils led to a need for manuals; thus began the era of dry, hermetic summaries that soon required long commentaries (*shurūḥ*). This was perhaps an inevitable development, but one that turned out to be negative in the long run.

Official Islam. As the reigning dynasties grew weaker, the *ʿulamāʾ,* without ever becoming truly independent, gained more power and put the finishing touches on an official ideology that was characterized by moderation, simplicity, and positivity. For a long time Sunnī Islam had been faced with a precise problem: the rationalization of law, theology, and mysticism. The Ẓāhirī and Shāfiʿī jurists claimed that it was possible to reduce the various Qurʾanic dictates to a few laws. The Muʿtazilī and Ashʿarī theologians wanted to derive all the attributes of God from a single principle. The mystics of the school of Ibn ʿArabī (d. 1240) justified their metaphysical monism with the desire to be identified with God. The Mālikī *faqīh*s, taking a completely different viewpoint, considered this attempt at systematization useless methodological extremism. For them, Islam is above all a divine order (*amr*) that is self-evident. The duty of the Muslim is to obey this order; hence the cardinal importance of the notion of *bidʿah,* innovation in regard to ritual. The Prophet is by definition the perfect believer; why go beyond what he taught his followers? Does this not imply either that he was not perfect or that he did not transmit faithfully the message of God?

Because Islam is above all a *sharīʿah* (law; lit., "path"), *fiqh* is the central discipline in Islamic science. The community can always do without theologians and mystics, as in Medina at the epoch of the Prophet, but it cannot live without *faqīh*s, who form an integral part of the governing elite. And because *fiqh* fills a social need, it must be founded on a simple *ʿaqīdah* (profession of faith), that of the *salaf* ("ancestors"); any attempt to complete it or to clarify it would lead inevitably to endless dissension. *Fiqh,* the constitution of the Muslim community, is a positive element and must be accepted as such; it is justified by the will of God, which is itself inseparable from the final good of humanity.

Such an attitude is easy to understand in the light of the disastrous consequences that partisan rifts have had throughout the history of Islam, but it is impossible to ignore the fact that as this attitude became more widespread, it tended to discourage any form of intellectual curiosity. Indeed, the last achievements in the exact and natural sciences date from no later than the fifteenth century in the Maghreb.

The history of the Maghreb seems to come to a standstill at the moment when Islam assumed its definitive characteristics. Contemporary scholars were aware of this and attempted to record, in encyclopedic form, the knowledge handed down from past centuries. One such example in the field of law is the *Miʿyār* (Norm) of al-Wansharīsī (d. 1508). Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406), the greatest thinker ever produced by the Islamic Maghreb, also endowed his famous *Muqaddimah* (Prolegomena) with an encyclopedic content. This work was the conclusion of a deep reflection on the history of the Maghreb, widened to include the entire Arab-Islamic past. The author, who had been a serious student of Greco-Arab philosophy and who was personally inclined toward mysticism, nevertheless remained absolutely faithful to Mālikī methodology. In two brilliant chapters of his main work, he contrasts the positivism of *fiqh* with the rationalism of *kalām* on the one hand, and the monism of mysticism on the other. More important, he reveals the sociological basis for such a contrast: Universal history, according to him, had evolved from *ʿumrān badawī* (rural civilization) to *ʿumrān madanī* (urban civilization). In the Maghreb the two kinds of culture exist side by side, resulting in a structural dichotomy. In the city, society tends naturally toward a religion of reason, whereas rural society upholds a naturalist religion: The sultan (the political authority) plays the role of mediator between the two forms of social life; his official ideology, Mālikī *fiqh,* must necessarily remain at an equal distance from rationalism and naturalism, hence its qualities of positivism and moderation.

THE ISLAM OF THE ZĀWIYAHS. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Maghreb underwent a general crisis. Nomadic life spread at the expense of a ruined agriculture; commerce languished and plunged the cities into profound inactivity. The Spanish and the Portuguese, masters of the seas, conquered many ports on the North African coasts. Faced with such unfavorable developments and already weakened by incessant wars, the three reigning dynasties collapsed.

The Ottoman Turks. This period began with the Portuguese seizure of Ceuta in 1415 and ended with the defeat of the Spanish in Tunis in 1574, and of the Portuguese in Wādi al-Makhāzin near Larache in 1578. Morocco was saved by an outburst of nationalism, the rest of North Africa by the Ottoman Turks.

Ottoman sovereignty theoretically persisted in Algeria until 1830, in Tunisia until 1881, and in Libya until 1911. However, from 1710 on, each of these provinces gained its autonomy. The official language was Turkish, but Arabic remained the language of culture. The Ottomans reintroduced Ḥanafī law into the Maghreb; the resulting competition with Mālikī law rekindled interest in long-neglected disciplines such as *uṣūl al-fiqh* (fundamental principles of law) and *kalām.* In Morocco, under the new Saʿdid dynasty, the social and political scene was dominated by the Ṣūfī brotherhoods.

The marabout movement. Popular pietism, which had been launched under the Almoravids and the Almohads, covered the country with a network of *zāwiyah*s where ascetics lived—in theory at least—cut off from the world. In reality they taught children and even adults the rudiments of religion; they used the offerings they received from the population to help the poor and give shelter to travelers; in cases of conflict they served as mediators. The person who was called *ṣāliḥ* (man of good works), *walī* (man of God), *sayyid* (lord), and *shaykh* (leader) had become an indispensable figure. The last two terms indicate that he was endowed with a spiritual authority that the *qāʾid* (representative of the central powers) could not easily ignore.

Up to this time the *zāwiyah*s fulfilled a social need and completed the work of the *makhzan.* When the latter turned out to be incapable of getting rid of the Portuguese who had settled on the coasts, the *zāwiyah*s were transformed into *ribāṭ*s, rallying centers for warriors. (Here the word *murābiṭūn*—as with Almoravids earlier—yields *marabout* in French and English.) The man who symbolized this transformation was Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Jazūlī, the author of a celebrated book of prayers concerning the Prophet called *Dalāʾil al-khayrāt* (The Signs of Blessings); his *zāwiyah* was located in Afūghvl, near present-day Safi. He died in 1465, before the Portuguese occupation of the city, but his disciples, who later led the struggle for freedom, considered that he had prepared them spiritually for their task. All the *zāwiyah*s founded later were linked to al- Jazūlī and, through him, to ʿAbd al-Salām ibn Mashīsh.

The marabout movement was based on the legacy of several centuries. To the tasks of education and moral reform it added a political program—the struggle against foreign domination—and this was its originality. The majority of its leaders prided themselves on being *sharīf*s (descendants of the Prophet through his daughter Fāṭimah); victory over the invaders gave them a social importance that was based on an assumption of holiness (*barakah*). From this time on, being a marabout and being a *sharīf* were closely linked in the eyes of the people if not in reality.

FROM BROTHERHOOD TO PRINCIPALITY. The parent *zāwiyah,* which was a center for teaching and meditation, trained missionaries whose task was to spread the good word far and wide. The followers gathered in a special chapel, also known as a *zāwiyah,* to recite their *wird* ("litany"). Thus the *ṭarīqah* (brotherhood) came into being. With the weakening of the central power and the gradual splitting up of the country, the people turned more and more to the shaykhs of *zāwiyah*s who thus became, sometimes much against their will, the new political leaders. Similar circumstances surrounded the birth of the great North African brotherhoods: the Nāṣirīyah and Wazzānīyah in the mid-seventeenth century, and the Darqāwīyah, Tijānīyah, and Sanūsīyah during the nineteenth century. The *zāwiyah* thus took on diverse forms: it could be a monastery, brotherhood, or principality. On the one hand, it united the faithful over and above their traditional splits; on the other hand, it created new splits with its activism. In fact the *zāwiyah* competed with the political authority and the clerical institution on their respective grounds. In the eyes of his disciples, the shaykh was in possession of a beneficial power that enabled him to work wonders (*karāmāt*). When he died he became the object of a cult (*ziyārah*) because of his power of intercession (*shafāʿah*). From the point of view of its organization, the brotherhood had something of a secret society or, at the very least, a private club about it. The principle of the brotherhood posed a problem for orthodoxy. However, until the beginning of the nineteenth century, every inhabitant of the Maghreb, literate or illiterate, was a member of one or several of them. Because it was a family affair, women and children were included in the brotherhood even if they did not usually participate in the ceremonies. The authorities and the clerics were unable to rise up openly against such a widespread practice.

The zāwiyah and the naturalist substratum. Each brotherhood produced a vast body of hagiographic literature listing the qualities that placed its successive leaders among the chosen and omitting any details of their behavior that were not quite orthodox. Nevertheless the official religious hierarchy remained suspicious. What was the true practice of the *zāwiyah*? Those who knew it from the inside were sworn to secrecy, while those who remained outside could say nothing with authority. Were the old pre-Islamic cults lingering on in the *zāwiyahs*? The Sunnīs insinuated that this was so but were unable to produce solid proof. And in any case, even if the naturalist cults were kept up in secret, they were reinterpreted in an Islamic language. The notions of *barakah, karāmah, shafāʿah,* and *sirr* ("secret") were directly linked to the teachings of the Prophet.

For three centuries the Islam of the brotherhoods, characterized by faith in hereditary grace, a supererogatory cult, and a hierarchical organization (which related it to the Shīʿī *daʿwah*), dominated the scene in the Maghreb so overwhelmingly that any outside observer took it for the true Islam, with the doctrine of the jurists being mere rationalization. Later history showed that this was not the case. From the mid-nineteenth century on, scriptural Islam returned in force; then began the long struggle against the *zāwiyah*s that finally brought them into disrepute. And yet one question remains: If the brotherhoods were so popular, was it not because they fulfilled an affective need that official Islam was unable to satisfy? Whatever the case, they gave rise to a renewal of literary expression. Whereas classical Arabic poetry (the *qaṣidah,* "ode") was becoming bogged down in a welter of archaisms and stylistic artifices, the new emotionalism that emerged from the brotherhoods gave rise to *malḥūn,* poetry in the spoken language that was meant to be sung. Created by artists versed in the subtleties of classical prosody, *malḥūn* produced genuine masterpieces.

The Islam of the Salafīyah. Throughout the Maghreb, the second half of the eighteenth century was a period of recovery. The power of the central authority was reinforced, trade revived, and the cities prospered again. At the same time as did the Wahhābīyah of Arabia, the *faqīh*s of the Maghreb began to criticize the most absurd aspects of popular religiosity. Their movement claimed to continue the inspiration of the first Muslims *(salaf)*, hence the name Salafīyah conferred on it by historians.

Pre-Salafīyah and Salafīyah. The Salafīyah were not the first reformers to appear in the modern history of Islam, so how can they be distinguished, apart from chronology? The ʿAlawid sultans of Morocco, Muḥammad III (d. 1790) and Sulaymān (d. 1822), seeking to return to a simpler form of religion, criticized the subtleties of the jurists and the supererogatory practices of the brotherhoods. Muḥammad ibn al-Madanī Gannūn (d. 1885) spoke out vehemently against music and ritual dances. The book written by Ibn al-Ḥājj (d. 1336) against all kinds of innovation, *Al-madkhal* (The Introduction), was reprinted, and numerous clerics published summaries of it. Thus, from the mid-eighteenth century on normative Islam began to regain control, but it was in the minority and it attacked only the most aberrant aspects of the marabout movement, never its basic tenets. This phase is what this article shall call the pre-Salafīyah.

The Salafīyah in the proper sense of the term appeared at the end of the nineteenth century, when several Arab countries, including Algeria (in 1830) and Tunisia (in 1881), came under the yoke of European imperialism. The movement expressed an awareness of the failure of traditional Islamic society in the face of foreign domination, as well as a desire for radical reform in the intellectual and social domains. From this standpoint the Islam of the *zāwiyah*s appeared as a distortion of true Islam, an alteration that lay at the origin of the decadence of the Muslims. The Salafīyah declared total war on maraboutic Islam.

The North African Salafīyah formed part of the movement that had been launched by the pan-Islamic leader Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (d. 1897) and his Egyptian disciple Muḥammad ʿAbduh (d. 1905). The review *Al-ʿurwah al-wuthqā* (The Strongest Bond), which they published for a short time in Paris, was widely read by enlightened Tunisians. ʿAbduh himself stayed briefly in Tunisia and Algiers in 1901/2. The Cairo review *Al-manār* (The Lighthouse), launched at ʿAbduh's instigation in 1898 by his disciple Rashīd Riḍā, had an immediate influence on the pupils of the *madrasah*s. It shaped the minds of such future leaders of Islamic reformism as the Tunisian Bashīr Ṣfar (d. 1937), the Algerians Ṭayyib al-ʿUqbī (d. 1962) and ʿAbd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs (d. 1940), and, to a lesser extent, the Moroccans Abū Shuʿayb al-Dukkālī (d. 1940) and al-ʿArbī al-ʿAlawī (d. 1962).

The critique of the zāwiyahs. In 1937 the Algerian Mubārak al-Mīlī (d. 1962) published a pamphlet called *Risālat al-shirk wa-maẓāhirih* (Aspects of Polytheism), in which he summarized the main criticisms leveled by the Salafīyah against the brotherhoods. From the point of view of faith, he argued, the practices of the brotherhoods are tainted with *shirk* ("associationism"). Those who give offerings believe that this is the price to be paid for the intercession of the patron saint of the *zāwiyah.* However much the shaykh maintains that it is God alone who really intervenes, the donors still believe that it is the saint; they associate another being with God and thus commit the worst of sins.

From a legal point of view, the brotherhood is an innovation. Its members frequent a chapel, not a mosque, and this in order to recite prayers rather than the Qurʾān; they fast during periods other than the month of Ramaḍān and go on pilgrimages to places other than Mecca. According to the Salafīyah, this is a cult that has elements in common with Islam and yet is distinct from it. New *zāwiyah*s are created every day, and the Muslim community, instead of being united around the Qurʾān, is splitting up into sects that rise up against one another. Finally, from a social point of view, the *zāwiyah* is a school of *taqlīd* (the act of following blindly) and *tawakkul* (fatalism). The disciple follows the shaykh in the belief that he can work wonders. Thus parasitism is encouraged. The *zāwiyah* is indeed active, but only in that it recruits people and takes them away from a productive life. In short, for the Salafīyah the *zāwiyah*s divide the Muslims, disarm them morally, impoverish them economically, and enslave them spiritually. They mark a reappearance of the paganism (*jāhilīyah*) that the Prophet had fought against. A return to the religion of the one God is a return to freedom, to a sense of action and solidarity, in other words, to the qualities responsible for the greatness of the ancestors.

From Salafīyah to nationalism. The Salafīyah were at work in a Maghreb that was dominated by European colonialism; they were not members of the *ʿulamāʾ,* even if they had been taught in such traditional institutions as the Zaytūnah in Tunis or the Qarawīyīn in Fez. They were fighting above all against the leaders of the *zāwiyah*s, but they also criticized the *faqīh*s who, prudently favoring middle-of-the-road solutions, had little liking for their vehemence. The Salafīyah drew their strength from the anticolonialist feelings harbored by the majority of the North African people. In response to the question "Why have we been colonized?" the Salafīyah gave a forceful answer: "Because we have been morally disarmed by the brotherhoods." The reply to this criticism came from Aḥmad ibn ʿAliwah (d. 1934) in Algeria and from Aḥmad Skīraj (d. 1944) in Morocco, but because it was purely religious in form it caused little stir.

The triumph of Salafīyah can be explained by the social and political environment of the time. As the cities became poorer, the Islam of the brotherhoods predominated. Then, during colonization, the cities recovered their prosperity and gave rise to a new merchant class whose lifestyle owed nothing to the practices of the *zāwiyah*s. It was from this class that Salafīyah drew the strength that enabled it to confront the colonial administration, the shaykhs of the brotherhoods, and the prudent *ʿulamāʾ*. However, because it was at once a religious and a sociopolitical movement, the Salafīyah had to follow the same evolution as the society, which, becoming ever more urbanized and politicized, obliged it to merge first with liberalism, then with nationalism, and finally with socialism. In this way the movement lost its specificity, as illustrated by the careers of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Thaʿālibī (d. 1937) in Tunisia and ʿAllāl al-Fāsī (d. 1974) in Morocco, who began as Salafī thinkers and wound up nationalist leaders.

POLITICAL ISLAM. In the present-day Maghreb, the state completely dominates both the society and the individual. Traditional institutions—*madrasah*s, *zāwiyah*s, *ḥabū*s (religious foundations)—are under the close supervision of their respective ministries. In Morocco the *ʿulamāʾ,* organized on a national level in a *jamʿīyat ʿulamāʾ al-Maghrib* (Moroccan ʿUlamāʾ Association) and in each province in a *majlis ʿilmi* (ʿUlamāʾ Council), are consulted on questions concerning dogma or the life of society in general, but they are allowed no say whatsoever in political affairs. In Algeria, the FLN (National Liberation Front), the sole political party, monopolizes public activity by law; in Tunisia, it is the dominant PSD (Destourian Socialist Party); in Libya, the people's committees, while the *ʿulamāʾ.* are no more than civil servants.

The new dichotomy. After their liberation from the colonial yoke, the states of the Maghreb adopted the Salafi position as their official ideology. What has become of the Islam of the *zāwiyah*s? Scholars do not agree on this subject. The religious evolution of the Maghreb seems to have followed two quite separate paths. On the one hand, there are the Khārijī and Shīʿī schisms, which, containing elements of prehistoric polytheism, influenced the Almohads and the practices of the brotherhoods; on the other hand, there is strict monotheism, expressed at first through the Kairouan Mālikīyah, later redefined by the Sunnism of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and revived by the modern Salafīyah. This dichotomy could explain Ibn Khaldūn's opposition between rural and urban civilization. If so, the growing urbanization and industrialization of the independent Maghreb, which requires an increasingly rationalist religiosity, constantly reinforces the Salafīyah to the detriment of residual naturalist practices.

However, urbanization itself creates new needs. The city is never wholly middle class; it also contains a subproletariat that remains close to its peasant roots and an intelligentsia that is socially mixed and vulnerable to unemployment. The former group (the women in particular) indulges in magical practices, while the latter zealously seeks out mystical emotion or political activism. Under these circumstances, there could well be a revival of the *zāwiyah*s, but they would be used to fulfill a role that is defined more by present needs than by the legacy of the past. This fact is common to all the great cities in the world.

Political temptation. The Salafī ideology, which is spread among the masses by the machinery of the state, retains its original activist character. As the state is not always faithful, in practice, to Qurʾanic prescription, individuals who adopt this ideology find themselves on the horns of a dilemma: Either they envisage it as a purely spiritual exercise or they derive a program of political reform from it. Now this dilemma is not confined to the Maghreb; it takes on a particular form only to the extent that religious experience in the Maghreb has distinct features.

North Africa has never produced intellectual mystics like the Andalusian Ibn ʿArabī, the Egyptian Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 1235), or the Persian Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273); rather, it is a land of ascetics, educators, missionaries, and *mujāhid*s (warriors of the faith), all of whom were close to the ordinary people and sensitive to the problems of the community. In the same way the great Mālikī *ʿulamāʾ* were inclined to practicality and moderation, with little concern for methodological subtleties. It is most significant that the greatest author born in the Maghreb, Ibn Khaldūn, chose as his field of investigation the history and evolution of societies. In the Maghreb more than anywhere else, Islam seems to have been less individualist and intellectual, much more pragmatic and concerned with the community. One can also assume that it will retain these characteristics in the future, particularly in the absence of any opposing tendency thus far. The practice of the *zāwiyah,* wherever it remains in evidence, is increasingly purified by the *ʿulamāʾ*. In people's minds Islam is above all a law (*sharīʿah*) that expresses the solidarity of the faithful, as can be seen in the way the majority is still attached to the fasting at Ramaḍān and the pilgrimage to Mecca. Islam as it is envisaged by the Society of Muslim Brothers (al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn) does have a certain influence on official Salafī thought, but until now it has remained peripheral.

SEE ALSO Berber Religion; Christianity, article on Christianity in North Africa; Judaism, articles on Judaism in the Middle East and North Africa to 1492 and Judaism in the Middle East and North Africa since 1492; Khārijīs; Modernism, article on Islamic Modernism; Rites of Passage, article on Muslim Rites; Shiism; Tarīqah.

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Translated from French by Glyn Thoiron

ISLAM: ISLAM IN ANDALUSIA

Al-Andalus was the name used by the Muslim population of the Iberian Peninsula for the territory that was under Muslim rule from the times of the conquest in 711 CE until the fall of the Nasrid kingdom of Granada in 1492. That territory varied through the centuries. During the Umayyad period (eighth–tenth centuries), Muslims ruled most of the regions of the Iberian Peninsula, with the exception of part of the lands situated north of the river Duero and south of the Pyrenees, where Christians managed to establish small independent kingdoms. A major shift in the balance of power between Muslims and Christians occurred in 1085, when Toledo, the former Visigothic capital, was lost forever to the Muslims when it fell into the hands of the king of Castile, Alfonso VI.

The Muslim conquest of al-Andalus had taken place during the Umayyad caliphate, with its seat in Damascus, and some of the settlers in the Iberian Peninsula were clients of the Umayyads. When the latter's rule was put to an end by the new dynasty of the Abbasids (who moved their capital to Baghdad), a member of the fallen dynasty, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I (r. 756–788), escaped from the massacre of his family and with the help of the Umayyad clients managed to establish himself as ruler of al-Andalus. The new Umayyad emirate had Cordova as its capital. During the ninth century, the Umayyads fought hard to maintain their power in the Iberian Peninsula, shaken by the attempts of Arabs, Berbers, and local converts to establish autonomous political governments. The eighth Umayyad ruler, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (r. 912–961), succeeded in regaining control of al-Andalus and proclaimed himself caliph in order to give a firmer basis to his rule and to counteract the danger represented by the establishment of a Fāṭimid (Shīʿī) caliphate in North Africa, while taking advantage at the same time of the decline of the Abbasid caliphate in the East. Political unity, general stability, economic flourishing, and cultural achievements were some of the traits of the tenth century, although the minority of the third Umayyad caliph and the military reforms carried out by his powerful chamberlain, al-Manṣūr ibn Abi ʿAmir, eventually opened the door to civil war.

The conquest of Toledo in 1085 was partly the result of the political fragmentation of al-Andalus that took place during the eleventh century. The administrative centralization achieved during the tenth century disappeared with the collapse of the (second) Umayyad caliphate. It was abolished in 1031, but before that date independent Muslim kingdoms had already arisen, the most important being those of Seville, Toledo, and Zaragoza. With different ethnic backgrounds, the rulers of the so-called Party or Taifa kingdoms were engaged in a complex internal political game of war and peace, in which the intervention of the Christian kingdoms played a major role. Muslim military weakness led to the payment of tribute to those Christian kingdoms. This situation was novel in al-Andalus and almost exceptional in the Muslim world, as the predominant historical experience of Muslims had been until then one of conquest and rule, not of submission to non-Muslims. But money was not a deterrent to Christian military expansion, as became clear when Barbastro and Coimbra fell into Christian hands in the years 1063–1064, followed by Coria in 1079 and Toledo in 1085.

By this time, the need to seek military help outside al-Andalus had become acute and an appeal was made to the Almoravids by some of the Taifa rulers. Of Berber origin, the Almoravid dynasty had succeeded in establishing a unitary kingdom in the Maghreb (nowadays Morocco), having as its capital Marrakech. The powerful Almoravid army crossed the Straits of Gibraltar and defeated the Christians in the battle of Zallaqa (1086), although they were unable to regain most of the territory already lost to the Christians or to retain some major towns (Valencia was in Christian hands from 1094 to 1102, Zaragoza was taken in 1118, Lisbon in 1147, Tortosa in 1148). Almoravid political legitimization revolved around the abolition of illegal taxes and the pursuit of holy war *(jihād).* As this program failed, the support the Almoravids had attracted both among the elites and the masses of al-Andalus declined and by the third decade of the twelfth century, political and religious movements aiming at autonomous government had begun in several towns, shaking Almoravid rule in al-Andalus. The Almoravids were facing, at the same time, a new religious movement in their Maghrebi territory, that of the Almohads, who threatened Almoravid power both politically and ideologically.

The Almohad movement was founded by the Berber Messianic reformer Ibn Tumart; his successor as political leader was also a Berber who adopted an Arabic genealogy in order to proclaim himself caliph. The movement started in the south of Morocco in the first decades of the twelfth century, expanding from there to dominate the whole of the Maghreb (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia) and al-Andalus. Aiming at a radical political and religious revival, the Almohads found support among disparate groups in Andalusi society who shared some of their puritanical reformist policies, although it was mostly the use of violence that helped them suppress, at least for some time, the opposition of those groups and individuals that either disagreed with their program or were against its more extremist aspects. Although the Almohads were able for some time to check Christian military advance, their armies suffered a major defeat in the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in the year 1212. This defeat had been preceded and was followed by the loss of major towns in what was left of al-Andalus: Silves was conquered in 1190, Cordova in 1236, Valencia in 1238, Murcia in 1243, and Seville in 1248.

While Almohad rule collapsed both in the Maghreb and in al-Andalus, there were attempts at replacing it with local forms of government. This happened in al-Andalus according to a pattern that had been followed before during the collapse of Umayyad and Almoravid rules. Military men, urban elites, and charismatic leaders aimed at creating viable political and military entities in order to ensure the maintenance of the remaining territory under Andalusi rule. Only one such attempt succeeded, that founded by Ibn al-Ahmar in Granada and the surrounding area. From the middle of the thirteenth century until 1492, the Nasrid kingdom of Granada managed to survive by taking advantage of the internal dissensions both among the Christian kingdoms and those Muslim states that had been created in North Africa after the demise of the Almohad empire. The political unity achieved by Isabel of Castille and Fernando de Aragón signaled the end of the small Muslim kingdom of Granada. In the same year that Christopher Columbus disembarked in America and Jews were expelled from Spain, Granada was conquered and al-Andalus as a political entity ceased to exist. But the term survived in the form of Andalucía, the name given to the southern regions of Spain, this being the area where Muslim rule had lasted longest.

ARABIZATION, ISLAMICIZATION, AND THE RELIGIOUS MINORITIES OF AL-ANDALUS. The Muslim armies that conquered the Iberian Peninsula were formed mostly of Berbers, with small groups of Arabs. The number of the Arabs increased when a Syrian army sent by the Umayyad caliph in Damascus to suppress a Berber revolt in North Africa sought refuge in al-Andalus. The first Umayyad ruler, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, attracted other members of his family to his capital. The number of Arabs also increased by intermarriage with the local population, as their descendants became Arabs due to their strict patrilineal genealogical system, and also through the establishment of patronage ties with other ethnic groups. Arabic tribal affiliations (*nisba*s) became a distinguishing feature of the Andalusi population, in contrast to that of the Maghreb (Morocco), where Arab settlement was scarce. Arabic ethnicity and language were cultivated and praised by men of letters and poets, and also by historians, both under Umayyad rule and during the eleventh century, when the legitimization of some of the Taifa kings, such as the Abbasids of Seville, was grounded on their Arab ancestry.

It is difficult to establish for how long the Berber conquerors and first settlers of al-Andalus managed to preserve their own language, which has left very few traces. When ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III proclaimed himself caliph in 929, one of his policies was the consolidation of an Andalusi identity which, while not suppressing the Arab component, stressed the Islamic unifying factor. This Andalusi identity was felt to be under threat when new groups of Berbers, maintaining their language and tribal organization, settled in al-Andalus and seized political power in the eleventh century. The possibility (that many saw as a danger) of a Berberization of al-Andalus increased when the Iberian Peninsula became part of the Berber Maghrebi empires of the Almoravids and the Almohads. The complex dynamics at play between Arab and Berber ethnicities through the history of al-Andalus still await a monographic study.

Muslim Arabs substituted the Visigoths as rulers over the local Hispano-Roman population, who were (even if only nominally) Christians and whose languages were Latin and Romance. They, together with the Jews, became "protected peoples" (*dhimmis*), being allowed to preserve their religion and their community life, although always in a position of subordination to the Muslims. The Christians of al-Andalus are commonly referred to as Mozarabs, although this term (not found in the Arabic sources) should be limited to the Arabized Christians in order not to obscure the complex linguistic and cultural situation of the Christian communities living under Muslim rule.

The language, culture, and religion, often inextricably linked, of the new rulers had a deep attraction for those Christians who were more directly in contact with the Muslims. Latin culture was still predominant in the ninth century, but in the tenth century the Christians of al-Andalus started to translate their religious literature (the Psalms, the canons of the Visigothic church) into Arabic. The bishop Recemundo (also known as Rabiʿ ibn Zayd) took part in the translation into Arabic of Latin and Greek works (such as Orosius's historical work, Dioscorides's treatise, and the famous Cordovan Calendar) that was carried out during the Umayyad caliphate. This trend towards acculturation had been harshly fought in the previous century by two Cordovan Christians, Eulogius and Alvarus, who promoted the movement of the so-called voluntary martyrs. These were Christian men and women, some of them born from religiously mixed marriages, who voluntarily sought martyrdom by publicly insulting Islam in reaction to what was perceived as the increasing loss of their identity. The church hierarchy did not favor their movement, which eventually faded away.

The linguistic and cultural Arabization of the Christian population took place with different rhythms and characteristics according to location and social and economic status. The issue of Romance-Arabic bilingualism of the indigenous population of the Iberian Peninsula has been hotly debated in spite of, or more precisely, because of the scarcity of available sources and the contradictory interpretations to which those sources have been subject. Even if demography was in principle favorable to the Romance language spoken by the local population, Romance monolingualism survived only among those sectors who were rural, poor, illiterate, and Christian. Bilingualism was characteristic of the urban settings, while Arabic was the dominant language among the literate groups of society. In the tenth century, Arabic became the predominant written language and in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the predominant spoken language. Arabic monolingualism (with diglossia between written Arabic and the spoken dialects) became the norm from the thirteenth century onward. The experience of al-Andalus thus differed from that of Iran, where the local language survived the process of Islamicization. Also in contrast to Iran, there was no cultural *shuʿubiyya* in al-Andalus, that is, the glorification and preservation of the pre-Islamic culture as part of the struggle of the convert local populations to achieve equality with the new rulers.

In opposition to what happened with Latin and Romance language and culture, the Jews of al-Andalus were able to maintain Hebrew as their religious and literary language and it became pivotal in the defence of their cultural identity, while at the same time they carried out a deep absorption of Arabic language and culture. In this context, a golden age was made possible. As David Wasserstein (1997) has put it, almost all the greatest poets writing in Hebrew in the Middle Ages were Iberian (Judah ha-Levi, Ibn Gabirol, Samuel Ha-Nagid, Moses Ibn Ezra), and some of the most important works of Jewish thought are also the product of Iberian Jewry (the *Kuzari,* the *Guide for the Perplexed).*

With the general exception of the Jews, Arabization was closely linked to the process of conversion to Islam. An early majority of Muslims in the population of al-Andalus was achieved in the first half of the tenth century and from that time onward, Christians lost the demographic battle.

THE HEGEMONY OF MALIKISM AND ITS ALTERNATIVES. The main distinguishing feature of Andalusi Islam is its lack of the religious pluralism expressed by the co-existence of the four legal schools (Malikism, Ḥanafism, Shafiʿism, and Hanbalism) recognized within the Muslim Sunnī world from the tenth century onwards. While Malikism reigned supreme in al-Andalus, Ḥanafism seems to have been banned, while the attempts at introducing Shafiʿism and Traditionalist trends akin to Hanbalism failed. The main alternatives to Malikism were locally produced: the Cordovan Ibn Hazm's Zahirism, a legal school generally considered too radical for Sunnīsm, and the Almohad program of religious revival and reform.

The early Muslim settlers of al-Andalus were soldiers. Their religious and legal needs were catered for by their leaders, acting as judges and directors of prayer. The legal doctrine associated with a Syrian jurist, al-Awzaʿi (d. 773), is generally considered to have been followed by those judges, until it was replaced by Medinan (from Medina, the town in the Arabia Peninsula where the Prophet ruled and died) jurisprudence at the time when a new scholarly class was being formed. The emergence and consolidation of a scholarly milieu can be documented from the late eighth and early ninth century onwards. The first scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*) came mostly from the army milieu, which they left in what seems to have been a process of professional diversification on the part of the ruling elites. Soon, local converts devoted themselves to learning as a means to social advancement. By traveling to the central lands of Islamdom for commerce, in search of knowledge, and to carry out the pilgrimage, Andalusis became aware of and integrated themselves into the Muslim world of scholarship.

Umayyad rule had lasting consequences in how this world was shaped in the Iberian Peninsula. As the tenth-century geographer al-Muqaddasi noted, among the early schools of law, the one associated with Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 767) and later known as Ḥanafism was rejected. The Abbasids, the dynasty that had put an end to Umayyad rule, had generally favored this legal trend that was also supported by the Aghlabids, their representatives in Ifrīqiyah, so that the Umayyads of al-Andalus could only view it with suspicion. Furthermore, Ḥanafism was associated with ʿAlī and the town of Kufa and some of its doctrines were considered to be pro-Shīʿah. This again could only favor its rejection on the part of the Umayyads, whose rise to power had taken place by fighting against ʿAlī's party. The other major legal trend in the eighth century was that associated with Medina and more specifically with Mālik ibn Anas (d. 796). It has been said that Andalusi scholars adopted the latter's legal doctrine because their travels took them to Egypt and the Ḥijāz, where they studied with Mālik's pupils. But if geography certainly had a role, it was associated with politics, as the first Andalusi scholars did not travel to Iraq, the center of Abbasid power. Also, some aspects of Medinan-Mālikī doctrine were seen as being congenial with Umayyad history and legitimacy.

An Andalusi scholar of Berber origin, Yahya ibn Yahya al-Laythi, had a crucial role in bringing together Mālik's and his pupils' doctrines and the Umayyads of al-Andalus. A revolt against al-Hakam I (r. 796–822) that took place in Cordova during the year 817 and in which Yahya ibn Yahya took part made it clear to the Umayyad emir that the emerging group of scholars could channel either popular opposition or support to the ruler and that without them Umayyad power could be put in jeopardy. For his part, Yahya ibn Yahya realized how advantageous the ruler's support was in getting the upper hand for his own followers in the struggle among the emerging factions of scholars. A pattern of collaboration between the ruler and the scholars was established and Māliki ʿulamaʾ started serving the Umayyads as judges, legal experts and advisers, and in other legal charges. A rapidly growing body of legal literature began to be transmitted in al-Andalus and soon also to be authored by Andalusi scholars, such as ʿAbd al-Mālik ibn Habib (d. 852–853), al-ʿUtbi (d. 868–869) and others.

By the tenth century, Andalusi jurists belonged, with few exceptions, to the Mālikī legal school. Andalusi Mālikīs were well integrated in chains of teachers and pupils, whose relationships, achievements, and social practices started to be recorded in biographical dictionaries. A number of legal treatises were used for the training of pupils. The proclamation of the Umayyad caliphate in 929 consolidated Malikism as an "official" legal school, making it a crucial element of the Andalusi identity promoted by both rulers and scholars, and thus separating al-Andalus from heterodox Fāṭimid North Africa and also marking it within the Sunnī world. The Umayyad caliphs of Cordova stressed the association of Malikism with Medina, the town where the Prophet had acted as ruler, thus implying that by following this legal school, Medina had been relocated in the Iberian Peninsula and that it was as if the Prophet himself was ruling again over the Muslims.

But even if al-Andalus was Mālikī and only Mālikī, this does not mean that it was monolithic. There were always discrepancies within the school, most of them deriving (or said to derive) from the various interpretations of Mālik's teachings by his pupils and also from the latter's own contributions to the body of legal doctrines and practices. The existence of such legal differences *(ikhtilaf)* was accepted, as it was the inevitable result of the human effort at understanding (*fiqh*) the revealed law (*sharīʿah*), but it also led to polemics and sometimes to harsh attacks against those jurists with whom one disagreed, attacks which could even become accusations of religious deviation. One of the main areas of disagreement was how to carry out the process of traditionalizing the early body of Mālikī literature, which contained very little reference to Prophetic tradition (*ḥadīth*).

During the ninth century, "the conviction became absolute that law is justified only if it can be related hermeneutically to Prophetic exempla, and not if it is presented discursively as emanating from an ongoing juristic tradition" (Calder, pp. 18–19). The Eastern jurist al-Shāfiʿī (d. 820) devoted himself to the science of the fundaments of law *(usul)* and forcefully argued that law had to be derived from both Qurʾān and *ḥadīth,* and that the methodology for such derivation had to be strictly regulated. At the same time, great effort was made in the central lands of Islamdom to make available compilations of *ḥadīth* to the jurists.

These tendencies would soon echo in al-Andalus. Andalusis started traveling to Iraq by the second half of the ninth century and brought back the doctrines of the Traditionalists. Some of those Andalusis won to Traditionalism were radicals, who rejected Malikism and tried to introduce Shafiʿism. The Cordovan Baqi ibn Makhlad (d. 889), who wrote a voluminous compilation of *ḥadīth* (now lost), excelled among them. But his extremism provoked the legal establishment and he was accused of heterodoxy. The ruler, who saw the advantage of scholarly infighting, saved his life. Eventually, those Mālikīs who were receptive to the new trends managed to Traditionalize their legal doctrines without becoming Shāfiʿī. This was a long process and its complete story still needs more study. The most prominent jurists along this road were Ibn Waddah (d. 900), al-Asili (d. 1002), Abū ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (d. 1071), Abu-l-Walid al-Baji (d. 1081), Ibn Rushd al-Jadd (d. 1126), Abū Bakr ibn al-ʿArabi (d. 1148), and al-Shatibi (d. 1399). In their writings dealing with *ḥadīth* literature, Qurʾān commentary, and legal methodology, they carried out the adaptation of Malikism to the new legal trends. Of crucial importance were the commentaries written by Ibn Rushd al-Jadd of the two founding texts of Western Malikism, Sahnun's *Mudawwana* and al-ʿUtbi's *Mustakhraja,* as his effort was directed at connecting the legal doctrine found in those two early texts with the Qurʾān, the Prophetic Tradition, the consensus and analogical reasoning (*qiyas*), the four legal sources established by al-Shāfiʿī. In other words, Ibn Rushd al-Jadd was able to insert early Mālikī legal opinion (*raʾy*) within the context of *usul* methodology, without much substantial change being introduced in traditional Andalusi Maliki practice.

The endeavor of these reforming Mālikī jurists from the time of Abū ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-Barr onwards was greatly influenced by the challenge posed by Ibn Hazm's doctrines to Andalusi Malikism. Ibn Hazm (d. 1064) left Malikism to become a Ẓāhirī, thus adhering to a very literal interpretation of the religious sources (Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*), limiting consensus to that of the companions of the Prophet and rejecting analogical reasoning. After abandoning an unsuccessful career in the dangerous waters of Taifa politics, Ibn Hazm dedicated his life to producing a complete alternative to the Mālikī legal system. According to Ibn Hazm, Mālikīs considered it wrong to act according to the contents of a *ḥadīth* if the practice of the community was contrary to it. He put all his considerable intellectual gifts to work to reverse that trend, making *ḥadīth* the basis for practice. Had he succeeded, it would have meant the disruption of the Andalusi scholarly milieu and a complete renovation of the urban elites, closely associated, as in any other Islamic region, to the world of scholarship. Ibn Hazm's aims probably included this social, and eventually political, disruption, in which he might have seen a solution for the problems he denounced in Andalusi society under the Taifa kings. But Ibn Hazm did not succeed in making al-Andalus adhere to his legal vision. Nevertheless, he left an enduring legacy. Mālikīs were forced to react to the formidable challenge represented by his writings and his doctrines, so that the most able of Mālikī scholars devoted their energies to refuting Ibn Hazm. And by doing so, Malikism was inevitably changed.

Part of Ibn Hazm's vision can be found in the religious and legal policies of the Almohads. Their struggle for radical reform was formulated as a return to the times of the prophet Muḥammad, whose teachings had been revived by their Messianic founder, the Mahdi Ibn Tumart. The latter's successor, the Almohad caliph, was to ensure correct interpretation of the religious sources and the disappearance of diversity of opinion through his acting as the vicar of God or caliph, and through the training of a body of scholars, the *talaba,* charged with the diffusion and control of Almohad theological and legal doctrines. In many ways, this version of Almohadism was closer to Shiism than to Sunnīsm, so that the proposal has been made to name this experiment of radical reform the "Sunnīticization of Shiism" (Fierro, 1999, p. 232, note 23). It eventually failed, not only because of the political and military collapse of the Almohads, but also because Malikis soon reacted against those aspects of Almohadism that represented a departure from the Sunnī understanding that, as important as revelation is, the historical experience of the Muslim community has always to be taken into account. Those with totalitarian leanings who try to dismiss that historical experience put themselves in the margins of Sunnism.

RELIGIOUS DOCTRINES AND PRACTICES. Legal and law-related writings constitute the main body of the Muslim literature written and transmitted in al-Andalus. Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) regulated the relations among men and also between man and God, and Andalusi scholars, like their colleagues in the rest of the Islamic world, devoutly engaged in the search of God's norms to humankind, an effort that at the same time allowed them gaining a livelihood as *qadis*, jurists, notaries, and teachers.

A special feature of this endeavor is the rich tradition of *fatawa* literature, where the legal opinions on a variety of issues formulated by Andalusi jurists were collected. As Hallaq has pointed out, whether in his capacity as a private legal expert or as an advisor to the court, the jurisconsult determined the law. The *fatawa* literature thus represents a privileged vantage point from which to analyze the interplay between law, society, and religion. Studies devoted to it in the past decades have opened new and promising venues of research on many aspects of Andalusi social and religious practices. This literature gives information mostly on urban areas. The possibility of learning about what was going on in rural areas is limited, although archaeology (which has greatly developed in the last decades) has made them better known, while the incorporation of anthropological knowledge has also opened new perspectives, as in the case of the function of holy men and charismatic leaders among the Berbers.

Qurʾanic and *ḥadīth* literature, as well as theology, have not been paid as much attention as law. Recent interest on the Almohad period might give more impulse to the study of theology, as correct belief became one of the fundaments of Almohad religious policies (the population ruled by the Almohads was supposed to learn by heart the Almohad profession of faith). This trend was related to developments taking place in the rest of the Islamic world and in it the impact of the famous thinker and reformer al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) can be detected. The reception of al-Ghazālī's works and ideas in the Islamic West has been subject to many studies, mostly related to the issue of the spread of Sufism that took place in the twelfth century with figures such as Ibn al-ʿArif, Ibn

Barrajan (both died in 1141) and Ibn Qasi (d. 1151), who did not limit himself to the study and teaching of Ṣūfī doctrines, but also engaged in a political career as a charismatic ruler in the troubled times that preceded the Almohad caliphate. The most famous Andalusi Ṣūfīs are Ibn Masarra (d. 931), better understood now thanks to the publication of his works that were thought to be lost by Asín Palacios in his often quoted monograph; Ibn Sabʿin (d. 1269); and especially Muhyi al-din Ibn al-ʿArabi (d. 1240). The latter, like many other Andalusi Ṣūfīs, spent much of his life outside al-Andalus. In fact, Ṣūfīs did not find in the Iberian Peninsula an atmosphere as congenial to their presence as that existing elsewhere, especially in the Maghreb, where Ṣūfīs and more generally holy men accomplished a variety of functions for which there were competing figures or arenas in al-Andalus. The twelfth century, especially in the Almohad period, witnessed not only the flourishing of Sufism, but also that of philosophy. The career and written production of Ibn Rushd (Averroës) is closely linked to the Almohads's religious and intellectual program. Although Averroës's philosophical work transcended that program, Averroës's most lasting influence is to be found not in Islamdom but in Christian Europe.

Andalusis were keen in portraying their religious history as an unbroken tradition of orthodoxy, without heretical sects, and on the few occasions in which they appeared they were soon annihilated. This image evokes historical developments that supported religious uniformity in al-Andalus, but it also reflects the powerful capacity of Andalusi scholars of assimilating the changes taking place in their milieu and therefore making them almost invisible.

MUSLIMS UNDER CHRISTIAN RULE. The religious experience of Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula also had a specific trait: that of the Mudéjares, the Muslims who had neither migrated nor converted when their lands were conquered by the Christians but who continued to live as Muslims under Christian rule. They were able to temporarily maintain the use of Arabic, while progressively acquiring the language of the conquerors. This bilingualism was short-lived in some areas, such as Castile, where Arabic was lost, while in the Kingdom of Valencia it lasted longer. A curious form of linguistic survival was to use Arabic letters to write Romance (the so-called *aljamiado* or *aljamía*), not because those who used *aljamiado* wanted to ignore the Romanic script but because they sought to keep themselves linked to the sacred language of the Qurʾān. The use of *aljamía* was a profession of faith, a sign that indicated the users' belonging to the Muslim community.

The status of the Mudéjares came progressively under threat after the conquest of the last Muslim kingdom. The Mudéjares of Granada and Castile were forced to convert to Christianity in 1501 and 1502, those of Valencia in 1521 and 1522, those of Aragon in 1524, in a process that by 1526 signaled the end of Islam as a permitted religion in the Iberian Peninsula. These forced converts are known as Moriscos. Efforts for the Christianization of the Moriscos were carried out according to policies closely intertwined with contemporary debates about the conversion of the Indians of America. In spite of the inevitable, but slow, process of religious and cultural assimilation, the new Christians were suspect in their religion and often denounced as a potential fifth column for the Muslim enemies of the Spanish crown. Also, there was rejection on the part of some sectors of Christian society of their cultural difference. After their rebellion in Granada in 1568, the persecution of the Moriscos at the hands of the Inquisition increased and the remaining communities grew weaker. Their expulsion was discussed in 1582, the first decree was promulgated in 1609, and between 1610 and 1614 the Moriscos were forced to leave the Iberian Peninsula. With them, the small amount of Arabic that still survived disappeared as a spoken language. The dispersion of the Moriscos in Muslim lands and their eventual acculturation to the new context also meant the disappearance of the Andalusi dialectal bundle. For a while, they preserved the Romance language in the new lands where they settled, even producing works in Castilian in Tunis.

Surviving legal opinions dealing with the issue of whether Muslims were allowed to live under Christian rule, mostly formulated by jurists who did not live in the Iberian Peninsula, show a powerful tendency to reject this possibility, arguing that residence in a non-Muslim territory precluded following fundamental tenets of the Islamic religion and was thus equated with religious and cultural corruptions such as eating carrion, blood, or pork. This attitude must have been demoralizing for the religious elites of Mudéjares and crypto-Muslim Moriscos who did not emigrate (emigration to Muslim lands was economically difficult, if not impossible, for the more humble members of the community). Even so, they managed to develop varied and fruitful strategies for religious and cultural survival, the study of which has offered and is still offering new perspectives on the general issue of the interplay between normative and local Islam. *Aljamiado* literature preserved the fundamentals of religion and law, as well as Muslim sacred history, and made them available to the community at large. Sophisticated forgeries such as the Gospel of Saint Barnabas and the Lead Tablets of the Sacromonte of Granada tried to demolish the distinction between "old Christian" and "new Christian" as a rationale for the elimination of the Moriscos, in an attempt to ensure the physical permanence in the Iberian Peninsula of the descendants of its former Muslim inhabitants.

THE LEGACY OF AL-ANDALUS. As in other Islamic societies, in al-Andalus Muslim rulers allowed the existence of Christian and Jewish communities as *dhimmis,* although there were episodes of persecution under certain political and religious circumstances, such as the pogrom of Granada in 1066, the expulsion of the Christians to North Africa in 1126, and the forced conversion of the Jews under the Almohads. Eventually, both non-Muslim communities either disappeared from al-Andalus or saw their numbers greatly diminished, although their Arabo-Islamic acculturation had lasting consequences.

But before exploring them, what was their contribution to Andalusi cultural and intellectual achievements? Echoes of the Latin tradition in astrology, medicine, geography, history, and perhaps agronomy have been identified in early Andalusi culture. The most famous example is the Cordovan Calendar. But there was nothing comparable to the impact of Hellenistic culture in the Eastern Islamic civilization and thus Saʿid of Toledo, writing in the eleventh century, stated that the scientific development of al-Andalus was not indebted to any indigenous tradition. The related issues of the possible influence of Romance lyrics in the appearance of new poetical forms *(muwashashat* and *azjal)* in al-Andalus and of the possible influence of such forms in Western poetry have been (and still are) widely and ardently debated. The *muwashashat* encapsulate verses in Romance called *kharjas.* They have attracted a passionate interest from Arabists, Hebraists, and Romanists, giving rise to hugely divergent interpretations and becoming one of the cornerstones of the presentation of al-Andalus as the land of the three cultures or the land of religious *convivencia* (living together). This largely mythical presentation has had a recent flourishing, owing once again more to contemporary needs than to historical accuracy.

Less open to debate is the impact that Andalusi Christians and Jews had in Latin Christendom and in Jewish culture. In the case of the Christians, those who emigrated to Christian lands brought with them artistic skills that modern scholarship has analyzed as representing a specific Mozarabic art, unique to the Iberian Peninsula. The Christians who lived in Muslim lands conquered by the northern Christians kept for some time the use of Arabic, as shown by the rich collection of Arabic documents from Christian Toledo (eleventh to thirteenth centuries), and they also preserved the old Visigothic church ritual.

But it was mostly the highly Arabicized Jews who played a crucial role in the transmission of Arabic culture and science to Christian Spain and Europe. They are closely associated with the so-called school of translators of Toledo, a label which is merely a way to express in a simple manner the complex linguistic and intellectual process through which Arabic works were translated into other peninsular languages (Latin, Romance languages, Hebrew). The need to translate arose mainly for two reasons.

On the one hand, knowledge of the "other" was necessary in order better to confront the Muslims or to convert them, especially when Christian expansion led to the presence of Muslim communities inside Christian territory. In the twelfth century, Latin Christendom started the serious study of Islam, thanks mainly to the encouragement given by Peter the Venerable of Cluny to the translation of Muslim religious texts. Raymond Lull (1232–1316), who called himself Christianus Arabicus, developed a philosophical-apologetical system with the aim of convincing the infidel Muslims of the truth of the Catholic faith, arguing not against, but rather from their own faith, which he had deeply studied. On the other hand, translation was needed to take possession of the knowledge achieved by the Muslims in philosophy, science, and other fields. For example, Christian historical works written in the thirteenth century, like those produced under the patronage of Alfonso X the Wise, were highly indebted to Arabic chronicles, in the same way that the Arab geographers had learned about the Iberian Peninsula from Latin sources. But the translation effort concentrated mostly on the field of the "sciences of the ancients."

The Greek and Latin legacy was sought where it was known to have been preserved, in those Arabic works containing translations from that legacy, but also the original contributions made by Muslims themselves. In fact, in searching for the scientific and technical knowledge of antiquity, the Christians had to acknowledge the importance of the additions made in the Arabo-Islamic civilization. That search started early, as shown by the manuscripts of Ripoll monastery (in Catalonia). The main impulse took place in the twelfth century, when Hermann of Carinthia and Robert of Ketton worked in the Ebro valley, while Dominicus Gundisalvus and Gerard of Cremona centered their activities in Toledo. The exact sciences, linked to astrology and magic, attracted the first translating efforts, but philosophical and medical treatises were soon incorporated. Andalusi Aristotelianism had a lasting influence in Latin and Hebrew philosophy.

Averroës's works were already translated in the first half of the thirteenth century, shortly after having been written, provoking the well-known reaction of both attraction and rejection in Christian Europe. Alfonso X the Wise promoted the translation from Arabic into the vernacular, employing mostly Jews, of a wide range of works dealing with magic, astrology, astronomy, games, and literature. Arabic vocabulary penetrated into these vernacular languages, mainly in the fields of agricultural products and techniques, building crafts, clothing, and food. Mudéjar art, like its counterpart Mozarabic art, singles out Spain from the rest of western Europe with the exception of Sicily. Spanish medieval literature is indebted in both contents and form to Arabic literature. The Muslim religious influence on peninsular Judaism has acknowledged manifestations in the fields of mysticism and theology, while its influence on Christianity is less widely accepted. This reflects the tensions that have existed (and continue to exist) in the construction of a Spanish Catholic national identity, while similar debates (such as that on the debt of Dante's *Divine Comedy* to Muslim eschatology) show that the study of religious interaction has been, and still is, a contested field.

The al-Andalus cultural and intellectual legacy should not be sought only in what is now known as the West. Andalusi Islam produced works and developed doctrines and practices that had a lasting influence in the Muslim world at large. Following Christian expansion in Muslim lands, Andalusi intellectual elites started a process of emigration to other regions of Islamdom. Its rhythm and peculiarities are not yet well known, but it helped disseminate Andalusi cultural achievements among Muslims. Any look at the contents of extant Muslim libraries reveals that the list of Andalusi "best-sellers" in Muslim religious literature is substantial and that in certain areas, such as North and Central Africa, Islam cannot be understood without reference to the thought and works of Andalusi scholars.

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MARIBEL FIERRO (2005)

ISLAM: ISLAM IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Islam entered Africa within decades of its inception in the seventh century CE. In North Africa its spread was related to the empire-building process which took Islam to Morocco and Spain in the far west and to India in the east whereas in the rest of Africa its diffusion followed a different path. The African dimension goes back to 615 CE when the first Islamic migration to Abyssinia, now called Ethiopia, took place, though its impact there at this early stage is not clear. A few years later, the epoch-making *hijrah*, or migration, by Muḥammad and his persecuted band of followers to Medina created the political center of the nascent Islamic state built in Arabia. The task of spreading Islam beyond the Arabian peninsula to other regions, including North Africa to the fringes of the Sahara, was left to Muḥammad's successors or caliphs.

Scholars, until recently, have not paid sufficient attention to the Islamic intellectual tradition and culture in sub-Saharan Africa which is generally treated as a periphery of the Islamic heartland in the Middle East. Moreover, studies about Islam in Africa are often marred by the view that gained currency during the colonial era, namely that African Islam represented a syncretic or diluted version of the faith, stripped of elements of its higher tradition. This view is difficult to understand given that Islam is indeed a religion of great synthesis which (in the areas where it has spread) has interacted with local cultures, enriching them and being enriched by them. The study of Islam in sub-Saharan Africa is now entering into a new and very interesting phase (for instance, witness local and international efforts to help save old manuscripts relating to Tombouctou's intellectual heritage) as scholars begin to look at Africa's literary tradition and contributions to aspects of Islamic law, mysticism, devotional matters, theology, and history in Arabic or local languages. The number of Qur'anic translations in African languages, using the Arabic or Latin alphabet, moreover, has also been growing steadily and testifies to this increased urgency to produce written material for African Muslims.

Knowledge of the history of Islam in sub-Saharan Africa before the sixteenth century comes mainly from the works of Arab geographers and historians such as al-Bakr, al-Zuhri, Ibn Batuta, and others. Archaeological excavations of important centers of trade, such as Kumbi Saleh, Awdaghust, Jenne, Kilwa, and others, have added further to the knowledge of these cities by allowing for historical reconstruction. Finally, oral traditions have become an increasingly important source for the study of this history as they present information (in legendary form) of kings such as Sundiata, the founder of Mali, which can be critically assessed to provide insights into what is remembered and emphasized about the past. The sources of information become more varied after the sixteenth century and include written material in Arabic by local Muslims, oral traditions and ethnographic data, and European records in the era of European expansion and domination of the Atlantic system.

ISLAM IN THE SAHARA AND THE SAHEL. Islam made its presence felt in much of Africa (the east coast and Horn of Africa as well as West Africa) mainly through trade and migration. In the Sahara region and beyond it, for instance, Islam was introduced from North Africa by the Berbers, mostly members of Khārijī sects, through the trans-Saharan trade as early as the eighth or ninth century. They had their centers in the oases at the northern side of the Sahara in Sijilmasah, Tahart, Wargla, and Ghadames. With the expansion of this mainly salt-for-gold trade, important trading towns such as Awdaghust, Tadmeka, and Kawwar also sprang up at the southern end of the Sahara. Beyond them lay the important African states of Ghana (with Kumbi Saleh as its capital), Gao, and Kanem in the region that was known as the Sahel (which means in Arabic the "shore" of the desert). This was the region where the desert and the savanna meet and where Sahelian cities served as terminus points for a very vibrant international trade.

The Khārijī influence in North Africa had declined by the tenth and eleventh centuries due to a number of factors, including the Shīʿī Fāṭimid conquest of North Africa, the destabilizing migration of the Arab Hilalian nomads, and the rise of the Almoravid movement among the Sanhaja Berbers of southwestern Sahara and the Mauritanian coast. The latter factor was especially important in entrenching the Sunnī Mālikī school of law in the region against both the Ḥanafī (supported by the Aghlabids) and the Shīʿī Fāṭimids. Mālikī scholars had arrived in North Africa as early as the ninth century and had successfully won the support of both the pastoralists and traders among the Berbers who became the vehicle for dissemination of Islam into the Sahara and beyond it in West Africa.

The increasing interest in the wider Arab/Muslim world in the source of gold for the trans-Saharan trade led to Ghana receiving mention in Arabic writings as early as the eighth century. Nevertheless, it was only after Muslim traders from North Africa began to settle in the largest Sahelian states by the eleventh century that more detailed descriptions of these states appear. For instance, the Arab geographer in Islamic Spain, al-Bakr, described Ghana's capital, Kumbi Saleh, as constituting two separate towns situated at a short distance from each other. One was a distinctly Muslim town, set aside for Muslim merchants who had their own mosques, and the other, the royal town, consisted of a palace and conical huts where the imperial indigenous form of religion was practiced. The king, who was known to be a man of justice and extended his friendship to the Muslims, appointed many of them, as the literati in society, to ministerial positions. Similarly, Gao, on the Niger, east of the river bend, was also divided into Muslim and royal towns although the king in this case was a Muslim. It was only in Takrur, on the lower Senegal River, that the Muslim king was reported as carrying out a vigorous campaign of conversion among his subjects and neighbors.

By about 1050 CE the kingdom of Ghana had expanded to include the Berber town of Awdaghust. A few decades later the king and the people of Ghana, according to al-Zuhuri who wrote in the twelfth century, had converted to Islam under the influence of the Almoravids (al-Murabitun). Some scholars have read the early sources as suggesting that this conversion was not attained by peaceful means. Recent careful study, however, has raised doubts about this conquest hypothesis which is considered to be more fiction than fact. In any case, Ghana continued to thrive as a state until the thirteenth century when its decline began due to a combination of factors, including Bure gold fields opening up farther south in the savanna country, new trans-Saharan routes developing farther east of Awdaghust, over-exhaustion of resources in this marginal Sahelian zone for food and iron production, and the continuous pressure from Berber pastoralists in search of new pastures for their stocks. Mali by then had emerged as the dominant power in the region.

MALI: THE WEST-AFRICAN PATTERN OF ISLAMIZATION. From an early period, political developments in West Africa were continually shaped by the trading network which depended on the trans-Saharan routes being extended to new sources of gold to the south. These trading networks developed among local African groups, mostly of Soninke origin (related to the rulers of Ghana), such as the Mande (Wangara/Dyula) whose area of operation was over a wide area, extending from as far west as Senegal to northern Nigeria in the east. This trade network, which led to exposure to Islam as a result of trading transactions with North Africans, was closely associated with the diffusion of Islamic studies, including mysticism in the later centuries, and enabled Islam to penetrate peacefully beyond the Sahel into the savanna area. Initially Islam was the religion of the African traders, then the rulers (who sought Muslim prayers if those of local priests failed), and finally (due to the efforts of Muslim scholars in later centuries) commoners among various African communities.

The cross-cultural trade in many parts of Africa, apart from reinforcing cultural self-identity and nurturing religious commitment, fostered a pluralist structure in which commerce, Islam, and the indigenous system supported the urban network. In this way a balance was established between local ritual prescriptions and those of universal Islam.

Islam in Africa was (as in many parts of the world where it reached) primarily an urban religion (with an urban ethos) which fostered commitment to its religious system, ranging from ethnic self-identity to Islamic self-identity, universal and trans-ethnic in scope. Islamic penetration in the rural areas, on the other hand, made slow infiltration over a long period of time with significant gains awaiting a much later period. The religion therefore entered much of Africa peacefully through the agency of trade and later gained status after the migrant community (purveyors of the written word and the visual symbols of Islam) became integrated into the political structure. Finally the ruling elite embraced the faith and appropriated its symbols for political purposes.

The level of commitment to Islam varied from one region of Africa to another and was influenced by a number of factors, including the length of interaction between Islam and the traditional religion, societal organization between centralized and non-centralized or "stateless" ones (in West Africa evidence suggests that Islam was not often adopted by segmentary societies), the compatibility or incompatibility of the world views of the two religious systems, and the level of resilience of the indigenous integrative symbols to sustain traditional structures of the local religion. Islam is based on a written scripture, prescribed ritual, a historical and historicizing tradition, and a supra-ethnic religious identity. Its interaction with traditional African religions is therefore governed by the tension between the supra-ethnic universality of its *ummah* and the ethnocentrism of traditional African religion. As one scholar has put it, for the African, the ethnic group is the matrix in which his or her religion takes shape, the meaning of myth communicated, and a person's sacramental relation to nature experienced. This means that when the traditional symbols of an ethnic group are challenged by a new system, recombination of old and new forms may appear to reorganize the group and to compensate for any loss. More specifically, becoming a Muslim and joining this universal *ummah* involves offering prayers in a mosque frequented by members of other ethnic groups, adoption of Muslim behavior patterns and dress code in some cases, and using a certain language (e.g., in the case of East Africa, Kiswahili). The Kano Chronicle, a written version of the oral traditions not committed to writing until the nineteenth century, brings out clearly the struggle between the two religious systems, the Islamic and the traditional one, after the symbolic tree is cut down and a mosque built in its place.

In the case of Mali, despite the influence of Islam among the Malinke chiefs prior to the founding of the empire by Sundiata, the latter is presented in the Arabic sources and oral traditions as a great hunter and a magician who mobilized the resources of his people against the Sosso in the name of the ancestral tradition, not Islam. Yet, when Mali expanded and was transformed from a small chiefdom to a sprawling multi-ethnic empire extending into the Sahel region, its Muslim rulers (including the famous Mansa Musa with his lavish pilgrimage to Mecca) shifted their attachment over time from traditional religious references to a more universal Islamic outlook.

Mali reached the height of its power in the fourteenth century during the reign of Mansa Musa (1312–1337) and Mansa Sulayman (1341–1360) when the specifically Muslim character came to be reflected by the many mosques and centers of Islamic learning, such as Tombouctou. Ibn Batuta visited Niani, the capital of Mali in 1352/3 and reported attending an official Islamic festival which attracted the presence of the king as well non-Muslims. He spoke highly of the people's efforts to study the Qurʾān from memory, their hospitality, and their love of justice, though he deprecated their pre-Islamic customs which he still found to be in vogue.

By the end of the fourteenth century and certainly the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Mali empire was in decline with a series of weak rulers, dynastic struggles, and loss of control to the Tuareg and later to Songhai over the Sahel (the region where Islam had been more firmly established). The outer provinces (such as the Mossi areas to the south of the Niger bend) broke away and went their separate way, with the Mali state contracting to its original borders on the upper Niger.

SCHOLARS AND RULERS: TOMBOUCTOU IN SONGHAI. While traders played a major role in the dissemination of Islam across the various trading networks in the region, the work of entrenching and deepening peoples understanding and commitment to the faith was left to the religious scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*). The term *ʿulamāʾ* covers a range of Muslim religious personalities, from the learned elite of the Muslim world who is steeped in one or more of the Islamic sciences—including Qurʾanic exegesis, Islamic jurisprudence, and so on—to the teacher/preacher/healer/holy man who provides services of a magical-religious nature to both Muslims and non-Muslims. The latter played similar religious, social, and political roles as did the African priest/healer/diviner whose traditional shrines served the same type of function as did the mosque, God's house, or sanctuary. These Muslim healers maintained a level of neutrality in the political affairs of the places where they resided. This served to enhance their powers as they were not perceived to be a threat to the local political elite.

Muslim scholars provided their services at the centers of political power, in chiefly and kingly courts as well as at major trading and learning centers, such as Tombouctou which provided an important link between the Sudanic savanna and the Berber Sahara. The city produced its own indigenous scholars, some of whom, under the rule of Mansa, were sent to Fez in Morocco to further their studies. In the fifteenth century, the Sanhaja scholars (under the patronage of another Berber group, the Tuareg, who were their kin) became prominent in Tombouctou. They gained the title of the people of Sankore, owing to their residence in the quarter of the Sankore mosque.

Unlike their counterparts in West Africa, the Sanhaja scholars of Tombouctou did not shy away from the political message of Islam. They articulated the concerns of the merchants of Tombouctou about guarding the autonomy of the city which was conquered by Sonni Ali in 1469 thus setting off a bitter conflict. By then the kingdom of Gao had blossomed to become the empire of Songhai under the ruthless leadership of Sonni Ali, who persecuted scholars who opposed him, a fact noted in Arabic sources, while respecting those who collaborated with him. This is an early example of confrontation between religious scholars and a ruler of a West African kingdom.

After Sonni Ali's death in 1492, his son was soon ousted by Askiya Muḥammad Ture (1493–1528), one of the generals who had formed an alliance with discontented elements in the western provinces of Songhai. Ture, founder of the Askiya dynasty, strengthened the administration of the empire and consolidated the earlier conquests of Sonni Ali. He used Islam effectively to reinforce his authority, by involving the Tombouctou scholars in his pro-Islam policy, and to unite the various regions of his kingdom. His pilgrimage to Mecca a few years later brought him to the attention of the Muslim world as one concerned about the affairs of Islam. He returned with the title of *amir al-muʾminin* (commander of the faithful), conferred upon him in Cairo, which made him the politico-religious head of the Muslim community (*ummah*) in western Sudan.

Askiya Muḥammad's politics of appeasing potential opponents helped integrate even the Tuareg of the Sahara into the empire, a development that safeguarded the commercial interests of Tombouctou. For their part, the scholars of Tombouctou favored piecemeal changes in the Songhai empire and did not call for radical transformations of the type advocated by al-Maghili, a visiting scholar from the oasis of Tuat in the northern Sahara. Al-Maghili's responses to Askiya Muḥammad's questions represent the most sustained criticism of the religious and political situation in West Africa prior to the Islamic revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Among Askiya Muḥammad's great achievements was his revival of Tombouctou as a great center of Islamic learning. During this period the Mālikī scholars from Tombouctou visited Cairo, a major source of Islamic intellectual influence in the region, on their way to and from Mecca. In Cairo they studied mainly under eminent Shāfiʿī scholars from whom they assimilated the science of *ḥadīth* (the prophetic traditions), *taṣawwuf* ("mysticism"), and *balāghah* (rhetoric). In this way, scholarship in Tombouctou was broadened beyond the narrow parochialism of the Mālikī school that seems to have stifled intellectual life in the Maghreb at that time. One representative of this scholarly tradition was the famous Tombouctou scholar Ahmad Baba, who, along with the other leading scholars in the city, were exiled to Morocco following the invasion of Tombouctou in 1591. His excellence in Islamic erudition was acknowledged when scholars from the major towns of Morocco came to hear his lectures in Marrakech.

The Moroccan conquest transformed the autonomous town governed by its own patriciate of scholar families into the seat of an authoritarian military government. The outcome was that once again, as during the time of Sonni Ali, scholars led the resistance. The continued intellectual prominence of Tombouctou was confirmed by the two most important Arabic chronicles of West Africa, *Taʿrikh al-Sudan* (History of Sudan) and *Taʿrikh al-Fattash* (The researcher's history [of Takrur]), both of which were written there in the middle of the seventeenth century. They form part of the local Arabic historiography which documents, among other things, the rise and gradual decline of Tombouctou.

Tombouctou, which once had the status of a major center of learning and commerce, declined slowly, under the contested rule of the descendants of the Moroccan conquerors. Feuding factions struggled for power within Tombouctou and Tuareg nomads pressed the town from the outside. Arma (Moroccan) rule finally collapsed in 1737 when the Tuareg seized the town and became the dominant power on the Niger bend. Once commerce was affected, it did not take long for the decline in Islamic scholarship to set in. With military and political ascendancy passing into the hands of the Tuareg, learning and also spiritual leadership migrated to the nomads' camp. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the Kunta, a nomadic clan of Arab and Berber descent, exercised influence over the whole of Muslim West Africa.

The mediating and integrating functions of Islamic learning in the segmentary societies of the Saharan nomads was expressed through the influence of the marabouts who attempted to establish harmony between warring groups. These maraboutic lineages were also involved in trade, employing a network of disciples and followers. The transformation or conversion of religious prestige to economic resources and political assets accounts for the rise of the Kunta as a dominant scholarly and commercial network. Their leader, Sidi al-Mukhtar al-Kabir (1728–1811), a reputable scholar and a great mystic, reinvigorated the Qādirīyah Ṣūfī order, which until then had not played a particularly distinctive role in the religious life of the Sahara for more than two centuries. He was highly revered by the Tuareg and through his influence over them extended his patronage over Tombouctou. Through his disciples he facilitated the diffusion of his Qadiri teachings among many Muslim groups in the savanna.

ISLAM IN THE SAVANNA. The collapse of the imperial system in western Sudan, which had been sustained by the successive powerful states of Mali and Songhai, weakened the position of Islam in the savanna. There were now no longer patrons of learning like the great kings Mansa Musa and Askiya Muḥammad, with their strong commitment to Islam and its promotion in their respective states. Moreover, by the seventeenth century, Muslims were living under the auspices or authority of lesser chiefs who were strongly influenced by their traditional heritage. Yet, all was not lost, as Muslim traders were venturing farther afield, to the fringes of the forest, opening new areas to the influence of Islam. This allowed Islam (the religion of urban centers, generally followed by merchants, scholars, and the like in the age of the great empires) to filter into the countryside by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The Bambara of middle Niger, who had previously resisted Islamization during the period of the Mali empire, became more open to Islam when they entered a process of state formation of their own. The Scottish explorer Mungo Park reported in 1796 seeing many mosques in the Bambara capital. Bambara chiefs began to practice Islam while retaining traditional rituals. The Islam practiced by their chiefs accommodated local ritual practices, a pattern that recurs throughout the regions where Islam spread in Africa and Asia.

The role of Muslims as advisers to rulers and as specialists with access to supernatural power was transmitted from the middle Niger (central parts of modern Mali) to the Volta basin, where several patterns of Islamization and integration had developed. In Gonja, Dagomba, Mamprusi, and Wa (present-day northern Ghana), Muslims of Dyula and Hausa origin had assimilated many aspects of the local cultures in addition to adopting local languages. Moreover, Muslims had become integrated into the sociopolitical system of these states. In the area west of the Black Volta River (modern Ivory Coast), the Dyula managed to maintain their cultural and linguistic identity either as residents of states, such as Buna and Gyaman, or as independent communities among stateless peoples. The exception was in Kong and Bobo-Dioulasso (formerly Upper Volta, now Burkina Faso) where the Dyula forged their own states.

Farther west, in the shared border area of Ivory Coast, Guinea, and Mali, the Dyula lived among Mande warriors and peasants, from whom they differed only in their commercial activities and Islamic faith. They were two contrasting groups, one of warriors (Mande) and the other of Muslims (Dyula). This dichotomy between warriors and Muslims held true over a large area of western Sudan and the Sahara. Thus warriors who exercised political authority, shed blood, and indulged in imbibing alcohol (which played the symbolic role of differentiating the two communities) often professed Islam but were not committed Muslims.

THE EARLY *JIHĀD* MOVEMENTS. The *jihād* movements of West Africa represented a phase in the diffusion (often through the agency of Ṣūfī orders) and further entrenchment of Islam in the region. Part of the process of conveying Islam from the urban areas to the countryside and from the elite to the common people, *jihād* movements had the literary consequences of stimulating, in some cases, the production of Islamic material in Arabic or in the indigenous languages. It was partly a response to mounting levels of violence, abuse of political power, and the enslavement of people (including Muslims) in the age of the transatlantic slave trade.

With the rise of militancy in the 1670s, a crisis came about which pitted activist scholars against the traditional political elite. Nāṣir al-Dīn, a Berber scholar from the southwestern part of present day Mauritania where the Almoravid movement had originated, challenged the political supremacy of the nomadic Arab Hassani warriors. He was an ascetic scholar known for his religious charisma (*barakah*). He called for repentance and mobilized his devoted disciples for a jihad in 1675.

In West Africa, the *jihāds* succeeded in bringing about the political ascendancy of Islam not through conquest or expansion from the outside, but through the uprising of Muslim militants who lived within pluralistic societies including non-believers as well as men and women of varying degrees of commitment to Islam. West African *jihāds* can therefore be considered religious uprisings that accomplished a long evolutionary process.

While the military efforts of Nāṣir al-Dīn failed, his example most likely inspired the revolutionary movements which seized power in the following areas: Bundu, in present-day Senegal (c. 1700); Futa Jalon, in present-day Guinea (c. 1725); and Futa Toro (c. 1776). The scholars who led these movements, like Nāṣir al-Dīn before them, adopted the title of *al-imām* which implied political and religious leadership. They were Torodbe, members of scholarly lineages in Futa Toro.

Of the post-*jihād* states, the one in Futa Jalon was the least stable as it was plagued by internal conflicts and the lack of political integration of non-Fulani groups in the state. The one in Futa Toro did not fare any better as the leader, the *almamy imām* ʿAbd al-Qadir, and his successors were unable to establish effective central authority.

KANEM-BORNU AND HAUSALAND TO 1800. Kanem, in present-day Chad, northeast of Lake Chad, was one of the earliest states mentioned in Arabic sources, with references to the area in Arabic texts dating to the middle of the ninth century. But Islam was introduced into Kanem by Muslim traders from Tripoli and Fezzan (in present-day Libya) only at the beginning the twelfth century, at least a century after it had gained a foothold in Takrur and Gao.

Unlike the situation in western Sudan where the spread of Islam was facilitated by the trans-Saharan trade which linked the network of trading routes to the gold fields, in central Sudan the trade in captives with North Africa in exchange for goods, such as horses, dominated the economy and inhibited the spread of Islam. There was no comparable trading and scholarly diaspora across an expanding network of routes; instead, there was a Sahelian state which, even at the height of its military power, expanded, not southward into the savanna, but northward into the Sahara, eventually reaching the Fezzan. These contacts across the desert though led to the growth of Islam among the Kanuri-speakers. Islam, however, did not enter Baghirmi, the first Islamized state south of Lake Chad, until as late as the sixteenth century.

The above notwithstanding, the fact remains that the influence of Islam in Kanem was far more sustained than in western Sudan as judged by developments such as the state's expansion of its northern borders to as far as the southern part of modern Libya in the thirteenth century, Kanem kings underscoring the importance of Islam by performing pilgrimage, and the establishment of an Islamic school in Cairo for Kanem students and scholars. Sometime in the fourteenth century, the Saifawa dynasty, in order to stave off a complete disintegration of the state, located in a very precarious and fragile environment, moved its capital to the grassland region of Bornu in the southwestern corner of Lake Chad (present-day Nigeria). Bornu, formerly a tributary state of Kanem, had access to a wider trading network. This led the Saifawa dynasty in the fifteenth century to establish trading links with the Hausa which enabled them to exchange salt and horses for Akan gold, ushering in a period of prosperity.

The Kanem-Bornu state reached its peak under the rule of mai Idris Alawma (1570–1603), when government officials were Muslim and the capital, N'Gazargamu, emerged as an important center of Islamic learning. Muslim scholars were highly respected, exempt from taxes, and looked to for advice. Other scholars who wished to maintain their independence and keep their distance from political authorities created their own Muslim communities in the countryside. It was in this state, which became the most Islamized of all African states prior to the Islamic revolution in Hausaland, that Islam filtered more widely to the common people. Yet, even here, African ancestral elements remained at the symbolic and organizational levels.

Islam reached Hausaland during the fourteenth century when the Mali empire flourished and when the Saifawa dynasty relocated its capital to Bornu. This was the period when the Wangara trading diaspora was established on the eastern fringes of the Mali empire in Hausaland at the same time that a direct trade route from Hausaland to Tripoli was developed. These Wangara traders and the scholars who accompanied them provided services to Hausa rulers as they had done elsewhere in West Africa. Despite the employment of Wangara scholars at the courts, however, pre-Islamic beliefs continued to exist. Clearly, a struggle between the two religious systems existed as indicated by the Kano Chronicle.

By the end of the fifteenth century, King Rumfa of Kano attempted to make some reforms by ordering the symbolic tree to be cut down and a mosque built in its place. It is believed that the king, under the influence of al-Maghili, who visited Kano in 1493, installed Muslim judges and encouraged the construction of mosques. Moreover, Tombouctou scholars on their way to the pilgrimage visited Kano and neighboring Katsina to the north where they taught briefly. The outcome was the development or nurturing of a body of Hausa scholars in the region.

Some of the Muslim scholars who served at the courts of the Hausa rulers were later to become the object of criticism by later reformers. The former were seen as worldly scholars who had compromised Islamic teachings by their association with political authorities.

REVOLUTION AND REFORM IN HAUSALAND. The practice of living in separate communities (*jamaʿat*) with their followers in the countryside had already began to develop among some pious-minded scholars who avoided both the kingly courts and the trading centers. Instead, they lived and preached among the peasants in the rural areas and contributed to the radicalization of attitudes. Some scholars became champions of the peasants and couched their grievances in Islamic idiom or language. The increasing production of devotional literature in Hausa by the eighteenth century contributed further to an Islamic awareness among the people.

Revivalist or reformist ideas gained momentum in different parts of the Muslim world in the eighteenth century and fed into *mahdī* expectations and millenarian excitement which, widespread in the Muslim world, dated back to the fifteenth century. Since the thirteenth century, Ṣūfī orders had developed ecstatic practices and antinomian tendencies, but in the eighteenth century, they shifted their orientation toward greater adherence to the *sharīʿah*. Mysticism of the speculative kind, with its focus on otherworldliness, was increasingly being supplanted by the strands which emphasized involvement in societal affairs and even political activism. While Muḥammad Abdul Wahhab's struggles against syncretism in Saudi Arabia went as far as rejecting the whole mystical tradition, the reform movements of West Africa sought reform within the Ṣūfī traditions of the area.

Several reasons have been suggested for this militancy. First, there was the religious excitement, particularly at al-Azhar, which influenced various parts of the Muslim world. In western Sudan this was expressed either through a radical Qadiriyah, or as was the case later, through a radical Tijaniyya. Second, Islamic messianism or millenarian expectations, which were quite widespread in West Africa, explains this tendency to radicalism. In particular the ideas of the eighteenth-century Egyptian scholar al-Suyuti had gained currency. Suyuti predicted that a *mahdī* would appear at the end of the eighteenth century. Even earlier than this was al-Maghili who presented in a radical way the doctrine of a rejuvenator or renewer of Islam *(mujaddid)*. These seminal ideas took root and may partly explain the religious-political eruptions of the later centuries. Membership in Ṣūfī orders by these leaders, with special powers being attributed to them, increased the prestige and influence on their followers. Third, the institution of pilgrimage played an important role in preparing the careers of certain leaders for an active political life. Apart from legitimizing their role, the institution of pilgrimage was important in launching the career of certain leaders on a reformist course. The Tijani order became the moving force behind several later revolutions of the nineteenth century. Fourth, there was a growing Islamic consciousness on the part of the more learned Muslim scholars; this awareness went hand in hand with a call for radical reform. These were the *sharīʿah*-minded scholars who aimed at forging Islamic states. They articulated some of the local political and socioeconomic grievances but in the language or idiom of Islamic reform. They championed what has been called the "radical tradition" which Thomas Hodgkin defined as follows:

> A tradition which emphasizes the rights of common people against their rulers, takes an egalitarian attitude to social differences, is concerned with changing institutions as a precondition of changing human beings, demands the widest possible diffusion of knowledge and education, stresses the idea of an international community, the need for puritanism in personal life and the urgency of social change—justifying in some circumstances the use of revolutionary methods to achieve it. ("The Radical Tradition in Muslim West Africa," in *Essays on Islamic Civilization,* edited by D. P. Little, 1976, p. 103)

Shehu Usuman dan Fodio (Uthman Dan Fodio), a Fulani religious leader, belonged to the autonomous scholarly communities of Torodbe/Toronkawa who kept their distance and avoided making any accommodations with the Hausa elite of Gobir. They were neither traders nor pastoralists although they shared cultural values with the Fulani pastoralists who, like them, carried arms and also excelled in horse riding.

Usuman, the charismatic and missionizing teacher, along with his followers engaged in preaching around the villages. His scrupulousness as a scholar won him many sympathizers among the oppressed and exploited peasants. He called for responsible leadership committed to a moral vision of society, not a corrupt one which ruled arbitrarily. As the tensions mounted between Usuman and the king of Gobir, Usuman, whose life was in danger, was forced to disengage from society by moving from Degel to an alternative place (Gudu) to establish a new just society based on his Islamic reformist program. In effect, he and his followers performed a *hijrah*, or migration, following the example of the prophet, a preparatory stage for the *jihād*.

Once open conflict erupted between the king of Gobir and his Muslim protagonists, Usuman declared a *jihād* which, after its initial success, attracted other disaffected groups, including Fulani pastoralists who resented arbitrary seizure of their stocks. These military campaigns, which lasted from 1804 to 1810, engulfed not just the Hausa states, but also western Bornu, Adamawa, Nupe, and the Yoruba state of Ilorin (the basis of Islam's later impressive inroads among the Yoruba in the forest region of Nigeria). The outcome was a sprawling empire or Sokoto caliphate, with a number of separate emirates, which was ruled by a caliph (*Amir al-Muslimin*). Usuman retired into a religious life and left the administration of the new state to his brother and son.

Thus the Muslim scholars were able to realize their vision of creating an Islamic state. The ideals and values of the reformers were never realized although they remained normative and guided Usuman's successors. More importantly, Hausa society became transformed with the state and its institutions became Islamized. Another major outcome was that the Hausa ruling elite were replaced by a new Fulani one that adopted Hausa language and culture. Nevertheless, not all pre-*jihād* structures and practices were eliminated, as evidenced by the continued existence of some communities of non-Muslim Hausa speakers known as Maguzawa.

THE ṢŪFĪ ORDERS AND THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY *JIHĀDS* IN WESTERN SUDAN. Following Shehu Usuman's example, Ahmadu Lobbo conducted a *jihād* in 1818 against Fulani syncretists in Massina on the middle Niger south of Tombouctou. The state that he established, which lasted until 1864, was criticized by the Kunta and even Sokoto leaders for not being free of narrow-minded concerns and bigotry.

The first wave of *jihāds* or religiously inspired revolutions in West Africa were for the most part led by members of the Qadiri order (for instance, Usuman) while the later ones were mainly headed by Tijanis. The most important of these was the one led by al-Hajj ʿUmar (1794/97–1864), the Tijani leader in West Africa. His pilgrimage to Mecca and his appointment while there to Tijani leadership in West Africa confirmed him in his reformist mission to challenge syncretic Islam as well as other Ṣūfī orders, including Qādirīyah. He used Islam to forge a large Islamic state incorporating the regions of Segu, Kaarta, and Massina, which make up large parts of the present republic of Mali. His influence spread rapidly, perhaps too rapidly, explaining why he clashed with the French as well as the established groups in Massina. Despite his death in 1864, his state survived for the next several decades amidst French imperialistic and colonial advances in the region. Further south, on the fringes of the forest zone, during the decade of the 1860s, Samoury Toure (1835/40–1900), a long distance trader, attempted to unite various southern Mande peoples and states into a vast political system.

THE PROGRESS OF ISLAM IN ETHIOPIA AND THE HORN OF AFRICA. The economic, cultural, and political relations between Ethiopia and Arabia, separated only by the Red Sea, predate the coming of Islam by many centuries. In fact, this much earlier contact is evidenced by the presence of the locally evolved Geez, an Afro-Asiatic language, which bears the imprint of the interaction between south Arabians and the local Ethiopian groups. While in the seventh century Muslim refugees had migrated to the Aksum court to escape Meccan persecution, by the eighth century Muslims had settled on the Dahlak Islands off the Ethiopian coast, and by the ninth century there were Muslim communities along the long-distance trade routes into the interior. Islam expanded southwards, from the Harar area, in the direction of the Sidama principalities but not in the north where the Christian power was well established and well entrenched.

The growing power of Ifat and other Muslim states threatened the interests of an expanding Christian kingdom under the Zagwe kings who controlled the Ethiopian highland region. By the early fourteenth century, however, Ifat had been defeated. Yet, another Muslim state, Adal, asserted itself and began to recruit support from the Somali pastoralists who were increasingly being proselytized. More importantly, Adal controlled Harar, the most important center of trade and Islam in the interior, and also Zeila, on the Somali coast, south of modern Djibouti, which by the end of the ninth century had become a significant alternative Muslim trading settlement. Somali coastal settlements developed into thriving towns, the most significant of which was the sultanate of Mogadishu.

At the end of the fifteenth century or early sixteenth century, a Muslim general, Ahmad Gran, became the ruler of Adal and took on the title of *imām.* He saw Christian Ethiopia, then ruled by the Solomonid dynasty, as a threat to Muslim security. He articulated his policy toward Christian Ethiopia, which showed signs of breaking up, in religious terms and went on to overrun major sections of it with Ottoman-supplied firearms. The timely intervention by a Portuguese force, which came to the aid of Ethiopia, led to the two forces together defeating and killing Ahmad Gran in 1543 and thus saving the kingdom.

In the sixteenth century the pastoral Oromo, from northeast of Lake Turkana, moved into the southern highlands of Ethiopia, a region destabilized by the warfare, and pushed as far east as the plateau of Harar. Those that came into contact with Adal Muslims converted to Islam while others elsewhere became Christians. The Oromo became a major factor in the expansion of Islam from the eighteenth century onwards. Today they form the largest ethnic group in Ethiopia with probably more than half being Muslim.

ISLAM IN EAST AFRICA AND THE INTERLACUSTRINE/CENTRAL REGION. For centuries, even before the advent of Islam, there had always been contact between the East African coast and western Asia. Traders from south Arabia, the Persian Gulf, and western India took advantage of the monsoon winds to visit East Africa in pursuit of commercial opportunities.

The advent of Islam in Arabia in the seventh century marked the turning point in the trading relations between the two regions. The eastern Bantu speakers had already expanded to this coastal area probably by the midpoint of the first millennium CE, if not earlier. However, the growing commerce between Arabia and East Africa led to an increased migration to the area. The migrants appear to have come from a number of areas, but mainly from southern and, to a lesser extent, eastern Arabia. They first settled on the Benadir (Somali) coast in the ninth and tenth centuries, setting up settlements in Merca, Mogadishu, and Barawa. In later centuries, most notably the twelfth, traders from this region—Africans and proto-Swahili speakers, including probably some African-Arabs—also moved southward along the coast as far as Kilwa and established their settlements there. This is the period of the Shirazi myths as found in a number of chronicles. More immigrants from Hadhramawt and Yemen followed later, although their numbers were much smaller in relation to the local African coastal urban population. The cumulative result of the gradual changes brought about by the interaction between the immigrants and the dominant African Bantu-speaking groups was the creation of a new urban ethos in which Islam blended with the indigenous local culture to produce Swahili Islam. Although the coastal area had not become fully Islamized by this time, by early 1330s when Ibn Batuta visited East Africa, he indicated that there were many Muslims to be found in the thriving coastal towns such as Kilwa, whose inhabitants he makes clear were of dark skin. Swahili culture and language were by then fully evolved that he could speak of the coast as Sawahil country. It took another century or two, however, before Islam became part of the Swahili identity.

There was a period when the founding of Swahili coastal towns was attributed to Asian and Middle Eastern colonizers. This is the Asian perspective or hypothesis popularized by colonial scholarship which denied Africans with a contribution in the evolution of historical towns in their own region. The overwhelming evidence from records of earlier travelers and geographers, recent archaeological findings, and linguistic studies are all, however, in favor of the African perspective, crediting Africans with establishing their own towns. This does not deny the fact that Middle Eastern Muslim immigrants, whether as refugees from the Middle East or attracted by commercial opportunities in the region, were absorbed into Swahili population over a long period of history as evidenced by the culture of the Swahili which is both Muslim and African.

Although Islam reached East and West Africa around the same time, the methods and timing of its diffusion in the two regions presents some interesting contrasts. To begin with, Islam in West Africa had penetrated inland from Sahel into the savanna and as far as the fringes of the forest by the end of the fifteenth century. In East Africa, on the other hand, Islam remained confined to the coastal area for a long time before it was introduced into the interior, for instance, in Buganda in 1840. The spread of Islam in West Africa, moreover, was not associated with one particular ethnic or linguistic grouping the way it was in East Africa. For the most part, Islamization in East Africa went hand in hand with Swahilization, a process by which members of different ethnic groups became integrated into the Muslim Swahili community. In fact, the introduction of Islam in the hinterland of East Africa is closely connected to the extension of Muslim trading communities along the coast as far as northern Mozambique to the Interlacustrine region (which includes present Buganda/southern Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, eastern Congo, and Malawi). Another significant difference is that religious upheavals in East Africa did not play a role as an instrument of conversion the way they did in some areas of West Africa. This means that there was no territorial expansion of Islam from the coast to the interior. There was a marked absence of empires like those of Ghana, Mali, and Songhai; instead, East Africa produced several dozen trading city states at the height of its commercial prosperity by the fifteenth century. Also, whereas East Africa was incorporated into the world of the west Indian Ocean, West Africa, through the trans-Saharan trade, was more connected to North Africa with which it traded for a long time.

The coming of the Portuguese to coastal East Africa at the end of the fifteenth century, as crusaders with commercial interests in the East, disrupted the Indian Ocean trade and also put to an end the first Muslim period of the East African coast. The brutal rule of the Portuguese provoked rebellions from time to time, and by the end of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese had been expelled from the coastal area north of Mozambique through a combination of local resistance and the rising power of Oman. Omani influence did not take hold until the 1830s when the sultan of Oman moved his capital to Zanzibar. This was a period of a commercial revival, including an expansion in slave trade, as well as growth in higher Islamic education along the coastal region and the development of the Ibadi school of thought in East Africa. Additionally, during the colonial period, Muslim communities from the subcontinent, Sunnī and Shīʿah, migrated to East Africa, adding a cosmopolitan dimension to the presence of Islam there.

ISLAM IN SOUTH AFRICA. The highly urbanized Muslim minority communities of South Africa, with people of mainly Malay and Indian descent, have their origins in the developments starting from the mid-seventeenth century. As the Dutch began colonizing the Indonesian archipelago, the Cape of Good Hope functioned as a convenient place of exile for Indonesian political leaders. These exiles included Muslim learned men such as the scholar saint Shaykh Yusuf. A revered figure and a leader of an alternative culture, Shaykh Yusuf led foreign, non-white members of excluded or isolated groups who maintained their Islamic faith and perpetuated it among the slaves, convicts, and freed convicts from India and the Indonesian archipelago. Given the racial attitudes of nineteenth-century white South African society, many African slaves (liberated "Prize Negroes" or Africans freed by the British from intercepted slave ships) who could not be assimilated into white Christian culture found themselves turning to Islam. The final phase of Islam's entrenchment in South Africa through immigration came with the introduction of indentured labor service from India for the sugarcane fields in Natal. A significant number of these foreign workers were Muslim and succeeded in establishing a base for the faith in the region. Over a century later, Islam had survived in South Africa and even entered into a radical phase among some of its followers during the period of apartheid. The location of the South African Muslim communities on the periphery of the Muslim world in a secular Westernized world has allowed for some of its scholars to offer interesting modernist interpretations of Islam that are in keeping with progressive trends.

ISLAMIC ART AND ARCHITECTURE. Treatment of the diffusion of Islam in Africa from both the east and the north would be remiss if the cultural dynamics of the interaction between the Islamic system and values and those of traditional African ways of thinking, especially in the area of visual representation, were not present or discussed at least briefly. The question that first needs to be asked is whether the old forms and symbols of the indigenous African system were discarded as a result of the encounters between Islam and traditional African religions? Did Islam, with its supra-ethnic universality, and the local African culture, with its ethnically centered identity, blend sufficiently during the process of Islamization on the continent to produce an Islamic art in Africa?

In the artistic and architectural domains there was a unique blending of Islamic structure and African representation. Once a balance had been reached between the local religious practices and the universal ritual prescriptions of Islam, the next step was to cast the imagery and iconography of African ancestral pillars, shrines, and so on into Islamized form. Where Islam was introduced, such items as charms, amulets, certain types of clothing, and prestige goods were incorporated into local societies. More importantly, the local altar-shrine was transformed into the mosque in such a way that the physical configuration represented a leap into verticality. Thus, the single, towering pyramidal earthen cone became the *miḥrāb*, while also serving as a minaret, with its system of projecting wooden pickets extending out of this massive structure. The ends of these wooden pickets served as a scaffold for workers to climb and repair the walls. The ancestral conical structure or pillar (in the Voltaic tradition) was now redirected to a new focal center, that of Mecca. In certain cases, as Prussin and Bravmann have observed, some of the mosques that were built in Mali had *miḥrābs* that evoked the image of an African mask, which traditionally represent powerful forces. This is how the mosques were constructed by the Mande of West Africa with Islam clearly inspiring the use of certain architectural features in the spatial configuration. The Islamic architectural tradition, mediated through the Maghrebian heritage, in turn inspired the architectural imagery or style represented by the thatched domes of the Senegal-Guinea mosques and maraboutic shrines, following the example of the domed cities of Tripoli and Cairo.

Islamic-type designs were also emulated and led to the adoption of arabesque wall patterning instead of the attached African charms. This calligraphy allowed for a new system of spatial organization. More than this, Islamic script was used in decorative ways even in non-Muslim areas such as modern-day Ghana, where in the nineteenth century, the Asantehene, head of the Ashanti confederacy, wore clothes with Arabic writing in various colors. Islam had clearly filtered through Ashanti politico-religious structure such that, as one scholar has noted, both in terms of ideas and in the realm of the arts, it provided a medium through which the ideology of the Ashanti was communicated.

CULTURAL DYNAMICS. Islam, which for many centuries coexisted well with traditional African religion, gradually over time attempted to replace it as the dominant faith of some regions. What made this possible was that the Islamic faith was much more adaptable in Africa, with minimum requirements for new members, including at the very least a change of name after reciting the testimony of faith. The observance of Islamic duties along with the understanding of the faith were supposed to follow later. For the first generation of Muslims, introduction to Islamic cultural values was what came first whereas Islamization itself could take generations to realize. At this level, there was accommodation to social and political structures of authority. This was the period when the learned Muslims, as in West African kingdoms, played a key role in administration and diplomacy. Eventually, however, a number of these African rulers adopted Islam and in doing so may partly have undermined the basis of their legitimacy as guardians of African ancestral religious traditions. Nevertheless, they did not completely renounce ties with the African traditional religion, which continued to be the religion of many of their subjects. This arrangement assisted in maintaining order although it did not please some West African Ṣūfī leaders of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who launched their *jihāds* and reform movements of Islamic revivalism, some of which had *mahdī* and messianic overtones, to establish Islamic states.

ISLAM DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD. While there were some Muslim leaders who resisted colonialism—such as Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh (1864–1920) of the Salihiyah order in Somalia, al-Hajj ʿmar, and Samori (Guinea and Mali)—many others chose accommodation and collaboration. Colonialism facilitated the growth of Islam in areas of Africa as far apart as Tanzania (Tanganyika) in East Africa and Senegal in West Africa through the activities of Muslim brotherhoods (Ṣūfī orders), traders, and others. For some African groups, the loss of power with the onset of colonial rule made them gravitate towards Islam which was seen as an alternative to the prevailing colonial order. The difficulties of a new life under the colonial system, which uprooted the African from his or her traditional universe, presented Islam with an opportunity to provide a new framework as meaningful and all-embracing as the old African one. This, for instance, happened with Amadou Bamba's Murid brotherhood in Senegal, which converted thousands of people whose earthly kingdoms had been destroyed by colonialism. In 1888 Bamba established Touba/Tubaa as a great holy city, some claim it to rival Mecca, where he was buried in 1927. Every year hundreds of thousands of his followers visit his tomb on the anniversary of his death. Generally speaking, for the uprooted African who joined the faith, the Muslim supra-ethnic *ummah* provided solidarity and a sense of belonging not very different from that of the African village or ethnic one. Moreover, while the Islamic prescriptions replaced the indigenous ones, in matters of worship, however, the Muslim ritual prayer did not completely dislodge the traditional rituals of seeking to appease one's ancestors. In fact, Muslim religious leaders and teachers performed, in some cases, the same kind of role as the African healers and medicine men in carving out the domain of popular religion.

Islam therefore spread rapidly during the colonial period and became the majority faith in Senegal, Gambia, Guinea, Mali, Niger, and northern Nigeria where Shehu Usuman's descendants continued to exercise influence. Islam also made progress in areas such as Burkina Faso, the northern parts of the Ivory Coast, Ghana, Togo, Benin, and the "middle belt" of Nigeria where twenty to forty percent of the population is Muslim. Were it not for the resilience of traditional religions and the activities of Christian missions, Islam would most likely have been a majority religion here too.

POPULAR ISLAM IN AFRICA. Despite Muslim efforts to purge African elements from their faith, Islam continued to display a level of indigenization or Africanization in West Africa. In spite of producing such well-known major religious Fulani reformers of the nineteenth century, including Shehu Usuman dan Fodio, in northern Nigeria, women still tend to follow the traditional cults, including the bori spirit cult, even with the sustained impact of Islam in Hausaland for centuries. According to some scholars, there must be a level of affinity between the two religious systems which allows this to happen. For instance, the belief in mystical powers (*jinn* or invisible supernatural creatures) allows Islam to be accommodated to the African spirit world, which is important to understanding the African religious universe. In fact, the ancestral beliefs have been recombined with Muslim practice to form a new "folk" religion with emphasis on saint veneration, which popular Islam and Sufism reinforce and which approximates local ancestor veneration.

The diagnosis and treatment of illnesses attributed to occult forces in Africa have provided an opportunity for Muslim healing traditions to flourish and allowed for the services of Muslim healers and holy men, who provided additional healing choices to local practitioners, to be in high demand. The appearance of new epidemic diseases such as smallpox and cholera, which arose in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in hinterland East Africa and which the local people could not adequately deal with, led people to turn to the Muslim healing system. Muslim prayers and amulets were more popular than Muslim secular remedies in this atmosphere of suspicion, which took the form of sorcery and witchcraft accusations. As has been noted, apart from the fact that Muslim amulets were believed to embody the words of the Supreme Being and not that of the intermediary powers, making them therefore more portent as the Ashanti believed, Muslim literacy played a role as a potential source of healing. Furthermore, Ṣūfī masters who had attained a closeness to God through following the path of spiritual enlightenment were believed to have special powers which made their prayers efficacious. This *barakah*, or blessing power which heals, was passed on in families and explains why the scholarly Ṣūfī lineages of the Sahara have played a pivotal role in mediating Islam between North and West Africa.

Modern developments in the Muslim world have undermined, to some extent, the influence of the *ṭarīqah* (Ṣūfī orders) in some parts of Africa such as Tanzania. Yet, the commitment to a mystical engagement with faith continues to be strong in West Africa and especially in Senegal, although even there it is facing the challenge of the Salafī reformers, also known as Wahhābīs, a term that is not used approvingly. Sufism, far from being a predominantly rural phenomenon which would fade away as Muslim societies became increasingly modernized, has continued to thrive and to engage African Muslims of the urban centers as well. It is true to say though that for some educated young African Muslims who are discomfited by magical practices, saint veneration, hierarchy, and authoritarianism of some Ṣūfī orders, the Salafī message has proved attractive.

The Salafī religious revivalism, despite its attractiveness to younger Africans, is generally conservative and traditional; to the extent that this is true, Salafī reform and Ṣūfī traditionalism are constantly engaged in an overlapping movement of interaction. Will they creatively synthesize from the values of their common Islamic heritage while acknowledging the entanglements and creative encounters between and within cultures? It remains to be seen what the outcome of this clash will be. It is clear though that underlying the conflict between them are struggles for power and control of the Muslim community in places as far apart as Uganda, Nigeria, and Mali.

WOMEN AND ISLAM. With respect to gender issues, Islam did not introduce patriarchy to Africa. In fact, many African societies were patriarchal and polygamous even before their encounter with Islam. Nevertheless, where Islam was introduced and its values incorporated in the socioeconomic and political structures of these societies (especially those with a propensity for state or empire building), a hierarchical social organization resulted in which there were clear demarcations of male and female spheres of activity. This, of course, did vary from society to society. For instance, the Yoruba women of southwestern Nigeria continued to be market women even after the coming of Islam whereas their Hausa counterparts in northern Nigeria tended to lead more secluded lives. It is significant to note that the Mahdiyya movement, which was established in 1941 in southern Nigeria by the scholar Muḥammad Jumat Imam, emphasized the education of women, their attendance of mosques together with men, and their inclusion in public affairs. By way of comparison, among the Tuareg-Berbers of the Sahara, who tend to be matriarchal, their unveiled women continued to enjoy far more freedom of movement than their Arab counterparts in North Africa.

Mysticism, and its chant practices and the spirit possession cults, provided an opening or opportunity for the acceptance of female authority, for instance, Sokna Magat Diop of the Murids, or religious leadership located within the female realm. Moreover, the Qādirīyah order did not challenge the female leadership of Shaykh Binti Mtumwa, a former slave or person of low status, who founded a branch of the order in Malawi and was successful in attracting many women. Therefore, both possession cults and Ṣūfī brotherhoods have allowed women to establish a sphere of action in hierarchical societies where control of the state is a male domain. These orders have incorporated women in both East and West Africa, especially in the area of education and fund raising, although women have a much larger scope in Senegal than Nigeria in brotherhood leadership.

There are Muslim women who, during the period of economic hardship at the end of the twentieth and beginning of the twenty-first centuries, have began to articulate issues of cultural authenticity rooted in Islamic identity in opposition to what has been perceived as Western cultural domination. They reject Western feminism, which they see as an extension of Western cultural domination and which sets Western values and ideas as the normative values. The role of these women has expanded as liberalization of the political process and the emergence of multi-party politics have led them to establish organizations and to embrace a particular agenda, including the Muslim dress code, and become involved in cultural politics. The Islamists and radical reformist activists are engaged in contesting existing gender relations and social justice. Islamists use the text (scripture) as their framework, whereas the secular activists' frame of reference is based on certain abstract concepts such as egalitarianism, humanism, human rights, and pluralism, concepts which have emerged from Western discourses on the subject.

The above examples indicate that the roles of men and women are constantly changing, especially due to urbanization, education, and cross-cultural contacts. For some women these changes have generated new freedom and opportunities for self-improvement.

ISLAMIC LAW IN AFRICA. In the political domain, Islam united much of Africa in the past and was willing to accommodate local, including legal, practices. Nevertheless, as the level of Islamization deepened, learned Muslim scholars began to call for a strict interpretation of the *sharī ʿah* or Islamic law which they saw as different from the African legal and customary practices. Some obvious areas of difference included, for instance, the emphasis on individual ownership of land (and property inheritance through the male side of the family), whereas in various African societies land belonged to the community. Also, some have suggested, the way Islamic law was interpreted tended to give men more power over property matters than perhaps was the case in some African societies. Yet, comparative data across a number of African societies is needed to make this a meaningful comparison.

Unlike its African counterpart which is customary and unwritten, Islamic law, which covers both public and private life, is written, providing an extensive institutional framework within which Muslim *qāḍī* analyze legal issues and deduce new laws to handle new situations in the *ummah.* Its emphasis is on the rights or obligations of individuals, whereas African customary law (in which economic and social relations, especially in "stateless" societies, were regulated by customs maintained by social pressure and the authority of elders) is based on kinship ties in matters of marriage and property. It extends to commercial and criminal law and also has rules regarding the conduct of political leaders or those entrusted with authority. In their encounter with other legal systems, European colonial powers left these systems functioning in some societies (for instance, in Sudan and Nigeria as part of the British self-serving policy of indirect rule) while in others they allowed Muslim judges to apply Islamic civil and family law, except in criminal matters, which were tried by European courts. In the post-colonial period, the scope of Islamic law, where it is applied, is limited to religious issues and civil cases as the modern trend, with its emphasis on equal rights of citizens, is to have laws that apply across the board without recognizing any distinctions based on religion or gender.

The decision to recognize or not recognize Islamic laws in many African states after independence has created tensions and political controversy, especially when the secular elites have sought to forge a uniform system of law or at least have attempted to modify Muslim personal law, in aspects such as marriage for girls, to bring it in line with the inherited Western law and African customary practices. There has been a wide variety of responses to this dilemma regarding how much scope to give to religious laws. Mozambique, for instance, has made attempts to recognize traditional and religious marriages (thus doing the basic minimum) whereas Sudan has made *sharīʿah* the law of the state. The call by Muslim groups in northern Nigeria for nationalization of Islamic law has unleashed the *sharīʿah* debate, a source of tension in national politics in a country where at the very least only half or slightly more than half the population is Muslim. In African Muslim societies in general, however, it has been noted that there is often an anti-state discourse underlying the call for Islamic law by Muslim groups. These groups seek to foster their religious and cultural autonomy in societies where the state and secular institutions have neglected to respond to their needs.

ISLAMIZATION OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES. Arabic as the language of Islam has provided abstract concepts, particularly religious ones, which reveal Islamic modes of thought and expression. Islamic influence is, in fact, revealed both at the explicit and suggestive levels in languages as different as the Berber dialects, Hausa, Fulani, Mandingo, Swahili, and Somali, to name just a few. These languages have absorbed the Islamic worldview, though at some level languages such as Swahili have been progressively secularized over time, during and after the colonial period, making them more neutral. Since the eighteenth century, religious poems, sermons, devotional prayers, and litanies have been committed to writing in some of these Muslim languages of Africa, and legal manuals have been translated from Arabic to these languages.

The written word has been held in such high esteem in Islamic culture that wherever Islam has reached in Africa versions of its script have been adopted in those regions of sustained contact. Moreover, Islamic penetration of Africa introduced Arabic as the language of religious discourse among scholars, official correspondence between Islamized states, and historical writing during the period of the Muslim kingdoms. The priceless Tombouctou Arabic manuscripts, which still survive though precariously, once fully studied and analyzed by scholars will likely demolish the conventional historical view of Africa as a purely "oral continent." Both East and West Africa have also produced Afro-Islamic literature, from the panegyrics of the Prophet to poetry, based on local languages that have absorbed many Arabic words in the spheres of religion, politics, and commerce. In some of these areas, the written word though has competed with the oral literature, especially among such clan-based people as the Somali.

FUTURE OF ISLAM IN AFRICA. In the twenty-first century's era of globalization, Islam in Africa will continue to oscillate between accommodation and reform (both internally and externally generated), particularism and universalism, quietism and political activism, although increasingly the latter is the case in a significant number of countries in this era of Islamic resurgence worldwide. Islam has sought to penetrate Western secular cultures whose institutions and ideologies have not functioned well in Africa. In Muslim northern Nigeria, for instance, the *sharīʿah* debate is seen by some as masking concerns with Nigeria's federal system and is taking the form of cultural self-determination, cultural insecurity (in the wake of Western-driven globalization), and as a political-bargaining strategy for a region that thinks it is losing influence. Similarly, in Uganda in the 1990s, the increasing radicalization of Muslim Salafī and reformist groups, revealing social-economic forces at play and issues of inclusion or "full-citizenship," was partly a response to what was perceived as the failure of national institutions to provide social services.

SEE ALSO Aḥmadiyah.

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ISLAM: ISLAM IN THE CAUCASUS AND THE MIDDLE VOLGA

When the first Arab invaders appeared in eastern Transcaucasia in the seventh century, the Caucasus was a borderland between the nomadic world to the north and the old sedentary world to the south, and between the Greek civilization in the West and the Iranian world in the East. It had a highly sophisticated urban civilization where several world religions, including Judaism, Manichaeism, Zoroastrianism, and Christianity, were already well entrenched. Among the Christians, the Georgians and Alans were Orthodox, and the Armenians and Albanians were monophysites. Unlike Central Asia, which has been characterized by religious tolerance, the Caucasus for centuries has been the fighting ground for three great monotheistic religions—Christianity, Judaism, and Islam.

ISLAM IN THE CAUCASUS. The spread of Islam was inhibited by powerful political rivals who reinforced religious rivalries. The Turkic Khazar empire in the north formed an effective barrier against the progress of the conquering Arabs north of Derbent; the Christian Georgian and Armenian principalities, backed by the Byzantine Empire, presented an insuperable obstacle to Muslim progress westward.

The slow Islamization of Dagestan. The Arabs penetrated into Azerbaijan in 639; local rulers agreed to become subordinate to the caliph but retained their Christian faith. In 643, the Arabs reached Derbent (which they called Bāb al-Abwāb) and in 652 attempted to move north of the city but were heavily defeated by the Khazars. For almost a century the territory of present-day Dagestan was disputed between the Khazars and the Arabs, as expeditions and counterexpeditions succeeded each other almost without interruption and without any decisive victory. Not until the governorship of Marwān ibn Muḥammad (734–744) were the Khazars decisively defeated in Arrān. Derbent, solidly held by an Arab garrison, became the northernmost bastion of Islam facing the world of the Turkic nomads. Several thousand Arab settlers from Syria and northern Iraq were established in northern Azerbaijan by the governor Maslamah ibn ʿAbd al-Malik.

First inroads. Notwithstanding several Khazar expeditions between 762 and 799, by the end of the eighth century Islam was already the dominant religion of Arrān and of the coastal plain south of Derbent. Even so, Christian and Jewish communities survived in the area. Indeed, in 1979 there were in northern Azerbaijan and southern Dagestan some 5,919 monophysite Christian Udins, the last survivors of the Albanian church. There were also about 30,000 "Mountain Jews," or Dagh Chufut, the descendants of the Jewish military colonists established in the Caucasus by the Sassanid kings. In recent years, most of them have migrated to Israel.

The progress of Islam into the mountains was, by contrast, slow and difficult. According to Dagestani legends, Maslamah ibn ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 723–731), having conquered all Dagestan, imposed Islam on the local rulers. In reality, the submission of the indigenous chieftains was purely formal. As soon as the Arab control weakened, the local population reverted to their ancient religion. In some instances, after Dagestani rulers embraced the new religion, their subjects remained Christian, Jewish, or animist. The northern Caucasian mountain area remained virtually untouched by Islam into the tenth century. In southern Dagestan, the ruler of Tabasaran professed Islam, Christianity, and Judaism simultaneously. All three religions were represented among the Zirīhgarāns of central Dagestan. The Lezghians of southern Dagestan were "infidels." Sarīr, in the Avar country of western Dagestan, had a Christian prince (Orthodox of Georgian rite), but his subjects were in the majority animist, with traces of Zoroastrianism. Samandar in northern Dagestan was governed by a Jewish prince related to the Khazar khagan, but all three religions were represented among his subjects. The majority of the Iranian Alans of the central Caucasus were Christian Orthodox of Byzantine rite, while the Kabardins and the Cherkess were animist, with a Christian minority. On the Black Sea coast the Abkhaz paid tribute to the Arabs but remained Christian. At the end of the tenth century, the borderline of the *dār al-Islām* ("abode of Islam") was still situated three miles north of Derbent. Islam was solidly rooted only in Derbent, which was an important fortress, a prosperous economic center, and one of the wealthiest cities of the Arab caliphate, and also in the Lakh country of central Dagestan. According to a local legend, a mosque was built in the Lakh capital, Kazi-Kumukh, in 777.

This first period of Islamization of the Caucasus (through the tenth century CE) was marked by exceptional religious tolerance. Not only did the three monotheistic religions coexist peacefully, but there was toleration of those not originally included among the "people of the Book" (*ahl al-kitāb*)—Zoroastrians and animists. In short, Islam was only superficially superimposed on a deeply rooted set of pre-Islamic beliefs, customs, and rites.

Further expansion. In the eleventh century, a new phase of Islamization began. The Khazar empire had been destroyed in 965 by the Russes, thus removing the main obstacle to relations between the Muslim Bulgar kingdom in the far north and the lands of the caliphate on the one hand, and to the Islamization of the Turkic nomads beyond Derbent on the other. Meanwhile, in the south, the foundation of the Seljuk empire improved security along the trade routes and favored the peaceful penetration of Islam into the mountains. This movement was facilitated by two additional phenomena. First, in the tenth century, the old clanic formations were replaced by stronger feudal principalities in Dagestan: the Nutzal of Avar, the Ūsmīyat of Kaytāk in the Darghin country, the Shāmkhālat of Kazi-Kumukh (central Dagestan), and the Maʿṣūmat of Tabasaran in southern Dagestan (Lezghian country). By the end of the eleventh century the rulers of these principalities were already Muslim, and their vassals and subjects tended to follow the example of the suzerain. Second, there was a total disappearance of the old alphabets (Aramaic, Pahlavi, Albanian) formerly used to transcribe the local languages. These were replaced by Arabic, which became and remained henceforward the only literary language of the area.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the majority of the Darghins and the Lakh of central Dagestan became Muslims, and Islam penetrated into western and northern Dagestan. By contrast, the more remote territories, bypassed by the main trade routes—in particular, the Chechen and Ingush countries—preserved a purely prefeudal (clanic) society and were resistant to Islam.

In the middle of the twelfth century, a visitor to Dagestan, Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī of Granada, discovered traces of Christianity and Zoroastrianism among the Zirīhgarāns; he also found many Christians and animists among the Avars.

Mongol era. The Mongol invasion did not modify the complicated religious situation of the northern Caucasus. As elsewhere, in Central Asia, in the Bulgar country, or in Iran, the first wave of Mongol invaders were animists, Nestorian Christians, or Buddhists, and generally hostile to Islam. But the destruction wrought by the expeditions of Sübetey and Djebe (1220) and of Batu (1239) were not followed by religious persecution. During the Mongol rule, Caucasian Islam ceased to be exclusively the religion of rulers and of elites and became more deeply rooted in the popular elements. The Caucasus was divided between two rival Mongol khanates, the Golden Horde in the north and the khanate of the Ilkhanids in Iran. The third khan of the Golden Horde, Berke (r. 1257–1266), embraced Islam, and although his successors reverted to their ancestral religion, they remained tolerant and even favorable toward Islam.

In 1313, Uzbek Khan, a Muslim, became the ruler of the Golden Horde. His reign marked the final victory of Islam among the Turkic nomads roaming the immense steppe area between the Crimea and the Volga. One of the Turkic tribes, the Nogai Horde, played an important role in the Islamization of the northern Caucasus during the fourteenth century. It was through the Nogais that Islam made inroads for the first time among the Cherkess, the Kabardins, and the Chechen. Also, in the first half of the fourteenth century, the Ṣūfī brotherhoods began to appear in the northern Caucasus as well. Shaykh Muḥammad al-Baṭāʾiḥī of the

Rifāʿī *ṭarīqah* (order) founded a *khānqāh* ("lodge") in Machar in the steppeland of the northern Caucasus. This *ṭarīqah* disappeared a century later, however.

Timurid rule. The final phase of Islamization in Dagestan took place in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, during the reign of Timur (Tamerlane). The great conqueror led several expeditions into Azerbaijan and Dagestan between 1385 and 1395. He took a personal interest in the destruction of the last survivals of pre-Islamic religions, and Islam became henceforward the only religion of the Lakh of central Dagestan. In turn, the Lakh became the champions of Islam against those neighbors remaining animist or Christian. The city of Kazi-Kumukh, the capital of the principality of the Shāmkhālat Lakh, was the new center for the Islamization of Dagestan and the lands beyond its western frontiers, and it was the Lakh missionaries who brought Islam to the Chechen and the Kumiks. Timur also dealt a deadly blow to the power of the Christian Alans of the north-central Caucasus (the ancestors of the Ossets). The Christian Alans had been the mightiest nation of the Caucasus, and their decline was followed by a new expansion of Islam in the northern Caucasus.

During Timur's period, the majority of the Kāytāks became good Muslims. Earlier, the Kāytāks were considered as "people without faith" (*bī-dīn*) or as a "people of bad faith." Subsequently, the Lezghians of southern Dagestan and the Avars turned Muslim as well.

It was in this high, mountainous territory that Christianity held out longest, and its survival was important to the Georgian kings' efforts to protect their coreligionists. The village of Karakh in the high Avar country did not adopt Islam until 1435. The Dido and the Andi tribes remained Christian until 1469, and Gidatl became Muslim in 1475 or 1476.

At the end of the fifteenth century, two new Muslim powers appeared on the Caucasian scene, and their influence on the process of Islamization became decisive. The Ottoman Empire brought the spirit of *jihād* (religious war) to the Caucasus. The rulers of the Crimean khanate dominated the lowlands of the western and central Caucasus. The Ottoman advance was marked by the gradual conversion of the Laz of the southwestern Caucasus (they were formerly Christian) and of the Abkhaz of the Black Sea coast. At the same time the Crimean Tatars introduced Islam among the western and eastern Cherkess tribes. Derbent and Shirvan in eastern Transcaucasia were conquered by the Safavids in 1538. As a consequence, the Twelver Shīʿī rite of the Safavid rulers became the dominant form of Islam in Azerbaijan.

In the middle of the sixteenth century, Sunnī Islam of the Shāfiʿī rite was solidly established in Dagestan, while the Ḥanafī rite was making steady progress in the western Caucasus. The tribes of the central Caucasus, however—the eastern Cherkess, the Kabardins, the Ossets, the Balkars, the Karachays, the Chechen, and the Ingush—were for the most part Christian or pagan, and only the upper level of their feudal aristocracy had adopted Islam.

Battle with Muscovy. After 1556, the power of Muscovy appeared in the Caucasus. As a consequence, relations between Islam and Christianity were dramatically modified. Specifically, the era of religious tolerance came to an end, and the Caucasus entered a new period of religious confrontation. Both Moscow and Istanbul favored their coreligionists. Temrük, the great Kabardian prince (a Muslim), accepted Russian sovereignty and married his daughter, Maria (converted to Christianity), to Ivan the Terrible. The central Caucasus was thus opened to Russian influence. Christian missionaries were sent in great numbers, and churches were built in Kabardia, among the eastern Cherkess, and in Ossetia. In 1584, Muscovy began its military advance southward, and three years later, the Russians reached the Terek Valley. In 1590, their vanguards appeared on the Sunzha River, threatening Dagestan, but already the Crimean Tatars and the Ottomans were reacting vigorously. In the same year, the Ottomans, advancing from the south, occupied Derbent; in 1587 the Crimean khan had already invaded and ruined Kabardia, Moscow's principal ally in the northern Caucasus. In 1594, there was a major confrontation: on the banks of the Sulaq River in northern Dagestan, a Russian army was opposed by a joint force of Ottomans, Tatars, and Dagestanis. In a furious battle, with all the characteristics of a "holy war," the Russians were pushed back. They returned in 1604 and were once again heavily defeated. Thus, the first *jihād* in Dagestan and the religious competition in Kabardia between Christianity and Islam ended with a complete Muslim victory. Russian influence was pushed back as far as Astrakhan and the Lower Volga. Kabardia, strategically the most important area of the northern Caucasus, became a solid Muslim bastion.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Ottoman Turks and the Crimean Tatars continued their steady efforts to introduce Islam among the remaining Christian or pagan tribes of the northwestern Caucasus. These tribes included the Karachay, the Balkars, the western Cherkess, the Abazins, and the Abkhaz. In 1627, southwestern Georgia was conquered by the Turks, and a part of its population embraced Islam. The descendants of these Georgian Muslims, the Adzhars, totaled from 100,000 to 150,000 people late in the twentieth century.

The period of the "Holy Wars." The Russian advance toward the Caucasus, suspended in 1604, was resumed in 1783 after the conquest of the Crimea and the occupation of the steppe areas north of the Kuban River.

Naqshbandīyah. The arrival of the Russians, this time with overwhelming force, coincided with the appearance of the Naqshbandīyah Ṣūfī brotherhood in the northern Caucasus. This was a Turkistani order founded in Bukhara by Muḥammad Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naqshband (1317–1389). For more than a century, the adepts of the Naqshbandīyah were the organizers of the "holy war" against the advancing conqueror. It was during the struggle against the "infidels" and the "bad Muslims" who served them that Islam became the dominant religion of the northern Caucasus and that its character was fundamentally modified. At the end of the eighteenth century, the superficially Islamized communities were tolerant toward their neighbors who remained Christian. They also tolerated those who remained attached to numerous pre-Islamic beliefs and rites and followed various non-Muslim customary laws (*ʿādāt*). But a century later, Caucasian Islam, deeply rooted in the rural masses, was characterized by its rigorous conservatism, by its intolerance toward non-Muslims, and by its strict adherence to *sharīʿah* law.

The first Naqshbandī *jihād* against the Russians was led by Imām Manṣūr Ushurma, a Chechen who was probably the disciple of a *shaykh* from Bukhara. The movement began in 1785 in Chechnya and spread to northern Dagestan and the western Caucasus. But Manṣūr was captured in 1791 in Anapa and died two years later in the fortress of Schlüsselburg. It was a short-lived attempt to stop the advance of the invaders. Even so, during Manṣūr's rule Islam became deeply rooted in Chechnya, formerly only about one-half Muslim.

After Manṣūr's defeat, the Naqshbandīyah disappeared from the northern Caucasus for nearly thirty years, and during this period the Russians, almost unopposed, made substantial advances. The *ṭarīqah* reappeared in the 1820s in the province of Shirvan, however, with the Naqshbandī missionaries coming this time from the Ottoman Empire. The second Naqshbandī *murshid* ("guide") to preach "holy war" was Shaykh Muḥammad of Yaraglar. He was the master of Ghāzī Muḥammad and Shāmil, the first and the third *imām*s of Dagestan. The long and fierce resistance of the mountaineers lasted from 1824 to 1859, when Shāmil was finally defeated and captured. Despite its failure, this second Naqshbandī *jihād* left an indelible impact on northern Caucasian Islam. Shāmil liquidated forever the traditional customary legal system and replaced it with the *sharīʿah.* Moreover, in the nineteenth century, classical Arabic became the official written language of the imamate and also the spoken intertribal language of Dagestan and Chechnya. Thus, for the first time in history, the northern Caucasian population was united by a strong religious, linguistic, and cultural bond. Finally, the intense work of the Naqshbandī missionaries in the central and western Caucasus achieved the Islamization of all Cherkess and Abazin tribes. During Shāmil's rule, Dagestan became an important center of Arabic culture. Its scholars, the so-called Arabists, were exported to the entire Muslim world.

Qādirīyah. After 1859 and the subsequent Russian occupation of the Caucasus, the Naqshbandīyah went underground. Its leaders migrated to Turkey or were deported to Siberia. Some became *abrek,* "bandits of honor," forming guerrilla groups in the mountains. Another Ṣūfī order, the Qādirīyah (or Kunta Haji *ṭarīqah*), replaced the Naqshbandīyah on the front line of religious resistance. This order appeared in the Chechen country in the 1860s, when "infidel" domination had become a fact of life. It was different, at least at the outset, from the militant Naqshbandīyah in that its ideology was inspired by the mystic search for God rather than by "holy war." Even so, it was rapidly outlawed by the authorities and was obliged to go underground. At that point, the Qādirīyah became another center of military resistance to the Russian presence. Both the Naqshbandī and the Qādirī *ṭarīqah*s played an active part in the anti-Russian revolt of 1877–1878 in Dagestan and Chechnia.

The Qādirīyah were vigorous missionaries. Because of their activities, the Ingush, who had remained animist until the fall of Shāmil, finally became Muslim. The last animist Ingush village was converted to Islam in 1864.

The Russian Revolution provided the Ṣūfī adepts with the opportunity to shake off Russian rule. During this period, the Naqshbandīyah surfaced and made one last attempt to expel the "infidels." They fought for four years—from 1917 to 1921—first against the White armies of Denikin, then against the Red Army. Their resistance was finally crushed in 1921, and after their defeat, both Ṣūfī brotherhoods were subjected to a long and bloody persecution. But they survived. In 1928, the Qādirīyah and the Naqshbandīyah joined together in a revolt in Dagestan and the Checheno-Ingush republic. This armed uprising was followed by similar revolts in 1934 and 1940–1942. The revolt during World War II was led by nationalists, but the Qādirīyah were numerous among the guerrilla fighters.

The level of religious feeling among the Muslim population of the Caucasus is quite high, especially in Dagestan and in the Checheno-Ingush republic, where more than 80 percent of the population are considered "believers." The strength of Islam in the northern Caucasus is due, in part, to the intense activity of the Ṣūfī brotherhoods. The *ṭarīqah*s still control a network of houses of prayer and Qurʾanic schools, where children are taught Arabic and receive the rudiments of the Muslim faith. The schools and mosques are often organized around the holy places of pilgrimage, generally tombs of Ṣūfī *shaykh*s.

Ṣūfī *ṭarīqah*s are especially active in the Checheno-Ingush republic and in northern Dagestan, while they are not represented in the central and western Caucasus. The Naqshbandīyah dominates Dagestan, northern Azerbaijan, and the western districts of Chechnya. In the northern Caucasus, the Qādirīyah, more popular and more dynamic, is divided into four sub-*ṭarīqah*s, called *wird*s. These are the Batal Haji, Bammat Giray Haji, Chim Mirza, and Vis (Uways) Haji. The Qādirīyah *ṭarīqah* is predominant in the Checheno-Ingush republic and is spreading into western Dagestan.

ISLAM IN THE MIDDLE VOLGA. As early as the fifth or sixth century a few Turkic tribes, the ancestors of the Volga Bulgars, began settling in the territory of the Middle Volga. These tribes were the first Turks to settle down and to abandon the nomadic way of life.

Islamization: trade, conquest, Sufism. The area—the Kama River and the Urals—was situated at the crossroads of two main trade routes during the Middle Ages. The fur route ran from northern Russia-Siberia (Arḍ al-Ẓulm, the "Land of Darkness" of the Arab geographers) to the Muslim Middle East, and the Silk Road linked northern and central Europe to China. The Turkic Bulgars were traders in furs, slaves, amber, and ivory. Accordingly, they traveled widely, some as far as Baghdad and Gurganj on the Amu Darya, coming into contact with Arab merchants as early as the ninth century. It is through such trade relations that Islam penetrated into the Middle Volga, initially from Khorezm, then from Baghdad farther west.

The Bulgar kingdom. In 921, the Bulgar king, Almas, received an embassy sent by Caliph al-Muqtadir and converted to Islam on May 12, 922. His example was followed rapidly by the ruling elite of the kingdom. At the end of the tenth century, most of the Bulgars were already Muslim, and there were mosques and schools in virtually every village. For three hundred years, the Middle Volga area remained a Muslim island—the northernmost vanguard of the *dār al-Islām*—completely surrounded by Christian or animist neighbors. Its ties with the faraway Muslim world were maintained through the Volga trade route.

In spite of, or perhaps because of, their isolation, the Bulgars were zealous Muslims from the beginning. They played a role in the conversion of some nomadic Turkic tribes, the Pechenegs and Cumans, to Islam. They also nursed hopes of spreading Islam to the Russians, who were at that time still animists. In 986 a Bulgar embassy was sent to Kiev with the aim of converting the grand prince, Vladimir. The Russian Primary Chronicle recounts that some time later, Vladimir, in search of a suitable religion, also received representatives of Western and Eastern Christianity and of Judaism and heard each speak in turn of the merits and tenets of his faith.

Little more is known about the cultural history of the Bulgar kingdom prior to the thirteenth century. One may assume that Islam remained the religion of the Turkic city-dwellers, the feudal elite, and the merchant class, while the rural population, of whom the majority was ethnically Finnic, remained animist.

The Golden Horde. The Bulgar kingdom was destroyed by the Mongols around 1236. This was a major disaster that left the country devastated and ruined. But its Islamic character survived. The economic and political center was transferred from the valley of the Kama River to the Volga, near what is now the city of Kazan. Subsequently, Kazan became one of the most prosperous trading centers of the Golden Horde. In this area there was a biological and cultural merging of the indigenous Muslim Turks and the invading Mongols, with the less numerous Mongols assimilated by the Muslim Turks. Even so, the new nation was called "Tatar," the name of a Mongol tribe.

During the period of the Golden Horde, Uzbek Khan (r. 1313–1341) adopted Islam as the official religion of the Mongol rulers. This example was followed by all the Turkic and Mongol tribes roaming in the steppes between the former Bulgar kingdom and the Black and Caspian seas. Islam gained a firm footing in the Crimea as well.

Sufism. It was also during the period of the Golden Horde—between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries—that Sufism was brought to the Volga region. It was introduced by adepts of a mystical Turkistani brotherhood, the Yasawīyah *ṭarīqah,* founded by the Turkic poet and mystic Aḥmad Yasawī (d. 1166?). Thanks to the efforts of the Ṣūfī preachers, Islam was no longer limited to being the religion of rulers and scholars: it became deeply rooted in the countryside among the rural populations and even among the nomadic tribes.

In 1445, with the weakening of the Golden Horde, Kazan became the capital of an independent Tatar khanate that lasted until 1552. It was a wealthy city, a world capital of the fur trade, and a brilliant cultural center famous for numerous mosques and *madrasah*s. In the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries, a new Ṣūfī brotherhood became active in Kazan—the Naqshbandīyah *ṭarīqah,* which, as mentioned above, later opposed Russian advances in the northern Caucasus. An intellectual order representing the city elites, the Naqshbandīyah practiced the silent *dhikr,* or Ṣūfī prayer litany. In contrast, the Yasawīyah practiced the "loud" *dhikr* with songs and ecstatic dances reminiscent of old Turkic shamanistic rituals. The influence of the Naqshbandīyah on Tatar literature became predominant, and nearly all the Tatar poets from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century were adepts of the order, including Muḥammadiyar, the sixteenth-century author of *Tukhfat-i mardān* (The gift for the courageous) and *Nūr-u ṣudūr* (The light of the soul), Mawlā Qulī in the seventeenth century, Utyz Imānī al-Bukhārī (1754–1815), ʿAbd al-Manih Kargaly (1782–1826), ʿUbayd Allāh Ṣāḥib (1794–1867), and Shams al-Dīn Zakī Ṣūfī (1825–1865).

Russian rule. In 1552, the khanate was destroyed by the Russians and its territory was incorporated into the Muscovite state. In 1556 and 1598, two other Muslim remnants of the Golden Horde, the khanates of Astrakhan on the Lower Volga and of Sibir (or Tumen) in western Siberia, were conquered and annexed by Muscovy. Their inhabitants, whether Muslim or animist, were incorporated into the fabric of Russian Orthodox society. They were treated as Russian subjects, but were denied those rights reserved to Christians. Only by religious assimilation, that is, by their conversion to the Orthodox faith, could the Tatars become the equals of the Russians. Russia, except for Spain, was the only European power to attempt systematically to convert its Muslim subjects to Christianity. Missionary activity was begun in 1555 by Arkhiepiskop Gurii, the first archbishop of Kazan. This initial attempt at conversion was relatively liberal. Tsar Ivan the Terrible, who was tolerant in religious matters, advised the Kazan missionaries to work "through persuasion and not through compulsion." The effort was partly successful and resulted in the conversion of a large community of Christian Tatars—the Old Converts (Starokriasheny; Tatar, Taze Kryash). However, the majority of the converts were former animists, not Muslims.

The anti-Muslim campaigns. The campaign of conversions, interrupted during the seventeenth century, was resumed with a new vigor under Peter the Great and continued violently until the reign of Catherine II. Mosques were destroyed, Qurʾanic schools were closed, and special schools were opened for the children of the converts. At the same time, Muslim counterproselytism was punishable by death. The climax was reached under the reign of Empress Anna (1730–1740), when some forty to fifty thousand New Converts (Novokriasheny; Tatar, Yeni Kryash or Aq Kryash) were added to those who had been converted during the sixteenth century.

To strengthen the religious pressure, civil and economic coercion was added. The feudal landed nobility, considered by the Russian rulers as their most dangerous adversary, was either physically liquidated or deprived of its feudal rights (Muslim landlords were forbidden to have non-Muslim serfs), dispossessed of its property, and ruined. Muslim urban dwellers, merchants, clerics, and artisans were expelled from Kazan. Tatar farmers were forced to leave the best agricultural lands along the river valleys and were replaced by Russians.

After more than a century of sustained pressure, the very existence of the Islamic civilization in the Middle Volga was in danger. But the pressure produced conflicting results. The landed nobility disappeared as a class; although some of its representatives became Christian, its most dynamic elements remained Muslim and became merchants, traders, and small industrialists. Expelled from the cities, the Tatars took refuge in the countryside. By the seventeenth century, Tatar Islam presented a curious and unique feature in the Muslim world: it had become a rural religion with its most famous mosques and *madrasah*s situated in small villages. In the same way, Tatar merchants expelled from the cities of the Volga-Kama area migrated eastward, where they formed trading colonies in Siberia, the Kazakh steppes, along the Lower Volga, in the Caucasus, in Turkistan, and as far as China. Already in the seventeenth century, the Tatar nation, reduced to a minority in its Volga homeland, had become a diaspora community led by a dynamic merchant class. Religious persecutions against Islam created a lasting hatred among all the Tatars—Muslim and Christian alike—against Russia and the Russians.

During the reign of Catherine II, the anti-Muslim campaign was halted and even reversed. The empress, who personally deemed Islam to be "a reasonable religion," succeeded in gaining the sympathies of the Tatars. She closed the schools for Christian converts and allowed the Tatars to return to Kazan and to build mosques and Qurʾanic schools in the cities of the Middle Volga and the Urals. Religious persecution was stopped, and a *modus vivendi* was achieved between the Russian state and its Muslim subjects. The Russian authorities even helped Tatar "clerics" to build mosques in the Urals and in the Kazakh steppes. By a 1773 decree they were granted religious freedom, and in 1782, a Muslim spiritual board (*muftiat*) was established in Orenburg and invested with authority over all religious matters. The chairman of the board was appointed by the Ministry of the Interior in Saint Petersburg. Those Tatars who had been converted to Christianity began to return to Islam. Finally, the last decade of the eighteenth century was marked by a new phenomenon: the massive conversion to Islam of the indigenous Finnic tribes of the Middle Volga region. These tribes—Cheremiss, Mordvins, Udmurts—were formerly animist or superficially Christianized; after conversion, there was rapid "tatarization."

The pressure against Islam was renewed under Nicholas I and Alexander II, however. By new methods, including education and propaganda, efforts were made to attract Tatars to Christianity. In 1854, a special anti-Muslim missionary department was organized by the Kazan Theological Academy. In 1863, a new educational policy was elaborated by Nikolai Ilʾminskii, a missionary and orientalist professor at the Religious Academy of Kazan. His aim was to create a new native Christian elite of Tatar intellectuals, educated along European lines but retaining the use of its native language. This Christian elite, which had not broken its links with the national past, was charged with missionary work among its Muslim brethren. As a result of this effort, assisted by an intense and brilliant propaganda campaign, more than 100,000 Muslims and almost all the remaining animists from the Volga area were converted.

The economic threat from Russia. Yet another danger threatened the Tatar nation: Its economic prosperity was in jeopardy. During the late eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth, the Tatar merchant class had been allied with the young Russian capitalists and had acted as an intermediary between Russian industrial towns and the markets of Turkestan. But that fruitful cooperation was not to last: During the second half of the nineteenth century, after Russian armies had opened the gates of Turkestan to Russian enterprise, Russian capitalists were able to dispense with the Tatar middlemen. The two bourgeoisies had become rivals, and the Tatar bourgeoisie, as the weaker, appeared to be doomed. The economic threat, coupled with the resumption of the policy of religious and educational assimilation, produced a lively reaction among the Tatar bourgeoisie during the reign of Alexander III. The *jadid* reformist movement, which has been properly called "the Tatar renaissance" of the nineteenth century, was the direct consequence of this threat, as well as of the desire to unify all the Muslim and Turkic peoples on the basis of a religious, ethnic, and cultural ideology. The Tatar merchants, supported by the young intelligentsia and the modernist *ʿulamāʾ*, or religious scholars, were aware that a successful resistance would involve confronting

Russian imperialism with another imperialism. They knew that it would be necessary to extend their economic and cultural scope to all Muslim peoples of the empire, and that they would have to constitute themselves as the leaders of Russian Islam and, taking advantage of the linguistic similarity and of their common religion, propagate the notions of pan-Islam and pan-Turkism.

The *jadid* renaissance. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Tatar community was a curious element in the Muslim world. It had survived centuries of political and religious pressure, and, led by its merchant bourgeoisie, it had reached a high economic and cultural level. In the Middle Volga area, the proportion of literate Tatars was greater than among the Russians, especially among women. The Tatar bourgeoisie was aggressive and dynamic, able to compete successfully against its Russian counterpart. But at the same time, the Tatar elite lived intellectually in a conservative medieval world. Indeed, their strict conservatism had protected their community from contamination by a technically more advanced Russian establishment and preserved its Islamic character. But by the end of the nineteenth century, it had become obvious that "the Tatar oxcart" could no longer compete effectively with the Russian "steam engine." In order to survive in a modern world, it was necessary for the Tatars to modernize their intellectual *Weltanschauung* rapidly and thoroughly. Without questioning the religious foundation of Muslim society, Tatar reformers applied themselves to modernizing Islam by imitating the spirit of Western liberalism.

The reformist movement manifested itself in almost all the Muslim countries, from the Ottoman Empire to Indonesia, but nowhere was it so dramatic and so deep as in the Tatar country. There, the problem facing the native elite was not merely how to regain its lost power; rather, it was concerned with survival itself.

Theological reform. The movement began in the early nineteenth century with an attempt by Tatar *ʿulamāʾ*, educated in Bukhara, to break with the conservative Central Asian traditionalists who had dominated the spiritual life of Russian Muslims. The first to challenge their scholasticism was Abu Nasr Kursavi (1783–1814), a young Tatar teacher in a Bukhara *madrasah.* Accused of impiety by the emir of Bukhara and by the *muftī* of Orenburg, he was obliged to flee to Turkey. Later challengers included Shihabeddin Mayani (1818–1889), the greatest and the most respected among Tatar scholars, and a generation of modernist theologians including Ibrahim Khalfin, Husein Faizkhanov (1825–1902), Rizaeddin Fahreddin Öglu (1859–1936), and Musa Jarullah Bibi (1875–1945). Their action restored life and vigor to the Muslim religion in Russia and exercised an undeniable influence on the neighboring countries. Especially affected was the Ottoman Empire, where the prestige of Tatar *jadid* thinkers was invoked by all those who sought to undermine the authority of medieval scholasticism.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Tatar Islam was endowed with a powerful religious establishment consisting of thousands of mosques and schools (*maktab*s and *madrasah*s) using the *jadid* system of teaching. It also included a brilliant new literature inspired by the challenge of the modern world and committed to religious and political reforms, along with a rich, diverse, and sophisticated periodical press in the Tatar language.

Language and literature. One figure dominated the literary scene of the Tatar world. The Crimean Tatar Ismail Gaspraly (Gasprinskii) (1851–1914) was a historian, philologist, novelist, and politician. Over a period of twenty-five years, he developed in his magazine, the celebrated *Terjümān,* published from 1883 in Bakhchisarai, the doctrine of a liberal modernist pan-Turkism summed up in its watchword, "unity of language, of thought, and of action" (*dilde, fikirde, işte birlik*). Gaspraly called for the union of all the Turkic peoples of Russia and for a new Muslim culture, which would be in contact with the West through the medium of Russian and Ottoman models. To achieve this unity he elaborated and used in his *Terjümān* a common pan-Turkic language based on a simplified Ottoman Turkish that would be understood by all the Turks from the Balkans to China.

Gaspraly also reorganized the teaching system, and his model *madrasah* in Bakhchisarai was imitated throughout Russia, especially in the Volga Tatar country. Some of the reformed *madrasah*s—such as the Huseiniyeh of Orenburg, Aliyeh of Ufa, Rasuliyeh of Troitsk, and Muhammadiyah of Kazan—were among the best educational establishments of the Muslim world.

At the turn of the century, in response to the great effort made by the people as a whole, the cultural level of the Volga Tatars had been raised to a remarkable degree. The cities, particularly Kazan, Orenburg, Ufa, Troitsk, and Astrakhan, had acquired the character of genuine intellectual centers.

Politics. After 1905, the reform renaissance passed beyond the confines of education, language, and theology and became a political movement, an attempt to shake the pressure of the West without abandoning the Islamic basis of the Tatar society. The defeat of Russia by Japan in 1905, revealing Russia's weakness and stirring the hope of revenge among the subject peoples of the empire, was the psychological shock that transformed cultural reformism into a political movement. For the Muslims, and particularly for the Tatars who at that time were playing the role of the unquestioned intellectual leaders of Russian Islam, this defeat demonstrated that the tsarist empire was not invulnerable and that a political struggle was possible.

Between 1905 and 1917, the Tatar political scene became highly diversified and sophisticated, with all political trends involved. At the extreme right were the ultraconservatives, represented by a puritanical Ṣūfī brotherhood, God's Regiment of Vaysī, a dissident offshoot of the Naqshbandīyah. Founded a half-century earlier, in 1862, the brotherhood rejected the authority of the Russian state and refused to pay taxes or perform military service. Moreover, it condemned all the other Muslims as "infidels" for their submission to Russian rule. The Vaysī brotherhood was persecuted by the Russian authorities and brought to trial several times. In 1917, its adepts sided with the Bolsheviks; their leader, Shaykh Inan Vaysov, was killed by the Tatar counterrevolutionaries while fighting alongside the Red Army. Less radical was the traditionalist (*qadim*) wing of the Tatar community, which dominated the official Islamic administration until the revolution. Its representatives were conservative in religion and politics. They were law-abiding citizens, hostile to the reformist movement, loyal to the tsarist regime, and personally loyal to the Romanov monarchy.

The majority of Tatars belonged to the liberal and radical trends. The liberals, followers of Ismail Gaspraly, believed that open struggle against Russia would be impossible and ill-fated. They advocated peaceful cooperation between Russia and the Muslim world, arguing that this would be of great and lasting advantage to Islam. The liberals dominated the Tatar national movement until the revolution, but even though they were culturally united, they were politically divided. A few liberals sought to satisfy their demands within the framework of the tsarist autocracy; the majority envisaged a more or less lasting cooperation with the Russian liberal bourgeoisie. After 1908, Tatar leaders convinced of the impossibility of achieving reforms and equality of rights with the Russians by legal methods within the framework of the tsarist regime began to migrate to Turkey. Alternatively, they moved nearer to various socialist-Marxist or non-Marxist parties, giving birth to an original cultural and political movement, Muslim socialism. After the revolution, Muslim socialism became Muslim communism. From Russian (or European) socialism, Muslim communism borrowed its phraseology, certain features of its agrarian program, its methods of propaganda, and organization; even so, it remained deeply rooted in the Islamic tradition.

Until the Revolution, even the most radical left-wing Tatar group, the Uralchylar (officially controlled by the Russian Marxists), refused to break away from Islam and to follow the antireligious line of the Bolsheviks.

Tatar Islam under the Soviet regime. For the majority of the Tatar *jadid*s, the Russian Revolution provided an occasion to fulfill their century-long struggle for the modernization and the secularization of their society. They took advantage of the downfall of the Romanov monarchy in February 1917 to create an independent religious establishment. The first All-Russian Muslim Congress, held in May 1917 in Moscow, abolished the tsarist practice whereby the *muftī* of Orenburg was appointed by the Russian minister of the interior. At this congress they elected their own *muftī,* Galimjan Barudi, a *jadid* scholar. The first ten years of the new regime were relatively quiet for the Muslims of the Middle Volga. Local power belonged to the Tatar communists, former *jadid*s who had joined the Bolshevik Party without breaking completely with their Islamic background.

The leader of the Muslim communists was a Volga Tatar, Mīr Said Sultan Galiev (1880–1936?), a companion of Stalin and, in the 1920s, the highest-ranking Muslim in the Communist Party hierarchy. Although Mīr Said Sultan Galiev was a dedicated Marxist and an atheist, he believed that "no antireligious propaganda may succeed in the East as long as it remains in the hands of the Russians"; he also believed that "the main evil threatening the Tatars [is] not Islam, but their political backwardness" ("Metody antireligioznoi propagandy sredi Musul'man," *Zhizn' natsional'nostei,* Dec. 14, 1921; Dec. 23, 1921). Sultan Galiev was denounced by Stalin as a bourgeois nationalist and was arrested in 1923; he reemerged briefly in 1925 but was arrested again in 1928. He and all his companions disappeared in the decade-long purge that followed.

The liquidation of Galiev and his followers marked the beginning of a full-scale government offensive against Islam. It began with the foundation of the Tatar branch of Sughushchan Allahsyzlar (the "union of godless militants") and the appearance in 1924 of an antireligious periodical press in Tatar, Fen ve Din ("science and religion"), replaced in 1928 by Sughushchan Allahsyzlar. By 1929 all religious institutions, such as religious schools, religious courts, and *waqf*s, had disappeared. During the 1930s most of the mosques were closed or destroyed. In 1931, 980 parishes with 625 "clerics" remained in the Tatar A.S.S.R. By comparison, in 1889 the *muftī* of Orenburg had 4,645 parishes (sg., *mahalle*), served by 7,497 "clerics," under his jurisdiction. In the mid-1930s the anti-Islamic campaign culminated with the massive arrest of Muslim clerics accused of counterrevolutionary activity and espionage for Japan. The *muftī* of Orenburg, Kashaf Tarjemani, was arrested and executed.

During World War II, in 1942, one of the few surviving *jadid* clerics, Abdurrahman Rasuli (Rasulaev), approached Stalin with a view toward normalizing relations between the Soviet government and Islam. Stalin accepted the proposal, and a concordate was established. Persecutions were suspended, anti-Islamic propaganda lessened, and the *muftiat* reestablished (in Ufa instead of Orenburg). Abdurrahman Rasuli was appointed *muftī* and occupied this post until his death in 1962.

SEE ALSO Jihād; Modernism, article on Islamic Modernism; Ṭarīqah.

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ALEXANDRE BENNIGSEN (1987)
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ISLAM: ISLAM IN CENTRAL ASIA

Geographically, Central Asia (comprising modern Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan) may be divided into three zones: the oasis belt (sometimes called Transoxiana), which stretches from Iran to China along the main river valleys of the southern tier, mainly through Uzbekistan, but also encompassing contiguous areas of the other states; the steppe-desert zone in the northern and central tiers (Kazakhstan) and in the far south (Turkmenistan); and the high mountain zone in the southeast (Badakhshan, part of Tajikistan).

ISLAMICIZATION OF CENTRAL ASIA. Islam penetrated these regions in different forms and at different times. The cultural and ethnic heritage of local populations was very diverse. This influenced the way in which they responded to Islam. The chief distinction was between the sedentary, largely urbanized population of the oasis belt and the nomads of the steppes and deserts. The scattered communities that inhabited the high mountain zone had their own, quite distinct, traditions; they had little direct contact with the peoples of the plains, so they played little part in the cultural, social, and religious developments in the region.

Oasis belt. In 622 CE, the year of the *hijrah* (Muḥammad's flight from Mecca to Medina and the accepted commencement of the Muslim era), the population of the oasis belt of Central Asia was mainly of Iranian origin, but there was also a substantial Turkic element. There was a flourishing urban tradition in the region, particularly in cities such as Merv, Samarqand, and Bukhara. Moreover, the so-called Silk Road—a transcontinental network of trade routes—linked Central Asia to China, India, and Iran, and also to the Black Sea and Europe.

Prior to the introduction of Islam, the main religions of the oasis belt were Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and Manichaeism. There were Nestorian Christian communities in several of the cities (a bishopric was established at Merv in the fourth century and at Samarkand in the sixth century) and a significant Jewish presence in the Samarkand-Bukhara area. In the southwest (modern Turkmenistan), there were traces of Hellenistic cults.

Islam was brought to the region by the Arab armies that invaded Khorasan and Transoxiana in the mid-seventh century. In 705 CE Qutaybah ibn Muslim, who became governor of Khorasan, established his principal seat at Merv. Until his death in 714 he repeatedly undertook campaigns eastwards into the Ferghana Valley and beyond. By the beginning of the ninth century the oasis belt had been so thoroughly integrated into the Muslim world that Caliph Maʿmūn made Merv, instead of Baghdad, his capital from 813 to 817.

At first the Arabs imposed Islam by force. Later, however, a more moderate approach to the Islamicization of the region was adopted. The form of the faith that came to be practiced in this part of Central Asia was initially Sunnī Islam of the Ḥanafī school of law. Central Asian scholars traveled throughout the Muslim world. Several made major contributions to the development of applied and theoretical sciences, as well as to Islamic philosophy and jurisprudence. Known to history by the Arabicized forms of their names, they include al-Bukhārī (compiler of one of the fundamental collections of the *Traditions of the Prophet*, still revered and consulted today), at-Tirmidhī, al-Farghānī, and al-Khwārazmī in the ninth century; al-Fārābī, al-Bīrūnī, and Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) in the tenth century; and Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the eleventh century.

In the early thirteenth century, Mongol hordes conquered Central Asia. Initially, they inflicted huge damage, destroying cities, wrecking the irrigation systems that supported agriculture, and disrupting long-haul trade. In time, however, peace returned and the cultural and intellectual life of the oasis belt revived. The Mongol rulers were eventually Turkicized and Islamicized. Under Tamerlane (1336–1405) and his successors (the Timurid period), there was a new flowering of Muslim scholarship. Eminent thinkers of the day included the astronomer-ruler Ulugh Beg (who reigned in Samarkand from 1409 to 1449) and the poet Alisher Navoi (1441–1501).

From the sixteenth century onward, however, Transoxiana became increasingly isolated from the rest of the Islamic world. There were several reasons for this. One was that routes from Central Asia to the Arab lands were blocked by hostile neighbors and long-running wars. To the south, Shāh Ismāʿīl (1485/1486–1524), founder of the Safavid dynasty, established Twelver Shiism as the state religion of Iran, thus adding an ideological element to the power struggle that was then in progress with the Sunnī Sheibanid dynasty of Transoxiana. To the northwest, the nascent Russian state was advancing into the Volga region, defeating the Tartar khans of Kazan in 1552 and of Astrakhan in 1556. Across the Caspian Sea, the Ottomans and the Safavids were fighting for possession of the Caucasus. Transoxiana itself, wracked by internecine strife, was fragmenting into small, semi-independent principalities. Meanwhile, a change was taking place in patterns of global trade as sea routes began to replace the arduous transcontinental land routes across Central Asia. Factors such as these led to economic decline and intellectual stagnation. Increasingly, a highly conservative form of Muslim education took hold in the *madrasah*s (Muslim colleges).

The steppes and deserts. At the time of the Arab invasion of the oasis belt, the steppes and deserts were inhabited by Turkic-speaking nomadic pastoralists. By religion they were shamanists. Islam took far longer to influence these peoples than it did the sedentary population of the oasis belt. Their way of life precluded the establishment of fixed, centrally located institutions. Thus, it was itinerant Ṣūfī missionaries who played the decisive role in spreading the new faith in this region. The Islamicization of the nomads in the areas that bordered the oasis belt was probably completed by the mid-tenth century, albeit superficially. The remoter regions, however, were scarcely affected by Islam until the eighteenth century or later.

The high mountains. The high mountains and valleys of Badakhshan, today part of Tajikistan, have been inhabited from time immemorial by small Pamiri tribes of Eastern Iranian origin. Most of these people were eventually converted to the Ismāʿīlī sect of Shīʿī Islam, which spread northwards from centers in Afghanistan and India from the late eleventh century onwards. A few groups, however, adopted Sunnī Islam. Until the twentieth century, the Pamiris were almost entirely isolated from the Muslim communities, both sedentary and nomadic, of the Central Asian lowlands.

SUFISM AND ISHANISM. Sufism, the mystical tradition of Islam, began to penetrate Central Asia in the immediate aftermath of the Arab invasion. The first centers appeared in Balkh and Nishapur in the eighth and ninth centuries. Later, Merv, Bukhara, Khwarezm, and other cities in Transoxiana became bastions of Sufism. The early adepts were disciples of the Baghdad school of mystics. Indigenous Central Asian orders began to appear towards the end of the twelfth century.

The first major figure in the development of Central Asian Sufism was Yūsuf Ḥamadānī (1048–1141). After a period of study in the major centers of the Middle East, he moved to Central Asia and spent most of his adult life there; he established a *khānqāh* (Ṣūfī monastery) in Merv that came to be known as the "Kaʿbah of Khorasan." Two parallel chains of authority were derived from him. One led to Aḥmad Yasavī (d. mid-twelfth century), who crystallized the spiritual legacy that had been bequeathed to him into the *ṭarīqah* (path) of the Yasavī order. The other led to Bahāʾ ad-Dīn an-Naqshbandī (1318–1389), who formulated the *ṭarīqah* of the Naqshbandī order. Both these orders were to expand far beyond the confines of Central Asia. The former attracted adherents throughout the Turkic-speaking world, while the latter spread to India and China, as well as to the Ottoman Empire and, in more recent times, to Western Europe.

The chief distinction between the Naqshbandīyah and the Yasavīyah was that the former practiced a silent or hidden (*khafiyah*) *dhikr* (set of devotions), the latter a vocal or loud (*jahrīya*) *dhikr*. The Yasavī *ṭarīqah*, which contained elements of ritual that were reminiscent of shamanistic practices, was particularly successful among the Turkic-speaking nomads of the steppes and deserts; the Naqshbandī *ṭarīqah* tended to appeal more to the sedentary, Iranian-speaking population. However, there was no rigid boundary between their different spheres of influence; the Naqshbandī order, for example, had many adherents among the nomads. Two other great orders that attracted a substantial following in Central Asia were the Kubrawīyah, whose *ṭarīqah* was crystallized by Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrá (1145–1221), and the Qādirīyah, who traced their *ṭarīqah* to ʿAbd al- Qādir Gīlānī (twelfth century).

The most influential *ṭarīqah* in Central Asia, in terms of political weight, was the Naqshbandī. The foundations of their control over state affairs were laid during the Mongol period, when they played a pivotal role in the conversion of the conquerors to Islam. Since the Mongol khans not only became rulers of Transoxiana, but also assumed leadership of the tribal confederations of the steppes, the Naqshbandī order acquired a privileged position among both the sedentary population and the nomads. They consolidated their position under Tamerlane, who was himself possibly a *murīd* (disciple) of one of the teachers of Bahā al-Dīn an-Naqshbandī. Tamerlane did, however, also show the Yasavīyah signs of favor, notably by the construction of a superb (and materially well-endowed) mausoleum over the tomb of Aḥmad Yasavī at Turkestan. This city was later captured by the Kazakhs; thereafter, the Yasavī *shaykhs* (spiritual leaders) came to exert a strong influence over the nomad khans and sultans. Several Kazakh nobles were buried near the tomb of Yasavī, thus emphasizing the nexus between the spiritual and civil sources of authority.

During the fourteenth to eighteenth centuries, the leading Ṣūfī *shaykhs* occupied a dominant position in the political life of the Central Asian khanates. Some, such as Hoja Aḥrār (1404–1490), became great magnates, possessing vast tracts of agricultural land, as well as urban settlements, together with the attendant income arising from the dwellings, crafts, and trade that were located on such land. The position of particular Ṣūfī dynastic lines was further underpinned by intermarriage with the ruling families. Throughout most of the sixteenth century, Naqshbandī *shaykhs* acted as kingmakers, playing off one pretender to the throne against another. However, their influence waned in the next century, especially under the Manghit dynasty, which came to the throne in 1753, and they never regained their former political power. Their spiritual power was also gradually eroded.

There is another mystical tradition in Central Asia that is related to Sufism but has characteristics of its own. It is frequently termed *Ishanism* to distinguish between the major orders described above and the largely autonomous, local networks of mystics whose activities were mainly associated with popular (i.e., folk, lay) religion. In the early Islamic period the distinction is perhaps an irrelevance: it is difficult now to determine whether or not semi-legendary figures such as Ḥakīm-ata or Chopan-ata were fully fledged initiates of a Ṣūfī order. Later, however, there does appear to have been a divergence. By the early nineteenth century this resulted in the proliferation of local *ishans*, each of whom established his own *ṭarīqah*, with a personal circle of devotees.

The phenomenon was most widespread in rural areas, where every village or nomad community sought to secure the presence of an *ishan* of their own; allocations of free land and water were set aside for this purpose. Often, *ishans* would have charge of a particular shrine or holy place, which gave them added legitimacy and authority. The fact that they generally had a modicum of education also helped to enhance their standing amongst their neighbors, most of whom were illiterate. The duties of an *ishan* included a variety of social, as well as quasi-religious, quasi-magical functions: they dispensed protective amulets and healing potions, gave counsel and comfort, and conducted prayers, rituals, and ceremonial invocations for divine assistance and protection. There was a strong dynastic element in Ishanism. In several areas there existed whole clans of "holy" families; strictly endogamous, they traced their lineage (not necessarily reliably) back to Arab forebears.

INDIGENIZATION OF ISLAM. Islam, in the form that it was first brought to Central Asia by the Arabs, retained its formal, doctrinally regulated character in the learned institutions in the cities, but elsewhere it was modified by local traditions and beliefs. In some areas, for example, Zoroastrian practices were absorbed, while in others, traces of Buddhism, Manichaeism, or Hellenistic cults became embedded in local Muslim beliefs and observances; shamanism and pantheism provided an even broader substratum of pre-Islamic references.

Among the most tenacious of the ancient customs was the cult of "saints"—the veneration of figures who were regarded as protectors and intercessors. They may or may not have had identifiable historical antecedents, but in any case they were the focus of cults that usually had ancient, non-Islamic origins. Such figures were often associated with a number of widely scattered sites, and specific biographical details varied accordingly. The best known included Burkut-baba, who was regarded by the Turkmen as having the power to ensure rain; Chopan-ata, widely regarded as a protector of sheep; and Kanbar-ata, regarded as a protector of horses. Individual saints (usually inherited from pre-Islamic traditions) were associated with particular crafts and occupations. Fertility cults, especially those connected with the annual farming cycle, were also preserved in one form or another.

Shrines to such individuals were to be found in many parts of the region; these were often associated with much older forms of faith, now reinterpreted within the framework of Islam, as elsewhere in the Muslim world. Such places were often located by springs, caves, trees, or cliffs. It was common practice (and has remained so up to the present) to visit these holy places to pray for assistance and good fortune. Generally this act of supplication was sealed with the ritual sacrifice of an animal (usually a sheep) and by lighting candles or leaving scraps of material tied to twigs. Another common feature, reminiscent of pre-Islamic ancestor cults, was the emphasis on showing respect for the dead; this was especially common in rural areas. The healing and soothsaying arts of the shamans also continued to be practiced.

TSARIST RULE. The northern rim of Central Asia (northern Kazakhstan) was brought under Russian control towards the end of the eighteenth century. By the middle of the century, Russian troops were poised to take the oasis belt. The subjugation of the khanates of this region was completed within less than a decade. Bukhara and Khiva retained some degree of autonomy as protectorates, albeit after ceding a portion of their lands to the Russian crown.

Tsarist policies towards Islam fell into two categories: those employed among the nomads of the steppe region and those employed among the sedentary population of Transoxiana. In the steppe region, the new administration deemed it politic to show good will and even support for Islam in order to win the loyalty of the nomad Kazakh aristocracy, who were strongly Muslim in their convictions, if not always observant in their practices. Tartars from the Volga region (under Russian rule since the mid-sixteenth century), who, like the Kazakhs, were Sunnī Muslims of the Ḥanafī school, were encouraged to inculcate a perceived Islamic orthodoxy in the steppes. The Tsarist authorities allocated funds for the printing of Muslim literature and for the construction of mosques in the steppes (prior to this the Kazakhs had possessed very few mosques, and those only in their winter grazing grounds). The Tartar missionaries were at first much resented by the nomads, who were accustomed to a much freer, more heterodox interpretation of Islam. Educated, urbanized Kazakhs, such as Shokan Valikhanov (1835–1865) and Ibrai Altynsaryn (1841–1889), were also deeply disturbed by the Tartars' attempts to spread a form of Islam that they perceived to be narrowly dogmatic and, moreover, alien to Kazakh tradition. Nevertheless, the zealous proselytizers from the Volga gradually succeeded in introducing a more orthodox element into local worship.

In the mid-nineteenth century, Russian policy towards Islam in the steppe region began to change. Belatedly, a campaign was launched to convert the Kazakhs to Christianity. However, it met with little success. At the same time, measures were introduced to curb Muslim activities. The interface between Islam and the Russian administration was brought under the jurisdiction of the Tsarist Ministry of Internal Affairs. New measures included restrictions on the number of mullahs in a given district. In addition, mosques and other Muslim educational establishments could only be opened with official sanction, and the collection of obligatory Islamic taxes (*zakāt*, *ṣadaqah*) was prohibited. Yet even under these conditions the network of formal Islamic institutions continued to expand. In 1895, for example, there were only thirty-one *mekteb* (primary schools) in the Steppe Territory, but by 1913 this number had increased to 267. There were also *madrasahs* in most of the bigger cities.

In Transoxiana the situation was somewhat different. The main urban centers fell to the Tsarist troops comparatively quickly. Thereafter, relations between the Russians and the local population were remarkably amicable. Eugene Schuyler (an American official who made an extensive visit to the region in 1873) commented, "what was strange for Mussulmans, [was that they] spoke in the highest terms of the Russian Emperor. The conduct of General Tchernaief made a most favourable impression upon the natives and from that time on there was not the slightest trouble of any kind on the part of the native population."

The institutional framework of Islam in Transoxiana largely was retained, although some of the highest offices of the *ʿulamāʾ* (trained Muslim scholars; e.g., Shaykh-al Islām and Kazi Kalan) were later abolished. Muslim courts continued to function, albeit under the nominal control of colonial officials and with some restriction of their powers. Islamic education at *mekteb* and *madrasah* levels was provided as previously, although gradually, and to a limited extent, alternative forms of schooling became available (principally, the Russo-Native schools and the reformist "new method" Muslim schools). Christian institutions began to appear, but they were few in number and served the needs of the immigrant population; missionary work was virtually nonexistent (and initially specifically prohibited). One Islamic obligation that became easier to observe under Russian rule was the *ḥajj*. The Tsarist authorities organized special travel facilities for the pilgrims and made provision for consular support, quarantine, and other such needs; by the end of the century, some twenty thousand "Russian" Muslims, mostly Central Asians, were making the pilgrimage annually.

Muslim reformist *(jadīd)* trends in the tsarist period. The Muslim reformists in Central Asia (known as *jadīds* or *jadīdists*, from the Arabic word for "new") constituted not so much a group as a broad trend. Relatively few in number, they were united by common convictions and aspirations rather than by set programs (although distinct clusters did eventually emerge, including some with specific sociopolitical agendas). The aim of the reformists was to modernize Central Asian society, without abandoning the Islamic framework. The first to propound these ideas were Kazakhs such as Ibrai Altynsaryn (1841–1889) and Abai Kunanbayev (1845–1904) in the mid-nineteenth century. Later, in Transoxiana, Bukharans such as Donish (c. 1828–1897) and Fitrat (1886–1938) began to follow a similar line of thought.

The reformists, especially in the early period, were drawn mostly from wealthy merchant families or the local aristocracy. They were familiar with traditional Muslim scholarship and also, either through further study in Russian institutions or through travel and personal contacts, had some knowledge of European culture. This dual experience on the one hand gave them a great admiration for Western science and technology, but on the other hand it strengthened their faith in Islamic values. They were particularly concerned with modernizing the system of education in Central Asia by introducing Western-style methods of teaching (*uṣūl-i jadīd*, "new method": hence the term *jadīdist*). However, they were interested in a wide range of social and political issues; some were remarkably radical in their views, advocating the overthrow of the emir, on the grounds that he was not fulfilling his obligations as a Muslim ruler, long before the Bolsheviks put forward this idea.

The reformist movement in Central Asia was greatly strengthened by the influx of Muslim activists from other parts of the Russian empire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, since the concept of modernization within Islam was already far better established in intellectual circles in the Volga region, Crimea, and Transcaucasia. The incomers, especially the Tartars, played an important role in establishing a local, independently owned press and in implementing educational innovation. They also gave a certain impetus to the politicization of the Central Asian reformists. Some of these joined Tartar-dominated Muslim political groupings, some moved closer to the liberal Russian Constitutional Democrats (Kadets), and some were drawn to the Socialists and later to the Communist Party.

The significance of the reformist movement in Central Asia lies more, perhaps, in the fact that it appeared at all than in any specific achievements. Similar trends were emerging at the same period in other parts of the Muslim world, notably in Turkey, India, and Egypt. In Central Asia the process was more difficult and fraught with greater obstacles. First, there was the physical remoteness of the region, which hampered the development of links with like-minded thinkers elsewhere; some contacts were established, but for the most part they were sporadic. Second, the reformists were frequently under pressure from the *ʿulamāʾ*. A few members of the *ʿulamāʾ* were sympathetic to reformist ideas, but most were bitterly opposed to any form of innovation. The conservative faction was particularly powerful in Bukhara, where it had the support of the emir. In the Governorate-General of Turkestan, which was under Russian rule, the situation was somewhat easier, though even here the colonial administration was careful not to offend the *ʿulamāʾ*. The reformists also faced many practical problems. These included poor communication networks, a low level of literacy, and few printing facilities. Not surprisingly, they made little impact outside a relatively narrow circle of urban intellectuals. This might have changed had they had time to build up a broader base, but this did not happen: the reformist movement was abruptly terminated once Soviet rule was established.

SOVIET PERIOD. Soviet rule was first established in Tashkent in September 1917, and shortly thereafter it was extended to the industrial centers of the northern tier. The Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, encompassing the Tsarist Governorate-General of Turkestan, was created in April 1918 as an administrative unit within the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. In 1920 the emir of Bukhara and the khan of Khiva were deposed and their states transformed into the nominally independent People's Soviet Republics of Bukhara and Khorezm, respectively. In 1924 the People's Republics of Bukhara and Khorezm were formally annexed and the whole of Central Asia was repartitioned into five administrative units, the precursors of the independent states of today, namely, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan.

Soviet policies towards Islam went through a number of different phases. Moreover, they were often not implemented uniformly; much depended on local conditions at any given time. This apparent lack of consistency may be ascribed to the fact that such policies were motivated not solely by the desire to eradicate the religion, but more broadly, to secure the triumph of socialism and victory in the class war. This was most clearly reflected in the first years of Soviet rule (1917–c.1925), when pragmatism, more often than not, prevailed over ideology. Had the Bolsheviks taken precipitate action against the Muslim clerics they would have risked alienating the very people whose support they were aiming to attract. Moreover, Soviet power was as yet far from securely established in the region, and counterrevolutionary forces in various parts of Central Asia (*basmachi*) were using religion as a means of rallying support, calling themselves the "Army of Islam" and claiming that they were defending the faith against the infidel.

In late 1917, V. I. Lenin and Joseph Stalin made a famous appeal, "To all the Toiling Muslims of Russia and the East," assuring them that from that day forth their "beliefs and customs, national and cultural institutions would be free and inviolable." In March 1919, at the Second Conference of the Communist Party of Turkestan, a Muslim Bureau was created for the express task of carrying out agitational work among the indigenous population. Material was prepared in the local languages and services at mosques, which brought together large numbers of people, were used for spreading Communist ideas. Believers were admitted to the Party and for some years thereafter constituted a significant proportion of the membership. Muslim trade unions were set up for local craftsmen (e.g., tanners, cobblers); so, too, were soviets of Muslim deputies and soviets of Muslim workers.

Meanwhile, the social, legal, and economic basis of Islam was being systematically dismantled, to be replaced by Soviet institutions. From 1918 to 1924 a number of laws and decrees were put in place that established the legal framework for the secularization of society. These included the right of freedom of conscience, the separation of church and school, and the marriage and family laws. In 1921, at the Tenth Party Congress, a resolution was passed calling for the launch of a comprehensive antireligious campaign. However, in the Turkestan and Kirghiz/Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics, conditions were still too unstable for decisive steps to be taken in this direction. In 1919 attempts had been made to close down Muslim schools and courts and to confiscate *waqf* property (i.e., endowed trusts), but this aroused such anger amongst the local population (not to mention giving a tactical advantage to the *basmachis*) that in 1922 these measures were relaxed. Nevertheless, it became increasingly difficult for the schools and the courts to continue to function and their numbers fell rapidly.

By 1925 the Soviet government was in a strong enough position to take a much firmer line towards Islam. The *waqf* lands were nationalized as part of Union-wide land and water reforms. Muslim schools and courts were phased out by 1927 to 1928. The Arabic script, which had been used in Central Asia for over a thousand years and was, moreover, the script in which the Qurʾān was written and therefore of great religious significance, was abolished in favor of the Latin script (in turn to be replaced by the Cyrillic alphabet in 1940); the whole world of Muslim scholarship was thus effectively rendered inaccessible to future generations of Central Asians. The campaign for the emancipation of women, which was intensified during these years, was likewise used to undermine Islam by portraying the religion as a source of ignorance, oppression, and social injustice.

Atheistic propaganda was intensified in the late 1920s. Republican branches of the Union of Atheists, later renamed Militant Atheists, were set up at this time and large quantities of antireligious materials (books, journals, brochures, posters, etc.) were produced in the local languages. Outreach activities (e.g., lectures and discussion groups) were used to underline and amplify this message in schools and the workplace, and in social and professional organizations. Women, who were generally more devout than men, were singled out as special targets for anti-Islamic propaganda; wherever possible they were drawn into atheistic work. From 1925 onward, discriminatory legislation was introduced to limit the rights of religious functionaries of all faiths. Initially, clerics were deprived of the right to elect, or be elected, to soviets. The Law of Religious Associations (which remained in force from 1929 to 1990) made such activities as the provision of religious education for minors, proselytizing, and fundraising for religious purposes illegal. Beginning in about 1930, arbitrary arrests and executions were used to eliminate Muslim leaders who refused to cooperate with the authorities; Muslim literature, or any material at all in the Arabic script, even if nonreligious, was liable to be confiscated and the owner severely punished. All but a few mosques were closed. Some were destroyed, and some were used for other purposes, often of an emphatically antireligious nature (e.g., bars or atheistic museums). All the *madrasahs* were abolished. No religious literature was published. The annual *ḥajj* was suspended, and contacts with foreign Muslims virtually ceased.

After the outbreak of World War II there was an abrupt change of policy: the repression of the 1930s was suddenly replaced by a spirit of cooperation. In Central Asia an official Muslim administration, known as the Muslim Board for Central Asia and Kazakhstan, was established in Tashkent. Its responsibilities included the upkeep of mosques and the appointment of clerics. In 1944 the *ḥajj* was officially reinstated, though only a very small and select group of clerics were able to benefit from this. The following year the Mir-i Arab *madrasah* in Bukhara was reopened, becoming the only Muslim educational institution in the whole of the Soviet Union. The number of functioning mosques was slightly increased, and the public celebration of religious ceremonies became a little easier. The loyalty of the Muslim community and their contribution to the Soviet war effort was acknowledged in the central press, a clear indication that Islam was no longer regarded with the categorical disapproval of the 1930s.

This trend towards greater accommodation continued in the postwar period, despite renewed bouts of religious persecution in the mid-1950s and early 1960s. In 1971 another *madrasah* was opened in Tashkent, the second in the Soviet Union. In 1974 it was officially named the Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī Institute, to commemorate the AH 1,200th anniversary of al-Bukhārī's birth. The motivation for this policy was not born of a greater degree of tolerance towards Islam, but rather of a desire to present the Soviet Union in a favorable light to the developing world, particularly the oil-rich Arab countries of the Middle East. This entailed creating at least a facade of acceptance toward Soviet Islam. To further this aim, selected students from the *madrasah* were allowed to go to Islamic universities in Egypt and other Arab countries to complete their Qurʾanic studies and to perfect their Arabic. A small number of religious publications were permitted, including several editions of the Qurʾān and a journal, *Muslims of the Soviet East*, originally printed in Uzbek and Arabic, later in several other languages. These publications were intended for the *ʿulamāʾ*, Muslim scholars, and for foreign Muslims, not for local distribution. During this period the restoration of major Islamic monuments in Central Asia was undertaken, and Muslims from abroad were encouraged to visit the region, though in official delegations with set programs, rather than for private, individual purposes. Soviet Muslims became regular participants in international Islamic conferences and hosted some such events in their own republics. They also played a prominent part in the international peace movement, acting as mouthpieces for the Soviet government's views on such issues as nuclear disarmament and the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in the Middle East.

Parallel Islam. The Soviet policies of the 1920s and 1930s were aimed at bringing about the radical transformation of Central Asian society. They included positive measures, such as the introduction of mass literacy and compulsory education, the provision of social welfare services, and the emancipation of women, as well as measures specifically aimed at destroying the legacy of the past, such as the purges and the antireligious campaigns. They were implemented with such force and speed that they could not but have an impact. Consequently, a significant level of modernization was achieved in a very short space of time. One aspect of this was a marked degree of external secularization. Some of the older generation certainly continued to perform the prescribed ritual prayers and other obligations in private throughout the Soviet period. Younger members of the family (it was not uncommon for three or even four generations to live together) learnt by example, and out of respect for their elders they tried to keep these practices alive. However, the meaning underlying the words and the gestures was gradually forgotten, and by the 1960s even those who considered themselves to be devout were often reduced to the mechanical repetition of incomprehensible formulae.

Western writers, especially in the 1980s, often made a distinction between so-called official (*ʿulamāʾ*-led) and unofficial or parallel (Ṣūfī- or *ishan*-led) Islam. The latter was supposed in some way to be more "genuine." The majority of Central Asians do not appear to have subscribed to this categorization. On the contrary, those who attended the mosque might also be in contact with an *ishan,* and vice versa. Moreover, some members of the *ʿulamāʾ* were from Ṣūfī/*ishan* lines; they, too, kept alive some beliefs and practices, even if largely in a private, personal capacity.

The observances that were most persistently maintained were those connected with rites of passage: male circumcision, marriage ceremonies (though these came to be somewhat influenced by European and Christian practices), and above all, burial services. The obligation to honor the deceased took precedence over almost all other considerations, to the point even of jeopardizing career prospects, since it was seen not only as a mark of respect to the dead, but also as an affirmation of membership in the community. Social customs such as the payment of *kalym* (in Islamic legal terminology, *mahr*—the dower or bride price paid by the groom) and, to a lesser extent, polygamy and the underage marriage of girls, although forbidden by law, continued to be practiced surreptitiously. Dietary prohibitions regarding the consumption of pork and alcohol were observed unevenly. The pressure on men to conform to standard Soviet norms was far greater than on women, since the latter tended to live and work in environments that were more culturally homogeneous, thus less vulnerable to external influences.

Group outings to holy places, especially *mazars* where saints were buried, remained popular, but in general were regarded as social occasions, without any specific religious significance. Several other traces of religious practices, reinterpreted as folk tradition, persisted throughout much of the Soviet period. These included the blessing given in traditional crafts (e.g., pottery, carpet-weaving) by the "master" to the "freed" apprentice as a sign that the latter's training was complete.

Islamic resurgence. The resurgence of Islam in Central Asia began in the early 1970s with the emergence of a small-scale revivalist movement in the Ferghana Valley. The Soviet press referred to its adherents as Wahhābīs, implying that they were backed by foreign sponsorship (presumably from Saudi Arabia), but there is no evidence to indicate that they received either external influence or support during this period. It is possible that the movement drew its inspiration from an ascetic sect that was active in the area at the beginning of the century. It is more likely, however, that it was a spontaneous, grass-roots reaction against the relentless materialism of Marxism-Leninism and its sterile doctrine of "scientific atheism" (similar revivals in other religions were to be observed in many parts of the Soviet Union at that time).

Another and stronger impetus for the reintroduction of Islamic values was the shift in government policy. From 1989 on, the Soviet authorities adopted a conciliatory approach toward Islam. This was to some extent the result of greater tolerance towards religion throughout the Soviet Union, but more specifically, it was an attempt to combat the perceived threat of Iranian-style Islamic revolution by bolstering a sense of pride in indigenous Islamic traditions. A new *muftī* was elected at this time, Muḥammad Ṣadyk Muḥammad Yūsuf Hoja-ogli (b. 1952). He had previously been the rector of the Tashkent *madrasah*. A young and highly educated cleric (graduate of the two Soviet *madrasahs*, followed by postgraduate studies in Libya), Muḥammad Ṣadyk was a persuasive proponent of government policies, but he also worked hard to improve conditions for the practice of Islam. His efforts met with official approval and he received substantial support from the authorities, who not only gave him a prominent role in public affairs, but also made several concessions to the Muslim community, such as permission to open more mosques, the relaxing of restrictions concerning the pilgrimage to Mecca, and the increased provision of religious literature.

These measures generated a surge of gratitude to the Soviet state and specifically to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, the architect of this new liberalism. There was a genuine sense of satisfaction that the validity of Central Asian culture had been recognized and was finally being accorded proper respect. For the great majority of the population this was sufficient: at this stage there were few who were in favor of religion assuming a more dominant role in society.

Only in Tajikistan was the picture somewhat different. Here, the Islamic revival soon acquired a political aspect. The first Islamic political party in Central Asia was the Islamic Rebirth Party (IRP) of Tajikistan. It began as an offshoot of the all-Union Islamic Rebirth Party, founded in Astrakhan (on the Volga) in June 1990. However, the Tajik party soon began to follow an independent course; it was formally registered by the Tajik authorities in October 1991. Thus, on the eve of the collapse of the Soviet Union, in this one republic, Islam was not only beginning to play a significant role in public life but was also operating with a degree of autonomy that was not to be found elsewhere in the region.

POST-SOVIET ISLAM. The Soviet Union was formally abolished in December 1991. Few had expected its sudden collapse. When the Central Asian states gained independence at the end of 1991 there was much speculation, within the region and abroad, as to the possible impact of the "Islamic factor" on politics and society. In Tajikistan the IRP joined other independent political parties to form an antigovernment alliance. Confrontation between the two factions soon escalated into violence, triggering the outbreak of civil war in mid-1992. The IRP and other opposition parties were banned by the government. They moved to Afghanistan and continued to fight the government from there. The IRP formed the core of this resistance movement. Thus, the conflict came to be seen as a struggle between Islamists and secularists. However, the situation was more complex. Although Islam was undoubtedly a major factor in the conflict, it was not the sole cause. Rather, it was an aggravating feature in the struggle for national supremacy that broke out between different socio-regional groupings in the aftermath of independence. The conflict continued sporadically for five years. It was formally brought to a close in June 1997, when a peace treaty was signed by the warring factions. Despite the shortcomings of this agreement, and the imperfect manner in which it was implemented, it remained in force as of 2004. This has permitted a certain amount of political and economic restructuring to take place. In 1999 several independent political parties were granted registration (or re-registration), including the Islamic Rebirth Party.

Elsewhere in Central Asia, post-Soviet Islam exhibits three tendencies. These can be described as traditional Islam, government-sponsored Islam, and radical Islam.

Traditional Islam. Traditional Islam is characterized by a conservative, overall passive attitude to religion. Moreover, there is great attachment to popular practices which, though understood as being Islamic, are contrary to orthodox teachings. This is the form of Islam that is still espoused by the great majority of Central Asian Muslims. However, the situation is beginning to change. In the immediate aftermath of independence there was great enthusiasm for mosque construction. In Kyrgyzstan, for example, there were only thirty-four mosques open for worship in 1987, but by 1994 there were almost a thousand; in Uzbekistan in the same period the number rose from eighty-seven to some three thousand. The same phenomenon was to be observed in the other Central Asian states. Moreover, many Muslim schools and *madrasahs* were opened and courses were provided for children and adults in the study of Arabic, the Qurʾān, and related religious topics. By the second half of the 1990s this upsurge of interest in Islam had somewhat abated. Nevertheless, among the younger generation there has been a distinct change of outlook. Mosque attendance has increased again, particularly in the south (notably the Ferghana Valley and southern Kazakhstan). Thus, a more orthodox form of Islam is gradually replacing the indigenous syncretic beliefs and practices of the past.

Government-sponsored Islam. This form is a continuation of the late Soviet-era policy of co-opting religion to serve the needs of the state. Today, the constitutions of all the Central Asian countries enshrine the principle of the division of religion and state. Yet throughout the region, Islam has been elevated to a status akin to that of a state ideology. This seems to have been prompted by the conviction that unless urgent action was taken to fill the ideological vacuum left by the discrediting of Marxism-Leninism (which possibly had more support in Central Asia than elsewhere in the Soviet Union), anarchy would follow. Consequently, in all the Central Asian states an immediate campaign was set in motion to emphasize the role of Islam as an integral component of the national heritage, and likewise of the ethical foundation of the state. This message was conveyed through the teachings of Muslim clerics, as well as through the pronouncements of senior political figures and editorial and documentary features in the mass media. In Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan this dual ethical-national significance was made explicit when the presidents swore their respective oaths of office on both the constitution and the Qurʾān. On a personal level, the heads of state (all former Communist Party members who came to power under Soviet rule) have been at pains to establish Muslim credentials. This has included fulfilling the lesser (*ʿumrah*) pilgrimage to Mecca.

Since independence, new laws on religion and on religious associations have been passed in the Central Asian states. The law adopted in Uzbekistan in 1998 is regarded as the most restrictive. However, the draft amendments that are currently under consideration in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan propose measures that are almost equally severe. Political parties of a religious orientation are proscribed everywhere except in Tajikistan, where in mid-1999, in the run-up to parliamentary elections, the Islamic Rebirth Party, outlawed in 1993, was again legalized. In all five states, religious communities must be officially registered by the authorities. If not, they are likely to be prosecuted and to suffer personal harassment, as well as the confiscation or destruction of community property. Most of the so-called nontraditional faiths (i.e., those that have only recently been introduced into the region) have experienced great difficulties in securing registration; insofar as they operate at all, their activities are regarded as illegal, and therefore criminal.

The form of Islam favored by the Central Asian governments of today is based on the teachings of orthodox Sunnī Islam of the Ḥanafī school of jurisprudence. However, the sphere of application is strictly limited. There is little question, for example, of introducing elements of *sharī ʿah* law (Muslim canon law) into the legal framework of these states. The main concern at the governmental level is to promote "good" Islam, which, it is implied, is beneficial to the development of the state; and to banish "bad" Islam, which represents a threat to stability. To underline this last point, frequent reference is made to Tajikistan and Afghanistan, where, it is alleged, the spread of "bad" Islam has brought misery and suffering. Yet there is no public debate in any of the Central Asian countries as to where, and on what basis, the dividing line should be drawn between the acceptable and the unacceptable. Thus, men who grow beards (a traditional Muslim sign of piety) are regarded with suspicion, particularly in Uzbekistan, where they run the risk of summary arrest. Why these manifestations, which are in keeping with orthodox Muslim practice, should be labeled extremist, while other aspects of Islamic behavior should be encouraged, is not discussed.

The institutional control of Islamic activities in Central Asia today largely follows the Soviet model. However, whereas under Soviet rule there had been a unified, overarching administration for all the Muslims of the region (i.e., the Muslim Spiritual Directorate of Central Asia and Kazakhstan), separate national administrations, each headed by a *muftī*, were established in the early 1990s. In Tajikistan, the office of *muftī* was abolished in 1996, and the work of the *muftīyāt* was reorganized; the chief Muslim authority is now the chairman of the council of *ʿulamāʾ*. In the other states, the *muftīyāt* remains responsible for administering Muslim affairs within the state and maintaining formal contacts with Muslims abroad. The work of the *muftīyāt* is closely monitored by a Committee (or Council) for Religious Affairs, a body that serves as the interface between the government and the religious communities (yet another Soviet-era survival). The interests of Muslims, as well as adherents of the other established faiths (chiefly Orthodox Christianity and Judaism), are officially represented in this body. Such "nontraditional" faiths as Bahāʾī, Pentecostal Christianity, and Jehovah's Witnesses are regarded with suspicion and given little opportunity for official representation. In Turkmenistan the *muftīyāt* and the Committee for Religious Affairs have virtually merged into a single entity, as the chairman of the latter body is the deputy *muftī*, while the *muftī* is deputy chairman of the Committee.

The *muftīyāt* is responsible, among a number of other functions, for the formal examination and registration of Muslim clerics. Unregistered preachers are liable to criminal prosecution. The ostensible aim of registration is to disbar unqualified individuals from holding religious posts. At the same time, however, registration enables the state authorities to keep a close check on the ideological orientation of the religious establishment. Clerics who hold views that do not conform to the official line, or who are felt to be lacking in loyalty to the government, can be excluded from the system.

The most marked example of government control over the Muslim establishment is in Uzbekistan. The last *muftī* of the Soviet era, Muḥammad Ṣadyk, was forced from office in the wake of accusations of Wahhābī sympathies and financial improprieties. In 1993 he went into voluntary exile, though he later returned to live as a private individual in Tashkent. Since the mid-1990s the official Muslim hierarchy has been relegated to a subordinate role, remarkable chiefly for its unquestioning support of government policies. Elsewhere in the region, state control of the religious establishment is also increasing, though it is still well below the Uzbek level. Kyrgyzstan has, as of 2004, shown a fairly consistent commitment to maintaining the independence of the religious establishment. This appeared to falter in December 1996, when covert government pressure resulted in the ousting of Muftī Kimsanbai-aji Abduraḥmān uulu (elected in 1993), a cleric who had a large following within the Muslim community but was suspected by some of Wahhābī leanings. However, he was reinstated as *muftī* in 2000.

Radical Islam. The radical trend embraces a loose grouping of activists who want to purge Islam of the distortions that have been introduced over time. They are collectively referred to as Wahhābīs, a term that today, as during the Soviet era, is a generic expression of abuse rather than a literal description of religious affiliation.

From the early 1990s onward, the radical trend has been gaining ground. In Tajikistan, it was one of the factors that led to the outbreak of the civil war. Elsewhere in the region the main expression of radical Islam has been the emergence of clandestine groups, based in Uzbekistan and adjacent areas of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. There are no reports of Islamist movements in Turkmenistan, which could mean either that they do not exist or that they are suppressed more effectively than elsewhere.

It is impossible to set a figure either to the number of individuals who are involved, or to the number of separate groups. Names of some of these groups have appeared in various sources from time to time, though with almost no background information. These include Adolat (Justice); Akromiya (named after their founder, Akrom Yuldashev), they are also known as the Iimonchilar (Believers) or Khalifatchilar (Caliphate Supporters); the Tawba (Repentance) movement; and Islom lashkarlari (Soldiers of Islam). The first such group to acquire wide notoriety was the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan. It was formed around 1996 under the leadership of Ṭāhir Yoldashev and Jumabai Khojiev and may have attracted members from some of the earlier groups. Based predominantly in the Ferghana Valley, the great majority of its members were Uzbeks. The movement was also active in southern Kyrgyzstan and southern Kazakhstan, where it was said to find support among local Uzbek minorities. In 2001 there was a move to rename the party the Islamic Movement of Turkestan, but this does not appear to have been implemented.

Likewise in the mid-1990s, a very different, and potentially far more powerful, radical element appeared. This was Ḥizb ut-Taḥrīr (transliterated in various forms, including Ḥizb al-Taḥrīr, and usually translated as the "Liberation Party"). A transnational Islamist organization, it was created in 1953 in Jerusalem; it soon attracted a substantial following in Jordan and spread to other countries in the Muslim world. In several countries it was banned as a dangerously subversive organization and its members were imprisoned. The headquarters of the movement are not known, though it is credibly suggested that they are based in the United Kingdom. It is not known how the Ḥizb ut-Taḥrīr is funded, but it produces numerous publications and has an impressive Internet presence.

The first Ḥizb ut-Taḥrīr leaflets reportedly appeared in Tashkent in 1992 or 1993, but the movement does not seem to have established a definite presence in the city until 1995. There were an estimated eighty thousand Ḥizb ut-Taḥrīr members in Uzbekistan in 2004. Since 2001, Ḥizb ut-Taḥrīr documents have referred to Uzbekistan as a *wilāyah* (province) of an imagined worldwide Islamic state. The party has launched excoriating attacks on the Uzbek government and, in particular, on President Islom Karimov, who is depicted as an archenemy of Islam. It is not known whether Ḥizb ut-Taḥrīr and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan are in any way linked. Initially, they were separate organizations, but in the late 1990s there were rumors to suggest that some degree of rapprochement had taken place.

On February 16, 1999, there was an attempt on the life of President Karimov in Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan. Within hours of the incident, "Islamic fundamentalists" were being blamed for the outrage. This triggered a renewed onslaught on devout Muslims. The incident was used as an excuse to conduct a campaign against all shades of dissident opinion. According to reports from numerous sources, tens of thousands of people were arrested. It is difficult to verify such estimates, but certainly the fear of reprisals caused many Uzbeks to flee across the border into neighboring states, from where some of them launched attacks on Uzbekistan. A serious clash occurred when armed fighters crossed into Kyrgyzstan in August 1999 with the aim, according to official sources, of invading Uzbekistan "in order to establish an Islamic state." Estimates of the size of this force vary greatly, but it seems likely to have numbered some five hundred men. When the guerrillas reached the border they found Uzbek troops blocking their route; they thereupon retreated into the Kyrgyz mountains, taking with them a number of hostages, including four Japanese geologists. The hostages were released in October 1999, reputedly after the Japanese government paid a large ransom. There were similar armed clashes in the same area in mid-2000, though on a smaller scale.

There is no information as to why such attacks were mounted at precisely this juncture. It may have been retaliation for the repression that followed the February assassination attempt on Karimov. It is also possible that it was part of a struggle between local mafia barons to gain control of lucrative narcotic-trafficking routes. In September 2000 the U.S. State Department placed the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan on its list of international terrorist organizations to which U.S. citizens are forbidden to give assistance, and whose members are denied entry into the United States.

Foreign influences. The Islamic revival in the Central Asian states is to some extent inspired and supported by Muslims in other countries. Some of the financing for the building of mosques and *madrasah*s, as well as the restoration of Islamic monuments, has come from abroad, from both private sources and government funds. Students from Central Asia have gone in large numbers (a few hundred a year) to study in countries such as Turkey, Egypt, and Pakistan. Since independence, many thousands of Central Asians have performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, some already two or three times. In the early 1990s, and again in 1999, the travel expenses of several thousand pilgrims were covered by the Saudi monarch. All the Central Asian states have now joined the Organization for Islamic Conference, hence there are also institutional links with the Muslim world.

The main foreign influence, however, has come from missionaries. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union they flocked to Central Asia from many parts of the Muslim world to preach and to open schools. At first they were warmly welcomed. Gradually, though, the mood in the region began to change. On the one hand, the traditionalists—the mass of ordinary believers—objected to being told that some of their most respected customs (for example, those connected with burials) were not authentic and should be replaced by more orthodox procedures. On the other hand, the state authorities also became uneasy that the missionaries were encouraging independent Islamic thought. Uzbekistan was the first to impose restrictions on Muslim missionaries from abroad; in 1992 to 1993 some fifty Saudi preachers were expelled. Other expulsions followed, and since then the activities of foreign Muslims have been very carefully monitored. A similar tendency can be observed in the other states.

Foreign commentators initially expected Iran to play the lead role in the re-Islamicization of Central Asia. In fact, Iranian clerics have been conspicuous largely by their absence. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, delegations from Iran began to visit the Central Asian states and to acquire first-hand familiarity with the region. They soon realized that an Islamic revolution along the lines of the Iranian model was not a realistic prospect; this was partly because of the low level of knowledge of Islam among the population at large, but also, and very importantly, because of the lack of a trained, independent-minded *ʿulamāʾ*. The fact that the Iranians represent the Shīʿī tradition also placed them at a disadvantage. By contrast, Sunnī Muslim missionaries were active from the first years of independence. Turkish Muslims have played the most prominent role. Proportionately, they are more numerous than any other ethnic group.

The great majority of the Turkish missionaries are Nurcus, followers of Bediüzzaman Said Nursī (1876–1960), and of his disciple Fethulla Gülen (b. 1938). The Nurcus opened hundreds of schools and commercial enterprises in all the Central Asian states. They appeared to be propagating a moderate, modernized version of Islam, and their teaching programs concentrated on scientific subjects and technical skills. However, on a more informal level, through extracurricular contacts and through the distribution of translations into the local languages of the *Risale-i Nur* (The Epistle of Light), the corpus of teachings of Said Nursī, they seem to have been disseminating a more radical message. There are increasing concerns that their ultimate political project is the creation of an Islamic state. They are also accused by some of having a pan-Turkic agenda. Because of such suspicions, their newspaper *Zaman* (Time) was banned in Uzbekistan in 1994; several teachers were expelled at about the same time. In other Central Asian states a similar sense of unease is emerging regarding the activities of this group, and consequently their work is now being more closely monitored.

Turkish influence has also played a part in the revival of Sufism. Great Ṣūfī orders such as the Naqshbandīyah and Qādirīyah had been influential in Central Asia in the past, but even before the Soviet era they had lost much of their power. Under Soviet rule, insofar as anything of this tradition of mysticism survived, it was in the form of popular syncretic practices. In the early 1990s, adepts from Turkey began to reintroduce Sufism to the region, focusing their efforts mainly on Uzbekistan and southern Kazakhstan. Initially, this was welcomed by the secular authorities in Uzbekistan, who professed admiration for Ṣūfī philosophy. An indication of official approval occurred when President Karimov made his first post-independence visit to Turkey, and Mukhtarkhan Abdullayev, a self-avowed Ṣūfī, was included in his entourage; Abdullayev, who was subsequently appointed *muftī* (1993–1997), was formally inducted into the Naqshbandī order on this occasion. Later, however, the Uzbek government's attitude towards Sufism changed. It continued to be revered as a historical and cultural phenomenon, but attempts to revive Ṣūfī brotherhoods were firmly repressed; the movement was eventually driven underground.

Fears that foreign Muslims were fomenting religious extremism and militancy in Central Asia continued to grow. The enthusiasm for sending students to Islamic institutions in Turkey, Egypt, and other Muslim countries was tempered with concerns that, once abroad, they would be exposed to radical ideas. The Uzbek authorities were the first to react to this perceived threat, going so far as to accuse Turkish Islamists of using these students as a fifth column. It was alleged that while in Turkey several of these students underwent terrorist training. On their return home, so it was claimed, they set up cells of activists in villages and towns. Thereafter, other governments in the region also became suspicious of the education offered by foreign Muslims and cut back on the number of religious students who were allowed to go abroad to study.

Islamic literature. In Central Asia there has not as yet emerged a homegrown Muslim intellectual tradition expounding a coherent vision of Islam in the modern world. Equally, awareness of the existence of contemporary thought in other parts of the Islamic world is not well developed. Almost the only literature that is available (though how widely is a moot point) is that which is produced clandestinely by Ḥizb ut-Taḥrīr. The state authorities in Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan report that large consignments of the party's journal *al-Waʿī* (Consciousness), as well as leaflets and books, have been circulated. Titles of confiscated material include *Islom nizomi* (The Islamic Order), *Hizbut-Tahrir tushunchalari* (Concepts of Ḥizb ut-Taḥrīr), and *Siyosat va khalqaro siyosat* (Politics and International Politics); these texts are sometimes in Arabic, sometimes in competent Kyrgyz or Uzbek translations. Several underground printing presses have been discovered. Local editions of such works are said to have been produced in print runs of one thousand or so. Distribution of these tracts is mostly covert: typically, copies are scattered in public places under cover of night, or handed out by casual hired labor. The Central Asian governments, especially the Uzbek, are deeply concerned about the effect that this literature might have. Anyone who is found in possession of such material runs the risk of arrest, and consequently most people are afraid to handle it. Thus, it is very difficult to judge how much of it is actually read by the population at large. Elsewhere there are examples of efforts to produce materials in local languages, such as Tajik, for example, to provide a wider readership with the benefits of the Muslim scholarship that originated in their own region.

POST-SEPTEMBER 2001. Following the terrorist attacks on the United States in September 2001, a U.S.-led coalition commenced military operations against the Taliban and al-Qāʿidah bases in Afghanistan. In the following months, coalition bases were established in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. In the course of this campaign, many of the Central Asian guerrillas who were fighting alongside the Taliban and al-Qāʿidah were killed. It was claimed (though not conclusively confirmed) that Juma Namangani, leader of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, had also been killed. Certainly the movement was badly damaged, and despite rumors that it was regrouping, it had not undertaken any significant actions as of early 2004. Meanwhile, in the Central Asian states the authorities began pursuing their own "war on terror" by arresting hundreds of so-called religious extremists. The main targets are members of Ḥizb ut-Taḥrīr, although little credible evidence of criminal activity has been produced against them. Human rights organizations are particularly concerned about the situation in Uzbekistan, where prisoners are reportedly subjected to physical and psychological torture.

The persecution of radical Islam is accompanied by ongoing attempts to promote government-sponsored Islam. Official Islamic institutions continue to function, and in Uzbekistan have even been enhanced (e.g., by the opening of the Islamic University in Tashkent). The aim is to inculcate a "positive" interpretation of Islam in society. Ultimately, however, better knowledge of the faith might make it more difficult to control the responses of believers. The struggle between radical Islam and "official" Islam seems likely to continue.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Central Asia; Inner Asian Religions.

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SHIRIN AKINER (2005)

ISLAM: ISLAM IN CHINA

Muslims within the present-day borders of the People's Republic of China, and indeed within the borders of late imperial China and its republican successor, can be divided broadly into two categories. First, there are the Chinese-speaking Muslims, known today as the Hui, who are distributed throughout the whole of the country. There are Hui mosques and communities in all provinces of China and in most towns and cities, including Beijing, but there are significant Hui concentrations in the northwest provinces of Gansu and Qinghai, the Ningxia Autonomous Region, and the southwest province of Yunnan. In both the northwest and the southwest it is possible to speak of clear and well-defined Muslim societies rather than minority communities in a wider non-Muslim society. In appearance and language there is very little to distinguish the Hui from the majority population of China, the Han, although they do retain some elements of Arabic and Persian vocabulary in their speech when communicating with fellow Muslims. In addition, many Hui, especially in rural areas, wear distinctive head covering—caps for men and variations on the veil or scarf for women—as a symbol of their Islamic identity. Although these emblems of cultural and religious identity were suppressed during the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s and 1970s, they have been readopted since the 1980s with considerable pride.

There are also Muslims in Xinjiang in the far northwest of China, bordering the former Soviet Central Asian states of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. Xinjiang is also known as Eastern Turkestan to the indigenous Turkic peoples, but this name is not popular with the Chinese authorities. Although Chinese is an important administrative and business language in this region, the bulk of the population are speakers of Turkic languages, of which by far the most important is Uighur, a language closely related to the Uzbek tongue. The Islam of Xinjiang is practiced separately from the Islam of the Chinese-speaking regions, and the Xinjiang Muslims have their own mosques and other religious organizations. This separation is made more complex by a tradition of anti-Chinese nationalism and political separatism that is intimately connected with Islam as practiced in Xinjiang, but this tradition is not shared by China's Hui Muslims.

This two-part division of Islam in China is not as precise as this brief account suggests. For example, there have been a number of Hui Muslim communities in Xinjiang for well over a century and a half as a result of the rebellions and political upheavals of the late nineteenth century.

Although the term *Yisilanjiao* (a Chinese transliteration for *Islam*) is now in common use in China, in earlier times Islam was more commonly referred to as *Huihu jiao* or *Huijiao*, terms that did not restrict it to Chinese-speaking Muslims, or as *Qingzhenjiao* (the religion of purity and truth). This latter term persists in the names of mosques in China, which are almost all known as *qingzhensi* (temples of purity and truth).

THE FIRST MUSLIMS IN CHINA. It is impossible to be precise about the year in which Islam first reached China. Contacts between China and the Middle East probably predate the beginning of the prophecy of Muḥammad in 610 CE by many centuries. As early as the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) Chinese imperial envoys had reached the Arab world, and the official chronicles of that time contain accounts of diplomatic and trade missions to Western Asia and particularly Persia. The Indian Ocean trade routes in use between the fourth and sixth centuries were dominated by Arabic- or Persian-speaking merchants, mainly from the Arabian or Persian Gulf, who made landfall in the ports of China's southern and southeastern coast.

The origin of these maritime traders is usually said to be *Dashi* in the Chinese histories; this term has been translated as "Arabia," although there is reason to think that it is in fact a much less precise term, which included the Persian-speaking world and probably the whole of the region that was eventually conquered by Arab armies in the name of Islam. The name *Dashi* may be connected with the word *Tajik*. In any case, there is clear documentary evidence of visiting groups of traders from the Middle East as early as the sixth century, and some Chinese scholars of Islam have dated the origin of Islam in China to that period.

The Tang dynasty (618–907 CE) was the golden age of medieval China and the period during which China was without doubt the greatest empire in Asia. It was renowned for the efficiency of its civil service; for its sophisticated and multiethnic urban culture, especially in the capital Chang'an (present-day Xi'an); and for its poetry and the beginnings of a great tradition in both landscape painting and ceramics. The greatness of the Tang is often attributed to China's openness to foreign cultures, particularly to the developing Muslim cultures beyond its inner Asian frontiers, some of which were treated as military protectorates of the Chinese empire. The imperial family of the Tang dynasty was of mixed Chinese and Central Asian ancestry, and this link with what would eventually become part of the Islamic world had a profound influence on Tang culture.

Although Chang'an was a magnet for Muslim, as well as Buddhist and Manichaean, officials, traders, and spiritual leaders from Central Asia, the clearest evidence for a Muslim presence in China in this period comes from the southeastern coastal city of Quanzhou in what is now the province of Fujian. Traders from the Middle East had settled in the port city, and during the twentieth century historians and archaeologists uncovered a profusion of gravestones and stelae inscribed in Arabic and Persian. This important collection of inscriptions provides evidence of a thriving Muslim community that was already well established in the early part of the eighth century and that became highly developed by the end of the Southern Song dynasty in the thirteenth century, the last Chinese dynasty before the Mongol invasion.

The Arab Mosque in Quanzhou, which is the only one remaining from that period, was built in the eleventh century. It was constructed in the style favored in the Arab world of that time. On its walls are inscriptions in Arabic, including quotations from the Qur'ān and an account of the history of the mosque, its construction in 1009 to 1010, and its reconstruction in 1310 to 1311 by Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Quds, who came originally from Shiraz in Persia. Stelae in other parts of Quanzhou record the construction of mosques that are no longer extant by Muslims from Yemen and Central Asia. The inscriptions on gravestones and tombs excavated in the city indicate clearly that the majority of Muslims in Quanzhou were of Persian origin, although most inscriptions are in Arabic rather than Persian. The descendants of some of these sojourners from the Middle East remained in Fujian, married local Han Chinese women, and are now classified as part of the Hui ethnic group. The province of Fujian remains one of the most outward looking in China, and the people of Fujian have a tradition of emigration to Taiwan, Southeast Asia, and more recently Europe.

MUSLIMS AND THE MONGOL CONQUESTS. It is clear that there was already a significant Muslim presence in China by the time of the Mongol conquests of the thirteenth century. These conquests, which changed the political and social map of the whole of East, Central, and South Asia, also had the effect of increasing the Muslim population of China. Chinggis Khan (c. 1162–1227), who unified the Mongols and led them to their early military victories, ordered that when his armies captured such cities as Samarkand and Bukhara the craftsmen should be spared the otherwise wholesale slaughter. The craftsmen were conscripted into the service of the Mongols and at first were assigned to the building of defense works for sieges. They were later taken back to China, effectively as slaves, where they were required to build the new Mongol capital cities of Karakorum and Dadu (Beijing). Other Central Asians were pressed into service as soldiers, and over a period of many years, women and children were transported to China, as were some scholars and aristocrats.

It is not possible to say how many of these conscripts were Muslims because this was the period of the gradual Islamization of Central Asia, but the later growth of strong Muslim communities in northwestern China suggests that these forced migrants were the conduit for the transmission of the faith into China. The vast majority of migrants were men, and their intermarriage with Han Chinese, Tibetan, and other local women created the Chinese-speaking Hui ethnic group.

CONSOLIDATION DURING THE MING DYNASTY. During the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), which is considered to be a period of high Chinese culture sandwiched between two "barbarian" dynasties, the Mongols and the Manchus, the Chinese-speaking Muslim population of China grew numerically and established itself as a permanent part of Chinese society, notably in the provinces of Gansu and Shaanxi, but also in Yunnan. Whereas before the Mongol conquest these Chinese Muslims could be seen as sojourner communities with an attachment to their original homelands in Central Asia, Persia, or the Arabian Peninsula, during the Ming they evolved into settled communities, living side by side with Han Chinese, although not always harmoniously. They gradually lost their knowledge of the Arabic and Persian languages as Chinese became their normal method of everyday communication. The Hui Muslims spoke the regional Chinese language of whichever part of the country they settled in, but to this day they retain elements of Arabic and Persian in their vocabulary, which is a testimony to the origins of their forebears.

Although it was in the rural areas of the northwest of China that the greatest concentration of Hui Muslims could be found during the Ming period, the spiritual and intellectual center of Chinese Islam was the city of Nanjing in the valley of the Yangtze River. Nanjing was chosen as the first capital of the Ming by Zhu Yuanzhang when he became the Hongwu emperor in 1368. Although the capital was moved to Beijing in 1403, Nanjing remained a city of considerable influence for centuries and served as the capital of the Guomindang Nationalist government from 1928 to 1937.

The Hongwu emperor (Ming Taizu, to accord him his correct posthumous title) was favorably disposed towards Muslims, many of whom were brought to the capital as tax collectors and interpreters or to serve in other official posts. Among the Muslim thinkers who flourished in Nanjing was Wang Daiyu (1585–1657), who was born into an ancient and distinguished family of court astronomers and educated in the tradition of the pioneering Islamic teacher Hu Dengzhou (1522–1597). Hu Dengzhou played a key role in the establishment of Muslim education in Shaanxi, and his methods were conveyed to Nanjing by Wang Daiyu's teacher, Ma Junshi (c.1628–1690). Wang Daiyu's teachings were greatly influenced by Confucian ideas and by the language of Confucianism. He was writing for a Muslim constituency that had virtually lost its ability to read Arabic or Persian, and also for a Han Chinese audience that he wished to inform about Islam. His major work, the *Zhengjiao zhenquan* (A true commentary on the orthodox faith), which quotes frequently from the Qurʾān, was an attempt to express the central tenets of Islamic thought in an understandable Chinese style. Purists disapproved of his efforts, objecting to the use of any languages other than Arabic or Persian, but Wang Daiyu's writings were welcomed by the majority of educated Hui who could rarely read anything other than Chinese.

Liu Zhi (c. 1664–c. 1739), perhaps the best-known Muslim scholar of the Qing dynasty, was also born in Nanjing in the late seventeenth century. He developed Wang Daiyu's use of the terminology of Confucianism to translate Islamic concepts into Chinese. Liu Zhi was also the first translator of the Qurʾān into Chinese, although he translated only part of the text. Liu Zhi's major works are *Tianfang xingli* (Islamic philosophy), *Tianfang dianli* (Islamic ritual), and *Tianfang zhishen shilu* (The last prophet of Islam).

CONFLICT AND REBELLION DURING THE MANCHU QING DYNASTY. In 1644 China was in the grip of a major rebellion. Peasant armies led by Li Zicheng attacked Beijing in April, and the Chongzhen emperor, the last of the Ming line, hanged himself on Jingshan, a hill that overlooks the Forbidden City. Into this confusion marched the armies of the Manchus, a seminomadic, partly Sinicized people from northeastern China, who over the next thirty years proceeded to capture the capital, conquer the whole of China, and establish themselves as the ruling elite for almost three hundred years. Manchu policy was to expand their Qing dynasty (1644–1911) into Inner Asia, and they successfully consolidated their control over Mongolia, Xinjiang, and Tibet, redrawing the map of China. The present boundaries of the People's Republic of China are effectively those of the Qing.

There was resistance to the Qing expansion, and in the northwest Muslims fought the Manchus, as did the Han. Widespread insurrections against the new dynasty took place in Gansu in 1648 and 1649. Although these were ruthlessly crushed, the distinctiveness and separateness of Muslims was maintained, and the Muslim population grew throughout the eighteenth century. The Islamic educational system was reinforced and reformed, and Sufism began to make its appearance in northwestern China, brought there by traveling Ṣūfī mystics, as well as pilgrims returning from the *ḥājj* to Mecca who had come into contact with Ṣūfīs in Central Asia or the Arab world. Sufism took deep root in the poor and isolated northwestern regions, and it remains an important part of the religio-political structure to this day.

Expanding populations and the competition for scarce resources, particularly land and water, led to religious and ethnic conflict. Muslim Hui villages were reinforced for defensive purposes, and there were frequent clashes with neighboring communities of other ethnic groups, often with Han but also with Tibetans and the Qiang, who lived in the Tibetan borderlands. There was also conflict between Muslim villages and between adherents of different Ṣūfī orders and other sects.

In the second half of the nineteenth century these conflicts escalated and became so explicitly anti-Qing in their nature that the imperial government designated them as rebellions and deployed its substantial armies to crush them. China as a whole was going through a crisis during this period. Westerners had been pushing for an extension of trade with China, which led to the Opium War (1839–1842) and the defeat of China at the hands of the British Navy. In southern China the quasi-Christian Taiping rebellion (1851–1864) presented a serious challenge to Qing authority, which it aimed to replace. Nian bandit militia controlled much of north-central China at the same time.

In 1855 in Yunnan, Han and Hui miners came into conflict over mineral rights, and the local government and landowners indiscriminately slaughtered Muslims. In August 1856 the Muslim Du Wenxiu rose in rebellion and took the city of Dali as the base for an independent Islamic state (a caliphate), which he ruled until he was defeated and beheaded in 1873.

However it was in the northwest that rebellion was most savage and its repression most devastating. As in Yunnan, the roots of the conflict lay in disputes over land and other issues between Hui and Han villages, and the Muslim Hui took up arms against the landlords' militia. Their forces eventually attacked major towns and the capital of Shanxi province, Xi'an. Qing forces were dispatched to put down the rebellion, and the Muslim armies withdrew westward to Gansu, the Hui heartland. The Hui forces in Gansu were centered at four locations, all of which were associated with one or more of the Ṣūfī orders. All of these orders had sacred sites that were built around the tombs of their revered ancestral *shaykhs*, and the mosques and *madrasahs* in these tomb complexes served as headquarters for the Hui resistance. The Hui uprising was eventually suppressed in 1873 with great brutality and loss of life by the armies of the Qing regime. The whole of northwestern China had been devastated by the conflict, and the practice of Islam was dealt a near mortal blow. Hui communities were forcibly resettled away from their traditional lands and the graves of their founding *shaykhs*. Ṣūfī organizations were outlawed, and many mosques were closed, destroyed, or converted to Buddhist temples.

There were further serious episodes of communal violence in Gansu and neighboring areas in 1894 to 1895. The origins of the conflict were complex and included factional disputes between Ṣūfī orders and clashes between Hui and Han landlords and officials. The insurrection was eventually suppressed by Qing forces under the command of Muslim officers. By the twentieth century, because of this history of rebellion, Chinese-speaking Muslims had acquired a reputation for rebellion, fierceness, and conflict with the Chinese state. In defeat, many of the public practices of Islam were concealed or reduced in scale, and the Muslim communities strove to portray themselves as loyal citizens of the empire.

ISLAM IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA. Islam in contemporary China is mainly of the Sunnī tradition and adheres to the Ḥanafī school of law. Muslims of this tradition are known as Gedimu, a Chinese transliteration of the Arabic *al-qadīm* (the ancient), in deference to the longevity of this form of mainstream Islam in China. Gedimu Islam is characterized by adherence to *sharīʿah* law and the five major precepts of Islam; the attestation that there is only one Allāh; prescribed prayer and purification; the giving of alms; the fast at Ramaḍān; and the *ḥājj* pilgrimage to Mecca. This is no different from the rest of the Islamic world, although Chinese Muslims have interpreted the precise requirements in their own way. In particular the *ḥājj* has at times been impossible for the majority of Chinese Muslims, partly because of poverty and the impossibility of travel over such long distances, and partly because of restrictions imposed on travel by different regimes.

The practice of Gedimu Islam is centered on the *imām* (*ahong* in Chinese, from the Persian *akhond*), who presides over the town or village mosques. While some of the *imāms* inherit their role, others are elected by their community. There was a tradition of *imāms* circulating from community to community and of some being brought into China from Central Asia. The Gedimu celebrate the major Islamic festivals of Qurban (ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā), the festival of sacrifice that is celebrated during the month of pilgrimage; Bayram (ʿĪd al-Fiṭr), celebrated at the end of Ramaḍān; and Mawlid, the birthday of the prophet Muḥammad.

Islamic education. Islamic education has been as important to Muslims in China as in other parts of the Muslim world. Muslim education among the Gedimu includes primary school level *maktab*, which concentrate on instruction in Arabic and the basic requirements of *sharīʿah*, and the *madrasahs*, which are for more advanced students who are planning to train as *imāms* or as theologians. Education for younger students usually occurs in the mosques. Areas where there are larger concentrations of Hui usually have separate primary and middle schools for Muslim children, although the curriculum is the same as in the mainstream schools. The issue of education for girls and women is as controversial in Chinese Islam, as elsewhere. Single sex schools for girls were closed during the Cultural Revolution, but reopened in 1987 to conform to Hui disapproval of coeducation. The closure of these schools for ten years substantially affected schooling and literacy rates among Hui women because many Hui parents would not allow their daughters to attend coeducational schools.

Among the reopened girls' schools is the Tongxin Girls' Hui Middle School, a boarding school in Tongxin in central Ningxia. The school is spacious, modern, and well equipped by the standards of northwest China. All the girls board at the school because their families live in Hui villages around Tongxin. Other rural Hui children attend the Tongxin Number 2 Hui Middle School. Pupils here also board, go home on Saturday afternoons, and return to the school on Sunday evening. Children who live in the town attend the Tongxin Number 1 Hui Middle School. The effect of mixed schools on Hui girls is illustrated by the school attendance and literacy figures for Guyuan prefecture in southern Ningxia. It is an overwhelmingly Hui region, but only 4.7 percent of school pupils were Hui girls in 1986. Half the Hui women in the region were illiterate, whereas the illiteracy rate for women as a whole in the region was 34.4 percent.

As part of the resurgence of Islam in China, eight Islamic academies for the training of clergy were opened during the 1980s, the most important being in Beijing, Yinchuan, and Urumqi. By 1988, four hundred students had been enrolled in four- to five-year courses that included the study of the Qurʾān, Islamic culture, and management. The aim of the academies was to train researchers, teachers, and high-ranking personnel engaged in international Islamic academic exchanges. Many of the students were *ahongs* who had been serving as clergy for some time but had been unable to obtain formal theological training because of restrictions on religion during the Cultural Revolution.

The Ningxia Islamic Academy (Ningxia Yisilanjiao jingxueyuan) in the Western suburbs of Yinchuan, the capital of the Ningxia Autonomous Region, was built with funds provided by the Islamic Development Bank. The government of the Ningxia Autonomous Region also authorized a loan of 2,300,000 *renminbi* to enable construction to take place. Further technical support was provided by a visiting Saudi engineer in February 1986 and October 1988. By October 2001, the academy was fully functional, with well-attended classes taking place in Arabic, Islamic law, and computing.

The Tongxin Arabic Language School was founded in 1985, also with aid from the Islamic Development Bank, to promote economic and cultural exchange between China and Islamic countries of the Middle East. The design of the building is similar to the Islamic Academy in Yinchuan, but unlike the academies its role is almost entirely secular. It is designated a "secondary vocational school," specializing in training translators and interpreters at the elementary and intermediate level, although the students are of university age. As of 2004, Tongxin Arabic Language School was the only state-run Arabic school in China, although there were privately run Arabic schools in Shaanxi province and elsewhere. The three-year program includes Arabic language and history, general Islamic studies, and nationality theory and policies. By 1988 Tongxin Arabic Language School had ninety-eight students, mostly Hui, and twenty-nine staff members. By 1992 the school's 260 students were all Hui, with three of its graduates working in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as Arabic translators. Although many of the students were from Ningxia, there were also some from Xi'an and elsewhere. Teachers at the school have studied in Kuwait, Egypt, Syria, and Saudi Arabia. Teaching materials were provided by the Foreign Languages College in Beijing, and supplemented by newspapers and other materials from the Arab world.

Mosques. The most obvious physical expression of the presence of Islam in China is the mosque. *Zhongguo Qingzhen zonglan* (Survey of mosques in China) estimated in 1995 that there were approximately twenty thousand mosques of different types and sizes throughout China. While they are concentrated in traditional Muslim regions in the northwest and southwest, mosques are found throughout China, even in the smallest towns. Beijing alone has at least forty mosques, the most famous being the Ox Street (Niu Jie) Mosque, which has become a showpiece for the country's tolerance of Islam.

Although mosques in China have the same basic characteristics of mosques throughout Islam, with a prayer hall, a *minbar* or pulpit from which the *imām* delivers sermons, a *mihrāb* that points in the direction of Mecca, and rooms for ritual *wuḍūʾ* ablutions, there is great variation in style and size. Some Chinese mosques are built in a style that is similar to Chinese or Mongolian Buddhist temples, and indeed some mosques are converted temples. Others, particularly those built since the 1970s, have deliberately rejected Chinese architectural models and favor a Middle Eastern style. The minaret is no longer universal and was discontinued in some mosques after the suppression of the rebellions of the 1860s when many Muslim communities tried to maintain a low profile. Some, such as the Id Gah Mosque in the center of Kashgar, are grand in scale, but there are smaller mosques. One mosque in the Helan Mountains outside Yinchuan consists of one room backing onto a Buddhist temple.

Shiism and China. Chinese Muslims assert that there is no Shīʿī Islam in either the Hui or Turkic Muslim communities in China, apart from the Ismāʿīlī Shiism of the small community known as the Pamir Tajiks (more accurately, the Wakh), who live in the mountains in the far west of Xinjiang. However, Hui scholars have detected the broad influence of Shīʿī culture and practices on Chinese Islam, notably in the popularity of personal names associated with the family and followers of ʿAlī, the cousin of the prophet Muḥammad and the first Shīʿī *imām* in the schism that followed the death of the Prophet. This influence is not surprising in view of the close connections between Islam in China and the Persian-speaking world, and it has been suggested that the existence of women's mosques in Chinese Islam is due in large part to this hidden Shīʿī influence.

Chinese Sufism. The influence and persistence of Sufism in China is far clearer. Ṣūfī orders (*menhuan*) or brotherhoods (they are mainly a male preserve) have proliferated, especially in northwestern China; they are typically based around the tomb of the founding *shaykh* of the order. This applies to both the Chinese-speaking Hui areas and to Xinjiang, although the Xinjiang Ṣūfī orders operate independently of the others. Historically there have been conflicts between orthodox Gedimu Islam and the Ṣūfī orders, but individuals and families frequently have ties to both traditions. The leadership of the Chinese Ṣūfī orders is usually hereditary, although it is common for a childless *shaykh* to nominate a successor, or for a son-in-law to be brought in to the family to take on that role. The authority of the *shaykh*, as in Ṣūfī orders throughout the Islamic world, relies heavily on the tradition of succession, the *silsilah*, traced back as far as the prophet Muḥammad.

The history and structure of the Ṣūfī orders in China is complex: they are fissiparous in the extreme and often reflect family divisions among the Ṣūfīs. Nevertheless, these orders play an important political and social role in China's Muslim areas, and local government officials are conscious of the need to conciliate them and allow them representation, in proportion to their importance, in local united front bodies. The oldest Ṣūfī orders in China made their appearance in the second half of the seventeenth century. They are the Qādarīyah, which had its origins in twelfth-century Baghdad, and the Kubrawīyah, which emerged in Central Asia during the thirteenth century.

Of all the different Ṣūfī orders, the Naqshbandīyah, which is also important in Central Asia, is the most influential in China. It is rarely referred to by that name among Chinese-speaking Muslims, but the Khufīya and Jahrīyah orders, which exert a powerful influence among the Hui in northwestern China, are subdivisions of the Naqshbandīyah. The Khufīya have traditionally been more inclined to take the side of the government and have produced a number of distinguished military leaders. They are also known as the *laojiao* (literally, the "old teaching"). The Jahrīyah, although also part of the Naqshbandīyah movement, were for many years the main rivals of the Khufīya and became known as the *xinjiao* (the "new teaching") to distinguish them from their competitors. These two terms are generally avoided because there has been considerable confusion by both Western and Chinese writers, who have taken the *laojiao* to be equivalent to the mosque-based Islam of the Gedimu.

The Jahrīyah trace their origins to the arrival in the eighteenth century of Ma Mingxin in Gansu after a long period of study in Bukhara and Yemen. He established his spiritual headquarters in Hezhou, now known as Linxia. The main feature of Jahrīyah religious practice, which distinguishes this group from the Khufīya, is their use of the vocal *dhikr*. The *dhikr* is the Ṣūfī remembrance of Allāh; it is performed in silence by the Khufīya. The Jahrīyah vocalized the *dhikr* and added ritualized movements of the head and body, as well as breathing techniques. The Jahrīyah were more radical and aimed at a purer form of Islam: many adherents adopted a simple and ascetic style of life, rejecting material goods and refusing to pay taxes to the government. This brought them into conflict with the Khufīya, who sought accommodation with the authorities. Ma Mingxin was executed in 1781, as were many of his relatives and thousands of his followers, many of them Turkic Salars. In spite of this and further repression after the rebellions in the late nineteenth century, the Jahrīyah flourished underground, maintaining their faith by the secret practice of the vocal *dhikr*. Despite the original asceticism of the order, the leaders of the Jahrīyah in the early twentieth century are reputed to have made a fortune from agriculture and commerce.

One of the strongest outposts of Jahrīyah Islam in China in the twenty-first century is in Jingyuan county, a poor mountainous area in the far south of the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region. Almost the entire population of Jingyuan is classified as Hui Muslim (97.8 percent of a total population of 81,432 in 2000). The county government is proud of this heritage and of the way that it has integrated the different Ṣūfī orders into the local power structure, with representation on the Jingyuan Islamic Association in proportion to the numbers of the different sects. The Gedimu are in the majority, followed by the Jahrīyah and the Yihewani. There are also two Khufīya mosques. Most of the Jahrīyah live in mountain villages, where they maintain the tombs of their founding *shaykhs*. Some of the men wear the distinctive six-sided white hat of their order, rather than the white skull cap that is worn by most rural Hui men. In economic and social terms the entire region is underdeveloped, even by the standards of northwest China. The Yihewani (Ikhwānī) sect has also been influential in the northwest; the Yihewani has a role similar to that of the Ṣūfī orders, but often in opposition to them.

Members of these Islamic orders may also be involved in secular social and political organizations. For example, the *shaykh* of a Ṣūfī *menhuan* might also be the chairman of the local Chinese People's Consultative Committee, the united front body established by the Chinese Communist Party to ensure the cooperation of ethnic, religious, and other minorities.

Ṣūfī tombs. After the mosques, the most visible manifestations of Islam in China are the tombs of the Ṣūfī *shaykhs* (*gongbei*). Some of these are simple constructions; in others the tomb is the focus for a substantial collection of buildings that may include a mosque, school, residential accommodation for students, and guest accommodation for visiting worshipers. In Ningxia and Gansu, where the tomb cults are the most highly developed, the tombs are frequently located in remote villages and on isolated hills, but distance is no object to devotees of the orders based there. Thousands of members of the Ṣūfī orders to which the tomb complexes belong make pilgrimages on feast days such as the anniversary of the death of the founding *shaykh*.

Muslims and the Chinese Communist Party. The extent to which religious observance has been possible among China's Muslims has varied considerably according to the current policies of the central government in Beijing and the way in which these policies were interpreted in the Muslim areas. When the Chinese Communist Party came to power in 1949 it had built up a degree of credibility among the Hui Muslims after the creation of autonomous local governments in Muslim areas during the Long March. The early 1950s was a period of conflict as mosques and Ṣūfī orders attempted to retain their landholdings in the face of a countrywide land reform campaign that was designed to redistribute land to the poor. Some *waqfīyah* land owned by mosques and Ṣūfī orders was confiscated, but the authorities were at that stage still relatively tolerant of religious belief and did not seek to suppress Islam in general, although they did move against some of the more radical Ṣūfī *menhuan*, which were treated in a similar way to Daoist and Buddhist secret societies and were outlawed if they were deemed to pose a threat to the security of the new state.

Conflict between Muslims and the Chinese Communist Party increased significantly with the Great Leap Forward of 1958 and the program of collectivization that led to the creation of communes. Conflict between the government and Muslims was further intensified during the Cultural Revolution, which began in 1966 and lasted for approximately a decade. Collectivization, the anti-rightist campaign of 1957, and the Great Leap Forward marked a turn towards a more radical policy associated with Mao Zedong's wish to speed China's transformation into a socialist society. The component of this transformation that most affected religious organizations was religious system reform (*zongjiao zhidu gaige*), which was implemented in 1958. Muslim communities, including the Hui, lost more of their land and buildings; many mosques were closed, and religious activities were restricted. Some Hui businesses, including *ḥalāl* restaurants, restaurants that provided meals produced according to the dietary laws of Islam, were also brought under state or collective ownership under parallel programs to "socialize" industry and commerce.

The aim of the Chinese government was to create a pan-Chinese identity that would subsume minority ethnic and religious identities. As a result, Muslims kept a low profile. During the Cultural Revolution, mosques and tomb complexes were attacked in the Red Guards' campaign against *sijiu* or the "four olds" (old customs, old habits, old culture, and old thinking). In fact, during the Cultural Revolution, the ultra-leftist leadership around Mao maintained that China's nationality problem had been solved, and thus there was no longer any need for different policies for ethnic minorities. As a result, policies specific to minority cultures were dropped, and China's minority peoples were expected to adopt the majority Han culture. The concept of regional autonomy came to be seen as outdated, minority schools and colleges were closed, the use of minority languages was restricted or even banned, and many cadres of minority nationality were replaced by Hans.

Most of China's mosques were closed and many were badly damaged or even completely destroyed in the Red Guard crusade to destroy all remnants of what they regarded as an archaic and obsolete feudal culture. It is not clear to what extent this was an interethnic conflict. There is some suggestion that Red Guards from a Hui background wanted to be in the forefront of the attacks on mosques so as to demonstrate their ardent support of Mao Zedong. Although many mosques were destroyed, some communities managed to protect their places of worship and are deeply proud of their achievements to this day. The study of Islam, along with study in most other fields, was paralyzed during the Cultural Revolution. It was only in the 1970s that articles relating to Islam began to appear again in publications concerning archaeology and international relations.

Like other religions, Islam has been regulated by the Chinese state through the Religious Affairs Bureau, created in 1954 by the State Council. The Religious Affairs Bureau established the Chinese Islamic Association, to which all officially organized mosques belong. The Chinese Islamic Association has been the main instrument of the Communist Party's control over Muslims in China. Because of this, a number of independent or radical groups, notably the Ṣūfī orders, have declined to register with it. This has created a conflict between Muslim groups acceptable to the state and those regarded as unpatriotic and dissident. The Chinese Islamic Association was in abeyance during the Cultural Revolution, like most state organizations, but was resurrected during the "reform and opening" period when Deng Xiaoping came to power in 1978 to 1979.

The Shadian incident. One of the most serious incidents involving Hui Muslims during the Cultural Revolution occurred in the Yunnan village of Shadian near the border with Burma. In 1967, Shadian, like much of China, was divided between rival Cultural Revolution groups. The Red Guards insisted on the mosques being closed and burned copies of the Qurʾān and other religious texts. Others attempted to preserve the constitutional rights of ethnic minorities. The Red Guards claimed the support of the central Cultural Revolution group and were supplied with arms by the Peoples Liberation Army (PLA). In July 1968, the Red Guards surrounded Shadian and fired on the mosque and houses. Several people were killed, but the Red Guards were kept out of the village. Shadian became a haven for the more conservative elements in the region. In November 1968, the Revolutionary Committee of Yunnan ordered a propaganda team into Shadian. The team chose to billet themselves in the main mosque of the village, ate pork while they were there, and threw the bones into the well that the faithful used to wash before prayer. The propaganda team humiliated the Hui to prove their revolutionary fervor, and their activities provoked a violent response from the Muslims of Shadian.

In October 1973, Ma Bohua, a secondary school teacher, led a movement to retake the mosque and open it for prayer. Ma Shaomei, a Muslim and the secretary of the local Communist Youth League, was arrested in May 1974. His fellow Muslims surrounded the office of the propaganda team and demanded that he be set free, but negotiations and appeals to the provincial government on freedom of religion grounds were not successful. In December 1974, the Hui community in Shadian established a Hui militia with Ma Bohua as commander and Ma Shaomei named formally as political commissar. In May 1975, units of the PLA, which had stationed outside Shadian, attempted to enter the village, but they were barred by the villagers. On December 23, leaflets produced by the Provincial Party Committee were dropped by helicopter on Shadian, denouncing counterrevolutionaries and reactionary *imāms.* The Hui responded by burning the leaflets in front of the building where the propaganda team was staying. Negotiations for the Hui to surrender their weapons failed, and the Chinese authorities accused them of cooperating with the Soviet Union and of wanting to establish an independent Islamic republic. These accusations were later blamed on the Gang of Four: Mao Zedong's wife, Jiang Qing, and three of her political associates from Shanghai. This group spearheaded the Cultural Revolution during the 1970s and attempted to take control of the Chinese Communist Party while Mao was ill and dying.

PLA troops entered Shadian during the early morning hours of July 29, 1975, with artillery, flame-throwers, and incendiary bombs. At least nine hundred Hui were killed and six hundred injured during fighting that lasted eight days. Hundreds more were killed in military action in the surrounding villages. Between four hundred and seven hundred PLA soldiers probably died. Shadian was effectively razed, and after the massacre the remaining population had to be relocated, in an echo of the Qing government's policies for dealing with uprisings. After the death of Mao and the arrest of the Gang of Four, there was a "reversal of verdicts" on the Shadian massacre. Those who had resisted the troops were no longer to be regarded as counterrevolutionaries, given the special circumstances of the time, and their organization, Ḥizb Allāh (Party of God), was not to be considered an illegal secret society but a legitimate religious organization.

Chinese Islam after Mao. For Muslims throughout China, the situation changed radically after the end of the Cultural Revolution and the death of Mao Zedong in 1976. Since 1979 there has been a remarkable resurgence of Muslim communities and Islamic religious activity. This is attributed by the government press to the influence of *gaige kaifang,* the reform policies of Deng Xiaoping. China's Muslims have been allowed something of a renaissance, with the rebuilding of mosques demolished during the Cultural Revolution; the publication of Muslim books, journals, and newspapers; and the realization that China had to convince the Muslim world, with which it wished to trade and establish political alliances, that Islam could be practiced freely in China. Since 1979, the five provinces and regions of northwest China with significant Muslim populations—Gansu, Qinghai, Shaanxi, Ningxia, and Xinjiang—have organized five colloquia on Islamic issues, and others have been held in Beijing and in the southeastern coastal areas. Studies on Islamic culture in China and in the rest of the Islamic world have experienced a resurgence, and hundreds of books have been published in the field.

According to statistics published in official news and academic publications, since 1979 more than 20,000 mosques have opened (or, more accurately, reopened, since they were forced to close during the Cultural Revolution). Hundreds of thousands of copies of the Qurʾān and other Islamic classics have been printed and distributed. In addition, the magazine of the government-controlled Islamic Association of China, *Zhongguo Musilin* (Muslims in China), which was inaugurated in 1953, has renewed publishing in both Chinese and the Uighur language. It is estimated that some two thousand Chinese Muslims visit Mecca annually on state-supervised *ḥājj.* The official New China News Agency reported the departure in 1988 of a group of forty-four "Chinese Muslims from Xinjiang," who left on pilgrimage on June 10, with five hundred more who were due to leave for Mecca via Pakistan "in the next few days." According to statistics released by religious authorities in Xinjiang, 6,500 people of different Muslim ethnic groups made the pilgrimage to Mecca from 1980 to 1987.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the reemergence on the borders of China of independent Central Asian republics with Islamic histories and traditions, the role of China's Muslims, many of whom share common ethnic and linguistic ties with their Muslim neighbors, is likely to become more significant. However, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the role of Islam in former Soviet Central Asia hangs in the balance, with tensions between secular nationalist and Islamic movements, as well as competition between Iran and Turkey for influence.

It is very difficult to arrive at a precise figure for the number of people who can properly be called *Muslim* in modern China. The term *Muslim* is used rather loosely to include both those who are active believers and those who belong to communities that by tradition have been Muslim for centuries, irrespective of whether the majority of the members are believers or visit mosques regularly. The government of the People's Republic of China has never collected statistics on religious adherence; the only figures available cover ethnic minority groups that are nominally and traditionally Muslim. Still, many Chinese who formerly considered themselves to be loyal Communists and possibly even atheists identify closely with the Islamic culture of their communities. Some Communist Party members are also believers, and some have become *ahongs*.

The Chinese authorities recognize ten ethnic groups as Muslim: Hui, Uighur, Kazakh, Uzbek, Tajik, Tartar, Khalkhas, Dongxiang, Salar, and Baoan. The total number of Muslims within the borders of China at the beginning of the twenty-first century has been officially estimated at about fourteen million, but many scholars consider this to be an underestimate. There are villages and other communities petitioning to be recognized as Hui or as another ethnic group. Estimates of China's Muslim population before World War II often gave a round figure of fifty million, giving rise to suspicions of genocide. The problem with this figure is that there was no reliable census in China before 1953, and the statistical source of the fifty million figure is far from clear. China's 1990 census suggests a Muslim population of over seventeen million, and a round figure for the 1990s of twenty million Muslims in China would be a reasonable working estimate.

The Hui of Ningxia. The Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region is the province with the highest Hui population and the largest concentrated Hui residential area. At the end of 1985, the Hui population in the autonomous region was 1,337,561, which was 32.3 percent of the total population of the province and 18 percent of the total Hui population of China. Although the Hui are distributed throughout the region, there are two areas of concentration: one in the southern mountainous area, which includes Tongxin, Haiyuan, and Xiji counties, as well as the Hui county of Jingyuan, where the Hui constitute 96.9 percent of the total population; the other in Wuzhong and Lingfu counties in the Yinchuan area in the north of the region, where the Hui populations are respectively 55.2 and 48 percent of the total population.

Ningxia is on the upper and middle reaches of the Yellow River and is approximately 66,000 square kilometers in area. It has water and mineral resources, including gypsum and coal. Irrigation and canals on the Yinchuan plain date back to the Qin dynasty (221–206 BCE) and were further developed during Han, Tang, and Xixia rule. The Ningxia plain is known locally as "the Jiangnan on the Wall." Jiangnan means "south of the Yangzi" and is the highly productive region south of the Yangzi River. Agriculture in the region includes wheat, paddy rice, hemp, oil-bearing crops, and melons and other fruit. People living in the Ningxia grasslands produce fur and skins, including Tibetan lambskins. Sheep are particularly important in the foothills of the Helan mountain range, and tree planting has been both an end in itself and a barrier to the drift of the desert.

To the Han officials who control the region, Ningxia is relatively unproductive and backward in commerce, education, culture, science, and technology. They complain of fast population growth and ignorance of the concept of a commodity economy. The cities on the bend of the Yellow River and surrounding rural areas have developed much more quickly than the mountainous areas of southern Ningxia. Southern Ningxia holds 59 percent of the area and 43 percent of the population of the autonomous region, but the gross value of industrial and agricultural output was only 9.6 percent of the regional total in 1987.

The importance attached to the promotion of a Muslim region can be seen in Ningxia's thirtieth-anniversary celebrations on October 25, 1988. The People's Bank of China announced the issue of a commemorative one *yuan* coin that depicts the Great Mosque in Yinchuan on one side and two young Hui women on the other. Celebratory speeches inevitably praised "nationality solidarity" and unity, claimed that disputes between the Hui and Han nationalities had "all but vanished," and maintained that Hui officials occupied most of the senior posts in the autonomous region and its cities. However, at a meeting with cadres in Yinchuan on September 27, 1988, senior Communist Party figure Wang Zhen, former commander of Chinese military units in Xinjiang, called for measures to increase the number of cadres from minority nationalities. It was revealed that although Hui people accounted for 32.5 percent of the total population of the region, they constituted only 14.5 percent of the cadres, even though most of the leading posts at all levels were occupied by cadres of Hui origin.

Religious observance. Religious observance in Ningxia was stifled during the Cultural Revolution. Many mosques were completely destroyed and others lost much of their land. For Muslims in China, the most important feature of the reform program associated with Deng Xiaoping has been the possibility of rebuilding or reopening mosques. There are no accurate figures for these losses, but some examples will illustrate the point.

The Nanguan (South Bar) Mosque is the largest in Yinchuan. In the courtyard is a shop where the Qurʾān and other devotional materials are on sale, with a display of photographs depicting the destruction of the mosque in the mid-1960s, the makeshift prayer hall made up of mats and tables that the congregation used thereafter, and the reconstruction of the mosque in a Middle Eastern style in the mid 1980s. By 1991 the mosque was fully active with a *madrasah* enrolling about a dozen boys. Also in Yinchuan, the Xiguan (West Bar) Mosque, which is said to date to the 1880s, was rebuilt in 1981 in a Middle Eastern style. The Wuzhong Mosque in Wuzhong, a busy market town south of Yinchuan, was built in 1778 and extended twice during the late nineteenth century. After severe damage during the Cultural Revolution, it was reconstructed in 1979, with further repairs carried out in 1987, although the present mosque occupies far less land than the original. The Najiahu Mosque in Najiahu village near Wuzhong was also badly damaged during the Cultural Revolution, but the prayer hall, with its mixture of Chinese and Islamic architecture, remained untouched.

The Great Mosque in Tongxin, a predominantly Hui town in central Ningxia, functioned as a Buddhist temple during the Mongol conquest and it has the appearance of a temple. It was rededicated as a mosque when it was taken over by local Muslims after the expulsion of the Mongols in the late fourteenth century and the congregation now follows the Yihewani sect. The Great Mosque in Tongxin escaped damage during the Cultural Revolution, and the congregation is proud of its role in defending the mosque. As of 2001, the congregation was flourishing; according to the *ahong*, several dozen Muslims came to the mosque daily, with hundreds on Fridays.

Islamic literature is available in Muslim centers in China, but with certain serious restrictions. The magazine *Zhongguo Musilin* is published nationally and the Qurʾān is available in both Chinese and Arabic. Commentaries and other classic devotional literature, such as the writings of the Ming dynasty Muslim scholar Wang Daiyu, are published openly and are sold in state bookshops in Ningxia and Gansu, as well as in Beijing. Religious publications are also available in Urumqi bookshops. Few Islamic publications are available in bookshops in Kashgar, but religious works in Arabic and Chinese can be bought from street stalls in the Kashgar bazaar. In Linxia, the main Hui area of southwestern Gansu and Guanghe, new and secondhand books on religious topics and Arabic-language courses are on sale from barrows or stalls on the main streets. There is also a widespread network of underground or unofficial Islamic publishing, with *ahongs* publishing and distributing their own books, but these are difficult for outsiders to obtain.

Chinese officials treat the Muslim sects as if they were political factions. There are considered to be six Muslim factions in Ningxia: the Gedimu, Yihewani, Hufuye, Zhehelinye, Gadelinye, and Sailaifeiye. In the view of Chinese Communist Party officials, the Ningxia Hui belong to six factions, all Sunnī, the largest faction having 33,000 members and the smallest 1,000. Government policy is to treat factions equally, with each faction having its own representatives in people's congresses and the local committees of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, an organization designed to integrate non-Communists into the Chinese polity.

In a report on Islam in Ningxia, published in 1989, the New China News Agency claimed that fights between the factions had become rare, but disclosed that there had been a clash between two groups in 1984 over the building of a mosque in Xiji county. More than one thousand people participated in the conflict; two people were killed and over a hundred injured. Other sources suggest that the conflict may have been more serious, and not an exceptional occurrence. According to an article in the latest issue of *Liaowang* (Outlook), conflicts between Muslims in Ningxia are common, and some have led to violence. Since 1978, two factions of the Zheherenye group (the name is derived from the Arabic word *Jahrīyah*) in Xiji county have clashed on numerous occasions, with several hundred and sometimes thousands of people participating. These clashes have led to at least three deaths and five serious injuries. Generally the local government does not intervene in religious disputes, which are resolved through the mediation of religious organizations, although major cases that undermine production and cause casualties are dealt with according to the law.

Local experts maintain that there are no essential differences among the factions, except in the conduct of religious rituals. For example, one faction performs elaborate religious ceremonies, while another may simplify them. Although the differences are minor, conflicts among the factions can be fierce, sometimes culminating in armed fights, mostly for economic benefits or to win people over from other factions. In fact, these "minor" differences have been the most important source of conflict between Chinese Ṣūfī orders for centuries.

Muslim communities and the economic reform program. Mosques in Ningxia benefited from China's move towards a market orientated economy by developing business interests that helped to finance their religious activities. For example, in August 1986, the Nanguan Mosque in Yinchuan, which is the longest established and largest mosque in the region, set up a Muslim services company. It manages an Islamic hotel with sixty to seventy beds, a canteen, grocery, shop, and clinic. By 1988, the mosque had made a profit of over 100,000 yuan. The regional government gives preferential treatment to mosques involved in business, including tax exemption for the first three to five years. The Nanguan Mosque employed thirty-six local people in the mid-1980s, and the poor, the young, and the elderly received free medical treatment in the clinic. Plans for developing the business interests of the mosque included the creation of an Islamic bazaar in Yinchuan, supported by foreign investment.

In 1989, Hui Muslims in Qinghai opened their own Islamic bank, the Muslim savings deposit center run by the Xining City Bank of Industry and Commerce. The bank took 150,000 *renminbi* in deposits in its first month. Some Muslims were wary of the new bank, but the provincial party secretary, Yin Kesheng, attempted to reassure them by saying "We must run the Muslim savings center as a place with genuine minority nationality and Muslim characteristics. Muslim money should be used for Muslim affairs. . . More bonus savings schemes should be organized in view of the needs of religious believers." The Hui people have a tradition of involvement in trade and finance and are likely to prosper in the more open financial environment created by the reform program.

ISLAM IN XINJIANG. Although Xinjiang (or Eastern Turkestan, to use the name preferred by many of its inhabitants) has been under formal direct Chinese control as a province of the empire since 1884, and since 1955 as an autonomous region of the People's Republic of China, the culture, society, and politics of the region and the role of Islam differ so much from that of the rest of China that it is necessary to consider it separately.

The main population of Xinjiang is not Chinese but Uighur. The Uighurs are Central Asian Muslims whose Turkic language is closely related (some say almost identical) to Uzbek; it is also related, but less closely, to the other Central Asian languages of Kazakh and Kyrgyz. Although the Uighurs have had close contact with the Han for centuries, they have struggled to maintain their distinctive Islamic society and social structure, especially in the south of Xinjiang. In addition to the Uighurs, Xinjiang is home to communities of Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, and Mongols, as well as some Russian families whose ancestors have been in the region for centuries. There are also Chinese-speaking Hui Muslims living in Xinjiang. However, by far the largest non-Uighur group are the Han Chinese. While a minority of the Han have roots in Xinjiang as far back as the nineteenth or even eighteenth centuries, the vast majority are more recent immigrants. Xinjiang's Han population includes demobilized soldiers from the Communist forces that took control of Xinjiang in 1949, and members of the quasi-military Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps, a powerful body that combines border defense functions, farming, and land reclamation, and employs many former PLA soldiers, prisoners released from the network of labor camps that stretches throughout Xinjiang, young people from the towns and cities sent down to the countryside (*xiafang*) in the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution, and traders from eastern China hoping to make their fortunes on the new frontier in the far west.

This Han population almost outnumbers the Uighurs, making them feel that they are a colonized nation and that their culture is under serious threat. Resistance to control from Beijing dates back to an insurrection led by Yakub Beg (1820–1877), the independent governments that controlled Kashgaria in the 1930s, and the East Turkistan Islamic Republic, which was established in Yining (also known as Ghulja) in the 1940s. Since the Chinese Communist Party came to power in 1949, resistance has been clandestine and was hardly acknowledged officially until the 1990s, when separatist demonstrations and terrorist acts could no longer be ignored. Even so this resistance was presented as essentially motivated by pan-Turkism and Uighur nationalism against the Han. In fact, there was and is a major religious component to the resistance, and there is strong evidence to suggest that Ṣūfī organizations, often operating through unlicensed *madrasahs* and unofficial mosques, are the organizational backbone to the resistance. The Chinese government and its Xinjiang arm enacted legislation to control such unregistered organs, and also issued instructions to police and customs officials to seize what were said to be large quantities of religious material being imported into Xinjiang. This included copies of the Qurʾān, exegetical literature, and sermons by radical clerics both in text form and on tape. Much of this was imported from Pakistan, and Pakistani traders were openly selling this material in small shops in Kashgar in the 1990s.

Although Islam has been more thoroughly repressed in Xinjiang than in other parts of China, it remains an important part of the fabric of the regional society. Although mosques often maintain a low profile, they remain the center of the community, especially in the more remote rural areas. In addition to their obvious role in worship, funerals, and so on, the mosques are the natural focus for community activities, welfare organizations, and, at times, popular protest against what are seen as government policies inimical to Islam.

The resistance to Beijing that has manifested itself in popular insurrections—notably in 1997 in Yining and in bomb attacks in Urumqi, Kashgar, and Beijing—has become more overtly Islamist in nature. Slogans at demonstrations are frequently Islamic, as well as nationalist, and the existence of clandestine Islamist organizations with names such as *Zhenzhudong* (Party of Allāh) has been reported.

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MICHAEL DILLON (2005)

ISLAM: ISLAM IN SOUTH ASIA

One in three Muslims today is of South Asian origin. With a Muslim population of over 300 million, South Asia (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh) is home to the largest concentration of Muslims in the world. The significance of the region's vast and diverse Muslim communities extends far beyond the present-day political boundaries of South Asia. Over the centuries, Muslims from the region have also emigrated, mostly for economic reasons, to other parts of the world such as Southeast Asia, East and South Africa, the Gulf states, Fiji, and the Caribbean. In more recent decades, Muslims of South Asian origin have come to constitute a substantial proportion of immigrant populations in Europe, the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States.

Notwithstanding their impressive numerical strength, South Asia's Muslims are a minority when considered within the context of the subcontinent's total population. Awareness of this minority status has been an influential factor affecting their history, particularly in contemporary times. In the early decades of the twentieth century, the rise of nationalist movements to free India from British colonial rule was marked by a growing anxiety among some Muslim intellectuals and leaders about the status of Muslim minorities in an independent postcolonial India ruled by a Hindu majority. Many feared that Muslims would not be able to practice their faith and nurture their cultural traditions freely in a nation governed by a non-Muslim majority. As prominent Hindu and Muslim leaders began to conceptualize their respective communities as constituting two separate nations, demands increased for the partition of the subcontinent and the creation of two states, India and Pakistan. The birth of Pakistan in 1947, an independent nation-state in which Muslims would form a majority, marked the first time in modern history that a nation-state was founded to protect a religious community.

Indo-Muslim civilization, contrary to the discourse of some contemporary politicians and religious leaders, has not been exclusively Muslim; adherents of other faiths as well have played an important role in its formation and have been deeply affected by it. In premodern India, for instance, Hindus were well represented in the imperial bureaucracy of Muslim rulers, holding coveted positions at courts such as chief secretary, chief minister, treasurer, and commander of the royal armies. Muslim royal patronage of Hindu poets, writers, musicians, and artists was also quite common. At present, Hindus and Sikhs in some parts of India still visit the shrines of Muslim holy men in the hope of receiving spiritual blessing. During worship, they may sing devotional songs composed by Muslim mystics. In a more secular context, they attend poetry recitals where audiences enjoy listening to the *ghazal,* a form of Arabo-Persian mystical poetry that enjoys widespread popularity all over the subcontinent. The participation of non-Muslims in many aspects of Muslim culture demonstrates that in South Asia peoples of different religious affiliations could and did come together in profound ways.

THE EMERGENCE OF MUSLIM COMMUNITIES IN SOUTH ASIA AND THE PROBLEM OF "CONVERSION." The earliest Muslim presence in the subcontinent can be traced to immigrants who came to earn a living, to conquer, to teach religion, and to seek refuge. According to tradition, the first Muslim immigrants were Arab traders who, as early as the eighth century, settled in many of the seaports along the western and southern coasts of India. Later, the descendants of these merchant communities moved to major cities inland as well as farther south to Sri Lanka. In 711 a small Arab expedition, under the command of the seventeen-year-old general Muḥammad ibn Qāsim, was sent to the Arabian Sea to subjugate pirates who had been pillaging Arab trading ships. The expedition conquered parts of Sind (southern Pakistan) and, with the assistance of local allies, founded a state that survived for nearly three centuries. These early Arab mercantile and political connections laid the basis for the strong affinity of later Muslim communities in southern and southwestern India with the Arab world and Arabian culture. In contrast, in other regions of the subcontinent, especially the north and northwest, the first contacts with Muslims were through various Central Asian tribes and clans, mostly consisting of Turks who had been culturally "Persianized." As a result of political turmoil in Central Asia and Afghanistan in the tenth century, groups of Turks and Afghans crossed the Himalayas and entered India from the northwest. Initially, these groups seem to have been interested in acquiring booty rather than settling in the region. Over the next several centuries, however, they established kingdoms in North India, Bengal, the Deccan, and western India. The most famous of these Central Asian dynasties were the Mughals, founded in 1526 by the Emperor Bābur. With the strong support of local Hindu allies such as the Rajputs, the Mughals were eventually able to consolidate control over a vast portion of India, creating an empire under whose auspices there was a veritable renaissance in Indo-Muslim literature, art, and architecture.

The establishment of sultanates and empires led to an influx of a variety of classes of individuals. Some sought administrative positions in the newly established states, while others looked for appointments to legal positions such that of *qāḍī* ("judge"). Poets and artists also flocked to the subcontinent from Central Asia and Iran in search of royal patronage, especially after they experienced difficulties in securing patronage in their homelands. Religious scholars *(ʿulamāʾ)* and preachers, both Sunnī and Shīʿī, as well as Ṣūfī *shaykhs* and their disciples, were also attracted to the new land.

While immigrant Muslims and their descendants played a significant role in the development of the Islamic tradition in the region, historically they constituted only a small fraction of the entire Muslim population. The vast majority of Muslims in South Asia are clearly of indigenous origin, although some, for reasons of social prestige, may still claim Arab or Persian descent. Unfortunately, the processes by which they became Muslim are not well understood. Colonial, religious, nationalist, and communitarian agendas have so influenced perspectives on this subject that, as British historian Peter Hardy comments, "to attempt to penetrate the field of the study of the growth of Muslim populations in South Asia is to attempt to penetrate a political minefield" (Hardy, 1979, p. 70). Traditionally, various theories have been advanced: that people converted under duress at the point of the sword, or to acquire political and economic patronage, or to escape the evils of the Indian caste system. Various Ṣūfīs have also been regarded as "missionaries" who were responsible for the peaceful spread of Islam through their charismatic personalities, the miracles they performed, and the religious folk songs and poems they composed.

Recent scholarship has raised important questions on the issue of conversion to Islam. All the theories mentioned above have been criticized for either being flawed or being inadequately supported by convincing historical or sociological evidence. In addition, scholars have disagreed about the processes involved. For instance, Carl Ernst in *Eternal Garden: Mysticism, History, and Politics at a South Asian Sufi Center* (1992) questions the idea that Ṣūfī folk poetry was explicitly composed to convert people to Islam, observing that some of these compositions are so heavily laden with Islamic material that "it is difficult to imagine them as devices to impart knowledge of Islam to non-Muslims" (pp. 166–168). He argues that the verses could only have been directed at an audience already familiar with the Islamic tradition. On the other hand, Richard Eaton, in *Sufis of Bijapur, 1300–1700* (1978), contends that the authors of Dakkani folk songs, whose lyrics contained Islamic teachings, primarily desired to secure for themselves the role of mediators or intermediaries between God and the people (Muslim and non-Muslim) who recited these songs. If, he writes, in the process of singing these songs local populations became familiar with or acculturated to popular forms of Islamic practice, the phenomenon should not be construed as "conversion" in the sense of a "self-conscious turning around in religious conviction and belief." Nor should the authors be considered missionaries or "self-conscious propagators," even though this is the general context in which Ṣūfīs tend to be viewed (pp. 172–173).

Complicating the discussion of why and how so many South Asians became Muslim is the inadequacy of the term *conversion* itself. In his book *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204–1760* (1993), Richard Eaton correctly points out that the notion of conversion, with its presumption of conscious intentionality and individual choice regarding religious belief, is derived from a Protestant missionary model, and has been projected unconsciously on the historical context of premodern South Asia. As he convincingly demonstrates, the diffusion of Islamic ideas in premodern Bengal took place at a mass level and was as much associated with the clearing of forests and the spread of agrarian civilization as with changes in doctrine and practice. The inadequacy of the term "conversion" is further apparent when we observe that, in many regions of South Asia, Islamic beliefs were often expressed in ways that did not totally reject the conceptual and social framework of indigenous cultures. Intrinsic to this approach was the acceptance of both indigenous beliefs and newer Islamic ones in an integrated manner. If an individual retained previous beliefs and practices and saw continuities between the old and the new, could this process be called "conversion," a term that usually implies complete abandonment of the old in favor of the new? Given that the religious identity of a community is fluid, is it more appropriate to view the process as one of acculturation, rather than conversion, involving not a sudden act but rather a slow and gradual process, perhaps over several generations, during which adherents respond to changing contexts? Obviously, these and many other unanswered questions concerning the evolution of Muslim communities in South Asia will require a great deal more research before we have satisfactory explanations. In view of the historical, social, and cultural complexities involved, what is clear is that a mono-dimensional approach that limits explanations to a single factor is far too simplistic to explain why so many South Asians today identify themselves as Muslim.

DIVERSITY OF TRADITIONS. Much contemporary political, religious, and academic discourse on the Islamic tradition in South Asia is dominated by the conception that Muslims of South Asia form a single homogeneous Muslim community. Typically in such discourses, the political fortunes of the great Turko-Persian Muslim dynasties, such as the Mughals, and the experiences of North Indian Persian- and Urdu-speaking Muslim elite communities, have come to be the only lenses through which Muslim experiences throughout the subcontinent are perceived. Historically, the concept of a single undifferentiated Muslim community is a relatively recent development and its emergence is clearly a result of the religiously based idiom of British colonial rule, the growth of religious nationalism, and the politics of electoral representation. Thus, the demand for the creation of Pakistan and its underlying premise of Muslims comprising a single unified nation should not mislead us into thinking that common religion (Islam) has always been a strong unifying bond among diverse Muslim groups in South Asia.

Historically, socioeconomic status, class, caste, ethnicity, and sectarian affiliation have been far more significant identity-markers among South Asian communities, Muslim and non-Muslim alike, than religious affiliation. Indeed Muslims in South Asia are characterized by a rich diversity that mirrors the diversity of the subcontinent itself. This diversity stems, on the one hand, from the different ethnic and linguistic groups to which they belong. It is a cultural diversity that is reflected, for example, in the many Indic languages and literary genres used in Muslim devotional literatures, in musical genres such as the *qawwālī* that are rooted in North Indian musical traditions, and in the mosques that incorporate local traditions of design. Diversity may also be theological, stemming from the many ways Muslims understand and interpret their faith. Even within overarching categories, such as Sunnī, Shīʿah, or Ṣūfī, there exist several subgroups and divisions with significant differences. A Sunnī may be Deobandi or a Brelvi; a Shīʿah may be Ithnāʿasharī (Twelver) or Ismāʿīlī, either Nizārī or Mustaʿlī (Bohra); a Ṣūfī may belong to one of the major orders such as the Chishtīyah or Naqshbandīyah, or not belong to an order at all. In this way, the Islamic tradition in South Asia is comprised of multiple communities of interpretation. Each community has its particular way of conceiving Islam. Each is shaped by its specific sociopolitical and cultural context in the way it understands universally held Islamic beliefs, such as the belief that the Qurʾān is the embodiment of divine revelation or that the Prophet Muḥammad is God's final messenger.

The plurality of traditions that characterizes Islam in South Asia can best be explored within a framework that takes into account the role of both cultural and doctrinal/theological elements in creating competing definitions of what is considered "Islamic" and "non-Islamic." Historically, the relationship between culture and religious doctrine among Muslim communities has been such that in many cases, as we shall see below, cultural and religious identities are conflated. Frequently, socioeconomic factors such as class and caste have played a significant role in this interaction.

DEFINING ISLAM: THE ROLE OF CULTURE. Several studies of the Islamic tradition in South Asia have remarked on a dichotomy within the tradition between two contradictory facets. Frequently at odds which each other, the two facets or strands represent radically different perspectives on what it means to be a Muslim in the South Asian environment. One facet looks to what are perceived to be universal norms observed in the worldwide Muslim community, particularly those represented by Arabo-Persian culture, for guidance and inspiration. The other facet seeks to acculturate and root the practice of Islam within the many local cultures of the subcontinent. The dynamic interaction between these two facets, manifest in the thoughts and attitudes of Muslim thinkers, statesmen, poets, and artists through the centuries, provides a useful lens through which to view the complex interaction between culture and religion in the determining of identity.

The first facet, under the influence of a strictly legalistic interpretation of Islam based on the classic traditions of *sharīʿah* and religious jurisprudence, appealed to Arabian and Persian traditions to determine the religious and cultural norms and mores for Muslim communities in South Asia. On account of its extraterritorial ethos and legalistic outlook, Annemarie Schimmel, the renowned scholar of South Asian Islam, has characterized this facet as being "Mecca-oriented" or "prophetic." Historically, this facet was associated mostly with the ruling and intellectual elite, often referred to as the *ashrāf* ("nobility"). In northern India, the *ashrāf* were Persianized Turks and Iranians who had come to South Asia from Central Asia, Afghanistan, and Iran as soldiers, rulers, traders, religious scholars, artists, poets, and refugees. Favoring Persian as the official language of administration, as well as of literary culture, they lived mostly in or near an axis stretching from Lahore to Delhi to the Deccan, an axis that Richard Eaton has aptly termed South Asia's "central Perso-Islamic axis." They also participated in an extensive transnational and cosmopolitan nexus of Turko-Persianate culture that, at least until the eighteenth century, connected them with the elites of Central Asia, Iran, Afghanistan, and even the Ottoman Empire. Beyond the Perso-Islamic axis, we find, along the western and southwestern coasts of India, a more Arab-centered tradition with closer historical and cultural links to Arabia. Among Muslims communities, such as the Māppiḷḷas of Kerala, the category of *ashrāf* included *sayyids,* those who claimed descent from the Prophet Muḥammad, as well as populations of Arab origin whose ancestors had come to the regions as traders and merchants at least as early as the eighth century, making them some of the first Muslim immigrants to South Asia.

Conscious of their privileged status, as well as their ethnic and cultural difference from the subcontinent's indigenous populations, the *ashrāf* were anxious to prevent their religious and cultural identity from being absorbed and overwhelmed by an environment they considered to be alien and antithetical to their values. In their desire to maintain the purity of their identity, they disparaged and rejected all Indian cultural manifestations—from Indian languages, which they considered unworthy of recording any Islamic literature, to indigenous Indian Muslims, whom they contemptuously called the *ajlāf* ("mean, ignoble wretches"). Al-Baranī (d. c. 1360), a medieval historian, refers, in his chronicle *Fatāwā Jahāndārī,* to local converts as "pigs, boars, and dogs" who ought not to be given too much education lest "it bring honor to their mean souls." Even today, it is hardly surprising that many South Asian families continue to assert their superior social status by proudly claiming a Central Asian, Iranian, or Arab ancestry and refusing to marry Muslims with indigenous family roots, even though the *ashrāf* have lost effective political power.

To preserve and protect their religio-cultural identity from encroachment by "idolatrous" Indian customs and beliefs, the *ashrāf* cultivated a strong extraterritorial ethos, one that appealed to the Islamic heartlands as a source of cultural and religious norms and mores. We can discern this extraterritorial ethos in the works of many of the subcontinent's influential Muslim thinkers, scholars, and theologians. Thus, the fourteenth-century Suhrawardi Ṣūfī Makhdūm-i Jahāniyān Jahāngasht (d. 1385) insisted that his followers use Arabic terms such as Allāh to refer to God, rather than Indic vernacular terms (such as *nirañjan,* "the one without attributes"). Similar sentiments were echoed several centuries later by Shāh Walī Allāh (1703–1762), one of the great reformers of South Asian Islam, who writes in his treatise *Tafhimat al-ilāhiyya:* "We are an Arab people whose fathers have fallen into exile in the country of Hindustan; Arab genealogy and the Arabic language are our pride" (vol. 2, p. 246). He further demanded that the Muslims of India substitute the customs of the Arabs for the foreign customs they had adopted. These foreign customs, he felt, were not compatible with their Islamic identity. The twentieth-century poet-philosopher Muḥammad Iqbāl (1877–1938) also reflects this ethos in his Urdu work, *Bang-i dara,* in which he sees himself as a bell around the neck of the lead camel in the caravan of the Prophet Muḥammad, calling the Muslim community of India to return to its true homeland in Mecca. The conflation of an Islamic identity with Arabo-Persian culture is also apparent in the emergence of such linguistic forms as Arwi, a form of Tamil that is heavily influenced by Arabic.

Intensely at odds with this extraterritorial Arabo-Persian facet is an assimilative and adaptationist aspect that may be described as being local, or South Asia–focused, as well as more mystically oriented. Representatives of this strand generally espoused an esoteric or mystical vision of Islam in which external manifestations of culture, such as language, were not seen as fundamental to being Muslim. Consequently, they not only were more open to, and tolerant of, the South Asian cultural milieu, they also actively fostered interpretations of Islam that could be more readily understood within the contexts of indigenous religion and culture.

The *shaykh*s of the Chishtī Ṣūfī order, for instance, actively promoted the creation of devotional poetry on Islamic mystical themes in local languages. In its ethos, expressions, and similes, this poetry is strikingly similar to Hindu *bhakti* (devotional) poetry. Beyond developing a common poetical language, some Ṣūfīs also adapted the Indian disciplines of Yoga and meditation to practices inherited from the classical Arabo-Persian Ṣūfī tradition. In an identical spirit, the authors of the extensive *pūthī* religious literature from medieval Bengal attempted to incorporate various figures of Hindu mythology, particularly Kṛṣṇa (Krishna), an *avatāra* of the Hindu deity Viṣṇu (Vishnu), into the historical line of prophets that ends with the Prophet Muḥammad. In Tamil Nadu, Muslim authors such as Umaru Pulavar (d. 1703), used the genre of the *purāna,* conventionally employed to recount the deeds of various Hindu deities, to narrate in poetic form the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad, using traditional Tamil literary conventions and customs to create a distinctively Tamil flavor. In Sind and Punjab, Ṣūfī poets appropriated to an Islamic context the theme of *viraha* (love-in-separation) and the symbol of the *virahinī* (the woman longing for her beloved), both associated in the Hindu devotional traditions with the longing of the *gopīs* (cow-maids), particularly Radha, for the deity Kṛṣṇa. Following the conventions of Indic devotional poetry, these Ṣūfī poets represented the human soul as a longing wife, or bride, pining for her beloved husband or bridegroom, who may be God, the Prophet Muḥammad, or the Ṣūfī *shaykh.*

Although such localized or acculturated understandings of Islam have frequently been characterized as syncretistic, mixed, or heterodox, they are perhaps better understood as attempts to "translate" universal Islamic teachings within "local" contexts. The validity of approaching vernacular Muslim poetry through the lens of "translation theory," as articulated by Tony Stewart (2001), is confirmed by the fact that communities who recite and sing vernacular religious poems frequently regard them as texts that encapsulate the teachings of the Arabic Qurʾān. For instance, Sindhi-speaking Muslims in southern Pakistan consider Shāh ʿAbdul Laṭīf's poetic masterpiece in the Sindhi language, the *Risālo,* to be a revered book that contains within it the essence of the spiritual teachings of the Qurʾān. Through his exegetical remarks on dramatic moments and events in popular Sindhi folk romances, Shāh ʿAbdul Laṭīf is perceived to be conveying in the Sindhi vernacular Qurʾānic ideas on the spiritual significance of the human situation. In the Punjab, poems attributed to Punjabi Ṣūfī poets such as Bullhe Shāh (d. 1754) and Vāriṣ Shāh are also commonly regarded as spiritual commentaries on Qurʾānic verses, particularly those associated with Sufism or Islamic mysticism. Similarly, the *ginān*s of the Khoja Ismāʿīlī communities of western India and Pakistan, composed in various vernacular languages such as Gujarati, Hindi, Punjabi, and Sindhi and embodying the teaching of Ismāʿīlī preacher-saints, have also been regarded as secondary texts embodying the inner signification of the Qurʾān.

Of the two facets, "the prophetic and Mecca-oriented" and "the mystical and South Asia–centered," it is the latter, by advocating that there was no contradiction between being a Muslim and fully embracing indigenous cultures, that has always stressed the common cultural links that South Asian Muslims share with their non-Muslim compatriots. With their contradictory attitudes toward the South Asian milieu and differing definitions of what constitutes an Islamic identity in a predominantly non-Muslim environment, it was inevitable that representatives of the two strands would come into conflict with one another. Indeed, one approach to interpreting the history of Islam in South Asia is through an analysis of the constant interplay and interaction of these two facets.

SUNNĪ ISLAM. The vast majority of Muslims in South Asia are Sunnī, relying on Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ,* or religious scholars, for guidance on matters of faith. Generally speaking, the Shāfiʿī school of jurisprudence prevails among Sunnī communities in southern and southwestern India and Sri Lanka, whereas the Hanafī school is widespread elsewhere in the subcontinent. Little is known of the coming of Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ* to the early Muslim settlements established by Arab traders on the southwest coast of India. Although the sixteenth-century Malayali author Zayn al-Dīn al-Maʿbarī suggests in his *Tuḥfat al-mujāhidīn* (Gift of the holy warriors) that preachers from Arabia founded the first mosques in Kerala, he does not indicate specific dates. In 1342 the Moroccan Arab traveler Ibn Baṭṭūṭah found in the region mosques and *qāḍīs* of the Shāfiʿī school of law being supported by Muslim seamen and merchants. There are several indications that Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ* were already established in northern India in the eleventh and twelfth centuries: the presence of the scholar-Ṣūfī Shaykh ʿAlī al-Hujwīrī in Lahore, where he died between 1072 and 1077; the travels of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (1149–1209), the theologian and exegete, in the Punjab; and the praise heaped by Muslim historians on various rulers for establishing mosques and encouraging scholars to move to India. The Mongol devastation of cities in the Middle East and Central Asia in the mid-thirteenth century triggered a further migration of Sunnī scholars to India, making easier the task of appointing *qāḍīs* for the growing number of Muslim-ruled states in northern India. This new influx may partially explain why the Hanafī school of law supplanted the Shāfiʿī school as the dominant Sunnī rite in northern India.

During the earlier periods of Muslim history in North India, the teaching centers of Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ* appear to have been informal schools attached to mosques rather than separate *madrasahs,* or religious colleges. The same can be said of Bengal, where inscriptions from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries also refer to *madrasahs* being attached to mosques. Although the first independent *madrasah* was established in 1472 at the city of Bidar in the Bahmanid state in the Deccan by the Persian minister Maḥmūd Gāwān, it is only in the eighteenth century that institutions such as the Farangī Mahal in Lucknow and the Madrasa-i Raḥīmiyya in Delhi began to enjoy widespread fame as centers of Sunnī scholarship. The Farangī Mahal developed into a leading religious college after it received substantial financial support in 1691 from the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb (d. 1707). Its curriculum, the *dars-i Niẓāmī,* heavily emphasized theology and philosophy as opposed to colleges in Delhi, such the Madrasa-i Raḥīmiyya, founded by Shāh Walī Allāh's father Shāh ʿAbd ar-Raḥīm, which were repositories of *ḥadīth* studies. The nineteenth century was the age of the *madrasah* in South Asia, because Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ* responded to British colonialism and the spread of Western-style education by setting up a network of colleges to provide an alternative Islamic education to Muslim youth. Most significant among these was the Dār ul-ʿUlūm at Deoband, created to train *ʿulamāʾ* who could promote and uphold "correct" Islamic belief and practice within Muslim communities. A bastion of Sunnī learning to this day, Deoband continues to attract students from all over the world. Historically, it had a network of affiliate branches established at places such as Muradabad, Saharanpur, and Darbhanga. Later, colleges founded in such widely separated centers as Madras, Peshawar, and Chittagong regarded themselves at Deobandi. An alternative curriculum to that of Deoband was offered at Nadwat al-ʿulamāʾ, founded in Lucknow by Shiblī Nuʿmānī (d. 1914), allowing its students to combine traditional Islamic subjects with secular "Western" subjects, including English. However, this institution was not successful in meeting its educational goals, for its curriculum soon reverted to the traditional *dars-i Niẓāmī* model.

Sunnī Islam in South Asia has evolved into several strands so that Sunnī Muslims are often categorized according to the particular *ʿulamāʾ* group they follow: the Deobandis uphold the interpretation of the four classical schools of Sunnī jurisprudence, developed in the late ninth and tenth centuries, as constituting orthodox Islam; the Barelwīs are more accepting of popular practices, such as visiting tomb shrines, and other Ṣūfī rituals that the Deobandis would disapprove of; the Ahl-i Ḥadīth, particularly strong in certain regions of Pakistan, are more right wing and puritanical in their interpretation, which is strongly influenced by the Wahhābīs.

The Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ* obtained material support from a variety of sources. All Muslim rulers in South Asia appointed *qāḍīs,* royal tutors, *khaṭībs* (mosque preachers), and *imām*s (mosque prayer leaders) and paid them in cash or by income from tax exempt land. Others received income from *waqfs,* or endowments. *ʿUlamāʾ* who did not enter service (for which they were often more respected) relied on gifts from the faithful, fees in money or kind for private tuition, or income from cultivation or trade, though this latter case was uncommon. Sometimes a noted scholar would accept a royal pension or subvention from a government official, without the obligation to perform a public function. The *ʿulamāʾ* of the Dār ul-ʿUlūm at Deoband broke new ground under British rule: they opened subscription lists and drew voluntary contributions from Muslims at all social levels, though chiefly from the well-to-do.

The social status of the *ʿulamāʾ* was high. Indeed, at all times, though not at all places, a good proportion of them belonged to families with a history of being appointed to prominent political and religious positions. As *sayyids* and *shaykhs,* many took pride in claiming an ancestry outside South Asia, reaching back to seventh- or eighth-century Arabia. Some openly despised Muslims with indigenous roots. To maintain their social status, *ʿulamāʾ* married within extended families, or at least within the elite circles of the *ashrāf.* Sometimes the pursuit of a recognized course of study according to recognized methods could enable a Muslim from a lower social class or even a convert to gain acceptance among the general body of the *ʿulamāʾ*. Such social mobility is more fully documented in modern than in medieval times: for example, the family of Sayyid Ḥusayn Aḥmad Madanī of Deoband was thought to have been weavers; Mawlānā ʿUbayd Allāh Sindhī, also a prominent Deobandi *ʿalīm,* was born a Sikh. Of course, the high status of an *ʿalīm* might have very local recognition: the rural *mullā* and *maulawī* in many parts of South Asia is often not learned in Arabic and would not be recognized outside his neighborhood as an equal of scholars fluent in Arabic, Persian, and Urdu.

Shīʿī Islam. Shīʿī communities, of both Ismāʿīlī and Ithnāʿasharī (Twelver) varieties, are a minority comprising approximately ten percent of the total Muslim population in South Asia. It is not, however, unusual to find them concentrated within certain urban neighborhoods and cities, thus forming local majorities. Although reverence for the family of the Prophet Muḥammad has been strong in South

Asia, the public articulation of a Shīʿī identity waited on favorable political and social developments, both in the larger Muslim world as well as in parts of South Asia.

Ismāʿīlī communities. The earliest Shīʿī communities in South Asia were Ismāʿīlī. Regarded as subversive by the Abbasids of Baghdad and by Sunnī warlords who took effective control of the eastern Muslim world by the middle of the ninth century CE, Ismāʿīlīs nevertheless managed in the tenth century to establish strongholds in Sind, the area around Multan, as well as Gujarat. There is evidence that the Ismāʿīlī dynasty that ruled Sind during this period had connections with the Fatimids in Egypt, a dynasty that claimed the Shīʿī imamate and caliphate on the basis of its direct descent from the Prophet. Judging by information from historical chronicles, these early Ismāʿīlī communities were persecuted by Turko-Persian Sunnī warlords who began to invade South Asia from the tenth century onwards. In 1094 the Ismāʿīlīs split into two branches, the Mustaʿlīs and the Nizārīs, over the issue of succession to the Fatimid imamate. In South Asia, the Mustaʿlīs are popularly known as the Bohras, a term probably derived from the Gujarati *vohora* ("trader"), while the Nizārīs are often called Khojas, from the Persian *khwaja* ("lord, master"), or Aga Khanis, based on the fact that they follow the guidance of the Aga Khan, a honorific title used by their living *imāms.* Both Ismāʿīlī communities, concentrated mostly in Gujarat and Sind as well as in some of the major urban centers of South Asia, have been heavily involved in trade, commerce, and the professions.

Bohra communities were probably in existence in Gujarat by the middle of the twelfth century and certainly before the conquest of Gujarat by the Delhi sultan that began in 1299. Their origins can be traced to a series of preachers who came to the region from Yemen, an important center of Mustaʿlī history. Because Bohras believe that their *imām* is in occlusion, the affairs of the community are run by his representative, the *dāʿī muṭlaq,* who controls all activities of the community. He is assisted by *shaykh*s, *mullās,* and *ʿāmils* ("agents") who are, however, only executive functionaries and do not participate in the formulation of doctrine and principles of right conduct. For several centuries, the headquarters of the *dāʿī muṭlaq* was in Yemen. In the sixteenth century, however, as a result of a major dispute over the issue of succession to the office of *dāʿī muṭlaq,* the Bohras split into two factions: the Sulaimanī and the Dāʾūdī. The former owe allegiance to a *dāʿī* still based in Yemen, whereas the latter pledge loyalty to a *dāʿī,* often called *syednā* ("our master"), whose headquarter is in Mumbai.

The history of Khoja communities can be traced at least to the eleventh and twelfth centuries when, according to tradition, Nizārī Ismāʿīlī *imāms,* then resident in Iran, sent *dāʿīs* to Punjab, Sind, Gujarat, and possibly Rajasthan, to preach the Ismāʿīlī faith. Also known as *pīrs,* these preacher-saints composed *ginān*s, hymn-like songs in various vernacular languages through which they elaborated a highly devotional and mystical understanding of the Shīʿī concept of *imām.* Particularly interesting was the attempt to explain the concept of the *imām* within the framework of Vaisnavite Hindu thought. The *ginān*s continue to be the mainstay of Khoja devotional life today. In the 1840s the living *imām* of the Nizārīs, Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh, Aga Khan I, moved from Iran to India and asserted his leadership over the Khoja community. This resulted in some schisms among the Khojas, but the majority continued to pledge their allegiance to the Aga Khan and, after him, his descendants who, as living Shīʿī *imāms,* have absolute power of decision over belief and practice. Sultan Muḥammad Shāh, Aga Khan III (d. 1957), utilized this authority to institute a wide range of religious and social reforms, some of which, such as abolishing the veil and promoting female education, were aimed at improving the status of Ismāʿīlī women. His successor, Karīm Al-Ḥusaini, Aga Khan IV, has continued the transformation of the community in South Asia by making it part of a transnational network of social, economic, and educational institutions that links it with Nizārī Ismāʿīlī communities in other parts of the world. Known as the Aga Khan Development Network, it seeks to improve the standard of living of Ismāʿīlī and non-Ismāʿīlī communities in the countries in which it operates.

Twelver or Ithnāʿasharī communities. Unlike Ismāʿīlī Shiism, Twelver Shiism in South Asia has often enjoyed official patronage by certain rulers and states. In the fifteenth century, following a substantial migration of Twelver Shīʿahs from Iran to the court of the Bahmanid Sultanate in the Deccan, the Bahmani sultan Aḥmad I (1422–1436) declared himself to be Shīʿī, though the dynasty's public position continued to be ambiguous. Of the successor states to the Bahmanis, Bijapur supported the Twelver Shīʿī position from 1510 to 1534 and again between 1558 and 1580; Golkonda's Quṭb Shāhi dynasty was Shīʿī from its foundation under Qulī Quṭb al-Mulk (1496–1543); and the kingdom of Ahmadnagar supported Twelver Shiism from the reign of Burhān I (1509–1553). The establishment of Mughal rule made northern India a safer place for Shīʿī scholars. The Shīʿī Safavid Shāh of Iran, Ṭahmāsp I (1524–1576), assisted the emperor, Humāyūn (d. 1556), in reestablishing the Mughal position in eastern Afghanistan by 1550, and Shīʿī Persians formed an important element of the Muslim elite of the Mughal Empire. They became particularly prominent during the reign of the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr (d. 1627) when many Twelver Shīʿī poets and scholars emigrated from Iran seeking positions at the Mughal courts. In 1611 Jahāngīr married Mihrunnisā, also called Nūr Jahān, the daughter of an Iranian nobleman. Because the emperor was not too interested in matters of state, Nūr Jahān became the de facto ruler of the empire. Her father and brother were appointed to positions of great influence while her niece, Mumtāz Mahal, was married to the emperor's son Shāhjahān. The most famous monument of Indo-Muslim architecture, the Taj Mahal, was erected in Mumtāz Mahal's memory. After the collapse of the Mughal empire, Twelver Shiism continued to be favored by certain regional dynasties.

In the eighteenth century, under the *nawābs* of Awadh, Lucknow became the Twelver Shīʿī cultural and educational capital in South Asia.

While the official acceptance of Shīʿī Islam in court circles attracted prominent Shīʿī scholars and theologians to India, there was always the danger that they could be persecuted when there were shifts in the political climate at courts. Shāh Faṭhullāh Shirāzī (d. 1589) and Qāḍī Nūrullāh Shustarī (d. 1610) rank among two prominent Twelver Shīʿī scholars who experienced mixed fortunes in India. Shāh Faṭhullāh Shirāzī, an important Iranian scholar who was invited to Bijapur by the Shīʿī ruler ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh I (d. 1580), initially enjoyed great respect at the court. ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh's successor, however, was not favorably disposed to Shiism. Consequently, Shāh Faṭhullāh found himself imprisoned. Shortly thereafter he was invited to join the more tolerant court of the Mughal emperor Akbar where he became one of the leading intellectuals. He played an influential role within the emperor's inner circle, being appointed to several significant administrative and political posts. Qāḍī Nūrullāh Shustarī, one of the greatest scholars of Twelver Shiism in his time, came to India in 1584 seeking a position at the court of Akbar. Two years later, on the basis of his excellent knowledge of Arabic and command over both Shīʿī and Sunnī jurisprudence, he was appointed *qāḍī* of Lahore, earning for himself the reputation of being an impartial and honest judge even in cases involving Sunnī law. His fame apparently incited the jealousy and anger of some of his Sunnī rivals who instigated the Mughal emperor, Jahāngīr, to have him flogged to death. He is thus sometimes called the "third martyr" of Twelver Shīʿī Islam.

THE ṢŪFĪ ORDERS. Religious authority in post-Prophetic Islam is legitimized by appealing to different sources. The authority of the *ʿulamāʾ,* of whatever persuasion, as interpreters of Islam flows from recognition of their learning. The authority of the Shīʿī *imāms* is based on esoteric knowledge acquired on the basis of physical descent from the Prophet Muḥammad. The authority of the Ṣūfī masters flows from the recognition that they have had (or are preparing themselves and others to have) direct, intuitive experience of divine realities and that divine grace might endow them with special spiritual powers. These powers, often believed to continue after physical death, are seen as evidence of them having attained the status of *awliyāʾ* ("friends [of God]"). By the twelfth century CE, seekers on the mystical path had developed distinct spiritual disciplines and methods and formed themselves into fraternities organized around *khānqāh*s ("hospices"). Each fraternity was headed by a *shaykh,* or *pīr,* responsible for guiding disciples on the path, appointing deputies, admitting novices to full discipleship, training and investing a successor, and possibly controlling a network of centers.

The arrival of Ṣūfī orders. Although Shaykh ʿAlī al-Hujwīrī, the author of the famous Ṣūfī manual *Kashf al-maḥjūb* (The disclosure of the veiled) settled and died in Lahore in 1071, the arrival of members of Ṣūfī orders in South Asia was broadly contemporary with the Ghurid invasions at the end of the twelfth century. One of the earliest was the Chishtī order from Afghanistan, introduced by Khwājah Muʿīn ad-Dīn who settled in Ajmer (Rajasthan) in the 1290s. His successor, Quṭb ad-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (d. 1235), spread Chishtī influence to Delhi. Bakhtiyār Kākī's chief disciple, Farīd ad-Dīn, called *Ganj-i Shakar* ("the treasury of sugar"; d. 1265), settled in Pakpattan by the Sutlej, thus consolidating a Chishtī position in the Punjab. During the lifetimes of the two great *shaykh*s of fourteenth-century Delhi, Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ (1238–1325) and Nāṣir ad-Dīn Maḥmūd, *Chirāgh-i Dihlī* ("the lamp of Delhi," 1276–1356), branches of the Chishtī order were established in other regions: in Bengal by Shaykh Sirāj ad-Dīn (d. 1357), in Daulatabad by Burhān ad-Dīn (d. 1340), and in Gulbarga by Sayyid Muḥammad Gisū Darāz ("of long locks," 1321–1422). Other Chishtī mystics settled in Malwa and Gujarat. The Suhrawardīyah were the other principal group of Ṣūfīs active in sultanate South Asia, antithetical in their rituals and practices to the Chishtīyah. Their spiritual headquarters were in the southwest Punjab: at Multan where Shaykh Bahāʾ ad-Dīn Zakarīyāʾ (1182–1262) resided, and at Uchch where Sayyid Jalāl ad-Dīn Surkhpush ("red-dressed") Bukhārī (d. 1292) and his grandson Jalāl ad-Dīn Makhdūm-i Jahāniyān ("lord of the mortals," 1308–1384) lived. In Bengal, a leading Suhrawardi master was Shaykh Jalāl ad-Dīn Tabrīzī (thirteenth century). In Kashmir, the intellectually influential Kubrawīyah order gained a foothold through a visit by Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadānī between 1381 and 1384. An offshoot of this order, the Firdawsīyah, attained fame in Bihar through Sharaf ad-Dīn ibn Yaḥyā Manerī (1263–1381).

From about the middle of the fifteenth century onwards, other Ṣūfī orders made their appearance in South Asia, notably the Qādirīyah, the Shaṭṭārīyah, and the Naqshbandīyah. Muḥammad Ghawth (d. 1517), claiming to be tenth in succession to the founder of the Qādirīyah, ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (1077–1176), settled at Uchch, but before that Qadiri Ṣūfīs had settled at Bidar about the time it became the capital of the Bahmani sultanate in 1422. The Bijapur sultanate also became a major center for the Qādirīyah. The Shaṭṭārīyah was another order that became influential in the Deccan as well as North India. Introduced from Iran by Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh al-Shaṭṭār (d. 1485), the order spread to Gujarat under the guidance of Muḥammad Ghawth of Gwalior (1485–1562/3), attracting the attention of the Mughal emperors Humāyūn and Akbar. The Naqshbandīyah, a conservative Central Asian Ṣūfī order, became prominent from the seventeenth century onwards when its members began to challenge the established forms and practice of Sufism in South Asia. It was introduced by Khwājah Muḥammad al-Bāqī Billāh (1563/4–1603), who initiated, in his last years, the most influential member of the order in South Asia, Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī (1564–1624).

Qalandārs. Another important category of Muslim holy men consisted of a variety of wandering mendicants, who were distinguished from "respectable" Ṣūfīs by scantiness of dress and the wearing of bizarre iron insignia, and who oftentimes exhibited aggressive attitudes toward Ṣūfīs belonging to the mainstream orders. They went by a variety of names—*qalandār*s, Ḥaydarīs, Madārīs. Because they seemed to be indifferent or antagonistic to the observance of prescribed religious and social norms, they have been termed *be-sharʿ,* that is, those who are outside religious law. Some of them, like the Madārīs (so called after a Jewish convert, Shāh Madār, who migrated to South Asia from Syria), smearing their naked bodies with ashes, using hashish, and ignoring Muslim religious duties, seemed to be indistinguishable from Hindu ascetics and yogis. Yet certain great *shaykhs* of the orders, notably the Chishtī, recognized some of them as men of genuine intuitive experience. Although so evidently outside the Muslim "religious establishment," it is possible to regard them as being important in communicating some identifiable Islamic religious beliefs and practices among Muslims and non-Muslim populations in rural and urban areas. The most famous of these *qalandārs* was Laʿl Shahbāz ("Red Falcon," d. 1325), the subject of one of the most popular Ṣūfī praise songs in South Asia. His tomb shrine at Sehwan in Sind still attracts thousands of pilgrims, including many *be-sharʿ* dervishes, although many of the immoral and illegal activities that historically gave this shrine notoriety have now been purged.

Religious and social roles of Ṣūfīs. As a mystical philosophy, Sufism has deeply impacted the lives of Muslims as well as non-Muslims in the Subcontinent. Beyond the realm of religious thought and practice, Sufism has influenced social, economic, cultural, and even political dimensions of everyday life. The development of literary and musical traditions in many South Asian languages bears the deep impress of Sufism. Not surprisingly, members of Ṣūfī orders have been regarded, by some scholars, to be "bridge-people," interpreting and adjusting Islamic concepts and practices to the psychology of different populations. They have also been responsible for introducing new emphases and rites into the Islamic tradition. By the time that Ṣūfī orders came to the Subcontinent, Sufism had become more of a devotional than a mystical movement, embracing a collection of cult associations that centered on the *shaykh,* or *pīr,* who was more approachable to the masses than the *ʿalīm,* or religious scholar. To be sure, discussions of more speculative and philosophical formulations of Sufism were taken up toward the end of the fourteenth century, yet these were limited to elite inner circles of disciples. At a popular level, a *shaykh/pīr* was seen as playing an intercessory role between humans and the divine. This role was often understood to be a physical manifestation of their special charisma, inherited through a *silsilah* ("spiritual chain") going back to the Prophet Muḥammad. Rather than adhering to the classical conception of his role as that of as a teacher and guide along the path to personal experience of divine truths, the *shaykh* had became a charismatic figure with special spiritual powers and energies. The *dargāh,* or tomb-shrine, began to supplant the *khānqāh* ("hospice," "retreat") in the popular imagination. Exclusive membership in, or allegiance to, particular orders became less important—indeed some adepts now belonged to more than one order. Some orders gained appeal; others fell from favor. Perhaps these responses were related to the way in which members of particular orders responded to the local cultural environment. Traditionally, Muʿīn ad-Dīn Chishtī is represented as having gained many followers after promoting the use of music in his *khānqāh.* No doubt, too, willingness to use the local vernacular for devotional poetry would enhance a *shaykh*'s appeal. Ṣūfīs belonging to larger Ṣūfī orders appear to have been more willing than the *ʿulamāʾ* to found *khānqāhs* away from the principal centers of political power and thus seem to have drawn more of the allegiance of the rural and small-town populations to themselves. Certain orders, notably the Qādirīyah and the Shaṭṭārīyah in Bijapur, were more urban-based.

Rulers of the day quickly recognized the popular appeal of *shaykhs/pīrs* among Muslim populations and wished to turn that appeal to their own advantage. *Shaykhs* were offered pensions and tax-free lands. Most Ṣūfī orders were willing to accept royal largesse. For example, the Suhrawardīyah in the Punjab have always enjoyed state patronage, while the Qādirīyah and Shaṭṭārīyah accepted land grants in seventeenth-century Bijapur. The Chishtī order, in particular, attracted a great deal of royal patronage. Ironically, the early Chishtīs were vehemently against any close association with those in political power, for they considered such contact to be detrimental to a person's moral and spiritual well-being. By the early fourteenth century, however, the order began to rise in prominence precisely on account of the enormous royal patronage it was attracting. As Muslim rulers of Turko-Persian ancestry began to establish kingdoms in the subcontinent, they associated their own personal fortunes and those of their dynasty with that of the Chishtī order. A ruling dynasty's patronage of Chishtī *dargāhs* could strengthen its claims of legitimacy in the eyes of the local population and also bestow upon it spiritual blessings for continued prosperity and success. As a consequence, a pattern of growing political patronage of Chishtī shrines emerged in many parts of northern India, from Gujarat to Bengal. Naturally, the "mother" *dargāh* at Ajmer where Muʿīn ad-Dīn Chishtī, the founder of the order, is buried, received a great deal of royal attention, all the more so due to its frontier location.

The most generous and loyal patrons of the Chishtīyah were members of the Mughal dynasty who were firmly convinced their worldly success was due to the blessings of the Chishtī shaykhs. As a result, not only did Mughal emperors bestow lavish endowments for the support of the Ajmer *dargāh* and sponsor several construction projects, they also actively involved themselves in its management by appointing its administrators and titular heads. The emperor Akbar (d. 1605) was a particularly ardent devotee, undertaking fourteen pilgrimages to the shrine, several of them on foot. Two of these pilgrimages, those of 1568 and 1574, were made immediately after conquering Chittor and Bengal, respectively, victories he attributed to the blessings of Muʿīn ad-Dīn Chishtī. Akbar's reverence for and devotion to the Chishtīs increased significantly when Shaykh Salīm Chishtī, a descendant of Muʿīn ad-Dīn, correctly predicted the birth of the emperor's son. In gratitude, he performed a pilgrimage to Ajmer, walking on foot all the way from Agra. He also had his new capital city, Fatehpur Sikri, built near Salīm Chishtī's *khānqāh* as a tangible way of symbolizing the close Mughal-Chishtī alliance that continued for the next two generations. In the seventeenth century the Naqshbandīyah, a Central Asian Ṣūfī order, vied against the Chishtīyah for the attention of the Mughals, for they had great political ambitions to influence aspects of state policy. Clearly, it is difficult to accept fully the contention that Ṣūfī orders represented an organized religious establishment in medieval India independent of different political establishments.

MUSLIM RELIGIOUS LIFE IN SOUTH ASIA: THE CULTS OF PERSONALITY. The character of Muslim piety in South Asia has been predominantly "person"-centered. As in other parts of the Muslim world, a central focus of "person"-centered piety has been the figure of the Prophet Muḥammad. Not only is the *Milād an-nabī,* his birthday, widely celebrated, but shrines housing relics, such as his footprint or his hair (e.g., Hazratbāl in Kashmir), attract many pilgrims. The Prophet has commonly been venerated through an extensive corpus of poems and songs in major South Asian languages, some even composed by Hindu poets. Although love for him and appeals for his intercession are common themes, many of these poems accord him a superhuman, or mystical status that at times appears to compromise strict notions of monotheism. The poems often reveal a Prophet who has been acculturated to specific regional contexts and perceived through lenses that have been influenced by a variety of literary conventions. Thus, epics in medieval Bengali *pūthī* literature see him as an *avatāra,* and poems in Tamil address him as a baby, while Sindhi poems beseech him as a bridegroom for whom the bride lovingly longs. Devotion to him has become the hallmark of a Muslim identity, defining the boundary between Muslim and non-Muslim, so that attacks on his character and personality have frequently sparked riots. It is hardly surprising that revivalists who sought to strengthen Muslim identity in the eighteenth and nineteenth century identified themselves as members of the Ṭarīqah-i-Muḥammadīyah ("the Muḥammadan Path") and appealed for a renewed commitment among Muslims to the Prophetic paradigm.

Several religious figures and personalities have been heirs to the Prophet's authority and/or charisma, giving rise to different types of "person"-centered devotionalism. For example, the Prophet's immediate family members, particularly his grandson Ḥusayn, tragically martyred at Karbala in 680 CE, have come to be widely venerated in South Asia, especially during the month of Muharram, not only by Shīʿī communities but by Sunnī Muslims as well. In many localities, Hindus, too, have participated in the commemorative Muharram processions. Ḥusayn and some of the martyred Shīʿī *imāms* and the family of the Prophet have been the subject of many elegies composed in several languages, including Urdu, Sindhi, and Gujarati.

Most ubiquitous in South Asia is the devotion to the Ṣūfī *shaykh/pīr.* Belief in the supernatural powers of Ṣūfī *shaykhs/pīrs,* deceased or living, has led to the proliferation of *dargāhs* and *mazārs* ("tomb-shrines") all over South Asia, frequented by devotees seeking to cure illnesses, ward off evil, fulfill desires, or gain admission to paradise. In some cases, these tomb shrines are associated with mythical figures (such as Khwājah Khiẓr or the Nau Gaz ["Nine Yard"] *pīr*). So strong is the shrine tradition in South Asia that even a legendary Ṣūfī such as ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 1166), who is actually buried in Baghdad, has many shrines dedicated to him all over southern India. Interestingly, the *dargāh* in South Asia has not remained an exclusively Muslim institution; Muslim and non-Muslim alike participate in common rituals and ceremonies—such as kissing or touching the tomb, offering flowers, and lighting incense—in the hope of receiving spiritual blessing. It has also provided the only space where Muslim women can participate in public worship because as a rule in South Asia they do not attend mosques.

Of a different character and nature are a variety of movements centered around persons who have acquired religious authority on the basis of claims to a prophet-like status. Because these movements pose a challenge to the central authority of the Prophet Muḥammad, they have often been controversial. Many of these movements have been millenarian in nature. For instance, in the late fifteenth century, Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpur (1443–1505) declared himself to be the *Mahdī* ("guided one") of the Sunnī tradition who would lead the world to order and justice before the day of resurrection. His followers, who eventually formed the Mahdawī community, claimed for him a rank equal to that of the Prophet and clustered around him as though around a *pīr.* Needless to say, the group was intensely persecuted by Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ,* who saw the *Mahdī* as a threat to their authority. Bāyazīd Anṣārī (1525–1572/3), born at Jallandar in the Punjab, was a Pathan who claimed to be a *pīr-i raushan* ("a luminous master") in direct communication with God, who shone his divine light upon him. Bāyazīd's followers regarded him as combining perfections of the paths of law, mysticism, and wisdom attained through gnosis. In the last stage of their spiritual ascent, these disciples were allowed to exempt themselves from some of the obligations of the *sharīʿah.* Gathering support from among his fellow Pathans, Bāyazīd Anṣārī became the head of a religio-political movement that seriously challenged Mughal authority in northwest India. In 1581 the Mughal court itself was the setting of a personality cult around the figure of the Emperor Akbar, the so-called *din-i ilāhī* ("divine religion"), which some have declared to be an apostasy from Islam. More of a mystical order with limited membership in which the emperor was viewed as *insān-i kāmil* ("the perfect man"), the *din-i ilāhī* eclectically combined lofty ideas from various religious traditions as well as Sunnī ideas of the caliph and the just ruler to present Akbar as the earthly homologue and symbol of God's truth and justice. Interestingly, Akbar himself seems never to have directly made any claims to prophecy or divinity.

Even a figure such as Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1624)—considered the bastion of religious conservatism during the reign of Akbar's son, Jahāngīr—gave himself prophetic airs. Because he arrived in India as the expected renovator of Islam at the beginning of the second Islamic millennium, Sirhindī was popularly referred to as the *mujaddid-i alif-i thānī.* He claimed that the "perfections of Prophethood," which had disappeared after the death of the Prophet Muḥammad, would reappear in deserving persons, such as himself, because they were the Prophet's heirs. He also regarded himself as the *qayyūm,* an intermediary between man and God through whom flowed all spiritual and material benefits. On account of his elevated status, he considered it his duty to point out in his many letters to the Emperor Jahāngīr and the Mughal nobility various "un-Islamic" practices that were being tolerated in the realm. These letters, described by Jahāngīr in his memoirs, *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī,* as a "bunch of absurdities," earned Sirhindī a short spell in prison so that, as the emperor puts it, "his disturbed disposition and confused mind would calm down a little."

The reaction to the emergence of these personality cults has often been in the form of a call for the reassertion of the paradigmatic role of the Prophet Muḥammad and his companions. Yet these types of movements have continued to emerge in South Asia to our day, the most recent being the Aḥmadīyah, founded by Mīrzā Ghulām Aḥmad (1835–1908). Influenced by the *mujaddid* and *mahdī* traditions, Ghulām Aḥmad claimed that he was a "non-legislative" prophet whose responsibility it was to ensure the correct implementation of the message revealed by the "legislative" prophet, that is, Muḥammad. Viewed within the historical context of other movements, his ideas were not so strange or idiosyncratic. However, when his followers expressed them within the context of a Pakistani nation that was increasingly moving to an Islamist political ideology, they stirred a violent backlash from religious conservatives. In 1974 the Pakistani legislature passed a bill that declared the followers of Ghulām Aḥmad to be non-Muslim. It believed that a line had been crossed and that the state had to take on the role of defining legitimate religious identity.

MOVEMENTS OF ISLAMIC RENEWAL AND REFORM. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries witnessed a mushrooming of movements for reform and change among Muslim communities in several regions of South Asia. While the nature and character of these movements varied according to regional contexts, they were, broadly speaking, in response to factors that were internal and external to the communities concerned. Internally, there seems to have been a widespread need to cure a spiritual and religious malaise that some felt had affected the way in which Islam was being practiced. Externally, the establishment of European, particularly British, colonialism and the emergence of nationalism presented a whole new set of challenges: new lifestyles, new educational systems, and new economic, social, and political structures. The arrival of Christian missionaries intent on converting Muslims (and Hindus) posed another kind of threat. For Muslim elites in North India, the collapse of Mughal rule in the face of onslaughts from the Marathas, Sikhs, and the British was also traumatic for it meant a loss of political and economic power. Many among the elite interpreted disempowerment as a sign of God's displeasure and a sign that Muslims needed to reinvigorate their relationship with Islam in the face of rapid change.

Early revivalist movements. The first attempts to advocate sociopolitical reform using Islam as a basis can be traced to Shāh Walī Allāh (d.1762), the great theologian of Delhi, who believed himself to be a renovator *(mujaddid)* of Islam. As *mujaddid,* he was the Prophet's vice-regent with the special duty of purifying religion from infidel practices such as visiting tomb-shrines. Through his numerous writings, the most important being *Ḥujjat Allāh al-Bālighah* (The perfect proof of God), Shāh Walī Allāh's ideas had a deep impact on later generations of reformists, ranging from conservatives to modernists. He believed himself to be called upon by God to demonstrate that a harmony of apparently different views existed or could be achieved among a whole range of religious sciences. A strong advocate of Muslim unity in the face of loss of political power, he attempted intellectually to reconcile differences between Sunnī schools of jurisprudence and competing philosophies of mysticism (*waḥdat al-wujūd* ["unity of existence"] and *waḥdat ash-shuhūd* ["unity of vision"]), although his ecumenism did not extend to Shīʿī communities. Shāh Walī Allāh felt strongly that Muslims would be better able to resolve their sociopolitical problems if they lived in accord with the precepts of their faith. In this regard, they needed to understand the Qurʾān for themselves without relying on the secondary interpretations of commentaries. To make the scripture more accessible, he translated it into Persian, paving the way for a later translation into Urdu by his sons. To deal with the loss of political power, he wrote a number of letters inviting neighboring Muslim rulers, such as Aḥmad Shāh Abdalī, to reestablish Muslim rule in North India. Unfortunately, Shāh Walī Allāh's Afghan friends and religious brethren plundered and looted Delhi after they conquered it!

No doubt inspired by Shāh Walī Allāh's activism, his grandson, Ismāʿīl Shahīd (d. 1831), became the theoretician for the energetic *mujāhidīn* reformist movement of the early nineteenth century initiated by Aḥmad Barēlī (Aḥmad of Rai Bareilly; d. 1831), a charismatic preacher who wanted to purge Islam of its accretions and corruptions. Ismāʿīl

Shahīd's work *Taqwiyat al-imān* (Strengthening of faith) calls Muslims to righteous action in accord with God's command in order to improve their situation in this world and the next. Preaching a type of reformed Sufism, purged of "polytheistic" practices, the *mujāhidīn* movement, in keeping with the ideology of the Ṭarīqah-i-Muḥammadīyah, emphasized the importance of the Prophet Muḥammad as a paradigm. Following the example of the Prophet's *hijrah* ("emigration") from Mecca to Medina, in 1826 Aḥmad Barēlī led a group of *mujāhidīn* from British India to Pathan borderlands, from where they waged *jihād* against the Sikhs in a futile attempt to create an Islamic state in the Punjab modeled after the Prophet's Medina. Both reformers were killed by Sikh forces at the battle of Balakot in 1831. (The hold of the Prophet Muḥammad's *hijrah* over Muslim sentiment was to be further demonstrated in 1920 when, on the urging of mosque *imāms* and *pīrs,* about thirty thousand Muslims from the province of Sind and the Frontier Province migrated to Afghanistan as their *dār al-Islām,* or "abode of Islam.")

Regional revivalist movements. Reform and revivalist movements were not simply confined to areas traditionally associated with Muslim political power in North India. There were significant ones in regional contexts as well. By way of illustration, we will cite three cases.

In Bengal, Hajjī Sharīʿat Allāh (1781–1840) initiated the Farāʾiḍī movement. Having lived in the Hejaz in Arabia for about eighteen years, he sought to teach Bengali Muslims the correct way to observe the obligatory duties *(farāʾiḍ)* of Islam, to abandon reverence for *pīrs,* and to forsake "Hinduized" life ceremonies. On the grounds that there were no properly constituted Muslim rulers and *qāḍīs* in nineteenth-century India, the Farāʾiḍīs abandoned Friday and *ʿīd* ("festival") prayers. Under Hajjī Sharīʿat Allāh's son Dudū Miyān (1819–1862) violence broke out between the movement's largely peasant following and their landlords. Throughout the nineteenth century, a variety of Sunnī scholars and teachers, including Karāmat ʿAlī Jawnpurī (d. 1873), a follower of Aḥmad Barēlī willing to accept British rule, devoted themselves to trying to get rid of polytheistic attitudes and practices among Muslims in Bengal, while disagreeing among themselves about the acceptability of Sufism or about which school of Sunnī jurisprudence should be followed.

In the far south, among the Māppiḷḷas, as the Muslims of Kerala are called, *ʿulamāʾ* such as Sayyid ʿAlawī (d. 1843/4) and his son Sayyid Faḍl (d. 1900), though creating no formal organization, perpetuated among Māppiḷḷa peasant farmers a tradition of resistance to Hindu landlords. Among Māppiḷḷa urban classes who had lost employment and suffered a decline in trading because of European colonial rule, the movement became anti-British. Throughout the nineteenth century, Māppiḷḷa grievances were expressed through riots, culminating in the Māppiḷḷa rebellion of 1921, which was brutally squashed by the British. In demanding the formation of Moplastan, a separate state for Māppiḷḷa Muslims in south Kerala, these leaders, like the *mujāhidīn* in the north, employed an idiom that invoked the first Muslim community created in Medina by the Prophet Muḥammad in 622 CE.

In the west, in Sind, the nature of the revival movement took on a less overtly political and more spiritual and literary hue. Under the influence of a reformist movement initiated by members belonging to the conservative Naqshbandī Ṣūfī order, various poets undertook to instruct people about the basic duties of Islam using simple verse forms. In doing so, they sought to avoid the emotional expressions of piety found among more "intoxicated" Ṣūfī groups. Miyān Abūʾl Ḥasan (d. 1711) composed the *Muqaddimat as-Ṣalāt,* a long didactic poem on Islamic ritual prayer. Another Naqshbandī, Makhdūm Muḥammad Hāshim (d. 1761) was a prolific author of several works that explained the essentials of Islam in didactic Sindhi verse. His principal works included: the *Farāʾiḍ al-Islām* (The obligations of Islam), dealing with Islamic law and correct behavior; *Tāfsir Hāshimī,* a rhymed commentary on the last part of the Qurʾān; and *Qūt al-ʿĀshiqīn* (The nourishment of the lovers), which describes the virtues and miracles of the Prophet Muḥammad.

RESPONSES TO BRITISH COLONIAL RULE. In the aftermath of the 1857 rebellion and the failed attempt to overthrow British control, Muslim elites in North India were forced to come to terms not only with British political supremacy, but also with the growing presence of Western cultural institutions, particularly churches, schools, and colleges. Their reactions took various forms, the principle division being between modernists and conservatives.

Modernists: The Aligarh movement. The first major figure to argue that the changes Muslims were experiencing in the nineteenth century were compatible with Islam was Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (d. 1898). As a young man, Sir Sayyid was well trained in theology in the tradition of Shāh Walī Allāh as well as in Muʿtazilah rationalism. In keeping with the spirit of the Ṭarīqah-i-Muḥammadīyah, with which he was affiliated, the book he wrote to help Muslims examine the life and exemplary of the Prophet Muḥammad lacked the customary hagiographic elements. He was convinced that in order to progress under colonial rule, Muslims must accept a future shaped by absolute loyalty to British power. Furthermore, he felt that Muslims should participate fully in the Western-style educational system being established by the British in India so that they would not become a social and economic underclass. As a Muslim, he wished to demonstrate that God was not being mocked when young Muslims, attending British-influenced schools and colleges in hope of advancement, were being taught a natural science that appeared to contradict divine revelation. He argued that the word of God and the work of God, revelation and nature as understood by nineteenth-century Western science, are wholly in harmony. Apparent discrepancies between the Qurʾānic account of the natural world and that of Western scientists are, in fact, attributable to misunderstandings of the language of the Qurʾān. He also advocated a rational approach to the Qurʾān based on fresh *ijtihād,* since Islam, in his interpretation, is a religion that accommodates historical change. The mandates of the *sharīʿah,* as interpreted by generations of religious scholars, needed to be reexamined to determine whether they were, in fact, the essential mandates of faith. To promote his ideas and provide young Muslims with Western-style higher education, he fought for and eventually founded the Anglo-Muhammadan College, which later became Aligarh Muslim University.

Sayyid Aḥmad Khān's approach enjoyed the support of several important personalities who formed the basis of the so-called Aligarh movement. Among its members were several prominent literati who wrote Urdu poetry and prose to disseminate its ideas. Most prominent among these was Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī (d. 1914), the author of *Madd wa gazr-i Islām* (The ebb and flow of Islam), a epic poem considered to the Aligarh movement's most enduring literary monument. Popularly known as the *Musaddas,* after its six-line stanzas, it contrasts the past glories and achievements of Islamic civilization with the miserable status of Muslims of Ḥālī's time. Among the other notable members of the Aligarh circle were: Naẓīr Aḥmad (d. 1912), a pioneer in the development of the Urdu novel, who highlighted the need to educate Muslim women in his fiction; Mumtāz ʿAlī, the publisher of *Tahzīb al-niswān,* a journal dedicated to women's issues; Ameer ʿAlī (d. 1928), the author of *The Spirit of Islam,* a book intended primarily for British readers, emphasizing the essential compatibility between Islam and Western liberalism; and Chirāgh ʿAlī (d. 1895), a modernist interpreter of the Qurʾān, who, among other things, demonstrated that the Islamic scripture was actually intended to ameliorate the position of women and implicitly prohibited polygamy. Chirāgh ʿAlī's most controversial stand was in regards to the *ḥadīth* literature, which he considered entirely fabricated and therefore unworthy as a basis of Islamic jurisprudence.

Sir Muḥammad Iqbāl. The poet-philosopher Sir Muḥammad Iqbāl ranks among the most significant thinkers of modern Islam. Because he was the first to advocate the idea of a separate Muslim homeland, he is also widely perceived as the spiritual founder of Pakistan. He has became such a towering figure that every religious, political, and social movement in contemporary Indo-Muslim thought has turned to his writings in order to find justification for its position. In addition to receiving training in Islamic studies (he was influenced by Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and Shiblī, two significant figures in the Aligarh movement), he studied philosophy at the Universities of Cambridge and Munich. Through his prose and poetic works, he reveals a unique way of interpreting and expressing Islamic concepts and ideas through a skillful combination of Western and Eastern intellectual and literary tools. He offered a conception of the God-human relationship through which he intended to inspire Muslims to action. The life goal of the individual ego, he believed, should be that of actualizing in thought and deed the infinite possibilities of the divine imagination. Humans, he believed, as vicegerents of God on earth, have an active duty to develop themselves to the highest potential. Some of his ideas, such as the call to free the interpretation of Islam from the fetters of tradition and the scholarship of *ʿulamāʾ,* and the demand for *ijtihād,* were typical of Islamic reformers. His claim that human beings can actively participate within a dynamic creation, his call for individual action and responsibility, and his conception of the Qurʾān as revelation that unfolds in time and eternity were unusual and for some controversial. Yet his thought had a tremendous appeal for those Muslims who were searching for leaders with an intellectual and political vision.

Conservatives: The Deobandi *ʿulamāʾ.* The theological school of Deoband, founded in 1867 by Rashīd Aḥmad Gangohī (d. 1905) and Muḥammad Qāsim Nanawtawī (d. 1880), represented a conservative response among Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ* to the establishment of British rule and the spread of Western culture. Although the theologians of Deoband accepted the British as rulers, they found Western culture to be wanting and inappropriate for the faithful to emulate. The objective of the school was thus to establish and maintain a correct standard of Islamic practice for (Sunnī) Muslims to follow at a time when they were exposed to many non-Islamic influences. The theologians of Deoband prided themselves in upholding the authority of the four traditional schools of Sunnī jurisprudence, and in time, their school acquired an outstanding reputation, enrolling students from many parts of the Islamic world. Deobandi leaders assumed the status of Ṣūfī *shaykhs* and initiated disciples, but the special miracles that were attributed to them were depicted as being exercised to influence people to follow the *sunnah,* the custom of the Prophet. In this regard, they were strongly opposed to anything that was not in keeping with Prophetic tradition, such as worship at Ṣūfī shrines, belief in the intercession of *pīrs,* or elaborate birth, marriage, and death rituals. Deobandi theologians vigorously defended the need to accept the interpretations and consensus of earlier Sunnī scholars and jurists and attacked all dissenting voices. Rashīd Aḥmad Gangohī, for example, dismissed Sir Sayyid's pro-Western and neorationalist approach as "deadly poison." Muḥammad Qāsim acquired a stellar reputation for his polemical disputations with Hindu and Christian missionaries. A later Deobandi scholar, Ashrāf ʿAlī Thanwī (d. 1943) achieved fame for his work *Bihisti zevar* (Heavenly jewelry), a conservative guidebook for the education of Muslim women. The prestige of Deoband as the guardian of Sunnī Islam was enhanced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when its scholars played a leading role in refuting the claims of Ghulām Aḥmad, the founder of the Aḥmadīyah movement, particularly his challenge to the finality of Muḥammad's prophethood.

Other groups. The emphasis on the Prophetic paradigm as a source of guidance for Muslims facing change formed the focal point of another reformist group, Ahl-i Ḥadīth, led by Siddiq Ḥasan Khān (d. 1890), a religious scholar who had married, in the midst of much controversy, the widowed princess of Bhopal. Though the Ahl-i Ḥadīth stressed the exclusive primacy of the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth* as fundamental guides in life, they rejected the interpretive authority of the founders of the four Sunnī schools. Their treatment of the *ḥadīth* as a form of implicit revelation that elaborated authoritatively the explicit revelation of the Qurʾān led them into conflicts with two groups. On the one hand they opposed members of the Aligarh movement who exhibited skepticism toward the authenticity of the *ḥadīth;* not surprisingly, they dubbed Sayyid Aḥmad Khān "the modern prophet of nature-worshippers," and the latest instigator of evils in Muslim society. On the other hand, they engaged in a vitriolic polemical war with a counter-group led by ʿAbdullāh Chakralavī and called the Ahl-i Qurʾān. As its name suggests, this movement advocated total reliance on the Qurʾān as the most perfect source of guidance; the Qurʾān according to them contained all the basic injunctions for Muslims and left them free to decide on other matters. For example, they regarded the call to prayer and the performance of *ʿīd* and funerary prayers as not essential Islamic obligations because they are not mentioned in the Qurʾān. A third important group was comprised of those *ʿulamāʾ* who did not see the need to change or modify the various customs and practices that had developed among Sunnī Muslim communities in South Asia. Led by Aḥmad Riḍā Khān (d. 1921), with their major centers at Bareilly and Badaʾun, they accepted a variety of intercessory figures in Islam, from the Prophet Muḥammad to the *shaykhs* and *pīrs* of the *dargāhs.* The Barelwīs, as they came to be called, observed the birthdays of the Prophet and of the Ṣūfī *pīrs*—a practice that the Deobandis and others found objectionable on the grounds that such celebrations implied that the dead were present. An important offshoot of the Deobandi movement is the Tablighi-jamāʿat, founded in the 1920s by Mawlānā Muḥammad Ilyās (d. 1944). Its principal objective is to reach out to ordinary Muslims individually and provide guidance on matters of faith through a network of self-taught teachers traveling from house to house. Initially conceived as a response to the efforts of Hindu movements such as the Shuddhi and Sangathan to forcibly convert Muslims, it has become one of the most influential grassroots religious movements in South Asia, with considerable influence at the international level as well.

DEFINING MUSLIM IDENTITY IN COLONIAL INDIA. It is in the nineteenth century, during the establishment of British colonial rule over South Asia, that we witness a gradual evolution of cultural distancing and alienation between Muslim and non-Muslim. The very "idiom" of British rule was communalist, systematically institutionalizing South Asia into a nation of communities defined along religious lines. The census and ethnographic surveys conducted under British auspices highlighted religious markers of identity to the detriment of others, forcing people to identify themselves primarily in religious terms. Through such colonial instruments, South Asian Muslims from diverse socioeconomic, ethnic, and sectarian backgrounds, began, for the first time, to perceive themselves as belonging to a distinct community and, eventually, to a nation distinct from the subcontinent's non-Muslim population.

As the variety of revivalist and reform movements discussed above began to clarify their respective positions as to what it meant to be a Muslim under the circumstances of colonial rule, they offered a wide spectrum of definition concerning Islamic identity. These definitions sought to differentiate more sharply the Muslim from the non-Muslim by turning for guidance to scriptural sources such as the Qurʾān, the *sunnah* of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the tradition of the historical past. In the process, any practices considered to be syncretistic and accommodating to local custom were suspect. Significantly, none of the definitions allowed for Muslims to observe customs or rituals that were part of the South Asian cultural environment. Practices, customs, and ideas that were prevalent among Muslims and recognized as local or indigenous were deemed to be "un-Islamic." This was contrasted to the "Islamic" values represented by Perso-Arabic culture.

A suspicion of the local as "un-Islamic," or "Hindu," and a privileging of the "Arabo-Persian" as "Islamic," combined with a conception of Islam and Hinduism as closed systems of thought, couched in communalist and nationalist terms, radically changed perceptions of different elements of South Asian culture. As literature, music, dance, and language came to be viewed through religious lenses they became politicized within the realms of colonial and nationalist discourse. For instance, Muslims with personal names derived from local Indian systems of nomenclature began changing them in favor of Arabic or Persian ones to reflect their Muslim identity. Dramatic changes occurred in how languages were perceived: there were attempts to "Islamicize" Indic vernacular languages and literatures, such as Bengali, by injecting into them more words of Arabic and Persian origin and using the Perso-Arabic script to write them. Urdu, written in the Perso-Arabic script and with a highly Persianized vocabulary, was increasingly perceived as a symbol of Islamic identity, while Hindi, written in the Devanagari script and with a highly Sanskritic vocabulary, became a symbol of Hinduism. In this emotionally charged atmosphere, it became politically and culturally difficult, if not impossible, for many Hindu writers to continue writing in Urdu, or for Muslim writers to cultivate Hindi.

The twin processes of Islamicization—defined in this case as the adoption of Perso-Arabic cultural elements and mores—among Muslims and Sanskritization among Hindus resulted in a cultural distancing between Muslim and Hindu in many regions of the subcontinent. Muslim groups realized that their status as Muslims depended on their cultural distinctiveness from Hindu groups and vice versa. As sociologist Imtiaz Aḥmad correctly observes in "Exclusion and Assimilation in Indian Islam" (1976) the ultimate result of this variety of Islamicization was disjunction; it had profound significance in shaping interaction among Muslims and Hindus by sharpening cultural differences between them. Ultimately, cultural distancing facilitated the rise of the two-nation theory—the idea that Muslims and Hindus constitute two separate cultures and nations—and the demand for partition. It also partially explains why the lack of a shared common culture has intensified the Muslim-Hindu violence that has marked the history of contemporary South Asia.

POST-PARTITION SOUTH ASIA. The emergence of the two-nation theory as the political platform on which Muḥammad ʿAlī Jinnāḥ (d. 1948) and the Muslim League were able to garner support for the idea of Pakistan was not unexpected, for it had historical roots. The seeds for its germination had already been sown decades earlier. Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān's advocacy for separate political rights for Muslims; Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd's *mujāhidīn* movement and the quest for a *dār al-Islām;* the Khilāfat movement of the 1920s and its futile attempt to preserve the Sunnī caliphate and the ideal of Muslim political sovereignty; Sir Muḥammad Iqbāl's call for a consolidated Muslim state within a federal India—all can be seen, retrospectively, as paving the way for the creation of Pakistan. Nevertheless, many *ʿulamāʾ,* including a significant number of Deobandis, were opposed to the idea of Pakistan on two grounds: firstly, they did not trust the westernized elite who led the Pakistan movement and secondly, they considered nationalism to be a Western ideology that was detrimental to transnational Muslim unity. Not surprisingly, Ḥusayn Aḥmad Madanī, a leader of the Deoband *ʿulamāʾ,* issued a *fatwā* forbidding Muslims to support the idea of Pakistan and declared Jinnāḥ, who was popularly called *Quaid-i Aʿẓam* ("The Great Leader"), to be *Kāfir-i Aʿẓam* ("The Great Infidel"). Among other opponents were Abūʾl Kalām Azād (d. 1958), a scholar and commentator on the Qurʾān and an ardent proponent of a composite Hindu-Muslim nationalism; and Maulānā Mawdūdī (d. 1979), who founded the Jamāʿat-i Islāmī to counter the Muslim League and the drive for a Muslim homeland. Ironically, the Jamāʿat-i Islāmī was able to fully express its political program only after it became actively involved in Pakistan, the very state whose creation Mawdūdī had opposed.

Ostensibly founded to allow Muslims a safe haven in which to practice their religion and nourish their cultures without fearing the tyranny of a non-Muslim majority, Pakistan has, since its foundation, grappled with the problem of defining the role of Islam in the organization of the state. Muḥammad ʿAlī Jinnāḥ, the founding father, had a vision of a "Muslim" state that was secular and liberal. It was "Islamic" in that it was to be devoted to nurturing and protecting the cultural, social, and political interests of Muslims. In this vision, the state did not interfere with the religious beliefs and practices of its Muslim (and non-Muslim) population. In contrast, groups such as Mawdūdī's Jamāʿat-i Islāmī envisioned an "Islamic" state whose underlying political ideology was religious and whose function it was to ensure that Islam (meaning, of course, their interpretation of it) was being correctly followed and implemented. Over its fifty odd years of existence, the Pakistani polity has become the battleground for struggles between secularists, modernists, and Islamists, and has oscillated between different visions of the role of Islam in public life. To promote national unity, the state had at its foundation appealed to religion as a binding ideology to hold together different ethnic groups. Yet, as the secession of Bangladesh from Pakistan in the bloody civil war of 1971 demonstrates, religious ideology alone is not sufficient to hold Muslim communities together. Ethnic and language loyalties are much stronger forces than faith in fostering community. Today, ethno-nationalist tensions between Sindhis, Muhajirs, and Punjabis continue to plague Pakistan.

In the 1980s General Ẓiā ul-Ḥaqq, with the support of the Jamāʿat-i Islāmī, was able to implement programs of Islamicization, in which the government enforced religious practices that it determined as being "Islamically" correct and proscribed those that it considered incorrect. Although instituted to promote national unity through uniformity, these programs have proven to be divisive as there is no consensus in Pakistani society on basic questions such as what is "true" Islam, who is a Muslim, or even who is, in fact, responsible for the enforcement of religious codes. As a result of Islamicization policies, tensions between Shīʿah and Sunnī have intensified, frequently leading to violence. Discord between different groups, even within the majority Sunnī community, has heightened because it has been impossible to reach agreement over which interpretation of Islam should be the basis for state policy. Many changes in personal and family law, introduced as part of the Islamicization program, have been detrimental to the status of Muslim women, leading to opposition from women's rights organizations. Groups such as the Aḥmadīyah, who claim to be Muslim, have been proclaimed a non-Muslim minority by the state and subjected to persecution. Although constitutionally protected, Christian and Hindu minority communities in Pakistan live apprehensively in a nation that has yet to come to terms with ethnic and religious pluralism.

The situation in Bangladesh has been different from that of Pakistan, mainly because the state emerged as an expression of Bengali ethnonationalism—the majority of Bangladeshis being speakers of Bengali—not common religion. Nevertheless, since its foundation, the role of Islam in this Muslim-majority state has become a topic of debate and contention. The first constitution in 1972 affirmed the secular character of the state and prohibited political parties founded on the basis of religious affiliation. Three years later, after a military coup, the government of Ziaur Rahman (1975–1981) began to replace secularist ideals with more religious ones, eventually resulting in the declaration of Islam as a state religion in 1988. Religious political parties, principally the Jamāʿat-i Islāmī, following the pattern in Pakistan, have campaigned for Islam to become the ideology of the state. So far they have been unable to win widespread electoral support for their cause.

As for India, in the aftermath of the partition Muslim communities there have been consistently perceived as the "other," especially as the nation-state of India was itself formed in opposition to the Islamic "other"—Pakistan. Consequently, many Muslims have experienced a steady marginalization economically, socially, and politically, especially as the nation's politics have come to be increasingly influenced by right-wing Hindu ideologies. At various times, the situation of Muslim minorities has been precarious as they have been victimized by bloody pogroms provoked by Hindu extremist groups. The demolition of the Babri mosque in December 1992 and the riots that followed, as well as the massacres of Muslims in Gujarat in 2003, have severely shaken the self-confidence of many of India's Muslims in the supposedly secular nature of the state.

Surveying the history of Muslim communities in South Asia, it is clear that religiously based nationalisms and the politics of communalism in the contemporary period have been detrimental to the composite culture that Muslims have shared for many centuries with other religious groups. As previously shared cultural elements have become increasingly politicized along religious lines, the divide between Muslims and Hindus has widened. In the politically charged atmosphere created by the rise of religious right-wing political parties in India and Pakistan, and to a limited extent in Bangladesh, traditions of inter-religious and intra-religious pluralism have been jeopardized. Religious intolerance and stereotyping are on the rise. As a result, the history of Islam in South Asia has been grossly misrepresented. Perpetuated by Muslim and non-Muslim groups alike, these stereotypes and distorted interpretations of history and doctrine have had the unfortunate consequence of creating a marked increase in the dehumanization of the "other"—whether Muslim or Hindu, Shīʿī or Sunnī.

SEE ALSO Aḥmadiyah; Jamāʿat-i Islāmī; Ṭarīqah.

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ISLAM: ISLAM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Southeast Asia is in some respects a forgotten world of Islam, for much the same reasons as its counterparts in West and East Africa. Neither its arrival nor its development there was spectacular, and the languages of the local Muslim communities did not become vehicles for works of universal and commanding stature as had Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and some of the vernaculars of the Indian subcontinent. Yet, Islam in Southeast Asia has its own styles and its own temper and intellectual traditions. It merits full recognition as a major cultural zone of the domain of Islam in its own right. Its sacral practices and folk beliefs that color and live alongside the profession of Islam no more invalidate that basic allegiance than do the sacral practices and folk beliefs of Muslims elsewhere, including those in the Middle East. Indeed, Southeast Asia is the home of at least one-fifth of the world's Muslims. Indonesia alone, with over 130 million Muslims, is the largest such community in the world.

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY. Southeast Asia is best described as a great archipelago, a huge land mass that juts southward between the Indian subcontinent and China and then fragments at its extremity into a complex of thousands of islands, the largest of which are Sumatra, Borneo (Kalimantan), Java, and Mindanao, while the smallest hardly registers on the map. Today this region is identified with the modern nation-states of Myanmar, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, Indonesia, and the Philippines. All of these nation-states have Muslim communities. In Myanmar, Kampuchea, and Vietnam they are insignificant minorities. In Thailand, the Muslim community, though still a minority, has a distinct profile. In Malaysia, Indonesia, and Brunei, on the other hand, Islam has an imposing position. Farther to the east, in the Philippines, it constitutes a significant cultural minority that is in some respects a part of the Philippine nation, but in others, the nucleus of a national entity attempting in various ways to establish its autonomy, if not independence.

Structures in transition. In seeking to understand the historical evolution and contemporary significance of these communities, it is necessary to distinguish between the modern nation-states of the contemporary world, and the traditional distribution of centers of power in Southeast Asia. These new nation-states, emerging in the wake of decolonization, were largely set within the borders established by the colonial powers that had created them. The capital cities of such states, Kuala Lumpur and Jakarta for example, are a focus of the national personality of the political entities in which they are set. They are the gateway, the immediate point of identification, the seat of government, to which their inhabitants turn. They have a status that defines the other parts of the nation as provinces.

Nevertheless, and although it might seem, from a contemporary perspective, that these nations have always existed in some form or another and that their present role derives simply from the expulsion of colonial powers and the recovery of a national sovereignty that has been lost, the reality is far more complex and the results of decolonization more radical. In fact, the creation of such states has turned the traditional world of Southeast Asia on its head. The role of such capital cities with a strong central authority dominating the political, economic, and religious life of the region is very recent.

Traditionally, centers of political power in Southeast Asia were distributed among a wide range of focal points that served as harbors for the exchange and transshipment of goods; these points became the sites of port cities, which from time to time grew strong enough to wield an extensive political authority. Such sites were diverse, discrete, numerous, scattered, and largely unstable centers of activity; they had relations with each other on the basis of rivalry and self-interest, without the direct hegemony of a central authority or any stable and continuing point of reference. Unlike the great cities of the Middle East and South Asia, which enjoyed stability over centuries, if not millennia (one need only mention Cairo, Alexandria, Damascus, Baghdad, or Delhi), centers of power in traditional Southeast Asia rarely maintained their position for more than a century, and the authority they enjoyed was very different from that of the modern capital cities in the region. The historiography of the region, in its many languages, reflects this character in the emphasis that it lays on genealogy of founders and traditional rulers in its accounts of the origins of settlements.

These circumstances have important implications for an understanding of Islam and the processes of Islamization in the region. On the one hand, its origins need to be seen in the planting of numerous local traditions of Islam at focal points in the archipelago. In the course of time, these traditions coalesced and emerged for a while as Islamic city-states or fissiparated and disappeared as significant entities, to be succeeded by new ones. On the other hand, the establishment of modern nation-states with single centers of authority has laid the foundation for a new kind of Islamic tradition with a national character, and these centers in turn have exercised a normative influence on the development of such traditions.

The diversity of Southeast Asia. From earliest times, Southeast Asia has been a region with a variety of peoples, social structures, means of livelihood, cultures, and religions. Denys Lombard, admittedly writing of the modern period, puts it this way:

> We are in fact dealing with several levels of mentality. . . . The thought processes of fringe societies in which "potlatch" is a prevailing custom (the Toraja); those of concentric agrarian societies (the Javanese

> states and their off-shoots at Jogja and Surakarta); those of trading societies (Malay towns, *pasisir* [Javanese coastal centers]); those of the societies living in large modern towns, and above all, the interplay of these various processes on each other, and their interrelationships.

If the first broad distinction to be made is temporal and political, between the constellation of modern nation-states and that of the traditional period, another is geographical: between continental (excluding the Malay Peninsula) and insular Southeast Asia. The former includes the states of Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Thailand; the latter, the Malay Peninsula and the islands of what are now Indonesia and the southern Philippines.

To be sure, each has economic and social elements in common—settled rice cultivation, slash-and-burn shifting cultivation, fishing and seafaring, trading and piracy, gold mining, along with elements of megalithic culture, ancestor worship, and the numerous rituals and beliefs associated with rice cultivation. Yet they are separated by a division into two great language families—the Austronesian, of which the most important representatives are Malay and Javanese, and the Mon Khmer, of which the most important are Thai and Burmese—and the communications barrier between these language families is much greater than that between related members within one family or the other. Equally important, both parts of the great archipelago responded vigorously to religious traditions stemming from the Indian subcontinent long before the birth of Islam. In continental Southeast Asia, Theravāda Buddhism became dominant, whereas Mahāyāna Buddhism in one form or another flourished in Sumatra and Java, in particular, in the empire of Srivijaya (seventh to fourteenth centuries) based on South Sumatra, and in Mataram (Central) and Majapahit (East) East Java (seventh to sixteenth centuries). These great divisions correspond to those regions in which Islam secured a dominant position and those in which it did not.

Languages. Southeast Asia is an area of great linguistic diversity: There are over three hundred languages in the Indonesian area alone. Of these languages, Malay was known throughout the region as a lingua franca as early as the sixteenth century. During the period already discussed, it had also been established as a vernacular of Islam and as a language of the court for areas as far afield and diverse as Malacca, Aceh, and Makassar. It is this very early diffusion of the language, with its religious, economic, cultural, and chancellery roles, that led to its adoption in the twentieth century, in slightly different forms, as the national language of both Malaysia and Indonesia, where it became known as Bahasa Malaysia and Bahasa Indonesia, respectively. Of course, other languages of the same family were to become vehicles of Muslim learning and culture, in particular Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, and some of the languages of southern Sulawesi (the Celebes). Although Javanese had a far richer literary tradition than did Malay, none had the latter's widespread social and geographical diffusion, and none could challenge its authority as the ideal medium for the vernacularization of Islam.

Its role as a language of Islam is also made evident by the well-nigh universal use of a form of the Arabic script for its written transmission up to modern times, supplanting a script of Indic derivation that had been used for inscriptions before the coming of Islam. Other languages that accepted the Arabic script include Taosug and Maranouw from the southern Philippines, and it was also used alongside (but never supplanted) scripts derived from Indian syllabaries for writing Javanese and Sundanese.

There is only one example of the use of an Indic script for an already Islamized Malay. This is found on a tombstone from Minye Tujuh in Aceh marking the grave of a Queen Alalah, daughter of a Sultan Malik al-Zahir, who was a khan and a son of a khan (the title suggests a foreign origin). Dated in the equivalent of 1389 CE, it is written in an Indian script, and possibly in an Indian meter; if this is so, it shows a remarkable skill, even at this early period, in using Arabic loanwords within the requirements of Indic meters. The Malay inscription on the Trengganu stone, it will be recalled, was written in the Arabic script. The fact that there is a gap of almost two centuries between this tombstone and the earliest surviving manuscripts simply emphasizes how arbitrary are the constellations of chance that provide material for knowledge of the progress and forms of Islam in the region.

By the seventeenth century Malay had absorbed a rich stratum of Arabic loanwords and the acceptance of Arabic structures, along with some elements of Arabic morphology, provides striking evidence of the permeation of the region by an Islamic ethos and its modulation to the expression of Islamic ideas. Many of these ideas relate to religious matters, for example, those relating to the ritual prayer, marriage, divorce, and inheritance. Some Arabic words have undergone a narrowing: that is to say, they have lost a general meaning and kept only a religious one. Others range from technical terms, relating to religious matters and the administration of religious law, or terms of medicine, architecture, and the sciences, to the most common everyday expressions. Sometimes the words are so thoroughly assimilated that they would pass unrecognized unless one were able to identify them as Arabic by following through the patterns of sound change that Malay imposes on the loanwords it absorbs. Most remarkable is the adoption of an Arabic word to refer to local systems of culture, law, and traditional usage: *adat* (Arab., *ʾadah*). In fact, the concept identified by the word is so characteristically Malay that it would not be recognized as an Arabic word unless its origin were pointed out. The number of common Arabic words in Malay—whether borrowed directly from Arabic or indirectly from other languages such as Persian—is well over a thousand. With the growing intensity of Islamic awareness since the 1980s, the number continues to increase as individuals respond to an increasing need to demonstrate their Muslim identity.

It is not only Malay that has received a large corpus of Arabic loanwords; the same is true of many of the Malay-related languages in Sumatra, Java, and Borneo, notably Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Acehnese, and Minangkabau. The establishment of Muslim communities in the Philippines likewise brought numbers of loanwords to various Philippine languages. In Tagalog the number is relatively small, but in the southern Philippines, where Muslim communities are concentrated, they are more numerous.

Southeast Asia in world trade. The great archipelago of Southeast Asia lies across the sea routes between the Indian Ocean and the China Sea. In both divisions of the region there were some points open to a range of contacts with the outside world, and others where access was more difficult and where a lifestyle conditioned by such remoteness was preserved.

For centuries before the Christian era, the trading system of the Indian Ocean had been dominated by the Yemenis, who traded in gold, gums, spices, rhinoceros horn, and ivory from the east coast of Africa. For this early period, it is not possible to identify place names accurately, but it is known that the Yemenis brought their goods to the land of gold, *suvarna bhumi,* the term by which Southeast Asia was referred to in some Sanskrit texts.

In the beginning of the Christian era, both continental and insular Southeast Asia reacted to, and in a remarkable way were fecundated by, contact with Indian cultural influences carried to the focal trading centers referred to earlier, which were to be creative for over a millennium. A constant succession of Hindu and Buddhist influences was established in particular regions, with various phases carrying the different traditions, schools, and artistic styles of these great religions and modifying each other as they were adapted to the new environment.

THE COMING OF ISLAM. Up to the tenth century CE there is very little evidence of the presence of Islam in Southeast Asia. Indeed, although the Portuguese conquerors of Malacca in 1511 give us some important information about the progress of Islam in the region, apart from a few archaeological remains, reports by Chinese merchants, and the records of individual travelers such as Marco Polo and Ibn Baṭṭuṭah, both of whom give descriptions of North Sumatra, there is little concrete documentation until the sixteenth century. By that time, however, with the appearance of the Dutch and British trading companies in the region, the evidence of widespread Islamization is considerable. The territories of the Islamic commonwealth in Southeast Asia were so vast that the process of their creation has been called "the second expansion of Islam," alluding to the original expansion from Arabia into North Africa and the Fertile Crescent. Unlike that first period of extraordinary growth in the seventh century, however, the spread of Islam in Southeast Asia was hesitant, modest, and discreet: what was achieved in one century in the Middle East took at least half a millennium in Southeast Asia.

There is too little evidence to document in detail the beginnings of this process, yet a reasonable working hypothesis may be formulated as follows: as soon as there were Muslim sailors aboard ships sailing under whatever flag in the Indian Ocean trading system and disembarking goods or individuals at points in Southeast Asia, there was the possibility of a Muslim presence at those points with a concern for the implementation of the norms of Islamic community life. This could have been as early as the end of the eighth century. Hardly anything is known of the history of trading settlements along the littoral of Southeast Asia during this period; however, reliable evidence for the presence of Muslims in China from the beginning of the eighth century, suggests that Muslim seamen and merchants were already breaking their long voyages at one or another of the numerous natural harbors along the coasts of Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, Borneo, and northern Java, the Celebes and the southern Philippines. The unloading of goods to await transshipment with the change of the monsoon, the establishment of warehouses and semipermanent settlements, and trading and intermarriage—and other relationships—with the local peoples were all factors that could combine to establish small, viable and possibly stable Muslim communities.

Given the diversity and discontinuities of the region, the provenance of Southeast Asian Islam is not a practical topic for discussion, although hypotheses have located it anywhere from Egypt to Bengal. Some Indonesian writers have sought to discover for it an Arabian origin that can be dated as early as the eighth century. One thing is certain: all movement of ideas and peoples from West and South Asia to Southeast Asia is related to the maritime history of the Indian Ocean (although it is possible that some communities included those who had made part of the journey by land across the Indian subcontinent, or even the "great circle" route via the Silk Road through Central Asia, and then by sea from Canton to the islands). The greater the number of Muslims involved in the trading system, the greater the diversity of the Muslim tradition that became diffused, and the greater the probability of Muslims coming together in sufficient numbers to generate a critical mass—a Muslim community that could become stable, put down roots through intermarriage with local women who embraced Islam, and play a distinctive role on equal terms with other local communities. Such Muslim communities may have included Arabs from what may be called an Arab diaspora in the early years of the Islamic commonwealth; but from that era, very little direct information has survived. The process of consolidation was however slow. It is not until the thirteenth century that Islamic communities appear with a political profile, as port city-states ruled by sultans. The earliest of these sultanates was that of Pasai, on the east coast of North Sumatra; it was succeeded by others. The appearance of such city-states must be seen as the culmination of a long period of Muslim presence with a low profile, a circumstance that has made the ethnic mix of the communities—whether local, Indian, Persian, Arab or even Chinese—difficult to determine.

Once Islam achieved a political presence in the region, further growth and the exercise of political power became possible. By this time the trading system of the Indian Ocean was largely in Muslim hands; this assured economic power to Muslims, and Muslim mercantile law served to generate business confidence. The power and self-confidence of the Muslim states gave them a position as power brokers and allies. Marriage alliances that required a profession of Islam doubtless had a role as well.

First traces. The earliest archaeological evidence is slight: a lone pillar in the region of Phanrang on the mid-east coast of Vietnam, inscribed in Arabic and dating from the tenth century. The French scholar Ravaisse (quoted by S. Q. Fatimi in *Islam Comes to Asia*) believes it to indicate that

> there existed there in the eleventh century an urban population of whom we know little. They were very different from the indigenous people in race, belief and habits. Their ancestors must have come about a century earlier, and must have married native women. They were merchants and craftsmen living in a perfectly well-organized society mixing more and more with the natives. They asked one of themselves to act as their representative and defender with respect to the authorities of the place. He was called Shaikh al-Suq ["master of the market"], and was assisted by the Naqib (a merchant or craftsman in charge of the management of the community to which he belonged). Along with him were "notables who, enriched by their commerce, occupied an important place."

Another piece of evidence from roughly the same period suggests that there was a Muslim presence at Leren on the north coast of Java. This is a tombstone with a date corresponding to 1082 CE, marking the grave of a merchant's daughter. It provides no certain evidence of a Muslim community; even the date cannot be taken for granted since tombstones were frequently imported long after a burial. Near Jolo (southern Philippines) is the venerated grave of a foreign Muslim with a date corresponding to 1310 CE, the site of which has been used for the coronation of a number of the sultans of Sulu. In Trengganu, an east-coast state on the Malay Peninsula, a fragment of a stone pillar inscribed in Malay in Arabic script which may be dated between 1321 and 1380—a fragment of the inscription is missing—marks the presence of a Muslim community. By the fifteenth century there is sporadic but more substantial evidence of Muslims in the East Javanese empire of Majapahit, again from gravestones. Probably they belonged to communities of merchants, but this too is hardly more than surmise. Just as there were Muslims in Java, there is evidence that there were Muslims in the great Buddhist empire of Srivijaya (seventh to thirteenth centuries) based on South Sumatra, an empire that thrived on trade and maintained close relations with China and India.

The earliest evidence that substantiates not simply the presence of Muslims in the region but the existence of an Islamic maritime sultanate dates from the thirteenth century. This is a tombstone of Malik al-Saleh, the first Muslim ruler of Pasai, in North Sumatra, the date given for his death corresponding to 1297. Reports of foreign travelers confirm that many of his subjects were Muslims. What circumstances enabled the Muslim community to achieve a critical mass and generate a state in which the ruler could style himself sultan, and what processes led to this event, we cannot tell. Likewise there is little evidence as to the ethnic composition of this state: to what extent was it local, to what extent foreign? (And even the term *foreign* at this time begs a number of questions.) Many of the titles and names attributed to the personalities of this sultanate in a local chronicle have a South Indian ring to them.

Nonetheless, from this point on, the documentation of Islam at the political level is relatively straightforward, and it is possible to chronicle the emergence of states with Islamic rulers. Even though internal records are sparse and their human and cultural dynamics remain in the shadows, at the very least their names are recorded by foreign visitors.

The sultanates. It has been posited that Pasai is the earliest Muslim state in the Malay world and its ruler as the first sultan there. The only evidence of his life comes from his tombstone. It is however striking that his name is eponymous with that of the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Saleh (r. 1240–1249) who restored Jerusalem to Islamic rule in 1244. But Pasai was at least referred to by Marco Polo and Ibn Baṭṭuṭah in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Although the extent of its political authority is not known, it occupied a strategic position at the entrance to the straits of Malacca and was a convenient point for exchanging goods and taking on board supplies of water and firewood. Moreover, by making alliances with either pirates or nascent states on the other side of the straits, it was able to ensure that shipping did not go elsewhere, and that port taxes were paid.

Malacca. Malacca, on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, inherited the mantle of Pasai. Far more is known of its history than that of Pasai, from both local and foreign sources. It became Muslim shortly after its foundation around 1400, and via its dependencies, both on the Malay Peninsula, where it established the dynasties of the Malay sultanates, and on the east coast of Sumatra, it served as a conduit for Muslim influence to other parts of the archipelago. Various factors were involved here: local traders from Thailand to the north and the neighboring islands were attracted to its emporium, Muslim traders from Bengal, India, and further afield found scope for business activities opened up in its trading partners and dependencies, and it attracted foreign *ʿulamāʾ* (religious scholars; sg., *ʿālim*), principally from the Indian subcontinent, although many of them may have had Arab blood and used this Arab descent to their advantage. Although Malacca held an important position, however, it was not unique. There were many smaller states that played an analogous role along the littoral of East Sumatra, the north coast of Java, Borneo, Sulawesi (Celebes), and later the Spice Islands (Moluccas) and the southern Philippines. In every case the same kind of processes that were illustrated at Malacca were taking place, perhaps on a smaller scale, perhaps on a larger scale, and they had been happening even before the birth of Malacca. It must be stressed that there is no "big bang" explanation for the coming of Islam to Southeast Asia; such claims as the Portuguese statement that Java was converted from Malacca must be regarded as hyperbole.

Successor states. After Malacca fell to the Portuguese in 1511, it was such smaller states that were to grow in stature: Aceh, Palembang, Banten, Ceribon, Demak, Surabaya, and Makassar, as well as smaller centers in the Spice Islands and Mindanao. Each of them became integrated into the Muslim trading system, each became a center of Islamic learning, and each, by a continuing process of osmosis, attracted people from the interior into contact with these cities. In every case, networks of family, Ṣūfī order *(ṭarīqah),* guild, and trade association relationships gradually served to diffuse Islam back into the interior, although it was transmitted at different levels of intensity and perceived in rather different ways according to the cultural backgrounds of the various communities.

Special attention should be drawn to Aceh, which first came to prominence in the 1520s and reached its apogee during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607–1636). During the first half of the seventeenth century it was the dominant economic and political power of the region. It conquered the northern half of the Malay Peninsula and northern and parts of central Sumatra, gaining control of the pepper areas and enforcing a trading monopoly. Aceh was the first Muslim state in the region to have extended intercourse with Europe, and European dignitaries, including James I of Britain, as well as the Ottoman Empire. It is also noteworthy for a surviving legacy of Islamic learning: for the first time we have historical information about a state in the region generating works of Islamic scholarship that remain accessible to us, some of which are used in schools throughout the Malay world even today. In addition, experts are able to identify individual Acehnese scholars, both in Aceh and in the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and the teachers with whom they studied. Indeed, one of the great ministers of state between 1600 and 1630, Shams al-Dīn was a noted *ʿālim* and bore the title Shaikh al-Islam. There are eyewitness reports from British, Dutch, and French sailors on the celebration of the conclusion of the fast of Ramaḍān (ʿĪd al-Fiṭr) and the festival of the sacrifice marking the climax of the pilgrimage rites in Mecca. It is also possible to establish and describe some of the relations between Aceh, the Mughal court, and the Ottoman Empire.

The Islamic history of Aceh during this period is better known than that of any of its neighbors, but analogous centers of lesser political power played a major role elsewhere in the region as Islam moved inland during the seventeenth century. In Sumatra, for example, the inland highlands of the Minangkabau region, territories rich in gold and pepper and which for centuries had established this part of the island in a network of trading systems, became Muslim. This area was to put a distinctive stamp on its interpretation and realization of Islam by maintaining a matrilineal social structure alongside a commitment to Islam that was among the staunchest in the archipelago.

Another inland region where Islam became established was the state of Mataram in Central Java, which was, until its defeat by the United Dutch East India Company in 1629, the largest single state on the island. Even after the defeat, it maintained this status, a status that added special significance to the fact that its ruler, Susuhunan Agung (1613–1645), assumed the title of sultan and in 1633 established the Islamic calendrical system in Java.

Beginnings of the colonial era. From the early sixteenth century, European powers, or trading companies representing them began an increasing encroachment on the region, establishing themselves as participants in its economic and political life. Early in the sixteenth century (1511), the Portuguese captured Malacca; in the second half of the sixteenth century, the Spanish established their rule in the Philippines; at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Dutch East India Company took the first steps toward acquiring an empire in the East Indies, fighting a war of attrition against the Portuguese as it did so. In the eighteenth century, British East India Company began to establish trading posts in Sumatra, and on the Malay Peninsula. Islamization nevertheless continued. Throughout the region more people were gradually drawn into the new religion, to the basic recognition of transcendence implicit in the confession "There is no god but God." To be sure, numerous cults survived alongside this confession, together with practices and rituals and the use of spells and magical formulas that derived from the Indic and even megalithic traditions. Nevertheless there was a continuing momentum toward the subordination and finally the subsuming of the spiritual concepts of such traditions into the terminology of Islam: thus numerous Javanese spirits were largely included within the Islamic category of spiritual beings, the *jinn.* Doubtless the intensity of response to the more exclusive demands of Islam waxed and waned, yet amid all these communities where Islam had been planted, some degree of formal recognition was given to positive Islamic law, particularly in relation to diet, to burial of the dead, to marriage, to circumcision, and to the fast, even though the performance of the daily prayer might be lax. Indeed it is striking how the pre-Islamic cult of the dead reflected in the building of great mausolea for the Javanese god-kings, and the extravagant sacrifices of buffalo still carried on today in non-Muslim areas such as the Torajas (Central Sulawesi), faded away with the acceptance of Islam.

The ḥājj played an important role; some individuals who made it stayed to study for years in the holy cities of Mecca and Madina, or elsewhere in the Middle East; the Ṣūfī orders also played a role, and religious teachers, traversing the Muslim world, gave fresh life to communities and religious schools and often held the ear of local rulers. The constant retelling of stories of the prophets and the heroes of Islam and the cultural adaptation of these stories to local conditions gradually created a unitary and universalistic frame of reference for local and world history and established Islamic concepts—of the creation, of the sending of God's messengers culminating in Muḥammad, of the community, and eventually of the resurrection of the body—as the norm and benchmark by which all competing systems of ideas were to be measured and into which they were largely to be assimilated.

SPIRITUAL AND CULTURAL DIMENSIONS. The modalities by which islamization progressed throughout the region and the cultural achievements it set in train are far richer in character than a political survey can communicate, although it can establish a framework within which these dimensions can be situated. Discussion of these achievements is inevitably centered on the territories that now constitute Malaysia and Indonesia, due to the weight of population. By comparison, within the framework of this article, despite their intrinsic interest and importance, Thailand, the other mainland states, Singapore, Brunei, and the Philippines can only receive passing mention.

Let us consider in a little more detail some of the cases we have mentioned. The community at Phanrang lived and governed itself apart from its neighbors. Typologically this situation is difficult to account for. Thus the hypothesis that it was founded by descendants of a community of Shīʿī refugees who fled from a persecution by the Umayyad governor al-Ḥajjāj (d. 714) is plausible. It will be noted later that although today the region is Sunnī, there are some remnants of Shīʿī influence from the past, such as the commemoration of the martyrdom of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn in a coastal region of western Sumatra—albeit only as popular entertainment, not grief and self-flagellation.

Processes of Islamization. The descriptions of the sultanate of Pasai referred to earlier make a clear distinction between the Muslim community of the city itself and those people of the hinterland who were still unbelievers. This distinction suggests that an originally foreign community became settled over a number of years, and that an individual with sufficient charisma at one point proclaimed himself sultan. The coastal port of Malacca on the other hand presents an example of a mercantile state whose ruler professed Islam soon after its foundation. The case of Aceh is different again, in that it appears to have arisen after the amalgamation of two small Muslim states in the north of Sumatra into a single state that was to dominate the straits of Malacca for the greater part of the seventeenth century.

The importance of Aceh cannot be exaggerated. It was known in popular parlance as the Veranda of the Holy Land (Arabia). Aspiring pilgrims and scholars from all parts of the archipelago would make the journey in stages over a period of years. Aceh was the last port of work and residence and study that they would encounter before leaving their own region of the world and heading out across the Bay of Bengal. It was also the first place of call on their return journey. And the intensity of religious education, debate, and teaching in Aceh, as well as the constant movement of peoples of diverse ethnic groups, ensured a wide dissemination of religious ideas and, to some extent, a normalization of religious life through the distribution of networks of religious affiliations. (*Ṭarīqah*s can be identified in north Sumatra since at least the second half of the sixteenth century).

The acceptance of Islam by Sultan Agung of Mataram (r. 1613–1646) is a special case. His kingdom was not a port-state but was located in the interior and was based more on wet rice cultivation than commerce. It was the prestigious heir to the great Śiva Buddha tradition of East Java and included in its territories the sites of the great Buddhist stupa, the Borobudur, and other Hindu and Buddhist shrines built during the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. Yet for Agung, this history was not enough, nor was his title of *susuhunan.* To all this he added the title of sultan, purchased from Mecca; thus he assumed a dignity which, although largely symbolic, had a major role in elevating the status of Islam in Java (although not necessarily the conversion of Java to Islam).

As C. C. Berg points out in a seminal article (1955), kings and princes operated as factors of acceleration and deceleration of the Islamization process in Java. In this instance, Agung played a role of acceleration, paradoxically in the wake of his defeat by the Dutch East India Company in 1629. This event turned him toward whatever enemies of the Dutch could be found in the seas and islands of the archipelago: the Portuguese and communities of Muslim merchants. As a Muslim by profession, if not by passion until 1629, he soon became a Muslim in search of authority and power. Whatever his psychological motivations, he changed the face of his kingdom and its cultural character by introducing the Muslim calendar with the announcement that from 1 Muḥarram 1043 AH, a date corresponding to July 8, 1633 CE, this calendrical system should operate in Java alongside the traditional Javanese system of Saka years. Symbolically this was an act of great importance, because it meant that the Islamic calendar based on the date of the *hijra*, became the global, universalistic event in relation to which events in Javanese society and history were to be recorded.

In the last analysis, however, the creative achievement of a religion is to be seen in the lives of the individuals it inspires, the intellectual activity it generates, and the dimensions it adds to spiritual, cultural, and social life. But one of the difficulties in coping with the early story of Islam in Southeast Asia is the absence of historical figures to whom one can attribute the early spread of the religion.

It is striking that, in the Malay texts at least, there are no historical figures to whom the primal conversion of a state to Islam can be attributed. The same holds true for the preaching of Islam in Java as presented by Javanese court chronicles. This is not to say that such figures are always nameless, or that they may not be based on individuals who did once exist, but certainly in the way they are presented, there is little that could be described as a personality base. In his contribution to Nehemia Levtzion's *Conversion to Islam* (1980), Jones gives an account of ten conversion myths from different parts of the archipelago. The account from the *Sejarah Malayu* (Malay Annals) is typical: the ruler of Malacca had a dream in which he saw Muḥammad, who ordered him to recite the Muslim Shahādah ("witnessing"): "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is his Messenger." The prophet then told him that the following day, at the time of the afternoon prayer, a ship would arrive from Jidda with a religious teacher on board whom he was to obey. When the king awoke, he found he had been circumcised. At the time foretold on the following day the ship arrived, and the religious teacher came down from it. There and then he performed the afternoon prayer on the beach, and the bystanders gathered round asking: what is this bobbing up and down. The king, on hearing what was happening went down to the beach to welcome him, and together with all his courtiers and subjects embraced Islam.

An intriguing feature of this work is that many of the religious teachers described in its pages are presented as figures of fun. There is the eccentric who takes sling shots at kites flown over his house, and there is the religious teacher who is teased by a tipsy court officer because he cannot pronounce Malay words correctly. There is also the mystically inclined teacher who refused to accept the sultan as a religious disciple unless he left his elephant behind at the palace and came to him humbly on foot.

Of these figures, one may possibly be identified: Sadar Jahan, the religious adviser to Sultan Ahmad Shah of Malacca. When Ahmad Shah came out on his elephant to face the Portuguese attack that destroyed the city in 1511, Sadar Jahan accompanied the sultan. Under a hail of musket shots he begged his master to retreat to a safer position with the words: "This is no place to discuss *tawḥīd* (mystical union)." He has been identified with a scholar-jurist-diplomat Fayd Allah Bambari, known as Sadr-i Jahan, who was sent by King Ayaz from Gujarat via Jidda to negotiate a defensive wall from Hormuz to Malacca against the Portuguese incursion into the Indian Ocean. He arrived in Malacca by ship in 1509 to stiffen Malaccan resistance to the Portuguese and is presumed to have been killed during the sack of the city. The identification is not wholly certain. Nevertheless, the evidence is sufficient to show that as early as the fifteenth century, religious teachers from various parts of the Muslim world took part in the religious life of the Southeast Asian sultanates.

The propagation of Islam in Java is traditionally attributed to *wali songo* (nine saints) who made their debut between thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The number nine probably has more to do with cosmology than arithmetic, since this figure subsumes the eight points of the compass and the center. Each is associated with a different region of Java. They are associated with the origin of elements of Javanese culture such as the Javanese shadow theater and gamelan orchestra, which existed long before Islam. All are presented as figures with a mystical insight into the reality of things; they have a role in the founding of dynasties and are not subject to the laws of nature. One of them, Siti Jenar, was executed for uttering words that claimed identity between himself and God. It has been conjectured, in my view with little foundation, that this event—if indeed it occurred—is a doublet of the al-Ḥallāj story.

It is only from the late sixteenth century that it becomes possible to identify individuals among religious teachers, gain access to the works they wrote, and so lay the foundations for an intellectual and spiritual history of Islam in this region, a task pioneered by Peter G. Riddell (2001). However, since the information available about such figures is very sparse—there is little evidence available in the form of biographical or autobiographical writing—it is not possible to do much more than situate them within a general framework of the intellectual and spiritual life of the region to the degree that this can be established.

Local scholarship. This absorption of Arabic words in large measure derived from the study of Arabic works on the fundamental Islamic disciplines of Qurʾanic exegesis, traditions, and jurisprudence, as well as Ṣūfī practice and spirituality (i.e., *tafsīr, ḥadīth, fiqh,* and *taṣawwuf*). There is no documentation of the early stages of the development of these studies, although there is no reason to doubt that the seeds from which they grew were planted at least as early as the thirteenth century. Indeed, it should be stressed again that there were Islamic communities in the region long before the earliest evidence for Islamic states.

It is only from the late sixteenth century that manuscripts from these traditions survive, whether in Arabic (mostly representing key works from the Islamic tradition) or in Malay or other regional languages such as Javanese. The Arabic manuscripts, some doubtless copied on the instructions of, or at least the permission of, a teacher in the Muslim Holy Land are of various levels of difficulty. Of works of *tafsīr,* that known as *Al-Jalālayn* is the most popular. Van Ronkel (1913) lists a significant number of manuscripts from various parts of the archipelago, some with interlinear translations, or at least annotations, in Malay or Javanese, sometimes with a dedication to a local ruler. There may be a temptation to look down on *Al-Jalalayn.* In fact it contains *multum in parvo* and is an excellent work for early levels of study, ideally suited for students who, though trained in an Islamic school, are not native speakers of Arabic. After *Al-Jalālayn,* al-Bayḍāwī's *Anwār al-tanzīl* takes pride of place, followed by al-Khāzin's *Lubāb al-taʾwīl fī maʿānī al-tanzīl.* There are in addition fragments of Ṣūfī commentaries, including al-Bayhaqī's *Kitāb al-tahdhīb fī al-tafsīr* copied in 1652, which for a manuscript with a Southeast Asian provenance is very early indeed. There is even a work by al-Dānī on the seven recitations (*qirāʾat*) of the Qurʾān. It should be stressed that these manuscripts represent the tip of the iceberg in relation to the number of those unknown from that period, or simply lost.

Collections of *ḥadīth,* especially those of al-Bukhārī, are numerous, and with them commentaries; the same collections of forty *ḥadīth (Al-arbāʿīn),* especially that of al-Nawawī, were also popular. To these may be added a selection of works on history and biography, jurisprudence, astronomy, and *taṣawwuf.* A Ṣūfī text that appears to have been popular, on the basis of the number of surviving manuscripts, is *Al-ḥikam al-ʿAṭāʾīyah* of Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh; this work too is often accompanied by commentaries. There are treatises on the Shādhilī, Naqshbandī, and ʿAlawī orders and a sprinkling of works in the Ibn al-ʿArabī tradition, both by Ibn al-ʿArabī himself and by his great commentator, al-Kāshānī. Of such manuscripts, one of the most striking contains the introduction to the commentary on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poem *Al-tāʾīyah al-kubrā* by Saʿīd ibn ʿAlī al-Farghānī (d. 1299).

Given how heterogenous and arbitrary such a listing is, it is clear that these manuscripts have only survived by chance. What has been lost begs the imagination. Nevertheless, the evidence is enough to show that many basic Arabic works were accessible to scholars in this region, and that a variety of traditions was represented.

Pioneers of vernacularization. We have already mentioned interlinear translations, glosses, and annotations on Arabic manuscripts. These represent in embryonic form beginnings of the vernacularization of Islam and the Islamic disciplines into Malay and the other regional languages. How early this began it is not possible to determine. The manuscripts that are extant, surviving as they do largely by chance, are not a sure guide as to the kind of works that were first achieved in local languages.

Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī. The earliest Malay author known is Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī (d. c. 1593). Few details of his life are known, but a significant number of his writings have survived. Apart from the ravages of a tropical climate, many were destroyed by a later *ʿālim* who accused him of heresy. Those that do remain however show him to have been a great religious poet. From them it is clear that he made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and that he embraced a particular formulation of Ṣūfī theosophy, apparently an Arabo-Iranian one based on the Ibn al-ʿArabī tradition as it was reformulated and extended by al-Jīlī, and may have included Shīʿī elements. If it had, this would at least be consistent with the stories of Shīʿī heroes in Malay discovered in Aceh early in the seventeenth century.

A verse from one of his *syaʾir* (poems made up of end rhyming quatrains) gives a good example of the ascetic theology of the Ibn al-ʿArabī school of mysticism:

> Regard heat and cold as one and the same; Abandon greed and avarice; Let your self will melt like wax, Then your elusive goal you will gain.

It should not be supposed that this is the earliest instance of original Islamic writing in Malay. The technical skill in which religious ideas are handled in his quotations suggests that he represents a culminating point in a long tradition.

Shams al-Dīn. Another major figure is Shams al-Dīn, the guide and teacher of Iskandar Muda, sultan of Aceh from 1607 to 1636. Shams al-Dīn reflects a tradition from North India, in which the manifold self-manifestations of the Divinity, the supreme Reality (al-Haqq) characteristic of the Ibn al-ʿArabī tradition was reduced to a convenient seven, and this framework, which was rapidly adopted by the Naqshbandī, Shādhilī and Shaṭṭārī orders, soon became part of the stock-in-trade of the mystical tradition in all parts of the archipelago. An important figure of state, Shams al-Dīn was the author of a significant corpus of writings in both Arabic and Malay. He is in fact the first local author known to have written original works in Arabic, a tradition which was long to continue. The single most important work that he used as the basis for his teaching was a summary of the key ideas of Ibn al-ʿArabī's system set out in a framework of seven grades of being proceeding from the undifferentiated Absolute through six manifestations to the Perfect Man first formulated by the Indian *ʿālim* Muḥammad ibn Fadl Allah (d. 1590) and effectively displaced that of al-Jīlī, which had been used by Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī.

ʿAbd al-Raʾūf. By the second half of the seventeenth century, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf (1615–1690) had prepared a full rendering of the Jalālayn *tafsīr* in Malay. It was extended by one of his students, Dāwūd al-Rūmī, by selections from the *qirāʾāt* literature and citations from the *tafsīr*s of al-Khāzin and al-Bayḍāwī. It is still reprinted with the misattribution on the cover title *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī.* This rendering into Malay of the Jalālayn means in effect that there was a full vernacularization of the Qurʾān in Malay, albeit embedded in an authoritative commentary before the end of the seventeenth century.

In addition to these works, others written in Malay include, for example, simple summaries of the Muslim creed, such as al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-barāhīn* (Mother of proofs), and hundreds of works on topics such as the mystical practice of various *ṭarīqahs* (the Naqshbandīyah, Shaṭṭārīyah, and Shādhilīyah in particular), the twenty attributes of God, *tawḥīd* (the unity of God), the application of Islamic law on various topics, and eschatology. One example is a four-volume abridgement of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* (The revivification of the religious sciences) by an expatriate scholar, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad of Palembang, who compiled it around 1780 in Ṭāʾif, Arabia. It is still reprinted in various parts of Malaysia and Indonesia, and although there are now more academically prepared translations of the full work in Indonesian published in the Roman script, they have not totally supplanted the earlier version.

Progress from the study of the foundation texts of Islam together with the religious disciplines deriving from them, and vernacularizing their content, to the generation of original works reflecting the needs of the new environment was at first slow. In the premodern period, there is little in Malay that can stand beside the literary and intellectual achievements of Islam in Arabic, Persian or Turkish. In part this is due to an extended dominance of the oral tradition in the transmission of knowledge. But in any case the cultural achievements of Islam in Southeast Asia are different in character to those of the Middle East. This is only to be expected given the tremendous differences in the human ecology of monsoon Southeast Asia and the wide range of traditions and forms of social organization that had their home there from conditions prevailing in the Arab world.

Literary activities fecundated by Islamization. These are of various kinds. Important among them is a historiography. Certainly there is an influence of both Arabic and Persian historiography on the writing of Malay court chronicles. Such works were given an Islamic flavor by the use of Arabic words such as *sejarah* (Arab., *shajara* [t al-nasab]), meaning family line, chronicle, or history, and *silsilah,* or lineage, in the titles to indicate a genealogy or succession of rulers. The Malay chronicle of the kingdom of Malacca that purports to give an account of the antecedents and genealogy of the Malaccan sultanate (1400–1511), for example, is known as the *Sejarah Melayu.* Although popularly known in English as *The Malay Annals,* the title really means a genealogy of the Malays, by which is meant the Malay rulers of Malacca. The work, it may be noted, although it spans a century, and presents vivid vignettes of court life, has no dates.

There are a number of similar court and dynasty based histories of the states of the Malay peninsula. Despite Arabic words in their titles, however, many of them have more in common with the Malay folk tradition than of Arabo-Persian historiography. In fact, up to the late nineteenth century only in a few cases did works of this kind develop with the concern for date and fact that characterizes Muslim historiography as a whole. One is the historical writing of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, an itinerant scholar of Gujarati origin (an illustration of the significant role expatriate *ʿulamāʾ* played in the religious life of the region). Although only in Aceh between 1637 and 1642, he wrote in Malay the *Bustan al-Salatin* (The garden of kings), a universal history, including a book on the history of Aceh, which is one of the most important and reliable sources for the history of the sultanate. (Aside from his importance as a historian, he was a vicious polemicist, who while he enjoyed the patronage of the Acehnese court, had many of the writing of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī and Shams al-Dīn burnt, and their followers executed.) Another example of historical writing in the Islamic tradition is the *Tuhfat al-nafis* (Dedication to the noble endeavour), a history of the Riau archipelago, by Raja Haji Ali of Riau, written in the wake of an Islamic revival in the late nineteenth century.

In addition there are works literary in character, some of them based on the prophets of the pre-Muslim era, on events in the life of the prophet Muḥammad and his companions, and on the heroes of Islam. Some of these are extant in manuscripts from the beginning of the seventeenth century. Early stories that have been discovered include Malay renderings of the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, possibly from a Persian source, was copied in 1604, and alongside it versions of the story of Iskandar Dhu al-Qarnayn (Alexander the Great) and other stories of the prophets of Islam. The 1612 rescension of *The Malay Annals* opens with a version of the story of Alexander's invasion of India and presents him as the ultimate ancestor of the Malacca dynasty. This story then was well known, and the name Alexander popular. Iskandar it may also be remarked, was the name of the greatest ruler of Aceh (Iskandar Muda, r. 1607–1636).

Other stories that became popular from this period centered on the Prophet's uncle Amīr Ḥamzah and the Shīʿī hero Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah. *The Malay Annals* suggests that versions of these stories were preserved in the Malacca library and as of 1511 were held in great esteem. The reference to them may be apocryphal: it indicates that they were to be recited to the Malaccan soldiers to give them courage for battle against the Portuguese on the following day, a battle that was to end in the Portuguese occupation of Malacca. Nevertheless, their symbolic role was well known at the time that the 1612 rescension of *The Malay Annals* was compiled. Equally important, the popularity of such works suggests at least the presence of a Shīʿī flavor to Islam in Aceh during this period. Shīʿī or not, there is certainly a strong Persian flavor in the literary works that were rendered into Malay, the most outstanding of which at this early period is a version of the *Ṭūṭīnāmah* (Book of the parrot) known in Malay as *Hikayat bayan budiman* (Story of the wise parrot).

There is in addition a wholesale collection of stories of Islamic provenance that has found its way into Malay and Javanese and other related languages. Such stories derive more from the popular than the belletristic traditions, and more of them have come via the Indian subcontinent than directly from the Arab Middle East, although even here the distinction is not absolute. Stories and fables in Arabic have been rendered into a variety of local vernaculars, and thence passed on to reappear in the languages of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago.

It must be remembered that stories about the heroes of Islam, while having a role as religious instruction, were equally important as entertainment and became widely popular. As a result, these heroes became part of community education for all levels of society and all ages, and thus, by allowing popular audiences to share in the experience of other communities of these heroes, they served to create a general pan-Islamic consciousness. Manuscript catalogues include numerous copies of stories of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah and Amīr Ḥamzah; there are collections of stories of the prophets and tales of the individual prophets including Adam, Abraham, Noah, and Moses. In Java, the story of Joseph was especially popular.

To these, however, should be added stories quite divorced from these religious figures, but which derive from Islamic sources and which have an Islamic ethos. These include many tales that appear in collections such as *The 1,001 Nights,* and classics such as the *Ṭūṭīnāmah* referred to earlier. Among other collections of stories are the *Kalīlah and Dimnah,* which was known as early as 1736, and the *Bakhtiyār-nāmah* (Book of Bakhtiyār), a kind of reversal of the *1,001 Nights* that is a grand story of a young prince who is accused by ten viziers of having an affair with a chambermaid, but who postpones his execution by telling stories until the truth is discovered. This theme, it may be noted, was famous in Persian and Turkish popular literature, as well as in medieval Latin.

How these tales were first rendered into Malay is not known: They may have been carried by the oral tradition and set down in writing by court scribes, according to established literary conventions, to be recited on royal occasions, or there may have been some kind of committee composed of reader, oral translator, and scribe. It is certain, however, that such stories were preserved in court libraries, that access to them was restricted to senior court officials, and that the sultan had the authority to declare which might be read.

This composite Islamic tradition, whether formed directly from Arabic sources or mediated through Indian vernaculars, remains popular throughout Muslim Southeast Asia in numerous retellings, adaptations, and even dramatizations. In West Java, a cycle of Amīr Ḥamzah stories has become part of the repertory of the puppet theater. Evidence of this past and present popularity, apart from observation, can be gleaned from the catalogues of Malay, Javanese, and Sundanese manuscripts, to mention only a few.

Revival and reform movements. Islamicized Southeast Asia was an integral part of the Muslim world. In consequence there was a sensitivity to and identification with an Islamic ethos, which although at times not totally unequivocal, rendered such Muslim communities responsive to movements that caught the imagination and fired the enthusiasm of their coreligionists in other parts of the Muslim world. One such movement was the Wahhābī uprising in Arabia during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Inspired by the ideal of cleansing Islam from accretions and practices that were held to be incompatible with *tawḥīd,* the unity of God, it resorted to force to put Islamic law and ritual observances into effect. A group of Sumatran scholars in Arabia when the Wahhābīs conquered Mecca in 1803, returning home filled with enthusiasm for the ideals of the movement led to the rise of the Padri movement in the Minangkabau area of Central Sumatra. This movement set itself against the traditional elite, which it regarded as compromising with non-Islamic practices and values, whether reflected in the lifestyle of the traditional rulers or in the matrilineal descent system of the region. Their reaction was to lead to a civil war that gave the Dutch government an opportunity to intervene on the part of the traditionalists and to defeat the leader of the revolt, Imām Bondjol, in 1842.

It may well have been also that the Java War (1826–1830) between rival members of the royal court likewise took part of its energy from this ferment in Islam. It should not be imagined that the expansion of Islam was always peaceful, or that even the relationships among different traditions of Islam were without conflict. One need only recall the persecution and book burning in Aceh between 1637 and 1642, sometimes referred to as an attempt by the so-called Shuhūdīyah ("unity of witness") school of mysticism to suppress the Wujūdīyah ("unity of being") tradition; the wars waged by Sultan Agung's successor, Amangkurat I, in the 1660s against the more *shariʿa* minded Muslim communities of the north coast of Java; and the scatological and even obscene diatribes written in Javanese to make fun of the professional *ʿulamāʾ* in the nineteenth century.

It must be emphasized however that the modes of participation of Southeast *ʿulamāʾ* in the wider world of Islam were complex and diverse. They were certainly not limited to the transmissions of varying forms of Islamic radicalism. Much of their work and thinking was conveyed in treatises they wrote in Arabic. The Indonesian scholar Azyumardi Azra has made a detailed study of the networks of religious teachers binding together the geographically separate zone of the Muslim world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They continued and continue. Some of the works they produced are minor tracts devoted to issues that became shibboleths, for example, whether the commencement of the fasting month was to be decided by the sighting of the moon or by calculation, or whether the formulation of intention before beginning a ritual prayer should be made aloud or mentally. Such material has only a local and historical importance. Occasionally, however, a substantial work appears and wins an established position. One such text was *Marah labid* (Rich pasture), a two-volume Qurʾān commentary of about one thousand pages by a Muḥammad Nawawi al-Jawi, scholar from Banten, on the north coast of West Java. He was born in 1815, went to study in the Muslim Holy Land in 1830, and died in Mecca in 1893. Published in Cairo by the well-known firm of Halabi in 1887, *Marah labid* is still available in the Middle East and remains popular as an intermediate-level work in religious schools in many regions of Malaysia and Indonesia. His Arabic style is fluent and lucid, and the great scholar, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d.1210) *Mafatih al-ghayb* is among his primary authorities. The work is accordingly rich in its spirituality and the sheer humanistic values that it expresses. It is also worth drawing attention to a large (thousand-page) commentary on al-Ghazali's *Minhaj al-ʿabidin ila jannat rabb al-ʿalamin* by an East Javanese scholar from the region of Kediri, recently republished in Surabaya. In addition to such major works, there are hundreds of minor ones issuing from Arabic printing presses scattered over Sumatra, Java, the Malay Peninsula, and Borneo, where both private and state supported *madrasah* abound.

Al-Afghānī ʿAbduh and the reformist movement. It was these same networks that were to bring the reformist movement inspired by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Muḥammad ʿAbduh from the Middle East to Sumatra, Java, and the

Malay Peninsula, to be diffused from there to southern Thailand, and paradoxically, from Hadrami communities in Java back to southern Arabia.

It soon fecundated a vigorous counterpart in Southeast Asia. In particular, students from the Malay world in the Middle East, especially those studying at al-Azhar University in Cairo, were inspired by ʿAbduh, Rashīd Riḍā, and their followers, and as they returned to Malaya and the Indies, they carried the new ideas with them. It coincided with a growing sense of national identity and resentment to Dutch and British rule. ʿAbduh's reformist program was based on four main points: the purification of Islam from corrupting influences and practices; the reformation of Muslim education; the reformation of Islamic doctrine in the light of modern thought; and the defence of Islam. The establishment of the reformist journal *Al-manār* (The lighthouse), published between 1898 and 1936 under the editorship of ʿAbduh and later that of Rashīd Riḍā, directly inspired two counterparts in the Malay world. *Al-imām* (The imām), published in Singapore between 1906 and 1908, transmitted the views of *Al-manār* and ʿAbduh's earlier journal, *Al-ʿurwah al-wuthqā* (The indissoluble bond), and published translations of their articles into Malay. Its layout followed that of *Al-manār. Al-munīr* (Illumination), established in the major West Sumatran port town of Padang, was published between 1911 and 1916; it too referred regularly to *Al-manār* and published translations from the Egyptian journal.

Al-manār in turn reflected the interest that it generated in Southeast Asia: from the very year of its founding, it included articles, in Arabic, either written by Southeast Asian Muslims studying in Cairo or contributed by *ʿulamāʾ* from a wide range of places in the Indies, including Singapore, Batavia, Malang, Palembang, Surabaya, and Sambas (Borneo), some on a range of Southeast Asia–related topic. An 1898 article, for example, reports on a request by some Javanese Muslims to the Dutch colonial government for them to be allowed to acquire Ottoman citizenship; other articles address complaints of Dutch harassment of Muslims, problems of marriages between *sayyid*s (the Muslim elite) and Muslim commoners, and the humiliations of quarantine regulations imposed on Muslims making the pilgrimage. A 1909 article from Palembang tells how *Al-manār* had inspired the Muslims of the region to form associations and financial unions to support Islamic schools to teach Arabic, the religious disciplines, and secular subjects. Two years later, another interesting entry praises the periodical for creating an intellectual movement among Muslims and describes how a school director had been inspired by *Al-manār* to introduce the Berlitz method of teaching foreign languages in his school. A 1930 communication from Sambas was particularly important, for it requested Rashīd Riḍā to put to the famous writer Shakīb Arslān certain questions relating to reasons for the backwardness of Muslims and the progress of other peoples. The response to this request, first published in three parts in *Al-manār,* was to become Arslān's well-known book *Limādhā taʾakhkhara al-Muslimūn wa-taqaddama al-ākharūn* (Why do the Muslims lag behind and the others progress?), which was in due course to be translated into Malay. The episode is important because it indicates the seriousness and care of the response of Egyptian scholars to the queries and difficulties of their Southeast Asian coreligionists.

The educational dimension of the reform program quickly made itself felt. Here a few examples will suffice. The work of To'Kenali (1866–1933), a scholar from Kelantan, an east-coast state of the Malay Peninsula, is representative of many, including some who became famous in Patani and Cambodia (Kampuchea) at the turn of the century. He went to Mecca at the age of twenty and stayed in the Middle East for twenty-two years before returning to Kelantan in 1908. In 1903 he traveled to Egypt to visit al-Azhar and other educational institutions. It is possible that he met ʿAbduh on this occasion. There is no doubt, however, that he had absorbed the educational ideals of the movement. He quickly became famous as a teacher was appointed assistant to the *muftī* in Kelantan with responsibility for Islamic education in the state, and set up a network of schools. He introduced Malay textbooks in religious knowledge and devised a system of graded instruction in Arabic grammar. Indeed, one of his students (born in Mecca of Malay parents in 1895), on returning to Kelantan in 1910, was inspired by him to compile an Arabic-Malay dictionary with entries and definitions in part based on the famous and widely respected Lebanese Arabic-Arabic dictionary *Al-munjid.* His work was first published in 1927, and is still available.

The reform, however, was reflected not only in textbooks, but also in classroom organization. The traditional method of teaching was known as the *ḥalaqah* ("study circle"), where students, irrespective of age, would sit in a circle around the teacher, who would present material to be learned by rote. The introduction of the classroom method, where the students sat in rows and used graded texts, together with the encouragement of active class participation, was a remarkable change of style. No less remarkable was the inclusion of secular subjects in the curriculum. Schools inspired by the reform movement multiplied in various parts of the archipelago, sometimes identified with individuals, sometimes initiated within the framework of an organization. Many sprang up and disappeared like mushrooms.

Of those founded by individuals, one that became important was the Sumatra Thawalib school founded in 1918. Another was the Sekolah Diniyah Putri in Padang Panjang, a religious school for girls founded in 1921 by a woman named Rahmah al-Yunusiyah. Designed to train students in the basic rules and practices of Islam and in the understanding of the principles and applications of Islamic law, particularly in matters of special concern to women, the school also set out to give girls an education in those matters that would enable them to run their homes efficiently and care for the health and education of their children. While from one standpoint the discipline of the institution was strict and the scope for individual development narrow, it won the confidence of isolated village communities, and in fact, its students gained wider horizons than those girls who remained in the interior. In fact it played an important role in advancing the status and self-respect of women in the community.

This school was, in fact, a strikingly original institution (and was to inspire the founding of the Kullīyat al-Banāt within al-Azhar in 1957). Yet it was based on simple premises: a universalistic presentation of Islamic teaching in combination with secular subjects—history, geography, bookkeeping, domestic science and the like—and the founder's determination to establish an institution that would present itself in every respect as an alternative to the Dutch system, from curriculum to the yearly cycle of festivals and the Islamic calendar (Friday was the day off) to student dress. It guarded its independence and refused offers of subsidy from the Dutch government. It still flourishes today and during the 1930s had branches in Java and the Malay Peninsula.

The Muhammadiyah. The most famous and long-lived of all socioreligious reformist movements in the Indies was the Muhammadiyah, founded in 1912 in Yogyakarta (Central Java) by Kiai H. A. Dahlan. At first it was an exclusively male organization, but before long it had as an affiliate a parallel women's organization called ʿAʾisyiyah, through which women could play an independent role in furthering its ideals. These included improving the basic observance of the norms of Islamic life, and a vigorous dedication to *tabligh* (religious instruction). But its goals went further than this. The organization was determined to propagate the ideas of the reformists concerning the purification of Islam from traditional accretions, in particular from the animistic beliefs that were so much part of the world view of the Javanese peasantry, and from the religious attitudes and values of the upper classes, for whom the Hindu-Buddhist traditions of the pre-Islamic period—traditions embodied in the Javanese shadow theater—were still very much alive. A special target for attack was the cult of saints' tombs.

The organization consciously adopted the institutional structures of the Dutch, and its members made a careful study of the techniques of Christian missionary organizations. Carrying on vigorous missionary activities, it expanded into journalism and publishing and established mosques, religious endowments, orphanages, and clinics. But its central role was in education, where it set up an entire system from primary school to teacher training colleges. Like Toʾ Kenali in Kelantan on the Malay Peninsula, the Muhammadiyah together with ʿAʾisyiyah carried on the impulse generated by Muḥammad ʿAbduh to reform the traditional Islamic educational system—by grading teaching materials and classes, by sitting students at desks faced by teachers with blackboards, and by assessing their progress with formal examinations and the award of individual marks that determined when they could move from one grade to the next.

The Muhammadiyah's strict and responsible methods of organization and financial management ensured its stability, and by the 1930s it had established branches as far afield as North, Central, and South Sumatra, Borneo, and Sulawesi, thus taking on a protonational character.

Another aspect of the reformist movement was its campaign against the Ṣūfī *ṭarīqah.* For the reformers the *ṭarīqah* represented the one element in traditional Islam that most contributed to the backwardness of Muslims and the lack of respect they had in the world. They held that the *ṭarīqah* promoted a passive otherworldliness, that it discouraged initiative, and that the dedication to the *shaykh*, the head of the branch, overshadowed devotion to the Prophet and God himself. In addition, the ascetic exercises of members and their fondness for reciting sacred formulas were considered intellectually harmful, often paving the way for the absorption of non-Islamic practices. In short, the reformists took over and applied all the arguments marshaled against the *ṭarīqah* by the *Al-manār* tradition. There is a reasonable documentation of debates between the two sides on the issue. Conventional wisdom is that the Ṣūfī orders in the Dutch East Indies, were almost a spent force by the 1930s, with their followers to be found only in the remoter rural areas. Rumors of their demise have long been exaggerated, often by the Reformists. Certainly on the Malay Peninsula they continued to fare well, and maintained a social role there, as they still do. Indeed, one of the leading figures of religious reform and revival in Kelantan was Wan Musa, who, when he studied in Mecca with his father, was introduced to the theosophy of Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-ʿArabī and inducted into the Shādhilīyah *ṭarīqah.* He introduced the reforms of ʿAbduh and Rashīd Riḍā into Kelantan and rejected *taqlīd,* or unquestioning acceptance of precedent, yet defended the institutional role of the *ṭarīqah* and preserved the content of Ṣūfī doctrine, stressing in his instruction the role of intellect, intuition, and emotion.

Some idea of the continuing role of the Indonesian *ṭarīqah* at a public level by 1955 can be gained from the fact that an attempt to obtain representation for these movements in the national parliament at the first general election resulted in the election of one member, a Naqshbandī. This, of course, is not necessarily an index of the relative strength of *ṭarīqah*, only that many *ṭarīqah* members did not see the national parliament as an appropriate forum for *ṭarīqah* activity.

The Nahdlatul Ulama. The Reformist movement as represented by Muhammadiyah (today an estimated membership of 20,000) and other organizations did not go unchallenged, and there has been a tendency to exaggerate its successes. The traditionalists had their own support base and intellectual resources. They too developed their own organizations in response to the challenge presented by the reformists. Of them, the most important was the Nahdlatul Ulama (lit., "revival of the *ʿulamāʾ*"), founded in 1926, which is today (2003) the largest religious organization in Indonesia with an estimated membership of thirty million, It stood for the traditional role of the *ʿulamāʾ*. It accepted the realities of development and history, and was tolerant of many of the religious practices in religious life that the Reformists condemned. Thus it opposed the puritanical neo-Hanbalism implicit in the Reformists' reliance on the Qurʾān and *sunnah* alone. One of its basic principles was the requirement to adhere to one or another of the four schools of law as the basis for the application of *fiqh*, and in Indonesia this meant, in practice, the Shāfiʿi school. Although defense of the *ṭarīqah* was not a formal part of its program, in practice, as a result of its cultural tolerance, it did so, and provided a wide space for the mystical tradition.

The Japanese interregnum and beyond. By the end of the 1930s there was a rich and diverse tapestry of Islamic thought, activity and aspiration in the region, although under colonial rule, these did not have a high profile, nor any direct or decisive role in government. The Japanese occupation hastened the development of national self-awareness and laid the groundwork for the organization and development of movements that would undermine attempts to restore colonial authority after the war. This was to have implications for the role of Islamic movements in the newly independent states of Indonesia (proclaimed August 17, 1945) and Malaya (established 1957, becoming the Federation of Malaysia in 1963). In each of these nations there have been differences in the articulation of Islamic movements, and hence a different story that continues in progress.

Malaysia. The current dominant political party at the national level, is the United Malay National Organisation, generally identified by its acronym UMNO. It was founded in 1946 in the wake of British constitutional proposals for the territory after the Japanese surrender.

In Malaya (after 1963 Malaysia), up to the time of independence in 1957 religious parties did not have a high political profile: to be a Malay is, by definition, to be a Muslim, to live by Malay custom, and to speak the Malay language. At this time the Malays comprised little more than half the total population of the territory they shared with Chinese and Indians. Their urban presence and participation in economic was limited. They could only manifest their identity in the persons and ceremonial role of the sultans of the nine states on the peninsula and in the profession of Islam. The situation was one in which in which the Malay language and even survival of the Malay race was at stake. At first there was little scope for a competing religious party. In any case, to be a Malay was to be a Muslim, and the sultans were the ultimate authorities over religion and Malay custom in their states. Nevertheless, a dedicated religious party was founded in 1951, the Pan-Malayan Islamic Party (PMIP). Its concern was that the constitution of an independent Malaya be built on Islamic structures and institutions. At this stage it had little direct influence on the outcome of policy, and in 1957, Malay became essentially a secular state, with Islam as the national religion, and thus part of the state structure, but with guarantees of freedom for other religions. Race riots in 1969 resulted in the declaration of a state of emergency. Constitutional rule was restored in 1971 with the swearing in of a National Front coalition government, in which the PMIP took part. In 1973 it changed its name to Partai Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS), and in 1977 was forced to withdraw from the National Front government. PAS was from then on an opposition party, its program based on a radical Islamization of the nation. Its influence has since waxed and waned. In the wake of the economic crisis of the 1990s and the dismissal and imprisonment of the deputy prime minister Anwar Ibrahim in 1998, it drew a significant measure of the support of Malay voters away from UMNO. It is however more important than its parliamentary representation at the national level suggests. On the one hand it functions as a kind of Islamic ginger group. By claiming to be more Islamic than UMNO, it can impel UMNO towards more Islamic policies at the national level. But more seriously, it has a significant influence at state level, and the lines between federal and state authority are not clearly drawn. PAS currently holds power in the two northern states of Kelantan and Trengganu, and has influence in a number of others. It urges a full implementation of Islamic law, and is concerned with the active promotion of what is deemed good, and the prohibition of evil. The result is that at state level aspects of what is deemed to be Islamic law is imposed on Muslims: the sale of alcohol banned, social relations between the sexes restricted, and offences such as taking food during the daylight hours of the month of Ramaḍān, or failing to attend the Friday prayer are punishable by religious courts. Malay translations of the Bible are not allowed to include words such as *Allāh*, *imān* and *rasūl* that are deemed to be Islamically specific. A high profile is accorded to Islam in the way the nation presents itself to the world, although not much more than 50 percent of the population is Muslim. Considerable funds from the public purse are devoted to *daʾwa*, which can be understood as presenting Islam to the non-Muslim population, or making those who are Muslims better Muslims, or both. By these means, the government is trying to cut the ground from under the feet of radicals. At the same time it is supporting programs that inculcate a broader understanding of religion. There are sophisticated programs in Islamic studies at university level, and in 1983 was founded the International Islamic University it Kuala Lumpur. It has established itself as a high quality institution with faculties across the disciplines alongside Islamic revealed knowledge and human sciences, Arabic, *fiqh* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*. It has a highly trained and internationally qualified staff, and over ten thousand students. Languages of instruction are Arabic and English.

Indonesia. The role of Islam and Islamic movements in postcolonial Indonesia has been far more directly involved in the political process, on a far greater scale, and at times to much greater dramatic effect. With the Japanese occupation, all Muslim associations were dissolved and then reconstituted into an umbrella organization encompassing both reformists and traditionalists, the Majlis Shura Muslimin Indonesia, or Consultative Assembly of Indonesian Muslims, known widely by its acronym Masyumi. After the war, the organization broke up into two main wings: the one that kept the name Masyumi became the political wing of the reformist movement and drew most of its strength from Sumatra and the large towns in Java, while the other, Nahdlatul Ulama, now took a public role as a political party and derived most of its strength from the rural areas of East Java. An index to the standing of the parties, and therefore the distribution of attitudes, is furnished by the results of the 1955 elections, in which the Masyumi won 57 seats and the Nahdlatul Ulama won 45 out of a total of more than 250. Even taking into account the seats held by minor religious parties, this meant that more than half of the Muslim electorate had cast its vote for nonreligious parties.

With the proclamation of Indonesian independence on August 17, 1945, two days after the Japanese surrender, and with the transfer of sovereignty by the Dutch in 1950, Muslim groups exerted considerable pressure to have Indonesia declared an Islamic state, with the provisions of Muslim law binding on Muslims.

It was only after long and bitter debates between religious factions and the secular nationalists in the few months prior to the Japanese surrender that a compromise was reached, and the Pancasila (“five pillars”), a set of five principles formulated by Sukarno, first president of the republic, were with certain qualifications accepted as the basis of the new state. Since the first of these principles was belief in one God, this formula made Indonesia a nonconfessional state without making it a secular one. A corollary of this charter was the establishment of a ministry of religion early in the republic’s history. This ministry was to take care of the needs and interests of every religious community in the country (although later there were to be difficulties as to the terms under which the Hindu Balinese and the Javanese mystical groups might be included within its terms of reference).

Religious revolts. The compromise, however, did not last long. After the proclamation of independence, the secular nationalists dropped the references to the position of Islam in the state agreed to in it. For the hard-line Muslims, this was a confirmation of their worst fears. The disillusion and bitterness generated on the Muslim side led to three major risings against the republican government. The first and most dangerous broke out before independence from the Dutch had been secured. After several months of guerrilla activity, Kartosuwirjo (1923–1962), a former medical student, proclaimed the establishment of the Islamic state of Indonesia on August 7, 1949, in the mountainous regions of West Java and was inaugurated as *imām* of the state. He and his movement conducted a guerrilla war, the Darul Islam revolt, against the government until 1962, when Kartosuwirjo was captured, and he and five of his associates were executed. The movement, while at first idealistic and attracting at least tacit support among some members of the Muslim political parties, gradually degenerated into a terrorist group that caused great human and material damage over West Java for more than ten years. It plundered and destroyed farms and peasant holdings to get financial resources and was behind several attempts to assassinate President Sukarno.

Two other major religious revolts inspired by the ideal of making Indonesia an Islamic state and realizing in it a *dār al-Islām* (Arab., “abode of Islam”; Indon., *darul Islam*) were to break out. One was on the island of Sulawesi in 1952, with the leader of the movement, Kahar Muzakkar, accepting a commission from Kartosuwirjo in West Java as commander of the fourth division of the Islamic army of Indonesia. With varying levels of success he managed to maintain his movement until early 1965, when he was encircled and shot by republican forces. The other revolt, in late 1953, was led by Daud Beureuʾeh in Aceh, a region already referred to on several occasions for the strength of its Islamic traditions. This rising too was associated with the West Javanese movement. Daud Beureuʾeh proclaimed an Islamic state of Aceh and styled himself “Commander of the Faithful” (Amīr al-Muʾminīn, the historic title of the Muslim caliphs), but after nine years of struggle he made his peace with the central government in 1962. The details of these struggles belong more to political history than to that of Islam. It is important to observe, however, that these three very serious uprisings, costly in human lives and property, were put down by Muslim soldiers under a Muslim president of a national state based on an ideology, the Pancasila, that did not recognize exclusive claims on the part of any one religious tradition. Also that radical Islam on such a scale made its debut in Southeast Asia many years before the Iranian revolution.

Islamic policies in opposition. On a predominantly political level, the years between 1950 and 1965 saw continued but decreasingly successful efforts by the Muslim parties to gain by political means the power required to make Indonesia an Islamic state. They were never sufficiently strong to outnumber or wily enough to outmaneuver the alliance between the “secular” nationalists and the radical left-wing parties. In the last resort they could claim loyalty to the Indonesian state by recognizing the Pancasila as the state ideology. And this they did by claiming that only Islamic theology could supply an adequate content to the first of these five principles: belief in one God.

The elimination of Sukarno as a political force in 1965 in the wake of an attempted communist coup, and the destruction of the Communist Party, led to a revival of Muslim expectations of a positive Islamic stance in government. These expectations were again disappointed, although Muslim mass action had one spectacular success in blocking a proposed marriage law which would have undercut the authority of religious courts, and allowed civil marriage in 1973. The position of the Suharto government was that Islam had no place in politics. Its role was spiritual and cultural, and in the political arena it represented as much a danger to the integrity of the state as had the Communist Party. In 1973 the number of parties eligible to contest parliamentary elections was reduced to four, and none was permitted to campaign in the name of a religion, or to use religious symbols, such as the Crescent Moon, or the Kaʿbah. Toward the end of the decade, the government began to insist that every organization within the state accepted the Pancasila as its sole ideological foundation, and in 1984 the Nahdlatul Ulama—now a social religious and not a political body, accepted this stipulation.

During the 1980s, the former Muslim parties though in secular garb were able to provide a significant measure of dissent to the increasingly authoritarian and corrupt Suharto government. If, during the 1950s their goal had been Indonesia as an Islamic state, their role now was to raise a voice of protest against corruption, secularism, consumerism, and the excesses of an open economy. At the same time the Islamic resurgence and ferment that began with the Arab-Israel war in 1973 and shifted in high gear with the Iranian revolution, did not bypass Southeast Asia.

In Malaysia there have been waves of Islamic enthusiasm since the early 1970s, and there is considerable pressure to Islamize life in the country. This has taken the form of moves to introduce Islamic banking; promulgation of rules for social behavior, especially in the form of *khalwat* laws, which prohibit situations of "suspicious proximity" between the sexes. There was a heightened concern that all products handled should be *ḥalāl*, not just those concerned with food. Often Malays were reluctant to eat in non-Muslim households in case non-*ḥalāl* material had touched the crockery. Such concerns resulted in conditions being imposed on the handling and selling of pork that virtually excluded it from the menus of international hotels.

People thus were becoming aware of their Muslim heritage and identity. Increasingly women wore the Islamic head-covering. There was a growing preoccupation with the observance of the prayer times and the Ramaḍān fast. Islamic schools saw a surge in enrollments, and Islamic symbols and motifs were used even in the commercial advertising of everyday products.

During this period observers have noted a marked increase in religious fervor. This is particularly evident in the university campuses and among civil servants: it is reflected in the observance of daily prayers and the fast, in the numbers of Muslims making the pilgrimage to Mecca, and in women's dress. In addition, various religious associations have sprung up, all dedicated to spreading Islamic teachings, but with different emphases.

In response to this developing situation, President Suharto, in Riddell's phrase, became a born-again Muslim. He made the pilgrimage with a fanfare of publicity in 1991. He presided over the establishment of a state Islamic Bank, and the launch of a government sponsored Islamic newspaper, *Republika*. The vice-president, B. J. Habibie played a major role in founding the Indonesian Association of Muslim Intellectuals (ICMI), designed to develop a sophisticated and modern understanding and practice of Islam among professionally qualified people.

These attempts to harness a growing commitment to Islam were not sufficient to save Suharto from a groundswell of discontent. In 1998 he was forced to resign. The then vice-president (Habibie) succeeded him, and one of his first decisions was to permit the formation of new political parties. Ninety were formed, of which twenty-nine were Islamic based (although not all qualified to stand for election). When general elections were held the following year, secular parties gained 58.3 percent of the vote, and the five principal Islamic based parties, 38.5 percent. And of the Islamic parties contesting the election, only three, representing no more than 14.5 percent of the electorate, had Indonesia as an Islamic state as part of their program. In the wake of these elections, Abdurrahman Wahid, a former leader of the Nahdlatul Ulama was appointed president, and Megawati Sukarno Putri of a secular party became vice president. In 2001, Abdurrahman Wahid was impeached. Sukarno Putri thereupon became president, and Hamzah Haz, leader of the other major Islamic party became vice president.

At a macro-level, the most striking result of this election is the drop in support for the idea of an Islamic state. In 1955, the two principal parties campaigning on the program of an Islamic state gained around 42 percent of the vote. In 1999, those in favor of an Islamic state gained around 14.5 percent. In light of the high profile of Islamic radicals in the region, these figures are significant. Relatively few Indonesian Muslims support Islamic political movements. The majority is content to live and work within the status quo, Javanese dominated though it is, and with Islamic styles of behavior and forms of worship tacitly accepted as religious norm of social life.

CONCLUSION. In a sense, no conclusion is possible, for the story is open-ended. An account of such events at what one might call the macro-level gives very little sense of Islam as it is lived, its dynamics, values, aspirations, frustrations, and the challenges it faces in a rapidly changing world among the Muslims of the region. Among them is great variety, and a wide range of emphases.

To the superficial observer, there is at first sight little outward evidence of Southeast Asia's widespread Islamic allegiance. There is little of the exuberant architecture that so characterizes Muslim civilization in South and West Asia. Traditional forms of music and the dance, styles of dress, social structures, systems of inheritance, and personal and family law all suggest a complex of cultures that owes little to Islam. Observers coming from the Middle East, taking as a norm outward manifestations of Islam in the Arab world, where so much that was local custom at the time of the Prophet is now inseparable from the Islamic tradition, may be perplexed at the variety and distinctiveness of Southeast Asian Islam. They may even regard much of what they see there as non-Islamic, forgetting that in the early years of Islam, much in Middle Eastern culture was non-Islamic, but with the passage of time was transmuted and given an Islamic meaning and identity.

In each of the nation-states of the region, Islam has a different profile. In Thailand, it is represented by a minority, ethnically Thai, but in general geographically limited to the southeast of the country. In Malaysia Muslims are today up to 60 percent of the population. Islam is to a high degree an emblem of Malay ethnicity and Malay kingship. To be a Malay is to be a Muslim, and it is through their profession of Islam that the Malays define their identity in relation to other races in their multiracial nation, notably the Chinese. In Singapore, Muslims are a small minority in what is essentially a Chinese state, and almost all are ethnically Malay. In Indonesia, Muslims are an overwhelming majority, almost 90 percent of the population, but are distributed among a variety of (related) ethnicities which while having an individual ethnic region as a point of origin, are widely dispersed, and share in taking part in national civic life on equal terms in the professions and the instrumentalities of government. In the Philippines, Muslims are a minority, largely defined by ethnicity, and geographically concentrated in the south.

For the great majority of Muslims in all these regions, being a Muslim is as natural, as unreflective as breathing, whether a particular community places a high or low value on external observances such as the fast and the ritual prayer and whatever the regional observances it chooses to decorate and enhance its Islamic practice at rites of passage. Religion then has to do primarily with personal devotion, morality, and events in the life cycle. To the superficial observer, many of the Javanese peasantry, for example, might not appear to be Muslims at all. Yet relatively few claim exclusive allegiance either to Buddhism, which is enjoying a revival, or to the mystical sects. For the great majority, what perception they have of transcendence is of Islamic transcendence. Even if this is the limit of their commitment, it is sufficient for them to be identified as Muslims.

The governments of both Malaysia and Indonesia have invested a great deal of effort and funding in Islamization projects, projects designed to raise the level of Islamic consciousness, and strengthen belief and practice within the framework of constitutional government and civil administration. In so doing, they are attempting to cut the ground from under the feet of the Muslim radicals for whom any formal recognition of religious pluralism is anathema. The inevitable result is that despite good intentions, non-Muslim religious communities, though tolerated and even respected, do not have the same right to present themselves in public life as have Muslims.

Islamic education at tertiary level has an important contribution to make. Reference has already been made to the International Islamic University in Kuala Lumpur. Indonesia has established IAIN (State Universities of Islamic Studies) in virtually every province which combine training in the religious disciplines with secular subjects. They are designed to produce graduates in Islamic law, education, and preaching, and to produce graduates with a well-rounded education qualified to serve in the various departments of religious administration in the public service.

Alongside the government system there is a large number of smaller institutions that teach in Arabic and graduate hundreds of students who travel overseas for higher learning; sometimes these students attend secular institutes in Australia, Britain, and Canada, for example, but of course they go more often to religious ones in India, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt. Indeed, students from Indonesia and Malaysia have a very high profile at al-Azhar in Cairo, and at the celebration of the millennium of al-Azhar in April 1983, Southeast Asian students were the most prominent community of foreigners studying at the institution, as indeed they are on the pilgrimage to Mecca. Nevertheless, the diffusion of graduates of these institutions is uneven, and there is a significant number of Muslim thinkers who have developed an intellectual interest in the role of religion in the modern world, outside of the traditional Islamic disciplines of *fiqh* and *kalām,* some under the influence of the minority Lahore Aḥmadiyah, who have a small presence in Indonesia.

Thus there is a deep reservoir of concern for and expertise in religious matters that study clubs, workshops and associations can draw on vigorously to debate religious issues. Such issues include the validity of traditional procedures of Qurʾān interpretation, the status of many of the positive prescriptions of *fiqh,* and the authority religious institutions should exercise in society. Riddell gives an account of these debates in *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World.* Striking are the words of Abdurrahman Wahid, former president of Indonesia, speaking of why he declined to join ICMI, “As long as they think Islam is an ideology, then I will not participate. Islam is a way of life. Its adherents should follow it voluntarily, not needing any legislation from the state.” There is however in the region as much as in the wider world of Islam a simmering cauldron of ideas on the realization and rethinking of Islam in the contemporary world, that has generated a baffling range of terms to designate various tendencies—traditionalists, modernists, neo-modernists, reformists without even coming to the usual catalogue of terms of abuse and mutual recrimination among such groups.

Events such as the September 11, 2001, outrages in the United States, the consequent American-led invasion of Afghanistan, the increasing bitterness between Israelis and Palestinians, the Bali bombing in October 2002, and finally the invasion of Iraq in 2003, have heightened the sensitivities of many exposed nerves among numbers of Muslims. In our region, as elsewhere, there are groups of radicals inspired by the ideas of Ḥasan al-Banna, founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, Mawdudi, and the writings of Sayyid Qutb—readily available in Indonesian/Malay translation.

The mentality exemplified by the Egyptian Takfir wa al-Hijra (Denounce and Abandon) groups, and in turn al-Qāʿidah, has its representatives in Southeast Asia. It is represented in the Jamaʾa Islamiyya (al-Jamaʿatuʾl-Islamiyya) associated with the Bali bombings in October 2002, itself an heir of the Darul Islam movement that terrorized large areas of Indonesia in the 1950s. It is expressed in the activities of the Abu Sayyaf movement in the Philippines, and likewise in the violence of the virtual civil war with Christians in the Moluccas, and the bombing of churches in different parts of the country in Christmas 2000.

The leaders of such fringe groups, with international backing, can draw on latent resentment at past wrongs, and the frustrations and despairs attending much of daily life in Indonesia, to create a turmoil, totally disproportionate to their numbers.

It is clear that virtually every movement in the Islamic world and every emphasis and school has found a counterpart in Southeast Asia alongside local responses to them. Even in the architecture of the mosque, there is a distinctive regional style alongside the domes and minarets and arched masonry imported from the Middle East: splendid timber structures with rising tiers of tapering hipped roofs supported on multiple columns. I have referred to the long tradition of local *ʿulamāʾ* settling as expatriates in the Middle East, either permanently or on a long-term basis. Indonesian and Malaysian Muslims have not gone to the Middle East only to study. Numbers of them have gone west as volunteers to fight for what they perceived as the defense of Islam, whether in Bosnia, Afghanistan, or Iraq. There is likewise the continuing tradition of *ʿulamāʾ* from the Middle East and South Asia becoming domiciled in Southeast Asia. There is a strength and vitality in Islamic life expressed in a wide range of religious perceptions and enthusiasms both at individual and community levels. The region is not simply a passive, partial and selective recipient of Islam. It has its traditionalists, it has its *jihadi* warriors, but also among its scholars are pioneers of new ways of acculturating Islam in the modern world and facing its challenges. Every issue is faced, not least those to do with the position of women in society. They are faced with an outspokenness and courage that would not be tolerated in many other areas of the Islamic world. How the balance of the various elements will shift for good or for ill in the years ahead is an unanswerable question. Whatever the future holds, Southeast Asia is a distinctive and vibrant cultural zone of the Islamic world, which in some areas gives leadership to it. Further consideration of it merely as a periphery of that world (sadly still fashionable in some quarters) should be put to rest.

SEE ALSO Acehnese Religion; Javanese Religion; Modernism, article on Islamic Modernism; Southeast Asian Religions, article on Insular Cultures; Ṭarīqah.

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A. H. Johns (1987 and 2005)

ISLAM: ISLAM IN MODERN EUROPE

Muslims have been present in Europe almost as long as Islam has existed, most commonly as merchants traveling across the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, but also as captives in war and, less commonly, as slaves. Before modern times there were three main periods that left significant traces of a Muslim presence in Europe. In 711 CE a mainly Berber army crossed from North Africa into Spain at Gibraltar, quickly expanding northwards until they were stopped by Charles Martel (c. 688–741) at the Battle of Poitiers in 732. Muslim rule was thus established in most of Spain. Centered in Seville and Córdoba, its hold over the northern provinces was never firm, and it was from that direction that the Christian *reconquista* gradually pushed back Muslim rule beginning around the late tenth century. The kingdom of Granada held out for more than two centuries until its defeat in 1492 marked the end of Muslim rule in the region. It was to be another century before the remaining Muslim populations, in the meantime forcibly relocated to the northeast, were finally expelled. During these centuries, Muslim Spain was a major center of culture and learning and, together with a much shorter period of Muslim domination in Sicily and southern Italy (approximately two centuries until the late eleventh century), the region served as a rich route for the diffusion of Arabic and Islamic culture into Europe.

The second and third periods are interrelated, and they commence with the spread of a series of Mongol empires across Central Asia into the Middle East and eastern Europe in the thirteenth century. Originally holding various shamanist beliefs, the Mongol rulers controlling the kingdoms after the rapid breakup of the empire became Muslim. Of these kingdoms, the most significant for the purposes of this entry was that of the Khanate of the Golden Horde, whose territories covered southern Russia and western Siberia. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the khans were gradually pushed back by the growth of the Ottoman and Russian states, until the final fall of the Khanate of Kazan to Russia in 1552. The population, known in Europe as Tartars, were then able to move around within the growing Russian Empire, leaving major Muslim communities in present-day western Ukraine and the regions of the Crimea and the Volga River valley. During the period of Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) and World War II, large portions of this population were forcibly removed to Soviet Central Asia with great loss of life. Only since the 1980s have their descendants been able to return to their homes.

The growth of the Ottoman Empire constitutes the third period. Starting less than a century after the first Mongol conquests, the Ottoman family established a small state in Anatolia and soon became a major competitor to what was left of the Byzantine Empire. Over a period of two hundred years, the Ottomans were able to expand both in Anatolia and into the Balkans, until they finally conquered Constantinople in 1453 and made it their new capital, Istanbul. Over the following centuries, Muslim merchants, craftsmen, soldiers, and administrators settled in all the towns and cities of Ottoman southeast Europe. At the same time, parts of the indigenous population converted to Islam, especially in such communities as the Bogomils, which had developed forms of Christianity that found them persecuted by both the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic churches. On the whole, these converted communities lived in the countryside and only started moving into towns in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Significant communities of Turkish descent remain in present-day southeast Europe only in Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece, while the descendants of the indigenous Slavic and Albanian communities are spread across the southern half of the Balkans: Albanians in Albania itself, as well as in southern Serbia and Kosovo, Macedonia, and northwestern Greece; and Slavs in Bosnia-Herzegovina, with small numbers, usually called Pomaks, in Bulgaria and Greece.

WESTERN EUROPE—ISLAM BEFORE 1945. The contemporary presence of Muslim communities in western Europe constitutes a fourth period in this historical context. Before 1945, three countries led the way, namely Germany, Britain, and France. There are records of early Muslim immigration and settlement in German-speaking lands following the earliest contacts in southeastern Europe with the expanding Ottoman Empire. The two failed sieges of Vienna in 1529 and, especially, in 1683 left behind stragglers, deserters, and prisoners of war. More Muslims arrived and settled during the eighteenth century as Prussia expanded its interests eastward. Thus a group of Tartar cavalry ended up in the hands of Frederick I the Great (1712–1786), who made arrangements for them to observe weekly prayer in the barracks at Potsdam. By the mid-nineteenth century a Muslim cemetery had been established in Berlin, and in 1866 a mosque was opened. The Muslim presence in Germany, which had been united by Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898), grew substantially as the country developed its diplomatic and economic relationships with the Ottomans in the last few decades before the outbreak of World War I. By this time provisions were being made jointly by the German and the Ottoman-Turkish governments to address the spiritual needs of Muslim prisoners from Russia, Britain, and France. After the defeat in 1918, the fortunes of the Muslim communities declined, only to resume growth during World War II when the Third Reich recruited extensively among the Muslim nationalities of the Soviet Union.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire of the Habsburgs shared much of this history, with the major difference that, as the Ottoman Empire retreated in southeastern Europe during the nineteenth century, Austria-Hungary actually acquired direct rule over territories inhabited by substantial Muslim populations. This happened in 1878 when the Austro-Hungarian Empire occupied Ottoman Bosnia-Herzegovina. Smaller Muslim communities had existed on the margins of Habsburg territory, and even before 1878 laws had been passed governing Muslim family affairs. Soon after 1878 there was a resident *muftī* in Vienna. In 1909, Austria incorporated Bosnia-Herzegovina formally, and three years later passed a law recognizing the "followers of Islam of the Hanafite rite as a religious community," a facility available within the 1867 constitution.

In the United Kingdom and France, the history of Muslim settlement is even more directly linked to the history of empire than is the case with Germany, whose relationship to Istanbul before 1914 might be termed "proto-imperial." Already in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the East India Company was crewing many of its ships from the territories of its factories in India. When these ships returned to ports in Britain, these men were laid off and left to fend for themselves, until public outrage forced the company to establish boarding houses for them in the 1820s. The Muslim component in Britain grew significantly after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. Companies shipping to and from India now recruited cheap labor at the new coaling station in Aden, which led directly to the establishment of Yemeni and Somali settlements in British ports. By the end of the century, these communities were finding religious structure and identity with the arrival of a *shaykh* of the ʿAlawī Ṣūfī order, an order of Algerian origin that had developed an offshoot in Yemen.

In the major ports of Liverpool and London, Muslim settlers came not only from India and Aden but also from West Africa. British merchants and aristocrats started to forge links with their counterparts in various parts of the empire and occasionally supported the education in Britain of the sons of the native colonial elites. Others Muslims, especially from Indian princely families, found their own way to Britain. The first formal mosques were established in London and Liverpool around 1890. The circle around the mosque in London, at Woking, obtained support both from the British establishment and certain Indian princes, as well as from the Saudi ambassador, so that it was possible in 1944 to acquire land in Regent's Park and start the planning for what was to become London's Central Mosque and Islamic Centre, which opened in 1977.

The foundations of Muslim settlement in France are linked closely to the French imperial project in North Africa, where Algeria was invaded in 1830. Businessmen, students, and exiles were most noticeable among the early French Muslim community, including such figures as Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1838/9–1897) and Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1849–1905), who were exiled for a time from Egypt towards the end of the century by the British. But labor migration was an early dimension, especially with thousands of Algerians working in the olive oil industry around Marseille shortly before World War I. During the war, the need for both agricultural and industrial labor grew massively, especially when the French government started forcible requisition of Algerians, possibly as many as two thirds of the 200,000 or so who arrived during the war. In recognition of the Algerians, Moroccans, and Tunisians who had served as civilians and soldiers during the war, the French government provided funding for the building of the Paris Mosque and Islamic Centre, which opened in 1929. Labor migration continued erratically after the war, and after the French defeat in 1940 the Vichy Republic requisitioned Algerian laborers to help build the German Atlantic defenses. North Africans in France, and particularly Algerians in Paris and Marseilles, became involved in the campaigns for independence as early as the 1920s. Some observers have suggested that the rebellion, which started in the mid-1950s and led to independence in 1962, was essentially financed by Algerian émigrés in France.

WESTERN EUROPE—IMMIGRATION AFTER 1945. After the end of World War II, the devastated economies of western Europe initially met their growing labor needs from the pool of returning soldiers. But by the early 1950s it became clear that the sources had to be widened. In mainland Europe, the first regions that provided workers for the industrial heartlands of northern Europe were the countries of southern Europe: Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece, and Yugoslavia. But there were early signs that this was not sufficient. The first immigrants to Britain from the Caribbean arrived in 1948, and through the 1950s large numbers of people started arriving from India. In 1957 an agreement between Turkey and the German state of Schleswig-Holstein assured the first official arrival in Europe of Turkish workers, while in France the numbers of Muslims coming from the traditional North African sources continued to increase gradually.

During the 1960s immigration of Muslims into Europe expanded almost explosively. Nearly half a million Moroccans arrived in France in the decade beginning in 1962, while the Algerian number doubled to 750,000, and the first 140,000 Tunisians arrived. Labor migration into Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, and the Scandinavian countries tended to take place under the auspices of bilateral treaties between governments, particularly with Turkey, Morocco, and Tunisia. In just three years (1960–1962), the number of Turkish workers in Germany increased tenfold, and it continued growing until it reached over 600,000 in 1973. In addition there were many thousands of other nationalities of Muslim background. Similar developments took place in Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Belgium, Austria, and Switzerland, although in these areas the figures were, by 1973, still in the tens of thousands. The economic crisis caused by the rise of oil prices in the two years after 1972 put the brakes on the influx of Muslims into Europe, as most mainland European countries closed their doors to labor immigration.

In the United Kingdom this halt to immigration had taken place already in 1962. Following a period dominated by immigration from the Caribbean and India, social tensions were beginning to appear. In response to riots in London in 1958, a national debate initiated limits on immigration from colonies and former colonies, which until that point had been unrestricted. The debate alerted other groups to the danger that access might be cut off, and during the next several years, until the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962 came into effect, large numbers of Muslim immigrants arrived, including nearly 100,000 from Pakistan alone. Smaller groups had also arrived during this period, including Greek and Turkish Cypriots who were fleeing crises in their home country. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, significant numbers of Asian Muslims, mostly of Gujarati origin, arrived in Britain from Kenya and Uganda, where Africanization policies had made their positions untenable.

The closing of the gates in 1962, and again from 1973 to 1974, did not lead to an overall decline in immigration, however. To the contrary, instead of young men coming with the intention of returning home after a few years, they now decided to stay and bring in wives and children. In Britain the result was that the number of people of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin in the 1981 census was about 360,000, and ten years later 636,000. In France, while the number of Algerians stabilized in the two decades after 1973, the number of Moroccans more than doubled to over 570,000 in 1990 and the Tunisians by about 50 percent to over 200,000. In Germany over the same period, the number of Turks also more than doubled to 1.5 million.

By this time, Germany was also beginning to show signs of a new phase in immigration, in which the emphasis was increasingly on refugees and asylum seekers. This change was caused by two basic factors. The relentless and progressive restrictions on immigration for work and immigration of dependents made the refugee route gradually more attractive, despite its costs both in cash and in terms of involvement with criminal networks. In addition, the Muslim world witnessed a number of destabilizing political crises that uprooted populations and devastated economies. As a result, Lebanon, Iran, Somalia, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Palestine joined the list of sources for Muslim migrants to western Europe.

Common to the large majority of Muslim immigrants during these phases was their origins in certain rural regions or, in the case of Turkey in particular, in the rural immigration areas of major cities of the countries of origin. The Muslim immigrants to Europe therefore came from the more culturally conservative sections of society, in which religion had continued to play an important role. Most of the labor migrants found semiskilled or unskilled labor, and a high proportion of them had only a primary school background—the first generation of women immigrants were often illiterate. It is to this background that some social scientists attribute the low rates of educational success and high rates of unemployment among young people, which often characterize Muslim communities in Europe at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The causes are not unequivocally clear, but the experience of, for example, East African Asians in Britain, would seem to support the analysis, as there seems to be little correlation between religion and educational and economic success among this mixed Muslim, Hindu, and Sikh group whose urban roots are to be found in commerce and the professions.

A further factor is the encounter with racism and xenophobia, widespread in European cities, both west and east. This has encouraged minority communities to construct and preserve internal solidarity and has supported tendencies towards residential concentrations in specific parts of the cities and towns where they live. This is also a factor in contributing to widespread educational failure and partial or complete exclusion from a number of occupations.

SETTLEMENT AND ORGANIZATION OF MUSLIM COMMUNITIES. The closing of the gates of labor immigration in 1962 in the United Kingdom and in 1973 and 1974 on mainland western Europe was a turning point. Leading as it did to the settlement of families, it also, in effect, contributed to making Islam visible and to the forming of consciously Muslim communities. Until that point, with a few notable exceptions, migrant workers had related to their host societies in almost exclusively economic terms. They lodged cheaply, often in boarding houses run by people from their own background. In industry, Muslim workers tended to be concentrated in specific sectors and often worked in their own gangs or shifts, with employment mediated, again, by people of their own background. With the arrival of Muslim families, however, interaction with the institutions of the host society necessarily expanded, especially in terms of access to housing, health and social services, and education.

It is significant that the countries into which these immigrants arrived had extensive state welfare systems, in which the price of gaining benefits was a broad and deep contact with complicated official bureaucracies. Women were especially affected in the areas of health and education, often in ways that men in their cultural tradition were unused to dealing with, but which at the same time frequently touched on aspects of individual and family honor, personal hygiene, and religious ritual. By such routes, Islam suddenly became a matter of conscious significance, and ways of dealing with these issues were sought.

It is thus no coincidence that an immediate consequence of the beginnings of family reunion was the growth of the number of mosques and prayer houses in Europe. British official statistics show that from the mid-1960s, starting from a base of only thirteen, an average of seven new mosques were registered annually. From 1975, when hopes grew of financial support from the Middle East (hopes that often turned out to be in vain), the annual number of new mosques jumped to between twenty and thirty. A similar development can be observed in other western European countries after the 1973 to 1974 period.

Mosques and prayer houses were usually founded by local communities to meet specific needs, primarily the performance of regular prayer, especially the congregational Friday noon prayer, *jumʿah*, and the Islamic instruction of children. Most communities initially employed people from their home villages or regions to perform these tasks. In Britain this tended to mean men who met the accustomed criteria of a village or small-town *imām*, usually someone with minimum training and without any serious Islamic scholarship or experience of the country of settlement.

Not long after this first stage of local organization, organizations with regional or national significance in the countries of origin began to establish themselves, either by invitation of the communities or individuals settled in Europe or by their own initiative. Given the official sponsorship of much Turkish settlement in Germany, it was natural that Turkish religious institutions should have immigrated with the settlers. This development included Turkey's official Department of Religious Affairs, the *Diyanet*, as well as several of the unofficial Islamic movements prevalent in Turkey. These groups had the added advantage that they could function much more freely in Germany than in Turkey, although there were joint German-Turkish efforts to limit their activities after the September 1980 military coup d'état in Turkey. The same Turkish institutions quickly came to pay a role in other countries with Turkish settlement, especially the Netherlands, Belgium, and Switzerland. They found their activities to be more difficult in Sweden, where the government actively discouraged external interference; in Britain, where the Turkish communities mostly came from Cyprus and had little interest in control from Ankara; and in France, where the rigid divide between state and religion was a major obstacle.

North African governments, especially those of Algeria and Morocco, similarly attempted to retain a degree of control over their émigrés, and they established a number of organizations in such countries as France, the Netherlands, and Belgium. Some of these organizations have had a degree of independence, while others, especially Moroccan ones, were long controlled directly by the respective embassies. Pakistani and Bangladeshi state structures have not intervened in the affairs of their communities in Europe. In the United Kingdom, it has often been a matter of political parties in the country of origin seeking support, especially financial support. In addition, various mainstream Islamic movements that were independent of their governments were often quick to establish roots among the new Muslim communities in Europe, sometimes at their own initiative and sometimes at the initiative of followers who had joined the migration.

Eastern Europe. The presence of Muslim communities in eastern Europe can be traced back many centuries to the existence of Mongol/Tartar states and the Ottoman Empire. The region referred to here does not fully coincide with the eastern Europe of the pre-1990 Soviet system; rather it includes Albania, the former Yugoslavia, and Greece, but not eastern Germany, the former Czechoslovakia, or the Baltic states. In those countries, which were members of the Warsaw Pact, the official ideology of the network of Communist parties initially regarded nationalities as being of secondary importance compared with the solidarity of the proletariat. But by the time most of these countries came under Soviet domination after World War II, Soviet ideology had moved towards an acknowledgement of a role for nationalities within the overall system. This is of significance in a region where traditional religious adherence was a major factor in determining national identities during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The Warsaw Pact countries followed the Soviet lead by exercising very tight control over all religions within a generally antireligious ideology and public policy. All public manifestations of traditional religion, in the form of religious buildings, organizations, and education, were often brutally suppressed. In the case of Islam, official institutions were sponsored and controlled by the government, usually with an officially recognized head who was given the title of *muftī* or chief *muftī*. The few mosques that were allowed to function were placed under the direction of the official institution, and the content of the Friday sermon was often dictated centrally.

In Albania, especially under the rule of Enver Hoxha (1908–1985), atheist policy went further and all forms of religion, organized or otherwise, were banned and persecuted. Data from the 1930s suggest that over 70 percent of the Albanian population was Muslim at that time. In Yugoslavia, the government of Josip Broz Tito (1892–1980) decided in the 1960s to recognize the Slavic population of Bosnia-Herzegovina of Muslim heritage as a nationality distinct from the Croats and the Serbs, although all of them shared essentially the same language. For reasons having to do with both domestic and international politics, the term used to refer to them was "Muslims in the national sense." Most religious communities in the region had experienced a very strong process of secularization, which Communist rule hastened. This was the case very markedly with the Muslims of Bosnia and Albania, so the Yugoslav concept of Muslim by nationality carried strong contradictions.

Muslims in Greece were for decades after World War I synonymous with Turks. The postwar settlement had included massive exchanges of population between Greece and Turkey, with thousands of ethnic Greeks leaving their homes in western Anatolia, especially in and around Smyrna/Izmir, and, similarly, with large numbers of ethnic Turks leaving Western Thrace. The position and rights of remaining communities on both sides were governed by peace treaties, especially the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne. On both sides, the mutual mistrust that has been sustained into the present has meant that these minorities have been under close observation and control by their respective governments. As a result, both governments have repeatedly been found remiss in their application of article 9 of the European Convention on Human Rights, which deals with religious freedom, to which both countries are signatories.

During the 1980s, as the old order was beginning to display its weaknesses, some Communist politicians sought to maintain their position by appealing to national chauvinism. In Yugoslavia, the targets of this increasingly violent trend were, during the 1990s, the "Muslims in the national sense," namely the Bosnian Muslims and the Albanians of Kosovo and Macedonia. In Bulgaria, the regime also adopted this tendency and in the mid-1980s implemented a "national" policy that involved forcing people with Muslim names, Turks or Pomaks, to adopt Bulgarian names. The ensuing mass exodus to Turkey was a major factor leading to the fall of the Communist regime in that country.

Since the collapse of the Soviet system, all of the countries of this region have had to review their policies towards their religious minorities, including their Muslim communities, especially after signing the European Convention on Human Rights. On the whole, while there remain Muslim institutions that have inherited the mantle of the official bodies of the Communist period, they have become more distanced from the state. At the same time, it has become possible for other Muslim organizations and movements to establish themselves, and there has been a major growth in the number of mosques sponsored by local communities. In many of the countries concerned, a growth in immigration from the Muslim world has also been recorded. Some of the roots of this development can be found in students from the Arab world who were sponsored by the Communist governments. But other Muslim immigrants are businesspeople and people looking for work. In Bulgaria a large proportion of those who fled the Communist name-changing policy returned to their properties after the regime changed, but many subsequently returned to Turkey to escape the economic collapse. Like most of the other countries under consideration here, Bulgaria has, since the late 1990s, begun attracting immigrants from various parts of the Muslim, especially Arab, world.

Austria. A small, generally well-educated Bosnian Muslim community was established in Vienna during the late Habsburg period until the empire fell apart during World War I. Most of the contemporary Muslim population in Austria immigrated as workers during the 1970s, particularly from Turkey. During the 1980s, when labor migration slowed down, more Muslim immigrants arrived as businesspeople, students, and diplomats attached to the international institutions in Vienna, to be followed during the 1990s by a new wave of workers brought in by demand from employers, as well as thousands of refugees from the wars in the former Yugoslavia. Turks constituted about half of the estimated 300,000 Muslims in Austria in 1997, some 4 percent of the total population of the country. Only a minority of Austrian Muslims have acquired citizenship, and about half of the Muslim population lives in and around Vienna, with the rest living in the northern and western industrial regions of the country.

Belgium. The Muslims of Belgium originate from Morocco (125,000 in 1999) and Turkey (71,000), followed by other Arab nations (Algeria, Tunisia, Lebanon, and Syria), as well as Bosnians and Pakistanis, making up altogether about 370,000, or 3.7 percent of the Belgian population. Most Muslim immigrants arrived in Belgium in the 1960s and early 1970s, followed by smaller numbers of refugees in the 1980s and 1990s. Changes in the laws of citizenship in 1984 and 1991 have led to almost half of these immigrants acquiring Belgian citizenship. Turks are concentrated in the industrial areas of north Belgium, while most Moroccans live in Brussels and in the south.

Bulgaria. The 2001 Census recorded 967,000 Sunni Muslims and some 53,000 Shīʿahs, making up some 12.9 percent of the total population. In terms of ethnicity, there were 747,000 Turks (a decline of over 50,000 since the 1992 census, mainly due to emigration to Turkey), 150,000 Bulgarians ("Pomaks"), 140,000 Roma ("Gypsies"), and about 5,000 Tartars and Circassians.The more than 5,000 Arab settlers, concentrated in 1992 in the major cities, especially Sofia, have increased significantly in number since then. Ethnic Turks are concentrated in the south, southeast, and northeast, with Pomaks in the Rhodope Mountains of the south, and Roma dispersed all over the country.

Denmark. Denmark's estimated total of 150,000 Muslims in 2000, making up about 2.8 percent of the population, is among the most ethnically mixed in Europe. Major groups include Turks, former Yugoslavs (especially Bosnians), Somalis, Iraqis, Pakistanis, Palestinians, and Moroccans, as well as smaller groups of other Arab and South and Central Asia nationalities. This reflects the accumulated effect of labor migration occurring during the 1967 to 1973 period, as well as refugee flows in the 1980s. Acquisition of Danish citizenship has been slow. Denmark's main concentrations of Muslims are found in Copenhagen, Aarhus, and Odense, with significant smaller groups in the industrial towns of eastern Denmark.

Finland. Official statistics for 1999 allow an estimate of some twenty-thousand Muslims in Finland, or about 0.4 percent of the population. A small group, less than one thousand, are Tartars whose presence, mostly in Helsinki and Turku, dates back to the nineteenth century when Finland was part of Russia and their forebears arrived as traders. The majority of Muslims living in Finland today have come from the eastern Arab world and Somalia, mostly as refugees during the 1980s and 1990s. Most of them live in and around Helsinki, with smaller numbers in the main cities of the south and southwest.

France. Estimates of the number of Muslims in France are based on statistics concerning nationality, which suggest that between four and five million Muslims, up to 7 percent of the population, lived in France at the end of the twentieth century. By far the largest proportion come from North Africa, of which over 1.5 million are Algerians, with approximately one million Moroccans and about 350,000 Tunisians, as well as some 450,000 so-called Harkis, the descendants of Algerians who sided with the French during the war of independence. There are a further 350,000 Turks, some 250,000 Muslims from sub-Saharan Africa, and over 100,000 Muslims from the Middle East. The major period of immigration occurred in the three decades before 1974, after which Algerian figures stabilized due to a subsidized policy of return, while the numbers of Muslim immigrants from other regions continued to increase. The largest concentrations of Muslims are to be found in the industrial areas of Paris, Lyon, and Marseilles, as well as in smaller towns in eastern France. Turks are also prevalent in forestry and light industry in the Alsace-Moselle region. Most Muslims of North African origin have French citizenship, and the rate of naturalization among Turks grew during the 1990s.

Germany. In 2000, just over three million Muslims were estimated to be resident in Germany, making up 3.2 percent of the population. Three-quarters of these are of Turkish origin, followed by Bosnians, Iranians, Moroccans, and Afghans. Germany long maintained that it was a country of temporary migration, not immigration and settlement. The majority of Turks arrived in Germany during the 1960s and early 1970s, while the other nationalities arrived mainly as students or refugees. Only in 1998 did Germany ease access to citizenship, so about 90 percent of Germany's Muslims remain legal foreigners. Most Muslims live in the former West Germany in the limited inner city districts of Berlin, Cologne, Hamburg, Munich, and Frankfurt am Main, and in the Ruhr district cities of Düsseldorf and Duisburg.

Greece. The main Muslim populations in Greece are those of Western Thrace, whose rights as a religious and ethnic minority are protected by the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne, and the Albanians, mostly immigrants from Albania and Macedonia since the early 1990s, making up altogether about 370,000 people (3.7 percent of the total population) at the beginning of the twenty-first century. While the Turks remain concentrated in the towns and villages of Western Thrace, Albanians have spread to wherever there is dynamic economic activity, including both the major cities and the countryside and, more recently, also the islands. Significant numbers of immigrants from the Muslim world, in particular the Middle East, have settled in Athens and other major cities since the 1980s, but figures are unreliable.

Hungary. The majority of the twenty to thirty thousand Muslims in Hungary came as students from Arab, South Asian, and Central Asian countries. They make up less that 0.3 percent of the Hungarian population.

Ireland. A small community of Muslims of different origins, mostly students and businesspeople, are concentrated in Dublin. They total approximately 15,000, or 0.3 percent of the Irish population.

Italy. Due to the high proportion of unregistered immigrants in Italy, figures are unreliable, but best estimates suggest a Muslim population of as many as 700,000, or about 1.2 percent of Italy's total population. The largest groups are Moroccans and Albanians, followed by smaller but still significant numbers of Tunisians, Senegalese, Egyptians, Pakistanis, Algerians, and Bosnians. Less than 5 percent of the Muslims in Italy have Italian citizenship. With few exceptions, most arrived during the 1980s and 1990s, among them a high proportion of refugees, especially from Albania and Bosnia. Most live in Italy's northern industrial regions and around Rome.

Luxembourg. According to Muslim estimates there were upwards of seven thousand Muslims in Luxembourg (1.6 percent of the population) in 2000, two-thirds being from Bosnia-Herzegovina. The principality signed a labor agreement with Yugoslavia in 1970, which led to the first wave of immigrants, who were followed by refugees during the 1990s.

Netherlands. Official statistics record almost 700,000 Muslims in 1999 in the Netherlands, equivalent to 4.6 percent of the population. The two largest groups are the almost 300,000 Turks and 250,000 Moroccans, with smaller numbers of Surinamese, Iraqis, Somalis, Iranians, Pakistanis, and Afghans. Over half have become Dutch citizens. The major immigration of Turks and Moroccans took place during the 1960s and 1970s to meet the demand for labor. Later arrivals came primarily as refugees. The population is overwhelmingly urban, concentrated particularly in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, and Utrecht.

Norway. During the 1970s and 1980s, people from Pakistan, Morocco, and Turkey started arriving in Norway in search of work. Since then more have arrived as refugees. Estimates at the end of the twentieth century suggest a Muslim population of between 100,000 and 150,000, or about 3 percent of Norway's population. Most of Norway's Muslims live in and around Oslo, with smaller numbers in other major cities.

Poland. With a total of about fifteen thousand people concentrated in the major cities, Muslims make up only 0.038 percent of Poland's population. About one-third of the country's Muslims are Polish citizens of Tartar origin, mostly from areas near the Ukrainian border. The rest came as students during the 1980s, or as traders and refugees in the following decade.

Portugal. Between half and three-quarters of Portugal's Muslims are citizens; most came from colonial Mozambique and are of Indian origin. The remainder of Portugal's thirty to forty thousand Muslims (0.3 to 0.4 percent of the population) came from former Portuguese colonies, particularly Guinea-Bissau, and from Arab countries. The latter arrived mostly during the 1990s, while the earliest major immigration was caused by the decolonization processes of the 1970s and 1980s.

Romania. A total of about sixty thousand Muslims make up less that one quarter of 1 percent of Romania's total population. The majority are citizens of the centuries-old Turkish, Tartar, and Albanian communities, concentrated in the Dobruja region of southeast Romania. In recent decades small numbers of students and traders, especially from the Arab world and Central and South Asia, have settled in Romania.

Spain. According to Spain's 1996 census, there were between 300,000 and 400,000 Muslims in the country, comprising about 1 percent of Spain's population. Nationality statistics for 2000 indicate that about 250,000 originate from North Africa, mostly Morocco, and about 22,000 from sub-Saharan Africa, with smaller numbers from the Middle East and South Asia. Only a minority of Spain's Muslims have Spanish citizenship. The main period of immigration started in the 1980s, with immigrant workers settling around Catalonia and Madrid, and subsequently as workers in the tourist industry of the Mediterranean coast.

Sweden. Estimates for 2000 indicate between 250,000 and 300,000 Muslims live in Sweden, about 4 percent of the population. Although some arrived during the 1960s and 1970s looking for work, most came as refugees during the 1980s and the 1990s from a number of countries, with Iraqis, Iranians, Turks (especially of Kurdish descent), Bosnians, and Palestinians from Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan being the largest groups. By far the largest numbers of Sweden's Muslims live in and around Stockholm, with sizable communities also in Gothenburg and Malmö.

Switzerland. The federal census of 2000 recorded approximately 310,000 Muslims, or 4 percent of Switzerland's total population. Over half have their origins in the former Yugoslavia, especially Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Many immigrated for work before the collapse of Yugoslavia, while many of the later arrivals came as refugees. About 20 percent of Switzerland's Muslims are of Turkish origin, mostly arriving during the 1970s and early 1980s. They are settled in all the major cities, particularly Zurich, Bern, Basel, Lausanne, and Geneva. Few of the Muslims living in Switzerland have succeeded in meeting the country's strict citizenship requirements.

United Kingdom. The United Kingdom's 2001 census recorded some 1.6 million Muslims, constituting 2.7 percent of the population. The main period of immigration was during the 1960s and 1970s, with continued family reunion occurring thereafter, along with a rise in the number of refugees during the 1990s. People of South Asian origin make up more than half of the country's Muslims, about half of whom were of Pakistani origin. Other significant groups come from the Arab world, Turkish Cyprus, and the commonwealth countries of western and eastern Africa. Outside of London, which has the most mixed population, including the most

Arabs, the largest Muslim communities, with South Asians dominant, are to be found in the West Midlands, West Yorkshire, Manchester, and Glasgow.

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION. At the official level, one of the major challenges to European states with Muslim populations has been how to incorporate Islam, as well as other religions that have appeared in Europe since 1945, into the patterns of church-state relations that have been built up through centuries of sometimes conflicted history. Although society and politics during the late twentieth century became increasingly secular in nature, most European states are not formally secular in the sense of a clear separation between church and state. Patterns range from the clear church-state separation introduced in France in 1905 and integral to the constitutions of Ireland and most nations of eastern Europe, to countries such as Denmark and Greece that retain a state church or one church in a highly privileged position. In between are states such as Belgium, Austria, Spain, and Germany that offer official forms of recognition for religions, and others, such as Italy, that retain concordats with Rome. But the official status often does not reflect the influence of traditionally dominant churches. In some cases they have an impact far above their official status, as in the case of the Catholic Church in Ireland and Poland, or, conversely, far below their official status, as with the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Denmark.

Muslims have had to find their way through this confusion, and they have achieved legal recognition in several countries where it is available, including Austria (1979), Belgium (1974), and Spain (1992). In other such countries, including Germany, some of the Swiss cantons, and the Alsace-Moselle region of France, such legal recognition was still to be obtained as of 2004. Recognition brings with it different privileges in different countries. In Austria, legal recognition gives Muslims access to the state broadcast media and provides for religious instruction in schools, the latter a privilege that also comes with recognition in Belgium. For a long time it was the view in Germany that recognition was required before access to religious instruction in state schools was possible. More recently, German politicians and educators have begun supporting the view that religious education can go ahead without recognition.

Whatever the legal situation, for most European Muslim communities, acknowledgment of them as an inherent part of public life is more than a mere formality. During the 1990s the French government became involved in the sponsorship of a Muslim representative body. To achieve this, French authorities have had to enter into ever greater compromises with the country's Muslim communities. A broadly based *Conseil Français du Culte Musulman*, sponsored by the Ministry of the Interior, was elected in April 2003. The establishment of the Muslim Council of Britain in 1997 served a similar purpose for a number of years, but it never succeeded in broadening its initial base of support among Britain's Muslim communities, and its role as interlocutor with the government remained circumscribed.

That such national Muslim representation developed in France and Britain is due in part to the citizenship status of most people of Muslim background in these countries. In Great Britain, commonwealth citizens have the right to vote and to stand for election, and access to citizenship for the children of residents is accorded by birth or a relatively unrestricted process of naturalization after five years of residence. French rules are slightly different, but the principle of citizenship by birth is also the legal foundation there. So in both countries there has been a long tradition of political participation, which is only gradually spreading to the rest of Europe as laws are changed. This was the case in Germany at the end of the 1990s, when limited access to dual citizenship and citizenship by birth were introduced. In some countries, such as the Netherlands and in the Scandinavian countries, political participation at the local level was encouraged by the introduction during the 1980s of the right to vote and to stand for election in local government for foreigners of longer than three years of residence.

EDUCATION. Education has been a priority for Europe's Muslim communities. For most Muslim parents, education has been seen as the key to a better future for their children and their families, and European governments have regarded their educational systems as one of the main tools for building national identity and, therefore, for the integration or assimilation of people of foreign origin. At the same time, modern child-centered educational thinking, linked with a liberal and pluralist view of Europe, has required a recognition and validation of children's cultural identities.

The United Kingdom was among the first countries to restructure syllabuses of religious education to take into account the presence of faiths other than Christianity, when local authorities introduced "multi-faith" religious education during the 1970s. The Education Reform Act of 1988 specified for the first time that Christianity was the be the main faith taught, but the law also guaranteed the teaching of other religions, most prominent among which have been Islam and Judaism. In other European countries where religion is taught in state schools, the curriculum was traditionally linked to a specific Christian tradition. In some cases, as in Germany, the churches have cooperated in expanding the curriculum to include knowledge of other world religions, especially Islam and Judaism, while some countries, including Norway and Sweden, have restructured their official programs on British lines. In Eastern Europe since the collapse of Communist regimes, changes are only slowly taking place, since in most cases the priority has been the reintroduction of religious instruction in the parents' faith after decades of atheistic indoctrination.

As the teaching of Islam has spread in schools, so Muslim organizations have become increasingly involved in designing syllabuses and teaching materials, as well as contributing to the training of teachers. Since the national, linguistic, and cultural origins of Muslims in many countries are mixed, Muslims have had to become accustomed to an internal pluralism that was often absent from the regions of origin. This involvement in education has thus often required Muslim participants to reach a consensus on what should be taught as Islamic faith and practice, and also how to deal pedagogically with the variety of cultural forms through which Islam finds expression in society. It remains a fact, however, that the main cultures of origin continue to influence the image of Islam that is variously presented in schools across Europe.

ISLAMIC MOVEMENTS AND TRENDS. The countries of origin have also played a major role in determining the Islamic trends that became established in various places. The vast majority of Muslims in western Europe are Sunnīs who tend to identify with the legal and ritual schools (*madhhab*) of their parents. There are a number of Shīʿī communities in the United Kingdom, notably Ithnāʿasharīs and Ismāʿīlīs; they are primarily of Iranian, Arab, and South Asian origin. The Iranian government has long played a role that, in the Hamburg Mosque on the Alster Lake, predates the Islamic revolution of 1979. But other groups are also to be found, such as the Khoei Foundation in London with its link to the eponymous family of Iraqi Shīʿī scholars. The Ismāʿīlī community has a major center in London, and promotes philanthropic and developmental activities through the Aga Khan Development Network.

However, it is often the Muslim movements that arose in the Muslim world during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that have been most visible. So among Muslims of Indian subcontinent origin, the Deobandi and Brelwi movements remain strong and continue to reproduce their mutual controversies after settling in Europe. To them must be added the network of organizations emanating from the Jamāʿat-i-Islāmī, founded by Abū'l Aʾla Mawdūdī (1903–1979). Among North African Arabs, branches of the National Liberation Front continued to exercise influence for many years, but during the 1990s younger Arabs increasingly found themselves attracted to organizations linked to the Muslim Brotherhood, a trend also to be noted among Muslim students elsewhere in western Europe, and in some cases institutions supported and funded by individuals or organizations from the Persian Gulf and Saudi Arabia.

From the beginning, Turks were split between an educated minority that tended to support the official secularism of the tradition of Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938) and a majority that through the 1970s became increasingly organized through federations of mosques. These federations were run by either the local representatives of the *Diyanet*, a network that was expanded significantly after the September 1980 coup in Ankara; the Milli Görüş movement; or the more Ṣūfī-oriented Süleymanli movement.

While most movements remain ethnically identified, some have established high levels of cooperation across borders based on a sympathy of ideas. This has most clearly been the case in cooperation between organizations based in the Muslim Brotherhood, the Jamāʿat-i-Islāmī, and the Milli Görüş. But a few movements have crossed ethnic and national borders, above all the Tablighi-jamāʿat. This movement originated in the context of the Indian Deobandi movement but spread around the world during the 1950s and 1960s. During the 1980s it particularly found followers in France among North Africans, where it was know as *Foi et pratique*, and very soon after the regime changes in eastern Europe itinerant Tabligh preachers were seen in Bulgarian villages.

Ṣūfī networks, although generally less visible than other, more formal organizations, have developed a strong presence in Europe. In the Balkans the Bektāshī network, traditionally strong among Albanians, is also to be found among ethnic Turks in Bulgaria. Related to the Bektāshīs, and currently going through major revival and change, are the so-called Alevis. Originating in Anatolia (and not to be confused with the Syrian group of the same name), many Turks and Kurds of Turkish nationality are now publicly professing to be Alevis. In some instances, especially among the Balkan village communities, it is difficult to distinguish between these movements and isolated traditional popular religious practices, but it is also clear that, with the growth of communications and freedom of movement, the two forms of expression are being linked.

Other more traditional Ṣūfī orders are also widespread, especially various branches of the Naqshbandī order, prevalent among both Turks and South Asians. Among communities from sub-Saharan West Africa, especially among the Senegalese, the *marabout* networks retain significant influence, including economic influence. New European cross-border networks have arisen as offshoots from the more traditional orders, the most well-known of these probably being that of the Cypriot Shaykh Nazim al-Haqqani (b. 1922), whose followers, although limited in number, range from Central Asia through Europe to North America.

Smaller, more extreme groups have made themselves noticed since the early 1990s, usually when the media have temporarily linked them to political events. This was the case at the time of the Bosnian crisis early in the decade, the period of the Algerian civil war from the middle of the decade, and in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, attacks on the Pentagon and the World Trade Center. Most well-known among these groups is the Ḥizb al-Taḥrīr network, which has appeared in most European countries and in former Soviet Central Asia.

As a younger, educated generation appears in the Muslim communities in both eastern and western Europe, many European Muslims are beginning to develop European forms of Islam. On the one hand, they are loosening their adherence to the culturally specific forms of Islam identified with their parents and countries of origin; on the other hand, they are working out those dimensions of Islam that they regard as essential to being a Muslim, while also exploring how to be Muslim in ways that harmonize with being European. This has, among other things, given rise to a debate within

Muslim circles concerning an Islamic “minority law”: *fiqh al-aqalliyāt.* It is this field above all that will determine during the first quarter of the twenty-first century the extent to which European Islam can integrate and to which the central Islamic lands will continue to influence Muslim identity in Europe.

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ISLAM: ISLAM IN THE AMERICAS

Muslims have been arriving in the New World from the sixteenth century to the present. The horrors of the lives of Muslim slaves mark the first accounts, while the horrors of the lives of Muslim immigrants in the aftermath of the tragedies of September 11, 2001, mark the latest accounts. Muslims have settled in almost every part of the Americas. Their relationships with other immigrants and with indigenous peoples have been as varied as their success in planting Islam in the religious landscape.

There have been problems with accurately documenting the earliest arrivals. Various accounts of Muslims arriving in North America prior to Columbus have yet to be proven. Recent research on Muslim slaves from West Africa, however, has been much more definitive. It is now documented that Muslims were among the first African slaves to arrive in the New Worlds, as early as 1501. These Muslims were from regions ranging form Senegal to Chad and from the southern border of the Sahara to the northern fringes of the tropical forest. The African Muslim diaspora was spread from North America to the Caribbean and on to South America. The size of the African diaspora is still in dispute; estimates range from 9.5 million to 20 million, with Muslims comprising anywhere from 10 to 30 percent of slaves over a period of three hundred and fifty years. While data now exists on the numbers and percentages of various ethnic groups, in only a few countries is religious affiliation noted in censuses. What is uncontested is the fact that Muslim African slaves were scattered across every region of the Americas.

SLAVES AND PLANTATION COMMUNITIES. Significant numbers of African Muslim slaves were literate in Arabic, making them unique in the slave community. There exist short biographies of at least seventy-five of these slaves who were brought to North America between 1730 and 1860. The earliest known biography is a fifty-four-page volume, *Some Memories of the Life of Job Ben Solomon*, written in 1734 by an Englishman. From these and other accounts, what emerges is a clear history of the struggle to retain Muslim faith and Arabic literacy. Most researchers agree that the slaves who proved most difficult to convert to Christianity were the Muslims. Muslims were also the most difficult to keep in slavery: the first slave revolt in the New World was led by Muslims in 1522. Catholics sought to convert Muslims because conversion provided a moral justification for the institution of slavery, while Protestants generally oppressed slaves on the grounds that they would be morally bound to free slaves that had been converted to Christianity. Forced and mass conversions were persistently resisted by many Muslims, as shown by rebellions in the French West Indies and in North America.

There are a variety of reports on the religious life of Muslim slaves in historical documents, ranging from the reports of slave masters to Works Progress Administration accounts from descendants of slaves in the early twentieth century. The Muslim practices of *ṣalāt* (prayer) and *ṣawm* (fasting), along with the retention of Arabic words and phrases, stand out in these accounts. Though prayer was one religious practice often hidden by slaves, accounts of public prayers were recorded. The story of Yarrow Mamont praying in public is reported by Charles Peale, who painted his portrait in 1819. Other non-Muslim slaves, such as Charles Ball, writing in the early nineteenth century, tell of hearing prayers spoken in Arabic. Muslims slaves in Brazil used prayer rugs—pieces of cloth or animal skins—and are reported to have actively fasted during the month of Ramaḍān, and to have celebrated the feast that marks the end of Ramaḍān. Though impoverished, slaves are even said to have made gifts of whatever they possessed.

Through faith, practice, and dreams, Islam did survive in the Americas despite the brutalities and dislocations of slavery. The willpower of African Muslim slaves was remarkable. The distinctive lifestyle of the Muslim was imprinted on the consciousness of descendents. Muslims had much difficulty maintaining modesty in the face of degradation. As much as slave owners tried to keep slaves humiliated by keeping them nude, Muslim slaves put on as many clothes as they could find, including head wraps and caps. The use of Arabic names along with slave names assisted in identity preservation, and Muslim names can presently be found among people all over the Americas and the Caribbean. For example, the Sea Islands off the coasts of South Carolina and Georgia provide a significant slave-made reservoir of African Muslim names. Muslim slaves also maintained Islamic dietary regulations against pork despite the meager, limited offerings of plantation living.

Muslims are forbidden to eat dead meat, blood, and the flesh of swine and to drink wine or other forms of alcohol. In the Caribbean, slaves were forced to drink alcohol as part of a diet designed to increase productivity and were given it as a bonus for hard work. Muslim slaves rejected both alcohol and pork with such consistency that at least one Caribbean governor complained in writing that continued punishment was not working. There are additional documented accounts of Muslim slaves' refusal to eat non-halal meats (meats not slaughtered according to Islamic law). Other Islamic traditions, such as circumcision and polygamy, were also retained. There are accounts from Brazil of Muslim slaves practicing circumcision on boys at ten years of age. The practice of polygamy, though not wide-spread in the Americas, was understood in the West as an expression of the natural immorality of slaves.

In several historical accounts, Muslim slaves are described as "uppity" or "arrogant" because of their persistence in pursuing their religious practices and literacy. One account from Cuba claimed that Muslims stayed to themselves. The deliberate separation of slaves from the same ethnic groups had much the same effect on Muslims as it had on other slaves—it created loneliness and depression. The only difference was that the practices of Islam and knowledge of Arabic acted as cultural bridge-builders between Muslims of different ethnic groups. Though some Muslim slaves were literate and others semi-literate, slavery remained the circumstance of almost all African Muslims for generations in North America. In 1837, however, decades before the Emancipation Proclamation, Sir Andrew Halliday reported that Trinidad boasted a free Muslim community. In Brazil, as early as 1850, many Muslim indentured servants were able to pool their resources to buy their freedom and then either remain in the country or go back to Africa.

The resourcefulness of Muslim slaves in the Americas extended to obtaining Qurʾāns and to communication across the Americas, especially to and from Brazil. One documented report speaks of the importation of Qurʾāns from Europe for sale to Muslim slaves. Slaves went into debt, buying about one hundred Qurʾāns every year. It is also documented that Arabic Qurʾāns were in use on the Sea Islands. The sale and transport of slaves between the Caribbean and North America also facilitated the transmission of Qurʾāns. Slaves also wrote their own Qurʾāns from memory. Benjamin Larten, a Jamaican slave, apparently displayed his Qurʾān in 1835 to author Richard Madden.

Some of those Muslim slaves who previously had been teachers continued to teach, especially in Brazil. As a result of various revolts, some of the names of these slaves and freedmen are known. Newspapers published accounts of the revolts and the names of the participants to aid in their recapture. In addition, the names of slaves who were tried in court for holding classes appear in legal documents; two such names are Dandea Aprigio and Sanem. Evidence of structured Qurʾanic schools among slaves is mostly found in Brazil, though it is known that there were some schools established on the North American continent. The most renowned religious slave manuscript is the Ben-Ali diary, which is a thirteen-page document in Arabic. Arabic was not only used in the context of attempts to practice and preserve Islam, however. It was also used to transmit the plans for uprisings. One letter confiscated in 1835 during a revolt in Bahia, Brazil, was a call to "take the country and kill the whites." The separation of people in each tribe was a tried-and-true method of keeping control of communication and possible revolt. This generally worked on captives, but not for Muslims who, though separated from members of their tribes, could still communicate using Qurʾanic Arabic.

Islam endured in the Americas primarily due to the persistence of the Atlantic slave trade, which resulted in a continuous arrival of slaves. It was only in the last decades of the nineteenth century that the steady flow of new arrivals began to wane. By then, many descendants of African Muslim slaves were so removed in time (up to more than fifteen generations) from their homelands that much of the Islamic tradition was lost. Some descendants turned to Christianity, some turned to a blend of Christianity and Islam, while others gave up on religion. Many researchers currently assert that Islamic influences can be readily observed in black syncretic religion. There is overwhelming scholarly agreement, however, that Muslim communities comprised of Americans of African descent were not seen again until the twentieth century.

ISLAM IN THE AMERICAS: NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES. After the horrendous period of chattel slavery, Islam was spread through most of the Americas by immigrants, exiles, and refugees from the Muslim world—primarily from the Arab world and South Asia. In some regions Muslims formed exclusivist communities that only engaged the majority community when necessary. Other Muslims actively engaged themselves in the social and political life of their adopted country. In the Caribbean, where descendants of African Muslims remained after slavery, immigrant (primarily South Asian) Muslims made no efforts to blend into and strengthen the existing Muslim community. On the other hand, in those places where the majority of immigrants were Arab Muslims, there were significant efforts to merge with any existing Muslim community.

ISLAM IN THE CARIBBEAN AND SOUTH AMERICA. The terms *Caribbean* and *South American* refer to aggregations of countries, not to specific areas within legally defined boundaries. Thirty-one countries form the Caribbean, which is divided into English, French, Spanish, and Dutch linguistic regions. The majority of the countries are English-speaking. The total Muslim population by country varies from 4 to 15 percent. The largest Muslim populations are in English-speaking countries such as Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago. There are small communities made up of Muslims of African descent, but the greatest number of Muslims are descendents of immigrants from India and Indonesia who came as indentured servants. In French-speaking countries, such as Guadeloupe, Guyana Françoise, Haiti, and Martinique, the Muslim community is mainly composed of African Muslim immigrants from West Africa. Martinique is also home to a very wealthy immigrant Palestinian Muslim community supported by Saudi Arabia.

Muslims on the Spanish-speaking islands—Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico—claim an Islamic heritage in the Americas dating back to the days of slavery and trace their history prior to slavery back to Islamic Spain during the eighth to fifteenth centuries. Thus, many trace their ultimate cultural ancestry to northern Africa and the Moriscos—Moors who were forcibly converted to Christianity. These Muslims are aware that Moriscos were enslaved with other Africans during the Atlantic slave trade. There are also much Islamic and Moorish retention in this sector of Caribbean society, especially in language and names.

In the Caribbean, Muslims continue to experience life as minorities. Christian missionaries continue to try to convert Muslims—though there is also increasing evidence that Muslims are trying to convert Christians. In 2002, reports in local newspapers asserted that of the few conversions that take place, most are from Christianity to Islam.

The history of Muslims in Mexico is difficult to trace. Spanish conquistadors from both Cuba and Spain came to pillage Mexico's resources in the early 1500s. The indigenous population was subdued and forcibly converted to Catholicism during this time. Many in the native population died as a result of the importation of European diseases and from starvation, as Europeans devastated the farming land and depleted water resources. Mexicans themselves regained control only in the 1900s.

Historians are divided over when Islam came to Mexico and who brought it. Some claim it was introduced by Syrian immigrants, whereas others point to Turkish immigrants. One recent (2002) study estimated that 10 percent of the Syrian-Lebanese immigrant community were Muslim. Today this community is one of the richest and contains more than 250,000 people. The history of Islam in Mexico is largely undocumented, with the exception of a sixteenth-century book called *Un Herehe y un Musulman.* Written by Pascual Almazan, this recounts the exploits of Yusuf bin Alabaz, who came to Mexico after expulsion during the *Reconquista* in Spain. Today, Islam is a recognized entity following the establishment of the Muslim Center de Mexico in 1994 in Mexico City. There are also centers in Monterrey, Torrion, Guadalajara, and San Cristobal de las Casa.

Islam in Cuba has not been documented before the twentieth century. At the start of the twenty-first century, Muslims in Cuba continue to pray at home because there is no mosque where they can freely congregate. There is an Arab House built by a wealthy Arab in the 1940s, which houses an Arabic museum, a restaurant, and a prayer space for diplomats. Monies are currently being solicited for the building of a mosque. In the late twentieth century, a representative of the Muslim World League making his own solicitations on behalf of Cuban Muslims referred to the example of a small town, Pilaya de Rosacio, which has a Muslim population of 40 percent.

If the number of Muslim organizations and centers is any indication, there are Muslims all over other areas of South America. The origins of Islam in Chile have not been researched, but census reports show that in 1854 two Muslims from the Ottoman Empire came to Chile. Given that the Ottoman Empire (the last Muslim empire), which fell in 1929, covered a great deal of the Arab world, it is difficult to state ethnic origins of these immigrants. It is also only presumed that they were Muslim, for religion was not noted in the Chilean census of 1865. However, by 1895 the census did note the presence of 58 Muslims who lived in Tarapaca, Atacama, Valparaiso, and Santiago—all in the north of the country. By 1907 there were approximately 1,500 Muslims, all of them immigrants. The first Islamic institution in Chile was the Society of Muslim Union of Chile, founded in 1926. Interestingly, the numbers of Chilean Muslims rises and falls throughout the twentieth century for reasons that are unaccounted for in any reports. Through the 1970s and 1980s there were no religious leaders or mosques in Chile. In the 1990s the construction of Al-Salam Mosque was begun, following which other mosques were built in Temuco and Iquique. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, it is estimated that there are 3,000 Muslims in Chile, many of whom are Chilean by birth. The majority are Sunnī, but there are both Shīʿī and Ṣūfī communities present as well. Muslims, still a small minority group, generally face great pressure to convert to Christianity.

In times past, Rio de Janeiro was one of the disembarkation points for those millions abducted or sold from Muslim Africa. The native population learned about Islam primarily through Muslim behavior—prayer and abstention from pork and alcohol. Islamic revivals are reported to have occurred frequently enough over the centuries to leave a permanent mark. In 1899 the Cairo-based magazine *Al-Manar* published in its August issue an article entitled "Islam in Brazil." Here it was noted that the Muslim communities in Rio were made up of direct descendants of Muslim slaves. During the 1920s, Arab immigrants and traders added to Brazil's Islamic presence. Now, university students lead the way in teaching about Islam. There are currently five large Islamic organizations in Brazil: in São Paulo, Recife, Rio de Janeiro, Boa Vista, and Florianopolis.

Venezuela currently has fifteen Islamic civic associations in ten states. Arab immigrants, Venezuelans, and Creoles have come together to make Islam a known tradition. The closest estimate of when Islam came to Venezuela is "centuries ago." Estimates of the number of Muslims range from 700,000 to almost a million. Venezuelan Muslims have many of the same problems as Muslims in other countries where Muslims are a minority and Islam is a potentially competing faith—issues revolving around dress, political participation, civic concerns, and Christian missionizing.

Muslims in Peru trace their ancestry to the Spaniards and the Moros. As Moros fled persecution in Spain, they settled in many South and Latin American countries. In Peru they have had a lasting influence on dress, food, architecture, and both the social and political systems. Women who covered their hair were called *las tapadas Limenas* (The covered ones from Lima). There are also the famous *balcones lumenas*, which are protruding balconies done in a style known as *Arabescos*—a term clearly referring to an Islamic heritage. Twentieth-century Islam in Peru is dominated by Palestinian Arabs who arrived in the 1940s, fleeing Jewish persecution. Today, after several aborted construction projects, Peruvian Muslims (there are no estimates of their numbers) still have no mosques, but they do have the Asociacion Islamica del Peru in Lima and a school.

Argentinean Muslims currently number between 900,000 and one million. If Arabs and other ethnic groups are included this number increases to three million. It is reported that Muslims first arrived in Argentina around 1870 from Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine. Today, there are mosques all over the country, as well as nine Islamic centers. Bolivia traces its Islamic heritage to immigrants from the Ottoman Empire, but as with Chile the ethnicities of the Muslims who came is unknown. The first mosque however, was not commissioned until 1992, in Santa Cruz. There are already three civic organizations, known as Centro Islamico Bolivanos.

What is significant about the Islamic presence in the Caribbean and South America is that it has survived for so long. The patterns that lie behind the introduction of Islam into various countries appear to be multifold: in some countries the Islamic presence can be traced to the Atlantic slave trade; in others it is due to the influx of refugees caused by the Spanish persecution of non-Christians in Spain; in yet others it is the result of Muslims fleeing a ravaged Ottoman Empire in search of opportunities or of Arab refugees fleeing persecution by Jews in Palestine; and in others still it is attributable to the arrival of Muslim Indians, both indentured servants and immigrants seeking better opportunities. Regardless of the origin of the Islamic presence, it has endured and is currently growing.

ISLAM IN CANADA. The Canadian Census of 2001 lists 579,640 people, or 2 percent of Canada's population, as Muslim, an increase of 128.9 percent from the 1991 census. Ontario Muslims have more than doubled to 352,500, while the number of Muslims in Quebec increased by 141.8 percent. The median age is 28.1 years. As of 2004, there were more than eighty mosques, with additional locations rented or leased for prayers, such as Masjids and Islamic Centers. There are, in addition, various other centers where Muslims congregate for prayers and community activities.

The earliest authenticated account of Muslims in Canada is provided by the census of 1871, which lists thirteen Muslim residents. The first mosque, Al-Rashid, was built in Edmonton, Alberta, in 1938. Canadian Muslims hail from at least forty different countries from all over the Muslim world and all over the Americas. Until the census of 2001, the largest non-Christian minority were Jews, but Muslims now hold this distinction. A significant Muslim presence first began to develop in the 1970s, after the "White Canada" policy of 1891 was abandoned, with immigration coming predominately from the Arab world and South Asia. Mosques, which are mostly in major cities, are found in nine of the ten Canadian provinces, the exception being Prince Edward Island. A few dozen of these mosques have Islamic schools associated with them.

Canadian Muslims initially put their energies into building or acquiring facilities for prayers. This quickly extended to procuring additional spaces for religious education on the weekends. By the 1980s, full-time schools were established, and by the 1990s, specialized social services organizations were in place. The focus of these social services organizations was on pre- and post-marital counseling, teaching parenting skills, spiritual counseling, domestic and substance abuse issues, and *imām* training. Though the Qurʾān encourages Muslims to extend their social projects to the non-Muslim communities in which they live, this has only happened in a few instances.

On the other hand, Canadian Muslims have been much more successful than their U.S. counterparts regarding the media. Canada has a multifaith television channel, Vision TV, on which one host, a Muslim woman, uses two thirty-minute weekly programs to facilitate discussion of issues involving Muslims and Islam.

One study completed in the 1990s in Ottawa concluded that Muslims found "their comfort level fairly high" in Canada. Because many Muslim immigrants to Canada are professionals who earn enough to live quite comfortably, this experience is almost a foregone conclusion. With regard to less tangible issues, however, there are many concerns. Many Muslims find that the general media are hostile to Islam and Muslims. They discern "unfair or inaccurate stereotyping of their cultures" in movies, documentaries, and television series. On the other hand, many Muslims are hostile to media that exalt alcohol, causal sex, and lifestyles that are at best immodest. Even though Canadian society places a high premium on tolerance and pluralism, there is ongoing debate over the rising numbers of "nonwhite" citizens. Despite the official abandonment of the White Canada policy in the late 1960s, the desire to maintain the "whiteness" of Canada persists.

There are also substantial problems with racism inside the Muslim community. Many of the ethnic communities are extremely ethnocentric. There is little brotherhood or sisterhood when it comes to interracial marriages among Muslims. Assertions of a "color-blind" Islam fall by the wayside when it comes to marriage and private spaces. Other contentious issues arise out of the impact of influences from the larger Canadian community. Gender issues have become increasingly significant, as Muslim women from all ethnic groups learn of the efforts of the women's movement to enhance the quality of women's lives. This has led to disagreements over pervasive male-only leadership in most community functions and organizations.

Observers of and participants in the Canadian Muslim community note that Muslim communities in Canada are not doing a good job of dealing with interethnic tensions, parent-youth tensions, and the frustrations of women. Some say that Muslims, despite being drawn to the relatively comfortable lifestyle of the West, are still conditioned by the oppressive and repressive cultures of the Muslim world. For many Canadian observers, and for many young Muslims as well, the Muslim community seems terrified of social freedoms and of working cooperatively with other faith-based communities.

Whereas many Christian communities actively pursue interreligious dialogue, Muslims, with the exception of a few individuals and communities, generally do not. Even where multifaith awareness is critical—in prisons, hospitals, and hospices—Muslim involvement in dialogue and outreach is limited. Though Muslims are everywhere in the work force, intercultural exchange is infrequent. Some prominent Canadian Muslims lament a focus on the "homeland" that has been slow to change, even in the wake of repression of the community since the tragic events of September 11, 2001.

Since September 11, 2001, some Canadian Muslims have found themselves targeted. Provincial governments have reactivated their use of "security certificates," which give them the power to vote extrajudicially on "whether an immigrant should be shipped back to his or her country (if an immigrant) or stripped of citizenship (if he or she is already a citizen)." With one exception, the security certificate has only been used against Muslims. Project Shock provides subjects for the security certificate. This sixty-million-dollar Mountie-led effort, shadows, documents, and interrogates Muslims in Canada as part of the fight against terrorism. Under this effort, Canadian governments formed Integrated National Security Enforcement Teams (INSETs) that secretly investigate potential suspects. Civic commitment and community renown have not protected Muslims from coworkers who call police or INSETs to report suspicious behavior. The increase in racial profiling and human rights violations is currently becoming increasingly alarming.

In a recent poll by Tandem News, 43 percent of Canadians said they supported the idea of requiring immigrants to carry photo identification. At the same time, many Canadians (64 percent) opposed declaring war on Iraq with the United States, and after September 11, 2001, many non-Muslim Canadians have sought out information on Islam and Muslims. Muslim groups in Canada have begun the planning for a class-action suit in Ottawa against the security certificates and unlawful detentions.

The potential for detention and deportation in the United States, meanwhile, has caused some U.S. Muslims to flee to Canada. These new immigrants, largely Pakistani in origin, have come in the hundreds. In January 2003 in Ontario alone, over four hundred Pakistanis sought asylum, though only about 55 percent will have their applications accepted. Those who are denied must return to the United States, where they will be detained and possibly deported. As the United States continues to surveil and arrest its Muslim citizens and residents, Canadian Muslims fear that their lives will become even more difficult.

ISLAM IN THE UNITED STATES: NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES. In 2000, Cornell University and Zogby International published two separate surveys of Muslims in the United States. Working from a figure of seven million Muslims, they estimated that almost half of U.S. Muslims are African American and almost half are immigrants. Though the United States census does not track religious affiliation and surveys have margins of error, some useful information can be gleaned from their findings. Over half of the U.S. Muslim population is under forty years of age and more than half have a college degree. More than half of the Muslim population earns more than $50,000 per year in occupations that range from entrepreneurial ventures to medicine. However, Muslims are virtually absent in professions that make public policy and consciously assert influence over public opinion, and these numbers are not changing. Muslim families are at least 25 percent larger than the average American family. The story of how Muslims are faring in the United States is really two separate stories: one of indigenous Americans and one of immigrant Americans.

During the nineteenth century the Muslim presence in the United States was negligible. Muhammad Alexander Webb, a multi-talented convert who worked as a diplomat, founded the American Islamic Propaganda Movement in 1893. He lectured on Islam, wrote books, and published a periodical entitled *The Moslem World.* Few traces of his movement remained after his death in 1916, however. In the early decades of the twentieth century a few hundred Arab Muslims from Syria represented the primary presence of Islam in the United States, along with a few fledgling communities of African Americans. For many of these largely uneducated but entrepreneurial immigrant Muslims, life was severe in Jim Crow America. The Immigration Act of 1897 had limited immigration from the Ottoman Empire under the overarching category of restrictions on Orientals, mimicking Canada's White Canada policy. Arab immigrants (mostly male) settled in the Midwestern states and along the East Coast. While many changed their given names to English nicknames to facilitate assimilation, others viewed their tenure in the United States as temporary. A shortage of Muslim women led to marriage to Christian women for some and a bachelor life for others.

Even with restrictive immigration policies, the United States also admitted about forty thousand Turks, Kurds, Albanians, and Bosnians between 1900 and 1925. Almost simultaneously, Islam was developing a presence in some of the segregated black communities of the East Coast and Midwest. Sometime during the second decade of the twentieth century, the Moorish Science Temple, led by Noble Drew Ali, emerged. The 1920s witnessed the creation of the Aḥmadiyah movement in Islam (1921), the Universal Islamic Society (1926), the First Muslim Mosque of Pittsburgh (1928), and the Islamic Brotherhood (1929). This collage of philosophies and ideological positions marked the beginning of an expansion of Islam among African Americans that would eventually make them the biggest single ethnic group among U.S. Muslims. While immigrant Muslims sought the American Dream, Americans of African descent sought refuge from their American nightmare.

The first sixty-five years of the twentieth century was an especially horrible and violent time for black Americans. Inequality was enforced through Jim Crow laws (extensions of the slave codes) in southern states, and through convention in many of the northern states. Complete or nearly complete segregation in all public places was basic to the U.S. social order. Blacks had no rights that whites had to respect. In reaction to strict segregation, a wave of lynchings, and suffering caused by the Great Depression, blacks began increasingly to turn to Islam. The rise of ideologies that use Islam as their basis, at least in part, owes everything to the state of the nation.

The Moorish Science Temple of America, founded in Newark, New Jersey, in 1913 by Timothy Drew (later Noble Drew Ali), was the first of these ventures into Islam. Noble Drew Ali believed that Morocco was the original land of African Americans, whom he called Asiatics and Moors. Drew Ali claimed that after traveling to Morocco he converted to Islam and received permission to spread Islam in America. This account has been spread for almost a century by community members, but the evidence for this voyage and for meetings between Drew Ali and various Islamic dignitaries has never been documented. Some researchers assert that Drew Ali may have met Muslims from various parts of the world who had immigrated to the East Coast. However it was that he came into contact with Islam, Drew Ali took elements of Islam and combined them with other religious teachings to formulate the *Holy Koran of the Moorish Science Temple of America.* The book's cover asserts that the book had been "divinely prepared by the Prophet Noble drew Ali, by the guiding of his father, God, Allah."

Members of the Moorish Science Temple constructed a new way of life for themselves. They abstained from alcohol, gambling, and pork consumption and embraced clean living, fasting, and prayer. Women covered their heads with turbans made from seven yards of cloth, while men donned fezzes. Modesty of dress was evidenced through the wearing of loose clothing. The *Holy Koran of the Moorish Science Temple* provided a template for personal relationships and etiquette for the public sphere. Moors, as members were called, gained a reputation for clean living, honesty, and frugality—a reputation reflected in some of the works of the Harlem Renaissance. Moors were also entrepreneurial. They manufactured and sold oils and herbal remedies throughout the black community. The popularity of Moorish Science enabled Noble Drew Ali to open ten chapters within ten years in cities in both the Northeast and Midwest. By 1928 he had established seventeen temples in fifteen states.

In the face of competition from numerous other ideologies seeking the allegiance of the black community, the Moorish Science temple taught a very simple definition of Islam: "The cardinal doctrine of Islam is the unity of the Father, Allah, we believe in One God." Perhaps because his community did not follow all of the tenets of Islam and because of his heretical designation of himself as prophet, Drew Ali did not refer to his movement's religion as Islam, but as *Islamism.*

Another Islamic movement embraced by some in the black community was Aḥmadīyah, which has its origins in South Asia. Aḥmadī publishing houses in India were prolific in the production of English-language Islamic materials. During the early years of the twentieth century, most of the English Qurʾāns, English study materials, biographies of the prophet Muḥammad, and Islamic history texts distributed in the United States were produced by them. Most African American Muslims had little knowledge of the debates and conflicts associated with this particular Islamic reform movement in its country of origin, and they eagerly embraced the limited brand of Islamic harmony it advocated. In a social environment in which prophets were many and varied and the safety of every descendant of slaves was at risk, the Aḥmadī version of Islam became popular. As these South Asians embraced African Americans and publicly decried the violence against them, Islam gained a further foothold in the black community. One difference with this community however, was the absence of black nationalism.

Druse Mohammed, son of a Mamlūk military commander, also reported to be a mentor of Marcus Garvey, was a pan-African founder of the Universal Islamic Society in Detroit in 1926. An apparently tireless advocate for human rights, he challenged Europeans to accept an Islam-based universalism as an extension of Enlightenment ideals. He saw Islam as an alternative to Western imperialism. His ideas were readily embraced by African Americans, for whom the Islamic ideal of universal brotherhood was a welcome alternative to the racist practices of Protestant Christianity. Unfortunately, the only accounts of the Universal Islamic Society that exist are a few small pamphlets.

Shaykh Daoud Ahmed Faisal's Islamic Brotherhood (1924; also incorporated as the State Street Mosque and the Islamic Mission) was the first African American Sunnī Muslim group in the United States. Here, as with the Aḥmadīyah movement, the Qurʾān, biographies of Prophet Muḥammad, and accounts of Islamic history formed the central texts. Unlike Aḥmadīyah and the Garvey movement, Shaykh Faisal focused his community efforts directly on the social problems of the black community. Just as Noble Drew Ali sought publicly to distinguish his movement from philosophies of Ethiopianism, black Christian sects, and Garvey's movement, Faisal distinguished Sunnī Islam from both the previously mentioned movements and the Moorish Science Temple. There are nevertheless some curious similarities between Drew Ali and Faisal. Shaykh Faisal also asserted that he received a letter—in his case from Jordan, in 1925—authorizing him to spread Islam. Whatever the genesis of the Islamic Brotherhood, it has been estimated that the group inspired over sixty thousand conversions to Islam during Shaykh Daoud Faisal's lifetime. This community initially used the Qurʾāns and other Islamic literature published by the Aḥmadiyah, but then began producing their own translations.

By 1930, Islam was firmly planted in the black religious landscape. The Great Depression had taken more of a toll on blacks than on whites, and the resultant stress led to the emergence of more prophets and more Muslim communities. The First Mosque of Pittsburgh (1928), a Sunnī congregation, was originally affiliated with the Aḥmadiyah movement, but, armed with knowledge of the Qurʾān and Arabic, they began to challenge the core tenets of the Aḥmadī Mission and its focus on its founder as a prophet. After ten years of fund-raising, this black community bought out the Aḥmadī and moved fully into Sunnī Islam. The 1930s also witnessed the beginnings of the Nation of Islam, a black community that spoke to the hearts of many black Americans and raised the reactionary hatred of white and black Christian communities.

The Nation of Islam had its origins in a collaboration between Wali Fard Mohammed (his ethnicity is still being debated) and Elijah Poole (later known as Elijah Mohammed). It did not become known for its form of Islam, but for its rhetoric attacking Protestant Christian America's treatment of blacks. By publicly labeling whites "the Devil" and detailing the many ways whites sought black genocide, the Nation of Islam insured its popularity among blacks and the hatred and fear of whites. Unlike the Moorish Science Temple, the Nation used the Holy Qurʾān as its focus, augmented by Elijah Mohammed's *How to Eat to Live* and *Message to The Black Man*, and a compilation of Fard Mohammed's lectures called the *Supreme Wisdom.* Like the Moorish Science Temple, the Nation claimed an Asiatic heritage and declared Islam to be original religion of the black man. Also like the Moorish Science Temple, the Nation deviated from Islamic orthodoxy by declaring the holy status of its founders: according to their teachings, Fard Mohammed was God in person and Elijah Mohammed was the messenger of God. The Nation practiced most of the central tenets of Islam, though it adapted them to the social needs of blacks in America. One example was their adaptation of the practice of Ramaḍān (the month of self-restraint), which they moved to December. This shift was seen as necessary both to avoid the temptation to overspend during the Christmas season, and to counteract the focus on Christian celebrations, which imaged the Creator, God, as a white man.

As the Nation of Islam matured, it established temples across the United States in every major city. It is estimated that at its peak there were more than 500,000 registered members. Many researchers assert that much of the growth of the Nation during the 1950s can be attributed to media focus on the charismatic leadership of Malcolm X (formerly Malcolm Little; also known much later as El Hajj Malik Shabazz). The Nation organized itself around Islamic notions of abstention from consumption of pork, gambling, alcohol, narcotics, and lewd behavior. Women were required to attend Muslim Girls Training class in order to learn home economics, and Civilization classes to learn about world and black history. Men were required to become members of the Fruit of Islam, from which they learned about the proper nature of marital relationships, how to conduct themselves privately and publicly, crafts, and the martial arts. While the men donned suits with white shirts and bow ties, the women wore a uniform consisting of a long tunic over a long skirt, with a matching veil.

Building a "righteous nation" that would be independent of whites was the goal. The Nation quickly developed the best drug and narcotics detoxification programs around, and simultaneously developed a wide range of businesses, both to keep members away from the temptations of drug use and to provide a road to self-esteem. Their efforts resulted in the first black parochial school system, a nationwide chain of food stores, cleaners, clothing-manufacturing factories, and restaurants. They acquired farms and, in order to import various goods, entered into contracts with Muslims overseas. They published a national newspaper, books, and pamphlets. The black community took pride in these accomplishments and identified, though distantly, with the Nation's efforts. Perhaps because of the Nation's success, but more likely because of its rhetoric, the U.S. media decided, in the 1950s, that the Nation was the only important manifestation of Islam in the African American community. Naturally, this paved the way for confrontations with other expressions of Islam, especially Sunnī Islam. This antagonistic relationship between different strains of African American Islam characterized the greater portion of the twentieth century.

The Nation of Islam, with a great deal of media assistance, became strongly associated with opposition to the methodologies used by the civil rights movement. Media cast the conflict as one between black separatism and integrationism, totally ignoring the root cause of all black protest—white oppression. Most African American Muslims opposed Martin Luther King's tactics of putting women and children at the front of protest lines to face armed white men with attack dogs. While black Christians hoped that white Christians would eventually find their faith incompatible with the continued persecution of blacks, most African American

Muslims believed that if white society's understanding of Christianity had permitted the violence thus far, change was unlikely. These opposing views became associated with their most ardent voices—Malcolm X and Martin Luther King.

During this period, African American Muslim inmates began to sue the federal government for the right to use Arabic/Muslim names and for the freedom to practice Islam—including the right to have halal meat, Qur'āns, prayer rugs, and so on. After a series of successful litigations, these prisoners firmly established Islam as a part of America's religious landscape. Despite the fact that the actual number of African American Muslims was not that large, Islam began to exert a great deal of influence in the black community. In fact, one of the reasons that African Americans of all religious persuasions supported the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was that it revoked the Oriental Exclusion Act of the 1920s, which prevented immigration from the Muslim world.

By the 1970s, African American Muslim communities had grown in size and religious sophistication. The original communities—the Moorish Science Temple, the Aḥmadīyah, and the Nation of Islam—all widened their membership within the black community. Shaykh Daoud Faisal's community developed into separate entities under the general umbrella of Darul Islam (The Abode/House of Islam). There were at least fourteen philosophically different expressions of Islam in the African American community. The original communities maintained their organizational structures, practices, and beliefs, while the newer communities sought out contact with the Muslim world. Members of the Darul Islam communities traveled to the Sudan, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Morocco to learn Arabic and pursue Islamic studies. Controversy over the definitions of Islam in the United States increased at an accelerated rate. Despite the debates, African American Muslims introduced Islam into the worlds of music, sports, education, health care, and social services, all fields in which they were represented in significant numbers.

The Ansarullah Nubian Islamic Hebrews, led by As-Sayyid Isa Al-Haadi, developed communities across the United States. Starting in 1971 they published over 200 books, almost three hundred cassette tapes, and dozens of videotapes and newspapers. The community in New York City owned a recording studio that provided a base for rhythm-and-blues, rap, and pop musicians. Members of this community lived communally, practicing collective ownership and control of property and goods. Children were raised with Arabic as their only language and were schooled inside the community. Leveling charges of racism and "sectism" at Saudi Arabia, this community found its origins in the Sudan.

Yusuf Muzaffaruddin Hamid led the Islamic Party of North America, which was based primarily in Washington, D.C., but had extensions later on in Georgia and the Caribbean. Hamid journeyed throughout the Muslim world to study the various popular Islamic movements of the 1960s. When he returned, he built an organization dedicated to sharing knowledge of Islam with the general black population of Washington, D.C. While there are only a few publications from this community, they had a very positive and influential impact on black Washington, as they worked to reform drug users and prostitutes and provide tutorial and mentoring services.

One community that became especially renowned among young musicians is the Five Percent Nation, an offshoot of the Nation of Islam. Formally known as the Nation of Gods and Earths, this group was founded in New York City in 1964 by Clarence 13X, a former member of the Nation of Islam. The name of the group came from the Nation of Islam's "Lost Found Nation Lessons." The Five Percent were those who taught righteousness, freedom, justice, and equality to the entire human family. They were destined to be poor, righteous teachers and to struggle especially against the elite. Their connection to Islam, though tenuous at best, remains, and they have been a conduit for young African Americans seeking to explore Islam as a worldview.

With the death of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad in 1975, the Nation of Islam fell into philosophical debates that reached their zenith in a split. Wallace Muhammad declared that his father, Elijah, had always been leading the community toward Sunnī Islam, though he was in error in taking so long. Louis Farrakhan and other ministers disagreed. Wallace (now known as Warithudeen) led those Nation members who followed him through a series of doctrinal and organizational changes. His group first called themselves Bilalians after Bilal ibn Ribah, an Abyssinian slave who converted to Islam and was the first muezzin (person who calls the community to prayer). Several years later (1982), they emerged as the American Muslim Mission. Since the 1990s the community has been called the Muslim American Society, though it is involved in a dispute with an immigrant group over the rights to the name. The original Nation has also gone through changes and further divisions.

Many in the Nation who did not follow Warithudeen Muhammad gave their allegiance to Louis Farrakhan. Some of the philosophical changes that occurred under Louis Farrakhan's leadership mimicked the changes initiated by Warithudeen Muhammad, but they developed over a much longer period of time. In the 1980s Minister Farrakhan solicited aid from African Muslim *imāms* in slowly moving his group into the fold of a more traditional Islam, while maintaining the focus on the concerns in the black community. Others in the original Nation chose neither Farrakhan nor Muhammad as their leader. Rather they selected another very outspoken minister, Silas Muhammad. Minister Silas Muhammad has primarily made his presence felt in the international arena of human rights debates in the Hague. Still others chose Elijah Muhammad's brother, John Muhammad, while some decided to continue with the original platform of the Nation, acknowledging only the Honorable Elijah Muhammad as leader.

Most communities of African American Muslims are still in the process of maturation. Members of most communities have continued to study overseas in the Muslim world, but there has not been much in the way of literary production. Represented most heavily in the worlds of music and sports, African American Muslims rarely enter the political fray. Their apolitical stance is attributable both to the fatigue and despair that followed the civil rights movement and to the discouragement of "learned" members of the immigrant communities. Recently, however, there has been some increase in political activism and a number of Muslims have run for and now hold political and judicial offices.

European-American Muslims have been present in Islam in the United States at least since the conversion of Alexander Webb in the late nineteenth century. Though few in number, their diligence regarding outreach across ethnic barriers and to the larger white society, along with their novelty, has kept them in the forefront of the communities to which they belong. The number of European-American Muslims is growing, and is currently estimated to be in the tens of thousands.

Latino Americans have been converting to Islam for the last thirty years, largely from Catholicism but also from Pentecostal Christianity. Since many do not change their names upon conversion, there numbers are hard to track. One recent survey of mosques found Latino mosques in New York, Los Angeles, Newark, and Chicago. This survey also concluded that 6 percent of American converts are Latino. Most Latino-American Muslims consider Islam a natural heritage and point to the many Arabic words and names in Spanish. Many converts to Islam have spoken at conferences and seminars on their conversions, citing differences with the Catholic Church over the concept of the Trinity and also the notion of "mysteries of the Church" behind such concepts.

Alianza Islamica, founded in 1975 by a group of Puerto Rican converts, was the first Latino Muslim association in the United States. Working closely with African American Muslims, they are at the forefront of battles against urban gang activity, drug dealing, and prostitution. They sponsor mentoring and cultural programs, along with forums on HIV and AIDS. Like African American Muslims, they have had myriad problems with immigrant Muslims. Since the founding of Alianza Islamica, quite a few Latino Muslim organizations have emerged, such as the Latino American Dawah Organization, which works to educate Latinos about Islam.

Students and professionals from the Muslim world began immigrating to the United States in the late 1960s. At first, many immigrants prayed with African Americans, but as their numbers grew they formed communities based on common language, common ethinicitcy, and, when possible, common regional origin. Arab Muslim students formed the first Muslim Student's Association (MSA) in 1963. The MSAs firmly established Islam as an available worldview among the educated elite. Muslims, recruited as healthcare professionals, scientists, and technology experts, brought an Islamic presence to places where it had not previously been. It is estimated that Muslims currently comprise a significant percent of the physicians, architects, and scientists in large corporations and hospitals. The architect of the Sears Tower in Chicago was a Muslim.

Immigrant Muslims in the United States come from eighty-four countries. Predominately, they are Sunnī Muslim, but there are also Shīʿī, Ṣūfī, and Ismāʿīlī communities. Researchers report that Shīʿī and Ismāʿīlī Muslims make up 15 to 20 percent of the immigrant Muslim population, and that the majority of Muslim university professors belong to one of these two groups. In the various Sunnī Muslim communities, the competition for leadership is fierce. Arabs have the greatest say in defining Islam, while South Asians vie with them and with each other for authority. Some differences between groups are becoming sharper, while at the same time recognition of common ground is also increasing. Most of the immigrant communities still tend to be ethnocentric, staying away from each other and from the larger American community.

Both Arab and South Asian Muslims have formed a number of professional and social organizations, many of which are national. These organizations have assisted them in settling in the United States and provide venues for discussions of intracommunity issues and general social gatherings. They also facilitate marriages between young adults. Whether Sunnī or Shīʿī, most immigrants marry endogamously, maintain traditional customs at home, and predominately speak Arabic, Urdu, or their mother tongue.

Ṣūfī orders have increased their numbers in the last two decades. Some are Sunnī, others Shīʿī. Most of the members are white, middle- and upper-middle-class American converts, but there are also a small number of immigrant and African American converts. African Muslim immigrants come from a variety of countries, but they are small in number, with Somali refugees forming what is perhaps the largest single ethnic group. All immigrant communities have established an informal economy through networks connecting them with their former homelands.

Few Muslims live in rural America. The suburbs of major cities continue to be where residential communities are established and mosques are built. Yet immigrant Muslims have not yet become an integral part of these suburban communities. The Islamic presence, however, is visible. This visibility and lack of community participation has led to vandalism of mosques and attacks on individual Muslim families, especially in the period since September 11, 2001.

Since that date, 13,740 Muslims have been detained and ordered into deportation proceedings (as of 2004). Many Muslims from countries targeted by the U.S. government for support of terrorist activities have fled to Canada or simply gone "home." The immigrant Muslim community lives in perpetual fear of night raids, of their coworkers calling the FBI or CIA, and of mosque invasions and deportations. The actions of the U.S. government have encouraged various media personalities to attack Islam and Muslims, leading in turn to several Constitutional debates about the First Amendment. As a result, immigrant Muslims are debating to what extent they can or should become "Americans."

SEE ALSO African American Religions, article on Muslim Movements; Malcolm X; Nation of Islam.

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AMINAH BEVERLY MCCLOUD (2005)

ISLAMIC LAW

This entry consists of the following articles:

SHARĪʿAH
PERSONAL LAW

ISLAMIC LAW: SHARĪʿAH

Sharīʿah is an Arabic term used to designate Islamic law. It originally referred to a path trodden by camels to a water source, and the commonly used Arabic phrase *al-sharīʿah al-islāmīyah* may be translated as "the Islamic way." In the case of Islamic law, the way is one that leads the righteous believer to Paradise in the afterlife. The *sharīʿah* is not deemed a religious law by virtue of the subject matters it covers, for these range far beyond the sphere of religious concerns strictly speaking and extend to the mundane affairs of everyday life. Rather, its religious character is due to the Muslim belief that it derives from divinely inspired sources and represents God's plan for the proper ordering of all human activities. Although Muslims agree that they are bound by the *sharīʿah,* the interpretations of its requirements have differed historically according to sectarian and school divisions and, in modern times, also according to differing views of how the *sharīʿah* applies in the changed circumstances of present-day societies.

The interpretations of the requirements of the *sharīʿah* are contained in the *fiqh.* In a general sense, *fiqh* means "knowledge" or "understanding," but it is also used in the more specific sense of Islamic jurisprudence. *Sharīʿah* and *fiqh* are often treated as synonymous terms designating the body of rules constituting Islamic law. However, *fiqh* can also refer to the science of interpreting the *sharīʿah.*

ORIGINS AND NATURE. The historical origin of the *sharīʿah* lies in the revelation that Muslims believe was given to the prophet Muḥammad by God through the vehicle of the archangel Gabriel in the last decades before the Prophet's death in 632 CE. This divine revelation was later recorded in a text known as the Qurʾān. Although only a small portion of the Qurʾān concerns strictly legal questions, it sets forth a number of general principles regarding how Muslims are to conduct themselves. The Qurʾān is replete with commands to believers to abide by God's limits, to obey God and his Prophet, and to judge according to what God has laid down. It contains many references to God's laws and commands. The prevailing view among Muslims is that the Qurʾān laid the underpinnings for a distinctively Islamic legal order and one that all Muslims are bound to follow as a token of their submission (*islām* in Arabic) to the will of God.

From this kernel the *sharīʿah* grew into a vast corpus of law. One of the great, challenging issues of Islamic intellectual history has been that of defining the relationship between the text of divine revelation and subsequent legal development, an effort that has entailed the working out of a theory of resources to provide an Islamic theoretical basis for resolving legal problems not explicitly addressed in the Qurʾān.

Sharīʿah rules were part of the positive law applied by the government of the early Muslim community, which was originally conceived as an entity where political and religious loyalties would be coterminous. At the same time, the *sharīʿah* was also understood as a system of moral guidance for the individual believer.

In the Islamic view, governments exist only to ensure that the *sharīʿah* is properly administered and enforced. Governments are subordinate to the *sharīʿah* and must execute its commands and prohibitions. In other words, what Islam envisages is a scheme of divine nomocracy, in which the law is the medium of social control—truly, a government of laws, not of men.

Should the government of a Muslim society fail in its obligation to uphold the *sharīʿah* as the positive law, or the judges of this world fail in their obligation to administer justice in accordance with the *sharīʿah,* the individual believer would still be held to the responsibility incumbent upon all Muslims to conform their behavior to the *sharīʿah.* On the Day of Judgment each Muslim will be held to account for any personal failures to comply with the commands and prohibitions of the *sharīʿah.*

Classification of acts. The dual nature of the *sharīʿah* as positive law and deontology, serving the combined functions of law and of what in some other religious systems might be moral philosophy, is reflected in the fact that Muslim jurists distinguish between two fundamentally different ways of classifying human acts. One way is to assess the moral character of acts, an assessment that corresponds to the deontological quality of the *sharīʿah.* For this task there exists a fivefold scheme of classification, according to which an act may be mandatory, recommended, neutral (that is, entailing no moral consequences), blameworthy, or prohibited. Knowledge of this classification scheme enables pious Muslims to follow a meritorious course of conduct that will ensure their salvation on the Day of Judgment.

The second way of classifying acts reflects the fact that the *sharīʿah* is meant to be used as the positive law of Muslim societies. The fundamental distinction made by Muslim jurists in this connection is between acts that are legally binding and valid and those that are of no legal effect or invalid. They also distinguish between licit acts and illicit acts warranting the imposition of penalties or exposing the actor (and potentially persons in privity with the actor) to legal liability. The classifications in the two schemes are not correlated; from knowledge of how an act is to be evaluated from the ethical standpoint, one cannot draw any automatic conclusions about the legal validity or invalidity of an act or whether it is punishable or goes unpunished by worldly authorities. Likewise, one cannot safely make assumptions about how acts will be classified from an ethical standpoint based on whether they are legally valid or not or whether they entail penalties or legal liability.

The precise nature of the relationship between the *sharīʿah* and Islamic theology is not easy to delineate and has been the subject of disagreement among Muslim scholars of Islamic philosophy, theology, and law over the centuries. However, throughout the history of Islam there has been a tendency to emphasize the elaboration of exact standards for conduct rather than setting detailed standards for what Muslims should believe, and, by extension, to require adherence to the standards of orthopraxis rather than demanding orthodoxy of creed.

Principal divisions. The two principal divisions of the *sharīʿah* are based on the subject categories of legal rules. The first category is that of the *ʿibadāt,* or strictly religious obligations. These comprise the believer's duties vis-à-vis the deity. In this category one finds very extensive rules regarding precisely how to carry out the acts of worship and religious observances incumbent on the individual Muslim. The performance of daily prayers (*ṣalāt*), the pilgrimage to Mecca (*ḥājj*), the practice of fasting during the month of Ramaḍān (*ṣawm*), and the payment of the alms tax (*zakāt*) are all regulated by the rules of *ʿibadāt.* These, along with the profession of faith (*shahādah*), constitute the so-called pillars of the faith in Islam. Ancillary rules such as those for identifying sources of ritual pollution and setting forth the requirements for the ablutions necessary to achieve a state of ritual purity, the techniques for correct preparation of a corpse for burial, and the selection of a prayer leader in a given congregation are likewise included in the *ʿibadāt* category.

The Islamic concern for orthopraxis in religious matters clearly emerges from any examination of the very exacting scheme of *ʿibadāt* rules. While some specific provisions of *ʿibadāt* rules vary according to sectarian and school divisions, one finds considerable agreement on the fundamental features of the *sharīʿah* in this area. Within a given sect, the rules of *ʿibadāt* have tended to remain relatively stable and uncontroversial over the centuries.

The other main category of *sharīʿah* rules is that of the *muʿamalāt,* which regulate the conduct of interpersonal relations rather than the relationship of the believer to the deity. There is considerable diversity among the sects and schools regarding the *sharīʿah* rules in this category. In the early twenty-first century there is also significant controversy about the degree to which these rules, originally formulated by medieval jurists, need to be updated and reformed in the light of modern circumstances.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT. The question of the historical development of the *sharīʿah* cannot be fairly discussed without acknowledging the deep and persistent cleavage between the views set forth in modern Western scholarship and the views of the majority of Muslim scholars. The positions that have been taken by Western scholars regarding the historical development of Islamic law challenge deeply held convictions of most Muslim scholars and are strongly reprehended by the latter. The nature of the differing views and their implications will be explained in what follows.

The relation of the Qurʾān to previous law. As already noted, the Qurʾān provided the original kernel of *sharīʿah* law. Most of the Qurʾānic verses dealing with legal questions were transmitted to the Prophet in the decade after the Hijrah, or flight from Mecca to Medina (622 CE).

An unresolved dispute in Islamic jurisprudence stems from the question of whether the rules set forth in the Qurʾān should be regarded as a break with the preexisting system of western Arabian customary law or whether the revelations came to modify and reform some aspects of that law while otherwise retaining it. Some Muslim scholars have concluded that the great unevenness in depth of coverage of different topics in Qurʾanic legislation should be taken to imply that the resulting gaps were intended to be filled by reference to those pre-Islamic customary laws that were not changed by the Qurʾān, while others see in it a fresh starting point for legal development.

The Sunnī-Shīʿī division. The death of the prophet Muḥammad in 632 CE marked the end of the period of Qurʾanic revelation to the Muslim community. Until the Umayyad dynasty (661–750) came to power, the community was ruled by four leaders known as the Rāshidūn, or the "Rightly Guided [Caliphs]." The assumption of leadership by the Umayyads had great consequences for both sectarian and legal developments. Repudiating the Umayyads, the Shīʿī and Khārijī factions both broke away from the main body of Muslims, who came to be called Sunnīs, and their respective legal orientations thenceforth diverged. The Khārijīs (also known as the Ibadiyah) believed that the leadership of the Muslim community should be determined by elections and that Muslims had the right to rebel against an unqualified ruler. This Khārijī position has generally been regarded as heretical by other Muslims, and although small Khārijī communities have survived in remote areas of the Muslim world, Khārijī thought has been marginalized by the majority. The Shīʿī faction believed that the first three caliphs had usurped the rule of the community, which in their view should have passed to the fourth of the Rāshidūn, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. 661), a cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet. While Sunnī Muslims subsequently looked to the pronouncements and examples of all of the Rāshidūn for authority on how the community should be governed and for guidance on questions of Islamic law, the Shīʿah repudiated the authority of all but the caliph ʿAlī.

Not only did the Shīʿah believe that the caliph ʿAlī had been the rightful successor of the Prophet, but they also believed that leadership of the community rightfully still belonged to ʿAlī's blood descendants after the civil war that resulted in his death and the establishment of a hereditary monarchy by the victorious Umayyads. Those of the caliph ʿAlī's descendants who inherited his authority were known as *imāms*, and like him they were believed by the Shīʿah to share the same divine inspiration that had enabled the Prophet, while himself not divine, to make authoritative pronouncements on *sharīʿah* law. That is, their *imāms* were qualified to interpret the divine will for humankind and could thus serve as an ongoing link between God the Lawgiver and the community after the death of the Prophet. The Shīʿī community subsequently split into subsects over questions of who was entitled to succeed to the position of *imām.* The largest of the subsects, the Twelvers, believes that the last imam, who disappeared in 874, went into a state of occultation from which he is expected eventually to return, while the other subsects follow lines of *imāms* whose descent has continued into the modern era.

The earliest stage of *sharīʿah* law. For Sunnīs the possibility of divine revelation and the making of new Islamic law ceased with the death of the Prophet. Subsequent generations of Muslims who were concerned with how to establish a legal system on an Islamic basis were thus faced with a problem of scarce source material. Although there is little information on the development of legal thought in the generations immediately following the death of the Prophet, it does not appear that this problem was initially of great concern to the leaders of the community, who were preoccupied with the challenges of meeting the military threats to the growing Islamic polity and administering its rapidly expanding territory. *Ad hoc* measures and a spirit of pragmatism appear to have characterized much of the decision making of the early political leaders, who also served as judges.

A view common in Western scholarship is that as the new empire absorbed its early conquests of Syria, Iraq, Egypt, and Iran, it was also exposed to influences from the local civilizations, which included the very highly developed legal cultures of Romano-Byzantine law, Jewish law, Sasanid law, and the law of the Eastern Christian churches. An assumption commonly made by Western scholars is that educated converts to Islam from these cultures perpetuated the legal traditions of the conquered civilizations, which, in a syncretic process, were assimilated into the nascent Islamic legal culture. According to this perspective, the ostensibly Islamic derivation of much of *sharīʿah* law is the product of later attempts to create Islamic pedigrees for legal principles actually borrowed from other legal traditions by linking them to Islamic sources. Most Muslim scholars absolutely reject this view and take the position that *sharīʿah* law owes no debt whatsoever to any non-Islamic tradition. In any event, it must be said that the historical and comparative legal research that would be needed to prove or disprove scientifically either of these two theses has never been undertaken, and the dispute about the relation of the *sharīʿah* to other legal traditions in the areas first conquered by the Islamic empire cannot be resolved at present.

Ancient law schools. The jurisprudence of the Sunnī branch of *sharīʿah* law had its beginnings in what are called the ancient schools of law. Within a century of the Prophet's death there were prominent law schools in various cities in Iraq, Syria, and the Ḥijāz. It appears that the scholars in these ancient schools felt free to resort to ratiocination to develop legal rules for new situations and that they may also have been influenced in their approach to legal questions by the judicial practice of the tribunals set up by the Umayyad rulers. While individual scholars did attain renown in this period, what was viewed as the normative legal standard was the consensus of the scholars in a given locality, or the *sunnah*—roughly, "custom"—of the school. Some attempts were made to establish Islamic derivations for such local custom, which might be ascribed to early authorities in the first generation of the Muslim community, including the Prophet himself.

The traditionist movement. Meanwhile, a second movement was under way, that of the traditionists, who began to make their influence felt in the course of the second century after the Prophet's death. The traditionists did not accept the authority of the *sunnah* of the ancient schools, nor did they accept the practice of the scholars of those ancient schools who relied on juristic opinion to resolve legal questions. Instead, the traditionists proposed that accounts relating the sayings and doings of the Prophet should be treated as legally binding statements of law. The traditionists collected traditions, known as *ḥadīth* (pl., *aḥadīth*), which purported to record the Prophet's sayings and his reactions to the different situations he had confronted.

Unlike the Qurʾān, the final version of which was written down in 653 and which most Muslims believe accurately represents God's speech, the authenticity of the *ḥadīth* literature was immediately challenged by Muslim scholars unsympathetic to the traditionists' thesis. The early traditionists tried to meet their opponents' criticisms by developing criteria for distinguishing sound *ḥadīth* from those that were not genuine, an effort that resulted in the development of an elaborate science of *ḥadīth* criticism. The dispute regarding the authenticity of the *ḥadīth* has persisted to the present and has meant that a substantial part of Islamic jurisprudence is and always has been a source of controversy among Muslims.

The genuineness of the *ḥadīth* literature is yet another point on which modern Western scholars tend to find themselves in disagreement with many of their Muslim counterparts. The prevailing view among Western scholars has been that most, if not all, of the *ḥadīth* are pious forgeries put into circulation by traditionists of the first and second Muslim centuries with a view to creating Islamic pedigrees for rules of law that had originally been the products of juristic reasoning or judicial practice, that were inherited from Arabian customary law, or that were borrowed from other legal cultures. Western scholarship has generally evaluated the traditional science of *ḥadīth* criticism as inadequate for differentiating historically accurate accounts from later fabrications. In the view of most Muslims, including those who have reservations about the genuineness of some of the *ḥadīth* and the adequacy of *ḥadīth* scholarship, these Western criticisms are excessively harsh. Wholesale dismissals of the *ḥadīth* literature as a product of later forgeries and of the traditional science of *ḥadīth* criticism as defective are rarely encountered in Muslim scholarship.

The beginnings of the classical law schools. Despite the initial resistance that it encountered, the traditionists' position steadily gained ground at the expense of the influence of the ancient schools of law in the second century after the death of the Prophet. The ancient schools did not disappear but adapted in differing degrees to the new trends in legal thought. It is in the second century AH (ninth century CE) that the foundations were laid for the development of what were subsequently to become the classical *sharīʿah* schools. Each school came to be referred to by the name of an eponymous founder, but it should be noted that the views of the scholars who gave their names to schools did not always prevail among their immediate disciples, much less among their later followers.

The oldest of the classical Sunnī schools is the Mālikī, which originated in Medina and was named after the prominent legal scholar and traditionist Mālik ibn Anas (d. 796). Respect for the *sunnah* of Medina as the place most closely associated with the mission of the Prophet and the first Muslim community persisted in the legal thought of the Mālikī school.

The Ḥanafī school was meanwhile developing in the context of the legal community in Kufa in southern Iraq. Although the school was named after a prominent local jurist, Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 767), its followers actually often showed greater deference to the views of two of his disciples, Abū Yūsuf (d. 798) and al-Shaybānī (d. 805). The Ḥanafī school bore many traces of influences from the Iraqi environment in which it developed. Ḥanafī jurists attached great importance to systematic consistency in legal thought and the refinement of legal principles. They used juristic speculation to develop rules and characteristically resolved legal questions through formalistic approaches.

Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī (d. 820), the founder of the school that bears his name, was associated with the city of Medina. He ranks prominently in the history of Islamic legal thought and promoted the eventual triumph of the traditionist thesis in classical Islamic legal thought. According to al-Shāfiʿī, the *sunnah* of the Prophet as embodied in the *ḥadīth* totally superseded the *sunnah* of the ancient schools as a normative legal standard. Al-Shāfiʿī thus elevated the *sunnah* of the Prophet to the status of a source of law coequal with the Qurʾān. He articulated the view, which subsequently found widespread acceptance, that the *sunnah* of the Prophet explained the meaning of the Qurʾān.

Having established the Qurʾān and the much more extensive corpus of *ḥadīth* literature as the material sources of the *sharīʿah,* al-Shāfiʿī rejected the use of juristic opinion or speculative reasoning in formulating legal principles and insisted that jurists be restricted to the use of analogical reasoning (*Qiyās*), to extend principles in the sources to cover problems not explicitly addressed in the texts of the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth.* In his view, only by insisting that jurists limit themselves to such careful, piecemeal extensions of principles in the texts could one be sure that the jurists were not injecting undue subjective elements into their interpretations of *sharīʿah* requirements or distorting the rules set forth in the sources. Al-Shāfiʿī also refused to accord any weight to juristic consensus and held that the only binding consensus would be one among all members of the Muslim community. Despite his prestige, al-Shāfiʿī was unable to prevail on this last point even among members of his own school, who, like most Sunnī Muslims, came to believe that *ijmāʿ*, or the consensus of all the jurists in a given generation, could conclusively validate the correctness of a legal proposition and foreclose further debate. In general outlines, the jurisprudence developed by later members of the Shāfiʿī school has much in common with that of the Ḥanafī school.

The last of the classical Sunnī schools crystallized around Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 855), a traditionist from Baghdad who traveled widely among different centers of learning. Subsequent members of the Ḥanbalī school have shared Ibn Ḥanbal's traditionist orientation and his concern for the consensus of the companions of the Prophet, but individual Ḥanbalī scholars have taken diverging opinions on questions of jurisprudence. The doctrines of the Ḥanbalī school, and particularly those of its more idiosyncratic members, are difficult to characterize, so that it is necessary to be wary of generalizations purporting to describe broad features of Ḥanbalī doctrine.

Other schools of law founded in the first centuries of Islam have not survived into the modern era. Perhaps the most influential of these was the Ẓāhirī school founded by Dāwūd ibn Khalaf (d. 884). It takes its name from the Arabic *ẓāhir,* meaning "that which is apparent" and referring to the insistence of this school that the *sharīʿah* required literal adherence to the words of the Qurʾān and the *sunnah.* In the Ẓāhirī school, human interpretations of their meanings were not binding.

The development of the legal doctrines of the early Shīʿī schools, aside from their shared doctrine regarding the *imāms*' title to succeed to the leadership of the community, seems to have begun somewhat later. It is important to note that while sectarian disputes in Islam often led to the development of bitter intellectual antagonisms and sometimes took on political dimensions, within the Sunnī sect legal scholars generally demonstrated great tolerance of and even respect for divergent opinions on the part of members of the four classical schools, all four of which were regarded as equally orthodox.

The Islamizing impetus in Islamic legal development that had been encouraged by the traditionist movement was also promoted by the official policies of the Abbasid dynasty, which justified its overthrow of the Umayyads in 750 on the basis of its greater claims to Islamic legitimacy and piety. The Abbasids manifested a desire that all persons in their domains, including the rulers, should follow the commands and prohibitions of the *sharīʿah.* They elevated the *sharīʿah* to the status of the official law to be applied in the courts by *qāḍīs,* or judges, who were required to be well versed in it. However, before many decades passed, it became abundantly clear that for the Abbasids, promoting the cause of the *sharīʿah* was entirely subordinate to the achievement of their dynastic political objectives. As a result, many jurists who were unwilling to readjust their idealistic views of the role that Islamic law should play in the governance of the Muslim community to the dictates of political expediency retreated from all contact with government and the administration of justice. It became common for great jurists to shun positions in courts and to retire to lives of scholarship and academic disputations. With this abjuring of political involvement, the basic elements in Sunnī law on the subject of how the Muslim community should be governed tended to remain fixed at the stage of elaborating models derived from the era of the Rāshidūn caliphs, despite the fact that the practical relevance of these models had been superseded by changed historical realities.

Uṣūl al-fiqh. With the development of the classical schools of Islamic law came the articulation of the principles of *uṣūl al-fiqh,* the roots or sources of jurisprudence. Although the *uṣūl* are often called sources of the *sharīʿah,* only the Qurʾān and the *sunnah* are material sources. Ultimately, the study of *uṣūl al-fiqh* is concerned with establishing a science of proofs of the Islamic derivation of substantive legal principles, thus enabling the jurist to discern which legal rules are correct statements of *sharīʿah* principles. The rules shown by this science to be authentically Islamic are known as the *furūʿ al-fiqh,* the branches of jurisprudence. The study of *uṣūl* has been one of the major preoccupations of Muslim jurists over the centuries and continues to be so in the early twenty-first century. As the subsequent history of the development of the *sharīʿah* demonstrates, the influence of al-Shāfiʿī on the fomulation of the classical Sunnī theory of *uṣūl al-fiqh*—a formulation that was basically complete by the ninth century—was considerable.

The first root of the *fiqh* is the Qurʾān. In the prevailing view, it is to be treated as the eternal and uncreated word of God, part of his essence. Although the Qurʾanic revelation constitutes the starting point for the development of the *sharīʿah,* a relatively small portion of *sharīʿah* rules can be traced directly to the text of the Qurʾān. Aside from setting forth rules regarding acts of worship and the rituals that they entail, the Qurʾān includes extensive provisions on intestate succession, many on domestic relations and the status of women, a few criminal laws, and some rules of evidence and contracts.

Muslim jurists developed an elaborate methodology to interpret the Qurʾān, and, in fact, the legal significance of the Qurʾān cannot be properly understood without an appreciation of this methodology. Muslim jurists themselves have differed over the legal significance of many specific lines of the Qurʾān. Some differences in the legal principles derived from the Qurʾān relate to the sectarian divisions of Islam; perhaps the most striking example lies in the laws of intestate succession among the Sunnīs and the Twelver branch of the Shīʿah. From the same Qurʾanic verses, which are more extensive on this subject than on any other legal topic, the two groups have derived markedly contrasting legal rules. In the Sunnī view, the Qurʾān meant to retain, with only limited modifications, the pre-Islamic Arabian scheme of agnatic succession, in which males inheriting through the male line got a major part of the estate. By contrast, the Twelver Shīʿī jurists held that, in designating inheritance shares for females and the children and parents of the deceased, the Qurʾān was implicitly repudiating the customary law of pre-Islamic Arabia and setting forth a completely different scheme of succession. As a result, Sunnī law favors inheritance by agnatic kinsmen, while that of the Twelvers favors the inheritance by the children and parents of the deceased, including females.

Al-Shāfiʿī succeeded in persuading subsequent jurists that the *sunnah* of the Prophet should be treated as the second root of Islamic jurisprudence and a source co-equal with the Qurʾān. It is generally accepted among Muslims not only that the Prophet was a perfect human being and thus worthy of emulation, but also that he enjoyed divine inspiration and thus could make no error in matters of religion or *sharīʿah* law. As noted, challenges to the authenticity of the *ḥadīth* literature on which the understanding of the Prophet's *sunnah* rested generated a science of *ḥadīth* criticism to weed out unsound or dubious accounts. In addition, methodologies were worked out to reconcile seeming contradictions and inconsistencies in different *ḥadīth* and between *ḥadīth* and verses of the Qurʾān. As in the case of the Qurʾān, reading the *ḥadīth* literature without a grasp of how orthodox Islamic scholarship interprets the legal implications of the *ḥadīth* and the relevant jurisprudence can lead to erroneous conclusions.

Most Sunnī Muslims have taken the view that the *ḥadīth* assembled in certain classic collections, such as those of al-Bukhari and Muslim, which date from the latter part of the third century AH, should be regarded as genuine, while members of the other sects rely on their own *ḥadīth* collections, which include many *ḥadīth* accounts that conflict with those in other collections and support their respective sectarian legal positions. Challenges to the authenticity of the *ḥadīth,* which have repeatedly arisen in various forms over the history of Islam, have important implications for the *sharīʿah.* Since the *ḥadīth* literature is very extensive (classical collections contain more than four thousand reports) and covers a much wider range of topics than the legal verses in the Qurʾān, it has supplied the Islamic rationale for a major part of *sharīʿah* law, which would forfeit its Islamic legitimacy if the *ḥadīth* literature were discredited.

Qiyās, reasoning by analogy, is a method for expanding the rules in the Qurʾān and *sunnah* to cover problems not expressly addressed in the sources. Most Sunnīs accept *qiyās* as the third root of *fiqh. Qiyās* involves the application of a legal ruling from a case mentioned in the Qurʾān or *sunnah* to a subcase not mentioned in the text but sufficiently related to permit coverage by analogical extension. Even though many jurists insisted on the use of *qiyās* on the theory that extending the scope of principles in the Qurʾān and *sunnah* by analogical reasoning minimized the risk of distorting those principles, a number of Sunnī jurists remained critical of its limitations on the grounds of the subjective element it involved. The extension of rules through *qiyās* ultimately involves human judgment, since it is first necessary to identify the reason underlying the original rule set forth in the text. In practice, jurists have been far from unanimous in their identification of these underlying reasons, with the result that they have extended the rules of the Qurʾān and *sunnah* in different ways. The reliance on analogical reasoning meant that Sunnī jurists analyzed series of concrete instances of application of specific rules rather than trying to abstract general rules from the sources. As new issues arose and generated Islamic rules coined by the use of analogy, these rules were added to the earlier compilations without attempts to synthesize and codify the underlying legal principles.

Twelver Shīʿī jurists do not accept the Sunnī model of *qiyās.* Many of them use forms of juristic reasoning that are not limited to drawing analogies in order to construe the meaning of the Qurʾān and *sunnah.* Known as the Uṣūlīyah, Twelver Shīʿī jurists who believe that *sharīʿah* rules can be extended by human reason have historically been opposed by another faction of jurists, the Akhbariyah, who insist that rules generated by human reason cannot be binding statements of *sharīʿah* law and argue that the Qurʾān and the *sunnah* of the Prophet and the Shīʿī *imāms* alone provide trustworthy guidance.

Ijmāʿ refers to the retroactive ratification of the correctness of an interpretation of *sharīʿah* requirements. Most Sunnīs treat *ijmāʿ,* which is constituted by the consensus of all the jurists of one generation, as the fourth root of *fiqh.* According to the majority Sunnī position, once a legal principle has won such unanimous endorsement, it becomes definitively established and cannot be challenged by subsequent generations. Al-Shāfiʿī's different view of *ijmā ʿ* has already been noted. Prominent Ḥanbalī scholars have been among those who have rejected the binding force of *ijmaʿ* as defined by the majority; they claim that only the consensus of the companions of the Prophet could bind later Muslims. Also among the critics of the Sunnī view of *ijmāʿ* are the Twelver Shīʿah, who have historically taken a variety of positions on the significance of *ijmāʿ* and how it is constituted.

This bare summary of the basic principles of *uṣūl al-fiqh* does not begin to do justice to the tremendously complex and subtle analysis that Islamic legal scholarship is capable of bringing to bear on questions of the Islamic derivation of legal rules. Problems of *uṣūl al-fiqh* have attracted the attention of many of the finest Muslim scholars over the centuries and are still capable of generating controversy and provoking important intellectual developments.

In addition to the fundamental rules of *uṣūl al-fiqh,* there are subsidiary law-finding principles that are used to interpret the requirements of *sharīʿah* law. These principles provide the jurist with guidelines for resolving questions of *sharīʿah* law where the usual sources offer no unequivocal answer or where the facts of the case mean that the application of an otherwise dispositive principle will produce an unsatisfactory result. Predictably, these subsidiary principles vary considerably according to school and sectarian affiliations, and even within one school individual jurists may display different views on their use. An example of such a subsidiary principle is *maṣlaḥah* (considerations of public welfare), which was particularly emphasized in Mālikī jurisprudence. By reference to the criterion of *maṣlaḥah,* Muslim jurists can adjust their interpretations of *sharīʿah* requirements to promote the well-being of society.

Jurists and the development of the *sharīʿah.* With the foundation of the classical schools of Islamic law and the formulation of the fundamental principles of *uṣūl al-fiqh,* the *sharīʿah* became a jurists' law, and exhaustive training in law and ancillary disciplines was essential for interpreting how the *sharīʿah* applied to a given problem. The jurist, or *faqīh* (pl., *fuqahāʾ*), came to enjoy great prestige as a result of his monopoly of expertise regarding the sacred law. The prominence and power of the *fuqahāʾ* as a class in Muslim societies has in some instances led to the misperception that Islam envisages a theocratic system of government. In fact, it is the *sharīʿah* itself that is supposed to be the instrument of social control, and the *fuqahāʾ,* in theory powerless to alter the law, are no more than its faithful interpreters. For the most part, the *fuqahāʾ* have eschewed direct participation in the affairs of government and an overt role in political life.

The task of interpreting the requirements of the *sharīʿah* is termed *ijtihād,* and the person performing the interpretation is termed a *mujtahid.* The exercise of *ijtihād* by the early jurists defined the basic contours of the *sharīʿah* by the start of the tenth century CE. It has been widely believed that in Sunnī jurisprudence, the *fuqahāʾ* were deemed to be bound by the solutions to legal problems that had been reached by jurists of earlier generations on the grounds that the latter, being closer in time to the prophet Muḥammad, were less likely to fall into error than scholars of later generations. This bar to reexamination of previously decided questions of *sharīʿah* law has been termed "the closing of the door of *ijtihād.*" Never recognized by Twelver Shīʿī law, deference to established tradition may have inhibited innovative thought and retarded legal reform in Sunnī circles, although not in the Ḥanbalī school, where many jurists denied that they could be bound by the *ijtihād* of their predecessors. However, the proposition that the doctrine of *taqlīd,* or obedience to established legal authority, immutably fixed *sharīʿah* doctrines at an early stage and had a stultifying impact on the evolution of *sharīʿah* law has been challenged. Whether and to what degree *taqlīd* actually inhibited jurists from adjusting legal doctrines to respond to the exigencies of their changing environment needs to be reevaluated.

Of course, even if Sunnī jurists did consider themselves bound in areas where there had been *ijtihād* by the jurists of the first centuries, they were left free to resolve questions that had not been definitively settled by their predecessors. In Muslim societies, important new problems of *sharīʿah* law were traditionally referred for resolution to a qualified *mujtahid.* In Sunnī environments this function was exercised by scholars who had attained the status of *muftī,* meaning that they were able to issue *fatwās*, or binding legal rulings, on such problems. A *muftī* might act in a private capacity, advising individuals who came to him with inquiries about how the *sharīʿah* applied to a problem, but jurists were appointed as official or governmental *muftīs* by rulers. *Fatwās* that were widely respected and collected for further use and study could be incorporated in *fiqh* works and could acquire considerable currency and authority.

In contrast to the important role played by *fatwās* in the development of *sharīʿah* rules, only rarely were decisions rendered by *qāḍīs* in actual cases treated as authoritative in the *fiqh* literature. Most of the *fuqahāʾ* did not recognize judicial precedent as binding, perhaps because in the wake of the disenchantment with government after the first Abbasids many of the more eminent *fuqahāʾ* preferred to disassociate themselves from the court system and often declined to serve when offered judgeships. The one important exception in this regard occurred in Morocco, where *ʿamal,* or judicial practice, was considered authoritative.

THE MATURE CLASSICAL LAW SCHOOLS. From the tenth century until the disruptive impact of European imperialism made itself felt in India in the eighteenth century, and in the other parts of the Muslim world in the nineteenth century, there was no major discontinuity in the development of doctrines of the classical law schools. Instead, one could say that this period was devoted to refining and amplifying the early treatments of Islamic jurisprudence.

As the schools matured, their doctrines became more elaborate—often, as already noted, deviating from the views of their eponymous founders. Although the schools did not require that all members adhere to precisely the same doctrines, within each school there tended to be a core of doctrines that enjoyed widespread acceptance and that embodied a distinctive approach to the resolution of legal problems. The jurists of the different schools wrote treatises on *fiqh* that were evaluated and reevaluated by their peers and successors. Some works gained particular renown and respect and were widely circulated and studied. The same work would often be recopied with added commentaries and supercommentaries in the margins by subsequent scholars. As the *fiqh* literature expanded, it was typical for the jurists in a given locality to select one of the more highly regarded treatises from what was the dominant legal school as the authoritative statement of legal doctrine in their jurisdiction. They also prepared summaries of the classical statements of a school's doctrine, which were meant to be easier to use and understand than the scholarly originals. Even so, works of *fiqh* were intelligible only to learned specialists. Institutions of higher learning were set up to train students in *fiqh* and related fields, the first and most enduringly influential of which was al-Azhar in Cairo, founded in 972.

One of the ancillary subjects essential for aspiring *fuqahāʾ* to master was classical Arabic, the language of God's speech in the Qurʾān and the language of the *ḥadīth.* Arabic has continued to be the essential language for the study of the *sharīʿah.* No translated versions of the Qurʾān or the *ḥadīth* are adequate for use in scholarly investigations. All of the classical *fiqh* works are also in Arabic. Although some have become available in translations, these are of very uneven quality and must be used with great caution.

The schools spread far from their original settings. Adherence to one school or another, as well as sectarian allegiances, changed in accordance with the many political upheavals and vicissitudes suffered by the different parts of the Muslim world over the centuries, and the patterns of school and sect distribution varied significantly at different eras of Islamic history. One of the prerogatives of the Muslim ruler was to select the law of a sect or, more commonly, of a Sunnī school that would become the official norm in his domains and would be applied by the courts. In some large cities, court staffs would include judges from different schools and sects, so that the law applicable in a given case could be selected to correspond to the affiliations of the parties.

It should be recalled that all of the four classical Sunnī schools are considered equally orthodox. Although concerns for doctrinal consistency and coherence mandated that a jurist follow the established doctrine of his school, it was not unusual for jurists to study the *fiqh* of other Sunnī schools or even to refer extensively to the opinions of other schools in treatises. This approach was less common, however, when *fiqh* principles of other sects were involved. The protracted polemics between the Sunnī and Twelver Shīʿī camps on the question of temporary marriage, which the former claim is prohibited and akin to prostitution and which the latter argue is clearly established in the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth,* is an example of the hostile attitudes that were engendered by sectarian disputes about interpretations of the requirements of *sharīʿah* law. However, Sunnī jurists have been prepared to accord some deference to the *fiqh* of the Zaydī Shīʿah, since the Zaydīyah are considered to be more moderate and closer to Sunnīs in their views than the other Shīʿī sects.

Geographical distribution of the schools. The long sponsorship of Ḥanafī law by the Ottoman sultans meant that the Ḥanafī school came to predominate in most of their former territories in the eastern Mediterranean. As the major Sunnī school of the Indian subcontinent as well, the Ḥanafī school is by far the largest school of law.

The adherents of the Mālikī school tend to be concentrated in the western portions of the Muslim world, particularly in North and West Africa, although one does find them in other parts of the Arab world, including the Hejaz and Kuwait. The distribution of members of the Shāfiʿī school tends to correspond to patterns of major trade routes, with Shāfiʿī communities mostly concentrated in coastal areas. One finds large numbers in East Africa, Ceylon, Malaysia, and Indonesia. The Ḥanbalī school has dwindled in size to such a point that its adherents are scarcely found outside central Saudi Arabia. The widely appreciated originality and intellectual distinction of some of its medieval *fuqahāʾ* has, however, allowed it to retain an influence entirely out of proportion to its numbers.

The Twelvers, by far the most numerous branch of the Shīʿah, claim the adherence of a majority of the people of Iran and, probably, Iraq, as well as sizable minorities in Pakistan, eastern Arabia, and Lebanon. Since 1501 Twelver Shiism has been the official religion of Iran, and it has come to be particularly identified with that country. As noted, a deep and important cleavage in Iranian Twelver Shīʿī legal thought has divided the Akhbārī and Uṣūlī subschools.

The followers of the Aga Khan belong to the Ismāʿīlī branch of Shīʿī Islam. His ancestors once ruled an Ismāʿīlī state, the powerful and intellectually influential Fatimid empire (909–1171), from their capital in Cairo, but in the early twenty-first century the Ismāʿīlīyah are everywhere in the minority and are widely scattered around the globe. Sizable communities remain in the Indian subcontinent and East Africa. The Zaydīyah are concentrated in the Yemen Arab Republic (North Yemen), which was ruled until the 1960s by a Zaydī *imām.*

A very small but intellectually significant group whose law cannot receive its due here is that of the Khārijīs or Ibāḍīyah, many of whom have managed to survive in the more remote parts of the Muslim world, such as the Berber areas of North Africa and in Oman.

Although a ruler is free to select the school of law that will apply on his territory, this selection binds only the formal legal system. In the absence of unusual external pressures mandating a change in allegiance, individual Muslims remain free to follow the school of their choice. Typically, Muslims consider themselves followers of the same school as their fathers, and even within the Sunnī sect, where all four schools are deemed equally orthodox, it is unusual for a Muslim to change school affiliation.

Comparisons of the rules of the classical *fiqh.* In detail the rules of the various Sunnī schools are often different enough to affect the outcome of a legal dispute. On the average legal question, the degree of doctrinal difference between a given Sunnī school and a Shīʿī school is often not much greater. Notwithstanding the different approaches that Sunnī and Shīʿī *fiqh* purport to have to the sources of law, aside from their differences regarding who should rule the Muslim community, one finds few major divergencies except on some points of religious ritual and worship, certain rules of marriage and divorce, and the laws of inheritance.

A comparison of the *muʿamalāt* rules of the medieval *fiqh* literature with rules in other medieval legal systems of the Middle East and Europe, whether secular or religious, reveals many broad similarities. The single most distinctive accomplishment of the medieval *fuqahāʾ* from the standpoint of comparative legal history lies in their very sophisticated and complex schemes of intestate succession.

Principal figures. The founders of the schools of Sunnī law and the imams of the Shīʿī sects, who enjoyed the same capacity as the prophet Muḥammad to make authoritative pronouncements regarding the requirements of the *sharīʿah,* would have to be ranked in the forefront of the principal figures in the history of Islamic law. Given the vast corpus of writings on the *sharīʿah,* it is impossible to present any summary treatment without risking unfair omissions of outstanding figures. The following list must therefore be understood to be only a selection of persons who are representative of some of the important aspects of the Islamic legal heritage and suggestive of its variety and richness.

An early jurist who is notable for a conception of the role of the *sharīʿah* different from that of his more orthodox contemporaries was Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (d. 756). He unsuccessfully urged the Abbasid caliph al-Manṣūr to end the confusion and disparities in the *sharīʿah* resulting from conflicting interpretations by the jurists of the early law schools by systematizing and codifying the *sharīʿah.* He argued that the *sharīʿah* should be enacted into uniform legislation that would apply throughout the caliph's domain; his failure to convince others of the correctness of his ideas meant that the *sharīʿah* continued to be viewed as a jurist's law independent from and untouchable by political authorities.

Before its extinction, the once-influential Ẓāhirī school enjoyed a flowering in Muslim Spain. The most famous and distinguished Ẓāhirī thinker was Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1065), a vigorous polemicist who made many enemies in the course of his harsh attacks on the doctrines of other law schools. He challenged the authenticity of much of the *ḥadīth* literature, rejected *qiyās* and the rules it produced, limited *ijmāʿ* to that of the companions of the Prophet, and insisted that, in the absence of explicit commands in the Qurʾān and *sunnah,* all conduct should be regarded as outside the concern of religious law.

One of the most eminent figures in Islamic intellectual history, al-Ghāzalī (d. 1111) examined the teachings of the *sharīʿah* in relation to his own theological and philosophical views. Although he is best known for his searching inquiry into the theological fundamentals of Islam, al-Ghāzalī also wrote a number of important books of Shafiʿi *fiqh.* In his greatest work, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* (The revivification of religious sciences), al-Ghāzalī sought to achieve a synthesis of the teachings of Islam and to define the role of the *sharīʿah* in relation to other aspects of religion. His work may constitute the most accomplished statement of what passed for Sunnī orthodoxy in medieval Islam.

One of the most original medieval jurists was the Ḥanbalī Ibn Taymīyah (d. 1328), who had an influential disciple in Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah (d. 1350). Ibn Taymīyah strongly attacked the doctrine of *taqlid* that bound Muslims to the interpretations of the early jurists. He argued that qualified Muslim thinkers should be free to return to the Qurʾān, *sunnah,* and consensus of the companions of the Prophet and interpret them afresh. Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 1792), the leader of the puritanical Wahhābī reform movement that won many followers in Arabia and elsewhere, invoked Ibn Taymīyah's ideas in his rejection of the authority of the classical law schools and his insistence on fresh *ijtihād.*

Theories about the need to identify and follow the fundamental policies underlying *sharīʿah* provisions and to interpret these provisions in a manner responsive to social needs were developed by the Mālikī jurist al-Shātibī (d. 1388). Ibn Nujaym (d. 1562) was a Ḥanafī jurist who extracted what he saw as the fundamental *sharīʿah* principles from the specific instances of applications of rules set forth in the *fiqh.* While not himself a jurist, the Mughal emperor Awrangzib ʿĀlamgīr (d. 1707) made his mark on Islamic legal history by ordering the composition of the famous

Fatāwā ʿĀlamgīrīyah, a thorough compilation of Ḥanafī *fiqh.*

Muḥammad ʿAbduh (d. 1905) served as Grand Muftī of Egypt and in that capacity and in his writings on Islamic law proposed rationalist and liberal reformist interpretations of the *sharīʿah.* The influential Salafīyah movement inspired by ʿAbduh and led by his disciple Rashīd Riḍā advocated a return to a purified version of the *sharīʿah* meant to be more authentic than the versions developed in the course of the centuries devoted to the study of medieval *fiqh.* An example of ʿAbduh's approach may be seen in his famous argument that the *sharīʿah* prohibits polygamy. Dismissing traditional support for polygamy among the *fuqahāʾ,* ʿAbduh returned to the Qurʾān and offered a novel reading of two critical verses, which he claimed were to be taken together, although they had previously been held to apply to different issues. *Surāh* 4:3 of the Qurʾān was traditionally interpreted to allow a man to wed up to four women at a time, with a moral injunction to marry only one if he could not treat additional wives justly. *Surāh* 4:129, which says it is not possible for a man to deal equally with his wives, was traditionally interpreted as offering reassurance to the polygamous husband that he was not sinning if he felt stronger attraction to and affection for one of his wives. Treating the injunction to deal equally with wives in the earlier verse as a legally binding precondition for a valid marriage, ʿAbduh used the later verse as evidence that this precondition could not in practice be met, so that in the *sharīʿah,* no polygamous marriage could be valid. ʿAbduh's practice of interpreting *sharīʿah* rules to serve the ends of enlightened social policies had far-reaching intellectual repercussions. His ideas encouraged many Middle Eastern Muslims in the first half of the twentieth century to accommodate liberal political, economic, and social reforms in their interpretations of Islamic law.

Among the principal figures of Twelver Shīʿī jurisprudence, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 1067) wrote a number of works that became treated as classic statements of principles of Shīʿī *fiqh,* as were the writings of Muhaqqiq al-Ḥillī (d. 1277). An important representative of the Akhbari faction of Twelver Shiism was Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī (d. 1699), who, in addition to producing an encyclopedic statement of *fiqh,* also served as a judge and became the most powerful judicial figure under the Safavids. After the Safavids made Twelver Shiism the state religion of Iran, he, like many major Shīʿī jurists, attempted to define the proper political relationship between the Shīʿī clergy and the state. Al-Majlisī conceived of a powerful, independent political role for the clergy. A jurist of similar eminence, but representing very different tendencies in Twelver thought, was Murtaḍā Anṣārī (d. 1864). A member of the Uṣūlī school, which predominated in Iran in the nineteenth century, he wrote a major treatise on the Uṣūlī theory of sources. His writings promoted the view that each layperson was bound to follow the legal interpretations of the most learned of living jurists, the *marjaʿ-i taqlīd,* whose *ijtihād* became absolutely binding on his followers. He took the view that public law was not a true concern of the *sharīʿah* and stressed instead its ethical dimensions. The single most important Ismāʿīlī jurist is Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān (d. 974), who served as the highest judge in the Fatimid empire and also wrote a great treatise of Ismāʿīlī law.

Principal subjects. Classical *fiqh* works have similar, although not always identical, subject divisions. They begin with a section on the very extensive *ʿibadāt,* the obligations of the individual to God discussed above. The remaining subjects belong to the *muʿamalāt* category, including (in a representative, though not exhaustive, list) marriage, divorce, manumission of slaves, oaths, criminal penalties, relations between the Muslim community and non-Muslims, treasure troves, missing persons, partnership, religious trusts, sales, guarantee contracts, transfers of debts, rules for judges, evidence, legal claims, acknowledgments of legal obligations, gifts, hire, the purchase of freedom by slaves, the defense of compulsion, incapacity, usurpation and damage of property, preemptive purchases, partition, agency, contracts for cultivation of agricultural land, slaughter of animals (for food), animal sacrifice, hateful practices, cultivation of waste lands, prohibited drinks, hunting and racing competitions, pledge, personal injuries, blood money and fines, intestate succession, and wills.

Historically, the areas of *sharīʿah* law that were most developed in the classical *fiqh* corresponded to the areas where *qāḍʿis* in the *sharīʿah* courts were best able to retain jurisdiction over disputes, while legal issues in other areas tended to be dealt with by secular tribunals with more flexible procedures and greater enforcement powers, such as the police tribunals. The *sharīʿah* rules of intestate succession and family law are the two most developed portions of the *sharīʿah,* and recourse to *sharīʿah* courts was very common for resolution of disputes on these subjects. The *sharīʿah* courts also had jurisdiction over pious endowments *(awqāf;* sg., *waqf),* which were very important legal institutions in traditional Islamic societies, allowing for the consolidation and protection of private property and often providing the financial basis for schools, hospitals, mosques, and other public institutions. *Waqfs* continued to serve such functions until the twentieth century, when they were generally abolished or significantly reformed. The *shariʿah* law of contracts, and particularly of sales contracts, is also quite extensive. The difficulties of complying with some of the *sharīʿah* contract rules—such as the prohibition of interest—spawned an ancillary legal literature by some Ḥanafī and Shāfiʿi jurists on how to circumvent inconvenient rules by means of ingenious exploitation of legal technicalities (the so-called *ḥiyal,* or "legal tricks").

THE SITUATION IN RECENT TIMES. The situation of the *sharīʿah* in recent times has two significant dimensions, corresponding to its dual nature as a positive law and a deontology.

Beginning in the nineteenth century, the *sharīʿah* was increasingly supplanted as a positive law in the legal systems of Muslim countries by borrowed European law. Historically, substantive *sharīʿah* rules survived in the legal systems of modern Muslim countries in rough proportion to the importance traditionally accorded to the subject area involved, but even in those areas where the *sharīʿah* was able to maintain itself, it was nonetheless subjected to some reforms. In the twentieth century, *sharīʿah* reform became one of the major legal problems faced by Muslim societies and provoked protracted political and intellectual controversies. Despite popular and clerical support for retention of the *sharīʿah,* governments have generally moved as quickly as political constraints permit in the direction of westernization. In the 1970s the political influence of forces favoring the retention and/or renewal of the *sharīʿah* began to make itself felt, and a process of abrogating westernizing reforms and reinstating *sharīʿah* law began in Libya, Iran, Pakistan, Egypt, Sudan, and Kuwait. How far the process of Islamization will proceed and what the future role of the *sharīʿah* as a positive law will be are at present uncertain.

Also in the twentieth century, Muslim intellectuals concerned with questions of *fiqh* subjected the medieval versions of the *sharīʿah* to critical reexamination and brought new interpretive approaches to the *sharīʿah* sources. The variety in modern approaches to the *sharīʿah* is reminiscent of the situation prevailing in the first centuries after the death of the Prophet, before the doctrines of the classical schools coalesced. There are still many conservative thinkers who defend the validity of the medieval *fiqh.* Arrayed against them are many who support new interpretations of what the *sharīʿah* means. Adding to the fragmentation of legal doctrines is the fact that with the spread of educational opportunities and the increase in literacy, many Muslims who are educated but have not pursued a traditional course of study at a religious institution are contributing interpretations of the *sharīʿah.* In other words, laypersons who belong to the modern educated elite do not necessarily feel that they must defer to the specialized knowledge of the *fuqahāʾ* and are prepared to challenge the monopoly formerly enjoyed by the *fuqahāʾ* to make authoritative statements on *sharīʿah* law. As a result, it has become very difficult to make generalizations about contemporary *sharīʿah* doctrines.

The westernization of legal systems in the Muslim world. The westernization of the legal systems of Muslim countries began with the impact of European imperialism on Muslim societies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The legal systems of Muslim societies subjected to direct colonial rule underwent distinctive transformations in relation to the legal culture of the colonizing power. Thus, there developed in Muslim parts of India under British rule a peculiar blend of common law and elements of the *sharīʿah* that became known as Anglo-Muhammadan law. This unique, hybrid law was progressively reformed to eliminate what were regarded as the more archaic features of the *sharīʿah* elements, and it remained influential in the legal systems of India and Pakistan after they achieved independence in 1947. Algeria was part of France from 1830 until independence in 1962, and as a French colony, it also developed a hybrid legal system, known as *le droit musulman algérien,* which incorporated many French features.

Eager to strengthen their relatively backward and weak societies in the face of threatened European domination, most elites in the independent countries of the Muslim world tended to see the *sharīʿah* as an obstacle to the achievement of essential modernization. Governments first replaced those parts of the *sharīʿah* that were viewed as impeding economic transformation, such as *sharīʿah* commercial law, or those possessing features that seemed particularly archaic by modern standards, as in the cases of *sharīʿah* procedural and criminal law.

It was not always the substance of *sharīʿah* rules that troubled modernizers. Their arcane formulation and their diffuse mode of presentation in medieval *fiqh* treatises meant that only specialists with a mastery of medieval legal Arabic and an extensive traditional training could find answers to legal questions in a reasonably efficient manner. The cumbersome form of the *fiqh* works could be compared with the streamlined, systematized legal compendia to be found in nineteenth-century continental European codes. Growing impatience with the *fiqh* works encouraged a definite preference for codified law.

At the early stages of this legal reform process, one possibility for saving the *sharīʿah* from eclipse by Western law seemed to be that of vastly simplifying and systematizing its presentation. Attempts were made to codify the *sharīʿah* in the late nineteenth century, the most notable accomplishment being the promulgation of the Ottoman Majalla in 1877. Starting with some general principles of *sharīʿah* law taken from Ibn Nujaym, the Majalla presents a codification of the law of obligations derived from the views of various Ḥanafī jurists. The Majalla proved its utility, surviving for decades in former Ottoman territories well after they had obtained their independence from the empire. A later code, the Ottoman Family Rights Law of 1917, constituted an original attempt to codify *sharīʿah* law on that subject by reference to the doctrines of more than one Sunnī law school. This was the first important instance of the application of the technique of *takhayyur,* or picking and choosing the most apt principles from the doctrines of different schools and combining them in an arrangement that had no precedent in the classical *fiqh.* However, the preference for wholesale importation of Western law codes was ultimately so strong that there was soon little incentive to pursue projects for devising further codes on a *sharīʿah* basis.

Another factor mandating change from the old *sharīʿah*-based system of law was the international political setting. The rulers of Muslim states in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were obliged to deal with a historical reality that was vastly different from what had been contemplated in early *sharīʿah* theory. The *sharīʿah* was originally conceived as a law whose application would be coextensive with religious affiliation. The world was to be converted to Islam, and there would result one community of believers with a common political allegiance and a common obligation to follow the *sharīʿah.* This conception did not envisage the appearance of obstacles in the way of the realization of this ideal, such as the fragmentation of the Muslim community into separate and mutually hostile political units, the development of national identities and the rise of modern nationalism, the failure of large non-Muslim communities within the Muslim world to convert, and the need to deal with non-Muslim countries possessed of greater economic and military resources.

The continued existence of non-Muslim communities had necessitated one legal adaptation at an early stage of Islamic history, namely, the allowance of separate religious laws and courts for minority communities. Members of the minority religious communities on Muslim territory were permitted to follow their own religious laws in matters of personal status and in transactions between themselves while remaining subject to the *sharīʿah* in their interactions with outsiders or in their public activities. This practice was highly developed under the Ottoman Empire, where it was known as the *millet* system.

Under outside pressures, this system was further modified by a practice of according a special legal status to non-Muslims from the powerful European states: from the medieval period onward, certain states exacted from Muslim governments agreements, or "capitulations," according extraterritorial status to their nationals. Originally granted only by way of exception, capitulatory privileges were expanded apace with growing European influence. An example of the resulting system of extraterritoriality can be seen in the powerful Mixed Courts of Egypt, set up in 1875, expanded after the British occupation in 1882, and continuing until 1949. Originally established as alternatives to the "native courts" for cases involving foreigners, the Mixed Courts were able to extend their jurisdiction to a wide variety of cases, including those involving Egyptians, in instances where the courts detected some "foreign interest" in the outcome. One reason for the exaction of these concessions, the demands for which became increasingly onerous as Muslim power and wealth declined and that of the West grew, was the Western perception that the substantive provisions of the *sharīʿah* were "primitive" and "barbaric" by modern European legal standards, and that the justice meted out by the traditional courts was arbitrary. European powers also objected to the inferior legal status accorded to non-Muslims under the *sharīʿah* and exploited this as a pretext for political intervention. In attempts to forestall such intervention, the Ottoman sultan promulgated the Haṭṭ-i Şerïf of Gülhane in 1839 and the Haṭṭ-i Humâyûn of 1856, officially establishing the principle that Ottoman citizens regardless of their religion should be equal in terms of their legal rights and obligations.

Retention of *sharīʿah* law as the law of the land in these political circumstances thus presented obstacles to setting up a unified national legal system and entailed exposure to risks of compromising the sovereignty and national dignity of the Muslim states. The reluctance of governments to continue to make such sacrifices provided an impetus for law reform that would place legal systems in Muslim countries on a par with the emerging modern international standard.

The formation of modern nation-states in the Muslim world starting in the nineteenth century and the subsequent collapse of the Ottoman Empire in World War I prompted Muslims to reassess the relationship between the *sharīʿah* law and the new political entities into which the Muslim world had been divided. Although the claims of the Ottoman sultans to be the legitimate successors of the Prophet had been based on tenuous legal and historical arguments, some Sunnīs saw in the sultan-caliphs an embodiment of the original *sharīʿah* notion that religious allegiance—not nationality—should determine political loyalties. With the ouster of the last of the Ottoman sultan-caliphs in 1924, there ended any real chance in the Sunnī world of preserving an Islamic caliphate, a government under which all Muslims would share a common political and religious allegiance.

Iran's *ʿulamāʾ* faced a momentous question at the turn of the twentieth century, when a growing movement favored the establishment of a democratic government, and the Constitutional Revolution of 1905–1909, led to the overthrow of the Qajar dynasty. To the *ʿulamāʾ,* accepting this revolution meant acknowledging the legitimacy of a government based on the principle of popular sovereignty and the lawmaking authority of the people's representatives. Such changes were seen by some as a challenge to the theoretical primacy of the imamate and the exclusive prerogative of the *ʿulamāʾ* to determine and declare the law. Other important jurists, such as Muḥammad Naʾīnī (d. 1936), however, took the position that, pending the return of the Hidden Imām from the state of occultation, it was impossible to have a government that truly accorded with *sharīʿah* ideals and that it was therefore permissible for Iran to adopt a constitutional form of government in the interim.

The acceptance of the idea in the Sunnī and Shīʿī camps that laws should be enacted on a national basis by representatives of the people did not by itself entail a reduction of the role of the *sharīʿah.* However, the attendant pressures for systematic uniformity meant that statutes enacted by the state inevitably replaced the old, decentralized system of jurists' law. Thus, the realization that laws would henceforth be made by national governments encouraged the acceptance of the idea that there should be neutral, secular laws that could apply to all persons on the national soil. The typical pattern in Muslim countries in the nineteenth century, and more particularly in the twentieth century, was to abandon the *sharīʿah* in favor of imported European law save in matters of personal status and religious trusts, and occasional token provisions in other fields such as the law of contracts.

The timing of the adoptions of Western law was related to the chronology and extent of various countries' exposure to European imperialism. The Ottoman Empire was therefore the first Muslim state to adopt Western laws, followed shortly by the semiautonomous province of Egypt. The first French-based codes to be introduced in the Ottoman Empire were in the areas of commercial law (1850), penal law (1858), and commercial procedure (1861). The countries that remained most insulated from such influences—Afghanistan, the Yemen, and Saudi Arabia—were the last to undertake westernization of their legal systems. In most countries, legal westernization was largely completed by the 1950s. Alone among Muslim countries, Turkey, under the leadership of Kemal Atatürk after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, abandoned the *sharīʿah* in favor of a completely secular legal system. At the opposite extreme, Saudi Arabia has retained the *sharīʿah,* or more specifically, Ḥanbalī *fiqh,* as the official norm, which has prevented the government from openly undertaking legislative activity, including the enactment of a constitution.

In contemporary Muslim countries the desire on the part of the governments for legal modernization combined with the need to show respect for the *sharīʿah* has resulted in various compromises. In the area of personal status, a number of reforms, by and large modest ones, have been enacted in Muslim countries with a view to improving the status of women in matters of marriage, divorce, support, and child custody. The boldest reforms in this area were enacted in the Tunisian Code of Personal Status of 1956, the Iranian Family Protection Law of 1967 (since abrogated by the revolutionary government), and the South Yemen Family Law of 1974. Only a few very cautious reforms of aspects of the *sharīʿah* law of intestate succession have been undertaken.

Even Muslim states with westernized legal systems generally enshrine Islam in the national constitution as the state religion and stipulate that the *sharīʿah* is a source of law or even the source of all laws. In some constitutions there are provisions stating that laws must accord with the *sharīʿah* or that they may be reviewed and nullified if they are found to violate the *sharīʿah.* In the past such provisions often had little more than symbolic significance, but as supporters of the *sharīʿah* gained political strength in the 1970s throughout the Islamic world, there was increasing pressure for reinstatement of *sharīʿah* rules and the abrogation of imported laws that conflict with *sharīʿah* principles. Thus, the *sharīʿah* is tending to be treated more and more as a fundamental law in the legal systems of Muslim countries.

Islamization campaigns. The circumstances in which the replacement and reform of the *sharīʿah* took place resulted in political tensions between the westernized elites and other, more traditional segments of Muslim societies. The masses remained attached to the idea of the supremacy of *sharīʿah* law, anticipating that its reinstatement would cure endemic political, economic, and social ills. The *fuqahāʾ* continued to study and defend the *sharīʿah* and were offended by their displacement by the new class of lawyers and judges trained in Western law; as traditional guardians of the *sharīʿah* heritage, the *fuqahāʾ* also retained prestige and a popular following among the masses. Meanwhile the forces of what has come to be known as political Islam, in which Islam was converted to a populist political ideology, won support from disaffected urban dwellers for their proposals for Islamization.

The political potency of this combination was illustrated in the 1978–1979 Islamic Revolution, which was spearheaded by prominent Twelver Shīʿī *faqih,* Ayatollah Khomeini, who had as one of his goals the reinstatement of *sharīʿah* law. Khomeini had written prior to the revolution about the requirements for Islamic government and posited that the state should be ruled by the foremost *faqih* of the era. Although other Iranian *fuqahāʾ* disputed the correctness of Khomeini's views, his accession to power and the ability of allied *fuqahāʾ* to ensconce themselves in leading positions in the government meant that Iran was transformed into a theocracy. Western law was replaced by *sharīʿah* principles in many areas, sometimes with variations on the traditional *sharīʿah* rules that reflected the politics of the revolutionary situation. The unpopularity of theocratic rule jeopardizes the survival of this attempt to establish a new version of Islamic government.

Regimes in the Muslim world have responded to the demonstrated popularity of Islamization programs by enacting selected principles of *sharīʿah* law in statute form. Libya was the first country to undertake such initiatives in the 1970s, and its example was subsequently imitated in Pakistan and Sudan and to a lesser degree in some other countries. These measures did not mean that the governments were relinquishing control over the legal systems, which remained basically Western in character and structure. The major emphasis in such Islamizing legislation tended to be on reenactment of Qurʾanic criminal laws and imposing restraints on women in the name of protecting morality. During the brief rule of the Taliban in Afghanistan (1996–2001), an Islamic emirate was established committed to implementing a particularly harsh version of Islamic law. It is premature to predict the long-term consequences of the turnabout in the fortunes of the *sharīʿah,* but it is clear that the position of imported Western laws in the legal systems of the Muslim world is not secure and that the *sharīʿah* retains considerable potency as a countermodel.

Contemporary reformulations of the *sharīʿah*. At the same time that there is mounting pressure for the reinstatement of the *sharīʿah,* there is growing diversity of opinion on what the requirements of the *sharīʿah* are and how they should be applied in modern circumstances. Previously settled issues of Islamic law are being reopened and reexamined.

While some contemporary Muslims, particularly those educated in traditional Islamic institutions of higher learning, consider medieval *fiqh* treaties authoritative, there is a marked and growing tendency to treat such works as secondary legal sources that are useful but not conclusive guides on questions of *sharīʿah* science and substantive rules. The old hierarchies of sources and the established methodologies for interpreting them are also questioned by contemporary thinkers. Although the traditional techniques of legal reasoning from the sources are also rejected by many modern students of the *sharīʿah,* no consensus about what new methodology should replace the ones used by the traditional scholars is discernible.

Increasingly, Muslims turn directly to the Qurʾān and *sunnah* for guidance. The tendency has also mounted to give precedence to the Qurʾān over the *sunnah*—because of either a more critical appraisal of the reliability of the *ḥadīth* literature or a conviction that the Qurʾān was intended to serve as the primary source of *sharīʿah* principles. While it is rare for Muslims to reject the authenticity of the entire *ḥadīth* literature, it has become more common for them to evaluate negatively the traditional science of *ḥadīth* criticism. As a result, there has been a greater willingness to discard or discount the legal value of *ḥadīth* that are not demonstrably genuine.

A noteworthy development in contemporary Sunnī legal thought is that on questions of methodology and substance alike there is a tendency to disregard the former school divisions. When seeking enlightenment from past scholarship, modern Sunnīs commonly treat the views of all the classical Sunnī schools and also the extinct schools as deserving of consideration. Thus, the process of *takhayyur* exemplified in the Ottoman Family Rights Law of 1917 is now routinely utilized.

Many contemporary interpretations of the *sharīʿah* tend to reflect ideological visions of the social order that should result from the application of the *sharīʿah.* In these interpretations the *sharīʿah* does not function only as a criterion for the legal validity or permissibility and ethical character of human acts but as a blueprint for the perfect ordering of all social relations and the solution to the problems of achieving social harmony and justice. The latest ideologized versions of the *sharīʿah* reflect all the different ideological currents that are contending for the loyalties of peoples in the Muslim world from the most conservative to the most radical, so that this ideologization of Islamic legal thought has led to a polarization of opinions. Topics that have given rise to particularly important disagreements include remedies for maldistribution of wealth, the sanctity of private property, the nature of Islamic government, human rights, and the role of women. At the same time that new feminist interpretations of the sources are winning popularity, other theories calling for drastic curbs on women's rights are being put forward.

Because the latest ideological perspectives characteristic of contemporary Islamic thought have few counterparts in the traditional *fiqh* and do not correspond to any of the traditional school or sectarian divisions of the *sharīʿah,* they have created new divisions and alliances along ideological lines. The willingness on the part of Sunnī and Shīʿī Muslims to utilize the economic and political theories presented by members of the other sect is growing. Thus, on the theoretical level, all the old doctrinal certainties are now challenged by modern attempts to understand the *sharīʿah* in relation to the great political, economic, and social questions confronting Muslim societies. It is premature to predict which of the many presently competing versions of the *sharīʿah* will ultimately find favor with the majority of Muslims, but it is clear that many Muslims believe that the answers to these questions must be sought by reference to the *sharīʿah.*

SEE ALSO Abū Ḥanīfah; Abū Yūsuf; Ḥadīth; Ḥanābilah; Ijmāʿ; Ijtihād; Madhhab; Mālik ibn Anas; Maṣlaḥah; Pilgrimage, article on Muslim Pilgrimage; Qāḍī; Qiyās; Qurʾān; Ṣalāt; Ṣawm; Shāfiʿī, al-; Shahādah; Sunnah; ʿUlamāʾ; Uṣūl al-Fiqh; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Muslim Worship; Zakāt.

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ISLAMIC LAW: PERSONAL LAW

The area of personal law is often considered to be the main bastion of Islamic law. One reason for this is that the Qurʾān devotes greater attention to subjects such as marriage, divorce, and inheritance than it does to any other legal topic. In this sense the law of personal status represents an entrenched part of the religion, and Muslims have by and large regarded adherence to its principles as a criterion of the religious propriety of individuals and governments. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that the *sharīʿah* law of personal status has remained largely applicable in Muslim countries today in spite of recent reforms that have adapted many aspects of the classical law to suit the requirements of modern life. Reform of the *sharīʿah* law is a phenomenon of the twentieth century and, because of the continuing relevance of the law of personal status to the Muslim community, has been concentrated mainly in that area. Other portions of the *sharīʿah*, such as criminal law, taxation, and constitutional law, have either fallen into abeyance or remained relatively untouched by modern reformist legislation. Under the renewed influence of Islamic movements in the 1970s and 1980s, however, these other areas of the law have also begun to attract the attention of reformers as the effort is made to revive their significance.

In modern-day Islam, the Ḥanafī school commands a greater following than any other school of law. This survey is, therefore, based on *sharīʿah* law as developed within the framework of the Ḥanafī school. Wherever Ḥanafī law diverges from the law of the other three Sunnī schools (Shāfiʿī, Mālikī, and Ḥanbalī), their differences are outlined. References to Shīʿī law generally relate to the Twelver Shīʿī school, which is mainly adhered to in Iran and has the largest following of all the branches of Shīʿī Islam.

MARRIAGE. Like any other private contract, marriage under *sharīʿah* law is concluded by the mutual agreement, oral or written, of the parties or their representatives. The only formality required is the presence of two witnesses at the conclusion of the contract, and even this is not necessary under Shīʿī law. Formalities usually observed, such as ceremonies performed in the presence of a religious leader, are matters of customary practice and not a legal requirement.

The requirements of a marriage contract are basically the same in all *sharīʿah* schools. First, the parties or their representatives must be legally competent persons, and second, there must be no legal impediment to marriage. Sanity and majority are the basic requirements of the legal capacity to contract. Legal majority is established with physical puberty, which is attained upon proof of sexual maturity rather than at a specific age. Unless proven otherwise, a boy below the age of twelve and a girl below the age of nine are legally presumed to be minors. Similarly, both sexes are presumed to have attained majority with the completion of the fifteenth year. A boy or girl who has reached the minimum age of majority but is still below fifteen is permitted to marry provided he or she shows signs of puberty. A person who has attained majority (*bāligh*) and is of sound mind *(ʿāqil)* has rights and obligations, must fulfill religious duties, and incurs criminal responsibility. The minor (*saghīr*) and the insane (*majnūn*) are wholly capable of contracting marriage. The idiot (*maʿtūh*) and the imbecile, who are incapable of managing their own affairs, have the capacity only to conclude purely advantageous transactions, such as the acceptance of a gift, but they are not permitted to contract marriage. A major who is incompetent (*safīh*) may be subjected to interdiction (*ḥajr*) and placed under the supervision of the authorities, and this procedure could lead to restrictions on his capacity to contract. An adult woman has the capacity to contract her own marriage only in Ḥanafī and Shīʿī law. According to the other three Sunnī schools, her marriage guardian (*walīy*) must conclude the contract on her behalf. All schools recognize, in principle, the compulsory power of the marriage guardian, which is known as *ijbār*. The guardian is accordingly authorized to contract his ward, whether the ward is male or female, in marriage at his discretion regardless of the ward's wishes. But the precise extent of this power varies among the schools. In Ḥanafī law, only minor wards are subject to *ijbār,* and the power is absolute only when exercised by the father or paternal grandfather. In all other cases, the ward has the right to repudiate the marriage on attaining puberty. This option of puberty (*khiyār al-bulūgh*) is, however, lost by the affirmative act of consummating the marriage. Guardianship in marriage is vested in the nearest male relatives in accordance with the order of priorities that is applied in inheritance, that is, the father, grandfather, brother, nephews, uncles, and cousins, and failing them, the female relatives.

Under the Ḥanafī doctrine of *kafāʾah* (equality), the guardian of an adult female may oppose the marriage of his ward on the ground that the prospective spouse is not her equal. This doctrine is, however, mainly applicable to the man, who is required to be the equal of his prospective wife in respect of lineage, religion, freedom (as opposed to slavery), piety, means, and profession. If, however, both the guardian and bride fail to raise the question of equality before the contract, neither can have the marriage annulled upon discovery that the husband is not the equal of his wife. In both the Shāfiʿī and Mālikī schools, the adult virgin is denied the right to conclude her own marriage; because the guardian himself is concluding the marriage, the doctrine of *kafāʾah* is not applicable under these schools.

Marriage is prohibited between close relatives. Relationships that constitute permanent impediments to marriage fall into three categories: (1) blood relationship (*garābah*), which implies that a man may not marry any of his lineal descendants, lineal ascendants, the offspring of his parents, or the immediate child of any grandparent; (2) affinity (*muṣāharah*), which creates a bar to marriage between a man and the ascendants or descendants of his wife, or the wife of any of his ascendants or descendants; (3) fosterage (*raḍāʿ*), which arises when a woman breast-feeds the child of someone else. Fosterage creates a bar to marriage not only between foster brothers and sisters, but also between the foster mother and all her relatives on the one side, and her foster children, their spouses, and descendants on the other.

In addition, difference of religion is a bar to marriage: A Muslim woman may not marry a non-Muslim man unless he professes Islam. A Muslim man is, on the other hand, allowed to marry a *kitābīyah*, that is, a woman who follows a religion that has a revealed scripture, such as Judaism or Christianity. The Qurʾān further prohibits both Muslim men and women from marrying polytheists or fire worshipers. Finally, a man may not marry a woman who is already married or who is observing *ʿiddah*, that is, the waiting period that a woman must observe following a divorce, with the exception of a divorce ending an unconsummated marriage. *ʿIddah* usually lasts for three menstrual cycles or, where the wife proves to be pregnant, until the delivery of the child. The main purpose of *ʿiddah* is to determine a possible pregnancy prior to marriage. A widow must observe a waiting period of four months and ten days following the death of her husband.

The marriage contract is classified into three types, namely valid *(ṣaḥīḥ)*, irregular *(fāsid)*, and void *(bāṭīl)*. A marriage contract is valid when it fulfills all the legal requirements. This contract brings about a fully effective union that renders intercourse lawful between the spouses, entitles the wife to dower and maintenance, obligates the wife to be faithful and obedient to the husband, and creates prohibited degrees of relations and mutual rights of inheritance between the spouses.

A void *(bāṭīl)* marriage is one that is unlawful from the outset and that does not create any rights or obligations between the parties. In such a marriage no illicit sexual intercourse (*zināʾ*) is considered to have been committed if the parties were unaware that the marriage was void. Marriage with a woman within the prohibited degrees and marriage that is brought about without the consent of the adult parties are void. The offspring of a *bāṭīl* marriage is illegitimate.

An irregular *(fāsid)* marriage, on the other hand, is not unlawful in itself, but involves some irregularity of a temporary nature that could be rectified by means of a new contract. Marriage without witnesses, marriage with a fifth wife (the maximum limit being four), marriage with a non-*kitābīyah* (a woman who is neither Jewish nor Christian), and marriage with a woman undergoing *ʿiddah* are examples of *fāsid* marriages. Such a marriage may be terminated by either party or by a judge, should it come to his notice. A *fāsid* marriage has no legal effect before consummation, but when consummated, the wife is entitled to dower and maintenance, and the issue of the marriage is legitimate. A *fāsid* marriage does not create any right of inheritance between the parties.

Islamic law requires the husband to pay his wife a dower (*mahr*). The amount of dower and the terms of its payment are matters of agreement between the parties. Anything that can be considered as goods *(māl)* may be given as a dower, but objects that are prohibited in Islam, such as wine and pork, are excluded from the definition of *māl.* If no dower is specified in the contract, the wife is entitled to a "proper" dower *(mahr al-mithl)*, that is, a dower that is equivalent to the dower usually received by women of similar status. A dower may be paid at the time of the contract, or it may be deferred, in whole or in part, subject to the agreement of the parties. A deferred dower remains a debt on the part of the husband and is payable upon the dissolution of the marriage by death or divorce. In the event of a divorce prior to consummation, the wife is entitled to half the specified dower; if no dower is specified in the contract, the wife is entitled to a gift (*mutʿah*), which consists of a set of clothing.

The husband is bound to maintain his wife as soon as she cohabits with him. Should she refuse to cohabit or refuse herself to him, the husband is relieved of his duty, unless her refusal is for a lawful cause such as the husband's failure to pay the dower or unsuitability of the lodging for a person of her status. In such cases, the wife's refusal to cohabit does not relieve the husband of his duty of maintenance, which includes food, clothing, and accommodation. According to the majority of jurists, the wife is entitled to maintenance in a style that conforms to the husband's status, regardless of her own premarital position. Should the husband desert his wife without providing for her maintenance, a judge may authorize the wife to make the necessary arrangements at her husband's expense. The wife is not, however, entitled to a decree for past maintenance unless the claim is based on a specific agreement. Shāfiʿī and Shīʿī law, on the other hand, entitle the wife to claim her past maintenance. The general rule in maintenance is that no individual who is capable of maintaining himself is entitled to receive maintenance from others; the only exception is the wife, who is entitled to maintenance regardless of her own financial status. The father is bound to maintain his sons until they attain puberty, and his daughters until they are married; he is also responsible for the maintenance of a widowed or divorced daughter. The law entitles every blood relative to maintenance provided that, if male, he is a child and destitute, and if a female, she is destitute whether a child or an adult. A widow is not entitled to maintenance during the period of *ʿiddah* following her husband's death, because in this case she would be entitled to a share of the inheritance. The liability of a person to support these relatives is generally proportionate to his or her share of their inheritance.

The *sharīʿah* entitles the husband to discipline his wife lightly when she transgresses. The law is not precise as to how and when the husband is entitled to do so, nor indeed as to what amounts to a transgression (*maʿṣiyah*). She must not dishonor him, refuse herself to him without lawful excuse, or cause him loss of property that is deemed unacceptable according to normal social usage. The wife is entitled to visit her parents once a week and other relatives once a year, even without the permission of her husband. She may also leave the husband if he refuses to pay her a dower. Similarly, unreasonable requests by the husband—that she should accompany him on long journeys, for example—may be refused by her. The wife retains her full capacity to enter contracts and transactions with regard to her own property as if she were not married. Indeed, the law recognizes no merger of either the personality or the property of the wife into that of her husband's. Separation of property is the norm in *sharīʿah* law and is presumed to apply unless the parties make a specific agreement to the contrary. If a man beats his wife without reason (even lightly), or beats her for cause but exceeds moderation, he is liable to punishment following her complaint to the court.

Islam allows a man to marry up to four wives simultaneously provided that he does not combine, as co-wives, two women so closely related that if either of them were a male, they would themselves be within the prohibited degrees of marriage. Each of the co-wives is entitled to a separate dwelling and to an equal portion of the husband's time and companionship.

Modern legislation in Muslim countries has either sought to restrict the practice of polygamy or to abolish it altogether. At the one extreme is the Tunisian law of 1957, which prohibits polygamy outright. At the other is the Moroccan law of 1958, which entitles the wife to seek judicial divorce if she has suffered injury as a result of polygamy. Syria, Iraq, and Pakistan have adopted a middle course by requiring official permission before a polygamous marriage is contracted. The modernists have generally justified their reforms by direct resort to the Qurʾān and a reinterpretation of the Qurʾanic verse on polygamy (5:4), which permits polygamy but at the same time expresses the fear of injustice in polygamous relationships. Modern reformers have reasoned that the fear of injustice in a polygamous marriage is bound to be present in every case of polygamy and therefore have concluded that abolishing polygamy is consistent with the Qurʾanic dispensations.

Marriage under Sunnī law is a lifelong union, and any stipulation that sets a time limit to it nullifies the contract. Shīʿī law, however, recognizes temporary marriage, known as *mutʿah*. This is a contractual arrangement whereby a woman agrees to cohabit with a man for a specified period of time in return for a fixed remuneration. *Mutʿah* does not give rise to any right of inheritance between the parties, but the issue of *mutʿah* is legitimate and entitled to inheritance. As the reader will note, *mutʿah* also signifies a gift of consolation to a divorced woman; the word appears in the Qurʾān in both senses (2:236, 4:24), hence the origin of its double legal meaning.

Modern legislation in most Muslim countries compels marriage registration, and failure to comply is usually liable to legal sanctions. The law similarly requires the express consent of the parties to a marriage in order for it to be valid. To facilitate meeting the consent requirement, parties to a marriage contract must be of marriageable age. This age is almost everywhere enacted at sixteen for females and eighteen for males. Modern reforms concerning the age of marriage have thus departed from the classical *sharīʿah*, which stipulated no specific age for marriage and only presumed the minimum and maximum ages of legal majority; the age of marriage established under the new codes also signifies the age of majority for all legal purposes. A marriage in which the parties have not reached the specified age is denied registration and may render the parties liable to statutory penalties. As a result of the enactment of a statutory age for marriage, child marriage has been effectively abolished in most Muslim countries. Similarly, the powers that the marriage guardian enjoys under classical *sharīʿah* law have, as a result of the age provisions, been either abolished or substantially restricted.

DIVORCE. Marriage under *sharīʿah* law may be dissolved either by the husband at his will, by mutual agreement of the spouses, or by a judicial decree. All the *sharīʿah* schools recognize the husband's right of unilateral repudiation, known as *ṭalāq*. Sunnī law requires no formalities as to the manner in which a *ṭalāq* may be pronounced. A husband of sound mind who has attained puberty may effect *ṭalāq* orally or in writing without assigning any cause. Any words indicative of repudiation may be used, and no witnesses are necessary for the pronouncement. In Shīʿī law, *ṭalāq* must be pronounced in the presence of two witnesses, and the exact term *ṭalāq* must be used. Whereas in Ḥanafī law *ṭalāq* pronounced by way of jest or in a state of intoxication is nonetheless valid, in both Shāfiʿī and Shīʿī law, *ṭalāq* is valid only when accompanied by a definite intention.

The husband can delegate his power of *ṭalāq* to his wife or to a third person who may then pronounce it according to the terms of the authorization (*tafwīḍ*). Thus there can be a valid agreement between the spouses authorizing the wife to repudiate herself if the husband marries a second wife, and the wife can exercise the power when the occasion arises.

In Sunnī law, *ṭalāq* is classified as "approved" (*ṭalāq al-sunnah*) or "disapproved" (*ṭalāq al-bidʿah*), according to the circumstances in which it is pronounced. The former is generally revocable, whereas the latter is irrevocable and terminates the marriage tie immediately upon pronouncement. The "approved" *ṭalāq* may consist of either a single repudiation pronounced during a clean period, that is, a period between menstruations, known as *ṭuhr*, followed by abstinence from sexual intercourse for the whole of the waiting period (*ʿiddah*), or it may consist of three repudiations pronounced during three successive *ṭuhr*s. In the former case, *ṭalāq* becomes final after the expiration of the *ʿiddah*, whereas in the latter, it becomes final upon the third pronouncement. Until the *ṭalāq* becomes final, the husband has the option to revoke it, and this may be done either expressly or by implication, through the resumption of normal marital relations. The "disapproved" *ṭalāq* may consist of a single repudiation which is expressly declared to be final, or it may consist of three repudiations pronounced at once. Shīʿī law does not recognize the "disapproved" form of *ṭalāq*.

Divorce by mutual agreement may take one of two forms: *khulʿ*, in which the wife secures her release from the marital tie by offering the husband financial consideration, commonly the return of the dower, which is accepted by the husband; or *mubāraʾah*, which is a dissolution of marriage on the basis of mutual release of the spouses from any outstanding financial commitments arising from the marriage. In both cases, the divorce is final and extrajudicial, effected simply by the mutual agreement of the parties.

With respect to judicial dissolution, Ḥanafī law is the most restrictive of all the *sharīʿah* schools. This law allows a woman to seek a dissolution (*faskh*) of her marriage from a *qāḍī* (Islamic judge) under four specific conditions: If she was married at a young age by a guardian other than her father or grandfather, she can ask the *qāḍī* to dissolve the marriage upon attaining puberty; if insane, upon regaining her sanity; if the husband is sexually impotent; or if he is a missing person and ninety years have elapsed since the date of his birth. All the other schools, including the Shīʿī, authorize the *qāḍī* to grant a judicial divorce in cases where the husband is suffering a physical or mental disease. Whenever it is proved that the disease is incurable, the court is to order dissolution immediately, but if it is a disease that requires time to cure, the court must order a stay of judgment for one year. The Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbalī schools also consider a husband's willful refusal to support his wife and a husband's desertion as valid grounds for a judicial divorce. Even more liberal is the Mālikī school, which recognizes the husband's illness, his failure to maintain, desertion for more than one year for whatever reason, and injurious treatment (*ḍarar*) as valid grounds for judicial divorce. According to the last ground, the wife can demand a judicial dissolution by claiming that cohabitation with her husband is injurious to her in a way that makes the continuation of marital life impossible for a person of her status. A decree of divorce granted on any of these grounds is final, except in the case of failure to maintain, where the court's degree effects only a revocable divorce, and the husband can resume normal marital relations during the period of *ʿiddah* if he proves that he can support his wife.

And finally, apostasy from Islam by either of the spouses operates as an immediate and final dissolution of the marriage without any judicial intervention. If both spouses renounce Islam simultaneously, their marriage is permitted to endure. Conversion to Islam by the husband alone where both spouses were Jewish or Christian does not impair the marriage, and the wife may retain her religion. However, if a Christian or Jewish woman, married to a man of the same faith, becomes a Muslim, the marriage is dissolved unless the husband also adopts Islam.

A final divorce, whatever its mode may be, renders sexual intercourse unlawful and entitles the wife to remarry after completing the waiting period of *ʿiddah*. If the marriage is not consummated, she is free to marry immediately. A triple *ṭalāq* renders remarriage between the divorced couple unlawful until the woman marries another person; only after the dissolution of this latter marriage may she remarry her former husband. Upon a final divorce, mutual rights of inheritance cease between the parties, and any outstanding dower becomes immediately payable to the wife. She is entitled to maintenance only during her *ʿiddah.*

Modern reforms of divorce law in Muslim countries have been primarily directed at restricting the husband's power of unilateral divorce on the one hand, and at increasing the remedies available to the wife in cases of injurious circumstances on the other. The main restriction on the husband's power of unilateral *ṭalāq* comes from the abolition of the irrevocable forms of *ṭalāq*. The husband is thus no longer able to terminate his marriage immediately by pronouncing a final and irrevocable *ṭalāq*. Legislation in some Muslim countries also entitles the wife to financial compensation for any injury she may have sustained as a result of the husband's abuse of his power. In the traditionally Ḥanafī countries, the wife's position has been enhanced by legislative measures, which entitle her to a judicial divorce on grounds substantially the same as those recognized under Mālikī law. Modern legislation has also departed from the Ḥanafī position that ignores intention in *ṭalāq* by adopting provisions under which *ṭalāq* is only valid if accompanied by a definite intention. The Tunisian law of 1957 is the most far-reaching of the modern reforms in that it abolishes all forms of extrajudicial divorce, whether by *ṭalāq* or by mutual consent. By abolishing the husband's power of unilateral *ṭalāq*, the Tunisian law effects complete equality between the spouses in divorce.

INHERITANCE. In pre-Islamic Arabia, succession was purely tribal and agnatic, that is, the heirs were normally the closest male relatives, and women and minors were excluded. A fundamental reform that the Qurʾān brought about was to assign definite shares to female relatives. According to the Islamic scheme of inheritance, a female generally receives half the share of a male. The deceased fictitiously remains the owner of the estate until his obligations are fully discharged. The creditors can, therefore, only assert their claims against the estate and not against the individual heirs. All funeral expenses, debts, and bequests have to be paid in full before the estate can be distributed among the heirs.

An essential condition of inheritance is that the heir must survive the deceased. In doubtful cases, arising, for example, when persons who would inherit from one another have died without proof of who died first, neither can inherit from the other according to the majority, but Shīʿī and Ḥanbalī law entitle both to inherit from one another. Similarly, inheritance can only pass to an heir who exists at the time of the death of the deceased, except when a man leaves a pregnant widow, in which case the share of an unborn male child is reserved for the offspring. If the child is female, she will receive her normal share of inheritance, and the remainder of the reserved portion reverts back to the estate to be redistributed among the heirs proportionate to their normal shares.

The birth of a child, whether male or female, may affect the position of an heir in a variety of ways. He or she may be excluded from succession, have their share reduced, or in some circumstances, become entitled to a larger share. In all cases, the present heirs are, according to the majority view, entitled to take their minimal shares and reserve the largest share for the unborn child. This is the share of a male child under Ḥanafī law, whereas the Shāfiʿī, Ḥanbalī, and Shīʿī law assume that twin boys or twin girls will be born, and the other heirs are entitled to the share they would receive in one case or the other, whichever is less. In Mālikī law the distribution is completely suspended until the birth of the child. All schools are unanimous, however, in suspending the distribution of the estate in the event that all the other heirs would be totally excluded by the birth of the child. Excluded from succession are the following: one who has caused the death of the deceased; a non-Muslim as the heir of a Muslim and vice versa (a bequest, however, can be made to a non-Muslim), and a slave who, under classical law, is not capable of owning property.

The heirs are mainly divided into three groups: those who are entitled to a prescribed share, known as Qurʾanic heirs (*dhawū furūḍ*); those who receive the remainder, known as agnatic heirs (*ʿaṣabah*); and distant kindred (*dhawū al-arḥām*), persons who are related to the deceased in the female line and fall into neither of the first two categories. In the absence of all three, the estate goes to the public treasury *(bayt al-māl).*

The Qurʾān allots shares to eight relatives, namely the daughter, mother, father, husband, wife, brothers, and sisters. But the rules regarding the daughter have been extended, by analogy, to the daughter of a son, and those regarding the parents, to the grandparents. In addition, a distinction has been made between a full sister, a half sister on the father's side, and a half sister on the mother's side. The total number of Qurʾanic heirs has thus been raised to twelve.

A daughter who has no brothers is entitled to half the estate, and two or more daughters share equally in a portion of two-thirds. But if daughters inherit along with sons, they become *ʿaṣabah* and receive half the portion of the sons. A son's daughter without brothers inherits half the estate; if there are two or more son's daughters, their share is two-thirds. A son's daughter is excluded if that son has two or more sisters inheriting along with him. The father inherits one-sixth in the presence of a son, and in the presence of a daughter or a son's daughter, one-sixth plus any residue. In the absence of descendants, the father inherits as the nearest *ʿaṣabah.* The father's father inherits one-sixth, but he is excluded if the father is alive. The mother's portion is one-sixth if there are children and one-third if there are none. The mother's mother inherits one-sixth, but she is excluded if the mother is alive. One full sister in the absence of brothers inherits one-half, and two or more, two-thirds. A half sister on the father's side receives the same share as a full sister, but both are excluded in the presence of a son, or a son's son, or the father. Both a half brother and a half sister on the mother's side receive one-sixth, and two or more share a third among them, but they are excluded by descendants and male ascendants. The husband receives a quarter if there is a descendant, and in the absence thereof, a half. The wife inherits one-half of what the husband would receive under the same circumstances.

Sometimes the number of qualified Qurʾanic heirs or the sum of their shares may be larger than the whole of the estate. In this case, their shares are reduced under the principle of proportionate reduction, known as *ʿawl.* For example, if the deceased is survived by a husband and two full sisters, their shares will be one-half and two-thirds respectively, which exceed unity. Hence, the share will be reduced to three-sevenths and four-sevenths respectively.

The agnatic heirs (*ʿaṣabah*) inherit the remainder of the estate after the Qurʾanic heirs have received their shares. The *ʿaṣabah* are divided into the following classes, in order of priority: (1) the son and his descendants in the male line; (2) the father and his ascendants in the male line; (3) the male descendants of the father; (4) descendants of the paternal grandfather; and (5) descendants of the paternal great-grandfather. Any member of a higher class totally excludes any member of a lower class, except that the brothers of the deceased are not excluded by the grandfather. Among the relatives of the same class, the nearer in degree to the deceased excludes the more remote: In class three, for example, a nephew will be excluded by the deceased's brother. Among agnatic relatives of the same class and the same degree, germanes have priority over consanguines. Thus, for example, the germane brother of the deceased totally excludes the consanguine brother.

If there is no *ʿaṣabah* and the Qurʾanic heirs do not exhaust the estate, the remainder is proportionately distributed among the Qurʾanic heirs under the principle of reversion, known as *radd.* For example, if the deceased is survived by his mother and a daughter, their shares will be one-sixth and one-half; because these are less than unity, they will be increased to one-quarter and three-quarters respectively.

BEQUESTS. All the *sharīʿah* jurists agree that a person who is adult and sane has the capacity to make a bequest, while bequests made by a minor or a mentally defective person, a person acting under compulsion, or under temporary loss of reason (through, for example, intoxication) are void. A bequest may be oral or written, and any words, or even signs, may be used provided they clearly indicate the testator's intention. All free individuals, juristic persons, and fetuses in the womb, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, and irrespective of domicile, are capable of receiving a bequest. Any object of value that is considered as goods *(māl)*, including income and usufruct arising out of the property owned by the testator, may be given in bequest. A bequest is invalid if made in pursuit of unlawful purposes, such as promoting a brothel. Further, no Muslim may bequeath more than one-third of the residue of his estate after the payment of debts and other charges. In Sunnī law, a bequest made in favor of a legal heir is void unless the other heirs consent to it. Similarly, a bequest that exceeds the bequeathable third does not take effect without the consent of the surviving heirs. In Sunnī law, such consent must be obtained after the death of the testator, whereas in Shīʿī law it may be obtained either before or after the testator's death. Shīʿī law also permits the testator to bequeath to any person, including a legal heir, within the limit of one-third. Without the consent of the surviving heirs, bequests amounting to more than one-third of the estate must be reduced to the maximum of one-third.

A testator may specify the order in which several of his bequests are to be executed, and this order will be observed until the bequeathable third is exhausted. If no order is specified and the limit of one-third is exceeded, the abatement will be proportionate in Sunnī law, whereas under Shīʿī law the first in chronological order prevails. A bequest is null and void if made in favor of a person who has caused the death of the testator. And finally, if the legatee predeceases the testator, the bequest lapses in Ḥanafī law, but passes on to the heir of the deceased legatee in Shīʿī law.

PATERNITY. Paternity is the legal relation between father and child that is created by a legitimate birth. The paternity of a child is normally established by marriage between its parents. Maternity on the other hand is not dependent upon marriage. In Sunnī law, the maternity of a child, whether the offspring of marriage or of adultery, is established in the woman who actually gives birth to the child. Thus if a man commits adultery and a child is born, it is considered to be the child of its mother and inherits from her and her relations. But the man is not considered to be the father of the child, for paternity is established only through marriage. In Shīʿī law, however, an illegitimate child has no legal relationship with either its father or its mother.

The law normally presumes that a child born to a married woman is the legitimate child of her husband. This presumption, however, operates within the limits of what the law recognizes as the minimum and maximum duration of the gestation period. According to all the *sharīʿah* schools, the minimum period of gestation is six months. The maximum period varies between nine months (Shīʿī), two years (Ḥanafī), four years (Shāfiʿī), and five to seven years (Mālikī). In Ḥanafī law, therefore, the paternity of the child is ascribed to the husband if it is born after not less than six months of marriage, and within not more than two years after the dissolution of marriage. The only method by which the husband can challenge the presumption of legitimacy and disown his child is to resort to the imprecation procedure, known as *liʿān.* According to this procedure, the husband must swear four oaths that the child is not his and then invoke the curse of God upon himself if he is lying. This effects an immediate and final divorce according to the majority view, whereas in Ḥanafī and Shīʿī law, the marriage subsists until the court orders the parties to separate. If the wife confesses to the adultery, the penalty is imprisonment according to Ḥanafī law, and death by stoning according to the other schools (Ḥanafī law forbids the enforcement of capital punishment for *zināʾ* unless it is proven by the testimony of four witnesses). Alternately, she may deny the charge by swearing four solemn oaths to plead her innocence and finally calling upon herself the wrath of God if she was in fact guilty. Regardless of whether the wife confesses or denies the charge, as a consequence of *liʿān* the child is disowned by the husband.

Either of the spouses, or failing this, the judge, may initiate the *liʿān* proceedings. The traditional law of *liʿān* does not, however, provide for the eventuality where the wife might initiate a charge of adultery against the husband. In the event that the wife accuses the husband of *zināʾ*, she would normally be required to prove the accusation by the testimony of four witnesses, in which case the husband would be liable to the capital punishment for *zināʾ*. But if she fails to provide the required proof, she would herself be liable to punishment for slanderous accusation *(qadhf)*, which is eighty lashes. In neither case, however, would recourse be made to *liʿān*, for the latter is invoked only when the husband accuses his wife of *zināʾ,* and not vice versa. If the husband accuses his wife of *zināʾ* but fails to resort to *liʿān,* he too would be liable to the punishment of *qadhf.* Some jurists have held the view that the wife's unproven accusation of *zināʾ* would provide sufficient grounds for judicial separation on the basis of injury (*ḍarar*).

Where the paternity of a child cannot be proved by establishing a marriage between the parents at the time of conception, the law recognizes acknowledgment (*iqrār*) as a method whereby such a marriage and legitimate descent can be established. This method can be used only if real paternity is possible; thus the acknowledged child must be at least twelve and one-half years younger than the acknowledging parent, because this interval represents the minimum period of gestation added to the minimum age of puberty. In addition, one person may acknowledge the paternity of another on the following three conditions: the child is of unknown paternity; there is no definite proof that the child is the offspring of adultery; and the acknowledgment does not contradict another person's presumption of paternity. An acknowledgment need not be expressed in words, but may be implied by the deliberate conduct of one person who treats another as his legitimate offspring. Subject to repudiation by an acknowledgee who is adult and sane, an acknowledgment of paternity is binding for all purposes, and once effected, it is irrevocable.

The *sharīʿah* law of paternity has been criticized mainly for accepting gestation periods of two years (Ḥanafī law) or more, which has encouraged people to claim the paternity of illegitimate children for purposes of inheritance. In a 1929 law, the Egyptian legislature reduced the maximum period of gestation to one year. Consequently, no claim of paternity on behalf of a child born more than one year after the termination of the marriage can be heard in Egyptian courts. Furthermore, the Egyptian law provides that proof of nonaccess between the spouses because their marriage or for one year preceding the birth of a child would debar a claim of the legitimacy of such a child. Syria, Tunisia, and Morocco have also adopted these measures with minor variations, and one year represents the maximum period of gestation in these countries. It may be added that the modern law provision enabling a husband to prove that he had no physical access to his wife during the possible time of conception supersedes the procedure of *liʿān.* In appropriate circumstances, therefore, the new rules of evidence will determine the disputed paternity of a child. Proof of nonaccess, under modern law, would also seem to defeat the claim to inheritance of a child in embryo, at least where the basis of such a claim is the legitimacy of the child, and would, in turn, overrule the provision of the traditional law concerning the reservation of a portion of the estate for such a child. The fundamental rules governing the custody of children (*ḥaḍānah*) are common to all the *sharīʿah* schools. Following the dissolution of a marriage, the custody of the young children belongs to the mother, but she loses this right if she remarries, in which case custody reverts to the father. The mother's right to custody terminates with the completion of seven years in the case of male children, and in case of female children, with the onset of puberty.

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ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY See FALSAFAH

ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS YEAR.

The Islamic religious year is highlighted by two major events that are enjoined by the Qurʾān and that are celebrated all over the Muslim world. These are the pilgrimage, or *ḥājj,* which culminates in the ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā (Feast of Sacrifice), in the last lunar month, and Ramaḍān, the month of fasting, which ends with the celebration of the ʿĪd al-Fiṭr (Feast of Fast Breaking) on the first day of the next month, Shawwāl. Because the twelve-month calendar of Islam is based on a purely lunar year of 354 days, these events have no fixed relation to the seasons of the 365-day solar year. Over the course of years, they may occur in spring, summer, autumn, and winter. Thus, no connection with pre-Islamic solar feasts can be made, nor can any tradition of agricultural cults be traced. (Celebrations of the solar seasons do occur in various parts of the Muslim world, but they are not based on the Qurʾān or on *ḥadīth.*)

The beginning of each month of the Muslim calendar is reckoned from the appearance of the new moon, which must, according to tradition, be reported by at least two trustworthy witnesses. Because religious leaders in some Muslim countries do, in fact, rely on astronomical calculation of the first appearance of the crescent while others continue to follow the Qurʾanic prescription of actually seeing the moon, differences of one day in reckoning the beginning or end of a month are common. The date may also vary according to local weather conditions.

Certain days of the week are considered to be endowed with good or bad qualities, as can be understood from relevant collections of *ḥadīth.* Friday, the day of communal prayer at noon, is always regarded as auspicious, and Monday and Thursday carry positive aspects, as do the "white nights" before and after a full moon.

The year begins with the month of Muḥarram. Its tenth day, ʿĀshūrāʾ, was suggested as a fast day by the Prophet but subsequently became associated with the death of Muḥammad's grandson, Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, who was killed in the Battle of Karbala on 10 Muḥarram 81 / October 10, 680. Although this day is a time of mourning for all Muslims, it is the Shīʿah, the "party" of ʿAlī, who have attached very special significance to Ḥusayn's martyrdom and to the entire month of Muḥarram. Thus, Sunnī Muslims do not subscribe to the elaborate celebrations developed in later centuries, particularly in Iran and India, where commemorations extend through the first ten days of the month. During this period women wear subdued colors, preferably black, with no jewelry. Men and women hold separate gatherings (*majālis*) during which a male or female preacher reminds the audience of the suffering of Ḥusayn and the other imams. The preacher recounts legends of the events at Karbala; singers recite threnodies; and those present beat their breasts, call blessings upon the Prophet, and profusely shed tears. "Weeping for Ḥusayn opens the door to Paradise," it is said, and the tears themselves are collected for future use as a panacea.

During the first ten days of Muḥarram, special craftsmen prepare *taʿziyah*s, or *tābūt*s, tall, domed, wooden structures (up to thirty feet high) that represent the tombs of the imams. Beautifully carved and gilded or painted, they are carried in the ʿĀshūrāʾ processions along with colorful standards lofted in memory of Ḥusayn's standard-bearer, Jaʿfar. A lavishly caparisoned white horse is led as a symbol of Ḥusayn's mount, Dhū al-Janāḥ, and of the white horse on which the Hidden Imam is expected to ride when he finally reappears. During these processions many people flagellate themselves with chains from which hang small knives (wounds thus inflicted never become septic), and fire walking is sometimes performed. In some areas, such as the Deccan, ʿĀshūrāʾ processions at times assumed almost carnivalistic aspects, as eighteenth-century miniatures show. Late in the day the small *taʿziyah*s are buried in a place designated as "Karbala," while the more precious ones are stored, along with other implements, in *ʿāshūrā-khānah*s or *imām-bārah*s, large buildings for the meetings of the Shīʿī community. A special dish with numerous ingredients is cooked in remembrance of the mixed food in Karbala, prepared from whatever happened to be in the heroes' bags. In Turkey, sharing this *aṣure* with neighbors is a custom among both Sunnī and Shīʿī families.

In nineteenth-century Lucknow, *taʿziyah* rites were continued until the tenth day of the following month of Ṣafar, thus marking forty days of mourning from the start of Muḥarram. Among the Shīʿah, no weddings are celebrated in Muḥarram, and the month has always been a time when communal or sectarian feelings run high. Not infrequently, rioting results. The Ismāʿīlī community, at least since the time of Aga Khan III (r. 1885–1957), does not participate in Muḥarram because it has a *ḥazir imām* ("present imam") in the Aga Khan and need not look back to Ḥusayn's death.

Various literary and dramatic genres have also developed around the events at Karbala. The genre of *maqtal Ḥusayn,* poetry or prose telling of Ḥusayn's suffering, has been known since the early Middle Ages, and the *marthiyah,* or threnody, began to be developed by Indian poets about the beginning of the seventeenth century. This latter genre, which originated in the Deccan and spread to northern India, found its finest expression at the Shīʿī court of Lucknow in the nineteenth century. In Iran, and to a lesser degree in Iraq and Lebanon, the martyrdom of Ḥusayn came to be re-created in *taʿziyah* plays interweaving numerous mythical elements to establish the martyrdom as the central event in the history of the universe.

In the month of Ṣafar, which follows Muḥarram, a sad mood used to prevail among Muslims because the Prophet once fell ill during this period. The last Wednesday of the month, when the Prophet felt better, was a day of rejoicing.

Rabīʿ al-Awwal ("first Rabīʿ"), the third lunar month, is marked by the Mawlid al-Nabī ("birthday of the Prophet") on the twelfth. The day is celebrated as the date of the Prophet's birth *(mīlād)* although it was actually the date of his death and is also widely commemorated in that connection. Nonetheless, the joyful celebration of Muḥammad's birthday began comparatively early; it was introduced on a larger scale in Fatimid Egypt, where the rulers, descendants of Muḥammad's daughter Fāṭimah, remembered the birthday of their ancestor by inviting scholars and by distributing sweets and money, a feature that has remained common. Ever since, the pious have felt that celebrations of the Mawlid have a special blessing power (*barakah*).

The first major celebration of the MawlĪd al-Nabī is described for the year AH 604/1207 CE in Arbalāʾ (modern Irbil, in northern Iraq), where the Ṣūfīs participated actively. The Mawlid became increasingly popular first in the western and then in the central Islamic lands. A special genre of poetry known as *mawlūd* developed in almost all Islamic languages. In Turkey the *mevlûd* by Süleyman Çelebi (d. 1409), telling in simple verse the miracles connected with the birth of the Prophet and describing his life, is still sung. In many countries, candles are lit—in Turkey the day is still called Mevlûd Kandili (Lamp Feast of the Birth)—and the Mawlid provides an occasion for donning festive clothes, burning incense, and distributing sweets. Orthodox circles have traditionally taken issue with the use of candles because of the similarity to Christmas celebrations; likewise they have disallowed musical performances and deemed that only the recitation of the Qurʾān seems permissible on a day that also marks the Prophet's death. The stories that have been traditionally recited reflect the people's love and veneration of the Prophet, whose birth, according to some eighteenth-century writers, was "more important than the Laylat al-Qadr," the night when the Qurʾān was first revealed, for it meant the arrival of "mercy for the worlds" (*sūrah* 21:107). Lately, however, there is a growing tendency to demythologize the contents of Mawlid literature; the speeches and poems offered on that day, and throughout the month in many countries, are meant to remind people of the ethical and social role of the Prophet, the "beautiful model" (*sūrah* 33:21) of his community. Newspapers and television publicize this attitude.

The following month, Rabīʿ al-Thānī ("second Rabīʿ"), has no ritual justified by the Qurʾān or *ḥadīth*. However, in many areas, especially in India and Pakistan, the eleventh marks the anniversary of ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, whose Ṣūfī order, the Qadiriyah, is the most widespread fraternity. The month is therefore called simply Yārhīñ, meaning "eleven" in Sindhi. As on other saints' days, flags are flown, meetings are convened to recite eulogies for the saint, and food is cooked and distributed in his name.

No religious events, other than local saints' days, are noted for the following two months, Jumādā al-Ūlā ("first Jumādā") and Jumādā al-Ākhirah ("last Jumādā"), but the seventh lunar month, Rajab, is blessed by celebration of the Prophet's *Miʿrāj,* his heavenly journey, which took place on the night of the twenty-seventh. In Turkey, this is again a *kandil,* or "lamp feast," on which people fast during daytime. In other areas, such as Kashmir, it used to be celebrated for a whole week. Although the celebration of the *Miʿrāj* cannot vie in popularity with the Prophet's birthday, the mystery of the Prophet's heavenly journey has deeply impressed Muslim piety and poetry. Other events commemorated in Rajab include the first nights of the month, *raghāʾib,* celebrated in some areas (notably Turkey) as the time when Āminah conceived the Prophet, as well as ʿAlī's birthday, celebrated by all Shīʿī communities on 13 Rajab.

In the following month, Shaʿbān, a non-Qurʾanic but very popular feast is the Laylat al-Barāʾah (Pers., Shab-i Barāt), celebrated on the night of the full moon. Historically this is the night when the Prophet entered Mecca triumphantly, but in Muslim folklore it is considered to be the night when the "writing conferring immunity is written in heaven" or, more generally, the night during which the fates for the coming year are fixed. Therefore pious Muslims fast, pray, and keep vigils. On the whole, however, and especially in Indo-Pakistan, the night is celebrated with illuminations and fireworks. Orthodox critics object to such displays as symptoms of Hindu influence, even though the Shab-i Barāt is mentioned in a non-Indian environment as early as the twelfth century, in a poem by Sanāʾī of Ghaznah (d. 1131). The Shīʿī community celebrates the birthday of Imam Mahdi, the last of the twelve imams, on this day.

The month of Ramaḍān is the most demanding of the Islamic year, especially when it falls in the hot season. Each day, Muslims must fast from the moment there is enough light to distinguish white from black threads until the sun has completely set. The order to abstain from food, drink, smoking, sex, and even from injections or intake of fragrance requires a strong intention (*nīyah*) of the fasting person. He or she will then break fast with an odd number of dates and some water before proceeding to the evening prayer. The problem of how to keep the fast in northern countries during the long summer days has aroused much controversy; one solution is to break fast at the time when the sun sets in the next Muslim country or on the forty-fifth degree of latitude. For every day that the fast is neglected, or cannot be performed because of illness, pregnancy, or menstruation, the observant Muslim is obliged to compensate either by fasting some other day or by feeding a number of the ever present poor.

The Laylat al-Qadr ("night of power"; *sūrah* 97), during which the first revelation of the Qurʾān took place, is one of the last odd-numbered nights in Ramaḍān, generally considered the twenty-seventh. In its honor people may spend the last ten days of Ramaḍān in seclusion, and those who do not fast otherwise will try to do it during that period. The pious hope for the vision of the light that fills the world during this blessed night. The Ismāʿīlīs pray all night in their Jamāʿāt-khānah. Many people perform the *tarāwiḥ* prayers (a long sequence, including twenty to thirty-three *rakʿah*s of prayers and prostrations) after breaking the fast. Then they may enjoy the lighter side of life: The illumination of mosques and the activities of all kinds of entertainers that used to be a regular part of every Ramaḍān night. A second meal is taken before the first sign of dawn.

The ʿĪd al-Fiṭr (Feast of Fast Breaking), which brings release from the month-long abstinence at daylight, is called the "lesser feast," but it is most eagerly awaited as a celebration of the return to normal life. Its Turkish name, *Şeker Bayrami* ("sugar feast"), points to the custom of distributing sweets. After the morning prayer of 1 Shawwāl in the spacious *ʿīdgāh,* it is customary to put on new clothes and to visit friends. The sigh that one has no new clothes for the feast is a touching topic in Islamic love poetry.

After the ʿĪd al-Fiṭr there is no major feast in Shawwāl or in Dhū al-Qaʿdah. The later month is used for preparations for the pilgrimage (*ḥājj*), which takes place in Dhū al-Ḥijjah.

On 10 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, the ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā, or ʿĪd al-Qurbān (Feast of Sacrifice), called the "major feast," is celebrated in the valley of Minā, near Mecca, with thousands, and now millions, of Muslims ritually slaughtering sheep or larger animals and thus reenacting the substitution of a ram for Ismāʿīl, whom Abraham was willing to sacrifice (*sūrah* 37:102). Because this is the only feast in which the community celebrates the memory of a mythical event, every Muslim is called upon to repeat the slaughter at home; theologians do not accept the substitution of money for the sacrificial animal, as some liberal Muslims have suggested. According to popular belief, the slaughtered animal will carry its owner across the Ṣirāṭ Bridge to paradise. The meat of the animal sacrificed at home is distributed to the poor, and the hide is given to a charitable foundation. The Indo-Muslim designation of the feast as Baqar ʿĪd (Cow Feast) and the slaughtering of cows have often caused Hindu riots during these days. The return of the pilgrims is duly celebrated, as one can witness every year at the airports of Muslim countries. Later in the month, on 18 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, the Shīʿī community celebrates the ʿĪd al-Ghadīr (Feast of the Pond), the day on which Muḥammad invested ʿAlī as his successor near the pond Khumm.

Every place in the Islamic world has special celebrations for commemorating local saints. Some of these festivities, called *ʿurs* (spiritual "wedding"), attract tens of thousands of people. Almost all of them follow the rhythm of the lunar year. The *ʿurs* of Aḥmad al-Badawī in Tanta, Egypt, is celebrated, however, according to the solar year in early June, when the Nile is rising, and may be connected with pre-Islamic fertility rites. In Turkey, the anniversary of the birth of Mawlānā Rūmī is now celebrated on December 17. Likewise, Ismāʿīlīs celebrate the Aga Khan's birthday according to the common era.

Some Muslim festivals are connected with the solar year. The most important is Nawrūz, the Persian New Year, which occurs at the vernal equinox. It is celebrated in a joyous way wherever Persian culture spread, even in Egypt. It is customary that seven items have to be on the table (in Iran, the names of these seven must begin with the letter *s*). Orthodox Muslims have often objected to the celebration of Nawrūz, but for most people the beginning of spring has always been too delightful to be neglected. The Bektashī order of Ṣūfīs in Turkey have explained Nawrūz as ʿAlī's birthday and have thus Islamized it. Another Turkish celebration, Hidrellez, combines the feasts of the saint-prophet Khiḍr and of Ilyās, associated with the biblical Elijah. The day falls on May 6 and is connected with a change of winds and weather.

An interesting way of depicting the sequence of the ritual year is found in a poetic genre of Indo-Pakistan called *bārahmāsa* ("twelve months"). It is derived from Hindu tradition and in its Islamized forms describes the twelve months through the words of a lovesick young woman who experiences in Muḥarram the pain of seeing her beloved slain, celebrates his birthday in Rabīʿ al-Awwal, and finally meets him in Dhū al-Ḥijjah, when visiting either the Kaʿbah in Mecca or the Prophet's tomb in Medina.

Muslim mystics, as strictly as they might have adhered to ritual, have spiritualized the liturgical year. The Feast of Sacrifice—whether it be named ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā, ʿĪd al-Qurbān, or ʿĪd al-Naḥr—has meant, for them, to sacrifice themselves before the divine Beloved, and the true *ʿīd* has been to see the face of the Beloved whose very presence makes every day a feast for the lover.

SEE ALSO ʿĀshūrāʾ; Mawlid; Nowrūz; Pilgrimage, article on Muslim Pilgrimage; Ṣawm; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Muslim Worship.

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ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL (1987)

ISLAMIC STUDIES [FIRST EDITION].

Islamic studies encompass the study of the religion of Islam and of Islamic aspects of Muslim cultures and societies. At the outset we must recognize that the word *Islam* itself is used in very different senses by faithful Muslims, for whom it is a norm and an ideal, and by scholars (Muslim and non-Muslim Islamicists), who refer to it as a subject of study or a kind of symbol for the focus of their inquiry, as well as by the larger public in the West who are outsiders and give different appreciations of what is felt by them to be "foreign." By extension, a sharp distinction must be made between normative Islam (the prescriptions, norms, and values that are recognized by the community as embodiments of divine guidance) and actual Islam (all those forms and movements, practices and ideas that have in fact existed in the many Muslim communities in different times and places). In other words, Islamic data sought for the sake of scholarly understanding are not the same as the ideals that Muslims as adherents of Islam attach to them, the meaning they attribute to them, or the truth they recognize in them.

This familiar distinction between practice and ideal, fact and (subjective) meaning of religious data must be maintained not only for the purpose of analysis and understanding but also for the making of valid comparisons. Practices may be compared with practices, ideals with ideals, but the practice of something in one religion should not be compared with the ideal of the same thing in another religion. From a scholarly point of view, moreover, we have no reason to say that any particular Muslim society represents Islam as a norm and an ideal better than another. We must proceed by reporting the various ideas and practices that prevail in one or another group and by trying to explain differences and discover their implications. Whatever the eternal truth of Islam at all times and places, its ideas and practices at different times and places are to be studied as they present themselves.

THE SCOPE OF ISLAMIC STUDIES. On the basis of these distinctions, it is possible to identify three different enterprises that come under the general rubric of Islamic studies:

1. *The normative study of Islamic religion* is generally carried out by Muslims in order to acquire knowledge of religious truth. It implies the study of the Islamic religious sciences: Qurʾanic exegesis (*tafsīr*), the science of traditions (*ʿilm al-ḥadīth*), jurisprudence (*fiqh*), and metaphysical theology (*kalām*). Traditionally pursued in mosques and special religious colleges (*madrasah*s), it is now usually carried out in faculties of religious law (*sharīʿah*) and of religious sciences (*ʿulūm al-dīn*) at universities or special Islamic institutes in Muslim countries. It should be noted, however, that normative studies of Islam can also be undertaken by non-Muslims, such as Christians seeking to proselytize among Muslims or to develop a theology of religions in which a particular place is assigned to Islam.
2. *The nonnormative study of Islamic religion* is usually done in universities and covers both what is considered by Muslims to be true Islam (the Islamic religious sciences in particular) and what is considered to be living Islam (the factual religious expressions of Muslims). This nonnormative study of Islamic religion can be pursued by Muslims and non-Muslims alike, wherever they observe the general rules of scholarly inquiry. This is the research that is generally called "Islamic studies."
3. *The nonnormative study of Islamic aspects of Muslim cultures and societies* in a broader sense is not directed toward Islam as such. It takes a wider context into consideration, approaching things Islamic from the point of view of history and literature or cultural anthropology and sociology, and not specifically from the perspective of the study of religion.

My focus in this essay is on the two nonnormative forms of study, which we may call Islamic studies in the narrower (2) and the wider (3) sense. In the narrower sense of Islamic studies, the focus is on Islamic religion as an entity in itself; the wider sense of Islamic studies deals with data that are part of given Muslim communities and are culled from the Islamic experience but that may or may not possess a religious (i.e., Islamic) significance for particular Muslim groups.

In the case of studies of particular Muslim communities, a further distinction can be made. On the one hand, some general concept of Islam may be held implicitly or explicitly by the researcher, even if the research is limited to one or to a few concrete situations. In research of this kind, notwithstanding its specialized character, Islam as a whole remains within the horizon of the researcher. On the other hand, there are studies dealing with Muslim communities of a specific area and period that do not take into consideration any general concept if Islam. Yet this research still belongs implicitly to Islamic studies in the wider sense to the extent that Islamicists may find it useful.

HISTORY OF ISLAMIC STUDIES IN THE NARROWER SENSE. The rise of scholarly interest in Islam as a religion represents in part a critical response to numerous images of Muḥammad and Islamic religion in general that were widespread in medieval Europe. Although Arab science and philosophy were appreciated and admired, Islam was projected as the great adversary of Christianity. The first effort to acquire a more scholarly knowledge of the Islamic religion on the basis of the sources was made by Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny (c. 1094–1156), who financed a team of translators working in Spain. One of the results was the first Latin translation of the Qurʾān, which was completed in 1143 by Robert Ketton.

Since the beginning of the sixteenth century, Arabic and other so-called Islamic languages (notably Persian and Turkish) have been studied in European universities; language competency was the first prerequisite for the investigation of Islam. Another prerequisite was a serious study of Islamic history, carried out first (from the sixteenth century) as a history of Muslim peoples, especially the Turks, and later (from the eighteenth century on) as a history of Islamic religion, which, thanks to the Enlightenment, could be appreciated more adequately. Noteworthy indeed is the objective description of Islamic religion, based on Muslim sources, presented by Adrian Reland in his *De religione mohammedica libri duo* (1705; 2d ed., 1717). Such approaches were to lead to the rise of Islamic studies as a discipline based on textual criticism and historical analysis with a view to the writing of a history of Islamic religion and culture. As a modern field of scholarship, Islamic studies emerged around the middle of the nineteenth century, with the publication of biographies of Muḥammad by Gustav Weil (1843), William Muir (1861; rev. ed., 1912), and Aloys Sprenger (3 vols., 1861–1865). Early studies of the Qurʾān were Weil's *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in den Koran* (1844; 2d ed., 1878) and Theodor Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorans* (2 vols., 1860; 2d rev. ed., 1909–1938). Alfred von Kremer's *Geschichte der herrschenden ideen des Islams* (1868) and *Culturgeschichtliche Streifzüge auf dem Gebiete des Islams* (1873) were the first attempts to present the history of Islam as an integrated whole.

Islamic studies as part of Oriental studies. The development of Islamic studies in the nineteenth century was part of the general development of Oriental studies, commonly called "Orientalism." This effort was the first serious intellectual encounter between Europe and another civilization, albeit a unilateral encounter and one in which current cultural images of the "Orient" unavoidably played a role. Oriental studies were largely patterned after the classical studies that had arisen in the sixteenth century; they were based on philology in the broad sense of the term, that is, the study of a particular culture through its texts. Islamic studies in this sense lead to nonnormative accounts of Islamic religion as described under (2), above. The field has always been a demanding one, presupposing an intensive study of Arabic and other "Islamic" languages, on the basis of which text editions can be prepared and textual studies, including textual criticism and literary history, can be carried out. Familiarity with the texts, in its turn, is a prerequisite for the further study of history. Supplemented by the study of other Islamic expressions in art and architecture and in present-day religious life, textual, historical, and anthropological research together prepare the way for the study of Islamic culture and religion.

Within the Orientalist tradition, Islamic studies were conceived of as a cultural discipline and exhibited certain assumptions of European civilization of the time, notably the superiority of Western civilization and the excellence of its scholarship. Stress has generally been laid on the differences between Islamic civilization and European culture, with an ethnocentric bias toward the latter. Beyond the interest in its origins, a certain predilection can be discerned for the "classical" period of Islamic civilization, a preference that can also be observed in other branches of Oriental studies. Specialization increasingly led to detailed studies, and the ideal of a comprehensive view of Islam often came down simply to mastering an extraordinary mass of facts. Just as the preponderance of facts in Oriental studies has given Islamic studies a rather "positivist" orientation, the approach to Islamic religion too has been essentially based on establishing historical facts with little attention being paid to the problem of the meaning of these facts, which is a problem of interpretation.

The nonnormative study of Islamic religion. The history of Islamic religion has been approached in three basic ways. A great number of historians, following the example set by Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918) in his various studies on the early Islamic period, have focused on the external history of Islam. Later historians such as Claude Cahen and Bernard Lewis have shown how much light can be thrown on particular Muslim institutions and movements by viewing them against the background of economic, social, and political history.

Another kind of historical research concentrates rather on what may be called the inner developments in Islamic religion and culture. This approach was introduced by one of the major figures in the field, Ignácz Goldziher (1850–1921), who tried to establish the basic framework of an intellectual history of Islam. Another scholar working along these lines was Helmut Ritter (1892–1971), who revealed the inner connections among a great number of religious concepts, mainly theological and mystical, as they developed in history.

Somewhere between the general historians and the historians of religion are cultural historians of the medieval period such as Carl Heinrich Becker (1876–1933), Jörg Kraemer (1917–1961), and Gustav Edmund von Grunebaum (1909–1972), all of whom set religious developments within wider cultural frameworks, which were related in turn to political and military history. The name of Marshall G. S. Hodgson (1921–1968) should also be mentioned here because of his efforts to situate the total history of Islam within a culturally oriented world history.

These three types of historical study are also reflected in the vast number of specialized historical researches on particular Muslim communities of the past, as well as in studies dealing with the contemporary history of Muslim societies. Here I must limit myself to indicating the major points of the history of research into broad topics, mentioning some names but omitting many others of no less significance. (The categories that follow are those set out by Charles J. Adams in his 1976 survey, "Islamic Religious Tradition.")

Muḥammad. Various approaches have developed since the mid-nineteenth-century biographies mentioned earlier.

In a two-volume biography, *Mohammed* (1892–1895), Hubert Grimme gave an account of the social factors in Muḥammad's life and stressed the Prophet's aspect as social reformer; Frants Buhl assembled all historical materials available at the time for a substantial biography of Muḥammad in *Das Leben Muhammed* (1930; 2d ed., 1955). Tor Andrae studied later Muslim views of Muḥammad as a prophet and paradigmatic figure in his *Die person Muhammeds in lehre und glauben seiner gemeinde* (1918). A breakthrough in establishing the context of Muḥammad's life and work is W. Montgomery Watt's two-volume study, *Muhammad at Mecca* (1953) and *Muhammad at Medina* (1956), which focuses attention on the social and economic changes in Arabia (Mecca) that Muḥammad tried to address in his prophetic activity. Maxime Rodinson's thought-provoking biography, *Mohammed* (1961; Eng. trans., 1971), interprets historical data from a similar perspective but adds a psychological dimension. An era in which Western scholarship recognizes the originality of Muḥammad's achievements seems to have dawned, following a period during which stress was placed by Jewish scholars on the Jewish influences on Muḥammad and by Christian scholars on Christian influences. Biographies of Muḥammad written by Muslims are too numerous to be treated here in full. The classic one is that by Ibn Isḥāq (d. 767?), translated by A. Guillaume as *The Life of Muhammad* (1955). E. S. Sabanegh studied some modern Egyptian biographies of Muḥammad in his *Muhammad b. Abdallah "le Prophete": Portraits contemporains, Egypte 1930–1950* (1982).

The Qurʾān. After the important translation into English by George Sale (1697?–1736), published in 1734 with a famous "preliminary discourse," a great number of translations of the Qurʾān have seen the light. I may mention those by Richard Bell (1937), A. J. Arberry (1955), and Marmaduke Pickthall (1930), this last being recognized by Muslims. The classic study of the Qurʾanic text remains that of Theodor Nöldeke in its three-volume second edition (1909–1938), enlarged and revised with the help of colleagues. Arthur Jeffery published two important studies, *The Textual History of the Qurʾān* (1937) and *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qurʾān* (1938). Rudi Paret's conscientious German translation (1962) was subsequently accompanied by his important commentary (1971). Important is Angelika Neuwirth's *Studien zur Komposition der mekkanischen Suren* (1981). John Wansbrough's *Quranic Studies* (1977) has brought the accepted theory on the early collation of the Qurʾanic text into question.

It is noteworthy that while great progress has been made with regard to the textual-critical, linguistic, and literary aspects of the Qurʾān, the study of its contents, concepts, and worldview—that is, its meaning—has only started to take off. In this connection Toshihiko Izutsu's semantic analyses of the Qurʾān, *The Structure of the Ethical Terms in the Qurʾān* (1959; rev. ed., 1966) and *God and Man in the Koran* (1964), have played a pioneering role. Needless to say, critical studies of the Qurʾān and of Muḥammad have offended some Muslim sensibilities in much the same way that source criticism of the Bible has offended some biblicist Christians.

The study of the Qurʾān implies that of Muslim commentaries (*tafsīrs*) of the Qurʾān. See Helmut Gätje's *Koran und Koranexegese* (1971) and compare Mohammed Arkoun's *Lectures du Coran* (1982).

Ḥadīth. Goldziher's critical stand in *Muhammedanische Studien*, vol. 2 (1890; Eng. trans., 1971), with regard to the historical dating of *ḥadīths* ("traditions") that were ascribed to Muḥammad or his companions but were in fact later creations, was carried further by Joseph Schacht (1902–1969) in *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (1950) and led to a debate on their authenticity not only among Muslims but also in Western scholarship. Later work by Fuat Sezgin in the first volume of his *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (1967) has led to a reconsideration of the extreme criticism by Goldziher and Schacht, although the falseness of many of the attributions to Muḥammad remains acknowledged. Since the *sunnah* (consisting of *ḥadīths*) is the second source, after the Qurʾān, of religious knowledge and law in Islam, here too Muslims are particularly sensitive to scholarly criticism from outside. See G. H. A. Juynboll's *The Authenticity of the Tradition Literature: Discussions in Modern Egypt* (1969).

Law. The structure of religious law (*sharīʿah*) in Islam, its ideal character, and the rules of juridical reasoning by Muslim jurists were first elucidated by Goldziher and by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936), who also studied its application, side by side with customary law, in Indonesia. Further studies in depth were carried out by Éduard Sachau (1845–1930), Gotthelf Bergsträsser (1886–1933), and especially Joseph Schacht, who summarized his findings in *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (1964). Current trends toward Islamicization in Muslim countries are again arousing interest in its juridical aspects. Among the scholars who have worked on changes in the application of the *sharīʿah* in modern Muslim states, the names of J. N. D. Anderson and Noel J. A. Coulson deserve particular mention.

Metaphysical theology. It has been only in the course of the twentieth century that Islamic theological speculation (*kalām*) has been revealed in its originality. An important study on early Muslim creeds is A. J. Wensinck's *The Muslim Creed* (1933). Georges Anawati and Louis Gardet's *Introduction à la théologie musulmane* (1948) demonstrates the structural similarity of medieval Islamic and Christian theological treatises. Here and in other works these authors stress the apologetic character of Islamic theology. On the other hand, Harry A. Wolfson, in *The Philosophy of the Kalām* (1976) is attentive to parallels between Islamic, Christian, and Jewish theological thought. Important are recent studies by Richard M. D. Frank and J. R. T. M. Peters on Muʿtazilī theology.

Islamic philosophy. In the wake of T. J. de Boer's handbook on the subject, *The History of Philosophy in Islam* (1901;

Eng. trans., 1903; reprint, 1961), philosophy in Islam was taken to be the continuation of Aristotelian philosophy with Neoplatonic overtones. Important work on this philosophical line appears in Richard Walzer's *Greek into Arabic* (1962). Subsequently, however, it has become clear that there are other old philosophical traditions of a more gnostic nature in Islam. They can be found in Shīʿī intellectual circles, both Iranian Twelvers and Ismaʿīlī Seveners. We owe this discovery mainly to the investigations of Henry Corbin (1903–1978), whose works, such as *En islam iranien* (4 vols., 1971–1972), revealed hidden but still living spiritual worlds. See also Heinz Halm's *Die islamische Gnosis: Die extreme Schia und die ʿAlawiten* (1982).

Mysticism. Muslim mystical thought and experience have attracted serious scholarly attention in the West only in the course of the twentieth century, especially through the work of Reynold A. Nicholson (1868–1945) and Louis Massignon (1883–1962). The former concentrated on certain major works and their authors, such as *The Mathnawīi* of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī; the latter focused on the development of mystical terminology and produced a four-volume biography of the tenth-century mystic al-Ḥallāj (1922; Eng. trans., 1982). This line of study has been pursued for mystical poetry by A. J. Arberry (1905–1969) and later by scholars such as Annemarie Schimmel in *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (1976). Muslim mystical orders have also received considerable attention, for instance by J. Spencer Trimingham and F. de Yong.

Islamic art and architecture. This field deserves a separate status among the disciplines making up Islamic studies, since it deals with materials other than texts and is linked with art history in general. Among scholars who deserve mention are K. A. C. Creswell (1879–1974), and Richard Ettinghausen (1906–1979), and at present Oleg Grabar and Robert Hillenbrand. The study of this field is now becoming more integrated into the broader cultural history of Islam.

Religious institutions. In recent decades important breakthroughs have been made in the understanding of the relationships between Islamic religious institutions and the societies in which they function. In *La cité musulmane* (1954), Louis Gardet attempted to sketch the outline of the ideal society in terms of orthodox Islam, while H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen addressed the eighteenth-century Muslim "religious structure," especially with regard to processes of modernization in parts 1 and 2 of *Islamic Society and the West* (1950–1957). Considerable attention has been paid to religious authorities (*ʿulamāʾ*, Ṣūfī shaykhs) with their different roles in society. *Scholars, Saints and Sufis*, edited by Nikki R. Keddie (1972), reflects much of this research through the early 1970s. Important in this respect is A. C. Eccel's study *Egypt, Islam and Social Change: Al-Azhar in Conflict and Accommodation* (1984). See also Michael Gilsenan's *Recognizing Islam: An Anthropologist's Introduction* (1982) and *Islamic Dilemmas: Reformers, Nationalists and Industrialization*, edited by Ernest Gellner (1985).

Living Islam. Travelers, civil servants such as Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, and anthropologists such as Edvard A. Westermarck (1862–1939) had already in the nineteenth century given descriptions of actual Muslim life, and this kind of research has increased considerably in the twentieth century, mainly through the efforts of anthropologists. Rudolf Kriss and Hubert Kriss-Heinrich, for example, wrote a handbook of popular Islam, *Volksglaube im Bereich des Islams* (2 vols., 1960–1962); Klaus E. Müller dealt with current beliefs and practices among sectarian groups in Islam in his *Kulturhistorische Studien zur Genese pseudoislamischer Sektengebilde in Vorderasien* (1967); and Constance Padwick has studied prayer manuals in actual use in Egypt in *Muslim Devotions* (1961).

Since the 1960s several important studies of living Islam in the broader context of society and its structure have been published by social scientists, among them Clifford Geertz, who, in *Islam Observed* (1968), compares Moroccan and Javanese Islamic structures. Other books in this vein, focusing on Ṣūfī structures, are Michael Gilsenan's *Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt* (1973) and Ernest Gellner's two works on Morocco, *Saints of the Atlas* (1969) and *Muslim Society* (1981). To this same category belong the numerous writings by Jacques Berque that deal with Arab society and the role of Islam within it. The literature on the status of women in Muslim societies is growing rapidly. See for instance *Women in the Muslim World*, edited by Lois Beck and Nikki R. Keddie (1978).

Modern developments in Islam. Scholarly surveys of modern developments in Muslim countries commenced with a 1932 volume edited by H. A. R. Gibb, *Whither Islam? A Survey of Modern Movements in the Moslem World*, which was followed by the same scholar's *Modern Trends in Islam* (1947) and by Wilfred Cantwell Smith's *Islam in Modern History* (1957). It has since become clear that recent developments should be described according to the country within which they occur and that although certain patterns can be established as valid for nearly all Muslim countries, in each country various groups, including the government, have their own articulation of Islam. A major contribution to this formulation is *Der Islam in der Gegenwart*, edited by Werner Ende and Udo Steinbach (1984). Events in revolutionary Iran have shown, moreover, that Islamicists in the Orientalist tradition simply have not been adequately equipped to interpret what happens in Muslim countries. On the other hand, *Religion in the Middle East: Three Religions in Concord and Conflict*, edited by A. J. Arberry (2 vols., 1969), may be mentioned here as an example of objective and impartial information about the three major religions that coexist in the Middle East, in an environment ridden with political tensions, where religions can be abused for all kinds of purposes, and where good relations among the three traditions have been hampered by claims of exclusivity.

PRESENT-DAY ISLAMIC STUDIES IN THE WIDER SENSE. As in other scholarly fields and disciplines, new issues have come under discussion in Islamic studies, whether through the internal development of scholarly research or through current developments in Muslim countries, which developments demand interpretation.

Methodological issues. Intense epistemological debates seem to have been absent from Islamic studies until the 1960s, chiefly because of the inherited pattern established by the scholarly tradition. Yet there have been other currents in Islamic studies too, and with the incorporation of textual research within a larger cultural and even religious perspective, scholars such as Louis Massignon, Gustav E. von Grunebaum, Wilfred Cantwell Smith, and Clifford Geertz have been able to see the Islamic universe in new ways. We shall point here to three matters of paramount importance: (1) the questioning of Islamic identities, (2) the increased assertion of Islamic identities, and (3) Islam as a living religion and faith.

Questioning Islamic identities. Among Western scholars who have reevaluated accepted readings of the Islamic tradition, John Wansbrough has opened up critical research with regard to the text of the Qurʾān in the aforementioned *Quranic Studies* and has extended this inquiry to early Islamic history in *The Sectarian Milieu* (1978). In an even more controversial work, *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World* (1977), Patricia Crone and Michael Cook have argued that the historical formation of Islamic religion and civilization can be explained in terms of a complex network of Jewish-Arab relations. While their argument has found little favor, it may well lead other scholars to reconsider the role of historically falsified material in their research.

Asserting Islamic identities. The growing participation of Muslim scholars in the field of Islamic studies has had the opposite effect to that mentioned above. An intention to assert Islamic identities becomes evident in books such as *Islamic Perspectives: Studies in Honor of Sayyid Abul Ala Mawdudi*, edited by Khurshid Ahmad and Zafar Isḥāq Ansari (1979), and *Islam and Contemporary Society*, edited by Salem Azzam (1982). One important contribution of Muslim scholars is that of making Muslim forms of understanding available to other Islamicists; their work should lead, moreover, to discussions within the Muslim community. Noteworthy, for instance, is Mohammed Arkoun's semiotic approach in *Lectures du Coran* (1983) and Fazlur Rahman's studies on the history of Islamic thought, for instance in his *Prophecy in Islam: Philosophy and Orthodoxy* (1979).

Islam as a living religion. Recent methodological and epistemological concerns have been stimulated in large part by a growing interest in Islam as a living religion and faith, which is connected with certain political solidarities and social and economic issues. As a result, the meaning of events and processes in Muslim countries is studied more and more in their contemporary cultural and Islamic framework. Three questions are paramount in these Islamic studies in the wider sense:

1. Which kinds of groups support and transmit various particular interpretations of Islam, and who are the leaders of these groups?
2. How do particular changes occurring in the religious institutions (or in institutions legitimized by religion) relate to changes in society at large, and what are the consequences of such social changes for the institutions concerned (and vice versa)?
3. What general social functions do various Islamic ideas and practices perform within particular Muslim societies, apart from the specifically religious meaning they are meant to have?

Such questions can also be asked about Muslim societies of the past, provided that historical data are available to answer them. Indeed, it is a mark of epistemological progress that subjects excluded from investigation fifty years ago for lack of methodological tools can now come under the purview of Islamic studies. We can think of the distinctions that can be made now between religious and other (e.g., political) meanings of Islamic data, and of our better insight in the appeal that particular Islamic ideas and practices can have for specific groups.

Tradition in a wider sense. The notion of tradition, too, has attracted new attention in Islamic studies among both historians and anthropologists, who recognize that successive generations of Muslims have interpreted their lives, their world, and history through the religious and cultural framework, or "tradition," of the society into which they have been born. On the one hand, we have the normative "great" tradition with elements ranging from the Qurʾān and parts of the *sharīʿah* to particular creeds, practices of worship, and paradigmatic figures and episodes in Islamic history. On the other hand, for each region we must add numerous elements of the local "little" tradition, including legendary events in the history of the region, miracles and blessings of particular saints, the meritorious effect of particular practices, and so on, all of which constitute local, popular religion.

New topics of research. As a result of these and other methodological issues, new topics of research have come within our horizon, of which the following may be mentioned as examples.

Revitalization of Islam. Different forms of Islamic revitalization have been signaled by both Muslim and non-Muslim observers in a number of countries. While the media have addressed the political and "exotic," even abhorrent dimensions of this revitalization, scholarly investigation is needed to distinguish various sectors of life and society in which such revitalization takes place (as well as its religious from its nonreligious aspects) according to both Islamic criteria and criteria developed by the scientific study of religion. Preceding movements of reform and renewal should be taken into account.

Ideologization of Islam. During the last hundred years a great number of Islamic ideologies have developed; what for centuries was considered a religion based on revelation seems to have evolved in certain quarters into an Islamic system or ideology of a cognitive nature, in which the dimension of faith and religious knowledge seems to have given place to a definite set of convictions and values. This ideologization responds to a need for rationalization and may serve apologetic purposes, against criticism from the West, for instance, or against secularizing trends within society. Often the predicate "Islamic" suggests that a correspondence is sought between the older cultural and religious tradition and the solutions proposed for the problems of the present.

Islam, political action, and social and economic behavior. After a period of Western domination in which a political articulation of Islam was mostly impossible, Islam has again come to play various political roles, in both more conservative and more progressive quarters, usually bypassing the authority of those schooled in religious law (the *ʿulamāʾ*). So the question arises: what are the possibilities and the limits of the political, social, and economic use and abuse of Islam? Islam has permitted very different economic systems (including a form of capitalism) as Maxime Rodinson (1966) has demonstrated. We may go on to ask in what ways Islam can be related positively or negatively to economic development, and to determine what basic values economic development is subordinated to within the Islamic framework. That Islam is articulated basically as a way of life and as social behavior has become evident again, for instance, by the recurrence of the veil and by expressions of solidarity with Muslims in other parts of the world.

Muslim self-interpretations. In the course of the history of Islamic studies, serious hermeneutical mistakes, that is, errors of interpretation, have been made. Western scholars for instance tended to reify Islam, forgetting that "Islam" in itself does not exist, that "Islam" is always Islam *interpreted*, and that Muslims keep this interpretive process going. Much more attention should be paid to what Muslim authors, speakers, groups, and movements actually mean when they express themselves in particular situations, free from interpretations or explanations imposed from outside. Carrying out study in collaboration with Muslim researchers is appropriate here as in many fields.

Interaction and image formation. It is perhaps a sign of renewal of Islamic studies that Islam is no longer studied only as an isolated culture, tradition, and religion that may have assimilated outside influences, but that more attention is given to the spread of Islam, processes of interaction with other communities, and Muslim images of other religions and of the non-Muslim world generally. This direction of inquiry is evidenced first by works of Arab scholars like Albert Hourani, Abdallah Laroui, and others, as well as by publications like Bernard Lewis's *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (1982) and *Euro-Arab Dialogue: Relations between the Two Cultures*, edited by Derek Hopwood (1985). This area of study has been opened up as a consequence of the recognition of Islamic religion and culture as an autonomous partner in international religious and cultural relations, which are linked, in turn, to political and other relationships. The recent establishment of considerable Muslim communities living side by side with a non-Muslim majority in a number of Western societies may also have made both North America and Western Europe more sensitive to the plurality of religions and cultures in daily life.

Study of religion in Islamic societies. The study of religion as a focus of Islamic studies has received considerable attention in the work of Wilfred Cantwell Smith, especially in his *On Understanding Islam* (1980). The major epistemological problem in Islamic studies is still apparently the difficulty involved in correlating scholarly categories of description, analysis, and interpretation with the adequate "reading," conceptualization, and translation of the raw data of Islamic realities. Since "Islam" is not an empirical datum in the same way as is an actual text, a practice, or even an ideal, the way in which Islam is "thematized" and what is held to be the "reality" of Islam largely depend on the concepts and categories with which a particular scholar is working. It is only logical that certain sets of concepts will lead to Islam being denied any "reality," or at least to the denial of the possibility of scholarly knowledge of any such reality. This does not mean that such a position precludes important work in Islamic studies but rather that, in this case, the concept of "Islam" makes little scholarly sense.

How should we then approach and study religion in the context of Islamic studies? Our starting point must be the recognition that Islam is always linked to persons, to societies, and to the Muslim community at large. Whereas texts, monuments, social practices, and so on, be they sacred or profane, somehow exist in themselves, this is not the case for "Islam," which exists first of all as a meaning for people, both Muslims and outsiders (including non-Muslim Islamicists). The subjective meaning of a particular datum, however, may be different for each person; in abstract terms, religious meanings are not inherent in particular facts. If we are interested in such meanings, accurate scholarly study of the religious aspects of Islam should avoid using general terms derived from Western parlance, such as *religion*, *worldview*, *ideology*, *faith*, and so on, and should instead start by looking at those data that possess significance for groups of Muslims—data that can be said to have a semiotic or symbolic value for Muslims.

Islam as a *religion*, in the strict sense of the word, can probably best be called a network of signs, or a semiotic system; when such signs are internalized, they become symbols. Interestingly enough, the Qurʾān hints at this process. Indeed, Islam constitutes the right human response to the *āyāt* ("signs," sometimes translated as "symbols") that have been provided mankind in the Qurʾān, in nature, and in history. The *āyāt* are nexus points of divine revelation and human reflection. Making full use of reason, Muslims are enjoined to draw right conclusions from these *āyāt* for their lives on earth, for the life and order of society, and for eternal bliss. Muslims are called upon to abandon themselves to the God who sent the *āyāt* and to obey his will as communicated through them. They should appeal to others to follow and understand the signs as well. They should, before all else, understand the Qurʾān itself as a "sign" revealed to humankind. Religion in the Islamic sense is faith (in God), knowledge (of the God-given signs), and a way of life accordingly.

Insofar as this interpretation corresponds with the Islamic notion of what religion is, it avoids stamping Islamic data with Western-coined concepts that are part of ideals, views, ideologies, and faiths fundamentally alien to Islam as Muslims see it. Paralleling the Muslim's focus of interest, this approach discovers the sense of the universe, humanity, and society, and the rules of right behavior and correct thinking, by means of the study of the *āyāt* that are recognized as providing meaning, orientation, and guidance. A study of Islam as a network of signs will reveal certain permanent vehicles of religious meaning, which permit communication between Muslims despite varying circumstances of place and time. By approaching Islam as a communicative, religious sign system, we avoid the one extreme of reifying Islam (and the concomitant search for an eternal essence), as well as the other extreme of denying any reality to Islam as measured against the material world.

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JACQUES WAARDENBURG (1987)

ISLAMIC STUDIES [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]. The study of Islam is both an ancient and a modern endeavor. It has its roots among Muslims in a long-established and continuing tradition of scholarship and interpretation of their own faith. Among others, particularly medieval Christians, the study was motivated by polemical ends aimed at establishing self-authenticity and preeminence by attributing to Islam, often pejoratively, error or willful misappropriation. This tendency has lingered on, though the medieval constructions and assaults on Islam have assumed different forms and emphases. The academic study of modem Islam, on the other hand, grew primarily out of the Enlightenment tradition of European scholarship and interest in Asian and African cultures and peoples, and by the nineteenth and twentieth centuries it had assumed some of the normative contours and institutional patterns that are associated with the general discipline of thought and expertise known as *Oriental studies* or *Orientalism*.

Orientalism, Edward Said's (1935–2003) critique of the discipline, its assumptions, and practitioners, first published in 1978, elicited a steady stream of responses, some of which were denunciatory and hastened to defend the discipline and its authority; others, more self-reflective, began submitting the discipline to greater introspection and even rethinking in the light of developments in other disciplines. What is noteworthy is that such a turn towards self-reflection, though stimulated in this case by someone outside the discipline, was by no means the first of its kind. Such a process has had its own history within Islamic studies and Orientalism and was part of a general trend in academic culture after World War II.

In 1953, a conference of leading European Islamicists was organized by Gustav von Grunebaum (1909–1972) as part of a larger effort to examine the relationship among Muslims, as well as between Islam and the various cultures and civilizations to which it had spread over time. This marked probably the first organized and self-conscious endeavor in recent times to undertake a historical and critical self-understanding of the discipline in the light of developing methods and theories in the social sciences, particularly Robert Redfield's notion of "great" and "little" traditions. It was noted at the time that the methods and assumptions used to study the history of Islam lagged a century behind those used for European history.

A year later, at another conference, Claude Cahen (1909–1991) reemphasized the point, quoting Bernard Lewis (b. 1916) to the effect that the history of the Arabs had been written in Europe chiefly by historians who knew no Arabic and Arabists who knew no history. Cahen argued that a new direction was necessary, one that would go beyond the hitherto philological orientation and study Muslim society as a total integrated organism. The sponsors and participants of such conferences, which took place against the backdrop of events and changes in the Muslim world, noted and emphasized the need to better understand Muslim civilization and history, and thereby the social and political problems of the Near East. They were conscious that the assumptions and methods of past generations of scholars, though meritorious in their own right, had become increasingly outmoded and detached from developments in other disciplines, as well as the changing realities in the relationship between Europe, the Americas, and the Muslim world.

The next two decades of the 1960s and 1970s represented for Asia and Africa the era of decolonization, nationalism, and revolution, whose impact was no longer local or regional but was becoming increasingly global. These were turbulent times in the academic community as well. A newer, more assertive tone emerged to which many scholars from the now so-called Third World allied themselves. It argued for the dismantling and deconstruction of established metaphysical and epistemological systems and the "Eurocentric" institutional apparatus that accompanied them. This would not be the only straw in that wind of change, but, among other things, it caused a questioning and revising of many of the assumptions of humanistic and social-scientific inquiry into other cultures. This debate, whose contemporary games are played out within interdeterminate frameworks called post-modernism and post-structuralism, but also across disciplines in programs of "cultural studies," affected Islamic studies only marginally. In part, this insulation explains both the defensiveness of the established community of Islamicists against criticisms and the need felt by an emerging group of dissatisfied younger scholars to escape from the narrower confines of philologically oriented scholarship to a more open-ended discourse, from which, in certain cases, they embraced uncritically the many new theories that had emerged.

The community of scholars in Islamic studies had indeed grown larger and more diverse, and the subject matter too complex, to be contained any longer within one interpretive community. The debate about "Orientalism" reflected and heightened the ambivalence within the field. Its significance, in retrospect, seems to lie more in the way it highlighted this predicament through wider public discourse and by placing it within ongoing academic debates than in its particular claims and critique against European scholarship.

Said's claims and insights regarding the historical and ideological conditions necessary to produce a discipline such as Islamic studies intertwined issues of representation and construction of the discipline to reveal a Eurocentric pattern of domination and authority. At a time of cultural and political collision and preoccupation with assertions of identity and difference in some parts of the Muslim world, his linking of power and knowledge and his arguments against a hegemonic misrepresentation of Muslims by the West played into the hands of rhetoricians emboldened by its anti-imperialist and anti-Western stance. This narrow focus and the controversy the book aroused diverted attention from the scholarly task and the opportunity to engage in a wider intellectual dialogue and exchange. The theorizing and extension of the boundaries of knowledge was by no means limited to Islamic studies. Broadly speaking, the process reflected the larger debate (some might say disarray) among various communities of interpretation in the humanities and the social sciences on the questions of the role of intellectuals and scholarly settings in representing and misrepresenting various human groups and cultures and upon the stability of authors and texts as repositories of meaning.

There also developed, in due course, as each European power established trade and colonies, a need to undertake studies of structures and peoples in their immediate settings, in particular the study of existing legal and social practices. While much of the collection of such information was an official task, it did involve individuals with scholarly interests, who subsequently helped encourage greater interest in the study of Muslim society, contemporary to them. However, the primary source of Islamic studies remained textual (based on available and selected texts) and the mode of analysis remained philological (with Arabic, Persian, and Turkish having priority). The history of European scholarship was by no means monolithic. At times, it appears as competing and is certainly diverse. It also reflected the economic and religious involvement of these various countries and their own power relations within Europe.

However, the pattern of historical-linguistic scholarship on Islam remained general for a long time and was often insulated from developments in other areas of humanistic scholarship that affected academic trends in fields such as history and literature. The 1953 conference referred to earlier marked something of a departure, particularly for the study of economic and social history and institutions. The focus of traditional Islamic studies, the Middle and Near East, was shifted to include interactions between Muslims, Africans, and other Asian peoples, and current sociological and anthropological perspectives came to be employed in the analysis of the spread and development of Islam.

Two new global factors would affect the study of Islam in the 1960s: the institutionalization of the Cold War and the decolonization and creation of new nation-states in much of Africa and Asia, including the Muslim regions of these two continents. There was a corresponding development in the growth of higher education and research in Europe and North America (accompanied by the migration of scholars and ideas from the former to the latter), and a transplanting of emerging intellectual trends in the theory and practice of scholarship. These factors highlighted attempts to study what were presumed to be the disorienting effects of colonial rule and the need to develop institutional strategies necessary to address the challenges, as well as the asymmetries, created by independence.

A colloquium held in 1961, the *Colloque sur la Sociologie Musulmane*, affirmed the need to refine methods and develop new concerns informed by social science. Baber Johansen, in discussing the development of Islamic studies in Germany, reflected on the loss of the dominant paradigm of historicism since the 1960s. The changes in German society after World War II, and the subsequent breakdown of the colonial system, led to university reform and a restructuring of Oriental studies. Scholarly authority shifted to the disciplines of social sciences, with their promise of better understanding of the transformation of economic, political, and social life at home and abroad. The same patterns can be said to have affected Britain, France, the Netherlands, and other Western European countries during the same period. The Russian example (and that of some other Eastern European countries) presents a special case. It suggests the strong constraint of ideologically grounded scholarship of a different kind—molded as it was by assumptions that governed intellectual and cultural life in the Soviet Union. In its engagement with some countries of the Muslims world an effort was also made to infiltrate intellectual life in these countries with a competing agenda meant to foster the Soviet Union's hegemonic aspirations. The collapse of the Soviet Union has opened up the space both in Russia and various Central Asian Republics to a revision and a restatement. The contours of this new trend are still uncertain, though considerably new archival and manuscript material has become available.

It is also during this period that the study of Islam expanded in Canada and the United States, in particular with the establishment of area-studies centers funded by government sources and foundations. It has been argued that such centers, particularly in the United States, while advancing the study of regional languages and cultures, tended to have their intellectual rationale subverted by the matrix of Cold War concerns, strategies, and ambiguities. This led to a fragmentary approach that very often separated and pitted those who were in the humanities against their counterparts in the social sciences who were studying the same region. The various uses to which the conclusions of Thomas Kuhn's *Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (first published in 1962) could be applied suggested how even the most objective pursuits of scientific knowledge could be analyzed to understand how these conclusions operated within contingent and historicized contexts. The presumed failure of "bias-free" assumptions and methods came to be evoked in those social-science disciplines that studied other cultures and societies. This undermining of confidence in the inherited paradigms was also exacerbated by the availability of many works by those who lived or wrote from the perspective of the Third World. In time, as these ideas took hold, the construction of knowledge became linked to issues of power and representation. Existing textual authority came to be questioned, and many pretentious and arbitrary claims came to be made for and against established "canons." Said's work was a reflection and a development of this trend. The history of Islamic studies reveals that there never was at any time in the past a fixed paradigm that operated universally; the boundaries were constantly being revised, not always by design but invariably because the dynamics of Muslim engagement with their history and heritage was changing as dramatically as the relationship of Europe and North America with the Muslim world.

The abundance of current scholarship portrays the intellectual, spiritual, and institutional pluralism of Islam, showing the development of a wide variety of Muslim societies within local and global contexts and illustrating the diversity that exists among individual Muslims, traditions, and periods of history. This scholarship also suggests Western scholars need to rethink the ways in which they have geographically and intellectually mapped the Muslim world. Past legal constructs such as "Dar al-Islam" and "Dar al-Harb" have become irrelevant, which is not to say that they cannot be invoked for ideological reasons. The manner in which European scholarship in the past perceived the Muslim world, with a presumed center—the "Near East" or "Middle East"—led to the marginalization of large groups of Muslims who did not inhabit that geopolitical space, and this marginalization affected the focus and practice of scholarship.

In addition to resisting the imposition of old boundaries, there is the caveat against present-mindedness and the undue focus on what has been termed *Islamist* or *radical* expressions, and the violent behavior associated with it on a global scale. While their relevance to contemporary politics and current affairs cannot be dismissed, it would be erroneous and limiting to make it the primary expression of Muslim identity in the modern world. There is among contemporary Muslims, as in all religious traditions, an inherent tension. One pattern expresses the growing differentiation in and separation of spheres and activity of life in which the inherited tradition occupies a place of differing degrees of personal and collective commitment. Another seeks to reintegrate all spheres within a totalizing conception of "Islam," which some wish to impose on other Muslims. Still others seek broader intellectual, ethical, and practical directions without assuming a parochial or doctrinaire approach. The tools of intellectual modernity that are employed in all cases cannot be homogeneous. The task of scholarship is to further develop and refine mediating categories and tools of comprehension that allow one to negotiate the space between concept and practice, embeddedness and expression, past and present.

An encouraging trend in Islamic studies is the cosmopolitan profile of the scholars and their methods in the field. A number of modern universities in the Muslim world have established specific centers or institutes for the study of Islam to complement more traditional and normative places of advanced study. A new generation of Muslim scholars is being created in countries such as Indonesia, Turkey, and Malaysia whose interests are less parochial and whose methods are linked to those practiced in academic institutions in the rest of the world. The migration of European scholars to the Americas has been followed by the migration of scholars from the Muslim world to both Europe and the United States. As Muhsin Mahdi (b. 1926) points out, one cannot easily separate contemporary scholarship in terms of "Western" and "Muslim." When combined with the rapid changes in communication made possible by advances in technology, such as the internet, collaboration between scholars within a continent and across continents has become much easier. This cross-fertilization is reflected in the fact that Islamic studies now radiates from within many departments and disciplines and finds expression in collaborative projects, institutes, journals, and associations. This new constellation of interests and constituencies has generated a profusion of scholarship and augurs well for a transnational scholarly landscape.

The field of Islamic studies will continue to be more diverse and encompassing in its scope than in the past. There are many possibilities open for adding to its subject matter and methods, including the role of Islam as a cultural force of great diversity; the increasing public participation in society by women (whose contributions and role still await detailed study within Islamic studies); the history of rural, agricultural, and mountainous peoples of the Muslim world; and new interactions among Muslims now living in the West. In this way, a vibrant humanistic scholarship can contribute to knowledge, linking the fifth of humanity that is Muslim to others, among whom Muslims live and with whom they increasingly share the task of building mutual understanding.

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AZIM NANJI (2005)

ʿIṢMAH. The Arabic term *ʿiṣmah* means "immunity" from sin or error. *ʿIṣmah* is discussed by the Sunnīs in relation to the Prophet Muḥammad and other prophets, and by the Shīʿah in relation to not only the prophets but, most importantly, the *imāms,* the charismatic descendants of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib who stand at the center of Shīʿī piety. The paths taken by Sunnīs and Shīʿah with regard to *ʿiṣmah* throw much light on the different development and character of the two traditions.

The idea of immunity is latent in the tendency of *Homo religiosus* to attribute outstanding qualities to special persons. This tendency was already evident in the first centuries of Islam in efforts to dissociate Muḥammad from polytheism in his early life and Ṣūfī and Shīʿī exaltation of the saints and *imāms.* It was, however, only in the eighth century (AH second century), under the influence of theology and in answer to problems raised by possible error on the part of religious authorities, that immunity was made explicit and expounded systematically. This development may be contrasted with the case of Judaism, in which theology did not gain as much importance and the question of inerrancy was consequently not raised, so that the prophets and other revered figures were largely left with their errors and sins.

The word *ʿiṣmah* itself is not found in the Qurʾān, but other forms of the base root *ʿ-s-m* do appear, for example, "God will protect [*ʿ-s-m*] you from the people" (5:67), "those who take refuge [*ʿ-t-s-m*] in God" (4:146). It thus seems likely that the choice of the term for *immunity,* in which God "protects" certain persons from error, was indirectly suggested by the Qurʾān; related words are used in similar senses before *ʿiṣmah* ever acquires a technical sense—for example, a community can be *maʿṣūm,* specially taken care of or "protected" by God.

The Qurʾān itself, however, is unconcerned with problems raised by the capacity for error or sin on the part of the prophets whose stories it relates. One passage (80:1–10) even tells how the Prophet of Islam was reproached by God for turning away from a blind man who wanted to hear his preaching. Apart from tendencies toward semi-deification seen in some Shīʿī and Ṣūfī circles, early Muslim nontheological tradition also accepted prophets and other revered persons as merely human, albeit outstanding humans who may work miracles. The canonical books of Sunnī *ḥadīth,* collected in the mid- to late ninth century, contain traditions that freely admit lapses on the part of the prophets (e.g., Adam's sin, the Prophet's warning to his followers that he might judge in error). Early Shīʿī *ḥadīth* texts—including the mid-tenth-century canonical *al-Kāfī* —do not refer to *ʿiṣmah* or construct any theory of immunity, even as they virtually imply it by referring to the pure essence and perfect knowledge of Muḥammad and the *imāms.* Later Shīʿī works that wish to uphold *ʿiṣmah* are compelled to rely mostly on statements attributed to the *imāms* that do not address the subject directly, or on clearly late material such as long disquisitions attached to the eighth *imām,* ʿAlī al-Riḍā. Nevertheless, by the mid-eighth century the belief that the *imāms,* or at least ʿAlī, did not commit any fault was already attributed to an unnamed group of Shīʿah. The belief must have been an extremist one, for these persons did allow that the Prophet committed faults. The pioneering Shīʿī theologian Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam (d. 179/795–796) then begins to systematize this belief, explaining that the Prophet may sin because he can be corrected by revelation (which the *imāms* cannot); Shīʿī sources also credit Hishām with describing the quality that prevents sin as freedom from all covetousness, envy, anger, and appetite, and calling it "*ʿiṣmah.*"

By at least the late eighth century, immunity was also taken up by the great rationalist theologians of Islam, the Muʿtazilah, perhaps initially because of contacts with Shīʿah but finally because of a certain fit with the Muʿtazilī worldview. The Muʿtazilah insisted that a just God was bound to do the best for his creatures, and thus, they concluded, he would not allow revelation to be compromised through faults on the part of its bearers. Because the aim of the Muʿtazilah was not to idealize any personality but to secure a principle of their system; they spoke of the prophets altogether, not even necessarily privileging Muḥammad. Rigorous logic caused them to extend *ʿiṣmah* to any circumstance that might damage that principle, to the time not only after but also before a prophet's mission and to "any trait," as the Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār puts it in the eleventh century, "liable to cause aversion."

The Shīʿī theological argument for *ʿiṣmah* was finally assembled as they themselves adopted the Muʿtazilī rationalist worldview. The argument was that God could not grant supreme authority, whether in religion or temporal rule, to any person liable to error or sin, because such persons would then lead others into the same error, which would mean that God had failed to do the best possible for his creation and was thus not perfectly just. Therefore, so the reasoning goes, there must necessarily exist persons who are immune to whom such authority may be given; and these are none other than the prophets and their successors, the *imāms,* to whom complete allegiance is consequently owed. This is the basic argument of the Shīʿī doctrine of immunity to this day.

The theological notion of *ʿiṣmah* was entirely in harmony with veneration of the *imāms* and soon spread over the rest of the tradition. Early-tenth-century exegetical works such as the *tafsīr*s of ʿAyyāshī and Qummī are unconcerned with the errors and sins of prophets related in the Qurʾān; modern editors add long notes to "correct" them on this point. Not long after, however, the traditionist Ibn Bābawayh (d. 991) presents textual instead of rational proofs to establish the necessity (*wujūb*) of immunity, also pointing out that because immunity is an inner quality, it is only through the designation of the text (*naṣṣ*) that the *maʿṣūm* can be known. The scholars move on to treat the many problematic passages of the Qurʾān and tradition; Shaykh Ṭūsī (died c. 1067), for instance, argues that it is not possible that Muḥammad would have turned away from the blind man, since that would be contrary to his demonstrated character and prophetic mission, the one who turned away being rather one of the Quraysh nobles hostile to him. Proof texts for *ʿiṣmah* are also adduced, for example, Qurʾān 33:33: "God wills, O People of the Household, that all impurity be removed from you and that you be cleansed most thoroughly."

ʿIṣmah entered Sunnism also from the direction of theology. It is first mentioned in the tenth-century Ḥanafī creed *Fiqh Akbar II* (in which some scholars have also detected

Muʿtazilī influence). Sunnī theologians continued to affirm immunity, but they were more reticent than their Muʿtazilī and Shīʿī counterparts, for they were not as willing to undertake the extensive interpretation of the scriptures required to make them accord with *ʿiṣmah*, and they were also wary of blurring the boundary between human and divine. Thus, many Sunnīs allowed sin and error (excluding unbelief) before the prophets' missions, and even minor sins after, though with some added proviso, such as that they would be unintentional or not of the kind that would affect their preaching.

Sunnī scholars had originally been drawn into giving qualified assent to the doctrine of *ʿiṣmah* by the problem laid before them of establishing a guaranteed starting point for religion. Already by the eighth century, however, they found a partial escape by locating immunity in the consensus (*ijmāʿ*) of the scholars, as expressed in the *ḥadīth*, "My community shall never commit an error." This solution had the added virtue of securing the ongoing process of the tradition, and the Shīʿah were later to adopt a version of it by asserting that the unanimous consensus of their own scholars was certainly correct, since the infallible Twelfth Imām was also a scholar hidden among them.

Though the groups most attached to the literal meaning of the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*, the Ḥanbalīs and extremist "Ḥashawīyah," were drawn by their fideism toward some acceptance of the prophets' sins, the grandfather of modern Ḥanbalī-Wahhābism, Ibn Taymīyah (d. 1328), does affirm *ʿiṣmah*. The Wahhābīs are fiercely opposed to any veneration of humans, including the Prophet; but they too have been compelled to admit *ʿiṣmah* in order to secure the Qurʾān and especially, *ḥadīth* on which they rely so heavily. Thus, Shaykh Bin Bāz, Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia until his death in 1999, explains that all the prophets were *maʿṣūm* in that which they communicated from God, and that Muḥammad was immune from major sins, though not from minor sins or error in worldly affairs concerning which he did not express certainty or issue any command—in which case God made him aware of the sin or error so that he then desisted from it.

The Shīʿah have tended to maximize immunity. This tendency is driven partly by the theological impulse toward systematization; the logic of *ʿiṣmah* in order for it to hold must be applied to all bearers of revelation and all circumstances in the life of a *maʿṣūm*. Thus, the Sharīf al-Murṭaḍá (d. 1044 or 1045) composed a book entitled *Complete Exoneration of [All] the Prophets and Imāms;* and the immunity of the *maʿṣūm*s is finally extended not only to the time before their missions but even unintentional commission of minor sins and (against all other Muslim opinion) inadvertent error (*saḥw*). Immunity for the Shīʿah also embraces nonreligious affairs. Modern Shīʿī scholars continue to produce a considerable literature explaining and defending *ʿiṣmah*.

The Shīʿī focus on *ʿiṣmah* is driven primarily, however, by veneration of the *imāms,* and here it becomes absolutely central to Shīʿī piety, in which the twelve imāms, the Prophet, and Faṭimah are referred to collectively as the fourteen *maʿsums.* Any questioning of immunity would be for Twelver Shīʿah a very great heresy, partly because of the deep sectarian emotions attached to it. Thus, opponents of the controversial Lebanese cleric Sayyid Muḥammad Faḍlallāh have accused him of undermining the prophets' *ʿiṣmah,* a charge he has strongly denied.

Contemporary popular Sunnism has been pulled in the opposite direction. Partly under the growing influence of the spirit of Wahhabism, Sunnīs are likely, while still venerating the prophets, to insist on their humanity, one of the Qurʾanic proof texts commonly cited being "I [Muḥammad] am only a mortal like you. . ." (18:110).

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ISMAILIS See SHIISM, *ARTICLE ON* ISMĀʿĪLĪYAH

ISRAEL See JACOB; JEWISH PEOPLE; ZIONISM

ISRAELITE LAW

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
PERSONAL STATUS AND FAMILY LAW
PROPERTY LAW
CRIMINAL LAW
STATE AND JUDICIARY LAW

ISRAELITE LAW: AN OVERVIEW

In all societies, law is an absolutely necessary bracket that, through a common compulsory way of acting, guarantees the ties between individuals, groups, and communities usually drifting apart due to their different material and ideal interests. Law assumes this task of promoting the cohesion of society through two basic functions. First, it minimizes violence by regulating social conflicts; second, it secures norms by means of sanctions and thus stabilizes expectations of behavior into socially acceptable actions.

The Codification of Law in the Ancient Near East and in Israel. Norms of behavior enforced through the penalty of sanctions and the rules for minimizing violent conflicts were primary forms of law originally transmitted orally. In state-run societies, legal functions tended to be taken over by the state or were put under public supervision. In monarchies, if and for what function laws were written down and codified depended upon the scope of the incarnation of legal functions in the king who embodied public power.

In Egypt, the king's competence for legal decisions could not be restricted by written laws or laws arranged in collections of legal rules. This was because the pharaoh, the son of the sun-god, was looked upon as the incarnation of justice and law (*maʾat*). Thus there were not any Egyptian law collections from the pre-Persian period but only several legal decrees of the king. In Mesopotamia, the gods empowered the king to enforce the law. The king could delegate his task to subordinate authorities. Contrary to Egyptian law and justice (Akkadian: *kittu*[*m*] *u mīšaru*[*m*]), the law and justice incarnated in the king were of meta-divine origin, because the gods themselves—like the sun-god Shamash, who is the god of justice—have obtained law and justice. Thus they were only viewed as non-derivable powers who even transcended the gods' universe as well as the king's functions, including the instruction of the gods to the king to enforce the law. Due to this difference between Egypt and Mesopotamia concerning the legitimation of the legal functions of the king, it was possible to codify and collect laws in Mesopotamia without restricting his legal functions.

At first, the Mesopotamians began to write down and to arrange law collections—like that of old Babylonian Eshnunna—which are considered to be descriptions of legal practice, in order to teach and exercise legal decision-making. The law codes were arranged for two purposes: on the one hand, for the education of scribes, on the other hand, for the sophisticated propagation of legal reforms—like the Middle-Assyrian laws—or for the documentation of such a reform—like the Hittite laws. On a secondary stage of literary development, such law collections—like that of Hammurabi—may have been framed by a prologue or an epilogue, according to the royal ideology that serves for the public presentation of the king's function to enforce laws. Likewise in this function, the laws remained descriptive and did not bind the judgments of the court to which the gods—particularly Shamash—were entitled through their cultic decision-making. In Persian jurisprudence of the Achaemenids, the decrees of the king functioned as unchangeable laws for the courts. However, in Persia, as in Egypt, law collections were not codified. In Persia, they also restrained the function of the king for dispensation to jurisdiction by enacting laws together with the state god Ahura Mazdā. But in addition to the decrees of their king, the Persians allowed the enforcement of codified local laws in provinces of defeated nations for order's sake.

In the ancient Near East, laws never gained a critical distance from the king and thus from the state as well. Only in Israel and Greece, where the legal sphere kept its distance from the king, laws—in Israel given by God or in Greece by the will of the people—confronted the state in written form through a prescriptive character bestowed on them. The written legal texts took over functions which were usually filled by the king in the ancient Near East. With the words "the law is the king of all" (*nómos ho pántōn basileús*), Pindar (born about 520 BCE) furnished a conception for a breakthrough which was true of the Hellenic form of justice and also applied to Israel. But in contrast to Greece, Jewish law was not legitimated by the will of the people in the polis, but it expressed God's will, the source of law and justice *(mišpatusdaqā)*. In Greece, *nómos* was the commonly valid norm which an individual was not allowed to violate; nevertheless, it could be altered by the polis. The act of writing down the laws allowed them to be revised, making legal reform possible. However, the consistent deduction of the law from God's will in Israel confined Old Testament law in a way that prohibited legislation or judicial revision initiated by the people. Furthermore, this raised problems concerning the adaptation of laws revealed by God as a legal source to new sociohistorical circumstances because God cannot be contradictory to himself. Within the Bible, legal revisions can only be mediated by scribal techniques in order to prove the identity of revised and revising law and of God's will. This form of inner-biblical judicial revision became the origin of the methods of Rabbinic interpretation of the Bible.

A History of Biblical Law. The Israelite laws had their origins in three functions: first, to secure expectations of socially acceptable behavior by criminal law, second, to regulate conflicts by compensation law (thereby decreasing violence), and third, to regulate intercourse with the divine sphere by sacral law. The form-historical differentiation of Israelite law, which analyzes the typical forms and structures of biblical texts into a casuistic and an apodictic type covered these different functions. The casuistic laws (*mišpatim*), consisting of a protasis (i.e., the definition of the case) and an apodosis (i.e., the legal consequence, as in *Ex.* 21:18–19) served the regulation of conflicts. They stemmed from the judicial practice at local courts where conflicts between families were settled. The apodictic laws as criminal law (*hoq/huqqāh/mis wāh/Torah*) comprised the legal rules of capital law (e.g., *Ex.* 21:12.15–17), the prohibitives of the Decalogue, the bans on incest (*Lv.* 18), and the law of curse (*Dt.* 27). The apodictic laws originated in the family but in the preexilic period were transferred to the local courts which begin to settle cases of family law, as well. In pre-Deuteronomic sacral law, the intercourse with the divine sphere was defined by the order of festivals (*Ex.* 23:14–19; 34:18–26), by the law on first fruits or firstlings (*Ex.* 22:28–30), on the fallow year and the rest day (*Ex.* 23:10–12), as well as by the sacral commands of taboos (*Ex.* 22:17–19).

At local courts, initiatives were taken to collect legal rules of casuistic law on similar themes. *Exodus* 22:6–14 contains a small collection of three laws dealing with depositing, herding, and renting of animals. In this manner, cases of human negligence can be delimitated from those of force majeure. Such collections served the purpose of contributing to the continuance of juridical decisions by transmitting them in written form and by inferring abstract laws from the decisions. Moreover, rule authority was enhanced by mutual explanation of the legal rules. That entailed a larger diversification concerning the delimitation of cases. More complex collections were those of the law of property (*Ex.* 21:33–22:14), law of bodily injuries (*Ex.* 21:18–32), and family law (*Dt.* 21:15–21a; 22:13–29; 24:1–5; 25:5–10). These collections had ingeniously been arranged through editorial networking by the scribe-scholars of wisdom literature and served to educate, as did the cuneiform law codes originally in Mesopotamia. Most of the legal rules of the above-mentioned biblical collections, however, had an indigene Israelite origin and were not received from Mesopotamian law. This is also true of the law on the "goring ox" (*Ex.* 21:35–36) which had an Israelite origin although a parallel law exists in the codex of Eshnunna from the first half of the second millennium; the similarity does not have to be explained through legal reception. The notion of "common law" can only be applied in Mesopotamia and Israel in so far as in both countries compilations of legal rules serve for education and the legal rules are descriptive in character.

In the pre-Deuteronomic period, the direct influence of cuneiform law on Israelite law was confined to editorial compilation techniques of legal rules for the purpose of education. Neither the individual laws applied in daily legal practice nor their compilations in the framework of the scribes' curriculum required an explicit legitimation of law, because the function of the laws in settling conflicts and securing norms was self-evident due to general prevention. But when in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE social stratification of Israelite society increased, implying poor and rich classes, the natural obviousness of the establishments of laws became lost. A vertical law concerned with providing protection for the benefit of underprivileged people had to be established in addition to a horizontal law relating to the regulation of conflicts (*Ex.* 21:2–11; 22:20–26; 23:10–12). In order to enforce the vertical law against the interests of the political and economic elite, it needed a religious legitimation. Judean priests took over the small law collection that was compiled for educational reasons, and treated them like the sacral laws by attributing their legal source to YHWH. The ruptures of social conflicts enforced the religious legitimation of law and can be learned from the covenant code in *Exodus* 21–23, which got its name from the covenant ceremony in *Exodus* 24:3–8, where Moses read it out. In that way, Zadokite priests at the temple of Jerusalem transferred their comprehension of law, which had its source in the sacral law, to the law-collections which were formed in the course of legal education. Intellectuals from priestly circles, not looking to promote their own interests, worked for the benefit of underprivileged people in society. Already in the covenant code, they charted the program of a society that was based on the solidarity with poor people and thus expressed God's will.

After the laws of the covenant code had been supplied with a theological legitimation, the priests of Judea could use them as a tool for defying cultural and political claims to hegemony in the seventh century BCE that were laid by the supreme power of Late Assyria. They inserted a revision of the covenant code (*Dt.* 12;14–26) into a loyalty oath (*Dt.* 13; 28) that was adopted in a subversive way from a loyalty oath to the neo-Assyrian king Esarhaddon by referring the royal demand for loyalty to YHWH, thus divesting the Assyrian king of it. The revision of the covenant code in the Deuteronomic law responded to the centralization of the cult combined with the reorganization of the judicial system by King Josiah (622/21 BCE) and elaborated on the social program of the covenant code through release of debts (*Dt.* 15:1–11) and prohibition of usury (*Dt.* 23:20–21). The cult of the Assyrian imperial god Assur, which had its center at the temple of Assur in the city of Assur, made up the counterpart to the cult of YHWH centralized in Jerusalem (*Dt.* 12). If evidence is found implying that the Judean legal tradition was superior to the Assyrian one, it must be shown that there are not any inconsistencies, despite the contradictions to the covenant code which are due to the revision. Law legitimated by its divine origin must be free of tensions; God cannot contradict himself. The scribe-authors accomplished this task by turning the text of *Deuteronomy,* which interprets the covenant code, into the hermeneutical key of the interpreted text in the covenant code. The legislation of asylum illustrates this process in a paradigmatic way. While in *Exodus* 21:13–14 the respective local sanctuaries were declared to be an asylum, the verses in *Deuteronomy* 19:2–13 provided cities of asylum all over the country after abolishing local sanctuaries and centralizing the cult. Henceforth *Exodus* 21:13–14 is considered to be a reference to the asylum function of the central sanctuary in Jerusalem. Therefore the revised laws of the covenant code were not "recycled," as Bernard M. Levinson suggests, but continued to be valid together with the revised law. This explains why the covenant code could be located in the Pentateuch pericope in terms of being a part of the Sinai revelation, whereas the Deuteronomic link with Moab renders this emphasis impossible.

In the late preexilic period, *Deuteronomy* was held as a direct expression of God's will which was linked to the central sanctuary in Jerusalem and did not yet refer to Moses as an intermediary. But after the loss of the Temple, *Deuteronomy* had to be adapted to the new situation of the exilic period. This was done by setting Deuteronomic law in a frame (*Dt.* 5:9–10; 28:1–14, 45–68) that combined the law with Moses and God's mount and incorporated the Decalogue into *Deuteronomy* 5. Moreover, *Deuteronomy* was now read as an interpretation, thus imposing the covenant obligations on God's people at God's mount (*Dt.* 26:16–19). In the covenant code and preexilic *Deuteronomy*, the king was not mentioned at all, because the legal functions of the king were replaced by the written text of the laws as expression of God's legal will. In the exilic period, when there was no longer an acting king, the Deuteronomists integrated the theme of kingship into the Deuteronomic law (*Dt.* 17:14–20) but divested it programmatically of all political functions and stylized the king to be the first pious man of Torah among his people. The king was now no longer the source of law as in the ancient Near East but subdued under the divine Torah.

After the fall of kingship even the understanding of time, which in the ancient Near East was embodied in the king and therefore was only conceivable as royal time, became separated from the king by transferring the origin of the law to Mount Horeb, also known as Mount Sinai. Now the law was embedded in a time structure of an ideal "history" as a story of Israel's origin which was remote from the king. In this way the Torah created a link between law and historical narrative. At the same time free prophecy was domesticated by restricting it to Mosaic prophecy as the only legitimate one according to prophetic law (*Dt.* 18:9–22). Previously, prophecy was blamed for the fractionation of the society in Israel and in Judah, thereby entailing its fall, as the contradiction between true and false prophecy could not be solved. At this point the triumphant advance of law over prophecy began, an event which would be finished in the postexilic period (*Zec.* 13:2–6). In an additional framework of *Deuteronomy* (*Dt.* 1–3; 29–30), the revelation at Mt. Horeb appeared to be a prelude for the proclamation of the law by Moses and for the covenant making in the land of Moab. Thus *Deuteronomy* not only encouraged the second generation (*Dt.* 1:19–46) to hope for their return from exile by scheduling the promulgation of *Deuteronomy* on the day before their entrance into the Promised Land beyond the river Jordan (*Dt.* 29–30), but it also fostered the expectation that the faults would be expiated after the death of the sinful older generation and that a new history would start on taking possession of the land.

Furnishing the idea of the covenant in Moab, the exilic *Deuteronomy* stood out against the rival conception of the priestly code which also stemmed from the period of exile and which declared that God's indwelling in the tabernacle of the congregation as well as the establishment of the expiatory cult ministered by the Aaronite priests was the goal and summit of creation and universal history (*Gn.* 1–11). The covenant with Israel was transferred to the time of the Patriarchs and linked to Abraham (*Gn.* 17). Furthermore, it was held to be a covenant made by mere grace, independent from the law.

In consequence for the priestly code, all of Israel could not fail the covenant once again. Only individuals who refused circumcision should be expelled from the ethnic community. According to the priestly code, the liability to the law was not particularly imposed on Israel but on all mankind as follows from the Noachite commands (*Gn.* 9:1–7). Mankind also can neither fail the Noachite commands nor the covenant made with them on the basis of those commands as God promises to refrain from another flood and thus from the extinction of mankind.

The postexilic scribes faced the task to jointly mediate the two different exilic drafts of the narrative foundation of Israel's revelation of the law of the Torah, as expressed in *Deuteronomy* and the priestly code. If YHWH, the God of Israel, was One according to the First Commandment in the Decalogue, hence his history with Israel and his revealed will of the Torah respectively can be only one. In this respect the postexilic literary history of the Torah theologically was a function of the First Commandment in the Decalogue. The postexilic scribes accomplished the task to adapt the priestly code and the law of *Deuteronomy* which was combined with the *Book of Joshua.* They succeeded in doing so by means of their scribal erudition. In the fifth century BCE they formed a Hexateuch (*Gn.* 1 through *Jos.* 24) in which possession of the land of Israel (*Jos.* 13–21) was the goal of creation and universal history (*Gn.* 1–11). In that way they rejected the claim of the Persian imperial ideology that the god Ahura-Mazdā had assigned an appropriate place to all nations in the world, the center of which was Persepolis. While the authors of the Hexateuch considered the possession of the land to be the central *Heilsgut* (fruit of salvation), the Zadokite priests in the Diaspora challenged this view because they identified the Torah as this good of salvation. They held that Israel was present wherever Jews observe the Torah of YHWH. *Ezra* 7 preserved the remembrance that the Diaspora theology was adopted in Jerusalem, beginning with *Ezra.* This process was also reflected in the Pentateuch. The *Book of Joshua* became separated from it and the Sinai pericope was expanded instead by interpolating the Decalogue, the covenant code, and the holiness code (*Lv.* 17–26). Thus this pericope became the typical location for the revelation of the Torah *kat exochen.*

Prophetic circles of the postexilic period examined the Torah-theology of the Pentateuch in a critical way. Circles that felt bound to the tradition of the prophet Ezekiel required a "new spirit" as precondition for fulfilling the Torah which was fixed in a written form by Moses (*Ez.* 11:19; 36:26–27). Other circles that stood by the tradition of the prophet Jeremiah depreciated the written Torah of Moses and expected a Torah which was written by God on the human heart (*Jer.* 31:31–34). Consequently they declared the scribes' erudition of the Torah to be useless (*Jer.* 8:8–9). The draft of a constitution of the post-exilic Israel in *Ezekiel* 40–48 did not combine the Torah with Moses and Sinai but with the Temple in Jerusalem instead. It could not prevail as a part of the Torah and only entered into the canon under the protecting authority of the priest-prophet Ezekiel. The subsequent Temple Scroll that bound the Temple to the Torah looked for a connection with the Sinai tradition of the Pentateuch (*Ex.* 34), but the Temple Scroll was ruled out and did not get accepted into the canon of the Hebrew Bible.

SEE ALSO Law and Religion.

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ISRAELITE LAW: PERSONAL STATUS AND FAMILY LAW

Biblical laws concerning personal status may relate to individuals as members of larger segments of society (slaves, poor, aliens, women), or they may govern relations between persons in a household, as in laws governing the treatment of slaves, and those stipulating the relations between members of the family. These categories are followed in the discussion below.

PERSONAL STATUS. One of the essential characteristics of Israelite law is that there are no legally defined social classes among free Israelites. This contrasts with the laws of Hammurabi, which assume two classes of free men, the *awilum* ("man," the higher class) and the *mushkenum* (a poorer class, perhaps only partially free, partially in royal service), with notable differences in the treatment of each, as, for example, in the prescription of penalties for assault by a member of one group against a member of the other. In Israelite society the economic differences between rich and poor never resulted in differences in their treatment before the law. Nevertheless, there are clear distinctions between free Israelites and slaves, between men and women, between adults and minors, and, to a lesser extent, between Israelites and foreigners, and between king and subjects.

Slaves. Israelite law distinguishes between foreign and Israelite slaves and, to a lesser extent, between male and female slaves. Foreign slaves could be bought or, theoretically, acquired as prisoners of war. Once acquired, they were expected to be slaves permanently (*Lv.* 25:46). Israelites, however, could not be slaves permanently. The law allowed a free man to sell his children into slavery or to sell himself in order to escape poverty or debt (*Lv.* 25:39); he is required to sell himself if he cannot otherwise pay the penalty for having committed a robbery (*Ex.* 22:2). An Israelite would also be a slave if he or she were born to slaves (*Ex.* 21:4). But the male Israelite "slave" (almost certainly the meaning of *ʿeved ʿivri*) was to be set free in the Sabbatical (seventh) year unless he chose to make his status permanent, which decision was formalized in a ceremony in which his ear was pierced. According to *Exodus* 21:7–8, female slaves were not freed according to the laws that freed male slaves; this may be because a woman was sold as an *amah,* a term which may imply concubinage, for she was to be set free if her master's sons denied her matrimonial rights (*Ex.* 21:11). In *Deuteronomy* 15:12–17 female slaves were treated like male slaves, possibly an indication that by this time it was written (no later than the seventh century BCE) Hebrew women were not sold into concubinage. Foreign women could be taken as concubines in war; they could subsequently be divorced but not sold (*Dt.* 21:10–14). *Deuteronomy* 15:12–17 requires that freed slaves be given substantial provisions. According to *Leviticus* 25:40, debt-slaves were to be released in the Jubilee (fiftieth) year. Yet there is some indication in *Jeremiah* 34:8–16 that people in ancient Israel were not punctilious about obeying the laws regarding manumission.

Although a fully recognized institution, slavery was considered an undesirable state of existence. There was a death penalty for kidnapping free Israelites to use or sell as slaves (*Ex.* 22:15, *Dt.* 24:7). Israelites discovered to be slaves of non-Israelites were to be redeemed (*Lv.* 25:47–54), and fugitive slaves (Israelite or foreign) were not to be given up to their masters (*Dt.* 23:16–17). Israel was to ameliorate the condition by treating slaves well and treating Israelite slaves as if they were hired laborers (*Lv.* 25:40, 25:53). The law adjured these efforts on the slaves' behalf in the remembrance that the Israelites had been slaves in Egypt (*Dt.* 15:15) and that they continued to be the slaves of God, who had redeemed them (*Lv.* 25:55). Slaves were to be considered members of the household: They were to be circumcised (*Gn.* 17:23) and could thereupon eat the Passover sacrifice (*Ex.* 12:44); priest's slaves could eat of the holy offerings (*Lv.* 22:11). Slaves shared in sacrificial meals (*Dt.* 12:11–12, 12:18) and in feasts (*Dt.* 16:11, 16:14) and observed the Sabbath (*Ex.* 20:10, 23:12; *Dt.* 5:14–15). Slaves could be beaten; but if they died of a beating, their death would be avenged (*Ex.* 21:20), and if they were permanently injured, they were to be set free (*Ex.* 21:26–27). Slaves could acquire their own property and might ultimately be able to redeem themselves (*Lv.* 25:29).

The poor. Although there were no formal classes in Israelite society, there were distinctions between wealthy and poor. The "book of the covenant" stipulates that one should not impose usury on loans to the poor (*Ex.* 22:25), that cloaks taken as pledges be returned by sundown (*Ex.* 22:26–27; cf. *Dt.* 24:12–3), and that poverty not result in mistreatment before the law (*Ex.* 23:6). *Deuteronomy* further stipulates that a hired worker be paid immediately (*Dt.* 24:14–15) and prescribes the giving of charity to the poor even when the Sabbatical is near (*Dt.* 15:7–11), at which time the produce was to be left for the poor (*Ex.* 23:11). The seventh year was to some extent a time for the redistribution of wealth, in that debts were to be canceled (*Dt.* 15:1). The difference between rich and poor may have increased after the development of the monarchy, and the unequal distribution of wealth is an important theme of the prophets, who condemned the accumulation of capital by the rich.

Resident aliens. Immigrants to Israel and the original inhabitants of the land were considered *gerim* (sg. *ger,* "resident alien"). This designation also extended to the Levites, who had no tribal territory of their own, and, in the early days, to an Israelite outside the territory of his own tribe. *Gerim* are often grouped with the poor, widows, and orphans, who were to be allowed to collect fallen fruit and olives and glean at harvest time (*Lv.* 19:10, 23:22; *Dt.* 24:19–21) and to share in the tithe of the third year (*Dt.* 14:29) and the produce of the Jubilee (*Lv.* 25:6). The Israelites were to treat them well, remembering that they too had been *gerim,* in Egypt (e.g., *Ex.* 22:20); the laws that apply to them, thus, are generally found within law addressed to the free Israelites. *Gerim* had equal status with Israelites in civil and criminal law; in religious law the one recorded difference is the statement in *Deuteronomy* 14:21 that a *ger* may eat a dead carcass; *Leviticus* 17:15, however, forbids this. *Gerim* observed the Sabbath (*Ex.* 20:10, *Dt.* 5:14) and the Day of Atonement (*Lv.* 16:29); they offered sacrifices (*Lv.* 17:8, e.g.) and participated in religious festivals (*Dt.* 16:11, 16:14); and they observed the laws of purity (*Lv.* 17:8–13) and, if circumcised, could partake of the Passover sacrifice (*Ex.* 12:48–49).

Minors. A person was considered a fully adult member of Israel, counted as such in the census, at age 20 (*Ex.* 30:14); this was also the age above which the Israelites who had come out of Egypt were condemned to die in the desert without reaching the promised land (*Nm.* 14:29). At least in theory, children below that age were under the jurisdiction of their father, who could contract marriages for them and even sell them into slavery to pay his debts and to whom they owed allegiance. A rebellious son could be accused by his parents and thereupon stoned (*Dt.* 21:18–21). There are no specific regulations relating to minors. They were, however, treated as individual persons before the law in matters of punishment, for, unlike the ancient Near Eastern codes, biblical law did not allow the punishment of children for the crimes of their parents. For example, the death of a victim who was a minor son did not entail the execution of the minor son of the offender in biblical law as it did in Babylonian law (*Ex.* 21:31; cf. laws of Hammurabi 229f.).

The king. The king in Israel occupied a special intimate relationship with God: As God's appointed and anointed, his person was inviolable (*2 Sm.* 1:14), and cursing the king was tantamount to cursing God and was punishable by death (*2 Sm.* 19:21–22; *1 Kgs.* 21:10, 21:13). The Israelite king was not regarded as divine, and his close relationship with God, expressed as sonship (*2 Sm.* 7:14), was understood to arise from adoption (cf. *Ps.* 2:7) rather than divine paternity. The king was not a lawgiver but his role in the legal system was twofold: to uphold the laws in his capacity as judge and to obey fully the laws of God, who is Israel's only legitimate lawgiver. A king who disobeyed God's laws might lose all of his kingdom, as did Saul (*1 Sm.* 13:13) and Jeroboam (*1 Kgs.* 14:7–11), or part of his domain, as did David. The divine promise of a dynasty to the House of David made the rulers of the southern kingdom of Judah less concerned with the possibility of losing the throne. However, the deeds or misdeeds of a king could influence the fortunes of the land, for God could bring pestilence, military defeat (as under David, *2 Sm.* 24:13), or drought as a consequence or royal apostasy (as under Ahab, *1 Kgs.* 17:1).

Two passages deal with royal prerogative. In one, in his effort to discourage the people from establishing a monarchy, Samuel warns them that a king will take their sons as soldiers and their daughters as domestics, that he will tithe their property, and that he will appropriate their fields to give to his servants (*1 Sm.* 8:11–18). The other passage, *Deuteronomy* 17:14–20, sets limits to the grandiosity of the monarch, declaring that the king should not acquire many horses or wives or much wealth and that he should copy a book of the Law, keep it with him, and read it so that he learns to keep the law and not act arrogantly toward his people. Despite Samuel's warning that a king would appropriate fields, the kings did not simply commandeer property. David bought a threshing floor (*2 Sm.* 24:24); Omri bought the hill of Samaria (*1 Kgs.* 16:24); and even Ahab did not feel free to simply commandeer the vineyard of Naboth (*1 Kgs.* 21). Kings did, however, confiscate the land of those who had committed treason: David took Mephibosheth's land to give to Ziva after Ziva reported that Mephibosheth was planning to take the throne (*2 Sm.* 16:1–4) and Ahab set out to take Naboth's vineyard after Naboth was falsely convicted and executed for having cursed the king (*1 Kgs.* 21:13–16). Nor did the kings of Israel exercise unrestrained power over their subjects' lives: Jezebel made sure that Ahab was convicted and executed by the courts, and David maneuvered Uriah so that he would be killed in battle (*2 Sm.* 11)—neither king killed the inconvenient subjects outright.

Women. The laws present a picture of women as socially inferior to men. In terms of family life, a woman was expected to be subordinate first to her father and then, when married, to her husband. This subordination also found expression in economic matters. Women did not normally hold property, though they could inherit if there were no male heirs. This right of inheritance is presented in the Bible as a special divine decree to answer the needs of the daughters of Zelophehad (*Nm.* 27:1–11), which was soon modified to require daughters who inherited their father's property to marry within the "family of the tribe of their father" in order to keep the ancestral holdings in the paternal estate (*Nm.* 36:1–9). A comparison with near Eastern law shows that the laws of Lipit-Ishtar, written in Sumerian about 1900 BCE, contain a proviso whereby if a man had no sons, his unmarried daughters could inherit his property.

The inferior economic position of women is also indicated by the fact that when a person took a vow to dedicate members of his family (to temple service?) or to donate their monetary worth, an adult male was valued at fifty shekels and a woman at thirty (*Lv.* 27:3–4). It is also clear that women did not have equal right of disposition of the family property, for the male head of the household could annul the vows of women under his authority if he did so the day that he heard them (*Nm.* 30:5–8). Nevertheless, there is no hint that women could be considered thieves if they took or sold family property (as is the case in the Middle Assyrian laws, according to which the wife who took something and gave it to another is labeled a thief, and the receiver, a fence); on the contrary, the "woman of valor" of *Proverbs* 31 is particularly praised for her commercial ability and independent enterprise.

Some of the laws of sexual purity were applicable to both men and women. After sexual intercourse, both partners had to bathe in water and were considered impure until the evening (*Lv.* 15:16–18). In case of genital discharges (as in gonorrhea), both men and women were isolated until seven days after the discharge stopped and were then to bring an offering of two birds (*Lv.* 15:1–15, 15:25–29). In addition, women were instructed to remain isolated during menstruation (*Lv.* 15:19–24) and childbirth (*Lv.* 12:1–8). The impurity of menstruation was contagious: A man would become impure by having sexual relations with a menstruating woman (for which he could also expect divine punishment). Furthermore, he would become impure by touching her, sitting on a seat on which she sat, or eating food that she had cooked. This resulted in total isolation, although it is not known whether women were isolated in their own homes or spent the week in women's hostels (to which there is no textual reference). The "impurity" of the menstruating woman was not believed to bring danger to others (as is the case in many other cultures). Nevertheless, it became a metaphor for contamination (*Jer.* 13.20, *Lam.* 1.9, *Ez.* 36.17) and clearly was used to the denigration of women.

Despite the image portrayed by the legal documents, the biblical narratives indicate that women did not have a particularly weak position with respect to their husbands. The Shunammite woman entertained Elijah without prior consent from her husband (*2 Kgs.* 4:8–17), and Abigail commandeered large amounts of her husband's supplies to bring them to David (*1 Sm.* 25). The legal documents may, therefore, be affirming ideals rather than prescribing reality.

Women were generally expected to fit into a domestic niche, as wife and/or mother. However, there were also nondomestic roles. The queen had a powerful position, and might, as Jezebel and Athaliah did, exercise the power of the throne (*1 Kgs.* 18–19; *2 Kgs.* 9:30–37, 11:1–16); the position of queen-mother also seems to have had some importance, as may be inferred from the fact that Asa removed his mother Maacah from that position (*1 Kgs.* 15:13). "Wise women," who are mentioned in the time of David (*2 Sm.* 14, 20:16–22), may have been some sort of village elders. Deborah was a political and judicial leader (*Jgs.* 4–5); Deborah, Miriam (*Nm.* 12:2), Huldah (*2 Kgs.* 22:14–20), and Noadiah (*Neh.* 6:14) are recorded as prophetesses.

FAMILY LAW. This picture of family law is incomplete: The law corpora were not intended to be comprehensive, and frequently they omit matters that were well known in that culture or were not of concern to the writers. The picture can be filled in to some extent with details from the few narrative accounts of family life contained in the historical books. Important information also comes from the law collections of the ancient Near East, because it is clear that there was a common jurisprudential tradition in the area.

The Bible reveals two social systems. The first, the older system, is the extended family of the patriarchal period. The male head of the family had great power over his children, both male and female, in that he could contract marriages for them. Girls would leave their father's house in order to enter the dominion of the head of the family into which they were marrying. In the event of the husband's death, the woman stayed in her new family, either as the mother of children or, if there had been no children, by being given in marriage to her deceased husband's brother through the institution of the levirate. In such a system women were completely dependent on the kindness and attentiveness of the males in their lives and could affect events only by influencing them, as through persuasion or trickery. If a man were abusive, a woman had no recourse, and the principle of male disposition of women lent itself to such abuses as Lot's offer of his daughters to the men of Sodom (*Gn.* 19:8), the Levite's offer of his concubine to the men of Gibeah (*Jgs.* 19:24), and Jephthah's sacrifice of his daughter (*Jgs.* 11).

The other major social pattern is the monogamous family depicted in *Genesis* 3:6. This was the dominant pattern during the history of the biblical state (apart from the royal family, which continued the patriarchal pattern). At marriage, the girl moved from her father's house to that of her husband, and was thereafter under her husband's (rather than her father's or father-in-law's) domination. Polygyny was possible, but certainly not the norm. The ancient Near Eastern law collections also envision polygyny, or rather *bigyny* (having two wives), but severely limit the circumstances under which a man could take a second wife.

Marriage. The stages by which a marriage was contracted are not detailed in the biblical laws, but information is available, from both biblical narrative and the Near Eastern legal compilations, and the close agreement between these sources indicates that they reflect a biblical and Near Eastern reality. A preliminary agreement was reached between the fathers (or between the groom and the bride's parents), and then the groom or, frequently, the groom's father, paid a sum, the "bride-price," to the girl's father. There was also a dowry, though this does not seem to have been essential, and there was another custom, not universally observed, in which the father of the bride returned the bride-price to the couple at the completion of the marriage (unlike Lagan, who did not; *Gn.* 31:15). The bride-price was not a purchase, for the girl was not considered property, but it did guarantee the groom certain rights over the girl. At this point, once the bride-price was paid, the girl was "betrothed," which was an inchoate form of marriage. The marriage could still be canceled by either party (with appropriate financial penalties). Nevertheless, the bridegroom at that point owned the girl's sexual and reproductive capacity, and any sexual relations with a betrothed girl was considered adultery. The betrothed girl would stay in her father's house until the groom came to call for her (which could be a duration of years if she had been betrothed very young). At that point he would bring her to his house, and the marriage was complete.

Divorce. The details of divorce are also not clearly defined in the Bible. The laws in *Exodus* do not mention divorce; *Deuteronomy* does not describe the procedure but does mention the requirement of a bill of divorce (*Dt.* 24:1) and the stipulation of the two occasions on which the husband cannot divorce his wife: when he has acquired his wife after rape (*Dt.* 22:28–29) or when he has falsely accused his wife of not having been a virgin as a bride (*Dt.* 22:13–21). These laws prevented men, to some extent, from divorcing unloved brides who would have been at a great disadvantage in the Israelite socioeconomic system. Because the details are not provided, it is not known whether divorce was always at the prerogative of the husband; the laws of Hammurabi indicate that a woman could apply to the court for divorce (with the risk that her case would be investigated; and if she were found to have been a bad wife, she would be executed). There is evidence that early Jews on Elephantine (in Egypt) and in Palestine believed that the Bible allowed female-initiated divorce. In the postbiblical period it has been taken for granted that only husbands could initiate divorce proceedings.

Extramarital relations. A woman's sexual capacities were under the control of the head of the household. Girls were expected to be virgins at marriage. If a bridegroom accused his bride of not being virginal, their bedsheets were to be examined: if there was no blood on the sheets, she would be stoned; if she was proved innocent, her husband could never divorce her (*Dt.* 22:13–21). If a nonbetrothed girl was seduced, the seducer had to pay the full virgin's bride-price to her father, who decided whether to give her in marriage (*Ex.* 22:16–17). *Deuteronomy* provides that the seducer must pay the bride-price, take the girl as his wife, and never divorce her (*Dt.* 22:28–29); it is possible that the Deuteronomic rule concerned rape, but it may also have applied to any illicit sex with a virgin. The penalty for adultery was death for the married woman and her lover (*Lv.* 20:10); the extramarital relations of a married man were not considered adultery. If a man suspected his wife of adultery, he had the right to accuse her, and she would then undergo a solemn oath procedure (drinking the "bitter waters"). If, innocent, she suffered no ill effects, she could return to her husband. If she were guilty, she would ultimately be punished by God, who could cause her belly to swell and her thigh to fall; that is, some disaster to her fertility could occur, possibly a prolapsed uterus (*Nm.* 5:11–31). Even if she did not suffer these dire consequences and, moreover, demonstrated her fertility by later bearing a child, her husband could not be penalized for making a false accusation.

SEE ALSO Kingship, article on Kingship in the Ancient Mediterranean World; Menstruation.

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ISRAELITE LAW: PROPERTY LAW

Like Israelite law in general, Israelite property law is marked by a concern for the rights of the individual. In particular an attempt is made, at least in theory, to safeguard the rights of the less fortunate (the poor, widows, orphans, etc.). As will be seen in this article, Israelite property law shares many points of contact, both in actual detail and in terminology, with property laws found elsewhere in the ancient Near East.

CONVEYANCE OF PROPERTY. As expressed ideally in the laws of the Hebrew Bible, the only transference of property in ancient Israel should be through inheritance. Every Israelite family was allocated a plot of land at the original apportionment, traditionally held to have been in the time of Moses and Joshua (*Nm.* 26:52–54, 33:54; *Jos.* 13–22), and it was believed that this ancestral plot should remain, if not in the family's possession, then at least in the possession of the clan. Thus there really should be no sale of land. Theological justification for this point of view is given in *Leviticus*: "But the land must not be sold beyond reclaim, for the land is Mine; you are but strangers resident with Me" (*Lv.* 25:23). This view regards God as owner of all property and the Israelites as only temporary tenants who may not buy or sell land. The duty of redemption and the institution of the Jubilee year (for both, see below) tend to corroborate this point of view, as does the complete absence in the Bible of laws concerning the renting of property.

Sale of land. While there is some evidence that this view of the inalienability of property was current in monarchical times (as can be gathered from Naboth's response to Ahab in *1 Kings* 21:3), there can be little doubt that the very emergence of the monarchy and the growth of the cities led to sweeping sociological changes as far as land ownership was concerned. Because of debt, many small farmers were forced to sell their farms to a new landed aristocracy. The situation became so serious that by the time of the eighth century the old Israelite society based on the small farmer had been destroyed. This was the situation that attracted the opposition of the prophets who denounced the land-grabbing practices of the new aristocracy. For example, Isaiah complains, "Ah, those who add house to house and join field to field, till there is room for none but you to dwell in the land!" (*Is.* 5:8). Similarly, Micah condemns those who "covet fields, and seize them; houses and they take them away. They defraud men of their homes, and people of their land" (*Mi.* 2:2).

Contracts of sale. The Bible records a number of property transactions, including Jacob's purchase of land at Shechem (*Gn.* 33:18–20), David's purchase of the threshing floor from Araunah (*2 Sm.* 24:24), Omri's purchase of the hill of Samaria, site of his future capital, from Shemer (*1 Kgs.* 16:24), and Boaz's purchase of a field from Naomi (*Ru.* 4:9). Two transactions are recorded in detail: when Abraham purchases the Cave of Machpelah (*Gn.* 23:3–20) and when Jeremiah, fulfilling his duty as near kinsman, redeems (purchases) the land in Anathoth from his impoverished cousin Hanamel (*Jer.* 32:6–15). In these two transactions there are elements that conform to standard ancient Near Eastern real estate documents.

In Abraham's purchase, one can discern the strict attention that is paid to ensure that the transaction conforms to all the details of ancient Near Eastern law. Thus, as required by early Mesopotamian law, two stages in the transfer of the property can be seen: payment of the price by the transferee to the transferor and taking possession of the property by the transferee. Hence it is twice said that the field was transferred to Abraham, once after Abraham weighed the silver for Ephron, that is, after payment of the price (*Gn.* 23:17), and then again after he buried Sarah (*Gn.* 23:20), that is, after he took possession of the field.

Another reflection of Mesopotamian law may be seen in the passage about Jeremiah's redemption of land that describes in detail the writing of a real estate contract (*Jer.* 32:6–15). Two copies of the deed of sale are made and witnessed, all "according to rule and law" (*Jer.* 36:11). Both are kept in the archives, but one is sealed as the official permanent record, and the other is unsealed for consultation when necessary. This reflects the Mesopotamian practice of enclosing a contract in a clay envelope that shows a copy of the same contract on the outside.

REDEMPTION OF HEREDITARY LAND AND THE JUBILEE YEAR. In accordance with the principle, expressed above, of the inalienability of land, a person's patrimony should ideally never be sold. However, should a man, due to economic straits, have to sell his land, then the law provides relief for its retrieval in two ways. First, the debtor's nearest family member is given the option of first refusal to the property (redemption). Second, in the absence of a family redeemer, the property ultimately reverts back to the debtor in the Jubilee year.

Redemption. Among the Israelites, the redemption of property from indigent family members was regarded not only as a moral obligation but also as a noble form of social action (*Lv.* 25:25–34). Two examples in the Bible of family members redeeming property (already mentioned) are Jeremiah redeeming his cousin's field at Anathoth (*Jer.* 32:6–9) and Boaz redeeming the field belonging to Naomi (*Ru.* 4:1–10). Note that in these cases the land is not restored to the impoverished kinsman but becomes the property of the redeemers. (For a contrary opinion, see Levine, 1983). Under the laws of the Jubilee, however, the land reverts back to the original owner. In both cases, the clan is protected from the alienation (loss) of the property.

The Jubilee year. The law of the Jubilee year (*shenat ha-yovel)* is set out in *Leviticus* 25. Three regulations concerning property ought to be mentioned here:

(1) Anybody who is forced to sell ancestral lands may reclaim them every fiftieth year, pointing to the principle that land cannot be irrevocably sold (*Lv.* 25:10, 25:13, 25:28).

(2) Because land cannot be irrevocably sold, what can be sold is only so many harvests (*Lv.* 25:15–16). Consequently every sale of land becomes a kind of lease for a number of years before the next Jubilee.

(3) Town houses, other than those belonging to Levites, are not subject to the Jubilee law. If they are not redeemed within one year of purchase, then the seller can never reclaim them (*Lv.* 25:29–30).

The terminology used to describe property that cannot be reclaimed is *tsemitut* ("beyond reclaim"), a term that has both semantic (*tsamit,* "beyond reclaim") and functional parallels in real estate documents from Ugarit in the thirteenth century BCE.

The original intention of the Jubilee law is much debated. There are two major schools of thought. One holds that in the Jubilee law the old tribal principle of inalienability of the land was affirmed, but because of the new social realities, the land laws were relaxed. Hence when the new economic order, which was not tied to the land or to patrimony, came into being, irrevocable sales in the cities were permitted (Weinfeld, 1980). The other school believes that the law is a later (postexilic) reworking of the Sabbatical year (on which all agree it is patterned) by the Priestly school. The principle here is that of *restitutio in integrum,* "a restoration to an original state": The land has to be returned to its original owner and thereby effect a restoration of the structure of Israelite society as it had been divinely ordained in ancient days (Noth, 1977).

Scholars also differ on the question of whether the Jubilee law was ever actually put into effect. The problem is aggravated because of the paucity of references in the rest of the Bible. The Jubilee is not referred to in any historical text, not even in postexilic ones. Outside of *Leviticus* 25, it is mentioned only in *Leviticus* 27:17–25 and briefly in *Numbers* 36:4 and *Ezekiel* 46:17. The protests of the prophets concerning land monopoly may indicate that the Jubilee law was not observed in preexilic times, and, because Nehemiah makes the people promise to observe the Sabbatical year but says nothing about the Jubilee year (*Neh.* 10:32), the same may probably be said for postexilic times as well.

RIGHTS OF INHERITANCE. The norm in ancient Israel was that a man's property was inherited by his sons, the firstborn receiving a double share (*Dt.* 21:15–17). In the event that a man had no sons, the line of inheritance was transferred through a scale of family members: from daughters to brothers to uncles and, ultimately, to the nearest kinsman of the deceased (*Nm.* 27:8–11). It is noteworthy that there is no provision in this list for a man's widow (see below). While the principle of primogeniture was the rule, there are numerous cases recorded in which the firstborn did not get the preferential share. Indeed, a significant motif in the narrative sections of the Bible is that the younger son eventually supplants the older both in cases where property is concerned (e.g., Ishmael and Isaac, Esau and Jacob, Reuben and Joseph, and Manasseh and Ephraim) and in cases of succession to the throne (e.g., Eliab and David and Adonijah and Solomon).

Rights of daughters. According to *Numbers* 27:1–11, daughters originally were not eligible to inherit any part of the family estate. Only after the case of the daughters of Zelophehad was provision made for daughters to inherit on a limited basis: They could inherit providing the deceased had no sons (*Nm.* 27:8) and they married within the clan, so that the patrimony would not be transferred to another tribe (*Nm.* 36:6–9). There is a reference in the *Book of Job* to Job's daughters inheriting alongside their brothers (42:15). However, because of the fact that *Job* is set in a non-Israelite locale, scholars generally do not regard this as standard Israelite practice.

Rights of widows. As already indicated, the line of inheritance in *Numbers* makes no provision for the widow, not even for the usufruct of her husband's property. This is unusual because in most ancient Near Eastern law collections (e.g., the Code of Hammurabi and Hittite and Assyrian laws) the widow is appropriately provided for. This omission is usually explained by the supposition that it was incumbent on the eldest son, who receives a preferential share of the estate, to provide for his mother and the unmarried female members of the family. It is also pointed out that widows, although not specifically mentioned in the line of inheritance, were provided with some degree of protection in the laws concerning the levirate.

The laws of the levirate state that should a man die without leaving a son, the brother of the deceased must marry the widow. The first child of this marriage is to be considered the heir of the deceased (*Dt.* 25:6). By this device, the estate of the deceased would be preserved, because his inheritance would pass to the child. However, there are indications that these laws were not widely observed (e.g., in the story of Judah and Tamar; see *Gn.* 38), and the penalties for nonobservance were insignificant (*Dt.* 25:7–10, *Ru.* 4:7–8). There was no incentive other than moral duty for the brother to perform what may well have been regarded as a most onerous and unwelcome task (Davies, 1981). For by assuming the duty, the brother not only lost his claim to his own brother's estate—because if there were no heir, he and his brothers would be next in line (*Nm.* 27:9)—but in certain cases performance of the levirate could actually be damaging to his own estate (by having to take responsibility for the widow as well as managing his dead brother's land). Performance of the levirate must therefore have been considered a magnanimous act by the brother: He was assuming obligations without necessarily deriving any corresponding benefits.

Childless couples. In the ancient Near East, having an heir was of paramount importance. Should a wife remain childless, her husband could marry another woman. To forestall this, the woman might give her own personal slave to her husband to bear the children for her. Children born of such unions were thought of symbolically as the wife's. Examples of barren women giving maids to their husband include Sarah, who gives Hagar to Abraham (*Gn.* 16:3), Rachel, who gives Bilhah to Jacob (*Gn.* 30:3), and even Leah, who, not barren but no longer bearing children, gives Zilpah to Jacob (*Gn.* 30:9–13). Children of such marriages had the same rights of inheritance as natural children (e.g., Ishmael in *Gn.* 17:18, 21:10).

Another method that was very common in the ancient Near East, and to which childless couples often resorted, was adoption. Although there are no laws of adoption in the Bible, the institution may underlie some of the patriarchal narratives, for example, in Abraham's complaint that because he was childless, Dammesek Eliezer would inherit from him. (*Gn.* 15:2–4).

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DAVID MARCUS (1987)
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ISRAELITE LAW: CRIMINAL LAW

Criminal law is a modern legal concept that relates to punitive actions taken by society when confronted by conduct that is considered socially harmful, morally offensive, or a threat to fundamental values or norms. Crimes are public offenses because the community, often acting through its authoritative representation, punishes the offender. The claims of any injured individual are submerged into the public actions of the community; society as a whole reacts as if it were the injured party. The punishment imposed on the criminal offender is often corporal: death, mutilation, or beating. Punishment might also be exile, imprisonment, or public humiliation. Sometimes monetary fines are imposed as well, but these go to the state, not to an injured individual.

In modern times, crimes are to be distinguished from torts, which belong to the category of civil law. Torts are offenses that society is satisfied to leave private. To redress a tort, the injured individual either acts alone or seeks the aid of kinfolk or powerful allies (self-help). In more developed societies, the king or government might help the individual enforce his claims. But the injured individual acting privately in civil law can exact only indemnity or monetary compensation from the offending party.

BIBLICAL CONCEPTS. The literary books that constitute the Hebrew Bible only partially reveal the legal practices of ancient Israelite society. One can, however, discern elements of criminal law among the stated commandments or prohibitions and casuistic legal formulations as well as in the details of narrative elements. All of this ancient evidence must be considered, although, to be sure, one does not know the extent to which it reflects the ancient realities or actual practices.

One cannot tell whether the ancient Israelites articulated a conscious distinction between criminal and civil law. Clearly, the lines between private and public offenses were drawn differently from those of modern, Western societies. Some offenses like battery (*Ex.* 21:18–19 [verse citations unless otherwise specified are to the Eng. version]) and theft (Masoretic text *Ex.* 21:37, 22:3), which today are criminal or public, were still considered to be private torts in the Bible. Conversely, offenses such as witchcraft (*Ex.* 22:18, *Lv.* 20:27, *1 Sm.* 28:3), adultery (*Lv.* 20:10; *Dt.* 22:20–24; *Ez.* 16:38–41, 23:45–49), and violation of the Sabbath (*Ex.* 31:14–15, 35:2; *Nm.* 15:32–36), which in modern secular societies are either private torts or nonactionable, were in the Bible considered serious public offenses or crimes.

There are no special Hebrew terms for *crime* and *criminal;* the same words, *sin, transgress,* and so forth, are used to describe both human offenses against other people and those against God. Religious and secular concerns are commingled, and most of the extant criminal laws are presented as God's own pronouncements. In this sense, all crimes are offenses against God. But one cannot assert that all sins are crimes. God may punish all sins, but the term *crime* is here reserved to describe only those public offenses that were punished by Israelite (i.e., human) society.

CRIMES AGAINST KING, PARENTS, AND CIVIL AUTHORITIES. The biblical narratives relate that the death penalty was meted out by the king for treason (*1 Sm.* 22:13–19; *1 Kgs.* 1:50–53, 2:23–24), regicide (*2 Sm.* 1:14–16, 4:9–12; *2 Kgs.* 14:5–6), cursing God or king (*2 Sm.* 19:21–23; *1 Kgs.* 2:46, 21:9–16; cf. *Ex.* 22:28, *Lv.* 24:10–16), "treasonous" prophecy against the state (*Jer.* 26:8–24, *2 Chr.* 24:19–21), and witchcraft (*1 Sm.* 28:9–10). These executions were carried out by the king's men; at other times, by mass actions such as stoning, preceded by a public trial. "Treasonous" prophecy was sometimes treated as a minor crime, punished by imprisonment, beating, or exile (*1 Kgs.* 22:13–27; *Jer.* 20:2, 32:2–3; *Am.* 7:9–13).

There was a stated duty to obey both parental and civil authority. The death penalty was prescribed for those who rebelled against the courts (*Dt.* 17:8–13) as well as against the ruler (*Jos.* 1:18). There are similar provisions for striking a parent (*Ex.* 21:15), cursing a parent (*Ex.* 21:17, *Lv.* 20:9), or rebelling against parental commands (*Dt.* 21:18–21).

SEXUAL OFFENSES. The death penalty was also prescribed for a variety of sexual offenses: adultery (in addition to the references cited above, see *Gn.* 20:3, 38:24; *Dt.* 22:22–24), sexual relations of a man with his father's or son's wife (*Lv.* 20:11–12) or with his mother or daughter (*Lv.* 20:14), rape of a married or even a betrothed woman (*Dt.* 22:25–27), bestiality (*Ex.* 22:19, *Lv.* 20:15–16), male homosexuality (*Lv.* 20:13), and prostitution engaged in by the daughter of a priest (*Lv.* 21:9).

IDOLATRY. The biblical laws reflect the long conflict with idolatry and polytheism that came to a climax at the end of the monarchy. The death penalty is prescribed for a variety of idolatrous acts (*Lv.* 20:2–5, *Dt.* 17:2–7) as well as for promoting idolatry to others (*Dt.* 13:1–5, 13:6–11, 18:20–22;

cf. the general slaughter of idolaters in *Exodus* 32:27). *Deuteronomy* 13:12–18 assigns the death penalty to an entire city and its livestock; all other possessions and goods were considered *ḥerem*, that is, to be dedicated to God and burned by fire (cf. *Ex.* 22:20).

Homicide and Manslaughter. The biblical response to homicide hovers between the spheres of private and public law. The relatives and allies of the victim retained the right to take action; society allowed them to slay the offender or to accept monetary compensation for the death of kin. Their choice of action, however, depended upon whether death was due to negligent homicide, involuntary manslaughter, or murder; the free or unfree status of the victim was also a factor to be considered. The negligent owner of the ox that fatally gored a person (*Ex.* 21:28–32) only owed compensation for a dead slave but was subject to the death penalty if the victim was a free man. The owner, however, was allowed to negotiate compensation in that case, too; but the ox was put to death in either case. A man who committed involuntary manslaughter could rightfully be slain by the relatives of the victim; but the civil authorities could intervene to grant the manslayer asylum (a form of exile) in a "city of refuge" (*Ex.* 21:12–13, *Nm.* 35:1–34, *Dt.* 19:1–13). The normal penalty for murder was death (*Gn.* 9:6, *Ex.* 21:14). In most cases, vengeance was taken by kin or allies of the victim (*Gn.* 4:11–15, *2 Sm.* 14:4–11; cf. the case of wrongful vengeance, *2 Sm.* 3:26–30, *1 Kgs.* 2:5–6). Public outrage could sometimes boil over into community action against the slayer (*Ex.* 21:14; *Dt.* 19:11–12; Jgs. 20:12–13; *Ez.* 16:38–41, 23:45–49).

The giving of compensation in cases of murder is strongly condemned in *Leviticus* 24:21 and *Numbers* 35:31–34 (cf. *Lv.* 24:18), because biblical law generally considers murder a public, not private, offense. Glimpses of that practice, however, may be seen in *2 Samuel* 21:1–4 and *1 Kings* 20:39. There is evidence that compensation was given for a number of other offenses where the death penalty was prescribed. Compensation for adultery is suggested in *Proverbs* 6:30–35 (in *Leviticus* 19:20–22 the slave status of the female obviates punishment). Compensation replaces the death penalty for breaking a solemn oath in *1 Samuel* 14:24–46 but not in *Judges* 11:30–40. One may also note the institution of *ʿerekh* ("monetary equivalents"), which could be offered in place of a dedicated object, including persons (*Lv.* 27:1–33), except in the case of *ḥerem* (*Lv.* 27:29). *ʿErekh* is offered in order to redeem potential victims of exile or death in *2 Kings* 23:35.

Theft. Even more than the response to homicide, the responses to theft hover between public and private law. Kidnapping and sale of a person was punished by death (*Ex.* 21:16, *Dt.* 24:7), but the theft of animals was settled by compensation (MT *Ex.* 21:37, 22:3). There are, nevertheless, hints of capital punishment in the outbursts of King David in *2 Samuel* 12:5–6 (cf. *1 Sm.* 26:16) and of Jacob in *Genesis* 31:32. A thief caught stealing during the day was not to be killed, but a thief caught in the night could be slain without penalty (*Ex.* 22:2). This same distinction, between daytime and nocturnal theft, also appears in the Babylonian laws from Eshnunna (modern-day Tell Asmar, Iraq; sections 12–13). The taking of property belonging to God (*ḥerem*) was punished by death (*Jos.* 7:1, 7:18–26).

Multiple Penalties. One encounters the actual commingling of private and public concerns in cases where a criminal penalty was imposed in addition to the payment of compensation. The man who brought a false charge of adultery against his betrothed wife was punished on two levels: The father of the woman received monetary compensation, and the man was beaten (*Dt.* 22:13–19). Beating could apparently also be added, as a criminal penalty, to the settlements reached in civil or private disputes (*Dt.* 25:1–3).

Talion. Battery, as noted above, was normally a private offense. But battery became a criminal or public matter if it caused serious, permanent injury or death (*Ex.* 21:20–23). The criminal penalties varied according to the injuries sustained; one finds repeated expression of this principle of *lex talionis* (*Ex.* 21:23–25, *Lv.* 24:19–20; for false accusation, see *Dt.* 19:15–21). The harshness of the talionic rules has led some interpreters, both ancient and modern, to question their literal application, especially in noncapital cases. One could compare the offering of compensation in place of the death penalty for homicide, discussed above. Yet there are instances where talion was literally imposed: the cutting off of thumbs and toes in *Judges* 1:6 and mutilation for battery leading to serious injury in *Deuteronomy* 25:11 (there is no exact talionic parity between male and female in this case).

There is some textual evidence that the harsher practices of earlier times were gradually modified or eased in later times. This is reflected, for example, in the discontinuation of the practice of assigning collective guilt for crimes committed by one individual (*Dt.* 24:16, *2 Kgs.* 14:5–6; cf. *2 Sm.* 21:1–9, *2 Kgs.* 9:24–26). Similarly, for the change in the treatment of the corpses of the executed, one may contrast *2 Samuel* 21:9–14 with *Deuteronomy* 21:22–23.

Criminal Law and Sacred Law. Divine as well as human punishment was expected for some criminal offenses, such as cursing a parent (*Dt.* 27:16), bestiality (*Dt.* 27:21), sexual relations of a man with his son's or father's wife (*Dt.* 27:20, 27:23), Sabbath violation (*Ex.* 31:14). These mark points of overlap between criminal and sacred law. Sacred law involved God and human, and it transcended the human agencies of court, judge, and so forth. It has been noted that the Decalogue (*Ex.* 20:2–17, *Dt.* 5:6–21) addresses areas of concern that are also treated in the criminal laws; similarly, *Leviticus* 18:8–23 promises divine punishment for offenses that are given societal penalties in *Leviticus* 20:10–21. (Jewish commentators of late antiquity came to consider offenses lacking societal penalty to be a category of lesser crime, punishable by beating; see Mishnah *Makkot* 3.1–10 and Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, Sanhedrin 18–19.)

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SAMUEL GREENGUS (1987)
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ISRAELITE LAW: STATE AND JUDICIARY LAW

In ancient Israel, laws were regarded as divinely ordained. The upholding of the laws, therefore, devolved upon the state, the religious establishment, and the people. Although the state could, presumably, impose sanctions for breaches of law, most cases were decided on the local level, and punishment was executed by the people as a whole (as in stoning), by the family of the victim (as in cases of murder), and by God.

JURISDICTION. There were several different strands of jurisdiction and authority in ancient Israelite law. Priests were in charge of religious matters, which included the important determination of secular and profane, pure and defiled (*Lv.* 10:10, *Ez.* 44:23; cf. *Dt.* 33:10). They oversaw the expiation of those misdeeds that could be expiated (*Lv.* 5:1–13; see below); they were involved in the trial of false witnesses; and they were members of the superior court envisioned in *Deuteronomy* (*Dt.* 17:8–13) and in the judicial reform under Jehoshaphat (*2 Chr.* 19:11). Alongside this priestly jurisdiction was a secular legal system that included the elders of the towns, the king, and judges and their officers.

Trials were usually held in the villages before the local elders. The typical procedure for such trials has been reconstructed by Donald A. McKenzie (1964). The adversaries would come before the elders (normally at the town gate) to lay out their case. The elders would take their seats; the defendant would be given a prominent place (*1 Kgs.* 21:9) with the plaintiff on his right (*Zec.* 3:1). The witnesses would be sitting and later would rise to bear testimony; if the case were very important, citizens would be summoned to attend (*1 Kgs.* 21:9). The plaintiff would state his case; then the defendant would state his, after which the witnesses would rise to bear witness (*Dt.* 19:16. *Ps.* 35:11). The elders would discuss the matter and rise to give their verdict (*Ps.* 3:8, 35:2), declaring the defendant innocent or guilty. In the case of a guilty verdict, they would then oversee an immediate punishment. The informality of such procedures is indicated in chapter 4 of *Ruth,* in which Boaz waits at the gate for his kinsman and then convenes a court with what seems to be a random ten of the elders of the town.

Alongside this local system was the jurisdiction of the kings. There is a strong tradition, shared by Israel and Mesopotamia, that the kings were responsible for upholding justice. The kings of Israel, however, were not lawgivers, for Israel's laws were held to come directly from God. They were, however, responsible for judging fairly, for seeing that justice was done, and for upholding the cause of the powerless. From the revelation of the Law, biblical narrative depicts Israel's leaders as arbiters of justice: Moses is seen as a judge (*Ex.* 18:13); the charismatic leaders of the premonarchical period (the "Judges") are said to have judged Israel; Samuel rode a justice circuit (*1 Sm.* 7:15–16); and both David and Solomon are shown making judicial decisions (*2 Sm.* 15:2, *1 Kgs.* 3:16–28). However, there is no instance in which a case was referred from the elders to the king, nor is there any case in which a king overrode the decision of a local court. The royal system seems to have operated separately and may have been open to any citizen.

The stories of the decisions of the king, moreover, do not show formal trials. In the two phony disputes that David "decided," the parables of Nathan (*2 Sm.* 12:1–6) and of the wise woman of Tekoa (*2 Sm.* 14:4–7), only one party is heard—an outsider (Nathan) or a pleader. Similarly, when the woman whose son Elisha had restored to life comes before the king to reclaim her lands, nothing is heard of or from whoever is presently working those lands (*2 Kgs.* 8:1–6). The impression one gets from these stories is that individuals would come to plead their case before the king in order to convince him—without formal process—and thus have the king become their advocate. It is in this sense that Absalom tells the Israelites coming to David for justice that they will find no "hearer" from the king (*2 Sm.* 15:2–6), that is, that the king will not grant them a sympathetic audience and act on their requests. Similarly, Josiah is said to have judged the case of the poor (*Jer.* 22:15–16). The only known case in which the king heard from both litigants is that of the two prostitutes before Solomon (*1 Kgs.* 3:16–28). The kings do not appear to have instituted trials at which they would preside. Even in the case of Naboth, where the charge was treason (cursing the king), Jezebel and Ahab did not preside: Jezebel went through the regular channels of the elders and nobles of the city in order to have Naboth convicted (by perjured testimony) (*1 Kgs.* 21:8–14).

At some time during the monarchy, most probably under Jehoshaphat, the system of trial by elders or by king was either augmented or superseded by the appointment of judges and their executives throughout the land and by the establishment of a superior court in Jerusalem to which the local elders and judges could bring cases that they could not decide. In the organization of the judiciary under Jehoshaphat (*2 Chr.* 19:5–11), the superior court had a dual composition: Matters relating to God were referred to the priest in charge, Amariah; the "king's matters," to Zebadiah. This system of installing royally appointed judges throughout the land, as well as a superior court to which they could refer, is also envisioned in *Deuteronomy* (*Dt.* 16:18–9, 17:8–13).

DECISION MAKING. Israelite trials were based on an accusatorial system in which the plaintiff bore testimony against the defendant. In effect, there was no difference between an accuser and a witness. This system is inherently vulnerable to the subverting of justice by false witnesses. Two mechanisms act to minimize this danger: the requirement of two (male, free, Israelite) witnesses for conviction and the institution of retributive punishment for bearing false witness or making a false accusation. *Deuteronomy* 19:15–21, as the laws of Hammurabi in Mesopotamia, requires the false witness or accuser to receive the punishment that the accused would receive if convicted: payment of equivalent damages if the case was pecuniary, and forfeiture of life if the case was capital. This provision is a change from the Sumerian system, which prescribed a fine for false witnesses, but is similar to the laws of Hammurabi. These precautions were not entirely sufficient; they did not prevent Jezebel from finding two witnesses willing to commit perjury (*1 Kgs.* 21:10), nor the two elders in Susanna from perjuring themselves; the Pharisaic insistence on intense cross-examination of witnesses in capital cases was meant to increase the safeguards against false conviction by means of witnesses.

In the absence of two witnesses, the courts did not have the authority to decide a case. This is the reason for the indictment of someone who hears the *alah* (here a judicial curse meant to call out witnesses) but does not speak up (*Lv.* 5:1). Certain cases could not be left undecided, and recourse would be had to divine intervention, either through divination, an oracle, or an oath procedure. Two types of divination used in Israel were lots and the Urim and Tummim. Lots could be used to determine whether an accused person was guilty, as in the case of finding the culprit who took booty from Jericho (*Jos.* 7:14–15). They would not be sufficient to convict; for after Achan was selected by the lots, his tent was searched, and even after the goods were found, he was asked to confess (*Jos.* 7:22–25). The Urim and Tummim were in the hands of the priests and also functioned to determine whether an accused were guilty (*1 Sm.* 14:38–42). Neither method of divination is heard of after the full establishment of the monarchy. Solomon's willingness to decide the case of the two prostitutes (in which there were no witnesses) may be an indication that the monarchy now considered itself strong enough not to need divine legitimation for its decisions; the recorded feeling of the people was that "the wisdom of God was in him to do judgment" (*1 Kgs.* 3:28).

Decision by oracle is heard of in such cases as blasphemy (*Lv.* 24:12) and Sabbath offenses (*Nm.* 15:34); the accused would be put under guard until a divine decision was heard. Such matters may have continued to be decided by divine oracle even under the monarchy, for *2 Chronicles* records that people might come to the superior court for the argument of a case or for God's judgment (*2 Chr.* 19:8).

God could also be involved in the judicial process by means of an exculpatory oath by the accused, in which the accused placed himself under God's jurisdiction in affirming his innocence (*Ex.* 22:7–10, *Lv.* 5:20); the court would believe him under the supposition that he would not risk divine retribution for commiting a falsehood. A particularly solemn form of exculpatory oath is the procedure for the suspected adulteress (*Soṭah*): The woman accused by her husband stood "before the Lord" and drank a potion that contained dust from the sanctuary and the dissolved words of the oath in which she affirmed her innocence and her belief that the waters would not harm her if she was innocent but would cause infertility if she was guilty (*Nm.* 5:11–31). After drinking the potion, the woman was free to go and would "bear her penalty" (that is, she would await divine retribution). If she was guilty, "her belly shall distend and her thigh shall fall," which may indicate a prolapsed uterus and certainly indicates future infertility. If she was innocent, she would ultimately be totally vindicated by becoming pregnant, and her husband would not be penalized for making a false accusation. Although this procedure is sometimes called an ordeal, it differs from true ordeals in two ways: (1) no divine decision is immediately apparent and (2) God himself rather than the human court is expected to punish the woman.

EXECUTION OF THE DECISION. There are several different kinds of penalties. Fines might be exemplary, multiple payments such as the repayment of double, fourfold, or fivefold damages for theft (*Ex.* 22:1–4). Or, specific penalties could be prescribed, such as the guilt offering (*asham*) of a ram imposed for violating a slave woman designated to marry (*Lv.* 19:20–21) or the payment of the standard bride-price to the father of a deflowered virgin (*Ex.* 22:16–17). In certain cases the amount of the penalty is determined by the family of the injured party. Thus, after an ox had gored someone to death, its owner was to pay whatever was demanded of him in order to ransom his own life (*Ex.* 21:30), and after having caused a woman to miscarry, one was to pay whatever the woman's husband and the judge decided (*Ex.* 21:22).

There is little corporal punishment in the Bible. The most common instance of it is scourging, or flogging, limited by law to forty lashes (*Dt.* 25:1–3). A woman who touched a man's genitals while protecting her husband in a fight could have her hand cut off (*Dt.* 25:11–12). This was the only specific mutilation prescribed in the Bible, in contrast to Babylonian and Assyrian law (e.g., Laws of Hammurabi 192, 193, 194, 205, 218, 282; Middle Assyrian Laws 4, 5, 8, 9, 15, 18, 20, 44, 52).

A question is raised by the law of talion (*lex talionis*) that requires equal retaliation in cases of assault and battery (*Lv.* 24:19–21). Given the lack of mutilation practiced in Israel, it has been suggested that talion is a statement of judicial principle rather than a concrete description of practice and that the actual penalty was the payment of compensation money computed by talionic principles. This is almost certainly the case with the other two statements of the talionic principle in the Bible, the accidental injury to a pregnant woman (*Ex.* 21:23–25) and the penalty for false witnesses (*Dt.* 19:19–21): If there were no judicial penalties of mutilation, then the mention of talionic mutilations must have been a judicial maxim to express the principles of equivalent retaliation. Equivalent retaliation stopped with the accused. In Mesopotamia the child or wife of a perpetrator could be punished for a misdeed against the child or wife of the injured party. In Israel this was not allowed (*Ex.* 21:31, *Dt.* 24:16), although a belief that God would punish and reward the children (*Ex.* 20:5) was held until the days of Jeremiah and Ezekiel (*Jer.* 31:30, *Ez.* 18).

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT. Death by burning is prescribed for two sexual offenses (*Lv.* 20:14, 21:9, cf. *Gen.* 38:24). Death by the sword is prescribed for an idolatrous city (*Dt.* 13:15; cf. *1 Kgs.* 18:40, *2 Kgs.* 23:30). The most common penalty mentioned in capital cases is stoning. The stoning was to be held before the judges; the witnesses cast the first stone, followed by the rest of the people (*Dt.* 17:7), who were thus collectively acting to rid themselves of the guilt of the misdeed. There is a difference of opinion as to whether stoning was in fact the common mode of execution (Phillips, 1970), or whether it is specifically mentioned only for those cases in which it was used, cases in which there had been a major offense against the hierarchical order of the universe (J. J. Finkelstein, 1981; Tikva Frymer-Kensky, 1983).

In cases of murder, the agent of execution was the "blood redeemer" (*go'el ha-dam*), who was obligated to avenge the murdered party. He was to chase the culprit, who could escape to one of the cities of refuge, set up to be places where a person who had accidentally killed someone could go for a trial. If the person was found to be an intentional murderer, he was handed over to the blood redeemer; if found to be an accidental murderer, he stayed in the city of refuge (a kind of quarantine) until the death of the priest. If he left before that, the blood redeemer was charged with executing him. The reason for this law is explicit: The blood of the slain pollutes the Land of Israel; thus accepting money as restitution for murder or even allowing an accidental murderer to leave the city of refuge would pollute the Land of Israel (*Nm.* 35:9–34, *Dt.* 19:1–12). The blood redeemer is normally taken to mean the closest male relative of the slain, whose job it would be to protect the family. Anthony Phillips (1970), however, has argued that the blood redeemer was, on the contrary, the appointed representative of the local court, whose job it was to carry out the court's instructions.

EXPIATION. Despite the fact that Israel's law had a fundamentally religious base, there was little expiation in the legal system. Someone who ignored the charge for witnesses and did not come forth, who swore a false oath, or who touched impurity might bring a conscience sacrifice, the *asham* (*Lv.* 5:1–13, traditionally translated as "guilt offering"). In the case of the discovery of a murdered corpse when the murderer cannot be found, the elders of the city were to perform the ritual of the heifer whose neck is broken, attesting to their lack of culpability, averting the blood pollution of their land, and expiating the failure of the legal system (*Dt.* 21:1–9).

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TIKVA FRYMER-KENSKY (1987)
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ISRAELITE RELIGION. In 1979 two silver amulets dating to the late seventh to sixth centuries BCE were discovered in a burial cave in Ketef Hinnom, outside of Jerusalem. The smaller of these amulets reads: "Blessed be [he or she] by Yahweh, the helper and dispeller of evil. May Yahweh bless you (and) protect you, and may he cause his face to shine upon you and grant you peace." The larger amulet mentions "the covenant" and Yahweh's "graciousness to those who love him," refers to Yahweh as "our restorer," and concludes with the benediction: "May Yahweh bless you and protect you, may he cause his face to shine. . . ." This blessing is a slight variant of the priestly benediction in *Numbers* 6:22.

These two amulets, worn by the deceased, provide an entry into a number of aspects of ancient Israelite religion. They show the interplay between family religion and state religion, linking domestic burial practice with the religion of the Jerusalem Temple, where priests recited the priestly benediction during the sacrificial rites; they show how domestic religion placed Yahweh in the protective role of helper and dispeller of evil; they show the importance of the covenant to individual Israelites; and they suggest that the dead too belong to Yahweh's covenant and require Yahweh's protection. Some of these ideas were rejected by various biblical writers, particularly the aspects linked to magic and the cult of the dead. Nonetheless, the amulets provide a countervoice, testifying to authentic Israelite belief and practice in the late preexilic era. They provide a perspective onto the complex weave of Israelite religion, involving the nature of God, the relationship between God and humans, the functions of the covenant, the Temple, and sacrifice, the varieties of religious practice and belief, and the status of sacred texts. Each of these topics was subject to controversy, negotiation, and reinterpretation during the course of Israelite history.

God and the Gods. Yahweh (יהוה) is the proper name of the God of ancient Israel. He is also called El, literally "God," and Elohim, also meaning "God," although the latter was originally a plural noun meaning "gods, pantheon." By a remarkable act of theological reduction, the complex divine hierarchy of prior polytheistic religion was transformed into the authority of a sole high god. However, Yahweh was not the only god in Israelite religion. Like a king in his court, Yahweh was served by lesser deities, variously called "the Sons of God," "the Host of Heaven," and similar titles. This host (the word also means "army") sometimes fought battles of holy war (cf. the battle of Jericho, where Joshua meets the divine "captain of Yahweh's army"; *Jo.* 5:13–15) and were also represented as stars (*Jgs.* 5:20: "the stars fought from heaven;" also *Jb.* 38:7). These lesser deities attend Yahweh in heaven, as in the prophet Micaiah's vision: "I saw Yahweh seated on his throne with all the Host of Heaven standing beside him, to his right and left" (*1 Kgs.* 22:19). At times they are also equated with the gods of other nations: "He established the boundaries of the nations according to the number of the Sons of God" (*Dt.* 32:8 with Qumran and the Septuagint; similarly, *Dt.* 4:19). A third category of divine beings (after Yahweh and the Sons of God) consisted of messenger gods, called angels. The angels carry Yahweh's messages to earth, as illustrated by Jacob's dream vision of the angels ascending and descending the celestial staircase that links heaven and earth (*Gn.* 28:12). In late biblical books, the Sons of God and the angels merge into a single category and proliferate: In Daniel's vision of the heavenly court, "thousands upon thousands serve him" (*Dn.* 7:10).

The tripartite hierarchy of the divine world—Yahweh, the Sons of God or Heavenly Host, and the angels—derives from the earlier structure of Canaanite religion. According to the texts from Ugarit (c. 1200 BCE) and other Canaanite sources, the high god of the Canaanite pantheon was El, whose wife, the mother of the gods, was Asherah. The other gods of the pantheon are collectively called the Children of El and are subservient to El's authority, although some—particularly Baal, Anat, Astarte, and Resheph—are prominent deities. A third category consists of servants and messenger gods. This hierarchy is structurally equivalent to that of Israelite religion, with some striking differences. On the level of high god, El seems to have merged with Yahweh, who absorbs El's name and has many of his attributes. Asherah in Israelite religion becomes the name of a sacred pole or tree in local Yahwistic shrines, although there are hints in some texts that she was worshiped as a goddess in some times and places. The second tier of deities, the Children of El *(bn ʾil),* have the same title in Israelite religion (Sons of God; *bene ʾel* or *bene haʾelohim),* but in Israelite religion have been demoted into relatively powerless beings. Resheph, for example, rather than an independent god of war and disease, seems to become a personification of disease, accompanying Yahweh's awesome march into battle (*Hb.* 3:5). Yahweh replaces or absorbs the functions of all of the active gods of the pantheon, hence like El, he is the beneficent patriarch and judge; like Baal, he is the divine warrior; and like Asherah and her daughters, he dispenses "blessings of breast and womb" (*Gn.* 49:25). Israelite religion, like Israel's language and culture, is a child of the Canaanite or West Semitic world.

One of the distinctive features of Israelite religion is the absence of a wife or consort for Yahweh. Yahweh is a male god, but he is not depicted as a sexual being. It is possible, although far from certain, that some local traditions may have rectified this situation. Several inscriptions from the eighth century invoke blessings "by Yahweh and his asherah." The grammar of these invocations most likely indicates that "his asherah" refers to a sacred pole or tree rather than a goddess, because a proper name cannot have a possessive suffix, and sacred poles or trees called asherahs are mentioned in the Bible as features of local shrines. However, Asherah is El's wife in Canaanite religion, and she might be Yahweh's wife in these local cults, perhaps represented by the sacred pole or tree. In several instances in the Bible, the name Asherah clearly refers to a goddess: According to the *Book of Kings,* King Asa's mother made a statue of Asherah, which King Asa destroyed (*1 Kgs.* 15:13); 400 prophets of Asherah were supported by Queen Jezebel (*1 Kgs.* 18:19; lacking in the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures); and a statue of Asherah was placed in the Jerusalem Temple by King Manasseh and later destroyed by King Josiah (*2 Kgs.* 21:7; 23:6). Whether these statements are historically accurate or whether in some cases they are false accusations against "wicked" royalty (like Jezebel and Manasseh), they nonetheless clearly attest that Asherah could be understood as the name of a goddess. The symbolism of the sacred pole or tree called the asherah or asherim (the plural form is masculine in gender) remains suggestive but obscure. It may be a depersonalization of Asherah into a religious symbol of Yahweh worship, perhaps representing an attribute of Yahweh's divinity such as fertility or abundance (in the metonymy of the tree); it may signify that the goddess Asherah was worshiped alongside Yahweh; or perhaps more likely, the sacred pole or tree was subject to differing interpretations, with a floating symbolic register.

Early biblical texts seem to acknowledge that gods of other nations exist (*Dt.* 32:8). The nations each have their own god, but Yahweh is Israel's god. This seems to be the earliest sense of the first commandment, "You shall have no other gods beside me" (*Ex.* 20:3). Yahweh is Israel's high god, who delivered his people from slavery and oppression, and therefore he is entitled to Israel's worship and loyalty. Moreover, Yahweh is superior to the other gods, as proclaimed in the early hymn, the Song of the Sea: "Who is like you among the gods, O Yahweh? Who is like you, glorious in holiness, awesome in praise, working wonders?" (*Ex.* 15:11). Other national gods exist, but Yahweh is Israel's god and he is the greatest god. The worship of Yahweh functions as a unifying agent of Israelite culture and religion. This type of worship is sometimes called monolotry (the worship of one god without denying the existence of others) or henotheism (belief in one god without denying the existence of others). A more thoroughgoing monotheism, which denies the existence of other gods, is a product of the prophetic and Deuteronomistic critique during the eighth through the sixth centuries BCE.

In addition to the major categories of divine beings, the human dead are also referred to as gods. When King Saul has a sorceress summon the ghost of the prophet Samuel, she calls the ghost an Elohim (*1 Sm.* 28:13). Elsewhere the shades of the dead are called gods (*Is.* 8:19) and "holy ones" (*Ps.* 16:3). Although divination by consulting the shades of the dead is prohibited in *Deuteronomy* 18:11, it may have been a fairly common local practice. Statues called teraphim were also used for divination (*Ez.* 21:26; *Zec.* 10:2) and are once referred to as gods (*Gn.* 31:30). These were probably statues of dead ancestors who bestowed blessings on their descendants and could be invoked for divination. These practices indicate that the dead were not connected to the world of the gods as full-fledged deities, but as shadowy intermediaries between the world of the living and the divine realm. The world of the dead was the subterranean Sheol, not in heaven where Yahweh and his divine entourage dwelled, but somehow their shadowy existence was in some respects divine and included godlike foresight into the future.

On a different level the human king functioned as a quasidivine intermediary between the divine and human realms. The king is at times referred to as the son of God (*Ps.* 2:7; 2 *Sm.* 7:14) and the firstborn of God (*Ps.* 89:28), and in one text the king seems to be addressed as Elohim (*Ps.* 45:7). The language of divine kinship in these texts indicates that God adopts the reigning king as his earthly son, which corresponds to the king's role as God's chosen representative or intermediary on earth. As portrayed in the royal psalms, the king is the earthly guarantor of cosmic order, defeating the enemies—both human and cosmic—and establishing harmony and peace. The king partakes of the divine through the sacral office of kingship, which ideally ensures "abundant authority and peace without end" (*Is.* 9:6). In the Second Temple period (536 BCE–70 CE), in the absence of a reigning king, the concept of the king as a quasidivine intermediary stimulated the expectation of a royal messiah, the future Davidic king, hedged with divinity, who will defeat chaos once and for all.

HUMANS AND GOD. Aside from the special status of the king, humans have varying kinds of relationship with God. In the priestly creation account of *Genesis* 1, God creates humans "in the image of God," a phrase that suggests a democratization of the king's status. As God's earthly image, humans are collectively to rule the earth and all of its creatures (*Gn.* 1:26–28). Humans—including male and female—are god-like mediators between God and the world. To be created in "the image of God" also implies a spiritual, moral, or intellectual component that transcends ordinary creaturely existence. Humans are more than animals but less than gods, and they are the pinnacle of creation (see also *Ps.* 8:4–9). A less exalted status is given to humans in the Yahwistic (denoted as J) creation myth in the Garden of Eden (*Gn.* 2:4–3:24). There the first human is created as a laborer, "to work and protect" the garden (*Gn.* 2:15). This status is similar to that in older Mesopotamian creation myths, in which humans are created to be the laborers of the gods. In the course of the Garden of Eden story, the humans become "like gods, knowing good and evil" (*Gn.* 3:5, 22), gaining a god-like aspect comparable to the lofty status of humans in *Genesis* 1. In this story the desire to be god-like leads to higher knowledge and self-awareness, but also leads to pain, suffering, hard agricultural subsistence, and consciousness of death, that is, the ordinary fare of human existence. Unlike the original situation in paradise, the human world is limited by pain and mortality, but it is also enriched by a god-like knowledge of good and evil. This divine quality includes moral discernment of good and evil and, through the semantic range of the verb "to know," sexual maturity ("they knew that they were naked," *Gn.* 3:7; "the man knew his wife, Eve," *Gn.* 4:1). Human existence contrasts with the perfection of paradise or divine existence, yet humans have some degree of divinity, or likeness to divinity.

Humans, however, also have a propensity toward evil. This flaw gives rise to various problems and solutions. In *Genesis* 6, God responds to the collective problem of human evil by sending the flood. In both versions of the flood story (the Yahwistic and priestly versions, edited together in *Gn.* 6–9), God saves the sole righteous man and begins a new era of human existence. This new era, according to the Priestly version, is distinguished by the first laws and covenant (*Gn.* 9:1–17), establishing clear limits to human violence, particularly the slaughter of animals and murder. The Noachic covenant and its laws, which apply to all earthly creatures, are a first step toward the great promulgation of laws and covenant to Israel at Mount Sinai. In the Yahwistic version of the flood, human evil is not decisively controlled, rather Yahweh resigns himself to the persistence of human evil, promising that despite their corrupt nature he will never again destroy humans (*Gn.* 8:21). In the Yahwistic narrative the problem of evil is relieved by Yahweh's compassion for humans, and later by his election of Abraham, who will teach justice and righteousness to his children, and through whom all the earth's peoples will be blessed (*Gn.* 12:1–4; 18:19).

The human propensity for evil creates the need for religion, which, through its stories, rites, and laws, teaches morality, regulates behavior, and restores a beneficial relationship with God and the cosmos. People—including Israelites and foreigners—can choose to disobey the religious norms, in which case God will send destruction (e.g., Sodom and Gomorrah). But there remains a mutuality of interest in the continuance of human existence: God desires justice and morality, and from Israel he also desires worship, and in return he grants his blessing. God and humans are linked in a relationship of mutual benefit, regulated by a divinely sanctioned cosmic order. In situations in which this cosmic order has been disrupted or destroyed, God's relationship with Israel, or with humans generally, becomes a critical problem.

FAMILY RELIGION AND STATE RELIGION. The worship of God took different forms in various social contexts in ancient Israel. The most notable distinction is between family religion and state religion. In the domestic domain of family religion, portrayed most directly in the patriarchal narratives, Yahweh is the "god of the father" who provides blessings of offspring, abundance, healing, and protection for members of a household or lineage. The worship of the "god of the father" and the reverence for the lineage ancestors were complementary features of family religion. Problems of infertility (e.g., Sarah, Rebekah, Rachel), marriage (e.g., Isaac, Jacob), inheritance (e.g., Ishmael and Isaac, Jacob and Esau), family strife (e.g., Jacob and Laban, Joseph and his brothers), and famine (e.g., Abraham, Isaac, Jacob) are occasions when family religion becomes prominent in these stories and in Israelite domestic life.

Archaeological excavations shed additional light on family religion. Many Israelite houses had domestic shrines featuring incense altars and cultic stands, where incense and food offerings were made, probably accompanied by prayers and vows. Also common in these domestic shrines were bowls of sheep or goat knuckles, which were used for divination, and clay figurines (including females with prominent breasts, horses with male riders, birds, and rattles), whose function is unknown. These clay objects presumably figured in family religion, although it is unclear whether they were deities, ancestors, the worshiper, or had other functions or uses. Ethnographic parallels indicate that such inexpensive figurines could be used in a variety of ways: as religious icons, decorations, or even toys. It is possible that the female figurines represented major or minor goddesses in Israelite religion. A variety of other religious practices were at home in family religion, including memorial offerings to the dead (*Ps.* 16:3–4; *Dt.* 26:14), divination by means of statues of the ancestors, and protective magic (cf. the mortuary amulets from Ketef Hinnom and the biblical references to male and female sorcerers).

The worship of gods other than Yahweh is occasionally attested in domestic contexts in the biblical text, such as the family worship of the Queen of Heaven (probably a local form of Ishtar or Astarte; *Jer.* 7:17–18; 44:15–25); women planting ritual gardens and mourning for Adonis, Tammuz, or Baal (*Is.* 17:10–11; *Ez.* 8:14; *Zec.* 12:11); and the offering of incense to the Host of Heaven on rooftops *(Jer.* 19:13; *Zep.* 1:5). The latter, at least, is the worship of Yahweh's heavenly entourage. It is possible that family religion also included a ritual of passing children through fire as a rite of initiation or redemption, perhaps called a *molech* offering (or *mulk)* or an offering to the god Molech (e.g., *Dt.* 18:10; 2 *Kgs.* 23:10). This may have been a symbolic attenuation of an older rite of child sacrifice. Many of the practices of family religion were deplored by various biblical writers (e.g., *Dt.* 18:9–11), and they were officially anathematized by King Josiah (2 *Kgs.* 23).

State religion was rooted in the public structures of political authority and descends from the prestate tribal religion. In the early period, tribal and pan-tribal identity was activated most directly during pilgrimage festivals and military crises. For example, the Song of Deborah (*Jgs.* 5) describes the call of the tribes to war (not all of them come) and depicts Yahweh as the mighty divine warrior and savior of the tribal confederation. The Song of the Sea (*Ex.* 15), perhaps recited at tribal festivals, describes Yahweh as the mighty warrior and national savior in his triumph over Pharaoh's army at the Exodus and his delivery of his people to the Promised Land. Jerusalem became the royal capital and the center of the state religion for the southern kingdom of Judah, whereas Dan and Bethel were the official state shrines for the northern kingdom of Israel. State religion regulated the system of sacrifices offered at the central shrines, which supported the guild of official priests. The king was the patron of the state religion, which in turn provided the charter for his sacral authority; the king maintained the Temple (or, in the northern kingdom, the official shrines), appointed the chief priests, and at times presided over the sacrificial ceremonies (e.g., *1 Kgs.* 8:62–66). The Jerusalem Temple and the dynasty of Davidic kings were symbolically linked, as illustrated by the proximity and names of the two institutions: the Temple was the House of Yahweh (*bet yhwh*), which stood next to the somewhat larger palace of the royal dynasty, the House of David *(bet david)*. The centralization of worship at the Temple, promulgated by Kings Hezekiah and Josiah, concentrated the sacrificial tribute in Jerusalem and exalted and extended the authority of the royal house.

It is useful to distinguish a third type or level of religious worship, local religion, which mediates between family and state religion. Regional shrines served local families and lineages, functioning as a unifying feature in Israelite society. There is evidence that Yahweh was worshiped in various local manifestations: He was invoked in blessings as "Yahweh of Samaria" and "Yahweh of Teman" in eighth-century inscriptions from Kuntillet ʿAjrud, and Absalom speaks of his vow to "Yahweh in Hebron" (*2 Sm.* 15:7). These local manifestations of Yahweh were no doubt conceived as the same god, but worshiped with local variations and accents. The local shrines—and the local priests who gained their living by the sacrifices offered there—were anathematized by the prophets and *Deuteronomy.* The exhortation "Hear O Israel, Yahweh our God, Yahweh is one" (*Dt.* 6:4) may be a criticism of the multiplicity of Yahwehs worshiped at the local shrines and an affirmation of Yahweh as worshiped in the Jerusalem Temple. In some respects state religion was a version of local religion, because Yahweh in Zion is a local manifestation of Yahweh who becomes the authorized state god, a jealous god inimical to the local cults.

COVENANT AND LAW. Ancient Israel called itself *ʿam yhwh* (the people of Yahweh; *Jgs.* 5:11; *1 Sm.* 2:24; *2 Sm.* 1:12). This term implies a relationship of kinship or fealty between the people and their god. In many biblical texts, particularly from the eighth century BCE and later, this relationship is called a *berit* (covenant, pact; e.g., *Hos.* 6:7; 8:1; *Ex.* 24:7–8). The Priestly source structures its portrayal of history as a sequence of three covenants: the Noachic covenant (*Gn.* 9:8–17), the Abrahamic covenant (*Gn.* 17), and the Mosaic covenant (beginning with *Ex.* 6:1–8). According to this scheme all creatures have a covenant with God (the Noachic covenant), but Israel has a special covenant with God. Only to Israel at the time of Moses does God reveal his true name, Yahweh, which signals his most complete self-revelation (*Ex.* 6:3). The Mosaic covenant consists of rules or stipulations that Israel must abide by, and in return Yahweh will make his sacred presence dwell in the midst of the people in his Tabernacle. Hence the construction of the Tabernacle—a desert image of the Temple—has a prominent place in the account of the covenant at Sinai (*Ex.* 25–40). The covenant is a divine–human bond between Yahweh and Israel and is also an interhuman bond—a system of law, ethics, and ritual practice—that regulates Israelite life.

Preeminent among these laws are the Ten Commandments (*Ex.* 20:1–14; *Dt.* 5:6–18), which crystallize the basic tenets of the covenant. In their present form, the first five commandments are explicitly religious, each referring to Yahweh, and the second five are more explicitly secular and do not refer to Yahweh. In the earlier form of the Ten Commandments, which apparently consisted of ten brief sentences, this twofold division may have more naturally fallen between the fourth commandment ("remember the Sabbath day, to make it holy") and the fifth commandment ("honor your father and mother"). In any case, the sacred and the secular commands are complementary aspects of the covenant, together forming a coherent religio-ethical order. Notably, the Ten Commandments are addressed to the people Israel as a series of exhortations ("You [plural] shall. . . .") and has no explicit penalties. The Commandments are community rules anchored not by penalties but by the authority of Yahweh. This authority is rooted in the memory of his salvific deeds on Israel's behalf: "I am Yahweh your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of slavery" (*Ex.* 20:1). The legal and ethical order of the covenant is guaranteed by the past deeds of Yahweh that created the conditions for Israel's existence. Israel's willing assent to the laws ("all that Yahweh has spoken we will do and obey"; *Ex.* 24:7) is an expression of covenant loyalty to her divine patron.

The effective consequences of the covenant are made explicit in the blessings and curses in *Leviticus* 26 and *Deuteronomy* 27 and 28 (which show some borrowings from the curses in contemporary Assyrian treaties). If Israel obeys the covenantal stipulations, Yahweh will grant Israel his blessings; if Israel disobeys, Yahweh will send curses and destruction. This collective responsibility for Israel's destiny becomes the historiographical key for the Deuteronomist's account of Israelite history in the books of *Deuteronomy* through *Kings.* The destruction of the northern kingdom by Assyria and the southern kingdom by Babylon are due to both kingdoms' disobedience to the covenant, particularly to the first and second commandments (*2 Kgs.* 17:7–23; 23:26–27). The classical prophets' oracles of doom also rest on this covenantal foundation: Because the people have disobeyed the covenant, Yahweh will deliver them to destruction. The preexilic prophets occasionally provide a glimpse of Yahweh's blessings should Israel repent, and this prospect of future blessing becomes a prominent theme in the exilic and postexilic prophets (and in the postexilic expansions of previous books). The conceptual fabric of the covenant is implicit in much prophetic discourse, including in its pointed social criticism, prophecies of doom, and evocations of an ideal order.

TEMPLE AND PSALMS. The local shrines in Israel served as sacred centers where earth and heaven meet and where the worshiper could draw near to Yahweh's presence. The foundation legend of the shrine at Bethel in *Genesis* 28 illustrates the cosmic function of Israelite shrines: Jacob sees "a staircase standing on the earth with its top reaching to heaven" (*Gn.* 28:12) and encounters God. At Bethel Yahweh grants the patriarchal blessing to Jacob and promises to protect him, and Jacob makes a vow: "If I return in peace to my father's house, Yahweh will be my God, and this rock that I set up as a standing stone will be a house of God (*bet ʾelohim*), and of all that you give me, I will give a tenth to you" (*Gn.* 28:21–22). The sacred site of Bethel (lit., "house of God") is a cosmic axis where the human and the divine realms meet, where the ancestor enters into a bond with God, and where his descendants renew this bond. At this holy site the worshipers offer vows, libations, tithes, and sacrifices. As seen in its name, this "house of God" is a place where God dwells on earth, where the worshiper can enter into God's holy presence.

The Temple in Jerusalem partakes of all these aspects of the local shrines and eventually displaced them. As the central shrine of state religion, it had the patronage of the king and was graced (according to *1 Kgs.* 6) with the finest Phoenician workmanship. It was built with Lebanon cedars, elsewhere called "cedars of God" (*Ps.* 80:11; cf. "cedars . . . in the garden of God," *Ez.* 31:8). A divine quality seems to inhere in this wood (the Cedar Forest of Lebanon is described as a divine preserve in the ancient Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh and is considered "the secret abode of the gods"). The Temple is an image of divine paradise, as evoked by the engravings of trees, flowers, and protective cherubim on the cedar panels and gold overlay. Similar to the Garden of Eden, the Temple is a sacred place where God dwells and where ordinary humans cannot enter. (Only priests could enter the Temple's interior, and only the high priest could enter its most holy inner sanctum, and then only once a year on the Day of Atonement.) Unlike the Garden of Eden, the Temple's location was known, and worshipers could approach God's holy presence in the Temple courtyard, and indeed were required to do so. There they would bring sacrifices and hear (or chant) sacred songs.

Many of the poems in the book of *Psalms* are sacred songs about the Temple, some sung in the Temple courts and some by pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem. In the language of these songs, the Temple is on Yahweh's "holy mountain," where worshipers who are pure of hands and heart (i.e., deeds and spirit) can enter into his salvific presence and receive his blessing (*Ps.* 24:3–6). The humble worshiper has only one wish: "to dwell in the House of Yahweh all the days of my life, to see the beauty of Yahweh, and to contemplate [him] in his Temple" (*Ps.* 27:4). This experience of divine presence is available in the sacred space and sacred time of the Temple, where Yahweh once celebrated his victory over chaos (*Ps.* 24:1–2, 7–10). At the Temple, the worshiper joyfully feasts in God's presence, drinks from the "fountain of life," and sees the light of God (*Ps.* 36:9–10). It is an earthly experience of a divine paradise, a place where, for a time, one can return to the perfect existence that humans once had in the Garden of Eden.

Because the Temple was the divinely sanctioned cosmic center, its destruction by the Babylonian army in 586 BCE was a major religious crisis. In the psalms this event is depicted as a reversion to primeval chaos, when evil forces ran riot. Thus *Psalm* 74 invokes "God, my king from of old" to restore the order of creation as he did in primeval times when he defeated the dragons of chaos. In this mythic construal of historical events, the enemy's destruction of the Temple is a temporary victory, because the divine king will once more arise to vanquish the enemy. The tragedy of the present is an interlude between God's victories of the primeval past and the imminent future. This cyclical or periodizing view of history is a key ingredient in the rise of apocalypticism: the expectation that God and his holy allies (angels and one or more messiahs) will soon appear to vanquish evil and suffering. In the new era to come, God will build a new Temple, more glorious than the first (see Ezekiel's angelic tour of the new Temple in *Ezekiel* 40–48), and the rivers of paradise will once more flow from the Temple (*Ez.* 47:1–12).

SACRIFICE. The major ritual action at the Israelite sacred shrines was sacrifice. Usually this involved the killing and offering of an animal from the domestic flocks (sheep, goat, or cattle), although grain offerings could serve as a substitute. Sacrifices in general are referred to as a gift (*minḥa*), a slaughter (*zebaḥ*), or an offering or bringing-near (*qorban*). These terms point to some of the basic dimensions of sacrifice. The sacrifice is a ritualized meal or feast in which meat is slaughtered (the consumption of meat was a special occasion in ordinary life, as in *Gn.* 18:1–8), transferred from the domestic setting to sacred space, where it takes on the character of gift or tribute to the deity and celebrates the bond between worshiper and deity. The sacrificial system has various components, each of which has distinctive shades of meaning.

The types of sacrifice most commonly referred to are the voluntary sacrifices called burnt offering (*ʿola*) and well-being offering (*shelamim*). The burnt offering is the type offered by Noah after the flood (*Gn.* 8:20) and by Abraham at Mount Moriah (*Gn.* 22:13), and both types are offered by Moses at Mount Sinai (*Ex.* 24:5) and Solomon at the dedication of the Jerusalem Temple (*1 Kgs.* 8:64). Both types are commanded by Yahweh at Mount Sinai in one of the few passages that comment on their significance: "You shall make for me an earthen altar, and sacrifice on it your burnt offerings and your well-being offerings from your flocks and herds. In every place where I cause my name to be remembered, I will come to you and bless you" (*Ex.* 20:21). Performing these sacrifices at the sacred sites is a way of worshiping or remembering Yahweh, and with each ritual of remembrance, Yahweh grants his blessing. Memory and the circulation of blessings are the focus of the ritual. The worshiper remembers Yahweh and pays homage to him, and also remembers the great sacrificial events of the past that founded the people (e.g., the Sinai covenant, the dedication of the Temple). Yahweh remembers his bond with his people and responds to their tribute with his blessing, which recapitulates the pattern of his relationship with the ancestors. In this ritual event, which takes place in family, local, and state religion, the social roles of the Israelites in their families, clans, and tribes are reaffirmed and sacralized, as is the worshiper's metaphysical role in the larger structures of reality.

The burnt offering and well-being offering form a complementary pair and were usually offered in sequence. The burnt offering, performed first, is entirely burnt into smoke, serving as a greeting-gift to Yahweh. The smoke is the pleasing odor that rises to Yahweh, summoning him to the sacrifice. The well-being offering, performed next, is shared by Yahweh and the worshiper, but with different portions and by different culinary means. The fat or suet is burnt into smoke (like the technique of the burnt offering), which rises to Yahweh as his pleasing odor. The meat is boiled in a pot for the worshipers, with a portion going to the officiating priests. The well-being offering is sometimes aptly rendered as a "communion offering," because in it the worshiper and Yahweh share a ritual meal in each other's presence. Yet even as they share a common meal, the difference of their respective portions signifies the metaphysical difference between Yahweh and humans. Yahweh's portion is smoke—a nonmaterial substance, rising from the earth to heaven, pointing to his divine nature. This is a substance that humans, as earthly beings, cannot eat. The humans' portion is meat stew, which is solid and cooked in a pot, corresponding to human physicality and material culture. Yahweh transcends human existence, just as his sacrificial cuisine differs from theirs. The ritual meal effects communion between the worshipers and Yahweh but also expresses metaphysical difference and hierarchy.

In the priestly system of sacrifice (presented in *Lv.* 1–16), several additional types of sacrifices are mandated for purification of sins. Each is a specialization of the well-being sacrifice, with the suet burnt into smoke for Yahweh and the meat boiled for the officiating priest. The most important purificatory sacrifice is the "sin offering" (*ḥattaʾt*), sometimes called the "purification offering." This offering purifies the worshiper and the Temple from the worshiper's inadvertent sins and impurities. Situations that require such purifying sacrifices include physical contact with an unclean person or object, menstrual impurity, unintentional failure to testify in a legal matter, and transitions of ritual status such as the initiation of priests. These are all situations in which a person is temporarily "out of place," whether physically, legally, or socially. A special purification offering is performed by the high priest on the Day of Atonement to cleanse the Temple of the Israelites' deliberate transgressions (*Lv.* 16:16). The system of purification offerings ensures the continued availability of Yahweh's presence in the Temple by keeping it cleansed from the "dirt" of Israel's impurities and sins. It also provides a solution to the problem of human evil by regulating and cleansing its effects, thereby warding off another divine punishment like the great flood. The priestly system of sacrifice is, in this respect, a ritual theodicy, in which Yahweh forswears punishment as long as Israel atones for its sins.

Several of the classical prophets criticize the legitimacy of sacrifice, stating that Yahweh does not want or accept the people's sacrifices (*Am.* 5:21–25; *Hos.* 6:6; *Is.* 1:10–17; *Mi.* 6:6–8; *Jer.* 7:21–23). These prophetic texts set up a contrast between ritual and ethics; Yahweh denounces the former and requires only the latter. It is not clear whether this contrast in prophetic rhetoric is absolute or relative; that is, whether ritual is empty under any circumstance, or whether it is empty only under the current circumstance of unethical behavior. In either case, the traditional practice becomes the object of critique and its meaning problematized. These questions about the relation between ritual practice and ethical disposition provide the ground for later transformations in Judaism and Christianity, when sacrifice becomes obsolete after the destruction of the Second Temple (70 CE). Some of the meanings and functions of sacrifice were preserved in other significant rites, most prominently the Passover Seder (a ritual meal which recalls the Passover sacrifice) and the Eucharist (a ritual meal which recalls both the Passover Seder and Jesus' sacrifice).

THE PROPHETIC CRITIQUE. The religious critiques of the classical prophets (eighth through the sixth centuries BCE) effected, over several centuries, significant shifts in the structures of belief and practice in Israelite religion. Many aspects of traditional religious practice such as sacrifice, worship at local sacred sites, and the use of various types of religious iconography came under scathing attack. Veneration of other divine beings, including Yahweh's entourage, the Heavenly Host, was defined as sacrilege. Political institutions, such as kingship and the ruling elite, came under attack. The classical prophets regarded Israelite society—particularly the ruling classes—as ethically corrupt, and the major religious institutions and traditions were part of the problem. Hence they were defined as empty and abhorred by Yahweh. Hosea's writings against Samaria are the beginnings of the critique:

> Israel rejects what is good. . . . They made kings, but not by me; They made officers, but not by my knowledge; With their silver and gold, they made images. . . . (I) reject your calf, O Samaria, I am furious with (it). . . . A craftsman made it, but it is not a god; Yahweh will shatter the calf of Samaria. (*Hs.* 8:3–6)

In this speech, kingship, the political administration, the sacred sites, and the religious iconography are all denounced.

The "calf of Samaria" was the bull pedestal or throne of Yahweh at the royal shrines of Bethel and Dan. Analogous to the sphinx-like cherubs above the Ark in the Jerusalem Temple, the calf is a divine creature, but not a high god. But the physical representation of any divine being or aspect of divinity is castigated by the classical prophets, including the old standing stones at the local shrines. This is a critique of religious symbolism as such. Sacrifice too is an empty rite, as in Isaiah's oracle:

> What do I need of all your sacrifices, says Yahweh, I am sated with burnt offerings of rams, And the suet of fatlings; The blood of bulls, lambs, and goats, I do not desire. When you come to appear before me, Who asked these of you, trampling my courts? (*Is.* 1:11–12)

The critique of traditional religious symbols and practices comes to a climax in Jeremiah's Temple Sermon: "Thus says Yahweh of Hosts, God of Israel, Make good your ways and actions, and I will let you dwell in this place. Do not place your trust in empty words, saying 'The Temple of Yahweh, the Temple of Yahweh, the Temple of Yahweh.' . . . You are placing your trust in empty words which are of no avail" (*Jer.* 7:3–8). In a situation in which the people are morally corrupt, even the Temple—the religious institution par excellence—is devoid of value. In the absence of ethical behavior, all religious symbols and rituals are vacant.

As part of the prophets' religious critique, the divine realm is reconceived such that Yahweh becomes the sole high god of all the nations. Rather than being the best of gods, as in older texts, Yahweh is the only god: "Yahweh is the true God, He is the living God and eternal King" (*Jer.* 10:10). The gods of other nations are mere illusions. Second Isaiah (i.e., the "second author" who wrote segments of the book of *Isaiah*) makes this point in his exilic oracles: "I am God, there is no other; I am god, there is none like me" (*Is.* 46:9). In this new conception of God, the former anthropomorphic traits are purged: God is beyond human imagination, omniscient and omnipresent. The prophetic critique produced the classical monotheism of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

The new conceptual forms of the prophetic critique are closely related to the classical prophets' social positions as liminal or status-inconsistent figures. Unlike kings and priests, the authority of these prophets derived from their verbal power and personal qualities, outside of inherited or appointed hierarchies. (There were other prophets who were royal retainers; e.g., Nathan in David's court.) The prophets whose social backgrounds are cited had inconsistent status: Amos was a southern rancher prophesying in the northern kingdom, Jeremiah was from a disenfranchised priestly lineage, and Ezekiel was a priest in exile. As prophets they were religious mediators, hearing Yahweh's words in heaven and relating them to humans on earth. From their betwixt-and-between positions, they drew new distinctions between symbol and reality, signs and things, in a manner unthinkable within the traditional structures of religious thought. This practice of social and religious critique is characteristic of a variety of intellectual elites in what Karl Jaspers called the Axial Age (Eisenstadt, 1986). The classical prophets are ancient Israel's Axial critics.

The prophetic critique was appropriated by the royal administration of Josiah (and perhaps earlier, Hezekiah) to justify the centralization of religious authority in the Jerusalem Temple, the central shrine of state religion. Both kings, according to the biblical texts, destroyed the local shrines (*2 Kgs.* 18:4–6, 22; 22:8–20). Sacrifice could henceforth only be offered at the Temple. This aggregation of power to the capital city enhanced the prestige of the king and the Jerusalem priesthood. It may have been facilitated, in part, by the Assyrian destruction and depopulation of the Judean countryside during the reign of Hezekiah and the concomitant expansion of Jerusalem's population. Josiah's renewed efforts to consolidate religious centralization in Jerusalem was accompanied by the discovery of "the scroll of the law" (*2 Kgs.* 22; an early form of *Deuteronomy*), which mandated that Israel only worship at one site, "the place that Yahweh your God will choose, among all your tribes, to place his name there" (*Dt.* 12:5). *Deuteronomy*, a sublimely spiritual book, integrated the prophetic critique with the triumph of the state religion.

OTHER THEODICIES. The classical biblical view of the relation between God's justice and human suffering can be seen most clearly in the psalms of lament and thanksgiving. Worshipers, who are suffering or have recently been delivered from suffering, attribute their painful state either to their own sins or to the malefic influence of their enemies. The worshipers trust that God will deliver them from suffering and evil or offers thanks for already having been delivered. At the end, the worshipers rejoice and offer sacrifices of thanksgiving to Yahweh. The sequence of importuning, trust, deliverance, and thanks is typically dramatized with motifs from the old myth of God's primeval victory over his cosmic enemies. As in the Canaanite myth of Baal, the cosmic enemies par excellence are Sea and Death. For example, the suffering that afflicts the worshipers are "the ropes of Death . . . the flood-torrents of Belial . . . the ropes of Sheol . . . the snares of Death" (*Ps.* 18:5; similarly, *Ps.* 69:2–3, 15–16; 88:4–8; 116:3; *Jon.* 2:3–4). God rescues the worshiper from these chaotic regions with his mighty hand: "He reached down from on high, he took me, he drew me from the mighty waters, he saved me from my fierce enemy" (*Ps.* 18:17); and "he lifted me out of the desolate Pit, the miry clay" (*Ps.* 40:3; similarly, *Ps.* 30:4; *Jon.* 2:7). In these psalms, the victory of God over evil and suffering are portrayed as a recapitulation of his primeval victories over chaos. The myth of the Divine Warrior forms the master plot for his victory over evil and suffering in the present.

The classical prophets transformed this constellation of ideas in their concept of the Day of Yahweh, which will be directed against Israel for its evil deeds (*Am.* 5:18–20; *Is.* 2:12–17; *Zep.* 1:2–18). The leaders and people of Israel are now the "enemies," and Yahweh will punish and destroy them for the injustices they have committed. The military destruction of the northern kingdom by the Assyrians and the southern kingdom by the Babylonians vindicated these utterances of the classical prophets, thereby investing their writings with increased authority, leading to their eventual canonization.

During and after the Babylonian exile (586–538 BCE), new shifts occurred in the old patterns of theodicy. In the proto-apocalyptic writings of *Second Isaiah, Ezekiel*, and other prophetic texts, God's future victory over the enemy (the Babylonians, other foreign nations; e.g., Gog of Magog and his allies in *Ez.* 38–39 and Death and the sea dragon Leviathan in *Is.* 25:8, 27:1) will lead to a golden age of peace and joy. The divine destruction of evil and suffering will be a cosmic transformation in which this era will be no more and a golden age will dawn. These apocalyptic ideas grew in force in the late Second Temple period, particularly after the Antiochene persecutions, stimulating the formation of apocalyptic communities at Qumran (an Essene order) and among the early Christians. In these apocalyptic groups, the cosmic enemies are both earthly and heavenly. The earthly enemies include Rome and other foreign nations, and also Jews who are not in the inner group of the righteous elect. The heavenly enemies are Satan and his armies of wicked angels and demons, who will be vanquished in cosmic battle with God, his angelic army, and one or more messianic figures.

An alternate transformation of the old pattern of theodicy occurs in the poetic dialogues of the book of *Job*. Job laments his suffering in language rooted in the psalms of lament, but maintains that he is innocent of any sin or wrongdoing. His comforters, who maintain the traditional claim that suffering is merited by past sinful acts, are repudiated by Job and later by God (*Jb.* 42:7). Job insists that God is treating the innocent man as his enemy ("Am I the Sea or the Dragon?"; *Jb.* 7:12), which impugns the idea of divine justice. When God appears to Job in the storm cloud, he uses the language of divine mastery over chaos to intimidate Job into silence. God's ways are beyond Job's understanding, and he recants: "I spoke without understanding, of things too wondrous for me, which I did not know" (*Jb.* 42:3). After recanting, Job is delivered from suffering, but the reasons are not the traditional ones. God's relationship to human evil and suffering is no longer comprehensible, if any such relationship even exists. Humans seem to be more or less insignificant in God's sight, and his victory over cosmic chaos—represented by Leviathan and Behemoth—no longer has any metaphoric relation to the defeat of human suffering.

A similar view is articulated in the book of *Ecclesiastes*, in which the language of the divine victory over chaos is entirely lacking. A general absence of meaning (*hevel*; emptiness, vanity, logical absurdity) pervades the world that we inhabit, and human suffering is only alleviated by death. Humans should cultivate simple pleasures and a tempered pursuit of wisdom, but not worry overmuch about the apparent absence of divine justice. *Ecclesiastes* holds that God is just, but what happens in the world is often unjust. Life and wisdom are God's gifts, and to ask for more is to invite anguish. "God made humans straightforward, but they have sought great reasons for things" (*Eccl.* 7:29). *Ecclesiastes*, like *Job*, stresses the limits of human understanding, offering a skeptical and pragmatic alternative to the traditional biblical views of theodicy.

THE SCRIPTURALIZATION OF RELIGION. During the preexilic period, religious knowledge circulated orally, particularly in the rites and festivals of family, local, and state religion. Elders, priests, and prophets were the primary religious authorities. Toward the end of the monarchic period a shift begins to occur in the locus of religious knowledge, from oral tradition to the written word. *Second Kings* 22 describes the discovery in the Jerusalem Temple of a "scroll of the teaching" (*sefer hatorah;* probably an early version of the book of *Deuteronomy*) that authorizes King Josiah's religious reforms. *Deuteronomy* 17:18–20 instructs the king to read a scroll that is "a copy of this teaching" throughout his days to ensure his just rule. In these scenes the authority of the written word begins to take the place of the prophets and priests—the latter are limited to copying the scroll or pronouncing on its authenticity. The image of God's word as a textual product is vividly portrayed in the initiatory vision of the prophet Ezekiel, who becomes a prophet when God commands him to swallow a scroll: "I ate it, and it became as sweet as honey in my mouth" (*Ez.* 3:3). God's word has become a text, which the prophet recites to the people.

Henceforth the history of Israelite religion is inseparable from the history of the text and its interpretation. The canonical moment for this history, according to the biblical portrayal, is Ezra's reading of "the scroll of the teaching of Moses" (*sefer torah moshe*; an early version of the Pentateuch; i.e., the first five books of the Bible) accompanied by learned men who "explain the teaching to the people" (*Neh.* 8:7). The function of religious specialists was now to read and interpret the authoritative text to discern the true meaning of God's already textualized word. A striking example of the new concept of divine revelation during the Second Temple period is Daniel's vision in *Daniel* 9, in which the pious Daniel reads the book of *Jeremiah* to learn when the redemption of Jerusalem will occur, then he prays, mourns, and fasts. The angel Gabriel arrives from heaven to reveal the scriptural secrets: "Daniel, I have now come to impart knowledge to you" (*Dn.* 9:22). God's word is contained in a text, but it takes further divine revelation to understand its true meaning.

Once religion becomes textualized, each community needs a divinely inspired or authorized interpreter, or class of interpreters, to discern the scriptural secrets. The Teacher of Righteousness at Qumran and Jesus of Nazareth are prominent examples of inspired teachers of scriptural secrets during the latter part of the Second Temple period. New institutions arose, such as the Pharisees and rabbis, whose authority was rooted in their ability to interpret scripture. Hillel, according to rabbinic tradition, "renewed the Torah" by the wealth of his interpretations, touching many aspects of Jewish life and law (Sukkah 20a). As Gershom Scholem observed, commentary became the major vehicle for religious discourse in Judaism. In Christianity "the word become flesh," but its gospel was also a text, and Christianity preserved its Jewish origins as a scriptural religion. By the end of the Second Temple period, Israelite religion had been transformed into a plurality (including Essenes, Pharisees, Samaritans, Christians, Gnostics, and Platonists) of cultures of interpretation.

See Also Biblical Exegesis, article on Jewish views; Biblical Literature, article on Hebrew Scriptures.

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ISSERLES, MOSHEH (c. 1520–c. 1572), known by the acronym RaMa (Rabbi Mosheh), was a Polish rabbi, halakhist, and scholar. Isserles was born in Kraków to one of the most powerful families of the Jewish community of sixteenth-century Poland and rose very rapidly to a position of prominence in the rabbinical world of Ashkenazic Jewry. Isserles's wealth and social status, as well as his ties by marriage to other prominent intellectual and communal figures in Polish Jewry, allowed him to wield substantial authority at a young age, primarily through the important *yeshivah* that he established in Kraków. His contributions to Jewish law and learning were vastly influential, and he was one of the few eastern European rabbis of his age to be venerated as a saintly leader for centuries after his death.

Isserles was trained in the Talmudic academy of Shalom Shakhna of Lublin, where he imbibed a fundamental commitment to the Ashkenazic traditions brought to Poland from Germany in the fifteenth century. He returned to his native Kraków to take up the position of its chief rabbi and remained in this post in the Polish capital until his death. The Rama synagogue in Kraków, which he built with his own wealth in 1553 as a memorial to his first wife, stands to this day as one of the most significant emblems of Jewish religiosity and learning in eastern Europe.

Isserles's prowess in Jewish law was revealed in his *responsa,* first published in Kraków in 1640, that displayed a distinctive synthesis of rigor and flexibility. While adhering to the Ashkenazic tradition of conservative interpretation, the Rama's rulings argued for a considerable degree of leniency in situations of severe economic or social stress and emphasized his belief in the importance of local customs in determining law. One *responsum* also detailed Isserles's controversial dedication to the study of philosophy: Taken to task by his senior colleague Shelomoh Luria for citing Aristotle as an authority of note, Isserles proclaimed his commitment to the Maimonidean view of the relation between philosophy and theology while explaining that he had only read Aristotle through the medium of medieval Hebrew texts. Isserles opposed the contemporary practice of teaching mysticism to the young and untried. However, in a number of quasi-philosophical works, the most important of which was *Torat ha-ʿolah* (The doctrine of the offering; 1570), a symbolic analysis of the commandments concerning the ancient Temple in Jerusalem, he attempted to demonstrate the confluence of Jewish philosophy and Qabbalah.

Isserles also published a large number of commentaries and glosses on various parts of the Bible, the Talmud, and other rabbinic literature. But his major scholarly accomplishment and claim to fame was his participation in one of the crucial legal enterprises in Jewish history, the creation of the *Shulḥan ʿarukh.* As a leading but relatively inexperienced jurist, Isserles recognized the need for a guide to Jewish law that would collate the rulings of recent scholars with classic interpretations and traditions. He had only begun to prepare such a compendium when he learned that the great Sefardic sage Yosef Karo of Safad had just published his *Beit Yosef,* an exhaustive code of Jewish law. Isserles revised his plan and produced his *Darkhei Mosheh,* which abridged Karo's work yet differed from it by insisting on the authority of local custom and recent precedents in determining correct rulings. Ten years later, Karo himself issued an abridgement of his original work, now entitled the *Shulḥan ʿarukh*—the "set table." Isserles responded by writing his *Mappah*—the "tablecloth"—which was an extensive commentary on Karo's work that argued for the pertinence of Ashkenazic customs and recent rulings. Immediately accepted as a critical amplification of Karo's work, Isserles's glosses were incorporated into the now collaborative *Shulḥan ʿarukh,* which became the authoritative codification of Jewish law and the object of continuous scholarly interest and debate.

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IŠTAR SEE INANNA

ĪŚVARA, meaning "the lord," is the chief term used in Indian religion and philosophy to designate a supreme personal god. Goddess worshipers employ the feminine form, *īśvarī*. The noun comes from the Sanskrit root *vīś*, which means to own, rule, be master of, or be powerful. The meaning of the term developed over the history of South Asian literature.

In the earliest strata, the hymns of the *Ṛgveda* (c. 2000 BCE) prefer the epithets *īśaṇa* or *īśa* (from the same root) to designate the power of such deities as the universal sovereign Varuṇa, guardian of the cosmic order; Agni, the god of fire; Indra, lightning-hurling leader of the gods; and Puruṣa, the Cosmic Person, who was dismembered to create the universe. Though powerful, these early "lords" are not supreme personal deities. The term *īśvara* itself first occurs in the latest collection of Vedic hymns, the *Atharvaveda*, where it is extended from the god Agni (fire) to Vayu (wind), Prāṇa (life energy), and Kāla (time)—all later associated with the supreme god, Rudra-Śiva, also called Great Lord (Maheśvara). Later the Brāhmaṇas, priestly books elaborating sacrifice, elevate the god Prajāpati (Lord of Progeny), as the embodiment of Vedic sacrifice, creator, preserver, and ruler of the world. This lord is equated with *brahman*, the underlying Absolute.

In the last portion of the Veda, the Upaniṣads (800 BCE–200 CE), where the mystical link between *brahman* and the innermost soul (*ātman*) are explored, the concept of *īśvara* emerges fully. Although early Upaniṣads focus more on the mystical equation of *brahman* and *ātman*, later Upaniṣads, such as the *Śvetāśvatara* coalesce personal and impersonal conceptions of divinity into *īśvara* as a single, supreme, gracious, personal god. Here Rudra ("the howler"), a Vedic storm god also known as Śiva ("the beneficent one"), creates the world, pervades it, and dwells in humans as their soul, ruling all. Though he is lord of the external world, it is knowledge of the lord in meditation (yoga) as the inner soul that brings ultimate liberation.

The roughly contemporaneous *Bhagavadgītā* (c. 200 BCE), the most popular portion of the epic *Mahābhārata*, develops the concept even further with respect to Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, the other principle deity to whom the term *īśvara* is applied. Like Śiva, Viṣṇu is an early Vedic god who grows in stature as he is identified over time with popular divinities, here with Vāsudeva, Nārāyaṇa, and Kṛṣṇa. With Kṛṣṇa as *avatāra*, or the incarnate "descent" of the transcendental lord as an earthly prince, *īśvara* becomes vividly personal. The *Bhagavadgītā* establishes devotion (*bhakti)* as a new path to salvation, alongside the earlier paths of ritual action (karma) and inner knowledge (*jñāna*). Kṛṣṇa is seen as Supreme Lord (*parameśvara*), the very foundation of *brahman*, beyond the universe, its creator and ruler. Kṛṣṇa is also revealed as the ultimate person (*puruṣottama*), immanent within the human heart. While clearly preferring devotion, the spiritual disciplines (yogas) of the *Bhagavadgītā* poetically synthesize the sacrificial, introspective, and devotional paths to liberation. This tendency to prefer and elevate the path of devotion (whether to Viṣṇu, Śiva, or in later times the goddess) to a supreme personal deity continues in the sectarian literature of the epics and Purāṇas, becoming from the medieval period to modern times the mainstream of Hindu spirituality.

In philosophical literature, other conceptions of *īśvara* hold sway. Sāṃkhya explains the world and its operation impersonally, in terms of the dual principles of matter and pure consciousness—without recourse to *īśvara.* The Yoga philosophy of Patañjali maintains a similar dualism, yet includes *īśvara* as the ultimate exemplar of pure consciousness. Here devotion to *īśvara* through repetition of his holy sound *Oṃ* is only seen as an optional means to achieving the meditative insight and absorption that alone grants liberation. In Yoga, *īśvara* is neither the efficient nor the material cause of the universe. The philosophy of Karma Mīmāṃsā, like heterodox schools of Buddhism and Jainism, emphasizes the law of cause and effect—the doctrine of karma—such that the need for an *īśvara* figure to create and maintain the universe is unnecessary. The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika schools, though probably opposed to *īśvara* originally, in later commentarial literature support *īśvara*, the author and teacher of Vedic revelation, as an eternal being who combines eternally existing atoms according to karma to create, maintain, and dissolve the universe.

Śaṁkara's nondual Vedānta philosophy has famously subrated *īśvara* as "lower *brahman,*" For Śaṁkara, "higher *brahman*" is an absolute beyond all qualities (*nirguṇa*) and description. To ordinary worldly perception this higher *brahman* is ignorantly seen as *īśvara*, the personal god replete with qualities (*saguṇa*). Alternatively, Rāmānuja's qualified nondual Vedānta understands *īśvara* as ultimately real, a personal deity eternally possessing all good qualities, distinct from the material world and souls, though dwelling in it and ruling them—a view more consistent with the growth of devotional theism in the last millennium.

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ITHNĀ ʿASHARĪYAH See SHIISM, *ARTICLE ON* ITHNĀ ʿASHARĪYAH

ITŌ JINSAI (1627–1705) was a Japanese *kangakusha* (Sinologist), educator, and Confucian philosopher. In 1681 Jinsai opened a private school, the Kogidō, in Kyoto and thus founded the Kogakuha, the school of Ancient Learning, a school of thought opposed to the Shushigakuha and the Yōmeigakuha, based on the thought of the Chinese thinkers Zhu Xi and Wang Yangming, respectively. The Kogidō, where Jinsai educated hundreds of students from the upper classes, continued uninterruptedly under Ito family management until 1871, when it gave way to the modern curriculum adopted from the West.

Jinsai, known for his personal modesty, forgiving nature, and broadmindedness toward other convictions, such as Buddhism, deserves credit not only as an outstanding moral teacher of the Tokugawa period but also as a scholar whose interests lay beyond his country's boundaries. Unlike the *kokugakusha,* the scholars of National Learning (Kokugaku), he prepared Japan for the assimilation of Western ideas in the mid-nineteenth century. He was highly appreciated by the Imperial House, and his main works were presented to the throne. His achievements were publicly recognized by the Meiji emperor in 1907, and those of his gifted son Tōgai (1670–1736), by the Taishō emperor in 1915. Jinsai's grave can still be seen at the Nison'in, a Buddhist temple in the Saga district, northwest of Kyoto.

Based on two books, the *Analects* of Confucius and the *Mencius,* Jinsai's thought has several features that are rare, if not unique, for a Japanese Confucianist. Jinsai resolutely discards all Buddhist and Daoist accretions to authentic, pre-Han Confucian doctrines. His cosmogony ascribes the origin of all things to a single cosmic yet anthropomorphous force. He honors the classic *yinyang* theory, which explains change and motion, but sees the origin of both *yin* and *yang* in one supreme ultimate, in turn equivalent to the moral concept of a supreme law governing all things. This law is benevolent and free from defects. Jinsai takes his monism one step further in his definition of Heaven, whom he calls ruler, conserver, supreme judge, and benefactor of humanity. Heaven is personified, although it is not always clear whether it is distinct from nature. In daily life, Jinsai showed the utmost respect for spiritual beings. With great forbearance he trusted in Heaven as a witness to his sincerity.

Jinsai's moral system flows from his anthropomorphic cosmology: Humankind is originally good and bent toward perfection. There is no need for Daoist or Zenlike abstention and meditation. There is balance between intellect and will, although freedom remains undefined beyond the pregnant phrase "Will means directedness toward good." Practically, virtue is manifest in the four cardinal virtues: humaneness or love, justice, propriety, and wisdom. These are reducible to two, humaneness and justice, whose apex unites in the supreme virtue, humaneness.

Jinsai's life was a paean to that virtue, even though he stood, with the dignity befitting a scholar, somewhat aloof from his surroundings. His educational principles paralleled his character, holding the middle between an exaggerated intellectualism and an unenlightened voluntarism. He was confident that a pupil, launched on his own way, runs no risk of being swept off his feet as long as he stands on the bedrock of classical learning and takes to heart the great lessons of history.

Among Jinsai's works, the following are best known and have gone through several editions: *Dōjimon* (1707), a question-and-answer presentation condensing his philosophical doctrines for classroom use; *Go-Mō jigi* (1683), a commentary on the *Analects* and *Mencius;* and the *Kogakusensei bunshu* (1717), an anthology prepared by Tōgai from his father's unpublished papers. Jinsai's originality has been challenged, but without success. Whether he came in contact with Ricci's *Tianzhu shi yi,* written to prove the existence of a unique God, remains a moot point.

The measure of Jinsai's influence must be found not only in his life and writings; even more, it lies in the lives and work of his many pupils. He imparted to them a critical spirit, for he doubted where others blindly believed, and he formed his own conclusions when it was still fashionable to follow the Song masters. His philosophy has a peculiar human appeal. The moral order is not a mere haphazard rule, but a providential guide, based upon the inherent nature of things.

Jinsai's legacy is still highly regarded in Japan, because he penetrated to the very core of the national spirit. To no mean extent, Jinsai could claim to be an educator of his people. Not only did he stir in his followers something that they felt was deeply embedded in their national way of life, but he impressed on them that Confucianism is inherently associated with the good that lies between two extremes. Jinsai's lasting success is explained by the fact that, in his efforts to accomplish the ideal that he contemplated, he found a way to blend two seemingly paradoxical qualities: equanimity of mind and passionate devotion to a cause. In this, he found a way that is Japan.

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IUPITER DOLICHENUS. The god known in the Latin-speaking part of the Roman Empire as Iupiter Dolichenus was a local god of Syrian origin. His cult as a major cosmic god became widespread in the Empire in the second century CE, and he was given the majestic epithets of the Roman Jupiter (Optimus and Maximus). Although honored with Roman religious formulae, certain specific dedications have nonetheless retained evidence of his exotic origin.

Doliche (modern Dülük, in Turkey, near Gaziantep) was a town of Commagene beside the Euphrates—and thus at the crossroads of Anatolian, Syrian, and Iranian influences—and had come under Roman sway at the time of Pompey (106–48 BCE). Its local god (whose sanctuary has not yet been excavated) was derived from the Hittite-Hurrian Teshub, a weather god who had absorbed some of the characteristics of the Aramaic Hadad, a Syrian storm god. In the absence of literary sources giving details of his myth, the way he is portrayed sheds light on his character. Typical iconography shows him upright on a bull, holding a double-bladed axe and thunderbolt and wearing a Persian crown or Phrygian cap. From the Hellenistic period on, he also wears military armor. The fixed religious formula describing the god—*ubi ferrum nascitur* (where iron is born)—recalls both his theogony and a powerful nature. The theology of the great god providing prosperity, the universal lord, "eternal guardian of the entire cosmos" (Hörig and Schwertheim, 1987, no. 376), is displayed via complex symbolic ornamentation, in which he is surrounded by attendants making clear his cosmic sovereignty (the Dioscuri, the Sun, the Moon). Like the Anatolian and Syrian master gods he is accompanied by a female consort, whose character was borrowed from the goddess Hebat/Hepet of the Hurrian/Hittite substrate. In the Roman Empire she was known widely as Iuno Dolichena, or sometimes Regina, like the Roman goddess.

The cosmic power of the god explains his support among the military (around half the devotees in about 650 dedications). The geographical extent of his spread is along the lines of the militarized areas as far as Hadrian's Wall in Brittany, and sometimes the trade routes with the East. Even in places where easteners were numerous, such as the *Vrbs* (the City of Rome), the face of the cult was still romanized. The oriental image of the god merged into the Roman melting pot during stages of integration: under Hadrian in Africa and Rome (two sanctuaries on the Equiline and the Aventine), then from the middle of the second century in the Danube provinces (Pannonia and Noricum, with the outstanding collection of Mauer-an-der-Url). The significant number of soldiers highlights the fact that the majority of the faithful were male. However, the cult was not barred to women, who took part in family dedications (Hörig and Schwertheim, 1987, no. 381) or offered silver plaques on their own (Hörig and Schwertheim, 1987, nos. 303 and 304).

The military factor enlightens the period of time over which the evidence is spread as well, from Hadrian (117–138) to Gallienus (253–268 [The last dedication is dated in

260]). The growing interest for the god under the Severan emperors betrays mainly the military situation rather than an official support from a dynasty originating from Emesa. The reasons for the cult's disappearance have caused scholarly debate. In the absence of clear proof of an "Illyrian backlash" by Maximinus the Thracian (235-238), the military crisis, which arose in 235, saw fighting and destruction in the frontier regions, which are sufficient explanation of the disaffection with a cult that persisted elsewhere (in Rome, for example). Under Gallienus, who redrew the *limes* (frontier) along the Rhine and the Danube, Shapur I captured Doliche and destroyed the temple. The disappearance around this time of devotions in the Empire might mean that the Doliche as a religious metropolis played a significant part in the organization of the cult, perhaps by sending out priests (a number have Syrian names); most likely the existence of the city served as a symbolic point of reference.

The cult was well organized. Even if it was not actually sent out by the main temple, the priesthood, which was linked to Doliche, ensured a proper framework, which could explain why the conception of the god was more or less consistent. As far as we know, the structure of groups of the faithful was established on a basis of *collegia*, at least in Rome. Cult sites (more than fifteen have been excavated) were long-standing and well maintained (Hörig and Schwertheim, 1987, no. 547). The *Dolichena* (temples of the god) that have been preserved are varied in size with no "canonical" plan. We have only a partial idea of the rituals that took place, probably sacrifices with ritual meals (attested at Zugmantel [Germania] and at the Aventine temple). Raised votive hands and bronze triangles with complex symbolism might have served as religious emblems for display or procession, and mounted silver plaques served as an ornate display.

The two great heavenly lords of Doliche and Heliopolis in Syria, which had similar theologies, are jointly invoked on several documents (Hörig and Schwertheim, 1987, nos. 183 and 221). Another Syrian Baal "from the mountain," Jupiter Turmasgades, was also *sunnaos* (housed in the same temple) of Dolichenus (at Doura Europos and in Dacia). However, the god who was closest to Iupiter Dolichenus was Mithras, due to the similar beliefs and social composition of their followers. Apart from these usual associations within polytheistic systems, the god of Doliche borrowed little from other great gods, except the testimony of two bronze plaques, which show an influence of Isis' religion (Hörig and Schwertheim, 1987, nos. 512 and 511). In contrast, the god is often figured with the characteristics of a Latin Jupiter, with scepter and thunderbolt, along with an eagle (Hörig and Schwertheim, 1987, no. 515, for example).

Since the god of Doliche, like the Roman god Jupiter, was a god of power and victory, his followers, some of them high-ranking military officers, included the emperors and their families in their prayers. The link between the god of Doliche and the Empire started as early as his "meeting" with Rome at the beginning of the common era. It was figured on a civic stamp that shows a *dexiosis* (shaking hands) between the god and an Imperator. Even so, the cult of Dolichenus was not, as one might think, an official army cult, a religion of the military camps. Of course, this god with a military aspect, and possibly in Roman guise, was well able to act as divine patron in the eyes of military units. More generally, this god of victory, and thus of salvation, may be seen as a "great" benevolent god, in keeping with the trend of religious developments in the second and third centuries.

SEE ALSO Aramean Religion; Blessing; Hittite Religion; Hurrian Religion; Roman Religion, article on the Imperial Period; Teshub.

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Translated from French by Paul Ellis

IZANAGI AND IZANAMI,

in Japanese mythology, are the universal parents and creators who produced the land, mountains, rivers, waves, trees, fields, wind, fog, and the deities ruling these things. According to the early written chronicle of Japan called the *Kojiki,* they appeared on the Takama no Hara, or High Plain of Heaven, as brother and sister. Standing on the Bridge of Heaven, they churned the ocean's water with a jeweled spear, then drew the spear up. The brine that dripped from the tip of the spear became the first Japanese island, Onogoro. Izanagi and Izanami descended onto the island, erected there a high pillar and a hall, then circled the pillar in opposite directions. When they met, they were united, and thus the islands of Japan were born.

After the birth of the islands, various other deities were born of the two creator-parents. But when the fire god Kagutsuchi was born, the mother goddess Izanami was burned to death by the heat. Like the Greek Orpheus, Izanagi descended to the land of Yomi (the underworld) to bring back his wife. His attempt ended in failure when he peered into a dark room with his torch against Izanami's wishes, only to find there her decaying corpse. Pursued by the enraged Izanami and her subordinate demons, Izanagi fled. Finally, the two deities stood face to face at the entrance of the underworld and agreed upon a divorce. It was decided that Izanagi should rule the living and Izanami the dead (a motif paralleling that of Tane and Hina in Polynesia). Izanagi then returned to the earth, where he purified himself in a stream. From his purified eyes and nose appeared three great deities: Amaterasu (the sun goddess), Tsukiyomi (the moon god), and Susano-o (the violent god). These deities were appointed rulers of heaven, night, and the ocean. Izanagi thereupon returned to the celestial abode, where he remained.

Somewhat different versions of the creation myth are recorded in the other ancient Japanese chronicle, the *Nihonshoki.* In it, the three great deities are born of both Izanagi and Izanami, not of Izanagi alone. There is no descent to the underworld by Izanagi, who retires permanently to a hidden palace on the island of Awaji in the Inland Sea. Since ancient times, there has been an Izanagi shrine on Awaji, and the divine couple have been worshiped by the fishermen and divers of this and neighboring islands. The myth of *kuni-umi* ("birth of the islands from the sea") seems to have originated with the Awaji fishermen. In the most primitive form of the story the divine couple created only Awaji and its tiny neighboring islands, but the myth must eventually have grown in scale to include the creation of all the islands of Japan.

The *Kojiki* as well as the *Nihonshoki* record that the two deities gave birth first to Awaji. According to another account in the *Nihonshoki,* the fifth-century emperors Richū and Ingyō went hunting on this island, and through mediums were given oracles by Izanagi, Awaji's guardian deity. Then, as the fishermen migrated to or traded with other areas, their myths and formal worship were diffused. The tenth-century *Engishiki* records several shrines dedicated to Izanagi and Izanami in the Kinki area (the area enclosed by Kyoto, Osaka, and Kobe). The oldest manuscript of the *Kojiki* describes the worship of Izanagi at the Taga shrine in Ōmi (now Shiga prefecture). In later ages the Taga shrine became the most famous and popular shrine for the worship of the divine couple.

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J

JACOB, or, in Hebrew, Yaʿaqov, also called Israel; the son of Isaac and grandson of Abraham. The name *Yaʿaqov* is generally regarded as an abbreviation of *yaʿaqov el,* which probably means "God protects" and is attested among the Babylonians in the early part of the second pre-Christian millennium. The Bible relates it to forms of the Hebrew root *ʿqv,* meaning "heel" and "supplant," pertaining to Jacob's ongoing rivalry with his twin brother, Esau. That struggle originated in the womb, leading their mother Rebecca to seek a divine oracle from which she learned that the younger Jacob would rule over his brother. Esau was born first, with Jacob grasping at his heel (*ʿaqev*). The theme of fraternal rivalry continued when, as a young man, Jacob exploited Esau's hunger in order to buy his birthright (*bekhorah*) and then stole his brother's blessing (*berakhah*) by taking advantage of his father Isaac's blindness during Esau's absence.

A second period in Jacob's life was spent in Haran in northern Mesopotamia, where he fled to escape his brother's wrath. On the way, he had a vision of a stairway with angels climbing from earth to heaven and back again while God promised that his descendants would be numerous and possess the land all around. Jacob thus recognized the spot as God's house (Bethel), the gateway to heaven. In Haran, Jacob worked for his uncle Laban in order to obtain Rachel as a wife. After the stipulated seven years, Laban deceived Jacob by substituting Rachel's older sister Leah under cover of darkness, just as Jacob had exploited his father's inability to see in order to obtain the blessings intended for his older brother Esau.

During his return to Canaan, Jacob engaged in physical conflict with an apparently supernatural being (see *Hos.* 12:4), after which his name was changed to Israel (Heb., Yisraʾel). Although the historical etymology of this name is uncertain, the Bible explains it as meaning "he who has struggled with divine beings."

The final period of Jacob's life consists of various journeys and focuses primarily on the story of his son Joseph. Jacob eventually died at the age of 147 in Egypt, where he

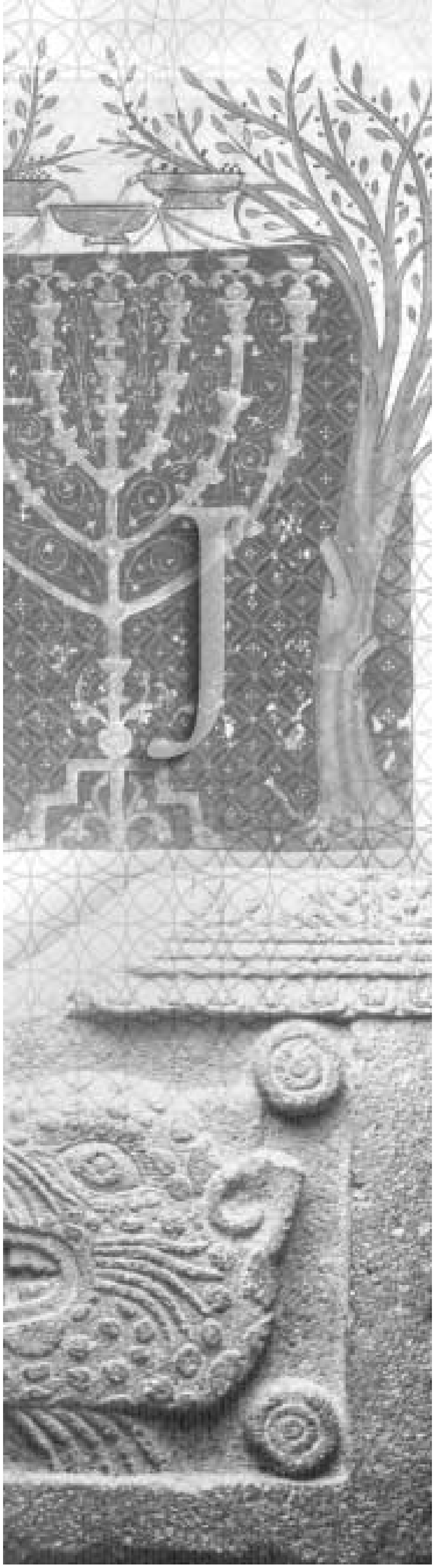

Clockwise from top left corner. Tenth-century Gomateśvara in Sravanabelgola, India. *[©Gian Berto Vanni/Corbis]*; The Egyptian god Anubis weighs the heart of a deceased person against the feather of Maat, or truth, in the judgment hall of Osiris in a painting from the *Book of the Dead*. British Museum. *[The Art Archive/British Museum/Jacqueline Hyde]*; Menorah illumination by Joseph Assarfati, from the *Cervera Bible*, 1299. Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon. *[©Giraudon/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Stone relief of a jaguar from an Aztec sun calendar. *[©Michel Zabe/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Medieval illustration of Joan of Arc arriving at Chinon Castle in 1428. *[©Bettmann/Corbis]* .

was embalmed before being brought back to Canaan to be buried in the family tomb at Machpelah.

Jacob's role as the third of Israel's patriarchs is central to the biblical account. The proper historical setting for all of the patriarchs is, however, currently a matter of scholarly disagreement. Although a wide range of possible dates have been proposed, most who accept the fundamental historicity of these figures date them to the middle or late Bronze Age on the basis of cultural similarities between the biblical descriptions and what is known of those periods from archaeological and epigraphic discoveries. One striking characteristic of these narratives is the way God is identified with individual patriarchs, as in the title *avir yaʿaqov* (the "strong one" or perhaps "bull" of Jacob).

Many modern scholars consider the various patriarchal traditions to have come from different tribal groups. Some even regard Jacob and Israel as two originally separate figures, in which case Jacob probably comes from Transjordan (Gilead) and Israel from central Canaan (the region near Bethel and Shechem). These traditions were merged with those relating to Abraham and Isaac as the various tribes of biblical Israel coalesced. As his changed name attests, Jacob symbolizes the northern kingdom as well as the entire people of Israel, a perspective reflected also in the fact that his sons are named for the twelve tribes. Indeed, many actions, such as his entrance into the land and journey to Shechem and Bethel, foreshadow events involving the people as a whole.

Many interpreters have been troubled by the devious ways in which Jacob obtained his position of preeminence. Rabbinic tradition, in which he represented all of Israel even as his rival Esau came to stand for Rome, sought to minimize these negative traits, which seem so evident in the Bible. It must be recognized that from the biblical point of view these actions, whatever their moral character, serve primarily to ensure the fulfillment of God's design indicated even prior to Jacob's birth. Moreover, the Bible clearly describes how Jacob paid for his behavior: he was forced to leave his home, he was deceived by his uncle, he found his daughter raped, his favorite wife died in childbirth, and her son was kidnapped.

SEE ALSO Rachel and Leah.

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FREDERICK E. GREENSPAHN (1987 AND 2005)

JACOB BEN ASHER SEE YAʿAQOV BEN ASHER

JACOB TAM SEE TAM, YAʿAQOV BEN MEʾIR

JADE. The term *jade* readily evokes the concept of a hard and precious, semitranslucent green stone. However, not only does jade appear in a wide variety of colors, such as white, brown, black, green, and even purple, but the term also describes two quite distinct stones, nephrite and jadeite. Nephrite, the stone of ancient China, is a silicate of calcium and magnesium and exhibits a felted, fibrous structure resembling wood grain as well as a soft, waxy luster. Jadeite, on the other hand, a pyroxene silicate of aluminum and sodium, has a cryptocrystalline structure, giving it an often grainy appearance. It is not only harder than nephrite, polishing to a glasslike finish, but it also appears in a wider variety of colors, including emerald green as well as rich blues and purples. Jade is universally admired for its beauty and durability as a precious stone, for its inexhaustible riches of color, and for its variety of grain and texture. In earlier times, however, in cultures as diverse as those of ancient China, Mesoamerica, and Polynesia, jade also had a religious value.

By the fifth millennium BCE various Chinese Neolithic peoples were working nephrite jade into beads, pendants, and other simple ornaments in both northern and southern China. To the north the Hongshan people (c. 4700–2920 BCE) created jade sculptures of cloudlike forms as well as early examples of the venerated dragon identified with rainmaking and rulership in traditional Chinese thought. Often termed *pig dragons* because of their blunt snouts, these Hongshan creatures typically appear as pendants, with the tightly coiled tail almost touching the mouth. Other jade carvings feature cicadas, creatures widely identified with resurrection in Chinese religion. The cicada is among the most frequently depicted creatures in traditional Chinese jade carving, as such objects were commonly placed in the mouths of the dead. Aside from Hongshan, there is the slightly later Liangzhu culture situated in the lower Yangtze River Basin to the south (c. 3200–2000 BCE). Excavations have revealed lavish Liangzhu graves containing massive amounts of jade. One of the most noteworthy forms is a hollow jade tube, squared on the outside. Series of finely incised, superimposed heads often appear on the corners of these remarkable objects, and it is quite possible that they refer to the four directions, thereby relating these jades to the concept of the four cosmic quarters and world center. Another jade type found in these graves is a flat disk with a large central perforation.

Both of these jade forms were commonly used in rituals during the later Zhou dynasty (1122–256 BCE). The *Zhou li* (Rites of Zhou) mentions six jade tablets that the *ta-tsung po* (master of religious ceremonies) used in paying homage to heaven, earth, and the four cardinal points. Aside from the jades of the four directions, heaven was worshiped by a blue flat jade disk called *bi,* while earth was represented by a yellow jade *cong,* a tube with four squared exterior sides. Whereas the *cong* was no longer used after the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE), the jade *bi* has remained one of the most important symbols in the Chinese religious tradition. Jade was also used as a sacrificial substance. Round blue pieces of jade were offered to the Lord on High, and square yellow pieces were offered to Sovereign Earth. Several stories recount the offering of a jade ring to the god of the river to assure a safe crossing.

During the Zhou dynasty a large variety of jade objects played important symbolic roles in a religious and political system focused on sacred kingship. As symbols of political sovereignty, the jade insignia worn by the emperor and his officials were equally symbols of religious sanction. Ruling as the Son of Heaven, the emperor stood at the head of an elaborate ritual system, a sacral economy that found symbolic embodiment in a whole series of jade emblems. The emperor himself had the privilege of wearing ornaments of white jade, in particular the "large tablet" and the "tablet of power" that he wore as he offered the annual spring sacrifice to the Lord on High (Shangdi). His officials were given jade emblems that varied in size, shape, and color according to their rank.

Jade played a particularly important role in funeral practices. This was undoubtedly due to the belief that jade, as the embodiment of the power of heaven, would prevent the decay of the body after death. Accordingly one finds all manner of jade objects in the coffins of the deceased, often blocking the nine natural openings of the body. Especially common were jade tablets placed upon the tongue and carved in the likeness of cicadas, perhaps as symbols of renewed life. During the Han dynasty one also finds body-sized funeral suits made of jade.

Among the Daoists the religious symbolism of jade was given a more precise focus. The Daoists believed that jade embodied the principle of cosmic life and could thus ensure immortality if used in connection with certain alchemical practices. These practices included the actual ingestion of jade, because it was believed that jade could not only prevent the decay of the body after death but could actually regenerate it while alive. The importance of jade in Daoist thought is reflected in the name of the Daoist supreme being, the Jade Emperor.

In the New World, jade working is best known in connection with ancient Mesoamerica. Although nephrite does occur in this region, the material used was almost exclusively jadeite, a material that derived from the Motagua River region of eastern Guatemala. As early as 1500 BCE, beautifully polished jade celts were offered to a sacred spring at El Manati, Veracruz. The ritual context of these celts indicate that at this early date jade was already identified with water and agricultural symbolism. The later Olmec of the same region were the first Mesoamerican people to extensively work jade, and Olmec jade carvings constitute some of the finest jades known from Mesoamerica. The apogee of Olmec jade working occurred during the Middle Formative period (c. 900–500 BCE), during which fine translucent blue and green jades were fashioned into statues, pendants, and even life-size masks. In addition, jade celts continued to be worked, and at times these objects bear incised images of the Olmec maize god framed by four elements marking the world quarters. These images are schematic portrayals of the cosmos, with the maize god as the pivotal *axis mundi* at the world center. A number of Middle Formative Olmec caches feature jade celts oriented to the four directions, a pattern strikingly similar to the Chinese use of jades to mark the cardinal points. Among the later Classic Maya, jade was also identified with the maize god as the central world axis. A number of caches from Copán, Honduras, contain jade images of the maize god framed by other jades placed at the four directions.

Aside from being identified with verdant, life-giving maize, jade was also a basic symbol of life and the breath soul in ancient Mesoamerica. Among both the Formative Olmec and the later Classic Maya (c. 250–900 CE), breath is commonly portrayed as a bead floating before the face. The sixteenth-century chronicler Fray Bartolome de las Casas mentions that at the death of Pokom Maya kings, the expiring breath soul was captured in a precious bead. The common Mesoamerican funerary tradition of placing jade beads in the mouth probably concerned this breath soul, and this is probably also the case of the mosaic jade masks placed over the faces of Classic Maya kings. One example from Calakmul, Campeche, portrays breath volutes emerging from the nostrils and the corners of the mouth, much as if the jade mask constituted the breathing, living visage of the king. In Classic Maya art, jade beads and ear flares of floral form are often portrayed as exhaling breath. At times this breath or wind is embodied by a serpent that emerges from the cavelike opening of the ear flare, a convention also used by the later Aztec (c. 1250–1521 CE). In fact, the sixteenth-century *Florentine Codex* mentions that, according to Aztec belief, jade sources are surrounded by verdant growth due to the moist breath of the stone: "And thus do they know that this precious stone is there: [the herbs] always grow fresh; they grow green. They say that this is the breath of the green stone, and its breath is very fresh" (Sahagun, 1950–1982, 11:222).

Aside from identifying jade with breath and rain-bringing wind, the Aztec also compared jade to life-giving water. The Aztec referred to their goddess of terrestrial water as Chalchiuhtlicue, meaning She of the Jade Skirt. In Aztec art, water is commonly portrayed with jade discs interspersed with shells.

The Aztec appear to have shared with the Chinese a belief in the medicinal properties of jade. In particular jade seems to have been prescribed for relief from gastric pain—the term *jade,* in fact, derives from the early Spanish term for this purportedly medicinal stone, *piedra de ijada,* or "stone of the loins."

Aside from China and Mesoamerica, jade was also an esteemed ritual item in areas of Oceania. In New Caledonia, ceremonial nephrite axes of circular form denoted the rainmaking powers of high chiefs. Nephrite jade, or *pounamu,* also attained a certain religious significance among the Maori of New Zealand, whose neck pendants, called *hei-tiki,* are made of jade. These are passed down from generation to generation, in the process becoming symbols of the ancestors. Many of these pendants appear to have been recarved from ceremonial adzes, which are in themselves symbols of chiefly status and power. Especially esteemed were jade hand clubs, or *patu pounamu.* Many of these were granted personal names and, with the *hei-tiki,* continue to be valued heirlooms in the early twenty-first century.

SEE ALSO Breath and Breathing; Dragons; Funeral Rites, overview article and article on Mesoamerican Funeral Rites; Symbol and Symbolism.

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DAVID CARPENTER (1987)
KARL TAUBE (2005)

JAʿFAR AL-ṢĀDIQ (AHd. 148/765 CE) is one of the leading figures in early Islam expounding the teachings from the family of the Prophet. Active in Medina's scholarly circles, where he was born in 699 or 703, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq was the most frequently cited authority on points of law and tradition. His father, Muḥammad al-Bāqir, was an established scholar in Medina's learned circles. Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq transmitted his family's wisdom to Muslims of diverse backgrounds and exponents of other religions, theosophers as well as Gnostics, who frequented his house in quest of knowledge.

In Shīʿī tradition, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq is a central figure and the last common *imām* recognized by both the Ithnāʿasharīs and the Ismāʿīlīs. After his death, the Shīʿī *imāmī* community became dispersed into several groups, two of which, the Ithnāʿasharīs following Mūsā al-Kāẓim and the Ismāʿīlīs accepting Ismāʿīl, have survived into the twenty-first century. Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq's contribution and influence, however, are far wider. He is cited in a wide range of historical sources, Shīʿī as well as Ṣūfī and Sunnī, all of which acknowledge his insightful learning, clearly testifying to his influence.

Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq inherited the position of Shīʿī leadership from his father, al-Bāqir, and was acknowledged as a Shīʿī *imām.* His family saw him as a last attempt to reconcile all the diverse groups of Muslims. The first two decades of Jaʿfar's imamate witnessed very turbulent times in early Islam, with active revolts from some extremist Shīʿah, the uprising of the Zaydīyah, and the ʿAbbāsid movement of Hāshimīyah unfolding from the Kaysāniyah. During this time, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq remained distant and somewhat overshadowed politically by the numerous claimants who became embroiled in the power struggle. Some of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq's difficulties were also doctrinal and came from certain individuals classed later as the *ghulāt.* His father had already repudiated some of them earlier. The fact that Jaʿfar managed to keep out of politics allowed him time to participate not only in scholarly activities, but also to hold private sessions at his home in Medina, thus maintaining his family's practice.

THOUGHT AND LAW. The Shīʿī community formed around Jaʿfar, who followed the foundations laid by al-Bāqir. Elaborating and consolidating some of the doctrines put forward by his father, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq developed an extensive system of law and theology so that under him the Shīʿah became very significant, with their own distinct rituals and religious doctrine. Al-Bāqir had already laid the foundations of the *madhhab ahl al-bayt* with specific views on rites, rituals, and practices of Islam, a contribution acknowledged in Jaʿfar's own words. Al-Bāqir's juridical views spring from his epistemology, which meant that the *imām* is endowed with the hereditary knowledge that rendered him an ultimate source of knowledge. It was on this basis that the legal pattern of the Shī ʿah was to change and develop within the circle of his adherents under the leadership of his son and successor, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.

Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq's own contribution is readily apparent in the numerous traditions recorded from him in the various Shīʿī, Ṣūfī, and Sunnī works. In Shīʿī literature (especially Ithnāʿasharī and Ismāʿīlī literature), the prominence of Jaʿfar's traditions represent a wide range of subjects comprising both the *ʿibādāt* and the *muʿāmalāt,* incorporating topics such as faith, devotion, alms, fasting, pilgrimage, and *jihād,* as well as food, drink, social and business transactions, marriage and divorce, inheritance, criminal punishments, and a host of other issues dealing with every conceivable aspect of life. As is well known, law in Islam is an all-embracing body of religious commands and prohibitions, consisting not only a proper legal system, but also of ordinances governing worship and ritual.

Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq's teaching became so effective and influential that the Ithnāʿasharī legal school is called the *Jaʿfarī* *madhhab* after him. In addition, Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *fiqh* or jurisprudence, codified by al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, is based mainly on the traditions of al-Ṣādiq and al-Bāqir. It is practically impossible to envisage the development of the Shīʿī tradition without Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq; he is the most frequently quoted authority. Besides providing specific guidance to his own group, he was widely regarded as a central reference point for many others who sought his advice amidst the legal problems discussed and argued over in early Islam. Thus, within the context of his contemporaries in the Ḥijāz and Iraq, Jaʿfar was seen as a distinguished traditionist and jurist transmitting his family's views on a wide range of issues in his time.

Jaʿfar also represented his own distinct position among the theological issues of his day, such as those of the Murjiʾa, the Qādarīyah, the Jahmiyah, and the Muʿtazilah, undoubtedly based on his own understanding of religious leadership. He taught a middle position on the question of determinism, following his father's views, which portrayed human responsibility but preserved God's absolute authority. Knowledge was a central theme in his teaching and a duty for all Muslims to acquire through *ʿaql* (intellect). For him, the intellect is that supreme faculty by which God is worshiped and through which the knowledge of good and evil is acquired; this knowledge, in turn, teaches people, among other things, how to struggle against tendencies of their own lower nature in order to purify the self. His views on the imamate and those on *ʿaql, ʿilm* (knowledge), *ʿamāl* (action), and *īmān* were therefore geared towards self-actualization. His concern for personal ethics and morality, as well as individual communion with God, is thus aimed at obtaining that receptivity in the heart and mind that he sometimes refers to as *maʿrifah* (not to be confused with its later usage).

***IMĀM* AND TEACHER.** For the Shīʿah, therefore, besides building an impressive edifice of Shīʿī law and theology, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq also played the role of a spiritual guide, *imām*, and teacher, initiating followers into the inner paths of knowledge and wisdom. An important aspect of Jaʿfar's thought was a search for *ḥaqīqah* (truth) in the revelation, and his teachings certainly reveal Shiism as the esoteric aspect of Islam. Undoubtedly, the crux of his teaching is the concept of the imamate, which perceives the perpetual need among humankind for an authoritative teacher who is both divinely guided and infallible.

The *amānah* or trust that the *imām* undertakes from God renders him a guarantor (*ḥujjah*) and a link (*sabab*) with the celestial world for individuals who accept his authority. This authority of the *imām* is part of the universal history, which begins with the pre-creation covenant, *yawm al-mithāq*, manifested through the chain of prophets and their legatees, the *imām*s. The *imām*'s task is therefore the purification of humanity in order to prepare appropriate receptacles for the *ḥaqīqah*, which is the *raison d'être* of history, restoring human beings to their original home. Jaʿfar's spirituality was not simply escapism, but expressed a genuine desire to articulate this experience for others to recognize and emulate. This was his role as an *imām*—to help others achieve this *maʿrifah qalbīyah* (cognition of the heart). This *maʿrifah* is channeled and communicated to the believers by the *imām*, who helps the faithful achieve *ḥaqīqah*. Although Jaʿfar's traditions communicate spirituality, he did not entertain extreme Gnosticism with the insular, individualistic, and anti-intellectual implications found in some later Ṣūfī movements. The vision of human hearts perceiving the realities of faith in human thought does not involve an esotericism refuting the authority of the intellect or that of the community. Self-sufficiency, a cardinal sin in the Qurʾān, can easily transpose into intellectual pride, and consequently according to Jaʿfar, human *ʿilm* is subordinated to God's gift of *maʿrifah,* and it is the prophets and the *imām*s who form the point of this contact between humans and God.

Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq's ideas were especially pervasive in the development of the Ṣūfī movement, where the same issues were raised, though in a more individualistic manner. Jaʿfar's terminology made significant contributions to Ṣūfī thought, especially in employing experience as a hermeneutical principle. Paul Nywia (1970) emphasizes this contribution of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, referring to his esoteric interpretation of the Qurʾān, collected by al-Sulamī (d. 1021). Muslim conscience is not in the world of imagination but in the living experience itself, and the external symbols have to be transformed by experience to become the truth. It is therefore important to internalize the letters or symbols in the Qurʾān through experience. Jaʿfar thus discerned in the Qurʾān a merger between the inner and the outer meanings, and he put forward a new exegesis that is no longer a reading of the Qurʾān, but a reading of the experience in a new interpretation of the Qurʾān *(taʾwīl).*

Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq is also linked to several other major disciplines of divination, including alchemy; the science of *jafr*, which includes letter-number correspondences; and the occult arts, including pulmonancy (divination from body pulses) and hemerology (divination using calendars of auspicious and inauspicious days). Many of these were popular among the Turks and Persians, and they have been reported in works known as *fāl-nāma*s. On the Indian subcontinent the *fāl-nāma*s played an important role in the popular life of Muslims, as well as Hindus, evidence of which is found in Sindhi *pothī*s (private religious manuscripts). In South Asia, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq is credited with writing *khab-nāma*s (interpretations of dreams), sometimes referred to in Sindhi literature as *risāla* or *bayān.*

Jaʿfar's multiple roles are clearly evident in the development of intellectual and spiritual currents of his time. His seminal role in articulating Shīʿī thought provided a momentum for the development of law and theology, apparent in the monumental literature preserved in his name.

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ARZINA R. LALANI (2005)

JAGUARS. The jaguar (*Panthera onca*) is the largest native American cat, and for over three thousand years it has been one of Central and South America's most important symbolic animals. Sometimes associated with the puma (*Felis concolor*) and ocelot (*Felis pardalis*), the jaguar was a recurring motif in the religious iconography of many major pre-Columbian civilizations, including the Olmec, Maya, and Aztec in Mesoamerica and the Chavín and Moche in South America. In the twenty-first century, throughout tropical rain-forest areas, the jaguar still plays an important role in the spiritual beliefs of indigenous Amerindian societies.

As with all animal symbols, jaguar imagery is more than artistic depiction. It represents the symbolic joining of animal and human features and qualities and epitomizes the ways physical attributes and supernatural qualities could be fused to represent deities, spirits, shamans, and divine rulers. Beautiful and deadly, the jaguar's strength and agility made it a paragon of predatory male human virtues associated with hunters, warriors, sacrifice, and war. Its stealth, night vision, and nocturnal hunting habits identified it with sorcery and the spirit realm. Its widespread status as "Master of Animals" probably derives from its ability to hunt on land, up trees, and in water, and from the fact that while all animals are its prey, it is prey to none. Only humans kill jaguars, a fact that may account for the perception that both share a spiritual equivalence as equals.

In Mesoamerica the jaguar icon first appeared in the art of the Olmec civilization (1250–400 BCE) as monumental stone sculptures and intricate jade carvings, such as those found at sites such as La Venta and San Lorenzo in eastern Mexico. A common image is a half-human, half-feline creature with characteristic downturned snarling mouth, which has been interpreted as a were-jaguar—the supernatural offspring of Olmec rulers and mythical jaguar beings. Some sculptures depict what are regarded as shamans transforming into spirit felines. Broadly contemporary was the cult center of Chavín de Huántar in Peru (850–200 BCE), where startling images of jaguars and animals and humans with jaguar features were carved in stone, cast in gold, and worked in textiles and pottery. A decorative frieze at Chavín shows a procession of carved-stone jaguars and humans with feline fangs and claws, some of which appear associated with the hallucinogenic San Pedro cactus and which in turn indicates a shamanic religion.

Once established, the symbolic and spiritual relationship between the jaguar and human elites appears to have become a widespread phenomenon. As an icon linking spiritual dominance, rulership, sacrifice, and war, jaguar imagery became a recurring feature in art. Among Mesoamerica's Classic Maya (250–850 CE), jaguar pelts were worn by dynastic warrior kings and were used to cover royal thrones, themselves sometimes carved in feline form, as at Palenque and Chichén Itzá. Elsewhere, jaguar and ocelot apparel featured as war regalia, and jaguar imagery was associated with hieroglyphic texts referring to war and human sacrifice.

Royal titles incorporated the jaguar icon, and deceased kings were sometimes buried with the animal's skin, claws, and fangs. The sacrifice of fifteen jaguars by Yax Pac, king of Copán, to his ancestors suggests a spiritual identity between royalty and the jaguar, exemplified perhaps by the Classic Maya jaguar god of the underworld. At the later Toltec-Maya city of Chichén Itzá, jaguars appear eating what may be human hearts—perhaps symbolic representations of human sacrifice by a jaguar warrior elite. On Peru's north coast, jaguar imagery was similarly associated with warfare and human sacrifice in the Moche culture (100–650 CE). Master potters depicted sacrificial victims, perhaps prisoners of war, alongside jaguar figures, mountains, and possibly the

San Pedro cactus. Anthropomorphic figures appear with snarling jaguar fangs, giving the impression of a shamanic religion based on the transformation of powerful individuals into a supernatural jaguar being.

The jaguar played an equally important, though better documented, role in Mesoamerican Aztec religion and iconography. Known as *ocelotl*, it was regarded as the bravest of beasts, proud "ruler of the animal world." Its association with warfare was acknowledged in eponymous metaphors describing valiant soldiers, such as the elite Jaguar Warrior Society (*ocelomeh*). Religion, mythology, and astrology combined in the belief that those born under the calendrical sign *ocelotl* shared the jaguar's aggressive nature and were well suited to a warrior's life. Aztec sorcerers wielded the jaguar's pelt and claws as magical weapons during nocturnal rituals.

Aztec rulers also appropriated jaguar imagery. The emperor wore jaguar apparel in war and held court seated on thrones draped with the animal's pelt. Tezcatlipoca, the supreme Aztec deity, was patron of royalty and inventor of sacrifice whose alter ego was a huge jaguar known as Tepeyolotl. At the center of the Aztec universe—the Great Temple of Tenochtitlan (Mexico City)—complete feline bodies were interred with balls of jade gripped in their fangs. The temple was regarded mythologically as the "cosmic water mountain," jade symbolized water, and the jaguar was associated with fertility.

The metaphysical associations of the pre-Columbian jaguar survived into the colonial period, merging with the imagery of Old World lions and tigers and influenced by Christian beliefs. The animal's spiritual ambivalence, variously signifying good and evil, fertility and death, also persisted. In sixteenth-century Mexico sorcerers known as *nahuallis* were accused by the Spanish of devil worship, murder, insurrection, and changing into jaguars. Elsewhere in Mesoamerica the jaguar became Christ's defender, its pelt symbolizing its protective role in the passion. At the Maya village of Chamula, in the highlands of the Mexican state of Chiapas, there is a New Year ritual called the "Jaguar Skin Dance" understood as part of Christ's passion. During this dance, civil and religious leaders take turns to dance wearing a jaguar skin that symbolizes God's jaguar, which defended Christ against demons. The one who wears the skin impersonates the defender of Christ. Images of the jaguar also replaced the lion at the feet of St. Jerome, and for the Maya of Chamula only civic leaders and shamans could have the jaguar as their animal soul companion. In Colombia, by contrast, aggressive aspects of jaguar imagery were mobilized against the Spanish in the ferocious "tiger men" who fought the white invaders.

In modern Central and South America, jaguar masks and costumes are popular folk art items. In rural areas they are worn by dancers in religiously syncretic springtime festivals that mix Catholic beliefs with pre-Columbian ideas concerning the protection of crops and livestock. In remoter areas of Mexico echoes of ancient blood rituals survive in fiestas, where young men dressed as jaguars fight to spill blood for the jaguar deity, who then sends rain to fertilize the maize. Jaguar masks can be mainly decorative and made of wood or fabric and worn as part of dance costumes, as at the village of Totoltepec in the Mexican state of Guerrero. They can also be more like helmets, made from toughened wild pig skin, and worn as protection during violent ritualised fights between young men dressed as jaguars, as at the villages of Acatlán and Zitlala, also in the Mexican state of Guerrero.

In the tropical rain-forests of lowland South America, the jaguar remains a more visceral spiritual force as well as a feared and admired predator. In Amazonian mythology the jaguar was the original possessor of fire, though now only a reflected glow can be seen in its mirrored eyes. Jaguar metaphors signify bravery in battle and success in hunting, both in the physical world and the supernatural realm, where it is the spirit helper of shamans and chiefs. For Amazonian Indians, meeting a jaguar on a jungle path can be an unnerving experience, as one can never be sure whether it is the natural animal, the shade of an ancestor, or a malevolent shaman-turned-jaguar on a mission of vengeance against some enemy.

As the natural jaguar is the rain-forest's most powerful and resourceful hunter, so the supernatural jaguar is the most potent and dangerous spiritual force. Dominant shamans identify themselves with the jaguar, their reputation as successful curers based on their superior ability to defeat illness-bearing spirits. These jaguar-shamans may wear necklaces of jaguar fangs and claws, growl during trance, and eat the animal's magical strength-giving flesh. The spiritual equivalence between jaguars and shamans is sometimes made explicit in the widespread belief that, under the influence of hallucinogens, some shamans transform into jaguars in body as well as spirit.

SEE ALSO Mesoamerican Religions; South American Indian Religions.

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JAINISM. Jainism is a South Asian religious tradition which takes its name from those (Sanskrit, *Jaina;* English, "Jain") who follow the teachings and example of authoritative teachers called Jina (conqueror). These teachers are also called "makers of the ford" (Sanskrit, *tīrthaṃkara*), signifying their construction of a community of monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen that provides the means to cross the ocean of rebirth. Jain tradition holds that twenty-four Jinas appear in succession throughout regular temporal movements in the course of eternity and communicate the unchanging doctrine of correct knowledge (*samyagjñāna*), correct faith (*samyagdarśana*), and correct behavior (*samyagcāritra*).

As a soteriology, Jainism teaches that enlightenment in the form of omniscience and subsequent freedom from rebirth can be attained by progressive renunciatory withdrawal—manifesting itself most markedly as nonviolence (*ahiṃsā*)—from physical and sensory interaction with the surrounding world, which is constituted at all levels by embodied life monads.

According to the census of 1991, there are about 3.35 million Jains living in India, while an estimated 100,000 are domiciled abroad, largely in Africa, Britain, and North America.

BEGINNINGS. The historical origins of Jainism can be located in the teachings of Pārśva and Mahāvīra, who are traditionally regarded as the twenty-third and twenty-fourth Jinas of the present time-cycle. Both flourished in the Ganges Basin region of eastern India. The evidence of early Buddhist writings confirms that Mahāvīra was a contemporary of the Buddha, predeceasing him by some years. Since Western scholarship has reached near unanimity that the Buddha lived from approximately 480 to 400 BCE, Mahāvīra's dates must of necessity be changed from the traditional 599 to 527 BCE to about 490 to 410 BCE.

The Jain scriptures maintain that Pārśva lived around two centuries before Mahāvīra. He must therefore be dated to around the seventh century BCE. However, the evidence for the historicity of Pārśva is neither overwhelming nor contemporaneous. Buddhist references to Jain ascetics following four restraints (involving nonviolence, nonlying, not taking what has not been given, and nonpossession) of the sort traditionally attributed to Pārśva, as opposed to the five vows (the four restraints already mentioned, plus celibacy) taught by Mahāvīra, suggest that some sort of ascetic community descended from Pārśva was still in existence in the fifth century BCE, although it is not clearly identifiable subsequently. To argue that Mahāvīra reformed a preexisting style of ascetic practice promulgated by Pārśva and fitted it into a wider doctrinal setting is merely to frame a hypothesis, but it is one which makes sense of later Jain insistence that there was a link between the two teachers.

The broad trajectory of Mahāvīra's career as conveyed by tradition is stereotypical in that it was enacted by virtually all the other Jinas. The main events of his life involved the abandonment on reaching full maturity of a domestic life of royal ease, a subsequent austere search for knowledge, the gaining of full awakening, the subsequent conversion of followers and founding of a community, and death at an advanced age followed by a cremation appropriate for a king.

Mahāvīra's basic teachings, as opposed to the developed doctrine of classical Jainism that took final shape around the beginning of the first millennium CE (see below), can be reconstructed from what are accepted as being the oldest Jain texts. These teachings are anti-Brahmanic in their rejection of the validity of the Vedic sacrificial ritual, and they frequently intersect with elements of other contemporaneous renunciatory doctrines that circulated in the Ganges basin area. It was surely Mahāvīra's thoroughgoing analysis (quickly to be attributed to the quality of omniscience) of the multilayered living world which encompasses human beings, and his call for a heroic change of stance toward that world which provided a combination of the radically subversive and the inspirational, that was to render his teachings influential and long lasting.

According to Mahāvīra, the world is full of eternal life monads called *jīva* (from Sanskrit, *jīv* [live]; the oldest Jain texts also use the term *āyā,* equivalent to Sanskrit *ātman* [self], found in Brahmanic texts such as the Upaniṣads), which in their purest form possess the qualities of complete knowledge, energy, and bliss. However, those life monads, trapped in the world of rebirth (*saṃsāra*) as a result of their violent activities, are of necessity embodied in not just human and animal shape, but also in plant and insect form, extending down to those that exist in earth, water, air, and fire. Interaction with this world of visible and invisible lifeforms, even through such basic activities as motion and breathing, inexorably effects destruction (*hiṃsā*) that leads through rebirth to further embodiment and gradual debasement of status. The only way to escape this perilous situation is to withdraw from performing, promoting, and approving physical, mental, and vocal "action" (*karman*). The sole appropriate mode of life that can facilitate the full practice of nonviolence (*ahiṃsā*) is ascetic renunciation.

HISTORY. A group of disciples (*gaṇadhara*), originally Brāhmaṇs, is credited with channeling Mahāvīra's teachings by putting them into textual form and taking over the direction of the community. Most significant among these *gaṇadhara* were Gautama Indrabhūti, portrayed in the scriptures as an interlocutor of Mahāvīra; Sudharman, credited by the Śvetāmbara sect (see below) with initiating its ascetic lineage; and Jambū, the last individual of this world age to gain enlightenment.

The early history of Jainism can be broadly reconstructed. Although the community never completely abandoned the area of its origins in the Ganges Basin, it quickly moved along the main trade routes of ancient South Asia, and by around the third to second centuries BCE it could be found in the northwestern city of Mathurā and in the Tamil country in the far south of the peninsula. Archaeological and inscriptional evidence from Mathurā bears witness to the existence there of ascetic lineages, a largely bourgeois lay community, and a cult centering on commemorative devotional worship of the Jinas in iconic form.

Mathurā and its environs seem to have been the center of a monastic community that styled itself *ardhaphālaka* (partially clothed), owing to its members being completely naked apart from a distinctive strip of cloth carried over the forearm. By the beginning of the common era, there existed a variety of styles of Jain monastic praxis, in which the wearing or abandonment of clothes were emblematic. This originally fluid situation became polarized by around the fourth to fifth centuries CE with the formation of two sects, the Śvetāmbara (white-clad), whose monks and nuns wear white robes, and the Digambara (sky-clad), whose monks go naked.

Further differences between these two groups were to emerge, although there was no disagreement about the central teachings of Jainism. The Digambaras were to reject the authenticity of the scriptural canon that emerged among the Śvetāmbaras (see below) and also claimed, unlike the Śvetāmbaras, that the fully enlightened individual (*kevalin*) transcended normal human behavior in not needing to eat, drink, or sleep. The Śvetāmbaras have always accepted that women are capable of gaining the goal of the religions in the same manner as men, whereas the Digambaras deny this on the grounds that women cannot, for social reasons, go naked like the true ascetic, and because they are incapable of any form of intense moral action. There are today only a small number of Digambara nuns who accept that because of the necessity to wear clothing they will only be able to make serious spiritual progress when reborn as males.

While other Jain sects existed, such as the Yāpanīyas who eventually disappeared around the beginning of the second millennium CE, the Śvetāmbara and Digambara sects have remained the two main pillars of the Jain community, with each claiming its interpretation of the practice of Jainism to be the more valid. The prestige of these two sects in the first millennium was enhanced by the achievement of a number of celebrated teachers, such as Siddhasena Divākara (Śvetāmbara; sixth century) and Akalaṅka (Digambara; ninth century). The Śvetāmbara Haribhadra (of uncertain date, possibly sixth or ninth centuries) left a particularly impressive body of writings in a wide variety of genres and became a major authority for later tradition.

Initially Jainism gained less consistent royal support than Buddhism, although at least one monarch, Khāravela (second century BCE) of the kingdom of Kaliṅga (modern Orissa in eastern India), was a devotee. However, Jainism subsequently deployed some of the imperial symbolism current in north India and presented itself in a manner congenial to aristocratic patrons as well as those of a trading background. This was particularly the case in medieval south India, where Digambara Jainism, with its ideology of spiritual transformation couched in the imagery of heroic conquest, was patronized by rulers and feudatories of prominent dynasties such as the Cālukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The greatest Jain monument to the interaction between royal power and ascetic renunciation is the fifty-two-foot-high image, erected by the general Cāmuṇḍarāya in 951 at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa (south Karnataka), of Bāhubali, a prince who withdrew from martial violence to become an ascetic and was, according to Digambara tradition, the first individual of this world age to achieve liberation. The ritual anointment of this image, which occurs every twelve years, attracts huge numbers of onlookers and is one of India's most spectacular religious ceremonies. Although Jainism was an integral part of south Indian culture and Digambara monks played an important role in the early promulgation of literature in languages like Tamil and Kannada, the religion gradually lost its access to political power, and from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries vigorous anti-Jain Śaiva movements supplanted it in royal favor and effected large-scale conversions to Hinduism.

From the medieval period, the religious affairs of the image-worshiping Digambara community have been conducted by orange-robed celibate clerics called *bhaṭṭāraka* (a title signifying "learned"), specialists in ritual and the scriptures who occupy pontifical seats endowed with some of the trappings of secular kingship. The most well-known *bhaṭṭāraka* seats are at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, Mūdbiḍrī, and Hombuja in Karnataka and Kolhāpur and Karānjā in Maharashtra. Those Digambaras, largely to be found in Madhya Pradesh, who do not approve of image-worship and the presiding role of *bhaṭṭārakas* assign a prominent ritual position to sacred texts. The Digambara ascetic lineage was revived in the nineteenth century after becoming virtually defunct in the late medieval period. Today the Digambara Jains, around one million in number, remain a numerically small, although resilient community in Maharashtra, Karnataka, Rajasthan, and Tamil Nadu.

Since the fifth century CE, the main center of Śvetāmbara Jainism has been in Gujarat in western India. The Digambaras had lost serious influence in that region by the eleventh century, according to Śvetāmbara tradition, because of their failure in public debate. The greatest figure in medieval Gujarati Jainism was Hemacandra (1089–1172), a polymath monk who became court scholar of the Caulukya dynasty during the reigns of Siddharāja and his nephew Kumārapāla (1144–1173). Hemacandra is credited with having persuaded Kumārapāla to rule his kingdom in partial accordance with Jain ethical principles. The *Yogaśāstra,* written by Hemacandra as a compendium of lay behavior and still an authoritative text, may have been intended to guide Kumārapāla. Western India is the location of the most conspicuous exemplifications of Śvetāmbara religiosity, the great temple complexes built on Mount Śatruñjaya near Pālitāna, Mount Girnar near Junagaḍh, and Mount Ābū, the major initial impetus for which came in the eleventh century. Of particular note is the Dharnā Vihāra temple at Rāṇakpur in south Rajasthan, which was consecrated in 1441.

Beginning in the eleventh century a variety of Śvetāmbara sublineages (*gaccha*) appeared in western India, deriving from teachers who claimed to be reforming ascetic practice or who advocated ritual and calendrical innovations. While all represented themselves as promulgating the true form of Jainism reaching back to Mahāvīra's disciple Sudharman and converted numerous lay followers, only three of these have remained significant until the present day: the Kharatara Gaccha (founded in the eleventh century), the Añcala Gaccha (founded in the twelfth century), and the Tapā Gaccha (founded in the thirteenth century). Of these, the Tapā Gaccha is today by far the most prominent Śvetāmbara subsect in terms of numbers and intellectual and social prestige.

During the premodern period, Śvetāmbara Jainism in western India often found itself in an embattled situation because of the dominance of Islam. On occasion, however, Jain monks had access to political authority and were able to intercede to gain privileges for their community. Most notably, Hīravijaya Sūri (1527–1596), the head of the Tapā Gaccha, had a preceptorial relationship with the Moghul emperor Akbar (r. 1555–1605), at times prevailing upon him to abandon hunting and the slaughter of animals for food.

Controversies were to emerge within the Śvetāmbara Jain community in the early modern period. In the fifteenth century a layman called Loṅkā provided the impetus for the eventual appearance of new Śvetāmbara lineages that adopted a more radical approach to ascetic practice and abandoned temple-oriented Jainism and its attendant image cult. The Sthānakvāsī (Living in Lodging Houses) sect emerged in the seventeenth century, gaining its name from the fact that its ascetics took their temporary residence not in halls specially built beside temples but in dilapidated or unused buildings. Sthānakvāsī monks and nuns adopted the permanent wearing of the "mouth-shield" (*muhpattī*), hitherto only used on ritual occasions, in token of their continual adherence to nonviolence through minimizing injury to organisms in the air. The Sthānakvāsins have remained an important component of Jainism, particularly in Gujarat and Panjab.

In the eighteenth century a monk called Bhikṣu left the Sthānakvāsī community in the Marwar region of Rajasthan in rejection of its perceived laxity and founded a sect that came to be called Terāpanthī (Following the Thirteen Principles). This sect, recognizable by its ascetics' adoption of a mouth-shield more extended in shape than that of the Sthānakvāsins, was particularly radical in its espousal of a scripturally derived mode of life, and it accordingly claimed that the duty of the ascetic lay in the attainment of his or her own liberation, not in facilitating the gaining of merit. From Bhikṣu's time, sole authority in the Terāpanthī sect has been concentrated in the hands of each succeeding teacher, unlike the more fragmented situation prevailing in other Jain sects. In postindependence India, the Terāpanthī sect was associated with a campaign to uplift public morals and ban nuclear weapons.

SCRIPTURE. For Jain tradition, the scriptural corpus (*āgama*) formulated in identical manner by each Jina is eternal and totally authoritative in that it conveys the teaching of omniscient beings. Both the Śvetāmbara and Digambara sects maintain that there were originally fourteen texts called Pūrva (Prior) that eventually became lost, with some surviving texts representing a residue of what had once been a huge quantity of textual material.

Viewed historically, the Jain scriptural corpus as transmitted by the Śvetāmbaras developed over a considerable period of time, with the version current today apparently having been established at the council of Valabhī in the fifth century CE, in the last of a series of redactions. Only a relative chronology can be established. While some portions of the scriptures, such as the first chapter of the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra,* can realistically be dated back almost to the time of Mahāvīra, when composition and transmission were oral, others are (from the stylistic point of view) productions of the early common era, by which time writing had become the preferred method of transmission.

The language in which the canon was composed is called Ardhamāgadhī (Half Māgadhī), signifying a connection with the Magadha region of the Ganges Basin. Although having a vernacular base, this most likely functioned as a scriptural language only and was never spoken as a mother tongue. Some demonstrably later portions of the canon are composed in Mahārāṣṭrī Prākrit, a literary vernacular of the early common era.

The scriptural canon as accepted today by image-worshiping Śvetāmbaras consists of a large number of texts, divided into various subgroups. (There is no generally accepted number of texts, as the Sthānakvāsins and Terāpanthins omit thirteen from the total listed below and other enumerations have also been in circulation.) The first subgroup, the Twelve "Limbs" (*Aṅga*), consists of:

1. The *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, which describes ascetic behavior and contains a biography of Mahāvīra.
2. The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga Sūtra,* which contains a wide range of material including accounts of non-Jain teachings.

3. The *Sthānāṅga Sūtra.*
4. The *Samavāyāṅga Sūtra,* encyclopedic texts listing significant categories for all aspects of Jainism.
5. The *Vyākhyāprajñapti Sūtra,* which records dialogues between Mahāvīra and his disciple Indrabhūti concerning a wide range of cosmological, ontological, and disciplinary issues.
6. The *Jñātādharmakathāḥ Sūtra,* exemplary and legendary narratives.
7. The *Upāsakadaśāḥ,* narratives of pious laymen.
8. The *Antakṛddaśāḥ,* narratives of those who ended rebirth.
9. The *Anuttaraupapātikadaśāḥ,* narratives describing those reborn as gods.
10. The *Praśnavyākaraṇāni,* questions and answers about doctrinal issues.
11. The *Vipākaśruta,* descriptions of the operation of *karma.*
12. The *Dṛṣṭivāda*, which were accepted as lost by the early common era.

The second subgroup, made up of the Twelve "Subordinate Limbs" (*Upāṅga*), includes:

1. The *Aupapātika Sūtra,* a description of a sermon by Mahāvīra and an account of non-Jain teachings and ascetics.
2. The *Rājapraśnīya Sūtra,* a discussion between King Prasenajit and a monk concerning ontological matters.
3. The *Jīvājīvābhigama Sūtra,* which describes the various categories of existence.
4. The *Prajñāpanā Sūtra,* which describes a wide range of epistemological and ontological topics.
5. The *Sūryaprajñapti Sūtra.*
6. The *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti Sūtra.*
7. The *Candraprajñapti Sūtra,* cosmological and astronomical texts.

8–12. A series of short narrative texts.

The third subgroup is formed by the *Cheda Sūtra*s, which consist of seven texts dealing with disciplinary matters. The eighth chapter of the first, the *Ācāradaśāḥ,* is the *Kalpa Sūtra.* This text, which contains a biography of Mahāvīra, disciplinary recommendations, and the early lineage of the Jain ascetic community, is the focus of the most important period of the Śvetāmbara ritual year, Paryuṣan, when it is publicly recited and illustrations of it are displayed. The *Mahāniśītha Sūtra* is, on the grounds of language and content, later than the other texts, and its status was a source of controversy during the Medieval period.

The fourth subgroup consists of the "Fundamental" (*mūla*) Sūtras—namely, the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra,* the *Daśavaikālika Sūtra,* the *Āvaśyaka Sūtra,* and (treated together) the *Piṇḍaniryukti* and *Oghaniryukti*—which set out the parameters of ascetic behavior and are to be studied at the beginning of the renunciant career.

The fifth subgroup consists of the "Mixed" Texts, which are, according to the most common enumeration, eleven short (and generally late) works describing subjects such as astrology and ascetic ritual.

Finally, the sixth subgroup consists of two hermeneutical texts, the *Nandī Sūtra* and the *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra.*

There is at present no definitive critical edition of the Śvetāmbara Jain scriptures. An extensive exegetical literature was produced from the early common era, with the oldest examples being the Prakrit mnemonic verses, called *niryukti,* attributed to the early–common era teacher Bhadrabāhu. The leading commentator in Sanskrit was Abhayadeva Sūri (eleventh century).

The Digambaras reject the authority of the Śvetāmbara scriptural canon in favor of texts that emerged at the beginning of the common era and are regarded as representing the residue of the ancient tradition. The Prakrit in which they are written, whose origins lie in the Mathurā region, is generally called Jaina Śaurasenī. The *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* (Scripture of Six Parts) attributed to the monk Dharasena (c. second century CE) and the approximately contemporary *Kaṣāyaprābhṛta* (Treatise on the Passions) are massive compilations dealing with the soul and its varying connections with karma. Also authoritative for the Digambaras are two early–common era works on ascetic behavior, the *Mūlācāra* (Basic behavior) of Vaṭṭakera and the *Bhagavatī Ārādhanā* (Revered accomplishing) of Śivārya. Of slightly more uncertain date are the influential verse treatises of Kundakunda, which adumbrate a radically interiorized, soul-oriented version of Jainism and have remained highly influential to the present day.

Unless they are scholars, Jains of both sects have generally had the scriptural tradition mediated to them in the form of practical canons consisting of short, often epitomizing texts that have sometimes been produced in relatively recent times. For the last two millennia, Jain writers have been major contributors to Indian literature in a wide variety of languages and in all the important literary genres. The literary language known as Apabhraṃśa was employed predominantly by Jain poets whose willingness to use popular song meters ensured their compositions wide circulation in western India between 1000 and 1300. A vast number of Jain hymns were composed in early forms of vernacular languages like Hindi and Gujarati.

TEACHINGS. Although tradition regards the teachings of Jainism as having been enunciated in full by Mahāvīra, it is possible to trace an evolution through the scriptural texts that reveals the intermittent influence of non-Jain philosophical positions and attempts to tighten up doctrinal structures. The introduction of the ontological categories of motion (*dharma*) and rest (*adharma*) and an atomic theory to explain the functioning of the material world are cases in point.

The textual catalyst for the formulation of a definitive version of the teachings is the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* (Sūtra on the meaning of the reals) by Umāsvāti, a monk belonging to a northern lineage who flourished around the fourth century CE. This sūtra is claimed, with some variants, by both the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras. Using the medium of the short rule formulated in Sanskrit (*sūtra*), Umāsvāti identified and explained the main components of Jain teaching as they had developed throughout the canonical period in a manner that has remained authoritative until the present day.

Jainism is both dualist—in that it posits that the soul is different from nature—and pluralist—in its acceptance of the existence of a multitude of separate entities in the universe. Contrary to Brahmanic ideology, it teaches that there is no creator god and that the universe has existed and will continue to do so throughout eternity. Reality, identified as both permanent and subject to change, is composed of five (or six) categories: the *jīva,* or "life monad," and the four (or five) categories of non-*jīva,* namely motion, rest, atoms, and space (the Digambaras add time). The *jīva*—while eternal and in its purest form possessed of consciousness (including the faculty of understanding), energy, and bliss—embodies itself in six forms: earth-bodied, fire-bodied, air-bodied, water-bodied, stationary (in the form of plants and trees), and moving (including insects, animals, men, gods, and hell-beings). These embodiments are further differentiated by the number of senses they possess.

The cause of the external differentiation and psychic degradation of the *jīva* is *karma*, envisaged in Jainism as a fine material substance not dissimilar to dust. Each modulation of the *jīva,* whether physical, mental, or vocal, intentional or unintentional, attracts *karma* to itself. The more intense the modulation, the more karmic substance is attracted to the *jīva* to occlude the efficacy of its innate characteristics. Some awkwardnesses in this explanation had to be resolved by later Jain systematizers. For example, an allowance for the possibility of intention as motivating the quality of action was introduced to modify what might otherwise have been an excessively severe moral vision. Jain theorists were to develop, over almost a millennium and a half, a highly elaborate taxonomy of *karma*, charting in detail the subdivisions of the "harming" (*ghātiyā*) type, responsible for the diminution of faith, knowledge, and energy and the creation of false and deluded attitudes to the world, and the "nonharming" (*aghātiyā*), responsible for setting the parameters of existence in terms of birth, gender, length of life, and quality of experience.

Jainism is envisaged in ideal terms as a path of self-discipline that can progressively effect the "warding off" (*saṃvara*) of the influx of new *karma* and the "wearing away" (*nirjarā*) of that *karma* which has already been bound. When a human being (the only creature in the universe capable of this) destroys the harming *karma*s through the fire of asceticism (*tapas*), he gains pure omniscience and becomes an omniscient *kevalin* (Jinahood is reached by a particularly rare type of *karma*). When the karmically dictated period of life reaches its end, the *jīva* leaves its human shell to gain liberation (*mokṣa*) and moves in one instant to the roof of the universe, where it dwells in a state of pure energy, bliss, and knowledge along with but separate from all the other liberated (*siddha*) *jīva*s. Although the path is presented in universalist terms, Jainism posits the existence of a category of *jīva* called *abhavya* that is innately and eternally incapable of gaining liberation, thus ensuring that the world of rebirth will never be emptied.

Since any epistemological judgment short of that based on omniscience is necessarily incomplete, direct cognition and inference (along with two other advanced forms of knowledge accepted by Jainism, namely the ability to read other people's minds and clairvoyance) can only provide a partially correct understanding of a multiform world that is simultaneously permanent and changing. In acknowledgement of the complex nature of reality, Jain teachers formulated the "Many-pointed Doctrine" (*anekāntavāda*), which stipulates that any given object must be approached from seven standpoints (*naya*) in order to construct a valid judgment about it. The various judgments that can be formed are nonetheless provisional and should ideally be prefaced with the word *syāt* (maybe, perhaps).

In medieval times this pluralist style of analysis served the polemical purpose of destabilizing Brāhmaṇ claims concerning permanent essences and Buddhist teachings about impermanent constructed entities, both regarded by the Jains as partial and inadequate explanations of reality. In more modern times, the Many-pointed Doctrine has enabled liberal-minded Jains to present their religion as unique in terms of its tolerance and promotion of peace.

RENUNCIANT PRACTICE. Historically, the monk (most commonly, *muni, sādhu;* in the earliest period, *nirgrantha* [bondless]) has been the main representative of Jain values. This central role is commemorated within the most ubiquitous portion of Jain liturgy, the "Five Homages" (*Pañcanamaskāra*) *mantra,* in which homage is expressed in Prākrit to the omniscient teachers, the liberated souls, the teachers and preceptors, and all monks in the world.

According to the *Kalpa Sūtra,* an order of nuns was in existence at Mahāvīra's death that was three times as numerous as that of the monks, and female renunciation has been an important dimension of Jainism until the present day, with senior nuns having authority over the female order. However, the Jain nun has always been in a subordinate position to the monk and, invariably, female ascetic experience and its obligations were vectored through the prescriptions of male practitioners. No writings by nuns appear to have been produced before the modern period.

The nascent Jain order seems to have taken the broad structure of its practice from Brahmanic models. The Vedic term *vrata* (calling, vow) is used by the Jains to refer to the "Great Vows" (*mahāvrata*), the five main renunciatory vows defining the practice of an ascetic. Ascetic initiation, which is perceived as a form of radical transformation, is called *dīkṣā,* a term originally signifying the symbolic rebirth of the sponsor of the Vedic sacrifice.

In order to enter the Jain ascetic community, the novice (male or female) undergoes a preliminary initiatory period during which key texts are memorized and the implications of ascetic life conveyed. In the formal ceremony of initiation the presiding senior ascetic gives the novice, as tokens of entry into a transformed mode of life, a new name and various implements (among the Śvetāmbaras, a pair of robes, an alms bowl, a whisk emblematic of nonviolence, a staff, and, for Sthānakvāsī and Terāpanthī initiates, a mouth-shield; among the Digambaras the fully initiated monk who must henceforth go naked is given only a whisk and a water pot for cleaning himself after evacuating bodily wastes). In ancient times the novice pulled out his or her hair in token of sexual and social renunciation, although the general custom today is for the head to be shaved. Thereafter, the ascetic will be a member of a lineage which traces its teacher-pupil relationship back to Mahāvīra (in the case of the Digambaras) or his disciple Sudharman (in the case of the Śvetāmbaras) and will be under the control of senior ascetics who convey the wording and meaning of the scriptures and prescribe and keep watch over all aspects of behavior.

The life of the Jain ascetic is intended to provide the appropriate environment for the enactment of the requirements of nonviolence and the other vows, and thus effect a diminution of the passions. It is envisaged as involving a heroic struggle to overcome the various physical and mental discomforts (*parīṣaha*) that assail the renunciant. A continually watchful and controlled life is schematized in the form of three "Protections" (*gupti*) that involve the guarding of mind, body, and speech, and five "Careful Actions" (*samiti*) that enjoin continual care in movement, speech, seeking for food, receiving or putting down any object, and voiding the bowels.

Wandering mendicancy punctuated by short periods of fixed residence is obligatory, other than for those ascetics who are too infirm or engaged in scholarly activity and during the period of the rains, when the peripatetic life is suspended and monks and nuns live (separately) in lodging halls provided by the laity. Study, religious exercises, and preaching to the laity are the main occupations of ascetics during those periods when they spend time in villages and towns.

As Jain ascetics are not permitted to possess money, cook food, or grow crops, they must seek suitable vegetarian sustenance from (preferably) lay supporters or anybody appropriate who is disposed to give it. Acts of donation to ascetics are deemed to bring about merit for the donor. Śvetāmbara ascetics seek food (an activity called *gocari* [grazing], in token of its supposedly random nature) in the morning and before evening, consuming it out of sight of the laity, whereas their Digambara counterparts seek food only once in the morning, eating from their cupped hands in front of the donor. No Jain ascetic is allowed to eat after dark because of the possibility of unwitting destruction of life forms. Fasting, often over lengthy periods of time, is a regular feature of ascetic practice. Water can only be drunk after it has been boiled and filtered by laypeople.

An important structuring feature of Jain ascetic life is regular ritual activity, the standard model for which was in place by the early common era. The six "Obligatory Actions" (*Āvaśyaka*) to be performed daily are equanimity (*sāmāyika*), praise to the twenty-four Jinas (*caturviṃśatistava*), homage to the teacher (*guruvandaṇa*), repentance (*pratikramana*), laying down the body (*kāyotsarga*), and abandonment (*pratyākhyāna*). Equanimity is a form of temporary withdrawal of the senses, traditionally to be maintained for a period of forty-eight minutes; praise to the Jinas involves a strong devotional and commemorative element; homage to the teacher betokens Jainism's keen awareness of the transmission of the teachings (this ritual can be performed in front of a symbolic representation of a dead teacher); repentance, to be performed twice daily by the ascetic, as well as at various significant times of the year, expresses a desire to atone for acts of violence, witting or unwitting, inflicted on any living creature; laying down of the body is a temporarily assumed motionless pose; and abandonment relates to pledges to abstain from types of action or from consumption of food and drink in the future.

Equanimity is perhaps the nearest approximation in Jainism to what in other religious paths is called "meditation." However, little significant value is attributed to structured meditation by Jain tradition, no doubt because of the prestige of asceticism as the predominant means of eliminating karma. In the early common era, contemplative activity (*anuprekṣā*) directed toward subjects such as impermanence and human solitude was considered to be a component of asceticism. However, Digambara Jain teachers in the medieval period, such as Yogīndu (sixth century), did develop forms of soul-directed contemplative discipline, and in modern times the Śvetāmbara Terāpanthī sect has promoted a form of meditative practice drawing on eclectic sources.

The ideal ending to life for the Jain ascetic is the freely undertaken fast unto death called *sallekhanā,* literally "scouring out negative factors." This climactic and ritualized act of austerity, which should only be performed by developed practitioners (although in the medieval period laypeople often ended their lives in this manner), involves progressive withdrawal from food and drink and should conclude, in death, in a state of pious awareness. Such a heroic end will invariably ensure a positive rebirth. In modern times, *sallekhanā* has generally been practiced by aged or infirm ascetics near the conclusion of their lives and, most recently, by nuns of the Terāpanthī order.

Although the Jain renunciant life does involve unremitting austerity, the tradition has always stressed that benevolence, compassion, and friendship toward all living creatures are its predominant characteristics.

LAY PRACTICE. An emphasis on the renunciatory dimension of Jainism obscures the extent to which the religion has also been followed throughout history by laymen and laywomen (Sanskrit, *śrāvaka* [hearer]; fem., *śrāvikā*) for whom abnegation and social withdrawal do not inform the totality of their lives. Although most early texts of the Jain scriptural tradition are almost exclusively preoccupied with ascetics, later portions contain exemplary stories, probably dating from the early common era, of rich and pious laymen, often enduring attack by jealous demonic beings. These laymen, at this early period called "servants" (*upāsaka;* fem. *upāsikā*) in token of their support of the ascetic community, are depicted in idealized fashion as advanced followers of the Jain path whose lives gain fulfillment in ultimate abandonment of wealth and renunciation.

Such stories, and the extensive literature produced by monks during the medieval period that legislates (male) lay behavior, have encouraged a picture of the Jain laity as following a way of life that, if less intense in its ascetic enactment, is nonetheless like that of the initiated renunciant in being totally directed toward the gaining of deliverance (*mokṣa*). In actuality, the Jain tradition perceived as a whole is not oriented exclusively toward the realm of spiritual liberation and the values of *mokṣa*—it also markedly privileges social qualities such as prosperous well-being and auspiciousness that, while informed by renunciatory ideology, very much relate to positive attitudes toward worldly values. While Jain laypeople regularly involve themselves in pious and merit-generating activities such as fasting, it would be wrong to think of their lives as incomplete versions of those of monks and nuns.

The parameters of Jain lay life have been from early times textually defined as centering around five "Small Vows" (*anuvrata*) that parallel the five "Great Vows" (*mahāvrata*) of the ascetic. These are ethical injunctions that the typical layman must integrate into his public and domestic life, although they are almost invariably never formally assumed. Such an individual should take care to avoid any livelihood that might entail violence. He should not lie, particularly in business transactions. He should not steal, an interdict that can extend to any dishonest or improper dealings. He should avoid excessive sexual activity, and in his later years adopt total celibacy. He should not have excessive or conspicuous possessions and should unburden himself as much as possible of his wealth for charitable purposes. Further restrictions, embodied in the three "Subsidiary Vows" (*guṇavrata*), are placed upon the layman's behavior with regard to unnecessary movement, excessive enjoyment, and self-indulgent brooding. The four "Vows of Instruction" (*śikṣāvrata*) enjoin him to engage regularly in various forms of contemplative and pious activity, such as fasting.

In keeping with this idealized style of ethics that encourages self-development and an avoidance of activities that might lead to destruction of life forms, the standard occupations of lay Jains in modern times have been in business or professions such as law. More rarely, Jains are found as agriculturalists, particularly in the area of the Maharashtra-Karnataka border.

Jain laypeople, like ascetics, practice a stringent vegetarianism that represents a vital component of their self-perception. Particular care is taken with food, which, as with all Indian religions, is regarded as a potentially dangerous substance. In addition to rejecting meat, fish, and eggs, Jains will avoid root and bulb vegetables, such as potatoes and onions. At religiously significant times of the year, many Jains will also avoid green-leafed vegetables and, like ascetics, avoid eating after dark.

The source of a layman's social and business prestige is perceived as deriving from his liberality (*dāna*). The ancient ritual of meritorious giving of food and shelter to ascetics was transformed in the medieval period to include public enterprises such as temple building, the sponsorship of the copying of manuscripts, and the financing of public works. The thirteenth-century royal ministers Vastupāla and his brother Tejapāla are proverbial exemplars of such activities. Today, prominent members of the Jain community are celebrated for philanthropic work and their support for medical and educational establishments, social relief, and animal hospitals.

PRACTICAL RELIGIOSITY. Jainism may reject the possibility of a creator god who has the power to intervene in human affairs, but the religion is nonetheless strongly theistic and devotional in idiom. God (*Bhagavān*) is envisaged both as the totality of all the Jinas throughout eternity and as the spiritual principle within every living being, called by the Digambaras the "supreme self" (*paramātman*), which has the potential to actualize itself in enlightenment.

Devotion to the Jinas in iconic form, perhaps deriving from an original ritual involving homage to the teacher and the desire to commemorate the illustrious dead, stretches back at least to the beginning of the common era and is common to the majority of Jains. However, Śvetāmbara sects, such as the Sthānakvāsins and the Terāpanthins, as well as some Digambara groups, reject image worship on the grounds that it is not a significant feature in the scriptural tradition and involves a breach of the principle of nonviolence through digging in the earth to construct the temples in which images are housed.

Jain temples are envisaged as simulacra of the site of each Jina's first sermon. Allowing for regional and historical variation, they are structurally similar to Hindu shrines, most commonly having a series of halls (*maṇḍapa*) leading to an inner shrine where the image of the Jina, depicted in either seated or standing ascetic posture, is housed. Alternatively, a temple can take the form of an axial hall with a quadruple Jina image approached through doors located at each of the cardinal directions. It is not uncommon for laypeople to worship at small domestic shrines.

Images represent a devotional focus and means of recalling the message of Jainism, for the significance of the Jinas lies in the fact that having taught the doctrine they gained freedom from rebirth and are thus not directly accessible to human beings. While particular images are often regarded as having special powers, a temple with a central Jina icon will typically have ancillary shrines at its entrance dedicated to a tutelary deity credited by devotees with the ability to intercede in worldly affairs. Goddesses such as Ambikā and Padmāvatī, who emerged into prominence in the medieval period, are vital components of Jain religiosity.

The most basic type of worship of Jina images, practiced by ascetic and layperson alike, is "seeing" (*darśana*), in which the worshiper brings his eyes into focus with those of the icon. Worship of images (*pūjā*) with material substances, such as rice, flowers, camphor, and fruit, and often involving anointment with water or milk, can only be performed by laypeople (or, in their absence, temple servants). The idiom of this form of worship, which is not structured in any binding form, is one of abandonment, in that the offerings are given up (the Jina being worshiped cannot in any way consume them). The mind of the devotee is turned toward the qualities of the Jinas, with the resolve to emulate them. Ascetics are forbidden to have physical contact with images and can only engage in inner, mental worship.

A wide repertoire of hymns can be used by Jains when they worship. The *Bhaktāmara* (Immortal Devotees), composed by Mānatuṅga in the sixth century CE in honor of Ṛṣabha, the first Jina of this world age, is of particular popularity among all sects and the focus of much devotional and esoteric commentary. Today, the composition and performance of hymns, often set to current film tunes, is an important area of female religiosity.

The Jains are no different from the adherents of other religions in experiencing many of the modalities of their faith in the context of the rhythm of the sacred year. For the Śvetāmbaras, the central point of the year is Paryuṣan (Abiding), which takes place over a period of eight days in August and September when there are recitations of the *Kalpa Sūtra* by monks and displays of illustrations from copies of it. The last day is called Samvatsarī (Annual), during which laypeople express repentance and a request for forgiveness for any injuries committed during the previous year. The Digambaras, who reject the authority of the *Kalpa Sūtra,* listen to recitations of the ten chapters of Umāsvāti's *Tattvārtha Sūtra* over a ten-day period called Daśalakṣaṇaparvan (also referred to as Paryuṣan). Both sects celebrate the birth of the last Jina as Mahāvīra Jayanti during March and April, and they also have in common Akṣayā Tṛtīyā (Undying Third), which occurs in April and May and commemorates the first act of alms-donation of this world age: King Śreyaṃsa's giving of cane juice to the Jina Ṛṣabha.

MODERN DEVELOPMENTS. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw Jainism's engagement with modernity lead to a reassertion of certain traditional features of the religion and a reconfiguration of others to take account of altered circumstances.

Among both the image-worshiping Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras there has been a resuscitation of ascetic lineages that had come near to becoming defunct, and many senior monks regained the prestige and celebrity of earlier times. Noteworthy in this respect are Vijayavallabha Sūri (Śvetāmbara, 1870–1954) and Ācārya Śāntisāgara (Digambara, 1873–1955). At the same time, the lay community, while not seriously attempting to supplant ascetic authority, organized itself in associations such as the Dakṣiṇ Bhārat Jain Sabhā (South Indian Jain Society) in order to disseminate the values of Jainism, engage in educational projects, and mobilize membership in respect to issues of social reform, particularly relating to the reduction of caste influence.

There have also appeared neo-Digambara groups such as the Śrīmad Rājacandra movement and the Kānjī Svāmī Panth, whose leaders were laymen influenced by the mystical dimensions of Jainism as taught by the early–common era teacher Kundakunda and his successors, and in which initiated ascetics play less-pronounced roles than elsewhere in Jainism. Rāycandbhāī Mahetā (1867–1901), known as Śrīmad Rājacandra, was a Gujarati jeweler and mystic who was a confidant of the young Mohandas (Mahatma) Gandhi, while Kānjī Svāmī abandoned the Sthānakvāsī ascetic order to promulgate an intensely soul-oriented path that he claimed had been transmitted to him directly by Kundakunda. The Akram Vijñān movement, founded in western India in the 1960s by A. M. Patel, who was born a Vaiṣṇava Hindu, privileges spiritual gnosis as the road to salvation and rejects scriptural and institutional authority.

The most significant development during the second half of the twentieth century was the arrival of many Jains in the United Kingdom (generally via East Africa) and North America. It has not been easy for the full requirements of traditional Jainism to be followed in this new cultural context, in particular because image-worshiping Śvetāmbara and Digambara ascetics are not allowed to travel and teach outside India (although some Sthānakvāsī and lower-order Terāpanthī ascetics are now permitted to do so). Instead, elements of Jainism have been emphasized that are congenial to modern Western liberal opinion: nonviolence, vegetarianism, contemplative practice, and a style of environmentalism in which the Jain path is presented as a philosophy with an ecological message at its center.

SEE ALSO Ahiṃsā; Cosmology, article on Jain Cosmology; Jñāna; Karman, article on Hindu and Jain Concepts; Mahāvīra.

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Paul Dundas (2005)

JALĀL AL-DĪN RŪMĪ See RŪMĪ, JALĀL AL-DĪN

JAMĀʿAT-I ISLĀMĪ

JAMĀʿAT-I ISLĀMĪ (The Islamic Society), a Muslim religio-political organization in the Indian subcontinent, was founded in August 1941 on the initiative of Abū al-Aʿlā Mawdūdī, who had issued a public invitation to all who were interested to meet in Lahore. In his earlier life Mawdūdī had worked as a journalist, but in 1932 he became editor of the religious monthly *Tarjumān al-Qurʾān*, which later served as the principal organ of the Jamāʿat. During the 1930s Mawdūdī participated in the debates about India's political future and opposed both the united Indian nationalism of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim nationalism of the Muslim League. All nationalism he thought contrary to Islam and insisted that the identity of Muslims derives from Islam alone.

In 1940 the Muslim League passed its famous Lahore Resolution calling for the creation of Pakistan as a homeland for Indian Muslims. Mawdūdī later said that the Lahore Resolution triggered his long-cherished plan to establish a society for the promotion of Islam. Earlier he had concentrated on criticism and reform of individual Muslim life; now, however, there was need for organized activity. At the initial meeting a constitution was adopted, and Mawdūdī was elected the first *amīr*, or leader. The Jamāʿat-i Islāmī has ever since been inseparably wedded to its founder. Not only was he its leader from the beginning until he retired in 1972, but his writings have provided the Jamāʿat's interpretation of Islam and its political beliefs.

The period between 1941 and 1947 was one of intense activity devoted to promoting the Jamāʿat. The organization's activities remained at the level of individual persuasion, however, and it had almost no influence on India. Although Mawdūdī opposed the nationalist view of Pakistan held by the Muslim League, and bitterly criticized their leadership, when India was partitioned in August 1947, he opted for Pakistan. He moved from East Punjab to Lahore with a portion of his followers, leaving another part of the Jamāʿat to remain in India. Since that time the Indian and Pakistani branches have been entirely separate, and the Indian one has been relatively less important.

History. In Pakistan the Jamāʿat first worked to assist the refugees pouring into the country from India. In early 1948, however, it leapt into political prominence by espousing the cause of the Islamic state and becoming the focal point of nationwide agitation. Pakistan, Mawdūdī reasoned, had been won in the name of Islam; it was, therefore, imperative that a truly Islamic system be established in the country. Since this position evoked a wide public response, it was troublesome for the liberal leadership of the Muslim League government, who could afford neither to reject the Islamic state nor to embrace it in the form demanded by the Jamāʿat-i Islāmī.

The Jamāʿat quickly came into confrontation with the government. Four things drew government wrath: (1) strident criticism of the leadership, (2) statements by Mawdūdī that the war against India over Kashmir was not a proper *jihād* ("war in the way of God"), (3) Mawdūdī's stand against oaths of unconditional loyalty to the government, and (4) a prepartition stand of the Jamāʿat against recruitment in the army. Mawdūdī and other leaders were arrested and held in jail for more than a year, but the campaign for the Islamic state continued.

When the Objectives Resolution of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly was passed in 1949, it was acclaimed by the Jamāʿat as Pakistan's declaration of intent to be an Islamic state; the issue then became election of a leadership to implement the Islamic ideal. Thus the way was opened for the Jamāʿat's active participation in elections. This decision to seek political office would subsequently, in 1957–1958, become the cause of a major rift in the Jamāʿat that would lead to the resignations of several important members.

In 1951 Mawdūdī reached the peak of his prominence in Pakistan and enjoyed respect even among the *ʿulamāʾ* ("religious scholars"), with whom he often differed. He was the principal figure at the conference of *ʿulamāʾ* convoked in Karachi in January 1951, in response to the controversial report of the Basic Principles Committee of the Constituent Assembly. The twenty-two points describing an Islamic state upon which the *ʿulamāʾ* agreed were largely due to his influence.

In 1952 and 1953 there was widespread agitation in Pakistan against the Aḥmadīyah sect, resulting in riots, loss of life, and destruction of property. Although the Jamāʿat did not officially sanction the "direct action" against the Aḥmadīyah, much of what happened had its tacit approval. Mawdūdī published a pamphlet entitled *Qādiyānī Masʾalah* condemning the group as non-Muslim. When martial law was declared in March 1953, he was again arrested, along with numerous Jamāʿat leaders, and was condemned to death. The sentence, however, was commuted, and he was released from prison in April 1955. During Mawdūdī's several imprisonments, others, such as Amīn Aḥsan Iṣlāḥī and Sulṭān Aḥmad, served as temporary amirs of the Jamāʿat.

When the 1956 Pakistani constitution was promulgated, the Jamāʿat-i Islami welcomed it as meeting most of the requirements of an Islamic state. It did so even though the constitution did not declare Islam the official religion of Pakistan, did not make the *sharīʿah* the law of the land, and did not make the specifically Islamic provisions enforceable in the courts. Acceptance of the constitution robbed the Islamic state issue of its viability, and the Jamāʿat turned to a campaign for "true democracy" in Pakistan centered upon a demand for separate electorates for Muslims and antisecularist propaganda.

In 1958 a military coup brought Field Marshal Muḥammad Ayyūb Khān to power in Pakistan. The Jamāʿat-i Islāmī fell under the ensuing martial law banning political parties and was thus not allowed to function until the promulgation of a new constitution in March 1962. The Jamāʿat bitterly opposed Ayyūb, whom it saw as a dictator who had frustrated democracy to keep the Islamic forces in check. It rejected the political system established by the new constitution but nonetheless worked within it. The Jamāʿat's ire was especially stimulated by the Muslim Family Law Ordinance, which introduced changes into Muslim personal law. Its activities led Ayyūb to ban the Jamāʿat and to arrest Mawdūdī once again in early 1964. The courts, however, declared the ban and the arrest illegal. During Ayyūb's time the Jamāʿat first adopted the policy of allying itself with other parties in combined opposition to the government. In the 1965 elections it supported Fāṭimah Jinnāḥ for president, despite its teaching that Islam disapproved a woman as head of state, and following the brief India-Pakistan war of 1965, it added its voice to the protests against the Tashkent Declaration. In the 1970 elections the Jamāʿat joined other right-wing groups in opposing both the socialism of Ẕulfiqār ʿAlī Bhutto and the demands of Mujīb al-Raḥmān's Awami League; these elections, however, were a crushing defeat for the Jamāʿat throughout the country. When Yaḥyā Khān launched military action against East Pakistan in March 1971, the Jamāʿat supported the actions of the government and the army and thereby lost the little support it had in Bengal. After Bhutto's rise to power it posed a demand for the Niẓām-i Muṣṭafā ("prophetic system") against the socialist tendencies of the People's Party. When Bhutto was overthrown by General Ẓiyā al-Ḥaqq (Ziya al-Haq), the Jamāʿat was at first favored by the new government by several appointments to cabinet posts, but it was soon reduced to impotence by the government's interdiction of all political activity.

ORGANIZATION. The Jamāʿat's constitution has been amended several times to compensate for changing circumstances. It provides for a highly centralized organization. Most power rests with the *amīr*, who is elected for a five-year term but who may hold office for life. Seven different central offices function under his direct supervision. He is assisted by a *majlis-i shūrā*, or consultative body, whose opinions, however, are not binding on him, and by a *majlis-i ʿumalāʾ*, or executive committee. There is also an executive assistant, the *qayyim*, who acts as secretary general. Duplicated at the district, circle, and provincial levels, this central organization is of great significance, for it is precisely that detailed for the ideal Islamic state. It was plainly the Jamāʿat's intention that it should become the government in the event of its political success. Membership in the organization, sharply restricted to persons meeting high standards of Islamic knowledge and personal conduct, has never been large. The majority of the Jamāʿat's associates are *muttafiqīn*, or sympathizers, who provide its principal political support and much of its finances. It is not uncommon for members to be expelled for misconduct or disinterest, and a number of the full members work full time for the Jamāʿat. Great attention is paid to training, and regular training sessions are held. Other activities include publication of journals and newspapers, the maintenance of reading rooms, mobile clinics, disaster relief, and work with labor unions. There are also associated organizations, the principal one of which is the Islāmī Jamāʿat-i Ṭulabāʾ, a militant student group with powerful influence in Pakistani universities.

THEOLOGY. The Jamāʿat-i Islāmī holds Islam to be an ideology comprising a complete set of principles for human life. Just as nature acknowledges the sovereignty of its creator by obedience to natural laws, so also should humans submit to the divine law for their existence. That law is known primarily through the Qurʾān and the *sunnah* of the Prophet. The Jamāʿat lays great emphasis on the all-inclusiveness of its ideology; Islam is not merely a matter of the relationship between the individual and God but must also govern social, economic, and political life. True Islamic faith demands that Muslims hold political power and that the state be ruled according to Islamic principles. There an be no political parties and no opposition in such a state since there is only one correct Islamic viewpoint. Neither can the state make law. Sovereignty belongs to God alone and all legitimate law must derive from his expressed will. Thus, the Jamāʿat insisted that policy-forming offices must be held by pious Muslims whose duties include suppression of rival ideologies. Non-Muslims have a protected status in the Islamic state but are treated as second-class citizens who must live under certain restrictions. The Jamāʿat envisages a totalitarian state united in obedience to a single ruler whose word prevails so long as it accords with the divine law. Such a state was considered democratic, however, since the ruler was elected and could be removed; it was also a welfare state obligated to meet the basic needs of its citizens. Despite the implicit authoritarianism of the ideology, the Jamāʿat has consistently held revolutionary violence to be illegitimate and the way to the Islamic state to lie in peaceful democratic methods.

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CHARLES J. ADAMS (1987)
Revised Bibliography

JAMĀL AL-DĪN AL-AFGHĀNĪ SEE AFGHĀNĪ, JAMĀL AL-DĪN AL-

JAMES, E. O. (1888–1972), was an English academic anthropologist, folklorist, and historian of religions. Edwin Oliver James was born in London on March 30, 1888. He was educated at Exeter College, Oxford, where he took a diploma in anthropology under R. R. Marett, and at University College, London. From 1911 to 1933 he served as a priest of the Church of England, chiefly in parishes in London and Oxford, while maintaining a scholarly interest in anthropology, comparative religion, and folklore. During the 1920s and 1930s he was associated with the diffusionist school of Elliot Smith and William James Perry, and with the "myth and ritual school" that emerged out of it. Thus he became one of the earliest British "myth and ritual" writers, contributing to the school's first two symposia. For *Myth and Ritual,* edited by S. H. Hooke (London, 1933), he wrote "Initiatory Rituals," and for its sequel, *The Labyrinth,* also edited by Hooke (London, 1935), "The Sources of Christian Ritual." Although he had published several books on anthropology, his first major work was *Christian Myth and Ritual* (1933), in which he applied the methods of the myth and ritual school to questions of Christian origins and to later Christian ceremonies.

In 1933 James became professor of the history and philosophy of religion at the University of Leeds, and in 1945 he moved to a similar post at the University of London (King's College), where he remained until his retirement in 1955. From 1960 until his death on July 6, 1972, he was chaplain of All Souls' College, Oxford. Throughout his active life he was a member of numerous learned societies, including the Folklore Society, of which he was president from

1930 to 1932, and in 1954 he was instrumental in founding the British section of the International Association for the History of Religions.

James published a large number of books and articles on a wide variety of subjects connected with anthropology and comparative religion. The best known were perhaps *Origins of Sacrifice* (1934), *Introduction to the Comparative Study of Religion* (1938), and *Prehistoric Religion* (1957). He was not, however, an original writer or theorist, being content for the most part to have assimilated, and to reproduce, the findings of others. In matters of controversy he habitually took a mediating position, which left him without a strong profile of his own. In theology he was an Anglo-Catholic; in anthropology he was initially an evolutionist but at a later stage was prepared to modify his views in response to changes of emphasis. He was not, for instance, despite his theological position, disposed to accept all the findings of the school of Wilhelm Schmidt concerning "high gods." Thus, although he wrote that "High Gods do in fact stand alone, head and shoulders above all secondary divinities," he insisted that "the belief in High Gods among low races cannot be described as a true monotheism" (*Prehistoric Religion,* pp. 206–208).

James's significance lay in his capacity to assimilate and interpret a vast body of material about comparative religion and to present it for a wider public. At a time when the study of religion in Britain was at a fairly low ebb, he served as an admirable interpreter, and as a mediator between positions that were often polarized internationally. His best work was done in the 1930s, for some of his later works were little more than compilations of material readily available elsewhere.

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ERIC J. SHARPE (1987)

JAMES, WILLIAM (1842–1910), American psychologist and philosopher, was the eldest son of Henry James Sr. (1811–1882), a writer on social and religious subjects esteemed in his day but never famous. William was born in New York City on January 11, 1842. His early education at his father's hands was supplemented by much travel abroad and some schooling in Boulogne, France, and at the University of Geneva, where his scientific bent developed. Later he attended lectures at the University of Berlin and elsewhere in Germany. James was a voracious reader of philosophy and was particularly concerned with the question of science and materialism. Plagued by illness and "neurasthenic" by temperament, he was long uncertain about a career. He tried his hand at painting with fair success, but after joining the zoologist Louis Agassiz on a fifteen-month expedition to Brazil, James studied chemistry and medicine at Harvard, receiving his medical degree in 1869.

James soon decided against medical practice and began to teach anatomy and physiology at the university. The work of the new German school of physical psychology attracted him, and he prepared to teach the subject, establishing the first psychology laboratory in the United States (and perhaps in the world). After a few years, during which he produced some noted papers, he seized the opportunity in 1878 to add to his teaching a course in philosophy—later famous as Phil. 3. He spent the rest of his life teaching psychology and philosophy at Harvard and lecturing widely at home and abroad. He died in Chocorua, New Hampshire, on August 26, 1910.

JAMES'S WORKS. James's *Principles of Psychology,* which appeared in two volumes in 1890, was hailed as the summa of current knowledge, much of it based on his own previously published research. When it was reissued in the 1950s, reviewers in journals of psychology called it still able to inspire and instruct. James next published *The Will to Believe* (1897). Its title essay, first published in 1879, was his first mature statement on the nature of faith, including religious faith. His later volumes, *Pragmatism* (1907), *A Pluralistic Universe* and *The Meaning of Truth* (both 1909), and the posthumous *Some Problems of Philosophy* (1911) and *Essays in Radical Empiricism* (1912), rounded out his philosophic vision. Between the *Psychology* and these works James delivered the Gifford Lectures in Edinburgh, published as *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902). Both hailed and criticized, its influence was immediate and lasting. Widely read then and one hundred years later, it stands as a classic in the study of religion.

James framed *The Varieties* in terms of two questions, the first having to do with the nature and origin of religion and the second with its meaning and significance. The first was, for James, a historical question having to do with function and causation; the second was a question of value. In contrast to many scientists of his era, James maintained that the value of a thing should be assessed not on the basis of its origins but on the basis of its distinctive function.

For the purpose of his lectures, James defined religion in terms of religious experience, that is, "the feelings, acts, and experiences of individual men in their solitude, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they may consider divine" (James, 1985, p. 34). Although evangelical Protestants traditionally used the term *religious experience* to refer to the Protestant conversion experience, James imbued the term with a broader, more generic meaning, including under that rubric lectures on religious personality types (the healthy-minded and the sick soul), the divided self, conversion, saintliness, and mysticism. In keeping with the revival of interest in mysticism at the beginning of the twentieth century, James claimed "personal religious experience has its root and centre in mystical states of consciousness" (James, 1985, p. 301).

James utilized firsthand autobiographical accounts—mostly but not exclusively Christian—as his primary data. He was particularly interested in what he referred to as "'geniuses' in the religious line," persons who were frequently subject to extremes of experience, such as voices, visions, and falling into trance. (James, 1985, p.15). In contrast to many later psychologists of religion, James was convinced that the more extreme cases would shed the greatest light on religious experience as a whole. He utilized comparison both to explain the origins of such experiences and to identify their unique function. In many instances he adopted a method of "serial study," in which he arranged phenomena along continua of various sorts to better understand them. The distinction between origins and function allowed James to compare the more extreme forms of religious experience with experiences considered pathological without fear of discrediting religious experience in the process.

The central function of religion, in James's view, consists in the healing of the self through a connection with "the higher powers." All religions consist of two parts: an uneasiness and its solution. At the moment of salvation, the individual "becomes conscious that this higher part [of oneself] is conterminous with and continuous with a MORE of the same quality, which is operative in the universe outside of him" (James, 1985, p. 400). James considered the objective truth of "the more" by asking whether it originated in or beyond the self. He offered Frederick Myers's notion of the subconscious as a means of mediating between the claims of science and religion, while leaving the ultimate explanation of "the more" as a matter of "over-beliefs" informed by metaphysical convictions.

James's own metaphysical commitments were such that he did believe, as he indicated in his conclusion and postscript, that there were higher powers that might act through the subconscious self. James, however, did not link origins with value. Parallels between the experiences of geniuses, the religiously devout, and the mentally unstable led James to suggest their common subconscious origins and to insist that such experiences must be evaluated not in terms of their origins but in terms of their value for life. In the end, he stressed, the final test of a belief is "not its origin, but the way it works on the whole" (James, 1985, p. 24).

INTERPRETATIONS OF JAMES. There has been considerable discussion among James scholars regarding the place of *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (VRE) in James's thought more generally. Scholars have traditionally located the VRE in the midst of James's transition from psychologist to philosopher during the late 1890s. Late twentieth-century scholarship has located that transition earlier (Taylor, 1996, 2002; Lamberth, 1999) and in some cases argued against the idea of a transition altogether (Reed, 1997; Gale, 1999; Cooper, 2002). Eugene Taylor argues that James's interest in psychology is evident throughout his intellectual career, but that his understanding of psychology shifts from the positivistic, cognitive psychology that predominates in *The Principles* to the humanistic understanding, grounded in developments in abnormal psychology and psychical research, that informs his metaphysics of radical empiricism during the late 1880s and early 1890s (Taylor, 1996, p. 39). This argument allows Taylor to read the VRE as a psychological text (Taylor, 1996, pp. 84–96). David C. Lamberth (1999), who is primarily interested in James's philosophy of religion, also argues for a shift from positivistic psychology to a metaphysics of radical empiricism, locating this shift in the early 1890s, again well prior to the publication of the VRE. Locating James's formulation of his metaphysics prior to the publication of the VRE allows Lamberth to read the VRE with an eye toward James's metaphysics of pure experience (Lamberth, 1999, pp. 97–145).

Edward S. Reed contends that Taylor and countless others "have (mis)interpreted *The Principles* as propounding a variant of the new positivist psychology when it was in fact an all-out assault on the turn psychology had taken in the 1870s" (Reed, 1997, p. 215). Reed points out that key essays published in *The Will to Believe* in 1897 were actually written in the late 1870s and early 1880s, arguing that "because James left these arguments out of *The Principles* . . . their connection with his psychological work has not been appreciated" (Reed, 1997, p. 215). In contrast to those that argue for a shift in focus, Reed argues that James's entire career was underpinned by his youthful interest in applying Darwinian ideas to the study of the mind. Reed's view supports Henry S. Levinson's (1981) Darwinian reading of the VRE, in which he argues that for James the ideas that emerge from the subconscious of religious geniuses are, in effect, spontaneous mental variations that survive when they prove themselves "fit" in a competitive environment.

Other scholars who, like Reed, see continuity over time, nonetheless question whether James's thought can be understood as unified at any given point in time. In *The Divided Self of William James* (1999), Richard Gale stresses the difficulties involved in reconciling the epistemological claims of his tough-minded pragmatism and his tender-minded mysticism. Wesley Cooper takes up Gale's challenge in *The Unity of William James's Thought* (2002), arguing for a "Two-Levels View" that distinguishes between empirical and metaphysical levels of truth. The unifying thread for Cooper, running from the *Principles* through his posthumous *Essays in Radical Empiricism*, is the "concept of sensation," which James later renamed as "pure experience." This metaphysically postulated concept, which is neither mental nor physical yet potentially either, is, according to Cooper, "the centerpeice of James's metaphysics" (Cooper, 2002, p. 140). The Gale-Cooper debate suggests that both psychological and metaphysical readings of the VRE are legitimate, while it leaves open the question of how they are related. Gale would argue that the scientist of religion and the metaphysician are two different and unintegrated Jamesian "selves." Cooper would read the VRE on two levels—empirical and metaphysical—and would argue, like Lamberth, that James's metaphysics of pure experience provides the theoretical link between them.

James and his family have had many notable biographers (e.g., Perry, 1935; Allen, 1967; Simon, 1998), most of whom have attended to James's difficulties deciding on a career and a wife, made note of his complicated relationship with his father, and speculated on James's personal stake in the writing of the VRE. Most agree that the VRE allowed James to work through his relationship with his father's religious views (see Taylor, 2002). In the process, most also make note of two first-person accounts in the VRE, one attributed to Henry James Sr., and one (the vision of the epileptic patient) William later ascribed to himself. Virtually all of James's biographers have associated the latter account with a period of near suicidal depression in the late 1860s that James ostensibly resolved while reading an essay by Charles Renouvier. The classic account of James's "crisis and recovery" has been undercut by Linda Simon (1998) and sharply challenged by Louis Menand (1998). Menand argues that there is no way to date the autobiographical fragment, and thus no way to link it to the Renouvier episode. Building on Simon's contention that James suffered from depressive episodes his entire life, Menand dismisses the crisis and recovery narrative as inadequate. In a move paralleling that of Gale and Cooper, Menand suggests that the story of the epileptic patient and the Renouvier entry in James's diary represent two enduring poles in James's emotional life: the optimism of the healthy-minded pragmatist and the pessimism of the sick soul.

Much attention has also been paid to James's life and thought in the context of late-nineteenth-century intellectual and cultural history. Bennett Ramsey (1993), Paul Jerome Croce (1995), Menand (2001), Kim Townsend (1996), and Charlene Haddock Seigfried (1996) all locate James's thought in relation to the erosion of intellectual certainty characteristic of the modern era. Ramsey emphasizes the perceived contingency of the self in the decades following the Civil War and James's response to it. Croce emphasizes the erosion of certainty with respect to both religious and scientific knowledge in the postwar period, describing James's thought as an effort to enjoy "the benefits of certainty witout an epistemology of certainty" (Croce, 1995, p. 229). Menand locates the rise of pragmatism with its emphasis on the mutability of ideas as a modernist response to the competing certainties of the Civil War. Townsend places James within the context of shifting cultural discourses of "manliness" among late-nineteenth-century Harvard intellectuals. Seigfried provides a feminist critique of James's relations with women. In the VRE the erosion of certainty is reflected in James's pragmatic criteria for ascertaining the value of religious experiences and the minimalism of his own "overbeliefs."

Within religious studies, much of the late-twentieth-century discussion of the VRE took place among philosophers of religion and scholars of mysticism. James's chapter on mysticism has often been cited in attempts to call upon religious (and specifically mystical) experience in defense of theism. Lamberth rejects this line of thinking, arguing instead for the relevance of James's metaphysics of pure experience understood socially (rather than individually) for contemporary philosophy of religion and theology. Matthew C. Bagger (1999) mounts a more extended critique of attempts to call upon religious experience to defend theism. G. William Barnard (1997) provides the most nuanced explication and defense of James's understanding of mysticism. Essays by David Hollinger, Wayne Proudfoot, and Richard Rorty in *William James and a Science of Religions* (Proudfoot, 2004) explore the relationship between religion, pragmatism, and science in the VRE. In many respects Henry S. Levinson (1981) still provides the most comprehensive treatment of James as a scientist of religion. David M. Wulff (1997) provides an excellent chapter on James as a psychologist of religion with an extensive discussion of the critical responses to the VRE. Carol Zaleski (in Capps and Jacobs, 1995) defends the VRE against its critics in an attempt to establish the contemporary relevance of the VRE for the study of religion. Ann Taves (2003) discusses the experimental research, both clinical and psychical, that underlies James's theory of the subconscious and calls for renewed attention to both his theory of the subconscious and his comparative method in the study of religion. Jeremy Carrette (2002) calls for the revitalization of the psychology of religion through an engagement of the writings of founders such as James with new research in the neurosciences.

SEE ALSO Psychology, article on Psychology of Religion; Religious Experience.

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JANUS. According to most linguists, the word *ianus* seems to be based upon the root *iā,* which constitutes an extension of the Indo-European root *ei-* ("to go"). This abstract term, signifying "passage," alternates between the stem form *-u-* and the stem form *-o-*. From the first are formed the derivatives *Ianuarius* ("January"), *ianu-al* (a biscuit reserved for Janus), and *ianu-a* ("door"). From the second comes *iani-tor* ("porter"), *Iani-culum* (Janiculum Hill), and *Iani-gena* (daughter of Janus). In the Roman pantheon Janus is an original figure who has no Greek homologue (Ovid, *Fasti* 1.90). The Etruscan name *Ani,* which appears on the sculpture of an augur's liver found at Piacenza, is a borrowing from either Latin or an Italian dialect. Because, as Cicero emphasizes (*De natura deorum* 2.67), the god embodies the motive of "passage," it is characteristic of him to be at the beginning, in line with the scholar Varro's definition cited by Augustine (*City of God* 7.9): "To Janus comes everything that begins, to Jupiter everything that culminates" ("Penes Ianum sunt prima, penes Ioven summa").

This primacy is verified in the liturgy: Janus is invoked first in ceremonies. On the same basis he is patron, along with Juno (whence his epithet *Iunonius*), of all the calends. The first member of the priestly corps, the *rex sacrorum* ("king of the sacrifices"), offers him a sacrifice at the beginning of each month (Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.15.10). In the same way, the first official sacrifice of each year, the Agonium of January 9, is directed to Janus. Sculpted images of him with two faces—corresponding, according to the interpretations, to opening and closing or to past and future—gained for him the names of Janus Bifrons ("with double forehead"), Janus Biceps ("two-headed"), and Janus Geminus ("twin").

Other qualificatives have functional value. Thus tradition points to Janus Curiatius, who must have presided over a rite of passage of young men into the tribal subgroups called *curiae,* and to Janus Quirinus, mentioned in the "royal laws" as associated with the time when the third share of the *spolia opima* was allotted to the god Quirinus (Festus, ed. Lindsay, 1913, p. 204 L.). This last is the most ancient title given to Janus, who sits in the old Forum in the "ancient sanctuary provided with an altar" (Ovid, *Fasti* 1.275). According to whether its doors were shut or open, he "indicated the state of peace or war" (Livy, 1.19.2). Augustus, who restored this cult to a place of honor, boasted of having closed the temple on three occasions (*Res gestae* 13). This explains the appellation of Janus Quirinus: He is the god who presides over the passage from war to peace. This is the poet Horace's interpretation when he illustrates the "Quirinal" orientation of Janus by the expression "Ianus Quirini" (*Odes* 4.15.9), which he takes up elsewhere in a more prosaic and explicit phrase, "Janus, the guardian of peace" (*Epistles* 2.1.255).

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Revised Bibliography

JAPANESE RELIGIONS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
POPULAR RELIGION
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JAPANESE RELIGIONS: AN OVERVIEW

Like many other ethnic groups throughout the world, the earliest inhabitants of the Japanese archipelago constructed and lived in a religious world of meaning. To them the whole world was permeated by sacred power, authenticated by myths. In the early historical period, local traditions were consolidated around the emergent imperial cult in a form that later came to be designated as Shintō, or "the way of *kami*." Many aspects of the archaic traditions have been preserved as basic features of an unorganized folk religion. Meanwhile, through contacts with Korea and China, Japan came under the impact of religious and cultural influences from the continent of Asia. Invariably, the religion of the people was changed as they adopted and adapted the concepts, symbols, rituals, and art forms of Confucianism, Daoism, the yin-yang school, and Buddhism. Although all of these religious and semi-religious systems kept a measure of their own prior identity, they were by no means considered by the people to be mutually exclusive.

It is worth noting in this connection that the term *shukyō* (religion) is a neologism not used prior to the nineteenth century. In Japanese traditions, religious schools are usually referred to as *dō*, *tō*, or *michi* (way), as in *butsudō* (the way of the Buddha) or *shintō* (the way of kami), implying that these are complementary ways or paths within the overarching Japanese religion. Various branches of art were also called *dō* or *michi*, as in *chadō* (also *sadō*, "the way of tea") in the medieval period. This usage reflects the close affinity in Japan between religious and aesthetic traditions.

PREHISTORIC BACKGROUND. The Japanese archipelago lies off the Asian continent, stretching north and south in the western Pacific. In ancient times, however, there were land connections between the continent and the Japanese islands. Animal and human populations thus were able to reach present Japan from different parts of the continent. Although we cannot be certain when and how the first inhabitants migrated to the Japanese islands, the scholarly consensus traces Japan's Paleolithic age back to between ten and thirty thousand years ago, when the inhabitants of the islands were primitive hunters and food gatherers who shared religious and cultural traits similar to their counterparts in other regions of the world.

Japan's prehistoric period is divided into two phases: (1) the Jomon period (*jomon* literally means "cord pattern," referring to pottery decoration), extending roughly from 8000 BCE to about 250 BCE, and (2) the Yayoi period (so named because pottery of this period was unearthed in the Yayoi district of present-day Tokyo), covering roughly the era from 250 BCE to 250 CE. Further subdivisions of both the Jomon and Yayoi periods, as proposed by various archaeologists, are not relevant for our purpose. Archaeological evidence reveals a gradual development in the use of fishing and hunting tools, but in the artistic qualities of pottery making and designs and in the living patterns of the Jomon people, we still have few clues regarding their religious outlooks or practices. Thus, we can only infer that the practice of extracting certain teeth, for example, probably indicates a puberty rite, while female figurines may have been used in fertility cults.

There is no clear-cut date for dividing the Jomon and the Yayoi periods, because the Yayoi culture emerged in western parts of Japan while the Jomon culture was still developing in the eastern parts. Nevertheless, the transition between these cultural forms was sufficiently marked so that some scholars even postulate the migration during the early third century BCE of a new ethnic group from outside. Yayoi pottery is more sophisticated in design and manufacturing techniques and more utilitarian than Jomon ware. Yayoi jugs, jars, and pots were used both for cooking and for preserving food. Moreover, Yayoi culture was based on rice cultivation, employing hydraulic technology. Evidently, communities were established in places of low altitude, and many farmhouses had raised floors, the space beneath them serving as storehouses for grain. As the Yayoi period coincided with the Qin (221–206 BCE) and the Han (206 BCE–220 CE) dynasties in China, and as Chinese political and cultural influence was penetrating the Korean peninsula, some features of continental civilization must have infiltrated into western Japan. This infiltration may account for the development in the Yayoi period of spinning and weaving and the use of iron, bronze, and copper. We cannot say with precision, however, what religious significance or uses bronze mirrors, bronze bells, dolmens (stone monuments), and funeral urns had.

The Ainu controversy and a culture-complex hypothesis. Although it is safe to assume that migrations of people to the Japanese islands were a part of larger movements of archaic peoples from Eurasia to North America, it is difficult to determine the ethnic identity of the first settlers in Japan. In this connection a heated controversy has been carried on in recent decades as to whether or not the Ainu—who have lived on the Hokkaidō, Sakhalin, and Kuril Islands, but who throughout history have never been fully assimilated into the cultural life of the Japanese—were indeed the original inhabitants of the Japanese islands. Scholarly opinion at the turn of the twenty-first century holds that the Ainu lived in northern Japan as early as the Jomon period, but that there was never, at least until the twentieth century, any significant amount of intermarriage between them and other inhabitants of the Japanese islands.

Although the exact identity of the Jomon people still remains unsettled, it is widely assumed that a number of ethnic groups came to the Japanese islands from various parts of the Asian continent during the prehistoric period, bringing with them various religious and cultural elements. A comprehensive culture-complex hypothesis proposed by Oka Masao in 1933 suggests that there were five major typological components in late prehistoric and early historic Japanese culture, mythology, religion, and social structure. According to Oka, various ethnic groups from South China and Southeast Asia with Melanesian, Austroasian, and Austronesian (Micronesian) cultural and religious traits—the secret society system; horizontal cosmology; female shamans; mythical motifs of brother-sister deities; initiation rites; cultivation of taro, yam, and rice; and other characteristics—provided the foundation for the agricultural society and culture of the Yayoi period.

A Tunguz group originally from Siberia or Manchuria, on the other hand, contributed a vertical cosmology, an exogamous patrilineal clan system, and a belief in deities (*kami*) who descend from heaven to mountaintops, trees, or pillars. Finally, an Altaic pastoral tribe that had subjugated other tribes in Manchuria and Korea migrated to Japan toward the end of the Yayoi period or the early part of the historic period, establishing itself as the ruling class over the earlier settlers. This group, which had an efficient military organization, shared with the Tunguz group religious and cultural traits such as a vertical cosmology, Siberian-type shamanism, and a patriarchal clan (*uji*) system. Its most powerful family emerged as the imperial house in the historic period.

Oka carefully avoids the question of the origin and development of the Japanese people and culture in a chronological sense. Although his hypothesis has been severely criticized by other scholars, it represents one of the most all-embracing efforts to explain the pluralistic nature of Japanese social structure, culture, and religion. Despite the lack of agreement concerning the details of the culture complex thus developed, it is widely agreed that, by the end of the Yayoi period, the inhabitants of the Japanese islands had attained a degree of self-consciousness as one people sharing a common culture.

The Yamatai controversy. One of the age-old controversies regarding Japan in the Yayoi period centers around the geographical location of the state of Yamatai (Yamadai), an important state in the Japanese islands and one that is mentioned in such Chinese dynastic histories as the record of the Eastern (Later) Han dynasty (25–220 CE) and that of the kingdom of Wei (220–265 CE). We learn from these documents that there were more than one hundred "states" in Japan, and that they acknowledged a hereditary ruler who resided in the state of Yamatai. These documents also record that the first Japanese emissary was dispatched to the Chinese court in 57 CE. A series of similar diplomatic missions followed in the second and third centuries. These same accounts reveal that during the second half of the second century, political turmoil developed in Japan owing to the absence of a ruler. An unmarried female shamanic diviner, Pimiko or Himiko, who occupied herself with magic and sorcery, bewitching people, then became the ruler, and order was restored. The Chinese court offered her the title Queen of Wo (Wa) Friendly to Wei. Evidently she lived in seclusion in a palace, protected by armed guards. She was attended by a thousand female servants, while only a single male relative transmitted her instructions and pronouncements, presumably utterances she made in a state of trance. When she died a great mound was raised, and one hundred attendants followed her to the grave. After her death a king was placed on the throne, but since the people did not obey him, a young girl of thirteen, Iyo, was made queen, and order was once again restored. From these Chinese records we learn, among other things, that political stability in prehistoric Japan depended heavily on magico-religious authority. The intriguing question still remains, however, whether or not the state of Yamatai was located in the western island of Kyushu, as some scholars now believe, or in the central part of the main island where the so-called Yamato kingdom was established in the early historical period.

EARLY HISTORICAL PERIOD. The early historical period of Japan corresponds to what archaeologists call the Kofun (tumulus) period (c. 250–600 CE), so named because of the gigantic mausoleums constructed during this time for the deceased of the ruling class in the present Nara and Osaka prefectures. These great tombs are the visible remains of the early Yamato kingdom. It is significant that Japan was not mentioned in Chinese records between the mid-third and the early fifth century. Many scholars conjecture that during this shadowy period, the Yamato kingdom was established in the present Nara prefecture and gained a foothold on the southern tip of the Korean peninsula. During the fourth century, according to Korean sources, Yamato became an ally of Paekche, one of the Korean states, and Korean artisans and scholars migrated to Japan, introducing new arts and techniques in weaving, ironwork, and irrigation, as well as the Chinese script and Confucian learning. In 391 Japanese expeditionary forces crossed the sea and fought against the northern Korean state, Koguryŏ, but were badly defeated. Following the military defeat in Korea, Yamato turned to the Chinese court to secure Chinese recognition and support for its claim of suzerainty over Korea. In fact, the *Sung shu* (a history of the Liu Song dynasty, covering the years 420–479) mentions the names of five Yamato rulers who sent emissaries to the Chinese court. During the sixth century, Yamato sought to restore its influence on the Korean peninsula. In this connection Buddhism was introduced officially from Paekche to the Yamato court in 538 or 552.

Prior to the introduction of Sino-Korean civilization and Buddhism, religion in the Japanese islands was not a well-structured institutional system. The early inhabitants took it for granted that the world was the land where they lived. They also accepted the notion that the natural world was a given. Yet their religious outlook had a strong cosmological orientation, so that their early religion might be characterized as a cosmic religion. Although they did not speculate on the metaphysical meaning of the cosmos, they felt that they were an integral part of the cosmos, which to them was a community of living beings, all sharing *kami* (sacred) nature. The term *kami*, a combination of the prefix *ka* and the root *mi*, signifies either a material thing or an embodied spirit possessing divine potency and magical power. The term *kami*, thus, refers to all beings that are worthy of reverence, including both good and evil beings. The people accepted the plurality of *kami* residing in different beings and objects, but their basic affirmation was the sacrality of the total cosmos.

Equally central to the early religious outlook was the notion of *uji* (lineage group, clan), which provided the basic framework for social solidarity. Although the *uji* was not based on the strict principle of consanguinity, some blood relationship, real or fictitious, was considered essential for communal cohesion. Each *uji* had clansmen (*ujibito*), groups of professional persons (*be*) who were not blood relations of the clansmen, and slaves (*nuhi*), all of whom were ruled by the *uji* chieftain (*uji no kami*). Each *uji* was not only a social, economic, and political unit but also a unit of religious solidarity centered on the *kami* of the *uji* (*ujigami*) who was attended by the *uji* chieftain. Indeed, sharing the same *kami* was ultimately considered more important to communal cohesion than blood relationship.

As far as we can ascertain, the early *kami* cults did not have fixed liturgies. Most religious functions took place either at home or around a sacred tree or sacred rock, in the paddy field, or on the seashore. Because the *uji* group tended to reside in the same locality, the *kami* of the *uji* often had the quality of local or regional *kami*. Also, there were numerous other spirits who controlled the health, fortune, and longevity of people. They were variously called *mono* (spiritual entities) or *tama* (animating spirits) and were believed to be attached to human and other beings or natural things. Equally prevalent was the notion of "sacred visitors" (*marebito*) or ancestral spirits who came from distant places to visit human communities. Celestial bodies (the sun, moon, and stars), meteorological phenomena (wind and storms), and awe-inspiring natural objects (mountaintops, tall trees, forests, the ocean, and rivers) were also considered sacred and, thus, were venerated. Not surprisingly, then, a variety of persons—fortune-tellers, healers, magicians, sorcerers, and diviners—served as intermediaries to these divine forces.

Religion and government. The early Yamato kingdom was a confederation of semiautonomous *uji*, each of which owned and ruled its respective members. The Yamato rulers paid tribute to China and in return received a monarchical title from the Chinese imperial court. Gradually, the Yamato rulers solidified their influence over other *uji* chieftains with their military power and with their claims to genealogical descent from the sun deity. They thus exercised the prerogatives of conferring such court titles as O-muraji ("great magnate," presented to the hereditary vassal families of the imperial *uji*) and O-omi ("chief of chieftains," conferred upon heads of former rival *uji* that had acknowledged the imperial authority); granting sacred seed at spring festivals to all *uji* groups; and establishing sacred sites for heavenly and earthly *kami*, as well as regulating *matsuri* (rituals) for them.

The term *matsuri* has the connotation "to be with," "to attend to the need of," "to entertain," or "to serve" the *kami*, the soul of the deceased, or a person of high status. Prior to a *matsuri*, the participants were expected to purify themselves and to abstain from certain foods and from sexual intercourse. It was understood that the most important duty of the Yamato emperor (*enno*) was to maintain close contact with the sun deity—the imperial family's tutelary and ancestral *kami*—and other heavenly and earthly *kami* by attending to their needs and following their will, which was communicated through oracles, dreams, and divinations and which concerned government administration (*matsurigoto*). Thus, in principle, at this level there was no line of demarcation between the sacred and the profane dimensions of life or between religious rituals (*matsuri*) and government administration (*matsurigoto*). Both were the prerogatives of the sovereign, who was by virtue of his solar ancestry the chief priest as well as the supreme political head of the kingdom. The sovereign, in turn, was assisted by hereditary religious functionaries and hereditary ministers of the court. This principle of the unity of religion and government (*saisei-itchi*) remained the foundation of Japanese religion when it later became institutionalized and acquired the designation of Shintō in contradistinction to *butsudō* (Buddhism).

Impact of Chinese civilization and Buddhism on Japanese religion. With the gradual penetration of Chinese civilization—or, more strictly, Sino-Korean civilization—and Buddhism during the fifth and sixth centuries, Japanese religion was destined to feel the impact of alien ways of viewing the world and interpreting the meaning of human existence. In order to create a designation for the hitherto relatively unsystematized religious, cultural, and political tradition, the Japanese borrowed two Chinese characters—*shen* (Japanese, *shin*) for *kami*, and *dao* (Japanese, *to* or *do*)—for "the way." The adoption of the name *Shintō* only magnified the profound tension between the indigenous Japanese understanding of the meaning of life and the world—authenticated solely by their particular historic experience on the Japanese islands—and the claims of Confucianism and Buddhism that their ways were grounded in universal laws and principles, the Confucian Dao (the Way) and Buddhist Dharma (the Law).

There is little doubt that the introduction of Chinese script and Buddhist images greatly aided the rapid penetration of Chinese civilization and Buddhism. As the inhabitants of the Japanese islands had not developed their own script, the task of adopting the Chinese script, with its highly developed ideographs and phonetic compounds, to indigenous words was a complex one. There were many educated Korean and Chinese immigrants who served as instructors, interpreters, artists, technicians, and scribes for the imperial court and influential *uji* leaders of the state. Over the course of time, the intelligentsia learned the use of literary Chinese and for many centuries used it for writing historical and official records. Poets, too, learned to express themselves in Chinese verse or, as in the *Man'yōshū*, the eighth-century poetry anthology, utilized Chinese characters as a form of syllabary to render their oral verses. The people accepted Chinese as a written, but not a spoken, language. Even so, through this one-sided medium the inhabitants of the Japanese islands gained access to the rich civilization of China, and Chinese culture became the major resource and model for the emerging state of Japan.

Through written media, the Japanese came to know the mystical tradition of philosophical Daoism, which enriched their aesthetic tradition. The Japanese also learned of the yin-yang school's concepts of the two principles (yin and yang), the five elements (metal, wood, water, fire, and earth), and the orderly rotation of these elements in the formation of nature, seasons, and the human being. The yin-yang school thus provided cosmological theories to the hitherto nonspeculative Japanese religion. It was also through written Chinese works that the society, which had been based on archaic communal rules and the *uji* system, appropriated certain features of Confucian ethical principles, social and political theories, and legal and educational systems.

The introduction of Buddhist art equally revolutionized Japanese religion, which despite its aesthetic sensitivities had never developed artistic images of *kami* in sculpture or painting. Understandably, when Buddhism was officially introduced to the Japanese court in the sixth century, it was the Buddha image that became the central point of contention between the pro- and anti-Buddhist factions there. Anti-Buddhist leaders argued that veneration of a "foreign *kami*" would offend the "native *kami*." After this initial controversy regarding statues of the Buddha, however, the chieftain of the powerful Soga *uji*s secured imperial permission to build a new clan temple in order to enshrine Buddha images. Soon, thanks to the energetic advocacy of the Soga, Buddhism was accepted by other aristocratic families, but not because the profound meaning of Buddhist law (the Dharma) was fully appreciated. Rather, Buddhist statues were believed to have magical potencies that would bring about mundane benefits. Thus the statues of Shaka (Śākyamuni), Miroku (Maitreya), Yakushi (Bhaisajyaguru), Kannon (Avalokiteśvara), and Amida (Amitābha) were venerated almost indiscriminately in the *uji*-based Buddhism of sixth- and early-seventh-century Japan.

PRINCE SHŌTOKU. The regency of Prince Shōtoku (574?–622?), who served under his aunt, Empress Suiko (r. 592–628), marks a new chapter in the history of Japanese religion. By that time Japan had lost its foothold on the southern tip of the Korean peninsula, while the powerful Sui dynasty had unified China after centuries of disunity. To protect Japan's survival in the precarious international scene, Shōtoku and his advisers attempted to strengthen the fabric of national community by working out a multireligious policy reconciling the particularistic Japanese religious tradition with the universal principles of Confucianism and Buddhism. Shōtoku's mentor here was clearly Emperor Wen (r. 581–605) of the Sui dynasty, who unified the races, cultures, and vast and diverse areas of China by utilizing Confucianism, Buddhism, and to a lesser degree Daoism as the arms of the throne. Moreover, his claim to semidivine status was sanctioned and authenticated by various religious symbols.

Shōtoku himself was a pious Buddhist and is reputed to have delivered learned lectures on selected Buddhist scriptures. Yet his policies, as exemplified in the establishment of the Chinese-style "cap ranks" of twelve grades for court ministers or in the promulgation of the Seventeen-Article Constitution, represented an indigenous attempt to reconcile Buddhist and Confucian traditions with the native Japanese religious tradition. Shōtoku envisaged a centralized national community under the throne, and he advocated the veneration of Buddhism as the final refuge of all creatures. Moreover, he held the Confucian notion of *li* (propriety) to be the key to right relations among ruler, ministers, and people.

Shōtoku was convinced that his policy was in keeping with the will of the *kami.* In his edict of 607, he states that his imperial ancestors had venerated the heavenly and earthly *kami* and, thus, the winter (yin, negative cosmic force) and summer (yang, positive cosmic force) elements remained in harmony, with their creative powers blended. He urged his ministers to do the same.

Prince Shōtoku took the initiative in reestablishing diplomatic contact with China by sending an envoy to the Sui court. He also sent a number of talented young scholars and monks to China to study. Although Shōtoku's reform measures remained unfulfilled at his untimely death, the individuals he sent to China later played important roles in the development of Japanese religions and national affairs upon their return.

THE RITSURYŌ SYNTHESIS. Prince Shōtoku's death was followed by a series of bloody power struggles, including a coup d'état in 645, which paradoxically strengthened the position of the throne. The Taika reforms of 645 and 646 attempted to consolidate the power of the centralized government by such Chinese-style measures as land redistribution, collection of revenues, and a census. During the second half of the seventh century the government, utilizing the talents of those who had studied in China, sponsored the compilation of a written law code. Significantly, those penal codes (*ritsu*; Chinese, *lü*) and civil statutes (*ryo*; Chinese, *ling*), which were modeled after Chinese legal systems, were issued in the name of the emperor as the will of the *kami.* The government structure thus developed during the late seventh century is referred to as the Ritsuryō (imperial rescript) state. Although the basic principle of the Ritsuryō state was in a sense a logical implementation of Prince Shōtoku's vision, which itself was a synthesis of Buddhist, Confucian, and Japanese traditions, it turned out to be in effect a form of immanental theocracy, in which the universal principles of Dao and Dharma were domesticated to serve the will of the sovereign, who now was elevated to the status of a living or manifest *kami.*

The government's effort to consolidate the Ritsuryō structure was initially resisted by the former *uji* chieftains and provincial magnates who had residual power in the court. Ironically, after usurping the throne from his uncle, Emperor Tenmu (r. 673–686) managed to bring new elements into the rank of court nobility and to reorganize the governmental structure. Tenmu ordered the compilation of two historical writings, the *Kojiki* (Record of ancient matters, completed in 712) and the *Nihongi* (or *Nihonshoki*, the Chronicle of Japan, completed in 720). Tenmu is also credited with canonizing Amaterasu, the sun deity, as the ancestral *kami* and with making her Grand Shrine of Ise the tutelary shrine of the imperial house.

One characteristic policy of the Ritsuryō state was to support and control all of the religious ways. Thus, the government enforced the Soniryo, or Law Governing Monks and Nuns, which was modeled after a Chinese code, the Law Governing Daoist and Buddhist Priests, of the Yonghui period (640–655). The government also elevated the Office of Kami Affairs (*Kanzukasa*) to a full-fledged Department of Kami Affairs (*Jingikan*), charged with supervising all officially sponsored Shintō shrines and overseeing the registers of the entire Shintō priesthood and other religious corporations. The Jingikan was given equal rank with the Great Council of State (*Dajokan*).

NARA PERIOD (710–784). During the eighth century Japanese religion reached an important stage of maturity under Chinese and Buddhist influence. It was a golden age for the Ritsuryō state and the imperial court. Thanks to the newly acquired Chinese script, the two mythohistorical writings—the *Kojiki* and the *Nihonshoki*—as well as the *Fudoki* (Records of local surveys), the *Man'yōshū* (Anthology of myriad leaves), and the *Kaifuso* (Fond recollection of poetry) were compiled. Also in this century, the Yoro Ritsuryō (Yoro penal and civil codes), the legal foundation of the Ritsuryō state, was fixed in writing.

The immanental theocratic principle of the Ritsuryō state was based on the myth of the solar ancestry of the imperial house. Similarly, the compilation of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihonshoki* was ordered by Emperor Tenmu in 673 to justify his accession to the throne. Thus, although the format of these chronicles was modeled after Chinese dynastic histories, their task was to sort out myths, legends, and historical events in such a way as to establish direct genealogical connections between the contemporary imperial house and the sun deity. With this objective in mind, the chroniclers worked out a transition from the domain of myths (narratives with divine actors), classified as the "age of *kami*," to the "historical" accounts of legendary emperors, who were presumed to be direct ancestors of the imperial house. Although the chronologies in the *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki* were obviously fabricated, these mythohistorical writings provide a rich source of myths in which the ethos and meaning structure of early Japanese religion unfold. Later, under the guide of nativist scholars (*kokugakusha*), these two chronicles came to be regarded as semi-canonical scriptures of Shintō.

The *Man'yōshū* is as important as the chronicles for our understanding of early Japanese religion. In its literary form, the *Man'yōshū* utilized Chinese characters only for their sound value, disregarding their lexical meaning. Many of the poems in this anthology portray an interpenetration of what we now call religious, aesthetic, and political values. The *Man'yōshū* also reveals the crucial religio-political role oral poets played in public and ritual declamations of the sacred order of the heavens and the human realm.

In contrast to earlier periods, when Korean forms of Buddhism influenced Japan, early eighth-century Japan felt the strong impact of Chinese Buddhism. In 710 the first capital, modeled after the Chinese capital of Chang'an, was established in Nara, which was designed to serve as the religious as well as the political center of the nation. During the Nara period, the imperial court was eager to promote Buddhism as the religion best suited for the protection of the state. Accordingly, in every province the government established state-sponsored temples (*kokubunji*) and nunneries (*kokubunniji*). In the capital city the national cathedral, Tōdaiji was built as the home of the gigantic bronze statue of the buddha Vairocana. The government sponsored and supported six schools of Chinese Buddhism. Of the six, the Ritsu (Vinaya) school was concerned primarily with monastic disciplines. The other five were more like monastic schools based on different philosophical traditions than sectarian groups. For example, the two Hīnayāna schools—the Kusha (deriving its name from the *Abhidharmakośa*) and the Jojitsu (deriving its name from the *Satyasiddhi*)—were devoted to cosmological and psychological analysis of elements of the universe, whereas the Sanron (Mādhyamika) school specialized in dialectic analysis of concepts in order to suppress all duality for the sake of gaining perfect wisdom. The Kegon school (deriving its name from the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*) was a form of cosmotheism, viewing the cosmos itself as divine, and the Hossō (Yogācāra), probably the most influential system during the Nara period, stressed analysis of the nature of things and a theory of causality. Only those who had taken vows at one of the three official ordination platforms were qualified to be ordained monks. With government subsidies, the monks were able to devote their lives to the study of the doctrinal intricacies of their respective schools.

Despite such encouragement and support from the government, monastic Buddhism did not have much impact on the populace. More important were three new religious forms that developed out of the fusion between the Japanese religious heritage and Buddhism. The first new form was the Nature Wisdom school (Jinenchishu), which sought enlightenment by meditation or austere physical discipline in the mountains and forests. Those who followed this path, including some official monks, affirmed the superiority of enlightenment through nature to the traditional Buddhist disciplines and doctrines. The indigenous acceptance of the sacrality of the phenomenal world was thus reaffirmed.

Second, a variety of folk religious leaders, variously called private monks (*shidoso*) and unordained monks (*ubasoku*; from Sanskrit *upasaka*), emerged. Many of them were magicians, healers, and shamanic diviners of the mountain districts or the countryside who came under nominal Buddhist influence, although they had little or no formal Buddhist training. Their religious outlook was strongly influenced by the popular religious traditions and Daoism, but they also appropriated many features of Buddhism and taught simple and syncretistic folk Buddhism among the lower strata of society.

A third new form grew out of the interpenetration and amalgamation of the *kami* cults and Buddhism, whereby Shintō shrines found their way into the compounds of Buddhist temples and Buddhist chapels were built within the precincts of Shintō shrines. This development can be seen in the history of the construction of Tōdaiji, which was promoted by reported oracles from the Great Sun Deity of the Inner Shrine of Ise and from the *kami* Hachiman of the Usa Shrine in Kyushu. Indeed, Hachiman was explicitly equated with a Buddhist *bodhisattva.* This Shintō-Buddhist amalgamation, which began in the eighth century and later came to be called Ryobu (two aspects) Shintō, remained the institutional norm until the forced separation of Buddhism from Shintō shrines in the late nineteenth century.

EROSION OF THE RITSURYŌ IDEAL. In 794 the capital was moved from Nara to a remote site and then again ten years later to the present Kyoto. The new capital in Kyoto, called Heiankyo (capital of peace and tranquility), was modeled after the Chinese capital. Although Kyoto remained the seat of the imperial court until the nineteenth century, the Heian period covers only the period from the late eighth to the late twelfth century, when political power was concentrated in the capital. Eager to restore the integrity of the Ritsuryō system, the leaders of the Kyoto regime forbade the Nara Buddhist schools to move into the new capital. Instead, the imperial court favored, side by side with Shintō, two new Buddhist schools, Tendai (Chinese, Tiantai) and Shingon (Chinese, Zhenyan), introduced by Saichō (767–822) and Kūkai (774–835), respectively. Both Saichō and Kūkai had been disillusioned in their youth by the formalism and moral decadence of the Buddhist schools in Nara, both had studied in China, and both were to exert great influence on the further development of Japanese religion.

Saichō, also known by his posthumous name, Dengyō daishi, established the monastic center of the Tendai school at Mount Hiei, not far from Kyoto, and incorporated the doctrines of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (Lotus of the good law) *Sūtra*, esoteric (i.e., Tantric) forms of meditation and ritual practice, Zen (Chinese, Chan) meditation, and monastic discipline (Vinaya) into his teachings. He was conciliatory to the *kami* cults and his form of Shintō-Buddhist (Tendai) amalgam came to be known as Sannō Ichijitsu (one reality) Shintō. Shortly after Saichō's death, the Tendai school increasingly stressed its esoteric elements to the extent that it came to be styled Taimitsu (Tendai Esoterism). The Tendai monastic complex at Mount Hiei remained for centuries a most powerful institution and produced many prominent religious figures during the medieval period.

Kūkai, known posthumously as Kobo Daishi, established the Shingon monastic center at Mount Koya, not far from present-day Osaka. He also served as the head of the prestigious Toji (Eastern Temple) in Kyoto. As a result, Kūkai's teachings are often referred to as Tōmitsu (Eastern esoterism). Kūkai was noted for his exceptional erudition. His scheme of the ten stages of spiritual development included teachings from all the major Buddhist schools and also from Hinduism, Confucianism, and Daoism. Moreover, he taught that the essential truth of esoteric teaching could be revealed in art, thus affirming the mutual penetration of aesthetic and religious experiences. The Shingon school provided the theoretical basis for Ryobu Shintō, as mentioned earlier. According to both the Tendai and Shingon traditions of the Shintō-Buddhist amalgam, Shintō *kami* were believed to be manifestations (*suijaku*) of the buddhas who were the original realities (*onji*).

Meanwhile, in an important step toward restoring the Ritsuryō system, the government sponsored the *Shinsen shojiroku* (New compilation of the register of families), completed in 815. It divided the aristocracy into three categories: (1) descendants of heavenly and earthly *kami* (*shinbetsu*); (2) descendants of imperial and other royal families (*kobetsu*); and (3) descendants of naturalized Chinese and Koreans (*banbetsu*). The preface to this register acknowledged that provincial records had all been burned. Thus, in the absence of reliable documents, many commoners pretended to be scions of noblemen, while the children of naturalized Chinese and Koreans claimed to be the descendants of specific Japanese *kami.* Despite the admission of the impossibility of the task involved, the register presented the purported genealogies of 1,182 families as an essential instrument in the hands of the nation.

Nearly a century after the compilation of the *Shinsen shojiroku*, the government undertook the ambitious enterprise of collecting all supplementary rules to previously promulgated edicts and ceremonial rules known during the Engi era (901–922). Of the fifty books that comprise these documents, the *Engishiki*, the first ten are devoted to minute rules and procedures of dealing with various aspects of Shintō, such as festivals, the Grand Shrine of Ise, enthronement ceremonies, ritual prayers (*norito*), and a register of *kami.* Of special importance to the understanding of Japanese religion are the ritual prayers, some of which might be traced back to the mid-sixth century when ritualized recitation of prayers, inspired by the Buddhist example of reciting scriptures (sūtras) developed. The remaining forty books of the *Engishiki* are detailed descriptions of rules and regulations of all the bureaus under the Grand Council of State (Dajokan), including numerous references to affairs related to Shintō. The section on the Bureau of Yin-Yang (Onmyoryo), Book 16, mentions the duties of masters and doctors of divination and astrology in reciting the ritual prayers (*saimon*) addressed to heavenly and earthly *kami.*

The underlying principle of the *Engishiki*, which epitomized the Ritsuryō ideal, was that the imperial court was the earthly counterpart of the heavenly court. Just as the court of the Sun Deity included various functionaries, the imperial court included religious and administrative functionaries, and the stylized daily rituals of the court, properly performed, had great bearing on the harmonious blending of the yin and yang elements in the cosmos, as well as on the welfare of the people. Though the *Engishiki* was completed in 927, it was not put into effect until 967, by which time the very ideal of the Ritsuryō system was again eroding.

The foundation of the Ritsuryō system was the sacred monarchy, authenticated by the mythohistorical claim that Amaterasu, the Sun Deity, had given the mandate to her grandson, Ninigi, and his descendants to "reign" and "rule" the world, meaning Japan, in perpetuity. Ironically, during the Heian period the two institutions that were most closely related to the throne, namely, the Fujiwara regency and rule by retired monarchs (*insei*), undercut the structure of the Ritsuryō system. The regency had been exercised before the ninth century only by members of the royal family and only in times when the reigning monarch needed such assistance. But from the late ninth century to the mid-eleventh century, the nation was actually ruled by the regency of the powerful Fujiwara family. The institutionalization of the regency implied a significant redefinition of the Ritsuryō system by the aristocracy. The aristocratic families acknowledged the sacrality of the throne, but they expected the emperor to reign or act ritually only as the manifest *kami* and not to interfere with the actual operation of the government. The latter was believed to be the prerogative of the aristocratic officials. Moreover, the Fujiwaras, who had managed to marry off their daughters to reigning monarchs, claimed added privileges as the titular sovereigns' maternal in-laws.

The custom of rule by retired monarchs began in the eleventh century, when ambitious monarchs abdicated for the purpose of exercising power from behind the throne with the claim that they were still legitimate heads of the patriarchal imperial family. This institution of *insei* was weakened by the end of the twelfth century and effectively ended owing to the growth of political power held by provincial warrior families.

The Heian period witnessed the phenomenal growth of wealth and political influence of ecclesiastical institutions, both Shintō and Buddhist, equipped with lucrative manors and armed guards. However, among the members of the lower strata of society, who were largely neglected by established religious groups, magico-religious beliefs and practices of both indigenous and Chinese origins prevailed. In addition to healers, diviners, sorcerers, and the practitioners of *onmyōdō* (yin-yang and Daoist magic), mountain ascetics (*shugenja*)—heirs of the shamanistic folk religious leaders of the Nara period—attracted followers in places high and low. In the course of time, mountain ascetics allied themselves with the Tendai and Shingon schools and came to be known as the Tendai-Shugendo and the Shingon-Shugendo, respectively.

Female religious figures of various sorts also helped to spread Buddhism among the masses, while lay religious itinerants also helped to spread the fame of certain temple-shrine complexes. Such literary works as the *Genji monogatari* (Tale of Genji) by Lady Murasaki and the *Makura no soshi* (Pillow book) by Lady Sei-shonagon also reveal that during this period many calamities, ranging from earthquakes, fires, floods, and epidemics to civil wars, were widely believed to have been caused by the vengeance of angry spirits (*goryo*). Some of these spirits came to be venerated as *kami* and shrines were built to honor—but also to confine—them. Festivals for such angry spirits (*goryo-e*), with music, dance, wrestling, archery, and horse racing, as well as Shintō, Buddhist, and yin-yang liturgies, were held in order to pacify the anger of *goryo* and, thus, to protect the populace.

Frequent occurrences of natural calamities also precipitated the widespread belief that the apocalyptic age of the Latter Days of the Law *(mappō)* predicted in Buddhist scripture was at hand. This may also account for the growing popularity of the Buddha Amida (Sanskrit, Amitābha, the Buddha of Infinite Light, or Amitayus, the Buddha of Infinite Life), who had vowed to save all sentient beings and had promised rebirth in his Pure Land to the faithful. Amida Buddhism was to become a powerful spiritual movement in the following centuries. The Heian period, and the elegant culture it produced, vanished in the late twelfth century in a series of bloody battles involving both courtiers and warriors. It was followed by a new age dominated by warrior rulers.

RELIGIOUS ETHOS DURING THE KAMAKURA PERIOD. The country was ruled by warrior-rulers from the late twelfth to the nineteenth century, even though the emperor continued to reign throughout these centuries. This is a matter of considerable significance for the development of Japanese religions. There were three such feudal warrior regimes (*bakufu* or shogunates): (1) the Kamakura regime (1185–1333); (2) the Ashikaga regime (1338–1573); and (3) the Tokugawa regime (1600–1868). Unlike the Ritsuryō state, with its elaborate penal and civil codes, the warrior rule—at least under the first two regimes—was based on a much simpler legal system. For example, the legislation of the Kamakura regime consisted of only fifty-one pragmatic principles. This allowed established Shintō and Buddhist institutions more freedom than they had had under the cumbersome structure of the Ritsuryō state. It also set the stage for the development of new religious movements, many with roots in the folk tradition. Moreover, over time the power of major Buddhist institutions and schools, including the Tendai, Shingon, and the Pure Land, was severely curtailed by brutal wars waged by Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582) and other warriors against the *sōhei* (monk-soldiers) and adherents of these religious groups.

Unlike the Fujiwara noblemen and retired monarchs, who had wielded power from within the framework of the imperial court, the Kamakura regime established its own administrative structure consisting of three bureaus: military, administrative, and judiciary. The warriors, for the most part, were not very sophisticated in cultural and religious matters. Many of them, however, combined simple Buddhist piety with devotion to the tutelary *kami* of their families rather than those of the imperial Shintō tradition. In part, the cohesion of the warrior society, not unlike the early Yamato confederation of semiautonomous clans, was based on the *uji* and the larger unit of *uji* federation. Accordingly, the tutelary *kami* of warrior families (for example, Hachiman, the *kami* of war of the Minamoto *uji*, the founders of the Kamakura regime) increased in prominence. At the same time, the peasantry, artisans, and small merchants, whose living standard improved a little under the Kamakura regime, were attracted to new religious movements that promised an easier path to salvation in the dreaded age of degeneration *(mappō).* On the other hand, the Zen traditions, which had been a part of older Buddhist schools, gained independence under the influence of the Chinese Chan movement and quickly found patronage among the Kamakura rulers.

Significantly, all the leaders of new religious movements during this period began their careers at the Tendai headquarters at Mount Hiei, but all had become disillusioned with the established schools for one reason or another. Three of these leaders altered their religious resolutions when they found certitude of salvation in reliance on the compassionate Amida by *nembutsu* (recitation of the Buddha's name). They then became instrumental in the establishment of the three Pure Land (Amida's Western Paradise) traditions. They were respectively, Hōnen (Genku, 1133–1212) of the Jōdo (Pure Land) sect, who is often compared with Martin Luther; Shinran (1173–1263) of the Jōdo Shin (True Pure Land) sect, a disciple of Hōnen, who among other things initiated the tradition of a married priesthood; and Ippen (Chishin, 1239–1289) of the Ji (Time) sect, so named because of the practice of reciting hymns to Amida six times a day. On the other hand, Nichiren (1222–1282), founder of the school bearing his name and a charismatic prophet, developed his own interpretation of the *Hokekyo (Lotus Sūtra),* the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*, as the only path toward salvation for the Japanese nation.

In contrast to the paths of salvation advocated by the Pure Land and Nichiren schools, the experience of enlightenment (*satori*) was stressed by Eisai (Yosai, 1141–1215), who introduced the Rinzai (Chinese, Linji) Zen tradition, and Dōgen (1200–1253), who established the Sōtō (Chinese, Caodong) Zen tradition. Zen was welcomed by Kamakura leaders, partly because it could counterbalance the powerful and wealthy established Buddhist institutions and partly because Zen priests could introduce other features of Song Chinese culture, including neo-Confucian learning. The Zen movement was greatly aided by a number of émigré Chan monks who settled in Japan.

Despite the growth of new religious movements, old religious establishments, both Shintō and Buddhist, remained powerful during this period. For example, both gave military support to the royalist cause against the Kamakura regime during the abortive Jokyu rebellion in 1221. On the other hand, confronted by a national crisis during the Mongol invasions of 1274 and 1281, both Shintō shrines and Buddhist monasteries solidly supported the Kamakura regime by offering prayers and incantations for the protection of Japan.

A short-lived "imperial rule" from 1333 to 1336 followed the decline of the Kamakura regime. This rule aided the Ise Shintō movement, which tried, not very successfully, to emancipate Shintō from Buddhist and Chinese influence. Ise Shintō influenced the royalist general Kitabatake Chikafusa (1293–1354), author of the *Jinnō shōtōki* (Records of the legitimate succession of the divine sovereigns). The imperial regime was also instrumental in shifting the centers of Zen and Song learning, established by the Kamakura regime in the Chinese-style Gozan ("five mountains") temples, to Kyoto.

ZEN, NEO-CONFUCIANISM, AND KIRISHITAN DURING THE ASHIKAGA PERIOD. Unlike the first feudal regime at Kamakura, the Ashikaga regime established its *bakufu* in Kyoto, the seat of the imperial court. Accordingly, religious and cultural development during the Ashikaga period (1336–1573, also referred to as the Muromachi period) blended various features of warrior and courtier traditions, Zen, and Chinese cultural influences. This blending in turn fostered a deeper interpenetration of religious and aesthetic values. All these religious and cultural developments took place at a time when social and political order was threatened not only by a series of bloody power struggles within the *bakufu*, but also by famines and epidemics that led to peasant uprisings. The devastating Ōnin War (1467–1477) accelerated the erosion of Ashikaga hegemony and the rise of competing daimyō, the so-called *sengoku daimyō* (feudal lords of warring states), in the provinces. In this situation of shifting fortunes and power vacuums, villages and towns sometimes developed something analogous to self-rule. Merchants and artisans formed guilds (*za*) that were usually affiliated with established Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines, whereas adherents of Pure Land and Nichiren sects showed themselves willing to defend themselves as armed religious societies. Into this complex religious, cultural, social, and political topography, European missionaries of Roman Catholicism, then known as Kirishitan, brought a new gospel of salvation to Japan.

Throughout the Ashikaga period, established institutions of older Buddhist schools and Shintō (for example, the Tendai monastery at Mount Hiei, the Shingon monastery at Mount Koya, and the Kasuga Shrine in Nara) remained both politically and economically powerful. However, the new religious groups that had begun to attract the lower strata of society during the Kamakura period continued to expand their influence, often competing among themselves. Some of these new religious groups staged a series of armed rebellions—such as Hokke ikki (uprisings of Nichiren followers) and ikkō ikki (uprisings of the True Pure Land followers)—to defend themselves against each other or against oppressive officialdoms. The Order of Mountain Ascetics (Shugendo) also became institutionalized as the eclectic Shugenshu (Shugen sect) and promoted devotional confraternities (*kosha*) among villagers and townspeople, competing with the other new religious groups.

Zen and neo-Confucianism. By far the most influential religious sect during the Ashikaga period was Zen, especially the Rinzai Zen tradition, which became de facto the official religion. The first Ashikaga shogun, following the advice of his confidant, Musō Sōseki established a "temple for the peace of the nation" (*ankokuji*) in each province. As economic necessity compelled the regime to turn to foreign trade, Sōseki's temple, Tenryūji, sent ships to China for this purpose. Many Zen priests served as advisers to administrative offices of the regime. With the rise of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), which replaced Mongol rule, the third Ashikaga shogun resumed official diplomatic relations with China, again depending heavily on the assistance of Zen priests. After the third shogun regularized two Gozan (the five officially recognized Zen temples) systems, one in Kyoto and the second in Kamakura, Gozan temples served as important financial resources for the regime. Many Zen priests earned reputations as monk-poets or monk-painters, and Gozan temples became centers of cultural and artistic activities.

Zen priests, including émigré Chinese Chan monks, also made contributions as transmitters of neo-Confucianism, a complex philosophical system incorporating not only classical Confucian thought but also features of Buddhist and Daoist traditions that had developed in China during the Northern Song (960–1127) and Southern Song (1127–1279) periods. It should be noted that neo-Confucianism was initially conceived in Japan as a cultural appendage to Zen. Soon, however, many Zen monks upheld the unity of Zen and neo-Confucian traditions to the extent that the entire teaching staff and all the students of the Ashikaga Academy, presumably a nonreligious institution devoted to neo-Confucian learning, were Zen monks.

The combined inspiration of Japanese and Song Chinese aesthetics, Zen, and Pure Land traditions, coupled with the enthusiastic patronage of shoguns and daimyō, made possible the growth of a variety of elegant and sophisticated art: painting, calligraphy, *renga* (linked verse), stylized Nō drama, comical *kyogen* plays, flower arrangement, and the cult of tea. Some of these art forms are considered as much a religious "way" or discipline (*dō* or *michi*) as the "ways" of *kami* or the Buddha, implying that they are also soteriological paths.

THE COMING OF KIRISHITAN. When the Ōnin War ended in 1477, the Ashikaga regime could no longer control the ambitious provincial daimyō who were consolidating their own territories. By the sixteenth century Portugal was expanding its overseas empire in Asia. The chance arrival of shipwrecked Portuguese merchants at Tanegashima Island, south of Kyushu, in 1543 was followed by the arrival in Kyushu in 1549 of the famous Jesuit Francis Xavier. Although Xavier stayed only two years in Japan, he initiated vigorous proselytizing activities during that time.

The cause of Kirishitan (as Roman Catholicism was then called in Japanese) was greatly aided by the strongman Oda Nobunaga, who succeeded in taking control of the capital in 1568. Angry that established Buddhist institutions were resisting his scheme of national unification, Nobunaga took harsh measures. He burned the Tendai monastery at Mount Hiei, killed thousands of Ikko (True Pure Land) followers, and attacked rebellious priests at Mount Koya to destroy their power. At the same time, ostensibly to counteract the residual influence of Buddhism, he encouraged Kirishitan activities, a policy reversed after his death. Nevertheless, by the time Nobunaga was himself assassinated, there were reportedly 150,000 Japanese Catholics, including several daimyō.

The initial success of Catholicism in Japan was due to the Jesuits' policy of accommodation. Xavier himself adopted the name *Dainichi* (the Great Sun Buddha, the supreme deity of the Shingon school) as the designation of God. Later, however, the name was changed to *Deus.* Jesuits also used the Buddhist terms *jōdo* (pure land) for heaven and *so* (monk) for the title *padre.* Moreover, Kirishitan groups followed the general pattern of forming tightly knit religious societies as practiced by the Nichiren and Pure Land groups. Missionaries also followed the common Japanese approach in securing the favor of the ruling class to expedite their evangelistic and philanthropic activities. Conversely, trade-hungry daimyō eagerly befriended missionaries, knowing that the latter had influence over Portuguese traders. In fact, one Christian daimyō donated the port of Nagasaki to the Society of Jesus in 1580, hoping to attract Portuguese ships there, which would in turn benefit him, not least by supplying modern firearms. Inevitably, however, Jesuit-inspired missionary work aroused strong opposition not only from anti-Kirishitan daimyō and Buddhist clerics but from jealous Franciscans and other Catholic orders as well. Furthermore, the Portuguese traders who supported the Jesuits were now threatened by the arrival of the Spanish in 1592, via Mexico and the Philippines, and of the Dutch in 1600.

Meanwhile, following the death of Oda Nobunaga, one of his generals, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598), endeavored to complete the task of national unification. Determined to eliminate the power of Buddhist institutions, he not only attacked rebellious monastic communities, such as those in Negoro and Saiga, but also conducted a thorough sword hunt in various monastic communities. Hideyoshi was interested in foreign trade, but he took a dim view of Catholicism because of its threat to the cause of national unification. He was incensed by what he saw in Nagasaki, a port that was then ruled by the Jesuits and the Portuguese. In 1587 he issued an edict banishing missionaries but did not enforce it until 1596, when he heard a rumor that the Spanish monarch was plotting to subjugate Japan with the help of Japanese Christians. In 1597 he had some twenty-six Franciscans and Japanese converts crucified. The following year, Hideyoshi himself died in the midst of his abortive invasion of Korea.

THE TOKUGAWA SYNTHESIS. The power struggle that followed the death of Toyotomi Hideyoshi was settled in 1600 in favor of Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616), who established the *bakufu* in 1603 at Edo (present Tokyo). The Tokugawa regime, which was to hold political power until the Meiji restoration in 1868, was more than another feudal regime; it was a comprehensive sixfold order—political, social, legal, philosophical, religious, and moral—with the shogun in its pivotal position.

1. *Political order.* The Tokugawa form of government, usually known as the *baku-han*, was a national administration (*bakufu*) under the shogun combined with local administration by daimyō in their fiefs (*han*).
2. *Social order.* Under the Tokugawa regime, Japanese society was rigidly divided into warrior, farmer, artisan, and merchant classes, plus special categories such as imperial and courtier families and ecclesiastics. Accordingly, one's birth dictated one's status as well as one's duties to nation and family and one's role in social relations.
3. *Legal order.* The Tokugawas formulated a series of administrative and legislative principles, as well as rules and regulations (*hatto*) that dictated the boundaries and norms of behavior of various imperial, social, and religious groups.
4. *Philosophical order.* The Tokugawa synthesis was based on the neo-Confucian principle that the order of Heaven is not transcendental but rather is inherent in the sacrality of nation, family, and social hierarchy.
5. *Religious order.* In sharp contrast to the principle of sacred kingship that authenticated the immanental theocratic state as the nation of the *kami*, the Tokugawas looked to the throne to add a magico-religious aura to their own version of immanental theocracy. They grounded this notion in what they felt were the "natural" laws and "natural" norms implicit in human, social, and political order. The first shogun, Ieyasu, was deified as the Sun God of the East (Tosho) and was enshrined as the guardian deity of the Tokugawas at Nikkō. According to the Tokugawas, all religions were to become integral and supportive elements of the Tokugawa synthesis. However, they tolerated no prophetic judgment or critique of the whole system.
6. *Moral order.* Running through the Tokugawa synthesis was a sense of moral order that held the balance of the total system. Its basic formula was simple: the Way of Heaven was the natural norm, and the way of government, following the principle of benevolent rule (*jinsei*), was to actualize this moral order. This demanded something of each person in order to fulfill the true meaning of the relations (*taigi-meibun*) among the different status groups. Warriors, for example, were expected to follow Bushidō ("the way of the warrior").

Kirishitan under Tokugawa rule. The religious policy of the Tokugawa regime was firmly established by the first shogun, who held that all religious, philosophical, and ethical systems were to uphold and cooperate with the government's objective, namely, the establishment of a harmonious society. The first shogun stated in an edict of 1614: "Japan is called the land of the Buddha and not without reason. . . . *Kami* and the Buddha differ in name, but their meaning is one" (quoted in Sir Charles Eliot, *Japanese Buddhism*, p. 309). Accordingly, he surrounded himself with a variety of advisers, including Buddhist clerics and Confucian scholars, and shared their view that the Kirishitan religion could not be incorporated into the framework of Japanese religion and would be detrimental to the cause of social and political harmony. Nevertheless, the Tokugawa regime's initial attitude toward Catholicism was restrained. Perhaps this was because the regime did not wish to lose foreign trade by overt anti-Kirishitan measures. But in 1614 the edict banning Kirishitan was issued, followed two years later by a stricter edict. A series of persecutions of missionaries and Japanese converts then took place. Following the familiar pattern of religious uprising (such as Hokke ikki and ikko ikki), armed farmers, fishermen, warriors, and their women and children, many of whom were Kirishitan followers, rose in revolt in 1637 in Shimabara, Kyushu. When the uprising was quelled, Kirishitan followers were ordered to renounce their faith. If they did not do so, they were tortured to death.

The regime also took the far more drastic measure of enforcing national seclusion (*sakoku*) when it cut off all trade and other relations with foreign powers (with the exception of the Netherlands). Furthermore, in order to exterminate the forbidden religion of Kirishitan, every family was required to be registered in a Buddhist temple. However, hidden Kirishitan groups survived these severe persecutions and have preserved a distinct system of belief and practice into the twenty-first century.

Buddhism and the Tokugawa regime. The Tokugawa regime's anti-Kirishitan measures required every Japanese citizen to become, at least nominally, Buddhist. Accordingly, the number of Buddhist temples suddenly increased from 13,037 (the number of temples during the Kamakura period) to 469,934 during the Tokugawa period, although the latter number is disputed. Under Tokugawa rule a comprehensive parochial system was created, with Buddhist clerics serving as arms of the ruling regime in charge of thought control. In turn, Buddhist temples were tightly controlled by the regime, which tolerated internal doctrinal disputes but not deviation from official governmental policy. Since Buddhist temples were in charge of cemeteries, Buddhism was highly visible to the general populace through burial and memorial services. The only new sect that emerged during the Tokugawa period was the Ōbaku sect of Zen, which was introduced from China in the mid-seventeenth century.

Confucianism and Shintō. Neo-Confucianism was promoted by Zen Buddhists prior to the Tokugawa period. Thus, it was taken for granted that neo-Confucian scholars were also Zen clerics. Fujiwara Seika (1561–1619) first advocated the independence of neo-Confucianism from Zen. By his recommendation, Hayashi Razan (1583–1657), one of Seika's disciples, became the Confucian adviser to the first shogun, thus commencing the tradition that members of the Hayashi family served as heads of the official Confucian college, the Shoheiko, under the Tokugawa regime. Razan and many neo-Confucians expressed anti-Buddhist sentiments, and some Confucian scholars became interested in Shintō. Razan, himself an ardent follower of the Shushi (Chinese, Zhuxi) tradition, tried to relate the *ri* (Chinese, *li*, "reason, principle") of neo-Confucianism to Shintō. Another Shushi scholar, Yamazaki Ansai (1618–1682), went so far as to develop a form of Confucian Shintō called Suika Shintō. The Shushi school was acknowledged as the official guiding ideology of the regime and was promoted by powerful members of the Tokugawa family, including the fifth shogun. Especially noteworthy was Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628–1701), grandson of the first shogun and the daimyō of Mito, who gathered together able scholars, including Zhu Shunshui (1600–1682), an exiled Ming royalist. He thereby initiated the Mito tradition of Confucianism. The *Dainihonshi* (History of great Japan), produced by Mito scholars, subsequently provided the theoretical basis for the royalist movement in the nineteenth century.

The second tradition of neo-Confucianism, Oyomeigaku or Yomeigaku (the school of Wang Yangming) held that the individual mind was the manifestation of the universal Mind. This school also attracted such able men as Nakae Toju (1608–1648) and Kumazawa Banzan (1619–1691). Oyomeigaku provided ethical incentives for social reform and came to have some characteristics of a religious system. Quite different from the traditions of Shushi and Oyomei was the Kogaku (ancient learning) tradition, which aspired to return to the classical sources of Confucianism. One of its early advocates, Yamaga Soko (1622–1685), left a lasting mark on Bushidō, while another scholar of this school, Ito Jinsai (1627–1705), probed the truth of classical Confucianism, rejecting the metaphysical dualism of Zhu Xi.

Throughout the Tokugawa period, Confucian scholars, particularly those of the Shushigaku, Oyomeigaku, and Kogaku schools, exerted lasting influence on the warriors-turned-administrators, who took up Confucian ideas on the art of governing and on the modes of conduct that were appropriate for warriors, farmers, and townspeople, respectively. Certainly, such movements as Shingaku (mind learning), initiated by Ishida Baigan (1685–1744), and Hotoku (repaying indebtedness), championed by Ninomiya Sontoku (1787–1856), were greatly indebted to Confucian ethical insights.

SHINTŌ REVIVAL AND THE DECLINE OF THE TOKUGAWA REGIME. With the encouragement of anti-Buddhist Confucianists, especially those of Suika Shintō, some Shintō leaders who were overshadowed by their Buddhist counterparts during the early Tokugawa period began to assert themselves. Shintō soon found a new ally in the scholars of Kokugaku (National Learning) notably Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801), whose monumental study, *Kojiki*, provided a theoretical basis for the Fukko (return to ancient) Shintō movement. Motoori's junior contemporary, Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843), pushed the cause of Fukko Shintō even further. The nationalistic sentiment generated by the leaders of the Shintō revival, National Learning, and pro-Shintō Confucians began to turn against the already weakening Tokugawa regime in favor of the emerging royalist cause. The authority of the regime was threatened further by the demands of Western powers to reopen Japan for trade. In time, the loosening of the shogunate's control resulted in political and social disintegration, which in turn precipitated the emergence of messianic cults from the soil of folk religious traditions. Several important messianic cults developed, including Kurozumikyo, founded by Kurozumi Munetada (1780–1850); Konkokyo, founded by Kawate Bunjiro (1814–1883); and Tenrikyō, founded by Nakayama Miki (1798–1887). These so-called new religions have survived down to the present and remain significant religious communities.

MODERN PERIOD. The checkered development of Japanese religion in the modern period reflects a series of political, social, and cultural changes that have taken place. These changes include rapid urbanization and demographic shifts; industrialization, modernization, and (in some ways) Westernization; the toppling of the Tokugawa regime (1868), followed by the restoration of imperial rule under the Meiji emperor (r. 1868–1912); the increasing influence of Western thought and civilization, as well as Christianity; the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895); the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905); the annexation of Korea (1910); World War I, followed by the short-lived Taisho Democracy; the economic crisis followed by the rise of militarism in the 1930s; the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and China followed by World War II; Japan's surrender to the Allied forces (1945); the Allied occupation of Japan; and postwar rebuilding and renewed economic prosperity. The particular path of development of Japanese religion was, of course, most directly affected by the government's religious policies.

Meiji era. Although the architects of modern Japan welcomed many features of Western civilization, the Meiji regime was determined to restore the ancient principle of the "unity of religion and government" and the immanental theocratic state. Their model was the Ritsuryō system of the seventh and eighth centuries. Accordingly, sacred kingship served as the pivot of national policy (*kokutai*). Thus, while the constitution nominally guaranteed religious freedom and the ban against Christianity was lifted, the government created an overarching new religious and ideological system called State Shintō, which was designed to supersede all other religious groups. In order to create such a new official religion out of the ancient Japanese religious heritage, an edict separating Shintō and Buddhism (*Shin-Butsu hanzen rei*) was issued. The feeling of leading bureaucrats and politicians was that the Shintō-Buddhist amalgam of the preceding ten centuries was contrary to indigenous religious tradition. After the abortive Taikyo Sempu (dissemination of the great doctrine) movement and the compulsory registration of Shintō parishioners, the government decided to utilize various other means, especially military training and public education, to promote the sacred "legacy of the *kami* way" (*kannagara*). This led to the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors (1882) and the Imperial Rescript on Education (1890). Significantly, from 1882 until the end of World War II, Shintō priests were prohibited by law from preaching during Shintō ceremonies, although they were responsible—as arms of the government bureaucracy—for the preservation of State Shintō.

In order to keep State Shintō from becoming involved in overtly sectarian activities, the government created between 1882 and 1908 a new category of Kyoha (sect) Shintō and recognized thirteen such groups, including the "new religions" Kurozumikyo, Konkokyo, and Tenrikyō, which had emerged in the late Tokugawa period. Like Buddhist sects and Christian denominations, these groups depended on nongovernmental, private initiative for their propagation, organization, and financial support. Kyoha Shintō groups, however, have very little in common. Some consider themselves genuinely Shintō in beliefs and practices, whereas others are marked by strong Confucian features. Still others betray characteristic features of folk religious traditions, such as the veneration of sacred mountains, cults of mental and physical purification, utopian beliefs, and faith healing.

In the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries other "new religions" emerged. One of the most important historically is Omotokyō, founded by Deguchi Nao and greatly expanded under the leadership of her son-in-law, Deguchi Onisaburo. Numerous Omotokyō followers split off over the decades, founding their own religious movements and communities. In addition, it is important to note that women found leadership roles and positions of power in these religious movements by practicing and adapting older forms of shamanic mediumship and forms of faith healing. Figures such as Nakayama Miki, earlier in the nineteenth century, and Deguchi Nao represent the manner in which women used their experiences of divine possession as authorization to speak out against patriarchal oppression and governmental attempts to control religious beliefs and practices. An illiterate former ragpicker, Deguchi Nao came to be seen as a real threat to the national government and, consequently, was imprisoned; in addition, her group was repeatedly harassed by government authorities into the twentieth century. This fact testifies to the manner in which religious visionary experience became, in the hands of lay men and women in Japan, a powerful weapon of the weak.

Buddhism. The Buddhist establishment was destined to undergo many traumatic experiences in the modern period. The Meiji regime's edict separating Shintō and Buddhism precipitated a popular anti-Buddhist movement that reached its climax around 1871. In various districts temples were destroyed, monks and nuns were forcibly laicized, and the parochial system, the legacy of the Tokugawa period, eroded. Moreover, the short-lived Taikyo Sempu movement mobilized Buddhist monks to propagate *taikyo*, or government-concocted Shintō doctrines. Naturally, faithful Buddhists resented the Shintō-dominated Taikyo movement and advocated the principle of religious freedom. Thus, four branches of the True Pure Land sect managed to secure permission to leave the Taikyo movement, and shortly afterward the ill-fated movement itself was abolished. In the meantime, enlightened Buddhist leaders, determined to meet the challenge of Western thought and scholarship, sent able young monks to study in Western universities. Exposure to European buddhological scholarship and contacts with other Buddhist traditions in Asia greatly broadened the vista of previously insulated Japanese Buddhists.

The government's grudging decision to succumb to the pressure of Western powers and to lift the ban against Christianity was an emotional blow to many Buddhists who had been charged with the task of carrying out the anti-Kirishitan policy of the Tokugawa regime. Thus, a large number of Buddhists, including those who had advocated religious freedom, allied themselves with Shintō, Confucian, and nationalist leaders in an emotional anti-Christian campaign called *haja kensei* (refutation of evil religion and the exaltation of righteous religion). After the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890, many Buddhists equated patriotism with nationalism, thus becoming willing defenders and spokesmen of the emperor cult that symbolized the unique national polity (*kokutai*). Although most Buddhists had no intention of restoring the historical form of the Shintō-Buddhist amalgam, until the end of World War II they largely accepted Buddhism's subordinate role in the nebulous but overarching superreligion of State Shintō.

Confucianism. Confucians, too, were disappointed by the turn of events during the early days of the Meiji era. It is well to recall that Confucians were the influential guardians of the Tokugawa regime's official ideology. In the late Tokugawa period, though, many of them cooperated with Shintō and nationalist leaders and prepared the ground for the new Japan. Indeed, Confucianism was an intellectual bridge between the premodern and modern periods. Although the new regime depended heavily on Confucian ethical principles in its formulation of imperial ideology and the principles of sacred national polity, sensitive Confucians felt that those Confucian features had been dissolved into a new overarching framework with heavy imprints of Shintō and National Learning (Kokugaku). Confucians also resented the new regime's policy of organizing the educational system on Western models and welcoming Western learning (*yogaku*) at the expense of, they felt, traditionally important Confucian learning (*jugaku*). After a decade of infatuation with things Western, however, a conservative mood returned, much to the comfort of Confucians. With the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education and the adoption of compulsory "moral teaching" (*shushin*) in school systems, Confucian values were domesticated and represented as indigenous moral values. The historic Chinese Confucian notion of *wang-dao* (the way of true kingship) was recast into the framework of *kodo* (the imperial way), and its ethical universalism was transformed into *nihon-shugi* (Japanese-ism). As such, "nonreligious" Confucian ethics supported State Shintō until the end of World War II.

Christianity. The appearance—or reappearance, as far as Roman Catholicism was concerned—of Christianity in Japan was due to the convergence of several factors. These included pressures both external and internal, both from Western powers and from enlightened Buddhist leaders, who demanded religious freedom. Initially, the Meiji regime, in its eagerness to restore the ancient indigenous polity, arrested over three thousand "hidden Kirishitan" in Kyushu and sent them into exile in various parts of the country. However, foreign ministers strongly protested to the Meiji regime, which was then eager to improve its treaties with Western nations, and urged the government to change its anti-Christian policy. Responding to these pressures, the government lifted its ban against the "forbidden religion." This opened the door to missionary activity by Protestant, as well as Roman Catholic and Russian Orthodox, churches. From that time until 1945, Christian movements in Japan walked a tightrope between their own religious affirmations and the demands of the nation's inherent immanental theocratic principles.

The legal meaning of religious freedom was stated by Ito Hirobumi (1841–1909), the chief architect of the Meiji Constitution:

> No believer in this or that religion has the right to place himself outside the pale of the law of the Empire, on the ground that he is serving his god. . . . Thus, although freedom of religious belief is complete and exempt from all restrictions, so long as manifestations of it are confined to the mind; yet with regard to external matters such as forms of worship and the mode of propagation, certain necessary restrictions of law or regulations must be provided for, and besides, the general duties of subjects must be observed.

This understanding of religious freedom was interpreted even more narrowly after the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education. Spokesmen for anti-Christian groups stressed that the Christian doctrine of universal love was incompatible with the national virtues of loyalty and filial piety taught explicitly in the Rescript. Some Christian leaders responded by stressing the compatibility of their faith and patriotism. Although a small group of Christian socialists and pacifists protested during the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars, most Christians passively supported the war effort.

During the time of infatuation with things Western, curious or iconoclastic youths in urban areas were attracted by Christianity in part because of its foreignness. As a result, Westernized intellectuals, lesser bureaucrats, and technicians became the core of the Christian community. Through them, and through church-related schools, universities, and philanthropic activities, the Christian influence made a far greater impact on Japan than many people realize.

Christian churches in Japan, many of which had close relationships with their respective counterparts in the West, experienced difficult times in the 1930s. Under combined heavy pressure from militarists and Shintō leaders, both the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide in Rome and the National Christian Council of the Protestant Churches in Japan accepted the government's interpretation of State Shintō as nonreligious. In their view, obeisance at the State Shintō shrines as a nonreligious, patriotic act could be performed by all Japanese subjects. In 1939 all aspects of religion were placed under strict government control. In 1940 thirty-four Protestant churches were compelled to unite as the Church of Christ in Japan. This church and the Roman Catholic Church remained the only recognized Christian groups during World War II. During the war all religious groups were exploited by the government as ideological weapons. Individual religious leaders who did not cooperate with the government were jailed, intimidated, or tortured. The only religious freedom at the time was, as stated by Ito Hirobumi, "confined to the mind."

Japanese religion in the twentieth century. In the modern world, the destiny of any nation is as greatly influenced by external events as by domestic ones. As far as modern Japan was concerned, such external events as the Chinese Revolution in 1912, World War I, the Russian Revolution, and the worldwide depression intermingled with events at home and propelled Japan onto the world stage. Ironically, although World War I benefited the wealthy elite, the resultant economic imbalance it produced drove desperate masses to rice riots and workers to labor strikes. Marxist student organizations were formed, and some serious college students joined the Communist Party. Many people in lower social strata, benefiting little from modern civilization or industrial economy and neglected by institutionalized religions, turned to messianic and healing cults of the folk religious tradition. Thus, in spite of the government's determined effort to control religious groups and to prevent the emergence of new religions, the number of "quasi religions" (*ruiji shukyo*) increased from 98 in 1924 to 414 in 1930 and then to over one thousand in 1935. Many of them experienced harassment, police intervention, and persecution by the government, and some of them chose for the sake of survival to affiliate with Buddhist or Kyoha Shintō sects. Important among these groups were Omotokyō, founded by Deguchi Nao (1836–1918); Hito no Michi, founded by Miki Tokuharu (1871–1938); and Reiyukai, founded jointly by Kubo Kakutaro (1890–1944) and Kotani Kimi (1901–1971). After the end of World War II, these religious groups and their spiritual cousins became the so-called new religions (*shin shukyo*).

The end of World War II and the Allied occupation of Japan brought full-scale religious freedom, with far-reaching consequences, to Japan. In December 1945 the Occupation force issued the Shintō Directive dismantling the official structure of State Shintō; on New Year's Day 1946 the emperor publicly denied his divinity. Understandably, the loss of the sacral kingship and State Shintō undercut the mythohistorical foundation of Japanese religion. The new civil code of 1947 effectively abolished the traditional system of interlocking households (*ie seido*) as a legal institution, so that individuals were no longer bound by the religious affiliation of their households. The erosion of family cohesion greatly weakened the Buddhist parish system (*danka*), as well as the Shintō parish systems (*ujiko*).

The abrogation of the ill-famed Religious Organizations Law (enacted in 1939 and enforced in 1940) also radically altered the religious scene. Assured of religious freedom and separation of religion and state by the Religious Corporations Ordinance, all religious groups (Buddhist, Christian, Shintō—now called Shrine Shintō—and others) began energetic activities. This turn of events made it possible for new religions and Buddhist or Sect Shintō splinter groups to become independent. Sect Shintō, which comprised 13 groups before the war, developed into 75 groups by 1949. With the emergence of many more new religions, the total number of religious groups reached 742 by 1950. However, with the enactment of the Religious Juridical Persons Law (*Shukyo hojin ho*) in 1951, the number of government recognized religions was reduced to 379—142 in the Shintō tradition, 169 Buddhist groups, 38 Christian denominations, and 30 miscellaneous groups. This was done by subsuming some groups under others.

In the immediate postwar period, as many people suffered from uncertainty, poverty, and loss of confidence, a large number of men and women were attracted by what the new religions claimed to offer: mundane happiness, tightly knit religious organizations, healing, and readily accessible earthly deities or divine agents. The real prosperity of the new religions in Japan, though, came after the Korean War, with the intensification of urbanization. Not only did the urban population increase significantly, but much of the nation assumed the character of an industrialized society. In this situation some of the new religions, especially two Buddhist groups, Sōka Gakkai and Risshō Kōseikai, gained a large number of followers among the new middle class. Some of these new religions took an active part in political affairs. For example, as early as 1962, Sōka Gakkai scored an impressive success in the elections of the House of Councillors, running candidates under its own political party, Kōmeitō. In this way, Sōka Gakkai enjoyed a bargaining power that no other religiously based group had achieved in modern Japanese politics. Other groups have also attempted to gain political influence by campaigning for their favorite candidates for political offices. Under pressure, however, the formal ties between Sōka Gakkai and Kōmeitō were severed in the 1980s.

It has not been easy for older Buddhist groups to adjust to the changing social situation, especially since many of them lost their traditional financial support in the immediate postwar period. Also, religious freedom fostered schisms among some of them. Nevertheless, the strength of the older Buddhist groups lies in their following among the intelligentsia and the rural population. Japanese buddhological scholarship deservedly enjoys an international reputation. Japanese Buddhist leaders are taking increasingly active roles in pan-Asian and global Buddhist affairs, while at the same time attending to such issues as peace and disarmament at home.

For their part, some Shintoists now promote Shintō as a "green religion," an ecologically oriented nature religion.

In the highly technological industrial society of postwar Japan, nationalists, intellectuals, and the mass media have collectively created and promulgated the image of a timeless Japanese religiosity and spirituality. While historically untenable, this invented tradition has demonstrated a remarkable appeal both to the Japanese people and to foreigners. The construct of "Japanese religion"—singular—has come to mean for many people a nostalgic and comforting nature religion. Moreover, in the work of Japanese folklorists and foreign Japanophiles, Japanese religion is touted as proof that the social intimacy of the traditional village or small town is still accessible in spite of the alienating and isolating aspects of the high-tech and industrial world of global capitalism. The Japanese, we are told, still feel close to nature, still love poetry and the arts, and still observe numerous traditional rituals and *matsuri*.

A significant part of Japanese religious life continues to focus on family values and on observances performed in the home. In addition, many men and women of all social statuses still subscribe to fortune-telling, geomancy, and healing cults. While the Japanese are avid global travelers, for many, their world of meaning in some significant ways remains strongly tied to their land, language, customs, and traditions, no matter how recent in origin these might actually be. Shintō successfully transformed itself from State Shintō to Shrine Shintō in short order during the Allied occupation. Today, millions of pilgrims and worshipers continue to visit large and small Shintō shrines, Buddhist temples, and sacred mountains.

As noted, many persons have sought refuge in socially conservative new religions, while still others have turned to New Age religions. The latter groups are extremely diverse and eclectic in their beliefs and practices. Most such groups are media savvy and have exploited new communication technologies to gather followers. These groups are generally tolerated by the government and the public, but only if they do not threaten the status quo in any major way. The media frenzy and widespread fear of cults generated by the reporting on criminal acts of members of the religious group Aum Shinrikyō in the late twentieth century indicates the tenuous nature of religious freedom in contemporary Japan. Aum Shinrikyō gained international notoriety after it was implicated in the release of poisonous nerve gas in the Tokyo subway and the murder of some of its critics. The sarin gas attack was part of a misguided attempt to bring about the millennium that the members of the group expected. In the wake of the Aum affair, the government took what some have called draconian steps to police nontraditional religious groups now labeled "cults." In the late twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century, numerous examples of what the sociologist of religion Shimazono Susumu has labeled "postmodern religion" have emerged in Japan. Religion in its diverse manifestations remains an important component of the lives of many Japanese.

SEE ALSO Ainu Religion; Amaterasu Ōmikami; Amitābha; Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Japan; Bushidō; Christianity, article on Christianity in Asia; Confucianism in Japan; Dōgen; Domestic Observances, article on Japanese Practices; Drama, article on East Asian Dance and Theater; Gozan Zen; Hijiri; Hirata Atsutane; Hōnen; Honjisuijaku; Ippen; Jōdo Shinshū; Jōdoshū; Kami; Kingship, article on Kingship in East Asia; Kokugaku; Konkōkyō; Kurozumikyō; Li; Mappō; Motoori Norinaga; Musō Sōseki; Nakayama Miki; New Religious Movements, article on New Religious Movements in Japan; Nichiren; Nichirenshū; Norito; Ōmotokyō; Onmyōdō; Poetry, article on Japanese Religious Poetry; Reiyūkai Kyōdan; Risshō Kōseikai; Saichō; Shingonshū; Shinran; Shintō; Shōtoku Taishi; Shugendō; Sōka Gakkai; Tendaishū; Tenrikyō; Yinyang Wuxing; Zen.

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JAPANESE RELIGIONS: POPULAR RELIGION

In this article "popular religion" will be taken to include both "folk religion"—by which is meant the diverse and at most only locally organized attitudes, beliefs, and practices that together constitute a people's customary observance—and popular or lay aspects of ecclesiastical bodies whose organization and solidarity transcend local boundaries. What is not included, then, is the religion promoted by elites such as priests, monks, and nuns, as well as by governments upon occasion, including the rites, beliefs, and theoretical systematizations that such elites officially promulgate or defend. It should be understood that in practice often no sharp line can be drawn between any of these categories. Even religious elites often exhibit "folk" behavior and attitudes not justified by official doctrines; similarly, mutual diffusion can occur between official doctrines and folk attitudes and practices. These distinctions, however, are presented for the convenience of the student of religion and culture; they are usually not a part of the thought patterns of religious practitioners themselves.

For the purposes of this article, Japanese history will be divided into the following periods:

Prehistoric and protohistoric	–645 CE
Classical (Asuka, Nara, Heian)	645–1185
Medieval (Kamakura, Ashikaga)	1185–1600
Premodern (Tokugawa or Edo)	1600–1868
Modern (Meiji, Taishō, Shōwa)	1868–present

Popular religion in Japan is composed primarily of elements that can be assigned Shintō or Buddhist origins, although elements deriving from Chinese folk religion—usually labeled Daoist—are also important, along with those of an elite Chinese tradition, Confucianism, and, more recently, aspects of Christianity. In addition, the term *Shintō* must be understood in its most inclusive sense, namely, as denoting all of the indigenous religious attitudes and practices of the Japanese people prior to the influence of Chinese civilization (roughly beginning in the sixth century CE), as well as those that evolved from these native traditions in later centuries. Shintō itself reached the more complex status of an elite tradition only at the beginning of the classical period, with the establishment of an official cult with imperial patronage and the eventual promulgation of an official mythology, codification of rituals, and establishment of a priestly hierarchy. Even during this time, however, popular Shintō continued largely unaffected by these elite events; further, official Shintō itself clearly was derived from the vast reservoir of folk practices that had regulated the religious lives of the Japanese people from time immemorial.

INDIGENOUS FOLK RELIGION. The fundamental religious concept of Shintō past and present is *kami,* a widely inclusive term embracing the notion of sacred power from a *mana*-like impersonal force inherent in all things and concentrated in the unusual, to personal and therefore godlike beings such as culture heroes, the geniuses of particular places or things, species deities, and ancestors. Originally there were two major ways of interaction with *kami:* through *matsuri* ("rituals") that sought either to receive the blessings of the sacred powers or to turn aside their wrath, or through shamanic séances using the method of *kami* possession (*kamigakari*), by which the will of the *kami* could be made known through the oracular utterances of the shaman. Intermediate forms such as divination, omen reading, and oath swearing were also common. Although imperial recourse to *miko* (female shamans) is well documented in the legendary period, this element was largely lost to elite Shintō in the course of its development. *Miko* flourished among the common people, however, and have declined only in the modern period. On the other hand, public rituals, which take place at the thousands of Shintō shrines and mostly at regularly scheduled times throughout the year, have continued at all levels of Shintō.

An important class of *kami* were the *ujigami,* or ancestral deities of the large clans that came to dominate Japanese social, political, and religious organization in the protohistoric period; in modern times the *ujigami* survive at the village level, although without their former importance, as *dozokushin.* Indeed, the *ujigami* was probably the most important *kami* to the early Japanese; as high priest, the clan head needed the shamanic services of his wife to ensure that the will of this *kami* was carried out for the weal of all.

Probably the most important *kami* of popular religion has been Inari, the rice deity, whose shrines are found everywhere, even in modern urban settings. Although not a part of the official mythology, Inari became associated in later classical times with such mythic *kami* as Ugatama, the female *kami* of food and clothing; Sarutahiko, the monkey *kami,* whose special province was fecundity; and Ame no Uzume, the goddess who, through exposing her genitals in an ecstatic dance, wielded the feminine *kami* power to bring back the life-giving sun to a darkened and dying world. Such associations illuminate both the character of the folk deity Inari and the process by which popular religious elements were engrafted to the elite strata in Japan. Inari shrines still are places where farmers go to pray for abundant crops, but they are also places where both rural and urban dwellers pray for aid in conception, childbirth, and child rearing, as well as more generally for success in any endeavor.

The most famous Inari shrine is at Fushimi in the city of Kyoto, where the elaborate main shrine dedicated to the official cult is almost shouldered aside by the many popular shrines flanking the paths that meander about the mountain. Typical of the etiological tales associated with many shrines and temples is the legend that tells of the founding of Fushimi Inari shrine. In 711, many years before the founding of the capital at Kyoto, a nobleman was practicing archery by shooting at a ball of cooked rice tossed into the air. All at once the rice was transformed into a white bird that flew away and alighted at the peak of Mount Fushimi. There the nobleman built the shrine to the rice god.

Virtually all Inari shrines have statues of a pair of foxes flanking the main place of worship, a fact that illustrates syncretistic tendencies of popular religion. These foxes, now popularly understood to be the messengers of the rice god, or sometimes even identified with the god himself, were probably derived from popular Chinese lore concerning fox spirits. Certainly there exists in Chinese a large body of folk tales depicting the dangers of fox spirits, who usually take the form of a beautiful woman in order to seduce and ruin unsuspecting or weak-willed men. That these tales also have become naturalized in Japan discloses a much more general pattern of popular acceptance of Chinese cultural and religious elements; it also suggests the association of the fox as a symbol of sexual desire and Inari as a deity of fecundity and plenty.

IMPACT OF CHINESE CULTURE AND RELIGION. At the beginning of the classical period Japan experienced a cultural revolution brought about by the assimilation of Chinese technical, philosophical, aesthetic, and religious elements. Buddhism took its place as a more or less equal partner with Shintō in the official structure of government and in the religious practice of the aristocracy. Confucianism was adopted as a theory of government and a guide to personal conduct. Daoism was used to provide a ritual structure and to assist both Shintō and Buddhist efforts to ensure the well-being of the nation. To be sure, this revolution began among the Japanese elite and for many years was largely confined to it. By the Nara period, however, despite the government's attempts to control its spread, Buddhism had begun to reach the common people. The famous Buddhist tale collection, *Nihon ryōiki,* which used the folktale genre as a means of converting the masses and of inculcating Buddhist virtues, was produced by a monk for use by popular Buddhist preachers. The Nara period also saw the paradoxical rise of the *hijiri,* or holy men, who were popular preachers and miracle workers whose activities were proscribed by the government on the grounds that they "misled" the people. While not all *hijiri* were Buddhist, most combined a Buddhist understanding of a *bodhisattva*'s compassion with a sometimes indiscriminate mixture of magico-religious practices in attempting to ameliorate the physical as well as the spiritual condition of the masses. The most famous of the *hijiri* was Gyōgi, whose elevation to the head of the official Buddhist hierarchy by Emperor Shomu in 745 expressed not only the pious emperor's desire to unify the nation under the banner of Buddhism, but also the growing recognition on the part of the elite of the popular forms of that religion.

Another result of Buddhist penetration at the popular level was reinforcement of native belief in malevolent spirits, known in the classical period as *goryōshin.* Buddhism gave such beliefs a strongly moralistic tone; previously, it was believed that *kami* power was concentrated in many kinds of beings, some of which were by their nature destructive. Now, however, destructive supernatural power could be understood as justified by human events. Just as motivation was discovered in the Buddhist psychology and its expression ensured by the law of *karman,* so did Buddhism present a new problem to the people. *Goryōshin,* as particularly the ghosts of humans who had been wronged in life, had to be propitiated or exorcised by Shintō rites and saved from their suffering by Buddhist prayers and priestly magic.

MEDIEVAL POPULARIZATION OF BUDDHISM. The collapse of the classical social and political order, completed by the year 1185, not only brought on the medieval period of Japanese history but also resulted in the virtual destruction of official Shintō. To be sure, the imperial court continued to perform some of the old Shintō rituals in the name of the emperor and for the benefit of all the nation, but in fact these rites increasingly became the private cult of the imperial family and the ever more impoverished old aristocracy. But the relative decentralization of the times allowed a number of popular forms of Buddhism to become institutionalized independently of the old Buddhist schools. Among these, the Pure Land schools are especially noteworthy. These schools combined elite elements derived from monastic cults of the savior Buddha Amida (Skt., Amitābha) and popular practices of using Buddhist chanting to overcome evil influences. The so-called *nembutsu hijiri* had been at work among the common people throughout much of the classical period in healing and exorcising demons by chanting the Sino-Japanese phrase "Namu Amida Butsu" ("Hail to the Buddha Amitābha"). The Pure Land movement of the medieval period tended to convert this immediate concern for this-worldly problems to a concern for the ultimate salvation of the individual who, by complete faith in the power of Amida and by chanting of the Nembutsu, could be reborn at the end of this earthly life into the Buddhist paradise (the Pure Land).

It seems clear that neither major figure in the Pure Land movement, Hōnen (1133–1212) or his disciple Shinran (1173–1263), sought to found an independent Buddhist school. Instead, they were largely apolitical figures who intended to extend to the common people a share of Buddhist salvation hitherto reserved for monks. The result was a radical democratization and simplification of Buddhism—in short a truly popular form of that religion. In these schools, monasticism was abolished, priests were expected to marry, and the old elite Buddhism—what they called the Holy Path (*shōdomōn*)—was rejected as selfish and arrogant. This popular Buddhism had become a religion of lay participation, congregational worship, and acceptance of the social and political status quo. The elite quest of sanctification, of personal transformation, and of enlightenment was out of reach of the ordinary person; instead of working toward the transformation of self as in the Holy Path, the Pure Land schools (called, by way of contrast, *jōdomon,* or Path of Pure Land) brought about the transformation of Buddhism into an instrument of salvation open to all.

Another way in which Buddhism accommodated itself to the popular mind can be seen in the rise of the *yamabushi,* or mountain ascetics, whose tradition goes back to the classical period. Both of the dominant schools of Buddhism in the Heian period, Tendai, headquartered on Mount Hiei, and Shingon, headquartered on Mount Koya, established adjunct orders of *yamabushi.* Of these, one that was allied to Shingon, Shugendō, has survived into the modern age. The members of the *yamabushi* orders were differentiated by their varying degrees of initiation into the group's mysteries. In addition, the *yamabushi* did not follow the Buddhist monastic rules: they were laymen who lived ordinary lives except for certain times of the year when they would gather to go on pilgrimages and conduct their own secret rites deep in their sacred mountains. A famous *nō* play by Zeami (*Taniko*) depicts one of the Shugendo pilgrimages.

Belief in sacred mountains appears to be a native Shintō phenomenon in Japan, although both Daoism and Buddhism brought from China their own traditions of encountering the sacred among mountains, traditions that served to strengthen and sometimes modify indigenous attitudes. Mountains were the special abodes of the Daoist *xian* (Jpn., *sennin*), or immortals, as well as the saints and recluses that the personalistic side of that tradition promoted. These traditions, especially in the form of popular tales, were brought to Japan, where they found ready acceptance, mixing with the native *hijiri* tradition. In the Heian period, the Buddhists, themselves influenced by the Daoist tradition, especially sought out remote mountains as sites for monasteries as well as for retreats and hermitages for meditation. In addition, several mountains, such as Ontake and Fuji, were thought by the laity to be the special abodes of *bodhisattva*s or the entryways to the afterlife. All these cases show traces of the old Shintō notion that austerities practiced in mountains were especially efficacious for gaining spiritual power. The *yamabushi* demonstrate this connection by their habit of making long and arduous hikes through the mountains and by ritual bathing in icy mountain streams. Many sacred mountains in Japan were gathering places for *miko,* who served the common people by contacting the spirits of the dead or of Shintō, Daoist, or Buddhist saints and deities who were believed to inhabit such places.

The association and even amalgamation of Shintō and Buddhism among the people was aided by the *honjisuijaku* ("essence-manifestation") theory first promulgated in the classical period by Buddhist monks using Chinese models. Almost from the beginning of the Buddhist presence in Japan the people had assumed that Buddhist figures—saints, *bodhisattva*s, celestial Buddhas—were related in some way to native Shintō deities. The *honjisuijaku* theory simply gave official sanction to this popular view by stating that specific native figures were but the manifestation of certain Buddhist figures who were their true essence. This tendency to amalgamation can also be recognized in the practice, documented from the Nara period, of building small Buddhist temples within the confines of Shintō shrines, and vice versa. Thus the Shintō *kami* (deities) could be served by Buddhist rites, while Buddhist figures could be worshiped through Shintō rites. Sometimes the Buddhist rites were understood as attempts to bring the *kami* to Buddhist enlightenment; alternatively, they were thought of as a Buddhist accommodation to the parochial Japanese mentality, which often preferred native forms. By the medieval period, many local shrines and temples were served by priests who were both Shintō and Buddhist, performing the rites according to the figure addressed. Often, *yamabushi* would marry *miko* and carry on local priestly functions as a team within this popular amalgamation of religions.

DOMESTIC PIETY AND ANCESTOR REVERENCE. Even in the early twenty-first century most Japanese families have within the home both a Shintō *kamidana* ("god-shelf") and a Buddhist *butsudan* ("Buddhist altar"). At both, offerings of flowers and food are made from time to time and prayers are recited. Ancestral tablets will be found within the home, placed either in a special shrine or within the *kamidana* or *butsudan* according to the emphasis of the particular family. Theoretically, the Buddhist prayers are offered for the benefit of the departed, to aid them in their continuing postmortem quest for salvation in various hells or heavens or in rebirths in this world, while the Shintō prayers are acts of filial piety that address the spirits of the dead as present in the tablets, as still present family members who require service in death as in life. In practice, however, the popular mind often does not make such sharp distinctions.

An important example of attitudes toward the dead can be seen in the Obon festival, traditionally from the thirteenth to the sixteenth day of the seventh lunar month. Although its origins can be traced back even to pre-Buddhist Hindu ancestral cults, it clearly shows its folk Buddhist as well as Shintō colorations in Japan. Preparations for the festival include cleaning and decorating the *butsudan* and preparing special offerings there. Usually this is an occasion for the full cooperation of the *dozōku* in honoring its common ancestors. Fires are lit the first night before the door of each house as well as along the roads to the village to light the way of the dead, who are thought to return to the land of the living for these few days. The spirits are entertained in the home with food, gifts, and prayers, while in the village the entertainment takes the form of graceful dancing, the famous *bon odori,* of Shintō origin. During this time graves are visited and finally the spirits are sent off again with beacon fires.

Attitudes toward death among the Japanese people have been characterized by considerable ambivalance. On the one hand, the Shintō association of death with pollution or contamination has been strong from the first: touching, being in the presence of, or being kin to one who has just died make a person ritually unclean, requiring seclusion and ritual purification. A part of a larger and very ancient belief in the contagious nature of misfortune, this fear of the dead has resulted in a near monopoly of Buddhism in the conducting of funerals. On the other hand, much evidence, from prehistoric burial mounds as well as old Japanese poetry, attests to the continuing ties of affection and duty that the people maintained with the departed even in ancient times, while the continuing popularity of the Obon festival and of ancestral reverence in the home show that even today the continued presence of the dead, if properly handled through ritual, is still valued.

It should also be noted that Confucianism, another import from China, has played an important though amorphous role in promoting both ancestral reverence and family cohesion. From the beginning of the classical period the values of Confucian "familyism" were promoted by the government as the proper basis for a harmonious and prosperous nation. By the Tokugawa period Confucianism once again became an important philosophy of both government and personal life. Loyalty to the nation was one part of a value system that took the family as the model for all values. The native Japanese reverence for ancestors as well as for all *loci* of authority was thereby greatly reinforced.

Folk deities, often of mixed Shintō, Buddhist, and Daoist heritage, continue to be accorded some degree of reverence among the people. *Kami* of hearth, privy, and yard are still known, and, curiously in the modern world, deities or nameless powers of good or ill fortune remain popular. Some examples of these are Ebisu, the *kami* of good luck, having its origin among fishermen, Dōsojin, the *kami* of roads and gates and protector of children and of marital harmony, and Kōshin, a rather malevolent deity of Daoist origin whose calendar days, occurring once every sixty days throughout the year, are considered unlucky. Belief in lucky and unlucky days was greatly stimulated in classical times by *onmyōji* ("*yin-yang* masters"), who popularized Daoist ideas and promoted themselves as expert diviners and ritualists and who could discover in their books of astrology times and directions to avoid or to welcome in order to ritually protect one from the consequences of ill-considered actions. Modern fortune tellers continue this tradition and Shintō shrines usually have booths where fortunes are told and charms can be bought. These charms, or *omamori,* are usually blessed by the priests of a particular shrine.

FOLK TALES AS EXPRESSIONS OF POPULAR RELIGION. One important and often neglected expression of popular religion everywhere is the folk tale. Although in Japan as elsewhere this literary genre resists reduction to narrowly religious categories, in Japan especially many scholars have noted the close association of folk tale and popular religious sentiments. Many folk tales express deeply felt religious attitudes and values at variance with official codes set by ecclesiastical and governmental elites, yet many also reflect these more official views. Indeed, examples abound in which priests have made use of existing tales, either to create an official orthodoxy as in the construction of a mythology, or to teach certain religious values and behavior. In this latter category, the Buddhist use of folk tales in the *Nihon ryōiki* is an early example; later Shintō priests helped to invent the *okagura* dramas, which in part taught the old mythology to the masses at shrine festivals; similarly, the medieval Shintō-Buddhist world of ghosts and karmic retribution was combined with Zen-inspired aesthetics to create the famous *nō* dramas from folk tales and historical legends. In the Tokugawa period, popular pilgrimages, especially those to the great shrine dedicated to the sun goddess Amaterasu at Ise, spawned new tales of wonder, miracles, and divine retribution.

The well-known tale *Hagoromo* (The feather cloak), known in the West as *The Swan Maiden,* contributed significantly to the official mythology of Amaterasu, as well as to the Daijosai ritual, in which a new emperor is enthroned. Again, tales of Buddhist piety as found in the *Konjaku monogatari* collection of late classical times indicate both the power of Buddhist faith and charms sanctioned by elite religion—one notes especially the long section depicting rewards both in this life and in lives to come for those with faith in the *Hokekyō (Lotus Sūtra)*—and also an antinomian tendency that criticizes the faults and foibles of worldly clergy. A more purely folk phenomenon contained in these tales is the rejection of official unworldly values for such mundane goals as sexual fulfilment and the pursuit of wealth.

The greater portion of those folk tales that treat of supernatural phenomena have little to do with any official mythology, theology, or value system. To be sure, many promote such pan-Japanese values as loyalty, gratitude, and curbing of the appetites. However, the greatest number of tales as collected by professional folklorists in the twentieth century may be described as vaguely animistic in tone. The list of extrahuman powers and intelligences told of in such tales is very long and ranges from the ghosts of human beings to traditional *kami,* including many more fanciful entities such as the long-nosed *tengu,* hag-witches called *yamauba,* and mischievous fox-spirits. Not unusual are tales in which plants, especially trees, are endowed with powers that can cause much suffering among humans if insensitively treated. Perhaps the greatest error told of in these animistic tales is simply that of impiety: this world is a crowded place inhabited by myriads of powers, each of which the "good" man or woman treats with awe and respect, while the "bad" person ignores them to his or her peril.

PILGRIMAGE AND POPULAR DRAMA. The rise of the pilgrimage as a popular form of religious expression can be traced to the sixteenth century, although the earliest Japanese literature shows that the aristocracy were wont to make journeys into sacred mountain fastnesses at least as early as the seventh century. It was not until the medieval period, however, that journeys to sacred sites, especially to Shintō shrines, became mass movements. The Ise Shrine, main cult center of Amaterasu, was the primary goal for the millions, mostly peasants, who undertook the often dangerous journey at the peak of the popularity of this phenomenon in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A kind of frenzy, characterized by some as mass hysteria, caused many to drop their tools, abandon their domestic and economic responsibilities, and seek the abode of the *kami.* To be sure, motives were mixed, and nonreligious reasons such as a desire to break out of monotonous existence of toil must be considered. Still, popular tales of amulets mysterously falling from the sky, of healings, of misfortune to those who resisted or preached against the urge to participate in the pilgrimage, all powerfully reinforced the prevailing notion that it was the will of the *kami* that the people should pay their respects in this way.

It should also be pointed out that in the case of the Ise Shrine, these mass pilgrimages mark the last stage in a long history of slow democratization of the worship of Amaterasu. Originally, she was the *ujigami* of the imperial family and thus admitted only their exclusive worship. Apparently, her status as a national deity, always implied by her position as progenitor of the imperial lineage, had made of her a direct object of veneration for all in the course of a thousand years or more. It must also be noted that the outer shrine of Ise is dedicated to Toyouke, goddess of food and fertility, basic existential concerns of those close to the subsistence level of economy. From this point of view, the ritual pilgrimage, with its set forms of dress and gesture, its taboos and sometimes ecstatic dances, can be seen as a new means of carrying out village rites of cosmic renewal. The dangerous and rigorous journey was a long ascetic rite of abstinence and purification. The dancing (*okage odori*) is homologizable to the dances that accompany village festivals such as *bon odori,* in which the deities and spirits of the dead are entertained, or again to the ecstatic trance-inducing dances of the *miko* who communicate with the deities in shamanic rites. Prayers at the shrine of destination, and the distribution of amulets by the attending priests, are also a part of village shrine festivals.

The rise of popular drama can be seen to some extent as a part of the same movement toward popularization of what had been the exclusive property of official Shintō, namely the mythology as set down in the early eighth century in the *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki. Okagura* dramas enacted with music and dance the creation of the world by the primordial parents Izanagi and Izanami, the struggle between Amaterasu and her impetuous brother Susano-o, the descent to earth of the imperial grandchild Ninigi, and many other official mythic themes. As such, they represent a successful attempt on the part of the local Shintō priesthood to keep alive the old traditions by bringing them to the common people. The *okagura* became a part of many village festivals in the medieval period and gave rise to other dramatic forms, most notably the *nō* drama, which in particular achieved a high level of artistic sophistication. But *okagura* have remained popular phenomena, and still may be viewed today. Indeed, they offer a valuable opportunity to observe the blending of folk values and forms with classical elite forms and themes. There is a good deal of humor and even ribaldry in *okagura,* as well as a clear infusion of universal folk concerns that blend with the more solemn and particular mythic motifs.

INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF POPULAR RELIGION. It can be said with some confidence that by the middle of the Tokugawa period the pattern of folk religion that can still be observed in village Japan had been established. The pattern bears two features that may at first sight seem contradictory: first is the high degree to which religious elements of disparate origin have become intermixed; second is the conspicuous division of labor among various religious institutions. This latter is expressed in the common formula that the Japanese are born and married by Shintō rites, buried by Buddhist rites, and live their everyday lives by Confucian principles. Yet both these features seem to stem from a single source, namely, a very pragmatic tendency among the Japanese people: they take those elements that seem immediately useful, employing them in a contextual framework all their own.

Another pattern that has emerged with special clarity—probably the result of Japan's relative isolation—is the process of interaction between elite and popular levels of religion. Within the long history of religion in Japan modern scholarship has been able to document much of the process through which elite elements are imposed upon or otherwise assimilated by the folk. Less well known is the reverse, in which folk elements are taken up into existing elite cultural strata or are institutionalized into what are often intermediate forms. Such popular movements often become church-like institutions with more or less clear hierarchical organization and geographical boundaries that go beyond the local arena. Beginning perhaps with the *yamabushi* movements of the Heian period, continuing in the medieval popular Buddhist movements of the Nichiren and Pure Land schools, and still continuing into the modern period with the celebrated burgeoning of the so-called new religions (*shinkō shūkyō*), the religious institutions that have resulted have tended to combine simplified versions of old elite traditions—especially of monastic Buddhism and court Shintō—with popular values that center upon social interaction in this world and the maintenance of domestic health and prosperity.

The Shintō new religion Tenrikyō was founded in the nineteenth century by Nakayama Miki after she was possessed by several *kami,* who, in the old way of Japanese shamanism, spoke through her while she was in a trance. In the course of these possessions a new mythology was revealed that, while similar in many respects to the old classical Shintō cosmogonic myth, shows striking differences from it. Present are the familiar primordial parents, and many lesser episodes concerning the creation of life are common to both; conspicuous by their absence, however, are references to Amaterasu and her brother, the central characters of the old mythology. Also absent is the entire mythic apparatus that supported the imperial institution. The classical mythology was a seventh-century creation that took many fragmented clan traditions and worked them into a drama of the establishment and legitimization of the classical religious and political order. Nakayama is more concerned, however, with domestic values. The *kami* of Tenrikyō are called divine parents; humans are their children. The good and correct life is led in humble recognition of this most fundamental relationship; hence the cardinal virtues are loyalty, obligation, and gratitude. Diseases and all other misfortunes are caused by insensitivity to this basic parent/child (*oya-ko*) relationship. Specific cultic duties consist largely of participation in ritual dancing and in group activities such as shrine building and works of charity.

Another example, this time from the Buddhist tradition, can be seen in Sōka Gakkai (Value Creating Society), founded in 1937 by Makiguchi Tsunesaburō (1871–1944) and Toda Jōsei (1900–1958). Makiguchi was a schoolteacher who, during the difficult decades of economic hardship and increasing totalitarian repression in the 1920s and 1930s, developed a philosophy of life he called *sōka,* meaning "value creation." Initially his views seem to have been largely secular, although they borrowed heavily from Buddhist metaphysics in their fundamental insight into the relativity of all values (at least in the mundane sphere) and the necessity of overcoming dependence upon false absolutes. Only gradually did this view take on a more traditional Buddhist coloration. Eventually, however, through the efforts especially of Toda, Sōka Gakkai became affiliated with Nichiren Shōshū, one of the smaller branches of Nichiren Buddhism. Toda admired much of the Nichiren tradition, especially its unusual intolerance of other religions, its simple and straightforward rituals, its demand of absolute faith in ritual objects, in its founder, and in its sacred text (the *Lotus Sūtra*), and, perhaps more than anything else, the quasi-military hierarchical organization of the sect.

Now disaffiliated from Nichiren Shōshū, Sōka Gakkai calls itself a lay Buddhist organization; technically, it has no priests, its leaders remaining laymen. The society has been a tremendous success, with membership numbering in the millions. Typical of the new religions, and consistent with its origins, it stresses immediate attainment of all worldly goals and interprets the ancient Buddhist goal of enlightenment as something closely akin to "happiness." The mental culture of such a worldview is maintained through intense small group meetings that are partly testimonials, partly study sessions. Its very simplicity, as well as its emphasis on mundane problems and upon group solidarity, all have contributed to the success of this popular religion in meeting the needs of many Japanese in the modern industrial world, which constantly threatens to overwhelm them with anomie and rootlessness. Salvation is here and now, and the conviction of it is strongly reinforced by group rituals.

Another and very different new religion, Aum Shinrikyō, sought to mix the characteristic this-worldly emphasis of other popular religious movements and an elitist monastic organization with its goal of individual salvation.

As extensive interviews of past and continuing members conducted by Murakami Haruki show, this group also appealed to those out of step with the increasingly socially atomized modern Japanese society, but added an unusual rejection of that society's also rampant materialism. Granted official status by the Japanese government in 1989, Aum later became notorious for its engineering of the sarin gas attack in the Tokyo subway in 1995. Seeking to fill a spiritual void in their lives, its members unfortunately gave themselves over to the guidance of a charismatic but psychologically unstable and increasingly paranoid master who called himself Asahara Shōkō. Before the destructive aspect of this group was generally known, their proselytizing efforts by means of the distribution of pamphlets and the sale of books, as well as small group meetings, met with some success, especially among younger people. Its core was made up of as many as three thousand "renouncers," or *samana*, while considerably more of the less committed contributed money and studied the founder's books and sermons while passing through a series of initiations derived loosely from Vajrayāna Buddhism. Initially Asahara conceived the group's mission to be prevention of nuclear holocaust through the power of yogic meditation undertaken by increasing numbers of practitioners, which practice could also lead to the individual achievement of *nirvāṇa*. Eventually a broader apocalyptic vision emerged, which some scholars believe was influenced by science fiction as much as by any traditional religious ideas, whether eastern or western. The gas attack was apparently an attempt to bring about an end to the present hateful age, seen to be a jumble of meaningless ideas and threatening powers. The Aum group would become a surviving remnant, ready to rebuild the world as a utopian community. Thus did mass murder become a means of saving humankind.

SEE ALSO Amaterasu Ōmikami; Amitābha; Ancestors; Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Japan; Buddhist Religious Year; Confucianism in Japan; Domestic Observances, article on Japanese Practices; Drama, article on East Asian Dance and Theater; Foxes; Gyōgi; Hijiri; Hōnen; Honjisuijaku; Kami; New Religious Movements, article on New Religious Movements in Japan; Nianfo; Onmyōdō; Pilgrimage, article on Buddhist Pilgrimage in East Asia; Shinran; Shintō; Shugendō; Sōka Gakkai; Tenrikyō; Xian.

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JAPANESE RELIGIONS: THE STUDY OF MYTHS

Japanese mythology is typically identified with the *Kojiki* (Record of ancient matters) and *Nihonshoki* (Chronicle of Japan). Together referred to as the *Kiki* texts, they record the history of the Yamato court's rule, which extended throughout the Kinki region of Japan. Both the *Kojiki* (712 CE) and the *Nihonshoki* (720 CE) were compiled when the Ritsuryō state, which adopted Chinese legal codes and institutions, neared completion. Both texts begin with tales of deities, narratives that are today understood as myths.

The study of Japanese mythology has, until recently, been guided by the question of how to read the *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki* in relation to themselves. That is to say, the texts alone provided the assumed framework for all readings, and the question of what position they occupied within the discursive space of the day—the space occupied by the *Kiki*—has rarely been asked. Moreover, from the modern period onwards, the *Kiki* texts have been understood in relation to the concept of myth. Given the Western origin of this concept, however, one must question how it has come to be applied to the *Kiki* texts, neither of which contains the term, and also how a modern understanding of these texts is altered as a result.

Issues of memory and amnesia within historical discourse have been discussed, to a large extent, within the field of modern history, but the problem posed by the limitations of historical material confronts all fields of historical research, regardless of theme or time period. Individual historical texts do not encompass or represent the discursive space of the time in question. The *Kiki* texts do not present themselves as collections of myths. Rather, they present themselves as histories and as narratives recorded and remembered as histories. Multiple written and orally transmitted narratives that have not been preserved must have existed alongside the *Kiki* texts.

Current research methods that discuss ancient Japanese mythology by focusing on the *Kiki* alone betray a textual approach typical of the era of the modern nation-state. An early manifestation of this textual approach can be seen in the works of Yoshimi Yoshikazu, a late Edo period scholar belonging to Yamazaki Ansai's Suika Shintō school. Yoshimi distinguished historical sources, whose dates of composition and authors were clear, from texts, including oral traditions, whose provenances were unclear. For example, Yoshimi rejected the Ise Shintō claim that the enshrined deity of the Outer Shrine, a shrine with close ties to the imperial house, was Kuni no Tokotachi no Mikoto by appealing to classical sources whose dates of composition were certain:

> It is clear that the Outer Shrine does not enshrine Kuni no Tokotachi no Mikoto. Those who make such claims believe only unofficial histories and mixed theories; they do not consult the national histories and official pronouncements. . . . Not a single word that pronounces Kuni no Tokotachi no Mikoto the enshrined deity of the Outer Shrine can be found in the true records jitsuroku.

As a result, the Five Books of (Ise) Shintō (*Shintō gobusho*) and the Shintō texts of the Yoshida house were determined not to be of ancient origin, as they claimed. In their stead, the *Nihonshoki* was granted the status of an authentic ancient source.

Later, scholars of Native Learning exalted the *Kojiki* above all other texts. As the modern emperor-system state (*tennōsei kokka*) took shape in the nineteenth century, accounts derived from the *Kiki* appeared in state-sponsored textbooks as official history. Thus, the *Kiki* functioned as the wellspring of the nation's (*kokumin*) historical identity and as the memory of a pure and continuous ethnic community (*minzoku*). Already in the late eighteenth century, Motoori Norinaga reread the Musubi deity of the *Kiki* as the origin of all things, including human beings: "All living things in this world. . .instinctively know well and perform those acts which they must each perform, and this all comes about through the august spirit of the Musubi no kami. Human beings are born into this world as especially gifted beings" (Motoori, 1997, p. 232). Familial *(ie)* documents that had been submitted to the court and clan *(uji)* records that were determined to be inauthentic by Yoshimi had originally functioned to connect specific groups to the *Kiki* texts. During the early modern period, however, the *Kiki* were separated from *uji* and family transmissions. In the process these texts became the repositories of a national memory no longer connected to specific groups or families.

The question of how the *Kiki* texts functioned in the ancient and medieval periods will next be considered. What follows is an examination of how the *Kiki* were related to *uji* traditions *(ujibumi)* and familial records *(kachō)*, *Kiki* commentaries, and Shintō texts (*shintōsho*). the transformation of that discursive space over time will also be traced.

Studies of the *Kiki* texts by Kōnoshi Takamitsu and Isomae Jun'ichi have examined the history of their interpretation in order to trace the change in worldviews that were read into the texts. Such approaches, however, have tended to compare chronologically arranged individual texts. Historians of religions have introduced the three textual categories of canon, scripture, and commentary, which have brought to light the discursive space created their interaction. As a result, texts such as the Bible or Confucian classics, which had previously been considered orthodox in an unchallenged manner, have been reexamined (Henderson, 1991; Levering, 1989). Scholars today speak of the canonization process rather than of a set canon. Applying this methodological approach to the *Kiki* may also yield critical insights. The modern textual category of the "(scholarly) essay" will also be added to the three textual categories in order to clarify the historical nature of present-day understandings of the *Kiki*—that is, the horizon of contemporary research.

THE ANCIENT DISCURSIVE SPACE. As already noted, the *Kiki* were compiled in close relation to the establishment of the Ritsuryō state's ruling structure. Although scholars have pointed out structural differences in the stories of the *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki*, both texts sought to legitimate the hegemonic rule of the emperor-system state. It is helpful, however, to first examine the basic myth/history.

In the beginning, the orderless world divided into heaven and earth, and from between them a solitary deity emerged. After several generations, the male deity Izanagi and the female deity Izanami emerged. These two deities gave birth to all things, including the land of the Japanese archipelago, mountains, rivers, grass, and trees. In addition, three other major gods—Amaterasu Ōmikami, Tsukiyomi no Mikoto, and Susano-o no Mikoto—were born. Amaterasu ruled the heavens as the sun goddess and provided order to the mythical world of the *Kiki* as the ancestral deity to the imperial house. The story goes on to provide etiological accounts of the origin of human death in the conflict between Izanagi and Izanami and of the diurnal cycle of day and night in a fight between the god of the moon, Tsukiyomi no Mikoto, and the sun goddess, Amaterasu.

Eventually, the grandson of Amaterasu Ōmikami, Ho no Ninigi no Mikoto (a name referring to the ripening of rice) descended from the heavenly realm to the earthly realm, where he pacified the deities of earth, represented by Ōkuninushi no Mikoto. The stories of the *kami* end by demonstrating that the descendants of Ho no Ninigi no Mikoto (i.e., the emperors) possess the authority to rule the Japanese archipelago. The story then transitions from the age of deities to the age of humans, recounting how successive emperors, beginning with Emperor Jimmu, and princes, such as Yamato Takeru, brought the Japanese islands (and perhaps even the Korean peninsula) under their military, religious, and political control.

It is important to note from the outset that the audience for these texts was not the subservient population, but rather the aristocracy and officials of the Yamato court itself. As Tsuda Sōkichi has pointed out, the concept of divinity (*kami*) within the *Kiki* evidences a strong influence of Chinese Confucianism, with a clear conceptual bent that must have differed significantly from popular notions of the divine at the time. Furthermore, the characters within the *Kiki* texts belong largely to the imperial house and to the ruling elite. Other groups appear only as objects of conquest.

From the Nara period (710–784) through the early Heian period (794–943), commentaries on the Japanese chronicles (*Nihongi kōsho*) were produced periodically for the central aristocracy for the purpose of forming a unified textual understanding of the Ritsuryō state (Ōta, 1992; Seki, 1997). No evidence can be found of the *Kiki* having been read and explained to commoners in regional villages, or to the *bemin* slaves belonging to particular *uji.*

In other words, the *Kiki* texts did not propagate the cultural unity of the subservient masses from the perspective of the ruling elite, as is the case in the modern nation-state. The texts were compiled to form the communal memory of the ruling class. This can also be seen in the fact that the earlier imperial chronicles (*teiki*) and ancient tales (*kuji*), which formed the basis of the *Kiki* texts, were selected from familial documents belonging to the various clans.

At the time of the Yamato court, the texts were referred to as "national histories" *(kokushi)*, signifying their status as official state histories. The term *Kiki* was never employed. To be precise, the difference in social status between the *Nihonshoki* and the *Kojiki* was overwhelmingly clear. The *Nihonshoki* was included as the first of the Six National Histories (*rikkokushi*), while the *Kojiki*—whatever the initial intent behind its compilation might have been—was understood merely as a variant of the *Nihonshoki.* By late antiquity, the *Kojiki* was hardly read at all.

At the same time, the historical discourse recognized by the Ritsuryō state was not restricted to the national histories. As stated in the *Shoku Nihonshoki*: "these things are recorded in detail in the national histories and familial records." Each *uji* possessed its own transmitted tradition, and by incorporating passages from the *Nihonshoki* into it they claimed an intimate relationship to the imperial house and, by extension, the state. This structure can be seen within the *Kogoshūi* (Old things collected from the ground) of the Inbe clan, in the *Takahashi ujibumi* of the Takahashi clan, and in the familial histories included in the *Shinsen seishiroku* and the Six National Histories (Isomae, 1999a). The examination of both a passage from the *Nihonshoki* and the corresponding passage from the *Kogoshūi* can help to illustrate these textual relations

> Takamimusubi no Mikoto spoke and said, "I will raise up Amatuhimoroki and Amatsuwasaka, and truly have them bless my descendants. You, Ame no Koyane no Mikoto and Futodama no Mikoto, descend to the Middle Land of the Reed Plains with Amatsuhimoroki and also bless my descendants". . . .These two deities served within the palace and guarded it well. He also spoke and said, "Take the ear of rice from the sanctified garden [*yuniwa*] of our Plain of High Heaven and give it to our children". . . .For this reason, Ame no Koyane no Mikoto and Futodama no Mikoto, and the gods of the leading families with them, gave the rice to all. (*Nihonshoki*)

> Amatsumioya Amaterasu Ōhokami, Tamamimusuhi no Mikoto thus spoke and said, "We have raised Amatsuhimoroki and Amatsuiwasaka to bless our descendants. You two deities, Ame no Koyane no Mikoto and Futodama no Mikoto, descend to the Middle Land of the Reed Plains and bless our descendants. You two deities, both serve within the palace and guard it well. Take the ear of rice from the sanctified garden of our Plain of High Heaven and give it to our children. Futodama no Mikoto, lead the gods of the leading families and serve your lord, and do according to the command of heaven." Thus the various gods also came to serve. (*Kogoshūi*)

In a passage that closely mirrors the language of the *Nihonshoki*, the *Kogoshūi* inserts a section (italicized) wherein the ancestor of the Inbe *uji*, Futodama no Mikoto, is honored. Previous research has tended to view sections that do not overlap with the *Kiki* as the actual transmissions of the clans, while the overlapping sections were understood to be falsifications produced subsequent to the *Kiki* texts. Such an understanding, however, reflects the negative effects of the modern focus on the *Kiki* alone and treats the *uji* transmissions as mere variants of the *Kiki*, thus overlooking the differences in the social functions of the two. The function of the *uji* transmissions and the familial records was to chronicle the history of each group's service to the court, thus fulfilling the political function of advocating the legitimacy of their respective social positions within the court. Although the example above comes from the Heian period, there are many cases recorded in the Six National Histories, including a dispute between the Takahashi house and the Azumi house concerning the office of the imperial messenger who delivered offerings (*hōheishi*) to Ise Shrine, and the changing of familial names (*kaisei*), where *uji* and familial records were appealed to as legitimating documents. The state's basis for arbitrating such disputes was whether or not the clan traditions accorded with the Six National Histories, including the *Nihonshoki*, and the Ritsuryō code.

Against the backdrop of this political function, the Six National Histories, as the "historical canon" of the state, came to control the historical consciousness, and even the words, of the *uji* and familial records belonging to members of the court. By *canon*, we mean something that has been established as the "normative" text, which functions as a "law and rule, fundamental axiom, principle or standard" (Folkert, 1989, p. 173). It also includes the sense of being a "fixed" text (Levinson, 1997, p. 36). Conversely, however, the familial records developed their own unique narratives, not included in the national histories, by connecting them to passages in the Six National Histories. The familial records and *uji* transmissions, unlike the *Kiki*, were not closed records. As long as the group that they represented existed, they remained open texts that accumulated new narratives at each opportunity (e.g., by submitting records to the state). The structure of the *Takahashi ujibumi*, a document explaining the origins of court offices held by the Takahashi *uji*, and the production process of the *Nakaomi honkeichō* (the genealogy of the Nakaomi *uji*) both reflect such a structure of ongoing supplementation.

The expansion of the Ritsuryō state was accompanied by an increase in the number of officials serving the state. As the state's rule reached into the lower strata of society, the number of familial historical traditions must have increased as well. One indication of such a growth in historical records can be found in the large number of familial traditions included in the *Shinsen shōjiroku*, compiled in 815 CE.

In summary, with the compilation of national histories such as the *Nihonshoki*, state-related memory was fixed within the ruling class, and individual *uji* histories developed apart from, but in close relation to, these national histories. The *uji* records and familial documents submitted to the court functioned as a bridge between state memory and clan memories. Because of the existence of multiple group memories, the national histories became authoritative texts, the central memory of the ancient court, capable of bestowing social legitimacy on the individual *uji*. The dual structure of the rigid memory of the state and the multiple and developing memories of the various families constituted the shape of history in antiquity.

The modern understanding of the *Kiki* thus merely captures the unified memory that came only after the decline of the ancient court's political authority. As the court lost political power, the *Kiki* texts were no longer needed to determine the social status of court officials in relation to *uji* transmissions and familial records. Instead, the *Kiki* came to represent a national memory. In antiquity, those whose origins did not directly intersect with the *Kiki* must have possessed very different histories of private traditions.

One final point must be made regarding the position of the *Kiki* in antiquity. In the past, some scholars within the field of religious studies sought the origins of myth within ritual on the understanding that myths and rituals are closely related. In Japan, the *Kiki* narratives are understood to be myths, but the *Engishiki* (a text from the mid-Heian period) is understood to be a ritual text. The divine names and tales recorded in the *Engishiki* include some that are not included in the *Kiki*, but they all belong to common basic *Weltanschauung*. What is important to note is not a theory of origins concerned with which of the texts are more archaic, but rather the difference in their functions within the ancient Yamato dynasty. One the one hand, as already noted, the *Kiki* narratives were recognized as historical texts that regulated the *uji* traditions within ancient society. The *Engishiki*, on the other hand, contained prayers for the emperor, as the descendant of the heavenly deities, to recite before the multitude of deities inhabiting Japan, asking for peace in the land, a bountiful harvest, or for the emperor's own spiritual well-being (Nakamura, 1999; Saitō, 1996). In other words, the *Kiki* were, strictly speaking, declarative texts that recorded historical origins, and as such were expected to perform the function of regulating all other *uji* histories. The *Engishiki* was, in turn, a religious text recording human performances directed towards the deities, performances conducted by the emperor, the ritual celebrant who approached the deities or the spirits of deceased emperors in person. In recognizing this distinction, the difficulty of including within the category of myth all ancient Japanese texts dealing with deities should be apparent.

THE MEDIEVAL DISCURSIVE SPACE. What, then, was the discursive space of the medieval period, and what changes did it undergo as it bridged the ancient and modern discursive spaces? The pioneering works of Itō Masayoshi and Abe Yasurō concerning the medieval appropriations of the *Nihonshoki* provide important clues. The clearest indication of a shift from an ancient to a medieval discursive space is found in the terminological shift from national histories (*kokushi*) to Japanese chronicles (*nihongi*). Describing the corpus referred to as the Japanese chronicles, Abe makes the following observation: "What is most often found are explanations of meaning or origins that are told individual tales utterly unrelated to the main text of the *Nihonshoki*. At first glance, these tales simulate the form of a citation from a text called the *Chronicle of Japan*, and appear to belong to the scholarly genre of commentaries on ancient sources" (Abe, 1993, p. 199).

A fixed national history, as in the ancient official histories, can no longer be found within these texts. Instead, the content of the *Nihonshoki* is reread and rendered fluid by a multiplicity of voices. For example, in the section on Emperor Keikō in *Yamatohime no Mikoto seiki*, the spiritual power of the Kusanagi sword (one component of the imperial regalia) and how it came to be enshrined in Atsuta Shrine of Aichi prefecture is explained though Yamato Takeru's eastern conquest:

> (1) Winter, on the second day of the tenth month, Yamato Takeru departed on his journey. On the seventh day, he altered his route and worshiped at the shrine [*kamu miya*] of Ise. Taking his leave of Yamatohime, he said, "Under the order of the Emperor, I now go east to punish those who resist our rule. I take your leave." Then Yamatohime took the Kusanagi sword and gave it to Yamato Takeru, saying "Be reverent and do not be neglectful." Yamato Takeru reached Suruga for the first time that year, entered the wilderness, and woefully encountered a wildfire.
>
> (2) The prince's sword drew itself of its own accord and cut the grass around the prince. Because of this, the prince was saved. He named his sword Kusanagi [grass cutter].

> (3) Yamato Takeru, having pacified the enemies of the east, reached the land of Owari on his journey home. There he stayed for a while with his wife, Miyazuhime. He untied his sword and left it at his house as he walked alone to climb Mount Ibuki. He died there, overcome by poisonous air. The Kusanagi sword is now at the shrine of Atsuta in the country of Owari.

Section (1) quotes the main text of the *Nihonshoki*; the section describing the wildfire in Suruga (2) comes from a variant of the *shoki*; and the passage describing the death of Yamato Takeru (3) is taken from the *Kogoshūi.*

Unlike the *Kojiki*, the *Nihonshoki* contains within it variants of the main text. Through the Heian period, these variants were cited only as references for the main text. The two were clearly differentiated by differences in the sizing of the characters. In *Yamatohime no Mikoto seiki*, however, the variant account of the Kusanagi sword moving of its own will to save Yamato Takeru is woven into the main text in order to create a tale demonstrating the spiritual power of the sword. The more powerful the sword was believed to be, the more authority the Ise Shrine, home to Yamatohime and the source of the sword, was thought to possess. This would have been an interpretation amenable to those affiliated with the shrine, who were responsible for the creation of this text. Furthermore, Yamatohime's words are prefaced with a "said" (*iwaku*) in the *Nihonshoki*, while they are prefaced with a "declared" (*notamau*) in *Yamatohime no Mikoto seiki.* This indicates a desire to elevate Yamatohime's status (Isomae, 1999b).

The medieval period saw the liberal alteration of the *Nihonshoki* text in the interest of producing tales that served the interests and positions of those who produced them. In regards to the legend of the Kusanagi sword's spiritual power, multiple texts emerged, including *Owari no kuni Atsuta taijingū engi* (an account of the origin of the Atsuta Shrine, thought to have been compiled by people affiliated with the shrine); *Jinnō seitōki* (a chronicle of deities and emperors by Kitabatake Chikafua, a central figure in the Southern Court); *Kanetomo senkenbon Nihon shoki jindaikanshō* (a Yoshida Shintō digest of the divine age section of the *Nihonshoki*); and the *Tsurugi no maki* (Tale of the sword) in military chronicles such as *Heike monogatari* and *Taiheiki.* In the Kakuichi variant of the *Heike monogatari*, for example, the tale begins with Susano-o gaining the Kusanagi sword by defeating the *Orochi* dragon. The sword is then enshrined in the Atsuta Shrine following Yamato Takeru's eastern conquest. Later, following the monk Dōgyō's failed attempt to steal the sword at the time of the Tenchi court and Emperor Yōzei's drawing of the sword out of madness, the Kusanagi sword is lost in the sea with the drowning of young Emperor Antoku. The tale concludes as follows:

> A scholar among them offered this explanation: "The great snake killed at Hi River in Izumo by Susano-o longed for the spiritual sword deep in his head. As foretold by his eight heads and eight tails, he regained the sword after eighty generations of human rulers in the form of an eight-year-old emperor sinking with the sword to the depths of the sea." Having thus become the treasure of a divine dragon in the unfathomable depths of the sea, it will never return to human hands again.

An examination of *Heike monogatari* variants depicting the loss of the treasured sword reveals three distinct groups: (1) texts that claim a replica was forged during Emperor Sūjin's reign, which was then lost in the sea (*Engyō-bon*, *Yashiro-bon* [extracts], *Genpei jōsuiki*, *Shibukassenjo-bon*); (2) texts that claim a replica was forged, but that the real sword was lost (the Kakuichi variant quoted above); and (3) texts that mention no replica, but that depict the real sword being lost in the sea (*Yashiro-bon* [main text], *Hyakunijjuku-bon*). Takagi Makoto has explained the proliferation of these texts, observing that "each variant text refracts the other variants and denies a movement towards the creation of a single 'meaning.'" He sees "the totality of the relations [between the texts] as a corpus" (Takagi, 2001, pp. 227–228).

Within that corpus, little attention is paid to which text is historically accurate. Rather, an array of perspectives corresponding to varied positions exist side-by-side, containing mutual contradictions within their narratives. Additional new texts were produced by overlapping those multiple narratives. This is true not only of the *Heike monogatari* but also of the medieval Japanese chronicles as a whole. During this period, debates over whether or not texts were authentic rarely arose with any degree of seriousness.

The medieval period saw the warriors (*bushi*) assume real political power, while the court lost political influence. Paralleling that development, the *Nihonshoki*, compiled in order to legitimate the court's authority, could no longer maintain its position as a fixed referent. As a result, the various texts once subordinated to the *Nihonshoki*, such as the familial documents submitted to the court (*kachō*) and *uji* records (*ujibumi*), were replaced by genres with freer narrative content, such as Shintō texts (*shintōsho*), temple and shrine origins (*engi*), and military tales (*gunki*). As already noted, the familial documents and *uji* records were premised upon the political power of the court. They were political texts designed to be submitted to the court. At that time, the national histories, notably the *Nihonshoki*, functioned as the standard against which the content of the records and transmissions were judged. With the weakening of the court during the medieval period, however, the national histories lost this political function, and the ancient dual structure of "fixed authority/fluid familial records" crumbled.

At the center of the corpus referred to as the medieval Japanese chronicles lay the commentaries on the *Nihonshoki.* These were produced by priests of the Yoshida house and esoteric Buddhist monks in environs of the court. Commentarial activity on the *Nihonshoki* took place periodically from at least the Heian period in the form of the ritual "reading of the Japanese chronicles" (*Nihongi kōsho*). Private records of the official lectures have survived. These lectures, however, were conducted under the jurisdiction of the court. Most took the form of phonetic instruction (*kunchū*) with additional etymological discussion.

In the medieval period, the text was no longer literally interpreted as a record of actual events, as had been the case in the ancient court. Rather, focusing on the *Shindai no maki* (Scroll of the divine age), allegorical interpretations based on Buddhist metaphysics were used to reread the texts. The locus of commentary moved from the singular control of the court and spread throughout various aristocratic houses and schools. The difference between the ancient and medieval commentaries can be seen by comparing the following two passages:

> Kuni no Tokotachi no Mikoto. Query: Who first called this deity by this name? The teacher answers: the *Kana Nihongi*, *Kamimiyagi*, and the various ancient texts all contain this name. However, I have never seen the first instance of its use. There is no way to determine its origins in early antiquity (*jōko*). (*Nihonshoki shiki* [*teihon*; a private record of the official commentary])

> Kuni no Tokotachi no Mikoto—this deity is the one spirit of all the peoples' hearts. The heart of this deity is very clear, like a polished mirror reflecting light on its base. Because it contains no artifice and shines upon all things, it begat Amanokagami no Mikoto. To contain no artifice in the heart and to remain in nothingness [*kyomu*] is the essence of Shintō. (*Kanetomo Nihonshoki shindaikanmyō* [a Yoshida Shintō commentary])

The first commentary on the *Nihonshoki* entertains the question of who first named the deity Kuni no Tokotachi no Mikoto. Because the matter is not recorded in the sources, however, the question is abandoned. In contrast to this, Yoshida Kanetomo begins his commentary with the deity's name, but then develops a metaphysical argument regarding the essence of the human heart.

Shintō texts (*shintōsho*) were written as a result of this new form of commentary. In them, Buddhist metaphysics provided a means to construct a discourse that combined an interior "Way" with the historical ontology of Japan. At this time, the *Nihonshoki*—in some cases even the *Kojiki* and the *Sendai kujihongi*—was no longer treated as a "national history," but rather as scripture, a "divine text" that "tells the tales of the *kami*" (Yoshida Kanetomo). In Ryōbu Shintō's *Reikiki*, for example, Amaterasu Ōmikami's grandson Ho no Ninigi states his name as "imperial descendant Kotokukimi" and claims to have descended from heaven, not as the manifestation of the spirit of rice as depicted in the *Kiki*, but as the manifestation of the (Buddhist) diamond sword (*Kongōshō*) in order to spread throughout the land the true word (*shingon*) of Amaterasu Ōmikami's prime noumenon, Bontennō (Brahmā). The *Shindai no maki* was thus read as a text declaring the salvation of all people (*shujō*) by the Buddha. Its narrative form no longer strictly follows a historical chronology, but instead takes the form of topical sequences, such as a discussion of the three sacred treasures, or the imperial regalia. With commentary layered upon commentary, and, one provenance placed atop another, the discourse surrounding the Japanese chronicles swelled, all the while building centrifugal force.

These divine texts and commentaries on the *Nihonshoki* were transmitted and controlled as esoteric traditions by the houses and schools surrounding the surviving court, but no longer by the court itself. At the same time the military tales (*gunki*) and temple and shrine histories (*jisha engi*) that subsumed the medieval Japanese chronicles appear to have spread through society via regional lords and prominent temples and shrines. Both channels of textual transmission were located within the sphere of influence of political authority based in western Japan, with the surviving court at its apex. In eastern Japan, in contrast, the discourse of medieval Japanese chronicles was known to some extent, but it was either rejected or fundamentally reread. For example, one work describes Amaterasu-Ōmikami as "a deity who tells lies" (Nitta, 1989).

Moreover, while the divine texts and commentaries gained intellectual authority by virtue of being esoterically controlled, the origin tales and military chronicles circulated widely. For this reason, the reception of the *Kiki* during the medieval period appears to have followed two different trajectories. In one trajectory, the *Kiki* texts were hidden esoterically within the weakened court circles, with an ever-shrinking audience. In the other trajectory, the texts were pulled centrifugally beyond that boundary into broader segments of society.

In summary, in the course of the medieval period, the Six National Histories, especially the *Nihonshoki*, lost their centripetal force as classical sources (*koten*); Shintō texts, military chronicles, and temple and shrine histories emerged in place of the familial documents and *uji* records that had once been subordinated to the national histories. Among these, a distinct corpus called the "medieval Japanese chronicles" (*chūsei Nihongi*) took shape. These borrowed the title of the *Nihonshoki* but sought to present a reading beyond the meaning written into the text. In a sense, they sought to deconstruct the ancient worldview. The *honji suijaku* doctrine functioned within this corpus to ground the universal thought of Buddhism in the particular locus called Japan (Kuroda, 1975; Imahori, 1990).

At the same time, however, to the extent that these texts continued to claim some formal connection to the divine age of the *Kiki*, groups represented by the medieval texts still sought to ground their legitimacy in the historical tradition embodied in the emperor. In this, we can see the nature of the medieval state in western Japan mirrored in the corpus itself. The ranking aristocratic families and powerful Buddhist temples (*kenmon*), along with regional lords, increased their level of autonomy, while at the same time they sought the possibility of uniting all political forces beneath the emperor. While still lacking a true center, the discursive space of Buddhist metaphysics emerged wherein various texts took shape under the umbrella label of "Japanese chronicles."

With the demise of the Ritsuryō state, the divine rituals (*jingi saishi*), which possessed a different function from the national histories and familial records in antiquity, ceased to be performed. With the exception of private versions of these rituals, such as the Nakatomi purification ritual (*harai*), most court rituals were discontinued in the late medieval period. Under these circumstances, the difference between the concept of *kami* in the *Kiki* and that in the rituals and ritual texts grew ambiguous. The inconsistencies between the two were eventually unified, with the *Kiki* providing the basis for doing so. By this time, though, the *Kiki* texts had been fundamentally reread in relation to the discourses of Buddhist metaphysics and the medieval social structure, both very different from that of antiquity.

THE *KIKI* AS NATIONAL MEMORY. With the work of Yoshimi Yoshikazu in the late early modern period, texts with uncertain dates of composition were declared to be inauthentic, unlike such ancient texts as the national histories and official records. Furthermore, Motoori Norinaga's Native Learning (*kokugaku*) for the first time identified the *Kiki* as texts containing the memory of the ethnic-nation (*minzoku*) as a whole. Texts depicting the emperor existed in the early modern period, including Chikamatsu Monzaemon's Kabuki play, *Yōmei tennō shokunin kagami*. Yet such works dealt with the emperor strictly in terms of fiction and must be distinguished from any treatment of the *Kiki* as historical accounts. In the hands of scholars such as Yoshimi and Motoori, the status of the *Kiki*, which had become ambiguous during the medieval period, regained clarity. In the modern period, the *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki* achieved canonical status as the repository of national memory. At the same time, the texts referred to as the medieval Japanese chronicles (*chūsei Nihongi*), such as the Shintō texts and temple/shrine origins, which had once subsumed the *Kiki*, were rejected as fabulous.

During the ancient period, the *Kiki* played a central role in explaining the origins of the social positions occupied by various *uji*. The status of the *Kiki* grew ambiguous during the medieval period, while the freedom enjoyed by Shintō texts and temple/shrine origins vis-à-vis the *Kiki* dramatically expanded. Still, for those represented by these new texts, the *Kiki* provided the basis for claims of historical origin, however perfunctory those claims may have been. The discursive space within which the *Kiki* possessed meaning from the ancient through the medieval period, however, did not comprehensively include all of the inhabitants of the Japanese islands, in terms of class and region. From the late early modern period onwards, however, this began to change. No longer tied to specific groups, the *Kiki* texts came to be held as the repositories of a shared, communal memory in correspondence with the emerging nation-state (Isomae, 2000). Needless to say, the homogeneity implied in such a discursive space functioned to elide social differences that nevertheless continued to exist.

Ancient *uji* records that survived into the early modern period ceased to connect the *Kiki* to specific groups. Instead, they came to be treated as mere variants capable of supplementing lacunae in the communal memory that the *Kiki* came to represent. By the early modern period, *shintōsho* could no longer exist independently, encompassing and altering the *Kiki*. They instead were relegated to the status of secondary texts that interpreted the canonical statements of the *Kiki*. The term *Shintō* itself came to be shunned in Native Learning. Although Shintō is once again placed at the center of the *kokutai* (national body) ideology in the modern period, new texts bearing the title *shintōsho* were never again produced.

During the modern period, the Ministry of Education's history curriculum and the Shintō shrines that, under the directives of State Shintō, came to enshrine deities from the *Kiki* served as the two primary conduits through which the *Kiki* texts were propagated to the nation (Kaigo, 1969; Murakami, 1970). Thus, public schools and shrines formed part of the foundation of the modern state's newly created administration. Both were expected to play a critical role in national indoctrination. History education was designed to "shape national thought," while "the rites of the state" were to be handled by the shrines. The identification and preservation of imperial tombs and palace sites mentioned in the *Kiki* expanded during this period as well.

In addition to such government vehicles, other books dealing with the *Kiki* sought to reread the state's official history in terms of liberalism or national essentialism (*kokusuishugi*). Such works spread through the nation via print media and the intellectual class. As early as the Edo period, however, woodblock print versions of the *Kiki* and other classics saw wide circulation. Many shrines also altered the names of their enshrined deities during this period in response to the growing influence of Yoshida Shintō.

Relatively large shrines possessed their own histories or oral traditions dating back to the medieval period. Confronted first with the Yoshida house's governmental mandate to license priests and with the modern state's shrine policies, however, such histories and traditions were too weak to resist alteration or outright erasure. In the case of small shrines lacking clear histories or defined deities, they were completely subsumed by the doctrinal system of Yoshida Shintō or the modern emperor system. The histories of newly formed branch families rarely reach farther back than a couple of generations. The state's history, with the *Kiki* at its core, supplemented this lacuna.

At the same time that the *Kiki* texts were fixed in their modern position, a liberal reading emerged, one premised on the *Kiki* texts but also subsuming them. The "academic essay" came to replace the "commentary." In the commentaries of the early modern period, the *Kiki* texts were treated as fact by the authors who strove to understand this content. Against this, the academic essay strives, not to enter into the *Kiki* themselves, but rather to grasp the "history" that came to exist separate from, yet surrounding, the texts. While commentaries were written under the restrictions of the text itself, the scholarly essay incorporates the *Kiki* texts into its own narrative, where the author employs it to develop his or her own thought.

Although a few commentaries were written in the modern era, they merely provided etymological interpretations and were no longer related to the understanding of history itself. Kazamaki Keijirō locates the supplanting of commentaries by academic essays in the Taisho era (1912–1926). He notes this shift in reference to studies of the *Kojiki*: "Looking at commentaries alone, there were twenty-six during the Meiji period. . .[but only] four commentaries on the *Kojiki* during the Taisho era. By contrast, there were twenty titles in the category of [scholarly] research. Just as the backgrounds of the scholars changed between the Meiji and Taisho periods, the nature of their research also changed" (Kazamaki, 1956, pp. 177–181).

Eventually, the commentaries themselves were incorporated into the essay form. The main body of the essay is treated as a text in its own right, while earlier commentaries are turned into authoritative works that support the author's own thought. This is clearly different from the fundamental distinction that had existed between the medieval commentaries and the metaphysical narrative of the Shintō texts.

At the same time, the *Kiki* texts continue to occupy a canonical position (even though the familial records and *uji* transmissions are absent in the modern period). The ancient and modern periods are fundamentally different, however, when it comes to the question of whether the *Kiki* are to be understood as history or as material for historical understanding. For example, in the ancient readings of the Japanese chronicles (*Nihongi kōsho*), when an undecipherable section of the text was reached, all attempts at judgment were suspended: "The way of the deities is unfathomable; the truth of this remains unknown. What is heard differs and explanations disagree." Because the text was held to be history itself, without a hint of modern rationality, commentators could not exceed the narrative of the text. If the *Kiki* maintained a sacred character before the modern era, it was the result of its identification with history itself. Even Norinaga understood the *Kiki* as the direct record of chronological events: "The ancient records merely recorded what has been transmitted from the age of the deities."

In contrast, because modern scholars separated history from the text of the *Kiki*, they could freely cut and weave texts. In some cases, they integrated *uji* transmissions and ancient texts in order to reach beyond the texts into the dimension of history.

The term *Kiki* first saw broad use in the Meiji period, but the term did not reflect simply combining the *Nihonshoki* and *Kojiki*. Rather, the term referred to the discursive space of history that appears in the background when the two texts are brought together. Naka Michiyo's argument concerning dating within the *Nihonshoki*, put forward in the 1880s, provides a clear example of this separation of the concept of history from the *Kiki*. By taking the Christian era into consideration, the measurement of time within the *Nihonshoki* and the *Kojiki*, the imperial reigns and the sexagenary cycle (*eto*), was rendered relative, and a different temporal axis was constructed outside of the *Kiki* texts (Tanaka, 1998). Dealing with the age of the deities, which lacked a calendar, created a problem though.

Motoori Norinaga's interpretation of the divine age during the transitional period to modernity was based on his declaration that all the content concerning the divine age was historical. Like Christian fundamentalists in the West, Norinaga forbade all allegorical interpretation of the ancient text. By the 1890s, however, Takagi Toshio and Anesaki Masaharu had absorbed the Western concept of "mythology." As a result, the descriptions of the divine age came to be understood in terms of psychological reality (Ōbayashi, 1973). The term *Kiki myths* broadly employed today originated at this time. In this manner, the sections of the *Kiki* concerning the divine age *(kamitsuyo no maki*) achieved a stable position as a form of "national history," although related in terms of the worldview of the past.

This perspective of treating such texts as historical products was applied not only to the divine age but also to the human age within the *Kiki* texts by the Taisho period, especially in the work of Tsuda Sōkichi. Consequently, the *Kiki* texts in their entirety came to be understood as reflecting the historical perspective of a specific class of people belonging to a specific time period (Ienaga, 1972). Not only was the concept of "hard history" detached from the *Kiki*, but simultaneously Japanese literary studies sought to reposition the *Kiki* within the axis of historical time.

Within the discursive space called "history," various debates regarding the *Kiki* intersect. These debates include competition between diverse approaches to the *Kiki*, such as: (1) treating the words as independent texts with distinct logical structures (*sakuhinron*); (2) searching for original texts that served as sources for the derivative *Kiki* (*seiritsuron*); (3) conflicts over the Western and imperial calendars in determining dates (*kinenron*); and (4) whether one should accept the depiction of the divine age as historical fact or as a product of psychological reality. The expansive discursive space today called "history" allows the discussant to read into history a variety of positions and perspectives.

By emphasizing the unique canonical status of the *Kiki* texts, the modern approach has treated them as the shared memory of the nation. The understanding of "Japanese mythology" is a discourse produced within these developments.

This discussion has traced the transformations that the discursive space surrounding the *Kiki* underwent through the ancient, medieval, and modern period. The ancient period, in the sense employed here, begins with the reign of Tenmu (673–686 CE) and ends in the early Heian period (tenth century CE). The medieval period stretches from the Kamakura period (1180–1333 CE) through the Muromachi period (1336–1573 CE). The modern period begins in the late Edo period (late eighteenth century onwards). The late Heian period, which produced the Japanese chronicle texts during the cloister governments of retired emperors (*inseiki*), corresponds to the transition from the ancient to the medieval period. Likewise, the early Edo period, with the strong influence of Confucian Shintō, corresponds to the transitional phase from the medieval to the modern period. Of course, this periodization is based on the types of textual analysis of the *Kiki* that were practiced. This chronology does not strictly correspond to the periodization employed by historians in general.

Whether or not current historical research can maintain its critical power depends upon whether we can move beyond acknowledging various historical products outside ourselves, and instead render our own horizon of understanding an object of analysis. To do so does not mean, as in the past, constructing another representation called the "true myths of the Japanese ethnic nation" in order to resist the authority of the emperor system and the *Kiki*. We can no longer immerse ourselves into the interior of existing texts. Nor does it mean, as in some scholarship on the medieval Japanese chronicles and ancient kingship, projecting modern and Western religious concepts, such as the sacred and profane developed by Euro-American religious studies, directly onto the past. The past must be faced in order to clarify how the structure of discursive space organizes subjectivity, and to understand what forces of integration and opposition are at work within that space. As part of that process, the significations contained within the concept of Japanese mythology must be historically examined in terms of their emergence as a discourse produced by native elites buffeted by waves of modern Westernization.

The discursive space that can be made an object of historical research, though, is only a small part of the memory that once existed within society as a whole, and a privileged part at that. At the same time, one must ask why the specific limited memory of the *Kiki* became the fountainhead of history, all the while altering the structure of the surrounding discursive space, and why it entranced those enmeshed in that space for so long. The field of research identified with Japanese mythology must now take up the task of confronting the historical inclinations that have been internalized.

SEE ALSO Amaterasu Ōmikami; Ame no Koyane; Izanagi and Izanami; Jimmu; Jingo; Ōkuninushi no Mikoto; Shintō; Susano-o no Mikoto; Yamato Takeru.

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JAPANESE RELIGIONS: RELIGIOUS DOCUMENTS

A vast number of religious documents were written, transmitted, and circulated in Japan in the course of history. Special note must be made at the outset of the particular importance in Japan of Buddhist texts, commentaries, and related works, including those imported from China or Korea, as well as original works by Japanese authors. Since this voluminous category of writings is covered elsewhere, however, it is only treated in outline in this entry.

Instead, this entry concentrates on certain literary, religious, and historical texts that were used in Japan to establish the legitimacy of the state, not only in the eighth century, when the texts were originally compiled for that purpose, but also in the medieval period and again in modern times. Politicians establishing the modern Japanese nation-state buttressed their ideology by drawing on eighteenth-century nativist philological writings about the early texts, thereby legitimizing the imperial system (*tennōsei*) and creating a cultural unity of the Japanese people (*kokuminsei*).These texts are treated in chronological sections: (1) the ancient period when the documents were first compiled; (2) the medieval period when they became part of syncretic discourse embracing teachings of Shintō, Buddhism, and Confucianism; (3) the early modern period when nativist scholars found in them a basis for a new mythology focusing on the common language and ethnic identity of the Japanese people; and (4) the modern period when, until the end of World War II, state mythology affirmed Japan as a nation-state under an emperor who had been authenticated by divine decree.

ANCIENT PERIOD. Important sources of written knowledge about Japan that predate the eighth century are passages treating "barbarians" in Chinese dynastic histories. The fullest account of Japan—known as the Land of Wa—is in *Wei zhi* (History of the Wei Kingdom, 220–264, of North China), which describes a territory of Wa called Yamatai that was ruled by a queen named Himiko, who was a shaman. Rulers of Wa maintained tributary relationships to China and were thus incorporated into the Chinese worldview. *Wei zhi* provides details about the customs of Yamatai. For example, people clapped their hands in worship, showed respect toward others by squatting or kneeling with both hands on the ground, and purified themselves in water after a funeral.

Between the third and the sixth centuries a state gradually evolved that came to be known first as Yamato and later as Nihon (land of the "sun's source"). Written sources all date from later, but archaeological evidence of this period indicates a variety of rituals and beliefs.

THE RITSURYŌ STATE. By the seventh century, rulers of Yamato or Nihon (Japan) declined to maintain the tributary relationship with China and set about establishing their own version of the Chinese imperial system and constructing the capital city of Nara in 710. Two texts in particular, *Kojiki* (Record of ancient matters; 712) and *Nihonshoki* (or *Nihongi*; Chronicle of Japan; 720), were compiled to legitimize the state, authenticate the political hegemony of the imperial Yamato clan, and establish comprehensive legal codes *(ritsuryō)* according to which political power emanated from an emperor or empress *(tennō)* who was above the law. Other key texts from this period include *Izumo fūdoki* (completed 733), a gazetteer of Izumo province in western Honshū; *Kogoshūi* (Gleanings of old narratives, 807); and *Man'yōshū* (Collection of a thousand leaves, late eight century), a collection of more than 4,500 poems.

Texts of the ancient period circulated in manuscript form. The oldest surviving manuscript by a Japanese author is a commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra* in the collections of the Japanese Imperial Household Ministry. The commentary was written by Shōtoku Taishi (574?–622?), regent to Empress Suiko and the leading cultural figure of his day. It is said to be in his own calligraphy.

Japanese monks traveled to China on missions to collect Buddhist texts several times in this early period. Of special note are collections of texts brought back by Saichō (767–822) and Kūkai (774–835) for which catalogs were made in the early ninth century. These catalogues are important milestones in the development of textual canons for Tendai and Shingon Buddhism in Japan. Imported Buddhist sūtras were copied in manuscript form to supply the many temples that proliferated in this period. Villages specializing in producing paper grew up in proximity to monasteries in order to meet the demand.

The earliest known printed documents in Japan also come from this period. They are ritual texts that were reproduced in a million copies, placed in small pagodas, and distributed to temples throughout the country in 764 on an order from Empress Shōtoku, following a protracted civil war. Known as the *Hyakumantō darani* (Dhāraṇī of one million pagodas), those texts were not in Japanese, but consisted of Sanskrit words (from a sūtra known in Japanese as *Muku jōkō dai daranikyō)* phonetically transcribed into Chinese characters. While the immediate motivation for printing them was evidently atonement for loss of life in the war, it has been suggested that the project also reflects Shōtoku's political sympathies for the Buddhist establishment rather than the court bureaucracy. Clearly not meant for reading, these ritual texts had both religious and political significance.

KOJIKI* AND *NIHONSHOKI. Under Chinese influence, the Japanese began writing histories by at least the seventh century, but none have been preserved from that time. The project of historical compilation that resulted in the issuance of *Kojiki* in 712 and *Nihonshoki* in 720 was begun by Emperor Tenmu (r. 673–686), who had usurped the throne and wanted to legitimize his rule. According to the preface of *Kojiki*, Tenmu lamented that the records of the "various houses" (presumably the imperial and courtier houses) had been altered and falsified, and ordered a ritual reciter named Hieda no Are to memorize an imperial genealogy (*Teiki*) and a collection of narratives (*Kyūji*). These seem to have served as the basis for *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki* in the next century.

Despite being based on the same sources and compiled for similar purposes, *Kojiki* and the *Nihonshoki* differ fundamentally, especially in the story of the origin of the imperial rule. *Kojiki* gives Amaterasu, the sun goddess, the key role as ancestress of the imperial house, while in *Nihonshoki* Amaterasu is a subordinate deity and plays no such role. It is likely that these two texts represent surviving exemplars of heterogeneous mythologies that eventually merged to form a single mythology of the origin of imperial rule. Furthermore, the text of *Kojiki* is in Japanese transcribed into Chinese characters, a cumbersome writing method that was later abandoned. So difficult is *Kojiki* to read that little attention was paid to it for more than a thousand years, until the scholar Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801) spent some thirty-five years translating it into vernacular Japanese. In contrast, *Nihonshoki* is in the Chinese language that was used at court, and it has always been relatively easy for educated Japanese to read.

According to both *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki*, Ninigi, grandson of Amaterasu, descends to earth (Japan). In the *Kojiki* version Amaterasu gives Ninigi the Yasaka curved beads, mirror, and Kusanagi sword that became the regalia of emperorship, and decrees that Ninigi's family should rule Japan eternally. In the *Nihonshoki* there is no such role for Amaterasu and it is only after Ninigi's descendent, Emperor Jinmu, gains control over earth in 660 BCE that the legitimacy of imperial rule is established.

Kojiki is a book in three parts. Part one deals with the age of the gods from the time when the first deities appeared, as heaven and earth took shape, up to the birth of the emperor Jinmu. Part two covers the period from Jinmu through Ōjin, the fifteenth sovereign in the traditional chronology. Part three traces the imperial succession from Nintoku, Ōjin's son, through Empress Suiko (554–628), a historical figure who reigned from 592 to 628. The narrative comes to an end about a century before Suiko, and the last century of its coverage gives only a listing of sovereigns with genealogical data. Although the final part of *Kojiki* may be regarded as protohistory, the work as a whole is mythology.

In *Kojiki,* Amaterasu's role as the most important deity is evident in the story of the Heavenly Rock Cave. When Amaterasu hides in the cave, heaven and earth are plunged into darkness; only on her reemergence is order restored. Further, she bestows the rule of the land to the progeny of Ninigi, confirming that arrangement through ceremonial worship of the mirror, which represents her continuing support of the imperial line.

Nihonshoki is more than twice as long as the *Kojiki*, the later portions of its thirty chapters dealing in considerable detail with the events of the sixth and seventh centuries and ending with the abdication of Empress Jitō (645–720) in 697. While *Kojiki* gives only one version of each mythological story, the first two volumes of *Nihonshoki*, known as *The Age of the Gods*, often provide three or more. *Nihonshoki* begins with the story of the emergence of heaven and earth from a primal chaos, presenting a world view influenced by yin-yang philosophy. The intercourse of the deities Izanaki and Izanami gives birth to the world and all its deities (*kami*), with Amaterasu being a subordinate deity in this world order.

Although archaeological and other evidence indicates that, in fact, the historical ruling dynasty of Japan probably dates from only the early sixth century CE, the record of an unbroken imperial line beginning with Jinmu as found in *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki* became the basis for the great myth of *bansei ikkei,* or "one dynasty to rule for a myriad generations"—that is, forever. Whereas in China there were frequent dynastic changes, justified by the mandate of heaven, in Japan it was established from early times that rulership had been given unequivocally and forever by Amaterasu to a single line of her descendants. According to *bansei ikkei*, Emperor Akihito, who was invested in 1989, is the 125th sovereign in direct descent from Jinmu.

While the genealogy of the imperial family is central to the mythology as presented in *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki*, the pasts of leading courtier families are also woven conspicuously into it. A good example is the Nakatomi (later, Fujiwara) family, whose founder, according to the mythology, was Ame no Koyane, one of five deities (*kami*) who accompanied Ninigi on his descent from heaven. During the Heian period (794–1185), when the Fujiwara rose to dominance at court as imperial regents, they cited *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki* in claiming that their right to "accompany" and "assist" in rule was as ancient and unassailable as the imperial family's right to rule.

IZUMO FUDŌKI. In 713 the newly established Nara court issued a decree to the provinces, calling upon each to report on its geography, natural resources, local traditions, and the like. The idea of requesting such reports was based on Chinese gazetteers and was intended as a means for the Nara government to extend its control more fully. Although bureaucratic in origin, these documents include details of local names, products, and legends, providing early (albeit limited) documentation of local religious practices. Of these reports, called *fudōki* (records of wind and earth), only one has survived intact: *Izumo fudōki.* Four others are preserved in fragments. Submitted to the Nara court in 733, *Izumo fudōki* comprises nine sections, each treating a district. Interspersed throughout are tales and legends that collectively constitute the mythology of Izumo.

Situated on the Japan Sea and relatively isolated by mountains, Izumo maintained its independence for a considerable period. The final conquest of Izumo was apparently an important step taken by the Yamato state in its march to hegemony, so the story was written prominently into the *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki.* According to the mythology, Izumo, governed by the earthly deity Ōkuninushi (or Ōnamuchi), opposed repeated attempts by heaven to force it to submit to heavenly rule. Finally, however, Ōkuninushi and Izumo were persuaded to give in, thereby setting the stage for the dispatch of Ninigi to earth to found a ruling dynasty according to the mythology.

KOGOSHŪI. During the formative period of the Ritsuryō state, various strands of mythological systems were put forward that could not be completely reconciled with one another. New texts were then compiled that brought together ritual and mythology into a more coherent whole. The *Kogoshūi* (Gleanings from old narratives) is a prominent example.

In 807 the Inbe family of court ritualists compiled *Kogoshūi*, which includes stories not found in *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki.* Many of these stories deal with the history of the Inbe clan itself. Their main purpose in compiling the text was to combat the ascendancy of the rival Nakatomi family at court. In *Kogoshūi* the family's role as key figures in imperial enthronement ceremonies and other court rituals was legitimized by a retelling of the story of Ninigi's descent that gave Futodama, an ancestral deity of the Inbe clan, a crucial role. This retelling presents a new version of the heavenly descent that incorporates elements from both *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki*, along with new information not in either text. Further, *Kogoshūi* includes stories about the mirror and sword of the imperial regalia, their enshrinement at Ise, and rituals related to them, thereby creating a new mythology of the regalia.

Official lectures on *Nihonshoki* were presented six times from 812 through the end of the tenth century. Mythologies from *Kojiki*, *Nihonshoki*, *Kogoshūi*, and other sources were gradually synthesized into a single mythology and system of ritual practices at court. It was during this period, too, that Shintō and Buddhism coalesced (*shinbutsu shūgō*) and veneration of deities (*kami*) became part of Buddhist ritual practice in Japan, something that continued until the modern period when the Meiji government attempted to separate them.

MAN'YŌSHŪ. *Kojiki* contains more than one hundred songs and is thus the oldest body of written poetry in Japan. But Japanese poetic tradition truly began with the compilation of the *Man'yōshū* in the late eighth century. This anthology of more than 4,500 poems includes a majority (4,200) in the *tanka* or *waka* (short poem) form. Though its earliest poems are attributed to an empress of the fourth century, most verse in this collection dates from the mid-seventh to the mid-eighth centuries.

Like *Kojiki*, *Man'yōshū* is written in Japanese transcribed into Chinese characters. In the case of *Man'yōshū*, the writing system is called *man'yōgana*, or *Man'yō* syllabary, which became a forerunner of katakana and hiragana, the two syllabaries that were developed by the tenth century and that enabled the Japanese for the first time to write their own language with some ease. Since the creation of katakana and hiragana, Japanese has been written in a mixture of Chinese characters (for their meanings) and these two syllabaries (for their sounds).

The greatest poet of *Man'yōshū* was Kakinomoto no Hitomaro, who flourished in the late seventh century. A low-ranking courtier, Hitomaro served as a "court poet," engaged to compose poems on important public occasions, such as imperial hunts and other excursions, and the deaths of sovereigns.

Part of the fundamental "spirit" of the ancient Japanese that later scholars found in the poetry of *Man'yōshū* is the *kotodama* (spirit of words), manifested in *makura-kotoba* (pillow words), epithets that were evidently first employed for liturgical purposes. An example of a pillow word is *hisakata no* (far-reaching), as used in such phrases as "far-reaching heaven," "the far-reaching clouds," or even "the far-reaching capital." Here we see the great importance attached by the early Japanese to the native (Yamato) language, whose cadences were thought to possess both religious and magical qualities. Sacred verse and prose pieces known as *norito*, some of which purportedly date from the seventh century, illustrate the use of *kotodama.* Most surviving *norito* are found in *Engishiki* (Supplementary regulations of the Engi era), compiled in 927. In any case, all *norito* are based on seventh-century diction, and thus were later thought to retain the primitive spirit of the Yamato language.

MEDIEVAL PERIOD. Buddhist documents and ideas dominated Japanese religious and intellectual life in the medieval period. From the eleventh until the sixteenth century, printing of books in Japan was carried out exclusively at Buddhist monasteries. Sūtras and other works written in Chinese by both Chinese and Japanese authors were printed with woodblocks at major temples in and around Nara prior to the end of the twelfth century and in Kyoto thereafter. Especially influential were editions issued by the great Zen monasteries in Kyoto, Kamakura, and elsewhere that are known as *gozanban.* The earliest extant printed works in the Japanese language date from the fourteenth century and are associated with the Pure Land sect of Buddhism, which made special efforts to reach audiences unable to read Chinese. During this period Buddhist monasteries were seats of political and economic power, as well as religious authority, and the printing of Chinese religious and philosophical texts at such institutions had relevance in those realms, as well as within a religious context.

Throughout this long period, despite the availability of printing technology, most religious and other works written in the Japanese language circulated only in manuscript form. Of special interest are elaborate manuscripts combining texts and illustrations, known as *emakimono*, which included legends of the origins of temples and shrines, lives of famous monks, descriptions of festivals and rituals, and popular tales. Colophons on some manuscripts indicate that these scrolls were used in conjunction with performances and sermons that were religious in nature.

Japanese medieval manuscripts have survived in significant numbers. Especially noteworthy are large collections at medieval imperial Buddhist convents (*monzeki*) that were opened for the first time in the 1990s. These rich archives include manuscripts, paintings, diaries and other previously unknown primary sources that are especially relevant to studies of the role of women in Buddhism in medieval Japan.

With the establishment of the Kamakura *bakufu* (shogunate) at the end of the twelfth century, the government moved away from the imperial court in Kyoto. Changes in the role of the imperial court inevitably called for revisions in the imperial mythology reflecting the new world order. Commentaries on *Nihonshoki* along with new collections of legends from this period, called the "medieval *Nihongi*," present a syncretic view of the universe, in which Buddhist, neo-Confucian, and Shintō ideas are interwoven. In contrast to earlier texts on *Nihonshoki* that focused on legitimizing the Ritsuryō state, medieval commentaries present a pan-Asiatic worldview reflecting the widespread proliferation of Buddhist ideas.

Medieval scholars were particularly interested in *Nihonshoki*'s first section, the *Age of the Gods.* For example, Kitabatake Chikafusa (1293–1354) in his *Jinnō shōtōki* (Chronicle of gods and sovereigns, 1339), begins with a famous opening line: "Great Japan is the land of the gods." Writing to legitimize the Southern over the Northern imperial line during the war between the courts (1336–1392), Chikafusa emphasized the purity of imperial lineage, symbolized by transmission of the imperial regalia, which set Japan apart from other countries, making it superior in his view. However, his call for the restoration of imperial rule was not successful, and his thinking had more significance later than in his own time.

EARLY MODERN PERIOD. At the end of the sixteenth century, movable-type printing was brought to Japan from Korea as loot taken during the invasion of Toyotomi Hideoyoshi. Thereafter, printing of Japanese texts, including religious works, began and quickly spread. Sections of *Nihonshoki* were printed for the first time in 1599. Movable-type printing flourished under imperial and shogunal patronage until the mid-seventeenth century. Additionally, for a brief period starting in 1590, Jesuit missionaries in Japan published as many as one hundred titles that are known as *Kirishitan-ban.* Fewer than forty of those works have survived, due to severe censorship in the seventeenth century.

As commercial publishing took over, woodblock printing, providing greater economies of scale, was used until the nineteenth century. Between the mid-seventeenth and the mid-nineteenth centuries many ancient texts were printed in this manner, stimulating a great deal of scholarship about them, which also circulated in printed form.

Especially relevant to the topic at hand are works of eighteenth-century scholars of so-called *kokugaku* (national learning), a movement that embraced philological, literary, and political, as well as religious, concerns and was essentially motivated by the desire to "return to the past." A leading *kokugaku* scholar, Kamo no Mabuchi (1697–1769) saw *Man'yōshū* as a repository of the "forthright emotions" (*naoki kokoro*) and "sincerity" (*makoto*) of the Japanese people when they were still relatively "unpolluted" by Chinese culture. In fact, many of the most prominent poets of the *Man'yōshū* were well steeped in the culture of China, including Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism. Nevertheless, compared to the overly refined court poetry from the ninth century on, *Man'yōshū* poems seemed to *kokugaku* scholars to have a more youthful vigor, spontaneity, and breadth of emotion.

Mabuchi's most famous student was Motoori Norinaga. *Kojiki*, as noted previously, was scarcely comprehensible until he translated it. His study, *Kojikiden*, on which he worked from 1764 until his death in 1801, established *Kojiki*, rather than *Nihonshoki*, as the foundation text of Japanese history and as the repository of ancient Japanese language. Norinaga considered it a source in which to find the "ancient words" (*furukoto*) spoken by Japanese people in ancient times and expressing *mono no aware* (pathos of things). Norinaga's reading of *Kojiki* produced a new mythology different from that of the ancient texts that he studied. In particular, he did not focus on the legitimacy of the imperial system, but rather on the common language and ancestry of the Japanese people as the basis for allegiance to the emperor and opposition to outside lands, especially China. In Norinaga's interpretation the ancient myths have relevance for all Japanese people, not just the imperial and aristocratic families.

It should not be forgotten that Buddhist works continued to circulate widely in this period as well, especially in the seventeenth century, when they dominated commercial publishing. Huge compilations, such as the first Japanese editions of the Buddhist canon that were issued at this time, were private ventures of temples rather than commercial publishers, since such works would not be viable in the marketplace.

Perhaps the most extensively reprinted text of this period was the Confucian *Classic of Filial Piety* (*Xiao jing*), known in Japan as *Kōkyō*, which was first printed in Japan in 1599. Copies were continuously available, with surviving dated editions extant from almost every year between the 1650s and the 1860s. The popularity of this and other Confucian texts reflects the widespread influence of neo-Confucianism beginning in the medieval period and accelerating in the early modern period

While most documents that have survived prior to the modern period obviously are limited to works produced by educated elites, there are some extant sources from this period that reflect religious practices and beliefs of ordinary people. For the most part, such documentation is in the form of manuscripts written in cursive style (*komonjo)* that are held by local archives in Japan.

MODERN PERIOD. In the nineteenth century, as the Japanese nation-state was being formed, statesmen who visited Europe became aware of national literatures and poetic traditions through which people of each nation expressed their identity. With the introduction of Western-style movable-type printing in the 1870s, works of *kokugaku* scholars, as well as the ancient texts that they discussed, became readily available. In 1879 the government began sponsoring a project, not completed until 1914, to collect and classify the entire canon of Japanese classics into encyclopedic categories in a work entitled, *Koji ruien* (Classified collection of old documents). At the root of the project was a desire to establish a scientific and historical approach to the national literary and cultural heritage. Other projects initiated at the time, such as *Dai Nihon shiryō* (Japanese documents, 1901–) and *Dai Nihon komonjo* (Japanese manuscripts, 1901–), focusing on both collecting and publishing authoritative versions of historical texts in annalistic compilations, have been underway for more than a century.

Beginning in the 1880s, *Man'yōshū* was rediscovered in the course of the search for a national poetry anthology. From the time of its compilation almost a thousand years earlier, with the exception of *kokugaku* and other scholars, Japanese people in general had largely been unfamiliar with this work.

Building on the work of the *kokugaku* scholars, late nineteenth-century Japanese intellectuals focused on the role of language as a defining feature of a nation-state. Within that context, establishing a national literature, and particularly a poetry, that expressed the spirit of the people was seen as a way to prove the existence of a people united through a common language. Some scholars searched for the origins of Japanese culture in ethnographic studies of folk myths and songs, while others undertook philological studies of the ancient classics. Through this process, *Man'yōshū*, *Kojiki*, and *Nihonshoki* were established as repositories of such folk traditions. Motoori Norinaga's views of the superiority of *Kojiki* prevailed, and it assumed a privileged position as a national classic. Likewise *Man'yōshū* was established as the national poetry anthology, expressing both the national character (*kokuminsei*) and the ethnic or folk character of the people (minzokusei, minshūsei).

In the context of the Meiji (1868–1912) government's forcible separation of Shintō and Buddhism (*shinbutsu bunri*) and its suppression of Buddhism, the status of Shintō as an independent religion was constructed. Prior to this period, Shintō always existed within the context of Buddhism. Shintō as a separate religion dates from this period. Likewise the status of texts associated with Shintō, including *Kojiki*, *Nihonshoki*, and *Man'yōshū*, as national classics was constructed in this context.

In 1890 the *Imperial Rescript on Education* (*Kyōiku chokugo*) was promulgated in reaction to importation of Western culture, but quickly came to be seen as a statement of the spiritual unification of the Japanese people. Inoue Tetsujirō's (1855–1944) commentary on the text published in 1891 used figures from Western history, including George Washington and Joan of Arc, to show that loyalty and filial piety were universal ethical values. These values then became the foundation of the nation-state. Seeking to restore Shintō's role within the state, Shintō priests developed rituals, ceremonial readings, and other rites, and they began promoting adherence to the values not as an ideal, but as an obligation to the state. The *Rescript* became the basis of school curricula, supplemented by biographies of historical paragons of loyalty and filial piety worthy of emulation. Adherence to this was challenged by the Christian schoolteacher Uchimura Kanzō (1861–1930), who refused to pay obeisance to the *Rescript* when it was promulgated in 1891. He was removed from his position, at the time finding little support from Buddhist, Shintō, or even Christian communities in his protest of this limitation on religious freedom.

In 1937 the Ideological Control Bureau of the Ministry of Education issued *Kokutai no hongi* (Principles of the national essence of Japan), a patriotic educational work affirming Japan as a nation-state based on a system of continuous ancestry of the imperial family (*tennōsei*) and presenting the authority of the emperor as divinely decreed. In a section entitled, "Dai Nihon kokutai" (National essence of Japan), the mythological basis of *kokutai* (national essence) was detailed with quotations from *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki* in perhaps the most extreme formulation of Japan as the emperor's country. By 1940 State Shintō was established as the national religion and ancient mythologies were being fully exploited for militaristic purposes.

Following the end of World War II the supreme commander for the Allied Powers issued the Shintō Directive, ordering the separation of church and state and guaranteeing freedom of religion in Japan. In January 1946 Emperor Hirohito issued the Declaration of Humanity, renouncing his divinity as well as that of his ancestors. The emperor continues to serve as "the symbol of the state and the unity of the people, deriving his position from the will of the people with whom resides sovereign power" under the 1946 constitution. This view of the emperor is based on the ideas of Watsuji Tetsurō (1889–1960), who reinterpreted *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki* texts as expressing the moral authority of the emperor for the Japanese people.

SEE ALSO Kingship, article on Kingship in East Asia; Poetry, article on Japanese Religious Poetry; Shintō.

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H. PAUL VARLEY (1987)
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JASPERS, KARL (1883–1969), was one of the most influential German thinkers of the twentieth century and a founder of modern existential philosophy. Born in Oldenburg, Jaspers studied law and medicine. After writing several works on psychopathology, he turned to philosophy, and in 1920 he became a professor at Heidelberg. He was dismissed from that position by Nazi authorities in 1937; after 1948 he taught at Basel, where he died.

For Jaspers, philosophizing is an effort to understand and to express the authentic experience of realities that can never be conceptually explained and are not objectifiable; therefore it cannot pretend to be knowledge in the same sense as scientific knowledge. Jaspers accepts the Augustinian maxim "Deum et animam scire cupio" (I want to know God and the soul), but neither God nor the soul are possible positive objects of metaphysical speculation. Their place is taken respectively by "the all-encompassing" (*das Allumgreifende*), or transcendence, and existence. The latter, even though it reveals itself in one's empirical being (*Dasein*), is not a psychological subject, not an empirically accessible reality, and the former is not God in the sense of any mythological tradition. Still, both realities are known not only negatively, not only as a realm of the unknown beyond knowledge, but they are inseparably linked with each other: The transcendence is there only for existence; it opens itself to one insofar as one is able radically to experience one's freedom. The presence of the transcendence cannot be described in metaphysical or scientific language; in other words, one does not hear God's voice in the empirical word. It speaks to humans through ciphers they can meet in all forms of being: in nature, in history, in art, in mythology. Yet ciphers are untranslatable. Therefore, in vain does one try to grasp God in metaphysical doctrines or in the dogmas of an institutionalized religion. The language of mythology, too, is a way that humankind has tried to commune with the transcendence, but this language is sui generis, it cannot be converted into a philosophical system. Therefore, Jaspers totally opposed Bultmann's project of "demythologization," which, he argued, implied that myths are theories in disguise, that they could be translated into a profane tongue so that a theologian could salvage elements that are acceptable to scientifically trained "modern man" and discard the "superstitious" rest.

Myths, according to Jaspers, are the means by which people gain access to ultimate reality, and although they have no empirical reference, they are an indispensable part of culture. All attempts of positive theology to reach God in metaphysical categories are useless; so are efforts to express the transcendence in the dogmatic formulas of one or another confession. But a personal existence, in an effort of self-illumination, is able to meet the transcendence as a pendant of its own reality. Existence is not a substance within the empirical word and it cannot survive death; it nevertheless reaches eternity as moments of timelessness within empirical time. Therefore, existence cannot avoid the ultimate defeat; one's death cannot be given a meaning. Still, the radical awareness of one's own finitude is not necessarily a reason for discouragement: In the very acceptance of inevitable defeat one finds the way to being. While existence and the transcendence become real only in an encounter which is expressible in ciphers, and not in any scientific or theological knowledge, this encounter does not make one's communication with other people or one's living participation in historical processes unimportant. One can never isolate one's self entirely from empirical realities, from history, and from one's fellow human beings; quite the contrary, it is only from within, not by a kind of mystical detachment, that people can understand their relationships with infinity; and yet, this understanding can never take the form of "objective" knowledge.

Jaspers tried, in his historical studies, positively to assimilate the entire history of European philosophy which, from various angles, supported his intuition. Both those who stressed the radical irreducibility of personal existence to "objective" reality (Augustine, Kierkegaard, Nietzsche) and those who attempted, however awkwardly, to grasp unconditional being conceptually (Plotinus, Nicholas of Cusa, Bruno, Spinoza, Schelling, Hegel) represented in his view the human effort to cope with the eternal tension between one's life among things and one's desire to reach the ultimate.

In interpreting religious phenomena Jaspers rejected all positivist or scientific attempts to reduce them to needs that might have an anthropological, social, or psychological explanation. On the other hand, he refused to believe that a rational theological or metaphysical enquiry might elucidate them. Both institutionalized Christianity and the tradition of the Enlightenment were unable, in his view, to express properly the relationship between existence and transcendence.

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JĀTI See VARṆA AND JĀTI

JAVANESE RELIGION.

The Javanese occupy the central and eastern parts of Java, a moderately sized island over twelve hundred kilometers long and five hundred kilometers wide. The island constitutes only about 7 percent of the total land area of the Indonesian archipelago, which now constitutes the Republic of Indonesia. Javanese peasants have migrated to other islands in Indonesia and, because Dutch colonialists had for two centuries prior to Indonesia's independence moved Javanese unskilled laborers overseas, there are also Javanese communities in Cape Town, South Africa; in Surinam, Latin America; and in New Caledonia, Melanesia. They have in general retained the original Javanese culture and language.

Nearly all Javanese (i.e., about 97.3 percent) are Muslim, with the remainder either Roman Catholics, Protestants, Buddhists, or, in South Central Java, recent converts to Hinduism. The Javanese themselves recognize two variants of Javanese Islam: The one with the greatest number of adherents is syncretistic, incorporating Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, and local religious elements; the other is more dogmatic and puritan. The first is called Agami Jawi ("Javanese religion") and the other, Agami Islam Santri ("Santri Islam religion"). Adherents of both variants are to be found in all Javanese communities, although in certain regions, one of the forms will predominate. In his study of Javanese religion, Clifford Geertz calls the first variant Abangan, and the second, Islam Santri.

JAVANESE RELIGIOUS HISTORY. Early Javanese religion must have been based on local forms of ancestor worship, and the belief in spirits, magical power in natural phenomena, and sacred objects in the human environment. Hinduism probably came to Java during the fourth century of the common era through the trade routes from South India, although the earliest traces of a Hindu-Javanese civilization can only be dated to the eighth century. During that period Javanese Buddhism also developed, and the remnants of ancient religious structures such as the Hindu Prambanan and the Buddhist Borobudur seem to indicate that Javanese Hinduism and Javanese Buddhism coexisted peacefully.

Although, initially, Hinduism and Buddhism had been spread along the trade routes, they were further disseminated by Indian *brahmans* and *bhikṣus*, who had quite likely been invited by Javanese rulers to act as consultants. Indian civilization was promoted and developed in the court centers of the ancient empires, first in Central Java during the eighth to tenth centuries, and later, during the eleventh to fifteenth centuries, in East Java, where it took on a specific Javanese character. Many elements of this Hindu-Javanese court civilization subsequently influenced Javanese folk culture.

Islam also came to Java through the trade routes, via North Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries. Islam in Java exhibits an emphasis on mystical ideas. Indeed, Islamic mysticism seems to have found fertile ground in Java because of the existing mystical elements in Javanese Hinduism: Muslim literary works written during the early period of Javanese Islamization show the importance of mystical Islam, or Sufism (Arab., *tasawwuf).* Dogmatic, puritan Islam, reformed Islam, and so forth arrived later, when Javanese devotees returned from making the pilgrimage *(ḥājj)* to Mecca.

As a new religion, Islam initially influenced the port towns and harbor states of Java's north coast, which subsequently became prosperous and powerful and undermined the declining power of the Majapahit empire of East Java. In the following period zealous Muslim missionaries who became holy men, called *wali* (Arab., *walī;* "saint, guardian") in Javanese folklore, spread Islam through the interior regions of East and Central Java. The Muslim religion, preached by the imam, included many mystical elements, a fact that probably facilitated the contact between the missionaries and the population, to whom mystical concepts and ideas had long been familiar. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, students and disciples recorded notes of these teachings, which, presented as magical songs, have been compiled in books called *suluk.*

The court center of the Central Javanese empire, Mataram, traditionally resisted the penetration of Islam from the interior of Java. During the second half of the eighteenth century, however, Islam reached the heartland of the ancient Central Javanese civilization, although not always through peaceful means. The centers of the Hindu-Buddhistic civilization in Central Java merely had to accept the presence of Islam, and thus developed the syncretistic Agami Jawi variant of Javanese Islam.

AGAMI JAWI. The Agami Jawi belief system includes an extensive range of concepts, views, and values, many of which are Muslim in origin: the belief in God Almighty (*Gusti Allah*), the belief in the prophet Muḥammad *(kanjeng nabi Muḥammad)*, and the belief in other prophets (*para ambiya*). The Javanese consider God Almighty to be the creator and ultimate cause of life and the entire universe. They believe that there is but one God ("gusti Allah ingkang maha esa"). All human actions as well as important decisions are done "in the name of God" (*bismillah*), a formula pronounced many times per day to inaugurate any small or large endeavor.

Divine beings. The Javanese literary tradition has elaborated extensively on the nature of God and humanity. The most important source for this subject is the seventeenth-century work, the *Dewaruci,* written in Javanese prose. In the mystical, pantheistic view of the *Dewaruci,* God is conceptualized as the totality of nature: He is a tiny divine being, so small that he can enter any human heart, yet in reality as wide as the oceans, as endless as space, and manifested in the colors that make and symbolize everything that exists on earth. Between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries this religious concept of God was interwoven with Islamic concepts by the spiritual leaders and intellectuals who wrote the Agami Jawi literature, which includes voluminous books such as the *Serat centhini* and the magico-mystical *suluk* mentioned earlier.

In addition to the belief in God and the prophets, the Agami Jawi Javanese also believe in saints. Included among these holy persons are the nine semihistorical "apostles" (*wali sanga*), or first missionaries of Islam, religious teachers, and certain semihistorical figures who were known to the people through the Babad literature. The belief in these saints is usually kept alive by the veneration of their sacred graves (*pepundhen*). Local saints are also venerated, and many regions have their locally acknowledged sacred places. In certain village communities, one social class often associates itself with a particular legendary figure in order to obtain an exclusive status. Famous village leaders, *wayang* puppeteers (*dhalang*), healers (*dhukun*), or religious leaders (*kiyai*) may become holy men even while they are still alive, and their graves may turn into *pepundhen* and objects of veneration.

Many other elements, such as the belief in a great number of deities (*dewata*), are of Hindu-Buddhist origin, as one can see from their Sanskritic names. However, the roles and functions of several of the deities are different from those of the original ones. Dewi Sri, for instance, who originated from Sri, the wife of the Hindu god Viṣṇu, is in Javanese culture the goddess of fertility and rice. Bathara Kala was derived from the Hindu concept of time (*kāla*), and this destructive aspect of Śiva the creator is in Javanese culture the god of death and calamity.

An indigenous pre-Hindu element is the divine trickster Semar. The Javanese believe that Semar has the power to act as an intermediary between the world of mortals and the divine. In the dramatic *wayang,* the Javanese shadow-puppet play, he is a clown figure who acts as both the servant and guardian of the heroes of the *Bratayuda,* the Javanese version of the Hindu *Mahābhārata* epic.

Indigenous Javanese beliefs are primarily concerned with spirits, in particular, ancestral spirits (*ruh leluhur*), guardian spirits who care for the individual's well-being and are usually conceived of as the soul's twin (*sing ngemong*), and guardian spirits who oversee places such as public buildings, old wells, spots in a forest, turns in a river, old banyan trees, caves, and so forth. They also believe in a number of ghosts *(lelembut)*, spooks *(setan)*, and giants *(denawa)*, who are frightening and malevolent creatures *(memedi)*, and in fairies *(widadari)* and dwarfs *(thuyul)*, who are considered benevolent.

The Agami Jawi has a cosmogony *(kang dumadi)*, a cosmology (*bawanagung*), an eschatology *(akhiring jaman)*, and messianic beliefs *(ratu adil)*. While these are principally of Hindu origin, the Agami Jawi concepts of death and afterlife *(akherat)* have been influenced by Islam. Originating in pre-Hindu religious systems is their concept of magic, which imparts magical powers to certain people, parts of the human body, objects, certain plants, and rare animals.

Cultic life. The Agami Jawi ceremonial and ritual system differs essentially from the dogmatic teachings of Islam. The second pillar (*rukn*) of Islam, the *ṣalāt,* or ritual prayer performed five times daily, is considered unimportant and is often ignored. Instead, various kinds of sacred communal meals (*slametan*) are central to its ceremonial system. The family hosting the ceremony usually invites friends, neighbors, and important members of the community. A sacred meal consisting of particular, customary dishes is served after being blessed by a religious official from the mosque who recites of verses (*āyāt*) from the Qurʾān. A *slametan* ceremony often includes the *dhikr,* a monotonous chant of the phrase "La ilāha illā Allāh" ("There is no god but God"). This is repeated in chorus by all of the participants and may last for more than an hour without interruption.

The size, elaborateness, and cost of a *slametan* ceremony depend on the importance of the occasion and the financial resources of the host. The occasion may vary from celebrations of events associated with the individual's life cycle, of which circumcision and weddings may be considered the most important, to mortuary rites held on the day of the funeral and on the seventh, the fortieth, one-hundredth, and one-thousandth day after death. The *slametan* meals held as part of the funerary rites include elaborate *dhikr* chants.

Among the rural peasants, periodic *slametan* are held in connection with the stages of the agricultural cycle, whereas both rural and urban Javanese hold *slametan* meals on religious holidays of the Javanese Muslim calendar. Seasonal, community-sponsored *slametan* ceremonies, the *bersih dhusun,* are meant to purify the community. Intermittant *slametan* ceremonies are held in connection with disturbing events in the individual's life, such as a serious illness, accident, or bad dreams. More secular *slametan* are held to celebrate the move to a new house, the changing of one's name, the start of a long journey, an occupational promotion, or academic graduation, and the anniversaries of clubs and fraternal organizations, professional, functional, and recreational associations.

An equally important practice of the Agami Jawi is the veneration of the dead and ancestors, through visits to the graves of deceased relatives and ancestors (*nyekar*). Also indispensable to Agami Jawi observance are the numerous offerings (*sajen*) that appear in nearly all the ceremonies and may be performed independently as well. The latter type of offering, held at specific times, such as Thursday evenings, consists of bits of food (including tiny rice cones and an assortment of cookies), spices, and a variety of small items that are decoratively arranged on small trays of plaited bamboo. A careful analysis of the items reveals some consistency in their symbolic meanings, which relate to their names, appearance, colors, or use.

Fasting is not only practiced during the Muslim month of the fast, Ramaḍān, but on many other occasions as well. Other religious practices include deliberately seeking hardship (*tirakat*), asceticism (*tapabrata*), and meditation (*samadi*). The attainment of a state of trance is an integral aspect of a number of religious and semireligious folk dances, songs, and plays. Performances of certain *wayang* puppet dramas and religious concerts on sacred gamelan sets also accompany religious concepts and activities.

AGAMI ISLAM SANTRI. The Agami Islam Santri belief system of both rural and urban Javanese is composed of puritanical Islamic concepts about God, the prophet Muḥammad, creation, personal ethics, death and afterlife, eschatology, the day of resurrection, and so forth. These concepts are all clearly determined by dogmatic creed. Peasant Santri Javanese generally take these for granted and are indifferent about their interpretation. The urban Santri, however, are usually quite concerned about the moral and ethical backgrounds of the doctrine. In addition to having memorized certain parts of the Qurʾān, many have also been exposed to the exegetical literature (*tafsir*), and prophetic tradition (*ḥadīth*) during their education in more advanced religious schools (*pesan-*

tren). The Muslim belief system is organized and systematized in the *sharīʿah* (Islamic law); the dominant legal school (*madhhab*) in Java, and throughout Indonesia, is that of al-Shāfiʿī (d. 820).

The Santri Javanese practice a ceremonial and ritual system that follows the dogmatic rules of the Five Pillars (*arkān,* pl. of *rukn*) of Islam. The second pillar, the daily and Friday *ṣalāt* (Jav., *sembahyang*), is the central ceremony. *Ṣalāt,* often incorrectly translated as "prayer," is a series of religious acts of worship and prostration, accompanied by incantations that are fixed in form and content. The obligatory performance of the *sembahyang* is done individually five times per day and communally once per week, at noon on Friday. The Javanese also have voluntary personal prayers to God called *ndonga,* which may be performed at any time, using the Javanese vernacular rather than the prescribed Arabic. The third pillar is the gift to the poor, called *jakat* (Arab., *zakat*); the fourth is the fast (Jav., *siyam;* Arab., *ṣawm*); and the fifth, of great import to Javanese Santri Muslims, is the *ḥājj,* or pilgrimage.

Most of the Islamic calendrical ceremonial celebrations are observed by the Santri Javanese. Unlike the adherents of the Agami Jawi religion, the Santri do not prepare *slametan* meals on those holidays. They do, however, perform special *ṣalāt* rituals, recite verses from the Qurʾān throughout most of the night, listen to stories about the life of the Prophet, and attend *slawatan* performances consisting of religious songs accompanied by drums and tambourines.

Santri Javanese also perform rites to celebrate certain events in the life cycle of the individual. However, unlike the Agami Jawi Javanese, who hold numerous *slametan* ceremonies, they prefer to give *sedhekah* sacrifices in accordance with the *sharīʿah.* Their funerary ceremonies do not differ significantly from those of the Agami Jawi. The *ṣalātu ʾjjināzah,* absent in the Agami Jawi, is a mortuary *ṣalāt* that is preceded by the act of cleansing oneself, and is performed in front of the body of the deceased person by those who come to show sympathy.

JAVANESE SPIRITUAL AND RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS. There have always been adherents of Agami Jawi for whom recurrent *slametan* rituals, *sajen* offerings at fixed periods, and routine visits to graves represent a superficial, meaningless, and unsatisfactory religious life. Therefore, they search for a deeper understanding of the essence of life and spiritual existence. One response to the demand for a more spiritually meaningful life are the numerous *kebatinan kejawen* spiritual movements, which have emerged and disappeared, but have retained a constant following in the course of Javanese history. The term *kebatinan* refers to the search for truth, *batin* (Arab., *bāṭin*). Since the late 1960s, the number of these movements has increased significantly.

Most of the Javanese *kebatinan* movements have a local base with only a limited number of followers (usually not more than two hundred), and are officially called "small movements" (Indonesian, *aliran kecil).* Others, however, have thousands of followers, and are called "large movements" (Indonesian, *aliran besar*). The four largest are Susila Sudi Darma (SUBUD), Paguyuban Ngesti Tunggal (PANGESTU), Paguyuban Sumarah, and Sapta Darma. Although *kebatinan* movements are to be found throughout the Javanese area, the most important ones are located in Surakarta. In 1983 there were nineteen such organizations in that city, with a total of approximately 7,500 members. At the end of 1982, the entire province of Central Java listed ninety-three movements, with a total of more than 123,570 members. While most of the movements are based on mystical ideas, at least five other types can be distinguished: movements that focus on mysticism; moralistic and ethical movements that focus on the purification of the soul; messianic Ratu Adil ("just king") movements; nativistic movements, focusing on the return to original Javanese culture; and movements focusing on magical practices and occultism.

There are also movements with Santri orientation. These are usually based on a particular Islamic religious school (*pesantren*). Unification with God is the central objective of most of those Santri movements. In Indonesia, and particularly in Java, as in the rest of the Islamic world, Ṣūfīs are organized into movements called *tarekat* (Arab., *ṭarīqāt*). The *tarekat* are led by a charismatic teacher called *kiyai* in Javanese. Many Santri Javanese belong not only to these local *tarekat* movements, but also to various international Ṣūfī orders, such as the Qādirīyah, Wāḥidīyah, Naqshbandīyah, Shaṭṭārīyah, and Ṣiddiqīyah. In addition to spiritual movements with a mystical orientation, Javanese Santri have also initiated puritan religious reform movements. In the early twentieth century K. H. Achmad Dahlan (b. 1868) from Jogjakarta, brought Muslim reformist ideas to Java. Influenced by the Islamic modernist Muḥammad ʿAbduh of al-Azhar University in Cairo, Dahlan founded the Muḥammadiyah in 1912 in his home city. Preaching the return of Islam to its two basic sources, the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth,* Dahlan not only attacked the syncretistic Agami Jawi Islam, but also Islam Santri scholasticism and mysticism. The Muḥammadiyah developed into a nationwide movement, which applied itself not only to religious reform and modernization but also to education and social welfare.

SEE ALSO Drama, article on Javanese Wayang; Islam, article on Islam in Southeast Asia; Rites of Passage, article on Muslim Rites; Southeast Asian Religions, articles on Insular Cultures, Modern Movements in Insular Cultures.

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Revised Bibliography

JAYADEVA (late twelfth century?) was an Indian poet-saint who composed the dramatic lyrical poem *Gītagovinda.* Dedicated to the god Kṛṣṇa, the poem concentrates on Kṛṣṇa's love with the cowherdess Rādhā during a rite of spring. To express the complexities of divine and human love, Jayadeva uses the metaphor of intense earthly passion. The religious eroticism of the *Gītagovinda* earned sainthood for the poet and a wide audience for his poem.

There are conflicting traditions about Jayadeva's place of birth and region of poetic activity. Modern scholars of Bengal, Orissa, and Bihar have claimed him for their regions, but the most convincing evidence associates him with the Jagannātha cult of Puri in the latter half of the twelfth century. Although the poem originated in eastern India and remains most popular there, it spread throughout the Indian subcontinent in the centuries following its composition. As early as the thirteenth century it was quoted in a temple inscription in Gujarat (western India). Established commentatorial traditions and manuscripts exist in every part of India. The songs of the *Gītagovinda* are an important part of Vaiṣṇava devotional music and are still sung in temples from Orissa to Kerala. Its text represents one of the major subjects of Rajput painting.

Jayadeva is a name that the poet shares with Kṛṣṇa, the divine hero of his poem, whom he invokes in a song with the refrain "Jaya jayadeva hare" ("Triumph, God of Triumph, Hare!"). All versions of the legend of Jayadeva's life agree that he was born in a *brahman* family and became an accomplished student of Sanskrit and a skilled poet. However, he abandoned scholarship at a young age and adopted an ascetic life, devoting himself to God. As a wandering mendicant, he would not rest under any one tree for more than a night for fear that attachment to the place would violate his vow. His ascetic life ended when a *brahman* of Puri insisted that Jagannātha, Lord of the World, himself had ordained the marriage of Jayadeva with the *brahman*'s daughter Padmāvatī, who was dedicated as a dancing girl in the temple. Padmāvatī served her husband, who in turn shared her devotion to Jagannātha. As Jayadeva composed, Padmāvatī danced—and so the *Gītagovinda* was composed. In the process of composing the poem, Jayadeva conceived the climax of Kṛṣṇa's supplication to Rādhā as a command for her to place her foot on Kṛṣṇa's head in a symbolic gesture of victory. But in deference to Kṛṣṇa the poet hesitated to complete the couplet. He went to bathe, and in his absence Kṛṣṇa himself appeared, disguised as Jayadeva, and wrote down the couplet; the god then ate the food Padmāvatī had prepared for Jayadeva and left. When the poet returned, he realized that he had received divine grace by exalting Kṛṣṇa's love for Rādhā.

The poem's emotional drama unfolds in twelve movements of Sanskrit songs (*padāvalī*s) composed in recitative verses. The songs are meant to be sung with specific melodic patterns (*rāga*s) and rhythmic cycles (*tāla*s). They are sung by Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā, and Rādhā's friend, who acts as an intermediary between the lovers.

Critical acclaim of the poem within the Indian literary and religious culture has been high, but its frank eroticism has led many Indian commentators to interpret the love between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa as an allegory of the human soul's love for God. Through the centuries learned and popular audiences alike have appreciated the emotional lyricism expressed by the *Gītagovinda* in its variations on the theme of the passion felt by separated lovers.

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Revised Bibliography

JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES are one of the few religious movements that originated in the United States. Like other sectarian Protestant groups founded in the later nineteenth century, they claim to restore Christianity to its original doctrines and practices. The organization adopted the name Jehovah's Witnesses in 1931 to emphasize the belief that the most accurate translation of the personal name of God in the Hebrew Scriptures is "Jehovah" (*Ps.* 83:18), and that as believers they are his "witnesses" (*Is.* 43:10; *Acts* 1:8). They fulfill the responsibility to witness by distributing literature, leading Bible studies, attending congregational meetings, and maintaining separation from secular culture. In matters of faith and practice, Jehovah's Witnesses submit to the theocratic authority of the Watchtower Society.

Central to Watchtower teaching is the belief that Jesus Christ will soon rule as king over the earth from heaven in fulfillment of prophecies. In the apocalyptic battle of Armageddon, Christ will destroy all human governments and establish the millennial kingdom of God. The vision of a perfect world order, in which people of all ethnic origins live in peace and justice in an earth restored to pristine condition, attracts followers across the globe. In 2002, Jehovah's Witnesses reported an active membership of over six million people in 234 countries. Over 80 percent of the members live outside the United States, with concentrations in Canada, Latin America, sub-Saharan Africa, Australia, and Scandinavia.

HISTORY. Jehovah's Witnesses trace the origin of their movement to Charles Taze Russell (1852–1916), who was raised in the Presbyterian tradition but became dissatisfied with Calvinist doctrines of original sin, everlasting punishment of unbelievers, and predestination. He was attracted to the Adventist teaching that Christ had returned in 1874 as an invisible presence, inaugurating a forty-year period of gathering true Christians. Russell began publishing his views in 1879 in Allegheny, Pennsylvania, in a monthly journal called *Zion's Watch Tower and Herald of Christ's Presence.* In 1884 he organized his readers, who met in small congregations of Bible students, into the Zion Watch Tower and Tract Society, and he began holding annual conventions in 1891. Russell traveled extensively, giving lectures on Bible prophecy and holding audiences spellbound with his dramatic oratory and charismatic presence. His followers, known popularly as "Russellites," gave him the honorary title of "Pastor."

Russell wrote prolifically, including a six-volume series of books called *Millennial Dawn* (1886–1904). In a pattern that continued into the twenty-first century, his students, called "publishers," distributed literature door-to-door, sometimes using phonographs and dioramas. Russell taught that the "presence" of Christ would begin to dawn with the end of Gentile domination over Israel (prophesied in *Lk.* 21:24), an event he later believed occurred with the onset of World War I. In 1909 Russell established operations in Brooklyn, New York, in a complex of buildings called Bethel, where Jehovah's Witnesses still serve as volunteers.

Russell's personal life was marked by controversies. He based some of his biblical interpretations on analyses of the Great Pyramid, he was committed to Zionism as a necessary condition for the fulfillment of prophecy, and he was accused of fraud in a commercial venture. His contentious divorce from Maria Ackley Russell arose from conflicts over her authority in the organization, resulting in her removal as associate editor of the *Watch Tower* (the original two-word spelling of the organization's journal). While Watchtower historians claim she was motivated by "her own desire for personal prominence" (*Jehovah's Witnesses: Proclaimers of God's Kingdom,* 1993, p. 143) critics charge that she was asserting her right to independent judgment.

The specific problem, according to the Watchtower Society, was that Maria "sought to secure for herself a stronger voice in directing what would appear in the *Watch Tower*" and resisted the editorial policy that required Charles's approval of the entire contents of every issue (*Jehovah's Witnesses: Proclaimers of God's Kingdom,* 1993, p. 645). Maria and Charles separated in 1897. In 1903 Maria published a tract with allegations of immoral conduct by Charles and initiated divorce proceedings, which were completed in 1908. Witnesses teach that a wife should respect and obey her husband as head of the family, whether he is a Christian or not (*Eph.* 5:22–24), and that she does not have authority to refuse sexual relations with her husband (*1 Cor.* 7:3–4). In that light, Maria serves for Jehovah's Witnesses as a cautionary example of a rebellious wife and a woman exceeding her authority as prescribed in the Bible. According to Watchtower Society interpretations of the New Testament texts, women are excluded from serving as overseers (elders) and ministerial servants (deacons) in Kingdom Halls, and from holding offices in the Watchtower Society.

Russell's death created a crisis of leadership that was resolved by the election of Joseph Franklin Rutherford (1869–1942) as president of the Watch Tower Society. Because Rutherford had trained as a legal apprentice and served occasionally on the circuit court, he was known as "Judge." While Rutherford was a charismatic speaker, his disposition was more confrontational than Russell's and his style of management more authoritarian. His forceful advocacy of refusal of military service led to his imprisonment in 1919, along with seven other directors of the Watch Tower Society, under the Sedition Act. They won release on appeal, but many members suffered harassment for their antigovernment teachings. Accusations of lack of patriotism, as well as disappointment in the failure of the kingdom to arrive after the end of the war, discouraged many. Rutherford responded by strengthening the efficiency and discipline of the organization. He introduced a monthly "service sheet" to record in detail the activities of members, increased the construction of Kingdom Halls, and began publishing a new monthly magazine called *The Golden Age* (later, *Awake!*). To reinforce apocalyptic hope he introduced the slogan, "Millions Now Living Will Never Die!"

Rutherford wrote extensively, revising many of Russell's views. He identified "Babylon the Great" of *Revelation* 17 with the League of Nations in alliance with the Roman Catholic Church and predicted the return of biblical patriarchs, for whom he built a mansion in San Diego. In 1935 Rutherford declared that membership of the "anointed class" of 144,000 Witnesses called to reign with Christ in heaven (*Rv.* 14:1) was "sealed" and that new members of the growing movement belonged to that "great crowd, which no man was able to number, out of all nations and tribes and peoples" (*Rv.* 7:9), who would not ascend to heaven but live in the earthly paradise.

Between the world wars Rutherford led Jehovah's Witnesses through a series of court battles over freedom of speech and press, right of assembly, and distribution of literature. His death from colon cancer in 1942 began the transition from charismatic to institutional authority.

Nathan Homer Knorr (1905–1977) became the third president of the Watch Tower Society in 1942. His presidency was marked by increased growth, greater uniformity in the programs of local congregations, and more effective methods of promotion, including training in public speaking through Theocratic Ministry Schools. Knorr traveled extensively and established international organizations in Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, and the Pacific Islands. He also began the Watchtower Bible School of Gilead for training missionaries. Known as "Brother," Knorr was more modest than his predecessors, and in 1943 he established a policy of anonymous publications on the principle that authority resides in official interpretations of the Bible, not in the views of any individual. In 1960 the Watchtower Society published its own *New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures*. During the cultural upheaval of the time, the society expelled many young people for sexual misconduct. This severe punishment, called "disfellowshipping," forbids social interaction with any Jehovah's Witnesses, including members of one's own family, and is based on *1 Corinthians* 5:9–11. Witnesses have also been disfellowshipped as apostates for renouncing official teaching.

Under Knorr's leadership the board of directors of the Watchtower Society reorganized into a Governing Body that issued binding directives, held all legal authority over the vast holdings of the Watchtower Society, approved all publications, and was the final arbiter of doctrinal and behavioral questions. Knorr also restored to local congregations the authority to elect their own ruling body of male elders. In his last years the organization faced a crisis of confidence. Based on *Watchtower* articles, many Jehovah's Witnesses began to expect that the kingdom would come in 1975. Despite official warnings that such hope was speculative, many left the organization when the kingdom failed to appear.

Frederick W. Franz (1893–1992), fourth president of the Watchtower Society, responded to the decline in membership after 1975 with a series of publications in defense of official teaching, including a revised reference edition of the *New World Translation* (NWT; 1984). Franz also expanded local programs of education and developed the Ministerial Training School in 1987. Under his leadership the number of pioneers (full-time evangelists) nearly tripled, and the list of congregations grew to seventy thousand. His emphasis on greater dedication led him to develop formal courses of instruction for newly baptized members of Kingdom Halls and to enforce stricter standards for disfellowshipping—resulting in the expulsion of his own nephew and member of the Governing Body, Raymond Franz.

Milton G. Henschel (1920–2003) rose to the presidency of the Watchtower Society in 1992 after decades of service at Bethel. During his administration the organization completed the transition from strong individual authority to corporate bureaucracy. Key to this move was severing the connection between the coming of the kingdom and the life span of the generation of 1914. Since the days of Rutherford, the official teaching was that the cohort of the anointed class would not all die until the kingdom arrives on earth, but by the mid-1990s they had dwindled to less than nine thousand. In 1995 the Watchtower Society revised its interpretation of Jesus' promise that "this generation will not pass away until all these things have taken place" (*Mt.* 24:34) to mean that there will always be those who oppose the truth until the kingdom arrives. Consequently, Jehovah's Witnesses began to teach that the time of the kingdom cannot be predicted by any human measure.

ORGANIZATION. In October 2000 the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society of Pennsylvania, the parent corporation of Jehovah's Witnesses, separated its president and board of directors from the Governing Body of the Watchtower Society. Don Adams replaced Henschel as president, and the assets and properties of the Watchtower Society were assigned to separate corporations with their own presidents. The new officers were all younger men and were responsible for the management of ongoing operations. While the Governing Body has no legal authority, its members all belong to the anointed class and continue to provide guidance as the "faithful and discreet slave" (*Mt.* 24:45, NWT), to whom Christ gave spiritual authority on earth until his return. Critics charge that the change was instituted to protect the Governing Body from litigation over controversial practices, such as refusal of blood transfusions even for minor children (see article by Randall Watters in *Christianity Today* 45, no.4 [2001]: 25).

For administrative purposes, the global community of Jehovah's Witnesses is divided into thirty zones. Each zone is composed of branches; branches are made up of districts; and districts are divided into circuits. Each circuit includes twenty congregations. A circuit overseer visits each congregation twice a year. When membership in a Kingdom Hall (congregation) reaches two hundred, another congregation is formed. The 2002 *Yearbook* reported 94,600 congregations. Besides the national headquarters in Brooklyn, New York, there are Bethel complexes in Paterson, New Jersey, and Wallkill, New York, as well as several farms that produce food for the volunteers in these locations.

TEACHINGS. Jehovah's Witnesses claim that all of their beliefs are derived from the Bible, which they believe is inspired by God and is accurate in every statement. They interpret the Bible literally, except where they detect figurative language, and they offer "proof texts" for all of their teachings. They reject conventional Christian doctrines and practices that are not explicitly found in the Bible, such as the Trinity, deity of Christ, immortality of the soul, everlasting punishment of unbelievers, salvation by grace, and ordination of clergy. For Jehovah's Witnesses there is only one supreme God, known as Jehovah. He created the world in six "days" (each a period of time lasting several thousand years) without evolution but through the agency of Jesus in his preexistent form as the Word of God, also known as Michael the archangel. Jesus is not eternal, but he was the "firstborn of all creation" (*Col.* 1:15) and is properly called "a god" (*Jn.* 1:1, NWT). Jehovah's Witnesses pray to God in the name of Jesus. They understand "holy spirit" to refer to Jehovah's "active force."

Jehovah's Witnesses believe in a personal Devil, the rebellious angel who became Satan, the "adversary" of God. Satan tempted the first human couple to commit their free act of disobedience. As a result all humans became subject to sin, sickness, and the oblivion of death. As Adam became a living soul when God created him (*Gn.* 2:7), so the soul dies with the body: "The dead are conscious of nothing at all" (*Eccl.* 9:5). Their future existence depends upon resurrection in the kingdom. In the meanwhile, Satan opposes God's rule by leading humanity to worship the false gods of material success, sexual indulgence, and national pride. Because they believe the "world system" is under satanic control, Jehovah's Witnesses reject political, economic, and interfaith alliances. They insist that theirs is the only true religion.

To save humans from sin and death, Jesus was born through the virgin Mary and anointed at his baptism by God's holy spirit as Messiah. Jesus' sinless life qualified him to be the perfect sacrifice, a ransom that was the equivalent of the perfect life Adam forfeited in Eden. Christ's utter obedience to the divine will vindicated Jehovah's authority and restored the possibility of living eternally in earthly paradise for all who exercise faith in Jesus by following his example of obedience. In Watchtower interpretation, Jesus was executed on a "torture stake" rather than a cross, a symbol Jehovah's Witnesses associate with ancient false religions. Jehovah raised Jesus from the dead as an "immortal spirit person" (*1 Pt.* 3:18) with authority to rule over the messianic kingdom.

The anointed class, also called "little flock" (*Lk.* 12:32), will rule with Christ "as kings over the earth" (*Rv.* 5:10). They will not be resurrected but are raised upon death to heaven as "spirit beings." They are the subjects of the new covenant Jesus announced at his last meal, and therefore only they are qualified to partake in the annual Memorial. (A few younger members have declared a "heavenly calling" on the basis of inner conviction, and they are regarded as replacements for unidentified apostates.) They will administer divine government over the paradise on earth, populated by the "great crowd" of resurrected believers, also known as "other sheep" (*Jn.* 10:16). The present role of the "great crowd" is to assist the anointed class in bearing witness to Jehovah's kingdom.

Jehovah's Witnesses believe that 1914 is a key date in understanding Bible prophecy. Using numerical references in the books of *Daniel* and *Revelation,* they calculate that 1914 was when Christ returned to cast Satan out of heaven and be enthroned as king of the universe (*Rv.* 12:7–9). The natural disasters and human catastrophes that have occurred since then fulfill prophecies about worsening conditions in the last days. Jehovah's Witnesses regard such events as signs that the kingdom is imminent. Articles in the *Watchtower* often quote Jesus' promise that "the conclusion of the system of things" is near at hand (*Mt.* 24:3, NWT). As ruler of the kingdom Jesus will separate all people on earth into loyal "sheep" and rebellious "goats" (*Mt.* 25:31–34). The faithful will enter paradise, a thousand years of peace and harmony in a restored earth. All of those who opposed Jehovah's kingdom will not be resurrected and so will cease to exist. The dead who did not hear the gospel during their lives will be resurrected to join the "great crowd." At the end of the millennium, Satan will be released briefly to test all those on earth. Those who succumb to Satan's temptation will suffer "the second death" (*Rv.* 20:14–15) or annihilation. Only those who persevere in faith will be rewarded with eternal life.

Worship. Jehovah's Witnesses meet several times a week in buildings with spare furnishings called Kingdom Halls. Services consist of serious study of the Bible using Watchtower literature and of training in techniques of promoting their teachings in local neighborhoods. Worship also involves singing hymns, written in a distinctive doctrinal vocabulary and sung to recorded music supplied by the Watchtower Society. All members are expected to "publish" their beliefs by door-to-door visitation. Those who spend fifteen hours a week in fieldwork are called "regular pioneers," whereas those who devote more time are designated "special pioneers." In 2002 Jehovah's Witnesses collectively recorded over one billion hours of service. To supply them with material, the Watchtower Society invests heavily in communications technology. The publishing center in Brooklyn annually produces millions of copies of the *Watchtower* (which is translated into 146 languages) and *Awake!* (printed in 87 versions). Jehovah's Witnesses do not broadcast on television, but the Watchtower Society maintains an official site on the World Wide Web.

Jehovah's Witnesses observe two rituals: water baptism and the Lord's Supper. They baptize only adults who have qualified by extended study. Baptisms are performed by public immersion, often at annual district conventions, as a sign of dedication to kingdom work. The Lord's Evening Meal, also called the Memorial, is observed once a year on Passover eve. The 2002 *Yearbook* reported that 8,760 of the anointed class partook of the "emblems" of bread and wine, and nearly 16 million attended the Memorial.

Practices. Jehovah's Witnesses do not celebrate Christmas, Easter, or birthdays because they are associated with pagan celebrations. They abstain from tobacco and drugs and use alcohol in strict moderation, as required by the Bible. They denounce gambling because it is motivated by the sin of greed. Their sexual ethic forbids homosexuality, adultery, and premarital sex; abortion and some forms of birth control are also proscribed. Following the biblical injunction to "separate yourselves . . . quit touching the unclean thing" (*2 Cor.* 6:17, NWT), Jehovah's Witnesses shun occult practices, such as magic, divination, and necromancy.

While Jehovah's Witnesses respect secular authorities (*Rom.* 13:1), they imitate Jesus in maintaining strict neutrality toward human governments, refusing to serve in the military, pledge allegiance to national flags, or serve in public office. For their dissent they have been imprisoned in many countries, and in Nazi Germany they were consigned to concentration camps. However, they do not call themselves pacifists, mainly because they believe in the righteous war Christ will wage against worldly governments at Armageddon. Their right to refuse to engage in patriotic demonstrations was upheld by the Supreme Court in the case of *Barnette vs. West Virginia* (1943), which excused Jehovah's Witnesses schoolchildren from saluting the flag. That victory is one among many through which Jehovah's Witnesses have secured more civil rights by legal challenge than any other American religious group.

Jehovah's Witnesses place a high value on strong families. While women are not prevented from working outside the home, they are expected to fulfill traditional roles as wives and mothers. Watchtower Society publications also instruct husbands to respect and honor their wives. At the same time, women are excluded from leadership on the basis of biblical prohibitions against women speaking in church (*1 Cor.* 14:34–35) and the denial of permission for a woman "to teach or to have authority over a man" (*1 Tm.* 2:11–12).

Perhaps the most controversial Watchtower Society policy is the prohibition of intravenous blood transfusion, first made binding in 1945. Jehovah's Witnesses interpret the apostolic command to "abstain . . . from blood" (*Acts* 15:20) as unconditional because any means of taking blood into the body violates the principle that the "life (soul) is in the blood" (*Gn.* 9:4, *Lv.* 17:11). Transfusions of one's own blood are not allowed because storage would violate the Bible's command that the blood of a sacrifice must be poured on the earth "as water" (*Dt.* 12:16). Kidney dialysis is permitted as long as the blood circulates continuously through the filtering apparatus and returns to the patient's body. Since 1978, hemophiliacs have been allowed to choose treatment with blood components. Questions of parents' right to refuse transfusions for their children and of a pregnant woman to refuse transfusion that might save her life and that of her fetus, however, continued to challenge hospital ethics committees and courts in the early twenty-first century.

Jehovah's Witnesses maintain apocalyptic expectation of the imminent end of the world, a strict separation from popular culture, and adherence to a rigorous moral code, while abandoning attempts to set specific dates for the coming kingdom. The reorganization of the Watchtower Society separated religious from temporal authority, but critics continue to object to the conformity of thinking and behavior required by Watchtower Society teachings. Former Witnesses who have lost contact with family members through disfellowshipping bear bitter testimony to their experiences. While such exclusionary discipline strengthens group loyalty, it provides little opportunity for the free exchange of ideas that enables many religious movements to adapt creatively to changing historical conditions.

See Also Law and Religion, overview article; Millenarianism, overview article.

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Jehovah's Witnesses have drawn pejorative comment in many published studies, particularly by former members. See, for example, William J. Schnell, *Thirty Years a Watch Tower Slave: The Confessions of a Converted Jehovah's Witness* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1956), and Heather Botting and Gary Botting, *The Orwellian World of Jehovah's Witnesses* (Toronto, 1984). David A. Reed has attacked both the teachings and the practices of the Watchtower Society in several books, including *Blood on the Altar: Confessions of a Jehovah's Witness Minister* (Amherst, N.Y., 1996). Two accounts by former members that provide more balanced reflections on the nature of their original commitments and eventual disappointments are Barbara Grizzuti Harrison, *Visions of Glory: A History and a Memory of Jehovah's Witnesses* (New York, 1978), and M. James Penton, *Apocalypse Delayed: The Story of Jehovah's Witnesses* (Toronto, 1985). For a revealing look inside the Watchtower Society, see Raymond Franz's account of his disfellowshipping as a member of the Governing Body in *Crisis of Conscience: The Struggle between Loyalty to God and Loyalty to One's Religion* (Atlanta, 1983). Greg Stafford mounts a detailed and reasoned response to critics in *Jehovah's Witnesses Defended: An Answer to Scholars and Critics,* 2d ed. (Huntington Beach, Calif., 2000).

DAVID L. WEDDLE (2005)

JEN AND I

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JENSEN, ADOLF E. Adolf Ellegard Jensen (1899–1965) was a German ethnologist and historian of religions. He was born January 1, 1899, in Kiel. After World War I, Jensen studied mathematics, natural science, and philosophy at the universities of Bonn and Kiel. He received a doctorate in 1922 with a dissertation on the writings on natural philosophy of Ernst Mach (1838–1916) and Max Plank (1858–1947).

In the following year, Jensen took a position as research assistant at Leo Frobenius's newly founded Institute for Cultural Morphology in Munich. This position proved to be a turning point in Jensen's scientific ambitions, which from then on were directed toward the ethnological perspectives of Frobenius. When the institute was moved to Frankfurt in 1925, Jensen became a recognized lecturer at the university there. His thesis, "Beschneidung und Reifezeremonien bei Naturvölkern" (Circumcision and puberty rites among primitive peoples), was completed in 1933.

After the death of Leo Frobenius in 1938, Jensen was named director of the Institute for Cultural Morphology, which was eventually renamed for its founder. Also in 1938, Jensen succeeded Frobenius as director of the Municipal Ethnological Museum in Frankfurt, where he had served as curator since 1936. In 1946 Jensen received a chair in the University of Frankfurt's newly established department of cultural and ethnological studies. He directed research expeditions to South Africa (1928–1930), Libya (1932), Ethiopia (1934–1935, 1950–1951, and 1954–1955), and the Moluccan island of Ceram (1937). The works that grew out of these research trips proved decisive in influencing the structure of cultural history and morphology studies in the tradition founded by Frobenius.

In his work *Das religiöse Weltbild einer frahen Kultur* (1948) Jensen presented an array of complex cultural factors that, although widely dispersed, create the impression of sharing elements common to one central myth. The content of this myth reveals information about human existence as well as about the formation of essential cultural elements. According to this myth complex, which relates the activities of a tribe of *dema* (ancestral) deities, the body of a murdered deity was, in primeval times, transformed into the first useful plants. The present order of existence, in which man became a reproductive and mortal being, was then established. In this myth and its cultic form of expression, Jensen saw the nucleus of a worldview that was the ancient predecessor of that of the more advanced cultures, in which tubers were planted as a food crop. He maintained that contemporary "primitive" cultures could be viewed as living an earlier phase of human development, a fact that facilitates a reconstruction of the rise of culture.

Often honored for his work, Jensen was a member of various scholarly societies and was an honorary fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. He died at his retirement home in Mammolsheim on May 20, 1965.

DISCUSSION OF THE *DEMA*. The ethnological research of Jensen attracted the attention of the Hungarian classicist, Károly Kerényi, who discovered remarkable similarities between the Indonesian myth of the girl Rabie-Hainuwele and that of the Greek Kore (a name that actually means young girl). In his opinion these similarities lay in the link between death and fertility that existed in both mythological systems. Just as Persephone is taken from her mother Demeter and carried off to Hades, from where she rises again in the form of vegetation on a cyclical basis, Hainuwele, whose name means Coconut Branch, is consigned to the ground during a ritual dance and the parts of her body thus buried are changed into tubers, which became the main food of the Ceramese.

According to Kerényi (1940–1941), who used the 1939 work of Jensen and H. Niggermeyer, this is an extremely widespread mythological theme, according to which the introduction of death into the world of man, coinciding with the movement from the mythological state to the present, leads to reproductive capability. Just as edible plants spring from the initial murder, so a new life comes about from every death, in the same way as in the lunar cycle the moon always disappears only in order to reappear again.

The myth complex, centered upon the character of the *dema* (the ancestors of the Marind-Anim of southern New Guinea), would have developed within a cultural context that Jensen calls "lunar," in which there was a more primitive form of the agriculture than the cereal cultivation that took place subsequently. In those societies that engaged in such economic activity, on the other hand, there would be a different idea of life (another *paideuma* as Frobenius would describe it), based on the Promethean myth of a demiurge who steals the seeds of grain from heaven for mankind.

The work that best illustrates Jensen's philosophy is *Mythos und Kult bei Naturvölkern* (1951) (*Myth and Cult among Primitive Peoples,* 1963), a collection of his most important contributions. A review of this work by a number of scholars was published in *Current Anthropology* in 1963 and provides a useful evaluation of the contribution of Jensen from both a methodological and ethnological perspective. For his own part, he states that the main assumption of his work is to regard the human being as invariably possessing the same spiritual and emotional capacities within different historical contexts, technical progress having no bearing on religious experience.

Furthermore, Jensen considers that myth and cult are derived from a creative act, and the agent does not address the question of its purpose nor reason logically in terms of cause and effect. In his opinion, man is interested in understanding the world, the place of the human being within it, and at the same time seeks to fit in with the order of reality, as he perceives and describes it. Mythological ideas are not an alternative to scientific explanations, but on the contrary seem to answer questions to which there could be no other response: Why are living beings mortal? Why do they reproduce?

These methodological assumptions, which characterize the opinions of his master Frobenius, are not shared by other writers. For example, Angelo Brelich (1963) criticizes the idea that the original religious behavior could represent the expression of an instinctive idea of the world, to which mankind would be attracted without subsequently remembering its meaning. This was why, according to Jensen, it had no purpose originally and would, over time, be changed into a repetitive way of behaving. In contrast, Brelich insists that religious institutions do have a purpose, even if believers are unaware of it, and that one can identify this by reestablishing the link between the social context and the religious life. In his opinion, Jensen's mistake lies in claiming to appreciate the present meaning of religious life on the basis of a past for which there is no evidence.

Carl A. Schmitz (1963) notes that Jensen is a Platonist and his work cannot be assessed with positivist argument because he suggests understanding some original religious ideas as implicitly contained in myth. Schmitz does not, however, share Jensen's view that the relation of tubers, the killing of the *dema* and the cereals, and the theft undertaken by a hero to the harming of a divine goddess would belong to different historical phases and occurred one after another. Furthermore, in his view, reasoning of this kind implies a materialist idea of religion, contrary to the thinking of Jensen himself.

Other criticisms were put forward by Ugo Bianchi (1971, p. 87), who emphasized that Jensen mistakenly made the *dema* the exclusive motif of a particular culture, linking it also with headhunting and ritual cannibalism, which were related to other cultural phenomena as well. Besides, according to Bianchi, his emphasis on the specific nature of the essential character of a culture—the contents of which were only accessible from within—led him to a kind of irrationalism. Vittorio Lanternari (1963) also identifies irrationalist themes in Jensen.

In a work published in 1968, however, Ileana Chirassi agreed with Jensen and contrasted the great agricultural myths of Bronze Age society, based around polytheistic gods such as Tammuz, Osiris, and Baal, with the myths of the *dema* known from the tuber planters, dating back to the late Paleolithic period (southern Asia), myths which can also be traced back in figures of Greek religion.

The work of Jonathan Z. Smith (1976) is central to discussion on the *dema.* He compares the Hainuwele myth to the Babylonian festival of Akitu, celebrated in order to reestablish proper political and cosmological order. In his opinion, the two religious complexes are similar in structure, because they are used in order to change a difficult and paradoxical situation. The Ceramese, colonized by the Dutch, got to know all about the possessions and strange goods of the Europeans, and they understood that relations were not based upon reciprocity. They lived in a *cargo situation,* developed in many parts of Oceania in the aftermath of colonization. In order to reverse this situation and restore reciprocity, they reverted to an ancient mythological theme, in which mythical beings were killed and hitherto unknown foods were produced by them, eaten, and thus assimilated within their culture. The same happens with Hainuwele, who excretes precious objects such as plates and Chinese gongs. In this myth the girl is killed and her body, from which come many precious objects like the European goods, is eaten as tubers, in the hope of transforming the goods into food that can be assimilated into the culture using the symbolism of ingestion. According to Smith (1976, p. 19) we should see in these religious motifs an attempt—albeit inadequate—to reach an understanding of (and change) a context or model that contradicts the previous historical situation.

Dario Sabbatucci (1986) once again goes through the theoretical explanation of Jensen in order to demonstrate the arbitrary nature of his conclusions. In particular, he claims that the discoverer of the *dema* interpreted foreign cultural phenomena on the basis of assumptions similar to institutions of the modern Western world. After all, the *dema* would thus have no existence per se, it would simply represent a restatement of the *dying god* of Frazer, and there would be no proof that it predated the latter nor that cereal cultivation derived from tuber cultivation (1986, pp. 322–323).

Ileana Chirassi (2001) has compared the mythical events of various Mediterranean deities as interpreted in the light of the Frazerian pattern of the dying and rising god, comparable to *dema*. From this comparison, based upon an accurate analysis of the various contexts, the conclusion is reached—as Chirassi writes, recalling Sabbatucci—that these events are diverse: the god may die or depart, but is not always linked to vegetation or dismembered, nor does he always rise again. Such details open debate concerning the category of the *dying god,* even to the extent of speculating on deconstructing it completely.

SEE ALSO Agriculture; Ecology and Religion, overview article; Food; Frobenius, Leo; Myth, overview article; Vegetation.

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JEREMIAH

JEREMIAH (c. 640–580 BCE), or, in Hebrew, Yirmeyah(u); biblical prophet. Jeremiah, son of Hilkiah, was born in Anathoth, some 3 miles (4.8 km) northeast of Jerusalem. The English name *Jeremiah* is based on the Greek *Hieremias* from the Septuagint and not on the received Hebrew Masoretic text. The Septuagint reflects a correct original Hebrew *Yarim-Yahu* ("Yahveh grants"), a name type whose antecedents can be traced to the third millennium BCE.

THE BOOK OF JEREMIAH AND THE BIOGRAPHY OF JEREMIAH. Most of our knowledge about Jeremiah's life comes from the biblical *Book of Jeremiah.* The book is not arranged chronologically, with the result that contemporary scholarly reconstructions of the prophet's life are highly subjective. Important background information is found in the Hebrew scriptures, in *1 Kings*, *2 Kings*, *2 Chronicles*, *Zephaniah*, *Nahum*, *Habakkuk*, and *Obadiah.* Other important sources are the Hebrew letters from Lachish, primary documents from Egypt and Mesopotamia, and the histories of Herodotos and Josephus Flavius. However, *2 Kings*, which describes in great detail events contemporary with Jeremiah, does not mention him.

Later generations regarded Jeremiah very highly. According to the Chronicler, the prophet was the author of a lament over Josiah, king of Judah (*2 Chr.* 35:25). His prophecies about the duration of the exile were cited in *2 Chronicles* 36:15–21 and by the author of the ninth chapter of *Daniel.* Later writers composed pious fictions about Jeremiah. The apocryphal *Letter of Jeremiah*, allegedly written by Jeremiah to the Jewish exiles in Babylonia, is styled in the manner of *Jeremiah* 29. According to the second chapter of *2 Maccabees*, Jeremiah secreted the ark and Tabernacle, a tradition based on *Jeremiah* 3:16. In the New Testament, Jeremiah is named in *Matthew* 2:17, and his vision of the "new covenant" (*Jer.*

31:31–34; cf. *Jer.* 32:38–40) is quoted in *Hebrews* 8:8–12 and 10:16–17. Jewish Talmudic tradition (B.T., *B.B.* 15a) ascribes to the prophet the authorship of *Jeremiah*, *Kings*, and *Lamentations* (the last probably on the basis of *2 Chronicles* 35:25).

Jeremiah was of priestly stock (*Jer.* 1:1) and probably of the Abiathar family, which had been banished to Anathoth by Solomon (c. 960) and had served at the Shiloh sanctuary before 1050. Yet there is no indication that Jeremiah ever functioned as a priest. Nonetheless, he generally had free access to the Temple and its chambers (*Jer.* 35:4). Apparently he was well off. He was able to spend seventeen shekels to buy a piece of property as a symbolic act (*Jer.* 32:9), and he was able to hire as a personal secretary one Baruch, son of Neriah, who thought the job would be lucrative and whose own brother was a high official (*Jer.* 45:2–5, 51:59). In addition, during the reigns of Jehoiakim (609–598) and Zedekiah (597-586), Jeremiah's counsel was regularly sought by the kings and their advisers. The powerful Shaphan family was particularly close to him (*Jer.* 26:24, 29:3, 36:10–12, 39:14, 40:5), and the Babylonian conquerors offered him special protection (*Jer.* 40:1–6). The high-ranking avengers of Gedaliah, son of Ahikam, sought him out as well, although they disregarded his counsel and forced him to accompany them to Egypt (*Jer.* 42). Perhaps a further indication of his affluence and influence is his relative lack of concern for the poor. Although he demanded justice for the oppressed (*Jer.* 7:6, 22:16), his denunciations of their suffering at the hands of the rich and powerful are not as frequent or as fervent as those of the prophets Amos and Isaiah. Josiah is praised as one who "ate and drank" at the same time as he dispensed justice and equity (*Jer.* 22:15). No particular class in society is singled out for condemnation (*Jer.* 5:1–5).

Among the details of his life, we hear that Jeremiah did not marry (*Jer.* 16:1–4), that he avoided social gatherings (*Jer.* 16:5–9), that he perceived himself as a man of strife and contention (*Jer.* 15:10), that he wished he had never been born (*Jer.* 20:15–17), and that his relatives had attempted to kill him (*Jer.* 10:21, 11:6), as had Jehoiakim (*Jer.* 36:26), the audience in the Temple court (*Jer.* 26:24), and some of Zedekiah's ministers (*Jer.* 38:4–6). Sometime after 586 Jeremiah and his amanuensis were forcibly taken to Egypt, which is probably where he died.

It is difficult to treat Jeremiah's thought systematically for a number of reasons. First, Israelite prophets did not write systematic treatises. Second, the textual history of the book is very complicated. The present book is found in two major recensions, the Masoretic text and the Septuagint, which is about one-eighth shorter. In addition to the divergence in size, the recensions differ in arrangement. The Masoretic text of *Jeremiah* consists of prophecies directed to Jeremiah's own people (*Jer.* 1–25), narratives about him (*Jer.* 26–45), prophecies directed to the Gentiles (*Jer.* 46–51), and a historical appendix (*Jer.* 52). The Septuagint, in contrast, places the oracles to the Gentiles in the middle of the book, following chapter 25, verse 13. The Hebrew fragments of *Jeremiah* from Qumran demonstrate that in the late pre-Christian era, the Hebrew text was circulating in shorter and longer forms. It is not always certain whether the longer is an expansion or the shorter an abridgment. In both recensions, there is material that can hardly be from the hand of the prophet. For example, the prophecy against Damascus (*Jer.* 49:23–27) dates from the eighth century BCE. Other sections, such as *Jeremiah* 33:14–16 (not found in the Septuagint), are later additions. In this same category are *Jeremiah* 15:4b, which attempts to harmonize Jeremiah's theology with that of *2 Kings* by blaming the fall on Manasseh, and the injunction to keep the Sabbath (*Jer.* 18:21–27), which recalls *Nehemiah* 10:15–21. Other suspicious prophecies are the Edomite oracle (*Jer.* 49:7–16; cf. *Ob.*) and the Moabite oracle (*Jer.* 48:45–46; cf. *Nm.* 21:28–29).

Some clues to the book's composition are provided in the text itself. In each case, a religious motivation is given. According to *Jeremiah* 30:2–3, which begins the section generally known as "The Little Book of Consolation," Jeremiah was told by Yahveh: "Commit to writing all the words I have spoken to you, for days are coming when I will restore the fortunes of my people . . . and bring them back to the land." The prophecies were to be written so that later generations would know that all had been foretold. Unfortunately, no date is given for this action. The prophecies themselves contain genuine Jeremianic utterances as well as later interpolations. More specific information is provided in *Jeremiah* 36, which is dated to the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, synchronized in *Jeremiah* 25:1 with 605 BCE, the first regnal year of Nebuchadrezzar II, king of Babylon (605–562). In that year Yahveh commanded Jeremiah, "Get a scroll and write in it all the words concerning Israel, Judah and all the nations that I have spoken to you, from the days of Josiah until now. Perhaps when the house of Judah hear all the terrible designs I have on them they will turn away from their wicked ways so that I might pardon their wicked sins" (*Jer.* 36:2–3). The specific reason for writing the prophecies of twenty-three years was to demonstrate to the people that they had been warned early and frequently and that there was still time to avert disaster. Though Jeremiah knew how to write (*Jer.* 32:10), he found a secretary, Baruch. By the ninth month of Jehoiakim's fifth year, at the latest (*Jer.* 36:9), the scroll was complete. It was read three times on a public fast day. First Baruch read it to a crowd at the Temple (*Jer.* 36:10) and then to a group of royal officials (*Jer.* 36:15). Finally, it was read to King Jehoiakim, who destroyed it section by section (*Jer.* 36:22–23). The scroll probably contained no more than ten thousand words.

After the destruction of the original scroll, Jeremiah purchased a second, on which Baruch rewrote the destroyed prophecies. To this scroll were added prophecies similar in content to the original ones (*Jer.* 36:32). The text gives no information about the time period in which this second edition was produced. Our present book of Jeremiah most likely had its origin in this edition.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND THE PROPHET'S POSITION. It is impossible to understand the man Jeremiah or his prophecies apart from the turbulent historical period in which he lived. When Jeremiah was born, the Assyrian empire was the single most important political power in the Middle East and, consequently, in the life of the southern kingdom of Judah. By the time Jeremiah was in his early thirties, Assyria had disappeared as a political entity, and Judah's fate had become contingent on Egypt and on the Neo-Babylonian empire and its allies. Before Jeremiah turned sixty, Judah had lost its political independence entirely, and the prophet himself had become part of the Jewish Diaspora in Egypt.

Assyrian foreign policy had been important to Judah as early as the ninth century BCE, but the fall of the closely related northern kingdom of Israel and the establishment of the Assyrian province of Samaria on Judah's northern border was momentous. Judah maintained nominal political autonomy by becoming an Assyrian vassal, an arrangement that required the regular payment of tribute and the provision of troops for Assyrian campaigns. Between 720 and 627, Judah's political policy was very much in the Assyrian shadow. King Hezekiah of Judah (715–686) had attempted a revolt in collaboration with the Babylonian king Merodach-baladan II (Marduk-apal-iddina, 721–710) and with Egypt and various Philistine and Phoenician cities. The forces of the Assyrian king Sennacherib (704–681) quashed the rebellion, although they failed to take Jerusalem and left Hezekiah on his throne with a smaller domain and a larger tribute obligation.

If Jerusalem's deliverance appeared miraculous to some (*Is.* 37:33–38), it had a different moral for Manasseh, son and successor of Hezekiah. For most, and perhaps all, of his long reign (c. 692–639), Manasseh was a loyal Assyrian vassal. According to *2 Kings* 21:11, he was equally loyal in the service of foreign gods, outdoing everyone, the aboriginal Amorites included, in idolatry and wickedness. Some scholars have argued that Manasseh's religious and political policies were closely related, and have understood the worship of foreign gods as Assyrian vassal obligations. More recently, however, it has been noted that Assyria generally did not impose its forms of worship on its vassals. Even if we understand Manasseh's paganism as a somewhat voluntary attempt to curry favor with Assyria, we must keep in mind that the majority of the cults introduced or encouraged during his reign were not Assyrian (*2 Kgs.* 21:2–7). The bloodiness of his reign (*2 Kgs.* 21:16) surely reflects internal struggles, but we cannot tell what these concerned. Manasseh's death brought to the throne his son Amon, who was assassinated in a palace revolt of unknown motivation (*2 Kgs.* 21:23).

Amon's assassins were slain by *ʿam ha-arets* ("people of the land"), an influential body of Judahites who put on the throne his young son Josiah. The biblical books *2 Kings* (22-23) and *2 Chronicles* (34–35) have only praise for Josiah and devote much attention to his religious reforms, though each gives a different account. According to *2 Kings*, Josiah's reforms were initiated by Hilkiah's discovery of "the book of the *torah*" in the Jerusalem Temple (*2 Kgs.* 22:8). When the book, which is generally considered to be some form of *Deuteronomy*, was given by the scribe Shaphan to Josiah, the king rent his garments in contrition. In keeping with the book's message, the king centralized all sacrificial worship in the country, restricting it to Jerusalem. That same year (622 BCE), Josiah removed all traces of the foreign worship that Manasseh had encouraged. In addition, he abolished ancient rituals and institutions, which he considered antithetical to the cult of Yahveh.

In contrast, the Chronicler depicts a gradual reform in which important steps were taken in the king's eighth and twelfth years. Though chronologically more attractive, in this scheme the book is discovered in 622, by which time the major elements of the reform had been accomplished, with the exception of binding all the people of Judah by covenant to obey the book's provisions.

The wisest course is to combine elements from both our sources. The reforms must have been implemented gradually. At the same time, "the book of the *torah* [of the covenant]" must have been available at an early stage of the reform, when its reading would have had the greatest effect (cf. *Jeremiah* 36:24 with *2 Kings* 23:11). This is likely because, in the opinion of most current scholarship, the kernel of *Deuteronomy* was a northern Israelite work that had been brought to Judah after 720 BCE.

The political motivations for the Josianic reform have occasioned much debate. Some scholars have viewed the reform as a religious expression of anti-Assyrian nationalism; they have noted especially that Josiah destroyed the altar at Bethel, which was in Assyrian territory. Other scholars have remarked that neither *2 Kings* nor *2 Chronicles* imputes anti-Assyrian rebellion to Josiah, though both books describe revolts by "good" and "bad" kings of Israel and Judah (*2 Kgs.* 18:7, 24:1, 24:20; *2 Chr.* 32:10–11, 36:13). It is likely that Josiah's destruction of the Bethel altar had the motive of consolidating Davidic rule, for its original construction had been with the opposite intent (*1 Kgs.* 12:26–29, 13:2), but this could have been done with Assyrian acquiescence.

The role of Jeremiah in the Josianic reform has aroused much controversy. Some scholars depict the prophet as an early, ardent proponent of the reform who became disillusioned. At the other extreme, some scholars have revised the chronology of the prophet's life so that he begins to prophesy only after the death of Josiah in 609. If the Chronicler's chronology of the reform is accepted, then Jeremiah would have been an unlikely choice to consult about the book because of his tender age, and the prophetess Huldah a better candidate (*2 Kgs.* 22:14). It appears that sometime in the mid-twenties of the seventh century, during the reign of Josiah, whom he considered a just and righteous king (*Jer.* 22:12–15), Jeremiah preached "return" (repentance) to the northerners (*Jer.* 3:6, 3:11–18; cf. 31:2–23). If so, then he must have been enthusiastic at the outset, only to be disappointed later.

It is probably correct to say that for Jeremiah, the people's return could never be sufficient. He was too much of an idealist. He considers Judah's return to Yahveh "deceitful" (*Jer.* 3:10), whereas the people complain, "I have been cleansed. Surely his anger is turned away from me. . . . Will he be angry forever? Will he rage for all time?" (*Jer.* 2:35, 3:5). The author of *2 Kings* 23 is in fundamental agreement with the people rather than with Jeremiah. According to *2 Kings*, Josiah "returned to Yahveh with all his heart and soul and might, in complete accord with the teaching of Moses" (23:25). There is no indication that Josiah's contemporaries had not done enough or had been deceitful. Instead, the verse following says that although Josiah had repented (*shav*), Yahveh had not repented of his anger, because of the sins of Manasseh. For the writer of *2 Kings*, Manasseh's generation was so irredeemably wicked that the following generations were doomed no matter how they acted (*2 Kgs.* 21:1–16).

Some of Jeremiah's contemporaries expressed this same pessimistic attitude in the proverb "The ancestors ate sour grapes but the children's teeth are clean" (*Jer.* 31:29; cf. *Ez.* 18:1). That is, they believed that because the ancestors ate forbidden food, their children go hungry. But Jeremiah disagrees. He believes that his contemporaries are worse because they have returned (*shavu*) to the ancestral sins after supposedly repudiating them, and thus have broken the ancient covenant that demanded Yahveh's exclusive worship (*Jer.* 11:9–10, 16:10–12). The notion that returning to sin after allegedly repenting is worse than sinning without repentance is characteristic of Jeremiah. In *Jeremiah* 34, for example, the prophet rebukes the people who had first reinstated the provision for the release of Hebrew slaves under the leadership of Zedekiah, but then turned around (*va-yashuvu*) and enslaved them a second time.

The sin of insincere repentance underlies Jeremiah's attitude toward the cult of his time. Josiah's reforms had made the Jerusalem Temple the only legitimate Yahvistic shrine in the country, so that it could truly be called "Yahveh's palace" (*Jer.* 7:4) by the people, echoing the prophecies of the eighth-century prophet Isaiah (*Is.* 2:1–4, 31:4-5, 37:32–35). In contrast, Jeremiah taught, as had others (*Jer.* 26:18–20), that the Temple was not inviolable, nor was it any more permanent than the anciently destroyed Shiloh sanctuary (*Jer.* 7:14). Probably at the same time, he made the statement, "Add your whole burnt offerings to your other sacrifices and eat the meat. For when I brought your ancestors out of Egypt I did not speak with them to command them about burnt offerings and sacrifices. This rather is what I commanded them: Hearken to my voice so that I can be your God and you can be my people" (*Jer.* 7:21–22).

It would be inaccurate to say that Jeremiah advocated a cultless religion. He did not disagree that the Temple is God's place. Indeed, if the people mend their ways, then Yahveh will dwell with them in the Jerusalem Temple (*Jer.* 7:3, 7:7). But, for a number of reasons, the people's offerings are not "pleasing" (*Jer.* 6:20); the word used, *leratson*, is a technical term for an acceptable sacrifice (see also *Leviticus* 1:3, 19:5, 22:29; *Isaiah* 56:7). Most important, the popular view had it that other gods might be worshiped by Israelites as long as their worship of Yahveh was in purity. As Jeremiah says in his indictment, "Will you steal and murder and commit adultery and swear falsely and sacrifice to Baal and follow other gods with whom you have no [rightful] relation and then come and stand before me in this house which is called by my name and say 'we are saved' and then continue to commit all these abominations?" (*Jer.* 7:9–10).

It is clear that the people believed the cult could purify them of all their sins. If such violations as theft, murder, adultery, and false oaths could succumb to purificatory rituals, why could not the worship of foreign gods? In fact, such temporary rejection of foreign gods is ascribed to Jacob (*Gn.* 35:4) and to Joshua (*Jos.* 24). According to *Leviticus* 16:30, the priesthood claimed that its atonement rituals could remove all impurity caused by sin. (A priesthood could hardly claim otherwise.) Jeremiah did not accept this view because he saw it as insincere. In his eyes, Israel had been faithful to Yahveh only in the wilderness (*Jer.* 2:1). The people strayed as soon as they entered the promised land and so profaned it (*Jer.* 2:8, 3:2). Borrowing an image from Hosea, Jeremiah depicts the people of Judah as a faithless wife who had pretended to mend her ways (*Jer.* 3:1ff.). She knows that Yahveh has divorced the northern kingdom of Israel for infidelity (*Jer.* 3:8), but her heart is still uncircumcised (*Jer.* 4:4, 9:25). The entire people is guilty, for none has practiced true repentance—neither priests, teachers, kings, nor prophets (*Jer.* 2:8, 21:11–23:5, 23:9–40, 27–29). Jeremiah's mission is to bring the people to true repentance (*Jer.* 3:14, 3:22, 4:1). If he fails, then destruction of the land is inevitable, and even the gentiles will know the cause (*Jer.* 22:8–9; cf. *Dt.* 29:21–29, *1 Kgs.* 9:8–9).

Compared with sincere repentance, the obligations of the cult are secondary. Inasmuch as Jeremiah agrees with Amos that there was no organized sacrificial cult in Israel's forty-year wandering in the desert (*Am.* 5:25), the covenant between Yahveh and his people could not have been made through the cult. Conversely, the cult must be insufficient to sustain the bond.

In the tradition of those prophets who influenced him, notably Hosea, the political events of his time were to Jeremiah an indication of Yahveh's disfavor. In his early prophecies, Yahveh's judgment was described as being through the agency of an unnamed northern foe. The kings of the north would come "and set their thrones at Jerusalem's gates," where Yahveh would pronounce sentence against Judah for serving other gods (*Jer.* 1:14–16). It does not seem that Jeremiah actually identified the northern foe as Babylon until the Babylonian victory over the Egyptians at Carchemish in Syria in 605 (cf. *Jer.* 36:29). It is also likely that the description of the Babylonian officers sitting in the gate in Jerusalem (*Jer.* 39:3) is a "fulfillment" of the early prophecy.

At first Jeremiah teaches that Yahveh's punishment of the people at the hands of their foes can be averted by true repentance. The death of Josiah and the accession of Jehoiakim to the throne mark a turning point. Jeremiah does not accuse Jehoiakim of the worship of foreign gods but of social abuses. The king was unjustly impressing laborers into service so that he could build himself a lavish palace. He was shedding innocent blood and perpetrating fraud and violence (*Jer.* 22:13–17). In consequence, predicted Jeremiah, perhaps inaccurately (*2 Kgs.* 24:6), Jehoiakim would have a donkey's funeral rather than a king's.

During Jehoiakim's reign, Jeremiah first began to commit his prophecies to writing in order to bring the people to repentance. Baruch was sent to read the scroll publicly in the Temple on a fast day (*Jer.* 36:9). The reading did not have the desired effect: Jehoiakim destroyed the scroll and attempted to kill Jeremiah and Baruch (*Jer.* 36:26) just as he had slain Uriah, who preached a similar message (*Jer.* 26:23). The writer of *Jeremiah* 36 remarks pointedly that Jehoiakim and his courtiers "showed no fear and did not tear their garments," in order to contrast Jehoiakim with his pious father, Josiah, who had torn his garments upon hearing Yahveh's word from a book (*2 Kgs.* 22:11, 22:19). Jehoiakim's unjust behavior, coupled with the rise of Babylon, was proof enough to Jeremiah that the required change of heart had not taken place, that Jehoiakim was not the man to bring it about, and that Yahveh would use Babylon to punish Judah, just as he had used Assyria to punish northern Israel.

In consequence, Jeremiah began to preach submission to Babylonia as Yahveh's will. This was particularly offensive to Jehoiakim, who had rebelled against Nebuchadrezzar II after three years of vassalage (*2 Kgs.* 23:26). The counsel of submission of Babylonia intensified after the death of Jehoiakim, in 597. Jehoiakin, Jehoiakim's son and successor, was deposed after three months, following a siege of Jerusalem. He and many other Judahites were deported. Jeremiah thought little of Jehoiakin and predicted that he would die in exile (*Jer.* 22:24–30).

In the reign of Zedekiah, the last king to occupy the throne of Judah, Jeremiah articulated Yahveh's plan. Yahveh had given all the lands over to Nebuchadrezzar and would punish those people who would not submit to Babylonian rule. Nebuchadrezzar was Yahveh's servant (*Jer.* 27:6) whose rule had been ordained for three generations (*Jer.* 27:7), or seventy years (*Jer.* 25:11). Those people who submitted to Nebuchadrezzar and, consequently, to Yahveh's word would be permitted by Yahveh to remain on their own land, while those who resisted would be exiled (*Jer.* 27:10–11). For Jeremiah, people like the Yahveh prophet Hananiah, son of Azzur, who preached the speedy return of Jeconiah, son of Jehoiakim, and the Temple vessels (*Jer.* 28:3–4) and who counseled rebellion were no better than the pagan diviners who offered the same message (*Jer.* 27:9, 27:15). Just as false were those prophets from Judah in Babylonia who taught that the exile would be short (*Jer.* 29:8–9). Yahveh had not sent them. The exiled Judahites should consider themselves "good figs" and should do Yahveh's will by building homes and families in Babylonia (*Jer.* 24:5, 29:4–7). Those people of Judah who had not been captured and exiled in 597 and who continued to resist Nebuchadrezzar were "bad figs." Flight to Egypt in order to escape Babylonian rule was just as bad, as far as Jeremiah was concerned (*Jer.* 24:8, 42:10–16). Yahveh himself had turned against Judah (*Jer.* 21:4–8). This meant that the "way of life" was surrender and the "way of death" was resistance (*Jer.* 21:8–10). Jeremiah's insistence on surrender landed him in the stocks (*Jer.* 20:1–6), caused him to be accused of treason and subversion, and nearly cost him his life (*Jer.* 38:3–6).

PESSIMISM AND HOPE IN JEREMIAH. The *Book of Jeremiah* provides more information about its subject's inner life than does any other biblical book. Even if some elements, such as the disinclination to prophecy, are felt elsewhere, they are more articulate in *Jeremiah.* Jeremiah does not want to prophesy (*Jer.* 1:6), but he cannot contain himself with Yahveh's anger (*Jer.* 6:11, 20:9). Though a prophet is normally supposed to intercede (*Gn.* 20:7, 20:17), Jeremiah is told not to (*Jer.* 7:16, 15:1). At least once, Yahveh was about to remove him from his prophetic office (*Jer.* 15:19). In Jeremiah's eyes, Yahveh seduced and even raped him (*Jer.* 20:7). Jeremiah prayed for the death of his relatives (*Jer.* 12:3) and cursed the day of his own birth (*Jer.* 20:15–18). He depicted himself as a man of strife and contention (*Jer.* 15:10) who lacked the comfort of family and social gatherings (*Jer.* 16:1–13). Yahveh's word has been, he says ironically, his joyful wedding tune (*Jer.* 15:16).

Yet the moroseness of the man and the generally pessimistic tone of his prophecy give us only one side of his personality. For at least twenty-three years, he believed that Yahveh might avert disaster if the people would repent. Even afterward, he prophesied hope. Perhaps the most optimistic of his prophecies is that of the *berit ḥadashah* (new covenant or testament), which must be understood in terms of the sixth century BCE.

According to the authors of the Pentateuch, especially *Deuteronomy*, Yahveh and Israel were joined by covenant, or treaty. Yahveh had taken Israel as his people, and they had accepted him as their god and had assumed the obligation to worship him alone. Violation of the covenant would bring all manner of curses on the people (*Dt.* 28; cf. *Jer.* 11). Modern research has shown that the covenant form employed by *Jeremiah* and *Deuteronomy* is based on ancient Near Eastern political documents whereby a minor king becomes a vassal of a greater one. In such treaties, the suzerain promises land and protection to the vassal in return for the vassal's exclusive and undivided loyalty. The biblical religious covenants conceive of Israel as the vassal of Yahveh, who is, therefore, entitled to exclusive worship. Israel was entitled to remain on the land given it by Yahveh only as long as it served Yahveh alone (*Jer.* 11:5). Jeremiah was certain that his people had broken their covenant with Yahveh by following other gods (*Jer.*

11:10) and were therefore doomed to suffer the expected consequences. In *Jeremiah* 31, however, inspired by Hosea's teaching, the prophet arrives at a new idea.

Hosea speaks of Israel as a faithless wife who was to be cast out and divorced. But Yahveh realized that her inability to be faithful was inherent in her constitutional lack of the qualities of justice, equity, loyalty, compassion, and steadfastness. Yahveh would remarry Israel and would give her these qualities as betrothal gifts so that she would be able to be truly intimate with Yahveh (*Hos.* 2:18–21). He would even make it inherently impossible for her to pronounce the name *Baal*.

Jeremiah follows the same line of thinking, but he employs a political rather than a marital metaphor:

> In days to come I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah. It will not be like the covenant which I made with their ancestors . . . a covenant which they broke, so I rejected them. . . . I will put my teaching inside of them and inscribe it upon their hearts. Then I will be their god and they will be my people. No longer will they need to teach one another "heed Yahveh," for all of them . . . shall heed me. (*Jer.* 31:31–34)

A similar notion is found in *Jeremiah* 32:38–41: "They shall be my people and I will be their god. I will give them an undivided heart and nature to revere me for all time. I will make an everlasting covenant with them and put reverence fore me in their hearts so that they cannot turn away from me. . . .Then I will plant them permanently in this land."

The new covenant is necessary because Israel and Judah lacked the innate abililty to keep the old one. Yahveh's recognition of the deficiency of his people inspires him to remedy it by a change of their nature. Once Yahveh has effected the change, his people will be able to keep his covenant and remain permanently on his land.

The new covenant itself was designed for the salvation of Israel and Judah. Yet its implications that a radical change of human nature is possible became universal. In a great irony of religious history, the words of the prophet who spent much of his career prophesying doom became to his direct and indirect descendants a legacy of hope.

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S. DAVID SPERLING (1987)
Revised Bibliography

JEREMIAS II (1530 or 1535–1595) was a Greek prelate, scholar, and patriarch of Constantinople. Jeremias II was born in the ancient city of Anchialus, Thrace (present-day Pomorie, Bulgaria), on the Black Sea; he was a descendant of the important Tranos family. Because there were no organized Greek schools in the Turk-dominated area, Jeremias was privately educated. In 1565 he was elected metropolitan of Larissa, and in 1572 he became patriarch of Constantinople at an uncommonly early age. As a result of the policy of the Ottoman rulers of changing patriarchs, Jeremias was deposed twice, in 1579 and again in 1584, but he was restored to his post by popular demand. He was patriarch from 1572 to 1579, 1580 to 1584, and from 1586 until his death in 1595.

While Jeremias was patriarch, he raised the standards of ecclesiastical and cultural life, both of which were at extremely low levels. He condemned simony among the clergy, and he undertook to restore the former austerity of the monastic life by abolishing the idiorrhythmic monasteries and strengthening the more centralized cenobitic life. He also forbade the establishment of monastic houses in secular environments without prior ecclesiastical consent. The authority of the patriarchate itself was strengthened as a result of his frequent visits to other Orthodox churches. At the insistence of Tsar Feodor I Ivanovich (r. 1584–1598), Jeremias raised the Russian church to the status of patriarchate, placing it in fifth place in the pentarchy after Jerusalem.

Jeremias would not accept the calendar sought by Pope Gregory XIII and suggested that the Orthodox church in the West should also follow the old calendar. For the Orthodox living in Italy, he transferred the see of Philadelphia to Venice, and Gabriel Severus, the scholar, was appointed the first metropolitan. Jeremias's reaction to the establishment of Western schools for proselytism during the period of Turkish occupation was to advise his bishops to establish Greek schools in their territories. He thereby made a contribution to the development of education.

Jeremias is, for the most part, remembered for his contacts and theological dialogues with the Protestant theologians of Tübingen. The Lutherans and the Greek Orthodox sought support in their disagreements with the church of Rome and therefore turned to one another for assistance. In 1573, two professors from Tübingen, Martin Crusius and Jakob Andreä, sent a copy of the Augsburg Confession (1531) to Jeremias. In his correspondence with the Lutheran theologians, Jeremias pointed out the serious differences in dogma that precluded any union of the Protestant and Orthodox churches. This correspondence went on for some time, and it was published as *The Three Dogmatic Answers to the Theologians of Tübingen.* In his various other works, Jeremias presented Orthodoxy as a continuation of the ancient catholic church, stressing, in particular, faithfulness and adherence to the original traditions of the church and avoidance of new doctrines and practices. Although his dialogues with the Lutheran theologians eventually deteriorated, Jeremias began the dialogues in a climate of love and friendship, and thus they became the forerunner of today's ecumenical dialogues.

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THEODORE ZISSIS (1987)
Translated from Greek by Philip M. McGhee

JEROME (c. 347–420), properly Eusebius Hieronymus; church father and biblical scholar. Born at Stridon in Dalmatia of a prosperous Christian family, Jerome was educated at Rome under Aelius Donatus, the most eminent grammarian of the fourth century. With Donatus he studied the principal Latin authors, of whom Cicero and Vergil exerted a lasting influence on him. His rhetorical training included the rudiments of philosophy, which held little interest for him, except for dialectics. Rhetoric and dialectics became the tools of his polemics. While in Rome he enjoyed those youthful indiscretions that he would later bitterly lament as immorality. Jerome was nevertheless baptized, perhaps in the year 366.

In his twentieth year Jerome continued his studies at Trier, where the ideal of monasticism took hold of him forever. In 374 he made a pilgrimage to Antioch in Syria, where he mastered Greek and began in earnest his lifelong study of the Bible. Recovery from a serious illness strengthened his resolve to become an anchorite in the nearby desert of Chalcis. While practicing asceticism, he learned Hebrew so that he could read the Old Testament without recourse to the Septuagint. Suspected of religious heterodoxy, he returned to Antioch in 378.

Ordained a priest at Antioch, Jerome was introduced to biblical exegesis by Apollinaris of Laodicea. Around the year 381 Jerome traveled to Constantinople, where he met the theologians Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa and began his translations of Origen's works on the Bible. Origen was both Jerome's blessing and his bane. From Origen, Jerome derived substantially his own approach to biblical exegesis, but later he was often suspected of sharing Origen's heretical views.

In 382 Jerome returned to Rome and soon became secretary to Pope Damasus, who set him to revising the Old Latin versions of the New Testament. Jerome left Rome for the East in 389, soon to be joined by Paula and Eustochium, two religious Roman women. Together they established two monasteries at Bethlehem. Thereafter, Jerome lived the ascetic life of a monk and continued his study of the Bible. During these years there poured from his pen a river of Latin translations of the Bible from the Greek and Hebrew, translations of Origen's works on the Bible and commentaries of his own, polemical works, and letters to people throughout the Roman world. Although Jerome befriended Augustine of Hippo and the historian Paulus Orosius, he scorned Ambrose of Milan and hounded John Chrysostom. He died in 420. An obstinate monk, Jerome was combative, vindictive, and cantankerous. Nonetheless, as a biblical scholar he was the most learned of church fathers.

Jerome's voluminous writings fall into four broad groups: translations and studies of the Bible, polemics, historical works, and letters. By far the most important category deals with scripture, his towering achievement being his Latin translation of the Bible. Known as the Vulgate, it became the authorized version of the Bible in the Latin church. For the New Testament, Jerome corrected the Old Latin versions of the Gospels in the light of earlier Greek manuscripts. His work on the Old Testament took a more complicated course. He began by relying on the Septuagint, but the more familiar he became with Hebrew the more determined he was to base his translations on the Hebrew text. The result was a far more accurate version of the Old Testament than anything theretofore available in Latin.

Translation was only part of Jerome's biblical interests. In his quest to determine and understand the text, he wrote sixty-three volumes of commentaries and some one hundred homilies primarily concerned with explaining the Bible to the religious community at Bethlehem. Some of Jerome's commentaries are little more than Latin translations of Origen's Greek originals. In the areas of exegesis and homiletics, Jerome was influenced primarily by Apollinaris, Origen, and rabbinical thought, including the work of Akiva ben Joseph, one of the founders of rabbinical Judaism. From Apollinaris, Jerome learned the value of historical commentary and concrete interpretation of the Bible. Jewish exegesis also emphasized the literal sense of the Old Testament. In addition, his Hebrew teachers acquainted Jerome with Jewish oral traditions, a source unknown to most of his Christian contemporaries. Increasingly, Jerome respected the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, in his words, the *veritas Hebraica,* which ultimately led him to doubt the accuracy of the Septuagint. Origen influenced Jerome to go beyond literal and historical interpretation of scripture to discover its allegorical and symbolic meaning. Although Jerome often criticized Origen's approach, he too felt that under the literal text lay a level of deeper spiritual meaning.

Intellectually eclectic, Jerome used all three approaches to biblical exegesis. His usual method of exposition consisted of a literal explanation of every verse, including citations of variant readings and interpretations, frequently followed by an allegorical interpretation. For the Old Testament, he translated passages from Hebrew and from the Septuagint before commenting on them in turn. His treatment of the Hebrew text was generally historical and included discussion of Hebrew words, names, and grammar. Despite his high regard for rabbinical exegesis, Jerome never preferred it to orthodox Christian interpretation. The Septuagint was also often subjected to spiritual exegesis. Here especially Jerome relied heavily on Origen, whom he defended as a learned and gifted biblical scholar. Nonetheless, he often attacked Origen and steadfastly rejected his theology and dogmas. Origen's influence can be seen further in Jerome's tendency to give his own, original spiritual interpretation of the Septuagint.

The second major category of Jerome's writings is polemics. His early studies in Rome made their contribution in this area as well. The training in rhetoric and dialectics equipped him for controversy, and his mastery of Latin prose style gave him a clear, sometimes elegant, means of expression. Moreover, the young student had frequented the law courts and had enjoyed listening to the violent verbal exchanges of eminent lawyers. In addition to his well-turned Latin phrases, Jerome employed caustic and even disreputable abuse, his opponents generally being branded fools, charlatans, heretics, or all three. He was particularly adept at disparaging his opponents' literary style, which was all the more effective because he of all the church fathers wrote a Latin that was almost classically pure. These tools were valuable because Jerome was unimpressive as a theologian and a philosopher. His contribution was as a scholar, not as an original thinker.

Jerome employed his polemical works either to combat current heresies or to defend himself from the charge of heresy. His rebuttals often provide the best information about the nature of his opponents' views. Jerome unswervingly upheld the cause of orthodoxy. He entered the field of controversy in 378–379 with his *Altercatio Luciferiani et Orthodoxi* (Debate of a Luciferian and an orthodox), in which he attacked the views of the Sardinian bishop Lucifer. Using the orthodox believer as a sounding-board for his own views, Jerome argued in favor of Arian bishops' retaining their clerical positions upon recantation and defended the validity of Arian baptism. Chief among Jerome's religious views are his abiding faith in the Christian church and its apostolic authority, and his opposition to heresy as destructive to Christian unity. He never wavered from these beliefs.

In 383 Jerome combated the views of the Roman layman Helvidius, who denied the virginity of Mary after the birth of Jesus and who argued that the married and celibate states were equal in dignity. In *Adversus Helvidium,* a spirited pamphlet, Jerome used exegetical and scholarly arguments, along with his usual verbal abuse, to defend the perpetual virginity of Mary and to exalt the value of celibacy in Christian life. Jerome's triumph over Helvidius helped to establish the orthodox views of the Latin church on Mariology and celibacy. Next, in *Adversus Iovinianum* (Against Jovinian), written in 393, Jerome marshaled all his skills in exegesis, dialectics, rhetoric, satire, and obloquy to defend again the doctrines of Mary's virginity, the virgin birth of Jesus, the superiority of celibacy over marriage, and the advocacy of asceticism. In 404 Jerome wrote *Contra Vigilantium* (Against Vigilantius), a response to the polemics of Vigilantius, a priest from Aquitaine. In this controversy, Jerome defended devotion to the relics of martyrs and saints and the offering of prayers to them, and he endorsed all-night vigils at their shrines as acts of piety. He also again championed the ascetic way of life, including celibacy, monasticism, and fasting, and he approved sending alms to monasteries in Jerusalem as Paul had urged.

In two polemical works Jerome defended himself against the charge of sharing Origen's heresy, first in 397 with his *Contra Ioannem Hierosolymitanum* (Against John of Jerusalem) and again in 401, when his old friend Rufinus of Aquileia openly accused him of being a follower of Origen. In effect, Rufinus attacked Jerome's whole approach to the Bible. Jerome's response, *Apologia adversus Rufinum* (Apology against Rufinus), was a terrible counterattack, violent, satirical, scurrilous, and learned. Jerome successfully defended his life's work, including his use and translations of Origen's commentaries, his reliance on the Hebrew original of the Old Testament, and his respect for the Septuagint. Not denying his debt to Origen's learning, Jerome steadfastly denied sharing Origen's theology.

Jerome's last polemical work, *Dialogus adversus Pelagianos* (Dialogue against a Pelagian), written in 415, attacked the tenets of the Pelagian heresy, which was primarily concerned with the concepts of sin and grace. Against the Pelagian position that people can live free of sin, Jerome countered that humans constantly need divine help. He further insisted that humanity is given to sin, despite its possession of free will. Jerome also defended Augustine's concept of original sin and accepted the need for infant baptism. *Dialogus* exhibits the hallmarks common to the rest of Jerome's polemical works: personal abuse, biblical scholarship, and orthodoxy.

The last two categories of Jerome's work are more historical than religious in importance. Jerome either translated or wrote several historical treatises valuable for his study of the Bible. The first, published in 382, was his translation of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Chronikoi kanones* (Chronological canons), an annalistically arranged work that combined biblical and Near Eastern chronology with Greco-Roman chronology. Jerome added to its contents and continued its coverage to his own times, ending with the Battle of Adrianople in 378. *Chronicle* became the historical framework of his exegetical studies. In wider terms, Jerome's *Chronicle* became the standard authority in western Europe for the chronology of the ancient world.

In 392–393 Jerome published *De viris illustribus* (On famous men), a historical catalog of Christian literature in which he surveyed the lives and writings of 135 authors, overwhelmingly Christian with a sprinkling of Jewish authors, beginning with the apostle Peter and ending with himself. Although he relied heavily on Eusebius for the early part, and although he inserted authors whom he had never read, in the later part he contributed much information derived from his own reading. The work was continued by others into the fifteenth century.

For religious purposes, a trilogy of biblical studies is Jerome's most significant historical work. Between 389 and 391 Jerome produced his *Onomastikon* (Hebrew names), derived from Origen. *Onomastikon* is an etymological dictionary of proper names in the Bible, alphabetically arranged. Next came his *Liber locorum* (Book of places), a translation of Eusebius's *Onomastikon,* with meager additions drawn from his own knowledge of Palestine. The *Liber locorum* is an alphabetical listing of the place names and descriptions of the geographical features of the sites mentioned in the Bible. Last came his *Liber hebraicarum quaestionum* (Hebrew questions), a discussion of various problems in the text of the *Book of Genesis,* heavily dependent on rabbinical exegesis. The treatment is essentially linguistic, historical, and geographical. Rounding out Jerome's historical work are hagiographies of Paul, Malchus, and Hilarion.

Jerome's 154 letters also illuminate the religious climate of the time. In his correspondence, Jerome discussed prominent church leaders, satirized the Christian clergy, discussed the burning religious issues of the day, and provided much information about himself and his intellectual development. All his written work influenced the subsequent course of the Latin church. His greatest contribution can be put simply: when later generations read the Vulgate, they read the translation of Jerome and reaped the finest fruits of his superb scholarship.

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JOHN BUCKLER (1987)

JERUSALEM

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
JERUSALEM IN JUDAISM, CHRISTIANITY, AND ISLAM

JERUSALEM: AN OVERVIEW

Jerusalem, an old Canaanite settlement in the uplands of Judaea, enters history rather offhandedly in the biblical narrative: David, king of Israel, then resident at nearby Hebron, decides to make this Jebusite city his capital. No reason is given—even today the site has obvious security advantages—and indeed Jerusalem shows no particular religious associations until David buys a Jebusite threshing floor atop Mount Moriah just north of his new "City of David" and builds an altar there, where the Lord had stayed the hand of his avenging angel. This spot may have been an earlier Canaanite high place, but it now became the site of a grandiose temple possibly planned by David and certainly built by his son Solomon.

The Temple of Solomon was an enormous structure with interior courtyards of progressively limited access, in the midst of which stood an ornately adorned sanctuary. Outside it stood the great altar of sacrifice, and within, in a curtained inner chamber, the Holy of Holies, was installed the ark of the covenant containing the Tablets of the Law and other tokens of the Israelites' deliverance from Egypt and sojourn in the wilderness of Sinai. And there too were reinstituted all the cultic acts commanded to Moses on Sinai, the daily sacrifices, the feasts of the New Moon and the New Year, the Day of Atonement, and the three great pilgrimage feasts of Passover, Shavuʿot (Weeks), and Sukkot (Tabernacles), all performed and managed by a body of Aaronite priests and ministering Levites.

There is no sign of this building today, because it was destroyed by the Babylonians in 587/6 BCE. Solomon's son Rehoboam could not maintain his father's empire intact, and the schism between the northern kingdom of Israel, with its own priests and shrines and its own rival temple atop Mount Gerizim in Samaria, and the southern kingdom of Judah, ruled from Jerusalem, persisted down to the fall of Samaria to the Assyrians in 721 BCE. Although the days of Judah were likewise numbered, the southern kingdom sustained itself under royal saints (e.g., Hezekiah) and royal sinners (e.g., Manasseh) long enough for the reformer king Josiah to centralize all Israelite cult practices in Jerusalem. This was in 621 BCE, and thereafter Jerusalem had few political rivals and no religious peers; for Jews, whether in Palestine or abroad, in what was known as the Diaspora, the Temple in Jerusalem was the unique site of Jewish sacrificial worship of God, and the divine presence dwelt there in a special way.

The Babylonians, then, took Jerusalem in 587/6 BCE, razed the Temple, and carried off many of the Jews into exile. And it is likely that at that time the ark of the covenant disappeared as part of the spoils; the Holy of Holies of later versions of the Jerusalem Temple was, at any rate, empty. Sometime after 538 BCE the Persian shah Cyrus II and his Achaemenid successors allowed the exiled Jews to return to Jerusalem. The city was rebuilt by Nehemiah, the Mosaic Law was repromulgated through the efforts of the priestly scribe Ezra, and under the auspices of Zerubbabel a reduced version of Solomon's Temple was constructed on the same site. The priesthoods were purified and God's cult restored. Jerusalem itself was rewalled and resettled and began to resume the growth that was already notable in the eighth century BCE. In the wake of Alexander the Great, Greeks succeeded to Persians in the late fourth century in Palestine, and after 200 BCE the Greco-Macedonian dynasty of the Seleucids ruled over what was a politically modest temple-state at Jerusalem.

The political straitening of Jerusalem was accompanied by an equally notable broadening of the religious character of the city. The chastening of the Israelites before, during, and immediately after their Babylonian exile produced a new type of religious leader in their midst, the prophet, and in their inspired visions Jerusalem became the symbol of and indeed identical with the Children of Israel and the Land of Israel, now cast down for its idolatry and fornication, now exalted, renewed, and glorified in the new age that would follow the present travails. Thus the historical Jerusalem, which often lay in ruin and misery, was transformed by Isaiah and Ezekiel, among others, into a heavenly and eschatological Jerusalem, a city whose holiness transcended the mere presence of the Temple but was rather coterminous with the glory of the Chosen People and served as a pledge of the presence of God.

The historical Jerusalem revived under Greek sovereignty, and a newly affluent upper class, including many priestly families, eased the way for the introduction there of the ideals and institutions of Hellenism. Under Antiochus IV Epiphanes (r. 175–164 BCE), the Hellenized Jews in Jerusalem requested and were granted permission by their sovereign to convert the city into a polis, a genuine Greek-style city. Subsequently, Antiochus and a significant number of Jews grew disenchanted with this Jerusalem experiment in cultural and political Hellenism, Antiochus because he scented treachery in the city, and Jewish pietists because they correctly perceived that Hellenism brought more than paved streets and gymnasiums; they saw that it was heavily freighted with spiritual values that constituted an attractive alternative and so a grave threat to Mosaic Judaism. The king instituted a full-scale attack on Judaism in Judaea and installed a Macedonian garrison and foreign cults in the Temple precinct. The outraged Jews mounted a bold resistance, and under the priestly family called the Maccabees they eventually drove most of the Greeks from Judaea and Jerusalem and in 164 BCE rededicated the Temple there to the cult of the Lord.

The Hasmonean dynasty survived until 37 BCE, when its own weaknesses permitted, and Roman choice dictated, the passage of power to the Idumaean Herod I (r. 37–34 BCE). Jerusalem was still growing—it now covered the western hill as well as the eastern hill where Solomon's Temple and the City of David had been located—and Hasmonean kingship had done nothing to inhibit its assimilation to a Hellenic-style settlement with notable public buildings and a regular street plan. The prodigious building activity of Herod increased the tempo of Greco-Roman urbanization. He extended the street plan, built an immense citadel at the western gate of the city, erected his own palace nearby, and sought to crown his labors by undertaking in 20 BCE a reconstruction of the Temple. This mammoth Herodian temple complex, with its newly extended platform, not only doubled the size of Solomon's installation, it dwarfed every known temple assemblage in the Greco-Roman Near East. Today only the platform and some of its gates are extant, having survived the Roman destruction of 70 CE. For Jews, the western wall, a retaining wall of the platform, has been a potent symbol of Jewish historical continuity since Talmudic times. The platform itself has been venerated by Muslims as the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, the Holy Sanctuary, since the late seventh century.

Jewish sovereignty over Jerusalem did not last very long; the Romans by contrast held the city, although they never ruled from it, for six and a half centuries, and different Muslim dynasties, who likewise preferred to put their palaces elsewhere, held sway over Jerusalem from the mid-seventh to the early twentieth century. But however brief the span, Jewish kings ruled over a Jewish state *in* Jerusalem; Roman governors, some pagan, some Christian, ruled *over* Jerusalem; and for a very long time the city was a part, often not a very important part, of some form or other of a Muslim political organization, although never its capital. Nor was it under any circumstances the capital of "the Christian people" or "the Muslim people" simply because there never were such.

Jesus was born under Herodian and died under Roman sovereignty. Although at home in Galilee, he taught, performed miracles, died, and was buried in Herodian Jerusalem. He worshiped in Herod's Temple, with which he identified himself and whose destruction he openly predicted. As he had foreseen, it happened in 70 CE, at the end of a Jewish insurrection against the Romans, but only after Jesus himself had been tried in Jerusalem, crucified outside the western wall of the city, and buried nearby, having said that he would rise again in three days. A century thereafter Jerusalem, too, had its resurrection. In 132 CE the Roman emperor Hadrian published his plans for a new, very Roman Jerusalem. This may have been the provocation for a new revolt; what was left of the city was razed in 135 CE, and it was only then that Hadrian was free to construct his new Aelia Capitolina, named after his house and his god. The Jews for their part were banned from the city and its near vicinity.

Researchers have a good idea of what Aelia Capitolina looked like from the Madeba map, a sixth-century mosaic map that lays out Jerusalem's plan and chief buildings in that era. But there are major new installations visible on that map. They were the work of Constantine and his Christian imperial successors. In 330 CE Constantine, with the urging or the assistance of his mother Helena, set about identifying the chief sites of Jesus' redemptive activity in Palestine. He enshrined them with major basilicas, notably the cave of the nativity in Bethlehem and the places, by then inside Jerusalem's walls, of Jesus' execution, burial, and resurrection. Jesus' tomb was housed under a splendid rotunda, and the site of the execution was enshrined at the corner of an open courtyard; abutting both was an extremely large basilica. The work was capped with both celebrity and authority when in the course of the construction Helena discovered the remains, verified by miracle, of Jesus' own cross.

It was Constantine's initiative that began the conversion of Jerusalem into a Christian holy city, or perhaps better, of Palestine into a Christian holy land, because the Christians held no brief for the city as such. For the early Christians the historical Jerusalem had been destroyed because of the perfidy of the Jews, and if Christians too, following Paul and the *Book of Revelation,* could savor the notion of a heavenly Jerusalem as the symbol of the New Covenant, it had no visible or even sentimental connection with the earthly Jerusalem. Nevertheless, in the wake of Constantine's building program, Christian pilgrims, particularly those from overseas, began to arrive in increasing numbers. What those visitors came to see, and to experience, was not Jerusalem, but the entire network of Palestinian sites connected with Jesus, his apostles, and the early Christian saints, who were being identified with enthusiastic liturgical and architectural celebration from the fourth century onward.

One Jerusalem holy place was not celebrated in either fashion: The site of Herod's Temple, twice reduced to ruins by the Romans, was left in that sad state in graphic and continuous fulfillment of Jesus' prophecy. Christian visitors went up onto the platform and looked about and reflected, but the only liturgy marked there was the piteous Jewish return once a year on Tishʿah be-Av, the anniversary of its destruction, to mourn the fallen sanctuary. In the rest of the city, meanwhile, the effect of imperial investment began to manifest itself in the network of churches, shrines, hospices, and even hospitals as marked on the Madeba map. Now, with no claim to either political or commerical eminence—even in the ecclesiastical hierarchy the city lost ground to nearby Caesarea and distant Antioch—Jerusalem was assuming a role it would have until 1967: that of a holy city supported and adorned for its holiness, and for the political benefits accruing from the official recognition of that holiness.

But throughout most of its history Jerusalem was also a contested city. The Jews were in no position to contest it with the Christians at this stage—they continued to be prohibited residence there by the Christian as well as by the pagan Roman emperors—but in 638 the Muslims came up from the south and took the city from them and their Christian Roman empire in almost perfunctory fashion. Among the Muslims' first acts was to build a mosque on the deserted Temple mount and, within a century, to erect in the middle of that same platform an extraordinary Muslim shrine called the Dome of the Rock.

Although subsequently rebuilt, the mosque on the Temple mount is still called al-Masjid al-Aqṣā ("the distant sanctuary," i.e., mosque), as it was from the beginning, and the reason reaches back to the Qurʾān itself, where God describes how he "carried his servant by night from the Sacred Sanctuary to the Distant Sanctuary" (*sūrah* 17:1). The servant was of course Muḥammad, and the "Sacred Sanctuary" was easily identified as al-Masjid al-Ḥaram and the Kaʿbah at Mecca. But the "Distant Sanctuary" provoked more discussion from the early commentators until here too a consensus developed that the reference was to Jerusalem and its Temple area. Quickly another tradition was worked into the first, that of Muḥammad's ascension into heaven where the mysteries of the prophets and of revelation were disclosed to him.

The Aqṣā, then, was the congregational mosque of Jerusalem, a prayer place that also commemorated that "Distant Sanctuary" mentioned in God's book and visited by the Prophet in the course of his "night journey." And what of the Dome of the Rock? It is in fact an ornate octagonal shrine over a rock, a bedrock outcropping of Mount Moriah, which, according to the Muslim tradition, marked part of the foundation of the Temple. The Muslim connection with Jerusalem, for them simply "the Holy" (al-Quds) or "the Holy House," runs back, then, both through the Bible to the Temple and through the Qurʾān to Muḥammad, and it centers precisely and exclusively on the Temple mount. Some Muslims, not a great many surely, settled in what was now their holy city in the years after 638 CE, and some Jews as well, because the Muslims permitted the latter to resettle in the city that had been forbidden to them for five centuries. The Jews did so with alacrity; they moved their chief rabbinical *yeshivah* from Tiberias to Jerusalem and may even have prayed somewhere on the Temple platform itself.

The relationship of Jews, Christians, and Muslims in Jerusalem, where a majority of the population was Christian and the political sovereignty Muslim, was more or less harmonious. But this holy city was and is a narrow place where emulation breeds envy, and envy, arrogance. In 1009 the assuredly arrogant and possibly envious Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim burned down the Christians' Church of the Holy Sepulcher. It was eventually rebuilt, although on the reduced scale that separates the present church from its Constantinian predecessor, but some deep harm had been done. That harm was chiefly experienced in Christian Europe, which eventually launched a Crusade that took the city back from the Muslims in 1099.

The Western Crusade, with its religious propaganda and bloody violence, and the Muslims' response, which festooned the city with legends and blessings not unlike the Christians' own indulgences, poisoned relations between the two groups, and nowhere more disastrously than in Jerusalem itself. After the Muslim reoccupation of the city in 1187, Christians continued to come on pilgrimage, still following Jesus' "Way of the Cross" across the city, but now under the grimmest of circumstances; and the Muslim rulers, charged with the administration of an increasingly impoverished city, resorted to extortion against Jerusalem's only source of income, those same pilgrims. Between them were the Jews, too powerless as yet to be a political threat—the Christian pilgrims came from newly aggressive Christian nation-states, while the Jews found no European protectors until the nineteenth century—and almost too poor to be squeezed.

But power and poverty are not all. The Jews have always regarded themselves as a people, a single historical people, and so they alone, not the Christians or the Muslims, were capable of possessing, and did actually possess, a national capital, which was Jerusalem. No Christian pope or Muslim caliph—both quite different from a national king to begin with—ever had Jerusalem as his seat. Christian and Muslim governors Jerusalem has had and, during the Crusades, even a number of Christian kings, but that was either sectarian sovereignty or rule by delegated authority.

This line of thought is merely moving along the surface, however. Jerusalem is more than a city or even a national capital; it is an idea. And it is safe to say that it is a biblical idea. As the Bible unfolds, one can easily follow the progressive identification being drawn between the people of Israel, or the Land of Israel, and Jerusalem and its Temple. People, city, and Temple become one, linked in destiny and God's plan, and then transformed, apotheosized, into the Heavenly Jerusalem. By the time the Jews returned from their Babylonian exile and were granted limited sovereignty in Judaea and permission to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem, the idea was firmly in place, so firmly indeed that even though the city was again lost to the Jews and then both the city and the Temple destroyed, the idea survived. It survived not as a vaguely conceived and fitfully remembered nostalgia but as a symbol solid as Jerusalem stonework built into the thought and liturgy of Judaism. Rabbis sitting in Galilean and Iraqi *yeshivot* two centuries and more after the actual Temple had disappeared could still cite the physical measurements of the entire complex and were still debating questions of priestly ritual performed there with as much vigor and conviction as if the Temple still stood in its glory. As indeed it did, in a tradition more perennial than stones or mortar or golden fretting.

The theme that Jerusalem is perennial was taken up and repeated in the synagogue liturgy that all Jews recite as part of their ordinary worship and that recurs throughout the art and literature, pious or prosaic, of the Middle Ages. "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem . . ." rolls like an anthem across Jewish history, and in the sense of those words of the psalmist all Jews have always been Zionists, whether they believed that the restoration of Jerusalem could be achieved by political means—as very few did from the final debacle of 135 CE down to the late nineteenth century—or that it would occur in some long-distant eschatological context. And their spiritual descendants inherited the notion from them, although without the same nationalist and tribal overtones: Christians and Muslims are both eschatological Zionists. Jesus saw as in a vision the eschatological destruction of Jerusalem and John's *Book of Revelation* saw its restoration as a heavenly city; in Islam the Kaʿbah itself will travel from Mecca to Jerusalem for the Day of Judgment.

SEE ALSO Biblical Temple; Crusades; Pilgrimage, articles on Contemporary Jewish Pilgrimage, Eastern Christian Pilgrimage.

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JERUSALEM: JERUSALEM IN JUDAISM, CHRISTIANITY, AND ISLAM

Jerusalem both personifies and symbolizes the "sanctity of place" for all religions deriving from or responding to biblical scripture. The thousands of religious expressions, movements, sects, cults, and new religions that have emerged within the "clusters" or categories referred to as Judaism, Christianity, and Islam were born of spiritual environments that were formed, in part, through the paradigms established by the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. The multifarious expressions of these religious institutions can even be described as part of a general "biblicist" civilization. Some might call this a "scriptural" religious civilization, but other religions include literatures that have sometimes been described as scripture. The generally accepted or paradigmatic concept of scripture itself is strongly influenced by Western biblical paradigms. In any case, this heterogeneous, biblicist religious civilization contrasts with other religious civilizations, for example, those deriving from Hindu-Buddhist or Confucian roots.

Whereas the religious impulse and regard for the sacred may be universal among humans and the social groups they form, each particular expression is shaped in limited paradigmatic ways that are themselves informed or shaped by cultural, intellectual, and symbolic context. The complex symbolic contexts through which the broad array of religious expressions noted above communicate their theologies and traditions include the authoritative symbolism of the Bible.

Jerusalem, therefore, because of its biblical centrality, serves as a definitive image and symbol of sacred place. But what is the origin of its sanctity? According to Mircea Eliade, sanctity of place reflects a hierophany or eruption of the sacred. This is something associated with a place that demonstrates it is not like just any other place. Whatever becomes associated with the sacred place causes that place to transcend the mundane nature of other places and puts it in the realm of the sacred (Eliade, 1954). Thus Jacob, after his dream of angels, realized that the place where he was laying was no ordinary place. He acknowledged this realization by changing its name from the mundane appellation of Luz to a name acknowledging the sacred, *Beth El,* meaning "abode of God" (*Gn.* 28:10–19).

The sacred nature of a place may also originate in something extraordinary in its physical nature. Extraordinarily large or beautiful trees, mountains, geological formations, or geothermal phenomena have all demonstrated or symbolized the transcendent, thus sacred, nature of places.

The sanctity of Jerusalem probably originates from the abundant flow from its natural source of water, a bountiful spring situated among barren desert hills. The spring is called *gihon* in the Bible (*1 Kgs.* 1:33, 38, 45; *2 Chr.* 32:30, 33:14), the root meaning of which conveys the meaning of bursting forth. The salvific waters of the desert spring thus burst forth in an unlikely place, attracting attention as a place of life-giving, transcendent power and meaning. The special nature of the spring is clarified by the use of the same name, *gihon*, for one of the rivers leading out of the Garden of Eden (*Gn.* 2:13); the nature or symbolism of the spring was powerful enough that it became the place wherein Solomon was anointed king of Israel (*1Kgs.* 1:33ff.).

ISRAELIZING JERUSALEM. Jerusalem was an important and, most likely, sacred place long before the Bible takes note of it. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century BCE Execration texts mention Jerusalem, as do the late Bronze Age El-Amarna letters. But Jerusalem was not an Israelite city in those days; rather it was an Amorite and then Jebusite city. *Genesis* chapter 14 probably refers to Jerusalem (*yerushalayim* or *yerushalem*) when it places Abraham in or within the vicinity of a place named Shalem. Abraham encounters there a priest-king named Malki-Tzedek (meaning "king of righteousness") who is both the king of Shalem (*melekh shalem*) and priest of Great El (*kohen leʾel ʾelyon*).

Some eight centuries later, at the end of the eleventh century according to the biblical account, David conquered the Jebusite city known as *yevus* (*1 Chr.* 11:4–8; cf. *2 Sm.* 4–9), and Jerusalem became the political and religious capital of the people of Israel.

It is unlikely that the choice of Jerusalem was merely an arbitrary political decision (Smith, 1987, p. 86), given other hilltops in the Judean Hills that might have made a more effective fortress and Temple site. While the choice of place attributed to David certainly had a political component, in order to be effective it required a trans-political unifying element to be recognized as a capital of a dozen, often unruly, disparate tribes. The unifying element appears to have been an inherent aura of sanctity associated with Jerusalem. It became the site of the Temple and the center of the religious cult, and this centrality is attested by the abundant biblical poetry associated with Jerusalem in psalms of thanksgiving, victory, and mourning. Jerusalem served as the symbol of universal hope among the prophets, and its broken ramparts personify the bereavement of Israel and, by extension, humanity as a whole. As the location of the Temple, Jerusalem symbolizes the location of God's indwelling, the earthly center of the divine presence.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of Jerusalem's sanctity, however, is that all of the most authoritative biblical depictions of hierophanies occurred elsewhere. God's most powerful revelations occurred at the Red Sea and Mount Sinai, both outside of Jerusalem and even outside of the biblically defined Land of Israel. The theophanies described in relation to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob occurred in Elon Moreh (*Gn.* 12:6), Eloney Mamre (*Gn.* 13:18, 14:13), 18:1ff.) Gerar (*Gn.* 20), Beʾer Sheva (*Gn.* 21:32ff., 26:23f), Moria (*Gn.* 22:2), Luz/Beth-El (*Gn.* 28:10–29), and elsewhere. In fact, aside from the uncertain and enigmatic reference in Genesis chapter 14, Jerusalem is never even mentioned in the Torah (Pentateuch), the symbolic, literary, and religious core of the entire Hebrew Bible. The many deuteronomic references to "the site which [God] will choose" (*Dt.* 12: 5, 11, 21, 26; 14:25, and 15:6) do not refer specifically to Jerusalem, and the binding of Isaac in the "Land of Moria" is only associated with Jerusalem in the Second Temple period (*2 Chr.* 3:1). The prophets also received their messages outside the walls of Jerusalem.

This problem is resolved according to traditional Jewish and Christian commentators and theologians in a variety of ways that claim the primordial, divinely established prehistoric sanctity of Jerusalem for Israel. From the historical perspective, however, it must be noted that Jerusalem did not come under the full and consistent control of Israel until David, who lived in an era that is much later than that depicted in the Pentateuchal narratives. Jerusalem was chosen by David to be the political capital of an often-fractious group of tribes. It was not only the politically neutral nature of Jerusalem, located outside the established tribal areas, or the supposed geographic centrality of the city that caused it to become the capital of Israel. It was also the previously recognized pre-Israelite sanctity of the place that served to make Jerusalem an acceptable unifying symbol for the people of Israel. This is a noteworthy detail. To be precise, despite the Bible's consistent condemnation of Canaanite religion and the repeated command to destroy its ritual "high places," it was exactly such a place that became the most sacred space for Biblical religion. Jerusalem thus represents an early example of a sacred place that transcends cultural and religious boundaries. Ironically, perhaps, it was the pagan, non-Israelite sanctity of Jerusalem that made it not only an attractive place, but also a unifying center for the people of Israel and its emerging expressions of monotheism.

The challenge for the national record that would become the Bible was how to make the political capital of the Davidic chief-kings into the spiritual capital of a national religion whose memories of divine intervention all occurred elsewhere. Some of this process can be gleaned from the complex and layered writings of the Bible itself. One of its most powerful witnesses is the repeated reference in *Deuteronomy* (12:5, 11, 21, 26; 14:25, and 15:6) to an as-yet-unknown place where God will choose to cause the divine presence to dwell, the subtext of which is obviously Jerusalem. The authority of the divine word to Moses as depicted in *Deuteronomy* establishes Jerusalem even without specifically naming it, and David's and Solomon's divinely based authority as depicted in *2 Samuel* and *1 Kings* served to authenticate the priority of Jerusalem over Samaria and any other contending centers. The program was successful and Jerusalem would become the undisputed center, both physical and spiritual, for virtually all Jewish- and Christian-based religious movements, and one of the earliest and most important centers for religious expressions merging into and deriving from Islam.

THE EXTENSION OF SANCTITY. Just as the sanctity of Jerusalem moved across the religious boundary from Canaanite to Israelite religion, so would it become an important and perhaps necessary part of the sanctity that would define subsequent biblicist religious institutions. The defining act of the Crucifixion that would both symbolize and epitomize Christianity had to occur there, and even the divine authority of Jesus was established by his association with the holy city (*Lk.* 13:33–35). But the essential nature and meaning of Christian Jerusalem was not the same as Israelite Jerusalem. It had to be transformed in order for it to be a central and empowering institution for Christianity (*Mt.* 21:10–14). Jerusalem became spiritualized and delocalized in the early Christian context and therefore among its many derivative expressions. It is a "new Jerusalem" (*Rv.* 3:12), a "heavenly Jerusalem" (*Gal.* 4:26, *Heb.* 12:22), detached from the essentially defiling nature of physicality.

Similar to Christianity, the expressions of Judaism that emerged following the destruction of the Temple and the end of Jewish political power would also redefine the nature of the city, and their redefinition would find deep parallels with their sister Christian expressions. Although Jews, unlike Christians, would mourn the physical destruction of the city and its Temple (Babylonian Talmud [B.T.]: *Moʿed Katan* 16a), and pray daily for its rebuilding in future days, Jewish Jerusalem also became largely spiritualized (B.T.: *Baba Batra* 75B, *Midrash Tanhuma, Pequdey*) and it became, among other things, the gateway to heaven (*shaʿar hashamayim*) (*Pirqey deRabbi Eliʾezer* chapter 35).

Islam, too, would become deeply associated with this holy city, despite its preferential feeling for the sacred places of its origin in the Hijaz of west-central Arabia. As in the case of David and Solomon, the kings of Israel and Jesus, Muḥammad's divine authority was established through his personal association with Jerusalem (Qurʾān 17:1). But unlike the cases of these former personages, Muḥammad's entire mission took place in Arabia and not in Palestine.

From the perspective of the historian and student of religion, Muḥammad's association with Jerusalem is precarious, but from the perspective of the believer, it is deeply established and foundational. Anchored onto the first verse of the seventeenth chapter of the Qurʾān, known as the "Night Journey," the biographies of Muḥammad found in the *ḥadīth* and interpretive literatures prove his association with Jesus and the prophets of Israel in the holy city. Muḥammad's night journey to Jerusalem (*al-israʾ*) was not an end in itself, however, for the narratives always include his ascension (*miʿraj*) through Jerusalem, the gateway, to heaven. Although finding many parallels with Christian and rabbinic traditions, the Islamic association with Jerusalem remains unique. After arriving in the holy city (Arabic, *Al-Quds*), Muḥammad leads the other prophets in prayer; and through Jerusalem, the gateway to heaven, the Prophet enters and ascends the seven levels until he reaches the lotus tree beyond which no one can enter. At this highest level, Muḥammad receives a number of divine gifts, including divine guidance and knowledge of the divine will. These gifts guide him and authorize his *sunnah* or personal behavior to become the highest norm for Muslims throughout the world and throughout history. The record of Muḥammad's divinely guided *sunnah* was recorded over the centuries in an authoritative literature known as the *ḥadīth*, the most authoritative religious literature of Islam and second only to the Qurʾān. All of this is authorized and authenticated through the acknowledged sanctity of Jerusalem, the holy city.

EMERGING MONOTHEISMS AND THE SYMBOLIC POLEMICS. Rodney Stark, in partnership with William Sims Bainbridge and Laurence Iannacone, has demonstrated how successful emerging religions invariably adopt symbols of previously established religions and use them to establish their own credibility (Stark and Bainbridge, 1966). In other words, newly emerging religions that fail invariably fail to integrate the symbolism of established religions and put them to their own use. The exact nature of Jerusalem's sanctity prior to the Davidic conquest of the city is unknown, but it is clear that the Bible took great pains to ensure that Jerusalem was recognized as sacred, particularly for the emerging religious institutions of Israel. At first Jerusalem provided a special credibility to the centralization of Israelite worship in the Temple. Later the Temple established the sacred nature of Jerusalem. Attempts by factions such as the Samaritans to compete with Jerusalem through the sanctification of other sacred sites failed, and Jerusalem became symbolic of authentic monotheism. Jerusalem was the Temple and the priesthood. As the location of the indwelling presence of God, Jerusalem became the center of the universe. By the pre-Christian Roman period of control, the sacred nature of the city was known throughout the Mediterranean world.

In order for Jesus' death and resurrection to have an impact as a significant and authentic event on the populations of the Eastern Mediterranean in the first centuries CE, they had to have occurred in Jerusalem, as *Luke* 13:33–35 makes clear. The numerous other prophets and messianic figures known to have missions in other places from that period all failed. But Christianity, as opposed to biblical religion, quickly moved away from the old Near Eastern model of religion centered around a physical sacred place. It required "ownership" of Jerusalem for its success, but physical ownership was impossible for the most formative period of its existence. It therefore spiritualized the symbolism of the holy city for Christianity and thus controlled it. No new physical Temple would be rebuilt for the True Israel (*verus israel*), that is, Christianity. The Temple of Israel became the Universal Church.

Early rabbinic Judaism, the most successful form of Judaism emerging from the ashes of the Second Temple destroyed by Rome, was ambivalent about the sanctity of Jerusalem's physicality. It found substitutes for animal sacrifice in family home ritual and for the priests and prophets in the rabbis or in all the Jewish people, but it also longed for the Temple and prayed that it be rebuilt. When Christianity won the spiritual battle for the Roman Empire in the fourth century, it became necessary for Christianity to demonstrate its absolute hegemony through the symbolism of Jerusalem. This was accomplished by shifting the spiritual focus of the city from the Temple Mount symbolizing the old Israelite/Jewish religion, to the Holy Sepulchre symbolizing the essential act of Christianity: the passion and resurrection of Christ.

To emphasize these intentions, the Byzantine rulers of Jerusalem made the Temple area into the city dump. The polemics of this statement could not be clearer. God had demonstrated through history the divine rejection of Judaism and the Jews on the one hand, and the divine love for Christ and his followers on the other. Jewish Jerusalem was impure and filled with refuse, whereas Christian Jerusalem was sublime. But whereas the physical sanctity shifted westward toward the Holy Sepulchre, it took on less of the sanctity of place that was so clearly exemplified by the Temple.

When the armies of the Arab Conquest reached Jerusalem in 638 CE, according to legend they were appalled at the condition of the Temple Mount. The caliph ʿUmar himself rolled up the sleeves of his robe and led his people in a clean up of the sacred Temple precinct. It became known later in Arabic as the Sacred Precinct *(al-haram al-sharif)*, and some of the old sanctity of place was renewed. To the conquering Arabs, Jerusalem was the city of the prophets, the most powerful and universal symbol of monotheism. Islam would then claim its hegemony over both Judaism and Christianity with the erection of a magnificent monument, symbolic of the purity and superiority of what it claimed as the most perfect expression of monotheism and the divine will. That construction was not a mosque, but rather a monument celebrating the presence and success of a new faith. Grabar described the Dome of the Rock, completed in 691 CE, as "the first consciously created masterpiece of Islamic art" (1986). Only later, next to this testimonial structure, was begun the monumental construction of the al-Aqsa mosque.

SACRED OFFSPRING. Although the sacred spring may have first brought attention to the place known as Jerusalem or *al-Quds* ("the holy"), there is no absolute certainty about the origin of Jerusalem's sanctity or an "original" Jerusalem, only that its sacred nature predates the Israelite occupation. Like other sacred places, Jerusalem emerged from the shadows of ancient days and acquired meaning that evolves and changes through the ages. The personality and significance of the place in the days of the Amorites and Jebusites has been lost, and, although the Hebrew Bible provided meaning and significance at a later time, the "Biblical Period" of Jerusalem itself spanned centuries and represents many distinctive political, cultural, social, and religious communities, none of which exist today. The spiritual offspring of those communities live today as Christians, Jews, and Muslims, and all have claimed to epitomize if not personify the true Israel or the pure and primordial monotheism of the biblical Abraham. Each has maintained that it is the true embodiment of God's religion. As such, each claims an exclusive right to Jerusalem, the symbolic center of monotheistic sanctity.

The sacred nature of Jerusalem continues to exert its pull in modern and postmodern history. It has become the symbol of Jewish nationalism known as Zionism, the "Zion" of which is a biblical appellation for Jerusalem (*1 Kgs.* 8:1; *Is.* 2:3, 4:9, 10:32, 52:1; *Ps.* 102:17). Jerusalem has become the symbol of Palestinian nationalism as well, a nationalism that has become increasingly Islamic and religious in nature. In this regard Christianity differs existentially from both Judaism and Islam in that it no longer considers itself a religious peoplehood, though the Crusades are witness to this sentiment in some premodern Christian expressions.

At least since the 1930s, but increasingly so after 1967, new prophets have found their way to Jerusalem. A phenomenon called the "Jerusalem Syndrome" takes hold of anywhere from a dozen to a hundred or more individuals per year, mostly tourists but occasionally locals as well, who believe that they are prophets or messianic figures. The behavior of those caught up in the fervor varies, but often includes bathing or engaging in some kind of ritual purification, dressing in white, and engaging in bizarre but usually harmless behavior. They are treated in a psychiatric duty hospital and are generally released after four or five days.

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REUVEN FIRESTONE (2005)

JESUITS

JESUITS is the popular name for members of the Society of Jesus (S.J.), a religious order of clerics regular, founded by Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556) and canonically established by Pope Paul III in 1540.

PURPOSE AND ORGANIZATION. The order's purpose is twofold: to promote the salvation and perfection both of individual Jesuits and of all humankind. Jesuit organization, manner of life, and apostolic ministries are all designed to further this very broad goal. For the same reason, all Jesuits are expected to be ready to go to any part of the world and to engage in any work assigned to them, laboring always for the greater glory of God—hence the order's motto, "Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam" (A.M.D.G.). Much in the original structure was borrowed from existing orders, but several features were novel. These included the very extensive authority and lifelong tenure of the superior general; the lengthy training period and gradation of members; a distinct spirituality based on the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius Loyola; and stress on the vow of religious obedience. Official directives can be found in a large body of writings, known collectively as the Institute, which includes pertinent papal documents; the *Spiritual Exercises* and the Jesuit Constitutions (also composed by Ignatius Loyola); decrees of the society's thirty-three general congregations; and instructions of superiors general.

Supreme authority, subject always to the pope, rests in an elective body, the general congregation, which selects the superior general (the sole elected superior) and which alone has full legislative power. Day-to-day government is highly centralized under the superior general, resident in Rome, who has complete authority over the entire order. In practice, however, much of this authority is delegated to superiors throughout the world and to others whom the superior general appoints. Members are priests, candidates for the priesthood (scholastics), or temporal coadjutors (brothers). After priestly ordination and a final period of spiritual training (tertianship), priests receive their final grade as spiritual coadjutors or they are professed of four solemn vows (poverty, chastity, obedience, and special obedience to the pope). No special privileges attach to this last group, although certain posts are open only to them.

EARLY HISTORY AND SUPPRESSION. The combating of Protestantism was a major preoccupation of Jesuits up to the mid-seventeenth century, although the order was not founded with this goal in mind. Education, both of young laymen and clerics (whose seminary training was largely in Jesuit hands), was the principal area of activity in Europe and in mission lands. The society accomplished its most effective work in the Counter-Reformation by means of its schools, all of which were tuition-free and which concentrated on the humanities. Uniform pedagogical norms were supplied by the *Ratio studiorum*, first published in 1599. By 1749 the order, with 22,589 members, was operating 669 secondary schools (*collegia*) and 176 seminaries; 24 universities were wholly or partly under its control. The academic renown of these institutions won Jesuits the reputation of being the "schoolmasters of Europe." Scholarship was also diligently pursued, especially in the ecclesiastical sciences. In theology those who gained lasting fame include Peter Canisius and Roberto Bellarmino (both doctors of the church), Francisco Suárez, Luis de Molina, Denis Petau (Petavius), Gregory of Valencia, Gabriel Vázquez, Leonard Lessius, and Juan de Ripal-da. The Bollandists, a group of Belgian Jesuits, are renowned for their contributions to Christian hagiography. Pastoral ministries were very diverse. The Jesuits placed special emphasis on preaching, popular missions, administration of the sacraments, retreat direction according to the method of the *Spiritual Exercises*, guidance of Marian Congregations (sodalities), and promotion of devotions, especially to the Sacred Heart. They had almost a monopoly on the post of royal confessor throughout Catholic Europe.

Next to education, missionary work was the chief preoccupation of the Jesuits. By the mid-eighteenth century the society was evangelizing more territory and sending out more missionaries than any other order. The overwhelming majority labored in the vast Spanish or Portuguese lands in the New World and Asia, with some also in Africa. Others toiled in the French possessions in North America. Jesuits first arrived in the present-day limits of the United States in 1566, along the southeastern coast. Up to the American Revolution almost all the Catholic clergy in the English colonies were Jesuits. In the Americas their missionary establishments, called Reductions, became famous. In Asia, however, the Jesuits' missiological method of accommodation to native cultures, beneficial as it proved in many ways, involved the order in long, bitter disputes over Chinese and Malabar rites of worship, the greatest of all mission controversies.

The Society of Jesus has never lacked opponents. During the third quarter of the eighteenth century disparate groups of enemies combined forces to engage the order in a losing battle for life. French Gallicans and supporters of monarchical absolutism resented Jesuit championship of the papacy. Jansenists were bent on the ruin of the group that had long supplied their chief theological critics. Most hostile of all were radical devotees of the rationalistic Enlightenment, whose ranks numbered highly placed government officials as well as such gifted authors as Voltaire. Between 1759 and 1768, governments expelled the society from Portugal and Spain and their overseas possessions, from the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and from the Duchy of Parma. France outlawed the order. In 1773, Pope Clement XIV bowed to the demands and threats of the Bourbon courts, and by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority, dissolved the entire order. Complete suppression never actually occurred, for Russia refused the necessary official publication of the papal brief *Dominus ac Redemptor*. This permitted the society in Belorussia to continue its canonical existence. Pope Pius VII restored the order in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies in 1804 and allowed Jesuits everywhere to affiliate with their brethren in Russia. In 1814, Pius VII revoked the brief of suppression and completely restored the Society of Jesus.

ACTIVITIES SINCE 1814. After its restoration, the Society of Jesus spread throughout the world and came to exceed by far the numbers it had counted before 1773. Its membership totaled 36,038 in 1965, with 8,393 members in the United States. Educational and missionary endeavors continued to be its main areas of ministry. Scholarly traditions were revived, with more attention devoted to the social and physical sciences. The turbulence that has characterized life in the Catholic Church since Vatican II has not escaped the order, as is evident by its decline in total membership (to 25,952 in 1983; and to 20,170 in 2004) and among young scholastics (from 9,865 in 1965 to 3,347 in 1983). Efforts to meet the challenges of the age were the major preoccupations of the thirty-first general congregation (1965–1966) and the thirty-second (1974–1975), which decreed changes in the order's government, in the training and life of members, and in the choice of ministries. These general congregations also called for more emphasis on the struggle against atheism, on ecumenism, on closer relations with the laity, on the social apostolate, on use of the mass media, on service of faith, and on promotion of justice.

SEE ALSO Bellarmino, Roberto; Canisius, Peter; Christianity, articles on Christianity in Asia, Christianity in Latin America, Christianity in North America; Gallicanism; Ignatius Loyola; Missions, article on Christian Missions; Ricci, Matteo; Suárez, Francisco; Xavier, Francis.

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New Sources

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Revised Bibliography

JESUS.

Jesus Christ (7–5 BCE – 30–33 CE) is the founder of the Christian religion.

TRADITIONAL IMAGES OF JESUS. From early times, Christians worshiped Jesus. John's gospel already speaks of him as divine (1:1–4), and the dominant Christian tradition makes Jesus' deity an article of faith. So just as human beings always make gods in their own image, so too have Christians done with Jesus. In popular piety, sophisticated theology, and modern historiography, he has been viewed through a half-silvered mirror: depending upon the light, one sees either one's reflection or what is on the other side. Often, the links between the historical Jesus of Nazareth and representations of him have been tenuous. At the same time, to the extent that the New Testament preserves memories of this individual, the potential influence of a real historical figure live on.

Savior. Although Christians have always considered Jesus their savior, no creed or church council has ever defined the nature of his redemptive work. The tradition in *1 Corinthians* 15:3–7 says that Jesus "died for our sins" but does not explain how this worked. Similarly, the accounts of the last supper, which have Jesus instituting the central rite of most churches, have him saying that his body is "for you" (*1 Cor.* 11:24) or that his blood is "poured out for many" (*Mk.* 14:24), but there is no accompanying explanation. In *Romans* 3:25, Paul speaks of Jesus' death as a "propitiation" or "expiation"—that is, in sacrificial terms. Yet again there is no theory of the atonement.

Later theologians made up the lack. Origen (c. 185–c. 254 CE) argued that Jesus became a ransom to the devil, who had, with the fall of Adam and Eve, acquired ownership over them and their descendants. A popular myth, growing out of *Colossians* 2:14 ("erasing the record that stood against us with its legal demands"), had the devil tricking the first human beings into an agreement that was written on a stone thrown into the Jordan River and destroyed by Jesus at his baptism.

In the East, Jesus' descent to hell, allegedly exegetically rooted in *Matthew* 27:51–53 and *1 Peter* 3:18–20, became the great act of redemption. After expiring, Jesus descended to the realm of the dead, to which the devil, who did not realize what he was doing, gave him entrance. Once there, Jesus revealed his true nature and destroyed the chains that held all in Hades. Having ruined Satan's realm, Jesus then ascended, taking with him Adam and Eve and the saints of old (and in a few versions of this story, everybody). Orthodox celebrations of the resurrection replay this act every Easter service when the priest knocks on the doors of the church, which then open and allow him and the congregation to enter and celebrate the feast.

Western thought has focused on the language of atonement. For Anselm (1033–1109), offence against the infinite dignity of God, who is owed perfect obedience, creates an infinite debt. Since human beings are finite, they cannot pay the debt. So God in the person of the Son deigned to make satisfaction; that is, the Son paid a ransom to the Father. Being divine, he had the ability to do this; being human, he had the right to pay for humanity. This basic scheme was retained by the Reformers and remains alive in much popular Protestant thought, where the spotlight has been on God's justice and the punishment it demands. Yet such thinking has always had its detractors. Abelard (1079–1142) urged an exemplarist theory of the atonement, according to which Jesus' death is primarily a display of his love; its value lies in our imitation of such love.

Moral model. Jesus, who in the Gospels says "Follow me," has often served as a moral model. *Romans* 15:1–7 supplies an early instance, and *Matthew* presents Jesus as a moral example by offering numerous correlations between Jesus' imperatives and his deeds (e.g., *Mt.* 5:17–20 and 8:4; 5:39 and 26:67; 27:30; 6:6 and 14:23). Ignatius wrote, "Be imitators of Jesus Christ, as he was of his Father" (*Phil.* 7:2). Origen was more expansive: "Christ is set forth as an example to all believers, because as he ever chose the good. . .and loved righteousness and hated iniquity. . .so, too, should each one of us. . . .By this means we may as far as is possible become, through our imitation of him, partakers of the divine nature; as it is written, 'The one who believes in Christ ought to walk even as he walked'" (*De prin.* 4.4.4). Christian monasticism shared the same outlook, taking Jesus' poverty, celibacy, and obedience to be imperatives.

The most influential presentation of Jesus as an ethical model is the fifteenth-century *Imitation of Christ,* written by Thomas à Kempis and translated into English many times. With the exception of the Bible, it is perhaps Christianity's most widely read work. The first chapter sets forth its theme: "'The one who follows me, walks not in darkness,' says the Lord. These are the words of Christ, by which we are admonished how we should imitate his life and manners, if we will be truly enlightened, and be delivered from all blindness of heart. So let our chief endeavor be to meditate upon the life of Jesus Christ."

Many Protestants have found this sort of devotion theologically problematic. Since Martin Luther (1483–1546), there has been a reaction against an unimaginative and literalistic *imitatio Christi* (such as that exhibited by Francis of Assisi). Some have condemned the notion of imitating the canonical Jesus as a purely human effort that, in the event, cannot be achieved. Others have argued that the idea fails to preserve Jesus' unique status as a savior whose accomplishments cannot be emulated: the Christian gospel is not imitation of a human hero.

Despite such criticism, Jesus has remained a moral model for many, including many Protestants. More than one hundred years ago, C. M. Sheldon's *In His Steps* (1896), in which Jesus appears more like a modern American than an ancient Jew, was a best-seller. The title indicates the main theme. Today, socially concerned Christians continue to appeal to Jesus' ministry to unfortunates as precedent for their charitable causes. Liberation theologians argue that Jesus fought social and political injustice and that his followers should do likewise. Others have supported women's causes by calling upon Jesus' supposed liberation of them. So the imitation of Christ continues to take various forms. Popular Christian jewelry worn in the West is inscribed with the question, "What would Jesus do?"

The face of God. Jesus' status as divine makes his attributes those of God. This has meant, among other things, that Christians have conceived of God as compassionate. In the Gospels, Jesus is the "friend of tax collectors and sinners"; he heals the sick and infirm; he refuses to cast the first stone. In line with all this, the traditional images of the Pantokrator (ruler of the universe) have the exalted Jesus, as lord of the universe, lifting his right hand in the posture of blessing and holding a book with the words, "Come to me all who labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." Both Orthodox iconographers and Renaissance artists have favored the image of Mary embracing her infant son. Similarly, much popular Protestant art has depicted Jesus as welcoming children. This is the same compassionate Jesus to whom the so-called Jesus Prayer of Orthodox spirituality—"Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy upon me a sinner"—is directed.

If Jesus has often been the face of divine compassion, no less often has he been the face of divine judgment. Already the Gospels depict him as warning repeatedly of hell, and *Matthew* 25:31–46 depicts him as the judge of the last day, sending some into eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels. How such visions of judgment harmonize with the compassionate Christ is problematic. One thinks of Peter Paul Rubens's (1577–1640) astounding painting of Saint Francis crouched around and protecting the world from a Jesus Christ who wants to attack it with thunderbolts. Here Francis must become the compassionate savior because Jesus is the threatening judge.

The tension between the compassionate Jesus and the damning Jesus is such that many have thought the gospel portrait, which features both, cannot in this regard be historical. Can it be that a mind that was profoundly enamored of the love of God and that counseled charity toward enemies concurrently accepted and even promoted the dismal idea of a divinely-imposed, unending agony? Anticipating some modern scholarship, the poet Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822) argued in his "Essay on Christianity" that the evangelists "impute sentiments to Jesus Christ which flatly contradict each other." According to Shelley, Jesus actually "summoned his whole resources of persuasion to oppose" the idea of justice inherent in hell; Jesus believed in "a gentle and beneficent and compassionate" God, not in "a Being who shall deliberately scheme to inflict on a large portion of the human race tortures indescribably intense and indefinitely protracted." Shelley argued that "the absurd and execrable doctrine of vengeance, in all its shapes, seems to have been contemplated by this great moralist with the profoundest disapprobation." The gospel texts suggesting otherwise are for Shelley unhistorical.

Perhaps the most distinctive image of Jesus and of Christian art, and certainly the most popular in the West, is that of Jesus being crucified. One of the earliest artistic evidences for Christianity is a crude graffito with inscription ("Alexamenos worships his god") on the wall of a house in Rome on the Palatine Hill. Reflecting the ancient world's abhorrence of crucifixion, it mocks the crucified Christ by giving him the head of a donkey. But, in accordance with Paul's paradoxical theology and his boasting in the crucified Christ, Christians transformed the ancient instrument of torture into the salvific instrument par excellence. The traditional icons of the crucifixion, which typically depict a serene and majestic Christ, even seeming to sleep, are on some level a response to the problem of evil. While this has no satisfactory intellectual solution, Christians have found solace in the notion that God the Son has also suffered. Blaise Pascal (1623–1662) famously wrote that Christ is on the cross until the end of time. In our own day, the Holocaust haunts all reflection about Jesus' suffering. The Protestant theologian, Jürgen Moltmann (1926–), has argued that Jesus' cry of dereliction on the cross should be taken at face value: on the cross, God abandoned Jesus. So the crucified Son reveals the reality of divine suffering. The Son is abandoned, the Father grieves, and God paradoxically forsakes God. In this way the reality of human suffering is taken up into the Godhead, and Christians do not feel alone in their suffering.

Images outside the church. Jesus belongs not just to Christians but also, in one way or another, to other religions and even to those with no religion. Most traditional Jewish thought, reacting against Christian polemic and persecution, turned Jesus into a deceiver, a false prophet who practiced illicit magic (see below). Not all Jewish opinion, however, has been negative. Anticipating many modern Jewish thinkers, the Kairites, a non-Talmudic sect of the Middle Ages, claimed that Jesus was an authentic Jewish martyr whose identity Christianity distorted. More recently, some, downplaying Jesus' originality, have tried to reclaim him for Judaism by turning him into a Pharisee or Essene. Martin Buber (1878–1965) spoke of Jesus as his "great brother," who has "a great place. . .in Israel's history of faith." Probably the most positive Jewish evaluation of Jesus has come from the Orthodox German scholar Pinchas Lapide (1922–). Denying that Jesus was the Messiah, Lapide nonetheless expressed belief in Jesus' resurrection and acknowledged him as God's prophet to the Gentiles.

In Islam, Jesus, whom the Qurʾān mentions over a dozen times, is in the honored line of prophets that culminates in Muḥammad. Jesus was born of a virgin and lived without sin. He was a wise teacher and worked miracles. He was sentenced to be crucified but never was, instead ascending to heaven, from whence many Muslims expect him to return. Some believe that he will help Muḥammad at the last judgment. Jesus is not, however, divine, and Islamic teaching has it that the Gospels are corrupt: they contain imperfect, distorted memories of Jesus.

Popular Hinduism, although it has no place for Jesus' atoning death, has sometimes regarded him as an avatar, or incarnation, of Viṣṇu. Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948) further found Jesus' teaching in the sermon on the mount, or rather that teaching as Lev Tolstoi (1828–1910) interpreted it, to be profoundly true; it is reported that Gandhi was fond of several Christian hymns about Jesus. (Martin Luther King Jr.'s application of the sermon on the mount, with its emphasis upon nonviolence, was, to the extent it derived from Gandhi, also derived from Tolstoi.) Another twentieth-century Hindu, Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan (1888–1975), philosopher and president of India in the 1960s, offered a sophisticated, philosophical interpretation of Jesus. Radhakrishnan maintained the superiority of his native Hinduism over Christianity by accepting the authenticity of Jesus' religious experience but distinguishing that experience from its interpretations, which were suggested to Jesus and his followers by their human traditions. One should differentiate Jesus' discovery of the universal self from his culturally determined conception of that discovery as a revelation from without.

Of the negative evaluations of Jesus, three are especially characteristic of modern times. The Grand Inquisitor in Fedor Dostoevskii's novel *The Brothers Karamazov* (1879–1880) speaks for many when he asserts that Jesus "judged humanity too highly," for "it was created weaker and lower than Christ thought." In other words, Jesus was unrealistic. One cannot love one's enemies, or do away with anger, or turn the other cheek. His utopian ethic is just that—utopian: it does not work in the real world.

Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) offered a different criticism. For him, certain teachings in the Gospels reflect a slave mentality that should be rejected. If the unfortunate and oppressed turn the other cheek, this is only because, being without power, they can do nothing else; they are resigned in the face of their own oppression. So Jesus' nonviolence simply baptizes the status quo.

The classical Marxist critique is related: Jesus' eschatological vision acquiesces to the evils of the present instead of demanding historical change. The promises of future reward and warnings of future punishment devalue this world and discourage critical engagement with it. It is exceptional when, in his attempt to counter an oppressive bureaucracy, Milan Machoveč in *A Marxist Looks at Jesus* (1976) finds value in Jesus' demand for personal transformation in the light of the future's penetration of the present.

THE MODERN QUEST FOR THE HISTORICAL JESUS. For seventeen hundred years the canonical Gospels were approached in two different ways. The dominant approach was that of the Christian church, which accepted the texts at face value. The Gospels were thought historically accurate because divinely inspired and written by eyewitnesses or their friends. Occasionally there was recognition of inconcinnities. Augustine of Hippo (354–430) admitted that sometimes the evangelists pass on the same saying with different wording and that the frailty of memory could put the same events in different orders. John Calvin (1509–1564) went so far as to assert that the sermon on the mount is not the record of what Jesus said on one occasion but an artificial collection of things he said on various occasions. For the most part, however, the Gospels were identified with history.

The second approach before the modern period was that of Jewish polemic. This saw Jesus and his followers as deliberate deceivers (note *Mt.* 28:11–15). The medieval *Toledoth Jesus* attributes Jesus' miracles, which it does not deny, to magic. This is typical. The *Toledoth* tends not to assert that this or that event never happened, but rather to dispute its Christian interpretation.

The eighteenth century. Matters began to change in the middle of the eighteenth century. Modern historical methods emerged out of the rebirth of learning in the Renaissance; the Protestant Reformation introduced critical analysis of traditional religious stories (e.g., Roman Catholic legends); and the growing secularism that followed the wars of religion and the Enlightenment fostered disbelief in miracles. All of this encouraged the critical examination of the Gospels.

The most important of the early critics was Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694–1768), a one-time German pastor much influenced by the English deists. Unable to believe in miracles, he compiled objections to the Bible, including the Gospels. Reimarus may have been the first in the modern period—the third-century Greek philosopher Porphyry anticipated him in this—to distinguish between what Jesus himself said and what his disciples said he said. To the latter alone he attributed belief in the second coming and Jesus' atoning death. Reimarus also argued that Jesus' kingdom was basically political and that his tomb was empty because the disciples stole the body. Reimarus's goal was to take Christianity, subtract the bad and unbelievable things from it, and hand the world a new and improved religion.

Shying from controversy, Reimarus did not publish his own work, which did not appear until after his death, when the playwright and critic Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781) edited and published it. As Reimarus was rhetorically powerful, and as his rationalistic arguments had substance, his work generated support, as well as the predictable opposition.

The nineteenth century. The next phase in research saw the proliferation of the so-called liberal lives of Jesus in Germany. Agreeing with Reimarus that miracles do not happen, but dissenting from much of his skepticism regarding the historicity of the Gospels, these liberal lives, like the old Jewish polemic, tended not to dispute the events in the Gospels but rather their supernatural explanations. Instead, however, of invoking deliberate deception, as did the polemic, these critics thought in terms of misperception. Jesus did not walk on the water; he only appeared to do so when disciples on a boat saw him afar off on the shore. Jesus did not raise anyone from the dead; rather, some he prayed over recovered from comas, leading to that belief. Jesus' own resurrection was also simple misinterpretation. He did not die on the cross; he revived in the cool of the tomb. But his disciples, who were simple and superstitious, thought he had in fact died and come back to life.

This school of thought began to lose its popularity in middle of nineteenth century for several reasons. Most important was the critical work of the German historian and theologian, David Friedrich Strauss (1808–1874), who disparaged the liberal lives, as well as the conservative harmonists. Like the liberals, Strauss disbelieved in miracles. Unlike the liberals, he believed the gospel narratives to be thoroughly unreliable (and he dismissed *John* entirely). He considered them, although not Jesus himself, to be mythological, mostly the product of reflection upon the Old Testament narratives. Illustrative for Strauss is the transfiguration, which is based upon the similar transfiguration of Moses in *Exodus* 24 and 34, as appears from the several motifs both share. In addition, the feeding of the five thousand is modeled upon *2 Kings* 4:42–44, as the striking similarities show. Strauss was able to pile up parallel after parallel and establish on a critical footing the intertextual nature of the Gospels. In doing this he was, from one point of view, just following Tertullian and Eusebius, church fathers who had also observed the parallels between the Testaments. These earlier theologians were pursuing apologetical ends: the coincidences showed the same God at work. Strauss used the very same parallels to show the mythological character of most of the tradition.

Some who came after Strauss argued that he had not gone far enough, that Jesus was not a historical figure who attracted myths but was rather a myth himself, no more real than Zeus. The future was not, however, with such radicalism, which could never really explain Paul or Josephus's two references to Jesus. Far more lasting in their influence were Johannes Weiss (1863–1914) and Albert Schweitzer (1875–1965), two German scholars who, more trusting of the synoptics than Strauss, argued that the historical Jesus was all about eschatology. When Jesus said that the kingdom was at hand, he was announcing the imminence of the new world or utopian order (compare *Mk.* 9:1; 13:30). His expectations were not fulfilled in Easter or Pentecost or the destruction of the temple in 70 CE. Jesus was rather a mistaken apocalyptic visionary, which is why his ethics are so unrealistic. They are not for everyday life, but are instead an ethic of perfection designed for a world about to go out of existence.

The twentieth century. Most scholars since Schweitzer would concede that he and Weiss largely set the agenda. Most have thought that they were right to the extent that the traditions about Jesus are indeed full of eschatological themes. The debate has been to what extent those traditions go back to Jesus and whether Schweitzer's more or less literal interpretation of them is correct. Schweitzer himself tried to force a choice between eschatology and historicity. That is, he urged that, if the synoptics are reliable, then we must accept that Jesus was an eschatological prophet. If, to the contrary, Jesus was not an eschatological prophet, then the synoptics are unreliable guides and we should resign ourselves to skepticism.

Joachim Jeremias (1900–1979) of Göttingen was probably the most important player after Schweitzer to implicitly accept Schweitzer's basic analysis. Jeremias thought that, with the exception of the miracle stories, the synoptics are relatively reliable, and he agreed with Schweitzer that Jesus believed in a near consummation, expected his death to inaugurate the great tribulation, and hoped for his own resurrection as part of the general resurrection of the dead.

Not all accepted Schweitzer's dichotomy. While Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976), for instance, believed that Jesus was indeed an eschatological prophet, he was far more skeptical about the historicity of the synoptics than Schweitzer. Bultmann's views lie somewhere between Strauss's skepticism and Schweitzer's confidence. A form critic, Bultmann sought to isolate, classify, and evaluate the components of the Jesus tradition. Given that the order of events varies from gospel to gospel and that there is usually no logical connection between adjacent episodes, we cannot, Bultmann concluded, know the true order of events. When one adds that the church, in Bultmann's view, contributed as much to the sayings attributed to Jesus as did Jesus himself, it was no longer possible to write a biography of Jesus, only to sketch an outline of his teachings within a rather bare narrative.

Bultmann envisaged an oral stage during which various types of materials circulated. He attempted to reconstruct the setting in life for these types, to determine whether they were used in polemic, apologetics, moral teaching, or proclamation. Bultmann's tendency was to suppose that if a unit was used in Christian polemic, then Christian polemic created it. Yet despite his skepticism, he remained convinced that Schweitzer was basically correct about Jesus' eschatology, which Bultmann interpreted in existential terms. Assuming moderns could no longer share ancient eschatological expectations, Bultmann asked how the language functioned and, in response, stressed that it brought people to decision in the face of the future.

Another scholar who rejected Schweitzer's dichotomy was C. H. Dodd (1884–1973). Although he accepted the basic synoptic portrait (with the exception of *Mark* 13 and its parallels), he disagreed with Schweitzer regarding eschatology. Dodd famously urged that Jesus had a "realized eschatology." That is, the kingdom of God, Jesus' name for the transcendent order in which there is no before or after, had manifested itself in the crisis of his ministry. Further, Jesus expected vindication after death, which he variously spoke of as resurrection, the coming of the Son of man, and the rebuilding of the temple. But the church came to long for the future coming of the Son of man, now conceived of as Jesus' return. In this way eschatology ceased to be realized. The change of outlook was such that the church eventually, and according to Dodd regrettably, made *Revelation* its canonical finale.

Recent work. Probably the most prominent of recent scholars to reject Schweitzer's dichotomy is John Dominic Crossan (1934–). In his several books on Jesus he has argued that while most of the material Schweitzer used in his reconstruction of Jesus came from the church, we can still know a great deal about Jesus, who is very different from Schweitzer's vision of an eschatological visionary. For Crossan, Jesus was indeed utopian, but what he envisaged was not a traditional eschatological scenario. Jesus was a Jewish peasant whose revolutionary social program is best preserved in aphorisms and parables. These depict a Cynic-like sage who welcomes outcasts as equals. Traditional eschatology—resurrection, last judgment, heaven, hell—and their attendant violence do not make an appearance.

Crossan was one of the founding members of the Jesus Seminar, the other cofounder being Robert Funk (1926–). The Seminar is a loosely affiliated group of fewer than one hundred scholars who began, in the 1980s, meeting twice a year to discuss and vote upon questions concerning the historical Jesus. The upshot of their work is the conclusion that approximately 18 percent of the sayings attributed to Jesus in the synoptics go back to him or represent something that he said. Among their other conclusions, which have generated much controversy, are these: only one saying in *John* reflects something Jesus said (4:44); Jesus did not consider himself to be the messiah or Son of man; he said little or nothing about resurrection and judgment; he was a laconic sage known for pithy one-liners and parables; he did not keep kosher; and he did not often cite or refer to scripture. A major achievement of the Jesus Seminar, whose conclusions represent only one group of scholars, has been to bring contemporary critical work to public notice.

Many are now wont to divide the question for the historical Jesus into three stages. The first stage, it is claimed, was the nineteenth-century German endeavor so memorably reported by Schweitzer. The second was the "new quest" carried on in the 1950s and 1960s by some of Bultmann's students and a few others. The "third quest" is the name now often attached to the labors of the present moment. This typology, which obscures much more than it illumines, will, one hopes, eventually fall into oblivion. One fundamental failing is that it dismisses with silence the period between the first quest and the new quest. Some have even called this the period of "no quest," which scarcely fits the facts. The typology is also problematic because most work of importance that went on during and after the 1950s cannot be subsumed under the new quest, and because the third quest has no truly distinguishing features. Instead of dividing post-Schweitzerian activities into chronological segments or different quests, it is more useful to lay aside the diachronic in favor of the synchronic, to abandon periodization for a typology that allows the classification of a book, whether from the 1920s or the 1990s, with those akin to it. One should lump together books that present Jesus as a liberal social reformer, those that present him as forerunner of Christian orthodoxy, those that reconstruct him as an eschatological Jewish prophet, those that liken him to a wisdom sage, those that regard him as having been a political revolutionary, and so on. This is the best way to judge the progress of the discipline.

The most striking fact about recent research is that it resents easy generalization precisely because of its pluralism. Contemporary work has no characteristic method, it has no body of shared conclusions, and it has no common set of historiographical or theological presuppositions. Those who continue to speak of the third quest and delineate its distinctive features are engaging in an antiquated activity that needs to be deconstructed. The lists are all tendentious because the age of the easy generalization and the authentic consensus is over.

A RECONSTRUCTION. The most important sources for Jesus are found in the New Testament—Paul and the synoptics and their sources, including *Q*, the hypothetical sayings source used by *Matthew* and *Luke*. The *Gospel of John* is of less help, as are the various apocryphal gospels, although the *Gospel of Thomas* seems to contain some early and independent sayings of Jesus. Non-Christian sources—the Jewish historian Josephus, the Babylonian *Talmud*, the Roman historians Tacitus and Suetonius, and others—do little more than confirm Jesus' existence and his crucifixion under Pontius Pilate.

Scholars disagree on the reliability of the extant sources and so they do not concur on how much we can know about the historical Jesus. Discussions of method have led to no consensus. Many attempt to reconstruct Jesus by passing individual units through various criteria of authenticity. Such criteria are not particularly reliable. It seems safer to base one's major conclusions upon the larger patterns and themes that run throughout the various sources. It is probably in such patterns and themes, if anywhere, that the Jesus of history has been remembered.

Before the public ministry. Aside from *Matthew* 1–2 and *Luke* 1–2, first-century Christian writings have next to nothing to say about Jesus before his public ministry, and those two chapters are poor sources for history. Some agreements between *Matthew* 1–2 and *Luke* 1–2, however, preserve memory. Jesus' parents were named Mary and Joseph, and whether or not he was born in Bethlehem, he did later live in Nazareth (*Mt.* 2:23; *Lk.* 2:39). One can also plausibly defend Jesus' Davidic descent, his birth before the death of Herod the Great in 4 BCE, and perhaps the possibility that Mary became pregnant before Joseph and Mary began to live together.

John the Baptist and Jesus. John, who baptized Jesus, was an ascetic. The synoptics have him dwelling in the desert (*Mk.* 1:4; *Jn.* 1:23, 28), wearing camel's hair (*Mk.* 1:6), and eating locusts and wild honey (*Mk.* 1:6). *Matthew* 11:18 = *Luke* 7:33 (*Q*) characterizes him as neither eating nor drinking, and *Mark* 2:18 refers to the fasting of his followers.

John's asceticism was part of a moral earnestness linked to belief in an imminent consummation: he called for repentance in view of the coming judgment (*Mt.* 3:7–10 = *Lk.* 3:7–9 [*Q*]; *Mk.* 1:4). John the Baptist opposed the notion that all Israel has a place in the world to come. More than a few Jews probably hoped that their descent from Abraham would, as long as they did not abandon the Torah, gain them entry into the world to come. John thought otherwise (*Mt.* 3:9 = *Lk.* 3:8 [*Q*]).

That Jesus submitted to John's baptism shows his essential agreement with him on many, if not most, matters. This is confirmed by his praise of the Baptist (*Mt.* 11:7–19 = *Lk.* 7:24–35 [*Q*]). It is natural that Jesus was remembered as being, like John, a preacher of repentance, as being preoccupied with eschatology, and as being convinced that membership in the covenant guarantees nothing. There is not even fundamental discontinuity in the matter of asceticism, for the missionary discourses depict a very harsh lifestyle (*Mt.* 10:1–16 = *Lk.* 10:1–16 [*Q*]; *Mk.* 6:8–11), and some disciples abandoned families and business (*Mt.* 8:18–22 = *Lk.* 9:57–60 [*Q*]; *Mt.* 10:37 = *Lk.* 14:26 [*Q*]). Jesus himself was unmarried (presumably *Matthew* 19:12 was originally a riposte to the slander that he was a eunuch). He demanded the guarding of sexual desire (*Mt.* 5:27–28), issued strident warnings about money and property (*Mt.* 8:19–20 = *Lk.* 9:57–58 [*Q*]; *Mt.* 10:9–10, 13 = *Lk.* 10:4, 7–8 [*Q*]), and in general lived and demanded self-discipline and rigorous self-denial (*Mt.* 10:38 = *Lk.* 14:27 [*Q*]; *Mk.* 8:34).

Baptism and temptation. Although the baptismal narratives convey the theology of the church, one need not doubt that Jesus did, in fact, submit to John's baptism. This is not the sort of event the early church would have invented. It is, moreover, plausible that Jesus experienced his baptism as a prophetic call. This would explain why his public ministry was remembered as beginning shortly thereafter and why his followers narrated the event even though it involved Jesus submitting to John.

The accounts of Jesus' temptation also express the theology of the community. Even so, stories that do not reproduce history may convey it, and the temptation narratives highlight several themes that appear elsewhere in the sources. That Jesus overcomes Satan coheres with his being a successful exorcist. That Jesus is, as the devil's challenges assume, a miracle worker, harmonizes with the rest of the tradition. That Jesus does not perform miracles on demand matches *Mark* 8:11–13, where he refuses to grant a sign (see also *Mt.* 12:38–42 = *Lk.* 11:29–30 [*Q*]). And that Jesus is a person of great faith who, in need, waits upon God, also matches the rest of the tradition (see *Mt.* 6:11 = *Lk.* 11:3 [*Q*]; *Mt.* 6:25–34 = *Lk.* 12:22–32 [*Q*]).

Disciples. Because he was a teacher, Jesus had disciples. Not all scholars agree, however, that he gathered a select group of twelve. Doubt comes from the fact that they appear only once in *Q* (*Mt.* 19.28 = *Lk.* 22:28–30). Yet "the twelve" is already a fixed expression in *1 Corinthians* 15:5, which guarantees its antiquity. Furthermore, Judas, who was, according to the Gospels, chosen by Jesus himself, was known as "one of the twelve" (*Mk.* 14:10, 43). This is unlikely to be free invention.

In selecting a group of twelve, Jesus' intent was probably the creation of a prophetic and eschatological symbol: the twelve disciples represented the twelve tribes of Israel. Jesus presumably shared the expectation of the eschatological restoration of the twelve lost, or rather hidden, tribes. In line with this, *Matthew* 19:28 = *Luke* 22:28–30 (*Q*) promises Jesus' followers that they will "rule over" or "judge" the twelve tribes of Israel, which assumes that those tribes will soon return to the land.

If the twelve functioned as an eschatological symbol of Israel's renewal, they also served, along with others, to spread Jesus' message. This is likely why we have reliable information about Jesus in the first place. Pre-Easter itinerants, according to *Matthew* 10:7 = *Luke* 10:9 (*Q*), were instructed to proclaim the kingdom of God and its imminence. Although we do not learn what specifically they were to say, their message cannot have differed much from that of Jesus. Certainly their other activities were imitative, for their purpose was to enlarge Jesus' influence. So their proclamation must have been his proclamation. In other words, recitation of the teaching of Jesus predates the church.

The traditional image of Jesus wandering around Galilee with twelve male disciples is mistaken. Not only were the twelve presumably part of a larger group, but *Mark* 15:40–41 tells us that, when Jesus was crucified, some women looked on from a distance, among them Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James the younger and of Joses, and Salome. *Luke* 8:1–3, which in several particulars derived from non-Markan tradition, adds that Jesus was accompanied by "Mary, called Magdalene, from whom seven demons had gone out, and Joanna, the wife of Herod's steward Chuza, and Susanna, and many others, who provided for them out of their resources." This text and *Mark* 15:40–41 stand out from the rest of the synoptic tradition, which otherwise does not inform us that women were among the itinerants who followed Jesus. Notwithstanding its meager attestation in the extant sources, the existence of such a group is not a fiction.

Mark 15:41 says that the women "ministered" to Jesus. This may mean that they offered him financial support (so *Luke* 8:3) or served him at table. But *Mark* also says that the women "followed" Jesus, and this implies that they were, like the twelve, "disciples." Perhaps we should think of Mary Magdalene and the others as students of Jesus and genuine coworkers.

Eschatology. Jesus lived within an eschatological scenario, which he thought of as already unfolding. He anticipated the resurrection of the dead and the final judgment (*Mt.* 8:11–12 = *Lk.* 13:28–29 [*Q*]; *Mt.* 12:38–42 = *Lk.* 11:29–32 [*Q*]; *Mk.* 12:18–27). He spoke in terms of rewards for the righteous and recompense for the wicked (*Mt.* 10:32–33 = *Lk.* 12:8–9 [*Q*]; *Mk.* 8:35; 9:41–48; *Mt.* 25:14–30, 31–46). He prophesied trouble for the saints (*Mt.* 10:14–15 = *Lk.* 10:11–12 [*Q*]; *Mt.* 10:16 = *Lk.* 10:3 [*Q*]; *Mk.* 10:35–40; *Mt.* 10:23, 25). He envisaged a revised, second edition of earth with the earlier deficiencies corrected—paradise regained, heaven on earth. And he hoped all of this would transpire soon. There is no evidence that Jesus shared the expectation of some that the Gentiles would suffer destruction at the end, and the existence of an early Christian mission to Gentiles confirms that he did not anticipate their annihilation.

Jesus announced the beginning of God's reign in the present (*Mt.* 12:28 = *Lk.* 11:20 [*Q*]; *Lk.* 17:20) and otherwise indicated its arrival by speaking of the defeat of Satan (*Mt.* 12:28 = *Lk.* 11:20 [*Q*]; *Mk.* 13:27; *Lk.* 10:18). So eschatological expectations were being fulfilled: "Blessed are the eyes that see what you see! For I tell you that many prophets and kings desired to see what you see, but did not see it, and to hear what you hear, but did not hear it" (*Mt.* 13:16–17 = *Lk.* 10:23–24 [*Q*]). Matters are similar in *Matthew* 10:35–36 = *Luke* 12:53 (*Q*), which paraphrases the eschatological prophecy of family strife in *Micah* 7:6 and makes it a present reality. So once again Jesus' ministry fulfills an eschatological oracle. In this case, however, it is not the saving miracles of the end time that have entered the present, but the tribulation of the latter days.

Torah and ethics. In *Mark* 7:8–13 Jesus rebuts opponents by accusing them of not honoring their father and mother. In *Mark* 10:19 he enumerates and endorses the last half of the Decalogue. And in the Sabbath controversies he rejects the charge of being reckless. Jesus nowhere declares that the Sabbath has been abolished, as did some later Christians. Nor does he say that the true God did not institute the Sabbath. Instead of attacking the Sabbath, Jesus teaches that one imperative can trump another, that human need can, in some cases, overrule Sabbath keeping, which, it is assumed, remains intact. There is nothing revolutionary in this: Jewish law certainly knew that Sabbath observance might be the lesser of two goods (the law-observant Maccabees decided to take up arms on the Sabbath).

If tradition remembers Jesus upholding the Torah, it also shows another side. The question in *Mark* 3:33, "Who are my mother and my brothers?" does not honor Jesus' mother. Closely related is *Matthew* 10:37 = *Luke* 14:26 (*Q*): "Whoever comes to me and does not hate his own father and mother. . .cannot be my disciple." This is a deliberate contrast to *Exodus* 20:12 = *Deuteronomy* 5:16, "Honor your father and your mother." Even more far-reaching are *Matthew* 5:31–32 = *Luke* 16:18 (*Q*) and *Mark* 10:2–12 (cf. *1 Cor.* 7:10–11), where Jesus prohibits divorce, which Moses permits (*Dt.* 24:1–4).

The radical rhetoric is tied to eschatology. The kingdom relativizes Moses' imperatives by trumping them when the two conflict. If, moreover, the kingdom is at hand, then the renewal of the world is nigh; and if the renewal of the world is nigh, then paradise is about to be restored; and if paradise is about to be restored, then concessions to sin are no longer needed. This is the implicit logic of *Mark* 10:1–12. Because the last things will be as the first, and because, for Jesus, the last things have begun to come, so have the first. Jesus can therefore promulgate a prelapsarian ethic. Insofar as the law contains concessions to the fall, it requires repair.

That the coming of the kingdom impinges upon the law is explicit in *Matthew* 11:12–13 = *Luke* 16:16 (*Q*). Here Jesus distinguishes between the time of the law and the prophets on the one hand and the time of the kingdom on the other. This means that the time of the law has, in some sense, been superseded by the time of the eschatological kingdom.

The marginal. Jesus ministered to individuals with little social status. In *Mark,* he heals demoniacs, paralytics, a leper, and blind men. It is the same in *Q* (*Mt.* 11:2–6 = *Lk.* 7:18–23), in which Jesus blesses the poor, those in mourning, the thirsty, and the persecuted (*Mt.* 5:3–4, 6, 11–12 = *Lk.* 6:20–23) and announces that the humble will be exalted (*Mt.* 23:12 = *Lk.* 14:11). In *Luke,* Jesus takes the side of poor Lazarus, not the rich man (16:19–31), and he depicts Samaritans, traditionally enemies of Jews, in a good light (10:29–37; 17:11–19).

Even when one takes into account that healers necessarily minister to the sick, that the well have no need of a physician, one comes away with the impression that Jesus had a special interest in those on the margins of society. Perhaps this was part and parcel of the great eschatological reversal, which would see the humble exalted. Yet *Q* also has him healing the son or servant of a centurion, a person of great authority, without demanding any change of life (*Mt.* 8:5–13 = *Lk.* 7:1–10 [*Q*]); *Matthew* has Jesus giving advice to those who can afford to give alms (6:1–4); and *Luke* has him eating with a well-to-do toll collector, Zacchaeus (19:1–10), and being supported by "Joanna, the wife of Herod's steward Chuza," who must have been prosperous (8:3). So the tradition does not depict Jesus as engaging only those in the same socioeconomic circumstances but rather being expansive in his ministry and affections.

Miracles. Whether one explains the fact by appealing to divine intervention, parapsychology, or the psychosomatic phenomena of mass psychology, Jesus was known as a miracle worker during his own life. Surely the hope of being healed or beholding miracles brought much of his audience to him. His opponents themselves conceded his abilities when they attributed his success to an allegiance with Beelzebul (*Mt.* 12:27 = *Lk.* 11:19 [*Q*]; *Mk.* 3:22–27; cf. *Jn.* 7:20; 8:48; 10:20).

Although Jesus was a miracle worker, this does not guarantee the authenticity of any particular miracle story, and as they stand many of the stories are highly symbolic and vehicles of Christian theology. The transfiguration narrative in *Mark* 9:2–8 makes Jesus like the glowing Moses of *Exodus* 34 and so confirms him as the prophet foretold in *Deuteronomy* 18:15–18. The feeding of five thousand in *Mark* 6:32–44 and *John* 6:1–15 not only foreshadows the last supper but strongly recalls the miracle of *2 Kings* 4:42–44 and so makes Jesus like Elisha. The story of the widow of Nain in *Luke* 7:11–17 makes Jesus rather like Elijah because it is clearly modeled upon *1 Kings* 17:8–24. All this is typical.

The tradition interprets the miracles of Jesus as signs of eschatological fulfillment, and this was the interpretation of Jesus himself. According to *Matthew* 12:27 = *Luke* 11:20 (*Q*), if Jesus casts out demons by the finger of God, then the kingdom of God has come. The defeat of Satan's realm is what happens in the latter days, so if Satan's realm is now being conquered, the latter days have arrived.

Self-conception. That Jesus was arrested, not the disciples, shows that he was from the beginning the center of the new movement. This is confirmed by the title on the cross: Pilate charges Jesus alone with being "the king of the Jews" (*Mk.* 15:25; *Jn.* 19:19).

Some regarded Jesus as a prophet (*Mk.* 6:14–16; 8:28; *Lk.* 7:16), and the title appears on his own lips in *Mark* 6:4 and *Luke* 13:33. As *Matthew* 5:3–6, 11–12 = *Luke* 6:20–23 (*Q*, the beatitudes) and *Matthew* 11:2–6 = *Luke* 7:18–23 (*Q*, Jesus' answer to the Baptist) use the language of *Isaiah* 61:1–2, Jesus probably understood himself to be specifically the anointed prophet of Isaiah's oracle.

In addition to taking on the role of the prophet of *Isaiah* 61, there is a good chance that Jesus, like the early church (cf. *Acts* 3:22), reckoned himself the prophet like Moses of *Deuteronomy* 18:15 and 18:18 in the time of a new exodus. In *Matthew* 12:28 = *Luke* 11:20 (*Q*), Jesus alludes to *Exodus* 8:19 in claiming that he casts out demons by the finger of God, so in this respect at least he is like the miracle-working Moses. In reversing the commandment to love parents (*Mt.* 10:37 = *Lk.* 14:26 [*Q*]), Jesus sets his own words over against those of the first lawgiver. *Matthew* 5:21–22 and 27–28 do the same thing. He also characterizes his own generation with language originally descriptive of Moses' generation (cf. *Mt.* 12:38–42 = *Lk.* *Q* 11:29–30 [*Q*] with *Dt.* 1:35).

Traditionally, Christians have taken Jesus' favorite epithet in the synoptics, "the Son of man," to indicate his true humanity. Modern scholars, however, adopt other interpretations. Some suppose that "the Son of man" was a known messianic title that Jesus used of himself or another yet to come. For others, "the Son of man" goes back to an Aramaic idiom that meant something like "one"; it was an indirect way of talking about oneself, of speaking of the particular by way of the general (cf. "One must do one's duty").

The linguistic issues surrounding "the Son of man" in first-century Aramaic remain disputed. Further, even if the phrase was common and functioned like a pronoun, one can always take an everyday expression and do something interesting with it (cf. the use of "I am" in *John*). This is not an idle point given that Jesus was innovative in the linguistic sphere (e.g., in his use of "amen" at the beginning of sentences).

Some sayings link "the Son of man" with *Daniel* 7. Especially important is *Matthew* 10:32–33 = *Luke* 12:8–9, which probably goes back to Jesus. This *Q* saying echoes *Daniel* 7 in that it concerns the last judgment, has as its central figure the Son of man, depicts that figure as being "before" the divine court, sets the stage with angels, and speaks to a situation of persecution. This then is evidence that Jesus associated himself and his ministry with *Daniel*'s vision of the judgment and "one like a son of man."

Regarding the promises to David and the title "messiah" (anointed one) or its Greek equivalent, "Christ," *Mark* 12:35–37 (on David's son and Lord) does not help, for even if it preserves an argument from Jesus, the point has been lost. Also less than helpful are *Mark* 8:27–30 (the confession at Caesarea Philippi) and 14:53–65 (the Jewish trial in which Jesus acknowledges his messiahship). For aside from how much history lies behind these passages, in neither does Jesus comment directly on the title "messiah." The very fact that "messiah" is so rare in the Gospels but so common in the epistles has suggested to many that the title betrays a post-Easter interpretation of Jesus.

Nonetheless, the Romans did execute him as a politically dangerous "king" (*Mk.* 15:26), and since they surely did not invent this charge out of nothing, somebody must have perceived Jesus as such. If Jesus identified himself with the eschatological prophet of *Isaiah* 61:1–2, he would have thought of himself as an anointed one, for that figure declares, "The Lord has anointed me." Again, if either *Matthew* 19:28 = *Luke* 22:28–30 (*Q*: Jesus is the leader of those who sit on thrones) or *Mark* 10:35–40 (disciples sit at Jesus' right and left in the kingdom) contains authentic material, Jesus must have thought himself king. The same result follows if he spoke of rebuilding the temple, for *2 Samuel* 7:4–17 foresees a descendant of David who will build God's house, and this was an eschatological prophecy in first-century Judaism.

Anticipation of death. Jesus presumably anticipated suffering and an untimely death. Not only do the prophetic and apocalyptic traditions, which so influenced Jesus, recognize that the saints must pass through tribulation before salvation arrives, but the Baptist's martyrdom must have served as a warning. A number of sayings furthermore depict Jesus enjoining his followers to reckon seriously with the prospect of both suffering and death; if any of them is authentic, then it is likely that Jesus himself expected to suffer and die before his time, for surely he would have anticipated for himself a fate similar to those around him.

Jesus likely imagined his future as belonging to the tribulation that would herald the end. *Matthew* 10:34–35 = *Luke* 12:51–53 *(Q)* applies *Micah* 7:6 to the present, and *Micah* 7:6 was widely understood as a prophecy of what the rabbis called "the woe of the messiah." In line with this, *Luke* 16:16 speaks of the kingdom of heaven suffering violence and seems to construe the death of the Baptist as belonging to the eschatological trial. According to *Mark* 9:49, everyone will go through the coming eschatological fire, and there is no reason to exclude Jesus from the generalization, as *Luke* 12:49–50, if authentic, confirms.

Jerusalem. Jesus went to Jerusalem in either 30 or 33 CE (*John* has him going up more than once, perhaps correctly). Whether Jesus wanted to provoke a confrontation, or even to die, *Mark* 11:1–10 and *John* 12:12–19 have him deliberately approaching Jerusalem not on foot but on a donkey, thereby making a public display of kingship (cf. *Zec.* 9:9). The scenario may be historical given Jesus' exalted self-conception, as well as the probability that he engaged in another prophetic action at the same time, turning over tables in the temple (*Mk.* 11:11, 15–17). Commentators tend to suppose that, by this disturbance, he was either symbolizing the future destruction of the temple or protesting certain corrupt practices, but the two interpretations need not be opposed. Protestation of abuses and an enacted parable of destruction probably went together.

Arrest and interrogation. Whether or not it was the incident in the temple that eventually led to Jesus' arrest, he was probably brought before some members of the Jerusalem Sanhedrin, although we should probably not speak of a formal trial (*Mk.* 14:53–65; *Jn.* 18:13–24). We can further accept the report that he was then accused of acting and speaking against the temple, and that the authorities, probably because they did not have the authority to execute him (*Jn.* 18:31), handed him over to Pilate (*Mk.* 15:1; *Jn.* 18:28), who ordered him to be crucified as a "king" or political pretender.

Resurrection. The traditions about Jesus' resurrection do not belong to the story of the historical Jesus but to church history. The explanations for them are manifold. (1) According to the traditional theological story, God raised Jesus from the dead. The tomb was empty, and people saw the glorified Jesus. (2) The tomb was empty, not because Jesus rose from the dead, but because followers visited the wrong tomb, because someone later moved the body to a permanent burial site (cf. *Jn.* 20:2, 14–15), or because the authorities, not wanting a venerated tomb, moved the body. Early Christians then interpreted the empty tomb in terms of their religious hopes and dreams, and some of them then had subjective visions. (3) To turn things around, the empty tomb was a late legend and Easter faith began with the subjective christophanies of Peter and the other disciples. (4) The visions were real because the disembodied Jesus survived death and communicated to his disciples, but the story of the empty tomb is late and legendary, the creation of people who believed, on the basis of their faith alone, that, if Jesus were alive, he had been resurrected, and so the body must have disappeared. (5) There was deliberate fraud. The disciples stole the body and concocted belief in the resurrection because they wanted to be leaders of a religious movement. (6) The disciples saw Jesus in terms of a traditional cluster of motifs surrounding the persecuted righteous individual whom God rescues from death (*2 Mc.* 7; *Wis.* 3–4), and after his death simply posited his vindication as an act of faith.

The appearance stories and empty tomb, however explained, emerged later and presuppose the resurrection.

SEE ALSO Atonement, article on Christian Concepts; Biblical Literature, article on New Testament; God, article on God in the New Testament; Justification; Redemption; Theology, article on Christian Theology; Trinity.

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JESUS MOVEMENT refers to a communally oriented fundamentalist Christian movement that developed in the 1960s and 1970s among relatively affluent young people in the United States. Early Jesus Movement groups attracted considerable media attention and became the focus of some Christian religious leaders who were concerned about whether or not such groups were "truly Christian." Well-publicized lifestyle practices that included long hair and casual dress contributed to the controversy, as did overt efforts to proselytize other young people.

The movement gained much attention for about three decades and spread to other countries, becoming worldwide in scope. One controversial Jesus Movement group, the Children of God, at one time had outposts in nearly two hundred countries. The movement lost momentum in the 1990s, and by the early 2000s only a few Jesus Movement groups, such as Jesus People USA, centered in Chicago, and the Family (formerly known as the Children of God) were still in existence. Remnants of some Jesus Movement groups joined Pentecostal churches, such as Calvary Chapel, a new denomination that has many features akin to the Jesus Movement.

Most participants in early Jesus Movement groups were heavily involved with drugs, alcohol, tobacco, and premarital sex prior to joining. Participation in the Jesus Movement usually led to dramatic behavioral changes, with the notion of "getting high on Jesus" seeming to serve as a replacement for previous activities. The Jesus Movement seems to have served as a "halfway house" for many participants who had become disaffected from normal society and were involved with dissipated lifestyles.

Some Jesus Movement groups grew rapidly, attracting much media attention. Recruitment was aided by the establishment of communal centers where converts could find food, shelter, and friendship (along with the "message of Jesus"). This communal context also allowed more rigorous resocialization to take place in the relative isolation of such settings, with some Jesus Movement groups—such as Shiloh, which began in southern California in the late 1960s but shifted its headquarters to a rural setting in Oregon in the 1970s—developing sophisticated approaches to member training. Later, as the "target population" of young people decreased in number, recruitment became more difficult, forcing experimentation with new methods: "Jesus rock" concerts were held, Christian coffee houses were opened, and attention was paid to recruitment on college campuses, among other tactics.

Initial Jesus Movement recruits were mostly single young males, which contributed to the considerable geographic mobility that characterized the movement's early years. Members were not burdened with families and could be sent to faraway places for missionary activities. Members of several groups, such as the Children of God, could decide to "live on the road." Other groups were also quite mobile as they "spread the Word" in the United States and elsewhere.

Major media portrayed the large and energetic Jesus Movement as a sharp contrast to the considerable turmoil over the Vietnam War, race, and other issues in American society. Some societal leaders initially celebrated the apparent "return to religion" by many young people. Later, the media, as well as the general public and policymakers, soured on the recruitment efforts of most Jesus Movement groups. Unsavory actions, such as the Children of God's "flirty fishing," which for a time used sex as a recruiting tool, were revealed. In addition, most Jesus Movement groups were "high demand" religions that expected participants to "forsake all" to follow Jesus and obey group leaders.

When accusations of brainwashing and mind control were made against some Jesus Movement groups, authorities sought to exert control over the groups and to limit recruitment. Such accusations were refuted by scholars studying these groups, but such claims persisted and led to problems for some Jesus Movement groups. Indeed, the first recorded "deprogramming" of a member of a new religious movement (the first of many thousands in the United States and other countries) involved a member of the Children of God.

More females, including some with children, were attracted to the Jesus Movement groups, which were usually communal, facilitating the establishment of families. With the arrival of children (sometimes in large numbers, since most Jesus Movement groups did not practice birth control), life in the Jesus Movement underwent dramatic change. Groups with families as a large proportion of membership had to support the family units. Membership figures for the Family demonstrate the magnitude of this change. As of 2003, the Family had approximately ten thousand members worldwide, with well over half of them being children. The presence of families had a domesticating effect on Jesus Movement groups. Mobility had to be curtailed, making groups much more sedentary. This led to a lessening of missionary activities in other countries. Divisions of labor were established within the groups, so that fewer members traveled and proselytized, while most took care of children and sought ways to support growing families.

The presence of children sometimes led to conflicts with public officials over child care and schooling. Some Jesus Movement groups home-schooled their children in an effort to inculcate them with the group's values, thus drawing attention from local officials. Child-custody battles sometimes developed, brought on by a parent wanting to divorce his or her spouse and leave the group. The Children of God was even accused of child sex abuse as a result of the libertine lifestyle some adult members led for a time. In the 1980s and 1990s these accusations led to many children being temporary removed from Family homes in different countries, including France, Spain, Argentina, and Australia. The children were eventually returned to their families, and in Australia the government even had to pay damages for the actions taken toward the children.

Methods of group support varied considerably as members experimented with ways of raising money or engaging in activities that would support the group. Street solicitation for money was one successful method, but was not the most prevalent. The Children of God used this method, distributing their infamous "Mo Letters," which were tracts written by the Moses Davide Berg who established the group. Group members asked for money in exchange for the tracts, a fund raising method they called *litnessing*. The Children of God also scavenged for discarded fruits and vegetables from local markets, among other ways of finding sustenance. Other Jesus Movement groups, such as Shiloh, relied on work teams in agricultural and construction industries for support, as well as donations from members and their parents, and some even accepted contributions from governmental agencies. Some Jesus Movement groups also sold music tapes and put on concerts as they experimented with ways to support themselves.

The Jesus Movement still exits, even if some groups have changed markedly as a result of the material concerns discussed above. The apex of the Jesus Movement occurred in the 1970s and early 1980s, when there were Jesus Movement groups operating in many different areas of the United States, as well as in many other countries. The movement lost momentum as a result of fewer recruits, shifting societal circumstances, and problems deriving from the maturing of the membership and the establishment of families.

SEE ALSO Brainwashing (Debate); Family, The.

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JEVONS, F. B.

JEVONS, F. B. (1858–1936), was an English classical scholar. Frank Byron Jevons played a significant role in popularizing the comparative study of religion in the English-speaking world during the two decades before World War I. Jevons, who was classical tutor at the University of Durham from 1882 to 1910, joined R. R. Marett, Andrew Lang, Gilbert Murray, and other Edwardians in applying the theoretical formulas of British evolutionist anthropology to the interpretation of Greco-Roman texts.

Magic was his special area of interest; he questioned the conclusion of James G. Frazer and others that magic necessarily preceded religion along a unilineal, evolutionary pathway. As he put it in his *Idea of God in Early Religions* (1910), magic and religion were "two moods" that were different from the beginning. Likewise, prayers and the worship of gods were phenomena that were originally separate from (and apparently as ancient as) spells and fetishism.

Jevons's most widely read work in England was *An Introduction to the History of Religion* (1896; 2d ed., 1902), complemented in the United States by his Hartford-Lamson Lectures on comparative religion for the American Board of Foreign Missions in 1908 (revised and published in 1910 under the title *Comparative Religion*). A liberal Anglican, Jevons thought that the religious quest of humanity reflected the divine will, and he maintained that all religions had their fulfillment in Christianity. He argued that Buddhism was not a religion but an etiolation of tendencies already present in ancient Brahmanism. Religious evolution, he believed, was above all the process by which the truth of monotheism came to be discerned. Following his appointment as professor of philosophy at the University of Durham in 1910, his books on *Evolution* (1910), *Personality* (1913), and *Philosophy* (1914) all find him espousing a species of nonmaterialist, creative, and dispersive (i.e., social) evolutionism influenced by Henri Bergson.

Jevons was principal of Hatfield Hall, Durham, from 1896 to 1923, and from there he corresponded with many scholars. His obvious theological orientation and evolutionism have led to a decline of interest in his work since World War I.

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JEWISH ETHICAL LITERATURE

JEWISH ETHICAL LITERATURE SEE JEWISH THOUGHT AND PHILOSOPHY, *ARTICLE ON* JEWISH ETHICAL LITERATURE

JEWISH LAW

JEWISH LAW SEE HALAKHAH

JEWISH PEOPLE

JEWISH PEOPLE. This entry discusses the sociological dimension of Judaism, in particular "Israel" in the historical sense of *ʿam Yisraʾel* (the "people of Israel," the Israelites). The article seeks to describe the factors shaping the transformation of Jewish peoplehood from the biblical period to modern times.

The Jews constitute a fellowship mandated and sustained by the Jewish religious tradition, a fellowship viewed in modern times as a social entity in its own right. In what sense Jewry is to be considered a nation or ethnic group depends on how these terms are defined. The Hebrew terms for nation, *goi*, *leʾum*, and above all *ʿam*, were applied to the collectivity in the Bible, where Israel is said to be "like all the nations" (*1 Sam.* 8:5) yet "a people dwelling alone and not reckoning itself among the nations" (*Num.* 23:9). This conceptual duality reappears in later eras.

Historical circumstances periodically intruded on the parameters of membership in the Jewish people. From time to time, uncertainty and even conflict have occurred as to who is a Jew (and who is not) according to Jewish law and more informal mores, the criteria for inclusion, the theological significance of Jewish survival, and exactly which religious actions or principles of faith were required of a Jew. Affected by changes in the historical context and worldly status of Jewry in its homeland and in the Diaspora, religious thinkers have interpreted the nature and destiny of Israel in various ways. This article seeks to explore the evolving conception of that fellowship, real and ideal, with special attention to the relationship of Jewish peoplehood to other faith communities that have emerged from the Israelite religious matrix and to modern concepts of ethnicity.

The Jewish religious fellowship can be illuminated by comparative considerations. Cultural variation between the various branches of Jewry for many centuries was virtually as great as that of the various branches of Christendom and Islam. A similar congruence of peoplehood and religion is found in some national forms of Christianity (e.g., the Armenian, Coptic, and Ethiopic Churches). The boundary between Judaism and Christianity has remained firm, however, unlike the aforementioned instances of subgroups within the Christian church. The centrality of salvation through Christ, along with related creedal and doctrinal formulations, facilitated a theology of the universal church that was different from the bonds sustaining the Jewish people. Most important, Judaism resisted definition by creedal formulation. In its emphasis on the centrality of religious law rather than salvation through faith in a messiah and sacramental grace, Judaism has a closer structural affinity to Islam. The "nation of Islam" is both a subject of religious law (four distinct systems of them) and conveys a sense of being a multinational corporate body, even though in Islam's early history it was in fact a religion of the Arabs and only afterwards became the religion of Persians, Turks, and subsequently many other peoples. Judaism never became the ruling religion of an empire or a congeries of states as did Islam, but Judaism is a "world religion" in its geographical and cultural diversity—and its impact in world history.

One major reason for the unique character of the Jewish communal bond was the quite different historical and political situation of Judaism and the Jews from that of Christendom and Islam. The origins of the Jewish people in ancient times predated the development of many of the central ideas and eventual customary practices of its religion. A considerable portion of the Hebrew Bible is the story of how the core of Israelite religion came into being. The mature religious tradition maintained the people's identity even when the Jews, in antiquity and later, were a small percentage of the population of the lands of their residence. At least since the last century before the common era, the Jews had become to a great extent a Diaspora population. Other peoples and religions have had diasporas, but the Jewish Diaspora is remarkable for its geographical dispersion and its ability to survive under many circumstances. (Indeed the term *diaspora* was first used in Jewish history.) After the fall of the Hasmonean kingdom of Judea in the first centuries BCE, except for the short-lived conversion of two medieval ruling elites to Judaism, there was no sovereign Jewish state until 1948, a duration of almost nineteen centuries. The political factor in these centuries of Jewish history involved semiautonomous communal institutions of various types, buttressed by the Gentile state and under the leadership of Jewish figures accorded authority in matters of legal exegesis and the right to issue authoritative interpretations. Therefore, during the long course of Jewish history in the Diaspora, common destiny and cohesiveness were maintained by a usual set of forces internal and external to the Jewish community working in tandem to facilitate the continuity of the Jewish tradition.

The principle of living in a condition of exile (*galut*) and awaiting ultimate redemption was a key subjective element in the self-identity inculcated by the tradition and constantly reinforced by the Jewish liturgy. At the same time, however, there has been the conspicuous presence of the Jewish people in the primary narratives of Christianity and Islam. In the New Testament the Jewish people are depicted as having spurned Jesus as the Messiah, even though he and his disciples were Jews. In the Qurʾān the Jews are depicted as having rejected Muḥammad as the "seal of the prophets," even though he acknowledged the divine source of their sacred book and certain features of Jewish belief and worship.

Acknowledgment by Christianity and Islam that the Jewish people have played an extraordinary role in the history of salvation, even when accompanied by doctrines that God had subsequently bestowed grace on another elect people, expressed the ambivalent attitudes toward Jewry of Christian and Muslim religious authorities: confirmation of Jewish specialness together with the scandal, if not outright anger, that the "stiff-necked" Jews denied self-evident (Christian or Muslim) truths. Conviction of possessing that truth and resulting disdain or even anger facilitated the imposition of social and legal restrictions on Jewish status and helped to rationalize periodic anti-Jewish persecutions. However, the peculiar conspicuousness of the Jewish people in the formative Christian and Muslim stories indirectly served to confirm the continued singularity of the Jewish people. In some sense (although not the Jewish sense), Israel was central to God's plan for history in both Christianity and Islam. The specialness of this role is a cardinal element of the Jewish tradition itself, and therefore a crucial reason for Jewish survival.

Another issue sometimes raised in connection with Jewish peoplehood is whether Judaism should be characterized as universalistic or particularistic. Judaism—more properly, Torah in its broad sense as divine "instruction"—holy teaching and action, is both. Gaining ultimate authority from the conviction that it is derived from revelation, Torah includes sacred literature and venerable religious practices (the key rabbinic terms are *mitsvot*, or commandments; *halakhah*, the correct way or religious law; and *minhag*, or custom). The values inculcated by rabbinic legal rulings and preaching as these unfold in time, as well as the understanding of the human condition expressed in Jewish religious teachings, are also Torah. Torah articulates concepts about God in relation to nature and history: that deity is one, eternal, creative, transcendent as well as immanent, revelatory, and personal—although Jewish religious thought has brought forth a variety of sometimes quite complex theological explications of these and other fundamental beliefs.

At the same time the rabbinic idea of Torah as instruction requires that there be a certain people among the nations of the world that exists to study and practice Torah as the raison d'être of its existence (and even of the existence of the universe, in rabbinic thought). The notion of a people elected by God to receive the complete set of his commandments hallows the people and locates their special role in the context of world history. Judaism conceives of this election not as a preordained, passive reception of revelation but as an active electing by the people to accept the "yoke" of Torah and the commandments. Thus, Jewish religious thought interprets the mundane factuality of the people's existence as expressing a joyful, voluntarily assumed obligation and responsibility. These introductory remarks indicate some of the complexities of Jewish peoplehood as fact and ideal, which will be dealt with separately in the following.

NAMES FOR THE JEWS AND JUDAISM. In the Jewish tradition, the Jewish people as a socioreligious entity is designated *ʿam Yisraʾel* (the people of Israel), *benei Yisraʾel* (children of Israel, Israelites), *beit Yisraʾel* (house of Israel), *keneset Yisraʾel* (assembly of Israel, in rabbinic literature), or simply as *Yisraʾel* (Israel). In the Hebrew Bible the patriarch Jacob, renamed Israel after wrestling with a divine being in *Genesis* 32:28, is the eponymous ancestor of the people of Israel through his progeny, the founders of the Israelite tribes. In contrast, a native of the modern state of Israel (*medinat Yisraʾel),* which possesses Christian and Muslim as well as Jewish citizens, is usually rendered by the modern Hebrew adjective *Israeli* (*Yisraʾeli*). The term *Jew* (Hebrew, *Yehudi*) is etymologically derived from *Judah* (*Yehudah*), the eponym of the tribe of Judah.

According to the biblical account, around 922 BCE the ten northern tribes rejected Solomon's son as ruler and formed the "kingdom of Israel" (*mamlekhet Yisraʾel).* Only the tribal territories of Judah and Benjamin and the Davidic capital of Jerusalem remained loyal to the dynasty founded by Solomon's father, David, early in the tenth century, thus becoming the separate, southern kingdom of Judah (*mamlekhet Yehudah*). When the northern kingdom was conquered by Assyria in 722 BCE, its population was deported and apparently assimilated, except for those who took refuge in Judah. The southern kingdom was destroyed by Babylonia in 586 BCE, but the Aramaic cognate *Yahud* remained the name for the region around Jerusalem in the Persian Empire. In *Esther* 2:5 the term *Jew* refers to a member of the whole people, even someone of the tribe of Benjamin; in *Esther* 8:17 and 9:27 the term refers to the act of Gentiles joining the Jews in some unspecified way. The Greek form *Ioudaia* was used in the Ptolemaic and Seleucid kingdoms and for the independent Jewish commonwealth established by the Hasmoneans in the second century BCE. The Latinized form was *Judaea.*

By Hellenistic times the term *Jew* (Greek, *Ioudaios*; Hebrew, *Yehudi*) had become a name not only for subjects of the Hasmonean state but throughout the Diaspora for those who were adherents of its religious tradition. The term *Judaism* for the distinctive religion of the Judeans used in Hellenistic times is first found in *2 Maccabees* 2:21 and 14:38. While accepting the term *Yehudi*, Jewish religious literature continued to prefer *Yisraʾel*, *benei Yisraʾel*, and so forth. (In the context of the traditional synagogue service, an "Israelite" is a Jew called to the reading of Scripture who is not a descendant of the priests or the Levites.)

Yet another relevant term is *ʿIvri* (Hebrew), which probably referred at first in the Hebrew Bible to a social status rather than to ethnic or Gentilic identification (this primary usage of *Hebrew*—as, for example, in *Ex.* 21:2—may have had a philological relationship to the second-millennium social category called in Akkadian the *habiru*). Several biblical instances when Hebrew can be construed as referring to an Israelite or to the ancestor of an Israelite (*Jon.* 1:8; *Gen.* 4:13) and as recalling Eber, a descendant of Noah's son Shem (*Gen.* 10:21, 11:14) may have led to its eventually becoming a synonym for the Israelites, and therefore their language. In the nineteenth century in some European countries, *Hebrew* became a polite equivalent for *Jew*, which had acquired negative connotations; in the twentieth century the positive force of *Jew* was regained in English, German, and other languages (but not in Russian).

COLLECTIVE EXISTENCE IN ANCIENT ISRAELITE RELIGION. A main theme of the Pentateuch is how, against the background of world history in the first part of *Genesis*, *ʿam Yisraʾel* came into being: a chain of narratives sets the stage for the enumeration of Israel's corporate duties to its God, YHVH (probably vocalized as *Yahveh*), after the Exodus during its wanderings in the wilderness. Accordingly, the ancestors of the children of Israel had lived in the land of Canaan as clans for several generations until they settled in Egypt, were enslaved, and after Moses' confrontation with the pharaoh, were redeemed by YHVH, who brought them to the wilderness of Sinai. There they entered a binding agreement with their God—a covenant that included a strict prohibition against worshiping other gods (*Ex.* 20:2–6). The theme of liberation from exile and return to Zion becomes a principal biblical model for future hopes of redemption. (Other biblical themes that served as paradigms for the Jewish people's traditional understanding of its history later included repeated cycles of sin followed by repentance and experiences of persecution followed by salvation.)

The Hebrew Scriptures represent a selection of the literature produced by and for the people of Israel mainly in the Land of Israel and over as many as eight to ten centuries. Modern historiography on the origins of the people in the context of the nations and social movements of the second millennium BCE involves considerable uncertainty as to the exact relationship of the direct ancestors of the Israelites to such ancient groups as the Amorites and the Hyksos, whether the proto-Israelites worshiped YHVH before the Exodus (compare *Ex.* 6:3 with *Gen.* 4:26), and the extent to which large numbers of Canaanites joined an Israelite tribal association in the thirteenth or twelfth centuries BCE, accepted its deity, and were absorbed in the Israelite people.

The exclusive divine authority of YHVH in relation to the collective existence of Israel is reflected in various and fundamental aspects of ancient Israelite religion. For example, Israelite tradition went to considerable lengths to disassociate ownership of the land of Canaan from the right of conquest. Israelite settlement was said to have been made possible by YHVH as Israel's supreme ruler; the Land of Israel was a territory on which the people could become a nation akin to other nations but devoted to carrying out its covenantal duties. The corporate aspect of landownership can be seen in the provision that land sold by individuals was to be returned periodically to the family to whom it was "originally" allocated (*Lev.* 25:2, 25:23).

Not only the framework, but a substantial portion of the covenantal duties preserved in the Pentateuch refer to Israel as a collective entity. Moral and legal obligations included many stipulations that regulated relations between sectors of Israelite society in addition to individual behavior. Besides offerings expressing personal thanksgiving or contrition, sacrifices are presented to God by the priests on behalf of the people to express collective gratitude or to expiate collective sin (e.g., *Num.* 28:2; *Lev.* 16:30). Ethical duties on the Israelites individually and as members of families are complemented by responsibilities to the "widow, orphan, and stranger," for which Israel as a whole is responsible (*Exod.* 22:21–22). The demand to create an equitable and just society figures prominently in the classical prophets.

Throughout the history of the Israelite kingdoms, prophetic messengers warned the people that if these collective obligations were not fulfilled, YHVH could take away the land he had given them and force them into exile (e.g., *Amos* 3:2, 7:11). This belief is reinforced by natural and military disasters affecting the people as a whole. The destruction of the northern kingdom of Israel in 722 BCE was interpreted in this manner by the so-called Deuteronomic movement, which probably acquired the opportunity to carry out an extensive program of religious reforms in the kingdom of Judah in the 620s (*2 Kings* 22–23; *2 Chron.* 34). The heart of the *Book of Deuteronomy* very likely reflects the position of this group, which emphasized that the corporate responsibility of Israel accepted at Sinai was binding on all their descendants, which was said to include (almost) all of the population of the late-seventh-century kingdom of Judah: to love YHVH, obey his commandments, avoid any taint of idolatry, worship him in the place—that is, Jerusalem—where he would "cause his name to dwell," where his only house and sacrificial altar were to be constructed (e.g., *Deut.* 6:4–5, 12:1–14).

When Judah was destroyed by the Babylonians in 586 BCE, the explanation offered was that the idolatry of the past, especially the later kings subservient to Assyria, such as Manasseh, had condemned the people to exile but that God continued to love them and held out a sure promise of redemption (*2 Kings* 24:3–4; *Jer.* 29). The experience of exile in Babylon brought to the fore the prophetic theme of the eternal nature of the covenant between YHVH and Israel. The religiosity of the exilic community was marked by an acceptance of the divine causation for the people's exile, a pervasive regret for the sins of the ancestors, and a heightening of the idealized role of the people in world history. While sustaining the concepts of a specific holy mountain (e.g., *Joel* 4:1), holy city (*Isa.* 2:3), and land of YHVH (*Isa.* 10:24)—all of which can be referred to poetically as Zion—exilic prophecy justified autonomous Israelite survival outside the precincts of these sacred spaces. (Contrast David's much earlier complaint that Saul banished him so that he could no longer serve YHVH, *1 Sam.* 26:19.) The exilic prophecies in the latter part of the *Book of Isaiah* portray the people as God's servant, a "light to the nations" that God's salvation be known to the ends of the earth (*Isa.* 49:6), anticipating that all Gentiles will eventually worship YHVH, who "makes weal and creates woe" (*Isa.* 45:7), bringing about universal peace and justice. (See relevant prophecies concerning a universal "End of Days" in *Isa.* 2:1–4; *Mic.* 4:1–4; *Isa.* 45:14, 45:22–24, 56:3–8; *Zech.* 8:20–23.)

The decisive difference between the historical development of Israelite religion and those of other ancient Near Eastern peoples was Israel's monotheistic elevation of its God to the status of the only deity, the sole creator of heaven and earth, supreme ruler of the world, and judge of all history—presumably a development that grew out of the unique combination of elements and features that comprised the early history of the Israelite people. Pre-Mosaic sources of the Israelite cult of YHVH are uncertain. Unlike other Near Eastern deities (Sin, Adad, Ishtar, Dagan, and so forth), YHVH did not have temples and shrines dedicated to him in various widely scattered localities around the Near East. YHVH was not incorporated into any other pantheon, confirming the attitude of the biblical authors that YHVH's name and reputation in the world depended solely on Israel. The dating of a full-fledged biblical monotheism has been a matter of long-standing scholarly controversy. For our purposes, determining when in Israelite history "other gods" came to be viewed as nondivine (in the biblical terminology, "idols," "the work of men's hands") is less important than the fact of the eventual emergence, in the course of the intellectual development of ancient Israel, of an explicit, sweeping, and radical demotion of other deities and elevation of one God, an action unprecedented in the history of ancient religion (*Isa.* 45:5–7). This transformation was accompanied by the reinterpretation of traditions concerning the human and Israelite past, rather than a dismissal of those traditions, from a monotheistic perspective.

The last redaction of the traditional material concerning human origins and the formative eras of Israelite history from the standpoint of radical monotheism may not have occurred until the postexilic period. The return to Zion of a portion (but not all) of the Babylonian exiles in the late sixth century and again in the midfifth century BCE laid the groundwork for the revival of Jerusalem, its Temple, and the land of Judaea in late Persian and Hellenistic times. By then Judaism had become a religion centered on a Scripture that defined the Jews as God's treasured possession, "a kingdom of priests and a holy people" (*Ex.* 19:4–6), necessary for his universal plan and goals.

From Biblical Israel to the Christian and Rabbinic Israels. The corporate and the individual dimensions of Israelite faith were further developed in succeeding centuries. Closely associated with the corporate aspect of salvation is the messianic idea (buttressed by various scriptural verses and prophecies concerning the end of days, the permanence of the Davidic dynasty, and the kingship of God) that there would arise a completely just, God-inspired king to rule Israel and establish everlasting peace and harmony in the world.

The individualistic dimension of postscriptural Judaism took the form of each person's accountability to carry out the *mitsvot*, including some that had primarily been the duty of the priesthood earlier. Individual immortality became a widely accepted doctrine of Judaism perhaps in the second century BCE (a late biblical allusion to the resurrection of the dead is *Dan.* 12:2, most likely dating from the Maccabean revolt; compare *2 Macc.* 7:9, 7:14, 9:29). Personal immortality was soon absorbed into most branches of Judaism (except the Sadducees) and was made binding in the second of the Eighteen Benedictions (*Shemoneh ʿEsreh*, the *ʿAmidah*) that Jewish males were to recite three times daily. Jewish eschatological teachings of the last centuries BCE and the first century CE, for all their flux and uncertainty, emphasized the crucial significance of Israel ("And the kingdom and the dominion and the greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High," *Dan.* 7:27) and the transcendent value of membership in it. (The classical formulation came to be that, with some notable exceptions, "All Israel has a share in the world to come," *San.* 10.1) In what became the traditional formula, "this world" (*ha-ʿolam ha-zeh*) of history will be climaxed by the coming of the King-Messiah and a utopian messianic age. And this world is transcended by another realm, "the world to come" (*ha-ʿolam ha-baʾ*), where the guilty will be consigned to a merited punishment for their sins and the righteous of all generations will be eternally rewarded with the radiance of the divine presence. In addition, control of the religious calendar designating when crucial holy days occur seems to have been an issue (as it was at times in the later history of Judaism as well) seriously threatening the unity of Israel.

Membership in the people of Israel was drastically transformed during the last centuries BCE and the first century CE with the emergence of formal procedures for conversion. By the time of the Jewish revolt of 66–70 CE against the Romans in Judaea, a majority of Jews were probably residing in the Diaspora, either in Persia under the Parthians (the Jewish community of Babylonia, dating from the exile of the sixth century BCE) or in the Hellenistic kingdoms and, later, the Roman Empire (Antioch, the cities of Asia Minor and European Greece, Alexandria and elsewhere in Egypt, as well as Rome and other locations around the Mediterranean). These new communities had been founded by Jewish settlers who had left Judaea for a variety of political and economic reasons but were significantly augmented by conversions to Judaism in the Diaspora, which occurred in Judea as well (including episodes of forced conversions by two Hasmonean kings).

Formal conversion to Judaism was a new phenomenon in Jewish life. Previously, non-Israelites had been accepted into Israel on an individual basis (the *Book of Ruth*, which may date from postexilic times, contains one such account). A contrary instance is depicted in accounts in the books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* demanding that the Judahites of their time separate themselves from their non-Israelite wives (*Neh.* 9:2, 13:3). At that time there was also a rejection of the inhabitants of Samaria (the heartland of the former northern kingdom of Israel) who worshiped YHVH but were considered not of the seed of preexilic Israel but rather foreign settlers brought in by Assyria almost three centuries earlier (*2 Kings* 17:29–34). (The Samaritans became the first religious tradition that stemmed from the biblical matrix but was separate from the Jewish people.) At the beginning of the common era, however, proselytism seems to have become a common occurrence (see, for example, *Matt.* 23:15; *Acts* 2:5; and B.T., *Shab.* 31a). In addition to formal conversion, which probably entailed circumcision for males, immersion, and the offering of a special Temple sacrifice, there is mention of pagans, referred to in ancient inscriptions as "God-fearers," who followed one or another element of the Jewish tradition, such as the Sabbath (Josephus, *Against Apion* 2.39; Tacitus, *Histories* 5.5).

The last two centuries BCE and the first century CE were a period of intense religious ferment, when new Jewish schools of thought and new elites competed with each other: Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, Zealots, early Judeo-Christians, apocalyptic visionaries in Judaea, and Hellenized philosophies (such as that of Philo of Alexandria) in the Diaspora. (There is no convincing evidence that Jewish religious authorities in the late Second Temple period condemned dissident groups for "blasphemy" or persecuted them for anything like heresy.) By the end of the first century CE, or at least by the late second century, after the last of the Jewish revolts against the Romans, rabbinic Judaism crystallized out of the Pharisaic movement, while Christianity became fully separated from the Jewish people.

After the Samaritans, Christianity was the second religious tradition that remained loyal to the witness of the Hebrew Scriptures but came to constitute a distinct community of faith. Christian writings held that the Jews ignored the Messiah and were collectively responsible for his death (*Matt.* 13:57, 27:25). Crucial elements in the parting of the ways between Judaism and Christianity were the former's rejection of Jesus of Nazareth as Messiah and Christianity's rejection (after a few years of uncertainty) of Jewish law. In what became the dominant Christian formulation, apparently articulated first by Paul of Tarsus, Torah law was held to have been divinely inspired but superseded by the atoning death of Jesus, the Christ (Greek for anointed, the root meaning of the Hebrew *mashiʾah*), who made available a full salvation that had been prophesied in the Hebrew Scriptures and that was not possible under "the law" (*Gal.* 3–4). By the end of the first century CE, to the basic Jewish prayers was added a benediction against sectarians (*birkat ha-minim*), which some historians believe was devised to exclude Christians from the synagogue.

By then most Christians were not of Jewish descent but were pagans converted directly to Christianity. This principled negation of Jewish law, especially ritual law, ceremonial practice, and *kashrut,* meant that experiencing the presence of Jesus as the Christ, accompanied by baptism, was the portal into the Christian people, now defined as the "new Israel" of the spirit (e.g., *Acts* 10; *Rom.* 9–11). In particular, the Jewish requirement of circumcision was rejected and baptismal immersion redefined as one's spiritual rebirth as a Christian. (According to rabbinic law, conversion is also a rebirth; the convert to Judaism terminates former family ties and is considered in the category of a newborn child. See *Gerim* 2.6.) In the New Testament, Christianity viewed the Hebrew Scripture through the concept of its fulfillment in Christ. For rabbinic Judaism, the Torah as divine law was a permanent feature of creation, a dynamic and ongoing process of articulating the tasks of God's people in history. Judaism viewed the written law of the Hebrew Scriptures as part of a comprehensive Torah that included the oral tradition as well—an oral law that was partly redacted in the Mishnah, God's "mystery" given only to Israel around 200 CE (*Pesiqta' Rabbati* 14b).

Eventually, the church did not reject the idea of religious law as such (it developed its own to regulate creeds, holy days, family status, religious hierarchies, and so forth), but the Christian theological rejection of the eternally binding character of Torah law meant the sharp separation of *ʿam Yisraʾel* by the Jewish self-definition and the "new Israel" according to the Christian viewpoint. The two conceptions of holy peoplehood thus reflect the two contrasting modes of relating to the Hebrew Scripture as holy; Christianity in late antiquity pushed much further than Judaism the figural, allegoric, and symbolic interpretation of Old Testament figures, institutions, and prophecies.

PEOPLEHOOD IN RABBINIC JUDAISM AND MEDIEVAL JEWISH THOUGHT. According to rabbinic Judaism, Israel comprised the direct, physical descendants of the remnant of the preexilic people, augmented by those non-Jews who had accepted the yoke of the commandments and were adopted into the Jewish people through the conversion rituals required by Torah as interpreted by the rabbis. The biblical term *ger* (stranger, resident alien, sojourner) was understood to refer to a proselyte—a *ger tsedeq* in contrast to a *ger toshav*—who had rejected idolatry but not accepted the full burden of the *mitsvot.*

Even though most Jews were (and still are) Jews by birth, conversion is unquestionably a legitimate mode, in Jewish religious law, of acquiring the status of being a full member of the people of Israel. There are traditions that some of the most eminent rabbis were proselytes or their descendants and that God had special love for *gerim.* To be sure, a few sages are quoted as expressing suspicion of the motives and behavior of proselytes as conditions in the Roman Empire deteriorated. The prevailing position was that prospective converts should be warned that "this people was debased, oppressed, and degraded more than all other peoples." If they persisted, they were to be accepted with joy: "To whom are you cleaving? Happy are you! To him who spoke and the world came into being" (*Gerim* 1.1–5).

From the early fourth century CE on, however, Jewish proselytizing was anathema to the Christianized or Islamicized state; the Roman emperor Constantine made conversion to Judaism punishable by death, and a similar prohibition was part of the so-called Pact of Omar defining the status of Christians and Jews under Islam.

Certainly external obstacles were usually determinative in discouraging more than a trickle of conversions to Judaism from the early Middle Ages until the twentieth century. There were also, however, internal factors. Christianity viewed proselytism as its mission with a far greater intensity than did Judaism, and the church fathers insisted with far more rigor that there was no salvation outside the church. Rabbinic doctrine held that only the Jewish people had knowledge of and were bound by the full complement of divine commandments, but that there were seven Noahic laws binding on all humanity (usually enumerated as the prohibitions of idolatry, blasphemy, bloodshed, sexual sins, theft, and eating a limb of a living animal, together with a positive commandment to establish a legal system; B.T., *San.* 56a). On the salvation of non-Jews, the normative Jewish doctrine became the opinion of Yehoshuʿa that the "righteous of all nations have a share in the world to come" (Tosefta, *San.* 13.2).

Who was Jewish according to rabbinic law? Since the second century CE the child of a Jewish mother and a Gentile father is a Jew, but the child of a Gentile mother and a Jewish father is a Gentile. This matrilineal principle is alluded to in the Mishnah (*Qid.* 3.12), which deals with marriages valid and invalid according to *halakhah* and the status of the offspring thereof. The relevant Talmudic ruling (addressed to the male) was Yonatan's that "your son by an Israelite woman is called your son, but your son by a heathen woman is not called your son but her son" (B.T., *Qid.* 68b); the later commentators emphasize the positive conclusion that the offspring of a Jewish woman is a Jew (see Moses Maimonides's *Code of Law*, Forbidden Intercourse 12.7). Various explanations, sociological and historical, have been offered for the adoption of the principle of matrilineal descent, including the influence of Roman law and the impossibility of confirming paternity. However, in premodern times the regulation was not of widespread practical consequence, since it was unlikely that many Jewish men would marry non-Jewish women who did not formally convert but would rear their children as members of the people of Israel.

In *halakhah,* Jews who converted to another religion were still considered Jews, although there are differences of opinion among the authorities over their specific *halakhic* rights. The relevant Talmudic principle was that such a person was a sinful Jew: "An Israelite, even though he sinned, remains an Israelite" (B.T., *San.* 44a). Thus the Jewish community accepted the return of Jews who had been forcibly baptized during the First Crusade in Europe, but acts of penitence and rituals of purification were required.

Impossible as it was in theory to leave the Jewish people, it was not so in fact. Although there might be psychological costs in apostasy, there could be tangible advantages to leaving a group that was of subordinate legal status and subject to periodic persecution. Individual Jewish converts were welcomed by Christian and Muslim authorities. Only in certain situations when large numbers of Jews were pressed into converting, such as in the Iberian Peninsula in the 1390s and again in the 1490s, did problems arise on the Christian side. In Spain there occurred a brutal "Old Christian" backlash against "New Christian" or *converso* (sometimes labeled *marrano* [Spanish for pig]) families, whose Christian faith was for many centuries considered suspect merely because of their Jewish bloodline. Procedures for readmitting to the status of Jews descendants of *conversos* several generations later was a *halakhic* problem that concerned rabbis in Jewish communities in North Africa, Ottoman Turkey, Amsterdam, and elsewhere.

Supplementing the halakhic problem of who was and who was not a Jew was the aggadic problem of why there was a people of Israel. Idealization of the chosenness of the Jewish people is evident in Jewish religious literature as epitomized in the benediction recited in the synagogue before the reading of the Torah: "Blessed art thou, Lord our God, ruler of the universe, who chose us from all the nations and gave us the Torah." The givenness or factuality of being a Jew—that Jews found themselves thrown into a Jewish destiny—was acknowledged in some coolly realistic Talmudic statements. Expounding the biblical verse "And they stood at the nether part of the mount" (i.e., Israel at Mount Sinai; *Ex.* 19:17), Avdimi bar Ḥamaʾ bar Ḥasaʾ explained that the Holy One, blessed be he, tilted the mountain over the Israelites like a cask and said, "If you accept the Torah, well and good; and if not, there shall be your burial" (B.T., *Shab.* 88a). Most sages rejected this notion on the grounds that receiving the Torah under coercion could nullify the obligation to observe it. The rabbinic *aggadah* continues in the line of a theological idealization of the people by emphasizing the collective responsibility of all members of the people to each other and to God and the absolute centrality of Israel's collective presence in universal history. In a discussion concerning divine punishment, the principle is enunciated that "all Israel is surety one for the other" (B.T., *Shav.* 39a). Israel conciliates God only when it is one unity (B.T., *Men.* 27a).

According to rabbinic teaching, the Jewish people fulfill God's plan that his presence indwells in the world. A homily in *Ruth Rabbah* (1.1) ascribes to God the statement that if Israel had not accepted the Torah, the world would have reverted to void and destruction. A homily in *Exodus Rabbah* (47.3) attributes to God the statement that if this people had not accepted his Torah, he would not look upon them more than other idol worshipers. (The Talmudic dictum that "anyone who repudiates idolatry is called a Jew" [B.T., *Meg.* 13a], based on the biblical identification of Mordecai of the tribe of Benjamin as a *Yehudi* [Judean] in *Esther* 2:5, uses the term *Jew* in a theologically idealized, nonethnic, purely homiletic sense.) It was a merit for the Jews to have accepted the Torah, but ever since Sinai it was Israel's raison d'être to obey the 613 commandments contained in it. In contrast to the common Christian distinction of late antiquity and the Middle Ages between the "religious" and the laity, the goal of rabbinic Judaism was to raise all Israel to the level of masters of Torah, transforming the community into an academy, as it were, for the study and practice of Torah.

Despite a Diaspora stretching from the Atlantic to central Asia and eastward and from the Baltic to the Sahara and beyond to Ethiopia, medieval Judaism did not become multinational in quite the sense that Christianity or Islam did. Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire in the fourth century CE, followed by the conversion of the Frank, Germanic, Nordic, and Slavic peoples in the Middle Ages; Islam expanded beyond the Arab purview with the conversion of Persians, Berbers, and Turks (and later of peoples in sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia), often spearheaded by their rulers. There were only two medieval instances where Judaism was adopted as the religion of a state: sixth-century Yemen briefly and the Khazar kingdom on the Volga between the eighth and tenth centuries. A wide diversity of Jewish subcultures did emerge: Jewries in the Middle East that were largely the continuation of the ancient homeland and Diaspora communities; Iranian and Kurdish Jews; Jewish tribal groups in the Caucasus Mountains; the various Jewish communities of India and China; Berber Jews in the Maghreb; Provençal and Italian Jews; Sephardic Jews in the Iberian Peninsula; Ashkenazic Jews in northern France, the Rhineland, and later eastern Germany, Poland, and Lithuania; and other communities with their own distinctive customs, dialectics, liturgies, and practices. As a result, in daily life medieval Jews spoke a wide variety of languages—Greek and Aramaic; Persian and Arabic; Spanish, French, and German—and they developed distinctive Jewish dialects of these languages, such as Ladino (a Jewish form of old Spanish) and Yiddish (a Jewish form of Middle High German), Hebrew being maintained for literary and liturgical purposes.

Some branches of medieval and early modern Jewry produced sophisticated courtier and banking classes and intellectual elites trained in the natural sciences and Aristotelian and Neoplatonic philosophies, whereas other Jewries were predominately folk cultures overwhelmingly engaged in menial occupations. Although in certain regions the Jewish population was large, compact, and had an agricultural or village component (e.g., the Galilee and Babylonia in late antiquity), political conditions under Christian and Muslim rulers necessitated that Judaism sustain itself increasingly as the religion of an urbanized minority mostly limited to crafts and trade (the specific list of the economic roles open to Jews differed widely from land to land and from era to era). In northwestern and eastern Europe, Jewish communities were founded and enlarged by Jews invited to settle in frontier areas, where the rulers considered them economically useful. However, given the interweaving of religion and the state in the countries in which medieval and early modern Jews resided, a Jewry could maintain itself only if permitted considerable legal autonomy—although the extent to which the Jewish leadership was dependent on the Gentile rulers or derived its authority solely from the consent of local Jewish communities varied considerably.

Through all of their history, the Jewish people, therefore, were hardly characterized by cultural or economic homogeneity. A sense of Jewish unity, inculcated by the prayers and religious law and by the Hebrew Bible and other literary works, was reinforced by the common condition of being a minority: a minority with a profound, if disputed, connection to the formative narratives of the ruling (Christian or Islamic) religion; a minority enjoying a precarious social status inasmuch as it was always susceptible to persecution but for considerable stretches of time better off than the local peasants and serfs; a minority with considerable training (especially through the Babylonian Talmud) in adjusting to living under Gentile governments while preserving the continuity of Jewish law; a minority possessing a far-flung Diaspora network linked together by scholars, traders, and other Jewish travelers and a steady stream of Jewish migration, sometimes westward, sometimes eastward; and above all a minority that defined itself as central to the history of creation.

The religious self-definition of the Jewish tradition, transmitted through Scriptures, rabbinic law and lore, and the *siddur*, reiterated the sanctity of being *Yisra᾽el*, *ʿamkha* (your people, as addressed to God who "has chosen his people Israel in love"). This God, who "because of our sins exiled us from our land," nevertheless "remembers the pious deeds of the patriarchs and in love will bring a redeemer to their children's children for his name's sake." He will "gather the dispersed of your people Israel . . . break the enemies and humble the arrogant . . . rebuild Jerusalem as an everlasting building and speedily set up therein the throne of David" (from the *Shemoneh ʿEsreh*, basic to the Jewish liturgy) and "will remove the abominations from the earth, and the idols will be utterly cut off when the world will be perfected under the kingdom of the Almighty and all the children of flesh will call upon your name, when you will turn unto yourself all the wicked of the earth . . . for the kingdom is yours and to all eternity you will reign in glory" (from the *ʿAleinu* prayer at the conclusion of each service).

Indicative of the bonds maintaining a sense of Jewish peoplehood until modern times is the major schism of medieval Judaism: the Karaite movement of the eighth and ninth centuries CE in the Middle East. Calling for a return to the literal meaning of the Scriptures (Hebrew, *mik᾽rah*, from which the Karaites got their name) and denying the authority of the rabbis and the Talmud, the Karaites separated themselves from mainstream Judaism, developing their own religious law based on biblical precedents. Religious authority and the sources of divine law were the cruxes of the Karaite-Rabbinite conflict, although there may have been socioeconomic forces operating as well. Nevertheless, there were attempts, by Moses Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon, 1135/8–1204) and others, to encourage close contacts between the two religious communities. In modern times some Karaite groups have closely identified with the Jews (the Karaites in Egypt), whereas others disassociated themselves (the Karaites in the Ukraine).

Theorizing about the nature of the Jewish people was not an especially important theme in medieval Jewish philosophy but was implied in various formulations of the purpose of Jewish existence. In some streams of speculative Jewish thought, Jewish peoplehood was embedded in a theology that conceived of Judaism as an eminently rational faith, its doctrines of the oneness of God, the createdness of the universe, the rational component of prophecy, and the reasonableness of the commandments being logically justified by categories and arguments derived from ancient Greek philosophy as glossed by Jewish, Muslim, and Christian writers. For Saʿadyah Gaon, "our nation of the children of Israel is a nation only by virtue of its laws" that, because they are divine, can never be abrogated: "The Creator has stated that the Jewish nation was destined to exist as long as heaven and earth would exist, its law would, of necessity, have to endure as long as would heaven and earth" (Gaon, 1948, p. 158). Torah, as consonant with right reason and authentic revelation, provided the most reliable, expeditious, and truthful means to serve God, the raison d'être of Israel.

Maimonides presented Judaism as derived from Abraham's great insight into the divine nature:

> His father and mother and the entire population worshiped idols . . . but his mind was busily working and reflecting until he had attained the way of truth, apprehending the correct line of thought, and knew that there is One God, that He guides the celestial Sphere and created everything. . . . When the people flocked to him [in the land of Canaan] and questioned him regarding his assertions, he would instruct each one according to his capacity till he had brought him to the way of truth. . . . And so it went on with ever increasing vigor among Jacob's children and their adherents till they became a people that knew God. (*Mishneh Torah*, Idolatry 1.2)

Addressing a proselyte who asked if he could pray to the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as the "God of his fathers" (the first of the Eighteen Benedictions), Maimonides wrote that "Abraham our Father, peace be with him, is the father of his pious posterity who keep his ways, and the father of his disciples and of all proselytes who adopt Judaism" (*Letter to Obadiah the Proselyte*). He or she who believes in the basic principles of the Jewish faith, as Maimonides defined them, "is then part of that 'Israel' whom we are to love, pity, and treat, as God commanded, with love and fellowship"—otherwise he or she is an atheist, heretic, and unbeliever (Introduction to Pereq Heleq [*Sanhedrin* 10.1]). For Maimonides, those who affirm the unity of God as the cause of causes come as close as humanly possible to grasping divinity as such.

A second tendency in medieval Jewish thought was to emphasize the supermundane nature of Israel. In the philosophical tradition the exemplary exponent of this position was Yehudah ha-Levi, who suggested that "Israel among the nations is like the heart amid the organs of the body," at once the sickest and the healthiest of entities, exposed to all sorts of diseases and yet possessing through its relationship to the "divine influence" a unique proclivity that manifested itself as the gift of prophecy (Yehudah ha-Levi, 1946, p. 109). In another of ha-Levi's images, Israel is the seed "which transforms earth and water into its own substance," carrying this substance from stage to stage until it brings forth fruit capable of bearing the divine influence, so that the nations who at least follow part of God's law pave the way for the Messiah and will become God's fruit (Yehudah ha-Levi, 1946, p. 227).

The supernatural conception of Israel reached its apogee in Qabbalah, the medieval mystical tradition that originated in southern France and northern Spain. Thus, in a discussion of the *mitsvot* in the basic qabbalistic text, the *Zohar*, circumcision is a perquisite for carrying out the surface meaning of the divine regulations (although to be circumcised only and not carry out the precepts of the Torah is to be like a heathen); the deeper mystery is to understand that Torah, God, and Israel are indissolubly linked (*Zohar, Leviticus*, 73b). Drawing on ancient Midrashic teachings about Israel's central role in the cosmos and on medieval Neoplatonic metaphysics, the qabbalists taught an esoteric doctrine that Israel's carrying out of the commandments has direct, puissant effects on the highest spheres of Being. Fulfillment of the commandments by Israel with the proper intention (*kavvanah*) overcame forces making for cosmic disharmony, effecting unifications (*yihudim*) in the realm of divinity. After the expulsions from the Iberian Peninsula in the 1490s, the impact of the Qabbalah spread, protecting Judaism against loss of morale and providing a solace in times of degradation. In the sixteenth-century Lurianic version of Qabbalah, the exile of Israel was paralleled by the exile of God, while the ingathering of the sparks of divinity achieved by fulfilling the *mitsvot* can be seen as the metaphysical analogue of the eventual ingathering of Israel at the climax of history. The implications of these qabbalistic doctrines were felt in the seventeenth-century messianic movement surrounding Shabbetai Tsevi and, in a different way, in eighteenth-century Hasidism.

THE MODERNIZATION OF JEWISH PEOPLEHOOD. The crisis of traditional Jewish peoplehood coincided with the overwhelming transformation of modernizing societies and the drastic shift in meaning of the term *nation* in Western and westernized societies. Previously, in many Western languages, *nation* had loosely designated a community connected by ties of birth and common geographical origin. Toward the end of the eighteenth century and especially during the era of the French Revolution, *nation* acquired a more specific connotation in relation to political geography and the nexus of sovereignty: the nation came to apply to the citizenry as a whole, in contrast to the "political nation" of the ancien régime, which was limited to the wellborn and the elite.

Inasmuch as revolutionary France and, later, other modernizing countries forged the unity of the nation-state by dissolving the remnants of traditional estates and semiautonomous corporate entities, the extension of legal equality to all citizens had profound implications for Jewish identity. As modern nationalist movements and ideologies called for the self-determination of one nation after the other on geographical, cultural, linguistic, and historical grounds, the status of the Jews, now on the road to legal and political emancipation—and apparently to economic and social integration—appeared exceptional and problematic. The almost seamless web of sociology, *halakhah*, and *aggadah* that had supported traditional Jewish peoplehood for centuries began to unravel.

In September 1791 the French revolutionary assembly acknowledged the citizenship rights of all French Jewry—Sephardic and Ashkenazic. In 1807 Napoleon invited a body of lay leaders and rabbis to clarify the status of the Jews of his realm with respect to the accusation that they were a "nation within the nation." In defense of their rights, an Assembly of Jewish Notables (and the following year a group given the grandiloquent title of Sanhedrin) distinguished between the religious requirements of Judaism, held to be timeless and absolute, and the political dispositions of biblical society, no longer applicable "since Israel no longer forms a nation." In effect, large areas of Torah law that dealt with civil and criminal matters were inoperative, and the fiscal and semipolitical autonomies that the Jewish communities had been awarded were acknowledged as no longer feasible—all this occurring at a time when the theological assumptions in which all traditional religious faiths were grounded were slowly being undermined by forms of thought influenced directly or indirectly by modern science and technology.

The course of Jewish emancipation in one Western country after another had to overcome considerable opposition by those who held to the Christian basis of the state or who continued to insist on the cultural alienness of the Jews. During the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century, Jews in central Europe tended to define Jewry as a purely religious body whose positive mission in the Diaspora was to preserve the doctrines of pure ethical monotheism. The national or ethnic component seemed to some, especially in Germany, to be obsolete. In their rejection of the traditional messianic notion of a particularistic Jewish redemption (the ingathering of the exiles to Zion, the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem, the reinstitution of the Davidic monarchy), German Jewish Reformers preferred to eliminate these symbols from the liturgy, just as they preferred the language of the land in worship at the expense of Hebrew and otherwise sought to assure Jews and their neighbors that they were "Germans of the Jewish faith" or even "Germans of the Mosaic persuasion." To support this redefinition it was sometimes argued that nationhood had been a necessary aspect of the emergence of ethical monotheism in biblical times and had been the preservative of the truths of Judaism in the Middle Ages, but in an enlightened age, when Judaism would come into its own as a progressive, universalistic faith, it did not need an ethnic integument. Jewish unity was not of a political but of a spiritual character that in no way contravened the loyalty of Jews to their secular fatherlands.

Such ideas were echoed in almost all the trends of nineteenth-century Jewish thought in Europe and America that welcomed emancipation as a just and humane move to rectify the humiliation and segregation inflicted on Jewry for centuries and to recognize the historical role and intrinsic worth of Judaism. These conceptions of Jewish peoplehood were influenced not only by the novel political and social situation of modern Jews but also by the growth of Jewish historical scholarship that accompanied the emergence of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* (the modern scientific, or scholarly, study of Judaica). Having gained an appreciation of how Jewish religious institutions and ideas had undergone development in the course of time, some historians, and especially Jewish intellectuals in eastern Europe toward the end of the nineteenth century, turned to the Jewish collectivity as a social fact in its own right. Moreover, modern transportation and community facilitated the transformation of the Jewish people on a mundane level. As Lloyd P. Gartner noted, "In the middle of the nineteenth century emancipated European Jews took the first steps toward converting the intangible religious conception of 'community of Israel' (*knesset Yisra'el)* into the tangible reality of international Jewish organization, bound together by newspapers, philanthropy, and new range of organizations for the defense of the Jews in dangerous parts of the Diaspora" (Gartner, 2001, p. 147).

Just as the earlier phase of modern Jewish thinking had been influenced by the struggle for emancipation, so this phase was increasingly influenced by the rise of modern anti-Semitism, the growth of nationalist movements among the peoples of eastern Europe, and the emergence of modern Zionism. The term *anti-Semitism* was coined in the 1870s to indicate that dislike of the Jews was supposedly not for religious reasons but was a defense against "Semitic" aliens acting as a corrupting, dominating force in the national organisms of Europe. Drawing on the medieval negative image of the Jews as Christ-killers and allies of Satan, the new anti-Semitic ideologies assumed a variety of forms, economic, political, and cultural. Racist anti-Semitism insisted that the sinister characteristics of the Jews could never be corrected through cultural or theological reform because these traits were psychobiological in origin. Some anti-Semites held that even Christianity was infected with a Jewish virus.

The period between 1881 and 1914 also saw the reappearance of physical attacks on the Jews (the pogroms in Russia), restrictive quotas in education, blood libels of a medieval type in which Jews were again accused of killing Christian children for ritual purposes, and anti-Semitic congresses and political parties. These and other elements were to be synthesized by Adolf Hitler's National Socialist German Workers' Party (Nazis), founded in Germany after World War I, which came to power in 1933 with fatal results for the six million European Jews caught in Nazi-dominated Europe during World War II.

Zionism gained urgency from the spread of modern anti-Semitism but had roots in the Jewish tradition as well. Zionism sought to reconstitute the Jewish peoplehood in a tangible sociopolitical community rather than in the idealized versions of much previous nineteenth-century Jewish thought. From the mid-nineteenth century on, and especially after 1881, Zionist ideologues argued that one's Jewishness should not be based on a mission of Israel to convey pure ethical monotheism to the world, as some of the German Jewish reformers had proposed, but on natural pride in one's heritage and a healthy desire to identify with one's people rather than assimilating to one or another of the nationalisms of Europe.

This assertion of Jewish ethnicity in a secular rather than religious sense produced a broad continuum of movements in eastern Europe by the beginning of the twentieth century. Jewish socialism championed economic justice as well as emancipation for the Jewish working class, advocating sweeping Jewish ethnic and cultural rights. The Jewish Workers Bund of Russia, Poland, and Lithuania was sympathetic to an ideology of Diaspora Jewish nationalism that called for legally recognized rights of the Jews as a European cultural minority. Alongside Zionism, a Jewish "territorialist" organization looked for a land other than Palestine as the setting for a Jewish state. There was a growing interest in Jewish social and economic history and in the folklore of eastern European Jews and of the Sephardic communities. A literary renaissance in Hebrew and Yiddish produced a rich body of novels, drama, poetry, and prose in those languages.

Many of these secular concerns were also manifested in the world Zionist movement established in 1897 to create a modern Jewish home in the ancient homeland of the Jewish people. Zionism embraced the ideas that a Jewish homeland would serve as a creative center for the revitalization of Jewish cultural values in modern form, that anti-Semitism was a symptom of the abnormality of Jewish life in the Diaspora that could only be cured with Jewish "self-emancipation" made possible by a Jewish commonwealth, and that cooperative farming communities and a vigorous labor movement in the Land of Israel was the expression of a social revolution among the Jewish masses. Religious forms of Zionism developed as well. In post–World War I Europe, and especially after the Nazis came to power in Germany, the goal of a Jewish refuge—a home that the Jews could go to by right when threatened with political persecution, economic discrimination, or physical extermination—became an increasingly urgent concern.

The thrust of modern thinking around the theme of Jewish peoplehood in the twentieth century emphasized, therefore, the notion of *kelal Yisra'el* (the wholeness of the people of Israel). An influential American Jewish ideology that emphasizes cultural pluralism, Judaism as a civilization, and the centrality of Zion together with the international character of *kelal Yisra'el* is that of Mordecai Kaplan, who insisted on the continued relevance of Jewish religious values but denied on principle that the Jews were the "chosen people." Other American Jewish theologians rejected Kaplan's effort to normalize the Jewish tradition by stripping Jewish peoplehood of a transcendent uniqueness. After World War II, and especially by the late 1960s, "ethnicity" (a slippery concept, difficult to define) was more easily acknowledged as a positive force in Jewry in and of itself (as it has been among other groups), while belonging to the Jewish people has been assumed a far more voluntaristic character, expressed in a wide range of ways and unusual forms. After the Holocaust came noticeable improvement in Jewish-Christian understanding. And with the greater acceptance of Judaism and the social integration of Jews came a considerable increase in the United States in the numbers of converts to Judaism.

The establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 brought a new series of issues to the fore concerning Jewish membership and meaning. Will Israel, as a secular Jewish state, be fully legitimized in the international family of nations? And in what does the Jewishness of the state of Israel consist? What is to be its relation to the religious dimension of the Jewish heritage? The question of personal Jewish status has been raised several times in Israel's courts of law in connection with the law of return, which grants all Diaspora Jews immediate Israeli citizenship upon their immigration there. In the case of Oswald Rufeisen, a born Jew who became a Catholic priest, the supreme court of Israel ruled that although Rufeisen was a Jew by *halakhah*, his acceptance of Catholicism excluded him from the Jewish people, and therefore he was not to be granted automatic Israeli citizenship. In the 1968 Shalit case, involving children of a non-Jewish mother who were raised as nonreligious Jews, the children were not allowed, on purely secular grounds, to be registered as Jews on their identity cards.

The twenty-first-century definition of "who is a Jew" reflects a mix of *halakhic* principles and informal Jewish attitudes. Yet another issue involves whether the State of Israel will continue to recognize as authentically Jewish those Jews converted in the Diaspora not according to Orthodox authorities or strict *halakhic* procedures—that is, by Reform, Conservative, and Reconstructionist rabbis. This in turn directs attention to the legitimacy of religious pluralism within the Jewish people—a conspicuous fact in parts of the Diaspora but not in the State of Israel. In the United States the question of who is a Jew has been raised in connection with children of intermarriages where the non-Jewish mother does not convert to Judaism; the Reform and Reconstructionist movements, but not the Conservative and Orthodox, have argued for a recognition of patrilineal descent under certain circumstances. Underlying the question of who is a Jew is the issue of the contemporary authority of *halakhah*: how, to what extent, and by whom will Jewish religious law be adapted to modern times. Behind all these specifics, however, is the question of the transcendent meaning of Jewish peoplehood, which will surely remain a delicate and profound subject for Jewish theologians.

SEE ALSO Anti-Semitism; Christianity; Conservative Judaism; Essenes; Hasidism; Holocaust, The, article on History; Israelite Religion; Judaism; Kaplan, Mordecai; Karaites; Marranos; Orthodox Judaism; Paul the Apostle; Qabbalah; Reform Judaism; Sadducees; Samaritans; Torah; Zealots; Zionism.

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JEWISH PHILOSOPHY SEE JEWISH THOUGHT AND PHILOSOPHY, *ARTICLE ON* PREMODERN PHILOSOPHY

JEWISH RELIGIOUS YEAR. The Hebrew word *ḥodesh,* used in the Bible for "month," means "that which is renewed" and refers to the renewal of the moon. Hence the Jewish calendar is lunar, the first day of each month being Roʾsh Ḥodesh ("head of the month"). Some months have twenty-nine days, others thirty. When the previous month has twenty-nine days, Roʾsh Ḥodesh is celebrated as a minor festival for two days; when the previous month has thirty days, it is celebrated for one day. In the Pentateuch (*Ex.* 12:2), the month on which the Israelites went out of Egypt is counted as the first month of the year, so when the Bible speaks of the third month, the seventh month, and so on, these are counted from the month of the Exodus. But the festival of Passover, celebrating the Exodus, is said in *Deuteronomy* 16:1 to fall in the month Aviv ("ripening"). This is understood to mean that Passover must always fall in spring, and thus the Jewish lunar calendar presupposes a natural solar calendar like that used in most ancient societies. A process of intercalation was consequently introduced to enable the lunar year to keep pace with the solar. The method is to add an extra month to seven out of nineteen lunar years. During the Babylonian captivity, after the destruction of the First Temple, the Babylonian names of the months were adopted and are still used. These are Nisan, Iyyar, Sivan, Tammuz (its origin in the name of a Babylonian deity was either unknown or ignored), Av, Elul, Tishri, Marḥeshvan, Kislev, Tevet, Shevaṭ, Adar. When, in a leap year, an extra month is introduced at the end of the year, there is an Adar Sheni, or "second Adar."

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CALENDAR. There was no uniform method of dating years until the Middle Ages, when the current practice was adopted of reckoning from the (biblical) creation of the world. The French commentaries to the Talmud (*tosafot* to B. T., *Giṭṭin* 80b) observe that in twelfth-century France it was already an established practice to date documents from the creation. In the Talmudic literature it is debated whether the creation took place in Nisan (the first month) or in Tishri (the seventh month), but for dating purposes the latter view is followed, so that the new year begins on the first day of Tishri. This day is the date of the festival Roʾsh ha-Shanah (New Year). Thus the year 1240 CE is the year 5000 from the creation. Thus 1986 CE from January 1 to October 3 is the year 5746 from the creation; from October 4 (the date of Roʾsh ha-Shanah) it is 5747. This method of dating is used in legal documents, letters, and newspapers but has no doctrinal significance, so that it does not normally disturb traditionalists who prefer to interpret the biblical record nonliterally to allow for a belief in the vast age of the earth implied by science.

It is generally accepted in the critical study of the Bible that the recurring refrain in the first chapter of *Genesis*—

"and it was evening and it was morning"—means that when daylight had passed into evening and then night had passed into morning, a complete day had elapsed. But the Talmudic tradition understands the verses to mean that night precedes the day. For this reason the day, for religious purposes, begins at nightfall and lasts until the next nightfall. The Sabbath begins at sunset on Friday and goes out at nightfall on Saturday. The same applies to the festivals. The twilight period is a legally doubtful one, and there is also an obligation to extend the Sabbaths and festivals at beginning and end. Jewish calendars, consequently, give the time of the Sabbath as beginning just before sunset and as ending when it is fully dark. Pious Jews, in the absence of a calendar, will keep the Sabbath until it is sufficiently dark to see three average-sized stars in close proximity in the night sky.

Before the present fixed calendar was instituted (in the middle of the fourth century CE), the date of the new moon was arrived at by observation. If witnesses saw the new moon on the twenty-ninth day of the month, they would present their testimony to the high court and that day would be declared Roʾsh Ḥodesh, the beginning of the next month. If the new moon had not been observed on the twenty-ninth day, the thirtieth day automatically became Roʾsh Ḥodesh. Since the festivals falling in the month are counted from Roʾsh Ḥodesh, there was always some doubt as to which of two days would be the date of the festival. Except on Roʾsh ha-Shanah, which falls on the actual day of the new moon, special messengers could always inform the Jews of Palestine of the correct date of the festival. But for the Jews of the Diaspora, who resided in lands too distant for them to be informed in time, it became the practice to keep both days as the festival and thus avoid any possibility of error. Even after the calendar was fixed, the Talmudic sources state, the Jews of the Diaspora were advised by the Palestinian authorities to continue to hold fast to the custom of their ancestors and keep the "two days of the Diaspora." A post-Talmudic rationale for the two days of the Diaspora is that outside the Holy Land the extra festival day compensates for the absence of sanctity in the land. The practice in the state of Israel is thus to keep only one day (with the exception of Roʾsh ha-Shanah), whereas Jews living elsewhere keep two days. There is much discussion in the legal sources on the practice to be adopted by a Jew living outside Israel who visits Israel for the festival or vice versa. Reform Jews prefer to follow the biblical injunctions only, and they do not keep the two days of the Diaspora. Some Conservative Jews, too, have argued for the abolition of the second day because of the anomaly of treating as a holy day a day that is not observed as sacred in Israel.

THE HOLY DAYS. Similar festivals in the ancient Near East suggest that the biblical festivals were originally agricultural feasts transformed into celebrations of historical events. The most striking aspect of the Jewish religious calendar is this transfer from the round of the seasons to the affirmation of God's work in human history—the transfer, as it were, from space to time.

The holy days of the Jewish year can be divided into two categories: the biblical and the postbiblical, or the major and the minor. (Purim, though based on *Esther,* a book from the biblical period, is held to be a post-biblical festival from this point of view and hence a minor festival.) The first and last days of Passover and Sukkot, Shavuʿot, Roʾsh ha-Shanah, and Yom Kippur are major festivals in that all labor (except that required for the preparation of food and even this on Yom Kippur) is forbidden. On the days between the first and last days of Passover and Sukkot, necessary labor is permitted. All labor is permitted on minor festivals such as Purim and Ḥanukkah.

Each of the festivals has its own rituals and its own special liturgy. On all of them the Hallel ("praise"), consisting of *Psalms* 113–118, is recited in the synagogue, except on Roʾsh ha-Shanah, Yom Kippur, and Purim. Only part of Hallel is said on Roʾsh Ḥodesh, when labor is permitted, and the last six days of Passover, it being held unseemly to rejoice by singing the full praises of God since the Egyptians, who were also God's creatures, were destroyed. Festive meals are the order of the day on the festivals (except, of course, on Yom Kippur), and the day is marked by the donning of one's best clothes. It is considered meritorious to study on each festival the relevant passages in the classical sources of Judaism. On the fast days neither food nor drink is taken from sunrise to nightfall (on Yom Kippur and Tishʿah be-Av, from sunset on the previous night).

Following are major dates of the religious year, month by month.

- 15–22 Nisan (15–23 in the Diaspora): Passover, celebrating the Exodus from Egypt.
- 6 Sivan (6–7 in the Diaspora): Shavuʿot, anniversary of the theophany at Sinai.
- 17 Tammuz: Fast of Tammuz, commemorating the breaching of the walls of Jerusalem at the time of the destruction of the First Temple (587/6 BCE) and the Second Temple (70 CE).
- 9 Av: Tishʿah be-Av (Ninth of Av), fast day commemorating the destruction of the First and Second Temples and other national calamities.
- 1–2 Tishri: Roʾsh ha-Shanah, the New Year festival.
- 3 Tishri: Tsom Gedalyah (Fast of Gedaliah), commemorating the slaying of Gedaliah as told in *Jeremiah* 41:1–2 and *2 Kings* 25:25, an event that marked the end of the First Commonwealth.
- 10 Tishri: Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement), the great fast day.
- 15–23 Tishri (15–24 in the Diaspora): Sukkot (Feast of Tabernacles), celebrating the dwelling in booths by the Israelites in their journey through the wilderness after the Exodus.
- 25 Kislev: first day of Ḥanukkah (Feast of Rededica-

tion), celebrating the victory of the Maccabees and the rededication of the Temple. Ḥanukkah lasts for eight days.

- 10 Tevet: ʿAsarah be-Ṭevet (Fast of the Tenth of Ṭevet), commemorating the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar before the destruction of the First Temple in 587/6 BCE.
- 15 Shevaṭ: Roʾsh ha-Shanah le-Ilanot (New Year for Trees), a minor festival reminiscent of the laws of tithing in ancient times. Nowadays, this is a celebration of God's bounty, of thanksgiving for the fruit of the ground.
- 13 Adar: Taʿanit Ester (Fast of Esther), based on the account in *Esther* (4:16).
- 14 Adar: Purim (Lots), the festival celebrating the victory over Haman, who cast lots to destroy the Jews, as told in *Esther.*
- 15 Adar: Shushan Purim (Purim of Shushan), based on the account in *Esther* (9:18) that the Jews in the capital city of Shushan celebrated their deliverance on this day.

MAJOR FESTIVALS AND FAST DAYS. The three festivals of Passover, Shavuʿot, and Sukkot form a unit in that, in Temple times, they were pilgrim festivals, when the people came to worship and offer sacrifices in the Temple. The connection between these three festivals is preserved in the liturgy in which there are references to the place of each festival in the yearly cycle. Thus, on Passover the reference is to "the season of our freedom," on Shavuʿot to "the season of the giving of our Torah," and on Sukkot to "the season of our rejoicing," since Sukkot, as the culmination of the cycle, is the special season of joy. The three major festivals of the month of Tishri have been seen as a unit of a different kind. Roʾsh ha-Shanah, the first of the three, is seen as the festival of the mind, when people reflect on their destiny and resolve to lead a better life in the coming year. Yom Kippur, the day when the emotions are stirred, is seen as the festival of the heart, because it is the day of pardon and reconciliation with God. Sukkot, the third in this triad, involves active participation in the building of the booth and eating meals there, and is seen therefore as the festival of the hand. Thus, head, heart, and hand are demanded in the service of God.

The days between Roʾsh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur, inclusive, are known as the Ten Days of Penitence. This is a solemn season of reflection on life's meaning and sincere repentance. Similarly, the whole month of Elul, the last month of the old year, is a penitential season in preparation for the solemn period at the beginning of the new year. Roʾsh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur are consequently known as Yamim Noraʾim, the Days of Awe.

MINOR FESTIVALS AND FAST DAYS. In the annual cycle there are two periods of mourning during which marriages are not celebrated and tokens of mourning are observed. The first of these is the three-week period from the seventeenth of Tammuz to Tishʿah be-Av, the period of mourning for the destruction of the Temple and the sufferings of the people in subsequent ages. In many places the period becomes more intense from the first of Av in that the consumption of meat and wine is proscribed. The other, lesser, period of mourning is known as the ʿOmer period, forty-nine days from the second day of Passover to the festival of Shavuʿot (though, of course, there is no mourning during Passover itself). The *ʿomer* was a measure of meal brought as an offering in Temple times, and there is a biblical injunction to count these forty-nine days (*Lv.* 23:9–16; known as "counting the ʿOmer"). It has been suggested that the custom of mourning during the ʿOmer has its origin in the ancient belief, held by many peoples, that it is bad luck to marry during the month of May. The traditional sources state that the mourning is over the death by plague of many of the disciples of ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef in the second century CE. The mystics introduce a different note. There are seven lower potencies or powers in the godhead, the *sefirot,* that become flawed as a result of human sin. Each one of these contains the others as well, so that each of the forty-nine days of the ʿOmer calls for repentance for the purpose of putting right these flaws. The mystics of Safad in the sixteenth century held that the eighteenth of Iyyar, the thirty-third day of the ʿOmer—Lag ba-ʿOmer—is the anniversary of the death of the great mystic Shimʿon bar Yoḥʾai, a disciple of ʿAqivʾa and the alleged author of the *Zohar.* The belief that at the saint's death his soul became united with its source on high is referred to as "the marriage of Shimʿon bar Yoḥʾai." This day, then, became a minor festival, and marriages are celebrated on the day.

The day of the new moon, Roʾsh Ḥodesh, is also a minor festival. From the juxtaposition of Roʾsh Ḥodesh with the Sabbath in a number of biblical passages, many biblical scholars conclude that in ancient times Roʾsh Ḥodesh was a major festival on a par with the Sabbath. Nowadays, however, the day is marked only by festivities in a minor key and by liturgical additions. An old custom frees women from the obligation to work on Roʾsh Ḥodesh, and this might be a vestige of the ancient sanctity the day enjoyed. The official reason given is that women refused to participate in the making of the golden calf and were, therefore, given an extra holiday. In the mystical tradition the moon symbolizes the Shekhinah, the female element in the godhead, the counterpart on high of the community of Israel, awaiting the redemption of the Jewish people and of all humankind with harmony restored throughout all creation. The waxing and the waning of the moon is thus a powerful mythological symbol. The Safad mystics consequently introduced a new ritual for the eve of Roʾsh Ḥodesh. This day is known as Yom Kippur Qatan (Minor Yom Kippur). As the name implies, it is a time of repentance and, for some, fasting.

There are a number of other lesser feasts and fast days. The Fast of the Firstborn has its origins in the early Middle Ages. In *Exodus* (13:1–16) it is related that the firstborn of the Israelites have a special sanctity because God spared them when he killed the firstborn of the Egyptians. Thus the custom of fasting on the eve of Passover, 14 Nisan, developed. Generally, nowadays, the firstborn, instead of fasting, attend a study session during which a tractate of the Talmud is completed. To partake of a festive meal on this occasion is held to be a religious obligation that overrides the obligation to fast.

Some pious Jews fast on the Monday, Thursday, and following Monday after the festivals of Passover and Sukkot—Beit Heʾ Beit (“Two, Five, Two,” referring to the days of the week). The reason given is that it is to atone for any untoward frivolity during the lengthy festival period.

In many Jewish communities the burial of the dead is attended to by a voluntary organization, whose membership is granted only to the most distinguished applicants. This organization is known as the *ḥevrahʾ qaddishaʾ*(“holy brotherhood”). The members of the *ḥevrahʾ qaddishaʾ* observe a fast on the seventh of Adar, the anniversary of the death of Moses, to atone for any disrespect they may have shown to the dead. But on the night following the fast they celebrate their privileged position by holding a special banquet.

There are also minor festivals observed by particular groups. For instance, on the analogy of Purim, many communities delivered miraculously from destruction celebrate ever after their day of deliverance as a “Purim.” For example, the Hasidic master Shneʾur Zalman of Lyady (1745–1813), founder of the Habad school of Hasidism, was released from prison in Russia on the nineteenth of Kislev, after his arrest on a charge of treason, and his followers observe this day as a festival.

Two modern institutions are Yom ha-Shoʾah (Holocaust Day) on 27 Nisan, marking the destruction of six million Jews during the Nazi period, and Yom ha-Atsmaʿut (Independence Day) on 5 Iyyar, the celebration, especially in the state of Israel, of the Israeli declaration of independence on that date. In many religious circles this day is treated as a full *yom tov,* and the *Hallel* is recited.

SEE ALSO Ḥanukkah; Judaism, articles on Judaism in Asia, Judaism in Northeast Africa; Passover; Purim; Roʾsh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur; Shabbat; Shavuʿot; Sukkot.

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LOUIS JACOBS (1987)

JEWISH RENEWAL MOVEMENT. The Jewish Renewal movement is one of the most recent and creative expressions of Judaism’s continued attempt to mold itself to the contours of modernity. It is, in many respects, an indigenous American religious movement but is expanding into a global Jewish phenomenon. This multifaceted development in contemporary Judaism is hard to categorize. It has the audacity of a reformation, the passion of a revival, and the optimism of a renaissance. Its critique and reconstruction of Judaism not only occupies the realm of ideas but reaches down to the organizational structure of Judaism in the Diaspora.

For most of the twentieth century Judaism in America developed along denominational lines. Each denomination has its own autonomy, its own rabbinical academies, its own fund-raising structure. The separation of church and state in America has enabled American Judaism to develop its own institutional and spiritual apparatus without any serious threat of one community dominating another. Renewal emerged from this denominational bedrock but has challenged the denominational structure. It is, perhaps, the prelude to, or first-fruits of, a postdenominational Judaism in America, growing out of the dissatisfaction many Jews have with the present ideological and practical structure of Judaism in the Diaspora, in North America in particular.

ORIGINS. There are many factors that contribute to the breakdown or transformation of denominational Judaism in America and the emergence of a new approach to religion and culture. Three of the most prominent direct factors are the maturation of American Jews who did not experience firsthand the devastation of European Jewry in the Holocaust; the rise of a generation of Jews (many second generation Americans) who were dissatisfied with the materialism and spiritual vacuity of mid- to late-twentieth-century American Jewish life; and the shock-waves of the American counterculture, including the importation of Eastern religions to the American continent. More specifically, it is possible to pinpoint the beginning of Jewish Renewal in one seemingly benign event.

In 1948 the sixth Lubavitcher Rebbe, Rabbi Joseph Schneersohn (d. 1950), decided to inaugurate the missionary wing of his movement by sending emissaries to college campuses. He asked two young disciples, Zalman Schachter (later Schachter-Shalomi, b. 1924) and Shlomo Carlebach (1924–1994), to attend a Ḥanukkah party at Brandeis University (which opened its door that year) in a suburb of Boston, Massachusetts. Zalman and Shlomo (who prefer to be called by their first names) took various Hasidic books, tapes, and religious paraphernalia and attended the party intending to spread the message of traditional Judaism. Both were raised in Europe, studied there, and were refugees from the war, Schlomo escaping before the war and Zalman afterward. What they experienced that winter night at Brandeis University was the extent to which young American Jews lived in an intellectual universe that left no room for tradition the way they envisioned it. They both understood the extent to which unadulterated Hasidism simply could not be sold to an American audience raised on liberal democratic ideals. Zalman and Shlomo did different things with that realization, both of which contributed to Jewish Renewal, but the spark of what would become a new Jewish movement was ignited that evening. Zalman's meditation on those and other events was published as *Fragments of a Future Scroll* in 1975.

The next significant manifestations of nascent Jewish Renewal occurred on the two coasts of the American continent, in San Francisco and Boston, the former during the turbulent years of the late 1960s, the latter during its aftermath in the early 1970s. Shlomo opened what was known as the House of Love and Prayer in San Francisco in the late 1960s, what was, in effect, an early Chabad House—a small house, usually rented, run by members of the Chabad Hasidic sect that functioned as a synagogue, outreach and drop-in center, and a gathering place for Jews to express their Jewishness in whatever way felt comfortable. During the 1960s its purpose was often to provide a spiritual and countercultural Jewish alternative to compete with the myriad spiritualities that were emerging in the Bay Area after the Summer of Love in 1967.

In the early 1970s, Arthur Green, Zalman, and others founded Havurat Shalom in Somerville, Massachusetts, an egalitarian, experimental Jewish community devoted to study, prayer, and the exploration of Jewish spirituality. Zalman taught and served as Jewish chaplain for numerous years at the University of Winnipeg, and eventually settled in Philadelphia, founding a community called Bnei ʿOr (Sons of Light). Under the influence of feminism and his commitment to the egalitarian spirit it espoused, he changed its named to Pnei ʿOr (Faces of Light). This community and its numerous branches around the United States are often viewed as the first organized communities of the Jewish Renewal movement. Its experimental Judaism extended far beyond its Hasidic origins and beyond even the more restrained, albeit provocative, communities of Havurat Shalom (which is still operating) and the House of Love and Prayer (which disbanded in 1977; some of its members moved to a small community in Israel known as Moshav Me'or Modiim).

The Jewish Renewal movement has an umbrella organization called ALEPH, Alliance for Jewish Renewal, which has centers worldwide, training rabbis and spiritual leaders to serve in its own synagogues and the synagogues of other Jewish denominations. Jewish Renewal activities include an annual Kallah, a kind of Renewal pilgrimage where workshops, seminars, and communal celebrations are held in a rural setting. The Renewal centers are typical of a progressive experimental movement. They are strongest in places like Berkeley and San Francisco; Boulder, Colorado; New Mexico; Boston; New York; Philadelphia; and Los Angeles. Other centers exist in Miami, Florida; Hartford, Connecticut; and Washington, D.C. Much of the training of rabbis and leaders is accomplished through mentoring and correspondence.

INFLUENCES. In many ways Jewish Renewal is a good example of late twentieth-century religious syncretism in America. It does not intend to start a new American religion or subreligion, yet, in contrast to other Jewish denominations, it freely adopts ideas and practices from other religions, incorporating them into its developing Jewish model of worship. Renewal is antiorthodox in that it rejects the very notion that one way can embody the fullness of tradition. It seeks to create a spiritual context that can be utilized by Jews and non-Jews alike. In this sense, it is very much a product of American life, in that it exercises an kind of eclectic creativity, reaching beyond the confines of its own tradition, fully taking advantage of a society where freedom of religious expression is a matter of law. Influences include an amalgam of classical Jewish pietism, medieval Qabbalah, Hasidism, the Western version of Buddhism, Islamic Sufism, Christian monasticism, American pragmatism, Jewish Reconstructionism, religious existentialism, and progressive American political activism and environmentalism.

The most interesting thing about Jewish Renewal is that it is a decidedly non-Orthodox Judaism built on the pietism and ritualism of classical Jewish mysticism and Hasidism. It translates these insular forms of Judaism through the lens of an American counterculture devoted to progressive politics, global concerns, ecumenicism, equality of the sexes, and humanitarian universalism. Zalman Schachter-Shalomi employs his vast knowledge of Jewish sources to construct a Judaism that is an outgrowth of the American counterculture, presenting Judaism as a religion that can contribute to and be a source of inspiration for American Jews reared in the liberal democratic tradition who have been influenced by the spiritual renaissance of the 1960s. In many ways, Jewish Renewal is a pietistic antifundamentalism that is not apologetic for the tradition but views honest critique as a method of rebuilding a Jewish spirit lost in the dark ages of Jewish history. In this sense it sees itself as apostolic, reminiscent of Luther's Protestantism. It is solidly devoted to the concerns of living on the planet in a responsible and constructive manner and views its religiosity in global and activist terms.

The most direct and prominent influence on Jewish Renewal is Hasidism, a Jewish pietism from late-eighteenth-century eastern Europe that transformed world Jewry in the last two centuries. Both Zalman and Shlomo were trained in the Hasidic tradition and used Hasidic literature as the basis of their Renewal approach. Zalman, who is the architect of this movement, views the message of Hasidism as one that can be revamped, revalued, de- and recontextualized to complement an era of Jewish inclusiveness and tolerance. In many ways Martin Buber's modernization of Hasidism as Jewish existentialism plays an important role, as does Abraham Joshua Heschel's use of Hasidism as a source for his theology of pathos.

In his writings Zalman acknowledges his debt to Buber and Heschel yet seeks to take their initiative in a different direction. He does not relate to Hasidism as a movement but rather as an approach to Judaism, something that can be revalued and express contemporary sensibilities. While Hasidism is a usable model for this movement, some Renewal thinkers also view Hasidism as limited due to its unwillingness to extend its provocative teachings to their logical conclusion. This conclusion, which Zalman calls a paradigm shift, is the ideological foundation of Jewish Renewal and will be discussed below.

While American forms of Judaism have become fully comfortable with American life, in many respects the particularistic nature of Judaism and its relationship to the individual have prevented it from engaging in global issues as part of its devotional life. While Reform and Reconstructionist Judaism do address global concerns, their social activism is not as integrated into their devotional practices as in Renewal. A good example is the environmental movement in America. One of Renewal's original leaders, Arthur Waskow, has played a prominent role in contemporary environmentalism. His most popular works, *Seasons of Our Joy* and *Torah of the Earth: Exploring 4,000 Years of Ecology in Jewish Thought,* explore the connection between Judaism and environmentalism.

One very prominent feature of Jewish Renewal and an example of its commitment to integrating global issues into its devotional life is the concept of "eco-Kosher." This idea suggests that the traditional dietary laws (*kashrut*) should be augmented to include prohibitions against consuming any foods that exploit irreplaceable natural resources; are produced by companies that pollute the environment, are manufactured by using abusive labor practices, or support institutions that knowingly disregard environmental concerns. In Jewish Renewal there are differences of opinion as to whether these principles should replace existing restrictions or be added to them. This kind of debate is common in nascent religious reform and is reminiscent of the debate between the Jewish Christians and Paul regarding the continued efficacy of the law after Christ. Some Renewal Jews want to retain a more traditional relationship to Jewish law (*halakhah*) while others prefer to remain devoted to ritual yet not bound by existing legal decisions regarding those rituals and practices.

Ecumenicism and the use of other religious traditions and teachings to enhance and revise existing Jewish practice is another major aspect of Jewish Renewal. While modern American Judaisms often engage in ecumenical dialogue (before September 11, 2001, almost exclusively with Christians) they usually do not integrate the practices of other religions into their religious life. This speaks to the cautious way in which modern Judaisms view the "other" even in a free democratic society. Zalman is an ordained Ṣūfī teacher and many of Jewish Renewal's constituency practice and teach various forms of meditation, either adapted to Jewish sensibilities or not.

This raises yet another internal debate in this community common in fledgling religious movements. Should external influences be Judaized or made kosher or should other rituals and traditions be practiced without any Judaizing process? Elat Hayyim, the Jewish Renewal retreat center in upstate New York, holds regular mediation retreats as well as more traditional Jewish festival retreats and workshops. Serious engagement with other religious traditions, including inviting masters of other religious disciplines to speak at seminars and retreats and adapting some of their practices, illustrates Renewal's attempt to break out of the insular framework of traditional and even progressive Judaism.

Underlying this ecumenical approach is a fundamental belief that all religions hold some basic truths and that dialogue between religions, including openly borrowing various practices, can aid the healing of the planet and enhance religion's contribution to civilization more generally. This kind of applied universalist particularism is a new phenomenon in modern Judaism (most other progressive forms of Judaism, religious and secular, focus on Zionism and Israel as their global outlet). The implication here is that all religions have ossified and have lost some of their truth as a result of historical circumstances and that religious confluence can contribute to reconstructing some of these inherent truths. Jewish Renewal is sometimes accused of religious syncretism. This characterization is misleading, although not entirely false as the Jewish Renewal movement is making no attempt to develop a new religion. The starting and end point is always Judaism, but it is in fact Judaism transformed out of its insular and exclusivist mold.

Another important influence on Jewish Renewal is American pragmatism, viewed through the lens of Mordecai Kaplan's Reconstructionist Judaism. Reconstructionism argues that Judaism is, first and foremost, a civilization. Jewish law is viewed as a system of folkways that Jews developed in order to give themselves a unique identity as a people. These folkways must be maintained and protected as the people's identity is dependent upon them. However, Jewish ritual and practice must conform to the sensibilities of the people and not be foisted upon them as commandments.

This notion of Jewish practice came to be known as post-halakhic Judaism, a Judaism devoted to practice but one not based on unalterable and commanded law. Kaplan's battle was with the liberal Reform Judaism that abandoned law and practice completely and Conservative and Orthodox Judaism that were, in his view, living a law that was outdated, both in form and substance. Kaplan's influences included John Dewey and Émile Durkheim. His approach was rational and pragmatic and not generally metaphysical.

In many ways, Jewish Renewal took Kaplan's basic critique of contemporary Judaism and refracted it through Hasidism and mystical lenses. Renewal is one type of post-halakhic Judaism, one that fuses law and custom (not unlike many premodern Qabbalists) and views the Jewish attachment to its practices as essential for living an authentic and meaningful Jewish life. While it does view Jewish practice as commanded, it views commandedness largely as an outgrowth of the desire of the devotee to express love for the Creator and the creation and expression of Judaism's role (special but not necessarily unique) in promoting a healthy and organic global community. In other words, Renewal posits a theory of autonomous commandedness.

It is not coincidental that Renewal's headquarters in the 1970s and 1980s and the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College (RRC) were both located in Philadelphia (a city that was once a center of Conservative Judaism). Nor is it insignificant that Arthur Green, cofounder of Havurat Shalom in Somerville, Massachusetts, was president of RRC for ten years. During that time, there was a steady interaction between these two communities that resulted in, among other things, shared principles and ideals. If one had to cite the strongest influences on Jewish Renewal, Hasidism and Reconstructionism would top the list. This odd symbiosis is addressed by Zalman Schachter-Shalomi in a chapter entitled "Neo-Hasidism and Reconstructionism: A Not-Only-Imaginary Dialogue," in *Paradigm Shift,* edited by Ellen Singer.

Two other important influences are liberal/progressive politics and Zionism. While not a political movement, and, in many ways, strikingly apolitical, Jewish Renewal is loosely part of the new Jewish Left in North America. It champions progressive political positions on the environment, war, poverty relief, world hunger, AIDS, women's issues, globalization, and unilateral aggression. The two most prominent activists in this area of Renewal are Arthur Waskow and Michael Lerner. Both 1960s radicals who adopted Judaism as a center of their spiritual and political lives, Waskow and Lerner have been outspoken about many issues, both national and international, concerning Jews and society more generally. Lerner's bimonthly magazine *Tikkun* can be viewed as a political arm of Jewish Renewal, and many Renewal members write regularly for this publication. Two of Lerner's books, *The Politics of Meaning* and *Jewish Renewal,* offer a vision of Jewish Renewal dedicated to a Jewish approach to contemporary political issues and crisis (see, for example, *Jewish Renewal,* pp. 265–280).

Both Lerner and Waskow envision Renewal as contributing Jewish alternatives to the political arena. What is new and important here is that these Jewish resources are not employed to address issues of Jewish concern but rather to contribute to global concerns from a Jewish spiritual perspective. This illustrates the extent to which Jewish Renewal is a universalized Judaism with humanitarian concerns that extend far beyond the narrow boundaries of the Jewish people. This mixture of universal ideals coupled with a dedication to Jewish practice makes Jewish Renewal a unique phenomenon in contemporary Judaism.

The progress that Renewal made in diffusing the particularistic nature of traditional Judaism, however, is put to the test on the question of Zionism. While there is no official Jewish Renewal policy on Zionism, anecdotal evidence suggests that most members are Zionist if by that one simply means supporters of the State of Israel's right to exist. Given the prominence of Israel and Zionism in contemporary Judaism it is curious that the most sustained statement of Jewish Renewal, Zalman Schachter-Shalomi's article in *Paradigm Shift,* does not contain any serious discussion of Zionism or the State of Israel.

This omission is not insignificant and speaks to way in which Jewish Renewal is really a diasporic religious phenomenon (there is a growing Jewish Renewal movement in Israel which will no doubt confront these issues differently). While the minimalist definition of Zionism would include most of those involved with Jewish Renewal, many of its members advocate a progressive position on the Middle East crisis, are supporters of a Palestinian state along the 1967 borders, and view the occupation as both immoral and spiritually damaging to Israel as a nation and Judaism as a religion. While some in the larger Renewal community might not share this position, this appears to be the one that is dominant. This is surely the case with Waskow and Lerner, and the platform of *Tikkun* magazine.

Another important factor in Renewal is its engagement with Islam. Renewal members, and Zalman in particular, were early and continuous supporters of a dialogue with Palestinian Muslims, particularly Ṣūfīs. They were quite successful in opening lines of communication between Jews and Muslims on matters of spirituality and politics, particularly in the 1960s when there was almost no serious Jewish–Muslim dialogue. As progressive leftists, most sympathize with the plight of the Palestinian civilian population and view Israel as an occupying power in the territories.

Organizations like the New Jewish Agenda, the Abraham Fund, and Seeds of Peace, while not formally a part of

Jewish Renewal, are influenced by it. Renewal's stance on the crisis in the Middle East illustrates its decision to opt out of a fervent messianism (severing it from its roots in Lubavitch Hasidism, roots which now, with the Jewish settler movement, represent the most virulent examples of Jewish messianism) and reject the militant nationalism so common in Diaspora Judaism. Instead Renewal lobbies for a softer utopian vision where barriers between peoples are to be made more transparent rather than more opaque.

Ideology. Jewish Renewal is founded on a reformist ideology couched in a revivalist pietism. Like many such movements in the history of religion, its agenda is both apostolic and subversive. Its claim to have retrieved an internal meaning of Judaism is used to counter the status quo of what Judaism has become. In this sense it is also, to use more contemporary language, countercultural. The reformist predilection of Jewish Renewal is captured in what Zalman Schachter-Shalomi has termed a Paradigm Shift. The idea is not new, but is creatively adapted to the contours of the contemporary world.

The basic argument in the Paradigm Shift is that history can be divided into distinct historical epochs, each of which contains particular spiritual paths even within one particular religious tradition. As the epoch changes, so must the spiritual direction of that religion in order to insure an organicity between the external historic and cosmic environment (which are inextricable according to the Jewish mystical tradition) and individual and collective consciousness. This notion was suggested by the Christian monk Joachim of Fiore and is the basis of the anonymous fourteenth-century Jewish qabbalistic works *Sefer ha-temunah* and *Sefer ha-peliah.* In both premodern sources, each of which has underlying messianic pretensions, new paths of devotion are revealed as a new epoch emerges and those new paths must be followed in order to fully disclose the potential in the new era.

Jewish Renewal's rendition of this doctrine seems to have jettisoned the apocalyptic messianic flavor of these texts in favor of a belief in the slow and steady completion of the utopian redemption envisioned by some of the classical Hebrew prophets, a world without war, strife, and conflict. An analysis of the messianism of Jewish Renewal, born from a tempered reading of contemporary Lubavitch (Hasidic) messianism, is a desideratum in scholarship. What is also important here is that this doctrine is also foundational for the heretical Jewish movement of Shabbetai Tsevi in the seventeenth century.

The Shabbatean heretics argued that a new historical epoch was inaugurated by the Messiah Shabbetai Tsevi and this new era must be accompanied by a new Torah, a Torah that transcends the strict legalism of the old (rabbinic) law and expands God's presence into the mundane and even forbidden. While the language of Renewal is far more temperate and communal (it does not focus much attention on the centrality of the charismatic leader, or Zaddik, who serves as a foundation for Hasidic spirituality), it does argue that the theism (or deism) of past eras has now evolved into a pantheism of the present, thus requiring Jews to reaccess their relationship to Jewish theology and ritual practice. In Zalman's words:

> So where are we now? I'd like to say we are in the shift to the place where everything is God, pantheism. . . . We want Wholeness, a holistic understanding, now. . . . I believe that people are moving from theism to pantheism. There are some who don't like the word pantheism, the idea that God is everything. They prefer the word panentheism, which means that God is in everything. I, however, don't think the distinction is real. (Schachter-Shalomi, 2003, p. 20)

Using an astrological system (also used by the Shabbateans) filtered through the theosophical qabbalistic system of four worlds and the ten *sefirot* (cosmic potencies), Renewal claims that a new era, an Age of Aquarius, has emerged that requires Jews to respond by reconstructing the Torah of the past in preparation for a new era (on this see *Paradigm Shift,* pp. 277–298). While much of this is viewed by Renewal as rooted in Hasidic teachings, it is also quite reminiscent of the Shabbatean movement that also may have influenced early Hasidic doctrine. Because most Shabbatean texts remained (and largely remain) in manuscript (what Hebrew publisher would publish what had become viewed as blatant heresy?) most contemporary Jews are not familiar with them. It remains to be seen how the disclosure of these texts will affect both Hasidism and Renewal.

Impact. The impact of Jewish Renewal is already profound, yet, given that we are still in the midst of its full disclosure, still somewhat unknown. It is important to note that while Renewal was fed by the Ba'al Teshuva movement (new returnees to Judaism) in the late 1960s to mid-1970s, Renewal is not a part of that movement—in fact, in many ways it is its opposite. The Ba'al Teshuva movement was a movement of disenchanted Diaspora and Israeli youth who turned back to traditional Judaism as an alternative to the vacuous materialistic lives of their upbringing. The end-game of this movement was a return to Orthodoxy and a basic rejection of Western values. Renewal is not a return to the past but the construction of a future built on tradition but not bound to it. While many young Jewish seekers passed through Renewal on their way to Orthodoxy, those that stayed created a Judaism that was decidedly neither Orthodox nor accepting of the hegemonic claims of Orthodoxy's leadership.

Jewish Renewal has influenced all Jewish denominations in North America, from Orthodoxy to Reform. Orthodoxy absorbed Renewal's focus on joyful worship and the music of Shlomo Carlebach (who was not formally part of Renewal but floated freely between Jewish communities), some of the Hasidic teachings of Zalman Schachter-Shalomi, and the use of mediation and contemplative prayer developed by some Renewal members. Conservative and Reform Jewish communities in North America have seen the emergence of smaller prayer quorums (called Ḥavurah-style communities) in their larger synagogues among members who desire a more intimate and less formal prayer service.

Classes in Hasidism and mediation are held in many suburban American synagogues, largely due to the influence of members who attended Renewal retreats and brought the message of Renewal to their own communities. Secular Jews who had only negative views of Judaism as antiquated and irrelevant have found Renewal sympathetic to their needs and supportive of their own secular Jewish choices. Some of these Jews have found a political home in Renewal because it represents their politics and is decidedly and openly Jewish but not patriarchal, overly nationalistic, or xenophobic. In short, Jewish Renewal is leading a grassroots renaissance in Judaism, undermining tradition while espousing it, offering a progressive message that better suits the assimilationist ideology of classical Reform Judaism in the present multicultural climate and offers a non-Orthodox piety and metalegal alternative to Conservative Judaism.

The JewBu (Jewish-Buddhist) phenomenon is, in many ways, an extension of Jewish Renewal. This largely amorphous community consists of Jews who have taken on Buddhism as a religious and spiritual path, some attaining high ranks in Buddhist circles, and have taken their vocation and turned back to Judaism in an attempt to integrate Buddhist practice with Jewish worship. These practitioners and teachers have had an impact on Jewish communities by giving workshops throughout America and in Israel.

There has been a tendency to conflate Jewish Renewal and neo-Hasidism. They are, in fact, quite different. Neo-Hasidism was originally a literary movement among enlightened and ex-traditional Jews in the early part of the twentieth century who used Hasidism as a template for a kind of modern Jewish romanticism. Figures such as the Hebrew and Yiddish writer Yehuda Leib Peretz, the novelist and poet Shalom Ash, and the philosopher Martin Buber are counted among this circle. Contemporary neo-Hasidism is, perhaps, a second wave of that phenomenon, one that adopts the general tenor of Hasidic spirituality as a resource for contemporary Judaism. One example of neo-Hasidism would be the appearance of secular and contemporary adaptations of Hasidic music among some Israeli musicians in the 1970s.

Unlike Jewish Renewal, present-day neo-Hasidism has no discernible ideology, nor is it a constructive critique of Jewish life. It is primarily an artistic utilization and romanticization of a deeply theological movement. Religiously, it adopts certain Hasidic modes of worship in order to enhance Jewish ritual and practice. Neo-Hasidism is popular in all Jewish denominations as it does not demand any reordering of fundamental principles. It largely exists in the popularity of Hasidic texts and more prominently in music accompanying the liturgy. In this respect, the father of second wave neo-Hasidism is Shlomo Carlebach, whose music and Hasidic teachings have inspired Jews throughout the world. In contrast to Zalman and Jewish Renewal, Shlomo and neo-Hasidism have no real ideological or organizational agenda. While Jewish Renewal surely is a part of the more amorphous neo-Hasidism, it is not identical to it.

Jewish Renewal in Israel is just taking root and it is still too early to tell how it will affect Israeli society. Orthodoxy's hegemony in Israel and the deeply rooted secularism of Israeli Zionism will no doubt force Renewal to alter its message to accommodate the unique conditions in Israel. Renewal communities are beginning to emerge, reflecting secular Israel's fascination with Eastern spirituality and neo-Hasidic Jewish ritual and worship. Festivals held in rural areas on Jewish festivals like Ro'sh ha-Shanah (Jewish New Year) complete with drum circles, meditation, dancing, and the sounding of the *shofar* (ram's horn) are becoming commonplace. A new Israeli Renewal is surely emerging but, to date, it is still in its embryonic stages.

PERSONALITIES. Jewish Renewal is led by many talented individuals who contribute to the progress and expansion of the movement. Zalman Schachter-Shalomi remains the major force in this movement. Shlomo Carlebach's influence is deep and wide even as he offers a more inspirational than intellectual contribution. His dozens of recordings, many including stories and Hasidic teachings, began in 1959 and changed the face of contemporary Jewish music. Marcia Falk's *Book of Blessings* has had significant impact on Renewal liturgy.

Arthur Green is a major figure whose influence is both theological and organizational. His book *Seek My Face, Speak My Name* is perhaps the first systematic Renewal theology. Green was the president of RRC for more than a decade and fostered the important relationship between Reconstructionist Judaism and Jewish Renewal. Dovid Din, a lesser-known figure who died in the late 1980s, had a profound impact on many who are now in Renewal. He was a student of Zalman Schachter-Shalomi in Winnipeg in the 1960s and had a small community in Boro Park in Brooklyn.

Gershon Winkler is an important teacher in Renewal, as are Miles Krassen and Elliot Ginsburg. Other important figures include Sylvia Boorstein and Avram David, who teach Buddhist meditation, Jonathan Omerman and Rami Shapiro, who have both led Renewal communities, and Andrea Cohen-Keiner, who translated a work by a Hasidic master popular with Renewal entitled *Conscious Community,* and who has been very successful teaching Renewal to adolescents and young adults. Shefa Gold is a prominent Renewal musical personality who has composed and performed moving Jewish meditation chants based on Native American and Hindu traditions.

Arthur Waskow and Michael Lerner have both developed the political arm of Jewish Renewal and their work has influenced not only Jewish circles but also the U.S. and Israeli political arenas. Another thinker deserves recognition even as he might not feel comfortable identifying with Jewish Renewal. Aryeh Kaplan was an Orthodox Jew who inspired many with his works and translations. His forays into Jewish spirituality, especially with his *Meditation and the Bible* and *Meditation and the Kabbala,* have contributed greatly to the Jewish Renewal movement. While Kaplan's commitment to Orthodoxy remained strong, his works inspired many who would become important figures in Jewish Renewal. Finally, numerous professors of Judaism teaching in universities in the Diaspora are marginally or more formally connected to Jewish Renewal and have brought this orientation to their profession in many interesting ways.

CHALLENGES. Numerous challenges confront the relatively young Jewish Renewal movement. One major hurdle is the ability of Renewal to establish Jewish literacy among its members and create an educated lay community. Another challenge is how it will confront the radicalism of its own doctrine and develop a vision outside the shadow of more traditional Judaism. As is the case in many fledgling movements, Renewal tends to seek acceptance from the traditional branches of its religion. As it matures, it will have to decide how to negotiate this relationship on a more equal footing. The heterodox world of North America is fertile soil for such an endeavor.

In some respects, Jewish Renewal is following the path of early Hasidism. However, as scholars have argued, Hasidism's success in becoming normative was due, among other things, to its abandonment of some of its more radical doctrines. The contemporary situation is quite different from early-nineteenth-century eastern Europe, where the choices were more limited: either traditionalism or Enlightenment (or some combination of the two). In the present cultural climate, especially in North America, where the hegemony of Orthodoxy no longer exists, new religious movements can maintain less traditional positions and still survive and flourish among those seeking a spiritual alternative. Jewish Renewal may occupy a space between early Hasidism's more radical and audacious posture (which widened the margins of Jewish thought) and Shabbateanism (which abandoned Judaism altogether). Jewish Renewal seeks to offer a fresh critique of tradition, reconstructing a pietistic and contemplative alternative embedded in the spirit of universalism, activism, and tolerance.

SEE ALSO Hasidism; Reconstructionist Judaism.

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SHAUL MAGID (2005)

JEWISH STUDIES

This entry consists of the following articles:

JEWISH STUDIES FROM 1818 TO 1919
JEWISH STUDIES SINCE 1919

JEWISH STUDIES: JEWISH STUDIES FROM 1818 TO 1919

Although Judaism has long valued the study of sacred texts as an instrument of piety, the field of Jewish studies as an academic discipline is a product of the emancipation process and the westernization of Judaism in the nineteenth century. Born of a sense of the profound changes in the context of Jewish life and imbued with the academic ethos of the newly founded University of Berlin (1810) and with the philosophic rhetoric of German Idealism, *Wissenschaft des Judentums* heralded a series of disorienting intellectual shifts: from

Christian to Jewish scholarship on Judaism; from dogmatic to undogmatic, but not value-free, scholarship on Judaism; from a partial to a comprehensive conception of Jewish creativity; and from an exegetical to a conceptual mode of thought. What stands out in the subsequent development of the discipline over the next century, beyond its ceaseless growth and bifurcation, is the continued centrality of the German provenance down to the 1930s.

EARLY ACADEMIC CONTEXT. As launched by Leopold Zunz (1794–1886) and his friends in the Verein für Kultur and Wissenschaft der Juden (1819–1824), the application of the historical method to the study of Judaism by university-educated Jews challenged the undisputed Christian monopoly on the subject. Because economic utility had largely dictated the peripheral legal status of pre-emancipation Jews, their spokesmen had scarcely felt the need to transcend the insularity of the ghetto with an "insider's" depiction of Judaism for Christian consumption. In consequence, according to Zunz, "Rarely has the world been presented with more damaging, erroneous, and distorted views than on the subject of the Jewish religion; here, to render odious has been turned into a fine art" *(Etwas über die rabbinische Litteratur,* 1818). Against this backdrop, *Wissenschaft des Judentums* embodied a novel and sustained effort by Jews themselves to recount their history and expound their religion for non-Jews, to dissipate the miasma of misconceptions and prejudice with facts and empathy. From the outset, Zunz intuited the political payoff of the enterprise: Public respect for Judaism would be the only secure ground for lasting social intergration.

Symptomatic of the prevailing denigration was the exclusion of ancient Jewry from the vaunted field of *Altertumswissenschaft.* Admission was restricted to the Greeks and Romans, for they alone of the nations of antiquity had achieved the level of a learned culture. In his lectures on the discipline, Friedrich August Wolf, famed Homer scholar and one of Zunz's teachers, dismissed Israel's historical claim to equal treatment:

> The Hebraic nation did not raise itself to the level of culture, so that one might regard it as a learned, cultured people. It does not even have prose, but only half poetry. Its writers of history are but miserable chroniclers. They could never write in full sentences; this was an invention of the Greeks. (*Vorlesungen über die Altertumswissenschaft,* vol. 1, 1831, p. 14)

Thus, academically as well as philosophically, Judaism was relegated to a preliminary and long-surpassed stage of Oriental history, and hence was consigned to the periphery of Western consciousness.

The absence of any countervailing Jewish scholarship at the time is graphically illustrated by the plight of the young Heinrich Heine, then a member of the Verein, when he tried to convey an image of the attractiveness and pathos of medieval Judaism through the medium of a historical novel. The reasons for his failure to complete *Die Rabbi von Bacharach* (1840) are no doubt many, but among them surely is the total absence of empathetical historical works by Jews in German. With the primary Hebrew sources closed to him, Heine, under Zunz's tutelage, was forced to feed on the standard Christian fare, with the result that his imagination soon foundered. By way of contrast, Michael Sachs's evocative *Die religiöse Poesie der Juden in Spanien,* which appeared in 1845, did trigger Heine's poetic fantasy and led directly to his richly inventive and deeply felt collection, *Hebräische Melodien* (1851), an eloquent testimony to what he, and German academics, had lacked in 1824.

WISSENSCHAFT DES JUDENTUMS. In terms of method, *Wissenschaft des Judentums* raised an equally formidable challenge to the principles and parameters of traditional Jewish learning. Unfettered by dogmatic considerations, the alienated intellectuals of the Verein, at bitter odds with rabbinism but not prepared to convert, had formed "an association of consciousness" to begin conceptualizing Judaism afresh. Toward that end it embraced the research program enunciated in 1818 by Zunz in his profound, prescient, and determinative work *Etwas über die rabbinische Litteratur.* Convinced that emancipation spelled the end of the Hebraic-rabbinic period of Jewish history, Zunz called for its dispassionate historical assessment. In the process, he demonstrated with stunning detail its dimly realized cultural expanse and diversity. Postbiblical Hebrew literature was authored by Jews of all kinds, not only rabbis, and embraced all the interests of the human mind, not only matters of Jewish law. Given that scope, only the historian was equipped to speak of its genesis and character with any authority. The anticlerical thrust was unmistakable: The canons of modern scholarship were to be enlisted "in order to know and sort out the old which is useful, the antiquated which is detrimental, and the new which is desirable." History presumed to usurp the role of *halakhah* and philosophy as both the arbiter and expositor of Judaism. At issue was a grievously flawed method of learning overgrown with historical myth and error, indifferent to time and contextual analysis, hostile to all non-Hebraic and non-Jewish sources, and crippled by a truncated view of Jewish literature and a static concept of sacred texts.

The comprehensiveness of this vision of the Jewish experience extended into the present. As conceived by Zunz and amplified by Immanuel Wolf in his opening essay for the Verein's ephemeral *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* (1823), from whence the name, the field comprised not only the study of a remote past but of a living present. Both as an inner idea and a religious culture, Judaism was still of vital concern to a living community, which itself deserved scholarly attention. In the words of Wolf, "The history of the past is directly followed by the second main division of the subject, i.e., Judaism in the living form in which it lies before us—the general statistical position of the Jews in every country, with special reference to their religious and political circumstances" (*Leo Baeck Institute Year Book,* vol. 2, 1957, p. 202). It is precisely this sense of continuity and connectedness that distinguished the practitioners of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* from those of *Altertumswissenschaft.* For all its appeal and meaning to German neohumanists, *Altertumswissenschaft* was not the uninterrupted cultural legacy of a contemporary community. A century after the Verein, Ismar Elbogen (1874–1943), Weimar's premier Jewish historian, again emphasized this existential dimension of the field by defining it as "the academic study of a vital Judaism, standing in the stream of development, as a sociological and historical unity" (*Festschrift . . . der Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums,* 1922, p. 141). Its proper academic analogue, claimed Elbogen, was not the study of Greece and Rome but the world of Islam. Given this degree of contemporaneity, *Wissenschaft des Judentums* became the major medium for thinking through the dilemmas generated by Judaism's confrontation with modernity.

Zunz's contribution. What facilitated that use was the shift to a conceptual mode of thought. For all their anticipation of modern scholarship, the pathbreaking Hebrew commentaries accompanying Moses Mendelssohn's translation of the Torah and Wolf Heidenheim's edition of the German cycle of festival prayerbooks both adhered to the traditional exegetical mode, which bespoke the centrality of sacred texts. In consonance with the secular temper of the age, modern scholarship would render the text subordinate to larger issues that required thematic and synthetic treatment. No one searched for new sources more zealously or read old ones more trenchantly than Zunz, but all in the service of questions and constructs that defied the limitations of disjointed analysis. The modern scholarship of eastern European autodidacts, steeped in the thought patterns of rabbinic culture, often failed to reach the level of conceptualization, coherence, and systematization achieved by university-trained practitioners of *Wissenschaft* in the West.

Of the original members of the Verein, Zunz alone remained true to the promise of *Wissenschaft.* Years later Heine would celebrate him as one "who stood firm, constantly and unshakably, in a period of transition, hesitation, and vacillation. . . . A man of words and a man of action, he worked unceasingly, he did what needed doing, at a time when others lost themselves in dreams and sank to the ground, bereft of courage" (quoted in S. S. Prawer's *Heine's Jewish Comedy,* 1983, p. 470). For much of his productive life, Zunz focused his scholarly energy on a history of the synagogue, the institution that he regarded as "the expression of Jewish nationality and the guarantee of its religious existence." In 1832, his *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden* was published, which first exhibited the full sweep of Midrashic creativity in the synagogue from the third century BCE down to his own day, and from 1855 to 1865 he complemented that work with three volumes: *Die synagogale Poesie das Mittelalters* (1855), *Die Ritus des synagogalen Gottesdienstes* (1859), and *Literaturge-schichte der synagogalen Poesie* (1865), which unveiled the synagogue's undreamed of liturgical richness. The final volume alone included the treatment of some six thousand liturgical poems along with the identification of nearly one thousand poets.

That devotion to the history of the synagogue derived from Zunz's conviction that a culture deserved to be studied at its core, in its more quintessential expressions and not on the fringes of its creativity. Not only did he fearlessly refuse to dilute the "parochial" character of Jewish culture, but by portraying it with insight and warmth he meant to raise the self-respect and level of commitment of contemporary Jews. "Genuine scholarship," ran his motto, "gives rise to action." Historical consciousness could serve to augment the depleted forces for Jewish survival.

Concept of development. The upshot of Zunz's massive research on the synagogue was to introduce the concept of development, the trademark of modern historical thought, into the study of rabbinic literature. The urgency of the hour dictated the early agenda of *Wissenschaft* scholars: Emancipation seemed to challenge the very nature of a Judaism more rabbinic than biblical. Could subjects entangled in a seamless web of ritual obligations meet the demands of citizenship? Scholars soon moved beyond the inviting freedom of aggadic exegesis to the more problematic realm of rabbinic law to explore its genesis, evolution, and authority. Within two decades, works such as Levi Herzfeld's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (3 vols., 1847–1857), Naḥman Krochmal's *Moreh nevukhei ha-zeman,* edited by Zunz (1851), Heinrich Graetz's *Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart,* volume 4 (1853), Abraham Geiger's *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel* (1857), Zacharias Frankel's *Darkhei ha-Mishnah* (1859), and Joseph Derenbourg's *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine* (1867) had pierced the darkness of the Persian and Greco-Roman periods of Jewish history to illumine the dynamic origins of the halakhic system. For all the disagreement in detail and interpretation, the cumulative effect of their prodigious research was to dissolve a corpus of literature that had long been venerated as a single harmonious entity into its many historical components: namely, early sources, literary forms, exegetical modes, stages of complexity and composition, conflicting protagonists, and formative external influences. While it discomforted Orthodox spokesmen such as Samson R. Hirsch, and although it rested heavily on later rabbinic sources, the research served to show Christian scholars the unabated vitality of Judaism after the Babylonian exile and the responsive nature of rabbinic leadership.

Jewish sectarianism. At the same time, *Wissenschaft* chipped away at the static rabbinic monolith from yet another direction. As early as 1816, Krochmal, living in the midst of a still-unpunctured traditional society in eastern Galicia, had publicly defended the legitimacy of investigating the literature of the Karaites, who despite their halakhic deviance, had never distanced themselves from Jewish suffering. A few years later, Peter Beer of Prague published his *Geschichte, Lehren und Meinungen aller bestandenen und noch bestehenden religiösen Sekten der Juden und der Geheimlehre, oder Cabbalah* (2 vols., 1822–1823), an unabashedly antirabbinic history of Jewish sects (including medieval mystics), which provided a glimpse of the recurring resistance to Talmudic hegemony. At first, much of the interest in Jewish sectarianism focused on the era of the Second Commonwealth, but the steady publication of Karaite manuscripts in the ensuing decades, especially the rich cache by Simcha Pinsker in 1860, prompted works such as Isaak M. Jost's *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Sekten* (3 vols., 1857–1859), Heinrich Graetz's *Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart,* volume 5 (1860), and Julius Fürst's *Geschichte des Karärthums* (3 vols., 1862–1869), which reflect a renewal of the effort at a synthesis of Karaite history, though with insufficient attention to the Islamic ambiance. In Geiger's *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel* (1857) and *Das Judentum und seine Geschichte* (3 vols., 1864–1871) the inherent link between sectarianism and halakhic development and the possible continuity of sectarian praxis were ingeniously integrated into a single overarching theory. Still more important, Geiger rehabilitated the Pharisees as the progressive party in ancient Judaism and claimed their patrimony for his own movement. The effect was to undercut the penchant among Reform leaders to connect their cause with the Sadducean-Karaite line, an affinity without much benefit.

Rabbinic and biblical literature. The absorption with rabbinic literature was a function of conception as well as need. When Zunz unfurled the agenda of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* in 1818, it was restricted to *"neuhebräische oder jüdische Literature."* By design he seemed to exclude, for the moment, the study of biblical literature, a subject firmly ensconced in the German university. If scholarship was to facilitate legislation, it had to concentrate on what was least known and most problematic: the nature and history of rabbinic Judaism. And, in fact, the modest amount of biblical scholarship produced by Jews in the nineteenth century bespeaks an avoidance intensified by dogmatic inhibitions but also born of political considerations.

Against this background, what was achieved, while not generally original, was not undistinguished. In *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden* (1832), Zunz already argued for a single author of *Ezra, Nehemiah,* and *Chronicles* and a post-exilic date for *Ezekiel.* In later essays, he analyzed the Pentateuch in terms of numerous constituent sources with none earlier than 900 BCE and *Leviticus* following *Ezekiel.* Though Geiger preferred to date *Leviticus* before *Deuteronomy,* he matched Zunz's documentary analysis of the Pentateuch and insisted on the fluidity of the biblical text long after composition. More conservative scholars like Krochmal and Graetz confined their research to the Prophets and the Writings, often taking leave of traditional views.

The most substantial and lasting Jewish contribution of the century to biblical research, however, came not from Berlin or Breslau but from Padua, where Shemuʾel David Luzzatto, with an unsurpassed knowledge of the Hebrew language, renewed the long-disrupted genre of medieval Jewish exegesis of the Bible. Independent of Protestant scholarship and rooted in the distinctive style of Italian Judaism, Luzzatto's Hebrew commentaries were anything but doctrinaire. Unfortunately, by the last quarter of the century the rising tide of German anti-Semitism also seeped into the halls of the university and retarded the acceptance of the documentary hypothesis by Jewish scholars for decades. In 1910, the rabbinical seminary in Breslau still excluded modern biblical criticism from its curriculum.

Spanish Judaism. Zunz's modest proposal of 1818 ended with the charge to undertake the publishing of largely unknown but classical specimens of "rabbinic literature" in order to begin to banish the contempt in which it was held. By way of example, he declared his intention to bring out a scholarly edition with Latin translation of a Hebrew philosophical treatise by Shem Ṭov ibn Falaquera, a thirteenth-century Spanish Jew. The identification of the best of Hebrew literature with medieval Spain epitomized the Sephardic bias so vital to emancipated Ashkenazim in search of legitimacy. With roots going back to the seventeenth century, the attraction of Spanish Jewry and its descendants became a pervasive cultural force in nineteenth-century German Jewry, finding diverse expression in liturgy, synagogue architecture, literature, and, of course, scholarship.

Young scholars, whose own intellectual emancipation often started with Moses Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* and the Hebrew literature of the Haskalah, gravitated naturally to the poetic and philosophical legacy of Spain. Ironically, the term *golden age,* which is used to highlight Jewish cultural creativity in Muslim Spain, is not of Jewish provenance. It was first bestowed by Franz Delitzsch, the greatest Christian scholar of Judaism in the nineteenth century, in his *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Poësie* (1836), in which he depicted the two centuries from 940 to 1140 as the golden and silver ages respectively of Jewish poetic achievement. But the term accorded fully with the needs and perceptions of German Jewry, and despite the heroic effort by a penitent Zunz not to ignore the dissimilar but equally impressive cultural achievements of medieval Ashkenazic Jewry, the *Wissenschaft* of a long line of scholars served to deepen and solidify the bias. At the same time, their failure to generate much sympathy for the mystical side of Spanish Judaism was a consequence of their own rational bent, compounded by outrage at the unfounded historical claims of the mystics themselves.

The attraction to cultural history was reinforced by a decided aversion to political history. To work out a conceptualization that would have done justice to the unconventional political history of Diaspora Jewry would have produced more flak than self-esteem. The embattled position of German Jewry militated against the subject. When Michael Sachs decided to produce *Die religiose Poësie der Juden in Spanien* (1845), a volume of medieval religious poetry in translation, he settled on Spain because of the widely held view, going back to Shlomoh Yehudah Rappoport, that Sephardic poets addressed God as lonely believers, whereas Ashkenazic poets only lamented the fate of the nation. Sachs specifically asked of Luzzatto, who had agreed to supply him material, not to send any "national poems." Somewhat later, in volume five of his *Geschichte der Juden,* Graetz did declaim with courage that the medieval Jewish experience betrays a political dimension, but he failed completely to demonstrate it. Neither he nor his colleagues moved beyond the older Spanish conception of Jewish political history as one of recurring persecution, though they amplified it factually and emotionally. On occasion, isolated works of political history such as Selig Cassel's "Geschichte der Juden" in the *Allgemeine Encyklopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste* (1850), Otto Stobbe's *Die Juden in Deutschland während des Mittelalters in politischer, socialer und rechtlicher Beziehung* (1866), and a volume of *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland während des Mittelalters* (1862) by Meir Wiener did reveal just how much the systematic use of non-Jewish archival sources could enlarge and enrich the conception of the subject, but Graetz, with whom Stobbe worked closely, remained skeptical about their large-scale utility.

Institutional standing. By the mid-1870s when the founders of *jüdische Wissenschaft* had completed most if not all of their work (only Zunz, Steinschneider, and Graetz were still living, though Zunz was no longer productive), the study of Judaism had all the signs of an academic discipline except one: inclusion in the structure of the German university, the premier research institution of the century. Though a direct product of its research imperative, *Wissenschaft des Judentums* matured entirely outside the framework of the university. Jewish scholars as its primary practitioners were never accorded the university's recognition and support. The occasional appointment of a *Privatdozent* or *Honorarprofessor* in a cognate field was but the trappings of academic respectability. Of course, that was exactly the kind of institutional affiliation, given their commitment to undogmatic scholarship and their resentment of rabbinic leadership, for which the founders yearned. Typical of faculty and bureaucratic resistance to the idea was the rebuff administered to Zunz in 1848 by the philosophy faculty of the University of Berlin to his request to create a chair in Jewish history and literature. Such a chair, it was felt, smacked of confessional interests and would merely strengthen Jewish parochialism. Misreading Zunz's intent, the faculty declared that it was not the function of the university to train rabbis. In the German context, such exclusion, which was, to be sure, experienced for a time by other nascent fields (such as history), meant the denial of the discipline's universal significance and doomed hardy aficionados to eke out a living in circumstances that were often trying. Increasingly, young scholars had little choice but to enter the ranks of a rabbinate in transition and to "make" the time for sustained research.

The creation of the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau in 1854 from the largesse of a single Jewish benefactor finally provided an institutional base for the floundering field and cemented its connection with the modern rabbinate. With a curriculum informed by *Wissenschaft des Judentums,* a small faculty immersed in it, and a scholarly journal promoting it, Breslau became the model for all modern rabbinical seminaries established during the next half-century in central and western Europe and the United States. Despite denominational differences, these institutions determined the scholarly character of the modern rabbinate, until it was modified again at the turn of the century by the changing social and political needs of the Jewish community. Its graduates brought to the pulpit a lively commitment to deepen as well as to disseminate the new mode of Jewish learning.

But Zunz and Moritz Steinschneider viewed these developments with dismay, regarding much of the scholarship coming out of Breslau as dogmatic and pretentious. Twice in the 1870s, Steinschneider, a man of awesome learning, prodigious output, and extensive personal contacts with non-Jewish scholars, preferred to turn down invitations from new seminaries in Berlin and Budapest and to stay at his modest post as director of the girls' school of the Berlin Jewish community. In 1876, he reaffirmed the original integrationist vision with typical acerbity:

> Institutions to preserve the rabbinate in the form acquired during the last centuries promote systematic hypocrisy and scholarly immaturity. What is scholarly about Jewish history and literature has no need to avoid the atmosphere of the university and must be made accessible to Christians. The task of our time seems to me, above all, to call for the temporary funding [obviously with Jewish money—I. S.] of unpaid instructorships for Jewish history and literature at philosophical faculties, so that governments will be prompted to create professorships and institutions in which matriculated Gymnasium students might prepare themselves for the study of Hebrew literature. (*Jewish Studies in Memory of George A. Kohut,* ed. Salo W. Baron and Alexander Marx, 1935, p. 521)

When Steinschneider shared his reasons for refusal with his old mentor and lifelong friend, Heinrich L. Fleischer, Germany's leading Orientalist, the latter, sensing the futility of such expectations, chided him for his errant purism: "If men like you deny your cooperation, have you then still a right to complain about the new institution's lack of success? Why not get involved from the outset in the hope that in this way the better will triumph?" (letter of July 1, 1875, Fleischer correspondence from the "Steinschneider Papers," archives of the Jewish Theological Seminary).

No scholar among the *Wissenschaft* pioneers contributed more to validating the right to university admission for Jewish studies than Steinschneider himself. With his matchless command of unpublished sources, he painstakingly reconstructed the unsuspected and seminal role that medieval Jews in the Islamic world had played in the transmission of Greco-Roman culture to the Christian West. His oeuvre, especially his massive *Die hebraeischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher* (2 vols., 1893), demonstrated for the first time the existence of a cultural unity in the medieval world that transcended religious differences, a theme that would continue to exercise Jewish scholars in the twentieth century. For instance, at Harvard, Harry A. Wolfson would try to integrate the parallel traditions of medieval religious philosophy into a single universe of discourse that operated from Philo to Spinoza. And at Princeton, on the basis of the inexhaustible documentary wealth of the Cairo Geniza, Shlomo D. Goitein would portray the social, economic, and material contours of a medieval Mediterranean society through the prism of Jewish life.

TURN OF THE CENTURY. The engagement of Jewish scholarship with the vital concerns of a dynamic community was, if anything, intensified by the unsettling events of Jewish history in the twentieth century. In particular, the resurgence and diffusion of anti-Semitism at the turn of the century added to the inherent momentum toward specialization and institutionalization which the discipline had already generated in the course of the century. Even without this intrusion, the remarkable sweep of early *Wissenschaft* works would hardly have survived the growing technical complexity of the field. In 1897 alone, Solomon Schechter brought back to Cambridge from the Cairo Geniza, which he had emptied, some 100,000 literary fragments pertaining to nearly fifteen hundred years of Jewish history in the Greco-Roman and Islamic worlds. Thus, new sources, interests, and anxieties expanded Jewish scholarship into a movement of international proportions.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES. The last decades of the nineteenth century give evidence of a chain reaction across the Jewish world in the formation of national Jewish historical societies. With the overt intention of stimulating research on the antiquity, fate, and contribution of Jews in their respective lands of settlement, these societies betray all the anxiousness of insecurity. But they also testify to the emergence of a cadre of indigenous scholars. The first to be founded in Paris in 1880 was the Société des Études Juives, which published the triannual *Revue des études juives* (1880–), designed to accomplish two ends: By casting its net over the entire field of Jewish studies, the *Revue* served to challenge the German hegemony embodied in Breslau's *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* (1851–1939), a policy that accorded with the rancor sown by the Franco-Prussian War; at the same time, the *Revue* placed at the heart of its agenda the twofold intent of encouraging the study of Jews in the history of France and of French Jews in the history of medieval Judaism. By 1897 the new subfield could boast of a volume of universal Jewish import. In *Gallia Judaica* (1897) Henri Gross, Hungarian-born as were so many of the *Wissenschaft* circle, produced a geographical dictionary that listed, along with ample historical information, all French localities in which Jews are known to have lived according to medieval Hebrew sources. In the twentieth century, this accomplishment became the model for the *Germania Judaica* (1917–) of the Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums and the *Sefer ha-yishuv* (1939–) of the Palestine Historical and Ethnographical Society.

AMERICAN SCHOLARSHIP. In America too, Jewish scholarship was enlisted to stem the growth in anti-Semitism set off by the massive influx of eastern European Jews. Jewish notables exploited the occasion of the four-hundredth anniversary of Columbus's discovery of America in 1892 to create an American Jewish Historical Society, which would restrict its mission to assembling data on the role of Jews in "the discovery, settlement, and development of our land." Its president Oscar S. Straus, who had served as the American ambassador to Constantinople a few years before, invited and funded a noted European scholar of Spanish Jewish history, Meyer Kayserling of Budapest, to write *Christopher Columbus and the Participation of the Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese Discoveries* (1894) to "bring to light the extent to which our race had direct part and share with Columbus in the discovery of our continent." Straus hoped that the historical confirmation of "this fact would be an answer for all time to come to anti-Semitic tendencies in this country."

Far more important than Kayserling's careful study of 1894 was the publication in 1901–1906 of the twelve-volume *Jewish Encyclopedia,* edited by Isidore Singer and Cyrus Adler, by the non-Jewish firm of Funk and Wagnalls. Produced in a land on the fringes of the *Wissenschaft* movement with no scholarly tradition of its own, this first Jewish encyclopedia represented a collective venture of huge proportions and astonishingly high quality, a magnificent summation of nearly a century of Jewish scholarship, and, above all, the transplantation of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* to America. But the level of scholarly attainment should not obscure the pragmatic concerns of its genesis. The preface alluded to the anxieties of the moment: ". . . the world's interest in Jews is perhaps keener than ever before. Recent events, to which more direct reference need not be made, have aroused the world's curiosity as to the history and condition of a people which has been able to accomplish so much under such adverse conditions." Accordingly, the editors were eager to present a balanced picture of Jews as both integrated and parochial, as both cosmopolitans and cultivators of their own traditions.

ANGLO-JEWISH SCHOLARSHIP. The founding of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* in 1888 and the Jewish Historical Society of England in 1893 certainly suggests a similar set of circumstances for Anglo-Jewry. The fact that Lucien Wolf launched the research program of the society in 1901 with his splendid edition of *Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell* reflects the same need as felt in America for a "foundation myth" that intersects at a decisive juncture with the history of the nation. In one sense both Wolf's texts and the very idea of the society owed their patrimony to Henrich Graetz, who in his address to the immensely successful Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition of 1887 had called for an organized scholarly effort to study local history. The *Jewish Quarterly Review,* on the other hand, became the academic organ for a talented cluster of English scholars who had gathered around the charismatic figure of Solomon Schechter. For two decades it not only encompassed the full panoply of Jewish studies, but also often protested the jaundiced scholarship on ancient Judaism coming out of Germany.

RUSSIAN SCHOLARSHIP. Under the guidance of Simon Dubnow, the small and ever more beleaguered liberal sector of Russian Jewry also began to display an interest in the study of local history to firm up its sense of belonging and distinctiveness. Fully aware of the social role of Jewish scholarship in the West, the young Dubnow transformed his own religious alienation into a lifelong program for the cultivation of historical consciousness. In 1891 to 1892, he issued appeals in Russian and Hebrew to set up a Jewish historical society that would coordinate a nationwide effort to collect the diverse sources, fast disappearing, related to the nine-hundred-year history of Jews in Poland and Russia. He pointed with envy to what had been accomplished in the West and berated Russian Jews for failing to realize the cohesive power of historical consciousness. However, his own conception of Jewish history had already begun to diverge from that of his *Wissenschaft* mentors. While he too stressed the greater importance of the internal Jewish sources, he articulated for the first time a vision of Jewish political history in the Diaspora that went far beyond the passive endurance of persecution. In the institution of the *gahal,* Diaspora Jews, wherever they settled, had created a unique instrument of national self-government that preserved a large measure of political initiative. The still-unemancipated status and traditional character of Russian Jewry had sensitized Dubnow to the medieval political expression of Jewish nationhood, and he pleaded for the sources to study its history. In his *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland* (3 vols., Eng. ed., 1916–1920) and *Weltgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes* (10 vols., 1925–1929), Dubnow not only combined his many preliminary studies into a coherent narrative of a millennium of Jewish history in Poland and Russia, but also fully formulated and espoused his theory of Diaspora nationalism.

Dubnow's original proposal finally bore fruit in 1908 in Saint Petersburg with the founding of the Russian Jewish Historical Ethnographic Society by Maxim Vinaver and David Günzberg. Also at Saint Petersburg that same year, the scholarly, artistocratic Günzberg opened at his own expense an academy of Jewish studies in which Dubnow delivered public lectures on Jewish history and conducted seminars for advanced students, whose rank included some of the leading Zionist historians of the next generation. Most important of all, Dubnow's call to collect and record had become part of the credo of the nationalist Jewish renaissance emanating from Saint Petersburg. In the last three years before the war, the writer Solomon Anski led an ambitious ethnographic expedition sponsored by the society into the Jewish hinterland of the Ukraine to plumb its rich deposits of folklore and iconography, bringing back thousands of photographs, tales, folkways, manuscripts, and artifacts. In 1915, Issachar Ryback, a young art student, financed his own study of the wooden synagogues of White Russia, and in 1916 the society sent him and fellow artist El Lissitzky back to the Ukraine to do the same for its synagogues. In a far more somber vein, Anski in *Khurbm Galitsye* (1921) documented the agony of Galician Jewry inflicted by war in a monumental memoir of his heroic relief mission, and Elias Tcherikower, entirely in the spirit of Dubnow, organized and administered at great personal risk during the years 1918 to 1920 an archive to record the unparalleled slaughter of as many as seventy-five thousand Ukrainian Jews amidst the chaos of civil war.

FOLKLORE. The wholesale consumption of Jewish folklore in Russian exuded all the enthusiasm of the populist fervor unleashed by the socialist and Zionist rebellions at the turn of the century. But as an academic field, its origins lie in Germany, and as such it marked a sharp departure from the preoccupation with high culture that absorbed the founders of *jüdische Wissenschaft.* With fewer acknowledged luminaries than in the Sephardic world to distract them, the early students of Ashkenazic Judaism were forced to look at popular expressions of religious culture. The skein of development runs from the midcentury writers of ghetto novellas about central European Jewish life at the threshold of emancipation through the often overlooked collection of Judeo-German proverbs and expressions, *Sprichwörter und Redensarten deutsch-jüdischer Vorzeit* (1860) by Abraham Tendlau, the pioneering social histories of medieval Ashkenazic Jewry in Abraham Berliner's *Aus dem inneren Leben der deutschen Juden im Mittelalter* (1871), and Moritz Güdemann's *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der abendländischen Juden während des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit* (3 vols., 1880–1888), to Max Grunwald's work at the end of the century. A graduate of Breslau and at the same time rabbi in Hamburg, Grunwald delivered a manifesto in 1896 urging creation of a society, museum, and journal of Jewish folklore, and two years later he began publishing the first number of the *Mitteilungen der jüdischen Volkskunde* (1898–1929), which he was to edit singlehandedly in different formats for thirty volumes. That the first chair in Jewish folklore established at the Hebrew University in 1973 bears the name of this polymath is resounding testimony to his decisive role in launching the field.

The fascination with folklore signaled a broadly felt need to reconnect with the irrational, to reinvigorate an excessively cerebral tradition with the life-giving forces of imagination. Rabbinic Judaism as codified in the East or spiritualized in the West did not exhaust the record of Jewish lore and legend begun in the first decade of the twentieth century by scholars as diverse as Martin Buber, Ḥayyim Bialik and Yehoshuʿa Ravnitzki, Louis Ginzberg, and Micha Josef Berdyczewski. Ginzberg's monumental *The Legends of the Jews* (7 vols., 1909–1938), elegantly designed for scholar and layman alike, not only revealed the popular wellsprings of rabbinic religion, but also demonstrated the extent to which Jewish legends preserved and mediated the folklore of antiquity.

ART. Jewish art, as cultural expression and scholarly discipline, was similarly invigorated by the discoveries of folklore. In no area of contemporary Jewish life did creativity require quite as urgently the validation and inspiration of a historical tradition. Jewish artists and historians faced the same deep-seated stereotype, shared by friend and foe alike, that Jews by virtue of religion and race were singularly bereft of any aesthetic sensibility. But dramatic historical evidence to the contrary began to mount: the exhibition of the Isaac Strauss collection in Paris in 1878, the publication of the Sarajevo Haggadah in 1898 along with the recovery of a Jewish tradition of manuscript illumination, the formation of Jewish art societies and collections, the publication in 1916 of *Antike Synagogen in Galilaea* by Heinrich Kohl and Carl Watzinger of the first study of Galilean synagogues, and, above all, the plethora of folk art unearthed in the wooden synagogues of Russia. For artists projecting a secular Jewish culture, historians were supplying the resources of an indigenous past. In the beautiful pages of *Rimon,* a lavish magazine of Jewish arts and letters published in Berlin after the war in both a Hebrew and Yiddish edition, the artistic and historical dimensions converged symbiotically.

SOCIOLOGY. From Jewish folklore to sociology was but a small step, for the interest remained primarily nonelitist. The impetus for this expansion of Jewish scholarship came directly from the nascent Zionist movement. Although Zunz had clearly foreshadowed the sociological study of the Jews in a programmatic essay in 1823, *Grundlinien zu einen künftigen Statistik der Juden,* it took the Zionist indictment of assimilation with all its putatively alarming consequences for Jewish survival to effect a scholarly shift to the present. At the fifth Zionist Congress in 1901, Max Nordau, who annually treated the delegates to a foreboding assessment of the Jewish situation, called for the systematic assemblage of data to confirm the Zionist consensus. The proposal took institutional form three years later in Berlin in the Bureau für Jüdische Statistik, manned by a small staff of unpaid Zionists, which for the next eighteen years would publish an invaluable journal for Jewish demography and statistics. Its first editor, till he went to Israel in 1908 to head the Palestine Office of the Zionist Organization, was Arthur Ruppin, who in 1904 had produced in his *Die Juden der Gegenwart* the first work of Jewish sociology. Not surprisingly, the first generation of scholars was drawn largely from the ranks of Zionists. By 1930 Ruppin's own research had grown into a sweeping two-volume *Soziologie der Juden* (1930–1931), and in 1938 he was the natural candidate for the Hebrew University's first professor of Jewish sociology.

EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY SCHOLARSHIP. The first century of Jewish studies ends where it began, in Berlin, with the formation of another association of young scholars still in rebellion against rabbinic ascendancy. In 1919 Eugen Täubler, this time with substantial Jewish backing, founded the Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums. The idea was the outgrowth of a *cri du coeur* in 1917 by Franz Rosenzweig to German Jewry to revitalize its scholarly forces against the onslaught on ancient Judaism by the ever more confident scholarship of liberal Protestantism. Judaism's exclusion from the university remained unaltered, its incorporation into German society riddled with problems, and its laity unequipped for adversity. In final form, the academy, stripped of any polemical or educational intent, came to represent German Jewry's last attempt to bring *Wissenschaft des Judentums* out of its academic isolation and thereby to set its course for the twentieth century. In Täubler the academy had a classicist trained by Theodor Mommsen yet fully conversant with Jewish sources, a historical thinker of great conceptual power, and a proven administrator, who some years before had organized a national Jewish archive as the central repository for Jewish communal records.

As enunciated by Täubler, the mission of the academy was to end *jüdische Wissenschaft's* obsession with anti-Semitism and reliance on practicing rabbis and to reunite it with the highest standards of modern scholarship. This meant specialization, systematic use of non-Jewish archival sources, philological analysis broadly conceived, and contextual and comparative research. Talmudic research in particular still suffered from the absence of a firm philological basis. Täubler dreamed of creating eventually a library of critical editions of all Jewish texts prior to the eighteenth century. In the meantime, he divided the field of Jewish studies into nine distinct specialities, delineated the nature of ancillary instruments of resources, and funded the research of young scholars like Chanoch Albeck, Yitzhak Baer, David H. Baneth, Arthur Spanier, and Selma Stern.

Three years after Täubler died in 1950 in Cincinnati, he was eulogized in Jerusalem by Baer, Moshe Schwabe, and Ben Zion Dinur, three men whose lives he touched deeply. But the tribute signified more than personal indebtedness. The very conceptualization, ethos, and instruments of Jewish studies as they came to be embodied in the Hebrew University after 1924 were conceived by Täubler in Berlin. The professionalization of Jewish scholarship was under way, though communal concerns would continue to influence research agendas.

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ISMAR SCHORSCH (1987)
Revised Bibliography

JEWISH STUDIES: JEWISH STUDIES SINCE 1919

Between World War I and World War II in Europe, Jewish studies witnessed a parallel process of both professionalization and popularization. New professional institutions and associations were established to counterbalance the fact that the major Western universities, with only few exceptions, were still opposed to the inclusion of Jewish studies in their curricula. At the same time, grand projects, including encyclopedias, handbooks, and translations were underway to summarize the academic results of the first century of Wissenschaft des Judentums, as the academic study of Judaism and the Jews was called, for a broader audience.

Already in prewar years, the major rabbinical seminaries of central Europe (Breslau, Berlin, Vienna, Budapest), were no longer the only academic institutions occupied with the research and teaching of Jewish studies. In Germany, the Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums (established 1902) became a central vehicle for the publication of major enterprises in Jewish studies. From the end of the nineteenth century Jewish historiography was increasingly influenced by new subdisciplines of Wissenschaft des Judentums, such as ethnography, sociology, and demography. The Gesellschaft fuer Juedische Volkskunde, a society of Jewish folklorists founded in 1898 and led by the Hamburg rabbi Max Grunwald, played a pioneering role in scholarly research into Jewish folk traditions around the globe. Its journal, the *Mitteilungen fuer Juedische Volkskunde,* published the most important findings in the field for almost three decades, from 1898 to 1929. In Russia, an expedition to the traditional communities of the Ukraine led by the playwright and folklorist An-Ski from 1912 to 1915 was the culmination of a long search for the remnants of rural Jewish life.

Jewish demographers created their own institutional framework when they established an office for statistics among the Jews in Berlin, which from 1904 published its own journal and was closely related to the burgeoning interest in Jewish sociology best expressed in the pioneering works of Arthur Ruppin. Most of these endeavors were clearly related to the Jewish renaissance propounded by the emerging Zionist movement. Zionist scholars reacted against what they alleged to be the orientation of nineteenth-century Jewish scholars exclusively to the Jewish past and broadened their interest to include contemporary issues within their research.

EUROPE AND PALESTINE BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS. The establishment of the Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin in 1919 was a major breakthrough for academic research in the field. For the first time, a secular organization was established to undertake broad research. However, due to the economic crisis of the early 1920s, the Akademie could not live up to its ambitious plans, originally conceived by the philosopher Franz Rosenzweig and later substantially transformed by the historian Eugen Täubler.

More decisive for the development of Wissenschaft des Judentums was the year 1925. In Jerusalem, the Hebrew University was officially opened, with Jewish studies as one of the three original disciplines (together with chemistry and microbiology). Scholars with a Zionist outlook formed a vaguely connected group of Jewish historians, sometimes referred to as the Jerusalem School, emphasizing the centrality of Palestine in the course of Jewish history. Their most outspoken representative, Benzion Dinur (Dünaburg), later became the Israeli minister of education. In 1935 he and medievalist Yitshak (Fritz) Baer, the first professor of Jewish history at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, established the most important Hebrew-language historical journal, *Zion* (a first series of the journal had been aborted).

In the same year the Hebrew University was established, Simon Dubnov's ten-volume *World History of the Jewish People,* written in Russian, was first published in German translation (1925–1929). His work constituted a clear break from the earlier Germanocentric view of Jewish history and from the strong emphasis upon a history of suffering and scholarship, which had been typical for nineteenth-century German-Jewish historians. Motivated partly by his own political agenda—he was the founder of the autonomist Jewish movement which represented Jewish Diaspora nationalism in eastern Europe—his version of Jewish history centered on institutions of Jewish life in the Diaspora, most notably the *kehilla,* the semiautonomous Jewish community.

Dubnow was also among the founders of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, an institution established in Berlin 1925 (and subsequently transferred to then-Polish Vilnius) to systematically research the Jewish past and present in eastern Europe and other Ashkenazic communities. In contrast to the traditional German dominance of nineteenth-century Wissenschaft des Judentums and to Hebrew-language Zionist scholarship, the YIVO deliberately presented its research in Yiddish, the language spoken by the Jewish masses of eastern Europe. Although its emphasis was on the Yiddish-speaking world of eastern Europe, its offices in Berlin, Paris, and New York, and later also Buenos Aires, undertook some groundbreaking studies of Jews in the west, as well. YIVO published its own journal, *YIVO Bleter,* from 1931. From 1940, the *YIVO Bleter* were published in New

York, which subsequently became the center of its activities. In 1928, the Instytut Nauk Judaistycnych was established in Warsaw as the major center for Jewish studies in Poland, with a clear emphasis on historical studies. The center was supported by such eminent scholars as Majer Balaban, Mojzesz Schorr, and Ignacy Schiper.

Although European universities refused to establish professorships in Jewish studies, they opened slowly to the study of Jewish subjects. In Frankfurt am Main, Martin Buber became lecturer for religion and Jewish ethics in 1924. Christian studies of Judaism were no longer necessarily motivated by missionary motives. Thus, the Berlin Institutum Judaicum under its new director Hugo Gressmann became part of the theological faculty of the University of Berlin directed purely to the study of postbiblical Judaism. In Giessen, and from 1923 in Bonn, the theologian Paul Kahle became one of the most important researchers into the Masoretic text. One of his students was the noted Talmudic scholar Yechiel Jacob Weinberg, who later became the director of the Orthodox Berlin Rabbinical Seminary.

In Great Britain, Oxford and Cambridge expanded their role in Jewish studies. Cecil Roth became the first Jew to teach Jewish studies when he was appointed reader in postbiblical Jewish studies in 1939. In Lithuania, Simon Dubnow was close to obtaining a chair in Jewish history at the University of Kaunas in the early 1920s, but was finally refused the position, perhaps due to his lack of formal education.

Several major encyclopedias were edited in interwar Europe. Most notable were the German five-volume *Jüdisches Lexikon* (1927–1930) and the eleven volumes of the uncompleted *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1928–1934), which was brought to an end at the letter *L* by the Nazi rise to power. The interwar period saw also the publication of comprehensive works and handbooks of lasting importance. In England, for example, Soncino Press of London undertook the first English-language editions of the Babylonian Talmud (1935–1948), Midrash Rabbah (1939), and the Zohar (1931–1934). In Germany, the bibliophilic Soncino Gesellschaft für das schöne jüdische Buch published several beautiful editions of Jewish classics and helped to establish a modern Hebrew typography. The comprehensive design and production of Hebrew typefaces in German-speaking regions between the two world wars, particularly the modern Frank-Rühl, which is still the most used Hebrew typeface for various purposes, was assisted by a group of scholars of Hebrew bibliography and booklore, including Isaiah Sonne and the brothers Alexander and Moses Marx.

The field of Jewish art was beginning to establish itself, with major publications and some impressive journals, such as the short-lived Hebrew *Rimon* (and its Yiddish edition, *Milgroyim*) published in Berlin from 1922 to 1924 and edited by Mark and Rachel Wischnitzer. Abraham Zvi Idelsohn was instrumental in establishing the academic study of Jewish music. His monumental ten-volume *Thesaurus of Hebrew Oriental Melodies* (1914–1932) remains an unsurpassed ethnographic work on Jewish music.

THE UNITED STATES UNTIL 1945. In the United States, there was a long tradition of including Semitic studies in the university canon. The 1920s, however, saw the first establishment of more broadly designed Jewish studies chairs at American universities: in 1925, Harry A. Wolfson became Littauer Professor of Jewish Literature and Philosophy at Harvard, and five years later Salo W. Baron was appointed Miller Chair for Jewish History, Literature, and Institutions at Columbia, where he taught for four decades. Despite rapidly growing Jewish student numbers, these two institutions remained until long after World War II the only examples of integrating Jewish studies into the broader university curriculum. Parallel to the establishment of the first modern Jewish studies chairs, the years following World War I saw also increasing academic anti-Semitism and restrictions on Jewish student enrollment. Thus, rabbinical seminaries, such as Hebrew Union College, the Jewish Theological Seminary, and Yeshiva University, as well as the secular Dropsie College, continued to be the academic home for most students in Jewish studies.

At almost at the same time as the Akademie was formed in Berlin, the American Academy for Jewish Research was established in 1920, and incorporated in 1929. New U.S. publications in Jewish studies included *Hebrew Union College Annual* (1924), *Jewish Social Studies* (1933), and *Historia Judaica* (1938–1961). The *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* (1939–1943) had a special focus on American Jewish life.

EUROPE SINCE 1945. Ironically, it was in Nazi Germany that Jewish studies first became part of the official structure of academic life, albeit in a distorted fashion described as research into the "Jewish Question." The Nazis set up research institutes in Munich, Frankfurt, and Berlin that tried to show the magnitude of Jewish influence in German and European societies. Some of the scholarly works on Jewish topics published in the 1950s and 1960s by historians and theologians who had by then become part of the academic establishment in postwar Germany originated in those institutes.

There were, however, other, more serious attempts to establish Jewish studies as an academic discipline. In Vienna, Berlin, and Cologne, Jewish studies (Judaistik) institutes were founded in the mid-1960s, followed by smaller institutes in Frankfurt am Main and a few other universities. The main focus of those institutes was ancient and medieval Judaism. At the same time, a young generation of German historians turned to topics of modern German-Jewish history. Those two approaches remained rather separate until the late twentieth century, when a number of new institutions were created to cover broad areas in Jewish studies, a development which began with the establishment of the Hochschule für Jüdische Studien in Heidelberg in 1979 and continued with the Salomon Ludwig Steinheim Institute in Duisburg, the Moses Mendelssohn Institute in Potsdam, the Simon Dubnow Institute in Leipzig, and new university chairs in Yiddish in Trier and Düsseldorf, in Jewish history in Munich, in Jewish philosophy in Halle, and in Jewish religion in Erfurt. In Switzerland, the universities of Luzern and Basel have Jewish studies positions.

In Great Britain, the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies (formerly the Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies) and the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies at the University College London developed into major centers of Jewish studies, but more recent institutes have been established in Southampton, Brighton, Birmingham, Manchester, and other cities. France, too, has seen an upsurge in Jewish studies in the late twentieth century. The field there was long dominated by Georges Vajda (1908–1981) and André Neher, with positions created in Paris, Lille, Strasbourg, Lyons, and Nancy. In contrast to other European countries, Sephardic studies as well as the history of Jewish art have been among the fields taught and researched in France. The Medem Library in Paris is one of the world's best resources in Yiddish literature. The CNRS (Centre national de la recherche scientifique) has a particularly strong tradition in Jewish studies. However, France lacks institutions with a full-fledged Jewish studies faculty analogous to Oxford or London.

The Scandinavian countries and Holland, Spain, and Italy traditionally had chairs in Hebrew and Bible studies, and in most of those countries new positions were added, especially to research the Jewish histories in those respective countries. More remarkable was the creation of new positions in Jewish studies in formerly Communist eastern Europe. The only institution of higher Jewish learning during the postwar period in all of those countries was the Rabbinical Seminary in Budapest. After the fall of Communism, the English-language Central European University in Budapest developed a program of courses in modern Jewish studies. Polish universities added Jewish studies, especially in the field of Polish-Jewish history, but the most visible changes happened in the former Soviet Union. Moscow and Saint Petersburg have a few centers of Jewish higher education, including research centers and rabbinical training. Kiev established a Jewish university, as did some other Russian and Ukrainian cities.

The increasing activities in Jewish studies found their expression in the establishment of the European Association for Jewish Studies in 1981, which holds a congress every four years. Its membership had grown enormously by the early twenty-first century. In 1998 it published the *Directory of Jewish Studies in Europe.* In 2003, the *Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies,* edited by Martin Goodman, summarized global achievements in the field during the last few decades in over a thousand pages.

NORTH AMERICA AFTER 1945. Despite the increase in activities in Europe, the United States and Israel became the undisputed centers of higher Jewish learning after World War II. In the immediate postwar era, there was, however, little visible change in the United States. As a reaction to the restriction of Jewish student admissions at major American universities, Brandeis University was established in 1948 and soon developed its own Jewish studies center, drawing such eminent émigré scholars as Alexander Altmann and Nahum N. Glatzer. Emigré scholars also strengthened the faculties of the rabbinical seminaries and were instrumental in establishing the Leo Baeck Institute for the study of German-speaking Jewry in New York, London, and Jerusalem in 1955. The last historian who attempted a single-handed multivolume universal Jewish history was Salo W. Baron. His eighteen-volume *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (1952–1976) reaches only the year 1650 and is characterized by an affirmative view of the Diaspora.

The period of most significant change began in the second half of the 1960s, with the proliferation of ethnic studies programs from which Jewish studies profited as well. In 1969 the Association of Jewish Studies was established and developed within the next three decades from a small circle of scholars into a major association with several hundred active members. This development reflects the spread of Jewish studies from a handful of rabbinical colleges and universities to almost any university campus in the United States and Canada. At most universities, Jewish studies are integrated into a variety of departments and loosely united in a Jewish studies center. At some universities, such as Brandeis or New York University, there exist separate Jewish studies departments. In contrast to earlier periods, when one professor covered vast areas of Jewish studies, most major research universities in the United States and Canada have numerous appointments in Jewish studies. Jewish studies has become part of the mainstream of American scholarship, as can be seen by the inclusion of Jewish studies publications in all major American publishing houses, whereas before the 1970s specific publishers, such as the Jewish Publication Society of America, were responsible for most publications in the field. Modern periodicals cover vast areas of Jewish studies, including *Modern Judaism, Prooftexts,* and *Jewish Thought,* as well as the revived *Jewish Social Studies* and publications such as *American Jewish History* and the *Journal of the American Jewish Archives.* The Association for Jewish Studies has published its *AJS Review* since 1976.

With the increase of teaching positions and publications, Jewish studies has become an accepted part of religious studies, and moreover, it has helped to transform a traditionally Christian-centered view within the field into a more pluralistic one. At the same time, modern trends within religious studies also shaped Jewish studies as a discipline. While it was common for research within the field to focus on its internal developments and concentrate on Jewish issues per se in the early twentieth century, a more comparative view, which takes the developments of the non-Jewish society more effectively into account, has become almost a given in modern research. As a consequence of relativizing and postmodern tendencies, first in literary theory and later in other fields as well, there seems to be no longer a search for what was or is Jewish culture, but rather for what constitutes the diverse *Cultures of the Jews,* the title of a collaborative work of twenty-three mainly American scholars published in 2002 and edited by David Biale. In contrast to the earlier postwar collaborative efforts of American Jewry, such as *The Jews,* edited by Louis Finkelstein (1949) or Israeli scholarship, as in *A History of the Jewish People,* edited by H. H. Ben-Sasson (1969), this volume neither summarizes the "contributions" of Jews to world civilization nor does it reduce the essence of the Jews to their peoplehood and connection to their own territory. Rather it defines Jewishness as an ever-changing category: "The present work is also the product of a particular time. Ours is a self-conscious age, when we raise questions about old ideologies and 'master' narratives and no longer assume as unchanging or monolithic categories like 'nation' and 'religion'" (p. xxx).

This volume may indeed be summarizing a larger tendency in Jewish studies, which began in North America and continued in Israel and Europe at the close of the twentieth century: the refusal to define clear categories for Jewishnes and Judaism, instead adopting theories of invention and the construction of tradition; the opposition to the still prevalent attitude outside academia of viewing Jewish history as a history of suffering, instead promoting the idea of integration into the non-Jewish world; and finally, the turn to previously lesser known and underrated areas of research, both thematic and geographical. This includes Jews in the Arab world and the history and culture of Jewish women, and also areas which had previously been taboo, such as Jewish magic and related phenomena and negative portrayals of Christianity in Jewish literature.

While those trends can be seen in numerous scholarly publications and campus teaching, another development often runs counter to its achievements. The relationship between Jewish studies and Jewish identity has become a major issue as a consequence of the rapid increase in Jewish studies positions. It differs from campus to campus. In some regions, especially those with a low Jewish enrollment, identity building through academic life plays a minor role. There are, however, many cases where Jewish identity is actively promoted through Jewish studies. The large percentage of privately endowed chairs in the field as well as the need for fund-raising in the broader Jewish community underline the growing connection between Jewish academic and communal interests. In this respect, North America differs profoundly from Israel and the United States.

The increasing centrality of the Holocaust as a field of teaching and research (with a significant research unit at the U.S. Holocaust memorial museum) and the large number of Jewish museums (both Holocaust and non-Holocaust related) have shaped the interest in Jewish studies in the last decades of the twentieth century.

ISRAEL. Jewish studies in a Jewish state naturally receive a different degree of attention than in Europe or North America. Indeed, Jewish studies is a central subject taught at all Israeli universities, often in its own faculties. The Hebrew University in Bar Ilan and Tel Aviv and Ben Gurion University of the Negev in Beer Sheva and Haifa have their own degrees in a variety of subjects within Jewish studies, and even the technical university in Haifa, the Technion, offers a nondegree program in the field. The first World Congress of Jewish Studies was held in Jerusalem in 1947, and has taken place there every four years since 1957. It has become the major meeting point for scholars in the field, and its sessions are published in several volumes.

There are also signs of crisis in Jewish studies at Israeli universities, mainly due to the growing divide between the secular and the religious. Many secular students come with little background or interest in pursuing Jewish studies on a university level. The growing radicalization of the Orthodox, on the other hand, leads to their rejection of university education in general, and academic Jewish studies in particular. Thus, while the Orthodox Talmud schools (*yeshivah*) claim increasing enrollment, the same cannot be said for the Jewish studies departments. In contrast to European and American traditions, Israeli universities or academic seminars (with the exception of the few non-Orthodox rabbis) have not taken on the education of rabbis in Israel, who are trained in traditional *yeshivah.*

The debate over post-Zionism has influenced large circles in Israeli studies, which became an increasingly important discipline, related to but not part of Jewish studies. From the late 1980s, the so-called New Historians and their colleagues in sociology began to question formerly fixed truths about the behavior of the Jewish leadership towards European Jews threatened by the Holocaust and about the origins of the Palestinian refugee problem. If the state was founded on the "original sin" of having expelled the Palestinians, this would have not only scholarly but also political consequences. In a time of continuing political crisis and existential threat, critical voices against the New Historians (not all of them post-Zionists) could be heard, arguing that a similar degree of archival access or free discourse does not exist in the Arab world.

CONCLUSION. The field of Jewish studies not only increased significantly in the late twentieth century, it also changed its nature. The emphasis on traditional Jewish sources has often been replaced by an interest in modern Jewish studies. The knowledge of Jewish languages can no longer be taken for granted among graduates and even professors of Jewish studies at many universities outside Israel. In postwar Europe and the United States for the first time, a significant number of students in Jewish studies are non-Jews. Two areas of enormous student interest have been Jewish mysticism and Holocaust studies.

In the last decades of the twentieth century, Jewish studies moved from its early Germanocentric and later Eurocentric emphases to a stronger integration of widely neglected communities. The experiences of Jews in the Muslim world have slowly been integrated into the general picture.

This is partly the result of the emergence of historians of Oriental background, mainly in Israel, but also of the establishment of a few academic positions concentrating on Sephardic Jewry at American universities. At the same time, research and teaching in Jewish studies spread outside its traditional centers. After its establishment in 1982, the Latin American Association for Jewish Studies has held regular conferences. It reflects not only the growing interest in Latin American Jewish history within the United States but also the new academic centers constructed in Latin America itself. There exists a China Judaic Studies Association, and Yiddish is being taught in Japan.

In the United States the history of Jewish women emerged as a subfield of gender studies, with significant publications in the 1990s about Jewish women in imperial Germany and in the United States, along with a historical encyclopedia of Jewish women. Postmodernism also has left its mark on the field. Some scholars have questioned whether Jewish studies constituted mainly an addition to the traditional university curriculum or a challenge to its strong emphasis on Christian and Greco-Roman roots. This opens the wider question of whether Jewish studies forms part of the classical canon of university subjects or if it should be grouped with the essentially modern disciplines like ethnic and gender studies in a multicultural university framework.

Overall, there are few disciplines that have made such significant inroads into mainstream scholarship in the twentieth century as did Jewish studies. From being banned from the academic curricula in the nineteenth century and restricted to a marginal existence in the first half of the twentieth century, Jewish studies was represented at most American and European universities by the end of the century. Moreover, other disciplines—ranging from theology to history and literature, from philosophy to art and political science—have integrated essential issues of Jewish studies. The burden of this success should not be overlooked: topics that prevail in the public discourse, such as the Holocaust and the Middle East conflict, have very often pushed the study of Jewish languages and crucial sources of Jewish tradition to the background. Overall, however, the fruitful integration of Jewish culture into the curriculum of modern academia has helped create a more open and diverse system of learning. Once the almost exclusive focus on Christian, Greco-Roman, and European traditions was successfully questioned by the inclusion of Jewish studies, the door was opened to other previously underprivileged subdisciplines as well.

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MICHAEL BRENNER (2005)

JEWISH THOUGHT AND PHILOSOPHY

This entry consists of the following articles:

PREMODERN PHILOSOPHY
MODERN THOUGHT
JEWISH ETHICAL LITERATURE

JEWISH THOUGHT AND PHILOSOPHY: PREMODERN PHILOSOPHY

Usually the term *medieval* designates a historical period falling “between” ancient and modern times. In the history of philosophy, then, the medieval period would occur between the last of the ancient Greek and Roman philosophers and Descartes. However, following H. A. Wolfson (1947), one may construe “medieval” philosophy as a style of thinking that, although prevalent during the Middle Ages, need not be temporally restricted. It is a style of philosophy that attempts to make use of two radically different sources of information for the establishment of a general worldview and way of life. These sources are human reason, particularly philosophy, and divine revelation, especially some sacred text. A medieval philosopher is someone whose intellectual outlook and language are shaped by both philosophy and prophecy.

BEGINNINGS OF MEDIEVAL PHILOSOPHY. Speaking from a strict historical perspective, one would have to say with Wolfson that the first medieval philosopher was Philo Judaeus (d. 45–50 CE). Most of Philo’s many books are commentaries on various biblical narratives or legal codes, commentaries in which philosophical, especially Platonic, concepts are used to formulate and explain the text. In reading the Bible in this way, Philo introduced not only a new period in philosophy but also a novel style of philosophy, which we shall henceforth call “medieval.” In general, Philo saw no fundamental cleavage between reason and revelation and optimistically sought to make “the sons of Japheth dwell in the tents of Shem.” The subsequent story of medieval philosophy is in a sense a long and still ongoing drama on this Philonic theme. Nevertheless, a history of medieval Jewish philosophy cannot begin with Philo, who had little or no influence upon Jewish thought. Instead, it begins nine centuries later with Saʿadyah.

Saʿadyah Gaon. Originally an Egyptian, Saʿadyah ben Yosef (882–942), known as Saʿadyah Gaon, became the dean of the rabbinic academy in Baghdad, the most important in the Jewish world. Unlike Philo, Saʿadyah did influence subsequent Jewish thinkers who read his main philosophical work, *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions.* By Saʿadyah’s time, the intellectual world had changed: whereas Philo had to contend with a dying paganism and several warring philosophical schools, Saʿadyah confronted the rival monotheistic religions of Christianity and Islam, Jewish sectarian movements, and the rejuvenated Greek philosophical traditions, now formulated in Arabic with a Muslim accent. Although *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions* is clearly a theological polemical treatise designed to vindicate rabbinic Judaism against its opponents, its method and language are philosophical. Saʿadyah makes use of the philosophical sources available to him through the Muslim theological tradition of *kalām*, the earliest philosophical school in Islam. The *mutakallimūn*, or Muslim theologians, attempted to defend Islam against its religious and philosophical rivals by using arguments and theories gleaned from Greek philosophy. Although *kalām* was initially polemical, rather than purely philosophical, in intention and method, it eventually evolved into a distinct philosophical style or school. Saʿadyah was in this sense a representative of Jewish *kalām.*

Since the only common ground among the various rivals in this religious-philosophical debate was reason, Saʿadyah begins *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions* with a defense of reason against the skeptics and fundamentalists who would disparage it on either philosophical or religious grounds. For Saʿadyah there are three main sources of truth, of which two belong to man’s native powers: intellect and sense perception. In addition to these human capacities there is a prophetic tradition, which includes the original revelation to the prophets and the reliable, continuous transmission of their communications throughout a religious community, in particular the Jewish people. Saʿadyah clearly indicates that although prophetic tradition corroborates the two cognitive sources, it is ultimately based upon the senses and grounded in reason. It is based upon the senses since in a prophetic vision one *hears* God speaking or *sees* certain things. It is grounded in reason since the content of the revelation will be for the most part rational, or at least it will not be irrational. This epistemic foundation for revelation has an important practical consequence: a scriptural passage is to be understood according to its literal meaning *unless* it violates sense perception, reason, reliable tradition, or another passage whose meaning is clear. Thus the cognitive faculties serve as criteria for religious doctrine. A corollary of this “rationalistic bias” is that miraculous deeds performed by someone do not by themselves constitute proof of his prophetic authenticity if what he says violates reason.

Firmly convinced of the potency of reason, Saʿadyah offers his readers a rationalistic reconstruction of the Jewish faith, the goals of which are (1) to clarify the main dogmas of Judaism and to prove them where possible, and (2) to refute the opponents, internal and external, of Judaism. Saʿadyah’s philosophical theology has, then, as its main purpose the transformation of our unreflective inherited opinions into rationally grounded beliefs. The “true believer” is thus someone who not only has true beliefs but in addition knows that they are true and why. Those who undertake this kind of inquiry will achieve something important and valuable—religious knowledge. Those who do not, but rather follow reliable tradition, will still merit divine favor so long as they willingly obey God’s commandments. Saʿadyah’s rationalism is thus not a religion of the intellectual alone.

Having laid these epistemological foundations, Saʿadyah next undertakes to prove basic principles of the Jewish faith, such as creation of the universe, the existence and nature of God, and man’s free will. In general his argumentation follows the lines drawn up by the *kalām* on these topics, although it deviates considerably from the *kalām* on the subject of freedom. Like his *kalām* predecessors, Saʿadyah believed that the fundamental dogma of divine religion is creation *ex nihilo.* Once this principle has been demonstrated, he thought, it is easy to prove God’s existence and to discover some information about his nature. Of the four proofs Saʿadyah gives for the creation of the universe, the first and fourth were to have considerable impact upon subsequent Jewish thought. The first argument asserts that if the universe is, as Aristotle admitted, finite in size, then it must have only finite energy. But a body of finite energy must ultimately decay and eventually disintegrate. However, if it disintegrates, then it must have had a beginning; for, as Aristotle argued, everything that is generated is corruptible, and the converse (Aristotle, *On the Heavens* 1.12). In this argument Saʿadyah cleverly uses Aristotle's physics to show that the Aristotelian claim that the universe is eternal is inconsistent with this physics. The fourth argument claims to show that on the hypothesis of infinite past time there would be an infinite series of moments and events prior to any chosen moment. But such an infinite series, *ex hypothesi*, can never be traversed such that the chosen moment is ever reached. But if this moment is never reached, then it never comes into being, which is *contra hypothesim*. Hence, past time is not infinite. A version of this argument appears in Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* ("First Antinomy of Reason," B 454).

Convinced that these arguments are valid, Saʿadyah then proceeds to show that creation is out of nothing, which doctrine had become orthodox in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam by the tenth century. Of the various arguments in behalf of this dogma, one is especially significant: if there were some eternal matter out of which God fashioned the universe, as Plato had suggested in the *Timaeus*, this matter would be *co*-eternal with God and hence independent of him. But an independent entity may very well not want to be fashioned into anything! So God would in this view be beholden to matter if he were to create or not create at all.

Saʿadyah's defense of creation *ex nihilo* leads him to develop a theology that stresses God's creativity. First, the proof that the world has been created *ex nihilo* is proof also of God's existence, for a created world needs a creator. Second, Saʿadyah claims that it is the very nature of God to be creative: "In the beginning God created . . ." All the major divine attributes—power, wisdom, life, love—are different facets of God's essential creativity. Every other attribute is a corollary of this divine primal productivity. Hence corporeal characteristics cannot be applied to God, for such qualities can be true only of creatures, entities made by God out of nothing. To ascribe such features to God is to transform the creator into a creature. Saʿadyah is so convinced of the complete incorporeality of God that in his Arabic translation of the Bible he "cleanses" scripture of many anthropomorphic expressions. For example, "the hand of God" becomes "God's power." This conception of God also leads him to criticize the Christian doctrines of the Trinity and incarnation as contaminations of pure monotheism.

No matter how "pure" this monotheistic God may be, he is still a power that reveals himself to man. All the scriptural religions agree that God speaks to prophets and sends them to communicate God's will to man, usually in the form of divine law. Nevertheless, the question whether the Jewish law is a good and rational law or whether it has been superseded by another divine law revealed to a prophet other than Moses was controversial in Saʿadyah's day, as it is now. Saʿadyah's aim is to show (1) that a good God provides the means for his creatures to find their happiness and to receive divine reward; (2) that Mosaic law is based upon reason; and (3) that this law is still valid and cannot be abrogated.

For Saʿadyah it is rationally obligatory for a person to worship God, the creator, just as it is required that we respect and honor our parents. But it is also reasonable that God give us the means whereby we worship him and thereby obtain human perfection and reward. Unlike Paul and the religious antinomians, Saʿadyah sees divine grace as merited by good works; otherwise, the giving and receiving of grace would be arbitrary and undeserved. The Torah and its many commandments are therefore neither incitements to sin, as Paul claimed, nor a punishment of Israel, as Muḥammad believed. Just the contrary, they are expressions of God's love. But if this is so, the laws themselves cannot be capricious or irrational; otherwise, God would be a despotic tyrant, not a loving father and king. Accordingly, following the lead of both the earlier rabbis and the *kalām*, Saʿadyah initially distinguishes between those divine commands that obviously have some reason or purpose and those that do not readily exhibit such a rationale. The former he calls rational commands, the latter revelational commands. As examples of the former he gives the injunctions to abandon the worship of idols and to love our neighbor as ourselves; as examples of the latter he gives the festival laws and the laws concerning incest. Whereas the rational precepts are or can be derived from certain fundamental truths of reason, the revelational commands are neither dictated nor prohibited by reason.

However, as he proceeds to develop his account of law, it is clear that Saʿadyah virtually abandons this distinction and claims that on closer examination even the revelational commands are found to have some reasonable explanation and justification. For example, the selection of the Sabbath and other holy days may seem at first to be arbitrary. After all, neither the Greeks and Romans nor the Muslims have a complete day of rest on one specified day of the week. Yet, Saʿadyah argues, if we remember that "reason requires" (one of his favorite phrases) that we worship God, we have to worship him at some time, in some place, and in a certain way; otherwise, the initial rational precept to worship our creator is empty. Accordingly, our reasonable creator specifies for us through his prophet Moses the time, place, and manner of worship. If there were no uniform code of regulations, people would worship God at diverse times and in different ways. No community could survive such religious anarchy. Moreover, on practical grounds a Sabbath is quite beneficial: it affords not only physical rest but also mental relaxation and the opportunity to study Torah, to reflect, and to converse on spiritual matters. Although Saʿadyah does not, as did Philo, undertake to "rationalize" the whole body of Jewish law, he does suggest in outline how such an enterprise could and should be done. In this sketch he establishes the precedent for future medieval philosophers of Jewish law, such as Maimonides and Levi ben Gershom (Gersonides).

Of greater polemical urgency, however, is Saʿadyah's defense against the twin charges of falsification and abrogation in the Jewish law. The whole Jewish-Muslim-Christian debate in the medieval period turned on these issues. In reply to the Muslim accusation that the Bible in general, and Jewish law in particular, do not represent the pristine and true revelation, Saʿadyah appeals to the notion of reliable tradition, one of the original sources of truth referred to earlier. What is it that makes a religious text and tradition worthy of credence, Saʿadyah asks. Consider a tradition not based upon reliable evidence: it would be full of contradictions and discord. The Jewish tradition, at least as it existed prior to the nineteenth century, is unique in that it contains not only a text that one of its main rivals (i.e., Christianity) accepts as true and correct, but also a body of law that was almost universally accepted by its adherents. Were this tradition unreliable, such unanimity would be inconceivable.

But suppose one were to contend that the Torah is a true revelation but claim that it has been superseded by a more perfect divine law, such as the New Testament or Qurʾān. Saʿadyah counters this argument with several replies, some based upon reason, others on scripture, which, after all, the Christians accept as true. On purely rational grounds, the notion of a divine law being superseded by a totally different and in some cases contrary divine law is inconceivable, for two reasons. First, why would a perfect and immutable God give an imperfect law in the first place and then, only a few centuries later, replace it with a better but very different code? Wouldn't it have been more sensible to have revealed the better code at the outset? Moreover, does God really change his mind, as we do? Second, suppose the New Testament is more perfect than the Torah. But the Muslims claim that the Qurʾān is more perfect than both and hence supersedes them. Yet why stop at this point? Perhaps tomorrow God will reveal another law that abrogates the Qurʾān, and so on *ad infinitum.* To stop the regress at one point is just bias. So why concede a regress at all? Finally—and this argument is primarily directed against the Christians—the Torah, which the Christians accept in principle, testifies to its own eternal validity (*Jer.* 31, *Dt.* 33). The Christians, Saʿadyah implies, cannot have it both ways: either they should accept the whole Torah, especially if they see it as the basis for the messianic claim and role of Jesus; or they should drop it altogether and admit that their religion has no relationship at all to Judaism.

A rational and perfect law revealed by a reasonable and perfect lawgiver must, Saʿadyah continues, be such that its recipients are able to obey it, and in obeying it receive an appropriate reward. Man has to be a free agent in order to be a subject in the divine commonwealth and must have the conviction that his obedience to the law will have beneficial consequences for him. Otherwise, the lawgiver would be arbitrary and the law unrealizable. At this point in his inquiry, Saʿadyah grapples with one of the more thorny problems in classical theology, the alleged dilemma between divine omnipotence and omniscience and human free will, a problem that was especially vexing to the *kalām.* Saʿadyah unambiguously defends humanity against any divine encroachments: we are completely free agents, capable of assuming full responsibility for our actions despite God's omnipotence and omniscience. Unlike some Muslim theologians, Saʿadyah does not believe that God's infinite power would be curtailed if man had some power of his own; nor is it the case that whenever we do some deed God is the co-agent, as some other Muslim theologians claim. God is not so niggardly or envious that he would deprive human beings of any power to act from their own will, and the notion of one action with two co-agents is both implausible and unnecessary. To be an agent is *ex hypothesi* to be able to perform a deed. If I cannot do it myself, then I am not an agent! Nor is God's omniscience an impediment to my free action, as Cicero thought. Although God knows what I shall do tomorrow, he does not cause that action, just as my knowing what day it will be tomorrow does not bring about that day.

Saʿadyah maintains that each human soul is originally a pure and superior substance that is created by God to direct the body in their joint earthly undertaking. The soul needs the body to perform its mission as much as the body requires the soul for its guidance. No Platonic dualism, with its subsequent Christian overlay of original sin, infects Saʿadyah's optimistic religious psychology. The soul and body together act and bear jointly the responsibility for these actions. Upon death, the human soul will be separated from its body because it is a finer substance than the body, and it will reside in some supernal realm until the day of its eventual return to its original body, which will ultimately be resurrected with the soul. Saʿadyah recognizes two stages of resurrection: the first involves the righteous of Israel alone and is associated with the coming of the Messiah in this present world of human history; the second involves the resurrection of all humankind for ultimate judgment and initiates the world to come with its everlasting reward or punishment. These eschatological predictions are admittedly not the teachings of the philosophers but the promises of scripture, which, however, do not violate reason. Indeed, if God is able to create the world *ex nihilo*, why can he not resurrect the dead, not just once, but twice? With his establishment of these eschatological doctrines on both scriptural and rational grounds, Saʿadyah has completed his philosophical reconstruction and defense of Judaism.

SPANISH-JEWISH PHILOSOPHERS. Whereas the beginnings of both Islamic and Jewish philosophy were in the East, the second major phase in Jewish philosophy occurred in Muslim Spain, which became the philosophical-scientific center for the Jews for nearly the remainder of the Middle Ages. In Spain, the philosophical tradition that molded the Jewish mind was the "Neoplatonic" philosophy developed by the

Muslim *falāsifah* al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā as a synthesis of Aristotelian and Plotinian themes. For about two centuries both Muslim and Jewish philosophy developed within the metaphysical framework provided by Aristotle and Plotinus, as interpreted by Porphyry and Proclus. During this period Jewish cultural life in Spain flourished in virtually every domain, but especially in philosophy and poetry. Indeed, two of three leading thinkers in this epoch were poets as well as philosophers: Shelomoh ibn Gabirol and Yehudah ha-Levi.

Shelomoh ibn Gabirol. The philosophical fate of Shelomoh ibn Gabirol (c. 1021–c. 1058) is especially interesting. His major philosophical work, *The Fountain of Life*, was written in Arabic, as were most Jewish philosophical books until the fourteenth century; but the original Arabic text was lost and survives only in a Latin translation as *Fons vitae*. Its impact upon Jewish thought was minimal, and this is evidenced by the fact that no medieval Hebrew translation of the work was ever made; only a thirteenth-century Hebrew summary survives. The reason for this neglect in Judaism is that *Fons vitae* contains not one biblical or rabbinic reference. It is a pure philosophical treatise, having no obvious connection with the traditional theological problems that had preoccupied Saʿadyah and other Jewish thinkers. So it was soon forgotten by the Jews, although preserved by the Christians, who believed its author to be a certain Avicebrol, a Muslim, or perhaps a Christian Arab. It was not until 1846 that Solomon Munk proved that the author of *Fons vitae*, Avicebrol, was the famous Jewish poet Shelomoh ibn Gabirol.

Since Ibn Gabirol's *Fountain of Life* had no significant influence upon Jewish philosophy, we shall not discuss it here. Instead, we shall examine his poetry, and for two reasons. First, several of his poems are philosophical. Second, his poetry, including some of the philosophical poems, was popular among Spanish Jewry. One work in particular is deserving of study in this context: the forty-stanza philosophical poem *The Crown of Royalty* (*Keter malkhut*). This poem is part of the liturgy of Spanish Jewry and is recited on the holiest of the holy days, Yom Kippur.

Consistent with the hierarchical mode of thinking characteristic of the Middle Ages, and especially of Neoplatonic philosophy, the philosophical schema of *The Crown of Royalty* begins "on top," with an account of the divine attributes, expressing the apparently contradictory themes of Plotinian divine transcendence and ineffability and the biblical awareness of God in created nature. Then Ibn Gabirol proceeds down the "scale of being" to the mundane world of the four terrestrial elements, the home of man. Finally, he ascends the scale step by step through all the celestial spheres until the divine domain is reached. The *terminus a quo* turns out to be identical with the *terminus ad quem*. By beginning with God, Ibn Gabirol is telling us that the whole universe derives from and depends upon God, who is its creator and sustainer. Among all the standard attributes usually applied to God, it is the divine will that is, for Ibn Gabirol, most important, for God's will is responsible for creating the universe *ex nihilo*. God's will is of course "guided" by wisdom, which is for Ibn Gabirol "the source of life." Creation, then, is the very essence and purpose of reality.

As Ibn Gabirol ascends the ladder of being and reaches the sphere of the angels, or the supernal intellects, he indicates that man's true domicile is not the terrestrial domain of the four basic elements but the world of the intellect. It is here that the human soul has its origin, and it is here that the truly religious person will turn his attention. Committed to a current philosophical theory of immortality according to which man's ultimate reward (to use Alexander Altmann's phrase) consists in intellectual contact with some supernal intellect, Ibn Gabirol interprets the traditional Jewish idea of the world to come in these philosophical terms. The righteous will go beyond their original home of the sphere of the angels, or cosmic intellects, and reach the "seat of glory," a traditional Jewish metaphor referring to the divine domain itself. There the souls of the righteous are "bound up in the bundle of life," for they have reached the "source of life." But, Ibn Gabirol insists, this ascent is accomplished through a life of intellectual and moral discipline, in which philosophy plays a central role. For the soul is in its very nature and origin an intellect, and it is by virtue of intellectual perfection through philosophy that the soul attains immortality.

Baḥye ibn Paquda. The second representative of the Spanish school of Jewish philosophy was not a poet but a professional judge—Baḥye ibn Paquda (1080–1120). Baḥye's *Duties of the Heart* is perhaps the most widely read book of medieval Jewish philosophical literature. Not only was it studied and commented upon by scholars, but it has been read by ordinary Jews, who have regarded the book as a guide to religious and moral improvement. Its success lies in the emphasis it gives to the notion of personal piety, focusing upon both the individual's intellectual and emotional development and his progress toward the goal of complete love of God. Showing the external influences of both *kalām* and Neoplatonism on the philosophical side, and the Islamic mystical school of Sufism on the religious side, Baḥye wove these elements into the inherited fabric of the Bible and Talmud to produce a remarkably unified book of Jewish philosophical pietism, or "rationalistic mysticism." Contrary to the "duties of the limbs," which are concerned only with our external actions, such as what we eat, where we pray, and so on, the "duties of the heart" demand a specific mode of mental and emotional discipline whose ultimate purpose is to free us from the world of materiality and allow us to devote our whole being to God. This *methodos*, like Ibn Gabirol's ascent, stresses the primary and prior intellectual duty to reflect upon God and his created world in order to arrive at the most adequate understanding of God available to man. This duty leads Baḥye to embark upon a rigorous demonstration of God's existence and unity and his creation of the universe. Baḥye's arguments are an amalgam of *kalām* and Aristotelian and Plotinian elements, with the last's emphasis upon unity.

For Baḥye, God is virtually identical with the One of Plotinus, so much so that all the traditional biblical and rabbinic divine attributes are regarded as only concessions to the exigencies of human language. The only true attribute of God is unity, which expresses God's essence.

Once it is understood that God is the ultimate One from which everything else is derived, it is clear that we have another "duty of the heart": to devote our whole lives to the worship of this absolute unity upon whose existence everything depends. Most of Baḥye's treatise lays out a graded manual of emotional discipline whereby the reader is progressively prepared to serve and love his creator. Throughout these "purificatory" chapters concerning such topics as trust in God, humility, and self-examination, Baḥye proposes a form of asceticism that seems to be borrowed from the Muslim mystics but that is tempered by the Jewish insistence upon the duty to be a co-creator with God. Yet, it is evident that for Baḥye this world is not only a "vestibule" for the next, as the rabbis had suggested, but a school in which we are continually challenged, tested, and examined so as to prepare us for "real life," which in this case is the life with God. Our mind and emotions have to be cleansed from their corporeal contamination. For this purpose God has graciously given us both the duties of the limbs, which for Jews means the divine commandments of the Torah, and the duties of the heart, revealed to us through reason. Both help and lead us to the attainment of our goal, the love of God.

Yehudah ha-Levi. The third of our trio of Spanish-Jewish philosophers in this period of Neoplatonic philosophy was perhaps the greatest Hebrew poet since the biblical poets. Unlike Ibn Gabirol, Yehudah ha-Levi (1085–1141) was a philosopher turned against himself, for despite a youthful flirtation with the "wisdom of the Greeks" and his respectful appreciation of its "beautiful flowers," ha-Levi came to reject its "bitter fruits." These fruits contained, he believed, poison, but it was a poison that he himself had tasted. In this respect ha-Levi is like the modern religious thinker Søren Kierkegaard. Ha-Levi presents his critique of philosophy in the form of a "Platonic dialogue," whose main character is not a philosopher but the pagan king of the Khazars, a medieval Asiatic people living near the Black Sea who converted to Judaism in the middle of the eighth century. According to legend, the king decided to abandon paganism and summoned representatives of Judaism, Christianity (Greek and Roman), and Islam to prove in a debate which is the true religion. At the end of the debate the king was convinced by Judaism and hence converted. Ha-Levi uses this legend but modifies it in several ways. First, and most significant, he introduces a philosopher into the debate; indeed, it will turn out that philosophy is for ha-Levi the main intellectual rival of Judaism. Second, initially the king, despising the Jews as an inferior and persecuted people, resists inviting a Jew to the debate. It is only after both the Christian and the Muslim confess that their own religions presuppose the truth of Judaism for their own validity that the king invites a Jew to the discussion. Ha-Levi's book, usually referred to as the *Kuzari*, has as its complete title *The Kuzari, a Book of Proof and Argument: An Apology for a Despised Religion.* Like the books previously discussed, it was written in Arabic but soon translated into Hebrew, by Yehudah ibn Tibbon (1120–1190), the same translator who had rendered Saʿadyah's and Baḥye's works.

The opening paragraph of the book establishes the ground plan of the whole debate. The king receives a divine communication via an angel in a dream in which he is told that although his religious intentions are good, his pagan behavior is unacceptable to God. He then summons a philosopher to find out what behavior is acceptable to God. It is made quite clear why the philosopher is called first: ha-Levi's philosopher stresses that in his view God is not interested in actions, since God is not cognizant of, nor does he supervise, individual behavior. In expressing this belief the philosopher gives voice to the al-Fārābī-Ibn Sīnā denial of divine cognition of and providence for individuals. This philosopher is primarily concerned with the attainment of immortality through "conjunction" of the intellect with one of the angels, or supernal intellects, or perhaps with God himself. Whether one fasts or observes dietary laws is of no concern to this philosopher. He is dismissed immediately because the king has received a message from God. All the logical arguments adduced by the philosopher are not going to convince the king otherwise; since the philosophers are not noted for receiving prophetic revelations, they are not in the position of disparaging such experiences. The king expresses here his bias: experience is decisive over logic. Once dismissed, the philosopher does not physically return, although his ideas are frequently discussed in his absence.

The king now turns to a Christian theologian and then to a Muslim scholar, both of whom begin their speeches with a recital of theological dogma, supporting these beliefs by appealing to the Israelites and their Torah. Without Judaism there is no Christianity and no Islam. At this point the king realizes that he needs to summon a Jewish scholar, whose opening speech, unlike those of the Christian and the Muslim, is not a theological credo but a recitation of historical facts. Against the king's criticism that such facts have no significance to a non-Jew and hence Judaism is a "particularistic" religion, the Jew replies that the very historical facts are precisely the advantage of Judaism, especially over the philosopher. The last point intrigues the king, for he has already dismissed the philosopher precisely because of the latter's cavalier attitude to the facts. So now the king warms up to the Jewish scholar, who follows with a diatribe against philosophy, not so much for any specific philosophical theory as for its method. Since by definition philosophy is the *human* search for wisdom through *reason*, it is necessarily limited and subject to error. The clearest proof of this is the notorious inability of philosophers to agree on anything. This point is especially interesting to the king, who now listens avidly to the Jewish scholar. Later this epistemological skepticism is buttressed by another argument of a quasi-skeptical nature drawn from ethics: a purely philosophical morality, which the philosopher claimed was sufficient for man, is at best no better than a system of prudential maxims that may be broken at any time to suit one's convenience. Such a "morality" is insufficient to bind a society together or even to guide the individual in the complexities of moral action. Divine revelation alone can supply this required information.

And thus we are back to prophecy. Judaism, the scholar insists, rests upon the historical fact that God does speak to man. This belief is accepted by the Christian and the Muslim as well. Against the testimonies of sense experience, even if it is prophetic experience, logic is impotent, especially if the experience in question is attested to by over six hundred thousand people and unanimously reported. Here ha-Levi enunciates a philosophy of religious empiricism that emphasizes the role of experience over reason, prophecy over logic. When the king objects that experience is always subjective and particularistic, no matter how many people may be involved, the rabbi concedes the point but tries to turn it to his own advantage. Yes, prophecy is a special sense faculty that is found only in some people. After all, if everyone were a prophet, who would listen to any prophet? And again, even if prophecy is restricted to Israel, as ha-Levi somewhat excessively and heterodoxly insists, this is not so embarrassing, for again the Christian admits that the Israelites are God's chosen people, and the Muslim concedes that only Moses spoke to God directly. If the philosopher has trouble with this fact, so much the worse for him! After all, ha-Levi reminds us, the philosopher is really tone-deaf to prophecy. So why listen to him?

Convinced of both the irrelevancy of philosophy to his religious search and the derivative status of Christianity and Islam, the king converts to Judaism. The rabbi then instructs him in the basic teachings and practices of Judaism, of which one is especially pertinent to philosophy. Instead of giving the standard rabbinic distinction that *Yahveh*, God's proper name, expresses the divine attribute of love or mercy, whereas the name *Elohim* expresses the attribute of justice, ha-Levi distinguishes between two radically different ways of knowing, thinking, and talking about God. A philosopher—Aristotle, for example—arrives at his conception of the divine through a process of observation and logical inference. The outcome of this ratiocination is a first cause that serves as an explanatory hypothesis or entity. If Aristotle's theory is true, then its theological statements give an accurate description of reality, just as, if his astronomy is true, the astronomical statements correctly describe the heavens. But one does not pray to such a god! Ha-Levi's philosopher in book 1 of the *Kuzari* is right: the philosopher's god isn't interested in our world. But if this is so, how can we be interested in this god? "The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob is not the god of the philosophers!" the rabbi insists. Through philosophy we may reach God; but this power is not the person who spoke to Abraham and Moses. This person is referred to in Hebrew by the tetragrammaton (*YHVH*), a name so holy that only the high priest pronounced it. This person is not known indirectly through inference but directly through prophecy. Here ha-Levi anticipates both Pascal's rejection of philosophical theology and Russell's distinction between knowledge by description and knowledge by acquaintance. The prophet "sees" and "tastes" the Lord (*Ps.* 34:9) with whom Moses at least spoke as friend to friend; the philosopher knows God as a hypothesis that, as the French mathematician Pierre La Place once said, may very well be superfluous. The former we may have to die for; the latter we can ignore with impunity.

MAIMONIDES. The next major figure in medieval Jewish philosophy, Moses Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon, 1135/8–1204), was also a native of Spain; but unlike his Spanish predecessors he was heir to a different philosophical tradition, in which Aristotle was "the Philosopher." Maimonides' mastery of this new intellectual outlook altered the whole philosophical scene in the medieval Jewish world. This renascent Aristotle is a "purer," more authentic Aristotle than the one who was encountered in the Neoplatonic-Aristotelian synthesis of Ibn Sīnā or Ibn Gabirol. Henceforth, until Spinoza, Jewish philosophers will have to cope with this Aristotle. Moreover, the power and style of Maimonides' own philosophical personality was such that his successors had to deal with him as well. This overwhelming influence is to be attributed to the character of Maimonides' chief philosophical work, *The Guide of the Perplexed*, translated from Arabic into Hebrew by Shemu'el ibn Tibbon (1150–1230).

Maimonides states at the outset that the *Guide* is no ordinary philosophical book. Although he indicates the goals of the book and his motives for writing it, he warns his readers that besides some stringent intellectual qualifications that they must possess before reading the *Guide*, they should not expect that the way out of their perplexities will be easily understood, clearly visible, or unambiguously stated. Indeed, it is one of the great ironies of this book that although one of its purposes is to discuss and clarify the various ambiguities in the Bible, and religious language in general, it is itself highly ambiguous, giving rise to all kinds of difficulties to its interpreters, both medieval and modern. Maimonides tells us that philosophical truth, especially in metaphysics, the divine science, cannot by its very nature be divulged and expressed in a public and discursive manner. In the first place, very few are fit to study and appreciate its problems. Second, by its very nature, metaphysical truth is not apprehended in a systematic, discursive, continuous manner; on the contrary, like lightning it comes suddenly, quickly, and discontinuously to those who do attain it. Rarely does a person reach a level of metaphysical knowledge that would enable him to set out its truths in a popularly accessible way. Do not expect, then, Maimonides tells us, that the *Guide* will be an easy book, since the book that it attempts to decipher—the Bible—contains the highest truths in science and philosophy formulated in language that is perplexing. In short, Moses was the greatest metaphysician, who via prophecy was charged with the assignment of disseminating these truths in a book containing many levels of meaning. Maimonides, on the other hand, set himself the task of uncovering some of these layers to the select few, whose philosophical-religious perplexities had reached such a pitch that a guide was needed.

Two basic methodological principles are laid down at the outset. First, the Bible cannot be read literally; otherwise it would be full of worthless doctrines and downright errors. Second, human reason has limits, especially in metaphysics, where the philosopher, in spite of his keen and deep desire for truth, must recognize the limited scope of his intellectual reach. The first of these rules is familiar, going back to both rabbinic and earlier philosophical sources, such as Philo and Saʿadyah. That the Torah "speaks the language of men" is a well-known Jewish hermeneutical principle. Thus, we must learn how to read the Bible, which for Maimonides is a philosophical book that has to be read philosophically. One consequence of this exegetical method is that we shall have to begin our new study of the Bible by applying a philosophical filter to purify the text of its anthropomorphic dross. Virtually all of part 1 of the *Guide* is devoted to this task. Maimonides philosophically translates many of the "offending" words and phrases; for example, the expression "face" in "my face shall not be seen" (*Ex.* 33:23) connotes God's essence, not any physical organ. The core of Maimonides' conception of God is a radical defense of the *via negativa:* the most accurate and appropriate way to speak of God is to say what he is not. Human language is essentially incapable of describing the nature of God.

In spite of this apparent theological agnosticism, Maimonides still holds that several of the basic beliefs of Judaism can be soundly proved by means of true philosophical principles, which have been established by Aristotle. To this extent a philosophical theology is possible, for we can demonstrate God's existence, unity, incorporeality, and simplicity philosophically. These "theological theorems" are as solid as the theorems of geometry or physics. Thus our "belief in God" is for Maimonides knowledge, not just "blind faith." But we have to remember that there are limits to reason. Some theological questions will remain recalcitrant to human reason: we shall not be able to resolve them decisively. This is essentially so in the issue of creation of the universe, a problem that becomes increasingly vexing with the spread of Aristotle's physics, one of whose "theorems" was the eternity of the universe. This question was regarded as crucial, since if the world is eternal, it would seem that divine providence would be idle or nonexistent, and hence miracles would be impossible. Saadyah believed that he could prove creation *ex nihilo*; the Muslim *falāsifah* claimed that they could prove the eternity of the universe. Here we have one of the earliest appearances of a metaphysical antinomy, two contrary theses with seemingly persuasive arguments. Like Kant seven centuries later, Maimonides attempts to show that none of the arguments pro or con are valid, that the question is not "decidable" for human reason.

Of course, Maimonides has a theological ax to grind: he wants to defend Moses against Aristotle; but he proceeds in manner quite different from the *kalām.* He first shows that with one exception all the *kalām* arguments are either invalid or rest upon false premises. The only argument that he finds acceptable is, however, inductive and thus does not constitute a decisive proof against Aristotle, since inductive arguments are falsifiable. Having removed the *kalām* from consideration, Maimonides then examines the Aristotelian arguments for the eternity hypothesis. These proofs divide into two classes: scientific and metaphysical. The first group rests, he claims, upon the assumption that the laws of physics are unrestrictedly applicable to every moment in the past including the first instant of time, which in the theory of creation begins the history of the world. Given this assumption, Aristotle argues that the hypothesis of a first instant is incompatible with the laws of physics; hence, such a hypothesis must be false (Aristotle, *Physics* 8.1). Maimonides claims, however, that this assumption is arbitrary, indeed a *petitio principii.* Must we say that at the very moment when the universe was created the laws of mechanics were true? Since for the creationist there is no history of the universe prior to or at the first instant of time, there is nothing that such laws would be true of. Maimonides believes that these laws are true after there is a universe, but not before or when it comes into being. Nor are the metaphysical arguments for eternity any less arbitrary; for they, too, assume that certain metaphysical principles are true of God such that creation would be precluded. But why say God is subject to such principles? After all, part 1 of the *Guide* has shown us how *different* God is from us!

From the inadequacy of the arguments both for creation and for eternity Maimonides infers that the question can be decided only by choosing one or the other hypothesis; neither has been proved true. Believers in the Bible will of course opt for creation, since it is this belief that makes their religion possible. For without creation there would be no miracles, and revelation is a miracle. But Maimonides does not leave the matter just to choice and religious pressure; he believes there is an inductive argument, drawn from the *kalām*, that renders the creation hypothesis more plausible than the eternity theory. The latter, Maimonides maintains, fails to explain certain specific natural phenomena; for example, why does the planet Venus emit a bluish color whereas Mars looks red, especially since both planets have, Aristotle claims, the same chemical structure? In eluding the reach of Aristotle's physics, these "accidental facts" are evidence for, but do not decisively prove, the creation theory. For in the latter theory these facts are explained by appealing to God's creative will. Finally, although Maimonides offers no philosophical argument for creation *ex nihilo*, as Saʿadyah did, he dismisses its rival Platonic model of creation from eternal matter as unproved. Accordingly, the way is open to accept the traditional belief in creation *ex nihilo.*

Since the ultimate purpose of Maimonides' defense of creation is to vindicate the possibility of miracles, Maimonides now proceeds to discuss a phenomenon that the religious believe to be the greatest miracle besides creation itself—prophecy. Given, on the one hand, the competing Islamic claim that Muḥammad was the last and most authoritative prophet and, on the other hand, the theory of the *falāsifah* that prophecy is a purely naturalistic phenomenon that requires no supernatural intervention for its occurrence, Maimonides was constrained to defend both the superiority of Moses against Muḥammad and the role of God in the granting of prophecy. Yet he was too committed to a scientific outlook indebted to Aristotle and al-Fārābī to dismiss altogether their explanation of prophecy as a necessary emanation from God through the Agent Intellect, or angel responsible for human intellection, to a properly prepared and qualified individual, in whom both the intellect and imagination have been perfected. His problem was to find an opening for divine intervention within this deterministic-naturalistic theory of prophecy. He discovered this opening by making two modifications in this theory. First, even though a person has satisfied the requisite conditions for prophecy, God can withhold the emanation. In this sense prophecy is "up to God." Second, in Moses' case the divine emanation reached his intellect free from any admixture of the imagination and without the mediation of the Agent Intellect. Thus, the Bible says of Moses, "he spoke to God face to face" (*Nm.* 12:8). This too, like creation, occurs outside the normal, natural course of events.

The third part of the *Guide* is devoted to the solution of several theological problems that were becoming increasingly vexing in the Aristotelian atmosphere surrounding Maimonides. Does God know particular events, especially the deeds of men? Is God's providence concerned with particular humans or just with the human race in general? Finally, are the commandments rational or just the whims of an arbitrary divine despot? The first two questions are treated together since they are different facets of the general question of how God relates himself to man. Contrary to both the philosophers' belief that God is so beyond man that he cannot know individual human deeds, especially their future actions, since such knowledge would mean that God would enter time and the events themselves would be necessitated, Maimonides claimed that the philosophers' fear again rests upon an illicit analogy drawn between divine and human cognition. Just as God's nature eludes our grasp, so too his way of knowing escapes our finite understanding. God does know particular human actions, and he knows them without their being necessitated. "Everything is foreseen; yet freedom is given" (*Avot* 3.15). The way out from this apparent dilemma lies in the realization that God's knowledge is not subject to the logic that our own knowledge obeys. Once it is admitted that God does know particular events, the question about divine providence is easily answered. If God can know particular men, he exercises his care over them as particulars; for man, unlike any other species, is directly linked to God by possessing reason. This link makes possible divine providence over individual human beings. Since these individuals will differ in their level of intellectual perfection, individual providence will vary; but this is only what one would expect.

The concluding chapters of the *Guide* focus on the question of the rationality of the divine commandments, which for the Jew are the supreme expression of God's care for man and for Israel in particular. Like Saʿadyah, Maimonides is committed to the general principle that the Mosaic legislation is a body of law based upon reason. God desires that human beings attain moral and intellectual perfection. Obviously, then, the laws must lead to these goals and hence cannot be without sense, as some of the *kalām* theologians had argued with respect to Muslim law. Unlike Saʿadyah, however, Maimonides proceeds to give a systematic and detailed analysis of Jewish law, showing that there is hardly anything in this whole legal corpus that cannot be understood. Take dietary laws, for example. Some of them are just good hygiene. (Remember that Maimonides was a practicing physician.) Others were designed to prevent assimilation with pagan nations. In general, Jewish law, for Maimonides, is a divinely revealed system of rational laws.

JEWISH AVERROISM AND GERSONIDES. By the beginning of the thirteenth century, Aristotle had overwhelmed the medieval intellectual world. Besides Maimonides, he had another ally, one who was even more influential: he was the Muslim philosopher Ibn Rushd (1126–1198), known in the West as Averroës. Like Maimonides, Ibn Rushd was born in Cordova, but unlike his Jewish colleague he remained there most of his life. The two never met, and Maimonides knew of Ibn Rushd's writings only after he had written the *Guide*. Had he known the Muslim's philosophy before the writing of the *Guide*, a much different book would have been written, for Ibn Rushd represents a less adulterated Aristotle, one virtually stripped of its Plotinian-Avicennian accretions. Nevertheless, this confrontation between Ibn Rushd and Maimonides does take place, but after their death and throughout almost all post-Maimonidean Jewish medieval philosophy. Indeed, the story of Jewish philosophy after Maimonides and prior to Spinoza is a drama whose main protagonists are Aristotle as interpreted by Ibn Rushd and Maimonides, although these roles are played by characters bearing different names.

Through his commentaries on Aristotle as well as by virtue of his own independent treatises, Ibn Rushd exerted an enormous influence upon Jewish thinkers, ultimately resulting in a "school" of philosophers who could be dubbed "Jewish Averroists." This circle included such figures as Yitsḥaq Albalag of northern Spain or southern France (fl. 1250–1280), Yosef Kaspi of Provence (1279–1340), and Mosheh Narboni of Provence (died c. 1360). One immediate consequence of this confluence of Ibn Rushd and Maimonides was that these Jewish Averroists read Maimonides from the perspective of Ibn Rushd's thought and arrived at an interpretation of their Jewish teacher that distinguished the exoteric teaching of the *Guide* from its esoteric meaning.

One Averroist thesis that is advocated by these three Jewish thinkers as part of Maimonides' esoteric message is the doctrine of eternal creation. This seeming cosmological oxymoron was advocated by Ibn Sīnā and explicitly rejected by Maimonides; but Ibn Rushd had reformulated it in terms of his new reading of Aristotle. In its new garb the theory asserts that the physical universe is a continuous emanation from God, who eternally sustains, and hence "creates," the world, his eternal product. In Narboni the relationship between God and the universe becomes so intimate that it almost results in pantheism. Another important Averroist thesis concerns human "eternity," or immortality, a topic on which the *Guide* is virtually silent. Ibn Rushd advanced the view that human immortality consists in a special "conjunction," or union, between man's intellect and the Agent Intellect, the cosmic power responsible for human intellection, prophecy, and terrestrial generation. Four features of this theory are especially important. First, immortality is literally intellectual, since it is of the intellect and attained through philosophical perfection. Second, in Ibn Rushd's psychology there is really only one human intellect, which is somehow "shared" by or exemplified in many individuals; this one intellect is, however, identical with the Agent Intellect, although only potentially so. Third, at death, or "decorporealization," a person's mind becomes actualized by being departicularized, that is, by "returning" to the Agent Intellect. Finally, in the Agent Intellect all previously particularized minds are now one and hence no longer individuated. Immortality is then for the Averroist literally *impersonal.* In this doctrine we have a kind of religiosity that several modern scholars have called "rationalistic mysticism."

Jewish Averroism did not go unchallenged, and its first important critic was thoroughly immersed in the literature of Ibn Rushd. Levi ben Gershom (Gersonides, 1288–1344) of Provence was an original, versatile, and prolific author whose writings encompass mathematics, astronomy, and biblical exegesis as well as philosophy. Although enamored of both Maimonides and Ibn Rushd, he took a critical stance toward both when he felt they were wrong; and they were wrong, he believed, on several important issues. To the elucidation and solution of these problems, Gersonides wrote in Hebrew *The Wars of the Lord*, which covers virtually all the main topics in medieval metaphysics, natural philosophy, and psychology, especially as they impinge upon religion. The common theme throughout the book is Gersonides' commitment to the power of human reason. Gersonides rejects ha-Levi's epistemological skepticism and Maimonides' moderate rationalism, and he expresses instead a robust confidence in man's intellectual powers. To use Kant's phrase, we can say that Gersonides attempted to bring "religion within the limits of reason alone."

The first major question discussed in *The Wars of the Lord* is human immortality, especially the doctrine of conjunction with the Agent Intellect. Although he retains the vocabulary and some of the principles of the psychology employed by the Muslim *falāsifah*, including Ibn Rushd, Gersonides rejects the possibility of construing human perfection in terms of such a conjunction. First, he criticizes the Averroist thesis that all human intellects are temporary manifestations of the one intellect, which in reality is the Agent Intellect. All of us, Gersonides maintains, have our own intellect, which persists after death and is different from all other human intellects. Its persistence and differentiation result from the cognitive capital that the individual intellect has accumulated throughout life. This knowledge is permanent but varies from person to person. Human immortality is then defined in terms of the knowledge possessed by each individual. The Agent Intellect helps us acquire knowledge but is identical neither with this knowledge nor with our intellects. Like God, the Agent Intellect is a transcendent power that continually influences us but eludes our grasp. No union with it is possible for man.

The next main issue Gersonides grapples with involves him in a struggle with both Maimonides and Ibn Rushd. On the question of whether God can know particulars, both of the earlier thinkers had appealed to the *via negativa* to solve all the apparent difficulties such a knowledge seemed to entail. Gersonides, however, rejects the *via negativa*, in general and especially in the case of God's cognition. He maintains that if God's knowledge or any other attribute is radically different from our knowledge, then we can know nothing about God, not even that he exists. After all, how could we justify an inference from our experience to God, if God is so different from any human attribute? Now turning to cognition in particular, Gersonides argues that God's knowledge is admittedly not like ours in every respect, but it is sufficiently like human cognition to apply to it certain basic epistemological and logical conditions. First, since it is required for our cognition of a spatio-temporal fact that we possess sense perception, God cannot know such facts, for since he has no sense organs, he has no sense perception. Second, God's knowing a future event is incompatible with its being contingent and free. Now we are back to the dilemma that Saʿadyah thought he had dissolved. Unlike most Jewish medieval philosophers, Gersonides is prepared to sacrifice God's knowledge of particulars, especially human actions, and to retain human freedom. Accordingly, he redefines divine omniscience as God's knowledge of all that is knowable. Future contingent events, however, are not knowable, as Aristotle pointed out, for if they were, they would not be contingent. Hence it is not an imperfection in God not to know them.

Another equally striking set of conclusions reached by Gersonides concerns his cosmology. Again he differs from both Maimonides and Ibn Rushd, not accepting the former's acceptance of creation *ex nihilo* and disbelief in a decisive proof on this topic and rejecting the latter's belief in the eternity of the universe. Gersonides shows Maimonides that it is possible to demonstrate the createdness of the world by giving several such proofs. One of these proofs goes like this: anything that exhibits teleological features must be made (for example, light); hence, the universe is made. Another proof, of which there are several varieties, shows that the Aristotelian hypothesis of a universe enduring for infinite time in the past is incompatible with Aristotle's physics and hence is false. For example, Aristotelian physics excludes an actual infinite, a magnitude all of whose infinite parts or members coexist. But if past time is infinite, Gersonides argues, we would have an actual infinite, since the past is in some sense actual insofar as all past events were real and have consequences. Infinite past time would be like a book so chock-full of facts that prior to any given page there are an infinite number of pages. Who could read such a book? Thus the universe is created at a definite moment, the first instant of time.

But how was it created? Saʿadyah, Ibn Gabirol, ha-Levi, and Maimonides all maintain *ex nihilo* creation, although only Saʿadyah undertook to prove it. Gersonides rejects this by-now orthodox doctrine and defends the Platonic view that the world was fashioned by God out of some formless preexistent matter. Here as before, his arguments are entirely philosophical. For example, if the world were created from nothing, then the matter that now constitutes the world would be preexisted by a vacuum, which it now partly fills. But a vacuum is impossible, as Aristotle had proved. Finally, unlike Saʿadyah but like Maimonides, Gersonides holds that the universe is everlasting. However, whereas Maimonides maintained this position on the basis of his interpretation of several biblical and rabbinic passages, Gersonides attempts to prove philosophically that the universe cannot be destroyed, not even by God. After all, what reason could he have for doing so? Spite, anger, regret, admission of a bad original job? Surely none of these human motives can be attributed to a perfect and immutable craftsman.

CRESCAS. Gersonides' thoroughgoing rationalism was to be most controversial; hardly any of his successors accepted its radical conclusions in cosmology or about divine cognition. His critics either reverted to some version of Maimonides' moderate rationalism or rejected completely the whole Aristotelian edifice upon which both Maimonides and Gersonides erected their philosophical reconstructions of Judaism. The best representative of the latter approach is Ḥasdai Crescas (1340–1410) of Spain, whose *Or Adonai* (Light of the Lord) consists both of a radical critique of Aristotle's natural philosophy and a redefinition of Jewish dogmatics on a different basis. Writing at the beginning of what would be the end of Spanish Judaism, Crescas claims that Maimonides committed a serious and fundamental mistake in attempting to establish Judaism upon Aristotelian foundations. One consequence of this error was Gersonides and the Jewish Averroists. So Crescas starts all over by first showing that Aristotle's natural philosophy is either false or weak, and that the natural theology based upon this "weak reed" is even more shaky. Crescas then proceeds to offer a new system of Jewish belief. The main thrust of his critique is his willingness to admit the twin Aristotelian horrors of the actual infinite and the void. After demonstrating the invalidity of the arguments against both these notions, Crescas seriously entertains the hypothesis that there may be an infinite vacuum surrounding our world, thus allowing for the possibility of a plurality of universes. Crescas was one of the earliest representatives of the modern theory of the "open universe."

The admittance of both an actual infinite and the void undermines, however, the arguments for several important theorems in medieval natural theology, such as the existence and unity of God and, in Gersonides' view, the impossibility of creation *ex nihilo.* Crescas is not unhappy with this conclusion and proceeds to draw out the theological implications of his new infinitist outlook. He does this by restructuring the Jewish creed, scrapping Maimonides' by-then famous Thirteen Articles and replacing them with his own "axiomatic reconstruction" of Jewish dogma. Arguing that Maimonides' list fails to exhibit the logical relationships among the various dogmas and omits any justification of why some of these articles are essential to Judaism, Crescas rearranges the creed into four categories: (1) the roots of religion, (2) the foundations of the Torah, (3) obligatory beliefs of Judaism, and (4) optional beliefs. Group 1 consists of the basic postulates of any monotheistic religion, such as the existence, unity, and incorporeality of God. Group 2 consists of the logical presuppositions of a revealed law, such as the Torah; among such postulates are divine cognition, prophecy, and omnipotence and human choice. Group 3 contains those beliefs taught in Judaism but not logically entailed by the fact of revelation; these ideas are contingent upon revelation but not essential to it. They include such beliefs as creation of the world, immortality of the soul, and resurrection of the dead. Finally, group 4, optional beliefs, includes opinions about a variety of topics, such as the plurality of universes or the truth of astrology, about which authoritative Judaism takes no definitive stand. On these matters Jews may believe as they wish.

Consider the existence of God—a root belief of any monotheistic religion. Since all the "classical" proofs have been undermined by his critique of their Aristotelian foundations, how does Crescas philosophically justify such a root belief? In the first place, for Crescas religious beliefs in general do not require a philosophical justification; the acceptance of religious authority, rather than the demonstration of logical proof, is decisive. Second, if philosophical argument is introduced into religion, say for explanatory or polemical purposes, it must be sound philosophy. And so Crescas provides a "new" argument for the existence of God, one which does not presuppose Aristotle's rejection of an actually infinite series of essential causes and effects. Crescas's proof purports to show that whether the causal series is infinite or finite, it is a series of contingent causes and effects and hence requires some necessary and eternal substance to bring it forth, for what is contingent is by its very nature a mere possible existent. As to God's unity and incorporeality, however, Crescas is doubtful whether philosophy is competent to prove such root beliefs; hence revelation must be the guide. On this latter point Crescas is close to the Christian Scholastic William of Ockham.

Crescas is most original and even radical in his treatment of the two closely related foundational beliefs of Judaism—divine cognition and human choice. Here he provides a deterministic solution to the classic dilemma between divine omniscience and human freedom. Rejecting Gersonides' equally radical indeterminist denial of divine cognition of future contingencies, Crescas claims that God's knowledge of some future event—say, Abraham's binding of Isaac—does fix the truth status of that event before its actual occurrence. True, Abraham's binding of Isaac takes place in time, but in God's "eternal vision" this event is eternally true and thus necessary. Abraham's freedom is, Crescas believes, ensured by virtue of the fact that from an abstract logical perspective, his binding of Isaac is a logically contingent state of affairs: in some other world it is possible that he would not bind Isaac. Here Crescas advances a view that, although novel in Judaism, is virtually identical with the doctrine of Boethius and Thomas Aquinas, but perhaps more pronounced in its deterministic flavor. Crescas's deterministic position is also reflected in his account of human choice. On purely psychological grounds he claims that human decisions, actions, and belief commitments are caused by a variety of factors. But if our choices, acts, and beliefs are all determined, are they free? Yes, so long as we have the correct understanding of what a free act, choice, or belief is. If we have not been compelled by an external cause to choose or act in a certain way and we feel no such compulsion, then we are free. As Hobbes and Hume were to say a few centuries later, as long as I can get up, move my legs, and walk, I am "at liberty" to walk, even though I have been conditioned to walk out of my office every time I hear the lunch bell. All of this, Crescas claims, is consistent with divine or human praise or blame, reward or punishment; for just as smoke naturally follows the kindling of a fire, so, too, does punishment follow the performance of an evil act. There is a divinely ordered moral plan in the universe whereby sins or crimes cause punishments and virtue brings about reward.

Crescas's account of creation is also original. Whereas almost all his predecessors and successors claimed that creation is either a "root" or a "foundation," Crescas contends that, although it is a belief taught by Judaism, it need not have been taught. If the Bible had begun with "From all eternity there was God and the universe," there could still have been a Jewish religion. After disposing of both Maimonides' and Gersonides' criticisms of the eternity cosmology, Crescas offers a "soft" defense of the eternal creation hypothesis, a doctrine that had been rejected by both Maimonides and Gersonides as internally incoherent. Crescas's presentation of this model is "soft" in the sense that he does not definitely commit himself to it. He allows for the view, occasionally expressed in rabbinic literature, that God has successively created a series of finitely enduring worlds, a series that may continue *ad infinitum.* On either of these models, Crescas claims, the universe is created, eternally or temporally, *ex nihilo*, since the universe is only a contingent being, whereas God is a necessary being, and as contingent, it depends upon God. This causal-ontological dependency means that it is created *ex nihilo.*

THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE. Crescas's radical critique of Aristotelianism and his own interpretation of some Jewish beliefs did not satisfy most of his successors in Spanish-Jewish philosophy. His pupil Yosef Albo, for example, rejected his determinism. For the most part, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Spanish-Jewish philosophy reverts to some form of Maimonidean moderate rationalism. The new developments in Jewish philosophy take place on a different soil: Italy. With the emergence of Renaissance Platonism and the new physics of Galileo, different philosophic themes are sounded by several Italian-Jewish philosophical voices. The first of these "newer sounds" is of Spanish origin, Judah Abravanel (Leo Ebreo, c. 1460–1521), the son of the famous Spanish financier, biblical exegete, and philosopher Isaac Abravanel, who found asylum in Italy after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492. In Italy, especially in Florence, a "newer" Plato was discovered, who in many respects is closer to the historical Plato. Reading Plato directly either in the original Greek or from Latin translations of the Greek, Italian philosophers like Marsilio Ficino attempted to strip away the Aristotelian accretions to Plato that had accumulated during the Middle Ages, just as Ibn Rushd had tried to get at the real Aristotle. Judah Abravanel shows signs of this Platonic revival, even in the literary form of his philosophical work *Dialoghi d'amore*, which is a philosophical dialogue between two characters on the matter of love, both divine and human. This very topic betrays the new Renaissance spirit; for no previous medieval philosophical text, whether Jewish, Muslim, or Christian, made the Greek notion of *erōs* its central problem. But for a Platonic academy in Florence this was the problem *par excellence:* Plato's *Symposium* and *Phaedrus* had replaced the *Timaeus* and *Republic.*

Abravanel's *Dialoghi*, written most likely in Italian or perhaps in Spanish, represents an attempt to fit Plato's philosophy of *erōs* into a Jewish framework, even though there are in it citations drawn from classical mythology and even the New Testament. However, the Judaic orientation is clear. Not only are the Bible and rabbinic literature cited, but Maimonides and Ibn Gabirol are also referred to. Here Platonic *erōs* is legitimized by redefining it in terms of the Maimonidean motif that man loves God through his devotion to the life of the intellect. But man's intellectual love of God is reciprocated and complemented by God's love for man, indeed for the whole universe, which God creates freely out of love from preexistent matter. (Only Plato is cited on this point, not Gersonides.) Accordingly, the unifying and pervading power in the universe is *erōs*, redefined as man's intellectual love of God and God's creative love for man.

A very different tone is heard in the philosophical writings of another Italian-Jewish philosopher, Yosef Shelomoh

Delmedigo (1591–1659), who, although born in the Venetian colony of Crete, studied in Padua under Galileo and absorbed some of the latter's new ideas in astronomy and physics. He was the first Jewish philosopher or astronomer to adopt the Copernican-Galilean system, rejecting the Aristotelian theory of the celestial spheres with their "separate movers," which were identified with the biblical doctrine of angels. The angels, for Delmedigo, are natural forces or powers, primarily human faculties, an idea that was also suggested by Maimonides. Delmedigo also advocated Crescas's eternal-creation cosmology: after all, a God who is eternally active cannot not create; hence, the universe must be eternal. The denial of the world's eternity would be tantamount to the thesis that God's creative power is finite. This explicit espousal of eternal creation leads him in the direction of pantheism, which, however, he expresses tentatively.

THE END OF MEDIEVAL JEWISH PHILOSOPHY. Despite Delmedigo's enthusiasm for the new science of Galileo, he still retained some medieval Aristotelian ideas and had an ambivalent attitude toward Jewish mysticism, which he criticized yet occasionally adopted. It is not without significance that he spent a few years in Amsterdam, the locale of the last act in our philosophical drama. Befriended by Menasseh ben Israel, one of the local rabbis, a philosopher and a publisher of Hebrew books, Delmedigo was able to get his major philosophical-scientific work published there shortly before he left for Frankfurt in 1630. Two years later the man who was to reject medieval philosophy completely was born in Amsterdam, and studied in the very same school in which Delmedigo had taught a few years earlier—Spinoza (1632–1676). Several scholars have claimed that the Delmedigo-Spinoza connection is not fortuitous, that features of the latter's formalistic philosophy either exhibit elements of or express explicitly doctrines of the former's more diffuse and ambiguous writings. Whether or not this is so, Spinoza clearly and definitively cuts the tie that linked philosophy with religion and advocates the new science with no reservations or fond reminiscences of Aristotle or Maimonides. Spinoza is the first modern philosopher, the first thinker who no longer sees philosophy either as theology's handmaiden or as fertilized by prophetic seeds. Philosophy is for Spinoza not only autonomous, as Descartes maintained, but self-sufficient as well, a thesis that Descartes was unwilling to admit, at least in public.

Spinoza's emancipation of philosophy from theology, based upon both philosophical and biblical-critical grounds, permits him to erect a naturalistic philosophical system in which metaphysics, logic, psychology, political theory, and moral philosophy are all comprehended. The pantheistic suggestions of Delmedigo are explicitly expressed in Spinoza's equation *Deus, sive Natura* ("God, or Nature"). No longer is there a hiatus between a transcendent, incorporeal, infinite God and a corporeal, finite universe. As both thought and extension, Spinoza's God is not divorced from man and the universe; as infinite and eternal, the physical world is inseparable from its cause. Crescas's eternal creation model is stripped of its medieval garb and shown for what it really is: a picture of an eternal, dynamic universe displaying infinite divine attributes. Moreover, nature is for Spinoza a thoroughly deterministic system in which scientific law reigns supreme. The laws of nature are for Spinoza God's decrees. Again, Spinoza pushes Crescas a step further: the latter's deterministic psychology becomes the universal rule of all nature. Such a system, however, allows for no miracles, especially divine prophecies. The wardens of the Amsterdam Jewish community in 1656 had considerable justification in viewing Spinoza as no longer of the Jewish faith. Indeed, he was no longer a medieval man. Medieval philosophy, and medieval Jewish philosophy in particular, had with Spinoza been terminated, and a new philosophical epoch had begun.

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JEWISH THOUGHT AND PHILOSOPHY: MODERN THOUGHT

Modern Jewish religious thought is not simply a chronological category designating Jewish reflections that occur in the modern world. Rather, it is a category that denotes meditations by Jews about Judaism and Jewish destiny that take place within—or at least seek to take into account—the cognitive process distinctive of the modern world. Heir to the biblical image of knowledge, which is grounded in the concepts of divine creation, revelation, and redemption, modern Jewish thought seeks to come to terms with modern sensibilities and conceptions of truth. In this respect, of course, it is basically similar to modern religious thought in general. There are, however, specifics of the Jewish experience in the modern world that determine the agenda and peculiar inflections of modern Jewish thought.

INTRODUCTION TO THE MODERN WORLD. It should therefore be recalled that Jews first truly encountered the modern world during the protracted struggle for emancipation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This struggle was not merely a legal process but engaged Europe in an intense and wide-ranging debate reviewing Jewry's eligibility to participate in the modern world. In the course of this century-long debate, Jews became exceedingly sensitive to the prevailing image of Judaism in European culture. Not surprisingly, modern Jewish thought was thus often guided by an apologetic motive. This defensive posture was also prompted by the rise of modern political and racial anti-Semitism, which was not confined to the mob but gained vocal support from more than a few intellectuals. The integration of the Jews into the modern state and culture, which was achieved despite persistent opposition, led to a profound restructuring of Jewish life, both organizationally and culturally. The Jews were no longer under the obligatory rule of the rabbis and the Torah. In acquiring the political identity and culture of the non-Jewish society in which they lived, the Jews tended to lose much of their venerable culture, including, perhaps most significantly, knowledge of both Hebrew and the sacred texts of the tradition. Moreover, for many, Israel's covenantal relationship to God as a chosen people presently in exile but piously awaiting God's Messiah and restoration to the Promised Land was no longer self-evident and unambiguous.

Modern Jewish thought was thus charged not only with the task of explaining Judaism to both non-Jews and Jews estranged from the sources of their tradition, but also with that of rethinking some of the fundamental concepts of the tradition that bear on the nature of the Jews as a people (covenant, election, exile, the Messiah, and the promise of national redemption) and, in general, the meaning of Jewish community, history, and destiny. These questions gained a unique urgency in the mid-twentieth century because of the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel. Thus, whereas medieval Jewish philosophy was primarily concerned with the relatively circumscribed issue of reconciling faith and reason, modern Jewish thought is broader and by necessity more protean, addressing the multiple dilemmas of the Jew in the modern world.

The beginnings of modern Jewish thought may be traced, paradoxically, to the heterodox sixteenth-century Dutch philosopher, Barukh Spinoza (1632–1677). This renegade Jew was to leave the Jewish community without taking the perfidious step of converting to another religion, a revolutionary precedent that opened the possibility of a secular, cosmopolitan Jew who, in discarding all primordial particularities, found a home in the religiously and ethnically neutral world of reason and common humanity. Universally adored by all votaries of the modern spirit, this iconoclastic but estimable figure has been an abiding challenge to the Jews of modernity to shed their ancestral faith for more supposedly noble, secular affiliations. Furthermore, Spinoza's harsh critique of Judaism as a religion has weighed heavily on modern Jews, not in the least because it has decisively influenced the negative image of Judaism in modern thought. Hence, despite his excommunication by the Jewish community of his native Amsterdam, Spinoza has remained preeminent in modern Jewish consciousness.

THE FIRST MODERN JEW. In contrast to Spinoza, the eighteenth-century Berlin savant Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786) represents the possibility that the Jew's creative participation in modern, secular culture need not negate a commitment to Judaism. Hailed by the Enlightenment as the German Socrates, he remained a proud and pious Jew. As a philosopher, he gained prominence for his disquisitions on aesthetics, epistemology, metaphysics, and psychology. Significantly, he based his arguments on reason alone, and although he made use of the metaphysical presuppositions of natural religion, his interest was strictly secular. He scrupulously refrained from introducing scriptural proof texts and certainly never referred to his Judaism. As such, he was not a "Jewish" philosopher. In fact, implicit in his writings is the assumption that his Judaism is irrelevant to his philosophical endeavor and is strictly an incidental and private affair.

Nonetheless, and to his great chagrin, he was repeatedly challenged to defend his continued devotion to his ancestral faith, a fidelity that many of his contemporaries found flagrantly inconsistent with his adherence to enlightened, philosophical culture. Mendelssohn sought to avoid confrontation on these matters, and at first he preferred to make a vigorous appeal to the principle of tolerance and not to engage in debates regarding his abiding commitment to Judaism. However, this proved insufficient to quiet his traducers, and finally in 1783 he penned his famous defense of his dual allegiance to the Enlightenment and Judaism: *Jerusalem oder über religiöse Macht und Judentum* (Jerusalem, or on religion and power in Judaism). Framing his argument in a careful explication of the principle of religious liberty, Mendelssohn holds that philosophical rationalism, which is grounded in the deistic assumption that the "eternal verities" and "human felicity" may be acquired without divine revelation, poses no special problem for Judaism. For the faith of Israel, as he declares, is "not a revealed religion but a revealed legislation." In contrast to Christianity, Judaism is founded not on doctrinal opinions and saving truths but rather on "laws, commandments, ordinances, rules of life, instructions in the will of God" (Mendelssohn, 1784/1983, pp. 89–90). Mendelssohn suggests that these commandments, particularly the most enduring ceremonial laws, serve as symbolic acts that alert one to the eternal truths of reason, thus preventing the Jews from succumbing to the idolatry of false ideas. Herein lies the extensive meaning of Israel's election. The Jews "were chosen by Providence to be a priestly nation . . . a nation which . . . was continually to call attention to sound and unadulterated ideas of God and his attributes. It was incessantly to teach, to proclaim and to endeavor to preserve these ideas among the nations, by means of its mere existence, as it were" (p. 118).

Mendelssohn thus reduced Judaism to a body of ceremonial laws while expanding it into a universal religion of reason. His effort in this respect characterizes much of modern Jewish thought: Unlike medieval Jewish philosophers, their modern descendents would no longer seek to reconcile revelation with reason as two distinct but homologous bodies of truth but would endeavor to demonstrate the significance of Judaism within the general framework of human reason and culture. Mendelssohn also anticipated another characteristic thrust of modern Jewish thought with his conception of Israel's mission to the nations, a notion that provided a universalistic justification of Judaism's continued particularity.

MENDELSSOHN'S LEGACY. Mendelssohn's definition of Judaism, however, was not unproblematic. His delineation of the distinctive essence of Judaism as "revealed legislation" exposed the religion to the charge—first developed by Mendelssohn's contemporary Immanuel Kant (1724–1804)—that Judaism is heteronomous religion of law that finds expression chiefly in religious ritual and ceremonies. In his *Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone* (1793), Kant regarded genuine religion to be the cultivation of moral autonomy; he correspondingly deemed ritual and ceremony to be pseudoservice to God and depicted Judaism as a religious illusion. Kant's indictment of Judaism, based largely on his reading of Mendelssohn and Spinoza, was repeated by many modern thinkers and has accordingly troubled many modern Jews, especially those who shared Kant's philosophical presuppositions. Moreover, Mendelssohn's definition of Judaism satisfied few Jews. The traditional Jew felt he ignored the unique creedal core of Judaism; the liberal Jew was unhappy (and not only because of Kant's critique) with his emphasis on the ceremonial laws. Nonetheless, Mendelssohn's *Jerusalem* still stands as a monument to a Jew who sought to secure the integrity of Judaism while actively pursuing modern culture.

Eager to accommodate Judaism to the modern spirit, Jews of varying theological tendencies claimed Mendelssohn as their spiritual progenitor. For Jewish opponents of the modern world, Mendelssohn became associated with the new order as a symbol, however, of betrayal. The *spiritus rector* of Jewish Orthodoxy as a self-conscious movement to guard the integrity of classical Judaism while fending off the putatively corrosive effects of the modern world, Mosheh Sofer (1762–1839; popularly known as Hatam Sofer), regarded Mendelssohn as the source of the contemporary Jew's beguiling infatuation with "alien culture." In his spiritual last will and testament, he cautioned all God-fearing Jews "not to turn to evil and never engage in corruptible partnership with those fond of innovations, who, as a penalty for our sins, have strayed from the Almighty and His law! Do not touch the books of Rabbi Moses [Mendelssohn] of Dessau, and your foot will never slip!" (cited in Mendes-Flohr and Reinharz, 1995, p. 172). The document, written some fifty years after Mendelssohn's death, is still immensely popular among some Orthodox Jews (sometimes called Ultra-Orthodox, as opposed to modern or Neo-Orthodox Jews who seek accommodation with the modern world).

The militant antimodernism of these Ultra-Orthodox Jews, who embraced much of the traditional Jewish community in the nineteenth century, especially in eastern Europe, is distinguished by a deliberate self-enclosure. Although not totally ignorant of the modern world, they failed to acknowledge its most significant epistemological presuppositions and social and political values. It would be erroneous, however, to assume that Ultra-Orthodoxy was moribund or spiritually stagnant; on the contrary, in its own terms the movement was (and is) dynamic and creative. The nineteenth century witnessed a renaissance of rabbinic learning; new *yeshivot* (talmudic academies) were established, and new methods and approaches to learning and piety were advocated. *Yeshivot* were established by Hatam Sofer in Pressburg, Hungary, (modern-day Bratislava, Slovakia) and by Hayyim ben Yitshaq (1749–1821) in Volozhin, Lithuania. Also notable are the pietistic movement, known as Musar, which was founded by another Lithuanian rabbi, Yisra'el (Lipkin) Salanter (1810–1883); and Hasidism, the movement of popular mystical piety, which flourished in the nineteenth century.

The opposition of the Ultra-Orthodox to modernism is not as much epistemological as it is axiological (value-related). They view the modern world, given its sociological and cultural implications, with profound suspicion, for in their judgment it leads to religious laxity and even defection. Even Hatam Sofer did not oppose secular studies per se, as long as they did not undermine the preeminence of Torah and Jewish tradition. With few exceptions, Orthodoxy has been indifferent to the epistemological (and ontological) issues raised by modern science and technology; its sole criterion for adjudging the developments in science has been to protect Torah observance.

Neither is science a salient issue for Jewish modernists. They have been principally exercised by the need to find a place for the Jews and Judaism in the modern world. Philosophically and theologically, this objective necessitated a delineation of Judaism's relevance to the historical unfolding of a universal, human culture. Within the orbit of nineteenth-century discourse, the principal vectors of this effort were provided by Kant, Friedrich Schelling (1775–1854), and G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831).

JUDAISM AND MODERN HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS. Proponents of religious reform of Judaism were particularly drawn to the historiosophical teachings of Schelling and Hegel. Solomon Formstecher (1808–1889) and Samuel Hirsch (1815–1889), prominent rabbinical leaders of the nascent Reform movement in Germany (which was later divided between a radical fringe and the liberal majority, which favored moderate reform), each in his own distinctive fashion recast the doctrines in support of religious reform and Jewish integration into modern society and culture. Because the philosophical idealism of Schelling and Hegel viewed spiritual truths as developing and maturing dynamically in history, it provided these advocates of religious reform with the conceptual perspectives justifying ritual and doctrinal change in Judaism: To be true to the spiritual truths with which it is entrusted, Judaism must be dynamic and evolutionary. The proposition of philosophical idealism that the historical unfolding of these truths leads to the progressive unification of human culture and sensibility also lent support to the Reformers' call for Jewish participation in general culture. However, their affirmation of a universal culture, in turn, posed a severe challenge to account for the enduring identity—and thus particularity—of Judaism, which they, like all Reform leaders, clearly upheld.

Formstecher and Hirsch reflected their generation's characteristic interest in history as a dynamic process fraught with cultural and spiritual significance. The historical imagination, especially with its critical, scientific bent, first had its impact in Jewish circles with the founding in Berlin in 1819 of a society promoting the scientific study of Judaism known as *Wissenschaft des Judentums.* The primary motive of this society—many of whose members were to be associated with religious reform—was to correct the calumnious opinions about Judaism and illuminate the varied, ongoing contribution of Judaism to the shaping of European civilization. It was hoped that the objective, scholarly study of Judaism would irrefutably demonstrate that the Jews sought to participate in modern European culture not as Asiatic interlopers but that they were, by right of this contribution, culturally and spiritually as much European as any other people.

This proposition was compatible with the presuppositions of Reform Judaism, which also shared the assumption that Judaism had made a decisive contribution to the historically unfolding spirit of Europe. The proponents of religious reform naturally supported *Wissenschaft des Judentums.* One of the founding proponents of Reform Judaism in Germany, Abraham Geiger (1810–1874), was also one of the most outstanding pioneers of *Wissenschaft des Judentums.* Critical historical scholarship, he maintained, would help identify the immanent forces in Jewish tradition sanctifying the change and renewal of Judaism that were deemed necessary by the advocates of reform. Implicitly adopting the Hegelian principle that history is the progressive revelation of the divine truth, Geiger presented the study of history as an alternative to *talmud Torah* (study of Torah) as the Jew's mode of reflecting on God's will.

Orthodox leaders, even those who supported to some degree the Jews' entry into the modern world, objected strenuously to what they perceived to be the historicist bias of *Wissenschaft des Judentums.* The founder of Neo-Orthodoxy in Germany, Samson Raphael Hirsch (1808–1888) bitterly remarked that the tendency of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* to compare Judaism to other historical phenomena—"Moses and Hesiod, David and Sappho"—in effect reduced Judaism to a "human and transitory [fact] of a by-gone age" (cited in Mendes-Flohr and Reinharz, 1995, p. 234). Similarly, the Italian Jewish religious philosopher Samuel David Luzzatto (1800–1865) plaintively observed with reference to the the votaries of *Wissenschaft des Judentums,* "They study ancient Israel the way the other scholars study ancient Egypt, Assyria, Babylon and Persia" (cited in Mendes-Flohr and Reinharz, 1995, p. 236). Luzzatto, although Orthodox, was a prolific author of scholarly studies of Judaism; nonetheless, he held that *Wissenschaft des Judentums* "must be grounded in faith"—as such it will "seek to understand the Torah and the prophets as the Word of God, [and] comprehend how, throughout our history, the spirit of God, which is our nation's inheritance, warred with the human spirit" (cited in Mendes-Flohr and Reinharz, 1995, p. 236).

Luzzatto's indictment of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* for its historicist bias may have been somewhat overstated, for the early scholars of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* were, in truth, not utterly devoid of the existential religious commitment that he called for. Nonetheless, the thrust of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* was largely philological and antiquarian, and its methodological assumptions unequivocally conformed to a historicist mold (which in the twentieth century, Jewish studies would seek to break). Naḥman Krochmal (1785–1840), for one, regarded the intellectual and spiritual dilemmas engendered by the historicism implicit in *Wissenschaft des Judentums* as the most exigent issue facing his generation. Krochmal, who lived in the politically and socially conservative Austrian provience of Galicia where emancipation and religious reform were remote prospects, published a monumental treatise in Hebrew on the challenge posed to Judaism by critical historical research. This work, published posthumously in 1851, was indicatively titled *Moreh nevukhei ha-zeman* (Guide of the perplexed of our time). The title alludes to Moses Maimonides's (1135/8–1204) famous *Guide of the Perplexed* (1190), and like the great Spanish rabbi in his day, Krochmal sought to offer guidance to the perplexed of his generation. The reference in the title to the perplexed *of our* (lit., *the*) *time* may be understood as both *of our time* and *by time* (i.e., by the category of time, by historical time).

Krochmal begins his treatise with the observation that Jewish youths are genuinely perplexed by the results of critical scholarship that cast doubt on the traditional view of events and, particularly, on the traditional view of the sacred texts, their composition, and, therefore, their authority. An observant Jew, Krochmal noted that the faith of these youths will surely not be fortified by an obscurantist response; the enjoining of dogma in the face of the fruits of scholarship would only exacerbate the estrangement of these youths. Faith, as Maimonides in his day indicated, must be allied with reason; now, Krochmal argued, faith must also be grounded in a proper philosophical understanding of history. This is what Krochmal's *Guide* sought to provide, hence its subtitle, *She*ʿ*arei emunah tsurafah* (Gates to a purified faith).

JUDAISM AND MORAL THEOLOGY. With a few notable exceptions (e.g., Samuel David Luzzatto), virtually all Jewish religious thinkers in the nineteenth century who sought to accommodate Judaism to the modern sensibility were beholden to Kant's conception of ethical piety as the ultimate form of service to God. Even among those thinkers whose primary concern was to develop via Hegel and Schelling a philosophy of Jewish history, one discerns an attempt to come to terms with Kant's critique of Judaism as a heteronomous pseudoreligion. Nineteenth-century thinkers associated with every tendency in modern Judaism from Reform to Neo-Orthodoxy shared a conviction that the faith of Israel properly understood actually promotes ethical piety. Even Luzzatto, a staunch traditionalist who expressly rejected the very premises of Kant's ethical rationalism, argued that Judaism is fundamentally a religion of moral sentiment. Samson Raphael Hirsch developed an elaborate exegesis of the traditional precepts of Judaism, the *mitsvot* (commandments), demonstrating how each in its distinctive manner fosters the development of moral consciousness.

Moritz Lazarus (1824–1903), a professor at the University of Berlin from 1873 and prominent lay leader of Liberal Judaism in Germany, devoted numerous essays and a two-volume study, *Die Ethik des Judentums* (The ethics of Judaism; 1898–1911), to a systematic demonstration of Judaism's inherent compatibility with Kant's conception of morality. In developing his thesis, Lazarus drew on the principles he had formulated in founding the discipline of *Völkerpsychologie,* the comparative psychology of peoples. With respect to the psychological study of Judaism, he proposed an examination of the literary sources of classical Judaism as they most faithfully record the will, intent, and way of life of the Jews. By insisting that only on the basis of such a study could Judaism be properly characterized, Lazarus abjured the speculative approach of Formstecher and Samuel Hirsch. He introduced Kantian categories not as speculative presuppositions of his study but merely as heuristic principles that to his mind best organize and elucidate the empirical structure of Judaism and help illuminate the objective unity of its ethical structure.

Lazarus maintained that such a study demonstrates that Judaism in effect is a system of autonomous ethics; specifically, the rites and values of Judaism foster the development of what Kant celebrated as moral consciousness. The ethical piety engendered by Judaism may be best characterized as "holiness"—a quality of life that bespeaks neither a numinous nor a transcendent reality but, rather, the indomitable conviction that a moral life is the ultimate meaning and purpose of existence.

To Lazarus's profound disappointment, his *Ethics of Judaism* was severely criticized by the generation's foremost Kantian philosopher, Hermann Cohen (1842–1918), the founder of the Marburg school of neo-Kantianism. Cohen faulted Lazarus for locating the source of Judaism's ethical teachings in the Jewish "folk-soul." To Cohen, such a concept, grounded as it is in psychology and history, undermines the reliability and certitude required by a genuine ethical system. Ethics must derive its validity from rational, universal concepts. What renders Jewish ethics interesting, Cohen contends, is its distinctive dependence on the concept of a universal, unique God—and not just as a phantasm of the Jewish folk-soul but as a rationally defensible concept.

Like Lazarus, Cohen was prominently associated with Liberal Judaism, especially in his latter years, and he also sought to demonstrate the fundamental compatibility of Judaism with Kant's ethical idealism. Interpreting the master's teachings in a somewhat novel fashion, Cohen understood ethics not as primarily addressing the individual but in its fullest sense as summoning society to the task of molding the future according to the principle of a rationally determined, a priori *ought.* According to Cohen's most mature conception of faith and ritual, however, religion—in contradistinction to ethics—does not address the individual merely as representative of rational humanity; rather, it appertains to the individual as such, especially through the notion of sin, which Cohen understood as the individual's anguished realization of his or her own moral failings. This consciousness of sin, Cohen observed, bears the danger that the individual will despair of his or her own moral worth and abandon all subsequent moral effort. The self-estrangement attendant to sin requires the concept of a forbearing God who by the act of forgiveness serves to reintegrate the individual into an ethically committed humanity. The atonement of sin is not effected by God's grace but by the individual, who in acknowledging God's forgiveness becomes rededicated to the moral task.

Religion is thus preeminently a series of acts of atonement—rites and prayers expressing remorse and repentance and focused on the belief in a merciful, forgiving God. To Cohen, the reconciliation between God and humans thus achieved requires, in turn, that God be conceived not as an idea but as a being who relates to the finite, ever-changing world of becoming, of which humans are a part. Despite the fundamental ontological distinction separating them, being and becoming are interrelated through what Cohen called *correlation.* God and humans are correlated when the individual cognizant of God's mercy—God's love and concern—personally rededicates to emulating in his or her actions these divine qualities. Cohen spoke of correlation as a shared holiness in which God and humans are coworkers in the work of creation.

Cohen set forth these views in his posthumously published volume, *Religion der Vernunft aus den Quellen des Judentums* (1919, 1929; translated in 1995 as *Religion of Reason out of the Sources of Judaism*). In it he expounds his new conception of religion through a selective exegesis of the sources of classical Judaism in the Bible, the midrash, liturgy, and medieval Jewish philosophy. These traditional expressions of Jewish piety, Cohen avers, exemplify the most refined conception of religion.

The emerging portrait of Judaism as a faith of deep, personal significance has suggested to many commentators that Cohen anticipated the existentialist theology characteristic of much of twentieth-century Jewish thought, with its emphasis on the dialogic relation of the individual with a living, personal God. Cohen, however, continued to speak of the religion of reason, and his God remained the rational God of ethics. And although in a striking revision of his Kantian premises he accorded religion (defined by prayer) and ritual intrinsic significance, he still did not quite regard it as an utterly independent reality enjoying a unique ontological and epistemological status. Although not entirely absorbed into ethics, the religion of reason was for Cohen ultimately ancillary to ethics. Religion—and Judaism in particular—is conceived as an instrument for enhancing moral consciousness (i.e., moral reason) and commitment: It facilitates the acceptance of the kingdom of God.

JUDAISM AND RELIGIOUS EXISTENTIALISM. Despite the fact that Cohen's concept of correlation does indeed outline some important features of twentieth-century religious existentialism, his overarching moral theology renders him more a son of the previous century. Moral reason for Cohen was the heart of religion, and thus not surprisingly he identified it with revelation: "Revelation is the creation of Reason" (*Religion of Reason,* 1995, p. 72). This identification of reason and revelation was typical of nineteenth-century philosophical idealism.

Solomon Ludwig Steinheim. For religious existentialists the point of departure was revelation understood as a metarational category pointing to God's spontaneous and gracious address to the finite human. In this respect, the transitional figure from nineteenth- to twentieth-century Jewish thought is not Cohen but the little-known lay scholar Solomon Ludwig Steinheim (1789–1866). A physician by profession, Steinheim was not affiliated with any ideological camp within the Jewish community in his native Germany; indeed, he spent the last twenty years of his life mostly in Rome, isolated from organized Jewish life. As Hans Joachim Schoeps noted in *Vom Bleibenden und Vergänglichen im Judentum,* Steinheim was "the first [truly] Jewish theologian of the modern age. . . . He was twenty years too late, and one hundred years too early" (Schoeps, 1935, p. 81). If one views Jewish thought from Mendelssohn to Cohen as a sustained effort to interpret Judaism as a religion of reason par excellence, then Steinheim stands alone in the nineteenth century.

In his monumental study *Offenbarung nach dem Lehrbegriff der Synagoge* (Revelation according to the doctrine of the synagogue), Steinheim sought to remove religion from the tutelage of reason, maintaining that religious truths are the gift of supernatural revelation. In a manner recalling Søren Kierkegaard's (1813–1855) critique of Hegel, he held that the truths disclosed by revelation are incompatible with and irreducible to reason. Furthermore, the concept of supernatural revelation posits God as the creator who, unbounded by necessity, creates the world freely and out of nothing. As such, revelation confirms the irrefragable human experience of freedom that reason—burdened as it is by the principle of universal necessity perforce—denies. Accordingly, reason must acknowledge the primacy of revelation.

In that God is the logical presupposition of revelation, Steinheim observed, the affirmation of the possibility of revelation implicitly reestablishes the dignity and authority of God: "Our task is to present revelation [such that] we are constrained . . . to accept God. Therefore, it is for us to make a declaration the exact opposite of Mendelssohn's and to prove the Old Testament was given not to reveal law but the living God" (Steinheim, 1835, vol. 2, p. 38). Revelation, therefore, has a unique epistemic status, and its conceptual content corresponds to the postulates of Kant's moral reason: God, freedom, and immortality. It also follows that for Steinheim not only are these postulates granted in revelation, but that also the categorical imperatives of morality derive their authority from God and revealed will. Judaism represents the ideal ethical religion, for its moral code is commanded by the living God. Steinheim's conclusions regarding Judaism are hence not unlike those of other nineteenth-century Jewish thinkers; the crucial difference is that, for him, Judaism is a fact of supernatural revelation.

Franz Rosenzweig. Significantly, the philosophy of Franz Rosenzweig (1886–1929), whose path to Judaism from the midst of assimilation has become emblematic of much of twentieth-century Jewish religious thought, is grounded in his adoption of what he calls *Offenbarungsglaube*, a belief in revelation as a historical and existential reality. Such a belief must be the fulcrum of any genuine theology; otherwise, as Rosenzweig observes in his first essay on religious matters, "Atheistic Theology" (1914, but first published after his death), one arrives at the strange anthropocentric brew concocted by the nineteenth century, which by placing religion within the realm of human sensibility alone—be it called spiritual experience, moral consciousness, or national soul—is in effect godless. Theology, he contended, must proceed from the theocentric fact of divine revelation, the fact of God's address to humans. Rosenzweig developed his understanding of this address on the basis of a radical critique of philosophical idealism, with its quest for universal, timeless, abstract truths. In contrast to the logical reasoning of the philosophers, revelation is in time; it is an occurrence whereby God establishes a relation with specific time-bound individuals. Phenomenologically, this relation is what is celebrated in biblical tradition as love: the divine sounding of "Thou" to the temporally contingent "I" of the individual. God addresses the individual in his or her finite existence, calling each individual, as it were, by his or her "first and last name," which distinguishes each person existentially from all others. In revelation, the contingent existence of the individual is thus confirmed in love and blessed with the kiss of eternity.

Occurring in time, revelation is hence inaccessible to a reason that considers only timeless essences. Yet this conception does not contradict reason but merely delimits its sphere of validity. Properly understood, philosophical reason and faith are complementary. This affirmation of revelation allowed Rosenzweig to discern in Judaism what many of his generation of assimilated German Jews had denied—that Judaism was a theocentric faith of enduring existential significance. He elaborated his conception of faith and Judaism in his 1921 work *Stern der Erlösung* (Star of redemption).

Later, Rosenzweig sought to incorporate into his life and thought more and more extraliturgical aspects of traditional Judaism, from the commandment of keeping a kosher kitchen to that of Torah study. His approach to the *mitsvot*, however, was distinctive. Unlike Orthodox Jews, he could not accept the *mitsvot* on the basis of rabbinic authority, for, as he once remarked, "religion based on authority is equal to unbelief" (cited in Rosenstock-Huessy, 1971, p. 166). His approach to the Law, as he explained in a now-famous open letter to Martin Buber (1878–1965), was to encourage each individual Jew to explore the sacramental and existential possibilities of the *mitsvot* so as to determine which of these precepts he or she personally feels called on to fulfill. In an article entitled "The Builders: Concerning the Law," Rosenzweig further elaborated his position to Buber with reference to a rabbinic commentary to *Isaiah* 54:13, arguing that humans are not only God's obedient children (*banayikh*) but also "Your builders" *(bonayikh).* As such, every generation has the opportunity—indeed, the task—to re-create for itself the Law (Glatzer, 1965, p. 72).

Rosenzweig's nondogmatic brand of traditionalism was, and continues to serve as, a guide to many who seek to reappropriate traditional forms of Jewish piety and to affirm Judaism as a relation to a living God. Furthermore, Rosenzweig inspired the serious, nonapologetic theological reflection characteristic of much Jewish religious thought in the twentieth century. Among those he most decisively inspired was his friend Buber, who emerged as a genuine religious thinker only with the publication of *I and Thou* (1923). Buber's previous writings on spiritual matters, Jewish and otherwise, belonged to a genre of Romantic mysticism that Rosenzweig had in mind when he wrote "Atheistic Theology"; these writings were virtually devoid of any reference to the God of revelation. With his treatise on I–Thou, or dialogic, relations Buber affirmed faith as grounded in the revealed word of God, and in so doing he developed a novel conception of revelation.

Martin Buber. For Buber, revelation is homologous with what he called dialogue. God, the Eternal Thou, addresses one through the varied life experiences—from the seemingly ephemeral and trivial to the grand and momentous—that demand a dialogic response, or a confirmation of the Thou, the unique presence, of the other who stands before one. In uttering "Thou" (the actual act of speech is superfluous), the self, or I, in turn finds its own presence confirmed. As a response to the continuously renewing presence and address of another, dialogue must be born ever anew. The I–Thou response thus requires spontaneity and cannot be determined by fixed expressions, gestures, and formulations. It also follows that God's address, as being refracted (revealed) through the addressing presence of the Thou who stands before one likewise, requires such spontaneity. Buber further contends that authentic service to God is found only in such a spontaneous response to the Eternal Thou, who turns to humans through the flux of life's ever-changing circumstances. Although not utterly dismissing prayer and ritual as bearing the possibility of spontaneous and hence authentic relation to God, Buber does not regard them as paradigmatic forms of religious service.

Clearly such a conception of divine revelation conflicts radically with the classical Jewish conception of a historical revelation (viz., the Torah) enjoying preeminence and enduring authority. Furthermore, Buber's antagonism toward liturgical prayer and the *mitsvot* as the proper form of divine service conflicts not only with tradition but also with all expressions of institutional Jewish religious life.

Acknowledging his anomalous position within Jewish religious thought, Buber insisted that he was not in a formal sense a theologian. He claimed he sought neither to justify revealed propositions about God nor to defend revealed scriptures and doctrine. He simply pointed to dialogue as a meta-ethical principle determining the life responses of an individual, ensuring that these responses will be informed by love and justice and crowned with existential meaning (i.e., the confirmation of the Thou). He taught that this principle is at the heart of all great spiritual traditions, but particularly that of Judaism. The concept of dialogue can thus be employed as a hermeneutical principle by which to read the Hebrew Bible and other formative religious texts in the Jewish tradition, such as those of Hasidism.

As a particular community of faith, Judaism is, in Buber's view, distinguished by its millennial and clarion witness to the dialogic principle both in its collective memory (enshrined in its central myths and sacred texts) and, ideally, in its current institutions. In fact, as a Zionist, Buber held that Jewish religious life in the Diaspora had been falsely restricted to the synagogue and the home, thus losing hold of the founding dialogic principle of Judaism and its comprehensive purview of divine service. By restoring to the Jews the sociological conditions of a full communal life, Zionism allows for the possibility that the Jews' public life, guided by the principle of dialogue, will once again become the essential realm of their relation to God. The reappropriation of the public sphere as the dialogic responsibility of the community of faith is consonant with the supreme injunction of the prophets of Israel and thus constitutes the renewal of what Buber called Hebrew, or biblical, humanism.

Buber's religious anarchism and often radical politics alienated him from many Jews committed to traditional forms of worship and conventional positions. Yet his philosophy of dialogue has manifestly inspired others, especially those eager for extrasynagogal expressions of Jewish spirituality. Furthermore, his—and Rosenzweig's—conception of dialogue as a way of reading sacred texts (viz., recognizing the divine voice in a text without necessarily accepting the written word uncritically) has had a seminal effect on contemporary Jewish studies and hermeneutical attitudes. Critical historical scholarship therefore need not be bound to antiquarian presuppositions or lead inevitably to a barren relativism. Guided by a dialogical hermeneutic, historiography and philology may be employed to bare anew the inner, eternal truth of Judaism. The dean of Jewish studies in the twentieth century, Gershom Scholem (1897–1982), for example, regarded *Wissenschaft des Judentums* as a means of uncovering dimensions and expressions of Jewish spirituality that may have been suppressed by Orthodoxy and, later in the nineteenth century, by apologetics in defense of specific conceptions of normative Judaism. Precisely because of its objective, nonprescriptive mode of inquiry, *Wissenschaft des Judentums* is capable of covering the full canvas of Jewish spiritual options to inspire religious renewal. To this end, Scholem devoted his prodigious scholarship to researching the surprisingly ramified and hitherto little-known or misperceived Jewish mystical tradition, Qabbalah.

ZIONISM AND RELIGIOUS RENEWAL. Like Buber, Scholem was a Zionist or, more precisely, a follower of Aḥad ha-ʿAm (1856–1927; literally, "one of the people"—the pen-name of Asher Ginzberg) and his vision of Zionism as effecting the reconstruction of Judaism as a secular, spiritually revitalized national culture. Having abandoned the religious Orthodoxy of his Hasidic upbringing in Russia, Aḥad ha-ʿAm was acutely aware of the spiritual crisis afflicting his generation of Jews, whose fidelity Judaism as a religious faith had ceased to engage. In ever-increasing numbers, young Jews were being drawn to the secular-humanist culture of the West—a culture, in Aḥad ha-ʿAm's judgment, whose intellectual, ethical, and aesthetic power one could not deny. In that the secular humanism of the contemporary world was sponsored by non-Jewish languages and national communities, the adoption of this new culture, by its nature, entailed a weakening of one's ties to the Jewish people and culture. To stem the consequent tide of assimilation, Aḥad ha-ʿAm taught that Judaism must be reformulated as a secular culture grounded in the autochthonous humanist values of Judaism (e.g., the ethical teachings of the Bible and the prophets) and in Hebrew as the national language of the Jewish people. In Zion, a culturally autonomous, Hebrew-speaking community would arise and, by force of the example of its spiritually vital and creative culture, inspire the Jews of the Diaspora to adjust Judaism to the new secular reality and at the same time maintain a firm Jewish national consciousness. For Aḥad ha-ʿAm the prevailing secularism implied an irrevocable eclipse of religious faith and culture; for Buber, Scholem, and other cultural Zionists, secularism was but a necessary historical stage that did not preclude the possible renewal of Judaism as a meaningful religious faith.

The idea of Zionism as a framework for the development of a Jewish religious humanism also inspired the teachings of Aharon David Gordon (1856–1922). One of the most remarkable figures in modern Jewish religious thought, Gordon discerned unique religious possibilities in Zionism, particularly in the ethos of the idealistic pioneers (*halutsim*), the select band of youths who, beginning in the 1890s, had gone to Palestine to prepare the Land of Israel for the ingathering of the exiles. At nearly the age of fifty, Gordon reliquished the comforts of affluence and bourgeois eminence in his native Russia and joined the youthful *halutsim* in the labor of draining the swamps and tilling the soil. Working tirelessly by day, this Jewish Tolstoy would write at night, exploring the religious significance of the pioneering endeavor. With a weave of Qabbalistic and Hasidic doctrine and Russian populist ideas about the pristine dignity of the peasantry and a life rooted in nature, Gordon developed a mystical pantheism in which he celebrated agricultural labor as a supreme act of personal, national, and cosmic redemption. Toil on the land, he taught, integrates one into the organic rhythms of nature and the universe. The resulting experience of the unity and purpose of the cosmos is the core religious experience—an experience that, he believed, had been largely denied to the Jews of the Diaspora. This cosmic experience ultimately leads one to God, regardless of one's intellectual attitude. For Gordon, an authentic relation to God has nothing to do with formal religious beliefs and ritual practices. In noting that God or the hidden mystery of the cosmos is approached through physical, especially agraian labor, he was quick to point out that biblical Hebrew employs the same word (viz., *ʿavodah*) to designate both work and divine worship.

Orthodox Jews have also seen Zionism as bearing extensive religious significance. The first chief rabbi of Palestine, Avraham Yitsḥaq Kook (1865–1935), was also profoundly inspired by the *halutsim,* whom, despite their often demonstrative irreligiosity, he regarded as instruments of God's *Heilsplan* (plan of salvation). Judging history from the perspective of the Qabbalistic teaching that external events are but symbols of a deeper, hidden reality, he interpreted the secular actions of the *halutsim* on behalf of the Jewish people's restoration to Zion as symbolically reflecting a divinely appointed cosmic process of restoring a fragmented world to its primal harmony. Kook, in general, saw the heightened secular movement of the modern world toward social and scientific progress as part of a providential design to quicken the eschatological conclusion of history with the return of the Jews to their ancient domicile as but the most glorious symbol of the eschaton.

Not all Orthodox Jews' support for Zionism was motivated by eschatological considerations. The principal theological motive prompting the founding of Mizrahi, the movement of religious Zionists created in 1902 by Yitsḥaq Yaʿaqov Reines (1839–1915) was a decidedly mundane endorsement of Theodor Herzl's (1860–1904) program of Jewish political sovereignty as a solution to anti-Semitism. Furthermore, Mizrahi welcomed the normalization of Jewish political and social life envisioned by Zionism as encouraging *halakhah* (Jewish religious law) to expand beyond the lamentably circumscribed scope allowed it by the conditions prevailing in the Diaspora. The prophetic vigor of the Torah would thus be restored as the comprehensive matrix of a holy and just life for the Jewish people.

The establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 generated special theological problems for Orthodox Jewish supporters of Zionism, foremost with respect to the messianic significance of the restoration of Jewish patrimony to the

Land of Israel. Many regard this as a miraculous event that pointed to the imminent advent of the Messiah and divine redemption. In the flush of messianic euphoria, the chief rabbis of the nascent state took the rare step of introducing a new prayer into the traditional liturgy, blessing God for causing "the beginning of redemption to flower." To be sure, a significant minority of Orthodox opinion continues to oppose Zionism, precisely because of what it deems to be the movement's messianic pretensions and its seemingly arrogant attempt to preempt God's judgment and redemptive deeds. On the other hand, Orthodox Jews who support Zionism and yet are unwilling to view its political achievements in eschatological terms are obliged to reckon with the absence of traditional theological categories to comprehend the anomalous situation posed by the reestablishment of Jewish political sovereignty in Zion as a process that is not the work of the divinely appointed Messiah.

Since the early 1940s these issues have acquired a sharp focus and popular attention through the sustained and invariably controversial efforts of Yeshayahu Leibowitz (1903–1993), a professor in biological chemistry at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. A religiously observant and learned Jew, Leibowitz had—since his emigration to Palestine in 1935 from his native Latvia via Switzerland and Germany, where he earned degrees in medicine and chemistry—been a proponent of an approach to Zionist and religious questions that is rigorously rational and free from what he regarded as platitudes and sentimental pieties. For Leibowitz, Zionism and the State of Israel have no messianic import; he regarded messianism as fundamentally a folkloristic accretion to Judaism that is best ignored by serious, God-fearing Jews. He was particularly fond of citing Maimonides' admonition in his *Mishneh Torah* that one ought not preoccupy oneself with messianic speculations, for "they lead neither to fear [of God] nor to love [of Him]" (*Kings and Laws* 12.2).

Furthermore, Leibowitz argued, those who ascribe religious or any other intrinsic value to the state are committing the cardinal sin of idolatry (*ʿavodah zarah;* the worship of false gods). Leibowitz thus refused to regard Zionism as a religious phenomenon but viewed it simply as a movement for the political liberation of the Jewish people. He called on religious Jews to rejoice in this fact and greet the Zionist state as providing the framework for a fuller expression of *halakhah* and the Jewish people's religious vocation. He conceived of this vocation in strictly theocentric terms. By accepting the Torah and its commandments, Jews are foremost God's servants and not vice versa. Service to God must be for its own sake, without regard for spiritual, moral, or material enhancement. Judaism is not meant to render the Jews happier, more noble, or more prosperous. Even the perfection of society and history are extraneous to Judaism. (Although Leibowitz did not object to humanistic and progressive political endeavors, he insisted these are in the realm of humans and their fallible judgment and thus are not to be theologically sanctified.) Although he recurrently appealed to the authority of Maimonides, Leibowitz's theological position also betrays the decisive influence of Kant, Kierkegaard, and Karl Barth (1886–1968). His severe, almost priestly view of Judaism has evoked considerable, seminal discussion within both religious and secular circles of contemporary Israel.

JUDAISM AND THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE. The reentry of the Jews into history as a sovereign nation has profoundly affected Jewish self-perception everywhere. In North America, Jewish thought is most strikingly distinguished by the effort to accommodate the new understanding of Jewish peoplehood, correlating it with the unique experience of life in an unambiguously free and pluralistic society. Mordecai M. Kaplan (1881–1983) developed a conception of Judaism that boldly articulates these apparently contrasting poles of the contemporary American Jewish reality. Regarding himself as a follower of Aḥad ha-ʿAm's cultural Zionism, Kaplan affirmed the centrality of the Land of Israel in Jewish life while upholding the creative and social viability of the Diaspora. In light of the secular definition of Jewish peoplehood legitimated by Zionism, Kaplan redefined Judaism as a civilization, a designation that allowed him to conceive of Judaism in the broadest social and cultural terms. As a civilization, Judaism is thus not in the first instance a system of religious beliefs and practices but the life of the Jewish people. The civilization of Judaism is religious in that it is set in a distinctive religious universe of discourse with a body of shared symbolic gestures and rituals.

Kaplan's understanding of religion and God, however, is neither traditional nor theistic. Indebted to the philosophical pragmatism of the American educator John Dewey (1859–1952), Kaplan viewed God as a functional concept pointing to a nonpersonal and nonmetaphysical power or process in the universe that bespeaks order, justice, and goodness and on which humans must rely to fulfill their destiny as human beings. This "Godhood of the cosmos" is a transnaturalistic principle: It is not a supernatural entity, nor is it to be understood simply as a metaphorical reification of human possibilities; it is, rather, an ontological concept that is continually being refined as human civilization advances on all fronts of knowledge—in the physical and normative sciences and in the imaginative arts. Religion and God thus have, for Kaplan, an ever-evolving pragmatic function of enhancing human well-being and dignity by "orienting us to life and eliciting from us the best of which we are capable" (*Judaism as Civilization,* p. 317).

Religion also has the more specifically sociological function of articulating and reenacting through certain ritualized practices (not necessarily liturgical or devotional) the collective self-consciousness and memory of its constituent community. As such, religion serves to foster the community's sense of historical continuity and shared values. Judaism so understood is unabashedly anthropocentric and humanistic. Moreover, as a religion that exists for the Jewish people and not vice versa (cf. Leibowitz), Judaism is not to be construed as a heteronomous discipline of ritual and codes, nor are its beliefs to be amplified catechistically.

Lest Judaism fail the contemporary Jew, Kaplan averred, it must respect each Jew's democratic and this-worldly temperament. Judaism therefore must be projected as an ongoing discourse that eschews all anachronistic, supernatural constructs of traditional religion and allows for diversity of opinion, especially with respect to questions of ultimate existential significance, such as the meaning of suffering, death, and evil. The specific theological function of Judaism, however, is to give focus to the needs and mutual responsibilities of the Jews as a people. Although the movement associated with Kaplan's conception of Judaism, known as Reconstructionism, has remained relatively small, Kaplan has given expression to the emerging folk religion of American Jewry, irrespective of formal denominational affiliation.

Whereas the ideology of Kaplan's Reconstructionism may have given expression to the regnant naturalism and ethnic orientation of American Jewry, the same community has paradoxically demanded of its religious elite (i.e., its rabbinical leadership) a theology that articulates, with due modifications, the theocentric, supernatural convictions that have classically defined Judaism. The image of Judaism even for the most theologically naturalist would seem to require a supernatural definition. Herein lies the explanation of why Reconstructionism, despite its fidelity to the folk religion of American Jewry, has remained numerically insignificant, and hence this also explains the receptivity of American Jews to the theocentric teachings of Buber and Rosenzweig.

European-educated religious thinkers, anchored in traditional Judaism and theological conviction, have also found in America a supportive environment. Emigrating to the United States in 1940, Abraham Joshua Heschel (1907–1972), a Polish-born descendent of Hasidic masters, developed for an appreciative American audience a lyrical theology that is more a persuasive personal witness than a conceptual argument. He presents a phenomenological explication of his own experience and prophetic consciousness. Blending Hasidic spirituality, which he held as resonating the innermost truths of traditional Jewish faith, with nuanced Western learning, Heschel sought to elaborate a conception of piety relevant to the contemporary Jew. Noting that the aptitude for faith of Western society has been dulled by technological, bourgeois civilization, in his writings Heschel endeavored to reawaken the *sensus numinus*—the a priori sense of wonder and awe evoked by the mystery of life, which he, with Rudolf Otto (1869–1937), regarded as the font of faith—by introducing his readers to the Hasidic-Qabbalistic teaching that all reality refracts the divine presence.

The life of traditional Jewish piety governed by *halakhah,* according to Heschel, creates an inner, holy reality that heightens one's sense of the divine presence. As a system of deeds, *halakhah* has also ritualized the prophetic teaching that faith is ultimately a leap of action: The individual responds to God's presence by making God's work his or her own. Indeed, the covenantal relation between God and Israel implies an intimate partnership between humans and God. The prophets, Heschel emphasized, were particularly conscious of the intimate, passionate relation between humans and God: An individual's sins anger and sadden God, and because the individual both fears and loves God, he or she resolves to bring God joy by sharing in God's work to crown creation with justice and compassion.

Despite his conviction that the prophetic consciousness captured the heart of traditional Judaism, Heschel's thought found its primary resonance not among the adherents of *halakhah* but among those Jews in need of an interpretation of Judaism that would authenticate their participation as Jews in the humane causes of their generation. Heschel's message of prophetic concern and responsibility spoke to a generation of American Jews in the 1960s and 1970s who felt themselves called on as Jews to join the struggle on behalf of civil rights for African Americans and to oppose the Vietnam War, which they regarded as unjust.

American-educated Orthodox Jews who are sensitive to the philosophical and religious questions raised by the contemporary West found their voice in Joseph Baer Soloveitchik (1903–1993), a descendant of renowned Lithuanian rabbis. Emigrating to the United States in 1932, he became one of the twentieth century's most esteemed Talmudists; he spoke with rare authority within the Orthodox community, pondering from the perspective of one firmly and unapologetically grounded in *halakhah* those questions generated by what he regarded as the ambiguous position of people of faith in a technological, pragmatic civilization shaped by pronouncedly secular bias. Assuming the self-evident validity of Judaism and religious faith, Soloveitchik did not challenge the premises of technological civilization but, rather, chose to defend within the context of that civilization the integrity of what he termed "the halakhic man." He achieved this by a phenomenological description of the religious consciousness of the halakhic man, elaborating his exposition with insights garnered from a subtle reading of modern philosophy, especially neo-Kantianism and existentialism. He concluded that those who follow the halakhic way are not antagonistic to the moral and cognitive concerns of the technological society; however, whereas the latter requires a social and gregarious personality, the halakhic follower accepts the individual's existential loneliness, overcoming the attendant isolation and anxiety through a redemptive love of God and Torah. The congregation of Jews forged by the Torah is a covenantal community that respects the solitary, existential reality of each of its members, who are joined to God and each other in a common covenantal relation sacrally objectified by the *halakhah.*

The European Jewish intellectual heritage has also inspired a generation of American-born Jewish religious thinkers, including Eugene B. Borowitz (b. 1924), Arthur A. Cohen (1928–1986), Will Herberg (1902–1977), David Hartman (b. 1931), Jakob J. Petuchowski (b. 1925), Richard L. Rubenstein (b. 1924), and Milton Steinberg (1903–1950). Characteristically, the writings of these individuals have been largely interpretative commentaries on the thought of their European predecessors. This dependence may be indicative not only of a pervasive sense of being the indebted heirs of the European intellectual tradition, but also of a portentous feeling of being their survivors. The tragic, catastrophic end of European Jewry created, in the words of Arthur Cohen, a profound caesura (a sudden silencing of sound) in Jewish collective and personal existence, engendering a sense of inconsolable mourning and obligation.

In reflecting on the tragedy of the Nazi era and its theological implications for the surviving remnant of Jewry, American Jews have been at their most original and probing. The resulting theology of the Holocaust may in many respects be viewed as a theology of survival—a theology that seeks to affirm the obligations of the remnant of Jewry to survive somehow as Jews. Auschwitz, according to Emil L. Fackenheim (1916–2003) issues a commandment to Jews to endure and to ensure the survival of Judaism. This commandment has also inspired the slow but impressive reconstruction of European Jewry, which has likewise witnessed the renewal of Jewish religious thought, most notably represented by Louis Jacobs (b. 1920) in England and Emmanuel Lévinas (1906–1995) in France.

Lévinas, one of the most esteemed philosophers of post–World War II France, represents a continuation of the existentialist thought pioneered by Rosenzweig and Buber. Employing the metaphysical phenomenology he developed as a critique of Edmund Husserl's (1859–1938) and Martin Heidegger's (1889–1976) concept of "the other," Lévinas sought to illuminate the religious meaning of Judaism. The moral experience of the other, borne by a compelling sense of responsibility toward that other, is the only genuine knowledge that can be attained of the other. Lévinas contrasts the antihumanistic tendency of Western culture, which masquerades as liberty but which is in fact bereft of responsibility for the other, with the biblical concept, especially as elaborated by the rabbis, of "a difficult liberty" (the title of his most important collection of essays on Judaism, *Difficile Liberté*). The Jew obtains transcendence, and thus liberty, by paradoxically living under God's law, which requires of the Jew ethical and social responsibility for the other. The biblical person, Lévinas observes with oblique reference to Heidegger, discovers a fellow person before anything else. As the custodian of biblical humanism, Lévinas avers, Judaism defiantly proclaims to the contemporary world that liberty entails responsibility and obligation.

For all Jewish thinkers who regard themselves as living in the shadow of Auschwitz, the State of Israel, born on the morrow of the Nazi nightmare, is the overarching symbol of Jewish survival and resolve to endure. Survival is affirmed, however, not simply in defiance of Satan and Satan's zealous agents but, rather, as an existential commitment to the God of Israel. Despite their horror and anguish, it is held, Jews must affirm God as the author of a purposeful and good universe. Fackenheim cites the Psalmist: "I shall not die but live, and declare the works of God" *(Ps.* 18:17).

This affirmation of Judaism as a living faith has led an increasing number of younger Jews—particularly, but not only, in America—to reappropriate the study of sacred Jewish texts as the axis of Jewish spirituality. Inspired by postmodernism and its critique of the Enlightenment's quest for one objective truth, these thinkers wish to revalorize Judaism as a community of study in which its foundational texts are continuously reinterpreted with no claim to the absolute validity of one's reading. The study of these texts and their inexhausitble interpretation is said to renew the traditional understanding of Torah study—broadly called midrash—as the principal medium of Israel's covenantal relation with God and God's revealed Word. As David Stern observes, Midrash was for the rabbis—and for their postmodern heirs—"a kind of conversation" enabling God "to speak to them from between the lines of Scripture, in the textual fissures and discontinuities that exegesis discovers" (Stern, 1996, p. 31).

SEE ALSO Holocaust, article on Jewish Theological Responses; Jewish Studies; Zionism.

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JEWISH THOUGHT AND PHILOSOPHY: JEWISH ETHICAL LITERATURE

The Hebrew term *sifrut ha-musar* ("ethical literature") can be defined either very explicitly or in a general way. In a more proscribed sense it is a well-defined literary genre; the works belonging to it are easily recognizable because each chapter in these books deals with a specific religious and theological subject—belief in the unity of God, trust in God, repentance, fear and love of God, and so forth. The classical examples of books in this genre begin with Bahye ibn Paquda's *Ḥovot ha-levavot* (The duties of the heart) in the eleventh century and include Mosheh Ḥayyim Luzzatto's *Mesillat yesharim* (The path of the righteous) in the eighteenth century. In addition to the few dozen books written in this manner are some other minor genres, namely, *sifrut ha-tsavvaʾot* ("ethical wills") and various monographs on subjects such as repentance.

In its broader meaning, the term *sifrut ha-musar* includes other religious literary genres, especially the vast literature of Hebrew homiletics, of which thousands of volumes were written between the twelfth and nineteenth centuries, as well as other popular works intended for the religious instruction of the masses. Hence, in general terms, "ethical literature" includes many literary genres; indeed, it refers to almost everything written for religious instruction except works of Jewish law (*halakhah*) or theology (philosophy or mysticism, i.e., Qabbalah).

Jewish ethical literature, in both its narrower and broader meanings, is not primarily intended to instruct the Jewish reader how to behave in certain circumstances. Practical instruction is reserved mainly for the literature of the *halakhah,* because Jewish law does not distinguish between religious and ethical commandments. Everything demanded by the Torah and the Talmud is included in the law, even subjects like the giving of *tsedaqah,* donations to the poor, or the proper behavior at a funeral. The main purpose of ethical literature is to explain to the Jew why it is necessary to follow the strict demands of Jewish law and ethical commandments. Thus, *sifrut ha-musar* is the literary genre that teaches the observant and devout Jew how to feel and how to organize his desires and intentions in order to be able to concentrate all his spiritual powers on the performance of the commandments that were enumerated by God in the ancient sources. The following brief description focuses on the development of Jewish ethical literature in its stricter sense, though reference will be made where possible to the broader field as well.

BEGINNINGS IN THE MIDDLE AGES. The first stage of the development of Jewish ethical literature in the Middle Ages signified a complete deviation from Jewish ethical works in the ancient period. While biblical and postbiblical Jewish literature included books dedicated specifically to the teaching of ethical values (*Proverbs, Ben Sira,* etc.), during the Talmudic period in late antiquity ethics was incorporated within the vast treasury of Midrashic homiletics and lost its standing as a separate literary genre. Rabbinic sayings dealing with ethical problems appear in Talmudic and Midrashic literature side by side, without any literary differentiation, with sayings dealing with astronomy, history, or medicine. The new insights and concepts in the field of ethics, which abound in this literature, were not expressed in a systematic way.

When Greek philosophy began to influence Jewish thinkers in the late Geonic period (tenth and eleventh centuries), ethical problems began to be treated in a special literary form and in a systematic way. The first Jewish philosophers who developed such systems in the tenth to the twelfth century saw themselves, with some justification, as innovators, formulating their concepts as if there were no previous Jewish ethical system. They were right in the sense that in previous Jewish literature it is impossible to find a systematic explanation of why a Jew should follow the divine commandments and how to educate oneself to accept and perform them.

One of the clearest examples of this approach is Saʿadyah Gaon's treatment of ethics in the first half of the tenth century. The tenth and last chapter of his great philosophical work, *Sefer emunot ve-deʿot* (The book of beliefs and opinions), is devoted to this subject. This chapter, which was probably written as a separate treatise, deals systematically with the main values of Jewish ethical behavior. According to Saʿadyah (882–942), God created the human psyche with thirteen different impulses or drives, each of which tends to impel him to fulfill it alone and thereby clashes with the others. Saʿadyah included in this list drives such as sex, laziness, revenge, and craving for food together with the urge to study the Torah and worship God. None of these, according to Saʿadyah, is either "right" or "wrong," "good" or "evil." Each of these drives is right and good if used in moderation, according to one's needs, and wrong and evil if it becomes one's sole or main preoccupation. Most of the chapter is dedicated to demonstrating the negative results of concentrating one's energies on the fulfillment of one drive alone, be it revenge or worship, eating or studying. Saʿadyah's arguments against such extreme behavior are mainly hedonistic: Complete submission to one drive turns even pleasure into pain and brings on suffering and ill health, while moderation and harmonic use of all of them together brings happiness, health, and long life. Saʿadyah uses some biblical and rabbinic references to strengthen his arguments, but his main thesis does not rely on Jewish sources; he is expressing, in fact, a secular conception of ethics.

A completely different approach was adopted by Baḥye ibn Paquda in Spain in the eleventh century. Like Saʿadyah, he wrote his ethical-philosophical treatise in Arabic, but his major work, *Ḥovot ha-levavot,* is the first book-length medieval Jewish work dedicated to the subject of ethics. In the introduction Baḥye complained that previous Jewish writers devoted all their works to the physical and material demands of Jewish religious life, neglecting completely the spiritual ones. His book was written in order to present the other, spiritual and ethical, side of the Jewish religion, which is, according to Baḥye, the most important and essential.

Baḥye's distinction between the physical and spiritual religious precepts was a major innovation in Jewish ethical thought. According to his system, prayer and religious studies cannot be included among the spiritual values because the human body and senses participate in their performance. Spiritual precepts, Baḥye explained, are those that are carried out completely "within the heart," that is, without any reliance or mediation of the limbs or the senses, and only the completely spiritual precepts have religious meaning and can be regarded as worship. The physical deeds, which include all the legal Jewish *mitsvot,* do not have any impact on one's religious life. A physical deed can have a religious meaning only if it is accompanied by spiritual concentration and intention—*kavvanah*—and even then its value is dependent on the spiritual intention and not on the deed itself. Thus Baḥye presented a completely spiritualized and internalized conception of Jewish religious life, which is a radical departure from the teachings of previous thinkers, who always insisted—as does Jewish law—that the physical performance of the *mitsvot,* both ritualistic and ethical ones, is the basis of Jewish worship.

Another new variation in the field of ethics in that period was introduced by Shelomoh ibn Gabirol (c. 1021–c. 1058), the great poet and philosopher, author of *Meqor ḥayyim,* which was known in Latin under the title *Fons vitae.* Ibn Gabirol wrote a short ethical treatise in Arabic, known in Hebrew as *Tiqqun middot ha-nefesh* (The correction of ethical attitudes). Ibn Gabirol's approach to ethics in this work is a physical-anthropological one. Characteristic human attitudes, he asserted, are dependent on the individual's complexion and physical harmony. Ibn Gabirol maintained that each of the twenty basic ethical attitudes is closely related to a certain combination of the four elements and the four liquids that constitute the human body according to medieval physiology. Using homiletical methods, Ibn Gabirol analyzed the ethical attitudes and arranged them in ten binary opposites (pride and humility, etc.), as an expression of the human physical constitution. Two such pairs are connected to each of the five senses. Ibn Gabirol's treatise is an attempt to give a scientific, secular, and physical basis to ethical human behavior and to correct every flaw in the same way that physical ailments are corrected.

The greatest Jewish philosopher of the Middle Ages, Moses Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon, 1135/8–1204), dedicated important discussions to ethical problems in several of his major works but did not write a special work on ethics. His philosophical works, commentaries, and legal works contain chapters and portions dealing with ethics. When writing in Arabic, he, like Saʿadyah Gaon and Ibn Gabirol, established Jewish ethics on scientific concepts, derived from psychological and anthropological analysis. The works of Aristotle and the Arab philosophers who followed him served as sources for Maimonides' own formulations. When writing in Hebrew, however, especially in *Sefer ha-maddaʿ* (The book of knowledge), the first book in his fourteen-book magnum opus of Jewish law, the *Mishneh Torah,* he very often based his ethical demands on old rabbinic ethical sayings.

Maimonides confronted the basic problems resulting from the meeting between rabbinic ethics and medieval philosophy and science in a profound way, taking pains to preserve the practical demands of ancient traditions while reconciling them with contemporary conceptions of spiritualized religious behavior. He contributed to the popularization in Hebrew literature of Aristotelian concepts like "the golden rule" of the "good" middle between two "evil" extremes, although their impact outside the immediate school of his followers was minimal. Even Maimonides, when dealing with the subject of ethics, saw himself not as a thinker who continued the deliberations of a long line of Jewish traditional teachers of ethics but as a philosopher who created a new system, relying mainly on non-Jewish scientific and philosophical sources and only assisted by biblical and Talmudic traditions.

EARLY HEBREW WORKS AND QABBALAH. While Saʿadyah, Baḥye, Ibn Gabirol, and Maimonides wrote mainly in Arabic and addressed themselves to Jewish intellectuals in the communities under Arab rule who were familiar with Arabic philosophy based on the Greek, almost no works were written in Hebrew and intended for a larger Jewish public. Only in the twelfth century does one find the beginnings of Hebrew medieval ethical literature written by Jewish thinkers in a contemporary manner. The first among these was Avraham bar Hiyyaʾ, who contributed to ethics his collection of four homilies, called *Hegyon ha-nefesh ha-ʿatsuvah* (The sad soul's deliberations), which was based on Neoplatonic philosophy. That same philosophy also influenced Avraham ibn ʿEzraʾ, the great commentator on the Bible, who dedicated to ethics a brief treatise called *Yesod moraʾ* (The foundation of the fear of God). It is typical that these two works were written in the first half and middle of the twelfth century by philosophers from Spain who traveled and visited Jewish communities in Christian Europe, where Arabic was not understood, and were aware of the need for such material.

The first school of writers of Hebrew ethical works in medieval Europe did not emerge in the areas influenced by Arabic culture but in the small town of Gerona in northern Spain ruled by the Christians in the first half of the thirteenth century. The four important writers of this school were Moses Nahmanides (Mosheh ben Naḥman), Yaʿaqov ben Sheshet Gerondi, Yonah ben Avraham Gerondi, and Asher ben David. All four belonged to the school of qabbalists that flourished in Gerona early in the thirteenth century. The mystical element in their ethical works is not dominant, and in the case of the best-known ethical writer among them, Yonah Gerondi, it is completely absent. If it were not for a letter written by Yitsḥaq the Blind, the great mystic of Provence, to the qabbalists in Gerona, naming Yonah Gerondi among them, it would never have been known for certain that he was indeed a qabbalist.

The most important innovation of the ethical works of this school of qabbalists is the revival of rabbinic ethics, almost completely neglected by their predecessors. Many parts of their works can be read as anthologies of Talmudic and Midrashic sayings concerning various ethical problems. It is clear that these writers intended to show, in contrast to the Jewish philosophers, that Judaism has an authentic ethical tradition which can answer every contemporary problem without relying on medieval philosophy and science. They tried to revive and reestablish the dominance of the traditional Jewish sources of antiquity as the normative guide to religious behavior. In this, their qabbalistic beliefs could have contributed to the spiritual depth and the pathos of their adherence to the traditional sources, but their works are not dependent on mystical symbolism.

The Gerona qabbalists viewed their concerted effort in the field of ethical works as a response to the threat that Jewish philosophy presented to Judaism. Extreme spiritualization on the one hand and profane, scientific systems of ethics on the other endangered the traditional conceptions of the primacy of ethical deeds and the observance of the practical precepts. Yonah Gerondi was one of the first Jewish thinkers to criticize Maimonides publicly and participated actively in the great controversy concerning Maimonides' works in 1232–1235. His ethical works, and especially his monograph on repentance, *Shaʿarei teshuvah,* are intended to offer a traditional alternative to philosophical ethics. Nahmanides' ethical homilies include direct criticism of Aristotelian philosophy and indirect polemics against Maimonides.

Other writers of this period adopted the same attitude and created traditionalistic systems of ethics based on ancient sources as an alternative to the works of the philosophers. Prominent among them was Yeḥiʾel ben Yequtiʾel of Rome, in the middle of the thirteenth century, whose ethical work *Maʿalot ha-middot* (The ascending ladder of ethical values) is an anthology of rabbinic paragraphs with some antiphilosophical undertones. Yeḥiʾel was not a qabbalist, and his work proves that the return to the ancient sources in the realm of ethics was not motivated by mystical reasons alone.

Later in the thirteenth century another qabbalist, Baḥya ben Asher ibn Halawa, wrote one of the most influential works of Jewish ethics in a homiletical form, *Kad ha-qemaḥ* (A bowl of flour). In this work the author discusses ethical values, arranged in alphabetical order, dedicating a sermon to each. He seldom used qabbalistic symbolism, and the work is one of the most important books in medieval rabbinic ethics.

At the same time, Jewish philosophers continued to publish Hebrew books on philosophical ethics. The most prominent among them were Yaʿaqov Anatoli in his collection of sermons, *Malmad ha-talmidim,* and Shem Ṭov ben Yosef Falaquera, who wrote several ethical treatises. Like other philosophers of the thirteenth century, these two relied heavily on the teachings of Maimonides, though very often their attitudes were more radical than those of their teachers.

In the thirteenth century in Spain, southern France, and Italy the two major schools of Hebrew ethical literature thus took shape, the philosophers, mostly Maimonidean, on the one hand, and the traditionalists, creators of rabbinic ethics, many of them qabbalists, on the other hand. New literary forms emerged in the two antagonistic schools, such as the ethical monographs, ethical homiletical literature, and ethical "wills," which summarize in a brief treatise a complete ethical system. From the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, Hebrew ethical literature is clearly divided along these basic ideological lines.

ETHICS OF THE ASHKENAZIC *ḤASIDIM*. While controversy raged in Spain, Italy, and southern France, an independent school of ethical thought was established in western Germany by the German-Jewish pietists, adherents of the esoteric, and often mystical, theology of Ashkenazic Hasidism. The main work of this school, which had a profound impact on Jewish ethical thought for many centuries, is the *Sefer Ḥasidim* (Book of the Pietists), written by Yehudah ben Shemuʾel "the Pious" of Regensburg (d. 1217).

Sefer Ḥasidim is different from previous Hebrew ethical works in its concern with everyday behavior in minute details, relating to the performance of the religious precepts. Besides homilies that expound the theoretical basis of ethical ideas, the book, which is divided into brief, independent paragraphs, deals with specific ethical issues: how to choose a dwelling place; relationships with parents, teachers, neighbors, and the non-Jewish society; how to conduct business relations; attitude toward rabbis; and so forth.

The instructions of this book are based on a strict, radical ethical theory. The Ashkenazic Ḥasidim believed that God's presence in the world is evident only in the unusual and the miraculous. Natural and social laws are not a reflection of divine benevolence but are rather trials put before pietists by God in order to distinguish between the righteous and the wicked by testing their ability to obey God's commandments. Human life, according to the pietists, is a continuous struggle to prove one's devotion to God by overcoming all the obstacles that God himself put on the path of his believers. Ethical behavior, in this system, is choosing the most difficult and painful alternative. The pietist must always concentrate on the performance of that deed that most people around him neglect; by so doing he proves that this is the most difficult path, and following it gives him the maximum religious reward. This worldview is the complete reversal of the hedonistic tendencies found in the ethical works of Jewish philosophers of the Middle Ages such as Saʿadyah and Yeḥiʾel ben Yequtiʾel.

Ashkenazic Hasidism both reflected and served as an ideological response to the massacres and persecutions that German Jewry suffered during the period of the Crusades. *Qiddush ha-shem* ("sanctifying the Holy Name") was regarded by the Ḥasidim as the supreme religious and ethical achievement, because it was the most total and difficult expression of devotion to God in spite of terrible hardships. If the sacrifice of one's life is the final goal, everyday life should reflect the same attitude and be conducted as if every religious and ethical deed had an element of sacrifice in it—the larger the sacrifice, the more meaningful the deed. Anything that negates the demands of the body has religious value, while every deed that satisfies physical needs signifies ethical surrender.

Ashkenazic Hasidic ethics are closely related to the esoteric theology of the teachers of Ashkenazic Hasidism. Whereas the theology did not continue to develop but was absorbed by qabbalistic mysticism, which spread in central Europe during the late thirteenth and the fourteenth century, the ethical teachings of the Ḥasidim survived for many centuries. Numerous ethical treatises written in Germany in the thirteenth to the fifteenth century are based on *Sefer Ḥasidim,* many of them dealing with the concept of repentance in Ashkenazic Hasidic ethics. Their teachings served as a basis for later Jewish ethical literature, even when Qabbalah began to develop its own specific mystical ethical literature.

SIXTEENTH- AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY QABBALISTIC ETHICS. In the sixteenth century the study of Qabbalah became more and more popular among Jewish intellectuals, after being confined, during the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, mainly to small circles of esoteric mystics. Since the sixteenth century, and especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Qabbalah spread very rapidly and eventually became the dominant ideology in Judaism. This change was, to some extent, the result of the destruction of the great Jewish center in Spain in the expulsion of 1492 and of the rapid decline of Jewish philosophy at that time. The dissemination of Qabbalah among the Jewish masses was assisted mainly by the fact that in the sixteenth century qabbalists began to write and publish popular ethical works based on qabbalistic symbolism, which made Qabbalah easily accessible—and religiously relevant—to the Jewish masses.

Qabbalistic ethical literature appeared in sixteenth-century Safad, a small town in the Upper Galilee that served, after the expulsion from Spain, as a center for many Jewish halakhists, preachers, thinkers, and mystics. In this town Qabbalah became a way of life, so that ethical treatises explaining the close interdependence of human social and religious behavior and mystical occurrences in the divine world were relevant and meaningful. Mosheh Cordovero (1522–1570), the great qabbalist who wrote systematic works of Qabbalah that were very influential in the sixteenth century, wrote a brief ethical treatise, *Tomer Devorah* (The palm tree of Deborah), wherein he pointed out the ways by which the earthly ethical behavior of the righteous influenced the mystical processes in the divine world, the realm of the mystical *sefirot,* the divine hypostases central in qabbalistic symbolism. A disciple of Cordovero's, Eliyyahu de Vidas, followed suit by writing a major book on ethics, *Re'shit ḥokhmah* (The beginning of wisdom), in which he interpreted many sections of ancient qabbalistic works, mainly the Zohar, as explaining the central values of Jewish ethics. Ḥayyim Vital (Klippers), the great disciple of Isaac Luria, wrote a short ethical work, *Sha'arei qedushah* (The gates of holiness), describing the human spiritual ascension from involvement in secular life and sin up to the immersion of the human soul in the divine world. One of the great followers of Luria's mysticism, Yesha'yah Horowitz, wrote the largest ethical work of that time, *Shenei luḥot ha-berit* (The two tablets of the covenant), which remains to this day one of the most influential works of Jewish ethics ever written.

The new impact of Qabbalah on Jewish ethics was based to a large extent on the revolutionary mystical views introduced by Isaac Luria (1534–1572). Whereas previous qabbalistic systems were characterized by withdrawal from the contemporary world, Luria's Qabbalah was intensely messianic. According to his mythical symbolism, the world was created in order to serve as a battleground between the divine powers of good and evil, where good will ultimately be victorious. The historical orientation of this philosophy demands action from its followers. By righteousness and religious and ethical activity, humankind assists God in the struggle against the powers of evil that resided within God and that now, following an upheaval in the divine world, rule all on earth but the souls of the righteous.

Luria's theology brought a new intensity and a renewed, profound meaning to all religious and ethical demands. In his system, every word of every prayer, every humble ritualistic act, and all ethical human deeds become either messianic acts that facilitate the redemption or evil deeds that support the satanic powers in their struggle against God. There are no neutral acts; everything done or left undone carries enormous spiritual significance and may help decide the fate of all creation.

Following Luria, countless works of ethics and ethical homiletics were written by Jews in the East and the West during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This period is undoubtedly the peak of the influence that Hebrew ethical literature had on Jewish life, social behavior, and historical activity. The spread of Lurianic theology served as a basis for the messianic theology of the Shabbatean movement beginning in 1665, and quite a few authors of ethical works were Shabbatean believers, like Eliyyahu ha-Kohen of Smyrna and Yonatan Eibeschutz of Prague. Some authors were influenced by Shabbateanism even though they themselves did not belong to the movement, among them Mosheh Ḥayyim Luzzatto, the Italian author of the popular *Mesillat ye-sharim.* The fusion between mysticism and ethics was complete in the eighteenth century.

HASIDISM AND MODERN TRENDS. Hasidic ethics are, on the one hand, a continuation of the process of applying Lurianic mysticism to the field of ethics and, on the other hand, a response to the ideological crisis brought about by the Shabbatean messianic movement. The Hasidic *rebeyim*—who perpetuated the preachings of the movement's founder, the BeSHT (Yisra'el ben Eli'ezer, 1700–1760), and his disciples, Yaʿaqov Yosef of Polonnoye and Dov Ber of Mezhirich (now Międzyrzecz, Poland)—based their ethical homiletics on qabbalistic terminology and the Lurianic myth. They had, however, to contend with a reality that the messianic theology of Natan of Gaza, the "prophet" of the messiah Shabbetai Tsevi, had greatly influenced, and with the deep disappointment that ensued when the movement engendered the antinomian heresy of the Frankist movement in the eighteenth century. Among the disciples of Dov Ber, especially in the works of Elimelekh of Lizhensk (now Lezajsk, Poland), a new theology emerged, attributing to the figure of the *tsaddiq,* the leader of a Hasidic community, powers to assist a sinner in obtaining forgiveness from God and influence in the divine realm over the affairs of every Hasidic adherent. The concept of the *tsaddiq* as an intermediary between the righteous and God (originally derived from Shabbatean theology) became one of the most important elements in the Hasidic movement, together with a new emphasis on mystical communion with God (*devequt*) and devotion to ethical behavior at the expense of intensive study of the Torah.

The *mitnaggdim,* the main "opponents" of Hasidism, developed ethical thinking, especially in the Musar ("ethics") movement, founded by Yisraʾel Salanter in the middle of the nineteenth century. This movement carried great weight in rabbinic academies (*yeshivot*) throughout eastern Europe in the second half of that century and the beginning of the twentieth. Yisraʾel Salanter did not use qabbalistic terminology, preferring instead a modern way of preaching, though at times it seems that the content of his ideas was still under the influence of Lurianism. The same can be said about the ethical works of the modern rabbi Avraham Yitsḥaq Kook (1865–1935), one of the most profound modern Jewish thinkers, whose thought is still influencing Jewish Orthodox movements in Israel today. He placed repentance in the center of his mystical theology as a way toward redemption, and his modern language sometimes hides Lurianic symbolism.

SEE ALSO Ashkenazic Hasidism; Halakhah; Hasidism, overview article; Midrash and Aggadah; Qabbalah.

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JIAO. The Chinese term *jiao* (sacrifice) in ancient times referred to a pledge in wine at the wedding ceremony or at the coming of age of a son. But the common meaning that we shall consider here is the sacrificial part of major Daoist services. In this connection *jiao* has historically been associated with *zhai,* the rites of abstinence and penitence. Under Buddhist influence, *zhai* took the form of rituals for the salvation of the individual and ancestors, whereas *jiao* sacrifices were performed by ordained Daoist priests to renew the community's covenant with the highest powers for blessings and protection. As practiced in Taiwan today, both these functions are generally covered by the single term *jiao.*

Although a dozen varieties of *jiao* are differentiated according to their purpose, in effect only four are performed nowadays with any frequency in Taiwan: (1) for peace and safety *(ping'an jiao),* (2) for the prevention of epidemics *(wen jiao),* (3) for blessings in general *(qingcheng jiao),* and (4) for protection from fire *(huo jiao).* Services may be held either at fixed intervals or irregularly, but the latter is much more common. However, in this as in the matter of their duration (from one to as many as seven days and nights) there is considerable variation according to custom and circumstance.

The essential difference between the Jiao and other large-scale religious services is that the powers addressed in the Jiao are the Three Pure Ones (San Qing), hypostases of the Dao, rather than the gods of popular religion. These Daoist powers receive only "pure" offerings—wine, tea, cakes, fruit—in contrast to the "blood sacrifices" of the popular cults. The public is allowed to attend and participate in the rituals of popular religion, but it is strictly barred from the sacred arena where the Daoists perform the Jiao. However, the people of the community prepare themselves for the visit of the Three Pure Ones by observing a fast for several days before the Jiao.

The sacred arena *(daochang)* of the Jiao is usually the community temple. But as the purpose of the Jiao is communion with the Three Pure Ones rather than with the deities of popular religion, the sacred arena is rearranged so that the main altar is reserved for the San Qing (represented by painted scrolls bearing the images of the deities) while the other deities are relegated to subsidiary or "guest" status at the altar of the three realms (that is, Heaven, earth, and the waters). The services, complex and protracted, consist of the following essential parts: announcement to the divine powers of the celebration of this Jiao, and an invitation for them to attend; feasting them when they have arrived; presenting official petitions seeking forgiveness of sins and expressing penitence; a formal negotiation for the renewal of the covenant between the highest powers and the community; sending off the eminent guests when this pact has been concluded. As part of the Jiao, rites for the salvation of all souls *(pudu)* are invariably included. The officiants include a high priest *(gaogong),* several assistants, and a small group of musicians, to whose accompaniment most of the actions are performed. Besides the official celebrants, prominent men of the community who have contributed heavily to the expenses of the Jiao are present within the sacred arena. At specified moments in the liturgy they follow the lead of the Daoist priests in making obeisances to the deities. This special privilege adds to the stature of the donors in the community and at the same time makes or generates religious merit for them.

The people of the community also earn merit by observing the preliminary fast, by contributing money, and through many kinds of assistance in preparation for the Jiao. Although they do not participate in the rituals that take place within the *daochang,* they do offer their own sacrifices in prepared areas outside the temple, to ancestors, gods, and bereaved spirits. At certain moments in the Jiao the celebrants appear before the public and perform rituals, usually at the several "outer altars" *(waitan)* that have been erected in vacant lots near the sacred arena. These altars, masterpieces of folk art, are dedicated to various important deities of popular religion.

The festivities which accompany the Jiao are many. One high point, so far as the people are concerned, is a colorful procession to the banks of a river (or ocean), where paper and bamboo rafts are launched. Bearing candles, the rafts float away to invite the souls of the drowned to come for their share of the feast provided by the community (this feast is the public part of the *pudu*). While the priests perform their esoteric liturgy within the temple, a great festival is taking place in the community. Mounds of sacrificial offerings, performances of drama, convivial entertainment of friends, relatives, and even strangers, and a general atmosphere of carnival draw huge crowds from near and far. All of this makes the Jiao not just a liturgical service, but a total community event.

For the Daoists, the Jiao is of more profound significance. According to the most ancient and basic theories of Daoism, to call down the highest powers of the macrocosm is in actuality to practice the exercises of "inner alchemy" *(neidan)* within the microcosm of the priest's body. While the high priest outwardly performs the liturgy, addressing the highest powers, he inwardly undergoes a regimen designed to produce the "immortal fetus." In the Jiao, then, the ultimate goal of the Daoist religion is still what it has always been: the attainment of immortality.

SEE ALSO Alchemy, article on Chinese Alchemy; Priesthood, article on Daoist Priesthood; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Daoist Devotional Life.

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JIEN (1155–1225), a Japanese Buddhist leader and renowned poet, was a highly influential figure at a critical time in the political, social, and religious life of Japan. Appointed abbot of the Tendai sect four times, he enjoyed close family ties with emperors and regents, composed poems that made him a leading poet of the day, and wrote Japan's first known interpretive history, the *Gukanshō.*

At the age of eleven, Jien was entrusted to the Enryakuji, a Buddhist temple, for training under a monk who was the seventh son of Retired Emperor Toba. Early poems by Jien, as well as entries in the diary of his distinguished brother Kanezane (1149–1207), indicate that he was a lonely child who was soon attracted to Buddhist teachings on transience and impermanence. A biography (the *Jichin kashōden*) states that when he was about twenty-five and was fasting at a temple on the Katsura River, he had a miraculous vision of the Buddhist deity Fudō Myō-ō.

Jien was ordained as a Buddhist monk, appointed to the headship of several important temples, and selected as personal priest to the emperor Go-Toba (r. 1183–1198) before reaching the age of thirty. When he was thirty-one, his elder brother Kanezane was designated regent, an appointment that further enhanced Jien's influence within Buddhist centers and at the imperial court. At the age of thirty-seven he received his first appointment as Abbot of Tendai. During the four years that he held the post, he devoted considerable time to the conduct of Buddhist rites in high places. He built new temples and promoted the practice and study of Buddhism in diverse ways.

In 1196 Jien and other members of his house (the Kujō) were ousted from office. Until his death nearly thirty years later, neither he nor his house ever again reached the dizzy heights attained during the Kanezane regency. For a time, Jien continued to be a favorite at court, largely because of his fame as a poet and his personal relationship with Go-Toba, but gradually the latter (who was now attempting to control state affairs as a retired emperor) moved to establish independence from *bakufu* control, rather than adopt the compromises favored by Jien and the Kujō house.

In the years immediately preceding the outbreak of civil war in 1221—a time of intense political rivalry within the court and between the court and the Kamakura *bakufu*—Jien turned frequently to written prayers, rituals, dreams, letters, and finally history in trying to convince Go-Toba and his advisers that drastic steps against the *bakufu* should be avoided. What Jien wrote in those troubled years suggests that he was especially interested in signs and revelations of what the native *kami* (gods) desired or had ordered.

Jien's history (the *Gukanshō*), written a year or so before the outbreak of war in 1221, was meant to show how national events had taken, and would continue to take, an up-and-down course in the direction of a political arrangement that would end the current crisis, an arrangement in which the Kujō house would figure prominently. He tried to show how a complex interplay of divine principles *(dōri)* was propelling events along that course: Some Buddhist principles were forcing it downward to destruction, and some *kami*-created (Shintō) principles were pulling it upward toward a state of temporary improvement.

Because Jien was primarily interested in *kami*-created *dōri* that would bring improvement, scholars have concluded that native Shintō belief was stronger than imported Buddhist ideas in his interpretive scheme, although the Buddhist flavor was strong. As the outbreak of civil war in 1221 attests, Go-Toba did not ultimately adopt the compromises that Jien favored and that the *Gukanshō* predicted as inevitable. But Jien remained convinced, to the end, that he had charted the "single course" of Japanese history correctly.

SEE ALSO Tendaishū.

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JIHĀD is the verbal noun of the Arabic verb *jahada,* meaning "to endeavor, to strive, to struggle." It is generally used to denote an effort toward a commendable aim. In religious contexts it can mean the struggle against one's evil inclinations or efforts toward the moral uplift of society or toward the spread of Islam. This last undertaking can be peaceful ("*jihād* of the tongue" or "*jihād* of the pen"), in accordance with *sūrah* 16:125 of the Qurʾān ("Call thou to the way of the Lord with wisdom and admonition, and dispute with them in the better way"), or involve the use of force ("*jihād* of the sword") as mentioned in *sūrah* 2:193 ("Fight them until there is no persecution and the religion is God's; then if they give over, there shall be no enmity save for evildoers"). In pious and mystical circles spiritual and moral *jihād* is emphasized. This they call "greater jihād" on the strength of the following tradition *(ḥadīth)* of the prophet Muḥammad: "Once, having returned from one of his campaigns, the Prophet said: 'We have now returned from the lesser *jihād* [i.e., fighting] to the greater *jihād.*'"

In view of the wide semantic spectrum of the word *jihād,* it is not correct to equate it with the notion of "holy war." And in those instances where the word *jihād* does refer to armed struggle, it must be borne in mind that Islam does not distinguish between holy and secular wars. All wars between Muslims and unbelievers and even wars between different Muslim groups would be labeled *jihād,* even if fought—as was mostly the case—for perfectly secular reasons. The religious aspect, then, is reduced to the certainty of the individual warriors that if they are killed they will enter paradise.

JIHĀD IN THE QURʾĀN AND THE ḤADĪTH. In about two-thirds of the instances where the verb *jāhada* or its derivatives occur in the Qurʾān, it denotes warfare. Its distribution—and that of the verb *qātala* ("combat," "fight") for that matter—reflects the history of the nascent Islamic community. Both words are hardly used in the Meccan parts of the Qurʾān, revealed during the period when the Muslims were enjoined to bear patiently the aggressive behavior of the unbelievers, but abound in the Medinese chapters, sent down after the fighting between the Muslims and their Meccan adversaries had broken out. They are often linked with the phrase "in the way of God" (*fī sabīl Allāh*) to underscore the religious character of the struggle. And in order to indicate that warfare against the Meccans ought to be the concern of the whole community and not only of the direct participants in warfare, the words "with their goods and lives" (*bi-amwālihim wa-anfusihim*) are frequently added to these verbs.

Traditionally *sūrah* 22:39 ("Leave is given to those who fight because they were wronged—surely God is able to help them—who were expelled from their habitations without right, except that they say 'Our lord is God'"), revealed shortly after Muḥammad's Emigration (Hijrah) from Mecca to Medina in 622 CE, is regarded as marking the turning point in the relations between the Muslims and the unbelievers. Many later verses on *jihād* order the believers to take part in warfare, promise heavenly reward to those who do, and threaten those who do not with severe punishment in the hereafter. Some verses deal with practical matters such as exemption from military service (9:91, 48:17), fighting during the holy months (2:217) and in the holy territory of Mecca (2:191), the fate of prisoners of war (47:4), safe conduct (9:6), and truce (8:61).

Careful reading of the Qurʾanic passages on *jihād* suggests that Muḥammad regarded the command to fight the unbelievers not as absolute, but as conditional upon provocation from them, for in many places this command is justified by aggression or perfidy on the part of the non-Muslims: "And fight in the way of God with those who fight with you, but aggress not: God loves not the aggressors" (2:190) and "But if they break their oaths after their covenant and thrust at your religion, then fight the leaders of unbelief" (9:13). Authoritative Muslim opinion, however, went in a different direction. Noticing that the Qurʾanic verses on the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims give evidence of a clear evolution from peacefulness to enmity and warfare, Muslim scholars have argued that this evolution culminated in an unconditional command to fight the unbelievers, as embodied in verses such as 5:9 ("Then, when the sacred months are drawn away, slay the idolaters wherever you find them, and take them, and confine them, and lie in wait for them at every place of ambush"). These "sword verses" are considered to have repealed all other verses concerning the intercourse with non-Muslims.

There is an abundant body of *ḥadīth* on *jihād.* Owing to their practical importance many of them were already recorded in special collections during the second century AH, before the compilation of the authoritative collections. The *ḥadīths* deal with the same topics as the Qurʾān but place more emphasis on the excellence of *jihād* as a pious act, on the rewards of martyrdom, and on practical and ethical matters of warfare. A typical *ḥadīth* from the last category is: "Whensoever the Prophet sent out a raiding party, he used to say, 'Raid in the name of God and in the way of God. Fight those who do not believe in God. Raid, do not embezzle spoils, do not act treacherously, do not mutilate, and do not kill children.'"

JIHĀD IN ISLAMIC LAW. The prescriptions found in the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*, together with the practice of the early caliphs and army commanders, were, from the latter half of the second century AH on, cast in the mold of a legal doctrine to which a separate chapter in the handbooks on Islamic law was devoted. The central part of this doctrine is that the Muslim community as a whole has the duty to expand the territory and rule of Islam. Consequently, *jihād* is a collective duty of all Muslims, which means that if a sufficient number take part in it, the whole community has fulfilled its obligation. If, on the other hand, the number of participants is inadequate, the sin rests on all Muslims. After the period of conquests the jurists stipulated that the Muslim ruler, in order to keep the idea of *jihād* alive, ought to organize an expedition into enemy territory once per year. If the enemy attacks Muslim territory, *jihād* becomes an individual duty for all able-bodied inhabitants of the region under attack. Those killed in *jihād* are called martyrs (*shuhadāʾ;* sg., *shahīd*). Their sins are forgiven and they go straight to paradise.

Shīʿī legal theory on *jihād* is very similar to Sunnī doctrine, with one important exception, however: the existence of the *jihād* duty depends on the manifest presence of a Shīʿī imam. Because the last of these went into concealment (*ghaybah*) in AH 260 (874 CE), the *jihād* doctrine should have lost its practical importance for the Shīʿah. However, in an attempt to strengthen their position vis-à-vis the state, Shīʿī scholars have claimed to represent collectively the Hidden Imam and, therefore, to be entitled to proclaim *jihād.* This explains why, during the last centuries, many wars between Iran and its neighbors have been waged under the banner of *jihād.*

The ultimate aim of *jihād* is "the subjection of the unbelievers" and "the extirpation of unbelief." This is understood, however, in a purely political way as the extension of Islamic rule over the remaining parts of the earth. The peoples thus conquered are not forced to embrace Islam: With payment of a special poll tax (*jizyah*) they can acquire the status of protected minorities and become non-Muslim subjects of the Islamic state (*dhimmī*s). In theory certain categories of non-Muslims are barred from this privilege: Some scholars exclude Arab idolaters—a class of mere academic interest after the Islamization of the Arabian Peninsula; others hold that only Christians, Jews, and fire worshipers (*majūs*) qualify. In practice, however, the definition of fire worshiper could be stretched to include all kinds of pagan tribes.

Before the final aim—Muslim domination of the whole world—has been achieved, the situation of war prevails between the Islamic state and the surrounding regions. This situation can be temporarily suspended by a truce, to be concluded by the head of state whenever he deems it in the interest of the Muslims. Most scholars stipulate that a truce may not last longer than ten years, the duration of the Treaty of al-Ḥudaybīyah, concluded in AH 6 (628 CE) between Muḥammad and his Meccan adversaries.

The *jihād* chapters in the legal handbooks contain many practical rules. Warfare must start with the summons in which the enemies are asked to embrace Islam or accept the status of non-Muslim subjects. Only if they refuse may they be attacked. Other prescriptions concern, for example, the protection of the lives of noncombatants, the treatment of prisoners of war, and the division of the spoils.

JIHĀD IN HISTORY. Throughout Islamic history the doctrine of *jihād* has been invoked to justify wars between Muslim and non-Muslim states and even to legitimate wars between Muslims themselves. In the latter case the adversaries would be branded as heretics or rebels to warrant the application of the *jihād* doctrine. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there arose movements all over the Muslim world for whom *jihād* was so central to their teachings and actions that they are often referred to as *jihād* movements. Despite their wide geographical range—from West Africa to Southeast Asia—and the different social, economic, and political causes from which they sprang, they employed the same notions from the Islamic repertoire. *Jihād* for them meant the struggle within an only nominally Islamic society for the purification of religion and the establishment of a genuine Islamic community.

In combination with the *jihād* doctrine the obligation of *hijrah,* the duty of Muslims to emigrate from areas controlled by non-Muslims, was frequently appealed to. Often the notion of a Mahdi played a role, either because the leader proclaimed himself as such, or because he was regarded as a minister appointed to prepare the Mahdi's advent. The organizational framework of these movements was usually that of a Ṣūfī order. Although their main struggle was within their own society, many of these movements developed into formidable adversaries of the colonial powers once they collided with their expansionist policies.

Examples of *jihād* movements are the Wahhābīyah in Arabia, founded by Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (1703–1792), the Fulbe *jihād* in northern Nigeria led by Usuman dan Fodio (1754–1817), the Padri movement in Sumatra (1803–1832), the West African *jihād* movement of ʿUmar Tāl (1794–1864), the *ṭarīqah-i muḥammadī* ("Muḥammadan way") in northern India founded by Aḥmad Barēlī (1786–1831), the Algerian resistance against French colonization, headed by ʿAbd al-Qādir (1808–1883), the Sanūsīyah in Libya and the Sahara, founded by Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Sanūsi, and the Mahdist movement of Muḥammad Aḥmad in the Sudan (1881–1898). In the twentieth century the *jihād* doctrine lost much of its importance as a mobilizing ideology in the struggle against colonialism; its place was taken by secular nationalism.

THE CONTEMPORARY SIGNIFICANCE OF THE JIHĀD DOCTRINE. Since the nineteenth century attempts have been made to reinterpret the prevailing doctrine of *jihād.* One of the first thinkers to do so was the Indian reformer Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817–1898). Believing that the interests of the Indian Muslims would be served best by close cooperation with the British colonizers, he sought to improve relations between both groups. Especially after the 1857 revolt (the so-called Mutiny), the British, who had laid the blame solely on the Muslims despite massive Hindu participation, had favored the latter on the grounds that collaboration with Muslims would pose a security risk because of their allegiance to the doctrine of *jihād.* By offering a new interpretation of the *jihād* duty, Sayyid Ahmad Khan wanted to refute these views and prove that Muslims could be loyal subjects of the British Crown. He rejected the theory that the "sword verses" had repealed all other verses concerning the relations with non-Muslims. On the basis of a new reading of the Qurʾān he asserted that *jihād* was obligatory only in the case of "positive oppression or obstruction in the exercise of their faith, impairing the foundation of some of the pillars of Islam." Because the British, in his view, did not interfere with the Islamic cult, *jihād* against them was not allowed.

In India this extremely limited interpretation of the *jihād* doctrine found some support. In the Middle East, however, reformers such as Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1849–1905) and Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (1865–1935) did not go so far. Yet their opinions differed considerably from the classical doctrine. They contended that peaceful coexistence is the normal relationship beween Islamic and non-Islamic territory and that *jihād* must be understood as defensive warfare, regardless, however, of whether the aggression on the part of the non-Muslims is directed against religion or not. In their view, then, *jihād* could indeed be proclaimed against Western colonial rule in the Islamic world. A recent development in modernist *jihād* literature is the presentation of an adapted and reinterpreted version of the *jihād* doctrine as Islamic international law, equating the notion of *jihād* with *bellum justum.*

Although modernist opinion is nowadays widespread, one ought not forget that there are also other schools of thought with regard to *jihād.* Apart from the conservative trend that contents itself with repeating the classical legal texts, there is the fundamentalist or revivalist tendency, whose adherents want to change the world according to Islamic principles. They view their struggle for the Islamization of state and society as *jihād,* explained by them as "the permanent revolution of Islam." They follow the classical doctrine and reject the modernist interpretation of *jihād* as defensive warfare. The most radical groups among them advocate the use of violence against their fellow Muslims, who, in their opinion, are so corrupt that they must be regarded as heathens. To this trend belonged the Tanẓīm al-Jihād ("*jihād* organization"), which was responsible for the assassination of the Egyptian president Sadat in 1981.

SEE ALSO ʿAbduh, Muḥammad; Ahmad Khan, Sayyid; Dan Fodio, Usuman; Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Muḥammad; Muḥammad Aḥmad; ʿUmar Tāl; Wahhābīyah.

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JIMMU, the first emperor of Japan, direct descendant of Amaterasu, the supreme deity, and generally regarded as the ancestor of the present Japanese emperor. Amaterasu's offspring, Ame no Oshiho-mimi, begot Ho no Ninigi, who descended from Heaven to earth. His offspring, Hikohohodemi, begot Ugaya-fukiaezu, whose offspring was Jimmu.

Jimmu is a Chinese-style name given to this emperor much later; his original name was Kamu-yamato-iwarehiko. *Kamu* means "divine," and *Yamato* is the name of the location of the ancient capital. The semantically significant portion of this name is *iwarehiko. Iwa* means "rock," and *are* means "to emerge." Since *hiko* means "a respectable person," Jimmu's original name, *Iwarehiko,* suggests "a respectable person who emerged (or was born) from a rock."

According to the early chronicles, Jimmu was born in the province of Himuka on the island of Kyushu in western Japan. He led a successful expedition to conquer the east and ascended the throne in Yamato in 660 BCE. Historians, however, reject this date because at that time the Japanese still lived in scattered tribal communities. It was only in the second century CE that a unified political organization emerged in western Japan. Although the date of 660 BCE is not acceptable, the description of the Jimmu expedition to Yamato is vivid and realistic. It is unlikely that the story itself was fabricated in later days to glorify the imperial ancestor. It is assumed that the army led by Jimmu entered Yamato in the early second century CE and that Jimmu played a major role in establishing the Yamato state.

SEE ALSO Amaterasu Ōmikami; Japanese Religions, article on The Study of Myths.

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JINGŌ (169–269?), a legendary Japanese empress, was the mother of Ōjin, Japan's first emperor, and symbol of Japanese female shamanism. Jingō is one of fifteen imperial figures fabricated by the authors of the oldest Japanese chronicles (the *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki,* both seventh century) in order to fill the gap between the real beginning of Japanese history in the fourth century and its fictitious start in 660 BCE. Jingō, therefore, is not historical, but rather symbolic. She stands for the establishment of Japanese relations with the Asian mainland (Korea and China) and is representative of the important role of female shamans in early Japanese history and mythology.

The details of Jingō's legendary history are to be found only in the *Nihonshoki,* which records that she was born in the year 169, the daughter of Prince Okinaga no Sukune and Princess Takanuka of Katsuraki. Immediately after her death she was renamed Okinaga Tarashi hime no Mikoto ("The very witty and well-footed princess"). Almost three centuries later she was given a much shorter, Chinese-style honorary title, Jingō, still in use today. This title, literally "merit of the gods" or "divine merit," implies that she was either divine herself or served to convey divine commands. In this latter capacity she carried out Amaterasu's instructions to have temples erected to her throughout Japan.

In 194 Jingō married the emperor Chūai. In 201 she joined a campaign to subjugate the barbarous tribes of the Kumasō ("land spiders") in Kyushu. During this unsuccessful expedition, she lost her husband, who was probably hit by a Kumasō arrow. After his death, Jingō continued his reign for nearly seventy years.

Upon withdrawing from the campaign in Kyushu, Jingō was advised by the gods to conquer the three Korean states of Bakan, Benkan, and Shinkan, then known as Paekche, Silla, and Koguryō, respectively. Clad in male attire like an emperor, Jingō crossed the straits between Japan and Korea with an enormous army. Upon her arrival in Korea, she established on its south coast the protectorate of Mimana, the Japanese bridgehead from which for centuries to come Korean and Chinese religions and civilizations would spread to Japan. Within two months she had subdued the kingdom of Silla. After this, the kings of Paekche and Koguryō voluntarily agreed to continue yearly tribute to Japan.

Immediately after her return from Korea, Jingō gave birth to a boy, the future emperor Ōjin, whom she named Homuda or Honda. The chronicles of the thirty-ninth year of her reign quote the Chinese chronicles of Wei (composed in 445), in which the Japanese queen Himiko of Wa (in Kyushu) is reported to have paid tribute to the Chinese emperor. It is rather doubtful, however, whether Himiko (the real name of Jingō?) was the same person as Jingō, for the two resided in different regions of Japan. The *Nihonshoki* reports that Jingō died in the palace called Wakazakura (Fresh Cherries) at the age of one hundred.

SEE ALSO Japanese Religions, article on The Study of Myths.

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JINGTU. The Chinese term *jingtu* ("pure land"), pronounced *jōdo* in Japanese, refers to the Chinese Buddhist tradition of devotion to Amitābha Buddha in order to be reborn into his Pure Land as a means of attaining enlightenment. Because many Amitābha devotees believed that sincerely chanting Amitābha's name guaranteed salvation in the next life, this practice became an auxiliary spiritual discipline for most Buddhists in East Asia and an important refuge for the laity, but often became a primary and sometimes exclusive orientation in times of crisis. At the heart of this exclusivistic tendency was despair about achieving enlightenment through traditional practices based on one's own effort, and enthusiasm over the compassionate vow of Amitābha to welcome devotees at death to the blessings of his Pure Land. Beginning in the seventh century CE, this tendency became recognized as a separate religious orientation called the Pure Land teaching (*jingtu-zong*).

Unlike counterparts in Japan, Pure Land devotees in China never developed into a centrally organized property-holding denomination with formalized methods of succession (except for the White Lotus movement during the twelfth to fourteenth centuries). Instead, the Pure Land devotional movement was a loosely knit association of individuals based on the promises of Indian scriptures interpreted by Chinese thinkers and supported by such practical devices as rosaries, paintings, liturgies, and stories about supernatural visions and deathbed miracles indicating successful rebirth into the Pure Land.

FORMATION OF CHINESE PURE LAND. The term *jingtu* was invented in China to refer to Sukhāvatī, the land of bliss created in the western regions by Amitābha, the Buddha of Infinite Life and Infinite Light, for the purification and enlightenment of beings. Mahāyāna Buddhists believe that all Buddhas have spheres of activity (Skt., *kṣetra,* "lands"), but Amitābha's land became most popular based on his vows that ordinary people can be reborn into his land through simple devotion and thereby attain a speedy, painless, and guaranteed enlightenment.

Beginning in 179 CE, when the *Banzhou sanmei jing* (Skt., *Pratyutpannasamādhi Sūtra*) was translated into Chinese, the visualization of Amitābha was recommended as a meditation practice for bringing a Buddha into one's presence. In the third century more Amitābha scriptures were translated, so that by the fourth century there are reports of the first Chinese Pure land devotees (Que Gongce and his disciple Wei Shidu), the first Pure Land lectures (by Zhu Faguang) and the first construction of images and pictures of Amitābha and his Pure Land.

In 402 CE, meditation master Lushan Huiyuan (334–416) formed a devotional group in South China. It consisted of Huiyuan and 123 laypeople and clergy who sought to support one another in visualizing and making offerings to Amitābha to facilitate rebirth in the Pure Land. Centuries later, this group came to be regarded as the original White Lotus Society. After the death of Huiyuan and his immediate disciples, little is heard of Pure Land practices in the south for the next few centuries.

The Shansi Pure Land movement. In response to the ravages of war, famine, and the uncertainties of the religious life during the sixth century, the monks Tanluan (c. 488–c. 554) and Daochuo (562–645) pioneered an independent Pure Land movement at the Xuanzhong Monastery in the remote hills of the Bingzhou area of Shansi Province in North China. By this time, the most important Indian Pure Land scriptures had been translated into Chinese. These included the *Amitābha Sūtra* (Chin., *Amitofo jing*), the "larger" *Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra* (Chin., *Wuliangshou jing*), the *Guan wuliangshou jing*, and the *Wangsheng lun*, attributed to Vasubandhu. These texts mention that enlightenment is difficult in our age because of the five afflictions (*wuzhuo*): war and natural disasters, deluded ideas, greed and hatred, infirmity of body and mind, and shortness of life. According to Tanluan, the compassionate aid of Amitābha is thus a necessity for salvation.

In his major work, the *Wangsheng lunchu* (a commentary to Vasubandhu's treatise), Tanluan divides Buddhism into two paths, the "difficult" and the "easy." The Difficult Path includes all traditional Buddhist practices based on self-effort. Later, Daochuo referred to this as the Path of the Sages (*shengdao*) and proclaimed that such practices were doomed to failure, not only because of the five afflictions but also because our age was the period predicted by the scriptures when true Buddhism would disappear (*mofa*; Jpn., *mappō*). Thus it became a key Pure Land idea that salvation through self-effort was impossible. Instead of the Difficult Path, Tanluan advocated the Easy Path made available through the forty-eight vows of Amitābha recorded in the *Wuliangshou jing*. Tanluan was the first in North China to emphasize how these vows promised rebirth in the Pure Land through the "other power" (*tali*) of Amitābha followed by the assurance of nonretrogression into lower rebirths and the speedy attainment of enlightenment.

Basing his teachings on the *Wangsheng lun*, Tanluan adopted as a curriculum of practice the five types of devotion to Amitābha (*nianfo*; Jpn., *nembutsu*) in order to ensure access to Amitābha's power: (1) to make prostrations to Amitābha and wish to be reborn in his land; (2) to sing praises to Amitābha and recite his name; (3) to make vows to be reborn into his Pure Land; (4) to visualize the appearance of Amitābha and the Pure land; and (5) to transfer these merits to all beings for their salvation. Tanluan and others emphasized the necessity of seeking the Pure Land not for its own pleasures but to attain enlightenment so as to return to this world to save others. This desire for enlightenment (*bodhicitta*) was held to be a primary condition for rebirth, thus demonstrating a continuity between the values of Pure Land and those of other forms of Buddhism.

Vocal recitation. The practice of vocal recitation and singing praises to Amitābha soon became the most striking form of Pure Land devotion in China. For Tanluan, this involved a mystical union with the name of Amitābha, which he believed had unlimited power, and required an exclusive and total concentration that precluded attention to other Buddhas and subordinated all other practices. Incessant vocal recitation then became a trademark of Daochuo, who made the first rosaries for counting recitations of Amitābha's name. By teaching this practice to laity, a popular religious movement developed with the slogan "Chant the Buddha's name and be reborn in the Pure Land" (*nianfo wangsheng*). His disciple Shandao (613–681) established scriptural arguments for vocal recitation of Amitābha's name as a minimal but sufficient practice to ensure the rebirth of ordinary people into the Pure Land. Although Shandao personally was preoccupied with visualization practices, he is most famous for his list of "five correct practices," in which he substituted chanting the scriptures and reciting Amitābha's name for making a vow and transferring merits. For Shandao, the recitation of Amitābha's name was the only "correct and determining action" necessary for salvation. In the next century, Fazhao furthured this trend by developing a five-rhythm melodic recitation of Amitābha's name, a practice still popular today. In the Song dynasty (960–1279), block printing enabled the distribution of devotional pamphlets and recitation cards in which one could record the number of one's recitations as a visible reminder to maintain one's practice.

Consolidation of the Pure Land school. Although Shandao studied under Daochuo, he spent his mature years in the national capital, Chang'an, where the stature of his achievements in meditation and the comprehensiveness of his writings firmly established the theory and practice of Pure Land devotionalism among Chinese Buddhist leaders. Besides his theoretical and liturgical writings, the *Guan wuliangshou chingshu*, *Guannian men*, *Banzhou zan*, *Wangshen lizanji*, and *Fashi zan*, Shandao brought added prestige to the movement by painting more than three hundred images of the Pure Land and, at the request of Empress Wu, supervising the construction of the great Vairocana Buddha image at Lung-men between the years 672 and 675. The ascendency of Pure Land devotion as a major force can be seen by the increasing number of sculptures of Amitābha, which in the

Lung-men caves came to outnumber those of Śākyamuni by a factor of twelve and those of Maitreya by a factor of ten in the period from 650 to 690.

In the generation after Shandao, Pure Land writings such as the *Shi jingtu chuni lun*, by Shandao's disciple Huaigan, and the *Jingtu shii lun*, based on the *Anloji* of Daochuo, summarized and applied the Pure Land doctrine in the question-and-answer format of a catechism. Studies of Indian Pure Land scriptures and essays on Pure Land subjects faded away in favor of ritual texts and manuals of practice. The *banzhou sanmei* ritual (based on the practice found in the *Banzhou sanmei jing*) was propogated by Huiri (680–748), Chengyuan, and Fazhao, whereas the more exclusive practice of verbal recitation was taught by Daxing and Daojing. Thus, by the beginning of the eighth century a cohesive core of Pure Land beliefs, values, and practices has emerged based upon a sense of the inadequacy or inappropriateness of all other Buddhist teachings and the attractiveness of Amitābha and his Pure Land. The Chinese Pure Land movement had reached its full definition and most exclusive form. One could safely live and die within a world of writings and practices devoted only to rebirth in the Pure Land and in which exclusive devotion to Amitābha was trumpeted as the only guaranteed method of salvation for all. For laity and those distressed by their inadequacies, Pure Land offered a simple but potent formula: (1) the miraculous power of *one* practice (*nianfo* as recitation), (2) directed toward *one* Buddha (Amitābha), (3) to achieve rebirth in *one* place (the Western Pure Land), (4) so that in *one* more rebirth Buddhahood could be achieved. Although other forms of Chinese Buddhist practice had not been abolished, for adherents of Pure Land they had been displaced as a major focus and obligation for the present life and largely postponed until rebirth in Sukhāvatī.

The spread of Pure Land. As early as Tanxian (d. 440), a member of Huiyuan's community on Lushan, advocates of Pure Land devotionalism had collected stories about those who had attained rebirth in the Pure Land. These stories recorded religious practices of devotees and unusual deathbed occurrences that were signs of rebirth in the Pure Land: music emanating from the sky, a sweet fragrance, five-colored clouds, visions of attendants welcoming one to the Pure Land, or pathways of light. The earliest surviving collection of Pure Land biographies is the *Jingtu lun*, compiled by Jiacai in the mid-seventh century. Of the twenty biographies he recorded, six are of monks, four of nuns, five of laymen, and five of laywomen. The enduring prominence of laity and of women in the movement makes it unique among the Buddhist traditions of China.

The Bingzhou area of North China remained the heart of Pure Land practice according to biographical records of eminent monks of the Tang dynasty (618–906). Among Pure Land collections, the *Wangsheng xifang jingtu ruiying zhuan*, compiled by 805 CE, lists 26 people from North China (Shansi and Shensi provinces) and only 7 from South China (Chekiang and Kiangsu provinces). By contrast, in the treatment of the Pure Land movement in the thirteenth century *Fozu tongji*, there are biographies of only 20 people from Shansi, 20 from Shensi, but 129 from Chekiang and 24 from Kiangsu. This marks a definite shift of the focus of Pure Land devotionalism from North to South China. In addition, the sequence of patriarchs offered by the *Fozu tongji* begins with a Southerner, Lushan Huiyuan, skips Tanluan and Daochuo, and goes on to Shandao, Chengyuan (713–803), Fazhao, Shaokang (d. 805), and Yenshou (904–975). This pattern also appears in the *Lobang wenlei*, compiled by Zongxiao (1151–1214), and it is a standard format in the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) lineages.

Opposition. Pure Land devotionalism did not spread without opposition. In the seventh century, yogācāra advocates argued against Shandao by claiming that the Pure Land was an expedient device for special circumstances that did not ensure final salvation, and that in any event ordinary people were not qualified to be reborn there. More vigorous attacks came in the early eighth century from the Southern Chan (Zen) school, which criticized Pure Land as dualistic, encouraging attachment, and promising future enlightenment as a delusive crutch for people of inferior spiritual capacities. Cimin Huiri (680–748) criticized Chan followers for their arrogant rejection of the many devotional practices recommended throughout Buddhist scriptures and in turn accused them of being ignorant of the higher forms of Indian *chan* (Skt., *dhyāna*, "meditation").

Integration and levels of nianfo. More constructively, the eighth-century *Wu fangpian nianfo men* interpreted both Chan and Pure Land as having five progressive levels of practice, each of which is regarded as an expedient device (*fangpian*; Skt., *upāya*). Insofar as practitioners have different spiritual needs and capacities, each level is valid but not exhaustive. The five expedient methods of *nianfo* are: (1) the Buddha's name is recited to attain rebirth in the Pure Land; (2) the form of the Buddha is visualized to eradicate sins; (3) all items of perception are seen as mere products of mind; (4) the mind and its objects of perception are both transcended; and (5) the perfect understanding of how true nature arises is gained. This scheme influenced the fourfold *nianfo* of Zongmi (780–841): (1) vocally calling the Buddha's name; (2) visualizing the Buddha's form as an image or painting to receive the five spiritual powers and see all Buddhas in the ten directions; (3) visualizing the major and minor marks of the Buddha to eradicate all sins; and (4) contemplating the absolute true nature wherein the Buddha has no marks and no name and one uses no-thought *(wui)* as the method to contemplate the Buddha (*nianfo*). Thus, at the highest level, Pure Land forms unite with Chan formlessness. This idea of the progressive levels of *nianfo* culminated in such thinkers as Zhixu (1599–1655), who proclaimed Pure Land devotion as supreme because it could include all Chan and Tiantai practices within different levels of *nianfo.*

Dual cultivation. The Chan patriarch Yungming Yenshou (904–975) is famous for advocating the "dual cultivation of Chan and Pure Land" (*chanjing shuangxiu*) as being doubly effective, like a "tiger wearing horns." His proposal was partially based on Feixi's idea that Chan and Pure Land were like the dialectic of emptiness and form, or underlying principle *(li)* and phenomenal events *(shi)*, and each would be incomplete without the other. In his *Wanshan tonggui* Yenshou considered Pure Land and Chan to be focused on phenomena and thus to represent only one aspect of the One Mind, namely its external functioning (*yong*). Basing his teaching on the *Dacheng qixin lun* (Awakening of faith in the Mahāyāna), Yenshou taught that phenomena must be balanced by the other aspect of the One Mind, namely its underlying nature *(ti)*. The Pure Land, like all phenomena, is perception-only (*weixin*), and the division between Pure Land and Chan is transcended when one is enlightened to the true nature of the One Mind.

Pure Land practices were an important part of the devotional life of many Chinese Buddhists usually identified with other traditions. Monks such as Zhiyi, Daoxuan, and Jizang, who are normally listed as the patriarchs of the Tiantai, Vinaya, and Sanlun schools, respectively, all employed Pure Land regimens in their practice. Tiantai Zhiyi (538–597) had a doctrine of four levels of Buddha lands and advocated a ninety-day practice of chanting Amitābha's name while constantly walking, a practice still undertaken in Japan. Tiantai became further identified with Pure Land when an eighth-century commentary on the *Guan jing* was attributed to Zhiyi. Later, Siming Zhili (960–1028) composed a subcommentary titled *Miaozong chao*, in which he presented his doctrine of "visualizing the Buddha in terms of the [mundane and absolute aspects of] mind" (*yuexin guanfo*). Basing his doctrine on the *Dacheng qixin lun*, he argued that all religious practices are the mind's external functioning *(yong)* and are for the sole purpose of revealing the mind's underlying nature *(ti)*. When our conditioned minds seek enlightenment by visualizing Amitābha, the underlying nature responds with an image in our minds so that there is temporarily a distinction between Buddhas and humans. However, in the act of seeking insight, practitioners are also united with the underlying enlightened nature. These two levels of activity reflect the two aspects of the One Mind; they are Zhili's interpretation of the *Guan jing* phrase: "This mind is the Buddha, this mind creates the Buddha." This doctrine had enormous influence, since Zhili's works became authoritative for Tiantai from the Song dynasty (960–1279) onward, and most Tiantai masters came to seek rebirth in the Pure Land.

The revival of Buddhism under the patronage of the Song dynasty was not marked by the intense textual and doctrinal studies of the Tang period; rather, the focus was on personal cultivation. In spite of Chan's initial antagonism to Pure Land, the Chan monastic code *Chanlin chinggui* (1311) recommended chanting Amitābha's name at funerals. Gradually, Yenshou's teaching of dual cultivation permeated all aspects of the Chan tradition and remains a model up to today. Various masters in the Wenyan Chan lineage taught that the Pure Land is a mental representation only. Cique Zongze formed a *nianfo* recitation society in 1089, asserting that "one's self-nature is Amitābha." Later teachers who used the practice of meditating on a question (*huatou*) such as Hanshan Deqing (1546–1623) urged that disciples ask "Who is it that recites the Buddha's name?" after each recitation of the name of Amitābha in order to achieve Chan enlightenment. Pure Land devotionalism as a supreme path was periodically championed by such figures as Zhuhong (1535–1615), Zhixu (1599–1655), the layman Peng Shaosheng (1739–1796), and his nephew Peng Xisu (who compiled the biographies of approximately five hundred Pure Land devotees).

White Lotus Society. Lay recitation societies flourished in the Song dynasty, the most famous being the White Lotus Society, formed by Mao Ziyuan (1086–1166) in Kiangsu in 1133. While appealing to Lushan Huiyuan's society as a model, Ziyuan added a number of later innovations: vocal recitations; married clergy; strict vegetarianism; the construction of hostels; the active leadership of women; the Tiantai theories of the four Buddha lands and the inseparability of mind-Buddha-living beings; and Zhili's teaching of visualizing the Buddha in terms of the mundane and absolute aspects of mind. He considered all religious practices to be valid insofar as they all have the same goal, all places are identical to the Pure Land, all phenomena are mind-only, and our own natures are identical to that of Amitābha. For ordinary people, however, Ziyuan urged the expedient means (*upāya*) of believing that the Pure Land is to the west and adhering to a gradual religious path based on correct faith, practice, and vows. Correct faith and vows were those that conformed to the teachings of Tanluan, Daochuo, and Shandao. Correct practice could be anything based on a person's abilities, but, like Shandao and Yenshou before him, Ziyuan stressed having correct mindfulness at the moment of death to seal rebirth in the Pure Land.

The White Lotus Society had a checkered history of political sponsorship and repression that culminated in its suppression in 1322. By that time it had developed from a centrally organized lay devotional society to a large property-holding movement with White Lotus Halls for charitable activities such as donating cloth to the populace, copying scriptures, and developing bathhouses, waterworks, mills, shops, boats, and land throughout Fukian Province. The reason for its suppression is uncertain, but as a lay society involving women, people from lower levels of society, and working people who met together at night, it probably provoked rumors of rebellion and immorality. The decree of abolishment became a template for branding and suppressing many later groups who developed followings independent of the state, but often with very different beliefs, until all so-called White Lotus groups were finally suppressed in 1813.

Modern status. A fundamentalist view of the Pure Land as an actual place and the need for moral purity was advocated by Yinguang (1861–1940), but in 1951 he was strongly opposed by Yinshun (1906–) in his *New Treatise on the Pure Land* (*Jingtu xinlun*). Arguing that the images of Amitābha and the Pure Land are culturally constructed and recitation is the lowest form of practice, Yinshun challenged the focus on funeral practices and rebirth in the Pure Land. Instead, practitioners should create an earthly Pure Land through inner cultivation and social service. Yinshun's this-worldly emphasis is now central to the two largest worldwide Chinese Buddhist movements, Fo Guang Shan and the Compassion Relief Tzu Chi Association, and the more exclusivistic tendencies of Daochuo, Shandao, and Yinguang are marginalized.

For the last thousand years Pure Land devotion was transmitted in conjunction with Tiantai and Chan, and most contemporary large monasteries include both a Chan meditation hall and a Pure Land recitation hall. Rosaries for reciting Amitābha's name (*nianzhu*) and the respectful greeting of "O-mi-to-fo" are found throughout Taiwan today, but rarely in mainland China. Nevertheless, wherever practice exists in a Chinese Buddhist temple, and no matter how it is understood, the melodic chanting of Amitābha's name echoes in its halls as an enduring part of Chinese culture.

SEE ALSO Amitābha; Daochuo; Huiyuan; Millenarianism, article on Chinese Millenarian Movements; Nianfo; Pure and Impure Lands; Shandao; Tanluan.

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JĪVA SEE INDIAN PHILOSOPHIES; JĪVANMUKTI

JĪVANMUKTI. The Sanskrit term *jīvanmukti* means "liberation as a living being." A person who has attained liberation in his lifetime is called *jīvanmukta.* Although these precise terms seem to have been popularized only by followers of Śaṅkara, late in the first millennium CE, the concept of a liberated person had become a commonplace of Indian religious thought many centuries earlier. This article will concentrate on the concept.

The final goal of every Hindu is to attain release (*mukti*) from *saṃsāra,* the endless cycle of death and rebirth that all living beings—gods, human beings, animals, and lower spirits—undergo. The cause of rebirth is *karman,* or intentional action. All intentional action originates from "passion" (*rāga*), or emotional involvement with the world. As *mukti* is release from *saṃsāra,* it is thus release from *karman* and its results; and this abandonment of *karman* is to be attained by cultivating "dispassion" (*vairāgya*), emotional disengagement from the world.

In those forms of Hinduism that see devotion to God as the means to salvation, such detachment from the world, and hence *mukti,* is to be attained only at death. However, in the religions that dominated Indian culture from about 500 BCE to late in the first millennium CE, salvation is due to a liberating insight, or *gnōsis.* It is a corollary of all Gnostic religion that liberation can be attained in this life. (In India this possibility is explicitly restricted to human beings.) Thus, there can be human beings who are already saved, who are devoid of passion and of the kind of intentionality that will cause them to be reborn: in such cases, at the death of the body, the sequence of cause and effect set in motion by the individual's *karman* will cease.

Although the content of this gnosis varies in detail from school to school, for all Hindus it involves the realization that one's essential nature is pure spirit, immortal and immutable. Whatever is not pure spirit is impermanent and liable to change; it is utterly other than one's essential nature. The Western distinction between mind and matter is a misleading analogy, for most of what Western thought assigns to mind Indian thought categorizes as nonspiritual. The only apparently "mental" characteristic allowed by all Hindus to the spirit is pure consciousness. All schools agree that the Gnostic who has successfully discriminated between his purely conscious spirit and the transient phenomena that comprise the rest of his apparent empirical personality is thereby freed from suffering (*duḥkha*); most go further and characterize this state as bliss (*ānanda*).

The earliest texts containing this kind of Gnostic religion are the early Upaniṣads (c. seventh century BCE). Buddhism and Jainism are religions of this Gnostic type; but the metaphysics of both are, in separate ways, different from those of Hinduism; and as the term *jīvanmukti* is never applied, even retrospectively, to Buddhist or Jain saints, this article deals only with Hindu formulations of the concept.

The Hindu Gnostic sees through the unreality of changing phenomena, in particularly their duality; he rises above pleasure and pain, good and evil. The enlightened person is thus beyond moral categories; but as he or she is free from all emotional attachments, the enlightened person will never do evil. The person seeking this gnosis will tend to renounce worldly life because it involves types of activity—sexual, economic—that cannot be carried on without attachment. Although the early Upaniṣads stress the intellectual pursuit of gnosis, in most schools it was pursued through the practice of yoga. On whether the liberated person continues to perform ritual, opinions differ sharply.

All later Hindu sects were influenced by the metaphysics of Sāṃkhya, an atheistic path to salvation. The spirit (*puruṣa*/*ātman*) is considered here as utterly other than nature/matter (*prakṛti*), which is one, though diversified. Spirits are many and are inactive and transcendent, mere conscious witnesses of the activity of *prakṛti,* the material cause of the phenomenal world, including all mental functions and intelligence. Involvement with the world and suffering arise from a failure of discrimination (*viveka*). Once one has dissociated one's spirit from mind and ego, one stands sheer and alone (*kevalin*), untouched by emotion. This isolation (*kaivalya*) of the spirit ensures that at death one is never reborn. The *kevalin* lives on after attaining gnosis because the *kevalin*'s *karman,* which had begun to bear fruit, must exhaust its momentum, like the potter's wheel after the potter has stopped spinning it. The *Bhagavadgītā* describes such a person as *sthitaprajña,* "of serene wisdom."

The Advaita Vedānta school established by Śaṅkara virtually accepted the Sāṃkhya view of the *kevalin,* despite a different metaphysical basis. In the tradition of the early Upaniṣads, the Vedāntins regarded the plurality of individual souls (*ātman*) as an illusion: there is only one reality, *brahman,* with which all souls must realize their unity. *Prakṛti* is not only other than spirit; it is in fact nonexistent. One's entire view of a plural world is just a mistake. The person who has undone this mistake is *jīvanmukta.*

Hindu Tantric sects hold a different view of *mukti.* For these monotheistic Gnostics, salvation is achieved through God's grace, which is then instantiated in the successful efforts of the practitioner, who aims to change his or her impure body into the pure substance of *sákti,* God's energy, the source of all things. If successful, the practioner becomes a *siddha* ("successful one"). The idea occurs in the Śaiva Tantras, in the Vajrayāna Tantras, and in *haṭhayoga.* The pure body of a *siddha* was conceived by some to be immortal, so that *jīvanmukti* amounted to apotheosis. Specialists in alchemy (*rasaśāstra*) hoped to achieve immortality by ingesting mercury, the essence of Śiva, and some Tantrics continue to believe that breathing exercises can render them immortal, or at least ensure them very long life.

SEE ALSO Indian Philosophies; Tantrism, article on Hindu Tantrism.

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JIZANG (549–623), Chinese Buddhist monk of the Sanlun (Three-Treatise) tradition. Although half Parthian by birth, Jizang's upbringing and education were entirely Chinese. At the age of ten he became a novice under the Sanlun master Falang (508–581) and resided at the Xinghuang temple in the Southern Dynasties (c. 420–589) capital of Jinling (modern Nanjing), the center of Buddhist culture in southern China. Until the age of thirty-two, he was under the tutelage of Falang, studying primary Sanlun sources as well as the important texts of his age, the Prajñāpāramitā (Perfection of Wisdom) canon, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra (Lotus Sūtra)*, and the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* (Sūtra of the great decease). Following Falang's death in 581, Jizang spent some eight years at the Jiaxiang temple, east of the capital on Mount Qinwang (his posthumous title, Master of Jiaxiang Temple, is derived from his residence at this temple). In 597 he was invited by the emperor Sui Yangdi (581–618) to reside at the Huiri Daochang, one of four monasteries built by that ruler in support of the religion. Jizang spent less than two years at this monastery and, again at the request of Yangdi, moved in 599 to the new imperial capital of Chang'an. There he resided at the Riyan temple, remaining there until his death at the age of seventy-four.

With the reunification of China in 589, Jizang witnessed the controlled revival of Buddhism at a time when the religion was sponsored not only for its own sake but also as a means by which the nation could be consolidated, expanded, and protected. Throughout his life Jizang participated fully in the optimism and luxury of imperial patronage. Under this patronage he produced twenty-six works, collected in some 112 fascicles, a number that makes him one of the most prolific Buddhist writers of his age. Jizang considered himself a specialist on the Perfection of Wisdom literature as well as on the major Mahāyāna sūtras then available to him in Chinese translation. Of his extant works, approximately fifteen are concerned exclusively with the exegesis of sūtras. They cover an extensive range of the topics found in the fertile symbols and ideas of the vast Mahāyāna textual corpus. As an exegete his writings account for some of the major doctrinal trends of Mahāyāna Buddhism and represent one of the earliest Chinese attempts to systematize its canon. Under the influence of the Mahāyāna *Nirvāṇa Sūtra,* the text that dominated Chinese intellectual thought during the fifth and sixth centuries, Jizang wrote extensively on its theme of "Buddha nature" (universal enlightenment). He was the first East Asian Buddhist to argue that even the nonsentient world of wood and stone had the potentiality for enlightenment. As a scholar of the Perfection of Wisdom tradition, he was best known for his essays on the Buddhist concept of the Two Truths, a theory of nonduality achieved through serial negation. These essays established one of the enduring ways by which later East Asian Buddhists came to approach and understand the Buddhist concept of emptiness *(śūnyatā).*

SEE ALSO Śūnyam and Śūnyatā.

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JIZŌ SEE KṢITIGARBHA

JÑĀNA. The Sanskrit root *jñā* is cognate with the Old English *knawan.* Hence on etymological consideration one normally translates *jñāna* as "knowledge." Although this translation seems harmless in many contexts, in a philosophical text that deals with epistemology, or *pramāṇa-śāstra,* it will often be wrong and misleading. In fact, in nontechnical Sanskrit *jñāna* often means knowledge. But when it is contrasted with *pramā* ("knowledge, knowledge-episode"), it means simply a cognition or awareness, and it is meant in an episodic sense. A cognition is an episode that happens in a subject, and when such a cognitive episode becomes true it becomes knowledge, as in *pramā.* Thus, one must say, only some cognitions are knowledge; others may be cases of doubt, misperception, error, false judgment, opinion, and so forth.

In epistemology, the problem is formulated as follows: What is it that makes a *jñāna* or a cognitive event a piece of knowledge, *pramā?* The general answer is that if the causal factors are faultless and no opposing or counteracting factor (*pratibandhaka*) intervenes, the result would be a true cognitive event, a piece of knowledge. The Nyāya school uses *jñāna* in the more comprehensive sense. For according to Nyāya, to be conscious means to be conscious of something, there being no such thing as "pure consciousness," and this again means to cognize or to be aware of something, that is, to have a *jñāna* of something. The conscious subject, or self, is analyzed as the subjunct that *has* cognition or *jñāna,* the obvious conclusion being that a *jñāna* or a particular cognitive event is a quality (*guṇa*) or a qualifier (*dharma*) of the self. The Buddhists, however, analyze the person or the self into five aggregates, of which the awareness series, or the awareness aggregate, is the main constituent. The self is therefore only an awareness series in this view where in each moment an awareness arises, conditioned by the preceding one, along with a number of attending factors. Feelings such as pleasure, pain, and anger are part of the awareness event, according to the Buddhists. But Nyāya wishes to introduce a distinction between the pleasure-event or pain-event and one's cognitive awareness (*jñāna*) of such events.

The Sāṃkhya view of *jñāna* is different. In this view the intellect (*buddhi*) and ego-sense or I-consciousness (*ahaṃkāra*) are all evolutes (*vikāras*) of matter. The spiritual substance is called *puruṣa* ("man"). Consciousness is the essential attribute of *puruṣa,* the spiritual reality. But because the intellect (a material evolute) is extremely transparent and mirrorlike by nature (Vācaspati's view), it reflects the consciousness of the *puruṣa,* that is, it becomes tinged with awareness, and thus an awareness-event arises. It is called a *vṛtti* ("modification") or transformation (*pariṇāma*) of the intellect. It is therefore the spiritual illumination of the mental form, that is, *buddhi* transformed into the form of an object, which makes *jñāna* possible. In Advaita Vedānta, a special manifestation of consciousness (the self-consciousness) is *jñāna* in the primary sense. But the *vṛtti* that the *buddhi* ("intellect") obtains is also called *jñāna* in a secondary sense. Of the two components, the *vṛtti* grasps the form of the object and destroys the veil of ignorance or the state of "unknowing" (*avidyā*), but the particular manifestation of consciousness is what actually *reveals* the object.

Jñāna has soteriological significance. It is almost unanimously claimed (except by the Cārvāka) that some sort of *jñāna,* or *tattva-jñāna* ("knowledge of the reality as it is") is instrumental in bringing about the final release from bondage. Here, of course, *jñāna* stands for "knowledge." Knowledge is what liberates one from human bondage. Even the *Nyāya Sūtra* states that the ultimate good (*niḥśreyasa*) springs from human knowledge (*tattva-jñāna*) of different realities. It is commonplace to say in Advaita Vedānta that *brahmajñāna* ("knowledge of the *brahman*") is the ultimate means for liberation: It is that which establishes the essential identity of the individual self with the ultimate Self or universal Self, *brahman.* One's congenital misconception (*avidyā*) creates a false disunity between the individual and the *brahman,* but *jñāna* establishes their ultimate union. In some Buddhist texts (cf. Vasubandhu, *Triṃśikā*) a distinction is made between *jñāna* and *vijñāna* where the latter is subdivided into *ālaya-vijñāna* and *pravṛtti-vijñāna.* The *pravṛtti-vijñāna* stands for all the ordinary cognitive events of life, cognition of blue for example; while the *ālaya* is said to be the seed (*bīja*) or the subterranean current that causes the "waves" of other cognitive experiences and in turn is fed back by such experiences to continue the process of *saṃsāra* ("the round of births and deaths"). But when the saint acquires *jñāna,* there is a complete reversal (*parāvṛtti*) of the base (*ālaya-āśraya*) in the saint. There is pure *jñāna,* which is also called *bodha* and which eliminates the *vijñāna* series. For there cannot be any *grāhaka* or *vijñāna* or apprehension when there is no *grāhya,* no apprehensible object. This is called the *dharmakāya* of the Buddha.

In certain religious or philosophical texts that promote syncretism, such as the *Bhagavadgītā,* three principal ways of attaining the final goal of salvation are mentioned. They are *karmayoga* (the path of action), *jñānayoga* (the path of knowledge), and *bhaktiyoga* (the path of devotion). The path of knowledge means that ultimate knowledge, or comprehension of the ultimate truth, is sufficient to bring about liberation. But sometimes this path is combined with the path of action, which means that religious and moral duties are performed with a completely unattached disposition (*niṣkāma karma*). One's actions with motivation to obtain results create bondage, but if one is unattached to the result one's actions cannot bind one. Hence knowledge of the Ultimate, when it is combined with such "unattached" action, opens the door to liberation. *Bhakti,* devotional attachment and complete surrender to the deity, is another way. Sometimes a situation is recognized as *jñāna-karma-samuccaya-vāda,* that is, it is claimed that *jñāna* and *karma* are like the two wings of a bird: It cannot fly with just one of them.

SEE ALSO Ālaya-vijñāna; Mīmāṃsā; Nyāya; Sāṃkhya; Vaiśeṣika; Vedānta; Yoga.

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JOACHIM OF FIORE (c. 1135–1202) was an Italian monk and biblical exegete. Joachim was born in Calabria, and after a pilgrimage to Palestine he returned to southern Italy, where he became successively abbot of the Benedictine, later Cistercian, monastery at Curazzo and founder of his own Florensian congregation at San Giovanni in Fiore. The Mediterranean was then a crossroads of history, with pilgrims and Crusaders coming and going and rumors of "the infidel" rife. Joachim was acutely aware of living in the end time and sought an interpretation of history through biblical exegesis illumined by spiritual understanding, a view elaborated upon in works such as *Liber Concordie Novi ac Veteris Testamenti* (1519), *Expositio in Apocalypsim* (1527), and *Psalterium decem chordarum* (1527).

Joachim recorded two experiences of mystical illumination (and hints of a third) in which the trinitarian understanding of history was revealed to him. He developed his theology of history through investigations into biblical concords, or sequences. The first sequence arises from the relation of the old and new dispensations. The second sequence, the procession of the Holy Spirit from both Father and Son, exemplifies his famous "pattern of threes": the first stage (*status*) that of the law, belongs to the Father and lasts until the incarnation of Jesus Christ; the second, that of grace, belongs to the Son and lasts until a near future point; the third, that of the Spirit, proceeding from the first two and characterized by love and liberty, runs until the second advent of Christ. Joachim found the clues for his scheme of history in particular biblical sequences, for instance, in the references to the twelve patriarchs, the twelve apostles, and the twelve expected future leaders, and in references to Noah's sending forth of a raven and a dove paralleling the mission of Paul and Barnabas, which he took as evidence for the future founding of two orders of spiritual people.

Joachim's originality lay in the concept of a third stage still to come, whereas in the standard threefold pattern (before the law, under the law, and under grace) the church had already entered the third stage. Joachim believed that the transition to the third *status* must be made only through the tribulation of the greatest Antichrist (the seventh dragon's head), who was imminent. This age to come, the age of the Spirit (equated with the seventh, or sabbath, age), was part of history and should be distinguished from the eighth day of eternity.

Joachim was recognized as a prophet in his lifetime. Richard I of England, leading the Third Crusade, interviewed him at Messina. In the thirteenth century his concept of the coming of two orders of spiritual people achieved a "prophetic scoop" when the Dominicans ("ravens") and Franciscans ("doves") were founded. In both orders, especially the Franciscan, some friars claimed the role outlined by Joachim, which successively fired the imagination not only of heretical groups—the Apostolic Brethren, Fraticelli, Provençal Beguines, and others—but also of some Augustinian hermits and Jesuits. Pseudo-Joachimist works spread the prophecies, and Joachimist influence is traceable as late as the seventeenth century in the myths of the Angelic Pope and the Last World Emperor. In 1254 occurred the "scandal of the eternal evangel," when a Franciscan proclaimed Joachim's works to be the new gospel, replacing the Old and New Testaments. This was widely documented and later referred to by Lessing, the eighteenth-century German philosopher whose *Education of the Human Race* was widely influential in promoting an optimistic view of the future age. Consequently, the nineteenth century saw a revival of interest in Joachim's third *status* among visionaries such as Jules Michelet, Edgar Quinet, Pierre Leroux, and George Sand who were antiecclesiastical but looked for a new gospel. Some scholars claim Joachim as the source of all later threefold patterns of history, but this is questionable.

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JOAN OF ARC (c. 1412–1431) was a French visionary; also known as the Maid of Orléans. Joan, who called herself Jeanne La Pucelle, used her claims to mystical experience to influence the course of French history in the fifteenth century. Led by her visions, she inspired the French army to turn the tide of the Hundred Years' War. Born around 1412 in Domrémy-la-Pucelle, a village on the border between Lorraine and France, Joan was a peasant who, in her own words, did not "know A from B." As she grew up she heard the magical lore and local saints' legends of Lorraine and reports of continuing French defeats at the hands of the English.

At age thirteen Joan began to hear a voice from God instructing her to go to the dauphin Charles, the uncrowned Valois king. Believing that she was called to drive the English out of France, Joan privately took a vow of virginity and prepared herself for the role of prophetic adviser to the king, a type of female mystic familiar in the late medieval period. At some point in these troubled years the voice became three voices, whom she later identified as the saints Catherine of Alexandria and Margaret of Antioch, both known for their heroic virginity, and the archangel Michael, protector of the French royal family.

Joan established her authority through her urgent sincerity, by identifying herself with prophecies about a virgin who would save France, and by accurately announcing a French defeat on the day it took place 150 miles away. No longer able to ignore her, the garrison captain at the nearby town of Vaucouleurs refused to endorse her mission to save France until she was exorcised, raising the issue that would haunt her mission henceforth: Did her powers come from God or from the devil? Not fully assured, the captain nonetheless gave her arms and an escort. Cutting her hair short and donning male clothing, Joan and her companions made their way through enemy territory, reaching the dauphin's court at Chinon in late February 1429.

Joan's indomitable belief that only she could save France impressed Charles, his astronomer, and some of the nobles. But they too moved carefully, requiring an examination for heresy by theologians at Poitiers, who declared her a good Christian, and a physical examination by three matrons, who certified that she was indeed a virgin. For a woman about to attempt the "miracle" of defeating the English, virginity added an aura of almost magical power.

Given the desperate nature of Charles's position, he had little to lose in allowing Joan to join the army marching to the relief of Orléans, which had been besieged by the English. Her presence attracted volunteers and raised morale.

Charging into the midst of battle, Joan was wounded and became the hero of the day. With Orléans secured, Joan impatiently counseled the army to move on. Town after town along the Loire fell, others offered their loyalty without battle. By late July, the dauphin could be crowned King Charles VII at Reims with Joan by his side.

But Joan's days of glory were brief. Driven by her voices, she disobeyed the king and continued to fight. Her attack on Paris failed, and several other ventures ended inconclusively. In May 1430, Joan was captured in a skirmish outside Compiègne. Neither Charles nor any of his court made an attempt to rescue or ransom her.

Determined to discredit Joan as a heretic and a witch, the English turned her over to an inquisitional court. Manned by more than one hundred French clerics in the pay of the English, Joan's trial in Rouen lasted from February 21 to May 28, 1431. Under inquisitional procedure she could not have counsel or call witnesses. As a layperson she had no religious order to speak for her, nor had she ever enlisted the support of a priest. Yet although she had spent months in military prisons, in chains and guarded constantly by men, Joan began with a strong defense. Reminding her interrogators that she was sent by God, she warned that they would condemn her at great risk. The charges came down to the question of ultimate authority: The judges insisted that she submit to the church's interpretation that her visions were evil, but Joan held to her claim that they came from God. Perhaps without intending it, Joan thus advocated the right of individual experience over the church's authority.

After weeks of unrelenting questioning, Joan began to break. Threatened with death by fire, she finally denied her voices and agreed to wear women's dress. It is not known precisely what happened next, but three days later she was found wearing male clothing again. She claimed that she had repented of betraying her voices; there are indications that her guards may have tried to rape her. Whatever her motivation, her actions sealed her fate. Declared a relapsed heretic on May 31, 1431, Joan was burned at the stake.

In 1450, because he was uneasy that he owed his crown to a convicted heretic, Charles instigated an inquiry into the trial, which led to a thorough papal investigation. Although the verdict of 1431 was revoked in 1456, the main charges against Joan were not cleared. Despite this ambiguity, Joan's memory received continuous attention from the French people through the centuries. It is ironic that in 1920 she was declared a saint, because none of the church's proceedings has acknowledged her right to interpret her divine messages, leaving the main issue for which she was condemned unaddressed.

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JOB.

The biblical *Book of Job* is included among the Writings (*Ketubim*) in the Hebrew Bible and among the Poetic books in the Old Testament. Along with *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes,* and *Sirach,* it is part of the wisdom literature of ancient Israel. The character Job, however, is not an Israelite but a figure belonging to a broader ancient Near Eastern tradition. His name (Hebrew *'iyyōb*) is not a typical Hebrew name but is related to Amorite names attested throughout the second millennium BCE. Similarly, *Ezekiel* 14:14 mentions Job, along with Noah (the Israelite version of the Mesopotamian flood hero Utanapishtim) and the Canaanite king Dan'el, as figures legendary for their righteousness. The setting of the book of *Job* in the land of Uz and the homelands of Job's three friends (especially that of Eliphaz the Temanite) suggest that the Israelites may have acquired the story from Edomite sources. Although evidently familiar with a variety of ancient Near Eastern literary and folk traditions, the author of the biblical book has adapted these materials to his own specific religious and cultural beliefs. Few clues exist as to the date of composition. Though Job's world is described in terms that evoke a patriarchal setting, evidence from historical linguistics suggests that the book was composed in the early postexilic period.

CONTENTS AND STRUCTURE. The structure of the book has long puzzled scholars. It begins (1:1–2:13) and concludes (42:7–17) with a simple prose story that recounts how Job, a man of exemplary piety and extraordinary wealth, is tested through the loss of his family, property, and health. Refusing to curse God even in the depth of his suffering, Job's possessions are returned twofold, a new family is given to him, and he lives another one hundred and forty years. Between the prose beginning and ending, however, there are some thirty-nine chapters of erudite and highly sophisticated poetry. Chapters 3–27 contain a dialogue between Job and his three friends, Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar, concerning the significance of his suffering, the nature of God, and God's governance of the world. Though technically not cursing God, Job accuses God of heinous injustice, sadistic violence, and gross mismanagement of the world. A poem on the inaccessibility of wisdom follows the dialogue in chapter 28. Job resumes speaking in chapters 29–31, giving a defense of his life, swearing an oath of innocence, and challenging God to reply to him. Instead, the next several chapters (chapters 32–37) introduce a new character, Elihu, who attempts a further rebuttal of Job. At the conclusion of Elihu's speech, God appears "out of the tempest" to address Job (38:1–42:6). God does not speak directly to Job's complaints, however, but challenges his knowledge of creation and his inability to provide for the wild creatures of the earth as God does. Although Job retracts his accusations against God (40:1–5), God resumes with a second speech, describing the terrible magnificence of the legendary creatures Behemoth and Leviathan. In his final reply (42:1–6), Job acknowledges that he has spoken "without understanding," and having seen God "with my eyes," he recants. The prose conclusion then follows.

Although many ancient Near Eastern literary compositions incorporate a poetic text within a prose framework, the tensions between the prose and poetic parts of Job are striking. Where the prose story describes a character whose patient endurance is unwavering, the Job of the poetic section is an angry rebel whose accusations against God are only quelled by an encounter with the sublimity of the divine. Even those differences might be accommodated as features of a psychological portrait of acute suffering, but the transition from the poetry to the prose conclusion is jarring. Whereas in the poetic speech to Job God accuses him of "obscuring counsel" and speaking "without knowledge" (38:2), in the prose conclusion God rebukes the three friends because "you have not spoken the truth about me, as has my servant Job" (42:7).

With the rise of historical criticism in biblical studies, scholars argued that the prose narrative must be an ancient folk tale that the poet who wrote *Job* used to frame his new poetic composition, by removing the "original" dialogue between Job and his friends but otherwise not significantly changing the story. The Elihu speeches, which differ stylistically from the rest of the poetry and interrupt the dramatic structure, were regarded as a later addition. Some scholars argued that the wisdom poem, Job's final speech, and one or both of the divine speeches came from different hands. In reaction to historical-critical excesses, however, many recent commentators have attempted to understand the book as a more unified composition, though most still regard the figure and words of Elihu as a secondary addition. However the book was composed, the tensions between the prose tale and the poetic material remain fundamental for understanding the meaning of the book. The major components of the book are composed as different literary genres and address different aspects of the religious dilemma posed by the traditional figure of Job.

THE PROSE TALE. Although often referred to as a folk tale, the prose narrative is more accurately described as a didactic wisdom tale. In such stories, which include the stories about Joseph, Tobit, and Daniel, the protagonist embodies moral qualities valued by the culture. Within the story the moral coherency of the world is threatened when an antagonist menaces the hero. The suffering hero perseveres in his virtue, however, and is rewarded at the end, thus restoring the consistency of the moral order and recommending the virtue that the hero exemplifies. In *Job* the featured virtue is a disinterested piety that does not depend on reward. What is often overlooked is that this lack of concern for reward is not the typical way in which piety is described in the Bible. In *Deuteronomy,* in *Proverbs,* in *Psalms,* and elsewhere, devotion to God and blessings from God are seen as concomitant. God blesses the upright, whose gratitude expresses itself in further devotion to God. The Joban prose tale, far from being a simple folk story, is a narrative exploration and resolution of a potential problem within this religious framework. Does God's blessing corrupt piety? Or can one hold onto both concepts if one can imagine a form of piety that is truly disinterested? By depicting Job's piety as unchanged in good fortune and in bad, the writer can avoid potential contradiction. The restoration of Job at the end of the book serves to reunite the two values.

The character in the story who articulates the problem is the Adversary (*ha-śāṭān*), who argues that Job is pious only because he has been blessed and will curse God if all he has is taken away. This figure is not yet Satan, the dualistic opponent of God that he becomes in later Jewish and Christian thought. Rather, he is a member of the heavenly court charged with inspecting the earth and reporting instances of disloyalty or corruption. The same figure occurs in *Zechariah 3,* where he accuses the high priest of corruption. In these texts the term *satan* is a common noun, not a proper name. Nevertheless, in both cases the Adversary's accusations are rejected by God, and in *Job* he acts as something of an agent provocateur. Thus one can see how the character later develops into a figure of evil and an adversary of God himself.

THE WISDOM DIALOGUE. The prose tale makes use of a suffering hero to examine the concept of piety. In wisdom circles in the ancient Near East, however, the enigma of suffering itself had long been a topic of reflection, and it is this aspect of Job's situation that the poetic parts of the book explore. Several poetic texts from Mesopotamia and Ugarit have been compared with Job, notably the Sumerian composition *A Man and His God* and the Babylonian text *I Will Praise the God of Wisdom.* These poems, however, are appeals and thanksgivings for relief from suffering, and as such are more comparable to biblical psalms of lament and thanksgiving than to the story of Job. The one text that bears a striking resemblance to the dialogue between Job and his friends is the so-called *Babylonian Theodicy,* composed around 1000 BCE. Here, as in the *Book of Job,* a sufferer repeatedly complains to his friend concerning the inexplicable evil that has befallen him, questioning the justice of the gods and the coherency of the moral world. His friend replies each time by offering the orthodox theodicies. Although direct literary dependency is unlikely, it is evident that the Job poet composed the dialogue portion of the book according to a well-known genre.

In the dialogue, although Job gives eloquent voice to his personal sufferings, the primary issue that concerns him is the nature of God. Since he cannot perceive his sufferings as in any way justifiable, he is forced to conclude that God is not only unjust but also sadistic and obsessed with seeking out and punishing vulnerable humans (e.g., 9:16–31; 14:18–22; 16:9–16). Job extends his critique to indict God's misgovernance of the world (e.g., 12:14–25 and 24:1–12). The most remarkable innovation in Job's religious thinking is his use of a forensic, or courtroom, model to explore his relationship with God. Although Israelite tradition sometimes described God's punishment of individuals or persons in terms of a legal judgment (e.g., *Ps.* 143:2; *Isa.* 3:13–14; *Mic.* 6:1–2), Job creatively reverses the force of the metaphor and attempts to imagine how a trial with God would allow him not only to hear God's charges against him but also to bring charges of his own (e.g., 13:18–27; 16:18–21; 23:2–7).

The role of the friends in the wisdom dialogue is to defend traditional understandings of divine justice against the skeptical onslaught of the sufferer. Though the friends are often read as simply "blaming the victim," their arguments are much more nuanced. Like many people in the ancient world, they believe that one could offend the deity unintentionally or unknowingly. Thus the only rational response to inexplicable suffering—especially for a righteous person—is to acknowledge any possible wrongdoing and to appeal humbly to God for deliverance (e.g., 5:1–16; 8:5–7; 11:13–20). Theirs is a thoroughly practical approach to the enigma of suffering. Only when Job persists in his blasphemous speech do they conclude that he must indeed be wicked (22:2–11), though their advice to him remains the same (22:21–30).

Thus what separates Job and the friends is not so much a question of Job's guilt or innocence as a conflict between two models of the divine-human relationship. The friends accept that a great gulf of being separates God and humans. In the face of that mystery, supplication of God's good favor is the only possible stance. Job, however, assumes that God and humans share a common set of values concerning justice and equity that can be rationally applied to both human and divine acts. Both perspectives are grounded in Israelite religious thought, making the dialogue a profound engagement of alternative worldviews.

JOB'S FINAL DEFENSE AND THE DIVINE SPEECHES. In his final speech (chapters 29–31) Job mounts a defense of his life and lays out the grounds on which he assumes he and God could address their differences. Job develops his view of the divine-human relationship as an extension of his self-understanding as a leader in his own community. The divine speeches, for which there is no parallel in the extant literature of the ancient Near East, are a fierce repudiation of an anthropocentric modeling of God and an implicit rejection of retributive justice as a part of the structure of the world. Although cast as a rhetorical repudiation of Job's pretensions ("Where were you. . . . Can you. . . . Do you know?"), their force is to challenge Job's construction of God as essentially a projection of an ancient Near Eastern patriarch on a cosmic scale. The divine speeches are difficult to interpret. Some commentators interpret them as a reaffirmation of the cosmos-creating deity who organizes the universe and restrains its chaotic elements. The difficulty with this understanding, however, is that the deity's final speech (chapters 40–41) appears rather to celebrate the place of the chaotic (exemplified in the legendary creatures Behemoth and Leviathan) alongside the accomplishments of the deity in establishing a stable order of creation (chapter 38). Indeed, the wild animals whom God nurtures (chapter 39) are precisely those that ancient Near Eastern thought considered to be emblems of the chaotic "other." Read in this way, the divine speeches are a radical challenge to traditional ancient Near Eastern theological assumptions.

JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN RECEPTION OF *JOB*. The *Book of Job* resists being read as a unified whole. Whether one deals with the tensions as evidence of successive editorial layers or as the construction of a subtle thinker who wished to juxtapose several different ways of engaging issues arising from human suffering, it remains a difficult book, the ambiguities of which have funded many different interpretations.

Early Jewish interpretation recast *Job* as an ethical testament in which a dying elder teaches his children the lessons of his life. The *Testament of Job*, probably composed in Alexandria in the first century BCE, depicts Job as opposing Satan's idolatry, for which he is told in advance that he will be persecuted. Thus he becomes a figure of endurance (cf. *James* 5:11), and his daughters are represented as mystics to whom he gives the gift of understanding the language of the angels. Other early Jewish interpretations of Job are more critical of him, casting him as one of Pharaoh's counselors at the time of the oppression of the Israelites. This identification of Job with the Egyptians in *Exodus* becomes the rationale for his suffering. The rabbis cited in the Babylonian Talmud (*b. Baba Batra* 15–16) debate whether Moses wrote the *Book of Job* (a manuscript from Qumran copies *Job* in paleo-Hebrew script, otherwise used only for the books of the Pentateuch and the name of God) and whether or not Job blasphemes. *B. Baba Batra* 16b subtly interprets *Job* 2:10, "And for all this, Job did not sin with his lips," to suggest that Job sinned in his heart—an interpretation that prepares the reader for the sudden transition from the pious Job of the prose tale to the rebellious Job of the poetic dialogue.

The early Christian church viewed Job as an "athlete of God" who perseveres through his suffering, and as an antitype of Christ, an interpretation most influentially presented in Pope Gregory's *Moralia in Job.* Ironically, since early postexilic Judaism did not have a conception of resurrection, certain passages in *Job* (especially 19:25–27) came to be cited during the patristic period as evidence for resurrection of the body. In the Middle Ages, Job became the patron saint of those who suffered from worms, leprosy, skin diseases, venereal disease, and melancholy. Calvin composed one hundred and fifty-nine sermons on *Job*, emphasizing the theme of divine providence.

The poetry of *Job* attracted considerable attention during the Romantic period, as *Job* became a prime example of the expression of the sublime in the writings of Robert Lowth (1710–1787; Bishop of London1777–1787), Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803), and Edmund Burke (1729–1797). The most important Romantic interpretation of *Job,* however, is William Blake's series of illustrations, made around 1823, in which Job becomes an example of the cleansing of "the doors of perception," as he moves from misperception to true vision of God. In the early twentieth century, Rudolf Otto (*The Idea of the Holy*) claimed Job's encounter with God as a primary example of the experience of the holy. In the later twentieth century the figure of Job was invoked to exemplify psychological development (Carl Jung, *Answer to Job*); psychological illness (Jack Kahn, *Job's Illness*); absurdist existentialism (Robert Frost, "A Masque of Reason"; implicitly, Franz Kafka, *The Trial*); post-religious humanism (Archibald MacLeish, "J.B."); and the radical evil of the Shoah (Elie Wiesel, *The Trial of God*). In theological criticism *Job* has been critiqued as exemplifying the "evils of theodicy" (Terrence Tilley, *The Evils of Theodicy*), and from a liberationist perspective as an example of "how to speak about God" (Gustavo Gutiérrez, *On Job: God-Talk and the Suffering of the Innocent*). René Girard (*Job, the Victim of His People*) interprets Job as a type of scapegoat. Feminist critique has rehabilitated the maligned figure of Job's wife (Ilana Pardes, *Countertraditions in the Bible: A Feminist Approach*), and postmodernists have been drawn to the "self-consuming" structure of the internal contradictions of the *Book of Job* (Edward Good; David Clines; and Dermot Cox), or they have interpreted the book as modeling a dialogic play of voices in which no single character or perspective controls the meaning of the book. The richness and ambiguity of the book ensure that it will continue to be a provocative work that defies definitive interpretation.

SEE ALSO Resurrection; Satan; Suffering; Theodicy.

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JŌDO SHINSHŪ. The Jōdo Shinshū, or True Pure Land sect, is a school of Japanese Buddhism that takes as its central religious message the assurance of salvation granted to all beings by the Buddha Amida (Skt., Amitābha). Its founder, Shinran (1173–1263), a disciple of the eminent Japanese monk Hōnen (1133–1212), founder of the Jōdoshū (Pure Land sect), stands in a line of Buddhist thinkers who emphasize faith in the salvific power of Amitābha and the hope of rebirth in his Pure Land, a paradisical realm created out of the boundless religious merit generated by Amitābha's fulfillment of a series of vows taken eons ago while still the *bodhisattva* Dharmākara. Jōdo Shinshū, or Shinshū as it is often called, is but one of a number of "Pure Land" traditions in East Asia, and is today the largest of the denominations of Japanese Buddhism.

Pure Land devotionalism is a perennial element in both Chinese and Japanese Buddhism. Beginning nominally with the visualization cult of Amitābha inaugurated in the year 403 by the Chinese monk Huiyuan, Pure Land practices have served as adjuncts to the teachings of a variety of East Asian Buddhist traditions and, from the sixth century, as the foundation of several religious movements devoted more or less exclusively to the worship of Amitābha. These movements combine faith in the power of Amitābha with the practice of the Nembutsu, which various schools interpret in differing ways but that in general consists now of the formulaic recitation of the name of Amitābha. Although standing firmly within the Pure Land tradition of its Chinese and Japanese antecedents, Jōdo Shinshū is conspicuous in the interpretation it gives to Nembutsu practice and to the assurances of salvation found in the vows of Amitābha.

TEXTS. Like all Pure Land traditions, the core texts of the Shinshū are a cycle of scriptures originating in northwest India and, perhaps, Buddhist Central Asia, that detail the spiritual career of Amitābha, the glories of Sukhāvatī ("land of ease," i.e., the Pure Land) created by him, the vows he has undertaken for the salvation of all beings, or certain meditative techniques that the devotee can undertake in order to visualize Amitābha and his Pure Land. Although the texts of the so-called triple Pure Land scripture began as individual works (the visualization scripture appears of widely different provenance than the other two), the three Pure Land sūtras are considered by the Japanese to preach a wholly consistent religious message. These texts are the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra* (Jpn., *Muryōjukyō;* T.D. no. 363), the *Smaller Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra* (Jpn., *Amidakyō;* T.D. no. 366), and a text no longer extant in Sanskrit, known in Japanese as the *Kanmuryōjukyō* (T.D. no. 365). The first and second contain elements of the mythic cycle of Amitābha; the third is a meditation scripture. Also important to Shinshū thought is the work of one of the patriarchal figures of Chinese Pure Land Buddhism, the *Wangsheng lunzhu* (Jpn., *Ōjōronchū;* T.D. no. 1819) of Tanluan (c. 488–c. 554). This text was held in great esteem by Shinran, who relied upon it in the composition of the founding document of the Jōdo Shinshū, the *Kyōgyōshinshō* (Teaching, practice, faith, and enlightenment).

SHINRAN. At the age of nine Shinran began his formal Buddhist training at the Tendai center on Mount Hiei. He remained there as a monk in the Jōgyōzammaidō for almost twenty years. At the age of twenty-nine, unable to attain peace of mind, Shinran decided to leave Hiei for Kyoto, where he became a disciple of Hōnen (1201). Despite, or perhaps owing to, the popularity of Nembutsu practices among the common people, monks from the established, traditional Buddhist sects began to denounce and censure Hōnen's Jōdoshū doctrines. This, coupled with certain improprieties of several of Hōnen's disciples, led to the official prohibition of Nembutsu Buddhism and the banishment of Hōnen and his main disciples from Kyoto. Shinran was defrocked and exiled to Echigo (in present-day Niigata prefecture) in 1207. During his years in exile Shinran lived as a layman—he took the humble name Gutoku ("old fool"), married, and raised a family. It was this experience that led Shinran to realize that enlightenment and rebirth in the Pure Land were not contingent on adherence to the monastic precepts, the study of scriptures and doctrine, or the severance of worldly ties. Shinran used his own experience as a model for the religious life, holding that salvation could be attained in this world and this life in the midst of one's common, daily activities. In this way, Shinran extended Hōnen's notions of universal salvation and completed Pure Land's transformation of Buddhism from a "religion of renunciation" to a "household religion."

The year 1211 saw Shinran officially pardoned. Thereafter, he lived with his family in the Kanto region, where he began proselytizing his new understanding of Pure Land doctrines. He attracted large numbers of followers—some estimate ten thousand—some of whom were instrumental in establishing and maintaining Shinshū centers after Shinran's death. During the period between 1235, when he returned to Kyoto, and his death Shinran was most prolific. It was during this period that he completed and revised the *Kyōgyōshinshō,* his most important work on Jōdo Shinshū doctrine. In this work Shinran traced the tradition of Pure Land teachings by collecting passages from scriptures and earlier commentaries, to which he added his own interpretations. The *Kyōgyōshinshō* represents an attempt by Shinran to lend legitimacy and orthodoxy to Shinshū teachings by establishing its affiliation with traditionally accepted authorities, an attempt necessitated by the virulent criticisms of the Jōdoshū by the monks of other Buddhist sects. Other of his works written during this period were intended to systematize his teachings for the guidance of his disciples and to settle the numerous small feuds among his followers in the Kanto region.

TRUE PURE LAND DOCTRINE. In his religious thought Shinran was influenced by Hōnen's division of Buddhist practices into two paths leading to enlightenment: the *shōdōmon* ("path of sages"), that is, the difficult path wherein enlightenment is dependent on the individual's "own power" (*jiriki*) and capability to adhere to the monastic precepts and to engage in arduous meditative practices and study; and the *jōdomon* ("path of Pure Land"), or the easy path in which one depends on "other power" (*tariki*), namely, the salvific power of Amida. Like Hōnen, Shinran held that during *mappō* (the "latter days of the Law"; i.e., an age of widespread degeneration and decadence) traditional Buddhist practices were all but useless for the attainment of enlightenment. In such an age, he claimed, faith in Amida and in the truth of his "original vow" (*hongan*) to save all sentient beings was the only path to salvation and rebirth in the Pure Land. As opposed to earlier forms of Buddhist practice, which uphold the path of wisdom (*prajñā*), meditation (*dhyāna*), and disciplined austerities (*śīla*), and are based on unlimited self-reliance, Pure Land practices provide a way to salvation in the face of the ineffectiveness of self-effort.

Struck by the very limitations of human capabilities and the inherent sinfulness of human nature, Shinran took Hōnen's advocacy of faith in Amida to an even greater degree. While Hōnen held that the individual must "choose" to have faith in Amida and that this choice must be continually reaffirmed through repeated invocations of the Nembutsu, Shinran argued that it was Amida who chose to save all humans. According to Shinran, what effectuates Amida's salvific power is the power of his Original Vow to save all beings as embodied in the Nembutsu. By participating in and allowing oneself to be permeated by this power, one transcends the world of causal necessity (*karman*). Implicit in the Pure Land teachings concerning the power of the

Original Vow is the belief that, even if the escape from this world of *saṃśara* (the round of birth and death of unenlightened existence) is possible through inspired insight alone, the ground of the possibility of that insight depends in turn on something higher or deeper than mere human insight: the divine power (Skt., *adhiṣṭhana*) of the Buddha. This divine power of the Buddha does not lie merely within his human career and character; it transcends his individual personhood, breaking through the limited framework of time and space to embrace all living beings eternally and without limitation.

This interpretation of faith led Shinran to reevaluate Hōnen's use of Nembutsu invocation. Like Hōnen, Shinran believed that the only means to apprehend Amida and to participate in his Original Vow was to invoke his name. By intoning the Nembutsu ("Namu Amida Butsu," or "Adoration be to Amida Buddha"), one accumulates boundless stores of merit and virtue. The necessary requisite is, of course, faith. Hōnen held that repeated invocations of the Nembutsu were necessary to build faith and to ensure rebirth in the Pure Land. Shinran, however, argued that one's practice must *begin* with faith. In any single invocation the devotee must direct his thoughts to the origins of that practice, that is, to faith in Amida's Original Vow. As such, the invocation of the Nembutsu is an expression of gratitude to Amida for being allowed to participate in the salvation promised by his vows. Yet Shinran did not deny the value of repeated invocations, for, although not leading directly to faith, the repeated invocation has the valuable function of awakening one's heart to Amida's existence. In this way, Nembutsu practice and faith come to be two sides of the same coin, with Shinshū emphasizing the moment of salvation and Jōdoshū stressing the process of arriving there.

INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY. After Shinran's death his tomb became the center of his movement's religious activities. Ten years later his youngest daughter, Kakushinni, built a mausoleum in the Higashiyama Ōtani area east of Kyoto in which she enshrined an image of Shinran and his ashes. In presenting the mausoleum and its grounds to her father's disciples, Kakushinni stipulated that the maintenance of the temple and the direction of the religious services held there were to be provided by Kakushinni and her descendants in perpetuity. While this marked the origin of the unique Jōdo Shinshū practice of hereditary succession, at the time it was not interpreted by Shinran's disciples as a move toward increasing authoritarian control over the movement. During this period the movement had still not been formally organized into a sect with a central temple under a single leader. Shinran himself had preferred to establish small, informal meeting places (*dōjō*) in the homes of his disciples, around which communities of followers (*monto*) could gather. Indeed, Shinran had no intention of becoming the founder of a new sect or religion. He considered himself the true successor to Hōnen's teaching and continued to think of his movement as part of the Jōdoshū. For this reason, there was a time when the disciples of Hōnen and those of Shinran, both claiming to represent the "true" Pure Land teachings, quarreled over the right to use the name Jōdo Shinshū. It was only in relatively recent times—in 1872—that this conflict was at last resolved and the name Jōdo Shinshū reserved for the groups stemming from Shinran. (Naturally, Shinshū adherents regard Hōnen as a patriarchal figure in his own right in the lineage of Pure Land teachers.) Prior to that date, Jōdo Shinshū was more commonly known as the Ikkōshū or the Montoshū. In the Kanto region, the *monto* evolved into large local organizations headed by the most powerful of Shinran's disciples. These groups took their names from the territories in which they were located and, for the most part, remained organizationally unrelated to other such groups.

After Kakushinni's death her son Kakunyo succeeded to the directorship of Shinran's mausoleum. His greatest wish was to consolidate and organize the various regional groups into a unified sect centered around the mausoleum. Toward this end, he transformed the mausoleum into a temple, naming it the Honganji (Original Vow Temple) and attempted to draw the local *monto* into the organization as branch temples. Kakunyo's efforts mark the establishment of the Jōdo Shinshū as a single, centralized organization. In 1332 the Honganji received official recognition as the central temple of the Shinshū movement. The government, however, still considered it an affiliate of the Tendai school. Kakunyo's plans met with resistance from the various local groups and movements, particularly in the Kanto. Many leaders began to erect temples and establish their own regionally based sects. As a result, numerous subsects of Jōdo Shinshū were founded throughout the country.

Although the Honganji continued to thrive, it was not without its problems. In 1456 the Honganji complex was burned to the ground by Tendai monks from Mount Hiei. This was not too serious a setback, for the Honganji had numerous affiliated congregations and temples throughout the country. However, the eighth successor to the head of the temple, Rennyo (1415–1499), was forced to move and ultimately established Shinshū headquarters in the Yamashina district of Kyoto. In the interim, Rennyo's determination to sever all ties with Tendai—he destroyed Tendai scriptures, scrolls, and images in his temples—and his plans to expand and strengthen the Shinshū organization aroused the anger of various Buddhist sects and local feudal lords (*daimyō*). The numerous attacks suffered by Rennyo and his followers at the hands of these detractors, led them to form an alliance with local peasants and samurai. During the Ōnin War such groups led armed uprisings known as *ikkō ikki* in an effort to protect their land holdings from the powerful daimyo. It was during this period that Jōdo Shinshū gained widespread acceptance and popularity among the masses. The success of his armed uprisings acquired for Rennyo the title "saint of the restoration of the Honganji."

The attacks against Shinshū followers continued throughout the Muromachi period. When the Honganji was again burned, this time by Nichiren monks, the tenth successor, Shōnyō, rebuilt the temple in the Ishiyama district of Osaka. It was under Shōnyō's leadership that membership in Shinshū began to spread beyond the peasant masses. The daimyo, recognizing both the potential of the armed peasant uprisings and the power of their affiliation with Shinshū, began to join the sect. When the eleventh successor to the Honganji, Kennyo, became the abbot of the temple, the sect was politically and militarily as powerful as any of the major aristocratic and military families in Japan. Shinshū's strength posed a serious threat to several of the contending military rulers, and in 1570 the powerful daimyo Oda Nobunaga attacked the Honganji. The temple, supported by peasant groups, samurai, and local daimyo, was able to ward off Nobunaga's troops for ten years. In 1580 the Honganji was forced to surrender, and Kennyo fled to Kii province. This siege marks both the height of Shinshū's power and the beginning of its decline. It also marks the end of the sect's involvement in armed peasant uprisings.

After Kennyo's death a dispute over succession divided and further weakened the Honganji. Two branches were formed: the Western Honganji (Honpa Honganji), led by Kennyo's second son, Junnyo, and the Eastern Honganji (Ōtani Honganji), led by his eldest son, Kyonyo. Both established their temple headquarters in Kyoto. It should be noted that the establishment of sects within the Jōdo Shinshū, from the earliest divisions during Kakunyo's leadership until the schism between Kennyo's sons, were all the result of factional, political, and succession disputes, and personality differences. Thus, there are few discernible differences in doctrine and practice among the various sects.

The major sects of today's Jōdo Shinshū religion were established between the latter part of the Kamakura period and the beginning of the Tokugawa. Today there are ten sects, of which the Eastern and Western Honganji sects are the most influential, each outnumbering the combined membership of all the smaller sects. These smaller sects include the Takada, Bukkōji, Sanmonto, Kibe, Yamamoto, Koshōji, Joshoji, and Izumoji groups. The practice of handing down the leadership of temples through family lines is upheld by all sects. The leaders of the Honganji sects claim descent from Shinran, and the leaders of the other sects trace descent to Shinran's direct disciples. In the post–World War II era the Honganji sects have undertaken foreign missionary activity, opening temples in Hawaii, North and South America, and elsewhere in countries with large Japanese populations.

SEE ALSO Amitābha; Hōnen; Huiyuan; Jingtu; Jōdoshū; Mappō; Nianfo; Pure and Impure Lands; Rennyo; Shinran; Tanluan; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Buddhist Devotional Life in East Asia.

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JŌDOSHŪ.

The Jōdoshū, or Pure Land Sect, is a school of Japanese Buddhism founded in the twelfth century by the monk Hōnen (1133–1212), who took as the centerpiece of his religious teaching sole reliance on the power of the Buddha Amida (Skt., Amitābha) to save all beings. The Jōdoshū was the first of a series of independent Pure Land traditions to flourish in Japan, and continues to this day as a major force in the religion and culture of the nation.

In both China and Japan, Pure Land (Chin., *Jingtu*; Jpn., *jōdo*) practices and doctrines existed both as adjuncts to the teachings of most Buddhist sects and as independent traditions in their own right. Pure Land devotion emphasized faith in the salvific power of Amida, the desirability of attaining rebirth in his Pure Land, Sukhāvatī ("land of bliss"), and the efficacy of *nembutsu* practices (i.e., the recitation of the name of, or meditation on, Amida Buddha) for attaining salvation. For the precursors of the Jōdoshū, including Eikū, Ryōnin, and Genshin (942–1017), *nembutsu* meditation (Jpn., *nembutsu zammai*) involved the invocation of Amida's name while visualizing his body and circumambulating his image. Some, like Genshin, also advocated the practice of invoking Amida's name while engaging in the accompanying meditative exercise. While *nembutsu* meditation and invocation (although the latter was considered an inferior practice) were practiced by many monks of the Tendai sect, they were regarded at best as complements to other established practices. It was not until the Kamakura period (1185–1333), when Hōnen founded the Jōdoshū, that the invocation of the Nembutsu (here conceived as the formulaic recitation of the name of Amida) became the sole practice advocated by a sect as the superior method of attaining salvation.

BASIC TEXTS. Pure Land practices are founded upon a cycle of texts that emphasize either a technique of visualizing Amitābha and his Pure Land or that outline Amitābha's spiritual career, his vows to create a haven for suffering sentient beings, and the methods for winning rebirth there. A scripture of the first type, the *Pratyutpannasamādhi Sūtra,* was translated into Chinese as early as 179 CE and became the basis for the early Chinese worship of Amitābha on Mount Lu under the direction of the famous literatus-monk Huiyuan (334–416). By the fifth century another "meditation" scripture, the *Kuan wu-liang-shou-fo ching* (Skt., *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra**; T.D. no. 365) was also available in Chinese. Unlike the aforementioned *Pratyutpanna Sūtra,* which has as its aim the bringing into one's presence in meditation the "Buddhas of the ten directions," this text was devoted exclusively to meditation on Amitābha and his Pure Land. Techniques advocated in both of these texts were introduced to Japan principally through the Tiantai (Jpn., Tendai) system of meditation formulated by the Chinese monk Zhiyi (538–597). The scriptures of the latter type, those having to do with Amitābha's spiritual career and the glories of Pure Land, are two in number: the "larger" *Sukhāvatīvyuha Sūtra,* translated as many as five times into Chinese but known best to the Pure Land schools through Buddhabhadra's fifth century translation (traditionally attributed to Saṃghavarman), the *Wuliangshou jing* (T.D. no. 363), and the "shorter" *Sukhāvatīvyuha Sūtra,* first translated into Chinese as the *O-mi-t'o-fo ching* (T.D. no. 366) by Kumārajīva (343–409). The *Kuan-ching,* known in Japanese as the *Kanmuryōjukyō,* and the *Larger* and *Smaller Sukhāvatīvyuha Sūtras,* known as the *Muryō-jukyō* and the *Amidakyō,* respectively, together constitute the "triple Pure Land scripture," the core sūtra literature of the Chinese and Japanese Pure Land traditions.

The teachings of the Jōdo sect (and of its sister school, the Jōdo Shinshū) also draw their inspiration from the *Sukhāvatīvyuhopadeśa** (Chin., *Wuliangshou jing yu-p'o-t'i-che yüan-sheng chi*; T.D. no. 1524), a collection of hymns (*gāthā*), with autocommentary, on Pure Land topics by the eminent Indian *ācārya* Vasubandhu. The *Ōjōron,* as this text was known in Japan, was usually read in conjunction with the *Wang-sheng lun-chu* (Jpn., *Ōjōronchū*; T. D. no. 1819), a commentary on Vasubandhu's work by the Chinese Pure Land thinker Tanluan (476–542). Tanluan's commentary opens with reference to an "easy path to salvation" (Jpn., *igyōdō)* suitable to an era of the "five corruptions." This doctrine of an "easy path," worship of the Buddha rather than the more traditional practices of mental cultivation, Tanluan attributes to Nāgārjuna, the Mādhyamika thinker and alleged author of a treatise on Pure Land.

THE LIFE AND THOUGHT OF HŌNEN. Hōnen began his formal Buddhist training at the Tendai center on Mount Hiei, where he was ordained at the age of fourteen. Three years later, discouraged by the decadent and somewhat militaristic behavior of his fellow monks, Hōnen went to Kurodani to study under Eikū, a charismatic proponent of Pure Land devotion. For the next twenty-five years Hōnen studied Pure Land texts and practiced *nembutsu zammai* as advocated by Eikū, in accordance with Genshin's *Ōjōyōshū* (Essentials of Pure Land rebirth). During this period Hōnen also studied the doctrines, scriptures, and practices of the six Buddhist sects of the Nara period, Shingon (Vajrayāna), and Zen. Hōnen became convinced that Japan had entered the age, foretold in scripture, of *mappō* (the "latter days of the Law"), a period when Buddhist teachings had so degenerated that the attainment of salvation by one's own efforts was deemed all but impossible. In 1175, while reading the great Chinese Pure Land master Shandao's commentary on the *Kanmuryōjukyō,* Hōnen had a realization that the only path to salvation was to declare one's absolute faith in Amida's vow to save all sentient beings and to engage in "single-practice *nembutsu*" (*senju nembutsu*), which for Hōnen meant placing sole reliance on the invocation of Amida Buddha's name as a means to salvation. That year Hōnen left Kurodani for Kyoto, where he began to disseminate his teachings. This move marks the founding of Jōdoshū.

In 1197 at the request of the prime minister, Kujo Kanezane (1149–1207), Hōnen wrote his influential *Senchaku hongan nembutsushū* (Collection of passages on the original vow of Amida in which Nembutsu is chosen above all). This work establishes Hōnen's essential teachings as the foundation of the Jōdo sect. Following Daochuo (562–645), another Chinese Pure Land master, Hōnen divided Buddhist teachings into two paths, the *shōdōmon* ("gate of the sages") and the *jōdomon* ("gate of Pure Land"). Because it advocates reliance on one's own power and capabilities (*jiriki*) to attain salvation, Hōnen characterized the *shōdōmon* as the more difficult path. He argued that during *mappō* few people were able to attain rebirth in the Pure Land through the arduous practices of traditional Buddhism (e.g., adherence to the Vinaya, meditation, and study). Instead, he considered the *Jōdomon* as the easy path to salvation. Owing to its complete reliance on "other power" (*tariki*; i.e., dependence on Amida's saving grace), the *Jōdomon* is open to all people, masses and aristocracy alike. Hōnen argued that to be saved one need only make the "choice" (*senchaku*) to place absolute faith and trust in Amida's vow. In discussing Other Power and Self Power Hōnen agreed with Tanluan, who asserted that during this degenerate era reliance on Other Power is the easy but nevertheless superior path to salvation. However, he disagreed with Tanluan's characterization of diverse Buddhist practices as reliance on Other Power. For Hōnen, the only practice representing faith in Amida's grace was the invocation of Amida's name.

In addition to outlining these larger doctrinal issues, Hōnen discussed the need to repeat the invocation over a prolonged period of time. Constant repetition of the Nembutsu, he held, ensures the continual purification of one's mind and body and the dissolution of doubt. Moreover, it leads to a moment of awakening (*satori*) in this lifetime and, eventually, to rebirth in the Pure Land. To those detractors who argued that repeated recitations signified reliance on Self Power Hōnen answered that the necessary requisite of each invocation was the proper concentration and sincerity of the mind that comes only from absolute faith in Amida's salvific power. However, he never fully explicated the relation between faith, the Nembutsu, and Other Power.

Because of its appeal to members of all social classes, Hōnen's school soon gained widespread popularity. The monks of the established Buddhist sects, threatened by this popularity, sent a petition to the government charging the monks of the Jōdo sect with breaking the Vinaya precepts. In 1204 Hōnen, along with his main disciples, was compelled to compose and sign a seven-article pledge that would act as a guideline for his conduct. This quieted his enemies until 1205, when another petition was presented to the retired emperor, Go Toba, calling for the prohibition of *senju nembutsu*. In 1206 the situation was further aggravated when two of Hōnen's disciples were accused of attracting the attention of two court ladies while the emperor was absent from Kyoto. The emperor thereupon banned the teachings of the Jōdo sect and exiled Hōnen and most of his main disciples. Five years later Hōnen was pardoned and returned to Kyoto, where he died in 1212.

EARLY SCHISMS. After Hōnen's death his disciples were unanimous in calling for faith in Amida's vow and in promoting the invocation of the Nembutsu as a valuable practice for attaining rebirth in the Pure Land. However, they were left to grapple with many of the doctrinal and methodological issues that remained ambiguous in Hōnen's writings and in his way of life. As the debate over the correct interpretation of Self Power heightened, Hōnen's disciples became divided into two groups: those who moved toward the purest form of *senju nembutsu,* some of whom held that *ichinen* ("a single invocation") was sufficient for salvation, and those who compromised with other Buddhist sects, advocating the use of a variety of practices in conjunction with the Nembutsu. Benchō (1162–1238), considered the most orthodox of Hōnen's disciples, and Shōkū (1177–1247), who had helped compile the *Senchaku hongan nembutsushū,* both stressed the importance of repeated invocations of the Nembutsu, but disagreed on the value they accorded of other practices. The subsect founded by Benchō, the Chinzei-ha, advocated *senju nembutsu* and became the main school of Pure Land. Today, the Chinzei-ha is synonymous with Jōdoshū. Shōkū, on the other hand, in incorporating elements of Tendai and Esoteric Buddhism into his practice, argued that he was merely following the example of Hōnen, who engaged in meditative and ceremonial practices throughout his life. Because Shōkū was not an advocate of *senju nembutsu,* his sect, the Seizan-ha, was instrumental in gaining acceptance of Pure Land doctrines among other Buddhist schools.

The debate among the second group of disciples centered on the question of the relative value of one invocation of the Nembutsu, performed with absolute faith and sincerity, over and against repeated and continual recitation. Ryūkan (1148–1227), founder of the Chōrakuji subsect, argued that prolonged recitation was required as a prelude to salvation, which was attained only at the time of death. During the fifteenth century his sect was absorbed into the Jishū. Kōsai (1163–1247), founder of the Ichinengi sect, was perhaps the most controversial of Hōnen's disciples. Kōsai held that the continual invocation of the Nembutsu was futile since salvation was attained in one moment only, that is, that rebirth in the Pure Land was assured at any moment that the Nembutsu was chanted. Because many of Kōsai's followers were accused of excessively amoral conduct the sect did not enjoy the favor of other Buddhist sects. After Kōsai's death the school declined and many of his followers became members of Shinran's Jōdo Shinshū (True Pure Land sect).

Another form of Pure Land devotion to develop during the Kamakura period is best exemplified by Ippen (1239–1289), founder of the Jishū (Time Sect). Ippen began his Pure Land training at the age of fourteen when he went to Daizaifu to study under the Seizan-ha teacher Shōtatsu. According to legend, while visiting the Kumano shrine in 1276 Ippen had a divine revelation in which a *kami* told him that it is Amida's enlightenment that determines humankind's salvation and that an individual's faith was, therefore, inconsequential. Thereafter, Ippen traveled through the country, handing out *nembutsu* tablets and performing *nembutsu* dances, obtaining for himself the name Yugyō Shōnin ("wandering sage"). Believing that Amida existed everywhere, Ippen's disciples did not associate themselves with a particular temple but rather followed Ippen's example by wandering through the countryside. For Ippen, the name Jishū implied that the practice (i.e., the Nembutsu) accorded with the age (the "time"), that is, that the Nembutsu was the only appropriate practice in an age of *mappō*; for his followers, however, it came to mean that Nembutsu was to be chanted at all time and in all places. From its inception, the Jishū was an independent tradition, doctrinally related to, but unaffiliated with, the Seizan-ha.

Brief mention should be made of Shinran (1173–1263), founder of the Jōdo Shinshū, who considered himself the true successor to Hōnen's teachings. Shinran, however, rejected the Vinaya precepts (the code of monastic discipline), which the Jōdo sect had retained. Declaring himself "neither monk nor layman" he set an example for his disciples by marrying, eating meat, and otherwise living as a layman. While Shinran held that faith in Amida was an essential requisite for salvation, he also argued that such faith could not be ascribed to the individual's will but was entirely a result of Amida's grace as demonstrated by his vow to save all sentient beings. Unlike Hōnen, who claimed that one must make the "choice" to believe in Amida, Shinran was emphatic in stating that it is Amida who "chooses" all beings to be saved. Today, the Jōdo Shinshū is the largest Buddhist sect in Japan.

THE TOKUGAWA, MEIJI, AND MODERN ERAS. During the Tokugawa period (1600–1868) Buddhism was particularly favored by the shoguns, who wished to minimize the influence of Christian missionaries. The Tokugawa rulers made Buddhism an integral part of the government organization, lavishly supporting the monks and temples of the established Buddhist sects. But the government also controlled ordinations, temple administration, and other activities, and prohibited sectarianism and factionalism. Thus, despite government patronage, Buddhism became spiritually stagnant. Within this context, the Jōdoshū was the personal favorite of the shoguns; the first shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu, was a devotee of Jōdoshū, and his successors followed his example. The monks of the sect, however, indulged in this patronage and gradually became more corrupt and devoid of spiritual depth. Among the few who attempted to infuse new life into the Jōdoshū was Suzuki Shōsan (1579–1655), a practitioner of both Nembutsu and Zen. He combined Pure Land devotion and Zen notions of the value of work, teaching farmers that by reciting the Nembutsu while working in their fields they could sever their ties to earthly passions and ensure their attainment of the final awakening. Suzuki firmly believed that only by practicing in one's workplace could one attain salvation.

The Meiji era (1868–1912) saw a reversal in the government's attitude toward Buddhism. Shintō was adopted as the state religion, and neo-Confucianism continued to hold strong influence over the state ideology. Without the revitalization and modernization of its doctrines and practices, the very survival of Buddhism was threatened. Two trends that developed in the Jōdo sect during the Meiji period still continue to exert an influence on Pure Land practice today. The first stressed the attainment of salvation through the personal religious experience of Nembutsu practice. A representative of this position was Yamazaki Bennei (1859–1920), founder of the Kōmyōkai, who advocated intensive recitation of Nembutsu to attain an awakening in this very life. The members of his sect gather to invoke the Nembutsu continually for a few days at a time. Owing to its promise of salvation in this world and during this lifetime, Kōmyōkai practices became popular among adherents of Jōdoshū. However, because it demanded that members devote extended periods of time to their practice, the movement proved ultimately not suited to the lives of most lay people. The second trend emphasized that salvation is attained through social action. Shiio Benkyō (1876–1971), founder of Kyōseikai and a leading scholar of Buddhism, advocated purification and salvation of the entire world rather than the individual's rebirth in the Pure Land. The members of this movement place little emphasis on personal religious experience and instead participate in social work and welfare activities.

In the 1980s the total number of Jōdoshū temples and nuneries was approximately seven thousand. The Jōdoshū supports two Buddhist universities, many women's colleges and high schools, and has established numerous houses for the aged and orphaned.

SEE ALSO Amitābha; Benchō; Buddhist Meditation; Genshin; Hōnen; Huiyuan; Ippen; Jingtu; Jōdo Shinshū; Mappō; Nāgārjuna; Nianfo; Pure and Impure Lands; Shandao; Shinran; Suzuki Shōsan; Tanluan; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Buddhist Devotional Life in East Asia; Zhiyi.

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JOHANAN BAR NAPPAHA SEE YOḤANAN BAR NAPPAḤA'

JOHANAN BAR ZAKKAI SEE YOḤANAN BEN ZAKK'AI

JOHN OF DAMASCUS, also known as John Damascene, was an eighth-century Christian saint, church father, monastic, theologian, author, and poet. Little is known with certitude about John's life. The dates of both his birth and his death are disputed, as are the number of years that he lived. A conservative assessment of the evidence indicates that he was probably born about 679 and died at the age of seventy in 749. It is generally accepted that he was born into a Greek-speaking Syrian family of Damascus, known as Mansour ("victorious," or, "redeemed"). His father, Sergius, held the high position of *logothetes* in the Muslim caliphate at the end of the seventh century. John enjoyed a full course of instruction as a youth, including mathematics, geometry, music, astronomy, rhetoric, logic, philosophy (Plato and Aristotle), and theology.

Following the death of his father, John assumed an economic administrative position (*protosumboulos*) in the government of Caliph Walid (r. 705–715). He left public service just before, or shortly after, the outbreak of the Iconoclastic Controversy to become a monk in the famous Monastery of Saint Sava outside Jerusalem. He was ordained a priest by John V, patriarch of Jerusalem (r. 706–735). John Damascene left a rich legacy of writings reflecting the theology and religious tradition of Eastern Christianity and the spiritual tradition of the Greek fathers.

John was a prolific writer, who, though completely faithful to the Eastern church and its theological tradition, also evinced significant theological creativity. Several of his earlier writings were revised and enlarged after their original publication. John's works reflect his broad educational background and cover numerous areas of concern.

He wrote a number of exegetical works on the Old and New Testaments. Among the better known of these are a shortened version of Chrysostom's commentaries on the letters of Paul, to which he added some of his own observations. In the same manner he published an epitome of the sermons on the *Hexaemeron* attributed to Chrysostom but written by Severian of Gabala (c. 400).

John's major theological production was in the area of doctrinal writings: his most important work is *Pege gnoseos (Fount of Knowledge).* This work has been translated into many languages and is the foundation of his reputation as a theologian and dogmatician. The work, divided into three parts, appears to have been revised several times, which explains why at least two dates for its composition are recorded, 728 and 743. Each of the parts is found in three versions, of differing length, indicating that they were written independently and at different times, revised, and subsequently gathered together into the unified work.

The first part of *Fount of Knowledge* consists of a treatment of general knowledge (the philosophical and physical sciences of his day) as an introduction to theology. Based primarily on Aristotle, this portion of the work is theologically important because of its holistic perspective. The method used is definitional, by which major terms are defined in brief sections or chapters, in two areas: theoretical (theology, physics, and mathematics), and practical (ethics, economics, and politics).

The second part of *Fount of Knowledge* deals with heresies, or various false teachings, from the perspective of orthodox Christianity. In large part it is a compilation and elucidation of other antiheretical writings, but the three chapters on Islam, Iconoclasm, and the *aposchistai* (wandering monks who rejected all sacraments), were written as new material by John. Additional chapters were added subsequently by others.

The most important part of this work is the third, an outline of orthodox theology (*Ekthesis orthodoxou pisteos*) consisting of 100 short chapters. In chapters 1–14 the doctrine of God is discussed; cosmology follows in chapters 15–44 dealing with angelology, demonology, good and evil, the created world, and anthropology; Christology and soteriology are discussed in chapters 45–73; and the last chapters deal with a variety of topics including Mariology, icons, self-determination (*autexousion*), faith, and the saints. The theological tenor of this work is basically Cappadocian, with perspectives from other theological streams of thought such as those derived from Dionysius the Areopagite, Chrysostom, Athanasius, and Maximos the Confessor.

A number of John's polemical works are doctrinal in character. Among these are *Concerning Faith against the Nestorians*, several works against monophysitism, *Against the Jacobites*, and a work concerning the Trisagion Hymn, in which he opposes a purely Christological reference to this popular and liturgical hymn. In his works *Concerning the Two Wills and Energies in Christ*, and *Against Monophysites and Monothelites*, John deals with the Monothelite Controversy. Between 726 and 731 he wrote three different studies titled *Concerning the Icons*, reflecting various early stages of the Iconoclastic Controversy. He also concerned himself with treating other religious traditions from an Eastern Orthodox perspective, including Judaism, Manichaeism, and Islam. John also dealt with ethical topics in a three-part work titled *Sacra Parallela*: *Concerning the Holy Fasts*, *The Eight Spirits of Evil*, and *Concerning Virtues and Vices*.

It has been difficult to determine which of the many sermons attributed to John of Damascus are genuine. Among those whose authenticity is in doubt are three sermons on the Dormition of the *theotokos*, one of two on the annunciation, sermons on the transfiguration of Christ, the fig tree, the birth of Christ, and Christ's presentation in the Temple. In addition there are a number of sermons on saints attributed to him.

Although disputed, it is now generally accepted that John also wrote a Christian version of an ancient Buddhist tale under the title *Barlaam and Joasaph*. It is essentially a story of the conversion to monastic Christianity of a young profligate through the hearing of a striking parable.

John of Damascus is highly regarded as a hymnodist. He is well known for the fourteen published collections of hymns known as canons. In addition, approximately ninety canons are attributed to him in the manuscript tradition. John is primarily responsible for the hymnology of the basic weekly cycle of Eastern Orthodox services found in the liturgical book the *Oktoēchos* (Eight tones). The hymns are characterized by theological exactness coupled with poetic warmth and power.

Tradition attributes to John of Damascus the epithet Chrusorroas ("golden-flowing"). His memory is commemorated by the Eastern Orthodox church on December 4, the date of his death, and by the Roman Catholic church on March 27. He is considered an authoritative voice for contemporary Orthodox theology. His writings were also an important source for Peter Lombard and Thomas Aquinas. Pope Leo XIII declared him a doctor of the Roman Catholic church in 1890.

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STANLEY SAMUEL HARAKAS (1987)

JOHN OF KRONSTADT SEE IOANN OF KRONSTADT

JOHN OF THE CROSS (1542–1591), mystic, poet, saint, and doctor of the church. John was born Juan de Yepes y Álvarez in Fontiveros, Spain, the youngest of three sons. His father's untimely death left the family in poverty. Nevertheless, young John received an excellent education in the humanities at the Jesuit college in Medina del Campo, and in 1563 he entered the Carmelite order at the Monastery of Santa Ana. That same year he received the habit of the order and the religious name Juan de Santo Matía. He completed further studies at Salamanca and in 1567 was ordained to the priesthood.

Shortly after ordination the young friar returned to Medina del Campo, where he met the great Carmelite reformer Teresa of Ávila. Teresa, fifty-two years old at the time, recognized in the twenty-five-year old John the intelligence and holiness that would make him her spiritual and mystical compatriot and her collaborator in the reform movement, he doing in the masculine branch of the order what she was already accomplishing in the feminine branch. On November 28, 1568, after Teresa, as his spiritual mentor, had judged him ready, he professed the Primitive Rule and took the name Juan de la Cruz.

Captured by enemies of the reform movement and imprisoned in the calced (mitigated, or unreformed) monastery at Toledo, John spent nine months in a tiny cell. He was deprived of adequate food and was regularly scourged; yet his established holiness manifested itself in patient acceptance of these hardships and while in prison he began to write the exquisite religious poetry that was to place him among the greatest of the Spanish poets and form the kernel of his mystical legacy.

In 1578 he escaped from prison and began a twelve-year period of administration within the reformed branch of the order. He was a remarkably able superior and as spiritual director was much sought after by religious and laity alike. In 1590 John again became the object of persecution, this time by jealous confreres within the reform movement. An effort to have him expelled from the movement was frustrated by his death. John died at Ubeda on December 13, 1591, at the age of forty-nine.

John of the Cross was beatified in 1675 and canonized in 1726. In 1926 Pius XI declared him a doctor of the church under the title "Mystical Doctor." Besides a few letter, various maxims and counsels, and a number of extraordinarily beautiful poems, John left only four major works, and these have become the instruments of his remarkable influence on the history of Christian spirituality. All four were written from the vantage point of the full maturity of John's own mystical experience, and they reflect the wisdom of deep holiness well served by biblical and theological scholarship. Each consists of a poem followed by a long spiritual commentary.

The Ascent of Mount Carmel (1581–1585) and *The Dark Night* (poem, 1578 or 1579; commentary, 1584–1585) together form a treatise on the double purification (of the sensory and of the spiritual dimensions of the person) that leads to full mystical union. *The Spiritual Canticle* (poem, 1578, 1580–1584; commentary, 1584–1586) is the longest of John's poems, a rapturous overflowing of what he called "mystical wisdom" as he himself had experienced it. It describes four stages of the mystical journey, but the commentary sets forth the whole of that journey from its ascetical beginnings to total transformation in the mystical marriage, the last stage of the spiritual life. *The Living Flame of Love* (poem, 1582–1585; commentary in two redactions, 1585–1591) treats the most perfect experience of love within the highest mystical state of transforming union. The commentary frequently digresses from the poem's subject matter to treat various important aspects of the spiritual life as a whole.

Through the example of his sublime personal holiness and his wonderfully fruitful and very human friendship with Teresa of Ávila, his collaboration in the establishment of the Discalced Carmelite Friars, and especially, his unsurpassed poetic and doctrinal writings on mystical theology, John of the Cross continues to exercise an influence in Western Christian spirituality probably unequaled by anyone except Thomas, Augustine, Dionysius, and Teresa herself.

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JOHN THE BAPTIST. Born of a poor priestly family in the hill country of Judea, John renounced the priesthood and entered upon an ascetic existence in the wilderness surrounding the Jordan River. There he inaugurated a baptism rite so unprecedented that he was named for it. His contemporary, Jesus, unhesitatingly ascribed the impetus for John's baptism to divine revelation (*Mk.* 11:30), and even though priestly lustrations in the Temple, the daily baths at Qumran, or even proselyte baptism (first attested in the second century CE) may provide certain parallels, they are wholly inadequate to account for John's demand that Jews submit to a once-only immersion in anticipation of an imminent divine judgment by fire. Rejecting all claims to salvation by virtue of Jewish blood or the "merits of Abraham," John demanded of each person works that would reflect a personal act of repentance. The examples preserved in *Luke* 3:10–14 indicate that John stood squarely in the line of the prophets, siding with the poor ("He who has two coats, let him share with him who has none; and he who has food, let him do likewise"). He demanded that toll collectors and soldiers desist from extorting unjust exactions from travelers and pilgrims. His dress was the homespun of the nomad, his diet the subsistence rations of the poorest of the poor (locusts and wild honey, *Mk.* 1:6). He even described the eschatological judge, whose near advent he proclaimed, in terms of a peasant or a man of the soil (chopping down trees, separating wheat from chaff).

Through baptism, John provided a means by which common people and other "sinners" (tax collectors and harlots, *Mt.* 21:32) could be regenerated apart from meticulous observance of the Jewish law. His influence on Jesus in this and other respects was profound. Jesus and his disciples were baptized by John. But whereas John demanded that people come out to him in the wilderness, Jesus went to the people in their towns and villages, rejecting an ascetic life (*Mt.* 11:18–19), and began to regard the future kingdom as an already dawning reality (*Mt.* 11:2–6). Despite these differences, Jesus continued to speak of John in terms of highest respect (*Mt.* 11:7–9, 11a).

John's execution by Herod Antipas was provoked by John's criticism of Herod for divorcing the daughter of the Nabatean king Aretas IV and entering upon an incestuous remarriage with Herodias, his half-brother's wife. John's attacks on Herod took place in Perea, a region controlled by Herod but bordered by Nabatean territory, an area inhabited by Arabs and infiltrated in winter by nomads. Herod's divorce provoked guerrilla warfare, and ultimately Aretas avenged his daughter's shame by a shattering defeat of Herod's army—a defeat that Josephus directly ascribes to divine punishment for Herod's execution of John (*Jewish Antiquities* 18.116–119). John's preaching must also have contributed substantially to popular disaffection from Herod.

Following the publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls, some scholars suggested that John might at one time have been an Essene. It is true that he preached but eight miles from Qumran, that he shared with the Essenes an imminent eschatological hope, and that he lived out (perhaps deliberately) the prophecy of *Isaiah* 40:3 and sought to prepare the way in the wilderness. Both John and the Essenes warned of a coming purgative fire associated with the Holy Spirit and with washing; both issued a radical call to repentance; both employed immersion in water as a religious rite; both believed that only an elect would be saved, and called the rest vipers; both condemned the priesthood and other authorities; both renounced society and abstained from strong drink.

These similarities, however, can in large part be accounted for: Both John and the Essenes belonged to the larger phenomenon of Jewish wilderness sectarianism. Their differences, in any case, are more decisive than all their similarities. John was a solitary. He established no settled community, moved around in the Jordan wastes, was inclusive rather that separatist, public rather than reclusive, addressing the whole nation rather than withdrawing into an isolated life. His baptism was granted once and for all, not daily, and for a forgiveness of sins on which eternal salvation hung, not for physical purity. His dress was camel's hair, not white linen. He did not require a long novitiate for his converts, nor did he organize them under rigid requirements. Almost all the other similarities with Qumran can be traced to common dependence on the prophet Isaiah. Indeed, if John had ever been connected with Qumran, his break was so radical that it scarcely seems necessary to posit any original connection at all. When he steps upon the stage of history, his message and mission are altogether his own.

All four evangelists treat John as "the beginning of the gospel." This reflects both the historical fact and the theological conviction that through John, Jesus perceived the nearness of the kingdom of God and his own relation to its coming. The church continued to treat John as the perpetual preparer for the coming of Christ, calling out for people to repent and let the shift of the aeons take place in their own lives, to "make ready the way of the Lord" (*Mk.* 1:2).

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WALTER WINK (1987)

JOHN THE EVANGELIST, according to ancient Christian tradition one of the Twelve chosen by Jesus; the son of Zebedee, brother of James, and author of the Fourth Gospel, the Johannine letters, and the *Book of Revelation.* Called by Jesus from his vocation as a fisherman, John is mentioned frequently in the synoptic Gospels, where with James and Peter he forms the inner circle of disciples. He appears in all four lists of the Twelve in the New Testament (*Mt.* 10:2, *Mk.* 3:17, *Lk.* 6:14, *Acts* 1:13). Usually he is mentioned after his brother James, which suggests that he is the younger, but in the *Acts of the Apostles* his name stands second, after Peter's. Moreover, he appears along with Peter in several of the Jerusalem scenes in the early chapters of *Acts* (e.g., 3:1, 3:4, 3:11, 8:14). Interestingly enough, the episodes in which John figures in the synoptic Gospels (e.g., the raising of Jairus's daughter, the Transfiguration) are missing from John's gospel, and the sons of Zebedee are mentioned only once, in the final chapter (*Jn.* 21:2).

Although, like the other Gospels, *John* is anonymous, it is ascribed to an unnamed beloved disciple (*Jn.* 21:24), who figures prominently in the passion and resurrection narrative of this gospel only. He always appears with Peter, except at the cross. Christian tradition has identified this disciple with John, although the gospel itself does not. In the late second century both Irenaeus and Polycrates ascribe the Fourth Gospel to John, and from that time on it becomes a commonplace that John wrote his gospel in Ephesus after the others had been composed.

Irenaeus traces the Johannine tradition to Papias and Polycarp, bishops during the first half of the second century (Eusebius, *Church History* 3.39.1–7, 4.14.3–8). This testimony is not without problems, however, as Eusebius recognized in reporting Irenaeus's statements about Papias. John's gospel was known in some circles throughout most of the second century; it was popular among Christians who were later condemned as heretics (the Gnostics) and was rejected by others, such as Gaius of Rome and the Alogoi, who objected to its departures from the synoptic Gospels. Such a reception raises questions about the status or recognition of the Fourth Gospel as an apostolic work during this period.

Nevertheless, when after several centuries the gospel, the letters, and *Revelation* had gained universal acceptance as Christian scripture, they were all regarded as the work of John the son of Zebedee. As early as the third century, however, Bishop Dionysius of Alexandria pointed out the stylistic and theological difficulty of regarding *Revelation* as the work of the author of the Fourth Gospel and the letters. Only *Revelation* is expressly the work of someone named John (*Rv.* 1:2), and this John makes no claim to being an apostle (cf. *Rv.* 18:20, 21:14). Both *2 John* and *3 John* are from "the elder," while *1 John* is anonymous. Modern scholars are inclined to see three or more authors represented in the Johannine corpus.

Evidence against the traditional view that John lived to an old age in Ephesus is provided by the silence of Ignatius, who wrote to the Ephesian church (c. 115) mentioning Paul's role at Ephesus prominently but John not at all. There is a strain of evidence, perhaps supported by Jesus' prediction in *Mark* 10:39, that John was martyred with James in Jerusalem during the 40s (*Acts* 12:2). However that may be, manifold difficulties stand in the way of tracing church tradition about John the Evangelist back through the second century.

Despite these difficulties, the *Gospel of John* and *1 John* clearly claim to be based on eyewitness testimony. The validity of that claim does not necessarily stand or fall with the traditional attribution of authorship, which reconciles John's gospel with synoptic and other data about Jesus' disciples. In Christian symbolism dating back to the second century, the fourth evangelist is appropriately represented by the eagle, for the Fourth Gospel goes its own way, apparently independent of the other Gospels and their traditions. John's feast is celebrated on December 27.

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D. MOODY SMITH (1987 AND 2005)

JOHN XXIII (Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli, 1881–1963) was a pope of the Roman Catholic church (1958–1963). Born in Sotto il Monte, near Bergamo in northern Italy, on November 25, 1881, to a family of sharecroppers, Roncalli attended the local grammar school, was taught Latin by the parish priest, and entered the minor seminary at age eleven. Given a scholarship to the Roman seminary (the Apollinare), he was ordained a priest on August 10, 1904, after completing a year of military service. The following year he obtained a doctorate in theology (with Don Eugenio Pacelli, the future pope Pius XII, on his examining board) and became secretary to the bishop of Bergamo, Giacomo Radini-Tedeschi, an ecclesiastical activist in the social, economic, and political movements of the area. Roncalli accompanied the bishop on his visitations in the diocese and on frequent visits to France, Milan, and Rome, and so became acquainted with influential ecclesiastics, including Archbishop Giacomo della Chiesa (the future Benedict XV) and Monsignor Achille Ratti (the future Pius XI). Despite these contacts, both the bishop and his secretary came under suspicion during the heresy hunt that was occasioned by Pope Pius X's condemnation of modernism in 1907. Gravely affected by the accusation, as pope Roncalli corrected the record of the incident in the Vatican archives. His own attitudes were revealed in his granting of total freedom of theological expression to the Second Vatican Council.

At the outbreak of World War I, Roncalli was inducted into the Italian army as a sergeant in the medical corps and served on the front at Piave and as a chaplain in the nearby military hospitals. On his return to Bergamo he was engaged in diocesan education until 1921, when he was called to Rome by Pope Benedict XV and instructed to coordinate the activities of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, a funding organ for foreign missions. After visiting the dioceses of Italy, he was persuaded to transfer the organization's headquarters from Lyons, France, to Rome.

Consecrated a titular archbishop of Aeropolis, Palestine, in March 1925, Roncalli was sent to Bulgaria as apostolic visitor to confront the problems of the Latin and other Eastern Christian Catholics in conflict with the Orthodox church and the local government. Settling in Sofia, he visited Catholic centers, brought relief to political and religious refugees from Thrace and Macedonia, organized a congress of Bulgarian Catholics in Yambol in 1928, and in 1930 arranged the canonical dispensation for the marriage of King Boris of Bulgaria, an Eastern Orthodox, to Princess Giovanna of Savoy, a Roman Catholic. Despite guarantees to the contrary, the marriage was repeated in the Orthodox cathedral in Sofia and so put the papal envoy "in a most difficult position." Nevertheless, in 1931 he regularized his position as apostolic delegate, encouraged the use of Bulgarian in the Catholic schools and liturgy, and became a welcome guest at cultural, social, and political events in the nation's capital.

In 1934, as titular archbishop of Mesembria (Thrace), Roncalli was appointed apostolic delegate to Turkey and Greece with residence in Istanbul, a difficult assignment. He had to contend with the secularization policies of the Turkish president Kemal Atatürk (r. 1923–1938), adopting civilian garb in public, and with the anti-Catholicism of the Orthodox clergy in Greece. While serving as parish priest for the small Catholic community in the Turkish metropolis, he visited the minute clusters of Catholics scattered throughout the country, called on the Orthodox patriarch Benjamin in the Phanar, the patriarchal residence in Istanbul, and introduced the use of Turkish in church publications and liturgy.

With the outbreak of World War II, Turkey became a center of political intrigue, and Roncalli, an intimate of the German ambassador Franz von Papen as well as of other diplomats, found himself a frequently consulted confidant, dispatching intelligence information to the Vatican. Aiding countless Jews and others fleeing persecution in central and eastern Europe, he established a unit of the Holy See's bureau for tracing missing persons, refugees, and prisoners of war. In 1942 he flew to Rome to urge Pius XII to persuade the British government to modify the blockade of Greece by allowing the import of food and medical supplies.

In December 1944 Roncalli was dispatched to France to replace Archbishop Valerio Valeri, the papal nuncio. On New Year's Day, as dean (ex officio) of the corps of ambassadors, he presented the ambassadorial body to the new French government of Charles de Gaulle. Together with reconciling the Catholic factions split by the resistance movement, he helped prevent the deposition of six or seven bishops accused of collaborating with the Pétain regime and initiated a renewal of the French episcopate, supporting Cardinal Suhard of Paris in his attempt to re-Christianize the country with his Mission de France. He inaugurated a seminary for training German prisoners of war for the priesthood and did his best to mitigate the Vatican's condemnation of the worker-priest movement. Through Monsignor Giovanni Battista Montini in the Vatican, Roncalli persuaded the Holy See to establish a permanent observer to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). He smoothed over the displacements caused by the publication of Pius XII's encyclical *Humani generis* (Of the human race; 1950), which was used to censure such theologians as Yves Congar, Jean Daniélou, M.-J. Chenu, and Henri de Lubac, all of whom, as pope, John was to welcome as experts to the Second Vatican Council.

Roncalli was created a cardinal in January 1953 and, following an ancient custom, received the red hat from the ruler of France, the Socialist president Vincent Auriol, before taking possession of the See of Venice as its patriarch. On his arrival in the City of the Doges, he assured the faithful that he had always wanted to function as a parish priest and would end his days among them. Visiting the parishes of the archdiocese, he frequently wrote exhortatory letters in support of the vigorous religious, social, and labor movements then in vogue. He downgraded the left-wing faction of the Christian Democratic party and its weekly publication, *Il popolo Veneto,* and in an episcopal letter of 1955 he opposed the party's policy of "opening to the left." Changing precedents set by his predecessor, however, he accepted the Biennial Arts Festival of 1956 and welcomed the Italian Socialist party's congress in 1957. That same year he had organized a diocesan synod and was correcting the proofs of its ordinances when he was called to Rome on October 9, 1958, upon the death of Pius XII.

On October 28, the third day of the conclave, he was elected pope and supreme pastor of the Roman Catholic church. On accepting the election, he said that he would be called John XXIII and intended to imitate John the Baptist in making straight the path of the Lord. Within a month he created twenty-three cardinals, including Archbishop Montini of Milan and Monsignor Domenico Tardini; the latter he appointed his secretary of state. In January, to the consternation of the cardinals of the papal Curia, he announced plans for convening an ecumenical council aimed at updating the church's image and achieving Christian unity. By way of preparation he held a synod in Rome in 1960 and appointed a commission for the revision of canon law and a committee to deal with the moral aspects of birth control.

In outlining plans for the ecumenical council, John declared that it would be the work of the bishops and would not be under the control of the Curia. Nevertheless he appointed Cardinal Tardini as coordinator of the preparatory commissions and allowed Cardinal Alfredo Ottaviani of the Holy Office to dominate their activities. Under their aegis, prelates and professors from the Roman ecclesiastical institutions prepared seventy-two schemata, or topics for discussion, bulging with textbook theology as an agenda for an assembly of more than two thousand prelates that was to meet for one or two months. While saddened by the opposition of his curial advisers, John pushed ahead and in so doing gained the support of cardinals and prelates from the outside world, who at the council's start had reduced the number of schemata to seventeen.

In his opening address to the Second Vatican Council, on October 11, 1962, the pope said that the council had not been called to discuss the basic doctrines of the church; those were well known and defined. Instead, the assembly was aimed at restoring unity, first among Christians and then in the world. To do this the church would have to take a leap ahead *(balzo in avanti)* in penetrating the consciousness of contemporary men and women. While in the past, he asserted, the church had used severity in confronting error, now it was called upon to apply the medicine of mercy. Dismissing his opposition as "prophets of doom," John said that they knew no history. He insisted that "the truths of the deposit of faith are one thing; how they are expressed is another," and he said that the church had to restate its teaching in a medium that would employ the tools of modern scholarship and technology. Many of the prelatial listeners felt that the pope was close to heresy.

The council quickly took on a Johannine contour as it concentrated on updating the liturgy by introducing the vernacular languages for the celebration of the Mass and the sacraments; discussed the relationship between the Bible and tradition in formulating the church's teachings; and discussed the structure of the church itself and the way priests, the laity, nuns, and prelates were to conduct themselves in the contemporary world. Listening to the discussions on closed-circuit television, John seldom intervened, and then did so only to resolve a knotty impasse.

In preparing for the council, John invited Orthodox and Protestant churches to send observers. He presented these observers with the documents relating to the council, gave them permission to attend the debates, and provided informal settings where prelates, theologians, and observers got to know one another intimately. While concerned with the organized opposition to his liberalizing aims by a group of 250 prelates, John felt, as the first session drew to a close on December 8, that the intended updating (*aggiornamento*) had been initiated. Expressing his satisfaction that the "opening of the church's window" had been accomplished, he announced that the council's second session would begin in September 1963.

By early November suspicions were aroused regarding the pope's fatal cancer. John nevertheless continued his busy schedule, visiting parishes, receiving diplomats, and giving general audiences to pilgrims and visitors. During the Cuban missile crisis, he made a radio broadcast in which he admonished President Kennedy and Chairman Khrushchev to achieve a peaceful solution, thus enabling the two leaders to back off gracefully. On receiving telegrams of recognition for his efforts, he decided to leave the world a legacy in his noted encyclical *Pacem in terris* (Peace on earth), which was honored by a symposium at the United Nations in New York. His previous encyclical, *Mater et magistra* (Mother and Teacher), dealing with the world's social and economic needs, had caused some problems for conservative Catholics. And when the pope received the son-in-law of Khrushchev, Aleksei Adzhubei, in a private audience, there was talk of papal indiscretion. These incidents were compounded by John's reception of the Balzan Peace Prize, awarded by an international committee that included four Soviet members, in the spring of 1963, which was his last public appearance.

Throughout his career John proved a facile writer. As a young priest he produced a noted essay on the seventeenth-century church historian Cardinal Baronius. He also wrote a history of the practice of public charity in the diocese of Bergamo as well as a biography of Bishop Radini-Tedeschi. During the course of his diplomatic career he edited a five-volume, documented history of the effects of the Council of Trent on the diocese of Bergamo as it was administered by Cardinal Carlo Borromeo, one of John's favorite saints. From the journal of his seminary days he produced *Journal of a Soul* (New York, 1965), a spiritual diary that is the key to understanding his intimate relation with God and the placidity with which he accepted the ups and downs of everyday life, in keeping with his heraldic motto, "Peace and Obedience."

In the course of his pontificate, John named fifty-five cardinals; he did not hesitate to break with the tradition of holding the college of cardinals to seventy members. He canonized ten saints and beatified five holy men and women, including Elizabeth Seton of Baltimore. Labeled a transitional pope on his election at age seventy-six, John accepted the designation as a challenge and, as the most innovative pontiff in over five centuries, proceeded to revolutionize the church. When John died on June 3, 1963, he was mourned by the whole world; one newspaper carried the headline "A Death in the Family of Mankind."

SEE ALSO Vatican Councils.

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FRANCIS X. MURPHY (1987)

JONAH, or, in Hebrew, Yonah, was an Israelite prophet in the Bible who, as told in the book preserved in his name, was divinely commissioned to announce a prophecy of imminent doom to the Assyrian people of Nineveh (*Jon.* 1:1–2). Fleeing his task, Jonah hopped aboard a commercial vessel bound for Tarshish, in the west (*Jon.* 1:3). Subsequently, a violent storm broke out that was recognized through divination by lots to be due to a sin of Jonah's. The storm was quelled when Jonah was cast into the sea (*Jon.* 1:4–10). However, the Lord arranged for a great fish to swallow the prophet, who presumably repented his folly in attempting to flee divine destiny (*Jon.* 2:8). In any event, he was regurgitated upon the dry land and traveled to Nineveh, where he first announced doom to the city and its inhabitants and then witnessed the pagans' repentances and God's forgiveness (*Jon.* 3). Grieved at this expression of divine mercy, Jonah wished to die, but, in the parable of chapter 4, was given instruction and reproof by God in the form of a recinus plant that sprouted to shade him in the heat of the day but then as quickly withered. Jonah regretted its loss, although he had done nothing to care for it. How much more (he is asked rhetorically) should God have compassion for people like the Ninevites and their cattle—his creatures?

Both language and theology, as well as the inaccurate depiction of Nineveh, suggest that the *Book of Jonah* is a relatively late postexilic composition, from about the fourth century BCE (it is first cited in *Tobit*). The book is artistically organized and integrated: Chapters 1 and 3 deal with penitent pagans and their salvation from the wrath of Israel's God; chapters 2 and 4 deal with the Israelite prophet and his theological lessons in and by miraculous circumstances. But the concern of the text has, since antiquity, perplexed its readers.

In ancient Jewish Midrashic and aggadic literature, commentators have drawn out various lessons from the story of Jonah. In the failure of Jonah's flight they saw proof that a prophet could not escape his destiny. In his refusal to prophesy they detected a noble desire not to insult Israel, who—unlike the pagans—did not repent. In God's final response to the Ninevites, the rabbis underscored the power of repentance to affect the divine will. (Since antiquity the *Book of Jonah* has been the prophetic lection for the afternoon service of Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement; see B.T., *Meg.* 31a.) Finally, in Jonah's refusal to utter a prophetic oracle of doom in the name of a merciful God, many interpreters have seen his fear of being killed as a false prophet. The church fathers, in contrast to the rabbis, argued that Jonah wanted by his prophecy to the Ninevites to teach a lesson to the stubborn Jews, and thus found in *Jonah* precedent and support for missions to the Gentiles.

Divine mercy, false prophecy, and repentance combined are the core of the prophetic meditation reflected in this book: Initially concerned that divine mercy would limit the dignity of prophecy and so make the divine oracular word conditional upon human behavior, Jonah rejected his office only to realize finally that repentance has no independent, magical effect, because divine mercy is an attribute of an utterly transcendent and free God. The asymmetry between the parable at the story's end, the prophet's situation, and the lesson derived from it, has often been regarded as support for this theological point. God will have mercy in the end upon whomsoever he chooses.

At another level, the ingestion and regurgitation of Jonah by a fish is a motif that dramatizes the inner transformation and spiritual rebirth of the prophet. Typologically, moreover, the three days spent by Jonah in the belly of the fish were seen in early Christian tradition as prefiguring the three days spent by Jesus "in the heart of the earth" (*Mt.* 12:40). The fish and salvation motifs are found frequently in the Roman catacombs and on the sarcophagi and were used extensively in Byzantine manuscripts and in medieval miracle plays. In Jewish Neoplatonic texts, the themes of the story of Jonah were understood allegorically in terms of the fate of the human soul in the world.

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MICHAEL FISHBANE (1987)
Revised Bibliography

JONAS, HANS. Hans Jonas (1903–1993) was a theologian and philosopher whose intellectual development moved from research into the Gnosticism of late antiquity through a naturalistic philosophy of life and culminated in establishing an ethic of global ecological responsibility. Born in Mönchengladbach, Germany, into the liberal German-Jewish bourgeoisie, Jonas adhered to Zionist convictions early in life. His philosophical studies led him to Edmund

Husserl (1859–1938) in Freiburg, then—for a short time—to the *Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* in Berlin, and finally into the circle of Martin Heidegger (1899–1976) in Marburg. There Jonas encountered his other influential teacher, Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976), who was developing his method of existential interpretation and "demythologizing" of the New Testament. Bultmann aroused and intensified Jonas's interest in Gnosticism and in Gnostic ontology. On the road to his revolutionary attempt at a comprehensive philosophical interpretation of Gnosticism, the Heideggerian analysis of existence was especially helpful to Jonas, since it led him to a new, modern understanding of this religious-historical phenomenon of antiquity. In 1930, as an outcome of his dialogue with Bultmann and Heidegger, Jonas published the study *Augustin und das paulinische Freiheitsproblem*, in which he laid the foundation for his later reflections concerning freedom as the basic defining feature of human existence.

EARLY CAREER. When the first volume of *Gnosis und Späntantiker Geist* appeared, in 1934, Jonas had already left Nazi Germany and emigrated to Jerusalem, where he stepped into the German-Jewish intellectual circle of Gershom Scholem (1887–1982) and taught at the Hebrew University. In 1939, he volunteered to serve in the British army and in 1945 he returned to Germany as a member of the Jewish Brigade Group. There he learned that his mother had been deported to Lodz and had subsequently been murdered in Auschwitz. The passion with which Jonas, in his philosophy, attempted to justify the value of life resulted from his confrontation with the Nazis' utter abandonment of all that is human. In 1949, after being drawn into the army again during the Israeli War of Independence, Jonas left Jerusalem in order to accept an academic position in Canada, and in 1955 he accepted a post at the New School for Social Research in New York City.

GNOSTICISM. Jonas published the second volume of *Gnosis und Späntantiker Geist* in 1954; however, he devoted himself increasingly to other topics and continued to pursue his gnosis research as a peripheral activity. That most publications since the 1980s in the field of religious studies make only limited reference to Hans Jonas is due to the fact that current research—which is more strongly historical and sociological in its orientation—is capable, on the basis of the Nag Hammadi editions of the original sources, of elucidating the different currents of Gnosticism in a more thoroughgoing and detailed fashion than was possible for Jonas. Jonas did have access to an abundance of religious-historical sources, but these were primarily from the Patristic literature, the middle-Asian Manichean literature, the fore-Asian Mandean literature, and Neo-Platonism. However, his aim was first and foremost to effectuate a religious-philosophical interpretation of these sources. In later editions of his 1958 book *The Gnostic Religion*, he undertook to integrate new material into his understanding of Gnosticism, without changing his basic conception in any significant respects. In pursuing his work, he deliberately omitted offering any particular analysis of the religious-historical origins of Gnosticism, its development within the specific social and religious-cultural settings that engendered it, and its relationship to Judaism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, or the Hellenistic philosophy. His goal was rather to achieve a philosophically based phenomenological survey of the mythological motifs, symbols, religious-existential attitudes and ethical concepts that characterized the appearance of Gnosticism in its diverse manifestations.

The permanent value of Jonas's interpretation lies in his hermeneutical approach, through which he led research on Gnosticism out of the narrow limits of theology and church history and at the same time went beyond a mere discussion of the religious-historical origins of the multifaceted, syncretistic Gnostic movement. Aided by the Heideggerian existential analytic—and proceeding also on the basis of Oswald Spengler's (1880–1936) cultural-morphological theses, which asserted that abstruse aspects were to be found hidden behind the historical expressions of religious phenomena—Jonas attempted to overcome the impression of chaos and pandemonium and identify the basic types of a Gnostic worldview. Particularly noteworthy in this connection were the belief in the essentially evil or alienating character of material existence and a tendency to devalue the demiurgic world (a world that could be overcome only by being renounced) on the basis of a fundamental anti-cosmic dualism. This interpretation formed the starting point of a whole generation of researchers in the field of Gnosticism; however, it has more recently been called in question, for example by Michael A. Williams, who has astutely disputed the idea of one Gnostic religion that can be understood in uniform categories and who has characterized this idea as a misleading typological construct.

ALIENATION AND ORGANIC BEING. Irrespective of whether Jonas's account of Gnosticism can stand in the face of more recent research in the field, it was a crucial determinant of his philosophical development after the war. In his 1952 essay "Gnosticism and Modern Nihilism," he endeavored to make use of his research on Gnosticism to effectuate a fundamental critique of Existentialism, which had been of great service to him as a hermeneutical key but which now had become the major challenge to his thinking. Above all, the politically ominous potential of Heidegger's attitude toward the world, which had made him susceptible to the inhumanity of the Nazi ideology, induced Jonas to set forth a counter-philosophy in opposition to modern nihilism. The "existentialist reading" of Gnosticism, with the help of Heideggerian categories (for example, the losing-of-self, abandonment into the nullity of the world, the foundationality of fear) helped Jonas decode the Gnostic myths and work out their nihilistic implications for self and the world—implications that are marked by the human feeling of alienation and suffering under the enslaving powers of the world and of the cosmos. He postulated a "Gnostic foundationality," comparable to Heidegger's "abandonment," which was diametrically opposed to the ontology of Greek antiquity, with its conception of the cosmos as a living, harmonious, and rational system affording security. The foundation myth that Jonas abstracted as Gnosticism's common feature tells of a radically disturbed metaphysical situation of the world, which—as a demiurgic creation—condemns the human being to existential abandonment, darkness and "not-at-home-ness." Liberation—which, in Gnostic thinking, was conceived of as a return of the imprisoned soul into an otherworldly, divine realm of light, wherein the human soul participates by virtue of the spirit even during its exile in the material world—is only possible by treading the path of revealed, occult knowledge (gnosis) and demands as an ethical consequence a conscious "renunciation of worldliness."

Jonas believed himself to have discerned a secularizing return to the Gnostic mode of thinking in spiritual streams that extended from Blaise Pascal (1623–1662) through Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) and up to Heidegger; Jonas called these spiritual currents "cosmic nihilism" both because they viewed the human being as a lonely element within an altogether indifferent universe, an element separated from nature by an unbridgeable chasm, and because they advocated contempt for the world and escape from it. Jonas hoped to overcome this tendency through an antidualistic "philosophy of the organic," which he set forth in *The Phenomenon of Life* (1963). In this work, he expounded his understanding of organic being, which recognizes in the process of evolution a progressive development of freedom and danger, culminating in human beings, who do not have to experience the world as an inhospitable, hostile place where they are not at home if they will begin to see themselves as part of a nature that is meaningful in itself.

ETHIC OF RESPONSIBILITY. In his 1984 *The Imperative of Responsibility*, Jonas explored the ethical consequences of his speculative ontology. In view of the vulnerability of a world society that is able, through its actions, to damage life on earth irrevocably, and in opposition to the utopian thinking of Ernst Bloch (1885–1977), he demanded a "heuristic of fear" that would enable one to envision "evil suffered by coming generations" and set strategies of humility to counter the ominous euphoria of the Faustian dream, for example, strategies of self-limitation and reverence for the "holiness of life." In view of dwindling public trust in religion, he quite deliberately gave up theological arguments in order to be able to establish a universally plausible ethic for the global society. By contrast, when he addressed Jewish audiences, he gave a central role to human respect for the integrity of creation and to the notion that human beings are created in God's own image. Jonas viewed the power of science and technology to reshape the world, giving humanity the feeling of treading in the very footsteps of God, as the era's most important challenge. In the field of bio-ethics, he warned against unbridled genetic engineering, which, as he emphasized in his 1970 essay "Contemporary Problems in Ethics from a Jewish Perspective," seemed to him to endanger in a most dramatic fashion the very "image of the creation itself, including the human being."

In his 1987 essay *The Concept of God after Auschwitz*, Jonas radically transformed the question of theodicy into a question about the justification of the human being, who is created for freedom; he thus bid farewell to the idea that God is in absolute control of the course of history. Stimulated by ideas from the Lurianic Qabbalah, Jonas employed a speculative myth to unfold a process of theogony and cosmogony in which God, in the course of evolution, withdraws completely back into himself, relinquishes his omnipotence, and makes the world subject to human action, thereby giving over to human control the fate of his own divinity, which is deeply affected by the joy and suffering of life. These speculations lent the utmost urgency to his appeal to human responsibility for life. It is decisive for the whole of Hans Jonas's philosophy that his ethical-philosophical interpretation of the contemporary world's challenges cannot be understood in isolation from his existential confrontation with the abysmal depths of inhumanity revealed in Auschwitz, or from his belief in the transcendent responsibility of the human being. The underlying motif of the philosopher's cosmogonical suppositions is this: given the human formation of the world, in a time when genocide is practiced and technological self-destruction is possible, the very image of God is in peril.

SEE ALSO Ascension; Exile; Gnosticism; Hermeneutics; History of Religions.

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Augustin und das paulinische Freiheitsproblem (Augustine and the Pauline problem of freedom; Göttingen, Germany, 1965) should be counted among Jonas's important religious-historical works. Other important books by Jonas include: *Ein philosophischer Beitrag zur Genesis der christlich-abendländischen Freiheitsidee* (A philosophical contribution toward the genesis of the Christian-Western idea of freedom; Göttingen, Germany, 1930); *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist. Die mythologische Gnosis zur Geschichte und Methodologie der Forschung* (Göttingen, Germany, 1934; expanded edition, 1964); *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist. Von der Mythologie zur mystischen Philosophie* (Göttingen, Germany, 1954); *The Gnostic Religion: The Message of the Alien God and the Beginnings of Christianity* (Boston 1958; expanded and revised edition, Boston, 1963).

Barbara Aland, with Ugo Bianchi et al., edited an important volume, *Festschrift für Hans Jonas* (Gnosis: commemorative volume for Hans Jonas; Göttingen, Germany, 1978), in which world-renowned specialists focus on Jonas's approach to Gnosticism and related subjects. Ioan P. Culianu, *Gnosticismo e pensiero moderno: Hans Jonas* (Rome, 1985) is also important in this respect. Eric Jakob, *Martin Heidegger und Hans Jonas* (Martin Heidegger and Hans Jonas; Tübingen, Germany, 1996) is devoted to elucidating Jonas's relationship to Heidegger. See also Wolfgang Baum, *Gnostische Elemente im Denken Martin Heideggers?: Eine Studie auf der Grundlage der Religionsphilosophie von Hans Jonas Gnostic* (Gnostic Elements in the thinking of Martin Heidegger?: A study of the foundations of Hans Jonas' philosophy of religion; Münich, Germany, 1997); and Richard Wolin, *Heidegger's Children: Hannah Arendt, Karl Loewith, Hans Jonas, and Herbert Marcuse* (Princeton, N.J. 2001). For criticism of the notion of Gnosticism as formulated by Jonas, see Michael A. Williams, *Rethinking "Gnosticism": An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category* (Princeton, N.J., 1996) and Michael Waldstein, "Hans Jonas' Construct 'Gnosticism': Analysis and Critique," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 8, no. 3 (2000): 341–372.

Jonas develops his philosophy of the organic and brings out its ethical implications in *The Phenomenon of Life: Toward a Philosophical Biology* (New York, 1966); in *Philosophical Essays: From Ancient Creed to Technological Man* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1974); and in *On Faith, Reason and Responsibility: Six Essays* (San Francisco, 1978). For Jonas's thoughts on the philosophy of responsibility and its ethical implications, see *Macht oder Ohnmacht der Subjektivität?: Das Leib-Seele-Problem im Vorfeld des Prinzips Verantwortung* (The power or powerlessness of subjectivity?: The mind-body problem underlying the imperative of responsibility; Frankfurt am Main, Germany, 1981); *The Imperative of Responsibility: In Search of an Ethics for the Technological Age* (Chicago, 1984); *Technik, Medizin und Ethik: Zur Praxis des Prinzips Verantwortung* (Technology, medicine and ethics: Toward practice of the imperative of responsibility; Frankfurt am Main, Germany, 1985); and *Philosophie: Rückschau und Vorschau am Ende des Jahrhunderts* (Philosophy: Review and preview at the end of the century; Frankfurt am Main, Germany, 1993). Important works for interrelated themes in the fields of ontology and ethics in Jonas are Wolfgang Müller's *Der Begriff der Verant wortung bei Hans Jonas* (Frankfurt am Main, Germany, 1988); Gilbert Hottois, *Hans Jonas: nature et responsabilité* (Hans Jonas: Nature and responsibility; Paris, 1993); Bernd Wille, *Ontologie und Ethik bei Hans Jonas* (Ontology and ethics in Hans Jonas; Dettelbach, Germany 1996); Nathalie Frogneux, *Hans Jonas ou la vie dans le monde* (Hans Jonas, or Life within the world; Brussels, Belgium, 2000); Marie-Geneviève Pinsart, *Hans Jonas et la liberté: Dimensions theologiques, ontologiques et politiques* (Hans Jonas and freedom: Theological, ontological, and political dimensions; Paris, 2002); Frank Niggemeier, *Pflicht zur Behutsamkeit?: Hans Jonas' naturphilosophische Ethik fuer die technologische Zivilisation* (Duty to be cautious?: Hans Jonas' natural-philosophical ethic for technological civilization; Würzburg, Germany, 2002).

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CHRISTIAN WIESE (2005)
Translated from German by Marvin C. Sterling

JONES, ABSALOM. Absalom Jones (November 6, 1746–February 13, 1818), the first African American priest ordained in the Episcopal Church, is commonly associated with the event that led to the formation of the African Methodist Episcopal denomination. Jones and Richard Allen (1760–1831) led a group of black worshippers out of Saint George's Methodist Church on a Sunday in November 1787 in protest of the church's decision to segregate black worshippers in the upstairs gallery.

Jones was born a slave in Sussex, Delaware. He taught himself to read during his early teens and learned to write after being taken to Philadelphia to work in his master's store as a clerk and handyman. In 1766 he began attending Anthony Benezet's school in the evenings. In 1770 Jones married another slave, whose freedom he purchased with the assistance of Quaker friends and his father-in-law. Jones later purchased his own freedom in 1784, after which he continued to work for his former master.

Jones was active at Saint George's Episcopal Church in Philadelphia and served as a lay preacher. His outreach efforts to Philadelphia's African American population gained greater success after Allen, who arrived in Philadelphia in 1786, joined the church. They formed the Free African Society on April 12, 1787, to provide aid and support to the sick, widows, and orphans. Philadelphia had the largest free African American population in the country, and the Free African Society was one of their major public gathering places. The number of black worshippers at Saint George's increased with the success of Jones and Allen's ministry and preaching. The white church leaders consequently restricted black worshippers to the balcony. On a Sunday in November 1787 Jones seated himself in a front pew in the balcony, but an usher insisted that he had to move to the rear of the balcony.

When Jones refused, the ushers attempted to physically move Jones from his seat, whereupon Jones, accompanied by Allen and the other black worshipers, left the church.

After they left Saint George's, Jones and Allen formed the African Church and held regular worship services. By 1792 the group had begun to raise funds for a church building, but the members disagreed over the appropriate denominational affiliation. Most of the members voted for affiliation with the Episcopal Church. Jones went with the majority, and Allen went with the minority that favored Methodism.

On July 17, 1794, the former group completed the construction of its new church building, which was consecrated Saint Thomas's African Episcopal Church, with Jones as its first minister in the official ecclesiastical capacity of licensed lay reader. The church was formally received into the Diocese of Pennsylvania on October 17, 1794. Jones was ordained as a deacon on August 6, 1795, and as a priest in 1804.

Jones was renowned as an orator and for the pastoral care he provided his members through house-to-house visitation. The church grew to a membership of 427 people, and under Jones the leadership organized schools, the Female Benevolent Society, and the African Friendly Society.

Although Jones and Allen followed separate denominational paths, together they founded Philadelphia's African Masonic Lodge in 1798, petitioned Congress and the state legislature for an end to slavery in 1800, and founded the Society for the Suppression of Vice and Immorality in 1808. In 1812 the Vigilance Committee approached Jones, Allen, and James Forten regarding efforts to defend the city, for which these men recruited 2,500 black men. In January 1817, Jones and Allen organized a convention to coordinate opposition to the American Colonization Society, which encouraged blacks to emigrate to Liberia.

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JAMES ANTHONY NOEL (2005)

JONES, JIM. James Warren Jones (1931–1978), the charismatic leader of Peoples Temple who persuaded his followers to commit murder and suicide in Guyana in 1978, was born to James Thurman Jones and Lynetta Putnam Jones in Crete, Indiana, on May 13, 1931. Lynetta supported the family doing factory work in Lynn because the elder Jones suffered ill health resulting from injuries sustained in World War I. Although the family was irreligious, the younger Jones attended several local churches and by the age of ten was being groomed as a child evangelist by a female Pentecostal preacher.

As a high school student, Jones met Marceline Baldwin, a nursing student, at a hospital in Richmond where they both worked. They wed in 1949. After intermittently attending Indiana University and working at a series of jobs, Jones found himself drawn to the ministry, despite earlier expressions of atheism. He began an internship in 1952 at a Methodist church in Indianapolis but was expelled after he brought African Americans to services. He established his own congregation, Community Unity Church, which in 1955 became Peoples Temple. His ministry in Indianapolis, marked by Pentecostal and Holiness theology and black church tradition and style, attracted both black and white members drawn to his message of racial equality and social justice. He and Marceline adopted five children, including one white, one black, and three Koreans, and along with their biological son created what they called a "rainbow family." Jones's work as a white minister in an interracial congregation led to his appointment as director of the Indianapolis Human Rights Commission in 1961, where he served briefly before traveling to Hawaii and South America. When he returned two years later, he told the greatly reduced Indianapolis congregation that the church must move to northern California to be safe in the event of nuclear war.

A group of eighty parishioners relocated with the Jones family to Redwood Valley, a small town in the California wine country north of San Francisco. There members began to live and work communally, donating wages and income from outside jobs. The group sponsored several residential homes and outpatient services for the mentally ill and mentally retarded, which Marceline administered. Jim Jones continued to preach a social gospel message of service to the poor and encouraged expansion of the church to San Francisco, where membership grew with the inclusion of thousands of African Americans. The dynamic minister became a political force in San Francisco in the 1970s, a result of his delivering Peoples Temple members to demonstrations in support of freedom of the press, Native American rights, and antidevelopment efforts. Local, state, and national politicians frequented the Temple, where they were warmly greeted. The Temple also opened a church in Los Angeles, and during the mid-1970s Jones preached at all three California congregations, traveling the length of the state in a Temple-owned bus. He also led several cross-country caravans, preaching in Philadelphia, New York, and midwestern cities, attracting members at every stop.

In 1974 Jones signed a lease to cultivate 3,852 acres in the Northwest District of Guyana, the only English-speaking country in South America. Temple volunteers had been developing the site for three years when critical reports about the powerful minister emerged in San Francisco. Former members claimed that Jones forced sex upon them, encouraged corporal punishment of errant members by other members, and had faked faith healings and miracles. Some claimed that Jones had ordered ex-members to be killed. Negative publicity, coupled with a federal tax investigation, prompted Jones and a thousand members to immigrate to Guyana in mid-1977. Jones's mental and physical health deteriorated in the tropical climate, and his leadership became more erratic and abusive, as an addiction to tranquilizers worsened. A small leadership group, comprised mainly of women, carried out most day-to-day details, while Jones focused on what he believed were conspiracies against the community, now called Jonestown.

When U.S. Congressman Leo A. Ryan announced plans to visit Jonestown in November 1978 to investigate charges of kidnapping and abuse, Jones and the group protested, but then acquiesced once the congressman arrived in Guyana. On November 18 Ryan left Jonestown with about sixteen defectors. Gunmen, presumably from Jonestown, shot and killed Ryan and four members of his party and wounded a dozen others at the Port Kaituma airstrip, six miles from Jonestown. Meanwhile, in the community's central pavilion, Jones gathered residents who did not yet know of the death of Ryan and the others. As a tape recording made at the time indicates, Jones exhorted his followers to drink from a vat of poisoned punch. He asked mothers to quiet their children and allowed a dissenter to speak, although she was shouted down by other community members. His words indicate that he wanted the world to recognize their self-sacrifice as an act of "revolutionary suicide" to protest the conditions of an inhumane world. Jones was found shot to death, surrounded by his followers. An autopsy reported that his wounds were consistent with suicide, although the gun that killed him was found several feet away.

Jim Jones criticized traditional Christianity for being complacent and hypocritical in the face of massive suffering and injustice, and he disparaged otherworldly religion, which neglected the here-and-now. He advocated a type of "apostolic socialism," which followed the example of the early church (*Acts* 2:44–45, 4:32) in which everyone contributed to and shared in the common good. He wrote *The Letter Killeth,* a pamphlet that identified contradictions and injustices in the Bible, and during some services he would throw the Bible onto the floor in disdain. Modeling himself after Father Divine, the black leader of the Peace Mission, Jones encouraged followers to call him "Dad" or "Father." As opposed to Divine and other charismatic preachers, however, Jones eschewed the trappings that usually accompany celebrity. He wore used clothing and secondhand shoes, traveled and ate with his members, and shared the same type of housing. His modest lifestyle allowed him to attack "jackleg preachers" who drove Cadillacs and flaunted their worldly success.

As early as his years in Indianapolis Jones began to make claims about his own divinity, which eventually led him to declare himself "God, almighty God," in San Francisco. Once in Guyana, however, he dropped the religious language that had attracted thousands: Christian communalism gave way to political communism, as the group contemplated migration to North Korea, Cuba, or the Soviet Union. Jones's beliefs mixed religion, politics, and pragmatism into his own unique blend. In place of the sky god of Christianity, he encouraged people to believe in him and his divinity and to put their trust in his goodness. Ultimately that trust was betrayed.

SEE ALSO Father Divine; Jonestown and Peoples Temple.

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REBECCA MOORE (2005)

JONESTOWN AND PEOPLES TEMPLE

JONESTOWN AND PEOPLES TEMPLE was a communal religious settlement in the jungles of Guyana founded and led by the Reverend James Warren "Jim" Jones (1931–1978). Nearly 1,000 people had come to the South American country in the mid-1970s intending to build an integrated agricultural utopia. Things began to unravel, however, when California Congressman Leo Ryan (1925–1978), accompanied by journalists and former members, arrived to investigate persistent reports of brainwashing and abuse. After Ryan and four others were murdered by temple members, Jones commanded his followers to kill themselves and their children: Over 913 people died on November 18, 1978. In the aftermath, popular media and anticult activists depicted Jonestown as the epitome of dangerous "cults."

RISE AND DEMISE. Jonestown began as a ministry of the Reverend Jim Jones, who blended Pentecostal religion, socialism, and racial harmony into a distinctive political theology. In 1955 he established the Peoples Temple Full Gospel Church in Indianapolis, Indiana, where he conducted faith-healing services, established social services, and campaigned for racial integration. In 1960 the Peoples Temple became formally affiliated with the Disciples of Christ; Jones was ordained as a minister in 1964. Although the Peoples Temple remained affiliated with the denomination until the end, the group's religious beliefs and practices of bore little relation to their parent organization.

When Jones had a vision of imminent nuclear destruction in 1967, he moved the Peoples Temple, choosing northern California because an article in *Esquire* magazine had identified it as one of "Nine Places in the World to Hide" in the event of such a catastrophe. With a nucleus of about 150 followers transplanted from Indiana, the Peoples Temple grew rapidly, expanding from its base to sponsor branches in San Francisco and Los Angeles. As his congregations multiplied during the early 1970s, Jones began to formulate an innovative theology.

In his sermons, Jones consistently discounted any God "out there," a notion that he ridiculed as the sky God, the mythological God, the spook God, or the buzzard God. But he celebrated a real God, a genuine God, which he defined as love, as sharing, as "God, Almighty Socialism." When he personally claimed to be God, the messiah, Jones could be understood to be asserting that he was an embodiment of this divine socialism. He promised his congregation that they also could be deified by dying to capitalism and being reborn in socialism.

In America, he argued, blacks, women, and the poor had been consistently treated as less than fully human. The Bible and Christian churches only sustained this dehumanizing subclassification. To be a human person, Jones argued, required liberation from the dehumanizing pull of America—and that could only be achieved through the superhuman power of divine socialism.

During the early 1970s, Peoples Temple members were told that as long as they lived in the United States they would be in captivity, exile, and eternal conflict. America, Jones argued, was the biblical ancient Egypt, where the children of Israel found only enslavement. America was the biblical Babylon, a place of exile, where refugees longed to return to Jerusalem. America was an imperial power, like first-century Rome, which Jones identified as the antichrist of the last days as described in the New Testament. Since America led the global, imperial crusade against God, Almighty Socialism, Jones claimed that people could only feel enslaved and exiled, defiled and dehumanized, by living within the United States.

A religious sense of origin and destiny was also cultivated within the Peoples Temple. Developing an innovative creation story, which depicted Eden not as a garden to be restored but as a prison from which to escape, Jones's sermons focused on an imminent rendezvous with nuclear destiny. Fashioned in the midst of Cold War politics, superpower conflicts, and the nuclear arms race, this religious worldview was forged in fear of a nuclear apocalypse and its prospect of a total planetary annihilation. Time, in this context, was running out.

Many shared this apocalyptic view. In 1950, during the early days of the nuclear age, American novelist William Faulkner accepted the Nobel Prize for literature, observing: "There is only one question: When will I be blown up?" In sermons twenty years later Jones declared that he would be glad to be blown up in a nuclear apocalypse if it meant the destruction of the world's capitalists. Self-sacrifice, even in a nuclear holocaust of extraordinary devastation, could be imagined as redemptive within the philosophy espoused by the Peoples Temple.

As Jones was developing his religious worldview during the early 1970s, temple membership grew to as many as 5,000. A former member estimated that up to 100,000 people may have heard a sermon by Jim Jones during this period. Most temple members were African Americans, many of them recent migrants from the rural South or Northeastern inner cities who had been drawn by extensive recruiting drives. The temple also attracted a number of white social activists who were drawn to Jones's integrated congregations as an alternative to the prevailing order of American society.

Jones portrayed communist countries such as the Soviet Union, China, and Cuba, as utopias in which divine socialism had already been established. In 1973 the Peoples Temple established a mission in the South American country of Guyana, which was then governed by the black socialist party of Forbes Burnham. By 1975 about fifty members were stationed there, clearing jungle land for the Peoples Temple Agricultural Project that came to be known as Jonestown.

In 1977 journalists Marshall Kilduff and Phil Tracy were preparing to publish an exposé of Jim Jones and the Peoples Temple in *New West* magazine. Their article was based in part on allegations by former members that Jim Jones was involved in questionable financial dealings, sexual impropriety, and the physical and mental abuse of followers.

Anticipating this negative publicity, Jones and many of his congregation moved to Guyana in a migration that came to be known as "Operation Exodus." By September of 1977 nearly 1,000 members were living in the compound. Jonestown residents were 75 percent black; 20 percent white; and 5 percent Hispanic, Asian, or Native American. Approximately two-thirds were women. Almost 300 were under the age of eighteen and over 150 were seniors past the age of sixty-five.

While trying to establish a viable agricultural commune in Guyana, Jones increasingly perceived the community to be under threat from external forces, especially the U.S. government, American media, and a group of former members who called themselves the Concerned Relatives. On November 17, 1978, an official fact-finding delegation led by Congressman Leo Ryan flew to Jonestown to investigate these charges. The visit became the flashpoint for the violence that exploded in murder and suicide. The delegation left the next day, taking fourteen dissatisfied Jonestown residents with them. As they gathered on the Port Kaituma airstrip, heavily armed Jonestown security guards drove up and opened fire, killing five, including Congressman Ryan, and wounding nine others.

Back at the temple and fearing retribution, Jim Jones commanded his followers to kill themselves. Vats of a cyanide-laced fruit drink were prepared and residents lined up to drink the poison. Although this event has usually been characterized as a mass suicide, it is clear that not everyone who died at Jonestown participated freely. Over 260 children, for example, had the poison given to them, while about forty adults escaped. For those who died willingly, however, collective suicide held a religious significance in the context of the worldview that had been cultivated in the Peoples Temple and Jonestown.

First, collective suicide was a ritual, signifying a purity of commitment to the community, which had been rehearsed a number of times over the past eighteen months. Referred to as "white nights," these ritual rehearsals of death affirmed, in the words of Jim Jones on the final night of Jonestown, that the members of the community were united as "black, proud socialists."

Second, collective suicide promised release from a world dominated by what Jones perceived as American racism, capitalism, and fascism. To avoid being captured and taken back to America, he urged his followers to step out of this world by taking "the potion like they used to take in ancient Greece."

Third, collective suicide was an act of revenge in which the guilt for these deaths would be transferred to the enemies of Jonestown. "They brought this upon us," Jones insisted. "And they'll pay for that. I leave that destiny to them."

Finally, collective suicide was regarded as redemptive. Many, perhaps most, of the adult participants believed this. What Jones called "revolutionary suicide" was meaningful for those who embraced it because it represented a superhuman act that would rescue them from dehumanization under the capitalist, racist, and fascist oppression they associated with America. "We didn't commit suicide," Jones declared. "We committed an act of revolutionary suicide protesting the conditions of an inhuman world."

Most Americans found the deaths at Jonestown unthinkable, something so obviously outside the mainstream of American cultural life that it stood as a boundary against which such values could be defined. In popular media they were depicted as not American, not religious, not sane, and ultimately not human. Resistance was mounted against allowing their bodies to be buried on American soil. Over 550 unclaimed bodies were stored for six months at the U.S. Air Force base at Dover, Delaware. The mayor of Dover expressed the feelings of many Americans by insisting the Jonestown dead should be cremated and their ashes scattered "beyond the continental limits of the United States." Twenty-five years later, survivors and family members were still struggling to create a suitable memorial for the Jonestown dead in America.

INTERPRETIVE CONTEXTS. Academic analysis of the Jonestown murders and suicides has focused on three contexts: (1) the sociology of new religious movements; (2) the history and heritage of black religion in America; and (3) the phenomenology of redemptive sacrifice in the history of religions and religion in America.

In popular media and the anticult movement, Jonestown became the archetypal "cult," a deviant social organization masquerading as religion that was, in fact, its opposite—evil, dangerous, mind-controlling, financially exploitative, and politically subversive. *Time* and *Newsweek* proclaimed Jonestown the "Cult of Death." Jonestown was also viewed in light of the 1970s "cult controversy," in which some argued that every alternative, unconventional religious movement inevitably led to violence. This view was countered by the growing interest in the academic study of new, alternative, or unconventional religious movements.

Any understanding of Jim Jones, the Peoples Temple, and Jonestown, however, requires sustained attention to the broad and deep tradition of black religion in America. Although Jim Jones was white, he claimed to have a black soul, a black heart, and a black consciousness. He consistently identified himself as a black messiah advancing black liberation. His movement, which emerged from the racism and segregation of the 1950s, was fueled by contact with Father Divine's Peace Mission, the interests of a predominantly black membership, the attractions of a black socialist government in Guyana, and the sense of alienation experienced by many blacks in America.

Although in the aftermath of Jonestown mainline black religious leaders generally rejected the movement, most dramatically at the "Consultation on the Implications of Jonestown for the Black Church" in February of 1979, it is important to remember that many of Jones's followers had been drawn to his claims of embodying black consciousness, as well as his sermons, styles of worship, religious practices, and community formation, which were intentionally drawn from black religious traditions. Even white loyalist and former temple member Michael Prokes wrote a post-Jonestown suicide letter rejecting Jim Jones but retaining his identification with the Peoples Temple because it had given him a sense of community in which he learned what it meant "to be black and old and poor in this society."

In the history of religions, Jonestown-like collective suicides were seen in first-century Judea at Masada and among communities of seventeenth-century Old Believers in Russia. In these instances, as at Jonestown, groups of people chose death rather than what they perceived as defilement or dishonor by enemy forces. But the religious significance of redemptive sacrifice runs much deeper in the history of religions than such dramatic examples of collective suicide might suggest. As some analysts have argued, redemptive sacrifice goes to the heart of the meaning and power of religion, and has certainly been central to the religious and political history of the United States. For some analysts, Jonestown recalls the pervasive American religious commitment to redemptive sacrifice, which requires giving the greatest gift, paying the highest price, for a collective redemption.

Although the end of Jonestown entailed not only mass suicide but also the killing of infants and children, Jones insisted that truly loving people would kill their children before allowing them to be taken back to America to be tortured, brainwashed, or even killed by a society he regarded as fascist. That sentiment was echoed by a member of the community as he was surrounded by the bodies of the children who were in fact sacrificed: "I'd rather see them lay like that than to see them have to die like the Jews did." Members believed that death in Jonestown saved those children from a dehumanized life and death in America. If the children were captured by the Americans, this particular speaker concluded, "they're gonna just let them grow up and be dummies, just like they want them to be, and not grow up to be a *person* like the one and only Jim Jones." Sacrificial death, therefore, promised the redemption of an authentic human identity.

Saving children by killing them seems beyond the bounds of American religion. In the aftermath of Jonestown, however, from 1980 to 1988 the symbolic center of the American public order was occupied by President Ronald Reagan, a political figure who, on numerous occasions, idealized redemptive sacrifice, with specific attention to children. In a speech to the National Association of Evangelicals in Orlando, Florida, on March 8, 1983, Ronald Reagan related that a prominent young man in Hollywood told a public gathering during the early 1950s that there was nothing in the world that he loved more than his daughters but he was prepared to sacrifice them in the interest of a higher good. According to Reagan, this young father declared, "I would rather see my little girls die now, still believing in God, than have them grow up under communism and one day die no longer believing in God." In praising this young man, Reagan concluded that this willingness to sacrifice his children revealed "the profound truth" about "the physical and the soul and what was truly important." Revealing the "truth" of the American soul, this willingness to sacrifice promised to redeem that soul from a communist fate worse than death. According to Ronald Reagan, therefore, redemptive sacrifice was the "profound truth" at the heart of America.

The religious worldview of Jim Jones, the Peoples Temple, and Jonestown was forged in the Cold War between capitalism and communism. Jones's deification of God Almighty, Socialism, evolved during the second half of the twentieth century in which free-market capitalism was also being invested with religious significance. Although marginal to American society, the Peoples Temple and Jonestown nevertheless raised significant questions about religious authenticity, religion and violence, religions of the oppressed, and the religious and political role of redemptive sacrifice.

SEE ALSO Anticult Movements; Aum Shinrikyō; Brainwashing (Debate); Branch Davidians; Father Divine; Heaven's Gate; Jones, Jim; New Religious Movements, articles on New Religious Movements and Children, New Religious Movements and Millennialism, New Religious Movements and Violence; Temple Solaire.

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Jonestown has also been considered in analyses of new religious movements and violence. See John R. Hall, with Philip D. Schuyler and Sylvaine Trinh, *Apocalypse Observed: Religious Movements and Violence in North America, Europe, and Japan* (New York, 2000); Thomas Robbins and Susan J. Palmer, eds., *Millennium, Messiahs, and Mayhem: Contemporary Apocalyptic Movements* (New York, 1997); and Catherine Wessinger, *How the Millennium Comes Violently: From Jonestown to Heaven's Gate* (New York, 2000).

For discussions of the Peoples Temple and Jonestown in the context of African American religion, see Rebecca Moore, Anthony B. Pinn, and Mary R. Sawyer, eds., *Peoples Temple and Black Religion in America* (Bloomington, 2004). An early attempt to interpret Jonestown in the context of the history of religions was undertaken by Jonathan Z. Smith in "The Devil in Mr. Jones," *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown* (Chicago, 1982): 102–120. Discussion of the role of redemptive sacrifice in the religious worldviews of Jim Jones, Ronald Reagan (including direct quotations from Reagan in this entry), and American popular culture can be found in David Chidester, "Saving the Children by Killing Them: Redemptive Sacrifice in the Ideologies of Jim Jones and Ronald Reagan," in *Religion in American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 1 (1991): 177–201; and David Chidester, *Authentic Fakes: Religion and American Popular Culture* (Berkeley, 2005).

Decades after the event, Jonestown has remained the focus of sensationalistic revelations by opponents, such as Deborah Layton, *Seductive Poison: A Jonestown Survivor's Story of Life and Death in the People's Temple* (New York, 1998), as well as counterarguments, including conspiracy theories, by defenders, such as Laurie Efrein Kahalas, *Snake Dance: Unravelling* *the Mysteries of Jonestown* (New York, 1998). In tracking the ongoing cultural, social, and religious history of Jonestown, dedicated scholarly research can be found on the website "Alternative Considerations of Jonestown and Peoples Temple," supported by the Department of Religious Studies, San Diego State University (http://www-rohan.sdsu.edu/~remoore/jonestown; May 20, 2004).

DAVID CHIDESTER (2005)

JOSEPH, or, in Hebrew, Yosef, was the firstborn son of Jacob's favorite wife, Rachel. The account of Joseph's life, which the Qurʾān (12:3) calls "the most beautiful of stories," is described in a uniquely detailed and sustained biblical narrative.

As Rachel's son, Joseph was treasured by his father. Resentful of Joseph's resulting conceit, his brothers sold him to a group of passing traders, who took him to Egypt, where he was purchased by one of pharaoh's officers. When Joseph, who is described as "attractive and good-looking" (*Gn.* 39:65), rejected the advances of the officer's wife, she accused him of attempted rape and had him imprisoned. In jail he demonstrated his ability to interpret dreams. He was therefore brought to pharaoh, whose dreams could not be otherwise understood. Joseph recognized them as warning that a period of abundance would be followed by famine. Elevated to high office to prepare Egypt for the coming threat, Joseph was given both an Egyptian name (Zaphenath-paneah) and wife (Aseneth).

As a result of Joseph's efforts, Egypt was ready for the difficult times that followed and even served as a resource for surrounding peoples. Joseph's brothers came from Canaan to purchase grain; he recognized and tested them before revealing himself and bringing the entire family to settle in the eastern Nile Delta. Joseph died at the age of 110; the Israelites took his bones to Canaan when they left Egypt during the Exodus.

Joseph's special status is attested by the ascription to him of two biblical tribes, named after his sons Ephraim and Manasseh. Ephraim came to dominate the northern kingdom of Israel, which is therefore also called the House of Joseph. Joseph's childhood dreams were thus fulfilled during the lifetimes of his descendants as much as during his own lifetime.

The story of Joseph is remarkable for its numerous human touches, which lead to the apparent absence of divine intervention so common elsewhere in *Genesis.* In fact, however, God is present, if not always visible, acting through human behavior (*Gn.* 45:5, 50:20). The narrative incorporates many elements found in other biblical tales, most strikingly in the stories of Daniel and Esther, which also describe an Israelite's rise in a foreign court. In postbiblical traditions, Joseph's fate is often connected to his personality: some present his experiences as a punishment for earlier wrongdoing; elsewhere they are seen as a trial intended to test his righteousness. Particular attention is devoted to his relationship with the wife of pharaoh's officer, elaborating on her efforts to attract Joseph or raising questions about his own role in the incident.

The historicity of the Joseph story has been defended on the basis of its incorporation of Egyptian vocabulary, customs, and narrative motifs. Historians since the first-century Josephus Flavius (*Against Apion* 1.103) have linked Joseph with the Hyksos, a West Semitic people who dominated Egypt toward the end of the middle Bronze Age. Their expulsion in the sixteenth century might then account for the Bible's statement that "there arose a new king over Egypt who did not know Joseph" (*Ex.* 1:8). However, none of these factors is sufficient historical proof. The author's knowledge of Egyptian culture hardly proves the story's historicity. The land of Canaan was long under Egyptian control, and there are several cases of apparently Semitic figures holding high positions in the Egyptian bureaucracy. As a result, such knowledge could have been acquired in any of several different periods.

SEE ALSO Jacob; Rachel and Leah.

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FREDERICK E. GREENSPAHN (1987 AND 2005)

JOSEPH OF VOLOKOLAMSK (1439–1515), born Ivan Sanin, was a Russian Orthodox monastic saint. Joseph succeeded his spiritual father, Pafnutii, as abbot of the Borovsk monastery in 1477. But the reforms toward a stricter form of communal life that he sought there did not find favor with his community, and Joseph undertook an extensive tour of Russian monasteries in search of alternative models. Ultimately Joseph established an entirely new monastery at Volok or Volokolamsk (1479), where he remained for the rest of his life.

Since his early years at Volok, Joseph had been involved in politics, campaigning against the widespread reformationist heresy of the so-called Judaizers, the Novgorodian-Muscovite opponents of church order and Trinitarian teaching. Joseph was to urge consistently (and in 1504 finally attain) the physical elimination of the leading heretics at the hands of the state. In his view, even professions of repentance should not allow heretics to be spared. Joseph's zeal in this regard was expressed in his *Prosvetitel'* (The enlightener, c. 1502–1503; expanded version, c. 1511), a compilation of antiheretical writings. In 1507 Joseph transferred the allegiance of his now influential monastery to the Muscovite grand prince, a serious breach of ecclesiastical discipline, resulting in alienation from the Novgorodian archbishop.

More positive and more lasting than his work against heretics was Joseph's contribution to the shaping of Russian monastic discipline and piety. He composed two rules, the second (and longer) of which dates from his final years. The aim of each was to ensure sobriety and discipline in liturgy and daily life. Poverty was enjoined on the individual monk. Yet the community as a whole was expected to flourish for the service of society at large, especially at times of dearth or distress. As many as seven thousand people would be fed daily during a famine; an orphanage for fifty children was regularly maintained. The orderly and dutiful expression of Christian philanthropy was Joseph's dominant concern and principal contribution to Russian Orthodox tradition.

Joseph was the foremost proponent of the Possessors' school of thought; he insisted that monastics should own land and he effectively countered the contrary claim of certain Orthodox ascetics and of Ivan III (1440–1505). The Moscow church council of 1503 heeded Joseph and decided the question in favor of the Possessors. Had it been otherwise, Joseph might have felt impelled to act in accordance with the daring principle that obedience to a ruler was conditional on the ruler's righteousness, which he had enunciated earlier. An unjust ruler is "no tsar, but a tyrant." In the words of Georges Florovsky (1893–1979), Joseph bordered here on "justification of regicide." In fact, Joseph was to become ever more dependable a collaborator of the state.

It was Joseph's hope that his monastery would attract well-born postulants and that these would provide the bishops of the future. His expectations were fulfilled in the course of the sixteenth century. By the end of it his posthumous reputation was firmly established, and his local canonization (1578) was followed by the proclamation of his sanctity by the Russian Orthodox church as a whole in 1591.

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SERGEI HACKEL (1987)

JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS (37/8–c. 100 CE), born Yosef ben Mattityahu, was a Jewish general, historian, and apologist. Josephus was perhaps the most prolific, significant, and controversial of Jewish writers in Judaea during the Hellenistic-Roman era. Born in Jerusalem, he traced his paternal lineage from the priesthood and his maternal descent to the Hasmonean dynasty, and he claimed to have been educated not only within the priestly circles but also among the various Judaic sectarian movements of his day. In 64 he went to Rome and obtained the release of imprisoned Jewish priests, returning to Judaea on the eve of the Great Revolt, a Jewish uprising against Rome. Although he was a moderate, he was appointed to command the Galilean forces, and upon their defeat by Vespasian in 67 he surrendered after his comrades committed suicide. Josephus claims that while in captivity he predicted the accession of Vespasian to emperor, and two years later he was freed by the newly acclaimed ruler of Rome. Josephus accompanied Vespasian's son Titus during the siege and destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple. After the war, Josephus lived under imperial patronage in Rome, where he wrote four major works that survive thanks to their preservation by the Christian church.

Less than a decade after Jerusalem fell in 70, Josephus completed *The Jewish War*, a seven-book narrative of Judean history from the accession of the Seleucid king Antiochus IV (175 BCE) to the fall of Masada in 74 CE. This work was written first in Aramaic and later translated into Greek in order that readers in both the Parthian kingdom and the Roman empire would learn why the revolt occurred and how it failed. With Flavian approval, Josephus portrayed a Jewish nation tragically swept by a small band of fanatics into a war that could only demonstrate Rome's invincibility.

Jewish Antiquities, published in 93/4, recounts in twenty books the Jewish experience from earliest times until 66 CE. Josephus drew heavily from biblical and later Jewish and non-Jewish sources, which he carefully reworked and edited into a treatise modeled on the *Roman Antiquities* of Dionysios of Halikarnassos. The result is a highly creative *apologia* that within its Greek historiographic form emphasizes the antiquity and philanthropy of the Jews and Judaism even as it underscores biblical concepts of divine justice and providence. Josephus subsequently made these apologetic arguments more explicit in the two books collectively titled *Against Apion*, which quote and refute many anti-Semitic works from the Hellenistic age.

Finally, Josephus appended to *Jewish Antiquities* an autobiographical book that is almost entirely devoted to defending his conduct of the Galilean campaign. While in *The Jewish War* he portrayed himself as a committed, efficient general, in his autobiographical work, *The Life*, he emphasizes that he went to Galilee as a moderate who unsuccessfully attempted to restrain his countrymen.

Josephus and his works are no less controversial in modern scholarship than they were in their day. The literature is without equal in breadth and detail; therefore, paradoxically, questions about its reliability often cannot be resolved. Principal foci of contemporary analysis of Josephus include: (1) modes of Hellenization within Palestinian Judaism; (2) the nature of the Pharisaic, Sadducean, and Essene movements, among others; (3) Jewish and Roman political dynamics prior to and in the aftermath of the revolt; (4) Josephus's own motives and conduct, particularly during the revolt and then in light of his Flavian patronage; and (5) the brief, but extraordinary, passage in *Jewish Antiquities* that refers to Jesus but generally has been judged to be at least in part a forgery.

In sum, Josephus emerges as a crucial source for the reconstruction of Judaism and Jewish history in late antiquity. Many contemporary scholars eschew Jerome's claim that Josephus was the "Greek Livy," yet few would deny his contribution to current understanding of his era or his skill and passion in explaining and defending his people to their neighbors.

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DAVID ALTSHULER (1987)

JOSHUA, or, in Hebrew, Yehoshuaʿ, was an Israelite leader who flourished, according to tradition, in the thirteenth century BCE. The *Book of Joshua* tells how its namesake led the twelve tribes of Israel in a concerted military invasion and conquest of the land of Canaan, whose territory was divided among the tribes. Joshua attributes the success of the campaign to the direct involvement of YHVH, Israel's God (see *Jos.* 10:14, 23:3, 23:10)—a claim underscored by the miraculous nature of the defeats of the cities of Jericho (whose wall is toppled by the shouts of the Israelites) and Gibeon (where the sun stands still until the Israelites are victorious). After the conquest is completed, Joshua assembles the Israelites at Shechem to renew the covenant with YHVH made in the preceding generation through the mediation of Moses. He exhorts the people to remain devoted to YHVH and to keep his law.

Joshua's role as leader of the conquest is anticipated in the biblical narrative by his introduction as the field commander in the battle against Amalek (*Ex.* 17:8–13) and as a spy sent by Moses to reconnoiter Canaan (*Nm.* 13). Moses elevates Joshua's status by changing his name from Hosheaʿ to Yehoshuaʿ (YHVH is salvation) and by appointing Joshua as his successor. Indeed, the *Book of Joshua* frequently refers to Moses' tutelage of Joshua and shapes many aspects of Joshua's career to parallel similar aspects of the career of Moses. For example, Joshua's splitting of the Jordan River recalls Moses' splitting of the Sea of Reeds; Joshua's theophany (*Jos.* 5:13–15) specifically evokes that of Moses at the burning bush (*Ex.* 3–4); the image of Joshua holding out his spear until the city of Ai is taken (*Jos.* 8:26) recalls the image of Moses extending his arms until the Amalekites are routed (*Ex.* 17:12); and Joshua, like Moses, dispatches spies ahead of his army (*Jos.* 2). As though to highlight the parallel even further, in *Joshua* 12 a summary of Joshua's triumphs over Canaanite kings (*Jos.* 12:7–24) is juxtaposed with a summary of Moses' earlier triumphs over kings in the Transjordan (*Jos.* 12:1–6).

Because most of Joshua's military activities took place in what became the tribal territory of Benjamin and Ephraim, and because he is said to have been buried in an Ephraimite estate in Timnath-serah (*Jos.* 19:50), modern scholars surmise that Joshua was a legendary leader of the north-central Israelites. However, the *Book of Joshua*'s description of a massive takeover of Canaan by an army of invading Israelites is contradicted by a number of biblical passages (such as *Jos.* 13:1–5 and *Jgs.* 1). It is further contradicted by an increasingly clearer archaeological record, in view of which only some of the sites said to have been destroyed by Joshua were in fact destroyed in the late Bronze Age (thirteenth through twelfth centuries BCE), and those were destroyed over an extended period. The stories of Joshua's conquests, which were apparently written during the Judean monarchy (ninth through seventh centuries BCE), as well as the division of the land among the premonarchic tribes, tend to be regarded by historians as ideologically motivated. The clearance of Canaanite people and culture from the land of Canaan, as related in the *Book of Joshua,* is understood as a mythical expression of Israel's own self-definition (we are entirely distinct from them), and Joshua's military leadership is often interpreted as a projection or reflex of Judean imperial aspirations, such as those of Hezekiah (late eighth century) or Josiah (late seventh century).

When the compilers of the *Book of Joshua* combined traditions of the Exodus with traditions of the conquest, they cast Joshua as the lieutenant and successor of Moses. Thus they forged these once-disparate traditions into a unified narrative.

SEE ALSO Canaanite Religion; Moses.

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JOSHUA BEN HANANIAH See YEHOSHUʿA BEN ḤANANYAH

JOSHUA BEN LEVI See YEHOSHUʿA BEN LEVI

JOSIAH, or, in Hebrew, Yoʾshiyyahu, was a king of Judah (c. 640–609 BCE). Josiah came to the throne at eight years of age upon the assassination of his father, Amon. The account of his reign in *2 Kings* 22–23 is almost entirely taken up with a presentation of his cultic reform program in the eighteenth year. The parallel account in the much later history of *2 Chronicles* 34–35, which divides this reform activity between the twelfth and eighteenth years, probably has no independent validity and so should not be used in the reconstruction of the events of his reign.

The version in *Kings* states that during the course of the renovations of the Temple a "book of the law" (*sefer ha-torah*) was found. Its contents raised great consternation in the royal court and led to a large-scale reform program to purify the cult in Jerusalem. This last act meant the obliteration of other cult places throughout Judah and as far north as the region of Bethel, with the unemployed Levitical priests of "the high places" becoming wards of the state.

Because of the close match between the nature of the cultic reform program, especially the centralization of worship, and these same concerns in *Deuteronomy,* scholars have long identified "the book of the law" with this part of the Pentateuch. The time of Josiah is thus understood as a period of nationalistic and religious fervor resulting from the decline of Assyrian domination and influence in the west. It was within the context of these events that the framers of *Deuteronomy* were able to promulgate their reform program.

It must be kept in mind that the presentation of events in *2 Kings* 22–23 is shaped by a historian whose outlook is strongly influenced by *Deuteronomy.* It is possible, however, that both purification and centralization of the cult did not become firmly established until the Second Temple period, and even then there were exceptions. Some scholars have sought to offer archaeological evidence for the destruction of Judean sanctuaries at Arad and Beersheba in the late seventh century BCE, but the evidence is ambiguous and must be treated with caution.

Josiah is also credited with a brief revival of the Judean state and some expansion into the former Israelite kingdom to the north. About this, however, the Bible says little except for its reference to Josiah's destruction of the altar at Bethel. The archaeological evidence for Josiah's territorial control consists mostly of royal seal impressions on jar handles, which would limit his sphere of activity within the borders of Judah.

Apart from its description of the cultic reform, *Kings* contains only a few enigmatic remarks about Josiah's death at the hands of Pharaoh Necho at Megiddo while Necho was on his way to aid the Assyrians at Carche mish (*2 Kgs.* 23:29–30). The subsequent Babylonian hegemony led to the end of *de facto* Judean independence for the next four centuries.

The author of *Kings* rates Josiah highest of all the kings of Judah after David because of his religious reforms, and there is some further reflection of this esteem in *Jeremiah* 22:15–16.

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JOHN VAN SETERS (1987)
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JÖTNAR (giants) constitute a supernatural tribe in Scandinavian mythology. Since the tribe includes fire giants and ice giants, the concept may have originated in the observation of natural phenomena. Giants are natural spirits and among the original inhabitants of the world. In Germanic cosmogony, life originated from the body of the primeval giant Ymir, who was eventually dismembered to create the world. A fire giant, Surtr, helps bring about the end of the current world age at Ragnarǫk, the giants' final conflict with the gods, in which both the Æsir and the giants perish. Although the mutual hostility of the gods and giants is implacable, they are biologically related and occasionally intermarry. The Æsir (the dominant group of gods) trace their descent from the giantess Bestla, and Óðinn's mistress Jörð, the mother of Þórr, is a giantess. Njǫrðr and Freyr, hostages from the second group of gods, the Vanir, marry giantesses, although the unions do not last. Óðinn also seduces a giantess as part of his efforts to steal the mead of poetic inspiration.

The Æsir fear that, left unchecked, giants will take over their citadel, Ásgarðr, and destroy all life on earth. Characteristically, Óðinn uses wisdom as his weapon, turning the giants' magic chants against them and stealing the mead of poetry, whereas Þórr uses brute strength to kill giants and giantesses. Heimdallr is another guardian of the gods against the giants. Yet giants are also depicted as brave and strong, old and wise, wealthy and (some at least) of high social status. For example, the Æsir enjoy drinking bouts at the home of the sea giant Ægir. It is a giant who builds Ásgarðr, the Æsir's stronghold. Giants are aligned with the natural when it is contrasted with the cultural, but this shows the natural to be unnatural and monstrous; superior to it is the cultural, which is of course associated with the Æsir.

Jötnar have been viewed as objects of cultic worship; as ancestors and primeval spirits; as the gods of a pre-Germanic population; as the powers of wintertime; and as forces of untamed nature, of death and infertility, and of chaos and destruction. It has also been argued that the giants continually try to steal the goddesses and symbols of order such as the sun and moon not because they are essentially disorderly, but because they have no opportunity for reciprocal exchange with the gods. Conversely, the Æsir practice violence, theft, deception, and oath breaking to gain what they want from giants, but their actions are depicted as justified. As time passed, the negative side of the giants became predominant in the mythology. A differentiation of the various types of giants was apparent in heathen times (*jötunn* is the generic term, whereas as *þurs* and *troll* designate malevolent giants), but the sources, which date from the late heathen or early Christian era, probably also reflect the Christian demonization of pagan mythological figures. Overall, Scandinavian mythology shows that the giants are not an external threat but are ineradicably part of divine society, both as mothers and monsters.

SEE ALSO Germanic Religion; Njǫrðr; Óðinn.

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ELIZABETH ASHMAN ROWE (2005)

JOURNALISM AND RELIGION.

[*This entry discusses reporting on religious topics in the daily print and broadcast media in the United States.*]

Alexis de Tocqueville devoted a chapter of his *Democracy in America* (1835), "Of the Relation between Public Associations and the Newspapers," to the interdependence of communications media and other institutions in a democratic society. Tocqueville highlights this interdependence in the following observation:

> There is a necessary connection between public associations and newspapers; newspapers make associations, and associations make newspapers. . . . A newspaper can survive only on the condition of publishing sentiments or principles common to a large number of men. A newspaper, therefore, always represents an association that is composed of its habitual readers. This association may be more or less defined, more or less restricted, more or less numerous; but the fact that a newspaper keeps alive is proof that at least the germ of such an association exists in the minds of its readers. (Tocqueville, ed. Bradley, 1960, vol. 2, pp. 120, 122)

THE CREATION OF THE NEWS. Tocqueville's view ties newspapers and other media closely to their own associations of readers and viewers, and, at the same time, gives newspapers and other media a representative function. The representative function is actually twofold. First, the media represent the associations that make up their readerships and regular listeners, those in whose minds the germs of such associations exist. Second, the media, while being associations themselves, also represent other associations. They are both lamp and mirror in a society in which many groups seek to keep their own torches bright, thereby creating a need among the citizens for mirrors in which to perceive what is going on among the diversity of associations, each with its own self-interested agenda. In their preoccupation with matters of personal and neighborhood interest, the citizens "require a journal to bring to them every day, in the midst of their own minor concerns, some intelligence of the state of their public weal" (Tocqueville, p. 120).

In their interdependence the media and the associations they serve are among the central institutions in American society. Media shape and are shaped by the dynamic consensus of advocacy and counteradvocacy among the associations. To read a newspaper, listen to radio, or view television is to participate, whatever the attenuations, in a communion with the central institutions and ethos of the society, an act more powerful for being in large part symbolic and hence less obvious. The media, then, are a part of the consensus-making and consensus-reflecting exchanges that create a public out of a diverse and scattered population, encompassing even peoples of the globe, many of whom depend on American media for their news of the world.

Without an understanding of media as symbolic matrix, there can be no helpful understanding of "the news," much less the news of religion. The publication of the news is little noticed in its symbolic aspect, and the news becomes more powerful than it should be in a democratic society because the media through which news is mediated are disregarded. Why, then, are citizens not more critical of the media—not as institutions with their own affiliations, self-interests, and eccentricities, but rather in their symbolic function? Citizens are in fact critical of the media because of "bias" (writing and broadcast that takes words and images "out of context," or that touts a standard party line). Rarely, however, does criticism of the media touch on the means by which they make news out of persons, issues, movements, and events in the world. Why is this so? It is not possible to proceed to an examination of the way religion is reported in the media in the absence of some field against which to assess the ways in which aspects of various religions and religious practices become, and do not become, news. The "news" must be understood first.

News is not fact, but the mediation of facts through symbolic media, through conventions of writing and editing, and through inclusions and exclusions created in the practice of such conventions. This is not generally understood because the creators of the news and its readers and viewers are in common agreement on a key theory about what constitutes knowledge, particularly that form of knowledge called "news." News is not self-evident, because it is the creation of the media, but it is assumed to be self-evident because it is understood to be identical with "facts." Both reporter/editor and reader/viewer typically share a theory of knowledge that tacitly teaches them that news gets its status solely by reference to facts. What is published are matters of fact, a set of signs whose primary reason for being is to refer, copy, or imitate brute facts (the person who spoke, the event that occurred) or actions that happened beyond the pages and film, in the real world. On this view, news is reference; it is what is reported or photographed. The news-as-reference theory leaves unnoticed the nature of the media as symbolic matrices through which "facts" become "news."

CONVENTIONS OF STORYTELLING. The Princeton historian Robert Darnton, for an article in which he reflects upon his days as a reporter for papers in New Jersey and New York City, took as his epigraph a graffito he found in 1964 on the wall of the press room of the Manhattan police headquarters: "All the news that fits we print." Darnton called his article, which appeared in *Daedalus* in 1975, "Writing News and Telling Stories"; in it he tells how the reporting of facts becomes news through the repertory of conventions for writing stories. While the facts that can be reported are without limit, the conventions into which facts are translated are limited, though they may vary from medium to medium, from one journalistic tradition to another.

Conventions of writing include the type of story an event or set of facts is judged to be, the stereotypes and rhetorical modes common to reporters, and editors' norms of judgment. Darnton makes clear that reporters are not rote writers; they are enterprising in seeking new twists on old ways of telling stories, but they typically do so within an approved genre of storytelling. Facts may be observed, recorded, and quoted, but before the reader or viewer sees the results, the reporter, under supervision of editors, writes the news. This sequence is as true of television reporting as it is of radio and print media (one may note, for example, the beginning and ending sentences of every television report from "the scene").

These conventions of story writing compose the symbolic matrix through which the media translate facts into news. Thus the graffito "All the news that fits we print" captures in an aphoristic formulation the "neatness of fit that produces the sense of satisfaction like the comfort that follows the struggle to force one's foot into a tight boot. The trick will not work if the writer deviates too far from the conceptual repertory that he or she shares with the public and from the techniques of tapping it that he has learned from his predecessors" (Darnton, 1975, p. 190).

"Conceptual repertory" comes in the form of rhetorical conventions, descriptive types, and formulaic devices, and not in the form of explicitly held taxonomies of types of stories. The tacit sharing of these conventions of writing and reading (or viewing) stories is the underlayment that supports the public status of the media, that is, the means for publicity based on publicly shared symbolic forms. Even though they may be biased on specific issues, the media in this understanding are representative and consensual.

As a good historian of his own abandoned career as a reporter, Darnton recounts that the first move a reporter makes upon being given an assignment is to go to "the morgue" in search of relevant sheets, a cluster of examples that inscribe an exemplary way of telling the story. "The dead hand of the past therefore shapes his perception of the present" (ibid., p. 189). This is how journalistic traditions of writing are maintained. This practice demonstrates in important if little-noticed ways that news is old. "There is an epistemology of the *fait divers*" (ibid.). And this epistemology of tradition is displayed not as a theory of knowledge but as a set of slowly changing styles of writing, and through the rhetorical conventions of the trade.

Darnton reinterprets Tocqueville, or rather extends Tocqueville's observations by particularizing them. One important meaning of *association* is the communion between habitual readers and the newspapers, the sharing of "sentiments and principles" of which Tocqueville wrote; Darnton particularizes the devices of this sharing in arguing that an essential dimension of the media is their symbolic matrix. Many historians and critics of American journalism have neglected or overlooked what Darnton calls "the long term cultural determinants of the news," in part because they have neglected to consider the enduring styles of storytelling through which news is mediated to various publics. Darnton writes:

> Of course, we did not suspect that cultural determinants were shaping the way we wrote about crimes in Newark, but we did not sit down at our typewriters with our minds a *tabula rasa.* Because of our tendency to see immediate events rather than long term processes, we were blind to the archaic element in journalism. But our very conception of "news" resulted from ancient ways of telling stories. (ibid., p. 191)

The reason that newspapers and other media are consensus-making and consensus-made institutions is that stories fit a range of cultural preconceptions of news. These cultural preconceptions are expressed, not as such, but rather in the "fit" of the facts, the fit of a new story into available conventions for writing that story. To study the way the media report religion is to study some of the constitutive rules that govern the display of stories in the media, rules that are never stated as such but that are presented through the conventions of news writing.

Treatments of the news and how it becomes so are also examinations into the epistemology of power through the analysis of rhetorical forms and conventions that translate facts. The philosopher John Searle, drawing on earlier work by J. L. Austin and G. E. M. Anscombe, summarizes the hierarchical relations that obtain among facts, institutions, or associations, and those constitutive rules that order both: "The description of the brute facts can only be explained in terms of institutional facts. But the institutional facts can only be explained in terms of the constitutive rules which underlie them" (Searle, 1969, p. 52).

To understand how rules operate as norms and mediating symbols and to comprehend how they are refigured, historically, as they confront novel situations, requires an inquiry that can be usefully assisted by the work of historians of religion such as Jonathan Z. Smith. Especially helpful are two of Smith's essays, "Sacred Persistence: Toward a Redescription of Canon," and "The Bare Facts of Ritual," from his collection *Imagining Religion* (1982). Studies of revision in the canonical status of taxonomies that function as constitutive rules for the governance of facts through sanctioning of particular forms of storytelling would find many useful analogies from similar studies of canonical and ritual change occasioned by time and circumstance.

Media is an overlapping of associations: the association as institution, association as representing other associations, association between the media and habitual readers and viewers, and association as symbolic matrix. Through these complicated connections the news is made.

MEDIA AND RELIGION. With the larger context of the multiple meanings of media established, it is possible to move to the question of the media and religion. How do the media represent religion? It is necessary that the preceding discussion be joined to this key question at many points, because the long-term cultural determinants that decisively affect the play of the news in general affect the ways the media represent religion in particular. The discussion is focused on daily national media in the United States, not on local, state, or ethnic media, nor on the vast array of media owned by various religious organizations, nor on the weekly and monthly periodical press and television programs. The defining pressures of daily and hourly deadlines impose their "fits" on the representation of religion in the national media. This is the most illuminating case for understanding how the central associations in the society transmit and receive news about religion.

In the preceding paragraph this article has borrowed Darnton's term *cultural determinant* to refer to a catalog of conventions relied upon by reporters to write their stories. Yet one of the problems attending the effort to write with critical consciousness about religion is precisely that the available typologies and formulaic devices used to report on politics, war, sports, and other areas are used to write on religion.

Another sort of cultural determinant involves prevalent ideas among people working in the media about what religion is. Thus notions about religion in the American context determine not only how the news of religion is reported in this society, but also how religious leaders, movements, and traditions abroad are interpreted. Consensus about religion in this country, therefore, involves the ways that religions beyond this country are reported.

The ways the media represent religion through the mediations of their various conventions are different from the ways members of religious groups view their own and other religions, and different also from the ways scholars study religion. These differences account for many misunderstandings and criticisms. The representations of religion in the media are the combined results of both kinds of cultural determinations: the predetermination of story schema and the ideas held by writers and editors about religion, and the repertory of conventions and the conceptual repertories of ideas and images about religion. It is the interplay of these two sets of cultural determinations that make the constitutive rules that govern representations of religion in the media.

The first set requires that a story have a "hook" or "lead" that organizes its telling. The favorite convention or model for organization is some form of drama. Usually a type of conflict, this drama is something that can be grasped in a sharply delineated "take" that arrests the attention and woos the eye to read further. The dramatic, or conflict, scheme may come in cameo or in large-scale settings.

Those aspects of religious life that lend themselves to this prefiguration—namely, highly condensed, dramatic actions—are more likely to appear as stories: controversy, charge and countercharge, conversions, schisms, deviations of many sorts, novel conjunctions of tradition and modern style. Of special importance is the time sense required by this particular model or convention. This time sense is congruent with that that characterizes the entire world according to the media: a time sense made up of a series of discrete units, each more or less self-contained. Any religious practices that lend themselves to dramatic portrayal, that are of limited duration, and that are novel in appearance best meet these requirements. Of course, as has been noted, there is nothing in these requirements that is unique to religion. The way religion is reported must be regarded as essentially similar to the ways news of politics, economics, athletics, law, or military affairs is reported; there is no special category for "religious news" in contrast to "the news."

Formulaic pieces that report the visits of presidents and royalty, for example, work well for popes: the airport arrival, the crowds along the route of the motorcade, appearances in public places, presentations, brief speeches and testimonies, then departures—a series of sharp segments highly adaptable to the rhetorical inscription, transmission, and display requirements of the media. If drama, in one of its many variants, is the favored model, second in usefulness is the "personality" who dramatizes great conflicts in his or her gestures. Here two major genres for best coverage are those that focus on the spectacle or the personality. These genres, of course, are just as effective for athletic heroes, criminals, and political figures as they are useful in the portrayal of religious persons. Just as the presidential candidate's rally may have the form of a religious revival meeting, so papal visits have the form, according to the taxonomy relied upon by the media, of visits by heads of state. The substitutions of different events or personalities within the same format for writing or image making is a reminder of the power of the image types and story conventions that are used to schematize quite different situations in similar ways. "Facts" are not canonical for the media, but the forms within which they are organized have a canonical status worthy of the attention of scriptural scholars.

One idea that fits neatly with the conventions used to report religion is that religion is most authentically itself when it dramatizes itself, particularly in the lives of interesting human beings. Religion as ordinary living or as tradition, as a symbolic complex regularly reenacted, or as a complicated set of ideas with long histories (even with revolutionary consequences) does not attract the attention of the daily media. It is striking that the same features in religion—its symbolism, use of conventions, dependence on repetitions in institutional life and personal behavior—turn up in the media's analyses and that members of the media pay about as much attention to these aspects of religion as they pay to similar aspects in their own modes of operation. Personal lives and institutional histories do not lend themselves to translation into the major news-reporting conventions. In fact, the category of pastness and the category of the ordinary, so characteristic of much religious life and practice, are alien categories in the prevailing modes and ideas. The ways symbols work in the living of lives and in the continuities of institutional life, of habits of mind and textures of sensibility, of forms of conviviality, and of matters of taste legitimated by religious belief are outside the typical scope of the media—unless they are caught in the portmanteau category of "features," a prime location for worthy efforts that deviate from the prevailing norms and conventions.

The cultural historian will be intrigued by the hypothesis that the disposition to favor the drama of religion over the prose of religion is not original with the media, even though it happens that forms of storytelling most favored by the media conform to this dramatic idea of religion. This author's hypothesis is that one particular strand, a long and dominant strand, in Protestantism's religious practice has become thoroughly part of the media's ideas about religion: The media's dramatic model for religion is in fact derived from the conversion rituals so typical of evangelical Protestantism in particular and of a variety of conversion-oriented religions in general. Conversion and its opposite, deconversion, are metaphors that support the dramatic model for writing news about religion. Manifestly all dramatic stories about religion are not conversion stories, but the metaphor of conversion may serve as the tacit root for a variety of conflict models for use in the coverage of religion.

To write about the slow pace of institutional life and the erosions of change over time; to write about the variety of ways religious identity and sensibility affect other associations and expressions in society, the arts, manners, styles of living, family life; to describe ways of thinking about and imagining sexuality, work, leisure, competition, cooperation, war; and to analyze inside/outside group relations appear staggering tasks within the idioms and notions about religion that prevail in the media.

When necessary the media can do a competent job in reporting formal properties present in the collective life of religious groups, particularly when some of the properties—sexual ethics, for example—generate conflict within individual persons and families. But the distance is vast between the common forms and ideas about religion in the media and the remote but powerful ways religious symbols and behavior affect political and economic actions, for example.

When an understanding of religion moves beyond the personal and specifically institutional and goes in the direction of the less formal and more implicit ways religious belief and sensibility work themselves out in a variety of associations, such indeterminate but no less important aspects of religion place impossible strains on the media's conceptual framework, not to speak of the framework of its writing conventions. These elusive but important aspects of religion are rarely noticed in these idioms, and for good reasons, because they cannot be categorized within the prevailing forms of classification presupposed by reporters' assignments; by story types; by the specialized competences of reporters in politics, law, science, economics, sports; and, not least, by the departmentalization of media into corresponding sections on politics, law, science, economics, sports, and style. There is another set of reasons for large areas of religion's impact on society being dropped from notice by the media; it has to do with a set of intellectual traditions about religion that powerfully affect the outlooks of reporters, producers, editors, and columnists alike.

SOME SPECIFIC CASES. Mary Catherine Bateson, an anthropologist, used the occasion of the Islamic Revolution to call to the attention of the editors and readers of the *New York Times* the consequences of the intellectual attitude toward religion that is held today by many experts upon whom the media wait for authoritative deliverances about such events as the mass suicide at Jonestown, Guyana, in 1978, and the Islamic Revolution of the late 1970s and early 1980s. She points to the failure of the media and of policymakers in the United States government, as others had pointed to the failure of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), to grasp the revolutionary forces at work in Iran. Such failures were extended in the systematic misrepresentations of the Ayatollah Khomeini by the American media, misrepresentations of a kind that will continue unless "there is a fundamental reappraisal of the role of religion in the world today" (letter to the *New York Times,* February 20, 1979).

What needs reappraising are notions about religion resident in large portions of the professions and among policymakers, as well as in the media. These ideas comprise an unsteady mixture of the Enlightenment idea that religion is at root superstition and liberalism's teaching that religious beliefs are primarily of interest in the private lives of persons. Neither attitude helps those who hold it to gain advanced notice of a crisis, much less write about many aspects of religion, until there is a dramatic crisis such as a revolution, something that is of course political and economic, not merely "religious"; this is particularly so because such a revolution would be unimaginable in America. Consensus reporting does not prepare the media to view religion as having the power to redirect the history of a nation, let alone affect the life of many other nations. Bateson notes that a new understanding of religion is necessary that will "transcend the fashionable tendency to see religion either as fanaticism or as a cloak for other interests; it must be premised on a recognition that for vast numbers of the world's people the symbols of religion sum up their highest aspirations."

When the media seek expert consultants on religious matters, they frequently call in members of the psychological profession, who are often disposed to see religion as a form of pathology, or other social scientists who see religion as a "cloak," or an ideology covering a variety of other interests, whether ethnic, economic, or political. Neither media notions of religion, derived from Enlightenment critique, nor courtship of the social sciences for authoritative enlightenment about unusual religious phenomena such as Jonestown, prepares the media to understand the power of symbols to inspire group visions other than those of progress and economic growth. The frequency of use of the term *medieval* in describing the forces led in Iran by Khomeini discloses much of the media's own misunderstanding of religion. The irony is that it was precisely this misunderstanding that led so many intellectuals in America to be surprised by the Islamic Revolution.

The media, then, work with conventions and ideas that reinforce each other in determining the ways religion is represented. In addition, the American press, used to the consensual reporting of religion in this country, is ill prepared to report on religion in other cultures where the manners of pluralism do not obtain and where religious power is often disintegrative of the existing social order instead of communing with it.

Just as there are working models in the media for what is authentically religious, so there is at work a pattern for the typical relationship between religion and the central social order. Nowhere is this model so clearly disclosed as when the media attempt to report minority or fundamentally different forms of religious practice, different ways of being religious than those practiced in the mainline associations and in the major religious traditions. Again, the ways the media report minority religious practices in American society indicate how foreign religions will be reported, or not reported.

On Sunday, June 8, 1980, the *New York Times* ran a story headlined "Police Seize Animals Prepared for Sacrifice by Cult in the Bronx," accompanied by a two-column picture of an officer of the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals holding a lamb with the caption "Lamb Saved from Slaughter." The lead on this story was as follows: "Police officers and agents of an animal protection society raided a garage in the Southview section of the Bronx early yesterday and confiscated 62 animals that they said were apparently being held for sacrifice by a religious cult." The raid, following one that had occurred three weeks previously, was termed in the second lead paragraph "the first major successful raid on secret cults practicing animal sacrifice." The final sentence of the ten-paragraph story read "The animals used in the cultic rituals are usually killed by having their throats slit, according to Mr. Langdon," the officer pictured holding the saved lamb. The drama of the raid, as reported, was followed by lists and numbers of animals confiscated. Officer Langdon was the major source for the story, and apparently the quoted authority on the meaning and history of the cult. "People will give one of the sect's priests $100 to perform a sacrifice so that good things will happen, so they will get money, or become healthy," he said. Not until the seventh paragraph were any words attributed to a member of the group raided, and no leaders were quoted. There was no reference to scholarship on this form of religious practice. Not until the penultimate paragraph was any background information supplied about this group and its affiliations. Again, Officer Langdon was the informant quoted: "Mr. Langdon said that the people in the house belonged to a sect closely related to Santería, which, he said, was derived from a Nigerian religion called Yoruba that was brought to Cuba by slaves in the 18th century and which once practiced infanticide as well as animal sacrifice."

A generous critic of this story may doubt if many adherents of Santeria were assumed to be included in the *Times*'s readers that Sunday morning. All the key terms of the story—"raid," "sacrifice," "religious cult," "slaughter," "cruelty to animals," "sect," "a Nigerian religion called Yoruba," "slaves," "infanticide as well as animal sacrifice"—along with the quoted final sentence, combine to project a consistent image of the exotic. No reporter would describe a mainline religious group as "an American religion called X that was brought to this country in the seventeenth century by visionaries, refugees, indentured servants, and fortune seekers."

True to form, the story angles on a dramatic event, a police raid, followed by confiscation of the animals. But not so true to form is the hybrid mixture of conific offerings and demonstrating the qualities of taker. The alleged violations of city laws on the treatment of animals and on harboring farm animals in the city are in tension with the story of the religious rite interrupted by the raid, and nowhere is the issue of freedom to practice religion hinted at as an issue. The mixture of types struggling with each other here—the police raid; the exotic practices of a minority religion; the motivation for such practices as involving exchange of money with priests of the cult (a constant, formulaic consideration in reporting of religion); the sentimental story involving officers rescuing animals from danger (no pictures provided of goats or guinea hens, which were also saved)—disclose a clash of genre and, perhaps unwittingly, reveal the problematics of conventional treatments of the exotic for an intended majority readership. All information supplied about the minority religious group only highlights the alien, if not pathological and illegal, status of such groups and their practices.

The loosely braided character of the several story conventions at work demonstrates what happens when news that does not neatly fit gets published. Perhaps here was a telltale occasion when "All the news that's fit to print" prevailed over "All the news that fits we print." The misfits here illuminate the standard fits that prevail in most reporting of religion. The heterogeneity of the "brute facts" on which this story was based may have placed too much pressure on the ruling conventions for them to operate effectively.

The repitition of key words in the story shows how the alien and the minority is encoded for the familiar and majority. Terms such as "cult," "secret sacrifice," "infanticide," "slaughter," and the like had echoed through the media during the previous eighteen months, following the reporting of events at Jonestown, Guyana, in November 1978; at that time, other terms—"fanatical," "paranoid," and "bizarre"—were added to the code to alert readers and viewers to the alien and "other" status of such religious practices and leaders. These signals of differentness serve to reaffirm readers' and viewers' tacit association and to reassert the normative and "normal" status of the familiar and dominant. "Charismatic preacher" may work as a term of approval, but "cult leaders" become "self-proclaimed messiahs," while their believers become "victims."

The mix of conventions used to report the practice of Santeria in the Bronx bear close relations to similar encodings in the reporting of Jonestown and its leader Jim Jones and of the revolution in Iran and Khomeini, who was constantly referred to as a "madman," and whose country was classified as backward, if not primitive, by being called "medieval." The visual image of the shouting mob became the set for television reporting from Iran, recalling a scene type that goes back to the crowd imagery used by those writers hostile to the French Revolution.

Generalizations about the media as a consensual association enforcing what Tocqueville called "principles and sentiments" are routinely inscribed in the particulars of ordinary stories like the *Times* story discussed above. The ways that particular "facts" are represented contribute to the consensus while embodying many of the consensus's assumptions. Such representations not only define themselves and their constituents affirmatively toward their conception of the normal but also negatively toward the alien, the exotic, the criminal, the pathological, the animal, the medieval, the primitive, and so on. These terms of exclusion and their encoded idioms within the rhetorical commonplaces of news writing carry power to refamiliarize the normal by distancing the alien. Thus the rhetoric of the media bears close analogies to rituals of inclusion and of exorcism. In these ways the media make their contribution to the manners of discourse and good taste in a society that has shown a decided disposition to view religion as private, lest the plurality of prescriptive and assertive religions within its borders cease observing good form. This equivocal achievement is sustained by a studied absence of attention to the power of symbols, those of religion and those of the media, to affect the lives of the unreported many, who take the former with much more seriousness than the latter.

SEE ALSO Law and Religion, article on Law, Religion, and Human Rights; Religious Broadcasting.

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JOURNEY SEE ASCENSION; DESCENT INTO THE UNDERWORLD; FLIGHT; PILGRIMAGE; QUESTS

JUANA INÉS DE LA CRUZ DE ASBAJE Y RAMIREZ.

Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1648/1651–1695) was a compelling seventeenth-century Mexican scholar and writer whose work deserves a significant place in the history of Christian thought. Scholars who study her religious writings consider her to be the first female theologian of the Americas. Her poetry and dramas offer a theological voice through the medium of literature.

Juana Ramirez de Asbaje y Santillana, the daughter of unwed parents, was born in the town of Nepantla, Mexico, between 1648 and 1651. Her mother was a *criolla* (American of Spanish descent), and her father was a Spanish military officer. Around the age of thirteen, Juana went to live in the court of the viceroy of New Spain (colonial Mexico) as a lady-in-waiting. She stayed there for three years. In 1667 she entered into the ascetic, cloistered Roman Catholic order of Discalced Carmelites, which she left after a short time. Two years later she joined the order of the Hieronymites.

At a young age, Juana developed a passion for the intellectual life. She was an avid reader, primarily self-taught, and by her midteens she was recognized as the most erudite woman in Mexico. Her reputation as a scholar was a crucial factor in her gaining a position in the viceregal court. Her desire for a life of scholarship and study was perhaps a significant factor in her decision to enter cloistered life. During her time in the court, the Jesuit Antonio Núñez de Miranda encouraged Juana to enter the convent. Aware of her academic gifts, as well as her distaste for marriage, he felt the convent was the best venue from which to monitor Juana's growing public notoriety and intellectual aspirations. Juana hesitated to take the veil, fearing that convent life would impede her studies, and the reasons for her entry into a convent continue to be a matter of debate amongst *sorjuanistas* (Sor Juana scholars). Núñez de Miranda became Sor Juana's confessor for a significant portion of her cloistered life.

Sor Juana's time in the convent was focused primarily on fierce study and scholarship. She read in the fields of literature, philosophy, theology, and science. Estimates of the number of books in her library range from hundreds to thousands. She also collected scientific and musical instruments. Her poetry and plays were in high demand for both Church festivities and court occasions, and it is in these milieus that her writings were read, sung, and performed. Much of her corpus was written by request and for commission.

After enjoying a public life as a writer and intellectual, Sor Juana's situation took a dramatic turn when, in 1690, *La Carta Atenagórica*, her critique of a male theologian's analysis of Christ's greatest demonstration of love, was circulated without her authorization. The critique was circulated with a letter, written under the pseudonym Sor Filotea, criticizing Sor Juana's intellectual pursuits. Sor Juana scholars generally acknowledge that the author of the letter was the Bishop of Puebla, Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz, and that Sor Juana was aware of his role in these events. Fernández names the object of Sor Juana's critique as a fifty-year-old sermon written by the prominent Jesuit theologian Antonio Vieira. Though the actual object of Sor Juana's critique is a matter of debate among *sorjuanistas*, the perceived target in the eyes of her contemporaries was Vieira. Sor Juana's response to these events, *La Respuesta*, an autobiographical defense of women's right to intellectual pursuits, was completed the following year. Within four years of the production of *La Respuesta*, Sor Juana renounced her public life. Two years later she died from an illness that she contracted while caring for the sick in her convent.

Three volumes of Sor Juana's works were published in Madrid between 1689 and 1700. Her corpus includes sixty-five sonnets, sixty-two romances, a large number of poems in other forms, two comedies, three *autos sacramentales* (allegorical dramas), sixteen sets of *villancicos* (poems sung on religious holidays), one *sarao* (a celebratory song accompanied by a dance), and two farces. Her writings incorporate an eclectic mixture of colonial Mexican philosophy and theology, including Thomism, Neoplatonism, and Hermeticism. A child of the Americas, Sor Juana incorporates indigenous and African sources and voices throughout her work. One of her most significant contributions to Christian theology is her defense of indigenous peoples and her understanding of indigenous religions as prefigurations of Christianity.

As a baroque figure, Sor Juana's writings are clearly marked by the excesses and ornamentation that characterize this era. She and other baroque writers of New Spain emulated the Spanish greats of the period, including Luis de Góngora (1561–1627) and Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600–1681). The literature of this world was predominantly male, written to and read by men. Sor Juana, of course, is a notable exception, although not because she was a woman. There were other women writers in colonial Latin America, especially within the context of convent life. What distinguishes Sor Juana is her forays into what were understood as the masculine discourses of philosophy and theology, which contrast drastically with the mystical writings of other nuns. Today, Sor Juana is recognized as Mexico's most important colonial writer.

Sor Juana's corpus touches on a wide variety of theological themes through the lens of literature. In her poetry one finds a heavy Marian emphasis. The theme of beauty is pervasive in her work. Her Christological writings emphasize Jesus as a manifestation of God's glory and the beauty of humanity created in the image of God. Her allegorical drama *El divino Narciso* reinterprets the Ovidian myth of Narcissus into an account of Jesus' passion, death, and resurrection, highlighting the dramatic character of humanity's relationship with the divine. Her theological anthropology presents a relational humanity, constituted by the interconnectedness of the human community and its relationship with God. Sor Juana also defended women's right to an education, and she critiqued the social construction of gender. Poet, dramatist, theologian, and philosopher, Sor Juana is a Latin American Church mother and a key figure in the history of theology.

SEE ALSO Christianity, article on Christianity in Latin America.

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JUDAH SEE YEHUDAH HA-LEVI

JUDAISM

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
JUDAISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA TO 1492
JUDAISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA SINCE 1492
JUDAISM IN NORTHEAST AFRICA
JUDAISM IN ASIA
JUDAISM IN NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE TO 1500
JUDAISM IN NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE SINCE 1500

JUDAISM: AN OVERVIEW

Judaism is the religion of the Jews, an ethnic, cultural, and religious group that has its origins in the ancient Near East, has lived in communities as members of collective polities and as individuals throughout the world, and now numbers about thirteen million people, chiefly concentrated in the State of Israel, North America, and Europe. However, not all Jews practice Judaism as a religion; nor does every form of Judaism constitute a religious expression. Judaism as a religion has since its emergence held to a belief in one God; believed that the Jewish people are bound to God by a sacred covenant; and read, interpreted, and followed what it sees as the terms of that covenant in God's revelation in the form of the Torah. But Jews' conceptions of God have ranged from extreme anthropomorphism to forms of pantheism; the idea that the covenant obliges Jews especially and personally has been challenged by certain Jewish religious movements in modern times; and ways and implications of interpreting the Torah have varied greatly, even in the most common forms of Judaism.

It is impossible to separate the history and description of Judaism from that of the Jewish people. Defining and describing Judaism for a reference work on religion therefore presents several questions, many of which do not arise when describing most other religions. How does one identify the Jewish people—a political, social, and religious entity that has ranged from antiquity to the present, that is not limited to one geographic region, and the members of which do not always agree on what constitutes membership in their community? Does this definition preclude any doctrinal or behavioral definition of Judaism? When members of that community depart from a set of beliefs or practices but still consider themselves Jews, are they still adherents to Judaism? Does one accept internal definitions of Judaism and Jews, or does one draw conclusions from the historical range of Jewish history?

Questions are not limited to those that concern identifying the Jews as an entity and simply describing their culture, the way one might define a geographic region such as southern India or ancient Mesoamerica and describe its indigenous religions. For Judaism as a religion has carried within it a concept of Jewish peoplehood. This concept is knit into the fabric of its myths, rituals, and theology. The Jewish people, usually designated as Israel in Jewish theological and mythic discourse, stands at the center of almost all major religious expressions of Judaism through the notion of a covenant between Israel and God. Religious conversion to Judaism entails not only joining a creed, set of rituals, and community, but an extended family as well: it is customary in Jewish legal and ceremonial practice for a convert to designate his or her parents as Abraham and Sarah, the progenitors of the Jewish people. Moreover, modern secular nationalist definitions of Judaism, such as Zionism, have drawn heavily from those religious conceptions of Jewish peoplehood and could not have developed without them. A few modern expressions of Judaism have sought to minimize or reconfigure the place of Jewish peoplehood in Judaism. Most notably some sectors of the Reform movement in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries sought to redefine Judaism as a form of ethical monotheism open to all. However, a closer look at these expressions shows that they usually saw the dissolving of boundaries between Jews and non-Jews as the outcome of an enlightened, utopian future and furthermore saw Israel as a distinct entity charged with the mission of spreading Mosaic religion to the larger world.

In the light of the centrality of peoplehood in Judaism's conception of itself, the major historical entries on Judaism that follow will focus not only on myths, rituals, theologies, ethics, and factions that make up stages of Judaism but political and demographic data as well. After a brief discussion of criteria by which historians of religion can survey this subject, this article will proceed to a description of some of the major historical stages, themes, and practices that constitute Judaism.

DEFINITIONS. The term *Judaism* first appears in Hellenistic Jewish literature, most prominently *2 Maccabees* (a narration of the Judean revolt against the Seleucid Greeks in the second century BCE), where the word *Ioudaïsmos* seems to identify the ways and practices of the Jews in contradistinction with those of the "barbarians" (which in *2 Mc.* 2:21 actually means Greeks). There *Ioudaïsmos* is contrasted with *Hellenismos,* the ways and practices of the Greeks that the Maccabees' Jewish opponents wished to follow. Thus the term *Judaism* began as a way of distinguishing itself from the other. Likewise the Hebrew term *Yahadut* appears occasionally in the Middle Ages with a similar valence. In all of these premodern examples, *Judaism* refers to the whole of a religious behavioral system and is not given a substantive, doctrinal definition. From the Hellenistic period until the dawn of modernity, Jews would be most likely to describe their practices, beliefs, and theological thinking as *Torah.* This word originally meant "teaching" and in its simplest common meaning applies to the first five books of the Hebrew Bible (the Pentateuch). However, as shall be seen, the term came to encompass nearly the entirety of Judaic religious discourse.

It is in modern times that the word Judaism came most commonly to denote a full-fledged religious system that could be compared with Christianity, Islam, and other religions. From the nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century it became common for Jewish thinkers to identify an "essence of Judaism," which consisted mainly of a set of doctrines authentic to the eternal character of Judaism as a religion. Books such as Leo Baeck's *The Essence of Judaism* (1961/1948) and Abba Hillel Silver's *Where Judaism Differed* (1987/1956) sought not only to present Judaism as a set of creeds and norms but to distinguish it from Christianity and other religions. Likewise much Jewish historiography in the nineteenth century was concerned with what was essential and nonessential to Judaism in Jewish history. As a result historians such as Heinrich Graetz dismissed large movements in Jewish history and thought as *unjüdisch* (see Biale, 1982).

This tendency was balanced by the efforts of historians of Jewish literature such as Leopold Zunz and Moritz Steinschneider, whose principal motivation was to uncover and catalog as many textual and cultural sources as possible. In the latter half of the twentieth century historians such as Gershom Scholem (who once described himself as a "religious anarchist"), Salo Baron, and others sought to describe Jewish cultures in their widest variety, privileging virtually no central idea or spiritual phenomenon over others. So too Jacob Neusner, describing the Jewish religious landscape in late antiquity, sees the major documents and genres of Jewish literature as constituting discrete "Judaisms" and not as one entity. Scholem's historiography, rejecting normative criteria for admitting phenomena into Jewish history, encompassed not only the Qabbalah but expressions of Judaism widely considered heretical, such as the messianic movements surrounding Shabbetai Tsevi and Jacob Frank, the extreme anthropomorphism of the Shiʿur Qomah literature of late antiquity, and "Jewish Gnosticism."

The earlier generation's effort at distinguishing the unique aspects of Judaism, however, was also paradoxically an attempt to place Judaism on a parity with other "world religions," especially Christianity. By describing it primarily as a set of doctrines, this discourse made Judaism a philosophical or spiritual system that could be compared with other systems of its class. This, no less than the status of Judaism as the spiritual ancestor of Christianity and Islam, granted Judaism pride of place in encyclopedias, textbooks, and other large-scale comparisons of Western religions.

Other historians and theorists of religions also had their uses for Judaism. For some historians of early Christianity and the matrix of first-century Judaism that produced it, Judaism was portrayed as a civilization whose nomocentrism, casuistry, and parochialism could be contrasted with early Christianity's spirituality, sincerity, and universality. For anthropologists from James Frazer (*Folklore in the Old Testament,* 1988) and W. Robertson Smith (*Religion of the Semites,* 2002/1956), Judaism could be held up to examination as an example of the persistence of ritual patterns, such as food taboos and sacrificial values, that also characterized "primitive" religions. From the nineteenth century, which saw the birth of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums,* the scholarly study of Judaism, historians of Judaism responded with a counterdiscourse that sought to prove that within Judaism's legal structure lay profound ethical and spiritual truths. Whereas, as mentioned above, this movement sometimes resulted in the tendency to gloss over aspects of Jewish history that did not conform to Western rationalist ideals of religion, this effort also succeeded in uncovering a sophisticated philosophical and literary civilization within the vast Jewish manuscript collections of Europe and the Middle East. With the increased integration of the study of Judaism into the Western academy, historians and critics have come to challenge conceptions of Judaism forged in these early conflicts. In addition, some students of the major non-Western religions, especially Hinduism and Buddhism, have come to see Judaism as a comperand for such themes as exile, scholasticism, purity, and discourse of sacrifice.

This has resulted in a productive tension between the effort to identify elements of Judaism that are enduring and indispensable on the one hand and on the other the tendency to see no form of Judaism as alien to the historian. It has led to synthetic studies tracing key motifs and ideas through long stretches of time; has brought to light genres, theological and experiential trends, and ritual patterns that otherwise might have been neglected; and keeps students of religion conscious of the complexity of their subject. It is likewise productive for an overview such as this, for it makes both writer and reader aware of the value of generalizations as well as their limits.

After a brief discussion of what constitutes Jewish identity in Judaism, this article will be organized historically, with an eye to understanding what each historical episode in the history of Judaism has contributed to the religion and culture as it stands in the early twenty-first century. This history will be described in five major stages.

1. The biblical period, second millennium to 536 BCE. In this period the Israelites coalesced into a divided kingdom under a Davidic royalty and a priestly caste. During this time the worship of YHWH rose to become the defining characteristic of Israel's religion and the Temple in Jerusalem the most important place of sacrifice and sacred space. In this period as well the scribes, priests, prophets, and poets dedicated to that God composed the writings that would become the Hebrew Scriptures.
2. The Second Temple period. After a fifty-year period of exile, the leadership of the nation of Judah returned from exile under Persian rule (538 to 333 BCE). With the advent of Greek, then Roman control of Judea and the introduction of Hellenism (333 BCE to 70 CE), political, economic, and cultural upheavals led to the formation of a Diaspora in the Greco-Roman world and the rise of competing sects and communities within Judea. During this period the writings of the biblical period were increasingly treated as a canon and were subject to diverse methods of interpretation. The civil strife that beset the commonwealth in the first century culminated in the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple in 70 CE.
3. The rabbinic period, 70 CE to the sixth century. With the destruction of the Temple, a class of nonpriestly leaders called rabbis sought to construct a system whereby the worship of God centered around the study of the Torah as interpreted by its authoritative transmitters, the rabbis, and according to which the performance of individual commandments *(mitsvot)* could lead the person to a beatific life after resurrection. During this period synagogues became the primary locus of worship, and early forms of Jewish magic and mysticism took shape.
4. The medieval period, sixth to sixteenth centuries. During this period Jews increasingly lived in Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East among Christians and Muslims. This encounter with the two major religious civilizations that saw themselves as daughter and successor religions to Judaism produced tensions and new forms of discourse. Under Islam, Jews developed an extensive literature of systematic philosophy and secular poetry; under Christianity, Jewish intellectuals produced innovative systems of textual and legal interpretation.
5. The early modern and modern period, seventeenth to twenty-first centuries. During this period Jews in the Middle East and North Africa were affected by the fortunes of the Ottoman Empire and the colonization of those parts of the world by European countries. In eastern Europe new religious trends such as the Hasidic movement and the Talmudism of the Vilna Gaon changed the face of Jewish life. From the early nineteenth century onward Jews in the West increasingly became citizens of modern states, not members of autonomous Jewish communities. In some states in western Europe and in America it became possible for Jews to leave Jewish communities and disavow any Jewish identity without converting to another religion. By the twentieth century it also became possible to abandon Judaism as a religion while retaining a Jewish identity. During the modern period the religious denominations Reform, Orthodoxy, Conservative Judaism, and Reconstructionism formed over differences in the status and interpretation of Jewish law, the nature of revelation, and the role of the Jewish people in the modern world. In this period, in response to the growth of modern European nationalism as well as the rise of political anti-Semitism, the Zionist movement formed around the idea that the Jews could only find safety and fulfillment as a nation by returning to the Land of Israel.

Each historical stage will not be described comprehensively. Rather, those major elements of each period that contributed most to later stages will be emphasized. For more complete accounts, the reader is referred to the other major articles in this section. The article will conclude with a description of some of the most important forms, themes, and practices in contemporary Judaism, noting differences among the denominations where relevant. These include basic theological tenets, practices and rituals, and principles of ethics and polity.

WHO IS A JEW? The Hebrew Bible most often uses the word *Israel, Yisrael,* in such formulas as *Bene Yisrael,* "the children of Israel," or *ʿAm Yisrael,* the people of Israel. This term for the Jewish people has persisted in legal and religious discourse. Individually a Jew is known in Hebrew as *Yehudi,* Jew, or *Yisrael,* "member of Israel," the latter used principally to designate an individual in legal language from the Mishnah onward. However, the term Israel also refers to the kingdom that, according to the Hebrew Bible's historiography, formed when the descendants of Jacob (Israel) settled the land of Canaan, appointed kings, and in 722 BCE formed a separate kingdom from the southern Kingdom of Judah. Since this kingdom was conquered in 586 BCE and its leaders exiled, what remained was Judah. By the third century BCE its inhabitants became known as Judeans or *Ioudaïoi.* As a result of this history it is customary in English to use the term *Israelite* when referring to the people of biblical times before the Babylonian exile (that is, the second millennium to 585 BCE) and to use the term *Jew* to refer to the people after that period.

The criteria for membership in the Jewish people have not always been clear. In ancient Israel citizenship in the geographic and political entities that formed Israel and Judah were synonymous with being a member of the people. From the time of Ezra in the fifth century BCE onward (see *Ez.* 9), Jewish law has prohibited intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews. From at least the first century CE to the early twenty-first century it has been agreed that any child born of a Jewish mother is Jewish. However, some scholars have suggested that Jewish communities as late as the Hellenistic period considered the child of a Jewish father and a non-Jewish mother to be a Jew. At any rate the matrilineal definition held sway in Jewish law from the early rabbinic period until modern times. In the twentieth century the Reform and Reconstructionist movements declared that being the child of a Jewish father is sufficient to make one a Jew on condition that the parents raise the child as a Jew. However, this definition is controversial and is not accepted by the Orthodox and Conservative movements. The other way one becomes a Jew is by conversion. Since late antiquity, conversion in Rabbinic Judaism has been a legal procedure that involves accepting Judaism, circumcision for all males, and ritual immersion for all converts. That procedure thus changes the status of the individual and he or she is considered Jewish in every way. Whereas the Law of Return of the State of Israel grants citizenship to all Jews, the definition of the Jew for those purposes is still a matter of controversy, involving religious, political, and sociological considerations.

THE BIBLICAL HERITAGE. While the religion of ancient Israel differed in many dramatic ways from the Judaism that emerged from the Hellenistic era onward, several of the central ideas that were to define Judaism as a religion in this earliest stage of Judaism originated in this period. Two of the most fundamental are the sacred history of the Jewish people and the idea of their covenant with the one God. The narrative of the Torah, together with the "historical" books of the Bible, such as *Joshua, Judges, Samuel,* and the books of *Kings,* tell a story of the foundation, growth, and tribulations of a nation guided by its relationship to God. (God is known by several names, both generic and specific, in the Hebrew Bible; chief among them is a four-letter proper name whose original pronunciation is lost but whose letters correspond in English to YHWH. Based on some early sources, scholars often use the pronunciation Yahweh for this name.) This nation, according to *Genesis,* began with God's call to Abraham to go forth from his Mesopotamian homeland to form a holy nation (*Gn.* 12). In *Genesis* 17, God appears to Abraham as El Shaddai. He then makes the following charge to Abraham: "Walk in My ways and be blameless. I will establish My covenant between Me and you, and I will make you exceedingly numerous." He further stipulates that He will assign the land of Canaan to his children, and as a sign of that covenant Abraham is to circumcise himself and his male children. This practice is called *brit milah,* the covenant of circumcision.

The idea that a covenantal relationship exists between God and the children of Abraham is a driving force behind biblical and postbiblical Jewish theology and has informed every stage of Judaism. This covenant, like many political and religious treaties in the ancient Near East, is one of suzerainty, a solemn contractual relationship between unequal parties. At the same time it implies mutual obligations. In return for Israel's obedience, God will preserve the people and allow them to prosper. As a result, in biblical narration and prophetic rhetoric, Israel's misfortune was understood as a result of the nation's failure to live up to its terms in the covenant.

The covenant is tested and renewed several times in biblical narrative. It is tested when, in *Genesis* 22, God commands Abraham to sacrifice his son, thus putting the prospect of his having an heir into jeopardy (this, and not the ordinary love of father for son, was probably the source of the tension in the story for ancient readers, who were acquainted with the practice of sacrificing the first born). In *Exodus* 19–20, at Mount Sinai, God lays out, in the fashion of ancient Near Eastern suzerainty treaties, the terms of the covenant as they apply to the Children of Israel most permanently and dramatically through Moses, the paradigmatic prophet. The people, descendants of Jacob and his brothers who had settled in Egypt, had been liberated from slavery by God's intervention. God sets out the terms of their future relationship:

> You have seen what I did to the Egyptians, how I bore you on eagles' wings and brought you to me. Now then, if you will obey Me faithfully and keep My covenant, you shall be My treasured possession among all the peoples. Indeed, all the earth is Mine, but you shall be to Me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation.

After the people declare their acceptance of the covenant, the details of Israel's obedience are set forth in the Ten Commandments and the law code that follows. Those laws entail monolotry, that is, the requirement that Israel worship no god other than YHWH, social norms, and observance of the Sabbath. A result of the foundational status accorded to the Sinai experience, legal relationships tend to have deep emotional consequences in Judaism. One important biblical term for God's love of Israel is *Ḥesed*, which refers to the love that arises from God's fulfillment of his part in the covenantal relationship (see *Ps.* 136). Another poetic motif is that of marriage, a contractual relationship that carries strong emotional implications; for example, in the *Book of Hosea* the Sinai experience is seen as the honeymoon between Israel and YHWH. Israel's worship of other deities is depicted as adultery, and God's willingness to forgive the people is likened to the love of a forgiving husband.

The master narrative of the Hebrew Bible continues with its depiction of the people settling in Canaan under Joshua's leadership and forming a confederation of tribes led by a series of charismatic "judges," which then grows into a kingdom ruled by royalty descended from David. This kingdom divides into two, Israel in the north and Judah in the south. In 722 BCE Israel was conquered by the Assyrians, leaving Judah alone in the south. In 587 BCE Judah too was conquered by the Babylonians and its leaders exiled. They returned in 538 BCE under the Persian emperor Cyrus, who allowed them to rebuild the Temple and install a local government.

The early episodes of this grand narrative that weaves through the Torah and the historical and prophetic books of the Hebrew Bible do not always correspond with what historians can reconstruct of the early history of the Israelites. But after this narrative was codified in the Hebrew Bible and interpreted by generations of Jews from the postexilic period onward, it played a central role in determining not only Israel's self-conception but its ritual system, legal structure, and eschatology. The books that became the Hebrew Bible took shape over several centuries from the dawn of the first millennium BCE to the second century CE. The bulk of the Torah and the historical and prophetic books were probably composed from many sources during the period of the Judan monarchy, between the tenth and sixth centuries BCE.

Historians thus now present a complex picture of a society that emerged from diverse origins in the Fertile Crescent and came, in the first few centuries of the first millennium BCE, to understand itself as a nation unified by common ancestry and divine election. The Bible as it now exists is the product of a group of scribes, priests, and poets loyal to the cult of YHWH and so excludes much of the religious tendencies of ancient Israelites, including women. Archaeological finds of extrabiblical documents and close readings of the Hebrew Bible itself suggest that religion for some of ancient Israel's inhabitants included worship of deities such as Asherah, YHWH's consort; human sacrifice; and other phenomena condemned or ignored by biblical writers. Likewise students of the religion of ancient Israel believe that the Israelite idea of God evolved from a henotheistic religion to a monotheistic one. That is, ancient Israelite religion developed from a system whereby one local deity, YHWH, was believed to be a supreme God and further demanded excusive loyalty to one whereby only one God existed and all others were illusions. It became the common way of understanding God in the Hellenistic period. Even then, however, most Jews until modern times have believed in the existence of superhuman beings, such as angels and demons.

Integral to Israelite religion, like all Mediterranean religions in antiquity, was the system of sacrificial worship and seasonal pilgrimages. After several centuries this system came to be concentrated in the Temple in Jerusalem. In the climate of the Judean hills, a central concern was rain and the harvest. The festival system revolved around the agricultural cycle of that region. There were three major pilgrimage festivals. Pesaḥ, Passover, was a spring lamb sacrifice which was combined with the Feast of Unleavened Bread, Ḥag ha-Matsot. Shavuʿot, the Feast of Weeks, seven weeks after Passover, celebrated barley and wheat harvests and the offering of the first fruits. In time two of the festivals came to be associated with historical events. Sukkot commemorated Israel's sojourn in the Sinai Desert. The commandment to live in temporary harvest huts *(sukkot)* was associated with the tabernacles in which the Israelites lived in the wilderness. The spring festival of unleavened bread, Passover, commemorated the exodus from Egypt, when the Israelites had no time to let the bread rise in their haste to escape. By the rabbinic period the Shavuʿot became associated with the revelation at Sinai.The fall season began with a convocation of the nation at the beginning of the calendar year in Tishri (known by the rabbinic period as Roʾsh ha-Shanah) and, most important, a solemn sacrifice to cleanse the Temple of impurity and a day of fasting and atonement for sins (Yom Kippur).

Daily and seasonal offerings of slaughtered animals, grain, and fruits took up most of the activity in the Temple. Biblical stories make it clear that the sacrifice of animals on the altar was particularly pleasing to God if the individual who was sacrificing met with favor. In *Genesis* 8:20–22 Noah, having been spared the Flood, offers a sacrifice of thanksgiving. YHWH inhales the pleasing aroma of the burning meat and decides never again to doom the earth because of humanity's sins. On the other hand the prophets, often critics of the political authorities, warned that God would not accept the people's offerings if the sacrificers had not made provisions for a just society.

The sacrifice for Yom Kippur is another good illustration of the phenomenology and ritual system of biblical Israel. In *Leviticus* 16:2 God instructs Moses, "Tell your brother Aaron that he is not to come at will into the Shrine behind the curtain, in front of the cover that is upon the ark, lest he die, for I appear in the cloud over the cover." In this passage God is conceived as localized but volatile. His abode is in heaven, and he is able to come to earth under specific ritual circumstances. Those circumstances involve the presence of a sacred space—in this case the inner sanctum of the Tabernacle or Temple—that the deity is able to inhabit. Nor is

God invisible. In this case he comes enclosed in a cloud. Indeed there are several instances in which God is seen directly; the prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel have divine visions, and at Sinai, Moses, Aaron and his sons, and the elders of Israel "saw God, and ate and drank." At the same time direct encounter with the divine presence is a dangerous thing, and some biblical traditions think of the sight of God as fatal. In *Exodus* 33 God, replying to Moses' request to see him, says, "No one can see My face and live." Those who do see them, such as Isaiah, are frightened that they will die as a result (*Is.* 6:5).

What makes the encounter possible is observance of a system whereby ritual impurity, caused by such sources as corpses, dead reptiles, seminal flux, and menstruation, is purged from the Temple precincts, especially by means of water, sacrificial blood (which purges the sacrificial altar), and the purifying ashes of a red heifer. The creation of a pure space on earth allows God's presence to descend from the pure environment of the divine abode and bestow on the people the blessings of a complex agricultural society: safety from enemies, rain and prosperity, and children to carry on the family economy. But the terms of the covenant make that presence conditional on Israel's loyalty to YHWH as well as its observance of the ethical norms expected of God's people. In the period of the monarchy, a class of prophets warned the nation that divergence from those norms would result in God's withdrawal of that presence and military and political disaster.

The sociopolitical system of Israel too was sacralized. According to the *Books of Samuel,* the unsuccessful reign of the first king, Saul, gave way to the dynasty of David, who is anointed *(mashiaḥ)* by the prophet Samuel. David's descendants are seen by biblical narrative and by subsequent Jewish tradition as the only rightful heirs to the kingship. The prophets were critical of the kings for their failure to produce a just society as well as their tendency to allow worship of other gods, and some anticipated a time when a righteous Davidic king would usher in an era of peace and reverence.

In 722 BCE the Assyrian Empire conquered the northern Kingdom of Israel, exiled much of its population, and dissolved it as a political entity. In 587 BCE the Babylonians conquered the Kingdom of Judah and exiled its leaders. Fifty years later, under the Persians, they returned to reformulate a Jewish commonwealth under priestly leadership. Historians believe that this period, from the time of exile to the end of Persian rule in 333 BCE, was when key Judaic ideas were formed. Increasingly YHWH was seen not only as Israel's special deity but the only true God. It was probably during this period that diverse written and oral traditions of the ancient Israelites were gathered together to form the Torah and several of the central scriptural writings that became Judaism's sacred canon.

THE SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD. The conquest of the Persian Empire, including the Land of Israel, by Alexander in 333 BCE changed Judaism deeply and irrevocably. The Persians had been content to rely on local leaders and their cultures to preserve stability in the provinces they ruled. The Greeks on the other hand brought with them deep transformations in the nature of ancient societies. The effect of the exportation of Greek economic, social, and cultural patterns, called Hellenism, transformed the Mediterranean basin into an integrated economy. The instrument of that transformation was the polis, the Hellenistic city-state, which was used as a model for local governments. The polis carried with it a political structure based on the rulership of a local elite or boule; an economic program based on increasing urbanization and export of goods to other regions of the empire; and a cultural program based on Greek language, rhetoric, and religion—the latter spread through the teaching and interpretation of Homer and identification of local gods with the Greek pantheon.

Judea was not a major center of Hellenistic political or economic activity, and so the process of Hellenization came slowly there. In the late fourth century and early third century BCE gradual changes in architecture, demographic patterns, and cultural styles could be discerned. With the conflicts between the Ptolemaic and Seleucid successor empires to Alexander in the second century CE, Judea became a contested area because of its location between Egypt and Syria. Eventually Judea was ruled by Rome, who installed Herod, a descendant of Iduminean converts, as a client king. Roman economic and military pressure on the province of Judea as well as internal conflicts came to a head in 66 CE with a revolt against Rome. The revolt was suppressed by Romans with the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple in 70 CE. By the first century as well there were substantial communities of Jews living in the Diaspora, that is, outside of the Land of Israel. There were Jews in many of the Greek-speaking communities of the Mediterranean, especially Alexandria, Rome, and Asia Minor. There was also a flourishing Jewish community in the Persian Empire, in Mesopotamia.

In Judea the changes in economic, social, and cultural organization brought on by Hellenism thus accelerated in the second and first centuries BCE. With them came increasing divisions within the society and differences of opinion about how God's word should be interpreted and followed. One effect of Hellenization was increased urbanization. This meant that Jerusalem, a modest community surrounded by the Judean hills, became a major regional center of economic and cultural as well as political activity. Another effect was cosmopolitanism. Each local government in the Hellenistic economic communities was called on to contribute to the trade in goods, pay taxes, and carry out political affairs in Greek. This entailed getting a Greek education and being conversant with Greek cultural norms and religious values, including exposure to Greek mythology and philosophy. The political leadership of Judea would therefore be increasingly associated with Hellenistic style and cultural symbols. Another result of Hellenization therefore was greater disparity in the social and cultural status of various sectors of society: rich versus poor, priests versus nonpriests, and urban versus rural. Some also saw these social differences in terms of a struggle between Hellenists, those inclined toward integrating Greek culture with their own, and anti-Hellenists, those who saw Greek ways of life as threats to the monotheism, legal norms, and ritual traditions of the Jews. These struggles came to a head in 167 BCE, when, after a period of unrest in the wake of political scandals in the Temple administration, the Ptolemaic emperor Antiochus IV imposed Seleucid rule on the Temple and turned it into a polytheistic shrine. This precipitated a revolt led by Judah Maccabee and his family. Their victory is commemorated in the holiday of Ḥanukkah, which celebrates the dedication of the Temple after the Maccabees retook it in 164 BCE. The Hasmonaean dynasty that then ruled Judea, first as a short-lived independent commonwealth and then as local rulers under the Seleucids, also provoked dissatisfaction. One therefore sees in this period a wide variety of religious communities ("sects") with political, ritual, and theological agendas.

The evidence for these social, cultural, and religious trends comes from a number of sources in addition to archaeological findings. One of the most important is the historian Josephus, a former priest of the first century CE who had joined the Roman army during the revolt against Rome and wrote several valuable historical and polemical works in Greek. There are also extant literary works written in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek. Some of these were translated into Greek and other languages and attained a canonical or deuterocanonical status in some Christian communities. Others, like the apocryphal *Book of Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus),* survived in Hebrew as well as in Greek. One of the most valuable resources for an understanding of this period is the corpus of writings found in the Judean desert, especially the Dead Sea Scrolls, the library of a sectarian community formed in the second century BCE. However, these sources present difficulties for the historian. Josephus wrote his history with political and ideological goals in mind, and the apocryphal and sectarian writings, often written in a highly symbolic language or attributed pseudepigraphically to biblical personae, are cryptic about the historical circumstances of their composition.

The *Book of Ben Sira,* written at least thirteen years before the Maccabean revolt, provides a window into the type of piety that characterized the religious elite of the early Hellenistic period. This book is valuable because it was written by an individual, Yehoshuʿa Ben Sira, who signed his name to the book. The author was a priest who also apparently taught in the scribal schools of Jerusalem, perhaps in the Temple precincts. He wrote the book in the tradition of scribal wisdom, an ancient Mediterranean literary tradition represented in the Hebrew Bible by such works as *Proverbs* and *Job.* The *Book of Ben Sira* presents a type of piety in which the cultivation of wisdom, identified as practical social skills and, most important, the study of Torah, combines with reverence for the Temple and its personnel. The latter is represented by the figure of Simon, son of Yoḥanan, high priest from 219 to 196 BCE, who is depicted in rhapsodic poetry performing the daily sacrifice. Important to Ben Sira as well was reverence for the heroes of Israel's history, who are praised in an extensive encomium for their willingness to follow God's word and build Israel's institutions.

But this harmonious picture of a pious nation was not shared by all religious communities that formed in the wake of Hasmonaean rule. From Josephus as well as the Dead Sea Scrolls and later sources one can outline the main features of several of the sects and movements that flourished from the second century BCE to the fall of the Temple in 70 CE. One of the most important was the Pharisees, who are depicted in strikingly different ways in Josephus, the New Testament, and rabbinic literature. They are depicted by Josephus as a group that had much support among the general population and whose relationships with the ruling classes were unstable. The New Testament depicts them polemically as hypocritical intellectuals interested in the intricacies of ritual, especially ritual purity. The rabbis considered them their spiritual ancestors, sages who preserved traditions of Torah handed down from Moses, and defended them from heterodox sects such as the Sadducees. From these disparate portraits, a few commonalities emerge. The Pharisees held legal and ritual traditions that were not written down explicitly in Scripture, they counted priests and nonpriests in their ranks, and they were interested in extending purity rituals beyond the boundaries of the Temple and the officiating priests.

In rabbinic literature and in Josephus the opponents of the Pharisees are known as Sadducees. This term, which comes from the name of the priest Zadok (see *1 Kgs.* 1 and *Ez.* 40–48), designates a group that represented the families from which the high priests and principal officiants in the Temple were drawn. One can suppose that they represented the interests of the aristocratic priesthood and differed with the Pharisees on points of law. Josephus says that they did not believe in the resurrection of the dead.

The Sadducees left no texts, but the writings survive of another group that took Zadokite lineage seriously, the Qumran community, whose library was deposited in caves near the Dead Sea. This library, known as the Dead Sea Scrolls, tells about several things at once. The writings of the tightly organized community that preserved them yield a portrait of a sectarian eschatological community and its concerns. At the same time writings from what is now the biblical canon, apocryphal and pseudepigraphic literature, and liturgical poetry help round out the picture of the range of religious expressions in Greco-Roman Judea.

The Qumran community also demonstrates the growing prominence of two facets of Judaism: scripture as an object of interpretation and increasing concern with the eschatological future and the end results of historical process. This community, which may have been formed by Zadokite priests and their sympathizers who had been deprived of political power in the Temple establishment, formed soon after the Hasmonaean dynasty took hold. A legal epistle thought to be from the early history of the sect (the so-called halakhic letter or 4QMMT) suggests that the founders of the group split with the priestly establishment in Jerusalem over interpretations of Temple procedures and other legal and ritual issues. The group grew into a highly structured separatist sect that sought to live in accordance with its leaders' interpretations of Scripture. The most important function of this group, which saw itself as the true Israel, was to prepare its members for a future in which the forces of light, the sect and the angelic warriors, would fight on their behalf with the forces of darkness, the wicked nations of the world, Temple officials and priests whom they opposed, and the angels of darkness. For this purpose they were organized into a kind of Temple in exile, observed high standards of ritual purity, and held a liturgy in which they depicted the angels holding sacrifices in the heavenly camps in conjunction with their counterparts on earth.

Scripture, its interpretation, and the creation and preservation of new literary works were important facets of Qumran sectarian life. The sect developed the genre of *pesher,* in which a detail from a biblical book was taken to prophesy about current events. The sect also made innovations in interpretation of the laws of the Torah. For example, they extended the idea of ritual impurity to hold that an individual could be contaminated by committing such social transgressions as theft and false witness. These innovations were formed by a council of inspired interpreters *(moshav ha-Rabim),* whose founder was known as the "righteous teacher" *(moreh tzedek).*

In fact in this period one can locate what James Kugel has called "the rise of Scripture" (*Early Biblical Interpretation,* 1986). Although the Torah became the core of the Jewish canon by the Persian period, it was in the second and first centuries BCE that the canon began to coalesce and the interpretation of Scripture became a major issue. Writers composed works of "rewritten Bible," such as *Jubilees,* in which troublesome questions about biblical characters and concepts could be addressed through narrative. Rabbinic literature remembers the disputes between the Pharisees and the Sadducees as focused largely on differing interpretations of biblical law. The manuscripts found at Qumran include all books of the Jewish canon except for *Esther.*

From Qumran there are also examples in Hebrew and Aramaic of Jewish apocalyptic literature, a genre that otherwise would have survived largely in Greek translations and secondary translations into other languages of early Christendom. In this genre the secrets of the cosmos as well as the secrets of history are revealed to a human hero, usually a biblical figure such as Enoch or Ezra. The protagonist is often taken up to heaven and given a "guided tour" of its wonders. At this point the secrets of history are revealed to him by means of symbols that are interpreted by his heavenly guide. Usually these secrets not only demonstrate that the prior history of Israel has depended on a group of select pious people but that in the future there will be a day of reckoning when the forces of good, led by God and his armies, will defeat the forces of evil, on earth and in the supernatural realm. The genre may have its roots in Near Eastern wisdom tradition, in which cataloging the things that make up the cosmos played an important part. These works may also reflect dissatisfaction with the political and religious situation of the time, which, the writer implies, will be rectified in the time to come. The biblical book of *Daniel,* written during the crisis in the second century BCE that led to the Hasmonaean revolt, is an example of this genre.

Apocalyptic literature established certain ideas that were to influence esoteric and political trends in late antique and medieval Judaism: the idea that the boundaries between heaven and earth are permeable and the idea that history will end with a catastrophic battle between good and evil. The former idea survived in the literature of merkavah mysticism, which depicted rabbis ascending to heaven and gazing at the divine throne. Jewish apocalyptic literature influenced early Christian literature and was written occasionally in Hebrew well into the Middle Ages. Apocalyptic eschatology influences Jewish messianism even in the twenty-first century. Josephus, Philo (see below), and rabbinic literature also tell that there was an increasing diversity of opinion about the afterlife, a subject of no great importance to biblical writers. Whereas the Sadducees apparently did not believe in an afterlife, the Pharisees believed that at the end of time the dead would be resurrected. This became a central tenet of rabbinic Judaism.

The Greek-speaking Diaspora communities also left a literary legacy, which was forgotten by the rabbinic leaders in the Land of Israel but was preserved by the Christian community. Greco-Jewish works from the Hellenistic period include novelistic expansions of biblical works, such as *Joseph and Aseneth,* and apologetic works in the form of epistles, such as the *Letter of Aristeas,* and in the form of pseudepigrapha, such as the Sibylline Oracles. The Greek-speaking Jewish community in Egypt also produced the first major Jewish philosopher, Philo of Alexandria, who used middle Platonic metaphysics and Stoic allegorical hermeneutics to argue that the Torah was a supremely philosophical work.

When the Romans installed their own local officials in Judea in 6 CE, the political climate became more turbulent. While Herod, Rome's client king, had embarked on an elaborate building program that made Jerusalem and its magnificent Temple into one of the empire's great cities, oppressive taxation and dictatorial rule turned many against Rome. At the fringes of society, groups of zealots and dissenters advocated militant revolt against Rome and its Jewish representatives in Jerusalem; others took their promises of an imminent "kingdom of heaven" to small communities of followers. Most of these groups claimed that their leaders were the *mashiaḥ,* the righteous king foretold in the books of the prophets. Political enemies of the Roman order were often crucified, which most of the Jewish populace took as an indication that those individuals could not have been the victorious king to which those prophecies referred. However, two of those movements did carry dramatic consequences for the Jewish people and its religion. In 33 CE and the following decades one such movement, centered around Jesus of Nazareth, survived its leader's execution and went on to include non-Jews among its members, eventually forming the Christian community. In 66 CE another, more militant movement of zealots allied with other Jewish forces initiated a war against Rome that resulted in the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple in 70 CE. In 132, another revolt against Rome led by Simon bar Kokhba broke out. It was repressed in 135 by the emperor Hadrian, who turned Jerusalem into a pagan city and renamed Judea Palestine.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE AND THE RISE OF RABBINIC JUDAISM. Judaism as it is known in the early twenty-first century is largely a product of the first centuries after the destruction of the Temple in the Jewish revolt against Rome. It was following this event that many of the primary institutions, individual practices, values, and teleological underpinnings of classical Judaism were formed or refined. To be sure the defeat of the Jewish commonwealth by the Romans was a human catastrophe, but beyond the physical suffering it caused, it had profound religious and political significance. According to Jewish cultic theology, by which the Temple was the locus for God's presence on earth, the loss of that Temple meant the absence of that presence from the world. The Babylonian Talmud (b. *Bava Batra* 60b) paints a portrait of groups of first-century ascetics who abstained from meat and wine in mourning for the Temple. The apocryphal *Book of Baruch* reflects the response of apocalyptic communities that saw the cataclysm as a challenge to their eschatological expectations.

The centuries following the destruction of the Temple also saw the rise of the rabbinic movement. The Hebrew term *rabbi* means "my teacher" or "my master." In the New Testament, Jesus is occasionally addressed as rabbi, and the title appears as an honorific term in ancient inscriptions. In this discussion, however, the term *rabbi* refers to a class of leaders who came to define the character of Judaism for centuries to come. These scholars, who traced their heritage to the Pharisees, were not necessarily priests but laymen who held that by a life of study of the Torah, observance of the commandments, and ethical action the individual Jew could gain salvation in the form of resurrection in the messianic era. This system of everyday observance of a comprehensive system of sacred law, which came to be known as *halakhah,* depended on its constant teaching and refinement by masters—the rabbis—who considered their extrabiblical traditions to have been handed down as Torah from Sinai. These traditions came to be known as the Oral Torah.

The rabbis of late antiquity produced a series of texts and traditions that became a kind of second canon for Judaism. The Mishnah, compiled in 200 CE, sets forth rabbinic law and related matters in statements and formulae attributed to the sages of the Second Temple era and of the first two centuries CE. Whereas the rabbis considered rabbinic law to be based on Scripture, the Mishnah does not generally frame its laws as biblical commentary but rather states them in independent, apodictic form. Rabbinic study of the Mishnah resulted in the redaction of the great compendia of Mishnaic commentary, tradition, and lore known as the Talmuds. The Palestinian Talmud was redacted in the early fifth century and the Babylonian Talmud in the early sixth century.

The Babylonian Talmud became the source of legal decision, intense study, and reverence for most of the world Jewry in the Middle Ages and remains so for traditional Jews. As a result when people speak of "the Talmud," they are often referring to the Babylonian Talmud. The Talmud's commentary to the Mishnah is called the *Gemara*ʾ. Besides commenting on the meaning and implications of the Mishnah's laws, the *Gemara*ʾ discusses the relationship of the Mishnah to Scripture and extra-Mishnaic sources and includes tales of the sages, biblical exegesis, and folklore. While it is a commentary to the Mishnah, the *Gemara*ʾ often takes the form of an ongoing conversation among sages, many of whom lived centuries apart from each other. This conversation is moderated, as it were, by an anonymous Aramaic text (called the *stam*) that can take the role of a skeptical observer, asking questions regarding opinions presented, pointing out contradictions and logical inconsistencies, and arranging source materials for comparison. This method of presentation can be considered a kind of dialectical argumentation about traditional sources for exegetical purposes.

Rabbinic scriptural exegesis, called midrash, found its way into compilations that were completed from the fourth century to the early Middle Ages. These compilations contain specific elucidations of the biblical text but also include postbibical legends, homilies, and discourses on biblical themes. Some of these were close readings of legal texts from the Torah *(midrash halakhah),* and others were more homiletical and narrative *(midrash aggadah).* In midrash one can occasionally find elements of the sort of theological speculation that might appear in systematic philosophical treatises in other cultures.

If one takes the Mishnah as the first systematic statement of rabbinic Judaism, one finds several striking ways in which it seems a departure from forms of Judaism that flourished in the Second Temple period. The first unit, or Mishnah, of the text, tractate *Berakhot* (Blessings) 1:1, indicates to the reader that new actions, notions of authority, and interests are in play:

> From what time is the Shemaʿ recited in the evening? From the time when the priests enter to eat of their *terumah* [a portion of the harvest donated to the priests] until the end of the first watch. These are the words of Rabbi Eliezer. But the Sages say, Until midnight. Rabban Gamliel says: Until the rise of dawn.

The form of the passage and its social implications deserve mention. It begins with a question, which is answered immediately after. But this answer itself contains a detail—the end of the period when the Shema may be recited—that does not go unchallenged. What follows is a three-way controversy in which Rabbi Eliezer and Rabban Gamliel seem to stand against the entire community of sages. The Mishnah then conveys a sense of multivocality as well as the impression that revelation is a matter of dialectic. When one turns to the subject matter, one notices that the passage refers to rituals that would be understood by the rabbinic Jew if not the outsider. The Shemaʿ is the recitation of the declaration of God's unity in *Deuteronomy* 6:4 and accompanying scriptural passages. It is an essential part of the statutory liturgy for the individual (at least for men) in the evening and morning. Whereas the text to be recited is from the written Scriptures, the commandment to recite it in prayer is not. Indeed the whole tractate *Berakhot,* which specifies the order of prayers to be said on a daily basis, presupposes whole spheres of ritual law not anticipated in the Bible. The same can be said for such rituals as the lighting of candles and blessing of wine on the Sabbath. The Mishnah then relies on whole areas of law, such as rituals and regulations for the Sabbath, expansions of the dietary laws of *Leviticus* 11 and *Deuteronomy* 14, and procedures for marriage and divorce, that are not set out explicitly in Scripture.

It is therefore obvious that rabbinic Judaism relies on sources other than the written Bible for its authority and way of life. But at the same time it considers itself to be acting out God's will as expressed in the Torah. The argument for this authority is made most eloquently in the opening passage of the tractate *Avot*, "Fathers," a kind of manifesto of early rabbinic Judaism: "Moses received Torah from Sinai, and handed it down to Joshua, and Joshua to the Elders, and the Elders to the Prophets, and the Prophets handed it down to the Men of the Great Assembly" (M. *Avot* 1:1).

The text goes on to introduce the sayings by sages of the Great Assembly and continues with statements of a succession of sages until the later generations. This myth is a dramatic illustration of the idea of tradition. Revelation is not given anew to each sage or generation. Rather, it has come to Israel from Moses and has been transmitted through the succession of masters and disciples. Yet the Torah is not simply a document passed from one pair of hands to another. It is associated with a process by which the Torah's wisdom is elaborated by each successive generation. Human agency and wisdom thus play an essential role in the rabbinic theory of revelation. But more than that, since the agency is that of a succession of sages, this wisdom is cumulative. This distinguishes the rabbinic mode from the apocalyptic, in which the revelation is given by an angel to an individual, who is then charged to write it in a book that is made available to the community. By its inclusion of the sages from Moses to the later rabbis in its account of the transmission of Torah, *Avot* reinforces the authority of the rabbinic class. But this tractate does more than legitimize the rabbis. It sets the tone for a type of Judaism in which the act of study, epitomized by memorizing the words of the sages, becoming their disciple and watching their actions, and acting out those teachings in everyday activities, becomes a primary form of worship.

Returning to the first Mishnah in *Berakhot,* one also notices a curious historical dimension. The Mishnah was redacted in around 200 CE, 130 years after the Temple was destroyed and about 65 years after a revolt against Rome in 132–135 CE resulted in severe repression of Jewish teaching and rituals. Yet the Temple, where the priests enter to eat of their contributed produce, is alluded to in the present tense. In fact fully one-third of the Mishnah (the divisions of purities, holy things [covering sacrificial law], and some portions of tractates dealing with Passover and other rituals) concern the Temple and its rituals and laws. There are a few possible explanations for this anomaly. One is that the Mishnah is a utopian document, drawing an ideal picture of a redeemed society in which the Temple is restored and the sages have ultimate jurisdiction over their performance of the rituals. Another, proposed by Jacob Neusner, is that the framers of the Mishnah wished to assure the community that had endured historical catastrophe that life could go on as if that catastrophe had changed nothing. One must also remember that in the beginning of the third century sacrifice and sacrificial institutions were the norm and not the exception in the Mediterranean. It may simply have been inconceivable to describe a ritual and legal system without including the description of a Temple.

Yet for the rabbis the proper substitute for sacrifice was not to be found in the concept of sacred space but in sacred actions. Yoḥanan ben Zakkʾai, one of the founders of the rabbinic movement, is said to have declared, "We have another means of atonement, effective as Temple Sacrifice. It is deeds of loving kindness." Other statements assert that the study of sacrificial law, enshrined in the Mishnah and related sources, was equivalent to the performance of those sacrifices. Prayer in the synagogue was also considered to be a form of sacrifice. A famous rabbinic statement (y. *Ber.* 4:1 [7a]) declares prayer to be "the sacrifice in the heart" *(Avodah ba-Lev).* According to the Palestinian Talmud, when a prayer leader was called upon to begin the prayer service, the congregation would call, "Perform our sacrifice" (y. *Ber.* 4:4 [8b]).

The shift from a culture of sacrificial worship to one of prayer was part of a larger phenomenon: the shift from an emphasis on collective religious action to greater attention to individual religious action. To be sure the rabbis maintained a strong sense that the community of Israel was obliged to carry out its terms of the covenant and that it would be rewarded in the messianic future with the nation's return to the Land of Israel under divine sovereignty and the rebuilding of the Temple. At the same time rabbinic Judaism was structured around the idea that each individual was obliged to perform certain individual religious commandments, called *mitsvot*, by which he or she would gain merit. (While women had a place in this system, they were not held to the same specific *mitsvot* and were largely excluded from participation in the public dimensions of rabbinic life.) That merit would earn that individual resurrection in the messianic era or "world to come." Thus such actions as saying blessings before wine and bread, wearing phylacteries *(tefillin),* and giving to the poor functioned in several ways. They constituted *mitsvot* that contributed to salvation; they served as acts of witnessing God's sovereignty on earth; and they could be considered as bringing something of the divine presence to earth, an idea that Max Kadushin called "normal mysticism." Indeed there are statements in the Talmud that "wherever two speak words of Torah together, the Shekhinah [the indwelling presence of God] hovers over them." Such statements are an indication that some rabbis' conceptions of the divine presence had shifted from one that was localized and required special conditions to one that could be manifest in subtle ways at any place.

In pursuit of the proper way to carry out the *mitsvot*, the rabbis developed or codified significant innovations in ritual and civil law. For example, the dietary laws *(kashrut)* of *Leviticus* 11 and *Deuteronomy* 14 specify the animals that may and may not be eaten. In addition biblical law (*Ex.* 23:19, 34:26; *Dt.* 14:21) prohibits boiling a kid in its mother's milk. The rabbis interpreted this verse to mean that mixing any meat and milk products, including fowl, was prohibited (see M. *Hul.* 8:1). Other innovations addressed prohibition of carrying beyond the household on the Sabbath by allowing a community to construct a temporary boundary *(eruv)* that effectively turned an entire city into one household. *(M. Eruv.)*

In the sphere of civil legislation, rabbinic law codified the use of a marriage contract *(ketubah)* that specified the property rights of each party in the case of divorce. Rabbinic society did not deviate radically from the patriarchal norms of the Greco-Roman world. However, in the rabbinic legal system women were given a circumscribed set of rights and protections. One the one hand women are legally dependent on men when their status is that of daughters and wives. However, they gain their independence in the event of the death of the husband or divorce and therefore are granted full economic status in those circumstances.

The rabbis sought to expand their influence on the Jewish populations of Palestine and Babylonia through a system of courts governed by rabbinic law. It is not known to what extent the influence of this system took hold, but it was helped by the close alliance of the local Jewish authority, called the patriarch *(nasi),* with the rabbis. This was accompanied by a growing network of disciple circles and academies *(yeshivot),* which produced a form of dialectical reasoning preserved in the Talmuds.

Other spheres of cultural production intersected with the rabbinic class and were influenced by it. The synagogue emerged as an important institution during this period, particularly in Palestine. The synagogue (both the Greek word and the Hebrew term *bet kenesset* mean "place of assembly") began in the Second Temple period primarily as a place for study (although in the Diaspora synagogues were often called *proseuchē*, places for prayer). However, with the Temple in ruins, the synagogue became the primary locus for worship. There were many conceptual and practical differences between the Temple and the synagogue. Unlike the Temple, a synagogue could be built practically anywhere and could be of any size. Its space was not delineated as sacred in the same way as the Temple's. Whereas only priests were allowed to enter certain precincts of the Temple, nonpriests were allowed anywhere in the synagogue. (It is not clear to what extent women were allowed to participate; there is evidence for women being leaders of some Diaspora synagogues, although rabbinic literature specifies no liturgical or social role for women in the synagogue. Although the rabbis saw prayer as the "sacrifice of the heart," no animal sacrifice took place in the synagogue. Prayer could be led by any male Jew of the age of majority as long as he was fluent in the liturgy. By the sixth century CE synagogues, especially in the Galilee, had become prominent buildings decorated with fine sculptural stonework and colorful mosaics depicting central themes in Judaism's sacred lore.

The liturgy of the early synagogue has survived in the form of the liturgies of Jewish communities and in the form of manuscripts of prayer literature from the Middle Ages. In the ancient synagogue prayers were composed by prayer leaders who were considered to be representatives of the community and who improvised the texts of the prayers around rubrics predetermined by *halakhah.* In these prayers they expressed themes that were emphasized less in Talmudic literature, including the longing for the messianic era, the need for rain and prosperity, and the idea that Israel's patriarchs have accumulated merit *(zekhut avot)* on which the community can draw to plead for God's favor. In addition a substantial literature of liturgical poetry, known as *piyyut* (from the Greek *poetes*) flourished from the fourth to the seventh century. This ornate, allusive genre of synagogue poetry, composed by authors such as Yose ben Yose and Yannaʾi, whose artistry earned them fame in Palestinian synagogues, served to embellish the standard liturgy with its recondite language, alliteration and acrostics, and references to themes popular among preachers and storytellers of the time. It is not known how closely the synagogue and the rabbinic school *(bet midrash)* were related. Synagogue literature and iconography draw on rabbinic midrash and law, but there are some interesting departures in emphasis and details. Most likely there were synagogues in which the community did not necessarily identify closely with the rabbinic movement, such as the synagogue in Sepphoris, which seems to reflect priestly interests, and others that did, such as the synagogue in Rechov in the northern Galilee, where passages from the Palestinian Talmud were used for the mosaic floor.

Other forms of Jewish religious behavior and literature from this period have come down from archaeological and manuscript sources. A corpus of Hebrew and Aramaic texts tells stories of how great rabbis, such as Rabbi Akiba and Rabbi Ishmael, ascended to heaven. In these texts the rabbinic heroes travel arduously through seven "palaces" or *hekhalot*, warding off the fierce angelic guardians, and finally reach the divine throne, which is conceived, in the manner of the visions of *Isaiah* 6 and *Ezekiel* 1, as a great chariot (merkavah) on which God is seated, surrounded by an angelic choir. The texts then state that anyone who fulfills the moral and ritual requirements for ascent may do the same. Other texts in this corpus give recipes for conjuring an angel known as the Prince of the Torah *(Sar ha-Torah),* who will impart to any man a prodigious memory and make him a great rabbi. Gershom Scholem, the founder of the modern study of Jewish mysticism, saw its authors as mystics who cultivated visions of the heavens and recorded their experiences as narrative and hymnology.

These texts were not written by the rabbis to whom they were attributed, but who their authors were is still a matter of debate. Most likely they were Jews who stood outside the rabbinic elite but shared some of its values. This literature is closely related to another corpus that is well attested in writings from this period: the literature of early Jewish magic. From ancient Palestine and its environs about three dozen amulets written on silver, lead, and copper foil survive. These amulets are formulaic incantations in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Jewish Greek adjuring angels and demons for such purposes as healing, love, and protection. A far larger corpus—indeed the single largest corpus of Jewish inscriptions from late antiquity—consists of hundreds of clay bowls found in the Mesopotamian region (Jewish Babylonia) on which Aramaic incantations are written. In these artifacts Jews address their daily needs by invoking divine power to command the intermediaries, using the powerful name of God as their authorization and weapon. The rabbis too believed in angels and demons and in the efficacy of magic, but these practitioners seem to have operated outside of their jurisdiction.

MEDIEVAL JUDAISM. If late antiquity represents a formative period for classical Judaism, the Middle Ages represents the period of its consolidation and expansion. It was in this period, beginning with the rise of Islam in the seventh and eighth centuries CE, that rabbinic Judaism spread through the influence of Talmudic academies and legal authorities to the Jewish population of the Diaspora. It was also in this period that new forms of discourse, especially philosophy and mysticism, took hold as significant ways of expressing Jewish religiosity.

By the ninth century a majority of Jews lived in the Diaspora. Jewish communities were scattered throughout the Mediterranean and the Middle East, especially Iran, Iraq, and North Africa, and had begun to form in western and central Europe. Both regions were dominated by the religions, Islam and Christianity, that saw Judaism as their precursors. This was an ambiguous legacy. On the one hand the Judaic heritage of both religions offered possibilities for dialogue and influence. Christianity was monotheistic; revered Hebrew Scriptures, which it accepted into its canon as the Old Testament; and held that Jesus was the Jewish Messiah. Islam made monotheism a central tenet of faith; understood Jewish biblical heroes, such as Abraham and Moses, to be prophetic forerunners to Muḥammad; and saw Ishmael as its progenitor. At the same time both religions considered themselves to have superceded Judaism with superior revelation and means to salvation. In particular Christianity saw Jews as having rejected the kingship of Jesus and therefore subject to rebuke or worse. Islam, which considers Jews and Christians to be "People of the Book," granted Jews and Christians the status of protected minorities *(dhimmī),* which assured them physical security while preventing them from attaining full status in Muslim society. Christianity since Augustine had developed a theology of tolerance of Jews. However, in practice Jewish communities could be welcomed into Christian lands or persecuted by Christian rulers, depending on the political and religious circumstances. So too in Islamic countries both the principles of subordinate status and tolerance were honored in the breach as well as in the observance.

The transformation of the southern Mediterranean into an Islamic region had deep consequences for Judaism. With the Muslim Empire centered in Baghdad in the eighth century, the political center of Jewry also shifted to Iraq—Jewish Babylonia—where a thriving Talmudic culture had produced a class of rabbinic scholars and legislators located in *yeshivot* in Baghdad. These eventually set the religious and halakhic agenda for Jewish communities, making rabbinic law the prevailing legal system throughout the Islamic world. This hegemony did not go unchallenged. Beginning in the eighth century a movement called Karaism opposed the authority of the Talmud and the rabbinic class, insisting on independent inquiry and a reading of the biblical text unmediated by Rabbinic interpretation. This movement gained a substantial following in Egypt, Palestine, and other Jewish communities before the eleventh century, and although the Karaite community is a small minority within Jewry, it still exists. The consolidation of rabbinic authority resulted in an increasing tendency toward disseminating legal rulings and toward legal codification. This took the form of halakhic epistles (responsa), Talmud commentaries, and eventually independent legal codes such as the *Mishneh Torah* of Moses Maimonides.

The first Muslim centuries were also a period of great cultural ferment. Islam's emphasis on the Qurʾān and its language brought with it intensive Arabic and scriptural study. Translations of Greek philosophical works brought philosophical concepts and methods into dialogue with Islamic monotheism. Mystical and pietistic movements sought direct experience of the divine. Judaism in the Islamic sphere was profoundly affected by these developments as well. Although philosophy had been introduced to the Hellenistic Jewish community of Alexandria through Philo, he left no mark on rabbinic Judaism in Palestine and Babylonia. However, in the intellectual environment of Islam in the ninth and tenth centuries, Jewish philosophy took hold for the first time. Jewish philosophy had begun largely as a way of defending rabbinic Judaism from freethinkers and Karaites who challenged rabbinic ways of thinking. However, by the eleventh century in Babylonia and Spain philosophical training and inquiry had become much more sophisticated. Moreover internal considerations impelled philosophical thinking among a Jewish elite in the Muslim world, especially in Spain from the tenth to the twelfth centuries. The prosperity of Spanish urban society during this period fostered the rise of intellectual classes dedicated to the ideal of *adab,* an Arabic term for proper social behavior and education. The *adib,* the cultured Mediterranean gentleman, had a profession such as law, trade, or medicine; acquired a traditional education, in the case of the Jewish *adib* in Bible, Talmud, and Hebrew grammar; learned to write sacred and secular poetry in Arabic or Hebrew; and also received a scientific education, which included philosophy. Philosophy in this period took on a particularly cosmopolitan tone. The Jewish philosopher Shelomoh ibn Gabirol (1020–1057) wrote *The Fountain of Life*, which was eventually translated into Latin though the original Arabic was lost. For centuries scholars debated whether it had been written by a Muslim, a Christian, or a Jew. Philosophy was designed not only to stimulate the religious thinking of these intellectuals but to protect them from religious doubt. Philosophy thus brought with it an ambivalence to Jewish tradition. On the one hand it strengthened concepts such as monotheism, the soul, and religious discipline. On the other hand it left open questions of whether biblical stories and traditional lore stood up to the rigorous demands of philosophical reasoning.

The philosophical patterns that prevailed during this period were influenced by several trends from the previous few centuries. From the *kalām* came the idea that God's unity was absolute; from Neoplatonism came the notion that creation was a process of emanation from a pure, spiritual, infinite God to physical matter; and from Aristotelianism came the idea of God as the unknowable unmoved mover. The greatest and most eloquent exponent of Jewish philosophy was Moses Maimonides (1135/8–1204), a physician and legal authority who was born in Spain but spent his adulthood in Egypt. Maimonides not only wrote philosophical works of great depth but attempted to codify philosophical principles in his monumental manual of *halakhah,* the *Mishneh Torah.* The tractate that begins that work, the *Book of Knowledge,* holds that it is a primary *mitzvah* to believe that God is one, unchangeable, and that he possesses no bodily form. Furthermore because God is unchangeable and not dependent on any other being, he cannot be affected by human action or prayer. These principles, formulated in elegantly rabbinic Hebrew, were notable as well for their departure from prephilosophical Jewish conceptions of God and his relationship with the world. The anthropomorphism familiar to readers of biblical and rabbinic literature gives way to a concept of a God who is utterly abstract and formless. For Maimonides as well prayer and the *mitsvot* are forms of religious discipline essential to the education of the moral person rather than direct interactions with a God who responds to the individual by guaranteeing salvation personally. The purpose of Judaism is to produce the ideal individual, the prophet, who achieves consummate knowledge of God through philosophical contemplation.

The medieval Jewish philosophical tradition ebbed by the fifteenth century, especially with the expulsion of Jews from Spain. Although some works continued to be read, medieval Jewish philosophy was largely rediscovered by nineteenth-century German Jewish scholars who saw in it antecedents for their own rationalism. It has therefore continued to be of interest not only to intellectual historians but to modern Jewish thinkers such as Hermann Cohen, Abraham Joshua Heschel, and Joseph B. Soloveitchik. But the most lasting effect of medieval Jewish philosophy has been the idea of Jewish philosophy. The idea that Judaism can be examined and explained through the same methods used to address other philosophical issues lies behind much influential Jewish thought of contemporary time.

Jewish philosophy, however, did not affect the majority of medieval Jews, who continued to live by the way of life, rituals, sacred stories, and forms of piety of prephilosophical Judaism. Fortunately a good deal of information about medieval Jewish culture in the Mediterranean is accessible thanks to the discovery a century ago of the Cairo Genizah, a storehouse of discarded Jewish manuscripts that contains everything from autographed letters from Maimonides to children's writing exercises. From the Genizah one can reconstruct a portrait of Jews as individuals and as communities steeped in biblical language and lore, looking up to Talmudic scholars for guidance and legal redress, concerned enough about divine disposition to their fate to take part in the Jewish magical tradition, and devoted to the life of the synagogue.

By the twelfth century another form of Jewish thought was taking shape in southern France and northern Spain among small groups of intellectuals and pietists that stressed the mystical contemplation of the divine nature. This form of mysticism picked up threads of esoteric lore and philosophy that had been circulating in the Mediterranean in the early Middle Ages and fused it with the Neoplatonic cosmology of medieval philosophy. Its adherents held that this form of mysticism had been passed down through esoteric tradition along with the exoteric Torah. They thus gave this form of religiosity the name *Qabbalah*, "tradition."

In the late thirteenth century qabbalistic literary creativity flourished in Spain, where speculative and richly symbolic writings were being produced. Moses de Leon, aided perhaps by some of his close associates, wrote a massive mystical commentary to the Torah called the *Zohar,* or Book of Enlightenment, which eventually became the most revered Jewish text after the Bible and the Talmud. The qabbalists were concerned about some of the effects of the new Maimonidean philosophy. If God did not need human prayer and virtue, they reasoned, what motivation would they have to do the *mitsvot*? If human beings can attribute no positive characteristics to God, as the Aristotelian Jewish philosophers had argued, how can God be worshiped meaningfully? For Maimonides, the love of God consisted of the wonder and awe that struck the enlightened devotee upon contemplation of the facts of God's creation and sustaining vitality. However, the qabbalists insisted that God did in fact have positive attributes that could be known by the person who understood how they were encoded in Scripture.

The qabbalah therefore developed a complex symbolic system in which God's attributes were unveiled in a process of ten emanations *(sefirot)* of the divine vitality from his infinite unknowable essence *(En Sof)* to his final manifestation *(Shekhinah).* The idea of the *sefirot* emerged as a highly effective way of expressing divine attributes. They could be understood as parts of a divine body, as colors, as metaphysical principles, as cognitive and emotional facets of God's personality, and as letters of the divine name. For the *Zohar,* the Torah is not simply a book of stories and laws but an intricately coded treasury of mystical secrets, a kind of autobiography of God's manifestation of himself. The sefirotic system also addressed an important philosophical problem in an ingenious way. According to the philosophers, one could no longer conceive of God anthropomorphically. Maimonides considered the anthropomorphic language of the Bible to be an accommodation to the limitations of the human imagination; thus the expression "the hand of God" was a figurative way of speaking of divine power, which makes for all reality. The qabbalists likewise did not think of God as having a physical, anthropomorphic form. Rather, the "body of God" was the arrangement of the *sefirot.* Thus the right arm of God stood for the *sefirah* of supernatural mercy *(Ḥesed)* and so on. That hand was not merely a metaphor using the human hand as a symbol for a divine attribute—it was the real, supernal arm, the original to which the human arm, modeled in God's image, referred. In addition the Qabbalah introduced a new dimension of gender to the idea of God. The divine body was described as possessing male and female sides and male and female anatomy. Relationships between those male and female aspects were likened to the longing of men and women for each other. In the premessianic era God's male and female aspects were in exile from each other, only to be reunited in the age to come.

By contemplating the lower world, by searching the Scriptures, and by ecstatic contemplation, the qabbalist sought to gain a direct experience of the inner life of the godhead. At the same time qabbalists believed that knowledge of the inner workings of the *sefirot* enabled the mystics to draw down divine power for their own spiritual and material benefit. There was also an explicitly ecstatic dimension to the Qabbalah, epitomized especially by Abraham Abulafia, who instead of the theory of the *sefirot* developed such techniques as contemplation of Hebrew names and letter combinations with the goal of reaching the state of prophecy.

The resilience of this system is attested by the growth of Qabbalah from a small circle of mystics in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to its prominence as a form of Jewish theology in the later medieval period and early modern period. With the expulsion of the Jews from Christian Spain in 1492, the Qabbalah spread to exiled communities in North Africa, Turkey, and Palestine. In the town of Safed in Palestine in the sixteenth century charismatic teachers such as Isaac Luria redrew the Qabbalah's cosmology and eschatology to construct a system whereby the individual, through the performance of a *mitzvah* fortified by meditation on divine names, could bring redemption and repair the broken pieces of the divine body. This system, which offered the worshiper a powerful motivation to perform the commandments, was popularized in subsequent centuries and is still deeply influential, especially in Middle Eastern Jewish communities. Through the Hasidic movement, the principal Jewish mystical movement of modern times, through modern scholarship, and through contemporary interest in mysticism, the Qabbalah continues to affect Jewish thought and practice.

Smaller Jewish communities existed in northern and central Europe from the ninth century, when they had been invited by Charlemagne to participate in the economy of the new empire. Longstanding communities were established in France and Germany, called Ashkenaz in Hebrew (a name that came to designate all of northern, central, and eastern European Jewry). However, with the crusades in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, relations between Jews and Christians took a turn for the worse. The massacres of Jews by crusading armies and Christian mobs and expulsions by local rulers left a deep imprint on these communities. Bitter poetic laments were written, describing how Jewish victims of these riots chose to martyr themselves and their families "for the sake of sanctifying the divine Name" (*ʿal qiddush ha-Shem*). However, there were also long periods of quiet if tense coexistence. Scholars are increasingly finding evidence of dialogue and mutual influence, both positive and negative, between European Christians and Jews.

The Ashkenazic communities distinguished themselves particularly in two areas of culture. The first was textual study. The region produced important schools of biblical exegesis. The most famous exegete of this community was a French scholar from Troyes named Shelomoh ben Yitsḥaq (1040–1105), known by the acronym Rashi. Rashi pioneered a type of terse, incisive biblical interpretation that focused on the *peshat*, or contextual ("plain") meaning of the text. His use of rabbinic midrash was highly selective, intended to draw out contradictions and nuances in the biblical text itself. Rashi's commentary is still an indispensable component of traditional study of the Torah. Rashi applied similar methods to his monumental Talmud commentary, which is still printed alongside of the Talmud text in nearly every edition. Rashi's method in his Talmud commentary was to draw out the essence of each position in the debates that constituted the main subject of the Talmud texts, without taking a clear position on the issue being discussed.

Rashi's grandson Yaʿaqov ben Meʾir Tam and his contemporaries pioneered a more wide-ranging and daring method of exegesis, which sought to probe each piece of the Talmud text for every possible internal contradiction and connection with other areas of the text. Over the next two centuries their successors compiled the work of several generations of this school of exegesis into "supplemental" commentaries *(Tosafot),* one of which is now printed opposite Rashi's in traditional editions of the Talmud. This method of exegesis was accompanied by a great deal of *halakhic* innovation, a trend encouraged by the structure of the Ashkenazic communities, which were more decentralized than the contemporary Spanish and Middle Eastern communities. Research suggests that this time and place saw an increasing textualization of Judaism, that is, it was the written text and its implications more than the way of life practiced by sages that came to determine how the law was shaped and followed.

A second important religious development of the early Ashkenazic community was one that affected a small group of elite Jewish scholars in twelfth- to thirteenth-century Germany. This group, called the German pietists or *Ḥaside Ashkenaz*, drew on a spiritual heritage that included the creation of liturgical poetry and collection of esoteric and magical lore. This group cultivated a type of austere pietism characterized on the one hand by the willingness to speculate on the mystical implications of the magical and visionary traditions of the Talmudic period and on the other hand an insistence on supererogatory discipline and punishment as a form of spiritual purification.

EARLY MODERN AND MODERN JUDAISM. It can be said that the changes to Judaism wrought by modernity were no less drastic than those wrought by the destruction of the Temple in the first century. By the twentieth century several conditions of Jewry were no longer valid. Jews were no longer living in autonomous communities governed by local Jewish leaders under the control of non-Jewish governments. In many countries Jews had full rights as citizens along with their non-Jewish neighbors. *Halakhah,* including civil law, was no longer binding on Jews. Jews were not exclusively religious; in several countries it was possible to abandon belief in God and still consider oneself a Jew. Many who were religious no longer saw themselves as carrying out an unchanging, sacred way of life that went back to God's revelation to Moses at Mount Sinai but as a religion in which they themselves could be agents of change. Finally, it was possible to leave the Jewish community entirely without converting to another religion—what sociologists and community leaders alike have come to call "assimilation." By the second half of the twentieth century two other radical changes had taken place. European Jewry was no longer a large part of the world's Jewish population, having been all but exterminated by Nazi Germany. There was also a Jewish state, Israel, with a democratically elected government, an army, and a national language, modern Hebrew.

These changes, however, did not come to all Jewish communities at the same time. For a small group of elite Jews in Germany, modernization came with the Enlightenment in the late eighteenth century, when liberal intellectuals contemplated giving Jews equal rights. For eastern European Jews, glimmers of modernity could be sensed in the eighteenth century, but several of its defining ingredients—science, secularism, liberalism and socialism, and nationalism—came only with the end of the nineteenth century. For Jews in the Muslim world, modernity was a product of colonialism, as it was to their Muslim neighbors. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries were also periods of great Jewish migration, from Europe to America (and prewar Palestine) and from the Middle East and North Africa to Israel.

It is difficult to say in what ways the tremors of the Enlightenment shaking western Europe were felt by the Jews living in Russia, Poland, and the Ukraine in the eighteenth century. But an important movement did change the nature of Judaism in those regions. Jewish communities at this time were still self-governed. The elite's authority rested on a network of *yeshivot* that stressed a rigorously intellectual approach to Talmud study. While this leadership accepted the principles of Qabbalah and revered the *Zohar,* mystical experience was not a priority. In this atmosphere Jewish healers and preachers flourished. Some of them were known as *baʿale shem,* masters of the (divine) name, that is, experts in the names of God that the magical tradition uses to achieve its ends. One of these figures, Rabbi Yisraʾel ben Eliʿezer (1700–1760), was known as the Good Master of the Name or Master of the Good Name, the Baʿal Shem Tov. He inspired a movement of spiritual revivalism whose adherents were known as Hasidim, "the pious" (this movement is not to be confused with Ashkenazic Ḥasidism, the pietistic movement of early medieval Germany described above). The movement spread, initially under the leadership of Dov Ber the Maggid of Mezhirich and then under charismatic leaders known as *tsaddiqim,* throughout eastern Europe.

Hasidism has been characterized, especially in the popular imagination, as an outpouring of simple religious enthusiasm, celebrated by singing, dancing, and heartfelt prayer. This image belies the complex theology and symbolism that Hasidic leaders developed in speculative writings as well as in stories and sermons. Hasidism took the qabbalistic ideas in new directions. Hasidic thinkers adopted a panentheistic approach to God's relationship with the world; that is, the universe existed within the infinitude of God's vitality and only existed in and of itself because of God's decision to create a boundary between himself and his creation. The earlier Lurianic Qabbalah had also argued that God needed to contract himself in order to create the world. But that movement presupposed a transcendent God who is apart from creation. Hasidism's notion of God was far more imminent. For Hasidism the human soul also carries within itself a model of the divine personality, and if one brings those inner *sefirot* to consciousness, it is possible to cleave to God. This process of attachment to the divine essence, known as *devequt,* is the constant goal of the Hasid. For the Hasidic movement, all actions—study, eating, prayer, and song—have the potential to raise the individual to a state of *devequt.* While the Hasidic leaders were usually well educated, studied Talmud, and were dedicated to *halakhah,* they also sought to address elements of the populace who did not have access to the elite centers of learning. They did so through the charismatic appeal of the *tsaddiqim,* through an emphasis on achieving *devequt* through everyday actions, and through skillfully wrought stories celebrating the Hasidic leadership and its way of life.

Another important dimension of the Hasidic movement was how it dealt with the longing for the messianic age that has characterized Judaism since the rabbinic period and that becomes especially potent in times of crisis. A century earlier the Jewish world had been convulsed by the failure of a popular messianic movement surrounding Shabbetai Tsevi. In the person of the *tsaddiq,* the Hasidim found a figure that took up something of Shabbetai's role of intervening between the ordinary man and God's will to redemption. Yet for most of the Hasidic movement, the *tsaddiq* was not the messiah himself but an extraordinarily endowed man who might one day "force the hand" of God to bring redemption. The Hasidic movement thrives in modern times, although most of its original population was decimated in the Holocaust. Several branches of Hasidism are known for their traditionalism, seeking to preserve the Hasidic way of life by maintaining their communal institutions and schools, ways of dress, and tightly knit social structures. However, the movement has also been influential. Hasidic thought has formed an important foundation for the theologies of modern Jewish thinkers such as Martin Buber, Abraham Joshua Heschel, and Arthur Green. In addition the Lubavitch movement, under the direction of Menachem Schneerson (1902–1994), initiated a major outreach effort after World War II to bring unaffiliated and non-Orthodox Jews into the Hasidic way of life.

In western Europe and the Western Hemisphere modernity affected Judaism more directly and with permanent consequences. Enlightenment thinkers in emerging modern states, especially Germany and France, argued that Jews should be granted full rights of citizenship. Eventually those states did relax restrictions on the personal, political, and professional rights of Jews. However, this came at the price of Jewish autonomy. It was a price that many Jews were willing to pay, and in Jewish intellectual circles in Germany, declarations of loyalty to the state could be heard. Modernization also meant that modern ways of thinking, such as individualism, liberalism, and science, could influence Jewish thought. Many Jews in Europe sought to change Judaism itself in a conscious way. Thus began the Reform movement in Germany in the second decade of the nineteenth century. The movement was begun by small circles of rabbis and laypeople and became a significant feature of Jewish life in Germany (and to a lesser extent in Britain, where it was called Liberal Judaism). Eventually it spread to the United States, where it grew exponentially in the atmosphere of almost unlimited religious freedom that Jews experienced there.

The goal of the Reform movement was to refashion Judaism into a religion that could take its place alongside the (post-Reformation) Christianity of its day, a religion that would also make sense to the growing numbers of Jews entering modern European society, speaking German, and acquiring a scientific and humanistic education. The Reformers declared that the Talmud and *halakhah* were no longer binding, that Jewish rituals, practices, and liturgy had to be remodeled to suit modern sensibilities, and that the Jews did not constitute a national group. To these ends they promoted changes in basic practices, doing away with aspects of traditional Jewish law, introducing prayers in the vernacular of the secular society, and applying historical methods of studying Judaism and Hebrew literature. At the same time Reform Judaism saw itself as carrying out a divine mission to spread ethical monotheism to the world and to use the freedom granted the Jewish people to carry out principles of social justice in the public sphere. The movement rejected the idea of a personal messiah, hoping instead for an ideal future when, as an American Reform prayer-book put it, "unbelief shall disappear and error be no more."

This movement did not go unopposed. A group of modernized Jews committed to *halakhah* argued that it was still possible to participate in modern society and observe Jewish law at the same time. The Orthodox movement, founded in the early nineteenth century in response to the Reform movement, took as its motto *Torah im derekh erets,* that is, full observance and study of the traditional Torah combined with a worldly occupation and demeanor. Thus, they argued, it was possible to wear modern clothes as long as one's head was covered according to tradition, to hold a job as a doctor or a lawyer, to observe Sabbath the way *halakhah* demanded, and to marry or divorce according to the dictates of Jewish civil law.

A third alternative was proposed by Zacharias Frankel (1801–1875), who founded Historical Judaism. For Frankel and subsequently for the Conservative movement in the United States, Judaism was best understood as a historical and national group. The preservation of Jewish culture and heritage was an essential goal of modern Judaism. Historical and Conservative Judaism held to the structure and centrality of the *halakhah.* However, halakhic change was permissible under controlled circumstances. Halakhic decision-making in the Conservative movement took into account modern scholarly textual criticism and the historical context of a legal issue, as well as changing circumstances. The movement grew in the United States with the mass immigration of Jews in the early twentieth century from eastern Europe. This community, unlike the German Jews who had formed Reform congregations in the mid-nineteenth century, were comfortable with the traditional liturgy and practices, but wanted the freedom of mixed seating and a more open approach to halakhah. One leader of the Conservative movement, Mordecai Kaplan, inspired by American pragmatism and twentieth-century social theory, broke with the theism and traditionalism of the movement and placed Jewish peoplehood at the absolute center of Judaism as a religion. For Kaplan, the collective spirit of Judaism, which he defined as an "evolving religious civilization," was the guiding force; personalistic and particularistic definitions of God were eschewed in favor of one that saw God more abstractly as "the power that makes for salvation." The movement Kaplan founded eventually became a separate American denomination of Judaism.

Yet all western European Jewish and American Jewish movements share many characteristics out of necessity. While the Orthodox might insist on practicing Jewish civil law, in the modern Western state such practice is ultimately a voluntary affair. The focus of Jewish life in North America and Europe is ritual, both at home and in the synagogue, which modern societies have designated as definitively private spheres.

The upheaval in Judaism that modernity caused has also given rise to an almost unprecedented degree of creativity in the religious sphere. Jewish philosophy was revived in post-Enlightenment Europe. Rationalists such as Moses Mendelsohn and Hermann Cohen took up the medieval intellectual tradition; existentialists such as Martin Buber and Franz Rosenzweig addressed Jewish theology from the standpoint of the condition of modern humanity. This tradition continues in Israel and North America, where such trends as poststructuralism and feminism inform Jewish religious thought. Ritual and liturgical creativity was a hallmark of the Reform movement, although not its exclusive provenance.

In the twentieth century two cataclysmic events shaped the nature of Judaism, not to mention the Jews as a nation: the attempt in 1941–1945 by Nazi Germany to exterminate world Jewry, what has come to be called the Holocaust; and the rise of Zionism, the settlement of Palestine by Jews, and the founding in 1948 of the State of Israel. The effects of both events are now essential elements not only of Jewish national life but of Judaism as a religion.

In western Europe, modern anti-Semitism, as opposed to most forms of premodern hatred of Jews, was directed not only at isolated and traditionalist groups of Jews but at those Jews who had integrated into Western society. In eastern Europe anti-Jewish riots (pogroms) accompanied the first stirrings of modernity in the early twentieth century. This and the influence of modern nationalism spawned the Zionist movement at the end of the nineteenth century. The movement was based on many principles central to Judaism as a religion, such as Jewish peoplehood, the hope for the nation's return to the Land of Israel in the messianic era, and the Hebrew language, which from the first century to modern times was used almost exclusively as a literary and liturgical tongue. There was also a religious Zionist movement, based on the principle that Jewish life, including the *halakhah,* could only be lived most fully in the Land of Israel and that the active return to the Land of Israel would be the first step in the messianic redemption. But there was also a revolutionary secular element to the movement. Inherent in Zionism was the idea that Jews would bring their own salvation rather than waiting for the Messiah. The movement also had a social and cultural dimension. Zionists sought to create a nation of "new Jews" who were not dependent on Gentiles for safety and livelihood but able to defend themselves militarily, work the land, and return to the vitality of biblical Israel. Since most of the early Zionist activists had received traditional educations and knew biblical and Talmudic literature thoroughly, they drew on those sources in their efforts to create a Jewish culture that was authentically Jewish yet radically different from that of the Diaspora. At the same time Zionists were for the most part starkly divided between secular and orthodox; a nonorthodox Zionist movement never took hold (the Reform and Conservative movements have small growing branches in Israel, but they are comparatively new developments). In Israel and North America most Jewish religious movements see the founding of the State of Israel and its survival under threats to its security as religiously meaningful events. A modern prayer for the welfare for Israel calls it "the beginning of our promised redemption." For some this takes on a specifically messianic connotation, and for others it is a more general wish for Israel to be the religious and cultural center of world Jewry.

European anti-Semitism culminated in the Holocaust (a term that came to be applied to that catastrophe in the 1950s and 1960s). Nazi Germany's attempted genocide of the Jewish people succeeded in wiping out the cultural and religious centers of European Jewry, including many of the major Hasidic communities, the most important *yeshivot,* the German academic seminaries of Jewish studies, and thriving communities of poets, writers, and theaters in Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, and elsewhere. On the surviving Jewish communities in North America, Israel, and Europe, this had several major effects. One was to galvanize support among Jewish movements for the State of Israel. Whereas some Reform Jews had opposed Zionism on the grounds that Judaism was most properly a religious not a national group, the Reform movement increasingly embraced Zionism and indeed ideas of Jewish nationhood. The strands of the Reform movement in North America that had since early in the twentieth century asserted Judaism's ethnic dimension were thus strengthened. In modern Orthodoxy too the element of religious Zionism has become more prominent from World War II to the twenty-first century.

Another effect has been a process of theological searching. The Holocaust seemed to break the paradigms of theodicy set by earlier generations of Jewish theologians. It could not be reasonably said that the millions of pious Jews who died in the death camps were being punished for their sins; nor was it any consolation to know that they would be rewarded for their martyrdom in the world to come. Much thoughtful meditation has been applied to these problems, but two approaches in particular have struck a chord with American Jews. Elie Wiesel's narrative works and essays stress the postwar Jewish community's responsibility simply to bear witness to the world, remember the victims and how they were victimized, and eschew easy lessons. Emil Fackenheim's response is to declare that there is a new commandment: "It is forbidden to grant Hitler any posthumous victories."

CONTEMPORARY JUDAISM. In the early twenty-first century religious Judaism in North America has inherited the denominationalism of the past two centuries, but other social and religious trends have rendered the structure of the community more complex. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, groups of young Jews, many of whom had been raised in the Conservative and Reform youth movements, began expressing their dissatisfaction with the large institutions and ethos of the major denominations by forming small, informal communities called ḥavurot. In these communities, no hired Rabbi or cantor presided over worship services or supervised education and programming. These communities were also deeply influenced by the egalitarianism and feminism of the postwar left as well as what they saw as the spontaneity and spirituality of the Hasidic movement. Some of the ḥavurot are independent; others are associated with the Jewish Renewal movement. Thus those Jewish denominations begun in the nineteenth century look quite different in the early twenty-first century. In the wake of the Holocaust and the founding of the State of Israel, practically no sector of religious Judaism accepts the notion that the Jews constitute a purely religious group—that is, a community defined only by common beliefs and not by common ancestry and tradition—and not a national or ethnic group. After World War II a major concern of all Jewish movements has been the worry that Judaism will disappear. Anti-Semitism is seen to present a physical threat to the Jews as a people, and conversely, it is feared that in an open society Jews will assimilate into the larger culture, intermarrying with non-Jews and leaving their religion and culture behind. This anxiety lies behind the arguments made by the major movements. Orthodoxy sees its dedication to *halakhah,* dietary laws, intensive traditional education, and commitment to religious Zionism as an effective way to fight assimilation. Nonorthodox movements argue that without adapting to the changing needs of society, Jews will be alienated from Judaism.

Israel is a different case. It is paradoxically a country with a secular Jewish majority in which orthodox institutions and authorities form part of the political and legal structure. One consequence of this structure is that religious and political movements are often closely related. Another result is that nonorthodox denominations are far smaller in Israel. Nonetheless, small groups of secular Israeli intellectuals that have formed to discuss what constitutes the "Jewish bookshelf"—a kind of Jewish canon for secular Israelis—include Jewish religious literature in that discussion. In addition, Israelis who have been influenced by travel to India or by New-Age spirituality form informal groups seeking religious experiences both inside and outside the framework of Judaism. More significant is the influence of large-scale immigration of Jews from Muslim countries in the 1950s. Those communities had not been divided deeply between orthodox and secular factions. As a result, Israelis of Middle Eastern background are often more sympathetic to religious traditions yet not always identifiable as Orthodox by conventional western criteria. The full consequences of this influence have yet to be determined.

Other trends are affecting Judaism at the beginning of the twenty-first century. One is feminism, which has affected the social, ritual, and theological life of contemporary Judaism. Especially since the 1960s Jewish feminists have argued for full equality both in Jewish communal life and in religious status. For nonorthodox movements, this has meant that after years of struggle women have won full participation in rituals, ordination as rabbis, and parity in Jewish law. For some orthodox communities, it has meant testing the boundaries of the *halakhah.* Jewish feminism has also resulted in a reexamination of Jewish theology and religious symbolism. This has taken several forms. One result is the interest in reexamining Jewish history from a feminist perspective, both to find historical precedents and alternative myths and symbols and to present a thorough critique of patriarchy within a Jewish cultural context. Another result is a reconsideration of gender in Jewish concepts of God. Jewish feminists have explored alternatives to masculine images and language for God. For example, some draw on elements of the Qabbalah that refer to the female within divinity (especially the idea of the *Shekhinah);* others believe that these categories will have to be redrawn considerably before they meet criteria for inclusive language. Jewish feminism has also resulted in the creation of new rituals or the reinvention of old ones. Thus the naming of a female baby becomes a (non-surgical) equivalent of *brit milah;* likewise, the New Moon celebration has become an occasion for Jewish women to gather for new ceremonies.

Another important trend that is affecting religious affairs all over the world is the rise of traditionalist, "fundamentalist," and militant religious movements. In Jewish communities this can be seen in the renewed vitality of traditionalist communities, such as Ḥasidim, that in the mid-twentieth century seemed on the verge of extinction. These trends are also in evidence with the growth of a movement of *baʿale teshuvah,* Jews who "return" to Orthodoxy from nonaffiliated or nonorthodox backgrounds. In Israel, where politics and religion are inseparable, traditionalist religious parties and messianic movements have taken up a higher profile in public life. At the same time small numbers of Jews in North America who have not had a strong loyalty to the major denominations have become interested in spiritual trends, such as the Jewish Renewal movement, that adopt qabbalistic ideas and symbols but stress inner, personal goals.

However, certain constants prevail in contemporary Judaism, each of which can be seen as an inheritance from the long history described above. One common theme in religious Judaism, in all of its denominational manifestations, is the structure of a covenant between Israel and God. For traditional Jews, the terms of the covenant are to be found in the halakhic process, and understanding its details is vital to living a life devoted to God. For some nonorthodox movements, the covenant is the beginning point that initiates a process of dialogue with the tradition and the world.

Another constant is the Torah. The rabbis (M. *Avot* 5:22) said, "turn it over, turn it over, for everything is in it." Legends tell of how the Torah is literally as large as the world itself. Over the centuries the meaning of the term Torah has come to expand from individual biblical teachings, to the core of the canon, to traditions memorized and taught by rabbis and their disciples, to the entire Judaic tradition. Judaism sees Torah not simply as a body of textual material, but a form of activity. The Torah is read ritually in Hebrew in the synagogue from a scroll; the Oral Torah, written down in the Talmud and Midrash, is the focus of dialectical study and interpretation; and whether praying or making ethical decisions, religious Jews see themselves as translating the Torah into action.

It can be said that action, more than belief or inner experience, is seen as primary to Judaism. Ritual observance, whether in the synagogue or at home, remains a defining characteristic of Jews as individuals and as a community. Jewish religious communities are more likely to come together and divide over matters of ritual and practice than on theology or doctrine. Action can take the form of *halakhah,* observance of rituals, and engagement in social and ethical issues. In the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century, the experiential dimension has been emphasized increasingly by many communities; however, this dimension is usually associated with ritual and contemplative practices.

The persistent relevance of these themes are embodied in ritual, which often resonates particularly deeply with religious Jews. The Passover Seder can be taken as emblematic of the interplay of these themes in the way it illustrates the layers of history, interaction of myth and ritual, and affective nature of Jewish practice. The Seder is a meal held on the holiday of Passover, which celebrates Israel's liberation from slavery in Egypt. In the Torah (*Ex.* 12:1–28), an annual commemoration of the Exodus is prescribed as a reenactment of the original event. It consists of a lamb sacrifice eaten hastily by a family in the household; in time the sacrifice was linked to pilgrimage to the Temple in Jerusalem. With the destruction of the Temple, the sacrifice was no longer offered. However, by the time of the Mishnah the Passover celebration had become a meal in which symbolic foods were eaten and discussed and the biblical story of the Exodus was told and interpreted. For example, the participants not only eat the unleavened bread (*matsah*) and the bitter herbs (*maror*) as prescribed in *Ex.* 12:8, but explain their meaning as the bread eaten in haste by the Israelites and a symbol of the bitterness of slavery. Thus the participants internalize the historical experience both through the senses and discursively. As the Haggadah, the traditional narration for the Seder, puts it, "In every generation one should see oneself as having come out of Egypt." The Seder has become one of the most popular Jewish rituals in modern times, celebrated in homes not only by all religious denominations, but by secular Jews as well. For traditional Jews, the Seder has symbolized redemption and divine sovereignty; for many modern Jews, it represents national solidarity and political freedom. The ritual thus manages, in a series of gestures, to combine thought and action, history and the present, and the extraordinary and the everyday.

SEE ALSO Amoraim; Ashkenazic Hasidism; Conservative Judaism; Covenant; Dead Sea Scrolls; Halakhah, article on History of Halakhah; Hasidism; Israelite Religion; Jewish People; Jewish Religious Year; Jewish Renewal Movement; Jewish Thought and Philosophy; Midrash and Aggadah; Mishnah and Tosefta; Oral Torah; Orthodox Judaism; Patriarchate; Pesher; Qabbalah; Rabbinic Judaism in Late Antiquity; Reconstructionist Judaism; Reform Judaism; Sadducees; Synagogue; Talmud; Tannaim; Torah; Tosafot; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Jewish Worship; Zionism.

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MICHAEL SWARTZ (2005)

JUDAISM: JUDAISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA TO 1492

Judaism is indigenous to the Middle East. There in antiquity the Israelite people formed its unique identity. There the Bible came into being, and there by late antiquity Israelite religion was transformed into normative rabbinic Judaism. The basic texts of rabbinic Judaism—the halakhic *midrashim*, the Mishnah (compiled c. 200 CE), the two Talmuds, that of Palestine and that of Babylonia (compiled in the fifth and sixth centuries), and the first compilations of rabbinic lore (*aggadah*)—were all written in the Middle East. In the formative period of rabbinic Judaism, sectarian groups such as the religious communities of Qumran (the Dead Sea sects) manifested other varieties of Judaism. An esoteric mystical trend within rabbinic Judaism itself also grew in the Middle East of late antiquity. In Egypt in the first century CE, the Greek writings of Philo Judaeus of Alexandria gave voice to a Hellenized philosophical trend within Judaism.

Jews carried their religion to North Africa in late antiquity, where some form of Judaism penetrated the native Berber population, and to Arabia, where, in the seventh century, Judaism had some influence on the formation of the new religion of Islam. After the Middle East and North Africa were brought under the dominion of Islam, following the Arab conquests, and the centuries-old separation of Jewry into two branches, one living under Ssasanid-Zoroastrian rule, and the other living under a Roman-Christian regime, was brought to an end, Judaism underwent further change. Under Islam, rabbinic Judaism, faced with the unification of North African and Middle Eastern Jewry under one empire, became consolidated. In addition, as Jews adopted Arabic in place of Aramaic as both their written and spoken language, the intellectual culture of their host society became accessible to all layers of Jewish society for the first time in history. Responding to the challenge of dynamic Islamic civilization, perceived with unmediated intensity by Arabic-speaking Jewry, Judaism also experienced new developments in sectarianism, philosophy, and mysticism. These characteristic developments in Judaism between the Muslim conquests and the end of the fifteenth century will form the focus of this article.

THE BABYLONIAN CENTER. In the middle of the eighth century the capital of the Muslim caliphate was moved from Syria (where it had been located since 661 CE) to Baghdad. Under the Abbasid dynasty, Iraq became the center from which power and scholarly creativity radiated to the rest of the Islamic world. In this setting, the institutions of Babylonian Judaism were able to consolidate their own authority and religious leadership over the Jews living within the orbit of Islam. Successive waves of Jewish (as well as Muslim) migration from the eastern Islamic lands, long subject to the religious guidance of the Babylonian Talmud, to the Mediterranean and other western provinces of the caliphate, contributed substantially to this process.

The main instrument of this consolidation was the *yeshivah.* Though usually translated "academy," the *yeshivah* then was actually more than a center of learning. It was, as well, a seat of supreme judicial authority and a source of religious legislation. In pre-Islamic times there were already three *yeshivot*, one in Palestine, headed by the patriarch (the *nasi'*), and two in Babylonia, named Sura and Pumbedita. The Palestinian (or Jerusalem) and Babylonian Talmuds were redacted, respectively, in the Palestinian and Babylonian *yeshivot.*

After the middle of the eighth century the Babylonian *yeshivot* began to outshine their counterparts in Palestine. The heads of the *yeshivot* (first of Sura, later of Pumbedita, too) acquired a lofty title, "gaon" (short for *ro'sh yeshivat ge'on Ya'aqov*, "head of the *yeshivah* of the pride of Jacob," see *Psalms* 47:5). In an effort to assert the authority of Babylonian Judaism throughout the caliphate, the Geonim developed many types of halakhic (legal) literature. They were undoubtedly influenced by the intense efforts to consolidate Muslim legal traditions that were going on at the same time in Iraq. However, owing to the centrality of *halakhah* in Jewish life the consolidation of legal authority in the hands of the Babylonian Geonim also served the political purpose of endowing the Babylonian Gaonate with administrative hegemony over Islamic Jewry.

One of the most important literary vehicles used to this end was the system of questions and answers (*responsa*). Like its analogue in Roman and in Islamic law, a *responsum* (Heb., *teshuvah*) is an answer to a legal question. It can be issued only by a scholar of recognized authority. Something like the *responsa* seems to have existed in pre-Islamic Palestine, but the Babylonian geonim developed the legal custom into a major enterprise for the extension of their spiritual and political domination over the communities of the Islamic empire. Queries dispatched to Babylonia were accompanied by donations, which constituted one of the chief means of support for the *yeshivot* there.

A large number of *responsa* are extant from the mid-eighth century onward. They were sent to places as far away as North Africa and Spain and were transmitted mainly by Jewish merchants. In communities along the trade routes through which they passed, copies of the Geonic rulings were often made. In Old Cairo, for instance, a major commercial crossroads of the Islamic Middle Ages, many such *responsa* were discovered in the famous Cairo Genizah, where they had lain undisturbed for centuries owing to the Jewish custom of burying, rather than physically destroying, pages of sacred writings. Once a *responsum* reached the community that had sent the question, it was read aloud in the synagogue, a procedure that strengthened local reverence for the spiritual as well as the political authority of the Geonim.

The two Geonim from whom we have the largest number of *responsa* are Sherira˒ and his son H˒ai, whose consecutive reigns as gaon of the *yeshivah* of Pumbedita spanned the years 968–1038. The fact that very few *responsa* emanating from their rivals, the Palestinian Geonim, are known is a further measure of the success of the Babylonian *responsa* enterprise in creating a strong Babylonian orientation among the Jews of the Islamic world.

Another device employed by the Babylonian Geonim to universalize Babylonian Judaism was the *taqqanah* (legislative ordinance). These *taqqanot* were new laws, or modifications of existing laws, designed to adapt Talmudic law to realities not foreseen by the rabbis of the Mishnah and the *gemara˒*. For instance, with the large-scale abandonment of agriculture by Jews and their increasing involvement in commerce, the issue of collection of debts by proxy became problematic. The Talmud permitted this only in conjunction with transfer of land. The Babylonian Geonim, conscious of the deagrarianization of Jewish life, promulgated a *taqqanah* stipulating that debt transfer could be effected even by the nonlanded by employing the legal fiction that every Jew owns four cubits of real property in the Land of Israel.

To further their ecumenical authority the Geonim also wrote commentaries on the Mishnah and Talmud. These originated as answers to questions about unclear passages in the Talmud that were posed by Jews living far from the center of living Talmud study in Babylonia. In their commentaries, the Geonim gave pride of place to halakhic sections, owing to the juridical priorities of the *yeshivot* and to the practical needs of the Jews. The Geonim also sought to make the Babylonian Talmud more accessible to those lacking training at the *yeshivah* itself. To this end they wrote introductions to that literature, explaining the methods, rules, and terminology of rabbinic jurisprudence. One type of introduction consisted of a chronological survey of Mishnaic and Talmudic teachers. This established their historical relationship and linked the rabbinic authority of the Geonim with the divine source of Jewish law at Mount Sinai. The most famous work of this type, which in form was actually a *responsum* sent to a North African questioner, is the "Epistle" (*Iggeret*) of Sherira˒ Gaon, which forms our best single source for the history of Geonic rule.

The Geonim also compiled the first post-Mishnaic codes of Jewish law. The *Halakhot pesuqot* of Yehud'ai Gaon (in office 757–761 CE) is an abridged paraphrase of the Babylonian Talmud in Aramaic. A practical book, it omits nearly all of the *aggadah* (nonlegal literature) and the agricultural and sacrificial laws and concentrates on such practical subjects as precepts regarding festivals, commercial law, family law, and synagogue and other ritual observances. A more comprehensive work of this type was the *Halakhot gedolot* of Shim˓on of Basra (c. 825), a student at the *yeshivah* of Sura.

Like the Muslim legists, the Geonim composed specialized codes, extracting for handy reference Talmudic laws of inheritance, of deposit, of buying and selling, and of juridical procedure.

The first written prayer books in Jewish history were actually Geonic codes of liturgical procedure. The one by the ninth-century gaon Amram was sent in response to a request from a community in Spain for guidance in these matters. Sa˓adyah Gaon (882–942) also wrote a prayer book, one which, for the first time, used Arabic for the explanatory sections.

It was, however, not only by way of these various literary endeavors that the Babylonian Geonim imposed their authority on most of the Arabic-speaking Jewish world and universalized their form of Judaism; they further consolidated their spiritual and political sovereignty by training and licensing judges and by teaching Talmud to Jews who came from afar to hear lectures at the *yeshivah*'s semiannual conclaves (*kallot*). By the beginning of the eleventh century the process had been successfully completed. The Palestinian gaon Shelomoh ben Yehudah (in office 1026–1051) had to send his own son to the Baghdad *yeshivah* to complete his Talmudic education. Shelomoh's successor as gaon in Jerusalem, Daniyye˒l ben ˓Azaryah, was a Babylonian scholar and a member of the family of the Babylonian exilarch, the descendants of the Davidic royal house who were living in Babylonian exile and were recognized by the caliph, as they had been by the pre-Islamic rulers of Persia, as "heads of the Diaspora." Ben ˓Azaryah, who died in 1062, brought Babylonian learning for a brief time to the *yeshivah* of Jerusalem.

NEW CENTERS IN NORTH AFRICA AND EGYPT. In the course of time, the very universalization of Babylonian Judaism and the dispersal of Babylonian-trained judges and scholars throughout the Diaspora in Islamic lands created a foundation upon which new independent centers of religious learning and authority could be built. This happened in North Africa in the tenth and eleventh centuries and in Egypt somewhat later.

Kairouan. In the ninth and tenth centuries, the Jews of Kairouan, the capital of Muslim Ifriqiya (modern Tunisia), were firmly within the camp of the Babylonian Geonim. Indeed, most of the Jewish settlers in Kairouan had originated in Iraq and Iran, the heartland of Geonic authority. But in these two centuries, Muslim Kairouan achieved considerable prosperity and became a major center of Islamic legal studies. Against this background, the local Jewish community began to create its own center of Talmudic scholarship. The first mention of a formal house of study in Kairouan—the term used was *midrash* rather than *yeshivah*—occurs at the end of the century. Led by Ya˓aqov bar Nissim ibn

Shahin, who belonged to a family whose origins lay in the East (probably Iran) and who was a loyal adherent of Babylonian Judaism, this *midrash* was not yet a rival institution to the Babylonian *yeshivot.* Detachment from Babylonian religious sovereignty became pronounced a generation later, following the arrival in Kairouan of a scholar, believed to have hailed from Italy, named Ḥushiʾel. Italian Jewry had been influenced more by Palestinian than by Babylonian traditions, so when Ḥushiʾel opened a second *midrash* in Kairouan, some Palestinian traditions were taught alongside Babylonian Talmudic scholarship.

In the first half of the eleventh century two of Ḥushiʾel's students placed native North African religious scholarship on a firm literary footing: his son, Ḥananʾel ben Ḥushiʾel, and Nissim, the son of Yaʿaqov bar Nissim (who had died in 1006/7). Ḥananʾel wrote *responsa*, commentaries on the Torah, on *Ezekiel*, on the dietary laws, and, most importantly, a comprehensive commentary on the Babylonian Talmud. In innovative fashion, this last-mentioned work employed material from the Palestinian Talmud to explain passages in the text, though, like the commentaries of the Babylonian Geonim, its primary focus was juridical.

Nissim (d. 1062) maintained his father's loyalty to the Babylonian Geonim. However, like his contemporary Ḥananʾel, he too wrote a fresh commentary on the Talmud utilizing material from the Palestinian text. Duplicating Babylonian Geonic efforts to disseminate knowledge of the Talmud, Nissim composed in Arabic his own "Introduction" entitled *The Book of the Key to the Locks of the Talmud.* Other religious writing of his include a chain of transmission of rabbinic tradition reminiscent of Sheriraʾ Gaon's "Epistle," *responsa* (of which many are extant), and a "Secret Scroll" (*Megillat setarim*), written in Arabic, that consisted of a potpourri of miscellaneous ritual laws. None of Nissim's rabbinic works has been preserved in its entirety and its original form; they are known of only from fragments or through quotations in the works of others.

Ḥushiʾel's disciples completed the process of fashioning an independent center of religious creativity in North Africa. Their period of activity coincided with the decline of the Babylonian Gaonate following the death of Hʾai Gaon in 1038. However, the budding new center of rabbinic Judaism in North Africa was cut off abruptly in 1057 when Kairouan was destroyed by bedouin tribes sent by the Fāṭimid ruler of Egypt to punish his disloyal vassals, the Zirids, in that city.

Fez. Another creative center of Judaism in North Africa developed in Fez (present-day Morocco). *Responsa* addressed to Fez by the Geonim of Sura and Pumbedita testify to the presence of learned scholars in that distant North African city. The most famous rabbinic master from Fez, Yitsḥaq ben Yaʿaqov Alfasi (c. 1013–1103), wrote an abridged version of the Talmud that later became part of the apparatus of the standard printed Talmud text. He also wrote many *responsa.*

Egypt. In Egypt a local school of advanced religious study (a *midrash*) was established at the end of the tenth century by Shemaryah ben Elḥanan, a scholar educated at one of the Babylonian *yeshivot.* Egyptian Jewry at that time was subject to the political authority of the gaon of the Palestinian *yeshivah*, who was recognized by the Fāṭimid caliph in Cairo as head of the Jews in his empire (Egypt and Palestine). When Shemaryah's son and successor Elḥanan began to expand the activities of the Egyptian *midrash* by soliciting donations even from Palestine and by assuming some of the religious and political prerogatives of the Palestinian gaon, he was excommunicated by the Jerusalem *yeshivah.* This put a temporary halt to the growth of native Egyptian religious scholarship until, in the latter part of the eleventh century, several distinguished scholars settled in Egypt.

As in the case of Nissim ben Yaʿaqov of Kairouan, the writings of these scholars are known from fragments, from quotations in later works, and medieval book lists. One notable author was Yehudah ha-Kohen ben Yosef, who wrote commentaries on the Bible and on portions of the Talmud, a code of regulations concerning ritual slaughtering, liturgical poems, and a commentary on the mystical *Sefer yetsirah* (Book of creation). Another was a scholar from Spain named Yitsḥaq ben Shemuʾel, who wrote an Arabic commentary on some if not all of the Former Prophets, a commentary on at least one Talmudic tractate, *responsa*, and liturgical poems. Though neither of these scholars opened an academy of learning, they gave Egyptian Jewry a renewed sense of independence from the traditional sources of religious leadership in Babylonia and from the political dominion of the *yeshivah* in Palestine.

Related to the activity of these respected rabbinic scholars in Egypt toward the end of the eleventh century was the emergence there of a new Jewish institution of central leadership. This was the office of "head of the Jews" (Arab., *raʾīs al-yahūd*), more commonly known in Hebrew as the office of the *nagid.* The scholarly family of court physicians headed by the brothers Yehudah and Mevorakh ben Saʿadyah was the first to hold this position of dignity. The office of head of the Jews, inheriting the sovereignty formerly reserved for the Palestinian gaon, was invested with supreme religious as well as political authority over the Jews in the Fāṭimid empire.

In the third decade of the twelfth century the Palestinian *yeshivah*, which had been located outside the borders of Palestine since the Seljuk conquest of Jerusalem around 1071, transferred its own headquarters to the capital of Egypt. With this move the office of head of the Jews temporarily passed into the hands of the newly arrived Palestinian gaon, Matsliaḥ ha-Kohen ben Shelomoh. How much teaching went on in the relocated Palestinian *yeshivah* we do not know. However, the arrival of Moses Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon) in Egypt around 1165 established Egypt as a respectable center of Jewish religious scholarship. Maimonides attracted a circle of students and substituted the study of his own code of Jewish law, the *Mishneh Torah*, for the study of the Babylonian Talmud in the curriculum of Jewish higher education. The Babylonian Gaonate voiced opposition to Maimonides, who was seen as a threat to its efforts to reassert its former supremacy over world Jewry. Nevertheless, the Maimonidean tradition of learning in Egypt, modified by a distinctive mystical bent, was continued by his son Avraham and by a succession of Maimonidean descendants until the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Yemen. A center of Jewish learning much influenced by Moses Maimonides was to be found in Yemen. Already in late antiquity there was a small Jewish presence in South Arabia, as we know from the evidence of Hebrew inscriptions and from stories about the conversion to Judaism of rulers of the South Arabian kingdom of Ḥimyar (the last of these Jewish kings of Ḥimyar, who was also the last Ḥimyarī ruler, died in 525 CE). In the Islamic period the Jewish settlement was considerably strengthened by the migration of Jews from Babylonia and Persia. Naturally, from the outset the Yemenite community maintained loyalty to the Babylonian geonim and the Babylonian exilarch, supported the Babylonian *yeshivah* financially, and adhered to the Babylonian interpretation of rabbinic Judaism.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, however, Yemen and Yemenite Jews became closely connected with Egypt as a result of general political and economic developments. Thus, they identified in the twelfth century with the *yeshivah* of Matsliaḥ ha-Kohen in Cairo and especially with Maimonides after his arrival in Egypt. In the later Middle Ages a considerable indigenous religious literature developed among the Yemenite Jews, much of it consisting in commentaries on various works of Maimonides. In Yemen, moreover, Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* became the principal code of Jewish practice. Among Yemenite works from the later Middle Ages that cite passages from Maimonides' œuvre is the voluminous anthology of homiletic and legal *midrashim* on the five books of the Torah compiled in the thirteenth century by David ben ʿAmram of the Yemenite port city of Aden, entitled *Midrash ha-gadol*.

KARAISM. Not long after the Muslim conquest, the most important religious schism in medieval Judaism, known as Karaism, occurred in the Middle East. The Karaites rejected the jurisdiction of the Talmud and of rabbinic Judaism in general, claiming exclusive reliance on the Bible. Some scholars believe that Karaism actualized a latent anti-Talmudism that had existed beneath the surface since the time of the Sadducees, who centuries earlier had denied the validity of the oral Law. Others identify in Karaism affinities with the religion of the Dead Sea sects, notably the asceticism shared by these two religious movements.

It is difficult to prove the influence of one sect on another separated from it in time by so many centuries. What is certain, however, in terms of immediate causes is that Karaism arose in opposition to the extension of the authority of rabbinic Judaism by the Babylonian Geonim in the early Islamic period and out of resentment towards the power wielded by the Jewish aristocracy of Iraq through the Davidic exilarchate.

The Iranian Plateau, fertile ground for sectarian rebellion in early Islam, spawned several antirabbinic Jewish revolts prior to the crystallization of a cohesive Karaite movement. One example was the sect of Abū ʿĪsā al-Isfahānī, whose period of activity is variously given as 685–705, during the reign of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Manṣūr, or at the time of the transition from Umayyad to Abbasid rule, between 744 and 775. His ascetic, anti-Talmudic program included the prohibition of divorce and a change in the daily liturgical cycle from three to seven prayers. Abū ʿĪsā was also driven by his belief in the imminent coming of the Messiah to take up arms against the Muslim government.

Abū ʿĪsā's sect was but one of many groups whose antirabbinic halakhic practices were collected together in the eighth century by ʿAnan ben David, an important link in the chain leading to the consolidation of Karaism in the ninth and tenth centuries. ʿAnan may have hailed from the Iranian Plateau, but he operated in the center of Geonic-exilarchal territory in Babylonia. He was, in fact, said to have been a member of the exilarchal family. A biased Rabbinite account of his sectarian rebellion ascribes his motives to personal disappointment after being passed over for appointment to the office of exilarch.

ʿAnan's principal achievement was to assemble scattered bits of sectarian *halakhah* into a code called *Sefer ha-mitsvot* (Book of commandments). In this book, he employed Talmudic methodology for his own end: his biblical exegesis served to lend credibility and respectability to the deviant practices that he codified. This use of rabbinic methods and language to establish the legitimacy of nonrabbinic Judaism constituted a serious challenge to the authority of the Geonim.

ʿAnan seems to have envisaged the creation of separatist communities of nonrabbinic Jews living in various locales within the Diaspora. One scholar has even proposed that he wished to gain government recognition for a second legitimate school of law within Judaism, coexisting with the school of the Babylonian Geonim much like the different *madhhab*s (schools of jurisprudence) in Islam.

Later Karaites attributed to ʿAnan the formulation of a principle, expressed as an apothegm: "Search thoroughly in the Torah and do not rely upon my opinion." This legitimated, in theory at least, the exclusive reliance on the Bible that distinguished Karaism from rabbinism and sounded the call for individualistic exegesis in place of slavish adherence to rabbinic tradition. It also justified a proliferation of non-ʿAnanite sects in the ninth and tenth centuries, such as the sect of Ismāʿīl al-ʿUkbarī (from ʿUkbara, near Baghdad), the sect of Mishawayh al-ʿUkbarī, the sect of Abū ʿImrān al-Tiflisī (from present-day Tbilisi, Republic of Georgia), and the sect of Malik al-Ramlī (from Ramleh, Palestine).

Much of our information about these groups comes from the law code, *Kitāb al-anwār wa-al-marāqib* (Book of lights and watchtowers), by the tenth-century Karaite thinker Yaʿqūb al-Qirqisānī, which contains an introduction on the history of sects in Judaism. Not surprisingly, for Qirqisānī it is the Rabbinites, beginning with the Pharisees, rather than the Karaites, who were the real religious deviants. ʿAnan ben David's role as reformer was to rediscover the long-suppressed true path.

The first to employ the term *Karaites* (*Benei Miqra*ʾ, "children of scripture") was the ninth-century Binyamin al-Nahāwandī (of Nihāvand, Iran). He was known for his tolerance of observance of rabbinic laws, especially where biblical legislation failed to answer practical questions of everyday life. This liberalism with respect to Talmudic law was matched by an insistence on the right of every individual to interpret scripture as he saw fit. Troubled by the rationalist critique of biblical anthropomorphisms, Binyamin taught that the world was called into being by an angel created by God, and that all anthropomorphic expressions in the Bible were to be ascribed to that angel. A judge by profession, Binyamin wrote a *Sefer mitsvot* (Book of commandments) and a *Sefer Dīnim* (Book of laws). He also wrote biblical commentaries.

Daniyyeʾl al-Qūmisī, another Karaite thinker of the end of the ninth century, was a messianist who settled in Jerusalem in order to mourn for Zion (the group he headed was called Avelei-Tsiyyon, "Mourners for Zion") and to pray for redemption. In his approach to the Bible he rejected the liberal individualism of Binyamin al-Nahāwandī and the latter's theology of the creator angel. However, in his own exegesis, he was, according to some sources, a rationalist.

By the tenth century Karaism was sufficiently consolidated to pose an active threat to the Babylonian geonim. Saʿadyah Gaon took up the cudgels of defense on their behalf, writing a refutation of ʿAnan (*Kitāb al-radd ʿalā ʿAnan*) and opposing Karaite views in others of his writings. Saʿadyah's hostility inspired a Karaite counterattack. Indeed, he was the polemical object of much of the rich Karaite literature of the "golden age" of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Several important figures of this Karaite golden age bear mention here. Yaʿqūb al-Qiriqisānī (tenth century) composed, in addition to the code of law, the *Book of Lights and Watchtowers*, commentaries on several books of the Bible, a refutation of Muḥammad's claim to prophecy, and a treatise on God's unity. Salmon ben Yeroḥam (tenth century) wrote a poetical tract against the Rabbinites, *The Book of the Wars of the Lord*, that bristles with polemic against Saʿadyah, and among other works, biblical commentaries on *Psalms* and the *Song of Songs*. Yefet ben ʿEli wrote commentaries in Arabic on the entire Hebrew Bible, accompanied by translations of Hebrew text into Arabic. Sahl ben Maṣliaḥ composed a *Book of Commandments*, only partly extant, and a letter to a Rabbinite disputant in Egypt extolling Karaism at the expense of rabbinism. Yūsuf al-Baṣīr (Yosef ha-Roʾeh, from Basra) wrote a *Book of Commandments* and important *responsa*, and initiated a liberalization of Karaite marriage laws which, on the basis of literal interpretation of the Bible, had multiplied the number of incestuous (and therefore forbidden) marriage combinations, thus threatening the biological continuity of the sect. Like al-Baṣīr, Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah composed a treatise refuting the Karaite laws of incestuous marriage. He also penned commentaries on books of the Bible.

REVIVAL OF JEWISH RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY. Several factors converged to bring about a revival of Jewish religious philosophy, dormant since Philo, among the Jews of the Muslim world, Rabbinites and Karaites alike. Most important were the new availability of Hellenistic philosophy in Arabic translation; Jewish awareness of the application of rationalist inquiry to theological questions in Islam; the critique of biblical anthropomorphism; the attack on the Bible by Jewish skeptics like Ḥiwi al-Balkhī; and the desire to prove that Judaism embraced the same universalistic truths as Islam. The lion's share of Jewish religious philosophy was written in Spain. However, the founder of Judeo-Arabic philosophy, Saʿadyah Gaon, and the most important philosopher of them all, Maimonides, wrote in the Middle East.

The earliest venture by Arabic-speaking Jews into rationalism followed the lead of the Muslim science of *kalām*. *Kalām* means "speech" and refers specifically to discussion of theological problems. The most rationalistic trend in the *kalām* was that of the Muʿtazilah, which originated in Iraq in the cities of Basra and Baghdad, and it was from this doctrine that Saʿadyah, who lived in Baghdad, drew the inspiration for his pioneering work of Jewish religious philosophy, *Kitāb al-amanat wa-al-Iʿtiqādāt* (The book of beliefs and convictions). Like the Muʿtazilah, he began his treatise with an epistemological discourse establishing the indispensability of reason as a source of religious knowledge. To this he added the category of reliable transmitted knowledge—doubtless in response to skeptics and Karaites who discredited the reliability of biblical stories and laws. The idea that reason and revelation lead to the same religious truths remained a cornerstone of all medieval Jewish religious philosophy after Saʿadyah. Like the Muʿtazilah, Saʿadyah placed the discussion of the creation of the world out of nothing (*creatio ex nihilo*) at the head of his treatise, since from the premise of creation flowed the belief in the existence of God and hence all other religious convictions.

The Muʿtazilah struggled with two major challenges to rationalism: scriptural anthropomorphisms that seemingly denied God's unity, and the question of the existence of evil in this world that appeared to contradict God's justice. Like the Muslim Muʿtazilah, Saʿadyah devoted separate chapters to these two subjects in his philosophical treatise. Divine unity was defended by invoking the principle that the Torah uses metaphor to describe God in terms understandable to human minds. The problem of divine justice was resolved with the Mu'tazilī solution of claiming freedom of the human will. Saʿadyah took other leads from the Muʿtazilah, for instance, in drawing a distinction between laws knowable through reason and laws knowable only through revelation, as well as in his treatment of retribution. In addition, he addressed Jewish eschatology in his chapters on resurrection and redemption.

The Muslim *kalām* influenced other Jewish writers in the Middle East. Before the time of Saʿadyah, David ben Marwān al-Muqammiṣ (ninth century) combined Muʿtazilī views with Greek philosophical notions. So did the Babylonian gaon Shemuʾel ben Ḥofni (d. 1013) in his commentary on the Bible. Nissim ben Yaʿaqov of Kairouan showed familiarity with Muʿtazilī teaching in his commentary on the Talmud. Finally, the Karaites, liberated from the commitment to tradition as a valid source of religious knowledge, adopted Muʿtazilī rationalism with even less reserve than its Rabbinite exponents. Prominent among the Karaite rationalists were the above-mentioned Yaʿqūb al-Qirqisānī, Yūsuf al-Baṣīr (eleventh century), and Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah (mid-eleventh century).

These Karaites went beyond the principle of the equivalence of reason and revelation and gave primacy to the former. It was, in fact, among the Karaites of Byzantium alone that Muʿtazilī *kalām* continued to have influence on Judaism after the eleventh century. In contrast, among the Rabbinites, Neoplatonism and especially Aristotelianism took over the role that Muʿtazilī thought had played during the pioneering phase of Jewish religious philosophy in the Islamic world.

Neoplatonism and Aristotelianism flourished mainly among the Jews of Spain. However, the first Jewish Neoplatonist, Yitsḥaq Yisraʾeli (c. 850–950), was born in Egypt and composed philosophical works in Arabic while serving as court physician to the Muslim governor in Kairouan. Of his works the *Book of Definition* and the *Book on the Elements* (extant only in Hebrew and Latin translations) and a commentary on *Sefer yetsirah* (Book of creation), revised by his students, show how he tried to incorporate the Neoplatonic doctrine of emanation into Judaism. Though he did not abandon the biblical premise of divinely willed creation out of nothing for a pure Neoplatonic cosmogony, he adopted the Neoplatonic conception of progressive emanation of spiritual substances in the supraterrestrial world. As with the Islamic Neoplatonists, some aspects of Yisraʾeli's philosophy of religion show the influence of Aristotelian ideas. For instance, his concept of reward for ethical conduct is based on the ascent of the human soul toward its final reunification with the upper soul. The phenomenon of prophecy, a problem for Muslim religious philosophers, similarly occupied Yitsḥaq Yisraʾeli; his theory employs the naturalistic explanation offered by the Islamic Aristotelians but leaves a place for divine will in connection with the form of the vision accorded prophets.

The most important full-fledged Jewish Aristotelian was Maimonides. Born in Spain, where in the twelfth century Aristotelianism replaced Neoplatonism as the preferred philosophy, Maimonides did most of his writing, including his philosophic magnum opus, the *Guide of the Perplexed*, in Egypt, where he lived out most of his life as a refugee from Almohade persecution in Spain and North Africa. Maimonides sought to achieve a workable synthesis between Judaism and Aristotelianism without glossing over the uncontestably incompatible elements in each of those systems. Writing for the initiated few in the *Guide*, he took up troublesome theological questions. He argued for the existence of God, which he demonstrated, not in the by-then-unsatisfactory manner of the old *kalām*, but by exploiting scientifically and logically more credible Aristotelian philosophical concepts. He upheld the unity of God, not by accepting the identity of God's attributes with his essence, as *kalām* would have it, but by combining the metaphoric interpretation of scriptural anthropomorphisms with the doctrine of negative attributes, which leaves the fact of God's existence as the sole bit of positive knowledge of divinity available to believers. He even addressed the problem of the creation of the world, which forced him to suspend Aristotle's doctrine of the eternity of the world in favor of the biblical account of the miraculous creation by the will of God.

Maimonides also attempted to bring an Aristotelian conception of Judaism within the reach of the philosophically uninitiated. This he did with a philosophical introduction to, and other occasional rationalistic comments in, his *Mishneh Torah* (Code of Jewish law); with an Aristotelian ethical introduction to the Mishnah tractate *Avot*; and by formulating a philosophic creed for Jews in his commentary on the Mishnah.

PIETISM AND JEWISH SUFISM. A new religious development in Judaism began in the Middle East in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Individual Jews began to be attracted to the pious asceticism of the Muslim Ṣūfīs. In his introduction to the Mishnah tractate *Avot*, called "The Eight Chapters," Maimonides chastises such people for engaging in extreme self-abnegation, thereby straying from the more moderate path advocated by Judaism.

In the thirteenth century in Egypt, some representatives of the Jewish upper classes (physicians, government secretaries, judges, and scholars) joined together in pietistic brotherhoods akin to the Ṣūfī orders that were then flourishing in Egypt under the patronage of the Ayyubid dynasty of Muslim rulers founded by Salaḥ al-Dīn (Saladin). These Jews called themselves *ḥasidim*, using the regular Talmudic word for the pious. They fasted frequently, practiced nightly prayer vigils, and recited additional prayers accompanied by bowings and prostrations more typical of Islam than of Judaism. Rather than exhibiting their pietism in public they maintained a private place of worship where they followed their special path. Rather than wearing wool outer clothing like the Muslim Ṣūfīs, they designated as the symbol of their asceticism the turban that they all wore (Arab., *baqyār* or *buqyār*).

The most illustrious member of this circle of *ḥasidim* was the *nagid* (head of the Jewish community) Avraham, the son of Moses Maimonides. He wrote a long code of Jewish law entitled *Kifāyat al-ʿābidīn* (The complete guide for the servants of God), which, in its fourth and final book, contains a program of mystical piety for the Jewish elite based on the ethical tenets of Sufism.

The *ḥasidim* in Avraham Maimonides' brotherhood made attempts to influence the general Jewish public to adopt some aspects of their pietism. Earlier, Moses Maimonides himself had introduced reforms in the Egyptian synagogue service aimed at imitating the more decorous environment of the mosque. Driven by pietistic zeal, his son went further. He tried to introduce the kneeling posture of Islamic prayer into the synagogue; he insisted that worshipers face the direction of prayer even while seated; and he required people to stand in straight rows during the Eighteen Benedictions, in imitation of the orderly, symmetrical pattern of the mosque. These and other pietistic reforms aroused much opposition, and some Jews actually denounced Avraham to the Muslim authorities for attempting to introduce unlawful innovations into Judaism. In response, Avraham wrote a vigorous defense of pietism, which has been found in the Cairo Genizah.

Avraham Maimonides' son ʿOvadyah wrote his own Ṣūfī-like book. Called *Al-maqālah al-ḥawḍīyah* (The treatise of the pool), it attempted to impart intellectual respectability to Jewish Sufism. In the later Middle Ages, some Jews in Egypt imitated the style of life of the Ṣūfī convents in the hills surrounding Cairo. In Egypt, too, Jewish thinkers, outstanding among them the descendants of Maimonides, continued to compose treatises in the Ṣūfī vein. This turn towards mystical piety in the Jewish world, at just about the time when Jewish religious philosophy reached its climactic stage in the Middle East in the writings of Maimonides, recalls the replacement of philosophy by Sufism as the dominant religious mode in Islam in the later medieval period. Possibly Jewish interest in Sufism similarly reflects a dissatisfaction with the answers given in the past by Jewish rationalism to religious questions. Only when the study of Jewish Sufism, still in its infancy, has progressed further will it be possible to gain a clear sense of its place in the history of Judaism in the Islamic world and of the influence it might have had on the Lurianic Qabbalah that sprouted in Muslim Palestine after the expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492.

SEE ALSO Islam, overview article and article on Islam in North Africa; Jewish Thought and Philosophy, article on Premodern Philosophy; Karaites; Muʿtazilah; Polemics, article on Muslim-Jewish Polemics; Rabbinic Judaism in Late Antiquity; Sufism; Yeshivah.

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JUDAISM: JUDAISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA SINCE 1492

The year 1492 marks a turning point in the history of the Jewish people. The expulsion of the Jews from Spain closes a brilliant and complex chapter in Jewish history, releasing a massive group of talented and despondent refugees upon the shores of the Mediterranean. They were soon followed by other waves of Jewish émigrés from Portugal, France, Provence, and the various Italian states as a result of the forced conversions or expulsions in those countries in the late-fifteenth through mid-sixteenth centuries. Even within the tragic annals of the Jews, rarely had the contemporary scene appeared so bleak. With most of the gates of Europe closed, the refugees of western Europe fled to the world of Islam, injecting new life and much controversy into the Jewish communities there that had been living in a state of decline for at least two centuries. The emergent period was marked by fervent yearnings for redemption, painful attempts at evaluating why the Spanish Jewish experience had ended in such ignominy, a brief but brilliant renaissance of Jewish life in Turkey, the outburst of antinomianism in seventeenth-century Ottoman Jewry, and a final period of increasing intellectual stagnation of Jews in Muslim lands. Beginning in the nineteenth century, winds of change swept the Near East, propelled by the influence of the European powers. Jews were especially receptive to the attempts of western Jews to reform the eastern Jews and their situation, unleashing a chain of events and attempts at modernization whose effects are still being felt.

JEWISH LEGAL STATUS IN MUSLIM LANDS. From its inception, Islam exhibited an ambivalent attitude toward non-Muslims. The prophet Muḥammad had clearly enunciated his indebtedness to the faith of his monotheistic predecessors in the Qurʾān, tolerating their continued existence with certain provisos. Jews and Christians were to be recognized as possessors of scripture, *ahl al-kitāb* (people of the Book), were not to be forcibly converted, and were to be afforded a modicum of protection. Implied in the status of protection, *dhimma,* or of protected peoples—*dhimmis*—was the right of the Jews to exercise their Judaism provided they accepted a position of subordination.

Over the centuries Muslim jurists worked out elaborate codes of what constituted subordination and "signs of humiliation." Typically, Jewish and Christian houses of worship were to be inconspicuous, Jews and Christians were to wear distinguishing garments, such as special headgear or footwear and clothing of designated colors. They were prohibited from riding horses or engaging in occupations that would place them in a position of authority over Muslims. In addition, they were required to pay special discriminatory taxes on produce of the land and a special head tax *(jizyah).*

Implementation of the discriminatory decrees was never uniform; the earlier Middle Ages exhibited a far greater degree of tolerance than the later Middle Ages. On the peripheries of the Muslim empire, moreover, in Morocco, Persia, and Yemen, the Muslim regimes tended to enforce discriminatory codes much more rigorously than in the heartland. By the nineteenth century, the entire system of carefully balanced toleration tempered by discrimination had broken down and Jews increasingly turned to the European powers for protection. In general, however, Middle East society was marked by public displays of religiosity, which found particular expression in the family or clan unit. Judaism, too, was a family and communal tradition strengthened by generations of relative economic, social, and political isolation in Muslim lands. Known in Turkish as a *millet* (nation) in the Ottoman realm (from the mid-fifteenth century), Jews and Judaism enjoyed a relatively self-contained and protected position in the lands of Islam.

JEWISH DEMOGRAPHY IN MUSLIM LANDS: PRE- AND POST-1492. Population estimates of Jews in Muslim lands are extremely risky, since even at the height of the Muslim state its records of tax collection are partial and incomplete at best. It is generally accepted by historians that between eighty-five and ninety percent of world Jewry lived in the Muslim world in the period from the eighth through the tenth century. As that world became increasingly anarchic in the twelfth century, and as a result of the pogroms unleashed by the Almohads after 1147, Jewish population migrations to Christian lands increased. By the mid-seventeenth century, there were approximately three-quarters of a million Jews in the world, half of whom lived in the Muslim realm and half in Christian Europe (primarily Poland and Lithuania). During the sixteenth century acme of population growth in the Ottoman empire, the Jewish population in Istanbul alone reached forty thousand. At least as many Jews resided in contemporary Salonika. Perhaps as many as ten thousand Jews resided in Fez in Morocco, fifteen thousand in Iraq, and as many as fifteen thousand in the city of Safed (in Palestine) in the sixteenth century.

The Jewish population in the Ottoman empire began to decline dramatically in the seventeenth century as a result of fires, earthquakes, infant mortality, and increasing political insecurity. By the eve of World War II, Jews from Muslim lands numbered approximately one million out of the global Jewish population of approximately eighteen million. Since the Holocaust, Sephardic Jews (of Spanish origin) and Jews of Middle Eastern and North African origin have increased in demographic importance, both absolutely and relatively, since they significant percent of the Jewish population of Israel and a majority of the population of France, the second and third largest Jewish communities in the free world. (The term *Sephardic Jews* hereafter may include Middle Eastern and North African Jews, when their distinction is not necessary.)

The Exiles from Spain to the Maghreb. Jewish flight from Spain began as a mass movement, not in 1492, but in 1391. In that year, waves of violence inundated the Jews of Spain and the Balearic Islands, and while many Jews were martyred, others converted, and still others fled. One of the most important places of refuge of Spanish and Majorcan Jewry in 1391 was Algeria. Sephardic Jews met a mixed reception from the beleaguered indigenous Jews who feared that a large influx of Jews could ignite local anti-Semitism in the Muslim population. But they quickly assumed leadership positions in the community, providing a new élan to North African Jewish life. The scholar-refugee leaders Yitshaq ben Sheshet Perfet (1326–1408) and Shimʿon ben Tsemah Duran (1361–1444) have left a voluminous collection of rabbinic decisions and correspondence (*responsa*) revealing that Sephardic Jewry was troubled, not simply by the arduous task of communal reconstruction following flight, but also by very difficult questions of ritual and law as a result of the large-scale apostasy that had accompanied the waves of persecution. Questions of marital, ritual, and dietary law could not easily be resolved as demands for compassion clashed with real issues of communal continuity and Jewish identity.

The wave of refugees rose, and the question of secret Jews and forced converts (Marranos and *conversos*) grew more complex after 1492, as over 150,000 left Spain in haste. One of the favored refuges was Morocco, where Jews found asylum in the kingdom of Fez after a journey made perilous by unscrupulous captains and pirates. Chroniclers such as Avraham ben Shelomoh of Ardutiel, Avraham Zacuto, and Shelomoh ibn Verga dramatized the hazards of the flight from Spain. In Fez, Meknes, Marrakech, Safi, Arzila, and smaller towns the Sephardic refugees injected new leadership and frequent controversy into the midst of small indigenous communities. In the coastal regions they exploited their connections with the Iberian Peninsula, serving as commercial agents for the Spanish and Portuguese.

Wherever the Spanish refugees came, they brought with them great pride, loyalty, and nostalgia for their cities of origin. Many of their customs were unfamiliar to the local Jews, particularly the halakhic leniencies that they had devised in response to the religious persecution they had endured. But they considered their customs to be sacrosanct, and controversy raged among the Spanish Jews and between the Spaniards (known as *megorashim,* “expelled ones”) and the indigenous Jews (known as *toshavim*). In Morocco, these communal divisions were reflected in a duplication of many communal institutions and a protracted communal debate in Fez that required Muslim intercession. Ultimately, Sephardic numerical preponderance and halakhic leadership prevailed and Moroccan Jewry emerged as a place of scholarship after centuries of quiescence.

In Tunisia, divisions between the refugees and the indigenous population were also institutionalized. They were aggravated by the influx of Jews from Livorno, Italy, who reinforced the separatism of the Spaniards. Two communities were established and the divisions between the newcomers (known as the *grana*) and the natives (*touansa*) persisted until the twentieth century. (This internecine struggle enabled local Turkish governors to exploit the Jews more easily.)

Jewish life in the Maghreb bore a number of distinctive features in the period following the advent of the Jews from Spain. On the one hand, most communities were torn by division as Sephardim attempted to impose their customs upon the local Jews. Given their large numbers, superior educational level, and self-confidence, Spanish Jewry assumed the helms of power in most of the Maghreb. New Jewish intellectual centers emerged in Fez (Morocco) and Tlemcen (Algeria), and the ordinances (*taqqanot*) of the Jews of Castile soon became the guide for natives as well as newcomers. In matters of personal status as well as questions of communal leadership, inheritance, and ritual slaughtering, the Sephardic way became the standard mode of behavior for most Maghrebi Jews.

North Africa was not, however, a mere replica of pre-1492 Spain. Local customs, such as worship at the tombs of saints, the special celebration at the end of the festival of Passover known as the Mimouna, and belief in the efficacy of amulets and talismans became part and parcel of Maghrebi Jewry as a whole. The special role of the emissary from Palestine, the *hakham kolel,* in the intellectual life of the Maghreb was already discernible by the fifteenth century. Through the *hakham kolel* the mystical movements of sixteenth-century Palestine spread rapidly in North Africa. North African Judaism was characterized by a melding of the study of Talmud with that of the Zohar and the pervasive spread in North Africa of Qabbalah or mysticism. This blending lent a special flavor to the scholarship of a long line of teachers, jurists, judges, and mystics.

The Aftermath of 1492: The Ottoman East. Even before the expulsion of 1492, Jews in the West began to hear that the Ottoman empire was welcoming Jewish immigration. Yitshaq Tsarfati reportedly addressed the Jews of northern Europe under the reign of Murad II (1421–1451):

> Brothers and teachers, friends and acquaintances! I, Isaac Sarfati, though I spring from French stock, yet I was born in Germany, and sat there at the feet of my esteemed teachers. I proclaim to you that Turkey is a land where nothing is lacking and where, if you will, all shall yet be well with you. The way to the Holy Land lies open to you through Turkey.

Indeed, Ottoman might appeared to be invincible for over one hundred years. By the reign of Süleyman I (“the Magnificent," 1520–1566) the Ottoman borders extended from Morocco in the west to Iran in the east, from Hungary in the north to Yemen in the south.

Throughout the sixteenth century, while the empire was reaching its acme, successive boats brought Jewish refugees ashore in the eastern Mediterranean, particularly to its fairest port on the Aegean, Salonika. Some of the refugees came directly from the Iberian Peninsula while others arrived after an initial stop in Italy or North Africa where many succeeded in recouping their assets. They were eagerly welcomed by the sultan Bayezid II (1481–1512), especially since many were reputed to be skilled munitions-makers who would undoubtedly be helpful allies in the repeated wars against the Habsburgs.

The newcomers to the Ottoman empire displayed a degree of separatism and individualism that surpassed that of their Sephardic coreligionists in the Maghreb. They tended to divide along geographic lines so that before long there were more than forty congregations in Istanbul and Salonika each. The very names of the congregations—Catalan, Castile, Aragon, Barcelona, Portugal, Calabria—evoked identification with their origins. Distinctive identities were reinforced by the separate formations of self-help societies of all sorts. The very mixture of Jews, not only various groups of Sephardim, but also Ashkenazim from Germany and Hungary, Greek-speaking Jews from the Balkans (known as Romaniots), and Italian Jews created strains and tensions. It was not long before the preponderance of Sephardim overwhelmed the smaller native communities and the Castilian language, with an admixture of Hebrew, Turkish, and Slavic words known as *Ladino,* became the primary language of Ottoman Jewry and it remained such until the twentieth century. Popular Jewish culture was sprinkled with Ladino proverbs and ballads and a veritable treasure trove of Iberian literature entered into the folk culture of Ottoman, especially Balkan Jewry.

The city of Salonika emerged as the preeminent Jewish community of the sixteenth century. The fame of its Talmud Torah (a rabbinic academy) spread far and wide, as did the rabbinic decisions of its rabbis Shemu'el de Medina (1505–1589) and his contemporary Yosef Taitasaq. The sixteenth-century Jewish historian Samuel Usque called Salonika in 1545 "a true mother in Judaism." Salonika's preeminence as a city of Sephardic culture remained down to its last days when, in 1943, the community was destroyed by the Nazis, its vast library sacked, and its four-hundred-year-old cemetery desecrated and dismantled.

One of the salient characteristics of the generation of exile was its melancholy brooding on the meaning of the tragic history of Israel, and especially of its Sephardic standard-bearers. A series of historians emerged among the Jewish people to record and comment upon the recent events. In his *Consolations for the Tribulations of Israel,* Samuel Usque, writing in Portuguese, adumbrated a lachrymose view of Jewish existence. His contemporary, Yosef ha-Kohen (d. 1578) in his *'Emeq ha-bakhah* compared Jewish history to a journey through a "valley of tears." A third sixteenth-century Sephardic commentator, Shelomoh ibn Verga, also sought to decipher the reasons for Jewish suffering in his *Shevet Yehudah* (Scepter of Judah). It has been suggested that this unparalleled outpouring of Jewish historical writing during the sixteenth century not only represented an intense intellectual attempt to understand what had happened but was also perceived by the very writers themselves as a *novum* in Jewish history. Jews were now seeking for the first time to understand the ways of oppressive nations, not only the ways of God. The chronicle *Seder Eliyyahu zuta'* by Eliyyahu Capsali of Crete is devoted in large part to discussions of Ottoman history. The events of the time also called forth two more enduring reactions in the mystical and messianic meanings ascribed to the Spanish Jewish tragedy.

Spanish Jews brought not only their contentiousness and tragic vision but also their critical intellectual and technological skills to the Ottoman realm. Among the most important of the technological skills was the fine art of printing. Soon after the expulsion, a Hebrew press appeared in Fez, and it was followed soon thereafter by Hebrew printing presses in Salonika (1500), Constantinople (1503), Safad (1563), and Smyrna (1764). Hebrew printing spread from there to Baghdad, Calcutta, and Poona and eventually to Jerba, Sousse, Algiers, and Oran. (Not until more than two hundred years after the establishment of the first Hebrew printing press in Turkey was the first Ottoman Turkish press established.) A large number of the works printed by the Jewish presses were tracts dealing with practical Qabbalah or mysticism. Indeed, the rapid spread of mysticism from sixteenth-century Safed throughout the Mediterranean world, as well as the *Zohar*'s dissemination as a popular Sephardic text, can be attributed to the introduction of Hebrew printing in the Ottoman empire.

United under the umbrella of one dynamic and expansive empire, the Jews of Muslim lands enjoyed a cultural renaissance and an era of prosperity in the sixteenth century. Jewish physicians emerged in the royal courts of Constantinople to reassert their special role as courtiers and diplomats. Moshe Hamon (1490–1554), the personal physician to Süleyman I, managed to outlast the intrigues of the harem to excel as a physician, medical scholar, bibliophile, and protector of Jews against the blood libel (false accusation that Jews have committed a ritual murder). Rabbis Moshe Capsali (1453–1497), Eliyyahu Mizrahi (1498–1526), and Yosef ben Moshe di Trani (1604–1639) held considerable sway over the Ottoman Jews through their reputation as scholars rather than through any official position. By the eighteenth century, Izmir, as well, boasted a rabbinic leadership whose influence could be felt in the Near East.

Two personalities of sixteenth-century Ottoman Jewish history embody many of the qualities of the Sefardim in this generation. Gracia Nasi (d. 1568?), a Portuguese Marrano (whose *converso* name was Beatrice Mendès), Jewish banker, entrepreneur, and patron of scholars and schools, arrived in Constantinople amid great splendor. Her many activities in the Ottoman empire included the rescue of Marranos from the Inquisition, the restoration of Jewish learning through enormous charitable donations, and the judicious use of diplomatic levers to assist foreign Jews in distress. Gracia was assisted in her spectacular business undertakings by her nephew Yosef Nasi (1514–1579; that is, Joseph Mendès). Yosef was also adviser to Selim II, the sultan who awarded him a dukedom over the island of Naxos and a permit to recolonize the city of Tiberias. The awards were apparently made in recognition of the astuteness of Yosef's advice, particularly concerning the conquest of Cyprus in 1571.

Jewish life in the Arab provinces of the Ottoman empire also began to quicken as a result of the Ottoman conquests in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Egypt produced David ibn Abi Zimra (1479–1573), one of the most prolific *responsa* writers of his day. Despite the Ottoman conquest of 1526, Iraq did not succumb to Ottoman control until the seventeenth century. Its small Jewish community, however, emerged from isolation and resumed contact with the outside Jewish world, turning, for example to the rabbis of Aleppo, Syria, for religious guidance. The Ottoman conquest of Arab provinces did not necessarily improve the lot of the Jews. For the Jews of Yemen, Ottoman incursions and conquest in 1546 destabilized an already precarious situation. Caught between warring Muslim forces, the Jews of Sanaa were subjected to severe discriminatory legislation, culminating in the destruction of synagogues and expulsions in the seventeenth century. Literarily, the community underwent a period of cultural flowering, despite these hardships, during the career of the Yemenite poet Shalom Shabbazi (1617–1680?).

SAFED AS A CENTER OF SEPHARDIC SEARCH AND JEWISH MYSTICISM. The Sephardic refugees of the sixteenth century were a melancholy and restless generation, torn by guilty memories of community apostasy, perplexed by their continuing suffering and exile, and fevered by expectations of imminent salvation. Messianism ran deep in the community, easily aroused by flamboyant pretenders such as David Reubeni who went to Clement VII (1478–1534) and other Christian leaders with the offer of raising Jewish armies to help them recapture Palestine from the Ottomans. One of his most illustrious followers, a Portuguese secret Jew, Shelomoh Molkho (1501–1532), heeded Reubeni's call, circumcised himself, and set out for Italy preaching the advent of the Messiah. Ultimately he fell into the hands of the Inquisition and was burned at the stake in Mantua in 1532. His influence, however, spread as far as the settlement of Safed in Palestine.

After the Ottoman conquest of Palestine in 1516, Jewish migration to the Holy Land increased. Soon a remarkable galaxy of scholars and mystics emerged in Safed. Three generations of extraordinary mystics engaged collectively and individually in ascertaining practical means of hastening the redemption of the Jewish people while providing mythic formulations for comprehending the Sephardic catastrophe. These mystics were not recluses but were, rather, legal scholars actively engaged in history. One of their giants, Ya'aqov Berab (d. 1546), arrived in Safed after wanderings in North Africa and Egypt. Believing the time ripe for the messianic redemption of the Jewish people, Berab set out to restore the ancient rite of rabbinical ordination (*semikhah*) in 1538 as a prerequisite for the reestablishment of the Sanhedrin which was, in turn, prerequisite to the proper repentance of the Jewish people that would bring redemption. While his disciples eagerly accepted the new charge placed upon them, Berab's movement was ultimately thwarted by the forceful opposition of Levi ibn Habib of Jerusalem.

Another towering intellectual figure of that generation who eventually found his way to Safed after many years of wandering was Yosef Karo (1488–1575). Karo's halakhic authority was established by his major work *Beit Yosef.* He is remembered by posterity, however, through the utility of his comprehensive legal handbook *Shulhan Arukh.* In the *Shulhan Arukh* Karo presented numerous Sephardic as well as Ashkenazic practices in a readily accessible fashion, rendering his work one of the most useful codes for subsequent generations of Jews. Karo also possessed a mystical bent that emerges in his work *Maggid mesharim,* a mystical diary of angelic revelations, and he served as mentor to the remarkable cluster of mystics and pietists in sixteenth-century Safed.

With the arrival of Isaac Luria in Safed in the 1560s, Jewish mysticism reached its greatest heights. A charismatic personality with a stirring effect on his followers, Luria decisively influenced the development of Jewish mysticism in the following generations. Lurianic Qabbalah, with its doctrines of a cataclysmic scattering of divine sparks at creation and the unique role of Israel in liberating and reunifying these sparks, together with a belief in metempsychosis and new mystical modes of prayer, deepened the expectation of messianic redemption and altered the way many Jews thought about themselves for at least a century and a half.

The mystics of Safed delved into the vast corpus of Jewish literature, frequently using the Zohar as their point of departure. Many unusual personalities in this group were characterized by their frequent walks in the Galilee and fervent embellishment of the Sabbath and daily ritual actions. One of the participants was the poet Shelomoh Alkabets. He is best remembered for the poem *Lekhah dodi,* a Sabbath invocation welcoming the Sabbath as bride and queen that has been included in the Friday evening Sabbath services in all Jewish communities.

After Luria's death in 1572, his disciple Hayyim Vital (1543–1620) began to disseminate a version of the teachings of the Lurianic school of Safed. The prominence of the city itself did not last much longer. In 1576 the Ottoman sultan ordered the deportation of one thousand Jews from Safed to repopulate the newly conquered island of Cyprus. The order was rescinded soon thereafter, but many Jews had already left the city. The vitality of Safed's Jewish community was further sapped by the corruption of Ottoman provincial governors, the impact of devastating earthquakes, and the periodic depredations of local Arabs. Additionally, the mystical movement in Safed was severely compromised by the disastrous effects of the disillusionment in the wake of Shabbetai Tsevi's messianic movement. In the seventeenth century Safed reverted to its former role as an inconspicuous settlement in a backwater province while the qabbalistic ideas that had emerged there spread rapidly throughout the Diaspora.

Influence of Shabbetai Tsevi. The decline of the Jewish communities in Muslim lands was a slow process caused by a number of external factors. An especially prominent symptom of this decline is the bizarre and tragic career of Shabbetai Tsevi. Shabbetai Tsevi was born in the city of Smyrna in 1626, began to engage in mystical studies in 1648, and fell under the spell of Natan of Gaza in 1665, pronouncing himself the Messiah in that year. An anarchic outburst of antinomian activity and frenzy ensued as news of Shabbetai's bizarre behavior spread. Even his conversion to Islam in 1666 did not discredit the movement, but rather accelerated the tendency of that generation to perceive the Spanish experience as one with messianic overtones. The fact that Tsevi converted shook Marrano circles everywhere. Scholars in Italy and Amsterdam were agitated; poets in Kurdistan wrote poems on Shabbetean themes; Jewish followers of Tsevi, known as *Donmeh,* converted to Islam and continued to believe in Tsevi as the Messiah for generations after his death. The energy, confusion, guilt, and false hopes with which the Shabbatean movement had tried to break out of the mold of Jewish suffering left a hyperagitated Jewry deeply depressed.

Ultimately the messianic storm subsided, rabbis—especially in the Ottoman empire—began to destroy books with references to Shabbetai Tsevi, and concerted efforts were made once again to integrate mystical studies into rabbinics. Ultimately, Near Eastern Jewry repressed Shabbeteanism while retaining traces of it in its particular fondness for an integration of Judaism with such practices as saint worship and visiting holy sites (*ziyarah*), and a strengthened belief in the efficacy of practical Qabbalah such as the casting of lots or the interpretation of dreams.

Ottoman Jewish decline accelerated after the debacle of Tsevi. It was temporarily halted in 1730 when the first volume of the multivolume encyclopedia *Me'am lo'ez* appeared. This popular compendium of Oriental Sephardic lore by Ya'aqov ben Mahir Culi instructed while entertaining the masses with a vast array of legends, anecdotes, customs, and laws. Compositions in Ladino as well as Hebrew continued to be recited in the salons of Salonika, but the once vibrant Jewry of Ottoman lands found itself enfeebled by a series of natural catastrophies and by the mounting anti-Jewish hostility of Ottoman Christians as well as Muslims. While some of this hostility was the product of economic rivalry, some of it can also be traced to the influx of anti-Semitic notions from the West alongside the growing influence of Western, particularly French, power among the Christians.

Near Eastern Jewry on the Eve of the Modern Era. Jewish life in the easternmost part of the Ottoman empire did not share in the renaissance of sixteenth-century Ottoman Jewry. Persian Jews were particularly endangered by the campaign of forced conversion that the Shīʿī Safavid dynasty (1501–1732) undertook in the seventeenth century. Isolated from Ottoman Jewry, the forty thousand Jews of Persia were subjected to an especially harsh code of discriminatory legislation, known as the Jami Abbasi, which was operative until 1925. Even the increasing influence of the European powers could not spare the Jews of Mashhad from a forced conversion to Islam during the nineteenth century. The newly converted Jews of Mashhad continued to observe Judaism in secret, a fact that did not escape the notice of the surrounding Muslim population. When permitted in the twentieth century to revert to Judaism, new practices had crept into their observance. Foreign travelers to Persia (Iran) were struck by the abject conditions under which Jewish life endured.

Ottoman rule in Yemen (1546–1629) was succeeded by a harsh succession of independent *imāms* of the Zaydī sect. Despite the frequent expulsions from villages and towns and the implementation of the policy of kidnapping Jewish orphans to raise them within Islam, Yemenite Jews continued to produce a significant poetic and qabbalistic tradition during this period. Males were largely literate, the printed prayer books of the period attesting to the spread of Lurianic Qabbalah into the remote corners of the Ḥijāz. By the nineteenth century, even some of the tenets of Haskalah—European Jewish Enlightenment—had reached such communities as Sanaa. Change brought with it conflict and the Jews of Yemen were internally split. It was the worsening status of the Jews in Yemen, however, and not the ideological conflicts, that precipitated their mass migration from Yemen to Palestine in the 1880s. By the early twentieth century, Yemenite Jews formed a significant community in the city of Jerusalem.

Jews in the East had never ceased their close contact with other Jews even in the age of Ottoman military and political decline. Jews in the Ottoman realm (especially Sephardic Jews) continued to serve as merchants, diplomats, commercial agents, and interpreters throughout the period of Ottoman ascendancy and decline, reinforcing their ties with coreligionists. But by the nineteenth century, the Jewish position in Arab and Turkish lands was one of abject poverty, extreme vulnerability, humiliation, and insecurity. Pressures on the Ottomans to reform were brought to bear by the European powers, not so much to assist the Jews as primarily to assist the Ottoman Christians. Under these pressures the Ottoman reform movement, *Tanzimat,* ended special discriminatory taxation, agreed to protect the legal rights of non-Muslims, and granted civil equality to them. Reforming legislation, however, could not restore the Ottoman empire to good health. Jewish well-being came increasingly to depend upon the intervention of Western powers and Western Jews.

No incident highlighted this vulnerability and dependency more clearly than the Damascus blood libel in 1840. When the Jews of Damascus were falsely accused of murdering a Christian for ritual purposes, the community of Damascus, as well as other Syrian communities, faced grave danger. Through the intervention of Moses Montefiore of London (1784–1885) and Adolphe Crémieux (1796–1880) of Paris, the Jews of Damascus were rescued and the Sublime Porte was forced to publicly repudiate the blood libel accusation. During the course of their visit to the East, these European champions of Near Eastern Jewry became advocates of the introduction of modern schooling in the area and the importance of learning the languages of Europe and the local population. Soon after their successful intercession, tentative steps to introduce Western schooling began in Istanbul as well as Egypt. Despite this intervention, Near Eastern Jewry was subjected to a host of unfortunate blood libel accusations at the hands of the Greeks, Arabs, and Armenians in the nineteenth century. More than once the indefatigable Montefiore went to the Near East and the Maghreb to intercede personally on behalf of Jews.

Jewry in France. In 1860 the Alliance Israélite Universelle was founded in France. Among its guiding principles was the goal of protecting the Jewish communities of Muslim lands and modernizing and uplifting them from their abject state of poverty and ignorance. The altruistic goals of French Jewry dovetailed well with the political and imperial goals of the French government. The Jews of France set out with almost missionary zeal to transform the face of Near Eastern Jewry and to forge a community that would embody some of the cherished ideals of the French Revolution. Beginning with the establishment of their first school in Morocco in 1860, the Alliance Israélite Universelle proceeded to introduce modern, secular notions and technical skills to a new generation of Jews throughout the Near East. By World War I, over one hundred Alliance schools teaching the French language and secular subjects had been set up in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Iran, Turkey, and the Balkans. The Alliance schools succeeded in undercutting poverty and Jewish female illiteracy and, introducing secular studies to all Jews, prepared a new generation of Jews for entry into modernity. Its thoroughgoing insistence on modernization also dealt a near fatal blow to the preponderance of Ladino and its folk culture as Alliance schools insisted that their pupils discard the language in favor of French.

The introduction of Western-style education among Near Eastern Jews did not result in a parallel movement of religious reformulation and the building of a new, modern Jewish identity there. This was partially because Near Eastern Jews, unlike the Jews of Europe, were not presented with the option of entering their majority society provided they refashioned themselves since religion remained a fundamental basis of social and political organization in the Middle East. Many Jewish autonomous institutions ceased to exist as a direct result of European colonial legislation. For example, early in their administration, the French authorities in Algeria abolished the independent Jewish system of courts. While Jews were granted French citizenship in Algeria in 1870, elsewhere they adopted European culture without attaining the benefits of European citizenship. Their cultural identity with the European powers, especially in North Africa, ushered in a period of confusion of identities as local Arab nationalism began to flower. In some parts of the Arab world, such as Iraq, the Jewish minority became one of the segments of the population most active in creating modern Arabic literature. Yet, at the same time that they pioneered in the language, press, and modernization of the economy of the Arab states, Jews were increasingly isolated from the pan-Arab and pan-Islamic culture then capturing the hearts of the masses. For Middle Eastern Jews, however, the modern period of Western encroachment did not result in indigenous Jewish attempts to form new self-identifying modes of expression. Even the Zionist movement of national self-determination, a late nineteenth-century European Jewish response to emancipation and modernity, echoed only faintly in Muslim lands.

A vigorous movement of religious reform and its attendant strident denominationalism never took place in the Near East as occurred in Western Europe and America. Nevertheless, it would be incorrect to conclude that Judaism in the Near East was untouched by the currents of modernity. The traditional school declined as modern schools of the Alliance Israélite Universelle were founded from Morocco to Iran. From the beginning, the modernizing schools tried to stress the reforming, rather than revolutionary, nature of their innovations. Hebrew studies were relegated to a minor part of the curriculum and girls as well as boys were provided with vocational and linguistic skills. To smooth the path of its innovative schools, the Alliance received the endorsement of local traditional authorities by including them on their faculties as instructors of Judaica. Local rabbis were not simply co-opted, but sometimes eagerly endorsed the schools for their own children as it became increasingly evident that modern education would be the route out of poverty for their communities. Additionally, these schools provided the only alternative to the increasingly attractive option of the mission schools which the European powers were introducing in the area. Thus Rabbi Israel Moses Hazzan, chief rabbi of Alexandria from 1857 to 1863, endorsed the new curriculum and the learning of foreign languages. Rabbis Eliyyahu Bekhor Hazzan (1847–1908) and Raphael Ben Simeon (1847–1928) exhibited a gradualist approach to modernization in Egypt and Morocco respectively. For Rabbi Ben-Zion Meir Hai Uzziel (1880–1953), chief Sephardic rabbi in Israel, Jewish law had the inherent capacity to respond to the challenge of modernity

At the same time that many prominent nineteenth and twentieth century Sephardic rabbis adopted a moderate path with regard to modernization, the Near Eastern states continued to regard the rabbinical authorities as the final arbiters in family and personal law. Paradoxically, the actual power of the rabbinical courts increased. This scenario represented a sharp contrast to the increasing secularization of society characteristic of modern Europe and the sharp polarizations within Ashkenazic society. Respect for Near Eastern Jewish traditional leadership was undiminished even as Jewish traditional mores declined. Judaism as an expression of family solidarity remained as the bedrock of Sephardic and Near Eastern Jewry. Jewish life became increasingly secularized on a day to day basis.

CONCLUSION. Arab nationalism reached a crescendo in the post–World War II period. In the wake of the creation of the State of Israel and the emergence of Arab independent states in the post–World War II period, Jewish life became precarious in the extreme. Riots, forced incarcerations of Jews, panic and flight spread throughout the Near East and North Africa. The millennial communities of Jews in Muslim lands came to an abrupt and almost total end. By the year 2000 less than 10,000 of the former 250,000 Moroccan Jews remain in Morocco. All other Jewish communities have virtually disappeared except a small remnant in Turkey and Iran. The Judaism of the more than one million Jews who fled their ancestral homes for Israel or the West is a Judaism still in flux. Middle Eastern Jewish religiosity was always anchored in familial and communal action, especially in the post-1492 period. In the Muslim world, people had stayed in their communities for generations, passing on hereditary communal offices from father to son. Although these lines of tradition have been irrevocably cut with the great migration to Western, technological, modern societies, the Judaism of the Middle Eastern Jew has retained some remnants of former times. Among those remnants must be included the fervent love of the Land of Israel with its messianic and mystical overtones, the expression of religiosity within a familial context, and the special pride and quality imparted by a specific link with the Sephardic tradition.

Just as 1789 set in motion a crucial reorientation of Jewish identities and Judaism in western Europe, and just as 1881 set in motion a process of change that eventually led to a permanent transformation in the structure of Jewish politics among Ashkenazim, especially in eastern Europe, so too, one suspects, 1948 will be found to have marked a transforming date in the lives of Middle Eastern Jews. With the end of living on the fringes of Muslim society, the Jewish communities from the world of Islam have embarked upon a new path in Jewish history.

SEE ALSO Anti-Semitism; Folk Religion, article on Folk Judaism; Karo, Yosef; Luria, Isaac; Marranos; Messianism, article on Jewish Messianism; Pilgrimage, article on Contemporary Jewish Pilgrimage; Polemics, article on Muslim-Jewish Polemics; Qabbalah; Shabbetai Tsevi; Zionism.

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JANE S. GERBER (1987 AND 2005)

JUDAISM: JUDAISM IN NORTHEAST AFRICA

The Bēta Esraʾēl (Falāshā), or Beta Israel, formed an ethnic group that numbered around thirty thousand and resided in Northwest Ethiopia. Whereas some scholars and the Bēta Esraʾēl themselves contend that their religion was essentially an archaic form of Judaism, others view it as primarily Ethiopian in its origins, form, and content. Although the first of these hypotheses cannot be totally excluded, it is possible to demonstrate that numerous elements of the Bēta Esraʾēl religion, including its literature, liturgy, and clerical hierarchy, developed in Ethiopia after the fourteenth century. During the twentieth century Ethiopian Judaism ceased to exist in its customary form. Contacts with representatives of world Jewry led to changes in Ethiopia in the indigenous tradition, and the emigration to Israel of virtually all practicing Bēta Esraʾēl put an end to Jewish communal life in Ethiopia.

RELIGIOUS LIFE IN ETHIOPIA. The belief system of the Bēta Esraʾēl had at its core the belief in one God, the Lord of Israel. Both angels and demons, as well as hostile spirits known as *zar*, also figured prominently in their cosmology. The Bēta Esraʾēl did not believe divine intervention to be a regular occurrence; however, the judgment of souls after death forms one of the major themes in their literature. They also believed in a final judgment at the end of days.

The clerical structure of the Bēta Esraʾēl, which in the past included monks, priests, deacons, and clerics known as *dabtarotch*, showed a marked resemblance to that of their Christian neighbors. From the middle of the fifteenth century until the end of the nineteenth century, monks were the principal religious leaders of the Bēta Esraʾēl. The decline and virtual disappearance of monasticism during the twentieth century appears to be related to a disastrous famine (1888–1892) and criticisms from both Christian missionaries and representatives of world Jewry.

The Bēta Esraʾēl priesthood was not hereditary, nor was it limited to a particular family or clan. Priests recited prayers during the week and on the Sabbath and holidays. They also performed sacrifices and officiated at rites of passage, such as circumcisions, naming ceremonies, funerals, and memorials for the dead. Every Bēta Esraʾēl had a priest who was his or her confessor. During his training, a candidate for the priesthood served as a deacon. In this position he assisted in prayers, carried firewood and water, and cared for animals destined for sacrifice. He also learned to read and write, studied the Bible and other texts, and familiarized himself with the liturgy and ritual practice. A *dabtarā* (plural *dabtarotch*) was an unordained or defrocked cleric who assisted the in the liturgy. *Dabtarotch* were often skilled in the performance of sacred music and not only copied religious texts but also wrote charms. During the twentieth century the *dabtarotch* practically disappeared.

Bēta Esraʾēl religious life was centered around the prayer house (*ṣalota bēt*), also called a *masgid* (from the root *sagada*, "to bow"). Prayers were recited on all holidays and at major stages in the life cycle of the individual. The Bēta Esraʾēl also brought offerings of bread and beer to the prayer house on Sabbaths and other festivals. Another major feature of religious practice was the performance of sacrifices (*qwerbān*). During the twentieth century, however, there was a sharp decline in the frequency of sacrifice due to both economic distress and criticism voiced by foreign representatives of Judaism and Christianity.

For the computation of feasts *(baʿāl)* and fasts *(ṣom)*, the Bēta Esraʾēl used a lunar calendar composed alternately of thirty or twenty-nine days. Although this calendar drew from written sources, including the Pentateuch, *Enoch*, and *Jubilees*, there was no written calendar. The following are the most important Bēta Esraʾēl holidays and fasts.

Sanbat (Sabbath) observance is one of the major themes of Bēta Esraʾēl literature, and it holds a central place in their religious life. Sabbath observance was particularly strict: no work was done, no fires were lit (including Sabbath candles), no food was cooked, and no journey could be undertaken. Sexual relations were also forbidden. The Bēta Esraʾēl treated every seventh Sabbath with particular respect and viewed it as a day particularly suited for confession and the absolution of sins.

Most of the annual holidays observed by the Bēta Esraʾēl are based on biblical precedents and have parallels in the celebrations of other Jewish communities. These include Fāsikā in commemoration of the exodus from Egypt; Berhān Sharaqa, which marked the New Year; Astasreyo, which was similar to Yom Kippur; and Baʿāla Maṣallat, coinciding with Sukkot (Feast of Tabernacles). The holiday of Māʿrar (harvest), which corresponds to Pentecost, was celebrated on the twelfth day of the third month, seven weeks after the last day of Fāsikā. Another Māʿrar was celebrated in the ninth month, to better coincide with the actual harvest in the Ethiopian agricultural cycle. Although the Bēta Esraʾēl did not celebrate Purim, they did observe the fast of Esther (Ṣoma Astēr) in commemoration of *Esther* 4:16. Prior to the twentieth century Jewish festivals such as Simḥat Torah, Ḥanukkah, Lag ba-ʿOmer, the fast of Gedaliah, and Tu bʾshvat were not observed.

Sigd is a unique pilgrimage festival celebrated by the Bēta Esraʾēl on the twenty-ninth day of the eighth month. Some associate the holiday with the renewal of the covenant during the period of Ezra and Nehemiah (*Ezr.* 8–10), and passages from these texts were part of the holiday liturgy. However, scriptural texts concerning the revelation at Sinai and the Decalogue were also read.

Traditionally the Bēta Esraʾēl observed a number of monthly celebrations. The first day of each month was celebrated in keeping with biblical custom. The tenth, twelfth, fifteenth, and twenty-ninth of each month served as monthly reminders of Astasreyo, Mārʿar, Fāsikā, and Sigd. During the last decades of the twentieth century the observance of these holidays lapsed in Ethiopia.

Ritual purity played a central role in Bēta Esraʾēl observances both in the regulation of internal communal relations and the definition of the community's differences from its Christian neighbors. The Bēta Esraʾēl were particularly devoted to the laws that governed female purity during menstruation and after giving birth. According to Bēta Esraʾēl practice, a menstruating woman left her house and entered a menstrual hut, where she remained for seven days. This hut was located at the edge of her village, and only her children and other women, who brought her food, were allowed to enter it. Even when the observance of other purity laws began to decline, these rituals were maintained with a special tenacity.

Circumcision for Bēta Esraʾēl boys took place on the eighth day after birth. After the circumcision, the mother and the infant entered the birth hut, where they remained for thirty-nine days. Female circumcision was practiced by the Bēta Esraʾēl in Ethiopia, although the custom appears to have been in decline throughout the twentieth century. Unlike male circumcision, this ritual had no fixed day and minimal religious content. Female circumcision was only performed by women. Two weeks after the birth of a girl, the mother and child entered the birth hut, where they remained for sixty-six days. Forty days after the birth of a boy and eighty days after the birth of a girl, the mother and child ended their isolation. A priest gave the baby its name and immersed it in water. The Ethiopic text known as the *Book of the Disciples (Ardeʿet)* was read as part of this ceremony.

The Bēta Esraʾēl believed it to be of the utmost importance that the dead receive a proper burial and be properly commemorated. When a person felt death approaching, he or she offered a final confession to his or her spiritual guardian. Priests recited psalms and prayers of absolution at the funeral. For seven days after the funeral, close kin of the deceased abstained from work. On the seventh day, a sheep or goat was sacrificed, and a feast was prepared. A commemoration ceremony was also observed on the anniversary of the death.

LITERATURE. Any consideration of Bēta Esraʾēl literature must begin with biblical literature. Their version of the Old Testament, known as the *Orit*, is identical to that of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. It also included such apocryphal and pseudepigraphical works as *Tobit*, *Judith*, *Ben Sira*, and most importantly *Enoch* and *Jubilees*. The Bēta Esraʾēl were not familiar with the Talmud or later rabbinic literature; however, they possessed a number of noncanonical works. One large group that includes *The Death of Moses*, *The Death of Aron*, and the testaments of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob relates the deaths of biblical figures. *The Disciples* contains Moses' secret teachings to his disciples (the leaders of the twelve tribes). The *Conversation of Moses* contains a dialogue between Moses and God in which the divine essence and the punishment of the dead are explicated. The importance of the Sabbath forms the focus of *The Commandments of the Sabbath*, *The Teachings of the Sabbath*, and much of the homiletic work *Abba Elijah*. The fate of the soul after death is yet another central theme of Bēta Esraʾēl literature and is discussed in *The Book of Angels*, *Apocalypse of Baruch*, and *Gorgoryos*.

Almost without exception the literature of the Bēta Esraʾēl did not originate within their community, nor did it reach them directly through Jewish channels. Rather, the majority of Ethiopian "Jewish" texts reached the Bēta Esraʾēl through the mediation of Ethiopian Christian sources after the fourteenth century.

CHANGES IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. Although Bēta Esraʾēl religious practice developed and evolved throughout its history, changes became particularly obvious during the twentieth century as a result of contact with representatives of world Jewry. The arrival in Ethiopia in 1904 of Jacques (Yaʾacov) Faitlovitch marked a turning point in the relationship between the Bēta Esraʾēl and the outside Jewish world. Faitlovitch's introduction of external Jewish elements began a process that has continued into the twenty-first century. Following the establishment of the state of Israel, many Bēta Esraʾēl villages were exposed to aspects of external Jewry, including Hebrew prayers, Ḥanukkah, Purim, and the lighting of candles on the eve of the Sabbath. Elements of "normative" Jewish practice, such as the use of Torah scrolls, began to be introduced in the celebration of Sigd.

Although contact with representatives of world Jewry brought about certain changes in Bēta Esraʾēl belief and ritual in Ethiopia, these pale in comparison to the changes that occurred following the arrival of Bēta Esraʾēl in Israel beginning in 1977. Bēta Esraʾēl clergy in Israel were not allowed to retain their clerical status and lost the right to perform rituals such as weddings, circumcisions, or funerals. Moreover the resettlement of immigrants with no regard for previous village residence inevitably resulted in a disruption of previous ties between priests and their followers. Most priests, however, continue to perform some religious duties and to participate in ritual gatherings. A small number of younger priests have undertaken studies that enable them, at least in theory, to exercise some formal religious functions, and some priests are among the Ethiopians who have been trained as rabbis. Ethiopian synagogues have been established in a small number of communities, but these are the exception rather than the rule.

Ethiopian traditions of ritual purity have also weakened seriously since their arrival in Israel. Israeli authorities made a conscious decision not to facilitate the observance of menstrual separation. The comparatively late age of marriage of Ethiopian women in Israel, as well as their unprecedented presence in the educational system and workforce, are further factors that serve to discourage traditional menstrual observances. Although it is still possible for women to observe the days of separation after the birth of a child, this custom has changed dramatically. Most Ethiopians visit a woman after she gives birth, and some will kiss and touch a postpartum woman and her baby. Purification and naming ceremonies, forty or eighty days after birth, remain popular.

Most Bēta Esraʾēl holidays that parallel pan-Jewish observances have been assimilated to their non-Ethiopian equivalents in Israel. Sigd continues to be celebrated in Israel with a central national ceremony being conducted in Jerusalem. In the spring of every year, on the day that celebrates the Israeli reunification of Jerusalem in 1967, the Ethiopian community holds a ceremony in memory of those who perished in an attempt reach Israel.

The pressures on Ethiopian immigrants to adopt lifestyles similar to those of either their religious or secular Israeli neighbors have led to a large-scale abandonment of Ethiopian customs and practices. It appears unlikely that much more than remnants and scattered elements of Ethiopian Judaism will survive beyond the first decades of the twenty-first century.

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JUDAISM: JUDAISM IN ASIA

For as long as two millennia, perhaps even longer, there have been Jewish communities scattered throughout South, East, central, and Southeast Asia. Most have lived in port cities, such as Surat, Kochi (formerly Cochin), Mumbai (formerly Bombay), Kolakata (formerly Calcutta), Yangon (formerly Rangoon), Singapore, Bangkok, Kobe, Hong Kong, and Shanghai. Other Jewish communities were found at major trading centers along the Spice Route, which meandered westward from South India through Kabul, Herat, and thence Iran and Turkey. Jewish communities also thrived along the Silk Route at Bukhara, Tashkent, and Samarkand in central Asia and at Dunhuang, a cosmopolitan Gobi Desert oasis, but the best known was at the route's eastern terminus, Kaifeng.

Some of these Jewish communities are old, dating from at least the early medieval period if not ancient times, whereas some of them emerged when merchant houses in India established branches eastward during the nineteenth century. Some communities are newer: Bangkok's Jewish community dates from the first half of the twentieth century, and Shanghai's modern Jewish community has existed only since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Israel in 1992. Many of these Asian Diaspora communities have been in decline since the middle of the twentieth century due to emigration to Israel and elsewhere.

It is in the oldest of these Jewish communities that one finds the most profound interactions with the host culture. The best examples are Kochi in India and Kaifeng in China.

KOCHI, INDIA. According to local traditions, Jews first settled on India's southwest coast when the Second Temple was destroyed and the Romans exiled all Jews from Jerusalem in 70 CE. They fled along maritime trade routes, which had been in use since King Solomon's time; travel along these routes had recently become faster with the discovery of the monsoon winds by Greek navigators early in the first century. The Jewish refugees settled at Cranganore, among other towns, where they were granted political autonomy by local monarchs and flourished as agriculturists, international spice merchants, petty traders, and shipbuilders and in government service and the military. During the fourteenth century Jews migrated to Kochi. Their numbers in the Malabar rose as high as three thousand at the time of independence, but fewer than fifty remain at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Where there were once nine flourishing synagogues as well as Jewish schools, scribes, scholars, mystics, and poets, in the early twenty-first century the Cochin Synagogue, built in 1568, fails to obtain a prayer quorum of ten adult males unless there are Jewish visitors from elsewhere in India or abroad.

The Kochi Jews, always part of the Jewish mainstream both commercially and culturally, were knowledgeable about their religion and savvy about affairs of state and currency fluctuations even in far-off Europe, not to mention among the plethora of princely states of South India. Knowing the languages of the subcontinent, the Middle East, and Europe, they played invaluable roles in both commerce and diplomacy.

The Kochi Jews' religious life evidences a high degree of acculturation into their Indian context but not assimilation. For example, during their autumn holy days and at weddings, many customs of the Nayar (the local dominant caste) and symbols of royalty were adopted. At weddings, for another example, Kochi Jews borrowed an elephant from a neighboring Hindu temple to convey the bridegroom to the synagogue for nuptials. During the festival of Rejoicing in the Torah (Simḥat Torah), Kochi Jews added three elements to their celebrations that are found nowhere else in the Jewish world: they displayed their Torah scrolls on a temporary ark on the days just prior to the festival, during the afternoon prayers they performed outdoor circumambulations of the synagogue with their Torah scrolls, and at the conclusion of the festival they ritually demolished their temporary ark to the accompaniment of unique Hebrew songs. All of these behaviors reflect Hindu temple festivals, when the deity (*mūrti*) of the temple is first displayed, then taken on procession, and then (often) disposed of. None of these practices violates Judaic law (*halakhah*), so these borrowings from the local Hindu culture were judicious and reflected the Kochi Jewish community's firm Jewish identity, based on Judaic learning.

Another example of the acculturation of Kochi Jews is the position of women in the community. Kochi Jewish women were remarkably well educated, with fluency in Hebrew and knowledge of Judaic law. They were active in composing Malayalam folk songs, sung at weddings, during matzo baking, and on other occasions. These songs interweave Jewish and Malayali motifs and symbols, and they played an important role in establishing and celebrating the Indian Jewish identity of these Jewish communities. The high position of Jewish women in Kochi is also reflected symbolically. For example, liturgical events deemed important, such as Torah readings, were performed from a second bimah located in front of the *ezrat nashim* (women's section), which is up a flight of stairs. Women's ritual garments (*mundus*) were used to decorate the synagogue as well as for a *parochet* (curtain) in front of the holy ark. These unique expressions of the Judaism of the women reflect the religious and secular power of women of the local dominant caste, the Nayars, with whom the Jews had particularly close relationships.

KAIFENG, CHINA. The Kochi Jews were acculturated, which is to say they were culturally at home in their Hindu environment, without becoming assimilated, which involves a surrender of identity. Not so with the Jews of Kaifeng, China, at least not in the long run.

Jews came to China following two routes. Persian Jews came via the Silk Route. Judging from a Hebrew manuscript on Chinese paper discovered in a Buddhist library in Dunhuang as well as Muslim travelers' reports, Jews were established in China no later than the eighth century. Indian Jews came via maritime routes to the South China Sea and settled in port cities. The Kaifeng community is the only one that survived the Middle Ages, having been "discovered" as an isolated, moribund community by Jesuit missionaries during the early seventeenth century.

Jews lived in Kaifeng for nearly a thousand years, where they were traders, agriculturists, artisans, physicians, and government officials. More than a few passed the rigorous civil service examinations and became mandarins. They constructed a synagogue in Kaifeng in 1126 that included an ancestor hall, typical of Chinese temples. Through the years Kaifeng's Jews increasingly identified with Chinese high culture. A 1488 inscription in their synagogue proclaimed:

> Although our religion agrees in many respects with the religion of the literati, from which it differs in a slight degree, yet the main design of it is nothing more than reverence for Heaven, and veneration for ancestors, fi-

> delity to the prince, and obedience to parents, just what is included in the five human relations, the five constant virtues, with the three principal connections of life.

To Western Jews it is striking to hear Judaism described in such Confucian terms. Similarly it is remarkable to see in the Cochin Synagogue reflections of Hindu temple behavior. But on the other hand, one can imagine that to an Indian or Chinese Jew it would be unnerving to know that their American coreligionists understand Judaism fundamentally as ethical monotheism; such a characterization might sound Protestant. The point is that Judaism, like any ancient religion, has many threads within itself, and one or another of these threads becomes highlighted in response to the ethos of the host culture in which a particular Jewish community finds itself. Such a process could be indicated by using a concept borrowed from Gestalt psychology, that of background and foreground. In relation to a background (the host culture), certain elements in a perceptual field rise to the foreground (the particular Judaisms of India, China, or the United States). As Judaism, or any religion, moves from culture to culture or as it moves through time, differing threads are foregrounded and others backgrounded, depending on the host culture and its vicissitudes.

CONTEMPORARY INDIAN JEWRY. India had and still has the largest number of Jews of any country east of Iran. Indian Jewish population peaked in 1950 at around thirty to thirty-five thousand, after which emigration to Israel and other places reduced their number to around four to six thousand by the beginning of the twenty-first century, more if the so-called B'nai Menashe and B'nai Ephraim are counted.

There have been three major distinct Jewish communities in India. The oldest group, which in the early twenty-first century numbers less than fifty, is found in and around Kochi in the southwestern state of Kerala. Perhaps five thousand Cochinim, as they are called in Hebrew, live in Israel. The largest group is known as Bene Israel and is found chiefly in and around Mumbai, with active communities in Pune also in Maharashtra state, in Ahmedabad in Gujerat state, and in New Delhi. All told, there are four to five thousand Bene Israel in India and forty to fifty thousand in Israel, where they make up a significant ethnic group (*edah* in Hebrew) known as *Hod'im*, "Indians."

The most recently arrived group, which is known in India as Baghdadis, or Middle Eastern Jews, is made up mostly of Arabic speakers who migrated to India during the late eighteenth century, about the time the British arrived. These immigrants settled in India's port cities, especially Mumbai and Kolakata. Numbering about five thousand at their peak, they have declined to around one hundred, most all of whom are elderly. The Baghdadis played a significant role in the development of British India's ports. Beginning as jewelers and opium traders, Baghdadi entrepreneurs soon moved into textiles and shipping in Mumbai and real estate, jute, manufacturing, and tobacco in Kolakata. Replicating the Jewish experience in the United States, humble *boxwallahs* (door-to-door salespeople) settled down and became department store magnates. Of the three groups, only Bene Israel remains viable as a community.

Whereas most Bene Israel live in Mumbai, the nearby Konkan coast is their spiritual home. Bene Israel Jews trace their community back to seven couples from Israel who survived a shipwreck off Navgaon in the unknown distant past. Somehow the descendants of these Jews clung to vestigial Judaic observances despite centuries of isolation. Their tenacity in maintaining the Sabbath, ritual circumcision, Jewish dietary codes, and the Hebrew Shema (the affirmation "Hear O Israel! The Lord is our God, the Lord is One") set the stage for their unlikely transformation from an anonymous oil-pressing caste in the remote Konkan into modern, urban members of the world Jewish community. This evolution occurred over two hundred years, beginning in the middle of the eighteenth century.

A Kochi merchant heard rumors of a Konkani caste that rested on Saturday and circumcised their sons on the eighth day, so David Rahabi, the eldest son in Kochi's leading mercantile house, visited them. After spending time with the community, examining their dietary habits as well as their eccentric (by Hindu standards) religious observances, he concluded that they were lost Jews. Rahabi took three of them back to Kochi, where he educated them in Hebrew and the rudiments of Judaism and sent them back with the title of *kazi*, religious leader. This began a long-standing relationship between Bene Israel and Kochi Jews; as the Bene Israel prospered, they hired Kochi Jews to be their cantors, teachers, ritual slaughterers, and scribes. Bene Israel Jews recall these events as their "first awakening."

Subsequent encounters with British and American missionaries and with the nascent Baghdadi community of Mumbai built upon the sense of Jewishness among Bene Israel. This period is known as their "second awakening." They learned Bible stories from the missionaries, and they shared their synagogues (they built their first one in Mumbai in 1796) and cemeteries with the Baghdadis. Both the British and the Baghdadis offered opportunities in Mumbai, whether in the military, railway, or civil service or in the mills and docks of the illustrious Sassoons, and Bene Israel migrated to the new, glamorous city in search of their fortunes. It did not take long until there were more Bene Israel in Mumbai than in the Konkan.

Gradually the Baghdadis, in an effort to become accepted by the British as "European" rather than "Indian" (a label with tangible economic benefits as well as social snobbery), came to adopt British condescension toward all things Indian, including the Bene Israel Jews, who were unmistakably Indian in both appearance and culture. This condescension became all the more ugly when the Baghdadis began to cast aspersions upon the very Jewishness of the Bene Israel. The heart and soul of the newly found and hard-earned identity of the Bene Israel was under attack.

In Mumbai the Bene Israel learned about both the Zionist and Swaraj movements for independence from Britain in Palestine and India respectively, and they were rent by competing nationalisms. On the one hand, as Jews they had internalized the longing to return to Jerusalem and rebuild Zion. On the other hand, their unhappy experiences with the Baghdadis led them to mistrust foreign Jews, and as Indians they yearned for independence from the British. Moreover they were fond of the British, who were their employers and often patrons, and wanted to support them as well. Mahatma Gandhi appreciated their ambivalence. Leaders of the Ahmedabad Jewish community (where Gandhi had headquarters at his Sabarmati Ashram) asked the Mahatma what should be the stance of India's Jews vis-à-vis the independence movement. He is said to have replied that the Jews should "stand aside" because, as a small community, they would be crushed between the competing and overwhelming forces of the British Empire, Indian nationalism, and Muslim separatism. As a community they did stand apart, although many Bene Israel became involved as individuals. The bottom line, however, is that the great majority of Bene Israel emigrated to Israel.

By the beginning of the twenty-first century the Bene Israel community had stabilized. Those who intended to emigrate had done so, and most of those who remained intended to stay. Most are in Mumbai, where they work in the professions, education, industry, the military, and commerce. Most are educated and in the middle class. During the 1980s the Organization for Rehabilitation and Training (ORT) established two schools in Mumbai, one for boys and one for girls, to provide vocational training. The ORT schools became popular among Jews and non-Jews alike. Soon services expanded to include classes in religion, Hebrew, and Israel studies. The Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) also became active in Mumbai, sending rabbis from the United States to help meet the community's religious and educational needs. The Israeli consulate also serves as a community focus. Several of the synagogues in Mumbai have a full range of programs, from prayer services to singles groups to computer classes. Summer camps at a rural retreat center have provided an intense infusion of Jewish spirit to many of Mumbai's younger Jews. Kosher meat and wine, ritual objects, books, Indian Jewish calendars, and the accouterments of Judaic religious life are available, and India's generally tolerant attitude toward religions and religious pluralism bode well for the future of the Jewish community in Mumbai.

Smaller organized communities in Ahmedabad and Pune face more difficult challenges, but their synagogues are lively, and social and educational programs are well subscribed. In New Delhi there are only a handful of Bene Israel families, but they are augmented by Israeli and American diplomats and businesspeople. Regular prayers are held at the synagogue, and the Israeli embassy helps out with the community's Passover seder.

In Israel, despite initial difficulties in adapting to a new culture, climate, and economy, the sizeable Bene Israel community has maintained its own identity, largely through a singular ritual activity. Long devoted to the Prophet Elijah as a sort of patron saint, his veneration has become central to their new Israeli identity as *Hod'im.* The propitiatory rite known as *malida*, after a parched rice mixture served with fresh fruits and flowers, is often the culmination of a pilgrimage to an Elijah cave near Haifa.

In the mid-twentieth century several shamans and leaders of tribal people in extreme eastern India (the states of Mizoram, Manipur, and Tripura) and western Myanmar (formerly Burma) began having dreams and visions that told them of their lost, true identity—that they were Jews of the tribe of Menashe who had wandered from ancient Israel along the Silk Route to Kaifeng, China, then through Southeast Asia, finally settling in their current, remote mountainous homes. Their religious enthusiasm spread, such that in the early twenty-first century there are thousands of Kuki tribals on both sides of the border who are living as Jews. Some traveled to Israel, where they learned Hebrew, studied, and converted to Judaism; some later returned home as religious leaders. A number of synagogues sprouted up, and there are regular visits from Israeli and American coreligionists. Several hundred Kuki tribals now live in Israel, especially in the Yesha (settlements), but most wait for redemption at home. In the 1990s a similar group, who called themselves B'nai Ephraim, emerged in Andhra Pradesh, a state on the Bay of Bengal on India's southeast coast.

Most demographics of Indian Jewry do not include these tribals, and there are no reliable estimates of their number, but it is incontestable that some of them have undergone conversion and are therefore Jewish. It is also the case that most are sincere in their beliefs and aspirations, but their passionate yearning for Israel has provoked controversy. Israeli immigration officials generally take an unsympathetic, skeptical view, believing these groups to be opportunists who seek only a higher standard of living. Some accuse immigration authorities of racism, pointing out that many Russians who are white but are not Jewish have been welcomed in Israel, whereas these tribals, who are not white but who have at least some claim to Jewishness, receive only scorn. From the other side of the controversy, the Israeli and American supporters of these immigrants are criticized for settling them in disputed territories as a way of bolstering Israeli claims to Judea and Samaria (the West Bank).

CONTEMPORARY CHINESE JEWS. The ancient Jewish community at Kaifeng was on its last legs when Jesuits first visited in the seventeenth century. Even then local Jews bemoaned the withering away of traditions and observances, the dismal state of Hebrew learning, and the lack of a rabbi. Their synagogue was destroyed by a series of floods in 1841, 1849, and 1860, as it had been several times before, but by this time the community was too impoverished and isolated to rebuild it. Intermarriage was the rule, and assimilation had worn down their sense of Jewish identity.

However, due to the interest of Jewish tourists and then to the establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel, the community experienced something of a rebirth. Although virtually no Jews or Jewish descendants were found in Kaifeng during the 1980s, in the early twenty-first century hundreds of people in Kaifeng claim to be Jews. Some petition the Chinese government to be allowed to list their ethnicity as Jewish on their identity cards. Others hope to learn something about the religion of their ancestors. One Kaifeng Jew even attended rabbinical school in New York. There is also talk of building a Jewish museum in Kaifeng, but it seems that the Chinese bureaucracy is reticent.

In Shanghai and Hong Kong, on the other hand, Jewish life seems to be on the rise. Shanghai is more significant from a historical point of view, whereas Hong Kong has the more active Jewish life in the twenty-first century.

Modern Jewish communities in China date to 1844, when Elias Sassoon, one of the sons of the Mumbai industrialist David Sassoon, arrived in Shanghai. Elias Sassoon established his family's business interests, mostly in opium, and soon had offices in Guangzhou (formerly Canton) and Hong Kong. As soon as Japan was "opened" to Western trade in 1858, a branch office was opened in Tokyo. Jews from Kolakata, Iraq, and elsewhere soon followed. Shanghai's synagogues were built during the late nineteenth century, and soon the city's Jewish community had its own newspaper and glossy magazine, a religious school, a secular school, a hospital, and chapters of B'nai B'rith and various Zionist organizations.

At the same time that Shanghai's Sefardic community was coming of age, Ashkenazic Jews from Russia migrated east, following the overland trade route to Manchuria, especially to the city of Harbin, in northeastern China. These adventurers and furriers were joined by a wave of migration spurred by the 1917 Russian Revolution. Within a few years Harbin had thirteen thousand Jews, and there were more in Tianjin and other cities in the region. When the Japanese conquered Manchuria in 1931, most of these Ashkenazim moved to Shanghai, where they built their own synagogues and institutions. They were soon joined by German and Polish refugees from Adolf Hitler. At their peak there were more than thirty-thousand Jews in Shanghai, which was the only city in the world to remain open to Jewish immigration throughout World War II. The end of the war was followed by the Communist victory in China, at which time all but a handful of China's Jews left.

With China's opening to the West and especially the establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel, commercial opportunities in Shanghai enticed a number of Jews to take up residence there, with the result that a Jewish community may be in the process of rebirth. The Chinese government refurbished one of the old synagogues in Shanghai, but only as a museum. Prayers are forbidden.

Hong Kong is home to a thriving, prosperous Jewish community of about five hundred families. The community itself dates to the Sassoon and Kadoorie families, who arrived during the middle of the nineteenth century. Jews played a significant role in the development of Hong Kong, having electrified the city and established the famous Star Ferry. Even the city's main thoroughfare, Nathan Road, is named for a Jewish governor from the early twentieth century. The beautiful Ohel Leah Synagogue dates from the turn of the century, and the city has kosher facilities, a Jewish school, and a Jewish historical society and library, and prayers are held at several locations. The question facing Hong Kong's Jews is the same as that facing the entrepreneurial class as a whole, whose well-being is dependent upon a continued laissez-faire approach from Beijing. There is also a small Jewish community in Taipei composed of both Sefardic and Ashkenazic members as well as a handful of Jewish Chinese nationals.

JAPAN. Jews have lived in Japan since the Sassoons established themselves there in the mid-nineteenth century. Indian, Iraqi, and European Jews settled in Yokohama, Tokyo, Nagasaki, and Kobe.

Japanese attitudes toward Jews seem highly contradictory. Anti-Semitic literature enjoys great popularity among Japanese readers, who otherwise display no negative behavior toward Jews. Although Japan was allied with Nazi Germany during World War II, the country, nevertheless, afforded refuge to thousands of Eastern European Jews, including the entire Mir Yeshiva from Poland. Among the Jews of Japan are Russian-speaking former residents of Manchuria and Shanghai, Indian and Middle Eastern Sefardim, and a variety of foreign Jewish temporary residents. There are synagogues in Tokyo and Kobe.

Since World War II, Japan has been especially fertile ground for the emergence of new religions, and Japan's longstanding, ambivalent fascination with the Jewish people led to intriguing syncretic religious expressions. For example, there is a small but serious group of Japanese converts to Judaism led by Setsu Zau Abraham Kotsuji. Another group, the 50,000-strong Jewish-Christian Makuya, led by Abraham Teshima, believes itself to be the lost tribe of Zebulun. Although they accept the Christian Messiah, they study Hebrew and visit Israel frequently.

CENTRAL ASIA. Jews may have settled in central Asia, long associated with the legend of the ten lost tribes, earlier than in either India or China. Pottery shards bearing Hebrew names, which date from the first to third centuries CE, have been found in Turkmenistan, and it is believed that some of the many Jews of the Persian Empire were involved in the Silk Route trade when Persia ruled the region before the fourth century BCE.

Whether under the Persians, or the Hellenistic dominions of the Baktrian kingdom (fourth century BCE to third century CE), or the Buddhist Kushans (third to sixth centuries CE), Jewish traders and settlers were found in towns throughout central Asia. The mercantile Jewish Radanites and the semiheretical Karaites were bolstered when a neighboring Turkic tribe, the Khazars, converted to Judaism around 750 CE and dominated much of the Silk Route, the lifeblood of the community. It was toward the end of this period that Persian-speaking Jews made their way to China's Middle Kingdom and settled in Kaifeng.

After two hundred years of Arab rule and Islamicization, central Asia came to be dominated by "pagan" Mongols, led by Chinggis Khan, in the early thirteenth century. From the perspective of the Jews in the region, Chinggis and his Mongol successors often favored minority groups (Buddhists, Nestorian Christians, Jews, and animists) as a bulwark against the Muslims to their south. It has also been suggested that the Mongols were already familiar with Jews by the time they arrived at Samarkand, where they made their capital, from Kaifeng and elsewhere along their routes of conquest.

By the fourteenth century central Asian Jews were enjoying a cultural and religious revival, following two hundred years of hostile Islamicization. Timur Shah, known in Europe as Tamerlane, expanded the Mongol Empire, which under his reign extended as far north as the Volga River, as far west as Damascus, as far south as Delhi, and as far east as China. Although Timur adopted Islam, his rule was based more on the laws and traditions of Mongolia, which had been brought to the region by Chinggis Khan and were known as *Yasa*, than upon Islamic law, *sharī ʿah*. Jews were allowed to practice their religion freely and to pursue their livelihoods as physicians, translators, diplomats, merchants, agriculturalists, traders, and artisans.

For reasons unknown, Timur Shah became a devotee of the biblical prophet Daniel, and he is said to have reinterred Daniel at Samarkand, where a saint's cult emerged. The prophet became the "patron saint" of Bukharan Jews, and a number of epic and liturgical poems in Judeo-Persian (written in the Hebrew script) were composed about him. In this respect also the Bukharan Jews resembled their Indian counterparts. In Kochi the seventeenth-century qabbalist Nehemia Mota emerged as patron not only of local Jews but of the whole area; the Bene Israel have long had a similar special relationship with the Prophet Elijah, and the scribe Ezra sustained far-flung Baghdadis.

The fourteenth century was a time when Judeo-Persian literature flourished, and the religious saga, the *Musa-Nama*, has ever since embodied the mores and values of central Asian Jews, even those who migrated to Jerusalem centuries later. City-dwelling Bukharan Jews spoke Judeo-Persian for the most part, whereas their rural coreligionists spoke mostly Uzbek and Turkic. Most knew both.

It is also believed that Timur's closest adviser and prime minister was a Jew, David ha-Tsaddiq. Patterns resembling the Jewish experience in Kochi and Kaifeng were replicated in Samarkand under the Timurids. Like David ha-Tsaddiq in Samarkand, Yehezkel Rahabi was prime minister to an eighteenth-century Hindu maharaja in Kochi, and Kaifeng had its share of Jewish mandarins.

By the sixteenth century Islamicization led most of Samarkand's Jews to migrate to Bukhara. When the Timurids were defeated by the Persian Safavids a hundred years later, government policy supported forced conversion to Shīʿah Islam, and the ensuing persecution took its toll on the beleaguered community.

A late-eighteenth-century revival was sparked by the arrival of a shaliach (emissary) from the mystical city of Tsfat in the Holy Land. Yosef ha-Maʾaravi imported books and led a religious revival and by the same token instituted a Sefardic rather than a Mizraḥi ethos. A school for poets developed, and the literary outpouring was so great that a Russian bibliographer counted some 250 Judeo-Persian books and 20 manuscripts in the Jewish Museum of Samarkand in 1994.

When Shīʿah zealots forced conversion on the Jews of Meshed, the holy city in eastern Iran, many fled to Bukhara. A contemporary missionary reported some three hundred families of *anusim* (those forced to convert) among Bukhara's Jews. Fearful of Persian religious intolerance, many central Asian Jews flocked to territory newly conquered by Russia in the late nineteenth century. Sizable communities were to be found not only in Bukhara city but in Samarkand and Tashkent, all now in Uzbekistan, and in Turkmenistan as well.

Bukharan Jews began to migrate to the Holy Land as early as 1827, and by 1892 they had established the Bukharan Quarter in Jerusalem. There ensued ongoing travel between Bukhara and Jerusalem, sparking yet another period of intense literary activity. Some 170 books in Judeo-Persian were published in Jerusalem. The Bukharan Jews built synagogues in Jerusalem that one observer described as resembling a *masjid* (Muslim house of worship). Custom and architecture reflected central Asia: the prayer halls were carpeted, and men prayed shoeless, sitting on the floor. Religious leaders were called by the Persian title, mullah, and Torah cantillation resembled Qurʾān recitation.

Prior to World War II large numbers of Russian Ashkenazic Jews settled in the cities of Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. Largely irreligious, they adapted to local traditions, which by the twentieth century had become indistinguishable from those in Iran or Afghanistan. At this time the region was home to sixty thousand Jews.

Judaism, like other religions, was suppressed under Soviet rule, and the Bukharan Jews devised ingenious techniques for practicing an attenuated form of the religion as well as for maintaining a Jewish identity under the suspicious eyes of Kremlin authorities. The annual memorial service became an emblematic ritual, performed in homes or community halls without prayer books. If an unfriendly eye should happen upon the event, it could appear as an innocuous meeting or meal devoid of religious content.

However, everything changed with the breakup of the Soviet Union. Almost immediately, in 1992, Israel became the third country to recognize an independent Uzbekistan, after only the United States and Turkey. In the early twenty-first century about twenty-eight thousand Jews remain in Uzbekistan, where there are sixteen synagogues. In Tashkent one finds the seat of the chief rabbinate of central Asia as well as the region's sole rabbinical seminary. Relations with Israel are cordial, and the community regularly receives Jewish visitors, pilgrims, and rabbis from Israel, the United States, and Europe. Bonds between resettled Bukharan Jews in Israel and the United States and their kin in Uzbekistan are strong, as they have been ever since the first Bukharans settled in Jerusalem in the nineteenth century.

SOUTHEAST ASIA. In the early nineteenth century Baghdadis from Kolakata pursued their fortunes to Yangon in Myanmar, gradually joined by Bene Israel and a few Kochi Jews. Later that century they built their synagogue, which still welcomes visitors to its well-maintained sanctuary. Satellite communities emerged in many of Burma's (Myanmar's) trade and shipping centers, including Mandalay, Myanmo, Moulmein, Bassein, Akyab, and Toungyi.

The community was virtually destroyed in the 1940s, when the Japanese, suspicious of Jews as potential British sympathizers, conquered Burma and drove most of its thirteen hundred Jewish inhabitants to Kolakata. About five hundred returned after the war. Burmese Judaism enjoyed a brief flowering after independence and the establishment of cordial Israeli-Burmese relations, based on the warm friendship between Prime Ministers U Nu and David Ben Gurion. After a military coup in 1962, the position of minorities in Burma degenerated, and most Jews left. A handful of Jewish descendants remain. Other Kolakata Jews migrated farther east to Singapore, Malaya, Bangkok, Indonesia, and the Philippines.

As soon as Stamford Raffles established a British settlement at Singapore in 1818, Indian Jews followed, mostly to pursue the opium trade. They settled in the Chinatown section that by the middle of the century had a synagogue and a cemetery. Twenty-five years later the community had migrated to what was then a suburban quarter, where they built the Maghain Aboth Synagogue, followed after another quarter century by Chesed El Synagogue and a religious school.

Out of a community that at one time numbered two thousand, David Marshall was undoubtedly the first citizen. The island nation's "father of independence," he was prime minister in 1955 and United Nations ambassador thereafter. In the early twenty-first century about three hundred Jewish families, mostly Sefardim, can be found in the prosperous, tiny state, enjoying a full religious life under the leadership of an emissary of the Chabad-Lubavitch movement.

A handful of Jews reside in Bangkok as citizens of Thailand, where the law requires that all nonethnic Thai citizens adopt a Thai name. This requirement has caused considerable distress among Muslims, the largest minority in Thailand. Jews have been the only group exempted from the law. The local Thai Jewish community, comprised of several hundred Sefardim and Ashkenazim, is augmented by a significant number of Jewish businesspeople and young Israeli backpackers. Two synagogues are maintained, one in a residential area and the other in the business district, both led by a Chabad-Lubavitch emissary.

As the Inquisition reigned in Spain, Spanish Jews and Marranos had an added impetus to join in Spanish and Portuguese voyages of exploration. They sailed to Mexico, the American colonies, Goa, the Philippines, and elsewhere. Sadly the Inquisition followed them, and by 1580 an auto-da-fé was held in Manila.

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century Jews from Alsace, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, and Egypt began to settle openly. They were soon joined by Russian and central European Jews, who found their way to the Philippines via Harbin and Shanghai. After the Spanish-American War, American Jews added to Manila's community. In 1922 a formal congregation was established. In the early twenty-first century about 250 Jews live in the Philippines on a permanent basis.

CONCLUSION. The study of Asian Jewish communities uproots several common stereotypes. For example, the adage that "East is East and West is West" becomes transparent as a colonizing myth once a Jewish perspective is adopted. The study of these communities also reconfigures the common understanding of Judaism and the Jewish people. It is commonly held that Judaism is one of the sources of Western civilization and that Judaism is a Western religion. Such a view blinds one to Jewish experience in Asia; it silences the millennia-old, rich cultural interactions between Judaic, Indic, Sinitic, and Islamo-Mongol cultures. On the other hand, Jews have traditionally spoken of themselves as an *am-olam*, a "universal people," a cultural and mercantile bridge in a world bifurcated into an East and a West. The study of the Asian Jewish experience debunks the Jews-as-Westerners view and confirms the traditional self-understanding of Jews as a truly universal people.

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NATHAN KATZ (2005)

JUDAISM: JUDAISM IN NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE TO 1500

Although Jews lived in the northern European provinces of the ancient Roman Empire, long-lasting communal settlements began only in the tenth century, when Christian monarchs promoted the economic vitality of their domains by inviting Jewish merchants into the newly developing towns.

SETTLEMENT AND EARLY INSTITUTIONS. A pattern of early royal support followed by royal opposition and instability characterized Jewish political life first in western Europe and then later in the East. The earliest royal policy toward the Jews in northern Europe dates from Charlemagne and, especially, from his son, Louis the Pious, who issued three private charters (*privilegia*) to individual Jewish merchants in about 825. These texts indicate that Jews were among the international merchants doing business in the Carolingian empire and were granted protection of their lives, exemption from tolls, and guarantees of religious freedom. This Carolingian policy toward Jewish merchants was also pursued by subsequent rulers of the German empire, and it encouraged the Jewish immigration that became a factor in the demographic and urban expansion of early medieval Europe.

The first communities developed gradually in the Rhineland towns, where various family groups settled and intermarried. Of special significance were the Qalonimos family from Lucca, Italy; the descendants of Abun, a rabbi from Le Mans in northern France; and other families from France, which became the nucleus of the Mainz Jewish elite. Cut off from the Jewish political and religious authorities in Palestine and Babylonia, as well as Spain, the leaders of the Mainz community had considerable room to improvise and experiment with new patterns of autonomous local governance.

From the beginning, communal leadership assumed two overlapping but distinct forms. On the one hand, legal decisions were rendered by religious judges or rabbis who acquired expertise in the Talmud. On the other hand, communal control over nonlegal public affairs devolved upon the "elders," whose authority derived from their age, wealth, family lineage, and other personal qualities. They maintained public order, collected taxes for the Christian authorities and for support of Jewish social services, and were the liaison between the community and the gentile rulers.

In the period of first settlement the rabbis were merchants, like the rest of the community, and were among the elders who decided public policy. As communities grew in size and complexity, communal roles became more differentiated. A paid rabbinate gradually developed only in the thirteenth century.

The location of the early northern Jewish communities on a frontier prompted religious leaders and elders alike to be innovative. We see this in the legal decisions of Gershom ben Yehudah (d. 1028), the first major rabbinical figure in Mainz. Gershom functioned as an appeals judge on matters of Jewish law, and his legal opinions rarely mention the decisions and precedents of the Babylonian geonim. Rather, he answered questions by interpreting Talmudic or even biblical passages, thereby imitating rather than following the geonim. His ordinances against polygyny and a woman's involuntary divorce became binding precedents.

We also find signs of improvisation in the actions of the early community board *(qahal)* and communal leaders (*parnasim*) contemporary with Gershom, who undertook to maintain law and order, supervise the weights and measures in the market, and provide for the indigent. The institution of *maʿarufyah*, an individual Jewish merchant's trade monopoly with a specific Christian client, was widespread in the Rhineland, and boards adopted measures to protect it. As the Jewish population grew in the eleventh century, local community boards placed a ban on new settlement (*ḥerem ha-yishuv*) to prevent excessive economic competition.

By the middle of the eleventh century, questions about the limits of local autonomy had arisen in newer areas of settlement, like the duchy of Champagne. Yehudah ha-Kohen, Gershom's successor, decided that in the area of general public welfare and security each local Jewish community was completely autonomous, but if a community violated religious law, another community or outside religious authority could hold it accountable.

An additional sign of new communal development occurred in 1084, when some of the Mainz Jews moved to Speyer, where they were welcomed by Bishop Rüdiger, who issued them a formal charter. Modeled on the early Carolingian *privilegia*, this charter extended to the new community guarantees of life, religious protection, and exemption from tolls. Confirmed by the German emperor Henry IV in 1090, this continued the Carolingian policy of royal or imperial legal protection of European Jews until the late thirteenth century. The patterns of royal protection and local Jewish self-rule that had first developed in the German towns became the model for local Jewish communities in the regions of royal France, England, and central Europe.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE HIGH MIDDLE AGES. The late eleventh and twelfth centuries were a time of social and cultural consolidation in northern Europe. New religious orders were founded; the popes renewed the claims of canon law to establish the primacy of the church over the empire in spiritual and even temporal affairs; and in Paris the university attracted students who eagerly came from all over Europe to sit at the feet of popular scholars like Peter Abelard. It is possible that the Christian Schoolmen were in part motivated to restate Christian doctrine in a clear and logically consistent way because Jews were raising doubts about Christianity in the minds of Christian townsmen. In return, an awareness of Christian religious innovation and ferment stimulated reappraisals of Judaism.

The First Crusade precipitated the first major crisis of Jewish cultural identity in northern Europe. Urban II's call for an armed pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the spring of 1095 led local German peasants and petty knights on their way to the Holy Land to riot in the towns of Mainz, Worms, Cologne, and Speyer. According to the Latin and Hebrew chronicles that recount what happened on this Peasants' Crusade, just before and during the Jewish holiday of Shavuʿot in the spring of 1096, the righteous Jews of Mainz and Worms ritually slaughtered their families and themselves in order to prevent the Christian rioters from forcibly baptizing or killing them. The victims included leaders of the rabbinical elites of Mainz and Worms as well as hundreds of innocent men, women, and children.

Many Jews escaped or were subjected to baptism by force, but the survivors' guilt only heightened the loss of the saintly martyrs, whose memory now cast a shadow over the following generations of German Jews. Among the liturgical memorials they instituted in Europe was the earlier geonic prohibition of celebrating Jewish weddings between Passover and Shavuʿot, still observed as an annual period of collective mourning. New prayers were written to recall the righteousness of the slain and to invoke God's vengeance on the guilty Christians. Each spring the martyrs' names were recited in the Rhenish synagogues in order to keep alive the memory of the sacrificed dead and to invoke their merit as a form of vicarious atonement for the living.

Two other important northern Jewish ideals emerged in the twelfth century; the first of these was the *ḥasid*, or pietist. By the second half of the twelfth century, an ascetic, pietistic movement emerged in Speyer, the one Jewish community that did not suffer major losses in 1096. It was led by descendants of the branch of the Qalonimos family that survived the riots of 1096. The pietists placed special emphasis not only on punctilious observance of Jewish law but also on certain spiritual exercises including concentrated prayer, physical self-denial, and the mystical and magical manipulations of Hebrew letter combinations that represent the secret names of God. One of the mottos of Shemuʾel ben Qalonimos the Elder (fl. mid-twelfth century) is "be resourceful in the fear of God," a Talmudic dictum (B.T., *Ber.* 17a) that he reinterpreted to mean that the pietist, or truly God-fearing Jew, must search scripture resourcefully in order to infer additional prohibitions and higher degrees of self-discipline.

In *Sefer ḥasidim* (Book of the Pietists), written by Shemuʾel's son Yehudah the Pietist (d. 1217), we find a sectarian fellowship of pietists, led by their own sages, who are constantly challenged and tested by their inner passions and by the harmful presence of nonpietistic Jews, whom the author calls "the wicked." Among Yehudah's innovations is the requirement that pietists who sin should confess their sins to a sage and receive penances proportional to the sinful act and to the pleasure experienced while sinning.

This new Jewish pietistic ideal, incorporating ancient Jewish mystical and ascetic practices, began as a regimen for religious virtuosos but became a common-place of European Jewish spirituality after the late twelfth century and continued to define the dominant style of Jewish piety in eastern Europe even after it was challenged by the eighteenth-century revival movement of Hasidism.

The second new mode of Jewish spirituality that developed in the twelfth century in northern France was the Talmud scholar who excelled in intellectual prowess by discovering new interpretations of difficult passages. At the very time that Christian Schoolmen were reconciling the logical inconsistencies in authoritative theological texts and scholars of canon and Roman law were resolving contradictions by making new distinctions, rabbinical scholars began to study systematically the entire Talmudic corpus and apply canons of logical consistency to it. This activity developed in northern France and not in the Rhineland for two reasons. On the negative side, the older academies of Mainz and Worms suffered a loss of leadership in the riots of 1096. On the positive side, the newer schools in Champagne were able to build on the foundations in Hebrew Bible and Talmud interpretation established by the late-eleventh-century rabbinic master Rashi (Shelomoh ben Yitshaq, 1040–1105).

In the duchy of Champagne, another Jewish frontier, the master of Troyes taught generations of students who were geographically and culturally removed from the living oral culture of rabbinic studies in Mainz and Worms. For them Rashi produced the first comprehensive running commentary on almost the entire Hebrew Bible and the Babylonian Talmud, the canon of the Ashkenazic curriculum. Because of his extraordinary sensitivity to the biblical usage of language and his knowledge of the Talmudic corpus, he succeeded in providing the one gloss to both the Hebrew Bible and the Babylonian Talmud that has remained standard for all students of those texts to this day.

The next generation's scholars, who glossed Rashi's commentary (*baʿalei ha-tosafot*), introduced a synoptic method of dialectical study designed to discover and resolve potential contradictions among different parts of the Talmud and between the Talmud and Jewish life in Christian Europe. The shift from the piecemeal to the synoptic study of the Talmud resulted in an expansion of the scope and detail of Jewish law. The new distinctions that resolved contradictions between divergent traditions added conceptual subtlety to categories of law that had been created for a Mediterranean society. Adjustments were also made to accommodate the Talmudic traditions, a product of ancient pagan and medieval Muslim societies, to the actual practices of the Jews living in Latin Christendom.

The Judaism that resulted from these encounters with Christian Europe in the twelfth century was more complex than the relatively homogeneous religious culture of the eleventh. The righteous self-image, the reverence of the dead martyrs, German Hasidism, and the scholasticism of the tosafists were part of a twelfth-century transformation of classical Judaism into a "traditional" Ashkenazic Judaism. Paralleling these developments were the creative philosophical synthesis of Moses Maimonides (d. 1204) in Egypt and the writing down for the first time of qabbalistic mystical traditions in southern France.

EXPULSION AND RESETTLEMENT IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES. The pattern of royal support in return for Jewish economic usefulness appears in England in the twelfth century. Henry I (r. 1100–1135) issued a charter, no longer extant, similar to the continental ones, offering the Jews protection of life and toll exemptions backed by royal justice. Henry II (r. 1154–1189) extended Jewish privileges to include self-government under Jewish law. By this time, sizable Jewish communities existed not only in London but also in Norwich, Lincoln, and Oxford.

In addition to obtaining funds on demand from the community, the English kings turned to especially wealthy Jews, such as Aharon of Lincoln, for major loans. When Aharon died, in 1185, he had outstanding loans of fifteen thousand pounds, three-quarters of the annual receipts of the royal exchequer. To protect the safety of these financial records, Jewish and Christian officials were appointed to see to it that duplicate copies of loans were drawn up and deposited in chests (*archae*). By 1200 the office of exchequer of the Jews was filled entirely by Christians, called the justices of the Jews. Another centralized official of the end of the twelfth century was the *presbyter Judaeorum*, not a chief rabbi but a wealthy Jew appointed by the king to serve as the liaison between the court and the Jewish community.

Jewish money lending at immoderate interest, or usury, became a major factor in the decline of the Jewish communities in England and France in the thirteenth century. Although papal policy condoned Jewish lending at moderate rates of interest, canon lawyers opposed it absolutely, and in the late thirteenth century the English and French kings implemented policies based on the stricter position. These measures against usury were neither economically nor politically motivated; rather, they were successful royal efforts at spiritual reform undertaken at a time of waning papal authority.

In royal France, money lending with interest was made illegal in 1230. To support his crusade, Louis IX (r. 1226–1270) confiscated Jewish loans, as provided by the Council of Lyon (1245), expelled only Jewish usurers from France in 1248/9, and confiscated their property. In England, Edward I (r. 1272–1307) issued his Statute on the Jews (1275), which outlawed Jewish lending completely, and in 1290 the Jews were expelled from his kingdom. Philip the Fair (r. 1285–1314) expelled the Jews of royal France in 1306.

Whereas royal policy toward the Jews shifted from support in the period of settlement to antagonism in the late thirteenth century, papal policy remained relatively constant and supportive. But when heretical movements posed a threat to the church itself, measures adopted to fight heresy sometimes were directed against the Jewish infidel as well. Thus papal approval of the new urban reforming orders of the Franciscans and, especially, the Dominicans as disciplinary arms of the church in the early thirteenth century created a source of new pressure against Jewish distinctiveness. Individual friars, sometimes zealous apostates from Judaism, actively sought to persuade Jews to convert.

At the same time that the Jewish communities were eliminated in England and royal France in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, organized Jewish life in the north shifted increasingly eastward to the politically fragmented German empire, the central European territories of Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary, and Poland and Lithuania. The thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries were a time of continuous demographic expansion in Europe, and the Jewish communities in central and eastern Europe were augmented by natural increase and new immigration from the West.

The major turning point for central European Jewry was the Black Death of 1349, a trauma that reduced the population of some areas of Europe by as much as 50 percent. Unable to explain a catastrophe of such magnitude, the popular mind personalized the agents of destruction by blaming the Jews for poisoning the wells of Europe. Aside from being subject now to unpredictable waves of violence, whole Jewish communities were routinely expelled. The theme of death began to play an increased liturgical role in the religious sensibilities of Ashkenazic Judaism. In particular, the annual anniversary of a parent's death (Yi., *yahrzeit*) is first attested at the end of the fourteenth century. The regular recitation by mourners of the Qaddish prayer also seems to have begun around the fourteenth century, in this period of increased Jewish martyrdom and random violence.

As a gradual demographic and economic recovery slowly began, Jews were readmitted for specified periods into towns of early settlement, like Speyer, and into newer Jewish communities in Austria and Bohemia. The decline of imperial authority over and protection of the Jews is reflected in the growing influence of the Christian burghers, who reserved the right to expel "their" Jews at will. The elimination of effective royal protection added to the Jewish communities' increased political vulnerability in the later Middle Ages in the West.

In the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Jewish legal authorities generally lost prestige and control in their communities. No intercommunal councils were established in the German empire after 1350, and local rabbis complained that the wealthy members of the community ignored them. To be sure, masters like Mosheh Mintz and Yisra'el Isserlein of Austria continued in the fifteenth century to exert their authority as great sages of the age, as had Gershom in the late tenth, but the influence of local rabbis declined after 1350.

Politically the proliferation of independent principalities and cities in the German empire constituted a safety valve for the Jews there. Whenever residents of one particular community were expelled, they could find refuge in another until the edict was rescinded. But as economic instability reduced the demand for Jewish money lending in the towns, some Jews began to settle in villages and on rural estates. Gradually they entered new occupations as agricultural merchants and middlemen. The decline in economic opportunities in the empire also led many Jews to join the eastward emigration of German Christian burghers attracted by new opportunities in Poland and Lithuania, still another frontier.

Although Jews had been settling gradually in the duchies of Poland and Lithuania for some time, official recognition of their communities appeared only in the thirteenth century. In 1264, Prince Boleslaw granted the Jews of Great Poland a charter modeled on those issued by Frederick II, duke of Austria, in 1244; Béla IV, king of Hungary, in 1251; and Otakar II, king of Bohemia and Moravia, in 1254. Unlike the Carolingian-type charters issued to Jewish merchants from the ninth through twelfth centuries, these were designed for Jews whose primary occupation was money lending. But like the earlier ones, the Polish charters provided for Jewish self-government and royal protection. In 1364, Casimir III (r. 1133–1170) issued a confirmation of these regional charters that was valid in the unified kingdom of Poland. Some Jews served the kings or dukes as money lenders and bankers; others managed estates forfeited to them for bad debts, lived in towns that the nobles founded, or farmed tolls. Jews were also prominent in the export trade of agricultural products to the German empire and the Crimea.

The Jews who migrated to Poland from Germany, Austria, and Bohemia brought along their familiar forms of communal government. The frontier model applies to Poland as it had before to the first settlements in western Europe, but with one important difference. The eastern immigrants could rely on support and spiritual guidance from their former homeland in the German empire.

The arrival of Yaʿaqov Polak in Cracow, where he opened his innovative Talmudic academy, marks the beginning of advanced Jewish religious study in Poland and with it the first condition for cultural independence from the West. In 1503, Alexander I (r. 1501–1506) appointed him rabbi of Jewry there. Symbolically, a new era of centralized Jewish self-government and cultural ferment was about to begin.

SEE ALSO Ashkenazic Hasidism; Halakhah; Jewish Thought and Philosophy, article on Premodern Philosophy; Polemics, article on Jewish-Christian Polemics; Qabbalah; Rabbinate; Tosafot.

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JUDAISM: JUDAISM IN NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE SINCE 1500

As a result of a series of Jewish expulsions and of Poland's increasing economic attractiveness, in the sixteenth-century Ashkenazic world Poland was widely recognized as the most promising of the European communities.

POLAND AND LITHUANIA. The expulsion of Jews from numerous German cities and secular principalities and from much of Bohemia and Moravia, coupled with the final division of Hungary (previously relatively hospitable to Jews) into Habsburg, Ottoman, and Transylvanian sections, encouraged Jews to look eastward. Poland's rapid commercial expansion, the relative weakness until the late sixteenth century of its craft and trade guilds, and the religious toleration that characterized crown policy reinforced these migratory trends. Jewish adjustment to the new surroundings was eased because of German influences in the cities, which (despite the rapid polonization of the German immigrants) may have encouraged the retention by Jews of Yiddish. Greater occupational diversity was possible here than in Germany. Most Polish Jews worked in domestic trade, moneylending, and artisanry but some Jews also captured important roles in the trade between Constantinople and western and central Europe and in the export of Polish textiles, grains, and cattle. Others acquired the leases over minting and other crucial fiscal and administrative functions.

The increasing impact and militancy of the Roman Catholic Church in the wake of the Counter-Reformation and the rising antagonism of burghers toward Jews led to the partial expulsion of Jews from about fifty Polish cities by the end of the sixteenth century. Rarely were they completely barred; most often they were forced to move to suburban enclaves or to the *jurydyki* within the municipal boundaries but under the jurisdiction of the nobility. Jews continued to live in the same neighborhoods with Catholics in the cities where they were freely permitted to reside. However, the introduction of clauses permitting *non tolerandis Judaeis* and the effective unification of Poland and Lithuania with the Union of Lublin in 1569 encouraged Jewish migration to the southeastern Ukrainian expanses of Lithuania.

The *pacta conventa* of 1573, which confirmed the gentry's accumulation of considerable power at the expense of the crown, cemented close relations between the upper *szlachta* ("the magnates") and the Jews. The magnates frequently favored Jews as their commercial agents and lessees. Commerce, artisanry, and, in the southeastern regions, leaseholding (often tied to trade in agricultural goods) became the most common Jewish occupations. By the middle of the seventeenth century—when the Jewish community of Poland and Lithuania numbered, according to varying estimates, somewhere between 250,000 and 450,000—nearly 40 percent of the Jews lived, according to Samuel Ettinger, in the Ukrainian area.

Jewish participation in the Polish nobility's colonization of the Ukraine involved Jews in a system of pledges where Jewish lenders received a part of the income from estates pending the repayment of loans. What evolved was a more direct system of leaseholding, called the *arenda*, in which Jews leased agricultural properties from the nobility, generally for a period of three years, at a designated price. Profits would be extracted from taxes and fees on the local peasantry. The acquisition of a lease frequently constituted the beginning of a new Jewish community, since lessees would encourage other Jews to settle with them to run inns, flour mills, and so forth. Poland's rapidly growing population required ever-increasing supplies of agricultural and meat products, and the colonization of the Ukraine—in which Jews played an important and visible role—ensured a steady supply to domestic (and foreign) markets.

Jewish communal autonomy in Poland. A highly ramified system of Polish-Jewish autonomy with a centralized consultative council was created as Jews settled in Poland in large numbers. It was the product of several factors, including the Jewish community's wide geographic dispersion, the example of Jewish communal institutions in Bohemia and Moravia, pressures from the crown for a centralized Jewish leadership, and the diminishing power of the king, which motivated many sectors of Polish society to claim a measure of self-government. On the bottom tier of Jewry's system were the *qehalim*, or Jewish communal councils, which functioned alongside and were structured similar to the municipal councils of Polish cities. Above them were the district councils composed of representatives from the *qehalim*. At the uppermost tier were the supercouncils, which met, beginning in 1569 and perhaps even earlier, at the fairs of Lublin and less frequently at Jaroslaw. Representatives from all parts of Poland and Lithuania participated in these meetings of the Council of the Lands of Poland (until a separate Lithuanian council was established, for fiscal reasons, in 1623), where *taqqanot* ("regulations") were issued, individual and communal grievances were aired, and protests against *qehalim* were reviewed. The council deliberated on halakhic matters and, perhaps most important, intervened on behalf of the community before the authorities. From the vantage point of the state, the Polish Council was a tax-farming body but even the state recognized, at least tacitly, the council's more extensive functions.

Talmudic study in Poland and Lithuania. At the same time, the challenge posed by the distinguished Talmudist Mosheh Isserles of Cracow (1520–1572) in numerous works, particularly his *Darkhei Mosheh* to the Sephardic codification of Jewish law, the *Beit Yosef* of Yosef Karo, consolidated Poland's standing as the preeminent center of Ashkenazic learning. Isserles promoted the legitimacy of Polish-Jewish customs along with a rationalist-mystical understanding of *mitsvot*. The rich rabbinical literature of the period—which, in addition to Isserles, was represented by Shelomoh Luria, Yom Ṭov Lippman Heller, and many other Talmudic masters—was efficiently disseminated by the rapid expansion of printing in the sixteenth century.

Pilpul, a casuistic method based, in Poland, on the application of principles of logical differentiation to reconcile apparent Talmudic contradictions, was the focus of much of the *yeshivah* curriculum. This method was increasingly criticized beginning in the fifteenth century for its alleged obfuscation of the plain meaning of the texts. But it only declined in importance and was supplanted by an alternative pedagogical system in the early nineteenth century. Polish Jewry's wealth helped promote the spread of *yeshivah* study, but Polish-Jewish moralists, preeminently the late-sixteenth-century preacher Efrayim Luntshitz, argued that wealth was a certain sign of corruption and hypocrisy. By the seventeenth century the study of Torah was widely disseminated in Poland and Lithuania—though the Ukraine still provided fewer opportunities for serious study than more settled regions of eastern Europe.

The Khmelʾnitskii uprising. Religious, economic, and ethnic tensions in the Ukraine erupted in 1648, and for the next twelve years the Polish state was faced with a series of Cossack uprisings (initially with Tartar support) and with invasions from Sweden and Muscovy. The Cossacks, led by Bogdan Khmelʾnitskii, massacred rural and urban Jewish communities on both sides of the Dnieper river. Hatred of Jews—which had little influence in sparking the Deluge (as both Polish and Jewish accounts refer to it)—resulted nonetheless in the killing of large numbers of Ukrainian Jews and in the evacuation of nearly all the remainder. The Jews of Ukraine quickly rebuilt their communities after the uprising was put down, but it left its mark on the increasingly deleterious fiscal standing of the *qehalim* and the councils.

MOVEMENT WESTWARD. A westward trend in Jewish migratory patterns was now apparent. In particular, Jews from areas of Poland devastated by the Swedish invasion moved in large numbers to Silesia, Moravia, and elsewhere in central Europe. (To be sure, Germany had retained Jewish communities in the intervening period, despite the widespread expulsions, particularly in areas under imperial and ecclesiastical protection and in the central and southern parts of the Holy Roman Empire.) Small numbers of Polish Jews also found their way in this period to Amsterdam and London. Some joined the growing ranks of the central European *Betteljuden* or *Schnorrjuden* (Jewish beggars), but most were absorbed, if only marginally, into the economic life of the Empire, which offered greater opportunities for Jews after the Thirty Years' War.

The skill of Jewish agents and contractors during the war and the rise of absolutist and mercantilist tendencies in government policy helped improve the economic and even the social standing of German Jewry. Jews moved into new localities (especially noteworthy were the Sephardic settlement in Hamburg and the Ashkenazic enclave in suburban Altona) and, with the support of rulers, were permitted to participate in an increasingly wide range of occupations, particularly commerce. German princes, concerned about competition from Atlantic ports better able to trade with the New World, saw wealthy Jews as useful commercial allies. Central European armies had benefited from Jewish contacts with Poland during the Thirty Years' War, and the experience (and wealth) gained by some Jews in this period helped contribute to the eventual emergence of court Jews who served local princes.

Humanist appreciation for Hebrew and the gradual laicization of European culture that accompanied the appearance of humanism in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries set the stage for some cultural collaboration between Jews and Christians. In the Ashkenazic world, the influence of humanist trends was most clearly reflected in a moderation of anti-Jewish sentiment in certain small but influential intellectual circles. In Johannes Reuchlin's (1455–1522) defense of the Jews against the anti-Talmudic charges of Johannes Pfefferkorn, for instance, he referred to Jews and Christians as "fellow citizens of the same Roman Empire [who] live on the basis of the same law of citizenship and internal peace." The religious wars, which culminated in treaties which acknowledged that religious toleration—at least toward other Christians—was essential if only to save Europe from ceaseless strife, led to arguments for tolerance. More important in this regard, however, were the Protestant sects, most of them marginal, which began to question the connection between religious truth and political rule and showed an often intense interest in the biblical constitution and an attachment to the people and language of the Bible. Such trends were most apparent in Cromwellian England, where the impact of the Judaizers, the growing appreciation for Hebrew, the spread of millenarianist sentiment, and the renewed search for the Ten Lost Tribes with the discovery of the New World created a suitable cultural climate for a receptiveness to Menasseh ben Israel's mission to promote Jewish readmission to England.

Around the time of the Whitehall conference of 1655, which considered the readmission of Jews to England but left the matter undecided, small numbers of New Christians as well as Ashkenazic Jews settled in England, mostly in London. This small community came from Amsterdam, where an increasingly sizable and economically prominent Jewish community had lived since the unification of the northern provinces of the Netherlands and their declaration that the new state would be free from religious persecution.

Within the Ashkenazic sphere, Jewish thought remained largely indifferent to indications (however uneven and contradictory) of changes in Christian attitudes toward Jews. Indeed, a renewed sense of cultural segregation, as Jacob Katz (1961) has characterized it, was apparent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as reflected in a complete lack of Jewish interest in anti-Christian polemics and in the formation of a set of Jewish attitudes toward non-Jews that saw differences between the two as inherent rather than doctrinal. This case was argued most coherently by Yehudah Löw ben Betsalʾel (c. 1525–1609). Yet the same period saw the promulgation of important halakhic decisions that permitted Jews to trade in Gentile wine and even in rosaries (in contrast to earlier rabbinic prohibitions against such trade) on the grounds that the Talmudic prohibitions against trade with idol worshipers were not relevant to Christians, who, at least for practical purposes, did not fall under this category.

A stratum of well-placed Jews had, since the religious wars, played a significant role in the centralizing administrations of the absolutist German states. Jewish moneylenders, minters, and agents were selected to perform important administrative, fiscal, and even diplomatic functions because their loyalty to the princes was unaffected by guild attachments or local enmities. Close links were forged between Polish-Jewish agricultural exporters and wealthy Jewish importers in Leipzig, Frankfurt, and Hamburg. Court Jews, as some of these magnates were called, emerged as a group relatively free from Jewish communal and rabbinical control and with independent access to the Gentile authorities.

The wealth of the court Jews, their relatively easy access to the Christian elite, and the example of the acculturated Sephardim of Hamburg and elsewhere in central and western Europe encouraged some Ashkenazim to imitate Sephardic and even non-Jewish social patterns. In certain well-to-do German-Jewish circles in the early eighteenth century, dance lessons, the study of French, and even the cutting of beards was common. In the same circles, Polish Jews were frequently characterized as superstitious and culturally inferior.

However, until the late eighteenth century and the spread of the Enlightenment and emancipatory movements, distinctions between German and Polish Jews remained fluid. This essential fluidity was reflected, for instance, in the careers of Yaʿaqov Emden and Yonatan Eibeschutz, the eminent rabbinic figures at the center of the most vociferous Jewish polemical battle of the eighteenth century, which spanned the major Jewish communities of eastern and central Europe. Cultural unity was also apparent in the response of Ashkenazic Jewry in the 1660s to the news of Shabbetai Tsevi, whose claim to be the Messiah was received with the greatest enthusiasm by Sephardim but who was supported, according to Gershom Scholem, by most of European Jewry.

Shabbetai Tsevi's conversion to Islam in 1666 led to the disintegration of the movement and to its rebirth, on a much smaller scale, as a secret network of sects. In Podolia, where the Frankist movement arose out of this Shabbatean network in the second half of the eighteenth century, it attracted the support of only small numbers of Jews, and its leader, Jacob Frank (1726–1791), along with about six hundred followers, eventually converted under some duress to Catholicism. The teachings of Frank, which combined an eclectic reliance on Qabbalah and an intense fascination with worldly power, had a limited impact outside Poland when Frank moved to Brno, Offenbach, and elsewhere in central Europe in the last years of his life. The sect served as a syncretistic pathway for some poor as well as rich Jews to a less insular, larger world.

HASIDISM. In contrast to Frankism, the Hasidic movement, which also arose in Podolia, gradually spread beyond the Ukraine after the death of its founder Yisraʾel ben Eliʿezer (1700–1760), known as the Besht, and won widespread support in Poland, Belorussia, and, to a more limited extent, Lithuania. Completely devoid of the Christological tendencies that would attract some acculturated Jews to Frankism, Hasidism embraced qabbalistic concepts and built on Jewish spiritual yearnings stirred by the heretical mystical movements. At the same time, it effectively neutralized the potentially subversive elements of Lurianic Qabbalah.

The concept of *devequt* (cleaving to God), for instance, was shorn by Hasidism of its cosmic and elitist features and placed within a mundane framework. Hasidism promoted a strategy whereby Jews might focus on the prosaic and even the patently profane in order to transform and elevate them. Cosmic elements in Lurianic Qabbalah were transformed into individualized landmarks in the psychology of faith and repentance.

Hasidism's moderation helped it eventually gain the acceptance of rabbis sympathetic to mysticism. Its halakhic innovations were minor: the introduction of a sharper knife for ritual slaughter (perhaps to capture Hasidic control over a crucial communal sphere) and some liturgical changes, such as use of the Lurianic liturgy and a less punctilious attitude toward the traditionally designated times for prayer. Moreover, though Hasidism has come to represent for some modern interpreters a democratized form of Judaism, it promoted no concrete social program and, indeed, did not attract the support of the urban artisans who constituted at the time the severest critics of Jewish communal authority. Among its most ardent and earliest supporters were rural Jews, particularly arendators, who were unhappy with the inability of the *qehalim* to defend their traditional right of *ḥazaqah* (protection from competition) and whose interests were frequently protected by the Ḥasidim. In this respect communal decline helped to fuel the movement, and it is unlikely that it would have spread as quickly or widely—by 1800 close to one-half of the Jews of east Europe flocked to its banner—had the Polish and Lithuanian councils not been abolished by the state in 1764. When challenged, for instance, by a charismatic spokesman of the communal elite, as in Lithuania by Eliyyahu ben Shelomoh Zalman, known as the Gaon of Vilna (1720–1797), Hasidism's momentum was temporarily checked.

Rather than introducing a new egalitarian note into Jewish religious life, Hasidism's most influential innovation was the promotion of a new elite that differed from both the traditional rabbinic scholars and the qabbalistic ascetics. The Hasidic *tsaddiq* forged a link between the qabbalistic master and the Jewish masses by emphasizing his communal responsibilities (in contradistinction to the asceticism of the qabbalist). The eighteenth century witnessed a marked decline in rabbinical stature. Jewish popular sentiment, rather than feeling alienated from the rabbis because of their self-imposed scholastic isolation, criticized them for their inability to live up to their own austere and still widely accepted standards.

HASKALAH. The German-speaking lands produced at the same time a westernized, acculturated elite. It was shaped by the emphasis of enlightened absolutists on the state as a secular rather than a Christian polity; the compulsory education system introduced (briefly) into Austria; the Enlightenment's vision of a neutral society where religious distinctions were rendered irrelevant or, at least, subordinate to other considerations; and the French Revolution, which emancipated the Jews of France in 1791. Most central European Jews, particularly after the Polish partitions (1772–1795) when Galicia was absorbed by Austria and east Poznan was added to Prussia, were Yiddish-speaking and religiously traditional and remained so until the mid-nineteenth century. But the self-consciously "enlightened" elite that emerged emphasized the sensualist rather than the divine source of knowledge, the ultimate importance of earthly existence, and a revised understanding of the relationship between religion and state. As the leading German-Jewish Enlightenment figure, Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786) argued that Judaism was able (better than Christianity) to fit into a new order constructed on the basis of natural truth, rationalism, and a clear distinction between the functions and tools of church and state.

RUSSIAN JEWRY. The Prussian state did not repudiate Jewish autonomy as anticipated by Mendelssohn, but in Austria, France, and even, if somewhat ambiguously, in Russia, the unity of Jewish society had to be maintained despite the lack of support and even the hostility of the government. Russia had prohibited Jewish settlement before the Polish partitions but it absorbed in the late eighteenth century approximately eight hundred thousand Jews. The regime was unwilling, and perhaps unable, to integrate Jews into the existing estates, disinclined to believe that Jewish assimilation was possible, and suspicious of the potentially deleterious impact that the Jews might have on the Russian peasantry. The result was the creation of a large area in which Jews were permitted to live, called the Pale of Settlement, in the fifteen provinces of Lithuania, Belorussia, the Ukraine, and so-called New Russia (on the northern littoral of the Black and Azov seas). Jews were also allowed to live in the ten provinces of central Poland, although these were formally excluded from the Pale. Jews constitued an average of 12 percent of the total population in this area of west and southwestern Russia (and often the majority of the urban population) by the late nineteenth century. The classification of Jews as *inorodtsy* (in 1835), the legal category created for the semi-autonomous primitive and nomadic tribes at the periphery of the empire, highlighted their essentially anomalous status in Russian law, since the regime abolished the *qehalim* soon afterward, in 1844. Indeed, despite intermittent governmental attempts to assimilate Russia's Jews, the regime continued to share an abiding preoccupation (sometimes more and sometimes less acute) with their irredeemable separateness.

There was little intervention by the Russian state into the communal life of the Jews until the 1840s. Even after the *qahal* was abolished, a separate Jewish judiciary continued to function and many of the duties of the *qahal* were subsumed by other representative Jewish bodies (though Jewish autonomy was now checked by municipal supervision). The Russian Jewish community grew rapidly over the course of the century and by 1880 numbered four million; it increased in size to more than five million in 1897 despite the mass migration to the west in the same period. Rapid demographic increase, the legal discrimination suffered by Russian Jewry, and the sluggishness of those sectors of the Russian economy in which most Jews were employed contributed to the eventual politicization of the community and to its migratory trends in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At the turn of the twentieth century, more than 40 percent of the world's fourteen million Jews lived in the Russian empire; 7.5 million Jews lived in eastern Europe as a whole, including Galicia and east Prussia.

Rapid urbanization and economic change in the nineteenth century challenged the foundations of Russian Jewish social and economic life. Repeated expulsions from villages, moves against rural Jewish innkeepers, and the concentration of the liquor trade (which employed about 30 percent of pre-partition Polish Jewry) in the hands of a small number of wealthy contractors contributed to the community's urbanization. Petty trade, on the other hand, was undermined by the decline of fairs, the rise of permanent markets, and the government's war on smuggling. Eventually the construction of railway lines destabilized previously crucial commercial and banking centers which were bypassed by the railroad. The decline of the commercial sector led to an overcrowding in others, such as artisanry, where Jews tended to concentrate in the garment trade and in shoemaking.

At the same time, improved transportation, renewed efforts at the exploitation of the agriculturally rich Ukrainian steppe, and the construction of major grain exporting ports (the most important being Odessa) where Jews played prominent economic roles all produced a stratum of successful Jewish entrepreneurs and merchants. Jews made substantial contributions to industrial manufacturing (particularly in Bialystok and Lódź), to the sugar trade (where Jews revolutionized marketing techniques), and the construction of railways. By 1851, 20 percent of the members of Russia's wealthiest merchant guild were Jews, though they constituted only about 2 or 3 percent of the total Russian population.

Jewish communal authority. In the absence of a state-recognized body that represented Russian Jewry (except for the infrequent, government-convened delegations of Jewish deputies and later the tepid rabbinical commissions), considerable pressure and responsibility was placed in the hands of *qehalim* and private associations. The authority of the *qehalim* was undermined by the 1827 statute which instituted the conscription of Jews and which placed responsibility for the draft in the hands of local *qahal* officials. This led to widespread abuse: the exemption of the rich, the forced conscription of the poor, the drafting of boys of twelve and younger who were subjected, once they were drafted and handed over to the military, to intense pressure to convert to Russian Orthodoxy. Protests by Jews against the *qahal* oligarchy erupted in Podolia, Minsk, Mogilev, and elsewhere, and the rabbinical elite—whose *yeshivah* students were protected by communal officials from the draft—mostly remained silent in the face of these abuses, which further eroded their popular stature.

Russian Haskalah. Nineteenth-century Russian Jewry nonetheless retained a traditional profile. There was little scope in Russia for acculturation; the multiethnic character of the empire mitigated assimilation and anti-Jewish sentiment remained pervasive among liberals and conservatives alike. Yet the introduction by the state in the 1840s and 1850s of a network of schools where secular as well as Jewish subjects were taught, the liberalization of government policy (and the emancipation of the serfs) under Alexander II (1855–1881) which excited Jewish hopes, and the example of an acculturating western and central European Jewry helped create a Russian Haskalah, or Jewish enlightenment movement. Haskalah stressed those aspects of Jewish life that non-Jews presumably considered positive: the purity of biblical Hebrew, the stability of Jewish family life, the Jews' financial aptitude, their agricultural past, and Judaism's philosophical legacy. On the other hand, the movement denounced aspects of contemporary Jewish life at variance with the beliefs of the larger society (and presumably with the true character of Judaism), such as mystical speculation, disdain for secular study, and ignorance of the vernacular.

In contrast to the exponents of the German-Jewish enlightenment in the decades after Moses Mendelssohn's death, Russian *maskilim* (Jews who subscribed to the goals of the Haskalah) hoped to see Jewry rendered acceptable to its neighbors without relinquishing its distinctive social or religious character. In their view, Judaism was to be purified but not entirely stripped of its idiosyncratic tendencies. The Haskalah movement gave rise to efforts to promote a secular Hebrew literature and periodical press and new types of philanthropic and self-help institutions, and it later had a decisive impact on Jewish nationalist and socialist movements. Its promotion of secular study also helped contribute (especially after the 1870s) to the precipitous rise in the number of Jews enrolled in Russian and secular Jewish schools.

Musar. The Musar movement was one response to modernizing trends within the traditional camp. It stressed self-discipline (an echo of the highly influential system of Eliyyahu ben Shelomoh Zalman, which saw the prodigious study of Torah as taking precedence even over the performance of *mitsvot*) but Musar's founder, Yisraʾel Salanter (1810–1883), promoted a pedagogical system in which communal meditation and introspection were integrated into the traditional Talmudic curriculum. At the same time, a series of relatively well-funded and prestigious *yeshivot* were established in Lithuania to counter the inroads made by the Haskalah and secular education. Charismatic rabbinic figures, perhaps most prominently Yisraʾel Meʾir Kagan (known as the Ḥafets Ḥayyim, 1838–1933), continued to represent the community's highest ideals in their personal piety, humility, and devotion to learning.

INTEGRATION AND EMANCIPATION.

Nineteenth-century German and Austrian Jewry—with the major exception of the Jews of Galicia—eventually entered the middle class, discarded Yiddish for German, and produced ideologies of Reform and Neoorthodoxy which minimized or rejected aspects of Judaism considered as sacrosanct in the east. Joseph II's *Toleranzpatent* (1782) attempted to legislate against Jewish separatism while opening up new economic and educational options for some Jews. The long and contentious debate in Germany over the feasibility of Jewish emancipation made its small Jewish community (which constituted about 1.75 percent of the total population in 1871 when emancipation was finally granted) highly visible and particularly sensitive to the vagaries of public opinion. In Prussia, 58,000 of its 124,000 Jews were in fact emancipated by 1815; elsewhere in Germany restrictions on employment in the public and private sectors and limitations on Jewish residence were abolished, or at least substantially modified, by the 1850s. To be sure, the 1848 uprisings were followed by new restrictions in Austria and Bavaria, and they were also accompanied by a new anti-Semitic argument which identified Jews with the most disruptive and oppressive features of modern society.

In Galicia, where over 800,000 of Austria's 1.2 million Jews lived in 1900, 85 percent of the Jewish population, according to one report, subsisted at substandard conditions and worked as petty moneylenders, agents, and innkeepers. Yet the majority of Germany's Jews, who were concentrated until the mid-nineteenth century in petty trade, small retailing establishments, and artisanry had by 1871 entered the middle and upper-middle classes. The most telling indication of their social mobility was the disappearance of the *Betteljuden* (many of whom immigrated to the United States), who had, together with day laborers and domestic servants, made up 15 to 20 percent of the German-Jewish population in the late 1830s. German Jews continued to be concentrated in a cluster of occupations, but now these were wholesale trade, commerce, the money market, the professions, and journalism.

Emergence of reform. Attempts at integration by German Jews produced ideologies of religious reform that accepted the diminution of the national traits of Judaism as espoused by the larger society and emphasized those aspects of Judaism most conducive to cultural symbiosis. Abraham Geiger (1810–1874), Germany's major Reform exponent, saw Judaism as having evolved historically and asserted that every generation had to determine for itself what religious practices and concepts retained a contemporary relevance. Geiger identified monotheism and the teachings of the prophets as the quintessential message that had characterized Judaism throughout the ages and that constituted the basis for its ethical system. In a radical departure from the traditional understanding of *galut*, Geiger saw the Jewish dispersion as a positive condition, since it helped Jews promote the universalistic teachings of their faith. This emphasis on mission served to justify continued Jewish peculiarity and helped to reinforce, albeit within a substantially modified context, traditional assumptions of Jewish specialness and chosenness. The fundamental principles of Reform were elaborated in a series of rabbinical conferences held in the 1840s, and these assemblies constituted the culmination of a long period in which Reform promoted a substantially modified Jewish educational curriculum and alterations in synagogue service and decorum.

Emergence of Orthodoxy. The response of Pressburg's (modern Bratislava) influential Mosheh Sofer (Ḥatam Sofer, 1762–1839) to the emergence of Reform was summarized in his pithy "Ḥadash asur min ha-torah" ("everything new is forbidden by the Torah"), which denounced all change as undermining Judaism. The call for traditional Jews to segregate themselves from the increasingly Reform-dominated communities of Germany was promoted by many Orthodox rabbis, most prominently by Samson Raphael Hirsch (1808–1888), who argued for the universalizing of Judaism and, at the same time, for an uncompromising affirmation of its traditional commitment to *mitsvot.* Traditional Judaism in Germany, and elsewhere in Europe, began to employ the tools—and in Hirsch's case also the terminology—of the larger, secularizing world in order to combat Reform, and this led to the creation of Orthodox newspapers and political parties. The first such party was established in Hungary in 1867.

ACCULTURATION AND RESPONSES TO ANTI-SEMITISM. European Jewry's acculturation led, to be sure, to a diminution of the importance that Jewish concerns played in the lives of many Jews, but it also provided an increasingly westernized Jewry with new and sophisticated tools with which to promote Jewish interests. Jewish liberals and a small number of political radicals played a prominent role in the 1848 revolutions, in contrast to the political passivity of the Jews of France in 1789; another indication of the tendency of westernized Jews to employ new and innovative means to promote Jewish causes was the creation of a highly diversified Jewish press mostly published in European languages.

Jewish assimilation, whose goal was the fusion of Jewry into the majority culture, was most feasible in settings were Jews formed a small percentage of the population in large urban areas; where acculturation was widespread but anti-Semitism prevalent, the promotion of social integration was thwarted. A precipitous rise in anti-Semitism in societies where Jews had experienced substantial acculturation often contributed to an increase in the incidence of conversion. On average, 145 Jews converted annually in Prussia between 1880 and 1884 while, in the wake of the anti-Semitic agitation of the last decade of the century, the number doubled to 349 between 1895 and 1899.

Of the smaller Jewish communities of western and northern Europe, about 35,000 Jews lived in England in the 1850s, 80,000 in France, about 52,000 in Holland (in the 1840s), 64,000 in Belgium, and fewer than 1,000 in Sweden. In France and England, Jews were concentrated in the largest cities (a process that had begun earlier in England than in France). In both societies, despite the emancipation of French Jewry more than half a century before the Jews of England were admitted into the House of Commons in 1858, acculturation preceded the complete abrogation of Jewish restrictions. An absence of denominationalism was another feature common to both English and French Jewish life, and in the two communities Reform tendencies were absorbed or neutralized by the dominant religious institutions and they did not precipitate the sectarianism characteristic of German Judaism. The absorption into the middle class of most English and French Jews by the late nineteenth century helped encourage a privatization of Jewish identity, which was eventually challenged by the east European migration. Between 1881 and 1914 the English Jewish population increased, mostly as a result of the immigration of Russian Jews, from sixty-five thousand to three hundred thousand. Thirty thousand immigrants settled in Paris in the same period (arriving in particularly large numbers after 1905), and they introduced into the western urban Jewish milieu an ethnic dimension previously unknown. Indeed, between 1881 and 1924, about 2.5 million east European Jews (mostly from Russia) migrated to the West; two-thirds of them left their homes between 1903 and 1914 and the vast majority of immigrants moved to the United States. About 10–15 percent settled in western and central Europe. Russian Jews in particular emigrated in large numbers because of the oppressive tsarist legislation of the 1880s and 1890s, shrinking economic prospects, and often exaggerated rumors of economic prospects in the West.

East European Jewish immigrants became a special focus of attack by the anti-Semitic movement that erupted in western and central Europe in the late nineteenth century. This movement was the product of a general antiliberal reaction which promoted romantic conservatism over constitutionalism, a free market economy, and freedom of speech and assembly. Anti-Semitism (the term was coined in the 1870s) provided a seemingly plausible target for a wide range of social and economic frustrations. Its literature drew on secular (and often scientific) rather than religious terminology and sometimes, as in Edouard Adolphe Drumont's *La France juive* (1886), it drew on left-wing ideology in its case for the illegitimacy of Jewish wealth and position. Influential anti-Semitic parties appeared in Germany and Austria. Anti-Semitism became a cultural code, in Shulamit Volkov's characterization, for a wide range of groups that stressed militant nationalism, imperial expansion, racism, anticolonialism, antisocialism, and respect for authoritarian government.

The rise and resilience of the anti-Semitic movement compelled some European Jewish leaders to reassess their communal and political strategies. In Germany this gave birth in 1893 to the *Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glauben*, which departed from the classical Mendelssohnian stance both in its promotion of a conspicuously Jewish (as opposed to philo-Semitic, liberal, and Gentile-led) response to anti-Semitism and in its insistence that the Jewish case be aired and vindicated in courts of law. In Russia, as in the West, before the 1880s Jewish politics was seen as predicated entirely on the goodwill of Gentiles and its goal was the encouragement of Jewish emancipation. A new understanding took hold after the 1881–1882 pogroms, best encapsulated in the title of Odessa physician Leon Pinsker's *Auto-Emancipation* (1882), which called upon the Jews to cease their efforts to adapt themselves to the larger environment and to create instead a new one outside of Russia. A new type of Russian Jewish leader emerged in the same period: young, russianized (or partially so), who came to compete with the communal magnates of St. Petersburg and the rabbinical elite.

Zionism. Two major ideological currents emerged: Zionism and Jewish socialism. Zionism drew its constituency and vitality from eastern Europe but the Austrian journalist, Theodor Herzl (1860–1904), gave the small and Russian-based movement a measure of stature and international recognition in the 1890s and early twentieth century. Herzl's most important Zionist adversary was the Odessa intellectual Asher Ginzberg (better known as Aḥad ha-ʿAm, 1856–1927), who provided Zionism with influential ideological underpinnings very different from those of Herzl. From Herzl's perspective, the promotion by Zionism of a Jewish homeland would undercut the growth of anti-Semitism, restore Jewish economic productivity, and provide Jews throughout the world (as well as the threatened liberal order) with renewed stability. Ginzberg, on the other hand, saw Zionism as a framework that could allow Jewry to absorb Western values without having them submerge Jewish identity. He stressed the cultural benefits of the rebuilding of a Palestinian Jewish homeland and minimized its immediate economic impact.

Jewish socialism. A second Jewish political movement emphasized the need to transform Russia itself—a goal Russian Zionists also eventually adopted in their Helsinki platform of 1906—and the Jewish Socialist Labor Bund, established in 1897, charted a course between the two poles of nationalism and Marxism. Jewish socialism's following, not surprisingly, expanded in moments of revolutionary turmoil and contracted with rapidity in times of relative quiescence. But the heroism of the Jewish revolutionaries, their organization of self-defense groups during the pogroms, their participation in widespread philanthropic endeavors, and even their conspiratorial form of internal organization came to infuse them with an almost legendary respect in the Pale of Settlement.

WORLD WAR I AND ITS AFTERMATH. The war seemed at first to present a singularly unfavorable scenario for Jewish political activity but was, ironically, followed by a series of outstanding victories for Jewish leaders in the diplomatic sphere and by a new and apparently more encouraging political order. The Russian Revolution of 1917 brought down the imperial regime and emancipated Russia's Jews; the Balfour Declaration, issued by the British the same year, was Zionism's first concrete diplomatic achievement and it would serve, until the State of Israel was established in 1948, as a central focus of the movement's strategy. Moreover, the adoption of international guarantees for the observance of national minority rights in the new states of east central Europe (along with prewar Romania) was largely the product of the maneuvering of British and American Jewish leaders. The mass evacuation of hundreds of thousands of Galician and Russian Jews in 1914–1915 (the Russian ones evacuated under particularly degrading conditions) lent Jews a special visibility, which was reinforced by the fact that much of the war was conducted in regions heavily populated by Jews. Misperceptions of the strength and dimensions of Jewish influence (suppositions which gained worldwide notoriety after World War I with the dissemination of the anti-Semitic tract *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*) helped Jews wrest major political concessions for themselves. The Balfour Declaration, in which the British declared sympathy for Zionist aspirations in Palestine, resulted partly from the Allies' belief that Russian (and American) Jewish support was crucial in bolstering the war effort. The Russian liberalization of Jewish residence restrictions in 1915 was the product of a misperception that Jewish-controlled Western loans would be denied to Russia if it continued to be seen as brutally anti-Semitic. Western support for national minority rights in east central Europe was given special impetus in the wake of the Ukrainian pogroms of 1918–1919 in which more than five hundred Jewish communities were attacked and about seventy thousand Jews were killed. The effort of the Bolsheviks—who in November 1917 had overthrown the liberal anti-tsarist government that had been in power in Russia since the fall of the Romanovs earlier that year—to put down the anti-Jewish disturbances and to pacify the Ukrainian separatist movement won widespread (if somewhat equivocal) support for them among Russia's Jews.

The new Soviet government associated anti-Semitism with tsarist reaction and fought it vigorously, but Bolshevism also denied Jewish demands for national recognition on the basis of its authoritative statement on minority nationalism, *Marxism and the National Question* (1913). Nonetheless, Jewry's distinctive cultural and, implicitly, also its national needs were acknowledged by the regime, which was interested in consolidating Jewish support. Secular cultural activity in Yiddish was encouraged; Hebrew was barred as bourgeois and religious institutions and functionaries were harassed. By the early 1930s even Yiddish-language publishing, research, and pedagogical activity were restricted. At the same time, the Soviet Jewish population as a whole—which numbered about three million in 1926—benefited from the expanding economy, became urbanized (it was eventually concentrated in Moscow, Leningrad, and a few other large cities), and was absorbed, despite the existence of a residual popular as well as institutional anti-Semitism, into the industrial working class, the bureaucracy, the professions, and the sciences.

The Jews of interwar Poland (who numbered just under 2.9 million in 1921, 10.5 percent of the total population) underwent a process of acculturation different from that of Soviet Jewry. Ravaged as Poland was by the war and separated from its natural markets and sources of energy by the boundaries of the new Polish state, its postwar economic development was sluggish before 1929 and singularly depressed in the 1930s. Poland's depressed economic state reinforced a widespread integral nationalism that persuaded many Poles that the Jews, as members of a faith inimical to Christianity, had no place in Poland. Particularly after 1936, nationalist xenophobia, church-sponsored anti-Semitism, and economic decline combined to persuade Poles of varied political persuasions that anti-Jewish policies were a necessary cruelty. About one-third of Poland's Jews retained a largely traditional religious profile and promoted Orthodox interests with tenacity and some sophistication. Jewish acculturation was also vividly reflected in the growth of secular Jewish culture and widely diversified socialist and Zionist political activities, which took on different forms in various regions of Poland, Galicia, central Poland, and Lithuania-Belorussia.

THE HOLOCAUST. The vast majority of Germany's approximately 600,000 Jews (constituting about one percent of the population in the early 1920s) were solidly based in the middle class, though one-fifth of the Jewish population were foreign-born and maintained a less prosperous occupational profile. Anti-Semitic sentiment—which reached ferocious levels in the immediate post–World War I period when wide segments of the population associated the sudden loss of the war with the treachery of the Jews—was marginalized during the economic prosperity of 1923–1929. Anti-Semitism regained a mass following with the onset of the worldwide depression. Once Hitler was appointed chancellor in 1933, German Jewry was gradually segregated from the larger population, denied employment, and those who did not emigrate by 1939 were eventually deported and either worked to death or gassed in labor and death camps. Germany's invasion of Poland led to the effective segregation of its large Jewish community, and Jews elsewhere in Nazi-occupied or Nazi-dominated western and east central Europe were placed in ghettos where they too were starved, brutalized, and, in the end, sent to death camps. More than one million Soviet Jews were killed by Nazi mobile killing units during the German invasion of 1941; the introduction in 1942 of highly efficient means for mass extermination led to the construction of a series of death camps designed expressly for the extermination of European Jewry. Over the course of World War II during the Nazi Holocaust about 6 million Jews were killed: 4.5 million in Poland and the Soviet Union; 125,000 German Jews, 277,000 Czechs, 402,000 Hungarians, 24,000 Belgians, 102,000 Dutch, 40,000 Romanians, 60,000 Yugoslavs, 85,000 French, and tens of thousands in Greece and Italy.

POST-HOLOCAUST JEWISH COMMUNITY. The resilience of postwar anti-Semitism in Poland encouraged most Holocaust survivors to emigrate, and the Polish Jewish community, numbering about 30,000 in the late 1950s, was further decimated following the migration of large numbers of Jews in the wake of the 1968 anti-Semitic governmental campaign. Germany's 25,000 Jews in the late 1960s experienced a high rate of intermarriage (72.5 percent among males in the years 1951–1958) and a death rate that far exceeded its birthrate. The most culturally vibrant Jewish community of east central Europe was Hungary, where between 80,000 and 90,000 Jews in the 1960s maintained, eventually with government support, a wide range of religious and philanthropic institutions, including a rabbinical seminary. The post-1967 resurgence of Jewish nationalist sentiment among Soviet Jews led to a revival of (largely clandestine) cultural activity and helped precipitate a large migration of Jews to Israel and the United States. The centers of European Jewish cultural life in the postwar period were England and France. The French Jewish community, in particular, has demonstrated a marked vitality, encouraged by the migration of North African Jews, primarily from Algeria, in the 1960s.

SEE ALSO Agudat Yisra'el; Hasidism, overview article; Holocaust, The, article on History; Messianism, article on Jewish Messianism; Musar Movement; Orthodox Judaism; Reform Judaism; Shabbetai Tsevi; Yeshivah; Zionism.

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JUDGE, WILLIAM Q. William Q. Judge (1851–1896) was a cofounder of the Theosophical Society in 1875, along with Madame Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831–1891) and Colonel Henry Steel Olcott (1832–1907). The society was dedicated to promoting universal brotherhood and the study of the hidden laws of nature and ancient scriptures. Judge was a close associate of Blavatsky during the years when she wrote *Isis Unveiled* (1877) until her death in 1891. She referred to him in a letter as "My dearest Brother and Co-Founder of the Theosophical Society" (H. P. Blavatsky to the American Conventions, Second Annual Meeting, April, 1888, p. 31). Blavatsky signed a letter to him, "yours until death and after" (*Lucifer,* June 1891). (Judge revealed the content of some of Blavatsky's letters in articles published after her death in the journal *Lucifer.*)

After Blavatsky's death, Judge continued to be a clear and notable expositor of her writings and of Theosophical concepts in general. Judge's *The Ocean of Theosophy* (1893) is a readable synopsis of Blavatsky's great work *The Secret Doctrine* (1888). Although he considered himself to be a disciple of Blavatsky and a line of mahatmas (masters) behind the Theosophical movement, Judge was an author, counselor, and teacher in his own right. In 1886, Judge began the *Path,* an independent journal published in New York. This publication continued for ten years and ran to ten volumes, mostly of Judge's own writings under pseudonyms such as Bryan Kinnavan, Eusebio Urban, and many others. The *Path* was renamed *Theosophy* in 1896.

Judge was born in Ireland, one of the seven children of Frederick Judge, a Freemason, and Mary Alice Quan. At the age of seven, the boy had a serious illness and indeed seemed to his family to have died, but he suddenly and miraculously recovered. After this near-death experience he showed remarkable abilities. He devoured books on Mesmerism, phrenology, religion, magic, and Rosicrucianism, which was surprising because no one had taught him to read. His family was simply puzzled by the change in his behavior. However, many theosophists believe he was an actually a Hindu initiate who had entered the body of the dying Irish boy to fulfill the vow of helping to bring the wisdom of the East to the West. In an April 1891 letter, he wrote to Annie Besant (1847–1933): "I am not in my own body and am perfectly aware of it. It is borrowed" (Ransom, 1938, p. 305). For this reason, some called him "the Rajah."

When Judge was thirteen, his family immigrated to New York. As a youth, he became a clerk and studied law in the offices of George P. Andrews. At twenty-one, he became a naturalized U.S. citizen and was admitted to the bar. He specialized in commercial law and developed a reputation for honesty and meticulous handling of cases. In 1874 he married Ella Smith, a strict Methodist who did not share his interest in occult and paranormal matters. The couple had a daughter who died as a small child. During this difficult time Judge read Olcott's *People from the Other World* (1875) and wrote to the author about their mutual interest in spiritualist phenomena. Olcott invited him to call on Madame Blavatsky in New York City. Judge wrote of his first meeting with Blavatsky: "It was her eye that attracted me, the eye of one whom I must have known in many lives past away" (*Lucifer* 8, no. 6 [June 15, 1891]). Blavatsky wrote in an 1889 letter that "H.P.B. would give. . . the whole esoteric brood in the U.S. for one W.Q.J., who is part of herself since several aeons" (*Theosophical Forum,* June 1933, pp. 192–193).

The period from 1878 to 1883 was particularly trying for the young disciple, for he was virtually penniless and could do little work for the society. In addition, Blavatsky and Olcott had sailed for India to carry on the work of the Theosophical Society while he remained in New York. In 1881 he traveled on business to Central and South America and Mexico where he contracted blackwater fever. He recorded his experiences in "A Weird Tale," one of the many spiritual allegories and stories he would write. Around this time Judge corresponded with Damodar K. Mavalankar, a disciple of Blavatsky in India, about being discouraged and depressed. He was himself called to India on June 11, 1883, by a summons on the back of a letter from Damodar printed in red pencil, "Better come, M. . ." Since Judge thought such messages were always from a master called Morya, he left as soon as possible. (Letter from the Adyar Archives, *Echoes of the Orient*, Vol.1, p. XXV, Sven Eek and Boris de Zirkoff.) After visiting Blavatsky in Paris for several months in 1884, he sailed to Bombay (Mumbai). Meeting there with Damodar and others about the future of the movement, Judge then traveled to several cities and gave lectures on Theosophy and the destiny of India.

Upon returning to New York in 1885, he was determined to preserve the Theosophical Society. Even when most of the membership had vanished, Judge held meetings, where he spoke and recorded the minutes himself. This work by Judge was instrumental in forming the American Section of the Theosophical Society, and he was elected its general secretary in 1886. In 1890 he was appointed vice president of the international Theosophical Society. Also in 1886, Mrs. Julia Campbell Ver Planck (later Mrs. Archibald Keightley) joined the Theosophical Society. Her correspondence with Judge (for which she used the name Jasper Niemand) became *Letters That Have Helped Me*, a valuable book concerning the trials of discipleship on the Theosophical path.

In 1890 Judge sued the *New York Sun* on behalf of Blavatsky, who had been libeled in the paper by Professor Elliot Coues. Coues had charged that Blavatsky had perpetrated a hoax by persuading Mabel Collins to claim that an adept had dictated her book *Light on the Path* (1885). He had also accused Blavatsky of sexual immorality, fraud, plagiarism, and deception. When the *Sun*'s attorneys found out that Coues's allegations were "without solid foundation," they were retracted in 1892.

After Blavatsky's death in London in 1891, Judge sailed to England as the representative of the U.S. section of the Theosophical Society. Judge published articles in the *Sun* and in the *Path* in tribute to Blavatsky's life and work. He also published a rendition of *The Yoga Aphorisms of Patanjali* (1889), introduced with a succinct discussion of Oriental psychology. In 1890 he published his version of the *Bhagavad Gita*, in which he sought to capture the original's meaning rather than to be strict to the letter of Sanskrit grammar. These works made a deep impact on Theosophy and the further introduction of Oriental psychology to the West.

In 1893 Judge made a lasting impression when he spoke to a large audience at the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago. However, his final years were clouded by the charges preferred against him by Besant and Olcott for misusing the mahatmas' names and handwriting. They claimed that no contact with the mahatmas could be proved to their satisfaction. Olcott ordered Judge to resign from the vice president's position. Judge refused, however, and defended himself by stating that he had in no way abrogated his duties as vice president, and that a trial could not be held without creating a dogma as to the existence of the masters, which was his personal belief.

Because both of these objections were held to be reasonable, in July 1894 he was reconfirmed as vice president of the Theosophical Society, based in Adyar, Madras (Chennai), India. However, personal feelings against Judge ran high, and there were renewed calls for his resignation. Because Annie Besant continued to press charges, the U.S. section declared complete autonomy from the Theosophical Society at its 1895 annual convention and formed an independent body, with Judge selected as president for life (1895). However, during the early part of 1896 the acrimony of these events had a detrimental effect on his health, which was still frail because of the blackwater fever contracted years earlier, and he died that same year on March 21 in New York. His last words were "There must be calmness. Hold fast. Go slow" (*Letters That Have Helped Me*, p. 29). Judge's teaching and life can be best summarized by his own words: "There is no room for sorrow in the heart of him who knows and realizes the Unity of all spiritual beings. While people, monuments and governments disappear, the self remains and returns again. The wise are not disturbed; they remain silent; they depend on the self and seek their refuge in It" (*Echoes of the Orient*, vol. 1, p. lxv). Katherine Tingley (1847–1929) became head of the Theosophical Society in the United States after Judge died, and she moved its headquarters to Point Loma, California. Judge's devoted student Robert Crosbie (1849–1919) seceded from this group and formed the United Lodge of Theosophists in 1909.

SEE ALSO Besant, Annie; Blavatsky, H. P.; Olcott, Henry Steel; Point Loma Theosophical Community; Theosophical Society; Tingley, Katherine.

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JUDY D. SALTZMAN (2005)

JUDGMENT OF THE DEAD.

In religions where a differentiation is made between the righteous and sinners in the hereafter, the decision to which category to assign each individual can be thought to take place in different ways. Sometimes it is an automatic process, as in the Indian doctrine of *karman*; each individual's deeds in this life determine his status in his next existence. In other cases, it is believed that the deceased has to pass over a narrow bridge; if he is good there is no difficulty, but if he is evil he is thrown down. This idea is found in ancient Iranian religion, and similar beliefs exist among the Algonquin Indians, the Mari (Cheremis) in Russia, and the Bojnang of the island of Sulawesi. Here no god or personal being seems to be involved in the decision. In other cases, however, a court scene is presupposed, with divine or semidivine judges passing on each individual.

ANCIENT NEAR EAST. The evidence from ancient Mesopotamia is scanty. One Assyrian text tells the story of a crown prince descending into the netherworld and appearing before its king, Nergal, who decides that he is to return to life. It seems likely that this text presents the mythical background of an incantation rite, and thus refers only to a decision in the netherworld whether a sick person should die or recover. It does not refer to a regular judgment of the dead. Texts from the sixth century BCE, found at Susa in southwestern Iran, mention some sort of judgment that gives the good some advantage over the wicked, but they hardly represent genuine Babylonian belief; possibly they were influenced by Iranian ideas.

Ancient Egyptian religion is especially known for its concern about life in the hereafter. However, in the Pyramid Texts, the oldest funerary texts at scholars' disposal, there is no reference to a judgment of the dead. Though there is found the idea that the king still carries out his earthly function as a judge, he is not said to judge the dead in general. Several tomb inscriptions from the Old Kingdom warn that anyone who violates the tomb will be "judged by the Great God at the place of judgment." But that again is no judgment of the dead. On the other hand, autobiographical texts from the same period express the wish that the author's name "may be good before the Great God." This seems to imply some kind of judgment in the hereafter. The same is true of inscriptions in which the dead person promises to defend anyone who respects his tomb "in the judgment hall of the Great God." But in the *Instruction for Merikare* (early Middle Kingdom) there is a clear passage referring to "the judges who judge the sinner" in the hereafter as not being lenient. Therefore individuals should remember that they must die, and that after their deaths their sins will be laid beside them in a heap. Anyone who lives unmindful of the judgment in the hereafter is foolish, but anyone who has not sinned will be like a god in eternal freedom.

A different outlook is reflected in the Coffin Texts. Here magical spells are used to secure various privileges for the deceased in the hereafter. There is also reference to a court of judgment presided over by the earth god Geb, who issues decrees to the benefit of the deceased in the same way as an earthly court might. Gradually it becomes customary to add to the name of the deceased person the epithet *maa kheru*, which denotes him as cleared by the court of an accusation. This title was also given to Osiris, when he had been declared righteous in the court of Geb and had been reinstated in his royal rights (though he was now in the netherworld). As it became customary to identify every dead person with Osiris, he was also certain of being *maa kheru*.

The final result of this development appears in the well-known judgment scene in the *Book of Going Forth by Day*. Chapter 125 describes how the deceased appears before Osiris, the divine judge of the netherworld, who is assisted by forty-two assessors, one for each of the provinces of Egypt. It seems that the reader is here confronted with two different sets of ideas. According to the text, the deceased addresses the assessors, asserting that he has not committed forty-two specific sins; this is often referred to as the "negative confession." The scene depicted, on the other hand, shows the deceased being led before the judges by Horus; in front of Osiris there is a balance, attended by the god Anubis. On one scale is put the heart of the dead man, on the other a feather, the symbol of the goddess Maat ("truth"). The wise god Thoth takes down the result of the weighing on his scribe's palette. The illustrations always present the scales in perfect equilibrium, indicating that the dead man's life has been in accordance with *maat*, the principle of order and truth. If such is the case, the deceased is declared to be *maa kheru*, "true of voice," that is, acquitted in the court of Osiris. If not, he will be eaten by the "devourer of the dead."

All this seems to imply high moral standards. But in fact this chapter of the *Book of Going Forth by Day* is hardly more than another magic spell, intended to protect the deceased from the perils of the other world. The negative confession is rather an expression of acceptance of the validity of certain moral principles (in the last count, of *maat*) than a real declaration that one is not guilty. In addition, there are also spells to prevent the heart from "standing up against" the deceased (*Book of Going Forth by Day*, chap. 30). Thus there is a tension between moral obligations on the one hand and recourse to magical spells on the other.

INDIA AND CHINA. Ancient Indian religion seems to know King Yama as the judge of the other world. A late Vedic text (*Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* 6.5.13) states that before Yama those who have been faithful to truth and those who have spoken lies will part company. There is no explicit reference to a judgment, but it may be implied. The weighing of good and wicked deeds is referred to in the Brahmanic texts.

This same Yama appears again in the pantheon of Mahāyāna Buddhism. In China he is called Yenlo or Yenlo Wang. Together with nine others of Chinese origin ("the Ten Kings") he is believed to be the administrator of the punishments of Hell. It is believed that all individuals are to meet him after death and be judged with the strictest impartiality. It is supposed that he fixes the hour of dissolution, and that once the decision is made, nothing can alter or postpone it. In Japanese Buddhism he is called Enma-ō.

ANCIENT GREECE AND ROME. In ancient Greece, one finds, in Homer and Hesiod, for example, the idea of a shadowy and dreary realm of the dead, called Hades, to which the "souls" of all dead come; but there are also at times the ideas of a miry place where the wicked are punished and of the Elysian Fields, where a few righteous are allowed to enter. But there is no information on how it is decided who is going where. Homer says that Minos gives laws to the dead but does not act as judge (*Odyssey* 11.567ff.).

Gradually, however, under the influence of the mystery cults and of the Orphic and Pythagorean movements, the ideas of judgment and retribution were developed. Pythagoras taught a judgment of souls (according to the biography of Iamblichus), and the Orphic judgment is depicted on a vase that shows Aiakos, Triptolemos, and Rhadamanthos as judges.

The ideas of the Orphics and Pythagoreans are reproduced by Pindar and by Plato in some of his dialogues (*Gorgias*, *Apology*, the *Republic*). Usually, the judges are three, Minos, Rhadamanthos, and Aiakos; in the *Apology* Plato adds Triptolemos. They give judgment in a meadow, at the parting of the ways, one of which leads to the Abode of the Blessed, the other to Tartaros.

In *Gorgias* Plato says that in the beginning the dead were sent to the Island of the Blessed or to the punishment in Tartaros; the judgment was pronounced on the day of death, but apparently it was sometimes influenced by the outer appearance of the person in question. Therefore Zeus decreed that souls should be judged naked, without their earthly frame. Punishment could serve for purification and improvement; but there are some evildoers who cannot be saved. Here, in part, Plato is using traditional ideas, possibly Orphic and other; but he may have created the eschatological myth he presents here to illustrate his philosophical ideas.

Such beliefs were probably widespread among the Greeks, as is shown by numerous references to judgment and the fate of souls in Lucian's satires, and by the caricatures of Aristophanes. The classical dramatists rarely mention a judgment of the dead, but there are a few references in Aeschylus, and it figures sporadically in other authors and in grave inscriptions. In Vergil's picture of the underworld, Minos judges certain crimes, and Rhadamanthos is judge in Tartaros (*Aeneid* 6.426ff., 540ff.).

JUDAISM. The writings of intertestamental Judaism contain occasional references to a judgment of the dead. The scene in the seventh chapter of the *Book of Daniel*, where the Ancient of Days opens the books and passes judgment, is not concerned with individuals, but with the kingdoms of the earth, and it is Israel that stands acquitted. But in chapter 50 of the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Enoch* there is an explicit mention of judgment, in which the Lord of the Spirits will show himself righteous, sinners will be punished, and the righteous will be saved. Chapter 51 then speaks of the resurrection of the dead, and says that the Chosen One will sit on God's throne, probably as judge. The same idea is found in *2 Esdras* (chapter 7): The earth will give up those who are asleep in it, and the Most High will appear on the seat of judgment. The emphasis here, however, is not on the scene of judgment but on the resurrection, and on the destiny of the righteous and the wicked.

There are occasional references in these scriptures to books in which the deeds of indiviudals are recorded, and according to which they will be judged (Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Enoch* 47:3, 90:20), but the context does not mention a final judgment in connection with the resurrection. Thus, the weighing of people's works on a balance is referred to (ibid. 41:1, 61:8) without mentioning the judgment.

CHRISTIANITY. Jesus tells the parable of the last judgment in chapter 25 of the *Gospel of Matthew.* The Son of Man is to come and sit on his glorious throne, and all nations will gather before him; he will "separate them as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats." Those who have acted in love for their neighbors will receive eternal life; those who have not will be sent away into eternal punishment.

Though this description of a final judgment is found only in the *Gospel of Matthew*, it is obvious from other occasional references in the New Testament that the idea was essential in early Christian preaching. Thus, in *Acts* 17:31, "God has fixed a day on which he will judge the world in righteousness by a man whom he has appointed [i. e., Jesus Christ]." In *Acts* 10:42, Christ "is the one ordained by God to be judge of the living and the dead"; in *2 Corinthians* 5:10, "we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ [or, in *Romans* 14:10, of God], so that each one may receive good or evil, according to what he has done in the body." The last judgment is thus connected with the Parousia, or second coming of Christ.

In the *Gospel of John*, the idea of the judgment has been transformed in a peculiar way. Though it is stated that God the Father "has given all judgment to the Son" (5:22), the reader learns that one who believes "has eternal life" (here and now) "and does not come into judgment, but has passed from death to life" (5:24). In other words, the outcome of Christ's judgment is decided here and now, according to the belief or unbelief of each one; this should leave no room for a final judgment at the end of time.

The Christian church has placed considerable emphasis on the idea of the final judgment (that is, rather than on the judgment here and now). Both the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed state that Christ "will come again (in glory) to judge the living and the dead."

ISLAM. In the preaching of Muḥammad the imminent day of judgment (*yawm al-dīn*) has a prominent place. Because many of the accompanying motifs correspond to Jewish and Christian ideas (not the least to the preaching of the Syriac church), it seems obvious that he has taken over the idea of judgment from these sources. The day is also referred to as the day of resurrection, the day of decision (Qurʾān, *sūrah* 77:13), the day of gathering (64:9), the day of eternity (50:34), and so forth. It is a day of great catastrophes that cause fear and terror on the earth. The judgment is individual. On that day "no soul will be able to help another, for the decision belongs to God" (82:19). Each soul must defend itself (16:112) and cannot bear the load of another (17:15, cf. 16:25); no soul will be able to give satisfaction or to make intercession for another (2:48); no ransom will be accepted (5:36). The works of each person will be documented in an irrefutable way. Books will be produced, in which "everything that they have done, great and small, is recorded" (54:52ff.). "The book will be put (before them), and you will see the sinners fearful at what is in it. . . . It leaves nothing behind, small or great, but it has numbered it. And they shall find all they did present, and your Lord shall not wrong anyone" (18:49). Every individual shall find a book wide open: "Read your book! Today you are yourself a reckoner against yourself" (17:13ff.). The idea of books that are opened is found in the Hebrew Bible (*Dn.* 7:10) and in other Jewish literature in connection with a judgment scene. In addition, it may be that Muḥammad, as a merchant, was familiar with the keeping of accounts.

There is also in the Qurʾān the idea of weighing human deeds. "We shall set up the just balances . . . so that not one soul shall be wronged anything; even if it be the weight of one grain of mustard-seed we shall produce it; and we know how to reckon" (21:49). "The weighing that day is true; he whose scales are heavy—they are the prosperous, and he whose scales are light—they have lost their souls" (7:8ff.; cf. 23:102 and 101:5ff.). There is here hardly any connection with the Egyptian ideas discussed above; the ideas of Muḥammad seem rather closer to those of the Jewish texts.

In the case of Islam, those who stand the trial will enter Paradise, and those who fail will be thrown into Hell. However, no one belief concerning the fate following judgment of the dead is common to all religious traditions. That fate is determined according to each tradition's conception of what happens after death. Just as the judgment of the dead is conceived in different ways within the different traditions, so too is the ultimate fate of the person who is judged.

See Also Afterlife.

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Helmer Ringgren (1987)
Revised Bibliography

JULIAN OF HALICARNASSUS (d. after 518), Christian bishop and theologian. The place and date of birth of this prominent fifth- and early sixth-century churchman are unknown. Of his early life we know that as bishop of Halicarnassus in Asia Minor he had sojourned in Constantinople around 510, perhaps between 508 and 511. There he participated in the discussions as to whether the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon (451) ought to be abrogated in order to achieve church unity.

As bishop of Halicarnassus, Julian had been a protagonist of the monophysites, who maintained that Christ had only a divine nature, denying the reality of his humanity. At first Julian followed the moderate views of his friend Severus of Antioch, one of the leading critics of the Chalcedonian formula, according to which Christ is "one hypostasis [essence, entity] in two natures."

Julian's significance lies in the fact that he parted with the moderate monophysites. Deposed from his see in 518, he fled to Egypt, where he promulgated his theory known as aphthartodocetism (incorruptibility). Julian taught that, from the moment of its conception, the human nature of Christ was incorruptible, impassible, immortal, and free from all physical burdens such as hunger, thirst, and pain. Thus Christ's human sufferings were apparent rather than real, a theory similar to docetism. His followers in Alexandria established their own community and became known as Aphthartodocitae and Phantasiastai.

Not only the Orthodox Chalcedonians but also Julian's former friend Severus of Antioch attacked his teachings. Julian wrote a treatise entitled *Peri aphtharsias* (About incorruptibility), directed against Severus, and an *Apologia* defending his own teachings. Of his writings only two letters and fragments of his theological works, in the original Greek and in Syriac translation, have survived.

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Demetrios J. Constantelos (1987)

JULIAN OF NORWICH (1342–1416?), known as Lady Julian, Dame Julian, and Mother Julian, was an English mystic and Christian theologian. Julian lived in the century in which Europe was ravaged by the Black Death, and England and France were torn by the Hundred Years War. Against a background of war, plague, social turmoil, and religious unrest she shared in a flowering of English mysticism along with Walter Hilton, Richard Rolle, Margery Kempe, and the anonymous author of *The Cloud of Unknowing.*

Highly literate—despite a polite disclaimer in her book *Revelations* [or *Showings*] *of Divine Love*—and demonstrating a knowledge of the Vulgate rare for a layperson of her day, she was the first woman to compose a literary work in English. Although scholars have traced many general theological influences in Julian's book, specific influences are hard to identify, so thoroughly assimilated are they into a theology that is at once deeply traditional and highly original. She was probably familiar with the writings of William of Saint-Thierry (d. 1148) and Meister Eckhart (d. around 1327), but the only two writers whom she mentions by name are Dionysius the Areopagite (c. 500) and Gregory I (d. 604), from whose *Life of Saint Benedict* she quotes.

Little is known about Julian's life. In May 1373, when Julian was thirty years old, she became severely ill. At what seemed the point of death, she revived and received what she described as fifteen "showings of God's love"; on the following day she had a sixteenth such experience. Her mother, her parish priest, and possibly others were with her at these times. Some time later Julian wrote a description of these showings that is now referred to as the "short text" or "short version." Twenty years later, after profound meditation, she felt she had come to a fuller understanding of the showings, and she wrote a much longer version, concluding: "So I was taught that love is our Lord's meaning. And I saw very certainly in this and in everything that before God made us he loved us, which love was never abated and never will be" (Colledge and Walsh, *Showings,* p. 342).

At some time in her life Julian became an anchoress, living in a cell attached to the church of Saint Julian in King Street. It was probably from this saint that she took the name by which she is known.

The all-encompassing theme of Julian's *Revelations* is the compassionate love of God as universally manifested throughout the process of creation and as focused in the passion of Jesus, whose delight was to suffer for his beloved humankind. One aspect of Christ stressed by Julian is his "motherhood." Many earlier writers, including Anselm, had written of Christ's motherhood, but Julian wrote more extensively on this theme.

Julian's theology is eschatologically orientated. The resolution of the problem of evil (a problem over which she agonizes at length) will come through a "great deed ordained by our Lord God from without beginning, treasured and hidden in his blessed breast, known only to himself, through which deed he will make all things well" (Colledge and Walsh, *Showings,* pp. 232–233). This aspect of Julian's theology proved particularly interesting to T. S. Eliot, who quotes from her book and alludes to her thought in his mystical poem *Four Quartets.*

The enduring contemporary interest in Julian was expressed in an ecumenical celebration in Norwich in May 1973, the six-hundredth anniversary of her *Revelations.* Her influence continues at the Julian shrine in Norwich, where prayer and spiritual counsel continue in a chapel built where her cell once stood.

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Basic information on Julian herself and on the six-hundredth-anniversary ecumenical celebration of *Revelations* is conveniently given in *Julian and Her Norwich: Commemorative Essays and Handbook to the Exhibition "Revelations of Divine Love,"* edited by Frank D. Sayer (Norwich, U.K., 1973). This book includes a useful bibliography of Julian publications prior to 1973: five manuscripts, twenty-six printed editions (in German, French, and Italian as well as English), and fifty-six books and articles about Julian and her thought. For works published since 1973, the *Fourteenth-Century English Mystics Newsletter* (Iowa City), published quarterly since 1974, is indispensable. Renamed *Mystics Quarterly* in 1984, this journal contains articles, book reviews, descriptions of scholarly studies in progress, and bibliographies of the many books and articles on Julian, including a Swedish translation and two French translations of *Revelations.* Among the post-1973 works, one of the most significant is the definitive edition of the original text prepared by Edmund Colledge and James Walsh, *Juliana, anchoret, 1343–1443: A Book of Showings to the Anchoress Julian of Norwich,* 2 vols. (Toronto, 1978). From this critical text Colledge and Walsh have made a modern translation, *Julian of Norwich: Showings,* "The Classics of Western Spirituality," vol. 1 (New York, 1978). Another significant English translation published since 1973 is *Revelations of Divine Love by Juliana of Norwich,* translated with a particularly good introduction by M. L. Del Mastro (Garden City, N.Y., 1977). The chaplain of the Julian shrine in Norwich, England, Robert Llewelyn, has written *With Pity, Not with Blame: Reflections on the Writings of Julian of Norwich and on The Cloud of Unknowing* (London, 1982). Many Julian publications are available at the shrine. In addition, the Norwich Public Library has a sizable collection of printed material on Julian.

BARBARA BISHOP (1987)

JUNAYD, AL- (d. AH 298/910 CE), whose full name is Abūʾl-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad al-Junayd, was a major representative of the Baghdad school of Sufism who is associated with its "sober" and socially responsible trend. He came from a family of Iranian merchants. Al-Junayd's father traded in glassware, and he himself earned his livelihood as a dealer in silk. Under the influence of his paternal uncle Sarī al-Saqaṭī, who is often viewed as one of the doyens of Baghdad Sufism, al-Junayd embraced its mystical ideals and ascetic ethos and eventually succeeded him as leader of the Baghdad school of mysticism. He received a solid juridical and theological training under the guidance of such famous Shāfiʿī scholars as Abū Thawr (d. 855 CE) and Ibn Kullāb (d. c. 855) and was qualified to issue legal opinions on various juridical issues. However, most of his teachers were associated with Ṣūfī circles. He cultivated the friendship of a famous Baghdad scholar and ascetic al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (d. 857) with whom he had long discussions of questions related to mystical experience and pious life. The influence of al-Muḥāsibī's mystical psychology and introspection on his young associate is abundantly attested in al-Junayd's epistles and logia.

The later Ṣūfī tradition portrays al-Junayd as the principal exponent of the "sober" type of mysticism, which was routinely juxtaposed with the "excesses" of its "intoxicated" counterpart represented by Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī (d. 848 or

875), al-Shiblī (d. 945), al-Nūrī (d. 907), and al-Ḥallāj (d. 922). Al-Junayd's public sermons were not confined to his fellow mystics; they attracted many high-ranking state officials and respectable theologians as well, who showed a great respect for the Sūfī master. Modern western scholars share in this esteem. Thus, Arthur Arberry in *Sufism* (1969) described al-Junayd as "the most original and penetrating intellect among the Sufis of his time," who "took within his ranging vision the whole landscape of mystical speculation stretching below him, and with an artist's eye brought it to comprehension and unity upon a single canvas."

The Ṣūfī tradition also depicts al-Junayd as an eloquent exponent of "the science of God's uniqueness" *(ʿilm al-tawḥīd)*, who was also proficient in the knowledge of the mystical states *(aḥwāl)* experienced by the mystical seeker. This statement is not entirely accurate: similar classifications of the *aḥwāl* were developed by some of his younger and older contemporaries. Al-Junayd's written legacy includes a number of "epistles" *(rasāʾil)* to his contemporaries and short treatises on mystical themes. The latter are simply commentaries on select Qurʾanic passages. The profoundly subtle and abstruse language of al-Junayd's mystical discourses may have been a deliberate strategy aimed at rendering his ideas impenetrable to exoterically minded scholars and thus eluding their criticisms. Al-Junayd's deliberately obscure style was imitated and elaborated by al-Ḥallāj, who, however, was much more outspoken in describing his mystical experiences than his older, and more cautious, contemporary.

Al-Junayd's discourses reiterate the theme, first clearly reasoned by him, that because all things have their origin in God, they must finally return, after their dispersion (*tafriqa*), to reside in him again (*jamʿ*). This dynamic of ecstatic rapture and subsequent return is captured in the mystical experience of passing away (*fanāʾ*) followed by the state of subsistence in God (*baqāʾ*). In the process of *fanāʾ* the human self is completely shattered by an encounter with the Divine Reality, which leads it to a mystic union with the divine. In describing this experience, al-Junayd writes:

> For at that time thou wilt be addressed, thyself addressing; questioned concerning thy tidings, thyself questioning; with abundant flow of precious wisdom, and interchange of visions; with constant increase of faith, and uninterrupted favors.

In accounting for his mystical experience he says:

> This that I say comes from the continuance of calamity and the consequence of misery, from a heart that is stirred from its foundations, and is tormented with its ceaseless conflagrations, by itself within itself: admitting no perception, no speech, no sense, no feeling, no repose, no effort, no familiar image; but constant in the calamity of its ceaseless torment, unimaginable, indescribable, unlimited, unbearable in its fierce onslaughts. (Translated by Arberry, 1969)

In meditating on the Qurʾanic image of the preeternal covenant between God and disembodied humanity (Qurʾān 7: 172), al-Junayd describes the entire course of history as people's quest to realize that covenant and return to the primeval state in which they were before they were. By endowing people with a separate, individual existence, God deliberately plunged them into the corporeal world of trial and affliction, where their bodily passions and appetites cause them to forget about their preeternal acknowledgment of God's absolute sovereignty. Through arduous, ascetic self-discipline and intense meditation, mystics strive to obliterate the last trace of the selfish impulses emanating from their imperfect bodies. If successful, they are reintegrated into the realm of the Divine Presence. They then return to this world by experiencing "survival" or "subsistence" in God (*baqāʾ*), which gives them a new, pure life in, and through, God. Yet, even in the blissful state of *baqāʾ*, the mystic remains separated and veiled from God. To accentuate the painful nature of this separation, al-Junayd employed the imagery of the lover yearning for the Divine Beloved and taking an intense joy in observing his reflections in the beauty in his handiwork. This agonizing vacillation between union and separation became the keynote of al-Junayd's entire legacy. Eschewing the extravagances of language that on the lips of the "intoxicated" mystics Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī and al-Ḥallāj alarmed and alienated the orthodox, al-Junayd by his clear perception and absolute self-control laid the foundations on which most of the later Ṣūfī systems were built.

On the political and social plane, al-Junayd demonstrated a political conformism and docility that saved him from the persecutions against "heretics" that were common in this tumultuous age. Time and again, al-Junayd explicitly advised his disciples against challenging the temporary and religious authorities of the age. He viewed political and social activism as a sign of spiritual and intellectual immaturity and an attempt to rebel against the divine will. His cautious attitude came to the fore in his disavowal of the overpowering drunkenness of ecstasy that permeated the sayings of his contemporary Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī. Al-Junayd's glosses on Abū Yazīd's ecstatic utterances (*shaṭaḥāt*) clearly show his preference for the state of sobriety over mystical intoxication. His discourses were firmly rooted in the Qurʾanic notions of God's uniqueness and absolute transcendence, and he was careful not to present the relationships between man and God as a union of two essences *(ittiḥād)*. Rather, he never tired of stressing the purely experiential nature of this phenomenon.

Al-Junayd's age was rich in charismatic and mystical talent. Among his associates and disciples we find such consequential figures in Ṣūfī tradition as Abū Saʿīd al-Kharrāz (d. 899), Abū Ḥamza al-Khurāsānī (d. between 903 and 911), ʿAmr bin ʿUthmān al-Makkī (d. 903 or 909), Abūʾl -Ḥusayn al-Nūrī (d. 295/907), Ruwaym bin Aḥmad (d. 915) Abū Bakr al-Shiblī (d. 334/946), Abū Muḥammad al-Jurayri (d. 924), Abū ʿAlī al-Rudhbārī (d. 322/934), and Jaʿfar al-Khuldī (d. 348/959), to name but a few. Upon al-Junayd's death his disciple al-Jurayri replaced him as head of the Baghdad Ṣūfī school. Al-Junayd's life and work exemplify what Western scholars often call "the golden (or classical) age of Sufism."

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JUNG, C. G. (1875–1961), was the originator of a distinctive variety of depth psychology. Until recently, accounts of the life and work of Carl Gustav Jung had emphasized the strong influence of Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) and had portrayed Jung as first an obedient follower of Freud and then a rebellious dissident. Although Jung's ideas were to a great extent influenced by his contact with Freud, Jung's originality preceded as well as followed his contact with Freud (see Bair, 2004, and Shamdasani, 2004). Jung's independence stems partly from his Christian background and is expressed in his mature conviction that depth psychology, his form of which he named analytical psychology, is inseparable from a religious appreciation of the world. Jung has had a greater influence on humanistic religious scholarship than has Freud, whose psychology has been more influential in the social sciences.

LIFE. Jung was born in the village of Kesswil, Switzerland, the son of a Lutheran minister. When he was four years old the family moved to Basel on Lake Constance, where Jung spent his childhood and youth. He took a medical degree from the University of Basel in 1902. Believing that psychiatry would allow him to combine his scientific with his humanistic interests, Jung joined the staff of the Burghölzli, the psychiatric clinic of the University of Zurich. There he worked under Eugen Bleuler, its highly regarded director. In 1903 he married Emma Rauschenbach and moved to Küsnacht, a small village near Zurich, on the shore of Lake Zurich, where he spent the rest of his life.

In 1900 Freud published what came to be his most famous book, *The Interpretation of Dreams,* and began to attract a talented following. Among the most gifted was Jung. The two corresponded and, in 1906, met. For the next seven years Jung's life was shaped almost entirely by his relationship with Freud. The two became intimate friends and corresponded extensively. Jung initially concluded that Freud's theories of the unconscious, dreams, childhood conflicts, and psychological illnesses (neuroses) were essentially correct, and he adopted them in his own psychiatric work. Freud considered Jung his most promising colleague.

The close collaboration did not last. Each man began to misunderstand the other, and heated resentments developed. Freud insisted on the sexual roots of neurosis, whereas Jung advanced a nonsexual approach. Jung maintained that he could discern a religious dimension in psychoanalysis, whereas Freud insisted that the basis of psychoanalysis was entirely scientific. The two broke off their correspondence and in 1913 abandoned all professional collaboration. From that time forward their personal lives, careers, psychological theories, and theories of religion diverged, and their bitterness toward each other never abated.

Freud survived his disappointment with Jung by turning his energies to his other followers and to the worldwide recognition that his ideas were receiving, but Jung had far less on which to fall back. Shaken by the break, he found it necessary to isolate himself. In 1913 he resigned from his teaching post at the University of Zurich and withdrew from the International Psychoanalytic Association. He had left the Burghölzli in 1909. Having made these breaks, Jung entered a period of intense inner stress during which he was beset by disturbing fantasies, visions, and dreams. For the next several years he occupied himself with analyzing the products of his own mind. Later he would look back on that turbulent time as the most creative period in his life. At its close he wrote what have become his two most important works, *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology* (1943 and 1928/1935 in German, 1953 in English) and *Psychological Types* (1921 in German, 1923 in English). These books established Jung's reputation as the founder of his own school of depth psychology.

For the remainder of his life, Jung practiced his approach to psychotherapy, wrote prolifically, and lectured and traveled widely. In addition to psychotherapy, two subjects of special interest to him were Western religion and the moral failures of modern society. His best-known books on these subjects are *Answer to Job* (1952 in German, 1954 in English) and *The Undiscovered Self* (1957 in German, 1958 in English). Near the end of his life Jung dictated an autobiographical memoir, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (1962 in German, 1963 in English).

ANALYTICAL PSYCHOLOGY AND RELIGION. The relationship between analytical psychology and religion is part of a broader topic: the relationship between modernity and religion. There are at least four views on this issue. The fundamentalist view pits religion against modernity and opts for religion. It denies modernity, or at least its inescapability. For fundamentalists, religion can continue to exist as it purportedly has done since the days of the apostles. Because fundamentalism ignores rather than confronts modernity, it cannot be taken seriously as a response to modernity.

The rationalist view is similar to the fundamentalist one in that it pits religion against modernity. For both fundamentalists and rationalists, there can be no modern religion, and the term *modern religion* is self-contradictory. However, rationalism, antithetically to fundamentalism, opts for modernity over religion. To rationalists, modernity itself is inescapable. One is born into the modern world. The question, then, is not, as for fundamentalists, whether modernity is acceptable to religion but whether religion is acceptable to modernity. The rationalist answer is no.

For rationalists, modernity is coextensive with science, and science, both natural and social, dooms religion. The scientific attribution of events in the physical world to impersonal processes is incompatible with the religious attribution of those events to the decisions of gods. Similarly, the social scientific attribution of human behavior to processes such as socialization and internalization is incompatible with the religious attribution of that behavior to phenomena such as sin and possession. Because rationalists are by definition scientific and cannot have both religion and science, they must reject religion for science.

Rationalists do not limit the function of religion to explanation. They recognize that religion serves many other functions as well, such as prescribing values. However, they insist that the nonexplanatory functions rest on the explanatory one. For example, acceptance of Jesus as a preacher of ethics depends on acceptance of Jesus as a resurrected being—a scientific impossibility. Religion can work only when its explanation is accepted, and science precludes the acceptance of that explanation.

For rationalists, the impact of science on religion is even more insidious. Science not only competes with religion but also accounts for it. Science explains not only the world but, through social science, religion itself. Religion does not merely cease to explain but becomes the explained. The explanation of religion typically provided transforms the chief function of religion from explanation into something sociological, economic, or psychological. To science is thus ceded not only the explanation provided by religion but also religion as an explanation. Religion remains irreconcilable with modernity because the nonexplanatory functions still depend on the explanatory one: if religion can no longer serve to explain the world to its adherents, it cannot exist, in which case it can scarcely serve to do anything else.

The romantic view breaks with both fundamentalism and rationalism in its refusal to oppose religion to modernity. Rather than forcing a choice between the two, it strives to reconcile them. Like fundamentalists, romantics prize religion as an eternal and invaluable possession. Nothing can supersede it. But unlike fundamentalists, romantics do not prize religion as an explanation. Religion for them serves to do almost anything but explain. It serves to express, to advocate, to comfort, to harmonize, or to give meaning. For rationalists, religion may serve a host of nonexplanatory functions alongside its explanatory one; those functions may be more important than the explanatory one; and those functions may overlap with the ones touted by romantics. But religion cannot exist once it stops being an explanation. By contrast, for romantics, religion can still exist and even thrive. In fact, the conflict with science gives religion the opportunity to rid itself of its explanatory baggage and to make explicit for the first time its nonexplanatory core. Far from undermining religion, science abets religion by compelling it to show that it has always been something other than an explanation. Romantics turn a necessity into a virtue.

The fourth view of the relationship between religion and modernity is the postmodern one. Like fundamentalists, postmodernists refuse to defer to modernity, but not in the name of religion, which they spurn as fully as rationalists do. In opposing modernity, they appeal not to prescientific religion but to postscientific culture. They reject science as the epitome of modernity, by which they mean above all the belief in objectivity, neutrality, and universal truth. They espouse subjectivity over objectivity, commitment over neutrality, and local truth over universal truth. Like fundamentalists and unlike both rationalists and romantics, postmodernists deny the inescapability of modernity. Indeed, for them the heretofore moderns have already escaped it, for they are now living in postmodern times.

CATEGORIZING JUNG. Jung was not a fundamentalist. He deferred to science and interpreted all aspects of religion nonliterally. He was not a budding postmodernist either. He proudly considered his discoveries, beginning with his association tests, scrupulously scientific. If nothing else, he antedated postmodernism. (For an attempt to see Jung as precociously postmodern, see Hauke, 2000.)

Jung was a grand rationalist insofar as he explained religion scientifically, that is, psychologically. No one psychologized religion more relentlessly than he. Certainly Freud lacked both the patience and the erudition to do so. In such essays as "A Psychological Approach to the Dogma of the Trinity" (Jung, 1953–1966, vol. 11, paragraphs 169–295) and "Transformation Symbolism in the Mass" (Jung, 1953–1966, vol. 11, paragraphs 296–448) Jung translated every aspect of the religious phenomenon into psychological terms. He psychologized not only the content but also the origin and function of religious belief and practice.

Yet Jung was a grand romantic insofar as he was indifferent to the explanatory function of religion. For him, religion was a psychological activity clothed in an explanatory or a metaphysical guise. Hence he continually characterized himself as a psychologist rather than a metaphysician and regularly distinguished his psychological use of the term *God* from any metaphysical one: "When I say 'God' this is a psychic thing. . . . This has nothing whatever to do with God *per se*" (Jung, 1973–1974, vol. I, p. 487). Jung bristled at his characterization, especially by theologians, as a metaphysician.

Conversely, Jung's rigid, Kantian-based distinction between the metaphysical and the nonmetaphysical realms allowed him to psychologize metaphysics without becoming metaphysical. Thus he objected as vigorously to theologians who denied him his psychological due as to those who mistook his psychology for metaphysics: "Psychology has no room for judgments like 'only religious' or 'only philosophical' despite the fact that we too often hear the charge of something's being 'only psychological'—especially from theologians" (Jung, 1963, p. 350). Even when Jung waxed metaphysical, as in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections,* he did so as a metaphysician, not as a psychologist, thereby preserving the distinction between the domains.

Jung found most theologians exasperating not only because they confused psychology with metaphysics but also because, as theologians, they focused on religious belief. For Jung, the heart of religion is experience, not belief. Experience shapes belief or creed rather than vice versa: "I want to make clear that by the term 'religion' I do not mean a creed. . . . Creeds are codified and dogmatized forms of original religious experience" ("Psychology and Religion," Jung, 1953–1966, vol. XI, paragraphs 9–10).

Jung's disdain for the creedal, explanatory, metaphysical side of religion does not by itself make him a romantic. Even a rationalist such as Freud would deem the main function of religion psychological rather than explanatory. The question is whether for Jung religion can exist after the rise of science. The question is whether for him religion can exclude belief yet remain religion. Where belief, like the rest of religion, can be psychologized, the acceptance of religious belief requires the acceptance of it as true about the external world, not merely as true about oneself. Therefore to say that for Jung belief was expendable because he psychologized belief is to miss the point.

JUNG'S STAGES OF PSYCHOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT. To see the place of religious belief for Jung, it is helpful to plot the various stages of psychological growth into which he divides humanity (see Segal, 1992). The terms used here for some of the stages are this author's, not Jung's. The key divide for Jung is between primitives and ancients on the one hand and rationalists and romantics on the other. Both primitives and ancients are religious, and overtly so. By *ancients*—an admittedly imprecise term of this author's—is meant religious people up through the present, including not only ancient Sumerian, Egyptian, and Greek religions but also Judaism, Christianity, Islam, and Hinduism.

Primitives project themselves onto the physical world in the form of gods and, furthermore, identify themselves with those gods. Ancients also project themselves onto the physical world in the form of gods but do not identify themselves with their gods, who are taken as entities distinct from their worshippers. Today's fundamentalists are the heirs of the ancients. Primitives and ancients alike use religion to explain the world, but religion functions simultaneously and unconsciously to connect both groups to their unconscious. Religion operates circuitously by means of projection onto the physical world, so that one encounters oneself through encountering god. Still, religion consciously serves as an explanation, and the psychological function depends on the projection involved in the explanation.

By contrast, neither rationalists nor romantics are religious. Both groups have substantially withdrawn their projections from the physical world. For them, the world is natural rather than supernatural, impersonal rather than personified. It is explained by science, not religion: "Only in the following centuries, with the growth of natural science, was the projection withdrawn from matter and entirely abolished together with the psyche. . . . Nobody, it is true, any longer endows matter with mythological properties" ("The Philosophical Tree," Jung, 1953–1966, vol. 13, paragraph 395). Although some projections onto the external world remain, such as the anthropomorphizing of animals, most projections are now onto fellow human beings: "Projection is now confined to personal and social relationships. . . ." ("The Philosophical Tree," Jung, 1953–1966, vol. 13, paragraph 395).

Rationalists pride themselves on their rejection of religion, which they set against not only science but also their image of themselves as progressive, omniscient, and omnipotent—in short, modern. They, not any divine puppeteers, are the masters of their destiny. They reject not only religion as explanation but also the explanation religion offers, for that explanation subjugates humans to gods. In rejecting religion, rationalists unwittingly reject one of the best vehicles for encountering the unconscious. Of course, some rationalists reject the idea of an unconscious as contrary to their self-image. Others, notably, Freud, stress the hold of the unconscious on humans and consequently harbor a far more deterministic view of human nature. Still, for Freud, the unconscious lies within humans rather than outside them. It replaces god as the determinant of human destiny. For some rationalists, religion is nothing but an explanation, and for them science does all that religion has done. For other rationalists, including Freud, religion is much more than an explanation, but it is still partly an explanation, and the triumph of science over religion as explanation undoes religion altogether.

Although romantics no less than rationalists reject religion as an explanation, they do not applaud the demise of religion. On the contrary, they bemoan the loss of religion for its nonexplanatory functions, especially that of giving meaning. Romantics seek to preserve or revive religion by reconceiving it as other than explanatory and therefore as compatible with science.

JUNG'S RECONCILIATION OF RELIGION WITH SCIENCE. Jung did not fault religion for losing rationalists or even romantics to science. As an explanation of the world, religion must yield to science. Jung spurned sophisticated attempts to reconcile religious explanation with scientific explanation, for example, by placing God behind the scenes.

Similarly, Jung did not fault science for making atheists of rationalists and romantics. He celebrated, not condemned, science for its advances, and saw the development of psychology as part of the scientific enterprise, which for him encompassed social as well as natural science. He vaunted himself as a scientist of the mind and declared psychology to be the key science. Whether Jung is characterized as a rationalist or a romantic, he refused to deny the triumph of science over religion as an explanation of both the physical and the human worlds. Contrary to fundamentalists, he believed that science had supplanted religion as explanation. The only options left were to replace religion—the rationalist response—or to reconceive it—the romantic response. Jung opted, or seemingly opted, for the romantic route.

Jung's strategy was to separate mythology from the rest of religion and to offer mythology as a psychological, not an explanatory, phenomenon. Severed from the rest of religion, that is, from religion as explanation, mythology could continue to exist in the face of science. By mythology, Jung meant the stories of the lives of gods and heroes.

For Jung, mythology and religion traditionally had worked in tandem. Together with ritual, the other part of religion for Jung, mythology had provided the best entrée to God. In contrast to belief, which provides only information, myth offers experience: "The protean mythologem and the shimmering symbol express the processes of the psyche far more trenchantly and, in the end, far more clearly than the clearest concept; for the symbol not only conveys a visualization of the process but—and this is perhaps just as important—it also brings a re-experiencing of it" ("Paracelsus as a Spiritual Phenomenon," Jung, 1953–1956, vol. 13, paragraph 199).

Unlike early Christianity, present-day Christianity had failed to update its myths. That failure was part of its overall inability to reinvigorate itself. Sometimes Jung argued that Christianity had gone astray in trying to meet the challenge of science by severing belief from experience and relying only on belief. Jung's objection was that belief without experience is empty and that belief is in any case often incompatible with modern historical as well as scientific knowledge. At other times Jung contended that Christianity had gone astray by turning belief into dogmatic faith severed from knowledge. Jung's objection here was that even faith requires experience to sustain itself.

Although these criticisms did not involve myth, at other times Jung asserted that present-day Christianity had erred in its attempt to update itself by eliminating myth, for example, in the theological liberals' transformation of Jesus into a teacher of timeless ethics and in the theologian Rudolf Bultmann's project of "demythologizing," which Jung misinterpreted as eliminating rather than preserving myth. Jung objected that the supposed incompatibility of myth with modern knowledge stemmed from a false, literal interpretation of myth. Jung also believed that myth is indispensable to experience and therefore to religion. Christianity had sought to overcome the opposition between religion and modern knowledge by discarding belief that is at odds with knowledge—a rationalist kind of response in its preoccupation with belief. However, in eliminating myth, Christianity had eliminated experience as well.

By Christian mythology, Jung meant most of all the life of Christ. Read literally, the Gospels are incompatible with history and science alike. Taken psychologically, the Gospels sidestep these impediments. The life of Christ becomes a symbol of the archetypal journey of the hero from primordial unconsciousness (birth), to ego consciousness (adulthood), to the return to the unconscious (crucifixion), and to the reemergence from it to form the self (resurrection). Without denying the historicity of Christ, Jung maintained that Christ can be inspirational even as a mythical, that is, a psychological, hero. In arguing that the prime appeal of Christ has always been psychological rather than historical, Jung espoused a romantic position. The obstacles that modern historical and scientific knowledge pose to a literal rendition of Christ's life offer an opportunity to make clear for the first time the psychological meaning intended from the outset. Ironically, Jung's position was in fact close to Bultmann's. Both sought to show that Christian mythology had never been intended to be taken literally, so that the impossibility of continuing to accept it literally was a blessing in disguise.

Jung never faulted Christian mythology for its outdatedness, only its interpreters: "Our myth has become mute, and gives no answers. The fault lies not in it as it is set down in the Scriptures, but solely in us, who have not developed it further, who, rather, have suppressed any such attempts" (Jung, 1963, p. 332). By developing Christian mythology, Jung did not propose altering the psychological meaning of the life of Christ. He intended only to be explicating that meaning by filtering out the literal rendition.

At the same time Jung recognized that religion had ceased to be an option for many persons, even though he, unlike Bultmann, acknowledged that many others remain or seek to remain the equivalent of the ancients. For those for whom religion is no longer a possibility, such as rationalists, the alternative to psychologizing religious myths is to replace them with secular ones.

SECULAR MYTHS. For Jung, secular myths minimally take the form of a recasting of traditional, religious myths in secular garb:

> Mythological motifs frequently appear, but clothed in modern dress; for instance, instead of the eagle of Zeus, or the great roc, there is an airplane; the fight with the dragon is a railway smash; the dragon-slaying hero is an operatic tenor; the Earth Mother is a stout lady selling vegetables; the Pluto who abducts Persephone is a reckless chauffeur, and so on. ("Psychology and Literature," Jung, 1953–1966, vol. 15, paragraph 152)

Far more significant has been the creation of distinctively secular myths, of which Jung's best example is the belief in flying saucers. That belief is widespread and arouses the archetypal emotions of awe and fear. Flying saucers are invoked to explain events in the physical world, such as fast-flying objects and strange lights. Above all, these technologically advanced phenomena fit the present-day scientific self-image: "It is characteristic of our time that the archetype . . . should now take the form of an object, a technological construction, in order to avoid the odiousness of mythological personification. Anything that looks technological goes down without difficulty with modern man" ("Flying Saucers: A Modern Myth," Jung, 1953–1966, vol. 10, paragraph 624).

For primitives and ancients, myth functions outwardly as well as inwardly not merely in explaining the world but also in giving it meaningfulness. A personified world operates responsively, in accordance with the purposes of gods and the pleas of humans. To cite Jung's favorite example,

> The Pueblo Indians believe that they are the sons of Father Sun, and this belief endows their life with a perspective (and a goal) that goes far beyond their limited existence. . . . Their plight is infinitely more satisfactory than that of a man in our own civilization who knows that he is (and will remain) nothing more than an underdog with no inner meaning to his life. (Jung, 1968, p. 76)

Jung granted that most secular myths do not, like the myth of flying saucers, connect adherents to the physical world. Most myths presuppose the withdrawal of projections from the world, which now is experienced as impersonal and therefore meaningless. Most secular myths refer only to the human world and not to the physical one. For example, the myth of the Cold War as an apocalyptic struggle between the forces of good and the forces of evil demonizes Communists but not the earth. Still, Jung sought the existential, not merely the psychological, import of myths: connecting humans to the external world.

That continuing import is evinced above all in Jung's concept of synchronicity. Synchronicity restores to the physical world its meaningfulness even without its personality, which science precludes. Meaningfulness is now inherent in the outer world rather than imposed on it through projection: "Synchronistic experiences serve our turn here. They point to a latent meaning which is independent of [our] consciousness" (Jung, 1973–1974, vol. II, p. 495). Meaningfulness stems not from the existence of god, or personality, in the world but from the symmetry between human beings and the world. Still, the effect is the same as that once provided by gods: rather than being alien and indifferent to humans, the world proves to be akin to humans, not because gods respond to human wishes or because human wishes directly affect the world but because human thoughts correspond to the nature of the world. Jung continued to demand the withdrawal of projections from the world, but synchronicity restores to the world the meaningfulness that projections once provided.

Synchronicity is not itself myth. It is the experience of the world as meaningful. Myth would be an account of that experience. The payoff, however, would be less an explanation of the world than connectedness to the world. Secular myths that, like the myth of flying saucers, connect one to the physical world and not just to other human beings have the potential to duplicate the past existential as well as psychological functions of religious myths.

JUNG AS ROMANTIC. In conclusion, Jung was a rationalist insofar as he sought secular myths, that is, he sought alternatives to religious myths. As a rationalist, he could grant that the function of religious myths was no more explanatory than that of secular ones, but he would still argue that religious myths worked only for those who explained the world religiously. Secular myths were needed for those who now explained the world scientifically.

However, Jung was a romantic insofar as he considered secular myths to be secular versions of religious ones rather than secular alternatives to religious ones. He was thus retaining religion even in the face of science. First, he used the term *myths* in referring to secular myths, thereby linking them to religion. Second, the fullest secular myths, such as the myth of flying saucers, concern the physical world and thereby restore the symmetry between humans and the world formerly provided by religious myths. Third, the myth of flying saucers nearly brings back gods to the world in the form of the omniscient and omnipotent occupants of the saucers.

At the same time the link of secular myths to the physical world evinces a rationalist residue in Jung. Even if the myth of flying saucers primarily shapes the way the world is experienced and not the way it is explained, that myth does explain outer events. Moreover, the line between experience and explanation is blurry, and explanation affects experience. Rather than ceding the physical world to science, secular myths try to reclaim it.

Conversely, one might maintain, Jung so relentlessly psychologized (and existentialized) religion that religion replaced by psychology was religion as it had always been, whether or not this interpretation had ever been recognized by its practitioners. That is how Jung could trace a straight line from Gnostic religion to alchemy to analytical psychology:

> [W]hen I began to understand alchemy I realized that it represented the historical link with Gnosticism, and that a continuity therefore existed between past and present. Grounded in the natural philosophy of the Middle Ages, alchemy formed the bridge on the one hand into the past, to Gnosticism, and on the other into the future, to the modern psychology of the unconscious. (Jung, 1963, p. 201)

Analytical psychology represented an advance over Gnosticism and alchemy only in separating out what in them had been a mix of metaphysics and psychology. Taken this way, Jung was a consummate romantic.

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JUNO.

The name *Iuno* is a derivative of *iun-* and the ending *-on-*. It is very likely a shortened form of *iuven-,* as found in *iunix* ("heifer") and the comparative *iunior* ("younger"). The derivative *Iunius* (*mensis*), or "month of June," was linked by the ancients sometimes to *iunior* (Varro, *De lingua Latina* 6.33) and sometimes to *Iūno* (Servius, *Ad Georgica* 1.43). *Uni,* the name of an Etruscan goddess, is borrowed from the Latin *Iuno,* just as *Ani,* the name of an Etruscan god, comes from *Ianus.*

The goddess personifies creative youth. She oversees birth, both on a human and on a heavenly level. Upon beginning labor, women call upon Juno Lucina ("she who brings into light"), who is honored at the Matronalia of 1 March (cf. Plautus, *Aulularia* 692; Terence, *Adelphoe* 487). Juno Covella is the patroness, along with Janus, of each month's calends in order to further the labor of the young moon from the calends until the nones.

Several other ancient cults of Juno fall on the first of the month: February 1 (Juno Sospita); June 1 (Juno Moneta); September 1 (Juno Regina of the Aventine); October 1 (Juno Sororia). Exceptions to this rule are the cults of Juno that lost their autonomy. Thus Juno Caprotina is honored on July 7, the nones, in a ceremony "intended to strengthen the light of night" (Dumézil, 1975) and connected with the cult rendered to Jupiter in the Poplifugia of July 5. Similarly, Juno Regina of the Capitol is venerated, along with Jupiter, on September 13, the ides, in the left chapel of the Capitoline temple, the anniversary of which falls on that date (Livy, 7.3.5).

In Roman history Juno intervened in several instances. In 396 BCE the dictator M. Furius Camillus obtained the consent of Uni, the Etruscan homologue of Juno and the protectress of the hostile town of Veii, to be transferred from her besieged town to the Aventine in Rome. Thus a second Juno Regina, this one of foreign origin, was established in the capital (Livy, 5.21.3, 22.4–6). In 390 BCE the Capitol was saved from the Gauls by the honking of geese, birds sacred to Juno (Livy, 5.47.3–4). Was this an intervention of Juno Moneta ("the warner"; see Cicero, *De divinatione* 1.101)? In 344 BCE a temple was dedicated to her by the dictator L. Furius Camillus, the son of the aforementioned Marcus (Livy, 7.28.4). The establishment of a mint near this sanctuary to Moneta (*Ad Monetae;* Livy, 6.20.13) gave to the word *moneta* the meaning of "money."

Syncretism had little effect upon Juno. In the *lectisternium* of 217 BCE she was simply paired with Jupiter after the example of the Greek couple Zeus and Hera.

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JUPITER. The name *Iuppiter* is made up of two elements: the first, *Iou-,* stems from the Indo-European **dyeu,* the root of *dies,* or "day"; while in the second element we find the Latin word *pater,* meaning "father." *Iuppiter* therefore identifies the "god of heavenly light." Many of the ancients were aware of this meaning; Paulus-Festus for example, describes the epithet *Lucetius,* referring to the god, this way: "Lucetium Iovem appellabant quod eum lucis esse causam credebant" (Jupiter was called Lucetius since he was believed to be the author of light). The name *Iuppiter* belongs to the Indo-European domain, and is semantically related to the Greek *Zeus,* which stems from **dyeus.*

All Italians recognized Jupiter as their god, particularly the Latins, who honored him under the title of Jupiter Latiaris during the Feriae Latinae. This feast was celebrated each year under the auspices of Alba Longa on the summit of the Alban Hills. It continued in this location as a movable feast (*feriae conceptivae*) after Rome replaced Alba as the supervisor of this federal ceremony. Moreover, Jupiter is present in the Umbrian ritual of the Bronze Tables of Iguvium. This feast celebrates Jupiter, Mars, and Vofionus; Table VI lists the three identical prayers accompanying the sacrifices of three oxen, one to each of the deities. Tinia, the great god of the Etruscan pantheon, was equivalent to Zeus-Jupiter; he controlled three kinds of lightning. This supreme deity was often represented on mirrors, accompanied by *Uni* (Juno) and *Menrva* (Minerva), with background images from Greek mythology.

Ancient Rome honored Jupiter as the supreme god. His preeminence was never called into question, not even when syncretism brought in the *ritus Graecus* (Greek rite): in the *lectisternium* of 217 BCE, Jupiter, along with Juno, held the highest rank. Jupiter served as the keystone in the ancient triad of gods, along with Mars and Quirinus; later, in the Capitoline triad, his companions became Juno and Minerva. According to Latin and Greek historiography, and also according to archaeological evidence, the Capitoline temple of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva with its three *cellae* was built at the end of the sixth century by Etruscan kings, the *Tarquinii.* Some scholars have also speculated on an Etruscan origin for the Latin triads, or another triad associating Ceres, Liber, and Libera (whose temple was dedicated on the Aventine at the beginning of the Republic).

The Jupiter of the archaic epoch, specified as Jupiter *Feretrius*—an epithet that the ancients traced to either *ferre* (to bear, carry) or *ferire* (to slay, strike)—was venerated in a chapel located on the summit of the Capitoline thought to have been built by Romulus. There, the first king of Rome consecrated the first *spolia opima* (spoils seized from a slain enemy commander) to Jupiter. According to Paulus-Festus, the sanctuary of Jupiter Feretrius contained "sceptrum per quod iurarent et lapidem silicem quo foedus ferirent" ("a sword for swearing oaths and a flintstone for concluding treaties"). Livy records that the Roman Fetialis, the college of priestly officials responsible for ritual declarations of war or peace, concluded a treaty in the name of the Roman people with the Alban people they prayed precisely to Jupiter

Feretrius to smite (*ferire*) the Roman people if they should deviate from the treaty, similar to the way the priest would strike the sacrificial pig with the flintstone. Plutrach records that near the sanctuary of Jupiter Feretrius, the Ludi Capitolini (Capitoline games) were celebrated each year on the ides of October; they consisted of hand-to-hand combat and foot races.

Jupiter is linked with Roman triumph. Romans believed their victories arose from two factors: the excellence of the general and from the favor of the supreme god who, as *optimus* and *maximus,* ensured the prosperity of the Roman Empire. Victory processions were directed towards Capitolium, where the victor would present a solemn offering to *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus;* the triumphator (victor) appeared to have achieved the rank of a god. The triumphator was clothed in the *vestis triumphalis:* the *tunica palmata,* thus called because of the palm-branches embroidered on it; and the *toga picta,* a name also owed to its rich embroidery; on his head, he wore the *corona laurea,* or crown of laurels, the symbol of the triumph. Scholars differ in their interpretations of the figure of the triumphator and the meaning of his insignia: some scholars saw the personification and embodiment of the god Jupiter, but others traced back the *insignia triumphalia* to the regal robes; consequently, they recognized the former *rex* in the triumphator. By wearing the *ornatus Iovis* and the *corona Etrusca,* by having his face painted with the red lead, and by exclaiming *triumpe,* the triumphator is viewed as the god manifesting himself. This idea may have originated in Etruscan kingship and thus can be explained against the background of Etruscan religion. These robes, which had originally become the state robes of the king when they had turned into *ornatus Iovis,* were, on the very day of the triumph, taken back from the god by the king, who then was characterized as both Jupiter and king.

Being god of heaven, Jupiter protected all the ides, or "days of full light," so called because those days were prolonged by a full moon. The ides were the thirteenth day of most months, but the fifteenth day in March, May, July, and October. On these days, the Romans offered Jupiter a sacrificial lamb (*ovis Idulis*). His cult was maintained by the *flamen Dialis,* who was "in the god's permanent service," and was "celebrated every day." His principal feast was celebrated on the Vinalia, which were divided into the Vinalia Rustica (August 19), marked by the consecration of grapes, and the Vinalia Priora (April 23), marked by the offering of wine. The feast of the Meditrinalia (October 11), celebrating the magical and medical power of the *vinum novum* also honored Jupiter. Together with Venus, he was venerated as the sovereign god, protector of the Romans. From a naturalistic point of view, scholars point to the gift of the wine to Jupiter as a proof of an "agrarian" god; in fact, Latin peasants honored Jupiter because his powers could endanger their crops and the vineyards. The link between Jupiter and wine and Jupiter and Venus (who is associated with Jupiter in the Vinalia) indicates his sovereignty and preeminence.

Many other epithets illustrate different aspects of Jupiter. Some correspond to his atmospheric manifestations, such as Jupiter Tonans (the thunderer) or Jupiter Fulgur (he who throws lightning). Others refer to his magical or juridical interventions, such as Jupiter Stator (he who immobilizes or Jupiter Fidius (loyalty warranter). During the historical epoch, however, his principal title was officially Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The anniversary of the founding of his temple on the Capitoline fell on the ides of September, and it was followed by the Ludi Romani (Roman games). On the calends of January, the new consuls would go there, accompanied by senators, magistrates, priests, and common people. The consul named to lead a military expedition would pronounce the *vota,* which were prayers and promises for gaining a victory. Upon his triumphant return, he would go to the temple to give thanks to the sovereign god.

SEE ALSO Fides; Flamen; Indo-European Religions, overview article; Juno; Minerva; Quirinus; Roman Religion, article on the Early Period.

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JUSTICE See COSMOLOGY; DHARMA; ESCHATOLOGY; FATE; JUDGMENT OF THE DEAD; LAW AND RELIGION; THEODICY

JUSTIFICATION. Christianity teaches that the ministry of Jesus Christ has established the conditions necessary for human beings to live in communion with God, both in the present and in eternity. The doctrine of atonement refers to the objective basis for this communion (i.e., how God's action in Christ makes such communion possible for humankind in general). By contrast, the doctrine of justification refers to its subjective basis (i.e., how this possibility is actualized in and for individual human beings). The justified person is one who has realized the possibility of communion with God established by Christ. The one who has not been justified has somehow failed to do so, and thus persists in the state of alienation or estrangement from God that Jesus was sent to overcome.

Overall Place of the Concept in Christianity. The topic of justification has assumed particular importance in the history of Christian thought owing to internal disagreements over the way in which individuals appropriate the benefits of Christ's work for themselves. Although all sides have confessed the priority of God's grace in sending Jesus in the first place, consensus on the degree to which this gracious initiative needs to be complemented by some separate human action has been harder to achieve. The question at issue in these debates may be stated fairly easily. Granted that the aim of Christ's ministry was a transformation of the relationship between God and humankind, and granted that the concept of relationship implies the active participation of both parties, what are the respective roles of God and human beings in effecting justification?

Two concerns have tended to shape the ways in which Christians have attempted to answer this question. On the one hand, there has been a desire to minimize any talk of human activity with respect to justification in order to stress God's graciousness as the founder and guarantor of this relationship. On the other hand, there has been just as strong a desire to emphasize human activity as a means of avoiding any suggestion that God's graciousness undermines the freedom and responsibility of human beings as active participants in this relationship. Different groups' positions on justification can be interpreted for the most part as the result of an inclination to regard one or the other of these concerns as the more theologically pressing.

Biblical Roots of the Concept. *Justification* is one of many terms used in the New Testament to refer to the transformation of humanity's relationship to God as effected by Christ. Other terms draw on the imagery of healing (*salvation*), economics (*redemption*), and warfare (*ransom*), all of which suggest rescue or release from captivity to some alien power. By contrast, *justification* is a legal metaphor that connotes the vindication of an accused party before a judge and, more specifically, acquittal from self-incurred guilt. In biblical perspective, to be justified is to be reestablished in right relationship with God in spite of having violated that relationship: "Blessed are those whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered; blessed is the one against whom the Lord will not reckon sin" (*Rom.* 4: 7–8, quoting *Ps.* 32: 1–2).

The language of justification reflects Christianity's roots in Judaism and, more specifically, the Jewish belief in God's covenant with the people of Israel. In ancient Judaism covenant was understood as a formal relationship, solemnly agreed between two parties, in which each has certain responsibilities to the other. For Israel, fidelity to its covenant with God was a matter of obedience to the law: the commandments, ordinances, and statutes given by God to Israel on Mount Sinai. These commandments structured common life by laying out the people's obligations to God and each other. God had promised to reward the keeping of the law with prosperity, but threatened those who broke it with judgment and punishment (see, e.g., *Deut.* 28).

The apostle Paul is the New Testament writer who deals most explicitly with the theme of justification. The language of justification is most prominent in his correspondence with the churches at Galatia (c. 54 CE) and Rome (c. 58 CE), though it is present in other letters as well. The key Greek terms relating to this concept in the Pauline corpus are the verb *dikaioun* (normally translated as "to justify") and its nominal and adjectival cognates *dikaiosune* and *dikaios* (normally translated as "righteousness" and "righteous," respectively).

In *Galatians,* Paul is arguing with a competing group of Christian missionaries who teach that Gentile Christians need to observe the Jewish law in order to be justified. Against this position, Paul maintains that the law does not justify. He breaks the conceptual link between justification and keeping the law by arguing that the covenant with Israel was established with God's promise to bless the descendants of Abraham, more than four hundred years before the giving of the law. The example of Abraham shows that the basis of justification is not keeping the law, but simply God's promise—and thus a matter of grace rather than works (*Gal.* 3: 17–18).

The letter to the Romans lacks the polemical context of *Galatians* and provides a more detailed development of Paul's views. He argues that all people, Jews and Gentiles, have violated the law and therefore stand under God's judgment (*Rom.* 3: 9, 23). It follows that justification cannot come by fulfilling the demands of the law; rather, people "are justified by [God's] grace as a gift, through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus" (3: 24). Once again, justification is the result of divine gift, rather than of human achievement (4: 6; 11: 5–6). Just as Abraham was justified by his faith in God's promises long before the law was given (4: 3–5), so now the basis for life in covenant with God is faith in Christ, through whom the justification obtained by Abraham has been made available to all peoples (4: 11–12).

JUSTIFICATION IN EARLY CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY. Though Paul's letters quickly acquired canonical status within the early church, his views on justification do not appear to have been accepted with great enthusiasm. The theme of justification is largely absent from the later, pseudo-Pauline letters that would eventually be included in the New Testament (though, see *Tit.* 3: 7), and still other biblical writers directly challenge the idea of justification by faith apart from works (*Jas.* 2: 14, 22–24). In short, it appears that while the memory of Paul was revered, his writings were seen as potentially dangerous (*2 Pet.* 3: 15–16), presumably because his emphasis on grace over works was seen as undermining ethical rigor in the church (a charge that Paul himself explicitly rejects in *Rom.* 3: 8 and 6: 1–2).

The general eclipse of Paul's teaching on justification within the church only increased in the first centuries after his death. The concern over a legalistic understandings of justification that had prompted Paul's letter to the Galatians evaporated with the rapid disappearance of a distinct Jewish presence within the church. Furthermore, in response to Gnostic Christians (who were understood to teach a kind of determinism with respect to human destiny), the leading theologians of the church's first centuries were anxious to stress the role of the human will in justification rather than echo Paul's emphasis on grace apart from works. This perspective, which stresses the way in which the incarnation renews the capacities of fallen human nature, remains dominant in the Eastern Orthodox churches to the present day.

It was not until the Pelagian controversy in the fifth century that justification again emerged as a central theme in Christian theology. Pelagius (died c. 420) was a British ascetic who wanted to instill greater ethical rigor into what he saw as a church that imperial patronage had rendered morally flaccid. To this end, he emphasized human beings' responsibility for their status before God: though he taught that divine grace was the ultimate source of human freedom, he insisted that justification depended upon the individual's use of that freedom and thus was finally a matter of human achievement.

Pelagius and his followers were opposed by Augustine of Hippo (354–430), who maintained that their position undermined the unmerited and gracious character of justification. In defending what he saw as clear Pauline teaching, Augustine challenged Pelagius's account of human freedom by defining a distinctly Western doctrine of original sin. Augustine argued that Adam's fall had corrupted not only his own will, but also that of his descendants in such a way that rendered human beings incapable of turning to God by their own power. The freedom of the will that Pelagius championed was therefore illusory. According to Augustine, human beings were justified exclusively by God's free gift of grace and not by their own efforts, to the extent that human salvation and damnation alike were determined exclusively by God's decree (the doctrine of double predestination).

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD. Though Pelagianism was officially condemned at the Councils of Carthage in 418 and Ephesus in 431, Augustine's views did not win unconditional support. The Greek-speaking churches of the East did not accept his denial of free will. In the Latin-speaking West, the fifth and sixth centuries saw the rise of a so-called "semi-Pelagian" position that sought to strike more of a balance between human responsibility and divine grace than Augustine seemed to allow, arguing that freedom of the will had not been so damaged by the fall as to preclude all human initiative in the process of justification. Though semi-Pelagianism, too, was eventually condemned at the Second Council of Orange in 529, Western theology continued to be marked by debates over the relationship between human freedom and divine grace in justification throughout the medieval period.

The fifth-century condemnations of Pelagianism excluded any overt teaching of justification by works from subsequent Catholic theology. At the same time, the desire not to undermine the integrity of human beings as responsible agents before God tended to push many theologians away from Augustine's strict predestinarianism. Furthermore, the emergence in Western Europe of the careful distinctions of Scholastic theology in tandem with an increasingly intricate penitential practice led to an increasing understanding of God's righteousness as an impartial justice that could be satisfied only through individual human beings' acquisition of merit. Consequently, the degree to which human beings could be said to acquire merit before God without succumbing to Pelagianism became a central issue in medieval accounts of justification.

Gabriel Biel (c. 1425–1495) sought to avoid a crudely Pelagian account of justification by works while also leaving room for human initiative. He argued that while a person's deeds apart from grace are always objectively worthless (i.e., without merit) before God, God had determined for Christ's sake to reward with grace those who do their best (*facere quod in se est*) as though their deeds were meritorious. This theory seemed both to exclude justification by works (since it was acknowledged that human works had no objective merit), and to allow that human beings could dispose themselves for the receipt of justifying grace by their own natural powers.

Biel by no means represented the consensus position among his contemporaries. Many important theologians (especially members of the Dominican and Augustinian orders) rejected outright the idea that a person could ever be said to merit grace, even in the highly attenuated sense specified by Biel. Still, the "modern school" (*via moderna*) of which Biel was a representative was influential in many quarters, including the faculty of the University of Erfurt, where the German reformer Martin Luther (1483–1546) received his theological training.

THE ROLE OF THE CONCEPT IN THE REFORMATION AND PROTESTANTISM. Luther soon began to have doubts about Biel's account of justification. His worries were at once theological and existential: Biel had taught that justification was conditional on doing one's best, but how was the individual to know if she or he had truly fulfilled this condition? Though Biel had conceived "doing one's best" as a minimal requirement, Luther, acutely conscious of his own sin, found he could never be sure that he had done even that much. After a thorough study of Paul, he eventually concluded that Biel's account was wrong: justification did not depend on humans meeting any prior condition.

Though Luther would go on to substantiate his claims by reference to Augustine's anti-Pelagian writings, his views on justification were in many ways quite distinct from those of Augustine and medieval Augustinians. Augustine had seen justification as the product of the divine gift of grace. Against the Pelagian claim that human beings could fulfill the commandments by an exercise of the will, Augustine had insisted that the will of fallen human beings was corrupted and could be healed only by a gift of grace that turned it to God. In short, for Augustine, God's grace justified human beings by giving them the capacity to be in right relationship with God.

By contrast, Luther denied that right relationship with God had anything to do with human capacities, whether in their natural state (as Pelagius had held) or as transformed by grace (as Augustine had argued). To suggest they did, he insisted, would cause human beings to look to themselves for evidence of their justification in a way that would lead either to arrogant presumption or crushing doubt regarding their status before God. Instead, Luther read Paul as teaching that the righteousness by which human beings were justified was Christ's rather than their own. It was therefore an "alien righteousness" (*iustitia aliena*) that remained always external to the justified (*extra nos*).

In arguing that justification consisted in God's ascribing Christ's righteousness to the individual (i.e., a matter of relation) rather than some objective change within the human being (i.e., matter of ontology), Luther concluded that even after being justified, the human being remained always also a sinner (*simul iustus et peccator*). As developed especially by Luther's colleague Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560), this emphasis on the externality of grace led to the specifically Protestant concept of "forensic justification." According to this interpretation of the doctrine, justification was best conceived along the lines of acquittal in a court of law (*forum* in Latin): to be justified was not a matter of being made (let alone of making oneself) righteous, but rather of being declared righteous by God.

Perhaps the most obvious mark distinguishing Protestant treatment of justification from that of classical Augustinianism is the role of faith. Where Augustine had defended justification by grace, Luther spoke of justification by grace through faith (*Eph.* 2: 8), or, still more succinctly, of justification by faith alone (*sola fide*). Because justification was rooted in God's promise to be gracious to humanity for Christ's sake, to be justified was nothing else than to have faith or believe in that promise as addressed to oneself. Importantly, the point of *sola fide* was not to make faith a condition of justification (as though faith were itself a meritorious work that earned God's favor), but rather to re-enforce the principle that trust was to be placed in Christ rather than oneself. For this reason, justification by faith alone has been characterized by Lutherans in particular as the article by which the church stands or falls (*articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiae*).

ROLE IN SUBSEQUENT THEOLOGICAL DISCUSSION. Though widely accepted by other Protestant reformers, including especially John Calvin (1509–1564), Luther's doctrine of justification was rejected by the Catholic magisterium at the Council of Trent (1545–1563). In its "Decree on Justification," the Council affirmed the priority of grace against both Pelagianism and the theology of Biel, but also taught that human beings actively cooperated in their own justification. Faith given by God was affirmed as the beginning of justification, but the idea of justification by faith alone and the associated teaching that grace was imputed rather than imparted were explicitly condemned. If Luther was worried that Catholic emphasis on human cooperation undermined trust in God as the sole source of salvation, Catholics charged that the Lutheran *sola fide* failed to honor God's creation of human beings as free and responsible agents.

Without seeking to minimize the differences between Protestant and Catholic positions on justification, it may be noted that representatives of the two traditions in the Reformation era frame the doctrine in very different ways. The Tridentine emphasis on faith as the beginning of justification is rooted in a vision of justification as a temporally extended process that includes the human growth in relationship with God. By contrast, Protestant emphasis on justification as a unilateral declaration of forgiveness led to a sharp distinction between divine action and human response. The latter (termed *sanctification*) was important, but was to be clearly distinguished from the question of human status before God (justification proper).

In the wake of the Second Vatican Council (1963–1965), dialogue between Protestant (especially Lutheran) and Catholic theologians has seen increasing convergence on the doctrine of justification. In 1997 representatives of the Catholic Church and the Lutheran World Federation issued the *Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification* that reported a consensus on the basic truths in the doctrine and declared the mutual condemnations of the sixteenth century no longer applicable. Although this document has not met with universal approval within either communion, it does indicate a decisive move away from the intellectual hostility that marked Catholic and Protestant discussion of this topic from the Reformation period through the early twentieth century.

SEE ALSO Atonement, article on Christian Concepts; Free Will and Predestination, article on Christian Concepts; Grace; Incarnation; Merit, article on Christian Concepts; Redemption; Soteriology.

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JUSTINIAN I (482–565), Roman emperor, was born in or near Skopje in Macedonia, a city where the local aristocracy spoke Latin. The trusted minister of his uncle, Justin I, from 518, Justinian was made his coemperor and succeeded him in 527. Justinian worked for the liberation of the Latin West from armies of occupation: Ostrogoths in Italy and Illyricum, Vandals in Africa and Sicily, Visigoths in Spain. To this end it was necessary to repair the breach between the court and church of Constantinople, and the church and city of Rome, which had been caused by concessions made in the East to those who held that the Council of Chalcedon (451) had pressed the distinction between the divine and human natures of Christ too far in a direction that could be called Nestorian.

Before the reign of Justinian, Chalcedonians in the East were a party opposed to anything that might obscure the distinction between the natures of Christ. During his reign, some Chalcedonians in the East came to stress what is common to the letters of Cyril of Alexandria, who wrote of a union of two natures in the incarnate Word, and of Leo of Rome, who wrote of one person in two natures. Both Cyril and Leo affirm that the manhood of Christ is the same as everyone's own and subject to suffering. John Mayentius and a group of Scythian monks from the Dobruja, who said that "one of the Trinity suffered in the flesh," had a cool reception in Rome in 519. But Justinian used their language in edicts in 529 and 533, which were included with a letter of approval from Pope John II (received in 534) in the definitive edition of his collection of Roman law, the *Corpus juris civilis* (535). So the suffering and death as well as the birth of the Son of God became part of the vocabulary of church and state in East and West.

The *Corpus juris* became the standard textbook of Roman law in the West, at Bologna and elsewhere, but Justinian did not succeed in restoring imperial government. In Africa the Vandals were eliminated, but the mountain tribes were not subdued. In Italy the Ostrogoths were defeated, but they fought on as guerrillas, preferred by the peasants to rent collectors and tax gatherers. Pope Agapetus I came from Rome to Constantinople in 536 in search of a diplomatic solution. He insisted on a purge of those whom he considered disloyal to the Council of Chalcedon and pressed the emperor to introduce a Chalcedonian patriarch into Alexandria. But when he died suddenly his successor at Rome was elected while the Ostrogoths were still in possession. Pope Silverius, deposed and exiled as soon as the imperial armies arrived, obtained a review of his case from Justinian, but he was deposed again and died in prison.

Vigilius, who replaced Silverius, was regarded as an intruder, an agent of Theodora, Justinian's empress, who patronized the Monophysite opponents of the Council of Chalcedon. In 543–544 Justinian issued the "Three Chapters" edict against the person and writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, who, though the master of Nestorius, died in 428 before the Nestorian controversy broke out; and against criticisms of Cyril of Alexandria by Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Ibas of Edessa, who at Chalcedon were received as orthodox. In a revised form (551), which has been preserved, this edict contained a series of directions for the use of terms in appropriate contexts, for instance for the proper use of *in* and *of two natures.* Vigilius did not criticize these, but he kept up criticism of the "Three Chapters" before and after he was brought to Constantinople in 548 and during the Second Council of Constantinople (553), where a final version of the edict was approved.

The war in Italy continued until 553. After it was over, Vigilius consented to confirm the council, but he died on the way home. His successor at Rome, Pope Pelagius I, succeeded in limiting schism to a few places in northern Italy around Aquileia, but by this time the Monophysites in Syria had acquired their own hierarchy. There and in Egypt, where they kept control, their leaders were not extreme, but they feared to lose their followers if they accepted the orthodoxy of the Council of Chalcedon, as Vigilius feared to lose support in the West if he admitted their orthodoxy. Justinian continued to strive for a balance that can be seen in the architecture of the great churches built in his reign in Constantinople and Ravenna. He kept the West open to Eastern influence but failed to restore the unity of the East.

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JUSTIN MARTYR (c. 100–163/5) is generally regarded as the most significant Christian apologist of the second century. With him Christianity moved from competition with the popular Hellenistic mystery cults, which attracted chiefly persons of limited education and culture, to competition with philosophies that appealed to persons of higher education and culture. In his apologies he presented Christianity as "the true philosophy" uniting the wisdom of both Jews and Gentiles.

LIFE. Although born at Flavia Neapolis (modern Nablus) in Palestine, the site of ancient Shechem in Samaria, Justin claimed neither Jewish nor Samaritan ancestry. His grandfather was named Bacchius (a Greek name), his father Priscus (a Latin name), and, according to his own statements, he was uncircumcised, reared according to Gentile customs, and educated in the Greek fashion. His writings, however, reveal considerable familiarity with Jewish customs and thought, particularly in handling the Scriptures.

From his youth, Justin possessed a serious religious and philosophical interest. In quest of truth (God) he studied successively with Stoic, Peripatetic (Aristotelian), Pythagorean, and Platonist teachers. The Stoic, Justin reports, disappointed him; the teacher failed to help him further his knowledge of God. The Peripatetic evinced greater interest in collecting fees than in education. The Pythagorean, a philosopher of some note, rejected Justin when he found the latter had no acquaintance with music, astronomy, and geometry. Downcast but not despairing, Justin turned to Platonists, whose emphasis on the spiritual and on contemplation caused his spirit to soar.

Like many others after him, Justin crossed the Platonist bridge to Christianity. Witnessing the fearlessness of Christians in the face of death, he was convinced that they could not be living in wickedness and pleasure as their detractors charged. Further, he was influenced by an unidentified elderly Christian "philosopher," perhaps in his native Palestine or in Ephesus, where he went as a young man. Although some scholars have characterized Justin's account of his conversion to Christianity as an idealization, most have defended it as authentic, if somewhat stylized. The conversion itself entailed less a substantive shift than a change of commitment from Greek (Socrates and Plato) to Hebrew (the prophets and Jesus) truth. Justin opted for Christianity, he explained, "not because the teachings of Plato are different from those of Christ, but because they are not in all respects similar, as neither are those of the others, Stoics, and poets, and historians."

This philosopher-evangelist taught in Rome during the reign of Antoninus Pius (r. 138–161). His students included Tatian (fl. 160–175), the brilliant Assyrian founder of the Encratites, and Irenaeus (c. 130–c. 200), bishop of Lyons and noted antiheretical writer. Justin suffered martyrdom early in the reign of Marcus Aurelius (r. 161–180); he was betrayed by a Cynic philosopher named Crescens, whom he had bested in an argument. Summoned before the Roman prefect Rusticus, according to a reliable early martyrology, Justin and several companions who were apprehended at the same time refused to offer the sacrifices required by law, saying, "No right-thinking person falls away from piety to impiety." By command of the prefect they were scourged and beheaded. The date of his death is uncertain, but traditionally it has been commemorated in the Roman calendar on April 13 and 14.

WRITINGS. Although Justin was the first prolific Christian author, only three of his writings are extant in complete form. Works that have perished include the following treatises: *Against Marcion* (Marcion, d. 160?, was the founder of a heretical anti-Jewish sect); *Against All Heresies;* two titled *Against the Greeks; On the Sovereignty of God; Psaltes;* and *On the Soul.* The works that survive in their entirety are *1 Apology, 2 Apology,* and *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew.* The second *Apology* is often characterized as an appendix to the first, but it seems to have been occasioned by different circumstances and probably was written several years later.

In *1 Apology,* addressed around 150 CE to the emperor Antoninus Pius, Justin weaves together a refutation of stock pagan charges against Christians and a positive case for Christianity as the true religion. He calls for a halt to punishment of Christians for the name alone and demands an impartial investigation of the common charges of atheism, immorality, treason, social aloofness, and theological absurdity. Justin holds that pagan sources reveal ample analogies to Christian teachings on the resurrection, the virgin birth, the life and death of Jesus, and Christ's Sonship. Thus while pagans have not been excluded from the truth, they have obtained this truth by imitation of the prophets or the Word, which became incarnate in Jesus, and they have mixed the truth with falsehood. Christianity alone expounds pure truth. Before Christ, the Word was in the world so that whoever lived reasonably, that is, according to the teaching of the Logos, the divine Word, or universal reason, such as Socrates or Heraclitus, was a Christian. Concluding *1 Apology* with an explanation of Christian baptism, the Eucharist, and the Sunday liturgy, Justin then appends the rescript of Hadrian.

In *2 Apology,* a very brief work addressed to the Roman Senate, Justin enters a plea for three Christians condemned to death by the prefect Urbicus at the urging of an irate husband whose wife divorced him for infidelity after she converted to Christianity. Confessing that he expects a similar fate because of the hatred of the Cynic Crescens for him, he offers to debate Crescens before the Senate itself. Why do not all Christians simply commit suicide if they love death so much? Because, replies Justin, the death of all Christians would mean the end of those instructed in divine doctrines and perhaps even the end of the human race, for God delays his final judgment for the sake of Christians. Christians do not differ from others in whom the Logos dwells, for all of these have suffered persecution inspired by demons. They differ only in the fact that they possess the whole truth because Christ "became the whole rational being, both body, and reason, and soul." Thus they do not fear death; rather, by dying, they prove the validity of their faith.

In *Dialogue with Trypho* Justin ostensibly reports a debate in Ephesus between himself and a Jew named Trypho, a recent refugee from Palestine during the Bar Kokhba Revolt (132–135). Some scholars have identified Trypho as Rabbi Ṭarfon, but this is improbable. Although the work could reflect an actual dialogue, in its present form it cannot be dated earlier than *1 Apology,* from which it quotes. Because Rabbi Ṭarfon remembered the Temple, destroyed in 70 CE, he most likely would not have been alive at the date required for the debate. Some scholars, moreover, have argued that the *Dialogue,* in which Justin makes skillful use of Jewish arguments based on scripture, was not an apology to Judaism per se but rather was addressed to Gentiles who cited Jewish objections to Christian claims (as did Celsus in his *True Discourse,* c. 175). It has also been argued that the *Dialogue* was designed as a treatise to prop up the faith of wavering Christians.

The longest of Justin's extant writings, the *Dialogue* consists of four major parts. After narrating at length the story of his conversion (chaps. 1–10), Justin proceeds to explain why Christians no longer keep the whole Mosaic law (11–31). Christianity, he claims, is the true Israel under a new covenant. The new covenant, requiring religion of the heart, has supplanted the old one, which required sacrifices, observance of the Sabbath, fasts, observance of dietary laws, and circumcision. Christians still keep the eternal (moral) law, but not the ritual law prescribed to Israel because of its hardness of heart and transgressions. In the longest section (32–114) Justin replies to Jewish objections to Christian claims concerning Jesus as fulfiller of Jewish messianic hopes and as Lord. He bases his argument wholly on the citing of Old Testament texts and types. In the final section (115–142) he makes a case for the conversion of the Gentiles by citing Old Testament texts. The rather one-sided "dialogue" ends with an appeal to Trypho but not with a conversion.

THOUGHT. Justin was not a theological giant. As his rejection by his Pythagorean teacher indicates, Justin lacked cultural depth. In his apologies, moreover, he wavered back and forth, relying now on citation of authorities and now on logical argument. As one of the first to grapple seriously with questions posed by more cultured Gentiles, he wobbled and tottered, very uncertain of his footing.

Nevertheless, because he tried, Justin established a permanent niche in Christian history. As a philosophical evangelist, he dared to undertake the difficult task of reinterpreting the biblical message in the idiom of what most scholars now recognize as Middle Platonism. Unlike other Christians of his day, even his own pupil Tatian, he acknowledged the truths found in Greek philosophical thought, especially Platonism. Although he sometimes ascribed such insights to borrowing from Moses and the prophets, he developed the more credible theory of illumination or inspiration by the preexistent Logos. Thus Socrates and Heraclitus, in advance of Jesus' advent, merited the title of "Christian." Whereas they, however, grasped truth partially, in Jesus the whole Logos dwelt bodily, thus vouchsafing to Christians the whole of truth.

The significant place that Christians ascribed to Jesus both in worship and in doctrine posed for Justin and other apologists an urgent theological problem: how to preserve belief in one God while recognizing Jesus as God. The eventual solution was the doctrine of the Trinity, but Justin's thinking did not reach that far. In his doctrine of God he wedded the Platonist idea of God as unknowable and transcendent, the unmoved first cause, nameless and unutterable, and the biblical conception of a living creator, the compassionate Father who has come near in Jesus Christ. Often the former idea dominated. For his understanding of the Logos he appropriated and developed elements of earlier Christian tradition in relation to either Stoic or Middle Platonist concepts. The Logos is God's personal reason—not only in name but numerically distinct from the Father—in which all partake but which in Jesus Christ became a man. Lest this dualism that he posits of God land him in ditheism, however, Justin emphasized the unity of the Father and the Logos prior to creation. The Logos is not eternal, as in later thought, but a product of the Father's will from the beginning, thus subordinate to the Father in person and function. His universal activity, Justin liked to say, is that of the *Logos spermatikos,* or Seminal Logos. Justin did not clearly differentiate the activity of the Holy Spirit from that of the Logos, though he evidently did believe in a personal Holy Spirit. The Spirit's chief office is prophetic inspiration.

Justin turned to Christian philosophy for the same reason that most people turned to one of the philosophies current in his time—as a means of salvation. Here he sounded two notes: truth and victory over demons. In line with his Platonist philosophical assumptions, he emphasized human freedom. In each person dwells a spirit or a part of the Seminal Logos. Thus each person has power of choice morally. None inherits sin or guilt; that comes from actual sin, which is the result of letting demons lead one into sin. Christianity offers two things to remedy this situation. One is the teaching and example of the Incarnate Logos, who was both divine and fully human. To live by his teaching is to avoid sin. The other is the power to overcome demons, the demons that Justin, like his contemporaries, believed to be everywhere in fearsome power. Through his death and resurrection Christ has triumphed. Demons, frequently exorcised in his name, are now subject to him.

Justin did not elaborate on his understanding of the church and the ministry, but he did supply some of the earliest extant evidence on Roman baptismal and liturgical practice in the second century, including the earliest liturgy. A period of instruction, the length of which is not indicated, preceded baptism. Prayer and fasting came immediately before. Baptism itself was in the name of the Trinity and accompanied by a confession, but Justin did not mention laying on the hands after baptism. The Eucharist was celebrated following baptism. The weekly liturgy combined a service of the word and a eucharistic service. Held on the "day of the sun," a designation Justin employed with some reservation, it consisted of reading "as long as time permits" the "memoirs" of the apostles or the writings of the prophets, exposition by the person presiding (presumably the elder or bishop), prayers said in a standing position, presentation of the bread and wine mixed with water, prayers and thanksgivings by the one presiding "to the best of his ability," distribution and reception of the bread and wine by those present, dispatch by the deacons of remaining portions to those absent, and a collection of alms for orphans, widows, the sick, visitors, and other needy persons.

Justin ascribed considerable significance to both baptism and the eucharistic meal. In baptism the Holy Spirit brings new birth (as promised in *John* 3:3–4). Baptism is "illumination" (*photismos*) by the Logos, which empowers one to live a truly moral life, thus achieving the goal of the philosopher. In the eucharistic meal the divine Logos unites with the bread and wine in such a way that they become the body and blood of the incarnate Jesus. This food, consecrated "by the word of prayer which comes from him," and thus no longer ordinary and common, fortifies the recipient with the mind and power of the Logos to live the Christian life. Although Justin uses the word *change* to describe the effect of consecration on the elements, his understanding should not be confused with the later doctrine of transubstantiation.

Suspended between two worlds, Greek and Hebrew, Justin sometimes did not know which way to lean. When in doubt, he opted for the biblical, as his eschatology (doctrine of "last things") indicates. In support of Christian messianic convictions he held tenaciously to his belief in the second coming of Christ, though he seems not to have worried about its delay. The first advent of Christ, he contended, was in lowliness; the second one will be in glory. The delay of the second coming, according to Justin, is a sign of God's patience with a recalcitrant humanity for the sake of Christians. Justin also sided with biblical authors on resurrection and the millennium. He was not wholly consistent here; in the *Dialogue* he envisioned the millennium inaugurated by a resurrection of the righteous and concluded by a general resurrection and judgment, as in the *Revelation to John.* He cited the judgment as a major part of his argument against persecution of Christians. Both human beings and angels would be judged according to their use or abuse of free will, and the wicked would be condemned to eternal fire. In his apologies Justin also spoke of a world conflagration, but his attention to this Stoic idea seems to have been more an accommodation to Gentile thinking than a contradiction of his belief in an eternal Jerusalem.

SEE ALSO Apologetics.

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Lindsay Jones, Editor in Chief

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED IN THIS WORK

abbr. abbreviated; abbreviation
abr. abridged; abridgment
AD *anno Domini,* in the year of the (our) Lord
Afrik. Afrikaans
AH *anno Hegirae,* in the year of the Hijrah
Akk. Akkadian
Ala. Alabama
Alb. Albanian
Am. *Amos*
AM *ante meridiem,* before noon
amend. amended; amendment
annot. annotated; annotation
Ap. *Apocalypse*
Apn. *Apocryphon*
app. appendix
Arab. Arabic
ʿArakh. *ʿArakhin*
Aram. Aramaic
Ariz. Arizona
Ark. Arkansas
Arm. Armenian
art. article (pl., arts.)
AS Anglo-Saxon
Asm. Mos. *Assumption of Moses*
Assyr. Assyrian
A.S.S.R. Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
Av. Avestan
ʿA.Z. *ʿAvodah zarah*
b. born
Bab. Babylonian
Ban. Bantu
1 Bar. *1 Baruch*
2 Bar. *2 Baruch*
3 Bar. *3 Baruch*
4 Bar. *4 Baruch*
B.B. *Bavaʾ batraʾ*
BBC British Broadcasting Corporation
BC before Christ
BCE before the common era
B.D. Bachelor of Divinity
Beits. *Beitsah*
Bekh. *Bekhorot*
Beng. Bengali
Ber. *Berakhot*
Berb. Berber
Bik. *Bikkurim*
bk. book (pl., bks.)
B.M. *Bavaʾ metsiʿaʾ*
BP before the present
B.Q. *Bavaʾ qammaʾ*
Brāh. *Brāhmaṇa*
Bret. Breton
B.T. Babylonian Talmud
Bulg. Bulgarian
Burm. Burmese
c. *circa,* about, approximately
Calif. California
Can. Canaanite
Catal. Catalan
CE of the common era
Celt. Celtic
cf. *confer,* compare
Chald. Chaldean
chap. chapter (pl., chaps.)
Chin. Chinese
C.H.M. Community of the Holy Myrrhbearers
1 Chr. *1 Chronicles*
2 Chr. *2 Chronicles*
Ch. Slav. Church Slavic
cm centimeters
col. column (pl., cols.)
Col. *Colossians*
Colo. Colorado
comp. compiler (pl., comps.)
Conn. Connecticut
cont. continued
Copt. Coptic
1 Cor. *1 Corinthians*
2 Cor. *2 Corinthians*
corr. corrected
C.S.P. Congregatio Sancti Pauli, Congregation of Saint Paul (Paulists)
d. died
D Deuteronomic (source of the Pentateuch)
Dan. Danish
D.B. Divinitatis Baccalaureus, Bachelor of Divinity
D.C. District of Columbia
D.D. Divinitatis Doctor, Doctor of Divinity
Del. Delaware
Dem. *Demaʾi*
dim. diminutive
diss. dissertation
Dn. *Daniel*
D.Phil. Doctor of Philosophy
Dt. *Deuteronomy*
Du. Dutch
E Elohist (source of the Pentateuch)
Eccl. *Ecclesiastes*
ed. editor (pl., eds.); edition; edited by

ʿEduy. *ʿEduyyot*
e.g. *exempli gratia,* for example
Egyp. Egyptian
1 En. *1 Enoch*
2 En. *2 Enoch*
3 En. *3 Enoch*
Eng. English
enl. enlarged
Eph. *Ephesians*
ʿEruv. *ʿEruvin*
1 Esd. *1 Esdras*
2 Esd. *2 Esdras*
3 Esd. *3 Esdras*
4 Esd. *4 Esdras*
esp. especially
Est. Estonian
Est. *Esther*
et al. *et alii,* and others
etc. *et cetera,* and so forth
Eth. Ethiopic
EV English version
Ex. *Exodus*
exp. expanded
Ez. *Ezekiel*
Ezr. *Ezra*
2 Ezr. *2 Ezra*
4 Ezr. *4 Ezra*
f. feminine; and following (pl., ff.)
fasc. fascicle (pl., fascs.)
fig. figure (pl., figs.)
Finn. Finnish
fl. *floruit,* flourished
Fla. Florida
Fr. French
frag. fragment
ft. feet
Ga. Georgia
Gal. *Galatians*
Gaul. Gaulish
Ger. German
Giṭ. *Giṭṭin*
Gn. *Genesis*
Gr. Greek
Ḥag. *Ḥagigah*
Ḥal. *Ḥallah*
Hau. Hausa
Hb. *Habakkuk*
Heb. Hebrew
Heb. *Hebrews*
Hg. *Haggai*
Hitt. Hittite
Hor. *Horayot*
Hos. *Hosea*
Ḥul. *Ḥullin*
Hung. Hungarian
ibid. *ibidem,* in the same place (as the one immediately preceding)
Icel. Icelandic
i.e. *id est,* that is
IE Indo-European
Ill. Illinois
Ind. Indiana
intro. introduction
Ir. Gael. Irish Gaelic
Iran. Iranian
Is. *Isaiah*
Ital. Italian
J Yahvist (source of the Pentateuch)
Jas. *James*
Jav. Javanese
Jb. *Job*
Jdt. *Judith*
Jer. *Jeremiah*
Jgs. *Judges*
Jl. *Joel*
Jn. *John*
1 Jn. *1 John*
2 Jn. *2 John*
3 Jn. *3 John*
Jon. *Jonah*
Jos. *Joshua*
Jpn. Japanese
JPS Jewish Publication Society translation (1985) of the Hebrew Bible
J.T. Jerusalem Talmud
Jub. *Jubilees*
Kans. Kansas
Kel. *Kelim*
Ker. *Keritot*
Ket. *Ketubbot*
1 Kgs. *1 Kings*
2 Kgs. *2 Kings*
Khois. Khoisan
Kil. *Kilʾayim*
km kilometers
Kor. Korean
Ky. Kentucky
l. line (pl., ll.)
La. Louisiana
Lam. *Lamentations*
Lat. Latin
Latv. Latvian
L. en Th. Licencié en Théologie, Licentiate in Theology
L. ès L. Licencié ès Lettres, Licentiate in Literature
Let. Jer. *Letter of Jeremiah*
lit. literally
Lith. Lithuanian
Lk. *Luke*
LL Late Latin
LL.D. Legum Doctor, Doctor of Laws
Lv. *Leviticus*
m meters
m. masculine
M.A. Master of Arts
Ma ʿas. *Maʿaserot*
Ma ʿas. Sh. *Maʿ aser sheni*
Mak. *Makkot*
Makh. *Makhshirin*
Mal. *Malachi*
Mar. Marathi
Mass. Massachusetts
1 Mc. *1 Maccabees*
2 Mc. *2 Maccabees*
3 Mc. *3 Maccabees*
4 Mc. *4 Maccabees*
Md. Maryland
M.D. Medicinae Doctor, Doctor of Medicine
ME Middle English
Meg. *Megillah*
Me ʿil. *Meʿilah*
Men. *Menaḥot*
MHG Middle High German
mi. miles
Mi. *Micah*
Mich. Michigan
Mid. *Middot*
Minn. Minnesota
Miq. *Miqvaʾot*
MIran. Middle Iranian
Miss. Mississippi
Mk. *Mark*
Mo. Missouri
Moʿed Q. *Moʿed qaṭan*
Mont. Montana
MPers. Middle Persian
MS. *manuscriptum,* manuscript (pl., MSS)
Mt. *Matthew*
MT Masoretic text
n. note
Na. *Nahum*
Nah. Nahuatl
Naz. *Nazir*
N.B. *nota bene,* take careful note
N.C. North Carolina
n.d. no date
N.Dak. North Dakota
NEB New English Bible
Nebr. Nebraska

Ned. *Nedarim*
Neg. *Negaʿim*
Neh. *Nehemiah*
Nev. Nevada
N.H. New Hampshire
Nid. *Niddah*
N.J. New Jersey
Nm. *Numbers*
N.Mex. New Mexico
no. number (pl., nos.)
Nor. Norwegian
n.p. no place
n.s. new series
N.Y. New York
Ob. *Obadiah*
O.Cist. Ordo Cisterciencium, Order of Cîteaux (Cistercians)
OCS Old Church Slavonic
OE Old English
O.F.M. Ordo Fratrum Minorum, Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)
OFr. Old French
Ohal. *Ohalot*
OHG Old High German
OIr. Old Irish
OIran. Old Iranian
Okla. Oklahoma
ON Old Norse
O.P. Ordo Praedicatorum, Order of Preachers (Dominicans)
OPers. Old Persian
op. cit. *opere citato,* in the work cited
OPrus. Old Prussian
Oreg. Oregon
ʿOrl. *ʿOrlah*
O.S.B. Ordo Sancti Benedicti, Order of Saint Benedict (Benedictines)
p. page (pl., pp.)
P Priestly (source of the Pentateuch)
Pa. Pennsylvania
Pahl. Pahlavi
Par. *Parah*
para. paragraph (pl., paras.)
Pers. Persian
Pes. *Pesahim*
Ph.D. Philosophiae Doctor, Doctor of Philosophy
Phil. *Philippians*
Phlm. *Philemon*
Phoen. Phoenician
pl. plural; plate (pl., pls.)
PM *post meridiem,* after noon
Pol. Polish
pop. population
Port. Portuguese
Prv. *Proverbs*
Ps. *Psalms*
Ps. 151 *Psalm 151*
Ps. Sol. *Psalms of Solomon*
pt. part (pl., pts.)
1Pt. *1 Peter*
2 Pt. *2 Peter*
Pth. Parthian
Q hypothetical source of the synoptic Gospels
Qid. *Qiddushin*
Qin. *Qinnim*
r. reigned; ruled
Rab. *Rabbah*
rev. revised
R. ha-Sh. *Roʾsh ha-shanah*
R.I. Rhode Island
Rom. Romanian
Rom. *Romans*
R.S.C.J. Societas Sacratissimi Cordis Jesu, Religious of the Sacred Heart
RSV Revised Standard Version of the Bible
Ru. *Ruth*
Rus. Russian
Rv. *Revelation*
Rv. Ezr. *Revelation of Ezra*
San. *Sanhedrin*
S.C. South Carolina
Scot. Gael. Scottish Gaelic
S.Dak. South Dakota
sec. section (pl., secs.)
Sem. Semitic
ser. series
sg. singular
Sg. *Song of Songs*
Sg. of 3 *Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men*
Shab. *Shabbat*
Shav. *Shavuʿot*
Sheq. *Sheqalim*
Sib. Or. *Sibylline Oracles*
Sind. Sindhi
Sinh. Sinhala
Sir. *Ben Sira*
S.J. Societas Jesu, Society of Jesus (Jesuits)
Skt. Sanskrit
1 Sm. *1 Samuel*
2 Sm. *2 Samuel*
Sogd. Sogdian
Soṭ. *Soṭah*
sp. species (pl., spp.)
Span. Spanish
sq. square
S.S.R. Soviet Socialist Republic
st. stanza (pl., ss.)
S.T.M. Sacrae Theologiae Magister, Master of Sacred Theology
Suk. *Sukkah*
Sum. Sumerian
supp. supplement; supplementary
Sus. *Susanna*
s.v. *sub verbo,* under the word (pl., s.v.v.)
Swed. Swedish
Syr. Syriac
Syr. Men. *Syriac Menander*
Taʿ an. *Taʿanit*
Tam. Tamil
Tam. *Tamid*
Tb. *Tobit*
T.D. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō,* edited by Takakusu Junjirō et al. (Tokyo,1922–1934)
Tem. *Temurah*
Tenn. Tennessee
Ter. Terumot
Ṭev. Y. *Ṭevul yom*
Tex. Texas
Th.D. Theologicae Doctor, Doctor of Theology
1 Thes. *1 Thessalonians*
2 Thes. *2 Thessalonians*
Thrac. Thracian
Ti. *Titus*
Tib. Tibetan
1 Tm. *1 Timothy*
2 Tm. *2 Timothy*
T. of 12 *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*
Ṭoh. *ṭohorot*
Tong. Tongan
trans. translator, translators; translated by; translation
Turk. Turkish
Ukr. Ukrainian
Upan. *Upaniṣad*
U.S. United States
U.S.S.R. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Uqts. *Uqtsin*
v. verse (pl., vv.)
Va. Virginia
var. variant; variation
Viet. Vietnamese

viz. *videlicet,* namely
vol. volume (pl., vols.)
Vt. Vermont
Wash. Washington
Wel. Welsh
Wis. Wisconsin
Wis. *Wisdom of Solomon*
W.Va. West Virginia
Wyo. Wyoming
Yad. *Yadayim*
Yev. *Yevamot*
Yi. Yiddish
Yor. Yoruba
Zav. *Zavim*
Zec. *Zechariah*
Zep. *Zephaniah*
Zev. *Zevaḥim*

* hypothetical
? uncertain; possibly; perhaps
° degrees
+ plus
– minus
= equals; is equivalent to
× by; multiplied by
→ yields

appropriation and identity

APPROPRIATION AND IDENTITY

Whatever else they are, images are always deposits of previous forms of image-making, traces of visual thought inherited from the past. This fact makes any given image a particular configuration of preservative or backward-looking impulses and present or even forward-looking ones. In the case of religious imagery, this means that images are something like cultural fossils that are especially useful to religious belief because of their ability to appropriate old motifs for new uses. It is possible, therefore, to plot the changes and cultural developments of religious thought and practice in the material record of art and architecture. Images (as well as song, dance, verse, and music) are not merely incidental to religion, but often the very medium in which belief takes shape.

Images live long lives. Their features and motifs travel far, are copied and often modified by successive generations of artisans, and are used as patterns for new ideas and put to purposes for which they were not originally intended. In some cases, there is no question of intentional appropriation of a visual motif. Haitian Vodou makes explicit use of Catholic iconography and the cult of saints in its imagery and visual practices. Vodou societies possess flags, such as the one illustrated here **(a)**, to represent their group and the gods or goddesses whom they worship. The flag of Sen Jak or Ogou is clearly taken from imagery of Saint Jacques or Saint James, the mounted soldier well known for his pilgrimage church, Santiago de Compostella, in Spain. Ogou is the principal male deity in Vodou, the master of iron and lord of battle who is invoked dur-

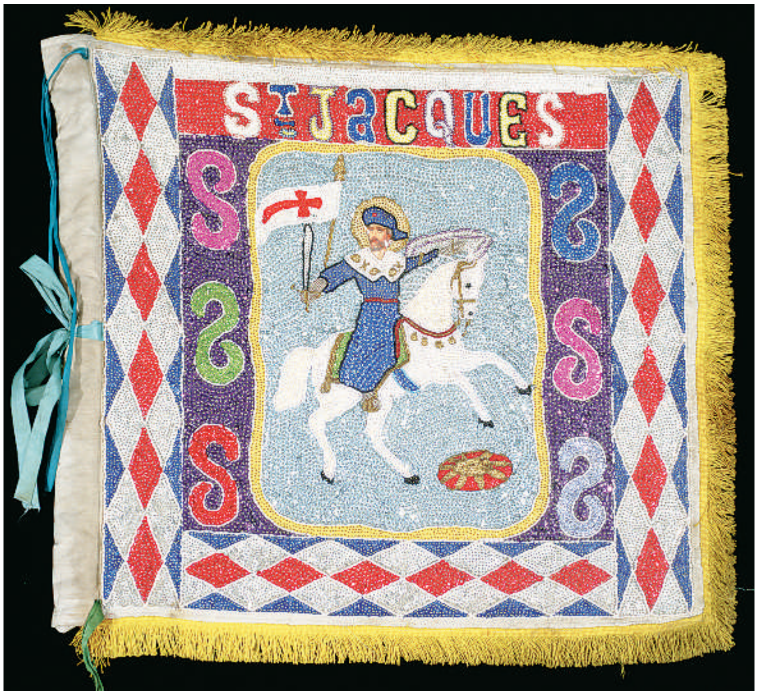

(a) A Haitian Vodou flag *(drapo sevis)*, sewn by Silva Joseph for the male deity Ogou (Sen Jak). *[UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History; photograph by Don Cole]* ing times of crisis and conflict. Among the many Haitians who practice both Vodou and Catholicism, the duality of the image is important. As a consequence of French colonialism, the dual nature of the image signifies both the authority of the dominant religion and the strategy of resistance adopted by Haitians. In other instances, original meanings are readily lost or detached from images and new significance discerned within them. The frontispiece of a medieval Muslim manuscript (not pictured) offered protection from snakebite and did so by combining originally Babylonian iconography (the symbol of the moon in the center) with the visual organization of a Buddhist *maṇḍala*. It has been said of this image that popular belief understood an eclipse to occur when a celestial monster swallowed the sun or moon. It is known that the manuscript was written during an eclipse, which may have been thought to enhance the power of the image and the text's prescriptions to protect against snakebite. Registered in the image, therefore, are pre-Muslim beliefs and an archive of non-Muslim visual motifs that may or may not be associated with the image's meaning.

In yet a third scenario, images (in this case, architectural styles and decorative iconography) offer the select appropriation of many traditions and their deliberate integration into a new religious ideal, as in the case of the Bahā'ī religion. This religion teaches that a single, universal deity has been revealed by important messengers, including Moses, Buddha, Jesus, and Muḥammad, and that a single, universal religion is being progressively revealed. Unity of belief and diversity of believers goes to the heart of the faith and is visually conveyed by the architectural design of Bahā'ī temples around the world **(b)**, each of which integrates elements from many faiths.

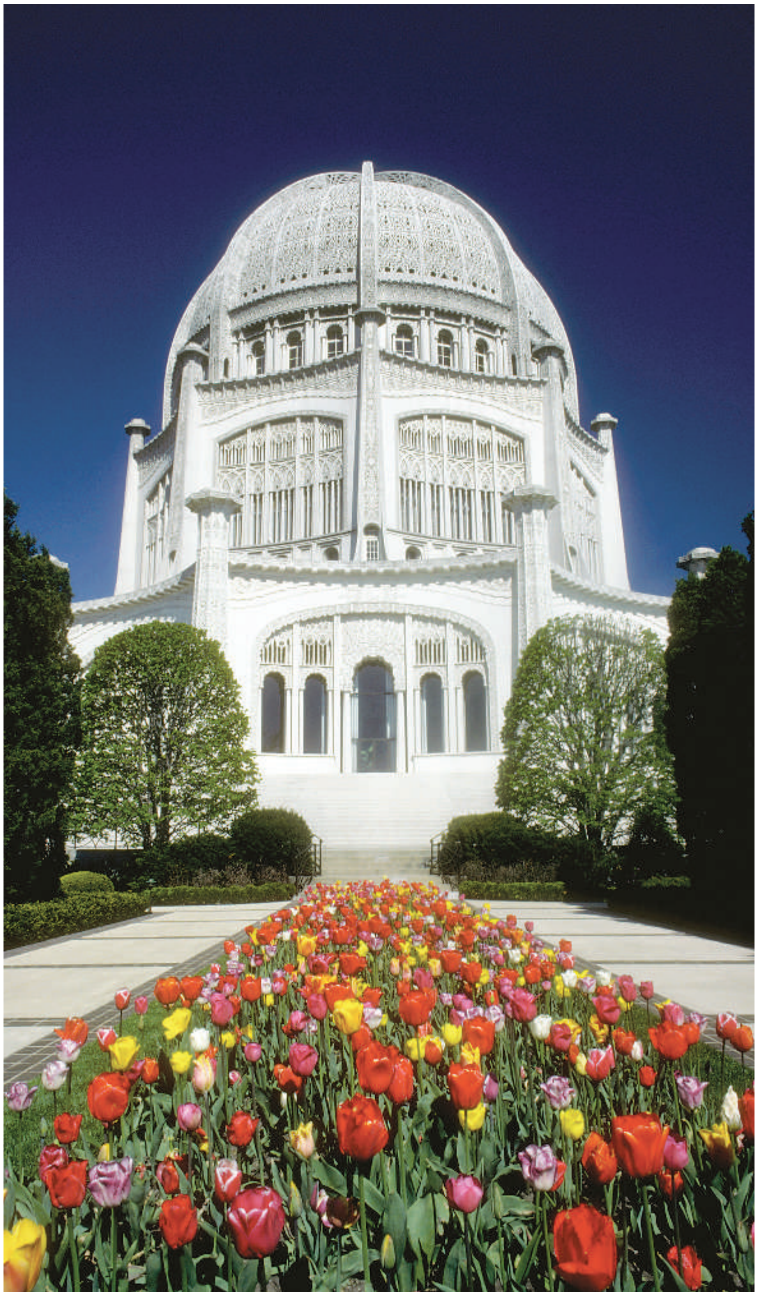

(b) The Bahā'ī House of Worship in Wilmette, Illinois. *[©Richard Hamilton Smith/Corbis]*

As Buddhism developed in northern India and elsewhere, the life of Siddārtha Gautama was understood in terms borrowed from Hinduism, the parent religion of Buddhism. The Buddha himself maintained major features of Hindu thought and practice in his new way, so it is not surprising that elements used to define and affirm the distinctiveness of Buddhism clearly derive from Hinduism, such as the serpent Mucalinda, who arose to protect Siddārtha from the rain as he meditated **(c)**. The small company of Hindu ascetics with whom he had practiced for several years saw in the act of the serpent something that might have reminded them of Viṣṇu **(d)**, who was often shown recumbent on a bed of a multiheaded serpent, which provided shade for the resting deity. Emerging from Buddhist and Hindu traditions, Jainism borrowed the motif for portraying the Jina named Parshvanatha, one of the religion's enlightened few

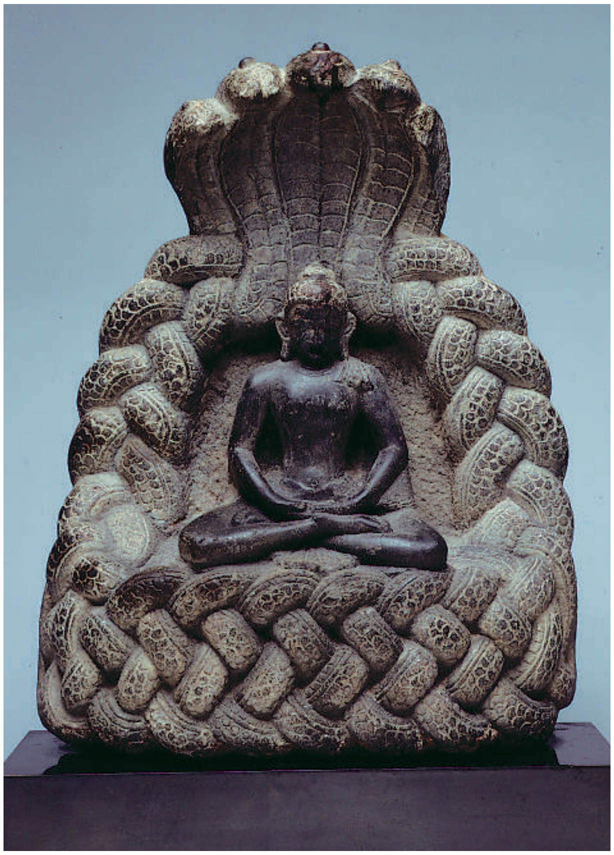

(c) RIGHT. Buddha sheltered by the serpent Mucalinda during meditation, eleventh to twelfth century, Nepal, Kathmandu. *[The James W. and Marilynn Alsdorf Collection, 193.1997; photograph by Michael Tropea; reproduction, The Art Institute of Chicago]* **(d) BOTTOM.** Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī resting on the multiheaded serpent Garuḍa, Kangra school, c. 1870. *[©Victoria & Albert Museum, London/Art Resource, N.Y.]*

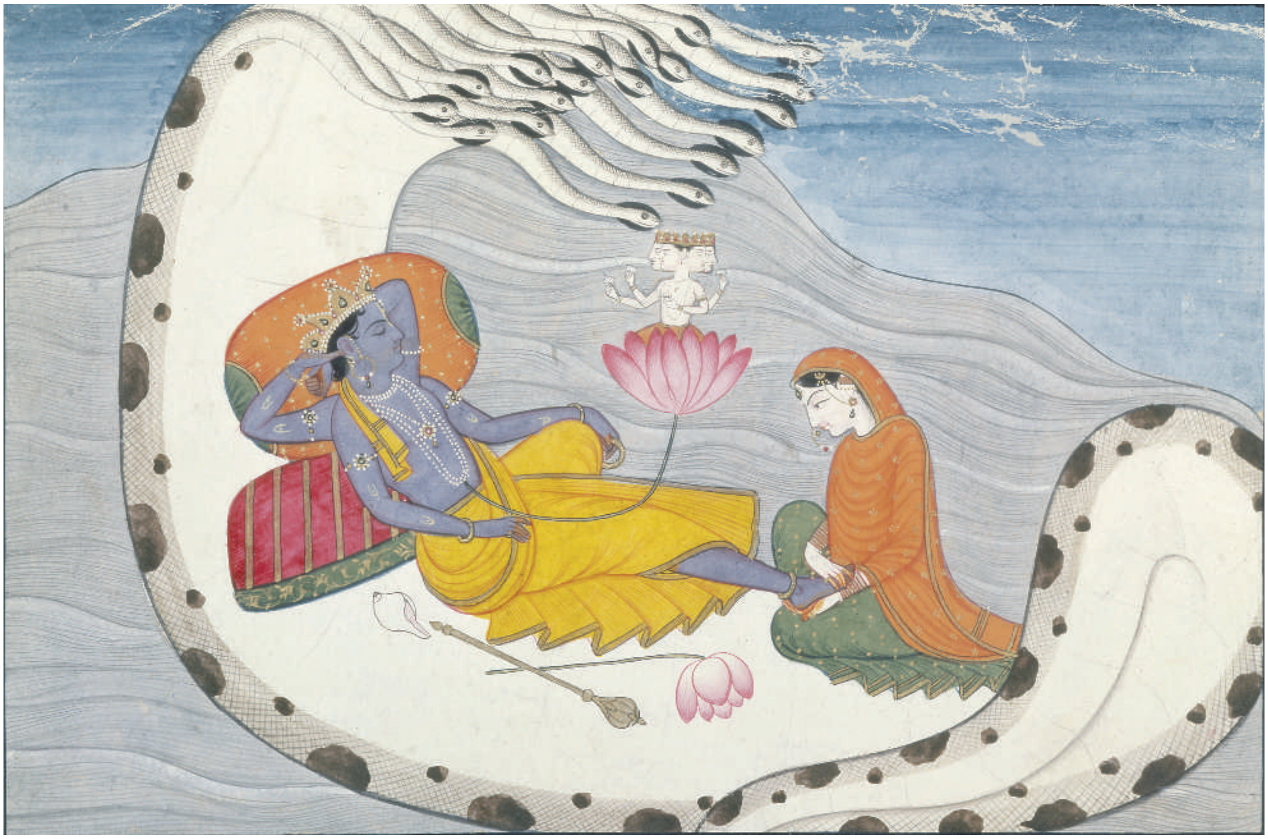

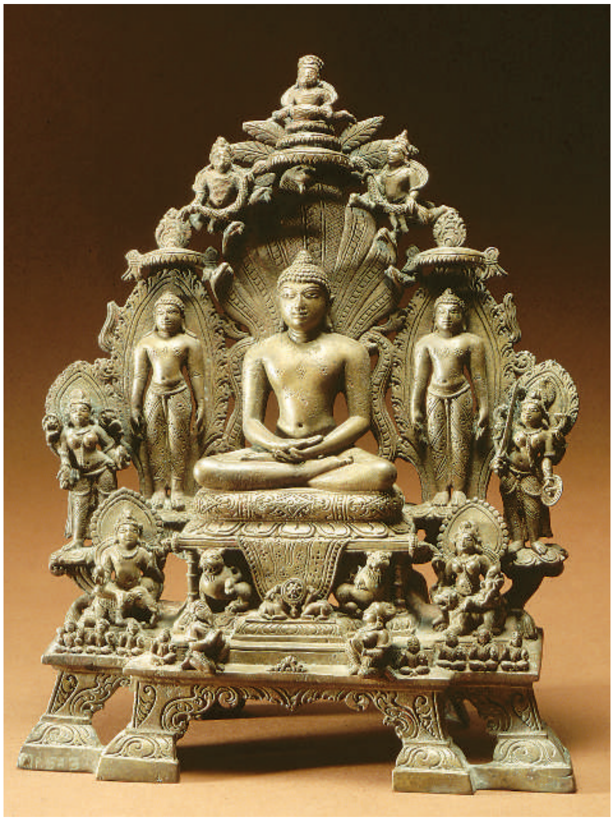

(the equivalent of a *bodhisattva*) who lead the way out of rebirth **(e)**.

Buddhism is an especially resourceful religious tradition, adapting itself to locale and cultural milieu to great effect. As with the saints in many other religions, such as Catholicism and Vodou, the *bodhisattvas* often assume the greatest variety of accommodation. Avalokiteśvara, the *bodhisattva* of compassion, who enjoyed enormous popularity among Mahāyāna Buddhists in India and the Himalayan regions (often receiving even greater attention than the Buddha himself), was portrayed with many heads and arms to signify the watchfulness and abundance of his compassion **(f)**. When Buddhism took root in China, however, Avalokiteśvara morphed into a female equiva-

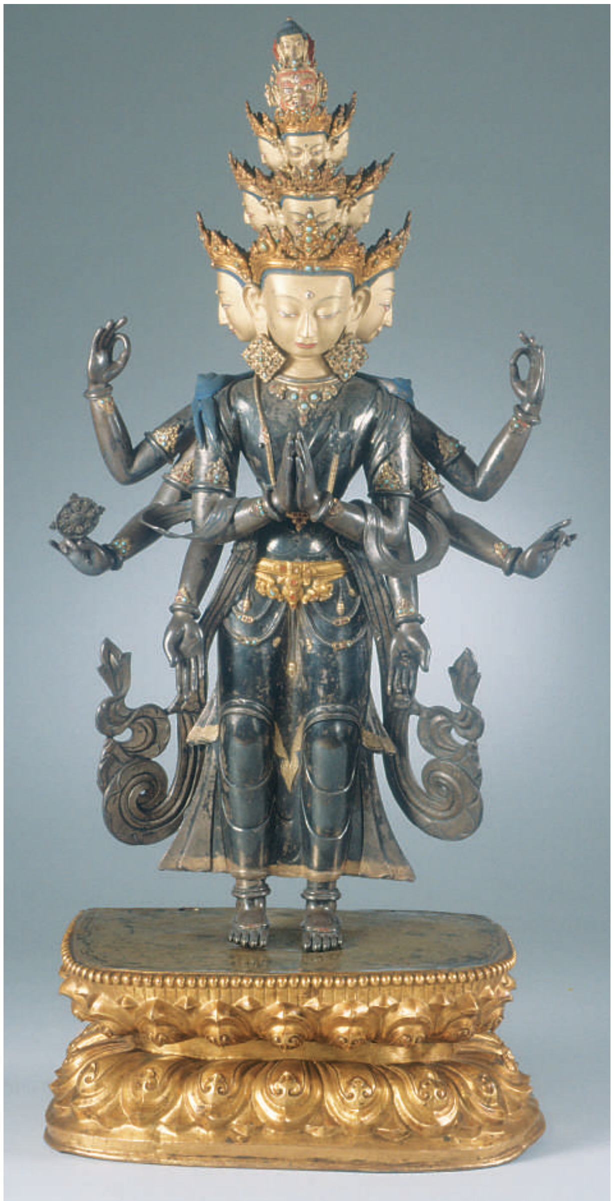

(e) **TOP.** Ninth-century bronze of the Jain teacher Parshvanatha flanked by attendants, beneath the canopy of a multiheaded serpent, Maitraka region, India. *[©Angelo Hornak/ Corbis]* **(f)** **RIGHT.** Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara, 1800, bronze and silver gilt, polychromed and inlaid with semiprecious stones, Eastern Tibet. *[The Walters Art Museum, promised gift of John & Berthe Ford]* lent known as Guanyin, the *bodhisattva* of mercy **(g)**, a pre-Buddhist figure who had been dedicated to assisting mothers in the birth and care of children. As often happens in the history of Buddhism, this transformation was effected by imperial influence: Avalokiteśvara became female when the portrait of an empress was inserted into his depictions in the decorations of her tomb. A Japanese counterpart, Kannon, accompanied the rise of Buddhism in Japan and served as the meeting point of Christianity and Japanese Buddhism when Jesuit missionaries portrayed the Madonna and Child for Japanese converts to Roman Catholicism in the sixteenth century.

It will always be a matter of debate among specialists (as well as among believers, perhaps) what such borrowings and transformations mean. Is the Egyptian motif of Isis suckling Horus on her lap **(h)** the source of early

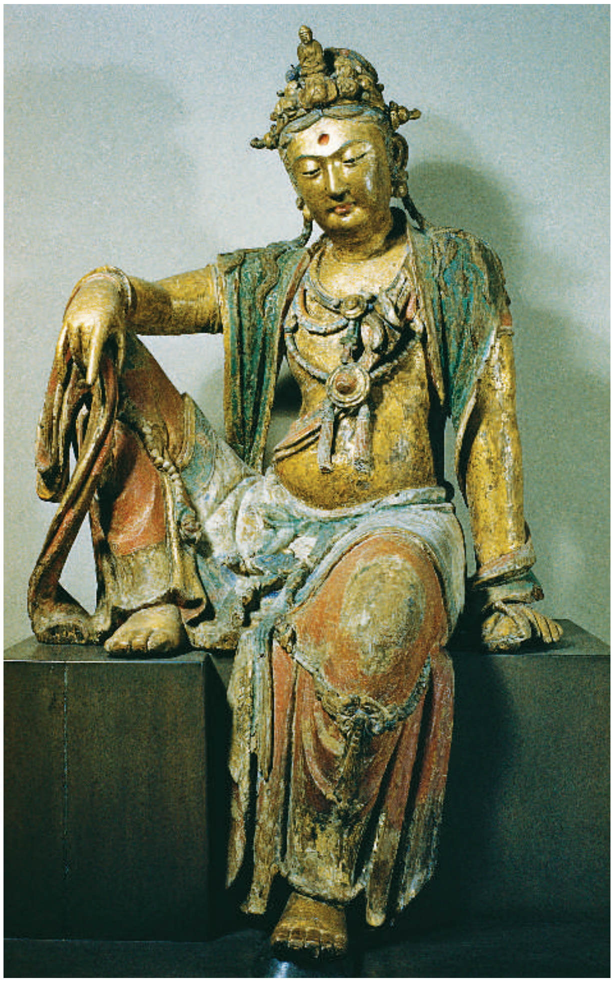

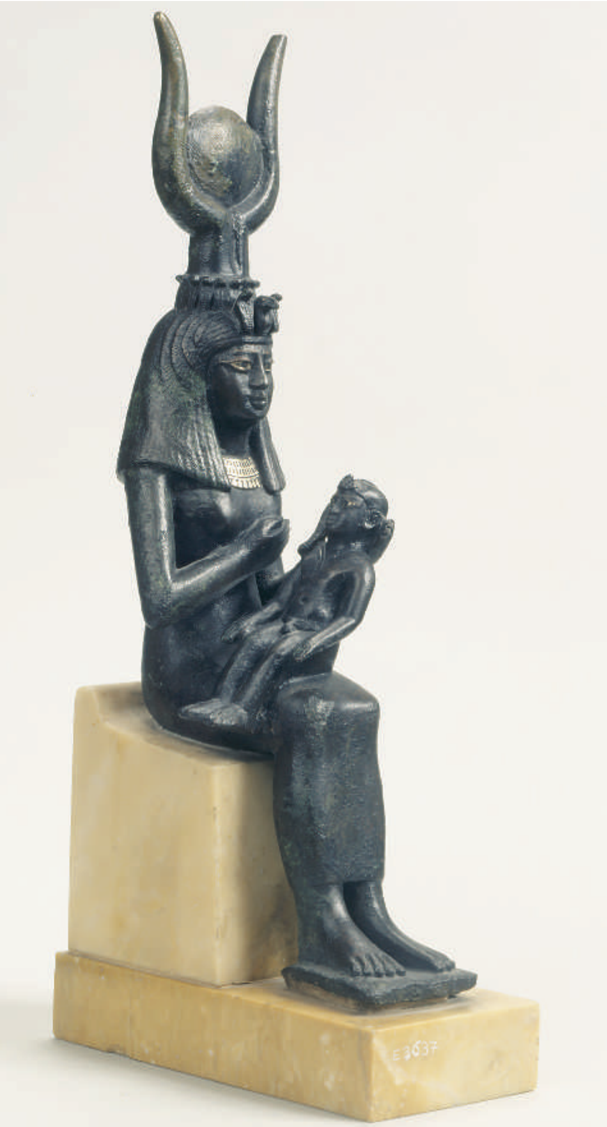

(g) **ABOVE.** Guanyin, the Chinese *bodhisattva* of mercy, Yuan dynasty, c. 1279–1369, polychromed wood. *[©**Burstein Collection/Corbis**]* **(h)** **LEFT.** Bronze sculpture of the ancient Egyptian goddess Isis suckling the infant Horus. *[©**Réunion des Musées Nationaux**/Art Resource, N.Y.]*

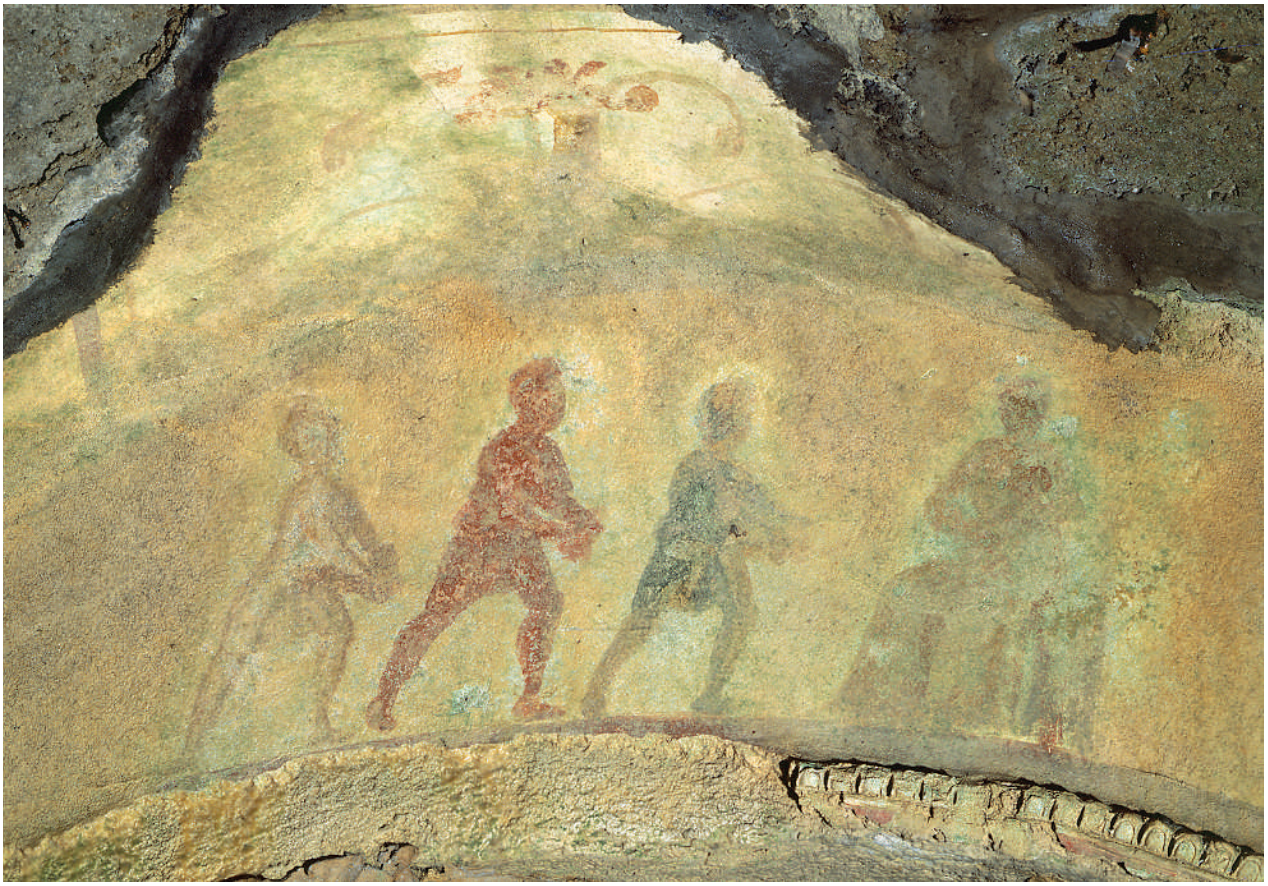

(i) A Roman catacomb image depicting the Magi with Mary and the infant Jesus, from the Catacomb of Priscilla in Rome, c. 200 CE. *[©Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.]*

Christianity's portrayal of the Virgin and Child? If so, does any of the meaning of the Egyptian motif remain in its Christian appropriation? By the same token, the three figures approaching the seated Madonna in a Roman catacomb painting **(i)** are the magi mentioned in the Gospel of Luke, wise men from the East, possibly Zoroastrian priests from Persia (modern Iran), who practiced a monotheistic faith that maintained understandings of soul, conflict of good and evil, afterlife, and eschaton that were shared by Christianity. As an early competitor of Christianity, Zoroastrianism may have deliberately been portrayed in the subordinating motif of the wise men's visit to the newborn Christ. If so, the representation of the three figures, whose form recalls the repetitive silhouettes of Persian relief sculpture, may have been keyed to the visual and theological sensibilities of Zoroastrian converts to Christianity in third-century Rome. Sometimes images may be intended to retain their older associations as a way of subordinating them to their new religious contents.

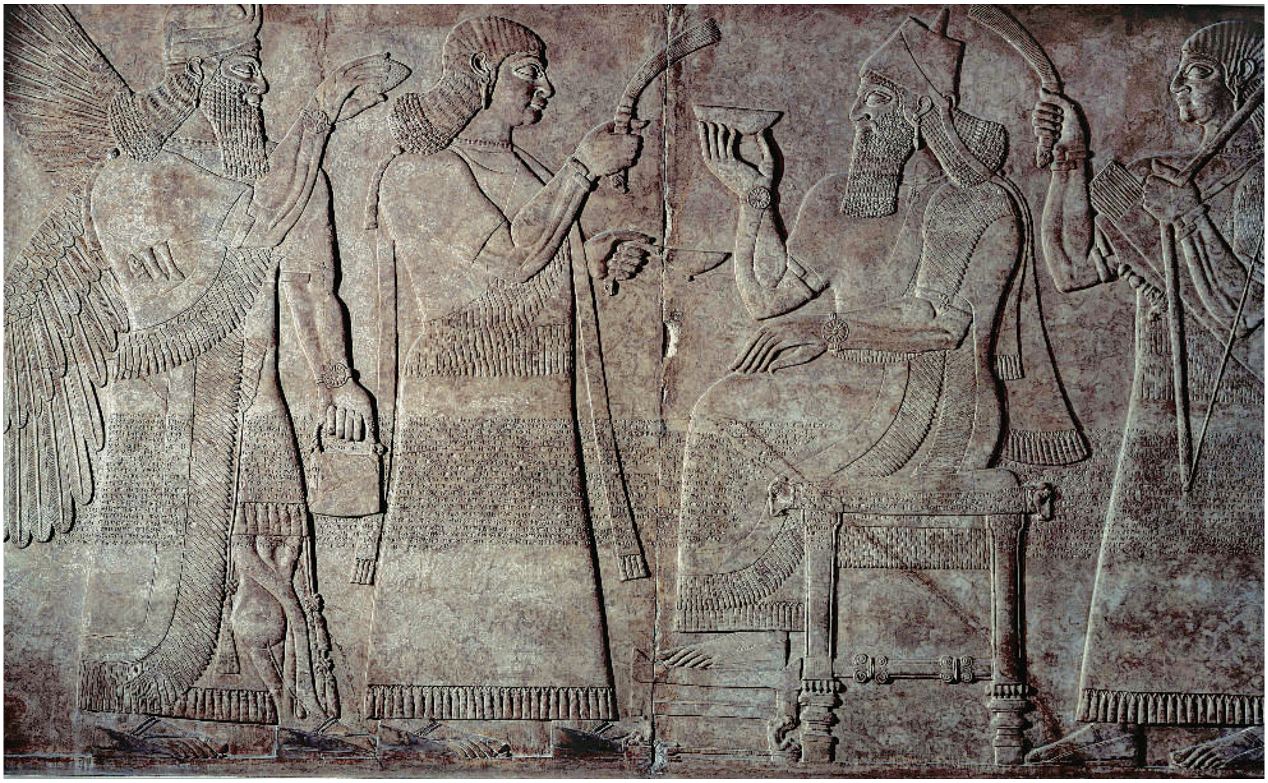

But the survival of visual features does not always mean a continuity of meaning or specific intention. Winged figures, for instance, are a familiar aspect of many different religions and might be historically traced in a long descent from antiquity to the present. In ancient Nimrud winged creatures were depicted on the palace walls of Assyrian kings as divine protectors **(j)**. Winged figures were reported in the Hebrew Bible when writers described angels or messengers of God and apocalyptic figures such as those in the *Book of Ezekiel*. Zoroastrianism portrays the human soul with a winged figure **(k)**, and angels perform important roles in both Islam and Christianity. Gabriel appears to Mary to announce the birth of the messiah and, according to the Qurʾān, to many prophets from Adam to Muḥammad. And it was Gabriel who brought to Muḥammad the revelations that

(j) Above. Limestone relief of Ashurnasirpal II offering protection to the Assyrian kings, 875 BCE, Nimrud, Assyria. *[©The Trustees of the British Museum]* **(k) Right.** Iranian relief of Ahura Mazdā, the chief Zoroastrian deity, c. sixth century BCE, Persepolis, Iran. *[©Charles & Josette Lenars/Corbis]*

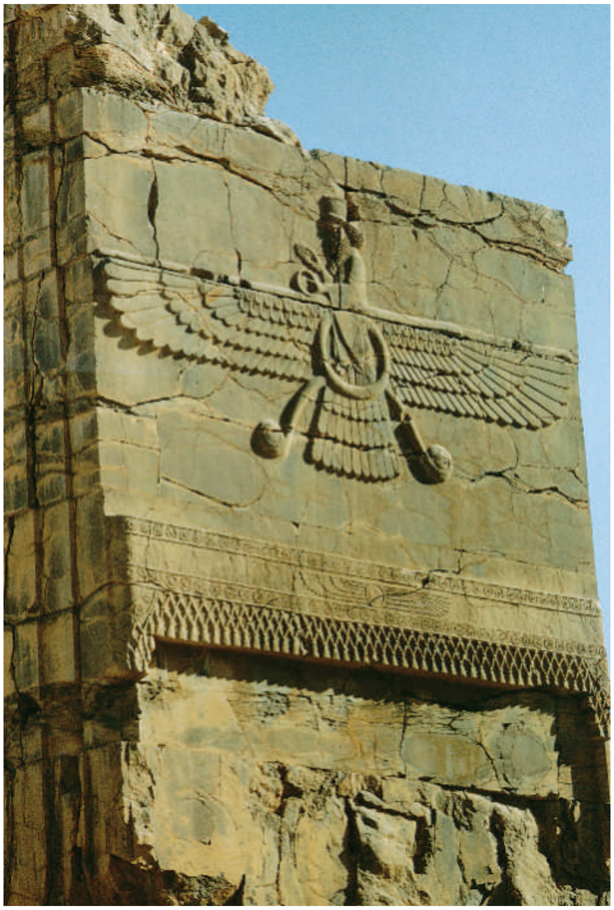

are recorded in the Qurʾān. Another function of winged angels occupies popular Christian piety in the modern age: the benevolent guardian angels who accompany their charges in daily life in order to protect them from mishap or evil **(l)**.

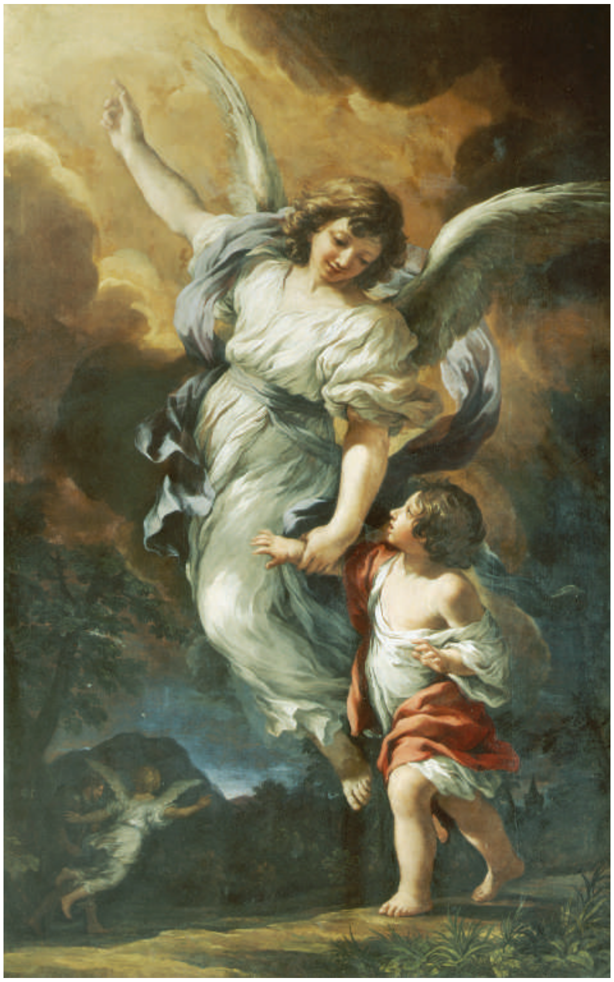

(l) Pietro da Cortona, *The Guardian Angel*, seventeenth century. ***[©Araldo de Luca/Corbis]***

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DAVID MORGAN (2005)

K

KAʿBAH. The Kaʿbah (cube), located in Mecca, is the shrine at the center of the Muslim world. Referred to as the "House of God," (*bayt Allāh*), it is the central point (*qiblah*) on earth toward which all Muslims face when performing daily prayers (*salāt*). Making pilgrimage (*ḥājj*) to the Kaʿbah at least once in a Muslim's life if able, is one of the major religious obligations in Islam. It is also referred to in the Qurʾān (5:95, 97), where it is called *al-bayt* (his house), and also *masjid al-ḥaram* (the sacred mosque).

The present Kaʿbah is a cubelike building made of local Meccan granite and Yemeni mortar. It is 50 feet high, 40 feet on its longest side and about 33 feet on its shorter walls. It is hollow, with a door on the long side about 7 feet above the ground, necessitating rolling stairs to enter. The corners are situated roughly on the points of the compass, with the eastern corner containing the Black Stone (*al-ḥajar al-aswad*) that has been the major feature of the structure since pre-Islamic times. Inside the Kaʿbah, there are gold and silver lamps hanging from a ceiling supported by wooden pillars. The Kaʿbah is covered by a black cloth brocaded in gold and silver, called the *Kiswah* (curtain), containing the words of the declaration of faith (*shahādah*) and quotations from the Qurʾān. This covering is renewed each year, with the old cloth cut into pieces as relics for the pilgrims.

The history of the Kaʿbah demonstrates that the Black Stone is the primary focal point of Muslim veneration, but is not an object of worship, since only the aniconic Allāh is worshiped. While there is only slight mention outside of Muslim accounts of the history of the Kaʿbah, the story told is that it was destroyed and rebuilt several times in Muḥammad's lifetime and afterward by war, fire, and flood. In one incident, the Black Stone, which is really a dark reddish brown, was cracked into three pieces and several fragments, and is now encased in a heavy silver bezel. During Muḥammad's farewell pilgrimage, he kissed the Stone during his circumambulation *(ṭawāf)*, which action has become customary for pilgrims since. The circumambulation, which is counter clockwise, is made as close to the Kaʿbah as possible on a pavement of granite called the *matāf.*

The pre-Islamic records of the Kaʿbah indicate that it was an ancient shrine and place of sacrifice. The geographer Ptolemy refers to Mecca as *Macoraba,* a term that is likely

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Clockwise from top left corner. Kṛṣṇa playing the flute. Kanchipuram, India. ***[©Lindsay Hebberd/Corbis]***; Relief of a winged, lion-headed goddess from Meroe, Sudan. Sudan Archaeological Museum, Khartoum. ***[©Werner Forman/Art Resource, N.Y.]***; Stone victory stele of Naram-Sin, c. twenty-third century BCE. ***[©Gianni Dagli Orti/Corbis]***; A time-exposure photograph of devout Muslims performing ṭawāf, the circumambulation of the Kaʿbah in Mecca, during the ḥājj. ***[Photo by Keystone Features/Getty Images]***; The Khmer horse-headed god Vajimukha, sixth-century, Cambodia. Musée des Arts Asiatiques-Guimet, Paris. ***[©Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.]*** .

cognate with South Arabian *mikrab* (temple), and Northwest Semitic *qurbān* (sacrifice). Arabic records indicate that the Kaʿbah was a place of pagan sacrifice until the arrival of Islam. Qurʾanic verses and Muslim legends assign an importance to the Kaʿbah similar to the position of the Jerusalem Temple for Judaism. Many Western scholars have pointed to similarities among stories about the two shrines. It is said to be at the center of the earth and the location at which Adam first performed worship of God. It is thought to be directly beneath a heavenly counterpart that some hold to be the "real" Kaʿbah. Under heavenly guidance, it is said to have been first constructed by Abraham (Ibrāhīm) and his son Ishmael (Ishmāʾīl) when the *Sakīnah* circled the spot and instructed them to build. The Black Stone is believed to have been brought from heaven by the angel Gabriel (Jibrīl), giving rise to modern, secular speculation that the stone is a meteorite. The nearby well of Zamzam was the source of water for Ishmael and Hagar when they were cast into the desert. Abraham was the first to institute the pilgrimage (*ḥājj*), and it is held to be the location of the graves of Abraham, Ishmael, Hagar and a number of prophets. In the process of rebuilding the Kaʿbah in Muḥammad's early life, a pry bar was placed under the foundation stone to move it, and the whole earth is said to have shook, indicating that it was the foundation of the world. In this reconstruction, Muḥammad acted to resolve a conflict over who would have the honor of restoring the Black Stone by placing it in his cloak and having a representative of each Meccan clan lift the stone into place.

With Muḥammad's conquest of Mecca in 8/629, the accretions and numerous pagan idols that had become associated with the Kaʿbah were purged, and Islamic worship established. It is believed that there were over 360 different idols that had been moved into the Kaʿbah. According to tradition, Muḥammad left an image of Maryam, the mother of Jesus, intact inside of the cleansed Kaʿbah, put there by the Coptic craftsman who helped the Meccans rebuild the shrine. This image was destroyed in the civil wars during the Umayyad period. The sacred precinct around the Kaʿbah thus became the place that Muslims perform the *ḥājj* and the lesser pilgrimage (*umrah*), including the annual ritual sacrifice.

In 64/683, during the attempt of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr to gain the caliphate, the Kaʿbah was nearly destroyed in the siege, and a subsequent fire cracked the Black Stone into three pieces. When the siege was lifted, the Black Stone was repaired with a silver bezel, and the Kaʿbah was rebuilt and enlarged. In 74/693, the Umayyad conquered Mecca, killed al-Zubayr, and undid many of the alterations, returning the Kaʿbah to a simpler form, which it still retains. In 317/929, the Qaramatians (Qarāmitah) carried off the Black Stone, which was restored after twenty years. While the Kaʿbah itself has retained the general size and form it had in Muḥammad's lifetime, much work has been done to improve the surrounding areas to accommodate the *ḥājj* visitors. Since 1376/1956, the stones that paved the *matāf* were relayed, an electric lighting system replaced the oil lamps, water taps have been provided and the walkway between Safā and Marwah used for the *Saʾy* has been covered by a tall ceiling. In keeping with Nahhabi doctrines, the improvements in the Kaʿbah have resulted in the elimination of saint-shrines and other historical and religious spaces.

Nearly all branches of Islam near the Kaʿbah regard the Kaʿbah as a central part of Islamic religious practice. In addition to facing th Kaʿbah during *salāt,* Muslims also bury the dead facing towards it. In the Islamic mystical tradition, its importance has been reinterpreted and linked with a heavenly Kaʿbah that is, according to some, directly above the earthly shrine. Above all, the experience of visiting the Kaʿbah is not veneration of the building or the Black Stone, but an aid to contemplation of God.

SEE ALSO Ḥaram and Hawtah; Pilgrimage, article on Muslim Pilgrimage.

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GORDON D. NEWBY (2005)

KABALLAH SEE QABBALAH

KABERRY, PHYLLIS M.

Phyllis Mary Kaberry (1910–1977), the first anthropologist to study religion and culture from the vantage point of Aboriginal women in Australia, showed that the benefits and responsibilities of the *Ngarrangkarni*—spelled by Kaberry as *Narungani* and translated by her to mean "The Time Long Past"—were equally relevant to women as they were to men. *Ngarrangkarni*, or "The Dreaming," as it is known in the Kimberley, northern Australia, embraces a profound body of Aboriginal religion and law. Often described as a creative epoch that lives on in the present via myth, ritual, art, and oral traditions, the powers of the Dreaming ancestors formed the human and physical world, while also revealing a way of life for humankind to follow. Arguing against peers such as Bronislaw Malinowski (1913), Géza Róheim (1933), and especially W. Lloyd Warner (1937) that Aboriginal religion was an all-male domain, and critical of Émile Durkheim's (1915) sociological thesis that religious beliefs and behaviors could be organized into distinct secular and nonsecular spheres, Kaberry made her findings explicit in *Aboriginal Woman, Sacred and Profane*, first published in 1939.

A graduate of Sydney University and the London School of Economics, Kaberry worked among Bunuba, Gooniyandi, Jaru, Kija, Malgnin, Nyikina, and Walmajarri groups between 1934 and 1936. According to Kaberry, the Time Long Past encompassed various totemic beliefs (such as conception, birth, and clan totems) and complementary symmetrical social divisions or moieties, which provided connections between people and all other life forms. She interpreted conception totems and the animation of spirit children, ultimately born as human beings, as central to the culturally complex and integrated nature of Aboriginal religion and law (Kaberry, 1936, 1937, 1937a, 1939).

Mythological narratives (given expression through performance, song cycles, trading, and artworks) were also described by Kaberry as a medium through which the cosmology occupied a practical socializing role. She wrote, for example, about the mythic rainbow snake, or *kalpurtu,* as the maker of rivers and rain, about social classifications known as subsections, and about marriage laws. Rainmaking also fell into the category of "increase ceremonies," where rituals ordained by ancestral beings were enacted to ensure the stability and replenishment of food and other resources.

In keeping with a holistic approach to Aboriginal religion, Kaberry discussed death as well as birth. She recorded how death and grieving were incorporated into the "sacred and profane" lives of men and women (Kaberry, 1935, 1939). Death in old age was often accepted, but when a child or young adult died, relatives sought reason in the supernatural, such as that a taboo had been broken, an avoidance relationship ignored, or that unauthorized contact with sacred objects had occurred. Kaberry claimed that spirits had the power to influence the living in positive or negative ways. If the deceased was old or very young, for instance, the corpse was buried in the ground. When this was not the case and the cause of death was unclear, the body was placed on a platform in a tree, covered with soft bark, and then left for as long as it took for the flesh to disintegrate. The purpose of this kind of burial was to allow the deceased's juices to fall on stones placed beneath the corpse so that the cause or murderer could be divined. While this took place, the husband or wife and in-laws would smear themselves with mud. Other kin, such as the mother, father, sisters, sons, and daughters, would be painted by grieving family members with ochre. Wives shaved their hair and the belongings of the deceased were distributed to distant kin or burnt. Mourning taboos restricted the consumption of meat, leaving vegetable foods or small fish, grubs, and so on to be eaten. Such taboos could be removed only when the required period for mourning was over.

Kaberry paid some attention to religious rites associated with the initiation of young men, but as a female observer of and participant in a society where both joint and gender-specific activities occurred, her account of men's rituals was understandably limited. She described, however, the role of women during the initiation of male kin (such as men related to them as sons or brothers) and about women-only ceremonies, including *yoelyu.*

There are several features that define Kaberry's contribution to the study of religious beliefs and practices. Firstly, she analyzed the *Narungani* as a rich body of religion, law, and lore central to the reproduction of Aboriginal society and human/land/water relationships. Secondly, in contrast to Durkheim, she argued that cosmological and temporal beliefs, ideas, and actions merged into and were dependent upon each other. Kaberry rejected entirely the notion that Aboriginal religion could be demarcated into disparate religious and secular domains. Thirdly, Kaberry challenged Malinowski, Róheim, and Warner who, when writing about Australian Aboriginal religion, portrayed women as "profane." It is the latter for which Kaberry is most well known, an assessment that has perhaps restricted a full appreciation of her contribution to the study of Australian Aboriginal religion.

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SANDY TOUSSAINT (2005)

KABĪR (fifteenth century CE) was one of the most famous saints and mystics in the Indian tradition. Kabīr is unique in that he is revered by Hindus and Muslims alike, yet his personality and his biography remain shrouded in mystery. The only certain fact about him is that he was born a Julāhā, a low-caste Muslim weaver, in or near the city of Banaras toward the middle of the fifteenth century CE, at a time when North India was under the rule of the Lodi dynasty. The Julāhās were probably recent converts to Islam, and it is not certain that Kabīr himself was circumcised. He refers to the Muslims as "Turks."

The legendary biography of Kabīr includes his alleged persecution by the Muslim ruler Sikander Lodi and his initiation (presumably in the Rāmāite faith) by a rather mysterious Hindu saint known as Rāmānand. The most famous story about Kabīr, however, concerns the saint's death and burial-cremation at Magahar, a small town of ill repute in northeastern Uttar Pradesh, near Gorakhpur. As Kabīr was about to die, two armed parties of his followers allegedly converged on Magahar, ready to fight in order to secure possession of the saint's body. Kabīr retired into a small tent to die, and immediately after his death his body disappeared. Nothing was found but a heap of flowers, which was divided between the two parties: The Muslims buried their share of the flowers on the spot and erected a cenotaph over it; the Hindus cremated their share and later built a *samādhi* (memorial tomb) over it, although most sectarian devotees of Kabīr believe the flowers were cremated at the important Kabīr Chaurā Maṭh in Banaras itself. In later times, Kabīr's fame continued to grow among Hindus. In an attempt to "Hinduize" the saint, devotees told of his having been born miraculously of a brahman virgin widow; she committed the child to the Ganges, but he was saved and reared by Julāhās.

There is no fully authoritative version of the *Kabīrvāṇīs,* the "words of Kabīr." The poet was probably illiterate, and it is certain that he himself never committed anything to writing. His utterances took the form of the popular couplets known as *dohā*s, or the equally popular form of short songs (*pada*s) set to a refrain. His language was a nondescript form of Old Hindi, which may have served as a sort of lingua franca for the wandering holy men of his time. So great was his eloquence, however, that his "words" spread like fire over a large area of Hindustan, at least from Bihar in the east to the Panjab and Rajasthan in the west. Immensely popular, the *Kabīrvāṇīs* were largely imitated and interpolated even before they could be written down. The oldest dated written record is found in the *Guru Granth* of the Sikhs, compiled by Guru Arjun in the Panjab around 1604. In the *Granth,* Kabīr's utterances are recorded as the words of the foremost among the *bhagat*s (devotees or saints) who were the predecessors of Guru Nānak, the founder of the Sikh Panth ("path" or "way"). Two more undated recensions of Kabīr's "words" are known: one in Rajasthan, preserved in the *Pāñcavāṇīs* compiled by the Dādūpanthīs of Rajasthan (c. 1600) and known as *Kabīr Granthāvalī,* and the other, known as the *Bījak,* popularized, if not compiled, in Bihar by putative disciples of Kabīr who called themselves Kabīrpanthīs, although Kabīr himself never founded a sect. The *Bijak* represents the eastern recension of Kabīr's words. A fair idea of Kabīr's teachings, however, can be inferred only from a comparison of the three main recensions.

Some Muslims in the past tended to view Kabīr as a Ṣūfī, because many of his "words" are somewhat similar to those of the most liberal and unorthodox Indian Ṣūfīs. Modern Hindus and Muslims tend to see him as the champion of Hindu-Muslim unity, although Kabīr himself expressed outright rejection of the "two religions" and bitterly castigated their official representatives: pandits and *pāṇḍe*s on the one side, *mulla*s and *kāzi*s on the other. For Kabīr, there could be no revealed religion at all—no Veda, no Qurʾān. All scriptural authority he emphatically denied, and he warned people against searching for truth in "holy books": "Reading, reading, the whole world died—and no one ever became learned!"

There is a tendency in modern times, especially among Hindu scholars with Vaiṣṇava leanings, to view Kabīr as a "liberal" Vaiṣṇava, one opposed—as indeed he was—to caste distinctions as well as to "idol worship," but a Vaiṣṇava all the same, because he made use of several Vaiṣṇava names to speak of God. Actually, Kabīr's notion of God seems to go beyond the notion of a personal god, despite the fact that he may call on Rām or Khudā. If he often mentions Hari, Rām, or the "name of Rām," the context most often suggests that these are just names for the all-pervading Reality—a reality beyond words, "beyond the beyond," that is frequently identified with *śūnya* ("the void") or the ineffable state that he calls *sahaj.* In the same way, though Kabīr often speaks of the *satguru* (the "perfect guru") it is clear that he is not alluding to Rāmānand, his putative guru, nor to any human guru. For Kabīr, the *satguru* is the One who speaks within the soul itself. Although he often borrows the language of Tantric yoga and its paradoxical style to suggest the "ineffable word," Kabīr held all yogic exercises to be absurd contortions and the yogis' pretention to immortality as utter nonsense.

Kabīr's view of the world is a tragic one. Life is but a fleeting moment between two deaths in the world of transmigration. Family ties are insignificant and rest on self-interest. Woman is "a pit of hell." Death encompasses all: Living beings are compared to "the parched grain of Death, some in his mouth, the rest in his lap." There is no hope, no escape for man but in his own innermost heart. Man must search within himself, get rid of pride and egoism, dive within for the "diamond" that is hidden within his own soul. Then only may the mysterious, ineffable stage be achieved within the body itself—a mystery that Kabīr suggests in terms of fusion:

> When I was, Hari was not.
> Now Hari is and I am no more.

For one who has found the hidden "diamond," for one who has passed "the unreachable pass," eternity is achieved. Mortal life seems to linger, though in truth nothing remains but a fragile appearance. In Kabīr's own words:

> The yogin who was there has disappeared:
> Ashes alone keep the posture.

In its rugged, terse, fulgurant brilliance, Kabīr's style is unique. His striking metaphors and powerful rhythms capture the heart of the listener. His scathing attacks on brahmans and the "holy men" of his time have never been forgotten by the downtrodden people of India. Probably no greater voice had been heard on Indian soil since the time of the Buddha, whom Kabīr resembles in more ways than one. His pessimistic view of worldly life, his contempt for holy books and human gurus, his insistent call to inwardness have not been forgotten. His own brand of mysticism may appear godless if one takes "God" as a divine personality. In one sense, Kabīr is not only an iconoclast, he may even be called irreligious—and yet he appears as a master of the "interior religion."

SEE ALSO Adi Granth; Hindi Religious Traditions; Poetry, article on Indian Religious Poetry.

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CHARLOTTE VAUDEVILLE (1987)
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KAGAN, YISRAʾEL MEʾIR (c. 1838–1933), also known as Ḥafets Ḥayyim, was a rabbi, ethical writer, and Talmudist. Born in Zhetel, Poland, Yisraʾel Meʾir Kagan (or ha-Kohen) revealed his scholarly abilities at an early age, and his father decided to devote his life to developing the talents of his son. He took the ten-year-old Yisraʾel to Vilna; there the boy studied Talmud and came under the influence of the Musar movement, which sought the revitalization of the ethical life within the framework of traditional Judaism. After his marriage at the age of seventeen (which was normal for his circle), he moved to Radun, the hometown of his wife. At first he devoted himself to study while being supported by his wife, who ran a grocery store. For a short time afterward he served as the town rabbi, but he left the position when he found himself unsuited for it.

At the age of twenty-six, Kagan took a position as a Talmud teacher in Minsk, and in 1869 he returned to Radun and opened a *yeshivah* there. A few years later he published his first book, *Ḥafets ḥayyim* (Seeker of life), the title of which is the epithet by which he became best known. It is an impressive work on the seriousness of the sins of gossip and talebearing as violations of Jewish law. His concern with morality attracted many students to him and gave him a position of leadership in the developing Jewish Orthodoxy of eastern Europe.

His messianic beliefs led Kagan to set up a program in his *yeshivah* in which students descended from the priestly clan studied intensively the laws of the Temple so that they would be prepared upon its rebuilding. He also published a compilation of laws and texts dealing with the Temple service. At the end of the century he began to publish a commentary on the parts of the *Shulḥan ʿarukh* (a standard code of Jewish law) that deal with rituals, ceremonies, and holidays. This commentary, known as the *Mishnah berurah* (Clear teaching), incorporated the views of the later legal decisors and became the authoritative commentary.

After spending the years of World War I in Russia, Kagan returned in 1921 to newly independent Poland, where he reestablished his *yeshivah.* In his later years he was active in Agudat Yisraʾel (the world Orthodox organization), and during the interwar period he was probably the most influential rabbi in Poland. His influence was due not so much to his intellect as to his absolute honesty, his modesty, and his energy.

SEE ALSO Musar Movement.

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SHAUL STAMPFER (1987)
Revised Bibliography

KAGAWA TOYOHIKO (1888–1960) was a Japanese Christian novelist, social worker, statesman, and evangelist.

He alerted a whole generation of Japanese to the need for a practical expression of Christian ethics and symbolized to non-Japanese the power of faith in action.

Both of Kagawa's parents died before the boy entered school. As a middle-school student he was befriended by American missionaries who converted him to Christianity and treated him like a son. Extremely gifted mentally but weak physically, he spent four months in the hospital and then nine months alone in a hut recuperating shortly after he had entered a theological seminary. His close encounter with death became the basis of his later novel *Shisen o koete* (translated as both *Across the Death Line* and *Before the Dawn*). For the rest of his life, glaucoma and tuberculosis threatened his many activities.

Back in the seminary, Kagawa concurrently started social work in the Kobe slums. After ordination into the Japanese Presbyterian church and marriage, he traveled to the United States to study at Princeton University and Princeton Theological Seminary. This experience abroad began a pattern that developed into frequent lecture trips to many parts of the world. To the West he brought a message of hope based on his experience; in Japan he threw himself into social reform. He supported his slum work by royalties from his writing. He also organized both urban workers and farmers to improve their livelihoods.

In the late 1920s Kagawa moved to Tokyo, which became his headquarters. There he helped found consumer cooperatives and led pacifist movements. On a 1941 trip to the United States, he vigorously opposed militarism. Back in Japan, police incarcerated him several times; his foreign friends made him suspect. Then, when World War II ended, he was made a member of the cabinet formed to proffer Japan's surrender. In the liberal postwar climate after 1945, Kagawa helped form the Socialist party and worked to return Japan to the world community under the United Nations. In 1955 he was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. Until his death, he served as the pastor of a Tokyo congregation.

Kagawa's thought reflected the accomplishments born of his great energy. Quick to analyze a problem, he would form an organization to remedy it, assign it to trusted associates, and move on, giving his friends the sense that he considered the problem solved. Those who questioned problems more deeply found his expression of faith facile. Nevertheless, they could not disagree with his postmillenarian conviction that work in service of the Social Gospel would help realize his aims. His writings all reflected this combination of faith and the need for hard work. The novel *Mugi no hitotsubo* (A grain of wheat) showed how an individual could change the moral climate of a whole village through his dedication to reform. Kagawa's nonfiction works included analyses of economics that showed how cooperation serves the interests of the community better than competition.

Kagawa's tireless writing and other activities drew attention to the very practical aspects of the Christian gospel. He used royalties from the sixteen printings of *Shisen o koete* to help start the Japanese labor movement. He led and assisted groups that worked to alleviate various social wrongs and thereby gained the respect of many individuals who otherwise had little interest in Christianity. He had the highest profile among Japanese Christian leaders. In contrast to most of them, Kagawa also showed respect to foreign missionaries, a number of whom translated his writings for publication in their homelands and arranged speaking tours for him. With more than a dozen titles in English, he remains one of the most translated Japanese writers. During the thirties his message of faithful economic improvement brought hope to North American communities whose self-confidence had been severely eroded by the Great Depression. His name, along with those of other world figures such as Mahatma Gandhi and Jiang Gaishek, became a household word as an example of the fruits of Christian mission.

Events near the end of World War II tarnished Kagawa's saintly image. He broadcast over the Japanese national radio network, invoking Lincoln's second inaugural address (1865) as he urged American troops to lay down their arms. Other Japanese, themselves concerned with war responsibility, felt that this cooperation with the government, however well intentioned, had compromised Kagawa's pacifism. Yet only four decades later his countrymen began to reassess his true worth. More than any other Japanese Christian of his generation, Kagawa tried to implement the Christian gospel in everyday life and formed a bond with Christians throughout the world.

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JOHN F. HOWES (1987)

KAIBARA EKKEN (1630–1714) was a Japanese Neo-Confucian scholar. Ekken was born in Fukuoka on the island of Kyushu in southern Japan. Although he was the son of a samurai family, he had early contacts with townspeople and farmers of the province. This no doubt influenced his later decision to write in simplified Japanese in order to make Confucian teachings available to a wide audience. His father taught him medicine and nutrition, awakening a lifelong interest in matters of health that would culminate in the composition of his well-known book *Yōjōkun* (Precepts for Health Care), completed in 1713. It was his older brother Sonzai, however, who urged Ekken to abandon his early interest in Buddhism and to immerse himself in the Confucian classics. Under Sonzai's tutelage, Ekken became well versed in the classics and in the Neo-Confucian writings of Zhu Xi. During a seven-year stay in Kyoto under the patronage of the lord of the Kuroda domain, he came into contact with the leading Confucian scholars of his time, including Nakamura Tekisai, Kinoshita Jun'an, the botanist Mukai Gensho, and the agronomist Miyazaki Yasusada. These contacts continued throughout his life by virtue of Ekken's numerous trips to Kyoto and Edo. Ekken's tasks as a Confucian scholar included lecturing to the lord of the Kuroda domain and tutoring his heir. In addition, he was commissioned to produce lineage of the Kuroda family that required some sixteen years of research and writing. He also recorded the topography of Chikuzen Province, in a work that is still considered a model of its kind. Ekken's other major research project, entitled *Yamato honzō,* consisted of a classification and description of the various types of plants in Japan. It has been praised by Japanese and Western scholars alike as a seminal work in the history of botany in Japan.

Ekken's enduring interest, however, was the popularization of Confucian ethics and methods of self-cultivation for a wide audience. Accordingly, he wrote a number of *kunmono,* instructional treatises for various groups such as the samurai, the lord, the family, women, and children. His work *Onna Daigaku* (Learning for Women) is especially well known. In addition, he wrote on methods of study, on literature, on writing, on precepts for daily life, and on the five Confucian virtues. Although a devoted follower of Zhu Xi, toward the end of his life he wrote *Taigiroku,* a work that records his "great doubts" about Zhu's dualism of Principle (*li*) and material force (*qi*). Ekken's ideas were influenced by the thought of the Ming scholar Luo Qinshun (1416–1547), who had articulated a monistic theory of *qi.* Ekken felt that the dynamic quality of Confucianism had been lost by certain Song and Ming thinkers, and he hoped through the monist theory of *qi* to reformulate a naturalism and vitalism that he, like Luo, viewed as essential to Confucian thought. Consequently, Ekken was concerned to articulate the vital impulse of the material force that suffused all reality. His thought can thus be described as a naturalist religiosity rooted in profound reverence and gratitude toward Heaven as the source of life and earth as the sustainer of life. He felt that by recognizing one's debt to these "great parents," human beings activated a cosmic filiality toward all living things. This idea of filiality implied that one should preserve nature, not destroy it. The highest form of filiality was humaneness (*jin*), through which humans formed an identity with all things. Ekken, then, was a reformed Zhu Xi scholar whose broad interests, voluminous writings, and naturalist religiosity mark a high point in Japanese Neo-Confucian thought.

SEE ALSO Confucianism in Japan.

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KALĀBĀDHĪ, AL-

KALĀBĀDHĪ, AL- (d. AH 380/5, 990/5 CE), more fully Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kalābādhī; was the author of a famous treatise on early Sufism. As his name indicates, he was a native of the Kalābādh district of Bukhara. Details of his biography are lacking, but he is stated to have been a pupil of the Ṣūfī Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī and a Ḥanafī jurist with pro-Māturīdī views who studied jurisprudence (*fiqh*) under Muḥammad ibn Faḍl.

Of the works attributed to al-Kalābādhī, two are extant. The *Maʿānī al-akhbār,* also known as *Baḥr al-fawāʾid* and by other titles, was compiled in 985 and remains as yet unpublished. It consists of a brief ethical commentary, Ṣūfī in coloring, on 222 selected traditions of the Prophet and includes parallel passages cited in al-Kalābādhī's principal work, the *Kitāb al-taʿarruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf.* This masterpiece has been edited several times, most reliably by A. J. Arberry (Cairo, 1933), who also translated it into English with a detailed introduction as *The Doctrine of the Sufis.*

The work is a principal source for the development of early Sufism (second/eighth to fourth/tenth centuries). It is divided into seventy-five chapters that fall into two parts. Beginning with a sketchy introductory survey of important early Ṣūfīs, the first part sets out the tenets of Islam as accepted by the Ṣūfīs; these can be traced back to the articles of faith elaborated in the creed known as *Al-fiqh al-akbar II* (The Greater Understanding II), which, it seems, al-Kalābādhī quotes directly. The second part discusses the ascetic endeavors, spiritual experiences, technical terms, and miraculous phenomena of the Ṣūfīs, based on their sayings and verses.

Throughout the work it is al-Kalābādhī's stated purpose to stave off the decay of Sufism and to prove that Sufism lies within the boundaries of Islamic orthodoxy. As a primary source for the history of early Sufism, al-Kalābādhī's *Taʿarruf* may rank with the works of al-Sarrāj (d. 988), Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 996), and al-Sulamī (d. 1021).

The *Taʿarruf* reflects the Ṣūfī tradition that became current in Transoxiana during Samanid times. It soon achieved the status of an authoritative treatise on Sufism, and commentaries were written on it. The most important of these is the Persian *Nūr al-murīdin wa-fa-zīhat al-muddaʾīn,* also known as *Sharḥ-i Taʿarruf* (Commentary on the *Taʿarruf*), of Abū Ibrāhīm Ismāʿīl ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Mustamlī (d. 1042), a Ṣūfī of Bukhara. The work is the oldest surviving Ṣūfī treatise in Persian prose and is extant in several manuscripts, one of them copied in 1081. The value of this voluminous source for the development of Sufism in Transoxiana lies in its copious comments on each Ṣūfī statement quoted in the *Taʿarruf,* and in the fact that it was compiled with apparently no motive other than the instruction of Ṣūfī disciples. From the point of view of the Persian language, the work gives testimony to dialectal forms of tenth-century Persian, with an extraordinarily frequent occurrence of Arabic words.

The commentary on the *Taʿarruf* ascribed to ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Anṣārī (d. 1089) appears to be lost, while the *Ḥusn Al-taʿarruf,* an Arabic commentary on the work written by the Shāfiʿī judge ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Ismāʿīl al-Qūnawī (d. 1327 or 1329), is extant in manuscript. There is also an anonymous Arabic commentary that is erroneously ascribed to Yaḥyā Suhrawardī (d. 1191), who nonetheless summed up the importance of the *Taʿarruf* in the watchword: "But for the *Taʿarruf* we should not have known of Sufism."

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KĀLACAKRA ("Wheel of Time"; Tib., *dus kyi 'khor lo*; Mong., *čay-un kürdü*) is the Sanskrit name for the principal male deity and personification of the *Kālacakra Tantra,* an Indian Buddhist esoteric treatise belonging to the class of unexcelled yoga-tantras (*anuttarayoga-tantra*). In this Tantric tradition, the deity Kālacakra represents spiritual knowledge (*vidyā*) and the state of immutable bliss, which is attainable only through the yogic practices that are specific to the Kālacakra tradition. Kālacakra is a single, unified reality, which is given different names in the Kālacakra tradition: Ādibuddha (Primordial Buddha), *sahajakāya* (innate body), *jñānakāya* (gnosis body), *viśuddhakāya* (pure body), *vajrayoga* (indestructible union), and the like. This nondual reality has two main aspects: the phenomenal world of multiplicity (*saṃsāra*) and the unitary ultimate reality (*nirvāṇa*).

The Kālacakra tradition is the latest Buddhist tantric system to appear in India. While retaining its distinctive Buddhist tradition, the Kālacakra tradition integrates a variety of non-Buddhist Indian elements. The most prominent of these are Śākhya and Jainism. Likewise, a number of non-Buddhist Indian deities encountered in Hindu tantric systems have a place in the Kālacakra pantheon. Although the *Kālacakra Tantra* shares some general characteristics with other Unexcelled Yoga Tantras in terms of tantric yogic practice, it differs from others in its goal of the attainment of the empty form (śūnyatā-bimba) that is devoid of matter, and in the path to that goal, namely, the *Kālacakra Tantra's* six-phased yoga.

Another unique feature of the Kālacakra tradition is its close affiliation with the mythical land of Śambhala and its kings, not only in terms of its history but also in its future role in Buddhism. It prophesizes an apocalyptic battle between Raudra Cakri, the King of Śambhala, and the malevolent King of the barbarians, whom Raudra Cakri will defeat. The calculations pertaining to the time of the battle are contained in Kālacakra's elaborate astrological system.

Regarding the individual, the term *kālacakra* signifies the circulation of vital energies (*prāṇa*) within the circular passages in the body; in terms of the cosmos, it designates the passing of days, months, and years in the cycle of time. Regarding the ultimate reality, the term *kālacakra* refers to the nonduality of the two facets of enlightened awareness-emptiness (*śūnyatā*) and compassion (*karuṇā*), or wisdom (*prajñā*) and method (*upāya*). It further denotes the unity of the Buddha's mind, or the supreme, indestructible knowledge, and his body, or a phenomenal world, which is the object of that knowledge. Kālacakra's consort is Viśvamātā (Tib., Sna tshogs yum; Mong., Visiyamada), who is the personified perfection of wisdom.

HISTORY OF THE KĀLACAKRA TRADITION. The early history of the Kālacakra tradition in India is abstruse, since the earliest holders of the tradition remain shrouded by pseudonyms. The most prominent early masters of the Kālacakra tradition in India were Piṇḍo, Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (also known as Atīśa), Nāro, Śrībhadrabodhi, Somanātha, Anupamarakṣita, Abhayākāragupta, Raviśrījñāna, Śakyaśrībhadra, and Vibhūticandra. An important reference for establishing the period of the propagation of the Kālacakra tradition in India is found in the *Kālacakra Tantra* (chap. 1, v. 27) and in the *Vimalaprabhā* (Stainless light) commentary. These two sources mention the end of the sexagenary cycle that comes 403 years after the Hijirī era of 623 CE as the earliest period in which the *Kālacakra Tantra* was promulgated in India. Thus, the year 1026 CE, which was the last year of the reign of King Mahīpāla of Bengal, a great supporter of Buddhism in India, is established as the year of the *Kālacakra Tantra's* composition.

According to the legendary accounts of the Kālacakra tradition, the existing version of the *Kālacakra Tantra* is said to be an abridged version of a larger original Tantra called the *Paramādibuddha Tantra* (Tantra of the primordial Buddha), which reportedly consisted of twelve thousand verses. According to the *Vimalaprabhā* (chap. 1), the extant version of the *Kālacakra Tantra* was taught by Buddha Śākyamuni to Sucandra, the king of Śambhala, and an emanation of Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi in the Dhāṇyakaṭaka stupa, situated in the vicinity of the present-day village of Amarāvatī in Andhra Pradesh. Having returned to Śambhala, King Sucandra wrote it down and disseminated it throughout his kingdom.

Sucandra's six successors continued to maintain the Kālacakra tradition, and the eighth king of Śambhala, Mañjuśrī Yaśas, composed the abridged version, known as the *Laghukālacakratantrarāja* (Sovereign abridged *Kālacakra Tantra*). Existent Sanskrit variants of the abridged version are written in the *śradgharā* meter (four lines of twenty-one syllables each) and contain between 1,030 and 1,037 verses. The tradition holds that Mañjuśrī Yaśas's successor Puṇḍarīka, an emanation of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, composed the *Vimalaprabhā,* an extensive 12,000-line commentary on the *Kālacakra Tantra.*

Tibetan sources on the history of the *Kālacakra Tantra* differ in their accounts of the *Kālacakra Tantra's* history in India. According to the Tibetan Rwa tradition, Indian Buddhist master Cilupā of Orissa, after studying the *Kālacakra Tantra* in Ratnagiri in the second half of the tenth century, set out on a journey to Śambhala to receive further teachings on the text. Having returned to India in 966 CE, Cilupā taught the *Kālacakra Tantra* to his three disciples and wrote a commentary on it. His most important disciple, Piṇḍo Ācārya, later taught the *Tantra* to Kālacakrapāda the Senior, from Bengal, who in turn passed on the tradition to his disciples, among whom the most important is Kālacakrapāda the Junior. To facilitate the propagation of the Kālacakra tradition in all of the regions of India, Kālacakrapāda the Junior built a Kālacakra temple at Nālandā in the present-day state of Bihar, where he taught the *Kālacakra Tantra* and wherefrom the Kālacakra tradition widely spread. A disciple of Kālacakrapāda the Junior by the name of Mañjukīrti passed on the tradition to the Newari *paṇḍita* Samantaśribhadra, who in the later part of the eleventh century assisted the Tibetan translator Rwa lo tsa ba rdo rje grags pa (Ra lotsawa dorje drak pa) in translating the *Kālacakra Tantra* and *Vimalaprabhā* into Tibetan. This translation marked the beginning of the Kālacakra Rwa lineage in Tibet, which became influential in the Sa skya (Śākya) school of Tibetan Buddhism.

According to the Tibetan 'Bro tradition, the *Kālacakra Tantra* was brought to India during the reign of Kalkī Śrīpāla in Śambhala. He gave a transmission to Kālacakrapāda the Senior, from whom the Kālacakra tradition was successively transmitted through Kālacakrapāda the Junior to the Kāśmiri *paṇḍita* Somānātha. In the early eleventh century, Somānātha assisted Tibetan translator 'Bro shes rab grags (Dro sherap drak) in translating the Kālacakra literature into Tibetan. This initiated the Kālacakra 'Bro lineage in Tibet, which was passed on to Bsgom pa dkon mchog gsum (Gompa Könchok sum) of the Bka' gdams (Kadam) pa school, subsequently to the eighth Karma pa, Mi bskyod rdo rje (Mikyo Dorje, 1507–1554), and then to Dol bu pa shes rab rgyal mtshan (Dölbupa sherap gyaltsan; 1292–1361) of the Jonang school. It was later transmitted by Tārānātha (1575–1643), through whom it reached the Zhang pa Bka' brgyud (Zhangpa Kagyu) school.

An important figure in bringing together the Rwa and 'Bro lineages was Bu ston rin chen grub (Butön rinchendrub, 1290–1364). His disciple transmitted both traditions to Rje Tsong kha pa (1357–1419), the founder of the Dge lugs (Geluk) pa school, who in turn transmitted it to his disciple Mkhas grub Dge legs dpal bzang (1385–1438).

A later tradition called Tsami was established by Tsa mi sangs rgyas grags pa (Tsami sangye drakpa) and Siddha Orgyen pa, who passed it on to the third Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje (Rangjung Dorje, 1284–1339). Gyi jo zla ba'i 'od zer (Gyijo dawei özer), who was the first to translate Kālacakra texts into Tibetan under the guidance of Indian *paṇḍita* Śrībhadrabodhi in 1026 CE, established the earliest Kālacakra lineage in Tibet. His lineage was passed on to 'Brom lo tsa ba padma 'od zer (Drom lotsawa padma özer), and it reached the Jonang pa school through Jonang Kun spang thugs brtson 'grus (Jonang Künpang tuk tsöndrü) (1243–1313), the founder of Jonang monastery.

Among the Tibetan scholars who produced an extensive amount of commentarial literature on the *Kālacakra Tantra,* Rgyal tshab dar ma rin chen (Gyaltsap darma rinchen; 1364–1432), Stag tshang lo tsa ba (Taktsang lot sawa), and 'Ju Mi pham rgya mtsho (Ju mipan gyatso; 1846–1912) are also worthy of mention.

CONTENT OF THE *KĀLACAKRA TANTRA.* The *Kālacakra Tantra* is divided into five chapters, which are categorized by the Tibetan tradition into three main divisions—the Outer, Inner, and Alternative Kālacakra.

1. The Inner Kālacakra (chap. 1: "The Cosmos") deals with cosmology, astrology, chronology, and eschatology. It describes in detail the nature of time and the elementary particles of the cosmos, along with the origination, configuration, measurements, and dissolution of the cosmos and its constituents. It interprets the cosmos as a four-tiered *maṇḍala* and as the cosmic body of the Buddha.

2. The Outer Kālacakra (chap. 2: "The Individual") deals with human embryology and subtle psychophysiology, astro-medicine, medical botany, yogic and ritual therapies, and alchemy. It discusses the formation, functions, and disintegration of the human body, speech, and mind. It interprets the individual as a microcosmic representation of the cosmic *maṇḍala,* as a cycle of time, and as an abode of the four bodies of the Buddha (*sahajakāya, dharmakāya, saṃbhogakāya,* and *nirmāṇakāya*).

3. The Alternative Kālacakra (chaps. 3–5: "Initiation," "Sādhana," and "Gnosis") deals with the practice of Kālacakra, which is generally divided into three main stages—initiation (*abhiṣeka*), the stage of generation (*utpattikrama*), and the stage of completion (*saṃpannakrama*).

Kālacakra initiation involves the initiate's entrance into the Kālacakra *maṇḍala,* purification and empowerment by the deities in the *maṇḍala,* a series of meditations and recitations of *mantras,* and the taking of Tantric vows and pledges. The stage of initiation consists of eleven successive initiations. The first seven initiations are the water, crown, crown pendant, *vajra* and bell, conduct, name, and permission initiations; the four higher initiations are the vase, secret, wisdom, and gnosis. The successive initiations are analogous to the individual's progression on the Buddhist path from a layperson to a buddha.

The stage of generation involves the practice of conceptual meditation in which one mentally creates the Kālacakra *maṇḍala* with its various deities and imagines oneself as the Kālacakra deity standing in the center of the *maṇḍala,* holding the *vajra* and bell, and embracing Viśvamātā. The *maṇḍala* represents a sublimated cosmos and a mother's body insofar as the mental creation of the *maṇḍala* and its deities is analogous to the individual's conception, development in the mother's womb, and birth. The deities in the *maṇḍala* represent the purified aspects of the Buddha's four bodies, or the sublimated aspects of the individual's gnosis, mind, speech, and body. The *maṇḍala* embodies the Kālacakra *mantra: oṃ haṃ kṣa ma la ca ra ya svāhā.* The stage of generation also involves certain sexual yogic practices with either an actual consort or an imagined consort. The goal of this stage of practice is the accumulation of merit and further purification through the transformation of the individual's conception of the world.

The stage of completion involves meditation on the form of emptiness (*śūnyatā-bimba*) by means of the practice of the six-phased *yoga* (*ṣaḍ-aṅgayoga*). This six-phased yoga of Kālacakra consists of the following phases: retraction (*pratyāhāra*), meditative stabilization (*dhyāna*), breath control *(prāṇāyāma),* retention (*dhāraṇā*), recollection (*anusmṛti*), and *samādhi.* The *samādhi* phase is characterized by the generation of 21,600 moments of the immutable bliss, which, coursing through the six bodily chakras, eliminate the material aspects of the four drops in the individual's body and facilitate their manifestation as the four bodies of the Buddha. Thus, 21,600 moments of bliss transform the material and perishable nature of the individual's body and mind into the empty form and the gnosis of imperishable bliss, called *Kālacakra.*

ICONOGRAPHY OF KĀLACAKRA. In Buddhist iconography, Kālacakra is depicted as standing on a lotus, which is on the disks of the sun, moon, and Rāhu, with the right knee advanced and the left leg retracted (the *ālīḍha* posture), crushing Kāmadeva and Rudra with his two feet. He has a dark blue body, symbolizing day and night; three throats, each of which represent four zodiac signs; four faces, each of which represent three zodiac signs; twelve shoulders, representing the twelve months of the year; twenty-four arms holding various weapons; and 360 joints of the hands, symbolizing 360 days of the year. He is embraced by a yellow, twelve-eyed Viśvamātā, standing with the left foot advanced and the right leg retracted (the *pratyālīḍha* posture).

Since the 1980s, the Kālacakra tantric system has been gaining popularity in Europe and the United States, in part because the Dalai Lama has offered initiations each year in Western countries in the belief that the time of Śambhala is approaching and in order to generate a karmic connection for Buddhist practitioners to Śambhala.

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KALĀM. In common usage *kalām* signifies speech, language, sentence, proposition, words, but in the field of Muslim religious thought it has two particular meanings: the word of God (*kalām Allāh*) and the science of *kalām* (*ʿilm al-kalām*), which may be understood as dogmatic theology or more precisely the defensive apologetics of Islam. Apart from a few preliminary remarks on *kalām* as the word of God, the present article is devoted to *kalām* in the latter sense.

ETYMOLOGY AND DEFINITIONS. *Kalām Allāh* is mentioned several times in the Qurʾān (for example, *sūrahs* 2:75, 9:6, 48:15). God spoke to the Prophets (2:253). He "spoke clearly to Moses" (4:164, 7:143, and elsewhere). However, one finds neither *kalām* nor *mutakallim* (speaking) in the list of the most beautiful names of God (*asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā*). Rather, it was the theologians who, on the basis of Qurʾanic evidence, ascribed the attribute of *kalām* to God and designated the Qurʾān as *kalām Allāh.* From this development arose the very controversial problem of the relationship of the Qurʾān to the Word as a divine attribute. Here it may be mentioned in passing that during the European Middle Ages, Thomas Aquinas described the *mutakallimūn* (whose occasionalism and negation of causality he refuted) as "loquentes in lege maurorum" ("those who speak on behalf of Islam").

As for the science of *kalām,* this term came to mean Muslim dogmatic theology. In his effort to determine the origin of the usage, Harry A. Wolfson suggests that the word *kalām* was used to translate into Arabic the different meanings of the Greek term *logos* as "word," "reason," "argument." It was also used to signify the act of expounding or discussing a specific science, and the *mutakallimūn* became those who deal with this science, for example *al-kalām al-ṭabīʿī, peri phuseos logoi.* The "physicians" (*phusikoi, phusiologoi*) are sometimes called *al-mutakallimūn fī al-ṭabīʿīyat,* those who deal with questions of physics. The Greek term *theologoi* is translated by *aṣḥāb al-kalām al-ilāhī* or *al-mutakallimūn fī ilāhīyāt* (i.e., those who deal with the divine). Gradually, the term came to signify the specific, perfectly defined science that is the object of the present study.

In his renowned *Muqaddimah,* Ibn Khaldūn gives the following definition of *ʿilm al-kalām:* "The science of *kalām* is a science that involves arguing with logical proofs in defense of the articles of faith and refuting innovators who deviate in their dogmas from the early Muslims and Muslim orthodoxy. The real core (*sirr*) of the articles of faith is the oneness of God" (Cairo, n.d., p. 321; trans. Rosenthal, New York, 1958, vol. 3, p. 34).

This role of defensive apologia and of apologetics attributed to the science of *kalām* has remained standard in Islam. The modernist *shaykh* Muḥammad ʿAbduh wrote that the purpose of *kalām* was the "fixing of religious beliefs for the aim of working to conserve and consolidate religion" (*Riṣālat al-tawḥīd,* p. 5; trans., p. 5).

Al-Ījī (d. 1356), commented on at length and intelligently by al-Jurājnī (d. 1413), initially defines the function of *kalām* as seeking "to guarantee the proof (of the existence) of the Creator and of his unicity" (*Mawāqif,* vol. 1, p. 26). Later in the same work he explains that "*kalām* is the science that bears the responsibility of solidly establishing religious beliefs by giving proofs and dispelling doubts" (pp. 34–35). He goes on to state explicitly the purpose, the usefulness, the degree of excellence, the questions treated, and the explanation of the chosen term.

Finally, to cite a nineteenth-century popular manual, al-Bājūrī's gloss on the *Jawharat al-tawḥīd, kalām* or *tawḥīd* is defined as "the science that enables one to establish clearly religious beliefs, based on definite proofs of these beliefs" (*Ḥāshiyah ʿalā Jawharat al-tawḥīd,* p. 8). For al-Bājūrī this definition is the first of the ten "foundations" that converge to form each branch of knowledge. The second element is the subject: God, the envoys and the prophets, the contingent being insofar as he serves to give existence to his Maker, and the *samʿīyāt,* or traditionally accepted truths. The third element is its utility: the knowledge of God supported by decisive proofs and the acquiring of "eternal happiness." The fourth is the degree of excellence, and the fifth, the relationship of this science to the other disciplines. The people of *kalām* consider their science to be the most noble of all because of its subject and see it as the basis of all other fields of knowledge. The sixth element specifies the founders of the science: for orthodox *kalām,* al-Ashʿarī (d. 935) and al-Māturīdī (d. 956), who "coordinated the writings related to this science and refuted the specious ambiguities introduced by the Muʿtazilah." The seventh element is the name: *tawḥīd* or *kalām.* The eighth is the means used, namely rational and traditional arguments. The ninth is its legal category, because the study of *kalām* is considered obligatory by its adherents. Finally, the tenth includes the questions treated, which deal with what is necessary and impossible to attribute to God and to the prophets.

ORIGINS AND SOURCES OF THE SCIENCE OF KALĀM. Among the influences that can be detected in the science of *kalām,* direct sources include the Qurʾān, *ḥadīth,* consensus of the community, and reason, while indirect sources can be traced to the pre-Islamic religions of the Byzantine and Sasanid empires and Greek philosophy as well as political dissensions of the early Islamic period.

The Qurʾān. This is the primary element on which the science of *kalām* is built. Islam is first of all the religion of the Book: It is a surrender to a God who, in the eyes of the believers, reveals himself in the book *par excellence,* the Qurʾān, his uncreated word. The Qurʾān is neither a history of the people of God nor a life of Muḥammad; it is rather a "discourse" that God holds with humanity in the first person.

The Qurʾān presents itself in effect as an absolute beginning of revelation. The earlier revelations (Jewish and Christian) have not been preserved in the authentic versions and thus cannot serve a "given." Consequently Muslim theology finds itself before an all-encompassing document, transmitted by a single man and corresponding to a very limited period of time. There is no progressive revelation, no *preparatio coranica* according to a divine plan, no development comparable to that of the Old Testament in relation to the New, or that within the New Testament itself. All the dogma is explicitly given in the Qurʾanic text.

This Qurʾanic core, the starting point of the science of *kalām,* is not systematic. It is essentially a collection of "revelations" stretched out over approximately twenty years, in which the Prophet informs his followers of the orders of God according to the circumstances, some of which are political.

A person knowledgeable in *kalām* finds four elements in the Qurʾān. First there is a theodicy: the existence of God, his unity, his eternal self, his omnipotence, the source of life and death, his fixity, his omniscience, and his mercy. God is endowed with speech and with will. He is the Creator. Second comes an anthropology: God created humankind from dust. He breathed his spirit into humanity (*wa-nafakha fīhi min rūḥihi*). The human intelligence is superior to that of the angels. Adam disobeyed God, but his sin is not passed down to his descendants; thus, there is no original sin in Islam. The human being is the vicegerent of God (*khalīfat Allāh*) on earth, the ruler of the created world, which must be submitted to God's will. Third there is an eschatology: the judgment of the individual, heaven, hell, and the Last Judgment; God is the master of death. Finally there is morality: personal, familial, social; the rights of God.

Although the Qurʾān presents itself as a divine revelation, it nonetheless communicates no mysteries that are truly supernatural. There is the global mystery of the divine being (*al-ghayb*), which is transcendent and entirely inaccessible in itself to human intelligence, but no mystery of the Trinity nor of the incarnation, nor of the redemption, and therefore no mystery of the church or of the sacraments. Quite the contrary, the very idea of the incarnation is vigorously rejected. Thus the theologians, those knowledgeable in *kalām,* have only to organize the elements of a natural theodicy in their attempt at synthesis. If one disregards the pejorative connotation that the word *rationalism* has acquired in Western Christian milieus since the eighteenth century, one can say that Muslim theology is basically rationalist: In practice it denies the possibility of access to an order of supernatural mysteries. For its clearest representatives who are not necessarily always the most religious, Muslim theology is essentially a superior metaphysical system to which are added, in an incidental manner, a few positive notions relating to matters of cult, which are revealed by God in the Qurʾān.

Finally, the Qurʾān was revealed in Arabic. For Muslim theologians this fact indicates an essential link between the religious notion and the nature of God. The Arabic Qurʾān is the very word of God himself. Consequently the Arabic language is seen as itself revealed, or at least as the one that best expresses the word of God. This explains the primary role played by language in the elaboration of Muslim theology and the importance of the schools of grammar in the interpretation of the sacred texts.

Ḥadīth. This term refers to the corpus of words and actions of the Prophet, the "perfect model" whose least word assumes normative value. In dogmatic and moral authority, the canonical collections of these *ḥadīth* are second only to the Qurʾān, at least according to traditional Muslim thinkers.

The consensus of the community *(Ijmāʿ).* This consensus of the community as represented by its doctors is an internal factor of regulation. According to Henri Lammens, it is a kind of instinct of the people, who when faced with certain innovations react according to the spirit of Islam. The Prophet had said, "My community will never agree on an error," and from this his disciples concluded that the community is infallible as far as its beliefs and religious practices are concerned.

The idea of *ijmāʿ,* although quite complex in theory, showed itself to be effective in practice to maintain a traditional line of orientation through the stirrings caused by new conditions. Because Islam has neither an official ministry nor an advisory body, the *ijmāʿ* exercises more or less tacitly the role of regulator within the Muslim community. Qualified reformers aroused by God could legitimately undertake to reestablish the Muslim community in the purity of its original line or could propose solutions to the demands of the modern world in conformity with the religious law.

Reason. For a certain number of narrow traditionists, especially in the early period, the only acceptable attitude from the religious point of view was an exclusive loyalty to the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth* with no rational elaboration. Nevertheless, for traditional theology reason became an essential factor in the problem of faith. It is necessary for every adult, who should not be satisfied with a blind acceptance of tradition (*taqlīd*) but must be able to demonstrate rationally the existence of God and the truth of the Muslim religion. The theologians themselves use reason to establish the authenticity of their historical notions, to criticize evidence, to defend dogmas, and to refute objections. This tendency went so far that in certain treatises on theology the major part is devoted to *ʿaqlīyāt,* those truths that reason can reach on its own, with the Qurʾān serving as a confirmation. A certain number of positive notions, the *samʿīyāt,* are known only by revelation; these are concerned with eschatology, prophetology, the caliphate, and similar matters. The degree to which reason is used also varies with the schools: Some restrict its use to logic as instrument; others apply an untiring dialectical zeal to the smallest theological problems.

Christianity. The influence of Christianity was felt either in an informal way, notably through the Bible itself or through contacts that Muslims had with Christians living in Muslim lands, or formally via discussions with Christian theologians, especially in Damascus and Baghdad. Among these theologians were the Nestorians concentrated in Hira, the Jacobites (monophysites), and finally the Melkites, including John of Damascus and his disciple Abū Qurrah, as well as several dissident sects that were more or less Christian. As they attempted to defend the dogma of Islam in discussions with these groups, Muslim theologians were led to address certain problematic issues such as free will and predestination, the divine attributes, and the uncreated Qurʾān. (In the Qurʾān Jesus is considered to be the word of God.)

Greek philosophy. In the eyes of Muslim thinkers, Greek philosophy was perceived as a single body of knowledge within which Plato and Aristotle, far from being in opposition, played complementary roles in relation to each other. Apocryphal Neoplatonic writings such as *De causis* and the *Pseudo-Theology of Aristotle* served to reinforce this conviction. These Greek teachings, known directly or via the commentators, exercised an influence in two directions. Certain Muslim thinkers adopted an orientation that was straightforwardly rational in the eighteenth-century French sense of the term. They denied all revelation, maintaining only a vague notion of a distant philosophical God. This was especially true of Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, the Rhazes of the Latins.

Other thinkers, loyal to their faith, took on the task of defending the principal dogmas of their religion with this instrument newly placed between their hands—Greek thought. These were the Muʿtazilah, the first theologians of Islam. They soon split into two main groups. The dissidents among them, such as al-Ashʿarī, wished to retain only the minimum of philosophy indispensable for theological elaboration and stressed more the properly religious core of the Qurʾān. The other group, the *falāsifah,* including hellenizing philosophers such as al-Kindī, al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Rushd, and others, were more philosophers than Muslims; for them religious ideas were only a superstructure or a pretext for philosophizing. The *ijmaʿ* came to favor the first trend, and the ideas of the Ashʿarīyah became the shared philosophy of Islam, while the second tendency was met with great reticence, and its doctrine was hardly tolerated.

Manichaeism and Mazdakism. The invasion of Iran brought the Muslims in contact with a very rich and complex cultural climate, where the Armenian and Syrian Christians in particular were already engaged in controversies with the Mazdaeans and the Magians. The ardent monotheism of Islam, which for fear of taking anything away from God's omnipotence made God the creator of evil as well as good, offered a new battlefield for Mazdaean apologists, as is demonstrated by the *Shkand gumānīk vichār,* a ninth-century Mazdaean apologetic treatise. The theologians responded by elaborating treatises against the dualists.

As for the Manichaeans, their survival in the tenth-century East, attested by Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist,* leads one to believe that with the fall of their Mazdaean persecutors and the period of calm that followed the Muslim conquest, their doctrine was able to find a new lease on life.

Political dissensions. The political struggles among Muslims mark the starting point for the elaboration of theological problems. Given that traditional Islam is inseparably *dīn wa-dawlah,* "religion and state," it is normal that everything concerning the polity, the transmission of power, legitimacy, and the struggle for public authority should express itself in religious terms and provoke violent conflicts among the partisans of opposing opinions. It was in this way that the problems of the nature of faith, of its relationship to works, of the possibility for faith to increase or decrease, of the status of the unrepentant sinner who is nevertheless a believer, of the caliphate, and like questions developed among the Muslims.

THE PRINCIPAL SCHOOLS AND MAJOR THEMES.

Here this article shall pursue a mainly chronological order that will permit the author to trace the emergence and development of the problem.

The early creeds. The earliest surviving documents that give an official expression of doctrine are the first creeds, some of which have been studied by A. J. Wensinck in *The Muslim Creed.* From what has been observed concerning the fragmentary nature of the Qurʾān, it is not surprising to find no systematic résumé of doctrine there. What Muḥammad affirms above all are the divine transcendence and unity, the declaration in fiery terms of the horrors of the judgment, and the prophetic character of his message.

But a few decades after Muḥammad's death, the expansion of the new religion and the political and social questions that arose led the heads of the community to express the essential traits of Islam and to condense them into a formula that was easy to recite and easy to remember. Some of these formulas are found in the *ḥadīth* collections. For example, Muḥammad is asked, "What is Islam?" and he answers, "It is to associate nothing with God, to perform the ritual prayer, to give the prescribed alms, and to fast during Ramaḍān." When he is asked, "And what is faith?" he answers, "It is to believe in God, his angels, his book, his meeting [with believers in Paradise], and his Prophet, to believe in the resurrection and the final destiny."

The development of Islam, the struggle with the tribes in revolt, and the conquests slowly necessitated a distinction between *islām* ("submission") and *īmān* ("faith"). It is possible to be Muslim in different ways, and external posture is not necessarily a sign of inner faith. It was at this point that the "five pillars of Islam" were defined. These are usually expressed in the following terms: "Islam is built on five pillars: faith, ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*), the tithe (*zakāt*), the fast of Ramaḍān, and the pilgrimage." Thus Islam presents itself in its entirety as faith and acts. The holy war is not yet mentioned.

However, conversion to Islam prompted the development of a simple formula expressing in a few words the essential message of the new religion: the *shahādah* ("witnessing") served this function. By reciting it, the new converts entered the Muslim community; it was their profession of faith: "There is no god but God, and Muḥammad is the messenger of God."

A profession of faith reduced to its simplest expression, the *shahādah* would be sufficient as long as internal discussions did not pit the disciples of the same master against one another. But once dissension arose, there was inevitably an orthodox party that sought to set down its position in precise terms and heaped anathema on those who did not accept it in its entirety. It was in this context that the first creeds would appear.

The Fiqh al-akbar. One of the principal creeds to come down to the present is the *Fiqh al-akbar*. Although it is tempting to see it as nothing more than the simple development of the formula of the profession of faith, such is not the case. The *shahādah* is a formula of adherence to the Muslim community; the creed is the profession of faith of the community itself, which wishes to state its position in relation to the dissenting sects. This particular profession mentions neither the unity of God nor the mission of Muḥammad, because neither is called into question. It states the following articles:

(1) We consider no one (of those who profess Islam) to be an unbeliever on account of his faith, nor do we deny his faith.

(2) We command the good and forbid the evil.

(3) What reaches you could not have missed you, and what misses you could not have reached you.

(4) We do not disavow any of the companions of the Apostle of God, nor do we adhere to any one of them in particular.

(5) We leave to God the question of ʿUthmān and ʿAlī. He alone knows the secret and hidden matters.

(6) Knowledge in matters of religion is better than knowledge in matters of the law.

(7) The difference of opinions in the community is a blessing of God.

(8) Whoever believes what should be believed but says, "I do not know if Moses and Jesus are prophets or not," is an unbeliever.

(9) Whoever affirms that he does not know if God is in heaven or in hell is an unbeliever.

(10) Whoever says he does not know the punishment in the tomb belongs to the sect of the Jahmīyah, which is condemned to perdition.

The Waṣīyah. It is with the *Waṣīyah* (Testament) of Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 767) that the major problems begin to emerge; it is true that these are not yet classified in homogenous groups, but one feels that the work of conflicting has started. The twenty-seven articles of this creed can be separated into the following themes.

1. The problem of faith. The text affirms that faith resides in witnessing with the tongue, believing with the mind, and knowing with the heart. It does not increase or decrease (art. 2). The believer and unbeliever really are such (art. 3). Muslim sinners do not cease to be Muslim (art. 4). Works are distinct from faith (art. 5). Finally, faith allows people to be classified in three categories: believers with pure intentions, unbelievers who recognize their lack of belief, and hypocrites (art. 14).

2. Predestination. This problem is treated throughout the *Waṣīyah.* First of all it is affirmed against the dualists and the Qadarīyah that God alone controls good and evil (art. 6), that mortal acts are created by God (art. 11) because human beings have no natural power (art. 12), and that God creates the faculty at the same time as the act (art. 15). Finally it is God who orders the (celestial) pen to write (art. 17); that is to say, he determines all things.

The theme of human actions is very closely associated with that of predestination, because these actions are totally dependent on divine will. The relationship between these two forms the crucial problem of speculative moral philosophy. Along with predestination, the distinction of three kinds of actions is affirmed: These are the obligatory, the optional, and the reprehensible. About ten affirmations follow to detail the eschatological beliefs: the punishment of the tomb (art. 18), questioning in the tomb (art. 19), heaven and hell (art. 20 and 27), the scale (art. 21), the reading of the book (art. 22), the resurrection (art. 23), God's meeting with the inhabitants of Paradise (art. 24), the intercession of the Prophet (art. 25), and God's sitting on the throne (art. 8). In addition there are affirmations concerning the uncreated or created nature of the Qurʾān (art. 9), the order of precedence of the first caliphs (art. 10), the precedence of ʿĀʾishah (art. 26), and the validity of ablutions performed on shoes (art. 16).

Fiqh al-akbar II. The *Fiqh al-akbar* II leads one onto much more defined ground, for debate had obliged the religious leaders to clarify beliefs, to reject anything that could threaten the transcendence of God, and to specify the role of the prophets and the value of their message.

From the very first affirmation, the global content of the faith reveals itself: God, the angels, his envoys, the resurrection, the decree concerning good and evil, the calculation of sins, the scale, heaven and hell. The entire theological base to date is thus set out: Theology already possesses all the material it will have to systematize. The different articles of the creed, about forty in all, take up each point in turn and develop them slightly without, however, following the order proposed at the start.

Muʿtazilī problematic and theses. The Muʿtazilah, "the first thinkers of Islam," gave the science of *kalām* a systematic form. The great Muʿtazilah lived either in Basra (Abū al-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf, d. 849; al-Naẓẓām, d. 846; al-Jāḥiẓ, d. 872) or in Baghdad (Bishr ibn al-Muʿtamir, d. 825; Abū Mūsā al-Mirdar, d. 841; Thumāmah ibn al-Ashras, d. 828).

Although they did not teach the same doctrine on all matters, they nonetheless shared a common spirit. Historians and heresiographers have not been wrong in summarizing the characteristics of their doctrine in five affirmations called *al-uṣūl al-khamsah:* the unity of God *(al-tawḥīd),* his justice *(al-ʿadl),* the promise and the threat *(al-waʿd wa-al-waʿīd),* the "neutral" position in relation to the sinner (*al-manzilah bayn al-manzilatayn*), and finally the "commanding of good and forbidding of evil" (*al-amr bi-al-maʿrūf wa-al-nahy ʿan al-munkar*).

First thesis: tawḥīd. Concerned with avoiding the slightest anthropomorphism in the question of divine attributes, the Muʿtazilah applied in all its vigor the *via remotionis,* God's transcendence (*tanzīh*). The anthropomorphic verses should be "interpreted" symbolically, and in some cases even rejected. Similarly, contradictory *ḥadīth*s were set aside. Against the "people of *ḥadīth*" and the ʿAlids, the Muʿtazilah could affirm their agnosticism on the matter of the nature of God. Without going as far as the Jahmīyah, who completely denied the attributes of God, they affirmed that all these attributes are identical with God's essence and that they have no real existence. Against the Dahrīyah (materialists) they affirmed a personal creator God. If God is completely spiritual, he cannot be seen by the senses, from which came their rejection of the "vision of God" in the future life, the *ruʾyah* of the traditionists. The absolute transcendence of God in relation to the world led them to distinguish rigorously between the preeternal and the *muḥdath* (that which has begun to be) and made them reject energetically any notion of *ḥulūl* (the infusion of the divine into the created).

The Muʿtazilah accepted a "contingent" or "created" divine knowledge of free intentions and of possibilities in general. They studied the object and the limits of divine power, analyzed human control over their actions, and affirmed that they created such actions by "generation" (*tawallin*).

With the same concern to eliminate any suspicion of associationism, they affirmed the created character of the Qurʾān, the word of God. In the history of the Muʿtazilah, this position attracted the most attention because of its political repercussions. The Qurʾān, they held, is a "genus" of words, created by God. It is called the "word of God" because, in contrast to human words, the Qurʾān was created directly.

Second thesis: the justice of God. In conjunction with *tawḥīd,* this belief served to describe the Muʿtazilah, or rather, they proudly described themselves as the "people of justice and unity." By analyzing the notion of human justice and extending it to God, they drew two conclusions.

1. As an intelligent and wise being, God must necessarily act according to a purpose, with a view to a determined plan. There is a chosen, objective order in the universe, and thus intermediary purposes, themselves related to an ultimate purpose. Consequently there are an objective good and evil prior to the determination brought by religious law. God is obliged always to do the best, *al-aṣlaḥ;* he can wish only the good.

2. God does not want evil. He does not order it because his wish (*irādah*) and his commandment (*amr*) are identical. Evil is created by humans, as is good for that matter, because people create all their actions, good or evil. They have in effect received from God a "power" (*qudrah*), that allows them to act freely. For this reason they will inevitably receive a reward for their good actions and a punishment for their evil ones.

Third thesis: the promise and the threat. This concerns the fate of the believer (*muʾmin*), the sinner (*fāsiq*), and the unbeliever (*kāfir*) in the hereafter. The term "the names and the statutes" (*al-asmāʾ wa-al-aḥkām*) is also used, referring to the juridical statutes that determine the fate of each group. The basic problem is that of faith and disbelief. For the Muʿtazilah, to have faith is not merely to assent in the heart and to make the verbal profession (*shahādah*) but also to avoid the "major sins" (*kabāʾir*). The unbelievers and the unrepentant Muslim sinners are condemned to hell.

Fourth thesis: the "intermediate position" between faith and disbelief. This is a corollary to the Muʿtazilī concept of divine justice and faith and is easily assimilated to the preceding thesis. The position of the Muslim sinner (*fāsiq*) is intermediate between that of the believer and that of the unbeliever. Although condemned in the hereafter to eternal damnation (albeit one less rigorous than that of the *kāfir*), the sinner remains nonetheless a member of the Muslim community while on earth.

Fifth thesis: "commanding the good." In contrast to those who saw internal criticism as sufficient, the Muʿtazilah favored direct action. Order must be reestablished "by the sword." If there is a hope of defeating adversaries one must overthrow the guilty leaders, even kill them if necessary, and force them, on pain of death, to accept the true doctrine.

This is not the place to discuss the history of the Muʿtazilah, their temporary triumph and final defeat. History books recount different stages of the *miḥnah* (inquisition), which represents the final struggle of the upholders of rational doctrines against the narrowly traditionalist thinkers. The rationalists were defeated and the "people of *ḥadīth*" triumphed decisively. The fact remains nevertheless that the Muʿtazilah represent a turning point in the history of Muslim thought and they left a definitive mark, even if by reaction, on the problematic of *kalām.*

It was one of the deserters from the Muʿtazilah, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī, who succeeded in finding the conciliatory *via media* between their rationalism and the literalism of the traditionists. A longtime disciple of al-Jubbāʾī, the head of the Muʿtazilah of Basra, he broke publicly with his teacher and turned violently against his former companions. At first he attempted to win over the literalists by expressing his admiration for Ibn Ḥanbal, as can be seen at the start of his *Ibānah,* or "elucidation" of the principles of religion.

However, his real theological work would consist of attempting to reconcile the different schools. By his conversion he intended to rediscover the meaning of traditional doctrine, to "return" to the Qurʾān and to the teaching of the first Muslims. In the field of exegesis he energetically rejected the overly drastic *tanzīh* of the Muʿtazilah as this led to *taʿṭīl,* a complete dissection of the notion of God. He wished to maintain a literal interpretation of the text and in this respect appeared to present himself as a faithful disciple of Ibn Ḥanbal. This was a literalism peculiar to al-Ashʿarī, however, because the later Ashʿarīyah would distance themselves considerably from the rigid literalism of their founder and thus would provoke the anger of Ibn Ḥazm and the Ḥanābilah themselves (Laoust, *Ibn Taymiyya,* pp. 81–82). Likewise on the question of the "vision of God" and of the anthropomorphic terms and the attributes (*Ibānah,* p. 47), he presented positions to which Ibn Ḥanbal would have ascribed without hesitation.

Such was the al-Ashʿarī of the direct sources. But for al-Juwaynī (d. 1085), who became al-Ghazālī's master, al-Ashʿarī was not a theologian following the opinions of Ibn Ḥanbal but rather a conciliator of two extreme positions. In his *Tabyīn* (pp. 149ff.) Ibn ʿAsākir demonstrates how his master, when dealing with the principal questions, followed a middle course between the exaggerations of the Muʿtazilah and those of the *ḥashwīyah* who, it is true, were recruited among the extremist Ḥanābilah. Table 1 summarizes the principal Ashʿarī positions in comparison with those of the extremists. All later *kalām* would see al-Ashʿarī as its founder.

Al-Māturīdī was a follower and contemporary of al-Ashʿarī. His disagreements with al-Ashʿarī stemmed above all from the fact that they followed different legal rites. Al-Ashʿarī was probably a disciple of al-Shāfiʿī. Al-Māturīdī was by contrast a clear disciple of Abū Ḥanīfah, a Persian like himself. He favored liberal, rational solutions, staying as close as possible to the Muʿtazilah while remaining within the limits of orthodoxy. An example of this approach is seen in his attitude toward the problem of liberty and *kasb.* Al-Māturīdī's solution attempted to respect the intervention of the human being, to whom he attributes the "qualification" of acts. Similarly al-Māturīdī affirms that the believer can say, "I am a believer in truth," whereas al-Ashʿarī required the restriction, "if God wishes it." (This is the problem of the *istithnāʾ.*) For the Māturīdīyah it was inconceivable that God would punish those who had obeyed him, while the Ashʿarīyah accepted the possibility, at least in theory. For the Māturīdīyah, often called "shameful Muʿtazilah," reason, even without the religious law, would have taught that there is an obligation to know God; for the Ashʿarīyah, this awareness comes exclusively from revelation. The different points of divergence, which number about fifty, remain secondary and in no way prevent the Ashʿarīyah and Māturīdīyah from being considered without distinction as "people of tradition and *ḥadīth,*" the former in the western part of the empire (Syria, Iraq, Egypt), and the latter in the eastern part.

The Ashʿarīyah spread into Persia under the Seljuks, then into Syria and Egypt under the Ayyubids and the Mamluk sultans, and finally into the Maghreb under the Almohad dynasty led by Ibn Tūmart (d. 1130?). This triumph was characterized by ongoing development of the doctrine, with the names of the *qāḍī* al-Bāqillānī, al-Juwaynī (Imām al-Ḥaramayn), and finally al-Ghazālī serving to demarcate the principal stages.

From the via antiqua to the via moderna. In his famous *Muqaddimah,* Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) presents the time of al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) as a watershed in the evolution of *kalām.* The *via antiqua,* characterized by a dialectic inspired primarily by the logic of the doctors of the law, gave way to the *via nova,* which relied on the Aristotelian syllogism. This break should not be overemphasized, however: At least from the point of view of the subjects discussed, influences must have been felt earlier via the Muʿtazilah, some of whom had read Aristotle. This tendency can already be seen in the writings of al-Bāqillānī (d. 1013), himself an untiring opponent of the Muʿtazilah, and even more strongly in those of his disciple al-Juwaynī. The latter was indeed an ancient in his dialectic, but an ancient who foretold the victory of the new method, which would triumph through his disciple al-Ghazālī and come even closer to the *falāsifah* with later theologians.

This article shall now trace this evolution in the *Tamhīd* of al-Bāqillānī, the *Irshād* of al-Juwaynī, and the *Iqtiṣād* of al-Ghazālī. It shall finish with the treatises in which the new tendency takes full shape.

The Tamhīd of al-Bāqillānī. In his *Tamhīd,* al-Bāqillānī, who has not yet broken away from his apologetic preoccupations, mixes his presentation of beliefs with long

Extreme by Default	Al-ash'arī	Extreme by Excess
The attributes		
Denied *(ta'ṭīl, ibṭāl)* by the Mu'tazilah, Jabarīyah, Rāfiḍah.	They are real, but not like human attributes.	They are like human attributes *(ḥashwīyah).*
Human acts		
People have a power *(qudrah).* They are susceptible to acts *kasb* (Qadarīyah, Mu'tazilah).	No power. God creates the of human beings, who are endowed with *kasb* (attribution, juridical charge).	Neither power nor *kasb* (Jabarīyah).
The vision of God		
Denied by the Mu'tazilah, Jahmīyah, and Nājjarīyah.	God will be seen (by the eyes) but without *ḥulūl,* without terms, without modes, as he sees us.	God will be seen like things of the senses *(ḥashwīyah).*
Omnipresence of God		
God is everywhere without *ḥulūl* or direction (Mu'tazilah).	God existed before there was place. He created the throne and the seat. He has no need of place. The creation of place has in no way changed his nature.	God is "infused" *(ḥulūl)* in the throne. He is seated on the throne which is his place *(ḥashwīyah).*
Ta´wil (interpretation)		
Hand = power and grace; face of God = his existence; descent of God = descent of certain verses, or of his angels; sitting on the throne = domination (Mu'tazilah).	The hand and face are real attributes like hearing and sight . . . = attribute . . . = attribute. . . .	The hand is a real limb, the face is a face with human form. The descent is real, as is sitting on the throne *(ḥashwīyah).*
The Qur´ān		
It is the created word of God (Mu'tazilah).	The [eternal] Qur'ān is the uncreated word of God, eternal, unchangeable. The individual letters, the ink with which it is written are created.	All is uncreated *(ḥashwīyah).*
Faith		
It is created (Mu'tazilah, Jahmīyah, Najjārīyah).	Faith is of two kinds: that of God, uncreated; that of the believers, created.	Faith is absolutely uncreated *(ḥashwīyah).*
The eternal punishment		
The Muslim who commits a grave sin is eternally damned (Khārijīs, Mu'tazilah).	The Muslim sinner is given up to divine goodwill. God can accept that person immediately into Paradise or mete out punishment in a temporary Hell.	The fate of the Muslim sinner will be debated only on the Day of Judgment (Murji'ah).
Intercession		
The Prophet does not have the power of intercession (Mu'tazilah).	Intercession of the Prophet on behalf of believing sinners with the permission of God.	Muhammad and 'Ali can intercede without God's order or permission, even for unbelievers (Rāfiḍah).
The caliphate		
Mu'āwīyah, Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, and `Ā´ishah are guilty. Their testimony is not accepted (Mu'tazilah). They are not guilty (Umayyads).	Every *mujtahid* achieves a result. There is general agreement on this principle.	All these people are unbelievers (Rāfiḍah).

SOURCE: Gardet and Anawati (1948), pp.58-59

TABLE 1. The conciliating position of al-Ashʿarī, according to the Qāḍī Abū al-Maʿali ibn ʿAbd al-Malik (al-Juwaynī) as reported by Ibn ʿAsakir, Tabyīn (pp. 149ff.)

discussions against non-Muslim sects and dissident Muslims themselves. The following is the schema of his presentation:

Preliminary. Science; nature; foundations.

I. *De Deo Uno.* (1) Existence of God: (a) division of known objects; (b) accidents; (c) created nature of the word and proof of the existence of God. (2) His attributes: he is one, living, knowing, hearing, seeing, speaking, willing; he has no appetite. (3) Divine action: neither motive *(gharaḍ)* nor cause *(ʿillah);* he acts freely.

II. *Apologetic Section.* Refutation of the astrologers, dualists, Magians, Christians, Brahmans (Hindus), Jews, and corporalists (*mujassimah,* i.e., those who maintain a literal interpretation of the anthropomorphic verses of the Qurʾān).

III. *The Caliphate.* (1) Principles of methodology and nature of the caliphate. (2) Qualities required of the caliph. (3) The first four caliphs. (4) Validity of their caliphate. (See also Gardet and Anawati, 1948, pp. 154–156.)

The Irshād of al-Juwaynī. Al-Ghazālī's master, also called Imām al-Ḥaramayn ("imam of the two holy places"), presents the principles of his classification more than once in his *Irshād.* At some points he divides his treatise between what exists necessarily in God and what is possible, that is to say, between what God can and cannot accomplish. At others he distinguishes between matters accessible to reason and those attainable only through the traditional path. Although it is not easy to find one's way through the *Irshād,* its plan can be drawn up in the following manner:

Introduction. The character of reason; the nature of science.

I. *The Existence of God.* (1) Contingency of the world (its beginning in time). (2) Proofs of the existence of God (*a novitate mundi*).

II. *What Necessarily Exists in God.* (1) Attributes of the essence: the unity of God. (2) Attributes of qualification: (a) knowledge of the attributes; (b) knowledge of the attributes themselves (the word; the divine names; other attributes).

III. *What God Can and Cannot Accomplish.* (1) Visibility of God: the creation of human acts. (2) The promise and the threat. (3) Prophetology. (4) The "traditional" questions (*samʿīyāt*): (a) sundry aspects: terms assigned to things, subsistence for maintaining life, censure of human actions; (b) eschatology; (c) names and the juridical qualifications; (d) the caliphate.

The Iqtiṣād of al-Ghazālī. The author of the *Iḥyāʾ* discussed *ex professo* and with precision the science of *kalām* in a compendium entitled *Al-iqtiṣād fī al-iʿtiqād* (The just mean in belief). He intended to remain loyal to Ashʿarī orthodoxy, simplifying to the extreme the dialectical debates and eliminating the philosophical investigations that his master al-Juwaynī had integrated into his treatises.

Al-Ghazālī devotes four chapters to a general introduction on *kalām.* The first underlines the importance of this science: It allows the reader to know God, his tributes, and the work of his messengers. However, he takes pains to state in the second chapter that this concerns only a certain number of people, because, with relation to the truths of faith and the doubts that can arise, one must distinguish different categories of people who are not equally able to devote themselves to this science. *Kalām* is safely used only to resolve certain doubts of the believers and to try to convince intelligent unbelievers. Finally, the fourth chapter analyzes the sources.

Next al-Ghazālī divides all the questions considered into four large sections, each precisely articulated. Because God is the object of *kalām,* one must first study him in his essence; this is the aim of the first section. The second section deals with the attributes; the third, with the action of God and his personal acts; and the fourth, with his envoys. The following is a general outline of the whole work:

Preliminaries. The nature of *kalām;* its importance; its methodology.

I. *The Divine Essence.* (1) God exists. (2) He is eternal. (3) He is permanent. (4) He is insubstantial. (5) He is incorporeal. (6) He is nonaccidental. (7) He is undefined. (8) He is not localized. (9) He is visible and knowable. (10) He is one.

II. *The Attributes of God.* (1) The attributes in themselves: life, knowledge, power, will, hearing, sight, speech. (2) The "status" of the attributes: (a) they are not the essence; (b) they are in the essence; (c) they are eternal; (d) the divine names.

III. *The Acts of God* (what God can or cannot do). (1) God can choose (is free) to impose no obligation on his creatures. (2) Or he can choose to impose on them what they cannot do. (3) God does nothing in vain. (4) He can make innocent animals suffer. (5) He can fail to reward one who obeys him. (6) The obligation of knowing God comes from revelation alone. (7) The sending of prophets is possible.

IV. *The Envoys of God.* (1) Muḥammad. (2) Eschatology (and faith). (3) The caliphate. (4) The sects.

Evolution of the via moderna. Elsewhere (Gardet and Anawati, 1948) this author has shown the evolution of the *via moderna* with the progressive introduction of philosophy through an examination of *kalām* treatises such as the *Nihāyat al-aqdām* of al-Shahrastānī (d. 1153), the *Muḥaṣṣal* of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1209), and the *Ṭawālīʿ al-anwār* of al-Bayḍāwī (d. 1286). Here shall be given the end result of this evolution as it is crystallized in the *Mawāqif* of al-Ījī with the commentary of al-Jurājnī. With this work is reached the high point of the science of *kalām* in Sunnī Islam. Ījī/Jurājnī, with the glosses of other commentators, represent the largest (four volumes of more than five hundred pages each) and most systematic work of orthodox Muslim speculative thought. The work supplied material for years of specialization in the great Muslim universities, and one is obliged to recognize, especially by comparison with previous works, that its fame is well deserved. Even if the truly traditional parts, and the theology strictly speaking, are treated soberly, the philosophical part with its long critical introduction receives ample development. Consisting of six treatises and an appendix, the work is divided and subdivided with care:

I. *Preliminaries.* (1) The presuppositions of *kalām* and all knowledge. (2) Science (or knowledge) *in genere.* (3) The division of knowledge (the first two operations of the spirit). (4) The existence of sciences or necessary knowledges. (5) Reasoning. (6) The different forms of reasoning.

II. *General Principles.* (1) Being and nonbeing. (2) Essence. (3) The necessary and the possible. (4) The one and the many. (5) Cause and effect.

III. *The Accidents.* (1) *In genere.* (2) Quantity. (3) Quality.

(4) The relations (*nisab*): local relations, space, movement. (5) Relationship (*iḍāfah*).

IV. *Substance.* (1) The body. (2) Accidents of bodies. (3) The separate soul. (4) The intellect.

V. *"Rational" Theology* (*Ilāhīyāt*). (1) The divine essence. (2) The transcendence of God (the *via remotionis*). (3) His unity. (4) The positive attributes. (5) "Possible" attributes: visibility, knowability. (6) The acts of God (problem of human acts). (7) The divine names.

VI. *The Traditional Questions* (*Samʿīyāt*). (1) Prophethood. (2) Eschatology. (3) Statutes and names. (4) The caliphate.

Appendix. The sects.

Rigid Ashʿarīyah. The so-called way of the "modernists" was in effect the most original line of thought in the fully evolved Ashʿarī *kalām.* One can note among the most characteristic representatives al-Shahrastānī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, and al-Isfahānī (d. 1348). Al-Rāzī, although he called himself an Ashʿarī, did not hesitate to adopt Māturīdī theses, or even Muʿtazilī influences.

Other modernists, possibly less daring, nonetheless did not hesitate to borrow in their turn from *falsafa* various ideas on logic, nature philosophy, or metaphysics. This was the most orthodox of the tendencies that issued from the thought of al-Ījī, including al-Jurājnī, who called himself an Ashʿarī. Very close to him in methodology was his adversary al-Taftāzānī (d. 1389), who attempted to oppose the conclusions of *falsafa* while still placing himself on the same plane as philosophy.

The glosses, commentaries, and discussions multiplied, often with a great richness of argumentation and certain original views. But this did not serve the elaboration of *kalām* as a theological science: The clearest result of such studies was to throw the teaching of *kalām* by reaction into the constraints of "rigid conservatism."

Kalām would soon ossify under the Ashʿarī writ, and, losing the freshness of its early years, it would become frozen in the stereotyped forms of "manuals" endlessly commented and recommented. If one compares the nineteenth-century *Jawharat al-tawḥīd* of al-Bājūrī with the *Muḥaṣṣal* of al-Rāzī, one finds the same major divisions, the same responses, the same "intemporality." The manuals of that age are often a compendium of all the past, but framed and codified by the most rigid solutions of the school.

An enumeration of these manuals and their authors would be lengthy indeed; suffice it to mention the two writers who are situated at the beginning and the end of this long period, and who had and still have an important place in official teaching. One is al-Sanūsī, from the fifteenth century, famous for his *kalām* treatises set out according to the three cycles of teaching (*Umm al-barāhin*) called *Al-ṣughrā* (The small), or the *Sanūsīyah,* then *Al-wusṭā* (The median) and *Al-kubrā* (The great). The other is Ibrāhīm al-Bājūrī, (d. 1860), rector of al-Azhar, who wrote commentaries on his predecessors, al-Sanūsī himself, al-Laqānī, and his own master, al-Faḍālī. The differences are minimal between al-Sanūsī and al-Bājūrī. One of those who would attempt to arouse theology from its sleep, Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbduh (d. 1905), would write of this period, "Whoever studies the works of this era will find only discussions on words, studies on methodology. And he will find these in only a small number of works chosen by weakness and consecrated by impotence."

Reformist period. It was precisely Muḥammad ʿAbduh, the disciple of the reformer Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (d. 1897), who would try to renew the problematic of *kalām* within the scope of the general renaissance of the Middle East. His originality in this field was his religious rationalism. He believed deeply in Islam, but he wanted a thoroughly interpreted religion that could respond intellectually to the demands of criticism, socially to the desire of the humble to live a decent life, and politically to the ardent passion among the people for liberty.

Against the traditional Ashʿarī ideas that crushed the believer under the weight of a fatalist predestination, he would state the existence of human liberty as the basis of all action and responsibility. He did not want to concern himself with what he considered metaphysical subtleties and turned instead to a somewhat agnostic pragmatism. It was practice that interested him above all. Thus divine law, reason, conscience, and common sense affirm human responsibility and therefore human freedom. It was useless to go over the old discussions again on the bases and nature of this freedom. It was enough to recognize that it did not contradict God's omnipotence, because, as he said, "God is the cause to the extent that people act, and people are the cause to the extent that God acts." This is far from the Ashʿarī *kasb* ("acquisition") that denies any real power to human beings.

He added to this clear attitude toward human freedom an affirmation of natural law, which once again suggests the influence of the Muʿtazilah. Like the latter he recognized that there are things objectively good or evil, naturally beautiful or ugly, and concludes that a "natural law" is possible. Religious law does not differ essentially from natural morality. "The law came simply to show what exists (*al-wāqiʿ*). It is not the law that makes it good" (*Risālah,* p. 80, trans., p. 56).

In his discussion of prophecy, he shows similarly rationalist tendencies. While keeping the orthodox position, he stresses the psychological and social aspects of prophecy (ibid., p. 127/86).

In discussing *kalām* he insists above all on the political factor in the formation and differentiation of the schools. He recognizes that foreign elements integrated into the community prompted the first dogmatic discussions (ibid., intro., p. 55). The rational character of the science of *kalām* is affirmed forcefully: It is reason that is called upon to examine the proofs of the beliefs and rules of conduct imposed by religion in order to show that they truly come from God (ibid., p. 129/88). In response to Hanotaux he does not hesitate to write, "In the case of a conflict between reason and tradition, it is reason that must decide. This is a position that would only be opposed by a few people, from among those whose views cannot be taken into consideration" (Gardet and Anawati, 1948, p. 86, n. 3).

In his *Riṣālat al-tawḥīd,* Shaykh ʿAbduh spends little time on the metaphysical introductions so common in traditional manuals. After stating the usual definitions of the impossible, the contingent, and the necessary, he establishes the classic proof of the existence of God and his attributes. To be necessary, endowed with life, knowledge, and will, to be all-powerful, free, one—these are all attributes that reason can discover on its own. He is very circumspect on the question of the relationship of the attributes with the essence of God: He advises [the believer] to have the wisdom to "stop at the limit that our reason can reach" (*Risālah,* p. 52/37).

The "new theology" of the Egyptian grand *muftī* also shows itself in his attitude toward the origins of faith: He contests the authority of the juridical schools resting on the consensus of the community (*ijmāʿ*) and rejects servile traditional imitation (*taqlīd*). Only the Qurʾān and authentic *sunnah* should serve as the base of *ijtihād,* this effort of personal elaboration of religious positions by qualified theologians. The same concern for adaptation is shown in his commentary on the Qurʾān, which he wished to be pragmatic and oriented essentially toward "moral direction" (*hidāyah*); it was to be in accord with modern civilization and encourage activity, energy, and personal labor. The anthropomorphic passages should be interpreted by using reason (*taʾwīl ʿaqlī*) in the manner of Ibn Rushd. God's transcendence (*tanzīh*) must be ensured at all costs.

Muḥammad ʿAbduh was able to inspire the best of his disciples with a spirit of openmindedness and renewal. Especially worthy of mention is Shaykh Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Rāzīq, who was appointed rector of al-Azhar in 1945.

Parallel to this reformist movement in Egypt and the Near East a no less sustained effort for renewal, *sui generis,* occurred in British India. This was particularly due to the work of Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (d. 1898), whose *Tabyīn al-kalām* (Commentary on the Holy Bible) dates from 1862 to 1865; Syed Ameer Ali (d. 1928), author of *The Spirit of Islam* (London, 1922), and Muḥammad Iqbāl, whose *Six Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* was published in 1934.

TWO FINAL REMARKS. A complete presentation of *kalām* in Islam should also take into consideration Shīʿī *kalām,* in particular the disciples and successors of Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1640) in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These include among others Ḥājī Mullā Hādī Sabziwārī, Ashtiyānī, Ṭabāṭbāʾī, Rāfīʿī Qazwīnī, and Muḥammad Amūlī (see Seyyed Hossein Nasr's articles on the school of Isfahan and Mullā Ṣadrā in M. M. Sharif's *A History of Muslim Philosophy,* vol. 2, Wiesbaden, 1966).

Among contemporary Muslim writers a certain number outside the traditional framework of theology have tried to speak of God and Muslim doctrines in a way adapted to the modern world, including Kāmil Ḥusayn, Sayyid Quṭb, Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm, ʿAbbās Maḥmūd al-ʿAqqād, and Muṣṭafā Maḥmūd. The historian of *kalām* should not overlook their contributions.

SEE ALSO Ashʿarīyah; Creeds, article on Islamic Creeds; Imān and Islām; Muʿtazilah; Qurʾān.

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Translated from French by Richard J. Scott

KALEVALA SEE LÖNNROT, ELIAS

KĀLĪ SEE GODDESS WORSHIP, *ARTICLE ON* THE HINDU GODDESS

KALISCHER, TSEVI HIRSCH

(1795–1874), rabbi, messianic theorist, and activist. Kalischer spent his entire life in the Posen district of Prussia. He received an intensive education in Talmudic literature and independently studied Jewish philosophy. With his wife's financial support, he pursued a life of community service and scholarship. His works include commentaries on Jewish law, exegeses of the Bible and Passover Haggadah, and philosophical studies reconciling religion and reason. In his messianic writings he argued that Judaism encouraged efforts to accelerate the arrival of the messianic age. Historically, this opinion was accepted by only a few religious authorities; the dominant rabbinic tradition regarded messianic activism as a rebellion against God.

Starting with the rationalist assumption that God steers the course of history toward the messianic age without abrogating natural laws, Kalischer asserted that human participation in the redemptive process was essential. He contended that biblical prophecies, when interpreted through the ideology of messianic activism, indicated that the messianic age would arrive in gradual stages. A nonmiraculous stage, in which the Holy Land would be repopulated and made agriculturally productive by Jews, would be followed by a miraculous stage consisting of the other features described in biblical prophecies. The miraculous stage would be ushered in when the Jews reestablished their intimate connection with God by offering sacrifices on the rebuilt altar in Jerusalem.

In 1836, encouraged by European interest in the Jews' return to Zion and the Orthodox rabbinate's insistence on retaining in the liturgy prayers for the restoration of sacrificial worship, Kalischer wrote to Meyer Anschel Rothschild and several influential rabbis about acquiring the Temple Mount and studying the possibility of restoring sacrificial worship. Most Jewish leaders withheld their support when they realized that to Kalischer the sacrifice renewal was not academic and was actually part of a messianic plan. By 1860 he realized that focusing only on the agricultural development of Palestine would receive wider support; he still believed that the sacrifice renewal and other messianic events would flow naturally from that. This tactical change has led some historians to the mistake of describing Kalischer as a Zionist rather than a messianist.

Kalischer's writings and activities eventually helped legitimize messianic activism, and religious Jews who regard the State of Israel as a step toward the messianic age have adopted his formulation of this ideology.

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JODY ELIZABETH MYERS (1987 AND 2005)

KAMALAŚĪLA

(c. 740–795) was an Indian Buddhist scholar and monk, who was famed for his role in the legendary Bsam yas debate in Tibet and for his prolific writings on Buddhist philosophy and practice. A disciple of Śāntarakṣita (c. 725–790), he is known for his strong commitment to inferential reasoning, his integration of diverse schools of Indian Buddhism, and his teachings on Buddhist meditation and practice. His many works, preserved mostly in Tibetan, include independent philosophical tracts, commentaries on Mahāyāna Buddhist *sūtra*s, and an encyclopedic commentary on Śāntarakṣita's *Tattvasaṃgraha* ("Collection of Realities"). Although little is known of his life in India, later Tibetan sources indicate that Kamalaśīla was a preceptor at the renowned Nālandā monastic university in present-day Bihar.

THE DEBATE AT BSAM YAS. Historical records show that Kamalaśīla did not accompany Śāntarakṣita to Tibet but was summoned there some time after his teacher's death. According to legend, near the end of his life Śāntarakṣita and his followers at the court of the Tibetan king Khri srong lde btsan (c. 740–798) came into conflict with the followers of Hva-shang Mahāyāna, a Chinese Buddhist monk also resident at the court. At the heart of the dispute was the question of whether awakening (*bodhi*), the ultimate goal of these Buddhist practitioners, must be obtained gradually, as Śāntarakṣita maintained, or whether it could occur suddenly, as held by the Chinese camp. Apparently Śāntarakṣita foresaw on his deathbed (c. 788) that the followers of Hva-shang Mahāyāna would gain ground in Tibet, and he therefore asked the king to invite Kamalaśīla from India to challenge the Chinese monk to a debate. Kamalaśīla arrived, and the debate (or debates—the duration and precise nature of the event is unclear) was held in the presence of the king. According to Tibetan records, Kamalaśīla vanquished his opponent, and the king decreed that henceforth only Indian Buddhist practices and texts would be adopted in Tibet. Perhaps not surprisingly, Chinese sources claim Hva-shang Mahāyāna the victor. Despite the lingering uncertainties about the debate, however, it is certainly the case that the vast majority of the many Buddhist texts translated into Tibetan over the following centuries was translated from Sanskrit and not from Chinese.

Kamalaśīla is said to have died in Tibet, murdered by assassins who killed him by "squeezing" his kidneys. Because the dates of both the debate and the death remain somewhat murky, precisely how much time Kamalaśīla spent in Tibet is unclear. However, he did stay long enough to compose four of his most influential works: three texts all bearing the title *Bhāvanākrama* ("Stages of Meditation") and his magnum opus on Madhyamaka thought, the *Madhyamakāloka* ("Illumination of the Middle Way").

THE STAGES OF MEDITATION. According to traditional Tibetan accounts, Kamalaśīla wrote the three *Bhāvanākrama*s after the Bsam yas debate at the request of King Khri srong lde btsan to clarify the stages of the gradualist (*rim gyis pa*) path to awakening and to refute the doctrines of the suddenist (*cig car ba*) approach. The emphasis in these works is on the proper way to cultivate one's mind to become a fully awakened buddha. Kamalaśīla articulates numerous steps, beginning with the generation of compassion and the altruistic aspiration to attain awakening for the sake of others. With compassion and altruism firmly in place, the practitioner next cultivates two distinct mental achievements: calm abiding and special insight. Calm abiding refers to the ability to easily rest the mind on a single object without distraction. Special insight is the wisdom that realizes that all things are devoid of any fixed identity or essence. Kamalaśīla's message in these texts is that neither calm abiding nor special insight alone will do; rather, the two must be united by taking the object of special insight, or "essencelessness" as the focus of single-pointed meditation (calm abiding).

One important consequence of Kamalaśīla's presentation is that it preserves a strong role for rational analysis and conceptual thought on the Buddhist path. That is, whereas calm abiding is generally understood to be a mental state that is free from concepts, special insight is brought about through the measured application of conceptual analysis. Although Kamalaśīla agrees that the ultimate state of transcendent wisdom attained in awakening is entirely free from conceptual thought, he nonetheless stresses that without conceptual analysis one cannot eliminate the negative mental states and primordial ignorance that are the roots of all the suffering in *saṃsāra* (the beginningless and involuntary chain of birth, death, and rebirth fueled by negative acts and ignorance). Kamalaśīla likens special insight to a fire produced by rubbing together the wooden sticks of conceptual analysis, which in the end consumes the very concepts that produced it. When calm abiding and special insight are united in meditation, the practitioner comes to have a nonconceptual experience of the essencelessness that had previously been determined through conceptual reasoning to be the ultimate reality of all things.

Kamalaśīla's presentation of the gradual path to awakening in the three *Bhāvanākrama*s has been very influential among Tibetans, who frequently see the texts as having been written especially for them. To this day, Tibetan lamas often advise students to implement Kamalaśīla's instructions on the generation of compassion and the integration of meditative concentration with the wisdom that realizes emptiness.

THE ILLUMINATION OF THE MIDDLE WAY. The fourth text that Kamalaśīla wrote in Tibet is the *Madhyamakāloka.* This is an ambitious treatise on the Madhyamaka or "Middle Way," school of Indian Buddhist thought that seeks to demonstrate conclusively the negative thesis that things are devoid of fixed identity or essence (*svabhāva*) by employing the tools of the Buddhist logical and epistemological traditions. In this, the text builds on Śāntarakṣita's *Madhyamakālaṃkāra* (on which Kamalaśīla had already written a subcommentary), and indeed, Tibetan sources maintain that Kamalaśīla undertook the work due to his concern that his teacher's thought might be misunderstood or inappropriately criticized in Tibet. The *Madhyamakāloka* addresses a variety of objections to the Madhyamaka teachings and to the arguments that are intended to demonstrate their truth. Tibetans have frequently turned to this work as a resource for working through some of the difficult logical issues that arise when attempting to demonstrate essencelessness. This work is also probably the first Madhyamaka treatise to present a catalogue of five logical reasons that demonstrate that things are essenceless.

Later Tibetans classify Kamalaśīla, along with Śāntarakṣita, as a member of the Yogācāra-Svātantrika-Madhyamaka school. In brief, this means that Kamalaśīla is understood, first, as accepting the basic Yogācāra position that objects of knowledge do not exist outside the mind and, second, as endorsing the use of autonomous (*svatantra*) inferences, that is, inferences that operate independently of the positions held by the two parties in a debate. For many later Tibetans, such inferences are improper in the context of Madhyamaka, because they would require things to have essences to function. Instead, it is preferable for a Mādhyamika, a follower of the Madhyamaka, to use inferences that operate on the basis of positions accepted by the opponent alone, as is held to be the case in the so-called Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka school. Although the terms *Svātantrika* (Autonomist) and *Prāsaṅgika* (Consequentialist) were not used as doxographical categories in India, their Tibetan equivalents became axiomatic in discussions of Madhyamaka in Tibet. Although many Tibetans have expressed qualms about the so-called Svātantrika elements of

Kamalaśīla's approach to Madhyamaka, he is still widely admired among Tibetans for his role in defending the gradualist path at the Bsam yas debate, his presentation of Buddhist meditation and practice, and the depth and subtlety of his philosophical thought.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Tibet; Śāntirakṣita; Tibetan Religions, overview article.

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KAMI.

From a historical and religious viewpoint, what is meant by the Japanese word *kami* cannot be exhausted by the term itself, for it is also often expressed in other terms, such as *tama* (spirits), as well as by names for natural things beginning with such prefixes as *mi* (sacred), *hi* (spiritual, sacred forces) and *itsu* (sacred power). These can refer to concrete landscapes of place, sky, mountain, hill, river, sea, or forest, or sometimes to the nameless and extraordinary. In some expressions, the whole universe is permeated by the sacred *kami* nature, thus constituting a monistic universe. The characteristics of *kami* in the early phases of Japanese history share many common elements among the primary religious traditions of various communities in the world.

CHARACTERISTICS OF *KAMI*.

There are several important characteristics of *kami* in the early Japanese expressions. First of all, the *kami* in the archaic level of religious experience, manifests its totality, and it is ambivalent. The term *kami* refers to all beings—good and evil—that are awesome and worthy of reverence. The *kami* who is in charge of fertility of a territory or the well-being of its society usually reigns over the territory and can harm or destroy it when disregarded. And the *kami* must be well respected; otherwise, it punishes people. There are numerous cases in which *kami* reveals awesome and dreadful natures, and yet the same awesome *kami* often shows gentle and loving natures at the same time. Those *kami* who are in charge of epidemics have the power to spread illness, and also to heal. In that sense, *kami* is regarded as a terrible being who has superhuman powers to reign over territory, a being in charge of fertility and well-being. One of the most famous examples appears in the *Kojiki* (chapter 92) that the emperor Chuai had to die because he disregarded the will of *kami* revealed through an oracle. There are many cases of the *kami* that curses *(tatari-gami)*, who harms people when disrespected, but bestows blessings when the *kami* is well respected.

The invisible and concealed *Kami*. Secondly, the *kami* is basically concealed and invisible. The most original seven *kami* "at the time of the beginning of heaven and earth" in Japanese myth, are all "not visible," or "they hid their bodies" in the myth (the *Kojiki,* pp. 47–48.) There are many evidences of the invisible nature of *kami*. As basically concealed and invisible, *kami* responds to prayer by descending to earth and dwelling in tangible objects such as sacred space, tree or rock, or human beings. The prayers are addressed to *kami* through ritual, and then, following the ritual, *kami* returns to the invisible world. The above story of the emperor Chuai involved the trance of the empress Okinaga-tarashi-hime through whom the invisible *kami*-spirit delivered the message. Not only in the classical texts, but also in the whole history of Japanese religions, the visible world of religious phenomena is intensely affirmed because it is connected to and sustained by the invisible world of *kami*-spirits through the "seamlessness of the border-space" by various channels of mediation between the two worlds, the visible and the invisible, the world of *kami* and that of the human. This seamlessness of the border-space as well as the frequent passage of the *kami*-spirit through it ensured the monistic spiritual universe of early Japanese people. (Kitagawa, 1987, pp. 44–45) The sacred fall of Nachi, as it is seen, is described and worshipped as the sacred body of *kami*, as is the sacred mountain of Miwayama. They are among the specific examples of the manifestations of *kami*, which remains, however, basically hidden.

Following the introduction of Buddhism into the Japanese archipelago (c. 550 CE), indigenous religions, now influenced by Buddhist expressions, began building shrines and producing fewer *kami* images. Prior to Buddhism, people prayed only at specific *iwakura* (sacred rocks) or *go-shinboku* (sacred trees), or other special places where *kami* visited in response to requests for their presence.

Itinerancy of the *kami*. A third characteristic of *kami* in early Japanese expressions is that it visits, drifts about, but does not stay in one place forever; it visits sacred places, possessing the medium to deliver oracles in response to requests. This mobility of *kami* makes possible the periodic visits by the sacred visitors in various local communities; it also means that *kami* can have various places to visit or vehicles to possess. *Kami* moves and drifts horizontally and vertically, freely. It is important to remember Joseph Kitagawa's remarks about the *kami* spirit moving through the seamless border-space between the human and the divine world, or between the world of the living and that of the dead, as evidence of this mobility.

***Kami* of different natures.** A fourth characteristic of *kami* in this early Japanese world is that it seems that many *kami* of different natures coexist. This multiplicity has been often mistakenly interpreted as a "polytheistic" nature of Japanese religious tradition by Japanese scholars in modern times. However, these concepts—polytheism, monotheism, and pantheism—come from the Western philosopher Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677). In other words, they are concepts that were imposed upon Japanese religious phenomena from Western culture, and do not do justice for interpreting such phenomena in Japanese history.

The existence of numerous *kami* does not necessarily mean "polytheism." In various religious traditions of the world there is clear evidence of the dialectic between one god and many gods within the same tradition. Japanese history traces the emergence of "monolatory" religions (religions of one-god worship) in the serious crisis situations of society in the late Heian (794–1185 CE) and Kamakura (1185–1333 CE) periods, as well as in the late Tokugawa (1600–1868) to early Meiji (1868–1912) eras. Yet when the crisis situations were over and an ordinary life returned, people reverted to the world of numerous *kami*.

Early Japanese history also shows the manifestations of numerous *kami* the people prayed to. It is possible, therefore, to say that one of the important characteristics of early Japanese history is the coexistence of various *kami*. In the oldest Japanese chronicles of the *Kojiki* (The records of ancient matters), the names of more than three hundred *kami* are mentioned. In the *Engishiki* (Procedures of the Engi era), the prayers are addressed to various *kami*, not only to the *kami* of the High Heaven but also to the *kami* of the earth, such as a land, an oven, the *kami* of road, or the *kami* of the palace gate. In other words, each *kami* was assigned to the specific role within the world of meaning in the religious life of the early Japanese people.

The *kami* of locative type and of Utopian type. A fifth characteristic of the Japanese *kami* also manifests the aspects of the tutelary *kami* of local tribes, concrete places, matters, and affairs, which possess them and are in charge of them. People pray to the *kami* of the road, to the *kami* of mountain, or the *kami* of the river, with offerings, asking for protection and permission to get through or cross over. The *kami* of the wind, of the fire, or of the oven responds to the prayers of the respective person who is concerned with the place. But if he or she ignores the *kami*, the *kami* becomes a terrible *kami* that harms him or her. As is the case with the religious world of primary culture, the *kami* of the place dominates the place, territory, border, pass, or doorway, and often they are called by the name of the place, as the *kami* of the doorway, the *kami* of the pass, or the *kami* of a particular village. In other words, the *kami* manifest awesome, terrible natures as well as gentle, loving, fascinating natures. In the contradistinction with this type of *kami*, there are utopian types of *kami* that drew and attracted people to the far-away, sacred centers. In the famous millenarian movement of the *tokoyo-gami* (*kami* of the eternal paradise), people gave up their properties and ran dancing and singing to Mt. Fuji, where the *kami* promised to descend with the paradise of longevity and wealth. The movement was quickly suppressed by the government in 644 CE, the third year of the emperor Kogyoku right before the establishment of the Ritsu-ryo state. Also, various types of pilgrimages were developed throughout Japanese history, in which people left the place of their daily life temporarily for the blessings of the *kami* in far-away centers.

***Kami* in prehistoric cultures.** From a historical and cultural viewpoint, the tradition of the prehistoric Jomon period (about 10,000 BCE to fourth century CE) embraced the evidences of the *kami* closely entwined with the hunting-and-gathering culture, that is, the tradition of the slash-and-burn agriculture as well as that of fishing. The representative *kami* of this tradition were the earth-goddess-type *kami* of mountain and of sea. In the Yayoi culture (fourth century BCE to seventh century CE) the paddy-rice cultivation in the low land areas became the important source of production. Whereas in the slash-and-burn agricuture, people had to move to change the field of cultivation every three to twenty years for the fertile soils, in the paddy-rice cultivation, people had to stay in one place to enrich the soil through generations. In the paddy-rice agriculture tradition, the *kami* of the land (field), water (rain), sun and moon, as well as the spirit-*kami* of rice *(ina-dama)* among others, all with specific and articulate functions, were organically integrated and synthesized into a world of the *kami* of rice-spirit to constitute a pantheon of various *kami.* The resulting pantheon was the basis of the myth of the ancient state.

THE *KAMI* IN THE MYTH OF THE STATE. Various *kami* in the *Kojiki* point to the new historical stages into which Japanese people entered socially and religiously. In other words, new orientations of the human had entered into Japanese history. These were "new" in the sense that they were no longer simply primary; rather, they were the elements of civilization as the state entered into the story and nature of *kami.*

Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801), the founder of the Shinto theology of the Tokugawa period, treated the *Kojiki* as the sacred text of the Shinto and came up with the interpretation of *Kami* as "any entity with unusually powerful spiritual function that imparts a feeling of awe." His delineation of *kami* is profound and broad. However, it could be misleading if the *Kojiki* is treated as the only channel to the sacred in Japanese religious tradition.

As is often pointed out, the *Kojiki* is already colored by the ideology of the ancient Ritsuryō state. When Motoori interpreted the historical events by going back to the *Kojiki*, the interpretation itself was influenced by the state ideology of ancient Japan. The *Kojiki* is the text that interprets the origin of the state in the genealogy of various *kami*; therefore all *kami* in this text are situated in the story for the legitimatization of the state. Here, *kami* tend to have a more impersonal nature, and all *kami* are organized in the mythic structure of the state as the originator and ancestors of the state, as well as of the people and their descendants. The *kami* of the High Heaven and earthly *kami* are organized into the ideology of the unity of the state. The divinity that once was the tutelary *kami* of some specific local clan or village community is thus separated from the community and developed into the tutelary *kami* of the whole state-land—the ancestor *kami* of the nation. But evidence in folklore and in Japanese texts indicates that people have experienced *kami* not spoken about in the *Kojiki* and the *Engishiki.* Such a variety of *kami* is observed in the later development of Japanese history.

BUDDHISM AND *KAMI.* When Buddhism was introduced into Japan, the Buddha was treated as a foreign *kami.* Soon, however, Buddhism and Shinto began interacting, and with the establishment of the ancient state, Buddhist schools, the Shinto pantheon, Confucian ideology, and Yin-Yang Daoist specialists were all organized into and monopolized by the government system of the Ritsuryō state during the Nara (710–784 CE) and most of the Heian period. When persons belonging to these religions were controlled by the government, various folk-religious movements emerged spontaneously to fulfill the needs of the populace outside of the religio-political hierarchy of the government.

Various crises during the Nara and Heian period, including the gradual erosion of the state system of Ritsuryō and repeated famines and epidemics in the central Japan, led to a new expression of *kami* known as the *goryo-shin* (the Sacred Spirit-*Kami*). The *kami* of the *goryo* were originally the *onryo* (the vengeful spirits of the dead) whose lives went unfulfilled because of their tragic deaths, often through political strife. Still, they were turned into graceful *kami* in response to the veneration of people.

These *onryo* and *kami* of *goryo* became popular among the ordinary people, which in itself symbolized the agony of the unfulfilled living and dead. But these *kami* were also accepted as those who would harm people who did not pay due respects to the *kami.* All sectors of Buddhism responded with various counter-magic against *onryo*, from which new Buddhist movements emerged.

The emergence of these new Buddhist sects, called "Japanese Buddhism," was preceded by the violent movement of *onryo* and *goryo.* Also, through the Heian and Kamakura period, syncretic relationships were developed between Japanese *kami* and foreign *kami* (Buddha), in which various Japanese *kami* were interpreted first as an incarnation of Buddha (*honji suijaku*), then later reversed—it was *kami* that had gone to India to become Buddha.

The influences of Buddhism remained overwhelmingly strong in the Kamakura period. During the Tokugawa period, however, neo-Confucian ideologues began interpreting the indigenous tradition of Shinto as separate from Buddhism. This tendency was most clearly seen in the development of National Learning represented by Motoori's study of the *Kojiki*, in which he attempted to wipe away all foreign influences in the study and interpretation of the *Kojiki.* Furthermore, Motoori's interpretation of the *Kojiki* as the sacred text, as well as his way of understanding *kami*, was succeeded—and developed more nationalistically—by A. Hirata and later theologians. In this scholarhip, *kami* and the Buddha were not only separated from each other theoretically, but also practically. This concept of *kami*, and this tradition of interpretation, is therefore also a new development.

SYNCRETIC RELIGIONS. One of the problems of *kami* in folk and popular religions is that Buddhists practially lost their religious freedom during the Tokugawa period. This was undertaken by the *jidan seido*, the Tokugawa neo-Confucian regime's control of the Buddhist temples as the official temples to which all people had to register to be certified as a nonmember of malicious religions, including Chrisianity. Shinto shrines were also controlled as one of the official religions under the the regime. People's religious needs were thus met by the emergence of numerous phenomena of fragmented—but very rich—elements of the syncretic integration of folk religion, such as pilgrimage movements and folk religious practices of various magico-religious activities (e.g., divinations, amulets, incantations, and many kinds of prayer in urban and rural areas).

From the lower strata of society, then, three (popular) founded religions—the Kurozumi, the Konko, and Tenri—emerged spontaneously through the religious experiences of each of their founders. Each of these religions, while critically reassessing their contemporary civilization and the structure of society including Buddhism and Shinto, created universalistic and egalitarian teachings in which all the influences of Buddhism, Shinto, Confucianism, and Taoism were organically blended together but integrated through their religious experience on the basis of strong undercurrents of folk religion. They had all-inclusive *kami* in the center of their teaching, and they responded to the religious needs of the alienated. These three religions thus became the historical prototypes of new religions in modern Japan.

Another point is that through the contact with the Western powers, Japanese people achieved the Meiji restoration—the establishment of the new unity of the state by restoring the sacred emperor, the living-*kami*, as the descendant of the sun goddess Amaterasu. This allowed them to achieve a modernization and westernization of Japan—the powerful modern state. The living *kami,* as the focal point of national identity and indigenous culture, thus came to be exposed to the secular history of the modern international struggles. This is indeed a new, paradoxical context for Japanese *kami*. In addition, through the missionary activities of Christian groups the notion of the Japanese *kami* came to be influenced by the notion of the god of transcendence, for Christian missionaries applied the Japanese word *kami* to explain their god, Yahweh, or the absolute.

SEE ALSO Japanese Religions, article on The Study of Myths; New Religious Movements, article on New Religious Movements in Japan; Shintō; Study of Religion, article on The Academic Study of Religion in Japan; Transculturation and Religion, article on Religion in the Formation of Modern Japan.

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MICHIO ARAKI (2005)

KAMO NO MABUCHI (1697–1769), Japanese scholar of classical studies in the Tokugawa period (1600–1868); he wrote classical poetry under the pen names Shōjyō, Moryō, Iyō, and Agatai.

Mabuchi was born on March 4, 1697, into the Okabe family, descendants of the overseers of Kamo Shrine in Kyoto, at Iba, Ōmi province (modern Shizuoka Prefecture). Mabuchi's father was a Shintō priest and part-time farmer who encouraged his son to write poetry. At the age of ten (eleven by Japanese count) Mabuchi, who received initial instruction from the poet Kada Masako and then from her renowned husband, Sugiura Kuniakira, began taking active part in poetry tournaments.

At the age of twenty-five, Mabuchi made the acquaintance of Kada Azumamaro (1668–1736), scholar of classical studies and headmaster of the school of National Learning (Kokugaku) in Kyoto. Through his association with Watanabe Myōan, a scholar of Ogyū Sorai's school of Ancient Rhetoric (Kobunjigaku), Mabuchi met the Confucian Dazai Shundai, who introduced him to the study of classics in the manner developed by Sorai. Later, as he turned away from Chinese influences to embrace things Japanese, Mabuchi repudiated the scholarship of the members of the Sorai school as the work of eccentrics.

In 1734, after enrolling in Kada Azumamaro's school, Mabuchi began work on the eighth-century collection of poetry known as the *Man'yōshū*. Following Kada's death in 1736, Mabuchi moved to the capital at Edo (modern Tokyo), but returned frequently to Iba, for he believed it was possible to see the reality of human existence in the naiveté of the rural people. Thus he developed his concept of society based on an agricultural economic model combined with the Daoist principle of natural life. At the same time, he composed poetry and participated in poetry competitions. In 1742, he joined the service of Lord Tayasu, a member of the Tokugawa family, as a teacher of classical studies.

Opposing the tradition that saw the right of succession in schools of scholarship passed down through families, Mabuchi considered himself the successor to the Kada school. The number of his followers increased to almost 350, and three subschools emerged. In 1763, when Mabuchi was returning from a trip to the Yamato area (modern Nara), he met Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801), his future successor and a leading figure in the National Learning school.

It was Mabuchi's aim to understand the terminology and ideology of ancient (pre-Nara) times. He advocated adherence to Shintō doctrine and a return to the "natural" concepts of the ancient period as a means of discovering the supreme and correct *kokoro* ("soul, spirit") of the Japanese people. Influences from China and Confucian ideology were, in his interpretation, unnatural. In opposition to the principles set down by Confucians and Buddhists, Mabuchi stressed the philosophy of nonaction, or naturalness, by which it would be possible to unite one's *kokoro* with the spirit of the universe. He maintained that "artificial" knowledge, such as that propounded by Confucians and Buddhists, would only harm the spirit of the people. Therefore, since Japan's ancient period was based on what was pure and natural, it was essential that there be a return to the things of the past. In adoration of such an ideal concept, he attempted to revive the spirit of the classical times not only through the doctrines he propounded, but also in his style of clothing and the furnishings of his home. He studied ancient poetry and literature as a means of practicing the principles of old, thereby setting a high value on the myths of Japan's ancestral gods, the emperor, and the elements of nature.

Mabuchi pointed to the virtuous character of a bright, naive, and pure *kokoro*, a soul that was brave, honest, and gentle. This type of spirit would only manifest itself in a subject who was courageous and loyal to the emperor. Yet he did not regard the Tokugawa regime as suppressive of the interests of the emperor but rather praised its founding ruler, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616), for establishing a government with Shintō as its base.

SEE ALSO Kokugaku.

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HAGA NOBORU (1987)
Translated from Japanese by Irene M. Kunii
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KANG YUWEI (1858–1927), political reformer and Confucian thinker of modern China. Kang Yuwei first attained national prominence as leader of the political reform movement that ended in the defeat of the Hundred Days Reform of 1898. Although primarily political, the movement also had a spiritual and moral dimension. Kang called not only for the "protection of the nation" but also for the "preservation of the faith," by which he meant the spiritual revitalization of Confucianism and the promotion of its teachings as the state religion. This position was partly a response to the cultural and political crises that China was undergoing at the time. By revitalizing Confucianism, Kang hoped to strengthen China's self-esteem and national solidarity. But his call for the "preservation of the faith" must not be seen solely in this practical light; it was also the culmination of a moral and spiritual quest that had started in his early youth.

Kang Yuwei was born to a family of scholars and officials in Nanhai County, Guangdong Province. His father died while Kang was still a child, and thereafter his grandfather, a devoted Neo-Confucian scholar, personally took charge of the boy's education. Shortly before the age of twenty, Kang entered a period of spiritual restlessness, triggered by the sudden death of his grandfather and by the beginning of his subsequent apprenticeship under an inspiring Confucian teacher. He rebelled against his conventional Confucian education and temporarily withdrew from society altogether. Plunging into a frantic intellectual search, he fell under the influence of various non-Confucian persuasions, especially Mahāyāna Buddhism, philosophical Daoism, and "Western learning."

Kang's intellectual quest finally culminated in the formation of a moral and historical worldview that he expressed in a series of writings published in the decade from the early 1890s to the early 1900s. Based on a bold and comprehensive reinterpretation of Confucianism that centered on the pivotal Confucian ideal of *ren* (human-heartedness), this view also reflected, in its redefinition of *ren*, ang's interest in non-Confucian thought. *Ren* provided Kang with a worldview that saw the essential and ultimate state of the cosmos as a selfless all-encompassing whole. Kang also retained the Confucian belief central to *ren* that the intrinsic goal of human existence is the moral perfection of individual and society. But his definition of moral perfection bears the profound influence of non-Confucian thought, for his vision of the ideal society, the "great unity" (*datong*), was that of a universal moral community where egalitarianism, libertarianism, and hedonism would prevail. Since his conception of hedonism resulted from the impact of the materialistic doctrines of Western industrial society, his ideal society offered the radical combination of moral perfection, technological development, and material abundance.

The radical tendencies in Kang's conception of *ren* were tempered by his teleological notion of histroy heavily influenced by the modern Western thought. In his view, the full realization of the ideal can be attained only through the gradual course of historical developement. Borrowing a scheme from an ancient commentary on the Confucian classic *Chun qiu*, Kang took the view that human history evolves through three stages, from "the age of chaos," which lay in the past, through an intermediate age of "emerging peace," to the final stage of "universal peace," or "great unity," to be realized in the future. Kang insisted that it was for this latter age alone that his radical reevaluation of *ren* was appropriate. He believed that, meanwhile, in the era preceding the "age of great unity," many of the conventional values of Confucianism remained relevant. These were the tenets of the moral-historical worldview that lay at the core of his efforts to have Confucianism accepted as a state religion.

Kang's reform movement culminated in 1898, when, under his guidance, the Guangxu emperor attempted to put into practice a wide-ranging program of political reform. The intervention of the dowager empress Cixi, who moved to imprison the emperor and nullify the imperial edicts little more than three months after they were issued, brought Kang's reforms to an abortive end. Together with his student Liang Qichao, Kang fled China and began an exile that lasted until 1913. During this period he continued his reformist efforts abroad and traveled extensively, deepening his understanding of the social and political forces that were shaping the modern world.

Upon his return to China, Kang resumed his efforts to implement the promotion of Confucianism as a state religion. Convinced that the revolution of 1911, in which the traditional monarchy had been replaced by a republican form of government, had only served to impede the historical evolution of the ideal society, he joined the warlord Zhang Xun in an ill-fated attempt to restore Manchu rule in 1917. In the writings of his later years, Kang remained faithful to the interpretation of Confucianism that he had formulated in the 1890s, but, because the intellectual climate of China had changed, his views never regained their former influence.

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HAO CHANG (1987 AND 2005)

KANNON SEE AVALAOKITEŚVARA

KANT, IMMANUEL

KANT, IMMANUEL (1724–1804), German philosopher. Kant was born in Königsberg, a provincial town in East Prussia. He grew up in a religious family of relatively low social status. His father was a saddler, and both his parents were dedicated members of the Pietist movement, which stressed the interior devotion of the heart in opposition to the prevailing Lutheran practice of external observances. The spirit of Pietism pervaded not only Kant's family but also the Collegium Fridericianum, a local school, where he received his early education from 1732 to 1740.

In 1740 Kant entered the University of Königsberg, where he studied science and philosophy for six years. After graduation, he earned his living as a private tutor for a number of East Prussian families. During this period he kept up his studies and earned his master's degree at the university in 1755, which allowed him to teach as a privatdocent, a private lecturer accepted as a member of the faculty without compensation from the university. He occupied this financially precarious and academically undistinguished position for fifteen years. In 1770 he was appointed professor of logic and metaphysics.

While holding this position, Kant produced a stream of masterpieces. His best-known works are his three critiques: the *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781), the *Critique of Practical Reason* (1788), and the *Critique of Judgment* (1790). These three volumes expound Kant's critical idealism, or critical philosophy, which has also been known as Kantianism. Kantianism was the first phase of German Idealism, which gained fuller development in the writings of Johann Fichte (1762–1814), Friedrich Schelling (1775–1854), and G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831). Kant's religious ideas not only constitute essential features of his critical philosophy but also play a pivotal role in the transition from his critical idealism to the absolute idealism of his intellectual successors.

KANTIANISM AS A WORLDVIEW. Kantianism was an attempt to reconcile British empiricism and continental rationalism. British empiricism had been developed by a succession of British and Scottish philosophers, namely, Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), John Locke (1632–1704), George Berkeley (1685–1753), and David Hume (1711–1776). Continental rationalism had been advocated by René Descartes (1596–1650), Gottfried Leibniz (1646–1716), and Christian Wolff (1679–1754). During his formative years, Kant learned his philosophy from Leibnizians and Wolffians, but he later came to appreciate the importance of empiricism, especially Hume's theory of ideas.

The central point of the dispute between rationalists and empiricists was the theory of ideas. Since all our ideas are derived from sensation, the empiricists maintained, the objects of sensation are the only proper objects of knowledge. In opposition to this view, the rationalists argued that some of our ideas are not derived from sensation but are innate to reason. They further claimed that these innate ideas give us a knowledge of supersensible reality such as God. The idea of a supersensible reality, although espoused by some early empiricists, became unpopular with the later empiricists, because they considered it incompatible with empiricism. This later tendency of empiricism amounted to recognizing sensible reality, or the physical world, as the only reality. Thus the dispute that had begun with the epistemological issue concerning the origin of ideas came to have the ontological implication of admitting or not admitting any reality beyond the domain of sensation.

Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* is a critical assessment of these two contending views. He holds that there are two kinds of ideas: those derived from sense and those innate to reason. The latter are the a priori elements of cognition; the former are its a posteriori elements. These two are equally indispensable for human knowledge. Kant is emphatic on the mutual dependence of sensibility and understanding: "Percepts without concepts are blind; concepts without percepts are empty." Although the domain of knowledge is limited to the domain of sensation, as the empiricists claimed, Kant argues, knowledge of sense objects requires the use of a priori concepts such as the concept of cause and effect. He derives twelve a priori concepts from twelve forms of judgment and calls them the categories of understanding. He uses the categories to construct a priori principles of understanding, which function as the framework for organizing the objects of sensation.

This epistemological compromise between rationalism and empiricism has the following ontological consequence: Kant maintains that the objects of sensation are not reality itself (things-in-themselves) but its appearance. He bases this claim largely on his argument that space and time are not objective entities but subjective forms of intuition, that is, the manner in which human beings are given objects of sensation. Since all objects of sensation are given through space and time, Kant holds, they cannot be objective realities. They are only appearances to us. Kant calls these appearances "phenomena" and the things-in-themselves "noumena."

Unlike phenomena, noumena are not located in space and time; nor are they given as objects of sensation. They are the supersensible realities. That the domain of knowledge is limited to the world of phenomena means that we can never know the true reality but only its appearances. That we can have no knowledge of noumena, however, does not mean that we have no ideas about them. Kant maintains that we have a priori ideas about the supersensible reality. But to have these ideas is not to know the world of noumena, because there is no way of proving their truth or falsity.

In Kant's view, knowledge is inseparable from the power of demonstrating the truth or falsity of an idea, and that power is inexorably limited to the domain of sensibility. For this reason, knowledge is limited to the world of phenomena. The rationalists have assumed that the truths of a priori ideas can be demonstrated by rational arguments alone, that is, without appealing to sensibility. But rationalist arguments divorced from the constraint of sensibility can produce only sophistical illusions and confusions, according to Kant. He gives the name "transcendental dialectic" to the pseudoscience constituted by those sophistical arguments, because they are dialectical arguments transcending the domain of sensibility.

Kant recognizes three branches of transcendental dialectic: transcendental psychology, transcendental cosmology, and transcendental theology. These three are supposed to prove the immortality of the soul, the freedom of the will, and the existence of God. In the *Critique of Pure Reason,* Kant provides a systematic examination of their arguments and exposes their common error, namely, the error of employing a priori concepts beyond the domain of sensibility.

The immortality of the soul, the freedom of will, and the existence of God are three of the central dogmas in many religions. That none of them can be proved, however, should not be mistaken to mean that they can be disproved. Kant is emphatic on this point. A transcendental assertion can neither be proved nor be disproved, because sensibility is essential not only for proofs but also for disproofs. Hence the three religious dogmas can still be regarded as possible truths of the supersensible reality. As such, they can be accepted in faith.

Kant demarcates matters of faith from matters of fact. The latter are the objects of knowledge; the former are the objects of belief. The objects of knowledge are situated in the world of phenomena; the objects of faith belong to the world of noumena. The objects of faith transcend the domain of sensibility, while the objects of knowledge are immanent in it. Although theoretical reason cannot settle the question of accepting or rejecting the objects of faith, Kant says, practical reason has a way of ruling over their admissibility.

KANTIANISM AS A MORAL VIEW. Practical reason is the rational faculty concerned with human conduct, and a critical examination of this faculty is given in his second critique, the *Critique of Practical Reason.* Kant recognizes two mainsprings for human conduct: the will and the inclination. The inclination is the working of our desires and feelings, which are subject to the causal laws of the phenomenal world. The will is the rational faculty for moral actions. Unless the freedom of this faculty is presupposed, Kant says, it makes no sense to talk of the moral worth of human conduct. Since freedom is impossible in the phenomenal world of causal necessity, it can be accepted only as an entity belonging to the noumenal world. Kant calls the noumenal world the domain of freedom and the phenomenal world the domain of necessity. Thus he installs the noumenal world as the practical ground for morality and the freedom of the will as the first postulate (presupposition) of practical reason.

Besides the postulate of freedom, Kant says, two other postulates are demanded by morality: the existence of God and the immortality of the soul. The immortality of the soul is required for moral perfection. Our inclination has the natural propensity to go against the moral dictates of pure reason, and our moral perfection can be achieved by transforming this natural propensity into the willing obedience to the moral law. Since this moral transformation of the soul is infinitely time-consuming, it can be accomplished only if the soul continues to live after the death of its body. For this reason, Kant says, the postulate of the immortality of the soul is dictated by the practical ideal of moral perfection.

In Kant's ethics, the ideal of moral perfection is inseparably connected with another practical ideal, the notion of the complete good (*summum bonum*). Kant defines it as the harmony of moral perfection and happiness (natural good).

He regards moral perfection as the absolutely necessary condition for rendering human beings worthy of happiness. In this world, however, happiness can be denied to a person morally worthy of it, while it can be given to a person morally unworthy of it. The dispensation of happiness in proportion to each person's moral worth is their harmony, that is, the ideal of the complete good. This ideal can, Kant maintains, be fulfilled only by God in the other world. This is the third and the final postulate of practical reason.

Kant's third postulate has sometimes been known as the moral proof for the existence of God, and as such it has been the object of many disputes and misunderstandings. But to call it a proof is highly misleading; a "proof" for the existence of God generally means the demonstration or assurance of his existence. In Kantianism, as we have already seen, demonstration or assurance can be given only for the objects of the phenomenal world. Therefore the reasons Kant gives for the existence of God cannot constitute a proof. It is only a postulate. Whereas a proof can give certainty or assurance, a postulate can give only possibility, a supersensible ground for hope.

Kant's notion of rational postulates is inseparable from his ideal of practical rationality. To regard the harmony of moral and natural goods as an ideal of practical reason means that the world in which this ideal is fulfilled is a rational one and, conversely, that the world in which it is not fulfilled is an irrational one. It is impossible to find out whether our world is ultimately rational or irrational in this regard. As rational beings, however, we can, for practical purposes, opt and hope for the possibility that our world is ultimately rational. If this possibility is to be true, Kant argues, there must be a God who assures the harmony of moral and natural goods for every moral being. This is all that is meant by this and other postulates of practical reason.

KANT'S CONCEPTION OF GOD AND THE RELIGIOUS. In Kant's philosophy, God does not stand as a power that has its own laws and commands different from the moral law and its dictates. What God demands from ethical subjects is none other than what is dictated by moral reason. To do the will of God is to perform the duties of the moral imperative. There is no way to please God other than to be morally perfect. To be religious is to be moral; to be moral is to be religious. As far as human behavior is concerned, morality and religion are functionally identical, and their functional identity is expressed in Kant's statement that religion and God are internal to morality.

Kant's internalism, as he admits, goes against the traditional view that assumes an external relation between morality and religion. In general, the traditional religions portray God as a powerful being, whose will is independent of our will, whose commands can override even our moral dictates, and whose favor can be sought by special rituals and devotions. In short, the traditional religions stand on the existence of powers and values external to the powers and values of morality. Kant rejects such externalism because it is incompatible with the autonomy of practical reason.

In Kant's view, externalism is the anthropomorphic misconception of God and his relation to us, that is, the error of understanding God as someone like a powerful human being who demands our service and devotion. This misconception lies behind the religions of what Kant calls "*cultus externus*." These religions impose on their devotees a set of obligations or observances that consists of prayers, rituals, services, and various prohibitions. Furthermore, the gods of these religions are assumed to be pleased or displeased by the performance or nonperformance of these religious duties. Most of these religions have specially ordained experts called priests, ministers, or shamans, who have the power of officiating and facilitating the performance of religious duties.

Cultus externus, Kant insists, makes no sense to anyone who correctly understands the nature of God as the most perfect being, that is, omniscient, omnipotent, and, above all, morally perfect. It makes no sense to render any service to such a being, because he is in need of nothing and can derive no benefit from our services. Even the praise of his perfection cannot add anything to his perfection any more than flattery can to his honor. God does not need our prayers to find out what we need. Nor can he be moved by our supplication, because his mind is governed only by moral dictates. The *cultus externus* can fulfill none of the religious functions that it has been assumed to fulfill.

Kant uses the label "natural religion" to designate his view of religion, because it can be fully comprehended by the natural power of human reason, that is, without the aid of supernatural revelation. Kant's idea of natural religion may appear to reduce religion to morality. But he insists that natural religion retains all the essential features of traditional religions. In his view, those features are the moral attributes and functions of the supreme being, as the holy lawgiver, the benevolent ruler, and the just judge. Any other attributes of God such as omniscience, omnipotence, and omnipresence are only supplementary to his moral attributes; they are the requisite conditions for discharging his moral functions.

Kant argues that Christianity is the only moral religion, while the others are servile religions. The central function of servile religions is to curry favor from the supernatural powers; they place human beings in a servile relation to those powers. This servile relation has, Kant holds, been transformed into a moral one by Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus transformed the "old" law of Moses, the rules for external observance, into the "new" law, the rules for internal disposition. Kant finds Jesus' moral interpretation of religious life most conspicuously in his Sermon on the Mount, and he reads its concluding remark—"Therefore be perfect, as your heavenly father is!"—as an exhortation for moral perfection.

In *Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone* (1793), Kant offers his moral interpretation of Christian dogmas. The dogma of original sin concerns our innate propensity to do evil, which is to flout the maxims of duty and to succumb to the maxims of inclination. Kant regards it as a superstition to believe that this propensity was generated by Adam's fall from grace and then passed on to his posterity. On the contrary, Kant holds that the innate propensity to go against the moral law is in the very nature of man. No doubt, original human nature is said to be good. This original goodness, however, is not incompatible with the innate propensity to do evil. The original goodness of man means the freedom to obey the moral law by disciplining and mastering inclinations. Hence, original goodness and the innate propensity to evil are two essential features of every human being.

Kant interprets the incarnation of God in Christ not as a miracle of the supernatural order but as the manifestation of a moral ideal. As moral agents, he says, all of us have the ideal of a morally perfect human being. Such an ideal, if ever realized in this world, can be called an incarnate God, because the ideal in question belongs to pure practical reason, whose dictates are one with the dictates of God. Kant calls the ideal of moral perfection the archetype of moral life. But this archetype, he insists, cannot be identified with Jesus Christ himself. For he is only an instance or example, while the archetype belongs to all of us as agents of practical reason.

The relation of archetype and example, Kant says, is misrepresented in the traditional dogma of the incarnation, which exalts Jesus as a member of the Holy Trinity. He regards the dogma of the Trinity as theoretically incomprehensible and practically unserviceable. If the Son of God is so exalted as to stand above all human temptations and struggles, he is too remote from our existence to serve as a useful model. The value of the Son of God as our practical model lies in his essential identity with all human beings, and every human being who strives to achieve moral perfection can be called a son of God, a man well-pleasing to God.

Kant interprets the kingdom of God as an ethical commonwealth, a community of moral agents each of whom treats the other as an end-in-itself by obeying the moral law. He distinguishes the ethical commonwealth from the political commonwealth by virtue of the former's freedom from coercion. Whereas the power of coercion is indispensable for the maintenance of a political commonwealth, the freedom of the will is sufficient for the administration of an ethical commonwealth. The constitution of such a harmonious community, Kant says, becomes possible only through the moral rebirth of its members, which involves the radical transformation of their hearts from the propensity to follow inclination into the willing obedience to the moral law, that is, through conversion. The same moral transformation is required for the admission to the ethical commonwealth.

Kant shows special caution in handling the claims of supernatural revelation. He rejects the claim that revelation has the authority of discovering and authenticating the supernatural truths inaccessible to human intelligence. He also rejects the view that revelation is totally gratuitous with respect to the discovery of religious truths. Although the truths of natural religion can be discovered by natural reason, revelation makes easier their discovery and propagation. Since he recognizes only the practical value of expedition, he rejects the traditional distinction between natural and revealed religion. As in Christianity, he says, a natural religion can be a revealed one.

Since natural religion belongs to the pure practical reason, Kant asserts the unity of all religions. There is only one true religion, he says, although there can be many different faiths. He distinguishes the particular ecclesiastical faiths from pure religious faith. Whereas pure faith consists of the ideals of practical reason, the particular faiths are the manifestations of those ideals through the historically instituted churches. Since the formation and development of those institutions have been influenced by historical contingencies, Kant holds, the ecclesiastical faiths are bound to show their differences. Nevertheless, he is confident that they can still display the unity of pure religious faith insofar as they are faithful to their original ideals.

KANT'S CRITICS AND HIS INFLUENCE. Kant's idea of natural religion provoked the charge among his contemporaries that he was a Deist. Deism was the view, prevalent among the scientific-minded intellectuals of the eighteenth century, that God does not intervene in the running of the universe because it has been placed under the working of immutable laws since its creation. Kant categorically denied the charge of being a Deist and attributed it to the misrepresentation of his position.

The misrepresentation in question was largely due to Kant's skeptical attitude toward miracles, God's interventions par excellence in the running of the world. Because miracles contravene the laws of nature, they cannot be reconciled with the use of reason. Both in theoretical and practical functions, human reason appears crippled in the presence of miracles. Furthermore, he says, miracles are not essential for the functions of true religion, because these functions can stand securely on moral beliefs alone. In fact, any demand for miracles as the authentication of religious beliefs betrays the lack of firm faith in the authority of moral commands, which are engraved upon the heart of man through reason. Because of this, Kant says, Christ rebuked the miracle-seekers: "Unless you see signs and wonders, you will not believe" (*Jn.* 4:48). In spite of these reservations about miracles, Kant categorically refused to impugn their possibility or reality.

Another charge against Kant was that he compromised his doctrine of moral autonomy by retaining the traditional doctrine of grace. Grace, for Kant, means God's help; it presupposes man's weakness, dependence, and heteronomy. The Pietists under whose influence Kant had grown up stressed the indispensability of grace and tended to take a passive attitude toward life. Kant rejects this passive attitude and praises the positive value of active efforts in moral life. Nevertheless, he admits the possibility that even our best efforts may fail to secure moral perfection. In that event, he says, we can hope that God will, in his wisdom and goodness, make up for our shortcomings.

His critics have pointed out that man is not a truly autonomous moral agent if even his best moral efforts are not enough to secure his moral perfection. They have further argued that Kant's notion of moral autonomy is also incompatible with his notion of the complete good. In their view, the intimate connection between worthiness and happiness makes morality too dependent on the idea of happiness, which is admittedly outside the control of a moral agent. Kant had guarded himself against this charge by stressing that the connection in question was a matter of belief rather than knowledge. Even if it is only a belief, his critics have maintained, it compromises the notion of moral autonomy as long as it is acted upon in the practical world.

Perhaps the most serious charge against Kant was addressed to his demarcation between phenomena and noumena. At the time he was concluding his second critique, the *Critique of Practical Reason,* he was not terribly disturbed by this criticism. So he confidently singled out the starry heavens above and the moral law within as two objects of awe and admiration, respectively representing the world of phenomena and the world of noumena. This observation was intended to mark the end not only of the second critique but of his entire critical enterprise. For he believed that his two critiques had fulfilled his ambition of critically assessing the two worlds of phenomena and noumena.

Shortly thereafter, however, Kant became preoccupied with the question of transition and mediation between the two worlds. Although moral precepts belong to the noumenal world, they can be realized in the phenomenal world. Kant found it difficult to explain the transition from the world of precepts to the world of practice, because one was supposed to be governed by necessity and the other by freedom.

In order to resolve this problem of transition, Kant wrote his third critique, the *Critique of Judgment,* and introduced reflective judgment as the faculty of mediation between the two worlds. But his theory of mediation was far from convincing, and most of his intellectual heirs resolved his problem by collapsing his two worlds into one. This post-Kantian development in German idealism made it impossible to retain Kant's postulates of immortality and the other world, because there was only one world left.

The fusion of Kant's two worlds into one was the climax of the progressive secularization that had begun in the Renaissance. Kant played a pivotal role in this development. His demarcation between phenomena and noumena was a modification and retention of the medieval demarcation between the natural and the supernatural orders. Unlike the medieval demarcation, however, Kant's did not completely coincide with the demarcation between this world and the other world. Kant made the transcendent noumenal world functionally immanent for moral life, thereby initiating the descent of the transcendent reality to the immanent level. The post-Kantians completed this process of descent and converted Kant's theism into pantheism. Kant's transcendent God became their immanent force in history.

The resulting pantheism also resolved the tension in Kant's notion of human autonomy. Although he claimed autonomy and independence for moral life, he acknowledged heteronomy and dependence for happiness. He stressed this admixture of dependence and independence in his notion of the complete good and the postulate for the existence of God. But this admixture was unacceptable to his successors, because they insisted on the total autonomy of human reason. The totally autonomous human reason became indistinguishable from the immanent God, and the two-in-one came to be called the "Absolute Spirit" by Hegel. With Kant, religion and morality became functionally identical; with Hegel, God and man were given their ontological identity.

SEE ALSO Deism; Empiricism; Free Will and Predestination; Pietism; Proofs for the Existence of God.

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T. K. SEUNG (1987 AND 2005)

KAPLAN, MORDECAI (1881–1983), American rabbi, author, and religious leader, was the creator of the theory of Reconstructionist Judaism and the founder of the Reconstructionist movement. The son of Rabbi Israel Kaplan, a Talmudic scholar, Mordecai Menahem Kaplan was born in Svenciony, Lithuania, on June 11, 1881. The family left eastern Europe in 1888 and reached the United States in June 1889. Kaplan was instructed in traditional Jewish subjects by private tutors while attending public schools in New York City. He received degrees from the City College of New York (1900) and Columbia University (1902) and rabbinic ordination from the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (1902). In 1909, following a tenure as minister and rabbi of Kehillath Jeshurun, an Orthodox congregation in New York City, Kaplan returned to the Jewish Theological Seminary, where he served for more than fifty years, first as principal (later dean) of the Teachers Institute until 1945, then as professor of homiletics and philosophies of religion until his formal retirement in 1963.

Beyond his roles as a leader within the Conservative rabbinate and the Zionist movement, and as an important contributor within the field of Jewish education, Kaplan's major achievement remains his formulation of Reconstructionism. He presented Reconstructionism to the public through a series of lectures and publications, chiefly *Judaism as a Civilization* (1934). Kaplan developed his theories in response to his own loss of faith in the traditional concept of revelation (known as *Torah mi-Sinai,* "the Law from Sinai"), one result of his studies with the iconoclastic Bible scholar Arnold Ehrlich. Attempting to rebuild a personal cosmology, Kaplan drew from Western philosophers and social scientists as well as Jewish sources, using the sociological findings of Émile Durkheim (1858–1917), the pragmatic philosophy of John Dewey (1859–1952) and William James (1842–1910), and the theological insights of Matthew Arnold (1822–1888) in combination with the Spiritual Zionism of Aḥad ha-ʿAm (Asher Ginzberg, 1856–1927).

Kaplan considered Durkheim "the most significant influence" on his conception of religion (Libowitz, 1983). Durkheim maintained that religions did not arise as individual phenomena that spread to a group but out of a societal matrix, representing collective representations of collective realities. Religion was a vital phenomenon shared by members of a group, who came together for more than religion. For Kaplan this theory refuted the Reform (and general Western) definition of Judaism as a religion and Jewry as the members of a church, membership in which was the only link between Jews in different lands. The Durkheimian understanding meant that any solution to Judaism's problems required a program that transcended religion. Kaplan began to study the earliest known forms of Judaism, noting the onset of innovations through the centuries, some of which were accepted and absorbed into the mainstream of Jewish society whereas others died away or separated from Judaism.

The search for a general philosophic guideline directing his experiments and proposals for Judaism led Kaplan to pragmatism, as expounded by James and Dewey. He accepted James's understanding of pragmatism as an approach combining the best of both empiricist and rationalist philosophy, without being limited by abstraction or fixed principles. This included rejection of the notion of absolute truth(s), while seeking understanding through concreteness, facts, and action. He disagreed with James's focus upon the individual, however, believing that religion is primarily "a group consciousness" (Libowitz, 1983), and he sought to combine James's method of evaluation with Durkheim's group-centered understanding of religious development.

Dewey provided Kaplan a guide in this endeavor. Dewey argued that society developed as humans sought practical solutions to specific problems. Knowledge grew from experience, in matters of ethics and morality just as in science. Intelligence would direct improvements upon experience. This intelligence was never finite but in constant evolution. Kaplan applied Dewey's theories to religion, replacing traditional claims to truth with a collective search for truth based upon the actual experiences of the Jewish people. This led him to understand Judaism "functionally" rather than as "pure" philosophy or theology. This synthesis of resources made Kaplan unique among twentieth-century Jewish thinkers as a redactor who sought to combine modern science with an affirmation of Judaism.

At the heart of Kaplan's thought is his definition of Judaism as an "evolving religious civilization." Opposing those who sought the maintenance of Jewish life solely through preservation of the religion, he argued that a Jewish civilization—including within it a land, language and literature, mores, laws and folkways, arts, and a social structure—transcended religion. Kaplan also presented a radical change in the God idea. Preferring to use the term *divinity,* he rejected notions of an anthropomorphic and personal God active in human history, favoring instead a functional understanding of God as the creative source within the universe, the power that engenders a salvation to which the Jewish people have long been particularly responsive. These conceptual shifts infuriated Orthodox Jewry, creating a division exacerbated further by Kaplan's efforts to transfer the center of concern and authority from divinely revealed text to the Jewish people itself, as well as by his justification of the transcendence of Jewish law *(halakhah)* and custom *(minhag)* when those sources no longer met the needs of the Jewish people. Kaplan differed from his Conservative colleagues in his use of extratraditional resources; his approach remained distinct from that of Reform Judaism through his efforts to retain traditional forms while providing new content.

Kaplan also sought to modernize Jewish organizational structure. Realizing the superior strength of the Diaspora cultures, he argued that emancipated Jews lived within two civilizations and that, on most occasions, the general (Gentile) culture exerted the primary hold upon the individual. In an effort to counterbalance the impetus toward total assimilation, Kaplan called for maximal development of opportunities for the individual to function within a Jewish environment. The locus of those activities was to be the synagogue, which Kaplan sought to transform from a simple prayer room to a modern institution, the focus for worship, study, and recreation. Attracting supporters for these theories, Kaplan supervised the creation of the first such community and synagogue center, the Jewish Center on Manhattan's West Side, in 1918. The commitment of the lay leadership to Orthodox Jewish practice, as well as Kaplan's own temper, soon led to difficulties, however, resulting in his resignation from the center in 1922. Kaplan next established the Society for the Advancement of Judaism, which served thereafter as the living laboratory for his experiments with Jewish worship, such as the inclusion of women within the minyan (prayer quorum) and the creation of bat mitzvah as a young woman's rite of passage equivalent to the bar mitzvah.

When editing the *Sabbath Prayer Book* (1945), Kaplan retained the traditional service structure but replaced statements regarding resurrection of the dead with declarations that God remembered the living. In a similar manner, prayers for restoration of the Temple and the coming of the Messiah were removed in favor of recollections of the faith of those who had worshiped in the Temple and prayers for a messianic age, to be achieved through human efforts. Perhaps most controversial, because it was most readily apparent, was Kaplan's replacement of the phrase "who has chosen us from all the nations" in the benediction prior to reading from the Torah with "who has brought us near in His service." Copies of the prayer book were burned at a rally of Orthodox Jews in New York City in 1945, and a ban *(issur)* was pronounced against Kaplan.

Kaplan's followers included the Conservative rabbis Eugene Kohn (1887–1977), Ira Eisenstein (1906–2001), and Milton Steinberg (1903–1950), as well as laypeople throughout the country. Kaplan resisted their desire to establish Reconstructionism as a fourth movement within American Judaism, and Reconstructionism thus remained identified as the "left wing" of Conservative Judaism until the 1960s. Only upon his retirement from the Jewish Theological Seminary did Kaplan devote himself to the establishment of a distinct Reconstructionist movement; by then many of his concepts and practices had diffused and become accepted within Reform and Conservative Judaism. As a result, although the influence of Kaplan's ideas has been broad, the Reconstructionist movement has remained small.

SEE ALSO Reconstructionist Judaism.

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KARAITES. The Karaites (Heb., *Qaraʾim*; Arab., *Qarāʾīyūn*) are a Jewish sect that recognizes the Hebrew Bible as the sole source of divinely inspired legislation, and denies the authority of the postbiblical Jewish tradition (the Oral Law) as recorded in the Talmud and in later rabbinic literature. The term, which apparently first occurs in the writings of Benjamin al-Nahāwandī (ninth century CE), is variously interpreted as "scripturalists, champions of scripture" (from the Hebrew *qaraʾ*, "to read," particularly "to read scripture") and as "callers," that is to say, those who call for a return to the original biblical religion (from the alternate meaning of *qaraʾ*, "to call, to summon"). Apart from the Samaritans, the Karaites are the oldest surviving Jewish sect and have produced an extensive scholarly literature, much of which has been preserved.

The Rise of Karaite Judaism (“Karaism”). Sectarian dissent in Judaism goes back to the Second Temple period, when it was represented by the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes (with whom the Qumran community is likely to be identified). The growth and eventual codification of the postbiblical rabbinic tradition in turn gave rise to further dissent. The Karaites are one of several groups that have claimed the Hebrew Bible to be the one and only repository of God’s word, which may not be modified by any subsequent, traditional law.

According to one early Rabbanite account, the Karaite movement originated circa 750 CE with an aristocratic, Babylonian scholar named ʿAnan ben David, who should have succeeded to the Exilarchate (secular leadership) of the Iraqi Jewish community. Because of his excessive wildness and irreverence, however, he was rejected in favor of his younger brother Hananiah. Consequently, ʿAnan declared himself head of a dissident group; these Ananites formed the nucleus of what later became the Karaite sect.This simplistic account suffers from a number of historical and psychological difficulties. Already in the late seventh and early eighth centuries, the anti-traditional leaders, Abū ʿĪsā and Yūdghān, had been active in the vicinity of Iraq. In the ninth and early tenth centuries, other leaders such as Ismāʿīl and Mīshawayh in ʿUkbarā (Iraq), Benjamin al-Nahāwandī in Iran, Mūsā al-Zaʿfarānī in Iraq and then Armenia, and Malik al-Ramlī in Palestine, presided over their own sectarian followings. All of these separate dissident groups developed their own heterogeneous teachings, although they seem to have vaguely regarded themselves as members of the larger community of anti-rabbinic sectarians.

Theological disagreement seems to have been only one of several causes of this new flowering of schisms; others were political, social, and economic. The large autonomous Jewish community in Iraq was administered by a bureaucracy serving the exilarch and the presidents (called the *geʾonim*) of the academies, who codified, interpreted, and developed the rabbinic tradition and acted as supreme courts of appeal. This bureaucracy was maintained by internal taxation that added to the heavy taxes already paid by non-Muslims to the Muslim state. The poorer classes of the Jewish community—and they formed the great majority—thus had ample reason for dissatisfaction with their lot. At the same time, the extension and consolidation of the Muslim empire in the seventh and eighth centuries enabled such discontented elements in the Iraqi community to emigrate to the sparsely settled and less regulated mountainous provinces of the east and north, where they observed the conquered Persian population, united under the banner of Shiism, seething with resentment and resistance against their Arab masters. Finally, the speed and ease with which the Arabs conquered the Byzantine and Persian dominions must have aroused anew Jewish hopes for the end of exile, the restoration of Zion, and the ingathering of the exiles in the Holy Land under their own government. But this hope was quickly shattered: the new Muslim masters, like their Christian and Zoroastrian predecessors, had not the slightest interest in Jewish national aspirations and dreams. All these factors probably contributed to discontent with the status quo, particularly among the disadvantaged elements of the Iraqi Jewish community.

By the beginning of the tenth century, the schism had expanded from its Iranian-Iraqi birthplace into Syria-Palestine. The leading figure was Daniel al-Qūmisī (originally from northern Iran), who preached a spiritual return to biblical Judaism and a physical return to the Holy City. By returning to Jerusalem, studying scripture, leading an ascetic existence, and mourning for the destroyed Temple, these “Mourners for Zion” sought to hasten the divine salvation and the messianic era which they believed to be imminent. The Mourners would become the spiritual and intellectual core of the Karaite movement during the tenth and eleventh centuries, subsuming other sectarian groups such as the Ananites. Zealous Karaite missionaries traveled far and wide to the Jewish settlements in the Near East, preaching to both Karaite and Rabbanite audiences. During the second quarter of the tenth century, however, they encountered stiff opposition. Saʿadyah ben Joseph al-Fayyūmī (882–942), the polymath *gaon* of the Sura academy in Baghdad, published several polemical works against Karaite teachings, condemning their proponents as outright heretics. Saʿadyah’s prestige and forceful scholarly argumentation effected a decisive break between the two camps that has never healed. It also seems to have kept the Karaite mission from ever making serious inroads among Rabbanite populations in the Near East.

Bitter though it was in its earlier stages, the Karaite-Rabbanite controversy stimulated Jewish literary creativity in the East during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Influenced by Islamic and Christian models, Rabbanites and Karaites had begun to experiment with new genres in the fields of theology, philosophy, biblical exegesis, and Hebrew philology. But undoubtedly, the inter-denominational feuding motivated members of both camps to produce scholarship of the highest standard. A Karaite academy flourished in Jerusalem during this period, giving advanced training to students from sectarian settlements as far-flung as Muslim Spain and Byzantium.

Much closer to home, the Karaite community of Egypt grew in wealth and importance, which derived in no small part from the success of several members of the Tustarī family, prominent members of the Fatimid court. Since Syria was under Fatimid control for much of this period as well, Karaite prestige increased throughout the area and on the whole, relations with Rabbanites improved dramatically. Marriage documents and formularies from the eleventh century attest to Karaite-Rabbanite intermarriages, in which bride and groom agreed to recognize each other’s respective religious practices. Such alliances—which took place within the highest strata of Jewish society—indicate a general interest in maintaining communal unity and harmony.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Karaite population began to shift geographically. The Turcoman invasion of Syria (1071–1074) and then the Christian victory in the First Crusade (1099) all but ended Jewish settlement—Rabbanite and Karaite alike—in Palestine. While the Cairo community remained intact—surviving *in situ* until the late twentieth century—it seems to have declined in prestige during the twelfth century. Meanwhile, the Karaites of Byzantium, who had imbibed the teachings of the Jerusalem school, emerged as a distinctive, independent community which created a substantial scholarly literature over the course of seven centuries (see below). Constantinople remained the leading Karaite center until the seventeenth century when it went into a steep decline. In Islamic Spain, on the other hand, the presence of Karaites elicited sharp reactions from leading twelfth-century Rabbanite scholars including Judah Halevi, Abraham Ibn ʿEzra', and Avraham Ibn Daud. Likely because of their isolation from fellow-sectarians and this unrelenting Rabbanite opposition, the Andalusian Karaites seem to have vanished by the end of the twelfth century. New communities were emerging, however, in Eastern Europe. The Rabbanite traveler Petahyah of Regensburg (1180), mentions a scripturalist group he encountered in the Crimea who appear to have been Karaites; there is clear-cut evidence of a community there by the late thirteenth century. Settlements in Poland and the Ukraine may date to the thirteenth century; they were certainly established by the early fifteenth century, when the Lithuanian community in Troki (Trakai, near Vilnius) emerged as the European center of the sect.

There are large gaps in the Karaite historical record between the twelfth and early nineteenth centuries. For thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Byzantium, for example, the sole witnesses are Aaron ben Joseph the Physician and Aaron ben Elijah of Nicomedia, whose writings contain few contemporary references. Bio-bibliographic works, by David Ibn al-Hiti (fifteenth century), Mordecai ben Nisan (1699), Simḥah Isaac Lutski (1757), and others, provide the skeleton for a history of scholarship and are invaluable guides to Karaite self-perceptions and historical consciousness, but yield scant information about social, religious, and cultural developments. Travel accounts—by Karaites, Rabbanites, and non-Jews—correspondence, and topical treatises, on the other hand, give glimpses of communal life and concerns at specific moments. Thus, a dispute with Rabbanites in Cairo (1465) or an internal controversy in Constantinople over Sabbath lights (late fifteenth–early sixteenth centuries) are relatively well documented, while basic data concerning both communities in subsequent decades are lacking. All the same, certain generalizations seem warranted. Not infrequently, Karaite and Rabbanite communities existed in close proximity. Usually, the Christian and Muslim authorities did not differentiate between the two groups, regarding them both as Jews. Since Karaite populations almost invariably seem to have been smaller, they tended to remain on correct, if somewhat distant terms with their Rabbanite brethren. In one striking exception to this pattern, several Karaite scholars in mid-fifteenth-century Constantinople—including Elijah Bashyatchi, Caleb Afendopolo, and Judah Gibbor—studied with an eminent Rabbanite teacher, Mordecai Comtino. Typically, teacher and disciples treated each other with respect, while attacking each other's legal views vigorously.

In general, conversions from one group to the other seem to have been relatively rare. The anti-Karaite polemic of some Rabbanite authors is merely theoretical, and is not grounded in any actual fear of defection to the Karaite cause. Moses Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon, 1135/8–1204), the most outstanding Jewish scholar of the medieval period, summed up the Rabbanite attitude by advising reserved but helpful behavior toward Karaites as fellow Jews, albeit wayward ones, so long as they desisted from hostile attacks on Rabbanite dogma and practice.

In the seventeenth century, the Karaite communities in the Crimea, Lithuania, and Poland assumed the leading role. By the end of the eighteenth century, these communities had all come under Russian rule. In the nineteenth century, several energetic leaders succeeded in obtaining from the tsarist government full citizenship rights for Karaites; this set them even further apart from the Rabbanite majority in Russia, which continued to bear the full weight of the oppressive and discriminatory anti-Jewish laws.

World War I affected the Russian Karaites only where they found themselves directly in the way of military operations. During World War II, the Karaites in the occupied territories of Poland and western Russia were generally not molested by the German authorities, on the ground—generously supported by Rabbanite representatives consulted by the Germans—that they were ethnically not Jewish but rather were descended from the ancient Turkic nation of the Khazars, converts to Judaism who once ruled southern Russia. These Karaites were therefore not subject to wholesale extermination, as were their Rabbanite brethren. The nineteenth-century campaign to achieve independent, official recognition and the generally negative attitude in Russia after the 1917 revolution toward religion in general and Judaism in particular, led Karaites in the U.S.S.R. to distance themselves entirely from Jewish history, religion, and culture. In the Middle East after 1945, the Arab-Israeli conflict had a serious effect on the Karaite communities in the neighboring Arab states. Owing to emigration, the ancient community of Hīt, in Iraq, ceased to exist, and the equally ancient community in Cairo was vastly reduced when most of its members moved to Israel, Europe, and the Americas. At present, there are perhaps twenty-five thousand Karaites in the world (in Israel, Eastern and Western Europe, and the United States), though no truly reliable statistics exist.

KARAITE LITERATURE. Fragments of ʿAnan's code of law have survived in the original Aramaic. Both in language and in style, the work bears strong affinities to classical rabbinic texts. Benjamin al-Nahāwandī and Daniel al-Qūmisī also wrote codes, and al-Qūmisī composed the earliest surviving

Jewish Bible commentaries; these works were all written in Hebrew. Between the tenth and fifteenth centuries, Karaite scholars in Muslim lands produced an extensive religious literature in Arabic. In Asia Minor, the Crimea, and Poland-Lithuania, the Karaite language of scholarship between the eleventh and twentieth centuries was Hebrew. Beginning in the fifteenth century, the Karaites of Eastern Europe and the Crimea also wrote in their vernacular Turkic dialects.

The first major scholar of the golden age of Karaite literature was Yaʿqūb al-Qirqisānī (second quarter of the tenth century), whose magnum opus is a two-part Arabic commentary on the Pentateuch. The first part, titled *Kitāb al-anwār waʾl-marāqib* (Book of light-houses and watchtowers), comments on the legal parts of the Pentateuch and forms not only a detailed code of Karaite law but also a veritable encyclopedia of early Karaite lore. The second part, *Kitāb al-riyāḍ waʾl-ḥadāʾiq* (Book of gardens and parks), deals with the nonlegal portions of the Pentateuch. Al-Qirqisānī also wrote an extensive commentary on *Genesis* that seems to have dealt in detail with various philosophical problems, such as the nature of God and of matter, creation *ex nihilo,* and good and evil. Of all his works, only *Kitāb al-anwār* has been published in full. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, Karaite scholars connected with the academy in Jerusalem produced a number of important works, mostly in Arabic, in the areas of exegesis, philology, theology, law, apologetics, and polemics. Among the most important authors were Salmon ben Yeruḥīm (a polemicist and exegete), Japheth ben Eli (the first Jew to compose commentaries on the entire Bible), Sahl ben Maṣliaḥ (an exegete, legal scholar, and polemicist), David al-Fāsī (a lexicographer), Joseph ben Noah (president of the Jerusalem academy), Abuʾl-Faraj Hārūn (Hebrew: Aaron ben Jeshua; a grammarian and exegete), Yūsuf al-Baṣīr (Hebrew: Joseph ha-Roʾeh; an eminent theologian), and Abuʾl-Furqān ibn Asad (Hebrew: Jeshua ben Judah; an exegete and legal authority).

With the growth of the Greek-speaking community in Asia Minor, it became necessary to translate the Karaite Arabic classics into Hebrew, the literary language of Byzantine Jewry. Translators such as Tobiah ben Moses and Jacob ben Simeon produced Hebrew versions which are notable for their awkward syntax, strange technical vocabulary, and Greek glosses. In the twelfth century, a more natural Hebrew style appears in an extensive encyclopedia of Karaite scholarship begun in 1148 by Judah Hadassi and titled *Eshkol hakofer* (Cluster of henna), and in Jacob ben Reuben's terse Bible commentary. By the late thirteenth century, the Karaites of Byzantium were writing a fluent Andalusian Rabbanite Hebrew. Drawing upon Maimonides and Abraham Ibn ʿEzraʾ, Aaron ben Joseph wrote a philosophical commentary on the Pentateuch; he is best known, however, as the redactor of the official Karaite liturgy. Subsequently, Aaron ben Elijah (d. 1369), composed an invaluable trilogy: *ʿEṣ ḥayyim* (The tree of life), a Karaite *Guide of the Perplexed*; *Gan ʿEden* (The Garden of Eden), a code of law; and *Keter torah* (The crown of the Torah), a commentary on the Pentateuch. Elijah Bashyatchi (d. 1490) and his brother-in-law Caleb Afendopolo (d. after 1522) compiled another code, *Adderet Eliyyahu* (The mantle of Elijah), which became the most esteemed legal manual among modern Karaites. A versatile scholar, Afendopolo indexed older books (such as *Eshkol hakofer* and *ʿEṣ ḥayyim*), wrote scientific works, and composed Hebrew belles-lettres. A contemporary, Judah Gibbor, composed an important Pentateuch commentary in verse, which was the subject of later Karaite supercommentaries. Other authors of note include Moses Bashyatchi (d. 1572?), who incorporated Arabic citations of al-Qirqisānī into his own treatises, Moses Messorodi, who composed an important collection of sermons, and Elijah Yerushalmi (d. c. 1700), who sought to bring traditional Karaite learning from Constantinople to the Crimea.

Egypt produced a few important Karaite authors. Born in Alexandria, Moses Darʿī (thirteenth century?) was the group's preeminent Hebrew poet, writing an impressive body of secular verse in the style of the great Andalusiams. In the fifteenth century, Samuel al-Maghribī wrote the last known Arabic code of Karaite law and a popular set of homilies on the Pentateuch, while David Ibn al-Hītī composed a brief but important chronicle of Arabic scholars from ʿAnan down to his own time. Moses ben Samuel produced a corpus of Hebrew poetry, including an epic account of his tribulations in the service of the emir of Damascus, who in 1354 forced him to become a Muslim and to join a pilgrimage to Mecca. He finally escaped to Egypt, where he seems to have returned to his ancestral faith.

As the Ottoman Empire progressively declined, the center of Karaite literary activity again shifted northward, to the Crimea, Lithuania, and Poland. The Karaite community of Troki counted as one of its most illustrious sons Isaac ben Abraham Troki (d. 1594, or perhaps 1586), the author of a critical tract against Christianity titled *Ḥizzuq emunah* (Fortification of the faith), which was later admired by Voltaire. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a group of Protestant theologians (Rittangel, Peringer, Puffendorf, Warner, Trigland) drew parallels between the Karaite secession from the Rabbanite synagogue and the Protestant secession from the Church of Rome. They encouraged the composition of several works by Polish Karaite informants, including Mordecai ben Nisan of Kukizów (near Lviv, in Polish Galicia) and Solomon ben Aaron of Troki (d. 1745), which set forth their view of Karaite history, dogma, and ritual. Simḥah Isaac ben Moses of Lutsk (d. 1766) composed the first substantial Karaite literary history.

In the nineteenth century, the outstanding Karaite man of letters was Abraham Firkovitch (1786–1874), who during his travels in the Crimea, the Caucasus, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt amassed a large collection of Karaite manuscripts, one of the richest in the world, now in the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg. He was also a prolific writer, although the authenticity of many historical data he cited from colophons and from tombstones has been rejected. An older contemporary of his, Mordecai Sultansky (d. 1862), wrote several works, among them a history of Karaite Judaism, *Zekher ṣaddiqim* (Memorial of the righteous), valuable mainly as an exposition of the modern official version, authorized by the leading circles of the Russian-Polish-Lithuanian community.

During the twentieth century, several members of the Egyptian community were active authors: Mourad Farag (1867–1956), a jurist and poet; Tobiah Babovitch (1879–1956), the last Karaite Chief Hakham (Rabbi) in Cairo; Mourad El-Kodsi (1919–), a communal historian; and Yoseph El-Gamil (1943–), a historian and editor of texts.

The invention of printing with movable type was eagerly seized upon by Rabbanite Jews to produce an enormous library of religious and secular literature from the 1470s down to the present day. On the Karaite side the picture is quite different. No Karaite incunabula were printed, and only four Karaite books—the first, an edition of the Karaite liturgy, published by the Christian bookmaker Daniel Bomberg in Venice in 1528–1529—appeared in the sixteenth century, all set in type and run off the press by Rabbanite compositors and pressmen. Only one Karaite book came out in the seventeenth century, printed in 1643 at the Amsterdam press of Menasseh ben Israel, a Rabbanite scholar and publisher known also for his negotiations with Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell on the readmission of Jews into England. The earliest Karaite presses were those of the brothers Afeda and Shabbetai Yeraqa in Istanbul (1733) and in Chufut-Kale, in the Crimea (1734–1741); there was also another press in Chufut-Kale (1804–1806). They were short-lived and succeeded in publishing only a few books. The first more or less successful Karaite press was established in 1833 in Eupatoria (or Gözlöw), in the Crimea, and published several important old texts.

One can only guess at the reason for the typographical backwardness of the modern Karaites. One factor was very likely their historical dislike of innovative change. Their limited number and the comparative paucity of prospective purchasers and interested readers among them probably also made printing unprofitable unless supported from time to time by a wealthy patron from their own midst. In recent years, however, the Karaites in Israel have issued a large number of texts; some are photomechanical reproductions of nineteenth-century prints, but many more have been newly set and published by Yoseph El-Gamil.

DOGMA AND PRACTICE. Karaite Judaism is epistemologically grounded in scripture and reason. During its formative period, it borrowed its theology wholesale from the teachings of the Muslim Mutazilites of Basra. The Karaite Yūsuf al-Baṣīr (d. c. 1040) and his Rabbanite contemporary Samuel ben Hophni Gaon thus shared common views on many doctrinal points. While Rabbanite scholars distanced themselves from Mutazilite theories, successively embracing Neoplatonism and then Aristotelianism, the Karaites held fast to their old theology until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In his *ʿEṣ ḥayyim*, Aaron ben Elijah actually attempts to synthesize the *kalām* teachings of Yūsuf al-Baṣīr with Maimonidean Aristotelianism. Although the experiment cannot be said to have succeeded in full, it remained influential within the Byzantine Karaite camp.

In his code of law, *Adderet Eliyahu*, Elijah Bashyatchi formulated the Karaite creed in ten articles, corresponding to the Ten Commandments: (1) that the physical universe was created; (2) that it was created by God, who is eternal; (3) that the Creator has no form and is unique; (4) that He sent Moses, His prophet; (5) that He sent the Torah, which is perfect, with Moses; (6) that the believer must know Hebrew, the language of the Torah; (7) that God inspired all other true prophets who came after Moses; (8) that God will resurrect the Dead on the Day of Judgment; (9) that God rewards and punishes all human beings according to their deserts; (10) that God has not abandoned the people in exile, and that though they suffer, they must anticipate the coming of the Messiah who will effect the divine salvation. No Rabbanite could find any of this objectionable.

Where the two groups have always differed, however, is in their attitude toward the postbiblical (Talmudic and rabbinic) tradition: for Rabbanites, the Oral Law is of Mosaic origin and mediates the understanding of Scripture; for Karaites it is at best a body of non-authoritative knowledge, and at worst a malignant, man-made fabrication. But even the rejection of the rabbinic tradition has turned out to be not quite absolute, for with the passage of time, changing conditions have forced the formation of a native Karaite tradition in order to cope with new situations and problems that were not anticipated by Moses the lawgiver. Hence the development of the three pillars of Karaite legislation: (1) the scriptural text (Heb., *katuv;* Arab., *naṣṣ*); (2) analogy (Heb., *heqesh;* Arab., *qiyās*) based on scripture; and, in cases where the first two pillars are of no help, (3) the consensus of scholarly opinion (Hebrew *qibbuṣ* or *ʿedah*, "community," the latter term possibly influenced by the Arabic *ʿādah*, "customary practice, common law"; Arabic *ijmāʿ*, "agreement"; later termed in Hebrew *sevel ha-yerushah*, "burden of inheritance").

Consequently, the Karaites and Rabbanites finally part ways in their religious practices, and here the differences are substantial and fundamental. For the Jewish calendar, which governs the fixing of the dates of holy days, the Karaites rejected the rabbinic mathematical reckoning and depended solely on the observation of the phases of the moon; only comparatively recently was limited reckoning admitted. In dietary law, the scriptural interdict against seething a kid's flesh in its mother's milk was not broadened (as it was in rabbinic law) to cover all meat and dairy foods. In the law of consanguinity, the Karaites originally followed the so-called catenary (chain) theory (Heb., *rikkuv;* Arab., *tarkīb*), which permitted piling analogy upon analogy to deduce further forbidden marriages from those explicitly listed in scripture.

The social consequences of this practice finally became so threatening to the physical survival of the Karaite community that Jeshua ben Judah succeeded in modifying it, although the Karaites still employ a much more extensive definition of consanguinity than the Rabbanites do. This remains, however, the only instance of a major reform in Karaite law. The scriptural prohibition of kindling fire on the Sabbath day is interpreted literally to mean the total absence of all fire, even if kindled before the onset of the Sabbath and left to continue burning, as permitted by rabbinic law. The modest relaxation of this rule in the Byzantine, Crimean, and Eastern European communities, where the absence of light and heat throughout the cold and sunless winters inflicted real hardship, aroused strong opposition. Other differences relate to ritual cleanness—particularly rigorous for Karaite women—inheritance (the Karaite husband has no claim upon his deceased wife's estate), and various dietary laws. Polygyny is not officially prohibited—as it was by a medieval European rabbinical enactment recently extended to eastern Jewries as well—but it seems to have been quite uncommon even in Muslim countries, probably for social and economic reasons; in Western countries it was, of course, outlawed and was recognized as such by Jewish law. The Karaite liturgy, originally limited to selected biblical psalms and prose passages, was eventually developed into a large corpus of both prose and verse—some written by Rabbanite poets—quite distinct from the Rabbanite one.

The connection between the Karaites and Sadducees, suggested by some early Rabbanite polemicists, or between the Karaites and the Qumran sect, as advanced by some modern scholars, remains hypothetical. Similarities in some observances may be nothing more than earmarks of the age-old continuous chain of dissent in Judaism. (The outstanding example, the rule that Shavuʿot must always fall on a Sunday, seems to be one of the oldest points in Jewish dissent.) Verbal parallels between certain early Karaite writings and the Dead Sea Scrolls are more suggestive. The chief stumbling block here is the hiatus of some five hundred years between the Sadducees and the Qumran community on the one hand, and the earliest known Karaites on the other. The most that can safely be said at present is that the primitive Karaites may possibly have had access to some Sadducee or Qumranite literary documents. Whether they have been influenced by them, and if so, to what extent, cannot yet be determined.

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The modern critical study of Karaite Judaism dates back about a century and a half. Until recently, very few scholars devoted their full attention to the subject, despite the existence of a large and extremely important Karaite literature which remains in manuscript, awaiting publication and analysis. Certain aspects of Karaite history—for example, the role of social and economic factors—have only now begun to attract interest. Many of the older works retain their basic value, but require updating. Fortunately, the situation seems to be changing. During the past two decades, there has been growing interest in Judeo-Arabic literature generally, and Karaite writings in particular. Since 1989, moreover, the great collections of Karaite manuscripts in St. Petersburg at the Russian National Library (RNL) and the Institute of Oriental Studies have become accessible. The RNL manuscripts, which had been assembled by Abraham Firkovitch during the nineteenth century, are now being catalogued for the first time. They will serve as the basis for a comprehensive rewriting of early Karaite history and literature. At the same time, Karaite texts in Hebrew from Byzantium, the Crimea, and Eastern Europe are now being studied critically and analyzed in their proper contexts. Despite their historically small numbers, the Karaites, their forms of belief and practice, and their place in Jewish history, are now beginning to receive the attention they deserve.

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LEON NEMOY (1987)
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KARBALA, a city located sixty-five miles southwest of Baghdad, constitutes the pivot of devotion for more than a hundred million Shīʿī Muslims. Although the estimated population of this palm-grove-laden city is approximately 500,000, during seasons of pilgrimage it draws more than a million devotees. The city owes its significance to the battle that was waged on its soil in 680 CE between Ḥus b. ʿAli, the younger grandson of the prophet Muhammad, and Yazid b. Muʾawiya, the ruling head of the Ummayad dynasty at the time. During the battle, Ḥusayn and a small group of followers and family members were killed by the forces of Yazid after refusing to acknowledge the latter as a legitimate authority. Ḥusayn, for his devotees, has remained the most significant martyr of Islam, *Sayyid al-shuhada*, and Karbala, the site of this martyrdom, *Mashhad al-Ḥusyan*. For the Shīʿī Muslims, Ḥusayn is also one of the legitimate spiritual leaders (*imāms*) of the community, who protected Islam from decay. Notwithstanding his significance in Shīʿī piety, Ḥusayn and his Karbala battle have also had a strong appeal in various Sunnī, Ṣūfī, and non-Muslim contexts.

Although the etymology of Karbala is most likely rooted in Aramaic and Assyrian, in the Shīʿī devotional lore it is invoked as a combination of two Arabic words, *karb* (anguish) and *balā* (calamity). In all likelihood Karbala rose in the devotional hierarchy of Ḥusayn's followers right after his martyrdom in 680 CE. That the Prophet had loved his grandson and bestowed upon him various honorific titles was never doubted in the Muslim world. After the battle of Karbala, Ḥusayn's family members and friends journeyed to the site of his martyrdom and burial, commencing the cherished tradition of *ziyārah* (pilgrimage to a sacred site) to Karbala. The high season of pilgrimage has remained around the day that marks Ḥusayn's martyrdom (*ʿāshura*, tenth day of the first Islamic month, Muḥarram) and the fortieth-day commemoration of this martyrdom (*arbaʿen*, forty days after *ʿāshura*).

Pilgrims to Ḥusayn's grave also make the rounds of graves of other companions of Ḥusayn, especially his half-brother ʿAbbās. Prescribed prayers and lamentation accompany the pilgrims as many wish that they had fought alongside Ḥusayn. The soil and clay from Karbala acquires a remedial touch and is fashioned into tablets upon which Shīʿah prostrate during their prayers. Not only do Shīʿah wish to make a pilgrimage to Karbala in their lifetime, many also aspire to be buried in Karbala. Corpses of devotees from all over Asia and Africa have been sent to Karbala in order to atone for a sinful life and secure for the deceased an enduring stamp of redemption. Some Shīʿah have devotionally conceded that a pilgrimage to Karbala is more meritorious than the pilgrimage to Mecca *(ḥājj).* Karbala along with its sister city Najaf (where Ḥusayn's father and the first Shīʿī *imām,* ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, is buried), and the two Iranian cities of Qom and Mashhad, also house important centers of Shīʿī learning (*madrasahs* or *hawzas*). Students from Iraq, Iran, Lebanon, Syria, India and Pakistan make up most of the student body at these institutions.

In the course of a millennium and three centuries, Karbala changed hands many times. As a center of Shīʿī piety, it was often seen by Sunnī political authorities as a threat to their rule. The ʿAbbāsid caliph, al-Mutawakkil, for example, had Ḥusyan's shrine destroyed in 850 CE. Severe restrictions were placed on the pilgrims who desired to visit Karbala. The Shīʿī Buyid rulers who wrested power from the ʿAbbāsids restored the architectural as well as the devotional aura to Karbala. Subsequent generations of Shīʿī Muslims, from Iran to India, festooned the shrines of Karbala with golden and silver sarcophaguses, expensive chandeliers and carpets, and exquisite tile work and ornamentation. The endowments for the maintenance of the Karbala shrines came not only from the Shīʿī rulers of Iran and India but also from the Sunnī Ottoman leaders who ruled over this region from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries. Many times during these four centuries, the Ottoman rulers and their Shīʿī Safavid rivals from Iran sought to control Karbala in order to consolidate their respective political clout in the region. Karbala during this time remained a testimony to the riches of its patrons. In 1801, the Wahhābī forces, comprised of anti-Shīʿah and anti-shrine culture Sunnī Muslims, wreaked havoc on various pilgrimage sites and killed scores of inhabitants of this city. But as in the past, Ḥusyan's devotees from around the world once again garnered resources to restore the regal aura to the shrines. In 1919, after the defeat of the Ottomans, Iraq came under the British mandate. At the 1921 Cairo Conference, the British named Prince Faisal, a Mecca-based Sunnī descendant of the Prophet, as Iraq's ruler. In 1932 the nation-state of Iraq was born amidst much dismay and contested geographical borders. These borders, mostly drawn at the discretion of the British, have continued to remain the cause of several political conflicts in the Arab world. Various ethnic groups living in the newly created nation state of Iraq, including the Kurds and the Shīʿah (who are a majority) felt disenfranchised at various levels. Such a feeling was compounded by the policies of various leaders, most notably Ṣaddām Ḥusayn. Ruling from 1979 to 2003 as Iraq's president, Ṣaddām Ḥusayn, dealt brutally with any challenge to his authority. To assure that the Shīʿī majority of the country was in check, Ḥusayn imposed severe restrictions on the cultural practices of the city of Karbala. Prominent Shīʿī opponents of the Iraqi government were killed, put under surveillance, or driven into exile as Ṣaddām Ḥusayn and his Baath Party created a climate of intimidation. Life in Karbala only got worse after the beginning of the eight-year Iraq-Iran war in 1980. This war, in which Iraq was supported in part by the United States, drained Iran and Iraq of valuable resources and especially devastated the city of Karbala, which was economically dependent to a great degree on the Iranian pilgrims. Ṣaddām Ḥusayn imposed his presence on Karbala by lacing the walls of the Shīʿī shrines with his own pictures and forbidding large commemorative assemblies. These assemblies resurfaced after Ṣaddām Ḥusayn was defeated by the United States and its allies in 2003. Over a million Shīʿah marked the day of Ḥusyan's martyrdom in 2004 by walking in the pathos-laden processions at Karbala. The Shīʿī sense of relief after the fall of Ṣaddām Ḥusayn, however, quickly gave way to dismay as the U.S. armed forces battled anti-American elements in Karbala, causing many deaths. Not withstanding a long history of conflict, Karbala is likely to retain its importance as a center of pilgrimage and scholarship.

Karbala, apart from standing as a bustling pilgrimage city, also holds status as a metaphor for a righteous struggle. Although physically contained in Iraq, its spiritual, aesthetic and political ramifications transcend geographical confines and narrow religious allegiances. It has inspired traditions of theater (the *taʿziyah* of Iran), paintings and modern political movements of Lebanon, Iran, Central Asia and South Asia. It has spoken to a wide range of reformist and revolutionary yearnings from a variety of traditions, including those of the Ayatollah Khomeini, Ṃuhammad Iqbal and Mohandas Gandhi. To those drawn to Karbala as a metaphor and trope, it seems to provide testimony to the sentiment that numerical strength does not necessarily insure a spiritual and moral victory. In spite of suffering at the hands of Yazīd's massive force, Ḥusayn and his small band of companions secured enduring legacies through the rich idioms of Karbala.

SEE ALSO Shiism.

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SYED AKBAR HYDER (2005)

KARDECISM is the name given the system of spiritist doctrines and practices codified by the French spiritist Allan Kardec. Kardec's religio-philosophical principles and therapeutic techniques have been especially influential in the development of spiritism among the urban middle classes in Brazil from the mid-nineteenth century until the present.

KARDEC'S LIFE AND WORK. Allan Kardec was born Hypolyte Léon Denizard Rivail on October 3, 1804, in Lyons, France. The son of Justice Jean-Baptiste Antoine Rivail and Jeanne Duhamel, Rivail received a thorough education. Descended on his father's side from a family of magistrates, and on his mother's side from a family of theologians, writers, and mathematicians, Rivail was sent as a boy to Switzerland, to study under the famous pedagogue Henri Pestalozzi. He distinguished himself with his intelligence and precocity: At fourteen, Rivail had a command of several languages and was conversant in Greek and Latin.

Having received training as a teacher, he returned to Paris, and earned a bachelor's degree in sciences and letters. According to some of his biographers, Rivail concluded the course in medicine at twenty-four years of age. During his studies, he taught French, mathematics, and sciences. Having failed at his attempt to create a teaching institution after Pestalozzi's model, he survived by doing translations and teaching courses at schools and institutes. Notwithstanding his medical studies, the eight books written from 1824 to 1849 deal with mathematics, grammar, and the physical sciences in general, in which his pedagogical concerns prevail. He joined several professional, pedagogical, and scientific associations.

In short, Rivail was a typical European scholar of his time, with a classical training in letters, positivist beliefs, an interest in the theoretical and applied development of science, and a professional specialization in teaching. But Rivail was not an orthodox positivist. Imbued with a great curiosity about phenomena unheeded and even shunned by official science, he belonged to the French Society of Magnetists. Hypnotism, sleepwalking, clairvoyance, and similar phenomena strongly attracted him. He studied them as physical phenomena resulting from unknown causes, an approach resulting from his being a follower of the theory of animal magnetism, called Mesmerism, expounded by Franz Anton Mesmer (1734–1815).

Magnetism brought Rivail in contact with spiritism. He was by then fifty-one years old and had consolidated his scientific background. In the years 1854 and 1855, the so-called turning table and talking table invaded Europe from the United States and created an intense curiosity. Several people would sit around a table, hand in hand, in a state of mental concentration; after a certain lapse of time, the table would begin to rotate, to produce noises, and even to answer, in code, questions proposed by the participants. This practice became quite a fad, especially in the more elegant circles. Rivail was introduced by magnetist friends to such sessions, which were already accepted by their promoters as demonstrations of spiritual phenomena. He was initially skeptical about their authenticity but was soon to revise his opinion. Under his supervision, the sessions were no longer dedicated to frivolous consultations and guessing games but became serious study sessions.

Rivail considered such phenomena both relevant and natural, though invisible, and believed one should adopt a "positivist and not an idealist" attitude toward them. If the conditions in which such phenomena manifested themselves hindered the use of common scientific instrumentation, he believed that one should at least employ the scientific method of "observation, comparison, and evaluation."

Inspired by his own experiences, stimulated by illustrious spiritists who supplied him with fifty notebooks containing messages from the souls of deceased persons, and guided by the spirits that conferred on him the role of codifier of spiritism, Rivail became Allan Kardec; he adopted this pen name under the inspiration of one of his guiding spirits, who revealed that it had been his name in a former incarnation, in which he had been a druid in ancient Gaul. In 1857 he published his fundamental work, *Le livre des esprits,* which contained 501 questions answered by the spirits themselves. By the time of its twenty-second and definitive edition, the number of questions had grown to 1,019.

Thereafter followed his other works: *Qu'est-ce-que le spiritisme?* (1859); *Le livre des médiums* (1861); *Refutation aux critiques au spiritisme* (1862); *L'évangile selon le spiritisme* (1864); *Le ciel et l'enfer, ou La justice divine selon le spiritisme* (1865); and *La genèse, les miracles et les predictions* (1868). The literature further includes his *Œuvres posthumes,* published in 1890, and an incalculable number of articles published over a period of eleven years in the *Spiritist Journal,* issued by the Parisian Society for Spiritist Studies that had been founded by Kardec in 1858 and of which he was the chairman to his death in 1869.

Kardecism, as codified by Kardec, defines the spiritist doctrine in this way: There are souls, or spirits, of deceased persons that are capable of communication with the living through mediumistic phenomena. They belong to an invisible but natural world; there is no discussion of magic, miracles, and the supernatural in Kardecism. This invisible and nonmaterial world is, as part of the natural world, susceptible to experimentation, but, unlike the natural world, it is eternal and preexistent and is identified with goodness, purity, and wisdom. There is a spiritual hierarchy ranging from that most closely identified with the material plane (and hence with evil, impurity, and ignorance) up to that of spiritual fullness.

God is the primary cause that generates the material and the spiritual; the spirits are engendered by him, and although they receive a mission and submit to the law of constant progress, they are endowed with free will. Spirits continually progress toward perfection, and they fulfill their missions through successive reincarnations, not only on earth (considered a planet of atonement) but also on other worlds. The law of cause and effect explains human happiness or misfortune as consequences of good or evil practiced in previous incarnations. Christian charity is the supreme virtue (Christ is considered the most elevated spirit that has ever incarnated) that makes spiritual evolution possible; it is closely followed in importance by the virtue of wisdom. As the locus of the activity of the developing but morally free spirits and as the product of evolution, the social world, even with its injustices and inequalities, is seen as ultimately just, and the search for perfection is ruled by individualistic ethics.

It is a rather curious fact that Kardec remained practically unknown for a long time outside French spiritist circles. Approximately sixty years after his death, Arthur Conan Doyle, as chairman of the London Spiritist League and honorary chairman of the International Spiritist Federation, only devoted a few scanty pages to Kardec in one of the twenty-five chapters of his comprehensive *History of Spiritualism* (1926). There seem to be two related reasons for this obscurity: British spiritism did not accept the idea of reincarnation, and, except in France, Kardec's claim to be the true codifier of spiritism by virtue of a mission entrusted to him by the spirits was not readily accepted. Although this role currently tends to be universally accepted by spiritists, the name of Kardec (or Rivail) is not mentioned in the main European encyclopedias, and he remains known only within spiritist circles.

KARDECISM IN BRAZIL. Originally introduced in Brazil in the middle of the nineteenth century in the form of "talking tables," spiritism mainly attracted teachers, lawyers, physicians, and other intellectuals. One of the reasons for its appeal was the pseudoscientific character of Kardecism. Kardecist groups were soon organized, first in Bahia (1865), and later in Rio de Janeiro (1873, where the Brazilian Spiritist Federation was created in the following year), São Paulo (1883), and gradually throughout the entire country. Kardecism was already attracting large sectors of the urban middle class.

Although Kardec did not consider spiritism a religion (but rather a philosophy of science with religious implications), Kardecism in Brazil was soon to take on a religious character, centering on the idea of charity, which led to therapeutical practices such as the "pass." Kardecism followed the same pattern of evolution as positivism, which had already become a religion in Brazil, with an organized church and cult.

The 1940 and 1950 censuses in Brazil showed an intense expansion of spiritism: Though its adherents did not exceed 2 percent of the population in 1950, it was growing at a much more rapid pace than any other religion, including Catholicism, the unofficial but dominant creed (then adhered to by about 90 percent of Brazil's people). For this reason, the Catholic Church initiated an antispiritist campaign during the fifties.

A distinguishing feature of Brazilian spiritism is the fact that it is an almost exclusively urban phenomenon. In these regions, however, Kardecism is not the only spiritist current that manifests itself. Another trend is that of Umbanda spiritism, a syncretic product of Afro-Brazilian religions under the influence of Kardecism. While Kardecism proper tends to be a religion of those of the urban middle classes who have been city-dwellers for several generations, drawing people who have a certain level of secular education and who are disposed to accept its pseudoscientific discourse, Umbanda remains a religion of the unschooled lower classes of more recent urbanization. Unlike Kardecism, Umbanda is still linked to a magical conception of the universe.

Currently, Kardecism and Umbanda encompass significant population groups in Brazil. The censuses, however, do not register their extension, because both Kardecists and Umbandists often also declare themselves to be Catholics, especially for social purposes such as christenings, marriages, funerals, and statements given in official forms. In spite of the evident importance of spiritism in Brazil—an importance that is easily verified by other indicators (e.g., the medium Chico Xavier's book sales are exceeded only by those of the novelist Jorge Amado)—the census still reports the number of spiritists as approximately 2 percent.

Despite census data to the contrary, it seems fairly certain that Umbandists outnumber Kardecists in Brazil. Though until the forties Kardecism was predominant, in the sixties the situation was utterly reversed in favor of Umbanda. It should be noted, however, that the fifties mark the stage of the greatest penetration of Umbanda by Kardecism. Up to that time, Umbanda subsisted as a semiclandestine cult under severe and tyrannical police control. From 1953, many Kardecists, disenchanted with the prevailing intellectualism of their spiritist centers, turned to Umbanda. Under their leadership, federations were organized that grouped Umbanda adherents into units called "yards" and "tents," and these disenchanted Kardecists took over, in a less repressive and more persuasive fashion, the control that formerly had been exercised by the police. The price Umbanda had to pay for this protection was its adjustment to a rationalization and moralization of the cult—processes that were based on Kardecist models. One may therefore conclude that although Umbanda has grown much more rapidly than Kardecism over the last few decades, the influence of Kardecism in the context of Brazilian spiritism continues to remain strong.

SEE ALSO Afro-Brazilian Religions.

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Among sociological and anthropological studies, the following are worth mentioning: Cândido Procópio Ferreira de Camargo's *Kardecismo e Umbanda: Una interpretação sociológica* (São Paulo, 1961); Roger Bastide's article "Le spiritisme au Brésil," *Archives de sociologie des religions* 12 (1967): 3–16; and Maria Viveiros de Castro Cavalcanti's work, *O mundo invisiuel: Cosmologia, sistema ritual e noçao de tempo no espiritismo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1968). The first two are solid sociological analyses of Kardecism in Brazil, with Umbanda as a counterpoint; studies solely dedicated to Kardecism, such as Cavalcanti's interesting and lucid book on Kardecist cosmogony, are few and far between.

Finally, one can mention the doctoral dissertation of J. Parke Renshaw, "Sociological Analysis of Spiritism in Brazil" (University of Florida, 1969), which contains historical data and analyses, and Donald Warren, Jr.'s articles "The Portuguese Roots of Brazilian Spiritism," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 5 (December 1968): 3–33, and "Spiritism in Brazil" in *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 10 (1968): 393–405.

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KARELIAN RELIGION.

The term *Karelia* (Finnish, *Karjala*) has had different meanings throughout history. Historically, it was the borderland between Finland and Russia where most Karelians (Finnish, *karjalaiset*) lived. At present, it typically refers to specific areas in contemporary Russia and Finland.

Recent Russian-Finnish research—around Lake Ladoga and on the Karelian Isthmus, on the Elk and Guri Islands, in Bes Nos and other places on the shores of Lake Onega, around Uiku River, and in territories near the Kola Peninsula—has uncovered abundant archaeological evidence dating back to around 8000 BCE that indicates migrations by several indigenous peoples with an ethnic makeup different from today. Elk, snake, bear, swan, goose, and sturgeon motifs found on objects from graves and petroglyphs dating back to 5500 BCE provide hints of sacred histories, animal ceremonialism, and mythological pairings of man and animals.

The experience of living in a spatial and temporal borderland, and of being compelled to cross back and forth over various borders as the countries, cultures, and peoples around them change, has deeply affected Karelians. It has shaped their lifestyle, their worldview, and their religious history.

The Karelian language belongs to the Baltic Finnish group, and is closest to Finnish, with its "Karelian dialects" being spoken in the two eastern Finnish provinces of South Karelia (Etelä-Karjala) and North Karelia (Pohjois-Karjala). People living in the Autonomous Republic of Karelia in Russia speak five Baltic Finnish languages: Veps, Lude, and three forms of Karelian—Livvi or Onega, South, and Viena (Dvina) or White Sea Karelian. The Izhor *(inkeroiset)* population (consisting of around 1,000 people living in Ingria on the south coast of the Gulf of Finland) speaks a Karelian-related language.

Tver, Novgorod, and Pihkova Karelians are descendants of Orthodox refugees who escaped from Karelian and Ingrian territories around Lake Ladoga to remote settlements throughout Russia after the signing of the Stolbova Treaty of 1617, which allowed Sweden to annex the province of Ingria. This exodus left space for Lutheran settlers entering from Savo *(savakot)* and Karelia *(äyrämöiset)*. Lutheran identity became one of the main features of Ingrians, who endured Siberian exile after World War II, then relocated to Karelia, Estonia, and the district of St. Petersburg, and since 1990 to Finland, where around 25,000 Ingrians have entered as returnees. Today, their total population numbers around 100,000.

Throughout the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, violent religiously based transfers, Russian colonization, and Soviet deportation policies kept the Karelian portion of the population small wherever Karelians lived. Karelian speakers in the Autonomous Republic of Karelia number less than 60,000, under 10 percent of the total population. A group of around 30,000 Tver Karelians are the strongest Karelian ethnic group in Russia, both demographically and culturally.

Karelian history has been shaped by both political and religious struggles between Eastern and Western power blocs within Northern Europe. Along with other territories occupied by indigenous peoples, such as Livonia, Vatja (Votes), Ingria, Estonia, Bjarmia, Scridfinnia, and so on, Karelia was divided between East and West—for the first time by the Pähkinänsaari Treaty of 1323, which split it between Sweden and Novgorod (Russia). Religiously, Karelia was a battleground between Western (Roman Catholic) and Eastern (Byzantine Greek Orthodox) churches. Wars won by the kingdom of Sweden brought the Lutheran faith to Karelia, and the religious border between East and West was accordingly moved eastward. As Finland remained Lutheran, Karelians with different faiths moved across the Russian-Finnish border repeatedly until 1809, when Finland was annexed by Czarist Russia.

The October 1917 Revolution both led to Finland's independence and brought new divisions into Karelian history. Some Karelian-speaking territories became part of Finland in the north (villages in Kuusamo, Suomussalmi, Kuhmo, Ilomantsi) and south (Border and Ladoga Karelia). Within the Karelian-speaking territory not ceded to Finland, there was disagreement about whether Karelians should attempt to form an independent nation, should integrate themselves into the Soviet system, or should seek integration with Finland. After the pro-Soviet side won out, pro-independence Karelians staged the Karelian Rebellion of 1921–1922; when this was crushed around 33,500 refugees fled to Finland. The largest wave of refugees in Finnish history crossed the newly established Soviet-Finnish border, culminating in February 1922 with thousands of refugees who came from White Sea (Dvina) Karelia to northern Finland. Accounts of this exodus, consisting of the oral and written narratives of refugees and eyewitnesses (detailed in Pentikäinen, 1978, and Hyry, 1994), show that interaction between the inhabitants of northern Finland and White Sea Karelia continued in spite of the border. Refugees crossed back and forth over the border publicly and then secretly, using the routes they already knew and engaging in traditional cultural practices, such as singing poems, together with people from the other side. Soon, however, the border was totally closed, and Dvina Karelians living on both sides became divided from one another.

The narratives of the refugees indicate the strong influence of the Dvina Karelian tradition. The refugees who told and sang their history to Finnish scholars (Samuli Paulaharju, Martti Haavio, Pertti Virtaranta, Juha Pentikäinen, Katja Hyry, etc.) expressed themselves in the language of oral narrative and epical poetry, using Karelian genres such as the rune and the lament and calling on legends of the saints and folk tales. In the descriptions of the eyewitnesses to their flight, however, the refugees are considered as a kind of crowd or mass. They are seen either as part of "Us"—that is, as relatives of the Finns—or as the "Other": a poor, helpless people who need our (Finns') help. The attitude of these eyewitnesses—shared by some Finnish scholars at the time—was somewhat Social Darwinist: Dvina Karelians are thought of as a vanishing people whose traditions should be recorded for posterity's sake, but whose language should be replaced by Finnish as soon as possible. The problem of Karelian-language instruction remained unsolved today, due to this attitude, and because of the fact that for a number of Karelian languages no textbooks have been written and no writing systems have been devised.

Karelian literature is largely comprised of long narratives written by peasant authors, such as Antti Timonen. Exceptional length is also characteristic of Karelian oral expression, such as the epic cycles of White Sea Karelian male singers, which served as the basis for Elias Lönnrot's celebrated *Kalevala* (1835; rev. 1849). The folklore repertoire of refugees such as Marina Takalo (studied by Juha Pentikäinen, 1971, 1978) included all the basic genres of Karelian oral narrative and poetry. With their conservative Old Believer mentality and deep roots in folk culture, refugees favored those narratives and poems with the highest testimonial value concerning their orally transmitted folk and religious beliefs.

Self-identification as Old Believers, together with strong female leadership and emphasis on oral memory, has continued to characterize Russian- and Karelian-based Eastern Orthodox Christianity in Finland, in spite of official ties to the Byzantine Orthodox Church in Istanbul. The first contacts between Baltic Finnish people and Russian Old Believers took place as early as 800 CE in Novgorod in the heart of Finnish-speaking Russia. Vocabulary related to various aspects of Christianity (*risti,* cross; *kirkko,* church; *pappi,* priest: *raamattu,* the Bible) was taken into Finnish from Russian via these encounters. It was through Karelia that Finland absorbed the first traces of Christianity in its Russian Pre-Orthodox form, before the 1651 schism that led to the division of Russian Eastern Christianity into the mainstream Russian Orthodox Church and the conservative Old Faith *(staraya verh).* Karelia, with its location far from the centers of the Czarist empire, became the favored locale for Old Believer monasteries and a place to which Old Believers could escape. The majority of Karelians throughout Russia were Old Believers, to such an extent that the terms Karelian and Old Believer became synonymous.

The *Kalevala,* Finland's national epic, has its own importance for Karelians, as a sacred history rather than as a recording of oral mythology. Lönnrot, the author of the *Kalevala* and also a collector of runes, became the mythographer of the Finns. His research led him to identify the ancient basis of Finnish religion in the worship of Ukko, the Finnish deity of thunder.

Michael (Mikael) Agricola, the Lutheran reformer of Finland, was the first to recognize the cultural divide between East and West. The preface to his translation of the Psalter includes two lists of gods, one set worshiped by Tavastians in the west, the other by Karelians in the east. Uno Harva's *Suomalaisten muinaisusko* (The ancient religion of the Finns, 1948), and Martti Haavio's *Karjalan jumalat* (Karelian gods; 1959) both owe a debt to this early document on the most important border inside Finland—that between East and West. Finnish religion has Western (Finnish), Karelian, and Northern nuances.

SEE ALSO Finnish Religions; Finno-Ugric Religions.

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KAREN RELIGION SEE SOUTHEAST ASIAN RELIGIONS, *ARTICLE ON* MAINLAND CULTURES

KARMAN

This entry consists of the following articles:

HINDU AND JAIN CONCEPTS
BUDDHIST CONCEPTS

KARMAN: HINDU AND JAIN CONCEPTS

As diverse as the culture of India may be, one common assumption undergirds virtually all major systems of South Asian religious thought and practice: a person's behavior leads irrevocably to an appropriate reward or punishment commensurate with that behavior. This, briefly stated, is the law of *karman.*

The importance of the idea of *karman* is not limited to the religions of the subcontinent. It is likely that no other notion from the sacred traditions of India has had more influence on the worldviews assumed by non-Indian cultures than that of *karman*, for in it lie the foundations of a wealth of astute ethical, psychological, metaphysical, and sacerdotal doctrines. Translations of the word (Pali, *kamma*; Tib., *las*; Chin., *yeh* or *yin-kuo*; Jpn., *gō* or *inga*) have for centuries been a key part of the religious lexica of the various canonical languages of Asia. Furthermore, the word *karma* (the nominative form of the Sanskrit *karman*) has in the last few generations also entered the vocabulary of European languages, appearing first in technical Indological works and more recently in popular or colloquial use as well.

The term is based on the Sanskrit verbal root *kṛ*, meaning "act, do, bring about," the idea being that one makes something by doing something; one creates by acting. It may be of interest to note that some linguists see the Indo-European root of the word *karman* (namely, **kwer*, "act") in the English word *ceremony*, which can mean either a combination of sacred acts performed according to prescribed norms or a system of proper behavior that keeps the world running smoothly. The same meanings hold, in part, for *karman*. Originally referring to properly performed ritual activity, the notion was ethicized to include the larger meaning of any correct activity in general. Granting this view, the religious, social, and medical philosophers of India, particularly those intrigued by the doctrines of rebirth and of the origins of suffering (but also of the related problems of the source of personality and the justification of social status), expanded the meaning of the term. Under this new understanding, *karman* came to denote the impersonal and transethical system under which one's current situation in the world is regarded as the fruit of seeds planted by one's behavior and dispositions in the past, and the view that in all of one's present actions lie similar seeds that will have continuing and determinative effect on one's life as they bear fruit in the future.

The language here ("fruit," Skt., *phala*; "seed," *bīja*; etc.) is remarkably consistent throughout the long history of Indian religions. Some scholars have seen in it evidence of an agricultural ecology and value system that knows that a well-planted field yields good crops; that the land will give birth repeatedly if healthy seeds find in it a place to take hold and grow; that the apparent death of a plant in the fall is merely the process by which that plant assures its own renewal in the spring; and that life, therefore, is a periodic cycle of death and then rebirth determined by the healthy or unhealthy conditions of former births.

Possibly originating, therefore, in the agrarian experience of aboriginal India, the notion of an impersonal law of cause and effect subsequently pervaded the (often decidedly un-agricultural) ideology of Vedic ritualism, Yoga, the Vedanta, Ayurvedic medicine, and sectarian theism, and it stands as a central theme in the lessons recorded in the scriptures of Jainism and Buddhism. This is not to say that all of these traditions share the same teachings regarding the nature of action, the desirability of the result, and the effective mechanism that links the two. On the contrary, views vary widely in this regard. This means that there is no single South Asian notion of *karman*.

EARLY RITUAL NOTIONS. The poets who composed the sacred hymns of the Vedic Mantrasaṃhitās in the twelfth century BCE sang praises to the gods in reverential, supplicatory, and sometimes cajoling tones. Deities were powerful beings who held control over the lives of the people on earth but who nevertheless could be propitiated and pleased with sacrificial gifts and who enjoyed staged battles, chariot racing, gambling, and riddles. The Vedic Brāhmaṇas (900 BCE and the following few centuries) present images of elaborate priestly actions performed in order to offer these gifts and entertainment to the gods, to the advantage—wealth, prestige, immortality, and so on—of the person who paid for the expert services of the priests and their assistants. This sacerdotal performance was known as *karman*, the "action" of the ritual undertaken to gain a particular end. The rites were often quite expensive and the rewards not always immediately realized, so the patrons were reassured that their support of the ceremony would benefit them sometime in the future.

Arguments in defense of this notion that the reward for one's present ritual action is reaped in the future laid part of the foundation for later doctrines of rebirth and transmigration. This development can be seen in the use of synonyms or near-synonyms for the word *karman*. For instance, the term *iṣṭāpūrta* ("the fulfillment of that which is desired") refers to a kind of package, as it were, that holds all of one's deeds and that precedes a person to the world to come, where it establishes a place for him (see *Ṛgveda* 10.14.8). The Brāhmaṇas also describe the rewards as events that will happen in the future and describe the sacrifice as *apūrva-karman*, "action the results of which have not yet been seen."

Evidence suggests that in the early Brahmanic period the gods were generally free to accept or reject the gifts and therefore were not bound to respond in kind. Over time, though, the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā philosophers came to view the ritual in magical terms: if the priest performed the prescribed actions correctly, he controlled the gods, who were forced by the devices of the ritual to respond in the way the priest desired. Conversely, the priest's improper performance of the ceremony led to the certain ruin of him or his patron. *Karman* for these thinkers therefore did not involve divine will; it was part of an impersonal metaphysical system of cause and effect in which action brought an automatic manipulated response. The Brahmanic notion of *karman* thus centers on the view that a person is born into a world he has made for himself (see *Kauṣītakī Brāhmaṇa* 26.3, for example). This meant that every action in the ritual was important and that every action brought a result of one kind or another, and did so irrevocably.

RENUNCIANT NOTIONS. The renunciant tradition provided two principal contexts for the elaboration of the notion of *karman.* The Upaniṣads speculate, among other topics, on human action and its consequences in this and in subsequent lives; the Yoga literature provides a more systematic and pragmatic approach to liberation from the consequences of action.

Karman in Upanisadic thought. The composers of the major Upaniṣads (eighth to fifth century BCE) generally saw two paths open to the deceased at the time of death. The lower path, one on which the person eventually returns to earth in a subsequent birth, is described as the "way of the fathers" (*pitṛyāna*) and is traveled by those who perform the rituals in hopes of material gain. The higher path, the way of the gods (*devayāna*), is one that does not lead to rebirth on earth and is taken by those who have renounced worldly ends and practice austerities in the forest. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 4.4.4 describes the process with the doctrine that, as a goldsmith forms a new and more beautiful form out of a rough nugget, the soul leaves the body at death and fashions for itself a new and fairer body. Human happiness is said to be a fraction of the bliss known by a celestial man-spirit (*manuṣya-gandharva*), which in turn is meager compared to that of a *karma-deva*, a human who has become a god by his actions (see *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* 2.8 and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 4.3.33).

Seeking to understand the Brahmanic notion of the ritual in anthropological rather than sacerdotal terms, the Upaniṣadic sages taught that all physical and mental activity was an internal reflection of cosmic processes. Accordingly, they held that *every* action, not only those performed in the public ritual, leads to an end. One's behavior in the past has determined one's situation in the present, and the totality of one's actions in the present construct the conditions of one's future. Thus, the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad's* assertion that "truly, one becomes good through good action, bad by bad" (3.2.13) represents the encompassing Upaniṣadic scope of *karman.* From this notion arises the idea that one's worldly situation and personality are determined by one's desire: that is, one's desire affects one's will; one's will leads one to act in certain ways; and, finally, one's actions bring proportionate and appropriate results.

For the most part the composers of the major Upaniṣads disdained actions performed for the resulting enjoyment of worldly pleasures, for such material pursuit necessarily leads from one birth to another in an endless cycle characterized by dissatisfaction and, thus, to unhappiness. "The tortuous passage from one birth to another [*sāmparāya*] does not shine out to who is childish, careless and deluded by the glimmer of wealth," the Lord of the Dead tells Naciketas. "Thinking 'this is the world, there is no other,' he falls again and again under my power" (*Kaṭha Upaniṣad* 2.6).

The only way to break this turning wheel of life and death (*saṃsāra*) was to free oneself of the structures and processes of *karman.* The composers of the Upaniṣads understood this liberation to take place through the practice of *yoga* or through the intervention of a personal supreme deity who lived beyond the karmic realm.

Karman in classical Yoga. The practioners and philosophers of classical Yoga agreed with the Upaniṣadic idea that one's circumstances are determined by one's actions. Like some of those sages they, too, understood *karman* to involve what might be called a substance that leads the soul from one body to another as it moves from birth to birth. Patañjali's *Yoga Sūtra* (the pertinent passages of which were composed in the second century BCE) analyzes the ways in which such transfer takes place. Any act (*karman*) performed as a result of desire creates what is known as *karmāśaya*, the "accumulation for receptacle of *karman*" that is either beneficial or harmful depending on the quality of the act itself. *Karmāśaya* can be understood as a kind of seed that will mature either in one's present life or, if not fully ripened, in another lifetime (*adṛṣṭajanman*). That seed includes one's personal dispositions (*saṃskārā*), including those themes or memories imprinted at the unconscious levels of one's mind (*vāsanā*) and that serve as the source of the five habitual personal "afflictions" (*kleśa*) of ignorance, ego, hatred, and the will to live (see *Yoga Sūtra* 2.3). The *kleśa*s tend to reinforce the ignorant notion that activity directed to some end is desirable, and in so doing are the main reason that people stay trapped in the wheel of life and death. If a person dies before all of his accumulated *karmāśaya* is gone, that karmic residue joins with his unfulfilled thoughts, desires, and feelings in search of a new body whose nature is receptive to his pertinent dispositions, which it then enters (*āpūra*, literally, "making full") and through which the unripened seeds can come to fruit. A person with a passion for food thus may be reborn as a hog. One eventually gets what one wants, even though it may take more than one lifetime to do so. That's the problem. For in order to get what one wants one needs a body, and in order to have a body one needs to be born. Birth leads to death, death leads to birth. Unless the cycle is broken it never stops.

Without values directed towards the attainment of worldly goals a person will cease to behave according to one's desire, and without that desire no karmic residue, no unmatured seeds, can accumulate. Classical Yoga, as represented by Patañjali, presents the *yogin* with a set of practices by which that person can be free of the karmic process. In these exercises the meditator reduces the power of the *kleśa*s by performing actions that are opposed to their fulfillment. Traditionally this meant the practice of ascetic renunciation of physical pleasures. Thorough renunciation makes it impossible for new *kleśa*s to arise, and through more and more subtle meditations the *kleśa*s that remain from the past are diluted so much that they no longer produce any *karmāśaya*s. At this point the person (*puruṣa*) within the *yogin* no longer needs a body because it no longer has any unripened *karmāśaya*, and at the death of the present body the person no longer migrates to another life. The *puruṣa* is liberated from the entrapping demands of habitual afflictions and experiences *kaivalya*, "autonomy."

ONTOLOGICAL OR MATERIALISTIC NOTIONS. The terms *bīja* (seed), *karmāśaya* (karmic residue), *vāsanā* (pychological traces) and others suggest a general South Asian notion that some "thing" is created and left behind by one's actions. At times the Upaniṣads describe *karman* almost as a substance that not only influences one's subsequent births but can also be passed from one person to another, especially from father to son. The *Kauṣītakī Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad*, for example, tells a dying father to transfer his *karman* to his son, saying "let me place my deeds in you" (2.15). The son is then able to perform atoning actions such that the father is free of the consequences of his own improper behavior (see *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 1.5.17).

Ritual practices in which one either supplements or attenuates the *karman* acquired by one's ancestors take place in various Vedic *śrauta* and Hindu *pūjā* ceremonies that have been practiced from the time of the Brāhmaṇas and Dharmaśāstras. They appear, for example, in the postclassical *sāpiṇḍīkaraṇa* and *bali* rites in which balls of rice and other foods that are said to contain an ancestor's *karman* are ceremonially offered to the deceased.

Indian medical texts of the Ayurveda traditions agree that *karman* is a material entity of sorts that can be passed from one generation to the next. The *Caraka Saṃhitā* (first century CE), for example, maintains that *karman* resides in substance (*dravya*) and is one of the causes of physical health and disease. Accordingly, *karman* is seen as an important factor in medical etiologies and in techniques of fertility in which a father and mother perform certain actions so that the embryo (*garbha*, sometimes called the "seed") can acquire the most desirable or auspicious karmic elements and thus be born a strong person with admirable character.

By far the most assertive thinkers concerning the material nature of *karman*, however, are the Jains, who since the sixth century BCE have followed the teachings and traditions surrounding the founder of Jainism, Mahāvīra Vardhamāna. Central to Jain doctrine in general is the notion that the living entity (*jīva*, "life") within a person is by nature blissful and intelligent. Traditional teachings sometimes describe the *jīva* as a pure, colorless, and transparent energy and maintain that all of the infinite creatures in the universe—including animals, plants, and rocks as well as human beings—possess such an ethereal crystalline life within them. But, also according to Jain thought, the spatial world occupied by the *jīva*s is permeated with a kind of subtle dust or stained liquid that has existed since time immemorial and that "sticks," as it were, to each *jīva*, soiling and infecting its original nature with a color (*leśya*), the hue and intensity of which corresponds to the amount of desire, hatred, and love with which that being performs any given action. This glutinous blurry stuff is *karman*. Virtuous and selfless action attracts to the *jīva* the lighter and less cloudy colors, which hardly obscure the *jīva*'s nature at all, compared to the dark and muddy colors brought together by acts engendered in self-concern. The amount and color of the *karman* that adheres to any given *jīva* determines the conditions and circumstances of its subsequent rebirth. Competitive, violent, self-infatuated people carry the heavy weight of *karman* and will sink downwards through their many lifetimes as demons or as animals who live by eating others; gentle, caring, and compassionate beings gradually cleanse their *jīva* of its encumbering *karman* and rise through rebirth towards enlightenment.

Even unintentional violence, however, burdens the *jīva* with the stain of *karman*. Thus, Jain tradition demands absolute *ahiṃsā*, a complete unwillingness to kill or injure any and all living beings. Jains, therefore, are absolute vegetarians, some of whom in their attempts to sustain themselves with food in which no living creature has met a violent death refuse even to pick the living fruit from a tree, waiting instead until it falls of its own (ripened) accord.

A *jīva* finds release from the bonds of rebirth only when it stops accumulating new *karman* and removes that *karman* already there. This is described as a long and arduous task, one that takes many lifetimes to complete. Although the necessary discipline can be practiced by lay members of the community, traditionally only renunciate Jains can undergo the physical austerities and rigorous mental concentration that are needed to remove the *karman* from their *jīva*s. One who through many ascetic lifetimes has completely removed the cloud of *karman* from his *jīva* is known as a *siddha* (one who has "succeeded") or a *kevalin*, an omniscient and enlightened being. The paradigmatic ascetic here is Mahāvīra Vardhamāna, who, according to Digambara tradition, wandered naked and homeless as he practiced nonviolence, truthfulness, honesty, renunciation of possessions, and sexual abstinence.

A THEISTIC NOTION: KARMAN IN THE *BHAGAVADGĪTĀ*. Some thinkers in ancient India found practical problems in the renunciate attitude towards *karman*. For example, if all actions, including good actions, bring consequences, don't all actions, including good actions, lead inevitably to rebirth? Does this mean that one must renounce all actions, even good ones? Isn't renunciation itself an act, and therefore constitutive of karmic residue; isn't the desire for liberation still a desire? Doesn't the final end of renunciation of all action result in willful death, since one must actively eat and breathe in order to live; yet isn't suicide itself considered an evil and thus entrapping action?

The author or authors of the *Bhagavadgītā* (c. first century BCE) seem to have been aware of these problems. Generally supportive of the value of disciplined meditation (see *Bhagavadgītā* 6.10–6.13), those philosophers nevertheless saw the impossibility of complete inaction, for "even the maintenance of your physical body requires activity" (3.8).

Noting that one cannot remain inactive, and aligning themselves with the social philosophy presented in the Dharmaśāstras and related Hindu orthodox literatures on law outlining specific responsibilities incumbent on people in various occupations and stages of life, the authors of the

Bhagavadgītā present the idea that one should perform those actions that are obligatory (*niyata*) to one's position in society (*svadharma*), and the better one performs those actions the purer their result (*Bhagavadgītā* 18.23, 2.31). Personal preference should have nothing to do with one's duties. In fact, to perform someone else's responsibilities well is worse than performing one's own badly (3.35, 18.45–48).

The *Bhagavadgītā* justifies its teaching with a theological argument: social responsibilities arise from divine law (*Bhagavadgītā* 3.15a). Therefore, priests should perform rituals, soldiers should fight battles, and merchants should conduct the affairs of business (18.41–44) not because they want to but because it is ordained by God to do so. If done properly, such action cannot be considered evil and therefore does not lead to rebirth.

But if action itself does not lead to rebirth, then what does? The authors of the *Bhagavadgītā* supported the general South Asian notion that karmic action arises from desire; from this idea they developed the doctrine that it is the desire for certain results, and not the action itself, that gives rise to the mechanism of karmic processes. For these sages, freedom from the bonds of *karman* comes not when one ceases acting but when one acts without desire, when one renounces the attachment one has for the fruits of one's actions (*Bhagavadgītā* 4.19–23).

According to the *Bhagavadgītā* and similar devotional texts, this renunciation of desire for specific ends can be obtained only through *bhakti-yoga*, the loving surrender to God's will. Ritual actions properly performed are meritorious, and ascetic meditation leads to release. But these two modes of action either require wealth or are difficult to perfect. Purportedly quoting Kṛṣṇa (that is, God) himself, the *Bhagavadgītā* offers a theological response to these difficulties: "Those who dedicate all of their actions [*karman*] to Me, intent on Me, with unwavering discipline, meditating on Me; those who revere Me—for those I am the Savior from the sea of the cycle of deaths" (12.6–12.7b); those who see their actions as God's actions and the results as God's will "are also liberated from the traps of *karman*" (*mucyanti te'pi karmabhiḥ*, 3.31d).

SEE ALSO Bhagavadgītā; Bhakti; Dharma, article on Hindu Dharma; Jainism; Mahāvīra; Upaniṣads; Yoga.

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KARMAN: BUDDHIST CONCEPTS

The Indian religious worldview emerging about the time of the Buddha centered on three interrelated notions: rebirth, *karman*, and liberation. These concepts informed the cosmology, eschatology, and soteriology of the developing traditions, which taught that sentient beings have been reborn repeatedly in diverse forms of life, in places ranging from various hells to the highest heavens, over vast tracks of time. This process of rebirth is guided and even generated by the force of a person's actions (*karman*), which possess the power of inevitably working their consequences. Thus, deeds in the present will unfailingly bear their fruit in this or a future life, and present conditions, pleasurable or disagreeable, including one's form of existence, length of life, social station, and personal appearance, are the effects of deeds performed in the past. The span of one's existence through cycles of birth and death (*saṃsāra*) stretches back endlessly into the past and will continue without limit into the future, unless liberation is attained. The understanding of the mechanism of karmic bondage and the nature of emancipation evolved variously within the different traditions, and—although notions of *karman* are also found in pre-Buddhist Upaniṣads and in Jain thought—the precise relationships among the traditions remains uncertain.

***KARMAN* IN EARLY BUDDHIST THOUGHT.** The concept of *karman* as causal action and its consequence is often said to be the cornerstone of Buddhist philosophy and its basis for explaining human existence and the physical world. It is, however, less a clearly articulated doctrine than an elemental insight, in terms of which Buddhists have apprehended the temporal, existential dimension of human life rooted in the realization of non-self. Perhaps the most distinctive aspect of Buddhist thought within the Indian context, non-self is expressed in the early tradition as the rejection of the bifurcation of experience into subject and object (five aggregates), and further as release from painful, repetitive existence through the eradication of delusional egocentric craving (dependent arising).

Although *karman* in Indian thought originally presupposed an enduring entity as both agent of action and recipient of rebirth, it also appears in legendary accounts of the Buddha's enlightenment. The early tradition teaches that he attained three insights during the three watches of the night following his awakening: he saw his own previous lives and how each conditioned subsequent ones; he saw that beings everywhere also underwent repeated rebirths, receiving the results of acts performed in past lives; and he perceived the desires and attachments that bound one to further painful rebirth and the method by which to eradicate them. The critical role of *karman* in constituting samsaric existence was expressed by the notion of *dependent arising,* the core motif of which was formulated as: "When this arises, that arises; when this is not, that is not" (*Majjhima-nikāya* I, 262–263).

The concept of dependent arising was developed into a twelve-link chain: conditioned by ignorance, mental formations arise; conditioned by formations, consciousness arises; and so forth, leading finally to old age and death. These links are seen as elements within phases of past karmic acts (ignorance, formations) leading to present conditions (consciousness, mind-objects, six senses, sensory contact, feeling) and present actions (craving, grasping, becoming) leading to future consequences (birth, old age and death). The reverse chain leads from eradication of ignorance to the cessation of the successive links and liberation from *karman*-formed existence. Thus, the earliest strata of Buddhist texts state: "One who sees dependent arising rightly sees *karman* and its matured fruit" (*Suttanipāta*), and further, "One who sees dependent arising sees dhamma [*dharma*]" (*Majjhima-nikāya* I, 190–191).

THE ETHICIZATION OF *KARMAN* IN THERAVĀDA THOUGHT. In early Buddhist tradition, *karman* is understood not only as an aspect of the Buddha's awakening, but also as broadly ethical in implication, in contrast to the Brahmanic tradition, in which the notion of *karman* concerned the efficacy of sacrificial rites. In Vedic tradition, it is the enactment of sacrifice itself and its ritual correctness, rather than moral quality, that are determinative of the result. *Karman* in early Buddhist thought also differs from the contemporaneous Jain tradition, in which it is conceived as material accretion or residue, so that, for example, any act destructive of sentient life will bear fruit, even though it may have been unintended. Buddhist tradition asserts intention (*cetanā*) or the originating impulse as the critical element of any karmic act. The Buddha states: "Monks, I say that intention is acting; by intention, one performs an action of body, speech, or mind" (*Aguttara-nikāya* III, 415). It is the intention functioning as the motive force giving rise to deeds that determines their quality and thus their karmic effect. Hence, harm inflicted inadvertently does not necessarily bespeak an evil act entailing unwholesome retribution, and even meritorious acts may in fact be injurious. The monk Nāgasena explains that since the offering of a meal to Śākyamuni by Cunda was done with good intentions, even though the Buddha fell ill and died upon eating it, Cunda was not at fault (*Milindapañha*).

This emphasis on intention as determinate of the quality of acts was developed by early Buddhists through various classifications. All human activity is classified in terms of three modes of action: bodily, vocal, and mental. Thoughts of theft or murder bear karmic effects, even though not physically enacted. In addition, a twofold classification of acts centering on intention was expounded: the act of intending and acts performed having been intended. The former category consists of mental acts, while the latter consists of bodily and verbal acts that arise as manifestations of volition (*Abhidharmakośa*).

THE MORAL QUALITY OF ACTS. *Karman* is classified by moral quality as good or wholesome (*kuśala*), unwholesome (*akuśala*), and indeterminate (*avyākṛta*). Unwholesome or "unskillful" acts result in unhappy rebirth (in the realms of hell, animals, or spirits), and a list of "ten evil acts" is organized in terms of bodily, vocal, and mental deeds: taking life, taking what is not given, sexual misconduct; false speech, slander, harsh speech, frivolous talk; greed, malice, and false views. Good or "skillful" acts, given in a corresponding list of ten admonitions, result in propitious rebirth (as a human or *deva*). Indeterminate acts do not produce a karmic result. Here again one sees the centrality of intention in early Buddhist thought, for present conditions, which are the results of past actions, are themselves indeterminate. In this way, Buddhists sought to avoid any determinism of the moral quality of present acts by direct causation from the past.

Further, the early tradition asserts the strictness of the causal working of *karman.* One's *karman* is one's own; whether good or bad, it is like "a treasure not shared with others, which no thief can steal" (*Khuddakapātha,* p.7). Thus, the consequences of one's actions will return upon oneself alone. Karmic effect is open to various forms of conditioning, and the results of a particular act may vary depending on when it is performed (the time of death is particularly potent), the combination with other acts, the quality of habitual conduct that forms its context, or the attitude taken toward the act before or even after it has been performed. For example, the degree of deliberation preceding an act, and the presence of regret or of repentance and expiation after, may influence the karmic effect of both good and evil acts, either intensifying or meliorating the result. Nevertheless, however conditioned, *karman* unfailingly brings about consequences. It may ripen quickly in the present life or bear its fruit only in some future life, but its effect will not be lost and its potency not exhausted or nullified until it works itself out.

Karman in early Buddhist tradition thus suggests a moral eschatology in which one's future depends on the moral qualities of the thoughts underlying one's acts in the present. The ethical import is to shun evil acts and strive to do good: "Watchful of speech, well restrained in mind, / One would not do what is unwholesome by body too; / These three modes of action one would purify; / Let one fulfill the path made known by the sages" (*Dhammapada,* verse 281). This vision, however, is complicated by two intertwined issues: the soteriological aim of liberation from karmic functioning itself, rather than skillful application of it, and the rejection of enduring, substantial existents, including a "self" that can inherit the consequences of its own past acts.

MERIT AND LIBERATION. While *karman* expresses the moral logic at work within the cosmos of living beings, liberation in the Buddhist path ultimately involves transcendence of existence as continual rebirth, which is karmically generated and characterized as delusionally driven and painful. Because the notion of *karman* continued to underpin ideas of merit (*puṇya*) accumulation originating in the Vedic context of sacrificial rite, two general goals were upheld by early Buddhist practitioners, reflecting distinct attitudes toward *karman.*

On the one hand, acts may be distinguished as sources of merit or demerit, the former leading toward happy future conditions and the latter toward painful states. In the early tradition, meritorious action is enumerated as giving (*dāna*), moral conduct (*śīla*), and meditative practice (*bhāvanā*), but *dāna* as almsgiving is given particular attention as a source of merit for laity. Further, the degree of merit accrued in an act of giving is said to turn on the worthiness of the recipient, who is a "field of merit" in which the gift as seed is brought to fruition. Any act of charity may bear fruit, but the greatest rewards lie in the supreme field of merit, the community of monks (*saṃgha*) led by the Buddha. The practical significance of this metaphor for the symbiotic relationship between monks and laity is evident, but it has also been suggested that the importance placed on the recipient stems from the original sacrificial context of the act of almsgiving as a form of worship.

On the other hand, the goal of the Buddhist path is not higher states of existence or ascension through the five "courses," including human and *deva*, of the realm of desire into the loftier realms of form and formlessness. Rather, one seeks to sever the bonds to samsaric existence altogether. This is *nirvāṇa*, which, in terms of *karman*, is "extinction" of afflicting passions giving rise to acts of karmic retribution and cessation of the resultant pain of continual rebirth. Since any thoughts of attachment within the realms of rebirth, even to meritorious acts or blissful states of life, are themselves *karman* that will bind one to further samsaric existence, liberation is attained only when one produces no *karman* and one's *karman* from the past has been exhausted. Acts performed with detachment and equanimity (*upekṣā*) bear no further results, whether good or bad. Hence, it is by purification of the mind through right conduct, meditation, and religious insight, so that one's acts are free of greed, malice, and delusional thinking, that *nirvāṇa* is attained.

Some studies of the present Theravāda tradition have distinguished these two patterns of religious acts as kammatic and nibbanic, the former emphasizing giving and right conduct and directed toward achieving higher states within samsaric existence, while the latter focuses on meditative practice leading to liberation from *saṃsāra*. The former turns on the karmic effects of merit-making, while the latter seeks the eradication of *karman* through perfect disinterestedness.

The working of *karman*, however, also serves to conjoin these two patterns. Since the path to liberation traverses many lifetimes, present merit may be understood to lead to conditions favorable to purifying practice and eventual attainment of *nirvāṇa.* In addition, through transference of merit, one may generously turn the effects of a meritorious act to benefit another. That persons must each bear the results of their own deeds is a fundamental postulate of the notion of *karman* emphasized in the early tradition. At the same time, however, examples are recorded of a person ascribing a good deed, such as a gift of food to monks, to other beings, including famished spirits and *devas*, so that they might receive the merit. Such a notion of compassionate transference later developed into a hallmark of Mahāyāna tradition.

THE ANALYTIC STANCE OF THE SCHOLASTIC TRADITIONS. Scholastic traditions developed in the monastic communities in the centuries following the Buddha's death, resulting in a literature of doctrinal systematization and categorization known as *abhidharma* (further teaching). Adopting an objectifying stance of exhaustive analytical reflection, the *abhidharma* broke down all existents and phenomena into constituent, elemental factors (*dharmas*) categorized as consciousness, mental attitudes, material elements, elements neither mental nor material such as causal relation, and the uncreated. These psychological and physical *dharmas* (numbering seventy-five in the Sarvāstivāda school and eighty-two in the Theravāda *abhidharma*) were said to arise in composites in the present instant, then immediately pass away. Thus, although normally experienced as continuous and integral, mental functioning is merely a rapid series of discrete instants of consciousness, each arising as a psychophysical combination of numerous *dharmas*, and objects grasped as enduring and real are no more than momentary aggregates of *dharmas* informed by conceptual construction. What is actually and irreducibly existent are only the elemental factors coming together and passing away.

In the *abhidharma* schools, the notion of *karman* functioned as a fundamental causal principle underlying the linear, temporal flow of all things, but a number of contentious issues relating to it were debated. For example, although the Theravāda tradition emphasized intention as determinant of the moral quality of even physical acts, Sarvāstivādins asserted that bodily and vocal acts, being material, manifest but are distinct from intention as a mental act. Further, major issues arose regarding karmic causation. How can actions occurring in the present moment and then passing away bring about consequences in the future? The Sarvāstivādins argued that *dharmas* themselves, as elemental factors, exist in the future and past as well as in the present, although the modes of existence differ. *Dharmas* existing in the future move, through causes, into the present and arise in fusion with countless other *dharmas* as actions or composite things before slipping into the past. Since the *dharmas* continue to exist even though they have vanished from the present, they hold the energy to cause their results to appear upon maturation. How can there be continuity between the agent of an act and the receiver of its fruit? If there is only flux, there can be no reception of karmic results, but if there is continuity, an enduring entity seems implied. The early tradition teaches that the person who commits the act and the person who receives the fruit are neither wholly identical nor wholly different. In order to explain the continuity of the series of psychophysical moments that is the subject of karmic working, Sarvāstivādins argued that there exists a *dharma* of "possession" (*prāpti*), which functions with all karmic acts, so that each act or thought, though immediately passing away, creates the "possession" of that act in the continuum of instants we experience as a person. This possession itself is momentary, but continually reproduces a similar possession in the succeeding instant, even though the original act lies in the past. Through such continual regeneration, the act is "possessed" until the actualization of the result.

Such views were rejected as contrary to the Buddha's teaching of impermanence by other schools, notably the Sautrāntikas, who insisted that each act exists only in the present instant and perishes immediately. To explain causation, they taught that with each karmic act a "perfuming" occurs which, though not a *dharma* or existent factor itself, leaves a residual impression in the succeeding series of mental instants, causing it to undergo a process of subtle evolution eventually leading to the act's result. Good and bad deeds performed are thus said to leave "seeds" or traces of disposition that will come to fruition.

THE MAHĀYĀNA VIEW OF *KARMAN*. The Prajñāpāramitā sūtras (c. first century CE) and early Mahāyāna thinkers rejected the realism of scholastic traditions that presupposed the enduring own-being (*svabhāva*) of all *dharmas* and fixed the transcendent, uncreated *dharma* of *nirvāṇa* as the ultimate religious goal. Instead, they sought to articulate the soteriological realization of non-self in terms of a thoroughgoing nondiscriminative wisdom in which the dissolution of the subject-object dichotomy and the nature of all things as dependently arising were expressed as emptiness or voidness (*śūnyatā*).

Nāgārjuna (c. 150–250 CE), in *Mūlama-dhyamaka-kārikā*, sought to demonstrate the logical incoherence of the substantialist assumptions governing ordinary human experience of—and speech about—the world, including causation. He argued, for example, that notions of agent and act are mutually dependent, so that any conceptual reification will render the whole—action itself—untenable. Further, if *karman* persists until its result arises, it is permanent and unchanging; if it expires, it cannot function as cause. In either case, it cannot produce a result. *Karman* must be neither continuous nor discontinuous; this eradication of objectifying conceptual bifurcation pervades the world of non-self or emptiness. To go beyond emptiness-contemplation as the elimination of discriminative discourse only and to explore the active functioning of wisdom, the Yogācāra thought of Asaṅga (c. 320–390 CE) and Vasubandhu (c. fourth century CE) adapted, from a Mahāyāna perspective, such *abhidharma* conceptions as the subconscious mind (*bhavaṅga*), from which conscious processes arise and into which they subside and the karmic seeds (*bīja*) of mental activity. Time is a succession of discontinuous instants, with mind and all things mutually giving rise to each other and perishing moment by moment. This instantaneous "other-dependent" co-arising of mind and world is not different from emptiness, wisdom, or true reality.

By asserting "form is itself emptiness, emptiness is form," Mahāyāna thought departed from earlier tendencies toward mutually exclusive, substantialist-leaning conceptions of samsaric and nirvanic realms, or the *karma*-created and uncreated, and thus from the ethical focus developed in Theravāda tradition and the atomistic analyses of karmic causation in the scholastic tradition.

KARMIC EXISTENCE AND TRANSCENDENT WISDOM. The implications regarding *karman* of the notion of nonduality in Mahāyāna thought may be considered from the perspectives of both the being of wisdom (a *bodhisattva*) and the person of karmic existence (a foolish, unenlightened being). For the *bodhisattva*, the strictness of karmic working emphasized in the early tradition is broken in several ways by the wisdom in which such dichotomies as form and emptiness, *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, and blind passions and enlightenment are simultaneously established and dissolved. Although the early tradition asserts that *karman* is personal, the *bodhisattva's* transcendence of the dichotomy of self and other leads to the practice of merit transference, by which one vows to ferry all beings to the other shore of *nirvāṇa* before crossing over oneself, giving the merit of one's practice to others. Self does not exist merely as self, but upon the foundation of both self and other arising in mutual dependence, that is, in emptiness. This thinking is developed in Yogācāra writings in the concept of "shared *karman*," in which *karman* is at once individual and conjoint.

Further, although the notion of *karman* asserts a correlation between the moral quality of past deeds and the circumstances of rebirth, the *bodhisattva* may choose to be reborn in realms of suffering to save beings there. Above all, the *bodhisattva* relinquishes the earlier view that liberation lies in departing from *saṃsāra* and entering *nirvāṇa*, abandoning all attachments, even to *nirvāṇa*.

While attainment of nondiscriminative wisdom is a prominent feature in most East Asian Buddhist traditions, including Huayan, Tiantai, and Chan, realization of nonduality from a stance within karmic bondage has also been developed, most clearly by Shinran (1173–1263), founder of the Japanese Shin Buddhist tradition (Jōdo Shinshū) of the Pure Land school. In Shinran's thought, persons come to know the depths of their karmic bondage, reaching back into the unknowable past, through receiving the wisdom of Amida Buddha as the genuine entrusting of themselves (*shinjin*) to the Buddha's vow to bring them to enlightenment though his own fulfillment of practices. They awaken to their inability to free themselves from blind passions through religious practices or meritorious acts, which are inevitably tainted by self-attachment, and at the same time they realize that their birth in the Pure Land and attainment of enlightenment are fully settled, for they have attained the Buddha's mind as *shinjin.* Thus in *Tannishō,* Shinran states, "Hell is decidedly my home," and also speaks of "the attainment of buddhahood by the person who is evil" (*akunin jōbutsu*), expressing the nonduality of karmic existence and Buddha's wisdom found throughout Mahāyāna tradition.

The notion of *karman* has been considered an integral element of Buddhist awakening to human existence. At the same time, however, the significance of moral action—in relation to religious practice in the Theravāda tradition and to nondichotomous wisdom in Mahāyāna traditions—has been a recurring issue throughout Buddhist history, and recent concerns to formulate a Buddhist social ethics have drawn renewed attention to issues of *karman.*

SEE ALSO Buddhist Philosophy; Dharma, article on Buddhist Dharma and Dharmas; Sarvāstivāda; Sautrāntika.

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KARMA PAS are among the most prominent lines of reincarnated Tibetan Buddhist masters, or *tulkus.* They are also often referred to as the Shanak pas, or "Black Hat" masters, after the black crown passed down from each incarnation to the next that has come to symbolize the lineage. The first Karma pa, Dus gsum mkhyen pa (Dusum Khyenpa, 1110–1193), was an important leader in twelfth-century Central and Eastern Tibet. As of 2004 the seventeenth Karma pa resided in the Tibetan diaspora community in Dharamsala, India. Throughout the centuries, the successive Karma pas have played a large role in the religious, cultural, and political life of Tibet.

The Karma Kamtshang school, of which the Karma pas are the leaders, is but part of a larger school of Tibetan Buddhism known as the Bka' Brgyud (Kagyu) school or "Oral Tradition" school. The Bka' Brgyud school is one of the principle traditions of Tibetan Buddhism, with a history that extends from the twelfth century to the present day. The names and dates of the successive Karma pas, as well as their allied lineage, the Shamar pas, are listed at the end of this entry.

Although the first two Karma pas were posthumously recognized as "Karma pas" only in the late thirteenth century at the time of the third Karma pa, Rang byung rdo rje (Rangjung Dorje, 1284–1339), they are nevertheless important figures in the tradition. The first Karma pa was born in the village of Treshö, situated in the eastern Tibetan region of Kham. At the age of thirty he became a student of Sgam po pa (Gampopa, 1079–1153), well-known disciple of Mi la ras pa (Milarepa, 1028/40–1111/23), wellspring of many strands of Bka' Brgyud tradition. Dus gsum mkhyen pa founded two monasteries. Karma Gon (or Karma Densa), founded in 1147 in Kham, gave the Karma pas their name ("those of Karma Gon"), though it did not play a central role in the tradition. Tsurphu, founded in 1189 in the Tolung Valley of Central Tibet, some fifty miles west of Lhasa, was to become the true seat of the lineage, a status that it has enjoyed up to the present day. The second Karma pa, Karma Pakshi (1204–1283), was a monk at Tsurphu when he traveled to Mongolia in 1154, a journey that marked the entry of the Karma pas into Central and East Asian politics. While he is remembered by tradition principally as a great magician who beguiled the Mongol leaders, he was also the author of a massive philosophical compendium known as the *Limitless Ocean Cycle*, in which he integrated doctrines from both the Bka' Brgyud and the Rnying ma (Nyingma) traditions of Tibetan Buddhism.

The third Karma pa, Rang byung rdo rje, was born in southwest Tibet in 1284. According to early stories of his life, at the age of five he received a blessing in the form of a white light striking his head from the famous statue of the *bodhisattva* of compassion, Avalokiteśvara, in Kyirong on the southwest border of Tibet. This miraculous event led his parents to bring him before Master Orgyanpa Rinchenpal (1230–1309), who identified him as his deceased teacher, Karma pakshi. At the age of seven, Rang byung rdo rje took vows as a novice monk at Dusum Khyenpa's monastery of Tsurphu. At age twenty he took full monastic vows, again at Tsurphu. As an adult, while not studying at Tsurphu or maintaining solitary yogic practice in nearby hermitages, the third Karma pa traveled throughout Central and Eastern Tibet giving religious instruction, founding and renovating religious institutions, and acting as a political mediator in times of regional conflict. In 1331 the third Karma pa received an order from a Mongol leader of the Chinese Yuan dynasty (1206–1368) to join him at his capitol. Rang byung rdo rje grudgingly acquiesced to this long journey, and in 1332 arrived at the court. Rang byung rdo rje returned a second time to China in 1338, dying at the capitol a year later. His close relationship with the Yuan emperors gained Tsurphu Monastery tax-exempt status under Mongol sovereignty and ensured subsequent Karma pas favorable ties with later Chinese imperial leadership.

Rang byung rdo rje was a prolific writer on all aspects of Buddhist culture, authoring over a hundred works on Buddhist ritual practice, esoteric philosophy, medicine, astrology, and ethics. He is often credited with combining the contemplative precepts of the "great seal," or *mahāmudrā*, with the Great Perfection system of esoteric practice developed in the Rnying ma school. A verse from the *Great Seal Prayer* makes this identification clear: "Free from subjective activity, this is the Great Seal. Free from extremes, this is the Great Middle Way. This is also called the all-encompassing Great Perfection. May we attain certainty that the awareness of one is the realization of all." This inclusive approach to soteriological doctrine has earned Rang byung rdo rje a place in the canon of the nonsectarian movement of nineteenth-century Tibetan religious history. Indeed, Jamgön Kongtrul (1813–1899), the movement's most important proponent, wrote commentaries on all three of Rang 'byung rdo rje's most famous works. These three works are often considered by tradition as a trilogy on Buddhist theories of ontology, consciousness, and soteriology. The first of these is the *Treatise on Buddha Nature*. In this brief work of only 225 verse lines, the third Karma pa synthesizes ontological notions from exoteric and esoteric Buddhist scriptures, thereby presenting a comprehensive vision of buddha nature—the innate potential for enlightenment in all living beings—as seen in both its latent state and its fully revealed state. The *Treatise* is in many ways an elaboration on two famous quotes from Buddhist canonical literature, with which he begins his work—albeit without citing his sources.

The first is from the *Mahāyāna Abhidharma Sūtra*, a work oft quoted yet unknown in its entirety in Tibet. The popularity of this verse is no doubt due to its bold assertion that buddha nature exists—and is in fact the very reason enlightenment is possible at all: "The beginningless essence is the support of all phenomena. Because it exists, so do all beings, as well as the attainment of liberation from suffering." The second quote is from the *Hevajra Tantra*: "Sentient beings are simply buddhas, save for being obscured by adventitious impurity. If just this [impurity] is removed, there is buddhahood." The rest of the work describes the nature of these impurities, which hide from human beings their true nature, as well as the nature of the fully awakened buddha that results from spiritual practice. Rang byung rdo rje leaves his presentation of the practices for removing these impurities to the third work in his trilogy. The second, *Differentiating Consciousness and Wisdom*, draws heavily on Yogācāra sources to detail the difference between ordinary human perception and the enlightened perception of buddhas, as well as the mechanism by which the former transforms into the latter through contemplative practice.

Finally, the third work of the trilogy, the *Profound Inner Meaning*, outlines the means by which one attains buddhahood according to esoteric Buddhist tradition, particularly the literary cycles of the *Hevajra Tantra* and the *Kālacakra Tantra*. This is perhaps Rang byung rdo rje's most important work, and it has formed the basis of esoteric praxis to the present day. Taking the notion of buddha nature as his starting point, he systematically presents the ontological foundations of human existence, the psycho-physical development of the human body and its physiology as seen from an esoteric Buddhist perspective, the nature of human ignorance and suffering, and finally the nature of enlightenment, as well as the esoteric practices leading to it.

Though neither the fourth or the fifth Karma pas were as prolific as Rang byung rdo rje or as influential in doctrinal matters, both had relations with the imperial court of Ming China (1368–1644), thus contributing substantially to both the prestige and the wealth of the lineage. Later Karma pas would each be remembered for particular aspects of their careers. The seventh authored the authoritative work on logic and epistemology (*pramāṇa*) in the Karma pa scholastic tradition, and the ninth systematized the contemplative teachings of the great seal traditions in several influential works. The sixteenth Karma pa fled Tibet in 1959 under fear of Chinese rule, and in 1962 he founded Rumtek Monastery in Sikkim, an institution that was to become of seat of the Karma Bka' Brgyud in exile. He was also responsible for introducing the Karma Bka' Brgyud Buddhist tradition to an increasingly interested North American and European populace of Buddhist converts, first visiting the United States in 1974. He died in Chicago in 1981. Political battles surrounded the recognition of the seventeenth Karma pa, with opposing camps continuing to support their Karma pa as the authentic member of the lineage. O rgyan 'phrin las rdo rje (Orgyan Trinlay Dorje, b. 1985) has received the seal of authority by the fourteenth Dalai Lama, and after spending his youth at Tsurphu Monastery in Tibet, moved to the Dalai Lama's center in Dharamsala, India.

It is impossible to speak of the Karma pas without mentioning their Bka' Brgyud brethren, the Shamar pa incarnation lineage, which currently numbers twelve. Rang byung rdo rje himself recognized the first Shamar pa, despite the fact that Grags pa sengge (Drakpa Senge, 1283–1349) was his senior by one year. In subsequent centuries the Karma pa and Shamar pa incarnations would share religious authority in Central Tibet, the senior of the two assuming control of the Karma Kamtshang School. The fourth Shamar pa was intimately involved in the sectarian and political rivalries of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, most notably between the Karma Kamtshang and the Dge lugs (Geluk) schools. While the Karma pa lineage has continued uninterrupted to the present day, the Shamar pa lineage was disbanded by the central Tibetan government in 1792 due to the ninth Shamar pa's complicity in the Nepalese invasion of Tibet, to be reinstated a century later.

According to the *Blue Annals* of the famed Tibetan historian 'Gos Lo tsa ba Gzon nu dpal (Go Lotsawa, 1392–1481), the Karma pas and the Shamar pas were, respectively, the first and second incarnation lineages in Tibet. The situation proves to be more complicated than this, however, and 'Gos Lo tsa ba likely links the origins of reincarnated religious masters in Tibet to the Karma pas and Shamar pas because of his close relations with the Karma Bka' Brgyud pa leaders of fifteenth-century Tibet. Nevertheless, his assertion does emphasize the foundational role of these two lineages in making the phenomenon of incarnation an integral part of Tibetan religion and politics. For it is likely upon these two that the most powerful incarnation lineage to develop in Tibet was modeled, the succession of the Dalai Lamas, who would decisively wrest political and cultural hegemony from the Karma pas and Shamar pas in the seventeenth century, forever changing the face of rule by rebirth in Tibet.

The Karma pa Lineage

1. Dus gsum mkhyen pa (Dusum Khyenpa): 1110–1193
2. Karma pakshi (Karma Pakshi): 1204–1283
3. Rang byung rdo rje (Rangjung Dorje): 1284–1339
4. Rol pa'i rdo rje (Rolpay Dorje): 1340–1383
6. Mthong ba don ldan (Tongwa Dondan): 1416–1453
7. Chos grags rgya mtsho (Chodrak Gyatso): 1450/1454–1506
8. Mi bskyod rdo rje (Mikyo Dorje): 1507–1554
9. Dbang phyug rdo rje (Wangchuk Dorje): 1556–1603
10. Chos dbyings rdo rje (Choying Dorje): 1604–1674
11. Ye shes rdo rje (Yeshe Dorje): 1675–1702
12. Byang chub rdo rje (Jangchup Dorje): 1703–1732
13. Bdud 'dul rdo rje (Dudul Dorje): 1733/1734–1797/1798
14. Theg mchog rdo rje (Tekchok Dorje): 1799–1869
15. Mkha' khyab rdo rje (Khakyap Dorje): 1870/1871–1921/1922
16. Rang byung rig pa'i rdo rje (Rangjung Rikpay Dorje): 1924–1981

17 (1). O rgyan 'phrin las rdo rje (Orgyan Trinlay Dorje): 1985–

17 (2). 'Phrin las mtha' yas rdo rje (Trinlay Taye Dorje): 1983–

The Shamar pa Lineage

1. Grags pa sengge (Drakpa Senge): 1283–1349
2. Mkha' spyod dbang po (Kacho Wangpo): 1350–1405
3. Chos dpal ye shes (Chopal Yeshe): 1406–1452. Chos grags ye shes (Chodrak Yeshe): 1453–1524
5. Dkon mchog yan lag (Konchok Yenlak): 1525–15836. Chos kyi dbang phyug (Chokyi Wangchuk): 1584–1630. Yeshe Nyingpo ye shes snying po: 1631–1694
8. Dpal chen chos kyi don grub (Palchen Chokyi Dondrup): 1695–1732
9. Dkon mchog dge ba'i 'byung gnas (Konchok Geway Jungnay): 1733–1740
10. Chos grub rgya mtsho (Chodrup Gyatso): 1741/1742–1792
11. 'Jam dbyangs rin po che (Jamyang Rinpoche): 1892–1946

12. Mi pham chos kyi blo gros (Mipam Chokyi Lodro): 1952–

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KARO, YOSEF

KARO, YOSEF (1488–1575), Talmudic scholar, codifier of rabbinic law, and qabbalist. Yosef Karo (or Caro) grew up and lived in the century following the expulsion of the Jews from the Iberian Peninsula (first from Spain in 1492 by the Catholic rulers Ferdinand and Isabella, then from Portugal in 1497). It was a period of turmoil, major demographic shifts, messianic longings, and mystical revival. Karo was the scion of a family of illustrious scholars. Whether he was born in Toledo or whether his family had already left Spain for Turkey (either directly or via Portugal) before the expulsion is uncertain. His father and first teacher, Efrayim, died when Yosef was still very young, and his place was taken by Yosef's uncle, Yitsḥaq Karo, to whom he frequently and respectfully refers in his writings as "my uncle and master."

We do not know exactly at which schools Yosef Karo studied, but most of the first half of his life was spent in the Balkan provinces of the Ottoman empire (Salonika, but mainly Adrianople and Nikopol). The influx of Iberian Jewish (Sefardic) refugees had turned Ottoman Turkey into one of the most important centers of sixteenth-century Jewry, and Jewish communities and academies of learning were flourishing. In Salonika Karo also met Yosef Taytazak, one of the leading Talmudic scholars and qabbalistic charismatics of his generation, as well as the young ex-Marrano enthusiast and visionary Shelomoh Molkho. The latter's death at the stake in 1532, after his ill-fated mission to the pope, left a deep impression on Karo and no doubt inspired his unfulfilled desire to die a martyr's death. (In fact he died in Safad at the ripe age of eighty-seven.)

In addition to the academies of rabbinic learning, circles of qabbalistic and mystical pietists also flourished in the various Jewish centers of the Ottoman empire, especially in the Balkans, and Karo and his friend and disciple Shelomoh Alkabets were among their most prominent figures. These circles undoubtedly were the seedbed of the great mystical, and subsequently messianic, revival that took place in Safad in Galilee and from there swept over world Jewry. Because of the deaths of his wives, Karo married at least three times and had several children, of whom three survived him.

The dates of Karo's biography and literary activity have to be pieced together from incidental references in his writings. By 1522 he was settled in Nikopol and already enjoyed a reputation as one of the foremost rabbinic scholars. In that year he began work on his monumental commentary on the code of the great Talmudist Yaʿaqov ben Asher (1270–1343). He finished this work, the *Beit Yosef,* twenty years later in Safad. Whereas the classic and most complete code, that of Moses Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon, 1135/8–1204), simply and clearly set forth the law without argument or discussion, Yaʿaqov ben Asher's *Arbaʿah ṭurim* (Four Rows, i.e., four main parts) also reviewed the opinions of earlier authorities. Such review may have been the reason why Karo chose this code as the basis of his commentary, which is, in fact, a complete digest of the whole relevant halakhic literature. Yaʿaqov ben Asher's code, however, unlike that of Maimonides, omits all subjects not applicable in exile and after the destruction of the Temple (e.g., laws concerning the Temple, its priesthood, ritual, and sacrificial cult; legislation concerning kingship, the Sanhedrin, the Jubilee year, and so on). On the basis of his *Beit Yosef,* Karo subsequently produced the *Shulḥan ʿarukh* (Set Table, or Short Book, as he himself called it). This précis and synopsis soon established itself as the standard code of Jewish law and practice, especially after Mosheh Isserles of Cracow (d. 1572) had added glosses incorporating the sometimes divergent customs of Ashkenazic Jewry. Since then Karo's code has served as the revered or, alternatively, reviled symbol of orthodox rabbinic Judaism. Karo also wrote a commentary, *Kesef mishneh*, on the code of Maimonides, supplementing the earlier commentary *Maggid mishneh* by the fourteenth-century Spanish scholar Vidal of Tolosa.

Many *responsa* of Karo are also extant. Although of less historical influence than the aforementioned works, they throw much light on the social history of the period, in addition to illustrating Karo's standing as a leading Talmudic authority.

In Safad an attempt was also made—probably inspired by the messianic temper of the age—by one of the foremost Talmudic authorities, Yaʿaqov Berab, to renew full rabbinical ordination, which had lapsed in the first centuries of the common era. Karo was one of the four scholars ordained by Berab, but the initiative proved abortive, mainly because of the opposition of the scholars in Jerusalem.

It was probably mystical and messianic ideology that prompted many qabbalists and devout scholars to move from the Diaspora to the Holy Land. Around 1536 Karo, too, realized his long-standing intention and settled in Safad in upper Galilee, which soon became a center of intense mystical and devotional life. The leading qabbalists of the time had converged there, among them Mosheh Cordovero (who belonged to Karo's intimate circle) and Isaac Luria. Karo, like most rabbis of his generation, was also a qabbalistic scholar but, in addition, led a somewhat unusual (though by no means unique) charismatic life. According to various reports, Karo was visited every night by a heavenly mentor who, in the form of what psychology would describe as "automatic speech," revealed to him qabbalistic mysteries, exhortations to ascetic practice, and other matters related to his personal life and to his Talmudic studies. Afterward Karo wrote down the communications received from his celestial *maggid* ("speaker"), who identified himself (or perhaps herself) as the heavenly archetype of the Mishnah. Among Karo's writings there is, therefore, a "mystical diary," printed later in edited form under the title *Maggid mesharim.* Unconvincing attempts have been made to deny the authenticity of the diary, probably because scholarly rationalism, especially in the nineteenth century, could not come to terms with the idea that the great Talmudist, legal scholar, and codifier Yosef Karo was also an ascetic qabbalist and mystical enthusiast, subject to paranormal experiences. While as a qabbalist Karo was less outstanding than many of his Safad contemporaries, the existence of the *Maggid mesharim*, in the shadow, as it were, of the *Beit Yosef* and the *Shulḥan ʿarukh*, is indicative of the complexities of rabbinic Judaism and of the role that Qabbalah played in it, especially in the sixteenth century.

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KARUṆĀ, normally translated as "compassion," is a term central to the entire Buddhist tradition. When linked with *prajñā* ("wisdom") it constitutes one of the two pillars of Buddhism. *Karuṇā* is frequently described as the love for all beings, as exemplified by a mother's love for a child. However, *karuṇā* is quite unlike conventional "love" (Skt., *priya, kāma, tṛṣṇā*), which is rooted in dichotomous thinking (*vijñāna, vikalpa*) and centered on self-concern. Love in this latter sense is egoistic, possessive, clouded by ignorance (*avidyā*), and easily subject to its opposite passion, hate.

In contrast, *karuṇā* is manifested in the non-dichotomous mode of *prajñā* that has broken through the self-other discrimination. Thus freed of self-centeredness, *karuṇā* is concerned only with the welfare of the other. The root meaning of *karuṇā* is said to be the anguished cry of deep sorrow that elicits compassion. Love in the conventional sense and compassion in its Buddhist sense may be loosely equated to *eros* and *agapē,* respectively.

The life of Śākyamuni Buddha, especially his missionary work of forty-five years, is a manifestation par excellence of compassion. The cruciality of compassionate deeds for the attainment of supreme enlightenment is evident in the *jātakas,* a collection of fables recounting the previous lives of the Buddha. The evolution of Buddhism in Asia and its spread throughout the world are, from a Buddhist point of view, none other than the unfolding of *karuṇā* in history.

In Buddhist doctrine, *karuṇā* is most commonly found as the second of the Four Immeasurable Attitudes (*catvāri apramāṇāni*) that are to be cultivated in meditative practice: *maitrī* ("friendliness"), *karuṇā* ("compassion"), *muditā* ("sympathetic joy"), and *upekṣā* ("equanimity"). Friendliness is said to give pleasure and happiness to others, compassion uproots pain and suffering, and sympathetic joy refers to one's joy for the happiness of others. Finally, equanimity frees one from attachment to these attitudes so that one may go forth to practice them in the service of all those in need.

The Mahāyāna scriptures, in spite of their diversity and differences, reveal the multifaceted dimensions of *karuṇā.* Central to all Mahāyāna texts is the *bodhisattva* vow, which puts the deliverance of all beings from *saṃsāra* (i.e., the cycle of births and deaths) before one's own deliverance. To put it in a more personal way, the vow states, "As long as there is one unhappy person in the world, my happiness is incomplete." The vow acknowledges the absolute equality of self and other (*parātmasamatā*) and the interchangeability of self and other (*parātmaparivartana*), such that one willingly takes on the suffering of others.

Philosophically, the justification of compassion is rooted in the notion of *śūnyatā* ("emptiness"), which sweeps away all divisions and discriminations—self and other, good and bad, like and dislike, and so forth—that are created by the arbitrary conceptions of the subjective mind. This clearing away of all forms of discursive thinking, originating from the fictive self, is none other than the working of *prajñā,* which is inseparable from *karuṇā.* Wisdom and compassion are said to be like two wheels of a cart or two wings of a bird.

Another important dimension of compassion that figures in Mahāyāna Buddhism is *mahākaruṇā* ("great compassion"). The adjective "great" connotes the transcendent nature of the compassion that is an essential quality of Buddhahood. All Buddhas—whether Śākyamuni, Vairocana, Bhaiṣajyaguru, Amitābha, Akṣobhya, and others—manifest great compassion. Amitābha (Jpn., Amida) Buddha, for example, reveals great compassion in his "primal vow" (Jpn., *hongan*), which states that his attainment of supreme Buddhahood was contingent upon the guarantee of the selfsame enlightenment for all beings who have faith in him. The practitioner of the Mahāyāna path, then, becomes a recipient of great compassion. In fact, it is said that the *bodhisattva* progresses on the path to enlightenment by virtue not of his own powers but of the powers of great compassion.

Historically, however, *karuṇā* is also manifested in such practical expressions as acts of generosity or charity (*dāna*). Among the *puṇyakṣetra* ("merit-fields", i.e., sources for creating religious merit) available to the devotee are compassion, wherein those in need, helpless beasts, and even insects are the objects of care and concern; gratitude, where parents, all sentient beings, rulers, and the Three Treasures (Buddha, Dharma, Sangha) are revered; the poor, where the destitute are fed, clothed, and housed; and animals, which are to be released from human enslavement. In premodern times, *karuṇā* was also understood and appreciated in much more concrete forms: planting fruit orchards and trees, digging bathing ponds, dispensing medicine, building bridges, digging wells along highways, making public toilets, establishing clinics and orphanages, teaching sericulture, farming methods and irrigation, building dikes and canals, and countless other welfare activities.

SEE ALSO Prajñā.

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KASHMIR ŚAIVISM SEE ŚAIVISM

KASHRUT,

KASHRUT, from the Hebrew word *kasher* (Eng., kosher), meaning "acceptable" (see *Est.* 8:15), denotes anything permitted by Jewish law for use. More specifically, it connotes the Jewish dietary laws. Kashrut pertains directly to (1) permitted and forbidden animals, (2) forbidden parts of otherwise permitted animals, (3) the method of slaughtering and preparing permitted animals, (4) forbidden food mixtures, and (5) proportions of food mixtures prohibited ab initio but permitted *ex post facto.* The rules of *kashrut* are derived from biblical statute, rabbinic interpretation, rabbinic legislation, and custom, as outlined below.

BIBLICAL LAW. According to the Bible, animals permitted for Jewish consumption must have fully cloven hooves and chew the cud (*Lv.* 11:3). Forbidden fowl are listed (*Lv.* 11:13–19, *Dt.* 14:11–18), as are forbidden insects (*Lv.* 11: 21–22, *Dt.* 14:20), but no characteristics are presented for determining their forbidden status. Fish must have fins and scales (*Lv.* 11:9, *Dt.* 14:9). Both Jews and gentiles are forbidden to eat flesh torn from a living animal (*Gn.* 9:3). Jews are not to consume the blood of permitted animals or the fat that covers their inner organs (*Lv.* 3:17, 7:23), that is, tallow or suet. Both this blood and this fat were to be offered on the altar of the Temple in the case of animals fit for sacrifice (e.g., *Lv.* 1:11–12). In the case of an animal permitted for ordinary consumption but not for sacrifice, the blood is to be poured on the ground and covered (*Lv.* 17:13, *Dt.* 12:16). The same is the case with the blood of fowl slaughtered for ordinary use. Animals that died of internal causes or that were killed by other animals are not to be consumed (*Ex.* 22:30). Also, the sciatic nerve of slaughtered animals is not to be eaten (*Gn.* 32:32). Finally, a kid is not to be cooked in the milk of its own mother (*Ex.* 23:29, 34:26; *Dt.* 14:21).

RABBINIC INTERPRETATION. The rabbinic sources present a number of important and wide-reaching interpretations of these biblical laws which are seen as being themselves "oral Mosaic traditions" *(halakhah le-Mosheh mi-Sinai).* Thus, the rabbis determined that all birds of prey are forbidden for Jewish consumption (*Ḥul.* 5.6). The requirement that fish have fins and scales was qualified to include any fish that had scales at any point in its development even if they subsequently fell off (B.T., *Ḥul.* 66a–b). Milk from nonkosher animals was forbidden because it was judged as having the status of its source (*Bekh.* 1.2). An important exception to this rule is the honey of bees, which the rabbis determined does not have anything from the bee's body in it (see B.T., *Bekh.* 7b). The Babylonian Talmud presents criteria for distinguishing between permitted and forbidden fat (B.T., *Ḥul.* 49b). The blood drained from permitted animals and fowl after slaughter is covered with soil or ashes (*Ḥul.* 6.7).

Sheḥiṭah. The method of slaughtering permitted animals and fowl, known as *sheḥiṭah,* is not explicated in scripture but is seen as the prime example of a law commanded orally by Moses, to whom it was divinely revealed (B.T., *Ḥul.* 28a). The throat of the animal or bird must be slit with a perfectly smooth blade by a highly trained and supervised slaughterer (*shoḥeṭ*), who recites a blessing before cutting across the gullet and windpipe, severing the jugular. Detailed regulations govern the process; internal irregularities found in the lungs and other organs render even properly slaughtered animals unfit for consumption by Jews (*ṭerefah, Hul.* 3.1ff.). Various procedures are presented for draining the blood from the slaughtered animal, such as opening the arteries and veins, soaking and salting the meat, and broiling the meat over a flame. The laws that required Jews to eat meat slaughtered by a trained *shoḥeṭ* often determined where Jews could and could not live, and the presence of a kosher butcher has, in modern Jewish history, often symbolized the existence of an observant Jewish community.

Milk and meat. In the area of mixing milk and meat, rabbinic interpretation considerably expanded the biblical prohibition of simply not "cooking a kid in its mother's milk." The rabbis extended this law from animals fit to be offered on the altar (i.e., the lamb) to all animals and fowl in order to avoid any possible confusion (B.T., *Ḥul.* 104a). The Talmud interprets the threefold mention of this prohibition in the Pentateuch as entailing three distinct prohibitions: (1) eating, (2) cooking, and (3) deriving any monetary benefit from such a mixture of meat and milk. These prohibitions were elaborated by requirements for the use of separate dishes and utensils for meat foods and milk foods.

Rabbinical Legislation. In addition to the interpretations presented as ultimately Mosaic, the rabbis legislated additional rules in connection with those seen as biblical or traditional. All insects were forbidden because it was assumed that there was no longer to be found the necessary expertise to distinguish between those permitted and those forbidden. (*Ṭaz* [David ben Shemuʾel ha-Levi] on *Shulḥan ʿarukh, Yoreh deʿah* 85.1). Because of concern that gentiles might mix milk from nonkosher sources in the milk they sell to Jews, and that cheese from gentiles might contain nonkosher rennet, the precaution arose that milk and cheese must be prepared under Jewish supervision (*ʿA.Z.* 2.6). When this was not a likely possibility, however, this precaution was relaxed (*Responsa Tashbatz,* 4.1.32). The rabbis ruled that whereas one may follow a milk meal with a meat meal (except when hard cheese was eaten), after washing the hands and rinsing the mouth, one must wait a period of time before consuming a milk meal after a meat meal.

Because at times meat foods and milk foods are accidentally mixed, the rabbis developed a number of rules to determine whether or not the mixture could be used ex post facto. Generally, if the ratio is 60 to 1 or more, then the smaller substance is considered absorbed (*baṭel*) in the larger substance (B.T., *Ḥul.* 97b), provided the smaller substance neither changes the flavor of the larger substance, or gives the larger substance its actual form, and provided the smaller substance is not still found intact.

In order to discourage social contact between Jews and gentiles which might lead to intermarriage and assimilation (B.T., *ʿA.Z.* 36b; J.T., *Shab.* 3c), and because non-Jewish wine might have been produced for idolatrous purposes, the rabbis forbade Jews to drink wine or wine products made by non-Jews (B.T., *ʿA.Z.* 29b). However, because certain non-Jews were no longer considered idolators, and for other reasons, a number of authorities relaxed some (but not all) of these prohibitions. (See, for example, Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah,* Forbidden Foods 11.7; Mosheh Isserles's *Responsa,* no. 124.)

Custom. Custom determines a number of *kashrut* regulations, often being divergent in different communities. If certain fowl is not customarily eaten in a particular community, then this custom has the force of law there for no other reason. Although the hindquarters of permitted mammals may be eaten after the sciatic nerve has been totally removed, because of the great amount of energy and time required by this procedure, and because of the greater availability of meat in modern times, it has become the custom in Western Europe and America (but not in Israel) for the hindquarters of slaughtered animals to be sold to non-Jews as a regular practice rather than their being eaten by Jews.

Because of the rabbinic requirement for the internal examination of slaughtered animals (*bediqah*) to determine whether or not any abnormalities were present before slaughtering, elaborate methods of certification have evolved to guard against error or fraud. Often there are today competing rabbinical groups giving approval to different sources of kosher meat inasmuch as demands for reliability vary. Also, advances in food technology have led to the requirement that most processed foods be rabbinically certified (*hekhsher*) as not containing any forbidden substances.

Because of the custom in many Hungarian communities not to consume meat with certain irregularities nevertheless permitted by rabbinical legislation, the practice of certifying meat as *glaṭ kosher* (Yi., "smooth," without blemish) arose. In America, since the immigration of many Hungarian Orthodox Jews after World War II, *glaṭ kosher* has become a connotation of a stricter and more reliable level of *kashrut.*

Custom varies as to how long one is to wait after consuming meat before consuming milk. Moses Maimonides (1135/8–1204), followed by most other authorities, required a six-hour interval (*Mishneh Torah,* Forbidden Foods 9.28). Other authorities require a much shorter interval (B.T., *Ḥul.* 105a; Tos., s.v. *le-seʿudata*). Customarily, eastern European Jews and Sephardic Jews and their descendants follow Maimonides; German Jews and their descendants wait three hours; and some Dutch Jews of Sephardic origin wait as little as slightly over one hour.

Orthodox and Conservative Judaism generally follow the same standards of *kashrut,* based on biblical, rabbinic, and customary rules. Conservative Judaism, however, tends to follow more lenient options within the law itself, such as not requiring cheeses manufactured in the United States to be certified kosher. Reform Judaism, because it does not regard *halakhah* in toto as authoritative, does not, therefore, regard *kashrut* as binding. Some Reform Jews as an individual option do follow *kashrut* completely, and others follow at least those rules that are biblically explicit.

Theological Interpretation. Although scholars have long recognized similarities between the biblical laws and other ancient Near Eastern customs, the laws of *kashrut* are traditionally considered to be *ḥuqqim,* that is, laws about which "Satan and the gentiles raise objections" (B.T., *Yomaʾ* 67b), namely laws without apparent reasons. Nevertheless, Jewish theologians have attempted to penetrate their deeper meaning to discover hidden reasons for them.

Because of the frequent biblical mention of holiness (*qedushah*) in connection with these laws (e.g., *Lv.* 11:44–45), a number of the rabbis emphasized that their very unintelligibility is a test of one's full acceptance of the authority of God's law (e.g., *Gn. Rab.* 44.1). However, even here the general reason of holiness is taken to mean separation of Jews from gentiles (*Lv.* 20:26). The importance of this general motif is seen in texts from the Maccabean period (c. 150 BCE), when the forced assimilation of Jews usually began with making them eat forbidden foods (*Dn.* 1:8, *2 Mc.* 7:1ff., *4 Mc.* 5:1ff.). In rabbinic law one is required to die as a martyr rather than violate *kashrut*, when the violation is clearly symbolic of general apostasy (B.T., *San.* 74a).

Some of the earliest and latest rationales for *kashrut* have emphasized the moral intent of having Jews refrain from foods that are either taken from cruel animals (*Letter of Aristeas,* 142–147) or, also, symbolize bad moral traits (S. R. Hirsch, *Horeb,* trans. M. Hados, New York, 1951). Interestingly, early Christian criticism of Judaism argued that Jewish preoccupation with these laws actually leads to the neglect of morality (*Mk.* 7:14–23).

Maimonides saw the reasons for these laws as being based on both considerations of safe and healthy diet and the avoidance of some ancient idolatrous practices (*Guide of the Perplexed,* ed. Shlomo Pines, Chicago, 1963, 3.48; cf. *Ḥinukh,* no. 92). This emphasis on physiological reasons is followed by other Jewish scholars, such as Shemuʾel ben Meʾir in the twelfth century (e.g., on *Lv.* 11:30 re B.T., *Shab.* 86b) and Moses Nahmanides in the thirteenth century (e.g., on *Lv.* 11:9 in his *Commentary on the Torah*). Others, however, reject this whole approach as unduly secular (e.g., Avraham ben David of Posquières on *Sifra: Qedoshim,* ed. I. H. Weiss, 93d; *Zohar* 3:221a–b). The qabbalists, based on their view that every mundane act is a microcosm of the macrocosm of divine emanations (*sefirot*), worked out elaborate symbolic explanations of how the laws of *kashrut* reflect the cosmic economy and of their spiritual effect on human life. Among these mystics were, in the fourteenth century, Menahem Recanati, author of *Ṭaʿamei ha-mitsvot* and, in the fifteenth century, Yitsḥaq Arama, author of *ʿAqedat Yitsḥaq.* In these classic qabbalistic treatments of *kashrut*, forbidden foods were seen as imparting the cosmic impurity of the demonic forces that work against the godhead.

SEE ALSO Food; Passover.

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KĀŚI See BANARAS

KATHENOTHEISM See HENOTHEISM

KAUFMANN, YEḤEZKEL (1889–1963), was an Israeli Bible scholar and philosopher of Jewish history. Born in the Ukraine, Kaufmann was educated in Bible, Talmud, and Jewish history and received a doctorate in philosophy from the University of Bern in 1918. From 1914 to 1928 he lived in Germany, writing on Jewish nationalism. Immigrating to Israel (then Palestine) in 1928, he published a four-volume historical-sociological interpretation of Jewish history, *Golah ve-nekhar* (Exile and alienage; 1928–1932). His eight-volume *Toldot ha-emunah ha-Yisreʾelit* (A history of the religion of Israel; 1937–1956) is the most comprehensive study of biblical religion by a modern Jewish scholar. From 1949 until 1957 he was professor of Bible at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Kaufmann's major writings, historical and ideological, are distinguished by philosophical sophistication, methodological reflectiveness, and detailed textual analysis. In *Toldot,* a comprehensive, detailed analysis of the Bible and biblical religion, he argues (1) that the idea of one God ruling over nature was the unique creation of the nation of Israel, (2) that monotheism arose during the early stages of the nation's history, and (3) that, far from being influenced by genuine paganism, Israel was virtually ignorant of it. This work, which criticized prevalent ideas of modern biblical scholarship regarding the dating of the Torah texts, Israelite monotheism, and the impact of paganism on Israelite religion, had a decisive influence on an entire generation of Jewish Bible scholars.

In *Golah ve-nekhar,* Kaufmann employs historical-sociological arguments to demonstrate (1) that Israel's commitment to the monotheistic idea was the decisive factor ensuring the nation's survival in exile and (2) that in the modern era of secularization and nationalism, only a Jewish homeland could ensure the people Israel's survival. Like his biblical studies, this work is distinguished from other works on Jewish history both by its scope and by its mode of argumentation.

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KAZAKH RELIGION SEE INNER ASIAN RELIGIONS

KEIZAN (1264–1325), more fully Keizan Jōkin, was the founding abbot of the Sōjiji Zen monastery. Since the late nineteenth century, he has officially been designated, along with Dōgen (1200–1253), as one of the two founding patriarchs of the Japanese Sōtō Zen school.

Born in 1264 (not 1268 as previously assumed), Keizan entered Eiheiji, the Zen monastery founded by Dōgen in Echizen province, in 1276. Keizan studied Zen directly under four of Dōgen's leading disciples: Ejō (1198–1280), Jakuen (1207–1299), Gien (d. 1313), and Gikai (1219–1309). In 1298 Keizan succeeded Gikai as second abbot of Daijōji monastery in Kaga province. Eventually Keizan entrusted Daijōji to his disciple, Meihō Sotetsu (1277–1350), and began constructing a new monastery in Noto province named Tōkoku-san Yōkōji, which he envisioned as the future headquarters of the Sōtō Zen lineage in Japan. With Yōkōji as his base, Keizan founded six more monasteries nearby, including Hōōji, the first Sōtō nunnery, and Sōjiji, which he entrusted to his disciple Gasan Jōseki (1276–1366).

Keizan worked hard to establish a firm religious and institutional basis for the nascent Sōtō Zen school. Toward these ends, he authored a history of the Sōtō Zen lineage (the *Denkōroku*), founded a memorial hall at Yōkōji to enshrine relics of five generations of Sōtō Zen patriarchs, wrote beginner's guides to Zen training, and compiled detailed instructions for every aspect of Zen monastic life. His most influential contribution was his detailed instructions on how the abbotship of his monasteries should be rotated among several lines of succession so as to ensure united support and avoid schisms. This method of rotating abbotship became widely adopted among subsequent Sōtō monasteries. It was implemented most successfully not at Yōkōji, but at Sōjiji, which eventually grew to have more affiliated branch temples than any other Sōtō institution. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, Sōjiji, relocated in 1910 to Yokohama (next to Tokyo), had become one of the two headquarter temples (along with Eiheiji) of the Sōtō Zen school. In 1909 the Meiji emperor (Mutsuhito, 1852–1912) awarded Keizan with the posthumous name Jōsai Daishi.

Keizan's life and its significance have been the subject of much unsubstantiated speculation. Many modern Japanese interpretations of Keizan reflect an artificial structural antagonism between him and Dōgen, with the latter's teachings being portrayed as more pure, more elitest, and more monastic in orientation, in contrast to which Keizan's teachings are seen as more eclectic, more common, and more accessible to laypeople. This narrative of Keizan as the purported popularizer of Dōgen's so-called strict Zen rests not on the historical evidence but on simplistic apologetics that attempt to justify Sōjiji's modern preeminence over and above Dōgen's Eiheiji. Keizan, as much as Dōgen, focused his life's efforts on providing strict monastic training for monks and nuns. Likewise, Dōgen, as much as Keizan, worked to build an institutional foundation for Japanese Zen. Keizan was long departed before subsequent generations of monks at Sōjiji and its affiliates began effecting the rapid growth and transformation of Sōtō Zen into an institution consisting primarily of local temples that service the religious needs of laypeople who themselves do not practice Zen.

It is also true, however, that Keizan was a man of his times. In addition to Zen history, Zen training, and Zen monasticism, his writings reveal many religious themes common to other fourteenth-century Japanese religious writings. Keizan openly described, for example, his reliance on inspired dreams as a source of religious authority, his use of astrology, his devotion to his mother and grandmother, his invocation of the local gods who protect Buddhism, and his devout faith in the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Japanese, Kannon). These kinds of trans-sectarian religious values exerted, no doubt, a greater influence on the lives of ordinary people than did Keizan's difficult Zen practices or abstruse Zen doctrines. For this reason, Keizan's surviving writings constitute prime sources for the study of medieval Japanese religiosity and the ways that it interacted with sectarian doctrinal traditions (such as Zen) and their institutions.

Keizan's numerous writings were not collected, edited, or published during his lifetime. Extant manuscript versions, as well as published editions, are marred by numerous textual defects, copyist errors, and arbitrary editorial deletions, additions, and rearrangements. Scholars have not begun to resolve all the difficulties these texts present. Nonetheless, Keizan's authorship of the major works traditionally attributed to him is no longer considered doubtful. These major words include the following: *Denkōroku* (History of the transmission of the light); *Zazen yōjinki* (How to practice sitting Zen); *Tōkoku gyōji jijo* (Procedures at Tōkoku monastery), also known as *Keizan shingi* (Keizan's monastic regulations); and *Tōkokuki* (Chronicle of Tōkoku monastery).

SEE ALSO Dōgen; Zen.

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WILLIAM M. BODIFORD (2005)

KEMPE, MARGERY (c. 1373–c.1440), English pilgrim, autobiographer, and professional holy woman. Kempe was the daughter of a prosperous merchant of King's Lynn, England. Although happily married, she tended to have hysterical fits during which God spoke to her. At about the age of forty, having had fourteen children, she persuaded her husband that God wished them to take a vow of chastity. By this time the Deity was conversing agreeably with her nearly every day. Her meditations tended to concentrate on the Passion and to bring on wild lamentations, uncontrollable floods of tears, and rollings on the ground. These were widely acceptable signs of grace in the Middle Ages, but there were always some who declared her a fraud. Such charges were dangerous, as they several times led to her arrest as a heretic and a narrow escape from burning. For about twenty-five years, Kempe was a perpetual pilgrim, visiting not only every shrine in England but also the Holy Land, Rome, Santiago de Compostela in Spain, and various northern German centers, gradually establishing a reputation as a prophetess and seer among the less learned.

Kempe's importance for history lies in her autobiography, the first in English, a book intended for the edification of nuns. Although full of moralizing and sermons, it has a saving shrewdness and interest in the world. In the course of her travels, Kempe had numerous alarming encounters and met a host of people, from the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the holy Julian of Norwich, and innumerable friars to a wide range of fellow pilgrims and lesser government officials. It was her wish to write a mystical treatise, such as the famous *Cloud of Unknowing,* but what she did, in her autobiography, was to lay the fifteenth-century world before the reader in all its violence and piety; its blend of the spiritual and the venal, ignorance and learning, feudalism, democracy, and petty officialdom; its magnificence and utter filth. Here is the authentic background to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales.* No other medieval document enables one so clearly to realize what it was actually like for a humble pilgrim to live and to travel in fifteenth-century Europe.

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The Book of Margery Kempe, edited by Hope E. Allen and Sanford B. Meech (London, 1940), is the text dictated by Kempe to a priest about 1438, in the original spelling and fully annotated. The narrative is confused in many places, and the reader will be greatly assisted by the only modern study, *Memoirs of a Medieval Woman: The Life and Times of Margery Kempe,* by Louise Collis (New York, 1964), also published under the title *The Apprentice Saint* (London, 1964). This biography places Kempe's adventures in their proper historical perspective, relating them to the wider political, social, and religious issues of the day.

LOUISE COLLIS (1987)

KENYON, KATHLEEN. Kathleen Mary Kenyon (1906–1978) was born in London on January 5, 1906. She graduated from Somerville College, Oxford, in 1929, and in 1934 she cofounded, with Mortimer Wheeler and Tessa Wheeler, the University of London's Institute of Archaeology. Kenyon served as the institute's first secretary, then as interim director during World War II. She was a lecturer in Palestinian archaeology (1949–1962); was appointed honorary director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem in 1951; and excavated Jericho between 1952 and 1958 and Jerusalem from 1962 to 1967. She served as principal of Saint Hugh's College from 1962 to 1973 and upon her retirement in 1973 received the title Dame of the Order of the British Empire, 1973. After her death on August 24, 1978, in Wrexham, Wales, the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem was renamed the Kenyon Institute in her honor (2003).

Kenyon is a significant figure in the history of Near Eastern archaeology. She created the Wheeler-Kenyon excavation method, contributed to establishing a dating system for Iron II occupation levels, established the Neolithic origins of biblical Jericho, and uncovered the occupational history of Samaria. She was a teacher as well as a practitioner of archaeology. In addition to lecturing at the University of London's Institute of Archaeology, she also conducted field schools at her excavations in Jericho and Jerusalem. There she trained the next generation of archaeologists from England, the United States, and Europe who in turn handed on her legacy to their students.

Kenyon began her distinguished archaeological career in 1929 as a photographer of Gertrude Canton-Thomson's excavation of the ruins of Zimbabwe in Rhodesia. When she returned to England, Kenyon worked with Mortimer Wheeler and Tessa Wheeler at Verulamium (Saint Albans), directing the excavation of the Roman theater during the summer field seasons from 1930 to 1935. Wheeler was considered the founder of modern British archaeology, and Kenyon learned his box-grid excavation system. The Wheeler system divided a site into five-meter squares with one-meter balks (walls) between them in order to uncover and excavate horizontally the layered remains of human occupation according to their natural contours. Layers (strata) differed in color, consistency, and contents—information generally previously unrecorded on excavations whose major goal was recovering a site's architecture. Diagnostic ceramics (for example, jar handles, rims, and bases) helped to date the strata from which they were recovered.

Kenyon's first foray into Near Eastern archaeology was her collaboration with John Crowfoot and Grace Crowfoot at Samaria (1931–1933). Kenyon used Wheeler's method to excavate trenches across the top of the mound and down its northern and southern slopes, uncovering evidence of human occupation from the Roman period to Iron II. Her findings provided important ceramic dating material for Palestinian Iron II stratigraphy and for the study of *terra sigilata* ware. Colleagues considered Kenyon's fieldwork at Samaria a high point in Palestinian archaeology.

Kenyon directed her career-defining excavation of Tel es-Sultan, ancient Jericho, from 1952 to 1958. Building on her work in Samaria, she created the Wheeler-Kenyon method, which is still a popular technique among Near Eastern archaeologists. By this method, she dug a deep, stepped trench down to bedrock on one side of the site in order to trace its history of human occupation. To follow a surface or a building's foundations, for example, she excavated horizontally in a series of five-meter squares, leaving balks intact.

Jericho was one of the first sites excavated in Palestine. The British engineer Charles Warren surveyed the site in 1868. Two German archaeologists, Carl Watzinger and Ernest Sellin, conducted the first scientific excavations (1907–1909, 1911). They uncovered remains of a massive city wall and palace—validation, they claimed, of the Old Testament story of Jericho's destruction (*Jos.* 6). However, after analyzing stamped jar handles and Egyptian scarabs associated with the wall, Watzinger concluded that the wall had been destroyed during the Middle Bronze period, much earlier than the Israelite conquest. The excavations of the British archaeologist John Garstang (1930–1936) revealed remains of a network of walls whose collapse, he argued, resulted from military destruction rather than disrepair or erosion. He dated the walls to about 1400 BCE and, dismissing Watzinger's conclusions, announced that the archaeological evidence confirmed the Israelite destruction of Jericho.

Kenyon's Jericho project uncovered evidence of Natufian culture just above bedrock and, in the next strata, a mud-brick tower dated to the Neolithic period (c. 8000 BCE), making Jericho the earliest-known walled city. Her excavation of tombs in the same strata city provided evidence for Neolithic funeral rites: clay-covered skulls decorated with paint and shells. She found that the mud-brick city walls had been repaired and rebuilt some seventeen times, probably because of earthquake damage. The building of the most recent wall Kenyon dated to around 2300 BCE; it was destroyed in about 1550 BCE. Only a small, unfortified settlement existed on the site when the Israelites entered Canaan (c. 1400 BCE). Her interpretation prevails, despite subsequent criticism (see Wood, 1990).

Kenyon's final excavation (1962–1967) focused on the City of David, just south of the Temple Mount, the oldest inhabited part of Jerusalem. The most important architectural features she uncovered were stepped-stone structures whose function and dating remain ambiguous. The 1967 Six-Day War terminated Kenyon's excavation. She died before she could publish final field reports on her work in Jerusalem.

SEE ALSO Archaeology and Religion.

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KATHLEEN S. NASH (2005)

KEPLER, JOHANNES (1571–1630), was the discoverer of the laws of planetary motion named after him. He was born at Württemberg, Germany. Owing to his family's poverty, the young Kepler had to leave school to work in the fields, but his physique was too frail for such labor. In 1584, therefore, he decided to train for the priesthood. His brilliant academic record earned him acceptance at the University of Tübingen, where he was introduced to the ideas of Copernicus. In 1594 he was appointed to the professorship of astronomy at Graz. There, in addition to preparing astrological almanacs, he devoted himself to studying the solar system. His publication of *Mysterium cosmographicum* (1595) attracted the attention of the great Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe, who invited him to Prague and whom he succeeded as imperial astronomer to the emperor Rudolf II, in 1601. Kepler published some optical discoveries in 1604 and, in 1609, found that the orbit of Mars was elliptical in shape. In the latter year he also explained the cause of tides. In his *Dioptrice* (1611), Kepler developed the principle of the astronomical (or inverting) telescope. Deeply anguished by the untimely death of his favorite child and, soon after, that of his wife, Kepler sought release by plunging into his studies of the heavenly bodies. By 1619 he had discovered the last of his three famous laws, which he published in *De harmonice mundi.* It should be remarked that "Kepler's laws of motion" were scattered amid many other conjectures and planetary relationships postulated by Kepler and that he himself did not attach particularly great importance to them (as opposed to other relationships that did not prove so fruitful for later science).

Kepler's work is permeated with his conviction that the book of nature is written in mathematical symbols and that reality can be grasped only through mathematics. "Just as the eye was made to see colors, and the ear to hear sounds," he said, "so the human mind was made to understand, not whatever you please, but quantity." Kepler seems never to have shown any opposition to or disrespect for theology, although he regarded the realms of the theologians and the natural philosophers as quite different. He insisted that the Bible, when it refers to natural objects and events, should not be taken literally.

Kepler took his religion, in which he displayed an unyielding individualism, seriously. He was expelled from his home and from his position at Graz for refusing to embrace Roman Catholicism, and he was excluded from communion in the Lutheran church in Linz both for his refusal to give a written statement of conformity with the Lutheran doctrine and also on suspicion of being a secret Calvinist. He wanted to find a genuine harmony among these three factions: "It hurts my heart that the three factions have miserably torn the truth to pieces between them, that I must collect the bits wherever I can find them, and put them together again."

In his astronomical work—discovering laws and harmonies of the solar system and the music of the spheres, to which he assigned specific musical notes—Kepler regarded himself as priest of God in the temple of nature. Having insisted in his *Astronomia nova* (1609) that the biblical references to nature are not natural philosophy, he goes on to say:

> And I urge my reader also not to be forgetful of the divine goodness imparted to men, when the Psalmist invites him particularly to contemplate this, when having returned from the temple, he has again entered the school of astronomy. Let him join with me in praising and celebrating the wisdom and greatness of the Creator which I disclose to him from the deeper explanations of the form of the universe, from the enquiry into its causes, from the detection of errors of appearance. Thus not only let him recognize the well-being of living things throughout nature, in the firmness and stability of the world so that he reveres God's handiwork, but also let him recognize the wisdom of the Creator in its motion which is as mysterious as it is worthy of all admiration.

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Ravi Ravindra (1987)
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KERÉNYI, KÁROLY (1897–1973), was a Hungarian-born scholar of classical philology, the history of religions, and mythology. He was born in the southeastern corner of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the town of Temesvár (now Timisoara, Romania). Growing up in a Roman Catholic family of small landowners, Kerényi learned Latin and was drawn to the study of languages. Classical philology was his major subject at the University of Budapest; his doctoral dissertation (1919) was entitled "Plato and Longinus: Investigations in Classical Literary and Aesthetic History." He spent several years as a secondary-school teacher, traveled in Greece and Italy, and undertook postdoctoral studies at the universities of Greifswald, Heidelberg, and Berlin, under Hermann Diels, Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Eduard Norden, Eduard Meyer, and Franz Boll. To Boll he dedicated his first book, *Die griechisch-orientalische Romanliteratur in religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung* (1927), the scholarly reception of which led to Kerényi's appointment as *privatdo-*

cent in the history of religions at the University of Budapest. He became professor of classical philology and ancient history at Pécs in 1934 and at Szeged in 1941, while retaining his docentship at Budapest.

During a visit to Greece in 1929, Kerényi met Walter F. Otto (1874–1958), whose approach to the history of religions influenced him profoundly. He resolved to combine the "historical" and the "theological" methods and to go beyond the limits of academic philology. His first works in this new direction were the essay collection *Apollon* (1937) and *Die antike Religion* (1940).

Two significant influences from outside his field came to bear on Kerényi in the 1930s. In 1934 he began a correspondence with Thomas Mann (1875–1955) that, except for a wartime hiatus, lasted until Mann's death. In the late 1930s Kerényi came into contact with C. G. Jung (1875–1961), and their first joint publication on mythology appeared in 1941. Jung encouraged Kerényi's move to Switzerland in 1943 as a cultural attaché charged with maintaining contact with the Western democracies, in spite of Nazi domination of Hungary; the following year, when the Germans occupied his homeland, Kerényi could not return to Hungary and chose permanent exile in 1947. Fifteen years later he and his family became Swiss citizens. They lived near or in Ascona, in the Italian-speaking canton of Ticino, where Kerényi led the life of an independent humanist, though he taught occasionally in Basel, Bonn, and Zurich. He was a cofounder in 1948 of the C. G. Jung Institute in Zurich, where he also lectured.

In the course of his work with Jung, Kerényi conceived a plan to study the Greek gods with the aim of developing a view of the Greek pantheon that modern people could encompass; to this end he took the findings of psychology into consideration, while maintaining that he followed a path separate from that of Jungian psychology. As Kerényi saw it, every view of mythology is a view of human culture. Thus, every "theology" is at the same time an "anthropology." Kerényi's method was to test the "authenticity" of mythological tradition by examining stylistic traits. The essence of his work, Kerényi thought, consisted in establishing a science of ancient religion and mythology based not merely on a detailed knowledge of the literature and archaeology but also on a reciprocal sympathy between the interpreter and his material; this would broaden the field of learning already opened by traditional historical methods. *Mythologie der Griechen* (1951) and *Die Heroen der Griechen* (1958) are his most comprehensive achievements in this regard.

In exile, Kerényi's reputation as a mythologist prospered among scholars, and he also became known as a popular interpreter of myths. His honors included membership in the Norwegian Royal Academy of Sciences, an honorary doctorate from the University of Uppsala, the Humboldt Society gold medal, and the Pirckheimer Ring of Nuremberg. In addition, he was a Bollingen Foundation fellow from 1947 until his death in 1973. Between 1941 and 1963 he lectured frequently at the annual Eranos conferences in Ascona.

THE SCIENCE OF MYTHOLOGY. Kerényi's approach to Greek religion in his first book on Hellenistic romance literature was consistent with the standard historical method. In the 1930s he followed Otto's interpretation of the Greek godheads as "forms of being" (*Seinsgestalten*), that is, ideal figures corresponding to particular spheres of reality in the common experience of the world, whose essential aspects are represented by means of symbolic features. The exposure to these "forms" has a strong emotional impact, but the impact is not merely a psychic phenomenon, because it has an objective reference. Kerényi, like Otto, made use of the anthropologist Leo Frobenius's *Ergriffenheit*—the idea of "being-grasped" by prominent phenomena of the external world—which promotes myth-making activity in human cultures. Kerényi claimed that scientific inquiry into religions does not face the mind's "illusions" but rather its "realities" ("*Realitäten der Seele*," in *Apollon*, 1937, p. 27). Mythology, in other words, is grounded in actual human life, not insane or childish imagery, as positivism had envisaged it. At the same time, however, such fundamental "humanism" cannot be understood, as historicism understands it, by explaining religion as if it were only the output of a given cultural and social setting. The human "reality" reflected in myths and symbols is something deeper than a simple matter of facts. It is a complex interaction between a human being's consciousness and the riddles of the existence by which he or she is "grasped" and stimulated to reflect and to interpret. Kerényi's perspective is thus equally distant from metaphysical theology and from atheistic anthropology—though it is "theological" (in a Greek sense), because the representations of the gods are taken seriously, and also "anthropological" insofar as the human being is the ultimate concern of religious discourse. For this reason it has been defined as a peculiar form of religious phenomenology or hermeneutics (Magris, 1975).

The basic difference with respect to Otto lies in the fact that Kerényi shares only partially his mentor's neoclassical patterns of thought. Kerényi does not consider the Greek mythological figures as exclusively luminous and positive forms of being contemplated by the Hellenic "spirit." He aims to analyze the divine forms to underline their negative aspects or "dark side" (*Schattenseite*). For example, Apollo appears on one hand as linked to beauty and light; but on the other hand he is a gloomy death-bringing god, whose symbol is the wolf. The objective experience of the polarity of life and death, of world and afterworld, is part of the complexity of human reality: this is what can actually "grasp" the mind and be given a mythological form.

While working out this research project, Kerényi found Jung to be a natural partner; their collaboration lasted for a couple of decades after their joint programmatic work, *The Science of Mythology* (1941). The founder of analytical psychology had been keenly interested in mythology since his break with Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytical movement.

Jung assumed that along with the individual unconscious, which owed its existence to personal experience, a second psychic system existed—the collective unconscious—inherited by all individuals and consisting of primordial forms, the so-called archetypes, whose main manifestations within human history were mythological constructs. According to this view, which Kerényi accepted in principle, a comparison among different cultures was suitable because essentially the same archetypes appear everywhere as a common heritage of humankind. In *The Science of Mythology*, for example, the Greek myth of Persephone parallels the religious tradition of a remote Indonesian tribe (discovered by Adolf Jensen, a pupil of Frobenius), although any historical link between the two cultures is highly hypothetical.

Another issue Jung and Kerényi shared was the analogy between the internal structure of myths and dreams, so that, as Kerényi put it, the myth can be defined as a "collective dream," and the dream as an "individual myth." The mythologist is allowed to apply the method of free association that Jung had been using with his patients, thus uncovering in apparently minor details a decisive connection between different mythological figures or events, in which an analogous archetypal theme is expressed (e.g., the femaleness portrayed in different ancient goddesses). But the most important thing Kerényi derived from Jung was undoubtedly the idea of the essential ambivalence of human nature. The Jungian distinction not simply between consciousness and unconscious, but also between the soul and the "shadow," and between *animus* and *anima* (the male and female aspect of each individual soul), should have stimulated Kerényi's view of the mythological thought as expressing the human ambivalence through the polarity of light side and dark side, and through the deep meaning of gender symbolism. Moreover, Kerényi applies, in a way, to the understanding of mythology the method of the analytical therapy, according to which the formation of the "self" takes place when one is able to establish a constructive interaction with one's hidden "double." In a similar way, the protagonist of a mythological narrative also has to cope with and overcome the manifold figures of death. This is the archetypal meaning of the different situations Kerényi investigated with profound sensitivity: the fight against a dragon; travel in unknown lands; the descent to the underworld; initiation; and the heroic contest. Psychology enhances the study of myths by adding a keener insight into the basic questions all humans generally face (*allgemeinmenschlich*). The mythologist thus performs a "humanistic inquiry on the soul" (*humanistische Seelenforschung*).

Nevertheless, Kerényi carefully avoided appearing as a psychologist or a Jungian historian of religions like Eric Neumann. Kerényi adopted a softer version of the archetype theory. He proposed that this term should be employed (in keeping with ancient Greek) only as an adjective, not as a noun. There exist no "archetypes" as everlasting psychical structures in human minds, but rather "archetypal" images, meanings, and situations that are deeply rooted in the universal human experience. Moreover, these archetypal images and meanings are given historical consistency only in one specific cultural setting, or more than one, provided that their being interconnected is supported by anthropological evidence. The science of mythology deals with "culture-typical" phenomena (*kulturtypisch*), but it achieves its goal as a "humanistic" discipline by trying to grasp their "archetypal" relevance (*archetypisch*) at a deeper level than the historical one.

Kerényi carried out this kind of "excavation" (the method of archaeology offering in his view the nearest resemblance to the mythologist's work) in the fifteen books and several brilliant papers he wrote from 1942 to 1962, the most creative period of his scientific career. The Greek religion emerged in the Mycenaean and archaic age on the background of the pre-Greek Mediterranean substrate, mainly evidenced in the Minoan culture of ancient Crete. Its general frame seems to have been a dialectic of life and death, as well as a sort of circularity between the natural world and the underworld. This dialectic was symbolically exhibited in such ritual performances as the labyrinth dance (*Labyrinth-Studien*, 1942; *Werke* 1) or portrayed in key mythological figures that underwent a complicated "culture-typical" evolution. Initially, the female godhead prevails, whereas the male godhead plays a subordinate function as begetter (Poseidon-type) or divine child (Dionysos-type). The archetypal mother-begetter scheme evolved eventually to the husband-wife couple (*Zeus und Hera*, 1972). The idea of the origin of life also appears in a masculine version in the Cabyrian couple (father-son) around whom the mysteries of Samothrace were centered (*Mysterien der Kabiren*, 1944).

The idea of life as being essentially exposed to death but nevertheless triumphant over death and suffering is another basic archetypal idea expressed in different ways by the figures of Hermes and Dionysos (*Hermes*, 1943; *Dionysos*, 1976). The feminine version of the same idea is embodied in the mother-daughter couple (Demeter and Persephone) of the Eleusinian mysteries. In this case, the rape of the maiden by Hades (for Kerényi a form of chthonic Dionysos) emphasizes the dark side of the gender relationship, but the male's violence also implements the female's transition from virginity to motherhood, whereby a divine child (a form of younger Dionysos) is given birth miraculously within the realm of the dead. It is noteworthy that many issues were interlaced in an apparently simple tale: the complexity of the female nature; the process of the mother-daughter, father-son duplication; the switching from negative to positive; and the knowledge, transmitted by the mystery cult, that even the sinister sphere of death allows life to endure and the deceased to join it again (*Mysterien von Eleusis*, 1962).

The science of mythology does not aim to build a systematic theory. Its work consists in analyzing definite blocks of mythical and ritual tradition; its requirements are cleverness and extensive acquaintance with philology, archaeology, and even the "indirect tradition" offered by the very sites and landscapes to which mythological tales were linked. Moreover, as Kerényi pointed out in his only methodological essay (*Umgang mit Göttlichem*, 1955; *Werke*, 5.1), the historian of religions, as well as the historian of art, cannot operate as a pure scholar, since dealing (*Umgang*) with the divine requires a certain sense or taste for its object. The historian of religions must appreciate in the mythological figures the attempt made by the human mind to elaborate in symbolic form its experience of something transcending it. Even if mythological figures did not "exist" anywhere, they ought not to be dismissed as a bare human invention, for the divine represents the deeper levels of being that humans actually experience every day (though they are unable to master them). The foremost mythogenic situations are birth, begetting, and death (the "high moments of life," *Höhepunkte des Lebens*); in Kerényi's formula, "the myth is myth of man."

In his last years, the debate on the "demythologization" question raised by Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976) offered Kerényi the opportunity to clarify his own assumptions. Religion ought not be "demythologized" in order to be authentic, because it is grounded neither on doctrines nor fables, but on events (*Geschehen*) in which the divine dimension of reality is perceived while crossing the dimension of ordinary life. Only the myth is appropriate for expressing the deeper level of the experience. Thus the Greek word for "god" (*theos*) originally had an adjectival rather than a substantive meaning—it stood for a property of the experienced event and was not a definition of an abstract object (see *Werke* 7).

SEE ALSO Brelich, Angelo; Jung, C. G.; Otto, Walter F.

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Kerényi (Károly, Karl, Charles, or Carlo, according to the language in which his work appeared) produced 295 separate original works, chiefly in German, but also in Hungarian and Italian. With different versions and translations, the total number of his publications is more than five hundred; some 470 appeared during his lifetime and some forty were issued posthumously. Kerényi's first book is *Die griechisch-orientalische Romanliteratur in religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung* (Tübingen, Germany, 1927, second edition Darmstadt, Germany, 1962). The collected works, including monographs on philology, mythology, and literature, as well as diaries and travel journals, have been published in eight volumes (twelve were originally projected) as *Werke in Einzelausgaben*, published by Langen-Müller (Munich and Vienna), and originally under the editorship of Kerényi's wife, Magda Lukács. For a complete bibliography, excluding articles published in periodicals, updated to 1975 by Lukács, see the Langen-Müller edition of *Dionysos* (1976), pp. 447–474.

The Langen-Müller program was suspended after publishing eight volumes, each one containing several essays under a general title:

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3. *Tage- und Wanderbücher* (1969)
4. *Apollon und Niobe* (1980)

5.1. *Wege und Weggenossen I* (1985)

5.2. *Wege und Weggenossen II* (1988)

7. *Antike Religion* (1971)
8. *Dionysos: Urbild des unzerstörbaren Lebens* (1976)

Klett-Cotta (Stuttgart, Germany) later republished vol. 8 (1994), vol. 7 (1995), and vol. 1 (1996), adding *Mythologie der Griechen* (1997), *Töchter der Sonne* (1997), and *Urbilder der griechischen Religion* (1998, containing *Hermes*, *Asklepios*, *Mysterien von Eleusis* and *Promethus*). See also the correspondence with Thomas Mann, *Gespräch in Briefen* (Zurich, 1960) and with Hermann Hesse, *Briefwechsel aus der Nähe* (Munich and Vienna, 1984). Also of biographical interest is the correspondence with Furio Jesi, *Demone e mito: Carteggio 1964–1968*, edited by Magda Kerényi and Andrea Cavalletti (Macerata, Italy, 1999). Kerényi's writings in Italian have also been published under the title *Scritti italiani (1955–1971)*, edited by Giampiero Moretti (Naples, Italy, 1993). After the fall of the Communist regime in Hungary, Kerényi's early writings in Hungarian, along with some Hungarian translations of his German works, were published.

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KEYS.

KEYS. Doors held shut with bars, and bars and bolts, were common long before locks and keys became prevalent. Some of the oldest myths reflect this. In Babylonian mythology, for example, Marduk makes gates to the heavens and secures them with bolts. Many later divinities in the ancient world were both guardians of closed doors and bearers of keys.

The possession of keys usually signified power over regions guarded by the locks that the keys could open or close. The regions in question were often the underworld or places of the afterlife—for example, the realm of Hades, the Abyss in the *Book of Revelation,* and the Mandaean "dark worlds" that had locks and keys different from all others. The keeper of keys was charged not only with guarding the passage as human beings went from this world to the next but also with keeping the dead where they belonged. A Babylonian funerary chant entreats the gatekeeper of the underworld to keep close watch over the dead, lest they return.

The locked realm can also be this earth, the seas, or even the cosmos itself. In Greek mythology Cybele holds the key to Earth, shutting her up in winter and opening her again in the spring. Similarly, Janus opens the door of the sky and releases the dawn. In Mesopotamian myth, Ninib guards the lock of heaven and earth and opens the deep, while Ea unlocks fountains. The Egyptian Serapis has keys to the earth and sea. In Breton folklore menhirs are the keys to the sea and also the keys to hell; if they were turned in their locks and the locks should open, the sea would rush in.

Because in the ancient world many divinities were key bearers, their priestesses bore keys signifying that the divine powers belonged to them as well, or that they were guardians of the sanctuaries of the gods. Priestesses were represented carrying on their shoulders large rectangular keys. A key pictured on a gravestone indicated the burial place of a priestess.

There is a morphological relationship between the key and the *nem ankh* sign, where the anserated cross of the Egyptian gods is carried by its top as if it were a key, especially in ceremonies for the dead. Here the cross, playing the role of the key, opens the gates of death onto immortality.

Keys also symbolize a task to be performed and the means of performing it. In the Hebrew scriptures the accession to kingly power occurred through "laying the key of the House of David upon [his] shoulders" (*Is.* 22:22). For ancient Jewish and some non-Jewish royalty, the passing on of keys was a natural symbol for the transfer of the monarch's task and the power to accomplish it.

The key symbolizes initiation into the mysteries of the cult. In Mithraic rites the lion-headed figure who is central to the ceremony holds in his hands two keys. It is possible that they function in the same way as the two "keys of the kingdom" held by Saint Peter in Christianity: One represents excommunication whereby the door is locked against the unworthy soul, while the other represents absolution whereby the door is opened and the initiate achieves salvation.

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KHAN, SAYYID AHMAD See AHMAD KHAN, SAYYID

KHĀNAGĀH is a Persian word for the lodge or hospice where Ṣūfī masters (*mashā'ikh*) reside, teaching disciples (who sometimes are also residents), conversing with visitors, welcoming travelers, and feeding the poor. The word is functionally interchangeable with equivalent technical terms of Ṣūfī vocabulary, such as *ribāṭ*, *tekke*, *takīyah*, *zāwiyah*, *dā'irah*, and *dargāh*, though each has a distinct, region-specific connotation.

Mystics must live in the world. Literature by or about mystics frequently emphasizes the importance of escaping not only involvement in the world but, by extension, concern with all material needs and desires. *Khānagāh*, together with its lexical equivalents, inverts that emphasis, riveting attention to the physical spaces that Ṣūfīs inhabit, interacting with others and relying on instruments from the very world that they seek to escape.

Usage of the word *khānagāh* dates back to the tenth century, although its actual origin remains obscure. The modern attempt to relate it to *khān*, the widely used term for commercial way stations, has been dismissed by those who argue that the Ṣūfī concept of a hospice bears no relation to the mercantile institution of *khān*. But the distinction seems specious because both *khān* and *khānagāh* were clearly places for Muslim wayfarers, whether they sought rest on a trade route or guidance on a spiritual path.

The *khānagāh* itself is embedded in a pre-Muslim, pre-Ṣūfī history from which it was never fully disentangled. It derives from Manichaean antecedents as well as pre-Ṣūfī ascetic communities (the Karrāmiyah of Khorasan in eastern Iran). One of the earliest Ṣūfī masters to establish a *khānagāh*, Shaykh Abū Saʿīd ibn Abī al-Khayr (d. 1049), also laid down rules that were to apply to its inmates: He is extolled in a posthumous family biography for the firm but moderate spiritual discipline he imparted to the residents of his *khānagāh*. Later Ṣūfī masters were less collegial and more autocratic, but they, like Abū Saʿīd, utilized a *khānagāh* or similar facility for engaging in a variety of communal relations.

It was also in the late eleventh century, beginning with the Seljuk rulers of Egypt and Syria and continuing under their successors, that the establishment of *khānagāh*s and their equivalents became widespread. The most renowned hospices were clustered in places that were also the commercial and political capitals of major Muslim dynasties—Cairo, Baghdad, Mosul, Lahore, and Delhi. Their persistence is suggested by the fact that *ribāṭ*s founded in Baghdad in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were replicated, at least in their broad outlines, by *zāwiyah*s built in North Africa during the nineteenth century.

Although one would expect to find accounts detailing *khānagāh* architectural design and physical layout, few exist from the medieval period. One of the most graphic relates to the foremost saint of pre-Mughal North Indian Sufism, Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' of Delhi (d. 1325). His *khānagāh* was a huge building, consisting of a main hall *(jamāʿat khānah)*, courtyard, veranda, gate room, and kitchen. It accommodated several senior disciples in lower rooms, but its crowning structure was also the least imposing: an isolated, small room on the roof where the shaykh passed his late evening and early afternoon hours in prayer, meditation, and (rarely) sleep. The plan seems to have been repeated, with adaptations to local taste, in many regions of Central and South Asia.

The appeal of the *khānagāh*s as the most visible expression of institutional Sufism was multiple. To the outer circle of disciples, including Muslims and non-Muslims of mixed social background who came to visit at irregular intervals, it housed at once a saintly presence deemed to be magical and a public kitchen dispensing free food. Closer to the shaykh were disciples who pursued mystical studies and began meditative exercises at his behest; they would frequent the *khānagāh* on a regular basis and occasionally take up residence there. The most intimate circle of disciples were the permanent residents designated as successors (*khalīfah*s) to the shaykh: Not only did he entrust them with his deepest insights, but he also allowed them to initiate others into the tradition of his order (*ṭarīqah;* pl., *turuq*).

Despite the continuous and widespread association of the *khānagāh* with Ṣūfī orders and their masters, the nonmystical dimension of *khānagāh*s was never fully excised. Throughout the medieval and early modern periods, there is ample evidence of non-Ṣūfī hospices and also nonmystical

Muslims in charge of Ṣūfī hospices. The reason is evident: The source of support for every *khānagāh* was lay; it derived from the income, earned or not, of those who dwelled outside its walls. Even in those not-so-rare instances of rural hospices where inmates engaged in agricultural pursuits, their continued existence depended on contributions from the wider lay circle of the shaykh's followers and admirers. Not all sources of income were acceptable to all Ṣūfīs, however. For the Chishtī and Naqshbandī masters, it was normative (despite major exceptions) that they reject all governmental assistance, while for the Suhrawardi and Qādirī communities, any benefactor from the wealthy mercantile and ruling classes was usually welcome to make occasional offerings or even to set up permanent charitable endowments (*awqāf;* sg., *waqf)* supporting the *khānagāh* and its operations. Those saints who attempted to refuse governmental offers of assistance were often overruled and compelled to yield: Such was the power of the medieval state that few Ṣūfī masters or their successors could resist a headstrong ruler who wished to use the spiritual power of a *khānagāh* and its saintly denizens to undergird his own legitimacy.

That the *khānagāh* continued for centuries to be the mainstay of institutional Sufism has never been questioned, but its vitality has. Some chart a decline in the major orders from the time that the *khānagāh* ceased to house a fraternal group of like-minded Ṣūfīs and became instead a tomb complex. This institution may have retained the name of *khānagāh,* but in fact it perpetuated the memory of a dead shaykh through greedy relatives who ignored his legacy yet lived off his spiritual capital by accepting all forms of public and private subsidy. Indeed, as early as the fourteenth century, the *khānagāh* was commonly linked to a tomb, as well as to an adjacent mosque and *madrasah.* Most Muslims, however, accepted this extension of the public profile of Ṣūfī agencies, because they acknowledged the *mashāʾikh* as exemplars of the prophetic standard (*sunnah*) and boons for their own local communities.

Nonetheless, and no matter how one evaluates the *khānagāh* and institutional Sufism, the theory of diachronic decline and charismatic sclerosis is weakened, if not refuted, by the emergence of North African reformist orders, especially the Sanūsīyah, during the nineteenth century. Even that most extreme of puritanical groups, the Wahhābīyah, tacitly acknowledged the benefits that accrued to all Muslims from the extension of Sanūsī influence. The instrument for that extension was a network of hospices (*zāwiyahs*), deliberately located in areas that would maximize support for the Sanūsī armed resistance to Italian colonial administration.

Nor was the Sanūsī movement the death rattle of institutional Sufism or the last dramatic staging of fraternal lodges. Their continued influence in modern Egypt and Algeria has been well chronicled, and for many Muslims the physical abode of saints, by whatever name it is denoted, continues to embody the cosmic quality attributed to it by the thirteenth-century Kubrawī saint Najm al-Dīn al-Rāzī: "The world is in truth like a hospice where God is the shaykh and the Prophet, upon whom be peace, is the steward or servant" (Hamid Algar, trans., *The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return,* New York, 1982, p. 485).

SEE ALSO Madrasah.

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KHANTY AND MANSI RELIGION. Together with Hungarian, the Mansi (Vogul) and Khanty (Ostiak) languages form the Ugric branch of the Finno-Ugric (and, ultimately, the Uralic) language family. During the first millennium BCE, the proto-Ob-Ugrians withdrew along the Ob River northward from the forested steppe region of southwest Siberia, simultaneously assimilating the autochthonous population and losing their own Iron Age culture and equiculture. The Ob-Ugrians (Khanty and Mansi) thus became secondarily primitivized, emerging as a fishing, hunting, and reindeer-breeding sub-Arctic people. Between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries the Ob-Ugrians split into quasi-tribal or clan-based "chiefdoms," a system that disintegrated as a consequence of sixteenth-century Russian colonization. The Eastern Orthodox church began conversion of the Ob-Ugrians in the eighteenth century, but the character of this conversion was formal and thus did not essentially influence the original religion.

The Mansi number 7,700, the Khanty, 21,000; of these, respectively 49 and 68 percent speak their ancestral language. The ethnographic macrogroups correspond to dialect groupings. Yet, while the culture and language of the various macrogroups is divergent enough to justify their classification as distinct peoples, the Mansi and Khanty *within* the same microgroup differ from one another only in language and in their consciousness of identity. The ethnographic subgroups (i.e., dialects) subdivide according to fluvial regions. The religion of the Mansi and Khanty is identical: Within one and the same macrogroup the same supernatural beings are revered regardless of which people's territory they are affiliated with. Mansi and Khanty folklore, too, is uniform on a nearly word for word basis. A few general nature deities are known to all groups; key figures of mythology are associated with the northwest region, although these same figures may appear in the religion of the other groups under different names. The Northern macrogroup, for instance, is familiar both with a high-ranking spirit from the Eastern Mansi and with another high-ranking spirit from the Western Mansi. On the other hand, Eastern Khanty spirits are completely unknown to them. From the perspective of both system and cult, the religion of the Vasjugan Khanty is the most complex. Ob-Ugric culture as a whole is of a marginal West Siberian type, distinct in quite a few traits. Its study is complicated by the factor of secondary primitivization.

The following is a description of the best documented macrogroup, the Northern. Characteristic of this society are a dual moiety system (*moś* and *por:* the former relatively positive, the latter relatively negative in connotation) and the loose agglomeration of patriarchal consanguineous groups that trace their origins to spirit ancestors conceptualized as simultaneously anthropo- and zoomorphic. This description, however, must unavoidably portray a more archaic form of social organization than is actually the case today. When technical terms are referred to, they derive from either the Sosva Mansi (Man.) or the Kazim Khanty (Kh.).

Anthropomorphy is dominant in Ob-Ugrian religion today, but a latent zoomorphic character can be demonstrated for many categories of supernatural beings. The cult of spirits that arise from the shadow souls of the dead is a productive element in many forms, supporting (1) the ancestor cult in general; (2) the cult of hegemonic personalities, of which the earlier (chiefdom period) variant is a hero cult, and the later variant is the cult of shamans and other worthies; and (3) the cult of those who have died extraordinary deaths. It is a peculiarity of the northern groups that they have incorporated both the major mythological personalities and various individuals of the unindividuated classes into a system of guardian spirits tied to concrete places and societal units. This category, which may be termed "warlord guardian spirits," became primary in both the religious system and cultic life.

Roughly speaking, the following categories may be distinguished according to the degree of the cult:

(1) The true individual cult beings. These have their own prescriptions and prohibitions and their own regular festivals and sacrifices; in folklore they have their own summoning songs and prayers. The terms *pupigh* (Man.) and *iungx* (Kh.) refer to their most general class (which may be represented in idol form as well).

(2) The higher-level belief beings. Relations with these beings are well regulated, and their benevolence may be won with the practice of hospitality or, in unusual cases, by means of more serious sacrifice. A lower level of belief being is also acknowledged. It is connected only with prohibitive and preventative practices. The lesser forms of word *magic* (incantation, short prayer) are addressed to the belief beings, who are portrayed in plays at the bear festival. Certain belief beings have no cult whatsoever. Folklore beings play no role in either belief or cult.

CONCEPTIONS OF THE UNIVERSE. Ob-Ugric cosmology was originally vertical and tripartite: upper (sky), middle (earth), and lower (underworld). A conception of these worlds as seven-layered is known, but not concretely elaborated. In the lower sphere of the sky dwell the Wind Old Men, named after the cardinal points. In the various upper layers of the sky revolves Sun Woman, with her team of horses, or Moon Old Man with his arctoid dog sled. Later, this worldview became contaminated with a horizontal system: Upper-Ob (southern), Middle-Ob, and Lower-Ob (northern). Accordingly, the productive region is located in the South, which sends migratory birds and which is the home of the world tree and the fountain-of-youth lake. Conversely, at the mouth of the Ob, on the Arctic Ocean, lies the dark land of the dead. At present, syncretistic twofold conceptualizations predominate.

The earth, brought up as a chunk by two bird representatives of the netherworld (a little and a big loon), is spread out over the primeval sea; it is disk-shaped: A fish or a fantastic animal holds it up. In the present-day version, the son of the mythic ancestral pair (identified either with the Pelim god or with World-Overseeing Man, both warlord guardian spirits) plays a salient part. With the collaboration of the chief god's counterpart, the folklore figure Kul, he created humankind; he then decimated his progeny with a fiery flood and scattered them over the world. Before the present-day Mansi and Khanty, the myth alleges, there were many other periods: In folklore the most richly depicted are the period of the moiety ancestors and the heroic time of the origin of the warlord guardian spirits.

General mythological personalities. In the vertical system, the upper sphere is embodied by the positive-functioning chief god, Upper Sky Father (Man., Num Torem Aś; Kh., Nŭm Turem Aśi). Symbolized by the vault of heaven, he has the form of an old man and is active in climatic changes connected with the change of seasons, passive in regard to humans. He may be approached only through the intervention of high-ranking spirits, having scarcely any cult. His wife is (Lower) Earth Mother (Man., [Joli-]Mā

Angkw). His counterpart is the lord of the netherworld. Admixture with the horizontal worldview and the localization of cults to particular places produced syncretistic personality trinities. Above Sky Father there appeared two ancestors (Man., Kośar Tōrem and Kores Tōrem, both folklore figures), or there appeared alongside him two other personifications (the Khanty folklore figures Nŭm Sĭwes and Nŭm Kŭres). His wife was reinterpreted as belonging to the same category, with the name Sky Mother (folklore figure). Elsewhere she was identified with the warlord guardian spirit goddess Kalteś. This same female fertility principle is repeated in the trinity South Woman, Kalteś, Gold Woman. Concrete incarnations of the lord of the netherworld include the warlord guardian spirits Sickness Lord and Lower-Earth Old Man, and "Devil," the fictive master of the harmful spirits called *kuł.*

Warlord guardian spirits. These are nature deities tied to societal units of a higher level (moieties, perhaps at one time tribes). Their antiquity is evidenced by the fact that their *attributa* often preserve features of the equiculture of the steppe rim. Their most representative group is now indigenous to the Middle-Ob territory of the Mansi and Khanty, the once-famous region of the Koda principality. The members of this group, listed here with corresponding zoomorphy, associated moiety, and cult center, are as follows:

(1) Kalteś, popularly, Mother (Man., Śān; Kh., Ăngki; female wild goose, swan, hare; *moś* moiety; village of Kaltisjan). Originally a sky goddess, Kalteś is the only equestrian female warlord guardian spirit. It is she who decides the number, sex, and longevity of children; she also aids in childbirth. Her persona is interpreted variously as wife, sister, or daughter of the sky god. Among her properties there is a negative one: infidelity or stubbornness.

(2) World-Overseeing Man (Man., Mir Susne Xum; Kh., Mĭr Šawijti Xu; wild goose, crane; *moś* moiety; village of Belogorje). His other names include Golden Lord, Horseman, and Upriver Man. He is the youngest son of the sky god, the central figure of Ob-Ugric religion, and functions as a mythic hero in the creation of the world order. Married to the daughters of persons symbolizing nature, he excels in providing humans with their needs. His sphere of activity ranges through all three worlds. His is the highest position of honor among his brothers: the overseeing of the world and of humans. He accomplishes this by circling the world on his winged horse. In early formulations he is a solar god; later formulations preserve traces of the shamanistic mediator: He is the chief communicator with Sky God.

(3) Holy City Old Man (Man., Jalp-ūs Ōjka; Kh., Jem Woš Ĭki), also known as Clawed Old Man (Man., Konsing Ōjka; Kh., Kŭnšeng Ĭki; bear, mouse; *por* moiety; village of Vežakar). In the region of his cult center he is held to be a son of the sky god. Functionally, he is the counterpart of World-Overseeing Man: In the shape of a mouse he goes under the earth and regains the shadow souls of sick people from underworld spirits who have stolen them. He is a totem ancestor of the *por* moiety.

(4) Sickness Lord (Man., Xuĺ Ōter; Kh., Xĭń Wurt; big loon, village of Sumutnyol) and Lower-Earth Old Man (Kh., Ĭł Mŭw Ĭki; little loon; Sumutnyol) are two incarnations of the lord of the netherworld. The former steals souls; the latter either rules over them or eats them. In their empire they have a family and teeming army of servants consisting of illness spirits. They are also the source of unpleasant insects and vermin. Some versions interpret the lord of the netherworld as the son of the sky god; in any case, he functions as the subordinate of the sky god in the vertical system and the subordinate of Kalteś in the horizontal system. Under the name Downriver Man he also constitutes a complement to World-Overseeing Man.

Models of the middle world. Beliefs concerning the middle world reveal a general but not extensive symbolization of natural elements. The most significant is Fire Mother, but Earth Mother and Water Mother enjoy lesser cults.

The land-water opposition. Such an opposition is clearly represented by the forest and aquatic variants of the positive-functioning *łungx*-type spirits; these oversee the natural resources of a particular territory. In eastern and southern areas they are important cult beings; in the north, they have been overshadowed by local warlord guardian spirits and the cult of the *mis* people. Closely connected with their cult is that of the more individualized *łungx*-type spirits associated with particular natural objects (high places, boulders, trees, whirlpools). Their negative counterparts are the forest and aquatic *kuł,* beings that represent the netherworld.

The forest sphere. In the animal world-model there is no notion of lord over the individual animal types. In addition to the totemistic animal cult, the greatest veneration surrounds the larger aquatic birds (symbols of fertility), the elk (because of its celestial references), and the bear. Around the bear, merged with the totem ancestor of the *por* moiety, developed a highly characteristic feature of Ob-Ugrian culture: a bear cult that is one of the most elaborate in the world.

The bear cult. The fusion of conceptualizations from various periods has conferred upon the bear the character of universal mediator. His origins tie him to the upper world; his dwelling place and connections with human society tie him to the middle world; his mouse-shaped soul ties him to the netherworld. Child of the sky god, he acquired knowledge of the middle world despite paternal prohibition and conceived a desire to descend there. His father permitted the descent but prescribed the most harmless manner of acquiring food. (At the same time he makes the bear the judge of societal norms, the guardian of the bear oath.) But the bear violates the prohibitions, thus becoming fair game for humans.

The slain bear is a divine guest who, after the ritual consumption of his flesh, transfers into the heavens the sacrifices dedicated to him and the cultic folklore performed for his benefit, thereby ensuring his own rebirth and that of the natural order. A separate taboo language exists in connection with the bear and the bear hunt, and the activities therein are highly ritualistic.

What follows is a description of the bear festival in its most characteristic (northern) variant. After purifying ceremonies, the bear (i.e., the bear hide, placed on a stand) is regaled for three to seven nights (depending on the bear's age and sex) with performances of a hospitable, educational, and amusing nature. Only men may participate as performers. The diurnal repertoire begins with a didactic section in which the offense of murder (of the bear) is brushed aside and epic songs are sung about the origin of the bear, the first bagging of a bear by a mythical personage, the bear's function as judge, and the death of the particular bear present at the ceremony. Thereafter follows a section punctuated by danced interludes, intended as entertainment for the bear, although its function for humans is didactic. Players in birchbark masks perform brief plays with song and pantomime. The plays are only a few minutes in duration, but they may number in the hundreds. These reflect the key motifs of nature and society and supranormal and everyday categories and their interdependence. Their aesthetic quality ranges from the comic to the sublime. Separate genres are represented by songs and games that depict the proliferation, way of life, and capture of various animal species, and by songs and games performed by a mythical being or clown figure who draws the spectators into the action.

In the most sacred section of the festival the warlord guardian spirits are summoned. Portrayed by costumed performers, they perform a dance that ensures the well-being of the community. When the bear meat is consumed, it is consumed under the illusion that birds are feasting. After this, the bear is instructed on the manner of returning to the heavens. Meanwhile, the bear's skull and the festival paraphernalia are taken to a special place where cult objects are stored.

The mirroring of social structure in the forest sphere. Two types of anthropomorphic forest beings pursue daily activities similar to those of the human community and may even intermarry with humans. The *mis* people are outstanding hunters; their benevolence provides humans with a good hunt. The *mis* take as their mates those people who disappear in the forest without a trace. The *mengk* people are supposed to be simple-minded malevolent giants. Northern Mansi associate the *mis* people with the *moś* moiety and the *mengk* people with the *por* moiety. The origins of certain warlord guardian spirits is derived—with the mediation of the cult of the dead—from these beings.

The aquatic sphere. While the dominant being of the forest is the bear, the lord of the waters, Water King (Man., Wit Xōn; Kh., Jĭngk Xon, Jĭngk Wurt) is similar to a high-ranking warlord guardian spirit. Water King is not tied to a societal unit, but each group thinks it knows of his dwelling place, which in each case is the stream from which fish migrate (e.g., northern groups place it in the mouth of the Ob, southern groups in the mouth of the Irtysh). Water King has a family and is the superior of water sprites and other beings. The chief function of Water King is the direction of the migration of fish; warlord guardian spirits that dwell at the outlets of tributaries supply a redistribution network.

The forest-settlement opposition. The sylvan pantheon is much richer than its aquatic counterpart. This is explained, in part, by the fact that the forest participates in the opposition of forest and settlement. The proper place of *łungx*-type spirits is indicated by the location of their sacred place; certain lower-ranked beings (e.g., the Eastern Khanty ghostlike *potčak*) are subdivided into explicitly forest or village variants. Other figures may lack pertinent counterparts but may nevertheless be construed in terms of this opposition. Examples include the birchbark-rucksack woman, identified with the (folkloristic) figure of the anthropophagous *por* woman, the elf called Village-Square Being, Trash-Heap Woman, Bathhouse Woman, Sinew-String-Making Woman, and others.

THE HUMAN SPHERE. The warlord guardian spirit that is tied to a concrete place is not only the sole form representing the community but also the central category of all of cultic life. The primary functions of the warlord guardian spirit are to ward off harmful (especially disease-causing) spirits, to provide succor in situations of peril, and to ensure good fortune in hunting and fishing. The warlord guardian spirit appears in two forms: as a human, generally in the form of a luxuriantly ornamented woman or a warrior in sword and armor, or as an animal, in the form of a specific species of wild beast, which is then taboo for the pertinent social unit. These may be portrayed by wooden images in the form of a human (or, more rarely, an animal), sometimes with the addition of metal disks, or made entirely of metal. The appurtenances of the image are a sacred spot outside the settlement and the items stored there: the idol and/or its *attributa,* a small chamber built on stilts for preserving offerings, a sacrificial table, poles or trees called *tir,* and a sacred tree. The warlord guardian spirit addresses his kindred group as his "little ones" or "children"; as a projection of the actual relations within the group, he enjoys spirit kinship both ascendant and descendant, agnate and cognate. Characteristic features of the cult are a special idol guardian or shaman and prescriptions concerning both cyclical communal ceremonies and sacrificial animals and objects.

Although tied to a concrete place, a warlord guardian spirit may appear anywhere and at anyone's summons. Its connection with the individual is manifested by the fact that it selects a protegé. Every human has a warlord guardian spirit "master of his head." Higher-ranked spirits can select anyone as protegé; lower-ranked spirits are restricted to members of their own community. Ob-Ugrians oriented themselves with one another in terms of the relations obtaining among their warlord guardian spirits; they identified the spirits according to the village held to be the center of a given cult.

Hierarchy of warlord guardian spirits. The community associated with a spirit can be of various levels in the social hierarchy—upper (moiety, base clan), middle (roughly, units corresponding to a clan and its branches), or lower (smaller, local groups). The rank of a spirit is determined by this hierarchy and by the "power" and functions attributed to it, which are generally in direct proportion to the antiquity of the spirit and the complexity of its typological profile. Roughly speaking, the Ob-Ugrians distinguish three hierarchical categories of spirits. Spirits belonging to the high (and upper middle) rank are qualified as "powerful" (Man., *ńangra;* Kh., *tarem*). Among these, the children of the sky god are set apart as a separate group. To this rank belong, besides mythological personae in general, Old Man of the Middle Sosva, the Lozva Water Spirit, the Tegi Village Old Man, and the Kazim Lady. The middle category, which is the chief locus of the hero cult, is subdivided in terms of the opposition between indigenous and immigrant groups. The spirits of immigrant groups are called "land-acquiring" spirits. Among the lower-ranked spirits, those of local character are sometimes distinguished by the terms "master of the village" or "master of the region." The superior of the spirits is the chief deity.

The warlord guardian spirits, like the social groupings associated with their cults, do not form a clearly structured system. The interpretation of their rank and kinship varies from one fluvial region to another. Genealogical, local, or functional subsystems, however, can develop in particular regions. The basis of the genealogical order resides in the fact that migrating groups either bring a copy of their original spirit with them or declare the indigenous spirit of their new home to be their original spirit's offspring. The range of the cults of higher-ranked spirits roughly corresponds to dialect areas. Their descendants may appear with names differing from those of their parents, and may even appear in animal form. The children of middle-ranked spirits are often—at least with regard to name and form—exact copies of one another. For example, spirits named Winged Old Man or Old Man with the Knife, in eagle and firefly form, respectively, crop up in villages at far remove from one another. In local subsystems, the high-ranked spirits are the superiors of all other spirits in their cult sphere.

The development of these spirits was determined along two lines: diverse nature cults and multiple intertwinings of cults of the dead. Both lines of development contain zoomorphic and anthropomorphic elements that are reflected in the diploid form of the spirits. The animal symbology of natural forces is zoomorphic. The oldest layers of this symbology (e.g., the cult of aquatic birds) date to at least the Finno-Ugric period. The other zoomorphic component is totemistic in character; its earlier layer may be Ugric, while its more recent layer is arctoid and may bear the influence of the religion of assimilated autochthonous Siberian populations. The oldest demonstrable layer of the anthropomorphic component is a group of nature deities that preserves traces of southern equiculture. Similarly anthropomorphic are the ancestor cult and hero cult, which are the source of the dominant mark of warlord guardian spirits. To the cult of warlord guardian spirits was juxtaposed the cult of those persons whose decease is in some way extraordinary. A further component is the cult of proprietary spirits of natural places and objects.

Family guardian spirits. Termed "house spirits" (Man., *kol puping;* Kh., *xot łungx*), these anthropomorphic spirits are difficult to differentiate from the lower-ranked warlord guardian spirits. They are variously conceived as descendants of a warlord guardian spirit or its spirit assistant, as the spirit of a deceased relative, or as the proprietary spirit of an object that is interesting in some way (e.g., an archaeological find made of metal). Its votaries approach them through dream or the instructions of a person with cult functions. Such spirits serve to protect and to ensure success in hunting and fishing. Successful execution of this latter office may occasion a widening of its circle of devotees; in case of failure, on the other hand, its idol representations suffer mistreatment or even complete destruction as punishment. The idol, its *attributa,* and ceremonies associated with the family guardian spirit are miniature duplicates of those of the warlord guardian spirits; its folklore, however, is on the wane. Individual protective spirits have similar typological profiles.

Mediator spirits. Documentation for the individual shaman spirit assistant—known as a "living spirit" (Man., *liling puping;* Kh., *łileng łungx*) or, when functioning purely as an acquirer of information, a "talking spirit" (Man., *potertan puping*)—is extremely poor. Typologically, such a being is similar to family and individual spirits and probably serves merely as a messenger in the interactions of shaman and warlord guardian spirits.

Conceptions of the soul. Conceptions of the soul are syncretistic and not always clear even to the Ob-Ugrians. Originally, they were twofold: breath spirits (Man., *lili;* Kh., *łił*) and shadow spirits (Man., Kh., *is*).

The breath spirit—roughly, a symbol of the individual personality—has the form of a small bird; its seat is the hair or crown of the head. Characters in heroic epics could send birds that lived on the crown of their heads or caps to fetch information; they also practiced scalping, by which they were able to take possession of any enemy's soul. The soul called *is* may have been regarded as a posthumous variation of the breath spirit (in men, it consists of five parts, in women, three; it is reborn in consanguineous progeny).

The shadow souls—symbols of emotional and vegetative functionings—have the form of humans or birds. One subtype may leave the body during sleep or in case of fear or fainting; it may also fall prey to illness spirits. After death it remains for a certain time in the vicinity of the house, then departs, northward, for the land of the dead. The other subtype has a more material character; its properties are roughly those of shadows. After death it lives a quasimundane life in the cemetery until the body fades away. The free soul is a type of sleep soul living in the form of a grouse; its destruction results in sleeplessness, then death. Under unfavorable circumstances shadow souls turn into ghosts.

Conceptions of the hereafter. The hereafter is a mirrorlike inversion of the real world, lacking, however, the celestial bodies. The soul lives the same life, in the same form, as its owner did on earth, but backwards. Once returned to the time of birth it reappears in the real world as an insect or spider. Differentiation is minimal, but separation and punishment of the souls of suicides is known. Atonement for moral offenses seems to be the result of nonindigenous influence.

The soul of a dead person can have three material representations. It was obligatory to make for the reincarnating soul a doll of wood, cloth, or hair (Man., *iterma;* Kh., *šungŏt;* literally, "suffering one"; *upet akań,* "hair baby"). Long ago, this figure was so identified with the deceased that widows fed it regularly and slept with it. Among certain groups, the doll was passed from generation to generation; among others it was eventually placed in the grave or burned. A special wooden figure was carved for the souls of outstanding individuals. Through time, the worship of such a figure made it possible for these souls to achieve the status of family guardian spirits. Finally, for those whose remains were inaccessible, in some regions a figure was made and kept in a separate storing place after a symbolic burial ceremony.

Mediators. The Ob-Ugrians belong to the marginal zone of Siberian shamanism. The figure of the shaman is relatively unimportant, the shaman's significance being somewhat overshadowed by mediators who function without deep ecstatic trance. Overall, the study of Ob-Ugrian shamanism is hampered by extraordinarily imprecise documentation.

If as a hypothesis one limits true shamanism to the practice of drum-accompanied deep ecstatic trance, one is left with two types of people who fall outside this strict delimitation. The first group, the "one-sided interaction type," includes those who transmit from the human sphere to the spirits, but who cannot perceive the spirits' reactions. To this class belong the idol guardian in the role of master of ceremony, the "praying man," and epic singers, whose activity is not of a healing nature. The second group, the "two-sided interaction type," consists of those capable of obtaining information from the spirits, and who—to a certain degree—can set them into motion. They can perform these feats in sleep, however, or in a light trance. The only categories known among the Eastern Khanty are those who mediate through singing accompanied by string instruments, dreams, or the summoning of the spirits of forest animals. To the north, a possible equivalent is the Mansi *potertan pupgheng xum* ("talking spirit-man"), who summons his prophetic spirits by means of a stringed instrument.

Terminologically, the Ob-Ugrians make little distinction between the activity of shamans and that of persons who mediate by means of iron objects (ax, knife) and light trance: The noun "magic" (Man., *pēnigh;* Kh., *śărt*) and its verbal derivate "perform magic" (Man., *pēnghungkwe;* Kh., *śărtti*) can refer, in both languages, to the activity of either practitioner. The Mansi consider the "magic(-performing) person" who operates without the use of a drum (Man., *pēnghen xum*) to belong to a lower degree of the shaman category; they do, however, distinguish terminologically between this degree and the full-fledged drum shaman.

Destructive magic, which moves the spirits to negative ends, is used by the "spell-casting one" (Man., *sepan;* Kh., *sepan[eng] xu;* the latter term is also used to refer to the shaman) and by the Mansi "destructive person" (*surkeng xum*) or "spell-knowing person" (*mutrang xum*). These persons are capable of spoiling luck in hunting; they can also cause sickness and death. While terminologically distinct, they stand in an unclear relation to the shaman.

Shaman. Shamanism among the Ob-Ugrians is apparently a rather developed variant of a Paleo-Asiatic type that lacked the shamanistic journey. Exceptionally, and owing to foreign influence, there exists among the Eastern Khanty a more elaborated system of journeying and assistant spirits. No special folklore is associated with the shaman. Similarly, the figure of the female shaman who prophesizes by means of a gyratory dance appears conspicuously late, in a more recent type of heroic song. There is no specific evidence of the influence of neighboring peoples on Ob-Ugrian shamanism; although in peripheral regions certain features have been adopted from every possible donor, none of the various influences can be called dominant.

The shaman can provide any cultic service. His chief task is the defense of one's shadow soul against disease spirits. The shaman also fills an extremely important role as acquirer and interpreter of information (given that at least a dozen different supernatural causes may give rise to unfavorable events). His functions also include prophesy, the finding of lost objects, inquiry after the souls of the dead, and the steering of a sacrificial animal's soul to the spirits. The number of functional elements that may be demanded of the shaman varies from region to region. The shaman's participation in rites of passage, the bear festival, and lesser sacrificial ceremonies is not typical. There is no evidence of the shaman possessing the role of conductor of souls. The shaman acquires the greatest significance in situations of peril that affect the community.

There are no explicit categories of shamans among the Ob-Ugrians. The shaman's strength depends on the nature and number of his spirit assistants, or on the warlord guardian spirits, which are susceptible to influence. Stronger and weaker shamans are distinguished, but without special terminology. There are no reliable data for a distinction between "black" and "white" shamans. In fact, the activity of the shaman is ambiguous, because he may, to redeem the sick person's soul, offer up the soul of another; at times of rivalry he endangers the life of himself and his family.

The shaman, like all other mediative persons, is in principle at everyone's disposal. His activity, whether unreciprocated or remunerated with minor gifts and/or hospitality, is insufficient for independent subsistance. The shaman can increase his income only as the preserver of high-ranked warlord guardian spirits. Both men and women can be shamans, but in general the former have higher status.

There are no reliable data for special shamanic attire or accoutrements; the cap and the headband, however, are documented as headgear. The primary type of drum is oval, with a frame both decorative and resonating; its Y-shaped handle is sometimes embellished with representations of a spirit's face. The skin is unadorned; the position of the pendants (made of metal) varies. The drum may be replaced by a stringed instrument. Fly agaric is the usual narcotic.

Selection and recruitment of apprentice shamans is passive; it is generally attributed to the will of the chief deity, or World-Overseeing Man. Sensitivity, deviant behavior, and musical proclivities are required; somatic marks, illness, and inheritance are also documented but not universal. The candidate rehearses his repertoire as an assistant without benefit of initiation, only gradually assuming his role.

The shamanic séance takes place in a darkened house, where the shaman communicates—with drum-accompanied song, then with gyratory dance—with the warlord guardian spirits appropriate to the occasion. Metal objects (such as arrows) set out for the purpose announce by their rattling that the spirits have arrived (through the roof). When contact is established, the shaman is overcome by a warm breeze. Thereafter a protracted, dramatized debate takes place on the following subjects: (1) determining the cause of the problem; (2) summoning the spirit responsible or contacting it through an assistant spirit; (3) probing the cause of the problem and the nature of the sacrifice needed for its termination; and (4) ensuring the benevolence of the spirits. The role of the shaman is limited to setting events in motion; the actions themselves (i.e., journey, recovery of the sick person's soul) are carried out by the spirits, who, should they resist, can torment the shaman severely. The shaman ends his state of trance and announces the result; he may also take part in the offering of a sacrificial animal.

OTHER FEATURES OF THE CULTIC LIFE. Characteristic of the entire region are the restrictions on religious practice for women considered impure. If invested with any kind of special significance or cultic character, an object, living creature (especially the horse), place, or ceremony carried a list of prohibitions for such women. They were not allowed to visit the sacred locales of warlord guardian spirits. At the bear festival they could participate only in the interlude dances. Customs connected with birth and death were in the hands of the old women. Women sometimes had a separate sacred place near the village and a separate cult rendered to Kalteś. Among males, those who had assumed the care of the family idols after their parents' death were most fully esteemed.

In the cult of warlord guardian spirits there were presumably differences of ceremony according to moiety (especially with regard to the bear cult) and according to consanguineous group. Accordingly, at joint ceremonies the proprietors of the cult being played active roles, while newcomers or guests played relatively passive roles.

Periodic communal holidays were important in the maintenance of social relations. The most inclusive and involved such holiday was the festival organized by the *por* moiety in the village of Vežakar. Held every seven years, it lasted three months and followed the pattern of the bear festival. Several hundred participants were attracted to this event from northern regions. Periodic visits to warlord guardian spirits were sometimes prescribed, during the course of which the devotees made joint sacrifices. Regularly intermarrying groups invited one another to the larger festivals, which could be linked with cultic competitions, prophetic practice, the singing of epics (for the entertainment of the spirits), plays, and amusements. Generally prescribed pilgrimages to high-ranking warlord guardian spirits brought about more extensive relations, as did various alms-collecting tours undertaken in the interest of maintaining the cults of such spirits.

Sacrificial ceremonies. There are two kinds of sacrifices. (1) In bloodless sacrifice (Man., *pūri;* Kh., *por*) the spirits absorb the vapors (or "strength") of the food and alcoholic beverages that have been set out for them; later, the humans present eat it. (2) In blood sacrifice (Man., Kh., *jir*) the spirits receive a portion of the animal's soul-bearing body parts (the blood, certain organs, the head, the entire skin) and thus take possession of the animal's shadow soul. The most precious sacrificial animal is the horse, which was sacrificed to high-ranking mythological personalities (especially World-Overseeing Man) throughout the entire region irrespective of the presence or absence of an equestrian culture. In addition, reindeer (in the north) and horned cattle and roosters (in the south) were usual sacrificial animals. Spirits of the upper sphere were said to favor light-colored animals; those of the nether sphere favor dark-colored animals. In a typical northern sacrifice, the animal is either strangled or dealt a blow to the head with the back of an ax; simultaneously, the spirit is summoned by shouts. The animal is then stabbed in the heart with a knife and its blood is let. The blood and entrails are consumed raw on the spot; there are separate prescriptions concerning the cooking and distribution of the flesh. In addition to animals, fur, cloth, and coins may serve as objects of sacrifice. Among metals, silver has the highest value.

Periodic sacrifices may be classified into two types, annual and macroperiodic (every three or seven years). Required communal sacrifices are tied to the economy of the seasons; so, for example, in spring (fishing season) and autumn (hunting season) sacrifices carried out to ensure a good catch and bountiful quarry were frequent at the beginning of the season, while thanksgiving sacrifices were generally at the end of the season. For animal sacrifices autumn was the most propitious season. During important communal sacrifices the shaman would take part, and men in a light ecstatic trance would perform sword dances in commemoration of the ancient heroic deeds of certain warlord guardian spirits.

It should also be mentioned that the idol-like representation of spirits among the Ob-Ugrians is not fetishistic in character and is thus not absolutely obligatory. It is of importance only as an exterior representation or as a dwelling-place for the spirit; if necessary, the image can be replaced with a new representation.

Nonindigenous influences. The most archaic (but far from the oldest) exterior influence may be found in the cultural elements derived from assimilated sub-Arctic populations. These elements are evident in magic related to production, in certain elements of totemism, and in the bear cult. If one accepts the hypothesis that the *por* moiety is connected with this unknown sub-Arctic people, the number of such elements grows larger. Iranian-speaking and Turkic speaking peoples influenced the proto-Ob-Ugrians in several phases from the Finno-Ugric period (fourth millennium BCE) through the Ugric period (until circa 500 BCE). These peoples played an important role in the development of equiculture among the Ob-Ugrians. Traces of steppe culture are preserved in the dominant role of the horse as a sacrificial animal and divine *attributa,* in the representation of mythological persons from the upper sphere dressed in open, wide-sleeved garb, and in the symbology of images found on hitching posts. Contact with Turkic peoples also brought, most recently, elements of Islam (from the Siberian Tatars), as can be seen in the book of destiny that occurs as an *attributum* and in elements of relatively differentiated conceptions of the netherworld. A surprisingly large number of religious terms were borrowed from or through the Komi (Zyrians), especially in connection with conceptions of the soul and the goddess of fertility. Such Komi influence may have been enhanced when the Komi fled into Siberia to escape conversion to Christianity by Stephen of Perm (fourteenth century).

The first intention of Eastern Orthodox efforts at conversion (which began in the eighteenth century) was the annihilation of the most important idols. This external threat had two consequences: heightened solicitude for cultic objects and a disassociation of spirits from their representations. Within a century, a network of church-centered villages had developed, displacing, wherever possible, the cult centers of ranking warlord guardian spirits. At times, the clergy exploited the possibilities of identifying the personalities of the two religions; formulas of correspondence thus quickly gained ground; the sky god was equated with God the Father, Kalteś with the Virgin Mary, World-Overseeing Man with Jesus, Pelim with Saint Nicholas. Ob-Ugrians understood the new religion entirely in terms of their own categories. Thus, a church was the idol chamber of the Russian god, the icon was the idol itself (before which even animals were sacrificed), the cross worn about the neck was an amulet for warding off harmful forest beings, and so on. The Christian worldview brought little change other than a gradual increase in the significance of the sky god. Qualitative change arose in step with Russification, especially for southern groups. At present, in consequence of the spread of civilization and atheism, Ob-Ugrian young people are ill-informed about religious matters, and their attitude toward their religious heritage is inconstant.

SEE ALSO Bears; Finno-Ugric Religions; Num-Tūrem; Shamanism.

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KHĀRIJĪS are the "third party" in Islam, who anathematize both the majority Sunnīs and the Shīʿī partisans of ʿAlī. Although few in number today, the Khārijīs played a role of great importance in the history of Muslim theology and political theory.

Their origins lie in the agreement between the fourth caliph, ʿAlī, and his challenger, Muʿāwiyah, kinsman and avenger of the murdered third caliph, ʿUthmān, to submit their quarrel to arbitration, following the Battle of Ṣiffīn (AH 37/657 CE). A group of ʿAlī's followers, at first mostly from the Arab tribe of Tamīm, held that ʿAlī had, by agreeing to treat with rebels, committed a great sin and could no longer be considered a Muslim. They made an exodus (*khurūj*) from his camp and collected at Ḥarūrāʾ near ʿAlī's capital of Kufa in Iraq: Hence Khārijīs ("those who went out") are sometimes referred to as Ḥarūrīyah. From the beginning they insisted on the equality of all Muslims regardless of race or tribe, "even if he be a black slave," and they found an important following among the non-Arab converts.

Despite all efforts, ʿAlī was unable to conciliate them. In the end he was forced by their raids and provocations to attack their headquarters on the Nahrawān canal (July 17, 658). This attack became more of a massacre than a battle, and it aroused sympathy for the Khārijīs. Within three years ʿAlī was murdered at the door of his mosque in Kufa by Ibn Muljam al-Murādī, a Khārijī seeking revenge for the slain of Nahrawān.

The intellectual center of Khārijī doctrine for the next century was the great Iraqi port of Basra, but then moved to North Africa. There Khārijī doctrine struck a responsive chord among the Berber tribes, and North Africa became the Scotland of these Muslim Puritans. Khārijī revolts making effective use of guerrilla tactics helped to weaken Muʿāwiyah's Umayyad dynasty before it was overthrown by the Abbasid revolution in 750. Their revolts continued under the early Abbasids, and the appellation *khārijī* came to mean "rebel."

Being from the first people who could not compromise, the Khārijīs quickly separated into sects: Muslim heresiographers list more than twenty. Each sect usually elected an imam, a "commander of the faithful," and regarded itself as the only true Islamic community. Basic to Khārijī doctrine are the tenets that a Muslim who commits a major sin has apostatized, and the shedding of his blood is lawful; that any pious Muslim is eligible to become an imam; and that if he sins or fails to be just, he may be deposed. Non-Khārijī Muslims were regarded as either polytheists or infidels. Jews or Christians who accepted Khārijī rule were, however, scrupulously protected. Khārijīs who sought death in *jihād* (religious war) against other Muslims were considered *shurāt,* or "vendors" (of this world for paradise).

The principal sects were the Azāriqah, the Ṣufrīyah, and the Ibāḍīyah. The Azāriqah probably took their name from Nāfiʿ ibn al-Azraq, son of a former Greek slave and blacksmith. They excluded from Islam all those who were content to coexist peacefully with non-Khārijī Muslims or who believed in *taqīyah,* dissimulation of their true beliefs, and all who would not make the *hijrah,* or emigration, to join them. They practiced *istiʿrāḍ,* or "review" of the beliefs of their opponents, putting to death those who failed to pass their catechism, often including women and children, and held that infants of "polytheists" went to hell with their parents. They maintained that even a prophet was not immune from sin, and hence from final infidelity; that menstruating women should still pray and fast; that a thief's "hand" should be cut off at the shoulder; and that it was not lawful to stone adulterers, because this punishment is not prescribed in the Qurʾān. They broke with the other Khārijīs of Basra in 684 and left the city to conduct a terrible civil war in the southern provinces of Iraq and Iran. This was led by Zubayr ibn Māhūz until 688, then by Qaṭaī ibn Fujāʾah until their final defeat in 699. Qaṭaī was one of a series of gifted Arab Khārijī poets.

The Ṣufrīyah are said to have originated among the followers of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ṣaffār al-Tamīmī. They believed that peaceful coexistence with other Muslims was legally permissible; unlike the Azāriqah they did not practice *istiʿrāḍ,* and unlike the Ibāḍīyah they held that non-Khārijī Muslims were polytheists rather than merely infidels. They emerged as an active sect in 695 and found an enthusiastic following among the Arab tribes of the upper Euphrates Valley. Under a series of fierce leaders they made their own bid for supreme power in the troubled events at the close of the Umayyad caliphate. From 745 to 751 they fought in Iraq, then Fārs, then Kishm Island, and finally in Oman, where their imam was slain by an Ibāḍī imam. The sect's activities then moved chiefly to North Africa, where it had found Berber adherents after 735. Berber Ṣufrīyah captured the important caravan city of Sijilmāsah in southern Morocco in 770 under an imam named Abū Qurrah. Like many other Khārijīs they were active traders. They maintained an imamate for about a century but at last seem to have been converted to the Ibāḍīyah and to Sunnism.

The Ibāḍīyah are the only surviving division of the Khārijīs, and because they have preserved their writings, they are also the best known. Numbering probably fewer than a million, they are found in the oases of the Mzab and Wargla in Algeria, on the island of Jerba off Tunisia, in Jabal Nafūsah and Zuwāghah in Libyan Tripolitania, in Zanzibar, and in Oman, where the ruling family is Ibāḍī. The merchants of the Mzab, Jerba, and Oman present a good example of closed religious trading communities similar to the Jews, the Parsis, or the Ismāʿīlī Muslims. Practicing Ibāḍīyah do not tolerate tobacco, music, games, luxury, or celibacy, and must eschew anger. Concubinage can be practiced only with the consent of wives, and marriages with other Muslims are heavily frowned upon. They disapprove of Ṣūfīsm, although they have a cult of the saintly dead. Sinners in the community are ostracized until they have performed public admission of guilt and penance.

The sect was first mentioned about 680, in Basra. It took its name from ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Ibāḍ, who broke with the Azāriqah in 684 and continued to live in Basra, where he presided over a secret council called the Jamāʿat al-Muslimīn (Collectivity of the Muslims). His work was continued under Jābir ibn Zayd, an eminent scholar and traditionist. The earliest *mutakallimūn,* or theologians, of Islam were Ibāḍīyah who debated with the circle of Ḥasan of Basra. Jābir was from the Omani tribe of Azd and did much to organize the sect. It had close contacts with the Basran Muʿtazilah and, like them, held that the Qurʾān was created, that humans have power over their own acts, and that there will be no beatific vision. The Ibāḍīyah have also been called the Wāṣilīyah, after Wāṣil ibn ʿAṭāʾ, an early Muʿtazilī.

After Jābir, the Basra collectivity was headed by Abū ʿUbaydah Muslim al-Tamīmī. He retained the Basra headquarters as a teaching and training center and prepared teams of teachers (*ḥamalat al-ʿilm*) to go and spread the doctrine in remote Muslim provinces. When the time was ripe, these teams were to set up imams: Like the Zaydī Shīʿīah and many Muʿtazilah, the Ibāḍīyah hold that there can be more than one imam if communities of widely separated believers need them. At other times, when circumstances dictate, Ibāḍī communities may legally dispense with the imamate, to be ruled by councils of learned elders.

Ibāḍī imamates rose and fell in Yemen, Oman, and Tripolitania in the eighth century. Omani traders carried the doctrine to East Africa in the ninth century. The greatest Ibāḍī imamate was that of Tāhart, founded in central Algeria around 760, which became hereditary in a family of Persian origin, the Rustamīs. During the latter part of the eighth century and the first half of the ninth century, the imams of Tāhart were recognized by Berber tribes from Morocco to Tripolitania, as well as by the Ibāḍīyah of Basra, Iran, and Oman. Their traders were early missionaries of Islam in sub-Saharan Africa. In the latter half of the ninth century, this state was weakened by a series of religious schisms and by external enemies, and many of its Berber supporters converted to Sunnism. The remains of the state were destroyed in 909 by the rise of the Fatimid caliphate, based in Kairouan. The last imam fled to Sadrātah in the oasis of Wargla. The descendants of the fugitives of Tāhart live today in the oases of the Mzab, deep in the Sahara.

Twelve subsects of the North African Ibāḍīyah are mentioned by historians of the sect. Three of these, the Nukkārīyah, the Nafāthīyah, and the Khalafīyah, have survived to modern times in small numbers, chiefly in Tripolitania.

SEE ALSO Caliphate; Imamate; Muʿtazilah; Ummah.

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JOHN ALDEN WILLIAMS (1987)

KHILĀFAH SEE CALIPHATE

KHMER RELIGION. The majority of Khmer, the dominant ethnic population of Cambodia, identify themselves as practitioners of Theravāda Buddhism. As in other contemporary Southeast Asian cultures with strong Theravadin identities, the Buddhism practiced in Cambodia is characterized by two trends. Although the Theravadin history of Cambodia is understood by most Khmer to extend back to ancient times, the self-conscious construction of Cambodia as a Theravadin nation is largely a modern development. Khmer Buddhism is (and has long reflected) a complex interweaving of local and translocal religious ideas, movements, rituals, practices, and persons. This history includes, first, the blurring of clear distinctions between Theravāda, Mahāyāna, and Tantric historical development in Cambodia, and second, the incorporation of Buddhist values into local spirit cults and healing practices. As Buddhist scholars have only recently begun to recognize, the older normative presentation of a monolithic "Theravāda" tradition dominating Southeast Asia is largely a scholarly fiction.

Buddhism in Cambodia during the past two millennia has been marked by numerous transformations as it was blended, in different forms, with local and Hindu-influenced cults; as diplomats, missionaries, monks, and traders imported new interpretations, monastic lineages, and practices; and as Buddhism rose and fell from official patronage. There are striking continuities in Khmer religious history as well: the political potency of religion in various Khmer kingdoms, states, and regimes; the intertwining in all periods of Buddhist, Brahmanic, and spirit cults and practices; and, at least since the widespread popularization of Theravāda Buddhism after the fourteenth century, the important role of Buddhist ideas and values in the moral vocabulary and ritual practices of Khmer people.

Based on Pali scriptures, many Khmer Buddhists have understood their national religion to originate in the Aśokan missions of the third century BCE. Archeological evidence, however, suggests a somewhat later introduction of Buddhism, possibly as early as the second century CE, when Khmer-speaking peoples were congregated in small chiefdoms referred to in Chinese records as *Funan.* Buddhism was likely introduced into the Khmer regions by Indian merchants, explorers, and traveling monks, but the extent to which this movement should be regarded as a full-scale "implantation" has been debated. The theory of the importation and spread of Buddhism and other Indian ideas and cultural forms into Southeast Asia has been termed *Indianization* by scholars. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a historical account of the "origin" of Southeast Asian cultural forms through the mode of a dominant Indian civilization was widely accepted by colonial scholars of Cambodia, presumably because of its resonance with dominant colonial views of race and civilizational development. By the 1930s, the work of the French Indologist Paul Mus (soon joined by other historians) began to call into question the extent to which the Khmer and other Southeast Asian cultures were shaped by Indian influence, arguing instead that Indian forms had been easily absorbed in Southeast Asia because they complemented existing indigenous ideas and practices, and that the cultural influences moved both ways, not just one way.

More recently, a consensus has emerged among many historians that Indians probably never established a political and economic process akin to modern-era colonization by Europeans in Southeast Asia; nor is there thought to have been a large movement of Indian settlers to Southeast Asia. Rather, aspects of the language, arts, literature, and philosophical, religious, and political thought of Indians were assimilated and reinterpreted by Khmer and other Southeast Asian peoples during the first centuries CE, possibly through a combination of trade, diplomatic, and religious contacts both with India and Indians directly and also through trade and court relations with Southeast Asian neighbors. Among the most important borrowings from India for the Khmer was the introduction of Sanskrit writing and literature. Archeological evidence from the pre-Angkorian (seventh to ninth centuries) and Angkorian (ninth to fourteenth centuries) periods shows that the Khmer utilized both Sanskrit and Khmer for inscriptions: they used Sanskrit for expressive literary purposes, such as extolling the virtues of the gods, and Khmer for more documentary purposes, such as listing donations of slaves to temples. Sanskritist Sheldon Pollock has suggested that the attraction of Sanskrit as a cosmopolitan language was aesthetic; it provided a powerful medium for imagining the world in a larger, more complex, and translocal way. By the middle- or post-Angkorian period (fifteenth to nineteenth centuries), the use of Sanskrit for literary purposes had been replaced by the vernacular, which had developed its own cosmopolitan idiom. For the Khmer, this process of the thorough transformation of the Indian literary imagination is evident in the celebrated Khmer rendering of the *Rāmāyaṇa,* known in Khmer as the *Rāmakerti* (pronounced "Ream-ker"), the *Glory of Rām.* The Khmer adaptation of the Indian epic transforms the hero, Rām, into a *bodhisattva,* reflecting Khmer ethical and aesthetic concern with the biography of the Buddha. The *Rāmakerti* appears as a frequent theme in Khmer art in temple murals and paintings and in bas reliefs on the galleries of Angkorian temples. It has also been reenacted in elaborate traditional dance forms, composed as narrative poetry, and retold in many oral versions, including shadow puppet plays known as *spaek dhaṃ* and *lkhon khol* performances used ritually as spirit offerings.

From the second century onward, historical evidence suggests that Buddhist and Brahmanic practices coexisted and became intertwined with local animist traditions and spirit beliefs in the Khmer regions. Chinese records indicate that Khmer court rituals during the Funan period included the worship of Śiva-liṅgam, suggesting devotion to Śiva, as well as evidence of local spirit cults. The transregional movements of Buddhist missionaries and pilgrims may well have introduced Buddhism into Southeast Asian courts. Chinese histories reveal that Chinese monks en route to India by sea visited sites in Southeast Asia, and likewise that a Buddhist monk from Funan named Nāgasena traveled to China in the sixth century. At Oc-Eo, a port city of the Funan era, archeologists have discovered Buddha images associated with the Mahāyāna tradition.

Epigraphic records of religious life began to appear in the seventh century, during the period referred to as *pre-Angkor,* when the Khmer regions were apparently dominated by a group of chiefdoms or kingdoms referred to in Chinese sources as *Chen-la.* These inscriptions, primarily composed in Khmer and Sanskrit, suggest that the pre-Angkorian rulers were for the most part devotees of Śiva or Viṣṇu. Contemporary historians warn against over-interpreting this evidence to suppose that an Indian-like "Hinduism" was in existence. Rather, drawing on persuasive linguistic evidence, Michael Vickery has pointed to the practice among pre-Angkor Khmer of attributing Indian names to their own indigenous deities.

These inscriptions also suggest the simultaneous practice or at least the presence of diverse religions, including Buddhism, which was tolerated and to different degrees supported by most pre-Angkorian rulers. Buddhism was apparently practiced alongside or synthesized into the activities of indigenous cults with some Indian features. These sources also reveal that pre-Angkorian Buddhist influences were drawn from India, China, Sri Lanka, and other parts of Southeast Asia, such as Dvaravati and Champa, with more than one form of Buddhism in evidence. Numerous Avalokiteśvara figures, as well as a reference to the name *Lokeśvara* in an inscription from 791 (found in present-day Siemreap), indicate Mahayanist influence. Yet some early Pali inscriptions from the pre-Angkor period have also been found along with Sri Lankan and Dvaravati style Buddha images showing Theravadin presence.

The end of the pre-Angkor period was a period of political and economic expansion and centralization in the Khmer region. As kings enlarged their territories, the Khmer political linking of king and deity began to emerge, a concept referred to in Sanskrit inscriptions as *devarāja,* which may have grown out of older indigenous traditions linking rulers and local deities of the earth. This association developed more fully during the Angkor period, starting with the kingship of Jayavarman II (802–854). While the ideological details of the *devarāja* cults remain unclear—whether or to what extent kings understood themselves as embodied deities or as supplicants to or patrons of particular deities remains contested—scholars have surmised that the considerable political and economic influence wielded by Angkorian kings was inseparable from their close ties to cycles of agricultural production and fertility, their roles as moral exemplars and protectors and patrons of religious life. These dimensions of kingship were manifested in the building projects undertaken by the Angkorian kings, in reservoirs, images, and mountain temples such as Angkor Vatt, the fabulous religious monument constructed by Sūryavarman II (1113–c.1150) and dedicated to Viṣṇu.

Most of the early Angkorian kings were Saivites or devotees of Harihara, a Khmer deity incorporating aspects of both Śiva and Viṣṇu. But Mahāyāna Buddhism was also in evidence and became increasingly connected with royal patronage and political power during the Angkorian period. Yasovarman, regarded as the founder of Angkor (889–900), dedicated hermitages to Śiva, Viṣṇu, and the Buddha; Rājendravarman II (c. 944–968), Jayavarman V (c. 968–1001), Sūryavarman I (1001–1050), and Jayavarman VI (1080–1107) all patronized Buddhism in addition to other religious cults. Mahāyāna Buddhism came to the forefront, however, toward the end of Angkorian predominance, during the reign of Jayavarman VII (1181–c.1218). Historian David Chandler has suggested that Jayavarman VII may have developed an interest in Mahāyāna Buddhism during a stay in Champa, where Mahāyāna Buddhism was flourishing. Influenced by Buddhist ideas, Jayavarman VII followed a period of bloody warfare in his reign by constructing public works, such as rest houses, hospitals, and reservoirs, as well as the temples Ta Prohm and Preah Kan to honor his parents in combination with the goddess of wisdom, Prajñāpāramitā, and the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara (symbolizing compassion). He also erected the Bayon temple in the center of his capital containing the central image of the Buddha, with four-faced images of Lokeśvara on its towers and exteriors, an image that has been widely associated in modern times with Cambodian identity and with a widespread romantic fascination with Angkor. This image has sometimes been interpreted as a likeness of Jayavarman VII as well, possibly representing a further reinterpretation of the earlier *devarāja* concept, now connecting king and *bodhisattva.*

During the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, as inhabitants of the Southeast Asian maritime regions were adopting Islam, people in mainland areas, including Cambodia, were turning to Theravāda Buddhism. Although there is a generally acknowledged acceptance among scholars of the "ascendancy" of Theravāda Buddhist ideologies and practices during this period, it is not exactly clear why or how. Victor Lieberman explains the popularization of Theravāda Buddhism after about 1400 in connection to expanding trade and prosperity moving from coastal to inland regions. He suggests that Theravāda Buddhism became associated with this movement and that it perhaps provided a larger, more cosmopolitan and universal vision of the world for its new adherents. Given the syncretic nature of Khmer religion in general, it is likely that Theravadin ideas and practices continued to intermingle with other Buddhist forms. As the dominant political and economic influence of Angkor waned and the kingdoms of Pagan and Sukothai (in present-day Burma and Thailand) replaced it as regional powers, trade, diplomatic, and other cultural contact with these Theravadin kingdoms spread Theravadin ideas to Khmer-speaking people. A Khmer prince, possibly a son of Jayavarman VII, is supposed to have been among a group of Southeast Asian monks who traveled to Sri Lanka to study Buddhism at the end of the twelfth century and ordained in the Mahaviharin order, a lineage that was carried back and established in Pagan. During the next two centuries, Theravāda Buddhism became assimilated into all levels of Khmer society and synthesized with older Brahmanic and spirit practices, such as agricultural and life-cycle rites, worship of *qnak tā* (local spirits), spirit mediumship, alchemy, and healing practices.

During the post-Angkorian or "middle period," the population and agricultural centers of the Khmer region gradually shifted southward. While Khmer religion retained its syncretic character, Theravadin forms and idioms dominated. Cultural historian Ashley Thompson sees this movement reflected in the appearance of wooden Theravadin *vihāras* built adjacent to Angkorian Brahmanic stone temples, and in the shift in iconography from images of deities such as Śiva, Viṣṇu, and Harihara to images of the Buddha. Pali replaced Sanskrit as the language of inscriptions and literature along with Khmer, and much of the classical Khmer literature was composed during this time. Along with the development of Buddhist interpretations of the *Rāmakerti,* Khmer art and literature began to assume Theravadin ideas of the relationship between Buddhist virtue and kingship, and merit-making and *karma;* they also developed an emphasis on the cosmic biography of the *bodhisattva* perfecting virtues in his different rebirths on the path to buddhahood, and a cosmology and ethical orientation reflecting notions of rebirth and moral development in the three-tiered world of the Trai Bhūm. A sixteenth-century inscription translated by Thompson, for example, refers to the merit produced by a royal couple, the king's subsequent rebirth in Tuṣita Heaven, and his resolve to become an *arahant* at the time of the Buddha Maitreya.

While Khmer scholars tend to situate the end of the middle period and the beginning of the modern period in the mid-nineteenth century with the advent of French colonial rule in 1863, a significant shift in the fate of modern Khmer Buddhism began to occur toward the end of the eighteenth century. From this point until the early nineteenth century, Cambodia was involved in almost continual warfare with its Siamese and Vietnamese neighbors, followed by unrest and violence later in the nineteenth century, as a result of internal revolts, Buddhist millenarian rebellions, piracy, and banditry. The Buddhist material culture that had developed during the middle period was damaged or destroyed as a result of this warfare and social chaos. A nineteenth-century Khmer official wrote in his memoir that in the late 1840s, once a relative peace was restored for the first time in more than a century, the countryside of Cambodia was "shattered," poverty and starvation were apparent everywhere, and Buddhist temples were destroyed or broken apart. Orphaned and poor, he recalled, "I knew only suffering and misery and my heart was broken. I wanted to ordain in the discipleship of the Lord Buddha. . . . But in Vatt Sotakorok there were no *Dhamma-attha-sāstra-pali* [Buddhist scriptures] and in the *vatt* [temple] where I was ordained as a *bhikkhu,* there remained only ignorant and backward monks."

The destruction of Buddhist texts, temples, educational facilities, and generations of scholar-monks over a sustained period of time, as well as the weakening of the Cambodian monarchy, the influence of Thai Buddhist reforms, and the colonial religious policies imposed by the French, all contributed to a shift in the religious landscape of Cambodia during and after the reign of King Ang Duong (r. 1848–1860). In his path-breaking work on Khmer Buddhism, which has also held wider repercussions for challenging a rigid historiography of a dominant Pali Theravadin tradition in the region, François Bizot has argued that Khmer Buddhism prior to the period of renovation initiated by Ang Duong was characterized by strong Tantric influences, which were largely eradicated during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Bizot's current translations seek to preserve remnants of these traditions, marginalized and preserved in the esoteric teachings, texts, and meditation practices of small numbers of adherents.

Beginning in 1848, when Ang Duong was installed on the Khmer throne under Siamese patronage, he initiated a Buddhist purification movement that lasted for nearly a century, and which formed the basis for the creation of modern Khmer Buddhism during the early decades of the twentieth century. Ang Duong, who composed a number of well-known literary works himself, gathered Buddhist-trained literati in his court, and turned his attention toward revitalizing Buddhist education and rebuilding Buddhist material culture. The strong court ties with Siam, affinities between Khmer and Thai Buddhism, as well as the vibrancy of Buddhist literary culture in Bangkok during much of the nineteenth century, led the Khmer to turn to Bangkok for Buddhist texts and education. Modern Khmer Buddhism, as it developed, was thus also strongly influenced by the Thai Buddhist reforms introduced in the nineteenth century by King Mongkut and his sons, King Chulalongkorn and (in the Khmer transliteration) Supreme Patriarch Vajirañāṇavarorasa.

This Siamese influence is evident in the biographies of the two leading Khmer monks of the nineteenth century, who both received their ordinations in Bangkok. Samtec Braḥ Sangharāj Dīeṅ (1823–1913), the *saṃgha* chief who oversaw most of the Buddhist renovation in Cambodia, was captured as a prisoner of war by the Siamese army as a young boy and taken to Bangkok as a slave, where he became connected to the entourage of the exiled Ang Duong. Dīeṅ was ordained as a novice at the age of eleven, and by the time he was ordained as a monk in 1844, he had already won the notice of Rama III for his brilliance. By the age of twenty-five, his reputation as a scholar and monk-scribe was well established in monastic circles in Bangkok, and his works included a translation of the *Trai Bhūm* from Thai, as well as the *pātimokkha,* a section of the Vinaya or monastic code regularly recited by monks. Dīeṅ returned to Cambodia at the request of Ang Duong to head up the restoration of Buddhism in the kingdom, and following a Thai model of administrative centralization, he began to conduct the first of several reorganizations of the *saṃgha* that occurred between the 1850s and 1880. Appointed to the rank of supreme patriarch in 1857, Dīeṅ also instituted monastic Pali exams, beginning in 1858. He retained his close connections with the Khmer throne during Norodom's reign (r. 1864–1904), and was venerated by the general populace until his death in 1913.

The other highly regarded Khmer monk of the nineteenth century was Samtec Braḥ Sugandhādhipatī Pān (c.1824–1894), the monk credited with the importation of the Dhammayutnikāy (Mongut's reformist sect) to Cambodia. Born in Battambang, Pān was ordained as a novice in 1836 at Vatt Bodhivāl in Battambang; in 1837 he went to Bangkok to study Pali, his biography states, because of "the deplorable state of Buddhist education in his [natal] pagoda." He was ordained in the Mahānikāy sect as a *bhikkhu* at the age of twenty-one, but in 1848, he was exposed to an influential teacher of the Dhammayut sect; one biography states that he also studied Pali under the direction of Mongkut, who was still in the monkhood at this time. Pān reordained as a Dhammayut *bhikkhu* in 1849, with Mongkut presiding at the ceremony.

The date of Pān's return to Cambodia and the founding of the Dhammayut sect in Cambodia has been attributed to the reigns of both Ang Duong and Norodom, either in 1854 or 1864. While the exact date is uncertain, it is clear that in symbolic and political terms, the erudite monk Pān—and with him, the establishment of the Dhammayut sect—emanated from the highest court circles in Bangkok. Pān was accompanied on his return to Cambodia by a number of Siamese monks, who presented the kingdom with a collection of eighty Siamese texts, presumably the *tipiṭaka,* which had been "lost" in Cambodia during the years of warfare. Under Norodom, Pān constructed the seat of the Dhammayut order in Vatt Bodum Vaddey in Phnom Penh. He was apparently literate in Pali, Sanskrit, Thai, Lao, Burmese, and Mon, and could also read ancient Khmer inscriptions. Dhammayut sources suggest that he was an important compiler of Vinaya commentaries, monastic training manuals, and manuals on merit-making rituals.

While these two widely-respected and well-educated monastic leaders were able to foster the renovation of Buddhism envisioned by Ang Duong from the 1850s onward, monks and novices seriously interested in advanced Pali studies were still better served in Bangkok, usually after receiving a basic primary and novitiate education in Cambodia. Monastic biographical sources suggest that prior to about 1910, young boys studying in Khmer temples learned Khmer literacy, writing, arithmetic, vernacular religious literature such as *cpap'* (didactic poetry), *jātaka, lpaeṇ* (narrative poetry), and sometimes *kpuan* (manuals) or *tamrā* (technical treatises) on astrology, medicine, or ritual procedures. Monks and novices who traveled to Bangkok for study or text collection purposes, such as Ukñā Suttantaprījā Ind (1859–1924), Braḥ Mahāvimaladhamm Thoṅ (1862–1927), and Braḥ Mās-Kaṅ (1872–1960), encountered new methods of Pali grammar instruction, translation, and textual analysis that went beyond the older pedagogical traditions employed in most Khmer monasteries of the day of rote memorization, often without clear understanding of the Pali verses being chanted.

Although the Dhammayutnikāy imported from Siam and patronized by the royal family never took wide hold outside of urban areas, the wider imprint of Thai reformism influenced young Khmer monks in the more traditional Mahānikāy order in Cambodia. These young monks, led in particular by Chuon Nath (1883–1969) and Huot Tath (1891–1975), pushed for a series of innovations in the Khmer *saṃgha* beginning in the early twentieth century: they advocated the use of print for sacred texts (supplanting the traditional inscription of palm-leaf manuscripts mandated by *saṃgha* officials for Buddhist texts into the 1920s in Cambodia); a higher degree of competence in Pali and Sanskrit studies among monks; a vision of orthodoxy based on understanding of Vinaya texts for both *bhikkhu* and laypersons; and modernization in pedagogical methods for Buddhist studies. As the modernist and reformist ideas of Nath and That developed, the two monks came to champion the understanding and practice of a rationalistic, scripturalist, demythologized Buddhism, similar in many respects to the reformed Buddhism of Mongkut.

Chuon Nath, often considered to be the greatest Khmer monk of the twentieth century, was born in Kompong Speu and ordained as a *bhikkhu* at Vatt Bodhi Priks in Kandal in 1904; he was educated as a novice first at Vatt Bodhi Priks and later at Vatt Uṇṇālom. After his ordination as a *bhikkhu* he returned to Vatt Uṇṇālom, where he continued his Pali studies under the direction of Braḥ Mahāvimaladhamm Thoṅ, who was in turn a student of Braḥ Samtec Sangharāj Dieṅ. Nath's younger colleague and long-time collaborator, Huot Tath, was also born in Kompong Speu, and was ordained in 1912 at Vatt Uṇṇālom. Both men generated controversy and were held in scorn by some of their older colleagues within the Mahānikāy during their early years as reformers, but they rose to prominent monastic ranks during the late 1920s and 1930s, serving as professors at the Sālā Pali and as key members of the Commission for the Production of the *tipiṭaka.* Nath was appointed as *saṃgha* head in 1963; Tath followed as *sangharāj* in 1969, after Nath's death, holding this title until his execution by the Khmer Rouge in 1975.

The reforms envisioned by the faction of Nath and Tath were not uniformly accepted within the Khmer *saṃgha.* Early attempts by Nath to introduce print met with resistance from established *saṃgha* officials and led to increasing factionalism between modernists and traditionalists within the Mahānikāy that continued into the 1970s. The reformist efforts led by modernist monks did however coincide with both the pedagogical ideologies and political interests of French colonial administrators who backed Nath and Tath in an effort to reinvigorate Buddhist education within the protectorate. The French administration took on the role of *saṃgha* patron in part to foster European models of scientific education but also, fearing Siamese and Vietnamese influence, to stem the flow of Khmer Buddhist literati to Bangkok, as well as the movement of monks within French Indochina. The modernist agenda also helped to counter the influence of millenarian Buddhism in the provinces, which threatened French rule. In French Cambodia, as well as in southern Vietnam, peasant insurrections linked anticolonialism with predictions of a Buddhist *dhammik* ("righteous ruler") who would usher in the epoch of the Buddha Maitreya.

The Buddhist reform movement advocated by Nath, Tath, and their fellow professors and scholars at the Sālā Pali—known initially as Dharm-thmī ("modern *dhamma*") and later as Dhammakāy or simply *smāy* ("modern") Buddhism—shaped the contours of official scholarly Buddhism in Cambodia as these reformers taught in advanced Buddhist educational institutions and *dhamma*-Vinaya schools, and prepared textual compilations. But this textually-oriented Buddhism was never the only or even the dominant expression of religious life in modern Cambodia, and even while a figure such as Chuon Nath was widely respected as a great scholar, he was also venerated by the Cambodian populace as the possessor of extraordinary powers of *iddhi,* such as the ability to understand the speech of birds.

In urban as well as rural areas, Khmer religious life during most of the twentieth century was deeply ritualistic, involving the daily or seasonal worship of deities of the earth, water, rice fields, and cardinal directions, as well as local tutelary spirits and ancestors, along with the care and manipulation of the relationships between humans and these powerful spirit beings. (Some of these generalizations remain current, but since so many aspects of Khmer life were altered after 1975, it is more accurate to confine these descriptions to the pre-1975 religious context documented by ethnographers such as Eveline Porée-Maspero and May Ebihara). Spirit houses in fields and outside of houses were often attended daily, while shrines within the house were maintained for ancestor spirits, known as *mebā,* whose dissatisfaction or disapproval could potentially cause illness in family members. While Buddhist monks were invited to offer prayers and blessings or sprinkle sacred water at weddings, funerals, housewarmings, and other life-cycle events, other religious practitioners besides monks often presided at these kinds of events. These included *āchāry,* lay teachers at the *vatt* who assisted with life-cycle rituals, protective amulets, and so on; *grū Khmaer,* traditional healers who could diagnose and cure many illnesses, including those connected with the spirit world; *rūp arakkh,* spirit mediums who could communicate with the spirits of the dead, *arakkh;* and *chmap,* midwives who assisted with the rites and practices necessary to assure safety for mothers and infants during the highly vulnerable passage of childbirth.

The ethical ideas underlying these religious practices reflect several central themes. First and perhaps most important, is a belief in the efficacy of the law of *karma* (*kamm* in Khmer). Summarized by the contemporary Khmer monk Venerable Maha Ghosananda, this law states: "*Karma* means action. . . . I am the owner of my *karma.* And the heir of my *karma.* I am related to my *karma,* and abide supported by my *karma.* Whatever *karma* I shall do, whether good or evil, of that I will be the heir. What we do we will reap, what we sow we will reap." Given this understanding, moral behavior and especially the attainment of high levels of moral purification—most often by monks and other religious virtuosos—were highly valued. But even for lay people, religious participation was marked by the frequent ritual invocation of the five Buddhist precepts (*sīl praṃ* in Khmer: to abstain from taking life, stealing, false speech, improper sexual relationships, and the use of intoxicants), as well as by ceremonies of homage and taking refuge in the "triple gem" (the Buddha, *dhamma,* and *saṃgha*), and by merit-making through offering gifts of food and robes to monks, through the copying or dedication of Buddhist texts, and for those with enough means, through sponsoring religious building projects. Gratitude to parents or teachers, to whom one could dedicate merit, and veneration toward monks, the king, and the nation were increasingly intertwined with ideologies of merit-making during the twentieth century. A Khmer proverb translated by Bounthay Phath conveys the understanding of impermanence and *dukkha* that inscribed the religious ethos of her childhood in Phnom Penh during the 1950s and 1960s: "Wherever one goes, suffering will go along just as the shadow follows the body."

While modernist *saṃgha* officials and scholarly Buddhists in the 1920s and 1930s sometimes decried the religion practiced by the majority of Khmer as "non-Buddhist," for the most part, the spirit practices, Brahmanist court rituals, ancestor propitiation, and healing cults amply documented by ethnographers coexisted with reformist forms of Theravāda Buddhism. This complementarity between "popular" and textual interpretations of Buddhism was visible even in 1930 when the Buddhist Institute was established under the directorship of French curator Susanne Karpelès, a French Indologist who promoted Nath's and Tath's reform Buddhism; Karpelès and her staff happily orchestrated colorful processions and merit-making festivals in the countryside as they collected copies of Buddhist manuscripts for the Buddhist Institute and Royal Library. The major project of the institute was to produce a critical Khmer-Pali printed edition of the Tipiṭaka, culled by a commission of Buddhist scholars from palm-leaf manuscripts donated by the Khmer populace, and finally completed in 1968. After 1930, the Buddhist Institute continued to lead the development of modern Buddhism in Cambodia, and historian Penny Edwards has argued for its role as a site for imagining Khmer nationalism. Monks were among the most prominent dissidents against the French colonial regime, and the institute also helped give rise to the development of the Communist Party in Cambodia; Mean (Son Ngoc Minh) and Sok (Tou Samouth), later leaders of Khmer communism, were both recruited by Susanne Karpelès for Buddhist education.

In spite of this early connection between Buddhism and the Communist Party, after the Khmer Rouge took power in April 1975, they quickly sought to eradicate Buddhism in Democratic Kampuchea. Ian Harris estimates that 63 percent of monks died or were executed during the Democratic Kampuchea years; many others were forced to disrobe, Buddhist monasteries were destroyed or used for other purposes, Buddhist text collections were discarded, and Buddhist practices were forbidden. Nearly two million people died as a result of Khmer Rouge policies enacted between 1975 and 1979.

Since the Vietnamese invasion of 1979 that brought an end to the murderous Democratic Kampuchea regime, Buddhism has slowly reemerged in Cambodia, in some ways resembling Buddhism before 1975 and in other ways altered. The People's Republic of Kampuchea allowed the reorganization of the Khmer *saṃgha* under the Venerable Tep Vong, but imposed severe restrictions on Buddhist participation and expression. These were gradually lifted by the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the subsequent (1989) State of Cambodia government. Since 1989, many temples (*vatt*) have been rebuilt, often from contributions by overseas Khmer, and Buddhist life has been widely reconstituted.

Research by anthropologists John Marston and Judy Ledgerwood, among the first to begin to document the new religious context, suggests that older strains of Khmer Buddhist thought, such as tensions between "modernists" (*smāy*) and "traditionalists" (*purāṇ*), as well as millenarian movements (connected in some cases with the nineteenth-century versions), have reemerged in this new period. Ledgerwood's work has also begun to document the ways in which contemporary political leaders such as Hun Sen are returning to the pre-revolutionary model of political rulers as patrons of the *saṃgha* in order to establish authority and legitimacy. On the other hand, the loss of so many monks, intellectuals, and texts and a whole generation of young lay people raised without any religious education during the Democratic Kampuchea period is seen by some contemporary Buddhist leaders as a major obstacle to the rebuilding process and an irreparable break with the past. The traumatic experience of the Democratic Kampuchea period and its aftermath has in some cases ushered in new kinds of cynicism and questioning of basic Buddhist truths, such as the efficacy of the law of *karma;* in contemporary Phnom Penh, the classic karmic formula, "If you do good, you will receive good in return; if you do evil, you will receive evil," is sometimes sardonically rephrased to reflect a widespread perception of governmental corruption: "If you do good, you will receive good; if you do evil, you will receive a car." Other contemporary Khmer now identify even more strongly with Buddhism; many seek to remember the dead through merit-making ceremonies or to ease traumatic memories through meditation practice. Lay meditation movements have begun to flourish in Phnom Penh, a trend already decades old in other Theravadin countries such as Burma and Thailand.

As diasporic Khmer establish new Buddhist centers around the world in cities such as Lowell, Massachusetts, and Long Beach, California, and as Japanese and Western Buddhists and aid workers visit Cambodia, new global Buddhist ideas are reaching contemporary Khmer Buddhists, including "engaged Buddhism," models for Buddhist-led care for AIDS patients, and human rights education and conflict mediation techniques taught through the medium of Buddhist concepts. The internationally known Khmer monk, Mahā Ghosananda, a student of Gandhian ideas, began leading peace marches across Cambodia in 1989 known as *dhammayātrā* (*dhamma* pilgrimages), which crossed war zones and called attention to injustices in contemporary society. Nadezhda Bektimirova reports that after the 1997 coup, seven hundred monks marched for peace in Phnom Penh, carrying the slogan "May peace come to the home of every Cambodian."

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Southeast Asia; Hinduism in Southeast Asia; Samgha, article on Samgha and Society in South and Southeast Asia; Southeast Asian Religions, article on Mainland Cultures.

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ANNE HANSEN (2005)

KHOI AND SAN RELIGION.

The Khoi and San are the aboriginal peoples of southern Africa. The appellations formerly applied to them (*Hottentot* and *Bushmen,* respectively) have gone out of use because of their derogatory connotations. Properly, the terms *Khoi* and *San* refer to groups of related languages characterized by click consonants and to speakers of these languages, but they are frequently applied in a cultural sense to distinguish between pastoralists (Khoi) and foragers (San). In historical time (essentially, within the past 250 years in this region), these people were found widely distributed below the Cunene, Okavango, and Zambezi river systems, that is, in the modern states of Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, and South Africa. Smaller numbers were, and are, to be found in southern Angola and Zambia. The once large population of San in South Africa has been completely eliminated; perhaps 20 percent of contemporary Khoi still live in that country. Accurate censuses of these people are available only for Botswana, where today about half the estimated forty thousand San live. The fifty thousand Khoi (except as noted above) are concentrated in Namibia.

Archaeological and historical evidence document the coexistence in these areas of herding and foraging economies for at least the past fifteen centuries. Bantu-speaking as well as Khoi and San agropastoralists have been in the region along with foragers during this entire span of time. The first ethnographies were compiled by German ethnologists in the last decade of the nineteenth century; a few accounts by missionaries, travelers, and traders are available for the preceding one hundred years.

All of these herders and foragers were seasonally migratory, circulating within group-controlled land tenures in response to seasonal distributions of pastures and plant and animal foods. The basic residential group was an extended family often with close collateral extensions; it seldom exceeded fifty persons in size. Two or more of these units, or segments thereof, came together for social, economic, and ritual reasons at specified times, and contact among adjacent groups was maintained by frequent visiting. Descent among the San is bilateral. Patrilineal clans are attributed to the Khoi. Neither social system contains hierarchical strata at present, although there is evidence for them in the past.

On the surface, Khoisan cosmological concepts are not uniformly coherent. The apparent ad hoc and sometimes ambivalent quality of explanations about natural phenomena has led anthropologists to treat these concepts in a descriptive, folkloristic manner. Yet there is an underlying order of shared symbolic categories that represents an inclusive process of cultural management. In its broad outlines, this system is common to all Khoisan groups, even though there is variation in content and emphasis from one group to another.

The key to understanding Khoisan cosmology lies in its creation myths. In the beginning of time all species were conflated. Body parts were distributed in a haphazard, capricious manner by the creator and were intermixed among the different animals. These beings moved through mythical time, eating and mating with each other and being reincarnated in different forms. In the process, each species assumed the identity suggested by its name and thereafter lived in the surroundings and ate the food appropriate to it. As order was achieved, the creator played an ever smaller active role in events; now he lives in the sky, relatively remote from earthly affairs. Generally positive values are attributed to him. Another being has the role of administrator; he is responsible for and is the cause of everything that occurs on earth. He is said to be stupid because he continues to make mistakes. One of the principal mistakes is that people continue to die when, in the logic of creation, they should not be mortal. He also capriciously sends or withholds rain, interferes in the conception and birth of children, and dictates success or failure in food production.

There is, accordingly, a dual conception of death. The death of animals is properly a part of their being; they are food. Human death is rationalized as the caprice of the administrator and justified on the grounds that he eats the dead, whose spirits then remain with him. These spirits have an incorporating interest in death because "their hearts cry for their living kin," and they wish to perpetuate the social order from which they came. The dead are thus agents of the administrator and a danger to the living, especially during dark nights away from camp.

This duality is pervasive in Khoisan cosmological thought. Aside from the obvious oppositions between life and death, earth and sky, that are found among so many peoples, a deeper configuration of a dialectical nature is present. Comparative data is scarce; however, a good deal is known about the Žu/hõasi San (!Kung) of Namibia and Botswana; these people are by far the most numerous living San. This, plus the fact that they share some specific details with Nama Khoi, is suggestive ground for using the data obtained from them for a paradigm case. The Žu/hõasi creator, !xo, and the administrator, //angwa, may be seen—and are sometimes described by informants—as a contrasting pair.

In other words, !xo is a completed proper being, as is a Žu/õa person. (The name *Žu/hõasi* means "completed people": *žu* means "person," */hõa* "finished" or "complete," and *si* is a plural suffix.) //angwa is incomplete, chaotic, "without sense." !xo's attributes are desirable, //angwa's despicable.

!XO	//ANGWA
Creative	Destructive
Passive	Active
Cool	Hot
Clean	Dirty
Hairless	Hirsute
Bees/Honey	Flies/Feces
Cattle/Sheep	Horses/Goats
The color blue	The color red
Cultural order	Natural order

The one gives life, the other takes it away. Some Žu/hõasi think of them as alternative aspects of the same person. That this division, and by implication the cosmological system of which it is a part, may have considerable time depth is suggested by the attribution of cattle and sheep to the cultural order of!xo, while horses and goats are assigned to the unfinished domain of //angwa. Archaeological evidence places both cattle and sheep firmly within the first millennium CE in southern Africa; horses are much more recent. Linguistically, cattle and sheep are derived from a single native stem in most Khoisan languages; horses and goats, on the other hand, are called by a term borrowed from Setswana or—in the case of horses—by extensions of the local word for zebra.

Among the Nama, the creator (rendered Tsui //goab by Schapera) has functions identical to those of !xo and, like his Žu/hõasi counterpart, had an earthly trickster manifestation during the time of creation. It was this trickster (≠gaun!a among Žu/hõasi; Heitsi Eibib among the Nama) who carried out the actual acts of creation. Khoi, in the past, had annual rain ceremonies in which several groups joined. Pregnant cattle and sheep were slaughtered on these occasions and their flesh consumed; their milk, blood, and the water in which they were boiled were used to douse the fire on which they had been cooked. Prayers for rain were offered to Tsui //goab as this was done. The Nama counterpart of //angwa is //gaunab, derived from *//gau,* "to destroy." Their administrative roles are parallel. Earlier writers claim that southern Khoi and southern San worshiped the moon, but as Schapera notes, these reports are inadequate and unsystematic; it is, therefore, difficult to give full credit to such claims. Contemporary San use the moon as a quite specific and accurate timepiece. When referring to the time of occurrence of an event, they will point to a position of the moon in the sky or state that the moon's return to a position will coincide with some event. Women mark their menstrual cycles and the durations of their pregnancies in like manner, but they do so strictly for calendric purposes. It is possible Europeans interpreted these actions as "moon worship."

Although the mythological past is not thought to be active in the present natural world, many of its elements are very much involved in the control of this world. The administrator eats not only humans but also flies, which he attracts by smearing honey around his mouth. This reversal of propriety and the fact that he is covered with long hair (Khoisan have little body hair) is taken as further proof of the confused incompleteness that situates him in residual mythological time. Shamans enter this time while in trance to confront the administrator.

Žu/hõasi shamans go in disembodied flight to the sky and wrestle with //angwa in an attempt to force him to correct some error—an illness, a social disfunction, or an uncertainty about events. In entering this state, shamans take on some of its attributes; they sprout body hair or feathers, become partly or wholly animal, and fly. To be able to participate in this realm they must partake of it. They eat the bile of a lion, the musk gland of a skunklike weasel, the fat from an eland and a porcupine, and the roots of the three plants that grow in the supernatural world. Bitterness (of bile and gland) and fat are the dual sources of strength, as are the roots of extrasensory vision. These elements—eaten once during the course of learning to be a shaman—empower ordinary men to challenge the strength of the supernatural and, by overcoming it, to restore order to the social and natural universe.

The ritual context in which these activities take place involves the entire kin-based community. Only a few people who are directly affected may participate in minor cases, but, small or large, the form of both divinatory and curing rituals is the same. Both involve trance as the essential visionary condition in which the shaman is enabled to exercise his or her power. Women and girls sit in close physical contact, forming a circle facing a fire; they sing and clap songs that are associated with specific natural elements, usually animals but also plants or their products. Men and boys dance closely around the circle, chanting a counterpoint to the songs. Certain dancers are identified with particular animals and their songs; they are more likely to enter trance during performances of these songs. As a dancer feels the trance state approaching, he or she intensifies his or her movements and vocalizations, uttering piercing cries and calling for help, which is signified by heightening the intensity of the music. It is said that in the mythological past, the actual animal being danced (an eland, for example) was attracted to the performance, but now only its spirit attends.

During divinatory trances, Žu/hõasi shamans shout descriptions of their encounter with //angwa in which the cause of the social or physical illness under investigation is revealed. This cause is almost invariably some transgression on the part of either the patient or a close kinsman, usually involving the violation of rights to property (especially the products of land) or personal rights (infractions of obligations, sometimes extending to ancestors). But this direct cause is always expressed indirectly as having disrupted the cosmological order through some mediating agency; for example, the offender may have eaten (or only have killed) a forbidden animal. During the curing trance, the shaman rubs the patient and everyone else present with his hands and arms, thereby transferring healing energy through the mediating agent—sweat.

Thus the myths and their reenactment constitute the conceptual dimensions of Khoisan reality. They integrate subjective experience with the larger structural context through a repertoire of causal principles that, though not expressly verbalized in ordinary discourse, are based on an underlying symbolic order. Trance rituals mediate between these realms. Although couched in causal metaphors, responsibility is normally allocated to living individuals (through their having transgressed the cosmological order) and almost always involves a consensus solution to current social disruptions. The act of divination translates the cosmological constructs in terms of the specific instance at hand. The random, amoral, impersonal forces of nature—which have an order of their own, personified by the administrator and his domain—are temporarily neutralized by this dialectic between culture and society. In the process, although the internal logic remains intact, both are transformed.

There is abundant evidence that these contemporary systems of thought are derived through transformations of more ancient systems. Many rock paintings throughout southern Africa depict persons in postures identical to those assumed during trance today. Therianthropic and theriomorphic figures comparable with those of current creation myths abound among these paintings. The basic structure of these myths and many specific referents (rain bulls whose blood brings rain; water snakes that have hair, horns, limbs, and ears; beings that partake of the mythic past in the present) are shared by many Khoisan and southern Bantu-speaking peoples, suggesting a long history of associated cosmological construction. There is also evidence for comparatively recent change from more active totemic association with natural elements, especially animals, prominent today in trance. The colonial era and its aftermath disrupted the political and economic lives of Khoisan as well as Bantu-speaking peoples; in this process, it is possible but not yet certain that destructive, uncontrollable elements of the cosmological system became emphasized over the constructive forces of creation, and that today the administrator (//angwa of Žu/hõasi) has disproportionate power when compared historically with the role that the creator (!xo) has played.

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EDWIN N. WILMSEN (1987)
Revised Bibliography

KHOMIAKOV, ALEKSEI (1804–1860), was a Russian Orthodox lay theologian. Khomiakov was influential in determining the character of the Russian intelligentsia in the 1840s and 1850s; the emergence of one of its principal schools of thought, Slavophilism, is closely linked with his name. He was a member of the landed gentry and a participant in the salons of Moscow. His skills as a dialectician and debater were respected even by those (such as Herzen) who shared few of his views. Khomiakov's skills as a writer were less evident in his own milieu as the result of censorship or at least the anticipation of censorship. Virtually all his writings on religion were published abroad and in French. Most of these were published posthumously in their country of origin; few were available in Russian before 1879.

Khomiakov graduated from the University of Moscow as a mathematician but never received any formal instruction in theology. In view of the limitations under which Russian academic theology labored at this time, this was probably an advantage. It allowed him to probe church life for the essentials of the Orthodox faith and to delineate them in a remarkably succinct and forceful fashion. Most notable among his theological compositions was the essay *The Church Is One* (c. 1850).

In this essay Khomiakov adumbrated his celebrated teaching on *sobornost'*, the cornerstone of his theology. The term—a Russian neologism—defies translation, and Khomiakov invariably preferred to transliterate rather than translate it. He himself objected to the French translation, *conciliarité*. In modern times no one word has been found as an acceptable, equally comprehensive, alternative.

Khomiakov derived *sobornost'* from the ninth-century (and subsequently standard) Church Slavonic translation of the Nicene Creed, where the term *catholic* (*katholikos*) had been rendered as *sobornaia*. For him, the word denoted more than mere universality. It spoke rather of a church in which free and complete unanimity prevailed. Such freedom could admit of no constraint. Papal authoritarianism was indicative of a profound malaise in Western Christendom, and Khomiakov campaigned vigorously against it. Indeed, for Khomiakov, any kind of authoritarianism contradicted the very nature of the church. His intuition on this subject was to receive confirmation in 1848 when the Eastern patriarchs and bishops replied to the papal encyclical of that year. Their reply was enthusiastically echoed by Khomiakov (1850) in his correspondence with William Palmer: "The unvarying constancy and the unerring truth of the Christian dogma does not depend upon any Hierarchical Order: it is guarded by the totality, by the whole *people* of the church, which is the Body of Christ" (Birbeck, 1895, p. 94). By the same token, the individualism of the Protestant world was to be rejected. In 1851 he declared that it is in the Orthodox church that "a unity is to be found more authoritative than the despotism of the Vatican, *for it is based on the strength of mutual love*. There [also] a liberty is to be found more free than the license of Protestantism, for it is *regulated by the humility of mutual love*" (Birbeck, 1895, p. 102).

In the teaching of the Slavophiles, as of Khomiakov himself, a social expression of such mutuality was to be found in the Russian peasant commune, the *obshchina*. That the principles of *obshchinnost'* ("communality") and of *sobornost'* were interrelated, if not interdependent, was emphasized by Khomiakov's use of the one term *obshchina* ("commune") to designate both the ecclesiastical community (*koinonia*) and the peasant commune proper. But with the increasing disrepute and ultimate disappearance of the latter, this strand of Khomiakov's thought was itself to be obscured in later years. By contrast, his teaching on *sobornost'* was to capture the imagination of Russian religious thinkers throughout succeeding decades and to play its part also in the ecumenical debates of the century to come.

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SERGEI HACKEL (1987)

KHUSRAW, AMĪR (AH 651?–725?/1254?–1325? CE), was a distinguished Indo-Persian poet, musician, and panegyrist. His father, Sayf al-Dīn Shamsī, was most probably a slave-officer in the court of the Delhi sultan Iltutmish (r. 1211–1236). Orphaned at an early age, Khusraw was brought up in the household of his maternal grandfather, ʿImād al-Mulk, another high-ranking nobleman and a former Hindu Rajput who must have converted to Islam following the establishment of Turkish rule in India in the early thirteenth century.

Almost every aspect of Khusraw's life and work has been mythologized to the point where it is difficult to separate the true historical personage from his current popular image. He is today hailed as a great patriot and is counted among the foremost Ṣūfīs of India. Credited with the composition of many lyrics used for *qawwālīs,* a genre of Ṣūfī devotional music, as well as numerous works in Hindi, he is also renowned as a creator of ragas and inventor of musical instruments, including the sitar. Popularly referred to as Ḥaẓrat Amīr Khusraw, he is accorded an honorific title raising him to the stature of a saint. His *ʿurs* (lit., "wedding," the anniversary of a saint's death) is celebrated with tremendous enthusiasm and devotion. He is also known as Turk Allah ("God's Turk") and Tutī-yi Hind ("the parrot of India").

Khusraw displayed his precocious poetic talents at an early age. Seeking his livelihood in the only way open to poets of his time, in the service of rich patrons, he finally found a position at the royal court and had no scruples about flattering a series of royal masters, one of whom had acquired the throne after murdering his former benefactors. Khusraw was first employed by Sultan Kayqubād (1287–1290), at whose request he wrote a long poem, *Qirān al-saʿdayn* (The conjunction of the two auspicious stars). He continued in the service of the next ruler, Jalāl al-Dīn Khiljī (1290–1296), whose achievements he lauded in his *Miftāḥ al-futūḥ* (The key to victories). The reign of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khiljī (1296–1316) saw Khusraw at his most prolific, with *Khazāʾin al-futūḥ* (The treasury of victories) and *ʿĀshiqah* (the love story of Khiḍr Khān and Dewal Rani). He also paid eloquent poetic tributes to the next ruler, Mubārak Shāh Khiljī (1316–1320), who was by all accounts vain and debauched, in *Nuh sipihr* (The nine skies). When the Tughlaqs replaced the Khiljīs, Khusraw continued in the service of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughlaq (1320–1325), the history of whose reign he encapsulated in the *Tughlaq-nāmah.*

Khusraw was the first poet in India to compose war and court epics in Persian. As a prose writer he was remarkably eloquent; as a poet he was the master of all forms of verse: *rubāʿī*s ("quatrains"), *qaṣīdah*s ("odes"), and *ghazal*s ("lyrics"). A superb lyricist, Khusraw confidently mixed Persian and Hindi metaphors with striking results.

But it was his association with Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ (d. 1325), a saint of the Chishtī order, that is responsible for Khusraw's present stature. The Chishtīyah, a Ṣūfī order that flourished only in India, were at the height of their popularity during the spiritual reign of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn. As liberal interpreters of Islam, they provided an effective counterpoint to the orthodox version of Islam as propounded by the court-associated *ʿulamāʾ*. The liberalism of this order was reflected not only in their attitude toward non-Muslims but also in their patronage of cultural activities. As firm believers in the power of music and dance to induce mystical ecstasy, for which they were constantly attacked by the orthodox, they naturally attracted poets and musicians to their hospices (*khānagāh*s). In fact, almost all literary activity among the Muslims of this period was influenced by the ideology of the Chishtīyah. Among notable contemporaries of Khusraw also associated with the Chishtī *khānagāh* were Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, the great poet and mystic, and Ẓiyā al-Dīn Baranī, the courtier and historian.

Khusraw came into contact with Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn in 1272, and though he was never initiated into the mystic order, his wit and poetical and musical talents endeared him to the saint. Remarks attributed to the shaykh indicate the special fondness that he had for Khusraw.

The atmosphere of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn's *khānagāh* was particularly conducive to Khusraw's sensibilities. As a crucible where a composite culture was evolving from the interaction between Islamic and Indic elements, it suited the genius of Khusraw, who was by birth the product of a similar fusion. As a poet he thrived on mystic themes and imagery; as a gifted musician he moved the audiences at sessions of devotional music (*samāʿ*) to ecstasy, and with his special ear for languages he contributed greatly to the evolution of a lingua franca that made communication possible among the various groups. In brief, Khusraw came to represent almost every aspect of the Ṣūfī tradition in India.

Khusraw also embodies the contradictions arising from his situation. As a courtier dependent on the political survival of the Muslim rulers, he vocalizes an intense and often crude hatred for the Hindus, identifying in them the main threat to his class. But as a poet inspired by the ideology of the Chishtīyah, he displays a touching sensitivity and respect for the religion and culture of India. For this reason Khusraw represents a fine example of the evolving synthesis between the Islamic and the indigenous cultures of the Indian subcontinent.

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SALEEM KIDWAI (1987)

KHVARENAH is the Avestan term for "splendor" (OPers, *farnah;* MPers, Pahl., *khwarr;* NPers, *khurrah* or *farr*), designating one of the most characteristic notions of ancient Iranian religion. It is often associated with the aureole of royalty and of royal fortune, thanks to its identification in the Hellenistic period with Greek *tuchē* and Aramaic *gad,* "fortune" (*gdh* is also the ideogram with which *khwarr* is written in Pahlavi), but its meanings go beyond the sphere of royalty, and its influence transcends the confines of the Iranian world. Aspects of the concept of *khvarenah* are found in Manichaeism and Buddhism and are interwoven with similar concepts characteristic of other cultures, as in the Turkish notion of *qut* and the Armenian *p'aṙk'*. In the Avesta and in Zoroastrian tradition in general, *khvarenah* is also personified as a *yazata* or a being "worthy of worship."

Fundamental to the concept of *khvarenah* are its connections with light and fire, attested in the root from which it is derived, *khvar* ("to burn, to glow"), which is probably—despite the opposing opinion of H. W. Bailey, author of an important essay on the question (1943, pp. 1–77)—connected with the same root as *hvar,* "sun" (Duchesne-Guillemin, 1963, pp. 19–31). This explains why *khvarenah* is sometimes translated in Greek as *doxa* ("glory") and in Arabic-Persian as *nūr* ("light").

The *khvarenah* is a luminous and radiant force, a fiery and solar fluid that is found, mythologically, in water, in *haoma,* and, according to Zoroastrian anthropogony, in semen. It is an attribute characteristic of Mithra, of royalty, of divine and heroic figures in the national and religious tradition, of Yima, the first king, of Zarathushtra, and of the three Saoshyants, who perform their tasks (Pahl., *khwēshkārīh*) on earth thanks to the *khwarr* that they possess. It has the power to illuminate the mind and to open the eye of the soul to spiritual vision, enabling those who possess it to penetrate the mysteries of the otherworld.

Recently the winged disk in Achaemenid reliefs has been interpreted as the *khvarenah* (Shahbazi, 1980, pp. 119–147). Deified Khvarenah (Pharro) is depicted on coins from the Kushan empire as a standing man with flames rising from his back.

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GHERARDO GNOLI (1987)
Translated from Italian by Roger DeGaris

KIERKEGAARD, SØREN (1813–1855), was the most outstanding writer in the history of Danish letters and one of the leading religious philosophers of the nineteenth century. Kierkegaard's novel interpretation of the structure and dynamics of individual selfhood formed the basis of his radical critique of European cultural Protestantism and its philosophical counterpart, Hegelianism. His innovative ideas have remained extremely influential.

LIFE. Søren Aabye Kierkegaard was a person of unusual complexity whose outward life was relatively uneventful. Having received a substantial inheritance, he never needed to secure a regular professional position. He devoted most of his short life to the production of an immense body of philosophical and religious literature. The formative events in Kierkegaard's life centered around two individuals: his father, Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard, and his one-time fiancée, Regine Olsen; and two public conflicts: the *Corsair* affair, and his celebrated attack upon the Danish church.

Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard was a successful Copenhagen businessman who retired at an early age to pursue his theological interests. The elder Kierkegaard was a sober, brooding man who was possessed by a profound sense of personal guilt. In an effort to come to terms with his malaise, he became deeply involved in the Protestant Pietism that was then sweeping Denmark. Michael subjected his favorite son, Søren, to a rigorous and austere religious upbringing. The psychological and intellectual complexity of the father-son relation left a lasting impression on Kierkegaard and indirectly informed much of his theological reflection.

The other personal relationship that was decisive for Kierkegaard was his brief engagement to Regine Olsen. Shortly after proposing marriage to Regine, Kierkegaard precipitated a break with her. The apparent reason for this unexpected reversal was twofold. In the first place, Kierkegaard discovered an unbridgeable gap between his own introspective, tormented personality and the seemingly innocent, inexperienced Regine. Second, Kierkegaard became convinced that his religious vocation precluded marriage and family life. Many of Kierkegaard's most important works focus on issues raised by his perplexing relation to Regine.

The two major public events in Kierkegaard's life involved him in bitter controversy. Late in 1845, Kierkegaard published a criticism of the *Corsair,* a sophisticated Danish scandal sheet, in which he exposed the association of several leading intellectuals with this notorious journal. The embarrassed authors and editors responded by unleashing an abusive personal attack on Kierkegaard in which he was held up to public ridicule. This episode marked a turning point in his life. After 1846, Kierkegaard's writings became more overtly Christian. The full implications of this shift emerged clearly in Kierkegaard's attack on the Danish church. Kierkegaard believed that God had chosen him to expose the scandal of a society that espoused Christian principles but in which citizens lived like "pagans." In a series of articles titled *The Moment,* Kierkegaard argued that the Christianity preached in the established church of Denmark was actually the opposite of the religion practiced by Jesus. His penetrating criticisms of church and society created a public furor. In the midst of this controversy, Kierkegaard died (November 11, 1855).

WORKS. Few authors have written as wide a variety of works as Kierkegaard. Most of his writings can be grouped in four major categories.

(1) Pseudonymous works. Between 1841 and 1850, Kierkegaard wrote a series of works under different pseudonyms. These are his best-known books: *Either-Or* (1843), *Repetition* (1843), *Fear and Trembling* (1843), *Philosophical Fragments* (1844), *The Concept of Anxiety* (1844), *Stages on Life's Way* (1845), *Concluding Unscientific Postscript* (1846), *Crisis in a Life of an Actress and Other Essays on Drama* (1848), *The Sickness unto Death* (1849), and *Training in Christianity* (1850). Not until the last pages of *Concluding Unscientific Postscript* did Kierkegaard publicly claim responsibility for his pseudonymous writings.

(2) Edifying discourses. It was Kierkegaard's custom to accompany each of the pseudonymous texts with one or more religious works published under his own name. He frequently complained that while his pseudonymous writings received considerable attention, his religious works were virtually ignored. Two kinds of works make up the edifying discourses: ethical discourses and Christian discourses. While the ethical discourses consistently exclude Christian categories, the Christian discourses explore religious life from the perspective of Christian faith. The former are more common before 1845 and the latter more numerous after that date. The most important Christian discourses are: *Works of Love* (1847), *Christian Discourses* (1848), *The Lilies of the Field and the Birds of the Air* (1849), *For Self-Examination* (1851), and *Judge for Yourself* (1851–1852).

(3) Polemical tracts. Since he understood himself as a necessary "corrective" to "the present age," Kierkegaard remained an irrepressible polemicist. As was the custom in Denmark at that time, he presented his views on current intellectual and social matters in the public press and in pamphlets that were directed to a general audience. Kierkegaard's most important polemical writings appeared in a newspaper, *The Fatherland,* and his own publication, *The Moment.* These articles provide a glimpse of Kierkegaard's immediate impact on Danish society.

(4) Journals and papers. Throughout his life, Kierkegaard kept a detailed journal, which he knew would be published after his death. The journal, which runs to twenty volumes, contains a wealth of information about Kierkegaard's personality, writings, and his views of other philosophers and theologians.

Two important books do not fall within this general grouping. *The Concept of Irony, with Constant Reference to Socrates* (1841) was Kierkegaard's dissertation for the master of arts degree. This work presents an early version of his critique of Hegel and leading nineteenth-century Romantics. In addition, the analysis of Socrates developed in this book forms the basis of Kierkegaard's understanding of his own role as an author. This becomes obvious in the final text that deserves mention: *The Point of View for My Work as an Author* (written in 1848 and published posthumously in 1859). In this short book, Kierkegaard insists that in spite of appearances to the contrary, his diverse writings form a coherent whole that is constantly guided by a religious purpose.

THOUGHT. Kierkegaard's sense of religious mission informs all of his writings. The overriding goal of his work is nothing less than "the reintroduction of Christianity into Christendom." Since Kierkegaard believes that authentic human existence is decisively revealed in Christianity, he is convinced that the struggle to lead a Christian life involves the attempt to realize true selfhood. Kierkegaard's writings represent a sustained effort to provide the occasion for individuals to make the difficult movement of faith. The most important part of Kierkegaard's carefully conceived strategy is his intricate pseudonymous authorship. The pseudonymous writings can best be understood by considering three interrelated assumptions that they all share: the notion of indirect communication, the understanding of the structure of selfhood, and the theory of the stages of existence.

Kierkegaard's method of communicating indirectly through pseudonyms reflects his effort to address problems peculiar to nineteenth-century Denmark and expresses his general conception of the nature of religious truth. He repeatedly insists that most of his fellow Danes were simply deluding themselves when they claimed to be Christians. The established Lutheran church had so domesticated Christian faith that the spiritual tensions that characterized original Christianity had all but disappeared. In this situation, Kierkegaard views his task as inversely Socratic. Rather than engaging in a rational dialogue that is supposed to uncover the truth implicitly possessed by all human beings, Kierkegaard tries to bring individuals to the brink of decision by offering them the opportunity to discover the errors of their ways. Each pseudonym represents a different point of view that reflects a distinct form of life. Kierkegaard presents these works as mirrors in which people can see themselves reflected. The self-knowledge that results from this encounter with the text creates the possibility of decisions that redefine the self.

Kierkegaard's method of communication is also a function of his conviction that religious truth is subjectivity. In contrast to Hegel's speculative approach to Christianity, Kierkegaard maintains that religious truth cannot be conceptually grasped but must be existentially appropriated through the free activity of the individual agent. In matters of faith, there can be neither knowledge nor certainty. Human existence in general and religious belief in particular always involve absolute risk. Kierkegaard's aim is to serve as a "midwife" who can attend but not effect the birth of the authentic self.

This understanding of indirect communication presupposes a specific interpretation of the structure of human selfhood. In *The Sickness unto Death,* Kierkegaard ironically employs Hegelian language to formulate an account of selfhood that overturns Hegel's understanding of subjectivity. The self, Kierkegaard argues, is a structure of self-relation that is created and sustained by the wholly other God. Each human being is called upon to relate possibilities and actualities through the exercise of his or her free will. This view of the self forms the basis of Kierkegaard's penetrating psychological analyses. In *The Concept of Anxiety,* Kierkegaard defines anxiety in terms of the subject's recognition of the possibilities opened by its own freedom. Despair is the subject's failure or refusal to be itself. Anxiety and despair combine to disclose the self's responsibility for itself.

The analysis of the structure of selfhood forms the foundation of the theory of the stages of existence. Although each person is irreducibly individual, Kierkegaard maintains that it is possible to discern recurrent patterns amid the variety of human lives. He identifies three basic stages of existence: aesthetic, ethical, and religious. Each stage represents a distinct form of life that is governed by different assumptions and expectations. Taken together, the stages provide an outline of the entire pseudonymous authorship. While Kierkegaard examines aesthetic existence in the first part of both *Either-Or* and *Stages on Life's Way,* the second section of each of these works is devoted to a consideration of ethical experience. The analysis of the religious stage is more complex. In *Fear and Trembling, Philosophical Fragments,* and *Concluding Unscientific Postscript,* Kierkegaard approaches questions and dilemmas posed by religion from the perspective of nonbelief. *The Sickness unto Death* and *Training in Christianity,* by contrast, are written from an avowedly Christian point of view. Finally, the third part of *Stages on Life's Way* is a tortuous account of the inner struggle of an individual who is caught between belief and unbelief.

These three stages of existence are not randomly selected and arbitrarily presented. Rather, the stages are carefully ordered in such a way that as one advances from the aesthetic through the ethical to the religious, there is a movement toward authentic selfhood. Generally conceived, this progression charts the subject's advance from undifferentiated identification with its environment, through increasing differentiation from otherness, to complete individuation, in which the self becomes a concrete individual, eternally responsible for itself. The aesthetic stage of existence is characterized by the absence of genuine decision. The lack of free resolution results from either unreflective immersion in sensuous inclination and social life or the dispassionate absorption in abstract reflection. From the ethical point of view, the self has an obligation to become itself through free activity. Deliberate decision marks an essential moment in the process of individuation and forms a crucial stage in the journey to selfhood. The ethicist, however, is insufficiently sensitive to the self's radical dependence on God. The ethical actor eventually realizes that he actually divinizes the social order by regarding moral obligation as divine commandment. The "infinite qualitative difference" between the divine and the human creates the possibility of a conflict between obligation to other people and obedience to God. Kierkegaard labels this collision a "teleological suspension of the ethical." This clash between religious and moral responsibility effectively overturns ethical life.

The religious stage of existence represents the full realization of authentic selfhood. Kierkegaard's analysis of the self culminates in the paradoxical coincidence of opposites created and sustained by the faithful individual's absolute decision. Faith is the free activity of self-relation in which the self becomes itself by simultaneously differentiating and synthesizing the opposites that make up its being. In this critical moment of decision, a person who is fully conscious of his responsibility for his life constitutes his unique individuality by decisively distinguishing himself from other selves and defining his eternal identity in the face of the wholly other God. The qualitative difference between God and self renders impossible any immanent relation between the divine and the human. Left to himself, the sinful individual cannot establish the absolute relation to the absolute upon which genuine selfhood depends. The possibility of the proper relation between God and self is opened by the incarnate Christ. The God-man is an absolute paradox that can never be rationally comprehended. This absolute paradox poses an irreconcilable either-or: *either* believe, *or* be offended. Faith is a radical venture, an unmediated leap in which the self transforms itself. By faithfully responding to the absolutely paradoxical divine presence, the self internalizes the truth of the God-man. In this moment of decision, truth becomes subjective and the subject becomes truthful. Such truthful subjectivity is the goal toward which Kierkegaard's complex authorship relentlessly leads the reader.

INFLUENCE. Largely ignored in his own day, Kierkegaard's writings emerged during the early decades of the twentieth century to become a dominant force in theology, philosophy, psychology, and literature. Kierkegaard's theological impact is evident in Protestant neo-orthodoxy. Karl Barth and Rudolf Bultmann developed many of the themes that Kierkegaard had identified. In the thought of Martin Buber, Kierkegaard's influence extends into the domain of Jewish theology.

Kierkegaard's work also forms the foundation of one of the most important twentieth-century schools of philosophy: existentialism. Kierkegaard set the terms of debate for major Continental philosophers such as Martin Heidegger, Karl Jaspers, and Jean-Paul Sartre. By underscoring the importance of the problems of individual selfhood, authenticity, transcendence, absurdity, temporality, death, desire, guilt, despair, anxiety, and hope, Kierkegaard's texts provided rich resources for an entire generation of philosophers.

Less often recognized is Kierkegaard's role in modern psychology. His groundbreaking analyses of the psychic states of the individual self have been expanded and extended by psychologists such as Ludwig Binswanger and R. D. Laing. The psychological theories that have arisen from the work of Kierkegaard tend to complement and correct currents in traditional Freudian analysis.

Finally, it is important to stress Kierkegaard's influence on twentieth-century literature. The hand of Kierkegaard can be seen in the works of creative authors as different as Albert Camus, Franz Kafka, John Updike, and Walker Percy.

This summary can only suggest the extraordinary importance of Kierkegaard's work. The insights of this lonely Dane pervade contemporary thought and shape the way many people now understand their lives.

SEE ALSO Existentialism.

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MARK C. TAYLOR (1987)

KIMBANGU, SIMON (1889–1951), African religious prophet and founder of the Church of Jesus Christ on Earth through the Prophet Simon Kimbangu. Kimbangu was born on September 24, 1889, in the village of N'Kamba, located in the Ngombe district of what is now the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In Kikongo, the word *kimbangu* means "one who reveals the hidden truth." Many legends surround Kimbangu's youth and early religious activities. Some accounts claim that both his mother and father were traditional Kongo healers and that his visionary activities were related to theirs. Only since the mid-1970s has much of the original missionary and government documentation on Kimbangu's early activities become available to scholars.

Kimbangu attended a Baptist Missionary Society school at Wathen, near his home village. He became a Christian as a young man and was baptized on July 4, 1915, along with his wife, Marie-Mwilu, in the Baptist mission at Ngombe-Luete. He was trained as a catechist and religious instructor by the Baptist Missionary Society but failed his examination to become a pastor. During the typhoid epidemic of 1918 and 1919, in which many residents of his area died, Kimbangu is reputed to have received a calling to heal the sick. He is alleged to have heard a voice that said, "I am Christ. My servants are unfaithful. I have chosen you to bear witness before your brethren and convert them. Tend my flock" (Martin, 1975, p. 44). Frightened, Kimbangu was unable to respond and fled to the capital city of Kinshasa (then Léopoldville), where he worked briefly as a migrant laborer at an oil refinery.

Upon returning to his village, Kimbangu again received the calling to heal. On April 6, 1921, he performed his first public act of faith healing. He is reported to have laid hands on a critically ill woman and healed her. This act marked the beginning of Kimbangu's healing revival and six months of intensive religious activity. N'Kamba, the seat of Kimbangu's healing ministry, became known as the "New Jerusalem," and over five thousand local converts are reported to have flocked to him.

As the healing movement spread in popularity, colonial officials and merchants began to perceive it as a revolutionary threat. Missionaries were skeptical of Kimbangu's new teachings, and merchants complained that he incited followers to abandon their work and neglect the payment of taxes. With a small cadre of leaders to assist him, Kimbangu continued to preach and perform inspired acts of healing. On June 6, 1921, Léon Morel, a Belgian official, attempted to arrest Kimbangu and four of his most loyal assistants. Kimbangu eluded colonial officials until, prompted by a divine vision, he voluntarily surrendered on September 12.

On October 3, 1921, Kimbangu was sentenced to death by 120 strokes of the lash for sedition and hostility toward the colonial authorities. His court-martial was characterized by arbitrary proceedings and legal irregularities. In November, the death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment by King Albert, who was reportedly influenced by the pleas of Belgian missionaries to exercise some leniency. Kimbangu was transported to Lubumbashi (then Elisabethville) in Shaba province, where he was imprisoned until his death on October 12, 1951, in the "hospital for Congolese." There is some debate concerning whether Kimbangu, whose teachings resembled those of fundamentalist Protestantism, converted to Catholicism on his deathbed. This possibility has been vehemently denied by his family and followers.

Kimbangu's arrest augmented the aura of mystery surrounding him as a prophetic figure and increased the popular appeal of his charismatic movement. Between 1924 and 1930, Belgian colonial authorities continued overt attempts to suppress the movement. Kimbangu's principal followers were imprisoned at Lowa, and others were confined over the years in thirty detention centers spread throughout the country. The Kimbanguist church estimates that there were 37,000 exiles, of whom 34,000 died in prison between 1921 and 1956. Recent scholarship, however, has established that this figure resulted from a typographical error in a newspaper article; the official exile and imprisonment figure was closer to 2,148. Although Kimbanguist detainees were isolated and kept under martial surveillance, the policy of detention eventually led to the spread of the Kimbanguist movement in various regions of the Belgian Congo.

The movement gained strength, forming itself into a group that became known as the Church of Jesus Christ on Earth through the Prophet Simon Kimbangu. Followers were called *ngunza* ("prophets" or "preachers"). Kimbanguist offshoots, such as Salutism and Mpadism, and other manifestations of Kimbangu's influence appeared throughout the region among populations with whom Kimbangu never had direct contact.

Between 1955 and 1957, Kimbangu's movement experienced a renewal and continued to spread throughout the Belgian Congo. After the prophet's death, his youngest son, Kuntima (Joseph) Diangienda, assumed leadership of the church in accordance with Kimbangu's wishes. He formalized its doctrine, sacraments, and egalitarian organizational structure. In 1969, the Kimbanguist church was admitted to the World Council of Churches, and in 1971, it was proclaimed as one of the four officially recognized ecclesiastical bodies in the newly formed nation of Zaire. By the end of the 1980s there were nearly four million Kimbanguists in Zaire.

Simon Kimbangu's direct and indirect influence on African prophetic movements has been far-reaching. The Kimbanguist church is one of the most extensively documented African religious groups. It is possible to view the history and transformation of the Kimbanguist church as a prototype for many contemporary African religious groups that have made the transition from grass-roots movements to established churches.

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BENNETTA JULES-ROSETTE (1987)

KIMḤI, DAVID (c. 1160–c. 1235), known by the acronym RaDaK (Rabbi David Kimḥi), was a biblical exegete. David was the son of Yosef Kimḥi and the brother of Mosheh Kimḥi, exiles from Almohad Spain to Narbonne, where David was born. Both Yosef and Mosheh, David's principal teacher, were grammarians and exegetes of note, heavily influenced by contemporary Hispano-Jewish rationalism. David was the best-known graduate of the school of exegetes that the elder Kimḥis founded in Narbonne, a city whose tradition of biblical studies had been established by the eleventh-century Mosheh the Preacher.

Kimḥi was the author of a masoretic guide, the *ʿEt sofer* (Scribe's pen); the *Sefer ha-shorashim* (Book of roots), a dictionary of biblical Hebrew; and the *Mikhol* (Compendium), the most authoritative Hebrew grammar of the Middle Ages. However, he is chiefly known for his biblical commentaries, which include expositions on *Genesis,* the Former and Latter Prophets, *Psalms, Proverbs,* and *Chronicles.* He also wrote two allegorical commentaries, employing Maimonidean philosophical concepts, on the Hexaemeron (chapters 1 and 2 of *Genesis*) and the chariot vision of Ezekiel.

Kimḥi's commentaries evince great interest in masoretic questions, and he traveled considerable distances to consult reliable manuscripts such as the *Sefer Yerushalmi* in Saragossa and the *Sefer Hilleli* in Toledo. His avowed aim was to follow the twelfth-century Andalusian grammarian Avraham ibn ʿEzraʾ and his own father and brother in establishing a *peshaṭ* ("plain sense") based on philological and contextual analysis. His extensive knowledge of rabbinic Hebrew, Aramaic, and Provençal, as well as his acquaintance with Arabic, contributed to his explication of the text. Concern for internal syntax within verses and for the general sequence of the biblical narrative became the hallmark of his commentaries. Yet despite Kimḥi's emphasis on *peshaṭ,* he cited abundant *midrashim,* or rabbinic interpretations—some because he felt them useful in explicating the plain sense, some as a foil against which he could highlight the *peshaṭ,* and some to add interest and liveliness to his text. His rationalism frequently comes to the fore in brief digressions on the nature of providence, prophecy, epistemology, and the rationales for observance of the commandments. He generally explained miracles naturalistically. Although the influence of Saʿadyah Gaon, Avraham ibn ʿEzraʾ, and Yehudah ha-Levi can clearly be felt, the dominant tone of his work was set by Maimonides.

Kimḥi demonstrated his loyalty to Maimonides when, in his seventies, he journeyed across Languedoc and Spain to defend Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* when that work came under attack by traditionalist Jews during the so-called Maimonidean controversy. He engaged in external polemics as well, and a number of anti-Christological and anti-Christian remarks can be found in his writings. Many of these were censored and survive only in manuscript. Kimḥi's depiction of exile and redemption in terms of darkness and light—a theme he developed at length—was prompted by his sensitivity to the tribulations of Israel brought about by internal division and external oppression.

Because of its accessibility, Kimḥi's work left an indelible mark on that of the Hebraists and humanists of the Renaissance and Reformation, and its influence on the King James Version of the Bible is unmistakable.

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FRANK TALMAGE (1987)
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KING, MARTIN LUTHER, JR. (1929–1968), was a Baptist minister and civil rights leader. The son and grandson of Baptist preachers, Martin Luther King, Jr., was born into a middle-class black family in Atlanta, Georgia. As an adolescent, King grew concerned about racial and economic inequality in American society. Sociology classes at Morehouse College taught him to view racism and poverty as related aspects of social evil, and reading Henry David Thoreau's essay "Civil Disobedience" (1849) convinced him that resistance to an unjust system was a moral duty. At Morehouse, King decided to become a minister, and after graduation he enrolled at Crozier Theological Seminary to study divinity. There he acquired from Walter Rauschenbusch's *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (1907) the conviction that the Christian churches have an obligation to work for social justice. In Mohandas Gandhi's practice of nonviolent resistance he discovered a tactic for transforming Christian love from a merely personal to a social ethic.

King's interest in theology, philosophy, and social ethics led him to enter the graduate program at Boston University School of Theology, where he earned a Ph.D. degree and developed his own philosophical position based upon the tenet that "only personality—finite and infinite—is ultimately real." In Boston, he met and courted Coretta Scott, and in 1953 they were wed. A year later, King accepted a call to be pastor of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama. Chosen by E. D. Nixon, president of the Montgomery National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, to lead a boycott of the city's segregated buses, he gained national recognition when the boycott resulted in a Supreme Court decision that declared laws requiring segregated seating on buses unconstitutional.

Following the Montgomery bus boycott, King founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to coordinate scattered civil rights activities and local organizations. Operating primarily through the black churches, the SCLC mounted successive attacks against segregation in the early 1960s. Public demonstrations, especially in the South, dramatized for the nation the violence of white segregationists in contrast to the nonviolence of black demonstrators. Although immediate gains at the local level were often minimal, King's strategy drew national attention to the racial problem, awakened moral concern in many, pressured the federal government to act, and helped gain passage of legislation protecting the rights of blacks to vote and desegregating public accommodations. As the most eloquent speaker of the movement, King moved thousands to commit themselves to civil rights as both a moral and a political issue. For his nonviolent activism, he received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964.

Against the arguments of militants, King maintained that nonviolence was the only practical and moral means for African Americans to achieve equality. Violence would bring only more violence; nonviolence might convert the racist's conscience. Linking the cause of African Americans to the struggle for independence of colonized peoples worldwide, King opposed the Vietnam War and condemned international violence.

While organizing a "poor people's campaign" to persuade Congress to take action on poverty, King accepted an invitation to participate in marches for striking sanitation workers in Memphis, Tennessee. There, on April 4, 1968, he was assassinated. Considered a modern prophet by many, King ranks with Gandhi as a major ethical leader of the twentieth century.

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ALBERT J. RABOTEAU (1987)

KINGDOM OF GOD.

Among the central concepts of the great religions, that of the kingdom of God may be the most hopeful, for while it recognizes the reality of death and injustice, it affirms that a just and living transcendent reality is entering history and transforming it. This article discusses the concept of the kingdom of God in postbiblical Judaism, the New Testament, and the history of the Christian church, together with its antecedents in the ancient Near East, Israel, and Greece.

DIVINE KINGSHIP IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST, ISRAEL, AND GREECE. Although the notion of divine kingship is defined in human political terms, it is not a mere projection of human kingship onto a divine realm. Rather, the successive phrases in which this notion occurs show that divine kingship was understood as transcending and rejecting human kingship.

"King of the gods." This phrase implies sovereignty over the created order. In a pantheon, one god can emerge as supreme (1) through political shifts, as does, for example, Enlil, the tutelary god of Sumerian Nippur, who becomes "lord, god, king . . . the judge . . . of the universe" (J. B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament,* 3d ed. with supp., Princeton, 1969, p. 575); (2) through syncretism in favor of a solar deity such as Shamash (Pritchard, p. 387) or the Egyptian deity Amun-Re, who is the chief, lord, and father of the gods as well as creator of life (Pritchard, pp. 365–366); or (3) through the acclamation of one god as king by the others for his victory over the powers of chaos. This final form of acquiring sovereignty springs from a widespread mythical pattern illustrated in the texts of four ancient societies.

Babylon. The creation epic *Enuma elish,* recited at the spring New Year festival, describes the victory of Marduk over the sea monster Tiamat, from whose body Marduk creates heaven and earth. Even before the contest the other gods proclaim, "We have granted you kingship [*sharruta*] over the universe entire" (4.14), and "Marduk is king!" (4.28). After the battle, the gods ratify these proclamations and give Marduk the chief of his fifty Sumerian titles, "king of the gods of heaven and the underworld" (5.112).

Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra, Syria). Although the god El is routinely addressed as king in this literature (Pritchard, pp. 133 and 140), Baal is elevated to kingship after his victory over Yam, "Prince Sea." The craftsman-god tells Baal, "Now you will cut off your adversary, you will take your eternal kingship [*mlk 'lmk*], your everlasting dominion" (Pritchard, p. 131); and goddesses tell El, "Baal is our king [*mlkn*], our judge, and there is none above him" (Pritchard, pp. 133 and 138).

Greece. In the Homeric poems, Zeus is called the "father of gods and men" and is once called the "highest and best of the gods" (*Odyssey* 19.303). In Hesiod's *Theogony* (700 BCE?), Zeus leads the Olympian gods in battle against the Titans, who include Chaos (v. 700) and the dragon Typhoeus. Hesiod recounts that after the battle, "the blessed gods, at the urging of Earth [Gaia], requested far-seeing Zeus to reign and rule over them" (i. e., as *basileus* and *anax,* vv. 881–885). It is from this victory over the Titans that Zeus acquires the title "king of the gods" (v. 886). Similarly, in Pindar's *Sev-*

enth Olympian Ode (464 BCE), Zeus is called “great king of the gods” (v. 34).

Israel. In the face of Israel’s ostensible monotheism, a group of other gods, called *benei Elim* (lit., “sons of gods”), is also acknowledged. These gods, however, are not like the one God (who in this context always has the name whose consonants are YHVH, conventionally transcribed “Yahveh,” *Ps.* 89:5–8); they must ascribe glory to him (*Ps.* 29:1), for it was Yahveh who crushed the sea-monster of chaos, Rahab (*Ps.* 89:10), or Leviathan (*Ps.* 74:13–14). And in *Psalms* 95:3, Yahveh is given the same title that Pindar gives Zeus, “a great king above all gods.”

“Yahveh is king.” This phrase implies sovereignty over the people of Israel. In the historical books of Israel, the kingship of Yahveh is cited solely to refute the claims of human kings (*1 Sm.* 8:7, 12:2; cf. *Jgs.* 8:23). The concept is most fully developed in the *Book of Psalms,* the dating of which is problematic; however, Isaiah’s vision of Yahveh as king (*Is.* 6:5) shows that this was a living belief in 742 BCE. In a compact group of Psalms, Yahveh is called “king” (*melekh*) or is made the subject of the corresponding verb *malakh* (*Ps.* 93:1, 96:10, 97:1, 99:1). These Psalms display a unique cluster of motifs associated with Yahveh’s kingship: (1) his theophany in lightning or earthquake over Lebanon (*Ps.* 29) and elsewhere (*Ps.* 97, 99); (2) his supremacy over other gods who bow down to him or are reduced to “idols” (*Ps.* 29, 95–97, 47:2 in some texts); (3) his entrance into his holy place (*Ps.* 24) or ascent to his throne (*Ps.* 47; cf. *Ps.* 93, 97); (4) his act of creation (*Ps.* 24, 95, 96), portrayed as a conquest of great waters (*Ps.* 29, 33), where the personified elements sing a new song (*Ps.* 96, 98) and the floods, now beneficent, “clap their hands” (*Ps.* 98:8); (5) his sovereignty over other nations or over all the earth (*Ps.* 47, 96, 98); and (6) his future coming to judge the earth (*Ps.* 96, 98) as he has previously come to Israel (*Ps.* 99:4).

Sigmund Mowinckel, in his *Psalmenstudien* (2 vols., Oslo, 1921–1924), searching for a liturgical occasion for these psalms in the Temple, boldly hypothesized a festival of Yahveh’s enthronement, a *Thronbesteigungsfest,* which he assigned to the autumn feast of Tabernacles (Sukkot) on the basis of *1 Kings* 8:2 (cf. *Zec.* 14:16). This theory, much developed by Scandinavian and British scholars, assumed that the king dramatically enacted the role of Yahveh in conquering chaos and the nations, in the god’s enthronement, and, perhaps, even in a mock death, resurrection, and sacred marriage. But Roland de Vaux, in his *Ancient Israel* (vol. 2, New York, 1965, pp. 502–506), finds no evidence for such a festival. And while the theme of Yahveh’s entrance to the holy place or ascent to his throne suggests a Temple liturgy, *Psalms* 132:8 suggests that the god was represented in this liturgy by the ark rather than by the king.

As the contrast between these affirmations of divine kingship and Israel’s state of exile (587/6–538 BCE) became too great, the concept is split up between present and future. In the present, God’s kingship is individualized and he becomes “my king” (*Ps.* 5:3ff.); in an indefinite future, Yahveh as king will regather dispersed Israel (*Ez.* 20:33) and reign in Jerusalem (*Is.* 24:23, *Mi.* 4:7; cf. *Is.* 52:7–10).

“Kingship from heaven.” This Babylonian phrase introduces various concepts of the divine sovereignty in the state. Hammurabi in the prologue to his laws (c. 1700 BCE) tells how Anu established for Marduk an “enduring sovereignty” over the world. At first, the Babylonian myth *Etana* states, “the people had not set up a king”; but later “kingship descended from heaven” (Pritchard, p. 114). Although the concept of kingship as bestowed from the divine realm served to legitimate the state in Mesopotamia, in Zoroastrianism it provided an alternative to the state. One of the aspects of Ahura Mazdā is Khshathra, who combines the ideas of divine and human “kingship.” In *Yasna* 44.7, kingship is presented as his creation along with Ārmaiti (“piety”); *Yasna* 33.10 speaks of “kingship and justice [*asha*]” in parallel just as *Matthew* 6:33 does in the New Testament. But the prophetic Zoroastrian sense of kingship is co-opted for political ends by Darius, who begins his Behistun inscription (520 BCE), “I am Darius, the Great King, King of Kings . . . Ahura Mazdā bestowed the kingship upon me” (cited in Roland G. Kent’s *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon,* 2d ed., New Haven, 1953, p. 119).

There are hints of such a semi-autonomous kingship in Stoicism, as in Epictetus’s notion of the “kingship” (*basileia*) of the philosopher (Arrian, *Epictetus* 3.22.76). But the principal inheritor in the West of the concept of a quasi-independent divine kingship was later biblical Judaism. *Psalms* 22.28 affirms that “kingship *[melukhah]* belongs to Yahveh.” The editor who wrote *1 Chronicles* 28:5 replaced the kingship (*mamlekhet*) of David and Solomon, which he found in his source, *1 Kings* 9:5, by substituting the divine *malkhut.* Echoing an Ugaritic theme, *Psalms* 145:11–13 proclaims, “thy kingship is a kingship of all the ages.” This theme is developed in *Daniel:* “The God of heaven will set up an everlasting kingdom” (*Dn.* 2:44; cf. *Dn.* 4:3), which is to be handed over to one who is “like a son of man” (*Dn.* 7:14ff.) or to “the people of the saints of the Most High” (*Dn.* 7:27).

Among the Covenanters of Qumran it was believed that the “covenant of the kingship” (*berit malkhut*) over God’s people was given to David and his descendants for ever (Edmund Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran,* Munich, 1964, p. 247). The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha sometimes ascribe the kingship to a Messiah (which may, however, be a Christian interpolation); for example, the Syriac *Apocalypse of Baruch* affirms that the “anointed one” will sit “in eternal peace on the throne of his kingship” (73:1).

“King of kings.” This phrase indicates first human, then divine, sovereignty over earthly kingships. It was first applied to human rulers annexing vassal kingships. It was standard among Old Persian royal inscriptions (cf. *Ezra* 7:12), and it is ascribed to the Babylonian king Nebuchadrezzar by *Ezekiel* 26:7 and *Daniel* 2:37 (but not by cuneiform sources). The Romans knew it as a Parthian title. Plutarch writes that Pompey refused the title to the Parthian king (*Pompey* 38.2) and that Antony called his sons by Cleopatra "kings of kings" (*Antony* 54.4).

In Stoicism and the Judeo-Christian tradition, this title is transferred to the God who rules over all human kingship. Cleanthes, in his *Hymn to Zeus* (270 BCE), names the abstract god of Stoicism "Zeus" and calls him "highest king"; a later Stoic gave him the Persian title "great king of kings" (Dio Chrysostom 2.75). Yahveh is called "God of gods and Lord of lords" in *Deuteronomy* 10:17—conceivably a late enough text to be under Babylonian-Persian influence. Once in Greek Judaism God appears as "king of kings" (*2 Maccabees* 13:4). Rabbi ʿAqavyaʾ (c. 60 CE) expanded the title to underline God's claim over the highest of earthly monarchies, teaching that humans are to give account "before the King of the kings of kings" (Mishna *Avot* 3.1). These usages are combined in *Revelation* 19:16 and 17:14 where the victorious Christ is proclaimed "King of kings and Lord of lords." The title became the rallying point for simple Christians to reject the divine status of the Roman emperor; thus the African martyr Speratus (180 CE) before a Roman proconsul confessed "my Lord, the Emperor of kings and of all peoples" (*dominum meum, imperatorem regum et omnium gentium;* text in Herbert Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs,* Oxford, 1972, no. 6).

"Kingship of heaven." In the rabbinic tradition this phrase expresses an understanding of the universal sovereignty of God, future and/or eternal. The rabbis saw *Exodus* 15:18 ("Yahveh will reign for ever and ever") as the recognition that established God's kingship on earth (*Exodus Rabbah* 23.1). As the sovereignty assigned to the God of Israel grew, his name was replaced by the term *heaven.* The obligation to recite the Shemaʿ twice daily is called "taking on the yoke of the kingship of heaven [*ʿol malkhut shamayim*]" (Mishna *Berakhoth* 2.2); Rabbi ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef did so during his execution under Hadrian (135 CE, Babylonian Talmud *Bera-khot* 61b). Eventually the recognition of the divine sovereignty by Jews alone seemed to the rabbis insufficient: Thus the great universalistic prayer *ʿAlenu* of Roʾsh ha-Shanah has the petition that all the inhabitants of the world "should accept the yoke of thy kingdom; and do thou reign over them speedily and forever; for the kingship is thine, and forever wilt thou reign in glory."

One set of rabbinic texts partially identifies the divine kingship with Israel's political autonomy. Rabbi Ayyvu (c. 320 CE) said: "Formerly the kingship was vested in Israel, but when they sinned it was taken from them and given to the other nations. . . . But tomorrow when Israel repents, God will take it from the idolaters, and the kingship shall be to the Lord" (*Esther Rabbah*). The fortunes of Israel are seen by the rabbis as coloring universal history: Thus the Midrash on Psalm 99 states, "As long as the children of Israel are in exile, the kingship of heaven is not at peace and the nations of the earth dwell unperturbed."

Another set of texts portrays the coming sovereignty of God as wholly universal. In the *Mekhiltaʾ de-Rabbi Yishmaʿeʾl* (Jacob Z. Lauterbach, trans., 3 vols., Philadelphia, 1933, vol. 2, p. 159) one reads: "At the time when idolatry shall be uprooted . . . and the Place [*Maqom,* 'God'] shall be recognized throughout the world as the One, then will his kingship be established for the age of the ages of ages." The Aramaic Targums, which regularly translate "The Lord will reign" as "The kingship [*malkhut*] will be revealed" (e.g., *Is.* 24:23; *Ex.* 15:18), twice attribute the kingship to the Messiah: The Targum on *Micah* 4:7–8 states that "to you, O Messiah of Israel, hidden because of the sins of the congregation of Zion, the kingship is to come," and the Targum on *Isaiah* 53:10 affirms that God's people, after being purified from sin, "shall look upon the kingship of their Messiah."

THE KINGDOM OF GOD IN THE WORDS OF JESUS. "The kingdom [*basileia*] of God" is the sole general phrase expressing the object of Jesus' proclamation. (In *Matthew* it mostly appears as "kingdom of heaven," probably as an artificial restoration of the rabbinic usage.) His affirmations about this kingdom are the unifying thread on which all his other sayings are strung.

Jesus' contemporaries shared with the rabbinic tradition at least a political coloration of the concept: Thus *Acts* 1:6 represents disciples asking the risen Jesus, "Will you at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" But the gospel narratives that presuppose Jesus' most characteristic ideas already in the minds of others, such as John the Baptist (*Mt.* 3:2), Joseph of Arimathea (*Mk.* 15:43), the Pharisees (*Lk.* 17:20), or the disciples (*Mt.* 18:1, *Lk.* 14:15), are unsupported by the rabbinic texts and are probably the work of the evangelists.

In the sayings of Jesus, the "kingdom of God" replaces the state of affairs that he calls "this generation"; for they are given exactly parallel introductions. Over against the obdurate "men of this generation" (*Lk.* 7:31–34), the kingdom of God grows from its tiny hidden beginnings like a man's mustard seed or a woman's leaven (*Lk.* 13:18–21). Into the present "faithless" and "adulterous" generation (*Mk.* 9:19, *Mt.* 12:29) there has broken a new historical reality. Four types of sayings each illustrate one dimension of Jesus' vision: (1) the kingdom as subject of verbs of coming; (2) the kingdom as object of verbs of entering; (3) the kingdom as object of search or struggle; (4) "in the kingdom of God" in the context of a banquet. (But the extended parables of *Matthew* are mostly omitted here, because their introduction "The kingdom of heaven is like . . ." seems editorial rather than organic.)

"The Kingdom of God is at hand." Here is implied a preliminary but decisive victory over injustice and death. In the first group of sayings, the kingdom of God is presented as a quasi-autonomous reality whose arrival is being announced. In *Mark* 1:15 the expression "The kingdom of God is at hand" is placed, perhaps editorially, as a motto or summary over Jesus' entire work.

The Lord's Prayer. This prayer contains the petitions "Hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come" (*Lk.* 11:2, *Mt.* 6:9). They echo the Qaddish, the oldest Aramaic part of the synagogue liturgy: "Magnified and sanctified be his great name in the world which he created according to his will. And may he establish his kingdom [*yamlikh malkhuteh*] during your life and during your days and during the life of the house of Israel, even speedily and at a near time." The Qaddish plainly includes a covert petition for the political independence of Israel. And both texts by implication are asking for an end to those crimes against persons that are described in the Hebrew Bible as a "profanation" of God's name: debt-slavery and prostitution (*Amos* 2:6–8), enslavement (*Jer.* 34:14–16), and murder (*Lev.* 18:21).

Victory over dark powers. In *Luke* 11:20 Jesus proclaims, "But if I by the finger of God cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come upon you." What is asked for in the Lord's Prayer is here announced as already operative. Jesus instructed his missionaries to "heal those who are sick and say to them, 'The kingdom of God has drawn near you'" (*Lk.* 10:9). Proofs that the kingdom has broken into history are the healing of sickness, often of psychosomatic types of sickness, and victory over the destructive social forces called "demons," such as Legion, so named as a sign of military oppression (*Mk.* 5:9), and Mammon (*Lk.* 16:13). God's "finger" is the creative force by which the heavens were made (*Ps.* 8:3), oppressors overthrown (*Ex.* 8:19), and the Law given (*Ex.* 31:18). No less a power, Jesus implies, could do what has already been done through him; hence God's sovereignty has already broken into history.

"To enter the kingdom of God." A second group of sayings defines the condition for entering the kingdom: becoming like the poor. Jesus expresses the condition negatively: "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God" (*Mk.* 10:25). He also expresses it positively: "Allow the children to come to me and do not forbid them, for of such is the kingdom of God" (*Mk.* 10:14–15; cf. *Mt.* 18:13–14, *Jn.* 3:3–5). With far-reaching irony he says, "The tax collectors and harlots enter the kingdom of God before you" (*Mt.* 21:31). The kingdom of God is further reserved for the handicapped (*Mk.* 9:47), the persecuted (*Mt.* 5:10), and those in tribulation (*Acts* 14:22). The rabbinic background for these sayings is the concept of "the coming age" (*ha-ʿolam ha-baʾ*): "Master, teach us the paths of life so that through them we may win the life of the coming age" (B.T., *Ber.* 28b).

The link among these groups is a deep structure of Jesus' thought underlying Luke's "Sermon on the Plain." The beatitude "Blessed are you poor, for yours is the kingdom of God" (*Lk.* 6:20) shows that possession of the kingdom is the coming reward for the poor, hungry, and mourning. The saying "Love your enemies . . . and your reward will be great" (*Lk.* 6:35) shows that the characteristic of this ideal poor is love of enemies, that is, nonretaliation to evil. Hence Gerd Theissen (*Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity,* John Bowden, trans., Philadelphia, 1978, p. 99) concludes: "The best description of the functional outline of the Jesus movement for overcoming social tensions is an interpretation of it as a contribution towards containing and overcoming aggression." Later, Jesus' criterion is reformulated with increasing degrees of legalism: To enter the kingdom of God one must keep two great commandments (*Mk.* 12:34); show persistence (*Lk.* 9:62); do the will of God (*Mt.* 7:21); serve the Christ hidden in the poor (*Mt.* 25:34); have a higher righteousness (*Mt.* 5:20); and avoid certain listed sins (*1 Cor.* 6:9–10, *Gal.* 5:21).

The kingdom of God as object of search or struggle. A third group of sayings defines the kingdom of God as the highest object of desire. Although certain forces "lock up the kingdom of heaven" (*Mt.* 23:13), the reader is told "seek first God's kingdom and all these shall be added to you" (*Lk.* 21:31; cf. *Mt.* 6:33). The kingdom is symbolized by the "treasure hidden in a field" and the "pearl of great price" (*Mt.* 13:44–46). But the nature of the "mystery of the kingdom of God" is left unexplained at *Mark* 4:11; and Paul only vaguely suggests with the expression "fellow workers for the kingdom of God" (*Col.* 4:11) the modern idea that the kingdom can be promoted by human energy.

"In the kingdom of God." This phrase in a fourth group of sayings is always used in connection with a banquet at the end of time. When Jesus affirms, "I shall no more drink of the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God" (*Mk.* 14:25), he implies that the kingdom can only come in through his suffering. The greatest and least in the kingdom are paradoxically reversed (*Mt.* 5:19, 18:4; *Lk.* 7:28 and *Mt.* 11:11) as in the parable of the banquet (*Mt.* 22:2–14, *Lk.* 14:16–24). The final event will be inaugurated by the apostles: To them Jesus says, "I bequeath you as my Father bequeathed me a kingdom, that you may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom and sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (*Lk.* 22:29–30; cf. *Mt.* 19:28).

At the inauguration of the banquet, Jesus says, there will be a final division of humanity "when you see Abraham . . . and all the prophets in the kingdom of God, but you yourselves cast out; and they shall come from the east and the west . . . and recline in the kingdom of God" (*Lk.* 13:28–29; cf. *Mt.* 8:11–12). Two themes are combined in this text: the pilgrimage of all peoples to Jerusalem (*Is.* 49:12, etc.) towards the "house of prayer for all peoples" (*Is.* 56:7); and the banquet described in *Isaiah* 25:6–9, which ends with the archaic Ugaritic motif of Yahveh swallowing up death forever.

THE KINGDOM OF GOD IN CHRISTIAN TRADITION. Luke in his gospel and in the *Acts* when writing narrative regularly speaks of "preaching the good news of the kingdom of God." Paul inherits the phrase "kingdom of God" in fixed phrases from the gospel tradition; the structural parallel that plays the same role as the kingdom in his thought is the "righteousness [*dikaiosune*] of God." The remaining letters of the

New Testament, where, as Rudolf Bultmann says, Jesus "the Proclaimer becomes the one proclaimed" by the church, mostly speak of the kingdom of Christ. In the writings of the Greek church fathers the notion of the kingdom of God loses any sociopolitical connotation and is seen as the state of immortality or the beatific vision as entered through baptism. But in his commentary on *Matthew* 14:7 (244 CE), Origen coins a word that contains much of the original sense: As Christ is "wisdom itself, righteousness itself and truth itself," so is he also "the kingdom itself" (*autobasileia*).

The development of the concept of the kingdom of God occurred primarily in the church of the West. In the thought of the Latin theologians and the official Reformation, it served to legitimate the state through Augustine's doctrine of two cities and Luther's of two kingdoms. The Enlightenment, while discovering the primacy of the kingdom of God in Jesus' thought, tried to accommodate it to rational categories. It was the radical Reformation that most fully recovered Jesus' original understanding, and that transmitted the most vital form of the concept to contemporary Christian believers today.

Two cities, two kingdoms. These concepts served to accommodate the church to the state. In his *City of God* (413–426 CE), Augustine developed his grandiose contrast between the *civitas Dei,* with a biblical basis in *Psalms* 87:3 and 46:5, and the *civitas terrena,* the "earthly city," with no biblical antecedent. This work laid a basis for relations between church and state that was not decisively challenged until the resistance to Hitler by the German Confessing church.

Augustine's concept of the earthly city is especially ambiguous. Sometimes (e.g., *Sermons* 214.11) he identifies the city of God with the historical church and attributes to the earthly city aspects of the state; here he has a predecessor in the rabbinic parallelism of the "kingdom [*malkhut*] of the earth" and the "kingdom of the firmament" (B.T. *Ber.* 58a), and in one interpretation of Jesus' saying about the "things of Caesar" and "things of God" (*Mk.* 12:17). Elsewhere for Augustine the city of God is the society of the redeemed, and the earthly city is the society of the devil; here the good and evil principles of the Manichaeism that Augustine previously embraced resurface.

While Augustine's language about church and kingdom fluctuates, his underlying thought is consistent. His predecessor Cyprian saw both distinction and continuity between present church and future kingdom: "One who abandons the church which is to reign [*regnatura est*] cannot enter the kingdom [*regnum*]" (*On the Unity of the Church* 14). So Augustine distinguishes the temporary "inn" of the church from the permanent "home" of the kingdom (*Sermons* 131.6). Hence there are two ages of the church, now with a mixture of wheat and tares, in the future transformed into a kingdom without evil. Correspondingly Augustine distinguishes two periods of the kingdom: a present "kingdom of militancy" (*regnum militiae*), and a future "peaceable kingdom," a *pacatissimum regnum* (*City of God* 20.9). When he goes on then to say that "the church even now is the kingdom of Christ and the kingdom of heaven" he does not imply it is that already perfected.

Two kingdoms in Luther. In the High Middle Ages, Hugh of Saint-Victor (1096–1141) crystallized Augustine's two cities unambiguously into the "spiritual power" of the church and the "secular power" of the state, with the church in theory superior and in practice subservient. Martin Luther restored the New Testament term "kingdom of God" (*Reich Gottes*) but placed over against it a "kingdom of the world" (*Reich der Welt*). God's kingdom is one of grace and mercy; the world's kingdom, one of wrath and severity (Martin Luther, *Works,* ed. Jaroslav Pelikan, Saint Louis, 1955–1976, 46.69, 30.76). In Luther's *On Temporal Authority* (1523) the children of Adam are divided between the two kingdoms (*Works,* 45.88). The sayings "Render to Caesar what is Caesar's" (*Mk.* 12:17) and "The powers that be are ordained of God" (*Rom.* 13:1) carry great weight for Luther (*Works* 45.99)—in part because of his dependence on the German princes for protection against Rome. Only when a political leader gives false religious commands does Luther permit the stance expressed in *Acts* 5:29, "We must obey God rather than men" (*Works* 45.111).

In a sermon of 1544, Luther boldly defined the two kingdoms as distinct operations of the one God:

> The worldly government [*das weltlich Regiment*] also may be called God's kingdom. For he wills that it should remain and that we should enter it; but it is only the kingdom with his left hand [*nur des reych mit der lincken hand*]. But his right-hand kingdom [*rechtes reych*], where he himself rules, and is called neither . . . Kaiser nor king . . . but rather is himself, is that where the Gospel is preached to the poor. (*D. Martin Luthers Werke,* Weimar, 1883–, 52.26; cf. 36.385)

Luther calls these two operations of God his "alien" and "proper" work (*opus alienum, proprium;* cf. *Is.* 28:21 Vulgate). In an early sermon of 1516 he maintains, "since God could justify only those who are not just, he is forced before his proper work of justification to carry out an alien work in order to make sinners" (*Works* 51:19; cf. 33.140).

Sometimes Luther opposed to God's kingdom not the kingdom of the world but Satan's kingdom (*Works* 33.227). Unlike Augustine he closely integrates the devil's work with the work of God. On *Hebrews* 2:14, Luther comments: "God pierced the adversary with that one's weapon . . . and so completes his proper work with an alien work" (*Works* 29.135). While he protests that "God does not wish us like the Manichaeans to imagine two gods, one the source of good, the other of evil" (*On Psalms* 90:16, *Works* 13.135), Luther comes close to postulating a duality within God, with the devil as God's dark side. Thus he holds that on occasion "God wears the mask [*larva*] of the devil" (*On Galatians* 5:11, *Works* 27.43).

Only one kingdom. The doctrine of "only one kingdom" was the affirmation of the German Confessing church.

Luther's scheme of two kingdoms was pushed to an extreme in the 1930s by German theologians such as Paul Althaus and Emanuel Hirsch, who favored National Socialism. In their *Zwei-Reiche-Lehre* ("doctrine of the two kingdoms") the state is autonomous over against the church. Opposition to this doctrine led to a rethinking of Luther's position. For example, Dietrich Bonhoeffer in his *Ethics* (trans. N. H. Smith, London, 1955, p. 62) condemns any thinking about God and the world "in terms of two spheres," especially when "in the pseudo-Lutheran scheme the autonomy of the orders of the world is proclaimed in opposition to the law of Christ."

During World War II, Karl Barth wrote that the "illusory paganism of the German people" had been confirmed rather than restrained by the "heritage of the greatest Christian of Germany, by Martin Luther's error on the relation between . . . the temporal and spiritual order" (*A Letter to Great Britain from Switzerland,* London, 1941, p. 36). On the one hand Barth uses Luther's language when he states that "nothingness" (i.e., evil) is "on the left hand of God as the object of his *opus alienum*" (*Church Dogmatics,* trans. G. T. Thomson et al., 5 vols. in 14, Edinburgh, 1936–1977, vol. 3, part 3, p. 361). But, contrary to Luther, he emphasizes the uniqueness of God's kingdom, insisting on the radical "antithesis of the kingdom of God to all human kingdoms" and also to the "sphere of Satan" (*Church Dogmatics* 4.2.177, 2.2.688). "There is no collateral rule [*Nebenregierung*] side by side with [God's] and no counter-rule opposed to it. He alone can rule, and ought to rule, and wills to rule; and he alone does so" (*Church Dogmatics* 3.3.157).

Barth's views were accepted in principle by the newly formed German Confessing church at the Synod of Barmen (May 31, 1934) in opposition to the Nazi state church. The fifth thesis of Barmen, drafted by Barth and going beyond previous Lutheran or Reformed confessions, says that "the State has by divine appointment the task of providing for justice and peace. . . . The Church acknowledges the benefit of this appointment. . . . It calls to mind the Kingdom of God . . . and thereby the responsibility both of rulers and of the ruled." The document contains nothing about the nature of the state, much less its alleged status as a parallel kingdom; it refers only to the state's assigned task (Cochrane, 1962, pp. 192, 241).

The legacy of the Enlightenment. Here the concept of the coming of the kingdom of God is accommodated to rational categories. Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694–1768), in a posthumously published manuscript, was the first modern scholar to recognize that the coming of the kingdom of God was Jesus' central theme (*Reimarus: Fragments,* ed. C. H. Talbert, Philadelphia, 1970, pp. 136–138). Reimarus presumes that Jesus' contemporaries expected no other savior "than a worldly deliverer of Israel, who was to release them from bondage and build up a glorious worldly kingdom for them." When to announce his kingdom (*Mt.* 10:7) Jesus "chose for his messengers men who were themselves under the common impression," Reimarus concludes, he could have had "no other object than to rouse the Jews . . . who had so long been groaning under the Roman yoke." Thus he sees Jesus as simply a political revolutionary or Zealot.

From an opposite, but no less rationalistic, perspective, Immanuel Kant argued for a universal philosophic interpretation of the kingdom of God. He took the title of the third book of his *Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone* (1793) from the language of Jesus: "The victory of the good over the evil principle, and the founding of a kingdom of God on earth." He ends the work by citing the phrase from *Luke* 17:22 ("the kingdom of God is in your midst") in the translation "the kingdom of God is within you," thus giving the saying the "spiritual" interpretation that remains popular: "Here a kingdom of God is represented not according to a particular covenant (i.e., not messianic) but moral (knowable through unassisted reason)."

Most nineteenth-century German New Testament scholars interpreted the Gospels according to Kant's presuppositions. This accommodation, however, collapsed with the publication in 1892 of the first edition of Johannes Weiss's *Jesus' Proclamation of the Kingdom of God* (trans. R. H. Hiers, Philadelphia, 1971, p. 130). Weiss concluded that "although Jesus initially hoped to live to see the establishment of the kingdom of God, he gradually became certain" that he must die first, but that after his death he would "return upon the clouds of heaven at the establishment of the kingdom of God, . . . within the lifetime of the generation which rejected him." He frankly recognized that this historical reconstruction contradicted the "modern Protestant worldview" that he shared with his contemporaries, because he could not take the "eschatological attitude" that the world was passing away. Likewise, Albert Schweitzer conceived of Jesus as an eschatological visionary awaiting an imminent end of the world. In his *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God* (1901; trans. W. L. Lowrie, New York, 1950, p. 55), Schweitzer explained the radical demands of the sermon on the mount as an *Interimsethik,* too rigorous for normal life, in the brief period before the full establishment of the kingdom.

A number of twentieth-century scholars defined Jesus' idea of the kingdom of God as basically completed in his own work. Charles Harold Dodd in his *The Parables of the Kingdom* (London, 1935) rejects Schweitzer's "thoroughgoing eschatology" and argues that Jesus regarded the kingdom of God as having already come. He interprets "the ministry of Jesus as 'realized eschatology,' that is, as the impact upon this world of the 'powers of the world to come'" (p. 151). Rudolf Bultmann in his *Jesus and the Word* (1926; trans. L. P. Smith et al., New York, 1934, pp. 52, 131), anticipating his later program of "demythologization," interprets the absolute certainty of the coming of the kingdom as a "crisis of decision" in which every hour is the last hour. He defines the kingdom as "an eschatological deliverance which ends everything earthly" by confronting the human being with a decision in crisis as in Kierkegaard's "Either/Or."

Schweitzer laid much weight on the saying in *Mark* 9:1, "There are some standing here who will not taste death before they see the kingdom of God coming with power." If this verse is both historically attributed to Jesus and understood literally, Jesus will seem to have been in error. There have been many efforts to account for the apparent error. In his *On Being a Christian* (New York, 1978, p. 220), Hans Küng argues that Jesus' "apocalyptic horizon," the expectation of an immediate end of the world, is "not so much an error as a time-conditioned . . . worldview which Jesus shared with his contemporaries." Erich Grässer, in his *Das Problem der Parusieverzögerung in den synoptischen Evangelien* (Berlin, 1960), sees the entire development of the early church as a response to the "delay of the *parousia* [i.e., 'expected coming']," citing especially *2 Peter* 3:4: "Where is the promise of his coming?" John G. Gager in his *Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1975, p. 39) explains the whole original Christian mission by analogy to a contemporary millenarian sect that, after its prediction of an immediate end is disconfirmed, "may undertake zealous missionary activity as a response to its sense of cognitive dissonance." Other scholars, such as Werner G. Kümmel and Norman Perrin, have characterized the supposed error as springing from the adoption of a literalistic antithesis of present/future.

A kingdom of righteousness and peace. This kingdom was the heritage of the radical Reformation. Both the centrality and the original meaning of Jesus' concept of the kingdom of God were grasped by the radical reformers, less through their scholarship than through the conformity of their lives to Jesus' pattern. Menno Simons (c. 1496–1561), rejecting the violence of the Peasants' Revolt of 1525 under Thomas Münzer but speaking from the same social situation, based his stand of nonretaliation on the sermon on the mount. He wrote, "Christ has not taken his kingdom with the sword, although he entered it with much suffering" (*The Complete Writings of Menno Simons,* trans. L. Verduin et al., Scottsdale, 1956, p. 49). And again, "We acknowledge . . . no other sword . . . in the kingdom or church of Christ than the sharp sword of the Spirit" (p. 300). While leaving "the civil sword to those to whom it is committed," Menno's only kingdoms are those of "the Prince of Peace and the prince of strife" (p. 554). Similarly, in his *Journal,* George Fox, recording his famous testimony of November 21, 1660 before Charles II, characterizes the kingdom of God as wholly pacific: "The Spirit of Christ, which leads us into all truth, will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward weapons, neither for the kingdom of Christ nor for the kingdoms of this world."

The visual arts. The church early developed pictorial versions of the human scenes of the Gospels. But an adequate symbol of the kingdom of God first appears in the nineteenth century in the many versions of *The Peaceable Kingdom* painted by the American Quaker primitive Edward Hicks (1780–1849). These paintings illustrate *Isaiah* 11:6–8: Against a Delaware River landscape the wolf and lamb, leopard and kid lie down together, the cow and bear feed side by side, and the lion eats straw with the ox; one child leads them, another plays on the serpent's den. In a background vignette William Penn signs his peace treaty with the Indians.

The popular piety of Hymnody. Even for Luther, when he turned hymn-writer, the only opposite to God's kingdom can be Satan's: In *Ein feste Burg* (1529) God's opposite is the "Prince of this world" (*John* 12:31), and the sole kingdom is the one we inherit, *Das Reich muss uns doch bleiben.* The masters of English hymnody, who always attribute the kingdom of Jesus, suffuse it with the social witness Evangelical revival. Thus Isaac Watts in his paraphrase (1719) of the messianic Psalm 72: "Jesus shall reign where'er the sun . . . his kingdom stretch from shore to shore." Charles Wesley's Christmas hymn (1739) once began "Glory to the King of kings!"; congregations still sing, "Hail, the Sun of Righteousness! / Hail, the heav'n-born Prince of Peace!" Their focus on the person of Jesus is especially plain in their transformation of the "kingship Psalms": Watt's Christmas hymn (1719) "Joy to the world! the Lord is come; / Let earth receive her King" adapts Psalm 98; Charles Wesley's ascension hymn "Hail the day that sees him rise . . . Take the King of Glory in!" reworks Psalm 24.

Puritanism and the Social Gospel. English Puritans commonly speak of God as king. In his *A Holy Commonwealth* (1659), Richard Baxter affirms that "the world is a kingdom whereof God is the King . . . an absolute Monarchy . . . All men are subjects of God's kingdom" (Richard Niebuhr, 1937, p. 52). It is a false boast when in John Milton's *Paradise Lost* Satan claims "Divided Empire with Heaven's King I hold" (4.111). In America, where the symbolism of monarchy was less apt, the emphasis merely shifts to the kingdom of God. Jonathan Edwards in his *History of Redemption* regards the kingdom of heaven upon earth as a prosperous age of the church before the apostasy and last judgement. The Puritan inheritance was secularized in Walter Rauschenbusch's notion of the Social Gospel, in which the realization of the kingdom is identified with historical progress. In a manuscript of about 1891, posthumously published as *The Righteousness of the Kingdom* (Nashville, 1968), Rauschenbusch holds that the "program of the Christian revolution," namely, the kingdom of God on earth, "includes a twofold aim: the regeneration of every individual to divine sonship and eternal life, and the victory of the spirit of Christ over the spirit of this world in . . . all the institutions formed by human society" (p. 110).

The theology of the future. After the reaction to nineteenth-century liberal theology in Bultmann's existentialism and Barth's neo-orthodoxy, the 1960s saw new theologies that were oriented toward the future. For example, Wolfhart Pannenberg in his *Theology and the Kingdom of God* (Philadelphia, 1969) writes: "If the Kingdom of God and the mode of his existence (power and being) belong together, then the message of the coming kingdom implies that god in his very being is the future of the world" (p. 61). And Jürgen Moltmann in his *Theology of Hope* (trans. J. W. Weitch, London, 1967) holds that "the kingdom is present here as promise and hope for the future horizon of all things" (p. 223).

Councils, Catholic and Protestant. Paul had defined the kingdom of God as "righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit" (*Rom.* 14:17). Those identifications are taken up in the documents of the Second Vatican Council (1963–1965): "To the extent that [earthly progress] can contribute to the better ordering of human society, it is of vital concern to the kingdom of God" (*Gaudium et Spes* 39, cf. *Lumen Gentium* 5). Similarly, the Sixth Assembly of the World Council of Churches (Vancouver, 1983) affirms "the identification of the churches with the poor in their witness to God's kingdom"; and in its statement rejecting nuclear weapons says that "as we witness to our genuine desire for peace with specific actions, the Spirit of God can use our feeble efforts for bringing the kingdoms of this world closer to the kingdom of God."

The theology of liberation. A unity of piety with political struggle marks a new life in the Latin American church. A key spokesman is the Peruvian Gustavo Gutiérrez, who writes: "The process of liberation will not have conquered the very roots of oppression . . . without the coming of the kingdom of God, which is above all a gift. . . . The historical, political liberating event *is* the growth of the kingdom . . . but it is not *the* coming of the kingdom" (*A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation,* trans. Caridad Inda and J. Eagleson, Maryknoll, N.Y., 1973, p. 177). This theology is adapted to North American experience by James H. Cone, who in his *A Black Theology of Liberation* (Philadelphia, 1970, p. 220) writes: "The appearance of Jesus as the Black Christ also means that the Black Revolution is God's kingdom becoming a reality in America. . . . The kingdom of God is what happens to a person when his being is confronted with the reality of God's liberation."

The movement for justice and peace. Dom Helder Câmara of Recife has often said that the current world faces twin threats: the actual "M-bomb" of misery and the potential holocaust of the A-bomb. In that situation, the most critical in history, many readers of the New Testament are finding that its apocalyptic images of the end of the world, far from being alien to their mentality, are merely literal. To many Christian believers in the movement for justice and peace the kingdom of God has become the primary name for what is at work in them. James W. Douglass, in his *Resistance and Contemplation: The Way of Liberation* (Garden City, 1972, p. 107), writes: "The way of revolution is the kingdom because the revolution is the people coming together in a new humanity, ignited by a divine symbol given through the man of truth—Jesus in the Temple and on the cross, Gandhi by the sea [on the salt march], the Berrigans at Catonsville [destroying draft files]." In the slums of São Paulo a French priest, Dominique Barbé, drawing on an indigenous Brazilian tradition of nonviolent resistance, writes (*La grâce et le pouvoir,* Paris, 1982, p. 206): "If I have been snatched out of the empire of darkness to enter into the kingdom, that is, into that part of reality where death has been eliminated, the only means of combat left me is the Cross and not the revolver." After Martin Luther King Jr., the disciple of Rauschenbusch and Gandhi, delivered his speech "I have a dream" at the Lincoln Memorial on August 28, 1963 (*A Testament of Hope,* ed. J. M. Washington, San Francisco, 1986, p. 217), Coretta King commented: "At that moment it seemed as if the Kingdom of God appeared." She added, "But it only lasted for a moment." Contemporary belief in the kingdom of God requires it to be reappropriated freshly by human beings at each historical turning point.

SEE ALSO Christian Social Movements; Kingship; Political Theology; Theocracy.

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JOHN PAIRMAN BROWN (1987)
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KINGSHIP

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
KINGSHIP IN THE ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN WORLD
KINGSHIP IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA
KINGSHIP IN MESOAMERICA AND SOUTH AMERICA
KINGSHIP IN EAST ASIA

KINGSHIP: AN OVERVIEW

The term *kingship* refers to a relatively complex and hierarchical structure of society in which a central figure—a king or, in certain cases, a queen—undertakes a unifying role that acts as a value reference for the various groups that constitute the society. Depending on whether or not this function involves a direct exercise of political power on the part of the person who is discharging it, the king may be considered a monarch, and the kingship may be identified as a *monarchy,* a word that technically may mean only a particular form of government and nothing else. That the two terms do not correspond is well expressed by the saying that, in many cases, the king "reigns but does not govern." It is also possible to govern in an absolute fashion, as a monarch, by holding military office or administering justice without being legitimately entitled to do so. In such cases the one who governs does so by relying almost entirely upon force, making the role of engendering social cohesion difficult, which is the first duty of a king.

On this basis, then, one can understand that the interest in the subject shown by anthropologists and religious historians stems from the fact that the word *kingship* refers not only, and not so much, to a form of government but also to a supposed quality belonging to the person who embodies the king that sanctions his legitimacy—if not to govern, then at least to reign. This quality has been given various names, even in the Western tradition, such as *majesty* or *dignity*—and the word *kingship* itself has been used. It consists of precisely those attributes that mark out the king as exceptional, that make him, in the eyes of his subjects, a sacred person, a moral authority, a common reference point because of his universal value, with consequent displays of devotion and respect toward his person and his family, ancestors included. The analysis of this sacred role has had important consequences for the broad understanding of power in general. If it is indeed true that any form of power is still considered sacred—inasmuch as it represents a kind of transcendency, expressing a cultural method that humankind has at its disposal by which it can escape from the condition of contingency—it is also true that, in acquiring such an awareness, which finds its most extreme expression in the idea that political science is a chapter in the comparative historical study of religion (Debray, 1981; Heusch, 1987), thinking regarding the particular forms of power that constitute kingship, typified by association with a detailed set of rituals and a rich mythology, has played no small part.

DEFINING KINGSHIP. Examples of kingship may be drawn from all four corners of the world, from ancient China to Mexico, from the Egypt of the pharaohs to Mesopotamia, from the kingdoms of equatorial Africa to those of Polynesia. Although far apart in space and time, these societies often show surprising similarities even when they differ markedly in other respects, such as their size. Indeed, it has been noted that the traits that largely identify kingship (insofar as not being exclusively a form of government) are also present in forms of tribal organization, and their ultimate roots come directly from Neolithic social structures. This seems to suggest the importance attributed to the cult of ancestors—or even the well-known motif symbolically identifying the figure of the king with the father figure, understood not so much as a parent but rather as one who provides nourishment and, more generally, as a principle of authority.

The African continent provides numerous examples of this model of kingship (e.g., Mair, 1977; Vansina, 1966), where the main function of the king is not so much to govern as to engage directly with the forces of nature to ensure fertility and prosperity for the community. He has powers, such as the ability to ensure rain, and he must demonstrate their supposed effectiveness or, in certain cases, must pay with his life for his ineffectiveness. These are some of the traits that make up what is sacral in the broadest sense and in many cases differ only in detail. Generally, the idea is that the king guarantees the order of the universe via his privileged contact with the restless world of nature, inhabited by many invisible forces. This enhanced closeness is clear from his being permitted to transgress the laws of the land, which indicates that he does not belong to the social group that is obliged to follow rules by which he is not bound. Among these transgressions, one of the most significant is the practice of incest that often accompanied enthronement—a kind of hierogamy, according to Luc de Heusch (1987), that reveals to the greatest degree the alienation of the king from the obligation to obey the rules that bind the community.

Nevertheless, the emphasis upon the alienation and separateness of the king from the general populace means not only an exemption from the obligation to obey normal rules but also the observation of rules that on this occasion apply only to him. For the most part this involves submitting to a whole series of taboos, which serve to conceal the clearly human traits of the sovereign. Thus, in many traditional societies—the Jukun in Nigeria, for example—he cannot be seen while doing everyday things such as drinking, eating, sleeping, or directly touching the ground. Various figures—wives, sisters, dignitaries, and servants who always gravitate around the court—ensure strict adherence to this protocol. They share in the sacred nature of the king to varying degrees and are particularly involved at those moments most loaded with symbolism, such as during the actual investiture ceremony, when the new king is dressed in his robes, changes his name, and receives his royal insignia; or at the time of the funeral rites, which may also involve killing his relatives or particularly close servants, such as someone who is regarded as his double.

DEATH OF A KING. The death of a king is a highly significant event. It is the most dramatic event for the community, exposing the fiction that the sovereign is different from mere mortals. It is an event best kept secret for as long as possible and surrounded with the utmost discretion, from a practical point of view, to ensure the future plans for the succession and because of the worry such news can provoke among the general populace, who regard as an apocalyptic event the termination of the cosmic and social order the king ensured. Hence, the concern in many societies is to keep the interregnum to a minimum, because it is a period of chaos, real or imagined. To appoint a successor in advance or to appoint a figure to function as regent (in many cases the queen mother) is one measure adopted to deal with this situation.

This attitude toward the dangers of interregnum is not the exclusive concern of societies that are little more than tribal, but is a danger every kind of kingship must face. It shows one of the most symbolically specific characteristics of the institution itself. The solutions adopted may be different, but the guiding spirit that lies behind them remains the same. A glance at historical events in Europe tells the story more eloquently than numerous ethnographic examples, because it also serves as a better antidote to any attempt to diminish the importance of that mystical aspect that is a constant mark of kingship all over the world and at every level of social complexity.

To deny the interregnum is to deny the mortality of the king. This fiction was maintained in Renaissance Europe by the French and British monarchies by creating an effigy of the dead king, which was waited upon as if it were the living king himself (Giesey, 1960). This ritual practice was the starting point for the doctrinal elaboration (the subject of a masterly 1957 study by Ernst H. Kantorowicz) according to which the king possessed two bodies: one natural and one political. Only the first one was mortal, whereas the second was regarded as a *corporation sole*, constituted of a single person considered eternal. The insignia, which symbolized the eternal nature of the royal institution, was the crown.

The analogies are more significant than the differences, evidence of a political symbolism, a reality encompassing both tribal and centralized states. For these reasons, too, as with the distinctions between kingship and monarchy, some modern scholars of kingship consider it necessary to move to a less-marked identification between the kingship and the state (Simonse, 1992), and this has widened the field of study, especially from an ethnological perspective. Ideas such as the segmentary state (Southall, 1956) or the clan state (Adler, 1982) now rank alongside the more classical division between societies based upon ancestral lineage and those based upon the state, considered a throwback to nineteenth-century thinking (Tardits, 1980). It has thus become easier to agree with the argument of Roland Mousnier (1989), stating that groups deal with a kingship every time a leader is deemed to be in a privileged relationship with surrounding forces that, on the basis of accepted categorization, are considered supernatural.

"Ritual" and "politics" can be found together also in simpler societies than those traditionally defined as kingships or monarchies. To assume this seems to be the only way to agree with those authors, for example Valerio Valeri (1980), who warn that, as far as kingship is concerned, to try to establish an evolutionistic relationship between the categories above mentioned is misleading.

To return to the theory of the ritual origin of kingship formulated by James G. Frazer (1890) and restated by Arthur M. Hocart (1927) and the Myth and Ritual school (Ackerman, 1991), it should be clear that this will never mean the ritual origin of politics itself, an activity that, at least in the generally accepted sense of the guidelines about decisions taken with regard to matters of common concern, presumably has existed in all human societies. As far as the theory of the ritual origin of the kingship is concerned, its fortunes stem at least in part from the fact that it flourished in a period when it was firmly believed that politics was an activity that took place exclusively in those societies considered states.

A further implication of the distinction between kingship and monarchy may be the fact that the sacred nature of the king may be more clearly specified when one defines categories such as *legitimacy* and *sovereignty*. Thus, Mousnier, in his attempt to clarify the distinction between a king and a monarch, uses various figures to illustrate the differences between the two. In seventh- and sixth-century BCE Greece, for example, the term *tyrant* had not yet acquired any pejorative connotation but indicated simply an illegitimate king, one not meant to take the throne. The tyrant was thus a usurper who, albeit for the common good, illegitimately assumed power in particular circumstances.

ORIGIN OF KINGSHIP. Vladimir Volkoff (1987) states that whereas a monarchy might be abruptly established, this is not so with kingship, which may only exist as a shared institution with a real or mythical past presenting a stable and reassuring figure, an intersection between the microcosmos and the macrocosmos. Volkoff thus restates in an elegant fashion that *legitimacy* best describes the fundamental difference between a king and a pure and simple monarch.

How then is the legitimacy of a monarch established? In other words, what is it that makes a *rex*—a term with a much older meaning, as the studies of Émile Benveniste (1969) suggest—more concerned with the figure of the priest than of the sovereign? Of the two main theories on the origin of kingship, the first holds that it originates from within the social group, while the other holds that it has external origins, such as the result of military conquest. The majority of available historical and ethnographic data supports the second hypothesis.

In the theory of the ritual origin of the kingship, which proposes the internal origin of the institution, the problem of legitimacy is in a sense already solved. To repeat the above distinction, it could be said to be a matter of demonstrating the transition from king to monarch, from an individual symbol—the moral and religious reference point of a broad range of groups who remain autonomous in terms of political, judicial, and administrative decisions—to an individual with the power to command all of these groups, which are reduced to unimportant objects and accept his authority.

For the opposing theory, which supports the external origin of the kingship, the problem is to analyze the transition from monarch to king, the shift from a character originating as a result of force to one accepted by the group because of a recognition of his exceptional nature, which makes him appear sacred and gives him legitimacy in the eyes of the entire community. The historical dynamics are naturally different. When the king and the monarch are not the same person, the legitimization of power almost always occurs in the form of a dyarchy. Analysis of a specific example clarifies how all this develops and the different institutional arrangements that may occur.

Two qualifications become appropriate. The first is that the force with which a stranger imposes himself upon a populace is still perceived, on the part of those subdued, in cultural terms as the expression of a superior power—of which he is the embodiment, or with which he has privileged relations. In this sense, the warring conqueror already has a sacred dimension, for he is already seen as the expression of a power with which he enjoys a privileged relationship. The second qualification is closely linked to the broad definition of kingship that has been adopted. On this basis the majority of ethnographic and historical examples put forward by scholars to illustrate the appearance of kingship deal with simply the appearance of a new kind of kingship, that is, a different institutional arrangement of the relationship between the mystical and political elements of power. Finally, it should be added that it is not always clear, when talking of kingship established via conquest, if the society from which the conquerors come is already familiar with a reasonably stable, regal organizational structure of some sort, or if a particular kind of leadership has been drawn up to carry out the conquest.

However that may be, to recall some classical examples, the documentary evidence related to both ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia refers to the existence of an earlier form of kingship. In the first case, the theriomorphic symbolism associated with the kingship (e.g., falcon, scorpion) is too varied not to allude to previous models of regal organizational structure predating the glory of the pharaonic age. As for Mesopotamia, the royal Sumerian genealogy recalls ancient nomad kings, leaders who "live in tents," suggesting a model of kingship, perhaps rather uncertain, that preceded the complex organization of the city-state centered on the temple.

The origins of the kingship of the Congolese, a Bantu people of West Africa, provide a good example of a frequent model for the construction of legitimacy by a foreign king. Lukeni, a fourteenth-century warrior not in command in his own circle of influence, emigrated with some of his followers and subdued the Ambundu, who were organized in small chiefdoms. He married the daughter of a powerful local priest, the *mani cabunga*, the guardian of supernatural powers, and he ordered his men to marry local women and take on their tribal name. In this way he began a process of territorial expansion, whereas the priest, as well as retaining his traditional ritual functions, was to play an important part in the enthronement ceremony of future kings and thus legitimize their governance.

Japan provides a different model. Here the mikado, or emperor, was considered a descendant of the sun goddess Amaterasu and was surrounded by an ostentatious ritual. He was regarded as endowed with miraculous powers and was perceived as an intermediary between the people and the divine cosmos. He did not engage in governmental functions, which was the role of the shogun who held military power.

Western Christianity offers yet another model based upon the fact that monotheism puts forward a transcendent god in contrast to the equality of all humanity. In this instance the king cannot be considered divine in origin, as in Japan, or be confused with a god, as with the Egyptian pharaoh. The religious realm remained firmly in the hands of a complex ecclesiastical apparatus that was involved in coronations from the eighth century until the time of Charles X in 1825 in France at Rheims, during which period the king was religiously anointed. The entire history of Europe consists of continuous attempts by the church and the state to assert their own superiority. The result was not so much a differentiation of roles, as in the preceding examples, but rather, as Kantorowicz has explained, an attempt to imitate each other, which is particularly evident in certain rituals of clothing and which culminated, as far as the king was concerned, in the claim that the sovereignty was divine in origin.

Alongside this institutional scenario, which in historical terms was interrupted by the French Revolution, there is a persistent popular image of the king. Marc Bloch (1924), in his now classic study, described the magical powers attributed to the medieval king, such as the ability to cure scrofula, and Yves-Marie Bercé (1990) investigated the equally fascinating topic of the king who is not dead but in hiding and will return to his people. These works provide evidence of the important mythological background that surrounds kingship even in Europe, which experienced the formation of the modern state, and evidence of the profitable use of the results of more than a century of anthropological research on this subject.

THE DIVINE KING AND THE RITUAL REGICIDE. The history of this research can be traced back to the publication of *The Golden Bough* by James G. Frazer in 1890. This work deals with the theme of kingship, in particular its magic and sacred aspects, expanded upon in subsequent editions. It was the first important theoretical comparative formulation. It expresses the idea that the attribution to certain individuals of presumed magical powers that enabled them to interact with the forces of nature and positively influence it was decisive in them assuming the roles of chiefs and kings in the first human societies. One of the consequences of their privileged contact with the forces of nature would have been concern for their physical condition, the fear that their degeneration would drag down the whole universe with it. To prevent this catastrophic hypothesis from becoming reality, it was thought necessary to anticipate the natural death of the king and kill him first, which would allow his soul to be transferred to a stronger successor, and his physical well-being would thus be harmoniously linked via the sympathetic principle of magic to that of the whole universe.

In the first edition of *The Golden Bough,* the killing of the king does not appear as a relevant feature when the author speaks of the "divine King," a person distinct from the "magical King," the most meaningful example of which is provided by the Japanese mikado. It does appear in the third edition (1911–1915), when Frazer inserts a reference in the fourth volume of the work (1911), which eventually reached twelve volumes, to the Shilluk of the Sudan, among whom, according to a letter sent him by Charles G. Seligman on December 13, 1910, regicide was practiced until a few years previous. The subject of ritual regicide acquired a central place in the discussion of sacred or, as Frazer put it, "divine" kingship. Perhaps because the paroxysm seemed to embody it best, or perhaps because he was deliberately referring to the most archaic period of the institution of the kingship, Frazer thought it the expression of a still savage sense of the sacred that shed light upon the nature of the kingship in his subsequent histories. Scholars were naturally reluctant to ignore the importance of these references in the picture of an evolutionistic interpretation of the kingship.

This evolutionary outlook still retains its appeal when kingship and, particularly, ritual regicide are discussed. In the late twentieth century, William G. Randles (1968) gathered the various references to this subject in subsequent anthropological literature into a structured plan that identifies four possible stages in the evolution of the kingship. At the first level, the society actually determines in advance the length of the king's reign, thus indicating the maximum control over his fate. At the second level, regicide takes place at the first signs of the sovereign growing old. At the third, the sovereign is obliged to prove that he is worthy of the throne by undergoing trials in which he risks his own life. Only at the fourth stage does the king gain control of his own fate and acquire the right to die a natural death.

This representation is useful in that it attempts to incorporate a wide range of ethnographic evidence within an apparently logical sequence where certain events, regarded as horrifying to modern sensibilities, are not denied as such but are instinctively moved back to the distant past. This, however, encourages an inflexible interpretation, which is still unacceptable.

The diffusionist viewpoint is similar and can be considered a less rigid form of evolutionism, with more regard for the definite historico-geographical links of cultural factors. The most important works of this school, such as the monograph by Charles K. Meek (1931) on the Jukun of Nigeria, in which he adduces symbolic parallels with ancient Egypt, remain essentially faithful to Frazer's view. The first attempted classification of this representation was by Seligman (1934), who in his Frazer Lecture of 1933 summarized the essential features of the so-called divine king. For him a king was divine if:

1. He was able to exercise influence, voluntary or otherwise, over the forces of nature;
2. He was regarded as the dynamic center of the universe;
3. His daily actions were meticulously controlled and constantly checked;
4. He had to be put to death when his powers declined so that his weakness did not drag down the whole kingdom with it.

The final point is the most interesting one because it became the criterion by which to identify the figure of the divine king and distinguish him from the sacred king. In practice, divine kings were those who were not able to die natural deaths but had to be ritually killed. The fact that this characteristic has remained difficult to demonstrate from empirical evidence, and in many kingdoms is not hinted at even in mythological traditions, has led the majority of scholars to prefer the expression sacred (or sacral) kingship. This may be seen from the title "The Sacral Kingship" given to the Eighth International Congress of the History of Religions, on the subject of kingship, held in Rome in 1955. Its proceedings were published in 1959.

In the meantime, the diffusionist trend has been giving way to a functionalist interpretation that provided the first real alternative to Frazer's model. What had previously been analyzed in terms of cast of mind and superstitions was now seen in institutional terms. These were viewed by Frazer as the result, or at least the reflection, of certain beliefs. The similarities between societies that were far apart from each other in terms of space and time were, for Frazer, an indication that the societies were at more or less the same stage of intellectual development. For the functionalists the reverse was the case. Beliefs were no longer the central issue; it was the need for structured social integration that was important and that provided the key to interpreting the ideology and symbolic practices, including those in which such societies were similar. The analysis was therefore mainly synchronic in nature, so origins are discussed only in a figurative sense. The "origins" of a cultural phenomenon are only found within the society in which it is exhibited. They are the place it occupies and the function it performs taken as a whole. The rich symbolism associated with the kingship is thus essentially seen in terms of the need for group social cohesion.

One of the most important monographs with this approach was published by Hilda Kuper (1947) and concerned the Swazi, who celebrate the *ncwala* ritual. This provided the starting point for Max Gluckman to provide details of the category in "Rituals of Rebellion" (1963). The category allowed the various phenomena of puppet kings, scapegoat kings, or kings humiliated or mocked in literature to be interpreted as dramatic representations of the conflict that would end with the reaffirmation of the unchangeable nature of the existing order, the renewal and re-endorsement of the kingship. The evidence may be ethnographic as well as historic, as in the case of the New Year ceremony (*akitu*) of the ancient Babylonians, the Roman Saturnalia, or various rituals that accompanied Carnivals in European history. Once again it raises, albeit only indirectly, the matter of the interregnum. It raises fear of the specter of anarchy in order to forestall it.

With regard to the question of regicide, the clearest expression of the functionalist view is the reinterpretation of the case of the Shilluk in the work of Edward E. Evans-Pritchard (1963/1948). For this people, the author contests the previous picture of a centralized society and holds that the king reigns but does not govern. The Shilluk lands are subdivided into autonomous areas, with regard to which the king acts as the focus of social cohesion. He is regarded as the descendant of Nyikank, the hero and founder of the entire people. This identification makes him the center of moral values, leading to the creation of a system that links together religion, cosmology, and politics. Furthermore, sacrality, according to Evans-Pritchard, was not an attribute of the king himself but of the office of kingship. The legitimacy of an individual king's reign could thus be revoked if it was felt that he did not satisfactorily embody the kingship. The belief that the king should be killed in particular circumstances was cleverly exploited by those who had ambitions of power and were excluded from it. The regicides were therefore nothing more than political murders disguised as ritual killings.

The concern to dispense with Frazer meant that this interpretation held sway for some time, although it was in fact somewhat contradictory. To begin with, it talked of a king who reigns but does not govern, though at the same time it considered the regicide as motivated by ambitions of power.

A further unconvincing point concerns the clear distinction between the person and the office, with the resulting transfer of the sacrality issue to the latter. Michael W. Young (1966) drew attention to this in an essay that began by reconsidering the case of the Jukun. In his view the position taken by Evans-Pritchard considered the body of the sovereign as a mere vessel. The fact that a social and cosmic bond may conceivably be identified with a physical body must have repercussions (in terms of the sacrality) for the individual whose body is thus identified. Referring to the distinction made by Kantorowicz concerning medieval and Renaissance English kings, Young makes the point that, for the Jukun, the body of the king is different from those of the common populace in that it is linked to *juwe*, a quality that can be compared to what English jurists saw as the *dignitas* of the political body of the king, which was immortal, as opposed to his physical body. The regicides were thus ritual acts with political consequences, rather than the opposite.

The strength of the arguments against the Evans-Pritchard position could not be clearer. They were reinforced by so-called neo-Frazerians, the most representative of whom is Heusch, who began his own study of sacred kingship in 1958, concentrating in particular on the symbolism of royal incest and more generally advancing a comparative analysis with the Bantu kings on the figure of the sacred king as a transgressor of rules. The same subject was dealt with by other authors, such as Laura Makarius (1974) or Alfred Adler (1982) with respect to the Mundang of Chad and Jean-Claude Muller (1980) regarding the Rukuba of Nigeria. The last two authors regarded the kingship as an essentially symbolic structure, thus restoring the theoretical plausibility of ritual regicide.

Nevertheless, despite an inclination to consider ritual regicide as widely practiced, the neo-Frazerians, by paying scant attention to historical dynamics, are unable to get past the idea that it should be placed at the beginning of institutional history. They thus ignore important occurrences of ritual killing that are much more recent and do not tally with an implicitly evolutionist outlook.

A theoretically important suggestion to overcome the limitations of this outlook could be to adopt the idea of the *sacré sauvage* put forward by Roger Bastide (1975). Bastide uses this idea to highlight the fact that, in contexts that are particularly dramatic in terms of cultural impact, the sacred manifests itself not in a tame, domesticated manner but in all its explosive violence, giving rise to unexpected events that most people would be inclined to relegate to the remote past. Colonial impact has certainly been one of those situations that have produced a kind of historical reversal.

The most profitable application of these suggestions has been a reinterpretation of Congolese kingship in the work of Kajsa Ekholm Friedman (1985). This author demonstrates that, contrary to the frequent representation of the kingship as the transition from a "purely symbolic" king to a plenipotential king, in the case of the Congo the situation is precisely the opposite. Whereas initially the king's sovereignty and effective power are clearly displayed, in more recent times, as a result of the disintegration produced by colonial impact, events have led to the scapegoat procedure, the coronation of marginal individuals who are given the title of king and humiliated in every possible way. Thus, what one would prefer to think of as a remnant of a previous age is more effectively interpreted if related to current events.

Allowing for the plausibility of ritual regicide does not necessarily imply adherence to an evolutionist view of kingship. This important lesson, which is based upon an open attitude to actual historical investigation, was illustrated by the comparative analysis of Nilotic societies by Simon Simonse in *Kings of Disaster* (1992). This important study not only includes instances of regicide as the result of a failure to make the rains fall—including in the late twentieth century (in 1984 in the case of the queen of the Sudanese Bari), it also stresses that regicide per se is not necessarily the definite outcome but only one possible result, albeit the most dramatic, among a series of alternatives that remain open to the society until the last moment.

Similar historical observations are made by Claude Tardits (1980, 1990) and Dario Sabbatucci (1978). Tardits rejects the concept of the divine king and is reluctant, as far as Africa is concerned, to use even the notion of the sacred king, remarking how, in this case, one may speak of sacrality and transcendence only by referring to the cult of ancestors and is still, it may be added, a form of eschatology. Sabbatucci is even more skeptical. He starts by correctly urging caution about whether the populations studied by ethnologists may really shed retrospective light upon previous millennia, as based upon a conjectural model of history. He then turns to an extreme theory, according to which eschatology was an entirely Egyptian creation, produced by the historical experience of kingship. Life in the next world, previously the exclusive privilege of the pharaoh, became available to the people.

This process, in so far as it is real, should not be regarded as something absolute, as a one-way journey. Power may not be redistributed unless it has previously been assumed. If societies are indebted to kingship for the creation of more sophisticated models of transcendence, this is not the case when it comes to the longing for transcendence per se. The immortality gift historically offered by kingship was appreciated because people could recognize the fulfillment of a previous shared aspiration in it.

KINGSHIP AND TRANSCENDENCE. The idea that kingship represents a particularly attractive model of transcendence, as one of the principal gauntlets thrown down by humans in the face of death, may be recognized in the fact that poets and writers have long been interested in this custom. Authors such as Homer, William Shakespeare, Luigi Pirandello, Eugène Ionesco, Italo Calvino, VladimirVolkoff, Elias Canetti, and many others have produced memorable writing on the subject of kingship. They have enlightened readers in many ways, and even as far as regicide is concerned, one may begin to understand that the most incisive writing may be contained in literary works (Vaughan, 1980). The sacrality of the king may only be understood when one sees the kingship of humanity, and in this regard poets have great vision. Thus, in the analysis of kingship, more so than in other fields, Aristotle's theory that poetry expresses a more philosophical and universal form of knowledge than history may be productively cited (Riccardo, 1997).

However, bringing this kind of thinking to bear concerning kingship involves the danger of becoming involved in the actual political defense of kingship. In other words, if the figure of the king is perceived as extremely close to, if not directly linked to, human nature itself, a little like God in the philosophy of Saint Augustine, empirical consideration of his absence from the political and institutional stage may be transformed into a kind of disquiet, rather like that presumably felt by those traditional societies at the physical decline of their sovereign. In this case, analysis of kingship and what it may have symbolized for peoples who experienced it is cloaked in a thinly disguised nostalgia for a bygone age. Kingship is seen as a panacea for the ills of the modern world, whereas modernity itself is considered in its turn to be a kind of interregnum, a void to be filled in the near future. One moves from kingship as poetry to kingship as therapy.

Such ideas are common in certain general studies on kingship. Thus Jean Hani (1984) is interested in the subject of kingship as a way to denounce modern Western secular thinking and the idea that sovereignty resides in the people. He highlights the unifying role of kingship, that individuals thus become part of a mystical Body, whereas secular political regimes operate in the opposite way, fragmenting society with subsequent conflict between its different parts, which are completely divided. It is clear that the historical advance of pluralism is denigrated here, perceived as irremediable chaos, a kind of interregnum, as opposed to those systems in which the sacrality of power would be able to ensure harmony between the whole and the parts.

The thinking on royal, or rather imperial, symbolism of Claudio Bonvecchio (1997) is mostly similar in tone. His analysis starts from a statement of the degeneration of the current liberal idea of popular sovereignty, where the king (*rex*) is replaced by the law *(lex),* a barren standard that will never be able to replace the symbolic richness, particularly as expressed imperially, because this is the best embodiment of the original model of sovereignty. Even more so than Hani, he emphasizes the "prescriptive emptiness of character" of sovereignty in the secular age, which is like "a pathology which denies any meaning to man, alienating man from himself, from society, from nature, from the cosmos" (Bonvecchio, 1997, p. 36). To rediscover the original idea of sovereignty would therefore mean to master the real self, and thus be not so much a political battle as an existential one. Can one consider this battle politically neutral? Maybe so, but only on condition of avoiding the temptation to try to buttress it with the firm support of an institution to justify and promote it. A true poet does not need it.

SEE ALSO Charlemagne; Constantine; Myth and Ritual School; Theodosius.

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GAETANO RICCARDO (2005)
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KINGSHIP: KINGSHIP IN THE ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

It is important to underline that the concept of "oriental despotism" deriving from the Bible is an ethnocentric concept that must be left aside. The general features of the Near Eastern kingships show a steady and strict bond with the cosmic order, just as the gods wanted it to be and to be maintained. The sovereign, therefore—far from giving way to his whims—constantly had to conform his behavior to superior heavenly principles.

A second point has to be highlighted: our knowledge of the forms of kingship in the ancient civilizations of the Mediterranean depends almost exclusively on written sources; if these are lacking, our research is forcefully limited. The oldest epigraphs appear around 3100 BCE in the town of Uruk, in lower Mesopotamia, when the phenomenon of the birth of the first cities was culminating. Unfortunately, these give no insight into the kind of government ruling the society at that time. After a short period, writing also appeared in Egypt (c. 3000 BCE). It is a common opinion that Mesopotamian influence played a major role in the birth of writing in Egypt, which is probably true, but the hieroglyphic system has distinct and different features from the Mesopotamian cuneiform. In Mesopotamia a certain number of archives and libraries throw light on its institutions, but there is a grave lack of continuity and homogeneous information. Even more sporadic are the written sources from the Syro-Palestinian area where, before the first millennium BCE, we find only the great archive of Ebla (twenty-fourth century BCE), Mari (from the same period to the eighteenth century BCE), and Ugarit and Emar (Late Bronze Age). Anatolia, as well, has provided scattered bits of information; one has the documents of the Assyrian traders of the beginning of the second millennium and, afterwards, the archives and library of Hattushash-Bogazköy up to about 1200 BCE. Recent discoveries have added minor archives, although these, too, contain material restricted to the same time span. The first millennium is not very well documented by the Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions (from the Hittite period to the eighth century BCE) nor by the epigraphs written in the local languages and writings. Ancient Iran is almost completely undocumented (with the remarkable exception of the *Avesta,* written—*terminus ante quem*—before the fifth century BCE), in spite of the epigraphic heritage of the so-called proto-Elamic and Elamic, which are both very limited. It is unnecessary here to list all classical sources in Greek and Latin; one must mention however that for various reasons, both the Linear B for Greece and the heritage of the Etruscan and Italic epigraphs provide insufficient information. As can be seen, extremely widespread areas and long periods are completely obscure or inadequately documented by the sources. This situation greatly limits our present possibilities of knowledge.

MESOPOTAMIA. According to the present state of knowledge, the most ancient form of kingship is connected to the birth of an urban society in the Low Mesopotamia toward the end of the fourth millennium BCE. A rich stock of technical experience from the Chalcolithic era, certain favorable ecological and climatic changes, and an increase in population contributed to the birth of the first city, Uruk (perhaps an analogous yet independent process started in High Mesopotamia). This process was connoted by the creation of a bureaucratic apparatus and by the hierarchical partition of depersonalized work. However, it is not possible to obtain any direct information about the form of government of this society. Notwithstanding the privileged condition afforded by the great amount of written documents discovered, it is yet not possible—due to the characteristics of the texts themselves—to adequately answer any questions on fundamental topics related to Mesopotamian kingship.

The whole Mesopotamian civilization constantly strove to conform human society to the model offered by the divine world. In the pantheon, below the remote heaven god An was Enlil (Lord Wind), who, as the only one who could touch the unreachable sky of his father, An, played a very forceful role on earth. Enlil was the king of all gods, and they would travel to his see, his temple in Nippur, to draw from him his superior divine power. Under his rule, the demiurge god, Enki, ascribed specific tasks to every single divinity, each of whom had his see in a particular city. Enlil (named "the trader" for his mediating function) constituted the paradigm of kingship: from their various sees and tasks the gods were unified under his authority and, through him, could reach—albeit in an indirect way—the summit of the sky. In the same way, the king, being the vertex of society, acted as the point of contact between the latter and the world of the gods. Wolfgang Heimpel presented a theory (1992), based on consistent clues, about the passage from a form of a kingship, which was temporally limited and elective (by means of oracles, related to the royal title *en*), to a dynastic form, legitimized by royal birth (related to the royal title *lugal).* Sumerian literature explicitly states that kingship, besides being of divine origin because it descends from the heaven of the gods, makes possible civilization, the acme of which resided in worship (the relationship with the gods) and justice (the preservation of the order the gods wanted). Humanity, being the consignee of such an important gift, must certainly play a central role in the universe.

Various anthropogonic myths tell how humans were created from the gods in order to relieve the inferior divinities from the trouble of running the cosmos. The human task, therefore, is a task of divine level, and it was with this aim that man had been brought into being by mixing clay with the flesh and blood of a killed god. The sovereign is, therefore, he who leads society towards the realization of the divine design, which is made known to him by means of divinatory practices: according to one tradition, the primeval sovereigns were the keepers of the divinatory science (Lambert, 1967). In relation to the gods, the king is thus the vertex of humanity. The reign is therefore thought of as an ordered area (cosmos), departing from a "center"—the point where the horizontal surface of the world of men meets the vertical axis elevating to the heaven of the gods; it is this connection that defends the reign (i.e., cosmos) against the unruliness of chaos. The breaking of this axis causes the collapse of the kingdom's defenses, thereby allowing the devastating forces of chaos to rush in. As is unequivocally clear, this "center" is represented on a social level by the temple (the see of the city-god) and by the king. In this context the king is seen as the steward of the god housed in the temple. It is the god who is the veritable owner of the kingdom. Thus, the building of his temple is the culminating point of the king's activity, and the king demonstrates in this way that he has achieved the god Enki/Ea's knowledge (Matthiae, 1994) after having first established justice, enlarged the cosmos or contained chaos (all errands exalting his solar character).

Although these ideas have remained the same for more than three thousand years, it is understandable that their forms in history changed with the times. The spatial representation of the king as the center of his kingdom shifted onto a time level when large kingdoms of nomadic origin took form in Mesopotamia (the comparison with the biblical patriarchs is immediate [Hallo, 1970]). Their legitimation stemmed from the long list of their nomadic ancestry, whereas in the Sumerian world it was the town, as the see of the god and thus the point of contact between the divine and human spheres, which legitimized the king's position. The dynastic tallies listing the nomadic ancestors corresponded to the "Sumerian King List," a long text arranged as a sequence of cities. This catalog, which begins with the words "When kingship descended from heaven," lists—city by city—the kings who ruled them. It begins with the mythical kings who lived before the Flood and reigned for thousands of years each; then the list continues on until historical times. According to the organization of the list, only one city at time was dominant in Mesopotamia (which is surely historically incorrect). The end of a certain city's dominion is marked by the entry of the sum of the years of reign of its single kings and with the sentence "its (of that city) kingship was carried to . . . (name of another city)." As Claus Wilcke (1989) demonstrated, the series of the dominant cities follows a predetermined order, which is regularly repeated—a further element indicating a function unconnected with the recording of historical events. In fact, this list was probably composed during the dynasties of Ur III (2112–2004 BCE) and Isin (2017–1794 BCE), and its compilation aimed at legitimizing those dynasties.

The contact between the king and the divine took on peculiar forms, such as the Holy Wedding (*hieros gamos*) when the king, playing the god Dumuzi, married the goddess Inanna in order to attract divine benevolence down onto his reign. Another form was the divination of the king. Both forms are found in the second half of the third millennium until the second half of the second: they overlapped but were not directly connected and were extinguished during the Old Babylonian period (twentieth–sixteenth century BCE). The king was legitimized politically by his birth, but from a religious point of view, it was necessary that he have a divine rebirth (probably through a royal initiation) from which he appeared to have been generated by particular divinities (Sjöberg, 1972). It must be stressed, however, that even those sovereigns who were divinized while yet living and whose images were worshipped after their deaths were never considered to be living divinities, such as the Egyptian pharaohs, and their conduct was constantly and exclusively guided by the oracles.

In Assyria in the earliest period, before Shamshi-Adad I's reign (1812-1780 BCE), the king appeared as the executor of the citizen's assembly; he did not have the title *king,* which belonged to the city-god Ashur, but rather that of his *vicar*, a title also connected to sacerdotal functions. It was only when Assyria began an expansionistic policy that this frame was changed and became definitive—after discontinuous events, under King Tukulti-Ninurta I (second half of the thirteenth century BCE), until the end of the empire (612–610 BCE). The earliest phase of this transformation, due to Shamshi-Adad I, saw the introduction of the idea of legitimation by means of the list of ancestors, as happened in Babylonia (king Ammi-saduqa: 1646–1626 BCE). A further form of legitimating—not excluding the preceding ones—is given by the divinity's choice by means of divination. This may have been the condition that allowed Asarhaddon (680–669 BCE) to ascend the throne (Asarhaddon was the youngest son of king Sennacherib and was chosen by his father to succeed to the throne on grounds of many oracular responses; as a matter of fact it was his mother who managed to have his son chosen instead of his elder brothers, sons of other wives and concubines of the king), or that endorsed the result of a conjure, taken as an ordeal, as in the case of Nabonedo (555–539 BCE) (Nabonedo was a usurper who took power illegally, delcaring himself the legitimate successor because astrological and oneiromantic *omina* decreed he had to be the heir of the previous kings). In other very numerous occurrences the gods' choice blended royal descent with gods' will, for the dynasty itself was but a manifestation of the latter.

EGYPT. The peculiar feature of the Egyptian king, the pharaoh, consisted in his being the image of the supreme sun god of the Egyptians, Re-Atum, who wanted him as his successor in the world of the living so that he could maintain worship and justice between humans (as did his Mesopotamian counterpart). However, the Egyptians had a more complex idea of their sovereign's function than the Mesopotamians had: they saw in him one who would fulfil the concept of *maat*, thereby annihilating *isfet* at the same time. The word *maat* conveys the idea of an all-pervading cosmic order: it is the principle according to which the universe had been created. The world lost touch with this principle, and therefore no longer corresponded to its original state of order. The opposite of *maat*, *isfet* (defect) conveys the sense of disorder that comes into being wherever and whenever the relationship with the creator principle is lost: illness, crime, misery, war, lies—everything, in short, that makes history—are all episodes of *isfet.* The pharaoh, helped by the two cosmic forces *sia* (knowledge) and *hu* (word), can restore the primeval "wealth" that conforms to *maat.* He is, consequently, one of the three poles of a triad formed with the god and the *maat.* When he identifies himself with the latter, he becomes "one body with the god," and his will cannot but be good. From a cosmological point of view, after the divine world had been set apart from the human world, only the god of the air, Shu, the prototype of kingship, could make possible a form of communication between the worlds, while at the same time keeping the heaven of the creator Sun-god and the other gods at a distance. (It must be noted that the Sumerian king of the gods, Enlil—whose name means "Lord Wind"—played an analogous role of separation and connection.) Indeed, kingship finds its raison d'être in this detachment, for it is the king who must guarantee the continuity of the relationship with the now-distant gods. Jan Assmann (1990) points out the analogy with the Christian church, whose very existence was made necessary by the distance between man and Christ's coming. It thus becomes clear why Egypt did not leave any codices or collections of laws: every single pharaoh was the only one to determine justice, because it was he who made the realization of *maat* possible. As the opponent of *isfet*, the pharaoh was also the defender of the poor.

The pharaoh was at the center of other binary systems, even if on completely different levels. Every king, at the moment he assumed his power, thereby also renewed the unification between High and Low Egypt (the diversity of which is expressed even in their names, Shema and Mehu, which respectively referred to the gods Horus and Seth). The opposition of the two gods, which is the basis of the Egyptian kingship, is not merely geographic, but also corresponds to the opposition between order and chaos, right and violence. Horus must prevail over the wild Seth by taming him into a form of unity in a continuously repeated dynamic process. For this reason, the pharaoh wore the crowns of both High and Low Egypt; as king of High Egypt he was named *njswt,* and as king of Low Egypt, *bjt.* At the sides of his throne the images of the gods Horus and Seth held the hieroglyph meaning "to unify."

The pharaoh was thought to be destined to join the sun god after his death, when "his divine body coalesces with its sire." In each kingly succession, indeed, there was a reenactment of the mythical struggle between the god Osiris (son of Geb, the earth god, and Nut, the sky goddess)—the first king and Nile god, god of cereals, and lord of the dead—and his brother and murderer, Seth, followed by the revenge taken on Seth by Osiris's son and successor, the young god Horus. Even until much later times, the destructiveness of Seth was a fundamental power in the creation of the universe, because only by its working alongside order was the birth of the cosmos possible. In the end, as the direct heir of Osiris, and therefore of Geb, Shu, and Ra, Horus himself assurged to the undivided power. So, in Egyptian religious thought, Horus was the living pharaoh, and Osiris was his dead predecessor.

Kings, "souls," and ancestors. The superiority of the monarchs was expressed not only by their connection or identification with deities: the king was also superior to his subjects because his *ka* (vital force, a spiritual twin that lives on after the death of the physical body) was different from that of commoners. The pharaoh's *ka* was shown on monuments in the shape of the monarch's identical twin; as the king's protector in death, it announced the arrival of the dead monarch to the gods in heaven, and it was identified (Frankfort, 1948) with the placenta enwrapping the newborn king.

One of the standards that accompanied the king during festivals and processions probably represented the royal placenta, and may have been the image of the king's *ka.*

Other standards accompanying the king represented his ancestral spirits (in Egyptian, *ba*), whose functions were to give life to the pharaoh, thus protecting the land, and, after his death, to prepare his ascent to the heavens. The standards thus played an important part in kingly rituals. The fact that they were classified in two subgroups, the souls of Pe and the souls of Nekhen, may point to an early artificial combination of two series of kingly ancestors, from southern and northern Egypt, respectively. Pe was an ancient town of the Delta, and Nekhen was one of the South. In a certain way both towns represent the two original distinct political units of the period before the unification.

Kingly rituals. The main rituals of the Egyptian state were kingly rituals sanctioning the various aspects of the royal succession, a delicate mechanism that ensured the continuity of the social order. The death of the old king was followed by a period during which the new pharaoh assumed power, visited sanctuaries throughout Egypt, and issued his protocols, while his father's body and funerary temple were prepared for the burial rites. During this period, the *ka*s rested.

On the day of the royal funerary ritual, a series of litanies, spells, and incantations were probably recited, insisting on the identification of the dead pharaoh with Osiris (and of the pharoah's son with Horus), and on the dead monarch's glorious survival in heaven, where he was embraced by the god Atum or received by the souls of Pe and Nekhen. The king was buried as an embalmed mummy in his funerary abode, and was symbolically located in the regions where his life continued (the netherworld, the west, and the north near the circumpolar stars). While the dead king ruled as Osiris among the dead, his son ruled on earth, in perfect continuity.

The day after the celebration of the dead king's heavenly survival, the coronation of the new pharaoh took place. It was usually made to coincide with the New Year's Day or with some other important beginning in nature's cycle. The ritual involved cultic practices in the dual shrines of the royal ancestral spirits of Pe and Nekhen, and it culminated in the placing of the two crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt on the pharaoh's head. A further important kingly ritual was the *Sed* festival, which took place once or several times during a pharaoh's reign. This renewal of the kingly power was held on the anniversary of the pharoah's coronation. It included a procession; the offering of gifts to the gods; pledges of loyalty by the king; visits to shrines; the dedication of a field to the gods by the pharaoh, who twice ran across it in the four directions of the compass, first as king of Upper, then Lower Egypt; and the shooting of arrows by the king in these four directions, symbolically winning him control of the whole universe.

SYRIA AND PALESTINE, INCLUDING ISRAEL. In spite of the great efforts of specialized scholars (including Giovanni Pettinato and Pelio Fronzaroli), it is still impossible to outline a reliable picture of kingship in Ebla (about 70 kilometers south of Aleppo; mid-third millennium BCE). Through the nomenclature it is evident that the Eblaite queen had a particular role, but the mechanism of the institution is far from clear. In Mari (medium Euphrates; early second millennium BCE), the two concepts of the holiness of the king and of the king's role in assuring justice became intermingled and formed one inseparable idea. (This passed—through the mediation of the Bible—into the Christian concept of kingship.) The king was anointed (a habit alien to Mesopotamia, yet documented in Ebla, where it was not restricted to sovereigns alone), and by means of this rite, his state was changed and he consequently acquired major authority. The practice of anointing was directly related to the main function of the king, namely that of "king of justice," "the good shepherd" who protects the weak. This idea of justice, therefore, went beyond the boundaries of the law and centered on the king's personal subjective beliefs, which determined the king's interference and were completely unrelated to the kind of justice that the judges were expected to apply. According to the law, the weak might be in the wrong, but the sovereign would protect them. Another peculiar feature that is also found in the Bible was the use of the donkey as the proper mount for the legitimate king. In contrast to the horse, which was used in war and thus conveyed an idea of violence, the donkey became the symbol of the triumphant peace, which the king was seen to have realized through his submission to the gods (Lafont, 1998, pp. 161–166).

In the Ugaritic texts (late second millennium BCE), however, we find an important trait of kingship ideology in Bronze Age Syria: the cult of the dead kings, which apparently began at the time of the Amorite dynasties. In Ugarit the royal ancestors, the most ancient of which were probably mythical, called *rapium* ("healers, saviors"; compare with the biblical *refa'im*), were worshipped with offerings and periodic rites.

In the first millennium BCE, traces of both the Phoenician and Aramean kingship ideology are attested to by alphabetic inscriptions. The godlike qualities of monarchs were sometimes indicated, but the main aspects of kingship were the ruler's upholding of justice and peace and his role as a servant of the gods. They repaid him by giving peace and abundance to his kingdom. One Aramaic inscription, however, seems to present the king as enjoying a special existence ("drinking" with the storm god) after his death.

The Israelite monarchy in the Bible was not devoid of such "sacral" traits, and specific ritual aspects such as royal anointing and royal burial rites are described in the biblical texts with some precision. Yet, the Bible presents the kings as mere servants of the heavenly king and sole true god, Yahweh, and it denies them any superhuman powers or destiny. Moreover, kingship is presented as a foreign institution adopted by the Israelites, and most Israelite kings are depicted as unfaithful to the national deity, whereas the prophets of Yahweh play an important role in condemning monarchs on behalf of their god, and sometimes in anointing new and more pious kings to replace them. In the exilic and postexilic texts, many aspects of the Near Eastern kingship ideology (but not the divine nature of monarchs) seem to have converged in the eschatological expectations of the Israelites, who had no kings of their own, but awaited the return of a descendant of the Davidic dynasty. In this sense, the roots of Jewish and Christian messianism must be sought in the kingship ideology of the ancient Near East.

HITTITE KINGSHIP. By far the most important form of writing used in Anatolia was the cuneiform script imported from Mesopotamia (naturally, also ideograms and standard forms of handwriting were used). Thus, even if one knows that the Hittite word for king is *hashshu-* (this term, though infrequent, is written in the cuneiform Hittite texts), one does not know for certain whether the Sumerian and Akkadian terms (respectively *lugal* and *sharru,* both used as ideograms, even if written in cuneiform) for the title of sovereign corresponded exactly to the local usage. This problem was already evident at the time of the paleo-Assyrian colonies (beginning of the second millennium BCE). In texts, the Hittite sovereigns used the ideogram *LUGAL* ("king" in Sumerian) not only for themselves but also for the sovereigns for neighboring states. In Late Bronze Age politics the title *LUGAL.GAL* (Sumerian for "great king") was used to refer to the sovereigns of Egypt and Babylonia as well as to the Hittite king himself, to distinguish them from sovereigns of politically less important states. In this period the Hittite king was referred to with the epithet "my sun" (*shamshi* in Akkadian script), which was perhaps of Egyptian derivation or an elaboration of Mesopotamian elements. The characteristic title, however, was *tabarna*, derived from the name of the first great Hittite king, Labarna (a process analogous to Latin "Cæsar," *t* and *l* refer to intermediate sounds); the feminine form, *tawananna*, referred to the king mother, to whom special cultural functions were given. The significance given to divine support was a characteristic of the Hittite monarchy, which was taken to extremes by Hattushili III (1275–1260 BCE) to legitimate his coup d'état. Numerous have been found that bear oracles for the interpretation of divine will and thus provide clues to the reasons that determined unfavorable political events. After the king's death a complex ritual based on the cremation of his body took place, and food was ritually offered to the dead monarch. When the texts refer to a king's death, they speak of his "becoming a god." These elements cannot, however, be taken to indicate the divinization of the sovereign during his lifetime, although this did happen—to an extent—later, from the middle of the thirteenth century BCE onwards, in the major celebration of monarchy from Hattushili III until the fall of the empire.

IRAN. From the nomadic life in a semidesertic land, the tribes of the Persians and the Medes became—in a relatively short period of time—the conquerors of great kingdoms, the capitals of which were fully developed cities. This rather sudden change bore important consequences. In order to control their new acquisitions, the Achaemenid kings incorporated the royal ideology of the defeated people into their own one. In the extension of their wide empire, therefore, the Achaemenids everywhere impersonated the legitimate successors of the former dynasties, but it was the conquest of Babylon (539 BCE) that determined this political choice. The basic concepts of the Achaemenid kingship are traced back to the ideology of the Assyrian-Babylonian monarchy rather than to the Indo-European political institutions, as Gnoli demonstrated. This borrowing however, was tempered by the peculiar feature of the Zoroastrian thought that patently differentiated it from the other religious worlds of the ancient Near East—the dualistic opposition between Ohrmazd-Ahuramazda and Ahreman. This opposition mirrored a deeper cosmological level than the idea of contrast between chaos and order in Mesopotamian thought. The expected conclusive victory of Ohrmazd, with the final annihilation of Ahreman, is a unique component in all the Ancient Near East. The forms of kingship, from that of the Achaemenids to that of the Sasanians, are all determined by this fundamental idea of rigid dualism, which Pettazzoni (1920) drew nearer to monotheistic than to polytheistic religions—this is not a paradox. It was then inconceivable that a sovereign appears as a god. The Greeks, for their convenience, translated with the same term, *theos*, both the Iranian words *bay* and *yazad*, but only the former (which also means "[divine] distributor") actually referred to the king; the latter term was limited to the divinities only. *Bay* was a king's title because of his role in the first line against the forces of evil, not because of his divinization. The king, indeed, played a key role in creation, in which the battle between Ohrmazd and Ahreman is fought. For this reason an initiatory rite, perhaps based on the mystical union with the deceased ancestors, became necessary in the enthroning process during the Achaemenid period, and some buildings in Pasargade and Naqsh-i Rustam may have been mainly destined for that function. In the Sasanian period, on the other hand, the king assumed those astral traits, which made him a "cosmocrator." Indeed, like the stars, the king was endowed with *xwarrah* (roughly translated as "brightness, glory," also to vital energy), and because his "form" is an image of the gods, this makes his *xwarrah* similar to theirs as well. In any case, alive or dead, the Iranian king never became a god, even if while living he assumed some distinctive traits which were to make him different from all other men, and notwithstanding the fact that he was a living image of the gods (although he never identified himself with them). He was allowed to enjoy "rightness" in the netherworld for his right behavior while living, as could any other person who had done the same.

GREECE AND HELLENISM. Four very different forms of kingship succeeded in ancient Greece: the Mycenaean, the Homeric, the archaic and the classical, and the Hellenistic. Little is known about kingship in Crete in Minoan times (c. 2500–c. 1500 BCE), and in Greece and Crete in Mycenaean times (c. 1600–c. 1100 BCE), because the relevant texts have either not yet been translated (the Minoan Linear A inscriptions) or are concerned mainly with problems of administration (the Mycenaean Linear B texts, in a language that is an ancestor of ancient Greek). Archaeology and the study of the Egyptian texts (where the Cretans were named *Keftiu*) provide evidence of the regular relationship—which was not limited to trade—that flourished from the third millennium BCE between the Aegean civilizations and Egypt and Syria (city of Biblos).

Minoan and Mycenaean kingship. These relations had an incisive influence on the Aegean world as well as on the institution of the Mycenaean kingship, about which limited information exists. As for the Minoan kingship, it could be of some interest that the sovereigns were embalmed with the oil of Syrian firs. The lack of royal tombs in Crete before the Santorini eruption (c. 1530 BCE) and the uncertain destination of the "palaces" (perhaps only cultic places) demonstrate against a possible divine or divinely inspired kingship (on which, see Marinatos, 1995), which was introduced only later, after that disaster (Driessen, 2003).

The Mycenaean kingship covered both political and religious spheres. The king (*wanax)* was an overlord who ruled over the local kings (whose title was the archaic form of *basiléus*). His kingdom never reached an extent comparable to that of the Near Eastern empires, even if it was formed on their model. Besides civil functions, the administrative records in Linear B show that the king had at least partial control of the cultic organization. It is unclear whether this twofold role is related to the Indo-European heritage (see Dumézil, 1977). The term *wanax* disappeared with the fall of the Mycenaean civilization. When indeed this state system collapsed around 1100 BCE, many other aspects of that cultural tradition, including writing, were lost.

Homeric kingship. Kingship, as it was represented in the Homeric world, seems to have kept few traits of continuity with what is known of the Mycenaean civilization. It has to be stressed that since the depiction of the social and political institutions is always coherent in both the Homeric poems (the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*), it is evident that in the age of their composition, the eighth century BCE, these institutions still existed. The poet described them in a slightly more archaic way as they actually were (Carlier, 1996, p. 294). The king is named *basileus*—an approximate translation of the Greek term, which must be understood as "king of a community," not of a state; the word is also employed to indicate the chief of an aristocratic *oikos* ("household, manor"). The royal power seemed to have been related to the power of a clan, and the king himself rather resembled a *pater familias*. The mechanisms of the succession are obscure, but a conflict between the aristocracy and the royal family, willing to affirm the dynastic principle, is evident. The king therefore appears to have been a *primus inter pares*; a vague hint of the *wanax* is kept in Agamemnon's attribute "*anax andron.*" Carlier compares *wanax* to Imperial Latin *dominus,* "lord" (1996, p. 268).

Kingship is an expression of strength. M. I. Finley (1956) mentions the term *iphi* ("with strength") in theorizing why Odysseus's father, Laertes, was not the king in the twenty-year absence of his son because, being an aged person, he was not strong enough to assure his rule, and his family, in which the young Telemachus was the only man, could not guarantee it. It is also not clear why marriage to Penelope would have legitimated the new king, chosen among her suitors (in the same way, the usurper Aegistus, in Argos, married Agamemnon's wife). Power is personal, and supported by the family. Central to this system was the *oikos,* an almost self-sufficient productive unit where relatives assembled, *hetairoi* ("comrades") rallied to war campaigns, and different classes of servants and helpers set to everyday tasks. The king summoned an assembly of the citizens, but it was merely a consultative organ, and decision making was held firmly in the king's own hands. The social pattern of the organization of power may be defined thus: the assembly listens, the elders propose, the king disposes. In particular circumstances such as warfare and journeys, the king might celebrate sacrifices to the gods, as had the Mycenaean *wanax*. The king was always at the head of his army, which he personally led in war, and the aristocracy would lend him their men as warriors (all the heroes of the Homeric poems are aristocrats, if not kings). In conclusion, it may be safely stated that the Homeric king enjoyed *geras* ("privilege" and "honor," which is also expressed by *time*) that made him owner of the *temenos*, a plot of particularly fertile land (also, shrines of the gods); as a leader, he had to show both *metis* ("prudence") and valor. In every circumstance, he had to demonstrate that he deserved his *time.*

Kingship in the *poleis* and Spartan diarchy. After many centuries, a profound social transformation led to the birth of a new organization, the typically Greek *polis,* or city-state. Although kingdoms survived in the periphery of the new Greek world, the *polis* was a structure that had no place for monarchies of the type discussed above, although some kingly functions were inherited by magistrates, and there is even evidence of restricted forms of kingship (e.g., the Spartan diarchy). The diarchy was more a concurrent lifetime leadership of two *strategoi* ("strategists," a sort of magistrates) than a true form of kingship, notwithstanding its hereditary characteristic. It was this feature that qualified the two kings of Sparta with respect to their magical and religious functions, based on the reference of the divine couple of twins, the Dioscuri (Carlier, 1984, pp. 296–301). The system was very stable, and it lasted for about five centuries.

The same religious concerns are to be found in the Athenian monarchy. Both the king (*basileus*) and, when monarchy disappeared, the magistrate (also called *basileus*) were active characters in the rites of the city cults, which included the hierogamic ceremony symbolizing the union of the city (represented by the queen) with the god Dionysos.

The monarchical tendencies of some rulers *(tu-rannoi)* of cities in the seventh to fourth centuries BCE were exceptional and short-lived, though they arose again and again, especially in the colonial worlds of Sicily and Asia Minor. It was only when the polis system declined and the peripheral Macedonian dynasty gained control over Greece and later conquered the Iranian Empire that the Greek-speaking world had to come to terms with the power of the Macedonian kings *(basileis),* while most cities maintained, at least formally, their traditional regimes.

After the death of Alexander the Great of Macedonia (323 BCE), his empire was divided among his successors. The Near East of the Hellenistic age became a series of monarchies headed by kings of Macedonian descent. These kingdoms were ruled, and profoundly influenced culturally, by an elite of Greek soldiers and administrators. Hellenistic kingship ideology, like Hellenistic culture in general, was a combination of Greek (Macedonian) and traditional Near Eastern traits. Kings were believed to be descendants of divine ancestors (through Alexander), godlike—in some cases, divine—in life, and surviving as gods after their death. The court etiquette and the rituals of kingship, so far as can be ascertained, were derived mainly from the Iranian, Egyptian, and other Near Eastern traditions.

ETRUSCANS. In modern times some progress in the research on the mechanism on the Etruscan kingship was achieved by integrating the scarce data from the written Etruscan sources (because of their celebrative character, most of the funerary epigraphs are of little relevance in this kind of inquiry) with the comparison of the data related to the earliest Roman history and of the archaeological documentation. Apart from the Greek metropolises of the south (*Magna Gaecia*) of a clearly foreign tradition, the development of urban civilization in Italy can be ascribed to the Etruscans. Etruscan urbanization grew through subsequent phases, each of which produced its relative form of government. In the first phase villages merged, under the stimulus of their aristocracies, into a single unit of superior order, thus beginning the growth of metropolises (from the ninth to the sixth centuries BCE). The city was ruled by a king (*lucumo*) whose institutional features are unfortunately obscure. A lictor preceding him, his gold crown, his ivory throne, his sceptre surmounted by an eagle, and his purple toga and mantle were all signs of his rank. The ceremony of the triumph, in which the king personified a deity, together with the *ludi* and other insignias of regal power, was probably introduced in Rome by the Etruscan dynasty of the Tarquini.

The assembly of the twelve *lucumones* of the Etruscan dodecapolis was held near the *Fanum Voltumnae* (the temple of the protector god, or genius, of Etruria—*deus Etruriae princeps*), most probably located near present-day Orvieto. There a magistrate was elected whose functions were superior to the particularism of the single *polis* and who was, therefore, preceded by twelve lictors as a sign of his position. The subsequent progression of the mercantile middle class led to seigniories similar to Greek "tyrannies." Toward the end of the sixth century and during all of the fifth century BCE, republican oligarchies took control; besides an *ordo principum* (probably analogous to the Roman senate), one or more likely more *zilath / zilach* (*praetor*) were ruling. The dodecapolis league was active in the republican period as well, and elected the *zilath mechl rasnal* (i.e., the *praetor Etruriae).*

ROME. The mythology regarding the foundation of Rome gives expression to different phases of the beginnings of the city and of its primitive kingship. Romulus, who founded the city of Rome on the Palatine hill and whose name the city therefore bears, was a foreign king—an Alban from a region about 40 kilometers to the south. The phrase *populus Romanus Quiritesque* (the Roman people and the Quirites) thus indicates the superimposition of Rome on the inhabitants of the proto-urban settlements of the other nearby hills, specifically the Quirites, who had the system of the curiae (the curia was a division of the three original Romulean tribes, Ramnes, Tites and Luceres, and was the basic element of the assembly, *comitia curiata*), which Romulus's reign centralized into a unique political formation. On the one hand, the murder and dismemberment of Romulus by the senators, each of whom carried home limbs of his body, represents the transformation of Romulus into Quirinus, the god of the Quirites, but on the other hand, it also expresses the return of the power to the *curiae,* who will choose the new king. This system was in use up until the reign of Tarquinius Priscus (Carandini, 2002, pp. 197–207). With this latest king the Etruscan influence became very incisive, and it continued to be decisive until the fall of the monarchy. The forms of cult changed dramatically; amongst other innovations, the *triumphus,* originally a theophany in which the god Jupiter appears to guarantee an incipient welfare, was introduced. Though often changed in its constitutive traits, celebration of the *triumphus* was to last in the Roman tradition (Versnel, 1970).

From the sixth century BCE, Rome was a republic headed by an aristocracy of *senatores* and governed by elected magistrates. Indeed, the antimonarchic ideology of ancient Rome was such that when—after the Roman conquest of most of the Mediterranean world—the crisis of the republican state led to the rise of a new form of monarchy, the rulers did not take on the traditional title of Indo-European origin, *rex* (king), but were called *imperator,* a word denoting the triumphing war leader of republican times. The Roman Empire lasted from the first century BCE to the late fifth century CE, and the ideology of rulership changed profoundly during its history. Its original traits included the cult of the emperor's *genius* (personality, double) and the deification of the dead emperor through a complex ritual involving cremation and the flight of his spirit to the heavens in the form of an eagle flying from the funeral pyre. But these soon gave way—first in the eastern provinces and then in the entire imperial territory—to other forms of ruler worship, such as the identification of the emperor with mythical figures or gods, which were often directly imported by monarchs from the local cultures of their provincial homelands.

The emperor Constantine's conversion to Christianity in the late fourth century was the starting point of a further profound transformation in the imperial ideology. Obviously, the new Christian rulers could not be considered divine, yet many aspects of the system of beliefs, rituals, and etiquette typical of the imperial monarchy were adapted to the new religious context. According to the *Triakontaeterikos,* a treatise on imperial power by the Christian writer Eusebius of Caesarea (fourth century), the whole cosmos is a monarchic state *(basileia, monarchia)* ruled by the Christian God, and it is the emperor's task to imitate the divine monarch. The final result of the process of ideological transformation that began with Constantine was the ideology of the Christian ruler. This was the basis of Byzantine kingship ideology, and it later joined with other (mainly Celtic and Germanic) traditions to form medieval theories of kingship.

SEE ALSO Dumuzi; Twins; Utu.

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KINGSHIP: KINGSHIP IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Kingship is always ritualized to some extent. Since the beginning of the twentieth century scholars have sought unsuccessfully to define a particular type of cultic complex in Africa as "divine kingship." Many now prefer the looser term "sacred kingship." Two opposed arguments dominate this and other anthropological discussions of ritual. One, derived from the work of the English anthropologist James G. Frazer (1854–1941), dwells on a purportedly distinct set of ideas in which the personal, physical health of the king is responsible for the generosity of nature and the well-being of his people. The other, derived from the great French sociologist Émile Durkheim (1858–1917), treats such ideas as expressions of sociopolitical realities rather than as primary factors. The sociological view predominated in the 1940s, but in the 1960s anthropologists renewed their interest in Frazer's thesis.

Although many of Frazer's data were drawn from Africa, he thought of divine kingship as characteristic of a particular phase of cultural evolution, not of a particular continent, and he also drew upon European and Middle Eastern ethnography, to which his model may have been more appropriate. Frazer supposed that primitive societies preoccupied with agricultural problems put their faith in a king whose vitality magically ensured the abundance of the harvest and whose death at the hands of a stronger challenger corresponded efficaciously to the seedtime planting of the next crop. Early ethnographic reports concerning the Shilluk people of the Sudan seemed to provide a contemporary example of such ritual regicide.

Dwelling on the association between the king's health and natural fertility, Frazer explained the kingship but not the kingdom. In the first modern treatment of the subject, in 1948, E. E. Evans-Pritchard, relying on better ethnography and a wholly different theory, asserted that the spiritual role of the king expressed the political contradiction between the corporate unity of the Shilluk people and the lack of any central authority capable of subordinating factional interests. In the absence of real control, the king's identity with the moral values of the nation could only be expressed in spiritual terms. Evans-Pritchard found no hard evidence of ritual regicide and suggested that the tradition merely reflected the fact that many kings came to a violent end at the hands of princely challengers.

Meyer Fortes modified this sociological thesis, arguing that all offices were social realities distinct from the individuals who held them. The function of ritual was to make such offices visible and to effect the induction of the individual into his office; as it is said in some parts of Africa, in rituals of investiture the kingship "seizes" the king. Rituals were not simply passive or even imaginary reflexes of the social order but instruments that maintained it and convinced the participants of the reality of royal powers; after the ritual process, the king himself felt changed in his person and took credit for ensuing events (a fall of rain, mysterious deaths) that seemed to confirm the efficacy of the ritual. In this respect, however, kingship did not differ from other social roles such as that of a diviner or an adept in a healing cult.

Another kind of sociological explanation, the reverse of the first, was advanced by Max Gluckman with respect to the Swazi people (Swaziland). Gluckman suggested that the great Ncwala ceremonies provided the people with an annual opportunity to express their resentment of the king's rule and thus stabilized the political system. This "rituals of rebellion" thesis, though widely cited, seems to be based on a misreading of the hymns sung at the Ncwala; on this, more below.

Explanations of rituals in terms of their political functions fail to account for the elaborate content of the rituals, which often involve hundreds of titleholders, experts, courtiers, and lineage heads in rich textures of song, dance, eulogy, costume, taboo, and medication extending over many days and weeks of the year. Rereading the Swazi ethnography, T. O. Beidelman argued that the purpose of the Ncwala was to set the king apart so that he might take on the supernatural powers necessary to his office. He showed how such details as the black color of a sacrificial ox, the king's nudity during the ritual, and the emptiness of his right hand while he danced are consistent with Swazi cosmology and symbolic usage. The color of the ox refers to the powerful but disorderly forces of sexuality that the king must incorporate and master; the king's nudity expresses his liminal status as the "bull of his nation," mediating between the supernatural and the living.

Other writers pointed out that many kings, such as the *ọba* of Benin (Nigeria) or the *mwami* of Bunyoro (Uganda), were powerful rulers whose spiritual powers seemed to express their real authority rather than compensate for the lack of it. In other instances, the rituals of kingship and respect for the king's supernatural powers remained constant despite pronounced, long-term changes in his real political importance. The same ritual complex might or might not be associated with a hierarchical organization of important functions, so that among the Kongo people, legends and rituals alone fail to make it clear whether the chief to whom they refer is a ruler of thousands or of dozens. Among the Nyakyusa (Tanzania) the divine king remained essentially a priest, whereas among the neighboring Ngonde, who share the same culture and traditions of origin, the king acquired real powers through his control of the trade in ivory and other goods. In Bunyoro, princes fought to succeed to the throne, whereas among the Rukuba (Nigeria) and Nyakyusa the chosen successor must be captured by the officiating priests lest he abscond.

These and other commentaries tended to place Frazer's thesis in doubt. The components of what Frazer thought was a single complex are now seen to vary independently of each other. Also, it has proved impossible to verify any tradition of regicide, although both the tradition and, apparently, the practice of not allowing kings to die a natural death are also associated with some ritual figures who are not kings. Other observances once thought to be specific to divine kings, such as prescribed incest and taboos against seeing the king eat or drink, are present in some instances but not in others. Chiefs among the Dime (Ethiopia) are regarded as having a spiritual power called *balthʾu* that seems to meet Frazerian expectations since, if the power is "good," it is believed to make the crops grow and livestock multiply, whereas if the harvest is poor the people say, "We must get rid of him; the thoughts he has for the country don't work." A Dime chief is not required to be in good health, however, and eventually dies a natural death.

Africans themselves often speak of the powers vested in kings as independent entities with organic properties. The spiritual power known as *bwami* among the Lega, for example, is thought to grow and forever renew itself, like a banana tree; this *bwami* may be vested in a king *(mwami)* (as among the eastern Lega) or in a graded association (as among the western Lega). From this point of view the purpose of ritual is to favor the growth of kingship as a public resource. Whether or not the king rules as well as reigns, his person is one of the instruments of the process necessary to maintain the kingship. Relics of dead kings are often part of the regalia of their successors or are used to make medicines conferring royal powers. The jawbone of a *kabaka* of Buganda (Uganda) was enshrined after his death; in Yorubaland, an *ọba* of Ọyọ (Nigeria) consumed the powdered heart of his predecessor. More generally, the body of a living king is itself a sacred object, modified and manipulated for ritual purposes; among these manipulations, the observances that set him apart from ordinary people often bear more onerously upon him than upon anyone else.

This African perspective is consistent with the sociological one of Fortes, and it is here, perhaps, that we may discover the secret of regicide. Kingship, itself a perpetual office, stands for the corporate unity and perpetuity of the kingdom. Time is therefore intrinsic to the idea of kingship. Time, in turn, has two components: transience and constant renewal. The continuity of the body politic, and of human life within it, may be symbolized by the agricultural cycle or other natural phenomena, by communal rites of passage and succession, or by similar rites in which the king's own life, death, and replacement are made to embody the life process of the community. In such instances, agricultural cycles, initiation cycles, and the succession of kings are not merely metaphors for the continuity and vitality of the social order but substantial constituents of it.

It is not surprising, therefore, among widely separated peoples, including the Lovedu (South Africa), the Nyakyusa, the Rukuba, and the Mundang (Chad), that the death of a ruler or of a surrogate is supposed to coincide with a phase in the cycle of initiations whereby the succession of generations is regulated, although in all these examples the real timing of the events is obscure. The Rukuba king is required to ingest, at his installation, material from the bodies both of his deceased predecessor and of an infant, specially killed for the purpose, whose status is such that he might have been chosen to be king had he lived; these and other Rukuba rituals, which clearly express the theme of renewal and continuity, are believed to cause a long and therefore successful reign. The king himself is not burdened with many taboos; he may be deposed if his "blood" is not strong enough to keep misfortunes from afflicting his people, but he is not himself killed.

During the 1970s anthropologists expressed increasing interest in the subjective perspective in kingship cults, in the content of ritual and its capacity to shape the cognitive experience of participants. The reductionist view that ritual merely expresses political realities seemed inconsistent with the quasi-organic character attributed to kingly powers and with the intense secrecy that in many cases surrounds complex and central cultic performances.

This revival of Frazer's intellectualism did not extend, however, to his evolutionary assumptions about primitive thought, and it emphasized the particularity of symbols whose meanings should be sought in their local context. For example, the skull of a dead Temne chief (Sierra Leone) is kept in a shrine at which daily sacrifices are performed for communal well-being, but that of a Mundang king serves only as a magical device to force his successor to commit the expected suicide. The hair and nails of a deceased *mwami* of Bunyoro are cut after his death, to be buried with him, whereas those of a *lwembe* of the Nyakyusa must be taken before he has drawn his last breath, "so that Lwembe might not go away with the food to the land of the shades, that the fertility of the soil might always remain above," and they are used in a powerful fertility medicine. There can be no universal dictionary of symbols, and even in one context a ritual element usually has several kinds and levels of significance, some better defined than others.

In her review of the subject, "Keeping the King Divine," Audrey I. Richards (1969) recommended that in future more attention should be paid to kingship in its relation to other elements of the society in which we find it; for example, other forms of ancestor worship, other kinds of control over nature, other political authorities. Or as an ethnographer of eastern Zaire put it, "chiefship is simply a variant of Bashu ideas about healers, sorcerers, and women." The cultural pattern of the Shilluk (shared by the Anuak, Dinka, and other Nilotic peoples) is very different from that of the Azande (southern Sudan), in which the cultic attributes of kingship are minimal, and from those of the Temne, Rukuba, or Dime, all of which are in turn strongly dissimilar.

In a pattern that is widespread in central, southern, and parts of West Africa, violent powers associated with chiefs and the activities of men in hunting and war were supposedly derived from ancestors. Ancestral cults were paired and contrasted with those of local or nature spirits, from whom powers were procured that were beneficial to the fertility of nature, the activities of women, and the well-being of local communities. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such local cults were merged with the institution of kingship during the process of state formation; the Swazi, Luba and Bushong, and Benin kingdoms provide examples.

In this pattern, the symbolization of violence is often intentionally shocking. A Luba chief, after being anointed with the blood of a man killed for that purpose, put his foot on the victim's skull and drank his blood mixed with beer. Such acts showed that the king possessed superhumanly destructive powers, similar to witchcraft, with which he would be able to defend his people against the attacks of witches and criminals. The Ncwala confers similiar powers on the Swazi king; the hymns sung are a national expression not of rebellion but of sympathy for him in his lonely struggle against such enemies. As the Swazi themselves say, the Ncwala is intended to strengthen the kingship and "make stand the nation." In some kingdoms, designated groups engage in looting, rape, and other disorderly behavior to show that the power that should contain violence is temporarily in abeyance. Often, however, the ritual representation of the chief's violent powers was greatly disproportionate to the amount of real force he commanded; he had authority as the embodiment of the social order but little power.

In contrast, local cults devoted to community well-being emphasized growth and fertility, employing as ritual symbols the color black (associated with rain clouds) and farming implements such as hoes rather than the color red and various weapons associated with war. In other configurations, as among the Nyakyusa, life-giving and death-dealing powers are not segregated in this way. In yet others, such as the Mundang, whose king was as much bandit as sovereign, looting at home and abroad, there was no cult of violence.

Although kings are "made" by the rituals that enthrone them, their powers are maintained by daily observances. The unfortunate leader of the Dime, known as *zimu,* though he had real political and military responsibilities, was so restricted in his diet and personal contacts as to be virtually an outcast. Besides installation and funerary rites and daily observances, kingship cults include bodies of myth and the ritual organization of space. The plans of royal palaces and grave shrines, even the distribution of shrines in the country, organize rituals in space in conformity with cosmological models. The bodies of some kings, as among the Mundang, are casually thrown away, but for the Nyakyusa the graves of the original kings are among the most fearfully sacred of all shrines. The dynastic shrines of the Ganda are replicas of the royal court, with their own elaborate rituals and personnel centered on a queen sister.

Royal myths commonly refer to the founding of the state and its subsequent history, which the rituals of investiture and periodic festivals may reenact. Until the 1970s, scholars tended to take such myths literally, especially those that attributed the origin of a kingdom to immigrants. Paradoxically, the intellectualist reappraisal of ritual was accompanied by a new view of myths as narrative expressions of real, contemporary sociopolitical relations. The "stranger" status of the king expresses his difference from ordinary people or the separation of dynastic, chiefly functions from local, priestly ones, just as prescribed incest or murder marks the king's removal from his ordinary status and his accession to a new one.

Colonial rule abolished or profoundly modified all kingships and their rituals, appropriating many of their powers and banning some practices deemed essential by the people to create true kings. Central mysteries of surviving cults were and are known only to the participating experts. Consequently, we have few descriptions of the working of kingship in practice, and only one extensive set of ritual prescriptions, for the kingdom of Rwanda. Even much better information, however, would not render unambiguous the functions of kingship, which have always been responsive to changing circumstances, or reveal beyond doubt the relationship between ritual prescription and actual event. Kings as well as anthropologists debate whether regicide is a necessary practice or symbolic truth; in the mid-nineteenth century an *ọba* of Ọyọ refused to submit to regicide, and in 1969 the king of the Jukun (Nigeria) was reported in the press to be sleeping with a loaded revolver under his pillow. Part of the power and mystery of kingship is its refusal to be bound by rules and its centrality to the political process.

SEE ALSO Bemba Religion; Southern African Religions, article on Southern Bantu Religions; Swazi Religion.

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E. E. Evans-Pritchard established the sociological approach in opposition to Frazer in his *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk of the Nilotic Sudan* (Cambridge, U.K., 1948). Relevant essays by Meyer Fortes include "Of Installation Ceremonies," *Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute for 1967* (London, 1968). Max Gluckman's "rituals of rebellion" thesis is to be found in his *Order and Rebellion in Tribal Africa* (London, 1963). Audrey I. Richard's review, "Keeping the King Divine," is in *Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute for 1968* (London, 1969).

Classic ethnographic accounts of kingship cults include John Roscoe's *The Bakitara or Banyoro* (Cambridge, U.K., 1923), in which he gives, for Bunyoro, the best account of a king's daily observances. Hilda Kuper's *An African Aristocracy: Rank among the Swazi* (London, 1947) sets a vivid description of the Ncwala in an analysis of the political system; T. O. Beidelman interprets the symbolism in "Swazi Royal Ritual," *Africa* 36 (1966): 373–405. Monica Wilson's richly detailed *Communal Rituals of the Nyakyusa* (London, 1957) includes trancripts of interviews with senior participants in kingship and other cults. Ray E. Bradbury's illustrated article "Divine Kingship in Benin," *Nigeria* 62 (1959): 186–207, is a useful companion to the film *Benin Kingship Rituals,* made by Bradbury and Francis Speed. The only extensive published set of esoteric ritual prescriptions is *La royauté sacrée de l'ancien Rwanda* (Tervuren, Belgium, 1964), edited by Marcel d'Hertefelt and André Coupez. Ritual features of Luba kingship, with special reference to art works and attitudes concerning them, are presented in M. N. Roberts and A. N. Roberts, *Memory: Luba Art and the Making of History* (New York, 1996).

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WYATT MACGAFFEY (1987 AND 2005)

KINGSHIP: KINGSHIP IN MESOAMERICA AND SOUTH AMERICA

Of essential importance for the study of kingship in Mesoamerica and South America is the profound connection between supernatural authority and political power residing in an elite class of sacred kings who directed the interaction of the natural environment, the human population, technology, and developments in social structure from sacred precincts and ceremonial cities. In the Aztec, Maya, and Inca patterns of sacred kingship are found distinct versions of this connection.

AZTEC SACRED KINGSHIP. The supreme authority in Aztec Mexico was the *tlatoani* (chief speaker), who resided in the imperial capital of Tenochtitlan. This pattern of rulership grew out of earlier forms of sacred and social authority in which each political-territorial unit (*altepetl* in Nahuatl) was governed by a titled lord, or *tecuhtli*, living within a noble estate or elite social and geographical domain. This local ruler was understood to be the living image of the *altepetl's* patron deity and communicated directly with him. As one scholar notes:

> The *tlatoani* headed a large, multifaceted bureaucracy composed of other lords and lesser nobles, and his palace (*tecpan, tecalli*) was the principal government administration building. . . . The king, like other high-ranking lords, was the titular head of a patrimonial demesne (complex of holdings, privileges, and obligations) that consisted of the provision of agricultural, public works, manufacturing and military services by commoners, tribute payment, the allegiance of lesser (including nontitled) nobility, and various other sumptuary privileges. (Gillespie, 2001)

During the later stages of Aztec history, the *tlatoani* governed with the assistance of the Council of Four, which included the second in command, who occupied an office called the Cihuacoatl (snake woman). The occupant of the Cihuacoatl office was always male. The elite status of the Council of Four is indicated by the fact that the members were chosen from the royal family and included the king's brothers, sons, and nephews. Under normal circumstances this group chose the successor to a dead king from one of its members. A primary qualification for the Aztec king was military leadership, and a truly great king was a victorious general who conquered many towns, which led to the organization of tributary payments to the royal and capital storehouses. In broad terms, the Aztec *tlatoani* was responsible for agricultural fertility, order and success in warfare, the maintenance of the ceremonial order, the stability of bureaucratic systems, and above all the orderly parallelism between society and the cosmos. The dominant symbol of sacred rulership in Mesoamerica was the throne that took the form of a woven mat or a seat with a high back in which the ruler was also carried in public settings. In Aztec society the word for throne was *petlatl, icpalli,* or the "reed mat"—the seat that also became a metaphor for the ruler.

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Aztec *tlatoani* Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin (Moctezuma II, r. 1503–1520) was surrounded by an elaborate court dedicated to carrying out the expressions of authority and pomp of the monarch. According to Hernán Cortés's second letter to the king of Spain, Motecuhzoma changed clothes four times a day, never putting on garments that had been worn more than once. The formation of this privileged position came about as the result of two decisive transformations in the social and symbolic structures of Aztec life—the acquisition in 1370 of the sacred lineage of kingship associated with the Toltec kingdom, and the consolidation of authority and power in the office of the king and a warrior nobility known as the *pipiltin* during the war against the city-state of Atzcapotzalco in 1428.

When the Aztec precursors, the Chichimec (from *chich,* meaning "dog," and *mecatl,* meaning "rope" or "lineage"), migrated into the Valley of Mexico in the thirteenth century, they encountered an urbanized world of warring city-states. The basic settlement pattern in the valley was the *tlatocayotl,* a city-state that consisted of a small capital city surrounded by dependent communities that worked the agricultural lands, paid tribute, and performed services for the elite classes in the capital according to various ritual calendars and cosmological patterns. Within this world of political rivalries, the most valued legitimate authority resided in communities tracing their royal lineage to the great Toltec kingdom of Tollan (tenth through twelfth centuries CE), which was remembered as the greatest city in history, noted for agricultural abundance, technological excellence, and cosmological order.

As the Aztec slowly but systematically integrated themselves into the more complex social world of *tlatocayotls,* they sought a means to acquire access to the Toltec lineage. According to a number of sources, they turned to the city-state of Culhuacan, which held the most direct lineal access to the authority represented by the Toltec, and asked to be given a half-Aztec, half-Culhuacan lord by the name of Acamapichtli as their first *tlatoani,* or royal leader. The successful transfer of legitimate kingship to the Aztec resulted in an internal adjustment of Aztec society. The first several *tlatoanis* were forced to negotiate their authority with the traditional social unit of Aztec life, the *calpulli.* The *calpulli* was most likely a type of conical clan in which members were interrelated by family ties but hierarchically stratified according to lines of descent from a sacred ancestor. This sharing of authority took an abrupt turn at the collapse of the Tepanec kingdom between 1426 and 1428 and the formation of a new political order known as the Triple Alliance. During the last half of the fourteenth century the Mexica (Aztec) were military vassals of the powerful Tepanec kingdom centered in the capital of Azcapotzalco.

During their tutelage to the Tepanec, the Aztec became the most powerful military unit in the region and adapted their political and economic structure to the more urbanized systems of the valley. When the king of Azcapotzalco died in 1426, the Tepanec kingdom was ripped apart by a war of succession. The Aztec *tlatoani* Itzcoatl, with his nephews Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina and Tlacaellel, formed a political alliance with two other city-states and successfully took over the lands, tribute, and allegiances that formerly belonged to the Tepanec. In the process these three leaders restructured the Aztec government by concentrating power and authority in the *tlatoani,* the Council of Four, and to a lesser extent in the noble warrior class known as the *pipiltin.* The *calpulli* were incorporated into less powerful levels of decision making. This restructuring marked the beginning of the rise of Aztec kingship on a road to the status of god-king.

Subsequent Aztec kings—such as Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina (Moctezuma I)—issued decrees defining the different classes of nobles, traders, warriors, and commoners according to their privileges, manner of dress, ownership, and education. Beginning around 1440 the cosmological traditions undergirding Aztec society were reinterpreted to legitimate the rise of sacred kingship and the concentration of authority in the elites. As a sign of this cosmic and political authority, each king following Itzcoatl took the responsibility of enlarging the Great Temple of the capital and acquiring large numbers of enemy warriors to be sacrificed to the imperial gods Tlaloc and Huitzilopochtli.

Interestingly, the symbolic sources for the legitimation of Aztec kingship come from two lines of descent. On the one hand, Aztec kings drew their legitimacy from the Toltec priest-king Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl, while on the other hand they drew their power from the "all-powerful, the invisible, the untouchable" Tezcatlipoca, whom one chronicler called "the first among all the gods" and who was strongly related to the patron Aztec god Huitzilopochtli. This combination demonstrates both the strength and, surprisingly, the vulnerability of Aztec kings. The most intimate inspiration for Aztec kings came from the twisting maneuvers of the principal god, Tezcatlipoca. While Quetzalcoatl was an ancient underpinning of Aztec kingship, Tezcatlipoca's influence on the legitimacy, power, and conduct of Aztec rulers was immediate and pervasive. Guilhem Olivier summarizes the major feast of Tezcatlipoca:

> The king personally decorated "his beloved god," a young man impersonating Tezcatlipoca, who was destined to be sacrificed. The king sacrificed himself symbolically through the man who was the image (*ixiptla*) of his tutelary divinity. Likewise, during the royal enthronement rites, the future sovereign wore pieces of fabric that covered the sacred bundles (*tlaquimilolli)* of

> Huitzilopochtli and of Tezcatlipoca, ritually reproducing the death and rebirth of the two major Aztec divinities. (Olivier, 2001)

Perhaps the most vivid example of Tezcatlipoca's influence appears in the prayers recited at the installation of a ruler and upon his death. When a new king was installed in Tenochtitlan, Tezcatlipoca was invoked as the creator, animator, guide, and potential killer of the king. The ceremony, according to book 6 of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún's *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España* (compiled 1569–1582; also known as the Florentine Codex), begins at the moment when "the sun . . . hath come to appear." The particular phrasing of the description of the sunrise in the prayer reported by Sahagún is related to the story of the creation of the Sun in the official cosmogonies of the Aztec elites. The king's installation and Tezcatlipoca's presence are seen as cosmogonic acts that result in the dawning of a new day. As the ritual proceeds, Tezcatlipoca is called the "creator . . . and knower of men" who "causes the king's action, his character," even the odors of his body. This intimacy is best stated when Tezcatlipoca is asked to inspire the king: "Animate him . . . for this is thy flute, thy replacement, thy image." This intimacy is carried to a surprising turn when, later in the narrative, the prayer asks Tezcatlipoca to kill the king if he performs badly. This resonates with the tradition about Tollan, in which the king Quetzalcoatl broke his vows of chastity and was sent away by the sorcerer Tezcatlipoca. The omnipotence of Tezcatlipoca is also evidenced in the repeated statement that the new king, like all the other previous rulers, was merely borrowing the "reed mat" (symbolic of kingship) and "thy [i.e., Tezcatlipoca's] realm" during his kingship. The invocation to Tezcatlipoca ends when the god is asked to send the king "to be on the offensive" in the "center of the desert, to the field of battle." Kings in Aztec society were expected above all to be successful in warfare.

As this historical narrative demonstrates, the Aztec sense of legitimacy was derived, in part, from their acquired connection to the ancient kingdom of Tollan, where Quetzalcoatl ruled a world of abundance, artistic creativity, and cosmic balance, only to be undone by his counterpart Tezcatlipoca. This connection and conflict apparently influenced Aztec kingship and provided to some degree an ironic destiny for the last Aztec *tlatoani*, Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin (Moctezuma II). In fact, the vulnerability of Aztec kingship is reflected in a series of episodes involving Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin and Hernán Cortés, the leader of the conquering Spanish expedition (1519–1521). According to the account of the conquest of Tenochtitlan told in book 12 ("The Conquest") of Sahagún's work, when word reached the magisterial city of Tenochtitlan that "strangers in the east" were making their way toward the high plateau, "Moctezuma thought that this was Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl who had come to the land. . . . It was in their hearts that he would come . . . to land . . . to find his mat . . . his seat. . . . Moctezuma sent five emissaries to give him gifts."

This passage demonstrates how, at least in the eyes of some of his descendants and Spanish chroniclers, an Aztec king used an ancient mythological tradition of kingly abdication in a new situation for the purpose of interpreting a threatening development. According to this tradition, the kingdom of Tollan (centuries before the Aztec arrived in the central plateau of Mexico) was ruled by the brilliant priest-king Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl, but it collapsed when a sorcerer (Tezcatlipoca) from the outside tricked him into violating his kingly vows and abdicating his throne. Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl left his kingdom for the eastern horizon, where, according to different traditions, he either sacrificed himself and became the morning star or sailed away on a raft of serpents promising to return one day and reclaim his throne. In the crisis of 1519, according to some interpreters, the last Aztec king applied to a series of reconnaissance reports the archaic mythologem of Quetzalcoatl's flight and promised return to regain his throne. Moctezuma sent jeweled costumes of Aztec deities, including the array of Quetzalcoatl, to Cortés, and he instructed his messengers to tell Cortés that the king acknowledged the presence of the god for whom he had been waiting to return and sit in the place of authority. As the Spaniards advanced, Moctezuma fell into an emotional crisis ("He was terror struck . . . his heart was anguished"), and he made two gestures of abdication. First, he moved out of his kingly residence into a palace of lesser authority, and second, he sought escape in a magical cave where he believed he could pass into the supernatural world. When Cortés arrived at the capital, a series of encounters took place in which Moctezuma instructed his nobles to transfer their power to the returning king. In this situation, a form of "imperial irony" appears in the tradition of Aztec kingship. On the one hand, the Aztec drew their legitimacy from the tradition that depicted Tollan as a city-state characterized by agricultural stability, artistic achievement, and religious genius. But in drawing their legitimacy as Toltec descendants, they were also heirs to a tradition of kingly abdication and dramatic political changes. Like Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl, who gave his kingdom to Tezcatlipoca, Moctezuma opened the royal door for Cortés to enter.

It must be noted that this interpretation, found in both the sixteenth-century chronicles and a group of modern studies, is in constant dispute by some scholars who believe these episodes were largely fabricated during the early decades of Spanish colonial domination in central Mexico. In this view, the application of Quetzalcoatl's return to the arrival of Cortés was part of a vigorous sixteenth-century prose project designed to justify the holy and just war propaganda of the Europeans and to celebrate the genius of their triumphs.

In the case of the last great civilization of Mesoamerica, sacred kingship was an urban institution acquired by the Aztec, who utilized borrowed and indigenous religious symbols to legitimate their imperial expansion and social character.

MAYA SACRED KINGS. In the last several decades, our overall view of the long, complex history of Maya society, culture, and rulership has undergone something of a revolution. Where once were imagined peaceful kingdoms ruled by astronomer priests who had mastered the human tendencies of aggression and warlike domination, it is now known that Maya peoples, despite their superb artistic, mathematical, and architectural capacities, struggled violently among their various city-states, kingdoms, and extended families. Stunning breakthroughs in deciphering Maya forms of writing have led to a complex understanding of how Maya societies were organized around stunning ceremonial centers in which resided, supreme among an ever pulsating elite community, the *ajaw* or *k'uhl aja*-lord (ruler or holy lord or supreme ruler). As one Maya scholar writes, "Perhaps the most famous Mesoamerican scenes of accession appear on the so-called niche stelae of Piedras Negras; they represent the new king on a scaffold throne, surrounded by cosmological symbols of heaven. Like the Mexica emperors, the new Maya ruler is shown at the central point of the cosmic order" (Stuart, 2001).

Scholarship has shown that in many ways the Maya replicated the basic pattern of ruler-deity relations, control of natural and cultural resources, dominance through military aggression, and administration of tributary payments outlined above in the central Mexican world. But the Maya world also had many distinctive royal practices and variations of sacred authority during the many centuries of urban development. In exquisitely constructed civic ceremonial centers such as Tikal, Copán, Quirigua, Caracol, Calakmul, and many others, rulers and their elite families occupied and controlled high-status compounds from which they ruled a large populace by directing ritual performances in imposing stone temple precincts, spacious plazas, and even ballcourts. Kkings and their families reenacted cosmological narratives, sometimes of bellicose and warlike character in these ballcourts. Royal authority, as William Fash (2001) has shown, was powerfully reinforced through public displays of portrait sculptures, dynastic genealogies, and accounts of military victories against neighboring city-states. In Maya centers throughout a long, complex history, rulers skillfully used public architecture to not only map the course of the time and the heavens but also to persuade the populace of their individual dynastic interests and interpretations.

Certainly by what is called the "Late Classic" period, the holy lords of many Maya centers passed on their authority from father to son, unless a younger brother was deemed more fit for the accession to the throne. Among the Maya, as archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence clearly shows, women sometimes governed as regents and played crucial roles in interdynastic marriage alliances. The record also shows that Maya rulers lived in an unstable social world. As one scholar writes:

> Despite the sumptuous royal tombs, impressive building programs, and texts extolling military exploits, marriage alliances, and visits by honored foreign leaders, royal authority was clearly subject to challenge. Titles for subsidiary lords proliferated in the Late Classic, suggesting growing recognition of sub-royal entitlements. A "council house" (*popul na*) is material evidence that Copan's rulers shared formal governance with high-ranking nobles by the late eighth century CE. (Ashmore, 2001)

What seems particularly outstanding through the Maya world, especially in places like Copan and Tikal, is a profound respect given to the founders of kingdoms and their real or imagined well-being. Ancestor worship as social and symbolic sites where each new generation discerned the will of the gods seems profoundly intertwined with the rise, florescence, and waning of Maya society.

INCA SACRED KINGSHIP. When Spanish soldiers led by Francisco Pizarro arrived on the Pacific coast of South America in 1527, they encountered the Inca empire, called Tahuantinsuyu (land of the four quarters). At its height, the empire extended from the northern border of present-day Ecuador south for more than 4,300 kilometers to the Maule River in Chile. This kingdom contained more than twelve million people organized into a tightly knit series of local, regional, and imperial administrative units, with authority centered in the capital city of Cuzco. When subsequent researchers attempted to reconstruct the history of the Inca empire, they found two impressive facts. First, the Inca achieved a meteoric rise from a modest village settlement in the valley of Cuzco to an imperial power in less than one hundred years. Second, the Inca recorded their own historic developments in terms of the lives and achievements of their kings and the care of dead kings by the royal mummy cult.

The term *Inca*, according to the social context to which it refers, can have one of three meanings. As Michael A. Malpass writes,

> It can refer to a people, an empire, or even a single person—the Inca king. The term as it is used by experts refers only to the small ethnic group that originally lived in the area around Cuzco. All others were not originally Incas; we may refer to them as Inca subjects, but not as Incas. To be an Inca was to have certain privileges not allowed to others; to wear a particular kind of headband and to wear earplugs that were so large that they stretched out the earlobe. This caused the Incas to be given the Spanish nickname *orejonjes*, or "big ears." Not to be an Inca was to be subject to the orders of the reigning Inca king, who claimed ownership of your land and rights to your labor. Thus the differences between the Inca and the Inca subject were great (Malpass, 1996, p. 37).

The origin myth of the Incas explains the sacredness of the royal Inca lineage. Eight ancestors of the Inca kings, four women and four men, emerged from a cave near the town of Pacariqtambo. One of them, Maco Capac, became the first Inca ruler, and from him all subsequent kings descended. After other people emerged from nearby caves, the royal ancestors gathered them together and sought a place to settle. They drove out the original inhabitants of the town of Cuzco and there established a capital city. From this myth, it is gathered that Inca kingship was intimately related to:

1. The powers of the earth, for example, caves.
2. A cosmology of wholeness symbolized by the number eight, with four males and four females constituting a balance of gender.
3. The site of Cuzco, which served as the axis of the Inca world.
4. A direct line to Manco Capac.

At its most basic social level, the world of these kings and their royal mummies was organized by *ayllus*, which appear to have been composed of well-ordered endogamous kinship groups that traced their descent to a common ancestor. *Ayllu* members emphasized self-sufficiency by rigorously practicing certain traditions such as assisting one another in the construction of homes and public buildings, the farming of lands together, and the care of specific deities within local ceremonial centers. In fact, certain common plots of land were used to produce goods for sacrifices at the shrine of ancestral deities.

These *ayllus* were organized into larger units such as villages and chiefdoms that were involved in intense raiding and small-scale warfare among themselves. The social setting of *ayllus* and competing chiefdoms helped to produce the emergence of *sinchis*, or war leaders, who possessed the additional capacity to organize groups of men into firm alliances. These leaders were chosen from the prominent adult male members of the *ayllus*, and if one was particularly successful in warfare and conquest of new lands, he utilized his acquisitions to achieve more permanent positions of leadership.

It appears that the earliest Inca kings were particularly prominent *sinchis* who achieved a semblance of permanent and legitimate authority by manifesting an intimacy with the Inca sun god Inti. The actual reconstruction of the process of the rise of sacred kingship in the Inca culture is difficult to discern. However, the standard Inca histories hold that all Inca kings descended from this great solar god. Different primary sources include a standard list of thirteen Inca kings dating back to mythical times, but serious historical reconstructions reveal that the expansion of Inca power beyond the chiefdom level and the consolidation of authority in kings took place with the career of the ninth Inca king, Pachacuti.

The sacred histories of the Inca tell of a crucial turning point in the creation of their empire. In 1438 the fledgling Inca village of Cuzco was attacked by the aggressive army of the Chanca. A threatening siege of the settlement resulted in the flight of the Inca king Viracocha and his designated successor, his son Urcon, from the capital. Another son, Cusi Yupanqui, commanded the defense of Cuzco. Just before the expected final attack, the commander had a vision of a terrifying deity that identified itself as the Inca sky god; the sky god called Cusi Yupanqui "my son," and he told Cusi Yupanqui that if he followed the true religion he would become the Sapay (great) Inca and conquer many nations. Driven by this powerful vision and supported by increased political alliances, the Inca leader drove the invaders away, which resulted, after factional intrigues against his father and brother, in his ascension to the throne. The new king then embarked on an intense series of conquests resulting in the expansion of Inca lands and the laying of the foundation for the Inca empire. He became known as Pachacuti, which means "cataclysm" or "he who remakes the world." This remarkable episode, which is recorded in a number of sources, combines two major patterns of Inca religion: the sacred legitimacy of Inca kinship and the responsibility of the king to acquire new territories through conquest and warfare.

While it is difficult to present a satisfactory outline of Inca religion, recent studies have identified three major components, each relating to the power and authority of Inca kings: the omnipotence and omniscience of the creator sky god Viracocha, the cult of ancestor worship and mummies, and the pervasive pattern of the veneration of *huacas*.

Inca kings derived their sanctification from what Arthur Andrew Demarest (1984) calls the "upper pantheon" of Inca religion. According to Demarest's useful formulation, the single Inca creator sky god manifested himself in at least three subcomplexes organized around Viracocha (the universal creator), Inti (the sun god), and Illapa (the thunder and weather god). Ritual cycles and ceremonial events associated with political, astronomical, and economic schedules revealed the many aspects and versions of this upper pantheon. At the center of the sacred schedule of activities stood the Sapay Inca, who was venerated as the manifestation of Viracocha, as the descendant of Inti, and, upon his death, as the power of Illapa.

Cult of ancestor worship. The second aspect of Inca religion related to kingship is the fascinating cult of ancestor worship and mummies. A pan-Andean tradition of ancestor worship, in which the bodies of dead family members were venerated as sacred objects and ceremonially cared for by the living, permeated Inca existence. Central to this tradition was the practice of oracular communication with the dead. The ancestral remains, in the form of a mummy or simply a collection of bones, were called *mallquis*. Specific questions concerning all aspects of life were put to the *mallquis*, and specific answers resulted. Specialists known as the *mallquipvillac* (they who speak with the *mallquis*) were influential in Inca life. The ancestral spirits also manifested themselves in hierophanies of stones and plants, and, most powerfully, in the sparks of fires. Specialists called the "consultors of the dead" communicated with the ancestors through fire.

The quintessential expression of this pattern of ancestor worship was the royal mummy cult of Cuzco. As already noted, the king was considered a descendant of the sky god Inti or Viracocha. At the death of a Sapay Inca, the authority to govern, wage war, and collect taxes passed on to one of his sons, ideally a son born of a union with the king's sister. However, all possessions of the dead king, including his palaces, agricultural lands, and servants, remained the property of the mummy. These possessions were to be administered by his *panaqa*, a corporate social unit made up of all the descendants in the male line. While the *panaqa* lived off a small portion of these lands, the group's primary purpose was to function as the dead king's court and to maintain his mummy in private and public ceremonial events, relaying his wishes through oracular specialists and carrying out his will. The public display of these mummies was a major element in Inca ceremonial life. Processions of kingly mummies, arranged according to their seniority, traveled through the fields at rainmaking ceremonies and paraded through the streets of the capital to the ceremonial center of Cuzco, where they observed and participated in state rituals. They also visited one another to communicate through oracular specialists and participated in the dances, revelries, and ceremonies in their honor. All kings, alive and dead, were considered the living spirit of Inti.

What is vital to understand is the degree of influence the cult of mummies had on the conduct and destiny of the living king. For instance, when the Spanish captured the Inca ruler Atahuallpa and condemned him to death, he was given a choice of remaining a pagan and being burned at the stake or converting to Christianity and being garroted. Atahuallpa chose conversion and garroting, not because he believed in Christianity but so that his body would not be destroyed. After receiving a Christian burial, some surviving Incas secretly disinterred his body, mummified it, and then hid the mummy, continuing to treat it in the traditional manner. More impressive perhaps is the political and military pressure placed on the living king by his mummified father. Powerful in privilege but much poorer in lands and riches, the new Inca was spurred on to carry out expansive conquests in order to acquire his own territorial lands and riches so he could live in the expected manner. This forced him to carry out his kingly responsibilities of establishing short- and long-distance trading routes, building agricultural projects to sustain himself and his growing kingdom, building temples to the sky god Viracocha throughout the new regions of the empire, and establishing the local and imperial administration units into which the kingdom was organized.

At the more popular level, Inca religion was organized by the veneration of *huacas. Huacas* were the endless hierophanies in stones, plants, or other objects that animated the entire Inca landscape. The countless *huacas* were objects of offerings, sacrifices, and oracular events. Even major family relationships expressed in the concept of *villca* (ancestor, descendant) were examples of *huacas.* Ancestors were *huacas,* and in this way the Inca mummies were the most sacred of *huacas.*

The last great civilization of South America, the Inca developed their concept of sacred kingship by combining their practice of ancestor worship with the historical process of imperial expansion and warfare. As in Mesoamerica, sanctified legitimacy was derived from connection with ancient and contemporary hierophanies, deities, and their human representatives.

SEE ALSO Aztec Religion; Inca Religion; Maya Religion; Quetzalcoatl; Tezcatlipoca.

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KINGSHIP: KINGSHIP IN EAST ASIA

The central focus of East Asian civilization until the beginning of the twentieth century remained the king. He was the center of the universe, whether it was in China, Korea, or Japan, and he was supremely responsible for the well-being and prosperity of the society over which he reigned. The king's political authority was ultimately based on the religious claim that he possessed the mandate of Heaven, whether temporarily or perpetually. Moreover, the heavenly origin of the king was acknowledged almost invariably in East Asia. His status was generally defined as (1) the earthly representative of heaven or heavenly will, (2) the descendant of a god, or (3) the god incarnate.

The earliest institution of kingship to emerge in East Asia developed on the mainland of China with the establishment of the Shang kingdom (c. 1500–1050 BCE). The Shang state centered around the king (*wang*) for, according to oracle-bone inscriptions, he was the "unique man" who could appeal to his ancestors for blessings or, if necessary, dissipate ancestral curses that affected the state. It was believed that determining and influencing the will of the ancestral spirits were possible through divination, prayer, and sacrifice. The king's ancestors interceded, in turn, with Di or Shangdi, the supreme being in heaven, who stood at the apex of the spiritual hierarchy of the Shang.

The question of whether or not the Shang people defined the status of their king as Shangdi's "descendant" has not yet been settled. The Shang dynasty was founded by members of the Zi clan, who were descendants of the clan's founder, Xie. According to the *Shi jing,* Xie was born miraculously; his mother became pregnant after swallowing an egg dropped by a dark bird in flight. This mythic story might be taken to suggest that the Shang people believed in a blood link between Shangdi and the king. It may be noted, however, that no oracle-bone inscription has thus far pointed to the genealogical relationship. According to David N. Keightley, the doctrine of the "mandate of Heaven" (*tianming*), usually considered a creation of the Zhou dynasty (1150–256 BCE), has deep roots in the theology of the Shang. Di, the supreme god of the Shang, is most impersonal in character; that is, it was not generally thought that he could be "bribed" by the sacrifices offered by the members of the royal family. It was precisely this impersonality that made it possible for Di to harm the dynasty by sponsoring the attack of the Zhou, the dynasty that followed the Shang.

The state religion of the Zhou times centered on sacrifice to Tian (Heaven) and the gods of the soil (*she*). A vast ceremonial was elaborated in which the Zhou king played the leading role and on which the well-being of his state was deemed to depend. Two kinds of sacrifices were offered to Tian, the supreme god of the Zhou: in the ancestral temple and in the open fields. The sacrifice in the open fields, called the "suburban sacrifice," was the religious act *par excellence* of a reigning king; a burnt offering of an unblemished calf was offered to Tian at the winter solstice, on the round hillock in the southern suburbs of the royal city.

The *Shi jing* narrates the origin of the Zhou people: a woman named Yuan stepped on the big toe of Shangdi's footprint and then gave birth to Hou Ji (Prince Millet), the god of agriculture, who was considered the primordial ancestor of the Zhou. This notion of divine descent probably helped to establish the Zhou's claim to the royal throne, and it may also have contributed to the Zhou conception of the king as "son of Heaven" (*tianzi*).

The Son of Heaven was one who received the mandate of Heaven. This mandate signified that imperial authority could not become a permanent possession of the ruler, that Heaven had the complete freedom to confer or withdraw its charisma or "gift of grace" from the ruler on earth. Whether or not the king was given the divine mandate was generally determined by his acceptance by the "people" (the ruling class and their clients, i.e., the literati and landowners). If the people recognized his rulership, it was an indication that the heavenly mandate remained with him, but if they deposed him or killed him, it was a clear sign that he had lost Heaven's moral support. Under these circumstances, the Zhou conception of the Son of Heaven tended to lose in the course of time whatever genealogical implications it may have had in its beginnings.

The classical Chinese conception of sovereignty took shape in the Qin and Han periods (221 BCE–220 CE). While the sovereign adopted the title, connoting supreme power, of *huangdi* (emperor), he was never considered divine, at least while he was alive, nor was he regarded as an incarnation of a divine being. Rather, he was a "unique man" representing Heaven's will on earth and serving as the link between Heaven and earth. The Chinese notion of the Son of Heaven in its classical form had nothing to do with the genealogical conception of kingship, such as in ancient Egypt or Japan, that the king was the descendant of a certain god or the god incarnate; the emperor was simply the earthly representative of Heaven or heavenly will. The essential function of the Chinese emperor, as formulated in the Han period, was to maintain the harmonious cosmic order by means of ceremonials. "The Sage-Kings did not institute the ceremonies of the suburban sacrifices casually," states the *Han shu* (chap. 25). "The sacrifice to Heaven is to be held at the southern suburb. Its purpose is to conform to the yang principle. The sacrifice to earth is to be held at the northern suburb. Its purpose is to symbolize the yin principle." In short, the emperor maintained the cosmic balance by assisting Heaven and earth in the regulation and harmonization of the yin and yang principles.

In the centuries that followed the fall of the Han empire, China was often threatened and invaded by the nomadic peoples of Central and Northeast Asia. Here, too, the king (*khagan, khan*) was considered a sacred person, deriving his sacredness and authority from Tengri (Heaven); he was heavenly in origin, received the mandate from Heaven, and was a supremely important spokesman of heavenly will, serving as Heaven's representative on earth.

Significantly, the sacred nature of the king in Central Asia was often conceived after the archaic model of the shaman. Among the Tujue, who dominated the Mongolian steppes from 552 to 744, a series of strange rituals was performed when a new king acceded to the throne (*Zhou shu*, bk. 50): the high-ranking officials turned a felt carpet, on which the king was seated, nine times in the direction of the sun's movement, and after each turn they prostrated themselves, making obeisance to him. Then they throttled him with a piece of silken cloth to the point of strangulation and asked him how many years he was to rule. In an almost unconscious state, the king uttered his answer.

This ceremony is somewhat reminiscent of the shaman's rite of initiation in Central Asia in which the felt carpet played a role. Seated on a felt carpet, the shaman was carried nine times around nine birches in the direction of the sun's movement and made nine turns on each of them while climbing. Nine turns symbolize the shaman's ascent to nine heavens. According to the belief of the Tujue, the king in his accession makes a symbolic ascent to the highest heaven through the nine cosmic zones, starting his journey from the felt carpet on which he is seated; then, after reaching the top of heaven, he descends onto earth. In this sense, the king was heavenly in origin. It seems also certain that the number of reigning years he uttered in an unconscious state was accepted as an announcement from Tengri, the supreme being in heaven.

The use of the felt carpet was not confined to the T'ujue. It was also used among the Tuoba, the Turkic or Mongolian people also known as the Xianbei, who established the Northern Wei dynasty (493–534) in China. When the enthronement ceremony for Tuoba Xiu was celebrated in 528, seven dignitaries held up a carpet of black felt on which the new emperor, facing west, made obeisance to heaven (*Bei shi*, bk. 5). In the Khitan state of Liao (907–1125), the enthronement ceremony had as its essential scenario the elevation of the new emperor on a felt carpet (*Liao shi*, bk. 49). Chinggis Khan, the founder of the great Mongol empire, was also lifted in his accession on a carpet of black felt supported by seven chiefs.

In ancient Korea, several states competed with each other for political supremacy until 676, when they became united by the kingdom of Silla. The beginnings of these nations are inseparably interwoven with myths narrating the miraculous birth of the founders, which point almost invariably to the heavenly origin of sovereignty.

The myths can be classified into two major types, one of which may be illustrated by the myth of Puyŏ: Tongmyŏng, the founder of Puyŏ, was born of a woman who became pregnant by a mystical light descending from heaven. A similar story is also told of Zhu Mong, who founded Koguryŏ. This type of foundation myth is associated, outside of Korea, with Taiwudi (r. 424–452), the third emperor of the Northern Wei dynasty; with A-pao-chi, who founded the Khitan state of Liao; and with Chinggis Khan. There is no doubt that this mythic theme was widespread among nomadic peoples such as the Manchus and the Mongolians.

The other type of myth is characterized by the story of how the founder of a nation or a dynasty descended from Heaven onto mountaintops, forests, and trees. According to the myth of ancient Chosŏn, Hwang-wung, a son of the celestial supreme being Hwang-in, descended from Heaven onto Mount Tehbaek to establish a nation. The supreme god in Heaven approved of Hwang-wung's heavenly descent and granted him three items of the sacred regalia. He descended, accompanied by the gods of the wind, rain, and clouds as well as three thousand people. Similar stories of heavenly descent are known of Pak Hyŏkkŏse and Kim Archi of Silla. Also noteworthy is the myth of Karak, a small state variously known as Kaya or Mimana: Suro, the founder of Karak, descends from Heaven onto the summit of Mount Kuji at the command of the heavenly god; a purple rope is seen coming down from Heaven, and at the end of the rope there is a box containing six golden eggs covered by a piece of crimson cloth. Suro is born of one of the eggs.

Significantly, the heavenly origin of sovereignty is also recognized by the pre-Buddhist tradition of ancient Tibet:

Gñyaʾ-khri Btsam-po, the first mythical king, descended from Heaven onto the sacred mountain of Yar-lha-s̀am-po in Yarlung, by means of a rope or a ladder. He agreed to descend on the condition that he be granted ten heavenly magical objects. According to Giuseppe Tucci, the Tibetan royal ideology owes much to the religious tradition of the pastoral Turco-Mongolians.

Japanese kingship emerged at the end of the fourth century CE. The ruler called himself the "king [*ō* in Japanese; *wang* in Chinese] of Wa" or "king of the land of Wa" when he addressed the court in China. These designations simply followed what had become customary between the Chinese suzerains and the Japanese local princes since the middle of the first century CE. However, these titles were never used within Japan; the sovereign was called *ō-kimi* (*dawang* in Chinese; "great king") by local nobles. It is not until the beginning of the seventh century that the Japanese sovereign began to employ such titles as *tenshi* ("son of Heaven") and *tennō* ("emperor") to refer to himself, both of which have been in use until modern times.

In 600 Empress Suiko sent an envoy to the Sui dynasty, the first Japanese mission to China since 502. The *Sui shu* reports of that mission: "The king of Wa, whose family name was Ame and personal name Tarishihiko, and who bore the title of Ō-kimi, sent an envoy to visit the court." Meaning "noble son of Heaven," *Ametarishihiko* (or *Ametarashihiko*) was roughly equivalent to the Chinese *tianzi*, although its implications could be different. "Son of Heaven" in the Japanese conception of sovereignty referred invariably to the ruler who claimed his direct genealogical descent from the sun goddess Amaterasu as well as his vertical descent from the heavenly world. The Japanese mission to China was followed by another one in 607: "The Son of Heaven in the land where the sun rises addresses a letter to the Son of Heaven in the land where the sun sets" (*Sui shu*). According to the *Nihongi* (compiled in 720), in 608 Suiko forwarded a letter to China with the greeting: "The Emperor of the East respectfully addresses the Emperor of the West."

The classical Japanese conception of sovereignty took shape in the second half of the seventh century. It was an era when, under the influence of the Chinese legal system, a highly centralized bureaucratic state was created. Significantly, the creation of this political structure was accompanied by the completion of the sacred-kingship ideology that had been developing in the previous centuries; not only was the state conceived as a liturgical community with its paradigm in heaven, but also the sovereign who ruled the state was explicitly called the *akitsumikami*, manifest *kami* (god), that is, the god who manifests himself in the phenomenal world.

The essential part of the sacred-kingship ideology was the belief in the emperor's heavenly origin, and this belief was clearly expressed in the myths of Ninigi, as narrated in the *Kojiki* (compiled in 712) and the *Nihongi*. Genealogically, Ninigi is connected with both the god Takaki (Takamimusubi) and the sun goddess Amaterasu through the marriage of Takaki's daughter to Amaterasu's son, to whom Ninigi is born. He is born in the heavenly world and, at the command of either Takaki or Amaterasu or both, descends onto the summit of Mount Takachiho. When Ninigi is about to descend, accompanied by the five clan heads, Amaterasu gives him rice grains harvested in her celestial rice fields, after which he comes down in the form of a newborn baby covered by a piece of cloth called *matoko o fusuma*. Especially noteworthy is the fact that Ninigi is granted the sacred regalia as well as the mandate of Heaven guaranteeing his eternal sovereignty on earth. Ninigi's heavenly descent was reenacted by the emperor at the annual harvest festival in the fall as well as on the occasion of his enthronement festival.

SEE ALSO Amaterasu Ōmikami; Chinese Religion, article on Mythic Themes; Japanese Religions, articles on Religious Documents, The Study of Myths; Shangdi; Tengri; Tian; Tibetan Religions, overview article.

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KINJIKITILE (d. 1905) was a religious leader in southeastern Tanganyika (now Tanzania) who provided inspiration for the anticolonial struggles known as the Maji Maji Wars. In 1904, Kinjikitile became famous as a medium in a place called Ngarambe in Matumbi country, where the oppressions of the German colonial system were severe. He was possessed by Hongo, a deity subordinate to the supreme being, Bokero, whose primary ritual center was at Kibesa on the Rufiji River. At Ngarambe, Kinjikitile blended the spiritual authority of Bokero and Hongo with more local elements of ancestor veneration at a shrine center where he received offerings from pilgrims seeking intercession with the spiritual world and relief from the adversities they faced, both natural and political. In the later part of 1904 and early 1905, Kinjikitile advised the pilgrims to prepare themselves to resist the Germans and dispensed a medicine that he promised would turn the enemy's bullets into water when combat commenced. The rebellion broke out in late July 1905 without the order coming from Kinjikitile, but the ideological preparation provided by his message and the system of emissaries that spread the word and the medicine have been viewed as critical in the struggles called the Maji Maji Wars.

The Maji Maji Wars continued from July 1905 to August 1907, extending over more than 100,000 square miles and causing terrible loss of life, estimated officially at 75,000 by the Germans and at over 250,000 by modern scholars. Out of this struggle, Kinjikitile emerged as a figure of epic proportions; he is said to be a religious innovator who devised a spiritual appeal that transcended particularism and allowed the people to unite against German rule.

By 1904, resentment of colonial rule and the desire to overthrow it had become widespread in southeastern Tanganyika. The times were especially troubled in Matumbi country, which experienced a succession of adversities that went beyond the capacity of political agents to handle. In 1903 there was a severe drought, and from 1903 to 1905 the Germans increasingly insisted that the people of Matumbi engage in communal cotton growing, promising payment for the crop once it had been marketed and the administration's overhead covered. Much to the anger of the people, the payments did not materialize.

Of Kinjikitile the person very little is known. The most certain event in his biography was his death by hanging on August 4, 1905, when, together with an assistant, he became the first opposition leader to be summarily executed by the German military forces. He had lived in Ngarambe for some four years prior to this time and had emerged as an influential person; the recipient of many gifts, he had become an object of jealousy on the part of local political leaders.

Kinjikitile was a synthesizer of many religious elements. There had long been a territorial shrine to Bokero on the Rufiji to which the people had recourse in times of drought. The drought of 1903 had activated this shrine and extended its range of influence as pilgrims came from greater and greater distances. Kinjikitile's teachings drew upon this longstanding religious institution, joining the territorial authority of Bokero with local beliefs in divine possession. His use of *maji* as a new war medicine, which helped to convince people to join the rebellion, combined Bokero's preeminent association with water with traditional beliefs concerning the efficacy of sacred medicines in protecting hunters. At Ngarambe, he also built a huge *kijumba-nungu* ("house of God") for the ancestors; drawing on a resurrectionist theme, he announced that the ancestors were all at Ngarambe, ready to help their descendants defeat the Germans and restore the earthly realm. Furthermore, Kinjikitile's teachings contained elements of witch cleansing, whereby the evil within society was to be eliminated and the community morally purified. By drawing upon these traditional beliefs and using them to create an innovative ideology, Kinjikitile provided a regional and polyethnic basis for the spread of his message of resistance.

Maji Maji warriors knew that their weapons were inferior to those of the colonial forces, but the German presence was not so strong as to overawe them. They hoped for a political restoration, not of indigenous rulers, but of the Sultan of Zanzibar, whose regime became idealized because of the relatively benign form of commercial hegemony with which it was associated. Hence there was room for the Germans to investigate the possibility that Islamic propaganda or belief had played a role in the mobilization of resistance. Their conclusions were negative. Indeed, although Kinjikitile wore the traditional garb of Muslims, a long white robe called the *kanzu,* his message and idiom were decidedly drawn from traditional sources. Whether he really forged a universalistic traditional religion, as the Tanzanian historian G. C. K. Gwassa has claimed, demands closer scrutiny. Certainly his career obliges students of religion to pay well-merited attention to the structures and functions of territorial cults, ancestor veneration, and concepts of personal spiritual power and charisma. The context of the Maji Maji Wars must also be carefully weighed to refine notions of thresholds of moral outrage, recourse to religious leaders, and willingness to subscribe to a common ideology of resistance.

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KINSHIP is both a social phenomenon found in all human societies and one of the most central and contested concepts in anthropology. It is a pervasive symbolic practice of creating socially differentiated categories of people and the relationships among them, especially those relationships that concern the reproduction of people and that constitute human "being." A significant aspect of kinship relationships is that they apply not only to contemporaries, but transcend the living to include predecessors and ancestors as well as descendants and future generations.

Who is a relative and how relations of kinship are defined varies from culture to culture. But the ideas and principles underpinning these different kinships systems are often closely associated with religious ideas, addressing existential questions for all human beings, such as: What makes people humans? How do people come into the world? What constitutes a person? What happens to persons when they die? Wherein consists the continuity of social relationships that transcends generations?

The Concept. Early anthropologists noticed that the various peoples they studied differed greatly in the ways they named and categorized kin, defined appropriate behavior among kinspeople, reckoned descent, regulated marriage, and organized succession among the generations. Kinship and its diversity became the central issue in anthropology for much of the twentieth century, mainly for two reasons. First, both an explanation for the diverse systems of kinship and, in the face of such diversity, a universal definition needed to be found. This taxing issue led to most of the central debates in anthropology until quite recently. Arguments over what the term *kinship* designates, and what its analytical validity is, resulted in a robust reconfiguration of kinship studies since the 1970s. Second, many of the societies anthropologists studied were societies without state organization, and one of the leading questions was how social order and political structure were defined and maintained in such societies.

Kinship was considered to play the key role in providing a basic structure for the organization of the social life of stateless and, as they came to be called, as a type, "primitive" societies. Their social structure, Meyer Fortes stated in *The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi,* was "kinship writ large" and "kinship . . . is one of the irreducible principles on which their organized social life depends" (1949, p. 340). At the time, this was a progressive approach, emphasizing the rationality, functionality, and essentially human creativity of such societies. But it became untenable, both because it is too reductionist and because of the inherent evolutionist dichotomy between "primitive" and "civilized"—the former designating a more natural state of social life and the latter higher cultural development and social institutions—which suggested a great, substantive divide among all forms of human society. Rather than substantive, the differences and contrasts of sociality between societies came to be seen as relative. Although research in "civilized" societies revealed many structural similarities with "primitive" societies, reducing the social structure of more egalitarian societies to the principles of kinship disregards influential factors such as the division of labor, gender, or inequality. The link between kinship and social structure is critical in some societies, but it cannot be made at the expense of disregarding the dynamics of religious or political or economic factors.

At the same time, the ethnographic evidence across cultures does not uphold the typologies of social order proposed on the ground of a supposed correlation between kinship constructs such as descent, kinship terminology, or marriage patterns and aspects of social organization such as gender relations, social roles, the allocations of rights and obligations, or the distribution of power. In this regard, studies that combined the analysis of kinship and gender since the 1970s contributed critically to dismantling formal models that linked kinship institutions to social organization. The way kinship is conceptualized and structured in a society does not predict the totality of social life.

Kinship and the Natural. For much of the twentieth century, anthropologists defined kinship as genealogical relatedness, that is, as relationships based on consanguinity (the idea that related people share blood or biogenetic substance) and affinity (relationships forged as a result of marriage). This meant that the diverse ways in which people in different cultures define who is a relative and organize their systems of kinship relationships were explained by falling back on the notion that this diversity nevertheless must have a referent in the natural facts of life, the natural processes of human sexual reproduction. A critical distinction, between social kinship and biological kinship, was introduced. Biological relations were considered given in nature, and therefore kinship could be singled out as the primary structure ordering social relations in simple societies. The social relations of kinship were regarded as cultural constructs and representations that more or less recognized and interpreted biological ties and the given facts of life.

In the 1960s and 1970s a debate erupted concerning what kinship is all about and engendering a rethinking of the concept. It resulted in the analytical separation of physical kinship from biological kinship. The cultural notions of physical procreation and consubstantiality—how people considered themselves to be related through shared physical substance, whether it was blood, or semen, or food—should be seen as separate from true biological facts and as cultural interpretations of genealogical ties (see Holy, 1996 for a useful discussion). A major turning point in the still ongoing reconfiguration of kinship was *A Critique of the Study of Kinship* (1984) by David Schneider, who targeted the analytical distinction between biological and social kinship, which he identified as stemming from a European and American cultural bias, from Western folk models of kinship which are embedded in what he called the "general characteristic of European culture toward what might be called 'biologistic' ways of constituting and conceiving human character, human nature, and human behavior" (1984, p. 175). Reflecting a general shift in anthropology from function to meaning, Schneider's pioneering work on kinship in American culture analyzed "the distinctive features which define the person as a relative" (1968, p. 19), examining American kinship as a symbolic system in which biological relatedness and sexual relations play a fundamental role as symbols for social relationships. In many non-European traditions, kinship relationships are not necessarily conceptualized as an elaboration of natural processes or as the tracing of genealogical connections (and where biological ideas have gained purchase in the course of the global spread of Western culture, they are often being reworked and innovatively amalgamated with existing cultural ideas). Cultural concepts of procreation may involve critical religious elements unrelated to biological processes.

The people of the Micronesian island of Yap, for example, single out human existence as categorically different from the existence of animals such as their domestic pigs. In Yap culture, human procreation and descent involve not only bodily processes but also a spiritual component, the reincarnation of ancestral souls. Descent only exists in humans. It charts the reincarnation of ancestral souls and is distinct from reckoning parentage for the breeding of pigs. Anthropologists have always insisted that descent is a concept of social organization, referring to relatedness based on common ancestry, which may include people not related biologically and only those genealogical relationships that are socially recognized. In the Yap definition, however, descent and the relationship to ancestry is part of the process of conception.

Since Schneider's critique, anthropologists approach kinship cross-culturally, with an increased reflective sensitivity to preconceived ideas about what kinship is. As Ladislav Holy points out in *Anthropological Perspectives on Kinship* (1996), "the most significant development in the study of kinship has been the growing awareness of the cultural specificity of what were previously taken to be the natural facts on which all kinship systems were presumed to be built" (p. 165). The resulting challenges made kinship again one of the most innovative areas of study, connecting research across diverse disciplinary, analytical, theoretical, and ethnographic sites. Recent studies of local and specific conceptualizations of kinship foreground the questions of what kinship means and who is a relative and why, and they seek to answer them empirically rather than take them as given by definition.

DEFINITION. If the defining moment of kinship is not referenced to biology, what kind of definition can be put forth that enables cross-cultural comparison but avoids the pitfalls of previous definitions? Current working definitions of the concept—and there is no single agreed-upon definition—tend to go back to first principles. They focus on those relationships that in any given cultural context are considered constitutive of personhood and social human being, of how people come into being, achieve personhood, and attain a socially recognized afterlife. There may be exceptions, but in most human societies these constitutive relationships are marked as distinct among all social relations. They often articulate fundamental ideas about relationality itself, about how social relationships can be forged, maintained, and properly dismantled. They also tend to articulate a temporal component so that such constitutive relationships provide a person with a past, with relationships to predecessors, such as ancestry, descent, and collective history.

Raymond C. Kelly offered a comprehensive and cross-culturally useful definition of kinship in *Constructing Inequalities* (1993). Significantly, he connects kinship to the concepts of the *body* and the *person*:

> Kinship relations are social relations predicated upon cultural conceptions that specify the processes by which an individual comes into being and develops into a complete (i.e., mature) social person. These processes encompass the acquisition and transformation of both spiritual and corporeal components of being. Sexual reproduction and the formulation of paternal and maternal contributions are an important component of, but are not coextensive with, the relevant processes. This is due to the ethnographic fact that a full complement of spiritual components is never derived exclusively from the parents. Moreover, the sexually transmitted ingredients of corporeal substance are frequently transmitted in other ways as well. (p. 521)

These further processes of manipulating and modifying substances and spiritual components involved in attaining full personhood and in forging kin relations should not be disregarded because of a biologically based definition of kinship. As Kelly points out, "there is no analytic utility in artificially restricting the category of kin relations to relations predicated on some but not all the constitutive processes of personhood because these processes are culturally formulated as components of an integrated system" (1993, p. 522).

By dissociating the concept of kinship from biology and integrating it with the process of how persons come into being, the investigative focus shifted to ways in which kinship is embedded in the social life of people and to its connections to aspects of culture such as religion.

KINSHIP, PERSON, AND BODY. The approach to kinship and social organization through the concepts of the person and the body was most powerfully developed by Marilyn Strathern in *The Gender of the Gift* (1988), a comparison of social life across the diverse cultures of Melanesia. She generalized the Melanesian person as "a microcosm of relations" and the body as "a register, a site of . . . interaction . . . composed of the specific historical action of others" (pp. 131–132), and both concepts are keys to understanding social organization and social units such as descent, group formation, exchange, and marriage arrangements. The approach echoes well beyond that region, inspiring studies triangulating kinship, the person, and the body elsewhere, including the West. Examining kinship in conjunction with personhood also sheds new light on the structuring of rituals, particularly life-cycle rituals such as initiation, marriage, and mortuary rituals in which the body often takes center stage. As Kelly's definition suggests, life-cycle rituals modify and complement the composition of the body and the constitution of the person, which began with procreation. Death rituals often involve the dismantling of the network of relationships centered on the deceased and the final repayment of contributions towards the deceased person by others. This history of relationships, contributions, and obligations is literally embodied in the deceased person, and, with the body gone, the person and the obligations need to be discharged by the surviving kin of the deceased. Kinship and life-cycle rituals are analyzed here in a combined approach, and such rituals, which often articulate and realize religious ideas, are part of the process of attaining personhood.

Some recent kinship studies reveal the importance of feeding and nurture to the process of kinship. Janet Carsten showed that while the people of Langkawi (Malaysia) regard blood as a substance with which a child is born and which differentiates kin, blood as a kinship substance is modified and transformed by breast-milk which the child ingests, and later by the food the child eats; through the daily food that was cooked on the hearth of the house and that members of a household share, they have a substance in common which has qualities similar to blood. The body of a Langkawi person undergoes a social process that reflects the relationships of commensality, the sharing of food, and cohabitation that the person maintains. One consequence of this processual conceptualization of kinship is that birth siblings and adopted siblings are not socially differentiated if they were nursed by the same woman and fed from the same hearth, because the substance that makes them related to others is considered to be the same.

The cultural understanding of procreation and personhood among Trobriand Islanders (Papua New Guinea) incorporates significant religious and relational concepts that structure social organization. Trobriand procreation not only involves bodily substance and the reincarnation of spirits, but also the creation of form. The Trobriand model of human reproduction preoccupied many observers and was debated as an instance of virgin birth, or denial of physiological paternity and sexual intercourse as a condition for procreation. This is based on a fundamental misconception of Trobriand traditional belief that conception takes place when an ancestral soul enters the womb of a woman who belongs to the same landholding descent group with which the ancestor is associated. Souls thus retain the descent and kin classification they had as living beings, and they are reincarnated into the same kin group. Sexual intercourse is critical to this process because it provides the soul with a material human form, the body, which is made from blood, a kinship substance provided by the mother, and which is shaped by the father's activities during sexual intercourse with the mother. Both the maternal and paternal contributions are vital to this process. The mother's contribution consists of providing blood (essence) and spirit, and the father's of forming the child's body, which takes an appearance that resembles the father, and of enabling the child's growth and eventual separation from the maternal body. A Trobriand father will contribute to feed and shape his child's bodily form and appearance by affectionately taking care of the child, in what is expressed by Trobrianders as paternal nurture and which remains a vital factor in the course of a person's life. The different maternal and paternal contributions to the making of a child are symbolized in the relationships between the child and wider sets of maternal and paternal kin. They also shape the relationships between different descent groups who maintain relations of paternal nurture with each other, expressed in various exchange events. These collective relationships acknowledge their mutual interdependence from each other for the regeneration of the descent group. Like an ancestral soul, they depend on paternal nurture to be able to exist in a material, bodily form.

Recent scholarship on kinship and new reproductive biotechnology, international adoption, and gay and lesbian families shows that a more flexible concept of kinship, emphasizing relationality and process, may be at work significantly in European and North American practices. At the same time, these new contexts for kinship raise new questions about how relatives, especially parents, are defined, challenging traditional Euro-American notions that human reproduction is a natural process through which the ties of kinship emerge unproblematically. The new reproductive technologies manipulate what were deemed to be natural processes so that biological relatedness no longer figures as a given ground for kin relations. Marilyn Strathern succinctly states the problem as "what is interfered with is the very idea of a natural fact" (1992, p. 41); nature assisted by technology becomes part of culture. Shared substance, rather than biology, may also be a powerful connection for members in families created through adoption. These innovative ways of making kinship suggest that, in the European tradition, the ground for relationality as it is experienced by people is no longer, or may never have been, simply biology and nature after all.

ANCESTORS AND DESCENT. Ancestors are important in most kinship systems. Shared ancestry can be the basis for the classification of kin into social categories, particularly descent categories. Ancestors are, by definition, remembered kin, but not all kin are remembered as ancestors, and which kin become ancestors varies. Among some Amerindian peoples only personally known kin become ancestors, whereas in many African and Asian cultures ancestors and their relationships are remembered for many generations. In yet other cultures ancestors may be remembered as names rather than as deceased kin, but as names associated with land and people who, by bestowing the names to children, forge descent as a relationship between ancestral name, land, and kinspeople. Among the Dobu Islanders of Papua New Guinea, the physical remains of ancestors are the focus of descent. Dobuans return their dead kin to their village of origin and bury them in the center of the village. The burial mound thus symbolizes lineal descent unadulterated by affinal relations. Among Australian Aboriginals it is often the memory of the ancestors' journeys in the country, and their activities and experiences at places in the landscape, that is the content of descent and connects people to ancestors, the landscape, and their past.

Ancestors may be the focal point for the definition of kin categories and groups, in the case of lineages and clans for example, which comprise persons related through descent exclusively through either the male (patrilineal) or the female (matrilineal) line. In societies with a strongly developed patrilineal descent structure, such as the Lugbara of Uganda, different categories of patrilineal male and female ancestors are distinguished depending on their descent status and whether they contributed significantly to the polity of the descent group during their lifetime. In these societies, genealogies record effective ancestors.

In community-based religions the offices of ritual experts and access to esoteric knowledge may be organized by kinship statuses and succession through descent. Only people categorized as descendants of a particular ancestor may be permitted to have certain knowledge or the right to perform rituals. Such experts often employ this knowledge and perform rituals on behalf of the whole community or society. In many Australian Aboriginal, lowland South American, and Native American cultures of the Southwest, the kinship system involves a form of dual organization in which people are classified into moieties (halves into which the total society divides), which are part of a dual cosmology. Moiety organization is related to kinship and descent, but it is often relatively flexible and may involve multiple differentiations, which enables cooperation between the moieties. Depending on the specific system, a person may belong to one or several cross-cutting moieties. Moiety affiliation may be strictly through descent, or it may change according to the specifics of marriage exchanges or of residence. Some moieties are not linked to kinship, but are ritual moieties. Among Yolngu, an Australian Aboriginal people of Arnhem Land, there are named matrilineal and patrilineal moieties as well as ceremonial nonlineal moieties. Moieties own certain cults and rituals which they perform for the whole community, which in turn supports these services by organizing the performances.

EXTENDING THE MORALITY OF KINSHIP. Many communities extend the use of kinship terms—the specific names for the different kinship relationships and those used to address kin—to refer to non-kin. This is a metaphorical or classificatory use of kinship which is significant, because it extends the morality of kinship to other people and sometimes to other beings. In Christianity, God is addressed as Father, and Jesus is addressed as the Son of God. Similarly, members of Christian faith communities and monasteries use kinship terms to express relationships within their communities. In doing so they express their separation from their families of origin and their commitment to the social relations of the community. It has also been suggested that the sharing in the Holy Spirit serves as a basis of essence for the social relationships of kinship in Spirit. From an anthropological point of view, one understands such uses in different Christian communities across the world as reflecting cultural diversity and diverse views of God as Father—depending on the way in which the role of father is culturally conceived, for example.

In some societies, kinship and ancestry is extended to animals and other beings who live together with people in the same environment. The Nayaka, a people living in the Nilgiri Hills of Tamil Nadu (South India), regard the forest in which they live as a parent. Nurit Bird-David (1999) reports that Nayaka refer to features in the forest such as hills or rocks in the same terms they use to refer to the spirits of those who were their immediate predecessors (their recently deceased ancestors)—as "big father" or "big mother"—and they refer to themselves as children. In relation to their forest they see themselves as children of the forest, and they maintain relationships of sharing. The morality of kinship, specifically the sharing morality and intimacy of the parent-child relationship, extends to the environment. As Tim Ingold notes, "the environment shares its bounty with humans just as humans share with one another, thereby integrating both human and non-human components of the world into one, all embracing 'cosmic economy of sharing'" (Ingold, 2000, p. 44).

Such use of kin terms is part of a wider phenomenon by which people attribute personhood to the beings with whom they share an environment (e.g., animals, trees, rocks, places), whether or not they address them by kin terms. Attributing personhood means that one regards other beings as capable of maintaining social relationships among themselves and with other beings. It indicates what Bird-David calls a "we-ness which absorbs differences" (1999, p. 78), and subsumes kinship, or what Roy Wagner (1977) identified among Papuan cultures as the very ground of being rather than merely of humanity, namely the innate capacity for social relationship both with those similar and with those differentiated, which renders all beings of an environment akin.

SEE ALSO Ancestors, article on Ancestor Worship; Community; Family; Genealogy; Marriage; Totemism.

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CLAUDIA GROSS (2005)

KIREEVSKII, IVAN

KIREEVSKII, IVAN (1806–1856), was a Russian publicist and Slavophile. In his early years Kireevskii's literary criticism gained him the patronage of Vasilii Zhukovskii (1783–1852) and the approval of Aleksandr Pushkin (1799–1837). He founded and was briefly the editor of a promising journal, *Evropeets*, closed by the authorities in 1832. This event drove Kireevskii into semiretirement, from which he was to emerge only occasionally and with reluctance. Only in the last decade of his life was he to find a cause that helped to justify his withdrawal from society: collaboration with the monastic elders of the hermitage at Optino. This in its turn provided him with a theological diagnosis for what in 1853 he called "the disorder of my inner forces."

In his early years Kireevskii was a proponent of Westernization. But by the late 1830s he insisted on the role of Russia as a lodestar for a western Europe in decline. Without any marked chauvinism or aggressiveness (in this he differed from several of his contemporaries and successors), he had become one of the founding fathers of the Slavophile movement.

For Kireevskii this undertaking had involved a conversion or at least a return to the Orthodox church. At the prompting of his wife, Natal'ia Arbeneva, Kireevskii had turned his attention from Friedrich Schelling (1775–1854) to the church fathers. His first guide in Orthodox church life was his wife's confessor, Filaret (d. 1842), a monk of the Novo-Spasskii monastery in Moscow. But in his search for guidance Kireevskii also visited the Optino community, which was in the forefront of a Russian hesychast revival. Here he found two profound and subtle guides—the elder Leonid (1768–1841) and his successor Makarii (1788–1860). Kireevskii's acceptance of their guidance presaged the reconciliation of the Westernized gentry and (subsequently) intelligentsia with the church; and it anticipated what is so often termed the Russian "religious renaissance" of the early twentieth century.

At Optino Kireevskii committed himself to an ambitious, unprecedented program—the editing, translation, and publication of Greek patristic texts. The program attracted the patronage of Metropolitan Filaret of Moscow and proved to be a landmark in the history of Russian publishing. Among the authors made available were Isaac the Syrian (d. 700?), Maximos the Confessor (c. 580–662), John Climacus (c. 570–649), Symeon the New Theologian (949–1022), and, representative of Russian mystics, Nil Sorskii (1433–1508). The first volume issued (1847) was, appropriately enough, called *The Life and Writings of the Moldavian Starets Paisii Velichkovskii* (1722–1794). Paisii's influence had stimulated the resurgence of hesychast spirituality at the Optino community.

With all his concern for the traditional spiritual disciplines, Kireevskii had no intention of discarding reason. Nor did he see Orthodox tradition as something finite. He spoke of patristic teaching as "an embryo for the philosophy of the future." That future philosophy must not be the task of an isolated individual. Kireevskii's "integrality" of the soul was to be attained solely by "the common endeavor of all who believe and think." The concept of *sobornost'*, first formulated by Kireevskii's friend Aleksei Khomiakov (1804–1860), was equally congenial to Kireevskii himself. Each was eager to promote that sense of Orthodox community and organic fellowship to which *sobornost'* refers.

Several of Kireevskii's insights were to prove seminal for Russian thinkers of succeeding decades. He died an early death of cholera and was buried at Optino, his spiritual home. Despite the neglect of Kireevskii's reputation and depredations of Optino during the Soviet period, his tombstone has recently been recovered and restored.

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SERGEI HACKEL (1987)

KISSING

KISSING SEE POSTURES AND GESTURES; SALUTATIONS; TOUCHING

KITAGAWA, JOSEPH M.

KITAGAWA, JOSEPH M. (1915–1992) was a historian of religions, humanist, Asianist, priest, theologian, educator, and administrator. The career of Joseph Mitsuo Kitagawa, who served as an editor of the first edition of *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (1987), spanned a number of continents, traditions, disciplines, and roles.

EARLY YEARS. Born to Japanese Christian parents in Osaka, his father an Episcopal priest, from his youth Kitagawa lived within the minority Christian tradition in Japan, but was attuned to the variety and depth of Asian thought and belief. Reflecting on his life, Kitagawa wrote that:

> I have always been awed, fascinated and inspired by the lives of two men, Confucius and the Apostle Paul. . . .[P]ersons like myself, born and raised in the Far East, lived in the shadow of the towering figure of Confucius. We were inspired by his view of common human nature, his insistence on the educability of all men and women, and his vision of ethical universalism based on the cultivation of human goodness. His vocation was the training of scholars (*Ju*), who would influence the administrative policies of the nation. Although

> he himself failed miserably during his lifetime to persuade the rulers to adopt his policies, Confucius left a high standard for his disciples to follow. . . .An educated person had a vocation to master the saving knowledge of the sacred past, to transmit it to the present generation, and to interpret contemporary experience in the light of accumulated wisdom. . . .As a child of a parsonage, I have been exposed from my earliest days to the name of another important figure, namely the Apostle Paul. . . .I have come to appreciate over the years the very human qualities of the Apostle Paul. Also his piercing insight into human nature and its predicament resonates in many of us. . .Paul. . .is a man of unusual talents coupled with human weaknesses, completely dedicated to his vocation of spreading the gospel. . . .For this vocation he joyfully endured afflictions, hardships, calamities, beatings, imprisonments, and hunger. Significantly, it was his spiritual maturity which brought him to a profound understanding of the meaning of love as the mystery of God. . . .The lives of these two persons. . .remain constant reminders to me that our worth must be measured not primarily by our accomplishments, not even by scholarly accomplishments, but by the quality of vocation we find in life. (Kitagawa, 1979, pp. 18–20)

Kitagawa's own experiences and studies led him to a life-long commitment of mediating between and among contrasting viewpoints. He graduated from Rikkyo University, affiliated with the Episcopal Church, and like his brother followed their father in becoming an Episcopal priest. Coming to the United States to continue his theological studies just before World War II, he was caught in the internment of Japanese and Japanese-Americans for the duration of the war. He commented later that, while ministering to the religious needs of fellow internees, these relocation camps were his real introduction to American society. He embraced America's democratic ideals, and yet noted, with sadness, "America's failure to fulfill her creed of democratic equality" (Kitagawa, 1992, p. 128), not only in his own internment experiences, but domestically on racial issues and internationally on refugee matters. Not until after the war, in October 1945, could he resume his studies, first taking a bachelor of divinity degree at Seabury-Western Theological Seminary in Evanston, Illinois, in 1947. During this time he also organized an Episcopal mission to Chicago's Japanese population; this endeavor eventually became the Asian ministry of the diocese. He studied for his doctorate under Joachim Wach at the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, completing his dissertation on "Kobo-daishi and Shingon Buddhism" in 1951.

ACADEMIC CAREER. Kitagawa joined the faculty of his alma mater in 1951 and served in a number of capacities, first assisting his mentor Joachim Wach in cultivating the postwar interest in the study of religion. Their efforts to combine the earlier American tradition of comparative religion with the European notion of *Religionswissenschaft* were cut short by Wach's premature death in 1955. Kitagawa was instrumental in securing the appointment of Mircea Eliade at the University of Chicago; together with Charles H. Long, and later other scholars, they established the "history of religions" approach, as epitomized in the journal they founded, *History of Religions: An International Journal for Comparative Studies* (1961–). While promoting the study of religion on the graduate level, Kitagawa helped educate a large group of historians of religion, and trained a number of doctoral students in the area of Japanese religion, who helped develop the field of "Japanese religion" within North America. He was an indefatigable advocate of comparative religion as a component of undergraduate education, and of the role of trained historians of religions to teach such courses; he foresaw the role of state institutions as playing a prominent function in the teaching about religion, once undertaken only in private institutions. Kitagawa's students, both those in his special area of Japanese religion, and in other fields of the history of religions, found academic positions throughout the world, especially in the United States and Japan. He is remembered by his colleagues and students as impeccable in dress and manners, a consummate diplomat, and an able and tireless administrator.

Kitagawa interrupted his own academic work to serve for two terms from 1970 to 1980 as dean of the Divinity School. As dean he looked back to the vision of William Rainey Harper (the academic founder of the University of Chicago, a scholar of biblical and Middle Eastern studies who also insisted on the scientific study of religion), finding in him a role model for mediating both between academic and professional roles and among various fields. Following Harper's lead, Kitagawa promoted a threefold graduate and professional mission for the Divinity School: balancing theological inquiry, the humanistic (or scientific) study of religion, and the development of professional religious leadership. Kitagawa's work as dean has been summed up by his close colleague, Martin Marty: "Kitagawa regularly remarked on the ways the Harper model could be used to criticize excesses in today's world. Thus he was not impressed by neopositivist, 'more secular than thou' scholars of religion who pretended that believing communities did not exist, or disdained them. He was equally unimpressed by professional ministerial or theological schools which underestimated the need for critical scholarly inquiry" (Marty, 1985, p. 13).

Kitagawa was furthering these goals when he was instrumental in establishing the Institute for the Advanced Study of Religion (now the Martin Marty Center) at the University of Chicago. In the United States he was a founding member and mainstay of the American Society for the Study of Religion, and he was prominent in his support of the International Association for the History of Religions. Kitagawa's service to the field was international, sitting on the board of directors for both the International Institute for the Study of Religion (Tokyo) and the Fund for Theological Education; he was editorial advisor to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and on the board of editors for *Numen.* He lectured widely throughout the world, and delivered a number of major lectures, including the Joachim Wach Memorial Lecture at the

University of Marburg, the Charles Wesley Brashares Lectures on the History of Religions at Northwestern University, the Charles Strong Memorial Lecture in Comparative Religions at Australian universities, the Rockwell Lecture Series at Rice University, and Lectures on the History of Religions (sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies). For his scholarship he received a number of honorary degrees.

SCHOLARLY CONTRIBUTION. Several autobiographical statements can serve to characterize Kitagawa's work. "Having a father who was a Confucian-turned-Christian minister and growing up in the Yamato area, the oldest district of Japan, with the children of Buddhist and Shinto clerics as my playmates, made me realize the importance of religion early in life" (Kitagawa, 1987, p. ix). In contrast to some Japanese scholars who began with the study of religion and ended up in the pursuit of theology, Kitagawa notes: "I found that my own academic pilgrimage moved in the opposite direction: from theology to the philosophy of religion to *Religionswissenschaft* (known as the history of religions, or *Shūkyō-gaku*)" (1987, p. ix). Grounded in his own experience as a Japanese Christian, Kitagawa reached out to Asians to broaden their perspective of Christianity, at the same time chiding Westerners for their Eurocentric conception of Christianity. Having received his earliest academic training in Japan, and then undergoing a harsh introduction to American democracy through internment, he completed his graduate work in an American setting under the European influence of Wach, and later refined his understanding of religion in collaboration with his colleague Eliade; he parlayed Wach's notion of *Verstehen* (understanding) and *Religionswissenschaft* into the more recent category of history of religions. Like Eliade, Kitagawa deplored the fact that we do not have a more precise term than *religion*, but insisted that "the point of departure of *Religionswissenschaft* is the historically given religions" (Eliade and Kitagawa, 1959, p. 21). He acknowledged in a critique of the history of religions approach that "there are no purely religious phenomena," but agreed with Eliade that "the meaning of a religious phenomenon can be understood only if it is studied as something religious," viewing it religio-scientifically or religio-historically (Eliade and Kitagawa, 1959, p. 21).

SEE ALSO Japanese Religions, overview article.

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From early in his career Kitagawa wrote on a wide range of issues for a general audience in various publications, voicing his concerns about social and political issues, such as the wartime internment of Japanese-Americans and the treatment of refugees, and speaking to theological issues (especially the situation of Asian churches and the character of missionary activity). The best source for such materials is in the *Festschrift* edited by Frank E. Reynolds and Theodore M. Ludwig, *Transitions and Transformations in the History of Religions: Essays in Honor of Joseph M. Kitagawa* (Leiden, 1980); the bibliography, pp. 3–9, includes a comprehensive listing of both books and articles to 1980. Reynolds and Ludwig have also provided (pp. 11–21) an overview of Kitagawa's methodology. Some of his publications undertook the editing of posthumous works of his mentor, Joachim Wach: *The Comparative Study of Religions* (New York, 1958); *Understanding and Believing: Essays* (New York, 1968); and *Essays in the History of Religions* (New York, 1988). He also authored *Gibt es ein Verstehen fremder Religionen?: Mit einer Biographie Joachim Wachs und einer vollst(ndigen Bibliographie seiner Werke* (Leiden, 1963). Kitagawa was generous in editing the work of others, such as (with Alan L. Miller) Ichiro Hori, *Folk Religion in Japan: Continuity and Change* (Chicago, 1968); he co-edited (with Charles H. Long) *Myths and Symbols: Studies in Honor of Mircea Eliade* (Chicago, 1969); he also co-edited a number of volumes in Japanese, and some of his articles and books were translated into Japanese.

Kitagawa's own contribution to the field is found in articles such as "The History of Religions in America," in *The History of Religions: Essays in Methodology*, ed. Mircea Eliade and Joseph M. Kitagawa (Chicago, 1959), reprinted in *The History of Religions: Understanding Human Experience* (Atlanta, 1987), a collection of his key articles on the history of religions and *Religionswissenschaft.* Kitagawa is best known for his work in Japanese religion. His doctoral dissertation, "Kobo-daishi and Shingon Buddhism" (Chicago, 1951), although not published, has been used widely (in photoduplicated copies in university libraries). His major work is *Religion in Japanese History* (New York, 1966), an overview still utilized as a textbook; his key articles are collected in *On Understanding Japanese Religion* (Princeton, N.J., 1987). While continuing his scholarly work, he remained in touch with his concern for social issues, editing *The American Refugee Policy: Ethical and Religious Reflections* (Minneapolis, 1984). At the end of his career Kitagawa turned to broader themes: the theological work *The Christian Tradition: Beyond its European Captivity* (Philadelphia, 1992), and the synthetic works *The Quest for Human Unity: A Religious History* (Minneapolis, 1990) and *Spiritual Liberation and Human Freedom in Contemporary Asia* (New York, 1990). He wrote a brief autobiographical account, "Vocation and Maturity" (pp. 18–20), in *Criterion: A Publication of the University of Chicago Divinity School* 18, no. 2 (1979). Appreciations of Kitagawa's contributions as a scholar, educator, and administrator are included in *Criterion* 24, no. 3 (1985), which includes Robert Wood Lynn, "The Harper Legacy: An Appreciation of Joseph M. Kitagawa"(pp. 4–8); Martin E. Marty, "Joseph M. Kitagawa, the Harper Tradition, and this Divinity School" (pp. 9–13); and D. Gale Johnson, "Comments on Joseph Kitagawa's Day" (pp. 14–16). A memorial tribute in *Criterion* 32, no. 1 (1993) is Nancy Auer Falk and H. Byron Earhart, "Perfect in Dress and Address: Remembering Joseph Mitsuo Kitagawa, 1915–1992" (pp. 10–16).

H. BYRON EARHART (2005)

KLIMKEIT, HANS-JOACHIM. Hans-Joachim Klimkeit (1939–1999) was born in Ranchi, Bihar, in India, the son of a German Lutheran missionary. Klimkeit spent his youth in different parts of the subcontinent, and from early on he became acquainted with such languages as English, Hindi, Urdu, Bhojpuri, and Tamil. In 1955 Klimkeit moved to Germany, where he passed his school-leaving examination in 1958. Afterwards he took up studies of Protestant theology, first at a small ecclesiastical academy, then, from 1959 onwards, at the university of Tübingen. There, besides theology, he also studied mathematics and, more importantly, philosophy with the hermeneutician Otto Friedrich Bollnow and Indology with Helmuth von Glasenapp, who both would have a lasting impact on him. In 1961 Klimkeit went to study at Bonn under the phenomenologist Gustav Mensching, whose successor he became in 1972.

Klimkeit took his Ph.D. with a thesis on Ludwig Feuerbach's ideas about miracles from the point of view of the phenomenology of religion (*Das Wunderverständnis Ludwig Feuerbachs in religionsphänomenologischer Sicht,* 1964). Afterwards he spent one year at the Center for the Study of World Religions at Harvard University, where Wilfred Cantwell Smith encouraged him to add a historic-philological approach to the sort of phenomenology represented by Mensching. Klimkeit then began studying Sanskrit, and after he returned to Bonn he wrote his *Habilitation* on antireligious movements in Southern India (*Anti-religiöse Bewegungen im modernen Südindien: Eine religionssoziologische Untersuchung zur Säkularisierungsfrage,* 1971). The work was intended as a contribution to the issue of secularization from the point of view of the sociology of religion. His interest in recent developments in Indian religious history would culminate in *Der politische Hinduismus: Indische Denker zwischen religiöser Reform und politischem Erwachen* (1981), which was published before "political Hinduism" had become a standard agenda. Klimkeit's knowledge of Sanskrit left fruitful traces in his book on the Buddha (1990), in which he emphasized the importance of the Northern Buddhist Sanskrit texts, as against the later Pali books.

During the 1970s, by learning several other languages (Uighur, Middle Iranian, Sogdian, Tibetan, and Mongolian) Klimkeit laid the groundwork for his later studies on Manichaeism (e.g., Klimkeit, 1982, 1989, 1993) and the Silk Road (e.g., Klimkeit 1986, 1988). These were mainly published during the 1980s, the peak period of his scholarly output, while the 1990s were increasingly overshadowed by the illness that ended in his tragic death in 1999.

Both in his teaching and his research, Klimkeit worked on a remarkable number of different religions, most importantly Hinduism, Buddhism, (Nestorian) Christianity (e.g., Gillman and Klimkeit, 1999), Zoroastrianism, and in particular Manichaeism (Klimkeit was instrumental in the revival of Manichaean studies). Apart from writing and coauthoring monographs and papers on single religions, Klimkeit devoted several important studies to different forms of encounter and interaction between religions and cultures, in particular (but not exclusively) on the Silk Road. Apart from his work with textual sources (culminating in his collection of Manichaean texts and a series devoted to the Hami manuscript of the Maitrisimit, undertaken with Geng Shimin, Jens Peter Laut, and Helmut Eimer), Klimkeit was much concerned with questions of religious iconography.

While he added a sense of history and a rich variety of source materials to the abstract phenomenologist sketches of his teacher and predecessor Mensching, Klimkeit would always remain heavily influenced by the phenomenology of religion and hermeneutics as represented by Bollnow and Joachim Wach (see Klimkeit, 1972). In his later work, Klimkeit advocated the idea of a "problem-centered" (and humanist) phenomenology of religion (see Klimkeit, 1986, 1999), and he intended a comparative study of the "answers" that different religions give (or have given) to a number of fundamental problems of humankind, such as good and evil, human autonomy, and divine heteronomy (see Gantke, who continued this approach in his own work).

As a teacher and supervisor, Klimkeit had a remarkably open and kind attitude. Rather than founding a school in the strict sense, he actively encouraged his students to pursue their own paths, even if they were leading into territories beyond Klimkeit's frame of mind. During his time there, the tiny Religionswissenschaftliches Seminar at Bonn University experienced an unprecedented increase in enrollment. Klimkeit was the editor of several books and series (most importantly the series Studies in Oriental Religions), and he served as coeditor of the *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte,* the series Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, and the *Theologische Realenzyklopädie.* In addition, Klimkeit served on the boards of several academic societies. Even before the fall of the Iron Curtain, he had established important and lasting contacts with colleagues in many countries ranging from the former German Democratic Republic to China, which would greatly facilitate the progress of research on the Silk Road and Manichaeaism.

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KLONG CHEN RAB 'BYAMS PA (LONGCHENPA).

Longchenpa (1308–1363) is perhaps the most important philosophical author in the history of the Rnying ma (Nyingma) school of Tibetan Buddhism and one of the great figures in fourteenth-century Tibet, a time of larger-than-life authors and systematizations of sectarian traditions. His renown stems from his huge literary corpus, and three distinctive facets of it. Firstly, he is renowned as the systematizer of the Nyingma tradition of the Great Perfection (*Rdzogs chen* [Dzogchen]), which he expounded in a series of brilliant texts that balanced architectonic structure, aphoristic poetry, and philosophical nuance and precision. While his writings span the earliest phases of Great Perfection literature, he above all else focused on the eleventh- and twelfth-century Seminal Heart (*Snying thig* [Nyingthink]) revelations and their highly distinctive reinterpretation of the Great Perfection. Longchenpa articulated a deeply systematic approach to Seminal Heart to create one of the most powerful statements of philosophical Vajrayāna. His writings systematize doctrines and contemplative practices into a structured and integrated whole, while simultaneously definitively defining key terminology with innovative nuance. In large part due to the influence of his corpus, the Seminal Heart came to be the dominant tradition of the Great Perfection right into the present.

Secondly, Longchenpa was one of the few premodern Nyingma authors to incorporate broad learning in exoteric Buddhist literature directly into his writings. He is famed for his integration of the insights, terminology, and practice of the Great Perfection into the broader framework of an encyclopedic overview of the entire Buddhist tradition. While many other Nyingma authors appear to have had solid training in the exoteric literature, relatively few wrote at any great length on the subject, preferring to work in esoteric veins and narrative materials. Longchenpa is thus often discussed within the Nyingma tradition in connection with two other such prominent authors, Rongzom Chökyi Zangpo (eleventh century) and Mipham (1846–1912). These three stand out within the tradition for their great learning in exoteric Buddhist scholasticism, and the expression of that learning in extensive writings.

Thirdly, the Nyingma tradition until the fourteenth century was dominated by the practice of revelations, whereby important new bodies of literature were produced as "treasures" (*gter ma,* terma) attributed to the distant past of Tibet's imperial greatness (seventh to ninth centuries) rather than to the authorial hand of the present. Longchenpa's writings at times utilized the rhetoric of revelation, but in general were clearly presented as his own personal compositions. While certainly such personal compositions had appeared elsewhere in Nyingma circles from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, the emergence of such a huge corpus of major religious writings attributed to a contemporary figure was a watershed in the history of the Nyingma tradition.

Longchenpa's life can be roughly divided into his first twenty years of youth and earlier studies, his twenties during which he received his seminal intellectual and yogic training, his thirties when he emerged as a major teacher and author, his forties marked by political turmoil and exile even as his literary output continued unabated, and finally his return to Tibet and final years in his fifties. His studies, social experiences, and literary writings were all deeply interwoven into the fabric of his life, with common motifs and images running through both.

PAST LIVES AND PROPHECIES. Tibetan accounts of the life of a saint begin at starting points that are highly Tibetan and Buddhist in character: past lives and prenatal prophecies concerning birth and life. Longchenpa did not arrive on the historical scene as a recognized member of an established reincarnational line with a clear pedigree and institutional power, though certainly his gestation and birth are framed with prophecies said to indicate his unusual spiritual accomplishments. His most interesting and relevant reincarnational associations, however, are with an obscure visionary from the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Tsultrim Dorjé (1291–1317), with intimate associations to the Seminal Heart. Through Tsultrim Dorjé, also known as Pad ma las 'brel rtsal (Pema Ledreltsel), he came to be further identified as the direct rebirth of the Tibetan princess Lhacam, daughter of Khri srong lde'u btsan (Trisong Detsen, 742–797), and a direct disciple of Padmasambhava. He was also identified eventually as a divine emanation of Mañjuśrī, the *bodhisattva* of wisdom. Such emanatory identity is common place for great scholars, given Mañjuśrī's traditional function as the patron *bodhisattva* of intellectual and monastic pursuits.

THE EARLY YEARS: SAMYE, SANGPHU, AND NOMADIC YOGIS. Longchen Rabjampa was born on the tenth day of the second month of the earth-monkey year of the fifth sixty-year cycle (Saturday, March 2, 1308). He appears to have been a member of an aristocratic family with strong spiritual associations on both sides of his family, including a paternal ancestor dating back to the imperial period and Padmasambhava's original circle of disciples, namely Rgyal ba mchog dbyangs (Gyelwa Chokyang). It is possible that Longchenpa's sense of himself as possessing a certain social and spiritual heritage with corresponding entitlements may explain the tensions and self-perception in his adult life discussed below.

Longchenpa's early education consisted of studying various rites, ceremonies, and "sciences" (*rig gnas*) such as medicine and astrology with his father. As a teenager, he memorized lengthy texts, and expanded his interest into the study of Tantric texts from both the ancient (*rnying ma*) and modern (*gsar ma*) traditions. At the age of twelve, Longchenpa journeyed to Bsam yas (Samyé), Tibet's first monastery, where he took up the study of monastic discipline. Longchenpa's association with Samyé dates back to his paternal ancestor, Gyelwa Chokyang, who was one the original monks ordained there in the eighth century. His own studies there accompanied by his intellectual brilliance led him to be known later as "the polymath from Samyé," which could also be interpreted as "the recipient of Samyé's many scriptural transmissions."

Among the most significant events in Longchenpa's education as a young adult was his entry into the Sang phu ne'u thog (Sangphu Neutok) monastic college. Sangphu, founded by the translator Ngogs legs pa'i shes rab (Ngok Lekpé Sherap, c. eleventh century), was the preeminent institution for the study of logic and epistemology in Tibet. It was the most important institutional support for the rise of scholastic learning during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and remained a dominant academic seat during Longchenpa's lifetime. His educational focus thus shifted during this time from ritual and meditation to syllogism and philosophy in the form of works by Asaṅga (c. 315–390), Dignāga (c. 480–540), Dharmakīrti (seventh century), and others. By all accounts he excelled in his studies, and it was this seven-year stay at Sangphu that gave him the superb mastery of traditional Buddhist thought that came to be a hallmark of his literary output.

However, Longchenpa's decisive educational experience was the period he spent living and practicing with his principal teacher Kumārāja (Kumārādza, Gzhon nu rgyal po, 1266–1343) during his late twenties. Besides receiving his most important Great Perfection teachings from Kumārāja, Longchenpa was also much influenced by the peripatetic way of life of his followers. The biographical materials mention that Kumārāja and his small band of disciples wandered from place to place, living like virtual nomads, exposed to the elements, living and sleeping in crude sack garments. Such a yogic lifestyle stands in clear contrast to the institutional life of so many Tibetan scholars based in large monasteries, presiding over systematic institutional processes, and often bound up with or even directly wielding political power. This quasi-nomadic lifestyle is also consonant with tropes and metaphors commonly found in Great Perfection literature valorizing space, the absence of boundaries, natural freedom, simplicity, and spontaneity. Hence, this training with his teacher Kumārāja may be understood as a period during which these literary images became associated with vivid sociological experiences connected to specific behaviors and lifestyles for Longchenpa.

TEACHING AND COMPOSITION. After approximately two years living and practicing with his principal *guru* Kumārāja, Longchenpa is said to have been designated as his successor, after which he embarked on a period of intensive teaching and meditation. Thus, during his thirties, Longchenpa emerged as a teacher in his own right and began to pen some of his greatest works. Although Longchenpa's fame as a practitioner and teacher were increasing significantly during this time, he never founded or became affiliated in any significant way with a large religious institution. On the contrary, he apparently preferred the relatively remote hermitage setting of his home monastery called *Gang ri thod dkar* (White-Skull Mountain). It was here that he composed many of his greatest works.

Longchenpa's corpus consists of compilations typically referred to in terms of the number of texts belonging to each compilation. The most famous is undoubtedly *The Seven Treasures* (*Mdzod bdun*), which integrates standard scholasticism with philosophical poetry to offer a systematic survey of Buddhist thought and practice from its earliest phases up to and including the distinctive synthesis of the Seminal Heart. These seven texts as a set are famous among his fellow Nyingmas, as well as other sects, for their philosophical acumen, their systematization of the Great Perfection, and their ability to integrate distinctive Nyingma esoteric traditions with pan-sectarian Buddhist scholastic traditions. *The Wish-Fulfilling Treasury (Yid bzhin mdzod)* and *The Treasury of Philosophical Systems (Grub mtha' mdzod)* focus on the basic Buddhist scholastic systems with modest influence from the Great Perfection. In contrast, *TheTreasury of Words and Meanings (Tshig don mdzod)* and *TheTreasury of the Supreme Vehicle (Theg mchog mdzod)* offer a scholastic treatment of the Seminal Heart in its own right. Finally, *The Treasury of Reality's Expanse (Chos dbyings mdzod)* and *The Treasury of Abiding Reality (Gnas lugs mdzod)* constitute masterpieces of philosophical poetry focused on the Seminal Heart, while *TheTreasury of Esoteric Precepts (Man ngag mdzod)* is a lesser work devoted to lists of precepts.

Longchenpa authored at least six other major compilations, each a trilogy devoted to Nyingma esoteric traditions. *The Trilogy of Resting-at-Ease* (*Ngal gso skor gsum*) and *The Trilogy of Natural Freedom* (*Rang grol skor gsum*) are both lovely root poems around which a variety of other commentarial texts have been associated, all of which center around earlier traditions of the Great Perfection known as "mind series" (*Sems sde*). In contrast, *The Trilogy of Qintessences* (*Yang ti gsum*) constitute three individual compilations of scores of individual works covering the rituals, yogas, history, philosophy, and other areas of the Seminal Heart tradition. These constitute his ritual and yogic masterpieces of the Seminal Heart, in addition to detailed discussions of many other aspects of the tradition. These were integrated with two similar compilations deriving from the older revelations associated with the Indian saint Vimalamitra, and the more recent revelations associated with the Indian saint Padmasambhva to form *The Seminal Heart in Four Parts* (though in fact it has five parts). Thus this famous anthology compiles the two main strands of exegetical literature of the tradition along with Longchenpa's extension and integration. Finally, *The Trilogy of Dispelling Darkness* (*Mun sel skor gsum*) was his masterly commentary on *The Nucleus of Mystery Tantra* (*Gsang ba snying po*; Skt., *Guhyagarbha*), the chief Tantra of the Nyingma tradition and the center of the Mahāyoga corpus. This trilogy was famed not only for its detailed study of the Tantra, but also for its innovative Great Perfection-based reinterpretation of many of its particulars. Longchenpa wrote widely on many other topics, including exoteric Buddhist scholasticism. However, it appears that the vast majority of these compositions have been lost to the ravages of time and the relative lack of concern for exoteric writings by the Nyingma tradition in premodern times.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONFLICT. Longchenpa had a lifelong tendency to remain somewhat in the margins of religious institutions and political powers, and yet he was also explicitly critical of social, political, and religious trends and events in Tibet. We have already seen such tendencies in his nomadic years with his teacher Kumārāja, and his proclivity for the isolated retreat center of White-Skull Mountain. The tendency to social criticism and feeling in conflict with the prevailing social norms was equally evident from his early years. For example, toward the end of his stay at Sangphu, we can see Longchenpa's impatience with what he perceived to be the frivolous behavior of ostensibly religious figures. He came into conflict with a group of scholars from Kham (*Khams*), who appeared to him to be sectarian and of poor moral character. The literary result of his disgust with these scholars was a thirty-line alphabetically arranged poem entitled "The Thirty Letters of the Alphabet" (*Ka kha sum cu*). This bitter but witty work is a savage attack on the dubious conduct of the persons in question, likening them to demons and accusing them of such actions as killing, boozing, and whoring.

The mid-fourteenth century in Tibet was a time of political and social upheaval, yet also a time of consolidation of literary canons and sectarian identity. The sa skya (Sakya) hegemony, together with its Yuan dynasty patrons, was reaching a state of collapse. Religious and regional factions were in open and often violent conflict. Central Tibet in particular was a contested area, with sites like Samyé coming under the control of belligerent factions allied with specific clans and religious sects. Families, politics, and religion were inextricably interwoven throughout the time. Among the prominent competing factions active in Central Tibet at that time were the Sakyapas, the *'Bri gung pa* (Drigungpas), and the Phag mo gru pa (Phakmodrupas), whose leader was Ta'i situ byang chub rgyal mtshan (Tai Situ Jangchub Gyaltsen, 1303–1364). It is roughly during this period that we come upon further literary evidence of Longchenpa's profound antipathy toward these factions and his dissatisfaction with political and religious developments in Central Tibet as he entered a period of political turmoil and even exile during his forties.

Longchenpa's attempts to process his feelings of discontent at the situation in Central Tibet are well documented in a series of didactic narrative poems in which the characters are animals. The plots of several of these narratives revolve around the protagonist—invariably an exalted spiritual personality—being set upon by irreligious forces and being compelled to depart for regions more conducive to religious practice. These stories all take the appearance of a subtle social critique, and convey the impression of being thinly veiled autobiography. Probably the best example is *The Swan's Questions and Answers* (*Ngang pa'i dris lan sprin gyi snying po*). In this work, Longchenpa's perception of himself as an unjustly ostracized pariah is clearly evident, and the references to his specific situation are more explicit than in other examples. The story chronicles a noble swan's flight from the formerly sacred precincts of Samyé to more hospitable environs. The swan in the story is in reality an emanation of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, and is clearly patterned on Longchenpa himself.

From here we must turn briefly to the critical issue of Longchenpa's relationship with Tai Situ Jangchup Gyaltsen, who was the leading political figure in Tibet during the latter years of Longchenpa's life. Not only was he a key figure behind many of the trends in Tibet that Longchenpa found so problematic, but in fact the two came into direct conflict in the 1350s. Jangchup Gyaltsen and the clan he led, the Phakmodrupas, were in constant conflict with various other competing groups throughout most of the early fourteenth century. Among the more prominent of the competing groups were the religious factions of the Sakyapas and the Drigungpas. Longchenpa, while no fan of the increasing military presence in Central Tibet, became implicated in a bitter feud between the leader of the Drigungpas and the leader of the Phakmodrupas, that is, Jangchup Gyaltsen. Jangchup Gyaltsen reportedly came to view Longchenpa as a significant enemy, to the extent that he tried to have him assassinated. This conflict, together with all his other frustrations and disappointments, eventually led Longchenpa to flee to Bhutan in approximately 1353.

FINAL YEARS IN BHUTAN AND TIBET. Longchenpa was reportedly very active during his time in Bhutan, establishing and renovating many monasteries and retreat facilities. He taught widely, and is credited with reviving the fortunes of the Nyingma and Great Perfection traditions in that region. He composed several important texts there, very likely including *The Treasury of Abiding Reality.* His home base was the famous Thar pa gling (Tharpa Ling) monastery, still standing today in Bumthang. He also fathered at least one son with a nun during his stay in Bhutan, indicating that his monastic vows either lapsed at some point or that he viewed his realization as enabling the integration of monastic vows and sexual activity. During this period of exile, Longchenpa received numerous visitors from Tibet who encouraged him to return to Central Tibet. Eventually, a reconciliation between Longchenpa and Jangchub Gyaltsen was negotiated by Sangs rgyas dpal (Sangyepel), such that Jangchub Gyaltsen invited Longchenpa to return to Tibet, made offerings to him, and received Tantric initiations and other teachings from him. In fact, there is a tradition that Longchenpa's most famous epithet (*klong chen rab 'byams pa*, "infinite open space") was given to him by Jangchup Gyaltsen himself, although the veracity of this story is uncertain. Although we have no definite dates for Longchenpa's sojourn in Bhutan, it may have lasted from roughly 1353 to 1360.

In 1363, when he was fifty-six years old, Longchenpa took ill, and began to prepare for his eventual passing by composing his final testaments (*zhal chems*). Finally, late in that same year, Longchenpa had a series of visions and gave his final advice to his disciples. His hagiographies describe his death in terms typical for a saint, specifying that he entered a state of deep meditation, and manifested many miraculous signs such as rainbows, earthquakes, and showers of flowers in his final hours and for twenty-five days following his death.

INFLUENCE: BOOKS, FUTURE LIVES, AND VISIONS. Religious influence in Tibet can be measured on many registers, but a useful fourfold measure is to consider the institutional, literary, intellectual, incarnational, and visionary impact a figure has after his death. Measured by institutional standards, Longchenpa had minimal impact on his own school, much less on Tibetan Buddhism as a whole. He offered no new institutional models, his disciples were not particularly vigorous in founding new monasteries and temples, and his institutional legacy was limited to modest sites such as the retreat center White-Skull Mountain and the temple in Bumthang. It appears that a family lineage did persist over the centuries in Bhutan from his offspring there.

Longchenpa's most significant contribution is undoubtedly in the intellectual and literary domains, where he is a towering figure historically both within the Nyingma tradition, and outside it in other traditions. Curiously, however, he did not spawn a cottage industry in exegetical literature directly commenting on his work, quite in contrast to many of the other great Tibetan philosophical authors. The reason for this lacuna is twofold. Firstly, Longchenpa's impressive range of scholarly expertise and philosophical nuance in the exoteric traditions remained unusual in Nyingma traditions until the last few centuries. Secondly, ongoing revelation remained a dominant influence in subsequence centuries among Nyingma lineages, and its historical focus on the imperial past discouraged the development of exegesis of post-imperial Tibetan authors. Despite this absence of direct commentarial literature, Longchenpa's influence was pervasive, even if mediated through vision and the explicit citation often thus sublimated. His impact on Great Perfection traditions can already be seen in the revelations of Rig 'dzin rgod ldem (Rinzin Godem, 1337–1409), or in the later revelations of 'Jigs med gling pa (Jikmé Lingpa, 1729/30–1798). In addition, his masterly synthesis of esoteric Nyingma traditions with mainstream Buddhist scholasticism was the inspiration for the Mipham's later extensive corpus of exoteric writings, which undergirds much of the Eastern Tibetan ecumenical movement *(ris med)*, and forms the most important basis for the modern monastic curriculum of Nyingma institutions. Over time he thus achieved renown within and without the Nyingma tradition as its greatest intellectual.

Longchenpa never spawned a clear incarnational institution of his own rebirths, not surprising given his contentious relationship with institutions. Incarnational lines known as "tulku" (*sprul sku)*, literally "emanated bodies," of course refer to the phenomenon in Tibet of religious personages being identified after death in young children believed to be their rebirths, and to whom the previous life's title, position, and property were transmitted. This institution of cross-life inheritance was naturally bound up with monastic institutions, which had the institutional resources, memory, and record keeping to maintain such incarnational lines. Longchenpa's failure to found his own large monastic institution almost guaranteed the lack of such an incarnational heritage. There were of course various figures identified as, or claiming to be, his incarnation, right into the present—the most famous being the Bhutanese Pad ma gling pa (Pema Lingpa, 1450–1521)—but none of these crystallized into a high-profile and continuous series of incarnations in the way of, say, the Karma pa or Dalai Lama incarnational lines. In contrast, Longchenpa has had a highly successful visionary career since his death, and his presence in visions and dreams has become a pervasive feature among Nyingma scholars and yogis. The most important of these is undoubtedly the famous visions experienced by Jikmé Lingpa, which were crucial to his revelation of the Great Sphere (*"longchen"*) of the Seminal Heart in the eighteenth century. This cycle came to be the dominant Great Perfection ritual cycle right into the present, and while perhaps subliminal, the use of the term *longchen* in its title is obviously deeply resonant of Longchenpa's own centrality in the tradition overall.

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KNEES. The knees have long been closely associated with religious attitudes of penitence, prayer, surrender, and humility. In the Near East since ancient times kneeling has sometimes been connected with prostration; Islam developed full prostration as the climax of a cycle of postures that includes a combined sitting and kneeling position. In ancient Israel, people considered the knees to be associated with the generation of new life and with adoption; thus Bilhah, Rachel's maidservant, bore a child on Jacob's knees (*Gn.* 30:3), for a baby born on a man's knees in biblical times and places was considered legally to be his child. There may be a reflection or survival here of a prehistoric notion of an intimate relationship between the knees and the reproductive process (Onians, 1951, pp. 174–180).

In ancient Rome, adoration at sacred temples included falling to the knees as well as kneeling during supplication and prayer. Romans also knelt when presenting pleas before earthly authorities. In ancient Greece, only women and children knelt before deities. The early Christians practiced kneeling, according to accounts given in the New Testament, and the posture appears to have been inherited directly from earlier Jewish practice. In the Hebrew scriptures, Solomon, Ezra, and Daniel are reported to have knelt at prayer (*1 Kgs.* 8:54, *Ezr.* 9:5, *Dn.* 6:10). It is likely that the ancient Israelites adopted kneeling as a religious posture from other

Near Eastern peoples. Buddhists also kneel, when paying respects at sacred sites, for example.

Kneeling is not the only prayer posture mentioned in the Bible. Standing in prayer is recorded as well (*1 Sm.* 1:26, *Mk.* 11:25, *Lk.* 22:41). In fact, only once in the Gospels is Christ reported to have knelt, namely, on the Mount of Olives before his arrest (*Lk.* 22:41). But the *Acts of the Apostles* depicts both Peter and Paul kneeling in prayer (9:40, 20:36, 21:5), and Paul's great kenotic Christological passage in the *Letter to the Ephesians* ends with this declaration: "In honor of the name of Jesus all beings in heaven, and on earth, and in the world below will fall on their knees, and all will openly proclaim that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father" (2:10–11). The penitential aspect of kneeling was noted in the fourth century by Ambrose: "The knee is made flexible by which the offence of the Lord is mitigated, wrath appeased, grace called forth" (*Hexaemeron* 6.9.74.287).

The early Christians appear to have practiced both standing and kneeling at prayer. Later the Roman Catholic church appears to have encouraged standing for prayer, especially in Sunday congregational worship, but recommended kneeling for penitential and private prayer. Protestantism has emphasized kneeling as the prayer posture above all others, whereas Catholicism has regulated the postures of worship and prayer fairly rigorously, for example prescribing standing on Sundays and festival days and in praise and thanksgiving at all times. During Low Mass, the worshipers kneel except during the reading of the gospel.

Popular Christianity employs a kneeling posture for both supererogatory prayer and adoration. These practices sometimes extend to rather arduous ascending of stairs of shrines on the knees while uttering pious formulas at each step, as at Saint Joseph's Oratory in Montreal, where many supplicants have been healed of crippling afflictions. Cured persons have long left their crutches at this shrine, displayed in the sanctuary like sacred relics. Within the precincts of the Shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico City many pilgrims can be seen approaching the sacred places on their knees. Similar practices can be observed at other Christian holy places in both the Old World and the New.

Kneeling has been practiced not only in the presence of God but also in the presence of royalty in many cultures. The early Roman rulers required the northern Europeans, the Egyptians, and Asian peoples to bend the knee in submission, whereas earlier still Alexander the Great required it of all, declaring himself to be divine. When making supplication, ancient Greeks and Romans are reported to have knelt while kissing the hand of the superior person, at the same time touching his left knee with the left hand. Modern British subjects curtsy and bend the knee when in the presence of their sovereign.

Extreme flexing of the knees was once entailed in the binding of corpses for burial in a fetal position, as has been reported in ethnographical accounts and in reports on prehistoric burials. The reasons are unclear, as it is not certain whether the bent knees were especially significant in themselves. Certainly the corpse's submissive incapacity can at least be conjectured from this position, whether in order to prevent the spirit of the deceased from wandering about and haunting the living or to prepare the deceased for initiation into the secrets of the afterlife, which might possibly have included a ritual symbolism of returning to the fetal position.

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KNOTS. The sacred value attributed to knots throughout human history, and amid the most diverse cultures, has interested historians of religions since the nineteenth century. As products of the activity of tying or binding, knots have usually been studied in the context of the more general phenomenon of sacred bonds. It is not surprising, therefore, that research into the religious value of knots has followed the same general pattern that one finds in the study of binding. In particular, the problems have been formulated in similar terms, similar methods have been employed, and consequently the results obtained have also tended to coincide.

Thus the leading students of the religious significance of binding and bonds have also led the way in the study of knots. Scholars such as James G. Frazer, Isidor Scheftelowitz, Walter J. Dilling, Georges Dumézil, and Mircea Eliade have made important contributions in both areas. In general, these scholars have expended considerable effort on the collection of data that are then subjected to comparative-historical study. Closer examination shows, however, that several quite different methods have been employed. Some scholars have been content with a simple exposition of individual instances of knots in particular cultures (Frazer, Dilling). Others have defined their study in terms of a definite cultural area (Dumézil). Finally, there has been an attempt at a phenomenological analysis of knots aimed at the identification of an archetype of the bond (Eliade). The results obtained by these methods, from Frazer to Eliade, have generally been formulated in exclusively symbolic terms, for the most part in the context of magical beliefs and practices. What has not been adequately studied up to now is the symbolic value that knots may have in the context of everyday life and the wholly secular and functional importance of binding and knots in that context.

Beginning with the work of Frazer at the beginning of the present century, scholars have repeatedly affirmed that the sacred action of tying or untying a knot serves to establish or remove some restraint and that it has either a positive or a negative effect, depending upon the specific circumstances under which it is done and the motives of the person doing it. Countless examples of such symbolic action have been furnished, drawn from both primitive cultures and higher civilizations. Every imaginable type of bond has been analyzed, bonds both concrete (such as are made from string or rope, or again, rings and chains) and abstract. Instances have been provided of knots tied in both public and private rituals as well as in nonritual contexts. Knots are found to be tied by superhuman beings as well as by ordinary mortals, and in the latter case by those who are religiously inspired as well as by those who are not. In all of this description, however, the deeper motives behind such widespread forms of activity have not been sought.

It has long been known that the activity of binding in its various forms has the essential goal of permitting human beings to extend their control over reality. The most striking example consists of the knotted ropes used in many preliterate societies as a means of organizing and storing information. Knots tied into ropes, often of different colors, are used to represent numbers, objects, persons, situations, actions, and so forth. Such knotted ropes are useful in resolving specific problems of a practical nature, because they extend the human ability to count, inventory, register, list, and in general to organize and communicate information. The problems solved in this way are not exclusively secular problems, however. They can often have a decidedly religious aspect. The practical function of such knots, and in fact, of all types of bond, even those of a purely symbolic nature, does not preclude their having a sacred function as well. Indeed, these two functions may exist in a relation of strict complementarity.

In the specific context of the ritual confession of sins, Raffaele Pettazzoni has shown how certain knots combine a symbolic value with the quite concrete purpose of restraining or fixating the sin, so that the guilt associated with it may be more effectively confronted and neutralized. Thus, for example, in preparation for their ritual journey in search of the sacred *hikuri* (a cactus used in a festival), the Huichol of Mexico require that each person making the trip indicate the number of his lovers by tying the appropriate number of knots in a rope, which is then destroyed by fire. A similar operation is performed by the women who remain at home. The Zapotec symbolically knot up the sins of the year by tying blades of grass together two by two, soaking them in the blood of the penitent, and then offering them to a superhuman being. In ancient Babylonia, one finds the idea of sin as a knot that has to be undone by various divinities, such as Nergal, "lord of the untying." In Vedic India, it is the god Varuna who captures the guilty with his knotted lasso. In the Shinto purification ritual, a piece of paper (*katashiro*) is cut out by the penitent, bound in bundles of wicker, and thrown into the flames.

The calculation of sacred and profane time can also be managed through the use of knots tied into a rope at set intervals. A mere glance at such a rope is enough to allow a person to comprehend a situation and act appropriately. Martin P. Nilsson has shown how various primal cultures use such ropes for measuring the duration of menstrual impurity (for example, the Nauru of the Gilbert Islands), the period during which justice should be administered (the Gogo of Tanzania), the period during which intertribal dances should be prepared (the Miwok of California), or the days to be dedicated to the celebration of a great festival (the Melanesians of the Solomon Islands).

In all these cases, knots are used to control a reality that is itself abstract, fluctuating, evanescent. Guilt, time, or fate itself, by being concretized in a knot, comes under the control of the person who ties it and who thereby resolves a given situation. But it is not only determinate problems that can be resolved through the use of knots and the control they give. The complexities of an entire empire can be made manageable thanks to the use of knotted ropes. This was the case in pre-Columbian Peru, where the use of knotted ropes called *quipu* as instruments for keeping records was essential for the orderly functioning of the Inca Empire. The use of the *quipu* made it possible for the *quipu-camayoc* (keeper of the *quipu*) to manage the enormous mass of data collected by local officials and thereby keep tabs on the complex economic and military situation of the empire.

Moreover, in every period, in the most diverse types of civilization, technology strives not only to gain control over the world but also to enhance human creativity by providing humankind with new tools with which to confront life's difficulties. The fabrication of such implements, however, involves the binding, weaving, and knotting together of the most diverse materials. It is precisely the enormous importance of the technology of binding that stands behind the transposition of all its means and forms from the mundane to the sacred. Forms of transposition that are particularly widespread include the attribution of extraordinary value and power to knots in magical rites; the creation of the type of the "god who binds," armed with ropes, lassos, and nets; and above all, the development of the majestic conception of a universe created by means of the art of weaving.

In this regard, Eliade's concept of the woven cosmos requires further development. Eliade's study of the symbolism of knots went beyond the study of knots per se to investigate those cases in which the universal order is believed to be produced by various types of tying and weaving, in much the same way as one would produce a rope, a chain, or a net.

Among the Babylonians, for example, the *markasu* (rope) was both the cosmic principle that unites all things and the divine power or law that provides the framework for the universe. Similarly, the Vedic *prāṅa* (breath) was believed to have woven human life (*Atharvaveda* 10.2.13), while *vayu* (air) bound all beings to each other like a thread (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 3.7.2). In China, the Dao, which was the ultimate principle of the universe, was described as the chain of all creation. Now it is precisely comparisons from the history of religions that teach that a motif of this type, far from being the distillate of an extremely sophisticated philosophical thought, is in fact an image of great antiquity, sinking its roots beneath the higher civilizations into the traditional patrimony of primitive peoples.

Indeed, the conception of creation as a whole—both the cosmic order and humanity's place within it—as the product of some type of binding activity, whether of knotting, tying, twining, or weaving, is quite widespread. One finds, for instance, in the origin myths of several primal cultures the conception of the creator as a spider who weaves the universe just as a normal spider weaves its web. Similarly, specific forms of ropes or bonds are sometimes assigned cosmic functions. The rainbow, for example, can be interpreted as the belt with which the supreme being fastens his robe, as among the western Galla. Among the Witóto of Colombia, the "thread of a dream" binds together a creation that is believed to emerge out of nothingness. The Maidu of south-central California believe that a superhuman being once descended beneath the waters to procure the soil needed for creation by means of a rope woven of feathers. The Nootka of Vancouver Island and the Polynesians of Hoa Island relate that the light of the sun, having taken on the form of a basket, is lowered down to the earth by means of a rope. In a similar vein, the cosmogonic myths of various peoples of California tell of how, in a primordial epoch, the sea was put into a wicker container (the Salina), the world was sewn together like a small, tarred reed basket (the Yuki), or the entire universe took shape through the patient work of weaving as though it were a knotted mat (the Wintu).

In this cosmos, structured and woven like fabric, the creator taught human beings to tie fibers to make ropes and lassos. In this way the wild and unruly clouds were captured and humans began to exert a degree of control over the climate (the Wintu). Similarly, bindings were used to control the sun at the time of origin of the universe, when it was either too hot or too cold, and therefore threatened humans, animals, and plants. The sun, caught in a trap like a lynx (the Chipewyan), half-tied like a slipknot (the Montagnais-Naskapi, the Alonquian Cree, the Ciamba of Nigeria), and captured in snares of various types (the Pende of the Kongo and the natives of the Gazelle Peninsula, Oceania, and Melanesia, as well as others), was forced to diminish or strengthen its rays, change its course, and settle into what must henceforth be its proper path. Neither could the moon avoid being caught with a rope and receiving thereby the spots that would forever mark it (the Naskapi). As for the stars, they are so high because one day the vine woven between earth and sky was cut in two (the Boróro of the Mato Grosso).

In this universe, variously knotted, tied, and woven, the differentiation of animals and humans likewise was the result of binding. When the rope that had permitted access to the celestial sphere was broken, the animals tumbled hopelessly to earth (the Boróro). And once on earth, their existence was determined by the activity of binding. The armadillo, for example, set about weaving the "shirt" that would belong to it, and it is because it hurried too much and tied stitches of unequal size, now small and thick, now large and broad, that it looks the way it does today (the Aymara of Bolivia). The trout, for its part, while still in the hands of its creator felt drawn to its own fate so that it lamented and despaired, crying out for a net in which it could make its first appearance on earth (the Athapascan-speaking Kato).

As for human beings, bonds characterize their very existence in the details of their own body and in the countless components of the human condition. The Pomo of north-central California relate that Marunda created the first humans by weaving and knotting together his own hair, while among the Melanesians of the island of Mota this usage is associated with an archetypal woman named Ro Vilgale ("deceptive bond") who is created from twigs, branches, and leaves woven and knotted together, much like the masks of a Melanesian secret society in historical times. Alternatively, primordial man may descend to earth by means of a skein let down from the sky (the Toba Batak of Indonesia) or a rope (the Carisi of Brazil, the natives of Belau [Palau]). The breaking of this rope, sometimes due to the clumsiness of the person who wove it, brings about human mortality (the Keres of New Mexico, the natives of Belau), and the resulting fall causes the articulation of the human body into joints or knots (the Carisi). In order to cover human nakedness, the superhuman beings who preside over weaving gave these first humans cotton and taught them to spin and to weave (the Caduveo of South America, the Ifugao of the Philippines). To provide them with various necessities, they also taught them the art of weaving wicker (the Pomo).

At a certain point, however, humans themselves became capable of using bonds to improve their own economic condition by capturing superhuman beings and forcing them to yield to their demands. A myth from Namoluk Island (Micronesia) tells how certain spirits, captured with a net, taught the cultivation of taro to those who until then had lived exclusively on fish. Stories are also told among numerous cultures of humanity's rescue from various cataclysms by means of specific products of binding: the net of the spider (the Pomo), a basket (the Wiyot of Algonquin language), and so on.

From this brief survey, it should be clear that knots and other types of bonds need to be studied not only in historical perspective but also in relation to the technology of the culture in question. Behind the motif of knots is found the exaltation of *homo faber,* who redeems himself from the infinite miseries and multitudinous limitations of his existential condition precisely by means of his ability to bind things together. It is he who catches spirits in nets, weaves the rope that permits him to live on earth, sets snares and traps in order to capture the stars and fix them in their course, weaves the basket in which he saves himself from the flood—in short, spins and weaves the mortal condition. In his full appreciation of manual ability as a creative force, in his elevation of this creativity to the cosmogonic level, and in his sublimation of his own work by means of implements and tools capable of controlling reality, humankind proves itself capable of binding and loosening the entangling and knotty problems that fill his existence: He shows himself to be the uncontested artificer of his own fate.

SEE ALSO Binding; Labyrinth; Webs and Nets.

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Translated from Italian by Roger DeGaris
Revised Bibliography

KNOWLEDGE AND IGNORANCE.

A cognitive element is essential to most religions and probably to all, but exactly what constitutes religious knowledge is problematic. Strong belief, for example, may be subjectively indistinguishable from knowledge. In a 1984 BBC interview, Billy Graham asserted that he *knows* there is to be a second coming of Christ. At a lecture, the Hindu scholar Swami Bon declared that "transmigration is not a dogma, it is a fact." This article will examine the various and conflicting conceptions of religious knowledge that have emerged in the major traditions through history.

PRIMAL PEOPLES. "It appears," Dominique Zahan has written, "that every religion, however primitive, contains a cognitive element" ("Religions de l'Afrique noire," *Histoire des religions* 3, 1976, p. 609). In primal religions, according to Åke Hultkranz, religious knowledge rests on a fundamental division of experience: "A basic dichotomy between two levels of existence, one orderly or 'natural'—the world of daily experience—the other extraordinary or 'supernatural'—the world of belief—conditions man's religious cognition" (Hultkranz, 1983, pp. 231, 239). The world of belief is in turn divided into that of the sorcerer and that of the magician. "They are opposed to one another on the plane of knowledge and wisdom, as a tortuous, obscure knowledge full of contradictions and uncertainties, over against a clear knowledge, imbued with evidence and conforming to the logic of a thought at the service of the community" (ibid., p. 632).

More simply, though, the world of belief may be identified with the invisible. As the Kiowa Indian N. Scott Momaday has said, "We see the world as it appears to us, in one dimension of reality. But we also see it with the eye of the mind" (ibid., p. 248). A slightly different note is struck by an Eskimo woman: "You always want the supernatural things to make sense, but we do not bother about that. We are content not to understand" (ibid., p. 247).

INDIA. In India a cognitive element is conspicuous in the whole tradition that sprang or claimed to spring from the Veda. The *Ṛgveda* already comprised some speculative hymns, and the Brāhmaṇas were essentially an interpretation of ritual by means of myth. Finally, in the Upaniṣads, ritual itself gives way to speculation: Salvation is achieved through recognizing one's identity with the essence of the universe, the *brahman.*

In classical Brahmanism, philosophy is a mere rationalization of the Vedic revelation (Biardeau, 1964). Contrary to what happened in both Christianity and Islam owing to the clash of two different traditions, in Brahmanism no distinction was made between philosophy and theology. But in Hinduism there was always "a deep-seated tension between the ascetic ideal as personified in the holiness of the *śramaṇa* and the ideal or ritual propriety for the ordinary believer" (Bendix, 1960, p. 192). One of three or four approaches to this tension was *jñānayoga* ("the way of knowledge"), which held that even a good action, because it is connected with ignorance (*avidyā*), can only produce the fruit of all attachment to things and beings, namely, reincarnation. In the Nyāya ("logic") school, there is finally only one mode of knowledge, that of perception, but in certain circumstances contact with the external senses is not required: Contact between *ātman* ("soul") and *manas* ("inner sense") is sufficient. Natural and revealed knowledge are on the same plane: "The gods, the men and the animals make use of the [revealed] means of right knowledge, and there is no other" (*Nyāyabhāṣya* 1.1.17).

Concepts of nondualism and *brahman* have long had precise meanings in India. Both refer to a mystical doctrine of salvation through knowledge: As the Veda is endowed with the ontological fecundity of the *brahman,* so the latter is, in turn, the spring of all knowledge. In the Sāṃkhya school the most fatal attitude is nescience, or nondiscrimination between *puruṣa* (spectator spirit) and *prakṛti* (creative energy): This failure to discriminate is *avidyā* ("ignorance"), which keeps one in the bonds of the cycle of transmigration. But if language speaks only of things in themselves, it cannot express becoming, or change, Bhaṛtrhari objects, and he finds a way out of this difficulty not by suppressing permanence, as did the Buddhists, but by allowing thought to transcend perception without relinquishing being. He eventually does away with the authority of perception and relies only on interior revelation, which is essentially religious and nonrational. Bhaṛtrhari does not mention *avidyā* or *māyā* ("illusion"), which will be the pivots of Vedantic thought. Vedāntism—the further development of Brahmanism—cannot be understood without reference to Buddhism.

BUDDHISM. The teachings of the Buddha presupposed a high level of schooling among his disciples: There were systematic, dispassionate discussions in which appeal was made to the intellect, in contrast to the popular similes, ironical retorts, and emotional preaching of Jesus or the visionary messages of Muḥammad (Bendix, 1960, p. 192). Buddhism is based on an illumination (*bodhi*) experienced by Śākyamuni. Its object was expressed in the form of a chain of causes and effects (Skt., *pratītya-samutpāda;* Pali, *paṭicca-samuppāda*). The list given in the *Mahānidāna Sutta* comprises only nine links, ending in (or starting from) *viññāṇa* ("consciousness"), without ignorance being mentioned. Not so in the *Mahāvagga,* which counts twelve terms, starting from *avijjā* ("ignorance"), in the chain of psychic formations, a notion parallel to that in Brahmanism where, unlike the Buddhist understanding, pure being shrouds itself, out of ignorance, in psychic formations. Essentially the Buddhist message is this: Living is suffering, suffering stems from desire, and desire from *avidyā.* In order to be delivered one should vanquish ignorance and obtain wisdom, mystical lucidity (Pali, *paññā;* Sanskrit, *prajñā*), also called *āryaprajñā* ("noble knowledge"), which produces extinction, *nirvāṇa.* But, contrary to what is taught in Brahmanism, this knowledge implies the negation of all permanence, of all substance, of *ātman* as well as of *brahman,* the two terms whose equation was the foundation of the Brahmanic doctrine. This is the view of Hīnayāna Buddhism.

Mahāyāna Buddhism refines this negative position. The perfection of wisdom, *prajñāpāramitā,* does not give omniscience by providing a foundation of knowledge: The very lack of such a foundation constitutes omniscience, which is the revelation of emptiness. Still, there are two degrees of this revelation. According to the Vijñānavādins, pure thought is an absolute to which all things are reduced, while the Mādhyamikas go one step further: For them the doctrine of emptiness is itself emptiness (Bugault, 1968, p. 48). The effort toward knowledge results in nonknowledge, nescience.

According to Asanga, *prajñā* is only obtained subsequent to *dhyāna* ("appeased, introverted concentration"; in Chinese *chan,* in Japanese *zen*) and is a sort of *noēsis* without *noēta* (ibid., p. 41). *Prajñā* and *dhyāna* are like the two sides of a coin. *Dhyāna* concentrates; *prajñā* liberates. Supreme knowledge, *bodhi,* is only the realization that there is nothing to comprehend. This kind of knowledge would seem to be tantamount to sheer ignorance, but it is not, for then "the deaf, the blind and the simpletons would be saints" (*Majjhima Nikāya* 3.498). It must be remembered that Buddhism arose amid ascetics who practiced control of the senses, of breath, even of blood circulation—and of thought. In Chinese Buddhism, the direct approach of Huineng (seventh to eighth century) to sudden awakening rejected all distinctions between enlightenment and ignorance.

VEDĀNTA. The ruin of Brahmanic ontology under the assault of Hinayana Buddhism had resulted in Hinayana positivism, which led to the Mahāyāna doctrine of absolute emptiness. This in turn brought about in Brahmanism Vedantism, a return to ontology on the basis of *avidyā* ("nescience"), as formulated by its first major exponent, Śaṅkara, in the eleventh century. The idea of the ego is produced by nescience; so are, in their literal sense, the Vedic texts. Nescience is the cause of all error, of suffering and of evil. *Brahman* is the only true object of knowledge, to which the soul goes back by exercising nescience. Substituting the word *nirvāṇa* for the word *brahman* would result in a perfect formula of Buddhist orthodoxy. But Rāmānuja (twelfth century), the second important exponent of Vedantism, went one step further. He admits, not unlike Śaṅkara, that subject, object, and the act of knowledge are only arbitrary distinctions created by *avidyā,* that the chain of acts is only a trick of nescience, and that salvation consists in the cessation of nescience through knowledge of *brahman,* which is accessible in the Veda. But this is transcendent knowledge, an intuitive revelation only made possible in a mystical union with *brahman,* which is also conceived as the universal lord. "He who possessing knowledge untiringly strives and is devoted to me only, to him I am infinitely dear and he is dear to me" (*Bhagavadgītā,* 7.17).

Rāmānuja also restored to the individual soul its reality and substantiality. Whereas in the Upaniṣads and the teachings of Śaṅkara the divinity was conceived as sheer consciousness, in medieval Hinduism, whether Vaiṣṇava or Śaiva, it becomes a force in action, a sovereign energy. And knowledge must be fulfilled in *bhakti,* that is, unrelenting love of God. Rāmānuja refutes the notion of *avidyā* Śaṅkara had inherited from the Buddhists. To assume that the *brahman* necessarily develops into illusory nescience and plurality is to admit that the *brahman* itself is illusory, that ultimate reality is error and lie. This is, he says, to fall into the error of Mādhyamika Buddhism, which is contradicted by the teachings of the Upaniṣads, the *Bhagavadgītā,* and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (Grousset, 1931, p. 391).

DAOISM. Chinese thought, on the whole, aims at culture, not at pure knowledge. In Daoism, humankind falls by acquiring knowledge. Whereas for the Confucians humans learn to use and to improve on nature, for the Daoists this is a profanation of nature: "Banish wisdom, discard knowledge, and the people will be benefited a hundredfold, for it was only when the great Dao declined, when intelligence and knowledge appeared, that the great Artifice began. . . . In the days of old those who practiced Dao with success did not, by means of it, enlighten the people, but on the contrary sought to make them ignorant. The more knowledge people have, the harder they are to rule. Those who seek to rule by giving knowledge are like bandits preying on the land. Those who rule without giving knowledge bring a stock of good fortune to the land" (*Dao de jing*). Daoism is the declared enemy of civilization. Civilization based on knowledge is to be replaced by another kind of knowledge, the intuitive knowledge of Dao, through which humanity becomes the Dao.

THE GREEKS. The notion of Logos in Heraclitus implies that the universe can be known. He was the first philosopher to pose the epistemological problem. Still, for him "questions of cognition are inseparable from questions of action and intention, of life and death. The blindness he denounces is that of men who do not know what they are doing" (Kahn, 1979, p. 100).

The Pythagoreans were divided into acousmatics and mathematicians, the former following the tradition of *fides ex auditu,* the latter following reason and *veritas ex intellectu,* thus already exemplifying, as Léon Brunschwicg noted, the contrast between theosophy and philosophy. With the emergence of philosophy a conflict was bound to arise between reason and religion, between *logos* and *muthos.* It tended to be resolved, for instance by Theagenes of Rhegium (fourth century BCE), through the allegorical interpretation of myths.

In the sixth century BCE Xenophanes ridiculed the anthropomorphism of the myths and emphasized God's spirituality and omniscience. A century later Socrates (according to Xenophon) rejected the study of the world machine, wrought and ruled by the gods, and instead recommended studying human affairs. He equated virtue with knowledge and vice with ignorance (Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 3.9, 4. a; Plato, *Protagoras, Meno,* etc.).

According to Plato, faith, mystical enthusiasm, is but a stage in the pathway to knowledge; the knowledge of God is the soul's marriage with her ideal. Above the Logos, or Reason, is the Nous, or Intellect, the faculty of perceiving the divine, the instrument of contemplation. But the supreme idea, the Good, was raised by Plato beyond both being and knowledge, as the principle of their unity.

Aristotle replaced Plato's *anamnēsis* by abstraction. Humankind is like a mortal god, for it possesses a divine reality, the intellect, capable of knowing God. God, the Unmoved Mover, is *noēsis noēseōs.* This still reflects the primacy of the intellect and implies superiority of contemplation over any other way of life.

The Cynics reacted against the almost unlimited confidence in education as a means to form and transform man that had prevailed in Athens since the time of the Sophists. Virtue, said Antisthenes, lies in action and has no need of many discourses or of science. But the saying attributed to him by Diogenes Laertius (6.103) that "if one were wise, one would not learn to read, lest one should be corrupted by other people," is probably an exaggeration of his position.

For the Stoics the human intellect is not only akin to God, it is part of the divine substance itself. They appealed to Heraclitus, but their Logos was not, like his, simply a principle of explanation. It probably owed much to the notion of the commanding word, *davar,* which in Hebrew expressed the divine will.

In the Platonic tradition, according to Philo Judaeus, the human intellect is the source of, on the one hand, perception, memory, and reaction to impulses; on the other hand, as *apospasma theion* ("divine fragment"), it makes possible suprarational intuition.

THE HEBREWS. To the Hebrews, knowing was less a logical, discursive process than a direct psychological experience, less the expression of objective truths than a personal engagement. (The Hebrew for "to know," *yadaʿ,* signifies sexual intercourse.) Knowledge of the law was the basis of the moral life. In the *Book of Genesis,* however, a negative appraisal of knowledge was reflected in the story of the Fall: Evil and death entered the world through humanity's "knowledge of good and evil." The myth resembles the Daoist one in which the loss of happiness results from the acquisition of knowledge.

In Israel, however, this conception remained isolated and, perhaps, misunderstood, over against the more widespread feeling that knowledge is from God, who "teaches man knowledge" (*Ps.* 94:10) and, in the Qumran texts, is even called "God of knowledge," and "source of knowledge." Such a notion also prevails in Jewish apocalyptic literature (Gruenwald, 1973, p. 63). Finally, skepticism is not absent from the Bible; *Ecclesiastes* expresses skepticism but compensates for it by adherence to authority.

EARLY CHRISTIANITY. The role of knowledge in the Christian faith has varied considerably. Its importance was already recognized by Paul the apostle, who considered it the supreme virtue: ". . . after I heard of your faith . . . and love . . . [I prayed] that . . . God . . . may give unto you the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of him" (*Eph.* 1:15–18; cf. *Col.* 2:2), which agrees with the educational ideal of a Jewish doctor of the law and with the mystical aspiration of apocalyptic; however, the ultimate object of knowledge, the love of Christ, "passeth knowledge" (*Eph.* 3:19), and Paul conformed to the specific Christian ideal when, addressing the Corinthians, he put charity above everything: "and though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could move mountains, and have no love, I am nothing" (*1 Cor.* 13:2); "knowledge puffeth up, love edifieth" (*1 Cor.* 8:1).

Only John attempts a synthesis of love and knowledge: "for love is of God, and every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God" (*1 Jn.* 4:7). And in the prologue of the Fourth Gospel he identifies Jesus himself with the Logos. Contact with paganism, however, had already brought about in Paul a completely different reaction: "But we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling block, and unto the Greeks foolishness" (*1 Cor.* 1:23). A conflict between natural wisdom and revealed truth thus developed in Christianity and later, parallel to it, in Islam. On the other hand, Justin Martyr, the first Christian apologist, headed a long series of authors for whom the Christian revelation was the culmination of a more ample one that would include the thought of the pagan philosophers, also Christian in its own way because it came from the Word (Logos), and Christ was the Word incarnate.

GNŌSIS. In the second century, when Plutarch, with his Platonic use of myth, bore witness to philosophy's overture toward mysticism and to the challenge of the primacy of the Logos, people were seeking to attain through revelation a kind of knowledge allowing union with God. There ensued a heated dialogue between faith (*pistis*) and intellectual knowledge (*gnōsis*), the latter already suspect to Paul (*1 Tim.* 6:20: *pseudonumos gnōsis*). Thus arose two conceptions of the knowledge accessible to the Christian: The one (*gnōsis*) is to replace faith; the other submits to faith in order to fathom its mystery. Gnosticism "traces back the origin of the world to an act of ignorance, the removal of which through knowledge is the aim of the Gnostic doctrine of redemption" (Rudolph, 1983, p. 71). The element earth has been produced by horror, water by fear, air by pain; within those three elements there is fire, a vehicle of death and destruction, as within the three passions is hidden ignorance (Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 1.5.4).

Jewish apocalyptic contributed to gnosticism by its new idea of knowledge as a religious ideal (Gruenwald, 1973, p. 104), but the gnostics, according to Celsus, called the god of the Jews the "accursed god" because he created the visible world and withheld knowledge from humans (Rudolph, 1983, p. 73). According to various gnostic texts the "tree of knowledge" imparts to Adam his appropriate godlike status over against the lower creator god, who prohibited the enjoyment of this tree out of envy. The serpent functions at the behest of the highest god for Adam's instruction, and thus has a positive task (ibid., p. 94). According to Irenaeus, however, mundane knowledge is to be rejected (*Against Heresies* 2.32.2). And according to Hippolytus, God will extend the great ignorance to all the world, so that each creature will remain in its natural condition and no one will desire anything against nature.

Direct information about gnosticism is available thanks to the discovery in Upper Egypt of the Nag Hammadi Coptic manuscripts. *Gnōsis* is a hidden, esoteric knowledge. One of the tractates bears the significant title *The Interpretation of Knowledge.* The *Gospel of Truth* states that "ignorance of the Father brought about anguish and terror. And the anguish grew solid like a fog so that no one was able to see. For this reason error became powerful; it fashioned its own matter" (Robinson, 1977, p. 38). In the *Gospel of Thomas:* "The Pharisees and the scribes have taken the keys of knowledge and hidden them. They themselves have not entered" (ibid., p. 122). In the *Authoritative Teaching:* "Even the Pagans give charity, and they know that God exists . . . but they have not heard the word" (ibid., p. 282). The God of this world is evil and ignorant, according to *The Second Treatise of the Great Seth.* In contrast, the Logos "received the vision of all things, those which preexist and those which are now and those which will be" (ibid., p. 77). Further: "The invisible Spirit is a psychic and intellectual power, a knowledgeable one and a foreknower" (ibid., p. 383). The function or faculty by means of which *gnōsis* is brought about is personified: It is Epinoia, a transformation of Pronoia, or Providence (*Apocryphon of John*). The world, on the contrary, was created through the union of Ialdabaoth, the demiurge, with Aponoia, the negative counterpart of Ennoia and a symbol of his intellectual blindness.

Knowledge liberates: "The mind of those who have known him shall not perish" (ibid., p. 52); The "thought of Norea" is the knowledge necessary for salvation. The *Testimony of Truth* contrasts knowledge with empty hopes for martyrdom and a fleshly resurrection. The tractate *Marsanes* speaks of the rewards of knowledge. But knowledge is not sufficient: According to the *Apocryphon of John,* Christ is sent down to save humanity by reminding people of their heavenly origin. Only those who possess this knowledge and have lived ascetic lives can return to the realm of light. In fact, says the *Testimony of Truth,* "No one knows the God of truth except the man who will forsake all of the things of the world."

In sum, "Gnosis is not a 'theology of salvation by nature,' as the heresiologists caricature it; it is rather thoroughly conscious of the provisional situation of the redeemed up to the realization of redemption after death." (Rudolph, 1983, p. 117). Similarly, in Mandaean religion (Manda d-Hiia, literally "knowledge of life"), a gnostic sect that survives to the present day in Iraq, knowledge alone does not redeem: The cultic rites, primarily baptism and the "masses for the dead," are necessary for salvation.

But God, according to the gnostics, is the incomprehensible, inconceivable one, who is superior to every thought, "who is over the world," "the one who is ineffable," "the unknowable" (Robinson, 1977, pp. 209, 213, 411).

GREEK FATHERS. In the third century Clement of Alexandria, "with his conscious use of the concept *gnōsis* for the Christian knowledge of truth, attempts to overcome the breach between faith and knowledge in the Church and not to remain stuck in a mere denial of the claims of the 'false' gnosis" (Rudolph, 1983, p. 16). "Should one say," he writes in *Stromateis* 2.4, "that knowledge is founded on demonstration by a process of reasoning, let him hear that the first principles are incapable of demonstration. . . . Hence, it is thought that the first cause of the universe can be apprehended by faith alone." But Clement's God is as unknowable as that of Plato or Philo Judaeus, who placed him above being. This is also the position of Plotinus, a contemporary of Clement.

In the fourth century at Antioch John Chrysostom wrote on God's incomprehensibility. According to Gregory of Nazianzus God's existence can be inferred from the order of the world, but we cannot know what he is. The motto of Theodoret of Cyrrhus (fourth to fifth century) was "first believe, then understand."

The Desert Fathers, in their simplicity, sometimes resented the intrusion of more sophisticated views from Alexandria or, later, from Cappodocia. In contrast to the newly converted intellectuals who were bringing to Christianity the aristocratic tradition of the pagan teachers, monachism reaffirmed, as the Franciscans were to do in the thirteenth century, the primacy of the unsophisticated, one of the essential teachings of the Gospels. *Libido sciendi* and excessive pretension to wisdom were regarded as temptations of the devil just as were sensuality or ambition. (Brunschwicg, [1927] 1953, p. 107).

In the sixth century a gnostic tendency expressed already in the *Gospel of Philip* was developed by Dionysius the Areopagite, who applied to God all the names the scriptures give him (affirmative theology), but only in order to afterward deny them (negative or apophatic theology). God is beyond affirmation or negation; he is a superbeing (superlative theology). The world is a theophany, the only means of knowing its author. Universal illumination is an immense circulation of love. Knowledge is above every affirmation or negation. This is the mystical ignorance, the supreme degree of knowledge. The other kinds of knowledge are defective, this one is superabundant.

To Maximos the Confessor (seventh century), man in his progress toward God through knowledge only ascends back, in a movement opposite to his fall, toward the eternal idea of himself that, as his cause, has never ceased to exist in God.

LATIN FATHERS. Among the Latin church fathers in the second and third centuries Tertullian (like Tatian among the Greeks) radically opposed philosophy. He wrote that the desire for knowledge leads to faith. This is perhaps rather simple, but not quite the same as the motto often attributed to him: "Credo quia absurdem."

The Platonic tradition survived and in the fourth and fifth centuries produced the philosophy of Augustine of Hippo, who after hoping to proceed through Manichaeism from reason to faith, always maintained the necessity of the preparatory role of reason but held that reason had also another role to play, subsequent to faith. Thus: "Intellige ut credas, crede ut intelligas." All one's knowledge stems from one's sensations, which, however, do not teach one the truths. This is done by something in one that is purely intelligible, necessary, motionless, eternal: a divine illumination. To know oneself (as Socrates recommended) is to recognize an image of God, therefore to know God.

ISLAM. Muḥammad's message presents itself as knowledge, so much so that the times preceding his coming are called the Jāhilīyah ("state of ignorance"). The same idea is found in *Acts of the Apostles* 17:30: "And the times of this ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men everywhere to repent." Islam initiated the times of illumination and right knowledge. But when the Muslims encountered the Greek philosophical heritage through Syriac texts, the problem of the relationship between philosophy and the Qurʾanic tradition was bound to arise. Some Muslims quoted the Prophet in support of their contention that speculation was one of the duties of the believers; others, on the contrary, maintained that faith should be obedience, not knowledge.

As related in the Jewish philosopher Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed,* "when the Muḥammadans began to translate the writings of the Greek philosophers from the Syriac into the Arabic, they likewise translated the criticisms of those philosophers by such Christians as John Philoponus, the commentator of Aristotle" (Gilson, 1937, p. 39). Al-Kindī (ninth century) seems to have found in Philoponus the germ of his notion of a harmony between Greek philosophy and Muslim faith. He suffered under the repression of all philosophical activity ordered by the Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil.

According to Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, a tenth-century physician, only philosophy, especially that of the Greek sages, could lead to happiness. For him, there was no possible reconciliation between philosophy and religion.

"Where the revealed truth is, by hypothesis, absolute truth," writes Étienne Gilson, "the only way to save philosophy is to show that its teaching is substantially the same as that of revealed religion" (1937, p. 37). This was the purpose of al-Ashaʿrī (Baghdad, tenth century), who inaugurated Muslim scholasticism (*kalām*) in the Sunnī tradition, but whose doctrine "is a remarkable instance of what happens to philosophy when it is handled by theologians, according to theological methods, for a theological end" (ibid., p. 39). His contemporary al-Fārābī was a typical representative of the main current in Muslim philosophy: Everything is known through a cosmic agent, the Active Intellect, whose final aim is to enable everyone to know God. Al-Fārābī's tendency culminated in the teachings of the Iranian Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna). AbūḤāmid al-Ghazālī (Iran, eleventh century) turned Aristotle's own weapons against the Aristotelianism of al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā in order to establish religion—accessible only through mystical knowledge—on the ruins of philosophy.

Faith could, in principle, be based either on authority *(taqlīd)* or on knowledge *(ʿilm)* or on the intuition of the mystic *(aʿyān)*. Islamic mysticism seems to have originated in some form of gnosticism, and in the tenth century Neoplatonism was adapted. Twelver Shiism distinguishes, in its epistemology, two parallel series. On the side of external vision are eye, sight, perception, and sun; on the side of internal vision, heart, intelligence *(ʿaql)*, knowledge (*ʿilm*), and active intelligence *(ʿaql faʿʿāl)*. This, so far, is the philosophical approach. The prophetic approach considers as its source the Holy Spirit, Gabriel, the angel of revelation, who is distinct from the Active Intellect. But the two modes of perception ultimately converge. This is due, according to the Twelver Shīʿī theoretician Mullā Ṣadrā Shirāzī (seventeenth century), to the existence and activity, halfway between pure sense perception and pure intellection, of a third faculty of knowledge: creative imagination. (Aside from his Aristotelian theory of passive imagination, Ibn Sīnā held another, "Oriental" one, of active imagination, which was to be developed in Suhrawardī's "philosophy of light").

But to return to al-Ghazālī's destruction of philosophy: "There was bound," writes Gilson, "to appear a philosopher who, on the contrary, endeavored to found philosophy on the ruins of religion" (ibid., p. 35). Such was the Andalusian philosopher Ibn Rushd (Averroës, twelfth century). He distinguished between knowledge accessible to the lower classes and interpretations reserved for the philosophical elite. Philosophy was supreme in attaining absolute science and truth; next came theology, the domain of dialectical interpretation and verisimilitude; at the lowest level, religion and faith were adequate for those who needed them. His adversaries accused him of professing the doctrine of double truth. This, according to Gilson, is inaccurate and unfair. Ibn Rushd maintained only that reason's conclusions are necessary *and* that he adhered to faith's opposite teaching. His Latin followers supported his view that philosophy, when given the liberty to follow its own methods, reaches necessary conclusions that are contradictory to the teachings of religion.

THE SCHOOLMEN. Scholasticism was largely an answer to the challenge of Ibn Rushd (Averroës); it might also be seen, however, as little more than an obstinate endeavor to solve one problem, the problem of universals. The answer was far from unanimous.

Peter Abelard (eleventh to twelfth centuries) always insisted on the continuity between ancient wisdom, based on the natural usage of reason, and Christian wisdom, which, far from destroying the previous, fulfills it. But he soon reached the conclusion that he had no universal ideas. God alone has. Scientific and philosophical skepticism is compensated for by a theological appeal to the grace of God. Anselm of Canterbury (eleventh century) had written, "For I do not seek to understand that I may believe, but I believe in order to understand. For this also I believe, that unless I believed, I should not understand." Hence his motto: "Fides quaerens intellectum."

Hugh of Saint-Victor (twelfth century) wrote that from the beginning God wished to be neither entirely manifest to human consciousness nor entirely hidden. "If He were entirely hidden, faith would indeed not be added unto knowledge, and lack of faith would be excused on the ground of ignorance. . . . It was necessary that He should conceal Himself, lest He be entirely manifest, so that there might be something which through being known would nourish the heart of man, and again something which through being hidden would stimulate it" (*De sacramentis* 1.3.2). Further: "Faith is a form of mental certitude about absent realities that is greater than opinion and less than knowledge" (ibid., 1.10.2).

The position of the Franciscan Bonaventure (thirteenth century), like that of Abelard, was destructive of natural knowledge. This was a difficulty another Franciscan, John Duns Scotus, endeavored to deal with, but his own doctrine was "the death warrant of early Franciscan epistemology" (Gilson, 1937, p. 59).

The Dominican Albertus Magnus and his disciple Thomas Aquinas (who was almost exactly contemporaneous with Bonaventure) vindicated Aristotle's "abstraction" as a way of knowing God against the "divine illumination" of Augustine, Anselm, and Bonaventure, as well as against the Active Intellect of Ibn Rushd. But in an irenic mood Thomas observed that because God is the ultimate cause, his illumination is implied in abstraction also. Faith differs from knowledge in being determined in part by the choice of the believer, and from opinion in being held without misgiving:

> Faith implies intellectual assent to that which is believed, but there are two ways in which the intellect gives its assent. In the first way, it is moved . . . by the object iself . . . as are conclusions which are known scientifically. In the second way, the intellect gives its assent not because it is convinced by the object itself, but by voluntarily preferring the one alternative to the other. (*Summa theologiae* 2.2.1.4)

Commenting on *James* 2:19 ("Even the demons believe—and shudder"), Thomas further writes:

> The demons are, in a way, compelled to believe by the evidence of signs and so their will deserves no praise for their belief as they are compelled to believe by their natural intellectual acumen. (ibid., 2.2.5.2)

Moreover, while philosophy only teaches about God what is known *per creaturas* (Paul, *Rom.* 1:19), theology also teaches, thanks to revelation, "quod notum est sibi soli" ("what only He himself knows"; ibid., 1.6). Thomas's position has been characterized as intellectualist, fideistic, and voluntarist by John Hick (1966), who attempts to refute it.

William of Ockham (fourteenth century), yet another Franciscan, discusses various philosophical problems as if any theological dogma, held by faith alone, could become the source of philosophical and purely rational conclusions. Intuitive knowledge is self-evident. Not so abstractive knowledge. William denies the existence of ideas representing the genera and the species, and this even in God (thus outstripping Abelard). The universal mystery is but a concrete expression of the supreme mystery of God, a position that anticipates Hume's skepticism.

According to Gregory Palamas (fourteenth century), who lived in Constantinople and was thus outside Latin Scholasticism, knowledge acquired through profane education is not only different from but contrary to veritable, spiritual knowledge (*Triads in Defense of the Holy Hesychasts* 1.1.10).

After the breakdown of medieval philosophy, there seemed to be two ways of saving the Christian faith: either to resort, with Petrarch, Erasmus, and others, to the gospel, the fathers of the church, and the pagan moralists, which might lead to the skepticism of Montaigne (who, nevertheless, practiced Catholicism, to the extent of making a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Loretta), or to resort to mysticism. A mystical tide swept over Europe during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Johannes (Meister) Eckhart's God is not simply beyond the reach of human knowledge, but in a truly Neoplatonic manner escapes all knowledge, including his very own: Even if it be true that God eternally expresses himself in an act of self-knowledge, his infinite essence is unfathomable even to himself, for he could not know himself without turning this infinite essence into a definite object of knowledge. "It is only when man reaches that silent wilderness where there is neither Father, nor Son, nor Holy Ghost, that his mystical flight comes to an end, for there lies the source of all that is: beyond God, in the fullness of Godhead" (Gavalda, 1973, p. 111).

Copernicus had put an end to geocentrism, but an accommodation between a newer cosmology and an older theology was nevertheless to prevail for a long time to come: Kepler and others saw the Holy Trinity reflected in the solar system, with the sun as God the Father.

PROTESTANTISM. In reaction to accomodating tendencies within monachism and Scholasticism, Luther loathed philosophy and ancient culture: Reason was "the devil's highest whore"; hence his polemic against Erasmus. Calvin thought that humanity cannot know God in itself, but only as the Lord revealing himself to humans. A Calvinist (as noted by Max Weber), because of his particular view of the relationship between the creator and the creature and of his own "election," would live and work in a certain way: "Puritanism's ethic of trade, which applied to believers and nonbelievers alike, was related to both religious doctrine and pastoral practice. Intense religious education, together with the threat of social ostracism, provided powerful incentives and sanctions" (Reinhard Bendix, *Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait,* Garden City, N. Y., 1960, p. 91).

To combat Protestantism, the Roman Catholic church took an obscurantist stance, forbidding the reading of the Bible in translation, while it also attempted to reinforce its doctrines by the institution of catechism. Ignorance could be considered culpable, and a person could, "like a diseased limb . . . [be] cut off and separated by his ignorance and sin" (Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quixote,* chap. 40). But ignorance could also be an excuse if it be, in terms of Catholic theology, "invincible," that is, if the agent is wholly unaware of his obligations or of the implications of a specific act (see G. H. Joyce, "Invincible Ignorance," in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* edited by James Hastings, vol. 7, Edinburgh, 1914).

For Pascal, there is an order of the spirit above that of the flesh; but above the order of the spirit there is that of love: "Le coeur a des raisons que la raison ne connaït pas" ("The heart has its reasons, which reason does not know"). And: "It was not then right that [Christ] should appear in a manner manifestly divine, and completely capable of convincing all men [through reason] . . . and thus [He was] willing to appear openly to those who seek Him with all their heart" (*Pensées* 430).

CARTESIANISM. Descartes's doctrine was "a direct answer to Montaigne's scepticism" and "a recklessly conducted experiment to see what becomes of human knowledge when moulded into conformity with the pattern of mathematical evidence: He had the merit of realizing that two sciences—geometry and algebra—hitherto considered as distinct were but one: Why not go at once to the limit and say that all sciences are one? Such was Descartes's final illumination" (Gilson, 1937, pp. 127, 133). After confessing in the *Discourse on Method* that one could not talk of things sacred without assistance from heaven, he showed in the *Meditations* "the way to attain knowledge of God with more ease and certainty than that of things of this world" (ibid., p. 137).

Leibniz, Spinoza, and Malebranche were Cartesians: From God proceeded the unknown force that linked mind to matter and matter to mind. According to Spinoza, the mysticism of literal faith belongs to a kind of inferior knowledge that dissolves in the light of intelligence. Above imagination there is reason, but above reason, intellectual intuition, which leads to the unique and absolute truth, God.

Malebranche, although holding that everything in God is known, still believed in the existence of a concrete and actually subsisting world of matter. Not so Berkeley. Finally, Hume said that if one has no adequate idea of "power" or "efficacy," no notion of causality that one can apply to matter, where could be obtained one that would be applied to God?

For Jakob Boehme, knowledge was a way of salvation. Under the influence of Boehme and Paracelsus, Christian esotericism tried more and more to unite faith and knowledge. But in eighteenth-century Europe, particularly in France, Germany, and England, the pursuit of happiness tended to prevail over concern for salvation; besides, unhappiness was regarded as due to a lack of knowledge or to erroneous judgment, and it was consequently believed that the progress of reason would bring happiness. For Leibniz, evil results from ignorance. Locke entitled a book *The Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695).

None of the German *Aufklärer* was inclined toward atheism; each tried to fit God into a rational scheme of things. For Samuel Reimarus, whose work was published by G. E. Lessing, religion did not proceed from a letter, Bible, or Qurʾān, dictated by some God; God was the presence, in one's soul, of universal, eternal reason.

It was thought that one should stop bothering about what cannot be known and that morality could be free of any transcendent element and based on nothing more than the self-knowledge of conscience. If all that seemed superstitious in the beliefs of the Roman church and reformed religion were purged, only the unknown supreme being would remain. Pierre Bayle paved the way for Holbach, Voltaire, Shaftesbury, Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and, eventually, Kant.

While the Encyclopedists were trying to apply the methods of the sciences to the improvement of the practical arts and of social institutions, Rousseau's opposition exploded like a bomb: His philosophy was to dominate the period before the French Revolution and the years that followed its failure. God had created man not only innocent but ignorant, wishing thereby to "preserve him from knowledge just as a mother would wrench a dangerous weapon from the hands of her child" (*Discours sur les sciences et les arts,* quoted in Zaehner, 1970, p. 330). "Reason too often deceives us," says the Vicaire Savoyard, but "conscience never deceives" (*Émile,* quoted in Brunschwicg, 1927, p. 271). Conscience is the soul's divine instinct. Such was the religion of instinct, already advocated by Swiss pietists. Bolingbroke had written that one cannot know what God is, only that there is a God—which was, more or less, Hume's position.

KANT. What was Hume, after all, asks Gilson (1937, p. 223), but a sad Montaigne? Hume's voice was soon to be heard by Immanuel Kant. So long as one's mind applies itself to the mere mental presentation of possible objects, it does not form concepts of things, but mere ideas; these do not constitute scientific knowledge, but that illusory speculation that people call metaphysics. If reason does not lead to God, if, given Hume's skepticism, reason is destructive of the very principles of philosophical knowledge and morality, Rousseau's passionate appeal to feeling and to moral conscience, against the natural blindness of reason, is to Kant the revelation of a wholly independent and self-contained order of morality. But to posit God as required by the fact of morality is not the same as to know that God exists.

Maine de Biran, when young, surmised that the origin of belief lay in the sense of smell, but in his old age he wrote that Augustine, when meditating on his relation to God, found or proved that there might be a subtler, more refined organization above the coarse one of human sense (Brunschwicg, 1927, p. 618).

Hegel was in very much the same situation as Nicholas of Cusa in the fifteenth century. There had to be contradiction everywhere in the universe for the contradictions of philosophy to give a true picture of reality: This was another form of learned ignorance. But finally Hegelianism, by confining reason to the sphere of pure science, enslaved philosophy to the blind tyranny of the will (Gilson, 1937, p. 252).

COMTE. At a primary level of each social group there is, according to Comte, a definite state of intellectual knowledge; at a secondary level, determined by the first, is a specific form of government; finally, a third element flows from the first two: a specific form of civilization. "We have only to reverse this doctrine to get Marxism," remarks Gilson (1937, p. 257). In his synthesis of positivism with the Hegelian tradition, Marx made possible a sociology of knowledge (actually founded by Karl Mannheim), a science that tries to explain ideas (including religion) as the outcome of social conditions.

By driving metaphysics out of its final position, Comte had ensured the uniformity of human knowledge. But science had failed to provide mankind with a systematic view of the world. By making love the ultimate foundation of positivism Comte was repeating in his own way Kant's famous step of decreeing the primacy of practical reason. Condemnation of metaphysics in the name of science invariably culminates in the capitulation of science to some irrational element (Gilson, 1937, p. 298).

Eighteenth-century rationalism believed it could eliminate the religious tradition simply by determining its human conditions through historical and psychological observation. The nineteenth century, on the contrary, established a psychology and a sociology of religion that, far from eliminating their object, posited its objective reality through the very principles of their method. This reality is attained by intuition (Léon Brunschwicg, *Les étapes de la philosophie mathématique,* Paris, 1912, p. 432).

THE PROTESTANT PERSPECTIVE. The problem of religious knowledge has been dealt with extensively from the Protestant point of view by Douglas Clyde Macintosh (1940). He distinguishes not only between realism and idealism but between dualism and monism: "The object consciously experienced and the object existing independently of experience are, according to dualism, two wholly different existences, and, according to monism, existentially one, at least in part and sufficiently for some knowledge of the independently existing reality to be humanly possible" (Macintosh, 1940, p. vii). After excluding from the sphere of knowledge mysticism, ecstasy, the love-dialogue with God, and whatever is redolent of monasticism as "extreme monistic realism," Macintosh proceeds to an examination of "monistic idealism in religion."

MONISM. Under the rubric "Religious Psychologism" Macintosh deals with the views of Hegel and others. Hegel's definition of religion is "the Divine Spirit's knowledge of itself through the mediation of a finite spirit." For Feuerbach religion is man's earliest, indirect form of self-knowledge. For Édouard Le Roy dogmas are concerned primarily with conduct rather than with pure reflective knowledge. Barukh Spinoza wrote in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* that faith does not demand that dogmas shall be true, but that they shall be pious—such as will stir up the heart to obey. For Durkheim, science refuses to grant religion its right to dogmatize upon the nature of things. For Freud, insofar as religion conflicts with science or would offer a substitute for scientific investigation of the cause and cure of human ills, it is open to criticism. Macintosh would strongly maintain that any tenable religious worldview must do full justice to science, including whatever scientific knowledge there may be in the field of religion, but such a worldview has the right to supplement scientific knowledge through a reasonable formulation of religious faith based upon the tested value of spiritual life.

Under "Philosophical Antecedents of Humanism" Macintosh deals with John Dewey, whose functionalism implies a behaviorist theory of thinking and knowing, which crowds out of the definition of knowing all elements of mental contemplation and rules out as "nonempirical" not only the idea of a transcendent God but even that of a persisting metaphysical ego as the individual subject of experience.

Under "Theological Antecedents of Humanism" Macintosh cites the work of George Burman Foster, whose early thought inclined to a dualistic theory of religious knowledge according to which the independently real but theoretically unknowable religious object was made the subject matter of judgments of religious faith and feeling, an attitude obviously inspired by Kant's. But Foster came to feel that he must give up the dualistic supernaturalism of all doctrines of a purely transcendent God.

Under "Humanism, Ecclesiastical and Other" Macintosh cites, among others, William Brown, who wrote that the world's savior, God, is knowledge, that the Gods of all the supernaturalistic interpretations of religion are so many creations of the dominant master class, and that "my God, Nature, is a triune divinity—matter, form, and motion—an impersonal, unconscious, non-moral being." Brown was expelled from the Episcopal church for espousing these ideas.

Under "Logical Idealism" Macintosh ranks Georg Simmel, Wilhelm Windelband, George Santayana, Benedetto Croce, and Giovanni Gentile. While the religious man, wrote Simmel, must be assured that God is, even if he may be in doubt as to what God is, the typical modern man knows very well what God is, but is unable to say that God is. Similarly, to Dean Inge the important question is not whether God exists but what is meant when speaking of God—the value of values, the supreme value. One could add Léon Brunschwicg, for whom God is the formal ideal of knowledge (as well as the intentional value of actions). Such a philosophy of religion is common to Platonism and Christianity.

In Croce's fusion of logical with psychological idealism, to the extent that religion as cognition intuits what is beautiful or thinks what is true, it is nothing beyond aesthetics or logic: To the extent that it intuits as beautiful what is not, or thinks to be true what is not true, it is not valid, theoretically considered. Gentile's attitude, even more than Croce's, is absolute idealism without the Absolute.

Under "Critical Monistic Realism" Macintosh endorses a form of religious knowledge that includes adequate and adequately critical (i.e., logical) certitude of the validity of ideals and values considered as divine (i.e., as worthy of universal human devotion). He cites as predecessors Friedrich von Hügel, Henri Bergson, and a few others. Von Hügel was convinced that people have real experience and knowledge of objects and that in religion in its higher reaches there is real contact with superhuman reality. For Bergson, the true metaphysical method is an immediate intuition or vision of reality, and in religious mysticism there is such a thing. According to Macintosh, "Bergson carried the needed reaction against intellectualism and rationalism to an equally objectionable irrationalism and anti-conceptualism." (Macintosh, 1940, p. 181).

"Empirical Theology" is the title under which Macintosh presents his own program. Whereas scholastics, he writes, defined theology as the science of God, a deductive science proceeding from assured premises, some theologians have occasionally claimed to proceed by the inductive method. Macintosh meets such objections as that of Georg Wobbermin, who as a confirmed Kantian dualist cannot but feel that all such terms as "empirical theology" involve a contradiction in terms. Macintosh finally formulates thirteen laws of empirical theology. But he never gives an example of what he means by "a truly reasonable belief."

DUALISM. According to dualism, the divine reality is never experienced immediately, never perceived directly. How then can there by any knowledge? There is reason to question the conclusiveness of the so-called proofs of God's existence, the ontological, cosmological, anthropological, theological arguments. These proofs will be replaced by argument from moral values (as in Kant) or religious values.

But this has in fact led to agnosticism (a term coined in 1870 by Thomas Huxley), notably with Charles Darwin, who wrote that "the whole subject is beyond the scope of man's intellect," and with Herbert Spencer, the prophet of agnostic religion. For the agnostic, only the inductive method and the positive results of the empirical sciences can serve as an adequate check upon the too easy dogmatizing of theology and the speculative vagaries of metaphysics.

Friedrich Schleiermacher, "the father of modern theology," oscillated between pantheism and dualistic epistemological agnosticism. Theology, he thought, can only be a description of subjective states of mind. Albrecht Ritschl was, along with Schleiermacher, the most influential Protestant theologian of the late nineteenth century; he reacted vigorously against intellectualism in favor of the autonomy of religious consciousness. He found Schleiermacher guilty of the old error of making the doctrine of God a natural, as distinct from a revealed, theology, but in both cases, "religious knowledge" is distinguished from science, philosophy, and theoretical knowledge generally. "But," Macintosh asks (1940, p. 247), "how can be justified the use of the term religious knowledge as applied to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ?" It should be recognized that the intuition in question is not perceptual but imaginal, that so-called religious knowledge is not knowledge in the scientific sense of empirically verified judgments and so on.

Adolf von Harnack agreed with Ritschl that Christianity is essentially ethico-religious and experiential rather than metaphysically speculative and intellectualistic. Ritschlians have much to say about revelation, but the concept is left vague from the epistemological point of view.

Wilhelm Herrmann was quite as suspicious of the influence of mysticism as of the encroachments of metaphysics. For Julius Kaftan, Kant is the philosopher of Protestantism, as Aristotle is the philosopher of Catholicism. The object of religious knowledge is not religion, but God; theology can never be a science of the objects of faith, however, only a science of faith itself. Religious knowledge, as opposed to knowledge in the theoretical sense, presupposes an authentic revelation of God.

Wobbermin agreed with Ritschl in excluding from theology all the mixed articles in which the faith-knowledge of God was combined with and modified by the now discredited "natural" knowledge of God. "But," Macintosh concludes (ibid., p. 278), "no consideration of the value of a belief can establish it as knowledge in the absence of any possibility of 'first-hand experience.'"

Under "Critical Rationalism" Macintosh lists the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule, which gave promise of liberating modern theology from its perpetual oscillation between helpless agnosticism and the sheer dogmatism of exclusive supernaturalism. The comparative historical study of religions shows that the uniqueness of Christianity consists not in the manner of its proof, as resting upon a supernatural revelation, but in its content: An inclusive supernaturalism would acknowledge revelation and miracle in all religions. (How is religious knowledge possible? A "fourth critique," after Kant, should investigate the *a priori* conditions of religious experience.)

Rudolf Otto assumed that besides *Glaube,* which apprehends the rationally necessary idea of an ultimate reality, there is also *Ahnung,* a non-rational foundation for religion in human nature, the instinctive sense of a mysterious reality (*das Heilige*), transcendent and wholly other.

Under "Religious Pragmatism" Macintosh ranks, of course, William James, but also his less well-known precursor A. J. Earl Balfour, who wrote that one assents to a creed merely because of a subjective need for it, and who predicted the advent of a critical science of religion whereby what valid religious knowledge there may be will be given the universal form of an empirical science.

Under "Reactionary Irrationalism" Macintosh analyzes Søren Kierkegaard, Miguel de Unamuno, and the theologians of crisis. This tendency began as a response to the monistic idealism of Hegel. Kierkegaard rebelled against Hegel's equation of actuality and the rational Idea. For Kierkegaard, Christian faith is always contrary to reason: "The absurd is the proper object of faith, and the only thing that lets itself be believed."

Similarly, for Unamuno, reason and faith are enemies, and reason is the enemy of life. His despair of finding any theoretical defense of the Roman Catholic system of dogma led him to underestimate the arguments vindicating a Christlike God and the immortality of the soul.

KARL BARTH. The theology of crisis in Germany was a consequence of World War I. But Karl Barth was also heir to Kant, Schleiermacher, Troeltsch, Herrmann, Otto, Kierkegaard, and Feuerbach. He condemned modern liberalism for its emphasis upon divine immanence, for "except in His Word, God is never for us in the world." As Kierkegaard insisted, following *Ecclesiastes,* "God is in Heaven, and thou upon Earth." The image of God, Barth argued, has been wholly destroyed in man by sin. The Bible is to be read in the old way, namely, not to find what people thought about God, but to find what God says to people. "This is," writes Macintosh, "pretty much the old externally authoritarian, irrationalistic theology of the Evangelical Calvinism of two or three hundred years ago."

Barth, hearkening back to Luther as well as to Calvin, emphasizes the distinction between faith, which he embraces, and religion, which he almost identifies with Roman Catholicism and abhors. In an essay on Barth's theology, Brand Blanshard offers this critique ("Critical Reflections on Karl Barth," in *Faith and the Philosophers,* ed. John Hick, Ithaca, N.Y., 1957):

> Faith, according to Barth, is itself the highest knowledge; but this knowledge differs completely from anything else which man calls knowledge, not only in its

> content, but in its modes of origin and form as well. (p. 159) That revelation is to be considered a kind of knowledge is detected by his entitling one of his books *Knowledge of God.* But he holds, with Ayer and Carnap, that the attempt by rational thought to go beyond nature to the supernatural is inevitably defeated, though of course he draws a different conclusion from the defeat. He concludes that since we cannot reach a knowledge of God through radical means, we must do so through non-natural means; the positivists conclude from the same premises that the attempt itself is meaningless. (p. 170) In the face of all the projectionists who, like Freud and Feuerbach, would make religious "knowledge" an imaginative fulfilling of need, of all the pragmatists who, like Dewey, would make it merely a means to human betterment, of all the rationalists who, like Hegel, would make it philosophy half grown-up, of all the psychologists who, with Schleiermacher and Ritschl, would make it essentially a matter of feeling, Barth proclaimed a full-fledged return to the theology of the Reformation, in which God is set over against the world as "wholly other," known indeed to faith, but unknowable, unapproachable and unimaginable by any natural faculties. (p. 160)

BULTMANN AND JASPERS. Aside from Barth's (or Luther's) distinction between religion and faith, Rudolf Bultmann discerns within faith a core of message (*kerygma*) that is to be extracted from the letter of the Bible through *"Entmythologisierung."* The Bible failed to eliminate philosophy, which tends to make the *kerygma* a reality subject to reason's grasp. Knowledge of God does not refer to his essence, but to his will. God is neither in nature nor in history and cannot be attained there. The biblical authors are not completely innocent of the sin of natural humankind; they sometimes understood God's word through a naive kind of rationalism, mythological rationalism, which is as sinful as scientific rationalism. Serious, cultivated believers reject that popular mythology. They can accept science and technology because they affirm that science and faith belong to two wholly different orders. But although they discard magic, spiritism, and all forms of pagan miracles, they nevertheless accept Christian mythology, except in its most objectionable instances. Contrary to Barth's contention, faith should not utilize any philosophy. All philosophies are human projections of God, of man, and of the world and are as such incompatible with faith. It was the mistake of the *philosophia perennis* to limit itself to the domain of knowledge and objectivity. The destruction of metaphysics that was attempted by Heidegger helped Bultmann to reject all *Selbstsicherung.*

Karl Jaspers's philosophy appears to be "the last word of irrationalism," the last stage in the great movement of reaction against *Aufklärung.* Remembering Kant's motto: "I must suppress knowledge in order to make room for faith," Jaspers finally yields to the prestige of the ineffable. However, he expresses his philosophical irritation about the theologians' claim that the Christian faith is something absolute. Christians should give up the idea that Jesus was the one incarnation of transcendence; they should accept the fact that dogmas are symbols, ciphers, lacking all objective value, and they should renounce their claim to the monopoly of truth.

Jaspers's position is extreme, and exceptional in Germany. The general difference in philosophy between Germany and France is clearly formulated by Raymond Aron:

> German philosophers, especially in the last century, often belonged to a milieu of civil servants, chiefly clerical. Even when turned miscreants, they retain a sense of religion as a supreme form of spiritual aspiration; tending to a non-dogmatic religiosity, they distinguish between science, objectively true, and religion, humanly valuable although not liable to demonstration or refutation. This godless religiosity implies acknowledging the role of feeling, irreducible to that of reason. In France, the direct rivalry of religion and philosophy prompts both of them to thorough and contradictory claims. Profane philosophy (at least in its most characteristic exponents) is anti-Christian, even anti-religious. It is rationalistic and scientistic. (Aron, 1983, p. 135)

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC PERSPECTIVE. The Roman Catholic point of view, in its most conservative aspect, was put forward by Étienne Gilson in many admirable books, especially in *Réalisme thomiste et critique de la connaissance* (1939). Religion justifies philosophy, which in turn illuminates religion through intelligence. Gilson writes on Bergson in *La philosophie et la théologie* (Paris, 1960):

> Bergson had a clear idea of two types of knowledge, that of intelligence, of which the purest expression is science, and that of intuition, akin to instinct, which becomes explicitly conscious in metaphysics. If questioned about faith, he could not for one instant imagine that it was, properly speaking, knowledge. The word "faith" suggested to him primarily the notion of obedience. To accept a number of doctrinal positions as true although accessible neither to intelligence nor to intuition, out of sheer submission to an external authority, was all this philosopher would resign himself to. (p. 177)

Gilson sums up his own attitude as follows:

> There is on the one hand scientific progress, on the other hand Christian faith, incarnated in the Church and defined by tradition. To speak summarily but not inexactly, there arises from the contact between the two a third kind of knowledge, distinct from both but akin to both, whose data are provided by science but whose main object is to achieve as complete a comprehension as possible of the Christian revelation received by faith. (p. 233)

But Roman Catholics are far from unanimous. They never were. They disagreed in the Middle Ages, as has been seen, as to whether one knows truth in the light of one's own intelligence, or in a divine light added to that of the intellect. The present time has witnessed the painful controversies surrounding Maurice Blondel's obstinate attempt at deducing the supernatural from the natural and Teilhard de Chardin's fusion—or confusion—of cosmology with Christology, of evolution with revelation. Both incurred anathema. Ever since the Counter-Reformation the church has been trying to combat Protestantism, or to catch up with it, not only (as seen above) by instituting catechism, but also by encouraging biblical studies. It has also tried to counter Kant's influence by reviving Thomism; by condemning, in the ninteenth century, all forms of fideism; and by condemning modernism in the early twentieth century, only to yield to liberal tendencies at the Second Vatican Council.

Roman Catholicism, in its existentialist variety, is represented by Henry Duméry, who also owes much to Blondel—and to Spinoza and Plotinus. He distinguishes, in his *Philosophie de la religion* (Paris, 1957), different noetic levels; he speaks of "a specified intelligible plane, halfway between God and empirical consciousness"—perhaps what he calls "le troisième genre de connaissance"—and treats faith as "un object spécifique, irréductible à tout autre." He speaks of "mentalité projective," "intentionalité vécue," "visée de transcendance." Although recognizing that the philosophy of religion should apply to all known religions, he bases his own attempt exclusively on Christianity. One example may be quoted from his *Phénoménologie de la religion* (Paris, 1958): "It would be erroneous to objectify the typical existence of the Virgin Mary onto a profane—nay, profaning—plane of registry office" (p. 57). Duméry, a Roman Catholic priest, has been granted permission to relinquish priesthood.

In the Anglican church the situation is different, as suggested by the appointment as bishop of Durham in 1984 of David Jenkins, who had declared that teachings concerning the virgin birth and the resurrection might be more symbolic than literal, and that a person could be a good Christian even while doubting the divinity of Christ.

EPISTEMOLOGY. In England, modern epistemology is represented by, among others, Bertrand Russell and A. J. Ayer. In *Mysticism and Logic* (London, 1918) Russell defines the mystical impulse in philosophers such as Heraclitus, Plato, Spinoza, and Hegel as the "belief in the possibility of a way of knowledge which may be called revelation or insight or intuition, as contrasted with sense, reason and analysis, which are regarded as blind guides leading to the morass of illusion" (p. 16). But he calmly remarks that what is knowledge is science, and what is not science is not knowledge. In *The Problem of Knowledge* (1956) Ayer simply ignores religion altogether, as does Rudolf Carnap in his work. Both Ayer and Carnap belong to the logical positivist movement, based on the analysis of language, which started in Vienna with Ludwig Wittgenstein, who later migrated to England and was in close contact with Russell. But Wittgenstein's attitude toward religion was far less simple than that of those he influenced. Admittedly, he thought that religious creeds, in contradistinction to scientific concepts, are not more or less probable hypotheses: Never have propositions pertaining to religion expressed positive possibilities. Their whole significance stems from their place in human existence; science and religion are entirely separate; between them there can be no conflict or relation whatsoever. But he writes in his *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* (6.54): "He who understands me finally recognizes my propositions as senseless, when he has climbed out through them, on them, over them," a position uncannily reminiscent of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Finally, Wittgenstein writes: "Whereof one cannot speak, thereof one must be silent" (ibid., 7.0). However, *Notebooks 1914–1916* affirms that "to believe in God means understanding the question of life, means seeing that life makes sense" (11 June 1916), which amounts to what has been called Wittgensteinian fideism.

A brave attempt at overcoming positivism was made by Michael Polanyi, another scientist and philosopher, who migrated from central Europe (in his case, Hungary) to England. In his great book *Personal Knowledge* (London, 1958), he refutes the Laplacean ideal of objective knowledge and calls for a return to Augustine in order to restore the balance of cognitive human powers and to recognize belief once more as the source of all knowledge. He tries to define a form of knowledge neither purely objective nor purely subjective, namely, personal knowledge: "Into every act of knowing there enters a tacit and passionate contribution of the person knowing what is being known, and . . . this coefficient is no mere imperfection but a necessary component of all knowledge" (p. 312). Unfortunately, in the vast field of religion he only takes into account Christianity. Even more narrowly, he subscribes to the following statement by Paul Tillich: "Knowledge of revelation, although it is mediated primarily through historical events, does not imply factual assertion, and it is therefore not exposed to critical analysis by historical research. Its truth is to be judged by criteria which lie within the dimension of revelatory knowledge" (*Systematic Theology,* London, 1953, vol. 1, p. 144). The phrase "revelatory knowledge" begs the whole question of the nature of religious knowledge.

Yet another scientist and philosopher, Alfred North Whitehead, who migrated to the United States from England, dealt with the problem of religious knowledge, especially in his book *Religion in the Making* (1928) and again in his great *Process and Reality* (1929), in which one reads: "Religion is the translation of general ideas into particular thoughts, emotions, and purposes; it is directed to the end of stretching individual interest beyond its delf-defeating particularity. Philosophy finds religion, and modifies it" (*Process and Reality,* New York, 1978, p. 15). On Christianity, his position is summed up as follows:

> The notion of God as the "unmoved mover" is derived from Aristotle, at least as far as Western thought is concerned. The notion of God as "eminently real" is a favourite doctrine of Christian theology. The combination of the two into the doctrine of an aboriginal, eminently real, transcendent creator, at whose fiat the world came into being, and whose imposed will it obeys, is the fallacy which has infused tragedy into the histories of Christianity and of Mahometanism. (ibid., p. 342)

Whitehead's own ideas, albeit somewhat obscure, have produced process theology.

Research has recently been started to try to locate, in the brain, a specific area of the mythical function (Eugene G. d'Aquili and Charles D. Laughlin, Jr., "The Neurobiology of Myth and Ritual," in *The Spectrum of Ritual,* ed. Eugene d'Aquili et al., 1979); and the symbolic approach has brought forth a new discipline: theolinguistics (J. P. Van Noppen, *Theolinguistics,* Brussels, 1981).

In the fervent, adventurous notebooks of a modern gnostic, Simone Weil, published posthumously under the title *La connaissance surnaturelle* (Paris, 1950), one reads: "Intelligence remains absolutely faithful to itself in recognizing the existence, in the soul, of a faculty superior to itself and leading thought above itself. This faculty is supernatural love" (p. 80). And: "Since evil is the root of mystery, suffering is the root of knowledge" (p. 43).

Two recent writers, Terence Penelhum and John Hick, have developed the idea of faith as a form of knowledge. "There is," writes the latter, "in cognition of every kind an unresolved mystery" (Hick, 1966, p. 118). "But," writes Basil Mitchell, "there is an important sense of 'know' in which even the 'great religious figures' cannot be said to know that there is a God (let alone the Christian doctrines) so long as it remains a genuine possibility that some non-theistic interpretation of their experience might turn out to be true" (Mitchell, 1973, p. 112). However, as Nicholas Lash writes: "The possibility of theological discourse constituting a mode of rational knowledge could only be excluded if religious faith could be shown to be in no sense experimental knowledge of its object" (Lash, in Peacocke, 1981, p. 304).

SEE ALSO Epistemology; Esotericism; Faith; Neuroscience and Religion, article on Neuroepistemology; Philosophy, article on Philosophy and Religion; Truth.

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Revised Bibliography

KNOX, JOHN (c. 1514–1572), was a Protestant reformer of Scotland. Born in Haddington, Knox likely studied at Saint Andrews under the nominalist theologian John Major. He was ordained to the priesthood at the age of twenty-five, held the post of apostolical notary, and served as a tutor to the children of gentlemen in East Lothian.

Knox was a rugged political fighter, but he was also, as his biographer Jasper Ridley writes, a person of "profound and sincere religious sensitivity." The source of this sensitivity was the Bible, which he apparently studied with devotion early in life. When dying, he asked his wife to "go read where I cast my first anchor" in the seventeenth chapter of *John.*

Knox, converted to Protestantism by the preaching of Thomas Gwilliam in Lothian, was confirmed in the Protestant movement by his association with George Wishart. After the burning of Wishart, Protestants took the castle at Saint Andrews and the life of Cardinal Beaton, Scotland's Catholic leader. Knox, under threat of persecution, moved from place to place, eventually taking refuge in the castle with his students. Protestant leaders urged him to "take up the public office and charge of preaching," a role that would identify him with Gwilliam, John Rough, and Wishart. He was reluctant to accept the vocation, as he emphasized in his *History,* but having done so, he filled it with remarkable skill and became a leading spokesman of the Protestant cause.

The castle fell to the French fleet in 1547, and Knox became a galley slave until his release was arranged by the English. For five years (1549–1554) he was active in the Puritan wing of the English Reformation movement. With the accession of Mary, Knox left England and was named the minister of the church of the English exiles in Frankfurt. The exiles soon divided over the use of *The Book of Common Prayer,* whether to revise it or to substitute a new liturgy. As a result of the controversy, Knox left Frankfurt for Geneva, where he became pastor of the English congregation. Knox's stay there was significant for the consolidation of his own theology, as he was impressed by Calvin's achievement in establishing the Reformed church in Geneva.

Knox visited Scotland briefly in the autumn of 1555 to encourage the Protestant leadership. When the religious and political struggle came to a crisis in 1559, Knox left Geneva to assume a leading role in the Protestant cause. His powerful preaching, political wisdom, and determination contributed significantly to the Scottish Parliament's action in 1560 abolishing the papal jurisdiction and approving a confession of faith as a basis for belief in Scotland.

In addition to his public leadership, Knox had a role in three major documents of the Scottish Reformation of 1560. The Confession of Faith was written in four days by John Knox and five others. It conveys the intensity of the moment and the personal quality of the confession of believers who were putting their lives at risk for their faith. It has been described as "the warm utterance of a people's heart." It states the Protestant faith in plain language and is more pictorial and historical than abstract in style.

The *First Book of Discipline* was written by Knox in collaboration with four others. It is notable not only for its reform of the church but also for its vision of universal compulsory education up to the university level and for its provisions for relief of the poor. The book was never adopted by Parliament because its members did not want the wealth of the church expended on Knox's "devout imaginings."

Knox's third contribution to the official documents of the church was *The Book of Common Order,* which Knox and his collaborators had written in Frankfurt and used in Geneva. It now became the worship book of the Church of Scotland.

Knox disavowed speculative theology, but his writings, filling six volumes, were as powerful as his preaching. "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women" (1558), although dealing with the situation in Scotland, caused him difficulty with Elizabeth I of England when he needed her support. Knox's *History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland* is a history of the man and the cause and a justification of both. Other notable writings include "Letter of Wholesome Counsel" and "Treatise on Predestination."

Knox was a remarkable human being. Scholars have debated whether or not he was a man of courage, perhaps because of his own misgivings. He took precautions, but he did "march toward the sound of guns." Scholars have accused him of demagoguery, but a supporter declared that he was able in one hour to do more for his contemporaries than five hundred trumpets continually blustering in their ears. He believed that he had been called by God, that through his life God's purposes were being fulfilled, and that the Reformation was God's cause and must triumph.

Knox's biographer, Jasper Ridley, points to the Church of Scotland as Knox's greatest achievement. Catholicism would probably have been overthrown without Knox, but it is due to Knox that the Church of Scotland was Calvinist rather than Anglican, and that after his death it became Presbyterian rather than Episcopal. Knox also contributed significantly to the struggle for human freedom. His emphasis on the responsibility not only of lower magistrates but of individuals to resist evil rulers, and the dramatic way he expressed this idea in his own life, especially in his encounters with Queen Mary, and in his sermons and writings cannot be overestimated. His Presbyterian and Puritan followers made these ideas part of the tradition of public and political life in the English-speaking world.

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KŌBEN

KŌBEN (1173–1232), also known as Myoe Shonin, was an important figure in the Kamakura-period revival of Nara Buddhism. This revival consisted of criticism of the exclusivist doctrines of the Pure Land and Nichiren sects and a renewed interest in, and devotion to, the historic Buddha, Śākyamuni. As a prominent Kegon (Chin., Huayan) mentor, Kōben attempted to introduce Tantric elements into Kegon practice, as evidenced by his compilation of Kegon-Tantric (*gommitsu*) rituals and consecrations. He also worked for the revival of traditional Kegon learning, emphasizing the study of Fazang's works rather than those of Chengguan, whose doctrines were transmitted within the Shingon tradition, and the cultivation of Kegon visualization meditations.

Kōben was born in the village of Yoshiwara, on the Ishigaki estate, in Aritakoori in the province of Kii (present-day Wakayama prefecture). In the fall of 1181, following the death of his parents, the boy was sent to the Jingoji monastic complex, located on Mount Takao north of Kyoto, where he began his studies under the master Mongaku. Kōben subsequently studied Tantric doctrines (*mikkyō*) and Fazang's *Wuzhiao zhang*. At the age of fifteen (sixteen by Asian reckoning), Kōben became a novice and received the full monastic precepts (the *gusokukai*) at the Kaiden'in monastery of the Tōdaiji, in Nara. Following his ordination in Nara, Kōben began his study of the *Kusharon* (Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāsya,* a major Hīnayāna Abhidharma text). At the age of eighteen Kōben received the transmission of the dual *maṇḍala*s of the *jūhachidō* tradition from the *ācārya* Kōnen. Following this transmission, which centered around an eighteen-part Tantric *sādhana* to be undertaken by new initiates, Kōben began the cultivation of the *butsugen* ritual, a ritual centered on a visualization of the eyes of the Buddha, and his biography records that he experienced many miracles due to this practice.

In 1193, Kōben received an imperial order commanding him to work for the restoration of the Kegon tradition; thereafter, he took up residence as abbot in the Shōson'in of the Tōdaiji in Nara. Seeing the conflicts that racked the Buddhist world at this time, Kōben decided to retire from all worldly and ecclesiastical concerns. In 1195, Kōben left the Jingoji monasteries, and building himself a rude hut in the Kii mountains he retired, spending his time in the cultivation of *sādhana* rituals and in meditative visualizations. During this time he read the bulk of the commentaries and subcommentaries to the *Kegongyō* (Skt., *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*). This task, it is recorded, was also rewarded with many miracles and visions.

Later, returning to Mount Takao, Kōben began the teaching of the Kegon doctrines, lecturing on the *Kegon tangenki* (Chin., *Huayan tanxuan ji*), a major Huayan commentary composed by Fazang. It was here that Kōben initiated a series of lectures and debates on Kegon doctrine. In 1198 a number of disturbances between monastic factions on Mount Takao broke out, and Kōben, taking with him the chief image (*honzon*) of the monastery and its sacred texts, once more retired to his hermitage in the province of Kii. Here he constructed another hut with the aid of a local military leader and, as previously, he devoted himself to meditation, the recitation of scriptures, and writing.

In the eleventh month of 1206, the retired emperor Go-Toba presented Kōben with the Togano-o monastic complex in the hope that it would long be a center for the revival of the Kegon tradition. The monastic complex was given the new name of Kōzanji, and Kōben soon set to work repairing the buildings and reviving the tradition. Kōben was asked many times to administer the precepts to both the retired emperor Go-Toba and the Lady Kenreimon'in, his two most important patrons. After the death of her husband, Emperor Takakura, and her son, the infant emperor Antoku, Lady Kenreimon'in became a nun.

Kōben's fame came to the attention of the shogun in Kamakura, Hōjō Yasutoki, and on numerous occasions he would visit Kōben at his mountain monastery and receive his teachings. Subsequently, Yasutoki left the householder's life to become a monk under the guidance of Kōben.

After Kōben fell ill and died, at the age of fifty-nine, his many disciples continued their master's work toward the revival of the Kegon tradition. Modern scholars have attributed some forty-two works to Kōben. Included among them are essays on Kegon practice and doctrine, numerous ritual texts, literary works, and Japanese poems (*waka*), which are preserved in both the *Shinzoku kokinshū* and the *Shin shūishū.*

SEE ALSO Fazang; Huayan; Shingonshū.

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For a chronology of the life of Kōben and a complete list of his works see the article "Kōben," in *Bukkyō daijiten,* edited by Mochizuki Shinkō (Tokyo, 1933–1936), vol. 2, pp. 1083c–1084c. For a general overview of Kegon doctrine and its Japanese development, see Sakamoto Yukio's *Kegon kyōgaku no kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1976), Ishii Kyōdō's "Gommitsu no shisō Kōben," *Taishō Daigaku gakuhō* 3(1928):48–72, traces Kōben's attempt to establish purely Kegon Tantric rituals, thereby making the Kegon tradition of his day fully Tantric. On the orthodoxy of Kōben in the Kegon tradition, see Kamata Shigeo's "Nihon Kegon ni okeru seito to itan," *Shisō* (November 1973). A popular work on Kōben is Tanaka Hisao's *Myōe* (Tokyo, 1961). Like many other Buddhist monks of his day, Kōben kept a record of his dreams, *Yume no ki.* For a study of this work, see Yamada Shōzen's "Myoe no yume to *Yume no ki,*" in *Kanazawa Bunko kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1970). An English-language summary of Kōben's criticisms of Hōnen's doctrines is Bando Shojun's "Myoe's Criticism of Hōnen's Doctrine," *Eastern Buddhist,* n.s. 7 (May 1974): 37–54.

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KOHANIM SEE LEVITES

KOHELETH See ECCLESIASTES

KOHLER, KAUFMANN

KOHLER, KAUFMANN (1843–1926), Reform rabbi, scholar, and theologian. Born in Fürth, Bavaria, into a pious Orthodox family of rabbinical ancestry, Kohler entered the *Gymnasium* in Frankfurt in 1862 and continued his earlier rabbinic training with Samson Raphael Hirsch, leader of German Neo-Orthodoxy, whose crucial religious impact on him Kohler frequently acknowledged. Gradually, however, with exposure to modern science and the critical studies of philology, the Bible, history, and comparative religion at the universities of Munich, Berlin, and Erlanger (where he received his Ph.D. in 1867), his faith in Orthodox Judaism was shattered.

Attracted to the religious orientation of Abraham Geiger, leader of German Reform Judaism, Kohler embraced Reform as an outlet for both his profound religious faith and his scholarly proclivities. When a rabbinical appointment in Germany was not forthcoming, he moved to the United States in 1869 and served congregations in Detroit and Chicago until, in 1879, he succeeded his father-in-law, David Einhorn, in one of the most prestigious Reform temples in the country, Beth El in New York City.

During the next decade, through his books and articles, Kohler became recognized as a preeminent advocate of classical Reform Judaism. Undaunted by controversy, he defended Reform against critics such as Felix Adler and Alexander Kohut; in the wake of his celebrated polemic with the latter, Kohler convened the Pittsburgh Rabbinical Conference in November 1885 and steered its eight-point statement of principles to reflect his own views; these corresponded to and articulated most Reformers' religious self-understanding for the next two generations. From 1903 to 1921, Kohler served as president of the Reform seminary at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati.

Kohler's scholarship included works in theology, Semitics, Hellenistic studies, comparative religion, and intertestamental literature. These were consistently marked by the application of modern scientific analysis to Jewish literary sources, an approach reflecting the nineteenth-century *Wissenschaft des Judentums.* He assumed that this historicist reassessment of Judaism and its texts uncovered the essence of Judaism, which he identified with the central beliefs of Reform Judaism. His scholarship therefore was often an adjunct to his religious beliefs.

Recognized as a giant in his day, Kohler now has scant influence. His scholarship is generally dated, and his rationalist, anti-Zionist Reform orientation has long since been set aside by the mainstream of Reform Judaism. Nevertheless, he typified one of its most significant stages and expressed its major ideals in a bygone era.

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Kohler's most notable work, well reviewed in its day, is *Jewish Theology Systematically and Historically Considered* (1918; a revised edition of the 1910 German version); the current edition (New York, 1968) includes a fine introductory essay by Joseph L. Blau that combines biographical data with a critical assessment of Kohler's text. His other scholarly writings can be found in *Hebrew Union College and Other Addresses* (Cincinnati, 1910), *Heaven and Hell in Comparative Religion* (New York, 1923), and two posthumously published books, *The Origins of the Synagogue and the Church* (1929; New York, 1973) and *Studies, Addresses, and Personal Papers* (New York, 1931). The best retrospective on Kohler, written by an admirer and colleague, is H. G. Enelow's "Kaufmann Kohler," *American Jewish Year Book* 28 (1926–1927): 235–260.

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KO HUNG See GE HONG

KOKUGAKU

KOKUGAKU. The Japanese intellectual movement known as Kokugaku (Native Learning) includes the Shintō revival that began in the middle of the Edo period (1603–1867). Inspired by the spirit of nationalism, Kokugaku thinkers deplored the lack of scholarship on Japanese history and literature and attacked the wholesale adoption of such foreign influences as Confucianism and Buddhism. According to Kokugaku thinkers, Japanese history can be divided into three periods: antiquity, during which Japan's indigenous, original spirit emerged and was manifest in its purest form; the Middle Ages, when this spirit became "contaminated" and was suppressed by the introduction of Chinese culture, in particular Confucianism and Buddhism; and the modern age, when Japan's ancient, original spirit was revived and rediscovered. Although the Kokugaku movement encompassed various fields of study, among them literature and philology, this discussion is limited to its concern with religion.

In the Genroku period (1688–1704), which marks the rise of the Kokugaku movement, the Buddhist priest Keichū (1640–1701) proposed that the poetic conventions popular during the Middle Ages in Japan be abolished so as to allow free composition of the Japanese *waka* poems. Keichū applied philological analysis to the *Man'yōshū,* but said only that Shintō differed from both Confucianism and Buddhism and that the *kami* were beyond the understanding of people. Kada Azumamaro (1669–1736), a Shintō priest at Inari Shrine in Kyoto, opposed the synthesis of Confucianism and Shintō in which Confucian terms and concepts—for example, the principles of yin and yang and the Five Elements (*wu xing*)—were used to interpret Shintō. Although he also advocated the founding of a college for "Native Learning" to combat the influence of Confucianism, he did not engage in the study of ancient Shintō himself.

The men considered the most representative thinkers of the movement—Kamo no Mabuchi (1697–1769) and Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801) among the second generation of

Kokugaku scholars and Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843) among the third generation—were also the most prominent of the advocates of Native Learning to focus their attention on religious issues. Kamo no Mabuchi founded the school of Kogaku (Ancient Learning) Shintō, which sought a reawakening of and a return to ancient Shintō. That is, he called for a revival of Shintō as expressed and practiced prior to the introduction of Buddhism and Confucianism. His main ideas are presented in his *Kokuikō* (On the spirit of the nation).

Motoori Norinaga further clarified and developed Ancient Learning Shintō. He established the *Kojiki,* the earliest recorded Japanese history, as the scriptural authority for the movement and wrote a commentary on it, the *Kojikiden.* Others of his works include *Naobi no mitama* (Straightening *kami*) and *Tamaboko hyakushu* (One hundred poems on the way). Hirata Atsutane argued even further the religiosity of Ancient Learning Shintō and asserted that Shintō was superior to other religions. His works include *Tama no mihashira* (The pillar of the soul), *Tamadasuki* (The jeweled sash), and *Honkyō gaihen* (Supplement to my theory of Shintō).

Whereas they called for an end to the influence of all foreign ideas and for a revival of Shintō in its original form, in reality these three men found certain foreign ideas conducive to the advancement of Kokugaku ideology. Both Mabuchi and Norinaga turned to the philosophy of Laozi and Zhuangzi, with Mabuchi borrowing from the former and Norinaga from the latter. Atsutane, however, made use of the teachings of Christianity, a religion that had been proscribed during the Tokugawa era (1600–1868). Their purpose in doing so was to eradicate the influence of Confucianism and Buddhism and to clarify the identity of Shintō and establish its supremacy. For example, believing that the teachings of the Buddhists and Confucians were "unnatural," that is, products of mere human artifice, Mabuchi used Laozi's notion of *ziran wu-wei* (Japanese, *shizen mui,* "spontaneity and nonactivity") to reject their interpretations of Shintō. He argued that Shintō, or the way of life of the ancient Japanese, was completely in accord with the nature of heaven and earth and thus did not give rise to the artificial systems found in China.

Accepting Mabuchi's basic thesis, Norinaga applied the knowledge gained through his research of the Japanese classics to criticize even more fervently than Mabuchi the precepts and doctrines of neo-Confucianism. Norinaga borrowed Zhuangzi's philosophy of nature (the philosophically exclusive principle of causality whereby there is no cause for an occurrence other than from the self) to reject the synthesis of neo-Confucianism and Shintō that had been popular in the previous century. As a physician, Norinaga refused to accept the complex neo-Confucian methodology that used the metaphysical theories of yin and yang and the Five Elements to determine the causes of diseases and their cures. He devoted himself to the task of reviving the ancient practices of medicine *(koihō)* that limited medicine to the sphere of empiricism. Accordingly, he asserted that all existence and phenomena arise from the self through divine will and that both the cause and the reason for the occurrence of things cannot be fathomed by people—daring to inquire into such causes showed disrespect for the *kami.* Thus Norinaga sought absolute obedience to the *kami.* He maintained that since the activities of the *kami* recorded in the *Kojiki* had actually been witnessed by the people of that early era, they should be accepted as fact and should be studied with the same empiricist method as that used for *koiho.* According to the Mito scholar Aizawa Yasushi (1781–1863), Norinaga's concept of the creator and sovereign *kami* was influenced by Christianity. Norinaga did read Christian doctrine, but one can also see in his work an adaptation of the neo-Confucian concept of tai chi (Japanese, *taikyoku*, meaning "ultimate principle" or "great ultimate").

Following the Shintō theories of Norinaga, Atsutane continued to develop Kokugaku Shintō, giving it a theological foundation. Although he showed it to no one, Atsutane's most important work is *Honkyō gaihen,* which he subtitled *Honkyō jibensaku* (Flagellation of my theory of Shintō). All of his theologically important works were written after this. Muraoka Tsunetsugu (1884–1946) has verified that this work is composed of adaptations or selected translations of books on Christian doctrine that had been written by missionaries in Chinese during the Ming dynasty (1268–1644). Atsutane was impressed by such missionaries as Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), whose works presented arguments in support of Christianity, particularly in the face of Confucian opposition. Atsutane adapted these arguments to elevate Shintō over both Confucianism and Buddhism. He reasoned that the three *kam*—Ame no Minakanushi, Takamimusubi, and Kamimusubi—were a "Trinity," which he identified as Musubi no Okami (great creator *kami).* He also advanced the notion that the human soul receives final judgment by Okuninushi no Mikoto in the netherworld and that one's eternal happiness or hardship was based on one's deeds during life.

Atsutane held that ancestor worship was central to Shintō practice. Unlike Chinese ancestor worship, which was limited to consanguineous relationships, Shintō ancestor worship especially revered the creator and sovereign *kami* as the ancestral *kami* of the entire nation, the head of which was the imperial family. Atsutane institutionalized the religious observances celebrating the ancestral *kami,* the writing of prayers, and the promotion of Shintō practices.

The legacy of Atsutane's ideas lay in their political implications. In asserting that the imperial system, in which the emperor *(tennō)* was supreme ruler over all the people, was the original form of the Japanese polity, he held that system as the purest and most natural structure of government. In his view the (Tokugawa) shogunate was a later accretion that was not in accordance with Shintō and was thus disrespectful of the divine origins of the imperial family. Atsutane's criticisms provided a religious foundation for the nineteenth-century political movement that resulted in the Meiji Restoration of 1868.

Kokugaku was largely responsible for the construction of collective identity and "Japaneseness" that occurred during the second half of the Tokugawa period. Later, during the Meiji period (1868–1912), ideas rooted in the Kokugaku tradition similarly contributed to those ideological constructions that supported the emergent nation-state. These ideas included the proposition that Japanese monarchs had traditionally constituted the heart of the polity—and the polity construed as extended family—as well as the articulation of a privileged place and destiny for Japan and Japanese people within Asia the world beyond. These same ideas of course also contributed substantially to Japan's international excesses, particularly during the first half of the twentieth century.

Subsequent to Japan's defeat in the Pacific War, expressions of the traditional essentialism became virtually taboo for several decades, and in their place there arose what were generally deemed to be less-offensive expressions of a Japanese national character, said to include:

> an emphasis on harmony and industriousness;
>
> a tradition of group decision making and subordinating one's own interests to those of the group;
>
> a distinctive affinity for nature and seasonal change;
>
> and an unusually refined aesthetic sense juxtaposed against a distinguished martial tradition.

These were inevitably represented as being both natural (and hence inescapable) and of great antiquity. It is likewise clear that these virtues also served the interests of national reconstruction and economic development.

By the 1980s, many of the earlier Kokugaku expressions of distinctiveness and superiority were once again recast under the rubric of Nihonjinron, or "theories of Japaneseness." They acquired a genuinely popular character in this guise.

SEE ALSO Hirata Atsutane; Kamo no Mabuchi; Motoori Norinaga.

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KOMI RELIGION.

The Komi peoples (the Zyryans and Permians) comprise a group of Finno-Ugric peoples who from time immemorial have lived in northeastern Europe. The Zyryans were Christianized at the end of the fourteenth century, the Permians in the second half of the fifteenth century. The study of the traditional Komi culture started only in the second half of the nineteenth century. Klavdij Alekseevich Popov (1874), Alexandr Vasilevich Krasov (1896), and Kallistrat Faloleevich Zhakov (1901) made attempts to reconstruct the ancient religion of the Komi-Zyryans; Nikolai Abramovich Rogov (1858, 1860), Nikolai Dobrotvorsky (1883), Ivan Nikolaevich Smirnov (1891), and Vladimir Mikhailovich Yanovich (1903) made attempts to reconstruct the Komi-Permian nature religion, separate manifestations of being in ancient cults (fire, water, and trees), animistic ideas on spirit masters, dual conception of cosmogenesis, and ideas on the dual function of a soul (soul-shadow and soul-breath). The profound study of separate aspects of the religious world outlook started at the beginning of the twentieth century. Vasilij Petrovich Nalimov, the Komi-Zyryan ethnographer, worked productively in this direction. He analyzed in detail the ideas of the Komi on the creation of the world, the role of demiurgians-antipodes in the cosmogenesis and in further world organization, the dual ideas on the essence of a soul, the attitude toward the dead, the cult of ancestors, and gender interdictions in both the hunting (men) and the household (women) spheres of activity (Nalimov, 1903, 1907, 1908). Uno Holmberg, the Finnish ethnographer, studied the Komi water cult and ideas on water spirits (Holmberg, 1913).

Pitirim Alexandrovich Sorokin, a prominent American sociologist, published a number of articles on the Komi beliefs on the soul, the cult of ancestors, and trees (Sorokin, 1910, 1911, 1917). In the 1920s Alexei Semenovich Sidorov described the religious world outlook of the Komi peoples and the cults of fur-bearing animals and trees. In "Sorcery, Witchcraft, and Spoiling in the Komis" (1928) he considered their ideas on witchcraft and magic based on interesting and original material he collected (Sidorov, 1924, 1926, 1928). In 1937 Sidorov was arrested for nationalism; he was set free in 1940. After that he did not devote himself to the Komi ethnography.

Ethnographic studies in the Komi land renewed in the beginning of the 1950s, and the first large scientific work reconstructing the ancient Komi religion was published in 1975. Ljubov Stepanovna Gribova, a Komi ethnographer, in her monograph *Permian Animal Style: The Problems of Semantics* (1975), suggested a totemic conception of the semantics of ancient cult casting of the Komi ancestors, which caused a number of serious remarks from other ethnographers. Gribova collected interesting and valuable material on the mythology and pagan beliefs of the Komi.

Analyses of the Komi calendar and ceremonial rites have shown that they represented syncretism of the Christian, pre-Christian Komi, and Russian traditions (Konakov, 1993).

The reconstruction of the ideas of the Komi on the surrounding world, space, and time has shown that, according to ancient beliefs, the world of people is in constant and close interaction with the world of spirits. Especially clear were the interrelations of Komi hunters with the forest spirits, whereas fishermen associated with the water spirits (Konakov, 1996).

Irina Vasiljevna Ilyina, in her monograph *Folk Komi Medicine* (1998), considered rational as well as irrational ways of healing, depending on the traditional beliefs regarding the causes for the disease. Komi beliefs on the next world and its interaction with the earthly world were generalized by Pavel Fedorovich Limerov in *Mythology of the Next World* (1998). *Komi Mythology*, a volume of the *Encyclopaedia of Uralic Mythologies*, edited by Anna-Leena Siikala, Vladimir Napolskikh, and Mihály Hoppál, appeared in Russian in 1999 and in English in 2003. This volume recorded for the first time the data on different aspects of the ancient religious world outlooks of the Zyryans and Permians surviving in the rites, cults, folklore, and fine arts.

In the Komi cosmogony two gods-demiurgians—Yon and Omol' to the Zyryans, En and Kul' to the Permians—participated in the creation of the world. The world before its creation was represented as a boundless water element, and the god-creators were represented in their ornithomorphous images: En as a swan or a duck, Omol' (Kul') as a loon. A loon took the earth from the bottom of the deep water. The earth grew spontaneously, first to the size of a small island, gradually to its present size. In another version, two brother ducklings, who were hatched by a mother duck or loon, took eggs dropped into the water by the mother duck from the bottom of the "sea-ocean." The body of the mother duck turned into the earth when the En duckling broke the eggs taken from the bottom of the water against it. The earth was covered with forest and grass, and its relief was created without the help of the demiugrians. En created stones, which grew and stretched toward the sky until En stopped their growth. Mountains appeared, and rivers filled the paths made by mammoths.

After the earth was formed, En created the sun and Omol' (Kul') created the moon. Initially the luminaries were placed close together in the center of the sky. They were pulled apart without the participation of the demiurgians and began their daily routes in the sky. According to the Komi-Zyryan version, this event took place when the Sun (sister) and the Moon (brother) played hide-and-seek and lost sight of each other. The Komi-Permians thought this took place because a powerful magician wanted to separate a loving couple whom he had placed on the luminaries. The creation was finished when En made the sky. En, victorious over Omol' (Kul') in the struggle for the cosmic height, went to live in the sky, intending not to interfere in the affairs of the earth. Omol' (Kul') went to live under the ground—in one version voluntarily, in another version placed there by En. Thus ended the creation of the structure of the cosmos.

En, the supreme deity, made the first person out of ground or clay. The Komi-Zyryans believed En made a man and vivified him with no aid from Omol', who tried to profane En's creation. Omol' was partly successful. According to the Permians, Kul' took part in the creation of a man. En made a body, and Kul' added some small details. But En vivified the man. According to the Komi, two demiurgians took part in the creation of animals. The Komi-Zyryans thought En and Omol' rivaled over that activity: En created a squirrel for man to hunt, then Omol' created a marten to eat squirrels, and then En created a dog to help man hunt the marten. En created a cock, a hen, a black grouse, a ptarmigan, a hazel grouse, and a duck. In response, Omol' created beasts and birds of prey. The bear had a special status among the animals. It was thought to be En's son who had come down from the sky to live on the earth. According to the Komi-Permians, En and Kul' created all the animals together and at the same time. First they made them of parti-color clay, then En vivified the animals. Under the influence of Christianity the images of demiurgians among the Komi in many respects began to resemble the images of God and Satan, especially among women, who thought En acted as the creator and Omol' (Kul') hampered him.

Few early literary sources on the ancient Komi religion have survived. According to *The Life of Saint Stefan, the Bishop of Perm* (1897) by Epiphany the Wise, Komi ancestors had many deities, whose anthropomorphous wooden images stood in the cult sanctuaries. Periodically, sacrifices of valuable furs were made, with Pam, the supreme priest, leading. In response, good luck in hunting and fishing was granted. There were also domestic deities whose images were kept in the dwellings. Of the deities of the highest rank, only one is known. In 1501 Simon, a bishop, sent a message to the Komi-Permians appealing to them not to pray to the idol Voipel and not to sacrifice. In the Permian folklore, Voipel is a kind deity who protects people from various misfortunes and enemies. In the pre-Christian sanctuary, Voipel's image took the central place. The name of this deity is not fixed in the folklore of the Komi-Zyryans. Evidently the images of ancient Komi deities merged with the images of the Christian saints. Discoveries of the early twentieth century indicate the custom of collective sacrifices on the days of the saints, especially on Ilya Day.

According to Komi animistic ideas, there existed an irreal world of various spirits that in many respects determined the life and well-being of people. In the traditional Komi world outlook, the water masters and especially the forest masters dominated in the hierarchy of the lower-ranking deities. En divided the riches of the forests and waters between people and the spirits. People could obtain their share of riches only with the agreement of the forest and water masters. A hierarchy was implied among the forest masters: there was senior forest spirit and spirit masters of separate kinds of animals, such as squirrels and hares. Vorsa was a common name for a forest spirit among the Komi-Zyryans, whereas the Permians used the name Voris'. The ideas of the image of the forest spirit were diverse: it could be invisible or appear as a whirlwind, an ordinary man, or a man with some peculiar features. A bear was though to be the forest spirit's living embodiment. The forest spirit was the guarantor of hunting morals to be observed by the hunters, and the spirit thus deprived the infringers of good luck. The Komi made offerings to the forest spirit before the beginning of the hunting season, and they left their first catch for him. The two Komi peoples had different attitudes toward a forest spirit in a nonhunting village environment. Among the Komi-Zyryans, especially the women, the spirit's image was often understood as identical to that of the evil spirit. The Permians' attitude to Voris' was most respectful, however, giving him wider functions than simply power over the forest. They asked him to give health and well-being to the people and the cattle, and he was addressed in epidemic and epizootic cases.

Vasa was the most widely used name for a water spirit master among the Komi-Zyryans, whereas the Permians preferred the name Vais'. They pictured this spirit as a man, as a man with a fish tail, or more often as a man with a large pike. The water spirit master monitored the observance of the hunting morals, and an infringer was deprived of good luck. Sacrifices, such as bread, butter, and eggs, were made to water spirits before the beginning of the fish catch. The loss of people and cattle in waters was understood as the harmful activity of the water spirits.

Other deities of lower rank inhabited the environment where people lived. In the period of rye flowering, a female spirit in the field protected the crops. This spirit deprived people of good harvests as punishment for whistling, for linen rinsing, and for touching the flowering crops. This spirit did not receive sacrifices. Spirit masters of dwellings and household constructions lived in the peasant farmsteads. The spirit master living in a barn protected it and crops from fire. People left food for this spirit. The bathhouse spirit master (Pyvsyansa) was though to be terrible, and one had to ask permission before entering the bathhouse. After the third steam, people did not wash in the bath, as it was thought the infringer might be tortured to death. This spirit was offered water and baked onion before people washed. The spirit master of the house and the cattle shed was considered primary among the spirit masters of the farmstead, and the Komi had many names for it. This spirit assured the well-being of people and cattle. It lived behind a stove or in a cellar under the floor, and people left food at the door to the cellar as a treat.

Clear traces of animism cults are also preserved. The Komi believed animals, birds, and fish understood human speech. According to the rules of the cult of fur animals, it was forbidden to say disapproving words to any catch. The hunters used various allegories (euphemisms) so as not to frighten off a beast. If the catch was valuable, they made a festive meal. The first fish caught was thrown back into the water. They believed that a killed animal would reincarnate in some other species if its remains were collected and buried in some secluded place. It was forbidden to bring a live catch to a hunting hut or home. In particular, hunting bear or elk was strictly regulated, for these animals possessed calendar significance: the bear was a symbol of the spring and summer, whereas the female elk was a symbol of autumn and winter.

According to folklore data, large birch trees stood in the main sanctuaries where the important pre-Christian festivities took place. The sites of many Komi villages have huge birch, pine, or spruce trees nearby, where it is said the population used to gather for some calendar festivities. In the beginning of the twentieth century the sacred groves still could be found near some villages. People held special attitudes toward some trees. They thought willow, alder, rowan, and juniper trees could frighten away evil spirits. Birch and fir trees were related to females, and pine and spruce were related to males. Birch is a symbol of the upper world, pine of the middle world, and spruce of the lower world. Thus, hunters making lodging for the night under a tree asked its permission. They thought trees not only understood human speech but also communicated with one another.

Traces, though not strong, of a fire cult are also preserved. Fire, especially "live" fire obtained from friction, had cleansing power. Before meals the hunters performed the rite of feeding the fire by throwing bread crumbs into it. It was forbidden to spit or urinate into fire or to trample the fire down with one's feet. Fire could only be quenched with water. It was believed that En created the fire.

The water cult required a sacrifice to water. Every spring the Komi made presents to rivers and springs as soon as the ice was broken up. To avoid diseases they threw a present into the water after drinking it. Newly married couples went to the river to wash their hands and faces on the third day after their weddings, they then threw presents, such as bread, cheese, money, and yarn, into the water. When crossing the river for the first time after the ice had broken up, people threw some bread into the water, asking it to protect them in their run. Some springs were considered health-giving. Those who came to use its waters threw bread or silver coins into it as a present. The invocated (charmed) water was also believed to be health-giving and was used for healing diseases caused by spoiling and the evil eye.

The ancestor cult was closely related to ideas of soul and death. The Komi thought people had two souls. Ort (soul shadow), a person's invisible double, accompanied him or her from birth to death. It became visible only before a person's death, appearing before the person or his or her relatives, thus informing them of the imminent death. But Ort could also inform of death while remaining invisible by making sounds: firewood hewing predicted a man's death, while the noise of a spinning wheel predicted a woman's death. After a person's death, Ort stayed on the earth for forty days, visiting all the places the dead person used to go when alive. The spirit then left for the other world. Komi villagers, especially women, retained ideas on Ort even in the early twenty-first century. Lov (soul breath) was located inside a person's body. After the person's death Lov stayed inside the house near the body until the fortieth day, the day of the funeral repast. Then it also left for the other world.

The idea of the world of the dead was dual. On the one hand there were the Christian ideas of paradise and hell. On the other hand there existed a belief that the habitation place of the souls of the dead, not localized concretely, was close to the world of people, which explained the close interrelation between the world of the dead and the world of their living relatives. These ancient pre-Christian ideas found reflection in the traces of the ancestor cult that survived into the early twentieth century. Before performing any important work (sowing, reaping), the Komi addressed their "parents." It was believed that the dead constantly took care of their living relatives. In turn, the living, to ensure this aid, had to periodically make the funeral repast, to remember the dead with a kind word, and to invite them to wash when going to a bathhouse. The dead who were offended by insufficient attention punished their living relatives with bad luck in household affairs or by making them fall ill. The souls of the dead forgotten by their relatives and descendants left for some other world that did not interact with the world of the living. Few ancient Komi beliefs and cults survive, only some superstitions.

SEE ALSO Finno-Ugric Religions.

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KONGO RELIGION. The Kikongo-speaking peoples of the Niger-Congo linguistic group represent a rich and diverse cultural heritage associated with the ancient kingdom of Kongo. By the late twentieth century, they were three to four million strong and lived in rural and urban areas of the western part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Republic of Congo, Angola (and Cabinda), from 4° to 7° south latitude to 11° to 14° east longitude, as well as in several New World settings. Since the fourteenth century they have gained their livelihood primarily from the cultivation of various food crops (oil palm, yams, plantains, manioc, and so forth), and from hunting, fishing, and livestock tending. Smithing (of weapons, tools, jewelry, and ritual articles), weaving, tanning, sculpting, and carpentry, as well as trading in the famous Kongo markets, have been important commercial skills.

Increasingly from the late fifteenth century on, Kongo peoples were profoundly affected by contacts with European merchants, missionaries, and travelers, especially in connection with the great coastal trade, which included (from the eighteenth to late nineteenth centuries) massive slave traffic. Hardly had the slave trade ended in the 1860s when the Kongo region became the launching ground for colonial exploration and the establishment of the Congo Free State and the Belgian Congo. One indicator of the social dislocation and upheaval suffered by Kongo peoples is their gradual decline in population. From the fifteenth century to the early twentieth century it was reduced by half, despite a high birthrate. Only in 1930 did this population trend change to one of growth.

Life in Kongo society is characterized by a sense of unity of all aspects, articulated through numerous complementary oppositions. An individual is born, and remains, a juridical member of his mother's lineage and clan, yet the tie to the father and the father's kin is also strong and provides a source of spiritual identity. An individual's property relations lie inherently with the matrilineal estate, yet throughout life a child may enjoy rights to use the father's property. The collective children of a matrilineage's men constitute a continuing source of political consolidation of such a lineage. Alliances between lineages, often in reciprocal father-to-child marriages, reinforce existing bonds and create the basis of the social fabric.

Kongo religious beliefs and practices derive from these pervasive social realities. There are a number of basic Kongo religious concepts that have persisted amid the profound vicissitudes of Kongo history. Among them is the belief in a supreme being, known as Nzambi Kalunga or Nzambi Mpungu Tulendo, who is thought to be omnipotent. Although Nzambi Kalunga is the creator and the ultimate source of power, lesser spirits and ancestors mediate between humanity and the supreme being. Evil, disorder, and injustice are believed to be the result of such base human motives as greed, envy, or maliciousness. As constant sources of life and well-being, both the land and the matrilineal ancestors buried in it form the basis of the preoccupation in Kongo thought with fertility and the continuity of the community. Patrifilial relations and other alliances formed in the public sphere bring forth in Kongo religion a concern with the nature of power, its sources, applications, and the consequences of beneficent and malevolent uses of it.

KONGO RELIGIOUS HISTORY. The range of diverse cults, movements, and beliefs in the religion of the Kikongo-speaking peoples may best be presented in terms of a historical sketch. By 1500, the period when historical records were first kept, Kongo agrarian communities had been drawn into numerous kingdoms and large chiefdoms established centuries earlier; on the coast there were the Loango, Kakongo, and Ngoyo kingdoms; inland on the north bank of the Congo River, there was Vungu and numerous other chiefdoms; on the south bank, Nsundi and Kongo. In all these polities, shrines and insignia of authority represented the complementarity of power: the autochthonous spirits of the land and the awesome, detached, acumen of conquering, alliance building, and conflict judging.

The Portuguese explorer Diogo Cão contacted the king at Mbanza Kongo, the capital, in the late fifteenth century, and later the Portuguese king and merchants entered into diplomatic, mercantile, and missionary relations with Kongo, unleashing significant forces of change. In a succession struggle between the traditional prince Mpanzu and Christian prince Afonso in 1510, the victory of the latter brought about the official endorsement of Catholicism, schools, and the Europeanization of Kongo culture. A more centralized model of government prevailed, with Portuguese backing. At the same time, but against the king's wishes, the slave trade began to have serious repercussions in the kingdom. After Afonso's death in the mid-fifteenth century the kingdom began to disintegrate and, although usually supported by Portuguese militia and Catholic missionaries, it became increasingly subject to extended succession feuds between contending houses and lineages. During the centuries of the coastal trade, especially the slave era (eighteenth to late nineteenth century), all of the region's historical kingdoms gradually lost their control over tax levying, trade, and orderly administration. A variety of cults and renewal movements made their appearances.

Crisis cults and movements in Kongo history must be seen against the background of more long-term, focused, therapeutic rituals and life-cycle rituals, with which they share the underlying symbolic logic that will be described later. To a degree the crisis cults of Kongo history arise from the ground of routine rituals. Thus, initiation rites of Kimpasi (widespread south of the river) and Kinkhimba (north of the river), mentioned as early as the seventeenth century, are known to have had a periodicity of occurrence that intensified with droughts, political chaos, and rising perception of witchcraft activity. Both types of initiation were promoted by chiefs and sought to instruct youth and to legitimate political regimes.

As chiefdoms and kingdoms suffered loss of legitimacy in the trade or because of the decline of central states, new insignia and charms of power spread to enhance authority. As infertility and population decline became acute, especially in areas subjected to venereal disease and other epidemics, fertility and birthing medicine cults emerged, such as Pfemba, organized by midwives in the western north bank region. As the coastal trade increased in intensity and caravans moved from the coast to inland markets and trading points, challenging local polities and demanding provisions, medicine cult networks arose to buttress regional market and alliance structures and to protect those who were involved in the trade from the envy of their subordinates; Lemba, the great medicine of markets and government, is an important instance of this. Nkita, an ancient medicine of lineage structure, emerged wherever segmentary lineage fragments were beset by misfortune and sought to restore authority and ties to ancestors.

Kongo cultic history may be seen as a veritable tradition of renewal, either at the local lineage level, the national level, or in terms of a specific focus. Often the appeal is for restoration of public morality and order; individualized charms are commanded to be destroyed, the ancestors' tombs are restored, cemeteries purified, and group authority is renewed. Although often the originators of new cultic forms are unknown, some exceptional founding individuals are remembered and may be identified.

An especially severe and prolonged succession crisis in the Kongo kingdom in the eighteenth century brought to the fore a Kongo Joan of Arc, the prophetess Kimpa Vita, or Dona Béatrice, to reconcile the contending factions and restore authority to the capital. Her syncretic doctrine of national salvation combined royalist ideals of restoration of the capital with the call for fertility and the appeal to Christian love, subsumed under the banner of Saint Anthony, for whom the prophetess's followers were named Antonines. Kimpa Vita's work was cut short when she was charged with heresy by the Capuchin missionary Bernardo da Gallo, who supported one of the other political factions; after her execution the Antonine movement continued for several decades. Renewal movements became increasingly common, and better documented, during the Free State era (1875–1908) as colonial labor recruitment, epidemic diseases, population decline, and renewed missionary efforts to defame traditional beliefs subjected the Kongo peoples to a loss of values and the disintegration of leaders' authority. By 1920 Kongo chiefs were generally ineffective; their judicial techniques were bypassed by the colonial authorities or banned. Especially important in the context of Kongo religious leaders is the twentieth-century Kongo prophet Simon Kimbangu, whose widely influential teachings eventually gave rise to the largest independent church in Africa.

Mission Christianity, implanted during the Free State and subsequent colonial era by British, Swedish, and American Protestant groups and by Belgian, French, and Portuguese Catholics has given rise to many congregations and conferences, as well as to schools, hospitals, seminaries, and other specialized institutions. Furthermore, it has brought about the far-reaching Christianization of the Kongo populace. However, paradoxically, most Kongo Christians still subscribe to the fundamental tenets of the Kongo religion and worldview.

KONGO BELIEFS AND PRACTICES TODAY. In the twentieth century large numbers of Kongo people migrated to the urban centers of Brazzaville, Kinshasa, Matadi, Pointe Noire, Luanda, and lesser towns, yet reverence for lineage ancestors and offerings made to them continue to be integrally tied to the maintenance of lineage land estates and to the guardianship of the matrilineal kin unit. Many of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century initiatory and curing rites have been abandoned, yet many dimensions of life continue to be sacralized. For example, religious beliefs continue to revolve around providing assurance for women's reproductive capacity and male fertility; guaranteeing the legitimacy of authority roles at lineage and clan levels; presiding over rites of passage—naming, puberty, marriage, bride price payment, death; restoring ancestral ties where lineages have been segmented or where, in urban settings, lineage fragments seek to return to their roots.

Dealing with misfortune remains an important issue in Kongo religion, although the list of common occurrences has grown from hunting and gardening activities and related accidents (e.g., being gored by a wild boar, falling from a palm tree) to include accidents and misfortunes of industrial society (e.g., automobile crashes and factory accidents). The old desires for influence, love, justice, and success have remained current, along with the need to explain failures in these areas. Misfortunes, and the desire for good fortune, are dealt with in the perspectives of historical Kongo divining, mediumship, protective magic, and healing. The axioms of this worldview, apparently quite persistent over centuries, explain the fate of humans in terms of the priority of the invisible spirit world over the visible material world or the tendency of the former to regularly break in upon the latter. Normal events in the order of things and relationships created by Nzambi require no particular piety or devotion to continue. By contrast, abnormal or unusual events are considered to be caused by humans who, willfully or inadvertently, affect others' destinies (mostly for the worse) by spiritual or direct means. The Kongo word often translated as witchcraft or sorcery is *kindoki*, from *loka* (to use charged words toward others). The power of words in interpersonal discourse is greatly respected. Human ties, frequently polluted and muddled with ill will, malicious intentions, and envy, or the threat of becoming so, must regularly be renewed with gift exchanges, purification rites, and harmonious discourse.

When ordinary people cannot cope with their misfortunes and conflicts, they turn to the *nganga* (specialized priests and doctors). The *nganga* are diviners, religious specialists skilled in manipulating spirits, humans, and symbols; agents of power who inaugurate offices of authority; and healers who deal with sicknesses of mind and body. They use esoteric codes relating the visible realm of plants and substances and apply them to the invisible realm of emotions, society, and the beyond. These mediatory roles of the *nganga* (as well as those of chiefs, prophets, and other powerful people) require legitimation from the white otherworld (*mpemba*), the realm of ancestors and spirits. As a natural cosmology *mpemba* is most often associated with water, the realm of nature, and with ancestor spirits. Land, the abode of mundane human powers, is associated with black, the realm of defective, partial, and evil forces. The sky is a third realm, not associated with any color; it is the abode of other spiritual forces. Redness, often used to describe the ambiguous or transitional areas of life, may be tied to power, or to the sun and other astral bodies, and it expresses the cycles and rhythms of natural and human life. This cosmology of natural realms and color qualities may be associated with the more explicit human ideology of matrilineal and patrilateral kinship, in a ritual grammar that amplifies the complementary dependencies of mother and child, father and child, siblings and spouses. At the most abstract level, the white may be contrasted to the world and used as a metaphor of renewal, postulating the ever-ready tendency of *mpemba* to pervade the human world, to replace, renew, and purify it.

Kongo religion is more complex and profound than any single doctrine or congregation represented within it. It is a set of perspectives about life, of symbolic traditions and roles that have formed over centuries of human experience at the mouth of the Congo River. This experience includes the adversities of the slave trade, massive depopulation, epidemics, colonialism, and droughts, as well as the challenges of Christianization and independence. Kongo religion is at the heart of one of the great historic, yet living, human civilizations.

SEE ALSO Kimbangu, Simon.

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KONG SPRUL BLO GROS MTHA' YAS (KONGTRUL LODRO TAYE) (1813–1899).

Kong sprul was the founder of an extraordinary movement emphasizing the internal harmony of the various spiritual traditions of Tibet. The essential outlook of the nonsectarian or Rime approach in Tibetan Buddhism is respect for all approaches to realization. But followers of this approach believe equally in the necessity of personal practice, initiations, deity yoga, and guru devotion derived from one of the other traditions.

Kong sprul, his friend the Sa skya (Sakya) master 'Jam dbyang Mkhyen brtse'i dbang po (Jamyang Kyentse Wangpo, 1820–1892), and the visionary revealer of concealed teachings Chogyur Lingpa (1829–1870) together changed the spiritual landscape in eastern Tibet and eventually brought forth a renaissance of Tibetan culture, education, and spiritual practice. Their friends included teachers from all the competing religious traditions of the Tibetan lands. They met often to exchange teachings and profoundly influenced each other.

Buddhism and other written religious traditions came into Tibet from India, China, and central Asia over centuries, beginning in the seventh century. During the Royal Dynastic period (seventh to ninth centuries) Buddhism and Bon struggled for supremacy, each of their claims supported by different factions at court. Buddhist monastic practices were gradually standardized, and methods and terminology for translation into Tibetan were decreed. But Tibet was then and remains largely local, and the local weather makers and ritual specialists provided religious needs for the vast majority of the population. These followed a bewildering variety of practice forms, some of which had little to do with the Buddhism and Bon of the court circles.

With the collapse of the central dynasty and the breakup of a national political authority, family-based religious businesses became the rule. Members of these families began to travel in quest of special teachings, which were passed to family members and favored students within protected transmissions. There were great rivalries for patronage from local princes and nomadic headmen.

The roots of eclecticism and tolerance are sunk as deep into the soil of the Tibetan tradition as those of sectarianism and bigotry. Early masters of the Tibetan systems of practice sought teachings and methods of spiritual transformation from a variety of sources. There was a continuing and vital sustenance between the religious philosophy of the greater tradition and the practice of village wizards.

Kong sprul was born in Rong rgyab (Rongyab), a remote area in Kham. His father was a lay village priest of the Bon tradition. Kong sprul was a remarkable student and mastered in a short time the writing and all of the books available in his area. Kham was filled with turbulence and war during these years. Eventually the young Kong sprul's skills as a scholar and secretary came to the attention of a Rnying ma (Nyingma) monastery in Kham.

These were times of tremendous sectarian conflict between followers of Bon and the Buddhist traditions as well as within the Buddhist traditions in all of eastern Tibet. The young Kong sprul moved to Dpal spungs (Palpung), where he became a valued scribe and scholar. In order to prevent him from being taken by the Sde dge (Derge) authorities into the service of the court, he was recognized as an incarnation of a former monk at Palpung from Kong po (Kongpo) far to the west. This meant that he could not be inducted by the prince, and he became and remained a monk of Palpung.

During his long career at Palpung, Kong sprul penned over ninety volumes. The first of his five great treasuries is *Kagyu ngak dzo* (Treasury of Tantric empowerments of the Mar pa Bka' brgyud [Kagyu] school). The second is *Damngag dzo* (Treasury of practice instructions). The third and longest of the five, *Rinchen ter dzo*, is an anthology of all of the hidden teachings that had appeared in Tibet. The fourth is the Treasury of Extensive Teachings, *Gyachen ka dzo*, which comprises Kong sprul's own writings. The fifth, the three-volume *Sheja dzo* (Treasury of the knowable), is the shortest and is an encyclopedic work. The essence of the Rime movement is expressed in *Damngag dzo*, which enshrines the empowerments and instructions that had been transmitted by all of the Buddhist lineages that had come into Tibet.

The emphasis is shifted from colors of hats and sect names to a broad system of eight lineages of practice. Each of the eight lineages were passed on by masters who taught special insights into methods of spiritual transformation. Four of these persist in Tibet in the early twenty-first century as the four Buddhist orders. The other four at the time of Kong sprul had almost died out as active functioning sects; they survived only as transmissions of word and a few empowerments. Kong sprul and Mkhyen brtse gathered together these rare word transmissions from all over Tibet. Kong sprul included them in his eightfold architecture, and the teaching transmissions were spread throughout the land and became revived and revitalized.

Of course no mortal can attempt to practice all of the eight systems in one lifetime. The followers of the Rime movement emphasize that what is important is the development of an attitude of respect for all systems and philosophical outlooks while maintaining a firm commitment to a personal practice. Many great masters of the Indo-Tibetan tradition taught the moral dangers of denigrating proponents of any practice, even the adherents of the Hindu and Jain traditions. What is important is the commitments to one's own spiritual master and to the practice that the teacher has enjoined.

THE EIGHT SYSTEMS. The first of the systems is the Early Translation school or the Rnying ma. These teachings consist of the practice of the three yogas: *mahāyoga*, *anuyoga*, and *atiyoga*. The master who systematized these teachings and their philosophy was Klong chen Rab 'byams pa (Longchen Rabjampa) ((1308–1364), although the teachings first began to be translated into Tibetan in the eighth century. The highest fundamental outlook of this tradition is Rdzogs chen (Dzogchen) or the Great Perfection. In the eighteenth century 'Jigs med gling pa (Jigme Lingpa, 1729/1730–1798) produced the cycle of revelations known as the *Longchen Nyingtig* after receiving profound visions of Longchen Rabjampa. The Early Translation school has maintained its strength because of ongoing revelation.

The second of the systems, the Bka' gdams (Kadam) pa, flourishes strongly in the early twenty-first century in its offshoot, the Dge lugs (Geluk) pa, founded by Je Tsong kha pa (1357–1419). This school became the paramount sect of Tibet under the Dalai Lama. The basic teachings of the Bka' gdams pa and Dge lugs pa are mental training (*lojong*), the graduated path, and careful observance of monastic discipline. The Bka' gdams pa approach has profoundly influenced all of the other systems of Tibet.

The third system is centered around the teachings of the Path and Its Fruition (Lamdre) derived from the *Vajra Verses*. The empowerments of the Lamdre system are derived from the *Hevajra Tantra*. These teachings became widely spread through the efforts of Sa chen Kun dga' snying po (Sachen Kunga Nyingpo, 1092–1158), the first of the five great patriarchs of the Sa skya school. The teachings remain strong in the early twenty-first century among the followers of the Sa skya tradition.

The Mar pa Bka' brgyud school begins in Tibet with the great translator Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros (Marpa Chokyi Lotro, 1002/1012–1097). The Mar pa Bka' brgyud school subsequently split into a multitude of kindred traditions following the *mahāmudrā* outlook, realized through the practice of the *Six Yogas of Nāropa*. The empowerments for the Mar pa Bka' brgyud are the Chakrasamvara and Vajravarahi.

All of the above four traditions survive as separate sects or schools to the early twenty-first century. The other four were absorbed into the four major schools and did not enjoy a separate sectarian presence after the seventeenth century.

The Shang pa Bka' brgyud school has experienced a great revival because of the teachings of Kong sprul and Khenpo Kalu (1905–1989). The teachings passed from Niguma, the female counterpart of Nāropa (1016–1100), and another *ḍākinī*, Sukhasiddhi, to Khyung po Rnal 'byor (Khyungpo Naljor) (978/990–1127). The primary sources are a set of *Vajra Verses*, the outlook of *mahāmudrā,* and the practice of the Six Doctrines of Niguma. The teachings were amplified by the long-lived builder of bridges, Thang stong rgyal po (Thangtong Gyalpo) (1361–1485), and Jo nang Rje btsun Tā rā nā tha (Jonang Jetsun Tārānātha) (1575–1634). These precepts are widely practiced in the Bka' brgyud in the early twenty-first century.

The sixth system is the Zhi byed (Zhije) school with its auxiliary system known as Gcod (Cho).The Zhi byed, or Quelling of Suffering, came to Tibet with the eleventh-century Pha Dam pa sangs rgyas (Pha Dampa Sangye,

d. 1105/1117). The Gcod, or Severance, teachings come from a great female disciple of Pha Dam pa, Ma gcig lab sgron (Machig Labdron, c. 1055–1149). These practices have spread through almost all of the other traditions of Tibet.

Vajra Yoga, the seventh system, exists in two flavors, the Zhwa lu (Zhalu) and the Jonang, both of which at one time had separate identities. The focus is upon the *Kālacakra* (Wheel of time) *Tantra* and the methods enshrined in the Six Branches of Union. The Jonang school survives as a sect in ʾDzam thang (Dzamthang) and a number of affiliated monasteries in Sichuan Province. The Zhwa lu sect has largely merged with the Dge lugs tradition.

The final and last of the eight systems is no longer extant except as empowerments and textual transmissions among the Bka' brgyud. These were received by O rgyan pa (Orgyenpa) from enlightened women in Swat in the borderlands where India, Pakistan, and central Asia meet.

The followers of the Rime movement began to question the banning of books of sects regarded as heretical. Many of these had been banned beginning as early as the fifteenth century. Zhwa lu Ri sbug Blo gsal bstan skyong (Shalu Ribug Losal Tenkyong) (b. 1804) was ultimately successful in persuading the Tashilhunpo authorities to permit the opening of the Dga' ldan Phun tshogs gling (Ganden Phuntso Ling) and Byang Ngam ring (Jang Ngamring) printeries in Gtsang (Tsang). The writings of Jo nang masters, including Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan (Dolpopa Sherab Gyaltsen) (1292–1361) and Jo nang Rje btsun Ta rā na thā (Jonang Jetsun Tarānathā) (1575–1634), were again permitted to be printed and distributed. The blocks for many of the banned works of great Sa skya masters, such as (Go rams pa) Gorampa (1429–1489), and Karma Bka' brgyud thinkers like the eighth Karma pa Mi bskyod rdo rje (Mikyo Dorje, 1507–1554) were recarved onto blocks at the great Rime centers of Sde dge Dgon chen (Derge Gonchen) and Palpung.

Under the influence of Mkhyen brtse and Kong sprul a resurgence of interest in histories took place. Many new religious histories were written and distributed throughout Tibet. Important figures in this movement included Zhwa lu Ri sbug, Dga' ldan The bo Ye shes bstan pa rgya mtsho (Ganden Thewo Yeshe Tenpa Gyatso) (b. nineteenth century), Brag dgon Zhabs drung (Dragon Shabdrung) (1801–1866), and Mkhyen brtse himself. This new historiography was infected with the ideals of the Rime.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION. Religious education was another area in which the teachers of the Rime tradition had a great impact. Mkhyen brtse and his teaching school at Rdzong gsar (Dzongsar) served as a model for new forms of religious education. The Rdzong gsar syllabus, created by Mkhan po Gzhan dga' (Khenpo Zhenga) or Gzhan phan chos kyi snang ba (Zhenpen Chokyi Nangwa) (1871–1927), focused on a return to the Indian *śastra* tradition and the memorization of thirteen basic verse texts (gzhung chen [*zhungchen*]). Zhenga wrote annotated commentaries to each of these. The annotations simply attempted to explain the grammatical meaning of the great Indian authors and eschewed sectarian polemic and debate. Their purpose was simply to lead the student into the understanding of the difficult phraseology of the Indic originals. While the great Dge lugs monasteries of Tibet and their affiliates continued to use the time-honored syllabi (*yigcha*) presented for debate, the students at Rdzong gsar and affiliates focused on mastering the basic texts. Even here there were attempts to rewrite the *yigcha* of the great Dge lugs monastic colleges.

Finally, teachers who had been inspired by the ideals in the air began to write more simply and produce works intended to improve the spiritual lives of ordinary laypeople, villagers, and nomads. Dpal sprul (Patrul Rinpoche) (1808–1887) and nomad teachers like Rig 'dzin Gar dbang (Rigdzin Garwang) (1858–1930) began to pen simple literature intended for common people, which included exhortations to give up hunting and adultery and to practice the ideals of the simple Buddhist life. There are few Tibetan Buddhist teachers living in the early twenty-first century who have not been influenced by the ideals of the Rime movement.

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KONKŌKYŌ is a modern Japanese religion founded in 1859. In 1984 it boasted some 469,153 members. The founder of Konkōkyō, known by the honorary title Konkō Daijin (1814–1883), was born Kandori Genshichi to a peasant family in Ōtani village, Bitchū province (present-day Okayama prefecture). Adopted at the age of twelve, he became head of the Kawate (later renamed Akazawa) family at twenty-three and took the name Akazawa Bunji. Under his direction, his family began to cultivate cotton in addition to the traditional rice crop, thereby raising their living standard above the norm of the local cultivating class. However, while Akazawa's diligence and initiative brought material benefit, he also experienced profound grief. Four of his children died of sickness, and in 1855 he himself became very ill.

As a young man, Akazawa was deeply religious and participated in the multifaceted religious life of rural Japan. While his village was principally affiliated with the Tendai school of Buddhism, it was also deeply influenced by the cult of sacred mountains, Shugendō. Shugendō ascetics (*yamabushi*) were prominent in village religion as healers, an activity from which they derived significant income. In addition, priests of local Shintō shrines sponsored pilgrimages to the Ise Grand Shrines. Akazawa assisted traveling Ise priests (*oshi*) in distributing Ise talismans and almanacs in the village. He also joined village confraternities *(kō)* in pilgrimage to a circuit of eighty-eight temples on Shikoku island. He scrupulously observed horoscopic and geomantic prescriptions in planning any significant activity, such as travel or construction.

TEACHING AND SCRIPTURE. Akazawa's illness of 1855 was diagnosed as resulting from an offense against Konjin, who, according to local folk notions, was a malevolent deity ruling the northeast. It was believed that to offend Konjin was to precipitate his wrath in the form of possession or sickness. Akazawa's cure, thought to have been realized through earnest prayers to Konjin, marked the beginning of a complete reorientation of his life, culminating in a new understanding of humanity's relation to the deity Konjin and in the founding of Konkōkyō. Akazawa began to serve Konjin in 1858 and devoted increasing amounts of time to religion. Followers came to seek his advice and to have him mediate (*toritsugu*) Konjin's will to them. He received instructions (*shirase*) from the deity about agriculture, construction, sickness, and a host of other matters. From Konjin, Akazawa received a series of honorary titles marking his spiritual progress, and the deity revealed a corresponding set of titles of his own. Through Akazawa's spiritual development and earnest prayer the deity gradually manifested its true nature and desire for humanity's salvation.

While Akazawa originally conceived of Konjin as an evil being, he realized that the deity did not willfully cause suffering, and that the being he originally knew as Konjin was in fact the one, true God of the universe (Tenchi Kane no Kami), the source of all being. Akazawa's final title, Ikigami Konkō Daijin, reflects the concept that humanity and deity are originally united and indivisible.

In 1859 Akazawa, now called Konkō Daijin, gave up agriculture to devote himself fully to the service of Tenchi Kane no Kami (Great Living Deity Konkō); Konkōkyō dates its founding from that event. Two years later, Konkō Daijin began to record his consultations with followers, most of whom came from Okayama and Hiroshima. As the number of believers increased, the group encountered suppression and persecution from domain officials and *yamabushi.* Many followers believed they were healed by Konkō Daijin's mediation (*toritsugi*), but as such healings detracted from the *yamabushi's* prayer healings, and hence from their income, Konkō Daijin incurred considerable enmity from these powerful religious practitioners. In order to continue *toritsugi* and avert further persecution, Konkō Daijin took a license from the Shirakawa house of Shintō. Although this gave the organization limited recognition as a variety of Shintō, Tenchi Kane no Kami was not an authorized Shintō deity, nor did *toritsugi* bear any relation to the usual practices of the Shintō priesthood.

Konkōkyō's central doctrine is rooted in the concept of reciprocity between humanity and God. Both are said to be fulfilled through humanity's self-cultivation. The task of the religious life is to awaken to God's eternal love and to realize that everyone is endowed with life and sustained by Tenchi Kane no Kami and that all things in the universe derive from him. Because all people are believed to be the children of God, human equality is a fundamental tenet. Faith and spiritual strength, rather than healing rites or medication, are the keys to physical health. Konkō Daijin denied fatalistic ideas of horoscopy and geomancy and derided food taboos and pollution notions regarding women. The record of Konkō Daijin's *shirase* and *toritsugi*, as well as accounts of the lives and conversions of early followers, are collected in Konkōkyō's scripture, *Konkōkyō Kyōten.*

RELATION TO SHINTŌ. Konkōkyō's relation to Shintō is a complex and much debated issue among the ministry. Konkō Daijin's certification by the Shirakawa was acquired more in order to protect the group than as an expression of its faith. Between 1870 and 1884, during the Meiji government's campaign to promote Shintō (called the *taikyō senpu undō*), Konkō Daijin's son Hagio became a *kyōdōshoku* ("national evangelist") and his main disciple, Satō Norio, became a vigorous activist for the movement. It was Satō who was most influential in aligning the group's doctrine with State Shintō. In spite of the direct and repeated protests of Konkō Daijin, who denied that Konkōkyō was a variety of Shintō and refused to meet with local Shintō officials, Satō and other early leaders sought, and eventually gained, recognition for Konkōkyō as one of the thirteen sects of Shintō. The group accepted this designation, no doubt partially owing to their fear of suppression.

Since the early 1980s, however, the group has rejected Shintō rites and vestments, and many ministers repent the part Konkōkyō played in prewar Shintō. They see Shintō as having contributed to militarism and nationalism, traits they wholeheartedly reject. Yet a change of such magnitude, requiring a rejection of much of the group's history, is difficult for many to accept, even when carried out in the name of a return to the true spirit of the founder's teaching. At present, the group is in the midst of a true religious revolution, and the outcome seems sure to bring in a new order.

SEE ALSO New Religious Movements, article on New Religious Movements in Japan; Shugendō.

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KOOK, AVRAHAM YITSḤAQ. Rabbi Avraham Yitsḥaq Kook (1865–1935) was the first Ashkenazi chief rabbi of the Land of Israel in the modern era, a religious thinker and *halakhic* authority, and one of the prominent leaders of the New (Jewish) Settlement at the beginning of the twentieth century. Rabbi Kook was born in Grieva, Latvia. His father was of Lithuanian Jewish descent, and his mother came from a Lubavitcher Hasidic family. Kook was the spiritual and *halakhic* authority who laid the foundations for a religious Zionism that did not settle for the political pragmatism of the Mizraḥi (the religious Zionist movement) or that of Theodor Herzl, the founder of the Zionist movement. Kook sought to view Zionism as a process of redemption, of repentance, and of an overall Jewish renaissance. He was a man of complexity whose persona unified opposing spiritual worlds: the Lithuanian Torah scholarship with the Hasidic spiritual experience, a commitment to *halakha* and Jewish tradition with a modern worldview and Western culture and philosophy, a tendency toward spirituality and mysticism with full involvement in the practical matters of rabbinic and public leadership.

At a very early age, Kook was appointed rabbi of Zaumel and later of Boisk. In 1904 he made a pilgrimage to the Land of Israel and was appointed chief rabbi of Jaffa and the surrounding towns. World War I broke out while he was attending a conference of the Agudath Israel movement in Germany, and he was forced to spend the war years (1914–1918) in Switzerland and England. When he was finally able to return, he moved to Jerusalem to serve as chief rabbi and was elected the first Ashkenazi chief rabbi of the Land of Israel when the chief rabbinate was established in 1921. Rabbi Kook became an outstanding rabbinic leader, one who played an active role in many controversies but won the respect of diverse groups, from the devoutly observant members of the Old Settlement to the atheist pioneers of the New Settlement and the leaders of the second emigration.

Rabbi Kook's extensive writings traverse a wide range of literary styles and forms. He wrote contemplative compositions, *halakhic* books, ideological articles and essays, commentary to the Talmud, poetry, and many letters. His language and style reflect the complex nature of his spiritual world. The unique synthesis found in his writings between mystical concepts and qabbalistic ideas, on the one hand, and philosophical thought and his bold and novel interpretation of the meaning of Judaism, on the other, as well as the personal and original nature of his thought required the creation of a new mystical language.

Rabbi Kook's thought is based on a mystical intuition and on a radically monistic perception. He viewed reality as an absolute unity whose source is the divine infinity and is expressed in all dimensions of existence: in the cosmic, natural, and physical dimension, in the historical-political, and in the cultural dimension. Kook viewed all reality as a revelation or manifestation of the divine, leading to his tolerant and pluralistic outlook, which sees all cultures, each worldview, and every ideology as partial expressions of the divine truth. Despite Kook's basic assumption that no single philosophical or qabbalistic theory can contain the multiple dimensions of existence and that therefore each theory is partial and relative, he nonetheless usually formulated his ideas within a Neoplatonist mystical framework, using concepts borrowed sometimes from the Qabbalah and sometimes from idealistic European philosophy of the nineteenth century. He saw the Qabbalah not simply as an ancient tradition but also as a discipline of free thought and creativity, which springs from the depths of a person's spirit and deciphers the secrets of the Torah.

Kook's contemplative writings were, for the most part, not written in a systematic fashion; his writing was automatic and spontaneous, and in general he did not later edit and arrange these writings in book form. His student and friend, Rabbi David Cohen (HaNazir), who edited a large portion of his works, arranged them in the book *Lights of Holiness,* according to the major topics of philosophical inquiry: epistemology, ontology, and anthropology (including ethics and morality). His nationalistic thought is mostly found in several essays collected in the book *Lights,* which was edited by his son, Rabbi Tsvi Yehudah Kook.

REPENTANCE. Several of Rabbi Kook's main and most fundamental ideas were formed in an original fashion. In Kook's thought, repentance is not merely a psychological process that takes place in the consciousness of the individual but instead a cosmic process taking place in all dimensions of existence, which has sought to return to its source from the moment of creation. This cosmic process is apparent in the movement found in nature, history, and culture toward higher, superior levels of existence. Thus all progress made in the history of the Jewish people and the entire world, in the natural sciences, medicine, and technology, are understood as manifestations of the process of redemption. In this context, sin is also understood as a metaphysical concept that signifies the failure to reach the original goal of creation and a deviation from creation's proper state of wholeness. The redemption of the world is therefore a metaphysical necessity.

FREEDOM. The idea of freedom and the striving for freedom were characteristic of the spirit of the nineteenth century in Europe. However, the idea of freedom in Rabbi Kook's writings is not limited to the realm of political thought; it exists also as a metaphysical principle, as a trait and a basic drive of humans, and as a lofty religious ideal. The concept of freedom is understood foremost as a cosmic dialectical process of self-realization.

HOLINESS. The idea of holiness, according to Rabbi Kook, expresses the immanence of the divine in the world and is described as a current flowing forth invisibly from the source of existence and spreading throughout all dimensions of existence: in space, in time, and in humanity. From this perspective, there is no essential difference between the sanctity of the Land of Israel and that of other places. The difference is only that in the Land of Israel the hidden holiness bursts forth and is revealed like a wellspring. The same is true in terms of time, since the holiness that flows forth in secret each day reveals itself on the Sabbath day, and so it is in the other dimensions of existence. One of the distinguishing characteristics of humanity is the ability to recognize holiness and to have religious aspirations. The capacity for religiosity is common to all people, and in the people of Israel this capacity is also realized in their collective spiritual creation.

Kook's approach to the Zionist movement was based both on his "historiosophical" religious and metaphysical worldview and on his personal experiences of direct contact with the pioneers of the second emigration. In his eyes, Zionism was an opportunity for an overall Jewish renaissance, and he yearned to witness a far-reaching renewal not only of the Hebrew language and the Jewish settlement in Israel but also of Jewish literature, Torah scholarship, and the creative arts as well as an expansion of the meaning of the Torah itself. All of these changes, he believed, would bring about the establishment of the state of Israel in the Land of Israel, an ideal state that would actualize in all dimensions of its existence the noble ideals of Judaism and thus reveal the kingship of God in the world. He valued the Zionist movement as a practical-political instrument whose function was to realize this vision. He also admired and loved the pioneers, in whom he saw unadulterated idealism and innate moral values. However, he also voiced harsh criticism of both wings of the Zionist movement, the religious and the secular, for their narrow understanding of their role. Rabbi Kook was actively involved in the Zionist public life, and the British Mandate related to him as one of the representatives of the Zionist leadership.

Rabbi Kook's impact on the development of ideological-political and spiritual-religious trends was greater after his death than during his lifetime. He was very highly respected and revered by most sectors of Jewish society, despite the fact that his opinions were controversial. At the same time, he did not have many students and did not succeed in creating a mass movement. The yeshiva he established in Jerusalem and led for many years, Merkaz HaRav, did not, after his death, make an impact on wider circles. However, Rabbi Kook's ideas permeated religious Zionist society, and after the Six Day War in 1967, during which territories under Arab rule were captured, all the dreams, the ideas, and the great prophecy of the redemption of the people of Israel returning to their biblical homeland surfaced and came to life in the real world. Youth movements, many religious educational institutions, yeshivas, and high schools educated their students in light of his teachings. Students of the yeshivas and movements influenced by his thought established new settlements in Judea and Samaria; those groups even established a political-ideological movement, Gush Emunim, in the aftermath of the Yom Kippur War in 1973. Of course these movements and trends express only one particular dimension of Rabbi Kook's thought and his multifaceted writings.

Thus Gush Emunim's claim to be the true continuation of Rabbi Kook's legacy put it at the center of a controversy that was both political and ideological in nature. Supporters of this claim emphasize the movement's devotion to the idea of settling in the entire Land of Israel as an integral part of the complete redemption of the people of Israel. Opponents emphasize the fact that this settlement comes against the will of the Arab residents, sometimes takes away their lands, and prevents a peace treaty between Israel and the Palestinians. Seemingly Rabbi Kook's thought is the source of both perspectives.

Unquestionably the love of the Land of Israel, settlement as part of the process of redemption, and the establishment of the state of Israel were essential elements in Rabbi Kook's vision. At the same time, sensitivity toward the dignity and will of the Arabs was also part of his approach (as evidenced by his testimony before the British governor of Jerusalem after Arab rioters attacked Jews at prayer at the Western Wall).

Any attempt to estimate what Rabbi Kook's political position about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict of the late-twentieth century and early-twenty-first century would have been is nothing more than speculation. His perspective and worldview were wide and complex to such an extent that many can find support in them for their contradictory positions; this does not mean that their views should be seen as necessary conclusions or realizations of his thought.

Kook's successors established communities and residential neighborhoods with the characteristics of closed, separate societies. At the same time, in particular over the last two decades of the twentieth century, some of these groups have displayed a trend of openness toward and involvement in all the realms of activity and production of the general society: in academia, in the economy, in the army, in culture, and in the arts. Furthermore the spiritual-mystical trends developing in the climate of the New Age and postmodernism in Israel also have roots in the mystical thought of Rabbi Kook, and its magnetism grows, especially among the religious youth.

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BENJAMIN ISH-SHALOM (2005)

KORAN SEE QURʾĀN

KORE SEE DEMETER AND PERSEPHONE; ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES

KOREAN RELIGION.

The earliest religious practice of the peoples of the Korean peninsula is a form of Siberian shamanism, or *musok* in Korean. Neolithic archaeological excavations on the peninsula have produced pottery with geometric designs identical to those found in regions of Siberia, Manchuria, and Mongolia, suggesting that Koreans of the Neolithic period (beginning around 4000 BCE) can be traced back to the same ethnic stock. The label *shamanism* as the native religion of Korea has encountered some definitional problems, however. Mircea Eliade supplied the essential definition of *shamanism* as the technique of ecstasy, or the separation of the soul from the body to journey to heaven or to the underworld. Modern Korean shamans do not undergo such flights of the soul. Instead, they become possessed by spirits, who "descend" into the shaman and speak through her. Ethnographic data contravenes the definitional problem, however, by attesting to the inherent diversity of shamanic practice even within central Asia itself. In central and eastern Siberia, for example, the possession séance predominates, as in contemporary Korea, whereas the soul flight is more typical to the western and northern regions.

Although *musok* is the most native and persistent form of religious practice in Korea, surviving into the contemporary era, its position in Korean society experienced a sharp reversal between the ancient era and the advent of Chinese cultural influence upon the Korean peninsula. In the earliest period, shamans (*mudang*, from the Mongolian/Tungus *utagan*) were males closely aligned to ruling powers, and shamanism was integral to the establishment of sacred kingship. During the unified Silla, Koryŏ, and Chosŏn dynasties, *musok* was regarded by ruling elites as a form of superstition and was similarly disparaged by Christian missionaries and Japanese colonists in the early twentieth century. Today, *mudang*s are primarily women from reduced economic and social circumstances. They are held in low esteem by the general population, but their services are nevertheless sought out by people of all classes who struggle with inexplicable illness or misfortune.

Shamanism's persistence as a Korean religious practice can be attributed to the basic nature of its ritual objectives—the bringing of good fortune and the warding off of ill via the manipulation of spirits—and its tremendous adaptability to cultural change, particularly to the introduction of other religious systems. Its pantheon of gods, its mythology, and its rituals have been augmented throughout the centuries by the rise of more organized religious traditions passed on by China: Buddhism, Confucianism, and to a lesser extent, Daoism. One might reverse this picture, however, to also observe that the success of these foreign traditions—particularly Buddhism—was a function of their ability to accommodate the primary practice of shamanism. The success of Christianity in Korea beginning in the late nineteenth century can be described in the same manner.

SHAMANISM AND STATE FORMATION. The history of the Korean peninsula can be traced back to about 4000 BCE, with the Neolithic peoples. They lived by hunting, fishing, and gathering and began the shift to agriculture in the third millennium BCE. The basic social unit consisted of the clan, or consanguineous social groupings that occupied distinct territorial regions, and they differentiated among themselves through totemic practices. As the population increased, tribes were created through the merger of clans, primarily through marriage.

The metallurgic technology of the Bronze Age spread down through the Korean peninsula between the first millennium and 600 BCE and was brought by the Tungus, a separate racial stock originating in central and southeastern Siberia. The merger of the two peoples led to an increase in political stratification, as the superior weapons of the Tungus led to the domination of the Neolithic inhabitants. Bronze implements, such as the mandolin-shaped dagger and the knobbed mirror, were emblems of this new authority. The construction of dolmen tombs in this era also testifies to the ability of new leaders to command vast labor sources.

During this era, distinct states evolved from tribal leagues and established themselves throughout the peninsula and present-day eastern and southern Manchuria. They include the Puyŏ, in the region of the Sungari River (present day Manchuria); the Koguryŏ, just to the south, in the region of the Yalu River; the Okchŏ and Tong-ye, in the central peninsular region between the Taedong and Han Rivers; and the three Han tribes—Mahan, Pyŏnhan, and Chinhan—south of the Han River in the southern tip of the peninsula. The strongest and most evolved "state," however, was that of ancient Chosŏn, in the northwestern region of the peninsula closest to China. The chieftan of this tribal confederation adopted the title of *wang,* or king, emulating the northern Chinese state of Yan during the decline of the Zhou dynasty. The dates of ancient Chosŏn largely parallel the Warring States period of China (403–221 BCE).

During this era in which political organization became more complex, shamanism manifested itself as an intimate aspect of state formation. Shamans were males who possessed political as well as ritual power. With the development of hereditary rulership, the exercise of power maintained its religious dimension by expanding the animistic belief system of shamanism into ancestor worship and a belief in divine kingship.

Shamanistic belief fundamentally entails the idea that all natural objects—mountains, rivers, trees, the sun, as well as human beings—are animated by a soul, or spirit. These spirits are divided between those that bring good fortune and those that bring ill. Human ancestors can be benign or troublesome, depending on whether or not they have been properly dispatched into the spirit world. In all cases, spirits are forces that can be propitiated and controlled through the technology of ritual. In the southern regions, "heavenly princes" *(ch'ŏn'gun)* engaged in ceremonial dance and chanting to do their work. Chinese historical sources also attest to ancient Korean tribal festivals uniformly associated with points in the agricultural calendar such as the sowing and harvest seasons. These celebrations entailed sacrifices to heaven on mountaintops or sacred groves. The use of drums and bells at these festivals is characteristic of Siberian shamanic practice. The drum, in particular, was an important instrument in creating the ecstatic trance that enabled Siberian shamans to journey to heaven. Besides mountaintops, sacred groves marked off by a bell and drum signified the presence of spirits and functioned as ritual sites.

The belief in heaven, and a ruler of heaven (*hananim* or *hanŭnim*), was the by-product of nature worship, particularly that of the sun, and was the basis for narratives about divine kings who descended from the upper realm. A legend from the state of Koguryŏ, for example, attests that its founder, Chumong, was conceived by the rays of the sun and finally born of an egg. Each foundation myth of the ancient states establishes the principle of sacred kingship by tracing the ruling clan to a progenitor who is of heavenly origin. One of the most complex, and certainly the most historically significant, of these foundation myths is the story of Tan'gun, who is the progenitor of the state of ancient Chosŏn. Through an analysis of this myth, one can discern the relationship between shamanism and kingship in the early period of Korean history, as well as the evolution of this relationship into the political phenomenon of national identity in more recent eras.

The myth of Tan'gun. It is recorded that in ancient times, the king of heaven (Hwanin) had a son who wished to descend into the world of men. The king descended onto the three great mountains, and finally chose Mount T'aebaek (presently in North Korea) as the site of his son's domain. With three thousand spirits, the son descended onto Mount T'aebaek via the path of a sandalwood tree, under which a sacred altar was established. The realm was called the Sacred City, and the son was known as the Sacred King *(ch'ŏnwang).* With the ministers of wind, rain, and cloud, the king ruled the people.

At that time a tiger and a bear petitioned the king to be made human. The king gave them mugwort and garlic as their food and instructed them to live in a cave for one hundred days. The tiger failed to follow these instructions, but the bear succeeded, and it was rewarded by being transformed into a woman. The king married the Bear Woman, and she gave birth to a son named Tan'gun. Tan'gun established the nation of Chosŏn and ruled for fifteen hundred years, until King Hu of Zhou (China) enfeoffed the nation to Kija. Tan'gun departed for some time but then returned to Chosŏn and became the Mountain God.

The myth of Tan'gun is a synthesis of political and shamanic narratives. The story explains the divine origins of the founder of ancient Chosŏn. In addition, the story moves beyond mythic time into historical time, which is signified by reference to the Chinese state of Zhou. The historical aspect of the narrative accounts for the ultimate displacement of the Tan'gun dynastic line. The mythical portion of the narrative is replete with shamanistic symbolism. *Tan'gun* appears to be cognate to the Mongolian *tengri* and other central Asian terms for *heaven.* The descent of the heavenly king Hwanin, his son, and the three thousand spirits into the human world evokes the primary aspect of shamanic practice, which is the descent of spirits. Mount T'aebaek, the sandalwood tree, and the sacred altar signify cosmic axes through which spirits descend and attest to the shamanic practice of sacrifices on mountaintops and sacred groves. The three ministers of wind, rain, and cloud are nature spirits that shamans propitiate for the purpose of bringing good fortune, particularly by making rain.

The tiger and the bear, particularly the latter, function as totem spirits in Siberia. The marriage of the king with the Bear Woman indicates the alliance of the solar clan with the bear clan in the creation of the dynastic line. The connection between political power and shamanic power is clearly denoted by the successful transformation of the bear into a woman: the conversion suggests the shaman's initiation, which is enacted as a rite of death and rebirth signified by the eating of special foods and submersion into the womb of a cave.

Besides the ingredients of the Tan'gun myth itself, the preservation and use of the myth has maintained the connection between shamanism and the state. The Tan'gun myth was recorded in the thirteenth century by the Buddhist monk Iryon (1206–1289), who compiled the miscellany of legends and folklore known as the *Samguk yusa.* This unofficial compilation is one of the earliest sources available on Korean history and culture. Part of its title, *samguk,* refers to the Three Kingdoms period, when the states of Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Silla emerged in the fourth century as the most powerful states on the peninsula. The era endured until the late seventh century, when victorious Silla emerged as the first unified Korean state. The *Samguk yusa,* however, does not confine itself to the period of the Three Kingdoms. It begins with the founding myths of the earliest states, such as ancient Chosŏn, and proceeds through the united Silla up until its fall to the Koryŏ dynasty in 935.

A centrally important fact about the *Samguk yusa* is that Iryon compiled it during the Mongol rule of Korea, which commenced with the invasions of 1231 and 1254 and which solidified with the formal proclamation of the Mongol Yuan dynasty in 1271. The political and cultural humiliations that Koreans endured under Yuan rule yielded a literary bounty of prose tales, anecdotes, and poetry that aimed to preserve and enhance a sense of native identity. Not only do these sources appear in *Samguk yusa,* but the compilation of the *Samguk yusa* itself was the result of this cultural preservationist impulse. The myth of Tan'gun, in particular, emerged into broad social consciousness and functioned as the foundation myth of all of Korea. This conceit solidified most completely during yet another period of foreign rule—the Japanese colonial era of the twentieth century (1910–1945). After independence, the new Republic of Korea adopted a calendar based on the purported year of Tan'gun's ascension to rule, in 2333 BCE. This calendrical system remained official until 1961, when it was abolished by the military regime of Park Chung Hee.

The survival of Tan'gun mythology into the modern period can also be credited to actual *musok* practices. From the beginnings of the Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1910), Tan'gun shamanism was expressed most directly in the reascension of Tan'gun as a shamanic spirit. The precedent for this is given in the original myth, where it is recounted that after Kija took over the rule of ancient Chosŏn, Tan'gun became the Mountain God. In actual practice, however, Tan'gun became the most prominent member of a "holy trinity" *(samsŏng)* that includes his father, the Sacred King, and his grandfather, the Heavenly King. Tan'gun is to this day an important member of the shamanic pantheon and is pictured as an old man of a decidedly Daoist flavor, mounted on a tiger. In October sacrifices are offered to Tan'gun on mountaintops, the most significant one being Mount Mani on Kanghwa Island. Interestingly, the "holy trinity" is augmented by five historical kings and fifteen culture heroes in the Mani shrine. All of these individuals, dating from the earliest period of Korean history up to the twentieth century, are recognized as culture heroes. The shamans who deify them and petition them for national security and prosperity carry on one of the oldest functions of shamanism—that of protecting the state.

SHAMANISM IN TRANSITION. The period of the Three Kingdoms, briefly mentioned above, was characterized by inner struggles for political domination and union of the peninsula, particularly by Koguryŏ in the north, Paekche in the south, and Silla in the southeast. In 475, the forces of Koguryŏ sacked the Paekche capital, forcing the latter kingdom into an alliance with Silla, its eastern neighbor. Silla in turn seized most of Paekche's territory in the Han River Valley, as well as tribal territories along the Naktong River. By the seventh century, Silla was ready to challenge Koguryŏ. The Chinese unification under Tang rule (618–907) provided Silla the needed ally to thwart its northern rival, which posed a threat to China's own northeastern boundary. By the end of the 660s, both Paekche and Koguryŏ collapsed under combined Tang-Silla attack. Silla then drove off the Tang forces from the Korean peninsula, finally establishing its northern border at present-day P'yŏngyang.

The pivotal role of China in the dynastic union of Korea under Silla rule was only one result of the opening of the Korean peninsula to relations with the Chinese. From the fourth century on, Korea states were increasingly drawn into the Chinese cultural sphere, primarily through the adoption of the Chinese written language, Chinese Confucian texts, and with that, Chinese statecraft. Buddhism was introduced during this period as well, and regular pilgrimages by Korean monks to China, as well as to India, elevated Korea into a new epoch of transregionalism. In the sixth century, Korean monks from Paekche carried Buddhist texts to Japan, the most famous being Hyeja, who served as tutor to the crown prince Shōtoku Taishi (574?–622?). Paekche monks served as the primary transmitters of Chinese Buddhism and Chinese culture to Japan. Along with Buddhist scriptures and Buddhist art, Korean artisans were sent to aid in the construction of Buddhist temples. In return, Japanese monks traveled to Paekche for study.

THE IMPACT OF BUDDHISM. Buddhism was formally recognized by Koguryŏ in 372; by Paekche in 384; and Silla in 529. These dates parallel the timing of each respective kingdom's establishment of formal contacts with China. In this respect, not only was Buddhism a cultural import but, more importantly, it functioned as a vehicle of political relations. The *Samguk yusa* relates that the Chinese missionary monk Sundo arrived in Koguryŏ during the reign of King Sosurim (r. 371–384), bearing scriptures and religious images. Sundo was sent by King Fujian of the Former Qin (351–394), who had defeated the Former Yan—an enemy of Koguryŏ. Hence, Sundo was an envoy-missionary who came to cement political relations between the two states. The ambassadorial nature of the visit is indicated by the fact that King Sosurim made the extravagant gesture of meeting Sundo at the city gate.

The political import of Buddhism in Koguryŏ is augmented by the fact that Chinese Buddhism had already set the precedent for close relations between kings and Buddhist clergy, in the belief that the magical powers of Buddhism were capable of protecting the state. State interest and royal patronage explain the rapid establishment of Buddhist temples and the intense evangelization of the population. The large numbers of Korean monks who traveled to China for study and to Japan as missionaries during this early period was yet another facet of state patronage.

The transmission of Buddhism into Paekche came at the hands of the Serindian monk Mŭlŭnanda, who arrived via the Chinese state of Eastern Jin (317–420). It is similarly related that the Paekche king greeted the monk at the city gate. In Paekche, too, Buddhism was established initially as a royal cult. The arrival of the first Buddhist monks in Silla (from Koguryŏ), on the other hand, was met with suspicion and persecution on the part of the ruling elites—perhaps in part because of their origins from a rival state. When a monk cured King Nulchi's (r. 417–458) daughter of an illness, however, the royalty was converted. This story suggests that the success of Buddhism in Korea hinged on its ability to replicate key functions of shamanism. The curing of illness is the central element here, and the establishment of Buddhism as a state religion replicates the close ties between kingship and shamanism in the pre-Buddhist period.

Throughout the unified Silla (668–935) and Koryŏ (918–1392) dynasties, Buddhism maintained its status as a state religion, and in this capacity it displaced the function and prestige of the *mudang*. As a direct result, the *mudang*'s social and political standing became decidedly ambiguous. The dynastic records of Koryŏ describe the presence of *mudang*s (who appear to have been primarily female) in the palace and the fact that some court ladies and officials deferred to them. On the other hand, the records also detail the persecution of *mudang*s by other officials and royal proclamations against "licentious" *musok* festivals within the city walls. The levying of taxes on *mudang* also suggests that the court sought to discourage people from taking up the shamanic calling. The records paint a picture in which most individuals still adhered to the traditional cosmology of spirits and believed in the efficacy of the *mudang,* but in which the rise of an official and elite ideology led to the repression of *musok* as superstitious and morally corruptive.

On the other hand, it is interesting to note that in overtaking the role of state protector, Buddhism took on the very same ritual tasks so central to *musok*. The P'algwanhoe, a ceremony first performed in 572, was a state-sponsored Buddhist festival that ostensibly encouraged lay people to adhere to the eight ascetic precepts (*p'algwan*) of the monk. The most significant aspect of the ceremony, however, was the prayers for the state, which consisted of spirit propitiation as well as supplication of the Buddha. The Heavenly spirit, mountain spirits, river spirits, and Dragon Spirit were regularly recognized in the annual festivals of the Koryŏ era. The other significant aspect of these festivals was their gaiety, being an occasion for singing, dancing, and feasting. Following *musok* custom, entertainment was considered integral to the task of pleasing the spirits and sending them on their way.

It might very well be claimed that the P'algwanhoe is simply a case of native shamanic practice in Buddhist garb, but the more significant point is that the garb of official choice had direct, negative consequences for the continuing practice of *musok*. From its close association with kingship, still symbolically visible in the royal regalia of Silla kings, *musok* became the province of peasants who augmented their profession with fortune-telling and sorcery. To be sure, Buddhism stretched its ideology in order to accommodate the native Korean spirit world, and *musok* in turn incorporated Buddhas and *bodhisattvas* into its pantheon. Beyond this, however, Buddhism ultimately trumped *musok* because of its political support and because of the plasticity and sophistication of the Buddhist belief system.

These latter qualities are particularly visible in Buddhism's dissemination into the larger populace. The practice of mortuary rites provides the best illustration. The aforementioned P'algwanhoe, from its early sixth-century origins, functioned as a feast for the dead, particularly for the spirits of men fallen in battle. From the early Koryŏ period, the festival of Manghon-il (Day of the Dead) was celebrated on the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month, and it had the same function of propitiating the spirits of the dead. This festival, however, was quite explicitly enveloped in a Buddhist scriptural and ritual web, and it demonstrates the deftness with which the pervasive concern with ancestral spirits was integrated into the Buddhist worldview.

Manghon-il derives from the Chinese "ghost festival," which emerged during the Tang dynasty. The festival got its charter myth from a popular tale about Mulien, a disciple of the Buddha, who journeys to the lowest of Buddhist hells in order to rescue his mother. The tale fuses the Buddhist cosmology of rebirth and the Chinese value of filial piety, testifying to the manner in which the ghost festival allayed the charge that Buddhist monasticism was antifamily. The festival celebrated the emergence of the monastic community from its rainy season meditative retreat. By making donations of food, clothing, and other necessities to the monastic community at this time (which also coincided with the harvest season), the laity reaped the benefit of the heightened ascetic and religious power of the monks, which translated into significant karmic merit. This merit in turn was dedicated to the lay ancestors for the purpose of ensuring their favorable rebirth.

The Chinese ghost festival was a significant community celebration that operated with the financial assistance and ritual participation of the emperor. The Chinese Buddhist canon acquired two sūtras (*Yulanpen* and *Offering Bowls to Repay Kindness*) that narrate how the historical Buddha himself founded the ghost festival and that emphasize the key role of monks as intermediaries between ancestors and descendents. The festival and the texts demonstrate how Buddhism was able to mythically and ritually co-opt the native Chinese worship of ancestors. Transmitted to Korea, which also received the tale of Mulien, the Buddhist belief in rebirth finessed the more fundamental fear of malicious spirits and the need to properly dispatch them from the world of the living. The P'algwanhoe reflects the idea that those who die violently or unexpectedly come back as disgruntled spirits who harass the living through illness and misfortune. Aside from the annual festivals, Buddhist monks were steadily employed to offer sūtra readings at private funerals—a practice that continues into the present day. The ability of Buddhism to usurp the function of spirit propitiation was a key element in the spread of Buddhism among the masses.

The mortuary rituals of *musok* may have remained competitive with Buddhist ones, but its cosmological beliefs were simple in contrast to the great metaphysical and doctrinal systems of Buddhism. During the united Silla, the rise of Buddhist doctrinal schools and renowned monks such as Wŏnhyo (617–686) and Ŭisang (625–702) established a learned religious tradition that was kept vibrant by frequent travel within an international community that included not only China and Japan but also India and Central Asia. Particularly in its missionary travels to Japan, Korean monks acted the role of conduits of culture from the West. The full emergence of Korea into the international scene bred an elite culture and learned community that grew increasingly unkind in its view of the native tradition of *musok*.

THE CHOSŎN ERA (1392–1910). When the military general Yi Sŏnggye (1335–1408) betrayed his Koryŏ king to establish the Chosŏn dynasty (as King Taejo, r. 1392–1398), he chose Confucianism as the new state ideology. Buddhism curried the favor of kings throughout the previous Koryŏ period, but by the end of this era, the cultural and religious vitality of Buddhism had dissipated from privilege and came to pose an enormous financial burden on the state. Taejo looked, as in previous eras, to China for a model of state, but this time to Confucianism, paralleling China's own ideological shift. Integral to the new state was a system of learned Confucian scholars who functioned as ministers and advisors to the king. Hence the official learning of the land became Confucian, although Buddhist learning and piety was never fully abandoned by the aristocracy (and royalty). Buddhist monasteries, however, were banished beyond the capitol to remote mountains, and monks were reduced to the status of pariahs. In a sense, monks joined the ranks of *mudang,* and the intermingling of Buddhism and shamanism at the popular level allowed Confucians to dismiss both as "superstition."

Official ideology, however, tends to paint a picture far simpler than the richness and ironies of actual life. Chosŏn kings and queens lived by the Confucian institutions that maintained the state—such as the Confucian education system that supplied the court with its scholar-officials. These same kings and queens, however, routinely turned to Buddhism in their private lives, particularly when vicissitudes in the exercise of power brought home the Buddhist message that all worldly gains are ultimately empty. Taejo himself bestowed the title of "Royal Preceptor" (*wangsa*) on the Buddhist monk Muhak (1327–1405), who functioned as his confidante and spiritual advisor. King Sejong (r. 1418–1450), considered to be the most illustrious of Chosŏn kings, vigorously suppressed Buddhism but turned to it at the end of his life, going so far as to build a temple within the palace precincts. King Sejo (r. 1455–1468), who ruthlessly assumed the throne by murdering his nephew, the boy-king Tanjong, also turned to Buddhism in the course of his reign.

Chosŏn dynastic history is replete with royalty who not only embraced Buddhist piety but who also shaved their heads and put on Buddhist robes in the final chapter of their checkered lives. These tendencies were shared by the ministers and officials, who were also vulnerable to swings in political fortune. The evidence of this appears in literary works that gave voice to personal feelings. The longing for nature and retirement from political life was a persistent Buddhist-Daoist theme in literati poetry, for example. Kim Sisŭp (1435–1493), Hŏ Kyun (1569–1618), and Kim Manjung (1637–1692) are some of the better known literati whose lives and works of fiction testify to Buddhism's continuing centrality to the way Koreans understood the world. Buddhism's cultural presence straddled the social hierarchy, reaching down to the peasants. Pure Land Buddhism and the cult of Amida (Sanskrit: Amitābha) promised rebirth in the Western Paradise to all, and the compassion of Bodhisattva Kwanŭm (Sanskrit, Avalokiteśvara) promised intercession in a variety of life's difficulties.

If the fortunes of Buddhism officially waned during the Chosŏn, the fate of *musok* was consistently dire, with its rites routinely referred to as *ŭmsa*, or "obscene." Like Buddhism, however, these ritual technologies maintained a secure place on all levels of Korean society, and the tradition of *musok* formed the most basic substratum of folk religion. The *musok* rite, known as *Kut* (Tungus, *kutu*), means "happiness" and "good fortune," and it was performed for private individuals and families, as well as for the community. The basic categories of *Kut*, which continue to the present day, were mortuary rites for ancestors, healing rites, and good-luck rites that invoked heavenly and natural spirits, as well as village tutelary gods. Significantly, *mudang* maintained their presence even in the Chosŏn palaces, where special buildings were prepared for them. The *mudang* who had access to these residences were known as *kongmu*, or "national shamans."

From the Confucian perspective, the most offensive aspect of *Kut* was perhaps its liminoid qualities, in which uninhibited dancing and singing induced frenzied trance in the *mudang* and the abandonment of decorum by everyone else present. This is the reason behind the designation *ŭmsa*, or obscene rites. The strict rules of relation between parents and children, mothers-in-law and daughters in-law, and village hierarchies were temporarily suspended for cathartic celebrations in which spirits and humans enjoyed themselves and entertained each other into a renewed harmony. Unlike Confucian ancestral rites, in which social order and familial obligations are sanctified, *musok* rites were dramatic, improvisational affairs in which personal feelings and grievances are aired by humans and spirits alike.

The significant difference between the Confucian concept of ancestors and the human spirits propitiated by *Kut* bears elaboration here. The basic purpose of Confucian ancestor worship is to define and revere the family line, which is traced through the male side. The continuity of the clan is maintained through marriage and the birth of legitimate male offspring. Firstborn sons carry out the ancestral rites, which pay homage to agnatic ancestors who have bequeathed property to the descendents. This selective definition of ancestors not only excludes collateral family members, such as second-born sons, daughters, secondary wives, and concubines, but also eliminates anyone who has died a violent or unnatural death. *Musok*, on the other hand, is attentive to these very ancestors who have reason to be restless and troublesome to the living. In addition to those who die before their time, there are others whose lives are "incomplete," such as females who never marry and mothers who fail to bear legitimate heirs. In addition, there are those who are disgruntled simply because they are ignored by their descendents. It is these "polluted" ancestors to which *musok* attends, not with the formality and decorum of Confucian rites but with complete abandon to interpersonal drama.

The inherent drama of the *Kut*, with its tradition of music, song, and dance, is not limited to family affairs. Shaman songs (*muga*), particularly in the southern region of Korea, took on the form of epic recitations that recount creation myths and the stories of heavenly gods. The function of the recitation was to summon the spirits to the *Kut*. From a purely cultural perspective, *muga* has become the repository of folk literature that exhibits popular Buddhist and Confucian worldviews as well as shamanic beliefs. In the "Ballad of the Abandoned Princess" (*Pari kongju muga*), for example, a filial daughter travels to the underworld in order to fetch medicine for her parents, in a tale quite reminiscent of the story of Mulien. The saga is populated by *bodhisattvas,* as well as the Buddha himself, and the plot is driven by the law of karmic retribution. The princess's parents fall ill due to their sin of abandoning their daughter, but the princess's Confucian piety drives her to save her parents, nonetheless. She is rewarded with deification, and her sons become the Ten Kings of the underworld. This *muga* is recited during mortuary *Kut*s to assist the dead safely through the underworld.

A cultural legacy of *muga* is a form of oral performance and storytelling called *p'ansori* that formed in the early eighteenth century. *P'ansori* is secular entertainment that arose among the lower classes but that grew popular across all levels of society. Its limited repertoire of stories derives in part from *muga*. The tale of Simchŏng, in which a filial daughter saves her blind father by sacrificing herself to the Dragon King, survives both as a *p'ansori* tale and *muga* recitation. The most popular of *p'ansori* tales—that of Chunhyang—also expresses the prototypical elements of the oppressed or socially disadvantaged female who preserves her familial devotion (in this case, to her husband) despite severe trial, and who is rewarded in the end. The prominence of female protagonists certainly reflects the preponderance of female *mudang*s, who are also lowborn and socially disadvantaged. The plight of such women in these tales, however, came to represent all of those who suffer from social inequity, including, at times, the entire peoples of Korea under foreign domination.

P'ansori performances are given by a single storyteller, the *kwangdae*, who narrates and acts out the characters. Much like the *mudang*, who summons a pantheon of spirits for the assembled participants, the *kwangdae* enlivens the tale's dramatis personae for an audience. A good performing voice is a requisite for both *mudang* and *kwangdae*, both of whom are accompanied by the all-important drum. The *kwangdae*'s only prop is a fan, which can stand for any object, and it is a standard implement (among many others) of shamanic *Kut*. The most compelling aspect of *p'ansori* performance is the *kwangdae*'s ability to improvise upon a standard oral text and to customize it in interaction with the audience. The livelihood of the *mudang*, too, rests upon her ability to negotiate the *Kut* and bring her clients and spirits into a communication that is satisfying and therapeutic.

THE MODERN PERIOD. Korea's modern era begins in the late nineteenth century, when Japan, followed by the United States, the United Kingdom, and Germany, broke down the barriers of the "hermit kingdom" by insisting upon trade treaties. This enforced internationalization showed up the internal weaknesses of Korean society, particularly of its rulers, and the outcome was loss of self-rule to the Japanese between 1910 and 1945. Even after liberation from colonial rule, Korea's dependency on foreign powers led to the north-south division of the country under Soviet and U.S. patronage, respectively. On June 25, 1950, the communist north launched an attack on South Korea, creating the civil conflict that concluded three years later with the north-south division firmly reinforced.

The transmission of Christianity. The opening of Korea to the West also meant the advent of Christianity. Jesuit missions in China in the seventeenth century led to a modest infiltration of Catholicism into Korea. Although missionary attempts to gain entry into Korea largely failed, Jesuit tracts on Christian doctrine found their way in. In the eighteenth century, these pamphlets drew the interest of politically disenfranchised aristocrats. Members of the *namin* ("southern") faction, in particular, formed themselves into a church after Yi Sŭnghun (1756–1801) received baptism from a priest in Beijing and returned to Korea to evangelize. Throughout the nineteenth century, however, the Korean court suppressed Catholicism, in part due to fear of the *namin*, in part because of the importation of the rites controversy from China. The major reason, however, was the association of Catholicism with the aggression of Western powers against Korea. During this period, Catholicism lost its foothold within the aristocracy and shifted largely to petty bureaucrats and peasants, whose persecution made them particularly receptive to a theology of suffering as represented by the Passion of Christ. The Catholic population numbered around fifteen thousand in 1857 but was cut nearly in half by the Great Persecutions from 1866 to 1871, in which eight thousand Catholics were executed.

The story is quite different for the Protestant evangelization of Korea, which began even while Catholics were suffering martyrdom. The seminal event was the arrival in Manchuria of the Scottish Presbyterian missionary John Ross (1842–1915) in 1874. From there Ross succeeded in publishing a Korean translation of the New Testament, as well as a dictionary and grammar of the Korean language. Hence, even before the arrival of official missionaries to Korea, a Protestant Korean community existed in Manchuria, and the circulation of the Bible and native evangelization had begun in Korea itself. Before the end of the century, an array of Presbyterian, Methodist, and Anglican missionaries from Europe and America established themselves. When the American Presbyterian Dr. Horace Allen saved the life of Prince Min in the wake of a palace coup in 1884, Western medicine and Protestant missions received sanction from the Korean king and queen. Dr. Allen's petition to establish a Western medical institution—the Kwanghye-wŏn—was readily granted and opened the following year.

The social and altruistic outreach of Protestant missions was a significant factor in their missionary success. In addition to hospitals, Protestants established the first modern schools in Korea, creating the foundation for the contemporary educational infrastructure, in which forty universities and nearly three hundred schools are of Christian provenance. By the first decade of the twentieth century, seminaries were opened to train native clergy, and the first generation of Korean ministers was ordained prior to the Japanese annexation in 1910, when the Protestant population had already reached 1 percent of the country. Protestant Christianity was the welcome harbinger of progress and new learning, and the Korean court and aristocracy looked increasingly to the West for aid and even personal protection.

The phenomenal success of Protestantism made Christianity respectable overall, and by the turn of the century, the fortunes of Catholicism had also improved. By 1880 the persecution of Catholics had tapered off significantly, and by 1900 there were ten native Korean priests. After surviving the suppressions of the Japanese colonial government and the persecutions by the communist north, Korean Christianity in the Republic of Korea entered a period of uninhibited growth in the 1960s. The gap in Protestant and Catholic success maintained itself, however. According to the 1995 national census, self-identifying Catholics numbered almost three million, whereas Protestant adherents reached nine million, representing 20 percent of the population.

The extraordinary growth of Protestantism in the twentieth century can be attributed initially to the goodwill generated by its philanthropic and social activism. But with the parity of the Catholic Church in these respects since the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), other factors appear to be at play. Protestantism was from the beginning comparatively more open to native Korean culture, hence encouraging deeper implantation. It translated the Bible into the Korean *han'gul* script, whereas Catholicism favored Chinese translations. It chose the native Korean *musok* term *hanŭnim* for God, whereas Catholicism favored the Sino-Korean *ch'ŏnju*, which imports a set of Chinese meanings. The explosion of evangelical Protestantism since the 1960s is notable for its emphasis on faith healing, with its obvious parallel to *musok* practice.

Like Buddhism, Christianity swept into Korea with a wholly new and sophisticated complex of beliefs, rituals, and institutions. The dramatic ascendance of a new religion in Korea seems to rely upon a combination of such innate complexity, which inspires conversion and adherence, on the one hand, and an ability to adopt or equal key paradigmatic functions of Korean religiosity, on the other. The history and evolution of the syncretic religion known as Ch'ŏndogyo ("Heavenly Way Teaching") offers an interesting counterexample. Ch'ŏndogyo initially began as the Tonghak ("Eastern Learning") movement led by Ch'oe Che'u (1824–1864), who was executed for being a Catholic. Tonghak was actually a mixture of Christian, Buddhist, and Daoist elements with a strong nationalist overlay. Its primarily characteristics, however, are a belief in a supreme heavenly ruler and the practice of healing. In spite of these central religious elements, the numbers of followers have dramatically declined in the course of the twentieth century. This suggests that Ch'ŏndogyo is fated to be an epoch-specific movement that could not long survive the death of its charismatic founder nor compete against the doctrinal and infrastructural sophistication of Christianity.

The survival of *musok*. The advent of Christianity in Korea, as with the arrival of Buddhism in an earlier age, has not spelled the demise of native shamanism. To be sure, the modern age produced new adversaries of *musok*—Christians, Japanese colonialists, and communists alike vilified the persisting tradition as an ancient superstition in need of eradication. On the other hand, foreign aggression toward Korea, as well as the north-south national division, spurred both scholarly and popular interest in *musok* as the survival of a united folk (*minjung*) culture. As a result, in the twentieth century Korean and Western scholars devoted serious attention to *musok* and *mudang*s, providing detailed ethnographic accounts of contemporary practice.

A notable feature thereof is the existence of two distinct kinds of Korean shamans, the charismatic *kangsinmu,* who predominates in the northern and central parts of Korea (but who can be found throughout the peninsula), and the hereditary *sesŭmmu*, who are found in the southern Chŏlla and Kyŏngsang provinces. These latter *mudang* are also known as *tan'gol mudang*, named for the regional districts (*tan'gol*s) over which they preside, and they can be distinguished from the *simbang* of Cheju Island (located off the southern coast of Korea), which forms a distinct shamanic region. Both *tan'gol* and *simbang mudang*s are *sesŭmmu* who inherit the authority to preside at shamanic rituals, but quite distinctively, they do not experience the descent of spirits into their bodies. Their primary role is to entertain the gods with songs and dances, but they do not interact directly with the spirits.

True to the dynamic of institutional charisma, the hereditary shamans inherit their spiritual authority and maintain it through their ritual expertise. Shamanism in this instance is a family profession, and the personal history of the shaman is not at issue, nor is her ability to be possessed by the gods. Personal contact with the gods, and their inherent power, are in fact of secondary importance relative to the power of the ritual itself. As an institutionalized form of *musok*, hereditary shamanism functions as a cultural performance that is as artistic as it is religious. The evolution of *p'ansori* from the mythic recitations of *sesŭmmu* demonstrates how *musok* has expanded into a broader cultural tradition.

Kangsinmu, on the other hand, keeps alive the tradition of spirit possession that is at the center of shamanic practice. Rather than inheriting their role, these *mudang*s typically exhibit symptoms of "spiritual sickness" that can last for years until they are initiated as *mudang*s through an exorcism *Kut*. The illness is believed to be caused by spirit possession, and the subject's descent into physical and mental illness can only be cured by a shamanic ritual in which she identifies the god inhabiting her body. From there on, the subject apprentices herself to a senior *mudang* in a spiritual mother/daughter relationship until she becomes a fully initiated shaman. If the subject gives up this function as a *mudang* for a prolonged period of time, the spiritual illness returns.

The overwhelming majority of *kangsinmu* are female. The female-to-male ratio of *mudang*s is estimated to be between 80 to 20 and 70 to 30. The term *mudang* is now reserved for female shamans, generally, and male shamans are known as *paksu*. Although the ritual authority of *sesŭmmu* is passed down through the male line, women also play the dominant role (except on Cheju Island), marrying into shaman families and apprenticing with the mother-in-law, who passes on her ritual expertise. The son/husband learns how to sing and play instruments for the purpose of assisting in the mother's/wife's rites.

The gender disparity has led observers to note that *musok* is a religious and cultural realm that empowers women, particularly of the lower class. The informal, improvisational, and intuitive qualities of shamanic rituals (particularly of the *kangsin* variety) also suggest a female domain in contrast to the formal and male-centered rituals of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Christianity.

Kut is most often sponsored by a family or village in the event of misfortune—typically diseases but also natural disasters, accidents, and deaths. Before a full-scale *Kut*, which can last up to three days, is determined to be necessary, the *mudang* will perform divination to determine the cause of the misfortune and the necessary extent of the remedy. Most often, possession by troublesome spirits who have been neglected or ill-treated are the culprits. These ancestral spirits or gods are placated by prayer and ritual offerings and then driven out, often through a sacrificial scapegoat such as an animal or a doll.

A full scale *Kut* is performed in the event of grave and prolonged disease, assuming the adequate financial resources of the sponsoring family. Its central element consists of the descent of the spirit into the *mudang*. The identity of the spirit is determined through divination, and the possessed *mudang* proceeds to talk, cajole, complain, cry, dance and otherwise interact with the assembled participants. The spirit's presence through the *mudang*'s body allows family members to address departed relatives, often on matters of unresolved grief or misfortune—the deceased's suicide or untimely death, for example. The outpouring of tears, resentments, and feelings address not only past history and suffering but ongoing conflicts between living family members and/or neighbors.

Musok still has its image problems, particularly among the educated adherents of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Christianity. The press toward modernization in South Korea since the 1960s, moreover, condemned shamanism as irrational and regressive. It is interesting to note, however, that at the end of the twentieth century, barely half of the population self-identified with the three aforementioned "great traditions." Although *musok* was not classified as a religion with which to self-identify, its persistence is evident in its rehabilitation as native *minjung* culture. Since the 1980s South Korea's emergence as a global economic power has expressed itself through the state's rapid westernization, on the one hand, and through the self-conscious formation of a unique national identity, on the other. Hence, while private *Kuts* have been banned for being too noisy in urban areas such as Seoul, public performances routinely sponsored by cultural centers and universities have taken their place. Accordingly, even Koreans who do not partake of *Kut* in a religious vein nevertheless affirm it as an important cultural performance.

For their part, *mudang*s quite consciously embrace the role of preservers of Korean culture and identity. The alliance between *musok* and Korean nationalism took on an explicit political dimension with the formation in 1971 of the Korean Spirit Worshippers' Association for the Victory over Communism. The anticommunist sentiments of *mudang*s can be traced back to their persecution under the North Korean regime. This experience has spawned fear for their fate in the event of a North Korean takeover of the South. The response has been to enhance the traditional role of the *mudang* as a protector of the state. The modern *musok* pantheon includes not only Tan'gun as the progenitor of the Korean peoples but also military heroes who have defended Korea's sovereignty in the past. *Kut*s often include a portion known as the "state *Kut*" in which the *mudang* prays for the welfare of the Republic of Korea and its president.

In the meantime, *musok*'s presence finds inroads even into the newest of the great traditions—Protestant Christianity—in the form of *minjung* theology. Like liberation theologies around the world, *minjung* theology speaks directly to the suffering of the ethnic and national community, caused by centuries of political and social misrule, both foreign and domestic. In underscoring the people, or *minjung,* as the primary theological entity, this indigenized Christianity parlays biblical narratives of emancipation and salvation into the story of the Korean people. In defining the people, *minjung* theology looks in particular to cultural performances such as *musok*, as well as to other folk traditions, as its locus.

CONCLUSION. The history of religions in Korea is characterized by both innovation and conservatism. As a small peninsular state subject to the presence and influence of much mightier nations, Korea has embraced a steady flow of religious innovation in the forms of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Christianity. These new traditions have been adopted with a sense of ownership that at times sees itself as the most faithful bearer of the originally foreign religion. In this respect, one can note the relative absence of xenophobic rhetoric against these adoptive traditions, in contrast to the history of, say, Buddhism in China and Japan.

It is this same faithfulness that has preserved and perpetuated the native shamanistic religion of *musok* throughout the periods of religious innovation. Although it has been vilified since the establishment of Buddhism, *mudang*s have provided a fundamental technology for dealing with the basic predicaments of illness and misfortune—predicaments that visit the privileged and the educated as well as the poor. While lacking in doctrinal and metaphysical sophistication, *musok* conveys a therapeutic, interpersonal, performative, and communal value that accounts for its longevity and pervasiveness.

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English-language scholarship on Korean shamanism by Korean scholars has proliferated in the past few decades. Monographs worthy of mention begin with Kim Tae-kon's *Korean Shamanism—Muism* (Seoul, 1998), which focuses on contemporary rituals, beliefs, and social organization. Hyun-key Kim Hogarth's *Korean Shamanism and Cultural Nationalism* (Seoul, 1999) consists of the same general introductory materials but includes a useful discussion of the Tan'gun myth in relation to Korean national identity (chapter 6). Hogarth's *Syncretism of Buddhism and Shamanism in Korea* (Seoul, 2002) consists primarily of separate discussions of the history of these two traditions but offers useful considerations of contemporary syncretic practices. Her full translation of three popular *muga,* or shamanic epic songs, is of particular value, but the analysis is limited to literary and structural interpretation. A study of the historical evolution of the oral storytelling tradition of *p'ansori* from the synthesis of Buddhist narrative elements and shamanic performance has yet to be written. Both the Hogarth titles and the Kim title are published in the Korean Studies Series of Jimoondang Publishing Company of Seoul. These monographs consist to a large degree of the personal reportage of the authors, who are cultural insiders and who are aligned with the contemporary native view that *musok* embodies an enduring cultural tradition.

Ethnographic studies of *mudang*s, particularly in terms of their experience as women, have been the norm of scholarship based in the West. Standard titles include Youngsook Kim Harvey's *Six Korean Women: The Socialization of Shamans* (St. Paul, Minn., 1979), which analyzes the life histories of *kangsinmu*; and Laurel Kendall's *Shamans, Housewives, and Other Restless Spirits* (Honolulu, 1985), which frames *mudang* rites and beliefs in relation to the social realities of Korean women. Kendall followed up this work with *The Life and Times of a Korean Shaman: Of Tales and the Telling of Tales* (Honolulu, 1988). Roger L. Janelli and Dawnhee Yim Janelli detail the structures of Korean family, kinship, and class in relation to ancestor rites in *Ancestor Worship and Korean Society* (Stanford, Calif., 1982).

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which he invokes the hybrid category of the "Christian *mudang*."

FRANCISCA CHO (2005)

KORESH, DAVID.

On Sunday morning, February 28, 1993, David Koresh (1959–1993), the messianic leader of the small band of approximately 130 followers known as the Branch Davidians, dramatically captured headline attention throughout the United States. The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) had staged an armed raid on Mount Carmel, the Branch Davidians' communal residence outside Waco, Texas. The rambling wood-frame building was home to forty-one men, forty-six women, and forty-three children under age eighteen, all fiercely loyal to their leader.

The ATF arrived at the property in an eighty-vehicle convoy including two cattle car trailers loaded with seventy-six heavily armed agents, while three helicopters circled overhead. A fierce gun-battle followed, lasting for several hours and leaving four ATF agents killed and twenty wounded. Koresh and four of his followers were also wounded and six others were fatally shot. Who shot first remains in dispute.

The ATF had a warrant authorizing it to search for improperly registered firearms. Koresh, claiming that the stockpile of weapons the Branch Davidians collected were all legally acquired and were for self-defense in case the government did try to interfere with its activities, said that he had nothing to hide and that when the agents charged the building with guns blazing he and his followers had acted in self-defense. The ATF maintained that its attempt to serve the warrant was met with a hail of bullets. Koresh and his followers refused to exit the building and surrender.

With federal agents dead the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) was immediately called in and took over what became a fifty-one-day stand-off that attracted worldwide media attention. Although Koresh agreed to send out a selected group of thirty-five, mostly elderly folk and children, eighty-three Branch Davidians remained through the entire period. (Six Branch Davidians were off the property at the time of the raid.)

The stand-off ended on April 19, 1993, when the FBI attempted to force Koresh and his followers to surrender by an assault with tanks equipped to disassemble the building while inserting a military-grade tear-gas inside. After several hours, and not a single surrender, a fire mysteriously broke out and the entire place quickly went up in flames. How the fire began, and who might have been responsible, remains unresolved. At the end of the day, Koresh and seventy-three of his followers were dead, including twenty-one children. Only nine followers managed to escape the fire.

KORESH'S EARLY YEARS. Before this tragic confrontation with U.S. federal authorities David Koresh was virtually unknown outside his tiny band of followers, the bulk of whom were living with him in Texas.

He was born Vernon Howell on August 17, 1959, in Houston, Texas, to Bonnie Clark, a fifteen-year-old unwed mother. (It was not until he was thirty-one years old, in August 1990, that he legally changed his name to David Koresh based on his own messianic claims.) Howell's grandmother, Earline Clark, assisted in his upbringing during his early years. His mother married Roy Haldeman in 1964.

Howell grew up in various east Texas towns and eventually dropped out of high school in the tenth grade. He worked as a carpenter and took various other odd jobs. As early as junior high school, he showed an avid interest in three things: playing the electric guitar, working on old cars, and studying the Bible. He had an uncanny ability to memorize, and as a teenager could quote hundreds of chapters of the Bible with word-for-word exactitude.

KORESH'S SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT. When Howell was twenty years old he was baptized into his mother's Seventh-day Adventist Church in Tyler, Texas. He avidly accepted the basic doctrines of the Adventist denomination, including its belief that the nineteenth-century founder of the movement, Ellen G. White (1827–1915), was a divinely inspired prophetess of the last days.

Although Howell amazed all who heard him with his knowledge of the Bible, he was a vocal and controversial figure and began to develop certain apocalyptic views considered heretical by his church, causing his membership to be revoked. He was convinced that the "living voice of prophecy" had surely not ceased when Sister White died in 1915. He maintained that the Seventh-day Adventist Church had become complacent, lethargic, and worldly, having lost the original apocalyptic fervor generated in 1844 by the preaching of William Miller (1782–1849).

KORESH AND THE BRANCH DAVIDIANS. In 1981 Howell visited, and subsequently joined, the Branch Davidian community headquartered on the Mount Carmel property ten miles outside Waco, Texas. At the time, the group was led by Lois Roden, a former Seventh-day Adventist in her late sixties, who claimed to represent a continuation of the prophetic inspiration that had once resided with White. The origins of the group trace back to 1934 when Seventh-day Adventist Victor Houteff (1885–1955), a Bulgarian immigrant to the United States, broke with the parent body to form his own movement that he called the Davidian Seventh-day Adventists. He was convinced of his own prophetic gifts and saw as his divinely appointed mission the gathering of a final remnant group of God's faithful (144,000 taken from *Revelation* 7) before the imminent second coming of Christ. Lois and her husband, Ben Roden, had assumed leadership of the group in the early 1960s and the name Branch Davidian took hold. The Branch Davidians emphasized four main beliefs in contrast to the parent body:

1. A living succession of contemporary prophets following White.
2. The calling together of a remnant group of God's faithful and obedient followers.

3. The imminent return of Christ and his literal worldwide reign in Jerusalem.
4. The observance of the biblical Jewish festivals such as Passover, Pentecost, and the Feast of Tabernacles.

Howell's fervor, dedication, and particularly his vast knowledge of the Bible served him well. It became obvious to all that he was becoming Lois Roden's anointed successor, despite the opposition of her son, George. The two traveled to Israel together in 1983, and rumors of a sexual relationship, and even a nonlegal "wedding," were rampant. (Ben Roden died in 1978, three years before Howell's arrival.) In 1984 George Roden and Howell got into a gunfight when Roden claimed he could raise a deceased member of the group from the dead and Howell was trying to take a photograph of the corpse to show to the sherriff's department. By this time Howell was claiming to have received the Seventh Angel's Message mentioned in *Revelation* 10:7, thus joining the ranks of seven inspired end-time prophets that included, as Koresh counted them, Miller, White, Houteff, his wife Florence, and Ben and Lois Roden.

THE COMING OF A SECOND CHRIST. In 1984 Howell legally married Rachel Jones, the fourteen-year-old daughter of longtime Branch Davidian Perry Jones and Mary Jones. By this time he had become the dominant influence in the group and several of the leading members had accepted his claim to be the herald of the final prophetic message before Christ's return. In 1985 Howell and now-pregnant Rachel visited Israel where he, like Jesus of old, hoped to confound the rabbis in Jerusalem with his prophetic message.

It was there he had his greatest and most defining religious experience. He claimed that he was taken up to heaven, that he was shown and taught all the prophetic mysteries of the Bible, and that he was given the ability to open the book "sealed with seven seals" mentioned in *Revelation* 6. Implicit in this claim was the idea that Howell had become a kind of second Christ or Messiah figure, in that he, as the chosen "Lamb," was the only one in Heaven or on Earth empowered to open the Seven Seals. He subsequently took the name Koresh, the Hebrew name for the Persian king Cyrus, who is actually called a "messiah" in *Isaiah* 45:1. Just as the ancient Cyrus conquered the Babylonian empire, Koresh saw himself as a kind of spiritual counterpart who would vanquish the forces of the "Babylonian" governments of the world. The first name David signified his spiritual link with the messianic line of King David of ancient Israel.

David Koresh never claimed to be Jesus Christ, though he did claim that as a kind of second or final messiah, he had received the same level of inspiration that Jesus had received at his own baptism. He referred to this as the "Christ-spirit." He pointed to messianic texts such as *Psalm* 40 and 45 that he was convinced predicted the coming of a final "sinful" messiah who would appear at the end of the age. Not only would this figure have the normal weaknesses and "sins" of any ordinary human being, but he would marry multiple wives and sire children who were destined to rule with him in Jerusalem as King of the Earth. While Jesus would maintain his heavenly rule at the right hand of God, Koresh interpreted the second coming of Christ as the coming of a *second* Christ. Like Jesus, he, too, would be slain by his enemies, but would be resurrected thereafter to establish the Kingdom of God on Earth. Those faithful Branch Davidians who remained with him to the end would have places of honor in the new world government.

KORESH'S FINAL YEARS. In 1989 Koresh dissolved all marriages among the Branch Davidian members and instituted a policy of celibacy for the group. He promised each person that he or she would find his or her true soul mate when the Kingdom of God arrived. He took several of the women, some underage, and others previously married, as his own wives and fathered twelve of the children who died in the fire. Koresh claimed these special children were the firstborn of the new millennial generation, uncontaminated by the corruptions of society. (Although Koresh and his followers had been previously investigated for allegations of child abuse the Texas authorities had found no substance to the charges.)

Koresh prided himself as a Texan and a legal gun owner exercising his constitutional rights. The group was adamant that the stockpile of weapons they collected were all legally acquired and were for self-defense in case the government did try to interfere with their activities. Koresh had prepared his followers for a final confrontation with the forces of Babylon, as he called them. However, he expected that to happen in 1995, and in Jerusalem, not in Texas. The irony in the whole Waco tragedy is that the FBI unwittingly delivered to Koresh and the Branch Davidians a kind of preemptive apocalypse—but in a place and at a time that they never anticipated.

SEE ALSO New Religious Movements, articles on New Religious Movements and Millennialism, New Religious Movements and Violence, and Scriptures of New Religious Movements; White, Ellen Gould.

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JAMES D. TABOR (2005)

KOSMAS AITOLOS

KOSMAS AITOLOS (1714–1779), also known as Father Kosmas, was a Christian saint, priest, monk, popular preacher, and educator. Kosmas was born in Aitolia, Greece, and received his elementary education in his home province. After spending some time as a teacher, he entered the theological academy on Mount Athos then headed by Eugerios Voulgares, one of the eminent Greek educators of the eighteenth century. Shortly afterward, Kosmas became a member of the monastery of Philotheou (one of the twenty monasteries of Mount Athos), where he later was ordained a priest.

Within a year, Kosmas felt called to leave the monastery and become an itinerant preacher. With the permission of the patriarch of Constantinople, Serapheim II (r. 1761–1763), Kosmas began his preaching ministry, which lasted until his death by hanging in 1779 at the hands of the Ottoman authorities, who accused him of, among other things, being a Russian spy.

What alarmed the Ottoman authorities was the great popularity enjoyed by Kosmas. His honesty and direct manner of preaching in the language of the people, his reputation for sanctity, his frequent visits to remote villages and hamlets, and his total disregard for material possessions caused hundreds, sometimes thousands, of men and women to follow him while he traveled from village to village.

Kosmas preached a gospel of love and concern for the fair and just treatment of women and children. In addition, he laid great stress on education, founding ten secondary schools and over two hundred elementary schools. Often he secured both teachers and funds for these schools. He believed that an educated laity would be able to rise to a higher standard of moral and ethical living and thus be better prepared to resist the temptation, due to discrimination as well as social and economic pressures, to convert to Islam. Kosmas can truly be credited with effecting enormous changes in education and in the moral behavior of the people of western Greece and southern Albania.

Honored as a saint in his lifetime, Kosmas remains one of the most popular saints of the Greek Orthodox church. He has been given the sobriquet "teacher of the nation."

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NOMIKOS MICHAEL VAPORIS (1987)

KOTLER, AHARON

KOTLER, AHARON (1892–1962), was a rabbi and prominent educator in eastern Europe and the United States. A child prodigy, Kotler was sent as a youth to study in the famous *musar-yeshivah* of Slobodka (near modern-day Kaunas, Lithuania), which emphasized Talmudic studies as well as ethics and self-improvement. After his marriage to the daughter of Isser Zalman Meltzer, the head of the *yeshivah* in Slutsk, White Russia, Kotler moved to Slutsk and began to teach in the *yeshivah.* In the wake of World War I he moved the *yeshivah* from the Soviet-controlled area to Kletzk in Poland. There he became one of the best-known figures in Polish rabbinical circles. He was the youngest member of the Council of Scholars and Sages of Agudat Yisraʾel.

In 1935 Kotler visited the United States, where he discussed the need for an American *yeshivah* that would be designed not for the training of rabbis and religious professionals but for the study of Torah for its own sake. The discussions came to naught and he returned to Poland.

Following the German occupation of Poland, Kotler immigrated in 1941 to the United States, where he was to have his most lasting influence. He was driven by the concern that with the destruction of the *yeshivot* in eastern Europe, new centers of Torah study would have to be established in America. Despite widespread doubt that the atmosphere of intense Torah study that had prevailed in eastern Europe could be re-created in the United States, Kotler persevered and in 1943 established the Beit Midrash Gevohah in Lakewood, New Jersey. The school was designed for students of post-high-school age, and its curriculum was made up solely of religious studies with no admixture of secular studies. The school grew rapidly and by the 1980s had more than eight hundred students. Active in the Jewish day-school movement as well, Kotler also helped to intensify Jewish education on the primary level. One result of his influence was a decrease of cooperation between Orthodox and non-Orthodox Jewish groups, for he was strongly opposed to the participation of Orthodox bodies in associations that included Reform or Conservative rabbis.

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SHAUL STAMPFER (1987)
Revised Bibliography

KOU QIANZHI (373–448), Celestial Master *(tianshi)* at the Northern (Tuoba) Wei court between the years 425 and 448, an office that marked a unique era of Daoist ascendancy in Chinese political history. A member of a traditionally Daoist gentry family of Fengyi (Shaanxi), Kou at an early age developed an intense interest in such occult sciences as astrology, alchemy, and knowledge of transcendental herbs. At about the age of thirty (c. 403) he went into reclusion on the western sacred peak of Mount Hua (Shaanxi) with his master the Daoist adept Chenggong Xing (d. 412?), a student of the Buddhist monk and mathematician Shi Tanying (d. before 418), who had been a colleague of the great Central Asian translator Kumarajiva while the latter was in Chang'an (modern Xi'an) between 402 and 413. After a brief sojourn on Mount Hua the two traveled to the central sacred peak, Mount Song (in Henan). Chenggong died after seven years, and Kou continued his cultivation of Daoist arts alone on the mountain. In 415 he was rewarded with a visitation from the deified Laozi (Taishang Laojun), who delivered to him a document labeled *Yunzhong yinsong xinke zhi jie* (Articles of a new code to be chanted to Yün-chung musical notation), which corresponds to the *Laojun yinsong jiejing* of the present Daoist canon (Harvard-Yenching Index No. 784). At the same time the god revealed to him certain secret breathing and calisthenic techniques, and soon he began to attract disciples. Eight years later, in 423, when he was fifty, he was visited again by a divine being, this one a Li Puwen, who identified himself as Laozi's great-great grandson (*xuansun*). Li Puwen presented Kou with a second document, *Lutu zhenjing* (The true scripture of talismanic designs). It has not survived, but was probably similar to other collections of talismanic designs (fantastic characters) that can be found in the canon.

The *Yunzhong yinsong* appears to have been influenced indirectly by translations of the Buddhist Vinaya that had recently appeared in China. It set forth rules for the selection and ceremonial roles of religious officers and the conduct of ceremonies, confessionals, and charitable feasts (*chuhui*), and laid down principles for moral behavior among the "chosen people" (*zhongmin*), that is, among the adherents of the Celestial Masters Sect (Tianshi Dao). The code seems to have been directed specifically at reforming certain practices that had emerged since the founding of the sect by Zhang Daoling in the late second century and that were now felt to pose a threat to civic order in the Northern Wei state. These included the apocalyptic expectation of messianic deliverers (who often turned out to be fomenters of rebellion), the hereditary transmission of religious offices within particular families, and the extragovernmental levies of grain or silk (*zumi*) to support them, which tended to create subgovernmental enclaves within the state. The code was also directed against the sexual ritual known as the "union of vital forces" (*heqi*), which was seen as a threat to public morals. It is for these reasons that when in 424 Kou Qianzhi arrived in the Northern Wei capital of Pingcheng (in Shanxi), he was eagerly welcomed by such diverse constituencies as the non-Chinese Tuoba rulers and the Confucian-oriented minister Cui Hao (381–450). It was Cui Hao who sponsored Kou's induction into the Northern Wei administrative hierarchy as Celestial Master in 425.

In his alliance with Kou Qianzhi, Cui Hao had his own agenda. He was the scion of an old Chinese gentry family that looked forward to the restoration of a unified Han rule over the fragmented non-Chinese kingdoms of the north and the weakened Chinese exilic regimes of the south. Cui utilized Kou's essentially conservative *Yunzhong yinsong* as a spiritual base from which he could promote his own goals. He saw to it that the *Yunzhong yinsong* was promulgated to every corner of the Tuoba Empire, which at its peak included nearly all of China north of the Yangtze River and by 439 appeared ready to incorporate the south as well. He also took advantage of the confidence placed in him by Emperor Taiwu (r. 424–452) to institute some reforms of his own. These culminated in the devastating purge of the Buddhist clergy and the proscription of the Buddhist religion and confiscation of its monasteries between the years 444 and 446. Kou Qianzhi has been accused of instigating the attacks in an attempt to eliminate a rival faith, but this is unlikely, although his acquiescence is probable. His own master, Chenggong Xing, had studied with Buddhist teachers and had inculcated in his disciple a high regard for the foreign faith. Kou seems to have acquiesced in Cui Hao's purges primarily because they were also aimed at local heterodox cults (*yinsi*). It was these pockets of popular religion where blood sacrifices and other unacceptable forms of worship were still practiced which Kou, as head of an established Daoist orthodoxy, could not tolerate.

Kou Qianzhi's term as Celestial Master is sometimes compared to a theocracy because of the unique establishment of religion in the Northern Wei state, in which the Celestial Master as *pontifex maximus* mediated between the celestial divinities and the earthly ruler. The climax of Kou's career was the inauguration of the reign period "Perfect Ruler of Grand Peace" (Taiping Zhenjun), which lasted from 440 to 451. The title was unmistakably Daoist, recalling the ideal of universal peace proclaimed by the Yellow Turban leader Zhang Jue in 184. His movement, known as the Way of Grand Peace (Taiping Dao), was presumably based in turn on teachings found in the *Scripture of Grand Peace* (*Taiping jing*). In a magnificent public ceremony conducted on a newly constructed Daoist platform (*tan*) south of the capital, on New Year's Day of the year 442 Kou Qianzhi, splendidly arrayed in Daoist robes, personally presented to Emperor

Taiwu certain sacred talismans (*fulu*) in recognition of the emperor's sage virtue as "Perfect Ruler." The ceremony instituted a tradition of Daoist investiture that was continued by the Tuoba states well into the next century. The "theocracy," however, ended with Kou's death in 448. Four years later Taiwu was murdered by a palace eunuch. His successor, Wencheng (r. 452–465), was an ardent Buddhist and in an orgy of penitential restitution reestablished Buddhism as the state religion. Under him began the construction of the monumental cave-temples of Yungang that have come down to the present day.

SEE ALSO Daoism, overview article, article on the Daoist Religious Community.

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RICHARD B. MATHER (1987)

KRAEMER, HENDRIK (1888–1965), was a Dutch historian of religions. Kraemer spent his professional career mainly in three significantly different settings: working with the Dutch Bible Society in Indonesia (1921–1935), serving as professor of the history and phenomenology of religions at the University of Leiden (1937–1947), and functioning as the first director of the Ecumenical Institute Chateau de Bossy in Switzerland (1948–1955). His guest lectureships included, among many others, a stay at Union Theological Seminary in New York (1956–1957), and the Olaus Petri Lectures at the University of Uppsala (February 1955).

Beginning with the Second International Missionary Conference held in Tambaram, India (December 1938), Kraemer played a major role in the ecumenical theological discussions on the relations between Christian faith and other religions. His works *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World* (1938), *Religion and the Christian Faith* (1956), and *World Cultures and World Religions: The Coming Dialogue* (1960) explore this theme.

Among the less well known titles that are important for an assessment of Kraemer's work as a historian of religions and of how he viewed religio-historical data "in the light of Christ, the 'kritikos' of all things," four publications deserve special attention. The earliest of these is the article "Geloof en Mystiek" (Faith and Mysticism), which appeared in the missionary journal *Zendingstijdschrift "De Opwekker"* 79 (Bandeong, Netherlands Indies, 1934). Next is Kraemer's inaugural address in Leiden, *De Wortelen van het Syncretisme* (The Roots of Syncretism; 1937). Third is the study "Vormen van Godsdienstcrisis" (Forms of Crisis of Religion), originally published in *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde,* n.s. 22 (1959): 103–134, and later reissued as a booklet (Nijkerk, n.d.); it is based on four lectures given in 1959 on the place of the history of religions in the faculty of theology. Finally, of particular interest are Kraemer's remarks on W. Brede Kristensen (who was his predecessor at Leiden) in the introduction to Kristensen's *The Meaning of Religion,* edited by John B. Carman (1960).

Without ever abandoning his earlier thesis of a discontinuity between the biblical revelation and all forms of religion—most radically expressed in his 1938 study for the Tambaram conference—Kraemer tried later, in his own words, "to improve upon" that view of "the non-Christian religions [as] . . . great human achievements" by paying careful attention to "the religious consciousness as the place of dialectic encounter with God" (*Religion and the Christian Faith,* p. 8). He affirmed religiosity as a fundamental aspect of human structure and as manifesting the permanence, amid various forms of religious crisis, of the *sensus divinitatis* and *semen religionis* "whatever the content of the 'divinitas' and whatever the quality of the 'semen'" ("Vormen van Godsdienstcrisis," p. 134). As the notion of "communication," including communications between people of different traditions, became a key concern for Kraemer in the later years, he stressed the need for participants in an interfaith dialogue to "be open to new insights through the instrumentality of contact with one another," and he called for "a real openness to truth wherever it may be found" (*World Cultures and World Religions,* pp. 356–365).

From 1938 onward the debate on Kraemer has focused on his theological views, and relatively little attention has been given to the question of the extent to which his theological perspectives and the categories derived from them influenced his description and analysis of world religions.

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WILLEM A. BIJLEFELD (1987)
Revised Bibliography

KRAMRISCH, STELLA (1896–1993), was an art historian and educator who specialized in the arts and cultures of South Asia. Born in 1896 in Moravia (then Austrian crown land, later a part of Czechoslovakia), Kramrisch worked steadily through a long century of intellectual ferment. She died in Philadelphia in 1993. Trained in part as a dancer, she brought firm visual skills to her analysis of India's artistic legacies and strong European standards to her insights into India's intellectual and ritual worlds. Many myths mask her personal history; her work was always the legacy she wished observed. She introduced European art-historical methods to many of her students in India, and her take on indigenous understandings of India's art to many students in the West. Her early labors were based on fieldwork and work with pundits on texts, and her interests ranged widely—from temple architecture and iconography to folk and textile arts—with a powerful commitment to all of the material cultures of South Asia.

Kramrisch was trained in Vienna and London—and by long living in India—with older mentors such as Joseph Strzygowski and Rudolf Steiner and, as prewar peers, such scholarly companions as Ananda Coomaraswamy, Alain Daniélou, Louis Renou, and Heinrich Zimmer. She traveled first to India in 1921, presenting herself at Rabindranath Tagore's Vishva-Bharati University at Shantiniketan, where she lectured until she was appointed at the University of Calcutta the next year.

Kramrisch moved from Calcutta to Philadelphia in 1950, invited by the Sanskritist W. Norman Brown to teach in the newly formed Department of South Asia Regional Studies at the University of Pennsylvania. She served as curator of Indian art at the Philadelphia Museum of Art from 1954 to 1979 and as emeritus curator until her death. Following her retirement from the University of Pennsylvania in 1969, she continued to train graduate students at the Institute of Fine Arts in New York for another two decades. She was throughout her work intellectually curious, alive to contemporary art but unfazed by intellectual fashions. One of her late essays was written for an exhibition of the artist Francesco Clemente.

One of Kramrisch's first experiences in India was to visit the great cave-temple dedicated to Śiva on the island of Elephanta in Bombay's harbor. Her long meditation on that deity led to an authoritative essay, "The Image of Mahdevā in the Cave-Temple on Elephanta Island," published in the Archaeological Survey of India's *Ancient India* in 1946; to her exemplary catalog and exhibition for the Philadelphia Museum of Art, *Manifestations of Shiva* (1981); and to her definitive personal study, *The Presence of Śiva,* in 1981. Kramrisch's final reformulation, "The Great Cave Temple of Śiva in Elephanta: Levels of Meaning and Their Form," appeared in 1984 in the proceedings of an international symposium held at the University of Pennsylvania in association with her Śiva exhibition.

Kramrisch's lifetime meditations on Śiva and the processes and stages of his manifestation were personal, rich, and fruitful. She saw his quintessential form at Elephanta finally as that of the eternal Śiva (Śad'ivā) and drew parallels between his three stages of emergence and the concept of a "triple body" for the Buddha. Her long exposure to India's myths and texts forms a rich mosaic in her later scholarship, impressionistic and literary in its presentation but deeply layered and felt (her students nicknamed *The Presence of Śiva* the "Stella Pur ṇā").

Kramrisch's early art-historical work in India moved her gradually from an ideological position brought from Europe to one recognizing India's praxis. She responded deeply to first-century BCE Buddhist sculptures from Bharhut and to the aesthetic merits of art in the Gupta period (c. fifth century CE). She matched texts to techniques to study Ajanta's Buddhist painting, explored medieval Kerala in South India, and finally focused her prodigious efforts on the Indian temple. Combining close knowledge of monuments with a study of available texts, Kramrisch attempted to restore knowledge of indigenous meanings to the Indian temple and its forms. Articles appeared over many years in *Ūpam* and the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art,* both of which she edited in Calcutta; then finally, written in sight of the Himalayas, her essential two-volume study *The Hindu Temple* was published by Calcutta University in 1946. Both essential and essentializing, Kramrisch's volumes returned the temple's architecture from a century of archaeological caretakers to its meaning as a manifest form of divinity. What they do not do is approach issues of daily and changing ritual. The history of Hindu architecture became instead "an exchange of forms within a community of symbols" (Kramrisch, 1946, p. 220). Without Kramrisch's emphasis on the temple's symbolic scaffolding, however, religious and architectural studies in South Asia might never have met.

Following publication of *The Hindu Temple* and throughout her many years in Philadelphia, Kramrisch combined curatorial entrepreneurship of a high order—organizing groundbreaking exhibitions, including The Art of Nepal (1964) and Unknown India: Ritual Art in Tribe and Village (1968) as well as The Manifestations of Śiva (1981)—with continuing text-based scholarship that increasingly sought for the origins of symbolism in Vedic literature. The essays "Linga," "Eka-Vratya," and "The Indian Great Goddess" were in part preparation for her major study *The Presence of Śiva* (1981), but in part they also document Kramrisch's retreat from her early encounters with praxis in India at a time when a new generation of scholarship had begun to delineate "temple Hinduism" through much different means. The fabric of her perceptions, however, continued to inform her deep engagement with the objects of India under her care, her sensuous and impassioned response to which remains a great part of her lasting legacy. That she was able to restore a religious dimension to an art and architecture largely subsumed by orientalist agendas, and to do so in the name of indigenous knowledge, had roots in early-twentieth-century thinking but flowered in India, fed by her living experiences as well as her scholarship. Her methodologies were as layered, personal, and reimagined, as are religious and aesthetic experiences themselves.

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Percy, Ann, and Raymond Foye, with essays by Stella Kramrisch and Ettore Sottsass. *Francesco Clemente: Three Worlds.* Philadelphia, 1990. Kramrisch throughout her life engaged with living artists. Clemente's interactions with Kramrisch and India are particularly fascinating.

MICHAEL W. MEISTER (2005)

KRATOPHANY See POWER

KRISHNA See KṚṢṆA

KRISHNAMURTI, JIDDU (1895–1986), an Indian spiritual leader, attained fame through his presentation of a unique version of Indian philosophy and mysticism in a charismatic, even mesmerizing style of lecturing that attracted large audiences around the world. Although Krishnamurti taught a philosophy that seemed to border on atheism, it is clear in his authorized biography that throughout his life he was subject to a profound spiritual purgation. This purgation came to be called "the Process" and suggested to those who witnessed it that his "higher self" departed from his body and entered into what appeared to be a transcendent state of consciousness. This state was accompanied at times by severe pain in his head and back. The suffering accompanying this experience occurred only under certain circumstances and did not impede his teaching work. In fact, it was understood to contribute to the exalted state in which Krishnamurti knew the oneness with all life and the unconditioned freedom that he tried—through his continual lecturing and the books, tape recordings, and videotapes published by his organization—to convey to thousands of persons under his influence.

Krishnamurti was born in Madanapalle, a small town in what is now the state of Andhra Pradesh, north of Chennai (Madras). He was of *brahman* caste. His mother, Sanjeevama, died when Krishnamurti was ten years old. His father, Narianiah, cared for Krishnamurti and his brothers until he retired from government service and was granted permission to move to the estate of the Theosophical Society, located at Adyar, just outside Chennai. This move occurred in January 1909, when Annie Besant was the international president of the Theosophical Society. Her close collaborator was Charles W. Leadbeater, whose clairvoyant powers, he claimed, enabled him to recognize Krishnamurti's potential for spiritual greatness when he observed the boy's aura as he was playing on the beach at the seaside edge of the Theosophical Society estate.

Leadbeater and Besant taught that the Lord Maitreya, the World Teacher, would become incarnate in this age in a manner similar to the way Śri Kṛṣṇa (the Hindu deity) and Jesus had appeared in the world in earlier eras. They taught that the Lord Maitreya was a master residing in the Himalayas in a place described by Leadbeater in a metaphorical and symbolic manner. The Lord Maitreya occupied the office of the Christ or the *bodhisattva* in the occult hierarchy of masters. Leadbeater and Besant expected that a portion of the consciousness of the Lord Maitreya would occupy an appropriate vehicle to present a teaching that would raise humanity's awareness of unity and lead to a "new civilization." Krishnamurti was a likely candidate to become the vehicle for such a manifestation, but it remained for him to be trained and tested before he could actually take on such a role.

Krishnamurti and his brother Nityananda, usually called Nitya, were understood to have been "put on probation" (i.e., rigorously tested and prepared for spiritual leadership) by a master in the occult hierarchy named Kuthumi on August 1, 1909, when Krishnamurti was fourteen years old. From that time onward Krishnamurti was nurtured and financially supported by a circle of upper-class English and American men and women and was under the scrutiny of the larger group of Theosophists who saw him at public gatherings.

Krishnamurti and Nitya left India in 1911 for their first visit to England. After their return to India, Krishnamurti's father allowed Krishnamurti and Nitya to be taken back to England for education by Besant, signing a document to that effect in 1912. By the end of 1912 Narianiah had filed suit against Besant to regain custody, charging that Leadbeater and Krishnamurti were involved in a sexual relationship. In 1914, after a judgment against her in the Indian courts, Besant won an appeal to the Privy Council in London. Both she and Leadbeater were exonerated from the charges brought by Narianiah. Krishnamurti and Nitya remained in England during this period and were prepared by a tutor for university studies. However, Krishnamurti was not able to pass the entrance examinations and never obtained a university degree, although he studied for many years privately and learned English, French, and some Sanskrit.

From about 1920 on, Krishnamurti's extraordinary gifts as a public lecturer and his independent viewpoint on the spiritual quest became evident. He spoke more and more frequently at gatherings of the Theosophical Society in India, the Netherlands, and North America. At some of these meetings he referred to himself in a way that implied he was speaking as the World Teacher. (Krishnamurti's brother, Nityananda, died of tuberculosis in Ojai, California, on November 13, 1925; Krishnamurti's struggle with the ensuing sorrow was formative of his judgment about the "bondages of the mind.") However, the articulation of his own special teachings alienated him from the inner circle of the leadership of the Theosophical Society, including Besant, Leadbeater, George Arundale, and C. Jinarajadasa, each of whom claimed to have received communications from the masters consisting of instructions for the Theosophical Society that were contrary to Krishnamurti's increasingly independent course. In 1926 Krishnamurti dissolved the Order of the Star, built up by Annie Besant, an organization of about thirty thousand members expecting the World Teacher. Besant's death in 1933 ended Krishnamurti's ties to the Theosophical Society. Krishnamurti was repudiated for some time by leading officials of the Theosophical Society. However, Jinarajadasa's successors to the presidency of the Theosophical Society, Nilakanta Sri Ram and Radha Burnier, sought cordial relations with Krishnamurti.

There was no apparent single turning point in the development of Krishnamurti away from and beyond the confines of the role created for him in the Theosophical Society by his early mentors Leadbeater and Besant. It is undoubtedly true that Leadbeater had a dominating and charismatic personality in his own right. Krishnamurti was the center of an extensive circle of young people who faithfully followed Leadbeater in the work of the Co-Masonic Order and the Liberal Catholic Church and other subsidiary organizations, including the Order of the Star, that provided—and mostly continue to provide—a total way of life for members of the Theosophical Society. Krishnamurti had been appointed a further pivotal figure in the formation of one of these groups, the Bharata Samaj, which offers a reformed Hindu ritual, based on Vedic mantras and traditional ceremonies, for Hindu members and others in the Theosophical Society. Under Leadbeater's direction, Krishnamurti had performed the first public rite of the Bharata Samaj, in effect as its first priest. (Priesthood of women is also allowed in the Bharata Samaj.) One can suppose that Krishnamurti's own internal spiritual dynamic had finally profoundly rejected the complex system of organizations and rituals increasingly promoted by Besant, Leadbeater, and other leaders of the Theosophical Society, as they believed, under the guidance of the masters. There is no other apparent explanation than a matter of temperament on Krishnamurti's part to reject these developments.

Ever afterward, Krishnamurti continued to express the emergence of his spirituality from a type of experience beyond all physical and particularly mental forms. It was the offering of that ultimate abstraction from all the inherited limitations of the million-year-old human brain (that he liked to refer to in evolutionary terms) that was the cause he promoted tirelessly until his death in his ninetieth year. To his most committed followers, it was this radical insight that drew them to try to grasp his teachings. To others in the Theosophical Society and elsewhere, his teaching was incomprehensible. In his later years Krishnamurti sometimes made comparisons between what the Buddha had taught and what he taught, and he also accepted such comparisons. But that seemed to be as far as he would go in defining his status. Pupul Jayakar records the context of these extensive discussions and dialogues in *Krishnamurti: A Biography* (1986).

Krishnamurti's work as an independent teacher eventually combined two approaches. First, he traveled around the world on a schedule of lectures. In India he spoke often in Chennai and Bombay, and occasionally in Delhi and Banaras. He lectured at Saanen in Switzerland, Brockwood Park in England, and New York City and Ojai, California, in the United States. Second, he founded several schools in the United States, Canada, Europe, and India, where students through high school age are instructed in ways to reduce aggression and to aid in acquiring Krishnamurti's universal insight. In his later life he participated in various dialogues with groups or individuals from the scientific community on the possible connection between his teachings and contemporary theories of, for example, physics. One of the last books he published, *The Ending of Time* (1985), was cowritten with David Bohm, a professor of theoretical physics at Birkbeck College, University of London.

Scattered throughout the Krishnamurti writings and in the various transcripts of discussions and dialogues are reports of the unusual psychic experiences of Krishnamurti when he was in touch with the source, beyond language or thought or the vacillations of the emotions, that convinced him of the correctness of what he taught. The following passage from Jayakar's biography was given in a dialogue in January 1980 in Bombay and speaks of the certitude Krishnamurti had that he was in touch with that which is beyond all limitations. The reader must judge whether Krishnamurti has succeeded in this and other similar statements in portraying the underlying reality or "emptiness" upon which he tried to construct the language to propose his doctrine of an absolute freedom for himself and humanity as a whole. It is on such a judgment that claims made about Krishnamurti as a World Teacher should be based.

> Recently, when I was in Rishi Valley [the location of his school in southern India], a peculiar thing happened. For several nights, one actually touched the source of the energy of all things. It was an extraordinary feeling, not from the mind or brain, but from the source itself. And that has been going on, in Madras and here. It is as though one was totally isolated—if one can so use that word without a sense of withdrawal. There was a sense of nothing existing except "that." That source or feeling was a state in which the mind, the brain, was no longer in operation—only that source was in operation. . . . So I am extremely careful to see that that thing remains pure. The word pure means clear, unspotted, not corrupted. It is like pure water, distilled water, a mountain stream which has never been touched by human mind or hand. (Jayakar, 1986, pp. 392–393)

From 1968 to 1986 Krishnamurti was involved in an increasingly bitter dispute with D. Rajagopal, Rosalind Rajagopal (D. Rajagopal's divorced wife), and other officials and workers in the company called Krishnamurti Writings, Inc., and in other organizations controlled by D. Rajagopal. Rajagopal had been an associate of Krishnamurti's from the early days of their connection with the Theosophical Society. As the World Teacher—however it was understood—Krishnamurti for many years did not take an active role in the management of the groups that gathered monetary contributions and gifts of properties and undertook to publish his many books. Rajagopal was in charge of most of these enterprises to the extent that he even allocated pocket money to Krishnamurti for expenses while traveling.

When the disputes finally erupted openly, from Krishnamurti's point of view, Rajagopal appeared to have mismanaged the work for his personal gain. Krishnamurti instituted legal proceedings in California, England, and India to recover money, property, and even publication rights to his own books. Rajagopal countersued, and approximately four major legal proceedings with various settlements developed. Krishnamurti severed all ties with Rajagopal's organizations. In their place he established the Krishnamurti Foundation, which in the early twenty-first century is his designated organization to disseminate his teachings.

It is important to note and even study the issues that were raised in the conflict between Krishnamurti and Rajagopal, because they are representative of the difficulties faced by the successors of a spiritual teacher who try to preserve both the integrity of the teaching and some kind of organization that will guarantee the survival of the teacher's charisma for future generations. Various strategies are in operation, but the most viable seems to be the appointment of someone, or of a group of individuals, who can embody and transmit the charisma. The twelve apostles of Jesus Christ are exemplary of this formula. Krishnamurti did not choose that route of succession and transmission. He seemed to believe that under a kind of corporate banner of his own devising—the Krishnamurti Foundation—his work can continue. The theoretical basis for the analysis of these issues in one of the Hindu systems is in Charles S. J. White's article "Structure and the History of Religions: Some Bhakti Examples" (1978).

SEE ALSO Besant, Annie; Theosophical Society.

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Krishnamurti's own *Krishnamurti's Notebook* (New York, 1976) contains firsthand descriptions of "the Process." Alcyone [J. Krishnamurti], *At the Feet of the Master* (Wheaton, Ill., 2001), has run to more than forty editions since it was first published in 1910. It recounts teachings from the Master Kuthumi that Krishnamurti received during astral projection while asleep and under the guidance of Leadbeater. For an analysis of the esoteric side of Krishnamurti's life experience, as against the often-repeated claims that Krishnamurti completely rejected occultism and religion in general, see Aryel Sanat [Miguel de Sanabria], *The Inner Life of Krishnamurti: Private Passion and Perennial Wisdom* (Wheaton, Ill., 1999).

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CHARLES S. J. WHITE (1987 AND 2005)

KRISTENSEN, W. BREDE (1867–1953), was a Norwegian historian of religions. From 1901 to 1937, he was professor of the history and phenomenology of religion at the University of Leiden. Virtually unknown outside of Scandinavia and the Netherlands during his lifetime, he was the teacher of many of the next generation of Dutch historians of religions and has exerted some influence on methodological discussion through the posthumous publication in English translation of his class lectures at Leiden on the phenomenology of religion (*The Meaning of Religion,* 1960).

Kristensen was the son of a Lutheran minister, born in Kristiansand, Norway, on June 21, 1867. He went to the University of Kristiania (present-day Oslo) to study theology. After a year, however, he switched to the study of languages, which he later continued in Leiden and Paris. In addition to Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, he studied ancient Egyptian, Assyrian, Sanskrit, and Avestan. He did his dissertation research in the British Museum in London on Egyptian ideas of the afterlife and then returned to Kristiania to study and lecture on the ancient Zoroastrian text, the Avesta. In 1901 he was appointed to the chair of his teacher C. P. Tiele (1830–1902) at the University of Leiden, where he remained professor until his retirement in 1937; he lived in Leiden until his death in 1953. After World War II he returned briefly to Norway to give a course of introductory lectures on history of religions (posthumously published both in Norwegian as *Religionshistorisk studium,* 1954, and in a Dutch translation by Mevrouw Kristensen). Much of Kristensen's scholarly work consisted of papers dealing in some detail with various specific aspects of religious life in the ancient Near East. Many of the papers were presented at the annual meetings of the Dutch Royal Society. They were collected and published in two volumes in Dutch, *Verzamelde bydragen tot kennis der antieke godsdiensten* (Collected Contributions to the Knowledge of the Ancient Religions; 1947) and *Symbool en werkelykheid* (Symbol and Reality; 1954).

Kristensen rejected the prevailing evolutionist theory of his teacher and predecessor C. P. Tiele and tried to base his understanding of a given religion on its believers' own estimate of it; he found such estimates expressed in written documents, in languages he himself had learned to read. He believed that the religions of the ancient (preclassic) Mediterranean and Near East each had a distinctive nature but that all shared important underlying features basic enough to make comparison among them extremely fruitful. The aim of such comparison is not to define certain general ideas, such as the meaning of sacrifice, but to illuminate the meaning of some particular practice. In this respect the systematic work of the phenomenologist always remains in the service of the more particular investigation of the historian. For Kristensen, however, there was in practice very little difference, because he was interested neither in a philosophical theory of historical development in religion nor in tracing stages in the development of a particular religion. For him historical change becomes significant at the point that a particular religious apprehension comes to an end. The historian's task is thus not to focus on historical change but to find a bridge to understanding a vanished world of religious reality on the other side of the decisive change to the rationalistic consciousness of the modern world. Kristensen's work is full of polemics against this rationalism, not because he was antimodern, but because he felt that such rationalism led to the misunderstanding of ancient religions.

Kristensen did not regard informative comparison as a scientific method that would guarantee correct results. He sought to gain a certain inkling or intuition of what is important in the religion under examination, which requires in negative terms, that one not mix one's praise or blame with what the believer relates, and, in positive terms, that one seek a sympathetic and loving understanding of the alien faith. This understanding can be no better than approximate, because the alien religious language cannot be fully learned and because the other religion does not become a power in one's own life, but the effort is worthwhile, because across the barrier of languages and epochs and civilizations the truth perceived by believers in the alien religion can be glimpsed Those who make this effort can grow, Kristensen maintained, not only intellectually but religiously.

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JOHN B. CARMAN (1987)
Revised Bibliography

KROCHMAL, NAḤMAN (1785–1840), was a Jewish philosopher and historian. A major figure in the Haskalah (Jewish Enlightenment movement), Krochmal is noted for his contributions to Jewish historiography and his program for a metaphysical understanding of Judaism using German idealist philosophy.

Born in the city of Brody in Galicia, Krochmal lived most of his life in the town of Żołkiew near Lvov. To supplement his traditional Talmudic education, he learned Latin, Syriac, Arabic, French, and German, giving him access to a broad range of medieval and modern philosophical literature. Despite an unsuccessful career as a merchant, Krochmal rejected the offer of a rabbinical post in Berlin and supported himself as a bookkeeper. His last years were spent in the Galician cities of Brody and Ternopol.

In the nineteenth century the large Jewish population of the Polish districts of the Hapsburg empire was an integral branch of the east European Jewish milieu both in its economic and social patterns and its traditional Jewish piety. Galicia was a center of Hasidism, as well as of rabbinic learning and leadership of Hasidism's opponents. Krochmal himself was a religiously observant Jew who was highly critical of the "delusions" and "folly" of the Ḥasidim, with whom he and his circle from time to time came into bitter conflict. Krochmal was one of the preeminent figures of the Galician phase of the Haskalah, then in its heyday and consisting of writers who advocated such reforms of Jewish life as the modernization of Jewish education and livelihood, a greater knowledge of natural sciences and European languages, and the introduction into Hebrew literature of the genres and ideas of modern European literature. A major aim of Krochmal's scholarship was to further the rapprochement between the modern rational, critical, and historical spirit and the Talmudic-rabbinic worldview.

Krochmal was a brilliant conversationalist but published little in his lifetime. After his death his papers were sent, according to his instructions, to the eminent German Jewish scholar Leopold Zunz, who edited and published them in 1851 as *Moreh nevukhei ha-zeman* (A guide for the perplexed of the time), a title deliberately reminiscent of Moses Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed.*

Krochmal's book is an incompletely developed but suggestive work that covers the following topics: the connection between philosophy and religion, the philosophical significance of the Israelite conception of God, the cycles of Jewish history in relation to the cyclical history of nations, aspects of postbiblical Jewish literature (including a pioneering treatment of the evolution of the *halakhah* and *aggadah*), the logic of Hegel, and the philosophy of Avraham ibn ʿEzraʾ.

Like Hegel, Krochmal conceived of the dynamic totality of reality as an absolute Spirit whose nature is pure cognition, which for Krochmal was the philosophical meaning of the God of Judaism. Like Hegel, Krochmal believed that religion conveys through the faculty of imagination that which philosophy conveys through reason, so that it is the task of philosophers to make explicit what remains implicit in religious imagery. The extent of Krochmal's indebtedness to Vico, Herder, Schelling, and Hegel has been a matter of scholarly controversy: Apart from his rendition of Hegel's logic and use of the terminology of post-Kantian idealism, Krochmal does not hold to a temporal unfolding of the absolute. Equally, if not more important to Krochmal's metaphysics were Maimonides, Abraham ibn ʿEzraʾ, and Qabbalah.

Krochmal grounded the truth of Judaism in a general concept of religion and cultural nationalism. The intelligibility of reality and the lawfulness of nature derive from a system of spiritual powers that, in turn, is generated by an unconditioned absolute Spirit. All positive religions intuit some aspect of this supersensuous reality. Moreover, a particular national spirit expresses the unity and individuality of the nation during its history. All nations are finite organic entities, passing through a cycle of growth, maturity, and death. Only the people of Israel have avoided eventual extinction, because their singular, infinite God is the dynamic principle of absolute Spirit that generated all the particular spiritual powers. The people of Israel were the "eternal people" inasmuch as they worshiped and were sustained by the force that accounted for the entire cosmic process and that renewed the spiritual strength of Jewish culture after periods of stagnation and decline. The God of Judaism did not change as the Jewish people passed three times through the cycle of national historical existence. The first cycle of national growth, maturity, and decay extended from the time of the biblical patriarchs to the destruction of Judaea in 587/6 BCE. The second cycle began with the return from the Babylonian exile and ended with the failure of the Bar Kokhba Revolt in the second century CE. The third commenced with the codification of the Mishnah, culminated in the philosophical and mystical flowering of medieval Judaism, and declined in the late Middle Ages. Krochmal does not explicitly develop the notion of a fourth cycle of Jewish history, but he probably envisioned such a rebirth as beginning in the seventeenth century or with the rise of the Haskalah. As the Jewish people passed through these cycles, the Jewish idea of God attained greater articulation and the meaning of the people's existence became transparent to reason.

Because Krochmal proposed a metaphysics that took Jewish history with the utmost seriousness, he can be seen as a pioneer both in Jewish religious thought and in modern theories of Jewish nationhood.

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ROBERT M. SELTZER (1987)
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KṚṢṆA, whose name means "black" or "dark," is customarily said to stand alongside Rāma in the Hindu pantheon as one of the two preeminent *avatāra*s of the great god Viṣṇu. Although present-day Hindus do not dispute such divine genealogy, they and most of their ancestors who have lived in the last millennium have found Kṛṣṇa more important to their faith than Viṣṇu. In Vaiṣṇava circles one often hears it emphasized, in a quote from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* that "Kṛṣṇa is God himself" ("Kṛṣṇas tu bhagavān svayam"; 1.3.27), not merely a portion or manifestation of the divine fullness. In the devotion of contemporary Hindus, he more than any other figure symbolizes divine love (*prema*), divine beauty (*rūpa*), and a quality of purposeless, playful, yet fascinating action (*līlā*) that bears a peculiarly divine stamp. In recent centuries Kṛṣṇa has been adored principally as a mischievous child in the cowherd settlement (Vṛndāvana) where he chose to launch his earthly career and as a matchless lover of the women and girls who dwell there. In earlier times, however, heroic and didactic aspects of Kṛṣṇa's personality have played a more forceful role in his veneration.

ORIGINS AND HISTORY. Many scholars feel that Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu were originally two independent deities. On this view, Kṛṣṇa is to be understood as more closely associated with a warrior milieu than Viṣṇu, since most early information about him comes from epic texts. Viṣṇu, by contrast, appears in the Vedas, so knowledge about him would have been transmitted by *brahmans.* It is unclear at what point in time the two cults merged, if they were ever truly separate. Certainly this happened by the time of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (c. fifth century CE), which declares Kṛṣṇa to be an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu; yet there are a number of indications that the interidentification was much older than that. A pillar at Ghoṣuṇḍi has often been interpreted as implying that Kṛṣṇa was worshiped alongside Nārāyaṇa, who in turn is closely related to Viṣṇu, in the first century BCE; and in a series of icons from the Kushan period (first and second centuries CE) Kṛṣṇa bears a series of weapons associated with Viṣṇu: the club, the disk, and sometimes the conch.

The Kṛṣṇa to whom reference is made in each of these cases is usually designated Vāsudeva. This patronymic title is one he inherits as head of the Vṛṣṇi lineage of Mathura. Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa liberates the throne of Mathura from his evil kinsman Kaṃsa; he struggles with the Magadhan king Jarāsaṃdha for continued control of the Mathura region and apparently loses; he travels to the western city of Dvārakā on the shores of the Arabian Sea, there to establish a flourishing dynastic realm; and he serves as counselor to his cousins the Pāṇḍavas in their monumental battle with the Kauravas.

Early reports of these actions are found in various sections of the *Mahābhārata,* and reference is made to certain of them in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (c. second century BCE) and the Buddhist *Ghaṭa Jātaka.* None of them, however, is depicted in sculpture before the Gupta period. Instead one finds sets of icons that imply no narrative context. One group of sculptures from the Kushan period depicts

Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa in conjunction with his brother Saṃkarṣana/Balaramā and adds a third figure, a sister Ekānaṃśā, whose role in the epic texts is minimal and not altogether clear. Another set enshrines a different grouping, wherein Vāsudeva is accompanied by his brother and two of his progeny. This set corresponds to a theological rubric in force in the Pāñcarātra and perhaps the Bhāgavata sects, according to which Vāsudeva is said to be the first in a series of four divine manifestations (*vyuha*s) of Nārāyaṇa in the human realm.

In addition to the many icons of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa that survive from pre-Gupta times, one finds a handful of narrative reliefs, and these depict quite another aspect of Kṛṣṇa. This is Kṛṣṇa Gopāla, the cowherd, and he seems as distinct from Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa in the texts as he does in sculpture. The texts report that although Kṛṣṇa was born into the Vrṣṇi lineage in Mathura, he was adopted by the simple Ābhīra herdspeople of the surrounding Braj countryside for the duration of his childhood and youth. Only as a fully developed young man did he return to Mathura to slay Kaṃsa. The involvements of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa Gopāla are sufficiently distinct that it has been suggested the two figures were initially separate. On this hypothesis, Kṛṣṇa Gopāla would originally have been worshiped by the Ābhīra clan, a nomadic group that extended its domain of activity from the Punjab and Indus regions to the Deccan and Gangetic plains by the third century CE. As the clan expanded its terrain, it moved into the Braj region and would have encountered the Vrṣṇis, whose mythology of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa was then integrated with the Ābhīra cult of Kṛṣṇa Gopāla.

THE SUPREMACY OF KṚṢṆA. The *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*s (c. fifth and ninth centuries CE) clearly understood Kṛṣṇa in both his pastoral and royal roles to be an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. In the *Bhāgavata,* however, which is the more important of the two, Kṛṣṇa occupies so much attention that the text is preeminently his. The same thing is true in the *Bhagavadgītā* (c. second century BCE), a portion of the *Mahābhārata* that vies with the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* for the honor of being the most influential Vaiṣṇava text in the early twenty-first century. There, too, it is Kṛṣṇa who occupies center stage, not Viṣṇu. Indeed, Kṛṣṇa asserts that it is he who has issued forth in several *avatāra*s, he who comprehends the many forms by means of which the divine makes itself manifest.

In the *Gītā* one has a glimpse of how Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa could be interpreted as the supreme divinity. He enters the *Gītā* not as a combatant but as an adviser to his Pāṇḍava cousin Arjuna, who must fight. He himself is not implicated in the battle but is willing to serve as a resource. In the battle of life, similarly, one can act dispassionately by placing trust in the One who is too great to have any narrow interest in earthly conflict. Kṛṣṇa's oblique relation to the Pāṇḍavas' battle becomes a metaphor for his transcendence of the world altogether, and it enables Arjuna to transcend himself.

In the considerably later *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* one has a comparable vision of Kṛṣṇa's supremacy, but this time the supremacy of Kṛṣṇa Gopāla is more at issue than that of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa. Here the playful cowherd dances with all the milkmaids (*gopī*s) of Braj at once, multiplying himself so that each woman feels he is dancing with her alone. This amorous dance *(rāsa-līlā)* is an image of divinity and humanity wholly identified in one another, an absorption made possible by intense devotion *(bhakti).* Like Arjuna's encounter with Kṛṣṇa, this meeting, too, relativizes the importance of worldly involvements. In the *rāsa-līlā* the idyllic quality that always separated the pastoral life of Kṛṣṇa Gopāla from the royal world of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa attains its apotheosis.

The most important icon of Kṛṣṇa as the divine lover becomes prevalent in Orissa and Karnataka in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and later spreads throughout the subcontinent. In this image Kṛṣṇa is shown with his neck tilted, waist bent, and ankles crossed as he plays his irresistible flute to summon the *gopī*s—symbolically, human souls—from their mundane preoccupations.

Two icons that enjoy a great prominence from Gupta times onward suggest still another way in which the supremacy of Kṛṣṇa Gopāla was experienced. One of these represents Kṛṣṇa lifting Mount Govardhana to protect the inhabitants of Braj from the angry, rainy torrents unleashed by Indra when at Kṛṣṇa's advice they turn their veneration away from that distant Vedic god and toward the symbolic center of the nourishing realm in which they live, Mount Govardhana itself. A second popular image shows Kṛṣṇa taming the evil snake Kāliya, whose presence had poisoned the Yamuna River upon whose waters all of Braj—humans and cattle alike—depend. In both moments Kṛṣṇa wrests order from chaos; in both he guarantees safe and habitable space; and in both he displaces and incorporates the powers earlier attributed to other figures in the pantheon. When he lifts the mountain he overcomes the sky gods captained by Indra, and when he tames the snake he subdues the nether spirits symbolized by snake deities (*nāga*s). The preeminence of these images of Kṛṣṇa as cosmic victor is only gradually displaced by that of Kṛṣṇa as cosmic lover in the course of time.

TWO FORMS OF LOVE. Kṛṣṇa is principally accessible to the love of his devotees in two forms—as a child and as a youth—and the affections elicited by each are distinct, though related. In systematic treatises such as the *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* of the sixteenth-century theologian Rupa Gosvami, these two are described by separate terms. The first is "calf love" (*vātsalya*), the emotion felt by parents and especially mothers for their children, and the second is "sweet love" (*mādhurya*), the emotion that draws lovers together. Kṛṣṇa serves as the ideal focus for both sets of feelings. As a child Kṛṣṇa is impish and irrepressible, and modern Hindus adore him as such, displaying his most lovable moments on the calendars and posters that provide India with a great proportion of its visual diet. As a youth he is charming and unabashed; and in Rajput miniature painting as well as a strand of love poetry broad enough to include the Sanskrit *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva and the Hindi *Rasikapriyā* of Keśavdās, he serves as the "ideal hero" or "leading man" (*nāyaka*) known to secular erotic literature.

In both these roles there is an element of contrariness that sets Kṛṣṇa apart from others. His mischievous deeds in childhood contribute greatly to his fascination and are epitomized in his penchant for stealing the *gopī*s' freshly churned butter. Kṛṣṇa's naughtiness and outsized appetite further stimulate the *gopī*s' desire to have him as their own, yet he can never be possessed. As the young lover he remains unattainable. Though he makes himself present to all the *gopī*s in his *rāsa* dance, he does so on his own terms, never allowing himself to be brought within the confines of a domestic contract. The love he symbolizes exceeds the bounds set by any relationship that can be conceived in terms of *dharma.*

Child or adolescent, Kṛṣṇa is always a thief, for he is a thief of the heart. Hence even Rādhā, the maiden whom tradition recognizes as his special favorite, frequently and powerfully senses his absence. Much of the poetry that has been dedicated to Kṛṣṇa is in the nature of lamentation (*viraha*). The women who speak in such poems give voice to the unquenched yearnings of the human heart, as in the following composition attributed to the sixteenth-century Hindi poet Surdas:

> Gopāl has stolen my heart, my friend.
> He stole through my eyes and invaded my breast
> simply by looking—who knows how he did it?
>
> Mother, father, husband, brothers, others
> crowded the courtyard, filled my world,
> As society and scripture guarded my door—
> but nothing was enough to keep my heart safe.
>
> Duty, sobriety, family honor:
> using these three keys I'd locked it away
> Behind eyelid gates and inside hard breasts.
> Nothing could prevail against efforts such as these.
>
> Intellect, power of discretion, wit:
> an immoveable treasure, never once dislodged.
>
> And then, says Sūr, he'd stolen it—
> with a thought and a laugh and a look—
> and my body was scorched with remorse.

In this mode it is the elusiveness of Kṛṣṇa that gives evidence of his divine supremacy. Intimately accessible as he seems, whether as child or lover, he can never quite be grasped.

CULT AND RITUAL. Kṛṣṇa is worshiped in homes and temples throughout India and has become the devotional focus of the Hare Krishna movement (International Society for Krishna Consciousness [ISKCON]) beyond Indian shores. Rituals vary from place to place and caste to caste, but some of the most impressive are those associated with the Gauḍīya and Puṣṭimārgīya Sampradāyas, which trace their lineage back to the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century divines Caitanya and Vallabha. In temples and homes belonging to these communities, Kṛṣṇa is worshiped in a series of eight daily *darśan*s (ritual "viewings") in which the god allows himself to be seen and worshiped in image form by his devotees. His clothing, jewelry, and flower decorations may be altered many times in the course of a day, and different forms of devotional song are sung as the god's daily cowherding routine is symbolically observed. Vestments, food offerings, and musical accompaniment vary seasonally as well, with the festivals of Holī and Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭami occupying positions of special importance.

In the Braj country surrounding Mathura, which attracts pilgrims from all over India in festival seasons, these ceremonial observances are amplified by dramas in which Kṛṣṇa makes himself available in an especially vivid manner to his devotees through child actors. These *brahman* boys native to Braj are thought to become actual forms (*svarūpas)* of Kṛṣṇa and his companions as they present events in Kṛṣṇa's childhood life. A dancing of the *rāsa-līlā* is the starting point for every performance, hence the genre as a whole is called *rāsa-līlā.* In Sanskrit aesthetic theory, drama is thought to comprehend all the arts, and owing to his essentially aesthetic nature Kṛṣṇa is more frequently depicted in Indian art, dance, and music than any other god. Drama is a particularly appropriate mode in which to experience him, however, because Kṛṣṇa's antics so clearly embody the Hindu conviction that life itself is the product of divine play (*līlā*). To surrender to play, to plays, and to the sense that all life is play, is to experience the world as it actually is.

SEE ALSO Avatāra; Bhagavadgītā; Holī; Kṛṣṇaism; Līlā; Rādhā; Rāma; Vaiṣṇavism; Viṣṇu; Vṛndāvana.

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A broad study of materials relating to Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa is provided in Suvira Jaiswal's *The Origin and Development of Vaiṣṇavism* (Delhi, 1967), critical portions of which are deepened by recent investigations on the part of Doris Srinivasan, including her "Early Kṛishṇa Icons: The Case at Mathurā," in *Kaladarsana,* edited by Joanna G. Williams (New Delhi, 1981). Several recent studies make it possible to enter imaginatively into the religious world of Braj, which is so thoroughly animated by Kṛṣṇa. My *At Play with Krishna* (Princeton, N.J., 1981) focuses on the *rāsa-līlās* of Vṛndāvana; Margaret Case's *Seeing Krishna* (New York, 2000) describes the ambience that sponsors and surrounds them; and David Haberman traces a pilgrims' circumference for all of Braj in *Journey through the Twelve Forests* (New York, 1994). Shrivatsa

Goswami articulates an insider's view of Vṛndāvana in *Celebrating Krishna* (Vṛndāvana, 2001) and Robyn Beeche matches it with a set of peerless photographs. The scholarly background for all this is set forth in Alan Entwistle's *Braj, Centre of Krishna Pilgrimage* (Groningen, 1987). Readers who suspect this focus on Braj of being overly centrist, even hegemonic will appreciate the essays collected by Guy Beck in *Alternative Krishnas* (Albany, N.Y., forthcoming).

Two large thematic studies relating to Kṛṣṇa Gopāla are Friedhelm E. Hardy's *Viraha Bhakti* (Oxford, 1983), which emphasizes South Indian materials and focuses on Kṛṣṇa as a lover; and my work *Krishna, the Butter Thief* (Princeton, N.J., 1983), which emphasizes North Indian material and concentrates on the child Kṛṣṇa; the appendixes provide a digest of information relating to the iconography of Kṛṣṇa Gopāla.

JOHN STRATTON HAWLEY (1987 AND 2005)

KṚṢṆAISM. The god Kṛṣṇa has been one of the most popular figures of Hinduism and of Indian culture generally. Episodes from his life story have found innumerable expressions in literature and art. Against this larger cultural background one witnesses a more specifically devotional and theological preoccupation with Kṛṣṇa that can be reduced to basically two different trends. On the one hand, there is the development of religious systems in which Kṛṣṇa is defined as an earthly *avatāra* (incarnation) of the god Viṣṇu. Here Viṣṇu plays the central role and one must thus speak of Vaiṣṇava (alternately, Vaiṣṇavite or Viṣṇuite) systems; these can be grouped together under the rubric "Vaiṣṇavism" ("Viṣṇuism"). But the global assumption that Kṛṣṇa is an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu is derived from an inadequate interpretation of the facts. This assumption has its origin in the Indian conceptualization of the religious situation and later came to be accepted uncritically by scholars. The concept "Vaiṣṇavism" has tended to subsume all Kṛṣṇaite phenomena and has thus proved to be far too wide. "Kṛṣṇaism" (along with parallel terms such as "Rāmaism," "Rādhāism," "Sītāism," etc.) is a useful heuristic tool, as long as it is understood to denote not a single system but a whole range of systems.

The strictest definition of a system according to traditional Indian understanding is that of a *sampradāya*, a religious movement that proves its orthodoxy and orthopraxy through detailed exegesis of the Vedanta scriptures. In this sense, one finds only three such Kṛṣṇaite systems (those of Nimbārka, Caitanya, and Vallabha). On the other hand, there are many further instances in which Kṛṣṇa appears de facto as the central religious figure. Whether textual, theological, ritual, or devotional, such contexts can be described as types of Kṛṣṇaism, even when not dealing with a *sampradāya.* Finally, there are many examples of partial Kṛṣṇaism, whereby a religious system is Kṛṣṇaite on one level and, say, Vaiṣṇava on another.

EARLY KṚṢṆAISM. The first Kṛṣṇaite system known is the theology of the *Bhagavadgītā*. When read as a self-contained work, and not automatically in the light of the Vaiṣṇava theology that pervades the *Mahābhārata* into which it was inserted, its Kṛṣṇaite character is unmistakable. There is no suggestion here that in the person of the physical Kṛṣṇa a different being, that is, an eternal, unmanifest Viṣṇu, is contained. Thus when it is said (in 4.7): "Whenever *dharma* is suffering a decline, I emit myself [into the physical world]," or (in 4.8): "In different ages I originate [in physical form]," there is not the slightest hint in the text that this "I" is different from that used in the previous verse (4.6): "I am without birth, of immutable self. . . ." Similarly, in the grand vision that Arjuna, by means of his "divine eye," has of Kṛṣṇa in his cosmic form, no change in person is suggested. Even more important are verses like 14.27 or 18.54, in which Kṛṣṇa's relationship to *brahman* is indicated: Here *brahman* somehow is dependent on, and subsumed in, Kṛṣṇa. On the basis of these theological premises, the *Gītā* advocates a complex spiritual path leading ultimately to human salvation. Attention to the demands of society is combined with the need for inner spiritual growth; but both must be carried out in total "loyalty" (the primary meaning of *bhakti*) to Kṛṣṇa. At the end appears "love" (called "highest *bhakti")* coupled with a sharing in Kṛṣṇa's "working" in the universe.

The remaining portions of the epic, of which the *Bhagavadgītā* is but a minute part, are on the whole Vaiṣṇava. Eventually, by about the fourth or fifth century CE, the concept of the *avatāra* was introduced to clarify the relationship between Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu. This had very far-reaching consequences for the interpretation of Kṛṣṇaite material, including the *Gītā* itself. Thus the earliest source on the childhood and youth of Kṛṣṇa, the *Harivaṃśa* (third cent. CE?), an appendix to the *Mahābhārata*, presented the myths within a Vaiṣṇava framework, just as did the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (fifth cent. CE?), which contains a very much enlarged account of Kṛṣṇa's early life. By no means, however, did the *avatāra* concept acquire spontaneous, universal validity.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SOUTH. When turning to southern India, the region where Tamil was spoken (modern Tamil Nadu, Kerala, and southernmost Andhra Pradesh), one finds the figure of Māyōṉ documented from the beginning of the common era. Although he is assumed by some to have been an autonomous Dravidian god, no evidence for this theory can be found. Instead, a closer analysis of the sources shows that they are dealing here with here is Kṛṣṇa, or better, a god-figure of predominantly Kṛṣṇaite features who also incorporates elements of Viṣṇu. (Thus, strictly speaking one ought to use "Māyōṉism" rather than "Kṛṣṇaism" here.) The name itself, and synonyms like Māl and Māyavaṉ, denote a person of black complexion—a precise translation into Tamil of the Sanskrit Kṛṣṇa. Different milieus deal with the situation differently. In the context of temple worship, the emphasis is on Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇy. But in the area of folk religion, and, of central importance in later developments, among the (secular) literati, Māyōṉ appears as Kṛṣṇa, particularly the young Kṛṣṇa living among the cowherds, dallying with the girls and playing his tricks on the women. One also hears about his favorite, the milkmaid Pinnai, for whom he subdued seven vicious bulls. To the extent that one can infer from the literary allusions something about the religious situation during the first half of the first millennium CE, the songs, dances, and rituals celebrating those events appear decidedly Kṛṣṇaite.

With the Āḻvārs (sixth to ninth centuries), considerable changes in the conceptualization of Kṛṣṇa take place. Overall, a more pronounced Vaiṣṇava orientation emerges in their works. Yet even they do not introduce the conceptual distinction of Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu by means of the notion of *avatāra*, and the names by which they address their god fuse the Kṛṣṇaite with the Vaiṣṇava. The central range of myths that they develop in their poems and the eroticism that pervades their devotion have remained fundamentally Kṛṣṇaite. The emphasis is here on "love-in-separation."

This situation changes only with the emergence of Rāmānuja's Śrī Vaiṣṇavism (from the eleventh century, with antecedents in the tenth). Although institutionally links with the Āḻvārs are maintained, the formation of a definite Vaiṣṇava theology, which in turn has close historical links with the Vaiṣṇava temple tradition of the Pāñcarātras (and Vaikhānasas), encouraged a very different form of *bhakti*. Even so, Kṛṣṇa remains here the central *avatāra*, only eventually to be overtaken by Rāma.

Śrī Vaiṣṇavism was not the only heir to the devotional Kṛṣṇaism of the Āḻvārs. Two Sanskrit works have to be mentioned in this connection. One is the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* by one Vilvamaṅgala (also called "Līlāśuka," or "Playful Parrot"), of unknown date and possibly from Kerala. By 1200 the work is known in Bengal, and at a later stage was a favorite text of Caitanya. From ever-new angles, the erotic attraction of the youthful Kṛṣṇa is explored in this poem. Yet the importance of this work dwindles compared with the second text, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Written in the Tamil country around the ninth or early tenth century by an unknown poet, in Vedic-sounding and highly poetic language, this text is far more than a traditional *purāṇa*. It attempts to fuse a great variety of contemporary religious and cultural strands, and it does so in a decidedly Kṛṣṇaite manner. While for its "plot" it uses as its model the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (where Kṛṣṇa is an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu), in two important respects, devotional-literary and metaphysical, Kṛṣṇa is presented as the central deity. Book 10 and part of Book 11 comprise the structural center of the work: They have become the most famous source on the life of Kṛṣṇa among the cowherds of Vraja. Translating or paraphrasing here poems of the Āḻvārs (PeriyĀḻvār on Kṛṣṇa's childhood, Āṇṭāḷ, Nammāḻvār, and Parkālaṉ on his amours and on "love-in-separation"), Kṛṣṇaite *bhakti* finds here powerful expression. This devotional emphasis is complemented by a Kṛṣṇaite metaphysical framework. Thus in 1.3.28 one reads: "Kṛṣṇa is Bhagavān himself." Or in 10.33.36: "He who moves in the heart of all corporeal beings, here took on a body through playfulness." Kṛṣṇa is *brahman*, and—to make matters more complicated in this *purāṇa*—the ultimately sole real. Thus, an illusionist *advaita* teaching (in which Kṛṣṇa's love-play with the milkmaids can be compared to a child's playing with his own image seen in a mirror—10.33.17) is expounded in its metaphysical frame. Historically, this particular combination of *advaita* (metaphysical nondualism), sensuous *bhakti*, and the identification of Kṛṣṇa with *brahman* proved enormously influential. Most subsequent developments of Kṛṣṇaism in northern India are unthinkable without the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NORTH. Current knowledge of the situation in northern India during the first millennium CE is far more limited and patchy. No instances of Kṛṣṇaism can be cited, and yet a number of factors were essential in the formation of later types of Kṛṣṇaite religions. Numerous references in the various literatures of the period make it clear that Kṛṣṇa enjoyed enormous popularity. In predominantly secular works his amours with the milkmaids were explored and given a definite place in the imaginary landscape of classical Indian lovers. Moreover, already from the very beginning of the common era one encounters Rādhikā (later usually Rādhā) as his favorite beloved among the milkmaids. She is clearly different from the Tamil Piṉṉai, whom Sanskrit works present as Nīlā or Satyā. (Not that there is much of a story here, apart from the conventional amatory situations envisaged in the poetics of love.) But what was important was the inevitable association in the popular mind of Kṛṣṇa with Rādhikā. The religious works (the *Harivaṃśa*, Purāṇas, etc.) knew nothing about Rādhā, and broke the anonymity of the crowd of Kṛṣṇa's beloved ones only after his departure from Vraja, when he abducted and married the princess Rukmiṇī.

This whole popular interest in Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa reaches its culmination in Jayadeva's *Gītāgovinda* (written in Bengal c. 1185 CE), a kind of libretto for a dance-drama about the lovers' quarrels due to Rādhā's jealousy, and about their eventual reconciliation and their passionate lovemaking. While the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, which became known during this period in the north, provided the metaphysical and devotional frame, the *Gītagovinda* acted as the focusing mechanism for mythical episodes in Kṛṣṇa's complex earthly life.

A further contributory factor, *rasa* speculation, must be mentioned. Here one is dealing with academic aesthetics, which in India tended to focus on drama and poetry. By the ninth century CE a conceptual framework had evolved for the analysis of art and aesthetic experience that centered around the notion of *rasa* (literally, "flavor"). A good poem is supposed to contain one of eight possible emotions (love being by far the favorite among the poets) that, by means of poetic-linguistic devices, can be transferred to the reader (listener), to appear in the reader now in a transformed state as the reader's aesthetic relish, as *rasa*. Given that most of the sources on Kṛṣṇa's life were in poetry, that over the centuries an increasing concentration on his amours had taken place, and that in the devotee's emotions vis-à-vis Kṛṣṇa "aesthetic relish" could be found, it was perhaps natural for this to be developed systematically as *bhakti-rasa.* Particularly in the school of Caitanya, the scholastic exploration of *bhakti-rasa* (along with the production of Sanskrit poetry based on it) reached its climax.

REGIONAL TRENDS IN THE NORTH. Kṛṣṇaism makes its first documented appearance in the north with the beginning of the second millennium CE in a ritual context. This is the temple-culture of Paṇḍharpur in southern Maharashtra. The god in the temple is variously called Viṭṭhala or Viṭhobā. Although etymologies from *Viṣṇu* have been suggested, the personage described here, from at least a certain stage in the development onward, is clearly Kṛṣṇa. His consort is Rakhumāī, the Marathi form of Rukmiṇī. Particularly through the popularizing activities of Marathi poets such as Jñāneśvar, Nāmdev, and Tukārām, and many other (often pseudonymous) poets and texts, a markedly individual religious system of great popularity evolved in Maharashtra and also in Karṇāṭaka. Heaven and eternity, with Viṭhobā and Rakhumāī as king and queen, take visible form in Paṇḍharpur. Instead of the amorous episodes in Kṛṣṇa's earthly life (which do appear in numerous poems associated with this religious tradition), the emphasis is on secondary myths about the saints connected with Paṇḍharpur.

Maharashtra produced (from the thirteenth century onward) yet another type of Kṛṣṇaism, the very austere and idiosyncratic movement of the Mānbhāv (Mahānubhāva). Here five Kṛṣṇas are listed: Kṛṣṇa himself (husband of Rukmiṇī, etc.), who is closely connected with Parameśvara, the Absolute in the system; Dattātreya (a god-figure of Maharashtrian Hinduism); and three historical persons (Cakrādhār, the founder of the movement, and two predecessors) who are identified with Kṛṣṇa.

As a further example of regional forms of Kṛṣṇaism centered around temples, mention may be made of Jagannātha in Puri, Orissa, the building of whose temple was started around 1100 CE. Accompanied by Baladeva and Subhadrā, he is evidently envisaged in a Kṛṣṇaite context. This connection was strengthened in the sixteenth century through the *bhakti* culture developed in the temple by Rāmānanda Rāya and Caitanya.

The first Kṛṣṇaite *sampradāya* was developed by Nimbārka. Unfortunately, very little reliable information is available on him and thus it is difficult to place him accurately in the history of Kṛṣṇaism. A date before the sixteenth century would emphasize his originality in terms of Kṛṣṇaite theology, but make his alleged residing in Bṛndāvan (a locality near Mathurā, thought to correspond to the mythical Vṛndāvana) very doubtful. Here for the first time in the Vedanta school-tradition is found *brahman* identified with Kṛṣṇa (and not, as earlier on in Rāmānuja and also in Madhva, with Viṣṇu). Moreover, Kṛṣṇa is here envisaged in the company of Rādhā.

A further contributing factor to the increasing popularity of Kṛṣṇa throughout northern India was the appearance of vernacular poets who, in different languages and in varying approaches, dealt with Kṛṣṇa's amours and childhood pranks. While the Bengali poet Caṇḍīdās (1400 CE?) sang about his own tragic love in the imagery of Rādhā's separation, the Maithilī poet Vidyāpati (c. 1350 to 1450) fused the erotic culture of a royal court with the amours of Kṛṣṇa and the milkmaids.

But what about the locality on earth where myth places these amours, that is, Vṛndāvana? The Śrī Vaiṣṇavas had certainly listed it among their 108 primary places of pilgrimage (and in a prominent position) from the tenth century onward. But to what extent anybody from Tamil Nadu traveled all the way up to Mathurā during the period up to the sixteenth century is unknown.

BṚNDĀVAN. Toward the close of the fifteenth century, the longing to live in the actual place where Kṛṣṇa spent his childhood takes on concrete and documented form. At this point there a number of Kṛṣṇaite devotees, originating from various parts of India, settling in Bṛndāvan along with their disciples. Many temples are constructed on sites that had been (usually miraculously) "rediscovered" as the localities mentioned in Puranic episodes. These developments may well be connected with the transfer of the Mughal capital from Delhi to Agra (in 1506) and the construction of a major road between these two cities that passed through Mathurā. Certainly the tolerant reigns of Akbar (1556–1605) and Jahāṅgīr (1605–1627) were decisive factors as well.

While the claim that Nimbārka (at an earlier date) had lived in Bṛndāvan is of doubtful validity, both the Caitanyites and Vallabhites refer to an otherwise nebulous Mādhavendra Purī (late fifteenth century) as the original "rediscoverer" of the site of the mythical Vṛndāvana. He in turn appears to have inspired Caitanya to visit the place around 1516 and to settle his disciples there from 1516 onward. Vallabha (c. 1480–1533) and Haridās (c. 1500–1595) arrived somewhat later. During the sixteenth century a whole cluster of Kṛṣṇaite religious movements had their center in the locality of Bṛndāvan. These included Nimbārka's followers and Hit Harivaṃś (c. 1500–1552), who was native to the region. While as religious systems they preserved their separate identities, the common milieu nevertheless produced great similarity of theology and devotion. Although Vallabha himself, and then the branch of his movement that eventually arose in Gujarat, ignored Rādhā and concentrated on the child Kṛṣṇa and his various pranks, through Vallabha's son Viṭṭhaladeva (c. 1518–1586) Rādhā gained prominence theologically, and through the vernacular poetry of Sūrdās (from c. 1480 to between 1560 and 1580), whom the Vallabhites consider as one of their poets, attention is focused upon Rādhā's and Kṛṣṇa's lovemaking. The poetry of Haridās and Hit Harivaṃś is very similar to this. In contrast, the Caitanyites emphasized the *viraha* ("separation") of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā.

This milieu shares generally the following features. The Absolute, namely, *brahman*, is Kṛṣṇa together with Rādhā (whom the Vallabhites, in this aspect, call Svāminī-jī). Their relationship may be formulated as that of *śaktimān* ("powerful") and *śakti* ("power"), which—according to the *advaita* stance employed—is one of "nonduality." The older, Upaniṣadic definition of *brahman* as *saccidānanda* ("being, consciousness, bliss") is transformed through emphasis on the "bliss" aspect (in which the other two become subsumed); Rādhā is Kṛṣṇa's *hlādinī-śakti*, the "bliss-causing power." Their lovemaking (and separation), which scriptures locate in the mythical Vṛndāvana, is on the one hand envisaged as denotative of the nature of *brahman* (ultimate unity of Kṛṣṇa and his *śakti*, differentiation within an *advaita* sense, etc.). On the other hand, it is perceived as taking place, more literally, in eternity, in a heaven usually called Goloka far above the world (and even above Viṣṇu's heaven, Vaikuṇṭha). Yet the earthly Bṛndāvan remains central, for here the eternal love mysteries and the events that took place in the mythical Vṛndāvana fuse invisibly. Thus, by living here and meditating through song and poetry on Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā—by cultivating *bhaktirasa*—the devotee has direct access to the divine mysteries.

A large corpus of scriptures (devotional poetry along with learned treatises) evolved from all this. Even anonymous works such as the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* and the *Garga Saṃhitā*, or later sections of the *Padma Purāṇa*, show an affinity, if no direct connection, with this Bṛndāvan milieu.

FURTHER DIFFUSION. The centripetal forces that Bṛndāvan exerted on the north soon were balanced by a centrifugal diffusion of the type of Kṛṣṇaism developed here. Thus Vallabha's son Viṭṭhala moved to Gujarāt in about 1570, where the *sampradāya* acquired a large following. Kṛṣṇa's temple in Dvārakā served as ritual center and the *maharajas*—descendants of Vallabha and *guru*s of the community—as Kṛṣṇa's personal embodiments. A personal, devotional Kṛṣṇaism is expressed by the Rajput princess Mīrā Bāī (c. 1500–1565). In her famous poetry she sang about her love for Kṛṣṇa who is fused with her *gurū*. A contemporary of hers was the Gujarāti poet Narsī Mehtā (c. 1500–1580), who wrote about Kṛṣṇa's and Rādhā's Vṛndāvana amours. In the east, the Caitanyites continued to flourish in Bengal and influenced Bengali poetry on Kṛṣṇa. Śaṇkardev (died c. 1570) and others introduced versions of Kṛṣṇaism into Assam. During the eighteenth century Calcutta witnessed the rise of the Sakhībhāvakas, whose members wore female dress in order to identify themselves even externally with the female companions of Rādhā. In modern times, the Hare Krishna movement exemplifies the continuation of devotional Kṛṣṇaism.

In Kerala ritual Kṛṣṇaism flourishes in connection with the temple of Guruvāyūr, which attracts nowadays large numbers of pilgrims from all over India. Popular texts such as the *Kṛṣṇavilāsa* (by Sukumāra, possibly thirteenth or fourteenth century) and the *Nārāyaṇīyam* (by Mēlpathūr Nārāyaṇa, 1560–1646)—both based on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*—provide a literary backing for it.

The term *Kṛṣṇaism*, then, can be used to summarize a large group of independent systems of beliefs and devotion that developed over more than two thousand years, through the interaction of many different cultural contexts. Given the composite nature of the Kṛṣṇa-figure itself (as prankish child, lover, king, fighter of demons, teacher of the *Bhagavadgītā*, etc.), the selective emphasis in these systems on such individual aspects is worth noting. No grand theological synthesis was attempted. Instead, one notices centralizing trends (on an abstract level, in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, and in concrete form, in the influence of the Vṛndāvana milieu) that in turn produced localized expressions. As an overall trend, a concentration on Kṛṣṇa the lover can be recognized, and it is only in the twentieth century that people such as Gandhi or Bal Gangadhar Tilak began to explore the role of Kṛṣṇa's teaching in relation to the demands of modern politics and society. The move "beyond Kṛṣṇa" in the direction of a "Rādhāism" (as found, for example, in the later teaching of the Rādhāvallabhīs or with the Sakhībhāvakas) was, on the other hand, tentative and of limited appeal.

SEE ALSO Āḻvārs; Bhagavadgītā; Bhakti; Caitanya; Hindi Religious Traditions; Indian Religions, article on Rural Traditions; Jayadeva; Kṛṣṇa; Marathi Religions; Mīrā Bāī; Nimbārka; Rādhā; Śrī Vaiṣṇavas; Sūrdās; Tamil Religions; Vaikhānasas; Vaiṣṇavism, article on Pāñcarātras; Vallabha; Viṣṇu; Vṛndāvana.

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No single book has thus far surveyed the whole range of Kṛṣṇaism. William G. Archer's charming *The Loves of Krishna in Indian Painting and Poetry* (New York, 1957) can serve as a first introduction to the subject. Four more recent works explore different aspects of the Kṛṣṇa figure, but mainly of the earlier period. My *Viraha-Bhakti: The Early History of Kṛṣṇa Devotion in South India* (New Delhi, 1983), deals primarily with early North Indian material as received and developed in the South (particularly by the Āḻvārs and in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*). The Kṛṣṇa of the classical Purāṇas is envisaged in Benjamin Preciado-Solís's *The Kṛṣṇa Cycle in the Purāṇas: Themes and Motifs in a Heroic Saga* (New Delhi, 1984) in the context of heroic poetry and Indian art history, and in Noel Sheth's *The Divinity of Krishna* (New Delhi, 1984) from a theological point of view. In his *Krishna, the Butter Thief* (Princeton, N.J., 1983), John Stratton Hawley concentrates on the prankish child as treated in later Hindi poetry, but he includes earlier textual and art-historical material on the theme. Two collections of individual articles contain much relevant information: *Krishna: Myths, Rites, and Attitudes*, edited by Milton Singer (Honolulu, 1966), and *Bhakti in Current Research, 1979–1982*, edited by Monika Thiel-Horstmann (Berlin, 1983). Surendranath Dasgupta's *A History of Indian Philosophy*, vols. 3 and 4 (Cambridge, U.K., 1949–1955), may be consulted on the more technical side of the philosophical and theological discussion.

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KṢITIGARBHA,

KṢITIGARBHA, called Dizang in China and Jizō in Japan, is, after Avalokiteśvara, the most important *bodhisattva* of Buddhist East Asia. Kṣitigarbha is also well known in Tibet. His name is usually interpreted to mean "receptacle (womb, storehouse) of the earth"; as such, he may be a Buddhist transformation of the Vedic earth goddess Pṛthivi.

Information about the cult of Kṣitigarbha in the esoteric and exoteric Buddhist traditions comes from a number of sūtras. Principal among these are two texts:

(1) *Dasheng daji dizang shilun jing* (Mahāyāna Mahāsaṃnipata sūtra on Kṣitigarbha and the ten wheels; T.D. no. 411). This *sūtra* was translated into Chinese by Xuanzang (596?–664) in the year 651, but there may have been an earlier translation of the same Sanskrit original made about 400. This scripture is the only exoteric sūtra concerning Kṣitigarbha whose pre-Chinese origin is undoubted.

(2) *Dizang pusa benyuan jing* (Sūra of the original vow of the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha; T.D. no. 412). This sūtra is said to be translated from Sanskrit by Śikṣānanda (652–710), but in fact this attribution is impossible to substantiate. Many contemporary scholars believe that the sūtra was written in China as late as the tenth or eleventh century.

History in India. An independent cult of Kṣitigarbha apparently never developed in India. The seventh-century Chinese pilgrims to India do not mention Kṣitigarbha. *Maṇḍalas* in the cave-temples of Ellora do include Kṣitigarbha, but there are no separate images of him. Textual references to Kṣitigarbha are found as far back as the first or second century CE, as well as quotations from an *Ārya Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* in a text from the seventh or eighth century. In Central Asia, Kṣitigarbha was more important: Separate images have been found in caves at Dunhuang in what is now Gansu province.

According to the *Dasheng daji,* Kṣitigarbha's special characteristic is that Śākyamuni Buddha has entrusted him with the task of rescuing sentient beings during the buddhaless interval between Śakyamuni's *parinirvāṇa* and the enlightenment of the next Buddha, Maitreya. For countless aeons, the scripture maintains, he has worked to lead sentient beings toward buddhahood in worlds bereft of buddhas. Kṣitigarbha is said to respond to those who call upon his name and rely on him singlemindedly, meeting their immediate needs, eliminating their suffering, and setting them firmly on the path to *nirvāṇa.* He softens the hearts of those mired in evil and brings them repentance. Similarly, those in hells obtain release through his intercession.

History in China. Knowledge of Kṣitigarbha (Dizang) was probably introduced to China around 400, but there is no evidence that Dizang became an object of widespread devotion there until much later. An important stimulus for the popularity of faith in Dizang's vows seems to have come from the Sanjie Jiao, or Sect of the Three Stages, a group that believed that various of the teachings of the Buddha were designed to be beneficial in each of three historical ages. Xinxing (540–594), the founder of the sect, promoted the worship of Dizang as appropriate to the present, the third and most evil of the three ages. Judging from the number and dates of images in the Buddhist caves at Longmen, worship of Dizang became popular among the aristocracy, in tandem with that of the Buddha Amitabha, from 650 to 700.

The *Dizang pusa* and other texts very possibly written in China made central the notion of Kṣitigarbha's special intention to rescue those in the hells. Filial piety is another theme that emerges in these texts. Of four stories in the *Dizang pusa* that relate the origin of Kṣitigarbha's vow to rescue all beings from suffering, two tell of his previous births as women who are moved to take such a vow after they have learned that their own mothers are suffering in the Avici hells. In certain "counterfeit" sūtras (i.e., sūtras whose provenance is clearly Chinese) showing obvious Daoist influence, Kṣitigarbha was linked to the "ten kings" who were the judges of the Chinese "dark regions," and prayed to specifically in order to lengthen life and ward off disaster. In these sūtras, Dizang both judges and saves beings.

Reliance on Dizang's vow remains part of Buddhist practice in Chinese cultural areas today. In the seventh lunar month the *Dizang pusa* is widely recited and special offerings made in gratitude for his rescuing of ancestors reborn in the various hells.

History in Tibet. Kṣitigarbha is known in Tibet as Sahi snying po. There is a Tibetan translation of the *Dasheng daji* but not of the *Dizang pusa.* Kṣitigarbha is most frequently honored as one of the grouping of "eight great *bodhisattvas*" whose *maṇḍalas* are important in the Esoteric (i.e., Vajrayāna) tradition.

History in Japan. The first unquestioned evidence of the enshrining of an image of Jizō in Japan and the conducting of an offering service in his temple dates from the year 850. From the ninth century onward, ceremonies of offerings called Jizōkō were widely observed to avert illness and to rescue beings from the hells. Jizō also became honored throughout the country as a protector of children as well as a provider of various blessings sought by the common people. Jizō's festival (Jizōbon), on the twenty-fourth day of the seventh month, usually centers on prayers for the safety of children.

In Japan, many carved stone images of Jizō can still be found at roadsides or in the wild. (Some scholars say that these images gradually replaced an indigenous tradition of erecting stone phallic symbols by the roadside.) In this form, Jizō is the subject of many children's songs and folk songs from ancient times. Today, as in the past, when people mourn victims of war or traffic accidents, or pray for children or for the *mizunoko* (the souls of children who died before birth, usually by miscarriage and abortion), they still often dedicate a small Jizō image at a temple.

ICONOGRAPHY. Although Kṣitigarbha appears in the princely garb of a *bodhisattva* in the Esoteric tradition and in all traditions in China, in Japan he usually appears with the shaved head and monk's robes of a *śravāka,* or Hīnayāna monk, a devotee of the first of the "three vehicles" that, in Mahāyāna thought, comprehend the three soteriological paths recognized by the tradition. He usually carries a pearl and a staff. In the Japanese Shingon (Vajrayāna) tradition he appears in both the Taizōkai (Womb Realm Maṇḍala) and the Kongōkai (Diamond Realm Maṇḍala). Another highly developed tradition in Japan is the depiction of "six Jizōs," each with different attributes according to the path of rebirth in which he appears.

SEE ALSO Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, article on Celestial Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; Xinxing.

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KUAN-YIN SEE AVALAOKITEŚVARA

KUBRĀ, NAJM AL-DĪN. Al-Kubrā, Shaykh Abū al-Jannāb Najm al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar, Khīwaqī, known as Najm al-Dīn Kubrā, was a Ṣūfī master (AHsixth–seventh centuries/twelfth–thirteenth centuries CE) and founder of the Kubrawīyah Order. Najm al-Dīn was born circa AH540/1145 CE at Khiva in Khwārizm (Khorezm, Uzbekistan), then a flourishing region of Central Asia. As a student his talent for theological disputation earned him the epithet al-Kubrā, an abbreviated form of the Qurʾanic phrase *al-ḳiāmmat al-kubrā*, "the greatest calamity" (84:34)

Kubrā's travels in search of religious learning—chiefly *ḥadīth* (prophetic tradition) and *kalām* (theology)—took him to Egypt, where he spent several years, and also to Iran and Asia Minor. Najm al-Dīn received initiation into Sufism in Egypt from Rūzbihān al-Wazzān, a sheikh of the Suhrawardīyah Order. Najm al-Dīn continued to study theology in Iran until he had a decisive encounter in Tabriz with Bābā Faraj, after which he devoted himself wholly to the mystical path, first under Ismāʿīl al-Qaṣrī (d. 589/1193) in western Iran and then under ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir al-Bidlīsī (d. 582/1186). Finally ʿAmmār sent him back to Rūzbihān to complete his training. Probably between 581/1185 and 586/1190, Kubrā returned to Khwārizm with authorization as a Ṣūfī master in his own right.

The remainder of Najm al-Dīn's life was devoted to the Ṣūfī path, the training of disciples, and the composition of treatises. He founded the Kubrawīyah *ṭarīqah* (order), whose offshoots spread far and wide. Its genealogical line of successive sheikhs is traced back to the Prophet through Rūzbihān al-Wazzān and Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī (Gramlich, 1965). Owing to the stature of his disciples, Kubrā acquired a second nickname, Walī-Tarāsh ("Fashioner of Saints"). He died a martyr's death in battle when the Mongol army attacked Urganj, present-day Kunya-Urgench in Turkmenistan.

Najm al-Dīn Kubrā's principal writings are mostly in Arabic. *Ṣifāt al-ādāb*, in Persian (Meier, 1999), expounds the basics of the Ṣūfī path, including rules of discipline. Kubrā's rules are also set out in *al-Ul̲ūl al -ʿasharah*, which inspired several commentaries, and in Persian in both *Risālat al-hāʾim al-khāʾif min lawmat al-lāʾim* (Letter to the ecstatic one fearful of blamers' blame) and the more wide-ranging exposition *Ādāb al-sulūk il aẓrat Mālik al-Mulk wa Mālik al-Mulk* (Rules of traveling to the presence of the Master of the Kingdom and King of Kings). To summarize, they prescribe constant observance of ritual purity, fasting, silence, seclusion, and invocation of God. Disciples must keep their hearts focused on the sheikh, abandoning their own will and referring all questions to him; discard all thought impulses, the various types of which, good and bad, must nevertheless be rigorously distinguished; and surrender entirely to the Divine Will.

Sleep must be minimized and moderation observed in breaking the fast.

Najm al-Dīn probably wrote only a small part of *Baṣr al-Ṣaqāʾiq* (The ocean of divine realities), also known as *ʿAyn al-Ṣayāt* (The source of life), the profound and highly original Qurʾān commentary (*tafsīr)* begun by him and completed in turn by two other Kubrawīs, Rāzī and Simnānī. Several brief tracts and some mystical quatrains (*rubā ʿiyyāt*) in Persian are also attributed to Kubrā.

Kubrā's best-known work, *Fawāʾiḥ al-jalāl wa fawātiḥ al-jamāl,* contains instructions on Ṣūfī discipline; reminiscences of incidents in the author's outward and inner lives; and interpretive descriptions of mystical states, encounters, visions, and revelations. Prolonged retreat for intensive invocation and fasting, often for forty days, was central to Kubrawī methodology as a means of opening the heart to experiential knowledge of God. The *Fawāʾiḥ* describes with exceptional openness experiences of a highly personal nature in both the everyday and the suprasensory realms. Its primary themes include that everything in the created universe can be found within the human microcosm; that humans have innate knowledge of spiritual realities, but to actualize it they must "un-forget" (cf. Neoplatonic anamnesis); that because like can only be known by like, inward purity and outward purity are prerequisites for gaining *maʿrifah;* the *latāʾif,* subtle centers of perception; and the significance of visions of lights seen during invocation in relation to spiritual states and the *latāʾif.* The *Fawāʾiḥ* also contains unusual hermeneutical interpretations (*taʾwīlāt*) of Qurʾanic verses and of other texts and sayings.

Mainly because of the Mongol invasion, Kubrā's followers dispersed widely. His successors, direct and later, varied greatly in background and outlook. Several made significant contributions to Kubrawī doctrine and methodology. Majd al-Dīn Baghdādī (d. 616/1219) composed some short treatises before his untimely death. Saʿd al-Dīn Ḥammūʾī (d. 650/1252) and the Shīʿī ʿAzīz al-Dīn Nasafī (d. before 1300) wielded much influence in Iran. Both were prolific authors. While Ḥammūʾī tends to be abstruse, Nasafī, like Rāzī, is distinguished by his clarity of exposition. Kamāl al-Dīn (also known as Bābā Kamāl) Jandī, later Sighnaqī (d. 672/1273), played a major part in transmitting the order in Khwārizm and surrounding regions, especially among the Turkic population. In the Bukhara region Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī (d. 658/1260) was revered as Shaykh-i ʿĀlam (the Sheikh of the World). Both Raẓī al-Dīn ʿAlī Lālā Samarqandī (d. 642/1244) and Baghdādī's disciple Najm al-Dīn Dāyah Rāzī (d. 654/1256) brought Kubrawī teachings to Asia Minor. Coauthor of *Baṣr al-ṣaqāʾiq*, Rāzī also wrote one of the finest Persian treatises on Islamic mysticism, ethics, and eschatology, *Mirsad al-ʿibad* (The path of God's servants). The work traveled far, and one extant manuscript has annotations in a Chinese dialect. Another Iranian Kubrawī sheikh, ʿAlāʾ al-Dawlah Simnānī (d. 736/1336), produced several treatises, lyric poetry, and also much of *Baṣr al-ṣaqāʾiq*. His *Risālah-ʿi Nūrīyah* adds to Kubrā's and Rāzī's earlier interpretations of visions of light.

Some Kubrawī masters acquired influence in the outside world. Berke, khan of the Mongol Golden Horde, converted to Islam at Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī's *kh ānaqāh.* Ḥammūʾī's son and successor officiated when Ghāzān Khan, Mongol ruler of Iran, embraced Islam in 694/1295. Simnānī also moved in court circles. As for literati, notable Persian poets who were disciples or associates of Kubrawī sheikhs include Humām Tabrīzī, Muḥammad Shīrīn Maghribī, and Sayyid Qāsim al-Anwār.

The Kubrawīyah prospered for some generations in parts of central Asia and Iran. A few offshoots of the order have survived into the twenty-first century. By 699/1300 it reached India, where it became known as the Firdawsīyah and produced a didactic classic in the *Maktūb-i adī* (Hundred letters of Sharaf al-Dīn Manerī [d. 772/1371]). The missionary activity of Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadānī (d. 786/1385), a Persian Kubrawī, played a great part in the spread of Islam in Kashmir, where the Hamadānīyah branch is still active. Far to the west the Ottoman sultan Sulaymān II the Magnificent (r. 926–974/1520–1566) was initiated into Sayyid ʿAlʾī's litanies *(awrād).* Even in the nineteenth century some Turkish sheikhs of other orders claimed a Kubrawī affiliation as well, though the order seems never to have become established on Ottoman soil. In Iran the Nūrbakhshīyah branch endured into the tenth/sixteenth century. The rival Barzishābādī faction, also descended from Hamadānī, eventually evolved into the Shīʿī Dhahabīyah Order, which still has two active branches, and during the fourteenth/twentieth century it produced many writings.

The Kubrawīyah's later history in Central Asia has been brilliantly investigated by Devin De Weese (1988, 1994). The ninth/fifteenth century saw the rise of the Naqshbandī Order, which largely supplanted all its rivals there by the end of the eleventh/seventeenth century. Ḥusayn Khwārazm (d. 958/1551) temporarily revived Kubrawī fortunes in Samarkand and elsewhere; in India his deputy Yaʿqūb Ṣarfī initiated the famous Naqshbandī Mujaddid Sheikh Aḥmad Sirhindī. In Java (van Bruinessen, 1994) several Ṣūfī orders included Najm al-Dīn Kubrā's name in their genealogy (*silsila*), and Kubrawī teachings conceivably had some actual influence, for example, on the interpretation of visions. Heavily mythologized, Kubrā also features in Javanese quasi-Islamic folklore under the name of Jumadil Kubra, who has several *maqām*s (centers of pilgrimage). Some Kubrawī groups possibly existed in modern times in Chinese-ruled Central Asia, though hard evidence is lacking. Najm al-Dīn Kubrā's shrine remains among the most revered in Central Asia.

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KUIJI (632–682), religious name of the first patriarch of the Faxiang school of Chinese Buddhism, also known by the titles Dasheng Ji and Ci’en Dashi. Kuiji was the foremost disciple of the great pilgrim-monk Xuanzang, under whose tutelage he came to play an instrumental role in the second major transmission of Indian Yogācāra Buddhist thought into China.

Born into a family of famous generals, the Yuzhi, Kuiji received a classical Confucian education in preparation for the life of a court official, but decided while still in his teens to enter the Buddhist monastic order instead. In 645 Xuanzang returned from his extended study of Buddhism in India and was commissioned by Taizong, the second Tang emperor, to oversee the translation of the numerous Buddhist texts he had brought back to China. Upon his ordination several years later, Kuiji was assigned by imperial order to Xuanzang’s translation team and soon became one of his most capable students. As Xuanzang’s main assistant for much of the project, Kuiji appears to have been the actual editor of the influential *Cheng weishi lun*, a synopsis of early Indian scholarship on Yogācāra Buddhism.

After the death of Xuanzang (664), Kuiji turned from translation to exegesis, writing extensive commentaries on most of the works translated by the imperial project, a corpus reflecting his interest in a wide range of Buddhist issues both philosophical and practical. He was especially concerned with the doctrine of *vijñaptimātratā*, which holds that the world as we know it is the result of a psychologically conditioned process of cognitive construction. Kuiji also devoted considerable literary effort to working out scholastic problems associated with the stages of progression along the path to liberation. In addition, he wrote important works on Buddhist logic and, consistent with his Yogācāra affiliation, his personal religious practice emphasized devotion to the *bodhisattva* Maitreya.

In spite of its early prominence, the Faxiang school soon experienced a rapid decline, beginning with a shift in imperial patronage that was already apparent in Kuiji’s lifetime. The conservative, highly technical, and very scholastic version of Indian Yogācāra thought represented by the school proved antithetical to the prevailing fashion of Tang Buddhism, which had begun to develop independently of the continuing Indian tradition. To bridge this gap Kuiji sought to interpret unfamiliar Indian Yogācāra ideas in terms of contemporary Chinese Buddhist vocabulary (see especially his *Weishi zhang*, or *Essay on Vijñaptimātratā*). His views became the subject of increasing polemic, however, and the school was soon eclipsed by the more indigenous Huayan and Tiantai doctrines. Particularly unacceptable to Kuiji’s contemporaries was the Yogācāra affirmation of three distinct (and unequal) religious careers and its corollary that some beings, the *icchantika*s, were inherently incapable of any religious development and were thus forever barred from liberation.

Despite the eclipse of the Faxiang school, Kuiji’s commentaries and essays continued to be widely read throughout East Asia. His students introduced Faxiang thought to Japan, where, as Hosso Buddhism, it became the basis for one of the historically most influential of the Nara schools. While the full range of Kuiji’s contribution has not yet been fully assessed by modern scholarship, his greatest achievement may be seen in his effort to catalog and preserve details of the scholastic period of Indian Yogācāra thought, especially since he recorded material from texts that now no longer survive in the original Sanskrit.

See Also Xuanzang; Yogācāra.

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Besides his extensive commentaries, Kuiji wrote a number of essays, many of which were collected in his doctrinal compendium, the *Dasheng fayuan yilin zhang* (T. D. no. 1861). For a translation and study of the most important of these, his *Essay on Vijñaptimātratā* (*Weishi zhang*), see my study "The Vijñaptimātratā Buddhism of the Chinese Monk K'uei-chi" (Ph. D. diss., University of British Columbia, 1980). On Kuiji's relation to the Indian Yogācāra tradition, see my article "The *Trisvabhāva* Doctrine in India and China: A Study of Three Exegetical Models," *Bukkyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 21 (1982): 97–119. In his *Buddhist Formal Logic* (London, 1969), Richard S. Y. Chi has written an excellent study of early Indian Buddhist Nyāya in China based primarily on Kuiji's commentaries to the *Nyāyapraveśa*. The rather limited traditional sources for Kuiji's biography have been thoroughly analyzed and summarized by Stanley Weinstein in "A Biographical Study of Tz'ŭ-ên," *Monumenta Nipponica* 15 (April–July 1959): 119–149.

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KULTGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE See MYTH AND RITUAL SCHOOL

KULTURKREISELEHRE.

Kulturkreiselehre (doctrine of culture "circles"), also called the cultural-historical method, refers to a model developed at the beginning of the twentieth century by German-speaking ethnologists to provide ethnology with a cultural-historical perspective. The intention of these scholars was to change the study of preliterate peoples into a historical science, freeing it from the naturalistic approaches that, influenced by positivism, had been dominant since the beginning of the nineteenth century and that still form a theoretical model of reference.

In anthropological works in English and the main Romance languages, the German word *Kreis* is often translated as "circle" or "cycle," but this translation is inaccurate because the use of *Kulturkreis* as a concept is intended to indicate the context—the complex of conditions in which a particular culture is developed and spread and, at the same time, the entire extent of its important characteristics. These aspects are not an integral part of the concept of a "circle," whereas the term *cycle* is concerned exclusively with the chronological aspect. For this reason it would be more appropriate to use the expression *culture ambit-complex,* which is, like the common expression *culture area,* a concept particular to modern historical and idiographic thought developed in the United States through criticism of the generalized ideas of history devised by writers such as Franz Boas (1940). This article, however, retains the traditional term to avoid confusing the reader.

By setting up culture "circles," that is, various areas governed by the same or a dominant culture (in the view of the cultural-historical school) ethnology ceased to be either the unsystematic collecting of artifacts or the binding of disparate artifacts under the concept of evolutionism or unilinear development. Cultural historians also maintain that their method allows them to identify the differences between preliterate peoples, to characterize cultural phases, and to provide a concrete demonstration of the historical relationships between cultural phenomena, avoiding inadequately argued references to the a priori psychological unity of the human race.

From what has been stated above, it can be concluded, as Marvin Harris (1968) stresses, that from a cultural-historical perspective the culture circles are also strata or phases of a universal chronological plan (based upon the assumption that cultures should be placed in an evolutionary sequence according to the level of civilization attained). For many, this was what evolutionists had already done—construct a completely hypothetical history. The notion of the "cultural stratum" has a long history developed by authors such as Gian Battista Vico (1668–1744) and Johann Jakob Bachofen (1815–1887), who identified three *Kulturstufen.* This notion, which seems to precede the organicism of some cultural historians, is based upon the belief that every cultural form is a living thing that comes into being, develops, and disappears (Casadio, 1994).

The precursors of the cultural-historical method were the Russian naturalist Nikolaj Yakovlevič Danilevsky (1822–1865) and the German geographer Friedrich Ratzel (1844–1904). In his *Anthropogeographie* (1882–1891) and *Völkerkunde* (1885–1888), Ratzel attempted to resolve the conflict between convergence theory (egregiously represented in Adolf Bastian's notion of *Elementargedanken*) and diffusionism, in favor of the latter. Ratzel applied, for the first time, the zoological migration theory to explain the expansion, migration, and layering of cultures. He used the "form criterion"—based upon the identification of material objects that have been made in the same form, not determined by their function or the physical properties of the material employed—to confirm contacts, often across great distances, between cultures. Ratzel's pupil Leo Frobenius, however, is considered the founder of the cultural circle theory. According to Paul Leser (1964), however, Ratzel devised the concept of *Kulturkreis*, even if Frobenius was the first to use the expression in the modern sense. With the aid of the "quantitative criterion" (the more numerous the similarities between two cultural elements, the more likely there will be a historical-genetic relationship between them), Frobenius proposed a "West African culture area" in his *Der Ursprung der afrikanischen Kulturen* (1898). From this concept, however, he later developed the notion of "culture morphology," in which culture was conceived as a living organism whose development was determined by a soul (*paideuma*). Adopting an irrational position, Frobenius held that the inner meaning of culture can only be understood by intuition.

Frobenius's work was joined by the scholarship of Bernhard Ankermann, in "Kulturkreise und Kuhurschichten in Afrika," and Fritz Graebner, in "Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Ozeanien," which appeared in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 37 (1905). With his *Die Methode der Ethnologie* (1911), Graebner created the methodological basis for ethnology and introduced methods of historical inquiry, especially the methods developed in Ernst Bernheim's *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode* (5th ed., 1908). Another important methodological contribution to the cultural-historical school is found in the work of the Jesuit historian and theologian Henri Pinard de la Boullaye (1929–1931), who added new criteria to be used for a more precise historical analysis of cultural phenomena. A majority of the young ethnologists of the period gathered under the banner of the cultural-historical method, even if they did not always make use of *Kulturkreis*, which was replaced by other similar concepts.

WILHELM SCHMIDT'S CONTRIBUTION. The Viennese linguist and ethnologist Father Wilhelm Schmidt (1868–1954) developed the concept of the culture circle into an extended system by unifying it and incorporating new elements. In his *Handbuch der Methode der kulturhistorischen Ethnologie* (1937), Schmidt wrote that a culture complex can be called *Kulturkreis* if it embraces all the essential categories of human culture, such as material culture, economy, and religion. Through the continuing scholarship of Wilhelm Koppers, Martin Gusinde, and Paul Schebesta, the concept of the cultural circle acquired acceptance in the history of religion and periodically dominated discussion in the area of the ethnology of religion. In his twelve-volume work *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* (1912–1955), Schmidt used the *Kulturkreiselehre* to support the theory of primordial monotheism (*Urmonotheismus*).

In 1906 the periodical *Anthropos* became the mouthpiece of Schmidt's Viennese school. To quantitative and form criteria, Schmidt added the criteria of continuity and relatedness as a means of determining relatively uniform cultural complexes. He emphasized the temporal factor and the succession of cultural strata in time, and thus introduced the question of the origin and development of the culture areas. The Viennese ethnologist employed the cultural stratum idea (*Kulturschicht*), which, like *Kulturkreis,* was an organic complex produced by an almost biological determinism, but he did not recall his predecessor Bachofen (Casadio, 1994). According to some scholars, among the followers of the historical-cultural school there is variation between the atomistic concept of culture, in which diverse cultural characteristics coexist, and the organic conception, which instead opens the way to the functionalism moderated by the historical approach of Richard Thurnwald and Wilhelm Mühlmann.

According to Schmidt, cultural elements can be compared only if they are related to each other or occur within the same cultural complex. In determining the origin of the cultural complex, a double rule applies: a cultural element can be explained only within its own cultural complex, and in this explanation the oldest cultural forms are of primary significance. The *Kulturkreise* proposed by Schmidt are:

1. *Primitive cultures,* characterized by preliterate hunters and gatherers:

1.1 Central primitive culture; exogamous and monogamous marriages.

1.2 Southern primitive culture; exogamous marriages and sex totems.

2. *Primary cultures,* characterized by preliterate agriculturalists:

2.1 Exogamous marriages, patrilineal kinship; totemism, higher-stages hunting; "city" culture.

2.2 Exogamous marriages, matrilineal kinship; horticulturist; "village" culture.

2.3 Patrilineal kinship, undivided families; pastoral nomads who become ruling races.

3. *Secondary cultures,* characterized by picture writing:

3.1 Free patrilineal cultures (e.g., Polynesia, the Sudan, western India, western Asia, southern Europe).

3.2 Free matrilineal cultures (e.g., southern China, eastern India, Melanesia; the northeast of South America).

4. *Tertiary cultures,* characterized by alphabet use (the oldest civilizations of Asia, Europe, and the Americas).

Schmidt presumes a succession that is distinguished from the older evolutionism schema but that assumes, in effect, a reverse evolution, or a "devolution." This reversal becomes particularly obvious in Schmidt's religious historical schema. In primitive cultures the belief in a Supreme Being dominates; this belief is interpreted as primordial monotheism. In the next stage, primary cultures, the belief in spirits (animism), magic, and totemism (animal worship) emerges. These beliefs increasingly stifle monotheism and eventually result in the polytheism of the higher cultures, but the earlier monotheistic stage is finally revived by the biblical religions.

Nineteenth-century British evolutionists were lined up against a similar concept of religious history, defined as "degenerationism," supported, for example, by the Anglican archbishop of Dublin Richard Whately. In particular, Edward B. Tylor (1871) produced a timely critique of degenerationism to demonstrate the validity of his progressive concept of history inspired by the thinking of the followers of the Enlightenment.

Without a doubt, Schmidt sought through the use of the *Kulturkreiselehre* a historical proof of the existence of God. It is small wonder, then, that this school has fallen into disrepute among ethnologists, because it appears to serve the aims of Catholic theology more than those of unbiased research. The members of the Viennese school, especially Josef Haekel and Walter Hirschberg, have increasingly distanced themselves from Schmidt's ideas.

METHODOLOGICAL DEBATE. The establishment and research of cultural historians gave rise to an interesting debate, in which anthropologists and religious historians pointed out what, in their opinion, were the strong and weak points of this ethnological point of view, which had spread in German- and Italian-speaking circles (with the occasional French exception, such as Georges Montandon). This convergence of Italian- and German-speaking scholars is particularly owed to the fact that both groups were Catholics. In addition, some of them were priests and played an important part in the political life of the Catholic Church.

Italian diffusionists include Renato Biasutti, Renato Boccassino, Padre Luigi Vannicelli, Vinigi L. Grottanelli, and Guglielmo Guariglia, who as well as devising important criticisms of the theories of the Viennese school were also followers of it. Subsequently, Italian ethnology and cultural anthropology were influenced by other sources, such as British functionalism, American anthropology, and French structuralism.

The above debate has concerned both the purely methodological aspects of *Kulturkreiselehre* and the application of its principles to specific cultural contexts. The article "Some Reflections on the Method and Theory of the *Kulturkreiselehre*" (1936) by the U.S. anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn is an important piece of writing in this debate. Kluckhohn proposes to identify the assumptions (influenced by scholastic philosophy) and objectives of the historical-cultural method, avoiding misunderstandings due to the unspoken premises and emotional involvement of every scholar. He considers the form criterion to be subjective, in that its application implies a choice on the part of the scholar. He also identifies a contradiction in the historical-cultural point of view. On the one hand, it claims that ethnology is historically authentic; on the other hand, it treats cultural facts as facts of nature, extrapolating them atomistically from their context. In his opinion, its extensive use of naturalistic metaphors means that it is dominated by biological thinking and is particularly concerned with identifying genetic-causal links between phenomena. For this reason it seems to ignore the fact that, to understand the history of cultural phenomena, one ought to identify the close relationships between them. On this point the criticism of Kluckhohn agrees with that of the Italian ethnologist Ernesto de Martino (1941), who considers unacceptable the mechanistic and naturalistic concept of history typical of the historical-cultural school, like evolutionism and French sociology. This concept seems to be based upon the lack of interest in psychology shown by cultural historians and pointed out by some scholars.

The link with biology, not unknown in fields such as social anthropology, is also identified by Boas and Robert H. Lowie. Boas, for example, states that *Kulturkreiselehre* bases the stability of cultural complexes upon the biological principal of the permanence of the characteristics of a particular entity (Boas, 1911, p. 807). Although Kluckhohn and Lowie recognize that the cultural historians refer to the basic tenets of the Catholic *Weltanschauung*, they still do not maintain that these, more than others, invalidate the results of their research. After all, they seem to be supporters of methodological pluralism, convinced that cultural anthropology benefits from the use of different methods.

Another important moment in the development of the theory of cultural environment was the publication of Robert Heine-Geldern's "One Hundred Years of Ethnological Theory in German Speaking Countries" (1964). Heine-Geldern reconstructs the history of ethnology in German-speaking countries, setting out elements of continuity between the various scholars. In his opinion, the work of Ratzel is of great importance, as he brought to an end the stagnation that had characterized German thinking, which had been dominated by the doctrine of *Elementargedanken* in the period 1860–1890 (Heine-Geldern, 1964, pp. 411–412). He notes that the historical-cultural school has a candid and dogmatic belief in the temporal stability of cultural complexes, denying the dynamic nature of culture (Heine-Geldern, 1964, p. 413). Such a claim, however, is denied by Paul Leser (1964, p. 417). For Leser, Graebner was convinced that two cultural elements, if not functionally linked, tend to separate in time.

The criticism of evolutionism and the naturalistic approach produced diffusionism in Europe and particularism in the United States. Both incorrectly identified evolutionism with the denial of the processes of diffusion and the exclusive acceptance of independent invention. The two trends thus had these two aspects in common, but they parted company over psychological interpretation and several specific ethnographical problems. In the United States the particularists, who made extensive use of diffusion to explain the similarities between different social groups, developed the idea of "cultural area." As Harris (1968) writes, this concept, used for the first time by Otis T. Mason in 1895, allowed the Amerindian scholars, such as Clark Wissler and Alfred L. Kroeber, to describe and classify the societies of North and South America.

Thus the discussion surrounding the culture circles has continued outside the Vienna School. Hermann Baumann and Wilfred D. Hambly have presented different models for Africa, and Clark Wissler, Edward Sapir, Melville J. Herskovits, and A. L. Kroeber have done the same for the Americas. There is no longer the problem of identifying the oldest culture in which the prehistorical "primitive stage" has survived, as found in Oswald Menghin's *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit* (1931).

Many anthropologists have gone beyond the contradiction between independent invention and diffusion, because they are convinced that the presence of a cultural institution in a particular context is the result of so-called structural causality. From this point of view, the various aspects of sociocultural life are explained and interpreted by reference to the complex interaction of structural and environmental conditions. It is therefore held that similar structures have produced similar institutions in different contexts, or that a cultural trait has been received or adopted as useful to the social organization by the process of transculturation.

SEE ALSO Evolution, article on Evolutionism; Frobenius, Leo; Graebner, Fritz; Schmidt, Wilhelm.

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KUMĀRAJĪVA (343–413; alternative dates: 350–409) was renowned as the founder of the Sanlun ("three treatise," i. e., Mādhyamika) school in China and as an adept translator into Chinese of many important and influential Mahāyāna Buddhist texts.

Kumārajīva was born of noble lineage in the Central Asian city of Kuchā. His father was an emigrant Indian brahman and his mother a Kuchean princess. During the fourth century Kuchā was a major city along the northern trade route of the Silk Road connecting China with India and the West. There is ample testimony from the travelogues of Faxian and Xuanzang that cities along this route were strongholds of Hīnayāna Buddhism, especially the Sarvāstivāda sect, which had been introduced from its center in Kashmir. The works of this sect were thus the first he was to study.

Kumārajīva became a novice monk at the early age of seven. His mother, who wanted to become a nun, also abandoned lay life at this time. He spent the next two years studying the Āgamas and Abhidharma texts. When he was nine he went with his mother to North India (to Chipin, in Kashmir), where for three years he studied the *Dirghāgama*, the *Madhyamāgama* and the *Kṣudraka* under the master Bandhudatta. At twelve he again set out with his mother for Kuchā. On the way they stopped for more than a year in Kashgar, where he studied the *Jñānaprasthāna Śāstra*, a Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma treatise, as well as the Vedas and the five sciences (grammar, logic, metaphysics, medicine, and the arts and crafts). While in Kashgar he met the Mahāyānist Sūryasoma, who converted him to the Mahāyāna. In Kashgar, Kumārajīva also met the Dharmagupta master Buddhayaśas. After returning to Kuchā, Kumārajīva received full ordination in the royal palace at age twenty. He studied the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivāda school with the North Indian master Vimalākṣa. More significantly, however, he spent the next twenty years concentrating on Mahāyāna *sūtra*s and *Śāstra*s. His biography reports that he studied the three *Śāstra*s of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva that were later to become the central texts of the Sanlun tradition, all of which he may have obtained in Kashgar. A Chinese account of 379 mentions Kumārajīva as an accomplished monk, and it is from this period that his fame reaches China.

KUMĀRAJĪVA'S TRANSLATIONS. The *Chu sanzang ji ji* (early sixth century) attributes thirty-five works in 294 fascicles to Kumārajīva. The central corpus of these works is well attested by contemporary prefaces, and dates of translation are known for twenty-three titles. The core of works translated by Kumārajīva shows that his main interest was in the Śūnyavādin *sūtras*, particularly those of the Prajñāpāramitā class, and the Mādhyamika treatises. His interests were catholic, however, and he also translated pietist, Vinaya, and *dhyāna sūtras*, as well as the *Satyasiddhi Śāstra*, a Bahuśrutīya treatise by Harivarman.

Chief among the translated Śūnyavādin works were the *Pañcaviṃśati* (T.D. no. 223), the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (T.D. no. 227), the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (T.D. no. 475), the *Vajracchedikā* (T.D. no. 235), and the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya* (T.D. no. 250). He also translated the three Mādhyamika treatises that form the basis for the Sanlun school in China and Japan: the *Mūlamadhyamaka Śāstra*, a treatise consisting of verses by Nāgārjuna and commentary by Piṅgala (T.D. no. 1564; Chin., *Zhong lun*); the *Śata Śāstra* of Āryadeva (T.D. no. 1569; Chin., *Bo lun*); and the *Dvādaśanikāya Śāstra* of Nāgārjuna (T.D. no. 1568; Chin., *Shier men lun*). Three other important Mādhyamika treatises that he translated are the *Daśabhūmivibhāṣā Śāstra* attributed to Nāgārjuna (T.D. no. 1521), the *Faputixisnjing lun* attributed to Vasubandhu (T.D. no. 1659), and the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Śāstra* attributed to Nāgārjuna (T.D. no. 1509; Chin., *Da zhidu lun*). Four treatises on meditation are attributed to Kumārajīva; chief among them is the *Zuochan sanmei jing* (T.D. no. 614), also called the *Bodhisattvadhyāna.* The major Vinaya works that he translated are the Sarvāstivāda *Prātimokṣa Sūtra* and, according to tradition, the *Pusajieben (Bodhisattva-pratimokṣa).* His pietist translations include the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (T.D. no. 262), the *Smaller Sukhāvativyūha* (T.D. no. 366), and two Maitreya texts (T.D. nos. 454 and 456). He also translated the *Daśabhūmika* (T.D. no. 286) in collaboration with his friend from Kashgar Buddhayaśas. All of these texts became central to the Chinese Buddhist community.

Kumārajīva, his chief assistants, and the translation bureau devised new transcriptions of names and Buddhist technical terms and utilized interpolated glosses when specific words could not be translated adequately. Although his translations betray careless editing, they are famous for their florid and elegant style. They may not preserve the original words of a Sanskrit *sūtra*, but they clearly express the intended meaning.

The most important evidence for Kumārajīva's religious thought is contained in the commentary on the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (T.D. no. 1775) and the collection of correspondence (T.D. no. 1856) between Huiyuan and Kumārajīva. From these works it is clear that Kumārajīva was an unqualified adherent of the Mādhyamika tradition. His critique of causation is the same as that of Nāgārjuna.

There is no evidence that Kumārajīva intended to found a lineage. Nevertheless, his influence in China, Korea, and Japan was pervasive. Although the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra,* the *Smaller Sukhāvativyūha Sūtra,* and the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa a Sūtra* had been translated earlier by Dharmarakṣa, Kumārajīva's more accurate translations further stimulated the growth and popularity of Mahāyāna Buddhism in the Far East: The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* became the basic text of the Tiantai school and, later, of the Nichiren sect in Japan; the *Smaller Sukhāvativyūha* became one of the three major texts of the Pure Land Tradition; the *Vajracchedikā* continues to be esteemed as a basic text of the Chan school; the *Da chidu lun* was very influential in the Zhenyan or Shingon (i. e., Vajrayāna) school in China and Japan; while the *Vimalakirtinirdesa* popularized the ideal of the *bodhisattva.* Other of his translations also helped shape the history of medieval Chinese Buddhism. The *Satyasiddhi Śāstra*, which had many commentaries written on it, became the most widely studied and influential work in the South during the Southern Qi (479–502) and Ling dynasties (502–557), and the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya became one of the two Vinaya systems prevalent in China and Japan. The old line transmission of the Sanlun school persisted until the time of Jizang (549–623) of the Sui dynasty (581–618). In summary, Kumārajīva's activities ushered in the second period of Chinese translations (fifth and sixth centuries), characterized by greater accuracy and widespread influence in the Chinese Buddhist community.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, Schools of, article on Chinese Buddhism; Buddhist Books and Texts; Huiyuan; Mādhyamika; Nāgārjuna; Sengzhao.

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KUMAZAWA BANZAN

KUMAZAWA BANZAN (1619–1691), Japanese Confucian thinker of the Wang Yangming school. Born in Kyoto, the son of a *rōnin*, or masterless samurai, Banzan probably suffered deprivation during his early years. In 1634, however, he was employed as a page to Ikeda Mitsumasa (1609–1682), daimyo of Okayama, who was later acknowledged to be one of the enlightened rulers of his age. Banzan left the service of Mitsumasa in 1638. In 1641 and 1642 he studied under Nakae Tōju (1608–1648), the founder of the Wang Yangming school of neo-Confucianism (Ōyōmeigaku) in Japan, an experience that permanently molded Banzan's attitude to the Confucian tradition.

Reentering Mitsumasa's service in 1645, Banzan appears to have been employed mainly as a Confucian adviser and teacher. He rose dramatically in the service of the domain, attaining the rank of *bangashira* (divisional commander) in 1650. Undoubtedly, his participation in domain adminstration further influenced his intellectual development, particularly his sense of the limited practicability of certain aspects of Confucianism to the Japanese social and intellectual condition. Banzan's resignation from Mitsumasa's service in 1657 probably resulted from a combination of internal domain rivalries and external pressure from the Tokugawa government to suppress *shingaku*, or "the learning of the heart," as Banzan's style of Confucianism was then known.

Banzan next lived for a number of years in Kyoto, where he associated with and taught court nobles and pursued a life of high culture. In 1667, however, his activities appear to have aroused the suspicion of the authorities and, subsequently, he was forced to leave the city. Thereafter, he lived under official surveillance in the castle towns of Akashi and Yada until finally he was placed under house arrest in Koga.

Banzan's extensive written works date mainly from the period of his retirement from service in Okayama. Among them are miscellanies relating to Confucianism in Japan and to contemporary affairs, including financial and economic matters; commentaries on the Confucian classics; an important treatise on contemporary political economy titled *Daigaku wakumon* (Questions on the *Great Learning*); a series of dialogues in which speakers from different social groups discuss a wide range of issues; and a remarkable commentary on the *Tale of Genji.*

Banzan belonged to that generation of early Tokugawa-period thinkers who first explored seriously the practical relevance to their own society of Chinese neo-Confucianism as established during the Song (960–1279) and Ming (1368–1644) dynasties. He accepted in broad outline the metaphysical assumptions of that tradition, including the concept of a dualistically structured world of *li* (Jpn., *ri*, "principle") and *ch'i* (Jpn., *ki*, "ether"). He was also a proponent of the neo-Confucian doctrine of the mind, asserting that it is man's duty to regenerate himself through self-cultivation. Like most of his Confucian contemporaries, he was anti-Buddhist and anti-Christian. Banzan's thought is further characterized by an eclecticism that is evident in his attempts to combine the intellectual traditions of Wang Yangming (1472–1529) and Zhu Xi (1130–1200). Banzan adhered to the former's emphasis on introspection as a technique for self-cultivation and on the subjective conscience in determining action. Following the thought of Zhu Xi, Banzan upheld the idea of *ri* as a rationally accessible and objective principle underlying the natural and social worlds. His pragmatism can be seen in his resolutely antidoctrinaire stance and his willingness to accommodate to Japanese conditions many conventional Chinese Confucian institutions such as earth burial of the dead, the prohibitions on nonagnatic adoption and agnatic marriage, and the rituals of mourning. This pragmatism was underpinned by sophisticated theories of history and geography that related national temperament to physical and historical environment.

Banzan's Confucianism, therefore, was not profoundly innovative or original. Rather, it bears the stamp of a vigorous and practical attempt to adapt the Chinese neo-Confucian heritage to the complex realities of early Tokugawa Japan. Banzan himself had no major disciples, but his thought influenced the ideas of Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728) and several Confucian thinkers of the late Tokugawa period, including Yokoi Shōnan (1809–1869).

See Also Confucianism in Japan.

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KUMBHA MELĀ

KUMBHA MELĀ. The Kumbha Melā is a Hindu pilgrimage fair that occurs four times every twelve years, once in each of four locations in North India: at Haridvār, where the Ganges River enters the plains from the Himalayas; at Prayāg, near Allahabad, at the confluence of the Ganges, Yamunā, and "invisible" Sarasvatī rivers; at Ujjain, in Madhya Pradesh, on the banks of the Kṣiprā River; and at Nāsik, in Maharashtra, on the Godavari River. Each twelve-year cycle includes the Mahā ("great") Kumbha Melā at Prayāg, which is the largest pilgrimage gathering in the world. These *melā*s ("fairs"), also known as Kumbha Yoga or Kumbha Parva, occur during the conjunctions (Skt., *yoga, parva*) of celestial beings who performed important acts in the myth that forms the basis of the observance. In one version of the story, the gods and the antigods had concluded a temporary alliance in order to churn *amṛta* (the nectar of immortality, ambrosia) from the milky ocean. Among the "fourteen gems" they churned from the ocean was a pot (*kumbha*) of *amṛta.* One of the gods, Jayanta, took the pot and ran, chased by the antigods. For twelve divine days and nights (the equivalent of twelve human years) they fought over the *amṛta.* The Moon protected it from "flowing forth," the Sun kept the pot from breaking, Jupiter preserved it from the demons, and Saturn protected it from fear of Jayanta. During the battle, drops of *amṛta* fell at eight places in the inaccessible worlds of the gods and four places (Haridvār, Prayāg, Ujjain, and Nāsik) on the earth.

The Kumbha Melā is celebrated at the four earthly points where the nectar fell, during the conjunctions of planets (*graha*) with astrological houses (*rāśī*) that are characters in the story—for example, at Haridvār when Jupiter (Guru) is in Aquarius (Kumbha) and the Sun (Sūrya) is in Aries (Meṣa). It is popularly thought that a ritual bath (characteristic in all Hindu pilgrimages) at the Kumbha Melā confers extraordinary merit, not only by cleansing the pilgrim of "sin" (*pāpa*), but also by immersing him in waters infused with *amṛta.* Major baths are done at different times in each of the four Kumbha Melās, chiefly on new-moon and full-moon days.

The historical origin of the Kumbha Melā is an open and indeed almost uninvestigated question. The authenticity of its purported mention in the *Atharvaveda* has been challenged, although certain *khila* verses of unknown date in the *Ṛgveda* demonstrate familiarity with some of the sites and relevant astrological conjunctions. The Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Xuanzang visited Prayāg in the seventh century, but there is no evidence that he witnessed a Kumbha Melā.

Traditions regarding the determination of the time of the Kumbha Melā are not unanimous. This is partly due to the absence of a single, authoritative scripture sanctioning the *melā.* It is mentioned only in late texts, notably the *Skanda Purāṇa,* which has several notoriously inconsistent recensions. Thus there are occasional disagreements between those who say that the Kumbha Melā should be held every twelve years and those who claim that, in exceptional instances, the precise astrological conjunction may occur in the eleventh year. Matters are complicated by the fact that Haridvār and Prayāg have traditions of *ardha* ("half") Kumbha Melās, which occur six years after the Kumbha Melās. Nevertheless, there is at present a rough consensus of learned opinion regarding the appropriate times of its occurrence.

Kumbha Melās are popularly understood to be not only pilgrimage fairs at which sins can be cleansed and merit gained but also religious assemblies at which doctrine is debated and standardized and Hindu unity affirmed. This is perhaps an apt characterization of present-day Kumbha Melās, but historical evidence indicates that in centuries past they were the scenes of bloody battles, chiefly between the militant sections of rival orders of Hindu monks. The main object of contention in these battles, which occurred as recently as 1807, was the right to bathe in the most auspicious place at the most powerful instant. The conflicts were so fierce that indigenous and British courts finally had to establish and enforce specific bathing orders at the various sites of the Kumbha Melā. The *sāī*s, processions of monks to the bathing place, are still focal events in the Kumbha Melās.

With the advent of modern transport and communications, contemporary Kumbha Melās are sometimes attended by several million people in a single day. The government of India provides safety, order, sanitation, and preventive inoculations for this multitude, which besides innumerable devout Hindus includes merchants, representatives of religious organizations, casual tourists, groups of monks, and others. Many of those who attend the Kumbha Melā hope to gain some specific "fruit," such as a job, a son, success in studies, and so on. The special power of the Kumbha Melā is often said to be due in part to the presence of large numbers of Hindu monks, and many pilgrims seek the *darśan* (Skt., *darśana*; "auspicious mutual sight") of these holy men. Others listen to religious discourses, participate in devotional singing, engage *brahman* priests for personal rituals, organize mass feedings of monks or the poor, or merely enjoy the spectacle. Amid this diversity of activities, the ritual bath at the conjunction of time and place is the central event of the Kumbha Melā.

SEE ALSO Pilgrimage, article on Hindu Pilgrimage.

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KUNAPIPI SEE GADJERI

KUṆḌALINĪ.

The Sanskrit term *kuṇḍalinī* is used in Hindu yogic and Tantric literature to refer to the divine female energy (*śakti*) that lies dormant within every human body. Derived from *kuṇḍala,* a word meaning "coil," *kuṇḍalinī* is imagined in the form of a coiled serpent who sleeps at the base of the spine in the lowest energy center of the body, called the *mūlādhāra cakra.* Through specialized techniques of meditation, physical postures, and breath control, *kuṇḍalinī* can be aroused and raised through the body to unite with the divine male principle (personified as Lord Śiva) that resides at the top of the head. Although *kuṇḍalinī* is used primarily in Hindu yogic traditions, Buddhist Vajrayāna texts describe an analogous kind of fiery internal energy that is usually called *caṇḍālī,* the "outcaste woman" or, in Tibetan, *gtum mo,* the "inner heat."

The figure of *kuṇḍalinī* does not appear in the early Indian yoga literature, such as Patañjali's *Yoga Sūtra,* but only emerges in the later Tantric and Haṭha Yoga texts from roughly the eighth century onwards. The earliest reference to a coiled internal energy appears to be in the *Tantrasadbhāva Tantra* (eighth century), which describes the serpent goddess Kuṇḍalī—"she who is ring-shaped"—imagined as a snake lying in deep sleep. The first mention of *kuṇḍalinī* as it is understood today seems to be in such Tantric texts as the Jayadrathayāmala (eleventh century) and Rudrayāmala Tantra (thirteenth to fourteenth century). The latter describes Kuṇḍalinī as the "master" and "mother of yoga," who is "like poison" when dormant in the lower body and "like nectar" when uncoiled and raised to the top of the skull. Finally, in the later Haṭha Yoga literature, Kuṇḍalinī is portrayed as a serpent coiled three and a half times around an internal *liṅgam* (phallus), with her hood or mouth covering its top.

However, this image of Kuṇḍalinī as a coiled, slumbering serpent may well have much older roots in Indian mythology, iconography, and architecture. It appears in the mythology of the Purāṇas, a body of texts composed from roughly 300 CE to 1000 CE. In the Purāṇas, the great serpent Śeṣa, or Ananta, floats on the cosmic ocean, serving as Lord Viṣṇu's couch; Indian temples are symbolically supported by a serpent that coils around their foundations, and images of Buddha, Viṣṇu, and Jain saints are often represented seated upon a coiled serpent, whose hood provides a protective umbrella over their heads.

In most human beings, this coiled energy lies dormant, representing the sleep of ignorance in which most beings are lost in the world of *saṃsāra* (rebirth). The aim of yogic practice is to awaken this coiled energy and direct her upward through the body, using a variety of methods, such as yogic postures, locks and bonds (*bandhas,* postures in which organs or parts of the body are contracted), repetition of *mantra*s (*japa*), regulation of breath (*Prāṇayāma*), and intense meditation (*dhyāna, bhāvanā*).

Once aroused and uncoiled, Kuṇḍalinī becomes a fiery energy which is then made to rise through the central channel (*nāḍī*) of the body, the *suṣumṇā nāḍī.* As she ascends, she successively pierces a series of vital energy centers (*cakras*), awakening the various powers associated with each one, until she reaches the top of the head. Here, Kuṇḍalinī—as the divine female energy or *śakti*—is united with the divine male principle, Lord Śiva, who dwells in a thousand-petalled lotus in the highest center of energy. The result of this internal union is an intense ecstatic bliss, a kind of internal orgasm, which is no less than the union of the individual self (*ātman*) with the absolute reality (*brahman*). The yogi who achieves this inner union is said to achieve the most supreme worldly and otherworldly benefits, including supernatural powers (*siddhis*) in this life, as well as the ultimate goal of spiritual liberation (*mokṣa*). In some Tantric traditions, *kuṇḍalini* may also be awakened using techniques of ritual sexual intercourse (*maithuna*). Here, the union of male and female partners in orgasm serves as the physical embodiment of the wedding of the divine male and female principles in ecstatic union within the individual self.

The awakening of Kuṇḍalinī is not, however, without certain dangers. Indeed, Kuṇḍalinī is also described as a tigress who can drain a man of his vital energy and semen. If not properly controlled, she can cause all manner of physical and psychological disturbances. One of the more striking cases is the account of a modern Indian author, Gopi Krishna, who accidentally awakened the serpent power, which then proceeded to rise not through the central *suṣumṇā* channel but through one of the side *nāḍīs.* After a period of intense physical distress and near insanity, Krishna sought the advice of a guru who helped him return Kuṇḍalinī to her seat in the *mūlādhāra cakra* and then raise to raise her through the proper, central *nāḍī.*

Today, the practice of Kuṇḍalinī yoga is found widely throughout South Asia in many non-Tantric and even non-Hindu traditions, including some forms of Sufism and Sikhism. Since the 1964 publication of Arthur Avalon's *The Serpent Power*, moreover, Kuṇḍalinī has also made her way to the West, and has now been popularized in various forms of occult, New Age, and alternative spirituality throughout Europe and the United States.

See Also Cakras; Jīvanmukti.

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K'UNG-TZU See CONFUCIUS

KUO HSIANG See GUO XIANG

KUROZUMIKYŌ

KUROZUMIKYŌ is a popular charismatic religion founded in Japan in the early nineteenth century (the late Edo period) by Kurozumi Munetada (1780–1850). Kurozumi began to spread his teachings in 1814, and in the 1840s a formal religious body called Kurozumikyō was established. After the Meiji restoration the group was persecuted for a time, but in 1872 it received formal recognition from the government.

Its teachings include a belief in Amaterasu Ōmikami, the sun goddess and supreme deity of the universe. Another major tenet is that since all people are emanations of the *kami* (deities), they may themselves become *kami* through certain spiritual practices. Further, it is taught that when a person becomes one with the *kami* (*ikitōshi*) that person will achieve life without end. All are exhorted to "live cheerfully" and to obey the *kami*. At the time of its founding, the religion included a strong element of magic, including rituals for curing illnesses. Later, it came to stress the virtues of popular morality: frugality, diligence, filial piety, and harmony. The purpose of spiritual practices was to cultivate these virtues. The teachings of Kurozumikyō are characterized by a combination of popular morality and syncretic Shintō; believers seek immediate benefits in this world for the sake of popular salvation.

These beliefs, implying as they do that happiness may be garnered not by changing the realities of life but by changing one's spiritual attitude, tended to perpetuate a passive acceptance of the harsh realities of life. This is significant, given that most of the movement's followers were common people of subordinate status within the feudal order. On the other hand, they were also taught that all people have a kind of spiritual potentiality whereby life and death, poverty and wealth may be affected by pious practices. Furthermore, the idea of the spiritual independence and equality of all people was a part of Kurozumikyō's teachings. In this sense, the religion might be seen as the first step in the spiritual modernization of the late Edo period.

Kurozumi Munetada's proselytization was confined to the Okayama area, but thanks to the vigorous activities of his major disciples, the religion later extended from the Shikoku and Chugoku districts as far as the central Kyoto area. Akagi Tadaharu (1816–1867) in particular spread the teachings in Kyoto, and even converted aristocrats like Kujō Naotada, the imperial regent. Tadaharu, deeply influenced by the movement to restore direct imperial rule, envisioned a utopia in which all would be equal under the emperor. But his activities were so extreme that he was expelled from the religious organization.

In the 1880s Kurozumikyō grew dramatically and at one point boasted a membership of six or seven hundred thousand. In 1885, Munetada Shrine was established as its headquarters at Ōmoto in Okayama City. But as government control of religion tightened, the popular salvation aspect of Kurozumikyō gradually waned and the nationalistic component came to the fore.

After World War II, Kurozumikyō became chiefly a provincial religion based in western Japan. By the late 1970s its membership stood at around four hundred thousand. In 1974 a large *kami* hall (Shintōzan) was built in Okayama, and the organization's headquarters was moved there. The present and sixth-generation head is Kurozumi Muneharu. Three large religious festivals are held each year: the founder's festival on the first Saturday in April, a purification festival on July 30, and the winter solstice festival. *Kuni no hikari* and *Keisei zasshi*, two magazines published by the group before the war, were followed by a third, *Nisshin*, published after the war.

See Also New Religious Movements, article on New Religious Movements in Japan.

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KURUKṢETRA, "the field of the Kurus," is today an important Hindu pilgrimage site (*tīrtha*) in Haryana state, about eighty-five miles north-northeast of Delhi. Its history can be traced from the period of the Brāhmaṇas to modern times; in 1014 CE its earliest shrines were destroyed by the invading Mahmud of Ghazni. The site forms part of the plain on which the two pivotal battles of Panipat were fought, marking the rise of the Mughals in 1526 and the defeat of the Marathas in 1761. Since at least the sixteenth century pilgrims have come to Sannihita Lake at Kurukṣetra at times of eclipses. According to contemporary *māhātmya*s ("glorifications" of the place that serve as pilgrims' manuals), a mendicant named Rāmācandra Swāmi came there several centuries after the early shrines had been destroyed and relocated the sites according to information he received in dreams. In all there are said to be 360 *tīrtha*s within Kurukṣetra. Current lists include many sites associated by local tradition with the brave deeds and deaths of the heroes in the great war of the Bhāratas, which is said to have been fought at Kurukṣetra at the beginning of the present age. Other than these epic-related *tīrtha*s, the pilgrim manuals of today mention much the same sites as are described in the *Mahābhārata* epic and the Purāṇas.

One of Kurukṣetra's traditional names, Samantapañcaka, indicates that the field is supposed to be "five *[yojanas]* on each side," or roughly a 160-mile circuit. The boundaries given in the *Mahābhārata* are little altered in Puranic sources and can be harmonized with this description. Kurukṣetra is thus bordered on the north and south by the rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī. Especially sacred, Sarasvatī is said to have gone underground at the Vināsana *tīrtha* within Kurukṣetra to avoid coming into contact with low castes. The epic mentions four *yakṣa* gatekeepers (*dvārapāla*s) on the boundaries at the intermediate cardinal points. According to a nineteenth-century account (Cunningham, 1880), these *yakṣa*s sang and danced during the great war of the Bhāratas and drank the blood of the slain.

The first texts to expound upon the sacredness of Kurukṣetra are the Brāhmaṇas, and it is likely Kurukṣetra was a heartland for Brahmanic learning in the period of both the Brāhmaṇas and early Upaniṣads. Thus *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 14.1.1.2 describes it as "the gods' place of divine worship," and several passages speak of the gods' sacrificial performances there. It is also the territory of the Kurus and Pañcālas, or Kuru-Pañcālas, famed for their Brāhmaṇas. These are the central peoples of the *Mahābhārata,* and several epic characters are already mentioned in Brāhmaṇa and Upaniṣadic texts.

It is through the *Mahābhārata,* however, that Kurukṣetra attains its renown. One passage ranks Kurukṣetra as the foremost *tīrtha* in the three worlds. Twice it is said that the dust of Kurukṣetra, blown by the wind, leads even those of bad *karman* to heaven. It is further described as the altar or northern altar (*vedī, uttara-vedī*) of Brahmā or Prajāpati, and thus the preeminent place of sacrifice. Numerous sacrificial acts are said to have occurred there prior to the great war of the Bhāratas, including the destruction of the *kṣatriya* caste twenty-one times over by Rāma Jāmadagnya (later the *avatāra* Paraśurāma), which left in its wake five lakes of blood. But most significant is the legend told in the epic of the origins of Kurukṣetra. The field is named after King Kuru, ancestor of the epic heroes. Kuru had plowed the field for many years, seeking from Indra the boon that those who die there should go straight to heaven. The gods counseled Indra not to grant the boon, because it would mean that human beings could attain heaven without sacrificing to them, thus endangering the gods' existence. So Indra offered a compromise. Two types of beings could directly attain heaven there: yogins who practice *tapas* (asceticism), and *kṣatriya*s who were slain in battle. Thus the traditional Brahmanic sacrifices are dispensed with, but doubly transformed. *Kṣatriya*s will attain heaven by the epic's "sacrifice of battle," and yogins and pilgrims will do so by acts of *tapas,* which the epic repeatedly exalts above the traditional rites performed there. Indra's compromise is further sanctioned by Viṣṇu, Śiva, and Brahmā (the *trimūrti*), thus indicating the subordination of these transformed sacrificial acts to the higher ideals associated with *bhakti.* All this is thus in accord with the *Bhagavadgītā,* which begins with the proclamation that Kurukṣetra is a *dharmakṣetra* ("field of *dharma*"). There, Kṛṣṇa instructs Arjuna to perform the sacrifice of battle on Kurukṣetra as a *karmayogin,* and thus perform acts disciplined by yoga that are offered as if in sacrifice to God. Biardeau (1976) suggests that the name Kurukṣetra has come in the epic to mean the "field of acts," *kuru* being the imperative of the verb *to do.* It is thus analogous to the Puranic concept of the earth as the "world of acts" (*karmabhūmi*). The act of plowing, here undertaken by King Kuru, is further a common Indian metaphor for sowing the seeds of *karman.*

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KUSHITE RELIGION.

Kush was the name given in ancient times to the area of northeast Africa lying just to the south of Egypt. It is the Aethiopia of Herodotus and other classical writers, and it corresponds in a general way to the Nubia of today. Its peoples were and are African in race and language, but since very early times their culture has been strongly influenced by that of their northern neighbors.

The northern part of Kush was under direct Egyptian control during the New Kingdom (c. 1580–1000 BCE). Egyptians did not settle in the country in large numbers, but they oversaw the building of temples, towns, and fortresses and the inauguration of the typical pharaonic system of administration and of worship. When the colonial overlords departed, around 1000 BCE, they had laid the basis for an Egyptianized successor-state that was to emerge a little later as the empire of Kush. The Kushite rulers assumed all the titles and trappings of the pharaohs, and for a brief period (751–656 BCE) were even accepted as rulers in Egypt itself. Kushite authority in Egypt was ended by an Assyrian invasion, but the empire later expanded southward at least as far as the confluence of the Blue and White Niles, and possibly much farther.

The original capital of Kush was at Napata, near the Fourth Cataract of the Nile, where a great temple of Amun had been erected during the Egyptian colonial regime. Later, as the empire expanded southward, the capital was moved to Meroe, near the mouth of the Atbara River. The earlier and later phases of Kushite civilization are often designated as Napatan and Meroitic, after the respective capitals. The empire of Kush was finally overrun and destroyed by barbarian invaders in the fourth century CE, but some of its traditions persisted until the coming of Christianity two centuries later.

Detailed information about the religion of Kush is scanty. The accounts of classical writers are unreliable, and the indigenous language of Kush (called Meroitic) is largely undeciphered. Most of our information is based on the interpretation of reliefs carved on temple and tomb walls and on votive objects.

In the beginning, the religion of Kush appears to have differed little from that of pharaonic Egypt. The principal state deity was Amun, whose cult was celebrated at the great state temples of Napata and Meroe, and at many other places. Other Egyptian deities who are depicted in Kushite temple reliefs include the moon god Khonsu, the ibis-headed Thoth, and the goddesses Isis, Hathor, and Mut. The ram-headed Khum, god of cataracts, was especially venerated in the cataract region of northern Kush. Horus, who in Egypt symbolized the pharaonic authority, was another deity especially popular in the north.

In Kush as in Egypt, mortuary ritual was associated with the Osirian family of deities: Osiris, his sister-wife Isis, and Nephthys, the sister of Isis. The jackal-headed Anubis also played an important part in mortuary ritual. In later centuries the cult of Isis became especially highly developed, and was no longer primarily a mortuary cult. Isis became the chief tutelary of the most northerly district of Kush (later known as Lower Nubia), but there were also Isis temples at Meroe and elsewhere in the south.

In the Meroitic period (c. 350 BCE–350 CE) the Kushite pantheon came to include a number of deities who were apparently not of Egyptian origin. The most important of them was Apedemak, a lion-headed male god who was a special tutelary of the ruling family. He was a god of victory and also of agricultural fertility. There were temples of Apedemak at Meroe and at several other towns in the southern part of Kush, but his cult seems to have been little developed in the more northerly districts, which were far from the seats of royal authority. Two other possibly indigenous deities were Arensnuphis and Sebiumeker, who are sometimes depicted as guardians standing on either side of temple doors. There was, in addition, an enigmatic goddess with distinctly negroid features, whose name has not been recovered.

Cult animals were evidently important in Kushite religion, as they were in Egypt. Cattle are often depicted in temple procession scenes, and at the southern city of Musawwarat there was apparently a special cult of the elephant.

Kushite religious architecture shows very strongly the influence of Egypt, though with some distinctive local touches. Temples are of several types, but they fall into two broad categories. The largest temples, comprising from three to five rooms, are purely Egyptian in type, with pylon gate, forecourt, hypostyle hall, pronaos, and one or more sanctuaries. All of the temples dedicated to Amun are of this type. A much smaller type of temple comprises only a pylon gate and one or two adjoining chambers, with or without interior colonnading. Most if not all of the temples of Apedemak are of this type.

We know almost nothing about the details of ritual, but we can deduce from temple and tomb scenes that offerings of food and drink played an important role. Processions of priests and animals were probably also common. Pilgrimage was an important act of personal piety, to judge from the number of votive graffiti on temple walls and floors as well as on cliff faces. Funerary texts from northern Kush suggest that there were several ranks of priesthood attached to the temples, although the precise meaning of these texts is very far from clear.

As in Egypt, the afterlife was a major focus of concern. The Kushite rulers and their families were buried under steep-sided stone pyramids, each of which had attached to it a mortuary chapel like a miniature temple. Underground there were two or three chambers adorned with painted scenes of the afterlife. The royal dead were often laid out on a bed (a uniquely Kushite practice), accompanied by lavish offerings that sometimes included animal and human sacrifices. More ordinary folk were interred in an undecorated underground chamber, which might be surmounted by a brick platform or a miniature pyramid. These too usually had an adjoining chapel or at least an offering niche. A unique feature of mortuary ritual in the northern part of Kush was the making of *ba* statuettes, in the form of a bird with human head. These were placed outside the tomb superstructure, and symbolized that part of the soul (the *ba*) that remained on earth after death, while another manifestation of the soul (the *ka*) journeyed to the afterworld.

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KŪYA (903–972), also called Kōya, a charismatic Japanese monk who devoted himself to popularizing the Nembutsu (Chin., Nianfo), the oral invocation of Amida Buddha. Kūya's origins are unknown, but some sources claim that he may have been a grandson of Emperor Ninmyō (810–850) or a son of Emperor Daigo (885–930). In his youth, as an itinerant lay priest (*ubasoku*), Kūya traveled in rural areas, directing and assisting in the repair of roads and bridges, improving wells and dikes, and supervising burials. In these activities he closely resembled Gyōgi (or Gyōki, 668–749), a revered monk of the Nara period.

In 924, Kūya formally entered the priesthood at the Kokubunji in Owari Province (modern Aichi Prefecture). He later spent periods of devotion and study at Mineaidera in Harima Province (modern Hyōgo Prefecture), at Yushima on the island of Shikoku, and perhaps in the far northern provinces as well. But beginning in about 938, his public demonstrations of the Nembutsu in the markets of Heiankyō, the capital city (modern Kyoto), began to attract a large following among the common people. He soon became known as *ichi no hijiri* ("the holy man of the markets") and *Amida hijiri* ("the holy man of Amida").

In 948 he received full ordination at Enryakuji, the headquarters of the Tendai school, and took the priestly name Kōshō. When an epidemic swept Heiankyō in 951, Kūya undertook several projects designed to ease the sufferings of the people, including the carving of images of the eleven-headed Kannon and other benevolent deities, the copying of the *Daihannyakyō* (*Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra*) in gold letters, and the founding of a temple, originally named Saikōji, and now called Rokuharamitsuji. The temple, near Higashiyama in Kyoto, remains closely associated with Kūya, and it was also the site of his death, at age sixty-nine, in 972.

Kūya's Nembutsu, a chant accompanied by dancing to the beat of a small cymbal or drum, was probably an adaptation of shamanic practices. He also praised Amida and the Nembutsu in simple verses that were posted in the marketplace. Before Kūya, the Nembutsu was used as a magical charm, at funerals, and in the intense meditations of Tendai monks. Kūya was the first to prescribe it as a simple expression of faith to be used by the uneducated and the poor, and he is even said to have taught it to prostitutes and criminals. He thus contributed to the Heian-period developments that carried Buddhism beyond the confines of court and monastery and prefigured the founders of the Pure Land (Jōdo) schools that emerged in the Kamakura period (twelfth and thirteenth centuries), advocating exclusive devotion to the Nembutsu and appealing to persons from all social strata.

Like Gyōgi and the Kamakura innovators, Kūya functioned on the periphery of the ecclesiastical establishment while maintaining ties with influential, aristocratic patrons, and he was thus free to convey his teachings to a diverse audience. There are many legends about his deeds, and the wooden image of him enshrined at Rokuharamitsuji (done in the Kamakura period) emphasizes his *hijiri* character: he is clad as an ascetic and carries his cymbal and a staff topped with antlers; he leans forward as if to begin his dance, and from his mouth issue six tiny images of Amida Buddha, representing the six characters of the written Nembutsu.

SEE ALSO Gyōgi; Nianfo.

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Edward Kamens (1987 and 2005)

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LABOR See WORK

LABYRINTH. The word *labyrinth* refers to a large variety of drawings and patterns, some intricate, some less so, ranging from prehistoric rock engravings to modern art, as well as to highly complex symbolic and mythological structures around which an immense richness of meaning has accumulated during the course of many centuries and civilizations. The word is used to describe:

(1) a difficult path, or passage, or tunnel, often underground, through which it is extremely hazardous to find one's way without guidance

(2) a seemingly unending building of innumerable rooms and galleries intended to confound intruders and lead them astray

(3) metaphorically, any kind of complexity from which it is almost impossible to extricate oneself.

In this last and more general use, and under the pressure of the growing complexities of the contemporary world, the very old symbol of the labyrinth has come back with renewed vitality to haunt the subconscious of modern humankind and reenter the vocabulary of art and literature. What makes the labyrinth, in its wealth of analogical associations, so relevant today is the fact that it is an emblem of the existential dilemmas of modern urbanites, who find themselves trapped in a prisonlike world and condemned to wander aimlessly therein. However, the labyrinth catches the imagination not just because it reminds one that one is lost in its bowels and about to be devoured by the Minotaur but also because it suggests that somewhere in the dark pit there must be an almost forgotten center from which, after the ultimate trial confronting terror and death, one may find the way out to freedom. These hints of fear and hope are, in fact, echoes of very ancient myths, among which stands the famous story of Theseus and the Minotaur.

THE MYTH OF THE MINOAN LABYRINTH. In concise terms the myth of the Minoan labyrinth tells of Minos, who became king of Crete when Poseidon, god of the sea, sent him

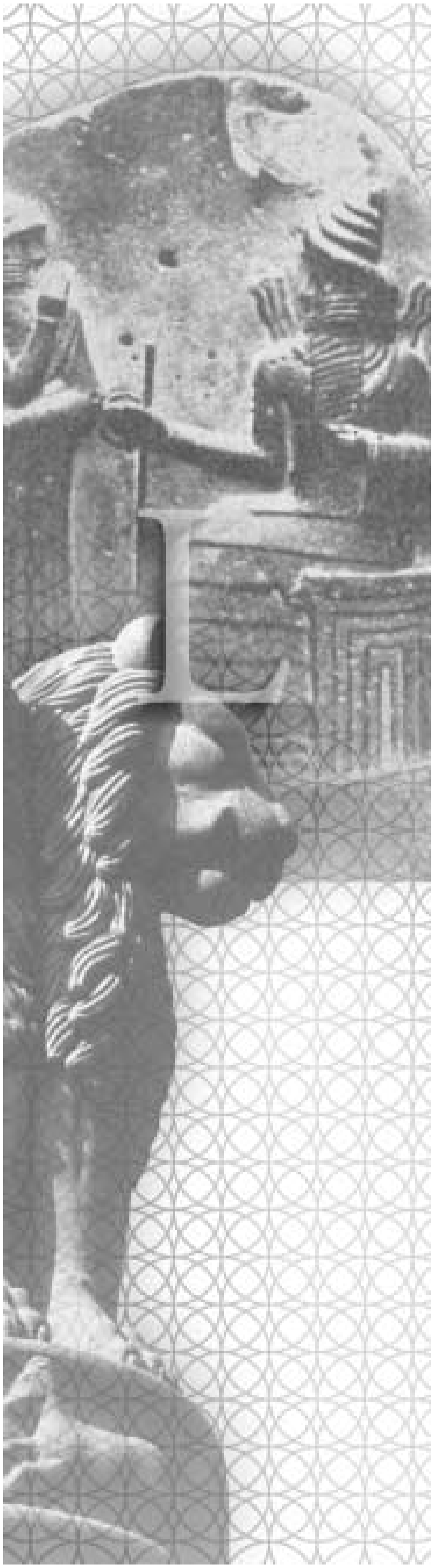

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT CORNER. A labyrinth on the floor of Chartres Cathedral in France. *[©Foto Marburg/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; The Stele of Hammurabi. Lion capital of Aśoka at Sarnath, India. *[The Art Archive]*; Marble Sappho by James Pradier (1792–1852). Musée d'Orsay, Paris. *[©Giraudon/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Japanese Buddhist wood carving depicting a spirit holding a lotus. *[©Foto Marburg/Art Resource, N.Y.]* .

a bull from the sea in answer to his prayers. But Minos failed to sacrifice the animal, as ordered by Poseidon, and so became sterile. Pasiphaë, daughter of the Sun and wife of Minos, conceived a passion for the bull; she placed herself inside an artificial cow, built for the purpose by Daedalus, and made love with the animal. The Minotaur, a monster half man and half bull, was born of this union. King Minos, appalled by this event, ordered Daedalus to build a labyrinth from which no one could escape and had the Minotaur hidden within it.

The town of Athens, which had been recently conquered by Crete, was ordered to send every eight years seven youths and seven maidens to be devoured by the Minotaur. The time came when the Athenian hero Theseus decided to put an end to this dreadful tribute and offered himself as one of the seven young men to be sacrificed. He entered the labyrinth and killed the monster, finding his way out again with the help of a ball of string he had spun out behind him, a gift to him from Ariadne, the enamored daughter of Minos.

After this triumph, however, things began to go wrong. First, on his way back to Athens, on the island of Naxos, the proud hero abandoned Ariadne while she was asleep and decided to marry her sister Phaedra—a decision that later proved disastrous. Then he forgot to substitute the black sails of his ship for white ones, as he had promised his father, King Aegeus, he would do if he had slain the Minotaur; the old Athenian king, on seeing the black sails in the distance, believed that Theseus was dead and so jumped off a cliff to his death. Meanwhile, the furious Minos punished Daedalus by incarcerating him and his son Icarus in the maze. Although Daedalus was the architect of the labyrinth, he could not find his way out. Therefore he decided to escape by the only possible route: upward. With feathers and wax he manufactured two pairs of wings; he warned his son not to ascend too high, and the two flew away. Icarus, however, intoxicated by the wonders of flight, forgot his father's advice and soared too near the sun; the wax of his wings melted, and he plunged into the sea and disappeared. The more cautious Daedalus landed safely in Sicily.

Many aspects of this story require careful study before one can fully grasp its meaning. Four of its more relevant themes are these:

(1) There is the suggestion that the labyrinth is related to an unresolved conflict that carries a costly toll of guilt and fear—the annual sacrifice of the seven boys and girls—that can only be settled through the intervention of a "hero."

(2) It is also suggested that the way out of this conflict depends on mnemonics and feats of memory—Ariadne's thread—and on the ability to "fly," that is, to achieve a higher level of consciousness.

(3) The myth points to the ultimate failure of the hero. It is important that Theseus, apparently the hero, meets a dismal end when later he descends to hell, helped this time not by a loving woman but by a bandit named Peritoos, in an attempt to abduct Persephone, the wife of Hades; the project fails. Peritoos is dismembered by the three-headed dog Kerberos, and Theseus, lost in the labyrinth of Hades, is turned into a stone. This implies that the killing of the Minotaur is less heroic than it seems, for it involves the brutal suppression of a problem instead of the attempt at a harmonious solution.

(4) Finally, the story of Theseus in the labyrinth can be seen as symbolizing the dangers of initiation according to a well-known pattern of *descensus ad inferos*, symbolic death and return to life.

THE LABYRINTH AS SYMBOL. This article shall now briefly review some of the more significant connotations of the idea of the labyrinth itself. It should be kept in mind that all symbols and myths can be interpreted on many different levels and ask for a continuing effort of hermeneutics.

Descent into the unconscious. Entering the labyrinth stands for what a psychoanalyst would describe as a descent into the subconscious layers of the psyche, with its obscurities and terrors, its traumas, complexes, and unresolved emotional conflicts.

Regressus ad uterus. Entry into the labyrinth recalls as well a retreat into the bosom of Mother Earth, conceived also as *yoni*, grave, and magic oven, and related to the "V. I. T. R. I. O. L." injunction of alchemy attributed to Basilius Valentinus—"Visitabis Interiora Terrae Rectificando Invenies Occultum Lapidem" ("Visit the interior of the earth and by rectifying thou wilt find the secret stone"). This connotation is particularly strong in cave and underground labyrinths. In fact, many megalithic stone engravings seem to associate labyrinthine patterns simultaneously with the cult of the dead and symbols of fecundity, as for instance in the drawings in Val Camonica, Italy. In many cases prehistoric drawings show what seem to be the female genitalia; sometimes they show concentric circles with a straight or serpentine line running to the center, suggesting spermatozoa reaching the ovum. This is the kind of drawing Moritz Hoerner and Oswald Menghin called *Ringwallbilder* and considered the simplest and most common of labyrinthine patterns found in Europe. Explicit sexual symbolism can be found also in the Etruscan vase of Tragliatella (Museum of the Capitolium, Rome) and in connection with Knossos-type labyrinths.

Nekuia or the descent into Hades. In close association with the symbolism of a *regressus ad uterus* is that of a *nekuia*, or descent into Hades, to the underworld abode of the dead where an invisible fire transforms all bodies that enter it. Inner fire destroys and melts, but as the *athanor* (the symbolic furnace of physical or moral transmutation) of the alchemist, it also purifies, regenerates, transmutes, and produces "gold."

Meeting the monster. Visiting the underworld entails meeting its guardians: Kerberos, old women and magicians, monsters and demons. Horned figures identical with the Minotaur can be found in many prehistoric drawings, as in Val Camonica, Italy, and the Cueva de los Letreros, Spain, as well as in ancient Egypt; they bring to mind the traditional images of the devil in Christian and other traditions.

The Minotaur's horns can be related to the idea of a crown, not only through etymology but also through symbolic associations. In Delos was an altar, named Keraton, made of the horns of bulls and goats and linked to the cult of Apollo Karneios, protector of horned animals. Another interesting link can be established between horns and the *labrus*, or the double ax. William H. Matthews (1922) reports that the German archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann, during his researches at Mycenae, unearthed from one of the graves an ox head of gold plate with a double ax between the upright horns. The double ax was the sign of the Zeus worshiped at Labraunda, and it occurs frequently in the Minoan palace of Knossos discovered by Arthur Evans; it was obviously an object of great importance and was linked with the cult of the bull. There was even a tomb shaped like a double ax that contained a big ax and some smaller ones. Evans, in the light of these and other discoveries, concluded that the palace of Knossos was the labyrinth, or "house of the Labrys," although some scholars dispute this. Confirming the initiatory symbolism of the labyrinth, some authors think that the ax signifies the "power of light" and is the equivalent to sword, hammer, and cross (Juan-Eduardo Cirlot); it corresponds to the Indian *vajra* and to Jupiter's lightning, symbols of the celestial illumination at the center, and as such it may reveal the symbolic reversal of polarities implied by Gemini (Luc Benois); in any case, the ax and the labyrinth respond to each other as representations of the supreme center and of a supreme principle (Mario Pasotti).

Temenos, or the enclosed space. Burying the dead and sowing seeds consecrates the ground. This creates a privileged place, a place of sacred mystery, of a *conjunctio oppositorum*, where life and death, light and darkness, male and female principles transform and melt into each other. Such a place is a *campo santo* and has to be protected from profane intrusion and invisible threat. In this connection the labyrinth acquires new symbolic functions, becoming a prophylactic device, a defensive wall, a trap for hostile invaders, while remaining at the same time, for those who know it, the secret path to the initiation chambers in which the "second birth" takes place. Both in magical terms and in actual fact, it comes to represent the protective ramparts of the most precious spiritual treasures of the clan. And then it becomes also the defense of the house of the living, the rampart of the town and the town itself. In southern India the Tamil women draw labyrinthine patterns on the threshold of their houses in the month of Margali, or Mṛigaśira, corresponding to the period of the winter solstice, during which the sun is "dead"; some of these patterns, called *kolam*s, are named *brahmamudi* ("Brahma knot") and form a continuous line with no beginning and no end.

Daedalus. Labyrinthine defense develops with the rise of agrarian empires. The need to protect crops creates the need to build secure storage places; the silo foretells the stronghold. Soon the labyrinth becomes the emblem of the treasure house, of the king's palace (as in Knossos), of the defensive walls of the town, of the *urbs*. It is not surprising, thus, to find out that the name *Daedalus*, the inventor and mythic architect of the Minotaur's labyrinth, means "to build well"; Daedalus's ascendency is also significant, for his ancestors are Hephaistos, god of underground fire and an architect himself; Gaia, the earth, mother of all things; and Erecteion, their son, a half god whose nature is partly that of human, serpent, and wind.

According to Homer the ramparts of Troy were built by Apollo and Neptune disguised as humans; metaphorically, form-giving intelligence and solar reason combine with the energy-giving depths of the collective psyche to create the urban labyrinth symbol. In Indian myth the god of heavens, Varuṇa, whose power is symbolized by a knotlike emblem, commands the divine architect Visvakarman to build a castle of one hundred rooms where the sun woman Sutya shall be kept.

It is interesting, from this point of view, to recall some of the popular names of labyrinths current in Europe, like the Scandinavian "Ruins of Jerusalem," "City of Nineveh," "Walls of Jericho," and "Babylon," as well as the frequent names meaning "the castle of Troy," like *Trojin*, *Trojeburg*, *Troburg*, *Treiborg*, *Truberslot*, and so forth. This suggests that popular imagination sees the labyrinth as the symbol of a legendary town doomed to destruction. In contrast, the labyrinths that can still be seen on the floor of European churches and cathedrals, where penitents used to walk on their knees as the equivalent of a pilgrimage to the holy places were called, among other names, La Lieue de Jerusalem ("the Jerusalem mile"). In them is found a clear symbol of the archetypal town, taken now as the promised celestial bride, the Heavenly Jerusalem glorified by the apostle John, as opposed to the doomed City of Destruction of the biblical apocalypse.

Ascent to the sacred mountain. If the labyrinth, as has been seen, denotes the underworld in its catharsis, in its descent "to the left" (the "sinister" direction), it also implies the meaning of an *anarsis*, or ascent to life and light in its turnings "to the right." These opposed movements are both comprised in the wholeness of the symbol. The link between them is evident in the wholeness of the symbol. The link between them is evident in the rapid passage from the maze's bottom, or from the pit of hell, into the mountain's ascent, or the liberating flight. In the legend of Minos, Daedalus escapes the prison by using artificial wings. In his *Commedia* Dante reaches the depths of hell only to find that he is at the bottom of the mountain of purgatory, which he subsequently climbs with his guide Vergil. Similarly, at the entrance of the cave leading to the Maya kingdom of the dead stands the stairway pyramid, symbolizing ascent to the heavens, and, according to Codex Borgia, after the terrifying journey to the abyss, the soul turns right into the realm of regenerating water and purifying fire, to be born again.

In the archetypal town the center represents this place of rebirth and ascent and is occupied by an empty space, which marks the vertical axis that links the different planes of the cosmos, or by a temple, which symbolizes the sacred mountain. The temple or the mountain's axis is again the central passage along which the underworld communicates with the world of humans and the world of the gods. Such is the symbolism of the Temple of Solomon, built on Mount Moriah; of the sacred Mount Tabor; of the Samaritans' Mount Gerizim; of the Batu-Ribn, the cosmic rock of the Semang of Malacca, on which once stood a tree rising to heaven; of the subterranean temples of the Pueblo Indians of North America, in which a hole in the ground and a ladder to the ceiling link the netherworld to the worlds above; of the Kaʿbah in Mecca, the sacred stone that fell from the sky, leaving a hole corresponding to the North Star that is known as the Door of Heaven; and so forth. The center of the labyrinth, the *axis mundi*, the vertical alignment of the centers of the abyss, of the earth and of the heavens, the temple, the sacred mountain, and the infinite number of variations on these themes—all are parts of the same symbolic constellation.

Dance, playground, garden, and game. As shall be seen below, there is a profound link between the labyrinth and dance. Legend says that Daedalus built in the agora of Knossos the first place for sacred dances. After the victory of Theseus over the Minotaur, the feat was reenacted on the island of Delos in a nightly dance dedicated to the goddess of love that was known by the name of *geranos*, a word coming from the Greek for "cranes," probably because these birds fly in a straight line.

Things sacred do not disappear with time, even when they are seemingly abandoned in favor of other traditions, beliefs, and cultures; they often survive in folklore, in popular and peasant festivals and traditions, in children's games, in plays and playgrounds. Labyrinthine games were extremely popular in England; witness the many surviving "turf-mazes," sometimes called "Troy towns" or "Caerdroia," which follow the pattern of the labyrinths seen on coins from Knossos. The art of trimming hedges of evergreens is very old; it made possible the creation of the hedge mazes in gardens that became popular in the seventeenth century, especially in Holland, France, and England. And the type of game in which a path must be followed to a center, like *jeu de l'oie*, snakes and ladders, and so many others everywhere is an example of how the symbol of the labyrinth has survived in children's games and puzzles.

TYPES OF LABYRINTH. Such a wealth of connotations and interlinked meanings combine in the single symbolic structure of the labyrinth. This article can give only a pale idea of its riches. They show its antiquity and the accumulation of many layers of magical, religious, intuitive, rational, and metaphysical significance. Over the centuries the idea of the labyrinth has evolved and acquired new meanings that have influenced its design. The discussion that follows will attempt to categorize these different labyrinthine patterns.

The serpentine linear labyrinth. A type of proto-labyrinthine pattern of wandering or undulating lines, sometimes going in one direction and then turning back in the opposite one, is frequent in prehistoric rock engravings; in some cases it appears in combination with spiral labyrinths. Serpentine lines evoke a voyage "to the left and to the right" and connote a fate decided by various opposing influences, visible and invisible—the path of the nomad or the hunter, the passage of humanity through space and time.

Ringwallbilder. A type of drawing known to scholarship as a *Ringwallbilder* consists basically of concentric circles penetrated by a straight or serpentine line. The central point corresponds to origin, to the *fiat*, to the manifestation of divine energy. In its dimensionless recesses is concealed the mysterious inmost womb of all creation and all creatures. Thus new life and fertility depend on the hidden center—of being, of the earth, of the mother. *Ringwallbilder* relate to a cosmogonic vision, to the mystery of life-generating processes, to fertility and sexual symbolism.

The spiral labyrinth. Basically the spiral labyrinth is made of a spiral line turning around a center; it implies a double movement, inward and outward, sometimes drawn into a double spiral. Many types of design are possible; the well-known representation of yin and yang and the Grecian motifs can be considered variations of the spiral. Because a spiral leaves no alternative paths, some authors prefer to call it a pseudolabyrinth. Spiral labyrinths are very frequent. Their first appearance is probably linked to the human revolutionary passage from neolithic nomadism to the settled agrarian life, a passage that forced a reappraisal of fertility, cosmic cycles, and earthly and motherly deities. Agriculture implies a fixed life and the creation of privileged loci, as well as the belief in the "resurrection" of seeds by invisible forces hidden in the earth, which is conceived as an inner fire capable of "digesting" whatever goes underground. It is not surprising, then, to find an ancient relation between the spiral and intestines, as in several drawings of the so-called Röntgen-style, frequent among Arctic populations, or in certain Japanese ceramics of the Jomon period. Károly Kerényi studied what he considered the first kind of labyrinth—the spiral—in the most ancient examples available: several clay plaquettes found during excavations in Babylon that show drawings of intestines. According to some scholars, the inscription on this drawing is *êkal tirâni* ("palace of viscera"); these plaquettes were probably used for divination. The bowels, through internal heat, or "fire," were supposed to create a form of energy that is analogous to the inner fire of the earth as shown in the slow "digestion" of seeds, ores, and crystals and in the sudden eruption of volcanoes.

The spiral labyrinth is simultaneously the intestine, digestion, and energy, as can be seen in some ancient documents—in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, for example, the face of the horned monster Huwawa is made of viscera—as well as in much more recent ones—like the Romanesque paintings in which the abdomen of the figure of Christ in majesty displays the arms of a spiral and the frescoes that depict the triumph of Death in the Campo Santo of Pisa, in which a sinner's exposed bowels form a spiral. To eat and to be eaten are correlative moments in the cosmic balance; digestion in *viscera terrae* corresponds to death and dissolution, to the interchange of energies, to transmutation, and to promised resurrection. Jurgis Baltrusaitis says that until Carolingian times sepulchers often contained spiral-shaped snail shells, to symbolize a tomb from which humankind will rise again. Similarly, in Kansu, China, funerary urns of the Ma Chang period have been found decorated with cowrie patterns, also known as death patterns, spiral motifs that symbolize the promise of an afterlife. The earth, like an abdomen, ingests the seed, the dead, the sun, or the virgin before it allows the revival of plants, of souls, or of spring and fruits.

Several known myths of distinct areas and epochs follow an identical pattern of a virgin's sacrifice and burial that is necessary to ensure future crops. In one such myth, collected by Adolf E. Jensen from among the Maros of the island of Ceram in Indonesia, the virgin Hainuwele is put to death after a dance that lasts nine nights, during which men and women move along a big spiral centered upon a hole in the ground; the virgin is gradually pushed into that hole and, after the sacrifice, is buried in it; Malua Satene, probably a death divinity, infuriated by the murder of Hainuwele, forces every person to pass through a door decorated with a spiral of nine circumvolutions; those incapable of passing the portico are transformed into animals or spirits.

A definite link connects the spiral labyrinth with ritual dance. In Kerényi's opinion, all research into the labyrinth should take dance as its starting point. Peasants in many places still dance around a tree or pole (the maypole in Anglo-Saxon areas), often using bands or threads to create a spiral, as in the *geranos* dance performed in Delos in honor of Ariadne. The German *Bandltanze* are often performed inside a labyrinth made of stones aligned on the ground; such stone labyrinths are known in Germany as *Steintanz* and in Scandinavia as *jungfrudans* ("dance of the maidens"). There is also a possible link between the paramilitary ritual games of the Ludus Troiae in ancient Rome, corresponding to an equestrians' dance, and what became the tournaments of horsemen in the Middle Ages, as well as to the *ludus draconis* ("dragon's play") of France, Germany, and England, a feast related to the cult of Saint George and the return of the spring. In fact, a vast number of sacred dances of great antiquity were associated with funeral, fertility, and shamanistic rites and were performed around a center that symbolized the *axis mundi*, the entrance to hell, or "Jacob's ladder" to the heavens; in the *geranos* dance of Delos the women held a string or band and moved along a spiral, first to the left, into death, and then to the right, to rebirth. Many types of such dances could be mentioned, like the shamanistic ones of Central Asia, the first element of which is spinning around a center. According to the *Kojiki*, a collection of narratives and myths written in Japan at the beginning of the seventh century, the marriage of the male and female aspects of divinity was preceded by a dance around the "august celestial pilaster."

Spiral labyrinths connote symbolically also the serpent, as Indian tradition represents it implicitly in the first *cakra*, able to rise up the spine or *axis mundi*. The serpent motif, so charged with energy and meaning in Tantric as well as in Christian and many other cultures, is an ancient symbol connected with the earth that appeared on ceramics at the rise of agrarian civilization and spread to vast regions of Mesopotamia, India, and Mesoamerica. It is relevant to remember that in Vergil's *Aeneid*, after the description of the equestrian dances that closed the funerary feats in honor of Anchises, it was told that a serpent crept out of the tomb and twisted its body in seven knots.

The cross labyrinth. The cross labyrinth combines the spiral motif with the partition of space in four directions. The transition from spiral to cross labyrinth results perhaps from the psychic situation created by the rise of agrarian and subsequent urban cultures. The city becomes the privileged and protected area where wealth, knowledge, and power, both material and spiritual, are concentrated. The center of the city, as center of the labyrinth, is turned into a crossroads from which distances are measured and time calculated. Four is the basic number of directions: sunrise, sunset, north, and south. A cross is the sign of their spreading from the central heart. The square, which evolves from the cross, then becomes the emblem of the rational *urbs* and the dwelling place of the new urbanite. The settlement of towns requires a mental revolution: people must make accurate forecasts and long-range plans; draw up laws and regulations, which implies a police force (the words *police* and *policy* both come from *polis*, "town"); and, last but not least, develop a "town memory" in the form of registers and archives, an act that requires the invention of writing. This change in thinking finds its visual expression in the orderly vertical and horizontal arms of the cross, which when repeated create geometric patterns based on squares. This type of geometric arrangement appeared in Mesopotamia and then, more suddenly, in Egypt in predynastic times, around the end of the fourth millennium; as René Huyghe points out, it served as a link in the passage from nomadism to settled life. The knife of Jebel el Arak, found near Dendera, a village on the Nile, is probably the first Egyptian example; the figures appear in parallel rows, not randomly, as in prehistoric art. This labyrinthine pattern eventually evolves into the classical model seen in the Knossos coins: a cross with its arms bent and turning around the center in curvilineal or, more often, straight movements at right angles. Examples of this type occur most frequently, from antiquity to modern times.

A walled, strong, and organized city may reveal itself as a prison to its inhabitants, just as the labyrinth, after some authors, may have been used in a remote past to trap wild animals. Lost is the freedom of movement and direct contact with the spirits of nature. The mythical Minotaur is, thus, also the symbol of the repressed part of human nature, prerational and vital, which the new city hero wants to subdue; the artifices of Daedalus and the needs of the emerging state hide the "monster" in the underground, and Theseus, with the help of artful memory tricks, decides to suppress it. But this is a fatal mistake on the part of the hero, for the Minotaur is also the hidden source of his own energy and power; killing the monster brings tragic forgetfulness, loss of purpose, decay, and disaster. In fact, the Minotaur cannot die. He takes his revenge in the same labyrinth, which is turned now into hell, for the Minotaur is also the promise of the sun's rebirth (as the constellation Taurus brings back spring's vitality), and through the sun's rays Icarus is punished for his arrogance in trying to evade complexity and enjoy a new, marvelous freedom in the belief that he has to thank his own inflated ego alone.

The cross inside the spiral suggests a divine sacrifice necessary to redeem those who became lost in the "city of perdition"; Christ, like Theseus, descends to hell, but instead of killing the monster, he redeems the condemned. As an *iter mysticum* to salvation, the cross labyrinth was extensively used in Christian ethics and symbolical art, in illuminated manuscripts, on the floor of cathedrals, in painting, and in heraldic and esoteric emblems, especially after the twelfth century. In literature the connotations of this type of labyrinth have inspired poems, stories, and Hermetic and symbolic writings, from the cycle of the Holy Grail legends to the seventeenth-century writings of John Bunyan and Johannes Amos Comenius.

The cross is an immensely rich symbol. It reconciles opposed directions and divided drives at its center, where the revolutions of the labyrinthine universe find their fixed axis, just as in one of the coins from Knossos one sees the arms of a squared spiral turn around the polestar or the fixed sun.

The thread and the knot. The red thread of Ariadne is a symbol of memory, as mentioned before; it symbolizes as well the sun's rays and the way to liberation. But the thread also binds when it turns and twists itself into knots, both as the cords tie the prisoner and as words compromise or the vow commits an honest person. The knots of Varuṇa are the symbol of the god's power to tie and untie, of the magic forces of sovereignty concentrated in the king or chief—justice, administration, public security, political decision, in fact, all the "powers," as Georges Dumézil established when he studied the Ouranos-Varuṇa symbolism. The knot contributes to the labyrinth as a tying device, a symbol of centralized urban power and "amazing" artifice, and as such is linked to Daedalus, the artist and the inventor. But the knot also symbolizes initiation and, through its intricate detours, the journey of the soul to salvation.

The native peoples of the Malekula Islands in Vanuatu believe in a "journey of the dead," as John Layard (1937) has observed; according to one of the oldest variants of their myth, the soul must pass the "waters of death" and then, at the entrance of the cave leading to the kingdom of the souls, be confronted with the "female devouring ghost." This ghost has previously drawn with her finger on the sand of the floor of the cave, a geometric "knotty" pattern of considerable complexity: It is made of one uninterrupted line, named "the way" or "the path." Half of the drawing has been erased by the ghost, however, and the soul must remake the missing half correctly before being admitted into the cave. The female devouring ghost will eat those who are unable to complete the drawing. In preparation for this journey the Malekula islanders practice the ritual drawing of difficult patterns on the sand.

One is reminded here of the cave of the sibyl of Cumae, in the sixth book of Vergil's *Aeneid*, and of the labyrinth drawn at its entrance. One-line, complex patterns evoke as well the famous *Concatenation* drawn by Leonardo da Vinci, Albrecht Dürer's *Sechs Knoten*, and the arabesques of Muslim art (in architecture, in frontispieces to the Qurʾān, in tile and carpet motifs). One is also are reminded of many well-known Celtic labyrinthine designs sculpted on crosses and stones, such as the Carndonagm Cross at Donegal, in Ireland, and the Jelling Stone in Denmark.

The thread symbolizes guidance through a difficult path or through initiatory rites, the loving or charitable gift of secret knowledge, and the promise of freedom. In India the monks of Viṣṇu receive a sacred thread, and neophytes learn to perform symbolic exercises with it. Metaphysically, the thread is that with which God made all things, his divine logos; with it the sun, like a spider, unites the worlds. The *Satapatha Brahmana* calls it the "wind" thread, and the *Brhadaranyaka Upaniṣad* comments that the knowledge of this thread and of *brahman* is the supreme knowledge of being in all its manifestations. Knowing that there is only one thread in spite of the infinite variety of its knots, as Ananda Coomaraswamy ponders, brings one safely to the end of the path, to the center, and to the cosmic architect, himself the way and the door.

The celestial city and the *maṇḍala*. Finding the way through a labyrinth, conceived as a mental, spiritual, and metaphysical enigma, corresponds to the successful conclusion of an *iter mysticum*. It can be expressed visually by transformation of the labyrinth drawing into what in Indo-Tibetan terms is known as *maṇḍala*. The *maṇḍala* (the more schematic linear variations are called *vantra*s) basically consists of a circle enclosing a square divided into four triangles; in the center of each triangle, as well as in the center of the whole drawing, are circles that contain the images of deities. This pattern can take an infinite number of variations, some of which are similar to the classical pattern of the labyrinth: Many *maṇḍalas* show bastions, ramparts, towers, and gardens. All are conducive to yogic meditation; they are meant to protect the meditator from distraction caused by unconscious impulses and lead him or her to a *descensus ad inferos* where the meditator meets his or her "ghosts," and, recognizing their true nature, conquers them. Step by step the meditator is led out of the ocean of *saṃsāra*—the overpowering illusion of the complexity of appearances—to gain a new realization of being.

The *maṇḍala* is therefore a chart of the cosmos, including the *axis mundi*, the cosmic mountain of Sumeru, the palace of the *cakravartin* ("universal monarch"), and, according to the Tantric text, the *Sādhanamāla* ("city of liberation"). The city of liberation evokes the celestial Jerusalem that descends from the heavens at the end of time; like a *maṇḍala*, the celestial city expresses the final unification of opposites and the emergence of the transcendental ego—the "secret self" or *ātman* of the Vedānta, the Self in Jung's terminology. The rose windows in medieval churches and cathedrals of the West, considered one of the greatest achievements of European art, are *maṇḍalas*, symbolizing the process leading to the ultimate metamorphosis of humankind. Their colored light, circular shape, and geometric crystalization suggest the attained final radiance of the "adamantine body."

SEE ALSO Center of the World; Crossroads; Descent into the Underworld; Knots; Maṇḍalas.

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LADY OF THE ANIMALS. The term *Lady of the Animals* is a scholarly convention used to describe anthropomorphic images of Godesses with companion animals. The image of the Lady of the Animals is well known to readers of the classics: Aphrodite riding a goose or in a chariot drawn by doves, Athena with her owl, and Artemis with her deer. But the image goes back much further than the classical age of Greece (fifth and fourth centuries BCE), even much further back than the times of Homer (before 700 BCE) and Hesiod (c. 700 BCE). Female images with zoomorphic body parts (wings, beaks, snakelike bodies, bear heads, and the like) are common in the Neolithic era in Old Europe (6500–3500 BCE) and elsewhere. Their origins can probably be traced to the Upper Paleolithic (30,000–10,000 BCE). The Lady of the Animals is found in almost all cultures.

Because prehistory has left no written records, interpretation of the meaning of the earliest images called Lady of the Animals cannot be certain. She was known to her earliest worshipers as "Mother of All the Living" (a phrase used to refer to Eve in *Genesis* 3:20), as "Creatress," "Goddess," "Ancestress," "Clan Mother," "Priestess," by a place or personal name, or, simply, as "Mother," "Ma," or "Nana." Whatever she was called, the Lady of the Animals is an image of the awesome creative powers of women and nature. The term *Mother of All the Living* may in fact be more accurately descriptive of the wide range of creative powers depicted in images commonly called "Lady of the Animals."

A very early sculpture of a Lady of the Animals was found in Çatalhüyük, a Neolithic site in central Anatolia (central Turkey), dating from 6500 to 5650 BCE. Made of baked clay, she sits on a birth chair or throne. She is full-breasted and big of belly, and she seems to be giving birth, for a head (not clearly human) emerges from between her legs. Her hands rest on the heads of two large cats, probably leopards, that stand at her sides. From Sumer (c. 2000 BCE), a Lady of the Animals appears in a terra-cotta relief, naked and winged, with two owls at her sides and her webbed feet resting on the backs of two monkeys. From Minoan Crete comes a small statue unearthed in the treasury of the new palace of Knossos (c. 1700–1450 BCE); staring as if in trance, she holds in her outstretched arms two striped snakes; her breasts are exposed, and a small snake emerges from her bodice.

In Ephesus, an enormous image of a Lady of the Animals dominated the great temple of Artemis or Diana (rebuilt 334 BCE and known as one of the seven wonders of the ancient world). Her many egg-shaped breasts symbolized her nurturing power, while the signs of the zodiac forming her necklace expressed her cosmic power. Her arms were extended in a gesture of blessing, and her lower body, shaped like the trunk of the tree of life, was covered with the heads of wild, domestic, and mythical animals. At her feet were beehives; at her sides, two deer. The city crowned her head.

In Asia Minor the Lady of the Animals is known as Kubaba or Cybele and is flanked by lions. In Egypt she is Isis the falcon or Isis with falcon wings and a uraeus (snake) emerging from her forehead; she is also Hathor the cow goddess or Hathor with the cow horns. In Canaan she is Ashtoret or Astarte holding snakes and flowers in her hands. In India she is Tārā or Parvati astride a lion or Durgā riding a lion into battle and slaying demons with the weapons in her ten arms. In Japan she is Amaterasu, the sun goddess, with her roosters that crow at dawn and her messengers the crows. In China she is Kwan Yin standing on a dragon that symbolizes good fortune. To the Inuit (Eskimo) she is Sedna, goddess of the sea and sea animals, especially seals, walruses, and whales. To the Hopi she is Kokyanguruti, or Spider Woman, the creatress and guardian of Mother Earth, who presides over emergence and return. To the Algonquin she is Nokomis, the Grandmother, who feeds plants, animals, and humans from her breasts. In Mexico she is Chicomecoatl, Heart of the Earth, with seven serpent messengers. In Africa she is Osun with peacocks and Mami Wata with snakes. In Christianity her memory remains in the images of Eve with the snake and Mary with the dove. She lingers, too, in such folk images as Mother Goose, the Easter bunny, and the stork who brings babies.

Composed between 800 and 400 BCE, the *Homeric Hymns,* some of which may reflect earlier religious conceptions, provide two powerful written images of the Lady of the Animals that can help us interpret earlier drawn and sculpted images. In the "Hymn to Earth" she is "well-founded Earth, mother of all, eldest of all beings. She feeds all creatures that are in the world, all that go upon the goodly land, and all that are in the paths of the seas, and all that fly." In the "Hymn to the Mother of the Gods" she is "well-pleased with the sound of rattles and timbrels, with the voice of flutes and the outcry of wolves and bright-eyed lions, with echoing hills and wooded coombes."

In these songs the Lady of the Animals is cosmic power, mother of all. The animals of the earth, sea, and air are hers, and the wildest and most fearsome animals—wolves and lions, as well as human beings—praise her with sounds. The Lady of the Animals is also earth, the firm foundation undergirding all life. The hills and valleys echo to her. In these images she would not be called a "lady of the plants," which suggests that the conceptions reflected in these hymns may have originated in preagricultural times. Jane Harrison (1903) has suggested that the "lady of the wild things" becomes "lady of the plants" only after human beings become agriculturalists.

THE PALEOLITHIC AGE. Marija Gimbutas, Gertrude R. Levy, and E. O. James are among those who concur with Harrison in tracing the Goddess symbolism of the Neolithic and later periods to the Upper Paleolithic, or Old Stone Age (c. 30,000–10,000 BCE). Therefore, we must ask whether the image of the Lady of the Animals also goes back to the Paleolithic era.

Many small figures of so-called pregnant Venuses have been dated to the Upper Paleolithic. Abundantly fleshed with prominent breasts, bellies, and pubic triangles, they were often painted with red ocher, which seems to have symbolized the blood of birth, the blood of life. These images have been variously interpreted.

These images may be understood in relation to the cave art of the Paleolithic era. Paleolithic peoples decorated the labyrinthine paths and inner recesses of caves with abstract line patterns and with drawings and paintings of animals, such as bison and deer. Small human figures, both male and female, were sometimes painted in the vicinity of the much larger animals. The drawings and paintings of these animals, and the rituals practiced in the inner reaches of the caves, have often been understood as hunting magic, done to ensure the capture of prey. But Gertrude R. Levy argues that the purposes of these rituals cannot have been simple "magic compulsion" but must have involved a desire for a "participation in the splendor of the beasts" (Levy, 1963, p. 20). If, as was surely the case later, Paleolithic peoples also understood the caves and their inner recesses to be the womb of Mother Earth, then is it not possible to recognize the aniconic image of the Lady of the Animals in the womb-cave onto which the animals were painted? And can we not also see the Lady of the Animals in the well-known Paleolithic carving found in Laussel of an unclothed full-bodied woman holding a bison horn? Must we not, then, interpret prehistoric rituals in the labyrinthine recesses of caves as a desire to participate in the transformative power of the creatress, the mother of all, the Lady of the Animals?

OLD EUROPE. Anthropomorphic images of the Lady of the Animals appear in abundance in the Neolithic, or early agricultural period, which began about 9000 BCE in the Near East. Marija Gimbutas coined the term *Old Europe* to refer to distinctive Neolithic and Chalcolithic (or Copper Age) civilizations of Central and Southern Europe that included the lands surrounding the Aegean and Adriatic Seas and their islands and extended as far north as Czechoslovakia, southern Poland, and the western Ukraine. There is reason to believe that Neolithic-Chalcolithic cultures developed along similar lines in other parts of the world, including, for example, Africa, China, the Indus Valley, and the Americas.

In Old Europe (c. 6500–3500 BCE), Gimbutas found a pre–Bronze Age culture that was "matrifocal and probably matrilinear, agricultural and sedentary, egalitarian and peaceful" (Gimbutas, 1982, p. 9). This culture was presided over by a goddess conceived as the source and giver of all. Although originally this goddess did not appear with animals, she herself had animal characteristics. One of her earliest forms was as the snake and bird goddess, who was associated with water and represented as a snake, water bird, duck, goose, crane, diving bird, or owl or as a woman with a bird head or birdlike posture. She was the creator goddess, the giver of life.

The goddess of Old Europe was also connected with the agricultural cycles of life, death, and regeneration. Here she appeared as, or was associated with, bees, butterflies, deer, bears, hares, toads, turtles, hedgehogs, and dogs. The domesticated dog, bull, male goat, and pig became her companions. To the Old Europeans she was not a power transcendent of the earth but rather the power that creates, sustains, and manifests itself in the variety of life-forms within the earth and its cycles. Nor did the goddess represent "fertility" in a narrow sense of human, animal, and plant reproduction; rather she was the giver of life, beauty, and creativity. Instead of celebrating humanity's uniqueness and separation from nature, Old Europeans honored humanity's participation in, and connection to, nature's cycles of birth, death, and renewal. A combination of human and animal forms expressed her power more fully than the human figure alone. Many animals, such as the caterpillar-chrysalis-butterfly, the bird that flies in the air and walks on the earth, and the snake that crawls above and below the earth, have powers that humans lack.

In Old Europe, the creator goddess who appeared with animal characteristics was the primary image of the divine. According to Gimbutas, the "male element, man and animal, represented spontaneous and life-stimulating—but not life-generating—powers" (Gimbutas, 1982, p. 9). Gimbutas stated that women were symbolically preeminent in the culture and religion of Old Europe. Although women were honored, the culture itself was not "matriarchal," as women did not dominate men but shared power with them. It is generally thought that women invented agriculture, which led to the Neolithic "revolution." As the gatherers of plant foods in Paleolithic societies, women would have been the ones most likely to notice the connection between the dropping of a seed and the springing up of a new plant. Women are also the likely inventors of pottery and weaving in the Neolithic era, for pottery was used primarily for women's work of food preparation and food storage, and weaving clothing and other items for use in the home is women's work in almost all traditional cultures. Each of these inventions of the Neolithic era is a mystery of transformation—seed into plant into harvest, earth and fire into pot, wool and flax into clothing and blankets. If these mysteries were understood to have been given to women by the goddess and handed down from mother to daughter, this would have provided a material and economic basis for the preeminence of the female forms in religious symbolism.

ÇATALHÜYÜK. The culture of Çatalhüyük, excavated by James Mellaart, seems similar to that found by Gimbutas in Old Europe. Like Gimbutas, Mellaart found a culture where women and goddesses were prominent, a culture that he believed to have been matrilineal and matrilocal and peaceful and in which the goddess was the most powerful religious image. In Çatalhüyük the Lady of the Animals was preeminent. Wall paintings in the shrines frequently depict a goddess, with outstretched arms and legs, giving birth, sometimes to bulls' or rams' heads. Other shrines depict rows of bull heads with rows of breasts; in one shrine, rows of breasts incorporate the lower jaws of boars or the skulls of foxes, weasels, or vultures. Besides the small figure, mentioned earlier, of the seated goddess, hands on her leopard companions, giving birth, Mellaart also found a sculpture of a woman in leopard-skin robes standing in front of a leopard. One shrine simply depicts two leopards standing face-to-face.

Wall paintings of bulls were also frequent at the site. Mellaart believes that the religion of Çatalhüyük was centered on life, death, and rebirth. The bones of women, children, and some men were found buried under platforms in the living quarters and in the shrines, apparently after having been picked clean by vultures. According to Mellaart, vultures were also associated with the goddess, thus indicating that she was both giver and taker of life.

As Mellaart states in *Earliest Civilizations of the Near East* (1965), the land-based matrifocal, sedentary, and peaceful agricultural societies of the Near East were invaded by culturally inferior northern peoples starting in the fifth and fourth millennia BCE. These invaders and others who followed set the stage for the rise of the patriarchal and warlike Sumerian state about 3500 BCE. According to Gimbutas, the patriarchal, nomadic, and warlike proto-Indo-Europeans infiltrated the matrifocal agricultural societies of Old Europe between 4500 and 2500 BCE. As a result, in both the Near East and Old Europe, the creator goddess was deposed, slain, or made wife, daughter, or mother to the male divinities of the warriors. The Lady of the Animals did not disappear (religious symbols linger long after the end of the cultural situation that gave rise to them), but her power was diminished.

MINOAN CRETE. In the islands, which were more difficult to invade, the goddess-centered cultures survived and developed into Bronze Age civilizations. In Crete the Lady of the Animals remained supreme until the Minoan civilization fell to the Mycenaeans about 1450 BCE. In the old and new palace periods of Minoan Crete (c. 2000–1450 BCE), a highly developed pre-Greek civilization based on agriculture, artisanship, and trade emerged. From existing archaeological evidence (Linear A, the written language of the Minoans, has not been translated), it appears that women and priestesses played the prominent roles in religious rituals. There is no evidence that women were subordinate in society. Indeed, there is no clear evidence that the "palaces" were royal residences. The celebrated throne of "King Minos," found by excavator Arthur Evans, is now thought by several scholars (including Nano Marinatos, Jacquetta Hawkes, Stylianous Alexiou, Helga Reusch, and Ruby Rohrlich) to have been occupied by a priestess or a queen, while others suggest that it dates from the time of Mycenean occupation of Knossos.

In Minoan Crete the goddess was worshiped at natural sites, such as caves or mountaintops, and in small shrines in the palaces and homes. She had attributes of both a mountain mother and a Lady of the Animals. In Crete the Lady of the Animals is commonly found in the company of snakes, doves, and trees, particularly the olive tree, which may have first been cultivated in Crete. In a seal ring found in the Dictean cave, the goddess appears with bird or snake head between two winged griffins, the same animals that flank the throne of "Minos."

Other pervasive symbols in Crete include the stylized horns of consecration, which evoke not only the cow or bull but also the crescent moon, the upraised arms of Minoan goddesses and priestesses, and the double ax, which may originally derive from doubling the sacred female triangle, the place where life emerges. Heiresses and heirs to Neolithic religion, the Minoans continued to understand the divine as the power manifesting itself in the cycles of nature. Thus, Cretan pottery and frescoes abound in rhythmical forms; images of waves, spirals, frolicking dolphins, undulating snakes, and graceful bull leapers are everywhere. The Minoans captured life in motion. Exuberant movement must have represented to them the dance of life, the dance of the Mother of All the Living, the Lady of the Animals.

GREECE. Eventually all the Neolithic and (isolated) Bronze Age cultures in which the creator goddess was supreme fell to patriarchal and warlike invaders. By the time of decipherable written records, we begin to see evidence that societies are ruled by warrior kings; goddesses are no longer supreme and women are subordinated by law to their husbands. On mainland Greece, Apollo took over the holy site of Delphi, sacred first to Mother Earth and her prophetess, after slaying the python, the sacred snake that guarded the sanctuary. This act can be compared to Marduk's slaying of the female sea snake (or dragon) Tiamat, to the association of the formerly sacred snake with sin and evil in *Genesis* 2–3, to St. George's slaying the dragon-snake, and to St. Patrick's driving the snakes out of Ireland.

According to the Olympian mythology found in Homer, Hesiod, and the Greek tragedies, Zeus, the Indo-European sky God, is named father and ruler of all the gods and goddesses. Hera, an indigenous goddess whose sanctuary at Olympia was older than that of Zeus, becomes his never fully subdued wife. Athena is born from the head of Zeus, but her mountain temples (for example, the Parthenon) and her companions, the owl and snake, indicate her connection to the mother of the living, the Lady of the Animals. Aphrodite retains her connection to the dove and the goose. Artemis is the goddess of the untamed lands, mountain forests, and wild animals such as bears and deer. Although she is named a virgin goddess, she aids both human and animal mothers in giving birth. Of all the Olympian goddesses, Artemis retains the strongest connection to the Mother of All the Living, the Lady of the Animals.

What happened to the goddesses in ancient Greece happened elsewhere. They were slain, tamed, made defenders of patriarchy and war, or relegated to places outside the city. Yet the attempt to banish the image of the Mother of All the Living, the Lady of the Animals, was never completely successful. Like an underground spring, she burst forth in images of Mary and the female saints throughout Christian history. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries she has reemerged in the work of feminist artists and in a widespread Goddess movement.

SEE ALSO Animals; Goddess Worship, overview article; Lord of the Animals; Megalithic Religion; Prehistoric Religions.

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LAESTADIUS, LARS LEVI

LAESTADIUS, LARS LEVI (1800–1861), Sami minister, writer, ecologist, mythologist, and ethnographer who became the founder of Laestadian Lutheran revivalist movement. Laestadius was born January 10, 1800, in the Swedish Lappland village town of Jäkkvik to a Sami mother and a Swedish father. After Laestadius's alcoholic father lost his job, the family went to live with Lars's half-brother, Carl Erik, a Lutheran pastor in Kvikkjokk. Carl Erik was an also amateur botanist and encouraged his younger brother's interest in the subject.

When Lars was 16, he entered the Härnösand Gymnasium. Three years later his avid interest in botany led him to take part in a botanical excursion to Helgoland, Norway; when his report of the journey was published, the Swedish Academy of Science and Letters was so impressed that it promised to underwrite his future excursions. In 1820 Laestadius enrolled at the University of Uppsala, where he studied botany and theology—excelling in both.

He was ordained in1825, and became the vicar of Karesuando a year later. During his years as a minister, Laestadius continued his botanical studies, joining the scientific society of Uppsala publishing articles on the flora of Samiland, and serving as botanist during the years 1838 to 1840 on a French botanical expedition to the region.

In 1844, after nineteen years in the ministry, Laestadius underwent a significant "conversion" from inside the Lutheran Church from its "highly churchly" mainstream to the pietist movement of the "Readers." He became a revivalist minister, campaigning for temperance, organizing of education for the Sami people, and serving as a newspaper editor. His dynamic evangelism won him many followers, and eventually prompted a following that spread throughout the region. This religious movement, now known as Laestadianism, began among the Sami Readers in Karesuando and spread to the Finns at Pajala in the Tornio river valley. Sami and Finnish immigrants brought Laestadianism to America, particularly northern states like Michigan, Minnesota, and Oregon. Laestadius's role as founder of the biggest religious movement in northern Scandinavia eventually overshadowed his scholarly career, which expanded into several disciplines:

1. As an ecologist and botanist he was the successor to Carolus Linnaeus; he took part in Prof. Wahlenberg's botanical expeditions from Skåne to Lapland. His unique herbarium, containing 6,700 plants, was sold to the French Academy after his death.

2. As a theologian and religious philosopher Laestadius used his considerable knowledge of Enlightenment psychology, philosophy, and theology to preach forceful and dynamic sermons against alcohol and other social eveils. He published many of these, including his pastoral thesis *Crapula mundi* (Hangover of the world, Hernoesandie, 1843), the three-volume book *Dårhushjonet* (The madhouse inmate, written before 1851), as well as sermons in Finnish, Swedish, and Sami. Many of these writings expressed his protest against the spiritually dead doctrinalism taught by traditional church leaders.

3. Laestadius was a philologist of some stature; in addition to his mother's Southern Sami tongue, he spoke Pite

Sami and Finnish. He learned the latter two to be able to preach in those languages. He transcribed Pite and Luleå Sami using his own "Lodge Lappish" Sami-based orthography.

4. Laestadius was an ethnographer, mythographer, and a mythologist of the Sami people. He collected information about the ancient Sami, and compiled folk beliefs and legends into a system he called a mythology; and as mythographer used this mythology to write a history for the Sami. His achievement as mythologist and ethnographer, *Fragmenter i lappska mythologien* (Fragments in Lapp mythology), was finally translated into English in 2002. This manuscript, written between1840 and 1845, was not even published fully in Swedish until 1997.

Laestadius did field work in the heart of Sami territory as rector of Karesuando and inspector of Sami parishes in Sweden. In these capacities, he visited every lodge in Swedish Lapland, as he stated in the *Fragmenter* preface. Both this work and *Crapula mundi* were written during his religious conversion.

As a religious man he lived wholeheartedly inside the "interior household of the Sami," as he called their world view—or more properly their religion. His 1845 letter to another Lapp mythologist, Jacob Fellman (1795–1875), rector of Utsjoki, offers evidence of the change already begun within him: "I can no longer undertake any further actions with regard to this worthy manuscript, because my attention has become directed elsewhere and been overwhelmed by matters belonging to the sphere of religion, which seem to me to be considerably more important than mythology."

Laestadius's writings in Latin, Swedish, Finnish and Sami are extensive. His Sami-language works, *Hålaitattem Ristagase ja Satte almatja kaskan* (1839), a talk between a Christian and an ordinary man, and *Tåluts Suptsahah, Jubmela pirra ja Almatji pirra* (1844), an ancient tale about God and man, make him one of the first Sami writers. *Fragmenter i lappska mythologien* was originally produced for J. P. Gaimard, leader of Laestadius's 1838 royal French arctic expedition to Scandinavia, the Faroes, Iceland, and Spitzbergen. Both Gaimard and historian Xavier Marmier recognized Laestadius' knowledge of Lappish history and lore. Mythology and history are intermingled in *Fragmenter;* the borderline between the two was extremely vague.

Part I of *Fragmenter*, "Gudalära" (Doctrine on divinity), was written in 1840; the next three chapters, including one called "Comments to Fellman" were completed five years later. The other parts are *offer-lära* (sacrifice), *spådomslära* (prophesy), Lapp *nåjdtro* (shamanism), and *valda stycken af Lapparnes Sagohäfde* (selection of Lappish folk tales).

Laestadius's *Fragmenter* details his vast knowledge of the Sami people, languages, and religion. His careful criticism and field observations make him one of the founders of the Northern Ethnography school.

SEE ALSO Finno-Ugric Religions; Sami Religion.

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JUHA PENTIKÄINEN (2005)

LĀHORĪ, MUḤAMMAD ʿALĪ (1874–1951), scholar of Islam and founder of the Lāhorī branch of the Aḥmadīyyah movement. Born in Murar (Kapurthala), India, Lāhorī completed advanced degrees in English (1896) and law (1899) in Lahore. His life and works are closely intertwined with the Aḥmadīyyah (also known as Qādiyānī) movement, a minor sect of Islam founded in 1889 by Ghulām Aḥmad (c. 1839–1908), at whose suggestion Lāhorī undertook his two major works, a translation of the Qurʾān and *The Religion of Islam.* In 1902, Lāhorī was appointed co-editor of the Aḥmadīyyah periodical, *Review of Religions*, through which he propagated the movement's news and views to the non-Muslim world. This appointment marked the beginning of Lāhorī's prolific career. He translated Ghulām Aḥmad's writings into English, defended his views in the face of the Sunnī majority's growing opposition, and wrote on various aspects of Islam.

In 1914, with the death of Ghulām Aḥmad's successor, Nūr al-Dīn—a prominent scholar of Qurʾān considered the mastermind of the Aḥmadīyyah movement by its opponents—the community split over doctrinal issues such as Ghulām Aḥmad's claim of prophethood. Lāhorī headed the splinter group, the Aḥmadīyyah Anjuman-i Ishaʿat-Islam, Lahore, known as the Lāhorī group, which regarded Ghulām Aḥmad a reformer *(mujaddid)*, not the prophet. This group was more liberal and closer to the mainstream of Sunnī Islam, but also more aggressive in its outreach and more vocal in explaining its doctrinal differences with the parent group. Muḥammad ʿAlī was the main force behind the literary and missionary activities of this group (directed to the converts to Islam not to the group itself), including the opening of new centers in Western Europe and North America.

Lāhorī wrote profusely in Urdu and English. Equipped with Western research methodology and linguistic tools, he explained and defended various precepts of Islam to counterbalance criticism of Christian missionaries and to help develop a sense of pride among Western-educated Muslims in their heritage. He was the first Muslim to publish an English translation, with explanatory notes, of the entire text of the Qurʾān (1917), followed by *Muḥammad the Prophet* (1924), and a sequel, *Early Caliphate* (1932). He also addressed issues of the time. Responding to the crisis of the Ottoman caliphate, for example, he wrote a short monograph entitled *The Khilafāt in Islam* (1920). His major work, *The Religion of Islam* (784+ pages), was written in response to a book of the same title published in 1906 by F. A. Klein. The abridged and third edition of this work was published with two additional chapters, "Muslim State" and "Ethics of Islam" (1971).

The tenor of Lāhorī's writings reflects the mood of the times—polemical, apologetic, and missionary—*Islam and the Present War* (n.d.); *Muḥammad and Christ* (1921); *The New World Order* (1944); *Islam the Religion of Humanity; The Living Thoughts of the Prophet Muḥammad* (1947), to name only a few. Lāhorī clearly ranks with the intellectuals of the period, such as Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (d. 1898), Syed Ameer ʿAlī (d. 1928), Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī (d. 1914), Chirāgh ʿAlī (d. 1895), and Shiblī Nuʿmānī (d. 1914). Among his followers he is considered the most prominent scholar of the century and, according to Mumtāz Aḥmad Farūqī, the "savior of the Aḥmadīyyah movement." Through the efforts of various centers established in Western Europe, North America and Indonesia, Lāhorī's works have received wide recognition. It is claimed that a copy of his translation of the Qurʾān, presented to Elijah Muhammad, had far-reaching effects on the Black Muslim movement in North America. In the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, however, the controversial character of the movement and ensuing polemic debates, and his split from the parent movement have adversely affected the popularity of his works among the non- Aḥmadīyyah Muslims as well as his among fellow Aḥmadīyyahs belonging to the parent Qādiyānī group.

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LAIMA is one of the few goddesses of the Baltic peoples who can be said to personify a number of elemental concepts. She incorporates a wide variety of both individual and societal functions, of which two are particularly noteworthy: architect of destiny and agent of fertility. In connection with the former, the etymological link should be noted between the name *Laima* and the common noun *laime,* which in its general sense means "happiness." Notwithstanding the apparent restrictions of this definition, Laima embraces a wide range of functions. As goddess of destiny, Laima holds supreme power to determine an individual's life. Her decisions in this context are not rationally motivated; they are radical and unchangeable.

In Baltic religion, Laima's role became prominent at life's critical moments. The first and most significant of these was birth. Here Laima acted as determiner of the individual life of both mother and child. Her concern for the woman in childbirth began before the onset of labor. Traditionally, the place appointed for childbirth was the sauna, and in preparation for the event the woman was ritually cleansed, as was the route to the sauna, so that Laima could make her way unimpeded to aid the woman. As childbirth was frequently a life-threatening event, the woman would offer prayers to Laima before giving birth, asking her assistance in ensuring that both mother and infant would survive the birth. The prayer was accompanied by offerings to Laima (generally in the form of dyed threads and woven braids of wool or flax). On a religious level, the most significant moment occurred after successful childbirth: it took the form of a thanksgiving meal, held in the sauna and consisting of flat cakes, honey, and ale. Only married women were allowed to participate, with the place of honor reserved for Laima.

A similarly fateful moment was marriage, and Laima traditionally was held responsible for a happy as well as an unhappy married life. It is understandable, therefore, that an unmarried girl turned directly to the goddess with prayers that she be provided with a good and suitable husband so that her life might be happy. As determiner of the future, Laima alone was responsible if the girl was later unhappy because her husband was a drunkard or because he had died an untimely death, leaving her a young widow with sole responsibility for young children. In such cases, the conflict between the unfortunate woman and Laima could grow into an open feud. Folklore material shows that in these circumstances a woman might demand that Laima carry a heavy load of stones as punishment or even threaten to "drown" the goddess.

Laima also determined a person's death. Two forms of dialogue took place around the time of death. The first involved the dying person, who attempted to persuade Laima that it was not yet time to die because important work still had to be accomplished, of which the care of children was the most compelling. This form of appeal was generally unsuccessful. In the other type of dialogue, the dying person was represented by Dievs, the Baltic god of the heavens. An argument took place between Dievs and Laima over the issue of the person's death and whether it should occur at that particular moment. Clearly, Laima was one of the most rigid and extreme of the goddesses of destiny, and the extent of her radicalism was demonstrated by her inability to alter her own decisions. If the individual's future was determined at any one moment, it then remained unaltered, whatever the circumstances. If a man was destined to suffer all his life, then Laima could do no more than weep with him. A possible explanation for the evolution of this fatalist conception in Baltic religion is what many have seen as the centuries-long enslavement of these peoples by the German colonialist Christian church.

In addition to her role as determiner of the future, Laima's obligations included the encouragement of fecundity and of well-being in general. This is comprehensible in light of the structure of Baltic religion, which is that of an agrarian community. The basis of existence and well-being was determined by the fertility of the fields and animals. As Laima's name indicates, her primary raison d'être was happiness. Consequently she alone could make the farmer happy, and by dint of this she takes her place alongside the other fertility gods of Baltic religion. In this context she is further differentiated. Depending on which animals she was considered to aid, Laima was given an attributive qualification: thus she became Laima of Zirgu ("horses"), Laima of Govu ("cows"), Laima of Aitu ("sheep"). In the oldest agricultural tradition, the horse was held to be of particular worth; hence Laima was linked most closely with horse rearing. Yet she also aided crop cultivation by participating in hoeing and by circling the farmer's fields to protect them from evil spirits.

The iconography of Laima is very clearly delineated in the sources. She is represented as a beautiful young blonde woman dressed in clothes such as those worn by the wives of wealthy farmers on festive occasions. On her head is a splendid garland and on her shoulders a colorful shawl held together with one or more silver brooches. Only on rare occasions does she disguise herself as a poor old woman.

The interpretation of the essential qualities of Laima is nevertheless complicated by certain unresolved questions, one of which concerns the source of her frequent description as *Laimas māte* ("mother fortune"). On the one hand, it could be argued that the idea of "mother," one of the fundamental notions of religion, is clearly linked with Laima. Yet on the other hand, it is also true that for centuries the Baltic peoples were subject to the influence of Christianity, particularly the Marian cult. Hence it could be held that Laima's description as "mother" is a later development based on this influence.

Another problem concerns Laima's creative role. In the sources she is occasionally described as *laidēja* ("mainspring"), from the verb *laist* ("to let," in the dynamic sense of "to cause to happen"; its synonym is *radīt,* "to create"). The epithet *laideja* and the name *Laima* are etymologically derived from the same root *(lei),* and this common derivation suggests that the act of creation is one of Laima's basic functions. Precise statements to this effect are sparse, however.

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LAITY is a term that has emerged in the Western religious and theological traditions to refer to those members of a religious community who, as a group, do not have the responsibilities of fulfilling the priestly functions appropriate to the offices of the clergy or ordained ministers.

ETYMOLOGY AND ORIGINS OF CONCEPT. The adjective *lay* is derived from the Greek word *laikos* (Lat., *laicus*) meaning "of or from the people." In early Christianity the term came to connote "the chosen people of God," a meaning derived from the Greek *laos* ("people of unknown origin"). In the New Testament a distinction is made between the Jewish "people" (*laos*) and their priests and officials (as in, for example, *Acts* 5:26, *Matthew* 26:23, *Hebrews* 7:5, 7:27).

Before the end of the first century CE the term *laos* took on a more ecclesiastical connotation. The term *laikos* is used by Clement of Alexandria (c. 200 CE) to distinguish a layman from a deacon and a presbyter. In the *Apostolic Canons,* laity (*laikoi)* are distinguished from clergy. The early Christian distinction between laity and clergy was informed by a political differentiation of Greek origin, that is, that between the *klēros* (from which *clergy* is derived) and "the people" (*laos*), the two groups that comprised the administration of the polis. As the Christian community continued to develop ecclesiastically, the *klēros,* the leaders or those with an "office," became the ones through whom the means of grace were extended to the believers, "the people" (*laos*). By the time of the Council of Nicaea (325) the organization and structure of the church was understood basically in terms of the clerical order, with authority vested in the bishops and the councils as distinguished from the laity.

While the notion of laity, derived as it is from Western sources, is not relevant to the study of all religious communities, it is a helpful heuristic category for the study of those traditions in which a fundamental distinction is drawn between two styles of the religious life, two modes of pursuing spiritual fulfillment. One mode, for the majority of persons within a given tradition, involves the religious quest in conjunction with full participation in the ordinary life of society. In this mode one will assume the responsibilities of some role as a member of a functioning society while at the same time pursuing the goals of the religious life. A second mode is characterized by a different way of life, involving total absorption in the religious quest, generally in association with a renunciation or turning away from full participation in the ordinary life of society. The following discussion will explore such a distinction in these two basic styles of the religious life as they are manifest in selected religious traditions: Christianity (Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, Protestant), Theravāda Buddhism, and Jainism. I shall then proceed to suggest the possibilities and limits of the category "laity" with respect to some other traditions: Hinduism, the religions of Japan, and Islam.

CHRISTIANITY. The Roman Catholic tradition makes a clear differentiation between "laity" and "religious." The religious are those who take orders, and they comprise two groups, priests and monastics. The ecclesiastical use of the term *order,* which had been a designation prevalent in Roman civil life, included reference in the time of Tertullian (c. 155–220 CE) to both clergy and laity. By the sixth century CE, however, *order* was used to specify appointment by a bishop to a given office, with both authorization and responsibility to carry out the duties thereof. The distinction between the clergy and the laity is held to be divinely established. The priesthood, set apart by the sacrament of "holy orders" or ordination, is commissioned to fulfill the threefold function of the priestly office: teaching, directing and administering, and sanctifying. Thus, the priest as a member of the episcopate fulfills the divinely established mission of the church as teaching authority and sacramental agent, making available to the laity the means of God's grace through the sacraments. The laity, in turn, receive the teaching and the grace of God by participation in the worship and liturgy of the church and share the responsibility of fulfilling the church's mission in the world, the sphere of their activity. Through their participation in the affairs of the world, the truth and values of the church are to permeate society.

The distinction between laity and clergy in the Roman Catholic tradition is correlative with a distinction between church and world. The church is conceived as a *societas perfecta* but *inequalis,* with the *status clericalis* and the *laicalis,* each group having its respective rights and responsibilities. The clergy, with the right and responsibility of administering the sacraments, is ordained to a sacred vocation. The laity, who are to receive the sacraments and teaching and to obey the teaching, are to pursue their work in the world, the profane realm. Ecclesiastically, the church, the realm of the sacred, is given priority over the profane. Implied in this distinction is a valorization of the office of the clergy. The monastics, who renounce ordinary participation in the world (i.e., the profane) by taking the vows of celibacy, poverty, and obedience, are committed to the pursuit of spiritual perfection and fulfillment.

In the Eastern Orthodox church a similar distinction is made between clergy and laity, with ecclesiastical authority and the responsibility for administering the sacraments residing in the clergy. The designated roles of clergy and laity are manifest during the weekly ritual drama of the Divine Liturgy, in which the most sacred area of the sanctuary behind the iconostasis is entered by the priest as mediator between God and the people but is not accessible to laypersons. In at least two regards, however, the demarcation between laity and clergy was qualified. First, the formulation of the interpretation and explanation of the truth affirmed to have been revealed by Jesus Christ and contained in the Bible is accomplished through the ecumenical councils. This truth comprises the "holy tradition," as distinguished from the church tradition that developed through the centuries of church life. The authority of the councils rests on the understanding that they represent the consensus of the faithful and the conscience of the entire church, viewed as a sacramental unity of love inclusive of the laity as well as the clergy. Second, although since the seventh century CE only the celibate clergy and monks have been eligible for the episcopate, ordination through the holy orders of the priesthood may be conferred on married men, thus qualifying the distinction between clergy and laity.

A significantly different approach to the status and role of laity was evident in the Protestant Reformation that began in the sixteenth century. Martin Luther (1483–1546), in his *To the Christian Nobility,* rejected the hierarchical structure of the Roman Catholic church as well as the distinction between clergy and laity. The principle of the universal priesthood of all believers, viewed as an essential teaching of the word of God, provided a basis for insistence on the preeminence of the laity in Protestant churches. The vocation of ministry, viewed as necessary for the life and practice of the church, was the delegated responsibility of persons from the community of believers who were commissioned by the congregation to teach, to preach, to lead in worship, and to administer Holy Communion and baptism.

Although the administering of Holy Communion and baptism were held to be the right of every baptized Christian, those who were commissioned to minister became the officiants for ritual occasions. John Calvin (1509–1564) stressed the importance for all members of the church, who collectively were the laity, to so live that the reality of their state of election by God would be evident in their work in the world, which was to be pursued diligently. While the theological principle of the universal priesthood of all believers has been central to Protestantism, in practice the ordained ministry is accorded a priority in keeping with the importance of its teaching, preaching, and liturgical responsibilities, for which special training and education were needed.

The changes associated with the Protestant Reformation in social and political as well as religious life required the exercise of power and authority on the part of political officials, providing opportunity for them, as laity, to exercise influence in church affairs. Also, it was necessary for practical reasons for those set apart (i.e., the ministers) to assume responsibility for church administration. It should be noted that in the churches of the more radical "left-wing" Reformation and in free and dissenting churches (Anabaptists, Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, Universalists, and Unitarians), even greater prominence was given to the laity.

BUDDHISM. The relationship between the *bhikkhu*s (monks) and the *upāsaka*s/*upāsīkā*s (laymen/laywomen) in the Theravāda Buddhism of the countries of Southeast Asia (e.g., Thailand, Laos, Myanmar, and Sri Lanka) is characterized by a full measure of reciprocity. Just as the members of the *bhikkhu sangha* provide exemplary models for the laity, teach the Dhamma, and fulfill priestly functions by presiding at festival and ritual occasions, so the laity provide for the material support of the monastic community. Indeed, reliance of the *bhikkhu sangha* on the laity for daily provisions of food, for the erecting and maintenance of the buildings within the monastic compound, for the supplying of basic necessities (especially through lay offerings during the Uposatha rituals) provides cherished opportunities for merit making on the part of the laity.

The support of the laity, so rendered, invites the *bhikkhu*s to sustain and extend their compassionate service to society. In this way the life of the *sangha* (the all-encompassing Buddhist community) is sustained through the reciprocity of *bhikkhu*s and laity. The laity, by assuming responsibility for maintaining a stable civil and political order as well as by filling the basic needs of the monastics, provide the *bhikku*s with the opportunity to seek spiritual perfection (liberation, *mokkha, nibbāba*) by being free from the struggle to provide the necessities of samsaric existence. The laity, by their merit making, make progress toward fulfillment themselves by assuring a favorable rebirth. It should be noted that there are two orders of laity in Theravāda Buddhism, those who have never taken the full monastic orders and former *bhikku*s, who are extended higher status than laypersons of the first category. (It is customary in certain Southeast Asian societies for young men to be ordained for a brief period prior to assuming the economic and social responsibilities of adulthood.) Such former *bhikku*s preside at certain ritual occasions that do not require an active *bhikku* as officiant.

JAINISM. In Jainism a definitive distinction is made between the laity and monastics, the vows of the latter requiring the practice of a rigorous asceticism in a disciplined effort over numerous existences to free the *jīva* (soul) from contaminating *karman.* Because this asceticism involves the practice of *ahiṃsā* (noninjury to any living thing), the support of the laity in providing the necessities of life for Jain monks and nuns is indispensable. The principles of Jainism necessitate the avoidance of professions or vocations that involve the violation of *ahiṃsā,* and the nurturing of the qualities of honesty and industry is commended. As a consequence, Jain laypersons have generally pursued business and professional occupations, at which they have been very successful. Among the vows taken by the laity are those commending the sharing of wealth and the providing of support for monks and nuns. Although they are a comparatively small religious community (between two and three million adherents) that has never spread beyond India, the Jains have maintained their tradition over a millennium and a half, largely because of the vital interdependent relationship of the monastics and the laity.

OTHER TRADITIONS. As has been noted earlier, the category "laity" has limitations with respect to its capacity to illuminate the structures and dynamics of certain religious traditions. It has little to contribute, for example, to a discussion of Judaism in the common era. To be sure, there did develop among the ancient Israelites a priestly group (as members of the tribe of Levi came to be regarded, and later, at the time of the Babylonian exile, the Jerusalem priests, or Zadokites) distinct from those who were not involved in performing priestly functions, hence laity. After the destruction of the Temple by the Romans (70 CE), the continuity of a priestly order became moot, and the tradition of a rabbinate developed. The rabbinic tradition in Judaism is a learned tradition. Rabbis may be viewed as scholars of the Jewish texts and traditions—a learned laity—whose authority as teachers rests in their competence as scholars of the tradition.

With respect to Confucian China also, the notion of laity has limited applicability. Although religious Daoism and the schools of Mahāyāna Buddhism (especially Pure Land, Tiantai and Zhenyan) observed distinctions between priests and laity, the Confucian tradition looked upon the secular as sacred, and authority was vested in the sage and the educated Confucian gentry. However, it may be useful to explore briefly the relevance of the notion of laity with reference to Hinduism in traditional India, the religio-social context of Japan, and the tradition of Islam.

Hindu traditions. The most highly structured and hierarchical social organization in which there is a definitive distinction between those who have responsibility for specific and formal religious functions and other members of society who do not (hence, "laity") is the caste system of traditional India, a system that is inseparably interwoven with classical Hinduism. The four basic divisions of society had their roots in the Vedic era (1500–800 BCE) and assumed definitive form by the sixth century BCE. The *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* (Laws of Manu; 200 BCE–200 CE) is a codification of the normative behavior and duties of castes that has informed traditional Hindu society. The *varṇa*s are hereditary; one's birth in a particular caste is determined by a repository of karmic consequences from previous lives in accordance with the law of *karman* (often referred to as the law of moral retribution). Each caste has its duty (*dharma*); it is one's social as well as religious responsibility to fulfill the *dharma* of one's caste. Caste may thus be viewed as class undergirded by religious sanction and metaphysical principle.

The inequality of the castes is evident in the definition of rights and responsibilities of each as well as in the restrictions concerning the relationships between persons of different castes. The *brāhmaṇa*s, for example, whose duty it is to study the sacred texts (the Vedas), to teach, to perform sacrifices and other rituals, and to see that the stipulations concerning caste are honored, are at the top of the religio-social hierarchy. They are thought to be superior by virtue of their karmic repository and spiritual accomplishment.

The other groups of the social structure comprise what may be termed the laity. The *kṣatriya*s, next in descending hierarchical order, are the ruling, bureaucratic, and warrior caste. The third caste, the *vaiśya*s, is composed of artisans, merchants, traders, and farmers (although farming has been largely turned over to the *śūdra*s). These three castes comprise the "twice-born" groups, that is, those who may study the Vedas as they pass through the four *āśrama*s, or stages of spiritual progression: student, householder, forest dweller (one in retreat), and *saṃnyāsa* (holy person). Persons in each of these top three castes may pursue an occupation of a lower caste, should circumstances require it. The fourth caste, the *śūdra*s, are to do the manual labor of society and to serve the needs of the castes above them.

There is considerable distance—social, economic, and religious—between the *vaisya*s and the *śūdra*s. For example, the *śūdra*s are prohibited from participating in Vedic ceremonies, traditionally are not to marry persons of a higher caste, may not engage in the duties of other castes, are denied, along with outcastes and women, entry into the *āśrama*s, and so forth. Below the *śūdra*s are those outside the caste system altogether, whose work includes the undesirable occupations of leather worker, hunter, latrine cleaner, handler of corpses, etc. Each of these social groupings is divided into subcastes or subgroups, each with its own duties and responsibilities. Although this religio-social structure appears to be rigidly entrenched, it must be remembered that it served traditional India well over many centuries, providing for stability, order, and the sure accomplishment of the many and diverse tasks essential to the effective functioning of society. In no society have differentiated groups of laity been addressed by more specifically assigned duties and responsibilities. While changes in the caste system are occurring in contemporary urban India, largely in the direction of increased fluidity, its major characteristics persist in Indian villages, which comprises about 75 percent of the subcontinent.

Japanese religions. The sociological expression of religious community in the distinctive religio-social context that is Japan invites an exploration of the possible relevance of the notion of laity in interpreting Japanese religious traditions. Although a diversity of religions has emerged in Japanese culture, there is among Japanese people a permeating and encompassing sense of sacred community that is coextensive with national identity. Rooted in the indigenous traditions of Shintō, a sense of the continuity between the people, the land, the ancestors, the nation, and *kami* (sacred and mysterious power) provides a cosmic orientation that sustains and informs the Japanese whatever the particularities of religious affiliation. To be Japanese is "to participate in the task of unfolding the underlying meaning of the national community which is their sacred trust" (Kitagawa, 1968, p. 309). There are, of course, priestly officials who are distinguished from lay members of the major religions, including Sectarian and Shrine Shintō, Pure Land (Jōdo and Shin), Shingon, Tendai, and Nichiren Buddhism, and Christianity. But the vitality of these particular religions is dependent upon the participation and support of the laity associated with each.

In addition to the sense of identity and meaning that is derived from participation in these particular religious communities, there is an encompassing sense of what it means to be Japanese. This feeling is grounded in a historic apprehension of Japan as "a communal manifestation of the sacred" (Kitagawa, 1968, p. 309). In this latter sense, all of the people of Japan can be viewed as participants in the corporate manifestation of sacrality. One question addressing contemporary Japan is whether this corporate sense with a cosmic dimension can be maintained alongside the continuing development of Japan as a modern nation-state within which there is a plurality of particular religions. A phenomenon of considerable interest has been the emergence of new religious movements (*shinkō shūkyō*) in Japan during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and especially after World War II. These new religions have been, in the main, lay movements. It is not incidental that they have developed during a time of rapid cultural and political change. The new religious movements, whether of Shintō (Tenrikyō, Konkōkyō, Tenshō Kōtai Jingukyō), Buddhist (Sōka Gakkai or Nichiren Shōshū, Reiyūkai, Risshō Kōseikai) or Christian origin, have frequently been inspired by a shamanistic manifestation of *kami* in a charismatic leader (who usually becomes a primary source of authority); they also provide a strong sense of corporate solidarity, emphasize the active participation of laity, and assure the realization of lay values (e.g., health and prosperity).

Islam. Because there is no clergy as such in Islam, there is technically no laity either. The sources of authority in Islam—Qurʾān, *sunnah,* analogical reasoning (*qiyās*), and consensus (*ijmāʿ*)—are the foundation of all Muslim teaching, and there is the need for commentary and interpretation of these authoritative sources as well as of the *sharīʿah* (divine law). For Sunni Islam (the normative religion of about 85 percent of Muslims, dominant in the Muslim world outside of Iran and southern Iraq) there are the imams (preachers and teachers of the Muslim law) and the jurists (specialists in *figh,* or jurisprudence, and the study of the *sharīʿah*). They have a special responsibility to the *ummah* (the community of Muslims) but no special privileges before God.

For Shīʿī Islam (dominant in Iran and southern Iraq, with minorities in Yemen, India, Pakistan, and Lebanon) there is held to be a line of divinely ordained and authoritative successors (imams) of Muḥammad through his cousin and son-in-law, ʿAlī, as teachers of the faithful. Although there are variations among the Shīʿīs with respect to the specific figures accepted as legitimate in the line of succession, there is a general expectation that the authentic imam, now hidden, will return as the Mahdi to establish justice. Meanwhile, authority is vested in leaders of the various Shīʿī groups, who are thought, in the interim, to act on behalf of the hidden imam. All Muslims, in submission and commitment to God, are to be obedient to the revelation contained in the Qurʾān and are to follow "the straight path." All are equal before God, with no distinctions in this regard among those within the *ummah.* Thus, to speak of "laity" and "clergy" within the community of Islam is to introduce categories that are more likely to distort than to illuminate the religiosocial dynamics of this tradition.

SEE ALSO Merit, article on Buddhist Concepts; Saṃgha.

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LAKES. Water, essential to life on earth, has occupied a preeminent place in religious thought and imagery, together with the land and sky. In many cultures it is considered to be procreative, a source of forms and of creative energy. The life-giving property of water has been projected in its almost universal perception as *fons et origo,* "spring and origin," the element that preceeds solid form and is the support of all earthly creation. In this context, from remote times to the present, among peoples who have perceived the world in terms of sacred and profane phenomena, springs, ponds, and lakes have figured importantly in the realm of water symbolism. In many regions of the world where lakes are major geographic features, they often have been the setting of cosmogonic myths and have been invested with many meanings, historical associations, and ritual functions.

The importance of sacred lakes in cultural context will be discussed by examining the ritualistic and mythic significance of two American lakes, Titicaca and Texcoco, associated with the Andean and Mexican civilizations respectively. The areas around both these lakes have been heavily populated in ancient, colonial, and modern times. Accounts of the ancient ceremonial pageantry, mythology, and human-made or natural sacred places in and around these lakes have been reported since the sixteenth-century Spanish conquest. Their meanings and functions in the evolution of native American civilizations continue to form an expanding field of inquiry in archaeology, art history, and ethnology, as well as in the history of religions.

Lake Titicaca. Lake Titicaca lies between southern Peru and northwestern Bolivia, where the Peruvian intermontane valleys and rugged cordilleras give way, at the 12,500-foot level, to the spacious Altiplano. This lake is impressive in its size and is the highest navigable body of water in the world. It sustained the agricultural and economic life of the surrounding areas. As the mainstay of complex societies, the religious meaning of the lake was most dramatically defined in the case of the civilizations of the Tiahuanaco (c. 100 to 1000 CE) and the Inca (c. 1400 to 1532 CE). Near Lake Titicaca, the principal archaeological ruins are those of Tiahuanaco, located in Bolivia a few miles inland from the southern shore. This was an important political and religious center whose influence spread over large section of Bolivia and southern Peru. The Titicaca basin came again within the orbit of an imperial state during the fifteenth century, when the Inca nation extended political control from the capital of Cuzco, some 200 miles to the north. At this time the Inca nation affirmed a spiritual and historical connection with the earlier Tiahuanaco state, and the Inca ruler Tupac Yupanqui visited the islands of Titicaca and Koati on the lake and commissioned shrines there. Inca interest in the lake was expressed in religious art and architecture, the location of major shrines, and the incorporation of ancient myths concerning the lake into their own mythology. By these means the lake's ancient significance continued to remain part of an imperial sacred geography.

In Andean religion the border between the notion of deities and the phenomena of nature was entirely open, with emphasis placed on direct communication with the elements of nature. The worship of *huacas* and major nature deities was a basic theme of Andean religion. A *huaca* was an object or phenomenon that was perceived to have unusual presence or power beyond the range of everyday life, where the sacred may have been manifested or where the memory of some past momentous event resided. It could be the locus of an oracle, a cave, or a curiously indented boulder where a people were thought to have emerged from the earth during the time of creation. This belief system was closely tied to the formation of sacred geographies and formed part of a cosmological religion with an array of gods associated with natural epiphanies.

The island of Titicaca, about seven miles long, serves as a good example of how a lake figured in Andean sacred geography. Adolph Bandelier's explorations and interpretive report of 1910 remain fundamental to an understanding of the island and its ruins. Toward the northern end of the island there is a construction, and it was across this isthmus that a precinct wall was built to separate sacred from proface space. Early Spanish accounts record that three gates were arranged in succession here and that confessions were required of all who sought to pass through. The religious and ritual focus of the site lay beyond the gates. The sacred feature was comprised of a great rock about 25 feet high and 190 feet long, with a broad plaza or assembly ground built in front. This was the chief *huaca* of the island, named in Aymara *titi* ("wild cat") *kaka* ("rock"), the latter word a substitution for *kala* ("stone"). The shrine rock was thus the source for the name of the lake itself. Also included within this sacred precinct were burial cysts with offerings and paraphernalia, storehouses, and residences for cult priests, officers, and aides. In this context it is important to mention the Pilco-Kayma building on Titicaca Island, which corresponds to another structure called Inyak-Uyu on Koati Island nearby. The design and siting of these two buildings reveal an important aspect of Andean religion. Both buildings stand near the eastern shores of their respective islands, and the principal apartments in each ruin, with the most elaborate entrances and prominent niches, open toward the majestic snow-capped peaks of Sorata and its neighbors across the lake on the Bolivian (eastern) side. These grand mountains even today continue to be worshiped by the people in their vicinity. Considered in relation to Lake Titacaca and the island of Titicaca with its huge rock *huaca,* the mountains complete the *imago mundi* of Altiplano peoples.

The Inca people paid homage to Titicaca Rock as the dominant and central feature associated with the lake. This is illustrated by Spanish written accounts of an annual pilgrimage made to the island across the straits from a shrine on nearby Copacabana Peninsula. In that festival, which centered around solar events, two principal idols were brought in reed boats from Copacabana: a statue of the sun father, Inti, and one of the moon mother, Mama Quilla. These two effigies were regarded as husband and wife, and they were transported with other idols dedicated to thunder and other natural forces. The sun was represented in the form of an Inca of gold embellished with much brilliant jewelry; the moon was represented as a queen of silver; and thunder was a man of silver, also very brilliant. Once landed, they were placed in splendid litters decorated with flowers, plumage, and plates of gold and silver, and they were carried to the sacred enclosure. The idols were set up in a plaza, almost certainly in front of the sacred rock. After having placed the idols, the attendant Inca priests and nobles prostrated themselves, first worshiping the effigy of the sun, then that of the moon, afterward that of the thunder, and then the others. The prostrations were concluded by blowing kisses to the images and to the *huaca* itself. Dances, banquets, and amusements were then held to close the festival.

Even today, Titicaca Island is known as the "island of the sun," while Koati is the "island of the moon." Yet it is clear that, although the cult of these celestial bodies was maintained upon the islands by the Inca, they remained subordinate to the primary cult of Titicaca Rock itself.

What then, was the meaning of the sacred rock, the dominant icon of the island? What was its relationship to the surrounding waters of the lake? The answers lie in mythology. Bandelier's compilation of myths recorded by the sixteenth-century Spanish chronicler Cieza de León include a text in which the Indians tell of an event that occurred before the Incas ruled in these lands. Long ago, they went without seeing the sun for a long time and suffered greatly, so they prayed to their gods, begging them for light. The sun then rose in great splendor from the island of Titicaca, within the great lake of the Collao (the ancient name of province), so that all were delighted. Then from the south there came a white man of large size who showed great authority and inspired veneration. This powerful man made heights out of level plains and flat plains out of great heights, and created springs in live rock. Recognizing in him such power, they called him Maker of All Created Things, Beginning Thereof, and Father of the Sun. They also said that he gave humans and animals their existence and that they derived from him great benefits. This being, called Ticciviracocha, was regarded as the supreme creator. Another myth, recorded by Juan de Betanzos before Ceiza, also connects two successive "creations" of the world by "Con Tici Viracocha" to Lake Titicaca (Bandelier, 1910, pp. 298–299). In yet another version, the sun and moon were said to have risen from Titicaca itself. In this mythological context, "wild cat rock" must be seen as a cosmogonic place of origin.

Rising from the windswept sheet of reflecting water, the island hills and promontories are removed from the sphere of ordinary life. On the ridges, marine fossil strata underscore the theme of aquatic emergence at this unusual site. The placement of the *huaca* and the relationship of buildings to the distant mountains are joined with ritual and mythic imagery in a powerful metaphor of humanity and land. The sense of place, of being "at the center," is also linked to notions of history, for the ancient myths and the architectural features of the Pilco-Kayma building (designed in an archaic style) reminded the Inca of Tiahuanaco and established a succession to that old imperial tradition. In this respect, the Inca shrine incorporated a sense of the past and signaled territorial possession. Woven into these levels of meaning was a still more fundamental theme. Most of all, the setting was designed to bring to mind the time and place of the beginnings. The sacred lake was the primordial natural icon, a reminder of *illud tempus.* Passive in the mythic imagery, the lake formed the fluid cosmogonic field from which all forms came forth in darkness. Upholding the island birthplace of the sun and moon, Lake Titicaca, as the home of Viracocha, who gave form to mountains, plains, and people, was the element from which the world itself was made.

LAKE TEXCOCO AND THE VALLEY OF MEXICO. Rimmed by mountains and snowcapped volcanoes, the Valley of Mexico is a spacious basin that formerly contained a system of shallow interconnected lakes. The central lake, known as Texcoco, was saline from evaporation, but the southern lakes of Chalco-Xochimilco were fed by abundant aquafers that issued from the base of the steep Ajusco Mountains. To the north, lakes Zumpango-Xaltocán depended more on seasonal rain, but there is evidence that in ancient times the surrounding hills and open fields were watered by abundant springs and streams. In a collective sense, the entire set of lakes may be referred to as Lake Texcoco.

By the first century CE, the city of Teotihuacan began to dominate the lesser settlements in the Texcoco lakeshore region. A powerful manufacturing, trading, and religious center of some one hundred thousand people, Teotihuacan became the center of a trade network that ramified to the most distant parts of Mesoamerica. With the violent eclipse of this metropolis in the seventh century, power was transferred to other capitals throughout the neighboring highlands. The old ascendancy of the Valley of Mexico was not restored until the fifteenth century with the rise of the Méxica-Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán and its allied neighbor, the city of Texcoco. Built on an island and reclaimed marshes near the western shore of Lake Texcoco, Tenochtitlán became the most feared and powerful city, the seat of the most powerful empire in Mesoamerican history.

An agricultural economy, supplemented by fishing and the gathering of natural products, remained fundamental to urban life throughout the long history of the valley, and the problem of maintaining fruitful relationships between humans and nature formed an underpinning of religious life. To express this relationship in symbolic form, monumental works of art and architecture were built as stage sets and memorials for seasonal rites as well as the important ceremonies of government and war. The ruined pyramids of Teotihuacan were the largest in Mesoamerica, and long after the city was destroyed they were visited in pilgrimage by the rulers of the later México-Aztec state. In the middle of the México-Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán, a new pyramid and attendant temples were built in a great quadrangular enclosure, with gates at the cardinal directions. The main pyramid, representing a symbolic mountain with dual shrines to the rain god, Tlaloc, and the México national ancestor hero, Huitzilopochtli, established the vertical *axis mundi* of the cosmological design. A similar but smaller ritual center was constructed in the allied city of Texcoco.

In addition to such urban monuments, other shrines and temples were scattered throughout the valley on mountaintops, in caves, by springs and rivers, and in the waters of the lake itself. These places were the shrines of nature deities whose cults were also represented in the temples of the city. These cults, in addition to those of conquered nations, were woven into the religious fabric of the city in an effort to form an embracing state religion. The many divinities were impersonated by ritual performers on festival occasions. The costumes often visually corresponded to the cult names themselves: For example, Chalchiuhtlicue, a female deity of water on the ground, that is, a lake, river, or spring, would appear with a green-painted skirt or a skirt sewn with pieces of jade. *Chalchiuhtlicue* means "jade skirt" in the Nahuatl language. Thus the costume was an ideogram, and the impersonator became a living, moving metaphor naming the element of nature that she represented.

An illustration of this custom is recorded by the sixteenth-century chronicler Alvarado Tezozomoc, who describes a ceremony that took place to inaugurate an aqueduct built from mainland springs to the island of Tenochtitlán. The emperor Ahuizotl instructed two high priests to be attired as Chalchiuhtlicue and go welcome the incoming water. As the water arrived, they sacrificed quail and burnt copal incense. After drinking, the chief priest spoke directly to the water: "Be very welcome, my lady, I come to receive you because you shall be coming to your home, to the middle of the reeds of Mexico-Tenochtitlan" (Alvarado Tezozomoc, 1975). The passage shows how a deity impersonator would also address the natural element whose symbolic form he represented. In this way of thought, the elements themselves were seen to have life-force and were considered inherently sacred. Lake Texcoco was spoken of as Tonanhueyatl, "our mother great water," a provider of moisture to agricultural fields who was teeming with edible algae, aquatic plants of various kinds, mosquito eggs (also edible), shrimp, a diversity of fish, as well as frogs, ducks, and other aquatic birds. As a sustainer of life, the lake was looked upon as the mother of Tenochtitlán.

Pilgrimages were made by the Aztec and their neighbors to sources of water at springs, streams, and lakes, as well as in hidden caves and ravines on cloudy mountaintops. At such places it was common practice to offer green stones and jewelry as well as sacrifices. A preoccupation with fertility was paramount among the reasons why water was so widely venerated. Nowhere was this more apparent than in an elaborate annual pilgrimage made by the ruler of Tenochtitlán and three allied rulers to shrines on the summit of Mount Tlaloc and in the middle of Lake Texcoco. The relationship between these two water shrines shows that no part of the natural setting could be considered in isolation, and that the imagery of sacred geography, based upon the ecological structure of the land, established fundamental integrating bonds between society and nature.

The bonds between humans and nature are evident with the sequence of rituals, beginning at Mount Tlaloc. The archaeological ruins of the Tlaloc temple are located below the summit of this mountain, close by a grassy vale where springs are still located. Here the ruins of a square courtyard enclosed by masonry are entered via a long narrow walkway that had a controlling function in ritual procedure. Within, there was a flat-roofed chamber housing the main Tlaloc effigy, around which were clustered a group of lesser idols. These were intended to represent the other mountains and cliffs surrounding Mount Tlaloc. Thus the arrangement was a microcosm of the land itself, the symbol of a geographical setting where rain and springs were seen to originate.

This shrine was visited in late April, at the height of the dry season, by the ruler of Tenochtitlán and the allied rulers of Texcoco, Tlacopán, and Xochimilco (the number four was a ritual requirement). The pilgrimage was the duty and privilege of royalty alone. The ceremonies opened with the sacrifice of a male child, followed by a hierarchical procession in which the kings approached the idol in order of rank (Tenochtitlán first). One by one, they proceeded to dress the idols with splendid headdresses, breechcloths, various mantles, jewelry, and so on, according to the status of each monarch.

The next phase again involved a procession in order of rank, as the rulers approached with food for a sumptuous repast. After the food was put before the images, a priest entered to sprinkle everything with blood from the sacrificed child. The blood offering at Mount Tlaloc had a contractual function. As chief ritualists of their respective nations, the rulers set in motion a vital principle that unified the rain and mountains with their people, circulating life and energy throughout the social and ecological orders. Correspondingly, the structure of political alliances was reinforced through sacramental rites.

While these events were taking place, another rite was unfolding in the main religious precinct of Tenochtitlán. A large tree was brought in and erected in the courtyard of the dominating pyramid, on the side of the Tlaloc shrine. This tree, called Tota ("father"), was surrounded by four smaller trees in a symbolic forest designed according to the center and the cardinal directions. A girl attired as Chalchiuhtlicue to represent the great lake and other springs and creeks was brought to sit within the forest. A long chant with drums was then begun around the seated figure, until news was finally received that the rulers had completed the Mount Tlaloc offerings and were now at the Texcocan lake-shore, ready to embark in their canoes. At this time, the Chalchiuhtlicue impersonator was placed in a canoe at Tenochtitlán, and the Tota tree was also taken up and bound upon a raft. Accompanied by music and chanting, a vast fleet of canoes filled with men, women, and children embarked with the symbolic figures to a sacred place within the lake called Pantitlan. This was the site of a great spring, an aquifer that welled up from the lake bottom with remarkable turbulence. At this site the two processions met and, as the rulers and population watched, the Tota tree was unbound and set up in the muddy lake bottom by the spring. The Chalchiuhtlicue child was then sacrificed and her blood was offered to the waters, along with as much jewelry as had been given on Mount Tlaloc. The theme of water as *fons et origo* was strikingly expressed, incorporating the renewal of vegetation and of life itself at the height of the dry season. The ceremonies were then concluded and everyone departed, leaving the Tota to stand along with others of previous years. Diego Durán (1971) remarks that the peasantry went on to the preparation of the fields, continuing to make offerings at local springs and rivulets.

The imagery of this long and remarkable sequence of ceremonies was directly based on the ecological structure of the highland basin. The relationship of mountains to rain, mountains to springs, and springs to the great lake was symbolically acknowledged in covenants and pleas for water, crops, and vegetation. This communal ceremony, in which the major rulers and lords of the valley participated, affirmed a topographic metaphor: *atl tepetl* (lit., "water-mountain"), which means "city" or "community." In the Nahuatl language, the habitat of humanity was defined in terms of landscape elements that made life possible. The structure of the ceremony and the metaphor it brought to mind represent a powerful integrating principle that was known and recognized by everyone. Rooted in what was seen and experienced in the land itself, the imagery of the Tlaloc-Chalchiuhtlicue rites represented a sense of order in the highland way of life and symbolically legitimized the governments with which it was identified.

CONCLUSION. In the Andes and Mexico, sacred lakes formed part of religious systems that grew out of landscapes. The patterns become evident upon considering the ethnohistoric texts, archaeological monuments, and new ethnological reports of religious practices in the context of topography. At the time of the Inca and México-Aztec empires, lakes were seen as sources of life where the generative, procreative qualities of water were especially concentrated. The properties of lakes were acknowledged in myths and metaphors, as in Andean cosmogonic stories and the *atl tepetl* theme of highland Mexico; in the powerful imagery of ritual; and in the design and disposition of monuments in the city and the country. These symbolic forms of representation celebrated the dynamic relationship of lakes and other features of the natural and human-fashioned environment.

These concerns were fundamentally bound with fertility and agriculture, but the imagery of lakes was also creatively employed by ruling elites in building imperial domains. Myths, rites, and monuments affirmed territorial claims, consolidated alliances, and validated the larger interests and policies of state organizations. Rooted in cosmogony and the seasonal cycle, the symbolism of lakes was inseparably interwoven with the imagery of history. In New World Indian religions, the order of the cosmos and the structure of the state were inseparably bound.

SEE ALSO Caves; Mountains; Water.

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LAKOTA RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS.

Lakota, meaning "friends or allies," are Plains Indian peoples. They represent the largest of three divisions within the political body known as the Titonwan, along with the Dakota and Nakota. The Lakota are also known as the Western Sioux, although the latter is a pejorative name meaning "snakes in the grass," applied to them by Algonquian-speaking neighbors to the east. *Lakota* also designates the language spoken by the seven bands of the Oceti Sakowin (seven council fires): Oglala, Sicangu, Mnicoujou, Itazipco, Oohenumpa, Sihasapa, and Hunkpapa. In the past, the Lakota occupied areas of what are now Montana, Wyoming, North and South Dakota, and Nebraska. As of the 2000 census, over 108,000 U.S. residents identify as Lakota, many living on or near reservations in South Dakota, North Dakota, and Minnesota.

Often represented in media and film as the typical Indians of the Plains, the Lakota have historically been a nomadic people who organize their lives and ceremonies around the movement of the sun and stars. They acquired the horse around 1700 and became a dominating force within the Missouri River Basin by virtue of their skills as mounted equestrians. In 1851, Lakota bands, along with other Plains tribes, signed a treaty with the federal government at Fort Laramie, Wyoming, creating an aboriginal territory that encompassed parts of Nebraska, Wyoming, North Dakota, and South Dakota. In 1868, they signed another treaty that established the entire western portion of modern-day South Dakota as a reservation for their "undisturbed and exclusive use."

Included in Lakota-held lands was He Sapa, the Black Hills. After the discovery of gold by Custer's forces in 1875, He Sapa was taken illegally for white settlement, something still contested and in litigation today, although in the early 1980s the U.S. Supreme Court established once and for all that the Lakota hold exclusive title to the Black Hills. He Sapa, sometimes known as Paha Sapa, is land considered sacred by the Lakota and other Plains tribes. It is known as *wamaka ognaka y cante* (the heart of everything that is).

During the westward movement by gold seekers and immigrants, the Lakota actively participated in the defense of their lands under such leaders and strategists as Red Cloud, Crazy Horse, Sitting Bull, Gall, American Horse, and Rain in the Face. The Lakota were notably present at the victory of Greasy Grass (the Little Bighorn) and the subsequent defeat of George Armstrong Custer and the Seventh Calvary on June 25, 1876.

By 1888, intense suffering, starvation, and death on the reservations prompted people to participate in the Ghost Dance movement in an effort to restore lost relatives and the traditional way of life. Allegedly for their participation in the movement, over three hundred disarmed Lakota men, women, and children of Chief Big Foot's band of Mnicoujou were massacred by the Seventh Calvary, Custer's reconstituted force, on December 29, 1890, at Wounded Knee, South Dakota. In 1986, Birgil Kills Straight and several other descendents of the Bigfoot Band survivors led the first Big Foot Memorial Horseback Ride, which led up to a spiritual ceremony called *istamniyanpi wasigla* "to wipe the tears" of the people for this sorrowful event. In December of 1990 the fifth and final ride took place, marking the hundred-year anniversary of the massacre.

RELIGIOUS SYSTEM. The notion of a religious system is more applicable to Western ideology and Christian missionaries' efforts to understand a spiritual philosophy different from their own than it is to the beliefs of the Lakota. For the Lakota, religion is not compartmentalized into a separate category. More appropriately, Lakota traditions can be characterized as a system of spirituality that is fully integrated into a rhythm of life that includes all aspects and patterns of the universe. At the center of this rhythm is Wakan Tanka or Tunkashila, sometimes translated as Grandfather and often as Great Spirit or Great Mystery, but better left untranslated. Cannupa Wakan (the sacred pipe) and the subsequent smoke carries messages from humans to *Wakan Tanka.* The system is based on respect and emphasizes that the virtues or values of bravery, fortitude, wisdom, and generosity be followed and perpetuated.

James R. Walker, a physician at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, between 1896 and 1914, was one of the most influential non-Indian revisers of Lakota spirituality. Ella Deloria expressed her skepticism in the 1930s about his work, and, more recently, his interpretations have been considered specious by William K. Powers. It has been hypothesized that George Sword, an Oglala Lakota, gave Walker an explanation of the Lakota system in Christian theological terms to make it understandable to him, and Walker misinterpreted and further changed some of Sword's descriptions based on his own Christian notions and ideology.

Some of Walker's work accurately reflects Lakota belief and information from Sword. His work describes a number of Lakota spirits who inhabited the earth prior to humans. Takuskanskan (that which moves-moves); Wi (Sun), who is married to Hanwi (Moon), with whom he has one daughter, Woȟpe (Falling Star); Old Man and Old Woman, whose daughter *Ite* (Double Face) is married to Tate (Wind), with whom she has four sons, Tate Topa (the Four Winds). An important spirit is *Iktomi* the trickster. Iktomi conspires with Old Man and Old Woman to increase their daughter's status by arranging an affair between the Sun and Ite. The discovery of the affair by the Sun's wife leads to punishments by Takuskanskan, who gives the Moon her own domain, and in the process separates her from the Sun. Old Man, Old Woman, and Ite are sent to earth, but Ite is separated from Tate, who, along with the Four Winds and a fifth wind establishes space as the universe known today. The daughter of the Sun and the Moon, Woȟpe, falls to earth and later resides with South Wind.

The emergence. Alone on the newly formed earth, Ite prevails upon Iktomi to find her people, Pte Oyate (the Buffalo People or Nation). In the form of a wolf, Iktomi travels beneath the earth and discovers a village of humans. Iktomi tells them about the wonders of the earth and convinces one man, *Tokahe* (the first), to accompany him to the surface. Tokahe does so and upon reaching the surface through the emergence place, located in Wind Cave in the Black Hills of South Dakota, marvels at the green grass and blue sky. Iktomi and Ite introduce Tokahe to buffalo and show him tipis, clothing, and hunting utensils. Tokahe returns to the village and appeals to six other men, and their families to travel with him to the earth's surface. When they arrive, they discover that Iktomi has deceived them. The weather has turned bad, and they find themselves starving. Unable to return to their home, but armed with a new knowledge about the world, they survive with the help of their relative the buffalo. The skull of this animal is a significant symbol that represents Lakol Wicoh'an (the traditional way of life).

The Seven Sacred Rites. According to contemporary Lakota oral historical accounts and discussions with elders, the following is a description of the Seven Sacred Rites of the Lakota and of how these rites came to the people. Many years ago, during a period of starvation, there appeared to the Lakota a beautiful woman who was met by two hunters. One hunter lusts for her, and is covered by a mist and reduced to bone. The other hunter, who possesses a good and pure heart, is instructed to return to camp and tell the chief and people that she, Ptehincalaskawin (White Buffalo Calf Woman), will appear to them the next day for she has something of importance to tell them. He obeys, and a great council tipi is constructed. Ptehincalaskawin presents to the people a bundle containing the sacred pipe and tells them that in time of need they should smoke and pray with the pipe for help. The smoke from the pipe will carry their prayers upward.

She then instructs them in the great Wicoh'an Wakan Sakowin (Seven Sacred Rites), the basis of Lakota spirituality, which have been recorded by Joseph Brown in the words of Nicholas Black Elk in *The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk's Account of the Seven Sacred Rites of the Oglala Sioux.* Ptehincalaskawin pledges to watch over the people and to return someday. Upon leaving, she walked a short way off and lay down in the grass. When she stood again she had turned into a white buffalo calf, and walked over the hill, out of sight. The Sacred Buffalo Calf Pipe remains among the people today.

First rite. The first of the Seven Sacred Rites (though they are not chronological) is Inikagapi or Inipi (to renew life). A sweat lodge is held in a dome-shaped structure made of saplings and covered with hide or tarps that symbolizes the shape of the universe and/or the womb of a pregnant woman. Heated stones are placed in a central hole in the lodge and water is poured over them by an *itancan* (leader) to create steam. The purpose of the ceremony is to pray for health and well-being, spiritually and physically. The lodge "utilizes all the Powers of the universe: earth, and the things which grow from the earth, water, fire, and air" (p. 31).

Second rite. The second rite is Hanbleceyapi (crying for a vision). The vision quest is undertaken by an individual with the help and guidance of a holy man. A person elects to go on a vision quest to pray, communicate with the spirits, and attempt to gain knowledge, strength, and understanding. The person pledges to stay on an isolated hill for one to four days with a blanket and a pipe, but without food or water. Upon returning, the vision may be discussed with the *wicasa wakan* (holy man). Often the meaning of the vision is not readily apparent and the individual may be told to wait for knowledge and understanding.

Third rite. The third rite is Wanagi Wicagluha (keeping of the spirit). Spirit keeping is a rite performed by a mourner for one year to grieve for a lost loved one. When a person dies the spirit can linger around the family and community. According to Black Elk, "this rite purifies the souls of our dead, and our love for one another is increased" (p. 10). A special place is set up for the spirit, who is fed every day. Members of the family and community can come and visit, eat, and sit with the spirit and family. After one year the spirit is ceremonially released and the mourning period is formally ended. It is usual among the Lakota for the mourning family to refrain from attending or participating in secular activities, gatherings, or events during this formal grieving period.

Fourth rite. The fourth rite is Wiwanyang Wacipi (sun dance). The Sun Dance is often considered the most important rite, and it is held during the summer when the moon is full. In times past a number of Plains bands of the Lakota would gather at a prearranged location for the annual meeting of the Oceti Sakowin; this was the occasion prior to Greasy Grass. It was during this annual gathering that the Sun Dance ceremony was held. During the ceremony, dancers pledge to make offerings of their flesh so that "much strength would be given to the nation" (p. 99) and to fulfill personal vows. The choice to participate is solely that of each individual. It is usually the result of receiving a sacred dream or is undertaken to seek assistance in healing a sick loved one. The sacred tree that is placed at the center of the dance area symbolizes Wakan Tanka, the center of the universe.

Fifth rite. The fifth rite is Hunkapi (making relatives). It establishes a "relationship on earth, which is a reflection of that real relationship" with Wakan Tanka (p. 101). It was usually performed to unite a younger person with a family, and it can be a way of solidifying relationships with other individuals as well as Wakan Tanka. This ceremony represents the formal adoption of people as relatives.

Sixth rite. The sixth rite is Isnati Awicalowanpi (puberty ceremony). The ceremony takes place after a girl's first menses, and prayers are said to ensure the girl will grow up to have all the virtues of a Lakota woman and understand the meaning of her new role, and to formally announce her eligibility as a potential wife and mother.

Seventh rite. The seventh rite is Tapa Wankayeyapi (throwing the ball), a game "which represents the course of a man's life" (p. 127). A young girl stands at the center and throws a ball upward and to the four corners as people vie to catch it. The person to catch the ball is considered more fortunate than the others, for the ball is symbolically equated with knowledge.

Essential beliefs. For the Lakota, the nature of the universe is a whole, and above, below, and around are all part of that whole. Life is seen as a series of recurrent travels, and each person has a purpose to fulfill, one that will support and benefit the community.

People live through four generations: childhood, adolescence, maturity, and old age. When a person dies, one of his four souls travels southward, along the Wanagi Tacanku (spirit path, identified with the Milky Way), where it meets with an old woman who examines its earthly virtues, directing the soul either to the spirit world, where there is an unending supply of buffalo and where people rejoin their kin, or back to earth where they are reborn and given another chance to live in harmony. Because of this the birth of children is a joyful event since they are closest to the spirit world and considered sacred. Twins are particularly auspicious and considered intellectually mature at birth. Many rites help develop the proper behavior of children through observation and listening.

The sacred is the domain of the *wicasa wakan* (holy men), who conduct all spiritual ceremonies. The most important symbol is the sacred pipe, whose smoke represents prayers offered to Wakan Tanka. In addition to its general interpretation as something like "great spirit," this single name refers to important beings and powers, half of which existed prior to the creation of the earth, and half as a result of it. Wakan Tanka, in the sacred language of the medicine men, underscores the belief that all sacred things come in fours. The root *wakan* (sacred) is a dynamic concept indicating the potentiality of anything to transform from the secular to sacred. Iktomi the trickster named all things, taught culture to humans, and remains on the earth to continually deceive them. The trickster is smart and works to fool humans for his own benefit. His is the power to deceive. Iktomi stories frequently are told with humor and serve as lessons for young children as well as adults since Iktomi often plays the fool. But he is capable of bringing real danger and destruction, as well.

Contemporary religion. All of the Seven Sacred Rites are still performed, with the exception of Tapa Wankayeyapi. In addition, a vital religious practice known as Yuwipi became popular in the twentieth century. It encompasses a number of cultural concepts related to traditional life and problems confronting contemporary Lakota peoples. This rite is performed in a darkened room under the supervision of a Yuwipi man or *wicasa wakan.* The object is to cure a person and at the same time to pray for the general welfare of all Indian people and for long life for the kinship group. Some Yuwipi men possess an exceptional ability that allows them to locate lost items or people.

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William K. Powers (1987)
James Garrett (2005)
Kathleen J. Martin (2005)

LAKSMĪ See GODDESS WORSHIP, *ARTICLE ON* THE HINDU GODDESS

LAMAISM See TIBETAN RELIGIONS

LAMOTTE, ÉTIENNE (1903–1983), Belgian specialist in Indian Buddhist doctrine and history. A Roman Catholic priest, Lamotte was a professor at the Catholic University of Louvain. His two most significant achievements in the field of Buddhist studies were his *Histoire du bouddhisme indien des origines à l'ère Śaka* (1958), the most elaborate work thus far on the history of early Buddhism, and his *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse* (1944–1980), an annotated translation of a large portion of the *Ta chih tu lun* (Skt., **Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*), which is an encyclopedic treatise on Mahāyāna Buddhism attributed to Nāgārjuna and translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva.

His ten years of collaborative work with Louis de La Vallée Poussin (1869–1938) were more decisive in the formation of Lamotte's thought than were his short periods of study in Rome (1926–1927) and Paris (1931–1932). If the monumental writings of these two masters of the French-language school of Buddhist philology are compared, one realizes a great complementarity in their achievements. La Vallée Poussin's glittering genius is swift and full of illuminating and often paradoxical insights into every part of his field of study. Lamotte's genius is reflected in the remarkable organization of the exegetical work that formed his voluminous books. Each element of his books—chapter, paragraph, footnote (often constituting a comprehensive monograph)—contributes to the brightness of the synthesis of a broad range of information by diffusing its own particular light.

Lamotte's exegetical work centered on doctrinally important texts, mostly of the *śāstra* (treatise) type preserved primarily in Tibetan or Chinese. At first attracted to the Yogācāra (Idealist) school, he produced a study (1935) on the *Saṃdhinirmocana Sūtra* and a commentary (1938–1939) on Asaṅga's *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* titled *La somme du grande véhicule d'Asaṅga* (*Mahāyānasaṃgraha*). His interest shifted to Vasubandhu's *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa* and to the seventeenth chapter of Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā*, a commentary to the *Madhyamakakārikā*s by Nāgārjuna. This last work initiated his choice of Mādhyamika texts for the remainder of his career. In addition to the already mentioned *Traité* (*Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*), he translated two related Mahāyāna sūtras: the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (1962; translated into English as *The Teaching of Vimalakīrti*, 1976) and the *Śūraṃgamasamādhi* (1965).

Lamotte's *Histoire du bouddhisme indien des origines à l'ère Śaka* is an epoch-making synthesis based on multilingual documents (including Greek and Chinese) and incorporating the latest developments in Indian epigraphy, archaeology, and linguistics. The first volume traces the development of Buddhism up to the emergence of the Maitreya cult. The second volume was never finished. Some parts of this projected second volume, however, have been published separately, including "Mañjuśrī," *T'oung pao* 48 (1960): 1–96, and "Vajrāpaṇi," in *Mélanges Demiéville*, vol. 1 (1966), pp. 156–168.

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Hubert Durt (1987 and 2005)

LANDVÆTTIR

LANDVÆTTIR in Old Norse means literally "land wights," the guardian spirits of an area. The *Landnámabók* (the Icelandic "book of settlements," extant in thirteenth-century redactions but based on still older traditions) tells of a tenth-century settler who struck a deal with one of the *landvættir* and thereafter became a wealthy man. The same text cites an ancient law warning that the dragon-head ornament on a ship's prow should be removed before land is sighted, so as to avoid frightening off the *landvættir*. The early-thirteenth-century *Egils saga* tells that Egill once erected a pole with a horse's head and uttered a magic formula intended to arouse the *landvættir* to drive off the land's king. The *Óláfs saga helga* (Saga of Olaf the Saint, in Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*), reports that Harald II once sent a man of magic powers on an out-of-body journey to Iceland; there the man saw that the mountains and mounds were full of *landvættir*, both large and small.

The emphasis on *landvættir* in Icelandic sources, particularly the *Landnámabók*, may have to do with Iceland's status as a newly discovered and settled land where, according to folk tradition, the supernatural "owners" of nature had previously ruled unhindered by humans. The *Landnámabók* tells also about a man killed by the *landvættir*. Insofar as Iceland was unknown and hence mysterious, its supernatural beings were threatening; but as people settled the land and made it theirs, these beings became increasingly friendly and potentially helpful. The distinction may be viewed in the modern Scandinavian descendants of the *landvættir: nisser* and *tomtar* live on and about farms and are helpful if treated with respect, whereas trolls and similar creatures live in uninhabited forests and mountains and are always dangerous.

Icelandic folklore tells of a "hallowing" of the island Drangey by the thirteenth-century bishop Guđmundr the Good, in which he drives off the *landvætttir*, here understood as evil spirits and trolls; he leaves a small portion of the island for them to inhabit. The *landvætttir* seem therefore to belong more to pre-Christian than to Christian Iceland. The term is not common in more recent folklore; when encountered, it seems to be a collective for supernatural nature beings.

Even so, belief in the *landvætttir* may have persisted even after the conversion to Christianity. This is indicated by a prohibition of such belief in medieval Norwegian law. Although one cannot truly speak of "worship" of the *landvættir*, ritual activity to ensure their cooperation and protection (such as leaving out food for them in uninhabited areas) persisted as part of this belief.

See Also Sagas.

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There is no comprehensive treatment of the *landvættir*, although the literature on similar beings in recent Scandinavian lore is extensive. The fullest treatment is in the chapter "Landvættir," in Ólafur Briem's *Heiđinn siđur á Íslandi* (Reykjavík, 1945), pp. 71–90.

John Lindow (1987 and 2005)

LANG, ANDREW

LANG, ANDREW (1844–1912), was a Scottish anthropologist and folklorist. Born in Selkirk, Scotland, Lang received his education at Saint Andrews, Glasgow, and Oxford universities. For seven years he was a fellow of Merton College, where he was regarded as a brilliant and promising classicist. After his marriage, he left Oxford, embarked upon a career as a literary journalist, and became widely known for his editions of fairy tales, his contributions to folklore and anthropology of religion, and his literary essays and reviews. Although Lang's range of interests and learning was considerable, his scholarly work was devoted to topical intellectual issues, and he made no major contribution to the development of knowledge. He was an astute critic of the theories of others rather than an original thinker. He was among the founders of the British Folklore Society and near the end of his life was president of the Society for Psychical Research.

As a professional man of letters, Lang wrote prodigiously. He was the author of 120 books (including pamphlets) and was involved in more than 150 others either as editor or as contributor, and his periodical articles number in the thousands. At a time when the growing British and American intelligentsia were intensely interested in issues of science and scholarship, Lang's penetrating intellect and skillful writing made him a leading figure, especially in the newly developing fields of anthropology, folklore, and history of religions.

Lang is credited with demolishing the great Max Müller's philological approach to the study of myth and his popular theory that all myth was the result of a "disease of language." In *Modern Mythology* (1897) Lang used his extensive knowledge of comparative mythology to show that the themes in Indo-European mythology that Müller explained in terms of Indo-European philology, many of them concerning solar phenomena, were also present in myths from other parts of the world and could be accounted for by the more universal tendency to personify nature. Although Lang did not himself offer a new theory of myth, he regarded mythology as the key to the "actual condition of the human intellect" (*Myth, Ritual, and Religion,* 1887, vol. 1, p. 29), and he thought that myth had to be understood according to its own form of rationality. In this respect, Lang anticipated major developments in the contemporary study of myth in anthropology and history of religions.

In *Magic and Religion* (1901) Lang wrote a detailed criticism of the illustrious James G. Frazer's theory of magic and religion. He exposed the flaws in Frazer's evolutionary theory that magic preceded religion and that religion arose from the perceived failures of magic. Lang also took Frazer to task for explaining the divinity of Christ in terms of ritual king-killing and myths of dying-rising gods, and he produced a devastating criticism of Frazer's theory of ritual regicide and his comparative method in *The Golden Bough,* questions on which later scholarly opinion agreed.

Although Lang was a proponent of E. B. Tylor's evolutionary theory of animism, he rejected Tylor's view that the idea of God arose as a late development from the animistic notions of souls, ghosts, and spirits. He pointed out in *Myth, Ritual, and Religion* that the concept of a creator god who is moral, fatherly, omnipotent, and omniscient is found among the most culturally primitive peoples of the world. Hence, on the evolutionists' own grounds, the idea of God, having been found among the culturally simplest peoples, could not have arisen from ideas of ghosts and souls as a later development. Lang's criticism on this point was among the first of many that eventually led to the downfall of evolutionism in anthropology. Lang's own view was that the idea of the soul-ghost and the idea of God had totally different sources and that the idea of God may have preceded animism, though he recognized that the issue of priority could never be historically settled. Lang thought, however, that the idea of God may have been prior and that it may have been corrupted and degraded by later animistic ideas and pushed out of its originally central position. Although Lang's emphasis upon the presence of "high gods" among culturally primitive peoples was largely ignored in England, it was taken up by other scholars and made the subject of major investigation in anthropology (Wilhelm Schmidt, E. E. Evans-Pritchard) and history of religions (Nathan Söderblom, Raffaele Pettazzoni, Mircea Eliade).

In later life, Lang developed an interest in psychic phenomena—ghosts, telepathy, crystal gazing, fire walking, apparitions, spiritualism—and he wrote two books on the subject. Although he treated ghost stories as a form of folklore, he thought that the psychological experience that gave rise to them might have some foundation in reality and that it might have been the original source of religious belief. In this matter, however, Lang stood alone and somewhat in disgrace among his folklore colleagues. What Lang seems to have been groping for was a way of documenting and exploring the experience of what Rudolf Otto was later to call "the numinous," which Otto and subsequent phenomenologists of religion held to be both the ancient source and the continuing foundation of religious belief.

See Also Supreme Beings.

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LANGER, SUSANNE. Susanne Katherina Knauth Langer (1895–1985) was a German-American philosopher. She was born the second of five children in an affluent banking family. Educated at the Veltin School in Manhattan, Langer primarily spoke German as a child. Nurtured in a culturally rich environment, she developed an interest in aesthetic forms that would mark her philosophy. Educated at Radcliffe College, she tutored there (1927–1942) and held positions at the University of Delaware (1943), the Dalton School (1944–1945), New York University (1945–1946), Columbia University (1945–1950), Northwestern University (1951), Ohio State University (1951), the University of Washington (1952–1953), the New School (1950), the University of Michigan (1954), and Wesleyan University (1954). Her first permanent appointment was at Connecticut College for Women (1954–1962) in New London. In her later years (1962–1985), she lived alone in a farmhouse in Olde Lyme, Connecticut, and her research was funded by the Edward J. Kauffmann Foundation. By this time in her life, she had been honored with many degrees, the Radcliffe Founders Award, and election to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. She died at the age of eighty-nine, only three years after her final book appeared.

Although Langer was a philosopher, her later insights on symbols, myth, and aesthetic experience made her influential throughout all of the humanities. Langer's early writing demonstrates her interest in symbols and their relationship to human potential. Influenced by Alfred North Whitehead's earlier work on symbols, Langer's *Practice of Philosophy* (1930) considers the nature of revolutionary thinking, anticipating paradigm theories of science. *An Introduction to Symbolic Logic* (1937) argues that logic is a concept central to philosophy, not mere tautology, but part of meaning.

Langer's mature work begins with *Philosophy in a New Key: A Study in the Symbolism of Reason, Rite, and Art* (1942). Here she names the symbolic as the defining mark of humanity and develops a theory that originates symbolic action in feeling rather than logic. In doing so, she frees the binaries of mind and body, reason and impulse, autonomy and law. According to *Philosophy in a New Key*, from the flux of bodily sensation (the sense data), human minds constantly abstract the forms that affect them. Symbols are far more than communicative devices or descriptions of the empirical world; the brain endlessly makes them, as evidenced by dreams, religious experience, art, ritual, and even science. For Langer, symbols worked as both an end and an instrument, a human characteristic and compulsion. All of one's conceptions are only held through symbols. While the biological and social origin of the symbolic is inflected differently in myth, religion, art, or science, the human drive to symbolize characterizes every form, and they are equally human acts of meaning-making.

An account of human emotion, *Feeling and Form: A Theory of Art* (1953) extends the symbolic into forms that are less linguistic, and it offers a fuller account of expression and reception. Langer extends the earlier example of music to develop an aesthetic theory that includes the place of time, virtual space, magic, poesis, and traumatic forms. She argues that art is a symbolic form that through its dynamic structure expresses the forms of experience that language is unfit to convey. Language—limited by its discursive, sequential form—cannot express the emotional content as well as can presentational forms, such as music and painting. The creation of aesthetic forms, however, is not an emotional experience; it is an intellectual one of understanding and objectifying emotions.

Langer's philosophy is often connected to that of the German philosopher Ernst Cassirer. Although they were friends—she translated Cassirer's *Language and Myth* (1946)—too frequently their philosophical systems are collapsed and fruitful distinctions lost to the detriment of each. Unlike Cassirer, who values science over art, and reason and numbers over feeling and language, Langer offers a nonhierarchical model of symbolic forms, one based in biological evolution (*Mind,* 1967–1982), and she avoids a communicative model of language, instead conceiving language as forming and expressing concepts. Furthermore, Langer developed a full aesthetic theory and, through it, a more complex sense of symbolic reception and production.

Langer's own influence has been significant if underrecognized. Although women philosophers faced resistance in the mid-twentieth century, Langer's books were widely read. Her work remains vital to theology, rhetoric, and aesthetic philosophy, and references to her writings continue to appear in anthropology, psychology, education, and communications.

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ARABELLA LYON (2005)

LANGUAGE

This entry consists of the following articles:

SACRED LANGUAGE
BUDDHIST VIEWS OF LANGUAGE

LANGUAGE: SACRED LANGUAGE

Language, as a fundamental form of human expression, is a central element in every religious tradition and can be examined from a variety of perspectives. This article will not be concerned with the theological issue of how to assess the truth of religious statements; that is, rather than dealing with language's function of making propositions about a sacred reality, the focus will be on the kinds of sacral functions to which language has been put, such as consecration and prayer, and on the ways in which language itself has been regarded as a manifestation of the sacred.

The enormous advances made in the disciplines of linguistics and the philosophy of language over the last few decades have provided the scholar of religion with the means for more precise characterization of sacred language and its functions. Traditional terms used to describe the forms of sacred language—such as *prayer*, *praise*, and *magic spell*—though they stand for important thematic concerns, are too broad and imprecise by themselves to express adequately the rich variety of religious functions performed by language and the complexities involved in accomplishing those ends. The key to the modern understanding of language is to see it as an integrated system of components that are concerned with form and purpose, as well as with meaning. Spoken language manifests itself in the speech act, a type of purposeful human activity that can be analyzed in terms of its intended effect within a social context. A speech act involves (1) a language in which to embody a message, (2) a speaker to send the message, (3) a hearer to receive it, (4) a medium by which it is transmitted, and (5) a context to which it makes reference. Sacred language can be examined in terms of how it gives distinctive treatment, in turn, to each of these elements of a speech act situation. Then we will see how these components are combined to achieve the various goals of sacred speech acts.

Language as a Manifestation of the Sacred. Perhaps the most interesting examples of the intersection of religion and language are those cases in which language has been viewed not just as a means for referring to or communicating with the sacred realm but as an actual manifestation of a sacred power. Some of the most sophisticated understandings of language as a sacred power entail the belief that it was a fundamental force in the creation of the cosmos. Such ideas are widespread.

Language and creation. The Karadjeri of Australia, for example, say that it was only from the moment that the first two humans gave names to all the plants and animals, on the first day of creation, that those things really began to exist. The texts of ancient Sumer provide the first example of the commonly found Near Eastern doctrine of the creative power of the divine word. The major deities of the Sumerian pantheon first plan creation by thinking, then utter the command and pronounce the name, and the object comes into being. Well-known is the biblical version of this same theme, in which God brings order out of chaos by simply speaking ("Let there be light," *Gn.* 1:3) and by naming ("God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night," *Gn.* 1:5). Adam's giving of names to the plants and animals in the second chapter of *Genesis*, like the Australian example above, confirms mere physical existence with linguistic existence.

The religions of India, extending back into the earliest recorded forms of Hinduism in the Vedic period (c. 1000 BCE), contain the most developed speculations about the cosmic role of language. Several of the Vedic texts record the story of a primordial contest between speech and mind to see which is the most fundamental and essential force. While mind always wins, there is still the acknowledgement that speech is a basic cosmic force. One Vedic god, Prajāpati, who in the Brāhmaṇas (c. 800 BCE) figures most prominently as the god of creation, speaks the primal syllables *bhūr*, *bhuvaḥ*, *svar* to create the earth, atmosphere, and heaven. He is said to give order to the world through name and form (*nāmarūpa*), which are elsewhere called his manifest aspects. These two terms are key elements in much of later Hindu philosophy, standing for the two basic dimensions of reality. The single most important term from this earliest stratum of Indian thought on language is *vāc*. Meaning "speech," it has been personified as an independent deity, the goddess who is Prajāpati's wife and who is, in some places, given the role of the true active agent in creating or, more accurately, becoming the universe.

Among the Western religious traditions, a comparable idea has been expressed in the doctrine of the *logos*. It was developed in the ancient world through a combination of Platonic, Aristotelian, and Stoic ideas. *Logos* was viewed as the rational principle that pervaded and gave order to nature. It was a demiurge that mediated between the created cosmos and the transcendent god, in whose mind existed the eternal forms. This idea was taken over by Hellenistic Judaism (in the writings of Philo Judaeus, 30 BCE–50 CE), where *logos* was identified with the biblical "Word of God"; from there it came to influence Christianity, which around 150 CE began to refer to Jesus as the *Logos*. The Christian view of the *Logos* seems to stress its quality as language, word, and message, rather than as mere thought; and besides the world-ordering function, there is the idea that the *Logos* is a principle of salvation as well, delivering the message that shows the way to return to the condition of original cosmic purity. Such a conception of the double movement of creative language is found within the Indian Tantric system also.

The widely influential Tantric philosophy (which began to reach its classical articulation around 1000 CE) developed earlier strands of Indian speculation on language into a full-blown cosmogonic and soteriological system. The supreme deity of Hindu Tantrism, Śiva, is pure consciousness and thus silent. But in his first manifest form he unites with his consort, Vāc ("speech"), who is also termed Śiva's *śakti* ("power"), the female agency through which the process of creation will proceed. Creation begins with a subtle vibration that develops into the "mothers of the letters" of the Sanskrit alphabet, then into the words of speech, and finally into the referents of those words, namely, the concrete objects of the world. Certain monosyllabic vocables, called *bīja mantra*s (*mantra*s are syllables, words, or whole sentences that serve as both liturgical utterances and meditational devices), are regarded as the primordial forms of this linguistic evolution and, therefore, as sonic manifestations of basic cosmic powers: literally "seeds" of the fundamental constituents of the universe. For example, *yāṃ* is equivalent to wind, *rāṃ* to fire. Importantly, the Tantric adept who masters the use of *mantra*s is felt to know how to control the process of cosmic evolution, and to be able to reverse that process to take himself back to the condition of primordial unity and silence that constitutes the goal of Tantric practice.

A very similar conception of cosmic evolution as identical with linguistic evolution was developed in Qabbalah, the medieval tradition of Jewish mysticism. The main idea here was that God himself was totally transcendent, but flowing forth from him were a series of ten emanations of light (*sefirot*) that were his manifest and knowable aspects. However, parallel to the emanation doctrine existed the conception of creation as the unfolding of the divine language. Instead of realms of light, there issued forth a succession of divine names and letters, namely, the twenty-two consonants of the Hebrew alphabet. As in Indian Tantrism, such a belief led to a tradition of powerful word-magic; the initiate into the practices of Qabbalah was supposedly capable of repeating acts of cosmic creation through proper combination of the Hebrew letters.

Language as a sacred substance. A hallmark of the modern understanding of language is the realization that meaning rests on a conventional relationship between the signified and the signifier. The latter (e.g., a word) is comprised of both form (e.g., phonological and grammatical rules of proper formation) and substance (e.g., its sounds, if a spoken word). The meaning of a word, however, is not inherent in either its form or substance. In premodern attitudes toward language, such distinctions were not usually made. In particular, to regard some linguistic manifestation as sacred did not imply that it was exclusively, or even primarily, the meaning that was taken to be holy. More often it was the exact form or even the veritable substance in which it was expressed that was felt to be the locus of the sacrality. This is seen most clearly in the reluctance or refusal to allow translation of certain religious expressions into equivalent statements. Religious traditions have often held the position that synonymy does not preserve sacrality. After a brief look at some examples of language substance that are regarded as sacred, we will turn to some of the important ways in which language form has taken precedence over meaning in various religions.

The Dogon of Africa believe that the speech used by the priest during ritual action contains a life force, or *nyama*, that is conveyed by his breath and becomes mixed with the life force of the invoked gods and the sacrificial offerings that are to be redistributed for the benefit of all the people. The *nyama* is given to the priest by a snake deity who appears at night and licks his body, thereby conveying the moisture of the word—the same creative power used by God at the beginning of the world to fertilize the cosmic egg. The Chamula, a Maya community of Mexico, have a similar notion of the useful power inherent in the substance of sacred speech used in ritual, believing that this more formal and redundant language contains a "heat" that is consumed by the gods along with the other offered substances.

Sacred languages. It is well known that many religions have developed the idea that an entire language, usually other than the vernacular, is sacred. Such languages are then often reserved for liturgical or for other functions conveying sacred power, such as healing or magic. A sacred language usually begins as a vernacular through which a revelation is believed to have been received. This can lead to the belief that that language is particularly suited for revelation—that it is superior to other languages and thus inherently sacred. For example, Sanskrit, the language of the Vedas, the earliest sacred scriptures of Hinduism, means literally "perfected," or "refined" (*saṃskṛta*). In Islam, the Arabic wording of the Qurʾān is regarded as essential to its holiness; as is said in many passages of the book itself, "we have sent it down as an Arabic Qurʾān." This has sometimes led to the inference that translations of the Qurʾān are not themselves sacred scriptures, but more like mere commentaries. Such belief in the sacrality of what originally was a vernacular seem to be special cases of the widespread idea that one's people and culture are the best, superior to others by virtue of a special closeness to the gods. For example, the Chamula of Mexico say that the sun deity gave them the best of all the languages of mankind; thus they call it "true language."

Furthermore, the Chamula distinguish three different forms of their own language, the most important of which is "ancient words," those which were given to their ancestors during the first stages of world creation. These are the formal phrases used in ritual. This example well illustrates a general principle. Many traditional peoples, as well as high cultures, recite sacred doctrines and rituals in an archaic form of speech that is only barely comprehensible to contemporary speakers. But the language is regarded as sacred, not primarily because it is different from the vernacular, but because it contains the doctrines of revered figures from the past, such as gods, prophets, or ancestors. The desire to express the unchanging, eternal validity of some scripture or liturgy by not allowing any change over time in its language will necessarily result in the language becoming largely unintelligible to those without special training. Such is the case for many of the prayers (*norito*) that are spoken by the priests in Shintō shrines, having been preserved in their original classical Japanese of the tenth century CE. The further passage of time can yield a fully distinct, now "sacred," language, as the offspring vernaculars develop into independent forms. Such was the case for Sanskrit in relation to its vernacular offshoots, the Prakrits, as well as for Latin in relation to the Romance languages.

The most prominent place a sacred language will be found, aside from in the scriptures, is in the cult. Here the preservation of archaic forms of language is part of the general conservatism of liturgical practice. The inclusion in the Latin Mass of such ancient and foreign-sounding elements as the Hebrew and Aramaic formulas "Halleluja," "Amen," and "Maranatha" and the Greek prayer "Kyrie eleison" added an element of mystery and sense of connectedness to a religiously significant past, which even the Latin phraseology would eventually come to represent.

Whenever language has become mere form to the common person, having lost the ability to convey any message beyond its symbolic representation of a particular manifestation of sacrality, there will be a reaction by those who see a need for a scripture or liturgy that can once again speak and teach. Many religious movements have begun on this note, railing against frozen formalism and demanding—and usually producing—vernacular expressions of their religious feelings. Buddhism began in this manner, as did many *bhakti* movements in medieval India. The latter stressed vernacular compositions—devotional poetry—that often became the foundation for the flowering of literature in the regional language. In the West, Luther's insistence on hearing, understanding, and responding to the divine word led to the Protestant use of vernaculars and to the elevation of liturgical practices, such as the sermon, that stressed not just presentation of the scriptural forms but interpretation of the scriptural message.

Sets of sacred words. While not every religion develops the idea of an entire language as sacred, many—perhaps most—do regard some special subset of speech as an embodiment of the sacred. The mere uttering or hearing of words from this set, which usually takes the form of a collection of sacred scriptures, will be believed efficacious, whether or not the meaning is understood. This emphasis on formulaic, as opposed to spontaneous, language brings with it a stress on techniques of preservation and precise recitation of the given texts, rather than on methods for inspiration and creation of new expressions. The sacred words of scripture are a divine gift to man, which relieve him of the burden of inventing his own, merely human, response to the sacred.

Within the set of sacred scriptures, a single passage may stand out as the holiest of all, and therefore the most efficacious. Hinduism recognizes the mystic syllable *oṃ* as the essence of all the Vedas, and the hymn known as the Gāyatrī (*Ṛgveda* 3.62.10), has achieved a place of preeminence among all *mantra*s. The smallest unit of sacred language is the single word, and there have been many candidates for the one that should be regarded as the holiest. However, the most widely recognized sacred word is the name of a god. This stems from a common association of the name of someone with that person's soul. Utterance of the name was felt to give power over the being. So the name of God in various religions has alternately been taboo—to be avoided because likely to incite the awesome power of the deity—and a focal point of prayer, meditation, or magic. The Igbo of Africa try to avoid using the names of gods they consider particularly capricious, employing instead such circumlocutions as "The One Whose Name Is Not Spoken." On the other hand, for the Ṣūfīs, the mystics of Islam, the intense repetition of the divine name over and over again in the practice of *dhikr* is regarded as one of the most effective means of achieving the highest state of pure, undivided consciousness of God.

THE SPEAKER. Just as form may take precedence over content, so too the messenger may be a more important determinant of the sacrality of language than the message. Certainly the characteristics possessed by the speaker have often been regarded as significant factors contributing to, or detracting from, the sacral impact of the words uttered. The greatest impact comes when the speaker is regarded, in effect, as being a god. Very dramatic are those cases where a god is believed to talk directly and immediately through a person in the present. Here we have what has been called prophetic or charismatic speech, which stands in contrast to liturgical speech by representing a fresh and instantaneous infusion of sacrality. It may take such forms as speaking in tongues (glossolalia), or acting as a medium, oracle, or prophet.

For human speakers, in any case, their status will affect the sacrality attributed to their words; particular status may even be a necessary precondition for the use of sacred words. Priests, for example, may have exclusive rights to the use of liturgical utterances. In India, only the three upper classes were allowed to perform rites with Vedic *mantra*s. Certainly high status will enhance the effectiveness of one's speech. Thus the Dinka of Africa believe that their priests' words are more effective in invoking, praying, and cursing because they have within themselves the power of the deity Flesh, who manifests himself in their trembling while they speak.

At some point in their history, most religions have struggled with the problem of keeping their tradition of rites and prayers from becoming an empty formalism. One approach has been to insist that a certain quality of heart or mind accompany the recitation of the sacred formulas. This usually involves a greater attention to the meaning of the language and requires a different attitude on the part of the speaker than does mere exactness in the repetition of the forms. In Vedic India, where precise articulation of the *mantra*s became an essential ingredient of an effective ritual, there also developed the idea that the priest who had esoteric knowledge of the symbolic import of the ritual, and who silently rehearsed that knowledge during the performance, had the most effective ritual of all. In Indian Tantrism, the *mantra* became a meditational device that had to be uttered with the proper consciousness to be effective. The goal was to have the worshiper's consciousness blend with the thought-power represented by the *mantra.* A final example is the Jewish concept of *kavvanah.* In Talmudic writings, this was a state of mental concentration appropriate for prayer. But in the system of the Qabbalah, this became, during the recitation of a prayer, a form of single-minded meditation on the cosmic power to which the prayer was addressed. This gave one power over that cosmic element or allowed one's soul to ascend to that cosmic realm.

THE HEARER. There may be a great difference in perspective on the issue of the sacrality of language between the speaker and the hearer or audience. The characterization of a sacred language as unintelligible and valued only for its form, discussed above, would apply, then, only to the untutored audience, and not to the priestly speaker who had been taught that language. Often, however, even a priest will be ignorant of the meaning of the words he uses, as is the case today, for example, among many of the Hindu *brahmans* who use Sanskrit recitations in their rituals, or the Buddhist monks who chant the Pali scriptures.

In many applications of sacred language, the intended hearer is a god. However, unlike the addressee in ordinary conversational situations, the addressed gods seldom speak back. The pattern of use most typical for sacred language—as in ritual or prayer—is not dialogue, with responsive exchanges between a speaker and hearer who alternate roles, but monologue. Or, in a ritual, there may be multiple speakers, but seldom are they responding to or addressing one another; rather they are prompted by cues of form to utter what the text calls for next, in a pattern that could be called orchestrated.

THE MEDIUM. The spoken word uses the medium of sound for its transmission. This gives it qualities that make it quite distinct from the written word, conveyed through the medium of print. This article focuses on sacred language as spoken, leaving to others the discussion of sacred forms of written language.

Many scholars in the past few decades have come to understand and emphasize the numerous differences between oral cultures and literate cultures. One key difference is that preliterate peoples regard the speaking of an utterance as an act that manifests power; the word is viewed as an active force that is immediately involved in shaping the world. In contrast, the written word comes to stand for lifeless abstraction from the world.

The medium of sound has a number of flexible qualities that can be manipulated to express nuances of power and sacrality in ways that go beyond the meaning of the words. These range from variation in tone and speed to the use of sound patterns such as rhythm and rhyme. The simplest of these vocal but nonverbal (or paralinguistic) features is variation in loudness. In the high cult of Vedic India, for example, three major variations were used for the *mantras:* (1) aloud, for the priest who recited the hymns of praise; (2) muttered, for the priest who performed most of the physical handiwork; and (3) silent, for the priest who sat and watched for errors in the performance. The loud recitations of praise were further divided into high, medium, and low tones, with the louder portions also spoken at a faster pace. The instructions for the traditional (Tridentine) Mass of Catholicism also called for three different tones, from aloud to inaudible.

While heightened sacrality, as in a liturgical climax, is sometimes marked by the loudest dynamic, often it is just the opposite. Silent speech or pure silence have often been regarded as the highest forms of religious expression. Thus, many times in the history of the Mass, the Canon—the climactic hallowing and offering of the sacraments—has been recited inaudibly, or so softly that only those immediately around the celebrant can hear. In Indian Tantra an explicit doctrine developed according to which "prayer without sound is recommended as the most excellent of all." Among the Zuni of North America, a person's most prized prayers are said only "with the heart."

Other modifications of sound may be used to set off some speech as particularly sacred. For example, the Zuni have another category of nonordinary language, used primarily in ritual, that they say is "raised right up." In this form they give strong stress and high pitch to ordinarily weak and low syllables. The most refined way of giving form to the sounds of language is to craft them into poetry or song. Adherents of many religions have felt that these forms possessed more magical power than prose or are more fitting modes of expression for the very solemn. For example, the traditional distinction between low and high Mass is based primarily on the use in the latter of a sung or chanted liturgy. In the Vedic high cult, the more lavish and important rituals were marked by the addition of a sung portion taken from the *Sāmaveda.*

THE CONTEXT. Full understanding of any speech act requires knowledge of the context in which it occurs. Language regarded as sacred quite often has for its context a ritual setting. In that case, the intended effects of the speech acts are largely confined to the domain of the ritual. Some rituals do, of course, intend their effects to carry over into the nonritual environment as, for example, when the priest says "I now pronounce you man and wife." Sacred language may also find expression in settings other than ritual, in the case of spontaneous prayers or the occasional use of magic spells, for example.

The relationship between ritual language and its context is much different from that between ordinary language and its context. Since ritual language is, for the most part, the repetition of a fixed text, it precedes and, in effect, creates its context rather than reflecting and representing in speech a context regarded as prior and already defined. Therefore, much ritual language is directed toward defining the characteristics of the participants and the nature of the ritual situation. The rich symbolism of both object and action that marks off ritual behavior from ordinary behavior will add yet another distinctive trait to ritual language. Its message is often paralleled in the symbolic systems of those other media—the visual and tactile properties of the physical objects, the kinesthetic sensibilities of gesture and movement—which then serve to reinforce, enhance, or even complete the verbal meaning. For example, as the Dinka priest recites an invocation over the animal victim during a sacrifice, he accompanies each phrase with a thrust of his sacred spear to ensure that his words "hit the mark" and weaken the beast for the final physical act of killing. During the reciting of the Institution in the Mass, the priest breaks bread and offers the cup of wine to reenact the Last Supper and, thus, give parallel reinforcement to the words that make reference to the same event.

LANGUAGE IN SACRED FUNCTION. The several speech act components just surveyed, from language itself to the context in which it is spoken, combine to achieve the final product of the sacred utterance. There has been a wide variety of terms used to describe the possible intended effects (or, in linguistic terminology, illocutionary forces) of words used in the service of religious ends. However, it seems possible to reduce this multiplicity to two basic categories of purpose: (1) transforming some object or state of affairs and (2) worshiping spiritual beings. These categories correspond, in some measure, to the traditional views of sacred language as either magic spell, the self-effective word of power, or prayer, the petitionary communication with a god. That phrasing, however, overstates the dichotomy. It is all too customary to regard the formulas in one's own religion as prayers and those of another's as spells.

There is, in fact, an important trait held in common by both transforming and worshiping forms of language when they are employed in the context of ritual. As remarked earlier, most ritual language comes from a preexisting text and is repeated verbatim during the performance. It conveys little or no information to any of the ritual participants, since nothing new is being said. Therefore, it might be best to characterize the overall purpose of ritual language as creating and allowing participation in a valorized situation, rather than communicating information.

Language and transformation. It has already been noted above that there is a significant difference between sacred language uttered within the context of a ritual and that spoken outside of such a setting. A ritual is a self-contained and idealized situation in which the participants and objects momentarily take on changed identities in order to play out sacred roles. The words of the liturgy are the chief instruments by which these transformations take place.

The human participants. First of all, the human observants need to express their pious qualifications for undertaking the ritual. First-person indicative utterances are most frequently used to accomplish this task. In Christianity, for example, the proper identity of a repentant sinner and believer in the correct doctrine becomes manifest through the recitation of the Confession, "I confess to almighty God . . . that I have sinned," and the Creed, "I believe in one God . . ."

Some ritual traditions involve transforming the human into a divine being, in many cases by using language that states an identity between parts of their bodies. This is a common theme in Navajo healing rites. One prayer, for example, describes the deeds of two Holy People at the time of creation, and then continues: "With their feet I shall walk about; . . . with their torso I shall walk about." The priest in a Vedic ritual must also establish his partial identity with the gods, using such *mantra*s as, "I pick you [grass bundle] up with the arms of Indra."

The ritual objects. The transmundane character of the ritual objects is, in a parallel fashion, often conferred or made explicit by indicative phrases. Most of the implements at a Vedic sacrifice are addressed by the priest with second-person utterances, such as this one to a wooden sword: "You are the right arm of Indra." The words spoken over the sacraments of the Christian Eucharist ("This is my body") also typify utterances of this category, whose function could appropriately be labeled consecration.

The ritual goals. Once the ritual setting has been transformed into an assemblage of divine or cosmic personages and forces, the transforming language of the liturgy will be directed to the task of prompting those powers to bring about some desired end. At the simplest level, there are the wishes that the ritual will produce a positive result. These may be first-person optatives (the optative is the grammatical mood for expressing a wish) of a condition one desires for oneself, as in this *mantra* said by the patron of a Vedic sacrifice: "By the sacrifice to the gods for Agni may I be food-eating." The patron will utter a wish in the same form after each offering is poured onto the fire. A similar connection between ritual activity and desired end is expressed in the Catholic Mass by a third-person optative: "May the body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my soul for everlasting life." This is said by the priest when he takes communion himself. But when he offers the sacrament to others he turns the wish into a blessing: "May the body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve your soul for everlasting life." When one utters a wish that some negative condition may come about for another, it is a curse.

One may also direct the ritual objects to bring about a goal, as when the Vedic priest calls on the firmly fixed baking tile: "You are firm. Make the earth firm. Make life firm. Make the offspring firm." Or, finally, past-tense indicative utterances may be used simply to declare that the wished-for state of affairs has indeed come about. Navajo blessing prayers regularly conclude on such a note of verbal accomplishment.

There are some transformations that are supposed to carry over into, or take place in, nonritual settings. The marriage pronouncement is one such instance. These verbally accomplished acts that bring about a change in status were closely studied first by the philosopher J. L. Austin, who called them "performative utterances." Following his lead, some scholars have interpreted the magic spell as a simple case of a performative act that is felt to bring about a change in condition through the proper application of wholly conventional rules—just as turning two single people into a married couple requires only the recitation of the correct set of words under stipulated circumstances. Others, however, have pointed out that there is a difference between the conventional, socially recognized condition of being married and the brute, physical facts of illness or even death, which magic spells have regularly been employed to bring about. Thus when the priest at a Vedic sacrifice thrusts a wooden sword into the ground and says "O gods, he who hates me . . . his head I cut off with Indra's thunderbolt," words are being used to connect a ritual or magical action with a desired end that is more than just a conventional reality.

Language and worship. The most prominent sacred task to which language is put is the worship of the gods. The transformation of the ritual setting is usually an activity preparatory to the climactic offering of praise. The service of the gods demands a complex verbal etiquette. Interaction with the gods cannot be a matter of simple manipulation; instead, every act must be cushioned with words of explanation and concern. Furthermore, the intangible nature of the gods demands a linguistic means to make their presence take on a more concrete reality.

Most religious traditions have decided that worship of the gods must follow a particular form. The topics of the liturgy have a proper order. In Judaism there is the principle enunciated by the rabbis: "A man should always utter the praises of God before he offers his petitions." The opening lines of the official worship service dedicated to the Chinese earth god display a typical pattern: "She [the earth god] defends the nation and shelters the people. . . . Now during the mid-spring, we respectfully offer animals and sweet wine in this ordinary sacrifice. Deign to accept them." Indicative statements of the god's praiseworthy activity are followed by a first-person announcement of the act and objects of offering. Last comes the request to the god to accept the sacrifice. Most of the fundamental themes of worship will be found within the structure: invocation, praise, offering, and petition.

Invocation. Logically the first topic of any service of worship, securing the gods' presence at the rite—usually with second-person imperatives requesting them to come—will form an elaborate early portion of many liturgies. Hindu Tantric ritual, for example, uses an invocation to bring about the presence of the god in the concrete image that is the focus of worship: "O Lord who protects the world, graciously be present in this lingam [phallic image of Śiva] until the end of worship."

Praise. Essentially to *praise* means to pronounce publicly and thereby acknowledge recognition of a god's praiseworthy characteristics. If these involve deeds accomplished in the past that were of benefit, one expresses thanksgiving. There is always the hope, and probably expectation, that mentioning such deeds of benevolence will prompt the deity to act again on the celebrant's behalf. Certainly uttering praise is intended to make the god favorably disposed, or even to fill the god with renewed energy.

The simplest way to give linguistic expression to praise is to say "I praise," as in the Christian Gloria: "We praise thee, we bless thee, we adore thee, we glorify thee. . . ." Also typical are optative phrases, hoping that praise will become the universal response to the god. There is, for example, the Lesser Doxology: "Glory be to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." That is a common form for Hindu *mantra*s of praise as well. The most basic verbal expression of piety for followers of Śiva is the "root *mantra*" (*mūlamantra*), "Namo Śivāya," meaning "[Let there be] reverence to Śiva." This Sanskrit form was carried by Buddhism all the way to Japan, where the favorite way of showing devotion in the Pure Land sects became the constant repetition of "Namu Amida Butsu," meaning "[Let there be] reverence to Amida Buddha."

A further development of the theme of praise comes through indicative statements of a god's praiseworthy characteristics, either present-tense declarations of constant attributes or past-tense statements of a god's great deeds. Both help to give a vivid sense of the god's actual presence, especially when made in the intimate form of second-person direct address. The Jewish *berakhot* ("blessings") combine the two methods of praise just presented. They usually have the form "Blessed are You O Lord, who has done [or does] such-and-such." The phrase "Blessed are You O Lord" ("Barukh attah Adonai") is equivalent to the optative expression "Let there be reverence (or glory) to you."

Offering. The high point of many worship services is the act of offering some gift to the invoked and praised gods. Words are necessary accompaniments to the physical act to define it as an act of offering, motivated by the appropriate intention on the part of the worshiper. There must also be statements expressing the proper concern for the god's feelings. Again, the simplest way to establish an act as one of offering is to say "I offer." This is usually accompanied by an enumeration and description of the objects offered. Almost always there will be a request that the god accept the offerings. In the Mass one finds "Holy Father . . . accept this unblemished sacrificial offering." Hindu worship includes such phrasing as "What has been given with complete devotion, . . . do accept these out of compassion for me."

Petition. The logically final act of worship, petition is in many cases the motive force behind the entire service. There are religious traditions, however, that downplay this goal. The worship service (*pūjā*) of Hindu Tantra, for example, is intended primarily as a spiritual discipline to be valued in its own right, rather than for any boon that might be obtained by prayer to the worshiped deity. The liturgy of Islam also has little in the way of petition. However, in the standard weekday service of rabbinic Judaism, the central element, the Amidah, contains a set of twelve supplications, the *tefillot*, accompanied by praise. And in the traditional Mass, the most prominent single type of utterance is a second-person imperative addressed to God the Father—for example, "Deliver us from every evil" or "Grant us this day our daily bread." The term *prayer*, though often used in the widest sense to refer to almost any form of language used in dealing with the gods, might best be restricted to this function of petition.

SEE ALSO Alphabets; Calligraphy; Glossolalia; Incantation; Logos; Magic; Mantra; Names and Naming; Oracles; Prayer.

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Theoretical Studies

In order to appreciate the newer studies of sacred language that employ the insight of modern linguistics, it would be useful to consult the seminal work on speech acts by J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, 2d ed. (Cambridge, Mass.,

1975), or the sophisticated development of his ideas in John Searle's *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language* (London, 1969). One of the first and most successful attempts to clarify the category of prayer, using contemporary linguistic tools, is Antti Alhonsaari's *Prayer: An Analysis of Theological Terminology* (Helsinki, 1973). Some of the most insightful applications of speech act theory to religious language have come from anthropologists. Of particular significance is the work being done by Stanley J. Tambiah, particularly his article "The Magical Power of Words," *Man*, n. s. 3 (June 1968): 175–208, and chapter 12, "Liberation through Hearing," in *Buddhism and the Spirit Cults in North-East Thailand* (Cambridge, 1970). The former gives some important new discussion to the concept of the magic spell, and the latter proposes useful ways for understanding sacred languages and sacred scriptures. The relevance of much linguistic theory to the understanding of ritual language is summarized in Wade T. Wheelock's "The Problem of Ritual Language: From Information to Situation," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 50 (March 1982): 49–71. Groundbreaking work in examining the factors that make sacred language distinctive in its actual context of use, in both tribal societies and high cultures, has been done in the several fine studies in *Language in Religious Practice*, edited by William Samarin (Rowley, Mass., 1976).

Studies of Specific Traditions

Sam D. Gill's *Sacred Words: A Study of Navajo Religion and Prayer* (Westport, Conn., 1981) represents both an important theoretical study on methods for the thematic analysis of liturgical texts and a fine introduction to Navajo religious practices. The fascinating and complex theory of sacred language of the Dogon of West Africa is presented in Marcel Griaule's *Conversations with Ogotemmêli* (London, 1965). Pedro Laín Entralgo's *The Therapy of the Word in Classical Antiquity*, edited and translated by L. J. Rather and John M. Sharp (New Haven, 1970), gives a comprehensive discussion of the views on the power of charms and prayers in ancient Greece and Rome. The language theory of the Jewish mystical tradition is best presented in Gershom G. Scholem's *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism* (New York, 1965). The best discussion of the difficult philosophy of language of Indian Tantrism, as well as a useful overview of other Indian speculations on language, is André Padoux's *Recherches sur la symbolique et l'énergie de la parole dans certaines textes tantriques* (Paris, 1963).

WADE T. WHEELOCK (1987)

LANGUAGE: BUDDHIST VIEWS OF LANGUAGE

Any tradition that seeks mystical silence becomes intensely involved with the question of the role of language in religion. Silence presupposes speech; concern with the former reflects a concern with the latter. Even a brief survey of Buddhism would reveal a number of important strands within its tradition that depend heavily, or focus primarily, on some concept of sacred language.

DOCTRINAL BACKGROUND. Pre-Mahāyāna Buddhist literature tends to subsume all forms of discourse into the category of discursive thought. At this early stage there is already a tendency to identify language with "discursive or conceptual thought," and to identify the latter with erroneous knowledge. The Nikāyas and Āgamas suggest—certainly not as strongly as in Mahāyāna—the ineffable character of the Buddhist religious goal. The Buddha is beyond the "paths of speech" (*Suttanipāta* 1076), he cannot be conceived in visual or auditory images (*Theragāthā* 469).

Buddhist scholastics, on the other hand, downplay the nonconceptual. For them, liberating wisdom (*prajñā*) has discursive, as well as nondiscursive, dimensions. Still, their view of Buddhism unquestionably pictures the religion as a critique of conventional perceptions and descriptions of reality. The *dharma* theory of the Abhidharma can be interpreted as an attempt to establish a technical language of liberation—a set of concepts that will replace the misconceptions inherent in the ways of speaking about the world. These reflections find expression in the Abhidharmic concept of *prajñapti,* as developed in particular in the Sautrāntika school. *Prajñapti*, or "conventional designation," is the term used to explain the role and function of conventional language in contrast to the language of truth (*paramārtha*), which describes accurately the nature of reality as seen by the enlightened.

Prajñapti is also the key link between Abhidharmic thought and the philosophy of the Mādhyamika school. In the latter school human experience of reality is seen as being of two kinds: conventional views and the perception of ultimate reality. Language is an important aspect of the former, and as such it is perceived as a tool for the construction of a mock reality. Yet language also serves to express, or point at, the nonlinguistic sphere, that is, at the nature of things.

The Sautrāntika logicians also sought to attack what they perceived as reification of language in the philosophy of their Hindu rivals. The extremes to which these Buddhist philosophers went in trying to show the deceptive nature of language are particularly obvious in their theory of *apoha*—language as "exclusion." According to this theory, words do not correspond or refer to objects, for their meaning is the exclusion of whatever is not the object of reference. The word *cow,* for instance, means only "the absence of non-cow." Among Buddhist philosophers after the eighth century (e.g., Śāntirakṣita, Kamalaśīla, Ratnakīrti) several refinements and qualifications of this view became the standard theories of meaning. Application of these theories to the religious sphere, however, does not seem to have occurred to their formulators.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to imagine that doctrines of meaning and negation could remain unconnected to Buddhism as a religious practice—that is, as a type of apophatic mysticism. In the Sūtra literature the connection is established explicitly. For instance, the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* sees the world of speech as the world of delusion, which is identical with the world of the disturbed and illusory mind. Accordingly, the Buddha is said to have abided in "the silence of the sage." He never spoke a word. The *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*

Sūtra likewise, while asserting that everything is language, claims that only silence can express ultimate reality.

It is impossible, however, to remain in the realm of pure silence yet claim to practice a religion in a religious community. The Buddhist must therefore find a doctrinal bridge that will reach out beyond the sphere of mystical silence. Two doctrines are selected for this purpose by the scriptural and scholastic traditions: the doctrines of conventional truth (*saṃvṛti)* and "skillful means" (*upāya*). These are in part a theoretical recognition of the fact that Buddhism as a living religion is seldom a practice of literal silence. The silence of the Buddha is manifested in his speech; his words take the form that is understood by his listeners. Language is therefore not necessarily false. It is not misleading under all circumstances, because it can be used "skillfully" as a "means" (*upāya*). This is the ultimate statement on language made in texts such as the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* and the *Tathāgataguhya Sūtra.*

Religious Practice. Concern with the sacred word and acceptance of language as a practical tool play a much more significant role in Buddhist religious life than does the philosophical understanding of Buddhist silence, although they are never understood as contradicting the apophatic doctrine.

The importance of language and "the word" in the general history of religions in India is well attested (e.g., the Hindu *kirtan,* the pan-Indian *mantra,* and the school of Mīmāṃsā). What is characteristic of Buddhism is its concern with a critique of language. This concern is often found mixed, paradoxically, with a strong sense of the importance of the invariant word, the holy manifested in utterance, silence embodied in words. There are, however, many instances in which the sacred word is just that—its immutable character endowing it with power to protect and redeem.

Typology of the word. One can speak of a typology of the sacred word in Buddhism as ranging from the canon of scriptures, through the book, the sacred phrase, the (single) sacred word, the sacred syllable, and the sacred sound or letter. The following are a few major examples of the use of sacred words in Buddhism.

The vow. Perhaps the most important of these beliefs are the Mahāyāna doctrines of the *bodhisattva*'s solemn utterance of a vow (*praṇidhāna*), to follow the path of buddhahood, and the ritual formulation of the vow and the precepts (*saṃvara-grahaṇa*). The vow is a kind of "act of truth," in which the will of an extraordinarily virtuous human being cooperates with the power of truth inherent in any statement of fact.

The book. Even in the sober Theravāda there is a strong sense of the authority of scriptural pronouncement as the ipsissima verba of Gautama the Buddha. As such, the sacred text is sacred regardless of the devotee's capacity to understand the conceptual content of the text. Concrete manifestations in ritual of this Buddhist reverence for the sacred word—including the literal text and the material book—are also well attested in Mahāyāna traditions. For example, the "perfection of wisdom" (*prajñāpāramitā*) stands not only for the "highest experience" of absolute nonduality, but also represents the expression of this experience in words. The words themselves, and even the material "book" in which the words are preserved, embody the *prajñāpāramitā,* they are the *prajñāpāramitā.* Thus, scripture, as the "embodiment" of the Buddha as Dharma, becomes a living relic of the Buddha, so that every place where the text is made known becomes a sacred location, a reliquary, as it were (*Vajracchedikā* 12.15c; *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* 3.57). The preservation of the sacred word, therefore, is tantamount to the preservation of the Buddha's own being.

The ritual recitation of the scriptures as a source of merit is a common practice throughout Buddhist Asia. This practice can extend from the actual study and expounding of the Sūtra as doctrinal discourse to the cult of the collection of scriptures (cult of the Tripiṭaka), from the study of extensive collections of texts to the symbolic repetition of the text by copying it, or merely by turning a revolving bookcase containing the whole canon of scriptures or a praying wheel with copies of a short incantation. The enshrinement of texts—a common practice in Tibetan Buddhism—is not qualitatively different from the acceptance of a single fragment of text as an embodiment of the *Dharma.*

Incantation. The concept of words as summary or embodiment of the sacred has its most extreme manifestation in the symbolization of the *Dharma* in short segments of speech that are either fragments of natural expressions (the title of sūtras, the *Prajñāpāramitā in a Single Syllable*), or strings of phonemes with little or no signification in the natural language (*mantra, dhāraṇī*). These texts are also regarded as a condensation of the sacred power of the enlightened, and can be protective formulas as well as instruments of meditation. The latter function is reserved primarily, although not exclusively, for the *mantra.*

The use of sacred texts or fragments of sacred speech (e.g., *paritta* and *dhāraṇī*) as incantations to guard off evil or eliminate negative influences or as propitiatory formulas plays an important role in both popular and "great tradition" Buddhist practice. A mysterious Dhāraṇī Piṭaka seems to have formed part of the canon of the Dharmaguptaka Buddhists in Andhra (in Southeast India), and may have been the repository of many of these formulas, otherwise attested in inscriptions, in anthologies (e.g., Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya*), and as part of sūtras (e.g., the *dhāraṇī* sections of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka,* chap. 21, and *Laṅkāvatāra,* chap. 9). In the same way that the book comes to stand for the source of Buddhahood, the *dhāraṇī,* as epitome of the wisdom and power of the Dharma, can be conceived as a protective deity. The word becomes personified power in the mythology of figures, for example, the "Five Protective Deities" (*pañcarakṣā*).

Sectarian manifestations. The importance of these religious phenomena becomes even more obvious when one considers their central role in the development of some of the most successful sectarian traditions of Buddhist Asia. In all of the examples given below, a practice connected with the sacred word has become the characteristic doctrinal or practical axis of a distinct school.

Pure Land. Pure Land Buddhism, as a generalized religious ideal in India, epitomizes Buddhist doctrines of grace and the sacred word. The *bodhisattva* or the Buddha is the source of grace, the savior who can be reached by merely calling his name. The classical examples of this tradition are the chapters on the *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara in the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra.*

The practice of the recitation of the name of Buddha Amitābha, on the other hand, is usually not separated from the traditions of faith and meditation, as found, for instance in the *Sukhāvatīvyūha.* The mythology behind the practice reveals that it can be conceived as something more than faith in the magical power of words. Amitābha, in a former existence as the *bodhisattva* Dharmākara, pronounced a solemn vow, the power of which is such that it can produce the effect (the goals sought by the vow) by the sheer power of the truth of the words uttered. This vow and its effects are embodied, and can be evoked or reached by another sacred word—the name of Amitābha. The power is not in the name as such, but in the intention of the Buddha's former vows.

Nevertheless, a belief that the repetition of the names of Buddhas is intrinsically meritorious is amply attested. In China, the incantation of the name of Amitābha Buddha became an independent religious form. The most extreme example of the mechanical application of this practice is the custom of keeping accurate accounts of how many times one repeats the name of Amitābha. Whether one is attempting to visualize the Buddha or not is irrelevant; the merit accrues regardless of the state of mind or degree of spiritual advancement of the believer.

In the Pure Land traditions of Japan the repetition of the name of Amitābha (Jpn., Amida) is divorced from the doctrine of merit altogether. The invocation itself becomes the primary practice, the only access to Amida's saving grace. The simplicity of this practice (known as the Nembutsu) is such that many believers would even deny that it is a ritual of invocation. Rather, it is conceived as the simple enunciation of the formula "Namu Amida Butsu" (the Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese phrase "Namo O [or A]mituofo," itself an attempt to reproduce the Sanskrit sentence: "Namo ʾmitābhāya buddhāyā"). This short phrase is considered equivalent to the "true name" of the Buddha—that is to say, the essence of the Buddha as Buddha.

Nichirenshū. Related to this faith in the power of the name is the Buddhist trust in the power of particular sūtras. The most successful development of this belief is the Japanese sect founded by Nichiren (1222–1282). For him, the title *(daimoku)* of the *Lotus Sūtra* recited in the formula "Namu *Myōhō-renge-kyō*" becomes the powerful source of all spiritual and material well-being. Nichiren himself is said to have inscribed the phrase on a scroll. This inscription is considered the primary object of veneration in the sect. It is conceived—following Japanese esoteric tradition—as a *maṇḍala.*

Tantra. Perhaps the most obvious manifestation of concern with the sacred character of language within Buddhism is in the phenomena encompassed by the broad term Buddhist Tantra or Tantric Buddhism. In the Tantric tradition the sacred word is at the same time the embodiment of multiple dimensions of the holy. Tantric texts such as the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* develop homologies linking the Buddha's silence (the ineffable), his mind (the experience of meditation), his speech (the expression of his experience), and his power (apotropaic formulas).

The sacred formula (*mantra*) or syllable (*bīja*) serves both as a powerful tool of incantation and a vehicle for visualization. A sacred and esoteric language or code (*saṃdhā-bhāṣā, saṃdhyā-bhāṣā*) is developed to convey the meaning of ritual symbolism as the embodiment of religious experience. The latter use of sacred language is perhaps an interpretive device that tends to reduce the sacred word to the experience of meditation. The reduction takes place by means of homologies similar to the ones at the heart of the mystical tradition of the Brāhmaṇas and the early Upaniṣads. Thus, the *mantra* conveys meaning primarily as a code—a multivalued icon embodying a system of sacred identities.

Therefore, one can rightly speak of "the word as icon" in the Tantric tradition. In Tibet, for instance, the sacred word acquires a life of its own. The sacred *mantra* of the *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara, "Oṃ maṇi padme huṃ," is inscribed on building walls, on rooftops, and on stones in the road. It is inserted in praying wheels, where the mere mechanical turning of the inscribed syllables is supposed to invoke the presence of the *bodhisattva,* and allow the devotee to gain access to his grace or visualize his image.

The Japanese Kūkai (774–835), the founder of the esoteric tradition of Japanese Tantra, regarded all language as sacred, although he also adopted the philosophical critique of language. He regarded *mantras* as the primary form of the sacred (the "true word," *shingon*), but at the same time he considered that all words, even syllables and letters, stood ultimately for the silent meditation of Vairocana Buddha. Words, but above all Sanskrit sounds, were the embodiment of the highest reality.

Zen. Chan or Zen Buddhism also represents an important manifestation of both a concern with language and a predilection for the development of specialized sacred languages. The Zen tradition is avowedly the Buddhism of Vimalakirti's silence—a claim that is explicitly reinforced by the practice of silent meditation. However, the excesses of blank mental concentration have been criticized in the sect since its inception in the eighth century, and an important segment of the tradition also practices meditation on "words"—*kanna-zen.* The use of the *kōan* (Chin., *gongan*) or *mondō* as sacred text (even in ritual contexts) is well attested; the *kōan* collections became the sacred canon of the sect. Nevertheless, even as the tradition concedes the immutable character of the sacred utterance it emphasizes the critical function of the *kōan* as expression of the dialectic nature of the enlightenment experience. For the *kōan* is also regarded as the embodiment of the enlightenment experience of the great masters of the past and a test case for the aspirant to that experience—hence its name, "public (*kung*) case or precedent (*an*)."

The general category of "sacred language," however, does not exhaust or explain the specific meanings of the sacred word in Pure Land, Tantra, and Zen. Each one has a particular context. They represent only polarities in a wide range of possibilities within the Buddhist tradition. The three types of sacred word—*nembutsu, kōan,* and *mantra*—share a common element insofar as they represent forms of nonnatural linguistic expression, but the analogy ends there. On the one hand, the *mantra* and the *dhāraṇī* express or embody the enlightenment experience as the manifestation in sound of a nonlinguistic sphere. They usually convey sacred meaning with only a token or minimal regard for linguistic sense. The title of a sūtra or the name of a Buddha, on the other hand, are clearly exact names that correspond to well-formed names in the natural language. The Nembutsu may embody Amida's enlightenment and true nature, but only by way of the actual name found in the myth of Dharmākara. Last, the *kōan* also claims to contain the actual linguistic form of a sacred, yet natural utterance "attested" in the quasi-historical context of hagiography; unlike the title of a sūtra, however, it alludes explicitly to the mythic context, and unlike the calling on the name of a Buddha, it claims to preserve a segment of meaningful, albeit paradoxical discourse.

INTERPRETIVE FRAMEWORKS. Among the religious traditions, explicit discussion of the nature of language occurs mainly within the Tantra, which in Tibetan and late Indian Buddhism constitutes the practical branch of the eclectic philosophical schools. In conformity with its philosophical roots Tantrism falls back on two Mādhyamika principles that are no doubt the most important hermeneutic devices in Buddhist philosophy—the concept of "two truths" and the concept of "explicit" and "implicit" meanings (*nīta-* and *neya-artha*). As convention, language has a certain validity, but its claim to represent something more than convention or to depict reality are spurious. The experience of reality as such, or of things as they are "before language," is the experience of the highest goal, the ultimate meaning, or the most real object (*paramārtha*). Although this experience lies beyond all linguistic procedures or operations, beyond all conceptualization, it is accessible only through some form of linguistic index. Thus, linguistic convention, while merely conventional and relative, is necessary for liberation as well as for everyday practical activities.

Furthermore, the rejection of linguistic convention and conceptual thought is seldom unconditional or unqualified. In some Buddhist traditions the conventional world is not to be rejected because it is convention. The linguistic realm is deceptive and false only when it claims to be something more than a conventional construct. Therefore, certain forms of linguistic convention—everyday use of language and special sacred language tools or substitute linguistic conventions—are acceptable. This is especially clear in late Mādhyamika thought, where the realm of the conventional is further divided to distinguish a "true" conventional from a "false" conventional usage. For instance, the Indian philosopher Kamalaśīla (fl. eighth century) regards the logic of everyday transactions as true in a certain manner of speaking. It is in fact the only logic possible, and discourse about the absolute only serves to clear away metaphysical language games. Thus, even the ultimate reality of emptiness is subject to a critique that corrects its apparent isolation from the world. Conventional and religious discourse alike may be illusions, but so is talk about the silence of emptiness. This is the theoretical context in which religious practices such as Tantra see themselves as a means to a practical and effective resolution of the tension between absolute and relative, silence and speech, liberating knowledge (*prajñā*) and skillful application of liberating means (*upāya*).

SEE ALSO Amitābha; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Tantric Ritual Schools of Buddhism; Buddhist Books and Texts, article on Exegesis and Hermeneutics; Chan; Jingtu; Jōdo Shinshū; Jōdoshū; Kamalaśīla; Mantra; Mīmāṃsā; Nianfo; Nichirenshū; Oṃ; Prajñā; Śāntarakṣita; Sautrāntika; Shingonshū; Tantrism, overview article; Upāya; Zen.

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LAO RELIGION.

The Lao people inhabit both banks of the Middle Mekong, from Louang Phrabang in the north to Khong Island in the south. Properly speaking, they represent only half of the population in the country that bears their name; the number of Lao in neighboring Thailand is five times as great. A variety of influences have contributed to the religious contours of the Lao. Tai-speaking peoples from south of the Chinese empire introduced into the autochthonous Austroasiatic culture of the region a variety of myths and rites exhibiting Chinese influence. In the ensuing process of assimilation elements of both cultures were preserved. The dominant cultural vector, however, stems ultimately from the Indian subcontinent. When asked his or her religion, a Lao invariably will answer that he is a Buddhist, more specifically, a follower of the Theravāda ("doctrine of the elders") school. The center and symbol of the rural collectivity, indeed, of all action that is communal in Lao society, remains the *vat* (Pali, *vatthu*; Skt., *vāstu*) or Buddhist monastery. Within its precincts matters both sacred and secular—religious instruction, public meetings, community rituals, the election of a village chief—are conducted. Conversion to Buddhism remains the principal means of assimilation of minorities into the sphere of Lao culture.

Coextensive with Buddhism, and functionally integrated with it, is the so-called phī cult, or cult of local spirits. While belief in local spirits predates the introduction of Buddhism, it is important to recognize that it is impossible to extrapolate from contemporary practice the contours of Lao religion prior to the introduction of Buddhism. Nor is it consistent with the society's own understanding of its religious system to see the phī cult as formally or functionally distinct from Buddhism. Centuries of syncretization have forged an internally consistent religious ideology that has rationalized the mutual interdependence of both systems. The separate consideration of the two in the discussion that follows is merely a heuristic device, designed to illuminate the prevailing religious concerns of each.

The Phī Cult. The term *phī* is common to all Tai-speaking populations (one finds the term *fī* among certain non-Buddhist Tai in northern Vietnam) and typically designates an ensemble of various entities such as souls, ancestors, evil spirits, and celestial deities. The cult probably originated in pre-Buddhist Tai society, enriched by contact with Austroasiatics, the previous inhabitants of the region. The influence of the *phī* cult is seen in the concern to maintain the integrality of the person, as it is held that the departure of one (or several) souls provokes sickness and death. Here, it is the therapeutic aspect that dominates, Buddhism having appropriated the funerary rites. The performance of *sū khwan* ("calling back the souls") is mandated at times of risk: illness, before a voyage or examination, or at the passage to another stage of life. This "call" is accompanied by invocations and the recitation of votive formulas and is concluded by the tying of ligatures of cotton threads to the wrist, thus connecting the souls to the body.

The Lao have recourse equally to specialist healers (*mǭ*) and occasionally to female mediums (*nāng thiam*). The most powerful among the former is the *mǭ thēvadā*, or "master of divinities," a shaman who invokes the aid of his auxiliary spirits, the *phī thēvadā*. The *mǭ thēvadā* have a double competence, as shamans and as mediums, as demonstrated by the "sacrifice to the talisman protectors" (*liang khǭng haksā*). In this ceremony, master and disciples stage a séance of successive possessions by diverse deities, among them a class of spirits known as *khā*, said to include both Austroasiatic authochthones and Vessantara, the Buddha in his last rebirth prior to that in which he achieved enlightenment as Gautama. Richard Pottier (1973) has exposed this same double competence among the *nāng thiam* of the Louang Phrabang region, who undergo possession in public rites but act as shamans in the course of healing consultations. However, the *nāng thiam* function principally on the level of the collectivity, where they intervene in ceremonies honoring the guardian deity of the territory (*phī muang*) or of the individual village (*phī bān*).

The cult of the tutelary deity of the village is headed by a master of ritual known as a *caw cam*, a position that is gained through village elections. It is the role of the *caw cam* to announce to the *phī* all events affecting the life of the collectivity, notably events in which the *phī* is directly implicated. He addresses to the spirits the personal requests of the villagers; when these requests are granted it is his duty to officiate at the *kę̄ba*, or sacrifice of thanksgiving. His principal task, however, is to organize and execute the annual sacrifice to the tutelary deity, the *liang phī bān*, or "nourishing of the village spirit," in which all households participate.

Buddhist Influences. Buddhism and the *phī* cult are not simply juxtaposed in Lao popular religion; over the course of several centuries they have become syncretized. Those who compiled the royal annals have presented the introduction of Buddhism at the time of the Lao kingdom's foundation as a victory over the *phī* cult that had predominated. They recall the vigorous campaign carried against the *phī* by King Pothisarath, who passed an edict in 1527 prohibiting them and ordering the destruction of all sanctuaries consecrated to the *phī*. His successors showed more understanding toward the *phī*, and Buddhism had to accommodate itself to the persistence of the cult's hold on the population. Some concepts and practices were "civilized" by assuming an outwardly Hindu form—it is likely that this phenomenon predates the arrival of Hīnayāna Buddhism.

This syncretism shows up constantly in daily life and in grand public celebrations. For example, one utilizes Buddhist formulas for magical purposes and seeks without hesitation the knowledge of a monk before drawing a number in the lottery. It would never enter anyone's mind to reproach the *caw cam phī bān* for indulging in acts contrary to *tham* (Pali, *dhamma*; Skt., *dharma*), because one generally elects to this position a man known for his devotion to the Perfect One; in fact, before going to officiate at this altar of the tutelary deity, this ritual master first prays at the pagoda. We see within the very compound of the *vat* the presence of a replica in miniature of the altar of the tutelary deity: this altar, the *hǭ phī khun vat*, is dedicated to the spirit benefactor of the monastery, the monk who was its founder. The tutelary deity, in the majority of cases, is also the founder of the village, and it happens frequently that the master of the *phī bān* ritual is the same as that of the *phī khun vat*.

One of the great village feasts is the Bun Bang Fai ("rocket festival"). There is no need to overemphasize the sexual symbolism of the giant rockets that are shot against the sky just before the coming of the monsoon with its fecundating rains; moreover, the carnivalesque processions with their ribald songs and provocative exhibition of enormous wooden phalluses for the benefit of young maidens points more explicitly to the nature of the festival. That the Buddhist clergy sanctions and effectively participates in this festival is evidenced by the fact that the rockets are placed within the compound of the pagoda under the supervisions of the monks. It is also in the monastic compound that the dancing *nāng thiam* enter into trances and where rockets of invited neighboring pagodas are collected for the rites. In numerous villages the festival of Bun Bang Fai is connected with the feast of the tutelary deity. Fertility, bawdiness, the drinking of alcoholic beverages, entering into trances, gambling (with betting on the rockets)—all of these are against Buddhist law. However, in the eyes of the Lao farmer, the festival of the rockets commemorates the Visākhā Pūjā—the triple anniversary of the birth, the enlightenment, and the death of the Buddha.

The Buddhist notion that has most profoundly permeated Lao popular religion seems to be that of *bun* (Pali, *puñña*), "merit." One must acquire merit to enrich one's *kam* (Pali, *kamma*; Skt., *karman*), which permits the attainment of spiritual liberation in the cycles of transmigration. The Lao thinks very little of *niphān* (Pali, *nibbāna*; Skt., *nirvāṇa*), but remains concerned with a mundane counterpart of merit: prestige, wealth, power. It should be noted that the Lao layman preoccupies himself even less with the inverse notion, that of *bāp* (Pali, Skt., *pāpa*), "error." He is particularly concerned with the acquisition of merits, best obtained through gift giving. Moreover, the gift most laden with merit is that which has as its beneficiary the *pha sang* (Pali, *sangha*; Skt., *saṃgha*), the community of monks. Thus, one who has chosen monastic asceticism by his sacrifice enriches not only his own *kam* but offers to others the possibility of acquiring merit, even if only through the food alms that he must collect each day. To this daily source of *bun* must be added the massive enrichment procured through offerings of paraphernalia for the ordination of a monk or for the celebration of Buddhist feasts. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that at least once in his life every man must wear the saffron robe, a trial that constitutes a sort of initiation and preparation to adult life.

Another outwardly Buddhist component of Lao society that also serves non-Buddhist functions is the *vat*, or monastery. The monastery rises and grows with the collective it represents. After having cleared a section of the forest and forming a sufficiently autonomous hamlet, a group of farmers may decide to establish a hermitage (*vat pā*, "forest pagoda") for a monk. This small wooden house on stilts becomes the first *kutdī* (Skt., *kutī*; monks' quarters) and grows with the hamlet itself. Consequently, this growth brings an increase in voluntary manpower and thus the construction of a more sophisticated building, the *sālā*, a public hall. Once this grand square hall on short stilts has been completed, the collective is able to invite a greater number of monks and laity to the village's religious ceremonies. The *sālā* does not function solely as a religious center, however. It serves also as a forum for meetings where the local inhabitants convene to debate on matters concerning the entire collective, such as the election of village chief, common works to undertake, and feasts to celebrate. It also serves as a warehouse for materials needed for the realization of these projects, a shelter for hawkers and travelers, and as classroom for any occidental-type schools built in the rural area. When a village attains a degree of development and reputation such that it has at its disposal the means to pay hired labor (thanks to collections made during feasts or gifts offered by individuals), it undertakes the construction of a sanctuary (*sīm*; Pali, Skt., *sīmā*). We see, therefore, that the monastery is the center not only of the religious life of the rural collective but also, by virtue of its multifunctional role, of all activity that is communal in character.

The two currents of Buddhist and indigenous folk religious belief intermingle to form Lao religion, but their respective proportions vary with the epochs and regions. As the reigning power reinforces itself and develops the teaching of Buddhism, the *phī* cult's influence tends to diminish. Despite this, Lao farmers do not completely abandon this recourse to nature's forces, which guarantee them the resources necessary for the maintenance and renewal of life. Even when they concern the whole village, the *phī* ceremonies take place beyond the sight of strangers. On the other hand, the monastery bears witness to the adherence of its members to a universalistic religion. The individual finds therein refuge for the most important phases of his spiritual life. But the *vat* is not there to serve the spiritual activities of Buddhism only; it caters also to all aspects of collective life. By its openness, it bears testimony to a social space comprising the totality of peasant system of relations: state officials on inspection tours hold meetings there, monks whom it shelters come from a hierarchy paralleling that of state administrative divisions, and festivals held in the monastery take all forms, sacred or profane, of Lao culture.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Southeast Asia; Merit, article on Buddhist Concepts; Southeast Asian Religions, article on Mainland Cultures; Theravāda; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Buddhist Devotional Life in Southeast Asia.

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LAO-TZU SEE LAOZI

LAOZI, a quasi-historical figure who came to be revered as a supreme godhead in Chinese Daoist and popular religious traditions. His divinity is understood to be both transcendent and immanent. The *Dao de jing*, also known simply as the *Laozi*, is traditionally attributed to him. By mid-Han times (206 BCE–220 CE), this text and the *Zhuangzi* (c. fourth to third century BCE) were regarded as the cornerstones of early Daoist thought.

LAO DAN, THE TEACHER OF CONFUCIUS. There is no textual evidence that the *Dao de jing* itself existed prior to about 250 BCE, although various sayings in the text were in circulation somewhat earlier. It is thought that those who valued this literary heritage as an alternative to the teachings associated with Confucius began to attribute it only retrospectively to a Laozi. The source of inspiration for this hypothetical spokesman was a presumably historical figure known only as Lao Dan, "Old Dan." According to the *Li ji* (Book of rites; c. 100 BCE), Lao Dan's reputation as an expert on mourning rituals was well established. On four occasions, Confucius is reported to have responded to inquiries about ritual procedure by quoting Lao Dan. It was knowledge he had apparently gained firsthand, for Confucius recalls how he had once assisted Lao Dan in a burial service. Lao Dan, on the other hand, is quoted as addressing Confucius by his given name, Qiu, a liberty only those with considerable seniority would have taken. It is no mere coincidence that those at odds with the Confucian tradition should have found a spokesman in someone said to be a mentor of Confucius, for Lao Dan is in fact the only teacher of Confucius about whom there is any documentation.

Unlike the *Li ji*, texts outside the Confucian legacy drew on an oral tradition that emphasized the humiliation rather than the enlightenment of Confucius before his teachers. Chief among his detractors was none other than Lao Dan. The *Zhuangzi*, which is the earliest text to speak of Lao Dan and Laozi as one, appears to have taken the lead in presenting this version of the education of Confucius. There is one allusion to Confucius as a pupil of Lao Dan in the *neipian* ("inner chapters") of this text. The passage is particularly significant, for the inner chapters are the only portion ascribable to a Zhuangzi (c. 320 BCE), and the characterizations given here for both Lao Dan and Confucius differ substantially from those recorded in the *Li ji.* Lao Dan is no longer presented as a specialist in ritual protocol, nor is Confucius regarded as an exemplar of his teachings. Rather, Lao Dan here counsels a way of life that Confucius is thought too dull to master.

This difference between Confucius and Lao Dan is expanded upon in the *waipian* ("outer chapters") of the *Zhuangzi*, the product of heterogeneous authorship. Seven episodes supposedly document instances when Confucius sought advice from Lao Dan on various principles of the

Dao. In one of the passages, Lao Dan is identified for the first time as an archivist in retirement from the court of Zhou (c. 1046–221 BCE). On each encounter, Confucius is invariably made to look the fool, slow to grasp the subtleties of the Dao. Internal evidence suggests that some of these accounts were perhaps not composed until after the beginning of the Han dynasty. It may have been only a few decades earlier that this reputed superior of Confucius became associated with the *Dao de jing.* Although the text is never mentioned by title in the *Zhuangzi*, the outer chapters do draw occasionally on its sayings and twice ascribe them to Lao Dan. Both the *Han Feizi* (third century BCE) and *Huainanzi* (c. 130 BCE) are more specific, and attribute citations from a *Laozi* text to Lao Dan. By the first century BCE, the legend that Laozi was the author of the *Dao de jing* had entered the annals of Chinese history as accepted fact.

LI ER AND THE JOURNEY WEST. Sima Qian (145–86 BCE) is the first known to have attempted a biography of Laozi. His *Shi ji* (Records of the historian, c. 90 BCE) gives Laozi's full name as Li Er or Li Dan. The Li clan is identified as native to Hu district, modern Luyi near the eastern border of Henan province. In specifying the surname Li, Sima appears to have had no authority other than an imperial tutor named Li who traced his ancestry to Laozi. Only two episodes are recorded from the life of Laozi. One appears to have drawn on the legacy of both the *Li ji* and *Zhuangzi.* Confucius is said to have sought out Laozi explicitly for instruction on ritual *(li)*, a venture that left him befuddled as well as in awe of the archivist. The second episode centers on Laozi's disappearance. It is said that after living in the domains under Zhou rule for a considerable time, Laozi took his leave when he perceived the imminent downfall of the regime. Heading west, he left the central plains of China, but at the Hangu Pass he was detained by a gatekeeper named Yin Xi and asked to compose a text on the concepts of *dao* and *de.*

The text Laozi completed was reported to have contained altogether five thousand words filling two folios. That Sima Qian incorporates this legend on the origins of the *Dao de jing* into Laozi's biography suggests that the text was fairly well established by his time. The earliest extant versions of a *De jing* and a *Dao jing* were in fact found among silk manuscripts unearthed in 1973 at a Han tomb known as Mawangdui, located outside modern Changsha in Hunan province. One of the manuscripts appears to have been made sometime prior to 195 BCE and the other sometime between 180 and 168 BCE, both predating Sima's *Shi ji* by a century or so.

Apocryphal though the attribution to Laozi may be, the *Dao de jing* became a fundamental text not only for students of pre-Han thought but also for those who came to venerate Laozi as a divine being. Sima himself says no more about the history of the text or its following. He appears instead to have been genuinely puzzled as to the true identity of Laozi and what writings he may have left behind. His main conclusion seems to be that Laozi was a recluse who, according to popular traditions, may have had a life span of 160 to over 200 years. Such supernatural longevity Laozi presumably attained by an ascetic cultivation of the Dao. So although Sima does not ascribe a divine status to Laozi, he does retain in his account the suggestion of otherworldly characteristics. This motif and that of the journey west, with its apocalyptic implications of the fall of the Zhou, came to be two of the predominant features in the lore that developed around Laozi.

LAOZI AND YIN XI, MASTER AND DISCIPLE. Among the earliest texts to expand upon Sima's account is the *Liexian zhuan* (Lives of the immortals), ascribed to Liu Xiang (77–6 BCE). This work, the current redaction of which dates to no earlier than the second century CE, includes separate entries for Laozi and the gatekeeper Yin Xi. As the exemplary disciple of Laozi, Yin was also eventually revered as a Daoist patriarch. The *Liexian zhuan* makes special note of how master and disciple were each aware of the other's uniqueness. Not only did Yin Xi reportedly recognize Laozi as a *zhenren* ("true man"), but Laozi is also said to have seen in Yin the rare qualities that made him deserving of instruction.

The master-disciple relationship between them served as a model for generations. According to the hagiographic lore, Yin begged to accompany Laozi on his westward trek. This he could not do, he was told, until he had cultivated the Dao as his master had. Thus it seems that the supernatural qualities that had permitted Laozi to undertake his vast travels abroad were regarded as equally within the reach of his disciple. After an appropriate period of concentrated study, Yin had but to await his master's summons at the Qingyang marketplace in what came to be known as the Sichuan city of Chengdu. The Qingyang Gong (Palace of the Blue Lamb), newly restored in Chengdu, stands today in testimony to this ideal discipleship.

THE DIVINIZATION OF LAOZI. An equally important shrine in the history of the veneration of Laozi lies far to the northeast of Chengdu, at Luyi, his putative birthplace. It is at this site, the Taiqing Gong (Palace of Grand Clarity), that Emperor Huan (r. 147–167) of the Latter Han dynasty is known to have authorized sacrifices to Laozi in the years 165–166. Commemorating the imperial offerings is the *Inscription on Laozi* (*Laozi ming*), composed by a contemporary local magistrate named Bian Shao. While Bian honors Laozi as a native son of his district, he goes far beyond Sima's *Shi ji* to convey for the first time something about popular beliefs regarding his apotheosis. He describes Laozi as coeval with primordial chaos, from which he emerged prior to the evolution of the universe itself. After a series of cosmic metamorphoses, Laozi is said to have finally achieved an incarnate form and thus to have begun his descent as savior to the mortal realm. He then became, according to Bian, counselor to successive generations of the great sage-kings of China. It is clear from Bian's inscription that by the late Han, Laozi was viewed as a cosmic force capable of multiple reincarnations in the role of preceptor to the ruling elite. The messianic purpose of his descent became the single most important theme in Laozi's divinization, one that subsequently served all classes of Chinese society, from emperor to revolutionary.

LAOZI AS BUDDHA. At the time that Emperor Huan ordered sacrifices at Luyi, he also presided over an elaborate ritual at court held in honor of both Laozi and the Buddha. An academician named Xiang Kai was moved to comment on this service in a memorial that he submitted to the throne in 166. Xiang alludes in his address to a belief that Laozi transformed himself into the Buddha after having ventured west of his homeland. Thus did the legend of Laozi's disappearance at Hangu Pass lead to the claim that the Buddha was none other than Laozi, and that his journey was a mission to convert all mortals to the "way of the Dao." This is what came to be known as the *huahu* ("conversion of barbarians") theory. Initially, the proposal that Laozi was the Buddha seems to have reflected no more than an amalgamation of Daoist and Buddhist traditions in their formative stages. But as the Buddhist heritage became better articulated and more firmly established on Chinese soil, this notion served as a point of dispute.

By the early fourth century, debates between a prominent Buddhist monk named Bo Yuan (d. 304) and the polemicist Wang Fou appear to have inspired the first full treatise on Laozi as the Buddha. Following his defeat in these debates, Wang is said to have composed the *Laozi huahu jing* (Scripture on Laozi's conversion of the barbarians). Not surprisingly, those who sought to assert the preeminence of Laozi took every opportunity to enlarge upon the legacy of the *huahu* myth. Such efforts did not go unchallenged. Twice during the Tang dynasty *huahu* literature was proscribed by imperial command. The decrees were clearly issued at times when defenders of the Buddha's uniqueness held the upper hand at court. Their influence was felt even more strongly during the Mongol regime, when formal debates on the subject were conducted before the throne. The success of the Buddhist monks over the Daoist priests led, in 1281, to the burning of all Daoist texts deemed forgeries. Officially, only the *Dao de jing* itself was to be spared.

LAOZI AS A MESSIAH. The vision of Laozi as a messiah, moving freely between the celestial and mundane realms, inspired a large body of sacred literature. Just as the motives of the authors of these texts varied, so too did their conceptions of what was meant by a deified Laozi. One of the earliest and most enigmatic sources to take up the soteriological theme is the *Laozi bianhua jing* (Scripture on the transformations of Laozi). This text was among the manuscripts recovered by Sir Aurel Stein in 1907 at Dunhuang in Gansu province. Although fragmentary, the work can be identified as the tract of a popular sect in the Chengdu region, dating to the end of the second century CE.

The *Laozi bianhua jing* reflects some of the same beliefs articulated in the contemporary *Inscription* of Bian Shao. Laozi is seen as coeval with primordial chaos, circulating in advance of the creation of the universe. He is portrayed as the ultimate manifestation of spontaneity (*ziran*), the source of the Dao itself, and as the "sovereign lord" (*dijun*) of the spirit realm. Such is his transubstantiality that Laozi, according to this text, not only nourishes his own vital principle within the cosmos, but also emerges at various times as an imperial counselor. His series of corporeal transformations is enumerated from legendary times down to the year 155. The final passage appears to be a sermon of Laozi himself, addressed to the faithful masses awaiting his reappearance. He promises them relief from all their tribulations and at the same time vows to overthrow the Han. Precisely what politico-religious sect produced this text is not known, but it was unmistakably intended to set the scene for the reincarnation of Laozi in a charismatic figure who harbored dynastic aspirations. This messianic vision of Laozi's imminent physical transformation continued to inspire generations of rebel leaders, most notably those who also bore the surname Li.

IN THE NAME OF LAOZI. The documents available on the early Celestial Master tradition (Tianshi Dao), which originated in the same area of Sichuan province as the sect associated with the *Bianhua jing*, suggest a distinctly different view of Laozi. To the founder, Zhang Daoling (c. 142), and his successors, Laozi was known as Lord Lao the Most High (Taishang Laojun). Although Lord Lao was thought capable of manifesting himself at times of political unrest, the Celestial Masters apparently never entertained the possibility of his reincarnation. Rather than assume a worldly identity, Lord Lao was seen as a transmitter of sacred talismans and registers and, eventually, newly revealed scriptures. He thereby designated the Celestial Masters as his personal envoys and gave them alone responsibility for restoring order on earth.

As agents of their Lord Lao, the Celestial Masters themselves often assumed the role of imperial preceptor that Laozi was traditionally thought to have fulfilled for the sage-kings. Thus Zhang Lu (c. 190–220) and Kou Qianzhi (d. 448), for example, served the monarchs of the Wei and Northern Wei regimes, respectively. Crucial to their success as counselors to the throne was the emperor's perception of his own divine rank. It was advantageous, in other words, to identify the head of state as a deity incarnate, just as Kou proclaimed the emperor Taiwu (r. 424–452) to be the Taiping Zhenjun ("true lord of grand peace"). As the influence of the Celestial Masters declined, the Tang imperial lineage, surnamed Li, laid claim to being the direct descendants of Laozi. In support of this assertion, there seems to have been a renewed interest during the Tang in witnessing the epiphanies of Lord Lao.

LAOZI AS A FOCUS OF HISTORY. The histories of the faith that survive in the Daoist canon (*Daozang*) are remarkably uniform in that they are organized as chronicles of Laozi's unending transmigrations. An early example of this annalistic approach is found in the *Lidai chongdao ji* (A record of historical reverence for the Dao), compiled by the preeminent ritual specialist Du Guangting (850–933) in 884. The Tang portion of this chronicle is devoted primarily to a record of Laozi's providential manifestations, from the founding of the dynasty to the suppression of the Huang Chao rebellion (c. 878–884).

Later historians also sought to link the vitality of their age to the beneficence of Laozi. Jia Shanxiang (c. 1086), for example, paid special tribute to the favors Lord Lao granted during the early part of the Song dynasty. He wrote his lengthy treatise, the *Youlong zhuan* (Like unto a dragon), while stationed at the Palace of Grand Clarity in Luyi, the site to which Laozi reputedly made many return visits following his "historical" birth there. While Jia writes extensively about the mythical manifestations of Laozi, it is to his incarnation as Li Er that he devotes an unprecedented amount of detail, much of it parallel to the legends surrounding the Buddha. Just as Śākyamuni was, according to some traditions, born of his mother's right armpit, so was Laozi said to have emerged from his mother's left armpit. Laozi was also conceived to be equally precocious for, according to legend, he, too, took his first steps immediately after birth. The latter episode is among those given further elaboration in the *Hunyuan sheng ji* (A chronicle of the sage from the primordiality of chaos), compiled a century later. The compiler of this work, Xie Shouhao (1134–1212), extends the chronology of Laozi's manifestations down to the end of the Northern Song dynasty (960–1126) and offers a thoughtful commentary on many controversial points such as the *huahu* theory.

Of note in the writings of both Jia and Xie is the wide range of revealed literature associated with the successive rebirths of Laozi. Chronicles of this type also typically record the honorary titles bestowed upon Lord Lao by imperial decree, thus calling attention to the periods when state patronage was at its height. The title of Xie's work is in fact based on the epithet granted Laozi in 1014.

LAOZI EMBODIED. The feature of the hagiographic lore that came to serve as a primary focus of Daoist meditative practice is the process by which Laozi came to his earthly incarnation. An early account of his "historical" nativity appears in the late second-century *Laozi bianhua jing*. There it is said that by a metamorphosis of his spirit (*shen*), Laozi assumed the form of his mother and then within her womb, after a long gestation, he achieved carnal form. This concept of Laozi as his own mother is ultimately derived from the *Dao de jing*, where the Dao that bears a name is said to be the mother of all things. It is understood, in other words, that Laozi is the body of the Dao itself. The transformations he undergoes prior to his incarnation are thought to be analogous to the evolutionary stages of the universe. Laozi arises from primordial chaos as the Dao incarnate to become the mother of all things, the source of creation. The reenactment of this process of Laozi's birth is precisely what lies at the heart of the early manuals on meditative practices associated with "nourishing the vital principle" (*yangxing*). Just as Laozi, the embodiment of the Dao, is himself perceived to be a microcosm of the universe, so too does the Daoist adept view his own body as a vast kingdom. Within this internal landscape, the adept strives to transform his vital forces into the image of a newborn babe, a homunculus modeled after Laozi.

In the legacy of *neidan*, physiological alchemy, this creation has come to be referred to as the enchymoma, or inner macrobiogen. The generation of an enchymoma is achieved by a variety of psycho-physiological means, including respiratory exercises, visualization procedures, and controlled sexual practices. It is as if the adept strives to replicate within his body the elixir of immortality that alchemical reaction vessels were designed to produce. Consequently, to attain physiological rejuvenation through the enchymoma is to attain longevity and to become impervious to any external threats from demonic sources. Some manuals spell out even higher goals, including liberation from the bonds of mundane existence and promotion to the ranks of heavenly transcendents.

Such techniques of regeneration are also commonly applied by a Daoist priest in the liturgies, such as the Jiao ceremony, held on behalf of the living and dead he serves. By re-creating the "sovereign lord" embryo within, the priest promotes not only his own transcendent status but that of his entire parish as well. Thus does the embodiment of the cosmogonic image of Laozi lead to the salvation of all.

PATTERNS OF DEVOTION. The importance of the *Dao de jing* in various scriptural guides to the Daoist way of life cannot be overemphasized. In a preface to his analysis of the work, the thirty-ninth Celestial Master Zhang Sicheng (d. 1343) laments the fact that many who regarded themselves as disciples of Lord Lao had no understanding of his teachings. Many such commentaries to the *Dao de jing* were compiled upon imperial command, following the model of the emperor's personal exegesis. The opaque language of the text easily lent itself to countless reinterpretations and metaphorical applications.

As early as the Han dynasty, the *Dao de jing* was apparently recited not only for magico-religious purposes, but also as a guide to deportment. Additionally, a number of separate tracts appeared, offering advice to the adept on how to conduct one's life in accordance with the principles of the *Dao de jing*, namely, limited activity (*wuwei*), pure quiescence (*qingjing*), and noncontention (*buzheng*). According to hagiographic lore, it was not unusual for exemplars of these principles to find themselves bearing witness to an epiphany of Laozi, an experience that in turn frequently presaged their own spiritual transcendence. From at least the thirteenth century, Laozi was ritually evoked as the primary patriarch of the Quanzhen lineage on the putative date of his birth, the fifteenth day of the second lunar month. It was also customary, according to the Quanzhen tradition established by Wang Zhe (1112–1170), to call upon Lord Lao to preside over ritual commemorations of immortals sacred to the lineage. These ceremonies no doubt drew large crowds of clergy and laity alike.

To the individual lay believer, Laozi appears to have offered a wide range of solace. The texts of stone inscriptions preserved from the sixth to the thirteenth century attest to the various demands devotees put on their compassionate messiah. Two inscriptions dating to the Northern Qi (550–577), which mark the crafting of an image of Laozi, express the hope that the deceased will be granted ascent to the heavenly realm. By the Tang dynasty, many images and shrines to Laozi had been created as talismans to ensure the welfare of the emperor, reflecting thereby the close relation between church and state.

Large quantities of newly revealed scriptures written in the name of Taishang Laojun took equal account of both this-worldly and otherworldly concerns. These texts, especially popular during the Tang and Song, purport to be the Lord Lao's personal instructions on everything from the art of prolonging life to the quelling of all the malevolent forces thought to threaten humankind. As was the case with the *Dao de jing*, it was believed that the full efficacy of the new scriptures could only be realized after repeated recitation. To Laozi were also attributed very specific behavioral codes, designed to reinforce traditional Chinese values as well as to promote the goals of a utopian, socialist society. Laozi, in other words, was a source of inspiration for many special interests from all levels of society. During waves of spiritual innovation, many shrines to Lord Lao arose throughout the countryside, while others were restored or enlarged. Worshipers at these shrines were often rewarded by visions of their Lord, appearing in response to individual pleas for divine intervention. According to one inscription dated 1215, Lord Lao was expressly evoked by Daoist priests in an elaborate ritual to exorcise a victim of possessing spirits.

IMAGES OF LAOZI. In his *Baopuzi*, a compilation of southern Chinese religious beliefs and practices, Ge Hong (283–343) offers one of the earliest descriptions of Laozi's appearance. According to a passage in the *neipian* ("inner chapters"), one was to envision Lord Lao as a figure nine *chi* (about seven feet) tall, invested with cloudlike garments of five colors, a multitiered cap, and a sharp sword. Among the distinctive facial features he is reputed to have are a prominent nose, extended eyebrows, and long ears, a physiognomy typically signifying longevity. Ge Hong concludes that the ability to call forth this vision of Lord Lao gave one assurance of divine omniscience, as well as everlasting life.

Later resources propose a far more elaborate scheme of visualization. For example, nearly an entire chapter of a seventh-century anthology, the *Sandong zhunang* (A satchel of pearls from the three caverns) of Wang Xuanhe (fl. 682), is devoted to citations on the salient features of supramundane beings. Among the more notable passages is one from the *Huahu jing* that asserts that Laozi is endowed with seventy-two distinguishing attributes, an obvious parallel to the Buddha's thirty-two *lakṣaṇa.* The specification of these divine features varies according to the meditation guide quoted. One manual speaks of meditating on the nine transformations of Laozi, the last and most imposing of which bears all seventy-two attributes. In this ultimate vision, the cosmogonic body of Laozi is said to emerge as a radiant simulacrum of the heavens above and earth below.

A variation on this visualization technique is found in an anonymous account of the Lord Lao of the early eleventh century, the *Hunyuan huangdi sheng ji* (A chronicle of the sage and majestic sovereign from the primordiality of chaos). Two meditative techniques prescribed in this text invite comparison with the changing conceptualizations of the Buddha's *dharmakāya.* The initial procedure is based on a recall of each of the seventy-two attributes of Laozi's "ritual body," or *fashen*, which is the standard translation of the term *dharmakāya.* The focus of the second type of meditation is on the "true body" or *zhenshen* of Laozi, as he is perceived suspended in the cosmos, utterly tranquil, beyond all transmigrations. The *Hunyuan huangdi sheng ji* also discusses the settings in which the ever-radiant Lord Lao may be envisioned, for example, seated Buddha-fashion on a lotus throne or in command of a jade chariot harnessed to divine dragons. The vividness of these descriptions suggests that they may very well have served as guides to those who crafted images of Laozi or painted temple murals.

Later hagiographic accounts supplement the teachings on visualization with reports on the miraculous impressions of Lord Lao upon both natural and manmade landmarks. Although these visions commonly proved to be equally ephemeral, their memory was often reportedly preserved in works of art. Details on early icons are otherwise scarce, for even in the epigraphic records little more is specified than the choice of material to be worked, such as stone, jade, or clay. A Tang dynasty rendition of Laozi in stone, now housed in the Shanxi Provincial Museum of Taiyuan, is one of the few such images to survive. The right hand of this seated figure, dating to 719, holds a short-handled fan in the shape of a palm leaf. This type of fan became the defining feature of the Lord Lao as he is most commonly depicted in a grouping of the Celestial Worthies of the Three Clarities (Sanqing Tianzun). A remarkable representation of this trinity in wood is once more on view in the upper story of the rear pavilion at the Baiyun Guan (White Cloud Abbey) in Beijing, a Quanzhen shrine that is now home to the Chinese Daoist Association.

SEE ALSO Confucius; Daoism; Ge Hong; Jiao; Kou Qianzhi; Millenarianism, article on Chinese Millenarian Movements; Wang Zhe; Zhang Daoling; Zhang Lu.

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sation de Lao tseu, dans le taoïsme des Han (Paris, 1969) is an invaluable monograph based on a critical reading of the *Laozi ming* and the *Laozi bianhua jing.* For a comprehensive study of the *huahu* issue from the second to the sixth century, Erik Zürcher's *The Buddhist Conquest of China,* 2 vols. (1959; Leiden, 1972), remains unsurpassed. Outstanding documentation of the techniques for prolonging life with which Laozi became associated is available in Henri Maspero's *Le taoïsme et les religions chinoises* (Paris, 1971), translated by Frank A. Kierman, Jr., as *Taoism and Chinese Religion* (Amherst, Mass., 1981). Norman J. Girardot's *Myth and Meaning in Early Taoism* (Berkeley, 1983) examines the mythology of Laozi's transformations as it pertains to early cosmogonic theory. His analysis is based in large part on Seidel's work, taken together with Kristofer Schipper's "The Taoist Body," *History of Religions* 17 (1978): 355–386. Schipper offers a more detailed interpretation of Laozi's "cosmogonic body" in *Le corps taoïste* (Paris, 1982). Extensive documentation of the *neidan* tradition is found in Joseph Needham and Lu Gwei-Djen's *Science and Civilisation in China,* vol. 5, pt. 5 (Cambridge, 1983). For a survey of pertinent hagiographies, historical chronologies, and exegeses on the *Dao de jing,* see my *A Survey of Taoist Literature, Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries* (Berkeley, 1987).

JUDITH MAGEE BOLTZ (1987)

LAPP RELIGION SEE ARCTIC RELIGIONS; FINNO-UGRIC RELIGIONS; SAMI RELIGION

LARES. The ancient Roman name for the deified souls of the dead was *lases* (*Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae* 4), a term for which the only possible comparison is *Lasa,* the Etruscan name for a nymph. An old theory according to which the *lares* (singular, *lar*) were originally guardians of fields, roads, and other areas (Wissowa, 1912, pp. 166–174) is not convincing. A fragment of the *Proceedings of the Arval Brotherhood* (*Inscriptiones Latinae selectae* 9522) and a fourth- to third-century BCE dedication to the *lar Aeneas* indicate that the "mother of the *lares*" was a chthonic deity and that common ancestors were believed to be *lares.* Therefore the theory (Samter, 1901) that the *lares* were deified souls of ancestors is preferable.

The argument concerning whether *lares* originated outside the house (Wissowa) or inside (Samter) is probably a false problem, because the spirits of dead protected Romans everywhere. The ancient tradition is unanimous in maintaining that *lares* were deified souls (e.g. Festus 273; *Glossaria Latina* 2, 104); some authors suggest *lares* were the gods' *manes,* that is, the deified dead (Varro by Arnobius 3,41; Servius, *On Aeneis* 3,302); or they identify *lares* with the Greek *daimones* (Cicero, *Timaeus* 38; *Glossaria Latina* 2,121.17; 265.62); or with heroes (Dionyso of Halikarnassos 4,2,3–4; 14,3; Plutarch, *On the Fortune of Romans* 10; *Glossaria Latina* 2,121; 3, 290). Servius (*On Aeneis* 6,152) maintains that the *lares* cult can be traced back to an ancient custom of domestic burials. In fact, an Iron Age custom of burials in oak trunks is known, as are the cults of the *lares Querquetulani* (Varro, *De lingua Latina* 5,49) and the *virae Querquetulanae* (Festus 314), which were male and female spirits living in oak trees and oak bushes.

The Dionysian religion clearly exerted an influence upon the *lares* cult because both Dionysos and the *lares* were meant to connect and harmonize the world of life and the world of death. The *lares* were deified souls, and Greek deification was celebrated by a Dionysian triumphal parade from earth to Olympus, whereby the *lares* were conceived as drinking wine, wearing crowns, and sometimes accompanying satyrs.

Few myths related to the *lares* are known. King Servius Tullius was allegedly the son of the *lar* living in the hearth of royal palace, and because of that he founded the *lares* cult in the town and villages, which included the festivals of Compitalia and Paganalia (Dionyso of Halikarnassos 4,14; Pliny, *Historia naturalis* 36, 204). According to Ovid (*Fasti* 2, 583–616) the *lares praestites,* protectors of Rome, were sons of the nymph Lara, who was raped by Mercurius.

The public cult of the *lares* was democratic in character and was seen as an alternative to the ancestor cult of noble families. The standard image of the *lares,* dancing and pouring wine, had no personalized features, whereas the ancestor masks of the aristocracy were believed to represent the precise personality of the deceased. The only *lares* with identifiable personalities were associated with Aeneas (Guarducci, 1956–1958) and Hercules (Floriani Squarciapino, 1952), who were common heroes to all Romans. In addition, the sow and the thirty piglets of Lavinium, which appeared to Aeneas as a forecast of the thirty Latin towns, were believed to be *lares Grundiles* (Schilling, 1976). In the first century BCE a popular politician, Marius Gratidianus, merited a cult organized by the city's quarters. This cult was similar to that of the *lares* (Cicero, *On the Duties* 3, 80; Seneca, *Ira* 3, 12, 1; Pliny, *Historia naturalis* 33, 132; 34, 27). The cult of the emperor's genius was first organized by Augustus in 7 BCE together with the *lares* cult in every city quarter (Cassius Dio 55,8.1; Suetonius, *Augustus* 30–31; Ovid, *Fasti* 5,145 ff.; Niebling, 1956).

In the towns of central Italy the most important festival for the *lares publici* was the Compitalia, which was called Paganalia in the villages. The features of this festival survived late into the Christianized empire and constituted the core of paganism. The Compitalia occurred at the beginning of January near crossroads, where small altars or chapels stood. Every family hung wool dolls at the crossroad, and slaves hung balls (Festus, 273, Lindsay). People also offered cakes, garlic, and poppyheads, and a sow was sacrificed to the Mater Larum (*Inscriptiones Latinae selectae* 3615; Propertius 4,1,23). The festival's presidents were four *magistri vici,* authorities of the quarter or village, who often were also heads of craft guilds (Asconius, *On Cicero's Pisonianam* 7, Clark) and freedmen. The wall paintings of the Italic quarter at Delos show scenes of these plebeian meetings. The *magistri* can be seen wearing *toga praetexta* and accompanied by lictors and flute-players. The paintings also depict scenes of boxing matches and other games. Simple theatrical plays were presented during this festival (Nonius, 288, Lindsay; Propopertius 2,22,1; Suetonius, *Augustus* 43; Euantius, *On the Comedy* 5,2; *Grammatici Latini* 1, 488). Everyone, even the slaves, was permitted to drink a large amount of wine (Cato, *On Agriculture* 57; Persius 4, 25–26). The *lares* were conceived as young men who danced, drank wine, and participated in the games. The Compitalia and Paganalia had the features of the great winter festivals (Lanternari, 1976), which took place during the seasonal pause in work, when the souls of the dead came back among the community and were entertained with banquets, dances, and other rituals, and the normal hierarchical structure of the society was suspended.

The public *lares* were also protectors of roads (*lares viales:* e.g., Plautus, *The Merchant* 865; *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* VI, 2103; VIII, 9755; XII, 4320), of enterprises of the Roman fleet (*lares permarini*, whose temple was dedicated in 179 BCE: Livius 40, 52, 4; Macrobius 2, 10, 10), and of the army (*lares militares*: Martianus Capella 1, 46, 48; *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* III 3460; 3463; *Acta fratrum Arvalium* 86 Henzen). Two *lares praestites*, wearing dogs' coats over their heads and accompanied by dogs, were the protectors of Rome; their festival was celebrated on May 1 (Ovid, *Fasti* 5, 129–146; Plutarch, *Roman questions* 51 and the Republican denarius of L. Caesius).

In private cult the *lares* were the ancestors of families (cf. *lares Volusiani*: *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* 6, 10266–102667; *lares hostilii*: Festus, 90, Lindsay) and every Roman house had a *lararium*, a chapel where offerings were brought to the statues or paintings of the *lares* and the genius in form of a snake. The hearth was the most ancient seat of the *lar domesticus* or *lar familiaris* (e.g. Plautus, *Aulularia* 1–8; Ovid, *Fasti* 6, 306; Petronius 60). The *lares* were endowed with fecund might and were supposed to have made certain mythical girls pregnant, such as the slave who gave birth to Servius Tullius. In fact, the cult of the *lares domestici* was often entrusted to home slaves. The most important moments in the life of each Roman were marked by cultic acts in honor of the *lares*: birth, death, disease, and the liberation of slaves, as well as a young person's attainment of the legal age of adulthood, the rituals of which inherited features of initiatory rituals in which the *lares* played a major role. During the festival of Liber Pater, the Liberalia of March 17, fathers presented sons who had reached legal age as new citizens; the young man dedicated to the *lares* his *bulla* (hanging personal amulet) and was clothed with a toga (e.g., Persius 5, 31). A similar ritual for daughters corresponded to marriage, before which the bride dedicated her toys, a hair net, and the bandage that had been wrapped around her upper body to conceal her bosom. (Scholia to Horace, *Satyres* 1, 5, 65; Nonius, 863, Lindsay.) When the bride first went to her new husband's house, she dedicated coins to the *lar* of the hearth and to the *lares* of the crossroad (Nonius, 852, Lindsay), showing that she had arrived under the protection of these divine souls.

The souls of Roman ancestors had a "mother," the Mater Larum, who was a female divinity, or queen of dead, comparable to Ceres and the Greek Hekate. Her names Larunda, Lara, Larentia, and Acca (= mother) Larentia derive from the word *lar*, and the names Mania and Genita Mana derive from *manes*; she was also called Tacita and Muta; that is, "silent goddess." Acca Larentia, a famous personage in the myths of Roman origins, played a role as the mother of Roman ancestors. At first she was a girl with whom Hercules once flirted (e.g., Plutarch, *Romulus* 5; *Roman Questions* 35); later she was the wet-nurse of Romulus (e.g., Livy 1, 4, 7; Plutarch, *Romulus* 4). In addition, the first eleven Arvales, Romulus's brothers, were her sons (Gellius 7, 7, 8; Pliny, *Historia naturalis* 18, 6). During the Compitalia families displayed hideous images of the face of Mania in order to gain protection against bad ghosts; people also offered garlic and poppyheads, which stood for human heads. This ritual was introduced by Junius Brutus when he founded the Republic, and by means of the ritual sought to appease Mania, who had been offended by Tarquinius Superbus (Macrobius 1, 7, 34–35).

Mater Larum was honored during other festivals of the dead—she was seen as Tacita at the Feralia of February 21, and as Larenta/Larunda at the Larentalia of December 23. On that day the pontiffs and the *flamen Quirinalis* brought offerings to the burial site of Acca Larentia (Varro, *De lingua Latina* 6, 23; Gellius 7, 7, 7), the *sacellum Larundae* on the Roman Forum (Tacitus, *Annales* 12, 24; Varro, *De lingua Latina* 5, 74), where Romulus's nurse was buried and Hercules' beloved disappeared. In the archaic age this area was covered by the Velabrum marshes and was believed to be a gateway to the netherworld. On May 13 the Arval Brothers sacrificed two sheep to the Mater Larum (*Acta fratrum Arvalium* 145 Henzen) and during another ritual they prepared pots of cornmeal mush as her dinner (*Inscriptiones Latinae selectae* 9522). Similar pots were employed at the Greek Anthesteria, a Dionysiac festival celebrating the return of souls from the netherworld.

SEE ALSO Ancestors; Arval Brothers; Penates; Roman Religion, article on The Early Period.

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ATTILIO MASTROCINQUE (2005)

LAS CASAS, BARTOLOMÉ DE (1474–1566), was a Christian missionary. Las Casas was born in Seville, Spain. In 1502 he went to the island of Hispaniola (present-day Dominican Republic and Haiti), where he participated in the conquest of the Indians. As a reward he received lands and Indians under the *encomienda* system, a kind of indentured servanthood. He exercised the lay office of catechist, worked to evangelize the Indians, and was ordained a priest about 1512. His commitment to evangelization did not keep him from participating in the bloody conquest of Cuba, for which he received additional lands and Indians. However, in 1514, at forty years of age, he was converted to concern for the plight of the Indians while reading *Ecclesiasticus* (*Ben Sira*) 34:22. Four months later he preached his famous sermon in the Church of the Holy Spirit, denouncing the grave injustices being committed, and turned his Indians over to the governor of Cuba. Until his death at ninety-two, he was the tireless "Defender of the Indians," a title conferred on him in Madrid in 1516.

Las Casas returned to Spain four times, in attempts to save the Indians from the cruelties of the Spanish conquest and to find new methods to convert them to Christianity. In his efforts he became a court reformer in Spain (1515); the leader of the unsuccessful colony of peace in Curmaná, Venezuela (1520), which attempted to establish agricultural communities of Spanish and Indian workers; a Dominican monk and prior in Santo Domingo (1523); the unrelenting foe of the unjust wars of suppression in Nicaragua (1535); a defender of the Indians against ecclesiastics in Mexico (1532); a promoter and participant in the project to colonize and Christianize the natives of Guatemala by peaceable means (1537); a successful attorney for the Indians before Charles V, urging the adoption of the New Laws (1542), which, for example, negated the rights of the *encomienda* over Indian children; and the rejected bishop of Chiapas (1545). When he returned to Spain for the last time in 1547, it was as a legal adviser and theologian in defense of Indian rights.

In his prophetic crusade, alternately encouraged and denounced by creoles and clerics, Las Casas doggedly and dogmatically followed what he conceived to be his life's purpose. With a missionary conviction that his truth could not be negotiated, he proclaimed, "All peoples of the earth are men." He categorically denied the claims of Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda that "the Indians are inferior to the Spanish as are children to adults, women to men, and . . . almost as monkeys to humans." Rather, he lauded the cultural and artistic achievements of Indian cultures, which he considered equal to that of ancient Egypt. In some respects, he declared in his *Apologetic History,* Indians are superior to Spaniards.

Las Casas wrote in reaction to what he viewed as horrible inhumanities committed with hypocritical religious justification. Must people be converted by slavery and the sword? In his *Only Method of Attracting All People to the True Faith* (1537), he argued for means that persuade by exhortation and gentle attractions of the will. With furious verbal assaults and chilling realism, he recounted the relations of the Indians with their European conquerors in his *History of the Indies,* on which he worked from 1527 to 1566. Equally brutal in exposing the grave crimes against the Indian race, his *Very Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies* (1542) and eight more tracts for public dissemination (1552) raised storms of protest against Las Casas. But the prophet was unbending: His *Advice and Regulations for Confessors* (1545) advocated denial of the sacraments of the church to all who had Indians and did not "pay a just wage." In later years British royalists, New England colonists, French rationalists, and Latin American nationalists freely used his condemnation of the Spanish atrocities as propaganda for their own causes.

Crusader, traitor, prophet, paranoiac, servant of God, anarchist, visionary, pre-Marxist, egalitarian—these are but a few of the epithets hurled at his memory. The issues Las Casas raised are dangerously modern.

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SIDNEY H. ROOY (1987)

LATTER-DAY SAINTS SEE MORMONISM

LATVIAN RELIGION SEE BALTIC RELIGION

LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, LOUIS DE (1869–1938),

was a Belgian Indologist and specialist in Buddhist philosophy. Educated in Liège, Louvain, Paris, and Leiden, La Vallée Poussin became professor at the University of Ghent. He entered his field of research at a time when Buddhist studies were dominated by the study of the Pali canon and Sanskrit narrative literature with an emphasis either on psychological and ethical aspects or on mythology and social concerns. (A more doctrinal approach did exist, mostly in the French and Russian traditions.) La Vallée Poussin dedicated all the strength of his philological genius to this field and thus contributed to a reorientation of Buddhist studies toward the languages of northern Buddhism (Sanskrit and Tibetan) and toward Buddhist philosophy considered in its historical perspective. He produced two main types of studies: scholarly editions, and translations with exegeses. These correspond roughly to the two periods of his activity, that before and that after World War I.

During the first period, there was a need for accurately edited texts. It remains La Vallée Poussin's major contribution to Buddhist studies that he compiled several text editions, some published in Belgium, others in the classical series "Bibliotheca Indica," Calcutta, and others in the series "Bibliotheca Buddhica," Saint Petersburg. He began with some of the then-neglected Tantric texts, *Pañcakrama* (1896) and *Adikarmapradīpa* (1898), and continued with important Mādhyamika writings, among them Nāgārjuna's *Mādhyamikasūtras* (1903–1913) and Prajnākaramati's *Panjikā* commentary on the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* of Śāntideva (1901–1905). Other texts he edited included some fragments then newly discovered by Aurel Stein.

Besides this editorial oeuvre, La Vallée Poussin produced numerous translations, exegetical studies, and text analyses. He also wrote several essays (including some that were to appear in Christian publications) that show his preoccupation with and perpetual reassessment of what he called Buddhist dogmatics.

After World War I, La Vallée Poussin, who had in the meantime mastered the languages of the Chinese Buddhist translations, undertook the enormous enterprise of translating and critically annotating two *summae* of Buddhist scholastics: Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa,* the masterwork of the northern Hīnayāna *abhidharma* school, and Xuanzang's *Vijnaptimātratāsiddhi,* the best compendium of the tenets of the Yogācāra, or Idealist, current of the Mahāyāna. For his *Abhidharmakośa* (1923–1931), La Vallée Poussin had to master the huge Kashmirian *Mahāvibhāṣā,* which even today has not been translated into a Western language. With his *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi: La Siddhi de Xuanzang* (1928–1929) he took the lead in the study of Idealist Buddhism, a field in which Sylvain Lévi had laid the foundation and which Paul Demiéville and La Vallée Poussin's pupil Étienne Lamotte were to continue.

These exegetical exercises did not keep La Vallée Poussin from pursuing other areas of Buddhist thought. Paradoxically, La Vallée Poussin was both fascinated and reticent regarding the Mādhyamika; he was attracted by the critical stance of Mādhyamika thought, but this attraction was resisted by his strong personal convictions. His attitude is reflected in numerous publications on the meaning of *nirvāṇa* (annihilation or bliss?) and in his polemics with Theodore Stcherbatsky on the interpretation of *sūnyatā* (emptiness or relativity?). La Vallée Poussin submitted the ancient history of India to his Nagarjunian criticism in three volumes: *Indo-Européens et Indo-Iraniens* (1924), *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas* (1930), and *Dynasties et histoire de l'Inde* (1935).

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HUBERT DURT (1987)
Revised Bibliography

LAW, WILLIAM (1686–1761), was an English devotional writer. Born at King's Cliffe, Northamptonshire, William Law came from a family "of high respectability and of good means." He entered Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1705 to prepare for the Anglican ministry; he achieved the B.A. in 1708 and the M.A. in 1712, the same year in which he received a fellowship and ordination. He read widely from the classics, the church fathers, and the early mystics and devotional writers, and he studied science and philosophy as well. Law's refusal to take oaths of allegiance and abjuration upon the accession of George I deprived him of his fellowship and his right to serve as minister in the Church of England. He remained loyal to the state church, however, throughout his life. After an extended period as tutor to Edward Gibbon, father of the historian, Law took up permanent residence at his birthplace, King's Cliffe, where he served as spiritual adviser to many, engaged in acts of charity to the deprived of the community, and wrote the nine volumes that make up his major works.

Law's early writings include *Remarks upon the Fable of the Bees* (1723), a refutation of Bernard Mandeville's work; *The Unlawfulness of Stage Entertainment* (1726); *The Case of Reason or Natural Religion* (1731); and two better-known works, *Treatise upon Christian Perfection* (1726) and *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* (1729). These latter contribute significantly to a tradition of devotional prose literature that includes such writers as Augustine, Richard Baxter, Jeremy Taylor, John Donne, and Lancelot Andrewes. Law's devotional writing has as its controlling purpose the aiding of persons in their quest of the "godly life," and it reveals several distinguishing themes: preoccupation with the scriptures and Christ as the bases and models for perfection; self-denial as a necessary antidote to vainglory and passion; prayer and meditation; and ways and means for implementing Christian doctrine in practical affairs.

Among Law's later work were responses to various religious writers: *The Grounds and Reason for Christian Regeneration* (1739), *An Appeal to All Who Doubt the Truths of the Gospel* (1740), *An Answer to Dr. Trapp's Discourse* (1740), and *A Refutation of Dr. Warburton's Projected Defense of Christianity* (1757). More influential, however, were the mystical writings *The Spirit of Prayer* (1749), *The Spirit of Love* (1752), and *The Way to Divine Knowledge* (1752). These three works reveal the influence of Jakob Boehme, who professed visionary encounters with God. Many Christian critics have objected to the oversubjectivism and implicit universalism in Law's later writings, branding them as "mystical," a term often held as opprobrious by traditional religious thinkers. However, if one considers an intuitive approach to reality, awareness of unity in diversity, and a passion for a spiritual reality that underlies and unifies all things to be typical of mysticism, one realizes that this desire for union with God lies at the root of all religious devotion. In this light, Law's "mystical" works reflect his earlier theological beliefs and have a close kinship with his *Christian Perfection* and *A Serious Call.*

Many readers have paid tribute to Law's simple, clear, and vivid prose style, and scholars have pointed to his pronounced religious influence on such minds as Samuel Johnson, John Wesley, John Henry Newman, Charles Williams, and C. S. Lewis. His intellectual power, incisiveness, and piety wielded a marked influence both within and without organized church ranks. Law's major achievement lay in his significant contribution to the English tradition of devotional prose literature.

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Erwin P. Rudolph (1987)

LAW AND RELIGION

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
LAW AND RELIGION IN THE ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN WORLD
LAW AND RELIGION IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE
LAW AND RELIGION IN INDIGENOUS CULTURES
LAW AND RELIGION IN HINDUISM
LAW AND RELIGION IN BUDDHISM
LAW AND RELIGION IN CHINESE RELIGIONS
LAW, RELIGION, AND LITERATURE
LAW, RELIGION, AND CRITICAL THEORY
LAW, RELIGION, AND HUMAN RIGHTS
LAW, RELIGION, AND MORALITY
LAW, RELIGION, AND PUNISHMENT
LAW AND NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

LAW AND RELIGION: AN OVERVIEW

"Law" and "religion" denote vast, imperial realms that are, for the most part, each understood to be clearly bounded and independent. On closer inspection, these terms prove to be curiously amorphous and resistant to precise definition. Each is also, in present common usage, peculiarly the product of modernity. Linking the two terms, as in "law and religion," compounds these ambiguities. The ancient roots of these two terms, the definitional difficulties associated with employing them cross-culturally, and, above all, the problematic understanding of "modernity" they encode are only some of the challenges that complicate an analysis of their interconnection. The purpose of the present article is to begin this work of definition in a manner that introduces and synthesizes some of the key themes in the articles on law presented both in this section and elsewhere in the *Encyclopedia,* and to specify a range of historical and structural connections between law and religion that illuminate the possible meanings of each of these terms, and of their intersection. (In an article of this size and scope it is, of course, impossible to treat comprehensively the manifold religious and legal traditions of human history and their intersections. This section will focus primarily, although not exclusively, on the Anglo-American common-law tradition, reflecting the legal training of its authors. Other parallel and related stories centering on other legal traditions are presented in the articles that follow).

Introduction. There is a widespread tendency in modern, secular society to view law and religion as unrelated except insofar as they may, from time to time, come into conflict. According to a commonplace of post-Enlightenment thought, the "secularization thesis," societies as they modernize move progressively away from religious norms toward a complete regime of secular law that permits only such religion as does not inhibit its administration. From the standpoint of secular law, religion is regarded as largely irrelevant, or even as a source of sectarian partisanship, in contrast with the presumed universalism of law. The sole positive role allowed to religion is the subordinate one of reinforcing norms otherwise determined and enforced by the state. The evolutionary hypothesis that religion, as an irrational vestige of pre-modern or "primitive" culture, will gradually disappear, views the continuation and especially the resurgence of religion as a problem and challenge for secular law. For many inside and outside the academy, this view is the only one that continues to have relevance (and, with few exceptions, it is also the only one incorporated in the law school curriculum in the United States and most other modern, secular states). Consequently, it is crucial to note at the outset that this manner of conceiving the relation between law and religion is quite parochial and, in some respects, fundamentally flawed. Historically, there have been close connections, extending in some cases to an identity, between law and religion in many societies. Moreover, structural and historical connections between law and religion continue into modernity. These connections demonstrate that the concept of law as inherently secular is highly anachronistic and ought to be regarded with greater suspicion and criticism. (In other words, "law" as a category ought to be regarded by scholars of religion as problematic to the same extent as the category "religion.")

The contemporary separation between law and religion has been taken for granted both by those who endorse and by those who deplore this separation. Both the British legal historian Henry Maine (1822–1888) and the French sociologist Émile Durkheim (1857–1917), among others, argued for the convergence of law and religion in ancient or "primitive" society. (Arthur S. Diamond's [1897–1978] argument against Maine that law has always been to a greater or lesser extent autonomous from religion is a minority view.) Neither Maine nor Durkheim took a strong normative position as to the desirability of this separation. However, Maine's advocacy of gradualism in the evolution of law and Durkheim's association of primitive law with the strong social functioning of "collective representations"—the comparative weakness of which in modern society presented a problem for social cohesion—may suggest the potentially negative effects of this separation. More recently, the American law professor Harold Berman has consistently called into question the desirability of the present extreme separation of law from religion. This perspective—which we may call "religionist" in order to distinguish it from the "secularist" position to which it is opposed—shares with the latter the conviction that law today is, indeed, separate from religion. Both positions tend not to address definitional difficulties. The differences of opinion are largely as to when, how, and why this separation came about; as well as, of course, its desirability.

Although the roots of the secular legal autonomy of the modern state lie deep in medieval Europe, a decisive point of separation between law and religion within the Anglophone common-law tradition occurred in nineteenth-century legal theory. The English jurist Matthew Hale

(1609–1676) declared that Christianity is a part of the common law. William Blackstone (1723–1780), author of the influential *Commentaries on the Laws of England,* identified divine law and natural law among the sources of the common law. Against such views, the founding figures of legal positivism, which continues to be the reigning political theory of law, argued that law is necessarily separate from religion and morality. The English Utilitarian philosopher and legal reformer Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) argued that law ought to be embodied in a written code enacted by the legislature, to the exclusion of other sources, including religious ones. His follower John Austin (1790–1859) rejected Blackstone's argument that human laws that conflict with divine laws are not valid. Through their intellectual descendants, such as the Oxford legal philosopher Herbert Hart (1907–1992), Bentham's and Austin's views have largely won this debate within modern jurisprudence.

Recently, legal positivism has been the subject of sustained critique from several quarters. (Here we will focus on the problematic aspects of legal positivism from the point of view of religious studies. Other critiques of legal positivism have focused on expanding our understanding of law from other critical perspectives, including those of gender and post-colonial theory, and have focused on legal positivism's tendency to fixate on law as rules rather than as cases. These other critiques are, of course, also related to the problematic separation of law and religion.) Positivism's insistence on the separation of law from both religion and history has increasingly been seen to encourage the neglect and ignorance of these domains and of their importance for law. When one approaches law historically, however, it becomes apparent not only that law was not always so separate from religion, but also, and more surprisingly, that the modern separation of law from religion was in part the result of particular religious developments that either originated in or accelerated during the Protestant Reformation. Although these developments are further described below, some brief indications may be given here. The English critical legal historian Peter Goodrich argues that the common-law tradition in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries established itself through an "antirrhetic," a polemic against images that borrowed from religious iconoclasm. Law borrowed its foundational narrative from religion and located its authority in an increasingly written canon of reified tradition. From a longer-term perspective, French socio-legal theorist Marcel Gauchet has argued for the compatibility of secularism with certain tendencies in Judaism and Christianity. Increasingly, it appears that law is, for us moderns, "our religion" not merely in the sense of having inherited part of religion's role as an arbiter of values and guide to conduct, but also in the sense of being historically or genealogically related to older modes of religiosity. Following such demonstrations, it becomes increasingly difficult to maintain the secularization thesis, or the idea of a clean separation between law and religion, in its usual, overly simplified form. Yet if the secularization thesis, which is a founding narrative not only of modern law but of modernity itself, is no longer quite so believable, then there is greater reason to inquire into the relations between law and religion, and especially their historical connections, both as a means of better understanding the present, and as a potential guide to the future.

The present article initiates this inquiry, and makes a plea for further conversation between scholars of religion and scholars of law. In modern times, the separation between law and religion is paralleled by a separation between the two academic disciplines of legal studies and religious studies. These two fields, reflecting the strengths of secular legal positivism and religious antinomianism, have led mostly independent lives. On the one hand, despite the best efforts of legal anthropologists, scholars of law remain almost exclusively focused on Western, secular legal materials. In contrast, comparative religious historians have exhibited little interest in either law or the West. However, there is precedent for a deeper engagement between these two groups. Maine coined the term "comparative jurisprudence" on the model of comparative philology and comparative mythology, the predecessor of the history of religions. Citing this forgotten precedent, the present article attempts to initiate a conversation between legal studies and religious studies.

RELIGION AND SECULAR LAW: STRUCTURAL DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES. The historical convergences of law and religion are perhaps most obvious in what is sometimes called "religious law," a term used to refer to those parts of many religious traditions that prescribe and regulate norms of conduct, as encoded, for example, in such sources as the Ten Commandments (*Exodus* 20), the *sharī ʿah* and the Hindu *Laws of Manu,* and which include many aspects of conduct that are now within the purview of secular law. It was these traditional legal forms that inspired Maine's and Durkheim's theses regarding the "primitive" or traditional lack of separation between law and religion. Some legal theorists today contend that the category "religious law" makes sense only in such an evolutionary scheme defined by secularization. They argue that all legal regimes, whether religious or secular, are more usefully characterized by referring to the styles of reasoning and decision-making they employ. From this perspective, the argument goes, *qadi*-administered law, for example, might be better understood by seeing its resemblance to English common law than by classifying it with other "religious" laws, some of which may exhibit radically different legal characteristics. Although acknowledging such views, the present section explores the value of the term "religious law" for distinguishing key features of many legal systems prior to modernity.

In many pre-modern legal traditions, the connection between law and religion is underscored by the absence of a separate or secular term for "law." For example, in Hinduism the term *dharma* means not only "law" but also "religion" and "proper conduct," among other things. Torah and sharīʿa can refer both to operating community legal regimes and to the overall religious path or discipline of an individual or community. In this latter sense, law may be understood metaphorically as extending to the realm of conscience. Of course, even in many so-called traditional societies, whether ancient or modern, there are legal norms, processes, and institutions—particularly those associated with royal administration, taxation, and trade—that are relatively autonomous from religion, as narrowly construed, although generally not to the same extent as in the modern West.

In general, religious, or pre-modern, law exhibits certain differences from those forms of law that have become normative in modernity. If we follow the legal positivists and define law as a norm of general or even universal application promulgated by the state and enforced by its sanction (although some positivists place less emphasis on the role of sanctions in constituting law), then it is clear that many religious laws deviate from this standard in one or more respects. In some cases, they may lack universality. The Ten Commandments apply to an entire population and therefore are nearly universal. However, the Vinaya, the monastic code of the Buddhists, regulates the conduct of religious professionals only. Often, as in the *Laws of Manu,* provisions of general and group-specific (gender- or caste-based) application are announced within the same text.

Many religious laws also lack the element of an effective, state-enforced sanction. The Ten Commandments themselves prescribed no sanction for their violation; this was done for most of its provisions elsewhere in the Pentateuch. The presence of alternative or even contradictory norms can also vitiate the certainty of the sanction. Consider, for example, the provisions on vegetarianism in the *Laws of Manu.* There is a blanket provision on eating any meat. However, if one does eat meat, then only certain meats should be consumed under certain circumstances by certain persons. Finally, if one violates these provisions, penances or expiations are prescribed to restore purity. For modern theorists, this kind of flexibility in enforcement has counted against the status of religious law as "real" law. Conversely, the law of retribution ("an eye for an eye") in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., *Exodus* 21:23–24) has been interpreted, probably erroneously, as mandating an inflexible punishment. An even more noteworthy aspect of many religious laws is that they prescribe a sanction to be visited upon the offender in the afterlife or next life through the agency of the deity or the cosmos itself. In *Manu,* for example, many actions are punished or rewarded through the operation of *karma.* This is what Bentham termed the "religious sanction." Such punishments were either cumulative with or in place of punishments to be imposed by the state. From the standpoint of positive law, religious sanctions lack the certainty sufficient to create valid, binding legal norms.

Religious laws also differ from secular ones with respect to their sources of authority, processes of dispute resolution, and mechanisms of enforcement. The source of authority of religious law is often said to be the deity or the first ancestors. One of the hallmarks of law in modern democratic societies is that the authority to create law resides exclusively in a popularly elected legislature, subject in many cases to a more fundamental constitution also held to embody the popular will, which may in turn be constrained by universal secular norms. Some religious law has in the past used trials by ordeal as a method of dispute resolution. In Hinduism and Medieval Christianity, for example, ordeals placed the outcome of the trial at least nominally in the hands of the deity. In modern trials, the outcome rests in the hands of human decision makers, whether judge or jury. Without the imperative of the modern state, religious law may in many cases operate most effectively at a local level—taking as its function the return of parties to social competency rather than acting as an instrument of state legitimacy, authority, and power.

So far the main consideration of this section has been to highlight some of the principal differences of religious law from modern, secular law. There are also numerous parallels and convergences between secular law and religion more generally, not limited to the most "law-like" aspects of religious traditions. Some of these convergences are evident in the special importance to each of ethical concepts; of rituals, including especially formulaic utterances; of narratives; of canons, especially of the written variety; and of hermeneutics or modes of interpretation. Other parallels could certainly be discussed, but these are among the most important.

Religion and law have both given attention to how humans ought to live their lives. Modern western legal concepts of crime and punishment, for example, closely resemble their predecessors, the Western religious concepts of sin, expiation, and purity. In religious law, sin is regarded as a violation of the cosmic order. Punishments or expiations may be designed to restore order and purity for the individual or the community. In its origin, then, crime often was not distinguished from sin. Even today, a number of the practices and articulated purposes of punishment—including retribution, the ghost of which has proved difficult to exorcise from the law—echo earlier, non-utilitarian religious ideas. Law and religion have therefore shared the dubious distinction of administering violence. In addition to the threatened religious sanction of punishment in the afterlife, religious law also frequently prescribed punishments in this world, together with voluntary expiations, ascetic practices, and sacrifices.

Both law and religion depend heavily on ritual operations, as evident in the structured, dramatic procedures of courtroom and temple, with their organization of public spaces, choreography of events, and use of specialized costumes. Both law and religion rely on verbal techniques, including formulaic utterances. Pre-modern law was often exacting in its demand for conformity to prescribed procedure and has been accused of an excessive formalism whereby, for example, a small mistake in the pronunciation of a petition could lead to its dismissal. Many oaths, vows, and declarations of legal effect were, like spells, poetic in form. In early English and German law, as represented respectively in the eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon charms and the thirteenth-century *Sachsenspiegel* and catalogued by the German folklorist Jacob Grimm (1785–1863) in his essay *On Poetry in Law* (*Von der Poesie im Recht,* 1816), rhythmic parallelisms such as "unbidden and unbought" and "for goods or gold" were common. These are the ancestors of the formula "to have and to hold" in the marriage ceremony as still prescribed in the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer.* Poetic devices not only made such formulas more memorable, a function of special importance in an oral culture, but also reinforced their persuasive, "binding" function. Rhetorical devices were also used frequently in early law to reinforce the connection between crime and punishment.

Today the ritual formulas of law are seldom poetic. The transition in early modern Europe from an oral culture to one based on literacy and the medium of print certainly played an important role in the disappearance of such formulas. With the greater availability of writing, poetic forms were no longer needed as mnemonic devices. Both religion and law were deeply influenced by the new medium, as evidenced by their increasing emphasis on written canons, as further described below. There was also a religious component to these developments. Protestant biblical literalism contributed to a polemic against verbal images. For example, Thomas Cranmer's (1489–1556) introduction to the *Book of Common Prayer* (1549) justified the removal of "vain repetitions" and other superstitious formulas from the liturgy. Among the regional variants excluded from the new, more prosaic marriage ceremony were the phrase "for fairer for fouler" and the bride's promise "to be bonour and buxom at bed and at board" (i.e. gentle and obedient). Although the phrase "to have and to hold"—a key declaration of legal ownership—was retained, the net effect was to strip away much of the poetry of the law. Positivists have continued a polemic against poetry. Bentham in his original attack on Blackstone charged that early law often depended on poetic "harmony" for its persuasiveness, and that modern law continued this dependence in more hidden form. More recently, the English philosopher John Langshaw Austin (1911–1960), Hart's colleague at Oxford, used the declaration "I do" (the actual declaration is "I will") in the marriage ceremony as his first example of a "performative utterance," meaning a statement that accomplishes something (such as a legally binding marriage) through the act of utterance itself (*How to Do Things with Words,* 1962). By ignoring the history of this declaration, including its earlier, more poetic forms, Austin produced a theory of legal and ritual language that continued the repression of poetry, albeit through neglect rather than overt animosity.

In addition to employing poetry and other verbal formulas, law and religion both also depend on narrative. In religion and religious law, myths are used to found a moral cosmos. For example, the *Laws of Manu* begins with an account of the cosmogony. Although modern law eschews the explicit use of myth, it remains dependent on foundational narratives, as Robert Cover emphasized, and there is even, in Peter Fitzpatrick's term, a particular "mythology of law." In addition to such grand narratives, narratives of a simpler sort—in the form of stories that make sense of people's actions—constitute an important part of the everyday business of law. The examination of witnesses, lawyers' arguments during trial, and judicial opinions all use narrative techniques to construct compelling fact scenarios and resolve disputes over the interpretation of the law. As legal anthropologists and sociologists have shown, ordinary people also tell stories to make sense of the law and their relationship to it. Law, like a story, is directed toward a definite conclusion and is peopled by actors who are engaged in a clash of interests that are often intensely personal, of dramatic public importance, and engaged with fundamental social values. Like literary interpretations, the answers law affords to such dilemmas may remain provisional and uncertain. These characteristics shared by law and literature are also shared by many religious texts, and especially by myths, the interpretation of which assumes a similar hermeneutic irreducibility, if not undecidability.

A related parallel that points to the "closed" rather than "open" nature of both law and religion is the frequent dependence of each on a canon, which now usually means a corpus of texts. Canon, in Jonathan Z. Smith's definition (*Imagining Religion,* p. 43), represents a delimitation to a set (for example, of texts), which is then subjected to ingenious and varied interpretation. Canon therefore combines the opposed gestures of restriction and expansion: the first is aimed at control and the second at completeness. Although this is obviously a distinctive feature of many religious traditions and especially of collections of scripture, it is also a point of contact between law and religion. Under the sign of canon, the work of both law and religion becomes one of interpretation or hermeneutics. Within this work, different degrees of flexibility may be pursued, as described by Paul's phrase "the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life" (*2 Corinthians* 3:6). Paul appears to dismiss the adherence to black-letter law as a narrow formalism and to embrace flexibility in interpretation. The distinction in religious law between "letter" and "spirit" can be seen to correspond to the distinction in modern law between "formal" and "substantive" justice or between "law" and "equity." Although the tendency away from formalism is often regarded as one of the hallmarks of modern as opposed to pre-modern law and religion, some more restrictive modern forms of canon belie such a simple dichotomy. The form of canon most common in modern law is the "code": the reduction of the law to a set of written statutes that is comprehensive and unequivocal. Not only the canon itself but the interpretation thereof has been restricted in accordance with the image of law as a perfect, and perfectly unambiguous, language. As described below, codification bears historical connections to Protestant biblical literalism. However, the influence of religion on legal interpretation has operated in different ways. In *Vichy Law and the Holocaust in France* (1996), Richard Weisberg argues that lawyers in Nazi-occupied France used a certain flexibility in interpretation, a form of casuistry inspired in part by religious and other cultural factors, to justify anti-Semitic laws. Other scholars of law and literature emphasize the inflexibility of modern law and its hostility to multivocal interpretation. For example, Goodrich ("Europe in America: Grammatology, Legal Studies, and the Politics of Transmission," *Columbia Law Review,* 2001) identifies this rigidity as a source of resistance to Jacques Derrida's philosophy of deconstruction, which he associates with Talmudic interpretation.

The modern bias toward canon or the location of culture in texts has long distorted scholarly interpretations of both law and religion. Many religious laws are embodied in a textual corpus of rules and therefore resemble modern law, which is now promulgated primarily in written statutes and judicial opinions. This bias has facilitated the over-emphasis on such texts to the detriment of customs, not only in scholarship but also in the colonial administration of laws in such countries as India. The valorization of texts, although not new, has increased in recent centuries. Its apex in England can be traced to Bentham's codification proposal and attack on Blackstone's celebration of the largely customary common-law tradition. The first edition of this *Encyclopedia* included a number of articles on the laws of the world religions, namely those traditions that, in addition to having many adherents, have coalesced historically around collections of scripture. The laws of oral, indigenous, tribal, or "primitive" traditions were largely ignored. This bias has affected our understanding even of the law of literate societies. Anthropologists and historians have worked against this textual bias and recovered the importance of customary and unwritten traditions of both religion and law. Some further historical dimensions of the emphasis on a written canon are described below.

Another bias that has distorted our understanding of religious law is the modern tendency to reduce religion to belief, to the exclusion of practice. Rules that prescribe, often minutely, both everyday and ritual conduct have constituted historically a central part of many religious traditions. Increasingly since the Reformation, religion or its "essence" has come to be defined as belief, meaning the voluntary and affective assent to a particular doctrine. Religious conduct has often been defined as non-essential to religion or even, in the case of ritual conduct, as "superstitious." Not coincidentally, it is precisely these particularistic religious practices, such as those involving diet, dress, and marriage, that have tended to come into conflict with secular law, with its universalizing tendencies. Freedom of religion now means primarily freedom of conscience, and the expression of one's religious convictions becomes more problematic when it extends beyond verbal modes of expression. These developments have also operated as a barrier to our historical understanding of the practical or legal dimensions of religious traditions—what we are here calling "religious law."

RELIGIOUS GENEALOGIES OF SECULAR LAW. In modernity, as previously noted, law and religion are generally regarded as separate. This view has already been challenged by examinations of both pre-modern religious law and the continuing structural parallels between law and religion. There are also important genetic or, to invoke the increasingly popular Nietzschean term, genealogical connections between law and religion. In contradiction of the secularization thesis, not only did much of modern law originate in religion, but it remains, in an important sense, "religious" in character. Even the process by which law separated from religion is, as previously indicated, related to religious developments, especially and most proximately those arising in the Protestant Reformation. Although there are, of course, many competing narratives of the process by which modern law came to be as it is, the following narrative is offered as a partial corrective to the standard trope of secularization.

The emergence of regional legal regimes in Europe and elsewhere and the development of international law have stimulated a renewed interest in the sources of Western law. The history of law in the West is the history of the complex interactions among the tribal laws of Europe, Roman law, and the institutions of the Roman church. With the decline of its Western empire, Roman law fell into disuse. Law in Europe was a highly diffuse collection of local customs and institutions, which depended on local religious ideologies and symbols. The rediscovery of Roman law in the form of Justinian's *Institutes* in the early twelfth century and its subsequent elaboration and influence on both the canon law of the papacy and on emerging national legal regimes, fundamentally altered the relationship of law and religion in Europe. This Roman-derived law served as the prototype for the autonomous secular and universalistic law of the modern period. The separation of law and religion already occurred in one form in the theological elaboration of the idea of two domains of law, one spiritual and the other secular. Harold Berman has described this as a "revolution" of the highest importance in the development of modern law, though not the last.

Other scholars have focused attention on the period during and after the Reformation as a key phase in the development of modern law, including its separation from religion. Goodrich's account of the parallels in English Protestant and common-law foundationalism, each of which opposed a reified, and increasingly written, canonical tradition to the "idolatry" of images, has already been mentioned. These developments, although heavily influenced by the rise of literacy and printing, also represented a religious dynamic. A later phase of this development occurred with Bentham's proposal for codification of the still largely unwritten common-law tradition. This proposal drew on the opposition of a now exclusively written canon to the "idolatry" of custom. Earlier English codes, from Alfred's in the ninth century to the one promulgated in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in the 1640s, had drawn on scripture for their substantive law. Bentham's code had a more subtle, indirect relation to religion that emerged most clearly in his criticism of "fictions," linguistic pathologies that he generally argued should be expunged both from the law and from language. One of his key complaints was the habit of reifying language or taking words for things. He argued that only words that referred to really existing things should be permitted. As the common law, being nowhere written down, could not be pointed to, the phrase "common law" was, he said, a fiction used by lawyers to dupe their opponents. The sole remedy was codification. Although arguably an atheist, Bentham in his jurisprudence drew upon religious sources. One indirect source was English linguistic empiricism, which, beginning with Francis Bacon's (1561–1626) critique of "idols of the marketplace," had applied Protestant literalism to language. Another source was scripture, which, in his papers on codification (*Works,* vol. 10, p. 483), Bentham directly invoked in condemning the invocation of the "common law" as a form of personification and idolatry.

Given Bentham's profound influence on both legal reform and the philosophy of legal positivism, it has seemed especially appropriate to detail these connections between his jurisprudence and certain strains of Protestantism. The positivists' contention of the separation between law and religion is belied by a closer examination of the work of one of their founding figures. Regarded as a "vanishing point" at which religion effectively transformed into modern, secular law, Bentham is a crucial figure for a genealogical analysis of law. His example suggests that secularization was, in at least some of its dimensions, influenced by a specifically religious dynamic. The relationship between religion and legal rationalization thus outlined parallels the relationship the German sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920), himself a trained lawyer, identified between religion and capitalist economic rationalization. Bentham's example further suggests a reevaluation of the separation between legal and religious studies. The founder of the history of religions, Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1920), drew on many of the same linguistic and religious ideas as Bentham for his concept of myth as a "disease of language," a form of radical metaphor where a word is reified and, ultimately, deified. The founding narratives of both legal and religious studies owe more to the history of particular religious developments than either discipline cares to acknowledge.

RELIGION AND HUMAN RIGHTS. The phrase "religion and law" today is not infrequently also understood to denote an expanding arena of modern life purportedly governed by guarantees of religious freedom under national constitutions, transnational conventions, and other international legal instruments. The rather limited legal accommodation made for religion in the West under the Enlightenment guarantees of religious freedom is proving inadequate in the face of demands to accommodate an ever widening spectrum of religious practices from both traditional religious communities and new religious movements, some of which refuse to accept the implications of the secularization thesis for law. The strong desire by many to acknowledge (or to be seen to acknowledge) the powerful demands of religion on individuals and communities is handicapped by the underlying claims to universalism of modern, secular law.

Various legal and political arrangements have been made to handle demands for legal accommodation of religious practices. The complex and sometimes explosive mix of religious and ethnic diversity, the global dynamism of diaspora religious communities, and the vestiges of legal structures reflecting prior religio-political histories have inspired different legal strategies. A simple, and perhaps deceptively clean, solution has been the United States Supreme Court's interpretation of the First Amendment to that country's Constitution. The First Amendment religion clauses have increasingly been interpreted in such a way as to efface the legal significance of religion. The state may not discriminate against religious persons and practices, but neither is it required to provide legal exemptions or accommodations for them. Furthermore, the state may fund and contract with religious institutions for the provision of government services, but only on the same terms as it extends to secular organizations. Religion as a legal category has less and less relevance. In cases in the United States and in other jurisdictions where legal instruments are interpreted to privilege religiously motivated persons or institutions, persistent questions have arisen concerning the boundaries of such exemptions, particularly in light of the usual accompanying provision that the state may regulate religious conduct to protect the health and safety of its citizens, a provision that has allowed states a wide latitude in suppressing, or even criminalizing, religious ways of life. This is especially ironic, given that recent revisionist scholarship on religious human rights has emphasized the influence of religious ideas, including those of the fascinating but historically rather remote Puritan Roger Williams (c.1603–1683), on the historical development of the First Amendment.

Other secular constitutional democracies are often less dominated by an ideology of equality than the United States and have for historical reasons been more likely to privilege some religious communities in their dealings with the state and to carve out exemptions for religiously motivated persons. An example is India, a country with a very different history, level of development, and experience of colonialism, where the continuing existence of separate domains of private law for different religious traditions and recent political developments favoring communalism, have inspired a fierce debate over the meaning of secularism and its permissible cultural variations.

Questions have recently arisen about whether human rights language is so indebted to the history and culture of the West that it may be inadequate to protect individuals and communities from or in non-Western cultures and societies. The human rights paradigm is understood, according to this critique, to privilege a "Protestant" view of religion as private, individual, voluntary, and constituted by belief rather than practice. What is clear is that many of the foundations of international human rights law were laid by scholars such as Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) on a religious basis and in response to the wars of religion in seventeenth-century Europe. After several centuries, and with the extension of this historically contingent (and evolving) paradigm to other cultures, the religious roots of the modern doctrine of freedom of religion may be more exposed and shakier than they have been for some time.

Two often-stated goals of U.S. foreign policy today are first, international enforcement of guarantees of religious freedom, and second, global extension of the rule of law. A particular understanding of religion and law is regarded as the *sine qua non* for the spread of democracy. Religion freely chosen by the individual and secular law impartially and democratically administered by a state dedicated to due process and human rights are proclaimed together as the "natural" and necessary characteristics of a society that respects human dignity. The anthropologist Richard Shweder calls this American stance "imperial liberalism." Alternative models for negotiating the competing demands of religion and modern, secular law are being developed in various forums, including the agencies of the United Nations.

CONCLUSION. This article has sketched some of the contours of the religious dimensions of law and the legal dimensions of religion as an invitation to scholars of religion to avoid reproducing the modern Western positivist self-understanding of law as autonomous, state-produced and state-enforced, and secular. The standard narrative of secularization has damaged our understanding of both law and religion by rendering each incomprehensible to the other. On the contrary, the numerous historical connections, the continuing structural parallels, and above all the genealogical relationships between law and religion suggest new pathways for exploring the reciprocal relevance of these two fundamental categories and the relevance of both for the comprehension of modernity. For those studying contemporary religio-political structures, in particular—although the same could be said of many earlier societies—conditions of religious and legal pluralism vastly complicate the matter. The comprehensive explanatory and disciplinary pretensions of both law and religion are moderated by the presence and constant interaction of multiple systems.

The remaining articles in this section provide an approach to the interactions of law and religion across a number of axes. First in order are several articles that examine law and religion within or respecting particular cultural traditions, which are for the most part bounded geographically and/or historically ("Law and New Religious Movements," "Law and Religion in Medieval Europe," "Law and Religion in The Ancient Mediterranean World," "Law and Religion in Hinduism," "Law and Religion in Buddhism," "Law and Religion in Chinese Religions," "Law and Religion in Indigenous Cultures"). After these come several articles that consider the interaction of law and relation in relation to a third category or from a particular methodological perspective ("Law, Religion, and Critical Theory," "Law, Religion, and Human Rights," "Law, Religion, and Literature," "Law, Religion, and Morality," "Law, Religion, and Punishment"). The reader is referred also to articles elsewhere in the *Encyclopedia* that are relevant to the topic of law and religion.

SEE ALSO Afterlife; Atonement; Canon; Codes and Codification; Covenant; Islamic Law; Israelite Law; Ordeal; Purification; Revenge and Retribution; Secularization; Sin and Guilt; Vows and Oaths.

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Winnifred Fallers Sullivan (2005)
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LAW AND RELIGION: LAW AND RELIGION IN THE ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

Most scholars of the ancient world assume that Roman law did not fundamentally affect ancient religions. In 1905, Theodor Mommsen argued that in antiquity the only civil requirement religions had to meet was loyalty toward the rulers. In case of default the believers were forced to comply. Likewise, church historians tend to ignore any impact Roman law may have had on ancient Christianity. The jurist Harold J. Berman (1983) corroborates this view. In ancient Roman society law remained secular, he argues. Though the modern Western legal tradition derived crucial elements from it—a sharp distinction between legal and other social institutions, for example, religion, politics, and morality; an administration of law by a class of specialists; and a legal training of these professionals and the existence of a legal science—a closer relation between law and religion did not arise before the Middle Ages, when the Roman law was adopted by the Christian nation.

When Berman agues that the ancient Roman law was pervasively secular, he has the Near Eastern law codes in mind, which were promulgated by rulers on behalf of the gods or revealed by prophets in the name of God as the biblical book of the covenant (*Genesis* 20:22–23:19) or *Deuteronomy* (12–26). But is a hierarchical relation between religion and law the only one possible or even obvious? Tim Murphy (1997) proposes to consider also a horizontal one. He conceives of religion and law as two autonomous "systems," separate, but not unrelated. Law can be studied as a cultural system that turns religion into a legal subject, and religion as a cultural system that turns law into a religious issue (Geertz, 1983, p. 184). Using this approach, Winnifred Fallers Sullivan (1994) studied the notions of religion in U.S. Supreme Court rulings on First Amendment cases. Her study confirms that the disestablishment clause did not terminate a link between legislature and religion, but instead evoked among jurists legal discourses about defining religion. Likewise, Roman law despite its secular origin turned ancient religious practices into legal subjects and established legal discourses on religious issues.

From the Twelve Tables to the Late Roman Law Codes: Principles of the Growth of the Roman Legal Tradition. "The most celebrated system of jurisprudence known to the world begins, as it ends, with a code" (Maine, 1905/1861, p. 1). The Twelve Tables were drawn up by a special commission in 451–4500 BCE and published on tablets in the Forum. Their demolition in 390 BCE did not undermine their authority, as Elizabeth A. Meyer (2004) shows. Until the end of the Roman Empire they were cited as a fountainhead of all public and private law (Livy 3, 34, 6). For that reason the code is known only through quotations—in an adjusted, but still archaic language—by Roman authorities: Cicero (106–43 BCE), Gaius (third quarter of the second century CE), Seneca the Younger (4 BCE–65 CE), Pliny (23–79 CE), and others, but also by Christian Church fathers such as Augustine of Hippo (354–430), as Michael H. Crawford's reconstruction of the Twelve Tables shows (1996, pp. 555–721).

Law making in Rome was not restricted to only one institution. There were the *leges,* resolved by the people in a meeting and regarded as eternally valid, as the Twelve Tables. Other institutions legislated different kinds of law: the Senate's *senatus consultum;* Roman officials' *edictum;* and the emperor's *constitutio principis,* which could take the form of an *edictum* (an enactment of a general character), *decretum* (a judicial decision), *rescriptum,* in the form of a letter (*epistola*), or an endorsement appended to a petition (*subscriptio*) (Bretone, 1998, pp. 153–157). Finally, there were the legally binding opinions of the jurists (*responsa prudentium*) when all agreed on a certain issue (Gaius, Inst. 1, 7).

Before the Twelve Tables were promulgated, the legal field was divided between human law (*ius*) and divine law (*fas*). Afterward, the main division became between public and private law (*ius publicum* and *ius privatum*) as Alan Watson shows (1992, pp. 21–29). Religious matters belonged to the realm of public law. Since public law was based on the principle of a common benefit (*utilitas*), it could not be annulled by private decisions or agreements. It also restricted private religious practices.

The Roman legal system, particularly during the empire, revolved around an institutionalized practice of questions and answers as Fergus Millar shows (1992, pp. 240–252). An official, a citizen, or a community confronted with an unusual legal case could send a petition (*libellus*) to the emperor. When the case was deemed important enough, the emperor, assisted by his council, responded. The wording of the answer was entrusted to jurists. In their function as imperial advisors (*iurisconsulti*) they introduced their professional knowledge into the process of law making. Likewise, on the local level jurists were indispensable. Since Roman officials had also the task of settling disputes, often without being legal specialists themselves, jurists had to find the laws applicable to the disputed cases (Bretone, 1998, pp. 138–169).

The efficacy of the laws differed profoundly from that of modern societies, at least in their ideal form. In pagan antiquity law abiding was not a value in itself. Roman citizens invoked laws when it was in their self-interest (Harries, 1999, p. 81). When people obtained a ruling from the emperor, they had to convince local officials to enforce it. Ramsay MacMullen observes that "[a] law reflects somebody's pressing need at a certain time. It does not show what was . . . common practice in the empire" (1984, p. 95). This practice was responsible for the many repetitions, tensions, and contradictions in the Roman legal tradition. Pagan Roman emperors made attempts to reduce the incoherence by determining officially the legal authorities that could be cited in court and by commissioning collections of laws. In the end only the Christian rulers succeeded. This was not by chance, however. In the pagan culture every city and nation lived according to its own laws, which differed from each other, whereas Christian theologians believed in one true law for all of humanity.

After Theodosius II (401–450) had decreed that all "constitutions" of Christian emperors should be collected, the *Codex Theodosianus* (*CTh;* Honoré, 1986; Harries and Wood, 1993) was promulgated in 438 CE. In 529–534 Emperor Justinian I (483–565) commissioned the *Codex Justinianus,* the *Digests,* and the *Institutions.* The committee in the *Digests* collected the legal tradition of the pagan Roman jurists and included in the *Codex* not only the laws of former Christian emperors, but also of their pagan predecessors. Justinian thought of his own empire as a restoration of ancient Rome. After the entire legal oeuvre was rediscovered in the twelfth century, it was called *Corpus Iuris Civilis* and became a fountain for the modern Western legal tradition.

LEGAL DISCOURSES ON PRIVATE RITUALS. The Twelve Tables prohibited casting bad spells (*carmina*), harming somebody else by incantations, bewitching fruits, and enticing the harvest of a neighbor (8:1, 8:4, Crawford, 1996). Not all ritual practices called magic were prohibited, but merely those that violated the property and the reputation of a fellow citizen (Graf, 1997, pp. 41–43). In an ongoing civil discourse on this provision, the focus gradually shifted to spells and rituals (Kippenberg, 1997). The *Lex Cornelia,* proclaimed in 82/81 BCE, prohibited the possession of particular substances. "Who for the purpose of killing a man" has prepared, sold, bought, or administered a wicked drug (*venenum malum*), shall be tried on a criminal charge (Crawford, 1996, pp. 752–753). Because the notion of *venenum* covered natural as well as supernatural devices, Roman lawyers included spells and rituals. Because of a lack of a theory of natural causation, poison and "unsanctioned religious activity" were brought under the same rubric (Phillips, 1991). In political trials where the defendant was accused of treason (*maeistas*), the charge of sorcery (*veneficia*) was often added. The *Pauli Sententiae,* compiled around 300, prohibited the art of magic and the possession of magical books as such and prescribed severe punishment. It even applied to secret nocturnal rites (Paulus, *Sententiae* 25, 17–18). Practicing magic had become a crime in itself, whether it caused damage or not. Even recognized rituals could be suspected of being "magic," provided their performance was unauthorized and of malicious intent.

After the Catholic Church was established within the Roman legal tradition (Gaudemet, 1947), the Christian emperors continued prohibiting magic. For example, an edict of Constantius II (317–361) stated, "Superstition (*superstitio*) shall cease; the madness of sacrifices (*sacrificiorum insania*) shall be abolished" (*CTh* 16, 10, 2; 341 CE). Yet, the content of this ruling was open to different understandings. Pagan officials understood it as a license of prosecuting magic, and Christian officials, of suppressing paganism (Salzman, 1987). While the Christian rulers and their jurists preserved the existing legal notions, they reversed their reference. This applied in particular to the category *superstitio.* When Christianity spread in the Roman Empire, pagan authors from the early second century CE—Pliny (ep. X 96f), Tacitus (c. 56–c. 120; ann. XV 44, 2–5), and Suetonius (c. 69–after 122; Nero 16, 2)—decried it as a new *superstitio.* By adding *nova et malefica* to *superstitio,* Suetonius even suspected it of magical practices. In pagan times *superstitio* was defined by its opposite, *religio,* and could refer either to foreign origin or to unlawful practices. Since the reference of the pair shifted according to its user (Sachot, 1991), Christians were able to claim to be the *religio,* while denouncing paganism as *superstitio* (Grodzynski, 1974).

Another striking example of the continuity from Roman law to Christianity and a reversal of the categories at the same time is Augustine. In *De civitate Dei* (8, 19) he dealt with the *artes magicae* and pointed out that the Romans, not the Christians, had started prosecuting them. Pagan public opinion (*lux publica*) was strongly against magical arts, as the Christians were. Augustine was so enamored of the Roman law that he transmitted quotations of the Twelve Tables, which have become highly valuable for the modern reconstruction.

LEGAL DISCOURSES ON PRIVATE ASSOCIATIONS. The other provision of the Twelve Tables that was elaborated in the legal tradition and that affected religion concerned unauthorized meetings of citizens (*coetus*) (8:14–15; Crawford, 1996). Since early times, citizens of Rome were remarkably free to establish private associations, as the lawyer Gaius reported in the second century CE about the Twelve Tables.

"A statute (*lex*) gives the members of an association (*sodales*) the power to enter into any agreement (*pactio*) they like, so long as they do not contravene the public statute." Gaius added that this statute appeared to have been adopted from the law of Solon (*Digests* 47, 22, 4 "De collegiis et corporibus").

The creation of a great variety of professional and religious associations in ancient Roman society was because of that freedom. But that freedom also generated conflicts. When the Dionysian rituals, the Bacchanalia, spread clandestinely in Italy, Roman officials in 186 BCE severely punished its adherents and abolished the status of a *collegium.* The rituals for the benefit of Dionysos/Bacchus were permitted, though only under restricted conditions (Baumann, 1990). After that, the Romans never forgot that unauthorized nocturnal meetings were unlawful (Livy XXIX).

This was only the beginning of restrictive politics toward associations. In the first century BCE, when associations participated in the civil strife at the end of the Republic, Julius Caesar dissolved them all, "besides those that were long ago established" (Suetonius 42, 4). An ancient descent was required from all authorized associations. While Jews answered that requirement and were at least in principle allowed to establish associations under that law (Rajak, 1984), Christian associations did not. "How [were] the Christians . . . able to exist un-interfered with . . . in the face of the imperial policy in regard to associations?" a scholar asked long ago (Hardy, 1971/1874, p. 168). The solution probably lies in the different kinds of legal status of associations. While some *collegia* were officially acknowledged by a *senatus consultum,* an imperial letter, or a civic decree, and while others were prohibited and abolished as illicit, there existed in-between associations without an official recognition, but tolerated by state officials and city councils because of their useful social function as societies of humble people (*collegia tenuiorum*). As such, Christian associations before the fourth century were probably tolerated as belonging to this third category (Kippenberg, 2002).

The legal restrictions had repercussions on the diffusion of religions. When Christians spread in the Greek cities, they expressed their beliefs and rituals in Hellenistic forms and conceptions. That the truth divine was hidden from the profane marketplace was evident to Greeks. Christian Gnostics shared this view and decried the material world as filled with lies and deceit. Accordingly, they kept their faith secret and rejected martyrdom. When Christians established their associations within the range of Roman law, the Latin church fathers Irenaeus (c. 120 to 140–c. 200 to 203) and Tertullian (c. 155/160–after 220) defended Christian associations and practices as public phenomena, in agreement with Roman law. They also engaged in a struggle against Christian Gnostics, who denied the public status of their faith. The category of *hairesis* arose during that struggle (Kippenberg, 1991, pp. 369–402).

LATE ROMAN LAW CODES TURNING RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY IN A LEGAL HIERARCHY. While Christian emperors and the Catholic Church were hostile to religious paganism, their attitude toward the Roman legal tradition was different. The official recognition of Christianity occurred in terms of the Roman legal tradition. The Catholic Church had been recognized by Constantine in 313 as a *religio* equal to all the other religious associations; Theodosius acknowledged it as the only true *religio* of the entire Empire in 380.

The associations of private Christian believers became a legal body with laws, property rights, and an official hierarchy of its own, and their worship was protected by the ruler. The emperor and Catholic Church adopted legal notions such as *religio, superstitio, maleficium, magia, corpus* (*collegium*), and *hairesis* to define the recognized place of the Catholic Church in the public realm of the Roman Empire, as various documents show (Coleman-Norton, 1966).

The *Codex Theodosianus* (*CTh;* Mommsen and Meyer, 1904; Pharr, 1952) arranged the imperial constitutions in a way that still reflects the point of departure from the Twelve Tables. The prohibition of harmful private rituals and of unauthorized associations informs the arrangement of the laws. In book 12, which is dedicated to public crimes, title 16 collected imperial constitutions concerning "Magicians, astrologers and all other like Criminals." Christians adopted and intensified the practice of prosecuting them, as Augustine had already demanded. Book 16 collected rulings regarding religious associations. The notion *religio* was reserved for the Catholic Church alone. Heretics, Jews, and pagans belonged to the category of *superstitio* and were virtual threats to the common well-being of the empire. Jews were allowed to keep their old privileges, but were prohibited from building new synagogues. Heretics were forbidden, but not all were prosecuted alike. "Not all should be punished with the same severity" (*CTh* 16:5, 65 [2]). The sanctions for the various groups ranged from being tolerated to merciless prosecution (Manicheans). Apostates had to forfeit their right to make a will. And pagan sacrifices, both public and private, were strictly forbidden. The entire composition is imbued with the idea that the Catholic Church alone may represent the true *religio* in public and that *res publica* is sustained more by religion, than by official duties and labor (*CTh* 16:2, 16). By means of Roman legal notions, the *Codex Theodosianus* turned the religious diversity of the late Roman Empire into a hierarchical order (Salzman, 1993).

The *Codex Iustinianus* (*CI;* Krüger, 1929; Scott, 1932), composed about a hundred years later, moved chapter 16 of the *Codex Theodosianus* on religious associations to the very beginning. A comparison reveals that the legal distinctions between various heretics in chapter 16, title 9 of the *Codex Theodosianus* disappeared. Membership in all non-Catholic Christian groups became a public crime (*CI* 1:5, 4); the perpetrators were punished like the Manicheans and forfeit their civic rights. In book 9, which addressed public crimes like the *Codex Theodosianus,* the *Codex Iustinianus* adopted the constitutions of the *Codex Theodosianus* on "Magicians, astrologers and all other like Criminals" (*CI* 9:18). It added two constitutions of earlier pagan emperors: Antoninus Pius

(r. 138–161 C.E.) and Diocletian (r. 284–305; *CI* 9, 18, 1, 2). The continuation of the Roman criminalization of magic was in agreement with Justinian's aspiration: to restore ancient Rome.

But it would be rash to infer from these prohibitions that religious diversity disappeared. The consequence of this takeover of the Roman legal tradition was the introduction of a new kind of legal reasoning into the rising Christian social order. While the Christian monotheistic creed knew merely the biblical distinction between idolatry and the true worship of the One God, the Roman legal terms applied other criteria: whether a cult was ancient or not and foreign or not; whether rituals were performed in public and therefore salutary or unauthorized in secret and therefore pernicious; and whether associations were lawful or unlawful. By adopting the pagan legal distinctions, the Catholic Church established a worldview, in which paganism, Judaism, magic, and heresy continued to exist, though theologically and legally devalued. MacMullen points out that the triumph of the Catholic Church "did not and could not conclude in any sort of total eclipse or displacement of the past" (1997, p. 159). The hierarchy was in line with the early and persistent Christian faith: that Christ had subdued the pagan demonic forces. That belief allowed the continuous existence of the non-Christian powers in an inferior status (Flint, 1999).

SEE ALSO Codes and Codification.

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HANS KIPPENBERG (2005)

LAW AND RELIGION: LAW AND RELIGION IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE

The distinctive relationship between law and religion is one of the main features of the Western political tradition. The origins can be traced, in part, to a set of principles incorporated in the corpus of the Roman law and its later medieval developments. The legal status of religion and religious institutions in Roman public law was defined by a set of principles and rules regulating the use of sacred buildings and the status of priests and magistrates. By the time of the compilations of all the Roman laws under the emperor Justinian in sixth-century Byzantium, Christianity had given a new meaning to law and religious relations. Legal rules and religious norms developed in a symbiotic environment. Outside the Byzantine Empire, however, the Western part of Christendom was no longer ruled by Roman law. Rome had ceased to be the capital of an empire. The memory of its past imperial glory rested now on the claims of Peter's successors at the head of the Catholic Church. The people newly established inside the frontiers of the former empire followed their own law and customs. The revival of the concept of empire during the Carolingian Renaissance had little consequence for the existing systems of customary law. With the many obstacles faced by the church in the early Middle Ages, interest in Roman law declined.

In the eleventh century, the vast intellectual movement of the Gregorian Reform restored the church's discipline and its authority. The Gregorian Reform also generated a renewed interest for the texts of the church's legal tradition But in their search for the texts suitable to their purpose, the reformers, with perhaps the exception of Ivo of Chartres (c. 1040–1115), rarely bothered to harmonize the contradictions found in the texts then collected in their compilations. They chose instead simply to suppress the texts which did not support their own conclusions. While the reformers did provide the intellectual impulse for the reinterpretation of the spiritual foundations of the ecclesiastical institutions, sacramental law as understood by the reformers did not aim at the construction of a unified juridical order. They focused on the defense of the spiritual and pastoral nature of the church's mission and the function of its clergy. The legal revolution came later, once the long forgotten compilations of Justinian were rediscovered in the West.

The rediscovery of Justinian's compilations in northern Italy and the resulting exegesis of Roman legal texts brought about dramatic changes. Within a few decades, the renewal of jurisprudence gave rise to a novel legal culture (c. 1130). As the teaching of the first generations of jurists spread outside the limited circle of the schools, the new legal reason attracted a larger audience. By the turn of the twelfth century, princes and prelates, teachers and students, judges and lawyers, merchants and clergymen were readily using the new law. But to these men, law was more than a technical tool. An image of a prestigious past, it was also described as the *ratio scripta* and a mode of thinking encompassing the whole field of human affairs, both secular and sacred. The new law transformed feudal society and shaped forever the legal tradition of Western Europe. Viewed as the legacy of the former empire, the new law was clearly distinguished from religion at a time when the conflict between the popes and the heirs of the Holy Roman Empire divided medieval Europe. Yet the practices and belief of a deeply religious medieval society could not but influence the definition and the perception of the legal norms in both the private and the public spheres. In turn, legal reasoning would also contribute to shaping religious doctrine. This combination would be achieved by the new canonical jurisprudence within a few decades.

Around 1140, an Italian monk named Gratian produced his *Concord of Discordant Canons*, otherwise known as the *Decretum* or *Decreta,* establishing the science of canon law. In its first version, this compilation of church law attempted to reconcile various legal sources from the Holy Scriptures to conciliar canons, the writings of the church's fathers, as well as papal decretals. Gratian also added a treaty on penance and one on sacraments as if in his eyes these two sacramental elements could not be dissociated from an ecclesiastical model founded on the law. But Gratian's project became more than a mere collection of contradictory texts. Bringing together works and authorities excerpted from a pluralistic, complex religious tradition, Gratian rewrote the vibrant history of the Catholic Church through the recalling of an uninterrupted chain of authorities and sometimes dissonant voices. The suppression of discordances and the harmonization of the textual material paved the way toward a unified church leading a united Christian world.

Anders Winroth has recently shown with great care how little Roman law Gratian initially knew or considered to be worthy of the canonists' attention. But the general conception of a harmonious legal system as the foundation of a unified society clearly reminds one of Justinian's effort to find in the confirmation of an age-old Roman legal tradition the intellectual and cultural strength to revive a declining empire.

The renewal of jurisprudence was part of an intellectual movement that had already affected the other fields of learning among which theological inquiry enjoyed primacy of place. At the crossroads of theology and law, it provided a model for the development of a new science of canon law which aimed at blending harmoniously the sacramental tradition with more practical Roman legal principles. In doing so, as Walter Ullmann has pointed out, religious doctrine has transformed into legally sanctioned rules of conduct that governed the acts and the beliefs of each member of the Christian community. Law acquired an essential function in the life of the church. It contributed to a new definition of its purpose and transformed its institutions for the coming centuries. From the start, Gratian's message was clear and confident. "Mankind is governed in two ways by natural law and by mores." For the twelfth-century canonist, long before Thomas Aquinas and the revival of Aristotelian philosophy, natural law was the expression of God's will. The world was ruled by divine law and human law.

Writing in the 1160s, the canonist Stephan of Tournai (1135–1203) had bemoaned the difficulty of bringing together theologians and jurists at the same intellectual banquet. Begging his reader to be patient, Stephan proceeded to serve "the promised feast to the diners":

> In the same city here are two peoples under the same king, and with the two peoples two ways of life, and with two ways of life two dominions, and with two dominions a double order of jurisdiction emerges. The city is the Church; the king of the city is Christ; the two people are the two orders in the Church, of clerics and lay people. The two ways of life are the spiritual and the physical; the two dominions are the institutional Church and secular government; the double order of jurisdiction is divine and human law. Render to each its own and all will be in accord.

What made the history of the medieval church different from other religions was precisely the clear distinction between the two jurisdictions. To the medieval person, divine and human laws were the indispensable foundations of the Christian society. The authority of both laws transcended the separation of the society into two distinct spiritual and temporal partitions. By the turn of the following century, this doctrine was undermined by the renewed interest in Roman law. The misgivings of the first decretists such as Rufinus (d. 1192) were no longer heard and the "sirens of Roman law" were tempting the *decretorum nauta*. With few exceptions, the success of Roman law as the *ratio scripta* and the primary source of legal science did not, in fact, prompt the demise of canon law. On the contrary, the canonists' interest in Roman law gave it a new status. Hence canonical jurisprudence transformed the original character of Roman law while diluting its imperial essence mostly in response to the political claims made by Frederic Barbarossa and his successors. As heir to the past Roman emperors, Frederic maintained that his authority as lord of the world *(dominus mundi)* could not be challenged by any one. Praised as the living law *(lex animata)* by the Bolognese envoys to the Diet at Roncaglia (1158) after the defeat of the rebellious Italian cities, Frederic shared with his Roman predecessors the unique knowledge of the law and placed under his protection law students and teachers. The authority of Roman law was closely associated with the imperial power. The teaching of the new Roman Jurisprudence was the constant reminder of the emperor's legislative authority. Outside Northern Italy, the success of Roman law in the Parisian schools diverted the students from theological studies and might also have offended the French king who did not consider himself as the emperor's subject. One of the canonists' achievements consisted in dissociating Roman law from its imperial background. In 1219, Honorius III's famous interdiction of the teaching of Roman law in Paris did not deter the canonist's attention to the secular law.

This legal development came at a time when the teachings of the Catholic Church were contested by various popular movements that challenged the authority of its institutions and the legitimacy of its clergy. Heresies gained popular support while the spiritual enthusiasm once energized by the call for the defense of the Holy Land was losing its momentum. In 1204, the sack of Constantinople ended the Fourth Crusade well before it reached the Holy Land. At the same time, the claims of the emboldened secular powers, imperial as well as royal, reached new proportions. The continuous conflict between the Holy Roman Empire and the papacy fostered the opposition between the secular and the spiritual spheres of political power. It led progressively to a reinforcement of church hierarchy around the growing authority of the popes who adapted the Roman model of imperial power to the conduct of the papal office. The resulting tensions shifted the issue of religious belief and the practice of one's faith from the spiritual to the secular sphere of the public order.

In 1215, when Pope Innocent III convened the Fourth Lateran Council, these political tensions had become acute. The preachings of the medieval Catharists treated the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the church's institutions with contempt while more esoteric prophecies announced the coming of a new age of the Spirit. Beginning with the strong reaffirmation of the true Catholic faith and belief in the Holy Trinity, the assembly of church dignitaries outlined the steering principles for the governance of the universal church and the government of Christian society. Although there is reason to believe that Innocent III himself was not an accomplished jurist, the church prelates who gathered under his leadership attempted to rethink the dual mission of the medieval church comprised of pastoral duty to the faithful and the government of Christian society. The council had three goals: to strengthen the Catholic faith, to fight heresy, and to restore Catholic life. The result was a two-pronged attempt to discipline individual behavior and to restore order in the Christian society. Considered as the most important council of medieval Christendom, Lateran IV marks a turning point in the shaping of a juridical model that blended religious norms and legal rules. The canons of the councils outlined a new order in which private belief and public interest merged into one all encompassing definition of Catholic life. A century after the final outcome of the Gregorian reform, the restatement of the Catholic faith was backed by a legal apparatus in which religious norms had acquired a new significance. Faith and Christian doctrine were thus rethought in order to fit within the new paradigms. Once more, the canonists turned to the Roman law.

In the fourth century, Emperor Theodosius's edict establishing the Catholic faith as the religion of the empire ordered all the people subjected to his imperium to embrace the religion of Peter and belief in the Holy Trinity. This famous edict was later inserted at the beginning of Justinian's codex in the opening title on the Holy Trinity and the Catholic faith. It is not surprising therefore that it found pride of place in the teachings of the medieval legal scholars. For the jurists who painstakingly interpreted Roman law, Theodosius's edict was the perfect illustration of the imperial power. Faith was defined both as belief in the Holy Trinity and as obedience to the emperor's order. The subject who dared reject this religion was guilty of a double offense in the eyes of God and in the eyes of the emperor. Punishment was handed down swiftly by divine will and imperial justice. Religion was the law, as later pointed out by Accursius, one of the most famous medieval jurists; it was the expression of the emperor's pleasure. Reading the early glosses and comments to this famous text, the canonists did not fail to notice the striking parallel between the imperial edict and the first canon of the council. By the time of Lateran IV (1215), however, the pope had replaced the emperor as defender of the faith and ecclesiastical justice combined the legitimacy of the spiritual jurisdiction with the authority of legal procedure. The earlier distinction between sin and crime, which had long defined the economy of salvation, was also reinterpreted.

The changes envisioned by Innocent III (d. 1216) rested firmly upon the view that the unity of the church both as a mystical body and a hierarchical institution was the expression of a universal order. For the canon lawyers pastoral function and jurisdictional power coincided in the divine order of salvation. Within a few years, however, the delicate balance between the care of the soul and the reason of state faced an increasing challenge. The initial quest for harmony was gradually replaced with a different quest for unity that rested on a faith sanctioned by canon law.

By the time of the promulgation of the Decretals by Pope Gregory IV in 1234, the development of jurisprudence in both canon and civil law had brought into question many legal doctrines. The first half of the thirteenth century marked a period of renewed legal dynamism in which the identity and authority of canon law was defined by a new generation of jurists and ecclesiastics who readily adopted a more emancipated attitude toward Roman law. This intellectual movement was also shaped by the intense political debate that contributed to the redefinition of the papal power. The first compilations of Decretals fostered an interest for the new law and confirmed the pope's function as guardian of church doctrine and source of its law. The analysis and exegesis of legal texts reached a new dimension while theological inquiries extended the predicament of salvation to the broader conception of the medieval political order and the common good of human society. A new generation of canonists known as the decretalists gave more importance to the harmonious relationship between law and theology. Henry of Suza, known as Hostiensis, later cardinal-bishop of Ostia, taught in his lectures that "Theology was the science of the angels, while Roman law was the science of the animals and Canon law the science of the human beings." The three conditions of the living creatures corresponded with the trilogy of theological, Roman, and canonical knowledge as well as the three conditions of the soul—*synderesis*, sense, and reason—that corresponded to the three forms of life.

By the end of the thirteenth century, however, Hostiensis's beliefs were challenged by the practical needs of a rising administration and the strengthening of the papal government. Faced with political challenges and theological disputes, the church increasingly relied upon the legal doctrines developed in the previous century to maintain and expand its authority. In doing so, the rigid interpretation of the legal rules widened the gap between the pastoral and sacramental commitments and the governmental institutions.

During the last centuries of the Middle Ages, the conflict between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction was often reduced to what Stephan Kuttner described in his book *Reflections on Gospel and Law in the History of the Church* as the "petty reality of legalism" (Kuttner, 1976, 199–209). For a time, the spirit of the first canonists continued through a conception of canon law and ecclesiastical justice which was grounded in the biblical precedents and the sacred canons. But the growing bureaucratic and administrative process of the church's institutions transformed the canonical norms into a set of technical rules and regulations increasingly detached from the daunting goals of an economy of salvation. Canon law seemed no longer able nor interested to foster the spiritual and the temporal dimensions of human life. This failure expressed the decline of the intellectual movement which had shaped the distinctive features of ecclesiastical law. This decline explains to some extent the inability of the church's institutions to respond to the expectations of Christian society until the Reformation.

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LAURENT MAYALI (2005)

LAW AND RELIGION: LAW AND RELIGION IN INDIGENOUS CULTURES

Taken individually, the four principal terms that make up the title of this entry—law, religion, indigenous, and culture—are extraordinarily broad and problematic. The conjunction of the terms does little to narrow the field of analysis, prompting questions often asked by scholars of law, religion, and indigenous cultures: Whose law? What is religion? Indigenous by what standards? Culture in what sense? Moreover, scholars must make sense of the discrepancies and overlap between academic categories and the real world while being alert to various ways indigenous peoples represent themselves in diverse contexts, which are occasionally achieved in ways that appear paradoxical. Some scholars have observed that in the course of legal struggles indigenous peoples embody postmodern notions of culture—at times with inventiveness and play—while claiming quite the opposite: they represent themselves as timeless, autochthonous, and cohesive. That they do so is an indication of the domain in which they must act: an international legal arena configured by conflicting impulses and histories that has not yet evinced principled and consistent ways of addressing native claims. Such is the predicament of native peoples who seek to maintain their identities and legal autonomy in the face and by way of the institutions of politically ascendant nation-states.

In order to do justice to the complex field defined by the engagement of indigenous cultures, religion, and law, several related points must be emphasized: the concerns of law and religion are quite ultimate; the stakes of both are amplified in their intersection; and, finally, in the post-colonial world this urgency pertains directly to self-determination and human rights—how these are imagined (as individual or collective), articulated, and, on occasion, resisted or denied. Before addressing these themes and the tensions they imply, several perspectives from within the field will be considered.

APPROACHES. The vast possibilities for the study of law and religion in indigenous cultures are a source of both promise and potential confusion. To begin to address some of the issues raised above, scholars in the field have historically limited their frames of analysis in three general ways. One approach is to address jurisprudence within indigenous cultures, which is best represented by early work in the field of legal anthropology. A classic of this genre is *The Cheyenne Way: Conflict and Case Law in Primitive Jurisprudence* by K. N. Llewellyn and E. Adamson Hoebel. In the African context, the work of Max Gluckman did much to consolidate the field, particularly as he grappled with questions of social stability in the face of crisis. A wonderful account of the sorts of issues addressed by this approach to religion, culture, and law is found in Elenore Smith Bowen's anthropological novel *Return to Laughter.* By the mid-twentieth century legal anthropology was becoming increasingly comparative, a trend best represented by the classic text edited by Laura Nader, *Law in Culture and Society.* Religion, and particularly ritual, has long been a concern of legal anthropologists in this tradition, but it often is relegated to the status of a secondary concern.

A somewhat different approach to the study of law and religion in indigenous cultures has addressed native religious traditions more fully by way of focusing on the post-contact influences of European colonial practices and policies around the globe, particularly in North America. This area of study has been developed most extensively by legal experts like Robert A. Williams, Jr., whose *The American Indian in Western Legal Thought: The Discourses of Conquest* links precolonial religious and legal functions to colonial practices, and native authors such as Vine Deloria, Jr. (*For This Land: Writings on Religion in America*), Gerald Vizenor, Walter Echo-Hawk, and Lilikala Kame'eleihiwa. Religious studies scholars have been influential here as well, with notable contributions being made by, among others, Robert Michaelsen, Christopher Vecsey, whose *Handbook of American Indian Religious Freedom* addresses issues ranging from land access to repatriation, and Huston Smith, who collaborated with Hochunk religious leader Reuben Snake to write *One Nation Under God: The Triumph of the Native American Church*.

A third trajectory of scholarship in the field builds upon the insights of the former two traditions in order to emphasize resilient and novel qualities of indigenous agency. The central insight of this scholarship shows the radically contingent quality of religious and legal claims, and its emphasis is on the decolonization of native identities. This approach explores the ways indigenous people are able to participate in rights discourse in ways that raise complex questions about the meanings of, for example, citizenship, tradition, and entitlement. This is an interdisciplinary movement that offers significant contributions from critical legal theory, political theory, history, and anthropology. Such work includes, for example, studies of cultural movements in Latin America (as analyzed in an engaging volume edited by Kay Warren and Jean Jackson, *Indigenous Movements, Self-Representation, and the State in Latin America*), Australia (see, e.g., Elizabeth Povinelli, *The Cunning of Recognition: Indigenous Alterities and the Making of Australian Multiculturalism*), and Africa (as explored by John and Jean Comaroff in their magisterial *Of Revelation and Revolution: The Dialectics of Modernity of a South African Frontier*).

Creative scholarship in the study of law and religion in indigenous cultures from all of the perspectives described above follows a model described by Susan Staiger Gooding in her article, "At the Boundaries of Religious Identity: Native American Religions and American Legal Culture." She argues that the scholar's job is "to take account of legal discourse as an historical force, without taking it as our framework for understanding" (Gooding, p. 159). Substituting religion in place of law, Gooding's model is equally descriptive of the quest and tension at the heart of the study of religion. Achieving this dual goal—the critical assessment of religion and law—requires a willingness on the part of the scholar to de-privilege both discourses: to view them as human, historical, interested, and necessarily ideological. In this way, it is analytically productive to view religion and law as discourses of authenticity. However, following Warren and Jackson, scholars of religion and law should not take their focus to be the question of what constitutes authenticity; rather, attention should be centered on the construction of authenticity, which entails attending both to its production and consumption. The study of indigenous traditions and law is, then, fundamentally devoted to analyzing the strategies people(s) pursue in the process of identity articulation in the course of legal struggles.

Scholars have made considerable headway in understanding the relationships of law and religion by conceptualizing them as modes of speech and, more specifically, as modes of rhetoric (i.e., forms of speech as persuasion). Furthermore, critical scholars have discerned that religion and law are modes of rhetoric that, on occasion, share common venues and audiences, construct themselves in starkly similar ways (e.g., as authoritative, defining of the social body, normative, and eternal), and which sometimes run parallel or even function in complementary ways but run at cross purposes at other times (see Goodrich 1990; Fitzpatrick 1992). Religion and law do not exist as abstractions, but only as articulations of historical orators. As such, each mode of rhetoric is open to reformulation by persuasive speakers so that a range of tendencies and possibilities for the uses of each develops over time. To cite a basic example, Christianity can be viewed in a number of lights vis-à-vis native traditions in the Americas: it was a primary source of Western law; it was invoked to provide colonial legal rationale against native ceremonies; and it has become, at times, a source of native religious and legal resurgence. The first two of these historical observations accords with common sense, the last does not. The task of the scholar of religion and law in indigenous contexts is to make sense of the relationships of law and religion even, perhaps especially, when they appear to be counterintuitive.

INDIGENOUS AS CULTURE, CATEGORY, AND CLAIM. Perhaps the most counterintuitive aspect of the field is the category indigenous. Indigenous legal action in the contemporary political moment is likewise counterintuitive and rife with apparent and real paradoxes, the analysis of which will keep scholars of law and religion busy for years to come. The salient features of indigeniety on the world stage include its relative youth and its global reach. Further complicating the picture, the category indigenous signals (1) a term of self-designation; (2) an analytic concept; and (3) a legal construction. Much of the power of the category is vested in the interplay of these meanings—in respects, indigenous is a self-referential metaphor that accrues meaning to itself precisely because of the gaps and overlaps between its assumed meanings. This is especially so in legal contexts. Consider Ronald Niezen's account of indigenous identity espoused in his wide-ranging and provocative book, *The Origins of Indigenism: Human Rights and the Politics of Identity*:

> Indigenous identity, sometimes used to designate the distinctiveness of indigenous societies in the constitutional and moral orders of nation-states, carries significant authority and some degree of power, especially when legally articulated. It is largely an outcome of unintentional cultural and political collaboration. The concept "indigenous peoples," developed principally within Western traditions of scholarship and legal reform, has nurtured the revival of "traditional" identities. It has transcended its symbolic use by acquiring legal authority. It is the focus of widening struggles by increasing numbers of "peoples" for recognition, legitimacy, and validation. It has been taken control of by its living subjects—reverse-engineered, rearticulated, and put to use as a tool of liberation. (Niezen, 2003, p. 221)

It is crucial to any understanding of indigenous identities and discourse that scholars appreciate their oppositional component. As Niezen writes,

> When we look for things that indigenous people have in common, for what brings them together and reinforces their common identity, we find patterns that emerge from the logic of conquest and colonialism. These patterns apply equally to peoples otherwise very different in terms of history, geography, method of subsistence, social structure, and political organization. They are similarities based largely on the relationships between indigenous peoples and states. (Niezen, 2003, p. 87)

The relationship of indigenous claims to the states against which they are articulated points to profound imbalances in resources for identity articulation. When material bases of identity are so compromised, symbolic sources of identity are amplified by way of compensation and response. Claims that emerge in such contexts tend toward religious formulations insofar as their referents are transcendent (even while being grounded in the natural world). For example: we emerged from the earth here; the spirits conveyed knowledge to us here; we are descendants of the timeless ones who must care for this land. This is not to say that such claims are invented, for the people who make them are often members of groups with long traditions of connection to and veneration of the land and nature itself—nature is, in many native traditions, always supernatural. The point to be made here concerns the way such sentiments are given oppositional articulation as a form of cultural criticism that calls upon state powers to relieve crises they are perceived to have caused. In making such claims in legal contexts, native representatives attempt to bridge a chasm between their acutely local concerns and the predilections of audiences trained in the Western tradition of law and saturated by exotic images of “the Other.” The category indigenous provides a framework for this bridge. It appears manifestly historical and rooted while simultaneously enabling the articulation of transcendent claims by appealing to tendentious habits of imagination that view native peoples as timeless stewards of nature.

Numerous nation-states are increasingly attentive to native claims and the U.N. now has a regular forum for addressing native concerns, which suggests that an international indigenous discourse is functioning to link local grievances to global responsiveness. However, this bridge is not without potential pitfalls. One regular impasse faced by legal audiences of indigenous claims is akin to that provoked by religious claims in the context of the United States with reference to the First Amendment: auditors are caught in the position of wanting to protect religious claims and actions without thereby establishing any particular religion as receiving special treatment under the law. Or, in the terms most often used to describe this scenario with regard to indigenous claims, legal audiences are faced with tension that emerges in the disjuncture between supporting human rights (based on liberal individualism) without endorsing collective rights. This tension points to other paradoxes.

Perhaps the foundational paradox upon which others rest in this context is that between relativism and universalism. This is not a merely abstract or philosophical issue. The problem here takes on embodied dimensions: namely, those who announce indigenous claims do so from relative positions of political weakness versus the assumed universal security of those who judge. This embodied aspect of the paradox is also historical, as speakers are the discovered, listeners the discoverers, and so forth. As indicated above, this tension is most evident and taut when conceptions of identity are at stake. Indigenous advocates espouse collective claims; human rights universalism is anchored in the identity of the individual. Not only are these positions mutually exclusive at some levels, they are also mutually suspicious: indigenous claimants worry that treaty rights and other collective entitlements will be ignored; universalists worry that individual rights might be subordinated to and even extinguished by zealous pursuit of collective aspirations. However, it is not the space between these positions that renders this dichotomy worthy of sustained investigation; it is the bridge-building capacity of indigenous discourse that deserves analysis, for occasionally indigenous representatives are able to reach across this historical, geo-political, and conceptual gulf.

A HAWAIIAN EXAMPLE. If the linkage of human rights and self-determination is the quintessential goal of indigenous movements, then contemporary Hawaiʻi offers much to ponder. Sovereignty disputes have long been visible in Hawaiʻi. Students of Hawaiian culture are aware that battles over rule of the islands predated European contact. However, contests over native autonomy—what some have called inherent jurisdiction—have flared over the last 200 years, with notable inflammations at the time of missionization, the overthrow of the Hawaiian nation, the military conquest by the United States, and at the time of the Hawaiian Renaissance (1970s) to the present. Sovereignty disputes have been especially acute in recent years, as the alignment of local, state, federal, and international legal bodies has been destabilized in ways suggestive to native advocates that the time is ripe for political action. Numerous sovereignty groups have emerged in this context, most of which articulate a familiar set of concerns: environmental degradation, educational disadvantages, generalized cultural decay, religious desecration, and land access. As generally univocal as the many sovereignty groups are in stating their concerns, their suggestions for redress are less monolithic. Their primary point of divergence is with regard to differing visions of ideal relations to the state and federal governments. All share an emphasis on self-determination, but just what this means in practice can be remarkably divergent. To illustrate this point, two groups that represent positions at either end of a spectrum will be considered.

The first is a group led by veteran activist Dr. Kekuni Blaisdell. The position of his group is that of maximal sovereignty: Dr. Blaisdell and his group agitate vocally for complete decolonization of Hawai'i. Their argument has several prongs. First, they situate themselves as the unambiguous heirs of the land. Preserving the land, they argue, is a religious and moral duty. Second, they argue against U.S. jurisdiction, claiming that Hawai'i was a self-governing nation that was subjected to illegal overthrow by the United States. Third, as a remedy to this situation, the group represents itself as the legitimate political arm of the Hawaiian Nation. As such, it seeks audiences with other nation-states through international forums such as the UN. To graphically announce and enact its position, the group held a tribunal in 1993, during which an international panel of legal experts and indigenous representatives assessed claims against the United States (Ball, 2000, pp. 93–96). The United States was found guilty of all charges, which ranged from illegal occupation of the land to environmental abuse.

The second group is Hui Mālama I Nā Kūpuna O Hawai'i Nei (Hui Mālama). Focused primarily on repatriation and reburials issues (Johnson, 2003), Hui Mālama is no less vocal than Dr. Blaisdell's group. However, Hui Mālama's self-understanding vis-à-vis the state and federal governments is based implicitly on the model of federally recognized Indian tribes (as stipulated in the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act). Hui Mālama operates within federal guidelines and often by way of federal grants to pursue the repatriation and protection of ancestral cultural objects and human remains. Doing so, they represent their cause as one fundamentally concerned with Hawaiian identity. This assertion took on greater relevance from 2000 forward, as a piece of federal legislation (The Native Hawaiian Recognition Act) was under consideration by the Senate in 2005. The pending legislation is designed to grant native Hawaiians "tribal" status within the state and federal governments. The intent of the legislation is to stabilize and define the status of native Hawaiians with regard to governmental policies and programs in a way that establishes "limited sovereignty" for native Hawaiians, particularly with reference to issues of education, land use, and cultural heritage. Politically and legally, the function of the bill is to recast the terms by which special entitlements for native Hawaiians may be constitutionally defended by shifting the basis of entitlements from the criterion of race to the criterion of tribal status. This is in response to the Supreme Court's 2000 decision in *Rice v. Cayentano,* which held that voting for trustees of the state Office of Hawaiian Affairs could not be limited by race. Hui Mālama is in support of this legislation and sees it as a "realistic" redressive mechanism. Dr. Blaisdell's group, by contrast, considers the bill anathema to sovereignty and a form of continued colonization.

The two indigenous Hawaiian movements briefly considered here both make religious claims for their positions, engage the media, attend and address national and international meetings, and have legal experts in their ranks. What these groups share above all else, beyond a contested Hawaiian identity, is a struggle with the web of modern statism. Dr. Kekuni Blaisdell's group has constructed itself as a nation that pushes on the border of statist aspirations, precisely as a means to gain an audience with influential states and as legitimated stance from which to engage in the politics of embarrassment and radical decolonization. Hui Mālama, from the other side, constructs itself as a self-determining entity within the boundaries of a nation-state. In ways that are sometimes countervailing and sometimes convergent, both groups use indigenous discourse to express and advance their positions in navigating a path toward substantial preservation of human rights based in—not held against—their collective identities. However differently pursued, their common quest is simultaneously ancient and futuristic. Moreover, their actions point to the fact that things scholars often take for granted—native identities and the borders of nation-states, for example—are constantly being (re)defined in the here and now.

SEE ALSO African Religions, overview article; Oceanic Religions, overview article.

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GREG JOHNSON (2005)

LAW AND RELIGION: LAW AND RELIGION IN HINDUISM

The distinction between law and religion is one that does not exist in classical Hindu thought. Instead, both law and religion are parts of the single concept known as *dharma.* This fact is the key to understanding the legal system of classical India and its eventual acceptance and adaptation in Southeast Asia. *Dharma*, the basis for the legal system, is a system of natural laws in which specific rules are derived from an ideal, moral, and eternal order of the universe. The fact that the laws are based on this eternal order is their source of validation and authority. In classical Hindu society, the rights and responsibilities of an individual were determined by status. In general, the role and place of women were of marginal concern in the legal texts. The texts were composed by men, and they deal with matters of concern to all. In addition to gender, the determiners of one's status are caste (*varṇa* or *jāti*), stage of life (*āśrama*), age, and so forth. Every caste, age group within that caste, and stage of life has certain generic responsibilities that must be fulfilled (*varṇāśramadharma*). The king was charged with the responsibility of seeing to it that the populace adhered to its *dharma*, but this charge of the king's was itself a part of his *dharma*, so it is difficult to distinguish between the political, legal, and religious aspects of the South Asian legal tradition.

SOURCES OF *DHARMA.* The pervasive idea of *dharma* influences all aspects of a Hindu's life. It is a natural and moral order, and its disturbance has grave consequences for individuals and society. In theory, at least, every act of every Hindu's life should be done in accordance with this natural and moral order, so a righteous person would wish to perform every act in accordance with *dharma.* There are four sources of *dharma* enumerated in the legal literature (see, for example, *Manu* 2.12 and 1.108): the Veda (*śruti*, sometimes translated as "revelation"), *smṛti*, custom (i.e., *sadācāra*; literally, "the practice of the good"), and whatever seems correct to one's conscience (*ātmatuṣṭi*). The Veda is the ultimate source; all of the statements concerning *dharma* are theoretically traceable to the Veda. Both *smṛti* and custom are, according to the commentators, dependent on the Veda, in that the practices described in *smṛti* and followed in the customs of various groups and localities can all be traced, at least theoretically, to the Veda. The last source of *dharma*— whatever seems correct to one's conscience—is the most vague and least discussed, but it seems to have been included to cover those circumstances where no specific rule exists. In this last case it is presumed that the individual in question is one who has been instructed in *dharma* and is familiar with the sacred tradition. In all four of these cases, the connection with the Veda is the validation of their teachings on *dharma.*

The enormous corpus of Sanskrit literature called *smṛti* ("what has been remembered") attempted to teach the rules for conducting a righteous life. The ways in which this literature taught *dharma*, that is, taught righteousness as reflected in the conduct of one's life, varied considerably. One subcategory of *smṛti*, the Purāṇas, is made up of narrative texts that relate mythological stories focused on the incarnations of various gods. The great epics of India, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, constitute another branch of *smṛti* literature and contain large amounts of didactic teaching. These two genres are designed to convey *dharma* by the examples of the characters in their stories.

A much more technically and strictly "legal" literature that constitutes a subcategory of *smṛti is* the *Dharmaśāstra*, or literally, the "science of *dharma.*" These *Dharmaśāstra* texts are all presumed by Hindus to teach the eternal and immutable *dharma* contained in the Vedas. The presumption of these texts was that the reader was familiar with the ritual texts and was a practitioner of the Vedic ritual. It was the purpose of the literature on *dharma* to unify the Hindu's world. This was done by enabling the members of society to harmonize their existence with the universal order. The range of topics in this literature is extensive, and includes: rules on the conduct of daily life including diet, cleanliness, times for sleeping and waking, the selection of mates, criminal laws, rules governing social interaction, relations between castes, sexual norms, laws of commerce, and rules relating to agricultural activity. In addition there is detailed treatment of the rules of procedure and of evidence. The latter includes witnesses, documents, and a sophisticated treatment of the use of ordeals to settle disputes.

Precisely because this literature dealt with *dharma,* its rules and regulations were held to be inviolable: the fact that *dharma* is itself the order of the universe validates rules pertaining to it. In an ideal sense the literature on *dharma* served to define who and what a righteous believer in the Veda was. The *Dharmaśāstra* literature comprises four types: (1) the earliest, aphoristic texts, the *Dharmasūtras*, each of which are attributed pseudonymously to a famous sage of antiquity; (2) later metrical texts, also pseudonymous, often referred to by the term "metrical *smṛtis*" and (somewhat confusingly) when in opposition to the *Dharmasūtras* by the term *dharmaśāstra*; (3) commentaries (*bhāṣyas*) on both of the preceding; and (4) legal "digests" called *nibandhas.*

The earlier texts, the *Dharmasūtras*, were taught as part of the literature of a particular Vedic school (*caraṇa*), whereas the later texts, the metrical *smṛtis*, were not connected with any particular school. This fact indicates that the study of *dharma* had become much broader and more specialized than it was at the time of the *Dharmasūtras.* The *dharma* literature is often very difficult to date (for the earlier texts, especially, only tentative relative chronologies may be established), but the extant texts probably range in date from the fourth century BCE to the late eighteenth century CE. It is in this body of literature that we find the most explicit descriptions of the legal system of classical India. The most authoritative of these explicitly legal writings is the earliest metrical *smṛti*, the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* or *Manusmṛti* (c. 100 BCE–100 CE, hereinafter "*Manu*"), which is attributed to the semidivine mythical figure Manu Svayambhu.

PRINCIPLES OF RIGHTEOUSNESS. Both the *Dharmasūtras* and the metrical *smṛtis* claim to be the teachings of great sages who have made *dharma* known to humankind. The rules contained in these texts are specific statements of the principles of righteousness (*dharma*) and world order (*ṛta*) that are taught in the Veda. While the Veda is the theoretical source for all of the law contained in the *smṛti* literature, very little of what is contained in Vedic literature could itself be called "law." The exact way in which specific laws are derived from the largely ritual, sacerdotal literature of the Vedas is never made clear; therefore, the connection between the Vedas and *smṛti* is not obvious except for their shared theoretical concern for *dharma.* The test of the orthodoxy of any *smṛti* or interpretation *of smṛti* was its acceptance in practice by the educated and righteous men of the community. This is most probably the real connection between the Vedas and the *dharma* literature—the *dharma* literature records the practice of those steeped in the teachings of the Veda.

Acceptance of a rule did not always mean that its purpose was clearly understood by the educated and righteous men of the community. Indeed, the very obscurity of the reason for some rules is an important interpretative device. Since *dharma* is not "visible" or apparent to ordinary human beings, and since the *smṛti* literature teaches *dharma*, whenever there is "no visible purpose" (*adṛṣṭārtha*) for a rule, then that rule is of greater importance than a rule for which there is an obvious purpose (*dṛṣṭārtha*). Rules with an obvious purpose relate to the realm of the practical (*artha*) or that of the pleasant (*kāma*) and are therefore of less consequence to the metaphysical well-being of a person than rules that relate to *dharma.* For example, the metrical *smṛti* of the sage Yājñavalkya (at 1.352) states that the king should strive to make friends because friends are worth more than material possessions. This is a rule with an obvious purpose—the welfare of the king. The same text (at 2.1) later states that the king must administer his judicial court impartially and according to *Dharmaśāstra.* The purpose of this rule is not apparent (*adṛṣṭārtha*), except that to fulfill this rule is to engage in righteous behavior (*dharma*); thus, it is a rule which is more compelling than the earlier one advising the king to make friends. The sum of these rules, then, is that the king is not allowed to use his position as administrator of justice to cultivate friends. Indeed, when he is in court, he must be equally impartial to both friends and enemies (*Yājñavalkasmṛti 2.2*). This principle of the superiority of rules relating to *dharma* is stated explicitly in several places in the *smṛti* literature (see, for example, *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 2.1).

***DHARMA* AND "LAW."** It is important to make a distinction between the rules contained in the *smṛti* literature and what we might call "the law of the land." In general, we have such limited evidence for daily practice that we cannot say with much certainty what the actual law was in a given place in the subcontinent at a given moment in history. What we can say is that the *Dharmaśāstras* and the *Dharmasūtras* record the foundation on which the legal system was based. The level of technical sophistication of the *Dharmaśāstra* was considerable, and it seems unavoidable that the adjective law found in the texts was born of a long process of actual practice that resulted in the elaborate legal procedure described there. (The quintessential text on legal procedure is the *Nāradasmṛti.*) *Dharmaśāstra* represents real legal principles. Even though the record of these legal principles is refracted through the lenses of the priestly class who recorded and interpreted it, *Dharmaśāstra* is of great value in reconstructing the history of Indian society because these texts tell us how—if not where and when—people actually lived.

The commentators and digest writers (and to some extent the texts themselves) tell us that local custom was of overriding authority. This means that the *Dharmaśāstras* and the *Dharmasūtras* were not uniformly statements of substantive law as actually applied; rather, they may be viewed as theoretical guidelines that conveyed in specific statements the ways that members of society might adhere to *dharma.* The actual implementation of these guidelines was fragmentary and localized. Local custom played a significant part in these variations. The *Dharmasūtras* and the *Dharmaśāstras* explicitly provide for variations in local custom and also indicate that these local customs are valid sources for knowledge of *dharma.* There was no concern for precedent, and although the decisions of courts were recorded, the records, as far as we known, were then usually given to the litigants themselves, who were responsible for the maintenance of the documents of their respective trials.

The fragmentary nature of the administration of the Hindu legal system was in part a function of the fact that there was no centralized legal hierarchy that had the capacity to uniformly enforce "the law." The king had appellate jurisdiction, and there were very few matters that he could prosecute on his own initiative without first having had a case brought to him by a plaintiff. The purpose of the entire legal system was not so much to deliver justice as it was to ensure that the entire populace adhered to the duties and obligations of *dharma.* The administration of law courts and the enforcement of "law" was not a purely political matter (although it had a political dimension); it was a religious concern. The fact that there is no central ecclesiastical authority in the Hindu tradition also contributed to the fragmentariness of the development of this legal tradition. This fragmentary and localized administration was also a result of the idea that every individual has a unique *dharma* and therefore a unique set of responsibilities. Accordingly the circumstances of every case would be unique, there would be no reason to record for reference the previous deliberations of a court.

ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAW. The validation of the "laws" in this system was to be found in the religious belief that the world is organized according to the natural and moral order of *dharma.* The enforcement of the laws was primarily the responsibility of the king, who was viewed as semidivine (see *Manu* 7.4–5), and this semidivine nature legitimized his temporal power. Within this natural and moral universal order, any polity without a king was one that suffered calamities; thus, the monarchy was essential to the well-being of the people. The reason that a polity without a king suffered calamities is that the primary task of the king was to protect his subjects. The most important part of his protection was seeing to it that *dharma* was adhered to by all of his subjects. Therefore, the king was the punisher of violators of *dharma* and the ultimate guarantor that *dharma* was adhered to in his kingdom. The *Mahābhārata*, for example, states in several places that the king's *dharma* is the culmination and sum of all other *dharmas.* His court was the court of final jurisdiction. There was no appeal from a judgment of the king's court. The king himself was the judge, but he was also urged to appoint a number of experts in *Dharmaśāstra* (preferably *brāhmaṇas*) to serve as judges in his court. One of these could be appointed the chief judge, and this judge would preside in the king's absence. Even though he has the assistance of these experts, and even though he could appoint them to serve in his absence, the king was still ultimately responsible for the adherence to *dharma*; if there were wrong judgments handed down by his court, the judges were liable to punishment, but so was the king.

Though the king was seen as semidivine—he is even addressed as *deva* (god) in Sanskrit drama—there was no real idea of the "divine right of kings." To be sure, the monarch was endowed with extraordinary powers, but the literature contains references to kings who were dethroned for their failure to adhere to their own *dharma* or who had failed to see to it that others did so. The *smṛti* literature recognized this as a legitimate response of the people to an unrighteous king. A related genre of Sanskrit technical literature, the *arthaśāstra,* is intended as a handbook for governance. Whereas the focus of the *arthaśāstra* literature is matters of concern specifically to the king (as opposed to other members of society): his training, conduct of war, foreign policy, intelligence, policing, and administrative organization, there is a detailed treatment of the administration of justice. The *arthśāstra* passages parallel similar treatments of judicial procedure in the *Dharmaśāstra* literature.

The concept of punishment was closely tied to the concept of penance. Any violation of *dharma* means that the violator incurred sin. To expunge this sin it was necessary to undergo some penance. The punishment meted out for a crime was thus viewed as purifying (*Manu* 8.318). It was also possible to mitigate the corporal or financial punishment of a crime by undergoing a specific penance (*Manu* 9.240). Neither punishment nor penance is described as a deterrent or as a way of compensating for injury or tort, but they are ways of compensating for the violation of the natural and moral order of *dharma.*

The *Dharmaśāstras* and the *Dharmasūtras* are the most succinct statements of *dharma*, but, as in all legal systems, the power to interpret the law is the power to make the law. In classical India this power was in the hands of the king and his judges, but we have very little record of their rulings. There has been controversy among scholars over the question of whether or not the king had the power to "legislate." The texts tell us that any ruling of the king had to be obeyed, but at the same time there are indications that existing custom had such a superior claim to validity that the king was bound not to interfere with it (so long as it was not depraved) but to enforce it.

Commentators on the *smṛtis* and digest writers were also interpreters of the law, and we have a huge corpus of literature recording their views. The function of interpretation served to keep the legal texts attuned to the changing needs of society. It was the task of the commentators and the digest writers to relate the general principles found in the texts to the current society in which the commentator was writing. Interpretation of *Dharmaśāstras* and *Dharmasūtras* was regulated by two factors. First, an interpreter had to use the codified hermeneutical techniques of the Mīmāṃsā school of philosophy. These techniques were originally developed for interpretation of Vedic texts to determine the exact procedures for the ritual. Since the *smṛti* literature is seen as a sort of continuation of the Vedic tradition, it is appropriate that the same techniques of interpretation be applied to it. The second factor controlling the interpretation of *smṛti* was the acceptance/implementation or rejection/ignoring by the community of any interpretation. Thus, the validation of any interpretation was found in its implementation.

CONTENTS OF THE *DHARMAŚĀSTRAS* AND THE *DHARMASŪTRAS*. The contents of the *Dharmaśāstras* and the *Dharmasūtras* may be divided into three broad categories: rules for "good conduct" (*ācāra*), those for legal procedure (*vyavahāra*), and those for penance (*prāyaścitta*). It was the design of these texts to prescribe rules that would guide each member of society so that he might live his life as fully in accordance with *dharma* as possible. This meant that as society changed, the prescriptions for righteousness contained in the texts needed to be adapted to those changes. This adaptation was done by the commentators on the *Dharmasūtras* and the *Dharmaśāstras* and by the digest writers. Because it was their responsibility to adapt the teachings of the *Dharmasūtras* and the *Dharmaśāstras*, their role as arbiters of *dharma* (righteousness) became central in the development of classical Hindu law.

The range of human activity regulated by the provisions of these texts is remarkable. Large categories such as marriage, ritual purity, inheritance, criminal law, and a basic commercial law are covered, but so are the minutiae of daily life: what and what not to eat, how to brush one's teeth, when and where to move one's bowels, how to detect suitable marriage partners, and more. The sophistication of the rules of legal procedure indicate a long-standing juridical tradition whose evolution can be vaguely traced through the increasingly sophisticated treatment of topics such as the administration of ordeals. The earliest texts know only two ordeals: fire and water. Later texts know as many as nine ordeals.

Every individual has a *dharma* that is a constellation of duties and responsibilities that are unique to him, because each individual has different capacities for righteousness. An individual's capacity for righteousness is determined by his birth, and his birth is determined by his *karma.* Thus every individual cannot be expected to meet the same standard. In broad terms, a *brāhmaṇa* and a *śūdra* (the highest and lowest *varṇas,* respectively) are therefore qualitatively different members of society. The social, religious, and legal expectations and requirements of a *brāhmaṇa* and a *śūdra* were different in accordance with their qualitative differences. For example, the killing of a *brāhmaṇa* was a very serious crime requiring harsh penances lasting twelve years (*Manu* 11.73–82), while the killing of a *śūdra* was a minor offense requiring a penance that lasts only six months; this penance was the same one prescribed for the killing of lizards (*Manu* 11.131, 11.141). Thus, to kill a *brāhmaṇa* was to do greater violence to the universal order than to kill a *śūdra* because of their qualitative differences in ritual status. The same reasoning is employed in the standards of behavior applied to members of society. A *brāhmaṇa* must take great care to perform penance for offenses, whether committed knowingly or unknowingly (*Manu* 11.45–46), but many of the things for which a *brāhmaṇa* would be outcasted are not even offenses for a *śūdra* (*Manu* 10.126).

THE COLONIAL PERIOD. It was this aspect of the Indian legal tradition that most alienated the British when in 1772 they decided that they should assume the responsibility for the enforcement of laws in the territories controlled by them. They mistrusted the traditional *paṇḍitas* because they appeared to discriminate between litigants on the basis of "religious" matters such as caste. Only after they had instituted sweeping changes in personal laws (such as those dealing with inheritance, marriage, adoption, etc.) did the British come to understand that the concept of *dharma* was different from the concepts of justice and equity found in the common-law tradition. In their defense it must be said that the traditional lack of concern for precedent, the fragmentary nature of the legal system, and the reliance on largely uncodified custom made the task of British administrators of Hindu law extremely difficult. It was the intention of the British to remove these uncertainties by providing a codified "Hindu Law." The British commissioned such a code, the *Vivādārṇavasetu,* and for a time the English translation of this code (*A Code of Gentoo Laws,* first published in 1776) served as the basis for the British courts' adjudication of Hindu personal law. Eventually, by the mid-nineteenth century, British scholarship had learned enough about the *Dharmaśāstra* to point out the errors that had been committed by the British-Indian judiciary, but by that time the corpus of judicial precedent was so large that it had an inertia of its own, and it was not possible to retrace all the steps that had been taken in the name of justice and equity. This corpus of judicial precedent continued to grow and was inherited by the judiciary of independent India so that the Hindu personal law of modern India is only nominally based upon *smṛti.* Having created it judicially, the British and their heirs in independent India were left with the task of legislatively reforming this new "Hindu Law." An attempt to systematically codify Hindu Law in newly independent India was unsuccessful, and the result is a piecemeal attempt to bring consistency or, sometimes, rationality to the law. Thus one finds the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955, the Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act of 1956, the Hindu Succession Act of 1956. The courts of modern India continue the process.

SOUTHEAST ASIAN DEVELOPMENTS. Since the Indian "legal" tradition is so integral a part of the religious and philosophical ideas of the Hindu tradition, it was inevitable that it would be exported to Southeast Asia when that region became "Indianized" (a process lasting for centuries, but beginning in the early centuries of the common era). The Indianization of Southeast Asia involved the adoption of Indian culture and religion (Hinduism and Buddhism), including the use of the Sanskrit language, the mythology of the Purāṇas and the epics, the concept of kingship, and the reliance on the *Dharmaśāstra* as a statement of the generalized standard of conduct.

As a result of the adoption of these Indian religious and philosophical ideas by the Southeast Asian countries, the idea of *dharma* came to be central in the legal systems of this region as well. Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Java, and Champa all adopted the Hindu ideal of law based on a natural and moral order of the universe. As an integral part of this idea of *dharma* the Hindu concept of kingship was also adopted in these regions of Southeast Asia. Though these were originally Hindu ideas, they were integrated into Buddhist kingdoms by the convention of explaining in the introductions to legal texts that a sage by the name of Manu was inspired by the Buddha to discover the eternal laws and to make them available to the world. In some texts of the Southeast Asian tradition, the organization of the Indian *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* is followed fairly closely, but in other texts it is not adhered to at all. There is generally less concern with the technical aspects of law in the Southeast Asian tradition, and unlike the Indian *Dharmaśāstra* the texts do not recognize and incorporate custom as a source of law. This fact probably contributed to the role assumed by these texts, which function much more as exemplary statements of general standards of conduct than as statements of actual law.

Each of the cultures of Southeast Asia adopted the Indian legal tradition in slightly different ways. There are significant variations in the formal aspects of each legal system, and generally it may be said that the further the geographical distance from India, the greater the formal differences. In every case, however, the religio-philosophical basis of the Indian legal system was accepted: namely, that *dharma is* the natural, moral order of the universe and that it is this concept that defines and validates the law.

SEE ALSO Dharma, article on Hindu Dharma; Ṛta; Śāstra Literature; Sūtra Literature.

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LAW AND RELIGION: LAW AND RELIGION IN BUDDHISM

The study of secular law in Buddhist culture and society is a relatively new and intriguing area of research. This entry will first describe the Buddha's view of society and his legal decision making. Then it will review monastic offenses, punishments, and procedures, followed by a discussion of the first Buddhist king, Aśoka, and the growth and spread of Buddhism. In the final sections, three patterns for transmission of Buddhism will be described, one with a legal system, one without, and one in an area of legal pluralism. Then four other types of religious influence on a legal system will be discussed, foundational concepts; rituals; legal subject matters; and stories, art, and literature. The conclusion will present the current state of the field.

LAW AT THE TIME OF THE BUDDHA. Distinctions in modern academic discourse among politics, religion, law, and morality would have been incomprehensible in the intellectual culture of Brahmanic India of the fifth century BCE. When Siddhārtha Gautama first sat under the pipal tree, law and justice were connected to the idea of *dharma*, the proper and natural development of the social and universal orders through morality and religious teaching. Given these interconnections, there is still little doubt that Siddhārtha Gautama was concerned with legal matters as we now define them. He was born heir apparent to the throne of the regional kingdom of Śākya in a time when princes were trained extensively in the Sanskrit *smṛti* legal literature, especially the *Dharmaśāstras* and the *Dharmasūtras.* He was taught the ritual and legal roles of a king who stood as the ultimate authority for maintaining the peaceful relations of his subjects. His turn away from his family obligations, from the opportunity to be king, and more specifically, from the administration of legal power was a personal renunciation but not an indicator of either a lack of interest in or a rejection of the importance of rules of conduct and social order.

BUDDHA'S VIEW OF SOCIETY. The enlightened Buddha conceived of society as having two parts—a monastic *saṅgha* seeking enlightenment through his teachings and a supportive patron laity that donated to the *saṅgha* to make merit. He began immediately to teach, collect disciples, and form the new monks into a social order by expounding the rules and requirements of the group. These rules were later collected and written down as the Vinaya Piṭaka. As a central Buddhist teaching and one third of the *Tripiṭaka*, the Vinaya provides us with the clearest information about the Buddha's prescriptions as to the required behavior for ordained monastic practitioners.

DECISION MAKING BY THE BUDDHA. The *Suttavibhaṅga* section of the Vinaya is a series of encounters between the

Buddha and a monk defendant. In a standardized narrative sequence, a monk accuser approaches the Buddha and presents the infraction; then, the Buddha asks questions of the perpetrator to determine his state of mind and knowledge of the event. Finally, he makes a casuistic determination about the propriety of the act, often berating the defendant repeatedly, and announces the punishment that should follow as well as possible mitigating factors. Through a case-by-case process of institutional definition, the Buddha built a legal outline of the proper behaviors, speech, clothing, and rituals of the *saṅgha*.

MONASTIC OFFENSES, PUNISHMENTS, AND PROCEDURES. The *Prātimokṣa*, or precepts, is a list of offenses in the Vinaya numbering from 218 to 263 for males and more for females. They range from the most serious—a violation of celibacy, theft, and intentional murder—to the least significant, concerning attire and walking style. To inculcate the rules of the social order, all Buddhist *saṅghas* chant the *Prātimokṣa* twice a month. Each of these offences is matched with a category of punishment, from permanent dismissal, called "defeat," to a combination of formal hearing in front of the *saṅgha*, probation, forfeiture, expiation, and acknowledgment. Suspension and formal reprimand were also possible.

The *Prātimokṣa* also contains a list of the procedures for resolving legal disputes within the monastery itself. It outlines types of verdicts that are possible, the definition of innocence, seven ways to settle a case, the definition of a majority verdict, insanity pleas, and levels of culpability. The *Khandhaka* section of the Vinaya provides the working structure of the monastery, the rules by which the community is organized. It regulates the wearing and sewing of robes, types of food, drink, medicine, and times of eating and sleeping. Each monastery could also develop its own separate constitution. The Buddha determined that after his death, legal decisions were to be made by a quorum of monks reaching a consensus, each monk having an equal vote. The resultant decisions of the *saṅgha*, called announcements of action, could concern any aspect of monastic life, including ordination, debate, ceremonies, and discipline. The rules of the Vinaya are similar in content and form throughout the Buddhist monastic world.

THE ROLE OF MONASTERIES IN THE COMMUNITY. Until more recent times with the advent of state-supported schools and bureaucratic offices, Buddhist monasteries were often the local repositories for documents, artistic training, and medicine, as well as centers for education in writing and reading. In some societies but not all, Buddhist monks are tightly embedded in their communities as the ritual specialists. They provide ceremonies for the laity for house openings, new businesses, births, dangerous periods, exorcisms, illness, and death, all functions currently legally regulated by modern states through certification, licensing, business contracts, and social work. In pre-1960 Tibet monks were also often the literate legal specialists, maintaining legal records, drafting documents, presenting and arguing cases, and fashioning legal settlements for both monastic and lay parties.

THE LAITY. The lay patrons of the *saṅgha*, who ranged in status from the lowest outcaste to local kings such as King Bimbisāra of Māgadha and King Prasenajit of Kośala were expected to adopt their own set of vows. As patrons, they were charged by the Buddha with providing the necessities of food, clothing, and shelter in the form of *vihāra*, resting lodges and *ārāma*, residences for the monks. These patrons also requested teachings from the Buddha on religious, political, and legal matters. To King Prasenajit, inclined to the pleasures of wealth, the Buddha lectured about subduing sense pleasures, living righteously, and the inevitability of impermanence. In legal matters, the Buddha advised him to not elevate himself above others, to exercise judicious reason, and to always observe the traditional rules of royal conduct. In the last days of the Buddha's life, King Ajātaśatru, the son of King Bimbisāra, sent his minister to inquire whether an attack against an enemy would be successful. The Buddha responded with a discourse on the seven conditions necessary for a just and prosperous state.

THE MODEL OF A BUDDHIST KING. The *Sutta Piṭaka* section of the Buddhist canon contains discourses of the Buddha on kingship that praise the election of leaders who then rule through compassion, morality, and social justice. The first exemplar of a Buddhist king, King Aśoka (third century BCE) of the Māgadhan Empire, came to power a hundred years after the Buddha's death. While uniting much of the South Asian continent, Aśoka experienced a particularly bloody victory and converted to Buddhism. He placed stellae as a confirmation of his faith at every outpost of his realm that described the importance of the Buddhist principles of noninjury, truthfulness, gentleness and generosity. King Aśoka made the welfare of his subjects the primary objective of his government and sent out officials to build way stations for travelers, dig wells, provide medicine, and care for orphans, the sick, and the elderly. Abolishing torture and the death penalty, he sought equal legal treatment of criminal infractions throughout the empire. His reign remains the best example of a government committed to putting Buddhist principles into practice.

GROWTH AND DIFFUSION OF BUDDHISM. From the huge monasteries of classical India, the teachings of the Buddha moved out with great rapidity for over fifteen hundred years until the destruction of Nālandā University in 1198 and then the influx of Muslims three hundred years later. As early as 250 BCE, Aśoka's own son, the monk Mahinda, took the Buddhist *dharma* in the form of the Pali Theravādan canon to Sri Lanka. With translation of these texts into the local Sinhala dialect, an ideology that fused race, religion, and region, was adopted and continued by successive Buddhist states. Today, Buddhism remains the major religion of the island.

Historical transmission of Buddhism with law. Sri Lanka is an example, along with states such as Tibet, Burma, and Thailand, of areas that received Buddhist teachings from another country at the same time that they unified and developed advanced legal and administrative procedures. This is the first type of historical transmission of law that occurs in a Buddhist context. From this acculturation process evolved jurisprudential cultures, legal processes, rituals, and law codes that were heavily inspired by Buddhism. Recalling the reign of King Aśoka, the idea of the compassionate *chakravartin*, or wheel-turning king, often became the model for the ruler in these states.

The first king to unify Burma was King Anawrata of Bamar, who created a Buddhist capital at Pagan in 1057 CE. This Pali Buddhist king worked with monks to create the *dhammasat* and *rajasat* secular law codes based on Buddhist treatises, Hindu law, and the Sinhalese version of the Vinaya. In the following centuries, these law codes spread across what are now Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos, adapting to the local areas, languages, and spirit cults. In succeeding dynasties, especially under the Konbaung Empire (1752–1885), Burmese Buddhism moved down into the village level, with local monasteries taking over the functions of educating the youth, providing a standardized Buddhist ethical code, and unifying the country culturally and legally.

Transmission of Buddhism to a developed state. A second type of Buddhist transmission occurred when the religion entered a state that already had an advanced literate tradition, including a legal and political administrative apparatus. China is perhaps the best example of this second type. Traveling along the Silk Route, merchants brought Buddhism into several Central Asian kingdoms, but when it reached the area of what is now known as China around 50 CE, it encountered resistance in the form of an in-place legal system already strongly based in Daoism and Confucianism, with its ties to family and a prescribed set of harmonious social relations.

While Buddhism had a strong influence on Chinese ethics, art, architecture, and literature, some scholars have argued that it did not have a strong legal impact on the various Chinese Buddhist states from the Han (206 BCE–220 CE) through the Tang (618–907) into the Song (960–1279) dynasties, or even in the brief revival of Buddhism under the Mongolian Yuan dynasty (1215–1368). Instead, they describe a legal administration controlled largely by Confucian-trained officials, with Buddhist monasteries vying for local political power and popular support. While this is an enormous simplification of a very long period of complex history, it is a thesis that is worth investigating as Buddhist legal research continues. In the Tang period, for example, a time of flourishing Buddhism, the great Law Code (*Ku T'ang-lu shu-yi*) was concerned in its four main divisions—the code, the statutes, the regulations, and the ordinances—with the prevention, apprehension, and punishment of crime and with commercial law from a Confucian point of view. Scholars also report the use of the legal system to persecute and harass Buddhist monasteries at various points in Chinese history.

The record of the outer-lying kingdoms is mixed. The Tanguts of the Xixia dynasty (1038–1223), located in the current Chinese provinces of Gansu and Ningxia, produced law codes strongly influenced by Buddhism. However, the Vietnamese law codes derived from Chinese states such as the Lê code is described by its translators as having a Confucian core. The situation in Korea and Japan is similarly problematic. King Sosurim of the north state of Koguryŏ officially introduced Buddhism into what is now called Korea in 372 BCE and at the same time established a school for Confucian learning. The legal codes and centralized administrative system that he promulgated during his reign are arguably not heavily influenced by Buddhism. Similarly, although Prince Shōtoku promoted Buddhism as the state religion of Japan at the end of the sixth century CE, scholars have argued that the Confucian tradition has always accompanied and superceded Buddhism's effect on the Japanese legal system and law codes. As more research is done on the relationship between law and Buddhism in these cultures, new information and perspectives will emerge.

Buddhism in legal pluralism. A third category of the relationship between Buddhism and law is legal pluralism. Many modern states such as Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Laos, and Mongolia have layers of colonialism, fragmentation, ethnic struggles, and global influence that have resulted in particularized legal pluralisms. Sri Lanka, an original Buddhist legal state, has overlays of Kandyan law, Catholic Portuguese influence (c.1505–1658), Calvinist Dutch law in certain regions (c. 1658–1796), and a period of English colonial rule from 1795 until independence in 1948. With ethnic struggles between Buddhists, Hindus, and Muslims, the recognition of the fishing laws of the Mukkuvar people and the Tesavalami legal code of the Tamil people of the Jatna region, legal pluralism defines modern Sri Lanka. This complex interplay of legal forces has resonance in modern-day Vietnam as well, with several forms of Theravādan Buddhism overlaid by Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism and Confucian legal codes from an invasion in the fifteenth century. Spanish Catholicism in the sixteenth century was followed by French colonists, the rise of the Viet Minh, and occupation by the United States in the 1950s and 1960s.

A TYPOLOGY OF NONSTATE BUDDHIST INFLUENCES ON A LEGAL SYSTEM. Interactions between Buddhism and law also occur when (1) basic Buddhist principles and reasoning processes, (2) Buddhist practices, rituals, and procedures, and (3) Buddhist ideas about legal subject matters such as murder, theft, inheritance, and land tenure are employed by the population when using the legal system. Finally, (4) Buddhist ideas can be captured in literature such as the *jātaka* tales of the former lives of the Buddha, in puppet plays, art, or numerous other aspects of culture and then influence the way in which a legal system operates.

Foundational concepts. First, legal systems are strongly influenced by the foundational ideas that their participants employ, such as the concepts of causation, intention, cosmology, conflict, notions of the community, *karma*, compassion, identity and subjectivity, status, jurisdiction, sanctuary, shame, apology, and evil. For example, in Buddhism the Christian theological problem of evil does not exist. Instead, an illegal, evil, or immoral act committed by a human being is the result of either received *karma* from a previous life or an intentional choice made during this lifetime. Illegal acts are an inevitable part of the human state of *saṃsāra* that is defined by *duḥkha*, suffering due to human hatred, greed, and delusion. These three elements of suffering are the root cause of all antisocial acts by individuals. Given that individuals who do not follow the *dharma* are ignorant of the perpetual cycle of *saṃsāra*, open conflict in the form of lawsuits and altercations are to be expected. Even legal categories such as lying and theft exist only as a result of human greed and pride. Thus, legal controversies in most Buddhist societies indicate a lack of knowledge and understanding of the *dharma*.

Karma is another Buddhist concept that can influence legal proceedings. The reason for an illegal occurrence in this lifetime could be found in one of several previous lives or in this life; the punishment of an illegal act in this life could occur in this life or in a future life. Studies of the use of *karma* as a rationale for not pursuing an injury case in a modern Thai city have demonstrated this. One scholar has found that individuals who do not sue commonly state that their current injury is the karmic result of their own previous, perhaps unintended, negative acts. Strikingly, injury suits are decreasing in this city and karmic rationales are being used more frequently with the increase in globalism.

Legal practices and rituals. In pre-1960 Tibet, monastic ritual debate techniques were one of the foundations of legal argumentation. Specialists in monastic legal decision making were often appointed to represent a monastery in a secular civil suit. Also, ritual ceremonies of catharsis and apology often follow lawsuits in Tibet, Japan, and Burma. This is a rich area for further investigation.

Legal subject matters. Third, ideas about the nature of theft and the factors that should be considered in assessing a case of theft in the Tibetan law codes were closely tied both to the customary rules of the plateau and to the discussion of theft in the Vinaya. Criminal cases were assessed by the four factors of Nāgārjuna, a great Indian Buddhist scholar of the second century, who looked to the object of the action, the motivation of the actor, the action itself, and the completion of the act. These four factors were written into the Law Codes of the Dalai Lamas. By several reports, these ideas of how to factor a case of theft were employed by the Tibetan population in their legal decision making even after the Chinese takeover in 1960; here, litigants are applying Buddhist factoring concepts in a new non-Buddhist, colonial court.

Narratives and art. Fourth, the story of the personal enlightenment of the Buddha was cited in Tibetan courts for the importance of fashioning punishments that would uniquely fit a defendant and improve his *karma*. As the Buddha taught that each individual was an impermanent collection of ever changing physical and mental states, conditioning the person's mind to a tranquil life and the *dharma* was often seen as the best form of punishment. Also, legal oaths were taken in front of artistic renderings of the Dalai Lama or the Buddha.

CONCLUSION. The study of secular law in Buddhist culture and society is a relatively new area that requires a multidisciplinary approach including comparative law, Buddhist studies, anthropology, history, religious studies, sociology, and sociolegal studies. There is little doubt that Buddhism has strongly influenced and been strongly influenced by legal culture in vast parts of Asia. The role of communism, for example, in extinguishing Buddhist practices has not even been touched in this review. Other categories that need to be more fully investigated are Buddhist law and women, violence and Buddhism, uprisings based on Buddhism, monastic martial arts training, messianic movements, and animist spirit traditions. While a few in-depth projects have been completed, it is an open and exciting field ready for detailed research, both historical and current, and more textual translations, comparisons, and theorizing.

SEE ALSO Buddhist Books and Texts, article on Canon and Canonization—Vinaya.

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REBECCA R. FRENCH (2005)

LAW AND RELIGION: LAW AND RELIGION IN CHINESE RELIGIONS

Over the past three thousand years, religion and law in China have been contemporaneous forms of social control. Many of the multiple forms of dynamics between the two have centuries-old roots.

INTRODUCTION. Any thorough discussion of law and religion in China that attempted to cover a three thousand year time span would require multiple volumes. Even then, source limitations engender further obstacles to comprehensiveness. For instance, for one period there may be complete legal codes, whereas for another only ritualistic records of legal events might remain. Some evidence comes from government sources, others are products of popular religion. Cultural spheres may also affect practice and belief. Nonetheless, certain recurrent and often overlapping patterns are detectable in the relationships between law and religion in China. For instance, there is the relationship between law and the spirit realm, where religious authority often enhances legal authority, or, may serve as a deterrent to illegal behavior. Then there is law as regulator of religious bodies, often as protection for the state against the potential challenge of religious authority and popular superstition. There is also the situation wherein law helps to enforce the implementation of religious practices and ritual protocol. Conversely, religion may relate to law inasmuch as it may help to further politico-legal aims. Other associations between law and religion, in a more broad sense, would be law as an embodiment of custom; ritual prescriptions and proscriptions as para-legal behavior; and law modeled on and implemented in harmony with the cosmos.

"Religion" in China encompasses what in the Judeo-Christian tradition might be considered secular behavior. While Buddhism, Daoism, Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Manichaeism, and Zoroastrianism are all woven to varying degrees into the fabric of Chinese history, the most pervasive features of Chinese culture continue to be its patriarchal social order and its *li*, which can be defined as "ritual, rites, decorum." *Li* encompasses a range of behavior, including the correct performance of religious ritual; religious and secular ceremonial behavior and institutions that enable a harmonious, usually Confucian society; and socially correct deportment, especially the observance of obligations between superior and inferior. Many manifestations of *li* have some religious and certainly spiritual dimensions to them. The patriarchal order (itself supported by ritual texts and behavior) was at the core of ancestor worship, which, at times, was intimately connected to notions of legal authority, punishment, and criminality.

Li worked sometimes in concert with and sometimes separately from law to form the framework for social control. As a check on improper behavior (which is often but not always simultaneously illegal behavior), *li* served as an ever-present, sometimes quasi-legal, sometimes para-legal force. And even though a fundamental tenet of Confucian ideology presumed a dichotomy between *li* and law (*fa*), still, *li* broadly defined sometimes provided validation for legal proceedings. At other times, *li* was itself protected by the law.

At the same time that the referent to "religion" in this entry necessarily changes according to the materials available for study, so does that of "law." Law was often inseparable from the ruling political authority, which thus also served as the legislative authority, law enforcer, and/or lawgiver. In this entry, reference is made to a wide range of legal behavior, documents, and legislation.

CATEGORIES OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN LAW AND RELIGION. The following proposed categories of relationship are explored here as a means to present in a manageable way an overwhelming amount of information about a highly intricate web of relationships between law and religion.

Law and the spirit realm. In the early historical period in China, the division between religion on the one hand, and politics and law on the other was blurred. The first potentially legal information dates to approximately 1200 BCE and comes to us from the oracle-bone inscriptions of the late Shang state (c. 1200–1050 BCE). These were divinations to the king's deceased ancestors conducted by the king and his diviners, the contents and sometimes the results of which were later inscribed on turtle plastrons or cattle scapulae. It was thought that the ancestors not only could communicate with the God on High, but also that they were among the significant otherwordly powers that could influence earthly happenings and guide the king in his decision-making. These politico-religious writings are the only extant documents of significant length from the Shang period, but they were certainly not the only ones to have existed. Legal documents probably would have been part of an estimated vast administrative corpus, and these likely would have served as the primary documents recording legal activity and rules. Thus, while a mere handful of the approximately 200,000 known oracle-bone inscriptions seek advice from the spirit world on implementing punishments or on conducting legal matters—and such an interpretation of those inscriptions is not definitive—they cannot necessarily be considered representative of all the legal activity occurring during the late Shang. At the same time, we cannot ignore the implications of this sacred form of ancestral communication on the validation of politico-legal behavior.

The Shang were overthrown by the Zhou around 1150 BCE, an event recorded in many historical texts, some of which are closely contemporary to the actual conquest. Much of the language in these documents couches the Shang downfall and subsequent Zhou conquest in legalistic terms. The fall of the Shang was viewed as a result of moral decline and criminality on the part of the last Shang king, while the conquest by the Zhou was the punishment for such behavior. In order to legitimate control over the subjugated Shang people, the Zhou utilized a rhetorical device, "the Mandate of Heaven" (*tian ming*). It was not that the Zhou invaded and overthrew the Shang, but rather Heaven (*tian*), acting much like judge and jury, decreed that the privilege to rule be stripped from the Shang and transferred to the Zhou. Although the Shang did not share with the Zhou the belief in Heaven as the most potent deity, the Zhou's reliance on this rhetorical religious device must have bolstered their claim to power.

Dating to the Western Zhou dynasty (1050–770 BCE) are a couple dozen ritual bronze vessels inscribed with legalistic contents: appointments to positions entailing legal duties, records of court cases, land transfers, contractual agreements, and private sales transactions. Again, these inscriptions not only comprise a miniscule fraction of all inscribed ritual vessels, they also would not have been the primary vehicle for recording legal matters. Bronze inscriptions tended to be records of noteworthy events that were transmitted to deceased ancestors of the vessel owner through their ritual cooking and feasting using the vessel on which the inscription was cast. Of interest here is the use of religious rhetoric in legal contexts. While Western Zhou legal proceedings were conducted with a high degree of rationality and secularity, the inclusion of religious rhetoric in legal activities may have enabled the legal process and legal decisions to invoke age-old religious authority to lend validity to earthly proceedings and humanly determined verdicts. The ritually enacted transmission of legal decisions to the ancestors also would have authorized the proceedings and their outcomes.

Oaths containing self-imprecations are found in both legal and religious contexts. Those sworn by losing litigants paralleled the syntactical structure of later pledge and loyalty texts from the early fifth century BCE state of Jin, which were spirit-sanctioned contracts between individuals of a common lineage. These covenant texts, inscribed on jade and stone tablets and later buried in pits containing animal sacrifices, were appeals to the ancestral spirits of Jin's deceased rulers to help the covenantor serve the covenant lord and protect the Jin state. They called down punishment from the ancestral spirit world upon the covenantor and his lineage should he breach the stipulations he swore to uphold, thus functioning as a means of spirit-sanctioned deterrence and para-legal enforcement.

Connections between the spirit world and earthly affairs are evidenced in some excavated sources dating to the Warring States period (from the mid-fifth century to 221 BCE). In an inscription on a jade tablet from the state of Qin, the owner, in order to petition the spirit of Hua Mountain to cure his disease, first stipulates that he is "without guilt." Almanacs from throughout the Eastern Zhou period also testify to the belief that events could be determined by unearthly powers through divination. Many of the entries in these texts indicate that a robber may be caught on a particular day, or that a crime will occur. Some even provide partial names of robbers, and/or descriptions of their personalities and physical features.

Chinese folk religion which developed from at least the Han period (206 BCE–220 CE), and especially folk Buddhism of the sixth through ninth centuries CE, gradually incorporated supernatural laws and elaborate spirit worlds that were expected to be morally superior to the earthly realm. They contained references to multiple hells for earthly offenses. These were populated by lawyers and judges, and trials were conducted therein. Certain hells existed to mete out additional punishment on criminals who had already been executed on earth for their crimes. The deep-rooted nature of such popular beliefs necessarily bolstered earthly propensities to obey the law.

The interplay between the two spheres of law and religion was most marked with the notion that the head of state was often simultaneously the supreme religious authority. A person's ancestors were powerful in their own family's lives, but those of a ruling lineage could affect the entire state. This is especially evident when the two authorities came together in the person of the one true king or emperor—titled "The Son of Heaven" (*tian zi*)—who, theoretically if not in practice, usually also stood at the apex of the legal bureaucracy.

Moral rectitude, and correct performance of state-level secular and religious rituals were among the factors validating the emperor's right to rule as well as the decisions (legal and otherwise) that he made. Such was the case, for example, of the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices dedicated to Heaven and Earth, or the fasting rituals of absolution performed by the Qing (1644–1911) emperors at the Temple of Heaven.

Law as regulator of religious authority and enforcer of ritual. China's ruling powers periodically have had to grapple with how to protect themselves from the omnipresent threat of insurgence from religious groups, primarily unofficial ones, as well as how to keep in check the authority of formal and widely practiced religions. The earliest extant, complete legal code which was generated by a central government dates to the Tang dynasty (618–907). The Tang Code evinces what was a lasting practice of close supervision by and even interference from the central government in religious affairs. The 737 revision of the imperial code stipulated legal provisions governing religious activity, a practice that continues to this day under the constitution. The banning of heterodox (i.e., not government-approved) practices, such as witchcraft, fortune-telling, prophecies, treating disease by exorcism, and supplications for offspring was common, especially when such practices had political implications. Examples can be found in Articles 161, 162, and 165 of the Great Qing Code, and in the 1999 Decision of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Article 36 of the 1982 constitution has similar implications.

Since the Six Dynasties period, the clergy also were subject to varying forms of bureaucratic control. They enjoyed certain privileges, such as exemption from land tax on their monasteries and temples, and reprieves from corvée labor (state-mandated) and military conscription. Thus, religious clergy and institutions came to be considered by many to be societal parasites. Buddhism presented a further problem. Upon ordination, its monks and nuns were required to sever all ties and obligations with their families, society, and the state, and instead to operate under Buddhism's own hierarchy and system of property ownership. Such autonomy was antagonistic to a culture based in large part upon a complex formula of social and familial relationships and obligations. Legislation specifically aimed at the clergy is found in the Tang, Song (960–1279), Ming (1368–1644), and Qing codes. For example, the Tang and Song codes incorporate statutes governing property ownership by religious clergy, as well as the relations between the clergy and the state. Similarly, Article 176 of the Great Qing Code stipulates that Buddhist and Daoist clergy must observe proper Confucian ritual observances for their parents and sacrifices to their ancestors. This can be seen as a means to keep religious orders under the control of the greater political order, and of protecting the patriarchal Confucian social order.

Weakening of religious authority is seen in other ways, too. According to the reconstructed Yuan Code of 1291, special jurisdiction was granted to Buddhist and Daoist clergy. Minor offenses by a clergy member fell within the jurisdiction of the temple, while serious offenses (such as sexual assault, homicide, robbery) were to be tried in a court of law. During the Song (960–1279), the government repeatedly tried to prohibit Manichaeism, whose adherents were often rebelling against the state. By separating its leaders from their followers, and by regulating their gatherings, the state succeeded in slowly diffusing Manichaeism's threat to the central government. (This practice has been employed repeatedly throughout China's history, more recently with the exile of Tibetan Buddhism's spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama.) State intervention in religion is also evident in the conferring of living buddhas. During the Ming dynasty, the state assumed legal jurisdiction over the identification of the reincarnation of living buddhas and the approval of their enthronement. This was done in accordance with established religious rituals and historical conventions of Tibetan Buddhism. This practice was followed by the Qing, and is still upheld today under the jurisdiction of the State Council's Bureau of Religious Affairs.

The regulation by law of religious acts also had another dimension. At times throughout China's history it would seem that the social force behind ritual observances was not always sufficient. In the Tang and later codes, articles were included which enforced certain ritual activities. The Ming and Qing codes include entire sections concerning the Board of Rites (*li bu*). The Tang Code also contains articles which essayed to enforce officials to properly conduct their duties regarding the imperial sacrifices; to ensure the practice of the purification ritual according to the ritual schedule; to protect sacrificial objects and structures; to punish non-observance of rules of proper ceremony (*li*) and demeanor (*yi*); to enforce proper mourning for parents and husbands, proper care for ill or critically disabled parents, and proper burial etiquette; and to uphold ritually correct village wine-drinking activities. All of these behaviors are among those that were generally dictated by *li*.

The Tang, Song, and Qing codes also invoked ritual texts of previous periods to support laws regulating extra-religious activities. For instance, Song legal conservatives appealed to Warring States ritual texts as support for reduction of penalties. The Great Qing Code also incorporated many stipulations from earlier ritual texts, especially the *Zhou li* (Rituals of Zhou), as well as some general ritual observances. Certain legal organs protected the presumed chastity of women of a particular social standing by requiring a male relative to appear in court in her stead. And while the state did not sanction the long-standing custom of vendetta, the Tang and Song codes, following the example of preceding dynasties, did grant some leniency for sons or grandsons who attempted to avenge the murder of their elders. Under the Song, even more lenient treatment than that prescribed by law was sometimes granted.

Religion and law in Communist China. The relationship between religion and law in Communist China (1949 to the present) is a complex one, and incorporates historical antecedents like those discussed above. With the exception of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), when all religious activity was banned, religious freedom is protected under the Chinese Constitution as well as under the criminal, civil, electoral, military, and compulsory education laws. The central government instated departments of religious affairs to ensure that this freedom is honored. Additionally, Article 36 of the constitution grants equal rights and protection from discrimination to citizens practicing "normal religion," that is, those five religions recognized by the state (Buddhism, Daoism, Catholicism, Christianity/Protestantism, and Islam). Parties, including state officials, who harm the religious feelings or freedom of an individual or group are to be dealt with according to the law, although this is not always carried out.

Government-recognized religious organizations receive financial assistance from central and local governments for repairs to churches, mosques, temples, and monasteries, as well as tax exemptions for land and buildings used for religious purposes. The Chinese government also offers services for Chinese Muslims who wish to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, and financial support for the printing of religious scriptures.

On the surface it appears that legal institutions protect religious freedom. However, this protection is not without qualification. Religious freedom is subordinate to China's political aims. For example, one of the tenets underpinning Communist Party rule is the building of "spiritual civilization," specifically, "socialist spiritual civilization," a role that the state itself strives to monopolize rather than leave to independent religious organizations. The ultimate goal of the party is to make religion obsolete in China. However, current trends in various localities, wherein the prestige of and interest in joining the Communist Party is waning as that of religion is on the rise, suggest that the people prefer religious organizations in the role of spiritual leaders. China's constitution is written in such a way as to permit the state broad control over religious freedom as a means of ensuring the state's "supremacy," and of stemming the tide of any movements that are potentially harmful to the state. It stipulates that no individual may use religious beliefs or activities to undermine the government. This includes disrupting public order, interfering with the state educational system, or harming another citizen. Local and central governments also grant or deny permission for the restoration and opening of places of worship. Most importantly, only religions that are formally recognized by the state may exist, and these must be law-abiding and patriotic by supporting the Communist leadership and socialist system. Furthermore, their leadership structures must be identifiable, possibly so that they may be more easily controlled by the state. Government suspicion of religions or cultic movements has ample historical precedent. The Five Pecks of Rice Rebellion of 184, and the Yellow Turban Rebellion of 190, are among the earlier examples in a long line of religiously inspired uprisings that sought to challenge State authority. The government's repeated suppression and regulation of Muslim religious activities in Xinjiang are considered by the state to be legal because they are linked to separatist activities. Similar concerns influence government control of Buddhism in Tibet. The recent crackdown on Falun Gong practitioners may, perhaps, also be viewed in this light.

Religion's subordination to China's political agenda is seen in other ways as well. For example, the Vatican is considered first and foremost to be a political entity, and religious interaction with it will only be permitted once it supports China's "one-country policy" by severing relations with Taiwan. China's religious bodies must also be self-governing and independent of foreign control, although it does permit interaction between Chinese and foreign religious bodies when the latter recognizes the former as their equals. Where Catholicism is concerned, this effectively prevents relations between the Vatican and the Chinese Catholic Church, as the state's policy requires that its bishops be consecrated by the Chinese church. Furthermore, each of the five recognized religions is monitored by a "patriotic association" (which, among other things, approves religious leaders for applicant congregations), and they, in turn, are responsible to the state's Bureau of Religious Affairs. All religious activity and fixed places of worship which are not registered with the appropriate patriotic association are considered illegal. Additionally, Communist Party members are prohibited from practicing even state-recognized religions.

CONCLUSION. The preceding discussion and sample evidence serve as a springboard for further investigation into the complex relationship between law and religion from the late second millennium BCE. At times symbiotic, at times antagonistic, law and religion have been two indispensable elements of social control in China. While the specific dynamics of their relationship have varied according to historical and social circumstances, many have endured for centuries, if not millennia.

SEE ALSO Buddhism; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Chinese Buddhism; Chinese Religion; Confucianism; Dalai Lama; Falun Gong; Tian.

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LAW AND RELIGION: LAW, RELIGION, AND LITERATURE

The critique of "the textual bias" in studies of culture is important, and we ignore the implications at our peril: interpretation never exists independently of social context or setting, especially the institutional. Yet it is inevitably and decisively the case that language and its conventions play a dominant and decisive role in the complexly variegated realms of law and religion, and perhaps most acutely at their myriad intersections. Scholars of religion and scholars of law have each acted explicitly on this recognition, generating the fields of "religion and literature" and "law and literature." This shared "turn to the literary" reflects some common questions and interests. First, and most generally, there is the common recognition that to grasp securely the cultural standing of religion or of law mandates sustained attention to specific forms of expression; and that, in turn, that the relationship is dialogical, so that literature is understood to influence religion and law even as law and religion are understood to influence literature. It also reflects, secondly, a recognition that questions of linguistic construction and deconstruction, of determinate and indeterminate linguistic meaning and the degree to which social context addresses such concerns, is a central question. And, finally, in each instance but with differing degrees of emphasis and controversy, each includes on the part of some an attempt to correct or augment a deficiency in scholarship. The debate about the "turn to the literary" in law and literature is discussed below and is nascent by comparison to the discussions in religion and literature. Readers should consult relevant entries for its history in religion and literature.

That both legal systems and religions arbitrarily deploy language has as its crucial corollary the fact that in doing so they generate and employ literary conventions of both usage and form. The shared concept of "canonical" writings, whether sacred scripture or constitution and statute, extending in turn to commentary and judicial opinion, indexes the deep family resemblances between religion and law. It is the source as well of their common fascination with questions of hermeneutics. Elucidation of the canon is a great religious and a great legal expertise, hallowed alike in courtroom argument and Sabbath sermon, legal brief and scriptural commentary. Canons of sacred scripture include law in both literal and figurative modes: literally, as exemplified in the Jewish Torah by the Decalogue and the related prescriptions in *Leviticus, Numbers,* and *Deuteronomy,* and figurally in the Christian formulation penned by St. Paul in his *Epistle to the Romans*—itself an exegesis of Torah—regarding the spirit and the letter. Legal opinions and briefs deploy a range of narrative techniques to plot the "facts of the case" and thus shape the appropriate purview of juridical deliberation, and the writing of judicial opinions is, among other things, a rhetorical art of interpretation, whether in explication or dissent. The point is not to elide distinctive legal and religious traditions, but to underscore the less frequently noted, yet crucial and foundational, literary and interpretive connections between law and religion.

If law and religion both take innate recourse to literary expression, it is equally the case that works of imaginative literature frequently and vigorously engage religion or the law, or both. It is striking that scholars of law and literature whose work engages in sustained literary interpretation have lavished more attention on the novel. While there are important studies of law and poetry, and especially of law and drama (most notably Sophocles and Shakespeare), the modern novel's susceptibility to plurality in both linguistic expression and social setting, its sheer plasticity, afford it a particular fascination for the innately adversarial processes of argument and evidentiary discussion that characterize most modern legal systems. Standard citations tend to focus on twentieth-century works, and range from Franz Kafka's *The Trial* (1914) and Albert Camus's *The Stranger* (1940) to Truman Capote's self-proclaimed journalistic work of historical fiction, *In Cold Blood* (1965) and William Gaddis's *A Frolic of His Own* (1994). But the range, even limiting the purview to the novel, is extraordinarily wide and diverse. Henry Fielding (1707–1754), both a distinguished jurist and one of the first great English novelists, deployed in the creation of his self-proclaimed "new Species of Writing" the literary forms of sermon and legal brief in the service of cultivating his hallowed virtue of "readerly sagacity." *The History of Tom Jones, A Foundling* (1749), Fielding's greatest novel, displays its author's familiarity with classical legal argument in its sophisticated use of ongoing commentary, intercalary tales, and retrospective viewpoint. The novel constructs a scenario in which the maxim (averred by both the theology and the law of the day) "that Virtue is the certain Road to happiness, and Vice to misery" is brought into severe question but ultimately affirmed.

Also noteworthy for the interactions of law, religion and literature is the corresponding emergence, also as early as Fielding's own time, of the figure of the literary critic who renders learned judgment on literary works toward the formation of an authoritative canon of "the classics." What is perhaps the first major controversy of *belles letters* had to do with the concept of poetic justice, and its appropriate use in drama. Two English "men of letters," Joseph Addison and John Dennis, debated hotly the question of whether the drama ought to reflect the justice of this world or the next, of death or the Final Judgment. Instigated by the production and popularity of Nahum Tate's revised version of William Shakespeare's *King Lear*—in which Tate excised hundreds of lines from the original, and rewrote the ending to transform tragedy into comedy in the name of poetic justice—the Addison/Dennis debate was such that some seventy years later Samuel Johnson was constrained to take up the case in his authoritative *Preface to Shakespeare* (1765). Citing the popularity of Tate's version and his own aversion to the terrors of the original, Johnson effectively "found for" Tate's revision. While Johnson's judgment lacked the binding authority of a judicial ruling, Tate's *King Lear* rather than Shakespeare's was performed on the English stage for the next one hundred and fifty years.

As these brief and necessarily selective examples underscore, the engagement of law and religion in the realm of imaginative literature and literary criticism is manifest. Scholarship, however, has not kept pace with history in this regard. While scholars of religion and of law have in recent decades explored in systematic and parallel ways the relationship of their respective fields to literature and hermeneutics, their common efforts have not intersected. Before sketching these developments and discussing a particularly important and illustrative dispute in the domain of "law and literature," a brief *caveat* may be in order. The point of stressing these parallels is to underscore the prospect of comparative analysis rather than direct analogy. The Jewish tradition of *halakhah,* rabbinic exegesis addressing the proper understanding of (sometimes obscure) scriptural tenet to (sometimes challenged or compromised) religious practice, has no direct analogue in the Christian tradition. Yet both *halakhah* and Martin Luther's commentary on the *Book of Genesis* reflect an ongoing recourse in the Jewish and Christian traditions to interpret their scriptures in ways that inform the theological and moral livelihoods of their respective communities. Comparison that is principled—that does not fall into reduction or assimilation—affords clarity both about fundamental human cultural practices and their distinctive manifestations in individual communities. An excellent example of this concerns ongoing debates in American jurisprudence concerning the relationship of the Constitution to the rendering of legal opinion. When a Supreme Court Justice argues that his job is to elucidate the intent of the Founding Fathers, and only that, he is in fact engaging a set of hermeneutical issues that have a history dating to ancient Greece, and a relevance to a broad range of humanistic work in both religion and literature. Longstanding debates about the inspiration and interpretation of the sacred scriptures of Judaism and Christianity revolve around precisely the question the Justice invokes in his declaration. The European hermeneutical tradition is also represented, especially in the work of Juergen Habermas, Hans-Georg Gadamer, and Paul Ricoeur, and in important traditions in twentieth-century literary studies ranging from the American New Critical tradition of John Crowe Ransom, William Wimsatt, and Cleanth Brooks, to the deconstructionist theories of Jacques Derrida. A more vigorous comparative scholarship integrating law, religion, and literature can only enhance thought about canonical inspiration, its relation to exegesis and its obligations, and the interplay of the authorities of scripture, tradition, and experience in elucidating authoritative sources for contemporary life. The obverse also holds: Charles Dickens' *Bleak House* is deprived of its moral scope when it is not understood to be as fully engaged with social questions about the status of law in Victorian England as is any halakhic text with conceptions of Jewish duty in modern civil society. Correspondingly, halakhic discourse is deprived of its imaginative scope and figural discretion if we do not attend to its literary conventions and hermeneutical presuppositions. Only in such comparative contexts is it possible fully to recognize and appreciate the complex interplay of received tradition and contemporary practice that characterizes legal, religious, and literary practice.

THE TURN TO LITERATURE IN STUDY OF THE LAW. If scholars have not pursued these conjunctions, recent decades have set the stage for the possibility of doing so through the turn, both in scholarship on the law and in scholarship on religion, to the study of literature and the complementary study of interpretive theory. The last two decades of the twentieth century witnessed an efflorescence of the "law and literature" field: courses exploring the interface now study legal curricular across North America, and the publications have kept pace. The field of religion and literature has a somewhat earlier pedigree, dating at least to the late 1940s and arguably to the earliest decades of the twentieth century. Its integration into the broader study of religion—witnessed by the widespread prevalence of the category of narrative in the study of religion, and the recourse to the hermeneutical tradition across nearly all dimensions of the study of religion—has been more systematic. Such has been the success of religion and literature so conceived that its integration across historical, theological, and human scientific study is manifest.

Such integration is less clear in the case of study of the law and literature. Central to the field is a debate about the use and abuse of the literary turn in the study of law. Two of the most important figures in this debate are James Boyd White and Richard Posner: each offers a formulation of the field, and each has engaged the other's work critically. White, whose *The Legal Imagination* (1973) served to crystallize interest in the field, argues that two predominant conceptions tend to delineate studies of law and literature: the "findings" conception, in which the law uses literature to establish truths about the inhumanity of law; and the "technologies" conception, in which the *au courant* terminologies of critical theory are deployed to perpetuate longstanding debates about legal interpretation. Dissatisfied with both conceptions, White argues for a third, better option: that law is best understood as a compositional art in which the mind uses language to make meaning and establish community. Because the law has this role, it follows that it is essential for lawyers to establish a voice, one that is both professionally excellent and individually authentic. White argues that, examined carefully, this recognition is not unique to the law: lawyers are in this regard one professional group contributing to the broader cultural matrix of professionals, including poets, politicians, priests, and indeed all citizens, who aspire to the same. White's conception thus seeks to move beyond the correlative formulation of law *and* literature to the descriptive formulation of law *as* literature: to the understanding that literature is not a recourse to expand reference or elucidate theory in the law, but is rather its essence. Law is neither more nor less than a cultural form of literary expression.

At stake for White in this claim is the public culture of a social order. Worried that law may simply take over and transform a culture into one that operates by adversarial argumentation, White advocates for the recognition—against the mechanistic tendencies that he sees to run very deep in our culture—that fundamental to our lives as human beings is the use of language to make meaning. Framed in this way, law is understood to be one of the fundamental processes by which society argues about its values. Promoting a kind of "negative capability," the Romantic poet John Keats' phrase for the ideal receptive state for poetic reception, White advocates a sensibility in which this recognition eases adversarial opposition and its ensuing isolation: we can admire opinions with which we disagree and condemn aspects of opinions with which we are in concord. This capacity will both underscore the commonality of the endeavor, and lead us to the essential recognition that the world is, in the end, a matter of conversation and discourse.

In contrast, Richard Posner regards the law precisely as a set of rules for social control, and he is dubious that literary criticism or works of literature can or do present a formalizable theory or method that can inform the law. Posner allows that lawyers and literary critics are both close readers, but they read very different materials, and therein lies all the difference. *Hamlet* and the United States Constitution both present puzzles, but the natures of the puzzles differ and there are few telling commonalities. There are, to be sure, craft values from reading literature, and perhaps literary criticism, that help judges to think and write better than they would otherwise. But the bottom line, in Posner's judgment, is that law and literature represent different realms of literary discourse that require different valuations.

Posner thus articulates distinctive approaches to law and to literature, and must formulate as well a rationale for their conjunction that is more willed than innate. He advocates respectively for a pragmatic approach to the law, and a formalist approach to literature. Following his claim that the problems of literary and legal texts are different, Posner argues that these approaches most fully honor the nature of their object: law adjudicates disputes and establishes the social arrangements that ameliorate them; literature delights us with its beauty and wit. One body of texts exerts social control, while the other is an art. Posner is in turn skeptical about establishing even a willed conjunction. He finds White's "law as literature" conjunction to be based on a view of literature as edification that is both vague and didactic—terms which together describe the antithesis, in Posner's view, of great art and thus do not persuade him. There is for Posner the further problem of social utility: what new insights does the study of literature bring to specific fields of the law? Here Posner contrasts literary theory unfavorably with economic theory, asserting that applications of economics permeate many standard fields of legal study and even create new ones. While Posner avers that law and literature should be understood to be complementary rather than competitive, it is clear that their conjunction is more social than dialectical.

As it stands this debate is intractable because of the stilted relationship in each case between meaning and power. For White, meaning is central and must trump pure power, while for Posner power in an important sense simply is meaning. The late Robert Cover, in a suggestive and necessarily incompletely developed but seminal article, anticipates precisely this dilemma. Postulating that every community has a *nomos*, or regulative code—it is telling that Cover reintroduces religion into the conversation by drawing a parallel between the Greek term and the Hebrew Torah—Cover argues that it is internally tensive in its parts: "For every constitution there is an epic," he writes, and "for each Decalogue a scripture" (Minow, Ryan, and Sarat, p. 96). Society constructs a nomos not solely of law, then, but of law and literature, to encompass power and meaning, and thus acknowledge the degree to which uncontrolled meaning destabilizes power, and uncontrolled power destabilizes meaning. The central point, Cover argues, is to recognize this conjunction for the fundamental tension that it is, and to expect the discretion of judges, and by implication artists, to be informed by it.

Cover's untimely death, and a style of writing that defies apodictic summary, leaves his readers without the full development of the idea of nomos, and its implications for the relationship between power and meaning, that one might wish. But the analogy of *nomos* to Torah that informs his work has its complementary development in both the Jewish and Christian traditions. Thus Jon D. Levenson shapes his treatment of theodicy in Judaism around the juxtaposition in the Scriptures of the Covenant between God and Israel. In that Covenant, fealty to the law assures divine guidance and protection. Yet the Jewish canon also includes the story of Job, in which a man utterly faithful to the Covenant nonetheless experiences tragedy and the utter absence of God. In strictly logical terms, the juxtaposition bespeaks a contradiction. Levenson has no wish to understate that fact or its impact. Yet, like Cover, he argues that the canonical incorporation of the covenant promise and the story of Job into one common scripture acknowledges that power and meaning do not fully accord in human experience. Religions of the book construct canons precisely to afford themselves both law and story, both power and meaning, and the crucial capacity to acknowledge their sometimes uneasy juxtaposition and even conflict in human experience. Religion adds to the study of law and literature a crucial umbrella of coherence, that enables full engagement and obviates the otherwise destructive impasses effected by the Posner/White debate. Through its processes of canon formation, and the intertextual reference the canon enables, religions of the book afford the fullest possible informing relationship and ongoing conversation—between the legal regulation of power, and the literary expression of vagaries of personal identity and experience.

CONCLUSION. Legal theorist and philosopher Ronald Dworkin proposes a view of legal reasoning as analogous to a chain novel, in which a judge inherits a history of opinion to which she or he must add the latest chapter. Dworkin seeks to capture with this formulation what he regards as the exquisite equipoise necessary for a responsible judiciary: it is constrained both by what has been written, and by the demand of a new chapter. Dworkin's formulation would not pass muster with either White or Posner: for White, it would fall into the technologies conception of theorizing, while for Posner the founding statutes of the U.S. Constitution are not analogous to the opening chapter of a novel. The above survey would appear to suggest, however, that White may underestimate the need for a requisite theoretical architecture to support his claim that law is one of a set of cultural expressions under the aegis of literature; and, correspondingly, that Posner may underestimate the degree to which a Shakespeare or a Tolstoy can accomplish a great deal in an opening scene or chapter. Dworkin's formulation appropriates and makes usefully concrete Hans-Georg Gadamer's conception of "the history of effects": the idea that, when we encounter a work of the imagination, we encounter not only it but its recensions and valorizations through time. Such a formulation honors the power of imagination in the human adventure with ideas, and underscores how central the imaginative capacity is not only to literature, but to religion and the law.

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RICHARD A. ROSENGARTEN (2005)

LAW AND RELIGION: LAW, RELIGION, AND CRITICAL THEORY

In the course of a case concerned with contempt of court, an English judge not long ago remarked: "if any secular relation is analogous to that between priest and penitent, it is that between lawyer and client" (*X Ltd* v. *Morgan Grampian*). The judge in question, officially entitled Master of the Rolls, or in a vernacular idiom, Lord of the legal writings, appears to have meant that there is no higher duty than that owed to the law. The relationship between lawyer and client is a fiduciary one, it is based upon faith, and it relays the truths contained in the texts or scripture of law.

This judicial aside can help to remind us that for all of its seemingly secular aura, the contemporary legal tradition still harbors theological roots and practices, a hermeneutics that developed first as a dogmatics or unraveling of canonical, text-based truths. The great scriptural moments of law, from the eighteenth-century BCE Code of Hammurabi to the U.S. Constitution, from the civilian codes to the books of common law, still place law apart or purport to remove it from the mundane political domain, and so perpetuate a religious function. In that the interpenetration of law and religion is structural rather than always immediately apparent, its reconstruction is best illustrated historically as well as conceptually.

UNDER GOD AND LAW. The modern Western legal tradition has its roots in a dual law whose source is first divine and only latterly spoken through the mouth of the mundane sovereign or judge. The Judeo-Christian tradition of law depended heavily upon the image of a divine legislator whose orders governed both nature and society. From the very beginnings of the tradition, the source of law was the dictate, commandment, or tables of an invisible God whose decrees were enigmatic and in need of protection and interpretation by authorized human intermediaries, oracles, and, later, lawyers.

The Renaissance inherited a theistic—specifically, monotheistic—conception of law through the *Corpus Iuris Civilis,* or great code of Roman law that the Eastern Emperor Justinian I (482–565) had ordered compiled in early-sixth-century Byzantium (Berman, 1983). The text had been lost for several centuries before its rediscovery in Bologna toward the end of the twelfth century, and it became both the source of law and the rule of its method (Legendre, 1964). Although no more than a collection of fragments, maxims, and opinions of long-deceased Roman lawyers, the *Corpus Iuris* represented to the later age the irrefragable truth of law. It was preserved and studied as a sacred text. This means, in essence, that what mattered was the status of the text and the rites of access to it rather than the vagaries of its content. In the description of one humanist lawyer, early jurists would travel to Italy to study the original text of the law, which was "guarded like a sacred relic, only being very rarely shown accompanied by candles and torches, thus did the ancient mystagogues show their law to the faithful" (Hotman, 1567, p. 120). The source of such a view is not hard to discern. The *Corpus* indeed begins by announcing that God is its author—*Deo Auctore*—but also early on indicates that the study of law is the study of all things, both divine and human. So too, within the early common-law tradition, it was God and law that governed, and those who represented the law were expressly the delegates of *maiestatis,* or divine authority. In a characteristic phrase from a guide to the study of law authored by an English lawyer writing at the very end of the sixteenth century, "law and religion do lie together" (Fulbecke, 1599, p. 103). They are between the same persons and about the same things.

The rules of legal method, both in Europe and in the anglophone common-law world, are derived from the inherited Roman exemplars. Although God was from the early modern period onward decreasingly the explicit source of law, the Western tradition remained bound to a series of religiously inspired dogmatic axioms. First and paradoxically, the source of law remained a mystery, or *arcanum,* that exceeded the bounds of temporal human knowledge. Law was founded upon something other than law. The text was simply a visible manifestation of an invisible cause; the law was in the end the expression of a law of law and thus only the *iuris peritus,* or legally wise, could excavate and interpret the proper meaning of rules that by this definition were necessarily too old to be uncovered by historians or too technical to be understood by the untrained. In good Christian fashion, lawyers believed that the text was simply a mnemonic or sign of a higher order of truth, and hence it was a primary rule of method that it was not the letter of the law, but according to the Roman jurists, it was rather its interlinear force and power, the intention that spoke through it, that had to be observed. For the English legal sage Sir Edward Coke, it was equally "*non verba sed veritas est amanda*—not the words, but the truth that is to be loved" (Maclean, 1992, p. 33).

Second, although the source of law existed prior to and exceeded any specific written representation, the immediate secular presence of law was to be found in a text or series of texts that were the bearers of the esoteric but visible rule of law. Law was a system of texts, and it was in and through the scripture of law that the sanctity or separateness of law was maintained. A chief marker of such distance from the mundane lay in the language of law, which was explicitly that of written reason, or *ratio scripta*, namely Latin rather than the vernacular, because God and law were best protected from both the blandishments of popular use and the depredations of the local tongue (Goodrich, 2003).

Third, the textual basis of law imposed hermeneutics, or the science of textual interpretation, as the proper method of legal study. Encoded in a foreign tongue and surrounded by rites of solemnization and authority, only the chosen few—the sovereign and its various delegates—could properly pierce the veil of the text, and embody and interpret the laws. The historical trajectory of law from the divine ruler to the human subject meant that legal hermeneutics was not simply bound to the doctrine delivered through texts, but also was under the duty of discovering the singular and primary truth that underpinned any given legal text. Monotheism in short dictated that just as there was only one God, so too there could only be one meaning of law, and that was the meaning that accorded best with the hermeneutic labor or divination of what the deity—or latterly the emperor, the founding fathers, or sovereign—intended (Legendre, 1988).

THE NORMATIVE FUNCTION OF LAW. Dogmatics, the patient exegesis or exposition of the meaning of an incorrigible text, is common to religion and law. To the extent that theologian and jurist are alike concerned with expounding not the letter but the spirit, not the words but the truth of the text, the technical role of interpretation is secondary to its normative function. The text must produce not simply a meaning but an object of reverence: an image, concept, or term that the subject can love. The text must bind the social, and to do so it must get under the skin of its subjects and attach them to law. Within the Western tradition such veneration of the law was both explicit in the *Decretals*—the primary source of ecclesiastical law, which directly ordained a love of texts in the injunction *venerandae romanae leges* (the laws of the Romans must be venerated)—and more structurally in instituting the image of authority: a pontiff, sovereign, or other social father figure who acted as the living emblem of a divine law.

The term *dogmatics* derives from the Greek *dokein* and means "to think," but it also has a secondary meaning of "reverie," or the recounting of dreams and visions. The alternate connotations capture the dual function of the textual art of law. According to the Roman tradition it was the function of law *vitam instituere,* or "to institute life," and this function can be interpreted plausibly to include two principal projects. The first was broadly aesthetic and amounted to enacting the social or instituting a theater of justice and truth (Gearey, 2001). The second was more strictly ethical—instituting a subject who would take up his or her role in the hierarchy of textually assigned places and thus live faithfully, according to the dictates of the social father, and within the law.

"The theater of justice and truth" is an expression that derives from the early modern era, and it captures well the essentially symbolic function of law that more contemporary law formulates less elegantly in the maxim that "justice must not only be done, but must be seen to be done." To have its effects, law has to be staged. It has to establish a scene of law, and this means not simply an image of authority or authorship of law, but a series of ceremonies or rites of solemnization through which the sanctity of law can be promulgated or made socially present. This depends first upon a spatial metaphor—the separation of the legal from the social within an elaborate architecture of courts and codes of procedure that include control of both how the law is represented and what can be said about it (Haldar, 1999). The architecture of law signals a hierarchy and power that is apparent not only in the often dramatic scale of the courthouse (its columns, domes, and rotunda) but also in the courtroom itself, with its familiar bar that marks the separation of law (the bench) from the social, and across which the law will sound. The bar is what Franz Kafka (1883–1924) framed as the gate or door before which the peasant protagonist of his parable "Before the Law" waited uselessly, or at least under a misapprehension for the entirety of what remained of his life (Kafka, 1976).

The law requires both a physical demarcation of its distance from the mundane, as well as a professional caste of lawyers, the fiduciaries who will mediate and disseminate the protocols that institute and maintain that distance. The role of the lawyer is that of guardian of the secrets of texts, because it is the texts of law that establish the hierarchical places and legitimate roles of the social. In classical law, the text is not simply something to read, it is the space people inhabit. Hence the life and death significance of hermeneutics, the legal art of manipulating the arcane elements of legal texts, the foreign languages, the enigmas, archaisms, and other protocols through which the law gains its legitimacy and its force. It is indeed the unique feature of the Western legal tradition that it is fundamentally enigmatic. The ritual character of legality is not directly a feature of celebration or education, but rather it separates and distances so as to establish hierarchy and inculcate reverence for a theistically derived truth and law. Whereas non-Western traditions, such as that in China, have frequently relied upon governance through the simplicity of laws, the Western tradition has used the complexity of legal language and the intricacy of texts as one further symbol of the divine provenance of law (Soupiot, 2002).

CRITICAL THEORIES. The beginning of all critique lies in the critique of religion. This Marxist axiom probably stands in need of revision. The beginning of all critique now probably lies in the critique of law, although as elaborated above, this means critique of a law that is both divine and human in its origins. In a recent study of the "mediocracy," the contemporary French intellectual leftist Dominique Lecourt offers the view that it is precisely the failure to challenge an unthinking adherence to the sanctity of law that undermines critical theory: "Today," he opines, "there is no more emphatic discourse than that extolling the virtues of the 'state of law'. . . . When we hear encomia to a form of state that respects duly established judicial rules and procedures, another little tune insinuates that the state is 'law' in the sense that wine is 'Bordeaux'. . . . Has the structure via which the normativity of juridical and political institutions operates in the West really changed? Has the absolute reference point constituted by God remained vacant?" (Lecourt, 2001, p. 129).

Viewed in historical perspective, the separation of church and state was a displacement of the religious function from the former to the latter, involving a juridification of the rites of solemnization rather than their erasure. In good Roman fashion, modern people go to court for the truth, to the market for credit or belief, but only privately attend the confessional, mass, synagogue, or Sunday service (Saunders, 1997). Reason appears to be free of the church but remains staunchly Christian, indelibly Western, and resolutely singular. In the manner of the earlier juristic tradition of *universalia,* or imperial and global statements of legal truth, it should also be pointed out that reason attaches to institutions that are hierarchically ordered, organized according to systems of authorized texts, and generally dogmatic in their methods. The legal function, in other words, takes over the public space of religion or the founding image of the social, yet renders itself more or less impervious to the political critique of religion by adopting an increasingly secular and economical, or efficient, appearance in its more visible social forms of presence, whether on *Court TV* or in the various grandstand trials that more or less continuously perturb the media.

In a contemporary critical idiom, the key question that remains to be fully addressed is that of what the residual religious function of law entails. From an anthropological perspective it is evident that the rites, rituals, arcane languages, and architectural and artistic insignia of law all convey significant social and political messages, and not least the attributes of authority and attachment. In these terms, law both provides a sense of community and models the modes of belonging, of citizenship, and of social role. These begin with the family and end with the sovereign and the reason of state. Their logic, if not always their religious roots, has been the object of a variety of critiques based loosely in gender studies, social theory, and critical race studies.

In many senses the most obvious and potentially the most far-reaching of critiques of the religious function of law lies in the critique of the paternal role of the law, and specifically of the father figure in whose name the lawyer speaks. The tradition is explicitly and expressly patristic, and the law speaks in the name of a singular father. This has had a variety of detractors based in feminist theory and in gender and transgender studies. At its most basic, the tradition models a singular law and an equally monolithic reason. A logic of identity and a privileging of the same thus take precedence over difference and diversity. As Luce Irigaray, one of the most legally oriented of feminist critics, has put it, this means that there is in doctrinal terms only one sex and only one form of legal personality or citizenship. Using the fact that there are two sexes—three if one counts the relationship between the sexes as a further distinct form of sexuality—she argues for explicit legal definition, protection, and rights for a feminine legal personality (Irigaray, 1992). She continues to advocate a doctrinal accounting of the feminine and so interestingly proposes a diversification of both the texts and methods of law. Doctrinal difference here requires attention to the body as well as to the more familiar abstractions of law, and favors the reason of emotion, the aesthetic and poetic, as supplements to the rigid morality of law.

Parallel to the argument for difference predicated upon gender is the broadly sociological critique of the caste and class, or priesthood, of lawyers (Kairys, 1990). Here the social class and political place of the legal profession is subjected to a substantive critique of the instrumental function of legality. Law protects private wealth rather than public good. It favors the rich, or corporate interest, over the poor. The profession itself both represents and belongs to a ruling elite. The political economy of lawyering inexorably supports the hierarchical and singular logic of established power, or the *status quo ante*, leading critical legal scholars—a brief but expressive conference of radical legal academics—to the position that law is indistinguishable from politics, and that legal reason is simply theology by other means (Schlag, 2000).

Writing within a Christian tradition is inevitably a Trinitarian enterprise, and so there is ineluctably a third position to depict. Critique of the gender bias and class interests of law, of the residual paternal function and priestly status of lawyers, was in cultural terms an internal critique. Feminism and gay and lesbian studies had their roots in white, middle-class, and frequently legal circles. The critical legal studies movement was overwhelmingly masculine and rooted in a white, middle-class academy. Concerned primarily with projecting their own anger at their exclusion from power onto the juridical structure, they ironically adopted a legalistic stance in critique of law, and paradoxically offered a series of universal solutions to the problem of the extant universalism. Critique here tended to represent most directly the interests of the critics themselves, and at best simply spoke for—rather than empowering or giving voice to—the majority of those excluded by the sexism or elitism of the juristic tradition. Amongst the various flaws in such a position was the absence of any sustained attention to racial difference or to non-Western cultures.

The final branch of critique thus has been critical race theory. It has introduced the history and the plural forms of diverse non-Western cultures into the analysis of law. Histories of slavery have been introduced into the analysis of the law of property, and fiction, dance, and jazz have been culled for their expressions of alternative norms and laws (Williams, 1988). Although authored primarily from within the Western legal tradition, critical race theory provides at least one impetus for perceiving the limits of Western law. Viewed as the expression of a social form, the limit of the Western legal tradition is coincident with the limits of the religious culture and history that it represents. That the Christian tradition was both imperialistic and universalizing gains expression contemporarily in the expansionist tendencies of law and economics. The fact that the discipline of law is not any longer expressly religious in its self-presentation should not obscure the fact that lawyers currently undertake the fiduciary role and bear the status insignia that in previous eras belonged to the priest and enjoyed the protection of the church.

SEE ALSO Canon; Codes and Codification; Justinian I; Literature, article on Critical Theory and Religious Studies.

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PETER GOODRICH **(2005)**

LAW AND RELIGION: LAW, RELIGION, AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The roots of human rights reach back into history as long as human beings have struggled for liberty and justice, yet the modern international human rights movement only took shape, through the agency of the United Nations, in the wake of World War II. Despite the voluminous output of literature on human rights, scholarly analysis of the promotion and protection of the freedom of religion and belief, and the ambivalent relationship of human rights concepts to religious traditions, only started to become apparent in the 1980s—subsequent to the development of specific international human rights instruments. The manifold reasons for this orphan status include secularist perceptions of religion as privatized, irrelevant or dangerous, sensitivity of religion questions, relativist concerns, and difficulty of achieving consensus and definition across many different traditions. Yet the rise of religion to prominence on the world stage has added new impetus to analyzing and engaging religious ideas and institutions from a human rights perspective, and vice versa.

CONTOURS AND CHALLENGES. Several specialized texts on the ambivalent relationship between religion and human rights emerged in the 1990s. Arguably the most influential publication was the two-volume *Religious Human Rights* (Witte and Vyver 1996; van der Vyver and Witte 1996). It represented the first attempt to bring together different religious traditions and scholarly disciplines to examine, from an international perspective, the various permutations of the relationship between religion and human rights. By the end of the 1990s it also became possible to consult reports on how freedom of religion is understood, protected or denied around the world.

International developments in the last few years with regard to freedom of religion and belief have forced the hand of scholars to pay more attention to what is possibly the most controversial of rights.

1. There is a growing awareness of the role of religion in social and ethnic conflict (e.g. the Balkans, Nigeria, Indonesia, etc.), and in international terrorism.
2. The former communist countries of Europe and Eurasia have embraced, at least in theory, democracy and human rights, occasioning significant religious pluralization and conflict.
3. The United States took steps to make religious freedom a central aspect of its foreign policy in the form of the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998. As a result of this law there is now an Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom, an office in the State Department, an Advisory Commission, and annual report on the state of religious freedom worldwide; in addition, the President is required to act to oppose all violations of religious freedom and employ the tools of U.S. foreign policy to promote religious freedom, as well as to activate sanctions against countries that are major violators of this freedom.
4. A number of European countries have in the last few years imposed or proposed restrictions on newer religious formations ("sects" and "cults"), as well as on immigrant religious communities, such as Islam. These new developments have served to shift the focus onto actual violations of religious freedom by individual states, as well as bringing it closer to "home." It is predominantly minority religions who continue to suffer the worst forms of human rights abuses on a global scale.

DETERMINING ORIGINS AND DEFINING TERMS. More than fifty years after the drafting and adoption of the historic Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, with its purpose of establishing a "common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations," human rights parlance has now achieved the status of a global *lingua franca*. Yet the origins and trajectory of the human rights movement are contested by both its proponents and opponents, notably over its religious or secular foundations. Paul Gordon Lauren refers more constructively to the evolution of the human rights vision as the many "tributaries" of the "ever expanding and evolving river of human rights" (Lauren, p. 9). There are also valuable accounts of the semantic, political, and theological wranglings that shaped the emergent human rights discourse.

David Little rejects any pretensions to a single methodological approach to the complex and uncertain interrelationship of religion and human rights. His analytical framework is predicated on the two fundamental interests of religious people: being able to affirm, express, and manifest their convictions, and being able to avoid unfair discrimination or bias on account of religion. Little defines a "human right" as:

1. A moral right advanced as a legal right.
2. Protecting something of indispensable human importance.
3. Ascribed naturally.
4. "Non-derogable" (if primary), or subject to limitations under prescribed conditions.
5. Universally claimable by all people against all others, or by certain generic categories of people such as "women" or "children"(Little, 1996).

The lack of theoretical and conceptual clarity of rights language troubles a number of scholars. Preferring to eschew the confusing array of philosophical theories proposed to account for human nature and human rights, Jack Donnelly describes human rights as "the social and political guarantees necessary to protect individuals from the standard threats to human dignity posed by the modern state and the modern markets" (Donnelly, pp. 20–22). Defining religion is even more of a challenge. The complexity and variability of definitions of religion from a legal perspective are cogently presented by Jeremy Gunn (Gunn, 2003).

Legal Protection and Interpretation. Four major modern instruments are concerned with the protection of freedom of religion and belief, although we should not overlook the significant norms regarding freedom of religion established by both the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) and the Minorities Regimes of the post-World War I system. The first is the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights with its most crucial provision, Article 18: "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes the freedom to change his [*sic*] religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance." The first clause guarantees the right to freedom of thought (and the inclusion of theistic, non-theistic, and atheistic belief is a feature of these international documents), and the second enumerates the specific rights therein. Kevin Boyle and Juliet Sheen write that this article constitutes a paradigm of the widespread debates over the nature of human rights in general, because it "raises the issue of the universality and indivisibility of rights, of the primacy of international law over national law and religious codes, of individual, minority and collective rights and of the relationship between rights, duties and community."

In 1959 followed Arcot Krishnaswami's much-cited *Study of Discrimination in the Matter of Religious Rights and Practices*. Krishnaswami was appointed by the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities to study rights pertaining to religion and belief, and to draw up a program of action to eradicate religious discrimination. He concluded that the collective aspect of the freedom to manifest religion or belief was especially important, as it was prone to state intervention and regulation. He noted the particular vulnerability of minorities in this regard. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) were adopted in 1966 and ratified in 1976. The ICCPR is the only global human rights treaty with articles on religion and belief that contains measures of implementation.

In 1981 (after years of intensive lobbying and complicated negotiations) came the landmark Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief. It served to elaborate what the 1966 Covenant adumbrated. To placate non-religious believers "whatever" was inserted before the word "belief" in Article 1(1), and explicit references to "changing one's religion" were deleted from the text at the behest of Muslim delegations, although this had already been partly degraded in the ICCPR.

A number of legal scholars have helped illuminate the theory and practice of the freedom of thought, conscience, religion and belief in international law. Many consider that it is preferable to strengthen existing norms and mechanisms rather than move toward a more legally binding convention. Boyle and Sheen acknowledge the considerable agreement that has been reached on the content of these freedoms in international law, notwithstanding the remaining disputes, chiefly over the interpretation of the requirements of these international standards. They see the more serious reality as the "open repudiation in practice" (Boyle and Sheen, pp. 4–5) of norms accepted by the majority of states in the United Nations in binding international agreements. These allegations of violations, generally pertaining to restrictions on practice and association, are forwarded to states, which must then respond. They are also documented biannually in the reports by the Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Freedom of Religion and Belief of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. These reports are integral to the normative interpretation and development of the international norms pertaining to religion, as are the views of the Human Rights Committee of the ICCPR. However, the U.S. State Department is more effective in documenting abuses.

Many scholars point to the nature of the relationship—practical and not just legal—between religion and the state ("church-state" is proving less and less applicable as a descriptor in the face of religious pluralization) as being formative in accounting for the substantive differences in the achievement of religious freedom around the world. There is a growing body of literature on Europe in matters of freedom of religion and belief—which is to be expected given its historical significance—and a surge of cases raising difficult questions under Article 9 of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR). The Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe (OSCE) has been described as a "trendsetter" for the way it has raised the profile of religious freedom on the international agenda of participating states and focused critical international attention on their respective practices, although its far-reaching norms are politically, rather than legally, binding.

Compatibility/Incompatibility Arguments. A large portion of the scholarship on the relationship between religion and human rights addresses the issue of their compatibility or incompatibility. For Louis Henkin (1998) religious ideologies differ from the human rights ideology principally in terms of sources and bases of authority. Religious traditions are more totalizing, and oriented (notably smaller, minority religions) toward the rights of their own adherents, or religious rights more generally. While acknowledging the shared concept of human dignity, he highlights recurring differences in contemporary interests and concerns, namely the areas of freedom of religion and religious choice, equality and nondiscrimination, gender distinctions, and capital punishment.

Those who advocate the compatibility approach tend to opt for a strong foundationalist orientation, believing human rights to be the modern political outcome of ancient religious beliefs and practices. In addition to the numerous works on Christianity and human rights, some focus on other traditions such as Buddhism, Judaism, Hinduism, or traditional African religions. There exist also several comparative works, often driven by an ecumenical, Golden Rule approach. Some studies explore differing points of emphasis, such as the interdependence of rights and duties, the concept of personhood, and the dynamic between individual and collectivity in religious communities. The case of Islam is viewed as particularly challenging in terms of whether Islamic law and theology support the modern notion of human rights.

CULTURE MATTERS. Culture both complicates and enriches the whole question of human rights theory and implementation. The truth-claims and traditions of religious and ethnic groups feed into, and even exacerbate, the unending debates about universalism and relativism, or cultural domination and subordination. Frequently these are centered on concerns for the rights of peoples or populations identified as indigenous who have suffered both under colonialism and postcolonialism. In the case of Latin America, for example, some scholars have argued that religion provided the foundation for the defense of the rights of indigenous peoples in Latin America, as well as legitimating the atrocities against them. The protection now available to ethnic minorities in the form of Articles 18 and 27 of the ICCPR to maintain their language, culture, and religion is predicated on the control of sacred sites, skeletal remains, burial artifacts, and other items of religious and cultural significance.

Others would consider that it is the challenge that these indigenous peoples, along with other ethnic minorities, are mounting to the individualistically oriented human rights paradigm that is more preoccupying. There is a rich body of literature emerging on "group rights," some of it framed within current discourse on multiculturalism and cultural self-determination, in which religious identity often features prominently. The particular problems of religious rights come about as they constitute classic "civil" or "individual" rights and yet are fundamental to the protection of the rights of minority, indigenous, and other groups. The dichotomy of group versus individual rights is also a major issue as far as how countries and societies view the right to freedom of religion or belief, and one which adversely affects minorities.

Proponents of "Asian values" or "Islamic values" argue that the communitarianism, authoritarianism, and emphasis on economic development in their societies are antithetical to Western liberal conceptions of human rights. Such advocates have been challenged for using cultural reservations as a "smokescreen" for human rights violations, and for promoting a static and polarized image of the human rights movement. Some question the univocality of terms such as *universal* or *freedom.*

Human rights scholar and advocate Abdullahi An-Naʾim has been one of the most prominent proponents of the need for human rights to seek cultural legitimacy through internal and cross-cultural dialogue and to support more inclusive and equitable processes of change. He realistically sees how individual rights and collective rights complement, but also contradict each other—which is to be expected, as all rights are instruments of negotiation and mediation of competing claims. Similarly, he stresses the contingency of universalist projects to date, while calling for more global participation in the construction of the human rights ideal. This is reiterated by such critical theorists as Boaventura De Sousa Santos, with his concern to transform the conceptualization and practice of human rights from a globalized localism into a cosmopolitan project. This reconfiguring of the relationship between culture and rights is considered as arguably the most important development in recent rights theory and practice. Yet sensitivity to believers' positions, while not conceding to relativist arguments, continues to represent one of the most pressing challenges for the field of human rights.

PROSELYTIZATION. Some consider that the right to engage in missionary activity is perhaps the most controversial aspect of religious freedom. This is closely linked to the disputed right of changing and exiting one's religion. The new "war for souls," precipitated by the globalizing forces of democracy and capitalism, became the focus of an international project conducted by Emory Law School's Law and Religion Program.

Perhaps the most problematic issue to emerge from the research was the clash between the right of an individual or group to promote, teach or propagate his or her religion or belief, and the right of an individual or group to resist such disruptive incursions. Disseminating one's religion is protected by both individual and group rights. Asymmetrical power relations are generally inherent in the proselytization exercise, although this type of interreligious encounter can arguably stimulate cultural exchange and self-critique. With the growth of religious revivalism and militancy within our global network society, the human rights community is gradually waking up to the potent influence of the media in promoting both tolerance and intolerance.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS. A strong focus of the scholarship on the no less controversial case of women within the overall picture of religion and human rights has been on the religious traditions themselves. This is hardly surprising given the denial of their rights that many women experience both as citizens and as members of religious communities, and the fact that religious norms frequently underpin social practices of exclusion and domination. Women's rights to equality under state and international human rights law frequently clash with the rights of religious collectivities to self-determination. Religion is also a source of liberation or repression for women from a variety of textual, historical, legal, cultural and social perspectives.

The freedom of choice is important for women within religious systems, but not at the expense of their basic human capabilities. Conflicts frequently arise between religious and customary laws and international human rights norms over the equality and freedom of women in matters of land allocation, inheritance, marriage, and divorce. External freedoms, or the public manifestations of religion, are areas where women's rights to freedom of religion and belief are often compromised, as in dress codes and female genital mutilation.

CONCLUSION: LINGUA FRANCA, LINGUA SACRA? Now more than ever the convergences and divergences of human rights culture(s) and religious culture(s) in our globalizing world calls for new interpretations. Scholars of religion need to examine the ways in which both mainstream and minority religious organizations resist and accommodate the increasingly powerful discourse of international human rights as part of the strategies of these groups for recognition in the public sphere. The naturalization of human rights norms can lead to the objectification and standardization of religion. It also serves to blur conventional distinctions between public and private. Similarly, it points to the capacity of religious communities to generate much-needed political will for the implementation of human rights standards. Likewise, an appropriate focus on the cultural translation of human rights in diverse settings would illuminate the ambivalence surrounding their reception and implementation. Attention to the new strategies being developed by many states to regulate freedom of religion and belief would enhance understanding of patterns of discrimination more generally. In other words, the critical and comparative study of religion can help raise questions about the troubling question of human rights *qua* religion, in other words, the (occasional) intolerance of the human rights movement toward its detractors, and its functioning at times as a new world religion. For that reason, it has been argued that because religious thinking has contributed to the conceptual and practical development of human rights, and legal regulation draws increasingly on human rights norms, it should resist being coopted.

In sum, the particular skills that religion scholars bring to the table in terms of what Ninian Smart called "worldview analysis." The critical interpretation of sacred symbol, sound, text, space, ritual, object, community, as well as cultural difference and identity, are highly germane in the analysis of human rights discourse and practice. Moreover, the location of religious studies scholarship at the intersection of the humanities and social sciences, together with its focus on religious belief and practice as embedded historical and contemporary realities, can serve to complement, if not healthily challenge, the domination of human rights questions by legal, political, and philosophical theorists.

SEE ALSO Human Rights and Religion.

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ROSALIND I. J. HACKETT (2005)

LAW AND RELIGION: LAW, RELIGION, AND MORALITY

The relation between law, morality, and religion in the West has grown progressively more complex and fragmented over the last five hundred years. Historically, two paths emerged in Western thought regarding the relation of transcendent justice and positive law secured in the secular political order. The natural-law tradition followed Platonic philosophy by locating human cognition of true justice in a rational awareness of the divinely sanctioned order of the universe. The other tradition arose from conceptions of obedience to divine command. Such movements were more skeptical of human apprehension, reserving knowledge about justice to that received by revelation of the Divine Will. The Hebraic tradition, typified by the Ten Commandments, was structured around the community's faithful response to the laws of the God who created and sustained them. The Christian apostle Paul claimed that only through fideistic awareness of God's activity can true justice be revealed, and that only absolute reliance on faith alone as the means of grace could deliver one from evil. For Augustine, the world of things below is for security only—to restrain evil—and the true focus of the believer's attention was the heavenly kingdom, known through faith alone. Human knowledge could not achieve any awareness of true justice.

There are many approaches to the study of the changing connections of these spheres of human life. Some theorists focus on philosophical accounts of the validity of legal, moral, and religious claims and concepts. Others emphasize the many structural similarities between law, morality, and religion, since each sphere claims authority and obedience over the lives of adherents, each reproduces itself through a tradition of concepts and rituals, and each claims universality and a comprehensive character. Still others hope to articulate a religious or moral worldview which unites each of the spheres in some comprehensive fashion, often subordinating legal goals and processes to religious or moral claims. Whichever method is adopted, the fact remains that the social structure of law continues to develop as an increasingly isolated sphere. Law in the West has grown more unified as an instrumental mode of social formation, purged of the supposedly extraneous elements of religious and moral culture. At the same time, religion and morality, to their adherents, continue to be comprehensive in their claims about the proximate and ultimate goods for human life. But as a mode of culture, religion has exploded into countless, disconnected ways of life. One major problem for the relation between modern law, religion, and morality is whether these social spheres relate to each other any longer, and if so, how they relate.

Modern democratic legal systems usually accommodate some form of religious plurality and refrain from establishing or privileging any particular religious entity or practice through legal sanction. But these legal systems are often unable to account fully for the idea that religion is not just a distinct set of religious rituals, a defined community, and a discrete body of doctrines. Religion is also a worldview, a set of ideas and beliefs of conscience about the nature of the world, that for many people shape all of their moral, economic, social, and personal affairs and choices. Religion and morality have become increasingly private and individual affairs, formed by interaction between the human subject, his or her culture, and his or her conscience.

Until the late Middle Ages, a predominant idea in the West was that the cosmos and all of nature contain intrinsic rational principles which human beings can apprehend in order to understand how to form their political, moral, and legal affairs. This "natural law" was an eternal order invested by the Creator in all reality. While it could be apprehended independently from religious revelation, natural law was thought to be consistent with deeper cosmological truths. The Protestant tradition broke from this structure and adopted an Augustinian anthropology in which humans live in two realms simultaneously, the empirical reality of time and space and the transcendental sphere of the numinous experienced by faith alone. The claims of religion about the transcendent Divine cannot be verified or denied by empirical or rational investigations, and the location of religious experience is the individual's conscience. Under the conditions of modernity, fueled by these Protestant ideas, it has become increasingly the case that claims can only enter legal discourse if they are universalizable and empirically testable. Law deals with discovery of facts and adjudication of testable claims—what the law "is" has an empirically verifiable character. Therefore, modern law as it has developed does not directly relate to claims of religious revelation, private intuition, or other sources of "ought-claims."

Western law has often, especially in recent centuries, focused on the concept of sanction, that element of the law's origin in a legitimate process of legislation which gives any law its authority as a command that must be obeyed. With the decline of natural law as a persuasive model, the human process by which law is created took on greater importance. If law can no longer be discovered in the nature of things, for modern people its authority comes from the legitimacy of the institutional procedures of the legal system, accorded by its subjects who have authorized it to have power on their behalf. Positive law—that law which is posited or willed through the legislative process—has nearly become the exclusive focus of obedience and legitimacy. Positive law so conceived bears only historical relations to moral and religious culture, and any direct links are historically contingent once adopted into legal code. In modernity, the human ruler or community sanctions human law, using criteria of efficiency and utility to achieve social, economic, and political goals desired for any number of practical reasons. Conceptions of political goals and legal rights are increasingly identified with individual preferences and prevention of harm, rather than transcendental or religious goods.

The problem for law and politics under these new conditions is a crisis of legitimacy: how, under conditions of such radical social upheaval, can political will-formation and legal obedience be achieved and successfully reproduced? From the new American society, where writers worry about increasing individualism and decreasing religious checks on such unbridled drives, to the old Europe, where the church has lost most of its grip over the hearts and minds of the citizenry, many have seen a profound crisis develop in how society can remain cohesive and functional under law when, from a moral and/or religious standpoint, there exist a vast plurality of uncoordinated societies.

LAW, MORALITY, AND RELIGION IN CLASSIC MODERN THEORY. Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527), in *The Prince* (1517), dismissed the concept of the common good as the primary telos of the sovereign's legislative activity, replacing it with the hallmark of political realism, the *raison d'état.* Machiavelli's prince only needed to concern himself with the balance and preservation of power while exercising statecraft. Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), in his *Leviathan* (1651), carried this vision forward by claiming that the goal of self-preservation was the primary function of individuals who organized themselves into a legal state to achieve greater and lasting security. The right of nature, according to Hobbes, is the simple liberty each human has to use his or her own power, as desired, for the preservation of his or her life and to do anything which, according to his or her own judgment and reason, he or she conceives to be the most appropriate means to reach that goal. Hobbes's break with the medieval worldview can be seen here since the greatest good for each individual is his or her own natural preservation, not flourishing as defined by a transcendental moral or religious good.

Hobbes argued that since the natural condition of humankind was a war of each against all, self-interested agents must recognize by reason that their surest possibility of achieving self-preservation can only come through transfer of their natural liberty to a common and ultimate authority who can adjudicate disputes, provide an established law, and create conditions of security for each individual. In Hobbes's view, humans are not naturally social as Aristotle had held; rather they enter society by convention, for the promotion of their own interest. The social contract is the mechanism whereby individuals mutually and equally lay down their rights to every other citizen, forming a society which transfers their collective, natural liberty over to the coercive power of the sovereign. Thus the will of the sovereign alone, authorized by the contract between citizens, creates the force of law. The legislating sovereign is not bound by nor aims toward transcendental moral or religious goods, nor does the civil law aim for anything other than external compliance. The sovereign must, however, institute order in the earthly kingdom. And, as Hobbes knew well, skirmishes over religious doctrines had caused many of the bloodiest conflicts in human history. To alleviate these conditions, he argued that the political sovereign must judge doctrinal disputes and shape a coherent and unified set of religious beliefs and practices for the political community, lest their squabbles cause civil unrest.

John Locke's (1632–1704) *Second Treatise on Government* (1690) shaped a legal philosophy to support the English Revolution of 1688 and espoused perhaps the most influential theory of modern liberal democracy. He argued, against Hobbes, that the sovereign was bound by a criteria of transcendental justice known by natural reason. Locke demonstrated the creation of civil society in a manner similar to Hobbes, basing its legitimacy in the state's role of protecting property rights and serving as a fair, common arbitrator of disputes. However, Locke decreed that God appointed the government to restrain the partiality and violence of humans and to remedy the inconveniences of the state of nature. According to Locke, each individual recognizes by natural reason the fundamental law of nature: each human, being equal and independent, should not harm any other in his or her life, liberty, health, or property. Under the social contract, the sovereign must legislate toward the common good of the collective members. The only legitimate end of state action is the peace, safety, and public welfare of the people. If the legislator acts against the ends of security and preservation of the people, Locke contended that the people, using natural law as their guide, have the right to rebel and to establish the government anew, since an unjust or arbitrary sovereign would be in a state of war against them.

Civil authority is here limited to the preservation of material property and earthly security, not to the creation of a pietistic or moralistic state. Locke thereby rules out the ecclesiastical authority from having anything to do with the governance of common affairs. Further, he contends that, being free and equal, each individual should have freedom of conscience over his or her own thoughts and affairs. In his *Letter Concerning Toleration*, Locke argues, also against Hobbes, that the care of souls, the management of estates or health, the choice of religious rituals, and private judgments about doctrine or political matters all belong to the individual, and toleration must therefore be accorded by the sovereign and fellow citizens for various patterns of life.

Locke does merge religious claims and law together, however. All human actions ought to be conformable to the law of nature, which he equivocates with both natural reason and the will of God. The fundamental law of nature is a declaration of the basic good of the preservation of life, written into the very fabric of human life. No human law can be good or valid that cuts against this law. However, the criteria by which a law is judged remain exclusively rational. This is not a contradiction, since Locke assumes that the proper operation of natural reason—the gift of God—would yield a result that correlates with the intention of the Divine. Locke also articulated two instances where the sovereign could interfere with an individual's personal beliefs. Locke argued that those who claim allegiance to a foreign prince should not be tolerated (such as Catholic allegiance to the papacy), since they would hold higher allegiance to someone other than the political sovereign of the territory. Thus moral conscience can be intruded upon when obedience to the authority of the legislator is compromised. Secondly, Locke argued that atheists must not be tolerated. Locke holds that if belief in God is taken away, then the ability to hold promises, covenants, and oaths—the bonds of society itself—is made impossible. But a more subtle and profound point is at stake, one that shows the extent of the relation of law and religious claims in Locke. Natural reason teaches that all humans, being equal, are not to be harmed in the pursuit of life, liberty, health, or property. Locke does not argue that reason teaches that humans are equal. Rather, this conclusion derives from a religious claim that humans are the created property of God, sent to earth about God's business, and thus there can exist no subordination between humans that authorizes another's destruction or use. Humans are equal since they are created equal. At the very heart of Locke's arguments for the establishment of civil law is a fundamental religious claim about the human being.

In the German tradition, Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) argued that the civil law is created by rational, autonomous agents, who aim to institute a self-imposed structure to protect and guide their lives. Kant argued that the civil law achieves moral ends for all persons, yet the state must extract legal claims and institutions from particular religious and moral claims. For Kant, the civil condition institutes justice, which he defined as the universal moral end of making possible each individual's self-determination in a way that is consistent with the freedom of every other individual. The civil law is posited by the common sovereign who acts in a manner consistent with universal reason, promulgating law that all rational subjects could have agreed to for themselves. The only direct goal of the civil state is the achievement of this coexistence of external free actions. The civil law does not have as its goal the moral betterment of the social agents nor religious community-building, but simply to provide the conditions upon which free agents could pursue these or other ends. Kant held that religion can provide important motivation for pursuing a moral life under the civil law, but this meant that religion must be elevated to its rational meaning, and its subjective and impassioned elements must be tamed by reason.

LAW, RELIGION, AND MORALITY IN MODERN JURISPRUDENCE. William Blackstone (1723–1780) strongly espoused natural-law theory in his *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765–1769). Human positive law must be subsumed under the natural order, and "no human laws are of any validity, if contrary to this." Alexis de Tocqueville (1805–1859), in the first volume of his *Democracy in America* (1835), described how such a practical fusion of religion, law, and morality was present throughout the early American colonies. The penal laws of early America were above all concerned with reproducing moral order in society. Thus, laws often addressed the domain of conscience and were pietistic in scope—such as forbidding unmarried persons from keeping company, prohibiting kissing, laziness, or drunkenness; insistence on attending religious services; or disallowing blasphemy—besides more obvious crimes such as rape and incest. Tocqueville was most fascinated by the fact that these laws often were not arbitrarily imposed but freely adopted by the citizenry who wanted laws reflecting their religious mores.

But Blackstone's contemporary, David Hume (1711–1776), articulated skepticism about natural law that has held lasting influence over jurisprudence; his analyses of human nature and philosophy rendered all ideas of justice dependent upon invention, social custom, and habit. Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) defined political society in a way that followed directly from Hume. Political society is formed when a number of subjects are in the habit of paying obedience to a person, or an assemblage of persons, the sovereign. The command of the sovereign is law. In *A Comment on the Commentaries*, he directly refuted Blackstone's notion of natural law as a criterion by which positive law is to be judged. For Bentham, although a duly legislated law might be bad according to moral or religious criteria, it is still law. He argued that law should be based on the calculative capacity of the human mind to apprehend how the outcome of actions will maximize pleasure, and thereby chart a course of action that will end in relative happiness. Bentham, like John Stuart Mill (1806–1873), believed that legislation should aim to maximize social utility rather than institute transcendent moral principles in society. Legal codes evolve as particular societies develop. The law of any particular polity is not transcendent and static, but dynamic and fluid, incorporating social customs, practices, and moral preferences into the civil law. Further, the only legitimate constraint over individual behavior is to prevent that action which inflicts harm upon others (the "harm principle").

It was John Austin (1790–1859), a disciple of Bentham, who explicitly distinguished positive laws from other cultural elements in his *Province of Jurisprudence Determined* (1832). Such "extraneous materials" include the divine law, natural law, and particular moral claims. Austin does hold that there are moral criteria that may be applied to the law, tests that can determine if a positive law is what it ought to be. But positive laws are sufficient in their own power, not being fashioned on the law of God but posited by utility. Austin famously declared, contrary to Blackstone, what has become known as the "separability thesis," which holds that "the existence of law is one thing; its merit or demerit another." What law is by social agreement, and what it ought to be according to moral or religious ideals, are distinct and not necessarily related.

LAW, MORALITY, AND RELIGION IN LATER THEORY. According to Max Weber (1864–1920), modern Western societies developed on the basis of "functional differentiation" between social spheres. This process of social division has changed the basis of societal solidarity and disrupted social integration by rationalizing and minimizing the impact of traditional forms of cultural cohesion, a process often termed "secularization." Where the medieval worldview had created a homogenous social structure, modern life is marked by a vast plurality of social modes of existence and underlying worldviews, which splinter individuals into increasingly diverse modes of life. With traditional forms of religious and moral community no longer capable of producing social cohesion, complex forms of bureaucratic structures have emerged with a monopoly of power to regulate activity, social functions, and interaction. Social power has become increasingly centralized in the state bureaucracy, resulting in the monopolization of power into the state. The state, as the legitimate political authority through law, has colonized other aspects of society, increasing its domination through steering mechanisms of policy and planning. For Weber, the existence of a society's rules and laws is not dependent on their satisfaction of moral purposes or goals; rather the laws are legitimate solely by reference to their origin in the procedures of the social system. Since laws are made to regulate social reality, an analysis of the law is primarily a description of how effective law is at meeting its goals. Such goals are arbitrary from the standpoint of the descriptive analysis of law, as well as from the standpoint of jurisprudence; the question is not what law ought to accomplish but whether law achieves the desired goals of utility. This idea is basic to the "Legal Realism" and "Law and Economics" movements.

H. L. A. Hart (1907–1992) argued that a legal proposition which ran counter to a moral proposition was still a valid law. Yet, for Hart, there was nothing to prevent societies from holding that a rule is a valid law and that it should be overturned, modified, or resisted. The processes by which law exists allowed the conversion and transformation of the law, and these processes were driven by ideals that came from a variety of sources—moral, legal, economic, and utilitarian. While there is often a coincidence between legal and moral rules, a law is valid as a rule of law on the simple condition that it is enacted according to and consistent with the procedures given in the society. The mere fact that the rule might conflict with a moral criterion is insufficient to invalidate the rule as a law.

But where the utilitarians argued that the validity of law was sufficient in the capacity of the state to coerce those subject to it, Hart argued that the laws resonate more deeply in citizens than is accounted for by the concepts and motives of mere obedience or the avoidance of coercion. As he articulated in "Positivism and the Separation of Law and Morals" (1958), the proper distinction between law and morality should be between "what is" (the law) and what from many different points of view "could be" or "ought to be."

Hart's concern in *Law, Liberty, and Morality* (1963) was to investigate the legal status of a class of actions that are considered immoral by communal standards but result in no harm to others. This work was written in response to Lord Patrick Devlin's attack on the Wolfenden Report of 1957, which had argued that because no public harm issued from homosexual relations between private, consenting adults, it ought to not be illegal in England any longer. Hart agreed with the report that without an external harm committed, the law's legitimate scope could not enforce some conception of communal moral standards against the private affairs of consenting adults. Yet he did allow that the harm principle was too narrow: the state could have a compelling interest to intervene in protecting a citizen from him or herself or when the citizen's actions contend with standards of public decency. Fundamentally, however, Hart argued that moral facts and values change, that the proposition that any deviation from a society's shared morality threatens its continued existence is unsustainable when faced with the simple fact of the continuous evolution of social norms.

The natural law tradition has continued to garner interest despite the realism and positivism that characterizes modern law. Hart's primary interlocutor and critic, Lon Fuller, in *The Morality of Law* (1969), argued for a vision of the moral characteristics of any valid legal system, the so-called internal morality of law. By looking at certain formal characteristics or procedures that Fuller maintained must be obtained in any legal system, he contended that these characteristics—such as comprehensibility and promulgation—display a moral purpose and structure inherent to the law. In order to garner widespread compliance, the laws need these characteristics to render them tasteful to the citizenry. Further, any legal structure must ensure respect for human dignity and treat humans as subjects of their own actions, all moral goals. Since the purposiveness of law is directed to societal balance, Fuller contends this goal is inherently moral.

For John Finnis, a contemporary theorist working in the tradition of Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) and Blackstone, the natural-law tradition still has validity as a theory of the obligatory force of positive law. In a nonsectarian fashion, Finnis set out to describe those "basic forms of human good" that organize the goals of positive law, goods to which all humans naturally subscribe. Civil laws aim to solve coordination problems in the common pursuit of these basic, natural goods. For Finnis, a law which is unjust according to moral criteria may still have the force of law, but the law in question has not fully achieved the character of law.

Jürgen Habermas (1929–), a neo-Kantian, recognizes the splintering of social groups described by Weber and the destructive effects this can have on social cohesion and formation of political will, but refuses to return to religious-based or natural-law conceptions. As a remedy to social disintegration, he argues for a conception of legal procedure that allows a society to protect the rights of subjects and to achieve common interests while maintaining the diversity of basic social structures. This is the only way out of the modern deconstruction of traditional norms of social conduct without turning social organization entirely over to the objectivizing strategic calculations of social scientists and legal theorists. Habermas aims to reconstruct the contemporary system of law around the notion of popular sovereignty in such a way that legal subjects organize for themselves the political power they possess and structure their social interactions so as to achieve certain strategic interests in a social order that is otherwise diverse, plural, and incommensurable.

Legal structures can thus be the result of both the rational reflection and the willful intention of humans who create social order through processes of interaction, using all of the capacities that human beings can creatively bring to bear on the task. While this rational intentionality can be utilitarian and calculative, many modern theorists have shown how the law is also infused with moral intentions based in rational reflection, natural desires, subjective goals, and religious belief. Indeed, it could be argued that legal systems are not simply institutions that are obeyed through threat of coercion, but depend for their smooth operation and flourishing on persons who, ennobled by their religious and moral sentiments, actively cooperate and participate in social order through law. Since legal structures safeguard individuals and communities from harmful and destructive forces, regulate interaction so that freedom is maximized, and create conditions of stability and order which allow humans to flourish, the law achieves goals important for many persons of moral and religious goodwill. Thus, the pursuit of earthly justice is sufficiently described by non-moral criteria, which, for some, can be at the same time a religious and moral task. Yet in the modern state, participation as a legislator or citizen is largely a task driven by legal criteria and goals.

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MICHAEL KESSLER (2005)

LAW AND RELIGION: LAW, RELIGION, AND PUNISHMENT

Punishment represents a crucial intersection between law and religion. As many scholars have noted, in its origins law was closely connected with and often indistinguishable from religion, and much of this early law was penal. The areas of private law and contract developed more gradually, although the relationships and transactions that these areas of law formalized were always present in society. This primacy of penal law is hardly surprising, if we consider that the first obligation of the law, even before the advent of a concept of the state, was to preserve the security and well-being of individuals. Prior to modernity, law was often reinforced by an explicitly religious cosmology. Violations of the law were interpreted as transgressions against the cosmic order, and were punished accordingly. As the French sociologist Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) argued, offenses against our "collective representations" were treated with special severity in early society.

Modern, secular law no longer invokes an explicitly religious cosmology. The term *law* is now applied almost exclusively to positive law, meaning discrete rules promulgated by the state or its agents, and enforced by their sanctions. The state now has a monopoly on punishment. Compliance with religious rules or norms, which are often called "morals" to distinguish them from positive law, is voluntary rather than coercive. The process by which religion lost its ability to enforce its provisions, and by which, at the same time, a secular legal order developed that no longer required the explicit sanction of religion, is one of the key transformations in the history of law. The present article focuses primarily on describing this transformation in Western law and conceptions of punishment, although examples from other cultures are occasionally provided.

PUNISHMENT AND ASCETICISM IN RELIGIOUS LAW. In the vast majority of premodern traditions, religion played an important role in reinforcing a moral order. Ancient punishment was often a ritual of purification that, once completed, discharged fully the guilt of the offense. Although this may run counter to the modern understanding of punishment as designed to prevent further harm, it did contribute to the maximization of certainty within the legal system. Punishments enforced by authorities in this world were supplemented, and occasionally replaced, by threatened punishments in the afterlife or next life, which the English Utilitarian legal reformer Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832), the foremost philosopher of punishment in the common law tradition, referred to as "religious sanctions." Christian representations of Hell are paralleled by Hindu and Buddhist depictions of the suffering caused in hells or other realms, or in subsequent reincarnations in this world, through the consequences of one's actions (*karma*) in this life. The social function of such devices is to enhance obedience to the law by augmenting the severity and/or certainty of punishment, especially in the absence of other effective mechanisms of legal enforcement. As Bentham argued, when such threats are no longer taken seriously, they are mere fictions that do not serve the purposes of law.

One of the difficult questions, from a modern perspective, is how far to extend the definition of "punishment" to religious law. If this term is restricted to the type of punishment associated with positive law, namely a sanction enforced by authorities in this world for violation of a command, then it excludes many types of religious law. Some religious laws prescribe no specific punishment for their violation. An example is the Ten Commandments (*Ex.* 20), which express commands ("Thou shalt [not]") without specifying sanctions. (However, sanctions for many of its commands were specified elsewhere in the Pentateuch.) Threatened retributions in the afterlife or next life lack, from a modern perspective, the certainty of state-enforced sanctions. Many expiations and penances prescribed by religion are self-imposed, rather than being imposed by the state. Ascetic practices are prospective and prophylactic rather than retributive: they seek to bring about a condition of religious purity, rather than to compensate for some offense already committed. Trials by ordeal and judicial torture, on the other hand, are regarded as processes of truth-finding, rather than substantive punishments for crimes for which guilt has already been determined. Despite these differences, there are also profound similarities among these religious phenomena. They are all types of violence, often employing the same techniques, and they serve moral or spiritual ends, or what we may in a broader sense call "justice."

The German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900), in *On the Genealogy of Morals* (1887), emphasized the continuities among punishments, religious ideas of retribution, and asceticism. He argued that all of these phenomena were manifestations of a fundamental "will to power." In asceticism, the human organism turned this will against both the world and its own nature. The ultimate expression of this cruelty was the idea of God as both sacrifice and executioner.

The greater physical cruelty of pre-modern punishments was a means of impressing moral obligations upon the memory.

Among the aspects of religious law most alien to modern law is its association of moral purity or innocence with physical or ritual purity, as evidenced by restrictions on diet, dress, and sexual behavior, which we may broadly term "rules of asceticism." *Leviticus* and the *Laws of Manu* provide numerous examples within the Jewish and Hindu traditions, respectively. More severe forms of asceticism included the self-infliction of bodily pain. Although similar restrictions, and voluntary practices such as vegetarianism, tattooing, and body-piercing, are prevalent in modernity, they are, with few exceptions, no longer part of positive law. Rules of asceticism often appear to conflate law with punishment. In other words, the command that constitutes the law in many cases also itself entails physical suffering or deprivation. Although any law is in some sense a restriction, modern, positive law clearly separates a command from a sanction attendant upon its violation.

In his *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1781), Bentham argued that the sole rational basis for law was utility, meaning the principle of the greatest good for the greatest number. He understood "good" and "pleasure" as synonyms. Pain of any sort, including punishment, was an evil that could be justified only in the interest of avoiding greater pain. Consequently, he opposed the principle of utility to that of "asceticism" associated with religion. From his view, asceticism maximized pain for its own sake. He also argued that deriving the idea of moral purity from that of physical purity was a pernicious fiction. (In her analysis of the dietary provisions of *Leviticus*, the anthropologist Mary Douglas presented a more sympathetic analysis of the contribution of such ascetic regulations in contributing to a symbolic moral order.) From the religious perspective, the purpose of asceticism, as a kind of prophylactic punishment, is often precisely the avoidance of greater pain in the future, such as an eternity in Hell. Therefore, even from the perspective of a utilitarian calculus, asceticism can be rational. What explains Bentham's rejection of asceticism is not its application of pain, but rather his disbelief in such future punishments, and in the ability of asceticism to prevent them.

Suffering is, of course, universal, even when we do not impose it on others as punishment, or on ourselves as asceticism. The problem of accounting for suffering or evil is perennial, and it shows the close connection of punishment with theodicy, or the vindication of God's justice. People look for meaning even, and perhaps especially, where there is none apparent. This explains the tendency to interpret suffering as a punishment for wrongs previously committed. The Hindu and Buddhist doctrine of *karma* is often invoked not only to threaten future punishment, but also to explain present suffering as the result of actions in a past life. Among biblical texts, the *Book of Job* grapples most explicitly with this problem of suffering, but ultimately preserves the inscrutability of God's interventions. More common among religious groups is the tendency to view prosperity as a sign of Providence, and misery as a sign of God's wrath. One response to these "divine punishments" is the attempt to ward them off by means of sacrifices and self-imposed punishments. An example is the Massachusetts Bay Colony during the seventeenth century, which progressively added rules against frivolous and irreligious conduct such as gambling, idling, and sabbath-breaking. These were in part extensions of religious law, and in part responses to the hardships and depredations of colonial life viewed as retribution for moral backsliding. Such legal developments culminated, infamously, in the Salem witch trials at the end of the century, which Mary Beth Norton (*In the Devil's Snare*, 2002) interprets as an internal response to attacks from forces outside, including native Americans. Speaking more generally and from a sociobiological perspective, Walter Burkert explains sacrifice, scapegoating, and atonement as measures for alleviating anxiety (*Creation of the Sacred*, 1996). Although such attitudes and practices may appear to be quite distant from modern legal punishment, they remain deeply entrenched in human psychology.

Similar ideas served within the Christian tradition to structure a grand narrative of history, both communal and individual. Adam's sin of disobeying God was inherited by all humans as "original sin." Christ redeemed this sin through the Passion, which combined the ideas of sacrifice and punishment. However, individuals still needed to give their voluntary assent and belief to this salvation, or they would be subjected to the terrors of Hell. While threatening future punishment, this system emphasized moral and spiritual reform, in marked contrast with the modern emphasis on the deterrence and isolation of offenders. The Christian system of punishment may have reached its fullest development with the proliferation of penitential manuals in the Middle Ages. These manuals elaborated different rules for different social groups, extending to the populace at large a system of discipline that had previously been confined to the monastery. The anthropologist Talal Asad argues that the goal of penance was to produce disciplined social bodies; the quest for individual spiritual perfection was pursued within communities and manifested in social relations. He emphasizes the connection of such penitential practices with the rise of the inquisitorial system, which used judicial torture as its basic method of truth-finding.

RETRIBUTION: FROM RELIGION TO MODERN LAW. Another feature of pre-modern religious law that presents problems of interpretation from a modern perspective is its emphasis on retribution or retaliation. The so-called "law of talion" (*lex talionis*) provided a strict equivalence between the punishment imposed on the criminal and the original injury imposed on his or her victim. Perhaps the most famous example is the formula that occurs in several places in the Hebrew Bible: "a life for a life, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth" (*Exodus* 21:23–24; *Deuteronomy* 19:21; cf. *Leviticus* 24:20). Variations of talion are also found in many other, especially pre-modern cultures.

Modern theorists frequently have characterized retribution as "barbaric" or "primitive." Durkheim emphasized the connection of retribution with primitive forms of social organization. For him, retribution represented a kind of blind passion striking out against any potential target. The English legal historians Frederick Pollock (1845–1937) and Frederic William Maitland (1850–1906) condemned the adoption in medieval England of the law of talion as a throwback to Judaism. Part of the modern attitude toward retribution can be traced to the secular Enlightenment, as exemplified by the Italian philosopher Cesare Beccaria's (1738–1794) influential treatise *Of Crimes and Punishments* (1764), which argued against the use of torture and other cruel and unnecessary punishments. Another part of the modern attitude toward retribution, however, echoes Christian sources. Jesus said: "You have heard it said, 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.' But I say to you, . . . if any one strikes you on the right cheek, turn to him the other also. . . ." (*Mt* 5:38–39). Of course, no actual legal system can operate without the use of sanctions. Christian antinomianism is more an ideal than a reality.

A primary reason for the modern ambivalence toward retribution is a transformation in the understanding of the purpose served by punishment. Modern legal theory generally recognizes several legitimate reasons for punishment: deterrence of prospective crimes; the separation of offenders from society ("isolation"), especially through incarceration; and the reform and rehabilitation of offenders. Each of these serves the basic goal of preventing further or future harm. Retribution, except to the extent that it coordinates with one of these other purposes, does not prevent future harm. For this reason, it has a somewhat disreputable status in modern law. However, the continuing use of capital punishment and the introduction of a concept of victim's rights in the United States show that the concept of retribution still has some popular appeal.

For Bentham, as noted above, punishment was a further evil that could be justified only by its deterrent effects. On these grounds, punishment for the sake of retribution alone was no more justified than asceticism. Threats of retribution at the hand of the deity might be justified as deterrents. However, if actually imposed, an eternal punishment in the afterlife for offenses already committed would be grotesquely disproportional and devoid of deterrent justification. Despite his rejection of retribution for its own sake, Bentham embraced retribution as a device for enhancing the deterrent effect of punishments. Following an older English philosophical tradition that regarded mental operations as the result of the association of ideas, he argued that the function of the law was to create an ideal association between crime and punishment, so that when the criminal thought of committing a crime, the idea of the punishment would immediately come to mind and deter the commission of the offense. Some of the means of reinforcing the mental association between crime and punishment were to increase the speed and certainty of punishment. Another means was to employ punishments that were "characteristic" of the offense, namely that bore some analogy to it. For example, arsonists might be burned, and forgers might have their hands pierced with iron pens. Bentham explicitly approved talion, or strict equivalence of injury, among the means of making punishments characteristic. Such punishments were not only more memorable, but more popular among the public. Bentham's concept of punishment as a form of rhetoric, combined with his principle of minimizing (real) suffering, led him to endorse the use of illusory punishments, such as hangings in effigy, if these could serve the same deterrent effect as real punishments.

Bentham's modern philosophy of punishment as a form of communication or rhetoric suggests a new interpretation of retribution in pre-modern law. In many cases, retribution may have been used to reinforce the association between crime and punishment. The primary devices used to promote this association were metaphor (similarity) and metonymy (contiguity), although, as described below, sometimes rhyme or other verbal associations were also used. Talion itself prescribed one form of similarity, namely equivalence of injury. Other punishments based on similarity are found, for example, in *Manu* 11:104, according to which a student who sleeps with his teacher's wife is supposed to embrace a red-hot iron statue of a woman. An example of a punishment based on contiguity is *Manu* 8:334, which prescribes that whatever limb a thief uses to commit a crime should be cut off. Retribution, far from being primitive, was in many cases a carefully orchestrated ritual practice designed to deliver the "message" of a connection between crime and punishment. As James G. Frazer (1854–1941) pointed out in his classic *The Golden Bough*, magical rituals also often depend on relations of similarity and contiguity. To harm an opponent, a magician may stick a pin into a voodoo doll resembling the intended victim, or burn an article of their hair or clothing. These relations of similarity and contiguity are interpreted as both causes and signals of the goal the ritual seeks to bring about. Although punishment looks backward to an offense already committed, it depends on similar associations.

The communication function of punishment may be clearest in those cases where the association with the crime is verbal and rhythmic. *Manu* 5:55 prescribes vegetarianism with a pun: "The being whose flesh (*maṃsa*) I eat in this world, that creature (*sa*) will eat me (*mam*) in the next world." Probably the most elaborate "poetic punishment" occurs in Dante's *Divine Comedy*, which used the new verse form of rhymed tercets to make everything in the poem reflect the Holy Trinity: even the three-headed Satan, who appears at the end of the *Inferno* as the upside-down, mirror-image of the Holy Trinity revealed at the end of the *Paradise*. Another example, discussed by Bernard Jackson, is *Leviticus* 24:13–23, which encompasses the talionic formula ("an eye for an eye") at its center in an elaborate chiasmus or quasi-palindrome, where the first sentence parallels the last, the second the second-to-last, and continuing along in that vein. The entire passage imitates, on a larger scale, the reciprocity of the talionic formula. The passage narrates God's command to punish a blasphemer, and the community's obedience to this command. It therefore depicts a successful act of communication, in which God's message has been heard. Palindromes, or inversions of word order, are used in many languages to promote communication, for example in greetings and questions. Talion may have used similar devices to reinforce the "message" of punishment.

RELIGION IN MODERN PUNISHMENT. The concept of retribution, if not its more elaborate symbolic formulations, has been difficult to exorcise from modern law. In other respects, however, modern punishment appears quite different from its pre-modern ancestors. One of these differences is its greater emphasis on incarceration. Michel Foucault's (1926–1984) classic *Discipline and Punish* identified several stages in the development of punishment, beginning with the "symbolic tortures" of the ancien régime in pre-Enlightenment France. In a fashion closer to the older practices of penance and torture, these punishments operated directly upon the body of the offender, producing visible signs of the law's power. Such punishments gave way to the "analogical penalties" of the Enlightenment reformers, in which the goal was instead to construct a sign-relation or association between the ideas of crime and punishment, so as to deter the prospective criminal. Torture was now viewed as an evil connected with the cruelest and most superstitious aspects of religion. As we have seen, Bentham belongs mainly to this stage of punishment.

Foucault, however, took another aspect of Bentham's system of punishment, the circular prison called the Panopticon, as the prime illustration of the modern stage of punishment based on incarceration, regimentation, and constant surveillance. The Panopticon consisted of a ring of prison cells surrounding a guard tower at the center. The cells were lighted from behind and their occupants were visible to the guards, who were shuttered and invisible from the standpoint of the prisoners. As no one knew when she was under surveillance, the structure itself was supposed to promote good behavior. As Foucault convincingly demonstrated, the Panopticon was a paradigmatic, if extreme, example of certain modern institutions, such as the factory and the school, which also promote surveillance and self-policing.

Although Foucault did not address the religious dimensions of Bentham's philosophy of punishment and of modern practices of incarceration, several considerations suggest the continuity of such ideas and practices with older religious models. The first is that the modern prison bears numerous structural and functional parallels to cenobitic monasticism, which gave us the original meaning of the terms *cell* and *penitent(iary)*. Asad has drawn on Foucault's work to illuminate aspects of this older tradition. In each case regimentation, including confinement, served the goal of producing a subjection that was internal as well as external. Bentham often grappled with the question of how to replace the religious sanction, or threat of punishment from the deity, given the decline in religious belief. One response was the "Pannomion," a comprehensive legal code that supplied the lack of clear and effective sanctions. The Panopticon, as the architectural counterpart of this code, similarly replaced the policing function of an omniscient deity, and reintroduced the fear of retribution from an invisible guardian. Bentham may even have had such religious parallels in mind: the Panopticon incorporated, within its inner circles, space for a chapel; its inmates were supposed to be occupied in religious devotion; and, perhaps most revealingly, Bentham acknowledged the religious connotations of the "apparent omnipresence" he attributed to its guards (Bentham, vol. 4, p. 45).

Furthermore, religion, including especially evangelical movements for social reform, played an important role in the rise and development of the modern penitentiary system. Specifically, the ideas of reform and rehabilitation owed much to evolving Christian models. The influence of such ideas continues, especially in the form of voluntary programs of religious instruction offered in prisons. As previously noted, the modern law of punishment minimizes—in actual practice if not in rhetoric— the goals of reform and rehabilitation, and maximizes deterrence and, increasingly, the isolation of offenders through incarceration. Religious programs in prisons, although extra-legal, fill for some prisoners the important function of rehabilitation, especially through the well-known phenomenon of "jail-house conversions." In this way, older religious models of punishment as spiritual reform make a significant contribution to prisoners' constructions of narratives of redemption. Famous examples are *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1965) and the film *Dead Man Walking* (1995).

In the sentencing of offenders in the modern United States, there are further intersections between law and religion. Religious arguments play an important role on both sides of the debate over capital punishment. A less sensational but more widespread aspect of modern punishment is the statutory prescription of mandatory, fixed sentences for particular offenses, to the exclusion of judicial discretion. Critics of mandatory sentences usually point to the unduly harsh punishments that may result when individual circumstances are not taken into account. On the other hand, allowing judicial discretion can lead to the inequitable result that different punishments are awarded to different defendants for the same offense. This debate echoes the Christian dichotomy between strict justice and mercy, and potentially places the latter in opposition to modern egalitarianism, which also has religious roots.

CONCLUSION. The separation of religion from positive law poses a potential problem for law, in that it represents the decline of the belief in a moral cosmos, and the loss of an earlier consensus regarding the purposes of punishment. Modern law has provided its own replacements for the religious sanction, but the difficulties of promoting deterrence, the absence of effective mechanisms of reform, and, above all, the reliance on mass incarceration illustrate the nature of the challenge. Tim Murphy (*The Oldest Social Science?*, 1997) argues that the older system of religious law constituted a "penetrative scheme" in which outer practices shaped the interior being, or "juridical soul." By contrast, the modern, social scientific view of punishment emphasizes the constraint of external conduct, and may weaken the hold of law on the subject. Bentham struggled to preserve a penetrative scheme of punishment by borrowing elements from religion: the principle of retribution, ritual displays including illusionism, the fiction of an omnipresent prison guard. Apart from the proliferation of techniques of surveillance, these recommendations have, by and large, not been followed in modern punishment. In response to the arguments by some communitarian theorists in favor of the use of symbolic "shaming" punishments, Martha Nussbaum argues against the appropriateness, and indeed the humanity, of such practices and the emotions they produce (*Hiding from Humanity: Disgust, Shame, and the Law*, 2004). As the debate over how to constitute a system of punishment that is both moral and effective continues, questions of religion are never far from view.

SEE ALSO Afterlife; Atonement; Ordeal; Purification; Revenge and Retribution; Sin and Guilt.

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ROBERT A. YELLE (2005)

LAW AND RELIGION: LAW AND NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

New religious movements (NRMs), sometimes referred to pejoratively as "cults" or "sects," have tested the boundaries of social control in many societies in the West since they developed several decades ago, first in the United States, and then in other countries. Indigenous NRMs, have also developed in non-Western countries such as China, where the Falun Gong emerged some years ago, much to the consternation of the Chinese government. Legal solutions have often been sought to the perceived need to exert social control over NRMs. This need for control is often promoted in Western countries by participants in what sociologists refer to as the "anticult movement" (ACM), made up of disaffected former members, parents of participants, leaders of a few traditional religious groups, political leaders, and even, on occasion, journalists. In both Western and non-Western countries, political, legal, and judicial officials at every level have occasionally combined in efforts, often supported by the media, to exert control over NRMs. Thus the law, in some societies, has become a major instrument of social control over NRMs, encouraging the courts to affirm community norms and values as well as political ideology to the disadvantage of NRMs and other minority faiths.

Legal actions against NRMs in various societies have used preexisting laws, creative extensions of existing laws and legal procedures, and even new legislation. The application of law to NRMs in different countries and regions of the world has varied considerably. These major applications of law as an instrument of social control over NRMs will be examined, as will efforts by NRMs to make use of the law to challenge their detractors.

CONSERVATORSHIPS AND NRMS. When NRMs first came to the attention of the general public and policymakers in the United States, they were not viewed as a social problem. That changed quickly when it became clear that many NRMs in the U.S. and other Western societies were high-demand religions—that is, religions requiring extensive commitment and lifestyle changes in the lives of their members. Young, relatively affluent members of society were dropping out of school, becoming missionaries, or fund-raising on the streets of the United States and elsewhere. Parents of some recruits in the United States sought help from government officials, but that was not easily obtained, given that the First Amendment of the United States Constitution guarantees religious freedom, and because most participants in NRMs were of legal age. This impasse led some parents to self-help solutions, such as kidnapping and "deprogramming," sometimes combined with legal efforts to exert control. In countries without First Amendment protections and with a more paternalistic approach toward citizens, direct state intervention often replaced such self-help methods.

The first use of the legal system against NRMs in the United States was to seek temporary guardianships or conservatorships. This gave parents legal control over their children and the assistance of law enforcement in the effort to secure physical custody over, and even to deprogram, the young convert. Conservatorship laws are pervasive in the United States, but their main focus is to allow adult children to assume responsibility for elderly parents who can no longer fend for themselves. Use of conservatorship laws against participants in NRMs began in the mid-1970s, and it was successful for several years, with the courts conveniently forgetting that the subjects of the laws were not elderly people, but young people who had joined a religious group of which their parents did not approve. The courts being asked by a parent to grant a conservatorship sometimes made a problematic assumption that young people who had chosen to participate in a newer religious group were, by so doing, demonstrating a lack of mental competence akin to that sometimes seen in elderly people suffering from dementia.

Such uses of the law were dealt a severe blow in the United States in 1976. In *Katz v. Superior Court,* the California Supreme Court overruled a lower-court decision allowing parents of several adult members of the Unification Church to apprehend the members by court order for purposes of deprogramming them. This case occurred in California, but it became persuasive precedent in other parts of the country, and the use of conservatorship laws for purposes of deprogramming waned. Efforts were made in a number of American states to change conservatorship laws to apply to young adults joining NRMs, but none of these efforts was ultimately successful, although some came close.

BRAINWASHING CLAIMS IN LEGAL ACTIONS. Claims that participants in NRMs had been brainwashed surfaced early in the United States as a part of efforts to exert social control over NRMs. Such claims were initially considered almost prima facie evidence that a conservatorship was needed. While such claims ultimately failed in legal contests over conservatorship, they were found to be quite useful for a time in civil actions against unpopular religious groups by former members and their parents. While there is no sanctioned legal action that can be based on a claim of brainwashing, these claims were used to underpin a number of other traditional civil legal actions, such as fraud, deception, and intentional infliction of emotional distress.

For a number of years, judges and juries in the United States often accepted such claims and sometimes awarded large monetary damages. Eventually, legal claims based on brainwashing were disallowed, this time by decisions in federal courts. The major decision was *Fishman v. United States* (1990, N.D. California), a criminal case involving a former member of the Church of Scientology who was charged with mail fraud. He claimed an insanity defense and said he was brainwashed by Scientology into committing criminal acts. His defense was not allowed, on the grounds that brainwashing was not a concept generally accepted within relevant scientific disciplines. A federal civil case had also disallowed a claim of brainwashing two years earlier in a case involving a suit by a former practitioner of Transcendental Meditation (*Kropinski v. World Plan Executive Council*, D.C. Circuit, 1988). After these decisions, brainwashing-based actions became less prevalent in the United States.

Legal theories based on brainwashing were more successful as a defense in the United States when used, not by former NRM members, but by those who had kidnapped them for purposes of deprogramming and had then been sued for false imprisonment or even charged with criminal kidnapping. Deprogrammers would use a "necessity" or "choice of evils" defense, claiming that, because the NRM or "cult" member had been brainwashed and was under mind control, the deprogrammer had committed the lesser of two evils. Such defenses, which were usually allowed, permitted the defendant to introduce evidence concerning the beliefs and lifestyle of the NRM in question, something that was usually not permitted under the First Amendment of the United States Constitution. However, such cases have become increasingly rare, as incidents of deprogramming and, indeed, sentiments against NRMs have declined in recent years.

At the same time, legal claims based on brainwashing have been gaining credence outside the United States in a number of countries where NRMs are viewed by some as a major social problem. Such theories have become an important cultural export from the United States, where they first came to prominence during the decades-long battle against communism, but then were transformed for application against NRMs. Countries where the concept of brainwashing has achieved some legal currency include some in western Europe, in Catholic regions such as South America, and in countries that were affiliated with the former Soviet Union. Early in the twenty-first century, claims of brainwashing continued to justify hundreds of deprogrammings in Japan, especially of members of the Unification Church, sometimes by Protestant ministers. The term *brainwashing* has even surfaced in China, as part of efforts by the state to exert control over the spread of Falun Gong.

In some other countries claims of brainwashing have been used to undergird new legislation designed to make it harder for NRMs to secure new converts. In France, for example, new legislation was passed in 1990 making "mental manipulation" a crime. In Russia, a 1997 revision of a liberal new law concerning religions attempted to prevent NRMs from coming into the country. Often, as in Russia, such new laws have the backing of traditional churches.

LEGAL CONCERNS DERIVING FROM THE PRESENCE OF CHILDREN IN NRMS. Another major arena of legal action against NRMs involved children. As the NRMs in Western countries matured, families were often formed, and children were born into the groups—a development that had significant "domesticating" effects on the NRMs. The presence of children also eventually led to two major, and sometimes related, types of legal problems. First, custody battles erupted when one member of a couple in the group decided to divorce the partner or leave the group with their children. A second problem arose when the state entered the picture to varying degrees, exerting control over how the children were cared for and schooled. Indeed, the state was often obligated to intervene if certain types of accusations were made, and sometimes graphic accusations of child abuse, including sexual abuse, were made in the heat of a custody battle.

Custody of children is always a major issue when couples divorce. The issue becomes even more salient when one member of a couple is of a different faith, particularly a member of a "high demand" religion that has strict expectations about how to rear children. Courts in most modern societies are supposed to make custody decisions based on the criterion of "best interest of the child," which is a very flexible guideline allowing much discretion on the part of the judge or other authorities of the state. Often custody decisions are made that favor the party who is not a member of an NRM or other controversial religious group. The court may exercise its judgment in a manner that illustrates the normative function of courts of making decisions that reflect the basic values of a society. The view of what is, and is not, an acceptable religion is often used to justify custody decisions by the courts.

When custody battles become rancorous, claims of various kinds of child abuse may surface, and these may be communicated via the media or directly to state authorities who may choose, or be obligated, to act on them. In many modern Western societies since the 1980s, a plethora of laws designed to protect children have been enacted. These laws have had the overall effect of increasingly redefining children as the property of the state, as opposed to being the property of their parents. These new laws have made it easier to attack NRMs for not treating children as the society expects. Four major areas of law come into play concerning some NRMs: schooling, corporal punishment, health care, and the possible sexual abuse of children.

Home schooling is legal in some Western countries if carried out with reasonable supervision of the state authorities to ensure that the child is being given at least a minimal education level. However, in some societies, such as France and Germany, home schooling is not legal to the degree it is in the United States and elsewhere. The very attempt to school children at home may be viewed by state authorities and the general public as a form of child abuse.

Some religious groups also practice corporal punishment with children, such as spanking them for misbehavior. Spanking can be, and has been, quickly translated by the media into "beating" the children, which is thought to be child abuse by most citizens and policymakers. Such claims have arisen in custody disputes involving NRMs in a number of countries. Some episodes of extreme physical punishment have occurred in a few religious groups, and those have been seized by the media, leaving an impression that all or most unconventional religious groups beat their children and, therefore, commit child abuse.

Health-care needs of NRM children are also of concern for authorities of the state. These concerns have been made more prominent in recent decades by controversies over the refusal of blood transfusions by Jehovah's Witnesses and the rejection of standard health care in favor of "spiritual healing" by Christian Scientists. The experience of these groups, and their treatment by the media and the courts, have established important precedents for the way that health concerns relating to children in NRMs are dealt with. A common stereotype regarding NRMs is that they do not use traditional medical care, but rely only on prayer or similar methods when children become ill. Although this stereotype is generally false, its prevalence has supported state intervention into the health and well-being of NRM children.

The most significant accusation that can be and has been raised against some NRMs is that of child sex abuse. Such accusations, which have become more prevalent in child-custody disputes involving ordinary members of society, change the entire dynamic of a divorce action. When they are made in a situation involving a controversial NRM, as they have been by some in the anticult movement or in child-custody disputes, then the impact is even greater and can lead to immediate state intervention in the NRM in a number of countries around the world. Large numbers of children of NRM members have been seized in raids by state authorities in Argentina, Australia, France, and the United States, and there have been interventions involving smaller numbers of children in other countries. In all of these instances, the children have eventually been returned to their parents and the charges dropped. In Australia, damages were even eventually paid to one group that had seen nearly 150 of its children seized in predawn raids to rescue them from what the media called a "sex cult."

OTHER LEGAL ISSUES RAISED WITH NRMS. There are many other legal issues concerning NRMs that have been raised around the world. Communal NRMs have sometimes run afoul of zoning regulations that limit the number of unmarried adults who can live in a residence. Solicitation laws have been enforced in various countries in an attempt to stop NRMs from raising money. The Unification Church has won many such battles in the United States, but in other countries the legal precedents are not so helpful for NRMs. Even in the United States, the Hare Krishnas (members of the International Society for Krishna Consciousness) have found limits placed on their solicitation of funds in airports and other public settings. Laws requiring contribution to social security and health schemes have been applied to communal NRMs in some countries, as have minimum wage statutes, thereby undercutting some of the benefits of communal living. Immigration laws have been used to limit the ingress of members of some NRMs to various countries, including the United States and the former Soviet Union.

One of the most complicated legal situations involving an NRM may be that of the Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh group that settled in Antelope, Oregon, in the 1980s. The Rajneesh group bought up the entire town and controlled all that occurred there. Only members or invited guests could be present in the town. This had many ramifications, as the group ran the local schools and police force and was serving as the local government for the town. The state of Oregon, working closely with federal government agencies and the courts, managed to exert control over the situation after numerous legal battles. Oregon successfully claimed that to assist the town in any way, including sending state revenues to fund operation of the schools and law enforcement, would violate the Establishment Clause of the United States and Oregon constitutions. The Rajneesh group ceased operations in Oregon, although not without a violent backlash. For instance, some leaders of the group devised a plan to poison members of the general public by placing salmonella bacteria in salad bars in several restaurants in Oregon, causing several hundred people to become ill.

USE OF LAW BY NRMS. NRMs have sometimes been able to use the legal system in their defense, especially in countries such as the United States, which has Constitutional protection for religious freedom. Many other Western countries have statutory or constitutional provisions that allow NRMs to take legal action against those who criticize them. This includes tax officials who might have exercised their judgment so as to preclude an NRM from claiming tax exemptions available to other religious organizations. The Church of Scientology has had some success in legal battles with tax officials and other governmental agencies in a number of countries, and thus has succeeded in securing for the organization some legal privileges otherwise unobtainable. A number of NRMs and other minority religions are attempting to use the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) to deter the exercise of legal social control over them by the over forty-member Council of Europe, which includes a growing number of countries of the former Soviet Union. Early in the twenty-first century, the record of these legal efforts was decidedly mixed, as the ECHR preferred a posture of deferring to member countries in matters having to do with religion.

Some NRMs have launched major legal attacks on their detractors in the United States and other countries, and they have also attempted to make use of the ECHR when not dealt with in a manner that seems fair to leaders of the NRM. Scientology is perhaps best known for using legal action as a way to deter detractors and promote its organization. Other NRMs have also developed legal prowess, even if only out of the necessity of defending the organization or its leaders and members in court actions. This allocation of group resources toward legal defense occurred first in claims of brainwashing for damages by former members in civil actions. But, particularly with the advent of efforts by various governments to assume authority over children of group members, some groups, such as The Family (formerly known as the Children of God), have invested heavily in developing an adequate legal defense.

Some NRMs have also launched libel and defamation actions against their detractors, a tactic that is only occasionally successful, but which also serves as a deterrent. In Hungary the Hare Krishnas (ISKCON) won a major victory against a prominent religious leader who had published a brochure defaming the group. In Russia, however, a major defamation action failed against a prominent representative of the Russian Orthodox Church who was publishing extreme accusations against a number of NRMs and other minority faiths. This case was actually used by the Russian Orthodox Church and political authorities in the successful effort to gain approval for restrictive legislation that would limit the activities of NRMs in Russia.

Of course, there are limitations on NRM use of the courts. In societies such as China, where the courts are controlled to a considerable extent by the government, it is difficult for NRM members to defend themselves in court, much less to mount legal offenses such as has been done by some groups in Western societies.

CONCLUSIONS. In many societies, particularly those dominated by one particular traditional religious organization or by a political ideology such as communism, the exercise of legal rights by NRMs has been decidedly difficult. Indeed, NRMs usually lose in legal actions whatever the societal context, as the courts exercise their normative function and make decisions in line with the basic values of a given society. It is surprising when NRMs win in court as they have sometimes done in Western countries, and it demands explanation. NRMs have sometimes successfully defended themselves against legal attacks, and some have been able to launch their own legal battles that have occasionally had a positive outcome for the organization. In such cases, the religious group has gained some legitimacy, and perhaps at least the right to be left alone.

SEE ALSO Anticult Movements; Brainwashing (Debate); Christian Science; Cults and Sects; Deprogramming; Falun Gong; Family, The; International Society for Krishna Consciousness; Jehovah's Witnesses; New Religious Movements, article on New Religious Movements and Children; Rajneesh; Scientology; Unification Church.

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JAMES T. RICHARDSON (2005)

LAWRENCE, PETER (1921–1987), a pioneer in the study of Melanesian religions and a native of Lancashire, England, came to Australia as a child and was educated at Geelong Grammar School. As an undergraduate he studied classics at Cambridge University and after serving in naval intelligence during World War II returned to Cambridge to study anthropology under Meyer Fortes. In 1949 and 1950 he undertook field research for his doctoral dissertation among the Garia of the Madang district of what was then the Territory of New Guinea. For the rest of his life he returned regularly to the Madang area and concerned himself with Australia's preparation of New Guineans for self-government and independence.

Lawrence and his wife, Fanny, made Australia their home as he took appointments in Australian institutes of higher learning and continued his research in New Guinea. He served at the Australian National University (1948–1957), the Australian School of Pacific Administration (1957–1960), the University of Western Australia (1960–1963), the University of Queensland (1966–1970), and the University of Sydney (1963–1965 and 1970–1986). Lawrence visited North America frequently and was a visiting professor at Queens University (1969), the University of Pittsburgh (1970), and Victoria University (1975). He participated in the meetings of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania, a scholarly society founded in North America with a focus on the study of the cultures of the Pacific, and was elected an honorary fellow of the association. He was also active in the Australian Anthropological Society and served the journal *Oceania* as associate editor (1977–1979) and editor (1979–1985). Papers on Melanesian religion given at a symposium in his honor in 1986 at LaTrobe University in Melbourne were published posthumously as a special issue of *Oceania* (volume 59, number 1).

Lawrence's theoretical interest was in the intellectual life of indigenous peoples; he saw himself continuing the intellectualist approach to magic and religion promoted by Sir E. B. Tylor. In their introduction to *Gods, Ghosts, and Men in Melanesia,* Lawrence and coeditor Mervyn Meggitt followed Robin Horton in defining religion as "the putative extension of men's social relationships into the non-empirical realm of the cosmos" (p. 8); in Melanesia, they pointed out, gods, ghosts, ancestors, demons, and totems are closely associated with the settlements of human beings. Lawrence's *Road Belong Cargo* became a classic in the study of cargo cults and in the study of Melanesian religion. In it he traced a complex of beliefs and ritual activities in the southern Madang area from 1871 to 1950. He presented this cargo movement as a process of changing myths and rites. In the various phases of the movement the cultists appealed to traditional myths, embraced European myths, and combined myths from both sources in attempts to discover the secret of the Europeans' cargo. The term "cargo cult" seems to have first been used in 1945 (Lindstrom, p. 15) and is not original with Lawrence although he employed it. In the post-colonial Pacific the appropriateness of the term has been questioned. Lamont Lindstrom, for example, suggests that "cargo cults" probably reveal less about Melanesians than about the ideas and the motivations of the colonial officials and missionaries who reported on them. That is, the construction of "cargo cults" may point to a deficiency in Western understandings of other peoples. Elfriede Hermann, who worked in the Southern Madang area in the 1990s, and is more familiar than most with the ideas and practices of the people in the region as well as with Lawrence's work, wondered whether is was advisable to use the term at all.

Lawrence also wrote on social structure, politics, and law. The Territory of New Guinea was a United Nations trusteeship administered by Australia that in 1975 merged with the Australian Territory of Papua to become the independent state of Papua New Guinea. Lawrence believed that because he was conducting research in the region he had a responsibility to educate colonial officials and missionaries so that they could carry out their tasks with greater cultural awareness. During his time with the Australian School of Pacific Administration (ASOPA) he developed an anthropology curriculum for the teachers and public servants training for work in Australia's overseas territories. Later he was influential in the transformation of ASOPA into the International Training Institute, under the auspices of the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs, to provide education for administrators from Third World countries.

Lawrence enjoyed the engagement with patrol officers and teachers at ASOPA. He was similarly gracious and helpful to missionaries, many of whom studied with him at the University of Sydney. Raised Anglican, Lawrence professed to be an atheist, although, as he once wryly remarked, "an atheist with doubts." Lawrence's sense of humor, and his frustration with British structural-functionalism, found an outlet in a satirical poem, *Don Juan in Melanesia.* Peter Lawrence retired from the University of Sydney at the end of 1986. He died of a stroke on December 12, 1987. At the time of his death he was working on a book on the nature of religion.

SEE ALSO Cargo Cults.

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MARY N. MACDONALD (2005)

LEACH, EDMUND (1910–1989), a prominent British social anthropologist, is known for his critical adaptation of Claude Lévi-Strauss's structuralist principles in the interpretation of myths and social institutions.

LIFE. Edmund Ronald Leach was born into a large, upper-middle-class family of entrepreneurs in Sidmouth, Devon, England. He studied mathematics and engineering at Cambridge University, graduating in 1932. The next year he obtained a commercial position with a trading firm with offices in China. The administrative duties it entailed soon grew onerous, but the country itself fascinated him, and he seized opportunities to travel and to study the language and culture. Before returning home in 1936, he visited Botel Tobago, a small island off Formosa, where he encountered a "primitive" people, the Yami, on whom he made extensive notes.

Back in England, he met Bronislaw Malinowski (1884–1942) and began attending his seminar at the London School of Economics. Here he decided upon anthropology as a career and embraced Malinowski's distinctive type of functionalism. Leach's most important and extensive fieldwork took place during World War II, under exceptional circumstances. He arrived at the intended study site in northeast Burma in August 1939, just before the outbreak of conflict in Europe. Burma was then a British colony, and Leach enlisted in the Burma Rifles. However, before being called to active duty nine months later, he was able to engage in preliminary fieldwork among the Kachin, a remote mountain people, and write up a draft of his notes. (This draft subsequently was lost, rewritten, then lost again.) After the Japanese invaded and overran Burma in 1940 to 1941, Leach continued his military activities clandestinely behind the lines, rendering invaluable service by recruiting and leading Kachin troops because of his fluency in their language. Both before and after the liberation of the colony, Leach's duties took him to many tribal communities. On the basis of this extraordinary, though nonsystematic research, plus intensive study of documents upon his return to England, he wrote his doctoral thesis at the London School of Economics in 1947 under D. Raymond Firth and A. R. Radcliffe-Brown.

Following a short government research mission to Sarawak, Leach was appointed lecturer in primitive technology at the London School of Economics in 1948. Soon he took a leave of absence to work on the book *Political Systems of Highland Burma* (1954), which became a classic in social anthropology. In 1953, Meyer Fortes, formerly of the London School of Economics and by now head of the anthropology department at Cambridge University, invited Leach to join his faculty. Thereafter, this university would be Leach's base of operations. From July to November 1954 he engaged in concentrated fieldwork in a peasant village in Ceylon, on the basis of which he wrote *Pul Eliya* (1961a). In 1960 he was elected fellow of King's College, and in 1966 he became its provost. From 1971 until 1975 he served as president of the Royal Anthropological Institute. He was named to the British Academy in 1972, and was knighted in 1975.

Sir Edmund retired from the Department of Anthropology in 1978 and the next year from the provostship, but he continued to be active while health permitted: writing, attending meetings, and lecturing at universities in England, the United States, and elsewhere. His last public lecture was given in the United States in April 1986. After a long struggle with cancer, he succumbed to a brain tumor on January 6, 1989.

THEORY AND METHOD. The social anthropology in vogue in England and the United States when Leach was a student and began his career was functionalism. While this term covers a variety of individual approaches, functionalism in general may be defined as the attempt, using empirical data obtained from fieldwork, to determine how a society "functions" as a system. Furthermore, the elements that comprise a social system, such as marriage rules, economics, and religion, must be studied not as isolated entities, but in their total social context, as parts of a working whole. Malinowski exemplified this methodology.

Contrasted with this approach is that typified by James Frazer (1854–1941), who in his monumental *The Golden Bough* (1911–1915), a compendium of data about folklore, magic, and primitive religion, sought to discover fundamental truths about human psychology through comparison of apparently similar data, selected unscientifically from all times and places. Leach's fieldwork in northeast Burma focused on kinship structures, and his first published article on the Kachin (1945, in 1961b) was dominated by Malinowski's functionalism. However, when he read Claude Lévi-Strauss's *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté* (1949), he was strongly drawn to the French anthropologist's "structuralism." Thereafter, without renouncing all functionalist principles, he employed a method that owed much to Lévi-Strauss, but was not, he insisted, a "Lévi-Straussian methodology" (1983a, p. 2).

In a sense, structuralism can be classified as a continuation of Frazerian anthropology in that it seeks to establish facts true of "the human mind." Although Lévi-Strauss traveled extensively for some months in 1938 among "primitive" tribes in Brazil, his fieldwork is deemed shallow by functionalist standards, and his writings are not truly dependent upon it. Rather, his method derives from the structural linguistics of Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913) and Roman Jakobson (1896–1982). Significantly, Lévi-Strauss and Jakobson were colleagues in 1945 at the New School for Social Research in New York. (Similarly, Leach was Jakobson's colleague at Stanford from 1952 to 1953.) Just as Jakobson taught that in all languages, humans code and decode sounds into meaningful speech by combining them into bundles of binary oppositions, so Lévi-Strauss taught that the myths, rituals, eating customs, and all other aspects of a society express contrasting pairs (left/right, male/female, and so on), between which mediating elements intervene. This is the logic by which the human mind functions, he insisted, and his writings analyze these oppositions and mediations. Once a structure is identified in one society or text, comparisons can be made with others. In his later work, especially, he came under criticism from Leach for departing from empirical data in his search for universals applicable to all humanity (Leach, 1970, p. 104). Leach criticized him too for distinguishing between "cold" (primitive, ahistorical) and "hot" (historically conscious) societies (1983a, p. 21–22).

Leach has said of his own magnum opus (1954) that it is a kind of "dialogue between the empiricism of Malinowski and the rationalism of Lévi-Strauss" (1982, p. 44). The latter's *Les structures élémentaires* had contained much about the Kachin, based on data obtained wholly from documentary sources. Although Leach made early use of Lévi-Strauss's structuralism in his 1954 book, he signaled ethnological errors in Lévi-Strauss's statements on marriage relations among these people. The criticism led to a protracted polemics, eventually ending in a rupture between the scholars when Lévi-Strauss refused, in the revised version of his book (1967, 1969), to acknowledge Leach correct. Nevertheless, there were numerous friendly exchanges between them from 1962 to 1966, when Leach was writing structural analyses of myths, and in 1970 Leach penned a lucid, concise, and mostly positive study of Lévi-Strauss that became a standard introduction to his thought.

To the end of his career, Leach continued to adhere to a basic principle of functionalism, namely, that "the real subject matter of social anthropology is the actual social behavior of human beings" (1970, p. 105), while also employing methods of structural analysis derived from Jakobson and Lévi-Strauss.

MYTH AND RELIGION. In private life, Leach was a Humanist (Leach, 1972), and his beliefs carried over into his scholarly work. Once when a fellow anthropologist called him a "vulgar positivist" (Clifford Geertz, in Banton, 1966, p. 35), he retorted, "This intended insult I take as a compliment," adding, "positivists, whether vulgar or otherwise, usually show signs of knowing what they are talking about, whereas theologians, even when disguised as Professors of Anthropology, do not" (Leach, 1969b, p. 86). When he wrote about the Kachin *nats* (spirits), he dismissed them as "nothing more" (1954, p. 182) than ways of describing relationships among persons and groups in the society. Religion, as such, did not interest him at this time.

Having been won over, largely, to the structuralist or symbolist view of myth by 1959 (Leach, 1961b), in the 1960s and 1980s Leach wrote several structuralist interpretations of biblical narratives and Christian doctrine (1969b, 1983a), fields his Parisian counterpart eschewed. The most complex of these is "The Legitimacy of Solomon" (1966), a tour de force of the Jewish scriptures, which disregards biblical criticism, theology, and historical concerns, and instead treats the text as "myth," taking it as a whole. Leach identifies recurring binary patterns concerning incest, murder/sacrifice, endogamy/exogamy, descent, and inheritance, and shows how the writers (consciously or unconsciously) found mediating agencies to resolve the "unresolvable" dilemmas in the narratives. For this article, Leach won the commendation of two prominent Jewish scholars, Jacob Neusner and Abraham Malamat (Tambiah, 2002, pp. 303–305). In another article, "Virgin Birth" (1966) he shows how Christians can believe that Jesus was both supernaturally conceived (by the Holy Spirit through the Virgin Mary) and the human messiah, descended from David through Joseph. In this case, both Jesus and Mary are mediators between earth and heaven. Then Leach uses this illustration to contradict the claim of certain anthropologists that some primitive tribes are ignorant of the connection between copulation and conception.

Only once did Leach write expressly about the history of religions: in a 1966 review of Mircea Eliade's 1965 book *Mephistopheles and the Androgyne*. Since a major theme of this book is the *coincidentia oppositorum*, it was an appropriate volume for him to review, but in doing so, he also discussed nine other works by Eliade. He charged the author with being a "Frazerian," a "Jesuit," and a Jungian, with inflating his outdated bibliographies, with believing in a prelogical archaic mentality, and with speaking like "an enlightened prophet." He commends Eliade for stressing notions of polarity (sacred/profane, heaven/earth) and the necessity for connecting links between them, such as the yogin and the shaman, but he says that the true implications of these ideas have escaped him. Leach believed that "because Eliade has recognized that religious symbols occur not singly but as binary pairs, he is really committed to an analysis of *structure*."

The value of structuralist analyses of religious texts, for Leach, was not that they reveal truth or meaning, but that they afford the basis for looking at familiar materials in a new way. "Mediation between opposites is precisely what religious thinking is all about," he once said (Leach, 1983a, p. 16).

Leach also reviewed numerous books on religion by fellow anthropologists and wrote structuralist studies of religious art and architecture (1971b, 1978, 1983b, 1985). Although a few American religion scholars utilize Lévi-Straussian structuralist principles (e.g., Penner, 1989; Doniger, 1998), Leach is seldom cited. Leach is much better known and referenced by anthropologists, especially in the United Kingdom.

SEE ALSO Structuralism.

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LEADERSHIP.

The concept of religious leadership, although indispensable to general discourse, has been of limited value to the social scientific study of religion, which has advanced little beyond the pioneering studies of Max Weber and Joachim Wach. While a great deal is known about individual religious leaders and have accumulated a reservoir of case studies of such leaders, far less is known about the phenomenon of leadership. Indeed, what is lacking at present is a generally accepted concept of religious leadership. Scholars working in different religious traditions use diverse modes of theorizing and analysis and do so in pursuit of differing and often unrelated questions. Important but largely unrecognized work in the psychology of leadership in small groups, social exchange models of interaction processes developed by sociologists, and shifts in focus from power to leadership in political science thinking all provide new bases for generalizations about religious leadership across differing cultures and times.

Religious leadership may be defined as the process by which leaders induce followers to act for certain transcendental goals that embody the values, motivations, and aspirations of both leaders and followers. Such leadership involves the exercise of power in religious collectivities, but its domain is more limited than that of power. Unrestricted power over others is exercised to realize the goals of the powerwielder whether or not these goals are shared by the followers. The essence of leadership lies in the manner in which leaders perceive and act on their own and their followers' values and needs (Burns, 1978).

WEBER'S TYPOLOGY OF RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP. The groundwork for a comparative study of religious leadership was laid by the German sociologist Max Weber in his *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (1925), the first strictly empirical comparison of the social structure and normative order of societies in world-historical depth. He contributed the outlines of a typology of religious leaders as well as a major statement on forms of domination and the bases of legitimization of authority underlying different types of leadership. In spite of his stress on the independent significance of religious values and ethics, he acknowledged the importance of the social vehicles through which the impact of religion is effected. His analysis of religious groups, as one instance of a variety of nearly universal types of human groups found at differing phases of historical development, highlights the crucial importance of religious leadership as a vehicle of religiosity and religious change.

Weber isolates the features peculiar to three major types of leaders—magicians, prophets, and priests—through a comparison with each other as well as with the subsidiary leadership roles of lawgivers, teachers of ethics, and mystagogues. The emergence of priests as distinct from practitioners of magic centers on several points of differentiation: (1) priests influence the gods by means of worship, whereas magicians coerce demons by magical means; (2) priests are "functionaries of a regularly organized and permanent enterprise concerned with influencing the gods," whereas magicians engage in "individual and occasional efforts"; (3) priests are actively associated with some type of social organization by which they are employed, in contrast to magicians who are typically self-employed; and (4) the priest exerts influence by virtue of his professional expertise in fixed doctrine and his vocational qualifications, whereas magicians exert their influence by virtue of personal gifts and charisma made manifest in miracles. The nature of the learning of these leadership roles differs; priests undergo rational training and discipline and magicians are prepared through an "awakening" using nonrational means and proceeding in part as a training in purely empirical lore.

Weber recognized that in reality the contrasts just noted are fluid and by no means unequivocally determinable so that empirically the two contrasted types often flow into one another. The crucial feature of the priesthood is centered on "the specialization of a particular group of persons in the continuous operation of a cultic enterprise permanently associated with particular norms, places, and times and related to specific social groups."

Building on Adolf von Harnack's typology, Weber isolates the sociologically distinctive traits of the prophet as a "purely individual bearer of charisma who by virtue of his mission proclaims a religious doctrine or divine commandment." For Weber, it is this personal call that is the decisive element distinguishing prophet from priest. It is the latter who claims authority by virtue of his service in a sacred tradition, whereas the prophet's claim is based on personal revelation and charisma. It is no accident that almost no prophets have emerged from the priestly class. The priest typically dispenses salvation by virtue of his office even in instances in which personal charisma may be involved. It is the hierarchical office that confers legitimate authority upon the priest as a member of an organized collectivity.

A second and closely linked point is Weber's focus on the prophet as an agent of change who takes personal responsibility for breaking with the established normative order, declaring this break to be morally legitimate. The leadership role of the priest by contrast is exercised typically in the service of an established order.

Unlike the magician, the prophet claims definitive revelations, the core of his mission being doctrine or commandment, not magic. Again, Weber acknowledged that this distinction was fluid; magicians are frequently knowledgeable experts in divination and prophets often practice divination as well as magical healing and counseling like the *neviʾim* mentioned in the Old Testament. What distinguishes the prophet from both the magician and the priest in this regard is an economic factor, namely, that prophecy is unremunerated. Weber further differentiates prophets from the religious leadership roles of lawgivers, epitomized in the Greek *aisumnētai*, teachers of ethics, and mystagogues. While the transition historically from prophet to each of these types is not clearly defined, Weber separated out from the category of prophet these other types, treating them as analytically distinguishable leadership roles for "sundry purveyors of salvation." Of these, only the mystagogue—Weber's neologism for the religious counterpart of the demagogue—shared with the prophet a leadership role that demands a break with the established order. But whereas the prophet legitimates that break in ethical and moral terms, the bases of legitimation for the mystagogue are primarily magical.

Central to Weber's delineation of the role of prophet was his differentiation of two subtypes. One was the *ethical* prophet, who preaches as one who has received a commission from God and who demands obedience as an ethical duty. He is represented most clearly by Muhammad and Zarathushtra (Zoroaster). The Buddha by contrast typified the *exemplary* prophet, who by his personal example demonstrates to others the way to religious salvation.

A discussion of Weber's typology of religious leaders is distorted unless it includes reference to his discussion of the laity whom prophets and priests sought to influence. For a prophecy is successful only if the prophet succeeds in winning permanent helpers. These include the *amaga*, or members of the inner circle of devotees of Zoroastrianism; the disciples of the Hebrew Bible and of the New Testament; and the intimate companions of Hinduism and Islam. The distinctive characteristic in all these cases is that these are personal devotees of the prophet who, in contrast to those of the priest, are not organized into guilds or office hierarchies. In addition to these most active co-workers, there is a widening circle of followers who support the prophet and expect to obtain their salvation through his mission. These followers may engage in intermittent action or associate themselves continuously in a congregation. The latter community does not arise in connection with every type of prophecy; generally it is the result of routinization, that is, of a process securing the permanence of the prophet's preaching and the congregation's role as distributor and recipient of grace.

Weber reserves the term *congregation* for situations in which the laity has been organized permanently in such a manner that it becomes an active participant. Thus a mere administrative unit that delimits the jurisdiction of priests is a parish but not yet a congregational community. From this point of view, one finds that in medieval Christianity in the West and Islam in Near East the parish was essentially a passive ecclesiastical tax unit with the laity generally lacking the character of a congregation. By contrast, it is the distinctive characteristic of sects that they are based on a restricted association of individual local congregations. In such circumstances the relationship between priesthood and laity becomes of crucial significance for the practical consequences of religion and for the exercise of religious leadership.

Weber here argues that every type of priesthood is to some extent in a similar position: To maintain its own power it must meet the needs of the laity to a very considerable degree. Because as a rule both the ethical and the exemplary prophet are themselves laymen, the prophet's power position depends in both cases also on that of his lay followers. To what extent the prophet would succeed as a leader depended on the outcome of a struggle for power. All prophets made use of the prestige of their prophetic charisma and the support it gained them among the laity. The sacredness of the radically new revelation was continuously opposed to that of tradition. Depending on the success of the propaganda by each side, the priesthood might compromise with the new prophecy, outbid its doctrine, eliminate it, or be subjugated itself. Religious leadership, in short, is exercised typically in competition or conflict with others in which the different leaders contend for the support of their potential followers.

In Weber's ensuing discussion of the major social classes and their affinities for religion, he provides a comparative frame of reference for assessing the influence of class factors in conditioning the outcome of specific religious leaders' claims for support by the laity. This includes a discussion of intellectuals and of the conditions under which priests and monks become intellectual elaborators of religion, as was true, for example, in India, Egypt, and Babylonia. In the religions of the ancient city-states, however, notably among the Phoenicians, Greeks, and Romans, the development of all metaphysical and ethical thought became the province of nonpriests. Weber further emphasized the predominance of high-status intellectuals as religious innovators and leaders.

The Bases of Legitimation of Authority. Weber's typology of religious leadership is intricately linked to his sociological analysis of forms of domination, with its threefold typology of the bases of legitimation of authority to which such leaders made claim. [*See* Authority.] Domination was defined by Weber as "the probability that certain specific commands (or all commands) will be obeyed by a given group of persons." Domination ("authority") for Weber could be based on diverse motives of compliance "all the way from simple habituation to the most purely rational calculation of advantage." But he makes clear that every form of domination implies at least a minimum of voluntary compliance and thus represents obedience based on self-interested calculation.

For Weber, the key to leadership had to be found in the kind of legitimacy claimed by the leader, the type of obedience demanded, the kind of administrative support developed to guarantee its success, and the modes by which such authority is exercised. All of these would differ fundamentally depending upon which of three types of legitimization was most prevalent. The validity of claims to legitimacy, according to Weber, were based on (1) rational grounds, resting on a belief in the legality of enacted rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands, that is, legal authority; (2) grounds resting on an established belief in the sanctity of traditions and the legitimacy of those exercising authority under them, that is, traditional authority; and (3) charismatic grounds "resting on devotion to the exceptional sanctity, heroism, or exemplary character of an individual person and of the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him, i.e., charismatic authority."

The concept of charisma, "gift of grace," was taken from the vocabulary of early Christianity and drew heavily on writings of the church and legal historian Rudolf Sohm, in particular his *Kirchenrecht* (1892). The term *charisma* as elaborated by Weber refers to "a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is considered extraordinary and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These . . . are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a 'leader.'" What is crucial is how the individual is regarded by those subject to charismatic authority, that is, by the leader's followers or disciples. Such recognition is freely given and guaranteed by "what is held to be proof, originally always a miracle, and consists in devotion to the corresponding revelation, hero worship, or absolute trust in the leader."

Weber notes that where charisma is genuine, the basis lies not in such proof per se but rather in the conception that it is the duty of those subject to charismatic authority to recognize its genuineness and to act accordingly. Psychologically, such recognition is a matter of complete personal devotion to the possessor of the quality, arising out of enthusiasm or alternately out of despair or of hope. The charismatic leader's legitimacy to act is thus not derived from the follower's consent or from custom or law, but from a transcendental realm.

The right of the leader to rule is determined by the follower's recognition of the godlike qualities either imputed to him by the follower or bestowed on him through ascension to a charismatic office. The success of the charismatic leader in developing a community of disciples or followers gives rise to the charismatic community. But if that community is to take on a degree of permanence—a matter of considerable interest to the disciples and followers if their own positions are to be put on a stable, everyday basis—it becomes necessary for the character of the original charismatic authority to be altered radically.

The problem of leadership transfer from the charismatically endowed leader to his successor is thus inherently unstable. How this problem is met, if it is met at all, is amenable to a range of solutions. These include the search for a new leader, using as criteria qualities that will fit him for the position of authority, as has historically been so with the search for a new Dalai Lama; revelation manifested in the use of lots or divine judgment or other techniques of selection; designation on the part of the original charismatic leader of his own successor (a very common form); designation of a successor by the charismatically qualified administrative staff together with his recognition by the community; and transmission of charisma by heredity or by ritual means. In the last case, charisma becomes disassociated from a particular individual, is objectified, and becomes a transferable entity that may be transformed into a charisma of office. A critical example is the transmission of priestly charisma by anointing, consecration, or the laying on of hands.

The Weberian typology of religious leadership was subsequently enlarged by Joachim Wach in his *Einführung in die*

Religionssoziologie (1931). Wach attempts to classify the variety of types of religious authority "according to the principle of personal and official charisma," although he recognizes that a given type can include a combination of both elements. Even though the critical issue of leadership as deriving from different forms of charismatic authority is never explicitly addressed by Wach, his typology has generally been presumed to constitute both a delineation of types of religious leaders and an analysis of the underlying types of legitimation of their rule. In addition to the categories of priest, prophet, and magician already developed by Weber to which Wach's delineation provides little that is analytically new, Wach adds the following types: founder, reformer, seer, diviner, saint, and *religiosus*. As with Weber, Wach's analysis is directed not only to an examination of the charismatic basis of their claims to authority, but also to an elaboration of the variety of religious roles played by such leaders. Even as a classificatory tool, however, Wach's typology needs to be substantially enlarged if it is to encompass the diversity of religious leadership known to contemporary scholars. Still more crucial is the fact that with Wach, the emphasis shifted from typology as a tool of analysis and explanation to a tool of description and classification. It is to these analytic and explanatory concerns to which this article must now return.

CURRENT THEORIES IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. Research in the fields of psychology, political science, and sociology may be drawn on to suggest a number of new directions for the study of religious leadership.

Origins of religious leadership. One key to understanding leadership lies in recent findings and concepts in psychology, psychiatry, and psychohistory. Despite its cultural limitations, psychobiography can be an important tool in analyzing the formative influences on religious leadership, as Erik H. Erikson's studies of Luther and Gandhi have documented. Viewing some of the influences in the early years of great religious leaders, one may come to better understand the powerful influences of family, peer group, class, and adolescent experience. Such studies, however, will always be inadequate, because they deal with only one segment and tend to slight the effects of religious learning, political and institutional contexts, and the role of followers in shaping the behavior of leaders.

Social sources of leadership. Typologies of leadership by virtue of their abstraction tend to disassociate leadership from its social-situational context. Leadership occurs, as Weber's discussion of hierocracy, theocracy, and caesaropapism documents, in an immensely complex social network of structured and patterned relationships. The psychology of small-group research documents, moreover, how leadership adheres not in an individual but in a role that is imbedded within some specified social system. Variations in the social context within which religious leadership is deemed to be critical represent an important historical variable. Thus, studies of religious organizations that have focused on their leadership in modern industrial societies in the period since World War II rarely if ever address the kinds of issues dealt with by Weber. The study of religious leadership in these contexts typically involves an analysis of personnel recruitment, socialization, professionalization, training for the ministerial or priestly role, and delineation of the various role segments of administrator, preacher, counselor, teacher, and pastor. A recent review of the literature by the American sociologist Edgar W. Mills (1985) decried the absence of a concern with leadership in most contemporary studies of the ministry. These themes reflect, as Roland Robertson (1970) has noted, organizational constraints upon the exercise of leadership in societies in which religion has become increasingly differentiated and compartmentalized.

Personal traits. Religious leadership like other forms of leadership cannot be reduced to some specific set of abilities or personal attributes. Even the prophet is not born with "the gift of grace"; he must claim it. Natural endowment, intellectual or emotional predisposition, and training are only accessory, and they vary considerably.

A mixing of variables. Typologies of leadership, including those of religious leadership, have too often drawn on a variety of analytical and theoretical considerations without adequately differentiating the specific variables according to which a given religious leader is classified within one type rather than another. Indeed the very delineation of these types and their nomenclature suggest a mixing of variables. Thus a delineation of religious leaders as founders, reformers, revolutionaries, and conservationists focuses on the role of such leadership in challenging, revitalizing, or maintaining the existing social and religious order. By contrast, a typological distinction between expressive and instrumental types of leaders emphasizes differences in the ways in which leadership is exercised and followers exhorted, as was also true of Weber's original distinction between exemplary and ethical forms of prophetic leadership. Other typologies have focused on segmental roles or functions assumed by specific religious leaders, such as miracle workers, exorcists, moral teachers, mediators, ritual specialists, administrators, and scribes, as well as intellectual leaders and educators.

REVISED ASSUMPTIONS. Underlying the Weberian approach to religious leadership, and subscribed to equally by Wach, are a number of assumptions that recent research has either seriously questioned or forced to abandon altogether. Classic sociological treatments of religious leadership have leaned heavily on conceptions applying to elites, to authoritarian systems and to rigid caste- and class-based societies. The literature on religious leaders (and on leadership in general) has generally been committed to images of strong-willed leaders and mindless masses. Weber emphasized the authoritarian character of such leadership, especially charismatic leadership, by focusing on the exclusive prerogative of leaders to command and the unquestioning obligation of subordinates to obey. As a result there has been an unfortunate emphasis on the "great man" theory of leadership.

The role of gender—to the extent to which it enters into these studies of religious leadership at all—has simply reinforced the sterotyped image of religious leaders as male. The conditions under which women claim and successfully exercise such leadership has only recently become a topic of serious scholarly investigation. The focus on the great men who exercised religious leadership has moreover ignored the vital network of secondary, tertiary, and even "lower" leadership in most societies and most religious communities.

Weber's delineation of charismatic leadership has been a source of considerable confusion. This confusion has arisen because he integrated two distinct analytic components, the one social-structural and the other psychological, into his discussion of charismatic legitimations of authority. Each of them highlights different aspects of leaders and of their relationships to their followers. Yet, in focusing on the personal and affective dimensions of the relationship between charismatic leaders and their followers, Weber himself tilted the balance toward an emphasis on personality. The dominant thrust of his analysis was toward linking charisma with certain structural strains that are likely to be pronounced during periods of accelerated social change. But his analysis of the social conditions that give rise to charismatic leadership remained sketchy. These ambiguities in Weber's own discussion of charismatic leadership are reflected and magnified in the recent literature dealing with charisma, which has often used historical materials in an undiscriminating way to refer to almost all nonbureaucratic forms of leadership.

Although Weber never adopted the traditional image of leadership as unilateral—one was either leader or follower—his analysis of the relationship between the two, seen in the light of more recent research findings from the social sciences, tends to underplay the degree to which followers condition, shape, and mold both their leaders and the religious movements of which they form a part.

Similarly, Wach's discussion of the groups "corresponding to religious authority" is entitled "the audience" and includes references to the ephemeral audience of the migrating preacher or prophet, the crowd attending a religious celebration, and the permanent circle accompanying the founder and prophet. Such labeling of the group of followers as an audience betrays the passivity with which they are presumed to function and relate to their leader. While past studies of religious leaders generally portrayed their followers as a passive audience or mere aggregation minus the leader, more recent psychological and sociological research drawing on interaction theory and social exchange theory has demonstrated conclusively that the concepts of leading and following are reciprocal. Thus, religious leaders are by no means exclusively and always engaged in acts of leading. Leaders and followers do at times exchange roles, with the most active followers and disciples initiating acts of leadership. The expectations of followers and the acceptance accorded the leader may be as influential in shaping the character and consequences of that leadership as the resources of the leader himself. A more systematic attention to followers is likely to lead to the development of typologies not only of followers but of various models of leader-follower relationships.

The topic of religious leadership needs to draw on the empirical findings, concepts, and theoretical insights of recent research by social scientists working for the most part outside the realm of religious studies. The rapid proliferation of case studies of individual religious leaders, both past and present, has yet to be systematically integrated into a conceptual framework capable of subsuming the complex character of religious leadership. Greater integration is necessary if one is to move beyond description and classification to a level of analysis that will incorporate the determinants, processes, character, and consequences of such leadership.

See Also Charisma; Intellectuals; Priesthood; Prophecy; Shamanism.

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LEAH SEE RACHEL AND LEAH

LEAVEN.

The Hebrews and other peoples of the Middle East were taught to use leaven by the Egyptians, who may have discovered its use as early as 2600 BCE. Although leavened bread took on importance as a religious symbol during the Azyme Controversy that finally divided Eastern and Western Christianity in 1054, the use of unleavened bread has had far greater significance in religious ritual. As a consequence, the ritualistic use of unleavened bread and the symbolic meaning of leaven merit special attention.

The best-known use of unleavened bread is described in the twelfth chapter of *Exodus,* where Ḥag ha-Matsot, the Feast of Unleavened Bread, and Passover are interfused in a historical commemoration of Israel's deliverance from Egypt. Other texts in the Hebrew scriptures indicate that the two feasts had different origins (*Dt.* 16:1–8, *Lv.* 23:5–6). Whereas Passover was a pastoral festival, the Feast of Unleavened Bread was agricultural. Because natural dough, a harvest gift of Yahveh, was considered holy, the addition of yeast would profane it. In addition, fermentation may have been viewed as a form of corruption.

Unleavened bread was prescribed for the night of Passover also to remind the Hebrews of the great haste with which they ate during their anxious flight from Egypt. During the Feast of Unleavened Bread, which began on the day following Passover and lasted seven days, the Israelites were directed to destroy all leavened bread that remained in their homes and eat only the "bread of misery."

When the Israelites celebrated Shavuʿot, the Feast of Weeks (or Pentecost), at the end of the wheat harvest, they offered leavened bread as first fruits because it had become their common bread in Canaan. Although they associated leavened bread with the giving of the Law of Moses, the ritual for communion sacrifices stipulated that unleavened cakes mixed with oil and unleavened wafers smeared with oil be used. Leavened bread, however, was also to be given to the priest for the sacrificial meal (*Lv.* 7:11–15).

The Israelites seem to have been ambivalent about adding leaven to dough. Although its use conflicted with their eating habits as nomads, once they settled in Egypt and Canaan they routinely consumed leavened bread.

In the New Testament, leaven has at least three symbolic meanings: It is a sign of the Old Covenant that must yield to the New Covenant; it is symbolic of corrupting influences; and it typifies small beginnings that have enormous potential for growth. Paul instructed the Corinthians to rid themselves of the old yeast of evil and wickedness and to become instead the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth (*1 Cor.* 5:8). In this way, they would be united with the risen Christ in an unending Passover. Paul thus turned the cultic practice of the Israelites into an ethical injunction. The suggestion that leaven corrupts is also found in the admonition of Jesus to be on guard against the yeast of the Pharisees, that is, their hypocrisy (*Lk.* 12:1). Like many other symbols, yeast had a positive as well as a negative aspect. The parable comparing the kingdom of heaven to a yeast that spreads through three measures of flour (*Mt.* 13:33) refers to the fact that something as small and unpretentious as yeast can have astonishing potential.

Plutarch recounts that in Greco-Roman culture, the priest of Jupiter was forbidden to touch unleavened bread because it was unclean and corrupt. For Philo Judaeus, unleavened bread was a symbol of humility and leavened bread a symbol of pride.

The bread used for the Eucharist was leavened in the Eastern church and unleavened in the Western rite. These geographical variations caused no difficulty until the Middle Ages, when the discrepancy gradually became a point of contention. It reached a climax in 1054 in the Azyme Controversy preceding the Great Schism that divided the Eastern and Western churches. Mohlan Smith, tracing the controversy in his book *And Taking Bread,* suggests that Eastern and Western liturgical traditions involving different types of eucharistic bread are based on an apparent disagreement in the scriptures about the date of the last supper. The synoptic gospels seem to indicate that the last supper took place on the first day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread. A reading of *John,* on the other hand, suggests that Jesus was crucified on the day of preparation. If this interpretation of *John* is accepted, the last supper would not have been a Passover meal, and leavened bread would have been used. The Eastern church's liturgical use of leavened bread also has theological overtones: It accentuates the break between the Old and New Covenants. Western rituals, on the other hand, emphasize the continuity of Hebrew and Christian traditions.

SEE ALSO Bread; Passover.

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LEE, ANN

LEE, ANN (1736–1784), English visionary and founder of the American Shakers. Growing up in a poor, working-class family in Manchester, England, Ann Lee was attracted in 1758 to the Shakers, a religious group that engaged in ecstatic dancing and other charismatic activities. Married in 1762, Lee had four children, all of whom died in infancy or early childhood. She interpreted these losses and the pain that she experienced in childbirth as a judgment on her concupiscence. In 1770 a vision convinced her that lust was the original sin in the Garden of Eden and the root of all human evil and misery. Only by giving up sexual intercourse entirely, following the heavenly pattern in which "they neither marry nor are given in marriage," could humankind be reconciled to God.

The Shakers and the celibate message that Ann Lee introduced among them experienced little success in England, where the group was sporadically persecuted but generally ignored. In 1774 Lee and eight of her followers emigrated to America and two years later settled at Niskeyuna (now Watervliet), New York, near Albany. Between 1781 and 1783, during the troubled aftermath of the American Revolution, Lee and the Shakers undertook a major proselytizing effort in New York and New England in the course of which they attracted support primarily from Free Will Baptists. Ensuing persecution, including brutal beatings and harassment, weakened Ann Lee and her brother William, contributing to their premature deaths in 1784.

Although Ann Lee's involvement with the Shakers in America lasted only a decade, her influence at that time was profound and has continued to be so during the groups's subsequent two-hundred-year history. Intelligent, dynamic, and loving, she was revered by her followers. They came to believe that in "Mother Ann," as they affectionately called her, God's spirit had been incarnated in female form just as they believed that in Jesus, God's spirit had been incarnated in male form. Whether Lee herself ever claimed such quasi divinity—except in ecstatic utterances subject to symbolic interpretation—is questionable. Yet the conviction that Ann Lee was the second embodiment of Christ's spirit and the inaugurator of the millennium is central to the Shaker faith.

See Also Shakers.

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Lawrence Foster (1987 and 2005)

LEENHARDT, MAURICE

LEENHARDT, MAURICE (1878–1954), was a French Protestant missionary and ethnographer. In the French ethnographic tradition of the era before World War II, Leenhardt stands out as a fieldworker of uncommon depth. From 1902 until 1926 he was a liberal evangelist in New Caledonia. His active defense of the Melanesians against colonial abuses and his stress on vernacular education and on the growth of autonomous local churches anticipated what would later be called liberation theology. His extremely subtle work in linguistics and Bible translation led him to ethnography. He had a relativist's understanding of cultural process and invention that brought him to challenge the notion of religious conversion as a discrete event. Leenhardt envisaged a longer, locally rooted historical development leading to a fresh articulation of Christianity, an experience of personal authenticity that would transcend, not abolish, Melanesian totemism and myth.

Upon leaving his mission field in 1926, after a successful, albeit embattled and unorthodox, career, Leenhardt turned his attention more directly to ethnographic description and ethnological theory. With the help of Lucien Lévy-Bruhl and Marcel Mauss he obtained a professorship at the École Pratique des Hautes Études and a post at the Musée de l'Homme. He published four works of detailed New Caledonian cultural description: *Notes d'ethnologie néo-calédonienne* (1930), *Documents néo-calédoniens* (1932), *Vocabulaire et grammaire de la langue houailou* (1935), and *Langues et dialectes de l'Austro-Mélanésie* (1946). He also wrote a synthetic ethnography, *Gens de la grande terre* (1937; rev. ed., 1952), and what is perhaps his best-known work, *Do Kamo: La personne et le mythe dans le monde mélanésien* (1947; translated into English as *Do Kamo: Person and Myth in the Melanesian World,* 1979). These works are characterized by rigorous attention to issues of linguistic and conceptual translation, by an emphasis on cultural expressivity and change over structure and system, and by an analytic focus on the person.

Leenhardt's chief ethnological contribution is his experiential concept of myth. In this view, myth should be freed from the status of a story or even of a legitimating social charter. Myth is not expressive of a "past." Rather, myth is a particular kind of engagement with a world of concrete presences, relations, and emotional participations. It is a "mode of knowledge" accessible to all human experience. There is nothing mystical, vague, or fluid about this way of knowing; it does not preclude logical, empirical activities, as Lévy-

Bruhl tended to assume. Myth is fixed and articulated by a "socio-mythic landscape." For Leenhardt, place has a density inaccessible to any map; it is a superimposition of cultural, social, ecological, and cosmological realities. (The valleys of New Caledonia provided his most potent examples.) Orienting, indeed constituting, the person, this complex spatial locus is not grasped in the mode of narrative closure by a centered, perceiving subject. Rather, the person "lives" a discontinuous series of socio-mythic "times"—less as a distinct character than as a loose bundle of relationships. This *mythe vécu* ("lived myth") calls into question a Western view of the self as coterminous with a discrete body, a view that values identity at the expense of plenitude.

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LEESER, ISAAC

LEESER, ISAAC (1806–1868), was an American rabbi, writer, and leader of Jewish traditionalism. Born in Neunkirchen, Westphalia (Prussia), Leeser was orphaned at an early age. He received his secular education at a *Gymnasium* in Münster, and his religious tutelage from Benjamin Cohen and Abraham Sutro. At the age of eighteen he joined his uncle Zalman Rehiné in Richmond, Virginia, where he began to prepare for a business career and assisted the local religious functionary, Isaac B. Seixas. An article he published in defense of Judaism brought him to public attention and resulted in an invitation to occupy the pulpit of Philadelphia's congregation Mikveh Israel in 1829. During the next forty years he was the most prolific American Jewish writer and the most creative communal architect.

Leeser's *Instruction in the Mosaic Law* (1830) was followed by *The Jews and Mosaic Law* (1834), "a defence of the Revelation of the Pentateuch"; *Discourses, Argumentative and Devotional* (1837), "delivered at the Synagogue Mikveh Israel"; and *The Form of Prayers according to the Custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews,* 6 vols. (1837–1838), edited and translated by Leeser, as was *The Book of Daily Prayers . . . according to the Custom of the German and Polish Jews* (1848). An edition of the Pentateuch in 1845 was followed by a translation of the entire Hebrew Bible into English in 1853, the first to be done by a Jew. In 1867 his collected sermons and essays, *Discourses on the Jewish Religion,* were published in ten volumes. His chief literary monument is *The Occident and American Jewish Advocate,* which he edited for twenty-five years (1843–1868).

Leeser inspired the establishment of the first Jewish Sunday school in America (1837), helped establish the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia (1848), and founded and headed the first rabbinical seminary in the New World, Maimonides College (1867). "His far seeing vision," Mayer Sulzberger wrote in 1868, "years and years ago projected a Hebrew College, a Jewish Hospital, a Foster home, a Union of Charities, a Board of Delegates of American Israelites, an Educational Society, an American Publication Society."

Religiously, Leeser was a staunch traditionalist who resisted and battled the rising Reform movement. His Orthodoxy, however, kept him neither from fully partaking of world culture nor from introducing the English sermon. Both Conservative and modern Orthodox Jews claim him and acknowledge his influence.

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LEEUW, GERARDUS VAN DER

LEEUW, GERARDUS VAN DER (1890–1950), was a Dutch historian of religions, theologian, and phenomenologist.

LIFE. Born and raised in the Hague, van der Leeuw studied theology at the University of Leiden (1908–1913), with history of religions as his main field and W. Brede Kristensen as his principal teacher. The faculty also included P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, who himself had taught history of religions at the University of Amsterdam and who influenced the young man. Van der Leeuw specialized in ancient Egyptian religion and studied for a year in Germany (1913–1914), first in Berlin under Adolf Erman and Kurt Sethe, and then in Göttingen under Wilhelm Bousset. He obtained his doctorate in 1916 from Leiden. After having been a minister in the Dutch Reformed church for two years, van der Leeuw was called to Groningen in 1918 to occupy the chair of history of religion and history of the doctrine of God, with responsibility for the "theological encyclopedia" in the faculty of theology. He also taught Egyptian language and literature in the literary faculty. "History of the doctrine of God" was later dropped from his chair's title and after World War II phenomenology of religion was added to van der Leeuw's official assignment; after 1940 he also taught liturgics.

Van der Leeuw was active in the Dutch Reformed church where, like Chantepie de la Saussaye, he adhered to the so-called ethical theology, which stressed the value of religion as a reality of the heart and as an existential datum. Later he was particularly active in the liturgical movement in his church and in attempts to reform it. From 1945 to 1946 he was minister of education, arts, and sciences. In 1950 van der Leeuw became the first president of the newly founded International Association for the History of Religions; this put the seal on his international reputation. He died shortly afterward in Utrecht.

PRINCIPAL WORKS. Van der Leeuw's books that are relevant to the study of religion fall into a number of categories. Most of his scholarly work was in the field of comparative studies and phenomenology, for which he wrote an introductory work, *Inleiding tot de godsdienst-geschiedenis* (1924), later completely revised as *Inleiding tot de phaenomenologie van den godsdienst* (1948), and the famous handbook titled *Phänomenologie der Religion* (1933), subsequently translated into English as *Religion in Essence and Manifestation* (1938). Further, he produced articles and books on subjects as varied as sacrifice, mysticism, representations of Paradise, children in worship, the image of God, and the God-human relationship as well as articles on myth and mythology and on immortality.

In other categories, van der Leeuw's works are almost as numerous. His major historical studies concern ancient Egyptian religion, although he also wrote on ancient Greek religion and produced studies of ancient calling-songs and lamentations and on the meeting of early Christianity and paganism. Also important are his books on liturgics, on religious art, and on music and religion—including books treating the works of Bach and the history of church hymns—and his several theological works, which often derive their insights from the history and phenomenology of religion. Another category of van der Leeuw's works comprises his writings on his phenomenological method and on issues of philosophical and theological anthropology. He also wrote extensively on Christian topics and on various literary and cultural subjects. The total number of his publications amounts to about 650.

MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS. Van der Leeuw's most original contribution may be his phenomenological approach to the study both of religious data and of the phenomenon of religion itself. Guided by a particular vision of religion as a whole, he looked for structure and meaning in the multitude of religious data. With this approach van der Leeuw rejected certain parochial theological schemes of interpretation, evaluation, and judgment that were current in his time. He thus cleared the terrain for new kinds of inquiries into the various meanings pertaining to religious data and into the potential religious meaning of basic natural and human phenomena. Van der Leeuw's phenomenology was characterized by its psychological orientation and its status as a theological discipline.

In his approach, van der Leeuw leans heavily on psychology and in particular on structural psychology in Dilthey's sense, as he states himself in 1928. He was then even prepared to speak of the "psychology" instead of the "phenomenology" of religion. His concept of psychology, however, is not that of present-day empirical psychology; he sees it instead as a way of approaching a subject through one's own experience. Understanding rather than explanation should be the aim of the study of religion, he believes, echoing a similar aim formulated in psychology in the 1920s by such scholars as Karl Jaspers, Eduard Spranger, and Ludwig Binswanger. In this psychological understanding-through-experience, the "subjectivity" of the researcher is an indispensable datum. In order to understand a religious phenomenon as a human expression, the researcher should allow it to affect him in its wholeness, and van der Leeuw contends that this should be done methodically, in the field of religion as well as in such other humanistic fields as history and psychology. This particular way of understanding implies that the researcher interpolates the religious phenomenon into his own life and "experiences" it, while bracketing (*epochē*) both its factual and ultimate reality. Van der Leeuw describes this procedure in the "Epilegomena" of his handbook and adds that such a psychological understanding should be followed by empirical research to control and correct what has been understood. It is precisely the subjective nature of the experience of understanding, as propounded by van der Leeuw, that has given rise to scholarly objections, because this approach may lead to abuse in hermeneutical investigations. The discussion of the value for hermeneutics of van der Leeuw's psychologically oriented phenomenology is still continuing.

Phenomenology of religion had a theological foundation for van der Leeuw. The "sacramental" experience of reality on the one hand and the tension between subject and object of religious experience on the other, which are at the basis of his phenomenology of religion, find their theological basis, according to him, in the doctrine of the Incarnation. As a discipline, phenomenology of religion had for van der Leeuw a theological status; he did, in fact, also speak of it as "phenomenological theology." Basically, it was a theological discipline concerned with the meaning of religious data in the experience of the believers, and van der Leeuw wanted to see this phenomenological theology as an intermediary stage between "historical" theology, concerned with literary and historical facticity, on one hand and "systematic" theology, concerned with ultimate truth and reality, on the other. Because it leaves open the status of the phenomenon with regard to ultimate values, phenomenological theology limits itself to the problem of "meaning" and "significance." In practice, however, a theological phenomenologist will interpret the meaning of religious phenomena finally in the light of the "true" religious meaning known in faith, and van der Leeuw's *Religion in Essence and Manifestation* bears witness in fact to its author's faith as a Christian. This book describes religious phenomena in five parts. The first three parts represent the classical structure given by Chantepie de la Saussaye: the object of religion, the subject of religion, and object and subject in their reciprocal operation. Part 4 deals with "the world" and part 5 with "forms" (religions and founders). Religion, for van der Leeuw, is humankind's encounter with "power," and it implies being "overpowered," for he understood "power" as a philosophical category with theological overtones. Philosophically, in van der Leeuw's view, religion is one of the consequences of the fact that humans do not accept life as given to them: They seek power in life, something that is superior, and they try to find meaning in life and to arrange this into a significant whole. For van der Leeuw, consequently, religion is intimately linked to culture as humanity's creative effort.

APPRAISAL OF OEUVRE. Theological schools have not been prepared to accept van der Leeuw's theological vision, and its most elaborate expression, his *Sacramentstheologie* (1949), has had little resonance. Nor have scholars of religion, whatever their orientation and persuasion, been prepared to accept van der Leeuw's subordination of the phenomenological enterprise to theology. Further objections have been raised against van der Leeuw's relative neglect of the historical and social realities in which religious phenomena are embedded, and against his notion of "understanding."

Apart from the information it offers and the insights contained in it, one of the definite contributions of van der Leeuw's erudite oeuvre is the attention it draws to the problem of the scholar's role in research in the humanities in general and in religious studies in particular. In his phenomenological work there is an evident tension between the researcher's "participation" and his "distance" with regard to the subject matter; these stances he even considered as representative of two basic anthropological structures, the "primitive" and the "modern" mentality. In many respects van der Leeuw anticipated problems that were to be explored by postwar existential and hermeneutical philosophy in Germany and France. His own presuppositions were largely determined by Dutch theological thought of the beginning of the twentieth century, and this allowed him to be receptive to the ideas of Dilthey, Husserl, Spranger, Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, and others. In his search for the right view of human phenomena he protested against any idealistic interpretation of humanity.

Throughout van der Leeuw's oeuvre is a broad mosaic of statements that bear witness to his sensitivity, realism, and open mind. Even now, his insights into his materials sometimes must be recognized as brilliant, and that is why his work, mostly in Dutch, still counts: Suddenly, connections are revealed in an original, striking, and somehow convincing way.

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LEFT AND RIGHT.

Symbolic differentiations of left and right are virtually universal cultural classifications among humankind. Research interest in the asymmetrical functioning of the left and right hemispheres of the brain and in the dominance of right-sided dexterity arose about a century ago. From a growing body of clinical evidence a variety of theories have evolved about the presumed physiological and neurological causes of right versus left preferences and performances in human behavior. Less well studied is the significance of right and left in the matrix of textual and contextual symbols that comprise a given culture. In 1909, French sociologist Robert Hertz established the first genuine social-science approach in his article "The Preeminence of the Right Hand: A Study of Religious Polarity" by making the following observation: "To the right hand go honors, flattering designations, prerogatives: It acts, orders, and *takes.* The left hand, on the contrary, is despised and reduced to the role of a humble auxiliary: By itself it can do nothing; it helps, it supports, it *holds*" (Hertz, in Needham, 1973, p. 3). Since Hertz's pioneering study, social scientists have explored the religious polarity of left and right in both literate and nonliterate societies, although the bulk of research has been on nonreligious aspects. As E. E. Evans-Pritchard has observed, much work on the cultural significance of left and right symbolism remains to be done.

The views advanced by Hertz on left and right have been affirmed by Émile Durkheim, Marcel Mauss, E. E. Evans-Pritchard, and Rodney Needham, among others, and may be summarized as follows. First, a preference for the right hand or foot to perform the noble tasks of life, in religious rituals as well as ordinary social intercourse, is widely observable among world cultures, both civilized and primitive. Conversely, the left hand and foot are regularly assigned secondary, converse, and even debasing tasks. From these widely observed sets of asymmetrical behavior it is often concluded that it is characteristic of human beings to regard the right side as exalted and auspicious and the left, by contrast, as despised and inauspicious.

A second characteristic of much of the ethnographic literature on left and right is the general tendency to see their opposition as part of a generic capacity in humans to classify the world around them and to derive the meanings of things in relation to their opposites. Thus, the binary oppositions of right and left, male and female, positive and negative, cooked and raw, up and down, noble and ignoble, and sacred and profane, indicate some of the fundamental modes human groups use to organize the world and to determine how to act within it. The structural properties of these schemata become more complex and interesting when, for example, sacrality, right-sidedness, and maleness are associated in some contexts. Is asymmetrical binary opposition a fundamental feature of the mind and of social symbolization and thus a key to unlock the cultural codes of left- versus right-sidedness in those religions where it appears?

Associated with the question of asymmetrical binary oppositions, of which left and right differentiation is presumed to be a species, are other issues that still divide scholars. One is the cultural versus the physiological (or neurological) question of origins. Are humans primarily and by preference right-handed because the corresponding left hemisphere of the brain predominates, or do the left hemisphere and right hand function as they do in most cases because of cultural conditioning? Another issue concerns the differences among societies regarding left-and-right symbolism and the increasing amount of evidence that in some cases the left is considered to be more auspicious than the right.

It is not the primary task of religious studies to attempt to answer these questions, however important they may be in establishing or confuting theories propounded by neurologists, psychologists, and ethnographers. The historian of religions works with a variety of textual and contextual materials, such as sacred texts and rituals, religious worldviews, and symbols. In this regard the interest of religious studies in left and right symbolism lies more in the interface of textual and cognitive valuations of left versus right with contextual and behavioral patterns.

The evidence for left and right symbolism in Islam was examined by Joseph Chelhod in a 1964 essay titled "A Contribution to the Problem of the Right, Based upon the Arabic Evidence" (Chelhod, in Needham, 1973). As Chelhod and other Near Eastern specialists have shown, the differential roles of the left and right hands were already entrenched in ritual practices among Arabs at the sacred shrine in Mecca prior to the seventh century CE and shared some common characteristics with ancient Near Eastern practices. Much of the scholarship on pre-Islamic Arabian culture has adduced the probability that a solar cult gave directional orientation to ritual activities at the Kaʿbah in Mecca, where one would face toward the east in ritual activities. Correspondingly, the Arabic word for "right" is *yamīn* (root, *ymn*), whose cognates include terms that mean "south," the prosperous land of the Yemen, and "felicity" (*yumn*); the word for "left," on the contrary, is *shimāl,* whose cognates and synonyms include terms for "bad luck," "north," and Syria, a land associated with ill omen.

The Qurʾān assigns auspiciousness to the right side, including a person's right hand and foot and the symbolic circumstance of being situated on the right side of God. Corresponding inauspiciousness and servility are assigned to the left. As in other civilizations, so in the early Islamic culture of Arabia certain ambiguities clouded a clear-cut association between right and left with good and evil, respectively. For example, Chelhod points out that the Qurʾanic term *yasār* means both "left" and "prosperity." Does this constitute evidence of the inversion of values that W. Robertson Smith and others saw in the sacred as distinct from secular realms? Whether or not this is so, the solution to the problems raised by linguistic evidence lies in a study of the semantic fields of terms for "right" and "left" that would determine in what contexts such terms are used, especially in cases where single lexical items seem on the surface not to conform to general cultural pairings of right with good and auspiciousness and left with bad and inauspiciousness.

Early Islamic textual and more recent ethnographic evidence further attest to such practices as setting out for the mosque or on the pilgrimage to Mecca on the right foot but setting out on the return trip from these places on the left foot; eating and drinking with the right hand but touching the genitals for toilet activities with the left hand; seating one's honored guest to one's right, and so forth. Today, non-Arab Muslims of Africa and Asia generally adhere to the normative Islamic patterns for behavior involving the right and the left side. Thus, for example, in Indonesia it is considered offensive to pass food to another with the left hand. The fact is, however, that in both Africa and Asia forms of left-and-right cultural symbolism preceded the historical arrival of Islam, and hence the role of Islam was probably that of linking local meanings and myths about left-and-right symbolism with the more universal meanings of the great tradition.

The application of Hertz's thesis on the religious polarity of left and right in China was discussed by the French sociologist Marcel Granet in 1933 (trans. in Needham, 1973). The Chinese textual and ethnographic evidence differs from that of the Western monotheistic religions insofar as the Chinese regard the left side as a place of honor even though right-handedness is encouraged by social convention. Granet found that preference for the left or right varies in traditional Chinese culture, depending upon the context. For example, children are taught to eat with the right hand, but males greet others by bowing, presenting the left hand and covering the right, while females reverse the pattern, concealing the left hand and exposing the right. Male/female differentiation of right-and-left symbolic acts corresponds to the yin/yang metaphysical polarity. Left, yang, and male are associated symbols in opposition to right, yin, and female. The opposition is not diametric, however, but circumstantial, conforming to strict social codes and rites that determine etiquette throughout society. Thus, at the levels of the universe (cosmos), society as a whole (etiquette), and the human body (physiology), left and right are differentiated, though both are valued in their symbolic association with yin and yang, sky and earth, male and female as opposing but complementary forces in the universe. The Chinese case differs from most others, because neither side of the interactive polarity is consistently valued over the other; preference is determined by context.

Tribal societies exhibit left-and-right symbolic differentiation at the levels of cosmic myth, social interaction, and physiological performance. In Africa, for example, there is greater similarity to the patterns described in Islamic culture. South of the Sahara, ethnic groups tend to associate the right side with male sexuality, moral good, good fortune, and auspicious directions and orientations, while the left side is associated with female sexuality, evil, misfortune, and inauspicious or bad places. H. A. Wieschhoff provided several examples of these patterns, noting that in Cameroon and parts of northeast Africa some ethnic groups regard the left hand as symbolic of good fortune and the right of misfortune (Wieschhoff, in Needham, 1973).

Although the Chinese evidence fits less well with Hertz's widely accepted "exalted right / debased left" theory, Granet's approach to right-and-left symbolism in Chinese culture illumines more appropriately the religious significance of right-and-left differentiation. Continuing research on the different roles of the right and left hemispheres of the brain in neurology and cognitive psychology may eventually reveal the extent to which right- or left-handedness is physiologically determined. The religious character of such symbolism lies, however, in the combined cultural media of cosmology, ritual performance, and social interaction. The study of right-and-left religious symbolism must take all of the textual and contextual fields into account in order to appreciate the full dynamics of the symbolism for each group studied.

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LEGALISM. Legalism refers to theories of statecraft that emerged in China after the weakening of the Zhou confederation in 403 BCE. Legalist thinkers never formed a school of thought that matched the Confucian establishment. It was later Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) syncretists who labeled certain early thinkers *fajia* for their commitment to clear, public laws (*fa*) backed by predictable, harsh punishments as the foundation of government. The most famous early practioners of Legalism associated themselves with the state of

Qin, which eventually conquered its rival kingdoms and established the first Chinese empire in 221 BCE. But Legalist ideas filter through many other texts from the Warring States period (403–221 BCE) and inform later political theories that developed to accommodate the centralized, imperial state.

THE ROLE LAW IN GOVERNMENT. Shang Yang (fl. 359–338 BCE) presented a strong case for replacing local customs with a unified state-sponsored legal system. As a young man he is said to have studied criminal law, which suggests that by the fourth century in China a conception of law that was backed by punitive measures already existed. He lived in a world in the midst of massive social upheaval, as kings grew ever more powerful, "new men" free from ascriptive ties served as court advisers, and taxpaying peasants replaced aristocrats in warfare. The proper role of law in this new world was a matter of much discussion, and Shang Yang's views are identified in a book, *Shangjunshu* (*The Book of Lord Shang*), that most likely represents the collective wisdom of a group of like-minded realists. According to the text, Shang Yang's service at the court of Duke Xiao of Qin in 359 BCE involved him in court debates with a ruler wary of tampering with the laws and courtiers committed to maintaining the status quo. Shang Yang addressed their concerns about the dangers of replacing laws based on kinship, custom, and historical precedent with more universal standards. He declared the past so varied and complex that it could not serve as a reliable guide for contemporary governments: "If the Emperors and Kings [of old] did not copy one another, what standards should we follow?" But Shang Yang himself wasn't above manipulating contested historical precedent to legitimate his claim that law has a time-honored place in government. He noted, for example, that some of the most effective rulers in the golden age did in fact use laws and punishments with good results.

Shang Yang and later Legalists concerned themselves with the character of laws, which in their view must be clearly written, universally disseminated, and backed by consistent, appropriate punishments in order to operate as effective deterrents. Legalist writers displayed an absolute commitment to guard the welfare of the state rather than serve the will of the ruler or accede to the demands of the populace. Shang Yang advocated measures designed to strengthen state control over the common people and the noble class alike. He proposed to organize commoners into taxpaying groups whose members would suffer if any member failed to pay taxes or committed a crime, failed to ensure that households supply the manpower to support the armies, or failed to outlaw private vendettas and to mete out rewards for meritorious service rather than family status. In his scheme, there was no room for human caprice. Shang Yang echoed Aristotle when he argued that good rulers are so rare that only laws could check their mistakes and protect their position: "An enlightened ruler is cautious in the face of the laws and regulations."

Early Legalist and Confucian writers disagreed about the place of law and institutions in an ideal society, but the lines between adherents of the major schools of thought often blurred. For example, it was the greatest Confucian scholar of his day, Xunzi (310–220 BCE), who trained two of the most influential Legalist reformers of the late classical era, Han Fei and Li Si.

LAW AND PUNISHMENT. Xunzi based his legal theory on a realistic assessment of the costs and benefits of the state and its institutions. More pragmatic than earlier Confucians, he believed that humans by nature compete for resources and must be restrained by a strong state and strict laws. But he recognized as well that laws are only as effective as the men who administer them. His student, Han Fei, moved one step further and placed his faith squarely on mechanistic laws that would restrain the bureaucrats and punish the deviant. Living in a time when it had become clear that only a strong centralized state could put an end to warfare that had become constant and costly, Han Fei proposed measures that bolstered the state and its institutions rather than the welfare of local communities. He advocated clearly defined and appropriate rewards and harsh punishments to control all human behavior—including the acts of rulers and bureaucrats. Codified law, in his scheme, would mitigate the arbitrary, whimsical decisions that brought so much chaos to the world. "Law is confused if private standards are used," and "When laws are established, punishments will be consistent." Han Fei's concern that laws be clear and public and punishments consistent and predictable resonated with other Warring States writers, especially when the death penalty was involved. The eclectic text *Guanzi*, for example, bluntly declares, "When the people know the death penalty is inevitable, they will fear it."

Predictable laws and legitimate punishments worked best if they were based on immutable standards that could withstand human manipulation, and for some third-century thinkers, a universal natural principle, the *dao*, rather than the old books and ways of the past, seemed to best serve that purpose. Han Fei discussed the *dao* as a workable standard for law, but other texts more clearly link human standards with the law of nature. For example, the *Jingfa*, a text unknown to the world of scholarship until tomb excavations in 1974, clearly links law with nature. According to this newly discovered work, "The *dao* gives birth to law, and law marks what is crooked from what is straight." A demand for clear laws and predictable punishments emerges as a major theme as well in other familiar texts transmitted in the late Warring States and early Han dynasty. The *Guanzi*, for example, declares: "Therefore it is said that statutes, regulations and measures must be modeled on *dao*. Commands and ordinances must be clear and open, rewards and punishments trusted and definite. These are the constant standards for bringing justice to the people." By the time the empire coalesced during the Han dynasty, legal reformers regularly urged the emperors to clarify the laws and maintain consistency in punishments.

LAW AND EMPIRE. Arguments for clear, consistent, universal laws make sense in light of the move toward empire that these late third-century thinkers witnessed. Universal rule would require standards that transcended local customs and particular histories. It is not surprising that one of the most comprehensive blueprints for linking all human activities with cosmic patterns was produced in the state of Qin, which unified China in 221 BCE. The *Lushi Chuqiu*, compiled around 239 by a group of scholars retained by Lu Buwei, a merchant and high-level official in the state of Qin, set forth an intricate scheme for managing political and religious duties according to the patterns of the natural world. The text incorporates Legalist notions of the importance of consistent laws and punishments, firmly rejects the standards of the past as being too unreliable for present circumstances, and creates an almanac for scheduling punishments in a manner that would not upset the cosmic balance. Archaeological excavations in China after 1975 have yielded legal materials that allow scholars today to check the literary and historical record with a new perspective. The Qin materials unearthed at Shuihudi, for example, demonstrate that the low-level official in charge of local legal matters who took his administrative guidelines to his grave was bound by strict procedures himself and in turn enforced draconian measures on his charges.

The first emperor of China boasted in 221 that his creation would last ten thousand generations, but the task of imposing legal and religious uniformity in the new territories under its control proved so onerous that the dynasty collapsed after less than two decades. The succeeding Han dynasty legitimated the use of force to destroy Qin by promising to simplify and mitigate Qin's harsh laws. But contrary to early Han claims to reject the harsh laws of Qin, the Han code recently unearthed at Jiangjiashan shows that to the contrary, the laws of Qin remained as the foundation for the new dynasty's legal system. Indeed, law codes, case manuals, and literary materials from medieval and late imperial China reveal that Legalist conceptions of law as a means of exercising control and centralized power lived on in China, despite the attempts of orthodox Confucian scholars and bureaucrats to associate themselves with more benign forms of control through education and sound leadership.

Modern views of the early Legalists are mixed. Some thinkers blame them for creating a draconian legal system that undergirded despotism, while others see them as prescient realists who did not shirk from evaluating traditions with a utilitarian eye. After the Chinese empire suffered internal and external attacks in the mid-nineteenth century, some thinkers rejected Confucian conservatism and turned to the early Legalists for inspiration as they attempted to reform the imperial apparatus. During the Maoist period, when Confucianism represented all that was feudal and decadent, the Legalist thinkers were touted as realistic men of action. In the post-Maoist reform era in China, debates about the efficacy of law have become urgent as China enters a global economic and legal order. Some contemporary Chinese political thinkers point to Legalist thought as an early expression of the rule of law that subordinates rulers to the law, while others see them as the creators of a system of rule by law that places the rulers above the laws.

SEE ALSO Han Fei Zi; Law and Religion, article on Law and Religion in Chinese Religions.

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KAREN TURNER (2005)

LEGITIMATION is a process in which new situations in society are sought, or current ones sustained, through reference to widely shared values and/or qualities. Law and order, tradition, justice, patriotism, class affiliation, and ethnic identity are common legitimating values; charismatic leadership, the status quo experience of success, and the sting of oppression are common legitimating qualities. Legitimation is a feature of all formal governance but must not be construed exclusively as such. Nongovernmental groups also seek to preserve or alter social arrangements, and their success similarly depends upon their capacity to link goals with common values and qualities, somtimes for and sometimes against the interests of governments. By "social action" we mean efforts by nongovernmental groups to promote or resist social change. It is not our task here to discuss legitimation of and by governments in general or social action promoted by secular, nongovernmental groups, although in both cases religious and parareligious values and qualities are sometimes used as legitimating references. The scope of this article is social action undertaken by religious communities and legitimated by reference to values and qualities preferred within their own traditions. Religiously legitimated social action can refer to actions undertaken by religious hierarchies, denominational agencies, local congregations, groups within congregations, or church members who act through voluntary associations outside their religious institutions.

The fact that social action is promoted by religious groups and is religiously legitimated does not insure its positive worth. Religious social action, as we understand it, injects into a situation new sensitivity to issues and attempts to undercut spurious legitimations of power. Spurious legitimations often have appeared in the interests of nationalism, and the church often has become a legitimating authority for imperial power.

The examination of legitimation is largely a study of ambiguity, of value orientations amenable to a variety of meanings or interpretations. The reasons for this include the variety of situations in which ostensibly the same sanctions are appealed to, the variety of interests that come into play in a single situation, the mixture of good and evil, the conflict among values, and the difficulty of providing a rational, unambiguous formulation of the legitimation claimed.

SOCIAL ACTION. The unique context of social action is the modern community in which diverse groups coexist under the rubrics of freedom of association, freedom of assembly, and freedom of speech. Within pluralistic society, government is generally viewed as the one association that holds a monopoly on legitimated coercion. Modern pluralism implies that associations may hold conflicting values. In an open society, where change and conflict are common, dissent is entitled to a hearing and to constitutional protection. In fact, one role of associations (James Madison called them factions) is to guard the state against demonic usurpation of authority by any group; they do so by means of an ongoing dialogue among rival conceptions of what is legitimate. The growth of voluntary associations in modern society has enhanced the importance of public opinion as a factor in social reality. Social action, therefore, is concerned to affect public opinion.

The means for social change are viewed differently by different parties. Some prefer subjective means aimed at modifying larger social realities through the power of transformed persons and the spread of influence from person to person and from persons to social structures. This approach depends upon good character rather than organized planning and action by groups. A second approach, philanthropy, offers assistance to persons and groups whose efforts show signs of positive outcome for the larger society. This approach, important as it sometimes is, aims more at remedying the consequences of social (structural) dysfunction than at criticism and change of social structures. Finally, some believe that meaningful social change must occur at the level of socioeconomic and political structures. It is this approach that we call social action.

Social action is concerned with what H. Richard Niebuhr (1954) calls the macro, meso, and micro levels or dimensions of human experience. It is concerned primarily with the macro and meso levels although changes in these levels affect and are affected by the micro level. Ernst Troeltsch (1968), through his distinction between subjective and objective values, deals with these same conceptions in a somewhat different way. For Troeltsch, subjective values spring from an individual's direct relation to God, one's direct relation to other persons, and one's internal dialogue in the striving for integrity. Here truthfulness, openness, benevolence, and loyalty are characteristic values. Objective values, on the other hand, are the social-ethical claims that inform or guide action in the realm of "history"—the structured sphere of group life with its particular roles and rules. Objective values attach to the structures of society, the family (especially in its relation to other spheres), the state, the community, property and production, education, science, art, and "organized" religion.

Moral life, then, comprises both subjective and objective values, and they are of course interrelated. Social action must relate to all these levels. Martin Luther King, Jr., Mohandas Gandhi, and current theologians of liberation all agree that there is a clear and direct link between personal spirituality and a person's social praxis.

Values sometimes are widely held and are central for an entire society, while others are held only by a few and are marginal for the society. Marginality, however, is not irrelevance. Radical transforming insights frequently originate at the margins of society, calling into question central values while also expressing a desire for community based on alternative values. This was true of ancient prophecy and is true as well of many modern movements. Most Western monasticism, for example, may be understood as socially marginal, subjective withdrawal from the social community. But, as many have observed, monasticism has often reentered the community at large in objective, world-affirming ways: service, reform, intellectual leadership, and contemplative inspiration. This two-sidedness has existed in the Gandhian ashrams, in the black churches that supported the civil rights movement, in contemporary Latin American base communities, and in many communitarian experiments of the past two centuries. There is a dynamic interaction of values back and forth, between the margins of society and the center.

THE DECLINE OF AUTHORITY. Legitimation is aligned with authority and is dependent on it. Many would agree, however, with Hannah Arendt's disconsolate view that "authority has vanished from the world." The modern world has an authority crisis, therefore a legitimation crisis (see Arendt, 1958; Habermas, 1975). Since Plato, it has been understood that power rests on authority outside the present situation: nature, God, eternal ideas, custom, or some historical event of great importance. These outside authorities have been referred to by some as elements of "numinous" legitimation (see Sternberger, 1968). In past times of effective authority such as the Roman Empire and the Christian Roman Empire, those authoritative elements have been persuasive, legitimating whole societies. In modern times, they are undercut and we are left in a myopic state of individualistic want-orientation with far-reaching implications for all realms of life from the most public to the most private, including political organization and religion (see Tribe, 1976; Arendt, 1958). The value that most frequently replaces traditional legitimating values is the state. In modern Western states, the problem of authority is complicated by the fact that individualism carries within itself seeds of dissonance; capitalistic individualism and democratic individualism contradict one another in theory and practice (Troeltsch, 1968). The goal of the latter is freedom, whereas that of the former is want-satisfaction. The latter leads toward a broadening recognition of personhood and rights with attendant pluralism and a stress on community; the former leads toward bureaucratization of production and suppression of opportunities for democratic expression of individuality.

The impact of social change is greater in the modern epoch than in former ones. The rapid rate of change in recent generations is unique in history and destabilizes enduring values. Legitimation is more difficult in the context of unprecedented change.

Likewise, the impact of modern pluralism and responses to it have raised other problems for legitimation. In Roman Catholicism, for example, Vatican II has been a watershed, opening the way for a more pluralistic emphasis in the church. At the same time, the Roman church is experiencing strong internal conflict on some key issues such as human sexuality, the roles of women, and the place of popular religious movements within the church. The Vatican is faced with a dilemma about whether to impose traditional monolithic authority upon its increasingly pluralistic and worldwide constituency; the issues of liberation theology and popular religion in Latin America are current cases in point. Protestant evangelicals are experiencing analogous difficulties. They no longer can claim unity of political goals. A progressive wing attacks the conservative political values and programs of right-wing evangelicals.

NATIONALISM AND CIVIL RELIGION. When the "constitution of the everyday world" is examined in terms of its "preferred and preeminent modes of being," there are "structures of faith and reason" that express the actual religious commitments of cultures, their orientations toward what is deemed by them to be sacred, "with or without the benefit of a transcendent referent or supervening unity" (George Pickering). Seen in this light, nationalism has become a dominant form of religion in the modern world, preempting a void left by the deterioration of traditional religious values. What appear to be conflicting legitimations often are evidences of rival nationalisms. Nationalism, devotion to nation as an ultimate reality or to one nation to the exclusion of others, must not be confused with civil religion, values transcending a nation by which that nation is both legitimated and judged (see Mead, 1975; Bellah, 1967). Indeed, nationalism and civil religion may often conflict. Nationalism, without any means for self-transcending criticism, is inclined toward the demonic. Its primary interest is unquestioning loyalty. Civil religion, on the other hand, tests present reality by reference to transcending values that represent the ideals and values of a nation.

Carl Schmitt (1932) saw that nationalism is fueled by the fear of an enemy. Hitlerism was promoted as a means for saving Germany from Bolshevism. The lengthening conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States in this century may be understood, at least in part, by the same dynamic. But nationalism is ambiguous. Gandhi appealed to national interests, or "home rule," both as a way of overcoming the unwieldiness of deep-seated village sovereignty and as a way of uniting India against British rule. And Martin Luther King, Jr., effectively appealed to the national interest by forcing issues into federal jurisdiction in order to overcome the segregationism that dominated Southern state and local courts. In the sections that follow, the thread of nationalism as a major legitimating value runs through virtually every situation examined.

PRAXIS. In 1851, Stephen Crowell, a trustee of Princeton Theological Seminary, in his volume *New Themes for the Protestant Clergy* (Philadelphia, p. 15), asserted, "The whole socialist movement is one of the greatest events of this age. . . . The works of socialists have exposed this hideous skeleton of selfishness—they have pursued it with unfaltering hatred; and this constitutes our main obligation to them" (cited in Stackhouse, 1985). This exposure, he argued, calls for a new application of Christian principles to the economic order. The book was published three years after the *Communist Manifesto* and three years after the appearance of the Christian Socialists sponsored in England by Frederick Denison Maurice and Charles Kingsley "to socialize Christianity and Christianize socialism."

Earlier in the nineteenth century, Roman Catholic writers had mounted a similar attack. Social action in the following period of well over a century concerned itself not only with a critique of the legitimacy of the industrial system but also with experiments in alternative social groupings. These experiments presupposed new conceptions of legitimacy.

Growth of the idea of social salvation. The search for alternative societies may be traced to the writings of Plato, Thomas More, and Tommaso Campanella, and also to the heretical sects of the Middle Ages and the withdrawing as well as the aggressive sects of the Reformation. Most influential of all have been the monastic communities from which the concept of sainthood emerged. In these efforts, one can see the deliberate formation of nonoppressed, marginal groups in contrast to the oppressed margins in which the labor movements were born as well as the U. S. civil rights movement and grass-roots liberation movements in the Third World.

Of special character and significance were the social actions associated with communitarian movements in the United States and Europe. The fantastic schemes of Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Robert Southey are familiar. In the United States these experiments, religious and secular, appeared from New Hampshire to Oregon, from the Rappites and the Owenites to the Shakers and Brook Farm. In the nineteenth century, there were over a hundred known communities of more than one hundred thousand men, women, and children. Writing to Carlyle in 1840, Emerson said, "We are all a little wild here with numberless projects of social reform. Not a reading man but has a draft of a new community in his waistcoat pocket."

Egalitarianism was a major nerve of these movements. Their conceptions of legitimacy issued in the demand for equality of sex, nationality, and color, the abolition of private property, the abolition of slavery, the humane treatment of domestic animals, and the practice of nonresistance.

Experiments have continued into the present century, for example, the interracial community Koinonia Farm in Americus, Georgia, and the mainly Roman Catholic Focolare ("fireplace") movement. The latter, an international group with four thousand members, emphasizes face-to-face "family" groups stressing unity toward the end of transforming structures of domination through praxis rather than doctrine, and uses mass media for wider communication. Especially significant too are the *kibbutsim* in Israel, the oldest extant communal experiments among marginal, alternative societies.

In England, the philosophy of individualism may be traced to left-wing Puritanism, with its attack on chartered monopoly and its promotion of the dispersion of power in church and state. Legitimation was found in the alleged congregational polity of primitive Christianity. Here was the birth of the bourgeois revolt against feudalism. Later, the work of Adam Smith gave birth to belief in automatic harmony issuing from a free market. This hope for automatic harmony constituted an eschatological form of legitimation. This eschatology was fueled by the belief in progress, a restatement of the doctrine of providence. Marxism in dialectical fashion, centering attention on economic analysis and on the hope for a classless society, also adopted an optimistic eschatology.

Automatic harmony failed to appear. Smith had not anticipated the advent of large corporations and the coalitions among them, nor had he foreseen greater success in production than in the capacity to expand markets, maintain employment levels, and encourage consumption. This economic system left in its wake a residue of faceless poverty that over a long period has remained undiminished in proportion to the middle class. Legitimation became more difficult to maintain as prebourgeois social solidarity eroded. In this century, as New Deal politics shifted from the older individualism, Roscoe Pound would speak of a return to features of feudalism. The legal system, however, stood in opposition, concerned about order more than justice.

In an environment of individualistic pietism and privatization, the idea of "social salvation" appeared in the United States and Europe. From the ecumenical movement and the World Council of Churches arose the idea of "a responsible society." The secular articulation of these new religiously conceived ideas helped to legitimate the welfare state.

Meanwhile, the deprivations of Third World peoples were coming into sharper focus and it rapidly became evident that bureaucratization of business and the welfare state was inimical to training for democratic citizenship. For example, the percentage of eligible voters in the United States who participate in presidential elections has diminished by nearly half in this century. As these conflicts became more obvious, the crisis of legitimations became more acute. In this period of attacks upon prevailing legitimations, increasing appeals were made to the teachings of Jesus as a final authority, for example, by Walter Rauschenbusch in the earlier years of this century and later by John Bennett, Walter Muelder, Reinhold Niebuhr, and others (see Stackhouse, 1985).

The movement Christians for Socialism in Europe, North America, and Latin America is more pluralistic in goals and methods. Here there is recognition of the church as an economic and political power sometimes inimical to a socialist reorganization of society. Marxist tools of analysis have been employed, but the major thrust is against inequality among classes, regions, and production sectors. The emergence of new "base communities," especially but not only in Latin America, has provided grass-roots support with a new religious awareness in the face of institutional concentrations of power, ecclesiastical or economic.

This trend has continued, for example in papal encyclicals since the end of the nineteenth century and, in the period since Vatican II, in the official statements issued by councils of bishops in Latin America and the United States. These Protestant and Catholic views in part have rearticulated a century-old religious socialism with its numinous legitimation of freedom in community.

Gandhi's appeal to religion. Mohandas Gandhi was born to a political father and a religious mother. The Gandhis were *vaiśya* Hindus, though both mother and father, according to Gandhi's reflections, were tolerant and actively interested in persons and ideas outside their own religious tradition. Gandhi's mature religious views, consequently, were grounded in Hindu wisdom but also mingled with non-Hindu, especially Christian wisdom. With this beginning, it is not surprising that, for Gandhi, God is greater than any concept of God, Hindu or Christian. Gandhi interchangeably used terms like truth, life, light, and love to describe God. In his view, one draws close to God by struggling against evil in the world, even at the risk of death. He saw no distinction between religion and politics. Whereas many saw him as a religious figure involved in politics, he saw himself as a political individual trying to be religious.

The motivating vision for Gandhi was *Rāma rājya*, an ideal state of harmony in which the "welfare of all" (*sarvodaya*) would characterize the systemic interconnections of society. There would be "rights alike of prince and pauper," "sovereignty of the people based on pure moral authority," and "self-rule." Human relations in *Rāma rājya*, therefore, will manifest the principle of "noninjury" (*ahiṁsā*). *Ahiṁsā* is more than refraining from hurting by active aggression; it is subtle harmony of all living things; it is love in action. Because truth is beyond human grasp, one is bound to respect the truth claims of others. One may not inflict injury (*hiṁsā*) upon others in the name of one's own truth. Truth is larger than any person's or group's comprehension of it; it is always beyond, judging every human truth. One must "hold on to truth" (*satyāgraha*) in the latter sense, that is, one must be committed to the truth one knows with humility, knowing that one's commitment is ultimately to the greater, unseen truth (see Chatterjee, 1983).

In the Gandhian movement, we find the three legitimating forces discussed by German sociologist Max Weber: tradition, charisma, and law. Gandhi himself was charismatic; Hindu values were traditional; and Gandhi, an attorney by training, believed in law even when he took exception to it through civil disobedience.

Gandhi met many forms of resistance to his work, even from some who shared his general desires for transformation. His differences with Rabindranath Tagore are well known; both were religious, but Tagore seriously disliked many of Gandhi's methods. Gandhi's conflict with B. R. Ambedkar over how to deal with the issue of untouchability was even more serious. Ambedkar, born an untouchable himself, saw Gandhi's approach as bourgeois, therefore ineffective and even harmful in perpetuating the very oppressions in question. The final irony is that Gandhi's assassin belonged to a Hindu group whose members resented Gandhi's openness to Muslims.

Transformations in recent Buddhism. In Japan since World War II, numerous new religions (voluntary associations) have enjoyed phenomenal growth. From among these we select the lay Buddhist movements Sōka Gakkai and Risshō Kōseikai for a brief account. Both these new religions trace their heritage to the Buddhist "Nichiren sect" stemming from the thirteenth century.

Literally translated, the name *Sōka Gakkai* means "the value-creating society." The movement, characterized by family membership, has claimed to have sixteen million on its rolls. Its mushroom growth sprang from the ashes of the second world war. These value preferences, it is claimed, can be traced to Nichiren who seven centuries ago brought Buddhism to the common people and who traced authority to the *Lotus Sutra* of the fourth century.

The characteristic ideas of this *sūtra* are that every living being possesses the Buddha in embryo and should, through meditation and discipline, achieve the enlightenment of Buddhahood and also assist others on the *bodhisattva* path. All are heirs of the Buddha who engage in *bodhisattva* practice that leads to happiness in this world and the next.

The basic faith issues from worship of the mandala and the repetition of prescribed words of prayer enabling one to get rid of delusion, to achieve merit toward happiness in this world and the next, to enter the state of Buddhahood, and also to contribute to world peace. Happiness consists in material satisfaction (promised to everyone) such as economic prosperity, freedom from bad personal habits and adversity, sound health, peace of mind, and a bubbling over with joy—a markedly utilitarian, cash-value religion. The search for Buddhahood in Sōka Gakkai is the sign of the one and only true religion; other religions are to be uprooted. Conversion of nonmembers requires "a stern strategy" of pummeling ("breaking and subduing") the unbeliever, which is the highest form of compassion. There is confidence that inner reform (subjective virtue) will move outward to infuse politics, economics, art, and all spheres of life with new value.

Sōka Gakkai has been politically active, at one time establishing a political party and gaining several representatives in the national legislature. Its successful international missionary efforts have generated mass peace rallies. In a volume sponsored by the rapidly growing Youth Division, *Peace Is Our Duty* (1977), many individual statements recount vividly the brutalities of war and the callousness of former military training. It is not quite clear what the work for peace is apart from rallies; economic questions relating to world peace are not taken into account.

The fundamental motivation (or legitimation) of this "value-creating" movement resides in Buddhahood, though legitimation has been scarcely a pressing matter; the possession of truth suffices. The authoritarian, nationalist ethos and concern for individual happiness are readily evident. But still more evident is the transformation from early Buddhism's escape from history to a dynamic, utilitarian this-worldliness, yet with no social action in the strict sense.

Risshō Kōseikai, possessing six million members, also traces its heritage to Nichiren and earlier Mahāyāna Buddhism. Oriented to the *Lotus Sūtra*, members of Risshō Kōseikai interpret the way of the *bodhisattva* as the path of those who, in compassion, strive to achieve salvation for themselves and others "who shed tears of sorrow." All people have the potentiality of attaining Buddhahood; conflict prevails in the world because people have forgotten this potentiality. One aims to be loyal to one's own country, but through religious faith one hopes to be united with other peoples in a spirit transcending national boundaries.

This movement was founded in 1934 by Niwano Nikkyō, who was thoroughly familiar with the *Lotus Sūtra*, and by a prophetess, Naganuma Myōkō, who from time to time received revelations regarding immediate situations. They tirelessly visited the sick, claimed miraculous healings, and offered pastoral counseling; these elicited personal transformation and public testimonials. In all situations, they emphasized the reading of the *sūtra*; later Niwano published numerous articles of commentary on it. As Risshō Kōseikai has grown in size, close interpersonal relations of the early days have been retained in the form of the *hōza*, small groups in which personal, family, neighborhood, and business problems are discussed with the assistance of leaders who are appointed and trained by the hierarchy.

The general ethos is authoritarian, reflecting the charismatic and administrative leadership of Niwano.

Institutionalized dissent is unknown. Various social activities are encouraged, including community projects and also vigorous assistance to the "boat people" in Southeast Asia. These philanthropic concerns, however, have not led to political-social action, though there is some educational interest in such matters; young members going abroad are studying international affairs and social sciences (and other world religions). Risshō Kōseikai, like Sōka Gakkai, has aroused widespread interest in world peace, stimulated of course by the memory of the American destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Niwano has vigorously promoted an international thrust, for example, becoming active in the International Association for Religious Freedom and in the World Conference on Religion and Peace. He has served as president of both these organizations with their global constituencies, searching in world religions for common bonds conducive to peace. It should be noted, in addition, that concern for world peace is widely prevalent in Japanese society and not only in these new religions.

Legitimation is provided in general by the *Lotus Sūtra* and to some extent by modern conceptions of tolerance and interfaith cooperation. One does not, however, discern any tendency to alter the authoritarian, hierarchical structure of Risshō Kōseikai itself. The question of legitimation, though not fully formulated in Risshō Kōseikai, is becoming more important, as is evident in Niwano's personal growth, which is centered in traditional Buddhism but reaches out to Western and Eastern non-Buddhist concepts, including the New Testament and the writings of Gandhi.

It can be seen, from this brief discussion, that social action within the group is still largely undeveloped. To be sure, some new Buddhist groups are interested in philanthropic effort. However, in Risshō Kōseikai as well as in Sōka Gakkai, political participation is not explicitly promoted. We can see how objective values are beginning to engage attention in the Nichiren groups but more in practical, microcosmic, and mesocosmic (e.g., neighborhood) ways than in systematic macrocosmic ways—that is, apart from the peace movements. Yet, in all this a return to this-worldliness is markedly evident.

In recent decades a turn toward this-worldliness is increasingly apparent in Theravāda Buddhism, too, especially in Burma, though not without tensions that render the outlook ambiguous. This turn is taking place at both the macrocosmic and the microcosmic levels. Indeed, the evaluation of the world has become so positive that escape from it in complete detachment is not a primary or immediate goal.

This change of outlook has appeared strikingly in the sphere of objective, institutional values. Winston L. King, in his writings, has delineated these changes of recent decades. In his article "Samsara Re-Valued" (1964), he succinctly defines *saṃsāra*, the round of births and deaths, as a synonym for "all that is evil," as compounded in the impermanence, suffering, and insubstantiality of the world, as well as in the "no-souledness of individuatedness of space-time existence," a malady from which one escapes through complete detachment. Yet today practical changes are being sought, for example, emancipation from "economic strangulation." The inspiration for this stance is found in the career of the Buddha himself, who realized during the course of ascetic practices that privation did not conduce to spiritual liberation, or, in other words, that dharma can be better practiced on a full stomach. This emancipation will bring freedom from want, economic well-being for the entire people, an end to exploitation of man by man. In short, what is required is a Buddhist national socialism—adumbrated by U Nu, the first premier of independent Burma in 1948 (though his effort was aborted, to be resumed by the revolutionary government). Other changes are also demanded, for example, a new role for the meditating lay person, who should have equality with the monks. Meditation is useful for both this world and *nirvāṇa*, maintaining detachment for both worlds. A new meaning for *karman* makes room for change of the self and for self-reliance. The *bodhisattva* ideal from Mahāyāna Buddhism is reinterpreted to give sanction for public service in the community, to be sure not without a strong element of nationalism. Detachment can accompany activity in the world toward achieving *nirvāṇa* peace in daily life. For the understanding and enhancement of daily existence, the study of the sciences is encouraged, something traditionally found in the teachings of Buddha.

In these ways, *saṃsāra* is being revalued. Legitimation for this way of life is claimed by appeal to the intentions of the true Lord Buddha for the sake of otherworldliness within this world. Since thousands of lives lie ahead of us, there need be no hurry about striving for the achievement of *nirvāṇa*. King (1964) describes this paradox as having one's cake and eating it, too. With an absolutely straight face, the defender can say that these developments provide a new hope for transformation in this world in preparation for the next, while at the same time maintaining the rule of *dharma* against false consciousness and greed. In all this, one can detect influences from the West and from Marxism.

The civil rights movement in the United States. The civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s in the United States is significant for our present purposes because the movement claimed legitimations that were largely, though not entirely, religious in a traditional sense. The movement was a religiously legitimated mass social-action movement. Black church networks provided the talent, energy, and institutional connections that were determinative for the wisdom, strength, and durative power of the movement.

Martin Luther King, Jr., added a charismatic presence to the movement and became its focal personality and symbolic leader. As one whose father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had been Baptist ministers, whose father and grandfather had been civil rights leaders in Atlanta, and as one who had himself earned a doctorate in systematic theology, King was well prepared in many respects to lead a social-action movement legitimated by religious values and based in churches. Within the black church tradition, King knew the symbolism, the characteristic networking, and the style of male-oriented, charismatic leadership. He also knew the ins and outs of the liberal Protestant social theology that echoed in many Northern churches and seminaries. He could preach extemporaneously from his thorough familiarity with the ideas of Walter Rauschenbusch, Paul Tillich, Reinhold Niebuhr, Henry Nelson Wieman, and the Boston University personalist theologians, as well as the rich theological heritage of the black church.

From his church tradition and theological education, King emphasized community ("beloved community," he called it), faith in a personal God who struggles in history side by side with those who suffer and work for justice, an eschatological vision of liberation, and a doctrine of human personality rooted in God as personal. With these he interpreted the significance of being free and fully human on the one hand, and the destruction of human personality by racism on the other. The means of social transformation and liberation had to be in accord with the goal of the beloved community. For King only nonviolence, rooted in Christian love and influenced by the example of Gandhi's nonviolent *satyāgraha* campaigns in South Africa and India, could produce change and create "beloved community." For King, these values were grounded in a willingness to suffer and a belief that unmerited suffering can be redemptive. These legitimating values were the heart of the movement.

In spite of religious values at the center of the movement, many in the churches did not follow King's lead. In his famous 1963 "Letter from Birmingham Jail" King lamented the failure of churches, especially white church leaders, to support the movement. Even before 1966, there was tension within the movement when King and his supporters were challenged by a group of younger black leaders who wished to move ahead faster and with greater militancy. In 1966, this challenge within the movement became public and serious when the cry of "black power," supported by Stokely Carmichael and Floyd McKissick, struck a resonant note among civil rights workers and created a legitimation crisis in the movement, a crisis that was not resolved at the time of King's murder and is not yet resolved in liberation struggles around the world. The struggle against apartheid in South Africa and the revolutionary struggle against poverty in Latin America are current examples of the same crisis over which values will legitimate and guide social transformation.

The civil rights movement also precipitated an old tension in American life between the legitimating ideals of the Constitution and federal courts on the one hand, and persistent attempts of regions to resist federal domination on the other. On both sides of the conflict, people felt they were in a moral struggle. One of King's most repeated aphorisms was "The moral arc of the universe is long but it bends ultimately toward justice." On the other hand, some supporters of Jim Crow also believed their struggle was a moral one. It was part of King's genius to understand their feelings and the history from which such feelings come into being. This moral element, despite its ambiguity, helps to explain the depth of feeling, commitment, and sacrifice that characterized the movement on all sides but especially among the inner ranks of the nonviolent workers.

We find again Weber's three kinds of legitimation—tradition, charisma, and law. The black church and liberal theology were traditional elements; the black minister model of leadership was charismatic, and King was its consummate manifestation; and civil rights work in the South before 1955, especially the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), focused very often on legal redress and on respect for the courts and bringing pressure to bear on them. Most interpretation of this movement overemphasizes the role of charisma, mistakenly following Weber's thesis that charisma is the chief legitimating force that produces social change. Such a view distorts the role of King even as it intends to elevate his importance, and it also undervalues the importance of indigenous leadership in southern black church communities (see Morris, 1984).

Theologies of liberation. Since 1960, theologies of liberation have emerged from theologians identified with the experiences of oppressed groups, groups that have been pushed to the margins of society by economic and political systems. From this new perspective, earlier traditional theologies too often have been unwitting expressions of privileged interests that serve to further the oppression of groups such as women, the chronically poor, and black people. This section will concentrate primarily on Latin American theologies of liberation. Feminist theologies, black theologies, and liberation theologies from Africa and Asia also offer much to this conversation as they challenge traditional legitimating values.

One thing is common to Latin American theologies of liberation—the view that theology is never ideologically neutral, that no theology is Christian if it is aligned ideologically with privileged groups and against the welfare of already oppressed groups. Theology, these theologians believe, must serve as an element of liberation rather than oppression.

In most liberation theologies, scripture is placed side by side with the suffering of the poor. The God of scripture is one who liberates, who is on the side of the poor against their oppressors. In the faces of the poor one meets God in history; the liberation of the poor in history is the work of God. Liberation praxis is the way of meeting and serving God in history; it is the way of discipleship.

In light of the strong emphasis on scripture as a primary legitimating authority for many liberation theologians, it is important to note that some feminist theologians believe that scripture is so thoroughly accommodated to past cultures of oppression which produced it, that it cannot legitimate liberation; legitimations for liberation, especially the liberation of women, must be sought elsewhere. It is at this point that certain feminist theologians suggest such alternative sources as goddess traditions to legitimate theology and social praxis. Among black theologians also, there is debate about the role of scripture as a legitimating source. In the black churches of the United States, there is no doubt that scripture has been central; some, however, believe it would be better to draw more of African culture as a central source of liberating praxis. But in Latin American theologies of liberation, scripture is fundamental.

There are areas of ambiguity in these theologies. For instance, if God favors the oppressed, how is the concept of the church as God's people to be reconciled with the historical reality of the church in which there are both oppressed and oppressors? This has been a central question for liberation leaders such as Oscar Romero, Helder Camara, and Camilo Torres. If social transformation is legitimated by appeal to God's preference for the poor and oppressed, does that introduce partisan divisions into the body of the church? On the other hand, appeal is made to an image of the church as a harmonious whole, as one body in Christ, undisturbed by historical injustices. History has shown, however, how the church denies and rationalizes the bitter conditions of the poor and oppressed in order, with a clear conscience, to sustain the ideal of wholeness as a credible legitimating ideal. One can see these ambiguities in current discussions surrounding the Vatican instruction on liberation theology and the Vatican's silencing of the Brazilian theologian Leonardo Boff.

In the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians (EATWOT), which includes among its members many of the Latin American theologians of liberation, there has been disagreement about the order of importance of legitimating principles. Oppression, and therefore liberation, are viewed by some as matters of class, by others as matters of race, and by still others as matters of culture. These differences, serious as they are, should not divert attention from the wide agreement among these theologians about liberation as the essence of the gospel: liberation from sin, of course, but also liberation in history from the oppressions of history.

The social form of theology of liberation in Latin America is the base community movement. Concerns are largely practical—work, food, health care, freedom from political oppression and terror, and empowerment for political participation. Liberation thought stresses the primacy of social transformation at the macro level, but is also keenly aware of the interconnectedness of the personal with the sociohistorical, the micro with the macro level. Objective virtue is valued above subjective virtue, although the connections between them are clearly seen and appreciated (see Gutiérrez, 1984). Marginality is a key feature of the liberation movements. The poor are the central subjects of this historical process and theology. The phrase "the irruption of the poor" points to that process by which the poor in the margins of society are speaking, organizing, and acting for themselves in a new way.

The Weberian elements are visible in the liberation movement in Latin America. Scripture and the church, the two great elements of Catholic authority, continue to be affirmed even when reinterpreted; they are traditional elements. There are charismatic leaders, heroes, and martyrs in the movement—Helder Camara, Camilo Torres, Gustavo Gutiérrez, Rutillo Grande, and Oscar Romero among others; but there is no one person who marks this movement as King marked the civil rights movement in the United States or Gandhi marked the work in India. This is a more diffuse, more people-oriented movement in which democratic organization and participation transcend the role of charisma. The result is a different kind of people empowerment. The element of law can be seen in the ongoing role of church authority; it can be seen also in the desire to transform society, if possible, by lawful means.

Concluding remarks. In the so-called secular, modern world of the past century and a half, the role of religious legitimation has been highly ambiguous. Progressive secularization has driven religion to the margins of contemporary culture. Some have lamented this while others have welcomed "a world come of age." This article has noted several major movements of social transformation whose primary legitimating values are religious.

The social-reform movements represent a focus on world affirmation or social salvation. In the case of Gandhian applications of Hindu values and new Buddhist socialism, world affirmation is a reversal of traditional world negation or contempt for the world. In the case of Latin American liberation movements, world affirmation is the reclaiming of a prophetic tradition that until recently was recessive in the Latin American church. In the civil rights movement, prophetic world affirmation was a continuation of the black church's traditional emphasis on historical liberation. However, scholars of black religions maintain that, from the United States Civil War until the civil rights movement, the prophetic edge of black church theology, so common in the antebellum period, was in recession. In spite of these recent examples of religiously legitimated social action, the barriers to such change remain substantial. Bureaucratization of military, governmental, and economic powers increases the difficulty of effective social action. The global extent of these problems is only now becoming fully apparent. In addition, religious groups generally are divided about social action.

What characterizes the present situation is a movement, by no means universal, toward world affirmation in the religious legitimation of social action. This is not a recent turn, parallel with the birth of the so-called postmodern era, but rather a slowly spreading phenomenon with roots in the nineteenth century. It represents an extension of the modern emphasis on the world, with a peculiar twist that world affirmation in these movements is religious, not secular (see Cox, 1984). This change is occurring in Eastern and Western religious traditions. Even pietistic religious groups have taken an interest in social transformation. Cases in point are the recent emergence in the United States of the "moral majority" as well as socially minded evangelical theology (see Mott, 1982). Especially interesting is the recent legitimation of "democratic capitalism" with religious sanctions and, at the same time and by the same writers, a sharp criticism of recent statements on the economy issued by the Catholic bishops of the United States.

The growth of prophetic, world-affirming religiousness is one manifestation, a notable one, of the search for moral meaning in a modern world (see Tipton, 1982). It is not the only one, however; modernism is pluralistic and the search for moral meaning is drawn in many directions, especially by the lure of nationalism. It would seem, however, judging from the vitality of world-affirming religious movements during the past 150 years, that religious legitimation of social action is destined to play a continuing role in the struggles for social transformation in both East and West. It is worth noting, in this connection, the Catholic church's historic transition toward world affirmation in the events of Vatican II (see *Gaudium et Spes*, documents of the Consejo Episcopal Latino-americano conferences at Medellín, 1968, and Puebla, 1979, and the declarations of the Conference of United States Bishops on Nuclear Weapons and the American Economy.) Secularization has contributed to that expansion by helping to clarify the conflict of rival legitimations inherent in it. The future of social action legitimated by traditional religious values, when pitted against powerful rival religions or rival structures of faith and reason such as nationalism, remains to be seen.

SEE ALSO Authority; Religious Communities, article on Religion, Community, and Society; Utopia.

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JAMES LUTHER ADAMS (1987)
THOMAS MIKELSON (1987)

LEHMANN, EDVARD (1862–1930), was a Danish historian of religions. Born in Copenhagen, Edvard Johannes

Lehmann began studying theology at the university there in 1880. Frants Buhl, in Old Testament, and Karl Kroman, in philosophy, exercised the greatest influence on the young scholar. In 1886 he obtained his theological degree, and until 1892 he earned his living as a schoolteacher while continuing his theological and philosophical studies.

In 1890 he received the gold medal of the University of Copenhagen for his treatise *Den religiøse Følelses Natur og psychologiske Oprindelse og dens etiske Betydning* (The nature and psychological origin of the religious feeling and its ethical importance). He had already conceived an interest in the history of religions and felt the need to acquire knowledge of Near Eastern languages. The gold medal provided a scholarship that enabled him to study in Germany, Holland, England, and France.

In Holland, Lehmann became closely acquainted with scholars in the comparative study of religion and the history of religions, including C. P. Tiele and P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye. Lehmann was invited by Chantepie to write on Greek, Indian, and Persian religion in the second edition of Chantepie's *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte,* which appeared in 1897. (Lehmann later became the coeditor, with Alfred Bertholet, of the fourth edition of the *Lehrbuch,* 1925.) The immediate result of Lehmann's studies abroad was his doctoral thesis of 1896, "Om Foroldet mellem Religion og Kultur i Avesta" (On the relationship between religion and culture in the Avesta). In this work, Lehmann addressed the problem of the animosity toward culture that he found characteristic of religion in general. According to Lehmann himself, however, this little work is to be considered only a preliminary study to his magnum opus, *Zarathustra: En Bog om Persernes ganmle Tro* (Zarathustra: A book on the ancient faith of the Persians), 2 vols. (1899–1902).

The first volume of this work made such an impression on the academic authorities that Lehmann in 1900 was made docent at the University of Copenhagen. In 1904 he published *Mystik i Hedenskab og Kristendom,* which was translated into a number of languages, including English, and in 1907 *Buddha: Hans lære og dens gærning* (Buddha: His teaching and work), dedicated to Nathan Söderblom. Both works, though widely read and of no small influence, reveal a weak point in Lehmann's scholarship: his profound attachment to the ideals of Protestantism and his conviction of its superiority, which he thought was confirmed by the study of other religions.

In 1910 Lehmann was invited by the theological faculty of the University of Berlin to take the post of *professor ordinarius* of the history and the philosophy of religion, but only three years later he left Berlin to accept to a similar invitation from the University of Lund in Sweden. He held the latter chair until his retirement in 1927; from then on he lived in Copenhagen until his death in 1930.

With the passage of time, Lehmann's interest in strictly religio-historical studies gradually receded into the background. In 1914 he published (with Johannes Pedersen) the treatise "Der Beweis für die Auferstehung im Koran" (The proof of the resurrection in the Qurʾān) in *Der Islam,* vol. 5, pp. 54–61; but his *Stället och vägen: Ett religionshistorisk perspektiv* (1917), on the static and dynamic elements in the history of religions, marks a turning point in his activity. He now felt his most important role to be that of a folk-educator who was to rouse interest in general cultural (including religio-historical) matters and problems; to this end he wrote a number of books on cultural themes and current social issues.

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Only one of Lehmann's books is available in English: *Mysticism in Heathendom and Christendom* (London, 1910) is the English version of *Mystik i Hedenskab og Kristendom* (Copenhagen, 1904). Lehmann's contributions to a number of encyclopedias and other collective works are important in that they call attention to his inspired style, breadth of view, and strong endeavors to promote the study of world religions. These include "Die Religion der primitiven Völker," in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart,* part 1, section 3 (Leipzig, 1906), pp. 8–29; several articles on Iranian religion and one on Christmas customs in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* edited by James Hastings, vol. 3 (Edinburgh, 1910); "Erscheinungswelt der Religion," in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen, 1910); and articles in *Textbuch zur Religionsgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1912). Lehmann also edited and was a contributor to *Illustreret Religionshistorie* (Copenhagen, 1924).

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JES P. ASMUSSEN (1987)

LEIBNIZ, GOTTFRIED WILHELM (1646–1716), was a German polymath. Leibniz was born in Leipzig on July 1, 1646. Trained in the law, he earned his living as a councillor, diplomat, librarian, and historian, primarily at the court of Hanover. Leibniz made important intellectual contributions in linguistics, geology, historiography, mathematics, physics, and philosophy. Although he did not view himself primarily as a theologian, he devoted considerable time and energy to church reunion projects, engaging in extended efforts to provide a basis for reunion among Catholics and Protestants, and, that project having failed, attempting to provide a basis for reunion between Lutherans and Calvinists.

Leibniz completed the arts program at Leipzig University in 1663 with a philosophical dissertation titled *Metaphysical Disputation on the Principle of Individuation.* He then entered a program at the university leading to the doctorate of law. By virtue of a quota system, he was not awarded the doctorate in 1666, although his final dissertation was written. Offended, Leibniz enrolled in the law program at the University of Altdorf in October 1666 and almost immediately submitted his completed dissertation, *Disputation concerning Perplexing Cases in the Law,* which was accepted. He was awarded the doctorate in 1667.

After declining a teaching position offered at Altdorf, Leibniz was employed first by Baron Johann Christian von Boineburg, and, then, by Boineburg's sometime employer, Johann Philipp von Schönborn, elector of Mainz. While in the employ of the elector he initially worked on a project aimed at a codification of German civil law, and later as an officer in the court of appeal. During his time in Mainz Leibniz produced work in physics, the law, and philosophy, especially philosophy of religion. It was in this period that he formulated the idea of writing a definitive apology for Christianity, under the title *The Catholic Demonstrations.* While at Mainz he outlined the entire project and filled in some of the details. The aims of the project included proofs of the propositions of natural theology, proofs of the possibility of Christian dogmas not included in natural theology, and the adumbration of a philosophical system that would provide a basis for reunion among the Christian churches.

In the winter of 1671–1672 Leibniz drew up a plan for the French conquest of Egypt, which appealed to his German superiors because, if carried out, it would have provided Louis XIV with a task they assumed to be incompatible with his attacking Germany. Leibniz was sent to Paris to present his plan to Louis. He was never granted an audience with the French king, but during his protracted stay there (spring 1672 to December 1676) he met and conversed with some of the leading intellectuals of Europe, including Antoine Arnauld, Nicolas Malebranche, and Christiaan Huygens. Huygens became Leibniz's mentor in mathematics. When Leibniz arrived in Paris his mathematical knowledge was out of date and superficial; by the time he left he had developed the basic theory of calculus, which he first published in 1684. Later in his life a storm of controversy was to arise over whether he or Isaac Newton deserved credit for laying the foundations of calculus. Modern scholarship seems to have reached the verdict that Leibniz and Newton both developed the idea of calculus independently. Newton was the first to develop calculus, Leibniz was the first to publish it. A time of intensive effort in mathematics, Leibniz's Paris period was also a period of serious work in philosophy and, in particular, philosophy of religion. During the Paris years he wrote *The Faith of a Philosopher,* apparently for Arnauld, a work that considers many of the same problems treated in his only philosophical monograph published in his lifetime, *The Theodicy.*

Leibniz left Paris in October 1676 to accept a position as councillor and librarian to Duke Johann Friedrich in Hanover. During the trip from Paris to Hanover Leibniz had a four-day visit with Spinoza, which generated Leibniz's particular contribution to the ontological argument for the existence of God. He believed that the ontological argument, as formulated by Descartes, for example, established the conditional proposition that if the existence of God is possible, then the existence of God is necessary. Leibniz set out to prove the antecedent, that is, that the existence of God is possible. The main idea of the proof is that God may be characterized as a being having all and only perfections; perfections are positive simple qualities, and, hence, collections of them must be consistent.

During his years of service to Johann Friedrich, a convert to Catholicism, and his early years of service to Ernst August, a Lutheran, Leibniz was deeply involved in reunion projects, first with the apostolic vicar Nicholas Steno, who read and commented on Leibniz's *The Faith of a Philosopher,* and then with Cristobal de Rojas y Spinola, the representative of the emperor Leopold I, who, with papal approval, engaged in extensive negotiations in Hanover in an effort to find compromise positions acceptable to both Catholics and Protestants. Although not an official party to the negotiations, Leibniz produced various documents intended to further their progress, including *A System of Theology,* a document that has generated considerable debate about Leibniz's attitude toward Catholicism. What is clear is that the work considers some of the problems relating to church reunion from the Catholic standpoint. What is less clear is the extent to which Leibniz accepted its contents.

Much of Leibniz's intellectual effort went into his extensive correspondence. The most famous of his irenic correspondences was with Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, bishop of Meaux and leading French prelate, a correspondence that began in earnest in 1691 and continued with some interruptions until 1702. Leibniz aimed at compromise, Bossuet at capitulation. Neither succeeded.

Leibniz himself dated his philosophical maturity from 1686 and the writing of *The Discourse on Metaphysics.* Leibniz's original work in dynamics, begun prior to *The Discourse on Metaphysics* and reaching its culmination in the *Specimen Dynamicum* of 1695, and his original work in logic, begun in 1679 and reaching a high point in the *General Inquiries concerning the Analysis of Concepts and Truth* of 1686, partially motivate the metaphysics of *The Discourse on Metaphysics.* But so do the theological aims of *The Catholic Demonstrations,* previously mentioned. Thus it is plausible to see *The Discourse on Metaphysics* as attempting to provide a philosophical framework adequate to permit a satisfactory account of the relation of human freedom to divine causality. Indeed, the major project of *The Discourse on Metaphysics* is an attempt to provide a theory of individual created substances that will permit a distinction between those actions properly attributed to creatures and those properly attributed to God, yet a distinction so drawn that it is consistent with God's universal conservative causation.

Much of Leibniz's philosophical work in the mature period may be seen as a contribution to the aims of *The Catholic Demonstrations.* Thus, in *The Theodicy* (1710), Leibniz set out to show, contrary to the claims of Pierre Bayle, that the tenets of Christianity are not contrary to the dictates of reason; in particular, that the Christian view that God is omnipotent, omniscient, omnibenevolent, and the creator of the world is consistent with the fact that there is evil in the world. He believed that his views about the structure of possible worlds, composed of independent possible substances, from which God chose at creation in accordance with the principle of sufficient reason, provided a suitable framework for resolving the problem of evil, as well as the problem of the relation of human freedom to divine grace. The basic idea of Leibniz's solution to the problem of evil is this: God's choice among possible worlds, like every choice of every agent, is subject to the principle of sufficient reason. God's reason in connection with creation is based on the principle of perfection; hence, God chooses the best possible world. There is evil in the world and there are possible worlds containing no evil. Still, this is the best possible world, so the evil it contains must be necessary for good things without which the overall perfection of the world would be diminished.

Leibniz's major metaphysical thesis, articulated in his mature period, is that there is nothing in the world except simple substances (monads) and, in them, nothing except perceptions and appetites. He believed that monads, although capable of spontaneous action, could not causally interact, but that they were so programmed by their creator that they appeared to interact in accordance with the principle of preestablished harmony. An extensive correspondence with Bartholomew des Bosses, a Jesuit professor of theology in Hildesheim, dating from 1706 until Leibniz's death, considers, among other things, whether Leibniz's major metaphysical thesis is consistent with the Catholic dogma of transubstantiation and the Christian understanding of the incarnation.

Leibniz traveled extensively in connection with his historical research and on various diplomatic missions, particularly to Berlin and Vienna. During the same period he made efforts to bring about the establishment of scientific academies, particularly at Berlin, Dresden, Vienna, and Saint Petersburg. Of these proposals, only the plan for an academy at Berlin came to fruition in his lifetime. In 1700 the Brandenburg Society of Sciences was founded in Berlin, with Leibniz its president for life.

The later period of Leibniz's life produced important philosophical work in addition to *The Theodicy,* for example, *The Monadology* (1714); *The New Essays on Human Understanding* (1703–1704), a commentary in dialogue form on John Locke's philosophy; and the correspondence with Samuel Clarke, a disciple of Isaac Newton, on the nature of space and time.

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Much of the material Leibniz wrote on philosophical and theological topics was not published in his lifetime, in part, because it was not intended for publication. Some remains unpublished. The work of producing a definitive edition has been undertaken jointly by various German academic groups. The "academy edition," as it is usually called, is being produced under the title *Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz: Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe.* Until that grand project reaches fruition it will be necessary to rely on partial editions, among which the most useful is Charles James Gerhardt's *Die philosophischen Schriften von G. W. Leibniz,* 7 vols. (Berlin, 1875–1890). The most complete edition available in English is Leroy E. Loemker's *Philosophical Papers and Letters,* 2d ed. (Dordrecht, 1969).

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R. C. SLEIGH, JR. (1987)

LEMMINKÄINEN is one of the heroes of the Finnish national epic, the *Kalevala.* Elias Lönnrot, who published his redaction of the *Kalevala* in 1835, composed those sections concerning the adventures of Lemminkäinen by combining elements from the stories of five other heroes, a process already begun by the traditional rune singers on whose songs his work was largely based. Lemminkäinen thus came to play such diverse roles as Don Juan, belligerent adventurer, skier, sailor, and witch.

The only poem incorporated into the *Kalevala* having Lemminkäinen as its original hero describes his journey as an uninvited guest to a place variously named Luotola ("homestead of the archipelago"), Pohjola ("homestead of the north"), or Päivölä ("homestead of the sun"). There he overcomes various supernatural obstacles: the fiery grave, the rapids, the fence coiled with snakes (or one giant serpent), and the fettered beasts that guard the yard. His host there serves him a flagon of beer with snakes hidden beneath the foam, which he nevertheless drinks. After this he kills his host in a battle of magical skills.

The description of Lemminkäinen's journey has features in common with medieval vision poetry and the visionary journeys described by arctic shamans. It also finds close parallels in the oral traditions of the Saami (Lapps) and others, which include poems about battles of magic between shamans of different communities.

A few of the three hundred variants of the Lemminkäinen poem contain a sequel that has attracted the attention of many scholars of mythology and religion. In one of its episodes a herdsman shoots (or, in some versions, stabs) Lemminkäinen with the only weapon against which he has taken no magical precautions and throws him into the black river of Tuonela (the realm of death). As Lemminkäinen dies, his mother notices that a brush has begun oozing blood, fulfilling Lemminkäinen's prophesy of his own death. Taking this as a sign that her son is in danger, she sets out in search of him. She rakes parts of his body out of the river, but, according to most versions, does not succeed in restoring him to life.

Scholars have noted the similarity of this story to the ancient Egyptian myth of Osiris, as well as to the religious legends concerning the death of Christ and Balder. The poem contains clear influences from the Russian bylina *Vavilo i skomorokhi,* a poem through which it is believed motifs from the Osiris myth were conveyed from Byzantium to northern Europe.

A Christian poet-singer has reshaped the poem, adding to it, among other things, a passage describing Lemminkäinen's power to cure the blind and the crippled. At the end of the poem, Lemminkäinen delivers a homily on the horrors that await the wrongdoer in the world beyond.

SEE ALSO Finnish Religions; Ilmarinen; Tuonela; Väinämöinen.

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MATTI KUUSI (1987)

LENSHINA, ALICE (c. 1919–1978), was the founder of the African prophetic movement referred to as the Lumpa church. A barely literate peasant woman, Alice Lenshina Mulenga, from Kasomo village, Chinasali district, in the northern province of Northern Rhodesia, started the movement among the Bemba, a matrilineal Bantu-speaking people of Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia). In 1953, Lenshina claimed to have had a spiritual experience in which she died, went to heaven, and met a Christian spirit, described variously as Jesus, God, or an angel, who told her to return to earth to carry out God's works. She told her story to the minister of the nearby Church of Scotland mission at Lubwa (founded by David Kaunda, the father of Kenneth Kaunda, the president of Zambia) and was baptized into the church, taking the name Alice. In 1954, she began holding her own services and baptizing her followers. Her meetings drew large crowds, and by 1955 her following was more or less distinctive from the Church of Scotland mission. One characteristic feature of Lenshina's movement was the singing of hymns, many of which were closer in form to traditional Bemba music than were the hymns of the Church of Scotland. Moreover, Lenshina's followers believed that she could provide protection against witchcraft, the existence of which the Church of Scotland denied.

By 1956 the Lenshina movement, with a membership of more than 50,000, could be considered a church of its own. As the movement grew it drew members from different ethnic and religious backgrounds—matrilineal and patrilineal peoples, urban workers and rural subsistence farmers—and from a range of social statuses, although its appeal was strongest among the poorer, less educated sections of Northern Rhodesian society. The movement spread along the line of the railroad into the towns of the Copper Belt, one of the main urban, industrial regions of central Africa. It also spread to the remote rural areas of the northern and eastern provinces, and poor peasants would walk hundreds of miles to contribute their labor and money to construct the monumental cathedral at Kasomo, Lenshina's religious headquarters. Lenshina's followers became known as *Lumpa* (a Bemba term meaning "excelling," "the most important").

In its early years, from the mid-1950s to the early 1960s, the Lumpa church, with its anti-European stance, was viewed as a political ally of the independence movement in Northern Rhodesia, and Lumpa meetings incorporated nationalist propaganda. Afterward, however, the church became increasingly nonpolitical and otherworldly in its outlook, and conflicts developed with the United National Independence Party, a political party founded under the leadership of Kenneth Kaunda and the main political contender to establish Zambian independence from colonial rule. In 1957 the Lumpa church, in its constitution, had stated that it was not opposed to the laws of the country; its solution to the problem of colonialism, African political nationalism, and rapid economic change was withdrawal. By 1963 church members refused to obey the laws of the colonial state or to join political parties. They believed that the end of the world was at hand, and they withdrew from the secular world and built their own separate communities in anticipation of the end. These communities were believed to be sacred domains, immune from the evils of the external world, which was thought to be under the control of Satan and his evil influence and agents.

By 1964, at a time when Northern Rhodesia's independence was imminent, both the colonial administration and the African independence movement attempted to control the Lumpa church. This led to fighting between church members and the recently elected Northern Rhodesia government, and between July and October 1964 more than 700 people were killed. The Lumpa, armed with indigenous weapons such as spears, axes, and muzzle loaders, confronted soldiers with automatic weapons. As the Lumpa attacked they shouted, "Jericho!" in the belief that the walls of evil would tumble down and that they would triumph in battle. As they were shot they shouted, "Hallelujah!" in the belief that they would be transported directly to heaven, only to return to rule the world. The Lumpa were defeated, the church was banned, and Lenshina herself was imprisoned. Some of her followers fled to Zaire, where the Lumpa church continued to exist.

In its beliefs and practices, the Lumpa church combined both African and European elements. Movements of this type were and are characteristic of southern and central Africa. At the core of such movements is a prophet who is believed to have had a Christian experience. As is typical of such movements, Lenshina's prophecy was ethical in that it imposed a strict, puritanical moral code upon her followers. She forbade adultery, polygamy, divorce, dancing, and drinking. Lenshina herself was the ultimate source of authority, and some Lumpa hymns even represented Lenshina as the savior. Baptism, the most important rite of the church, could only be performed by Lenshina herself, using water that she claimed to have received from God himself. Baptism was believed to wash away sins and ensure salvation.

In Lumpa theology, God was viewed as the creator of all things. Satan was thought to have been created by God as a good spirit who turned against God. Witchcraft, thought to stem from Satan, could be safeguarded against by church membership. Unlike the European mission churches, the Lumpa church did not deny the existence of witchcraft; instead it gave its members a means of combating it. Lenshina was believed to be the personification of good and to provide protection against evil. For the Lumpa, evil came to be the world outside their church, including the colonial administration, and the United National Independence Party represented evil.

The movement gradually acquired a structure, with Lenshina, her disciples, and spiritual and secular advisers at the center. Deacons supervised congregations, and within congregations preachers and judges ministered to the needs of local members and adjudicated their disputes. The church was itself a complete community, meeting its own spiritual, social, judicial, and economic requirements. In the historical context of the struggle for Zambian independence, a movement that demanded the complete allegiance of its members was bound to come into conflict with secular authorities. The Lenshina cult was not an atypical African religious expression; what brought it into prominence and led to its destruction was its unfortunate timing and conflict with the movement for Zambia's independence.

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GEORGE CLEMENT BOND (1987)

LEO I (d. 461), pope of the Roman Catholic Church (440-461), called "the Great." Nothing is known for certain about Leo's early life, although according to the *Liber pontificalis,* he was born in Tuscany probably at the turn of the fourth to the fifth century. Leo is one of the most important Roman pontiffs and one of the architects of papal authority. He served as a deacon of the Roman church under both Pope Celestine I (422–432) and Pope Sixtus III (430–440), and in that position exercised great influence. He took an active role in the theological controversies with the Nestorians and the Pelagians and was also involved with institutional matters. While Leo was on a mission to Gaul in early 440, Sixtus died, and the legate returned to Rome to find himself elected pope. He was consecrated as bishop of Rome on September 29, 440.

The energy that Leo had devoted to religious questions before he became pope carried into his pontificate. In the first decade of his papacy, Pelagians, Manichaeans, and Priscillianists were at different times condemned in his writings and even in public debate. Of Leo's undoubtedly extensive homiletical and epistolary production, only 96 sermons and 123 indisputably authentic letters survive. Yet even this legacy is unusually large for a pope in antiquity and permits insight not only into Leo's papal activities, but also into his ideas and beliefs.

Leo considered himself to be, as bishop of Rome, the successor of Peter in a transhistorical sense. When Leo spoke it was the apostle who spoke. Just as all bishops are responsible for the care of their own flocks, so, in Leo's conception, the successor of Peter in the Roman church is charged with the care of all churches, for it was to Peter that Christ gave the keys of binding and loosing in heaven and on earth (*Mt.* 16:16-19). Just as it was for Peter's faith alone that Christ prayed when all the apostles were threatened (*Lk.* 22:32), so firmness to the apostolic tradition of the Roman church will strengthen all bishops. With a strikingly deep sense of the traditions both of his office and of Roman law, and with a conviction about the presence of apostolic authority in his words and actions, Leo stands out among other fourth- and fifth-century architects of papal claims, such as Celestine I and Damasus I (366–384). With deft use of such a dossier, it is small wonder that notions such as the contrast between *plenitudo potestatis* ("fullness of power") and *pars solicitudinis* ("part of the responsibility")—terms that emerge from a letter of Leo's to Anastasius, his vicar in Illyricum—over time became central in the tradition of describing the powers of Rome vis-à-vis other churches.

Leo was not, however, merely a theoretician of papal claims. He was deeply committed to effective action, whether in a pastoral role at Rome or in the larger sphere of empire-wide ecclesiastical politics. He promoted the claims of Roman authority in various ways, whether negotiating in the West with barbarian invaders, or dealing with issues in regions as far removed as Egypt and Gaul. In the former instance, although he acknowledged Dioscorus as successor of Cyril on the patriarchal throne of Alexandria, Leo urged uniformity between the two churches in certain liturgical practices. Tradition stated that the evangelist Mark had founded the Alexandrian church, and Mark was a disciple of Peter, who had "received the apostolic principate [*apostolicum principatum*] from the Lord, and the Roman church preserves his teachings" (*Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, JK406). Leo reasoned that teacher and disciple ought not to represent disparate traditions.

The pope asserted papal authority in Gaul in the face of staunch opposition. The archbishop of Arles had been granted a primacy over the Gallican church by Pope Zosimus I (417–418). The vigorous exercise of that privilege and the objection of local churchmen gave Leo an opportunity to have recourse to the prerogatives of the Roman church. The pope restored to Besançon a bishop who had been deposed by Bishop Hilary of Arles and was able to gain support from Emperor Valentinian III against Hilary. When the latter challenged Leo's authority, the pontiff had him confined in 445 to his diocese by an imperial decree in which the primacy of the bishop of Rome was acknowledged.

The most famous instance in which Leo's claims were manifest involved the renewed Christological dispute in the East in the 440s. When the troubles over Eutyches began at Constantinople, Leo felt that they should have been referred to Rome at once. In 449 the pope sent to Bishop Flavian of Constantinople his famous *Tome* in the custody of legates destined for the synod held at Ephesus, a synod that Leo later condemned as a *latrocinium* (a band of robbers, or an act of banditry), rather than a *concilium.* The problem with Ephesus as Leo saw it was that the gathering was controlled by Dioscorus of Alexandria and concluded by condemning Flavian and rehabilitating Eutyches and his Alexandrian Monophysite Christology.

The events of 449 were reversed through the concerted efforts of Leo, in association with powerful allies in Constantinople, both in the imperial household and in the church. The Roman pontiff's legates and *Tome* had been ignored in Ephesus. When a new synod was convened at Chalcedon in 451 by the recently elevated emperor Marcian, the opponents of the Alexandrians were firmly in charge. Leo's *Tome* was received, to quote Henry Chadwick, "with courteous approval" (*The Early Church*, 1967, p. 203), and it became the basis of the Chalcedonian definition of faith (not a new creed, in deference to the tradition that no faith different from that of the Council of Nicaea, 325, should be proclaimed). The definition set forth a Christology of two natures, divine and human, in Christ, within one person, and represented a triumph for Western views and Roman authority within the complex Eastern world. Chalcedon also, in its twenty-eighth canon, which was enacted without the approval of the Roman legates, elevated the see of Constantinople to a rank in ecclesiastical dignity equal to that of Rome. The pope was furious, refused to accept this decree into the Latin canonical tradition, and even delayed affirming the council's theological decisions.

With Leo, Roman ecclesiastical authority became both a concept and a force to be taken seriously in the Christian world. Scholars debate the extent of his contributions to the sacramentary that bears his name, although Leo may have composed some of the material. There can be no question, however, of Leo's contribution to the development of the papacy as a religious and political force. Together with Damasus I, Gelasius I, and Gregory I, he stands out as one of the most important Roman pontiffs of antiquity, and throughout papal history only Leo and Gregory have been remembered with the sobriquet "the Great."

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ROBERT SOMERVILLE (1987 AND 2005)

LEO XIII (Vincenzo Giaocchino Pecci, 1810–1903), pope of the Roman Catholic church (1878–1903). The sixth child of noble parents, Giacocchino Pecci was born in Carpineto in the Papal States on March 2, 1810. Educated at the Jesuit college in Viterbo (1818–1824), the Roman College (1825–1832), and the Roman Academy of Noble Ecclesiastics (1832–1837), he was made a domestic prelate in 1837 and began a career as a papal civil servant.

Following his ordination as a priest in late 1837, he held the post of papal delegate (provincial governor) successively at Benevento (1838–1841), Spoleto (briefly in 1841), and Perugia (1841–1843). As a result of his success as an administrator, in 1843, Pope Gregory XVI made him papal nuncio to Belgium and promoted him to the rank of bishop. At the request of King Leopold I, he was recalled to Rome and named to the vacant see of Perugia in 1846.

During his long Perugian tenure (1846–1878), he developed and displayed the complex attitude toward modernity (combining a principled resistance to the currents of the age with a pragmatic accommodation to the same for the church's welfare) that was later to mark his pontificate. Thus, on the one hand, he identified with Pius IX's program calling for the definition of papal infallibility and the convening of an ecumenical council to solidify the church's teaching authority. He also reflected Pius's views in condemning both the Sardinian annexation of Perugia (1860) and the anticlerical legislation that followed it. On the other hand, he revamped the seminary curriculum of his diocese to include the study of modern developments, founded the Academy of Saint Thomas to help the church meet the philosophical challenges of the age, praised the advances of modern science, technology, and scholarship in a series of pastoral letters (1874–1877), and sought accommodation with the Sardinian regime.

Pecci's complex stance toward modernity produced mixed reactions. Giacomo Antonelli, the cardinal secretary of state, distrusted him, while some bishops hailed his perspicacity. Although he did not sympathize with him entirely, Pius IX recognized Pecci's abilities. Consequently, in 1853 he made him a cardinal, and in 1877 he appointed him the camerlengo, the cardinal to whom fell the responsibilities of governing the church and organizing the electing conclave during a papal interregnum.

Following Pius's death in 1878, Pecci was elected pope. At the time of his election, the church's prospects were not very promising. Leo's sympathy with Pius's attitudes toward modernity led him to continue or at least to echo some of the latter's sentiments and policies, most notably concerning compensation for the loss of church lands (the Roman Question), the centralization of church authority, and a distaste for modern political developments (which in 1878 he voiced in the encyclical *Inscrutabili*). But his contribution to modern Catholicism lay in his discerning that Pius's strident hostility to modernity had not won for the church the influence that both men desired.

With a pragmatism that his detractors interpreted as rank opportunism, Leo realized that the church had to come to terms with the intellectual, political, and socioeconomic conditions of the times. Although his statesmanship succeeded both in ending German repression of the Catholic church *(Kulturkampf)* and in establishing correct relations with Britain and cordial ties with the United States, it was Leo's revitalization of the church's philosophical tradition that allowed Catholicism effectively to come to terms with the two major currents of the age: democracy and industrial life.

In 1879, Leo issued *Aeterni patris* and called for a Catholic return to the study of Thomism. As time went on, it became clear that in his plan for a revival of Thomas, Leo revered him above all as a methodological mentor who pointed the way to a reconciliation of church and world. As Thomas had used the intellectual advances and categories of his day to reconcile faith and reason, enhancing the teaching prestige of the church by giving it a philosophy that was solid, plausible, and useful, so also Leo wished to enhance the prestige of the modern church by advancing a philosophical system that was solid because it was based on natural-law principles and both plausible and useful because these same principles could be translated into modern terms. Once this translation had been made, Leo believed that the church would be able to understand the modern world, converse with the natural-law adherents of the Enlightenment, and offer plausible and lasting solutions to the problems of contemporary society.

In Leo's hands, Neo-Thomism proved a remarkably supple and useful instrument for confronting the political and socioeconomic conditions of the age. Spurred on by crises in the French church, Leo used his new philosophical method to rehabilitate democracy for the church. In a series of encyclicals running from *Diuturnum illud* (1881) to *Au milieu des sollicitudes* (1892), he used natural-law thought to distinguish between the forms and functions of states. Although he never personally reconciled himself with the idea of popular sovereignty or the revolutionary aspects of modern democracies, he was able to accept democratic republics as long as they fulfilled the functions assigned them by natural law and did not interfere in the religious sphere.

Leo likewise used his Neo-Thomist method to frame a universal Catholic response to the problems of worker unrest, unionization, and socialism. Building on the work of ecclesiastics such as Henry Manning (d. 1892) and Wilhelm von Ketteler (d. 1877), in 1891 Leo issued *Rerum novarum.* In this encyclical, he used natural-law social thought to condemn both liberalism and socialism and to champion the rights of workers both to earn a living wage and to organize in unions. In addition, he used the natural-law understanding of the positive function of the state (i.e., the promotion of the common good) to sanction state intervention for the alleviation of worker distress. Although Leo's encyclical came relatively late in the history of European industrial growth, and although it was frequently construed as a purely antisocialist document, it earned for him the sobriquet Pope of the Workingman, and its sympathy for the rights of labor was generally credited with stopping or at least slowing the exodus of industrial workers from the church.

Although he met with defeats (most notably his failure to interest European governments in his plans for the return of the papacy's temporal power) and although he never gained for the church that degree of power for which he yearned, Leo XIII did, through his diplomacy, his revitalization of Catholic scholarship, his social concern, and his sincere desire to touch the world, leave the church more secure, more respected, and more able to deal with the modern world than it had been at the time of his accession to the papal throne in 1878.

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JOSEPH M. MCSHANE (1987)

LEONTIUS OF BYZANTIUM (c. 500–c. 543), Orthodox Christian monk and theologian, was the author of a brief corpus in the Christological controversies of the Greek East just before the Second Council of Constantinople (553). The manuscript tradition calls Leontius only "monk" and "eremite," but modern scholarship identifies him as Leontius of Byzantium, an Origenist monk of Palestine, who appears in the *Life of Sabas* by the sixth-century hagiographer Cyril of Scythopolis. This Leontius, born probably in Constantinople, entered the monastery called the New Laura near Tekoa in Palestine around 520 with his spiritual master Nonnus, a disciple of the Origenist monk Evagrios of Pontus (345–399). Coming to Constantinople in 531, he became the nucleus of an Origenist party led by his friend Theodore Askidas (d. 558), which defended the Council of Chalcedon against the Monophysites. Back in Palestine in 537, Leontius returned to Constantinople around 540 to defend the Origenists against charges of heresy. In 543 the emperor Justinian condemned Origenism. Leontius's polemic against Theodore of Mopsuestia (c. 350–428) probably initiated the campaign that led to Justinian's publication of the "Three Chapters" edict (a collection of condemned texts attributed to three representatives of the school of Antioch: Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and Ibas of Edessa), which persuaded the Second Council of Constantinople (553) to condemn the school as teaching the heresy of Nestorius (that in Jesus exist two distinct "sons" or persons, the one divine, the other human).

Three of Leontius's works survive, all defending and interpreting the Christological formula of Chalcedon. The first work collects three different treatises but is usually called by the name of the first: *Against the Nestorians and Eutychians.* This treatise, the best known of Leontius's works, defends the formula of Chalcedon both against those who "divide" or "separate" (and not simply "distinguish") Christ's divine and human natures (that is, the Nestorians) and against those who collapse the two natures into "one incarnate nature of God the Word" (the formula of the Orthodox father Cyril of Alexandria adopted by the Monophysites). Leontius represents Chalcedon as a middle way between heresies, defending it by means of a common metaphor: Just as soul and body, although different by nature, are united to form a single human being, so also the Son of God (bearing the divine nature) is united with human nature to form Jesus Christ.

The second treatise, *Dialogue against the Aphthartodocetists,* attacks the Monophysite Julian of Halicarnassus (d. after 518), who had taught that the body of Jesus had become incorruptible not at his resurrection (the Orthodox view) but at the very moment of the Son's entering it. The third treatise, *Critique and Triumph over the Nestorians,* argues that Theodore of Mopsuestia was the spiritual father of the heretic Nestorius. Leontius's other works include *Resolution of the Arguments Opposed by Severus, Thirty Propositions against Severus,* and *Against the Frauds of the Apollinarists,* the last work attested to be genuine (on the strength of only a single manuscript).

The Origenism ascribed to Leontius of Byzantium by Cyril of Scythopolis derived not from Origen (c. 185–c. 254) himself but from Evagrios of Pontus, who taught that Jesus was not, strictly speaking, the Son of God, but rather an eternally spiritual intellect (nous) who had, without losing his primordial unity with the Son, transformed himself into a soul capable of uniting its flesh to the Son. Modern scholarly interpretations divide over the question whether the Christology of Leontius reflects this Origenism. The best-known of Leontius's teachings is the formula "one person in two natures," in which the term *nature* is understood as an "enhypostasized nature." The traditional scholarly view maintains that for Leontius only the human nature of Jesus is enhypostasized; it exists only in the hypostasis or person of the Son of God. Leontius is therefore a "strict Chalcedonian" who rejected the extremes of both Alexandria and Antioch. Others interpret Leontius as an Origenist: Both natures of Christ are enhypostasized in a third entity, the "intellect" Jesus.

Although known to Maximos the Confessor (c. 580–662) and John of Damascus (c. 679–c. 749), Leontius's works exercised almost no influence in the later Byzantine tradition and were unknown in the Latin West until Heinrich Canisius published a Latin translation by Francisco Torres in 1603.

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DAVID B. EVANS (1987)

LESBIANISM. The field of lesbian studies has burgeoned in the last two decades. In response to the social and political changes of the 1960s, as well as to the 1963 U.S. Supreme Court decision concerning the legality of teaching about religion in public institutions of higher education, lesbian studies has emerged as a dynamic arena that engages questions of lesbian identities and religious experience, comparative religions, and religious studies at its broadest. Rooted historically in the medical discourses that defined homosexuality in the late nineteenth century, studies of lesbianism, or the homosexuality of women, have self-consciously grappled with definitions of the term and methodological implications, as well as more straightforward documentations of cases of "lesbianism" around the world and throughout history.

One of the most significant debates to shape the field is the relationship scholars have sought to articulate between the fields of lesbian studies and gay and, more recently, queer studies. In response to questions articulated by Mary Daly and others in the 1970s, scholars have asked whether lesbian studies share any part of their analysis with studies that do not seek to critique the larger framework of patriarchy. Studies of gay male sexuality and some queer theorists do not consistently engage critiques of patriarchy, and thus they have been called into question by scholars in lesbian studies. The central question in this conversation focuses on the nature of experiences of lesbians as women, and thus it embraces an analysis of the oppression of women across cultures and throughout history. In distinction to studies that focus primarily on lesbians, recognizing a necessary breadth of the term in relation to specific periods and places under examination, queer studies and queer theories seek to be more inclusive than lesbian or gay theories. The term *queer* includes bisexual and transgendered people; fundamentally, "queer" embraces anyone who falls outside of traditional heterosexual orientations.

Contemporary scholarship in lesbian studies and religious studies draws in part on two studies that stand at the foundation of studies of gay male experiences: Michael Foucault's *History of Sexuality* (1976) and John Boswell's *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality* (1980). Also in 1980, Adrienne Rich published her classic essay "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence," arguing for a "lesbian continuum" that embraced women who were sexually attracted to other women as well as nonsexual friendships between women-identified women. Following Boswell's monumental survey and engaging Rich's methodological questions, Judith Brown's study of the life of Benedetta Carlini was published in 1986 as *Immodest Acts: The Life of a Lesbian Nun in Renaissance Italy.* Critically drawing upon Foucault, Janice Raymond published *A Passion for Friends* in 1986 and called for women to document the genealogies of gyn/affection, or female friendship. These works were situated in the explosion of scholarship in lesbian studies outside the study of religion that emerged in the first half of the 1980s. Other works of this period that have been foundational for lesbian and religious studies include Audre Lorde's "Uses of the Erotic: The Erotic as Power," which appeared in her book *Sister Outsider* (1984), and, of course, the works of Mary Daly. A good overview of the early decades of scholarship in the field may be found in the introduction of Bernadette Brooten's *Love between Women* (1996).

At the core of this generation of scholarship in lesbian studies and religion were questions of, first, biological essentialism or social construction, and second, the use of categories such as "homosexuality," "gay," or "lesbian" across vastly different cultural and historical periods. These issues have not abated in recent years. In stark contrast to popular assumptions about gay identity found in the press around the end of the twentieth century about how gay people are "born that way," scholarship that emerged in the 1980s staunchly argued for the social construction of lesbianism in clear historical and cultural contexts. Scholars such as Rich, Daly, and Raymond have since been classified by others as "cultural feminists" and have thus been labeled as biological essentialists. However, Tania Lienert (1996) demonstrates that these reinterpretations were rooted in different strategies for social change. Questions of essentialism have also been taken up by queer and postmodern theorists and have become inextricable from discussions of identity. Scholars who locate themselves within queer studies have sought to unravel different threads of this issue, examining assumptions about sexual identities, constructions of gender, and the significance of power with the tools of poststructural and postmodern approaches. Amanda Swarr and Richa Nagar (2003), for example, provide insightful critiques of the category of "lesbian" in relation to issues of class, cultural location, and heterosexism in India and South Africa, raising questions about the centrality of a woman's choice to identify as a lesbian. Though not explicitly focused on lesbians, one of the most useful anthologies that deliberately positions itself at the intersections of religious studies and lesbian/gay/queer studies and that engages the question of identity is the anthology *Que(e)rying Religion* (1997), edited by add Gary David Comstock and Susan E. Henking.

Arguments about what to call women who are attracted—sexually or not—to other women marked the early studies in the 1980s and continue to characterize scholarship today. For example, Marilyn Brown (1986) rejected Rich's notion of a "lesbian continuum" as ahistorical, but she still retained the category of "lesbian" as useful for studying the life of Renaissance nuns. This assertion, though, did not enter the field uncontested: Mary D'Angelo (1990) used Rich's notion of a lesbian continuum to explore women who appear partnered with other women in the New Testament. The relationship between scholarship on gay men and lesbians was also at stake in these terminology battles. John Boswell (1980) argued for the use of the term *gay* in contrast to *homosexual* on the grounds that *gay* had a richer history in the experiences of same-sex attractions than *homosexuality* and that it was broad enough to encompass the experiences of women. Despite Boswell's claims for his inclusive approach to the study of gay studies, he has been soundly critiqued for his lack of attention to gender and the experiences of women. In part as a response to both of Boswell's studies, Brooten chose the term "homoeroticism" to denote erotic attraction for members of the same sex, distinguishing between female and male homoeroticism when appropriate. She found this term to be broader than the term homosexual, and more useful than terms used by male authors in the early centuries of Christianity to describe homoerotically oriented women.

It is essential to note that some of the most striking contributions of lesbian studies have been to liberal theologies of different religious traditions, most notably Christianity and Judaism. The writings of such authors as Mary Daly and Carter Heyward have transformed feminist theologies in the United States. Similarly, recent books by Rebecca Alpert not only document the experiences of lesbian rabbis but offer new ways of looking at traditional Jewish theologies from lesbian-feminist points of view. Such theologians as Renita Weems, Kelly Douglas, and Renee Hill have taken up questions of homophobia within Womanist theologies. Each of these studies seeks to incorporate the experiences of lesbians/bisexual/gay/transgendered individuals into the traditionally proscribed territory of Christian theology, transforming Christianity in the process. Any search on the internet shows that Muslim lesbians are beginning to speak out in ways similar to Christian and Jewish lesbians; however, we have yet to see the beginnings of a Muslim lesbian theology emerge within the academic sphere. There is a plethora of resources from the point of view of lesbians within Hinduism and South Asian traditions—South Asian sources rarely make distinctions on the basis of religion. One of the earliest collections was edited by Rakesh Ratti, *A Lotus of Another Color* (1993), and one essay of note is a piece on the 1987 marriage of two policewomen in Bhopal, India.

There is hardly any tradition around the world that does not have first-person reflections from lesbian members of that culture available on the Internet. Will Roscoe has been particularly active in seeking out the voices of lesbian/bisexual/gay/transgendered individuals in different cultures. Roscoe (1988) has edited a volume on Native American two-spirit traditions and, with Stephen Murray (1997), he has also published volumes on homosexuality in Muslim cultures and in African traditions. In each of these collections, the authors provide material on lesbians, often critiquing the traditional category of lesbian. In almost all of these non-Anglo cultures, a critique of colonialism goes hand-in-hand with the need to identify the indigenous concepts of gender and sexuality that may or may not intersect with the familiar Western concepts. One of the most provocative findings to come out of many of the studies of lesbianism in indigenous traditions has been the challenge to the fixed system of two genders, as in the study of traditional women healers in South Africa conducted by Ruth Morgan and Graeme Reid (2003). Finally, since its inception in the 1970s, the study of same-sex relationships between women has suffered from "lesbian invisibility," a widely recognized phenomenon in the field that stems from both sexism and heterosexism. Religion, too, suffers a similar neglect: while there are increasing numbers of articles on lesbianism in specific cultures, religion is not often pursued as a line of analysis. Nonetheless, there is a growing body of research available to scholars of lesbianism and religion that may draw on the wealth of first-person narratives available online.

One of the advantages of studying lesbianism and male homosexuality in religious traditions is that there is usually a detailed enumeration of the type of same-sex identities or behaviors that are forbidden by a given religion. Setting aside indigenous religions, such as those in Africa and the Americas, every major religion prohibits homosexuality at the most explicit level. The Hebrew Bible is actually an exception, insofar as it makes no reference to same-sex sexual relationships between women. Hindu, Jain, Buddhist (from India to Japan), and Muslim sacred texts proscribe sexual practices between women—but to widely varying degrees. Islamic jurisprudence rarely identifies sexual acts between women but does prohibit all homosexual activity insofar as it falls outside of the bounds of marriage. There are very few references to sexual activity between women contained in the juridical texts, but there are a few more in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian literature; Everett Rowson (1991) discusses the references found in Arabic literature, and Paul Sprachman (1997) focuses on Persian sources. Ironically, lesbianism in Turkish harems was one of the classic stereotypes about Islam at the height of colonialism, as Marilyn Brown (1987) has eloquently demonstrated. There are few studies of same-sex relationships between women within Islam; the references are scattered throughout studies of male homosexuality. In the South Asian arena, however, Ruth Vanita has recently emerged with a few excellent studies on same-sex relationships between women in Hinduism that draw on both local and Sanskrit myths, rituals, and linguistic analyses (in Vanita and Kidwai, 2000).

The normative standard in all Indian traditions is heterosexual intercourse. Almost all violations of the usual strictures incur a higher penalty than male-male sex, and the price for sexual acts between women falls even lower on the scale. Thus, in the Hindu *śastra* tradition, the *Arthaśastra* declares that women who have sex with each other are required to pay a lower fine than men who have sex with each other. In the *Manusmriti*, a woman who has sex with a virgin pays a much higher fine than two women who are no longer virgins are required to pay. The *Kāmasūtra* details a variety of sexual acts between women, and like other sources of the period, describes a type of "third gender" described as biologically male. Leonard Zwilling (1992) has written on the detailed taxonomies of sexual "identities" described within Indian texts, but he has not paid as close attention to terms for "women" as he has for "men." Within the Indian sphere, but from a different angle, Buddhist Vinaya texts go into detail on the kinds of sexual activity prohibited to monks and nuns; unlike the Hindu tradition, one's intent weighs more heavily than the actual act itself. Thus, the punishment for monks who willfully violate the prohibitions on sexual intercourse (*maithuna*) with women is to be expelled from the *sangha* (order). However, the penalty for two nuns who engage in "patting each other" (i.e., mutual manual stimulation) falls into the category of minor offenses. Because the Buddhist Vinaya texts were carried along with Buddhism as it moved into China, Japan, and throughout Southeast Asia, the same descriptions of proscribed behaviors for nuns appear throughout Asian Buddhist traditions, though with some variations in how the terms are understood in the commentaries.

Sources for understanding same-sex relationships between women are relatively scarce in East Asia. There is one passage in the *Dream of the Red Chamber* (also known as *The Story of the Stone*) that describes the attractions that a young actress has for other actresses with whom she worked. Hinsch also devoted an appendix to lesbianism in *Passion of the Cut Sleeve* (1990), but there are relatively few studies of lesbianism in Chinese literature. Some have argued that the strong affiliations between women at certain moments in Chinese history should be considered as same-sex affections, as in the case of Chinese marriage resisters. It may be that the relationships between women such as these should be considered in the same light as female friendships in the nineteenth century, in which the relationships are enduring, passionate, and stable but contain no references to sexual activity between the partners (Smith-Rosenberg, 1985; Raymond, 1986). Paul Schalow's article on Kukai and male love in *Buddhism, Sexuality, and Gender* (1992) is a fascinating study. There is a growing literature on the lives of gay men and lesbians in contemporary China—known collectively as *tongzhi*—and Japan—where the term for lesbian is *rezubian*, or *rezu* for short. One good guide to the literature by geographical area is the *Reader's Guide to Lesbian and Gay Studies,* edited by Timothy F. Murphy (2000).

SEE ALSO Gender and Religion, overview article; Gynocentrism; Homosexuality; Human Body, article on Human Bodies, Religion, and Gender; Nuns, overview article; Patriarchy and Matriarchy.

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CAROL S. ANDERSON (2005)

LESSING, G. E. (1729–1781), was a German dramatist, historian, and essayist. Born in Kamenz, the son of a Lutheran pastor, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing went to university in Leipzig in 1746 to study theology, which his interest in drama soon caused him to abandon. He moved to Berlin in 1748 and there became acquainted with noted Enlightenment figures. Between 1755 and 1760 Lessing spent time in Leipzig and Berlin as a journalist. In 1760 he took up residence in Breslau, where he wrote his famous drama *Minna von Barnhelm* (1767–1777) and his treatise comparing literary and visual arts criticism, *Laokoon* (1766). In 1766 Lessing became resident critic for a new theater in Hamburg and composed the *Hamburg Dramaturgy* (1767). The theater soon failed, and Lessing finally became librarian at the library of the duke of Brunswick in Wolfenbüttel. Here he pursued intently his heretofore intermittent theological and historical studies. His publication of anonymous fragments from a manuscript by Samuel Reimarus (1694–1768), attacking Christianity, provoked heated opposition from orthodox Lutherans, and Lessing eventually became embroiled in polemics with the Hamburg pastor Johann Melchior Goeze (1717–1786). Upon being placed under censorship by the duke in 1778, Lessing answered with his famous play *Nathan the Wise* (1779), which pleads for religious toleration. He died in Braunschweig in 1781. Lessing's theological tracts include *Vindication of Hieronymous Caradanus* (1754); *Leibniz on Eternal Punishments* (1773); *Berengarius Turonesis* (1770); “Editor's Counterpropositions,” prefacing Reimarus's fragments (1777); *New Hypotheses Concerning the Evangelists Seen as Merely Human Historians* (1778); *Axiomata* (1778); and *The Education of Mankind* (1780).

Lessing's theological reflections have produced divergent interpretations. He is variously seen as an Enlightenment rationalist, basing knowledge upon mathematical models, or as an irrationalist influenced by British empiricism. There are sound textual grounds for both positions, but both presuppose a consistent and relatively complete theory on Lessing's part. Lessing is most effectively interpreted not as a consistent theorist, however, but as one caught up in the cognitive crisis of precritical philosophy between 1750 and 1781. Rationalistic and empiricist paradigms are evident as organizational principles in his handling of religious data.

Religion, specifically revealed religion, became an acute problem for Lessing because its medium is history. “Accidental truths of history can never become the proof of necessary truths of reason," he wrote in *On the Proof of the Spirit and the Power* (1777). Reason, he argued, posits a mathematical mode for all reality. The inner truth of being evinces the formal features of necessity, universality, and intelligibility; truth about God must accord with the formal structure of reason. Historical truth is, on the other hand, always concerned with what, empirically, has occurred. But empirical events are structurally accidental, that is, their contradiction is always possible; this generates the accidental essence of the historical. To base metaphysical and moral truth about God and human relation to God on accident would accordingly constitute *metabasis eis allo genos* (passage into another conceptual realm). Lessing does not flatly deny, for instance, the historical truth of Christ's resurrection. Letting it be accepted as historically possible, he nevertheless balks at drawing a conclusion of salvational importance from such an "accidental" event. History would thereby become a "spider's thread," too weak for the weight of eternity.

Because Lessing freed himself from orthodox dependence upon the literal word of the Bible, he was able to entertain various theses concerning the purely historical origins of the books of the New Testament. He can thus be considered an early exponent of higher criticism.

Through Lessing's reflections there runs an empiricist, if not irrationalist, counterthesis: Humankind as it really is—in history and as historical being—is not a rationalist, grounding moral activity on rational insight into the nature of God. From his youthful poetic fragment "Religion" to his late "collectanea to a book," *The Education of Mankind*, Lessing complained of the benightedness of human consciousness. Indeed, he sometimes viewed reason as a destructive force that has removed humanity from a primitive innocence. At any rate, humankind, left to its own powers, would wander about for "many millions of years" in error, without reaching moral and religious perfection. De facto, humanity has fallen from a primordial state (be it in fact or only in allegory) and is cognitively limited. De facto, humans do not possess a rational consciousness; they are limited to "unclear" ideas. In short, human consciousness is sensate-empirical. Along with humanity's benighted cognition goes its essentially emotional psychology. Images, not abstract ideas, move humans to action.

Lessing clearly separated himself from Lutheran orthodoxy, but he expressed his appreciation for it: Historical Christianity at least addresses humans as they de facto are. Neological and rationalist theologies, on the other hand, assume humans to be rational; this, history proves false. Lessing thus repeatedly opposed theological "liberals" such as J. A. Eberhard (1739–1809).

Lessing reconciled rationalism and Christianity by distinguishing between Christianity as history and Christianity's contemporary meaning; he then brought the two together through the notion of the progressivity of history. Humankind, clearly incapable of reaching moral perfection, is in need of a directional impulse from beyond. Lessing accordingly accepts hypothetically the basic Christian position that God has entered history. But for Lessing, God enters history as an educator who uses prerational means (e.g., miracles) to stimulate human evolution toward rational self-sufficiency. The Old and New Testaments are thus stages leading to a new eternal covenant, not unlike that envisioned by some rationalists, in which humankind will reach perfection.

In the modern period, revealed religion is valid independent of any historical proofs because it has the function to stimulate humankind's progressively improving capacity for rational self-reflection. The effects (still evident) of a maturing Christianity, not its historical miracles, become the criterion of the inner truth of Christianity. True religion improves humankind.

Lessing's theology does not constitute a worked-out philosophy; rather, it evinces a laborious and painful encounter with revolutionary tendencies of the modern world. His progressive view of history constitutes an early link in the great theodicies of historical evolution developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, particularly by Hegel.

Lessing's influence on posterity has been ambiguous. He founded no school and had no followers, yet his theological efforts encompass and epitomize the theological currents of the eighteenth century, currents that influenced subsequent developments critically. In addition, he was a master stylist and rhetorician. Lessing's writings are masterfully, even dramatically, constructed. Here is the source of his lasting influence. He has historical importance because of the content of his theologizing and enduring appeal because of the creative form of his writing.

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An agreed-upon interpretation of Lessing's theology is lacking, and great divergencies among scholars are evident. In the twentieth century some found Lessing to be a secular rationalist. In this connection, see Martin Bollacher's *Lessing: Vernunft und Geschichte; Untersuchungen zum Problem religiöser Aufklärung in den Spätschriften* (Tübingen, 1978) and Martin Haug's *Entwicklung und Offenbarung bei Lessing* (Gütersloh, 1928). Bollacher's study is a particularly good presentation of this view. Since the 1930s some scholars have found Lessing to be a theist, even Christian to a degree—at any rate, at least receptive to the idea of revelation. For two very important works concerning this thesis, see Arno Schilson's *Geschichte im Horizont der Vorsehung: G. E. Lessings Beitrag zu einer Theologie der Geschichte* (Mainz, 1974) and Helmut Thielicke's *Offenbarung, Vernunft und Existenz: Studien zur Religionsphilosophie Lessings,* 3d ed. (Göttingen, 1957). My study *G. E. Lessing's Theology: A Reinterpretation* (The Hague, 1977) is an attempt to integrate the two traditions by viewing Lessing not as a systematic thinker but as one who evinced contradictions and hovered between secularism and Christianity. For two introductions in English to Lessing's theology, see Henry Allison's *Lessing and the Enlightenment* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1966) and Henry Chadwick's "Introduction," in *Lessing's Theological Writings* (Stanford, Calif., 1957), pp. 9–49.

L. P. Wessell, Jr. (1987)

LEUBA, JAMES H.

LEUBA, JAMES H. (1868–1946), was an American psychologist and one of the leading figures of the early phase of the American psychology of religion movement (1880–1930). Born in Switzerland, Leuba came to the United States as a young man and studied at Clark University under G. Stanley Hall. In 1895 he graduated from Clark and became a fellow there, and in 1896 he published the first academic study of the psychology of conversion. In 1889 he had begun teaching at Bryn Mawr College, where he spent all his active academic life. His numerous publications on the psychology of religion gave him a position of prominence in the field through the 1930s.

Leuba was responsible for the classic study on religious beliefs among scientists and psychologists. He found that the more eminent the scientist, the less likely he was to profess religious beliefs. The same finding held for psychologists. The results accorded with Leuba's own sympathies, for he was a critic of religion, a skeptic reporting on other skeptics. In his book *The Psychology of Religious Mysticism* (1926) he emphasized the importance of sexual impulses in motivating religious rituals and of the sexual symbolism of religious ecstasy. Leuba's work has been described as empiricist, reductionist, and antireligious. There is no doubt that in his time he was the least inclined among the leading psychologists to show any respect for conventional religion.

As Leuba himself reported, his early experiences in Switzerland led him to his critical views regarding religion and religious people. Raised in a Calvinist home, he began to have doubts, but then came under the influence of the Salvation Army and had a conversion experience. After he began his scientific studies he became an atheist. He remained, throughout the rest of his life, a critic of religion, much in the same vein as Freud, and a critic of religious hypocrites. He accused Hall and others of keeping up the appearance of religiosity for the sake of their social standing, or as a way of maintaining the authority of religious institutions in order to keep the "ignorant masses" under control. The current standing of Leuba's contribution can be gauged by the fact that of the six books he published during his lifetime, four are still in print, and one of them (*The Psychology of Religious Mysticism*) was reissued as recently as 1972. His brilliant ideas regarding the origins of religion and magic presaged those of Freud and Malinowski, and should keep Leuba numbered among the true greats of the study of religion.

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LÉVI, SYLVAIN

LÉVI, SYLVAIN (1863–1935), French Sanskritist, Orientalist, and cultural historian. "Sylvain was—always and from the very first—my second uncle," Marcel Mauss declared, recalling his fateful introduction to Sylvain Lévi in 1895; "I owe to Sylvain the new directions of my career." Many other scholars, European and Asian, owed Sylvain Lévi similar debts, and twentieth-century studies of South and East Asia's cultural and religious legacy owe numerous insights and new directions to Lévi's scholarship and personal example.

Just as Marcel Mauss was indebted to Sylvain Lévi for crucial advice, so Lévi owed a similar debt to Ernest Renan, who urged that he sit in Abel Henri Joseph Bergaigne's Sanskrit course at the École des Hautes Études in 1882. Born in Paris, March 28, 1863, Lévi was nineteen when he took Renan's advice, and his career was set after the first hour with Bergaigne. Three years later, in 1885, he was appointed to the second Sanskrit post at the École, and the following year he also took up a lectureship in the newly established section on sciences religieuses. In 1889, the year after Bergaigne's death, he became head of Sanskrit instruction at the École. He resigned that post to become professor of Sanskrit language and literature at the Collège de France in 1894, a position he held until his death, October 30, 1935.

Initially fascinated by the possible impact of Greek culture on ancient India, Lévi remained captivated by the nature and extent of cross-cultural influences in Asia. The extensive domain of his own scholarship on primary sources ranged from the first systematic study of Sanskrit drama to Buddhist studies, in which he was, in effect, the successor of Eugène Burnouf. In pursuit of these latter studies, he learned Chinese, Tibetan, and Japanese, and also mastered the Tocharian dialects of Central Asia. Broad and imaginative in his scholarly vision and speculation, Lévi remained a versatile specialist who insisted that the discovery of a single text, the confirmation of a single historical fact, the decipherment of a single stanza, was more significant than any theoretical construct.

Having become a close friend of two young Japanese while still a student, Lévi always sought to strengthen living cross-cultural associations and to recover dimensions of cultural heritage for the benefit of all. These humanistic concerns were evident not only in his scholarship but in his numerous activities as an unofficial cultural ambassador. Instrumental in establishing the École Française d'Extrême Orient, the Institut de Civilisation Indienne, and the Musée Guimet, Lévi founded the Maison Franco-Japonaise and was its first director. His close friendship with the ruling family of Nepal resulted in his classic three-volume work, *Le Népal.* As a friend and adviser of such Indians as Rabindranath Tagore and as a teacher of students, such as Takakusu Junjirō, who came to him from Japan, India, and other Asian countries, Lévi internationalized Asian religious studies and was perhaps Europe's first "postcolonial" Orientalist.

An important element in Lévi's background as a scholar was his abiding interest in Judaism of the Diaspora. The son of Alsatian Jewish immigrants, he worked tirelessly on behalf of world Jewry, becoming the president of the Alliance Israélite Universelle. In the last years of his life, efforts on behalf of Jewish refugees from Germany consumed much of his energy. Clearly, he saw parallels between the adventure of Buddhism in Asia and the impact of Jewish life and thought in Europe. The one historical verity reinforced the other; together the two helped shape and direct a career that changed European Orientalism and inaugurated an epoch in scholarship and in the human interaction between Europe and Asia. Lévi was, as one of his admirers put it, more than an Orientalist: he was a humanist.

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Lévi's writings remain untranslated from the French. A fairly complete bibliography concludes Victor Goloubew's tribute, "Sylvain Lévi et l'Indochine," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* 35 (1935): 551–574. The volume *Mémorial Sylvain Lévi*, edited by Louis Renou (Paris, 1937), contains forty-two articles by Lévi that eloquently illustrate the nature and range of his interests and scholarship. Renou's preface to this collection, "Sylvain Lévi et son œuvre scientifique" (first published in the *Journal asiatique*), is an informative and affectionate evaluation of the scholar and the man. Ivan Strenski continues his useful exploration of Levi's influence on Émile Durkheim and his school in *Durkheim and the Jews of France* (Chicago, 1997).

The essays (including an address in English) published as *L'Inde et le monde* (Paris, 1925) may be the most accessible introduction to Lévi's thought. Of his longer works, three are indisputable classics: *Le théâtre indien*, 2 vols. in 1 (Paris, 1890), *La doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brāhmaṇas* (Paris, 1898), and *Le Népal: Étude historique d'un royaume hindou*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1905–1908). Among his numerous editions, translations, and studies, two that remain especially important are *Asanga: Mahayana-sutralamkara; Exposé de la doctrine du Grand Véhicule selon le système Yogacara*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1907–1911), and *Un système de philosophie bouddhique: Matériaux pour l'étude du système Vijñaptimātra* (Paris, 1932).

G. R. WELBON (1987 AND 2005)

LEVI BEN GERSHOM SEE GERSONIDES

LEVITES.

[*This entry discusses the role of the* leviyyim *("Levites") and* kohanim *("priests") in Israelite religion and in Judaism.*]

The origin of the Levites remains obscure despite considerable scholarly attention. Without contemporary documentation of the sort available on the larger societies of the ancient Near East, scholars must rely largely on the Hebrew Bible and later Jewish sources for information, making it difficult to trace the early development of this priestly group. What is known is that religious life in antiquity, from an institutional point of view, always required special places of worship with priests who were trained to perform cultic rites, make oracular inquiry, record temple business, and instruct worshipers on religious matters. Like the scribe, the priest had a set of skills unknown to most other members of society, and the need for skilled personnel generated a system of "schools" attached to temples and other cult centers to recruit, support, and educate priests. In ancient societies three factors interact: training and skill, family and clan, and place of residence. The family provided an ideal setting for teaching priestly skills and retaining exclusive control over them. In Israel, as elsewhere, families and clans tended to concentrate in certain locales, where their members lived in proximity to each other. Clans were not strictly ancestral, contrary to the impression made by certain biblical texts, and it was not uncommon to admit an outsider to learn the skills practiced by the clan, and eventually to grant clan membership as well.

Some biblical traditions regard the Levites as one of the original twelve tribes, whose members were collectively consecrated to cult service; other less systematic but perhaps more authentic biblical evidence regards them as a professional group, whose members came from various tribes and clans. Initially, priestly groups may have formed along professional lines, subsequently developing into clans and even larger units. Biblical writers probably began to regard the Levites as a tribe only after the interaction of training, locale, and family affiliation had progressed to a considerable degree. Biblical historiography has shown a strong tendency toward fitting social groups into neat, genealogical categories, which may account for the traditional identity of the Levites as a tribe.

Of the professional titles and terms used in Hebrew sources to designate priests of different types, the most common is *kohen* (pl. *kohanim*), cognates of which are found in the Ugaritic, Aramaic, Phoenician, and Arabic languages. The term *komer* ("priest"), with cognates in Akkadian, the el-Amarna dialect, and again Aramaic, is used in Hebrew scriptures only for pagan priests, and then rarely (*2 Kgs.* 23:5, *Hos.* 10:5, *Zep.* 1:4).

There is no feminine form for *kohen* because there was no role for women in the official Yahvistic cult of Israel. And yet there is a term for priestess, *qedeshah,* which literally means a (female) "consecrated person." (The masculine equivalent, *qadesh,* also occurs.) Based upon biblical evidence, these terms would be considered solely derogatory (e.g., *Dt.* 23:18, *Hos.* 4:14). However, in Ugaritic, *qadishuma* is an administrative term for priests and in Akkadian, *qadishtu* designates a priestess class widely known in the Old Babylonian period. Thus, biblical usage of *qedeshah* and *qadesh* as terms of derision to designate improper or pagan priests is more a matter of attitude than of nomenclature. The terms *kohen, komer,* and *qadesh*/*qedeshah* are professional titles.

A bigger problem arises in defining the term *levi* (Levite). A number of etymologies have been posed along professional lines, ranging from the notion of "carrying, bearing," to camping "around" the sanctuary. Poor documentation aside, what these etymologies are actually positing is more logical than linguistic, reflecting known cultic functions, such as carrying cultic artifacts, guarding temples, and so on. If the term derives from a single verbal root, it is not presently established and any definition must be according to context and usage.

EARLY HISTORY IN BIBLICAL TRADITION. The earliest biblical reference to a *levi* is probably to be found in *Judges* 17–18. Micah, a man who lived somewhere in the Ephraimite hills before there was a monarchy in Israel, built a temple and installed in it several cult objects. He appointed one of his sons as priest. About that time, "a young man from Bethlehem, from the clan of Judah, who was a *levi*" (*Jgs.* 17:7), arrived at Micah's residence while en route to seek his fortune in northern Israel. After conversing with him, Micah invited him to live in his household and serve as priest in his temple; more precisely, to be a father (*av*) and priest (*kohen*). Micah offered him ten shekels of silver a year, clothing, and room and board. The *levi* accepted, and Micah was assured that God would grant him good fortune now that he had a *levi* of his own.

Chapter 18 opens with the tribe of Dan, then living in the southern plain, seeking territory elsewhere because of pressure from the Philistines. The Danites sent spies to northern Israel, where they stopped at Micah's home, and the *levi* assured them that God was with them. They later found suitable land in upper Galilee, and when the entire tribe began its migration northward, they once again stopped at Micah's home. The spies informed the others that valuable cult objects were to be found in the local temple, and they persuaded the young *levi* to abandon Micah and serve as priest for their tribe. The Danites stole Micah's cult objects, including a statue, an *efod* (a vestment with pockets, containing lots used in oracular divination), and *terafim* (statuettes that probably served as family gods). Then they proceeded to Laish, took it without an attack, and renamed it Dan, and thus the cult of Dan was established.

The story has all the earmarks of authenticity precisely because it does not conform to traditional notions about Yahvistic religion. The *levi* was of the clan of Judah and from Bethlehem. But it was his profession, as distinct from clan affiliation, that was valued all over the country, affording him a certain degree of mobility. He was appointed *av* and *kohen,* the former a term sometimes used to designate a "teacher" or "master," quite apart from its use in a familial sense.

From this story it could be concluded that a *levi* was a mobile professional who might have come from any tribe or clan, employed by a family or at a temple or other cult site, supported by them and serving at their pleasure. In contrast to other members of clans, who normally tended agricultural lands, a *levi* could move about. This portrait, probably more accurate for the early period of Israelite settlement than for the later, sheds light on the question of origins, and corrects the traditional and less historical picture found in biblical priestly literature.

Hebrew scriptures tell little about the status of Micah himself except that he owned a temple, which indicates that he was a local leader. Leading residents of towns built temples, appointing members of their own families as priests. Some biblical historians claim that in the early Israelite period the head of the clan or household was the priest, an image that seems to fit the patriarchs of Israel, who built altars and endowed cults.

An early story about the training of a priest is preserved in *1 Samuel* 1–3. Samuel, a cult prophet, officiated at sacrifices but also spoke with the authority of a prophet who communicated God's word to the people. Before his birth, he was dedicated to temple service by his mother, pledged as a *nazir* ("Nazirite") to serve all his life in the temple at Shiloh. This form of cultic devotion, which parents might perform for a variety of reasons, was one of the ways of recruiting priests. With Samuel the motive given was the gratitude of his one-time barren mother, but in reality economic deprivation often prompted parents to seek security for their sons in the priesthood. *1 Samuel* 2:36 intimates as much in predicting that the sinful priests of the House of Eli would beg to be accepted in a priestly group just to have bread to eat.

It was Eli, the chief priest of Shiloh, to whom young Samuel was brought by his mother. Samuel's prophetic role is anticipated by a divine theophany whose message Eli does not fail to comprehend. Samuel is taught the priestly arts by Eli, whose own sons were greedy and improper in the conduct of the sacrificial cult. Here is seen an instance in which an outsider rose to prominence at a major temple, while the family that had controlled the priesthood lost power. The hereditary succession did not always work and one adopted into the priesthood might assume leadership if he had superior gifts. In *1 Chronicles* 6:13, the name of Samuel is inserted in a Levitical genealogy. At that late period, it would have been inconceivable that a legitimate priest and leader of the people such as Samuel would not have been the descendant of a Levitical clan.

The story of the Canaanite king of Salem, Melchizedek, characterized as "a priest of El, the most high," adds yet another dimension to the status of priests in early Israel. In *Genesis* 14 (by all accounts an early biblical text), Melchizedek greets the patriarch Abram (later Abraham) after a victorious battle fought against foreign kings. He blesses Abram in the name of his own god, El ʿElyon. Here the king of a Canaanite city-state serves as a priest, showing the priestly office to be a corollary of civil status.

Little else is known about priests, generally, in the premonarchic period. Quite coincidentally, *Judges* 19:1 reports that the man whose concubine was raped and murdered in Gibeah of Benjamin was a *levi* living in the Ephraimite hills. That he had originally taken a concubine from Bethlehem suggests that he, like Micah's *levi,* may also have been from Bethlehem.

Curiously, the term *levi* most often appears in north Israelite literature. Indeed, it may be a north Israelite term for "priest," which would explain its general absence from Judahite sources and its occurrence in *Deuteronomy,* a book essentially northern in origin.

Monarchic period. The biblical narratives about Saul, the first king of Israel, reveal two aspects of the role of priests during the early monarchy. Saul employed an elderly professional priest, a descendant of Eli, from Shiloh (it having since been destroyed by the Philistines), who made oracular inquiry for Saul and the Israelite forces using the *efod* (*1 Sm.* 14). There is also the recurring theme of Saul's own involvement in priestly functions. At one point, Saul officiated at a sacrifice when, after seven days of waiting, Samuel failed to arrive (*1 Sm.* 13). Although Samuel was enraged over what Saul had done, it was probably in accordance with contemporary custom: Kings often assumed sacral roles.

David also employed professional priests, appointing and dismissing them at will. The first priest he encountered was Ahimelech, priest of Nob—the town of priests (*1 Sm.* 21). Ahimelech sided with David against Saul, offering him and his band comfort and aid. Saul eventually murdered the priests of Nob, but one escaped, Abiathar, Ahimelech's son (*1 Sm.* 22:20f.), who joined David's forces and regularly undertook oracular inquiry for David (*1 Sm.* 23:10f., 30:7f.). Later, David had two priests with him, Ahimelech and Zadok, whose origins are not revealed (*2 Sm.* 8:17, 15:24). These two lines of priests continued to serve David throughout his career until a priest of the Abiathar line sided with David's son, Adonijah, in an attempt to claim the succession and this line of priests was rejected (*1 Kgs.* 1:7, 1:19). Solomon banished the priest to his hometown, and henceforth only the line of Zadok served the Judahite royal house (*1 Kgs.* 2:35). The list preserved in *1 Kings* 4:25, which still mentions Abiathar, is apparently a later source, showing how literary tradition often ignores historical sequence.

In priestly families, as in many royal lines, sons were named after their grandfathers, a method known as "papponymy," so that names like Zadok reappear in subsequent generations (*Ez.* 40:46).

The narratives of David and Solomon reveal how certain priestly families were appointed under the monarchy and were expected to be loyal to their royal sponsors. At one point David used the priest Zadok to spy for him and to report on Absalom's activities (*2 Sm.* 15:26f.).

Considerable information is found in the Bible about priestly families during the period of the Judahite and northern Israelite monarchies, but there is hardly any mention of Levites. *1 Kings* 12:31 states that Jeroboam I did a wicked thing by appointing non-Levitical priests to officiate at his heterodox temples, but this statement occurs in a later insertion into the text. For the most part, *Samuel* and *Kings* know nothing about a tribe of Levi.

The reference to Nob as a town of priests introduces the factor of locale. The law of *Leviticus* 25:32–34 provides tax exemptions for Levitical towns, justifying such exemptions by the fact that the Levites had no territory of their own. The same justification underlies the provisions in *Numbers* 35:1–8. Both are late texts.

The lists of *Joshua* 21 and *2 Chronicles* 6 present a different problem because they specifically name forty-eight Levitical towns, most of which have been located. Benjamin Mazar argues that these lists ultimately reflect the situation under the united monarchy of the tenth century BCE. According to Mazar, these towns were first established by David and Solomon as part of a system of royal outposts, especially in newly conquered territories.

Aside from the fact that these lists show signs of lateness, there is some difficulty in ascertaining whether the sites listed were actually settled by Israelites in the tenth century BCE. Recent archaeological surveys in Israel show a different pattern of early settlement. Then too Mazar must rest his case on the traditions of *Chronicles,* to the effect that Levites specifically were involved with David and Solomon. Given the generally biased character of *Chronicles,* these traditions may not reflect an earlier reality. In any event, the concentration of Levites in certain locales is logical in the earlier periods of biblical history, as is the existence of certain towns of asylum, often located where priests lived (*Nm.* 35:9f.).

Deuteronomy, essentially derived from the northern Israelite kingdom of the eighth century BCE, refers to all priests as Levites. Its classic designation is "the Levitical priests, the entire tribe [Heb., *shevet*] of Levi" (*Dt.* 18:1). Clearly, in the north Levites were regarded as having a tribal identity: All legitimate priests were Levites, and all Levites were priests.

From what *Deuteronomy* says about Levites elsewhere one notes that the tribe of Levi was not like other tribes. Levites lived throughout the land (*Dt.* 14:26f.) and had no territory of their own, relying on cultic service for support (*Dt.* 18:6f.). The concern in *Deuteronomy* with the Levitical priests stems from its doctrine, expressed in chapters 12 and 16, that sacrifice is proper only at one central temple in a town to be selected by God. The habitation patterns of the Levites had corresponded to the decentralized pattern of worship at local and regional centers. Tithes and votaries remitted at these centers henceforth were to be collected only at a central temple. Once *Deuteronomy* legislated against the customary, decentralized pattern, provision had to be made for those Levitical priests who had served throughout the land. They therefore were granted the right to be maintained at the central Temple in Jerusalem, and assigned to cultic duties there.

The "Tribe of Levi." Current scholarship is only able to explain the traditions concerning a tribal origin for the Levites in broad, sociological terms. The biblical record of twelve tribes, into which that set of traditions fits, is questionable historically. The number twelve is maintained quite artificially in various tribal lists that sometimes include a tribe named Levi, sometimes not.

Apart from the genealogical recasting of the early Israelites, so characteristic of Priestly literature, the tradition of a tribe named Levi occurs in two poetic passages. In *Genesis* 49, Levi, the eponym of one of Jacob's sons, is the head of a tribe like all the others. Nothing is said about any cultic function associated with Levi, but there is the telling threat to disperse Levi throughout the Land of Israel, suggesting what came to be the real situation of the Levites.

In *Deuteronomy* 33, the Levites are a tribe, but a tribe of priests. This same chapter, verses 8 through 11, contains an oblique reference to the incident of the golden calf, recounted first in *Exodus* 32:26–29, and again in *Deuteronomy* 9:16f. Of all the Israelites, the Levites alone rallied to Moses' side. For their loyalty to God they were rewarded by being granted the Israelite priesthood. The cult of Yahveh was threatened when the golden calf, an allusion to the calves installed by Jeroboam I at Dan and Bethel, became the object of worship (*1 Kgs.* 12:29f.). The Levites are not characterized as a tribe, but rather as a group bound by the commitment to a proper Yahvistic cult that superseded their various tribal affiliations.

The reference to a tribe of Levi in *Genesis* 49 is less readily explained. Some historians have suggested that *Genesis* 49 is a very ancient passage that proves the early existence of a tribe called Levi. This is doubtful, because the incident of Shechem, recounted in *Genesis* 35, may be a late story of priestly origin.

Priests and Levites. The distinction between priest and Levite, basic to certain Priestly traditions, may have first emerged during the Babylonian exile. In *Ezekiel* 44:9f., the prophet, in his vision of a restored Temple in Jerusalem, favored the priestly line of Zadok exclusively. The Levites who had turned away from Yahveh (when, is not clear) were no longer to officiate at the cult, but were demoted (as it were) to supporting tasks in maintaining the Temple. In effect, the Levites were to take over tasks formerly performed by foreign workmen (or, perhaps, foreign Temple slaves), whose presence in the Temple was condemned by Ezekiel.

This is the first indication outside of the Priestly texts of the Torah of a differentiation between Levitical priests and ordinary Levites, laying the groundwork for the postexilic system wherein priests were considered superior to Levites. Most biblical historians have explained this distinction as a consequence of Josiah's edict (c. 622). Josiah had closed down the local *bamot* ("high places") and summoned the priests serving them to Jerusalem (*2 Kgs.* 23). The reconstruction that Ezekiel's heterodox Levites were, in fact, these priests is logical but still only conjecture.

Classes of priests, with differentiated functions, were characteristic of Near Eastern temples, and undoubtedly applied to the Temple in Jerusalem at one time or another. Conceivably, the poem of *Genesis* 49 served to explain the demotion of the Levites, which is attributed to some outrageous act.

Postexilic references to priests and Levites appear in *Ezra, Nehemiah,* and *Chronicles,* a pattern continuing through and even subsequent to the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem in 70 CE. In *Kings,* as in *Jeremiah* with its strong historical orientation, priests are in charge of the First Temple, before the exile. Recent archaeological discoveries have added to information on the succession of high priests from the eve of the exile through to the Hellenistic and Roman periods. By correlating postexilic writings with the works of Josephus Flavius and apocryphal books such as *1 Esdras,* Frank Moore Cross (1975) uses the Aramaic Samaria papyri of the fourth century BCE to propose an uninterrupted succession of high priests. From Jehozadak, who served on the eve of the Babylonian exile, Cross moves forward to Simeon I, born in 320. Based on the custom of "papponymy," Cross traces the priestly names.

High-born priestly families, such as those recorded in the lists of returning exiles in *Ezra* 2 and *Nehemiah* 7, owned estates outside of Jerusalem and probably derived their income from sources other than mere priestly emoluments. It can be logically assumed that of all the Jewish exiles in Babylonia, priestly families may have been particularly motivated to return to the Holy Land. By contrast, the Levites seem a deprived group in the early postexilic period. Ezekiel's differentiation between Zadokite priests and Levites may, in the last analysis, reflect the different economic standing of priestly families.

Thus far the history and formation of priestly groups in Israel have been discussed, but scripture highlights Priestly traditions on the origin and character of the priesthood that cannot be regarded historically, certainly not in detail. It would be fruitful to attempt a synthesis of history and tradition, both subjects for the historian but each requiring different methods in studying the past.

The Priestly traditions trace the origin of the priesthood, as well as the origin of the Yahvistic cult, to the time of Moses, prior to the settlement of Canaan. When the reader first encounters Aaron in the earliest traditions of *Exodus* (in the source known as JE, which combines Judean and north Israelite texts), he is Moses' brother certainly, but serves as a spokesman and emissary, and not as a priest. In *Exodus* 2:1f., Moses is affiliated with a Levitical family, and 4:14 refers to Aaron as "your brother, the *levi,*" but these references are the work of the Priestly editors. The identification of Moses and Aaron as Levites was part of the overall Priestly historiography, linking the cult and the priesthood to the Sinai theophanies.

The consecration and investiture of Aaron and his sons as priests are themes woven into the Tabernacle texts of *Exodus* 24:12–31:18 and 35–40, and into *Numbers,* especially 1–10:28, and 26, as well as in the descriptions of the investiture of Aaron and his sons in *Leviticus* 8–10. G. B. Gray (1971) regarded Moses as a priest, primarily on the basis of Psalm 99:6. It is preferable, however, to interpret the Priestly traditions of the Torah as a mirror image of reality: Moses, like other leaders and like the Judahite and northern Israelite kings, is portrayed as a priest maker, not a priest. He oversees the transfer of priestly authority to Eleazar, Aaron's son, before Aaron's death (*Nm.* 20:22f.); Moses never actually performs cultic functions, apart from the investiture of the first priests. As for Psalm 99, it is actually a late, postexilic composition and it endorses the Aaronic priesthood.

Aaron the priest, as opposed to Aaron the person, is nowhere mentioned in *Deuteronomy.* A Priestly addendum in *Deuteronomy* 32:50 speaks of his death, and *Deuteronomy* 9:20f. merely retells the episode of the golden calf. Even in that episode, with its cultic context, Aaron functions as leader of the people. The Aaronic priesthood is never referred to in the historical books of the Bible—*Judges, Samuel, Kings*—except in a few interpolated passages (such as *Jgs.* 20:28).

It is in *Chronicles,* however, that Aaronic genealogies are presented in detail, much in the spirit of the Priestly writings of the Torah (*1 Chr.* 5–6, 23–24, etc.). In this fourth-century BCE recasting of early Israelite history, Aaronic priests are projected into the preexilic period of the Judahite monarchy, as though to compensate for their absence in *Samuel* and *Kings.* Julius Wellhausen (1957) was logical in concluding that the Priestly Torah traditions originated in the period of *Chronicles,* but it would be more precise to place them somewhat earlier in the postexilic period, the fifth century BCE.

Ezra, Nehemiah, and *Chronicles* present a dual situation: on the one hand, the Aaronic tradition, and on the other, evidence of a more historical character on the history of the priesthood. In *1 Chronicles* 5:27–41 Aaron and his sons launch the priestly line, but then the narrative returns to historical reality, listing known priestly families. In *1 Chronicles* 6:1–27 the names are entirely different, and generally match those in *Numbers.* Thus even within *Chronicles* a distinction must be drawn between history and tradition. The same is true in *Ezra* and *Nehemiah.*

This and other information confirms the unreliability of the Aaronic genealogy, while at the same time confirming the postexilic books as the repository of historical information, as well as tradition.

Yehoshuʿa Ben Sira, a sage very much in the priestly tradition, writing in the late third or early second century BCE, endorses the Aaronic line (*Ben Sira* 50). Ellis Rivkin (1976) conjectures that beginning in the time of Ezra, around the mid-fifth century, a group of priests claimed descent from Aaron, and it was this group who promulgated the tradition of the Aaronic priesthood continued by Ben Sira.

The Torah also preserves Priestly traditions on the consecration of the Levites. In *Numbers* 8–10 the description of Levitical devotion parallels that of priestly investiture in *Leviticus* 8–10. The tasks of the Levites are set forth in *Numbers* 3–4 according to clans.

In the Priestly tradition, priests and Levites shared a common descent. All priests were of the tribe of Levi, but not all Levites were priests. *Nehemiah* 10 has the population registered in a stratified way: priests, Levites, and the people at large.

ORGANIZATION. The internal organization of the Israelite priesthood probably changed little over the centuries, from the inception of the monarchies to the destruction of the Second Temple. A priest was usually in charge of a temple/cult center, and he was referred to simply as *ha-kohen* ("the priest") or as the priest of a particular locality or temple. The chief priest of Jerusalem in the near-exilic period was called *kohen ha-roʾsh* ("the head priest," *Jer.* 19:1), and the second in charge *kohen ha-mishneh* ("the deputy head"). The title *ha-kohen ha-gadol* ("the high priest") that occurs in several passages in *Kings* (*2 Kgs.* 22:10, 23:3f.) is probably a later designation based on the characterization of the head priest in the Holiness Code (*Lv.* 21:10) as *ha-kohen ha-gadol me-ehav* ("the priest who is higher than his kinsmen"). From the fifth-century BCE Jewish mercenary community at Elephantine comes the Aramaic counterpart, *khnʾ rbʾ* ("the high priest"), and it is entirely possible that the Hebrew *ha-kohen ha-gadol* is a translation from the Aramaic. The Torah includes the epithet *ha-kohen ha-mashiah,* "the anointed priest" (*Lv.* 4, 6), reflecting a Priestly tradition that has only Aaron receiving unctions, not his sons (*Lv.* 8:12). The rabbinic tradition has the additional title *ha-segan,* or *segan ha-kohanim* ("the director of the priests"); the term *segan* is a cognate of the Akkadian *shaknu* ("govern"). This terminology reflects the widely attested practice of applying political and administrative nomenclature to cultic offices (*Yomaʾ* 3.9, 4.1; *Tam.* 7.3). In

2 Kings 19:2 is found the designation *ziqnei ha-kohanim* ("the elders of the priests"), perhaps the "curia" of the priesthood. In rabbinic literature, apprentice priests were called *pirhei ke-hunah* ("the budding flowers of the priesthood," *Yomaʾ* 1.7, *Tam.* 1.1). Certain postexilic sources refer to *sarei ha-kohanim* ("the leaders of the priests," *Ezr.* 8:24) who had a role in governing the people.

The Mishnah (*Tam.* 3.1) mentions *ha-memunneh* ("the appointed priest"), who served either as an "officer of the day," or was in charge of a specific bureau or set of rites. In short, the priesthood of the Temples of Jerusalem was organized along royal, administrative lines.

From early times priests likely were assigned to Temple duty for one-week periods. Nehemiah is said to have instituted these *mishmarot* (*Neh.* 13:20; cf. *1 Chr.* 7:6) and indications are that this was the arrangement in the Jerusalem Temple during the monarchy. In *2 Kings* 11:5f., groups of priests are designated as *baʾei ha-shabbat* ("going on duty on that Sabbath") and *yotsʾei ha-shabbat* ("going off duty on that Sabbath"), suggesting weekly tours of duty for the priests.

SUPPORT SYSTEMS. While on duty, priests lived in the Temple complex, apart from their families; this arrangement helped ensure a state of purity.

Priests were supported by levies and donations, and enjoyed the privilege of partaking of sacred meals; their families also benefitted from Temple support. There is evidence, however, that as time went on, prominent priestly families amassed independent wealth and owned large estates.

FUNCTIONS. The skills required for the priestly functions (see below) were learned from masters and based on written "instructions" (or manuals) called *torot* (sg. *torah*). The term *torah,* which has enjoyed wide applications in the Jewish tradition, derives from the priestly context: It is the priest who knows the *torah,* as is indicated in many biblical characterizations of the priesthood (*Jer.* 18:18, *Ez.* 7:26, *Hg.* 2:11). In the Priestly laws of the Pentateuch captions such as *zoʾt ha-torah* ("this is the instruction," *Nm.* 19:2) and *zoʾt torat* ("this is the instruction for," *Lv.* 6:2) introduce guides for purification and sacrifices.

The Mishnah describes how priests were guided or directed step by step in the celebration of cultic rites. In ancient Egypt, officiating priests were actually followed around by a "lector priest" who held before him a tablet with precise instructions that he read aloud to the officiant. Failure to carry out the specific instructions could render the rite ineffective, disqualify the priest, and in severe cases defile the sanctuary.

In addition to their roles as skilled professionals, priests were consecrated persons. The Torah preserves detailed descriptions of the procedures followed in consecration (*Lv.* 8–10, *Ex.* 28–29), including prophylactic rites (involving the use of blood and oil), ablutions, and investiture—all accompanied by purification or expiatory sacrifices. Once consecrated, the priest officiated for the first time and partook of expiatory sacrifice.

The priestly vestments are described in *Exodus* 28 and are referred to in *Leviticus* 8 and 16. The high priest (Aaron was the first) wore distinctive garb; linen was used extensively, as was dyed cloth, and both were embroidered with gold. The high priest wore an *efod* decorated with twelve gemstones symbolizing the tribes of Israel, a breastpiece on which were sewn the binary oracles Urim and Tummim (two small stones), a headdress, diadem, robes, and pantaloons. These vestments were worn only while officiating, or when present in a sacred precinct.

Ezekiel's vision of the restored Temple (44:15f.) includes more information on priestly vestments as well as grooming: Wool was to be avoided, and priests were to crop their hair but refrain from shaving their head. They probably officiated barefoot.

The priesthood was bound by a rigid law of purity. First were fitness requirements for officiating priests, who had to be free of blemishes, as were the sacrifices. Priests at all times were to avoid impurity, and as necessary would undergo purification in order to be readmitted to the Temple and allowed to officiate once again. The most severe impurity was contact with dead human bodies. According to their law, priests were forbidden to attend burials, which removed the cult of the dead from the priesthood's functions. An ordinary priest was permitted to attend the burial of his most immediate, consanguineous relatives, but even that was denied the high priest. Purity involved marriage law as well. A priest was forbidden to marry a divorced woman, because adultery was originally the basis of divorce; similarly unfit (at least in later law) was a woman who had committed harlotry, or whose fathers had been pronounced unfit for the priesthood. An improper wife would disqualify a priest's son from cultic service. A priest could only marry an Israelite, and the high priest only a virgin.

All of these regulations originate in the Priestly laws of the Pentateuch and were expanded and variously applied by the rabbinic authorities of a later age. How early they applied is not certain, but they were in force during the early postexilic period. In late Second Temple times, priestly families kept marriage records and were presumed to adhere to a stricter code. *Ezra* 2 and *Nehemiah* 7 mention priests who had been declared impure, and removed from the priesthood on that account, an obvious reference to violations of the priestly marriage code.

Sacrificial and cultic functions. The primary responsibility of the priest was to officiate at sacrificial worship; quite possibly, others than priests may have officiated at certain periods in biblical history. As stated earlier, the priestly laws of the Pentateuch include the *torot* ("instructions") for this function, spelled out in detail. Apart from actually officiating, priests were undoubtedly responsible for sacrificial *matériel*—mixing spices and incense, preparing flour for grain offerings, and preparing proper oils for various purposes, including lighting of the *menorah* ("candelabra") and the like. According to the later pattern, Levites attended to certain of the preparations, but actual slaughtering of sacrificial animals was a priestly function.

The function of the priest as officiant was indispensable to the efficacy of the sacrificial cult, and priests were required to partake of sacrifices in sacred meals. Certain sacrifices were not valid if the priest failed to partake of them. The priests invoked God's blessing of the people on certain occasions; *Numbers* 6:24–26 preserves the text of the benediction. "May the Lord bless you and watch over you. May He cause the light of His countenance to shine over you, and may He be gracious to you. May the Lord lift His face toward you and grant you peace." The benediction was usually pronounced at the end of the sacrifice, when the priest emerged from the Temple and its inner courtyard to face the people. This blessing is one of the rare instances of recitation in the priestly laws of the Torah, which otherwise fails to preserve the many formulas employed by priests in the Israelite cult.

In addition to sacrificial *matériel,* priests were clearly responsible for maintaining the purity of the Temple and of all cultic utensils, vestments, and such. The Torah's priestly laws assign some of these "maintenance" tasks (*mishmeret*) to the Levites, but they usually required priestly supervision.

Oracular functions. Again, some of the earliest biblical references to priests are in connection with oracular activity. Micah and the Danites were served in this way by a young Levite, and the priests who accompanied Saul and David into battle provided similar service. Very likely the laws of *Deuteronomy* 20 are to be understood against the background of oracular inquiry. Before battle the Israelites were addressed by the priest, undoubtedly the high priest, who assured them that God would stand at the side of his people and grant them victory. The priest then stipulated certain deferrals and exemptions from military service, an act reminiscent of the ancient custom of "clearance" (in Akkadian, *tebibtu*), known from the archives of Mari, a Syrian capital of the eighteenth century BCE. Soldiers had to be "cleared" by checking to see if their obligations on the "home front" had been met. Presumably, the priest was asked whether the contemplated military venture had God's support. While priests provided such services most of the time, in some instances prophets advised kings in this way, as in *1 Kings* 22, a reflection of the overlapping of priestly and prophetic functions.

Most forms of divination were expressly forbidden in official Israelite religion, but surprisingly the casting of lots was not. The best known form of this practice was using the Urim and Tummim. Comparative evidence suggests that the Urim and Tummim consisted of two somewhat flat stones similar to the *puru* ("lots") known in Mesopotamia. The Tummim, a term derived from *tamam* ("perfect, without blemish"; hence, "innocent, right"), probably indicated an affirmative response, or a response establishing innocence. It is therefore assumed that Urim was negative, establishing guilt, although its precise meaning remains unclear. Casting lots was intended to yield a response: Either the stones were similar to dice, each with affirmative and negative markings, or one was affirmative, the other negative.

The Urim and Tummim were kept by the priest in a pouch sewn into an embroidered cloth breastpiece. They are mentioned also in connection with the *efod,* a finely embroidered garment. In the depiction of the vestments of the high priest (*Ex.* 28, *Lv.* 8), the two stones were carried in a separate breastpiece, called *hoshen,* fastened to the *efod,* but it is quite obvious that they were an important part of the *efod,* the essential oracular vestment. The depiction of carved gemstones, symbolizing the tribes of Israel, further indicates the vestments' oracular function. The term *hoshen ha-mishpat* ("breastpiece of judgment," *Ex.* 28:15, *Lv.* 8:8) reflects the use of the Urim and Tummim in determining guilt and innocence, a process also indicated by the phrase *mishpat ha-urim* ("the judgment of the Urim," *Nm.* 27:21).

The casting of lots (*goral*) by priests was not always directly associated with the Urim and Tummim, at least not explicitly. In the Yom Kippur ritual (*Lv.* 16), the high priest cast lots to determine which of two goats was to be designated the scapegoat and which the sin offering. Priestly traditions, found primarily in *Numbers* and *Joshua,* portray the division of the Promised Land among the tribes by casting lots (*Nm.* 26, 33–36; *Jos.* 17–21). Priests again conducted the proceedings.

Oracular inquiry is generally viewed as characteristic of the earlier period of Israelite history, fading out as time went on, an opinion not borne out, however, in the priestly writings that give prominence to oracular, priestly functions. *Ezra* (2:63) and *Nehemiah* (7:65) each include a curious statement about the disqualification of certain priestly families among the returning Judahite exiles that, unable to produce genealogical records, were denied the right to partake of sacrificial meals, "until a priest with Urim and Tummim should appear."

It would be erroneous to minimize the lasting importance of oracular inquiry in early religion, a function shared by priests and prophets. The term *darash* (to inquire) often connotes oracular inquiry in biblical Hebrew, perhaps more often than is generally realized. Other than the casting of lots, very little is known about the mechanics of oracular inquiry in Israelite Jewish religion.

Therapeutic functions. *Leviticus* 13–15 prescribes a quasi-medical role for priests in the treatment of skin ailments that were considered contagious, and that in similar form appeared as blight on leather, cloth, and plaster-covered buildings and stones. Such a role was assigned to priests in other parts of the ancient Near East; Mesopotamian magical texts, for instance, speak of the activities of the *ashipu* ("magical practitioner") who combined magical and sacrificial activity with medical methods to heal the afflicted, often "purifying" them through exorcism. In *Leviticus* the priest orders quarantine, examines patients, shaves the hair of the afflicted, and diagnoses skin ailments on the basis of a set of given symptoms, observing the course of the disease. Along with these procedures, he conducts expiatory rites, involving the utilization of sacrificial blood in magic, as well as making sanctuary offerings. It is the priest who declares one either "impure" or "pure."

Such functions were akin to the instructional and juridical roles of the priest: All involved interpreting the contents of the priestly *torot* ("instructions"). As with oracular inquiry, these functions were probably shared by prophets and other "men of God."

Instructional and juridical functions. The cult role of the priest cast him in a sacred, somewhat detached light, for he officiated within sacred precincts from which the people at large were excluded. In contrast, the instructional and juridical functions of the priesthood, like the less known therapeutic ones just discussed, brought the priesthood into contact with the people. The same applies to its administrative role discussed later.

The instructional and juridical roles were, of course, closely interrelated. *Ezekiel* 44:23–24 gives a fairly comprehensive definition of these priestly functions:

> They [the Zadokite priests] shall declare to My people what is sacred and what is profane, and inform them what is pure and what is impure. In lawsuits, too, it is they who shall act as judges: they shall decide therein in accordance with My rules. They shall preserve My teachings and My laws regarding all My fixed occasions, and they shall maintain the sanctity of My Sabbaths.

Deuteronomy 17:8f. relates that a court was to be located in the central temple of the land where priests and magistrates could hear cases referred to them by local and regional courts. The high court of the Jews, the Sanhedrin, convened in the Temple complex and was composed largely of priests. The early Pharisees, members of a lay movement, eventually gained predominance in the courts, but not until after the destruction of Jerusalem's Second Temple.

The epitome of the instructional role of the priest is preserved in *2 Kings* 17:24f. Foreigners settling in northern Israel (Samaria) following its annexation by the Assyrians in 722 suffered misfortunes, and they attributed their sad state to not knowing how to worship "the god of the land" properly. Sargon, the Assyrian king, sent back an Israelite priest who established residence in Bethel. "He went about instructing the people how they should worship Yahveh" (*2 Kgs.* 17:28). The verb *horah* is most often used to convey the instructional role of the priests, who answered the questions brought to them by the people and their leaders.

The early exilic prophecy of Haggai (*Hg.* 2:11–13) contains an actual inquiry that, although it was rhetorical and symbolic in the prophetic context, is worded precisely; it is dated to 520:

> Inquire of the priests *torah* ["instruction"] as follows: If a person should carry sacrificial flesh in a fold of his garment, and if this fold should touch bread, stew, wine or oil, or any other foodstuffs, would it [that foodstuff] become sacrificial? The priests responded by saying, "No!" Haggai continued: Should a person impure by reason of contact with a dead human body touch any of these materials, would it [that foodstuff] be rendered impure? The priests responded by saying, "It would become impure!"

An entire body of ancient Near Eastern literature of priestly texts has to do with the interpretation of dreams, often a function of the priest. Indeed, the instructional and juridical roles of the priesthood would be clearer if similar Israelite texts had survived.

Administrative and political functions. In addition to conducting the cult of worship, priests were responsible for the overall administration of the Temple and its affairs.

Temple business. The Temples of Jerusalem were hubs of activity: Worshipers often purchased sacrifices in the Temple bureaus; they remitted votary pledges (the so-called vows); they paid their dues (tithes to the Levites, and in later times priestly levies, the firstlings of the herd and flocks). In *2 Kings,* chapters 12 and 22, one learns that Temple business was administered by the priests often in collaboration with agents of the king. In the postexilic recasting of these earlier accounts, such as in *2 Chronicles* 24, priests and Levites are sent out to collect dues from the people, as well as voluntary contributions for the Temple.

Maintenance. Cult vessels had to be replaced and purified from time to time, as did the Temple. The Temple complex had to be kept in good repair, and priestly vestments fashioned. Temple maintenance meant not only repair but purification, and the priesthood was in charge of these activities.

In the postexilic period when Jerusalem and Judah were under foreign domination, the high priest and heads of other important priestly families often served as heads of the Jewish community, especially in conducting its relations with the imperial authorities. This political arrangement is referred to as "hierocracy," government by priests. Something of this atmosphere colors the *Letter of Aristeas,* which reports on delegations to the high priest of Jerusalem, and the writings of Josephus of the first century CE.

Throughout most of the period of the Second Temple the power of the priesthood was more than it had been in the preexilic period. In the wake of the Hasmonean Revolt (167–164 CE) the priests assumed both political and spiritual power, a situation that lasted for about a century and correlated well with the imperial policy of various foreign rulers throughout their empires.

The political function of the priesthood is more specific during the postexilic period, although it is likely that, as in most societies, leading priests had exercised power and influence under Judahite and northern Israelite kings as well. Whereas such earlier historic books as *Samuel* and *Kings* are primarily concerned with the monarchy, and therefore say little about priestly power, it is the later *Chronicles* that create the myth of deep cooperation between the two establishments—the royal and the sacerdotal—especially during the reign of the "upright" Judahite kings.

In the postexilic period, Levites had specific functions distinct from priests. In *Numbers* 1–4, Levites are assigned the task of guarding the sanctuary, in addition to "bearing" its appurtenances, and other duties. They are encamped around it, barring entry to all unfit to approach the sacred precincts. This role coincides with the postexilic *Ezra, Nehemiah,* and *Chronicles* concerning Levitical "gatekeepers" (*Neh.* 7:1, *1 Chr.* 9:18). In the later literature Levites are also the Temple singers and musicians, a role further suggested by some of the captions in *Psalms,* attributing them to Levitical authors, members of musical guilds, and affiliates of the Levitical clans, such as "the sons of Korah."

Postexilic traditions also speak of Levites as "teachers, interpreters" (*Ezr.* 8:16, *Neh.* 8:7, *2 Chr.* 35:3), thereby endorsing the ancient instructional role of priestly and Levitical groups as teachers. Levitical names have turned up at Arad, in the Negev, during the late preexilic period, thus affirming that such families were assigned to royal outposts where there were also temples.

Worship was never the end-all of religious life in biblical and later Jewish traditions, and prophets continually criticized the common belief that God was more desirous of praise than of obedience to his laws. The prophet Samuel put the matter as follows (*1 Sm.* 15:22): "Does the Lord delight in burnt offerings and sacrifices, as much as in obedience to the Lord's command?" And yet, it was through the institution of religion, as conducted by sanctified and trained priests, that the people of Israel were able to secure the presence of God, in sacred places and in celebration. No institution was more volatile, more subject to abuse and exploitation than the priesthood (except, perhaps, the monarchy and political leadership), and none was more indispensable to the expression of Israel's unique religion. Whereas the Hebrew scriptures and later Jewish literature never spared priests from criticism and rebuke and faithfully recorded their misdeeds from Aaron to Menelaus, the same tradition held forth the idea of the devout and learned priest:

> True teaching was in his mouth,
> Nothing perverse was on his lips.
> He served Me with complete loyalty,
> And held the many back from iniquity.
> For the lips of a priest preserve knowledge,
> And men seek instruction from his mouth.
> For he is a messenger of the Lord of Hosts!
> (*Mal.* 2:6–7)

See Also Aaron; Biblical Temple; Dreams; Israelite Religion; Oracles; Priesthood, article on Jewish Priesthood; Prophecy, article on Biblical Prophecy; Purification; Tithes; Torah.

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BARUCH A. LEVINE (1987)
Revised Bibliography

LEVI YITSḤAQ OF BERDICHEV (c. 1740–1810), was a Hasidic master and is one of the best-beloved figures of the east European Jewish folk tradition. Born into a distinguished rabbinical family, Levi Yitsḥaq joined the circle of disciples around Dov Ber of Mezhirich (Międzyrzecz, Poland) in 1766. He served as rabbi of Richwal, Żelechów, and Pinsk before being appointed to the important Ukrainian rabbinate of Berdichev in 1785. As both statutory rabbi and Hasidic *rebe* of that city for twenty-five years, he made Berdichev a center of Hasidic influence and played an important role as a leader of Russian Jewry. While in his earlier rabbinical positions he had been hounded by the *mitnaggedim* (the "opponents" of Hasidism; he was apparently deposed in both Żelechów and Pinsk), his strong position in Berdichev allowed him to serve as convener of rabbinical conferences, author of important communal legislation, and defender of Hasidism from attack. He also worked to ameliorate the oppression of the Jews by their newly acquired Russian masters, but to little avail. Better known are his reputed attempts to "storm the gates" of heaven, demanding of God, sometimes in harsh terms, that he better the lot of his beloved Israel. It is this image of Levi Yitsḥaq as defender of Israel and advocate of individual Jews before the heavenly tribunal that is especially prevalent in the later folk literature. The relationship between the Levi Yitsḥaq of these tales and the actual historical figure has yet to be tested.

Widely revered among the Ḥasidim even in his own day, Levi Yitsḥaq worked to stem the growing discord within the Hasidic movement at the turn of the nineteenth century. He served as intermediary in the disputes between his friend, Shneʾur Zalman of Lyady, and Barukh of Medzhibozh, as well as in Barukh's dispute with his own nephew, the young Naḥman of Bratslav.

The homilies of Levi Yitsḥaq, *Qedushat Levi,* were issued in two parts; the extended treatises on the meaning of Hanukkah and Purim were published during his lifetime (Slavuta, Ukraine, 1798), while the better-known treatment of the weekly Torah portions were edited after his death and appeared in Berdichev in 1811. This work was largely a popularization of Dov Ber's teachings but in a readable and homiletically creative setting.

Levi Yitsḥaq was a sounding board for all the major ideas of Dov Ber's circle, and all are well represented in *Qedushat Levi.* The call for ecstatic self-negation in *devequt* (communion with God) is adumbrated but is coupled with warnings about its potentially antinomian implications. Levi Yitsḥaq was well aware of the more radical implications of Hasidic teaching and sought to warn against them. Thus he places in the mouth of the snake in Eden the notion that because all things are created by God there can be no category of the forbidden; he saw the authority of the *mitsvot* (commandments) potentially challenged by the notion, so loudly and uncompromisingly proclaimed in the early Hasidic movement, that all is holy. He agreed with the elevation of the *tsaddiq* (holy man) to a place of primacy in Hasidic Judaism and speaks of the cosmic power such a figure has in the ongoing development of Torah. The sense of communal responsibility he felt as rabbi is frequently reflected in his homilies, in which there is also to be seen a touch of regret about the fate of his own intense spiritual life, as he was forced to devote his energies to communal matters.

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LÉVY-BRUHL, LUCIEN

LÉVY-BRUHL, LUCIEN (1857–1939), French philosopher and sociologist. Lévy-Bruhl devoted most of his attention to the analysis of the human mind in primitive societies. He studied mental functions and mystical experience, symbols and myths, and notions of the soul and of the supernatural.

Lucien Lévy-Bruhl was born in Paris. A student at the École Normale Supérieure, he passed his *agrégation* in philosophy in 1870. He then taught successively at three *lycées.* In 1884 he was awarded the *docteur ès-lettres* with a thesis on the idea of responsibility. At the École des Sciences Politiques, he gave a remarkable course of lectures on the history of ideas in Germany since Leibniz. As senior lecturer (1895) and then professor (1907) at the Sorbonne, he taught the history of modern philosophy and developed his ideas about primitive peoples. He became the editor of the *Revue philosophique* in 1916, was elected to the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques in 1917, and, with Paul Rivet and Marcel Mauss, founded the Institute d'Ethnologie.

Without ever openly disagreeing with Émile Durkheim, Lévy-Bruhl diverged from the leader of the French sociological school—a divergence that was made apparent when his book *La morale et la science des mœurs* (1904) criticized Durkheim's theory of *métamorales* and what he took to be Durkheim's confusion of moral philosophy with the sociology of moral life. In *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures* (1910), Lévy-Bruhl examined what he took to be fundamentally different kinds of mental activity. This work sought to establish the existence of a "primitive" mentality, an attitude of mind characterized by mystic participations and exclusions and by alogical liaisons not subject to the principle of contradiction.

In *La mentalité primitive* (1922), he emphasized the difference between the "primitive mind" and the "civilized mind." These terms describe the distinctive tone or quality of the "collective representations" of two basic types of society. A society finds representation in the concepts and beliefs of its members; the members share a mental attitude and hence a manner of experiencing the world.

According to Lévy-Bruhl, the "primitive" mentality and the "civilized" mentality each embodies its own irreducible logic: respectively, the magico-religious and the critical. Differing conceptions of causality and representations of time and space define these contrasting modes of thought. The magico-religious, or "prelogical" mentality, judges no event (e.g., accident, sickness, death) to be natural and fortuitous but instead attributes it to the direct action of supernatural powers belonging to an invisible extraspatial and extratemporal world. Dreams, omens, divinatory practices, and ordeals are given great importance as signs of a primary mystic causality, the only truly efficient cause. Without the critical mentality's concern for the causal interconnections of phenomena, the "primitive" mind is indifferent to secondary causation. Immediate and intuitive, the "primitive" concept of causation does not employ the inductive method of the scientific West.

In *L'âme primitive* (1927) Lévy-Bruhl argues that the "primitive" personality appears stronger than the "civilized" personality, because the ego and the cosmos are integrated there through a network of mystic relations. In his later works, Lévy-Bruhl develops the notion of the "law of participation," according to which various aspects of reality comprise a single mystical unity based on resemblance, contrast, or contiguity and thereby enable a being to be simultaneously himself and something other. This "law of participation" is a way of living, of acting, and of being acted upon. Lévy-Bruhl attempts to show that symbols are the vehicles of participation; he claims that extrarational reality does not permit itself to be systematized into a conceptual framework.

Lévy-Bruhl's theories were controversial in their day and met criticism from a variety of perspectives. Most contemporary anthropologists have rejected the notion of a specifically primitive mentality. In his posthumous *Carnets* (1949), Lévy-Bruhl himself considerably tempers the difference between prelogical and logical mentalities, showing that they coexist to various degrees in all kinds of societies and that participatory thought is never entirely eclipsed by pure rationality.

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Claude Rivière (1987)
Translated from French by G. P. Silverman-Proust

LEWIS, C. S.

LEWIS, C. S. (1898–1963), was an Anglican scholar, novelist, and theologian. Clive Staples Lewis was born in Belfast on November 29, 1898. As a boy he read omnivorously and wrote remarkably imaginative stories about a world he called Boxen. He was educated at Malvern College, and then privately. Soon after discovering Celtic and Norse mythology, in 1913, he became convinced that Christianity was one of the inferior mythologies of the world and that God, if he existed, was a cosmic sadist. After one term at University College, Oxford, in 1917, he went to France with the Somerset Light Infantry, and on April 15, 1918, he was wounded in the Battle of Arras. Upon his return to Oxford in 1919 he took first-class degrees in classics, philosophy, and English. Between 1925 and 1954 he was the fellow of English language and literature at Magdalen College, Oxford, and he won acclaim as a medievalist for *The Allegory of Love* (1936).

Lewis's efforts to keep God at bay gave way slowly as he began to find his own arguments philosophically untenable. His friend and colleague J. R. R. Tolkien (1892–1973) did much to unsettle his atheism when he convinced Lewis that the Christian myth differed from all others in that it ended in the Word made flesh. After his conversion in 1931, Lewis published the partly autobiographical *The Pilgrim's Regress* (1933), whose main theme is that everyone's experiences of inconsolable longing (which he was later to call "joy") are longings for and pointers to God. Another theme of the book—afterward developed in his *Miracles* (1947)—is that, while all mythologies contain hints of divine truth, Jewish mythology was chosen by God and culminates in myth becoming fact. A clearer account of Lewis's almost purely philosophical conversion is his autobiography, *Surprised by Joy* (1955).

Lewis was happiest with a few male friends, and especially at the weekly meetings of the "Inklings," a group that included his brother Warren (1895–1973), Tolkien, Merton College English scholar Hugo Dyson (1896–1975), the novelist Charles Williams (1886–1945), the philosopher Owen Barfield (1898–1997), and a few others. The influence of these men on Lewis was important, as they read and criticized one another's writings.

Lewis relished "rational opposition," and in debate his inexorable logic was unanswerable. His *Abolition of Man* (1943) is considered one of the most carefully reasoned defenses of natural law ever formulated. Able to adapt to any audience, Lewis became well known in Britain from his talks over the BBC from 1941 to 1944, which were expanded into the book *Mere Christianity* (1952). One of his most popular works, *The Screwtape Letters* (1942), was rapturously received in America. These and many other books established him as a brilliant and lucid defender of orthodox, supernatural Christianity, and through them he won a wide hearing for Christianity. A great many people have been introduced to Christian ideas through Lewis's three science fiction novels, of which the first is *Out of the Silent Planet* (1938), and his seven fairy tales of the mythical land of Narnia, beginning with *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* (1950). A brilliant popularizer of the faith and an apologist acceptable to an exceptionally wide spectrum of Christians, Lewis, through his books, sheds light from unexpected angles on the faults and foibles of men and women. Lewis was made professor of medieval and Renaissance literature at Cambridge University in 1955. In 1956 he married Joy Davidman Gresham, who died in 1960. Lewis died at Oxford on November 22, 1963.

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WALTER HOOPER (1987)

LI. The homophones *li* and *li*, two distinct Chinese graphs, are seminal concepts in Chinese moral philosophy and metaphysics. Although they are both pronounced the same in the modern Beijing dialect, they differed in ancient pronunciation and were originally unrelated: one *li*, meaning "principle," terminated in the consonant sound *g*, according to Karlgren's reconstruction, while the other, meaning "rites," ended in the consonant sound *r*. While the meaning and usage of these terms converge to some extent, they will be discussed separately in this article.

LI AS PRINCIPLE. The root graph for this *li* combines the elements "field divided into sections for planting" with "earth," and means "village." To this is added the element "jade," in consequence of a derived meaning—thought by later philosophers to be the original sense—"cut and polish jade" so as to make its inner pattern of veins visible. The original meaning as found in the *Shi jing* (Classic of odes), however, apparently was to mark out divisions in a field for planting, and so to organize it for agricultural work. Thus *li* has the senses "put in order," "govern," and the resulting (good) "order" in society, as well as "inner structure." In antiquity these senses already converge in the sense "natural order or structure."

In the *Mengzi* the word occurs in a moral sense in the term *li yi*, "order and right," which Mengzi says is what "all human hearts have in common" and what naturally "pleases" our moral sensibility (6A.7). By the early Han dynasty, the term had gone through a semantic evolution: from just "patterns observable here and now" to patterns in temporal extention; hence a pattern developing through history; hence potential or ideal as well as what is actual; hence not only patterns observed in particulars but also general patterns in types or classes; and hence also one overarching pattern through time, branching out from a simple beginning to the complexity of observables in the present; thus both one and many, both explanatory and normative. The *Huainanzi* (c.

130 BCE) says, "As for the *dao*, when unity is established the myriad creatures are produced. For this reason, the *li* of unity permeates the entire world, and the expansion of unity reaches the bounds of Heaven and earth." This sense is further developed by Wang Bi (226–249), who speaks of *zhi li* ("ultimate *li"*), and Kuo Xiang (d. 312). However, one already finds the expression *tian li* ("heavenly" or "natural" *li)* in *Zhuangzi* and in the *Li ji. Li* thus approaches the sense of a single first "principle," intelligible but distinct from sensible phenomena, linked with *dao* and Heaven. It was not yet, perhaps, an object of religious awe.

The word acquired this religious sense when Buddhists, realizing its importance, appropriated it to refer to the primary object (and state) of saving contemplation. The *Sūtra in Forty-two Sections* (c. 100 CE) says that the saint who has cut ties to the world "attains to the deep *li* of Buddhahood," gaining enlightenment and *nirvana.* Zhi Dun (314–366) uses the word interchangeably with the Daoist *wu* ("nothing" or "nonbeing") and the Buddhist *kong* (Skt., *śūnyatā*; "emptiness"), the ultimately real character ("divine *li")* of things. Still later, proponents of Huayan Buddhism such as Dushun (557–640), retreating from the negativistic Mādhyamika terminology of *kong* and *se* ("phenomena"), offered a dualism of *li* ("principle"?) and *shi* (things and events), in which *li* are both one and many, "pervading" and "pervaded by" *shi*, so that the one-and-many *li* of everything is instanced, for example, in each mote of dust.

The word next is repossessed by the Confucians of the Song and following dynasties; *li* is now both one and many, it becomes the object of religious veneration insofar as it is identified with their first principle, under various names and aspects—*tai ji* ("supreme ultimate"), *dao* ("way"), *tian* ("heaven"), and *xing* ("human nature"). In the dualism of Zheng Yi (1033–1108), *li*, "principle(s)," sometimes redescribed as *dao*, is "above form" (*xing er shang*), while *qi*, "embodiments," are "within form" (*xing er xia*). Different attempts were made to overcome this dualism by such thinkers as Lu Xiangshan, Wang Yangming, and Dai Zhen; some of them (Lu, Wang, but also even Zheng Yi himself) identified *li* with *xin* ("mind"). *Li* is (are) both normative (*dangran*) and explanatory-descriptive (*so-i-jan*). As described by Zheng Yi and Zhu Xi, after long study (*gewu*, "investigating things") the Confucian sage attains a sudden unitary vision of all *li*. The concept is often illustrated by reference to natural objects; however, the Confucians usually have in mind the "principles" of social institutions and relationships.

LI AS RITES. The graphic root of this *li* represents a type of ritual vessel (called a *li)*, to which is added the graph for "altar stand," an element commonly marking graphs for religious objects or activities. The basic sense was "religious rite." By the time of the earliest moral-philosophical writings the term had already taken on an expanded meaning: not merely a rite in a religious ceremony, but formal, patterned behavior of any kind, from court ceremonial—and hence, the functions and duties of officials—to the ordinary forms of everyday polite behavior. In early Confucian writings great attention was paid to *li* in all senses; Confucius frequently complained about eminent people's use of ceremonials to which they were not by rank entitled. Some schools of his followers specialized in the study and practice of *li*. Of particular importance were observances for the dead, such as the three-year period of mourning for parents (*Mengzi* 3A.1–3).

As the meaning evolved during the first millennium BCE two concurrent tendencies developed. First, there was a progressive secularization of certain originally religious concepts, not only "rite" but also Heaven (*tian*). This latter term originally denoted an anthropomorphic deity, but by the third century BCE it had become for many simply the physical heaven and the order of nature. The other tendency was a persisting sacralization of the concept of ordinary civilized behavior (Fingarette, 1972). Both of these developments came to fruition in the subtle moral philosophy of Xunzi, in whose writings the ubiquitous term *li yi* ("rites-and-right") means in effect "morality," much like *renyi* in Mencian thought. Xunzi was cognitively and explicitly atheist, yet attitudinally deeply religious, devoting a major chapter to the utility, beauty, and cosmic appropriateness of *li*. Earlier, Mengzi had taken *li*, in the sense of a disposition to propriety, as one of man's four natural virtues.

The different sorts and aspects of *li* were explained and cataloged in a group of the Confucian classics that probably date from Han times (with older material): the *Zhou li*, on the organization of the early Zhou state and functions of its officers; the *Yi li*, on ceremonies in everyday life; and the *Li ji*, which contains miscellaneous treatises on ritual and related moral-philosophical matters, and which was probably the cumulative product of Han court specialists on ritual.

Li has continued to have a double importance in Confucian moral thought. On the one hand, its observance is evidence of the moral health of society or of the individual. On the other hand, observing the rites is thought to develop moral character and the moral health of society (see Ouyang Xiu's *Ben lun*). The *li*, therefore, are thought of as the patterns of behavior of a good society, a good government, or a good life.

In this sense the concept overlaps with the *li* meaning "pattern" or "principle." The convergence of *li* and *li* was noticed by Xunzi: "Music [i.e., the standard modes and traditional pieces] is harmonies that are unchangeable; rites [*li*] are patterns [*li*] that are unalterable" (*Xunzi*, chap. 20). That is, the rites are forms of social behavior that are valid throughout history. Much later, Wang Yangming offers a very different idea. In his *Chuanxii lu* (Instructions for practical living) Wang argues that "*li* [rites] means *li* [principle]," because "restraining oneself with *li* [rites]" means that "this mind" must become completely identified with the "principle of nature," the *li* of Heaven (3.9).

SEE ALSO Confucianism; Ren and Yi; Tian.

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LIANG WUDI

LIANG WUDI (464–549), or Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty, also known as Xiao Yan; first emperor of the Liang dynasty (502–557), man of letters, and patron of Buddhism. Although from a Daoist family and versed, like all educated gentlemen of his time, in the Confucian principles of morality and statecraft, Xiao Yan came to be fascinated by Buddhism through exposure as a young man to the teachings of Buddhist monks at the court of Prince Jingling, Xiao Ziliang, of the Southern Qi dynasty (479–502). Xiao Yan later overthrew the Qi and declared himself emperor of the Liang dynasty, but he maintained his interest in Buddhism and became a full convert after three years on the throne.

Endeavoring to fashion state policy according to Buddhist ideals, Emperor Wu softened the traditionally harsh penal code by minimizing the application of torture, capital punishment, and other excesses of government. He also forswore meat and alcohol and built numerous temples, including the Tongtai Si, where he often sponsored a kind of Buddhist symposium, known as an "open assembly" (*wuzhe dahui*), so called because it was open to men and women, clergy and laity, regardless of class. The emperor, who sometimes delivered lectures on Buddhist doctrine at these assemblies, four times used the occasion to announce that he was surrendering himself to voluntary servitude to the Tongtai temple. He of course expected his imperial officials to ransom him, and so they did, each time for prodigious sums. Each ransoming was followed by a full reenactment of the imperial enthronement ceremony. Emperor Wu's behavior, which had precedents in the history of Indian Buddhism and may have been suggested by the newly translated *Aśokāvadāna* (Legend of King Aśoka), was intended to raise money for the propagation of the Buddhist religion. The emperor also established "inexhaustible treasuries" (*wujin zang*), institutions that provided safe-deposit vaults and repositories for donations made to the religion. These funds were often used in financial transactions the profits of which reverted to the church.

Emperor Wu was overthrown by the rebel Hou Jing in 548. Some anti-Buddhist critics attributed his fall to the slackening effect of Buddhist principles on governmental control. Such a view unjustifiably ignores the political complexities of the period. Nor are his deeds to be comprehended merely in terms of whether or not they conform to Buddhist principles. Although versed in Buddhist doctrine beyond the level of the ordinary layman, Emperor Wu also devoted an important part of his energies to his literary work, much of which is still preserved and admired. This artistic bent, as much as his religious proclivities, must be taken into account in any effort to assess his fitness to rule.

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MIYAKAWA HISAYUKI (1987)

LIANG WU-TI SEE LIANG WUDI

LIBATION

LIBATION is one of the oldest and perhaps least understood religious rituals, the sacrificial pouring out of liquid. Its primary importance seems to lie in the act of pouring, because the liquids that are poured out (wine, milk, honey, water, oil, and in some cases even blood) and the places where this is done (on the ground, into chasms, upon the altar, over the sacrificial victim, into a sacrificial bowl) vary and change. Libation can be traced back as far as the Bronze Age by means of libation pitchers and bowls discovered in excavations or depicted in stone reliefs and vase paintings or on gems, seals, and rings. The ritual is found in almost every culture and geographical area, but the kinds of libations and their performance, place in the cult, relations to other rituals, sacrificial materials, and possible meanings and functions differ from one religion to another and even within the same religion.

In spite of a wealth of evidence, many of the basic problems have remained unsolved. The information about Greek religion is extraordinarily complicated, but the situation may have been just as confusing in other religions where data have not been as fully preserved. Further, in this regard there is a remarkable degree of similarity between religions that otherwise have little connection, as for instance the sacrificial rites of Classical Greece and the Priestly tradition of the Old Testament.

NAME AND TERMINOLOGY. The word *libation* is derived from the Latin *libatio* ("sacrificial offering of drink"). The word is connected with the Greek noun *loibē* ("libation") and the verb *leibō* ("to pour out a libation"), used since Homer. More common than these poetic terms, however, are the synonyms *spendō, spondē* (Hittite, *shipand-;* Latin, *spondeo;* German, *spenden;* English, *spend*) and *cheō, choē.* The word-field points to an Indo-European religious ritual with the wider range of social and legal functions.

MEANING. The meaning of the libation offering can vary as much as the way it was performed. It is not known for certain what the original meaning of the ritual was, if, in fact, there was only one original meaning. Perhaps the original meaning or meanings are still found among the many seemingly secondary applications and developments. The ritual itself, being rather simple and of no great interest, may have attracted what appeared to be deeper interpretations and connections with other rituals. In these matters history may provide some clues.

The most ancient sources treat libations as separate gift offerings, and this is probably what they originally were. In Babylonian and Assyrian religion, it was primarily the king's office to offer libations to the gods. Libations were part of the meals presented to the gods on altar tables, around which the divinities gathered eagerly. In purifications and magic, however, the purpose of libations was different. The ancient Egyptian sources provide a similar picture, so that the common performances of the ritual may not have changed much over the centuries down to the Greco-Egyptian period, when libations are found in all their variety in the Greek Magical Papyri. These sources show libations of wine, honey, milk, water, and oil as standard features of most religious rites, either separately or in connection with other ceremonies. Originally they seem to have been separate from animal sacrifices, with which they were often later connected. If at the beginning libations were gift offerings, they were most likely understood as gifts to the deity in return for benefits received. By the seemingly wasteful giving up of some vital resources, libations constituted fundamental acts of recognition and gratitude as well as hope for future benefits. Thus they were part of the communication with the divine sphere of life through the exchange of gifts. This may also explain why the gods themselves are often shown offering libations.

GREEK RELIGION. Libations were common as early as the Minoan-Mycenaean period (c. 2000 BCE). Gems often depict sacrificial scenes with libation pitchers and offering tables laden with bread and fruit. While these pictures generally separate such gift offerings from animal sacrifices, there is at least one noted exception: the Hagia Triada sarcophagus from the late Minoan period (c. 1500 BCE; Long, 1974). Here one scene shows a procession of women and men carrying buckets of liquid; the first person, a priestess, is pouring her bucket into a krater (mixing bowl). This scene probably depicts the mixing of wine and water as preparation for the libation. In another scene altars are shown in a tree sanctuary. A priestess officiates before one of these altars, on which stand a libation pitcher and a basket of bread and fruit. Behind this altar, however, appears a table bearing a newly slaughtered bull, his blood flowing from his throat into a vessel on the floor. The data provided by these pictures suggest that later Greek sacrifice dates back to this Archaic period, when the originally separate gift offerings had already become associated with animal sacrifice.

It is difficult to understand the relationship between libations and the special blood sacrifices performed in funerary rites for heroes (see Pindar, *Olympian Odes* 1.90, with the technical expression *haimakouria,* "a fill of blood"; Homer, *Iliad* 23.34; Plutarch, *Aristides* 21). Whether these blood rites are to be regarded as different from libations, or in some instances as adaptations to libations, is far from clear.

While the gift offerings continued in Classical Greek religion, libations also made their way into a variety of other rituals and became a part of them. Animal sacrifice had libations as part of its preliminary sacrifice (as in Aristophanes' *The Peace* 431–435) and used libation as well in its conclusion, when wine was poured into the fire that consumed the remains of the victim. Wine drinking at symposiums involved libations by all participants, together with invocations and prayers. Concern for protection and a safe return is evident in libations made just prior to sea voyages (Thucydides, 6.32.1–2; Pindar, *Pythian Odes* 4.193–200) and battle (*Iliad* 16.220–252). Libations in connection with legal agreements had a different meaning, signifying the entering into obligation. The more magically oriented libations for the dead, of which there are literary accounts, were again different, but their specific role and function, despite ancient attempts at explanation, remain somewhat ambiguous (e.g., the epithet *gapotos,* "to be drunk up by Earth," in Aeschylus, *The Libation Bearers* 97, 164, and *The Persians* 621). A reflection of popular beliefs is found in Lucian's remark (*On Funerals* 9) that the souls of the dead receive nourishment from libation. Libations of oil, another very old custom, develop more in a magical direction: Anointing stones and funerary stelae was customary in much of the ancient world.

Whatever the original purpose of water libations may have been, they were later understood mostly in terms of purification. This is true especially of the ablution of hands (*chernips*) at the beginning of the offering ceremonies. Yet water libations were also performed at tombs by putting the water on them or pouring it into them. Mythology may have provided secondary explanations: They are bathwater (*loutra*) from the underworld (Sophocles, *Electra* 84.434) or a fresh drink for the thirsty dead (cf. *Luke* 16:24). The origins of water-carrying festivals (*hudrophoria*), which existed since ancient times, were different still, the purpose perhaps originally being purification. Yet another water ritual found its way into the mysteries of Eleusis, when at their conclusion two jugs were filled and then overturned, one toward the east and the other toward the west. This probably happened while the initiates shouted "Hue kue," telling the heavens, "Rain!" and the earth, "Conceive!"

ISRAELITE RELIGION. Israelite libations, as known from the Hebrew scriptures and the Mishnah (*Suk.* 4.9), were remarkably similar in appearance to ancient Greek rituals. Similar too are some of the ambiguities, such as the role of blood in relation to libations (see McCarthy, 1973; Kedar-Kopfstein, 1978). The formation of the composite sacrifice in the Priestly texts can be compared to the formation of the Greek sacrifice. No attempt is made in the Hebrew scriptures to explain the purpose of the libations. If reasons are given, they apply as caricatures of foreign religions and express sarcasm (*Is.* 1:11; *Ps.* 50:13). Together with other parts of the sacrificial cult, libation was taken over from the Canaanites. The root of the term designating libation (*nsk*) also occurs in Ugaritic and Phoenician-Punic. Direct takeover of a foreign ritual including libations is reported in connection with King Ahaz's imitation of the royal cult of Damascus (*2 Kgs.* 16:10–18) and in Artaxerxes' decree to Ezra (*Ezr.* 7:17). The sharp polemics by the prophets also reflect the non-Israelite origin of libations (*Jer.* 7:18, 19:13, 32:29; *Ez.* 20:28; *Dt.* 32:38; *Ps.* 16:4). Texts dealing with libations mention them either alone (*Gn.* 28:18, 35:14; *Jer.* 7:18, 19:13, 32:29, 44:17–19, 44:25; *Ez.* 20:28; *Ps.* 16:4) or in connection with the *minhah,* the gift offering of cereals (*Jl.* 1:9, 1:13, 2:14; *Is.* 57:6). The Priestly legislation shows the combination of *minhah* ("gift offering") and *nesekh* ("libation") with the burnt offering (*ʿolah*) (*Lv.* 23:13, 23:18, 23:37; *Nm.* 6:15, 6:17, 15:10, 28:7–31, 29:39), as do the morning and evening offerings in *Exodus* 29:40–41. References to libation utensils confirm what is known from excavations (*Ex.* 25:29, 30:9; *Nm.* 4:7; *1 Chr.* 29:21; *2 Chr.* 29:35). Anointing of stones with oil was perhaps traditional at Bethel (*Gn.* 28:18, 35:14); water libations are also mentioned (*1 Sm.* 7:1; *2 Sm.* 23:16; *1 Chr.* 11:18). The notion of wine symbolizing blood is late (*Sir.* 50:15).

SPECIAL DEVELOPMENTS. Some religions and cultures have developed special forms of libation offerings, several of which should be mentioned. The Iranian cult of *haoma* goes back to great antiquity. This drink of immortality was encountered by Zarathushtra (Zoroaster, c. 600 BCE), who attacked it. Its later revival suggests that he reformed the ritual and thus continued it. The *haoma* cult corresponds to the Vedic cult of *soma. Soma* is at once a deity and the plant from which the juice comes that, when pressed and then mixed with water and milk, makes the *soma* drink. This drink is offered to the gods, but it is also consumed by the people during feasts and conveys immortality (*Ṛgveda* 8:48).

Ancient Chinese religion developed the festival of Shidian ("pouring a drink offering"). The cult seems to have its origin in ancestral worship and is connected with the veneration of Confucius and his pupil Yen Hui. It consisted of a sacrifice and a banquet. During the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), the Shidian ritual was greatly expanded along with the Confucius cult.

The sacrifice of the legendary first emperor, Jimmu, in Shintō religion is also interesting because of its antiquity. The offering includes the essential means for life, food, and drink and is followed by a feast. Ceremonial beer-drinking rituals were conducted by the Vikings of Scandinavia. The *drykkeoffer* was a sumptuous beer party with three ceremonial cups of mead offered to Óðinn (Odin), Þórr (Thor), and Freyja. The three offerings have a curious parallel in Greek sacrifice, but beer-drinking rituals are found elsewhere as well, as for instance in Southeast Asia.

For different reasons, several major religions have discontinued libations altogether. Buddhist religion is opposed to external sacrifices in principle. Jewish religion was compelled to abandon its sacrificial ritual, and with it libations, because of the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 CE. Christianity has no room for libations in its cult. It uses water in baptism; sees in wine the blood of Christ, the sacramental drink of the Eucharist (substituted in some instances by milk or honey), which is offered not to but by the deity, and certainly must not be spilled; and uses oil for sacramental anointing. Islam has no sacrifices in the proper sense of the term. The pre-Islamic libations of milk, predominant among the Arabs, were discontinued, but in some quarters those offerings persist.

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LIBERAL JUDAISM SEE REFORM JUDAISM

LIBERATION, as a goal to be attained or as a designation of a process or activity contributing to this goal, has a central place in many religious traditions, but this should not belie the fact that quite different terms are used in these traditions to convey the protean variability of the meanings typically associated with this concept. These differences of meaning may reflect a wide range of religious conviction and practice, even as these meanings happen to overlap. Thus, in English alone, *redemption, salvation, purification, absolution, freedom, illumination, enlightenment, forgiveness, expiation, deliverance,* and *rescue* form a cluster of terms with close affinities to *liberation.* These affinities notwithstanding, significant differences may exist in the import conveyed by these expressions. Thus, and this is just one example, *deliverance,* as in the Christian prayer “Deliver us from our travails, O Lord,” clearly presupposes the indispensable agency of the author of this sought-for deliverance, while, by contrast, *illumination* does not necessarily carry with it the presumption of the activity of any kind of external agent or power. The differences between these terms are also indicated by their contrasts: to be purified is to be removed from a state of uncleanliness, whereas to be illuminated is to be extricated from a condition of ignorance. Of course, one may be said to be ignorant because one is unclean, or vice versa, but ignorance is banished by one’s gaining in wisdom, while uncleanliness is removed by one’s extrication from a state of defilement or corruption. Someone may be cleansed without necessarily being any wiser about it, or anything else, as when an infant undergoes a cleansing ritual, but it is impossible to become significantly wiser without being aware in some way that one has undergone a more or less decisive cognitive or spiritual transformation. Different patterns of belief and practice may therefore surround a particular term—*expiation,* for instance, presupposes a gesture of atonement on the part of the one whose putative transgressions are being expiated (a substitute may also undertake this act of expiation on behalf of the one who is being redeemed by the expiation in question), and so expiation qua act is never fortuitous or gratuitous, while, by contrast, *rescue* can be, and indeed in many religious traditions is thought to be, entirely gratuitous and undeserved, the outcome of an act of grace (to use a theological formulation). To gain an appreciation of the significance and complexity of these assorted patterns of belief and practice, the individual undertaking a scientific study of "religion" has to be aware of the complex conditions that give these expressions their particularities of meaning. This is not likely to be easy.

For one thing, an expression like *liberation* (and its several cognate terms) is always an abstraction, and by virtue of being an abstraction it is unavoidably detached, albeit in ways that are not insurmountably problematic, from the full range of the ritual, doctrinal, and textual particularities that go into the constitution of liberation's putative goals or processes. Thus the Buddhist *mārga* (path to liberation) is treated in such exegetical texts as the *Bhāvanākrama* (Stages of practice), *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (Stages on the *bodhisattva* path), and *Mo-ho-chih-kuan* (Great calming of contemplation). These works are commonly depicted by scholars of Buddhism as descriptions of contemplative states achieved by individuals who happen to be skilled practitioners of the meditative arts. This is in fact a misrepresentation, since the authors of these texts derive their influence not from their achievement of some kind of inner enlightenment attested to in the texts in question, but rather from their disciplined observance of Buddhist scripture (Sharf, 1995). The "path to liberation" delineated in these sacred texts therefore is found not so much in the undergoing of a process of spiritual illumination, but in the discipline of mastering sacred scriptures (though illumination is not an accidental by-product of this scriptural mastery). Texts, even scriptural texts, are not always free of inconsistencies and ambiguities, and any characterization of liberation has to take these into account, more often than not by relating the texts in question to the complex of practices associated with them. This in turn poses important and sometimes difficult questions of description and interpretation.

How do we know that a particular term adequately expresses what goes on in a particular religious practice, or that it is providing an appropriate version of the meanings that inhere in a scriptural text? For instance, can we be certain that the English term *liberation* is an appropriate rendition of the Hindu notion of *moksha,* or that the English *destiny* properly translates the Homeric *moira,* and so forth? The history of religions provides examples of how, despite purporting to be free of theological presuppositions, a religion's renditions of the practical elements and doctrinal principles of other religions can nonetheless be tacitly influenced by theological or quasi-theological normativities. An important case in point is provided by the work of the great scholar of comparative religion Mircea Eliade (1907–1986), who sought in his work to eschew reliance of any kind on theological premises, but whose delineation of the sacred is nonetheless thought by such critics as Jonathan Z. Smith to involve just such a theological dependence. Eliade believed that there is an essential sacred in the world, to which religions sought to give expression, and that the task of the student of religion was to analyze both this *expressivity* and the structure of the essential sacred conveyed through its myriad modulations. Smith and others have criticized Eliade's key proposition that there is an irreducible "religious" way of being in the world possessing an essential structure. For Smith this proposition can only be regarded as residually theological, and he prefers instead to view *sacred* as a term used in the construction and discovery of worlds of meaning. For someone like Smith, therefore, it is not obvious that there are readily available bridging concepts, invoking sacred "essences," which enable us to establish commonalities and affinities between the rituals and doctrines constitutive of the various religious traditions.

The above animadversions notwithstanding, the person interested in propounding a concept of liberation may find useful the general theory of the concept of salvation formulated by the sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920). A general theory of this kind, which will of course need to be mindful of the differences that exist among peoples, their communities, and their religious traditions, can link otherwise disparate phenomena into a general narrative that will be a useful complement to the more piecemeal ethnographies or phenomenologies of religious practice and conviction. (It is fairly clear, however, that a satisfactory account of the concept of liberation requires both this general theory and the more finely grained ethnographies and phenomenologies.) *Liberation,* like parallel concepts such as *creation, human flourishing, providence,* or *cosmic harmony,* has in some sense to function as a narrative that aspires to be a "story of everything." Weber's sociology of religion provides a pioneering overarching narrative of liberation, motivated by just this ambition to be a "story of everything" about "stories of everything" (or *metanarrative,* in other words).

Weber wanted to formulate a general theory for understanding the many different conceptions of religious salvation, and he employs the notion of an *ideal-type* to identify and describe aspects of the different religious traditions that for him embodied certain transhistorical and transcultural soteriological principles. The *ideal-type* is thus an analytical construct *(Gedankenbilder)* that enables its user to pinpoint and synthesize certain features of the phenomenal or historical world, and to form these events and observable processes into an abstraction that is then returned to the historical and empirical world to furnish interpretations of it. Weber harnesses the tool of the ideal-type to a comparative mythology of salvation to formulate a number of interlinked typologies that furnish some important theses about *salvation* in the different religions.

The resultant Weberian theory of salvation, his metanarrative, hinges on a number of distinctions that have become standard in the sociology of religion. It exploits important distinctions between religions that understand salvation in terms requiring or positing the necessary agency of supernatural beings (such as the so-called Abrahamic religions), and those that do not (such as early Buddhism); between ways to salvation based on the satisfaction of "ethical demands" and others based on "pure faith"; between a salvation premised on a "world-renouncing asceticism" *(weltablehnende Askese)* and one resulting from "this-worldly asceticism" *(innerweltliche Askese);* between "contemplative" and "active" religious methods; and so on. These divisions are then further complicated, as when Weber distinguishes between schemas that involve a "salvation from. . ." and those that embody a "salvation [attained] for. . ."—examples of the former being "liberation from the machinery of Satan" or "liberation from the wheels of *kharma* causality," and examples of the latter being "salvation [attained] for the eternal rest that is *nirvana* " or "salvation [attained] for the bliss that is heaven."

As was the case with Mircea Eliade, critics soon made the point that these Weberian formulations are not as innocently "ideal-typical" as Weber himself took them to be. Thus, his important demarcation between "pure faith" and "ethical demands" (or "works") is palpably influenced by a post-Reformation version of Christianity. This being so, the application of these schemas to the soteriological systems of non-Christian religions will probably traduce or distort the latter—Weber, for instance, saw no problems with the distinctions he made between "the divine," "the human," and "the world," and in this respect he resembles Eliade. For all these weaknesses, Weber's sociology of salvation is the first notable attempt to systematize the affirmations made by the various religious traditions about the means by which salvation is attained, the states associated with its attainment, and the powers and figures deemed to be responsible for this attainment. He was a pioneer when it came to systematizing, at the level of a wide generality, the various dispositions toward "the world" that underlie the different religions. This is an essential undertaking for any theorist of liberation. Especially important here is Weber's assertion that the fundamental motivation behind the various conceptions of liberation is the pressing need to find a solution to the "problem" of the world, since the desire of the seeker of liberation pivots on the quest for a resolution of the predicaments posed by a basic recalcitrance of the world. Liberation is thus glossed as liberation *from* some unsatisfactory state of the world, and this principle becomes an axiom for the theory or higher-order narrative of salvation.

Liberation, therefore, is inextricably bound-up with the lineaments of a certain structure of desire—namely, the desire to surmount, bypass, or mitigate a fundamentally unsatisfactory state of being, whether it happens to be individual or collective or both. Liberation can then be glossed as a concept intrinsically linked to that desire (and this includes the desire for the ending of *all* desire). For this reason, liberation as a concept has to be understood by delineating the structures and functions of this elemental desire, its nomenclatures, its conditions, its consequences, its practical ramifications for those who are followers and believers. The constitution of the world as a place where meaning and value are to be discovered and interpreted can only be approached theoretically through an analysis of this primordial desire. As a result of this axiomatic principle, an ethics of liberation has to depend on the human powers that subtend this desire (though it is of course possible for the devout to locate the source of this desire in some supernatural figure or power); and reflection on liberation will, in turn, rest on an ontology that elucidates the various conceptual amplifications of this primal desire. It will take this ethics to be the outcome of a disciplined reflection focused on this prior and enabling knowledge of desire. This ontology of human constitutive power will specify what it is that the configurations of desire that happen to go by the name of the "human" can accomplish, what their repulsions and attractions are capable of, and this will include those impulses that gesture towards what is seemingly beyond the compass of all that is currently taken to constitute "the human." The great philosophical projects—and here Aristotle's *Metaphysics,* Barukh Spinoza's *Ethics,* G. W. F. Hegel's *Phenomenology,* Alfred North Whitehead's *Process and Reality,* Martin Heidegger's *Being and Time,* and Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's *A Thousand Plateaus* come to mind as exemplary instances—undertake this ontological task that is a necessary first step in developing the ethics of liberation.

The problematic of the relation between transcendence and the doctrines of *immanence*—which picture consciousness either as existing solely within the self or as being part of a universal whole—is thus central to reflection on the project of liberation, a project that may or may not go by the name of "religion" or be associated with religion's appurtenances. For religions in their very nature provide for their adherents the figuration of an ontology of the kind mentioned above. Religious traditions with a soteriological dimension, it is easy to see, purport not only to provide a path towards liberation, but also seek to account for the origin or ground of this very desire to find such a path. Soteriologies are thus mechanisms for producing truth or "true ways" for those who adhere to them. Axiomatic for these mechanisms is the notion that to be liberated is to have found the true way, whether this finding is attributed to an external agent or is depicted as the individual achievement of the religious person. Can a religion really do without a basis in some kind of transcendence, can it be wholly and unreservedly immanent, and can an uncompromising immanence form the core of a project of liberation? These are the crucial questions for an ethics of liberation. Necessary here is a distinction between the transcendent (that which transcends all subjects and objects) and the transcendental field (which is a nontranscendent that accounts for the possibility of immanence itself). Liberation's ontological script could be one that occupies a transcendental field without making any appeal to a transcendent being or power. This would be the perspective of a Spinoza, Heidegger, or Deleuze. We cannot be sure that such an ontological script would be compatible with the religions of the Abrahamic traditions for instance, since these seem irreducibly to be wedded to an ontology of the transcendent. But the possibility of these religions being able to incorporate an ontology of unqualified immanence is one that cannot be ruled-out *tout court.* Or it may be that we cannot, after all, obviate the transcendent, despite what Spinoza, Heidegger, Deleuze, and others have argued for, in which case the ontological preeminence of the religious transcendent is guaranteed. If this were the case, then it and only it can be the foundation of liberation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

It is virtually impossible in a brief bibliography to do full justice to the range of fields that have to be covered in an adequate treatment of the concept of liberation: the history of religions, comparative religion, hermeneutics, the history of ideas, cultural anthropology, philosophy, theology and other doctrinal studies, psychology, sociology, and political theory. The following have been useful in producing this entry, which of course represents a primarily philosophical and hermeneutical approach to the concept of liberation that needs to be complemented by studies in other intellectual fields.

Numerous works convey the hermeneutical difficulties in matching later or contemporary interpretations to earlier practices and doctrines. Robert Sharf's "Buddhist Modernism and the Rhetoric of Meditative Experience," *Numen* 42 (1995): 228–283, has been used here, but a dozen other works can easily be cited. For an understanding of religion that accords broadly with this hermeneutical approach, see Jonathan Z. Smith's *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago, 1987). Max Weber's general theory of salvation is to be found in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie* (Tübingen, Germany, 1922), translated by Ephraim Fischoff as *The Sociology of Religion* (Boston, 1963). A fuller version of the position developed here is to be found in Kenneth Surin's "Liberation," in *Critical Terms for Religious Studies,* edited by Mark C. Taylor, pp. 173–185 (Chicago, 1998).

KENNETH SURIN (2005)

LIBERATION THEOLOGY.

Liberation theology is defined as critical reflection on the historical praxis of liberation in a concrete situation of oppression and discrimination. It is not a reflection on the theme of liberation but "a new manner" of doing theology. The perspective of the poor and the commitment of Christians to the transformation of the world are the privileged places of the theological task. This theology should be considered as a theological and pastoral movement and not as theoretical expositions by important personages.

The stages of development of liberation theology are: preparation (1962–1968), formulation (1968–1975), systemization (1976–1989), and diversification of specific perspectives (since 1990).

THE STAGE OF PREPARATION (1962–1968). The first reflections in the direction of liberation theology have their origins in the 1960s. This was a period characterized by a structural crisis (economic, political, and ideological) of the systems of domination, the proliferation of popular liberation movements, and the appearance of military dictatorships. Critical reflections from the Christian faith emerged as an answer to the challenges that were presented not only by the liberation movements but above all by Christians who became involved in those movements.

Although elements were taken from new German political theology (Johann Metz, Jürgen Moltmann, Dorothee Solle), the theological themes coming from the European academy were considered insufficient to accompany the faith of Christians in a time of an "awakening of consciousness" of belonging to a dependent and oppressed continent that needed to free itself. This "awakening of consciousness" appeared in different parts of Latin America and from different rationales. Among those, Frantz Fannon wrote against colonialism in *The Wretched of the Earth.* Paulo Freire of Brazil spoke out in *Education as the Practice of Freedom* (1967) and *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970). Many writers expressed themselves through literature, for example, Gabriel García Márquez with his novel *One Hundred Years of Solitude* (1967). Philosophy spoke of the social movements on the continent; economics produced the theory of dependence in confrontation with the theory of development (André Gunder, Theotónio Dos Santos, Celso Furtado, and others). In fact, the history of this continent was read from Eduardo Galeano's *The Open Veins of Latin America* (1973). The awakening of Christians to the challenges of the liberation movements and their active participation in those movements led theologians to elaborate a theology that took seriously the reality of poverty and exploitation and to take up the clamor of the poor. The climate of the church in the Catholic world was opportune. The Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) had begun a great opening with its concern and reflections on Christianity confronted by the modern world, and the Medellín Conference of Latin American Bishops contextualized its significance for the "oppressed and believing" Latin American continent. Within the Protestant tradition there were also groups (ISAL; Iglesia y Sociedad en América Latina, or Church and Society in Latin America) and theologians (Rubén Alves, Richard Shaull, and José Migues Bonino) who bore witness on the basis of Christian faith in the face of a reality that needed liberation.

THE FORMULATION (1968–1975). Gustavo Gutiérrez, a Catholic Peruvian theologian, is the principal figure in the formulation of liberation theology. His classic book *A Theology of Liberation* (1972) appears as an amplified and deepened version of previous expositions. Among other important persons who contributed to the debate of this reformulation were, among Catholics, Hugo Assmann, Leonardo Boff, Juan Luis Segundo, Enrique Dussel, and later Clodovis Boff; among Protestants, Rubén Alves, José Migues Bonino, and Julio de Santa Ana.

In this stage, theology is defined as a critical reflection on historical practice in the light of faith. The poor, as in "exploited classes, marginalized races, depreciated cultures" (Gutiérrez), is the privileged place of the theological task. It becomes clear that liberation theology is more than a theology with a single theme, or one of fixed contents. It is a manner of doing theology. Interested in the relation of theory and practice, the major contribution of liberation theology is precisely its method, considered as "an epistemological rupture" with traditional theology in which ideas are applied to practice. Its newness, thanks to the method, is in the application of the social sciences as instruments that help it analyze the reality out of which the theological reflection comes. Theology, insists Gutiérrez, is a second act. It is the rationality or intelligence of faith that emerges from the praxis of transformation and the encounter with God in history: praxis and contemplation are the first act.

THE SYSTEMIZATION (1975–1989). This is a productive period in writings as well as in the growing eruption of Christian base communities. Theologians during this period took great care to spell out the method and to re-create Christology and ecclesiology.

As for the method in the process of the theological task, there are three mediations. The socioanalytic mediation analyzes the reality where theology is done. Here the social sciences are used as tools to reflect theologically on the analyzed reality. The hermeneutical mediation interprets the Bible and tradition to reflect theologically on the analyzed reality. The praxiological or pastoral practice seeks to make visible the commitment to justice in favor of the poor. This method is common in the Christian base communities; it is expressed in a simple way with the terms: "see, judge, and act." Later the term "celebrate" was added in the sense that within the communities, in the process of a contextual rereading of the Bible, God's solidarity is celebrated as read in the Scriptures and in life.

The utilization of some Marxist elements as instruments for the analysis of reality generated controversy with the Vatican and certain Protestant sectors. The Sacred Congregation for Doctrine and Faith published *Instruction on Various Points of Liberation Theology* (1984), questioning this aspect because of the risk of ideologizing faith. If indeed liberation theology has adopted some elements of Marxism for class analysis and social change, it has rejected its atheism.

The Christology of liberation theology is characterized by the insistence on following Jesus (Jon Sobrino), who preached not himself but the reign of God. The following of Jesus underlines the practical character of the demands of a liberating Jesus Christ, whose "passion is also the passion of the world," in the words of Leonardo Boff (1987), which suffers injustices. In the Christology of liberation, historic liberations also form a part of the eschatological promise of salvation in Christ, although it is not identified with salvation in Christ. Because of certain critiques, theologians are careful to make clear that the reign of God is not limited to human history. From the beginning Gutiérrez affirmed that the reign of God "is realized in liberating historical acts, but denounces their limitations and ambiguities. It announces complete fulfillment and moves toward total communion." Because of the "radicality of the salvific gift, nothing escapes it, nothing is outside the action of Christ and the gift of the Spirit" (1973, p. 240).

The ecclesiology of liberation has as its point of reference the experience of a new way of being a church in the Christian base communities. It is a church that understands itself and emerges from the poor. For that reason it has been called the church of the poor or church that is born from the people. This ecclesiology is critical of a form of church that gives privilege to power concentrated in hierarchy instead of privileging charisma. According to Brazilian theologian Leonardo Boff (1981), charisma is the spiritual force that maintains the life of institutions and is more fundamental for the church than institutional element. Neither the hierarchy nor the institution constitutes what is fundamental in charisma, though they are not excluded (p. 254). This theme caused certain difficulties with the official Catholic Church. In 1984 Boff was called on by Cardinal Ratzinger, head of the Catholic Church's Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, to clarify some aspects of his book, published in English as *Church: Charism and Power* in 1985. Boff was silenced; the punishment was suspended a year later.

The term *iglesia popular* (church of the poor) was refuted in the document of the Episcopal Conference held in Puebla (1979) because of the danger of seeing it as a parallel church to the official church. In the 1980s a shift began within theology: reflection based on the deepening of the dialectical relation between faith-politics and life-economy. According to Enrique Dussel, it is not the Christian demand to opt for the poor and to commit oneself in the process of liberation, but rather "the hunger of the majorities is the imperative to modify unjust systems of production. It is the relationship bread-production and from there the centrality of the Eucharist as bread of life through justice" (1995, p. 152). *La idolatría del mercado* by Hugo Assmann (1989) and Franz Hinkelammert; Hinkelammert's *A idolatría do mercado* (1989); and the Costa Rican Ecumenical Department of Research's *La Lucha de los dioses* (1979) are reflections from the economy that mark Latin American theological thought. Within the movement of the theology of liberation there are different emphases; some give more importance to political action, others to church ministries, and others to liberating spirituality.

THE DIVERSIFICATION OF SPECIFIC PERSPECTIVES (FROM 1989). New contributions followed in the 1990s. Among those that stand out are reflections on the significance of evangelization in light of the five-hundred-year commemoration of the Spanish and Portuguese conquest; human beings as subjects (agents); law and grace; and more contributions to Christology. But what was new at this time were two facts: the participation of new subjects in the theological reflection and the biblical movement.

Women, blacks, and indigenous peoples have always participated in the movement of liberation theology. Since the 1980s women and black theologians have declared themselves as specific subjects in writings and at congresses. Nevertheless, since the 1990s, the recomposition of the world and the strengthening of the struggles for the emancipation of women, indigenous peoples, and blacks have multiplied and given much more strength to these particular perspectives of liberation theology. New challenges appeared. Liberation theology had included the aspirations of these sectors in its preferential option for the poor. In fact, Gustavo Gutiérrez frequently made clear that the word *poor* was a broad term that included the races and ethnic groups depreciated by racism and women who are doubly exploited for being poor and being women. But that was not sufficient for these groups. On becoming agents of theological production and assuming the method of liberation theology, they prefer to speak of the "option for those excluded" because it is a more ample category than the "option for the poor." These groups are introducing new themes that challenge the discourse of liberation theology: racism, the spirituality of the non-Christian African and indigenous ancestors, and a nonpatriarchal ecclesiology and epistemology. These perspectives seek to transcend the limited use of economics and sociology in analytic mediation and introduce new tools that take into account sexism, racism, and culture. Liberation theology has also in this decade confronted problems that had not been dealt with deeply, such as ecology, culture, and interreligious dialogue. These themes are now being taken up from the liberation perspective by some theologians. Nevertheless, because of the Latin American context and the presence of men and women theologians in church institutions, theological reflection from the perspective of those discriminated against because of their sexual orientation and reflections on reproductive rights, especially for women, are still pending. Recently there have appeared timid initiatives produced by the new generation.

The most developed current of the new theologies is feminist theology. An analysis of the origins and development of this theology appears in Pilar Aquino's book, *Clamor por la vida. Teologia latinoamericana desde la perspectiva de la mujer* (1992; in English, *Our Cry for Life: Feminist Theology from Latin America,* 1993). One of the pioneers and representative theologians is the Brazilian nun Ivone Gebara. In recent years three currents can be distinguished: feminist theology of liberation, ecofeminist theology, and black feminist theology of liberation.

Another innovating fact in liberation theology is the Bible movement that extends over the whole continent. In communities, workshops, and courses the Bible is being reread from the perspective of the excluded—the poor, blacks, indigenous peoples, and women. This reading, which employs a liberating hermeneutic, is called a popular (communitarian or pastoral) reading of the Bible. Among its founders are Carlos Mesters and Milton Schwantes. *The Journal of Latin American Biblical Interpretation* (RIBLA), founded in 1989, constitutes a permanent contribution to biblical hermeneutics of liberation. This movement is distinguished by a solid group of women biblical scholars.

In this time of theological formulation there were two convergences with other theologies of liberation that were born simultaneously: German political theology and black theology within the United States. History registers dialogue and tensions between these theologies: in Geneva in 1973 with European theology and in Detroit in 1975 with black theology and feminist theology. The convergence with European political theology is in the analysis of the relation of faith-world, but they differ in their theological discourse given the great difference of the interlocutors. While European political theology reflects faith from an atheist, secularized, adult world, liberation theology is challenged to reflect from the nonperson and the scandal of poverty. The convergence with black theology is the search for liberation in a context of oppression, but black theology permanently critiques the theology of liberation for not taking seriously the problem of racism in Latin American society.

Apparently the theology of liberation that was launched originally as a theology with a universal vocation became a theology of the Third World after the foundation of the Association of Third World Theologians in Dar es Salaam in 1976. During these last years it has been conceived more as a contextual theology of Latin America. Liberation theology and Latin American theology have become synonymous.

BLACK LIBERATION THEOLOGY. Black liberation theology was born among African American clergy and theologians in the United States out of the experience of humiliation and suffering of blacks in the historical and contemporary system of racism. Its task is to analyze that condition of oppression in the light of the revelation of Jesus Christ with the goal of creating a praxis of liberation from white domination and a new understanding of black dignity among black people (James Cone). The praxis of liberation in a racist system and the affirmation of blackness are the privileged place of their theological task. To affirm God's solidarity with the oppressed, black theology refers to God and Christ as black.

The black slaves brought from Africa to the United States appropriated the Bible and read it in a liberation key, in spite of the fact that their white masters used the Bible as a tool of oppression. The book of *Exodus* was a source of inspiration for their own liberation. Before the beginnings of the formulation of black theology, a black community had already been founded by independent black churches, both Baptist and Methodist, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This explains why the clergy had permanent participation in the declarations, their position in the face of racism, and their place in the movements of black liberation. Also antecedent to black theology was the development of liberation thought among activists against slavery (Nat Turner, 1800–1831); against racial segregation (Marcus Garvey, 1887–1940), considered by many of his people "the apostle of black theology"; in the struggle for human rights (Martin Luther King Jr., 1929–1968); and in the Black Power movement (the Muslim Malcolm X, 1930–1965).

Black liberation theology was born within the heat of political and racial tumults of the 1960s and 1970s. It searched for a Christian answer to the black political movement. The first work of black theology as a formal discipline came out in 1969 with the title *Black Theology and Black Power,* written by the most important figure in the formulation of black theology, James Cone. A year later, Cone published his well-known work *Black Theology of Liberation,* in which he presents the contents of that theology. The fundamental question behind this work is, "What does the gospel of Jesus Christ have to do with the struggle of blacks for freedom in a society that denies African Americans as human beings?"

There are two important theological affirmations that distinguish black liberation theology: (1) The knowledge of God that reveals God's self as liberator. The God of Exodus, the prophets, and Jesus can only be known in the liberation struggles of the oppressed. (2) The blackness of God and of Christ as a theological symbol that looks to articulate the concrete presence of Jesus Christ in the history, culture, and experience of African Americans. Blacks are oppressed in the United States; therefore, God is on the side of the oppressed blacks and takes on the condition of the black. God is black, Christ is black; the blackness of God and Christ means that God and Christ have made the condition of the oppressed their own condition. For Cone, there is a distinction of colors. To say there is no difference means that God makes no differences between justice and injustice, between reason and irrationality, between good and evil. God is in solidarity with the blacks. As for Christology, Cone refers to Jesus as the *Oppressed par excellence* and the *Liberator par excellence.* The black Christ is the norm, the hermeneutical principle that integrates black theology, that is to say, the black experience, black history and black culture. This black experience, history, and culture are illuminated by the biblical testimony, but above all by the norm, that is, the black Christ. For Cone, sin is all that denies the liberating dimension of God revealed in Jesus Christ. Salvation, therefore, is not reduced to a future without transforming the situation of this world. The liberation of African Americans involves empowerment and the right of self-definition and self-affirmation, in addition to the transformation of social, political, economic, and religious oppression.

The debate between black theologians has been fruitful. The historians Gayraud Wilmore (1972) and Cecil Cone (1975) propose religious experience as the point of departure for black theology and not the political struggle or black power. Deotis Roberts (1974) represents a more moderate line by proposing the need for a liberating reconciliation in black-white relations. Cornel West (1979) underlines the importance of the dialogue with Marxism.

The new generation is working from three perspectives: womanist theology (Jacquelyn Grant, Katie Cannon, Delores Williams, Emilie Towns), who do theology from the experience of black women within a racist and patriarchal system; biblical hermeneutics, which questions Eurocentric scholarship and begins to discover the African presence within the Bible as well as the racial problems that the Bible itself presents. Another important perspective appears in the 1991 collective work directed by Cain H. Felder, *Stony the Road We Trod: African American Biblical Interpretation*, and the religion of the black slaves (Dwight Hopkins, George Cumming) that gathers the religious experience of the black slaves through stories, meditations, sermons, petitions and songs.

Of these three perspectives, the most developed is womanist theology. Since the 1980s black women have protested their invisibility in black theology and in white feminist theology. They feel that these theologies do not take into account the experiences of black women, who have to endure both racism and sexism in a context of poverty. The term "womanist" is from Alice Walker's work *In Search of Our Mother's Garden* (1982). It comes from the black folk expression "You acting womanish," meaning outrageous, audacious, courageous, and willful. Womanist theology takes into account the daily situation of survival as well as the structures that affect the lives of women.

***MINJUNG* THEOLOGY.** *Minjung* theology is a Korean liberation theology. It emerged in the 1970s as a Christian response to the struggle of the *minjung,* meaning "the people." This term comes from the combination of two Chinese characters. *Min* signifies people and *jung* means mass. *Minjung* theology is the theology of people who are oppressed politically and economically. It is a political hermeneutic of the gospel and a political approach to the experiences of the Korean people. For this theology Jesus was a *minjung,* was in solidarity with the *minjung,* and his life was an example of liberation. Among its most important contributions is the use of the term *han* (accumulated anger, just indignation), introduced by Suh Nam Dong. The term is taken from a poem "The Story of Sound" (1972) by the poet Kim Nam Ha. The poem expresses the pain of a poor prisoner. This is better understood in the following words of the poet Kim: "This little peninsula is filled with the clamor of aggrieved ghosts. It is filled with the mourning noise of the *han* of those who died from foreign invasions, wars, tyranny, rebellion, malignant disease and starvation. I want my poems to be the womb or bearer of these sounds, to be the transmitter of the *han* and to communicate a sharp awareness of our historical tragedy" (*Minjung Theology,* p. 26). For *minjung* theologians the term *han* refers to the sentiments of interiorized injustice of the oppressed; one of the tasks of *minjung* theology is to help people to recognize these feelings. The most important figures of this theology besides Suh Nam Dong are David Kwang Sun Suh, Ahn Byung Mu, Kim Yong Bock, and HyunYoung Hak. Within this current has emerged the feminist Korean Chung Hyun Kyung.

After the founding of Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians, in which theologians from Latin America, Africa, and Asia and blacks from the United States began their dialogue, theologies of liberation multiplied. These theologies were not imports of the Latin American or black theologies but critical theological reflections that arose from their own particular contexts. What unites the theologies of liberation is the objective of the theological task: "liberation." All the theologies of liberation are ecumenical.

In Africa there are four strong currents: South African black theology, inspired by black theology from the United States and the struggle against racism; African (Christian) inculturation theology, which has culture as its point of reference; African liberation theology, which underlines socioeconomic and political analysis along with religious and ecclesial analysis; and African women's theology, with it theological focus against androcentrism and patriarchalism present in church structures and in African traditions.

In Asia, along with *minjung* theology, the Filipino theology of struggle and other contextual theologies of liberation stand out. The theology of struggle of the Philippines is seen in its struggle of resistance. Asian theologies of liberation differ from the rest of the liberation theologies because of their predominant context of religious plurality. Christians are a minority among large non-Christian religions. In order for a theology of liberation to have an impact in this context, Christians are challenged to dialogue with the other religions and to reconsider valuable elements of Hinduism, Buddhism, or Shamanism that promote liberation and an enrichment of Christian theology. Among other theologies coming out of Asia are Indian *dalit* theology, which struggles against the caste system, and Burakumin liberation theology, which focuses on persons marginalized by ritual impurity systems. In Asia, as in the theologies of Africa, Latin America, and minorities in the United States, women theologians have a strong voice. Their publications appear in the well-known theological journal *In God's Image* founded by Asian women theologians.

Among the minorities of the United States new theologies have emerged: Latino theology reflects their racial mixture, culture, and popular religion. It does theology in the symbolic framework of "being" on the border. Within this theology women's voices have created the *mujerista* theology. Native American theology does theology out of their experience without forgetting their presence in America before the arrival of Christians and Christian American colonialism. This theology rescues ancestral spiritual values. Asian-American theologies present the particularities of the Japanese-, Chinese-, and Korean-American experiences.

These theologies of liberation recognize that a good number of Christians in their own countries do not share their point of view because of, above all, the political commitment inherent in liberation. Nevertheless, new contextual theologies of liberation continue to proliferate as this new way of doing theology, in which subjects take their concrete reality as the point of departure to speak of God, has spread throughout the world.

SEE ALSO Feminist Theology; Political Theology.

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ELSA TAMEZ (2005)

LIELE, GEORGE (1752–1825) was the first black Baptist in Georgia and perhaps the founder of the first black church in North America. He was also the first black missionary from the United States to Jamaica, West Indies, and the founder of the first black congregation there.

George Liele was born a slave in Virginia and manumitted by his owner just prior to the War of Independence.

Liele's owner, Henry Sharp, was a Baptist deacon. Liele was converted to Christianity by Matthew Moore, a white minister, while on a trip with Sharp to Burke County, Georgia. Liele quickly expressed a desire to preach and was encouraged by Sharp to do so. After Liele was licensed, around 1773, he began preaching to the local black population at Silver Bluff, South Carolina. David George (1742–1810) was one of Liele's early converts and became an exhorter at the Silver Bluff congregation. The Silver Bluff congregation may have been the first black congregation to be organized in North America. The date of its founding has been variously given between 1773 and 1775. The date on the church's cornerstone is 1750, which identifies its founding as earlier than that of the black Baptist church organized on the William Byrd plantation in Mecklenburg, Virginia in 1758.

After Sharp died in battle in 1778, his relatives tried to re-enslave Liele but were prevented from doing so by the British troops who had occupied Savannah, Georgia, where Liele was then residing. He continued to preach in Savannah to a congregation of slave as well as free black Baptists. In 1782 Liele baptized one of his gifted converts, Andrew Bryan (1737–1812). This was the same year he departed Savannah with the British for Jamaica. In 1788 Bryan was officially ordained and the church was certified. The church was reorganized as the First Baptist Church of Savannah in 1800.

When Liele accompanied the British troops when they left Savannah in 1782 and relocated to Jamaica, it was as an indentured servant to Colonel Kirkland. In 1783 Kirkland transferred Liele's indenture to the governor of Jamaica, General Campbell. By 1784 Liele had worked off his indenture, and he thus had nothing to encumber the exercise of his preaching gifts except the objections of some Anglican clergymen. His congregation in Kingston soon boasted 350 members, mostly former slaves. The construction of their first sanctuary was completed in 1793. Liele was incarcerated in 1801 on the charge of preaching sedition, but he was released for lack of evidence. He was jailed a second time because the payments on the church building had fallen into arrears. Liele's ministry continued in spite of these hardships, and in spite of the fact that a law was passed on the island in 1805 that made preaching to slaves illegal. Liele referred to his members as "Ethiopian Baptist" and the importance of such a term and what "Ethiopianism" later signified for the Garvey and Rastafarian movements in the twentieth century has led some scholars to view him as their intellectual father.

SEE ALSO African American Religions, overview article and article on History of Study; Baptist Churches.

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LIFE. Across the centuries and the continents, human beings have revealed, through myths, rituals, religious and cultural institutions, social histories, and various other modes of symbolic expression, a central and overriding preoccupation with the creation and prolongation of life. Most of the human cultures known to us today have one or more terms to designate life, being, existence, or other cognate concepts, which have occupied a core position in the intellectual life of each tradition. The Chinese language, for instance, which does not possess an exact equivalent of the term *life*, does contain a number of other words to describe the seat of life or basis of the life process (such as *yu,* "being," and its counterpart, *wu*, "nonbeing"). So, too, Hebrew has *nefesh/ruah*, Greek *psyche/pneuma*, Latin *spiritus*, Sanskrit *ātman / jīva / prāṇa / puruṣa*, Arabic *ʿumrʿishah*, and Nuer *yiegh*.

The identity of the human faculty or function that is regarded as an undeniable indication of the presence of life in an animated organism varies from one culture to another. By and large, however, the seal of life has been identified with the tangible signs of the presence of breath, with consciousness or mental functioning, and with physical movement or—in the modern scientific fields of physiology and neurology—pulsebeat and measurable brain-wave activity.

In many cultures, it is perhaps breath, more than any other single human function, that has been designated as the most dependable sign of life. This designation is confirmed by the fact that in many languages, both ancient and modern, the words for "life" and "breath" are one and the same. A particularly intriguing illustration of this phenomenon appears in one of the most ancient Hindu texts, the *Brhadaranyaka* Upaniṣad (composed around the sixth century BCE), where a debate as to which of the human faculties is indispensable to the maintenance of life is resolved in favor of breath (*prāṇa*).

Many religious traditions have attributed the existence of the world and its entire population of living inhabitants to the creative act of a god or gods at the beginning of time. According to various cosmologies, from both oral and written traditions, the divine creator fashioned the universe as we know it either out of nothing or from some type of preexistent *materia prima* (such as water, earth, fire, mind, or substances like tears or semen, emitted by the creator). Such traditions believe that the cosmos is therefore suffused with and supported by the sacred energies of the creator deity, and human life is linked physically and spiritually with the life of the cosmos as a whole. That is, the human realm is established within and directed by a cosmic, celestial, or divine dimension of reality, of either a personal or a transpersonal nature. As a consequence, human existence is believed to possess, both a human and a divine, a temporal and an atemporal dimension, with the latter being both logically and metaphysically prior to the former.

In addition, many religions and philosophies make a qualitative distinction between two contrasting and mutually exclusive modes or styles of life. The two categories of existence have been characterized variously as profane and sacred, impure and pure, fallen and redeemed, ignorant and enlightened, bound and liberated, alienated and authentic. In cultures having experienced colonization by Western countries, such a dichotomy can also take on the more politicized valence of indigenous/Western imperialist styles of life; or pre-colonial and postcolonial ways of being.

The first category pertains to life in a state of separation from or in opposition to the will of a god or gods in theistic systems or in opposition to the natural law or the principle of ultimate reality within non-theistic systems (such as *dharma* in Hinduism and Buddhism, *moira* or *logos* in ancient Greece, and *dao* in China and Japan). Life in this state is depicted as a realm of sin and ignorance, suffering and misery, and death (linked, in certain cases, with rebirth).

Achievement of the second, more salutary state of existence (conceived as one of wholeness, physical and spiritual integration, redemption, or liberation), is realized by living in compliance with the cosmic law or the will of God. For many cultures, human existence is viewed as real and meaningful only insofar as it is experienced as organically rooted in a divine realm of existence. This divine realm is conceived to be a celestial abode of God or the gods or the shadowy domain of the cultural ancestors. It is the function of the network of myths and symbols, cultic rituals, and cultural customs to preserve and strengthen the connection between the human and divine realms and, thereby, to guarantee to human beings the sense of reality and value that makes life not only bearable but fulfilling.

Clearly it is impossible to cover all the beliefs about life held by all the peoples of the world. The present article will merely select one or two salient examples from a few geographical or religious traditions, in hope that readers will be inspired to find out more on their own. Due to space limitations, moreover, coverage of the religious traditions themselves will focus only on their formative and classical periods.

AUSTRALIA. The indigenous inhabitants of Arnhem Land in Australia believe that the world existed from the beginning; only human beings were lacking. Human life originated with the peregrinations of a primal ancestor and his two sisters. They wandered about the landscape, paused from time to time, engaged in sexual intercourse, and thereby produced human offspring and various totemic emblems known as Dreamings (that is, the world as it now is). The peoples who inhabit this territory trace the origin of all entities that constitute the world in which they live back to a "Dreaming period." It was during this timeless, mythical epoch that the life-world as we know it was established. To explore a further example: in Murngin society of Northeastern Australia, the sacred well, or water hole, contains the essence of all life. The soul (warro) returns to this water hole to be renewed by contact with the ancestors—both those long dead, who are most pure, and those recently dead, who are still in contact with the living. Animals sacred to the Murngin are also part of this life-giving cycle of returning to the water to be purified and renewed.

NATIVE AMERICANS. Like the vast array of the Australian indigenous peoples, the equally vast array of Native American practices is united by a deep respect for the natural world. The power of life inheres in the powers of nature. Natural objects are imbued with sacred meaning, and in their ceremonial use they become supernaturally as well as naturally powerful. Native American groups tend not to make any distinction between ritual and theology, and therefore a successful life is something to be ritually enacted as well as imagined in a more abstract way. Many of these ceremonies include the insurance of a successful hunt, as well as contemporary hopes for life on the reservation. The Lakota, for instance, understand life to be comprised of seven rituals: The Sweat Lodge, The Vision Quest, Ghost Keeping, The Sun Dance, Making Relatives, Puberty Ceremony, and Throwing the Ball. One new ceremony, the Yuwipi, specifically incorporates the post-colonial life of the Lakota. The Apache believe that life endures through successful negotiation with the larger power that informs the universe, as well as with one's individual power, attained during visionary experiences—sometimes alone and sometimes with the mediation of a holy person. The number four is central to the performance of these rituals and considered a basis for wholeness and healing in life. So, too, the Navaho's understanding of a prosperous life involves harmonious relations with the Holy People. Their rituals, especially the complex practice of chanting called the Blessingway, remember the creation of their own life on earth: their Emergence from the Underworld, as well as their travails and challenges after the Emergence.

INDONESIA. According to the people of West Ceram in the Sulawesi Islands, human beings emerged from bananas that grew at the base of a sacred mountain. Living beings of all sorts, together with various foodstuffs and diverse sources of wealth, resulted from the sacrifice (literally, the "murder") of a coconut maiden, Hainuwele, and the implantation of the several parts of her body in the surrounding landscape. By this means, her bodily parts became sources of sustenance for all living creatures. But this primal murder was also the occasion for the advent of death. Hence, death is understood to be a necessary precondition for the creation and maintenance of life.

This kind of complementarity is also reflected in the beliefs other traditional Indonesian peoples, where sacred geography involves the upstream and downstream flow of rivers and other bodies of water, an upper world and a netherworld, inside and outside, and other opposites. For the Sumbanese, the major deity is a dual entity of Amawolo/Amarawi; for the Toraja, the marriage of heaven and earth gives rise to the universe. Such an idea of the life-giving balance between opposites has even influenced the religious traditions of peoples who later came and settled in Indonesia, such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam, and is shown in current cultural forms such as the *wayang*, or shadow theater.

AFRICA (SOUTH OF THE SAHARA). In the words of Richard Nyombi, for African peoples, "religion is literally life and life is religion." Doctrine and creed as such are less central to various African traditions than the force of sacred place and the power of sacred objects, especially as they are used in dance and art forms, as well as in festivals, ceremonies, and rituals. Each individual comes into being through social rites of passage, and gains, through these rites, the capacity to become an ancestor after his or her death. Each ritual preserves the web of relationships that give life and protects against those forces that would destroy it. J. S. Mbiti calls this African view of the world a "relational metaphysics": "I am because we are and because we are therefore I am" (Mbiti, 1990).

For example, according to the Nuer, a tribe of cattle keepers in the southern Egyptian Sudan, life is bestowed upon the universe and all its inhabitants by the cosmic spirit (Kwoth), invoked variously as "spirit of the sky," "grandfather of the universe," or "spirit who created the ancestors." This omnipresent spirit of the sky is credited with creating the world and its offspring and determining the course of its operations. From his lofty perch, he rewards and punishes human actions and upholds the moral order of the universe, by which all life is governed.

In addition, for the Nuer there are smaller and more localized spirits (*kuth*) of the sky, atmosphere, and earth, through whose mediating powers the life energies of Kwoth are transmitted to animals and human beings. Specifically, this transmission of power is effectuated by the killing and partaking of the flesh and blood of the ox, the totemic ancestor of the Nuer. Even as birth necessitates a temporary separation from the primordial spirit, death is the return of the individual soul to the great spirit and its near-complete isolation from the realm of the living. The deceased are transmuted into ghosts at the moment of death but retain the capacity to return to the living in dreams, visions, and various types of misfortune.

Kwoth is only one example of such an idea of a Supreme Being, and kuth only one example of the mediating deities who maintain life. The Supreme Being is known by several names in other African traditions (and there are arguments to this day as to whether there is one African tradition or many): To the Ibo, the Supreme being is Chukwu; to the Akan in Ghana he is Nyame, to the Yoruba he is Ọlọ́run, and in Central Africa he is Jok, to name a few. In most African traditions, he is a life-preserver who is a parent figure to the other gods, and charges them with maintaining cosmic processes; to the earth he is a husband standing behind her creative forces.

JUDAISM. In the Book of *Genesis*, the world is created by divine fiat. In accordance with most of the Hebrew tradition, biblical thought identifies the basis of human life as the blood (*Lv.* 17:14).

The writers of the various books in the Hebrew scriptures are in general agreement that the relative length of life is determined by human virtues and vices, as exemplified by the travails of the first man and woman, Adam and Eve, in the Garden of Eden. God is the lord of life and death by virtue of his sovereign rulership over the book of life.

In biblical thought, therefore, life reveals its presence through breath (*ruah*) and blood. Hence, God is the prototypical living being whose life is eternal, whereas the existence of all created beings and entities is fragile and perishable, "like the grass of the field" (*Ps.* 103:15, *Is.* 40:6). God's life is manifested through action and creativity. He is the creator and therefore the lord of life (*Jb.* 43:14f.). Hence, to live in rebellion against his will is equivalent to experiencing death in the midst of life (*Jb.* 3:11–26, *Jon.* 4:9). Such an existence will be filled, inwardly, with misfortune and misery, however favorable the external circumstances may be.

The realization that death is the fate of all living beings brings into question the ultimate value of life and its various aspects (*Eccl.* 1:1–11), but in the final analysis the judgment is rendered that those who live in submission to God's will can expect to enjoy a long and happy life and, in the end, be gathered to the fathers (*Gn.* 15:15, *Jb.* 42:17). All persons, therefore, face a choice between the way of life and the way of death (*Prv.* 5:6, 14:12).

In the biblical period, the life of Israel was believed to be maintained and revitalized through sacrifice. The community of Israel as a whole appropriates the divine power resident within the sacrificial oblation and shares in the sanctity created by the sacrifice. Likewise, by offering the sacrifice to God, the sacrificer also strengthens both God's nature and, through his revitalization, that of the world and its inhabitants. The covenant between God and Israel is expressed and strengthened though a system of sacrifice.

In rabbinic Judaism as it developed after the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE, prayer and study of the Torah replaced sacrifice as the form of service to God. Rabbinic Judaism, whose central tenets are expressed in the Mishnah and the Talmud, posits the parallel existence of the written Torah and the Oral Torah. (The Oral Torah was written down between the third and sixth centuries CE). These two written documents, as interpreted by the Sages, are the sources of *halakhah* (the "way" or "path"), often called Jewish law. Life should be lived by following this path, according to the prescriptions of *halakhah*, a term that includes religious rituals as well as rules that govern the conduct of everyday life.

CHRISTIANITY. The New Testament concept of life rests upon the distinction between mere existence, or natural life (*bios*, as the ancient Greeks used the term), and true or authentic life in Christ. In the first instance, human life is finite, fragile, and mortal. As in the Hebrew Bible, to be alive is to possess the capacity to perform one's intended function and act efficaciously (*Acts* 7:38) and to do so in a state of health (*Mk.* 5:23). While animal life is sustained by nourishment, human life is dependent upon the continued presence of the soul (*psyche*), or life breath (*pneuma*), which is a gift of God. Since God is the only being who possesses life inherently (*Jn.* 5:26) and, hence, alone lives eternally, it follows that all living creatures derive their existence from him. In recognition of the fact that life is a divine dispensation, the believer does not live for himself, nor primarily for his fellow creatures, but for his creator and redeemer (*Rv.* 14:7f., *Gal.* 2:19). He who lives for his own selfish pleasure will come, in the end, to sin and death (*2 Cor.* 5).

While the life of redemption is available in the present as a consequence of the establishment of the new regime of faith through Christ's resurrection as the second Adam (*1 Cor.* 15:20–22), its complete realization must await the end of time, when Christ is to deliver the kingdom of God and, thereby, put "all enemies under his feet." Since life in its truest and most efficacious form lies in the future, beyond the grave, then all present conduct is but a preparation for that eventuality. But, in the final analysis, this indestructible form of life is the result of divine grace (*Jn.* 3:16, *Rom.* 8:1–11), extended to those who repent past sins and accept the promise of salvation (*Lk.* 13:3, *Acts* 2:38, *Rom.* 2:4). The doctrine of the immortality of the soul is entirely foreign to the New Testament.

Building upon certain key concepts in the Hebrew Bible, the New Testament writers declare that authentic life is based not upon God's nature in general, but rather upon God's expression of his love and compassion for the sufferings of humanity and his readiness to forgive and redeem all those who seek his forgiveness through the life, death, and resurrection of his only son, Jesus, the Christ (*Jn.* 3:16, *1 Pt.* 1:18–19). According to Paul, the consummate realization of the benefits of the "life in Christ" will occur only after the Day of Resurrection. Hence, true life can be appropriated in the present time only in the form of hope (*Rom.* 5:1–11, *1 Cor.* 15). Whereas the letter of the law kills (i.e., destroys the freedom of life in the spirit), the spirit gives life (*2 Cor.* 3:6). Where the spirit is present there is life, eternal and indestructible (*2 Cor.* 3:17f.). This life is embodied in and offered through the preached word (*kerygma*), the "power of God for salvation to all those who have faith" (*Rom.* 1:16).

According to Augustine, the wide panorama of living beings is distinguished by the divine creator according to a hierarchical order of existence. At the lowest level are the merely nutritive life forms such as plants, devoid of sensibility or consciousness. Then come sentient forms of life, devoid of mind or soul, such as cattle, birds, and fishes. Third, there is the human being, the crown of God's created order by virtue of his possession of mind and will. Ultimately, transcendent to humans, whose life is conditioned by the vicissitudes of change and death, there is the eternal, unchanging, absolute existent, God, "who is wisdom itself."

Augustine, like other Christian writers who followed him, understood God to be living in a highly exceptional, and indeed, absolute sense. He possesses the capacity to give life to the multitude of creatures that inhabit the world. He is the boundless and inexhaustible reservoir of power from which all other living beings derive their existence. He is, in short, the alpha and omega, the source and final resting place for all living beings.

ISLAM. In the Qurʾān, God (Allāh) creates humans from a "blood clot." (*Sūrah* 96.2: "Read: 'In the name of the Lord who creates humanity from a clot.'") God controls and supervises all of life, and is frequently envisioned in a magisterial and yet caring and compassionate capacity. God determines the span and quality of human life in accordance with the behavior of each individual. Humans are also judged at two moments: first, at their own time of death, and second, "at the hour"—the day of judgment for all humanity.

The rules and standards by which the lives of Muslims will be judged are expressed in the *sharīʿah* ("path") or system of Islamic law. The sources of *sharīʿah* are the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth*—the tradition of the actions and utterances of the prophet Muḥammad (d. 632 CE), both as told by the Prophet himself and as included in narratives and regulations about him recorded after his death.

A life well-lived is best judged by the capacity to which men and women might engage in the service and worship of God. As expressed in the rules of *sharīʿah*, such service and worship are often organized as the Five Pillars of Islam. They are: the profession of the faith (*shahādah*); prayer five times a day (*ṣalāt*); fasting during the month of Ramaḍān (*ṣawm*); charity to the needy (*zakāt*); and pilgrimage to Mecca (*ḥājj*). Later Muslim tradition saw this ideal life as being contained in the early history of Islam. For example, the Life of Muḥammad by the Muslim philosopher Ibn Ishaq describes much of the setting for the establishment of these regular practices in Muḥammad's own example; thus, Muḥammad's life becomes the model life *par excellence*.

Many Muslim thinkers have argued that following this Five-Pillar structure is the most life-giving practice, infusing the world with a sense of God. The rich Ṣūfī mystical tradition frequently emphasized the recollection of the Name of God as a particularly enlivening custom, in which God's merciful light could be shown on the faces of those engaged in prayer. All of the nature of creaturely existence can be known only when one fully surrenders to God—thus the Arabic word *slm*, or surrender, from which we derive the words "Muslim" and "Islam," also implies knowledge of the nature of life itself.

The more orthodox Sunnī and Shīʿah traditions also taught that ritual prayer and ritual acts in general give one a deeper sense of this life and of the life to come. The great twelfth-century lawyer and theologian al-Ghazālī writes that, during the ritual preparation for prayer, each person should say, "Oh God, I am purposing to read Your Book and to have Your name many times on my lips; through the steadfast word make me steadfast in this life and the world to come." (*The Beginning of Guidance,* 8).

The value of human life is emphasized in the Qurʾanic dictum that "If anyone slew a person it would be as if he slew the whole of humankind, and if anyone saved a life it would be as if he saved the life of all of humankind." (Śūra 5.32) In addition, the Qurʾān often mentions the physical resurrection of the dead at the end of time. "Does man think that we cannot assemble his bones? Nay we are able to put together, in perfect order, the very tips of his fingers." (Śūra 75.1–2) Thus, the creation of life and resurrection are imaginatively linked.

HINDUISM. The Vedas (c. 1500–900 BCE), the earliest strata of Hindu texts, attribute the creation of the life-world to a variety of divine agents or cosmogonic entities, with no apparent compulsion toward consistency among the many theories of creation. The cosmos was believed to have originated from the primordial sacrifice of a cosmic superman (*puruṣa*) and the distribution of the parts of his body throughout the universe to form the sun, moon, stars, sky, earth, and so forth (*Ṛgveda* 10.90). Alternatively, the universe arose from the mysterious breathing, windlessly, of "That One" (*tad ekam*) within the realm where "there was neither existence nor nonexistence" (*Ṛgveda* 10.129), or it resulted from the fragmentation of a primordial "Golden Germ" (*hiranyagarbha*) floating upon the cosmic ocean (*Ṛgveda* 10.121). At least one sage expressed skepticism that the origins of the world can be known even to the highest deity (*Ṛgveda* 10.129.7).

The Brahmanas (c. 800 BCE), liturgical manuals employed by Brahmanic priests, attribute the creation of the universe and its multitudinous inhabitants to a god addressed as Prajāpati ("lord of creatures"). The later traditions recorded in the Hindu epics and Purāṇas explain the creation of the universe as the work of other deities, each regarded as supreme among a pantheon of other gods. Chief among these are Viṣṇu, Śiva, and Devī (the Goddess), each worshiped under many different names and in many different forms. The actual task of making the world, however, is still often assigned to the god Prajāpati, usually under his later name, Brahmā, now regarded as a minor god under the direction of one of the supreme gods.

In the Upaniṣads, the basis of Vedānta, the focus shifts from cosmology to spiritual psychology, from accounts of the origin and operations of the universe to the birth, death, and rebirth of the human soul (*ātman*). It is also here that the Hindu doctrines of *karma* and rebirth burst into full flower. From the Vedāntic perspective, creaturely existence (including that of the gods) is the direct result of action (*karma*) performed in past lives in a state of metaphysical ignorance (*avidya*). This ignorance, which pervades the existence of all creatures and is the cause of transmigration (*saṃsāra*), results from the confusion of the finite and evanescent self (*ātman*) with the absolute, unchanging self of the universe (also called *ātman*, but also *brahman*). This phenomenal self or human personality is composed of five sheaths or layers of faculties, which account for a person's conscious existence and which, if identified egoistically as the ultimate basis of reality, serve as the causal basis of rebirth (*saṃsāra*). The cyclical recurrence of rebirth can be terminated, and permanent liberation achieved, only after the person has come to a transformative knowledge (*prajñā*) of the quintessential identity of the human self (*ātman*) and the self of the universe (*ātman /brahman*).

The *Bhagavadgītā* attempts a synthesis of Vedic and Upaniṣadic conceptions of the world and creaturely existence. The G*ītā* embraces the view that the life of the cosmos and all its inhabitants is the result of the formative activities of God, who appears here in the form of Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa is both the womb of the universe and its final resting place (*Bhagavadgītā* 7.6). He is the primal spirit (*puruṣa*), the source of all beings (10.8), the seed of all creatures (7.10, 10.39), and the universal father who plants the seeds from which all living entities arise. The world, in turn, is God's body (11.7). All beings abide in him (9.6). Hence, all states of existence arise from God alone (10.5). Abiding within the hearts of all beings and by means of his celestial power of creation (*māyā*), he causes them to revolve (*saṃsāra*) around the circuit of rebirth as though they were mounted on a machine (18.61).

When the life process is viewed *sub specie aeternitatis,* God projects creatures into being, time after time, by means of his material nature (*prakṛti*) through the instrumentality of his magical power (*māyā*). He implants spirit (*puruṣa*) within the physical organism as the basis for the experience of pleasure and pain. The human being, in turn, appropriates the material nature of God by identifying with the three strands (*guna*s) of creaturely existence (passion, lethargy, and mental clarity), rather than with the *ātman*, which is the spiritual essence of the divine nature.

Human beings, then, are bound to the factors of material nature. Their emotional and appetitive attachment to these factors provokes them to perform egoistical actions (*karma*), which bind them to self-deluding ignorance and, thereby, to the round of death and rebirth. They are bound by their own past actions and also, paradoxically, by the will of God, who controls the ultimate course of events throughout the universe.

Once the embodied soul transcends the three strands that arise from physical existence, it is freed from bondage to death and rebirth and, in the end, it achieves immortality in God. Those persons who renounce the fruits of their actions and submit themselves completely to the divine will pass beyond the sphere of sorrow and death and arrive at the final termination of the cyclical life process to enjoy eternal bliss (*ānanda*) in perfect union with the godhead. This tradition, in which union with God through passionate commitment is the aim of life, is frequently referred to as *bhakti*, or devotion.

BUDDHISM. The Buddha himself declared that the search for answers to all metaphysical questions concerning life (Was the universe created by God or is it eternal? Is the source of birth and death traceable to a divine agent? Does the human soul survive the death of the body?) is detrimental to the human quest for lasting peace and contentment. The sole *raison d'être* of the whole of his life and teachings was the identification of the human cause of human misery and the means to its permanent eradication. In one sense, therefore, it could be said that the Buddha was one of the first proponents of a philosophy of life.

The Buddha declared that creaturely existence is characterized by three distinguishing marks or factors: impermanence (*anitya*, Pali *anicca*), suffering or unsatisfactoriness (*duḥkha / dukkha*), and no-selfhood (*an ātman / anattā*). With this teaching, the Buddha undercut, by a single stroke, the Hindu Vedāntic conviction that the life-world (*nama-rūpa*), with its myriad of arising and perishing creatures, is established upon a single, universal, eternal, and unchanging reality (*ātman-brahman*).

While the Buddha embraced the twin Hindu beliefs in *dharma/dhamma* (the universal law that governs the operations of the entire life-world) and *karma* (the principle that all past actions condition all current life situations), he radically redefined both concepts by rejecting the notion of an eternally enduring and unchanging soul or self. In place of the Vedāntic notion of soul, or *ātman*, he declared that the human personality is constituted of five aggregates (*skandhas*) or clusters of physical and psychological factors that form the core of human consciousness and behavior. The five groups of factors are:

1. The body (*rūpa*), or physical context of sentient existence.
2. The feelings (*vedana*), or physical and psychological sensibilities.
3. The perceptual group (*samjña*), from which arise the perceptions of physical objects.
4. The mental factors (*saṃskārās*), or tendencies of mind and will in combination.
5. The consciousness proper (*vijñāna*), the property of awareness in the fullest personal sense of the term and the factor that binds together the other elements to form a unified personality.

It is these five collections of psychosomatic factors, therefore, that constitute the functional apparatus of all human beings, the operations of which account for the birth, existence, death, and rebirth of each person. Nor are these factors to be thought of as real and permanent entities. They are physical and mental components of life that condition the multitude of situations under which a person exists within each moment of consciousness. Ultimately, viewed against the backdrop of the one, unchanging reality (called *nirvāṇa*, "cessation," or *śūnyatā*, "emptiness"), the aggregates or components of life are discovered to be an ever-fluctuating (hence, unreal) succession of psychosomatic events.

But the Buddha's teaching concerning the nature of creaturely existence becomes fully comprehensible only when interpreted within the context of the doctrine of causality or the universal law of karma. The Buddhist view of causation, succinctly stated, is as follows: "When this is present, that comes to be; from the arising of this, that arises; when this is absent, that does not come to be; on the cessation of this, that ceases" (*Samyutta Nikāya* 2.28).

The law of causation, which governs the coming to be and passing away of all forms of life, is depicted through the image of the wheel of life and death (*saṃsāra - maṇḍala*). The wheel is composed of two causally interlocking aspects or links in a chain of causes and effects. Each of the pairs of links in the chain is dependent, causally, upon the one or ones preceding it, and each, in turn, is a precondition for the link or links that follow it. In this way, the two aspects of existence form a closed circle.

Again, properly understood, the doctrine of causation (or dependent co-origination) is to be viewed not as a set of abstract metaphysical principles but as the theoretical basis of a therapeutic system by means of which the infirmities of sentient existence can be diagnosed and an antidote administered. By demonstrating that the miseries of existence (death followed by rebirth) arise out of a series of finite conditions governed by a state of ignorance (*avidya*), the teaching of causation defines the various points at which the succession of causally related symptoms can be broken and a cure achieved. Such a view of conquering ignorance proved to be compatible with other indigenous views of life where Buddhism traveled, such as the idea of *kami*, or life force in Japan, or the Bon practice of life-giving visualization in Tibet.

According to the teachings of Buddhism, therefore, the ultimate objective of human existence is to become conscious of and transcend all thoughtless desires, obliterate the causes of ignorance, suffering, and rebirth, and thereby to terminate the ever-recurrent cycle of death and rebirth in the bliss of *nirvāṇa.*

CONCLUSIONS. Human beings realize the aims of their existence through the medium of self-consciousness. Their possession of the faculty of self-consciousness enables them to exercise the capacity to transcend the sheer flux and flow of sensual experience and to reflect upon the nature of their existence, its origins, and the direction they wish it to take. Hence, they can imagine other ideal states of existence that are preferable to the one in which they find themselves at any given moment. They can, then, exercise their will in choosing among preferred states in hope of bringing those states closer to realization. For many people, mere physical survival is not an adequate legitimation of human life. They find human existence acceptable only when it can be experienced within the framework of a meaningful and purposeful order.

For many religious people, a meaningful life is predicated upon the confidence that the world and all the creatures who inhabit it are the handiwork of divine creative forces or beings, who also, in some cases, are believed to provide a cosmic milieu that is hospitable to the growth of plant, animal, and human species. Such people look to a transhuman order of being for the revelation of the basic structure of the universe and of the moral and spiritual laws that govern its various operations. For them, even the performance of such commonplace activities as eating and dying, working and sleeping, marriage and reproduction is patterned after celestial or transtemporal models. Other traditions have taught that life and death are inextricably interconnected aspects of a single reality and that all beings exist under the inexorable law of mortality. Most religious and cultural institutions that compose the fabric of the social life of a people (from temple or church to family and educational system, from fertility and puberty rites to funeral and ancestral ceremonies) have been established in response to the recognition that finitude and death are inescapable realities. Such religious communities sanction these and all other institutions in the belief that the *élan vital* that undergirds and nourishes all living beings can be augmented and either the event of death can be postponed or the remaining period of life can be enriched by means of these performative rites.

In addition, many religious traditions embrace social history, or their own version of such history, as a crucial element that gives meaning to life. For example, during the Passover Seder, Jews recite the life of the Israelites wandering in the desert as if they, too, were present. Historical reality becomes meaningful religious reality. Many Native American groups now tell their mythical histories in such a way that they end with recent social history, especially the ways in which colonial practices have stolen powers of life inherent in the earth and the world of nature.

Colonial and postcolonial realities, too, play a role in contemporary religious traditions' views of what is and is not life-giving. For some, the work of Christian missionaries has created a permanent shift in worldview in postcolonial times; previously colonized peoples must choose which god is more life-giving than another. The African thinker Bolagi Idowu writes of African converts "with two Gods in their hands," who are therefore "peoples of ambivalent spiritual lives." Ideas of life and human flourishing look very different in countries that have been colonized, where dominant/colonial and indigenous traditions have been engaged in ultimate struggles and negotiations for power, detente, or even simple coexistence. Christian traditions of resurrection may take on aspects of indigenous ideas about life-giving ancestors; so, too, indigenous practices may take on healing and life-giving powers of Christian saints. The practice of Santeria, in both America and the Caribbean, is one example of such a merging of traditions in the wake of the colonial and postcolonial effects of the slave trade. "Life" in these religious contexts must also be viewed politically and historically.

Many religious traditions also distinguish between an imperfect and ultimately unsatisfactory state in which human existence is set, and a more satisfying, long-lasting, and fulfilling state beyond the grave (variously referred to as Heaven, Paradise, the Pure Land, the Land of the Blessed, the state of enlightenment, or *nirvāṇa*), toward which human life, in response to its loftiest aspirations, is striving. Among the world's religions, certain traditions within Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, and Mahāyāna Buddhism teach that access to this loftier, purer, and more enduring postmortem existence comes in the form of a gift, or an act of grace on the part of God, or some other celestial bearer of salvation.

How can we define life in the religious context? The very act of posing the question produces an initial sense of bafflement and perplexity. Augustine's statement that he knows the meaning of the term *love* until asked to define it could be echoed in this context. Yet the vast array of semantic values that have been attributed to the word for "life" in the various languages of humankind might lead us to conclude that a precise, distinct, and universally acceptable concept need not accompany the use of the term. Instead, merely asking the question brings in its wake a sense that life is a realm of endlessly self-perpetuating novelties, in which the solution to any given problem gives rise to a plethora of other questions. These questions force us to seek further for additional answers or, at least, to search out more intellectually refined, morally elevating, and spiritually salutary ways of pursuing the quest.

SEE ALSO Afterlife; Archetypes; Breath and Breathing; Nirvāṇa; Sacrifice; Soul, article on Christian Concepts; Subaltern Studies.

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LIGHT AND DARKNESS are basic natural phenomena as well as symbolic or metaphorical meanings that are often equated with the pairs of Being and Non-Being, primordial chaos and world order. According to the most ancient conceptions from the early civilizations of the Middle East, light and darkness are experienced in rhythmical alternation and hence as being contingent on each other. Darkness is the mysterious, impenetrable ground and source of light; and light becomes associated with creation. It grants and is therefore a symbol for the primal conditions of life: warmth, sensuality, and intellectual and spiritual enlightenment. In the course of the history of ideas, however, another concept was developed, in which darkness is an outcome of failure within the creational process.

If light and darkness are interpreted as alternate stages relieving one another, they are viewed as complementary rather than oppositional. Stipulating one another's occurrence, both are necessary phases of the life cycle that is altogether perceived as a harmonious totality. While the passage from light to darkness is performed without further problems, the reemergence of light out of darkness is precarious. Therefore, the vanishing of light into darkness has always caused anxieties and given rise to special rites and precautions. However, even with such implications, this conceptualization of light and darkness needs to be distinguished from the other, later one, in which the predominance of light no longer means its ever-new salvation through but its final salvation from darkness. Ideas about the possibility of a total, eternal victory over and abolition of darkness come along with a worldview that has detected a fundamental corruption of and within creation. Its flaws result from the mixture of light and darkness, which happened accidentally and against the original plan. Such a concept—it may be called binary or dualistic as opposed to the original complementary concept—does not interpret light and darkness in a mutual conditionality and, accordingly, in their relativity, but as only self-identical, irreconcilable entities rather than states.

This considerable change in conceptualizing light and darkness as well as other comparable polarities (male-female, right-left, heaven-earth, day-night, sacred-profane, exogamous-endogamous, truth-falsehood, and so on) is observable from about the sixth century BCE and may be explained by the emergence of transcendental, logical thought, which characterizes the "Axial Age," according to Karl Jaspers and adherents of his cultural theory (Benjamin Schwartz, Shmuel Eisenstadt, and others).

While complementary notions of light and darkness, which can be studied, for example, in ancient Egyptian religion, always stick to imageries resulting from close observation of natural processes, the dualistic concept is largely independent from the appearances of light and darkness in the cosmos, as will be shown in the discussion of Iranian, Gnostic, and Manichaean ideas below.

HISTORY OF RELIGIONS. Many cosmologies begin their accounts of the creation with the emergence of light (or the sun or an equivalent light principle) out of a primeval darkness, and conversely many mythologies describe the end of the world as a twilight or darkness of the gods, that is, the disappearance of light in a final darkness that engulfs all. There is an obvious connection between light and the sun as the source of light, though not all gods of light are always and necessarily solar deities. Nevertheless, perhaps because of the conspicuous presence of sun, moon, and stars, these celestial bodies often appear as manifestations of the gods. There seems to be a correlation between light and the "ouranic" gods of the heavens, on the one hand, and between darkness and the "chthonic" gods of the earth and the underworld, on the other. Originally, there appears to have been no ethical valuation of the opposition between light and darkness, but since the sun above is also all-seeing, he (that is, the god connected with the sun) becomes guardian of the law, of the faithful keeping of treaties, of justice, and ultimately also of the ethically good.

Generally speaking, light serves as a symbol of life, happiness, prosperity, and, in a wider sense, of perfect being. As a symbol of life, light can also serve as a symbol of immortality. Darkness, on the other hand, is associated with chaos, death, and the underworld. However, even if this polarity appears to the modern mind as an opposition with one positive and one negative side, it must not be forgotten that in nonlogical, complementary thinking the two are not exclusive to each other. At a cosmic as well as at a social and individual level, darkness guarantees the continual existence of light by its regular renewal.

When light is personified and worshiped, it tends to become associated either with the sun or with hearth fire, or both. Solar worship was central to ancient Egyptian religion. Thus, the ancient Egyptian god Amun became identified, in due course, with the sun god Ra as Amun-Ra (whose predecessor may have been Ra-Atum). As the sun god, Amun-Ra was threatened every day to be swallowed by Apophis, the serpent monster of darkness (the night). Amenhotep IV (Akhenaton; fourteenth century BCE) even attempted—unsuccessfully—to impose a quasi-monotheistic sun cult on Egypt. After the reinstallation of Egyptian polytheism in the Ramessid era, theologians developed a new, monistic concept, according to which sun and Sun-God were only expressions of the visible side of reality, whereas the source of existence was the secret divinity shrouded in darkness. Later, the same idea became prominent in Hermeticism, the various mysticisms of the Western world (including Islam), and in Esotericism. Sun worship and symbolism also figured in Mesopotamian religion and established themselves—probably because of Asian influences—in later Roman religion, with the great Roman festival of Sol Invictus ("invincible sun") subsequently becoming the date of the Christian celebration of the Nativity.

The complementarity of light and darkness was most radically formulated and transferred into ritual life in the ancient religions of Mesoamerica. According to Mayan and Aztec belief, the continuation of the sun, light, and world order could even for a limited time only be guaranteed by sacrifice of godheads and humans. Ages of creational order, which were cyclically replaced by periods of chaos and darkness, were initiated through an archetypal act of self-sacrifice. After its sacrificial death, a mythical figure appeared in the east as the sun and established itself as the ruler of the world. In order to persist, it needed the sacrificial blood of humans. Finally, however, the sun would not be able to resist the attacks of enemy gods and the whole cosmos would perish in an apocalyptic cataclysm.

In ancient Iranian religion, the empirical, natural polarity of light and darkness is of surprisingly little importance. Attributes of light are ascribed to Ahura Mazdā, the Lord Wisdom and highest god of the sky; to Asha, the implicit order of the world; and to paradise and afterlife. Yet, the *devas,* evil spirits and enemies to Ahura Mazdā, are also of shining quality. In Zoroastrian literature it is explicitly stated that Ahura Mazdā figures as creator of both light and darkness. Thus, despite the blatantly dualistic structure of Iranian religion, a light-and-darkness dichotomy was not obtrusive in it. This might be explained by the high degree of abstraction characterizing the Zoroastrian faith in the morally good. Compared to Egyptian and even to Greek thought, Zoroastrianism made little use of natural imagery in its concept of Being as it is represented by Ahura Mazdā and of Non-Being, which is the domain of the latter's enemy, Angra Mainyu.

Light is an attribute of many divinities. As regards the religious history of the West, the eastern Mediterranean area (Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia) seems to have been the cradle of many gods of light who gained considerable importance in the Hellenistic period and played a major role in the mystery cults of the period, although here too it is difficult to distinguish clearly between light and solar deities. Most mystery rites performed their function of mediating salvation by having the sun/light deity bring the "initiate" (*mustēs*) "from darkness unto light." Divine manifestations are usually described as epiphanies of light. In the Magical Papyri, the gods frequently are endowed with light attributes, and in the collection of writings known as the *Hermetic Corpus*, spirit and light are practically identical. In fact, as man rises to greater spiritual heights "he is turned into light" (*Corpus Hermeticum* 13). Similar motifs are frequently mentioned in the Indian Upaniṣads. Here too, Absolute Being (*brahman*) as well the mind through which spiritual knowledge is acquired, is identified as light. Accordingly, the central experience of the inner self as identical with *brahman* is depicted as a light experience.

Light symbolism in Western religions (including Islam) was decisively influenced by Greek philosophy, which gave to light a simultaneously intellectual and ethical connotation. Here again it is difficult to distinguish sharply between light and sun symbolism or to evaluate the precise extent of the influence of Syrian and Egyptian sun cults. Greek philosophy seems to have shifted the meaning of light as a primal symbol of life to one of consciousness. For Minoan religion it is still obvious that a sun cult was connected to tombs and the belief in an afterlife. For Greek philosophers, however, the sun as the "light of the world" represents mainly cosmic reason. Light also represents Wisdom since it is through her that things are apparent. A particular feature, which then had a great impact on the Western history of ideas, was the connection of the light and darkness theme with a presumed opposition between the physical and the spiritual.

Some of the pre-Socratic philosophers took the light and darkness dichotomy as a starting point for their metaphysical speculations. While Anaximander (c. 610–550 BCE) stated that becoming and decaying of all things were connected and Heraclitus (c. 500 BCE) still viewed change as the only reliable norm of the world, Parmenides of Elea (sixth–fifth century BCE) attempted to trace one stable principle behind or within the phenomenal oppositions like the one of light and darkness. The method of pursuing this aim was, however, not a mental reunification of empirical antagonisms but, on the contrary, the confirmation of their heterogeneity and their separateness. Therefore, the ultimate reality of Being, an opposite of which, according to Parmenides, does not exist, was to be sought beyond the visible world. As a mediating and encompassing principle between light and night, Parmenides set up *anankē* (fate), who could still be represented mythically by the goddess Aphrodite.

Pre-Socratic philosophy (for example, Parmenides, Pythagoras) already associated light and darkness with the light and heavy elements, respectively, and hence ultimately with spirit (soul) and matter (body). According to Plato (*Republic* 506d), the idea of the Good (which illuminates the soul) in the supersensual world corresponds with Helios (the sun) as the light of the physical world. The opposition of light and darkness is thus not so much an ethical one as a distinction of degrees of purity between the higher world of ideas and its copy, the lower world. According to some thinkers, it was the fire of the heavenly bodies that begot human souls. The ascent from a low, material, "dark" existence to a higher, spiritual, and divine level of being is expressed in terms of illumination (*photismos*)—a concept that came to play an increasingly important role in mysticism. The main connecting link between philosophy and mysticism in the Hellenistic world, especially regarding the terminology and symbolism of light, was Neoplatonism. The Neoplatonic system supposes a downward movement of light in the course of the creation process. This concept entails that the lower hemisphere, which is Earth, is heavier and darker than the upper one; matter is thus considered light in a degraded condition. Accordingly, the relationship between light and darkness is here not construed as one of necessarily alternating states and or as one of binary oppositions completely exclusive of each other; light and darkness are rather construed as different grades of the same substance.

Light symbolism spilled over from the mystery cults and the philosophical traditions to influence magic, Hermeticism, and Gnosticism. Some expressions of Hermeticism have inherited the Greek dichotomy of light and darkness, even though the Hermetic tradition is genuinely rooted in the ancient Egyptian worldview, which is free of any depreciation of the material cosmos. The devaluation of matter had a more important impact on Gnosticism. Gnostic dualism equates the opposition of light and darkness with that of spirit and matter, and hence tends to develop a hostile attitude to "this world," which is the creation of an inferior or even evil power. Salvation consists in leaving behind this lower world of darkness and rejoining the principle of light. Often, salvation is brought about by the supernal light principle (or a part of it) descending from above in order to redeem the particles of light (for example, souls) from the realm of darkness into which they have fallen and in which they are imprisoned. The idea of an inferior nature of the material, which had made its first appearance in Orphism and probably from here entered the Platonic tradition, was intensified by the mythic imagery of a fall that had not been foreseen in the original plan of the creation. This dramatization of the subsequent downward movement of the light rays or particles, which became impure only because of the distance from their source, led to an approximation of the Greek conceptualization of the light-darkness polarity to the Iranian type of glaring dualism in Gnosticism. Thus, the monism of the light, which was philosophically perceived as one substance of different qualities, could very easily turn into a dualism of two irreconcilable substances in Gnostic mythology. (It must be stressed here that this kind of light-darkness dualism is not genuinely Iranian. It resulted from a fusion of Greek speculations about light and darkness and the Zoroastrian overall dualism as the structure of the cosmos.) Gnostic texts present a wide range of interpretations of the light and darkness theme. Some of the myths are heavily dualistic, while other Gnostic treatises in a more philosophical style stress the homogeneity of light and darkness.

In Mandaeism and Manichaeism, a fundamentally dualistic structure in conceptualizing the world was prevalent, but this does not mean that light and darkness were consequently subsumed under it. According to Mandaean myths, the sun, the moon, and the seven planets are evil beings, yet the splendid appearance of the King of Light is compared to the sun. In Manichaeism, too, light symbolism was strongly emphasized, but there were also lights of the cosmos that belonged to the reign of darkness. While the sun and the moon were very important light beings and played a considerable part in the salvational processes, the stars were considered evil. This shows that the opposition between good and evil in Mandaean and Manichaean religion was expressed by the light-darkness dichotomy, but good as light and evil as darkness could be attributed to different phenomena. Particularly in Manichaeism, light and darkness became abstract qualities rather than appearances in the natural world. Similarly, there is no indication that the "King of the Darkness," who attacked the "Hemisphere of Light" and thereby initiated the Manichaean cosmogonic drama, represents the material world or any particular realm of the universe; rather, he seems to be opposed to any imaginable mode of existence. The "Father of Greatness," on the contrary, is the lord of the world as it is known and experienced by human beings, even though it is infiltrated with particles of darkness in a metaphorical sense. This observation confirms that the Manichaean kind of symbolism does not generally correlate to the appearances of light and darkness in the cosmos. Paradoxically, Manichaeism turned the strictest kind of dualism and light-darkness dichotomy ever developed in the history of religions into a positive attitude toward nature and the cosmos. It is notable in this context that the same elements, namely fire, water, and wind, occur under the reign of light as well as under the one of darkness, while only air under darkness is corrupted as smoke.

Of all the gnostic-type religions, Manichaeism emphasizes the light symbolism most. Since Manichaeism also penetrated Central Asia and even farther east, as far as China, it is not impossible that certain forms of Buddhist light symbolism were influenced by it. This must be particularly taken into consideration with certain light- and sun-related representations of the Buddha: the cosmic Buddha (Mahāvairocana) in Vajrayana Buddhism, who is equated to the sun, and Amida (or Amitābha), the Buddha of Eternal Light in Pure Land Buddhism.

Certain aspects of Manichaeism have analogies in Christianity, but the exact nature of these analogies and of the relationship between Christianity and gnosticism in general are still a matter of scholarly controversy. Surprising analogies with the gnostic systems can also be found in the medieval Jewish Qabbalah, especially in the form that it assumed in the sixteenth century.

The Hebrew Bible begins with an account of the creation of light, followed by the creation of the sun and the celestial bodies, but it has no original light or solar mythology. In due course, however, light became a symbol of divine presence and salvation: "The Lord is my light and my salvation" (Ps. 27:1); "In thy light we shall see light" (Ps. 36:10); "Let us walk in the light of the Lord" (Isa. 2:5); sun and moon will no longer be the sources of light, for "the lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light" (Isa. 60:19). The association of light and sun is preserved in many other biblical passages, especially Malachi 4:20: "The sun of righteousness shall arise."

Early Christianity inherited both the biblical and the contemporaneous Hellenistic (philosophical as well as religious) light symbolism. Christ was the *sol iustitiae* (see Mal. 4:20), and hence there was nothing incongruous about celebrating the Nativity on the date of the pagan Roman festival of the "invincible sun." According to the Gospel of John (8:12), Jesus said of himself, "I am the light of the world," and his followers would possess the "light of life." Easter is therefore celebrated with fire and light rituals. In the Roman Catholic rite, the paschal candle is carried into a pitch-dark church with the thrice-repeated exclamation "Lumen Christi." In fact, the equation of God with the Absolute and the pure light essence finds expression also in the creed where the Son (Christ) is defined as "God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God." The Logos is also described as light in the prologue to the Gospel of John. Paul's experience on the road to Damascus was a typical light experience.

The Jewish Qumran community had already divided Israel into "children of light" (to be ultimately saved) and "children of darkness" (doomed to eternal damnation)—a distinction that was subsequently taken over by Christianity. The Prince of Evil and Darkness, Satan, was originally an angel of light, and hence one of his names is Lucifer (Gr., *Phosphoros*), literally "bearer of light." The imagery is derived from Isaiah 14:12, where the king of Babylon, who in his overweening pride fell from glory to destruction, is called the morning star who fell from heaven. But the same term (*phōsphoros,* "morning star") is also applied to Christ in the Second Letter of Peter. The expectation of the advent of Christ was like "a light that shineth in a dark place until . . . the daystar arose" (2 Pet. 1:19).

Practically all religions give symbolic expression—in mythology, worship, and iconography—of their valuation of light as a symbol of blessing. Even when light and darkness are not diametrically opposed as two hostile principles but are conceived as complementary cosmic modes and creative agents (the Chinese yin and yang), there is a marked preference for light. Thus, yang is light, heaven, active, constructive, masculine, while yin is the opposite. Chinese religious history, too, has its goddesses of light as well as its sects and religious movements (including secret societies) in which light symbols play a role. There even was a women's sect—officially classified as a "heterodox sect"—called the Light of the Red Lamp, which gained some notoriety through its connections with the Boxer Rebellion around 1900.

The significance of light is also illustrated by the ritual use of lamps or candles in temples, on altars, in or near tombs, near holy images, or in processions, and by the lighting of fires on special occasions. Christmas has become a festival of light; so is the Jewish Ḥanukkah, the Hindu Dīvālī, and many other rituals, festivals, and customs in both the ancient (compare, for example, the ancient Greek torch race known as Lampadedromia or Lampadephoria) and the modern world.

Light symbolism is also conspicuous in religious iconography: saints or divine figures have a halo surrounding their head or their whole body or a flame above their head. This is particularly conspicuous in Buddhist iconography, especially in its Mahāyāna forms (for example, in many *maṇḍalas*). Amida is easily identifiable by the halo of "infinite" rays emanating from his head. Similarly, the Buddha Mahāvairocana (in Japan, Dainichi-nyorai), the "Great Illuminator," who radiates the most intense light, appears in many Tibetan *maṇḍalas* as the radiant center. For many Buddhist sects, such as the Japanese Shingon, he is the supreme reality. In Japanese Buddhist-Shintō syncretism, he was also identified with Amaterasu, the sun goddess (and chief goddess) of the Shintō pantheon. The holy city of Banaras in north India is also called Kāśī, "city of light." From the seven-armed candelabrum in the Temple in Jerusalem to the secularized ritual of a permanently burning flame at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, the symbolism of light has shown a power and persistence unparalleled by most other symbols.

The Qurʾān, too, has its famous "light verses." In due course, a prophetic and ultimately metaphysical doctrine of light developed. With the assimilation of Neoplatonic philosophy into Islam after the ninth century, light began to be identified with the divine light principle (that is, the intellect, according to some philosophical thinkers) emanating into this world, a process corresponding to the elevation of the human soul to the divine light. The ultimate goal of the mystic is to behold the pure light and beauty of God. Light speculations can be found among orthodox Muslim theologians, mystics, and gnostics (including those that were suspected of gnosticizing heresies).

MYSTICISM AND ESOTERICISM. Enough has now been said to indicate the special role of ideas and experiences of light (illumination, *photismos*) in mystical systems. It seems that mysticism almost automatically resorts to a terminology of light. Greek Orthodox mystical theology emphasizes the doctrine of the divine, "uncreated light" through which the mystic achieves union with God. The New Testament account of the transfiguration of Christ (Luke 9) supplied the basis for this mystical theology, and hence Mount Tabor is one of its central symbols. This doctrine, rejected as heretical by the Roman Catholic Church, exhibits some interesting analogies with the qabbalistic doctrine of the *sefirot.* Sufism, especially its Persian branch in the fourteenth century CE, unfolded an original way of speculation about mystical significances of light and darkness in their relation to the Sufic doctrine of the oneness of existence (*wahdat al-wujúd*).

While mysticism of light and illumination (cf. the technical term *via illuminativa*) is a commonplace that hardly calls for a detailed account—Buddhist meditation systems also lead through innumerable light spheres and worlds—there is one noteworthy and highly paradoxical exception. That is the doctrine of mystical darkness, variants of which can be found in many religious traditions. A comparable concept becomes already apparent as the concealment of god in the Ramessid theology during the New Kingdom of ancient Egypt (thirteenth century BCE). The idea can be interpreted as a mystical translation of the mythical night. It can also be equated to qabbalistic Ayin (Nothingness), and Indian, Chinese, and Japanese concepts of Shunyata (Emptiness). The Christian doctrine of mystical darkness appears first in the New Testament as *Kenosis. Kenosis* is mentioned in Philippians 2:6 and presumably goes back to a pre-Pauline source. It designates Christ's negation of divine power in order to take up the sufferings of humans and the whole world in his own person. The concept of mystical darkness was then taken up and elaborated in the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite (probably c. 500 CE), a pseudonymous writer whose mysticism combined Neoplatonic and Christian elements. His influence, mediated to the medieval West by John Scotus Eriugena (c. 810–after 877 CE), was strongly felt in the later Middle Ages. Philo Judaeus (c. 20 BCE–after 42 CE) had already declared that the divine splendor was so radiant as to be blinding. For Dionysius, God is so utterly unknowable, and his essence so utterly beyond our reach, that all our knowledge of him is perforce "negative." The experience that he expounds in his *Mystical Theology* is essentially an "unknowing." It is beyond human thought. It is not light but, from the point of view of human understanding, utter darkness. (This doctrine reappears in the famous fourteenth-century English mystical treatise *The Cloud of Unknowing.*) The sixteenth-century Spanish mystic John of the Cross similarly describes the path of the soul to total union with God as the ascent through two "dark nights": that of the senses (that is, loss of all discursive thought, feeling, and images) and that of the spirit. In other words, mysticism is not the enjoyment of charismatic graces, illuminations, or supernaturally infused higher knowledge. Using an Old Testament image, it is not the Pillar of Fire that went before the camp of the Children of Israel at night, but rather the Cloud of Darkness. In this tradition, we do not, however, deal with an option of darkness as opposed to light in the ordinary sense but rather with a dialectically paradoxical response to the traditional and commonplace "mysticism of light," which is here represented as totally inadequate to describe the nature of the mystical union with the utterly unknowable absolute divine transcendence. Even more thoroughly, the Persian Sufī Muhammad Gīlanī Lāhījī (died c. 1506 CE) explained the experience of divine oneness by use of a paradoxical merging of light and darkness in terms like "Black Light" (*nur-e siyāh*) or "Bright Night" (*shab-e rowshan*).

SEE ALSO Dualism; Manichaeism, overview article; Moon; Mystical Union; Nimbus; Sol Invictus; Stars; Sun; Via Negativa.

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LĪLĀ

LĪLĀ is a Sanskrit noun meaning "sport" or "play." It has been the central term in the Hindu elaboration of the idea that God in his creating and governing of the world is moved not by need or necessity but by a free and joyous creativity that is integral to his own nature. He acts in a state of rapt absorption comparable to that of an artist possessed by his creative vision or to that of a child caught up in the delight of a game played for its own sake. The latter comparison is the basis for speaking of God's acts as *līlā,* or sport. Although the translation is the best available, the English word *sport* is a rough rendering that suggests a frivolity not necessarily implied by the word *līlā.* In the Hindu thought world in which this term arose, the description of God's acts as sport was intended to negate any notion that they are motivated, like the acts of human beings, by acquisitive desire (*kāma*) or are necessitated by the retributive impetus of the actor's previous deeds (*karman*) or by the requirements of duty. Because God forever possesses all, he has no wants and no desires. His ever-desireless acts entail no retribution. He is not the instrument of duty but duty's creator. The spontaneity and autonomy of his actions are absolute.

The word *līlā,* used in this theological sense, began to appear in Hindu religious literature in about the third or fourth century CE. Partial sources of the concept are found in earlier writings that mention, even in the Vedic age, the frolicsome nature of the gods and the ease and freedom of their acts. The attribution of joyous freedom to the one supreme being made its appearance in the Upaniṣads in reports of experiences of unity with the Divine that were expansive states of blissful release from care. It was not in the monistic systems, however, but in the great Hindu monotheisms that the notion of divine sportiveness became a major concept. Even the worshipers of Śiva—a violent and dangerous deity not easily credited with playfulness—explained the universe as formed in the gyrations of a cosmic dance in which, as Naṭāraja, or Lord of Dancers, Śiva ecstatically creates and sustains and destroys. The elaboration of the idea of *līlā* into a studied doctrine has been primarily the work of the Vaiṣṇava tradition; in particular, the cult of Kṛṣṇa as Gopāla, the young cowherd, carried the teaching of *līlā* to its most advanced development. This later Kṛṣṇaism was shaped decisively by the idea of *līlā* in almost every aspect of its religious system—in its theology, its mythology, its mysticism, and its conception of salvation.

THE THEOLOGY OF LĪLĀ. The first appearance of *līlā* as a theological term is apparently a use of the word in the *Vedānta Sūtra* of Bādarāyaṇa (third century CE?). In 2.1.33 of that work the author defends belief in a personal Creator against an objection that the God of monotheistic belief who is all and has all cannot be credited with creation, because persons create only in order to come into possession of something that they do not already have. The author replies that, even in the ordinary world, some people carry out creative acts not for the satisfaction of any wants, but merely sportively, for the sheer joy of the activity itself. Faith in a personal Creator is thus reasonable and possible.

The theological literature on *līlā* consists primarily of the commentarial writings on this passage that have been written by the founders and other recognized scholars of the various Vaiṣṇava sects. In the twelfth century, for example, Rāmānuja illustrates the meaning of *līlā* by the example of a great monarch who, though he has no unsatisfied desire, sports enthusiastically on the playing field just for the amusement of the game. The Caitanyaite commentator Baladeva compares the Creator's activity to that of a healthy man just awakened in the morning from deep sleep, who breaks into a dance simply to express his own exuberance.

Because all schools of Vedānta accept the *Vedānta Sūtra,* in some fashion they must accept also its teaching on divine sportiveness. The adherents of the illusionist school of Advaita Vedānta have been obliged, of course, to understand the sports of God to have only such reality as belongs to the personal God himself. For them, the absolute being is not in truth a person, nor in reality has any world been created, nor have any sports been performed. The teaching of *līlā* is provisional only, expressing how unenlightened persons must understand the course of the apparent world so long as they remain under the influence of the deluding cosmic ignorance (*māyā*) that creates the appearance of a world that is false. Over against this illusionist cosmology those who fully embraced the *līlā* teaching were able to maintain that the creative process is real and that the creation is not an obscuration but a manifestation of the nature of God. Indeed, some Hindus have been able to use the *līlā* doctrine to support appreciation of the world in a spirit of religious wonder and to sustain a joy in living. But the general world-weariness of medieval India did not encourage such positive applications. It was more common to use the idea of divine sportiveness to domesticate the tragedies of life by reflecting that wealth and poverty, health and sickness, and even death itself are apportioned to creatures by God in his mysterious play. The reasons for such fateful interventions are beyond human comprehension, but devotees who understand their fortunes to be the sport of God will know that it is not blind fate that controls their lot, and hence they will accept their condition as providential.

Some tension exists between the conception of God's sportiveness and the older picture presented in the *Bhagavadgītā* (3.21–25, 4.5–14) of God as acting in order to assist devotees, to maintain righteousness, and to preserve the integrity of the world. Thinkers of the school of Caitanya (1486–1533) have gone so far as to insist that God acts solely for his own sport and without thought of benefiting his creatures; creatures are in fact benefited by God's sportive acts, but only because those acts are the pleasure of a supreme being whose nature includes compassion. In other Vaiṣṇava circles it has been more common to see no difference between the two explanations of the divine motivation: God's sportive acts and his supportive acts are one because both are done without calculation of any selfish gain that might be made through them. Both are therefore desireless (*niṣkāma*) in terms of the ethical ideal of the *Bhagavadgītā,* and between God's *līlā* and his grace there is no inconsistency.

LĪLĀ MYTHOLOGY. Although such Vaiṣṇava reasonings could reconcile the old and new views of the divine motivation to each other at the level of theological doctrine, a lavish new mythology was arising in the same period that could not be reconciled so easily with the narratives of earlier forms of Kṛṣṇa worship. The theological development of the *līlā* idea was overshadowed in mass and influence by a profuse literature that expressed the new conception of the deity in myth. A diversion of attention away from the earnest Kṛṣṇa of the *Bhagavadgītā* is evident in the *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa,* composed about 300 CE. Chapters 47 to 77 of that work relate for the first time a famous set of tales about how Kṛṣṇa as a child disobeyed his parents, played tricks on his elders, spread lighthearted havoc in his cowherd village, disposed of demons with jocular nonchalance, and flirted with the cowherdesses with a daring naughtiness. About a century later these whimsical stories were retold in the fifth book of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa,* where Kṛṣṇa's antics are called *līlā*s and the whole of his earthly career is described as his *manuṣyalīlā,* or human sport (5.7.38). About the ninth century CE these pranks were fully elaborated in the tenth book of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* a text that remains the foremost scripture of the family of Vaiṣṇava sects that worship Kṛṣṇa in the form of Gopāla. The stories contained in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* have been retold endlessly in dependent literature in the regional languages of India. The major poets of Hindi, of whom Sūrdās was the greatest, have created in the Braj dialect an especially honored literature on the sport of the child Kṛṣṇa. The attractiveness of these myths has made the worship of Gopāla Kṛṣṇa one of the most prominent forms of Hinduism throughout the past thousand years.

In the Gopāla cult's portrayal of Kṛṣṇa's childhood behavior, the flouting of Hindu moral codes was a prominent element already in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa,* and the antinomian tendency increased steadily thereafter. The stories of the god's infancy have remained relatively innocent in spirit, but the tales of his childhood and youth soon focused particularly upon his lying, stealing, violation of sexual taboos, and other mischievous tricks. His nocturnal flirtations in the *rāsa* dance with the *gopī*s, or cowherdesses, and in particular with a *gopī* named Rādhā, became more and more explicitly sexual. In recent centuries a major stream of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism has insisted that Kṛṣṇa's amours must be construed as adulterous. At the same time the story of Kṛṣṇa's dance with the *gopī*s has become ever more important, a central and revelatory mystery of the faith. The lesson that Kṛṣṇa worshipers have drawn from this myth has been purely devotional, however: The ideal devotee must surrender the self to God with a passion as total as that of the straying Hindu wife who, love-mad, sacrifices reputation and home and security in her ruinous devotion to a paramour.

LĪLĀ IN MEDITATION. The myths of Kṛṣṇa's *līlā*s provide the mental material for most of the religious observances of the Gopāla cults. The purpose of their characteristic practices is to preoccupy the consciousness with visionary perception of the *līlā*s of Kṛṣṇa. Simple conditioning begins with participation in assemblies where the stories are presented in dance, drama, the singing of narrative poetry, or the chanting of sacred texts. Brahman actors called *rāsdhārī*s enact the sports of Kṛṣṇa in a Hindi drama called the *rāsa-līlā.* Professional declaimers called *kathaka*s, *purāṇika*s, or *kathāvācaka*s read out the scriptural tales and explain them publicly. Devotees move toward a more inward absorption in the *līlā*s by quiet and reflective reading of mythological books. Aspiration to yet deeper Kṛṣṇa consciousness leads some further into elaborate meditational practices analogous to yoga, carried out under the spiritual direction of a sectarian teacher. Because yogic instruction has traditionally been confidential, and particularly because meditation in this tradition focuses upon matter that is shockingly erotic by usual Hindu standards, the pattern of these disciplines has remained secret to an exceptional degree. A little can be learned from manuscript works of early scholastic writers of the Bengal school, however.

One plan of meditation requires the devotee to follow in imagination the erotic interplay between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa through all the eight periods of the traditional Hindu day, from their arising in the morning to their retiring at night. Another requires long focus of the inner imagination upon one or another mythical meeting of the divine lovers in the bowers, the meditator assuming the role of one of the female attendants (*sakhīs*) whose names are mentioned in late Vaiṣṇava legends. The hope of the meditator is to perceive his chosen *līlā* no longer merely in his imagination but in its ongoing celestial reality. By meditating on the manifested (*prakaṭa*) *līlās* that are known to all because Kṛṣṇa performed them in the light of history when he descended to earth as an *avatāra,* it is possible to develop a spiritual eye and to attain vision (*darśana*) of the same sports as they are being played eternally in Kṛṣṇa's transcendent paradise in unmanifested (*aprakaṭa*) form. It helps one's meditation to take up residence in the holy region of Mathurā because that earthly city stands directly beneath the celestial city of that name where Kṛṣṇa sports unceasingly, and is its shadow and a point of special contact between the two. Such contemplations focus upon divine acts that have the form of human sexual activities, and success in meditation involves the deliberate arousal and sublimation and use of the meditator's own erotic sensibility. However, the divine love sports that meditators sometimes see are not understood to be acts of lust (*kāma*), but acts of spiritual love (*prīti*). It is believed that they will remain forever invisible to those who cannot rise above longings that are carnal.

The religious experience that is idealized by this tradition is exemplified in Narsī Mehtā, a Kṛṣṇa devotee of sixteenth-century Gujarat. His career as a major poet sprang from a vision in which he found himself in a celestial region at night, an attendant holding a blazing torch in his hand and privileged to see the heavenly sports of Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa, and the *gopīs*. So fascinated did he become as he witnessed their eternal dance that his torch burned down through his hand, he said, without his having taken any notice. In visions such as this, intense devotion to Kṛṣṇa is produced and devotees receive assurance of divine assistance and of final liberation.

LĪLĀ IN SALVATION. The idea of Kṛṣṇa's eternal sport dominates the Gopāla worshipers' understanding of the nature of ultimate blessedness also. They do not expect a merging with the deity but participation forevermore in his celestial sports. It is a state of liberation that can be achieved by attaining on earth a state of total mental absorption in the *līlās*. The schools of Vallabha and of Caitanya hold that such raptness of attention is not a mere means of liberation but is the state of liberation itself, and say that those who truly attain this ecstatic state do not care whether they shall be taken into transcendency on death or shall be reborn forever into the world. The usual anticipation, however, is mythological in its imagery. According to the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* (4.4.78ff.), the sainted visionary will rise not merely to Vaikuṇṭha, the paradise of Viṣṇu, but to its highest level, Goloka, the paradise of Kṛṣṇa. There the liberated become cowherdesses belonging to the sportive entourage of Kṛṣṇa. As delighted observers and helpers, they attend forever upon the love sports of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, expressing through their joyful service their love for Kṛṣṇa as the center of all existence.

Hindu critics of the notion of *līlā* have felt that it trivializes God's motives and obscures his active benevolence as savior. Rāmānuja avoids the use of the word when not obliged to explain it in his role as a commentator on a sacred text, and never mentions the mythology of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* which was already widely known in his day. The Śaiva theologian Umāpati in section 19 of his *Śivap Pirakācam* declares that all five classes of divine activities recognized in the system of Śaiva Siddhānta must be understood to spring from God's gracious concern for the deliverance of souls, and that it is not permissible to say that Śiva's acts of creation, preservation, destruction, and so forth, are his sports. Nor have the chief spokesmen of modern Hinduism been attracted generally by the conception of *līlā* or by its myths. Swami Dayananda in his *Satyārthaprakāśa* denounces the sportive Kṛṣṇa and his supposed acts as immoral human fabrications. Moved by their social and civic concerns and influenced by the ethical stress in Christian theology, most modern Hindu leaders have preferred the morally earnest Kṛṣṇa of the *Bhagavadgītā* to the pleasure-seeking Gopāla. Yet a few have responded to the world-affirming implications of *līlā* as a cosmological idea and have used it in interpreting the natural and human realms. In his book *The Life Divine,* Aurobindo teaches that the Lord as a free artist creates real worlds and real beings, and sports with souls and in souls in order to lead his creatures to ever-higher levels of consciousness. Rabindranath Tagore uses the language of traditional *līlā* teaching in testifying to his intuitions that a joyful, ever-creative God is continually revealing himself in the play of natural forces and in the interactions of human beings (see his *Gitanjali,* poems 56, 59, 63, 80, and 95).

Appraisals of the *līlā* doctrine have usually recognized its contribution to theology in providing a solution to an important question in cosmology and in supporting a positive appreciation of the world and of life. On the other hand, the *līlā* idea has been condemned widely as a negative development in Hindu ethics. The judgment assumes that thinking about God arises necessarily out of moral concern and must be applied immediately to the governing of the moral life. The *līlā* literature is entirely separate, however, from the *dharma* literature that is the repository of moral guidance for Hindus. The worshipers of the young Kṛṣṇa have never understood the sports of the god to be models for their own actions. Indeed, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* itself in 10.33.32f. admonishes ordinary mortals never to behave as Kṛṣṇa does, not even in their minds. The Kṛṣṇa cults have been orthodox in their submission to the social patterns prescribed in the Dharmaśāstras and the folk codes. Their sportiveness has manifested itself in cultic matters that are marginal to social ethics: in the exuberance of their religious assemblies, in the easy emotionality of their pathway of salvation through devotion, in the madcap behavior that they tolerate in their saints, and in the spirit of abandon that pervades their fairs and pilgrimages and a few saturnalian festivals such as the licentious Holī. The great problem with which this religion deals is not a chaotic world's struggle for order, but the struggle for emotional freedom in a world already firmly and tryingly regulated. There is a clear correlation between the religion of sportiveness and the closed world of caste, as confirmed by the contemporaneity of their historical origins.

Fascination with Kṛṣṇa's *līlās* became strong in the fourth century CE, when the writing of mature Dharmaśāstras had become a full tide and the rules of caste were being systematically enforced for the first time by brahmanical dynasties after centuries of foreign rule. Thereafter Hindus found little meaning in the *Bhagavadgītā*'s call to save an anarchic world from disintegration; instead, they sought release from bondage, and found it in new tales about Kṛṣṇa as an irresponsible and irrepressible child. Seeking in the supernatural what was most desperately lacking in their lives, what they now cherished most in Kṛṣṇa was the spirit of sport. For many centuries, imaginative participation in the frolics of a boy-god helped them to endure the restrictions of the life of caste.

SEE ALSO Drama, article on Indian Dance and Dance Drama; Kṛṣṇa; Kṛṣṇaism; Rādhā; Vaiṣṇavism, article on Bhāgavatas.

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Revised Bibliography

LILITH.

In postbiblical Judaism, Lilith is a female demon who seduces men and kills unsuspecting children. Lilith (Hebrew, Lilit) became identified as Adam's first wife, created from dust to be her husband's equal. As the name of a demon, Lilit is etymologically related to the Sumerian *lil* ("wind") and not, as some once supposed, to the Hebrew *laylah* ("night"). Yet like the Sumerian wind demon and her later Babylonian counterpart, *lilitu,* a succuba who seduces men in their sleep, Lilith is active at night, seizing men and forcing them to copulate with her. In ancient Babylonian religion, the *lilitu* has a male counterpart, the *ardat lili,* who seduced women in their sleep. Both were once human, identified as women and men who died young and who after death sought the husbands and wives they had never enjoyed in life. The figure of the Babylonian demon Lamashtu, known as a child slayer, eventually converged with that of the *lilitu* demon to form the image of Lilith.

In the Hebrew Scriptures, there is only one clear reference to Lilith. *Isaiah* 34:14, describing the devastation of Edom, maintains that Lilith shall be at rest in the desert, among wild animals, screech owls, and satyrs. This reference to Lilith as demon is more fully developed in postbiblical Jewish literature, where Lilith is one of the *lilin,* a class of demons that includes both females and males. In the Babylonian Talmud Lilith is portrayed as having a woman's face, long hair ('Eruv. 100b), and wings (Nid. 24b). Her identity as demon is underscored in Bava' Batra' 73a, referring to the demon Hormiz or Ormuzd as Lilith's son, and in Shabbat 151b, where men are warned against sleeping alone lest they be seized by Lilith.

Pesahim 112b, warning men not to go out alone on Wednesday and Sabbath evenings because of the presence of "Agrat, the daughter of Mahalat," has been taken by some commentators as a further reference to Lilith. However, as Gershom Scholem maintains in his essay on Lilith in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971), the identification of Lilith with Agrat, although both are night demons, seems to have no real foundation. In a midrashic commentary on the Bible (Nm. Rab. 16.25), Lilith is portrayed as a child killer, slaying her own children when no others are available to her.

The liliths, as a class of demons, appear many times on the Aramaic incantation bowls from Babylonia (Montgomery). These are earthenware bowls (400–800 CE) inscribed with incantations to expel demons from the house or exorcise them from the body of the clients named on the bowls. The drawing of a fettered lilith with wings and wild, spiky hair often appears in the center of the bowl. The liliths appear in lists of evil spirits that refer to both the "male and female liliths," and one text denounces the liliths "who appear to human beings, to men in the likeness of women and to women in the likeness of men."

It is in the *Alphabet of Ben Sira,* an often misogynist satirical Hebrew work from between the seventh and tenth centuries CE, that Lilith appears as a fully rounded individual character for the first time. Here, we find earlier descriptions of her as night demon and child killer combined with a number of rabbinic midrashim. According to the *Alphabet of Ben Sira,* when God created Adam, he realized that it was not good for man to be alone, so he created a woman out of the earth, just as he had created Adam, and he called this woman Lilith. Immediately, Lilith and Adam began to quarrel. Insisting that they were equals, Lilith refused to lie beneath Adam, while he argued that it was proper for him, as a man, to lie on top. Uttering God's ineffable name, Lilith flew away. In response to Adam's complaints, God sent three angels—Sanvi, Sansanvi, and Semangelaf—to bring Lilith back, telling them that if she refused, one hundred of her demon children would die each day. The angels found Lilith at the Red Sea and implored her to return. She refused to do so. When informed of her impending punishment, she vowed to inflict harm on male infants up until the eighth day after birth, presumably until their circumcision, and on females up until the twelfth day. Lilith made one additional vow: if she saw an amulet bearing the name of the three angels, she would not harm the infant in any way.

Illustrations of such amulets can be found in the *Sefer Razi'el,* first printed in 1701 but largely based on the writings of El'azar of Worms, a mystic of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Describing certain mysteries supposedly revealed to Adam by the angel Razi'el, this work includes an incantation against Lilith that identifies her as *Havvah ri'shonah* (the "first Eve"), the one who seeks to harm newly born infants and women in childbirth. The iconography of the angels in *Sefer Razi'el* and the wording of the incantation against Lilith are still found in contemporary amulets printed to this day in Israel. In other medieval mystical works, Lilith becomes a figure of cosmic evil. In the thirteenth-century qabbalistic work by Rabbi Yitshaq ha-Cohen, *Treatise on the Left Emanation,* she appears for the first time as the female consort of the demon Sama'el, the chief of all the demons. This work speaks of two Liliths: Lilith the Elder, the wife of Sama'el, and Lilith the Younger, the wife of Asmodeus (Ashmed'ai), another demon king.

According to the late thirteen-century qabbalistic work the Zohar, Lilith and Sama'el emanated together from one of the divine powers, the *sefirah* of Gevurah (Strength). On the side of evil (the "other side") they correspond to the holy divine male and female. "Just as on the side of holiness so on 'the other side' there are male and female, included one with the other" (Tishby, 1989, II: 461). In the Zohar, Lilith's demonic sexuality comes to the fore. She is the seductive harlot who leads men astray, but when they turn to her, she transforms into the angel of death (Sama'el) and kills them. Lilith attempts to seduce men and use their seed to create bodies for her demonic children. The Zohar even recommends a special ritual to be performed before sexual intercourse between husband and wife in order to prevent Lilith from stealing the man's semen.

Other suggestions found in the Zohar are further developed in later qabbalistic texts. These include the view that Lilith, along with the demon Na'amah or Agrat, was one of two harlots who stood in judgment before Solomon and that the Queen of Sheba was actually Lilith, a claim first made in the Targum to *Job* 1:15. Belief in Lilith as child killer persisted in traditional European and Middle Eastern Jewish communities at least through the early twentieth century. According to Scholem (1971), protective amulets would be placed either above the bed of a woman about to give birth or on all four walls of the room in which she lay. As mentioned before, it is still possible to purchase amulets against Lilith to protect the mother and her newborn child.

The image of Lilith as it developed from antiquity through the early twentieth century represents an antitype of desired human sexuality and family life, a wild and unkempt woman whom Jewish society could not control. This image was demonic because Lilith represented everything that traditional Jews, both women and men, feared could go wrong in the arena of sexuality and childbearing: extramarital attractions and sexual intercourse, and the premature death of children.

Lilith's freedom from traditional constraints on Jewish women's lives has served, since the mid-1970s, as a model of female strength and independence for American Jewish women. A Jewish feminist magazine named *Lilith* has been published since 1976, and a number of Jewish feminist theologians, reexamining the accounts of creation in *Genesis* 1:27 *ff.*, have worked to create midrashim of their own. In one such midrash, Judith Plaskow (in Koltun, 1976) restores Lilith's independence and belief in her equality with Adam, as portrayed in the *Alphabet of Ben Sira,* and replaces the myth of Lilith's supercession by Eve with an optimistic vision of the two first rejecting, then returning to, the garden of Eden to rebuild it together. Since the mid-1970s interest in Lilith has only grown among Jewish feminists, neopagans, musicians (the Lilith Fair), poets, and other writers. *Whose Lilith?* (1998) collects many articles and poems on Lilith, with a focus on her importance for Jewish women. These reclamations of Lilith can be seen as a part of a more general awakening of interest in female images and symbols within Jewish tradition.

SEE ALSO Folk Religion, article on Folk Judaism; Women's Studies in Religion.

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LIMINALITY. *Liminality,* "being on a threshold," is the condition that prevails during the inner phase of rites of passage, those rituals performed in many societies to transfer a person from one stage of life to another. Liminality is the experience of being betwixt and between. In his book *The Rites of Passage* (1909), the folklorist Arnold van Gennep first isolated and named the rites of passage that accompany changes of place, state, social position, religious calling, and age in a culture. His study mainly focused on the life crisis rituals of birth, puberty, marriage, and death. Van Gennep found that as a general rule there were three stages in the rites: separation, margin or limen, and reaggregation. The first phase detaches the ritual subjects from their old places in society; in the second, the liminal phase, the subjects pass into a cultural and spiritual realm that has few of the attributes of either the past or coming state; the last phase installs them, inwardly transformed and outwardly changed, in a new place in society. Van Gennep used the word *limen*—the Latin for "threshold"—for the middle stage, because his researches showed much door symbolism in the rites, the participants often entering the new ritual life over a threshold or entryway.

During the forty years following the publication of van Gennep's book the special stage of mid-transition was rarely examined by researchers, except in Henri Junod's exemplary study of the circumcision rituals of the Thonga of Mozambique (1912–1913). From 1951 to 1954, during anthropological studies of ritual, Victor Turner and Edith Turner participated in the rites of passage of the Lunda-Ndembu of Zambia. In 1964 Victor Turner, using his understanding of the betwixt-and-between milieu of the boys in the Ndembu circumcision lodge and of the girls in their initiation seclusion, wrote a general article, "Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in Rites of Passage," newly establishing the word *liminality* as the description of the midphase of the rites and employing for his examples the liminal phases from the rites of a number of different societies. His further work (Victor Turner 1969, 1974, 1982, 1986) opened up a broad view of liminality worldwide, existing in hitherto unrecognized forms; subsequently the concept was recognized in anthropology, theology, performance studies, literature, psychiatry, psychology, and education.

The liminal phase is ambiguous because it is a threshold between more or less stable phases of the social process. It has frequently been likened to death; to being in the womb; to invisibility, darkness, bisexuality, and the wilderness. The initiates are stripped of their status, removed from a social structure maintained and sanctioned by power and—ultimately—force, and leveled to a homogeneous social state through ordeal. However, in seclusion their secular powerlessness is compensated for by a sacred power, in this place that is not normal to life at all, a "no-place," at a time taken right out of normal life, a "no-time"—a realm of pure possibility that resists classification. The sacred power is the power of the weak, derived from the resurgence of nature when structural power is removed and from the experience of spiritual beings and things, inseparable from the power of nature. Much of what has been bound up by social structure is liberated, notably the sense of comradeship—*communitas*—even communion, the oneness between person and person, whereas sooner or later the subjects begin to experience more fully the wisdom traditions of their society in a visionary, unified way—traditions that are able to achieve great conjunctive power. Turner demonstrated in anthropology that this liminal period is an essential component of human experience, one that has been obscured by an erroneous equation of the "social" with the "social-structural." Liminality, then, in its manifestation is not identifiable as a social construction of reality.

THE PREINDUSTRIAL RITES OF LIMINALITY. The actual rites may vary greatly, but it is instructive to learn the main patterns recurring in the liminal phase of the numerous well-documented puberty rites of preindustrial peoples (for example, Bateson, 1958; Farrer, 1991; Junod, 1912–1913; Richards, 1956; Turner, 1967; and Walens, 1981). The general term *liminality* refers not only to the middle phase of the rite of passage but also to the period from the beginning of the separation phase through the marginal or seclusion period and until the person is back in normal life. The whole is a period of liminality.

In the first phase, separation, the novices are physically separated from the other members of the community and take the entryway into the seclusion area. In the liminal phase the elders may strip off the novices' clothing, leaving them just as simple human beings. The helpers then wash them in order to purify them from evil influences and dress them in special clothing. Then the initiates pass through an ordeal to test their spiritual or physical stamina. They may only eat certain foods and have no name, just "novice." In this period the novices are the babies of the culture, belonging to the future, or they become as animals in the wilderness, or they may be spiritually invisible or spiritually in trance and "dead." Indeed the main theme of most initiations is the death and rebirth of the novices, dying to their old life in order to move to a new life. At this time the novices and those in the lodge enjoy the spirit of *communitas,* a sense of fellowship.

The initiates live for some time in their seclusion lodge, a nonordinary place in nonordinary time. In the heart of the liminal period occur some of the greatest rites of the culture. Music and song draw the spirits near, giving an immediate sense of the unity of people and spirits. Certain objects and images help to bring the spirit to the place, or the elders make special objects that are the spirit itself. These are rites of revelation that the novices actually experience. The initiates may share in the sacred objects and become deeply aware of spirit presence. The spirits, through the elders, give the novices new names or mark their bodies in some way, making them full members of the community.

Masked figures may appear. They are the spirits of ancient times or beings half-human and half-animal; they can appear with both fearsome and comic aspects. These figures constitute "symbolic types," sometimes humorously in the form of clowns or dirty old men or women. Finally, the novices share in a communion feast, which unifies the participants in a group and with the spirit beings from beyond the mortal sphere.

At the end, during the reaggregation phase, the initiates go through rites of rebirth and return to the community as initiated members. Celebration marks the end of the ritual. Such is the power of these rituals that the physical and inner aspects working together can bring about changes of the person's consciousness and identity.

Thus the biological change of a person, whether at the exact moment of bodily change or not, becomes the occasion for a plunge into the fount of all change, which is a mystery—especially to the subject. This is very different from an ordinary change, such as changing one's supermarket when moving to a new area. The sacred objects of initiation, often having to do with ancestral beings and their present power, radiate this power and show the neophyte what all have discovered—that they too, the neophytes, belong with such an array of beings and will eventually become ancestors themselves.

It is this sense that also explains the important class of liminality that has to do with the coming of a vocation—a spiritual call—bringing the gift of healing and other gifts and arts of humanity. The same pattern holds, except that in the life pattern of the one who is called, the initiative commonly comes from a spiritual source and is not prompted by natural bodily changes. (For an example of liminal trance and the inception of the shamanic healing gift, see Friedson, 1996.)

LIMINALITY IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD. Liminality is even further extended in the developed and modern world. Here it refers to broad areas of life within the mainstream, on its margins, and below it. In the mainstream, the rites of passage of contemporary religions still exist. However, as most religions only claim optional memberships, the rites are not universal. Their life-crisis rites may be circumcisions, christenings, shaving as a Hindu or Buddhist, bar mitzvahs, marriages, funerals, and so forth. The time of child education is liminal in the sense of being betwixt and between infancy and adulthood, but schools have so structured education that only the playground scene and street corners after school have the character of true liminality (McLaren, 1985).

Examples of those in marginal liminality are pilgrims, monks and nuns, critics of the structure, members of the counterculture, revolutionaries, writers, poets, philosophers, and novelists—a group that shades into the world of theater, film, television, music, sports, and at the folk level, clowning, charivari, celebration, and carnival. In the twenty-first century one may include vegetarians, alternative healers, and members of a great number of new religions; even the new world of the internet has a strongly liminal character. Victor Turner identified most of the marginal genres as those practiced in leisure time in industrial societies and not within the necessary structures of earning one's living. The term he used for them was *liminoid genres,* that is, genres broken off, as it were, from the former curious features of the inner rites of passage and migrating to the margins of society, the center of which is now ruled by business, industry, and law; the marginal genres then developed independently (Turner, 1982, pp. 32–55). However, in the twenty-first century the term *liminoid* is rarely employed. The anthropologist Gananath Obeyesekere opposes the use of the term: "The restriction of the liminal to special localized arenas in complex societies makes for too artificial a distinction between preliterate and industrial cultures" (Obeyesekere, 1986, p. 821). The problem of terminology is not yet solved.

The freedom from set social structures enjoyed by marginal genres has liberated them to develop and ramify still further: they are more liminal than the rites of passage genres. They are above all creative; they are plural and tend to be fragmentary, experimental, idiosyncratic, quirky, subversive, and utopian. They are produced by identifiable individuals, sometimes using what is akin to the shamanistic gift and thus extending the faculties of the human being. Those in the genre tend to follow a calling; they may suffer from their marginality and are hard to categorize. They are often practitioners and performers, but even their more passive followers, such as the readers of their books, spectators of performances, students, or church congregations, also belong to a varying extent in the liminal, liberated, non-workaday category.

As for the liminality of the lowly, it is seen in subjugated native peoples in the early twenty-first century. They have no chance of a level playing field while the whole of modern technology is stacked against them. People of color and strangers of different race are in this category as well as the poor, outcasts, and anyone physically or mentally impaired. The most telling group is women, who are physically smaller than men and even now often are subjugated by law and custom to the other sex because structural power tends to be on the men's side. The battle of the feminists still rages. Nevertheless, a rich culture of inclusiveness has grown around those low in the structure, and they often have been assigned the symbolic function of representing humanity without status qualifications or characteristics (Turner, 1974, p. 234). This sense is that of the powers of the weak. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights showed the same ethic in 2004, and the idea of democracy is founded on the value of the simple human being seen as undifferentiated, beyond social structures and human-made distinctions.

In the last decades of the twentieth century another class of the liminal has risen to the fore out of the class of the lowly, that of bad liminality or permanent *negative liminality*. This is the state of people who fall through the cracks—the suicides and the hopeless. The group is represented by those who suffer nervous breakdowns or depression; the subjects of violence; those with post-traumatic stress disorder; those suffering from cancer, HIV, psychiatric disorders, alcoholism, and self-abuse; those who are alienated, such as the Dostoevskian figure of Raskolnikov; the socially invisible; the "disappeareds," immigrants, those with no identity or qualifications, homeless, and without health insurance, and thus often with physical impairments and therefore unemployable, constituting an unrecognized "lower caste," even in U.S. society. Then there are those in conditions of misfortune, or devastating wars, or disasters such as the nineteenth-century Irish famine. Finally, people of very great age exist, enduring circumscribed lives in assisted-living facilities, perhaps on permanent dialysis, or in hospice, facing a lonely death.

The spectacle of their suffering continually hangs before one's eyes and one does not know what to do about the problem. Some of those who have helped the sufferers have been beatified, such as Mother Theresa of Calcutta. The liminality of the negative group seems to be in other hands. Phenomena that have the power to tip the scale on these states may be the visit of a divine spirit bringing healing and salvific gifts, such as at Knock in Ireland; the coming of a prophet, such as Moses leading the Hebrews to the promised land; the spontaneous *communitas* that arises in disasters, for instance, the Dunkirk spirit; the stimulation of the mainstream that produces activists and revolutionaries, such as Mahatma Gandhi and Nelson Mandela; movements, such as Methodism in its day and liberation theology; and for the individual, conversion, as in the case of Thomas Merton, or the experience of Alcoholics Anonymous, or the near-death experience. In conclusion, liminality is the "time out" from the everyday that has become available for humans to reflect, reevaluate, comment, critique, challange, and possibly change routines and structures. They are still free to "drop out, turn on, and tune in." Liminality is pure possibility, creativity, a venue or means for personal, social, and cultural change, growth, and healing.

SEE ALSO Gennep, Arnold van; Rites of Passage; Turner, Victor.

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LIN-CHI See LINJI

LINGAM See ICONOGRAPHY, *ARTICLE ON* HINDU ICONOGRAPHY; PHALLUS AND VAGINA; ŚIVA

LIṄGĀYATS See ŚAIVISM, *ARTICLE ON* VIRAŚAIVAS

LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS See ANALYTIC PHILOSOPHY

LINGUISTIC THEORY See MÜLLER, F. MAX

LINJI (d. 867 CE), known also by his initiatory name Yixuan; Chinese Buddhist monk of the Chan school. Linji (Jpn., Rinzai) is considered the eponymous "ancestor" (founder) of the Linji sect, one of five major Chan schools. In Japan, Linji's Chan was transmitted though the Rinzai lineage, one of the principal Zen schools there.

Like most Chan monks, Linji studied the canonical teachings of Buddhism while still in his youth and eventually progressed from doctrinal to practical studies. An early source of Chan history, the *Zu tang ji*, suggests that he took particular interest in the doctrines of the Weishi (Skt., Vijñāptimātratā, or Representation Only) school. Some of the emphases in his own teaching, his concern to expose the mental nature of the actualities underlying Buddhist doctrines and the artificiality of their formulations, are reminiscent of Weishi Buddhism. In Linji's teaching, the notion of nonattachment as a means of freedom is extended to include intellectual and spiritual matters as well as emotional and material concerns. In common with many Chan teachers, he pointed out that striving for higher attainments may be no more than a disguised form of greed, a kind of agitation that in fact inhibits realization of enlightenment. Linji recommended nonseeking, in the sense of noncontrivance, contending that the spiritual noble is the one who is free from obsessions, not the theoretician or the devotee of transic exercises. In Linji's terms, the task of Chan is to be free, to be immune to psychological coercion by practices or ideas, people or circumstances; the fundamental experience he called for is what he referred to as "the true human being without status," the original, "ordinary" human being, of which all states, mundane or spiritual, are merely, in Linji's terms, "clothing." To this end he repeatedly called attention to what he called the formless light of the mind, the giver of names and definitions, which itself cannot be defined or grasped but only experienced through itself.

Linji's recorded sayings include descriptions of the teacher-student interaction, an important part of Chan activity, which outline the perceptive capacity needed in a genuine teacher, various didactic strategies, and typical barriers to understanding. This aspect of Linji's work provides valuable material for understanding processes of Chan Buddhist teaching as relational or situational rather than dogmatic.

In his own teaching, Linji was famed for his shout, which he described as a technique that might be used in a number of ways, such as to interrupt a train of thought, dislodge fixed attention, test a student by observing the reaction, draw a student into an interchange, or express the nonconceptuality of being in itself. Such was the impact of this method that it was extensively imitated, to the point that certain of Linji's heirs expressly denounced such mimetic behavior as void of true understanding. Nonetheless, "Linji's shout" became a stock expression in Chan lore, and continued to be employed ever after.

Linji's sayings contain elaborations of themes and structures used by his predecessors; several of these became standard items of later Chan teaching material. Among the most famous of Linji's formulations is his "four views," in which he sums up basic processes of Chan in terms of (1) effacing the environment while leaving the person, (2) effacing the person while leaving the environment, (3) effacing both person and environment, and (4) effacing neither person nor environment. Like other Chan devices, these views allude to actual experiences to be undergone by the practitioner in accordance with need.

Although most of Linji's twenty-odd spiritual successors are obscure and his lineage did not flourish until more than half a century after his death, he became one of the outstanding figures of tradition. The record of his sayings, *Linji lu* (T.D. no. 1958), is one of the great classics of Chan Buddhism. Excerpts from this collection appear in numerous Chan books of later times, used as illustrative stories or points for meditation. Less-well-known materials of a somewhat different tradition also appear in the tenth-century *Zu tang ji* and *Zong jing lu*.

SEE ALSO Chan.

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THOMAS CLEARY (1987)

LIONS. Largest of the cat family and feared by most wild animals, the lion is almost universally known as the "king of beasts." Its physical appearance, size, strength, dignified movements, and fierceness in killing other animals have, since early times, left a deep imprint on the human psyche. Associations with the concept of royalty (i.e., power, majesty, control of others) have elevated the status of the lion as symbol; such figures as Richard the Lion-Hearted; various Catholic popes who have taken the name of Leo; the Buddha, who was known as the "Lion of the Śākya Race"; and Christ, called the "Lion of Judah," have all been identified with this animal through their imputed possession of certain heroic qualities. Sekhmet, Gilgamesh, Herakles, Samson, David, Daniel, Aeneas, and Aphrodite all share some of the "lion-like" qualities of ferocity, strength, valor, dignity, and nobility.

In astrology, such connotations of royalty were taken a step further: The lion was equated with the solar principle, which is often identified as the illumination of consciousness. The constellation of Leo was assigned the sun as its ruler, and the zodiacal sign of Leo appearing during the hottest time of the year (July–August). This relationship between the sun and Leo is central to an understanding of the major role played by the solar principle in this complex symbolism.

In early Western mythology, sun/lion attributes were identified as powerful cosmic forces, eventually replacing the moon/bull themes that had dominated earlier myths. In Sumer and Crete, the lion was associated with the blazing sun, which slays the moon and parches vegetation. In Egyptian art and mythology, representations of lions were frequently stationed at the end of tunnels and placed at palace doors and tombs to protect against evil spirits. Sekhmet appears as a lion-headed woman holding a sun disk. She was known as a war goddess and became associated with the Temple of Mut during the reign of Amunhotep II (1450–1425 BCE). In his study *The Great Mother* (New York, 1963), Erich Neumann sees Sekhmet as a symbol of fire—the devouring, negative aspect of the solar eye that burns and judges.

In the Hebrew scriptures (Old Testament), the lion appears as a symbol of strength and power and an object of fear intended as a catalyst in humanity's relationship to God. The allusion in *Judges* 14:18—"What is stronger than a lion?"—and the story in *Daniel* 6 of the prophet who was sent into the lion's den as a test of his faith in God exemplify the awe-inspired associations of the lion with God's power to judge humankind.

In Christian iconography Mark the evangelist is depicted as a winged lion, perhaps because the first chapter of the *Gospel of Mark* refers to "the voice of one crying in the wilderness" (*Mk.* 1:3), a voice that reputedly resembled a lion's roar. The lion is also symbolic of Christ's royal dignity. The *Book of Revelation* contains a reference to the lion as symbolic of Christ, particularly his ability to conquer evil and overcome darkness: "Weep not, the Lion of Judah, the Root of David, has conquered" (*Rv.* 5:5). The lion also came to symbolize resurrection. According to popular legend, lion cubs, when born in litters of three, were stillborn; they were brought back to life by their father, who after mourning for three days, revived them with his breath. Similarly, Jesus, three days after his death, was resurrected by God the Father.

Royal and superhuman qualities are also reflected in the portrayal of the Hindu Great Mother goddess, Śakti, who rides upon a lion. In one of Viṣṇu's many incarnations, he manifests himself in the form of Narasimha, the "man-lion," to defeat the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu. Numerous references in the *Bhagavadgītā* demonstrate the importance of the lion as a symbol. In battle scenes, Bharata, chief of warriors, is compared to Indra and described as an "invincible lion of a man."

Well-known representations of the lion in Indian Buddhist art include the Aśoka pillar, capped by a four-faced lion, and the Sarnāth pillar, crowned by a lion upholding a great wheel or disk indicative of the solar principle. In Tantric Buddhist art, the bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Mañjusrī are seated on lions, and the fierce goddess Siṃhamukha is depicted as having the head of a lioness. The stylized posture called the Buddha Entering *Nirvāṇa* is also known as the Lion Posture and forms part of the ritual for disciples being initiated into certain ceremonies.

In addition to its function as a representation of the solar principle, the lion symbol has also been variously used to depict contemplation and the solitary life. These qualities are best illustrated in the lives of certain Christian saints, especially Euphemia, Ignatius, Jerome, Paul the Hermit, and Mary of Egypt.

Rebirth motifs have also focused on the lion. In the Mithraic cult, the lion-headed god Aion (Deus Leontocephalus) is associated with time and the shedding of light so that rebirth may ensue. C. G. Jung regarded the lion, as discussed in alchemical literature, as a "synonym for mercurius . . . or a stage in transformation." "The fiery lion," he concludes, "is intended to express passionate emotionality that precedes recognition of unconscious contents."

According to Heinrich Zimmer, the insatiable qualities of the lion as devourer are demonstrated in Śiva's creation of a lion-headed monster. The *Book of Job* (4:10) also notes the destructive, fear-inspiring characteristics of the lion in epitomizing its roar as the "voice of the fierce."

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LI SHAO-CHÜN SEE LI SHAOJUN

LI SHAOJUN (second century BCE), magician and alchemist at the court of the Chinese emperor Han Wudi (140–87 BCE). According to a contemporary history, the *Shi ji*, Li, like many earlier magicians, first gained prominence in the northeastern coastal area of China, present-day Shandong. There he won a reputation among the nobility for his magical remedies and especially for warding off old age. Though he never explicitly claimed to be more than seventy himself, he let it be known that he had witnessed events decades or even centuries earlier than would have been possible for a septuagenarian. In 133 BCE Li attracted the attention of the emperor himself. He recommended that Wudi should worship the God of the Stove (Zaojun) as a preliminary to transforming cinnabar into gold; this gold was then to be used to make eating utensils that would confer on the food served from them longevity-producing powers. Eating these foods was in turn a precondition for sighting the immortal beings of the magic isle of Penglai, off the Shandong coast. Only then would Wudi's performance of the imperial *feng* and *shan* sacrifices on the sacred Mount Tai win immortality for himself as well. Li claimed that he had already visited Penglai and there had met the immortal Master Anqi.

Although Li's career at court was cut short by his death before the emperor had succeeded in encountering immortals himself, Wudi continued to send out expeditions in search of Master Anqi, on the assumption that Li had in fact not died but had himself been transformed into an immortal. A legend (attested in the fourth century CE) claims that before Li's death, the emperor dreamed that an emissary riding on a dragon flew down and announced that Li had been summoned by the god Taiyi. Some time after Li's death, Wudi had his coffin opened and found in it only his gown and hat. According to another account, Li came to court only in order to acquire for his own use the ingredients for an elixir of immortality too expensive for an impoverished private citizen. The emperor's well-attested concern with the supernatural inspired further legends during the period of disunion that followed the fall of the Han in 220 CE. These elaborated on Li's career in yet greater detail. In some he is confused with the necromancer Shaoweng, a later thaumaturge at Wudi's court.

To modern scholars Li remains a significant figure as the first recorded alchemist in Chinese history, the first devotee of the pursuit of immortality who was said to have feigned death, and the first of many known to have worshiped the God of the Stove. The *Shi ji* account also states that Li practiced the avoidance of cereal foods, a discipline that would figure prominently in later ages as a means of achieving longevity or even immortality. Later hagiography is probably correct, however, in depicting him as but one among many magicians of his day with similar preoccupations.

SEE ALSO Alchemy, article on Chinese Alchemy.

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LITERATURE

This entry consists of the following articles:

LITERATURE AND RELIGION
RELIGIOUS DIMENSIONS OF MODERN WESTERN LITERATURE [FIRST EDITION]
RELIGIOUS DIMENSIONS OF MODERN WESTERN LITERATURE [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]
CRITICAL THEORY AND RELIGIOUS STUDIES

LITERATURE: LITERATURE AND RELIGION

The most apparent and apposite justification for including literary materials in the study of religion is the historical one. What is most obvious, however, is often overlooked. In virtually every high-cultural system, be it the Indic, the Islamic, the Sino-Japanese, or the Judeo-Christian, the literary tradition has, though in vastly different forms and guises, developed in intimate—indeed, often intertwining—relation to religious thought, practice, institution, and symbolism. Without paying due heed to Greek myth and thought, to Hebrew saga and wisdom, and to Christian symbolism and piety, the twenty-five-hundred-year "drama of European literature," as German scholar Erich Auerbach calls it, simply cannot be understood. Conversely, our knowledge of these three religious traditions, of their self-expression and cultural impact, would be grossly truncated without specific consideration of their literary legacy in both canonical and extracanonical writings. In a similar way, Daoist rituals, Buddhist dogmas, and Confucian ethics joined, in imperial China, to shape and sustain the classic forms of Chinese lyric poetry, drama, and prose fiction. The itinerant Buddhist priest and his exorcistic exploits in medieval Japan have provided numerous plots for Nō drama, while subtle debates on the buddhahood of trees and plants (*somoku jobutsu*) underlie many of the exquisite *waka* of Saigyo, the twelfth-century poet. In Hinduism, Judaism, Christianity, and several major divisions of Buddhism, sacred and secular hermeneutics have developed, at various periods, in a parallel or mutually influential manner. To ignore this interrelatedness of holy and profane texts and the interdependence of their interpretive sciences is to distort large segments of the world's literary and religious history.

THE TESTIMONY OF LITERATURE. Scholars have frequently suggested that certain genres of literature, notably poetry and drama, may have arisen directly from religious rituals. While such a view may not be applicable to all forms of literature, the Romanian-born American religious scholar Mircea Eliade determined that the origin of some types of epic is traceable to the practice of shamanism. One of the most important and conspicuous features of literature's relation to religion is thus that of affirmation, in the sense that literature—both oral and written—functions to preserve and transmit religious ideas and actions. Witness the detailed description of Sibylline prophecy in the Roman poet Virgil's *Aeneid* (6.77–102) or haruspicy (foretelling the future) in the Roman dramatist Seneca's *Oedipus* (303ff.). Sometimes in a particular culture, as in the case of ancient India, literature may be the principal record of a religious tradition.

German scholar Albin Lesky noted in *A History of Greek Literature* (1966) that the "relation between gods and men is central in the world of Homer" to an even greater extent, Lesky's observation would describe a vast amount of ancient Near Eastern and Indian literature. Dubbed "une initiation manquée" by Eliade in *Histoire des croyances et des idées religieuses* (1976), the *Epic of Gilgamesh,* in its Sumerian and Old Babylonian versions, is a classic example of religious materials commingling with entertainment and adventure, the accepted hallmark of secular literature. Although its action is concerned with the ostensibly human quest for knowledge and escape from mortality, and though there is no firm evidence that the poem was ever recited as part of religious ritual (as was *Enuma elish,* the Babylonian poem of creation), *Gilgamesh* itself nonetheless provides its readers with a full and intricate view of Mesopotamian cosmology and theogony. As the story of Gilgamesh and Enkidu unfolds through its several extant episodes—the siege of a city, a forest journey, the routing of a fickle goddess, the lamented death of a tutelary companion—the epic simultaneously describes the character and activity of a host of deities. The vast pantheon and the important role these deities play in the poem reveal important conceptions of the divine in this ancient civilization. Moreover, the story of the Deluge and vivid accounts of the underworld have, understandably, elicited illuminating comparison with Hebraic notions of creation and eschatology.

To students of the Indian tradition, it is entirely appropriate, indeed even commonplace, to assert that religion provides both form and substance for virtually all of its classical literary culture. So indivisible are the two phenomena that in *The Literatures of India: An Introduction* Edward Dimock and his colleagues write that "until relatively modern times in India—meaning by India the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent—it is sometimes difficult to distinguish literature from religious documentation. This is not because there has been an imposition of a system of religious values on the society; it is rather because religion in India is so interwoven with every facet of life, including many forms of literature, that it becomes indistinguishable" (1974). The truth of such a sweeping declaration is to be found first and foremost in the exalted doctrine of the spoken word in Indian antiquity, in every sense a potent equal to the Hebraic *davar* or the Johannine *logos.* This view holds that literary speech, not that of home or court but a way of speaking that is deliberately cultivated, is virtually identical with divinity, "the Goddess herself, the first utterance of Prajapati, Lord of Creation, and herself coterminous with creation" (Dimock). Literary speech is the language enshrined in the Vedas, four collections of hymns with origins dating to the second millennium BCE. Although these hymns are themselves magnificent and majestic ruminations on humankind's place in the cosmos and our relation to our fellow creatures, and on the great questions of life and death, it is the language itself that was supremely revered long before the texts were transcribed. It is as if the serene sublimity of the text, called *sruti* ("revelation" or "that which one has sacramentally heard"), demands of its earthly celebrants a method of transmission that would defy the corrosive power of time. To the long line of priests entrusted with this awesome responsibility, this concept means the obsessive concern for letter- and accent-perfect recitation of these sacred hymns and sacrificial incantations. This profound respect for the word not unexpectedly gave rise also to a science of linguistic analysis, in which detailed etymological investigation complements the exhaustive, minute dissections of words and their linguistic components. The Sanskrit grammar of Pāṇini (fl. around 400 BCE), comparable in effect to the minister Li Si's codification of the Chinese radical system (c. 213 BCE) and Xushen's compilation of the first great dictionary, *Shuowen Jiezi* (c. 121), exemplified this science and standardized Sanskrit as a national literary language.

That language, of course, is also the mother tongue of many of India's major literary monuments. As the texts of the Vedas have led to the development of philosophical speculations later embodied in the Aranyakas and the Upaniṣads, so the literature in Sanskrit, as defined according to Pāṇini's grammar, encompasses the two monumental epics, the *Mahābhārata* (compiled between 500 BCE and 400 CE) and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, authored by the poet Valmiki in the first century. The length of the former is unique in world literature; it is a one-hundred-thousand-line poem about the protracted conflict between two rival brothers, Dhrtarastra and Pandu, and their descendents, the Kauravas and the Pandavas. Sometimes called "the fifth Veda," it is also a massive compendium of mythologies, folk tales, discourses, and dogmas (the *Bhagavadgītā* is an insertion in the sixth book of the poem) that epitomizes what scholar Northrop Frye has termed "the encyclopedic form."

Unlike its companion, the *Rāmāyaṇa* is a shorter work with a more unified perspective, a romantic tale in which the hero, Rāma, assisted by a host of magical monkeys led by Hanuman, their simian leader, routs the god Ravana, abductor of Rāma's wife. Similar to the compendious nature of the two epics are the Purāṇas, a repository of "stories and tales and sayings that document the thoughts, the religious attitudes, and the perceptions of self and world of the Indian peoples" (Dimock). The first century CE, which saw the *Rāmāyaṇa*'s composition, also witnessed the birth of the *kavya* style of writing, the poetic expressions of which include both the longer narrative form (the *mahakavya*) and the short lyric (the *subhasita*).

Sanskrit is just one of the major linguistic and literary currents in the history of India. Other significant tributaries which must be mentioned include the Dravidian literatures, of which the four primary languages are Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam, each having its own forms and conventions and its own epic, lyric, and narrative works. There are also rich and varied specimens of Hindi and Bengali religious lyric, and for students of Buddhism, Pali and Prakrit literatures constitute the indispensable vehicle for both canonical and extracanonical writings. Though the scholar of Indian religions, like all scholars of religions, must also study art and architecture, rites and institutions, icons and cults, social structures and cultural patterns, the length and breadth of that nation's literary history offers a magnificent panoply of virtually all the salient themes of religion: cosmology and eschatology, theogony and theomachy, *dharma* and *karma,* sin and redemption, pollution and purification, fertility and immortality, initiation and apotheosis, austerity and piety, and the thousand faces of the divine. In *From Myth to Fiction: The Saga of Hadingus* (1973), the French scholar Georges Dumézil demonstrates in his studies the inextricable link between the gods and heroes in an epic like the *Mahābhārata.* The five Pandava heroes, as well as countless others, are bonded to the mythic by divine parentage. These heroes replicate on earth the tripartite function of their parents: sovereignty, force, and fecundity. Moreover, whole mythological scenarios have been "transposed," according to Dumézil, onto the human level to undergird the characters and their actions in the epic. The eschatological conflict at the end of the world becomes the great battle of the *Mahābhārata* and numerous other Indo-European epics. The ancient opposition between the Sun and the Storm God in the Vedas is transplanted in the famous duel between Karna (son of the Sun) and Arjuna (son of Indra). To understand this aspect of the epic characters and their exploits is therefore to recognize "an entire archaic mythology," displaced but nonetheless intact. For this reason also, Dumézil can claim that what we know of the formation of such epics is equivalent "to the same thing in many societies, the formation of 'the history of origins'" (*Du mythe aux roman,* 1970).

India is not the only culture wherein a developed body of literary texts serves as a fundamental datum for the scholar of religion. In a well-known passage, the Greek historian Herodotos has observed that "Homer and Hesiod are the poets who composed our theogonies and described the gods for us, giving them all their appropriate titles, offices, and powers" (*Histories* 2.15). This claim is not in dispute, though the picture drawn by these two poets must be supplemented by the Homeric *Hymns* and the works of Stesichorus, Pindar, and the tragedians.

Theogony, a work attributed to Hesiod and composed soon after 700 BCE, contains meticulous descriptions of the underworld. This feature indicates the Greeks' deep interest in the condition and physical locale of the departed; moreover, the thematic resonance of the subject would, through Book Eleven of the Odyssey, spread beyond Hellenic culture to touch such subsequent Western poets as Vergil and Dante. As befits its name, however, *Theogony* is centrally concerned with the processes of divine emergence, differentiation, and hierarchy. Since it purports to trace the successive stages by which Zeus (a sky and storm god of unambiguously Indo-European origin) attained his unchallenged supremacy, the poem devotes greater attention to those immediately related to this deity and his dynastic struggles (Kronos, Hekate, Prometheus, and a motley crew of monsters and giants) than to other prominent members of the Olympian circle of Twelve Gods. While the earlier portion of the work focuses on cosmogonic development in which Ouranos and Gaia, sky and earth, were first enveloped and then separated by Chaos, the latter part chronicles among other events the series of Zeus's marriages—to Metis, Themis, Eurynome, Mnemosyne, and Hera. The significance of these multiple unions and erotic adventures is discernibly both religious (hierogamy) and political. Eliade notes, "By taking to himself the local, pre-Hellenic goddesses, worshiped since time immemorial, Zeus replaces them and, in so doing, begins the process of symbiosis and unification which gives to Greek religion its specific character" (*Histoire,* vol. 1, 1976). This portrait of Zeus's growth and triumph has its literary counterpart in the depiction of the central heroes of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey,* who are also transformed from local cultic figures to the Panhellenic heroes of immortal songs.

The Homeric poems offer possibly the earliest and certainly the fullest account of the gods after they have achieved their permanent stations and functions. Throughout the two epics, the presence is felt not only of Zeus but also of martial and tutelary deities like Athena, Hera, Apollo, and Poseidon and of gods with particular functions like Hermes and Hephaestus. The critical roles such deities assume, as well as their unpredictable behavior, confer on the relation between gods and men its characteristic antinomies: distance and nearness, kindness and cruelty, justice and self-will.

Of the heroes of Greece, Herodotos has said that they "have no place in the religion of Egypt," implying that the worship of noteworthy dead men and women, real or imaginary, is peculiar to Hellenic culture. In fact, however, because these sorts of individuals do populate other Indo-European literatures, their presence in Homer sheds an odd, distinguishing light on these poems as both literary masterpieces and religious documents. The fact that they are local cultic figures celebrated by a Panhellenic epic tradition means that the central heroes "cannot have an overtly religious dimension in the narrative," according to Gregory Nagy in *The Best of the Acheans* (1979). On the other hand, it is not the near-divinity of the Greek heroes—their cultic background, their fully or semidivine parentage, or their elicitation of subsequent speculation on how virtuous humans can become gods—that makes them impressive. It is, rather, says author Paolo Vivante in *The Homeric Imagination* (1970), the "disconcerting ambiguity" of their humanity—"to be born of gods, and yet to be human"—that sets apart figures like Achilles and Prometheus (in Greek dramatist Aeschylus's trilogy) and endows them with problematic magnitude.

The Homeric poems are famous for their portrayals of the deities in the image of human virtues and vices, of precipitous actions and petulant emotions. These anthropomorphic features, however, cannot obscure the one profound feeling pervading all classical Greek literatures: that between gods and men a great gulf exists. Whereas the blessed Olympians are immortal, humans are miserable, short-lived creatures who may, in the words of Apollo, "glow like leaves with life as they eat the fruits of the earth and then waste away into nothing" (*Iliad* 21.463).

Only against this background of life's brevity and human insignificance can the strivings of heroic virtue be seen in their greatest intensity and special poignancy. Only in the light of the constant injunction against excess and aspiration to divinity, that one should not forget one's mortality, can the heroic epithet "godlike" attain its fullest ironic impact. In Homer and in the tragedians, the gods are free to uphold or to dispose, to confirm or to deceive, to enable or to destroy. They may even be tied to particular individuals (Apollo and Hector, Athena and Odysseus) by means of an affinity that is both natural and ideal; yet at no point in this divine-human encounter are the gods to be trusted. "The gods have made us suffer," declares Penelope to her husband Odysseus at their long-awaited reunion, "for they are jealous to think that we two, always together, should enjoy our youth and arrive at the threshold of old age" (*Odyssey* 23.210-212). The pathos of this utterance notwithstanding, the mood of this epic is not one of bitter regret for what fulfillment life might have brought had the divine powers been more benign. The *Odyssey* is, rather, a celebration of the exercise of human intelligence, resourcefulness, courage, and loyalty in the presence of overwhelming odds, as is the *Iliad* also, specifically when depicting Hector's farewell and departure for battle, or Priam's solitary confrontation of Achilles. In *After Babel* (1975), George Steiner writes, "The totality of Homer, the capacity of the Iliad and Odyssey to serve as repertoire for most of the principal postures of Western consciousness—we are petulant as Achilles and old as Nestor, our homecomings are those of Odysseus."

To speak of the gods' jealousy and self-will is to confront the character of their morality, already a problem disturbingly felt in the Homeric poems but reserved for the keenest scrutiny by the tragic dramatists. The fundamental issue is whether human suffering is an affair of crime and punishment, as when Paris in his sin brought down divine wrath (*nemesis*) upon his city (*Iliad* 13.623), or whether suffering is the result of capricious interference by the gods (often referred to as *atē*).

Tragedy's enduring bequest to Western civilization, and its first paradox, is the arresting but troubling spectacle of the failure of an extraordinary individual. Men and women like Ajax, Philoctetes, Oedipus, Antigone, and Medea, because of their exalted station in life and nobility of character, should in all likelihood enjoy success. Tragedy, however, disabuses us of that expectation by showing us that, as the classicist James Redfield puts it in *Nature and Culture in the "Iliad"* (1975), "virtue is insufficient to happiness." Its second paradox stems from the realization that such a spectacle can be intensely pleasing. Aristotle's *Poetics,* attempting to explain both these phenomena, concentrates on the ideal properties of tragedy's internal structure and its designed effect on the audience. Many modern interpreters believe that catharsis, whatever its precise meaning, represents the key to the Aristotelian understanding of tragic pleasure. The aesthetic appeal of tragedy lies in its capacity to neutralize or purge the tragic emotions of pity and fear aroused by the incidents in the plot, much as the mimetic medium itself delights the audience by working to remove the repugnance caused by certain natural objects (*Poetics* 1448b). The realization of tragedy's aesthetic power, however, hinges on the proper resolution of the first paradox. Hence Aristotle highlights the concept of *hamartia:* an good but not perfect person fails, not out of his or her own vice or crime, but through error or ignorance.

Such a formulation clearly reflects the philosopher's perception of the necessarily unequal balance between culpability and consequence. The protagonist must not be wholly innocent or wholly wicked, for his suffering should neither revolt nor exhilarate. Only undeserved suffering or the kind that is disproportionate to one's offense can arouse the requisite tragic emotion of pity (cf. Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1386b). The audience's cognitive and emotive response thus depends on its accurate assessment of the hero's situation, which in turn depends on how a drama unravels the causes of faulty knowledge or ignorance of circumstance that can initiate a disastrous sequence of action. Although Aristotle's explanation stresses human motivation and action, the literary texts themselves are more ambiguous, for they frequently point to the complementary image of divine interference as the ultimate cause of evil in human existence.

Whereas *atē* in Homeric religion invariably implies the awful delusion instigated by capricious deities, writers such as Hesiod, Solon, Theognis, and Pindar tend to see it also as a form of punishment for human arrogance and violence. Both strands of emphasis converge in the theology of the dramatists. In Aeschylus's *The Persians,* for example, Xerxes is both victimized by a demon, which exacerbates his actions, and guilty of hubris, for which he is further afflicted by delusion. In the *Oresteia,* Zeus is extolled as all-seeing, all-powerful, the cause of all, and the bearer of justice. Against such a high view of the godhead, nonetheless, there is at the same time the discordant and jarring emphasis, notably in *Prometheus Bound,* on Zeus as a cruel and truculent despot, one who is hardhearted (160) and is not open to reason or entreaty (184–185). The string of testimonies on divine malevolence extends even further in the plays of Sophocles and Euripides. Perhaps the extreme expression of the god who blinds and dooms is to be found in the latter's *Heracles* when Lyssa, at Hera's command, appears in palpable form to madden the pious hero, who kills his wife and children, mistaking them for the sons of Eurystheus.

Even in the dramas which make no use of such sensational devices as the *deus ex machina,* in *Hamartia: Tragic Error in the "Poetics" of Aristotle and in Greek Tragedy* (1969), Jan Bremmer notes that there is a constant depiction of "an arbitrary and malicious interference of the gods with human action, causing infatuation in man and resulting in disaster." In the language of the dramatists, *atē* has consequently been interpreted by contemporary scholars as the counterbalance to Aristotle's concept of *hamartia.* Though it neither exculpates the guilty nor exempts the person from accountability, *atē* helps the reader think the unthinkable. The momentous error leading to disaster cannot be "explained" fully by human irrationality, excess of passion, or finitude of knowledge alone. "When adverse circumstance seems to give evidence of a hidden pattern hostile to man," as Redfield notes, the dramatists invariably invoke the deed of the god who strikes for producing the ironic perversion of purposive action (including Oedipus's desperate moves to save his city and Phaedra's tactics under the influence of Aphrodite). This aspect of tragedy is what shocks Plato, for its explicit formulation, as the French philosopher Paul Ricoeur succinctly points out in *Symbolism of Evil* (1967), "would mean self-destruction for the religious consciousness." Therefore, the notion of evil's divine origin cannot be suggested or made explicit in reflective wisdom, cultic worship, or the reasoned discourse of formal theology. It can come into thought only through the concrete, albeit circuitous, medium of art. The figure of the wicked god is not, however, an isolated cultural aberration of ancient Greece; the historian of religion Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty notes in *The Origins of Evil in Hindu Mythology* (1976) that the Indian tradition also embodies many paths of theodicy and antitheodicy. The literary data that enshrine tragic theology, scandalous though its implications may be, will therefore always be pertinent to the study of certain types of religious phenomena—from primitive sacrifices to the modern anomaly of a Jonestown massacre.

If Greek religion has had lasting impact on major genres of classical literature, the effect of the Christian religion on Western literary tradition is even more pronounced and far-reaching. In the incisive observation by author E. R. Curtius in *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (1953), "It was through Christianity that the book received its highest consecration. Christianity was a religion of the Holy Book.

Christ is the only god whom antique art represents with a book-scroll. Not only at its first appearance but also throughout its entire early period, Christianity kept producing new sacred writings—documents of the faith such as gospels, letters of apostles, apocalypses; acts of martyrs; lives of saints; liturgical books." There is, however, one crucial difference between Classical Greek literature and Christian writing. Whereas the former is largely reflective of a religious ethos peculiar to one culture, the latter is by no means the unique product of one solitary community. Even the language and form of Christian canonical writings bear the imprint of antecedent religious milieus, notably the Jewish and the Greco-Roman. In his zeal to defend Christian particularism, the second-century apologist Tertullian once posed the famous question "What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?" In this rhetorical question, however, he failed to remember that Jerusalem as a sacred city and a symbol of faith was not solely a Christian notion. Throughout its long history, Christianity and its environing culture have always developed in a dialectical fashion of discreteness and syncretism, invention and adaptation, disjunction and harmony.

Such a process is apparent at the outset of Christian literary history, in the twenty-seven documents that make up the New Testament. Virtually all four major literary types found in the canon—gospel, acts, letters, and apocalypse—possess the paradoxical features of distinctiveness and newness in utterance on the one hand and affinity and alliance with local literary cultures on the other. In its formal totality, the gospel may be regarded as a novel genre created by the early Christian community, since its synthetic amalgamation of narrative, biography, history, dialogue, and sermonic materials defies easy classification. When analyzed in the light of historical and form criticism, however, many of the gospel's smaller, constitutive units are demonstrably comparable to other verbal forms and expressions found in the religious and philosophical movements of the Hellenistic world. There are, for example, elements of the biographical apothegm, which chronicles the life of a sage climaxing in pregnant sayings or dramatic dialogues; and there are tales of the miracle worker or healing hero common to Mediterranean religions of that era. The permanent legacy of Jesus as master teacher may well have been his highly individualized use of the parable, but the form itself was long known in rabbinic instruction. The content of Jesus' teachings on many occasions again may show striking originality or deviation from tradition, but the language in which his teachings and actions are cast (e.g., the marked series of anaphoras that introduce the Beatitudes, and the deliberately crafted introduction to *Luke* and *Acts*) can also significantly reveal the author or redactor's familiarity with classical rhetoric and literary form.

This phenomenon of originality joined with conventionality also characterizes the named, anonymous, or pseudonymous epistolary writings of the New Testament. Students of the apostle Paul's letters are understandably prone to stress their distinctive features: the Christian transformation of the opening and address; the special use of the diatribe; the vivid autobiographical accounts; the intimate, personal tone of his concerns; and the powerful texture woven out of both *kerygma* (the proclamation of Christ as crucified and risen Lord) and *parenesis* (exhortations and advice to churches). To balance such an emphasis, it must be pointed out that these apostolic documents are not isolated instances of letter writing. Letters in the ancient world were used, among other purposes, as a medium for the exposition of ideas, and such writings as those of Epicurus on philosophy, Archimedes and Eratosthenes on science, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus on literary criticism still provide an illuminating context for the study of Christian epistolary achievement. Increasingly, contemporary New Testament scholarship has come to recognize that Paul's education may well have included exposure to the rhetoric of Roman law courts, the practices of itinerant Greek philosophers, and the conventions of Greek letter-writers. For example, Hans Deiter Betz has analyzed the letter to the churches in Galatia in terms of the classical apology (whose form includes the exordium, narration, proposition, proof, and conclusion), and Wayne A. Meeks sees the famous chapter on love in Paul's first letter to the Corinthians (*1 Cor.* 13) as a possible imitation of a Greek encomium on virtue.

In the subsequent centuries of the Christian era in the West, the tension between "pagan learning" and an emergent Christian literary culture continues to be evident. Anticipating by more than a millennium some of the sentiments of Milton's Christ in *Paradise Regained,* the *Didascalia apostolorum* (Teachings of the Apostles, 12) solemnly instructs the faithful:

> But avoid all books of the heathen. . . . If thou wouldst read historical narratives, thou hast the Book of Kings; but if philosophers and wise men, thou hast the Prophets, wherein thou shalt find wisdom and understanding more than that of the wise men and philosophers. And if thou wish for songs, thou hast the Psalms of David; but if thou wouldst read of the beginning of the world, thou hast the Genesis of the great Moses; and if laws and commandments, thou hast the glorious Law of the Lord God. All strange writings therefore which are contrary to these wholly eschew.

The persistence of Greco-Roman *paideia* (education and acculturation) in the schools and the gradual increase of educated converts, however, rendered it inevitable that a narrow parochialism had to modify itself. In his *On Christian Doctrine,* Augustine of Hippo (354–430) epitomizes the alternate attitude in a rhetorical question: "While the faculty of eloquence, which is of great value in urging either evil or justice, is in itself indifferent, why should it not be obtained for the uses of the good in the service of truth?" Once Christians had settled on this prosaic but potent justification for art, realizing that beauty could be enlisted for the cause of faith, incentives for adapting alien cultural forms and creating original productions multiplied. Echoing Augustine's sentiments, the seventeenth-century poet George Herbert asked of his God:

> Doth poetry Wear Venus' livery, only serve her turn?
> Why are not sonnets made of thee, and lays Upon thy
> altar burn?

In view of such zealous concern, it is not surprising that Catholic meditative techniques and Protestant biblical poetics would combine to produce in the late English Renaissance an abundance of the finest Christian devotional lyrics.

Although the bulk of patristic prose literature remains in the categories of dogmatic treatises, apologetics, exegetical and hermeneutical writings, homiletics, and pastoral disquisitions, Christian writers of the early centuries have also contributed to noteworthy and lasting changes in literary language. While the likes of Minucius Felix (d. about 250) and Cyprian (d. 258) faithfully and skillfully emulated classical models, Tertullian forged a new style through translation, word-borrowing (Greek to Latin), and the introduction of new Latin diction based on vernacular usage. By means of extensive translations (of both sacred scriptures and other Christian writers), letters, lives of saints, travelogues, and the continuation of Eusebius's chronicle, Jerome (c. 342–420) also mediated between classical antiquity and Christian letters.

Within this context of continuity and change, Augustine of Hippo justifiably occupies a place of pivotal importance. Not only did he set forth a profound and mature theological vision that across the centuries has exerted abiding influence on both Catholic and Protestant thought in the West, but his mercurial mind and voluminous speculations also directly funded such divergent developments as medieval literature, science, and aesthetics. More than any other figure in early Christian history, Augustine exemplifies the near-perfect fusion of pagan wisdom and Christian invention, of thought and style, of ideology and language.

As the astute analysis of German scholar Erich Auerbach has shown, the sermons of Augustine are masterful transformations of the Ciceronian model of oratory. To the ornate abundance of rhetorical figures and tropes at his disposal, the bishop of Hippo brought new depths of passion, piety, and inwardness. Of the three styles (magna, modica, and parva) that defined the ancient gradations of writing, the last and the lowliest is now endowed with unprecedented dignity and employed with new flexibility, precisely because *sermo humilis* is structured to mirror the threefold *humilitas* of the Incarnation, the culture of the Christian community, and the relative linguistic simplicity of scripture.

Just as Augustine's *Confessions* exists for all posterity as the undisputed prototype of both spiritual and secular autobiographies, and his *City of God* as an unrivaled exemplum of Christian philosophy of history and historiography, so his *On Christian Doctrine* remains a milestone in the history of interpretation theory and homiletics. The Augustinian understanding of rhetoric, hermeneutics, poetry, and allegory pervades medieval formulations of literary theory, notable in the works of Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636), Vergil of Toulouse (fl. seventh century), Bede (c. 673–735), Alcuin (c. 730–804), Rabanus Maurus (c. 780–856), John Scottus Eriugena (fl. 847–877), and Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225–1274). The grand themes of his theology—creation, the human image as analogy to the divine, the fall, the incarnation, election, redemption, history, providence, temporality, and eternity—and his particular mapping of the *ordo salutis* find reverberations and echoes, not only in such specifically Christian poets as Spenser and Milton, but also in some of the Romantics and moderns.

Unlike writing in prose, poetry had a discernibly slower development within Christianity. Although three of the largest works in the Hebrew canon are essentially poetical—*Job, Psalms,* and *Proverbs*—and long passages of poetry stud the historical and prophetic books, what passes for verse in the New Testament amounts to no more than bits and fragments. Christians had to wait for over a thousand years before they produced devotional and liturgical verse of comparable intensity and complexity to "the songs of David." The author of *Colossians,* in a well-known passage (*Col.* 3:16), bids his readers to sing "psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs," and hymn singing was apparently a common act of worship among the early Christians (cf. *1 Cor.* 14:26, *Eph.* 5:19, *Mk.* 14:26, *Acts* 16:25). But the texts of such hymns or songs are all but unknown. Even the so-called *Magnificat,* preserved in the first chapter of *Luke,* displays greater indebtedness to Hebraic sentiment and diction than to Christian feeling. Beyond the canonical corpus, examples of early Christian versification in classical languages may be found in such diverse contexts as the pseudo-Sibylline Oracles (additions by Judaic Christians in the late first to third centuries); an anonymous poem at the end of *Paidagogos* by Clement of Alexandria (early third century); the partly allegorical *Symposium of the Ten Virgins* by Methodius (fourth century); the *Peristephanon, Cathemerinon,* and *Psychomachia* by the Spaniard Prudentius (late fourth century); the *Carmen Paschale* by Sedulius (mid-fifth century); and in such verse paraphrases of the Bible as Juvencus's *Historia evangelica* (fourth century) and Marius Victor's *Alethia* (fifth century). With the possible exception of those by Prudentius, these works are now read more for their historical than for their literary merit. The ensuing Carolingian age produced verse (both accentual and quantitative) on a variety of subjects, which would eventually fill four massive volumes (in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*), but no poet ranking with the immortals. As for vernacular literature, such poems as the *Chanson de Roland, Beowulf,* and the *Víga-Glúmssaga* continue to fuel scholarly debate about the extent to which Christian conceptions of virtue and piety colored pagan notions of heroism and fate.

In contrast to the relative simplicity of their predecessors' accomplishments, the poetic genius of Dante, Spenser, and Milton seems all the more remarkable, for the Christian tradition would be immeasurably impoverished if it did not possess their writings. These eminent theological poets, however, are so well known and their works have been the subject of so much sustained commentary that additional analysis may be superfluous. Yet, their permanent greatness in the annals of Western religious poetry surely rests on their creation of original, large-scale works of art that are at the same time monuments in the history of religions. Neither ponderous paraphrases of scripture or doctrinal treatises nor the unassimilated union of poetic forms and religious substance, the texts of the *Commedia, The Faerie Queene,* and *Paradise Lost* represent the fullest, most systematic exploration and embodiment of the poets' faith. Each in its respective manner is, as Dante said of his own masterpiece, "a sacred song / To which both Heaven and Earth have set their hand" (*Paradiso* 25.2–3). Their luminous, mellifluous sacredness is measured not only by the way they faithfully reflect or document tradition, but also by the creativity and acuity wherewith they challenge and revise tradition. According to Curtius, for example, Dante claims for his poem "the cognitional function Scholasticism denied to poetry in general," and Auerbach, in *Dante: Poet of the Secular World* (1961), holds that Dante reverses Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologia* by disclosing "divine truth as human destiny, as the element of Being in the consciousness of erring man." Milton's attempted theodicy significantly alters patristic and reformed dogmas (Christology, election, creation, and sin) to stress a dynamic conception of the image of God and the import of free will and human love in the drama of fall and redemption. Their distinctive elucidation of scripture and embroidery of tradition render these articulate canticles part of Christian exegesis and theology, for they participate as much as any work of "the doctors of faith" in seeking to comprehend and interpret the original mystery of faith, of revelation itself.

THE STUDY OF LITERATURE. The foregoing survey of religious and literary history has sought to demonstrate how individual texts, figures, genres, movements, and periods may provide crucial data for the student of religion. The survey has been deliberately focused on more traditional materials, since its principal thesis is manifestly more restricted in the modern era, given the undeniable shifts in historical development and cultural climate. However, inasmuch as the study of religion frequently, if not exclusively, involves the study of verbal texts, the discipline is even more indissolubly bound with the study of literature. Both disciplines entail the deepest and most wide-ranging engagement with the analysis of language, and this engagement implicates all the concerns of the human sciences.

Prior to any textual interpretation there must be an acceptable text. This truism forcefully reminds us that textual criticism, the science developed since the Renaissance for the establishment of the so-called proper text, already locates the unavoidable convergence of classical scholarship, biblical criticism, and the techniques of literary analysis. Most religious communities are not as fortunate as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, which has in its possession both partial and complete versions (the latter in the church's reorganized branch) of the *Book of Mormon*'s original manuscript. For Jews, Christians, and Buddhists, however, the original documents of revelation exist only in a scholarly construct called the "ur-text" and, if even that seems an impossible ideal, in a family or group of the best texts, critically ascertained and adjudged to approximate the original form. Of necessity, therefore, the study of sacred texts at its most fundamental level already employs procedures and methods that transcend the provenance of any particular religious tradition or community. The author of *2 Timothy* may claim that "all scripture is inspired by God" (*2 Tim.* 3:16), but all scripture is not thereby protected from wayward readings by errant mortals or the corruptions of temporal transmission. As Jerome McGann puts it in *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (1983), "To repair the wrecks of history" requires the use of "a historical method," and any religion of the book or books must rely on this most venerable of humanistic disciplines (that is, textual criticism, which for McGann depends on the historical method) for its continuance and propagation.

Were textual criticism merely an affair of the mechanical activities of editing, collation, and application of the canons of textual criticism, the consequence of its pursuit might not appear to be immediately relevant. But scholars have long recognized that in many instances, textual criticism does bear powerfully on textual interpretation. On the one hand, the modes of critical reasoning used to determine variant readings are identical with or similar to those engaged in the determination of verbal meaning, in exegesis, and in translation. On the other hand, the difference of a single word or of an entire edition can drastically alter the text's meaning. Whether Christians, as a result of their "justification by faith," are told that they in fact *have* peace with God or that they *are to have* peace with God depends on the selection of either the indicative *(echomen)* or the hortatory subjunctive *(echōmen)* found in the different manuscript traditions of *Romans* 5:1. Even modern literature is not free of the accidents of textual indeterminacy. "Soiled fish of the sea," a phrase lodged in the Constable Standard Edition of Herman Melville's works, led the great American critic F. O. Matthiessen to speak unwittingly in *American Renaissance: Art and Expression in the Age of Emerson and Whitman* (1944) of "the *discordia concors,* the unexpected linking of the medium of cleanliness with filth, [which] could only have sprung from an imagination that had apprehended the terrors of the deep," only to have his eloquence vitiated by the cruel discovery of a typesetter's oversight, when "coiled," not "soiled," proved to be in both the English and American first editions of the 1849 novel *White Jacket.* The publication in 1984 of James Joyce's *Ulysses: A Critical and Synoptic Edition,* edited by Hans Walter Gabler, with five thousand corrections and additions heretofore unavailable, has led critics to reexamine and revise many previous interpretations of this modern classic.

Because textual criticism wishes to retrieve a text as free as possible of historical corruptions, its goal is often taken as the starting point for textual interpretation. Paradoxically, however, such criticism can also set one kind of limit for interpretation. The authoritative text in such a discussion means that which is closest to the author's final intentions, whether those intentions are perceived to be identified with a manuscript or one of the first printed editions. Although such considerations are germane to many modern texts, they become unsuitable for editing (and thus for interpreting) many medieval and older texts. In *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (1983), Jerome G. McGann notes:

> In their earliest "completed" forms these texts remain more or less wholly under the author's control, yet as a class they are texts for which the editorial concept of intention has no meaning. These texts show, in other words, that the concept of authorial intention only comes into force for criticism when (paradoxically) the artist's work begins to engage with social structures and functions. The fully authoritative text is therefore always one which has been socially produced; as a result, the critical standard for what constitutes authoritativeness cannot rest with the author and his intentions alone.

In the example from *Romans* 5 cited above, even the recovery of the original manuscript may not be decisive enough to decipher authorial intention, since the fact that the Greek words are homonyms could easily have dictated the particular spelling of the amanuensis known to have been used by the apostle. Short of questioning Paul himself, the reader is left with two perhaps equally plausible readings, but with definitely different meanings. A scholar can recover, independently and without difficulty, the meaning of these two Greek words, but no amount of attention to what the literary theorist E. D. Hirsch in *Validity in Interpretation* (1967) calls the "shared experiences, usage traits, and meaning expectations" can determine exactly what Paul wished to convey by this particular sequence of linguistic signs. Inability to discern final intention in this instance is also synonymous with inability to discern original intention, but the indeterminancy of textual meaning is not caused so much by the historicity of modern understanding as it is by the historicity of the text.

In his effort to elevate the discourse of contemporary literary criticism, author Geoffrey Hartman, in *Beyond Formalism* (1970), wants to make it "participate once more in a living concert of voices, and to raise exegesis to its former state by confronting art with experience as searchingly as if art were scripture." This noble proposal unfortunately does not make clear how searchingly scriptural exegesis has been confronted with experience. More importantly, it overlooks the fact that scriptural exegesis itself throughout its history, much as any other kind of exegesis, has always had to struggle with the question of how a verbal text is to be read, how its language—from a single word to an entire book—is to be understood. If biblical critics of late, according to the scholar Frank Kermode in *The Genesis of Secrecy* (1979), "have been looking over the fence and noting the methods and achievements of the secular arm," this tendency is not radically different from the Alexandrian school's appropriation of Philonic allegory to interpret Christian scriptures or the Protestant reformers' use of humanistic philology to advance their own grammatical-historical mode of exegesis. Wary of misreadings through willful or unintended anachronism, some contemporary biblical scholars are justifiably skeptical of the current movement to read the Bible as literature, and to expound upon sacred writ by means of secular norms and literary classifications.

Although comparing Hebrew narrative with Homeric epic or analyzing a parable of Jesus' in terms of plot and character can yield limited results, the reverent affirmation that scripture must be read as revelation or the word of God does not itself explain how language is used in divine literature. The confusion here arises from the too-ready identification of literature with fiction, itself a common but nonetheless a particular view of the nature of literature. The rejection of this view, on the other hand, in no way absolves the biblical reader from wrestling with the linguistic phenomenon that is coextensive with the text. Does the Torah or the New Testament or the *Lotus Sūtra* use language as human beings do, and if not, what other contexts are there for their readers to consider and consult? What sort of literary competence or what system of conventions ought to be operative in reading sacred texts?

The history of Christian biblical exegesis is filled with examples of how interpretation changes along with different reading assumptions and conventions. A particular view of language has led patristic writers to understand in a certain way the terms *image* and *likeness* (Heb., *tselem, demut;* Gr., *eikona, homoiosin;* Lat., *imaginem, similitudinem*), used in the first creation narrative of *Genesis.* Irenaeus, in the second century, thought the former signified the *anima rationalis* (rational soul) in human nature, whereas the latter referred to the *donum superadditum supernaturale* (an additional divine gift of perfection) which will be lost in the fall. Later interpreters, notably the Protestant reformers, challenged this developed Catholic doctrine of the *imago dei* on the ground that it missed the Hebraic convention of linguistic parallelism (pairs of words or phrases with closely related meanings), though the reformed interpretation itself is by no means free of dogmatic presupposition. Similarly, the precise meaning of the Eucharistic formula, "This is my body . . . this is my blood," has eluded interpreters and divided Christendom for centuries because the issue of whether it is a literal or a figurative statement is as much linguistic as it is theological.

These examples of biblical exegesis reinforce one basic insight of the German Protestant theologian and philosopher Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834), namely that special or sacred hermeneutics "can be understood only in terms of general hermeneutics" (MS 2, in *Hermeneutics: The Handwritten Manuscripts,* ed. H. Kimmerle, 1977). For this very reason, every significant turn or development in literary theory and the culture of criticism should, in principle, be of interest to scholars of religion. Because verbal texts are more often than not the objects of their inquiry, author Robert Alter believes they must know "the manifold varieties of minutely discriminating attention to the artful use of language, to the shifting play of ideas, conventions, tone, sound, imagery, syntax, narrative viewpoint, compositional units, and much else" (*The Art of Biblical Narrative,* 1981). That last amorphous category, in the light of the American and European critical discourse since the mid-twentieth century, would certainly include such large and controversial subjects as phenomenology, philosophical hermeneutics, psychoanalysis, feminist criticism, genre theory, reception theory, communication and information theory, linguistics, structuralism, and deconstruction. Although space does not permit extensive treatment of any single facet of this new "armed vision," a brief review of the problem of where to locate textual meaning may be instructive.

In the heyday of New Criticism, distinguished by its apologetic zeal to honor literature's intrinsic worth and mode of being, meaning was virtually identical with the text. In contrast to scientific denotative language, literary language was held to be reflexive and self-referential; hence the perimeters of a single text constituted its most proper context. Meaning was generated by the text's essential form or verbal structure, which Cleanth Brooks, in his 1947 book *The Well Wrought Urn,* said resembled "that of architecture or painting: it is a pattern of resolved stresses." Because the poem represented the most felicitous union of ontology and praxis— "it is both the assertion and the realization of the assertion"—its meaning was thus paradoxically comprehensible but supposedly could not be paraphrased. Similarly, the act of interpretation was itself something of a paradox. On the one hand, the aim of interpretation was to ascertain "the way in which the poem is built . . . the form it has taken as it grew in the poet's mind." Since interpretation was thought to be determined by no factor other than that single object of the text, even the consideration of its origin or effect (the celebrated "intentional" and "affective fallacies") was deemed extraneous and irrelevant. Because the text was taken as the privileged vehicle of meaning, its integrity could be preserved only if the interpreter were purged as much as possible of his or her own assumptions, prejudices, beliefs, and values. Despite such noble effort, the New Critics confessed, the interpreter's act carries the pathos of a quixotic quest, for the adequacy of criticism will always be surpassed by the adequacy of the poem.

In various ways, the history of literary theory since the mid-twentieth century may be regarded as a steady and increasingly stringent attack on such New Critical doctrines of the text and the interpreter. The Heideggerian notion of *Vorverstädnis* (fore-understanding), mediated by the writings of the German biblical and philosophical scholars Rudolf Bultmann and Hans Gadamer, demonstrated the impossibility of unprejudiced, objective interpretation, because no act of knowing can be undertaken without a "pre-knowing" that is necessarily bound by the person's history and culture. In fact, both texts and the historical "horizon" of the interpreter, when scrutinized by such hermeneuticians of suspicion as Marxists, neo-Marxists, and Freudians are inevitably obscured by ideology, false consciousness, or the subversive language of repression. In place of the "closed readings," in which purity and objectivity are ensured by an innocent and submissive critical consciousness, the languages of both text and critic seem more likely to wear the masks of deceit and desire, as well as those of domination and violence. Instead of the text being the bearer of meaning as intended by the author, textual meaning is regarded as a product either of readers or communities of readers or of the dialectical interplay of the text and the reading process. Meaning may be actualized by uncovering the deep structures—the equivalences and oppositions—buried within a poem's semantic, syntactic, and phonological levels, by the delineation of the vision and world projected "in front of" the text, or by the perception of generic codes that at once familiarize and defamiliarize.

The most radical treatment of the problem of text and meaning is certainly that fashioned by French philosopher Jacques Derrida and his followers. The traditional view of language in Western civilization has been essentially a mimetic one: that is, language can faithfully and fruitfully mirror the interchange between mind, nature, and even God. Deconstruction, however, undertakes the most trenchant and skeptical questioning of the symmetrical unity between words and meaning. According to Terry Eagleton in the 1983 book *Literary Theory: An Introduction,* "For the signified 'boat' is really the product of a complex interaction of signifiers, which has no obvious end-point. Meaning is the spin-off of a potentially endless play of signifiers, rather than a concept tied firmly to the tail of a particular signifier. . . . I do not grasp the sense of the sentence just by mechanically piling one word on the other: for the words to compose some relatively coherent meaning at all, each one of them must, so to speak, contain the trace of the ones which have gone before, and hold itself open to the trace of those which are coming after." (For this reason, meaning in the Derridean view must be qualified by the characteristics of *différance* [in the sense of both difference and deferral], absence [in the sense that signs are forever inadequate to "make present" one's inward experiences or phenomenal objects], and decentering [in the sense of rejecting the "transcendental signified" and reconceptualizing any notion of the fixed origin or metaphysical *Urgrund* as merely the product of desire.]) To speak of the stability and determinancy of textual meaning is therefore meaningless, just as it is futile to refer to a poem's language as its proper context. The context of a poem, rather, is the entire field of the history of its language, or, in commentator Jonathan Culler's apt dictum, "Meaning is context bound, but context is boundless" (*On Deconstruction: Theory and Criticism after Structuralism,* 1982). Meaning is thus finally coincidental with the Nietzschean concept of free play, both labyrinthine and limitless; and interpretation, far from being an affair of passive mimesis, is another form of mediation and displacement, of substituting one set of signifiers for another.

The merit of deconstruction for literary study remains hotly debated. To the study of religion, a discipline committed to investigating the infinite varieties and morphologies of "the irreducibly sacred," a program so replete with logocentrism, the challenge posed by the uncanny, Cassandra-like utterances of Derrida seems all too apparent.

DECONSTRUCTION AND RELIGION. By the end of the twentieth century, the term *deconstruction* had become commonplace in popular culture and across the humanities and social sciences. Its effects on inquiry into religion have proven to be as paradoxical as Derrida himself, who has written of religion appreciatively as well as critically. To grasp this perhaps surprising development requires noticing how Deconstruction differs from other critical practices.

In many ways, it resembles what Ricoeur calls the "hermeneutics of suspicion." Derrida exposes arbitrary, seemingly innocent dualities in texts and traditions (e.g., where "depths" are assumed to be truer than "surfaces," and "originals" more authentic than "copies"). He intersects with feminist, psychoanalytic, Nietzschean, and Marxist-related critiques of gendered interests, racism, collective neuroses, and unacknowledged power. Some of the earliest deployments of Deconstruction sought to dismantle the "logocentric" assumptions it detects in both classical and modern reasoning.

Deconstruction follows a distinctive trajectory, however. First, it must indicate its own norms cautiously, ironically, or "under erasure," since principles of justice or compassion would also be part of the disconcerting play of signifiers. Secondly, deconstructive readings—almost as if they were guests, hosts, or parasites—insinuate themselves into the language at hand. The reader, after all, has no place to be other than amid the play of differences in the texts and traditions being read. This strategy of textual interplay can make reading Derrida's writings quite challenging. When he writes of religion, he locates himself in proximity not only to theory about religion but also adjacent to scriptures and practices. And appropriately so, for he is a francophone Jew born in Algeria, who remains both apart from yet in contact with Judaism; his work has affinities with midrashic commentary. So one should be cautious in assuming that deconstructive criticism is only suspicious, since its attentions to linguistic and rhetorical details often elucidate textual meaning.

Derrida himself has encouraged one of the positive appropriations of Deconstruction in religious thought, acknowledging its resonance with apophatic, or negative, ways of knowing God. Clearly, his numerous near-synonyms for *différance* (*écriture,* trace, dissemination, supplement) do not name some unnamable, ultimate referent of negative theology. Since *différance* is but a neutral possibility, which both enables and destabilizes language and knowing, it is neither the hidden God nor the death of God. Yet some have observed that when *différance* is described as "wholly other" (*tout autre)* than being and knowing, its convergences with theological ideas of transcendence are hard to ignore. Dutch Philosopher Hent de Vries considers Deconstruction and negative theology to have become "silent companions in an attempt to establish new discursive forms and practices of philosophical and cultural analysis, of ethical deliberation and political engagement" (*Philosophy and the Return to Religion,* 1999).

Other religious responses to Deconstruction have attended less to its emphasis on *différance* than to its critiques of modernity. If one comes to doubt the self-sufficiency of Enlightenment beliefs about the autonomy of reason, then modern reductions of religion to social categories can begin to seem insecure. Deconstructive-like interpretation has cleared openings for reappraisals of religious practice and thought, such as Daniel Boyarin's *Intertextuality and the Reading of Midrash* (1990) and Jean-Luc Marion's *God Without Being* (1991). Some who have otherwise appreciated its critiques of modernity, however, have strenuously dissented from what they regard as the nihilism of Deconstruction, viewed less as a critical practice than an ideology that regards writing as another instance of Nietzsche's will-to-power. Similarly, Deconstruction has been valued for unmasking the political and religious rationalizations so often evident in histories of oppression, and for listening carefully to the silences in testimony about such events—as when survivors of the Shoah (Holocaust) challenge consoling ways of coming to terms with evil. Nevertheless, its approach to texts that bear witness to great harm or injustice has prompted the worry that postmodern critique can be rather ahistorical; it may risk reducing the limits of mimesis in suffering to a general theory of linguistic limits, instead of considering how history may rupture reflective language in particular ways.

Derrida addresses these issues of particularity and universality in his works on religion. He learned much from Emmanuel Levinas, one of his earliest interlocutors. Their decades-long exchange concerned how far one may universalize the encounter with the "face of the other," which creates, for Levinas, the ethical imperative that precedes all philosophical issues. If this encounter reduces to a universal "otherness," then particular others may be eclipsed. Because Deconstruction does not understand the other reductively, however—it claims only to probe the intertextual milieus in which others are met—then arguably it is an approach that respects particularity.

Rhetorical innocence may be a quixotic dream, yet religion is most intriguing, believes Derrida, when it desires "the impossible." It is more compelling in its practices of prayer, mourning, giving, confession, circumcision, hospitality, and testimony than when conceptualizing the divine. In his essay "Faith and Knowledge" (in *Acts of Religion,* 2002), Derrida likens religion, as least in the West, to an ellipse, whose foci are the idioms of faith (belief, trust, obligation) and of the holy (the sacred, "the unscathed," purity). This unstable structure figures in ancient and modern histories of "enlightenment" and can now be seen globally in perplexing, even contradictory alliances. Derrida observes how religious personalities and institutions frequently attempt to use the machinery of telecommunication and cyberspace to preserve identity and resist the ways that the machine alienates persons from one another. Yet there also remains, anterior to the shifting terms of religion, the metaphor of the "desert." While Derrida alludes to Sinai and to eremites and mystics, by the desert he means the all but impossible "place" of *différance,* where the other is met. His late ruminations invite us to contemplate the inherited and contingent uncertainties of signs, as they play host to protean transformations of meanings and identities in literature and religion.

SEE ALSO Aesthetics, article on Philosophical Aesthetics; Augustine of Hippo; Bhagavadgītā; Biblical Exegesis; Biblical Literature, article on New Testament; Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas; Buddhist Books and Texts; Cosmogony; Dante Alighieri; Deconstruction; Drama, articles on Ancient Near Eastern Ritual Drama; Enuma Elish; Epics; Evil; Gilgamesh; Hermeneutics; Heroes; Language; Law and Religion, article on Law, Religion, and Literature; Mahābhārata; Myth, overview article; Poetry, articles on Christian Poetry, Indian Religious Poetry; Quests; Rāmāyaṇa; Scripture; Shamanism, overview article; Upaniṣads; Vedas.

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LITERATURE: RELIGIOUS DIMENSIONS OF MODERN WESTERN LITERATURE [FIRST EDITION]

In the West, the major literature of the modern period forms a canon reaching from Stendhal to Faulkner, from Leopardi to Stevens, from Gogol to Malraux, from Rimbaud to Rilke and Yeats and Montale; and this is a canon that, in its predominant tone and emphasis, is secular. Indeed, the modern writer, in his characteristic manifestations, is commonly regarded (in the phrase from Wallace Stevens's *Esthétique du Mal)* as a "shaken realist" who, in a time left darkened by the recession of traditional codes and patterns of belief, has had to steer his own course without compass or guiding star. The Christian mythos has, of course, steadily retained its power to offer certain figures a controlling vision of the world; and, in this connection, one will think of such poets and novelists and dramatists of the present century as Georges Bernanos, Paul Claudel, François Mauriac, Gertrud von le Fort, T. S. Eliot, David Jones, W. H. Auden, R. S. Thomas, Graham Greene, and Flannery O'Connor. But these and numerous others who might also be spoken of are writers who, for all the immense distinction of an Eliot or an Auden, form nevertheless a minority tradition that does not carry (in Matthew Arnold's phrase) "the tone of the centre."

This is by no means, however, to say that the literature of the modern period is without significant religious interest. For even when it has thrown away, as Stevens would say, all the lights and definitions of the past and when it will no longer use "the rotted names" for what it vaguely and agnostically descries of *theos* "in the dark," it may, by the very radicality of its unbelief, awaken sensibilities of a contrary order, so that by way of a kind of *coincidentia oppositorum* it becomes an instrument of religious recovery. One classic case in point is Paul Claudel's testimony (in his preface to the *Œuvres de Rimbaud*, Paris, 1924) about how his early admiration for the poet of *Une saison en enfer* came to be a decisive *praeparatio* in his own life for a deeper entrance into the Christian faith. And similar testimonies have been made by others about the poetry of Baudelaire and the fiction of Kafka and the theater of Beckett.

The analysis of the interrelations in the modern period between religious and literary forms finds its greatest challenge, however, in the kind of subterranean life that religious modalities often have in literature that announces itself as radically secular. Remarking this paradox often provokes, to be sure, a certain vexation among those literary scholars and critics who like a tidier state of affairs. So when, for example, a Christian interpreter of culture detects in this body of poetry or in that body of drama phases of Christian thought and feeling that have, as it were, gone underground and taken on strange new accents and guises, he may be irritatedly told that it is appropriate for literary criticism to make reference to the Christian firmament of value only when it is dealing with a literature that explicitly relies on a particular tradition of Christian orthodoxy, on its symbolism and conceptual structures and cultic forms and all its protocol. But (as Amos Wilder reminds us, in his book *Modern Poetry and the Christian Tradition*) it ought to be regarded as one of the great lessons of the Incarnation that a faith grounded in a divine act of self-*emptying* (kenosis) will itself always be an affair of diaspora—dying in order to live, wedding itself to changing forms and sensibilities "in a daring surrender of life, and [thus introducing] creative energies and perspectives which then make their appearance in secular form," and in ways undistinguished by any evangelical stamp.

The chief paradigm here is, of course, that of the Romantics, that "visionary company" of such people as Blake and Wordsworth and Chateaubriand and Hölderlin and Schiller. For these and numerous other strategists of the Romantic insurgency, though they were seeking a way out of the wilderness that had been created by Enlightenment iconoclasm, had yet lived through the Enlightenment, which meant that, eager as they were to retrieve the religious *possibility*, they could not simply reinstate without revision the traditional dogmatic system of Christian belief. Just as Romantic philosophers like Schelling and Hegel were adapting biblical themes and categories to the new requirements of speculative metaphysics, so, too, their literary counterparts were approaching their religious inheritance as in Wallace Stevens's phrase, a "poem of the mind in the act of finding / What will suffice" (*Of Modern Poetry*, in *The Collected Poems*). But, now that "the theatre was changed," if the poem of the mind were "to learn the speech of the place" and "to face the men of the time," it had "to construct a new stage." So, inevitably, it underwent the sort of profound hermeneutic transformation that had to be administered, if the received heritage of faith were to be so reconstituted as to be intellectually and emotionally appropriable in an altered climate. And very often (as M. H. Abrams has shown in his book *Natural Supernaturalism*) the result proved to be one or another kind of project for naturalizing the supernatural and for humanizing the divine.

Yet in Blake's *The Four Zoas* as in Hölderlin's *Hyperion*, in Wordsworth's *Prelude* as in Novalis's *Hymnen an die Nacht*, the pressure of biblical forms and categories is manifest: the central realities are alienation and reunion, death and rebirth, hell and heaven, paradise lost and paradise regained. And we can discern the formative influence of the archetypes of the old Christian story of man as an exiled pilgrim who, having lost an original state of felicity through a tragic fall, must undertake a difficult *Bildungsweg*, a circuitous journey in search of a new Jerusalem.

Now, it is this Romantic pattern—of the religious heritage being submitted to a process of revision and secularization but of the themes and issues of that heritage retaining a powerful underground life—that, improbable as it may at first seem, is frequently to be encountered in the literature of the modern period. It may well be, therefore, that in this connection we ought not to use the term *secularization*.

True, the idea of the world as the creation of a *deus faber*, of some sort of immaterial Person behind the myriad phenomena of experience who periodically perforates or breaks into the realm of nature and history to set things aright, is, indeed, an idea in which the modern writer does not characteristically take any great interest, and his tendency has been to endorse something like the famous word that the French astronomer Laplace offered Napoleon, when he said, "I have no need of that hypothesis." Which is not, however, to say that the literary imagination has not regularly sought to assure itself that the world is something more than the inert blankness of what Coleridge called "fixities and definites": on the contrary, again and again it searches for evidence that things are charged (in Stevens's phrase) with "a kind of total grandeur at the end," for evidence that, inconceivable though the idea of Grace "overhead" may be, the world does itself tabernacle grace and glory. Transcendence, in other words, is to be found in and through the secular, or, to borrow the terms of the French philosopher Jean Wahl, the route to be taken toward felicity and plenitude is not "transascendence" but "transdescendence"—or, in the familiar formulation of Dietrich Bonhoeffer's *Letters and Papers from Prison*, the "Beyond" is to be found "in the midst of our life." It is such an axiom as this that comes close to forming the basis of the period style in large ranges of twentieth-century literature, and it may be descried to be a guiding principle for writers as various as William Butler Yeats and Wallace Stevens, D. H. Lawrence and William Carlos Williams, Jorge Guillén and René Char, Marianne Moore and Charles Olson, Elizabeth Bishop and Gary Snyder, Jules Supervielle and Czeslaw Milosz.

The poetry of Stevens, for example, provides a great case of this relocation of transcendence into the dimension of immanence. Taking it for granted, as he does, that "the author of man's canons is man, / Not some outer patron" (*Conversation with Three Women of New England*, in *Opus Posthumous*), he is, to be sure, a "shaken realist" who finds it impossible to avoid the conclusion that something *else* "must take the place / Of empty heaven and its hymns" (*The Man with the Blue Guitar*, in *The Collected Poems*). So, as he says, "We seek / Nothing beyond reality" (*An Ordinary Evening in New Haven*, in *The Collected Poems*), since the "essential integrity" of things must be found within "The actual landscape with its actual horns / Of baker and butcher blowing." But this actual landscape is by no means for Stevens merely a huge *res extensa*, silent and dead and immeasurable. On the contrary, the "Is-ness" of everything that exists is invested with a most extraordinary radiance and presence: in the poem *Metaphor as Degeneration* he says, "It is being." This it is that lights up the things and creatures of earth—"mere Being," which is, as he says in *The Sail of Ulysses*, that

> Life lighter than this present splendor,
> Brighter, perfected and distant away,
> Not to be reached but to be known,
> Not an attainment of the will
> But something illogically received. . . .
> (*Opus Posthumous*, p. 101; used by permission)

So we need not, therefore, cast about for some *scala sacra* leading up beyond the phenomenal world into the timelessness of eternity, since that which is steadfast and reliable, which is gracious and deserving of our trust, is already at hand in "the vulgate of experience," in the uncreated Rock of reality—"mere Being"—which offers us "the imagination's new beginning." And most especially in the great poems of his last years—in *Chocorua to Its Neighbor*, *Credences of Summer*, *Notes toward a Supreme Fiction*, *A Primitive like an Orb*, *An Ordinary Evening in New Haven*, *To an Old Philosopher in Rome*, *The Rock*—all his "edgings and inchings" appear to be calculated at the end to speak of "the final goodness" of things, of a holiness indwelling every nook and cranny of the world, which invites "a fresh spiritual," one untouched by any sort of supernaturalist figuralism. It is a poetry of immanence. But, for all Stevens's impatience with traditional metaphysical theism, it can hardly be declared to be a poetry that fails to line itself up behind any significantly religious outlook, and its accent and emphasis require us to pay deference to what he himself on one occasion wanted to insist upon when, in a Christmas letter of 1951 to the critic Sister M. Bernetta Quinn, he said, "I am not an atheist although I do not believe today in the same God in whom I believed when I was a boy."

Yet, however much modern literary sensibility may be distinguished by the determination of such a writer as Stevens to find the possibility of transcendence in and through the secular, many of the old paradigms and archetypes of the Judeo-Christian story continue to endure with a remarkable persistence. More than three hundred years after the first publication of Milton's *Paradise Lost* the myth of the Fall, for example, has lost none of its power to captivate and focalize the literary imagination. In part, this is no doubt consequent upon the disclosures that have come from modern psychology of the furies of unreason that rage deep within the human interior. And in the twentieth century the gas ovens and concentration camps that have been devised for the obliteration of millions of people and the nightmares of nuclear warfare have surely provided the most compelling incentive for subsuming the human condition at large under this ancient apologue. But, for whatever reason, it has been used almost endlessly as a framing structure for narrative, and not only by writers sustained by some mode of religious orthodoxy but by, say, the Conrad of *Heart of Darkness*, the Hesse of *Demian*, the Camus of *La chute*.

Indeed, the English novelist William Golding is so obsessed by what is broken and deformed in the human situation that in book after book—in *Lord of the Flies*, in *Free Fall*, in *The Spire*—he uses in one way or another imagery of "fallenness." In, for example, his novel of 1954, *Lord of the Flies*, he builds his narrative around a group of English schoolboys who survive a plane crash on a tropical island. But this remote fastness turns out not at all to be any sort of Isle of the

Blessed: its shoreline is "torn everywhere by the upheavals of fallen trees," the heat is felt as "a threatening weight," and the forests roar and flail, the thorny underbrush is a reminder of how nearly the adjacent jungle presses in, and the fruits of the place induce diarrhea. Such is the uncongenial precinct amid which the little company of refugee schoolboys must undertake to organize a makeshift confederation for their common welfare. But, almost immediately, their life together is so perverted by the will to power that it collapses into a savage kind of depravity. They invent absurd taboos and barbaric blood-rituals. And their cruel aggrandizements against one another erupt at last into murder. Golding was for many years a teacher in Bishop Wordsworth's School, Salisbury; so, as an ex-schoolmaster, he has the requisite experience of boys for making the whole tale fully plausible. But his novel does not want to say "You see? This is what *boys* are like, once they escape the civilizing disciplines of family and church and school." On the contrary, it intends to say "Here is the naked reality of elemental human nature itself." Nowhere, to be sure, is any explicit reference made to the story about the garden of Eden in *Genesis*, but Golding's very refusal to submit the Fall to anything resembling logical or historical analysis is an indication that he, like the numerous other modern writers who work with this theme, takes for granted the lesson laid down by the English theologian John Seldon Whale (in his book *Christian Doctrine*), when he says: "Eden is on no map, and Adam's fall fits no historical calendar. Moses is not nearer to the Fall than we are, because he lived three thousand years before our time. The Fall refers not to some datable aboriginal calamity in the historic past of humanity, but to a dimension of human experience which is always present. . . . Everyman is his own 'Adam,' and all men are solidarily 'Adam.'"

Or, again, like the myth of the Fall, the Christic image is frequently invoked in the literature of recent decades. What is here being referred to is not, however, the kind of fictionalized biography of Jesus that occasionally provides the focus for historical novels in the mode of Robert Graves's *King Jesus* and Nikos Kazantzakis's *The Last Temptation of Christ.* Nor is reference being made to the various literary presentations—as in Gerhart Hauptmann's *Hanneles Himmelfahrt* or Upton Sinclair's *They Call Me Carpenter*—of Christ in modern garb, of the figure whom Theodore Ziolkowski (in his book *Fictional Transfigurations of Jesus*) speaks of as the *Jesus redivivus.* Nor, again, to insert still another negative, is reference being made to the phenomenon that Ziolkowski denominates as "Christomania," the condition that is being explored (as in Nathanael West's *Miss Lonelyhearts* or Kazantzakis's *The Greek Passion*) when the novelist takes as his subject a personage who, often under the pressure of a pathological psychology, commits himself to the exactions of an *imitatio Christi.* What is rather in view are the various examples in modern literature of sanctity and of redemptive suffering that are rooted in the archetype of Christ, in the same manner that other dramatic patterns are grounded in the archetypes of Prometheus and Orpheus and Parzival and Faust.

When poets and novelists and dramatists begin, out of whatever framework of personal belief, to explore what is involved in life releasing itself as an offering to other life, surely it is inevitable that this *leitourgia* should be apprehended, even if unconsciously, within the terms of the Passion story, since this is the most familiar and the most pervasive narrative in Western culture of what Dietrich Bonhoeffer (in his book *Ethics*) called "deputyship." When we act *for* others—as, said Bonhoeffer, when a "father acts for the children, working for them, caring for them, interceding, fighting and suffering for them" and thus undertaking to be "their deputy"—something is being given up: what is one's own is being handed over to another, for the sake of the human communion. And, at least on one level, it is of such sacrificial service that Christ stands in our culture as the primary archetype. So, when "deputyship" forms a part of the experiential reality with which the literary imagination seeks to deal, it ought not to be regarded as surprising that the figure of Christ should often be found hovering in the background.

One will not, of course, be surprised to find the Christic image being invoked by a Roman Catholic novelist like François Mauriac (in the character of Xavier Dartigelongue in *L'agneau*) or Graham Greene (in "the whiskey priest" of *The Power and the Glory*). But it is also to be encountered over and again in the fiction of many writers who, if not representing some mode of secular humanism, stand in at least a very ambiguous relation to Christian doctrine.

In American literature one will think, for example, in this connection of John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath.* Its moving account of the flight to California of a family of tenant farmers from an Oklahoma ruined by the dust storms of the 1930s established it as the dominant social novel of its period on the American scene, and it remains a minor classic. On their long and difficult journey the Joads are accompanied by Jim Casy, an ex-preacher who has lost his faith and who, in his lighthearted womanizing, does not conform in any conventional way to a saintly norm. But, in his steadfast loyalty to the Joads throughout all their hazardous journeying to the Promised Land (not unlike the journeying of the ancient Israelites) and in his sympathy for all those who are in need of succor and encouragement, he proves his role in the design of the novel to be that of showing that, indeed, the Good Place is not so much a particular region or tract of land as it is that space among human beings that is made radiant by reverence for the sacrality of the neighbor. And, not unnaturally, his fidelity to the insulted and the injured leads to his death at the hands of strikebreakers in California who are sent to hunt him down for the part he has played in leading a strike. Tom Joad, who kills the man who struck Casy, becomes a fugitive, and, when Ma Joad reaches him in his place of hiding, he says:

> Lookie, Ma. I been all day an' all night hidin' alone. Guess who I been thinkin' about? Casy! He talked a lot.

> Used ta bother me. But now I been thinkin' what he said, an' I can remember—all of it. Says one time he went out in the wilderness to find his own soul, an' he foun' he didn' have no soul that was his'n. Says he foun' he jus' got a little piece of a great big soul. Says a wilderness ain't no good, 'cause his little piece of a soul wasn't no good 'less it was with the rest, an' was whole. Funny how I remember. Didn' think I was even listenin'. But I know now a fella ain't no good alone.

So it seems that this Christlike man in death has at least one disciple, for Tom Joad appears to have mastered Casy's great lesson, that "two are better than one."

Nor will it be forgotten how regularly the Passion of Jesus guided William Faulkner's imagination. Though the principal action of *The Sound and the Fury* occurs in the year 1928, the chronology of the novel is, clearly, that of Passion Week. At the center of *Light in August* is not only Joanna Burden but also Joe Christmas, who is marked by the invisible "cross" of the Negro blood that flows in his veins and who, after a lifetime of being badgered and abused, is finally slaughtered on a Friday, at the same age of Christ at the time of his crucifixion. And he, too, achieves a kind of apotheosis, for, after being castrated by a white racial maniac while he is dying of gunshot wounds, "from out the slashed garments about his hips and loins the pent black blood . . . seemed to rush out of his pale body like the rush of sparks from a rising rocket; upon that black blast the man seemed to rise soaring into their memories forever and ever." Or, again, Ike McCaslin in *The Bear* and Nancy—"Negro, dopefiend, whore"—in *Requiem for a Nun* want in various ways to say, as Nancy puts it, "Trust in Him." And the book of 1954, *A Fable*, presents the culminating instance of Faulkner's dependence upon the imagery of the Passion, for his central protagonist here is an obscure pacifist corporal who, by the manner of his death in the attempt to bring to an end the carnage in the French theater of World War I, appears unmistakably to be an analogue of Christ.

Steinbeck and Faulkner are, of course, but two of many other writers who might be cited in this context, for, from the time of Melville's *Billy Budd* on to the present, the American literary imagination has been repeatedly drawn to the archetype of Christ. Nor does modern European literature represent any great difference in this respect. The fiction of the Italian novelist Ignazio Silone, for example—*Bread and Wine*, *The Seed beneath the Snow*, *The Secret of Luca*—recurrently presents a dramatic economy that is knit together by its parallels to the gospel of the New Testament, and Silone's play *And He Hid Himself*, which is essentially a dramatization of *Bread and Wine*, makes explicit how much Pietro Spina, the protagonist of the novel and of *The Seed beneath the Snow*, is intended to be a figure of Christ.

Or, again, odd as it may at first seem in the work of a writer apparently so distant from any sort of Christian position, the great climactic moment of André Malraux's last novel, *Les noyers de l'Altenburg*, is nothing if it is not a rehearsal of the Passion of Christ. The action occurs on June 12, 1915 on the Eastern Front, where the narrator's father Vincent Berger (a native of Alsace, then a part of Germany), as an officer of the German intelligence service, is observing a bombardment being launched by German troops against the Russians. A newly developed poisonous gas is to be used, and, once it is released and begins to float down the adjacent valley toward the Russian trenches, the German troops wait and wait, and continue to wait, but they can discern through their binoculars no trace of any activity in the neighborhood of the enemy's advance positions. So, after a long interval, they decide to move forward; but no fire comes from the Russian artillery. And, finally, Berger and the other staff officers begin to wonder why it is that, long after plunging into the Russian trenches, the foot soldiers in their advance guard do not reappear. At last they are seen, but instead of continuing their advance, they return in a great swarm, and the officers, as they peer through their binoculars, are baffled by what they seem to be carrying, which, at a distance of a mile or so, appear to be only white spots. As it turns out, the Germans, in making their way back to their own lines, are carrying the bodies of gassed Russian infantrymen. "No," says one, "man wasn't born to rot!" Berger, as he contemplates the scene, slowly realizes that this mutiny is not merely an expression of pity, that it attests to "something a good deal deeper, an impulse in which anguish and fraternity were inseparably mingled." And, as he passes a German infantryman struggling to carry on his shoulders a dying Russian out of "the sordid world of the liquefied forest," he notices that the two together in silhouette form an outline like that of the Descent from the Cross.

So the old images and myths and archetypes of the Christian story persist in the secular literature of the modern period, although often in altered form. But not only do these protoplastic forms continue to have a significant subterranean life; so, too, do certain habits of spiritual perception. The works, for example, of D. H. Lawrence—the Lawrence of *Women in Love* and *The Plumed Serpent* and *Lady Chatterley's Lover*—are a case in point. T. S. Eliot laid it down (in *After Strange Gods*) that Lawrence was "an almost perfect example of the heretic," that his vision was "spiritually sick," and that it could appeal only "to the sick and debile and confused." And no doubt Lawrence's quest of "mindlessness" and the "dark gods" and his commitment to "savage pilgrimage" will still prompt many to blurt out some such impatient dismissal as Eliot ejaculated. But such a response will only reflect, as it did in Eliot, a failure of intelligence, for Lawrence's whole emphasis on "phallic consciousness," as it was combined with his polemic against "mental consciousness," was intended to rescue human carnality from the kind of "scientific" reductionism that, in the manner of a Marie Stopes, would make it merely an affair of calculation and mechanism (as it is for "the young man carbuncular" of Eliot's *Waste Land).* In Lawrence's short story *Glad Ghosts*, Lord Lathkill is speaking to Colonel Hale about the latter's wife, now deceased, and he says: "You may have been awfully good to her. But her poor woman's body, were you ever good to that? . . . That's the point. If you understand the marriage service: with my body I thee worship. That's the point. No getting away from it." And in his richest work—in *The Rainbow*, in *Women in Love*, in *St. Mawr*, in many of his finest poems—it is precisely his purpose to advance such a sacramental view of the sexual act as may indeed be far more authentically Christian than the frequent tendency of the theological tradition, in both its Catholic and Protestant phases, to pronounce *concupiscentia* as valid only insofar as, within the bond of marriage, it is instrumental toward procreation.

Or, in another direction, we may turn to a writer as different from Lawrence in style of vision as Ernest Hemingway, and, immediately, the common tendency will be to think of him as having been a votary of *nada*, as one who was prepared to say (in the language of his famous story *A Clean, Well-Lighted Place*), "Our nada who art in nada, nada be thy name thy kingdom nada thy will be nada in nada as it is in nada. Give us this nada our daily nada and nada us our nada as we nada our nadas and nada us not into nada but deliver us from nada; pues nada. Hail nothing full of nothing, nothing is with thee." And many of Hemingway's readers may be inclined to posit—not, indeed, without some reason—that it is this "nothing full of nothing" that defines the basic metaphysical situation forming the background of his fiction. But, then, one may remember the glorious interlude of those five days that Jake Barnes and Bill Gorton in *The Sun Also Rises* spend together fishing in waters up in the Pyrenees, where the air is crisp and clean and where they exchange, as it were, a smile of complicity with the golden Basque uplands, with the clear trout streams and the dense beech woods and the untraveled sandy roads and the rising sun—and one will remember that the novel's epigraph from *Ecclesiastes* speaks of how "the earth abideth forever." Or one will remember Santiago in *The Old Man and the Sea* and his reverential amazement at how beautiful and wondrous are the creatures of the sea and the sky. Though he beseeches the Holy Mother after he has hooked his great marlin to "pray for the death of this fish," he thinks to himself, "Never have I seen a greater, or more beautiful, or a calmer or more noble thing than you, brother." And he is "glad we do not have to kill the stars." Or, again, in a similar vein, one will think of the Nick Adams stories in Hemingway's first major book, *In Our Time*, and of how Nick is touched by the healing power of the good earth as he fishes deep in the back country of the north woods of Michigan, sometimes tenderly unhooking the barb from the mouth of a trout he has caught and dropping it back into the water. And, throughout the novels and the short stories, there is so much else in this mode that it is difficult finally not to conclude that this writer often sounds one of the most primitive meanings of the Christian doctrine of Creation, that the world at hand is touched by a transcendent glory, that indeed (as it is said by the canticles of the Morning Office) the mountains and the hills, the nights and the days, the dews and the frosts, the sun and the moon, and all the things of earth "uttereth speech" and "sheweth knowledge" and are exalted forever.

Now it is into this general order of discrimination that we shall be taken when we begin to reckon with, say, Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, with many of Pound's *Cantos*, with Kafka's *Das Schloss*, with Brecht's *Der gute Mensch von Sezuan*, with Beckett's *En attendant Godot*, with William Carlos Williams's *Paterson*, and with a vast number of other focal modern texts. Which is not at all to say that, for all its secularity, the characteristic literature of the modern period reveals itself to be somehow controlled by an *anima naturaliter Christiana*. What requires rather to be acknowledged is that the great symbolic forms of Christendom never (as Mircea Eliade says of symbols generally, in *Images and Symbols*) simply disappear from the reality of the psyche: "the aspect of them may change, but their function [often] remains the same; one has only to look behind their latest masks." And it is the uncovering of what is hidden and disguised that constitutes the difficult effort to be undertaken when literature in the age of Joyce and Kafka and Sartre begins to be viewed from the standpoint of its relation to our religious inheritance.

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NATHAN A. SCOTT, JR. (1987)

LITERATURE: RELIGIOUS DIMENSIONS OF MODERN WESTERN LITERATURE [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

The most important development in Western literature since the 1960s is the rise of a movement that is generally known as postmodernism. Postmodern literature is characterized by a rejection of the Enlightenment's belief in a rational and authoritative narrative viewpoint in favor of an emphasis on the virtual, the fragmentary, and the subversive. Nathan A. Scott, Jr. concludes his essay "Tillich's Legacy and the New Scene in Literature" (1985) by recognizing that postmodern writing has firmly rejected "the old myth of 'depth'" (p. 147) upon which Tillich's theology of culture relied. He turns to Warner Berthoff, who suggests, with a nod to Robert Musil's novel in which "no serious attempt [will] be made to. . . enter into competition with reality" (147), that postmodern writing is "a literature without qualities" (p. 152). Postmodern literature, Scott notes, "hardly gives off even the slightest intimation of the sacred" (p. 152); it seems "utterly dry and vacant and unpromising" (p. 153). Yet the writers in contention—Donald Barthelme, John Barth, Raymond Federman and Thomas Pynchon—are, he admits, highly gifted, and it would be best for us to do as Tillich would have done—to wait and see before we make judgments about them, while at the same time remembering that great literature seeks to cope with the human situation and gives "a shape and a significance" to our lives (p. 153).

If we survey the "new scene" in the early twenty-first century, however, we will find ourselves obliged to extend Scott's vocabulary and to include other writers. Where Scott took Paul Tillich (1886–1965) as his theological reference point when associating religion and literature, we would be more likely in the early 2000s to cite Hans Urs von Balthasar (1905–1988), whose influence has increased significantly since his death. In the seven volumes of *The Glory of the Lord* (1961–1969; English translation, 1982–1989), the Swiss theologian provides a theological aesthetics rooted in the Hebrew Bible, the New Testament and the Church Fathers, and nourished by theologians as recent as Karl Barth (1886–1968). Von Balthasar attempts nothing less than a rereading of the entire Christian tradition in terms of the third transcendental—beauty—which he believes to have been bypassed in recent centuries by modernity's absorption in being and truth, the first two transcendentals. Revelation has an irreducible aesthetic dimension, *Gestalt*, or form, and aesthetics has an equally resistant theological component. Especially in the third volume of his series, von Balthasar writes illuminatingly on a range of authors from Dante Alighieri (1265–1321) to the French poet Charles Péguy (1873–1914). Yet his sympathies stop well short of postmodern writers. Von Balthasar's admirers are impressed by his diagnosis of modernity as misrepresenting being by discussing it as a concept rather than reality, and as relentlessly representing time in spatial terms. Yet they can put this critique to work only on modern aesthetics, thereby allowing the possibility of a postmodern theological aesthetics but without having any positive guidance from von Balthasar.

CHARACTERISTICS OF POSTMODERN LITERATURE. Scott was entirely correct to say that postmodern literature rejects depth as a hermeneutical value. A play of surfaces with nothing beneath them has been one of the signature motifs in literature since the early 1980s. It would be a hasty induction, however, to say that postmodern writing has no sense of the sacred. Postmodern emphasis on the fragmentary has led in unforeseen ways to a new way of thinking about religion. Attention to fragments of narrative and personality characterized both Romantics of the Jena tradition, such as Novalis (1772–1801) and Friedrich von Schlegel (1772–1829), and such high modernists as T. S. Eliot (1888–1965) and Ezra Pound (1885–1972). For all these writers, the fragment is a part of an absent whole. The fragmentary, on the other hand, attempts to pass beyond wholes and unities and to establish what Maurice Blanchot (1907–2003) calls a "relation without relation" or an "infinite relation" (Blanchot, *The Infinite Conversation*, 1993, pp. 73, 296). The fragmentary cannot be folded into any unity, past or future, and certainly not into any of the "grand narratives" that Jean-François Lyotard (1925–1998) took as characteristics of modernity (Lyotard, 1984, xxiii). Rather, it would be mobile and plural, forever unsettled and unsettling. For Blanchot, this new mode of relation bespeaks a rigorous atheism: it takes us beyond the One on which all notions of God rely. For theologian David Tracy, however, the fragmentary is precisely our way of grasping God. The Eliot of *The Waste Land* (1922), he argues, was a modernist, using fragments to shore him up against ruins of Western civilization, while the poet of *Four Quartets* (1943) now seems strangely postmodern in his use of fragmentary passages to suggest the intersections of time and eternity.

Looking back on Scott's essay, one can only be surprised to see how thoroughly the sense of "heteronomy" has changed in twenty years. For Tillich, a heteronomous culture (from the Greek word *hetero*, "other") is one in submission to a law that is alien to the creativity of the individual. His examples include the Catholic Church of the Middle Ages as well as the communist and fascist movements of the twentieth century. Opposed to heteronomy is an autonomous culture characterized by a spirit of "self-sufficient finitude" (Scott, 1985, p. 138). And at variance with both autonomy and heteronomy is what Tillich calls "theonomy," a state in which cultural creations embody a spiritual content.

One of the main theses of postmodern thought, however, has been that the other exceeds and is prior to the self, and that only if one affirms this asymmetric relation can one escape from the threat of totalitarianism. At times, this heteronomy is inhuman, as in what Blanchot calls the Outside (an impotent collection of images that constantly presses on people without yielding any meaning or having any point) or in what Jacques Derrida (1930–2004) dubs *la différance*, or difference, which he defines as the condition of possibility for meaning that perpetually differs from itself, ensuring no final convergence of text and meaning. At other times heteronomy is the very image of the human: Emmanuel Lévinas (1906–1995) argues that ethics is possible only if the other person is regarded as speaking from a position of height. And at yet other times otherness is in effect one of the divine names, as it is for Jean-Luc Marion (b. 1946) who seeks a "God without being," a deity who reveals himself as Love.

The writers that Scott named in 1985 have all been absorbed into mainstream North American literary culture. They are not, however, the authors most talked about under the sign of the postmodern. Where Scott cited Wallace Stevens (1879–1955), a postmodern critic would quote John Ashbery, while also noting that Stevens has survived the transition from modern to postmodern canons far more easily than have most of his contemporaries. The spirituality of Stevens, especially the lyrics of his final phase, has become more evident since the 1980s, when the poet's lack of a dogmatic confession of belief in the Judeo-Christian God poses fewer problems for readers of a religious disposition. "Final Soliloquy of the Interior Paramour" has a prayerful quality, not in the affirmation of a transcendent deity but in its strong Romantic sense that the divine is one with the human imagination. A spiritual longing also emerges from time to time in Ashbery. "Self-Portrait in a Convex Mirror," a long poem that has come to exemplify postmodern questioning of both depth and the truthfulness of representation, begins with a traditional image of the soul as "a captive, treated humanely, kept / In suspension." Yet the poem captures postmodern pathos in its modulation to the realization that "the soul is not a soul, / Has no secret, is small, and it fits / Its hollow perfectly" (Ashbery, 1975, pp. 68–69). The secret, as postmodernists like to say, is that there is no secret: all "depths" are already on the surface.

GOD IN POSTMODERN LITERATURE. The word "God" appears often in recent writing, although it is not always evident what it means. For Edmund Jabès (1912–1991), God is sometimes a figure of endless contestation—"God is a questioning of God" (Jabès, 1976–1984, vol. 1, p. 138)—and sometimes a metaphor for emptiness. *The Book of Questions* (1963–1973), elaborated over seven volumes, is a fragmentary work that is neither fiction nor poetry, neither drama nor essay. As Jacques Derrida would say, it participates in all these genres without belonging to any of them. The book was translated into English over the period from 1976 to 1984, and its importance requires us to distinguish between books written since the mid-1980s and books that have become prominent in that same period. Much seminal postmodern writing falls into the latter category. The first volume of Jabès's work introduces a story that is never quite completed of two lovers, Sarah and Yukel. Sarah is deported to a concentration camp and returns to Yukel after she has gone insane. Questioned about the stories he tells, Yukel answers, "I brought you my words. I talked to you about the difficulty of being Jewish, which is the same as the difficulty of writing. For Judaism and writing are but the same waiting, the same hope, the same wearing out" (Jabès, 1976–1984, vol. 1, p. 122). The work multiplies itself in gnomic remarks by imaginary rabbis and voices that come from nowhere. One voice interrupts another, yet the overall impression is of an endless sifting of a small group of themes: the book, the desert, exile, God, the Jewish people, and writing.

One of Jabès's most appreciative and exacting readers has been Blanchot, whose own narratives have been translated into English only in recent years—several of them by no less a writer than Lydia Davis—and have marked the literary sensibility of the past two decades. Blanchot does not believe in revelation, but he maintains that literature is necessarily tied to the sacred. He wonders, now that the gods have departed, what will become of literature. The last vestige we have of the sacred is what he calls the Outside, an empty depth of images, and all his narratives brood on its eerie approach. It returns eternally without ever quite arriving and divides the "I" of anyone who is attuned to it, especially writers. *Death Sentence*, which appeared in France in 1948, was published in English in 1978, yet has become better known only with its reissue in 1998 and its inclusion in *The Station Hill Blanchot Reader* (1999). Its story of the resuscitation of a woman, J., by the narrator is a powerful rewriting, in terms of the myth of Orpheus, of the story of Jesus' revival of Jairus's daughter in *Mark* 5: 21–43. More recently, *The Instant of My Death*, published in France in 1994, relates the story—apparently autobiographical—of a young man almost executed by the Germans in 1944. Faced with imminent death, the young man "experienced then a feeling of extraordinary lightness, a sort of beatitude (nothing happy, however)—sovereign elation?" (Blanchot, 2000, p. 5). The protagonist has what Georges Bataille (1897–1962) calls a "limit-experience," a moment of ecstasy akin to mystical rapture, though one in which God does not appear.

Much translated in the last two decades, the poetry of Paul Celan (1920–1970) has been a touchstone for many poets. A lyric such as "Psalm," with its play on God as "No one," offers a model of how God can be simultaneously named and erased, and how a poet can express a longing for God without being committed to his existence. An affinity with Celan is apparent in the poems of the English poet Geoffrey Hill (b. 1932) in *Tenebrae* (1978) and *Canaan* (1996). The earlier volume in particular offers an anguished yet ambivalent relation to the Christian God, drawing heavily on Spanish lyricism. More relaxed in tone than Hill, the American Charles Wright (b. 1935) expresses a religious longing throughout his writing life but is perpetually frustrated by a God who seems incredible to him. In a recent poem, "Cicada Blue" (1998), he says, "We've tried to press God in our hearts the way we'd press a leaf in a book" (Wright, 2000, p. 157). The mystics attract him, as do Eastern sages, and he finds he must content himself with registering "ripples of otherworldliness" rather than worshiping God (Wright, 2000, p. 81).

A nature mysticism that is leagued with science can be found in another American, Archie Randolph Ammons (1926–2001). In "Hymn," the search for God is on earth and in space, and the deity is acknowledged to be "on the inside of everything and on the outside" (Ammons, 1972, p. 39). Later, in 1997, he speaks "as a nonreligious person" to God and hopes that, in the absence of a revelation that can be experienced, we "can work / this stuff out the best we can" and "walk with / you as long a line of trees" (Ammons, 1997, pp. 4–5). Charles Simic (b. 1938), also American, has had a tangential relation with mysticism, though his sense of the eternal in the world also has dark moments. "To the One Upstairs" (1999) addresses God as "Boss of all bosses of the universe / Mr. know-it-all, wheeler-dealer, wire-puller" and at the end contemplates this new set of divine names that "I keep inventing, / As I scribble this note to you in the dark" (Simic, 1999, p. 63). Angry as it is, the poem remains a prayer.

There are few female poets who are both postmodern and religious, in any strong sense of either word. One of these is the Canadian poet Anne Carson (b. 1950). In her sequence called "The Truth about God" (1995), she tells us right at the beginning, "My religion makes no sense / and does not help me / therefore I pursue it" (Carson, 1995, p. 39). In some ways her lines could stand as an epigraph to postmodern religion, but with two important provisos. The dominant religious mode of postmodern times is fundamentalism. This mode must be distinguished from postmodern reflections on religion, which take two main forms: a reduction of revelation to ethics ("religion without religion"), and an affirmation that God is Love and is therefore beyond being. The former helps people make their way through life, although sometimes at the cost of discounting natural reason, while the latter makes sense although at the risk of helping only those who can enter into sophisticated theological speculation.

SEE ALSO Poetry, article on Poetry and Religion.

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KEVIN HART (2005)

LITERATURE: CRITICAL THEORY AND RELIGIOUS STUDIES

Interpretation and understanding of literature has been closely linked with the development of religious thought in nearly all cultures. Literary theory and theology are rarely separated, especially in contemporary, postmodern critical theory. The term hermeneutics, or the theory of interpretation, contains a reference to Hermes, the messenger of the gods according to Greek mythology. He helped humans to understand the decisions of the Olympians. Hermeneutics seeks not only to clarify the relationship between the text and the minds of those seeking to understand it, but also to bridge the gap between the earthly and the divine. In its origins, it is a profoundly theological task, closely associated with evolving from an oral to a written scriptural tradition and of translating texts from one language and culture to another. Transmitting sacred texts using the fallible sign systems of human language requires careful and methodical thought as a preservative against the taboos often associated with the translations of such texts. George Steiner, in his foreword to the 1973 book *Translating Religious Texts,* noted that in one tradition, the translation of the Hebrew Bible into the Greek Septuagint (probably begun in the third century BCE) was the result of angelic guidance. On the other hand, another tradition preserved in the *Megillath Taanith* (first century CE) records that three days of darkness enveloped the earth as mourning for expressing the Law in profane Greek.

HINDUISM AND BUDDHISM. In the Vedic period of Hinduism (c.1500–500 BCE), scholars memorized the learning (the word *Veda* means "knowledge") and handed it down orally; eventually, the ancient rulers and sages joined forces with the

Brahmin, who provided religious legitimization of their power, to begin composing written texts. The *Brahmanas* and the Upaniṣads discuss the meaning and purpose of Vedic ritual practices, the latter frequently indicating that nothing of value can be achieved by them in this changing world. By the fifth century, the Brahmins had developed a sophisticated system of phonetics and grammar (notably Panini's grammar of Sanskrit) which enabled the development of thinking in a wide range of literature, from mathematics texts of Hindu theology, and to poetry, most notably the *Mahābhārata,* within which is to be found the *Bhagavadgītā.* This poem gave rise to a vast tradition of commentary in Sanskrit and other Indian languages.

As Buddhism entered China, traveling through Central Asia, the process of assimilation occurred in three phases: first, the period of translation; next, the interpretation phase, called Ko-yi Buddhism, and finally, the philosophical systematization of the T'ien-t'ai and Hua yen schools. In the second century CE, Buddhist monks in Central Asia who were competent in Sanskrit and Chinese (as well as other languages) translated the texts. Consequently translation also resulted in interpretation, as Mahāyāna Buddhism shifted from interest in the historical Buddha to more philosophical concerns. Early translations gave rise to a new sort of hermeneutics, or phase of interpretation, called Ko-yi Buddhism. Based upon an analogical method (*ko-yi* means "extending the idea"), this approach explores the similarities between the Daoist "nothing" and the Buddhist "emptiness." Finally, by the sixth century CE, Kiyoshi Tsuchiya notes in *Major World Religions* that Chinese Buddhists of the T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen schools had reinterpreted all the major doctrines into a synthetic whole, describing enlightenment in a sophisticated and speculative philosophical language, in contrast to the simple theology of Pure Land Buddhism.

THE RELIGIONS OF THE BOOK. In Sura 29.45 of the Qurʾān, it is urged: "Do not dispute with the People of the Book: say, we believe in what has been sent down to us and what has been sent down to you; our God and your God is one." The People of the Book are adherents of the three monotheistic religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. These believers share a sense of the revealed nature of their sacred texts, but each faith adopts a very different understanding of textuality as well as its own distinct hermeneutical approach.

In a sense, the Qurʾān is not actually a text; rather, it is the recitation (qurʾān) of revelations by God, the *umm al-kitāb* (the "Mother of the Book"). In other words, it is fundamentally oral, and therefore it provokes a very different hermeneutics than, for example, the written tradition of the Christian Bible. Translation is literally impossible (rather than forbidden), while reading is not understood as an appropriation of the text but rather as a participation in it. As Gerald Bruns noted, in the 1992 book *Hermeneutics Ancient and Modern,* "To understand the Qurʾān is to disappear into it."

One of the greatest hermeneutical scholars of the Qurʾān was Abū Ḥāmid Muhammad al-Ghazāli (twelfth century CE). Al-Ghazāli's hermeneutics stress the primacy of seeing God for oneself within a mystical experience rather than relying on the authority of exegesis. He sets scriptural interpretation firmly at the level of individual experience; on this foundation, al-Ghazāli establishes rules for recitation, including posture instruction and reading speed. Recitation thus performed will lead the reader to a direct experience of God. Al-Ghazāli states that no darkness resides within the text itself, but only in the human mind; he describes the four veils that obscure understanding, such as adhering to dogma rather than witnessing mystical visions. But the purpose of recitation, he believes, is not exegesis or interpretation; instead, it is to experience the speech of God. In these hermeneutics, understanding of the text is not mediated by tradition; rather, understanding of the tradition is mediated by experience of the text.

Vast differences exist between such hermeneutics and the hermeneutics of Torah; the rabbinic tradition is rooted in utterly different understandings of its sacred texts. The Qurʾān exists only as recitation, while Torah exists only in, or as, its letters. As Susan Handelman explains in her 1982 book *The Slayers of Moses,* "Every crownlet of every letter is filled with significance, and even the forms of letters are hints to profound meanings." Jewish scholars have always understood the Torah, not as divinely inspired human words, but as the very words of God; not as a physical book, but as the blueprint and essence of creation. Thus, Erich Auerbach can say of the stories of *Genesis* that "doctrine and promise are incarnate in them and inseparable from them" (*Mimesis,* 1945), and their purpose is not to yield any clear meaning, but rather to leave traces and to provoke and demand many and different voices of interpretation. Against this background stands the genre of biblical exegesis known as *midrash,* which began with oral transmission in the rabbinic schools, and flourished at the time of the Tannaitic and Amoraic Sages (70–220 CE, and 220–400 CE). In his 1987 book *What is Midrash?,* Jacob Neusner defines midrash as "biblical exegesis by ancient Judaic authorities." He divides it into three approaches: first, Midrash as paraphrase, in which the commentator participates in the composition of the text; second, Midrash as prophecy; and third, Midrash as parable or allegory. Above all, midrash is to be seen as a process, rather than as an interpretative exercise seeking definite meaning. The midrashic was one of four overlapping schools of Jewish hermeneutics; the other three were the Literalist, which was applied particularly to deuteronomistic legislation, the Pesher, which was characteristic of the Qumran community and claimed particular knowledge of divine mysteries, and the Allegorical, which understood the text symbolically and pointed beyond itself to a deeper reality (Jeanrond, *Theological Hermeneutics,* 1991).

Before discussing early Christian hermeneutics, to the reader should briefly review classical literary theory; in particular, Plato, Aristotle, and the tradition of rhetoric, originating in ancient Greece and transmitted into Christian literature largely through the writings of Cicero (106–43 BCE). These traditions mingled with Jewish hermeneutics to form a body of hermeneutics that continues to serve as the foundation for literary critical theory in Western thought. As observed by Raman Selden in *The Theory of Criticism* (1988), Plato regarded the artist or poet as an imitator of imitations, twice removed from the "essential nature of a thing": the poet imitates a physical object which is merely a faint copy of the Idea (or Form) of the thing itself. In Plato's *Republic,* "imitation" (*mimesis*) is regarded negatively and seen as a decline from the purity of the original. Aristotle, on the other hand, in the *Poetics,* regards *mimesis* as a basic and instinctive human faculty; he sees literature not as an imitation of the illusion of reality, but as an imitation of what is essential to reality itself. Aristotle both develops and diverges from Plato, indicating that art and poetry do not simply appeal to the more inferior human faculties but to the natural human instinct to imitate.

These fundamental differences in classical literary understanding underlie the divergences between the two schools of Christian interpretation of the Bible, based at Alexandria and Antioch in the third and fourth centuries CE, respectively. Between them, they represent the most developed forms of early Christian hermeneutics. Both schools were deeply influenced by traditions of Jewish interpretation theory and practice. The first great scholar of the Platonic Alexandrian school, Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–215), received a broad education from both Jewish and Greek teachers. He established an allegorical reading of Scripture, understood as a language of symbols; this interpretation was taken up and systematized by Origen (c. 185–c. 254 CE). For Origen, because scripture contains the ultimate mystery, the texts can never be literal and are thus to be read allegorically. At the school of Antioch, however, following the local Jewish traditions of interpretation with an Aristotelian bent, scholars read scripture literally. They believed it described historical events and had no hidden meanings; its stories were therefore clear and available to all. One of its principal scholars, Theodore of Mopsuestia (c. 350–428), dismissed the Alexandrian interpreters as "stupid people."

The greatest of the early Christian scholars in the field of hermeneutics is undoubtedly St. Augustine of Hippo (354–430). Before his conversion to Christianity, Augustine was a teacher of classical rhetoric, deeply influenced by Cicero, and well read in classical philosophy. His influential work *De Doctrina Christiana* (On Christian Doctrine) is essentially a systematic hermeneutics, balancing both allegorical and literal readings of scripture, advocating a careful linguistic analysis of the texts, and developing a theory of signs (semiotics) which anticipates modern scholarship. Arguing that words are only signs, Augustine regarded the Bible as human texts that refer to God. He also insisted upon a proper attitude or perspective when reading Scripture, namely that of love, an insight that can only be derived from reading the Bible itself. He thus established the principle of the "hermeneutic circle," which was only fully acknowledged centuries later by scholar Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834). Augustine's sophisticated theory of reading scripture remained largely unchallenged through the Middle Ages, and continues to provide the basis of much contemporary hermeneutical theory and practice.

Medieval and scholastic hermeneutics continued to insist that scripture offers not merely one way of reading; for example, Nicholas of Lyra (c. 1270–1349) described four ways—the literal, the allegorical, the moral, and the anagogical. Even so, biblical hermeneutics tended to take second place to the "science" of the theology of the Church. Change came about with the rise of the Christian Humanism of Renaissance thinkers like Desiderius Erasmus (c. 1466–1536) and the Protestant hermeneutics of Martin Luther and John Calvin. For Luther, the principle of *sola scriptura* ("scripture alone"), accompanied by the development of vernacular translations of the Bible, established a clear division between sacred and profane literature that would eventually separate the processes of studying the Bible from developments in the understanding of all other literature and literary theory. Thus, although scholar Terry Eagleton ascribes the growth of professional English studies in the later nineteenth century to one major cause, "the failure of religion" (Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction,* 1983), its roots also lie deep in Protestant hermeneutics. In the seventeenth century, the poet Andrew Marvell feared that John Milton's incursion into biblical space in *Paradise Lost* might result in the ruin of sacred truths ("On Mr. Milton's Paradise Lost"), and in the next century, Dr. Johnson remarked that Milton was preserved only "by religious reverence from licentiousness of fiction" (*The Lives of the Poets,* 1779–1781).

The eighteenth century in Germany and England saw the development of a technical science of hermeneutics that profoundly affected the way in which the Bible was read—changing to a hermeneutics of suspicion rather than a hermeneutics of faith. German theologian Schleiermacher established a critical balance between faith and reason, setting the pattern for contemporary biblical hermeneutics. Similar to St. Augustine, Schleiermacher insisted that scriptural reading be divided into two parts: *psychological interpretation,* which is concerned with the interplay between the text and the reader, and *grammatical interpretation,* which requires the careful examination of the linguistic and grammatical structures of the text. Later in the nineteenth century, German theologian David Friedrich Strauss (1808–1874), in his great 1835 work *Das Leben Jesu* (The Life of Jesus), read the gospels critically, seeking to undercut the Christian religion and its assumptions using a radical hermeneutics which anticipated a Christianity suited to the modern age, separate and distinct from its historical origins and scriptural traditions.

Biblical hermeneutics in the early part of the twentieth century was dominated by two figures, Swiss theologian Karl

Barth (1886–1986) and German theologian Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976). Early in his career, Barth wrote: "The Historical-critical Method of Biblical investigation has its rightful place: It is concerned with the preparation of the intelligence–and this can never be superfluous. But, were I driven to choose between it and the venerable doctrine of Inspiration, I should without hesitation adopt the latter, which has a broader, deeper and more important justification" (preface to the first edition of *The Epistle to the Romans,* 1918). Barth admits his debt to such writers as Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855) and Fyodor Dostoevsky (1821–1881) in his interpretation of the New Testament. Bultmann, on the other hand, bases his biblical hermeneutics firmly within the context of existentialist philosophy and the thought of the German philosopher Martin Heidegger (1889–1976), concentrating not upon a reconstruction of the beginning of the text's life (historical criticism of the Bible tends to focus on the origins of the text as the place of interpretation), but upon the present "existential" moment of encounter between the text and the reader. In the early twenty-first century, attention has turned to more recent developments in critical theory, hermeneutic, and religious studies; one of the major contributors has been French thinker Paul Ricoeur (1913–) whose long and multi-disciplinary career has been largely devoted to exploring the relationship between religious thought and literary reflection. In *The Symbolism of Evil* (1960), Ricoeur explores the notion of "evil" as always requiring a process of interpretation, a hermeneutics, for its very identification. In his more recent *Thinking Biblically* (1998), written in collaboration with the biblical scholar André LaCoque, he comments on specific passages from the Hebrew Bible, highlighting their metaphorical structure and indicating how they have acted as catalysts for philosophical reflection. For example, in his discussion of *Psalm* 22, Ricoeur explores how the structure and "poetic composition" of the psalm become the condition of its "reactualization" in prayer and religious reflection.

FROM MODERNITY TO POSTMODERNITY. In his article on literature and religion in the first edition of this encyclopedia, scholar Anthony Yu outlines the increasing importance of literary critical theory to biblical criticism and religious thought, giving particular emphasis to the effects of New Critical thinking and suggesting that "the history of literary theory over the past thirty years may be regarded a steady and increasingly stringent attack on . . . New Critical doctrines of the text and the interpreter." At the same time, however, many of the underlying doctrines of New Criticism have remained influential and tenacious in literary theory, even while the privilege given to the text as the vehicle of meaning has been eroded. In Yu's brief discussion, which concludes with comments on deconstruction and the earlier works of the French thinker Jacques Derrida and his "Cassandra-like" utterances against logocentrism and the "irreducibly sacred," he pays little attention to the globalization and politicization of critical theory, the merging of religious traditions in common critical discourses, the interaction between liberation ethics and theologies and literary and cultural theory, and the theological shift—often with a deeply mystical quality—represented in varieties of post-foundational thinking that owe much to poetic theory and practice. Such topics must be explored more fully.

Many of the most important figures working in contemporary and postmodern literary theory write from a Jewish background: Harold Bloom, Jacques Derrida, Geoffrey Hartman, Robert Alter, Emanuel Levinas, among others. Susan Handelman (*The Slayers of Moses* [1982], *Fragments of Redemption* [1991]) has examined the theological bases of current interpretation theory, suggesting a shift from the predominantly abstract and philosophical preoccupations of Hellenic thought to a more text-based approach reminiscent of rabbinic thought and practice. In *Kabbalah and Criticism* (1975), Harold Bloom addresses the "mysticism" of Jewish Kabbalah, differentiating it from Christian or Eastern mysticism as an interpretative tradition that sought knowledge in the Book and was centered in the Bible. If today literary criticism has become a kind of substitute theology, it is because arguably its concern for text and textuality is rooted in the theology of the Book, and Derrida, who often reminds others of his background in rabbinic traditions by autograph signatures ("Reb Derissa"—the laughing Rabbi) or graphic devices in his texts reminiscent of Talmudic commentary, promotes the matter of endless writing as if to set the Jewish against the more definitive Greco-Christian tradition (Christopher Norris, *Derrida,* 1987). The loss of certainty, which is often perceived as the deepest characteristic of postmodernity, is located by Derrida in "the absence of the Jewish God (who himself writes, when necessary). . . . As the absence and haunting of the divine sign, it regulates all modern criticism and aesthetics" (Derrida, *Writing and Difference,* 1978). From such beginnings was fashioned the "a/theology" of Mark C. Taylor's *Erring: A Postmodern A/theology* (1984), with its sense of the unending play of signification in the mazes of "erring Scripture," though Taylor's work begins by relocating Derrida's sense of the absent God in the "death of God," an "event" within the Christian tradition, as reported in the parable of the madman in German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche's *The Gay Science* (1882).

Thus, close affinities exist between the hermeneutical practices of midrash and much of postmodern literary theory—the open-ended nature of the text, the emphasis on writing, the sense of the struggle with the text, and the participation in endless debate rather than the search to establish meaning. The claims of "literary approaches" to the Bible, however, as opposed to the scholarly approaches of the historical critical method—source, form and redaction criticism—began much earlier, and can be traced back at least to the work of scholar Austin Farrer in the 1950s, and the later debates over his work between Helen Gardner and Frank Kermode. It was Kermode, in his key text *The Genesis of Secrecy* (1979), writing as a "secular" critic, who reintroduced the narratives of Scriptures, and in particular the *Gos-*

pel of Mark, to the arena of literary debate alongside texts from fiction and poetry. Within Kermode's project are two strands, studying the Bible *as* literature (an activity denounced by poet T. S. Eliot as early as 1935, but taken up in the 1960s by literary scholars like T. R. Henn), and studying the Bible *within* the canons of literature. The pursuit of the first of these approaches resulted in the volume, which Kermode edited with Robert Alter, entitled *The Literary Guide to the Bible* (1987); this work sought to avoid the duplication of "traditional historical scholarship" and to celebrate the Bible as literature of major significance. Alter and Kermode specifically rejected the "cultural or metaphysical ruminations" of political or postmodern readings of the text—their literary approach remains profoundly based in New Critical assumptions. Such literary preoccupations, however, can never be as innocent as Kermode and Alter might seem to imply, and the redefinition of the task of interpretation in hermeneutics and contemporary literary theory has shifted biblical studies away from its traditional emphasis on historical origins and authorial intention towards greater attention to the reader and "reader-response." At the same time, the claims of deconstruction have challenged notions of the coherence and unity of the text; they also question the repressions inherent in such notions (Francis Watson, ed.; *The Open Text,* 1993). These two shifts have spawned various forms of liberation criticism that seek to expose the coherencies of power perceived both within the texts of the Bible and in the traditions of reading and interpreting them. Two major forms of such criticism exist: first, within various kinds of feminist critique; and second, within the growing field of post-colonial criticism of the Bible.

For example, feminist scholar Mieke Bal claims to establish a "countercoherence" in the *Book of Judges* which exposes the patriarchal narrative of salvation history as effecting an extreme, gender-bound violence against women, both within the social institutions of the book and its politics of history. Reading the stories of unnamed young women, such as that of the Levite's concubine in chapter 19, she develops an interdisciplinary hermeneutics, drawing upon narratology, anthropology, and other disciplines within the human sciences, to challenge what she calls the arbitrary and biased limits of biblical scholarship. A similar interdisciplinarity characterizes the newer project of postcolonial criticism of the Bible (R. S. Sugirtharajah, *Postcolonial Criticism and Biblical Interpretation,* 2002). This approach seeks a hermeneutics that exposes the imperialist oppression effected by biblical interpretation, accompanying colonial rule as the twin pillars of imperial control in the nineteenth-century empires of Great Britain, France, and Portugal. In his 1947 book *The British Empire in the Light of Prophecy,* Bernard Bateson identifies that imperial powers perceived their colonial acquisitions as fulfilling the prophecy of *Genesis* 28:14: "Thou shalt spread abroad to the west, and to the east, and to the north, and to the south."

Contemporary critical theory has affected theology and the interpretation of the Bible in four areas: representation, history, ethics, and aesthetics (Graham Ward, *Theology and Contemporary Critical Theory,* 1996).The work of Derrida and others on issues of text and textuality radically deconstruct traditional assumptions about subjectivity and text as representation, with massive implications for religious thought. Thus, scholar Luce Irigaray has stated: "We need to reinterpret everything concerning the relations between the subject and discourse, the subject and the world, the subject and the cosmic, the microcosmic and the macrocosmic. Everything, beginning with the way in which the subject has been written" (*An Ethics of Sexual Difference,* 1993). Moreover, the history, especially in the reading of the Bible, has been deconstructed by critics such as Michel Foucault, resisting and breaking up those continuities which, he suggests, silence the articulation and voice of the imprisoned and oppressed. Far from advocating, as some would suggest, a kind of nihilistic textual free play, postmodern criticism opens up radical ethical perspectives and "an unconditional categorical imperative or moment of affirmation" (Critchley, *The Ethics of Deconstruction,* 1992) that are deeply rooted in ancient and neglected forms of theological thinking. Finally, a renewed interest in aesthetics relates closely to questions of representation and the importance of the poet and the artist in primary religious reflection and experience.

Although Jewish and Christian perspectives have been predominant in all such contemporary critical theory, a great deal of such activity has been characterized by a non-adherence to any particular religious tradition or confession. Indeed, much of modern literary theory is atheistic, first heavily dependent upon Enlightenment thought and later upon Marxist, psychoanalytic, and other skeptical forms of analysis. In *The Death of the Author* (1968), Roland Barthes describes the post-structuralist emphasis on textuality as "an anti-theological activity." At the same time, with increasing critical globalization, broad discussions within literary theory have also begun to embrace the texts and theologies of Eastern religions and Islam. But scholars continue to vigorously defend Christian literary theory, even after recognizing the modern objections to it, arguing that an act of faith is present in all systems of thought (Luke Ferretter, *Towards a Christian Literary Theory,* 2003). Within the interdisciplinary study of literature and religion in North America and the United Kingdom over the past fifty years, bold advances in literary theory and textual analysis have either provoked defenses of theology and biblical critics—within the terms of a Christian anthropology which still recognize the possibilities for the Christian critic and post-structuralist and postmodern thought—or else have driven new forms of theological thinking (though often within ancient ancestors) that are radical yet continue to claim Christian roots. Kevin Mills, for example, in his 1995 book *Justifying Language,* reads the Pauline letters through the lens of contemporary hermeneutics, which he claims can be thereby a Christian hermeneutics of faith, hope, and charity.

In the decade after biblical criticism finally produced the widely read *Postmodern Bible* (1995), written by "the Bible and Culture Collective," and its companion volume *The Postmodern Bible Reader* (2001), which has entered the arena of cultural studies, others have begun to acknowledge the passing of postmodernism. Yet before the majority of theologians have even begun to take seriously the possibility of a "postmodern theology," some have started to ponder what a post-postmodern theology might be like. In his book *After Theory* (2003), Terry Eagleton argues for the end of the age of "high theory" in literary and cultural studies. He claims that the new narrative of global capitalism exposes those questions that cultural theory has largely overlooked—the ancient issues of love, evil, death, morality, and religion. When a literary theorist like Eagleton, who was nurtured on Cambridge Marxism in the 1960s, concludes his latest book with a chapter entitled "Death, Evil and Non-being," those whose acknowledged business is religious studies need to take note.

Hermeneutics was nurtured on the reading of sacred texts, while the histories of religious thought and hermeneutics are bound together in all the great religious traditions. In Western thinking, the radical beliefs of the "death of God" theologians (Thomas J. J. Altizer, William Hamilton, and others) emerged from a profound interaction with poetry and literature; they asked radical questions about the identity of Christianity. In the 1966 book *Radical Theology and the Death of God,* Altizer asked, "Must Christianity be identified with its given or orthodox dogmatic form?" What had begun to appear was a form of non-foundational theology, in the work of the British theologian Don Cupitt, for example, based on the radical critique of the western metaphysics of presence by Heidegger and Derrida, and sharing much in common with the ancient theologies of mysticism and the *via negativa.* Scholar Mark C. Taylor has been defined as the first American "post-ecclesiastical theologian . . . free of the scars or perhaps even the memory of Church theology" (Altizer). It remains to be seen if, in the aftermath of a critical revolution which much religious thought has yet to acknowledge, religious studies can survive as more than a form of historical enquiry, or whether the reading and interpretation of sacred texts will continue as other than merely a branch of wider literary studies outside the closed communities of traditional faith. Critical theory has offered a challenge to hermeneutics and religious thought that will not be denied if reading and thinking are to remain universal activities based on defensible universal principles. According to Cupitt, scholars must learn how to re-read Scripture in a radically different way: "The remedy is to learn to read the text horizontally, from sign to sign, and then we will see that the sideways resonance of the metaphoric is directly ethical. . . . And if we thus relearn reading, then perhaps the text will not seem quite so intellectually obsolete as we feared it was" (*The Long-Legged Fly,* 1987).

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DAVID JASPER (2005)

LITHUANIAN RELIGION SEE BALTIC RELIGION

LITURGICAL DANCE SEE DANCE, *ARTICLE ON* THEATRICAL AND LITURGICAL DANCE

LITURGY. The English term *liturgy,* like its parallels in other languages, is primarily Christian. It denotes acts and scripts of worship in Christian experience. By now, however, the word is widely used for similarly ritualized phenomena in other religions too. By extension, it may even be applied to ritual that occurs outside of religion (strictly speaking) altogether. It is derived from the Greek *leitourgia,* meaning work "performed for the public good," in this case sacrificial acts that served the gods on whom civic welfare ultimately depended. The Septuagint used the term as the Greek equivalent to the Hebrew Bible's *avodah,* "the sacrificial service," and Christianity retained it for the priestly work of Jesus (*Heb.* 8:6) and the ministry of Paul (*Rom.* 15:16). In Judaism, *avodah* is still found in some prayer-book titles, prayer being seen as the replacement for sacrifice.

The Greek-speaking church, in the East, used liturgy to denote the eucharist. In the West, churches adopted other nomenclature: *mass* or the *sacrament* for eucharist; and *divine, daily,* or *ecclesiastical office* to mean non-eucharistic daily prayer. By the 1830s, however, as part of a hunt for liturgical origins, liturgy was revived to designate corporate church prayer in general. The Oxford movement, for example, proclaimed liturgy central to the Church of England; and Roman Catholics developed a Liturgical movement variously traced to the Benedictine revival in France of Prosper Gueranger (1805–1875), the pastoral work in Belgium of Lambert Beauduin (1873–1960), and others. Other primary figures were theologian Odo Casel (1886–1948); Virgil Michael (1890–1938), who brought the Liturgical Movement to the United States and founded its primary organ of liturgical research in 1926 (*Orate Fratres,* renamed *Worship* in 1951); and scholars Anton Baumstark (1872–1948) and Gregory Dix (1901–1952), whose *Comparative Liturgy* and *The Shape of the Liturgy* (respectively) became classics. These developments culminated in Vatican II (1962–1965) within Roman Catholicism, and similar movements for liturgical renewal in other churches.

Liturgy frames issues around which matters of identity have been fought—for instance, the Calvinist preference (dating from the Reformation) for purely biblical prayer; the institutionalization of Taoist ritual under K'ou Ch'ien-chih (365–448); and Islamic processions to mourn the killing of the prophet's grandson. Cultural rifts among modern Christians have revolved around other issues, primarily:

> the language of prayer (its register, inclusivity, and doctrinal precision);
>
> the musical canon (inherited hymns alone or contemporary jazz);
>
> inculturation (altering the liturgy to reflect the culture of the people assembled);
>
> ordination of women; and
>
> the status of gays and lesbians.

Contemporary liturgical change in Judaism reflects these same cultural rifts, but centers also on the relative importance of prayer in Hebrew rather than the vernacular.

FROM TEXT TO RITUAL. As a modern scholarly discipline, liturgy has focused on the origins and evolution of ritual texts. It emerged in nineteenth-century evolutionary theory, which Romanticism applied to literary traditions, seeing them as plants that are seeded and then grow through time, sometimes attracting weeds that sully the garden's purity. Religions were thus assumed to have an authentic liturgical canon, the history of which can be traced through scientific attention to manuscript recension. Some liturgists have dedicated themselves simply to unearthing liturgical manuscripts and preparing scientific versions of them. Others have applied this scholarship to implicit religious concerns, citing discoveries of ancient or alternative liturgies to support the status quo or to challenge it, reviving some traditions and jettisoning others.

The most significant recent development in the study of liturgy is its identification as ritual, not just literature. Like drama, liturgies may exist in printed modes, but the written text of *Hamlet,* for example, is not the actual play—the performance is. Unlike letters, stories, and chronicles, liturgy is a text (usually composite), written or oral, intended for ritual performance. It can even be the performance itself: its words, gestures, melodies, clothing, spaces, props, and roles. *Worship* (from the old English *weorthscipe,* implying "worth–ship"), is the term most employed to characterize the faithful playing out of such a liturgy.

Liturgy, then, is a kind of ritual, presumably a religious ritual. But differentiating it as distinctively religious is as difficult as defining religion itself, and definitions derived from Christian practice may not do justice elsewhere. It is common, for instance, to limit liturgy to public corporate celebrations, but Buddhism, Hinduism, and Judaism feature significant domestic ritual that should be included in the category. Then too, the blurring of the division between religious and secular results in modern liturgies that reflect both influences: civil marriages with religious components, for example, or national and civic liturgies with at least once–religious connotations, like American Thanksgiving services, or even the national anthem of the Third Reich—originally a Haydn hymn. In 2003, an American prison population claiming expressly not to be a religion won the legal right to celebrate its own liturgy anyway.

Liturgies can be variously catalogued—like liturgies of protest, such as a gay-pride parade, and liturgies of anguish, such as ceremonies attendant on the 9/11 disaster. Since the 1960s, increasing inventiveness has provided variations on established liturgical practice, such as a feminist eucharist with a female "Christa" on a cross; but new traditions have sprung up too, such as the displaying of an ever-growing AIDS quilt. Some would even include as liturgy such rituals as opening a major sporting event.

Liturgies can be considered internally and externally. Internally, liturgies are open to whatever specific critique a particular religion applies to itself: theology for Christians; *halakhah* for Jews; *shariah* for Muslims; or *dharma* for Hindus and Buddhists. External considerations apply objective measures, like the literary model through which the study of liturgy first arose. Defining liturgy as ritual performance has spawned other methods of investigation, like studies of artistic communication, or even studies of how technology influences liturgical expression: invention of coffee brought about all-night ritual to Jewish mysticism; moveable type universalized prayer texts, erasing local variation; and nineteenth-century rail transportation permitted suburban cemeteries that prompted liturgies for funeral homes.

The terms liturgy and ritual are somewhat difficult to disentangle, especially because ritual has its own religious usage in, for example, Methodism. Narrowly conceived, liturgy is the ritual side of religion. But more broadly, liturgy becomes a subsection of the larger discipline of ritual studies (Grimes, 1982), so that insight into ritual informs the understanding of liturgy as well.

The turn to ritual studies came primarily in the post–industrial west where liturgical renewal was responding to modern sensitivities such as gender egalitarianism; internal anachronisms like the marginalization of worshipers from full liturgical participation in Roman Catholicism; and an inherited protest against ritual in many Protestant churches and Reform Judaism. Nearly every discipline in the human sciences has subsequently provided insight, but anthropology and linguistic philosophy have proved most helpful.

ANTHROPOLOGY. The contemporary application of cultural anthropology to liturgy has had to contend with four challenges from prior research. A psychological attack is associated with Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), for whom ritual is merely obsessive–compulsive neurosis: both are marked, paradigmatically, by strictly controlled touching and eating. Freud's tracing of ritual's origins to an elemental act of incest has been widely dismissed, but liturgy does, in fact, often resemble obsessive behavior, and is still popularly attacked as religiously undesirable, or at least subservient to doctrine and morals (Freud, 1913).

A sophisticated neo-Marxist approach (Bloch, 1989) emphasizes liturgy's verbal form: song, chanting, and repetitive but invariable wording. Communications theory measures cognitively meaningful messages according to the extent that a listener can predict what the speaker will say. Liturgy such as hymns, chants, or intoning praise, provides almost total predictability, so has little or no cognitive content to debate and is therefore charged with underwriting the ineluctable "rightness" of traditional authority among people who would be better off resisting oppression.

The sociological attack is more subtle in that its founder, Emile Durkheim, actually lauded religious ritual for the powerful way it underwrites the legitimacy of social morality. But Durkheim anticipated the replacement of religious liturgies by nationalistic secular alternatives that would accomplish the same thing (Durkheim, 1912).

A fourth challenge came from early armchair anthropologists like Edward Tylor (1832–1917) and James Frazer (1854–1941), who forced primitive liturgies of which they had read or heard into a straightjacket of social evolutionism.

These approaches suffer from reductionism: isolating some specific aspect of ritual (and therefore liturgy) and then identifying it as a sorry, and even immoral, remnant of early human history. Liturgy does follow fixed sequences of behavior, but it need not be a compulsive disorder. Liturgical language features linguistic redundancy, but this is not necessarily a ploy by authorities. And even though liturgy claims to access the sacred, the sacred is not solely a socially useful phantasm that supports the social order. Liturgists may agree with some characterizations made by Freud, Marx, Durkheim, and their followers, but liturgists draw different conclusions than they did.

Philologists studying origins and history of liturgical texts claim scientific absoluteness: the prayer is either rightly or wrongly dated to a certain era and author; there can be only one right answer. Ritualists are more like drama critics watching a liturgy and interpreting its messages. Their claims are what philosopher Susanne Langer (1895–1985) called presentational, not scientific: rather than true or false, they are judged by how compelling they appear, and there is more than one right answer. As cultural ethnographers, liturgists posit interpretations in keeping with a particular religion's internal explanations, but also according to the way liturgies seem externally to function. Other liturgists still study just the liturgical scripts, keeping in mind, however, that they are scripts for performances, not literary works alone. Yet others are musicologists or ethnomusicologists, concerned predominantly with the history or cultural performance of liturgical music.

Cognitively speaking, it is possible to see liturgies as expressions of metaphysical reality for their participants. In that regard, it is convenient to think in terms of three variables: (1) theology (the nature of God or some other higher power, organizing force, principle or reality, like the Upanisad Brahman); (2) religious anthropology (the nature of human beings—born to original sin; reincarnations according to the principle of Karma; or the absolute servants of God, as in Islam); and (3) cosmology (the nature of the universe–neutral as to human action, as in Epicureanism, or perfectible by human action, as in Jewish Kabbalah). Participants take their existential stand at the convergence of these three metaphysical variables, which liturgies expound through word and action. Liturgies posit sacred places; shape time with sacred fasts and festivals; define ideal lives by imposing life-cycle moments (first communion, marriage, ordination); conceptualize human nature (given free will, prone to sin); posit human projects (the Buddhist eight-fold path, the pillars of Islam); and cement relationships with the universe (through sacred soil, perhaps) and with each other (born into a caste, predestined as chosen elect). Along the way liturgies shape sacred history, not just what has been, but what can still be expected to pass, and, therefore, the hopes participants may rightly hold. Liturgies express the rules by which human destiny unfolds: the logic of daily experience. They rehearse formative or revelatory moments of original visionaries by including them in sacred narratives that may be read, chanted, sung, or acted out so as to map their categories on the world and instruct religious adherents on how to find their way within it. More immediately, liturgies organize relations of power, gender difference, and social classby rooting them in assumed metaphysical reality.

Typical of anthropological influence has been rite-of-passage theory, going back to Arnold van Gennep (1908): liturgies separate participants from an old status, transition them betwixt and between, and incorporate them into a new status. Victor Turner (1969) emphasized the potential of transitional (liminal) moments, when neither the old nor the new limit creative vision. Other theorists widely cited are Clifford Geertz, who saw liturgies as symbolic demonstrations of a people's ethos and world view (Geertz, 1973) and "the kind of lives [their] societies support" (Geertz, 1983); and Mary Douglas, who emphasized the body as a symbolizing entity and linked forms of ritualism to specific social structures (Douglas, 1970). Using Turner's emphasis on the potential of liminal moments to produce social and psychological transformation, liturgy's advocates have argued that liturgy is morally empowering (Driver, 1991).

Contemporary theory is multidisciplinary, bringing together such studies as mythology from Lévi-Strauss in 1963 and Eliade in 1954; performance practice from Turner in 1982; and even ritual's biogenetic basis from Newberg, D'Aquilli, and Rause in 2001. Most theorists assume overall that liturgies posit systems of meaning—a view that goes back to pioneers like Max Weber (1864–1920)—especially in "limit" moments, Clifford Geertz describes as intellectual bafflement, inexplicable suffering, and ethical paradox (Geertz, 1973).

LINGUISTIC PHILOSOPHY. By the end of the nineteenth century, western philosophy seemed mired in two equally undesirable alternatives: British empiricism, according to which the world is available only through the senses; and René Descartes's (1596–1630) claim that only introspection determines certainty. The latter solution could not guarantee that sensations from within represent the universe without; but the empiricists fared no better, because in the end, what one sees (as it were) is not at all what one gets. Neither school could guarantee a genuine world beyond one's own invention. Immanuel Kant's (1724–1804) attempt to admit the role of a constructing mind, while yet saving external reality, was whittled away by Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), for whom reality was pure spirit.

These philosophical wars over the nature of reality had consequences for liturgical traditions that posit experience of God, hope, *atman,* salvation, *samsara, jihad,* and other presumably real entities, which ought to fit dominant theory of what can be reliably known. The question became whether what liturgy posits is not just chimerical, and if so, how one can know it.

A variety of responses have therefore arisen to justify liturgical claims. Hermeneuticist Paul Ricoeur, for instance, admitted the right to suspect naive theological assumptions. But he thought a new and sophisticated naivete would penetrate the world of symbols and see truths that ordinary sense–data miss. By far the most impactful modern philosophical trend has been what philosopher Gustav Bergmann (1906–1987) labeled "the linguistic turn." It began with scientifically influenced philosophers who denied all reality to statements that are neither empirical nor logically deducible from empirical bases. Propositions in liturgy (like those of aesthetics, ethics, and religion generally) are, therefore, neither true nor false, but simply meaningless. If liturgy is not saying anything meaningful, what is its point?

Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889–1951) provided the philosophical possibility of meaningful liturgical statements. His *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* (1921) concluded that even though empirical reality was all that could be spoken about, anything that really mattered existed beyond speech and would have to be shown. Wittgenstein's later *Philosophical Investigations* (1953) described language as a series of games, only one of which is the description of empirical reality. Other games include naming, ordering, or offering to do something; these do not describe reality, but are not on that account meaningless.

With Wittgenstein, emphasis switched from determining what liturgical language describes to asking what it does. If liturgy does not describe empirical reality, perhaps it shows it, the way art, for instance, demonstrates truths that elude simple declarative sentences. Or, following contemporary pragmatists, perhaps liturgy manufactures truths as much as it discovers them (Rorty, 1999; Putnam, 1994; Goodman, 1978). Here liturgy meets philosophy and the human sciences, which also see ritual as accomplishing something, such as life-cycle passages. A particularly influential approach derives from J. L. Austin (1911–1960), who called some speech-acts "performative" in that the very act of uttering them performs certain tasks: Saying, "I bet you fifty dollars," establishes a wager; similarly, saying, "I declare you husband and wife" accomplishes what it says in the very saying of it—as long as apt circumstances accompany the remark (husband and wife cannot be a dog and a cat, for example). In both the wager and the wedding, a speech act provides words that are measurable not as true or false, but as "felicitous or infelicitous"—it works (because done properly) or it does not (Austin, 1962).

With Austin, and then with John Searle, liturgy emerged as a ritualized creative act bringing into being institutional facts like marriage, a new year, pardon from sin, and other states constituted by a religion's internal category scheme. Liturgy is universal to human society because it defines into being the categories of social life, religious or otherwise, without which there would be no social life at all (Searle, 1969, 1995).

THE FUTURE OF LINGUISTIC STUDY. Contemporary trends in liturgical study still include historical reconstruction. They also encompass whatever internal studies a religion finds meaningful, as well as insights from the human sciences and philosophy, and the role of the arts in what is increasingly perceived as a performative discipline. Still in their relative infancy, for example, are studies of the way space and music transform script into performance. In addition, studies of Christian and Jewish liturgy have much to learn from the expansion of purview beyond western experience to include the vast panorama of liturgical expression worldwide.

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LAWRENCE A. HOFFMAN (2005)

LIU AN (c. 180–122 BCE), second king of Huainan, also known as Huainanzi; Chinese philosopher, poet, and essayist. Liu An was the grandson of Liu Pang (d. 194 BCE), founder of the Han dynasty. Shortly after the birth of An's father, Liu Chang (b. 199 BCE), the woman who bore him committed suicide when denied formal recognition by the emperor. The seventh of eight sons of the emperor by different women, Liu Chang was twice passed over in the imperial succession, which left him bitter and resentful. In 172 BCE Liu Chang, then king of the vassal state of Huainan, was banished to a remote corner of the empire for insulting his half brother, the emperor Wen. He died en route, leaving Liu An and his two younger brothers. In 164 BCE Liu Chang's fief of Huainan was divided among his three sons, with the eldest, Liu An, receiving the title of King of Huainan. He also inherited his father's disdain for the imperial line; twice he plotted rebellion.

CENTER OF CULTURE AND LEARNING AT HUAINAN. The biographies of Liu An all speak of him as a youth who eschewed martial pursuits in favor of literature, music, and philosophy. He quickly developed his literary talent and at the age of twenty-two is said to have written, upon imperial command, a brilliant essay on the famous Chu poem the *Li Sao* in the few hours between dawn and breakfast. In 154 BCE, Liu An almost took part in the unsuccessful rebellion of Liu Pi but changed his mind at the last moment. Some time later he decided to establish his court as a center of learning. He opened his court in Shouchun to philosophers, poets, and masters of esoteric techniques *(fangshi).* History speaks of a major center developing there, a focal point for the last flourishing of the ancient culture of Chu, a region renowned for its mysticism and shamanism. In the great tradition of King Xuan of Qi (c. 310 BCE), the founder of the Jixia Academy at which the *Guanzi* was probably written, and Lü Buwei (c. 240 BCE), sponsor of the *Lüshi chunqiu,* Liu An was patron to many of the finest religious and philosophical minds of his time. However, unlike these earlier patrons, An took an active part in philosophical discussions and the writing of essays and poems. He also collected an extensive library that contained all the major pre-Han philosophical texts, including his favorite, the *Zhuangzi.*

The center of culture and learning founded by Liu An was distinctly oriented toward Daoism and rivaled the largely Confucian center at the imperial court in Chang'an. It lasted for almost three decades and toward its end became a target of powerful officials in the imperial court. In 122 BCE Liu An was convicted of plotting rebellion, and imperial representatives were sent to Huainan to punish him. Before they arrived, Liu An took his own life. Despite the conviction, the challenge presented by the rival Daoist-based intellectual center in Huainan was undoubtedly a more powerful motivation for the successful prosecution of Liu An than his hopeless plans for rebellion. Whatever the reason, Liu An and his family perished, and the vibrant center he established came to a tragic and untimely end.

WRITING THE *HUAINANZI.* Today all that remains of this last flourishing of Chu culture is one book, the *Huainanzi,* and an extensive list of others that attest to the vibrancy of the Huainan court. Among the writings produced are a number in which Liu An was directly involved. Two essays on the *Zhuangzi* and a collection of eighty-two poems, all now lost, are credited to him. Also listed under his name are three treatises identified simply as the "Inner Book," which discussed the Dao; the "Outer Book," which discussed miscellaneous doctrines; and the "Middle Book," which dealt with esoteric alchemical techniques. Of the three, only the "Inner Book," which Liu An presented to Emperor Wu in 139 BCE, has survived intact. This is the work that has come down to us under the name of *Huainanzi.* It stands as his major contribution to Chinese thought.

Of the reportedly several thousand philosophers and adepts at the court of Liu An, eight are named with him in the authorship of the *Huainanzi.* Liu An probably established the scope and format of the work, wrote some of the essays, and then edited the essays and wrote the final summary and overview. The resulting text consists of twenty-one essays on topics ranging from cosmology, astronomy, and geography to self-cultivation, human relations, and government. It was clearly intended to be a compendium of knowledge about the nature of the universe and the human role within it. Its extensive use of pre-Han philosophical and religious sources indicates not the mere repetition of earlier ideas, as some have maintained, but rather a bold and innovative attempt at their synthesis and an application to contemporary concerns.

The topics considered and the viewpoints represented in the essays of the *Huainanzi* occur in the context of a consistent cosmology that is best described as a blend of the Daoism of the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi* and the Naturalist philosophy of *yin* and *yang* and the Five Phases *(wuxing)* of energy *(qi),* first systematized by Zou Yan (c. 340–270 BCE). Some scholars identify this synthesis as the syncretic Daoist philosophy associated with the long-lost intellectual lineage that historical sources call "The Way of the Yellow Emperor and Lao Tzu" *(Huang-Lao zhi Dao).* This synthesis remains faithful to the earlier Daoist cosmology of an organismic universe of totally interrelated phenomena, which spontaneously tend toward harmony and are interfused by the unifying and creative power of the Dao. However, the *Huainanzi* provides a more detailed explanation of the actual mechanisms of this universe in terms of *yin* and *yang* and the Five Phases. Because human beings are an integral part of this universe and are thus subject to its laws, all human activity, from politics to warfare to spiritual self-realization, must take these universal forces into account. The *Huainanzi* balances both cosmological and social-political perspectives in its thorough emphasis on the universal context of human nature and human activity. In so doing, it has made a significant contribution to the evolution of the unique Chinese worldview.

THE *HUAINANZI* AND INNER CULTIVATION. As might be expected in light of the number of religious adepts at the court of Liu An, the *Huainanzi* has left its mark in the area of spiritual self-cultivation as well. A number of passages stress the importance and provide examples of meditative techniques of "nourishing one's inherent nature" *(yangxing)* and "nourishing the spirit" *(yangshen),* such as controlled breathing and calming the mind. An important contribution of the *Huainanzi* lies in its elaboration of how these techniques function in terms of Five-Phases philosophy. This elaboration places the *Huainanzi* firmly within the meditative tradition of "inner cultivation" that reaches back to the fourth century BCE "Inward Training" *(Neiye)* text in the *Guanzi* and ahead to the physiological alchemy that was later developed and expanded in the Daoist religion. There were undoubtedly adepts who followed these practices at the court of Liu An, perhaps the *fangshi,* and it was the spiritual descendants of such people who were involved in the early organization of the Daoist church some three centuries later. It is no surprise that the *Huainanzi* was later included in the comprehensive collection of Daoist canonical works, the *Daozang.* Another contributing factor must be the legend that Liu An did not die, but attained immortality after consuming an elixir given him by the *fangshi.*

While most of the works written by Liu An and his associates have regrettably been lost, their contribution to the development of Chinese religion and philosophy has survived in the form of the *Huainanzi.*

SEE ALSO Daoism, article on Daoist Literature; Fangshi; Yinyang Wuxing.

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HAROLD D. ROTH (1987 AND 2005)

LIU DEREN (1122–1180), Daoist master of the Jin period and founder of the Zhenda sect of Daoism. His Daoist clerical name was Wuyouzi. In 1126, the year the Northern Song dynasty fell, Liu moved from Luoling Prefecture in Shandong Province to the Taiping district of Yanshan Prefecture in Hebei Province, where he studied Confucianism as a youth. It is alleged that early one morning in the eleventh month of 1142, a white-haired old man riding a cart pulled by a blue calf gave Liu the fundamental principles of the *Dao de jing,* along with a writing brush. The old man declared, "If you can fully understand the essentials of the *Dao de jing,* your own religious education will be complete and you will be able to enlighten others." Liu followed the old man's advice, deepened his knowledge of Daoism, and attracted an ever greater number of disciples.

In teaching his followers, Liu stressed nine points, including loyalty, filial piety, sincerity, purity, humility, sufficient knowledge, acceptance, and the prohibition of cruelty, lewdness, slander, stealing, gambling, consuming the five pungent substances, drinking intoxicants, and taking life. Zhenda Daoism represents a syncretization of China's three teachings: Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism. But while the influence of Confucianism was pronounced, Daoist magical practices and the use of talismans, incantations, and elixirs of immortality (*jindan,* "gold and cinnabar") found little room in his teaching. The Zhenda sect promoted a rational philosophy centered on practical morality in accordance with the demands of the time.

Liu's teachings were quickly embraced by the people of northern China, who at the time were plagued by social instability. The sect's rapid rise in influence brought Liu's name to the attention of Emperor Shizong of the Jin dynasty. The emperor summoned Liu to the capital and in 1161 established Liu in residence at the Tianzhang temple, which thereby became the head temple of Zhenda Daoism. In 1167 the emperor bestowed on Liu the title Dongyue Zhenren ("perfected one of the eastern peak"). Liu thus developed important ties with the court, thereby paving the way for the expansion of Zhenda Taoism. He died in 1180.

SEE ALSO Daoism, overview article, and article on The Daoist Religious Community.

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LIU TE-JEN SEE LIU DEREN

LLULL, RAMÓN SEE LULL, RAMÓN

LOCKE, JOHN (1632–1704), English Christian writer on religious toleration, epistemology, political theory, theology, education, and economics. Locke was admitted to Westminster School, London, upon the recommendation of a Puritan family friend and proceeded as a King's Scholar to Christ Church, Oxford, where in 1658 he was chosen as a senior student (fellow) to teach moral philosophy. He studied chemistry and medicine, the practice of which contributed to his friendship with Anthony Ashley Cooper, earl of Shaftesbury and leader of the Whig Party. This political association led to Locke's self-imposed exile in Holland and the loss of his Oxford studentship in 1684. With the "Glorious Revolution" of 1689, he returned to England, where he devoted the remainder of his life largely to writing.

Locke's earliest extant writings of substance (not published until the twentieth century) set the course, though not the content, of his later, most influential works. After the restoration of Charles II to the throne in 1660, Locke conformed to the Church of England and wrote two essays defending the right of the civil magistrate to determine and enforce *adiaphora,* indifferent matters of religious worship. He believed that such authoritarianism was the only means to religious and political peace after the conflicts of the interregnum. In 1661 he reiterated this position in an essay on infallibility, which subject perhaps initiated his interest in the relationship between issues of knowledge and religious policy. By 1667, after his association with Shaftesbury, Locke changed his position and defended religious toleration in *An Essay concerning Toleration,* which foreshadowed the liberal views of his *Epistola de tolerantia* (1689), his classic defense of religious liberty. There he argued that religious opinions, even in "matters indifferent," could not and ought not be imposed upon subjects since a government magistrate had no more certain or infallible knowledge than anyone else.

From his consideration of religious toleration, Locke turned his attention to two fundamental attendant issues: the nature of government and the nature of knowledge. His *Two Treatises of Government* (1689) sets forth both a biblical interpretation attacking the basis of traditional patriarchal political theory and a model of human society in which every person has a direct relation to God under natural law. In accord with his views on toleration, Locke's theory of government does not require a uniformity of religion but is instead based on the right and need of individuals to preserve their lives, liberty, and property under natural law, even to the point of revolution.

His *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690) addresses issues of epistemology with an eye toward their religious and political implications. He attacks the theory of "innate principles," charging that its proponents (Hobbesians, Enthusiasts, and Roman Catholics) used it to impose their opinions on others as infallible so that they might govern by demanding unquestioning faith in their judgments. He seeks to show how little proper knowledge, that is, certainty, is available and asserts that religion rests primarily upon faith, not on knowledge. By "faith" Locke meant an assent to revelation; such an assent is essentially a judgment of probability, however great an assurance or confidence it carries. Thus, his epistemology supports his claim, with regard to toleration, that the leaders of society have no basis for imposing religion on subjects. However, he firmly believed that each individual could determine what was essential to his or her own salvation and moral life.

In *The Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695), Locke sets forth his own understanding of true religion, which he describes as a simple, intelligible Christianity derived from scripture alone. Drawing on an old tradition, he argues that the fundamental articles of Christian faith had been clearly designated by Jesus and the apostles, and that they are evident to anyone who reads the Bible. Focusing on the Gospels and the *Acts of the Apostles,* he attempts to reconstruct the life and teachings of Jesus and the apostles so as to show that they required for salvation belief only that Jesus was the Messiah, which presupposes belief in the existence of God and carries with it certain "concomitant articles" (such as Jesus' miracles, resurrection, and ascension) that proved him to be the Messiah. He admits that other scriptural doctrines must be believed as one comes to know them and emphasizes that moral obedience must accompany faith. Locke seems to have hoped that such a vision of Christianity, founded on a simple article of faith and clear morality set forth plainly in scripture, could provide a basis for social and political unity in which secondary matters of difference would be tolerated.

Locke's method in *Reasonableness* was also influential in the history of biblical criticism. His attempt to reconstruct the earliest teachings of Christianity led him to write a virtual "life of Jesus," including attention to what would later be called the "messianic secret." He emphasized what he thought were the more historical portions of the New Testament over the more doctrinal letters. His later *Paraphrases and Notes on the Pauline Epistles,* published posthumously

(1705–1707), also contributed to the perspective and style of subsequent biblical interpretation.

Locke's views on religion have been labeled as Hobbesian, Socinian or Unitarian, and deistic. The thesis of *Reasonableness* is nearly identical to that of Hobbes, and modern Marxist interpreters have revived the charges of Hobbesian inclination made by a few of Locke's contemporaries. However, non-Marxist historians have countered with alternative interpretations of Locke's meaning and broad intentions. Locke's ownership of numerous Socinian books, his several Unitarian friends, and manuscript records of antitrinitarian sentiments have often been cited as evidence of his secret sympathies. Yet such claims depend largely on silence and association, and recent analyses of manuscript sources have revealed that nearly all of Locke's "Unitarian" manuscript writings were not his own opinions but notes taken from his readings. His epistemology became a standard foundation of eighteenth-century Deism, but *Reasonableness* may well have been directed in part against the Deists and was used as a source of anti-Deist polemics. Locke strongly denied that his religious opinions were either the same as or influenced by Hobbes, the Socinians, or the Deists. If he is to be classed with any group or party, he might best be labeled as an independent thinker of the English Latitudinarian tradition.

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LOGIC. In the words of Petrus Hispanus, logic is both "ars artium et scientia scientiarum, ad omnium aliarum scientiarum methodorum principia viam habens." Roughly, we may take this to say, in modern terms, that logic concerns itself with the methods of correct statement and inference in all areas of inquiry whatsoever. Traditionally logic has divided into the study of deduction and of induction. The former has had an enormous development in the last hundred years or so, whereas the latter is still lagging behind, awaiting its coming of age.

Deductive logic does not dictate the principles or statements with which a given line of reasoning or inference starts; it takes over after these have been initially decided upon. Such principles or statements are decided upon, in turn, by direct insight, by revelation, by direct experience, by induction from instances, and so on. Deductive logic steps in only in the secondary capacity of directing the course of inferences once the so-called "premises" have been accepted or determined. The principles and rules of correct inference are stated in complete generality and hence are applicable to all kinds of subject matter. They are stated within a limited logical vocabulary—primarily that providing for the notions "not," "and," "or," "for all," "for some," and so on—to which the statements of any discipline must be brought into conformity by the use of suitable nonlogical constants providing for the given subject matter. Logic is thus indeed a kind of straitjacket that enforces correct statement and inference, just as moral norms enforce correct behavior and aesthetic norms enforce the beautiful or the artistically acceptable. In logic, however, there is less variation in the norms than in moral or aesthetic matters. Although many varieties of "deviant" logics have been invented, all of these turn out to be mere applications of the one standard logic. This is essentially the logic of Aristotle, brought up to date with the important contributions of DeMorgan, Boole, Peirce, Frege, Schröder, Whitehead and Russell, and Lesniewski.

Principles of logic have played a central role in theology throughout the long history of both, and each has influenced the other in significant ways. To be noted especially is the development, between roughly 1200 and 1500, of the Scholastic logic that aimed at providing the wherewithal for proofs of God's existence, especially those of Anselm, Thomas Aquinas, and Duns Scotus. In recent years, so-called process theology, stemming from the work of Whitehead, owes its origins to Whitehead's early work in logic, and much of the current discussion of the language of theology, especially in England, has been decisively influenced by the contemporary concern with the logic of natural language. In the East, especially in India, logic began to flourish in the first century CE within the confines of the methodology of theological and moral discussion and had a vigorous development that has persisted to the present day.

Logic, especially in its modern form, is a helpful adjunct to theology and should not be viewed with the fear that it will reduce the subject to a long list of sterile formulas. On the contrary, it should be viewed as an instrument that can help theology regain the high cognitive regality it once had as the queen of the sciences.

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LOGICAL POSITIVISM. Narrowly defined, logical positivism was an organized, science-oriented movement centered in Vienna during the 1920s and 1930s, a movement severely critical of metaphysics, theology, and traditional philosophy. Also known as logical empiricism, logical positivism may be more broadly defined as a doctrine born of classical empiricism and nineteenth-century positivism and sharpened by an empirical interpretation of the early logical writings of Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889–1951).

In either case, the distant origins of logical positivism lie in the long history of philosophical empiricism, the tradition holding that all knowledge must be derived from human experience alone. More particularly, the empiricism of John Locke (1632–1704), George Berkeley (1685–1753), and David Hume (1711–1776), with their cumulatively ever more radical elimination of nonempirical sources of knowledge, served as inspiration for the scientific views of the influential Vienna physicist and theorist of science, Ernst Mach (1836–1916). In addition, the positivist movement of the nineteenth century, founded by Auguste Comte (1798–1857), with its intense admiration for natural science, its anticlerical and antimetaphysical commitments, and its self-conscious programs for social and religious reform, lay behind not only Mach but also the small group of mathematical, natural, and social scientists who gathered in Vienna as early as 1907 to discuss Mach's views. In 1922 this group was successful in bringing Moritz Schlick (1882–1936), who was scientifically trained under the great German physicist Max Planck (1858–1947) but also keenly interested in philosophical issues, to the chair once held by Mach at the University of Vienna. Schlick quickly drew around him a circle of like-minded thinkers, mainly from the sciences, some of whom formed in 1928 the Verein Ernst Mach (the Ernst Mach Society). What soon became known as logical positivism was formulated by this group. The Vienna Circle, as they came to be known, issued a "manifesto" in 1929, organized international meetings, and in 1930 took over a journal, renamed *Erkenntnis*, for the advancement of its increasingly sharp position.

The distinctively "logical" character of the radically empiricist Vienna Circle was derived from the careful study (a line-by-line examination from 1924 to 1926) of Wittgenstein's *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, which had been completed by 1918 and first published in 1921 (in German under the title *Logisch-philosophische Abhandlung*), just prior to the formation of the Vienna Circle. Wittgenstein was never a member of the Circle and was not sympathetic either to its party spirit or to the "grandiloquence" of its pronouncements, but from 1927 to 1929 he engaged in conversations with Schlick and other members of the Circle. Wittgenstein's logical doctrine formed the Circle's sharpest weapon against metaphysics and theology: the characterization of them not merely as false or outmoded, as Comte and the classical positivists had claimed, but as strictly "nonsense."

It was from Wittgenstein that the Vienna Circle drew its insistence that all meaningful statements are either analytic (and logically certain merely because they are tautologies) or synthetic (and "truth-functionally" analyzable into basic propositions corresponding to ultimately simple facts). The Circle gave its own characteristic interpretation of what qualified as these "atomic facts": sense-experiences. With this interpretation came support for two of the Circle's three primary positions: (1) the doctrine of the unity of science, Mach's key project, on the ground that all the sciences can be reduced equally to variously complex ("molecular") reports on experience; and (2) the doctrine of the valuelessness of metaphysics, on the ground that metaphysical utterances, by attempting to go "beyond" experience, fail to point to simple sense-experiences and thus are devoid of cognitive content.

Both doctrines were incorporated in and defensible by the third, the single most characteristic doctrine enunciated by the logical positivists: the verification principle of meaning, fashioned in light of Wittgenstein's analysis of the logic of language. The principle itself, "the meaning of a proposition is the method of its verification," though not appearing in the *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, was attributed to a remark by Wittgenstein and was first published in the initial volume of *Erkenntnis* (1930–1931). In all its many later versions, the verification principle was taken to mean that for any nonanalytic (i.e., any would-be informative) statement, the factual meaning of the statement is equivalent to the set of observations (or sense-experiences, or "observation-statements") that would be sufficient to confirm the assertion's truth. Thus a thoroughgoing empiricist interpretation was given to Wittgenstein's more general dictum, and the authority of a powerful theory of meaning was placed behind the old disavowal of metaphysical or theological claims.

Those purported claims, it was said, must (if nontautological) be equivalent to the sensory experiences that might be obtained by an observer ideally positioned to verify the claim. Such confirming experiences, in the end, are alone what the utterances can mean. But if there are (and could be) no such specifiable experiences, as in the case of utterances allegedly "about" nonsensory entities like "God" or the "Absolute," then literally nothing is conveyed by the language, no real claims are made, and no "entity" can be conceived, much less believed in. So ran the fresh, essentially polemical argument of the logical positivists.

This polemic was generally ignored in the German-speaking philosophical world, doubtless because the Vienna Circle was not perceived (and to a large extent did not perceive itself) as engaging in philosophy so much as in a critique, enunciated mainly by professional scientists on behalf of a scientific method and worldview, of philosophy itself. Some English-speaking philosophers, however, long nurtured in the empiricist tradition that had inspired Mach and the Vienna Circle, were quick to notice the logical positivists. Alfred Jules Ayer (1910–1989) and Gilbert Ryle (1900–1976), of Oxford, and John Wisdom (1904–1993) and Susan Stebbing (1885–1943), of Cambridge, were early interpreters of the movement. Ayer, visiting Vienna in 1933, attended the meetings of the Circle, and in 1936 his book *Language, Truth and Logic,* containing a logical positivist critique of theology and ethics, exploded onto the English-speaking scene.

This radical challenge to the logical intelligibility of central theological utterances—those ostensibly about God, the soul, life after death, and the like—provoked a reaction that, though muted by the outbreak of World War II, intensified again in the early 1950s after a renewed challenge was issued by Antony Flew (b. 1923). Flew drew upon a variation of the verification principle for his question: what empirical observations would be incompatible with (would "falsify") theological assertions? If the answer is none, then are not the assertions in fact empty of definite, thinkable content? Theologians in the Catholic tradition (Roman or Anglican) tended to answer in terms of traditional doctrines of analogy. Members of the reformed tradition replied in fideistic terms. Neither group offered direct responses to the logical positivist attack. On the other hand, a third group, mainly liberal Protestants (including some Anglicans), attempted to vindicate the cognitive meaningfulness of theological discourse by satisfying the conditions set by the verification principle, specifying experiences that would be relevant to the verification or falsification of the claims in question. John Hick (b. 1922) proposed that claims about God could be verified, but only by postmortem experiences. Basil Mitchell (b. 1917) suggested that ordinary historical events or personal experiences are relevant to the verification of these claims, though not conclusively (as in many complex or ambiguous situations in life). He further suggested that faith-commitments are shown to be cognitively significant precisely because of the anguish sometimes felt in maintaining them against the evidence. R. M. Hare (1919–2002) and John Wisdom agreed that ordinary cognitive content is missing from theological claims but that these utterances might still have importance otherwise, offering comprehensive interpretations of particular experiences.

This variety of replies, to which many others could be added, underscores the distance that the postwar discussion had come from the rigorous either/or position of the Vienna Circle. But the sharp sword of the verification principle had already been blunted on issues at the very center of logical positivist concern: issues involving the adequate analysis of scientific assertions themselves. Try as they might, the members and allies of the Vienna Circle were not able to make good their program to include with the same criteria all scientifically essential statements but to exclude all metaphysical and theological ones. It soon became clear that the laws of science, being entirely universal in form, are not conclusively verifiable, since finite numbers of observations cannot in principle verify a universal assertion. ("Some" examples, however many they may be, cannot verify claims about "all.") Furthermore, the proffered suggestion that scientific laws are not, after all, assertions, as they seem to be, but disguised "rules" or other logical entities was too paradoxical for most science supporters. Again, the apparently definite meaning of even straightforward, particular factual assertions of science and daily life was found to melt away under verificational analysis into an infinite series of possible observations. Reversing the problem to the criterion of "falsification" did not help, since although a universal proposition can be falsified (in principle) by a single negative observation, no particular assertion can be so falsified; furthermore, universal laws of science are not, either in logic or in historical fact, at once falsified by negative observations. At most a whole network of theories is shown to need revision by a negative observational result (since it is not immediately clear which of the premises ought to be discarded and which retained). Moreover, as argued by such historians of science as Thomas S. Kuhn (1922–1996), science does not actually develop in any such logically neat way.

Other applications, not directly fashioned by the Vienna Circle, of verificationism to science—for instance, the attempt of the Harvard physicist P. W. Bridgman (1882–1961) to reduce all concepts in science to descriptions of specific procedures ("operationalism")—resulted in the unsatisfactory conclusion that entirely different concepts (for example, of "length" or "time") would be fashioned by the various sciences, depending on their subject matter and characteristic methods. Far from supporting the unity of science, which was a central motive in the founding of the logical positivist movement, operationalism tended to make it logically impossible for astronomy, which measures distance by various sorts of procedures, to share a common concept of distance with geology, biology, or microphysics, which rely upon others. Indeed, even within the same science—or within the same laboratory on different occasions—scientifically essential conceptual generality was seen to be forfeited by the particularistic reductionism of operationalism.

Equally alarming to many more realistically minded scientists and friends of science was the problem of retaining a (non-"metaphysical") concept of the common world studied by science if the meanings of all factual propositions are to be literally equated with those experiences that could verify them. Since experiences are personal and private, the traditional problem of "other minds" (i.e., of how I can escape solipsism if other centers of consciousness are not directly observable by me) was added to the problem of escaping from absolute idealism (i.e., the alarmingly traditional metaphysical view that nothing exists except mentality), even if the egocentric predicament somehow could be avoided.

Finally, the logical status of the verification principle itself could not withstand verificationist analysis. The principle is not just another empirical hypothesis: that is, it certainly does not offer a foothold for confirmation (or falsification) by sense-experiences. Is it then an empty tautology? Most logical positivists took the latter position, holding that the principle was an "important" tautology that had many good reasons for being "recommended" to the intellectual community. This tack, however, allowed others, like Hare and Wisdom, to speak of equally "important" nonverifiable utterances and to make more complex counterrecommendations about the meaning of "meaning."

The disintegration of the organized Vienna Circle can be dated from the murder by a deranged student of Schlick in 1936. Viewed with hostility by the Nazis, the Vienna Circle was formally disbanded in 1938, and in the same year *Erkenntnis* was moved out of Hitler's direct sphere of control, to Holland, where it lasted only another two years. The end of the broader movement is harder to trace, and in some fashion it remains influential as an overtone in the more radically empirical voices of our time. Still, the gradual abandonment by Wittgenstein of his own either/or position on meaning in the *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, in favor of a much more pluralistic approach to the functions of human language, pulled the logical rug out from under logical positivism. Its significance for religion and theology continues to lie in the fact that theologians now have been forced to acknowledge the extent to which their claims cannot be treated as simple empirical hypotheses, open to "crucial experiments," as in the contest between Elijah and the priests of Baal (*1 Kgs.* 18:17–40). Indeed, it may be thought that theology has emerged the better for its cold bath in verificationism, if only because theologians are now required to be aware of the subtlety of their speech and of the many functions it may have both in their technical discourses and in the living religious speech of the faithful.

SEE ALSO Analytic Philosophy; Comte, Auguste; Empiricism; Hume, David; Locke, John; Positivism; Science and Religion; Wittgenstein, Ludwig.

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LOGOS. The noun *logos* is as old as the Greek language itself. It has acquired, over the course of time, a large number of different meanings, which only with difficulty can be drawn into a simple unity. "Reason" is the translation that causes perhaps the least trouble, but "reason" itself is of course far from unambiguous. Perhaps it will help to carve up the vast semantic field covered by the word *logos* if the three principal meanings are distinguished, even though this entails considerable simplification. First there is an objective meaning: the rational ground or basis (Ger., *Grund*) for something. This is often of a numerical or logical nature and functions as a principle of explanation. Second, there is a subjective meaning: the power or faculty of reasoning (Ger., *Vernunft*) or thought. Third, there is what shall be called an expressive meaning: thought or reason as expressed in speech or in writing (the "speech" may be either vocalized or purely cerebral).

STOIC VIEWS OF LOGOS. No one of these three meanings is limited specifically to the study of religious thought and experience. One specific use of the word did, however, come to have pride of place in some of the philosophical schools of the ancient world, and especially among the Stoics. In these circles *logos* came to mean the rational order of the universe, an immanent natural law, a life-giving force hidden within things, a power working from above on the sensible world. This use of the word has obvious affinities with the first of the meanings listed above. Clearly we have to do here with the idea of rational ground or basis. There is, however, the obvious difference that we are dealing not with the rational ground of some one particular entity as distinct from some other, but with the cosmos as a whole. It is this extension in the scope of the word, an extension reaching out to embrace the confines of the universe, that gives to this particular use of *logos* a religious dimension. Hence the willingness of the Stoics to call this *logos* "God." Deeply embedded in the matter of the universe, God does not demand our worship, does not cry out for temples built by human hands. He does nonetheless call forth a theology, and he does stir in us a sense of piety; but theology and piety are centered on the cosmos.

The point to appreciate is that, for the Stoics, *logos* is associated with all the functions that are normally attributed to the divine. Logos is destiny and providence. Chrysippus, one of the founders of Stoicism, tells us for example that "it is in conformity with the Logos that what has happened, has happened, that what is happening, is happening, that what will happen, will happen" (*Stoicorum veterum fragmenta* 2.913). The Logos impregnates the world, from within, with its order and rhythm. The Stoic emperor Marcus Aurelius (5.32.2) tells us that wisdom consists in coming to know "the Logos that extends through the whole of matter, and governs the universe for all eternity according to certain fixed periods." For all that, the Logos is not limited to controlling nature. "If there is any common bond between gods and men, it is because both alike share in the Logos, which Logos is the natural law" (*Stoicorum veterum fragmenta* 2.528).

Such were the theses upheld by the oldest of the Stoics, in the third century before the common era. Were these Stoics taking over an earlier set of ideas that had been worked out even before their time by Heraclitus of Ephesus toward the end of the sixth century? Heraclitus believed in the existence of a Logos common to all humans, shared by all, over and beyond their private thoughts, a Logos by which all things happen as they do, a Logos clothed with many of the attributes of divinity. There were, besides, many readers in the ancient world who thought that Heraclitus's Logos was close to the Logos of the Stoics and could therefore be taken as the first mapping out of the Stoic conception. On the other hand, one must remember how laconic are the very few quotations from Heraclitus on the nature of his Logos that have come down to us, and how very different are the meanings that can attach to the word. There can therefore be no certainty that the Logos of Heraclitus was really the principle guiding and underlying the universe that the Stoics were going to call by the same name.

It is certain, nevertheless, that of all the theological thinkers of pagan antiquity who made use of the idea of a Logos, the Stoics took the idea furthest and had the greatest influence. Although the great philosophers of the classical period made much use of the word *logos*, they did not attach to it a meaning capable of sustaining the same religious development. Nor can such development be traced in any of the later spiritual movements rooted in the tradition of Greek thought. Contrary to what one might have expected, the Neoplatonists gave only a very limited place to the Logos within the framework of their religious ideas. The Logos does not belong to the hierarchy of hypostases set up by Plotinus. In the *Enneads* there are only two short treatises, both called *On Providence* (3.2.3 [47, 48]), in which Plotinus plays with the idea, perhaps under the influence of Gnostic beliefs. Where Jewish and Christian speculative thinkers are to be found giving the word *logos* the full depth of its religious value, they, no less than their pagan counterparts, draw upon ways of thinking that are recognizably Stoic in origin.

Should we then look upon the Stoic philosophers as the fountainhead of the entire subsequent development of a theology of the Logos? Not quite: Stoic influence would hardly have been capable, without reinforcement, of stimulating such a profound development. But as it happened, the Stoic conception was joined by a new way of thinking that probably originated in the Near East and that encouraged people to see as independent and separate personifications what had hitherto been understood as different psychological aspects of a single divine being. What had been simply modes of the divine essence now came to be thought of as substances in their own right, each of which had issued from the divine by a process neatly epitomized in the title of a thesis presented by Helmer Ringgren: *Word and Wisdom: Studies in the Hypostatization of Divine Qualities and Functions in the Ancient Near East* (Lund, 1947). This same shift in thought is brought out by the Christian Tertullian in a treatise against the Gnostics (*Against the Valentinians* 4.2), in which he writes of the difference between Valentinus and his disciple Ptolemy. In the thought of Ptolemy, "the Aeons, each distinguished by its own name and by its own number, became personalized substances, characterized independently of God, whereas Valentinus had included them in the divine whole itself, and had taken them as thoughts, feelings and emotions of the divine." Earlier, Irenaeus (*Against Heresies* 1.12.1) had written in a similar vein of the same Ptolemy's belief that there had issued forth from the Father Aeons that had earlier been thought of as mere "dispositions" (*diatheseis*) of the Father.

The Logos should be seen as the chief of these dispositions. As the name itself testifies, it originally designated the divine reason before becoming a reality in its own right, distinct from God, and soon to be personified by taking on the characteristics of the Son of God. A parallel transformation into a hypostasis distinct from God was undergone by another divine faculty, Wisdom (Sophia). Both developments took place in the first two centuries of the common era, in the Hellenized Jewish circles of Alexandria, and reached their fullest expression in the works of Philo Judaeus (first century CE). The conceptual effort required by these transformations bears all the marks of Stoicism, but the change has been made on the basis of underlying doctrinal shifts. The personalized Logos, distinct from God insofar as accounted the Son of God, is far removed from the supreme principle immersed in matter that the Stoics called by the same name. A difference in terminology brings out just how far the idea has traveled: the "god Logos" of Stoicism has given way, more often than not, to the "Logos of God," or "divine Logos" (e.g., Philo, *On the Maker of the World* 5.20). This change takes on its full meaning when the Christian Origen contrasts his own belief with that of his adversary Celsus, who on this point can be taken for all intents and purposes as a Stoic. Origen writes as follows (*Against Celsus* 5.24): "The Logos of all things, according to Celsus, is God himself, whereas we believe that the Logos is the Son of God. In our philosophy it is he of whom we say: 'In the beginning was the Logos, and the Logos was with God, and the Logos was God' (*Jn.* 1:1)."

LOGOS AND WISDOM. The theology of Wisdom is inseparable from the theology of the Logos. The theology of Wisdom stems from the Old Testament, where in *Proverbs* (8:22–23) Wisdom speaks: "The Lord created me at the beginning of his work, the first of his acts of old. Ages ago I was set up, at the first, before the beginning of the earth," and so on. Wisdom is plainly presented here as the first of God's creatures and as God's collaborator in the creation of all that was yet to be created. How Wisdom is to be thought of in conjunction with Logos may be gleaned from a Hellenistic Jewish text, the *Wisdom of Solomon* (9:1–9): "God of my fathers and Lord of thy mercy, thou who hast made all things in thy Logos, and who by this Wisdom has called forth man . . . grant me the Wisdom seated by thy throne."

Jews and Christians have devoted much commentary to these two passages. Philo sees the Wisdom of *Proverbs* as the mother of the universe. In accordance with an obviously Stoic train of thought (*Stoicorum veterum fragmenta* 2.1074), she is held to have received from God the seeds (*spermata*) of creation (*On Drunkenness* 8.30–31; *On the Cherubim* 14.49). Elsewhere (*Allegorical Interpretation* 1.19.64; *On Flight and Finding* 20.109; *On Dreams* 2.37.245), she is identified in his eyes with the Logos, and either can be taken as typified by the manna from heaven in *Exodus* 16. These apparent inconsistencies in Philo's thought have a great deal to do with his allegorical exegesis. They also show how ideas of Wisdom and Logos became intertwined in the Judeo-Greek world of Alexandria. Things worked out differently, however, in the purely Jewish tradition, the tradition we speak of as Palestinian. The rabbinical commentators took Wisdom in *Proverbs* 8:22 to mean the preexistent Torah, conceived by them as being the plan according to which God had created the world.

The Christians of the second century exercised their minds on the same pages of the Bible and came up with conclusions that were not dissimilar. This, for example, is how Justin Martyr interprets the text from *Proverbs*, just before quoting liberally from it: "As a principle prior to all his creatures, God has called forth from himself a Power that is like a Logos [*dunamin logikēn*]". He goes on to say that in different contexts, scripture calls this power Son, Wisdom, God, and Logos (*Dialogue with Trypho* 61.1, 129.3–4). But there is a difference, and one with important ramifications, in the way in which Philo and Justin quote from the same verse of *Proverbs*. Philo reads the text in a Greek translation that has Wisdom say: "The Lord, to whom I belong [*ektēsato*], has made me the principle of his ways." But Justin, in common with other Christian writers of his day, follows another Greek translation, the so-called Septuagint, which rightly or wrongly gives the verse as: "The Lord has created me [*ektise*]." One can hardly mistake the significance of the idea of creation that has thus been introduced into the passage.

Justin's aim, an aim that will be shared by the whole of ancient Christianity, is to read this verse from *Proverbs* in the light of the prologue to the gospel according to John, and so to see in Wisdom a prophetical foretelling of the Logos or the preexistent Son of God. But such an aim is not supported by the fact that Wisdom is said to be "created," which obviously could not be applied to the Son of God. This explains why Justin, as we just saw, abandons the idea of creation and adopts instead the idea of generation, an idea altogether more suited to describe the arrival of the Christian Word. Nonetheless, the idea that Wisdom had been "created" was a constant irritant, impeding any attempt at a syncretistic explanation of Wisdom as the Word. It is not until the fourth century that Eusebius of Caesarea (*Ecclesiastical Theology* 3.2.14ff.) resurrects and insists upon the reading *ektēsato* that had been given by Philo of Alexandria, while Jerome, when he comes to translate the same word in his Latin version of the Hebrew scriptures, chooses the meaning of *possessio* and excludes the idea of *creatio* (see his *Letter* 140.6).

Shortly after Justin, the Christian Theophilus of Antioch takes up the association of the Logos and Wisdom and sometimes seems even to identify the two (*To Autolycus* 2.10, 2.22). In other passages, however, he distinguishes them (1.7, 2.8), while once (2.15) he uses a very striking formula to tell us of a triad made up of God, his Logos, and his Wisdom. It is tempting to see at this point a preliminary version of the doctrine of the Trinity, with Wisdom occupying the place of the Holy Ghost. The different ways that Theophilus has of expressing himself on the subject show, however, that the doctrine has not as yet really taken on definite shape in his mind. Not until Irenaeus, who never wavers in his identification of Wisdom with the Holy Ghost, does the idea of the Trinity become a consistent and self-conscious doctrine.

SEMINAL LOGOS. We can see here how, from the very beginning, the Christian theology of the Logos, or of the Word, was deeply rooted in the particular way in which theologians read and understood *Proverbs* and the *Wisdom of Solomon* in the cultural circles of Hellenistic Judaism. No less important was the influence that Stoicism exerted on these Jewish speculations, though its importance was of another kind. Stoicism provided the theoretical framework that made it possible for images and ideas drawn from scripture to take on definite doctrinal shape.

Take, for example, the Stoic idea of *logos spermatikōs*, seminal or spermatic *logos*. This was an idea that the Stoics had worked out to explain how every being contains within itself a principle of development suitable to itself—an idea that they applied to the individual beings within the cosmos as well as to the cosmos itself in its entirety. When applied to individual beings, the formula is used in the plural. We are told, for example, that God, "in looking to the birth of the world, holds within himself all the seminal *logoi*, according to which each thing is produced, as required by necessity" (*Stoicorum veterum fragmenta* 2.1027). We have already seen how Philo makes use of this way of thinking when he writes of Wisdom receiving from God the seeds of creation.

Justin is no less indebted to the same mode of thought, although the turn of ideas in his case is very different. Justin wonders how pagan philosophers and poets have been able to utter certain truths, despite their having had no access to the truths of revelation. He decides that it is "because of the seed of the Logos that has been implanted in the whole human race," with the difference that the pagans respond to only "a part of the seminal Logos," whereas the Christians' rule of faith is founded on "the knowledge and the contemplation of the whole Logos, that is, of Christ" (*Second Apology* 8.1, 8.3). The same Stoic concept underlies the thought of the Gnostic Ptolemy at about the same time (as reported by Irenaeus in *Against Heresies* 1.8.5): Ptolemy claimed that the Father, in the Son, had called forth all things seminally (*spermatikōs*).

INNER LOGOS AND SPOKEN LOGOS. Stoic psychology emphasized the lack of coincidence between the reasoning power, which rests within, and language, which gives outward expression to the powers of reason. Since the same word *logos* was used to designate both the power of reasoning and reason as expressed in speech, the difference came to be stated as a difference between two *logoi*. One might no less properly express this as a distinction between two types or states of language. A language within, or an inner language (*logos endiathetos*), is then distinguished from a language that we have in common with talking birds, a language expressed in speech (*logos prophorikos*). We should refrain, however, from giving too much importance to the significance that the Stoics themselves attached to this distinction, for the accounts of it are few and far between. Thus we find in Heraclitus, a commentator on Homer (first century CE?), the claim that if Hermes, god of the *logos*, is given double honors, "this is because language is double. The philosophers call one an 'inner' language and the other a 'spoken' language. The 'spoken' language is the messenger of the thoughts that pass within us, whereas the 'inner' language stays enclosed within the fastness of our heart" (*Homeric Problems* 72.14–16).

From small beginnings, this Stoic way of thinking came to cut deep into the Christian theology of the Logos. No one threw himself with greater abandon into the description of the idea and its transposition into a Christian context than Theophilus of Antioch, at the end of the second century. In his treatise *To Autolycus* (2.2), he gives brilliant proof of the idea outlined earlier, according to which the Jewish and Christian Logos resulted from exteriorizing and personifying what had originally been God's own internal faculty of reflection. At first God is alone, and the Logos is quite simply God's weighing up of things within himself; then, when he wishes to create, God brings forth the Logos to be his instrument and his messenger. By cleverly cutting off the opening of the prologue of John's gospel, Theophilus is able to drum up a scriptural warrant for this Stoic representation of the two *logoi*. The evident weakness in the process lies in introducing into the condition of the Logos a kind of historical development that is ill-suited to the nature of the divine. Because Theophilus has taken over the movement *ad extra* by which the Stoics passed from the *logos endiathetos* to the *logos prophorikos*, the Word of God has to pass through two different and successive states, and it seems clear that his begetting, for all that it is the essential mark of his relation to the Father, belongs only to the second state.

The danger inherent in this view of the Trinity did not escape the eagle eye of Origen, who very neatly seizes upon it in a passage (*De principiis* 1.2.2) written around 230. By means of a subtle philosophical argument, proceeding by dilemma, he establishes that from all eternity God is, and always has been, the Father of his only Son.

Theophilus of Antioch probably best typifies the tendency that we have found in him. Yet he is by no means the only writer able to manipulate such ideas. In the second century and at the beginning of the third, almost all Christian theologians write of the Logos in a way that implies development: starting from a lack of distinction within the innermost being of God, they make the Logos "proceed" from out of God and take upon himself the work of creation. To be sure, only some of these authors deliberately and explicitly draw upon the Stoic model of the two *logoi* and cast their ideas in the technical terms of the theory; but they all have the same model in mind. One may quote Justin (*Dialogue* 61.2) and his disciple Tatian (*Speech to the Greeks* 5), and in the Latin-speaking world Tertullian (*Against Praxeas* 5–7) and finally Hippolytus of Rome (*Against Noëtus* 10; *Refutation* 10.33.1–15). Hippolytus virtually repeats the analyses given by Theophilus, although there are some differences of nuance: for example, Hippolytus splits in two the outward state of the Logos and sees therein a separate stage for the Word incarnate. Yet two noteworthy exceptions should be mentioned: Clement of Alexandria (*Stromateis* 5.1.6.3) and even more so Irenaeus (*Against Heresies* 2.13.8, 2.28.5). His struggle against the Gnostics (who in practice shared the views of Theophilus and others) gave Irenaeus an additional reason for forcefully rejecting any assimilation of the generation of the Word with happenings related to the human Logos.

Irenaeus's negative approach won the day. The analogy with Stoic theory of the two *logoi* is heard of no more for a while, then reappears during the fourth century in the theology of the Word expounded by Marcellus of Ancyra and Photinus. Both these writers were condemned and anathematized by synods in 345 and 351. The declaration of faith in 345 ran as follows: "But as for us, we know that Christ is not merely a Logos of God uttered outwardly or resting within [*prophorikos ē endiathetos*]. He is the Logos God, living and subsisting of himself, Son of God, Christ" (*Macrostich Formula* of the third synod of Antioch, pt. 6, in August Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der alten Kirche*, 3d ed., Breslau, 1897, para. 159, p. 194). This conciliar statement had in any case been anticipated by Eusebius of Caesarea (*De ecclesiastica theologia* 1.17; 2.11; 14; 15), and was shortly to receive the approval of Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catechesis* 11.10) and Athanasius (*Speech against the Arians* 2.35). Marcellus of Ancyra and Photinus, then, were fighting rearguard battle. In the dogmatic formula approved in 325 by the ecumenical council of Nicaea (the Nicene Creed), the word *logos*, which Eusebius had suggested, had already disappeared in favor of "Son of God" (Hahn, 1897, pp. 160–161). This substitution obviously brought on the demise of the old Stoic ways of thinking that had been indissolubly linked to the term *logos*. Not until the fifth century, and then only in the Latin-speaking world, does one find, in the great trinitarian synthesis of Augustine, a new way in which the two states of human language (*verbum quod intus lucet, verbum quod foris sonat*) can again be employed to mark out similarities with the divine Word; yet even then the comparison has to be handled with the greatest circumspection. Augustine differs from the theologians of the second century in holding that the spoken human word finds for its analogue not the begotten Logos seen against the background of its participation in creation, but the Word made flesh (*De trinitate* 15.10.19–11.20).

FUNCTIONS OF THE LOGOS. Philo of Alexandria, as well as the early Christians, confers upon the Logos a number of different functions. The chief of these can be described by three words: *creation, revelation, mediation.*

The idea of speech as creative is hardly likely to have arisen in Greece, where men thought instead in terms of an antithesis between the two nouns *logos* and *ergon:* the antithesis of talking and doing, of words and acts, of the lips and the heart. Quite other is the world of the Old Testament, where sentences abound such as those in Psalm 33:9: "For he spoke, and it was done; he commanded, and it stood fast." (See also *Ps.* 148:5, 42:15 et al.) Philo was especially struck by the fact that this temporal coincidence between the divine command and its effect was nowhere to be found in the culture of the Greeks: "At the moment that he speaks, God creates, and there is no gap in time between the two; alternatively one might say, if one wished to improve upon the truth of this opinion, that his Word was act [*logos ergon*]" (*On the Sacrifices of Abel and Cain* 18.65).

This moment in Christian doctrine led naturally to giving the Logos (which is also the divine Word) a part in the creation of the cosmos. Its role was that of an instrument (*organon*), and Philo takes care to distinguish between the instrument and God himself, who is cause, or *aition* (*On the Cherubim* 35.127). This is the same instrumental causality, a subordinate form of causality, that early Christians normally attributed to the Logos. The idea was nearly always expressed by the preposition *dia* with the genitive, and one should translate it (or at least understand it as meaning) "by means of," starting from *John* 1:3: "All things were made by the Logos."

Philo does, however, take the instrumental role of the Logos in a fairly wide sense and makes room for what the Greek philosophical tradition called the "exemplary cause" (which was distinguished thereby from the idea of instrument; see Basil of Caesarea, *On the Holy Ghost* 3.5). An extract from the *Allegorical Interpretation* (3.31.96) makes clear how the Logos is at one and the same time instrument (*organon*) and model (*archetupos, paradeigma*). And Philo's analyses help us in turn to understand some later texts. Toward the year 177 Athenagoras, no different in this from other Christian writers of the time, writes that "God, by means of the Logos that comes from him, has called the universe into being, has set it in order, and keeps it beneath his governance" (*Legatio* 10). But a little later he adds, and indeed repeats, that "the Son of God is the Logos of the Father in idea and in act [*en ideai kai energeiai*]." These final words would be shrouded in mystery, did we not recall the dual role that Philo assigned to the Logos in creation since, for Philo, the Logos is at one and the same time the ideal model and the agent of creation. At this point, therefore, the influence of Greek philosophy makes itself felt again in the thought of Philo and no less in that of Athenagoras. Thus a pagan contemporary of Athenagoras, the Platonist Albinus, will write of a principle that he calls the first Intellect: "its activity [*energeia*] is itself idea [*idea*]" (*Didascalicos* 10).

In the loose and widespread Platonism with which Jewish and Christian ideas of the time were saturated, the impossibility of an adequate knowledge of God was stressed. In such an intellectual climate the Logos inevitably took on a second function, whereby it became a means of revealing the

Father to us. This idea becomes so commonplace that I shall only allude to it. There is, however, one very early noncanonical Christian writer who gives the idea a novel twist. Ignatius of Antioch (d. 107) writes as follows (*Letter to the Magnesians* 8.2): "There is only one God, who makes himself known to us through Jesus Christ his Son, who is his Logos who comes forth from his silence [*logos apo sigēs proelthōn*]." Sigē (Silence) is a figure well known to us from the theogonies current in Simonian and Valentinian Gnosticism, where one of the first Aeons—that is, one of the earliest emanations—is called by this name. Are we to conclude that Ignatius has drawn his inspiration on this point from the Gnostic theory of divine emanations, as Marcellus of Ancyra later did (according to Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical Theology* 2.9.4)? The possibility cannot be ruled out. But it is more likely that Ignatius made use of this gripping expression to describe how, when the Logos comes forward to reveal the Father, he breaks the silence that God had kept for ages past.

Entrusted from on high with the creation of the cosmos and the revelation of the Father, the Logos is in some ways closer to humanity than is the Father. The Logos stands on the borderline (*methorios stas*), so to speak, between the Father and the human race, and so can play the part of a mediator. To God he offers the prayers and worship of mortal men, while to mortal men he gives the assurance of a divine help that will never fail them. That, at least, is how Philo shapes his ideas, sometimes applying these trains of thought deliberately and explicitly to the Logos (*On Dreams* 2.28.188–189; *On the Special Laws* 1.23.116). But the role of mediator finds its fullest scope only in Christianity, where the incarnate Logos draws together and makes of itself a center for human and divine nature and is thereby in the ideal position to facilitate the communication of one nature with the other. There are some famous passages in Augustine that one could quote as answering exactly to this point (*Confessions* 7.18.24; *City of God* 9.15–17). No less apposite, but less hackneyed, is the following quotation from Clement of Alexandria, where a flavor of baroque archaism results from his quoting Heraclitus: "Heraclitus was quite right to say: 'The gods are men, and men are gods. For the Logos is one and the same.' Light shines through this mystery: God is in man, and man is God, and the Mediator [*mesitēs*] fulfills the will of the Father; for the Mediator is the Logos, which is the same for man and for God, at one and the same time Son of God and savior of men, God's servant and our Teacher" (*Teacher* 1.2.1).

THE CHRISTIAN LOGOS. With the rise of Christianity, old words and ideas became charged with a new meaning, and new wine was poured into old skins, with all the risks attendant upon such an enterprise, as we have already seen in our study of the Stoic theory of the two *logoi.* Some Christian authors take up with confidence and determination the earlier pagan prehistory of this idea and see therein a providential pattern mirroring sacred history itself: "Those who lived with the Logos are Christians, even if in their day they passed for atheists: among the Greeks, such are Socrates, Heraclitus, and their like; among the barbarians, Abraham, Ananias, Azarias, Misaël, Elijah, and many others." Such is the claim of Justin Martyr (*First Apology* 46.3), who revels in ferreting out from Greek philosophy and religion ideas that are compatible with the Christian Logos. He draws attention to Mercury, who was called the angelic word of God (22.2), and most of all to the world soul that Plato (*Timaeus* 36B) says is embedded in the universe in the shape of a cross or the Greek letter chi, a symbol for the cross of Christ (60.5–7).

This movement toward harmonizing pagan Greek and Christian beliefs, a movement that reflects a grandiose conception of the theology of history, did not keep early Christianity from becoming clearly aware of what, in its conception of the Logos, was most peculiarly its own. Thus the prologue to the *Gospel of John* shows a writer deeply aware of the historical background from which he has sprung (which included the Wisdom of Hellenistic Judaism and the Torah of Palestinian Judaism). But the prologue is also without peer in revealing the overriding importance given to the perfect coincidence between the preexisting Logos and the Jesus of history. Even so, in *John*, the personality of this Logos is taken as the known, and not spelled out, a point to which the early theologians will direct their efforts. Such, for example, is Justin's preoccupation when he writes against those (possibly Jews taking their lead from Philo) who believe that individuality of the Logos is no more distinct from that of the Father than light is distinct from the sun. In his *Dialogue with Trypho* (128.4, 129.3–4), Justin argues instead in favor of a distinction that is not merely nominal but a distinction of number. As proof, he takes his stand on the bringing forth of the Logos: for "what is brought forth is numerically distinct from him who brings forth; anyone must allow us that."

To be perfectly accurate, Justin does not write of the Logos as "numerically distinct," but as "other [*heteros*] in virtue of number." In writing thus, Justin hit upon a word full of pitfalls, a word that could suggest the existence of two gods as well as a debasement of the Logos in relation to the Father. It could even suggest both ideas at once, as seen in another sentence from the same *Dialogue*, a sentence truly staggering in its lack of theological foresight: "There is, as has been said, another [*heteros*] god and lord below the Creator of the universe . . . the Creator of the universe has no other [*allos*] god above him" (56.4). Perhaps Justin's pen has run away with him, forcing his ideas in a direction that he did not really intend. Others, whose thinking was really no different from his, will take much greater care in how they express themselves (e.g., Hippolytus, *Against Noëtus* 11). Origen himself will downgrade the Logos in calling it "second [*deuteros*] god" (*Against Celsus* 5.39, 6.61, etc.) or again in writing "god" (*theos*) without the article, whereas he calls the Father *ho theos*, "the God" (*Commentary of Saint John* 2.2.13–18).

The analyses quoted above may seem oddly archaic in the light of later theology, but they lose a good deal of this quality if we take account of two points. In the first place, the expressions employed by Justin and Origen can already be found in Philo, whose use of them naturally occasions much less surprise. Thus Philo had used the presence or absence of the article to distinguish the "true" God from the Logos god (*On Dreams* 1.39.229–230), and had marked out the Logos as being "the second god" (*Questions and Answers on Genesis* 2.62). Before Justin and Hippolytus, Philo sees in the Logos "another god" (ibid.). The second point to bear in mind is that the Platonist philosophers of the day also contribute to the movement toward giving the Logos only a diminished form of divinity. They refer regularly to a first principle or a first god, obviously implying the existence of a god of second rank. One such Platonist writer, Numenius (later than Philo but known to Origen), uses the term *second god* for the demiurge (fragments 11, 15, 16, 19). It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the Christian theologians of the second and third centuries, even theologians of the caliber of Origen, were simply prisoners of the *Zeitgeist* when they came to see the Logos as a god of second rank. They were as yet unequipped with the conceptual apparatus that their successors were going to need so as to share, without loss of identity, the divine nature between Persons Three.

SEE ALSO Archetypes; Hypostasis; Jesus; Kalām; Sophia; Torah.

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LOISY, ALFRED

(1857–1940), French scholar who held a dual role in the religious history of France: as a Roman Catholic biblical critic who employed the methods pioneered by German Protestant scholars and as the center of the conflict in Catholicism that would come to be known as the modernist controversy.

Alfred Firman Loisy was born in Ambrières (Marne) on February 28, 1857, and died on June 1, 1940, in Paris. While Loisy was a student in a rural seminary, he undertook the study of Hebrew as an antidote to the mediocrity of his theological education. His familiarity with the language gave him a taste for reading biblical texts for their original sense, a taste that developed into a lifelong preference for historical as opposed to theological approaches to biblical questions. In 1878 he was assigned to the fledgling Institut Catholique de Paris to complete his seminary education. There he attracted the attention of the church historian Louis Duchesne, who encouraged Loisy's interest in modern methods of historical research. There, too, he attended classes of Ernest Renan at the Collège de France; Renan embodied the conviction that it was not possible to be both a historian and a

Catholic. Loisy's youthful ambition was to prove Renan wrong, to demonstrate in his own life and work that, as he put it, "the great march of history did not pass by Renan's door."

Nevertheless, Loisy's journals for these years indicate that he was deeply distressed by what seemed to be the unwillingness of the church to understand or explain its past in any but the most doctinaire theological categories. However troubled his private thoughts may have been, Loisy exhibited in his studies the clarity of mind, attention to detail, and remarkable discipline that would characterize all his later work. As a result, he was appointed instructor (1882) and then professor of New Testament (1890) at the Institut Catholique. In that position, Loisy began to expose his students to the requirements of a historical study of Christian origins. However, church authorities were wary of scientific studies that would alter or overturn traditional doctrines, and it was inevitable in this environment that a controversy would arise. Loisy soon found himself embroiled in an argument over the nature of biblical inspiration that led first to his demotion and finally to his dismissal.

Loisy's next appointment, to the chaplaincy of a convent school outside Paris, was probably intended to keep him out of higher education. However, unable to do technical research, Loisy began to think about the problem of modern religion in its wider bearings. He developed an entire program for teaching the Catholic faith in a way that would be consistent with the discoveries of modern historical research. When, in 1902, Adolf von Harnack's popular book on the essence of Christianity, *Das Wesen des Christentums* (English title, *What Is Christianity?*), appeared in French translation, Loisy saw an opportunity to demonstrate that Catholics could have the better of an argument with Protestant historians simply on historical grounds; one could show, for example, that Harnack's conclusions were wrong, not because they violated doctrine but because they rested on inadequate research and hasty conclusions. Loisy's book *L'évangile et l'église*, published that same year, created a sensation. However, what proved significant about the book was not so much the success of Loisy's argument with Harnack as his acknowledgment that history allowed for considerably fewer claims about Jesus' divinity and foreknowledge than Catholic theology had traditionally made. When Loisy confirmed this position in a companion volume (*Autour d'un petit livre*) the next year, the issue crystallized into a conflict between historians who would alter doctrine to suit their vision of history and theologians who would refuse historical fact to preserve doctrine. Loisy spent the next several months defending his position while trying to avoid condemnation by the church on whose behalf he understood himself to be speaking. By the end of 1903, he realized that the project to which he had given so much of his life was failing. When, in March 1904, Pius X's accusation that Loisy was not sincere in his wish to remain in the church was conveyed to him, "something inside came apart."

Loisy was excommunicated in 1907. Earlier that year, the encyclical *Pascendi dominici gregis* was issued by Pius X, describing and condemning "modernist" errors; prominent among them were the principles of biblical research drawn from Loisy's work.

During this controversy, Loisy had begun to teach courses at the Collège de France and to return to the kind of technical research he said he preferred. After his excommunication, he was appointed to the chair of history of religions, where he remained until his retirement in 1931. Loisy continued to publish a remarkable number of books until just before his death at the age of eighty-three. Besides his technical work on aspects of Christian origins, he continued his interest in the nature of religion and its place in the modern world. He understood these latter works as a kind of series that began with *L'évangile et l'église* in 1902 and concluded in 1937 with *La crise morale du temps présent et l'éducation humaine.*

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RICHARD J. RESCH (1987)
Revised Bibliography

LOKI is an enigmatic figure in Scandinavian mythology. There is no evidence for the worship of Loki, nor any evidence of his being known elsewhere in the Germanic world. He turns up only rarely in skaldic poetry and not at all in the *Gesta Danorum* of Saxo Grammaticus. Even in Eddic poetry he turns up less frequently than Óðinn or Þórr. And yet he is something like the lynchpin of the mythology proper in its vernacular Icelandic form.

According to Snorri Sturluson's *Gylfaginning*, part of his *Edda* (c. 1220–1230), Loki is the son of the giant Fárbauti. With the giantess Angrboða, Loki is the father of three monsters who threaten the gods: the wolf Fenrir, the serpent Jǫrmungandr, and the woman Hel. Óðinn, with his foresight, saw the threat and had the monsters brought to him. The wolf was bound; the serpent was cast into the sea, where he lies coiled around the earth and hence is known as the Midgard serpent; and Hel was cast down into the underworld, where she rules over the realm of the dead. These monsters remain checked until Ragnarǫk, the end of the world.

Despite his giant heritage and these threatening offspring, Loki lives among the gods in the time before Ragnarǫk. At the end of his catalogue of the Æsir (gods) in *Gylfaginning*, Snorri Sturluson wrote that Loki "is also enumerated among the Æsir." This puzzling expression may in fact hold the key to understanding Loki. He is numbered among the gods, but is not apparently one of them. Much of his activity during the period up to Ragnarǫk supports the gods in their struggle against the forces of chaos, but some of his actions are ambiguous. One good example involves another monstrous offspring, Óðinn's eight-legged horse Sleipnir, best of horses. Loki bore Sleipnir after seducing, in the form of a mare, the workhorse that a giant was using to construct the wall around Valhǫll. The giant was to have done the work without help, but when he requested the use of his horse the gods consented, with Loki's specific approval. The horse did more work than the giant, and it began to appear that the giant would fulfill the contract, for which he was to receive the goddess Freyja, the sun, and the moon. When the horse ran off to mate with Loki in the form of a mare, the giant was unable to finish the wall on time and had to forfeit his life. Giving up Freyja and the celestial bodies to the giants would have meant the end of the gods' order, so here Loki caused a problem for the gods, solved it, and protected them, and he also produced a valuable treasure for Óðinn.

In another case, Loki was once captured by the giant Þjazi and agreed to deliver Iðunn and her golden apples, which kept the gods young. Loki did so, but then the gods forced him to retrieve her. This he did in the form of a falcon. The myth, which is found in skaldic poetry as well as in Snorri's *Edda,* highlights Loki's ambivalence. He begins the myth traveling together with Óðinn and Hœnir. His agreement to deliver Iðunn nearly leads to the demise of the gods; his retrieval of Iðunn restores order and reinforces the mythological rule that females move only from giants to gods, never in the opposite direction, and in the end of the story the gods kill Þjazi, thus reinforcing their hierarchical supremacy over the giants.

The story goes on in Snorri's version. Þjazi's daughter Skaði demands compensation for the death of her father. The gods agree to allow her to choose a husband from among them, and she chooses Njǫrðr. But they must also make her laugh, and it is Loki who meets this challenge. He ties one end of a rope around his testicles and the other around the beard of a she-goat, and as both howl, Loki falls on Skaði's knee; then she laughs. Here Loki sacrifices his honor, and perhaps more, to right the original wrong of his giving Iðunn and her apples into the hands of the giants. He also helps procure for the gods a wife from among the giantesses.

Snorri has several stories of this kind. Captured and starved in bird form by the giant Geirrǫðr, Loki agrees to deliver Þórr to the giant without his hammer or belt of strength. Loki accompanies Þórr on the arduous journey, which ends with Þórr killing the giant's daughters and the giant himself. We have the same myth in a late tenth-century skaldic poem, *Þórsdrápa of Eilífr Goðrúnarson*; in it the motivation for the journey is not provided, and Þjálfi, not Loki, accompanies Þórr.

Perhaps the most important of these stories of Loki's ambivalent position, all retained in Snorri, begins when he cuts the hair from the head of Sif, the wife of Þórr. How he does so is unknown, but it is not impossible that he was cuckolding Þórr at the time (as Margaret Clunies Ross suggests). To avert Þórr's rage, Loki agrees to acquire gold hair from the dwarfs. He returns with six great treasures, which are divided in Dumézilian triads: the spear Gungnir for Óðinn, the gold hair for Þórr's wife, and the ship Skíðblaðnir for Freyr; and the ring Draupnir for Óðinn, Þórr's hammer, and the golden-bristled boar Gullinborsti for Freyr. The second set was made by Brokkr, with whom Loki had bet his head that the dwarf could not make better items than those in the first set. Turning himself into a fly, Loki bit the smith mercilessly, but the only effect was that the hammer ended with a short handle. Even so, the gods declared it the greatest treasure, but when Loki declared that he had wagered his head, not his neck, the dwarf sewed Loki's lips shut.

In each of these cases Loki acts to right an initial misbehavior, and the outcome is favorable to the gods. Every case involves shape-changing, and bearing a foal and having his lips sewn shut represent significant losses of honor for Loki.

Bodily injury, dishonor, shape-changing, and especially the shortsighted or impulsive behavior that leads to significant cultural acquisition make Loki look much like the common narrative and mythological type of the *trickster.* Georges Dumézil (1948) contrasts this impulsive intelligence with that of Hœnir, who cannot speak without counsel, but the better comparison would be with the deep-thinking Óðinn. Both Óðinn and Loki are shape-changers and both are sexually ambiguous.

While Loki clearly plays the trickster and shows impulsive behavior in many myths, he by no means does so in every case. In the Eddic poem *Þrymskviða,* for example, he helps Þórr to retrieve his hammer from the giant who has stolen it. Although both he and Þórr must dress as women (Þórr as Freyja, whom the giant has demanded in exchange for the hammer), there is no indication that Loki had anything to do with the loss of the hammer, and Loki's wise responses to the giant's questions make possible the ultimate retrieval of the hammer. Similarly, in *Gylfaginning* Loki is one of Þórr's party when the god visits the giant Útgarðaloki and helps him wholeheartedly in the contests that follow. In neither case is there indication of any ambivalence in or about Loki.

Just as there are stories in which Loki unequivocally works on the side of the gods, so are there stories or indications of stories in which he opposes them unequivocally. Stanza 37 of the Eddic poem *Hymiskviða* charges Loki with having lamed Þórr's goat. The skald Úlfr Uggason, describing the carvings in a chieftain's hall in western Iceland circa 985, left us one stanza about a battle between Loki and the god Heimdallr. It is obscure, but Snorri tells us that the gods fought in the form of seals, and that they were fighting over the Brísingamen, the precious necklace of Freyja. Since some kennings (metaphors) call Loki the thief of this object, and since Freyja has it in the mythological present, it is possible that the battle between Heimdallr and Loki took place in the mythic past and that Heimdallr won the battle and got the necklace back. In the poetic language Heimdallr is known as Loki's adversary.

We may conjecture that the battle with Heimdallr and the siring of the three monsters with the giantess Angrboða both occurred in the mythic past. We have Loki's own voice testifying to his joining the gods during the mythic past as well:

> Do you not remember, Óðinn, when we two in days
> of yore Blended our blood together? You said you never
> would taste beer, Unless it were served to both of us.
> (*Lokasenna* 9)

According to medieval Icelandic literature, an oath of blood brotherhood meant that the sworn brothers would avenge each other as though they were actual brothers; that is, each would be obliged to revenge the other, and an injury done to one could be regarded as an injury done to both. On the obverse side, sworn brothers agreed never to harm each other. We have no information on this oath taken in days of yore between Óðinn and Loki, but Óðinn and the gods would appear to be the beneficiaries, as Loki was the father of monsters and adversary of Heimdallr, and the oath would have neutralized his natural enmity toward Óðinn and the family of gods.

Lokasenna (Loki's quarrel) puts the oath to the test and indicates its failure. Loki has been excluded from the feast which is the scene of the poem because, according to the prose header, he killed the host's servants. His appeal to Óðinn matches the context—the gods are drinking—but it is ominous, because beer is a weapon Óðinn uses against the giants; Óðinn obtained the mythic mead of poetry and is a master of wisdom. The rest of the poem is a series of poetic dialogues, usually Óðinn's arena, in which Loki humiliates the gods by telling home truths, including his own role in the death of Óðinn's son Baldr. In the end only the threat of Þórr's hammer silences him.

The prose colophon tells of the punishment of Loki. The gods bind him with the guts of his son with the goddess Sigyn, and another of these sons turns into a wolf. The gods hang a pot of dripping poison over his face. Sigyn catches it in a bowl, but when she goes to empty the bowl the poison torments Loki and his writhings cause earthquakes. According to Snorri, the gods visited this punishment on Loki for his role in the death of Baldr. In Snorri's version of the story, Loki learns that only mistletoe will kill Baldr; guides the arm of the blind Hóðr when he throws the mistletoe at Baldr; and then, disguised as the old hag Þǫkk, refuses to join all creation in weeping for Baldr, to meet the condition that Hel has set for his release. Snorri's presentation of Loki, then, shows that Loki is ultimately a giant and that he shares the enmity of the giants toward the gods. The fictive kinship implied by an oath of blood-brotherhood or by Loki's being "enumerated among the Æsir" is less strong than the blood kinship of Loki's patrilines. Son of a giant, he arranges the death of Óðinn's son at the hands of another son. Any vengeance Óðinn takes must be hollow: he can sire an avenger to kill his own son, Hóðr, or he can have one of Loki's sons kill another (as Snorri has it) and bind Loki, but the damage is done. The first death of a god, as Baldr's is, must lead to Ragnarók, the end of the world.

When Ragnarók arrives, all bonds break. Human kin kill each other and kinship is spoiled. Loki steers a ship full of giants to the last battle, and he and his monstrous offspring are free to face the gods. The wolf kills Óðinn (and is avenged by another son of Óðinn). Þórr and the Midgard serpent kill each other, as do Loki and Heimdallr according to Snorri. In the new world that springs up after the battle, Baldr and Hǫðr return, their enmity annulled. Loki and the other giants are no more.

SEE ALSO Eddas; Jötnar; Óðinn; Snorri Sturluson.

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The scholarship on this enigmatic figure is vast. Older scholarship pointed to Loki's byname, Loptr, which appears to be related to the noun *lopt* (air) to buttress various notions familiar to nature mythology. Jan de Vries, *The Problem of Loki* (Helsinki, 1933), offers the connection with the trickster figure. Georges Dumézil's notion of Loki's impulsive intelligence is to be found in his *Loki* (Paris, 1948). In his *Gods of the Ancient Northmen* (Berkeley, 1973), Dumézil adduces supposed Ossetic parallels to Loki's role in the death of Baldr. Folke Ström's *Loki: Ein mythologisches Problem* (Göteborg, Sweden, 1956) argues on the basis of the patent similarities between the two figures that Loki was an hypostasis of Óðinn. Anna Birgitta Rooth, *Loki in Scandinavian Mythology* (Lund, Sweden, 1961), applies a very strict version of folklore mythology that regarded everything found elsewhere as not original to

Loki; stripping away these supposed layers, she is left with an original notion of Loki as a spider, a notion that finds no support in the texts. Jens Peter Schødt, "Om Loke endnu en gang," *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 96 (1981): 49–86, offers an insightful exploration of Loki as mediator. Anatoly Liberman, "Snorri and Saxo on Útgarðaloki, with Notes on Loki Laufeyjarson's Character, Career, and Name," in *Saxo Grammaticus: Tra storiografica e letteratura*, edited by Carlo Santini (Rome, 1992), pp. 91–158, speculates on the etymology of the name and on the relationship between Loki and Útgarðaloki. John Lindow, *Murder and Vengeance among the Gods: Baldr in Scandinavian Mythology* (Helsinki, 1997), discusses the fictive kinship between Óðinn and Loki and the narrative implications of myth told in a society that used blood feud to resolve disputes.

JOHN LINDOW (2005)

LOMBARD, PETER SEE PETER LOMBARD

LONERGAN, BERNARD (1904–1984), Roman Catholic philosopher-theologian and methodologist. Bernard Joseph Francis Lonergan was born on December 17, 1904, at Buckingham, Quebec, not far from Ottawa. Of Irish-English stock, he was the eldest of three sons. His early education took place in the local schools and at Loyola College in Montreal. In 1922 he joined the Jesuits and followed their regular course of study: Greek and Latin classics at Guelph, Ontario, philosophy at Heythrop College in England (with an external bachelor of arts degree from the University of London in 1930), and theology at the Gregorian University in Rome, where he was ordained priest in 1936 and completed his doctoral work in 1940. He taught theology for twenty-five years, thirteen in the Jesuit seminaries at Montreal and Toronto and twelve at the Gregorian University. In 1965 major surgery for lung cancer forced his partial retirement, but he continued writing, first for a decade as research professor at Regis College in Toronto (with a year's leave as Stillman professor at Harvard University, 1971–1972) and then as visiting distinguished professor at Boston College from 1975 to 1983. On taking full retirement in 1983 he returned to his native Canada, where he died at the Jesuit Infirmary in Pickering, Ontario, on November 26, 1984.

Lonergan's first major works were studies of Thomas Aquinas generously laced with references at Aristotle: *Grace and Freedom* (his doctoral dissertation) and *Verbum: Word and Idea in Aquinas.* The latter was a revolutionary study in Thomist cognitional theory and a springboard to the independent *Insight: A Study of Human Understanding* (published in 1957, but completed in 1953), a monumental work that went far beyond Thomas into twentieth-century science, psychology, and social and political theory. Lonergan's second major work, *Method in Theology* (1972), incorporated hermeneutics and history and added personal notions of dialectic and foundations to provide not a theology but an integral framework in which creative theology could be done.

Meanwhile Lonergan was producing theological instruction of considerable importance (though it needs redoing in the light of his own method) for his Latin-language courses, writing articles and reviews, and giving occasional lectures. Toward the end of his life he went back to an early interest in economics and the dialectic of history and had almost completed a work that may turn out to be as revolutionary in those two fields as *Insight* had been in philosophy and *Method* had been in theology.

Although his early focus on questions proper to Roman Catholic theology left religion in general in the margin, Lonergan's relentless drive toward a comprehensive view of things, and his special methodological interest in foundations of thought and conduct, led him eventually to reflection on religion too. His views on this topic are set forth succinctly in chapter four of *Method,* but that account can be enlarged from other writings and set in the context of his general concerns.

Lonergan comes to the question from the two questions of philosophy and theology. First, a thoroughgoing philosophy will raise the question of God's existence and nature. The question is the key step, and Lonergan raises it in his own characteristic way: through inquiry into the possibility of fruitful inquiry, through reflecting on the nature of reflection, and through deliberating on the worthwhileness of deliberation. With the question raised and answered affirmatively, thought may take different routes to arrive at complementary aspects of religion. One route starts with the problem of evil, to work out the anticipated general lines of the solution that a wise, good, and powerful God may be expected to provide: in effect religion as pertaining to the objective order of the universe; this was the approach of chapter twenty of *Insight.* The second is the route of religious experience taken in chapter four of *Method* (though the problem of evil still provides an introduction to the question, p. 288); personal fulfillment is achieved in self-transcendence, love is the crown of self-transcendence, and love of God is the primary religious experience: in effect, religion as a differentiation of human consciousness.

The theological approach starts from the Roman Catholic doctrine that God wills the salvation of the whole human race and so offers everyone the divine transforming grace needed for salvation. On this basis Lonergan proceeds to the love of God flooding everyone's hearts through the Holy Spirit given to all and links this as inner word to the outer word of tradition deriving from the Son. Thus he arrives at a concretely identifiable charismatic and institutional religion to which philosophical inquiry had pointed in a general way.

There remains the question of dialogue, in particular between Christianity and the world religions. Lonergan's starting point is not the institutional church as evangelizing the nations (outer word, Son of God, Christianity), but religious experience (inner word, Holy Spirit, a community enjoying God's love). He does not impose his theological a priori on students of religion but leaves it to them to decide whether his model of religious experience is verified in the data, though he finds support in their writings (*Method,* pp. 108–109). Again, the gift from God that he affirms is fundamentally a reality—experienced, but not thematized. It must be thematized and given expression in a process that has its difficulties for the Christian as well as for others (*Method,* p. 290). Further, each religion will have its own categories of expression, so there is then the problem of a common language and communication. He recognizes that his own language (God's love flooding our hearts) is Christian (*Method,* p. 240), but he hopes that the core reality as reality will be a base for cross-cultural discussion (*Method,* pp. 11, 284). That is, the orientation to the otherworldly, the conversion to the transcendent, the being seized by the mystery of love and awe, the fateful call to a dreaded holiness—whatever the language, and all these phrases are culturally conditioned—all this as a reality would bring people together in discussion. But then the first and fundamental need is for self-appropriation (the great thrust of *Insight*), and the further, more specific need is for studies of religious interiority (*Method,* p. 290).

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In addition to the works mentioned above, Lonergan's views on religion can be found in various chapters of *Collection* (New York, 1967), *A Second Collection* (Philadelphia, 1974), *A Third Collection* (New York, 1985), and in *Philosophy of God, and Theology* (Philadelphia, 1973). Since 1988 reference must be made to the *Collected Works of Bernard Lonergan,* University of Toronto Press. Twenty-some volumes are projected, of which numbers 1–7, 10, 15, 18, and 21 have been issued as of late 2003.

The difficulty of drawing up a bibliography of secondary literature stems from the fundamental nature of Lonergan's ideas, which involve study of basic generalities before specific application can be made, and allow ramification into many seemingly disparate areas. But two dissertations can be mentioned: Vernon J. Gregson, Jr.'s "Bernard Lonergan and the Dialogue of Religions: A Foundational Study of Religion as Spirituality" (Ph.D. diss., Marquette University, 1978), somewhat rewritten and published as *Lonergan, Spirituality, and the Meeting of Religions* (Lanham, N.Y., 1985), and Emil J. Piscitelli's "Language and Method in the Philosophy of Religion: A Critical Study in the Development of the Philosophy of Bernard Lonergan" (Ph.D. diss., Georgetown University, 1977). A more recent publication is *Symposium: Lonergan's Philosophy and the Religious Phenomenon,* published as a special issue of *Method: Journal of Lonegan Studies* (Fall 1994). The foundational aspect of Lonergan's work, especially in relation to Jungian psychology, is studied in two works of Robert Doran: *Psychic Conversion and Theological Foundations: Toward a Reorientation of the Human Sciences* (Chico, Calif., 1981) and *Subject and Psyche; Ricoeur, Jung, and the Search for Foundations* (Washington, D.C., 1977). Considerable interest is emerging in the relation of Lonergan's work to mystical theology; see, for example, Harvey D. Egan's *What Are They Saying about Mysticism?* (New York, 1982) and William Johnston's *The Inner Eye of Love: Mysticism and Religion* (San Francisco, 1978). The elation of Lonergan's trinitarian theology to world religions is studied in my own *Son of God, Holy Spirit, and World Religions: Bernard Lonergan's Contribution to the Wider Ecumenism* (Toronto, 1984). A new and important field of application is that of popular religions (Philippines, Africa), but the literature is scattered; for this material and for Lonergan's unpublished works, the Lonergan Research Institute, Toronto, can be consulted.

FREDERICK E. CROWE (1987 AND 2005)

LÖNNROT, ELIAS (1802–1884), Finnish folklorist and philologist, the compiler of the *Kalevala*, the Finnish national epic. Lönnrot was born in the parish of Sammatti, province of Uusimaa, Finland, as a son of a tailor. In a childhood full of poverty, his schooling was difficult and often interrupted. In 1822 he became a student at the University of Turku, where he supported himself as a private tutor. He received his M.A. degree at Turku in 1827 with his thesis "On Väinämöinen, a Divinity of the Ancient Finns." After the university was destroyed in the fire of Turku, Lönnrot undertook a folklore collecting trip across Finland as far as Finnish Karelia. Part of the material he collected was published under the title *Kantele* (The harp, 1829–1831).

In 1828, Lönnrot resumed his studies, this time in medicine at Helsinki University. There he came into close contact with a number of young literati who were filled with the national spirit. In 1831, the Finnish Literature Society was founded to further the development of Finnish culture and to collect and study folklore. Lönnrot became its first secretary. This society financed Lönnrot's numerous folklore collection trips. After defending his thesis, "The Magical Medicine of the Finns," he received the M.D. degree in 1832 and was assigned as the district physician in Kajaani, northern Finland.

Lönnrot then got the idea of combining the folk songs of Finland into bigger units. Thus came about the cycles of songs about the major Finnish heroes that constitute the first stage of the Finnish epic. A journey during which he met the greatest folk singers of Karelia yielded a rich harvest that was incorporated into the first version of the *Kalevala*, the so-called *Old Kalevala* (1835–1836), which consisted of thirty-six songs comprising 12,078 lines. From extensive additional folk song material, recorded partly by Lönnrot himself but mostly by others in eastern Karelia and eastern Finland, Lönnrot prepared a greatly expanded and changed version of the *Kalevala.* Published in 1849, it has 22,795 lines and is divided into fifty songs. It is this so-called *New Kalevala* that is considered the Finnish epic.

In the 1830s, Lönnrot published a few popular books on food substitutes and health care and edited some journals.

He compiled a large collection of lyrical songs and ballads, titled *Kanteletar* (The spirit of the harp; 1840–1841), which was followed by books of proverbs (1842) and riddles (1844). In 1844 he was granted a leave for five years for the preparation of a comprehensive Finnish-Swedish dictionary.

After defending his inaugural thesis on the Vepse language, Lönnrot was named professor of the Finnish language and literature at Helsinki University in 1853. In this capacity, he had greater significance as a practical linguist than a theoretical scholar. He retired in 1862 and settled down in his native parish of Sammatti, to continue his work. He revised Finnish hymns, completed the Finnish-Swedish dictionary (1866–1880), and published a collection of Finnish charms (1880). His last years were spent in conducting religious services in his community, treating people without charge, and participating actively in numerous charitable enterprises.

The *Kalevala* is not only Lönnrot's greatest accomplishment; it is the most important work in Finnish literature. It is, in its entirety, Lönnrot's compilation, based on the best and most complete variants of about thirty folk songs. Lönnrot made certain changes and modifications in them, adding verses from other variants and even from other songs, increasing the parallelism, and creating linking verses. He had a tendency to reduce the Christian and legendary features while strengthening the heathen and the historical-realistic elements. The songs are, however, not copies of reality, but instead they convey a fictional picture of the ancient Finns' way of life. While the *Kalevala* itself cannot be used as material for folklore study, its heroes and problems have strongly stimulated research into Finnish folklore and mythology.

The *Kalevala* has been called a shamanistic epic, since its great deeds are accomplished by magical means—by the power of words and incantations. All the heroes of the Kaleva group—Väinämöinen, Ilmarinen, and Lemminkäinen—are mythic and/or shamanistic figures and, as a group, are opposed to the people of the North, headed by the witch Louhi. The plot, created by Lönnrot, centers on fights over the possession of a fertility-promoting object, the Sampo, and competition for the Maiden of the North.

The *Kalevala*, according to Martti Haavio, was not only "the symbol of Finnish nationalism, but it was actually its crown symbol." The *Kalevala* gave faith and confidence to the people living under Russian rule. It influenced the development of the Finnish language, literature, and arts, and it played a substantial role in the adoption of Finnish as the language of the country.

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LORD OF THE ANIMALS.

The concept of a special type of deity or spirit that reigns over the animal kingdom is common among many Old and New World peoples. The universality of this conception suggests that formerly some form of cultural contact existed that bridged the continents. As a fundamental element in the life of the human as hunter, a lord of the animals is a familiar figure among hunting cultures, but he also occurs, in modified forms, in many agrarian and pastoral societies. In the latter instance the concept is often associated with a spiritual herdsman of wild game, a spirit analogue to human domesticators of animals. But the idea of an animal lord or spirit can be traced even further back than the development of herding—indeed, as concrete evidence shows, into the Old Stone Age.

The lord of the animals often appears as a lord of the forest, mountain, or sea—natural areas that may possibly have been inhabited by individual spiritual sovereigns that eventually blended together to form a lord of animals. For many cultures, the forest (or tree), the mountain, and the cave are the preferred residence of the animal lord, though for hunters of sea mammals and fish, the sea floor and the deep sea are conceived as his abode. Occasionally the lord is associated with the sun, the moon, a star, or a constellation.

The lord of the animals is often a helper of mankind. He guides the animals to the hunter or helps him discover the trail of his prey. In addition, he often provides a magical weapon or a mystical spell that assures success in finding game. Such assistance, however, often assumes that certain conditions are fulfilled or specific regulations observed: the lord of the animals punishes the malicious, those who wantonly kill more game than is needed and those who are disrespectful of the dead game, especially in handling the bones, which must be meticulously saved, for from the bones, the same type of animal will be re-created (with or without the intervention of the lord of the animals). It is most often assumed that the soul of the dead animal returns to its spiritual master, from whom it will receive another body. Frequently, the lord of the animals is held to be the creator of the game and is therefore often named "Father" or "Mother." At the very least, he gives the animals their names or other distinguishing features. In cases of misbehavior on the part of the hunter, the animal lord either retains the game (which is often believed to reside with him) or strikes the guilty hunter down with sickness, or punishes him by withdrawing his luck in the hunt. To win his favor, the lord of the animals must be called upon before the hunt with a plea to release some of the game, and afterwards must be given thanks. Frequently a small offering is also made before the expedition, some tobacco for example, while after the hunt a portion of the game might be left behind as an offering.

Precise physical descriptions of the lord of the animals vary considerably from culture to culture. He may appear in anthropomorphic as well as zoomorphic form, as a mixture of these or as some other fabulous creature, or as a giant or dwarf. In the majority of instances the lord of the animals is masculine, but we often find a feminine conceptualization and in some instances a bisexual character. When envisioned in zoomorphic form, the lord of the animals often combines various parts or markings of different types of animals, thereby emphasizing and enhancing his authority over all game.

In addition to belief in a lord of all animals, a corresponding or supplementary belief may exist in an individual master or lord of each separate kind of animal. Such a being is classified ethnologically as a "species spirit." This spirit, when envisioned theriomorphically, may also represent another animal type besides its own—a relationship that is often alleged to exist naturally. Many scholars maintain that the belief in species spirits is a more recent manifestation of older, more general conceptions of the lord of the animals.

When the lord of the animals is associated with an individual representative of a specific kind of animal, a different situation develops. Such instances occur among hunting groups when a defined game animal plays a predominant role in tribal subsistence patterns. Frequently, the lord of the animals must be propitiated when a member of that particular species is killed. This expression of the idea of an animal lord can be accepted as a more ancient form, especially when it appears concurrently with the conceptualization of this deity as a prototypical or exaggerated version of that animal species. In such cases the spirit is often envisioned as an exceptionally large, and therefore supernatural, member of the species in question. Sometimes he is conceived in human form riding the animal with which he is particularly associated. In general, scholars hold the theriomorphic version of the lord of the animals to be older, in cultural-historical terms, than the anthropomorphic form. In this respect, frequent observation of ceremonies performed for the ritual handling of slain large game (bear, lion, elephant, etc.), and even prehistoric testimony about such ceremonies, have proved to be of great importance. The reverence shown to large game is closely associated with the original form of the lord of the animals and deserves further study.

A distinctive characteristic of the animal lord is the fact that, despite his role as protector of wild game, he makes certain concessions when considering the needs of the hunter. To the extent that this is true, the animal lord functions as a god of the hunt, which in some cases is the predominant role. This aspect has caused many researchers to seek his origin outside a purely zoological sphere. The question remains open, however, whether or not this hunting-god aspect is connected with the anthropomorphic aspect of the lord of the animals. An ethno-religious order can be arranged as follows. In many cases, particularly among hunting peoples, past as well as present, the lord of the animals is clearly a real god, distinctively named and sovereign over his realm. In other cases, however, he is merely a game spirit, who is named solely by his association with a particular animal species. Such a game spirit is sometimes outwitted because of his awkwardness and may be characterized by unpredictability, arbitrariness, and tomfoolery (i.e., he is a trickster); in many conceptions he has the ability to transform himself into many forms and thereby confuse the hunter. In still other cases, the lord of the animals may have shrunk to a mere mythological or legendary figure disengaged from the immediate life of the society.

The distinctions between these different categories are, of course, not rigid. The relationship between the lord of the animals and other supernatural beings varies also. He may be incorporated within the character of a tribal father or of the supreme being that creates life and provides subsistence. Many ethnologists of the Vienna school, following Wilhelm Schmidt, viewed the lord of the animals as an offshoot of the supreme being. This theory contradicts an understanding of the lord of the animals as an older, independent god who served as a fundamental element in the construction of the idea of a supreme being. In the opinion of the notable historian of religions, Raffaele Pettazzoni, the supreme being himself was the lord of the animals.

The primary areas of diffusion for the concept and veneration of a lord of the animals include northern Eurasia, ancient Europe, and Africa, as well as the regions occupied by the indigenous inhabitants of the Americas, from the extreme north to the southernmost tip. Such beliefs are also found elsewhere, but only occasionally.

It is in ancient Greece that one encounters the most familiar animal deity, Artemis, whose double role as goddess of the hunt and mistress of the animals was never fully understood. In Homer's *Iliad* and other sources from antiquity, she is described in an obviously preexisting formula as *potnia thērōn*, or "mistress of the wild animals." Although she cares for the animals as a mother does her children, she also hunts them with bow and arrow. The deer is her devoted companion, consistently appearing beside her in works of art, and she is sometimes referred to as the "deer huntress" in the Homeric Hymns. She is also mistress over the entire wild animal kingdom, which includes not only land animals but the birds in the sky and fish in the waters.

Artemis herself is depicted as wild and uncanny and is sometimes pictured with a Gorgon's head. The rituals by which she was venerated also took on an archaic character. Reverence was displayed by the hunter's hanging the skin of the animal, including the antlers, on a tree or special pole. Besides the deer, Artemis had other favorite animals, including the lion and, especially, the bear, which has led some researchers to the opinion that, although this was not understood by the Greeks, she originally appeared as a female bear. In keeping with this interpretation, Artemis has been associated with the lord of the animals in the Northern Hemisphere, where bear rituals were an essential religious element. Even among the ancient Greeks, Artemis was the central figure at the bear feast, and her tradition can be traced to a Cretan or Minoan goddess of animals. Diana was her counterpart among the Roman goddesses. During the period in which the Romans occupied Gaul, the goddess who was interpreted as the indigenous parallel to Diana was known as Artio (from the Celtic *artos*, "bear"; *arta* "female bear"). This information comes down to us in the form of a bronze votive offering with a Latin inscription found in Muri (near Bern, Switzerland), an area occupied by the Helvetii. It depicts a sitting female who is being approached by a bear that has come out of a tree. The veneration displayed in Gaulish ceremonials to the slain bear as a lord of the animals closely resemble the rites dedicated to this animal over an extensive area. According to A. Irving Hallowell (1926), bear ceremonials are widespread among peoples of northern Eurasia, from the Finns, Saami (Lapps), and Mansi (Voguls) in the west, eastward through Siberia to the Yakuts and the Tunguz, further east to the Paleosiberian Nivkhi (Giliaks), the Chuckchi and the Ainu, and across the Bering Sea to the northern regions of North America. Although it cannot be generalized, the most suggestive interpretation of the intent of such ceremonies is that of the Japanese ethnologist Kyosuke Kindaichi concerning the bear feast of the Ainu. Kindaichi suggests that the bear itself is god. All animals are deities that live in human form in another world. When these deities occasionally come to this world, they appear in the form of animals. The bear is the highest of these gods. Any animal that is not captured, killed, and eaten by the Ainu has the unfortunate fate of wandering aimlessly throughout the world. The killing of an animal is therefore a sacred act, since the god himself has come into their midst. And with his coming he brings presents to mankind: his meat and fur. This divine animal, however, is satisfied, since it will now be able to return to its eternal home ("The Concepts behind the Ainu Bear Festival," *Southwest Journal of Anthropology* 5, 1949).

To ascertain the antiquity of such bear cults, we must return to Europe. Caves in Switzerland, southern Germany, France, Silesia, Hungary, and Yugoslavia, dating from the middle to early Stone Age, have revealed small manmade stone chambers containing the skulls, teeth, and long bones of bears, arranged in orderly fashion. In addition to these bear burial sites, however, particularly important evidence of a bear cult dating from the early Paleolithic period has been obtained from a cave near Montespan in Haute-Garonne, France. In a vault at the end of a tunnel, a clump of molded clay was found that obviously represented a bear. Although headless, the animal figure was distinguishable by its legs and high, rounded withers. In the flat surface at the top of the figure, a hole was bored, apparently to support a forward-projecting pole. Instead of a clay head, which was sought in vain, a bear skull was discovered between the front legs. This led to the conclusion that the figure was a base constructed to support the head and skin of the animal on ceremonial occasions.

This conclusion found substantial support in a similar animal figure reported among the Mande in the western Sudan. A slain lion or leopard, either of which is equivalent to the bear in Europe, was skinned with the head attached. This skin was then laid over a headless clay figure of the animal. Such a figure was placed within a circular hedge of thornbushes especially constructed for ceremonial purposes. The existence of a Eur-African hunting culture has become an accepted doctrine among many ethnologists, most notably Hermann Baumann (1938). This example, along with many others, fits quite appropriately into a scheme of unifying factors that suggest connections between the two continents.

The conceptual figure of a lord of the animals, appearing among less advanced hunting cultures like the San and the Pygmies in Africa, remains to this day a functional belief; one example should suffice. The creator god Khmwum is the supreme being among the Pygmies of Gabon. He lives in heaven and appears to humans as a rainbow in the eastern sky when he sees that they need his help. A singer raises his bow in the direction of this heavenly "bow" and intones: "Most powerful bow of the hunters that follows a herd of clouds that are like startled elephants, rainbow, give him [Khmwum] our thanks" (R. P. Trilles, *Les pygmées de la forêt équatorial*, Paris, 1931, p. 78). In this way the supreme deity is identified with the lord of the animals. Khmwum also manifests himself to humans in dreams, appearing as a huge elephant who reports the location of an abundance of game. This gigantic elephant is called Gor, and he towers over the tallest tree in the forest. Blue in color, he supports the sky on his shoulders, and since he is immortal, no one can kill him. Gor is the chief of all elephants; he is responsible for giving them life and preserves them from the threat of extinction. He directs the elephants to those paths that the hunters take care to follow. A slain bull elephant is decorated with a bright blue liana, and the chief of the Pygmies dances on the carcass and sings to "father elephant." This song is a solemn incantation in which the chief expresses the conviction that the elephant should not be outraged at being killed but pleased that he is going to the land of the spirits; he also says that the spear that erroneously took the elephant's life was misguided. Such excuses are made to the hunted animal out of fear of revenge and a guilty conscience at having killed the animal; this is a widespread phenomenon, typical of a hunting mentality.

In northern Eurasia we encounter the concept of a lord of the animals who either is anthropomorphic or has affinities with predominant animals other than the bear. Although such a concept occurs among numerous peoples in Eurasia, specific examples need not be mentioned here.

In the New World there exists, among the central and eastern Inuit (Eskimo), an extraordinary deity named Sedna, who is known as the goddess of the sea animals. She is an old woman who lives on the ocean floor and sends sea animals to the world above as long as humans do not aggravate her. If she does become angry, however, the shaman must venture on a dangerous journey to visit her below. Such an undertaking is made to pacify her so that she will release the animals once again. To accomplish this, the shaman must comb Sedna's hair, which has become soiled by humans—particularly women—whose violation of taboos causes her anger. Through combing, the shaman cleanses her hair of dirt and parasites, an act that Sedna herself cannot perform, since she has no fingers. According to the mythology, Sedna lost her fingers as a young girl because of an undesirable suitor, the storm bird. He appeared as a human and followed Sedna and her father, who fled in a kayak across the water. In his fear Sedna's father threw her into the water, but she held on tightly to the side of the boat. Her father then cut off all her fingers, and as they fell into the water they turned into seals and walruses. Sedna in turn sank to the ocean floor, where she took up her abode and became the mother of sea animals. The souls of these sea animals reside with her for a short period after their deaths; then, when the time has come, she restores them to life once again.

Among the Inuit of western Alaska, a male moon spirit replaces Sedna as lord of the animals. When the shaman is called upon to represent the moon spirit, he wears a mask encircled by miniature figures of reindeer, seals, and salmon, which symbolically depict authority over the animals when the spirit is implored.

The lord of the animals plays an important role among many North American Indians, as for example the Algonquin tribes of the eastern woodlands. According to the Delaware, Misinghalikun ("living solid face"), the "boss" or master of the deer, who himself rides a deer, is the mentor of those placed under his protection. His position was obtained directly from the creator. When a hunter is leaving for the hunt, Misinghalikun will appear to him in person, wearing a bearskin with a large oval mask that is painted red on the right side and black on the left, a form that reflects his name. This masked figure accompanies the hunters a short distance into the woods, during which time a spokesman drops six pinches of tobacco in each of two fires while begging Misinghalikun to seek out deer and help the hunters.

Numerous examples of the conceptual form of the lord of the animals in North America could be mentioned. Josef Haekel (1959) collected all available material source concerning the lord of the animals among the ancient, culturally advanced peoples of Mesoamerica and their descendants. Although the concept arose prior to the full development of these cultures, it becomes apparent that the lord of the animals also possessed qualities of an agrarian deity of the earth and master over cultivated plants. Even among the descendants of the advanced Andean cultures—the Quechua, Aymara, and others—this combined conceptual variation is known to occur. These characteristics are displayed in Pachamama, the Quechua earth mother who is at the same time the maternal progenitor of plants and of humans and animals. She is viewed as the actual owner of all llamas and alpacas, which she lends to humankind; if they are mishandled by humans, she repossesses them. A part of the ritual slaying of the llama involves the interment of the bones of that animal in a burial ground near the area in which the sacrifice took place. Such an act expresses trust that the earth mother will create a new animal from the bones of the old one—a notion typical of hunters.

Sometimes, however, Pachamama also functions as the mistress of the wild animals; thus, creatures like the guanaco, vicuña, and deer are referred to as "animals of the earth." This is reflected in practices like the offering (by burial) of a sacrifice to Pachamama before the start of a vicuña hunt.

Ideas and rites such as these, which either evolve in a hunting culture and are then superimposed on a pastoral one, or vice versa, are also found in the Old World; they have been observed, for instance, among the people of the Hindu Kush, particularly when the animals are conceived as being related. Like the Peruvians, the people of the Hindu Kush associate the wild and domesticated animals—in this instance, goats.

European chroniclers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the tropical lowlands of the Amazon continually encountered mention of a lord of the animals and a wild game spirit known as Korupira or Kaapora, a familiar figure among the Tupi-Guaraní tribes and comparable to a deity of other agricultural Indians. Among the mixed population of Brazil, belief in Korupira has likewise remained alive. Korupira's characteristic traits were collected and recorded in 1920 by Theodor Koch-Grünberg, a renowned researcher of the Indians of the Amazon whose primary source materials included the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century chronicles.

Among the hunting and planting tribes of eastern Brazil, the Sun is often viewed as the protector of hunted game. The Ge-speaking Indians of this region turn to this male deity with a plea for the maintenance and increased abundance of the various animal species. An appearance of Father Sun to a hunter ensures a successful expedition. Similarly, the hunting and gathering tribes of Tierra del Fuego conceive of a masculine sun (Kran or Lem), who is the "owner" of the animals; he is called upon by the Selk'nam (Ona) and Yaghan peoples to help them acquire subsistence. Watauineiwa of the Yaghan, who is viewed by many researchers as the supreme deity of these people, is in actuality the creator and owner of all animals. He entrusts his animals to humans for food and other essential uses, but only to the extent to which they are needed for survival. He watches out for his animals and assures that they are not killed wantonly, lest the meat be wasted. All these traits can be identified most precisely in describing a lord of the animals, and have also been used by Pettazzoni in describing a supreme being.

SEE ALSO Animals; Artemis; Bears; Bones; Lady of the Animals; Sedna; Supreme Beings; Tricksters.

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OTTO ZERRIES (1987)
Translated from German by John Maressa

LORD'S PRAYER. When his disciples asked Jesus to teach them to pray, *Luke* 11:2–4 records the Master's reply in words similar to the teaching in the Sermon on the Mount at *Matthew* 6:9–13. In a slightly simplified tabulation, the two versions of the text may be compared as follows, with the Matthean surplus and variations in brackets and two particularly difficult expressions in parentheses:

> [Our] Father [who art in heaven], Hallowed be thy name, Thy kingdom come, [Thy will be done, On earth as it is in heaven]. Give us [this day] our (daily) bread, And forgive us our sins [*Mt.:* debts], For [*Mt.:* As] we [have] forgive[n] our debtor[s], And lead us not into (temptation) [But deliver us from evil].

USE IN CHRISTIAN WORSHIP. The church has taken the Lord's Prayer as indicating both the spirit of Christian prayer and a formula to be employed in worship. The Matthean form is at almost all points the more usual in the liturgy. Liturgical use is the probable source of the concluding doxology, "For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory for ever," which is found—though not yet with the addition of the word *kingdom*—in a text that is as early as the first- or second-century church manual the *Didache* (8.2). The Lord's Prayer has been used, formally and informally, in daily worship as well as in the eucharistic liturgy. In the latter case, its place has usually been between the great prayer of thanksgiving and the communion, whither it was doubtlessly attracted by the bread to be consumed.

CLASSICAL COMMENTARIES. The early Fathers taught the prayer's meaning to their catechumens, and it has remained a favorite subject of exposition by spiritual writers. Tertullian and, in his wake, Cyprian both wrote pastoral tracts entitled *On (the Lord's) Prayer.* Origen dealt with it in his theological treatise *On Prayer* (chaps. 18–30). Cyril of Jerusalem expounded it to the newly baptized in his *Mystagogical Catechesis* 5.11–18, while Augustine of Hippo preached sermons 56–59 on it to the *competentes* (candidates for baptism) and also treated it as part of his commentary *The Sermon on the Mount* (2.4.15–2.11.39) and elsewhere. John Chrysostom devoted to the Lord's Prayer his *Nineteenth Homily on the Gospel of Matthew.* Gregory of Nyssa discoursed on it in his five *Sermons on the Lord's Prayer.* Conferences on it are ascribed to Thomas Aquinas. Luther explained the prayer in his *Large and Small Catechisms* and in other writings, such as *A Simple Way to Pray,* written in 1535 for his barber. Calvin presented it in the first edition of his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536; cf. 3.20.34–49 in the final edition of 1559) and commented on it in his *Harmony of the Gospels* (1555). Teresa of Ávila used the Lord's Prayer to instruct her religious communities in *The Way of Perfection* (chaps. 27–

42). John Wesley devoted to the prayer one of his Standard Sermons (numbered variously 21 or 26) and versified it in the hymn "Father of All, Whose Powerful Voice." Karl Barth treated it in his 1947–1949 seminar notes entitled *Prayer* and developed the address and the first two petitions in the unfinished part 4.4 of his *Church Dogmatics*. Simone Weil's thoughts on the subject are contained in her *Waiting on God*.

A CONTEMPORARY EXEGESIS. The best contemporary exegesis of the Lord's Prayer is that of Raymond E. Brown, who interprets it as an eschatological prayer. Jesus announced the coming of the kingdom of God. His followers prayed for the definite establishment of God's eternal rule and intimated their own desire to be part of it. They requested a place at the messianic banquet and asked for forgiveness in the divine judgment as well as for deliverance from the mighty struggle with Satan that still stood between the community and the final realization of its prayer. As hopes for the imminent advent of the final kingdom faded, interpreters adapted the prayer to continuing life in the present age with the assurance that God's kingdom had at least begun its entry into the world through the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus.

RECURRENT THEMES OF ANALYSIS. The Lord's Prayer opens with a bold filial salutation. To address almighty God as "Abba, Father" (*Rom.* 8:14, *Gal.* 4:6) is to share by grace a privilege that Jesus enjoyed by nature (*Mk.* 14:36, cf. *Mt.* 11:25–27). Liturgically, believers do in fact proclaim that they "make bold to say" (*audemus dicere*) this prayer. The heavenly Father is near. Moreover, to address the Father as "*our* Father" is to acknowledge that the Christian faith is a communal matter with brothers and sisters who are, at least potentially, as numerous as the human race. After this opening address six petitions follow, which typically attract the kind of comments next summarized.

1. Hallowed be thy name. God is by definition holy, and strictly speaking, only God can hallow the divine name: he does so in history by vindicating his holiness (*Ez.* 36:22–27, *Jn.* 12:28). But humans join in by not despising the Lord's name (*Ex.* 20:7 and, identically, *Dt.* 5:11), by praising the name of the Lord (*1 Chr.* 29:13 and often in *Psalms*), by calling on the name of the Lord for salvation (*Jl.* 2:32, *Acts* 2:21, *Rom.* 10:13), and by living in accord with the name put upon them in baptism (Augustine, sermon 59; cf. *1 Cor.* 6:11).

2. Thy kingdom come. Instead of "Thy kingdom come" a minor variant reads "May thy Holy Spirit come upon us and purify us." Here outcrops the common view that God's rule may at least begin in the present in human lives. Yet the primary agency in establishing the kingdom remains God's.

3. Thy will be done. In the garden of Gethsemane, Jesus accepted the Father's will (*Mk.* 14:36, *Mt.* 26:39, 26:42; cf. *Jn.* 6:38, *Heb.* 10:7–10). Thereby God's eternal will for salvation was implemented (*Eph.* 1:5, 1:9, 1:11). Humans benefit through faithful and obebient participation. The scope of God's plan is no less than heaven and earth.

4. Give us this day our daily bread. The adjective qualifying bread (Gr., *epiousios*) is otherwise practically unknown. Suggested possibilities for its meaning include: food "suited to our spiritual nature" (Origen); the bread "we need" for our "everyday" lives (Syriac and Old Latin traditions—cf. *Mt.* 6:34); an "excellent" bread surpassing all substances (the Vulgate's *supersubstantialis*). The original eschatological tone of the prayer favors the reading "tomorrow's bread," as in some Egyptian versions and in Jerome's report on the "Gospel of the Hebrews" wherein he employs the Latin word *crastinus* ("for tomorrow"); it is an urgent prayer for the feast of the age to come. Whatever their interpretation of *epiousios*, commentators regularly emphasize the graciousness of the divine provision and the human obligation to share the blessings of God, and most of them make a link with the eucharistic Communion.

5. Forgive us our sins. The parable of the unforgiving servant in *Matthew* 18:23–35 suggests that the final execution of God's will to forgive sinners depends on the sinner's readiness to forgive others (cf. *Mt.* 6:14f., *Lk.* 6:37). While humans cannot compel God's gracious forgiveness, they can be prevented from receiving it by their own unforgiving spirit.

6. Lead us not into temptation. Commentators have stressed the indirect character of God's testing of humans (*Jas.* 1:12–14) and insisted that God "will not let you be tempted beyond your strength" (*1 Cor.* 10:13). Some modern liturgical translations have restored the strictly eschatological character of the petition: "Save us from the time of trial" (cf. *Rv.* 3:10). In the present, the devil still "prowls around like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour" (*1 Pt.* 5:8; cf. *Eph.* 6:11–13, *1 Jn.* 5:19), but his defeat has already been assured by Christ, and the deliverance of believers is certain (*2 Thes.* 3:3, *Jn.* 17:15).

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GEOFFREY WAINWRIGHT (1987 AND 2005)

LOTUS.

LOTUS. A poem from a twelfth-century anthology of Sanskrit court poetry, in which the poet visualizes the whole world in the form of a spreading lotus, suggests how comprehensive and intricate a symbol the lotus can be. In it, the lotus encompasses the worlds of gods and humans:

> Its seed is the god Brahmā, its nectar are the oceans and its pericarp Mount Meru, its bulb the king of serpents and the space within its leaf-bud is the spreading sky; its petals are the continents, its bees the clouds, its pollen are the stars of heaven: I pray that he, the lotus of whose navel forms thus our universe, may grant you his defense. (Ingalls, 1965, p. 107)

It is especially in Indian art, literature, and religion that the lotus has been a frequent and central symbol. Indeed, lotus symbolism has accompanied Indian cultural influence wherever it has spread, especially in Southeast Asia and East Asia, where it is part of the symbolic language of Buddhism. But the lotus also appears as a symbol in East Asia without any obvious Indian connection, and in ancient Egypt.

The lotuses considered in this article are aquatic plants belonging to the *Nymphaeaceae* (water lily) and *Nelumbonaceae* families. They grow from rhizomes in the mud, and their leaves and blossoms float on the water or rise above its surface. Because the lotus grows out of water, early Indian tradition identified it with the waters (cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 7.4.1.8), with the creative and life-giving potential of the waters, and even with creation itself. So, for example, the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (1.1.3.5–6), relates that at the beginning of time the creator, Prajāpati, existed alone amid the primordial waters. As he was wondering how to create, he saw a lotus leaf, the sole other existing object. Diving down, he found the mud from which it was growing and brought some to the surface. He then spread the mud on the lotus leaf, and this, supported by the lotus leaf, became the surface of the earth. The later Indian tradition envisioned the world as having the shape of a lotus blossom (cf. *Matsya Purāṇa* 41.86). In either case, the lotus, rising out of the mud and the waters, is a mediating symbol, bridging the amorphous waters and the created earth.

In classical Indian mythology, the lotus as the bridge of creation is preserved in another expression, which forms the basis for the poem quoted above. At the beginning of a new world cycle, the god Viṣṇu lies on a serpent amid the primordial waters. From his navel grows a lotus, which blossoms to reveal Brahmā, the agent of creation. Here, the growth and unfolding of the lotus is both the vehicle for the generation of Brahmā and the image of the emergence of creation from the mind and body of Viṣṇu.

The association of the lotus with the concept of creation appears also in ancient Egypt. According to one tradition from Hermopolis, the highest deity appeared, self-begotten, on a lotus. In the temple at Edgu, built during the Greco-Roman period, an inscription equates the First Primeval One, who "caused the Earth to be when he came into existence," with the Great Lotus. Egyptian mythology connects the lotus especially with the creation of the sun.

The lotus opens not only as the world but also within each person. In both Hindu and Buddhist symbolism, a lotus encloses the center of one's being, which is located in the heart. The lotus is thus not only a bridge between precreation and creation but also a symbol linking the macrocosm and the human microcosm. "For this heart lotus," says the *Maitri Upaniṣad*, "is the same as space. The four regions and the four intermediate regions constitute its leaves. The vital breath and the sun move downward toward its base" (6.2). This symbolism of an inner lotus corresponding to the outer world is elaborated in Tantric yoga. Forms of this yoga identify five or seven lotiform centers in the body; these centers correspond to bodily locations and functions, to particular deities, and to aspects of the macrocosm. Likewise, in the Indo-Tibetan *maṇḍalas*, the opening of the lotus symbolizes the manifestation of divine powers, the world, the mind, and insight. In a typical *maṇḍala*, a principal deity occupies the center. Arranged around this center are four or eight other deities, who are visualized as emerging from it, like petals spreading out from the center of a lotus. Indeed, the fields on which their images or symbols appear are occasionally depicted as lotus petals. The lotus symbolism is also carried to the outer part of the *maṇḍala* which includes at least one circle of lotus petals. These confirm the lotus form of the whole *maṇḍala* and represent, among other possible meanings, the extension of divine power from the center.

Because the opening and closing of the lotus follows the rising and setting of the sun, the lotus is also a solar symbol. According to Indian iconographic texts, Sūrya, the Sun, should stand on red lotuses placed in his chariot or on a single lotus, and he may carry a lotus in his hand. Such solar symbolism was developed especially in ancient Egypt. According to one tradition, the newborn sun, identified with the child Horus, arose from the lotus. Corresponding to this conception, Horus was often depicted in the Greco-Roman period as a sun-child on a lotus blossom. In another tradition, the lotus, deified as the god Nefertem, gave life to the sungod Re and, by means of his fragrance, continues to give vitality to Re every day. Therefore, Re is, according to the *Book of Going Forth by Day* 15, the "golden youth, who came forth from the lotus." Elsewhere Nefertem also identified with Re and hence with the sun.

In addition to the Sun, various other Hindu deities have special connections to the lotus. The Moon is symbolized by the night-blooming white lotus. The lotus is also one of the characteristic signs of Viṣṇu. Of all the Indian deities, however, the one most closely associated with the lotus is Śrī, or Lakṣmī, the goddess of prosperity, good fortune, and wealth. The *Śrīsūkta*, which became her principal hymn of praise, surrounds her with lotuses and merges the image of the goddess and the lotus. There, she is called "moist"; she is garlanded and surrounded by lotuses; she is lotus-colored, is perceptible by her scent, and stands within the lotus. Her son is Slime (Kardama), who is asked to dwell with the poet and to make Śrī dwell with him. The widespread image of Gaja-Lakṣmī, the elephant Lakṣmī, also portrays the goddess's close connection with the lotus. Standing on a lotus, she holds two lotuses (or a woodapple and a lotus) and is sprayed with water by two elephants. This image of Lakṣmī is interpreted in the Puranic accounts of her origins. According to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (1.9.100ff.), for example, Śrī emerged from the Ocean of Milk seated on a blossoming lotus and bearing a lotus in her hand. The Ocean himself appeared in human form and presented her with a garland of never-wilting lotuses, and Indra, king of the gods, praised her, saying, "I bow down before Śrī, the mother of all, who resides on the lotus, who has eyes of blossoming lotuses, and who reclines on the heart of Viṣṇu." In all these representations, the lotus blends with the waters and the goddess herself to symbolize fertility, prosperity, and bounty.

The lotus also underscores the beauty of the goddess, for it is a strikingly lovely flower that has become a conventional sign of beauty. According to Indian texts on erotica, the ideal woman is the Padminī, the woman of lotus scent. The hands, feet, and face of a beautiful woman are like lotus blossoms. Her eyes, especially the pupils of her eyes, are like lotuses. The lotus also possessed even more specifically erotic connotations. Iconographically, Kāma, the personification of sexual desire, is ornamented by the conch shell and the lotus, both symbols of the vulva. Lotuses were used in aphrodisiacs, in concoctions to ensure potency and fertility, and in scents to attract a lover. The "lotus position" is not only a yogic posture but a sexual one as well. Such simultaneous religious and erotic connotations were exploited particularly by the Tantric traditions of Buddhism and Hinduism to show the interpenetration of the two realms.

In China, too, the lotus was an erotic symbol. In the following song by Song Huangfu, the lotus helps create an erotic atmosphere:

> Water lilies and fragrant lotus across the vast stretch of water, A young girl exuberant and playful, picks lotus until late; Evening comes, the splashing water dampens her in the boat, Making her remove her red skirt and wrap up the ducks. The boat glides, the lake shines, overflowing with autumn. With desire she watches a young boy letting his boat drift, Impetuously across the water she throws lotus seeds, As the news spreads and people hear of it, she is bashful for half a day. (Wagner, 1984, p. 146)

The lotus exemplifies the beauty and passion of the young girl. The lotus seeds she throws are love tokens.

The lotus also represents birth as well as beauty and sensuality. In the folk traditions of India and China, the lotus has the power to make a person potent or fertile: both folk traditions have legends of virgin births that occurred after young women bathed in lotus ponds or ate lotus blossoms. A dramatic Indian image of a lotus-headed goddess in a birthing position has been identified by Stella Kramrisch (1983) as the divine Mother, who has given birth to all creatures. In ancient Egypt, too, the lotus was a symbol of birth or, more especially, of rebirth. The god Osiris was reborn from a lotus after he was killed. Such rebirth is the hope of humans as well, and for this reason the lotus appears as a decoration on Egyptian tombs and mummy cases. Because it was a symbol of regeneration, the lotus was a funerary flower also among the Greeks, Romans, and early Christians. One reason for this symbolism may be that the seedpods, open flowers, and buds of a lotus are all visible at the same time. The flower thus contains past, present, and future life.

But if the lotus is a symbol of sensual beauty, it can also be a symbol of transcendence or purity. It grows from the mud, but shows nothing of its origins. Nor are its leaves or petals affected by water, which beads and falls away. Untouched and breaking the surface of the water, the lotus is a natural symbol for rising above the world. It is, in this sense, applied especially to the Buddha in a well-known passage from the Pali texts *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (vol. 3, p. 140) and *Anguttara Nikāya* (vol. 2, pp. 38f.): "Likewise, monks, the blue lotus, the pink lotus, or the white lotus, born in the water and grown in the water, rises beyond the water and remains unsoiled by the water. Thus, monks, the *tathāgata*, born in the world, grown up in the world, after having conquered the world, remains unsoiled by the world." This metaphor is usually taken to mean that the Buddha, after his enlightenment, lives within the world but is not affected by it or by the passions that normally govern human life. Within the Buddhist tradition, however, different sects have interpreted the passage in various ways. The "supernaturalist" sects, as Étienne Lamotte calls them (e.g., the Mahāsāṃghikas and the Vibhajyavādins), interpret it to mean that the Buddha's birth is purely apparent. Because his existence is a fiction, his body spiritual, and his human acts and qualities actually foreign to his true nature, the purity of the Buddha is absolute. The lotus as a symbol of purity also occurs in Hinduism. Two passages from the Upaniṣads (*Chāndogya* 4.14.3 and *Maitri* 3.2) reverse the Buddhist metaphor. In them the self is compared to a drop of water on a lotus leaf; it does not cling to the leaf, even while it remains upon it. In China, too, the white lotus is a symbol of purity.

The lotus is associated not only with Gautama Buddha but with other figures in the Buddhist pantheon, especially Prajñāpāramitā, Avalokiteśvara (Chin., Kuan-yin), and Amitābha. In connection with Prajñāpāramitā (Perfection of Wisdom), the lotus signifies purity, transcendence, and beauty. Avalokiteśvara and Amitābha belong to a Buddha "family" whose characteristic mark is the lotus. Here, the lotus functions both as an auspicious sign and as a reminder that these beings act compassionately while remaining unattached.

Like other central symbols of religious traditions, therefore, the lotus has many possible meanings within a cultural sphere; for that reason, it may not have a determinate meaning in a specific context. For example, the lotus is encountered frequently in art as a pedestal or throne for Buddhist and Hindu deities. Those viewing such an image might understand many of the associations outlined above: it could suggest purity, transcendence, the unfolding of a vision of divinity, beauty, the power to create, the centrality of the deity in the world, or the auspiciousness of the image. Moreover, the lotus is a surprisingly complex symbol, which is able to express the contradictory realities of divine and human life. It is both an erotic symbol and a symbol of purity. It signifies the creation of the world as well as the transcendence of it. The same lotus is the world and is within each person. It is the unformed waters and the visible world. And it is much else besides, for having established itself as a central symbol, the lotus gives rise to further interpretation. Blofeld (1978, p. 151), for example, gives a list of the principal emblems of Kuan-yin and their meanings taken from the Chinese edition of the *Heart of the Dhāranī of Great Compassion Sutra.* In this sūtra, four lotuses of four different colors serve as the emblems of Kuan-yin: the white lotus signifies the attainment of merit, the blue lotus signifies rebirth in a Pure Land, the purple lotus signifies that one will behold bodhisattvas, and the red lotus signifies that one will attain rebirth in a heaven of the gods. Here, the meanings of the lotus pass beyond ideas directly suggested by its colors and parts.

SEE ALSO Maṇḍalas.

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JOEL P. BRERETON (1987)

LÖW, YEHUDAH BEN BETSAL᾽EL OF PRAGUE (1520?–1609), known by the acronym MaHaRaL (Morenu ha-Rav Leib, "our teacher Rabbi Löw"). Löw was a Jewish teacher, preacher, and mystic, a social and religious reformer, and a community leader in Poland, Bohemia, and Moravia.

In the course of his long, eventful, and often controversial life, Löw served as chief rabbi of Moravia, of Poznán in Poland, and of Prague. Celebrated as a wonder-worker in both Jewish and Czech legend, Löw was deeply immersed in rabbinic and qabbalistic tradition. His enormous literary output articulates a comprehensive although unsystematic mystical theology. His popularization of recondite qabbalistic notions establish him as a forerunner of Hasidism.

In Löw's epistemology, Jewish tradition, particularly Jewish mystical tradition, is both the essential source of and the only promising gateway to truth. Philosophical speculation can merely offer what tradition has already established. Löw sharply attacked the Jewish philosophical enterprise for its dependence on rational analysis and empirical observation, which he deemed epistemologically subordinate to tradition in the quest for truth. Moreover, Löw considered philosophy faulty, predicated on assumptions considered anathema by tradition (e.g., the eternity of the world), and therefore potentially heretical in its conclusions. For Löw, the higher truth of tradition measures the truth of philosophy; philosophy cannot evaluate tradition.

In his discussion of the nature of the Torah, Löw used a theory of complementary and contradictory opposites.

Complementary opposites fulfill and complete one another. For example, male and female are incomplete when apart and are individually complete only when they are both together. Contradictory opposites conflict with one another and cannot coexist unresolved. The conflict may, however, be resolved through a synthesis of the two opposing factors. God and the world are such contradictory opposites. The Torah represents a synthesis of the spiritual God and the material world and therefore effectively mediates between God and the world.

Utilizing a notion of "natural place," Löw argued that until the Jews are restored to the Land of Israel—their natural place and origin—the world remains in disorder. This physical, geographic restoration will occur only in the messianic era after disturbances in the natural order have been rectified through a penultimate process of restoration. The goal of this process, according to Löw, is to restore the Jewish people to its proper and essential nature, thus fulfilling the necessary conditions for the act of divine grace that will initiate the messianic era. Löw maintained that proper study and observance of the Torah, which he felt were lacking in his time, are necessary for the Jewish people to realize its essential nature. Therefore, this restoration process entails a reformation of Jewish life. These theological assumptions served as the premise for Löw's program of social and religious reform. Most noteworthy in this regard are his plans for the reformation of rabbinic leadership and Jewish education.

Löw considered the poor rabbinic leadership and faulty education during his time as conditions vitally requiring rectification. For Löw, the rabbi is to his community what the heart is to the body. A rabbi was ideally a "saint-scholar" serving on the authority of his scholarship and piety, rather than a "political" figure, appointed and sustained through the influence of secular government authority and accountable to a board of Jewish laymen. Löw's educational reforms included the intensified study of the Bible (neglected in his day) and the restoration of study of the Mishnah as the basis for subsequent studies in rabbinics, as opposed to the dominant emphasis upon *pilpul* (hairsplitting dialectical reasoning). He advocated curricular reforms that correlated content studied and methods utilized to the intellectual and psychological development of the student and he favored a complete rejection of "secular" studies in the curriculum—a reaction to the Italian Jewish trend in response to the influence of the Renaissance, of including such studies in Jewish education. Löw called for reliance upon the entire scope of Jewish legal tradition rather than only upon legal codes in the process of decision making in matters of Jewish law and rejected contemporary trends that permitted socioeconomic factors to intrude upon the processes of legal adjudication.

Löw is popularly identified with the Jewish legend of the *golem*, an artificial man created by magical means. Those versions of the legend that connect Löw with the *golem*, maintain that Löw created the *golem* to defend the Jews of Prague during pogroms related to a "blood libel" (a claim that Jews used the blood of Christian children in religious rites). The *golem* legend seems to have influenced Mary Shelley in the composition of *Frankenstein*, Goethe in the writing of the *Sorcerer's Apprentice*, and Karel Čapek in his drama *R.U.R*, in which the term *robot* was first coined. The *golem* legend has been developed in contemporary literature in the works of Halper Leivick, Max Brod, Gustav Meyrink, and Jorge Luis Borges, among others.

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BYRON L. SHERWIN (1987)
Revised Bibliography

LOWIE, ROBERT H. (1883–1957), American anthropologist. Lowie was born in Vienna and emigrated to New York in 1893. After graduation from City College with honors in classics and an interlude of public-school teaching and additional training in science, he enrolled at Columbia for graduate study in anthropology under Franz Boas. His student cohort included Edward Sapir, Alexander Goldenweiser, Frank Speck, and Paul Radin, all of whom were to exert continuing influence on Lowie's ideas and approach to anthropology. Clark Wissler served as Lowie's principal fieldwork mentor and directed his formative research among the Shoshoni and various Plains tribes. He obtained his doctorate in 1908 with a comparative dissertation, "The Test-Theme in North America Mythology."

While employed by the American Museum of Natural History (1907–1917), Lowie conducted extensive fieldwork among the tribes of the Great Basin, the Southwest, and the Plains, eventually focusing on the Crow Indians of Montana. From this rich and varied data base he produced an impressive corpus of detailed ethnographic writings.

After holding a visiting professorship in 1917–1918, Lowie received a permanent appointment at the University of California, where he remained for the rest of his academic career. At Berkeley he proved a beloved teacher and an able administrator, and he broadened his theoretical horizons and range of ethnological expertise. In the 1930s he developed an interest from afar in the Ge-speaking Indians of eastern Brazil, an interest that was expressed through his promotion and translation of the valuable researches of Curt Nimuendajú. Near the end of his career Lowie studied complex societies and published two books on postfascist Germany.

Lowie's reputation rests primarily on his substantive contributions to ethnography and to theoretical issues in kinship and social organization, but he maintained an abiding interest in problems of religion. Although a freethinker, he came to view religion sympathetically as a vital and perduring force in human culture and society. His approach to religion was essentially psychological. Influenced by the work of the German critical empiricist Ernst Mach (1838–1916), Lowie felt it possible to reach objective analyses of such subjective phenomena as magical thinking, symbolic associations of meaning, and individual religious experience.

Lowie's *Primitive Religion* (1924; rev. ed., 1948) is a loosely integrated composite treatment of the subject. In his autobiography (1959), he comments that the book "met with a cold reception and I doubt whether it has exerted any influence." Nevertheless, *Primitive Religion* repays careful study as an exemplary document of the Boasian approach to religion. After a cautious consideration of the problem of defining religion, Lowie plunges directly into particularistic ethnographic data by offering synthetic sketches of four tribal religions from different regions of the world. Next he offers philosophically informed critiques of major anthropological theories of religion, taking direct aim at E. B. Tylor, James G. Frazer, and Émile Durkheim. The final section of the book comprises an uneven yet suggestive treatment of such diverse topics as individual variability in religious matters, religious movements, the role of women in religion, and relations of religion to art and economics.

Lowie's main legacy to the study of religion consists in his own rich corpus of field materials and his critical assessments of the theories of others. His significance lies in the questions he posed rather than in any synthesis he achieved.

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Details of Lowie's life and work are readily available in his entertaining autobiography, *Robert H. Lowie, Ethnologist: A Personal Record* (Berkeley, 1959). This volume contains his vita, outlining his professional career and listing the many honors he received, as well as a nearly complete bibliography of his many publications. A representative collection of Lowie's articles, including some of his more technical essays on myth, ceremonialism, and comparative religious ethnology, can be found in *Lowie's Selected Papers in Anthropology*, edited by Cora DuBois (Berkeley, 1960); DuBois's introductory essay lends valuable perspectives on his work, and the volume contains a fascinatingly detailed syllabus for a graduate seminar that Lowie led on his own work. The biographical picture, along with an acute modern appraisal of his theories, is sensitively filled out in Robert F. Murphy's *Robert H. Lowie* (New York, 1972), which also reprints some of Lowie's articles, including a posthumously published essay titled "Religion in Human Life." Lowie's major statement on religion, *Primitive Religion*, rev. ed. (New York, 1948), is summarized above. The flavor of Lowie's ethnographic description of religion can be sampled in his classic monograph, *The Crow Indians* (1935; reprint, New York, 1956), and in the chapter on religion in his popular survey *Indians of the Plains* (New York, 1954), reissued, with an introduction by Raymond J. De Mallie, in 1982.

RAYMOND D. FOGELSON (1987)

LOYOLA, IGNATIUS SEE IGNATIUS LOYOLA

LUBA RELIGION. The woodlands south of the African equatorial forest have been the homeland of different Luba tribes and subtribes since the first half of the first millennium, according to the latest archaeological evidence. The area stretches roughly from 5° to 10° south latitude and from 22° to 29° east longitude. Most of the peoples living in this region of central Africa share certain cultural traits and a more or less common language. In terms of political organization, however, there are fundamental differences. Four main groups can be distinguished according to political structure. The political centerpiece of the entire region is the ancient Luba empire, situated west of the Kongo River between the Lomami and Lualuba rivers. Political structure in the area of the Luba empire is based on the sacred authority of a paramount chief, an individual who is crucial to the survival of the people and success of the land. Several minor kingdoms derived their structure from the central empire; sometimes these kingdoms were vassals to the larger Luba state. The second group in terms of political structure is best represented by the matrilineal Hemba-speaking groups east of the Lualuba. The Luba Hemba, the most important of the Hemba-speaking groups, were part of the central Luba empire (at least temporarily) and pretended to derive their political institutions from the central royal court. The third group is composed of the western Luba groups that lack overriding political authority: the Luba Kasai, the Bene Luluwa, and the Bakwa Luntu. In contrast to the central and eastern groups, the western Luba peoples constitute a strict segmentary society. The fourth group, known as the Luba Songye, lives in big, well-organized villages on the southern fringe of the forest, north of the central empire. Although the Songye and the central Luba have clearly influenced each other, when the Songye reached the peak of their power as allies of the Swahili ivory and slave traders coming inland from Zanzibar in the nineteenth century, they liked to entertain a sense of superiority toward the other Luba groups. All of the Luba peoples believe in a more or less common origin, more for the sake of prestige than on historical grounds.

Luba Concepts of Body and Soul. The Luba concept of the human being provides an excellent vantage point for understanding their religious worldview. Basically the Luba believe that each human being (*muntu*) has a single essence. However, this essence has many manifestations. For instance, empirical reality is the manifestation of a deeper level of being that is tied to the Luba concept of spirit (*vidye*). The essential part of each human being is the life shadow (*umvwe wa bumi*), the soul (that is, the seat of thinking and feeling). The distinction between physical and spiritual reality, or body (*umbidi*) and soul (*muja*), is also fundamental to the Luba vision of reality as such. According to circumstances and context, a person's inner spiritual reality, which shows through external appearances and constitutes the human being, can be symbolized in various ways: shadow, life breath, blood, voice, and so on. The two elements (body and soul for the sake of simplicity) are interdependent. Whoever destroys the body also destroys the soul—that is, weakens the whole person until finally the soul departs. Anyone who destroys the soul—for example, by casting a spell—at the same time attacks the physical person of the victim. However, there is no special link between body and soul. A slight particle of bodily matter can be sufficient to support and transfer the soul without endangering the life force of the person concerned. If an individual seeks to kill his neighbor and is successful in forcing his neighbor's soul to leave its bodily abode, the neighbor's life is endangered. However, if the same individual performs the same ritual with the intention of protecting his neighbor's life against attacks by evildoers, then the neighbor will feel safe and his life will flourish. The outcome depends upon the intention of the ritual performer. The Luba conception of a human being as a dual entity, coupled with changing modes of interpreting how the body relates to the soul, leads to a wide variety of symbolizations. Hence one hears of hiding a soul in the bush for protection or tying up a soul in the bush to destroy a person or transferring the soul of an enemy into the body of an animal so that this person starts acting like an animal. The soul of a person who dies in a modern city can be buried in ancestral ground by transferring some hair, nail clippings, or some other particle from the dead body to the village.

Unity of Spiritual and Physical Worlds. Anything belonging to the body or having been in contact with it can be used as a reduced and sufficient support for the soul. But conversely, any form of intimate contact with the body impregnates an object, piece of clothing, tool, or utensil with that person's spiritual reality. Getting hold of any such element gives a person power over the owner of the object. Destroying such an object with the intention of harming its owner represents a direct attack against the owner's life. Property, land, crops, dust sticking to a person's body, anything associated with the physical reality of a person is stamped with the owner's personal being. The dirt on a road retains something vital of the people walking over it. A gift is always more than a simple transfer of material objects. This view of reality has a wide range of applications. Principally, it gives rise to sexual taboos and the avoidance of physical contact in certain situations; it also leads to the belief that a blessing can be bestowed by touching a person or that the power of the soul can be depleted by coming into contact with ill-intentioned people.

The unity between humans and their environment manifests itself in a much more complicated way in the patterns of dependence within the human community. The relationship between father and son or mother and daughter seems to be a universal model to express the essence of most relationships (whether the society is matrilineal or patrilineal, the same parent model is used—that of initiator and initiate). Among the Luba, the chief is seen as the father of his subjects. The parents are spirits in relation to their children while the husband is the wife's spirit as well. The social fabric is rooted in this unified spiritual interdependence. Vital ties between members of the community not only support the essential institution of the social group, that is, the lineage: they are the real substance of group dynamism, group restraint, and group cohesion.

Worlds of the Living and the Dead. The Luba believe that when people die they go to the invisible world of the dead. This world of the shades, located under the earth, is structured according to the world of the living. There the dead live as they did on earth: in family groups, in villages, with forests and gardens and so on. From the world of the dead, the ancestors watch over their children, contacting the living through dreams, in divination sessions, and by making all sorts of strange and unusual things happen. The dead come back to the world of the living, giving their names to newborn children. The Luba Songye are unique in that they believe in the transmigration of the soul. This soul "seems normally to return three times to earth in a human body and the fourth time in the body of an animal before it goes to Efile Mukulu to remain indefinitely" (Merriam, p. 298).

The dead constantly interact with the living. Their attitude toward their descendants is ambiguous. The living must remember the dead and honor them through the performance of rituals because the survival of the dead depends on the devotion of their relatives. If their descendants neglect to show filial piety, the dead will withhold their favor and show their anger by causing crop failures, disease, bad dreams, and evil omens. Of course, the duty to remember bears most directly upon recently deceased lineage members (deceased parents or grandparents). Those people who have died in the more distant past are referred to as a collectivity under the vague title *ancestors*; among this group, only the most important people and former political leaders are directly named.

Beyond the world of human involvement, the Luba have an almost innate idea of the world as a unified whole; transcending the various Luba representations of human institutions is the idea of a creator god. There is only one creator god and he made this one world, man and woman, and nature and all it contains, including the curative qualities of herbs and roots. The creator owns all the world—all the countries, as the Luba say. The human species is one and so the human mind is one; it transcends empirical reality. From whatever angle the Luba look at their world, they always end up, from perception to perception, at the concept of a universal. When the Luba declare, time and again, that *vidye udiko* (spirit does exist), they mean exactly that: spirit transcends and founds all other reality and, above all, the reality of the ancestors. God is not a sublimation of the idea of the ancestors; on the contrary, the ancestors can exist only because there was first the concept of a creator god. In the old stereotyped prayers God is always the father of all and everything, the one "who carved the fingers in our hands" (or a similar praise-name is used).

CREATOR GOD. Human life can only be conceived of as a part of a universal concept of an absolute. The Luba call this absolute Vidye, Mvidie, Efile Mukulu, Maweja, or Mulopo. Usually they use these names in combination with one or more of the praise names that are so abundant in Luba prayers and invocations. Although God is ever present in the back of their minds as the great creator spirit, the Luba do not have shrines where prayers or sacrifices can be offered to God. God is in no place—God is everywhere. Wherever there is power, there is spirit; be it a mighty tree or a thundering waterfall, the Luba will say here is spirit. From consulting the dead in divination to the ancient poison ordeal, from chasing the rain to stopping the sun from setting, there is one vision at work. Mythic language gives this visible world its true dimension.

It is not as if there was a fundamental opposition between ancestors, lineage founders, and political institutions on the one hand and the creator god on the other. Worship of the ancestors or lesser spirits does not mean that the creator god is consigned to oblivion. Indeed, the ancestors, whatever their status and function, are linked to the supreme being; they are sons of the spirit. Their lives continue to be the existential feeding ground of the living generations. They are heroes, mediators between God and their descendants. At the beginning God worked through agents known as culture heroes who received responsibility for certain domains. These towering figures are the focus of myths and legends. The distinction between culture heroes and ancestors is not always very clear. The Songye developed a well-defined trickster figure in Kafilefile, God's opponent from the beginning. Elsewhere the trickster figure took on less dramatic features.

MEDICINE, WITCHCRAFT, SORCERY. The Luba believe in a general spiritual force that pervades all nature. Here again, the Songye take an outspoken leading position: "Efile Mukulu is considered to exist in everything, and to be everything, and thus everything is a part of Efile Mukulu" (Merriam, p. 297). This concept might not be as clearly phrased by other groups, but the idea that a shadow or soul operates in everything is present in all Luba thought. This hidden force is created by God himself in the works of God's own hands. It is as if God left something of his own being in all created things, just as humans communicate something of themselves to the things they create and manipulate. To know the name and the inner life force of things, so as to be able to use them safely for the good of humanity, is to know medicine or witchcraft, that is, power based on knowledge and creative skills. For the central Luba, God is Shamanwa (the father of skills). Sorcery—using the forces hidden in things with an evil intention to kill people or destroy things—is bad. Just as people mold their world by the power of their words and through the skills of their hands, so too they try to master the invisible life force behind all material appearances. They try to get on top of this invisible reality, the hidden forces, to mold them into visible material forms. They give them names and animal or human figures to bring them within the reach of the human imagination, vision, and language. They carve them into stone or wooden statues and so doing, give them individuality, so that they may be talked to, aroused, praised, or even cursed. The world of medicine, amulets, and other ritual objects is the link between spiritual realities and the empirical world.

RITUAL LIFE. Ritual activities such as prayers, invocations, and offerings can be performed by individuals or by officials. Officials derive their ability to officiate from their function and position in the group (e.g., head of the household, leading elder of a lineage, head of a village) or from a special initiation as a diviner and traditional healer. The prophetic type of performer takes over from the official one at particular occasions for a variety of reasons: divination, healing, the cleansing of defiled persons or villages, and so on. These ritual actions take place when the dead interfere with the living by claiming attention or demanding to be consulted; rituals can also be required because the ancestors want to be honored through prayer and sacrifice.

The main characteristic of the duly initiated traditional healer is spirit possession accompanied by prophetic utterances. Diviners and traditional healers constitute a kind of informal guild, one initiating the other, but this guild should not be confused with the secret societies that formerly were abundant in Lubaland. Spirit possession usually occurs at shrines. The shrines themselves consist of tiny huts containing different kinds of receptacles in which simple objects, symbolizing the presence of the spirit during rituals, are placed. Sometimes the shrine is a tree planted to honor an ancestor. Ritual objects, usually receptacles of medicine, can also be placed at the entrance of a village (e.g., hunting spirits) or can be hidden together with special medicine under the roof of the main hut. A man's principal wife will then be entrusted with the keeping of the sacred objects. At certain times standardized rituals take place: first-fruit rituals, fertility rituals at the full moon, rites of passage, burial, and so on. Luba traditional religion forms a well-balanced whole in which the living and the dead can find peace and rest from the anxieties of human existence and through which the Luba find themselves inserted into the universal world of religious quest and spiritual concern.

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LUBAVITCH See HASIDISM, *ARTICLE ON* HABAD HASIDISM

LUCK See CHANCE

LUDI SAECULARES, the centennial games of ancient Rome, were rites celebrated in fulfillment of a vow pronounced at the beginning of the previous *saeculum.* Because a *saeculum,* in the wider sense of the term, was a period of time longer than the longest human life, no one could attend the games twice. It seems that initially the games went on for three nights; in any case, from the time of Augustus onward they lasted three days and three nights and were held, in principle, every 100 or 110 years, depending on the computation. The functioning and arrangement of this festival changed in the course of time, but its purpose remained the same: to purify the *res publica* at the beginning of a new era, by putting a hopeful end to a given period of time.

We do not know how far back the centennial games go. The ancients, followed by some modern scholars, sometimes claimed an early date: the fifth century BCE; it is certain at any rate that centennial games were celebrated in 249 BCE at the urging of the Sibylline Books; these games included nocturnal sacrifices in honor of Dis Pater (god of the underworld) and Proserpina, to which were added chariot races. It may be, however, that in one or another manner these games replaced a cult of the Valerian gens, which clearly was of greater antiquity but was celebrated on the same site as the centennial games: in the Campus Martius (Field of Mars), near the Tiber River, level with the modern Ponte Vittorio Emmanuele, in that part of the Field of Mars known as the Tarentum (though the connection with the Tarentum is doubtful).

At the beginning of the reign of Augustus, in 17 BCE, centennial games were celebrated with great pomp in order to mark the end of a period of destruction and bloodshed and the beginning of a golden age. It was in the form the games acquired at this time that they were subsequently celebrated in 88 and 204 CE. (A parallel series of festivities was held on April 21 of the years 248, 147, and 47 BCE to commemorate the centenaries of the foundation of Rome; the rites were simpler but also went by the name of centennial games.) The new liturgy comprised a complex series of nocturnal and diurnal rites. The nocturnal rites, which opened each day's festival after midnight and were regarded as a prolongation of the games of antiquity, marked the close of the preceding century with a sacrifice to the Fates (June 1), the Ilithyiae, goddesses of childbirth (June 2), and Mother Earth (June 3). The daytime sacrifices were offered to Jupiter Optimus Maximus (June 1, on the Capitoline), Juno Regina (June 2, on the Capitoline), and Apollo and Diana (June 3, on the Palatine). During the three nights, after the sacrifices, *sellisternia* or religious banquets were celebrated on the Capitoline in honor of Juno and Diana; 110 matrons of senatorial and knightly rank took part, and then plays were presented on the Campus near the Tiber. During the daytime these plays were continued from June 1 to 3 after the sacrifices to Apollo and Diana; other plays were added, known as Latin plays, and there were more banquets in honor of Juno and Diana. The climax of the entire festival came on the third day after the sacrifice to Apollo and Diana: 27 boys and 27 girls of senatorial rank, whose fathers and mothers were still living, recited a *Carmen saeculare* on the Palatine and the Capitoline (the centennial ode for 17 BCE was composed by Horace). After the celebration of the banquets and other rites, the plays ended, and chariot races, held in a temporary arena, brought the liturgy proper to an end.

Along with the festivals of the Arval Brothers, the centennial games of the emperors Augustus and Septimius Severus (193–211) are the Roman religious liturgies best known to us, thanks to the discovery of extensive records in epigraphic form.

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LUGBARA RELIGION.

The Lugbara are a Sudanic-speaking people of northwestern Uganda and the northeastern portion of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, culturally related to the Azande and Mangbetu to the northwest. They are largely peasant farmers who grow grains and keep some cattle and other livestock. Their land is about 4,000 feet above sea level, well watered and fertile, with a population density of over two hundred people to the square mile in the central areas. The Lugbara have a politically uncentralized society in which traditional authority is held by the elders of small patrilineal lineages. Such lineages are the bases of local settlements and are linked into a segmentary lineage system of the classic kind. Above the elders, ritual and political authority is exercised by rainmakers, one to each clan, and occasionally by prophets. Since colonial rule was established by the Belgians in 1900 and the British in 1914, there have been administrative chiefs and headmen, but these stand very much outside the religious system. Catholic Verona Fathers and the Protestant African Inland Mission have been active since World War I and have had considerable success in education and conversion; there are relatively few Muslims. In the 1950s, when the main anthropological research was carried out, the mass of the people adhered to the traditional religion. Since then this situation may have changed, due mainly to the political upheavals and population movements under presidents Amin and Obote: the traditional lineage system has been severely weakened, and the cults associated with it have lost their importance.

MYTH. The Lugbara have a corpus of myth that tells of the creation of the world and the formation of their society. One myth tells that at the beginning humans dwelt and conversed with the Deity in the sky, coming daily down a rope or tower to farm; a woman who was hoeing cut it down, and since then people have lived on earth, ignorant of divine will and subject to change and death. Another myth states that the Deity (Adroa—the diminutive form of the word *adro*, connotating his distance from humankind, not lack of power) created a man and a woman far to the north. The woman was created pregnant and gave birth to animals and to a son and a daughter. This sibling pair gave birth to another, and several such generations followed. Each is credited with the invention of processes of transformation of natural products into domestic ones: smithing, potmaking, hunting, and so on. Finally there were born two sons, the culture heroes who formed society as it ideally is today. Each of the two culture heroes hunted with his sons, killing and eating a son each day; this filial cannibalism led to their expulsion, and each hero (accompanied by a sister's son and a bull) was compelled to cross the Nile and to go to the mountains in the middle of the country. There the two heroes hunted and killed buffalo but lacked fire to cook the meat. Each hero then descended to the plains and found there a leper woman with fire. After cooking and eating the meat, each hero cured one of the leper women (thus making her physically complete) and impregnated her. The armed brothers of the leper women forced the heroes to marry the women and provide cattle bridewealth. Each hero eventually did the same with some thirty women, whose sons were the founders of the present sixty or so clans. The heroes then retired to their mountains and died.

The myth explains the existence of social groups and settlements, of marriage and the legitimacy of offspring, and of feuds (the traditional basis for the maintenance of social order). The preheroic period is timeless, asocial, amoral, and marked by lack of order and authority; the postheroic period, structured by the passing of time, is both social and moral, with order maintained by genealogically sanctioned authority. The periods are bridged by the heroic mediators. The same pattern may be seen in spatial terms, with related lineages in a settlement's neighborhood, then a belt of people feared as magicians, and beyond them an amoral wilderness of strange, incestuous, and cannibalistic people. The myths explain the form of society, its relationship with the Deity, and the distinction that runs through Lugbara cosmology between the inside of home and settlement and the outside of the bushland, where spirits and other manifestations of the extrahuman power of the Deity dwell. Lugbara ritual is concerned essentially with the maintenance of the boundary between these two moral spheres.

SACRIFICE TO THE DEAD AND SPIRITS. Sacrifice is not made to the Deity. The central cult is that of the dead, who are considered senior members of their lineages and who bridge the main cosmological boundary. The Lugbara concept of the person is important here. Men are considered persons of the home and women things of the bushland, having the potentially dangerous power of procreation that links them with the Deity. A person is composed of physical elements such as body and blood and the mystical ones of soul, spirit, and influence. Only men have souls (*orindi*), the seat of lineage authority, although those women born first of a set of siblings may have souls when they grow old; both men and women have spirit (*adro*), the seat of idiosyncratic and antisocial behavior; and both have *tali*, the seat of influence gained over others. At death the soul goes to the deity in the sky and may later be redomesticated by a diviner as a ghost *(ori)* as well as an ancestor *(a'bi)*. Only the heads of lineage segments who leave sons are usually made into ghosts; others join a collectivity of ancestors. The spirit goes to the bushland, where it dwells with the immanent and evil aspect of the Deity (*Adro*); the *tali* merges with a collectivity of *tali*.

Death is marked by elaborate mortuary rites, which are the only important rites of transition. The corpse is buried and dances are held at which men of lineages related to the deceased dance competitively and aggressively to demonstrate their relative seniority within the total lineage structure. When death occurs, it is said that disorder has entered the community, and clan incest is permitted as a sign of this disorder; after a certain period has elapsed, order is reestablished by more dances and the distribution of food and arrows.

Ghosts are given individual shrines (in the shape of miniature huts) where they may be offered sacrifices; other patrilineal ancestors have collective shrines; and there are shrines for matrilateral ancestors. The ghost shrines for the recently dead are located in the compound, but after a few generations they are moved outside, a sign that their incumbents have merged spiritually with the Deity. The forms, distribution, and details of oblation with regard to these many shrines cannot be given here.

Sacrifice at the ghost shrines is part of the process by which lineage authority is exercised by the elders. Hence, it lies at the heart of the maintenance of social order within the community. Sacrifice follows on the invocation of the ghosts. It is believed that an elder whose authority is flouted by a dependent sits near the shrines in his compound and ponders the offense; the ghosts hear him and decide to send sickness to the offender to show him the error of his behavior; the offender then falls sick; the elder consults oracles that state which ghost is responsible and what oblation is demanded. In actuality a person falls sick and the process only then begins. If the patient recovers, then a sacrifice is made (if he or she dies, then the Deity is responsible and nothing can be done). The animal (ox, sheep, goat, or fowl) is consecrated and slaughtered. Part of the meat and blood is placed in the shrines; part is cooked and eaten later by the congregation. Some of the cooked meat is divided and taken home by the members of the congregation, who are members of lineages that share the same ghosts. The elder and others concerned discuss the case until a consensus has been reached that the original offense or dispute has been settled and atoned; they bless the patient with their breath and spittle, and the assembled kin, seated by generation and so representing the unity of normally competitive lineages, consume the cooked meat and beer. The stated purpose of this rite is to purify the home, to remove conflict and ensure unity and continuity. Sacrifice is also made, usually on behalf of junior kin, to the collectivity of lineage ancestors and to matrilateral ancestors.

Offerings are also made to many kinds of spirits (*adro*), invisible powers that are of a different order of existence than that of humans. Such spirits are beyond the understanding or control of normal people. Spirits are held to be innumerable. At one time or another, some are attached to prophets; others represent expressions of divine power (lightning, winds). All have as a central attribute the ability to possess a living person and to make the victim tremble or shake, a condition curable only by a diviner. Initial communication with a spirit is by its possession of a living person; almost all cases are of women, in particular those in an ambiguous moral situation (such as that of a persistently barren wife). The possessed woman consults a diviner to discover the identity of the offended spirit, then places a small shrine for it where she periodically makes offerings of grain and milk. There are no spirit cults as such; offerings are only made by individuals.

DIVINATION. The need for the living to know the identity of the dead and the spirits with whom they come into contact requires divination. There are several kinds of oracles and diviners. Oracles, operated by men in the public space of the open air, consist essentially of material artifacts that select names put to them by those consulting them. Diviners are postmenopausal or barren women, who divine under possession in the darkness of their huts with only the client present. They confirm the identity of a spirit or of a witch or sorcerer (which oracles cannot do) and also redomesticate the soul when it has gone outside of the social realm to live with the Deity in the sky. Their power is thought to come directly from the Deity and is feared as being spiritual and dangerous.

EVIL. Evil is represented as the work of harmful human beings assumed to be witches and sorcerers. Using the classic distinction made for the Azande by Evans-Pritchard, witches are believed to harm others by an innate mystical power; among the Lugbara they are older men who bewitch their own kin because of envy or anger. Sorcerers use material objects or medicines, and among the Lugbara they are women and young men who lack the authority that witches have to pervert power for their own ends; because of this lack, sorcerers must turn to material means (including both poisons and nonpoisonous objects). Sorcerers are especially held to be women who are jealous of their co-wives. Both witches and sorcerers are believed to cause sudden and painful sicknesses, and their identities may be discovered by diviners who can also cure the affliction, usually by sucking its essence from the victim's body. Whereas witchcraft is traditional and, although evil, not particularly morally reprehensible (since the witch merely has the innate power and may not always be able to control it), sorcery is seen as a modern phenomenon and an abomination because it is deliberate and malign in its purpose.

RAINMAKERS AND PROPHETS. Each subclan has one rainmaker, the senior man of the senior descent line. He is believed to be able to control the rainfall by manipulating rain stones kept in a pot buried in his rain grove. In the past he was expected to end interlineage feuds by cursing the antagonists with impotence if they crossed a line drawn by him between their territories. He tells his community the times for planting and harvesting. And he is thought to be able to end epidemics and famines by beseeching the Deity. In brief, he is able to regulate the rain that links sky and earth, to control the fertility of human beings and of crops, to mark territorial and moral space, and to establish the orderly passage of time. He is held to be a repository of some of the secret truth and knowledge of cosmic categories held by the Deity. A rainmaker is symbolically buried at his initiation by other rainmakers, and later, at his actual death, he is buried silently at night in a manner opposite to that of ordinary people.

Prophets have appeared among the Lugbara on rare occasions, as emissaries of the Deity with a message to reform society in the face of disasters. The most famous was Rembe, a man of the neighboring Kakwa people. In the 1890s the Lugbara approached Rembe requesting that he give them a sacred water. This water was intended to remove the epidemics that were killing both humans and cattle, as well as the Arabs and Europeans who were entering the region at the same time. In 1916 Rembe entered Lugbaraland, called by elders for his help in removing further epidemics and Europeans. He established a cult known as Dede (grandmother, as it protected people) or Yakan (from the root *ya*, to make tremble). Adherents drank water from a sacred pool in which dwelt the power of the Deity; this would drive away the Europeans and bring back ancestors and dead cattle. Members of the cult attempted to establish a new egalitarian community and no longer recognized differences of descent, age, or sex. After the threat of revolt Rembe was deported by the British colonial authorities and hanged in the Sudan. Today he is still remembered and given mythopoeic attributes of sacredness and inversion, and it is said that he can never die and will one day return.

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LUGH.

The pagan Irish deity Lugh (Shining One)—the model of kingly leadership and master of all arts and crafts—corresponds to the Gaulish god Lugus as well as to the Welsh Llew Llaw Gyffes. Lugus—who had widely scattered sites dedicated to him, from Loudun and Laon in France, and Leiden in Netherlands (from Lugu-dunum, or fort of Lugus) to Carlisle in Britain—is taken to be the Gaulish Mercury whom Julius Caesar identifies as the god most worshipped by the Gauls, a patron of prosperity and inventor of all the arts. Both Lugh and Lugus were honored on or near August 1, the beginning of the harvest quarter. Celebration of Lughnasa, the August festival honoring Lugh in Ireland, may have commemorated his symbolic ritual marriage to the land of Ireland. It included fairs and assemblies; hilltop gatherings; the first meal from the new crops; games and trials of strength; and horse racing. Traditions about Lugh may have survived in legends of the many Irish saints with the names Lugh or Lughaidh, as well as in legends about Saint Patrick, and early sites associated with his cult may have become associated with these Christian saints.

In the detailed picture of the Irish gods and their society found in *The Second Battle of Mag Tuired*, a text that includes language from as early as the ninth century, Lugh appears among the gods (called the Tuatha Dé Danann) as the unique practitioner of all the arts (*samildánach*, meaning skilled in many arts together). When Lugh arrives, the Tuatha Dé are anticipating an attack by the supernatural Fomhoire, who are trying to restore the reign of Bres, whose greed and incompetence forced him to leave Ireland. Bres is the son of the Fomhorian king Elatha and of Ériu (Ireland), a woman of the Tuatha Dé. When his misdeeds drive him from his kingship of the Tuatha Dé, Bres flees to his father's people, the Fomhoire, to gather an army. In response, the Tuatha Dé invite Lugh to lead their defense. Lugh is also half-Fomhorian, but on his mother's side: Eithne, daughter of Balar was given in marriage to Cian, son of the divine physician Dian Cécht, to form an alliance between the two peoples.

Asking what contribution each god will make to the battle, Lugh coordinates the work of the tribe's professionals and artisans—from weapon makers to physicians, druids, and witches—making the tribe stronger through collaborative effort. A master strategist, Lugh sends Eochaidh Ollathair, called the Daghdha (the Good God), to the Fomhorian camp to arrange a truce until Samhain (November 1), the beginning of winter and the start of the Celtic new year, so that the timing of the conflict will be favorable to the Tuatha Dé. Once the battle begins, Lugh's skill at arms tips the balance in favor of the Tuatha Dé. He defeats his Fomhorian grandfather Balar in single combat and deprives the Fomhoire of their greatest weapon, the magical power of Balar's baleful eye. Lugh assumes the responsibilities of a king after Bres's successor Nuadhu is slain, and he arranges the peace treaty between the two peoples. Lugh's bargain for the life of the Fomhorian poet Loch wards off Fomhorian aggression forever, and Lugh's decision to spare the captured Bres brings the Tuatha Dé knowledge of the most favorable days in the agricultural cycle: when to plant, when to sow, when to reap. By his judicious decisions, Lugh establishes a lasting peace and gives the Tuatha Dé access to Bres's power over agricultural prosperity.

In the later, related tale *Oidheadh Chloinne Tuireann*, Lugh appears as his father's avenger, exacting from the kinsmen who murdered Cian a wergild that includes having to win magical weapons that will be used against the Fomhoire. The guilty cousins are killed completing the final task of the wergild, but Lugh himself commits no act of violence and thus avoids perpetuating a cycle of kinslaying. In the epic tale *Táin Bó Cuailnge* (The cattle raid of Cooley), a tale known from manuscripts that include language from as early as the eighth century, Lugh appears as the father of Cú Chulainn, the preeminent Ulster hero whose single combats determine victory for his province against forces drawn from the rest of Ireland. In *Baile in Scáil*, a ninth-century text associated with the political claims of Irish kings, Lugh foretells and legitimizes an extended succession of Uí Néill rulers.

Lugh is said to be the originator of assemblies and to the inventor of an Irish game of strategy resembling chess (*fidhchell*), as well as ball-playing and horseracing. He is also said to have founded an assembly held on Lughnasa at Tailtiu in honor of his foster mother. Lugh's marriages link him symbolically to the land of Ireland, and his queens include Buí, a goddess of Munster, and Nás, eponym of a site in Leinster. He dies at Uisnech when he drowns fleeing grandsons of the Daghdha, who seek to avenge their father, slain by Lugh through jealousy over one of his queens.

SEE ALSO Celtic Religion, overview article.

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LU HSIANG-SHAN SEE LU XIANGSHAN

LU HSIU-CHING SEE LU XIUJING

LUKE THE EVANGELIST, according to Christian tradition the author of both the third canonical gospel and *Acts of the Apostles.* The *Gospel of Luke* and *Acts* are linked by similarities of style and theology, by their dedications to a certain Theophilus, and by reference to a first book, almost certainly the *Gospel of Luke,* in *Acts* 1:1. Unlike the other evangelists, Luke indicates that he was not an eyewitness to the events of Jesus' ministry that he describes (*Lk.* 1:1–3).

Luke is mentioned three times in the New Testament in letters ascribed to Paul (*Col.* 4:14, *2 Tm.* 4:11, *Phlm.* 24). Although a Lucius (a variant of the same name) appears in *Acts* 13:1 and *Romans* 16:21, there is no explicit link between this figure and Luke. In *Colossians* 4:14, Luke, who is with Paul, is called "the beloved physician." In the same context colleagues only are to be identified as Jewish; apparently Luke was a Gentile. Only the reference to Luke in *Philemon* can be certainly ascribed to Paul, inasmuch as *2 Timothy* is probably, and *Colossians* quite possibly, pseudonymous. In any event, each reference supports a traditional association of Luke with Paul. That association may also be attested to by the so-called "we-passages" of *Acts.* In four separate instances (*Acts* 16:10–17, 20:5–15, 21:1–18, 27:1–28:16) the narration of Paul's travels unaccountably switches from third person to first person plural, creating the impression that the narrator accompanied Paul. Although other explanations are possible, the traditional one, that Luke had joined Paul's party at those points, is a reasonable one. Since Luke is otherwise not a prominent figure in early Christianity, the attribution of two major New Testament books to him becomes understandable if it is, indeed, historically grounded. (A Timothy or Titus would otherwise have been a more obvious choice for such an attribution.) That Luke's understanding and presentation of Pauline theology is in some respects inadequate scarcely disproves a personal relationship between them in *Acts. Acts* was written a couple of decades after Paul's death.

Irenaeus (c. 180) names Luke as the third evangelist and a companion of Paul and describes Luke as having recorded the gospel as preached by Paul (*Against Heresies* 3.1.1). The Muratorian canon (probably late second century) gives a rather full description of Luke that agrees with Irenaeus and with the slim biblical evidence. Eusebius (c. 325) reports that Luke was "by race an Antiochian," a physician, and a companion of Paul (*Church History* 3.4.6).

Luke's vocabulary was once thought to reflect his medical training, but comparative studies have shown that his medical terminology does not surpass what might be expected of a Hellenistic author. According to an ancient, anti-Marcionite prologue to the gospel, Luke remained unmarried and lived to a ripe old age. While this is entirely possible, there is no way to confirm such a report. The same goes for the tradition that he was from Antioch, or that his remains, with those of the apostle Andrew, were interred in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople in 357. Luke's feast is celebrated on October 18. The evangelist's symbol, the ox, can be traced back to the late second century; it has been thought to mirror the importance of the Jerusalem temple and its sacrifices in Luke's presentation of Christ.

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LULL, RAMÓN (c. 1232–1316), Catalan philosopher, poet, and missionary. Lull was born in Majorca shortly after the Arab occupation of the island had ended. He certainly was acquainted with spoken Arabic, but must have known classical Arabic as well. In his youth he was interested in chivalry and courtly occupations, but the visions of Christ that he experienced around 1265 transformed him into an ardent missionary whose aim was to create an understanding between Christianity, Judaism, and Islam and to resolve their differences. To this end he composed a great number of books in his native Catalan and is said to have traveled to various Islamic countries. Among Lull's works, his *Libre del contemplacio en Deu* (originally written at least partly in Arabic; see *Obres,* vol. 8, p. 645) is a seven-volume encyclopedia in which he sets forth his idea that by contemplation the truth of the Christian religion would be revealed to everyone.

In a vision in 1272 Lull saw the whole universe reflecting the divine attributes, a vision reminiscent of Islamic traditions. There has been much scholarly debate on the extent to which Lull was conversant with Arabic sources. His great novel, *Blanquerna,* best expresses his attitude to and understanding of Islam. Here, as in other early works, he expresses his concern for those who are lost despite many good aspects of their faith and life; he praises the Muslims' faith in the unity of God, which he views as the basis on which the three "Abrahamic" religions could understand one another; he acknowledges the importance of the Ṣūfī practice of *dhikr* ("recollection of God") and describes it as a useful step on the way to God; finally, he expresses the opinion that Muslims are closer to Christians than are other nonbelievers because Muslims accept the virgin birth of Mary. The novel *Blanquerna* closes with the "Book of the Lover and the Beloved," a collection of 365 aphorisms, many of which can be found verbatim in Arabic Ṣūfī sources and may come partly from al-Ghazālī, whose works Lull apparently knew well (he is even said to have translated one of his books) and who may have strengthened Lull's aversion to "philosophy," that is, to Averroism. Again, some of the symbols, his images, letter mysticism, and the use of prose rhyme are reminiscent of Arabic Ṣūfī works, especially of some of Ibn al-ʿArabī's writings.

On the other hand, Lull was very critical of the Muslims in other regards and repeated the traditional medieval accusations against them, such as the sensual image of Paradise, polygamy, and so forth. His attitude hardened over the years, and in the place of his earlier irenic attitude an increasingly militant missionary zeal fills his later works. He requested the church to emphasize the study of Arabic so that disputations with Muslims could be carried out more successfully and he succeeded in persuading James II of Aragon to establish a school of oriental languages in Miramar on Majorca. Later, in 1312, the Council of Vienne decided to found chairs for Arabic in several universities to train missionaries. In 1316, on one of his trips to North Africa, Lull was imprisoned and probably stoned to death. Many years later, in 1376, some of his teachings were condemned by Gregory XI.

Lull was a complex figure, and he himself complained of not being properly understood; this attitude is typically expressed in his *Disputatio clerici et Raymundi phantastici,* in which he portrays himself as the eccentric idealist. Lull's philosophy is based on the mystery of the Trinity: the three powers of the soul reflect the trinitarian principles. He tried to achieve a reduction of all knowledge to first principles so as to establish perfect unity as the underlying structure of the universe. Among his numerous books, the *Ars magna;* the *Arbor scientiae* (The Tree of Knowledge), with its mysterious diagrams; and the *Liber de ascensu et descensu intellectus* (Book of Intellectual Ascent and Decline) best reflect his philosophical ideas and his way of using the various branches of medieval science, from mathematics to alchemy. Some of his ideas were later taken over and elaborated by Nicholas of Cusa.

In each of his writings Lull strove to show that faith and intellect must work together to prove that Christianity is the true religion. His ardent striving to lead to the true faith those who knew it only fragmentarily, and to whom he himself was indebted to a certain degree, is summed up in an aphorism from the "Book of the Lover and the Beloved," which translates an old Ṣūfī saying: "The ways in which the lover seeks his Beloved are long and dangerous; they are populated by meditation, sighs, and tears, and illuminated by love."

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LUPERCALIA. The Lupercalia, inscribed in the calendar on February 15, belongs by virtue of its suffix to the category of Roman feasts that have names ending in *-alia,* such as the Feralia on February 21. The word is a derivative of *Lupercus* and is semantically related to *Lupercal.* The Luperci were the officiants and were divided into the Luperci Quinctiales (or Quintiliani; Paulus-Festus, ed. Lindsay, 1913, p. 78 L.) and the Luperci Fabiani; the former bound themselves to Romulus, the latter to Remus (Ovid, *Fasti* 2.375–378). For a long time the word was thought to have come from *lupus* ("wolf") and *arceo* ("to keep off") and so to mean "protectors against wolves" (Servius, *Ad Aeneidem* 8.343; Wissowa, 1912, p. 209). But *Luperci* is more a derivative of *lupus* with the ending *-ercus* (analogous to the formation of *noverca,* "mother-in-law") and so means "wolf-men." The Luperci, appearing naked (Servius, *Ad Aeneidem* 8.663), or rather "nude except for a simple loincloth" (Plutarch, *Romulus* 21.7, *Quaestiones Romanae* 68), brought to mind a precivilized state and constituted a "truly savage brotherhood" (*fera quaedam sodalitas;* Cicero, *Pro Caelio* 26).

When the Luperci ran around the Palatine in the midst of a crowd of people, the act had a purifying purpose that Varro (*De lingua Latina* 6.34) sums up thus: "[in February] the people are purified [*februatur*], insofar as the old fortress on the Palatine was circled by nude Luperci for purposes of lustration [*lustratur*]." This ceremony began with a sacrifice in the grotto of Lupercal, located at the southwest corner of the Palatine (Plutarch, *Romulus* 21.5); the offering was a she-goat (Ovid, *Fasti* 2.361; see also Plutarch, *Romulus* 21.6) or a he-goat (Servius, *Ad Aeneidem* 8.343). During their run, they would carry lashes, called *februa,* made from hides of she-goats or of he-goats (Paulus-Festus, op. cit., p. 76 L.). With these lashes they would strike the spectators, especially women, "in order to ensure their fertility" (Servius, *Ad Aeneidem* 8.343). Ovid (*Fasti* 2.441) proposes a strange etiology for this rite: it would be the application (discovered by an "Etruscan augur") of an order from Juno, "Let a sacred he-goat . . . penetrate Italian mothers" ("Italidas matres . . . sacer hircusi-nito").

Other unusual or unexplained elements enter into the ceremonial. According to Plutarch (*Romulus* 21.8; *Quaestiones Romanae* 68, 111), who seems to be our only source, the Luperci also sacrificed dogs. Stranger still, he tells how "two young people from noble families are led forth: some touch their foreheads with bloody knives while others wipe them with wool soaked in milk. Once they are wiped, they start to laugh" (*Romulus* 21.6–7). Another problem is far from being clarified: what divinity was patron of this feast? Vergil (*Aeneid* 8.344) does not hesitate to designate Pan of Arcadia. Ovid (*Fasti* 2.423–424) interprets *Lupercus* as transposition of the "Arcadian" *Lycaeus:* the cult was supposedly established by the hero Evander on behalf of Pan-Faunus. This late syncretism leaves open the patronage question, for the Latin equivalent of Pan in the third century BCE was not Faunus but Silvanus (Plautus, *Aulularia* 674, 766).

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Revised Bibliography

LURIA, ISAAC (1534–1572), known also by the acronym ARiY (ha-Elohi Rabbi Yitsḥaq, "the godly Rabbi Isaac"); Jewish mystic. Isaac Luria was the preeminent qabbalist of Safad, a small town in the Galilee where a remarkable renaissance of Jewish mystical life took place in the sixteenth century. Not only did Luria's original mythological system and innovative ritual practices achieve great popularity in Safad itself; they also exerted profound influence upon virtually all subsequent Jewish mystical creativity. By the middle of the seventeenth century, Lurianic theology and ritual practices had permeated much of the Jewish world. It has been observed that Lurianism was the last premodern theological system to enjoy such widespread acceptance within Judaism.

Luria was born in Jerusalem, where his father had settled after migrating from Germany or Poland. Following his father's death his mother took him to Egypt, where he lived in the home of his uncle, a wealthy tax gatherer. In Egypt, Luria studied with two prominent rabbis, David ibn Abi Zimra and Betsal'el Ashkenazi, and collaborated with the latter on legal works. During this period Luria apparently immersed himself in the study of the *Zohar* and other qabbalistic texts. In late 1569 or early 1570, Luria traveled to Safad and began studying with Mosheh Cordovero, the principal master of esoteric studies in this community. Luria quickly attracted a circle of students to himself that included Ḥayyim Vital, his chief disciple, as well as Yosef ibn Ṭabūl and Mosheh Yonah.

It appears that Luria possessed the traits of a genuinely inspired and charismatic individual. He became known in Safad as an extraordinarily saintly person who had been privileged to experience personal revelations of qabbalistic knowledge from the Holy Spirit, the prophet Elijah, and departed rabbis. He was regarded as having knowledge of such esoteric arts as metoposcopy and physiognomy and the ability to understand the language of animals. He was able to diagnose the spiritual condition of his disciples and others and provided them with specific acts of atonement for restoring their souls to a state of purity.

To his formal disciples, who numbered about thirty-five, Luria imparted esoteric wisdom, vouchsafing to each one mystical knowledge pertinent to his particular soul, such as its ancestry and the transmigrations through which it had gone. He also gave his disciples detailed instructions on the meditative techniques by which they could raise their souls up to the divine realm, commune with the souls of departed rabbis, and achieve revelatory experiences of their own.

Luria developed an intricate mystical mythology that served to explain, on a cosmic level, the meaning of the exile of the Jewish people, which was felt especially strongly after their expulsion from Spain in 1492. The three elements of this myth correspond to three dramatic events within the life of God. In an attempt to explicate how the world could come into being if God originally filled all space, Luria taught that God had withdrawn into himself, so to speak, thereby creating an "empty space." This divine act of self-withdrawal, known in Hebrew as *tsimtsum,* made possible the existence of something other than God. The second part of the cosmic process, called the "breaking of the vessels" *(shevirat ha-kelim),* concerns the emanation or reemergence of divinity back into the primordial space produced by *tsimtsum.* During this process of emanation, some of the "vessels" containing the light of God were shattered. While most of the light succeeded in reascending to its divine source, the remainder fell and became attached to the now-broken "vessels" below. The result of this chaotic and catastrophic dispersal of divine light was the imprisonment of holy sparks in the lower world, the realm of material reality.

Since these sparks of divine light seek to be liberated and returned to their source, the human task, according to Isaac Luria, is to bring about such liberation through proper devotional means. Known as *tiqqun,* the "mending" or "restitution" of the life of God, this effort is, at its core, a contemplative one. Every religious action requires contemplative concentration in order to "raise up the fallen sparks." The successful struggle on the part of the community will result in the final separation of holiness from materiality, and a return of all divine light to the state of primordial unity that preceded the creation of the world. Lurianic mysticism exercised great influence and had enduring appeal long after Safad itself ceased to be a prominent center of Jewish life. It gave mythic expression to the notion that collective religious action could transform the course of history to redeem both the people of Israel and God.

See Also Qabbalah.

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LURIA, SHELOMOH (c. 1510–1574), known by the acronym MaHaRSHaL (Morenu ha-Rav ["our teacher the rabbi"] Shelomoh Luria); Polish Talmudist and scholar. Luria was born in Poznan to a family that claimed descent from the great medieval Jewish exegete Rashi and that included many of the luminaries of the Ashkenazic rabbinical world. He was trained as a rigorous exponent of the Ashkenazic tradition in Talmudic exegesis, to which he added a distinctive commitment to relentless exactitude in the interpretation of sacred texts. His idiosyncratic method of study caused him to part company with many of the rabbinical authorities of his age and established his reputation as a brilliant, if demanding, Talmud scholar.

Shelomoh Luria appears to have held several rabbinical posts in Lithuania before settling first in the town of Brest-Litovsk, then in the important community of Ostrog, and finally in Lublin, where he died in 1574. In all of these centers Luria established academies that met opposition from the disciplines of his erstwhile teacher and colleague, Shalom Shakhna of Lublin, the primary exponent in Poland of the regnant method of Talmudic hermeneutics known as *pilpul* (dialectic reasoning). Luria fiercely condemned this approach as contrary to the true meaning of the text and argued instead for a "return to the Talmud," a careful explication of the sources, diction, and plain meaning of the Talmud and its later, especially Ashkenazic, interpreters. Particularly irksome to Luria were the corruptions that had recently crept into the Talmudic text through scribal errors and that had become accepted as a result of the new technology of printing; in his *Ḥokhmat Shelomoh* he set about to correct these errors and offered bold emendations and alternate readings that would be celebrated by critical scholars centuries after his death.

In line with this basic stance toward textual criticism, Luria also insisted on a firm command of Hebrew grammar and the Bible and opposed the study of Jewish philosophy. Perhaps most important, he not only rejected the codifications of Jewish law published in his own time, by Yosef Karo of Safad and by Luria's relative and friend Mosheh Isserles of Kraków, but he rejected Maimonides' code, the *Mishneh Torah,* as well. Objecting vehemently to both the form and the goal of these codes, Luria decided to write his own summary of rabbinic law in order to correct their errors. In his *Yam shel Shelomoh,* he cited all relevant authorities, examined the differing interpretations, and then selected the most cogent view, not necessarily the consensus. This ambitious task proved too massive even for Luria, and he was able to complete work on only a few tractates. Nonetheless, his contributions to jurisprudence and Talmudic scholarship marked him as one of the most important rabbis of his age and perhaps the leading eastern European Jewish scholar until the eighteenth century.

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LUSTRATIO.

LUSTRATIO. Lustrations, or purifications by sacrifice, played a primordial role in Roman religion, both public and private, inasmuch as they were celebrated every time there was a transition or the likelihood of a transition in the life of an individual or a city, and every time there was need to repel aggressions or at least threats from outside. Lustration rites were celebrated either in a complex liturgy that repeated the act of lustration at length or in a single ritual that effected the desired separation. Whatever the degree of ritual complexity, however, a lustration was always an act of definition. It was a definition, first, in that it distinguished and delimited in time and space two realities that are opposed, such as, for example, living and dead, civilized and savage, good and bad, peaceful and hostile, pure and defiled. A lustration was a definition, second, because this act of disjunction was usually accompanied by a reflection on the reality in question, an inspection, a clear and definite ordering, a verification. This twofold defining that a lustration accomplished may explain why the (still disputed) etymology of *lustrum/ lustrare* points in the direction of "inspection, gaze, light shed on" as well as that of "purification."

Lustrations therefore had a central place in the rites of birth and death, whereby the family firmly asserted the separation between what was not yet (or no longer) living and the world of the living, using rituals that enabled it to accompany the deceased or newly born person in his crucial passage without itself being adversely affected. At the community level certain festivals, and even the entire month of February, were given over to the lustration of families; in this way the city established a clear and definite break between its past and its future.

The most typical lustrations were those practiced in regard to fields, territory, city, or citizens. In these cases the lustration took a precise form, that of a procession, a circumambulation by the sacrificial victims around the object to be purified, the integrity of which was verified (i.e., emphasized), as were the threats—human, natural, or supernatural—that impended. The victims were sacrificed at the end of the procession. There were a variety of victims for a variety of divinities, as for instance a sow for Ceres. But in a lustration proper the victims were a boar, a ram, and a bull (or what was called *suovetaurilia*) and they were offered solely to Mars, who was invoked as defender of the city and territory or of an individual's fields (an interpretation denied by some scholars). The most spectacular lustrations, however, were those whose object was a group of citizens either under arms or in civilian dress but ready to form an army. Every five years (but under the empire, only sporadically) one of the censors, after inspecting and setting to rights the affairs of the Roman people, celebrated a solemn *lustrum* in the Campus Martius (Field of Mars) by walking the *suovetaurilia* around the citizens, who were organized in voting units (*centuriae*). The effect of this lustration was not only to ascertain and assert the perfection of the civic body but also to draw around it a strict boundary that Mars was to defend. The danger threatening the citizens was above all the danger of war; it is not surprising, therefore, that in a critical situation the generals led the sacrificial *suovetaurilia* around their legions or vessels.

SEE ALSO Purification.

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JOHN SCHEID (1987)
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Revised Bibliography

LUTHER, MARTIN

LUTHER, MARTIN (1483–1546), German theologian and reformer of the Christian church. Luther was born in Eisleben on November 10, the son of Hans Luder, who was engaged in copper mining. After moving to nearby Mansfeld, the family increasingly acquired modest prosperity. Because Hans Luder appears prominently in Luther's later recollections as a stern and oppressive presence, the question has arisen whether the son's development was significantly affected by intense conflict with his father. No satisfactory answer to this question has been given.

After initial schooling in Mansfeld, Martin Luther attended the cathedral school in Magdeburg from 1497 to 1498, where he came into contact with the Brethren of the Common Life, one of the most spiritual of late medieval religious movements. Between 1498 and 1501 he attended school in Eisenach, and, in 1501, he matriculated at the University of Erfurt to pursue the customary study of the seven liberal arts. Luther was declared ineligible for financial aid, an indirect testimonial to the economic successes of his father. The philosophical climate at the university was that of Ockhamism, which undoubtedly exerted its influence upon the young student. Upon receiving the master's degree in 1505, Luther began the study of law in the summer of that year, in accordance with the wishes of his father. Less than two months later, however, the experience of a terrifying thunderstorm near Stotterheim prompted his vow to Saint Anne to become a monk, resulting in the abandonment of his legal studies.

Undoubtedly, spiritual anxiety and uncertainty about his vocational choice combined to precipitate the determination to carry out the vow. On July 17, 1505, Luther entered the Monastery of the Eremites of Saint Augustine in Erfurt. His choice of this monastic order is explained not only by its strictness but also by its philosophical and theological orientation, to which Luther had been exposed during his earlier studies.

Two years later, on February 27, 1507, Luther was ordained to the priesthood. In his later recollections his first celebration of the Mass stood out as an awesome experience. Afterward, at the behest of his monastic superior, Johann von Staupitz, Luther began graduate studies in theology, first at Erfurt and then, in the fall of 1508, at the recently founded university at Wittenberg, because of his transfer to the Augustinian monastery there. In accordance with custom, he served as philosophical lecturer in the liberal arts curriculum. In 1509 he received his first theological degree, the *baccalaureus biblicus.*

In the fall of 1509 Luther was transferred back to Erfurt, where he continued his theological studies. Sometime thereafter (the exact date is uncertain) he was sent to Rome on monastic business. In his reflections of later years, he attributed great significance to that trip: the Rome that he had presumed to be the epitome of spiritual splendor had turned out to be terribly worldly. Soon after his return from Rome, Luther transferred a second time to Wittenberg, completing his doctorate in theology there in October 1512. He then assumed the *lectura in Biblia,* the professorship in Bible endowed by the Augustinian order.

The first academic courses that Luther taught were on *Psalms* (1513–1515), *Romans* (1515–1516), *Galatians* (1516–1517), *Hebrews* (1517–1518), and another on *Psalms* (1519). His lecture notes, which have been analyzed intensively, chronicle his theological development: his shift from the traditional exegetical method, his increasing concentration on questions of sin, grace, and righteousness, his preoccupation with Augustine of Hippo, and—last but by no means least—his alienation from scholastic theology. At the same time Luther acquired increasing responsibilities in his monastic order. In 1515 he became preacher at the parish church in Wittenberg and was appointed district vicar of his order. The latter position entailed the administrative oversight of the Augustinian monasteries in Saxony.

In his later years Luther spoke of having had a profound spiritual experience or insight (dubbed by scholars his "evangelical discovery"), and intensive scholarly preoccupation has sought to identify its exact date and nature. Two basic views regarding the time have emerged. One dates the experience, which Luther himself related to the proper understanding of the concept of the "righteousness of God" (*Rom.* 1:17), as having occurred about 1514, the other in about 1518. The matter remains inconclusive, partly because nowhere do Luther's writings of the time echo the dramatic notions that the reformer in later years associated with his experience. The import of the issue lies both in the precise understanding of what it was that alienated Luther from the Catholic church, and in understanding the theological frame of mind with which Luther entered the indulgences controversy of 1517. The dating of the experience before or after 1517 is thus important. Placing the experience in 1518 seems to be the most viable interpretation.

The Ninety-five Theses of October 31, 1517 (the traditional notion that Luther nailed them to the door of the Wittenberg castle church has recently been questioned) catapulted Luther into the limelight. These theses pertained to the ecclesiastical practice of indulgences that had not as yet been dogmatically defined by the church. Luther's exploration of the practice was therefore a probing inquiry.

Almost immediately after the appearance of the Ninety-five Theses, a controversy ensued. Undoubtedly it was fanned by the fact that Luther had focused not merely on a theological topic but had also cited a number of the popular grievances against Rome, thus touching upon a political issue. In addition to sending copies of the theses to several friends, Luther sent a copy to Archbishop Albert of Hohenzollern, whom he held responsible for a vulgar sale of indulgences in the vicinity of Wittenberg, together with a fervent plea to stop the sale. Luther was unaware that the sale was part and parcel of a large fiscal scheme by which Albert hoped to finance his recent elevation to the politically important post of archbishop of Mainz. Albert's response was to ask the University of Mainz to assess the theses and, soon thereafter, to request the Curia Romana to commence the *processus inhibitorius,* the proceedings by which Luther's orthodoxy would be ascertained. Thus the theses and Luther became an official matter for the church. The commencement of official proceedings against Luther added far-reaching notoriety to the affair, as did the related accusation of heresy by several theological opponents. The ensuing debate therefore became a public one, eventually allowing for the formation of a popular movement.

In April 1518 Luther presented a summary of his theological thought, which he called the "theology of the cross," at a meeting of the Augustinian order in Heidelberg. In presenting a caricature of scholastic theology, Luther appropriately emphasized its one-sidednesses. Soon afterward he was ordered to appear in Rome in conjunction with the proceedings against him, but the intervention of his territorial ruler, Elector Frederick, caused the interrogation to take place in Augsburg, Germany. With Cardinal Legate Cajetan representing the Curia, the meeting proved unsuccessful, since Luther refused to recant. Luther fled from Augsburg and, upon his return to Wittenberg, issued an appeal to a general council.

Overwhelmed by the unexpected notoriety of the affair, Luther agreed to refrain from further participation in the controversy. All the same, he was inadvertently drawn into a disputation held in Leipzig in July 1519. In the context of a wide-ranging, if tedious, discussion of the fundamental issues in the controversy, Luther's opponent, Johann Eck, professor of theology at Ingolstadt, was intent on branding him a heretic and succeeded in eliciting Luther's acknowledgment that the church's general councils had erred. Luther posited a difference between the authority of the church and that of scripture, a notion that late medieval thinkers had never seen as problematic.

After the election of Charles V as the new emperor, which had preoccupied the Curia for some time, official proceedings against Luther were resumed. In June 1520 the papal bull *Exsurge Domine* (Arise, O Lord) condemned forty-one sentences from Luther's writings as "heretical, offensive, erroneous, scandalous for pious ears, corrupting for simple minds and contradictory to Catholic teaching." Luther was given sixty days to recant. His response was to burn the bull in a public spectacle on 10 December 1520. On January 3, 1521, the bull *Decet Romanum Pontificem* (It Pleases the Roman Pontiff) excommunicated Luther. It was now incumbent upon the political authorities to execute the ecclesiastical condemnation, but Luther was given the opportunity to appear before the German diet at Worms in April 1521.

Several factors converged to bring about the unusual citation. Luther had begun to precipitate a popular movement, in part playing on prevailing anti-Roman and anticlerical sentiment. There was apprehension about popular restlessness. Moreover, Luther claimed persistently that he had not received a fair hearing. To invite Luther to appear at Worms, and, indeed, give him an opportunity to recant, seemed to be to everyone's advantage. When he appeared before the diet, Luther acknowledged that he had been too strident in tone, but he refused to recant anything of theological substance. After several weeks of deliberation, and despite some reluctance, a rump diet promulgated an edict that declared Luther (and all of his followers) political outlaws and called for the suppression of his teachings.

By that time, however, Luther had disappeared from the public scene. At the instigation of his ruler Elector Frederick, he had been taken on his return to Wittenberg to a secluded castle, the Wartburg, where he was to spend almost a full year in hiding. A period of self-doubt, it was also an exceedingly creative time, part of which he spent in translating the New Testament from Greek into German. He returned to Wittenberg in March 1522 to calm the restlessness that had surfaced there over the nature of the reform movement. In a series of sermons he enunciated a conservative notion of ecclesiastical reform, and his stance left its imprint on the subsequent course of the Reformation.

Luther resumed his professorial responsibilities and continued his prolific literary activities, clarifying theological themes and offering guidelines for undertaking ecclesiastical reform. His own theological formation was essentially complete by 1521; his theological work thereafter consisted in amplification and clarification.

The year 1525 proved to be a major theological and personal watershed for Luther: he became embroiled in two major controversies—with Erasmus and Thomas Müntzer—that resulted in a marked division in the reform movement. On June 13 of that same year he married Katharina von Bora, a former nun who had left her convent the previous year. Even though the marriage—coming as it did on the heels of the German Peasants' War—was a subject of notoriety among Luther's enemies, it set the tone for a Protestant definition of Christian marriage for which the term "school for character" was aptly coined.

The next several years were overshadowed by Luther's growing controversy with Huldrych Zwingli over Communion. The controversy reached its culmination in October 1529 with a colloquy held at Marburg at the instigation of Landgrave Philipp of Hesse, who viewed the split of the Reformation movement over this issue as a major political liability. Luther was a reluctant participant in the colloquy, for he saw the theological differences between Zwingli and himself to be so fundamental as to make conciliation impossible. The major issue debated at Marburg was the bodily presence of Christ in the Communion elements. It is unclear whether for Luther the politically more prudent course of action would have been theological conciliation (which would have presented a unified Reformation movement) or intransigence (which by its separation from Zwingli would have underscored the proximity of the Lutheran and the Catholic positions). No agreement was reached at Marburg; as a result, at the diet at Augsburg the following year, the Protestants appeared divided.

As a political outlaw, Luther was unable to be present at Augsburg. He stayed at Coburg (as far south as he was able to travel on Saxon territory), and his close associate Philipp Melanchthon functioned as spokesman for the Lutherans. Several of Luther's most insightful publications appeared during that summer—a tract on translating, an exposition of Psalm 118, and *Exhortation That Children Should Be Sent to School.*

The unsuccessful outcome of the discussions at Augsburg and the subsequent formation of the League of Smalcald (1531) were accompanied by Luther's reconsideration of his views on the right of resistance to the emperor, which he had previously rejected. The 1530s brought Luther's extensive involvement in the reorganization of the University of Wittenberg (1533–1536). His extensive participation in the academic disputations that were now resumed were evidence of the richness and fullness of his thought.

Luther's final years were overshadowed by his growing antagonism toward the papal church, and the consequences of his well-meant but misunderstood counsel to Landgrave Philipp of Hesse that bigamy was permissible under certain circumstances. In addition, the Lutheran movement was torn by several internal conflicts, and Luther was concerned about the increasing role of the political authorities in ecclesiastical affairs.

Luther's recognition that his norm of authority—scripture—did not preclude disagreement in interpretation and that the papal church was unwilling to accept the primacy of the word of God undoubtedly serve to explain—along with his increasing physical ailments—the vehemence of his last publications, especially those against the papacy and the Jews. He was plagued by insomnia and, from 1525 onward, by kidney stones, which in 1537 almost led to his demise. In February 1546 Luther traveled, together with two of his sons and Philipp Melanchthon, to Luther's birthplace, Eisleben, to mediate in a feud among the counts of Mansfeld. There, having succeeded in that assignment, he died on 16 February.

Not surprisingly, Martin Luther has received considerable scholarly and theological attention throughout the centuries. Assessments of Luther have always been staunchly partisan, with a clear demarcation between Protestant and Catholic evaluations. The former, while uniformly positive, have tended to follow the intellectual or theological currents of their particular time, such as the eighteenth-century Enlightenment or nineteenth-century German nationalism.

In the twentieth century, particularly in the latter part, the biographical and theological evaluation of Martin Luther focused on a number of specific aspects. There was a preoccupation with the "young" Luther, that is, Luther between 1512 and 1518, and particularly with Luther's "evangelical discovery," his formulation of a new understanding of the Christian faith. This new understanding has generated much speculation about Luther's relationship to the late Middle Ages, the medieval exegetical tradition, the significance of Augustine, Ockham, and mysticism. The "older" or "mature" Luther, generally defined as Luther after 1526, is only beginning to receive widespread attention; this part of his life has not attracted much scholarly interest because it lacks the excitement of Luther's earlier years. The general question is whether the "older" Luther should be seen in continuity or in discontinuity with the young Luther.

A key theme in Luther's theology is that of the sole authority of scripture, formulated as the notion of *sola scriptura;* this notion, because it implied the possibility of a divergence of tradition from scripture, raised a startling new question. Late medieval theology had formulated the issue of authority in terms of the possible divergency of pope and council. A related theme in Luther's theology was the relationship of law and gospel, which provided the key to the understanding of scripture. God reveals himself as both a demanding and a giving God, two qualities that Luther loosely assigned to the Old and New Testaments respectively; but in truth, so Luther asserted, grace is found in the Old Testament even as law is found in the New.

The notion of justification by faith is traditionally cited as the heart of Luther's thought. It is, in fact, his major legacy to the Protestant tradition. In contradistinction to the medieval notion of a cooperative effort between man and God, between works and grace, Luther only stressed grace and God. Such grace is appropriated by faith, which affirms the reality of the grace of forgiveness, despite the reality of sin. Luther's "theology of the cross" affirmed that God always works contrary to experience.

These themes must be considered in the context of Luther's general affirmation of traditional dogma. His sacramental teaching repudiated the medieval notion of transubstantiation and affirmed a "real presence" of Christ in the bread and wine of Communion. Besides the sacrament of Communion, only that of baptism was affirmed. At least in his early years, Luther advocated a congregationally oriented concept of the church, with the "priesthood of all believers," another key motif, as an important corollary. Luther's teaching of the "two kingdoms" sought to differentiate the Christian principles applicable in society.

SEE ALSO Reformation.

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LUTHERANISM. Martin Luther's Roman Catholic opponents were the first to label the sixteenth-century reform movements "Lutheran." His supporters first called themselves "evangelical" (from the Greek *euaggelion*, "gospel") and then, after 1530, "the churches of the Augsburg Confession."

TEACHING AND WORSHIP. Lutheran teachings, which have remained determinative for Lutheranism until today, are preserved in the Book of Concord of 1580. By prefacing this collection of teachings with the three ecumenical creeds (Nicene, Apostles', and Athanasian), Lutherans demonstrate their basic agreement with the ancient trinitarian tradition. The collection includes Luther's Large and Small Catechisms of 1529, his Smalcald Articles of 1537, Philipp Melanchthon's Augsburg Confession of 1530 and its Apology of 1531, and the Formula of Concord, drafted in 1577 by a group of Lutheran church leaders to resolve intra-Lutheran controversies in Germany.

Luther's doctrine of "justification through grace by faith alone, apart from works of law," echoing Paul in his letter to the Romans (3:28), forms the core of Lutheranism. A person is right with God (i.e., "justified") by completely trusting the work of Christ (i.e., "by faith") and not by making any human effort to appease God (i.e., "apart from works of law"). Christ's atonement is communicated both verbally, in preaching and teaching, and visibly, in the celebration of the sacraments. Thus to Luther the doctrine of justification was not one among many doctrines, as medieval theology taught, but was the "chief article of faith" that establishes the norm for Christian faith and life. Consequently the word of God must be seen in its careful distinction between "law" and "gospel." The law, be it divine (especially the First Commandment of the Decalogue) or human (as manifested in the rule of temporal princes), creates necessary order in the face of evil and reveals the human inability to appease God. Through Christ, the gospel, which is communicated in words and sacraments, reveals God's unconditional love for all creatures. Trusting in Christ rather than in one's own efforts restores one's relationship with God. God may indeed reward good and punish evil, but believers no longer need worry about God's justice. Instead, they are free to enjoy God's mercy and thus help the "neighbor" in need. So viewed, all of life is a thanksgiving for what God did in Christ.

In worship, Lutherans have tried to be faithful to the ecumenical tradition of the Mass by regarding its center, the sacrament of Holy Communion, as the means of grace that strengthens and sustains Christians in a world of sin, death, and evil. Luther changed little in the liturgy of the Roman Mass, removing only what he called the "sacrifice of the Mass," namely, the prayers of thanksgiving that surround the act of consecrating bread and wine. He found these prayers too self-righteous, too full of words intended to appease God, rather than offering joyful thanks for what God did in Christ.

Following Luther's careful liturgical reforms in Wittenberg, Lutherans have insisted on the use of the vernacular in the liturgy, introduced congregational singing, and stressed preaching. Worship is thus the basic response to baptism, which discloses God's unconditional promise to be forever with those who trust God in Christ. Lutherans retained the practice of baptizing infants not only because it had been the custom from the beginning of Christianity but also because infant baptism demonstrates that God's grace is not conditioned by human response.

Lutherans recognize only two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's Supper, because Luther could find no clear evidence that Christ instituted any other sacraments. Baptism commissions all believers to a common ministry, but for the sake of enduring witness and good order in the church, there is a divinely instituted, special, ordained ministry. Lutherans have not always agreed on the precise differences between the ministry of all the baptized (the "common priesthood of all believers") and the ministry of the ordained, but they have nevertheless rejected any notion of a divinely instituted structure of hierarchical priesthood. An ordained Lutheran pastor is a baptized Christian who is called to the public ministry of word and sacraments after proper training and examination, and the rite of ordination is the solemn commissioning to be faithful to this call.

The core of Luther's reform movement was the proposal that the church return to the Christocentric stance that he had found in scripture and in the early church fathers. His fundamental insights were neither well understood nor satisfactorily evaluated either by Catholics or by many Lutherans. Nontheological factors seemed to help the spread of Lutheranism more than theological factors.

HISTORY. The doctrine of baptism proved to be the most revolutionary aspect of Lutheranism, since it allowed Luther to invite territorial princes to become "emergency bishops" of the new churches. Thus German princes interested in liberating themselves from the domination of Rome established Lutheranism in their own territories and encouraged it to spread, especially to the east. Princes, peasants, patricians, priests, and even bishops joined the Lutheran cause, mainly to break from Rome. Danish and Swedish kings declared Lutheranism the religion of their lands between 1527 and 1593. However, when, in 1525, peasants in Saxony rebelled against their landlords in the name of Luther's call to Christian freedom, Luther sided with the princes, who crushed the rebellion by force; he refused to see his cause identified with liberation from the yoke of feudalism.

The pope and the emperor were forced to soften their implacable opposition to Lutheranism because they needed the support of German princes to meet the threat of Turkish invasion from the south. At the request of Emperor Charles V, the Lutherans submitted a confession of their faith to the Diet of Augsburg in 1530. The signers of the Augsburg Confession included seven princes and two city magistrates, clearly demonstrating the strong political support Lutheranism had achieved. But subsequent negotiations between Lutheran and Catholic theologians failed to produce sufficient agreement to cease hostilities. The Council of Trent (1545–1563) was finally convened a year before Luther's death in 1546, but Lutherans were not invited to attend. In 1547, German Lutherans and Catholics faced each other in military battles; the war ended within a year with the defeat of the Lutheran Smalcald League. But Emperor Charles V was willing to compromise, and the resulting 1555 Peace of Augsburg tolerated "the religion of the Augsburg Confession," although it took almost a century and the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) before the Peace of Westphalia accepted Lutheranism as a legitimate religion in the empire.

The Formula of Concord used medieval scholastic terminology and Aristotelian philosophical categories to provide a theological system to protect Lutheranism from both Catholic and Calvinist influences and to resolve the dispute between followers of Melanchthon, known as Philippists, and Gnesio-Lutherans (from the Greek *gnesios*, "authentic"). The result was a systematic, rational interpretation of the doctrines of sin, law, and grace, the cornerstones of a Lutheran theology grounded in the forensic notion that God declared humankind righteous by faith in Christ. The formula rejected both the Catholic notion of cooperation between human nature and divine grace through free will and Calvin's doctrine of Christ's spiritual (not real or bodily) presence in the Lord's Supper. The formula also insisted that all teachings must be subject to the authority of the prophetic and apostolic writings of scripture, thus opening the door to a biblicism that has at times produced a biblical fundamentalism.

Between 1580 and 1680, German Lutherans favored a uniform religion that fused pure doctrine with Christian laws. The resulting alliance between church and state created seventeenth-century Lutheran orthodoxy. Assisted by orthodox theologians, territorial princes dictated what people should believe and how they should behave, and obedience to political authority became the core of Christian ethics. But Lutheran orthodoxy gave rise to a new reform movement, nicknamed "pietist," which stressed a "religion of the heart" rather than the prevalent "religion of the head." Led by Philipp Jakob Spener, August Hermann Francke, and Nikolaus Zinzendorf, Lutheran Pietism emphasized individual conversion, lay ministry, and a morality distinct from worldly ethics. By the nineteenth century, the pietist impulse had created an "inner mission" movement in Germany that established a female diaconate, built hospitals and orphanages, instituted educational programs, cared for the mentally retarded, and advocated prison reform. The University of Halle trained missionaries for foreign missions, particularly for India and the United States. But social and ecumenical concerns were frequently overshadowed by a narrow-minded moralism. Thus both Lutheran orthodoxy and Lutheran Pietism tended to pervert the original purpose of Lutheranism: to be a reform movement within the church catholic. Both orthodox rationalism and pietist moralism had lost sight of the original Lutheran, ecumenical, holistic vision.

During the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, Lutheranism again succumbed to rationalist and secularist tendencies. Frederick II of Prussia (r. 1740–1786), for example, initiated an attitude of toleration that valued religion only as it served the general purposes of the state. Lutheran theologians like Johann Semler (1725–1791) considered the doctrine of justification nonessential and supported the general notion of Lutheranism as a moral teaching. In Germany and Scandinavia, however, some Lutheran theological faculties and church leaders reacted against this trend by nurturing a strong historical consciousness and intensive biblical studies, which led to frequent attempts to revive the spirit of Luther and the Lutheran confessions. These "Neo-Lutherans" called for a return to strong biblical and confessional norms to counteract the prevalent cultural Protestantism that had virtually eliminated Lutheranism's distinctive character. By 1817, three hundred years after Luther's posting of the Ninety-five Theses, Neo-Lutherans had produced a significant revival of old Lutheran norms and ideas. German Lutherans founded the Common Lutheran Conference in Prussia in 1868 to provide communication between the various territorial churches. Danish churchman Nikolai F. S. Grundtvig (1783–1872) promoted an ecumenical Lutheranism based on the apostolic tradition and on the creeds; he also revived liturgy and church music.

In the United States, Henry Melchior Mühlenberg (1711–1787), who had come from Halle to Philadelphia, organized the first American Lutheran synod in Pennsylvania in 1748. Synods were organized by regions and were headed by presidents; they met regularly in convention to decide matters of church polity and faith. Lutheran theological seminaries, colleges, and journals were soon founded in regions where Lutherans predominated. Samuel S. Schmucker (1799–1873), president of the oldest Lutheran seminary in the United States (founded in Gettysburg in 1826), envisaged an "American Lutheranism" that would be the leading force to unite all the major Protestant denominations. But he did not receive sufficient support to realize his vision. The country was too vast, and Lutherans were too estranged from one another, especially by ethnic background, to make Lutheran unity a realistic goal. The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, consisting of German Lutherans who were disenchanted with Lutheran attempts in Prussia to form a union with the Reformed church, was organized in 1847. Soon there were German, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, and Finnish groups who cherished their own ethnic traditions more than unity with one another. During the Civil War, the United Lutheran Synod of the South was formed in response to political and cultural pressures. It was not until after World War I that Lutherans in the United States managed to form larger denominations through mergers.

The Nazi tyranny in Germany (1933–1945) strongly affected German Lutherans. A small minority of Lutheran pastors and congregations resisted Hitler, but the great majority of Lutherans either remained silent or actively cooperated with the Nazi regime. The resistance, which called itself the "Confessing church,"was opposed by those who called themselves the "German Christians," who were in basic agreement with the government's desire to link Lutheranism with Nazism. Danish and Norwegian Lutherans refused to cooperate with the German occupation forces, which did not react with persecution. All these groups looked to the Lutheran confessional documents for support of their positions.

After World War II, some 184 delegates representing about 80 million Lutherans from 49 churches in 22 countries organized the Lutheran World Federation in 1947. Headquartered in Geneva (which is also the headquarters of the World Council of Churches) the Lutheran World Federation unites Lutheran churches from around the world in common social-action projects and in regular world assemblies but otherwise has no authority over the churches. The trend toward Lutheran unity also continued in the United States. The Lutheran Council in the United States was established in 1967 to facilitate communication and common action among the larger Lutheran denominations and to represent them at the Lutheran World Federation.

Since the 1960s, there have been ongoing official dialogues between Lutherans and other Christian churches. In 1982 the Lutheran Church in America and the American Lutheran Church were able to agree with the Episcopal Church in the United States on an "interim sharing of the eucharist," hoping for total reconciliation between Lutherans and Anglicans in the future. In view of their beginnings, Lutherans have considered their relations with Roman Catholics particularly important. Official Lutheran-Catholic dialogues began in the 1960s and have taken place without interruption in the United States since 1965. There has always been a creative tension between Lutheranism as a movement and the Lutheran denominations. If Lutherans are guided by their confessional convictions, they will remain in this tension.

SEE ALSO Luther, Martin; Melanchthon, Philipp; Pietism; Reformation.

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LU XIANGSHAN (1139–1193) was the literary name of Lu Jiuyuan, also known by the style name of Lu Zijing. A pivotally important thinker in the Southern Song period (1127–1279), he contributed to the forging of the intellectual movement of what came to be known in the West as neo-Confucianism, whose cultural mission was no less than the revivification and redefinition of the Confucian Way (*dao*). By reformulating and extending the teachings of Mengzi (391–308 BCE) on the mind-heart and human nature, Lu Xiangshan is supposed to have initiated the so-called "learning of the mind-heart" (*xinxue*) within the neo-Confucian tradition, as opposed to the "learning of principle" (*lixue*), first espoused by Zheng Yi (1033–1107) and later elaborated by Lu's good friend and intellectual nemesis, Zhu Xi (1130–1200). Passionate about the neo-Confucian enterprise, Lu argued that the fulfillment and implementation of the Way could not be achieved through the discursive and external pursuit of bookish knowledge. Rather, it hinged on the realization of the goodness of the mind-heart through virtuous actions and practical deeds.

Lu was born in the Jiangxi province into an elite family that had migrated from the north. The distinguished social pedigree of the Lus as local magnates notwithstanding, his family's material fortunes had been gradually dwindling. By the time Lu came into the world his family no longer owned land, but they were by no means poor, thanks to a prosperous business in medicines. Even though, from the generation of Lu's great-great grandfather to his father's, none of the Lus had held government office, the family continued to produce scholars of great repute, and its social and genealogical luster in the locality remained burnished. Lu Xiangshan himself secured the highest degree of *jinshi* (literally, "a presented scholar") in 1172. While Lu served studiously and successfully in a succession of official appointments on the local level, he was always engaged in teaching and lecturing. Late in his life, he led the White Elephant (Xiangshan) Academy in his home province, where, as an inspiring thinker and popular teacher, he attracted thousands of pupils and admirers. Although Lu did not write prolifically, he established an estimable scholarly reputation by dint of his profound views on learning and moral self-cultivation.

In his debate with Zhu Xi at Goose Lake temple in 1175, Lu famously declared that his program of learning was focused, direct, and "easy," in that it sought the illumination and revelation of one's intrinsic, original mind-heart (*ming benxin*) before the broad quest for extrinsic knowledge. By contrast, Lu found Zhu's project to be distracting, circuitous, and in the final analysis "fragmented," insofar as it considered the indiscriminate amassing of external know-how to be prior to the development of an enveloping, guiding inner vision. Lu also found fault with Zhu's dualistic metaphysical scheme of principle (*li*) and material force (*qi*), wherein the former was conceived as the supreme ontological entity of pure possibilities, and the latter the source of concrete things and their movements. Accordingly, Zhu's philosophical anthropology identified principle solely with human nature (*xing*), associating emotions (*qing*) with material force while recognizing the mind-heart (*xin*) as the vital link between nature and emotions, to the extent that it was the faculty endowed with the most subtle of material forces. Consciously in contention with this finicky architectonics, Lu's philosophy was propelled by the rage for an all-embracing unity and oneness, which he ascertained in his ontological conception of the mind-heart.

Whereas Zhu presupposed the inadequacy of the mind-heart in the absence of the guidance of principle qua nature, Lu asserted pristine humanity in terms of it. In fact, he posited the oneness of principle (endowed in humanity by heaven) and the mind-heart: "The mind-heart is one and principle is one." Lu construed the perfect truth of reality as a unity, inasmuch as "the mind-heart and principle can never be separated into two." For Lu, this unity was what Confucius had in mind when he made the oft-quoted statement that "there is one thread that runs through my teachings." Similarly, it was what Mengzi referred to when he stated that "the Way is one and only one." In other words, humanity was the same as the mind-heart and principle, which Lu further elucidated in terms of Mengzi's theory of innate goodness. This mind-heart/principle is the source of the sense of horror and commiseration when one sees a child about to tumble into a well; it is that which makes people ashamed of shameful things and makes them deplore the deplorable. It constitutes filial piety, respect for elders, the sense of right and wrong, and the virtues of rightness *(yi)* and reverence (*jing*). To put it another way, the mind-heart consists of the four moral sprouts (*siduan*) that define the goodness of nature: the sense of compassion, the sense of shame, the sense of humility, and the sense of right and wrong. Since all goodness and all things are already complete within us, Mengzi rightly admonished us that there is no greater joy than the examination of oneself in an effort to realize one's authentic self.

Lu also identifies the mind-heart with the Way (*dao*) that fills the universe. With reference to heaven, the Way is yin and yang, and with respect to earth, it may be described in terms of strength and weakness. Most significant, as regards humanity, the Way is the fundamental virtues of *ren* and *yi*. The former is the very human faculty or human-heartedness that defines humanity; the latter is the corresponding ability to act rightly and righteously. These two cardinal virtues, at once the embodiment and manifestation of the Way, are the original mind-heart.

To the extent that principle, or the Way, inheres in the mind-heart, which is our heaven-endowed moral nature, the quest for the Way must begin with the inward look toward the mind-heart, purposefully seeking to build and nurture what Mengzi calls the "greater part of our being." Lu was fond of saying that what he taught came spontaneously from deep within his being, such that "the six classics are annotations on myself," just as "I am annotations of the six classics." The thousands of words that he uttered were nothing other than expressions that issued from within him. Small wonder that he rejected Zhu Xi's program of learning, whose point of departure was "following the path of inquiry and learning" (*dao wenxue*), or seeking erudition through broad investigations of things. Such an epistemological premise was fundamentally flawed. Lu maintained that true understanding and knowledge of reality stemmed from and began with "honoring moral nature" (*zun dexing*), that is, the critical reflection on and examination of the self distinguished by the mind-heart. To learn, in its essentials, is to seek to return and preserve the mind-heart, which may be lost or obscured as a result of aggrandizement by undue and excessive desires. Therefore, no amount of empirical knowledge and experiential learning would enable human flourishing if, to begin with, people do not recognize that the mind-heart, endowed with innate moral nature and embodying the entire universe, is the locus of knowing and acting. To honor moral nature is to establish the moral, and indeed transcendent, goals and purposes of learning. Otherwise, study is a misguided, undirected, and ultimately irrelevant adventure of the mind that yields no meaningful moral-ethical consequences—namely to uplift oneself through empathy with and amelioration of others in the human community.

Because Lu appealed directly to the mind-heart, recommended deep introspection of the inner self through meditation and quiet-sitting, and espoused an “easy” method of cultivation that apparently spurned words and texts, since the time of Zhu Xi he has traditionally been considered to be a speculative thinker much preoccupied with the abstruse and recondite quest for spiritual enlightenment in the Chan Buddhist mode. As Zhu Xi’s teaching came to be consolidated and accepted as orthodoxy, such characterization took hold. In point of fact, however, nothing could be further from the truth. Lu’s effort to locate the ontological center of being and reality in the mind-heart bespeaks his earnest desire to concentrate on the moral-ethical agency of every human being. The unmitigated focus on the mind-heart points not to its self-referential capacity in an other-worldly sense, but rather to its ineluctable verification and validation through this-worldly practical learning, beginning with self-cultivation, which is in turn expanded into transformative deeds as they are brought to bear on community and society. As Lu takes pains to point out, principle is not some transcendent metaphysical entity out there; it is the ritual complex and order forged in history. At the same time that principle, embodied in the mind-heart, reveals our innate moral conscience and consciousness, it is manifested in the proper workings of social relations, rites, institutions, and laws. Principle is order-conferring and assent-eliciting insofar as it is understood not only cosmologically but also morally, socially, and historically. It is no accident that the towering Ming-dynasty thinker Wang Yangming (1472–1529), who expanded Lu’s philosophical anthropology anchored on the mind-heart—and who thereby rekindled attention to and interest in this Song master’s views—propounded the powerful injunction that knowing and acting are one.

In brief, the religio-philosophical mystique of Lu’s holistic conception of the mind-heart as all-encompassing reality lies not in its putative vertical identification with some transcendent ideality, but in its horizontal association with the immanent (hence human and social) world of quotidian moral actions.

SEE ALSO Confucianism, overview article; Mengzi; Zhu Xi.

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ON-CHO NG (2005)

LU XIUJING (406–477), Daoist scholar and liturgical master active during the Liu Song dynasty (420–479) in China. Regarded as the seventh patriarch of the Celestial Master sect (*Tianshi Dao*), founded by Zhang Daoling in Sichuan province in the second century, Master Lu was a key figure in the development of the Daoist church during the Six Dynasties period (317–618). He has traditionally been credited with the earliest organization of the Daoist canon (*Daozang*) into its three major sections. Further, by editing and teaching the so-called Lingbao (Spiritual Treasure) scriptures, upon which he based his instructions for Lingbao rites, Master Lu laid down basic and enduring patterns for the subsequent development of Daoist liturgical life.

Born in Zhejiang province, Lu is said to have left his family and official career in order to collect and study Daoist scriptures. Although he withdrew to Mount Lu (Lushan) in Jiangxi province, he nonetheless enjoyed close connections with the courts of several Liu Song emperors, and as a result, both Mount Lu and the Chongxu monastery, which was built for him outside the capital (modern Nanjing), became renowned centers of Lingbao Daoism. Traditional accounts of his life include stories of omens surrounding his birth, his healing of Emperor Mingdi (r. 465–473), and dramatic victories over the learned Buddhists of his day in public debates. His most prominent disciple, Sun Youyue, was in turn a teacher of the great Daoist scholar Tao Hongjing, to whom much of Lu’s scriptural collection was passed down.

Textual references to the earliest form of the Daoist canon date back to the year 437, when Master Lu signed himself "Disciple of the Three Caverns." These "caverns" (*dong*), evoking traditional beliefs that divine treasures are hidden in caves under the earth, were in fact the collected scriptural revelations of several Daoist groups: the Shangqing (Supreme Purity) scriptures; the Lingbao scriptures; and the Sanhuang (Three Sovereigns) scriptures. *Master Lu's Catalog of the Scriptures of the Three Caverns,* no longer extant but quoted elsewhere, was perhaps the first comprehensive listing of all these texts. Although the notion of three caverns probably did not originate with Master Lu, his early catalog not only served to define what was deemed authentic and Daoist at that time, but may well have established the notion of a single canon common to the various early movements of the emerging tradition.

Master Lu dedicated much of his career to the exposition of the Lingbao scriptures, which were claimed to have been revealed over a hundred years earlier. In fact, they were composed in the late 390s by Ge Chaofu, whose remarkable set of "revelations" not only drew upon Shangqing and Buddhist texts circulating then, but also upon the extensive library of his renowned great-uncle, Ge Hong. The popularity of these scriptures provoked so many forgeries and imitations that some fifty years after their initial release Master Lu undertook the difficult task of identifying and editing the original corpus. His catalog of the Lingbao scriptures, of which only the preface (*Lingbao jingmu xu*) remains extant in the Daoist canon, has recently been reconstructed from documents uncovered at Dunhuang.

Actively extolling the ultimate primacy of these particular scriptures and the effectiveness of Lingbao rites, Master Lu formulated a set of rituals for lay followers, as well as rites for the ordination of Daoist masters and the transmission of sacred scriptures. These liturgical writings helped develop an institutional structure within Daoism by combining Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) court ceremonies with the practices of both the early Celestial Master sect and the old traditions and cults of southern China. Fundamental liturgical practices included the internalization of protective deities within the body of the initiated Daoist (the *daoshi*) and their projection as messengers in the course of the rite; the use of talismans (especially the five Lingbao written talismans) to orient and bind the various levels of heaven, earth, and underworld in each of the five directions (four cardinal points and the center); and the proclamation and burning (to effect their transmission heavenward) of official petitions for such ends as the release of ancestors from the sufferings of the underworld and the protection of the state. Basic to Master Lu's liturgies is a macrocosm-microcosm identity of the extended universe and the internal geography of the body, combined with a bureaucratic mediation of proper relations among spiritual realms. These features served to define a distinctive type of religious authority in the centuries of religious innovation after the fall of the Han dynasty, an authority that was not only formally invested, hierarchical, and stable, but also simultaneously holistic and deeply rooted in the practices of local traditions. The Lingbao liturgies codified by Master Lu were amplified and embellished until the middle of the Song dynasty (960–1279), when there were major changes and innovations in the ritual tradition as a whole. Even today, however, the rites of ordained Daoist masters in Taiwan still contain sections that faithfully preserve the instructions first penned by Master Lu.

SEE ALSO Daoism, article on Daoist Literature; Ge Hong; Tao Hongjing.

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LYCANTHROPY SEE WOLVES

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MABINOGION. The eleven native prose tales extant in Middle Welsh are known collectively as the *Mabinogion.* This convenient modern title, based on a scribal error in a single medieval manuscript, may convey a false impression of the homogeneity of these stories. Found in two related manuscripts of the fourteenth century, the White Book of Rhydderch and the Red Book of Hergest, they are literary compositions ranging in date from the late eleventh century to the mid-thirteenth century. They are derived, as complete tales or their episodes, from traditional oral narratives, and they bear witness, however imperfectly, to a large body of traditional material (Wel., *cyfarwyddyd),* other relics of which are extant in the collections of triads, the *Stanzas of the Graves*, and other allusions. The sources reflected are diverse—mythological, legendary, and international folkloric. The most clearly mythological are those tales known as the "Four Branches" of the *Mabinogion* (c. 1060–1120).

An attempt has been made to associate *mabinogi* with the name of the youth god Maponos (Wel., Mabon), son of Matrona (Wel., Modron), the mother goddess, and to suggest the meaning "Mabonalia," but the word occurs elsewhere in Middle Welsh meaning "childhood" or "beginnings," and there refers to the deeds of the precocious youthful hero which are portents of his future greatness. An extended meaning may be simply a tale of heroes or, perhaps, of ancestors.

The Four Branches are independent stories linked by cross-references and motivating episodes, but accretions and restructuring over a long period have so complicated the narrative that it is difficult to postulate what the original hero-tale may have been. W. J. Gruffydd's attempt to re-create a heroic biography of one major character, Pryderi, is too ambitious and is based on a misinterpretation of the Old Irish tale-types; Brinley Rees, following Georges Dumézil, offers a scheme of three functions as an original, unifying structure. Contemporary scholarship, however, regards the Four Branches of the Ma-

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Clockwise from top left corner. Mayan vase with relief depicting the head of the sun, c. seventh to tenth century. Naturhistorisches Museum, Vienna, Austria. *[©Giraudon/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Greek vase depicting Circe mixing a magical potion to transform the companions of Odysseus into animals. *[Photograph ©2004 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston]*; Late-nineteenth-century Alaskan Eskimo mask representing the spirit of the moon as a face encompassed by the air (board), the cosmos (hoops), and the stars (feathers). Sheldon Jackson Museum, Sitka, Alaska. *[©Werner Forman/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Ummayad Mosque in Damascus, Syria. *[©Christine Osborne/Corbis]*; The Abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel, France. *[©Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis]* .

binogi as the work of a single author and looks for an authorial thematic unity which has brought together a numer of disparate narratives.

The First Branch contains the birth-tale of Pryderi, son of Pwyll, lord of Dyfed (in southwestern Wales); Pwyll was known as "head of Annwn" because of his stay in the otherworld in the guise of its king, who had called upon him to help overcome an adversary. Upon his return Pwyll marries Rhiannon and they have a son, but the infant disappears from his crib. The child is subsequently discovered at the court of another nobleman, Teyrnon, some seventy miles distant, when a giant arm is amputated as it attempts to steal a foal on May Eve. There are many inconsistencies and gaps in the narrative, which seems to be a conflation of the motifs of the calumniated wife, the monster hand, and the congenital animals, but presumably it was intended to give an account of the birth of the hero in Annwn or to divine parents. Rhiannon is a Welsh counterpart of *Rigantona, queen-goddess, and is to be compared with Teyrnon, or *Tigernonos, king-god; her name and function are close to those of Matrona, whose son Maponos was taken from his mother's side when three nights old, according to an allusion in the eleventh-century story *Culhwch and Olwen.* She is probably identical with Epona, shown in Gaulish iconography as riding a horse, which recalls Rhiannon's associations with horses. Both Rhiannon and her son Pryderi are abducted in the Third Branch, and his loss is reflected in the wasting of his lordship of Dyfed.

The Third and Fourth Branches are complex narratives, both located in Gwynedd in northwestern Wales. The protagonists of the Fourth Branch are members of the divine family of Dôn (cf. Irish Tuatha Dé Danann)—Gwydion, the magician; Aranrhod, who gave birth to Lleu (cf. Irish Lugh; Gaulish Lugus) and Dylan, who was the son of the Wave and had the nature of a fish; Amaethon, the divine plowman; and Gofannon (cf. Irish Goibhniu), the divine smith. The story relates how Gwydion fashioned a wife from flowers for his nephew Lleu, cursed by his mother never to have a name, arms, or a wife.

The Second Branch describes the tragic result of the marriage of Branwen, daughter of Llŷr, to the Irish king Mathonwy and the devastation caused when her brother Brân, the giant king of Britain, and his brother Manawydan rescue her. *Llŷr* is possibly cognate with the Irish *ler* ("sea"), and there is probably some relationship between the Welsh characters and the Irish Manannán mac Lir and Bran of *The Voyage of Bran*, although the stories in Welsh and Irish do not correspond closely.

The other stories of the *Mabinogion* are briefer and simpler narratives. *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*, first found as an interpolation in a Welsh translation by Geoffrey of Monmouth in his *Historia regum Britanniae* (c. 1200), is an extended triad. It may be a popular version of a mythological account of the winning of Britain by waves of invaders—otherworldly, Roman, and Saxon—or, according to another analysis, its three episodes, about fairy creatures, fighting dragons, and the food thief, reflect the Indo-European tripartite functions of sagacity, warfare, and provision. The *Dream of Maxen* is popular history, an account of the marriage of the Roman emperor Magnus Maximus (r. 383–388) with a British princess and the subsequent foundation of Brittany. *Culhwch and Olwen* (c. 1060) is an extended version of the folk tales *Six Go through the World* and *The Giant's Daughter;* the *Dream of Rhonabwy* (thirteenth century?) is a pastiche of traditions and themes put together as social satire and a parody of literary modes. The three romances, *Geraint*, *Owain*, and *Peredur*, are related to three romances by the twelfth-century French poet Chrétien de Troyes, although the nature of the interdependence is still problematic. The ultimate sources, however, are Celtic (Welsh or Breton), and they seem to contain examples of the sovereignty myth (better evidenced in Irish) wherein the hero, or king, marries the titular goddess of his land, thereby ensuring its fruitfulness. In the extant versions the significance of the myth has been lost, and little of its primitive value remained for either authors or audiences.

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MACUMBA SEE AFRO-BRAZILIAN RELIGIONS

MADHHAB.

For lack of a better term, "legal school" is the most acceptable translation of *madhhab*, and it is preferable to both "sect" and "rite," terms which have been used in earlier works. A legal school implies a body of doctrine taught by a leader, or imam, and followed by the members of that school. The imam must be a leading *mujtahid*, one who is capable of exercising independent judgment. In his teaching, the imam must apply methods and principles which are peculiar to his own school independent of others. A *madhhab* must also have followers who assist their leader in the elaboration and dissimination of his teachings. A *madhhab* does not imply, however, a definite organization, a formal teaching, or an official status, nor is there a strict uniformity of doctrine within each *madhhab*. The membership of the present-day *madhhab*s is ascertainable on the basis of both individual confession and a loosely defined association of a country or a group to a particular *madhhab*. Legal school is a fitting description of *madhhab* simply because law is the main area in which the schools have widely disagreed. Their differences on the principles of the faith, at least among the Sunnī schools, are negligible. But disagreement on subsidiary matters (*furūʿ*) extends to almost every subject.

THE EARLIEST SCHOOLS. The first major split occurred between the Sunnī and the Shīʿī schools of law barely three decades after the death of the Prophet, about 660 CE. The secession of the Shīʿah from the main body of the Muslims, the Sunnīs, took place on political grounds, owing mainly to their differences on the nature and devolution of political authority. The Sunnīs accepted as legitimate the leadership of the four "Rightly Guided" caliphs, the Khulafāʾ Rashidun. But the Shīʿah claimed that ʿAlī, the fourth caliph and the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, had a superior claim to leadership over any of his three predecessors, hence their name, the Shīʿah ("party") of ʿAlī.

The bitter controversies which arose in the early period of Islam led to the formation of numerous groupings. The range of contested issues must have been extremely diverse: some five hundred schools are said to have disappeared at or about the beginning of the third Muslim century (ninth century CE). But even then the schools had not yet settled down to the number they are now. The real formation of Islamic law starts, at the hands of individual jurists, in the latter part of the first century AH (seventh century CE). This period is followed in the early second/eighth century by the emergence of two geographical centers of juristic activity in the Hejaz and Iraq. Each of these was further divided into two centers: Mecca and Medina in the Hejaz, and Basra and Kufa in Iraq. Of these four centers, usually referred to as the ancient schools of law, Medina and Kufa were the most important. With their further development in the latter half of the second century, geographical schools gave way to personal schools, named after an individual master whom the members of the school followed.

The ancient schools of law adopted two different approaches to jurisprudence. The jurists of Mecca and Medina, cities where the Prophet had lived and Islam had its origin and early development, laid emphasis on tradition as their standard for legal decisions. They thus acquired the name *ahl al-ḥadīth*, or "partisans of tradition." Being away from the Hejaz and culturally more advanced, the Iraqi schools, on the other hand, resorted more readily to personal opinion (*raʾy*), which is why they acquired the name *ahl al-raʾy*, or "partisans of opinion." This group had a tendency to imagine hypothetical cases in order to determine their legal solutions. They had a flair for scholasticism and technical subtlety. The *ahl al-ḥadīth*, on the other hand, were averse to abstract speculation; they were more pragmatic and concerned themselves with concrete cases. Abū Ḥanīfah was the leading figure of the Iraqi school, whereas Mālik, and after him al-Shāfīʿī, led the Hejazi school of legal thought.

THE ḤANAFĪYAH. The founder of the Ḥanafī school, Abū Ḥanīfah Nuʿmān ibn Thābit (d. 767), was born in Kufa, where he studied jurisprudence with Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī and Ḥammād ibn Abī Sulaymān. He delivered lectures to a small circle of students who later compiled and elaborated his teaching. *Qiyās*, or analogical reasoning, which became one of the four sources of law, receives the greatest support from Abū Ḥanīfah. Because of this, and his extensive use of *raʾy*, Abū Ḥanīfah was criticized by the traditionists for emphasizing speculative opinion at the cost of the *ḥadīth*. Abū Ḥanīfah has left no work except a small volume on dogmatics, *Al-fiqh al-akbar* (The greater understanding). His teachings were documented and compiled mainly by two of his disciples, Abū Yūsuf and al-Shaybānī. The Ḥanafī school was favored by the ruling Abbasid dynasty. Abū Yūsuf, who became the chief justice of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 786–809), composed, at Hārūn's request, a treatise on fiscal and public law, the *Kitāb al-kharāj*.

Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Shaybānī, a disciple of both Abū Ḥanīfah and Abū Yūsuf, compiled the *corpus juris* of the Ḥanafī school. Six of his juristic works, collectively called the *Ẓāhir al-rawāyah*, or works devoted to principal matters, became the basis of many future works on jurisprudence. All of the six works were later compiled in one volume entitled *Al-kāfī* (The concise), by al-Marwazī, better known as al-Ḥākim al-Shahid (d. 965). This was subsequently annotated by Shams al-Din al-Sarakhsi in thirty volumes, entitled *Al-mabsūṭt* (The comprehensive). Ḥanafī law is the most humanitarian of all the schools concerning the treatment of non-Muslims and war captives, and its penal law is considered to be more lenient.

The Ḥanafīyah has the largest following of all the schools, owing to its official adoption by the Ottoman Turks in the early sixteenth century. It is now predominant in Turkey, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and among the Muslims of India, and its adherents constitute about one-third of the Muslims of the world.

THE MĀLIKĪYAH. The Mālikī school was founded by Mālik ibn Anas al-Aṣbaḥī (d. 795), who spent his entire life in Medina except for a brief pilgrimage to Mecca. He served as an official jurisconsult *(muftī)*, which may explain why he broke away from the casuistic practices of his predecessors and attempted to formulate the principles underlying the tradition, to which he devoted his famous work, *Al-muwaṭṭaʾ* (The leveled path). Mālik is distinguished by the fact that he added another source of law to those known to other schools, namely the practice of the Medinese (*ʿamal ahl Madīnah*). Since the Medinese followed each generation immediately preceding them, the process would have gone back to the generation that was in contact with the teachings and actions of the Prophet. In Mālik's opinion, the practice of the Medinese thus constitutes basic legal evidence. This pragmatic feature of Mālik's doctrine has been retained to the present in the legal practice (*ʿamal)* of the Maghreb, which takes more notice than other schools of the prevailing conditions and customs. (Islamic law in general does not recognize custom as a source of law although it may validly operate in a subsidiary capacity.) The major reference book of the Mālikī school is *Al-mudawwanah* (The enactment), compiled by Asad al-Furāt, and later edited and arranged by Saḥnūn, who published it under the name *Al-mudawwanah al-kubrā* (The greater enactment). The Mālikī school is currently predominant in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Upper Egypt, the Sudan, Bahrain, and Kuwait.

THE SHĀFIʿĪYAH. The third major surviving school is called the Shāfiʿīyah, after its founder, Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfiʿi (d. 819). A pupil of Mālik, he formulated the classical theory of jurisprudence in the form that it has largely retained ever since. This theory teaches that Islamic law is based on four basic principles, or roots, of jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*): the word of God in the Qurʾān, the divinely inspired conduct or *sunnah* of the Prophet, consensus of opinion (*ijmāʿ*), and reasoning by analogy (*qiyās*). Al-Shāfiʿi studied the works of his predecessors and found that despite the existence of traditions from the Prophet, the early jurists occasionally preferred the opinion of the companions, or ignored traditions when they were contrary to local practice. Insisting on the overriding authority of tradition, al-Shāfiʿi said that authentic traditions must always be accepted. Whereas Abū Ḥanīfah and Mālik felt free to set aside a tradition when it conflicted with the Qurʾān, for al-Shāfiʿi a tradition could not be invalidated on this ground: he took it for granted that the Qurʾān and tradition did not contradict each other.

Al-Shāfiʿi also differed with both Abū Ḥanīfah and Mālik on the meaning of *ijmāʿ*. To al-Shāfiʿi's predecessors *ijmāʿ* meant the consensus of the scholars, but al-Shāfiʿi denied the existence of any such consensus. There could only be one valid consensus—that of the entire Muslim community. He thus restricted the scope of *ijmāʿ* to obligatory duties, such as the daily prayer, on which such a consensus could be said to exist. But the legal theory which prevailed after al-Shāfiʿi returned to the concept of the consensus of the scholars, when it considers infallible in the same way as the general consensus of the Muslims.

Al-Shāfiʿi essentially restricted the sources of law to the Qurʾān and the *sunnah.* Should there be no provision in these sources for a particular case, then the solution must be found through the application of analogy, which basically entails extending the logic of the Qurʾān and the *sunnah.* Any expression of opinion which is not related to these sources is arbitrary and excessive. Al-Shāfiʿi thus restricted the scope of *ijtihād* (independent reasoning) by subjecting it to the requirements of strict analogical reasoning; hence he considers *ijtihād* and *qiyās* synonymous.

Al-Shāfiʿi has left many works, of which the most important on jurisprudence are the *Risālah* (Letter) and the seven-volume *Kitāb al-umm* (The book of essentials). The Shāfiʿi school is now prevalent in Lower Egypt, southern Arabia, East Africa, Indonesia, and Malaysia and has many followers in Palestine, Jordan, and Syria.

THE ḤANĀBILAH. Even al-Shāfiʿi's degree of emphasis on tradition did not satisfy the uncompromising traditionists, who preferred not to use any human reasoning in law and chose, as much as possible, to base their doctrine on the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth.* This was the avowed purpose of the two new schools which emerged in the third century AH (ninth century CE). The first and the only successful one of these was the Ḥanbalī school, founded by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 855), the orthodox opponent of the rationalists and the *ahl al-raʾy* (the other was the Ẓāhirī school of Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī which is now extinct). Ibn Ḥanbal's reliance on tradition was so total that for some time he and his adherents were regarded not as real jurists (*fuqahāʾ*) but as mere traditionists. His main work, *Al-musnad* (The verified), is a collection of some twenty-eight thousand traditions. He uses *qiyās* very little and draws mainly on the sacred texts. Ibn Ḥanbal's teaching was later refined and developed by his disciples and commanded a widespread following, but in spite of a series of brilliant scholars and representatives over the centuries, the numbers suffered a continuous diminution after the fourteenth century CE. In the eighteenth century, the Wahhābīyah, the puritanical movement in the Arabian Peninsula, derived their doctrine and inspiration from the Ḥanābilah as it had been expressed by the celebrated jurist and theologian Ibn Taymīyah (d. 1328).

Ironically, the Ḥanābilah are in some respects more liberal than the other schools. Ḥanbalī law, for example, adopts the doctrine of *ibāḥah* (lit., "permissibility") on matters which are not expressly prohibited by law. It presumes that the validity of acts and transactions is overruled only by the existence of proof to the contrary. For example, only Ḥanbalī law would allow the stipulation of a clause in a marriage contract to prevent the husband from entering into a polygamous contract in the future. While the other schools regard this as interference with the *sharīʿah*, Ḥanbalī law maintains that the basic purpose of the law is fulfilled by monogamy; since polygamy is merely permitted by the law, it may be validly restricted in this manner. Other examples of this nature that may be cited include Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah's validation of one witness of just character as legal proof, and his approval of the acts of a bona fide catalyst (*fuḍūlī*), both of which the other schools have rejected. The Ḥanbalī school is currently predominant in Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and Oman.

SHĪʿĪ SCHOOLS. In Sunnī law, the head of state, or caliph, is to be elected to office, and his main duty is to supervise the proper implementation of the *sharīʿah*, the divine law of Islam. Shīʿī law, on the other hand, maintains that leadership, the imamate, belongs to the descendants of ʿAlī through hereditary succession. Of the numerous Shīʿī schools, only three have survived to this day: Ithnā ʿAsharī (Twelver), Zaydī, and Ismāʿīlī. The differences among these groups stem from their divergence over the line of succession after the fourth imam. The Twelvers, who are the largest of the three groups, recognize twelve imams, hence their name, Ithnā ʿAsharīyah, or Twelvers, as opposed to the Ismāʿīlīyah, who are also called Sabʿīyah, or Seveners, because they differed with the other Shīʿī groups over the identity of the seventh imam. According to Twelver dogma, the twelfth imam, the imam of the age, who disappeared in 873 CE, will reappear to establish the rule of justice on earth.

For the Sunnīs, divine revelation, manifested in the Qurʾān and the *sunnah*, ceased with the death of the Prophet. For the Shīʿāh, however, divine revelation continued to be transmitted, after the death of the Prophet, to the line of their recognized imams. Accordingly, they maintain that in addition to the Qurʾān and the *sunnah*, the pronouncements of their imams, whom they believe infallible (*maʿṣūm*), constitute divine revelation and therefore binding law. The Shīʿāh, moreover, accept only those traditions whose chain of authority (*isnād*) goes back to one of their recognized imams; they also have their own *ḥadīth* collections. Since the imam is divinely inspired, the Shīʿāh basically do not recognize *ijmāʿ*. Twelver doctrine, however, permits *ijmāʿ* as interpretation of the command of the imams on a particular question by the jurist *(mujtahid)*. The Twelvers are divided into two branches, the Akhbārī and the Uṣūlī. The Akhbarīyah do not recognize *qiyās*, but the Uṣūlīyah do. Shīʿī law, which mainly originates in the teaching of the sixth imam, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 765) bears similarity to Shāfiʿī law but differs with it on many issues. Temporary marriage, or *mutʿah*, for example, is valid only in Shīʿī law. The Shīʿī law of inheritance is also very different from the law of any other school in this field. Twelver doctrine was officially adopted in Persia under the Safavids in 1501; it still commands the largest following in Iran, and it has also followers in Iraq, Lebanon, and Syria.

According to the Ismāʿīlī dogma, the esoteric meaning of the Qurʾān and its allegorical interpretation is known only to the imam, whose knowledge and guidance is indispensible to salvation. The Ismāʿīlīyah are divided into two groups, eastern and western. The former are centered in India, Pakistan, and Central Asia, and their leader is the present Aga Khan, forty-ninth imam in the line of succession. The Western Ismāʿīlīyah followed al-Mustaʿlī, the ninth Fatimid caliph. This line went to the twenty-first imam, al-Ṭayyib, but he became *mastūr* (occult). This group resides in southern Arabia and Syria.

The Zaydīyah follow Zayd ibn ʿAlī, the fifth imam in the order of the Shīʿī imams. They endorse the legitimacy of the caliphs who preceded ʿAlī on the belief that an acceptable leader has a legitimate title notwithstanding the existence of a superior claimant. Their legal doctrine is the nearest of the Shīʿī schools to the Sunnīs, and they mainly reside in the Yemen.

CONSENSUS AND DIVERGENCE AMONG THE SCHOOLS. To summarize, disagreement among jurists is basically a consequence of the freedom of *ijtihād* which they enjoyed, particularly in the first three centuries of Islam. They have differed mainly in four areas: interpretation of the Qurʾān, acceptance and interpretation of the *ḥadīth*, rationalist doctrines, and subsidiary matters. Concerning the Qurʾān, the jurists have disagreed over the abrogation (*naskh*) of some of the Qurʾanic verses by others where two verses provide divergent rulings on the same subject, or when the *ḥadīth* overrules a Qurʾanic verse. While al-Shāfiʿī's doctrine of *naskh* is based on the rule that the Qurʾān can only be abrogated by the Qurʾān and *sunnah* only by *sunnah*, the other three schools add that the Qurʾān and the *sunnah* may also abrogate one another.

The words of the Qurʾān are divided into general (*ʿāmm*) and specific (*khāṣṣ*). The jurists have disagreed regarding the meaning and implications of such words. For example, X is unable to pay his debt. His brother Y pays it while acting on his own initiative and out of good will. The question arises as to whether Y, who is called *fuḍūlī*, or catalyst, is entitled to claim his money back from X. Mālikī and Ḥanbalī law answer this question in the affirmative on the authority of surah 55:60 of the Qurʾān: "Is the reward of goodness (*iḥsān*) aught but goodness?" But for the Ḥanafīyah and Shāfiʿīyah the words of this verse are too general to be applied to the case in question; hence they deny the *fuḍūlī* the right to a repayment.

The scope of disagreement concerning the *sunnah* is even wider, for in this area differences extend not only to the interpretation of *ḥadīth* but also to its authenticity. Whereas the Ḥanafīyah, and to some extent the Shāfiʿīyah, apply strict rules to verify the authenticity of *ḥadīth*, the Mālikīyah and Ḥanābilah are relatively uncritical. Al-Shāfiʿi and Ibn

Ḥanbal, for example, accept a solitary (*aḥād*) tradition, one which is reported by a single narrator, but Abū Ḥanīfah and Mālik accept it only under certain conditions. The jurists have also applied different rules to cases of conflict and abrogation between traditions. Whereas the majority would not, for example, allow the abrogation of a *mutawātir* (a tradition reported by numerous narrators) by an *aḥād*, the Ḥanafīyah permit this in principle.

Disagreement over rationalist doctrines such as *raʿy*, consensus, analogy, and *ijtihād* has already been discussed. It may be added here that Ḥanafī law applies *istiḥsān*, or juristic preference, as a doctrine of equity where strict implementation of analogy leads to hardships and undesirable results. The Mālikī school, however, adopts *istiṣlāḥ* (regard for the public interest), which is essentially similar to *istiḥsān*, albeit with some difference of detail. Al-Shāfiʿī rejects both *istiḥsān* and *istiṣlāḥ*, which he considers as no more than frivolous and arbitrary interference with the *sharīʿah*. Alternately, the Shāfiʿīyah, the Ḥanābilah, and the Twelver Shīʿah adopt *istiṣḥāb*, or deduction by presumption of continuity. *Istiṣḥāb*, for example, assumes freedom from liability to be a natural state until the contrary is proved.

Differences of *ijtihād* concerning subsidiary matters need not be elaborated, as the abundance of legal doctrines and schools within the *sharīʿah* is indicative of such diversity. By the beginning of the fourth century AH there was a consensus established to the effect that all essential issues had been thoroughly discussed and finally settled. With this "closing of the door of *ijtihād*," as it was called, *ijtihad* gave way to *taqlīd*, or "imitation." From then on every Muslim was an imitator *(muqallid)* who had to belong to one of the recognized schools. By consensus also the four schools were accepted, and accepted one another, as equally orthodox. Notwithstanding the emergence of prominent scholars in later centuries (including Ibn Taymīyah and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah) who objected to *taqlīd*, no one actually provided an independent interpretation of the *sharīʿah*. *Taqlīd* remained a dominant practice for about a thousand years until the reform movements of the late nineteenth century (notably the Salafīyah, whose prominent figure is Muḥammad ʿAbduh) and the modernist school of thought in the present century which challenged *taqlīd* and called for a return to *ijtihād*.

A Muslim may join any orthodox school he or she wishes, or change from one school to another, without formalities. Furthermore, Islamic countries have made frequent use of divergent opinions of other schools, including Shīʿī legal doctrines, in modern legislation. In order to achieve desired results, modern reformers have utilized procedural expedients permitted in the *sharīʿah*, such as *takhayyur* and *talfīq*. *Takhayyur*, or "selection," enables the jurist to adopt from the various interpretations of the *sharīʿah* that which is deemed to be most suitable. Reformers in the area of personal status, for example, have frequently adopted a variant doctrine of a recognized school as the basis of reform. Sometimes the view of an early jurist outside the established schools has been so selected. Furthermore, legal rules have been occasionally constructed by combining part of the doctrine of one school or jurist with part of the doctrine of another school or jurist. This variation of *takhayyur* is known as *talfīq*, or "patching," a procedure which has been employed in the modern laws of the Middle East. (For interesting illustrations and details on these procedural devices see Coulson's *A History of Islamic Law*.)

SEE ALSO Abū Ḥanīfah; Abū Yūsuf; Ḥadīth; Ḥanābilah; Ibn Taymīyah; Ijmāʿ; Ijtihād; Islamic Law; Mālik ibn Anas; Qiyās; Shāfiʿi, al-; Sunnah; Uṣūl al-Fiqh.

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MADHVA (1238–1317), also known as Anandatīrtha or Pūrnaprajñā; founder of the Dvaita Vedānta school of Indian philosophy. Born in Pajakakṣetra near Udipi in the Tulu country of the Indian state of Karnataka, Madhva attracted attention as a young renunciate by his prodigious abilities in reciting, interpreting, and criticizing scriptural and exegetical texts. Gathering pupils at his classes in Udipi, he made numerous trips throughout India accompanied by his disciples, including at least two visits to Badrinath in the Himalayas. It is believed that he debated a number of prominent scholars during his lifetime.

Madhva established his main temple, consecrated to the god Kṛṣṇa, at Udipi, and installed in it the idol of Bāla Kṛṣṇa secured from Dwarka. The temple has flourished to this day in the charge of a steady line of successors stemming from Madhva and his disciples. Tradition holds that in the year 1317, in the middle of delivering a lecture, Madhva vanished and retired permanently to Badrinath.

Madhva is credited with some thirty-seven works, including commentaries on the *Bhagavadgītā,* the *Brahma Sūtras,* and ten of the older Upaniṣads; ten independent treatises on Dvaita philosophy; short commentaries on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* the *Mahābhārata,* and part of the *Ṛgveda;* and a number of other brief works of a varied nature. Many of these treatises were subsequently commented upon by Jayatīrtha, Vyāsatīrtha, and other famous Dvaitins; the resulting large body of literature forms the basis of Dvaita Vedānta.

Dvaita stands in strong contrast to Śaṅkara's Advaita system in its conception of *brahman* as a personal God, independent of all other things and different from them. Madhva's God, who is Viṣṇu, possesses transcendent attributes of creation, preservation, dissolution, control, enlightenment, obscuration, bondage, and release, and God himself is considered the cause of all causes productive of these results. Each individual self is by nature a reflection of God; however, no one is aware of this until, through study of the scriptures, he comes to understand his real nature, upon which he undertakes fervent devotion to the Lord, who responds by bestowing his grace upon the devotee according to the latter's capacity. The devotee then abides in a state of servitude to God forever, and this state constitutes his liberation.

Dvaita Vedānta is also known for its sophisticated analyses of matters pertaining to logic, epistemology, and metaphysics; many of these investigations were first raised in Madhva's writings.

The influence of Dvaita Vedānta has been felt throughout India, but most profoundly in the South. It has been claimed by some scholars that the direct influence of Madhva's thought played a part in the later development of Bengali Vaiṣṇavism. Certainly, later Dvaita writers were among the most formidable opponents of Advaita Vedānta, and these doctrinal differences led to the famous controversy between Vyāsatīrtha (1478–1539), the Dvaitin author of the *Nyāyāmṛta,* and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī (c. 1540–1600), author of the *Advaitasiddhi,* an extensive response to the *Nyāyāmṛta* and the most celebrated later work of Advaita polemics.

SEE ALSO Vedānta.

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MĀDHYAMIKA.

The Mādhyamika, or Madhyamaka, school is one of the four great schools of Indian Buddhism, along with the Sarvāstivāda, Sautrāntika, and Yogācāra (Vijñānavāda) traditions. The name Mādhyamika ("one who follows the middle way") is derived from the word *madhyamaka*, found in the title *Madhyamakakārikā*, perhaps the most important work of Nāgārjuna, the founder of the school. The school is referred to as Dbu ma pa ("the school of the middle") in Tibet, San-lun-tsung ("the three-treatises school") in China, and Sanronshū ("the three-treatises school") in Japan. Historically, Indian Mādhyamika may be divided into three stages, early, middle, and late.

THE EARLY PERIOD. This period is marked by two great figures, Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva, and a lesser one, Rāhulabhadra. Nāgārjuna (c. 150–250 CE), born in South India, was the author of a number of works variously extant in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and/or Chinese (as subsequently indicated by the parenthetical abbreviations S, T, and C). He was associated with a king of the Śātavāhana dynasty, as is seen from his works, the *Ratnāvalī* (S partially, T) and the *Suhṛllekha* (T), both consisting of admonitions, moral as well as religious, given to the king. His main works comprise five philosophical treatises: the *Madhyamakakārikā* (S, T, C), the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā* (T), and the *Śūnyatāsaptati* (T), all of which are written in verse and develop the philosophy of *śūnyatā* ("emptiness"); and the *Vigrahavyāvartanī* (S, T, C) and the *Vaidalyasūtra* (T), written in verse and in aphorisms, respectively, both of which are accompanied by autocommentaries in prose. The last two contain Nāgārjuna's criticism of the rules governing traditional Indian logic, especially those of the Naiyāyika. Another genuine work of Nāgārjuna's is, without doubt, the *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdaya* (S partially, T, C), as well as the autocommentary (*Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayavyākhyāna*, S partially, T, C). In this last work, consisting of seven verses and a commentary in prose, the course of transmigration of sentient beings owing to defilements, deeds, and suffering is explained in the light of the theory of twelve-membered dependent co-origination. At the same time, however, the text emphasizes that because everything is devoid of own being or essential nature there is actually no one who moves from this world to another. Many other works are traditionally ascribed to Nāgārjuna; some, for example, the *Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa* (Chin., *Ta chih-tu lun*, extant only in Chinese), have influenced the development of Buddhist exegetics, and some, for example, the *Daśabhūmikavibhāṣā* (C), that of Pure Land Buddhism in China and Japan. However, nothing definite can be said as to the authenticity of authorship of these works.

The philosophy of emptiness is found in such early Buddhist *sūtra*s as the *Ti-i-i-kung ching* (T. D. 2.92c) and the *Aggi-Vacchagotta Suttanta* (*Majjhima Nikāya*, no. 72) and thus did not originate with Nāgārjuna, who declared that he revived the true teaching of the Buddha. However, Nāgārjuna also relied heavily on the Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras, the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*, and the *Kāśyapaparivarta* in forming his philosophy. His philosophy of emptiness was a criticism of Indian realism, which was represented by Indian philosophical systems of the Sāṃkhya, the Vaiśeṣika, and the Naiyāyika, and by such Hīnayāna Buddhists as the Sarvāstivādas and other Abhidharma philosophers, who believed that human ideas, insofar as they are rational, have substances that correspond to them in the external world.

In speaking of emptiness Nāgārjuna meant to say not that nothing exists but that everything is empty of *svabhāva* ("own being"), that is, of an independent, eternal, and unchanging substance. All things are, like images in a dream or an illusion, neither substantially existent nor nonexistent absolutely. Nāgārjuna's negation of a self-dependent substance, which he holds to be nothing but a hypostatized concept or word, is derived from the traditional Buddhist idea of dependent origination (*pratītya-samutpāda*), the idea that whatever exists arises and exists dependent on other things. Nāgārjuna, however, introduces into that theory the concept of mutual dependency. Just as the terms *long* and *short* take on meaning only in relation to each other and are themselves devoid of independent qualities (longness or shortness), so too do all phenomena (all *dharma*s) lack own being (*svabhāva*). If a thing were to have an independent and unchanging own being, then it would follow that it is neither produced nor existent, because origination and existence presuppose change and transiency. All things, physical as well as mental, can originate and develop only when they are empty of own being. This idea of emptiness necessitates the truth of nonduality. *Saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* (defilements and liberation), like any other pair of contradictions, are nondual because both members of the pair are empty of own being.

Āryadeva (c. 170–270), a direct disciple of Nāgārjuna, was also active in South India. He wrote three works: the *Catuhsataka*, his main work (S fragment, T, C latter half only); the *Satasastra* (C), which has been studied throughout China and Japan; and the *Aksarasataka* (T, C), a small work consisting of a hundred words and his autocommentary. Āryadeva inherited Nāgārjuna's philosophy. Nothing is known about Rāhulabhadra except that he left two hymns, the *Prajñāpāramitāstotra* and the *Saddharmapuṇ-ḍarīkastotra*, and a few fragmentary verses quoted in the Chinese texts.

THE MIDDLE PERIOD. Tradition reports that eight Indian scholars wrote commentaries on the *Madhyamakakārikā:* Nāgārjuna himself (*Akutobhayā*, T); Buddhapālita (c. 470–540; *Buddhapālita-Mūlamadhyamakavṛtti*, T); Candrakīrti (c. 600–650; *Prasannapadā*, S, T); Devaśarman (fifth to six centuries; *Dkar po ʾchar ba*, T fragment); Guṇaśri (fifth to sixth centuries; title unknown); Guṇamati (fifth to sixth centuries; title unknown, T fragment); Sthiramati (c. 510–570; *Ta-sheng chung-kuan shih-lun*, C); and Bhavya (also known as Bhāvaviveka; c. 500–570; *Prajñāpradipa*, T, C).

The *Akutobhayā* is partially identical with Buddhapālita's commentary, and its authenticity is doubtful. Two fragments from Devaśarman's commentary are cited with appreciation by Bhāvaviveka. A fragment from Guṇamati's commentary is criticized by Bhāvaviveka. The works of Devaśarman and Guṇamati are not extant. Nothing is known about Guṇaśri or his work. The fact that Guṇamati and Sthiramati, both well-known Yogācārins, commented on the *Madhyamakakārikā* shows that Nāgārjuna was revered not only by Mādhyamikas but also by philosophers of other schools. In addition, there is Ch'ing-mu's commentary extant in Kumārajīva's Chinese translation. The *Shun-chung lun* (C) by Asaṅga (c. 320–400), another Yogācārin, is a general interpretation of Nāgārjuna's verse of salutation found at the very beginning of the *Madhyamakakārikā.*

The middle period is characterized by the split of the Mādhyamika into two subschools, the Prāsaṅgika, represented by Buddhapālita and Candrakīrti, and the Svātantrika, represented by Bhāvaviveka and Avalokitavrata. The names Prāsaṅgika and Svātantrika are not attested to in any Sanskrit texts and thus were probably coined by later Tibetan doxographers. However, the names so appropriately describe the tenets of the two subschools that they are widely used even by modern scholars.

In his arguments Nāgārjuna often used dilemmas and tetralemmas. In *Madhyamakakārikā* 1.1, for instance, he states that things produced from themselves, from others, from both themselves and others, or from no cause at all can be found nowhere. Buddhapālita, the founder of the Prāsaṅgika school, divided this tetralemma into four different *prasaṅga* arguments, or arguments *reductio ad absurdum.* He pointed out that (1) production of a thing from itself would be quite useless because, having own being, the thing would already exist and such production would thus involve the logical fault of overextension (*ati prasaṅga*), for a thing already existing by own being would, under this assumption, never cease being produced; (2) if things are produced from another, all things could be produced from all other things; (3) if things are produced from both themselves and another, the faults attached to the two preceding alternatives would combine in this third one; and (4) if things are produced from no cause, all things would be produced always and from all things.

Nāgārjuna himself used *prasaṅga* as often as dilemmas and tetralemmas, but Buddhapālita, analyzing even dilemmas and tetralemmas into plural *prasaṅga*s, considered the latter to be the main method of Mādhyamika argumentation. As a form of argument, *prasaṅga* had been known among logicians since the time of the *Nyāya Sūtra* (codified in the third century) under the name *tarka.* In the eighth century it was formalized by Buddhist logicians into a syllogistic form under the name *prasaṅga-anumāna* ("inference by *prasaṅga* "). If, for example, seeing smoke on a mountain, we want to prove the existence of fire to someone who objects by denying the existence of fire there, we can argue that if there were no fire on the mountain, there would be no smoke there either. At the same time we would be pointing out the fact that smoke is actually rising on the mountain. This form of argument is known as *pra-sanga*, the essence of which is to indicate that an absurd conclusion would follow, given the opponent's claim. The above example can be put into the following categorical syllogism: wherever there is smoke, there is fire (*p*); that mountain has smoke (*q*); therefore, that mountain has fire (*r*). This syllogism (*pq? r*) can be transformed into the following *prasaṅga-anumāna* ($p\ {\sim}r?\ q$): wherever there is no fire, there is no smoke (the contraposition of p); (if) the mountain has no fire (${\sim}r$), (it would follow that) the mountain has no smoke (${\sim}q$), which is contrary to fact. Likewise, Buddhapālita's *prasaṅga* may be written: production of things from themselves is useless (p); (if) this thing is produced from itself (${\sim}r$), then (it would follow that) its production is useless (${\sim}q$). These examples of *prasaṅga-anumāna* are hypothetical syllogisms because the minor premise (${\sim}r$) is hypothesized by the advocator and only claimed by the opponent and because the conclusion (${\sim}q$), necessarily following from the two premises, is false.

Bhāvaviveka criticized Buddhapālita, saying that his argument was a mere *prasaṅga*, lacking both a true probans (i.e., minor premise) and an example (i.e., major premise). Furthermore, Buddhapālita may be understood to maintain a counterposition to the probans as well as to the example because of the nature of *prasaṅga*. This is to say, Buddhapālita's own opinion would be as follows: a thing is produced from another, et cetera (r), and its production is useful (q). Understood in that way, Buddhapālita's assertion would be contrary to Nāgārjuna, who denied not only production from the thing itself but also production from another, from both, and from no cause. Until some Buddhist logicians came, in the eighth century, to recognize *prasaṅga* as a form of formal inference, it was not regarded as authentic; in fact, although it had been admitted as supplementary to the categorical syllogism, it was classified as erroneous knowledge because its conclusion was false to the arguing party.

Bhāvaviveka was strongly influenced by his senior contemporary Dignāga, the reformer of Buddhist logic and epistemology. Accordingly, it was Bhāvaviveka's contention that the Mādhyamikas had to employ categorical syllogisms to prove the truth of their philosophy. In his commentary on the *Madhyamakakārikā* as well as in his other works, Bhāvaviveka formed innumerable categorical syllogisms, the so-called *svatantra-anumāna* ("independent inference"). This is why he came to be called a Svātantrika, in contradistinction to Buddhapālita, who was termed a Prāsaṅgika.

For instance, in commenting on Nāgārjuna's denial of production of things from themselves (*Madhyamakakārikā* 1.1), Bhāvaviveka uses the following syllogistic form, which may be rewritten according to Aristotelian logic thus:

> *Major Premise:* whatever exists is not produced from itself, for example, *caitanya* (an eternal, unchanging spirit in the Sāṃkhya philosophy). *Minor Premise:* the cognitive organs (eye, ear, nose, etc.) exist. *Conclusion:* therefore, from the standpoint of the highest truth (*paramarthatah*) they have not been produced from themselves.

In constituting this kind of syllogism, Bhāvaviveka included three unusual modifications: the word *paramārthataḥ* ("from the standpoint of the highest truth") is added; the negation in this syllogism should be understood as *prasajya-pratiṣedha* ("the negation of a proposition," opposite to *paryudāsa*, "the negation of a term"), in which the negative particle is related to the verb, not to the nominal, so that not from themselves may not mean from another; and no counterexample is available, that is, no member of the class contradictory to the probandum is available, which means that the contraposition of the major premise (i.e., what is produced from itself is nonexisting) is not supported by actual examples.

Bhāvaviveka's logic, however, had its own difficulties, for which it was criticized by Sthiramati and Candrakīrti as well as by the Naiyāyikas. If the restrictive *from the standpoint of the highest truth* governs not only the conclusion but also the whole syllogism, the minor premise would not be permissible because all things, including the cognitive organs, would be nonexistent from the standpoint of the highest truth according to the Mādhyamika. If, on the contrary, the restriction governed only the conclusion and not the two premises, then the cognitive organs in the minor premise would have to be regarded as existent when seen from the standpoint of truth on the conventional level (*saṃvṛti*, *vyavahāra*), while the same organs in the conclusion would be nonexistent when seen from the highest truth. Therefore, Bhāvaviveka is to be criticized for using the term *the cognitive organs* on two different levels of discourse. In both cases he commits a logical fallacy.

Candrakīrti says that the negation used by all Mādhyamikas should be regarded as *prasajya-pratiṣedha*. When there is a defect in the counterexample, that is, when the contraposition of the major premise is not attested to in actuality, how can there be certainty with regard to the validity of the original major premise? Candrakīrti, citing one of Nāgārjuna's verses, argued that the Mādhyamikas, having no assertion of their own, should not rely on the syllogistic method and that *prasaṅga* is the only and the best way of argumentation for them.

The commentary on the *Madhyamakakārikā* was Buddhapālita's sole work. Bhāvaviveka, in addition to the *Prajñāpradīpa*, wrote the *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā* (S, T) with his autocommentary *Tarkajvālā* (T), in which he discussed the truth of the Mādhyamika philosophy in chapters 1, 2, and 3 and the doctrines of Hīnayāna Buddhism, Yogācāra, Sāṃkhya, Vaiśeṣika, Vedānta, and other schools in the following chapters. His *Ta-sheng chang-chen lun* (*Karatalaratna*?) is extant only in Chinese. The authenticity of two other works ascribed to Bhāvaviveka, the *Madhyamakaratnapradīpa* and the *Madhyamakārthasaṃgraha*, is doubtful. In addition to the *Prasannapadā*, Candrakīrti left a great work entitled *Madhyamakāvatāra* (T), consisting of verses and an autocommentary, in which he explicated the essentials of the Mādhyamika philosophy in accordance with the ten perfections (*pāramitā*) of the *bodhisattva*. He was a prolific writer: the *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa* and the commentaries on the *Śūnyatāsaptati*, the *Yuktiṣaṣṭika*, and the *Catuḥśataka*, all extant only in Tibetan, are known to be his works. Avalokitavrata (seventh century), a Svātantrika, wrote a bulky and informative commentary (T) on Bhāvaviveka's *Prajñāpradīpa.* Śāntideva, who tended to be a Prāsaṅgika, wrote the *Śiksaṣāmuccaya* (S, T, C), a collection of teachings about learnings and practices of the *bodhisattva*, and the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (S, T, C), which consisted of more than nine hundred verses and which also taught practices of the *bodhisattva* according to the six *pāramitā*s. The *Sūtrasamuccaya*, a collection of passages from Māhāyana *sūtra*s, is ascribed by Tibetans to Nāgārjuna, but it is closely related to the *Śiksaṣāmuccaya* and suggests that Śāntideva may have added more *sūtra* passages to Nāgārjuna's original text.

THE LAST PERIOD. Philosophers of the middle period of Indian Mādhyamika can be characterized as follows: they wrote their own commentaries on the *Madhyamakakārikā;* they were divided into the Prāsaṅgika and the Svātantrika, according to whether they adopted either *prasaṅga* (*"reductio ad absurdum"*) or *svātantra-anu-mana* ("independent syllogism") as a means for establishing the truth of the Mādhyamika philosophy; and they regarded the Yogācāra school as their opponent and criticized its philosophy. In contrast, philosophers of the last period were influenced by Dharmakīrti, the greatest scholar of the Buddhist logico-epistemological school, as much as they were by Nāgārjuna; with a few exceptions, almost all of them belonged to the lineage of the Svātantrika school; and they appreciated the philosophy of the Yogācāra school and even introduced it as part of the Mādhyamika philosophy. Consequently, beginning with Śāntirakṣita, they came to be called the Yogācāra-Mādhyamika-Svātantrika by Tibetans. In contrast, the later Tibetan scholars called Bhāvaviveka a Sautrāntika-Mādhyamika-Svātantrika, as he adopted the Sautrāntika theory of the imperceptible but real external world from the standpoint of truth on the conventional level (*saṃvṛti*).

The greatest figure of this last period is Śāntirakṣita (c. 725–784), a disciple of Jñānagarbha (eighth century), of whom very little is known except that he was the author of the *Satyadvayavibhaṅga* (T), his autocommentary the *Satyadvayavibhaṅgavṛtti*, and the *Yogabhāvanāmārga* (T). A scholar at Nālandā Monastery, Śāntirakṣita was invited to Tibet by a Tibetan king. There he established the first Tibetan Buddhist monastery (at Bsam yas) in cooperation with Padmasambhava, and ordained the first six Tibetan monks. He wrote two works, the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (S, T) and the *Madhyamakālaṃkāra* (T), and a commentary on the *Satyadvayavibhaṅga*, the main work of his master. The *Tattvasaṃgraha*, written in 3,645 verses, introduces the philosophies of various Indian schools, non-Buddhist as well as Buddhist, and also provides a criticism of them. Accompanied by a large commentary by Kamalaśīla, his worthy disciple, this work is extant in Sanskrit and is extremely valuable for the information it imparts on the world of Indian philosophy at that time. In the *Madhyamakālaṃkāra*, to which there exist his autocommentary, the *Madhyamakālaṃkāravṛtti* (T), and Kamalaśīla's subcommentary, the *Madhyamakālaṃkārapañ-jika* (T), he criticizes the Buddhist philosophies of the Sarvāstivāda, Sautrāntika, and Yogācāra schools as well as non-Buddhist philosophies, and proclaims the Mādhyamika as the last and highest doctrine of all. The principle underlying his criticism against all other schools that regard specific entities as ultimate metaphysical realities is that they are empty of reality because they are devoid of both singular and plural own beings.

Like the Mīmāṃsā, Vaiśeṣika, Naiyāyika, and other schools, the Sarvāstivāda holds that knowledge, like a clean slate, is pure and is not endowed with the image of an object and that cognition takes place through the contact of mind, a cognitive organ, and an external object, all of which exist at the same moment. Epistemologically, this is a copyist theory of knowledge, called in India *nirākārajñānavāda* ("the theory of knowledge not endowed with the image of the object"). On the other hand, like the Sāṃkhya, Vedānta, and Yogācāra schools, the Sautrāntika contends that what is cognized is not an external object but an image thrown into knowledge by the external reality, which always remains something imperceptible. Knowledge is an effect of an external object that is its cause and that has already disappeared at the moment the knowledge arises. This is the representationalist's theory of knowledge and is called *sākārajñānavāda* ("the theory of knowledge endowed with the image of the object"). But the Sautrāntika, unlike the Yogācāra, does not deny the existence of the external reality. For it, an external reality, though never perceived, must be postulated as existing. According to the Yogācāra, it is unnecessary to postulate the existence of the external reality because what knowledge cognizes is an image that is given not by an external object but by the immediately preceding moment of the knowledge. The mind is a stream of moments containing impressions of experiences accumulated since the beginningless past. The world is nothing but the representations of mind; external objects are in reality nonexistent. Yogācāra holds, as does the Sautrāntika, that knowledge is endowed with an image (*sākārajñāna*). However, the Yogācāras are divided into two groups as regards the nature of that image. One maintains that the image is as real as the self-cognition (*svasaṃvedana*) of knowledge. The other contends that the image is unreal, although self-cognition is real. We often grasp an erroneous image, say of a silver coin that we realize a moment later is nothing but a shell. According to the latter opinion, this means that all images can be unreal, while the illumination (*prakāśa*) itself, which exists with both the silver coin and the shell, is real. This illumination or self-cognition is the only reality. This view is called *alīkākāravāda* ("the theory of the unreal image of cognition"). According to the former opinion, however, the illumination alone is never cognized separately from the image. The image of a silver coin is as real as the illumination because it is not contradicted by the image of a shell. This is because the latter exists not at the same moment as the former but a moment later. What is unreal is not the image but the conception that interprets the image as something other than what it is. This is called *satyākāravāda* ("the theory of the real image").

Śāntirakṣita preferred the Sautrāntika to the Sarvāstivāda and the Yogācāra to the Sautrāntika. As for the Satyākāravādins and Alīkākāravādins, Śāntirakṣita holds that both parties are unable to explain the reason why knowledge, which is unitary, has an image that always appears as a gross or a plural thing. So long as it appears with a dimension, even an image of cognition can be analyzed and broken down into parts or, ultimately, into "atoms of knowledge" (*jñāna-paramānu*) and therefore is plural. If the image is real, knowledge must be plural; if self-cognition alone is real, why is it not cognized separately? But both cases are not true because, after all, knowledge has neither a single own being nor a plural one and it is empty of own being. Thus the Yogācāra is superseded by the Mādhyamika, which points out that all things, external as well as internal, are empty.

Kamalaśīla (c. 740–797), a great student of Śāntirakṣita's, wrote the *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā* (S, T) and the *Madhyamakālaṃkāravrttipañjikā* (T), commentaries on two main works of his teacher. Kamalaśīla entered Tibet after his master had passed away there and was victorious at the famous Bsam yas debate between himself and Mahāyāna Hwa-shaṅ, a Chinese Chan monk who had considerable influence on Tibetan Buddhism at that time. In order to introduce Tibetans to Buddhism, he wrote three books, all entitled *Bhāvanākrama* (The Steps of Buddhist Meditative Practice; 1 and 3 in S; 1, 2, and 3 in T; and 1 in C). He also wrote the *Madhyamakāloka* (T), his main work; the *Sarvadharmaniḥsvabhāvasiddhi* (T), a résumé of the *Madhyamakāloka;* and the *Tattvāloka* (T). Because of his victory in the debate at Bsam yas and his great effort thereafter, Mādhyamika Buddhism became firmly established in Tibet. His three *Bhāvanākrama*s were considered by the Tibetans at that time to be the best introductions to the Yogācāra-Mādhyamika form of Indian Buddhism; the same can be said even for modern students of Buddhism. In them, the necessity for the gradual training toward enlightenment is stressed and the sudden enlightenment proclaimed by Chinese Ch'an is denounced.

Vimuktisena (eighth century), the author of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāravṛtti* (S partially, T), and Haribhadra (eighth century), the author of the *Abhisamayalamkaraloka* (S, T) and its résumé, the *Abhisamayālaṃkāraśāstravṛtti* (T), claimed a close relationship between the Yogācāra-Mādhyamika philosophy and the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, a synopsis of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* ascribed to Maitreyanātha. They developed their philosophies in commenting on the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra.*

Jitāri, Bodhibhadra, Advayavajra (all eleventh to twelfth century), and others were Mādhyamikas whose interest extended to either Tantric Buddhism, logico-epistemology, or both. Jitāri, Bodhibhadra, and Advayavajra are known for having written the compendia of the four great Buddhist schools, the *Sugatamatavibhaṅga* (T), the *Jñānasārassamuccayanibandhana* (T), and the *Tattvaratnāvāli* (S, T), respectively. In these works, the specific doctrines of the four schools are introduced, and in the case of Bodhibhadra, non-Buddhist Indian philosophical schools are included. The schools are arranged in order from lowest to highest, according to their respective estimations. This style of compendium became the model after which later Tibetan Buddhists composed numerous *grubmtha'* (Skt., *siddhānta*) or compendia of doctrinal classification of Buddhist (and non-Buddhist) schools.

Kambala (Lwa-ba-pa or La-ba-pa; date uncertain) wrote the *Prajñāpāramitānavaśloka* and the *Ālokamālā*, and, according to Sahajavajra, belonged to the Alīkākāravāda-Yogācāra-Mādhyamika school. Ratnākaraśānti (eleventh century), an Alīkākāravādin, disputed with Jñānaśrīmitra (eleventh century), a Satyākāravādin. Ratnakarasanti claimed that the Yogācāra and the Mādhyamika were not different; consequently, he is counted sometimes as a Yogācāra-Mādhyamika and others as a Vijñaptimatra-Mādhyamika. He was a great logician as well, and introduced the theory of *antar-vyapti* (internal determination of universal concomitance) into Buddhist logic.

TIBET. Two or three decades after the debate at Bsam yas (794), Ye shes de, the first Tibetan Mādhyamika scholar, wrote the *Ltabˀ'i khyadpar* (Differences in doctrines), in which he described the history of Indian Mādhyamika, its divisions into the Yogācāra- and Sautrāntika-Mādhyamikas, and other important Buddhist doctrines. During the ninth and the tenth centuries, Buddhism, as represented by Jñānagarbha, Śāntira-kṣita, and Kamalaśīla, flourished in Tibet. After the persecution of Buddhism by King Glang dar ma and the fall of the Tibetan dynasty, Atisa, a great scholar of Vikramaśīla Monastery, entered Tibet in 1041 to reestablish Buddhism there. He revered Candrakīrti and Śāntideva, rather than Bhāvaviveka and Śāntirakṣita, and founded the Bkaˀgdams pa school. He also erected the Gsang phu Temple, which became the center of Tibetan Buddhism under the guidance of Phywa pa Chos kyi Seng ge (1109–1169). Ñi ma grags (1055–?) translated all Candrakīrti's works. He was probably the first to use the names Prāsaṅgika and Svātantrika. Tsong kha pa (1375–1419), the greatest Mādhyamika in Tibet and the first abbot of Dgaˀ ldan Monastery, founded the Dge lugs pa order, wrote many works, including the *Lam rin chen mo* (Great work on the gradual way), and synthesized Mādhyamika philosophy with the Tantras. The so-called *grubmtha'* literature, written by such scholars as Sa skya Paṇḍita (1182–1251), Dbus pa Blo gsal (fourteenth century), ˀJambyangs Bshad pa (1648–1722), and Dkon mchog ˀJigs med Dbang po (1728–1791), in which Buddhist and non-Buddhist schools are arranged as gradual steps culminating in Mādhyamika thought, is unique to Tibetan Buddhism.

CHINA AND JAPAN. It was Kumārajīva (350–409) who introduced Nāgārjuna's philosophy into China by translating the *Madhyamakakārikā*, the *Shih-erh-men lun* (Dvādaśamukha?), the *Po lun* (an interpretation of Āryadeva's *Catuḥśataka*), and the *Ta-chih-tu lun* (*Mahāprajñāpāra-*

mitopadeśa?). However, the authenticity of the second and fourth works, ascribed to Nāgārjuna, is doubtful. The third is not a direct translation of Āryadeva's work.

Chi-tsang (549–623) of the Sui dynasty, regarding the thoughts of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva as the core of Buddhist doctrine, founded the San-lun tradition. *San-lun* ("three treatises") refers to the first three of the above-mentioned works. Chi-tsang wrote the *San-lun hsüan-i* (Deep Meaning of the Three Treatises) and also commented on the three treatises. He propagated the Middle Way and the eight kinds of negation that appear in the salutation verse of Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamakakārikā*. The tradition flourished during the early T'ang period but began to decline after Hsüan-tsang's transmission of the works of the Yogācāra school to China. Ekan, a Korean monk, introduced the San-lun doctrine to Japan, where, as the Sanronshū, it enjoyed a brief efflorescence as one of the six schools of the Nara period (seventh century). In China as well as in Japan, the school was short-lived and was overtaken by popular Buddhism as propagated by such traditions as Pure Land, Zen, and others.

SEE ALSO Āryadeva; Atīśa; Bhāvaviveka; Buddhapālita; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism; Candrakīrti; Dharma, article on Buddhist Dharma and Dharmas; Dharmakīrti; Dignāga; Jizang; Kamalaśīla; Kumarajiva; Nāgārjuna; Pratītya-samutpāda; Śāntideva; Śāntarakṣita; Sarvāstivāda; Sautrāntika; Sthiramati; Śūnyam and Śūnyatā; Tsong kha pa; Yogācāra.

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MADRASAH. The *madrasah* is an educational institution devoted to advanced studies in the Islamic religious sciences. Its origin has been much debated, but evidence that the term was in use in the eastern Iranian area as early as the late ninth century nullifies the hypothesis that it arose as the Sunnī competitor to the Azhar mosque school in Cairo, founded in 972 for the Ismāʿīlī Shīʿī sect. The same evidence likewise casts doubt on the idea that the Sunnīs copied the institution from the then-fledgling Karrāmīyah sect of Muslims, whose founder died in 869. It is also uncertain when the *madrasah* came to be associated with its characteristic architectural form, a rectangular courtyard with a broad arched area (*īwān*) centered on each side and one or two stories of small student cells occupying the remainder of the interior wall space. This form, considered in the light of certain texts, has given rise to the hypothesis that the *madrasah* may ultimately derive from a Buddhist monastic model.

Prior to the mid-eleventh century, *madrasah*s were confined to eastern Iran and played a number of educational roles. Mysticism (Sufism) and the traditions of Muḥammad (*ḥadīth*) were as likely to be studied as Islamic law, which later took pride of place in the *madrasah* curriculum. Consequently, the earliest sense of the word itself is "place of study," a noun of place from the verb meaning "to study." An alternative suggestion that it means "place for studying Islamic law" and that it comes from another form of the verb does not fit the earliest usages.

The early Seljuk period of the mid-eleventh century marks a turning point in the history of the institution. Construction and endowment of *madrasah*s by pious private citizens had earlier been the rule, although pre-Seljuk instances of patronage by rulers or officials are not unknown. From the early Seljuks on, however, the *madrasah* became increasingly linked to official patronage. The first Seljuk sultan, Ṭughril Beg, sponsored a *madrasah* in the northeastern Iranian city of Nishapur, but a far more significant development was the construction of a string of *madrasah*s by Niẓām al-Mulk, the famous vizier of Ṭughril Beg's two successors, Alp Arslān and Malikshāh. The earliest and most important Niẓāmīyah *madrasah*s, as they were called, were erected in Nishapur (1058) and Baghdad (1067). Legal science (*fiqh*) of a single interpretive school (*madhhab*) was the primary subject taught, and this subsequently became the dominant pattern, although eventually more than one school of law might be taught in the same *madrasah*.

The significance of the Niẓāmīyahs has been variously explained: they were training centers for Sunnī officials to help the Seljuks supplant Shīʿī functionaries; they provided financial support for staff and students at an unprecedented level; they initiated the process of using patronage to exert government control over the elite of previously independent religious scholars. Yet there is no substantial evidence that bureaucrats attended Niẓāmīyahs; too little is known about earlier institutions to confirm a change in manner or level of funding; and it is apparent that Niẓām al-Mulk and other founding patrons of the period acted more in a private capacity than in a governing capacity.

Possibly the Niẓāmīyah in Baghdad was most influential because it was the first *madrasah* west of Iran; in Baghdad, teaching had previously been practiced in mosques, shrines, shops, and so forth. The Niẓāmīyah *madrasah* became the prototype for the *madrasah*s that spread throughout the western Islamic world from the twelfth century on, and the word *madrasah* became synonymous with Islamic higher education.

In its fully evolved form, the *madrasah* was typically founded by someone who endowed property in perpetuity (*waqf,* "endowment") for the pious purpose of religious education. The founder, whether a private person or a member of the ruling elite, could maintain a degree of control over the endowment during his or her lifetime and oversee the curriculum and the hiring of faculty, but ultimately, jurisdiction over *madrasah*s and their income reverted to the judge *(qāḍī)* of the Islamic court or to religious authorities designated by the government. The curriculum did not depart from the religious sciences, including jurisprudence, traditions of the Prophet, Arabic grammar, recitation of the Qurʾān. Secular subjects were taught elsewhere until the nineteenth century, when educational reform efforts in various countries forced some expansion of the traditional curriculum. Certification of the completion of specific courses took the place of an overall diploma.

Madrasah attendance seems always to have been quite popular, perhaps in part because of the financial support offered to students. But the *madrasah* education was more a certification of acquisition of religious knowledge than a specific preprofessional training. To be sure, religious judges, jurisconsults, mosque heads, professors, and the like normally had some amount of *madrasah* training, and in the Ottoman Empire there evolved a regular *cursus honorum* for such religious officials in certain elite *madrasah*s, which were the most common feeders into the higher ranks. Many students, however, attended simply to improve their knowledge of religion and make manifest their family's piety with no intention of seeking religious employment. Thus the *madrasah* came to serve a general educational function in society as well as a specialized one.

While some of the most important *madrasah*s, such as al-Azhar in Cairo, the Qarawīyīn *madrasah* in Fés, and various Shīʿī institutions in Qom and elsewhere, have survived to the present day as centers of religious education, most have been supplanted or diminished in importance through the growth of secular, government-supported school systems. Those that have survived educationally often have done so under financial and administrative regimes different from those of the pre-modern period, frequently within a government ministry, and as a consequence have suffered a diminution of their intellectual independence. Today, the *madrasah* is no longer the exclusive institution for advanced study of Islam.

See Also Niẓām al-Mulk; Waqf.

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MA GCIG LAB SGRON (MACHIG LABDRON)

MA GCIG LAB SGRON (MACHIG LABDRON) (c. 1055–1149) is the best-known woman in Tibetan Buddhist history. Undoubtedly a historical figure, she is revered both as a role model for life as a female yogi, and for creating an extremely popular meditative ritual used throughout Tibetan religion, the Gcod (Chöd) rite.

Ma gcig flourished towards the beginning of Tibet's Buddhist renaissance, or "New" *(gsar ma)* transmission period, that occurred after the fall of the Yarlung dynasty. It was a time of decentralized political power during which many lamas, both lay and monastic, established small communities of Buddhist practice and learning throughout central, western, and southern Tibet. The social climate also apparently allowed the emergence of a number of outstanding female Buddhist leaders and practitioners, more than most other periods of Tibetan Buddhist history. Several of these women were dubbed *Ma gcig*, literally, "One Mother." Ma gcig Lab sgron seems to have gained particular eminence during her lifetime, and her story was preserved in a number of biographical sketches.

It is not possible to substantiate the details of the longer and most widely known versions of her life, but this basic outline seems probable: She was born in Lab phyi (Labchi) in the Himalayan regions of southern Tibet. She achieved early notoriety as a talented reader of scripture, a service that religious figures performed for lay persons in order to generate merit. At the home of one such lay sponsor Ma gcig met a traveling yogi from India, with whom she coupled and had several children. She was vilified for this union and for having abandoned her status as a nun, and moved with her family eventually to the mountain retreat Zangs ri Khang dmar (Zangri Khangmar), which remained her base for the rest of her life. She separated from her partner some years later, and also left her children alone for periods in order to study with Buddhist masters. Her most significant teacher was Pha Dam pa Sangs rgyas (Pha Dampa Sangye), a somewhat mysterious figure who probably was from India, and who transmitted a cycle of Buddhist meditative teachings in Tibet that spawned its own set of lineages, called the "Pacification" (Zhi byed) transmission.

Pha Dam pa is said to have taught Ma gcig the techniques of the Gcod ("Cutting") meditative rite, but there is little evidence for this. It is just as likely that it is a technique of Ma gcig's own invention, drawing creatively upon Buddhist ideas and other meditative practices from the region. It provocatively features a visualized sequence in which the meditator identifies with the female Tantric deity Vajrayoginī, who then cuts off the top half of the skull of the meditator's visualized body. Vajrayoginī proceeds to cut up the rest of the meditator's corpse, and then boils it in the bowl made from the severed skull. This gruesome stew is then served to invited guests: the demons, goblins, and ghouls of the neighborhood, as well as beings to whom the meditator owes a karmic debt. Meanwhile, the meditator imagines having achieved unity with the enlightened deity Vajrayoginī.

The visualized sequence of Gcod is performed widely in traditional Tibetan society, along with distinctive and haunting tunes, often to the beat of a two-sided drum. It is employed both as a means of personal realization for the practitioner, and as a service to the community. The rite is thought to serve to exorcise demons and burdensome karmic debts in the region where it is chanted. Ma gcig herself is said to have used the technique to reverse the epilepsy of one of her sons. After her death, her teachings were preserved and transmitted by several of her children, and soon were adopted as a popular practice for wandering yogis as well as monks and nuns from virtually all schools of Tibetan Buddhism.

In addition to being credited widely with creating the Gcod tradition, Ma gcig is the subject of a cult of veneration for her yogic prowess. She is also revered for symbolizing an independent woman with charisma and self-conviction. Along with Ye shes mtsho rgyal (Yeshe Tsogyal), Ma gcig is one of the most common female figures with whom religious Tibetan women are identified, or considered to be emanations. In the twentieth century the Central Tibetan nun Ani Lochen was renowned as an emanation of Ma gcig, and she became a respected *guru* for many people in the government and leadership echelon of Lhasa and environs.

Ma gcig's hagiography claims that she is the only Tibetan to have introduced a Buddhist tradition to Indians, a notion based on the story that several "fleet-footed" Indian yogis came to visit her in her mountain retreat to study Gcod. Whatever the veracity of this story, it indicates a recognition of her creative contribution to Tibetan Buddhism, a recognition uncommon for Tibetan historiography, which almost always attributes the creation of new techniques to an inspiration of the Buddha or other Indic source. It is impossible to know how much of the meditation is actually of Ma gcig's authorship as such. Still, the tradition continues to be attributed to her today, and it retains its popularity both inside Tibet and in the exiled community in South Asia.

SEE ALSO Ani Lochen; Ye shes Mtsho rgyal (Yeshe Tsogyal).

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MAGEN DAVID.

The Magen David (Shield of David, Scutum Davidis), a hexagram or six-pointed star, has been at home in many cultures and civilizations, albeit without any readily identifiable meaning until the present century. In the Middle Ages, the Magen David appeared frequently in the decorations of Hebrew manuscripts from Europe and Islamic lands and even in the decorations of some synagogues, but it seems to have had then no distinct Jewish symbolic connotation. The Magen David, also called the Seal of Solomon (Sigillum Salomonis), was employed in the Middle Ages by Jews, Christians, and Muslims as a symbol with magic or amuletic power.

In the seventeenth century, the followers of the messianic pretender Shabbetai Tsevi adopted the Magen David. Amulets of the movement bore the hexagram with the Hebrew letters *MBD,* standing for *Mashiaḥ ben David,* "Messiah, son of David." Thus the hexagram came to be identified with the shield of the son of David, the hoped-for messiah.

In the late eighteenth century, the Magen David came into popular use in western Europe, perhaps as a meaningful new sign that could express or symbolize Judaism. As late as the nineteenth century, however, the Magen David was not yet accepted as a symbol by Orthodox Jews. Yitsḥaq Elḥanan Spektor, an influential Orthodox rabbi in Kovno (modern-day Kaunas), Lithuania, warned the local Reform congregations to remove the Magen David that graced their houses of worship.

The use of the Magen David was reinforced by two major events. First, in 1897, at Basel, Switzerland, the Magen David was officially adopted as the symbol of the newly formed Zionist Movement at the first Zionist Congress. Since 1948, the Magen David has appeared on the official flag of the state of Israel. Second, in the 1930s and 1940s the Nazis forced all Jews in lands under their control to wear a badge of shame: a yellow Magen David bearing the word *Jude* ("Jew"). Today the Magen David serves to identify most Jewish houses of worship, traditionalist as well as liberal, and it remains a positive symbol of Judaism.

See Also Amulets and Talismans; Geometry.

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MAGI.

The Greek word *magos* (Latin *magus*), borrowed from Old Persian *magu-*, has two distinct meanings. First, it refers to a Zoroastrian priest and usually has a neutral or positive meaning. Second, it describes someone who engages in private types of ritual with the intent to influence the world or the course of history, for which most languages only have words with negative overtones (magician, wizard, and sorcerer). Although this second meaning has had a lasting impact on the common vocabulary of modern Western languages (in the word *magic* and its derivatives), the fact that the magi originally were a priestly class among the Persians was rarely forgotten in Greco-Roman antiquity.

The Magi in Zoroastrianism. The Old Persian word *magu-* is of uncertain etymology and meaning. Its Avestan counterpart is only found once in the Avesta in a difficult passage (*Yasna* 65.7), where it supposedly means "member of a tribe." It has been suggested that this is in fact the original meaning of the word and that it came to be used in western Iran in the meaning "member of the (priestly) tribe" and hence "priest," but this is uncertain. It can be concluded that the word was not a term used for "priest" by the eastern Iranian Zoroastrians, who were responsible for the composition of the Avesta.

The word *magu-*, "priest," is well attested in western Iran from the Achaemenid period (550–330 BCE) onward. It is found in the royal Old Persian inscriptions and in administrative documents (in Elamite) found in Persepolis. *Magu-* is also well attested in contemporary non-Iranian sources, chiefly in Greek. This wide range of sources notwithstanding, it is difficult to specify what these priests really were or did. In the Old Persian inscriptions, the word is only used in the context of Darius's accession to power, which revolved around his struggle against the usurper Gaumata, who is consistently described as a magus. The relevance of this is unclear. Herodotos follows Darius's version of the story, but both in the Iranian and in the Greek materials the fact that the usurper king was a magus is not given much more thought. One piece of evidence from Herodotos has often been adduced as a possible solution to this problem: he mentions magi as a name of one of the six tribes of the Medes (*Histories* 1.101). This passage has been invoked many times to suggest that the magi were "originally" a priestly clan among the Medes, and this suggestion has opened the floodgates for a large number of speculations, most of which attribute many of the aspects of Zoroastrianism that seemed difficult to understand to the pernicious influence of these Median magi. This simple trick allowed scholars to shape for themselves a pristine Zoroastrian theology, going back to the prophet Zarathushtra, which had been perverted by later generations and especially by the Median magi. However, Herodotos's testimony is much too weak to support this type of reconstruction.

Some of the characteristics Herodotos attributes to the magi moreover are typical of Zoroastrianism. He writes that most of the Persians bury their dead, but not the magi: they leave the body unburied, to be eaten by dogs and birds (*Histories* 1.140). In the same passage Herodotos records that the magi kill as many ants, snakes, and other flying and creeping animals as they can. These are both characteristic elements of evolved Zoroastrianism and strongly suggest that the information Herodotos had assembled on the magi concerned Zoroastrian priests, even though Herodotus never mentions Zoroaster and pays little attention to the religious beliefs of the Persians. In Herodotos's *Histories*, the magi perform a variety of functions, which are all compatible with functions performed by Zoroastrian priests known from other sources. The magi accompany the Persian armies, performing libations and sacrifices. Their presence is required for every sacrifice, because they have to sing a special hymn, they interpret signs, dreams, and portents, and they also have functions that seem to be entirely unconnected with the religion, functioning as court officials and in administrative and legal positions.

Many of these aspects return time and again in Greek literature on the magi. A few generations after Herodotos, two important extra functions came to be attached to the magi: their role in Persian education and their role as theologians who spread and interpreted the ideas of Zoroaster. The evidence from the large number of Greek sources available has been shown to be fully compatible with what can be reconstructed of priestly duties from Iranian sources.

For the Achaemenid period the most important evidence comes from the Elamite Persepolis tablets, chiefly administrative documents recording the transfer of amounts of wine, grain, and other foodstuffs, frequently for services rendered. The magi occur numerous times in these texts as specialists in ritual (for a large number of gods) and in other, not clearly religious, functions. This situation is similar to the evidence from the Greek sources and is in fact typical for the later history of the magi.

Most of the evidence for that later history comes from the Sassanian period (224–642 CE). In post-Sassanian Zoroastrian sources (the Pahlavi books), the word *mogh*, the Middle Persian descendant of Old Persian *magu-*, is hardly ever attested. Instead of this generic word, more specific titles are always given that reflect a hierarchy and a specialization of functions. Even though the high priestly title *mowbed* certainly contains the word (it is derived from an unattested **magupati-*, "leader of the magi"), the generic title became unpopular among the Zoroastrians of Iran in the early centuries after the Arab conquests. Since many reconstructions of Sassanian history are based on sources from those later periods, the existence of the word in Sassanian Iran has sometimes been obscured. It is, however, not only frequently found in non-Iranian Sassanian sources (Syriac, Armenian, Greek) but also well attested on the most reliable Iranian sources from the period itself, namely personal seals. In fact the word *mogh* (written *mgw*) is one of the most common words on Sassanian seals and bullae. The word also had a long and distinguished career in Islamic Persian poetry, which shows that it had not disappeared from the common speech of the Persians. The question therefore arises why the Zoroastrians who formulated their tradition in the ninth century, the authors of the Pahlavi books, wanted to get rid of it; so far no reasonable hypothesis has been suggested for this problem. The only suggestion that makes sense is that the Arabic word *majūs* (borrowed from Syriac) was used not just to refer to Persian priests but to Zoroastrians in general and that the term came to be felt to be misleading for those who wanted to distinguish themselves as members of the priestly class.

The duties of Zoroastrian priests in the Sassanian period were varied. Apart from ritual and theology, magi also occupied themselves with administrative work in general and legal affairs in particular. Sassanian society is often depicted as a static society, in which the social classes (priests, warriors, and others) could not and did not intermingle. While it is generally acknowledged nowadays that that image does not give an accurate picture of Sassanian society (it is based largely on descriptions of the "ideal" organization of a Zoroastrian society), it is true that the priesthood and the military apparatus had separate hierarchies with representatives spread all over the empire. The extant evidence is not sufficient to understand the whole system, but it seems that a priestly hierarchy (which was never stable in the Sassanian Empire but subject to continuing modifications) was in place already in the third century CE. Its backbone was and remained the network of fire-temples that covered the whole empire and was one of the most important economic factors of Sassanian Iran. Priests thus controlled vast sums of money (and also land, slaves, and goods) that had been donated to the temples as pious gifts or deposited temporarily. Associated with these fire-temples, in all likelihood, were priestly schools (*hērbedestān*), where future priests were educated and where lay Zoroastrians received religious instruction.

Apart from their evident religious functions in theology and ritual, priests were found at court, as advisers to the king, and as interpreters of signs and dreams. They are also, as already mentioned, well represented in functions now defined as purely secular: the administration of the empire and the judiciary. Evidence for priests in these functions comes from seals and legal texts but also in significant quantities from Christian literature, chiefly in Syriac and Armenian, where the magi are always represented as the chief imperial force attempting to stem the tide of conversion to Christianity by trying and executing Zoroastrian apostates.

With the Arab invasions of the seventh century and the slow process of Islamization of Iran, the priesthood underwent dramatic changes. The first to disappear almost immediately were the court priests and the priests in secular offices. The evidence for priestly functions from the ninth century still shows a great variety in functions, but eventually a simple system replaced the earlier hierarchy. Among the Parsi Zoroastrians there are basically three priestly titles: the *ervad* (Middle Persian *hērbed*, "priestly teacher") is a priest in minor orders, the *mobed* is a fully ordained priest, and the *dastur* (Middle Persian *dastwar*, "someone in authority") is a priest of the highest rank associated with the most prestigious type of fire-temple. In modern Zoroastrianism, priesthood is hereditary. The question whether it has always been strictly hereditary is difficult to answer, but it is likely that it was. There is no evidence to suggest that priesthood became hereditary only in a later period of the religion.

Their administrative business aside, it is evident that the core of priestly duties consisted of ritual, theology, and the transmission of Zoroastrian literature. The latter function is critical for the first two mentioned. Almost all Zoroastrian literature from the premodern period that survived is priestly literature. This consists of several distinct collections. The Avesta, in its own language, chiefly consists of ritual texts. Most nonritual texts in Avestan have been lost, but there is some information on their contents from summaries in Middle Persian. The second important part of Zoroastrian priestly literature consists of exegetical translations of the Avestan texts. These are collectively known as *Zand* (a word presumably meaning "knowledge"). Far from being only a translation of Avestan texts, the *Zand* texts are interspersed with explanatory notes and exegetical discussions. The third part of

Zoroastrian priestly literature consists of theological, historical, and other works that are based on the *Zand.* The fourth part, finally, are priestly compendia and answers to questions posed by members of the community. The latter two categories are clearly part of the priestly tradition from a period when writing had come to be accepted: they are written compositions. This is not the case with the first two collections. For a variety of reasons, there are signs that writing came to be used for the transmission of religious texts only late in the development of Zoroastrianism. The evidence is strongest for the Avesta itself, for a special alphabet was designed for it, covering all the nuances of priestly pronunciation of the holy texts in ritual, that cannot have originated before the fourth or even the fifth century CE. Even after the invention of this alphabet, it seems that the oral transmission of the holy texts and their commentaries continued as the normal procedure. Since priests had to use both hands in the rituals they performed, they could not hold a book and had no use for it in most rituals.

Before the fourth century CE the transmission of religious knowledge was an exclusively oral process. Since the Avesta was composed in an eastern Iranian language but has been preserved among western Iranian priests, it is likely that the texts of the Avesta were memorized word-by-word by the western Iranian priests from a very early period (i.e., the sixth century BCE) and that the corpus of the Avesta thus became fixed. To facilitate comprehension of the texts, they were provided with a translation in the local language, which was transmitted alongside the Avestan texts. This translation grew in size considerably over time with the addition of glosses and learned comments. The amount of texts thus orally transmitted was large, and there are clear signs of specialization to make this oral transmission possible. First, the texts were divided over numerous specialists who memorized part of the sacred literature. A further development, evident from later sources, divided the priesthood into two different classes: those whose chief responsibility was the performance of rituals and those whose responsibility lay in education and theology. Ritual priests memorized the Avestan texts with their accompanying rituals, and teacher-priests memorized the Avestan texts with their commentaries. The latter class of priests was therefore unsuited for the performance of many rituals, but it is this class that was responsible for the development of Zoroastrian theology.

The main evidence for this theology in Iran itself comes from the Sassanian and Islamic periods, but the evidence from Greek literature shows much earlier traces of recognizably Zoroastrian theologies attributed to (Zoroaster and) the magi. Since the majority of Avestan texts have been lost, a firm chronology of the development of Zoroastrian ideas is not possible. There are many different versions of the crucial Zoroastrian story of the creation of the world and the mixture of good and evil in it and also of ideas about how history will come to an end in the perfection of creation and the separation of evil from good. This seems to support the idea that a systematic view of Zoroastrian theology was developed in priestly circles on the basis of a large number of selected passages from Avesta and *Zand.* The early attestation of systematic views on this subject in Greek literature moreover shows that a priestly synthesis was reached comparatively early in the development of the tradition. As one would expect, it was constantly refined and adapted to new social, political, and cultural settings. In addition to a variety that arose in the course of history, one would expect different views to have been propounded in different regions of the Iranian world, in different priestly schools, and in different social settings. Evidently the requirements of the Sassanian court and large urban centers, where all subjects of learning and philosophy from Iran and the rest of the world were pursued, were different from those in rural parts of the empire.

This may explain, for instance, the matter of Zurvanism. Some priests held that the good and the evil spirits had been born from a primal deity, Zurvan, the god of time. This idea was based on the exegesis of difficult passages from the Avesta and it is attested chiefly in Armenian, Syriac, and Greek sources. It is almost entirely absent from Zoroastrian texts. Scholars have often seen a willful excision of this theology from Zoroastrian literature and interpreted this as a sign of a fierce sectarian struggle, for which there is, however, no evidence. If one assumes that Zurvanite ideas, which show a much stronger influence of Greek philosophy than most Zoroastrian texts, were characteristic of the type of theology developed in court circles, then their absence from most Zoroastrian texts, which derive from a single priestly family in southwestern Iran, is no longer surprising.

THE IMAGE OF THE MAGI IN THE ANCIENT WORLD. As noted above, important evidence for the activities of the magi is in Greek and Latin literature. The word *magos* was borrowed in an early stage of contact between Iranians and Greeks, presumably in the sixth century BCE. From the early sources onward the word has the double meaning of "Persian priest" and "magician." As Persian priests the magi appear chiefly as the followers of Zoroaster, heritors of an old tradition of wisdom. Their chief use in many discussions is to illustrate the philosophical position of positing two primal, eternal realities (good and evil), in other words, dualism.

In many more passages, however, magi appear as magicians. In an early development, Greeks started applying the term to non-Persians as well, and eventually Greek individuals began to apply it to themselves. The Persian magi were thought to have special powers in visiting the realm of the dead, in guiding souls to the otherworld, or evoking the spirits of the dead. They excelled in magic, using herbs, stones, and spells for their purposes, and they developed a reputation for astrological knowledge and interests. It should be noted that in this context the word is not always used in a negative sense. Even Christian literature shows a certain ambivalence in this respect. The despised figure of Simon Magus shows the negative use of the term, whereas the Magi who first recognized the newborn king of the Jews (*Mt.* 2:1–12) show the lasting impact of the positive reputation of these "Persian" wise men in the realms of astrology and divination. In general, however, the Western traditions on the magi are a Western invention fueled by stereotyped views of the East as a place from which one could expect both unfathomable wisdom and acute danger.

SEE ALSO Saoshyant.

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MAGIC

This entry consists of the following articles:

THEORIES OF MAGIC
MAGIC IN INDIGENOUS SOCIETIES
MAGIC IN GRECO-ROMAN ANTIQUITY
MAGIC IN MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE EUROPE
MAGIC IN EASTERN EUROPE
MAGIC IN ISLAM
MAGIC IN SOUTH ASIA
MAGIC IN EAST ASIA

MAGIC: THEORIES OF MAGIC

Magic is a word with many definitions, an English word that is linked to others in most European languages but for which there may be no precise equivalent elsewhere. In most known societies, magic forms an integral part of the sphere of religious thought and behavior, that is, with the sacred, set apart from the everyday. In some societies, especially in the industrialized West, it is generally accepted as superstition and even as a form of sleight of hand used for entertainment. In addition it has almost always been considered to mark a distinction between Western and so-called primitive societies, or between Christian and non-Christian religions. Therefore it is not really feasible to consider "magic" apart from "religion," with which it often has been contrasted, as many of its defined elements refer to their opposition to what both local adherents and outside observers consider the more orthodox elements of religion.

Magic has usually been without any agreed detailed content of belief and behavior. But there is a general consensus as to what this content is. Most peoples in the world perform acts by which they intend to bring about certain events or conditions, whether in nature or among people, that they hold to be the consequences of these acts. If Western terms and assumptions are used, the cause and effect relationship between the act and the consequence is mystical, not scientifically validated. The acts typically comprise behavior such as manipulation of objects and recitation of verbal formulas or spells. Not everyone in a given society may actually perform magic, which may be done only by a specialist magician. As an example, in parts of Melanesia, it is reported that a man may plant a yam, fertilize it, weed it, and, when the tuber is ripe, harvest it: this is a straightforward technical activity. He may also perform rites or say spells that are thought to help the yam grow and ripen, and perhaps grow larger than those of his neighbors. To a Western farmer, these are magical acts and any link between them and their intended consequences is a mystical one, existing in the mind of the performer and not in any scientifically verifiable actuality. Conversely many Western farmers insist on planting crops during a full moon or other point in the calendar, and consider this to be essentially a technical or scientifically effective act; but the Melanesian would disagree and consider it superstitious, ineffectual, or merely stupid. Two kinds of performance may therefore be distinguished, but whereas external observers may make this distinction, the magical performers may not, regarding both performances as necessarily complementary and effective.

Studies of magic as a superstitious form or aspect of religion, and especially as a "traditional" or "premodern" form of belief and practice, are misleading. It has usually been taken for granted that magic declines in "modern" technologically and scientifically "advanced" societies, becoming a superstition that loses meaning and believed effectiveness. This may be the opinion of Western scholars concerned with religious truth and counter-beliefs, concepts held essentially by adherents of "world" religions with religious books and texts. For them, the religions of peoples without written texts are defined as lacking any ultimate truth; they are considered and defined to include all manner of beliefs in magic, witchcraft, sorcery, and divination (all forming the occult). They typically define "true" religions more narrowly, omitting the occult as outside the religious. Conventional studies of the Old Testament, for example, discuss witchcraft as a sign of early and pre-Christian modes of thought, while orthodox Muslims may deny beliefs in magic or witchcraft as linked to Satanic, unorthodox, and erroneous forms of knowledge that do not merit acceptance as orthodox. In brief, the inclusion of magic as part of a religion generally makes that religion, as viewed from Western eyes, "primitive," theologically untrue, and even as unworthy of serious study by those who consider themselves to be orthodox believers. It may become virtually impossible to consider magic as having any purpose or function that is morally acceptable, socially positive or productive, or efficacious in promoting the common good.

Much of the evidence offered for magic is inaccurate, sensational, and inadmissible, the kind of material to be found in many travelers' tales of mysterious powers by exotic practitioners they have not actually witnessed or in the accusations of conjuring the Devil by accused witches in late medieval Europe. There are, however, two other kinds of evidence. One is exemplified by the accounts of trained anthropological observers, who can speak the local languages and ask questions of the actual practitioners; the other is exemplified by the writings of scholars of past societies where there is reliable documentation from original sources. An example of the first kind is the work of Bronislaw Malinowski (1884–1942), who witnessed and described yam planting and other magical acts in Melanesia. Another example is in the writing of Edward Evans-Pritchard (1902–1973), who researched the use of magic in southwestern Sudan. Accounts of this kind have the immense advantage of being placed in the contexts in which the rites are carried out. Examples of the second kind are by G. E. R. Lloyd on the ancient Greeks and Keith V. Thomas on post-seventeenth-century England.

Scholars of many kinds have been writing about magic, its aims, its origins, its methods, and its believed efficacy for centuries, even before the days of the ancient Greeks. It seems sensible here not to attempt a historical survey about magic using as sources those who have accepted its validity for themselves; it is more productive to deal with the writers who have tried to understand the practice of magic among other societies whose systems of thought they have not shared at the outset but that they have come to understand during their research. Relatively little can be gained from the writings of those who could not remain objective observers. For example, the writings of the late medieval inquisitors or of King James I of England are important as data for analysis, but in themselves they throw no more light on theories of magic than would the verbal statements of a Melanesian yam magician.

Certain basic questions that have been asked by writers on magic include those tracing the relationship of magic to science and to religion, and researching its instrumental and technical efficacy, its social and psychological functions, its symbolism, and the nature of its thought. If the once popular concern with magic's evolutionist implications—that it marks an archaic stage of cultural evolution—are omitted, these questions essentially concern either the functions and efficacy of magic or the nature and processes of the system of thought that is claimed to lie behind it. It has generally been accepted by those studying magic that magical performances do not "work" in an immediately technical or instrumental sense. Melanesian yams are not affected by magical spells, other than in the indirect sense that a yam farmer might take greater care of magically protected yams and that neighbors might be wary of damaging them. Clearly many cases lie on the borderline; alchemy, which contained much that is generally accepted as magic, did at times stumble onto scientifically correct relations between phenomena and events.

Questions of systems of thought deal with these same problems, but at another level at which arise questions of symbolism, interpretation, and translation between cultures. Perhaps the most long-standing problem is that anthropology (and, to a lesser extent, psychology, history, and philosophy) involves the distinction between the notions of "primitive" and "civilized," a distinction with such pejorative implications that the terms are now rarely used, although there are scholars who use the word "primitive" in the sense of "primal." Theories of magic have essentially been concerned with the problem of the relationship between what are often referred to as "traditional" and "scientific" modes of thought. Other terms that have been used in this context include prelogical/logical, prescientific/scientific, irrational/rational, preliterate/literate, and "closed/open" beliefs in magic, the performance of magical rites being identified with the first term in each of the above pairs. Discussion of whether these are meaningful distinctions that actually exist between societies goes back to the work of Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, discussed below. Much later work has been devoted to refining, refuting, and assessing the worth of his findings, especially once it became clear that if there are indeed two contrasting modes of thought, they are normally found together in any particular society, so that references to a dichotomy between "primitive" and "civilized" are misleading.

At the risk of oversimplification, it may be said that in the history of theories of magic the battle has been between what have been called the "literalists" and the "symbolists." Briefly, the literalists suggest that performance of magical actions is instrumental, so that the thought behind them (depending on the views of the writer) is either similar or dissimilar to that behind scientific experiments. Therefore the world may be divided into those societies whose magicians try to achieve a cause-and-effect relationship in events, whether technical or psychological, and those where the magician's place is taken by the scientist. The symbolists argue that this distinction misses the point. What is important for them is that magicians and scientists may or may not be trying to achieve the same results but are using different conceptual systems. They speak different languages, the one symbolic and the other concrete, and translation or interpretation between them is meaningless until this fact is taken into account. The main questions, therefore, are those of the nature of the different modes of thought and how they may be translated into one another.

MAGIC IN SOCIAL AND CULTURAL EVOLUTION. The first important writers on magic whose views retain currency—or at least interest—are those nineteenth-century evolutionists generally known as the intellectualists because they based much of their work on their opinions of what prehistoric and archaic peoples might have thought about the world, as imagined from their academic armchairs.

The most influential of these writers were E. B. Tylor (1832–1917) and James G. Frazer (1854–1941). Both distinguish magic from religion as distinct modes of thought and ritual performance. Both claim to base their definitions and analyses on ethnographic material, although much of it was in fact erroneous and faulty. Their method, which they rather bizarrely referred to as "comparative," suffered because they failed to place the data in its social and cultural contexts; their approaches were essentially psychological in the sense that they depended upon their own assumptions about what might have been the behavior of other peoples rather than on categories formulated by those peoples themselves.

Tylor defined magical knowledge and performance as "pseudo-science": the magician and his public (Tylor's "savages") postulated a direct cause and effect link between the magical act and the intended result, whereas the link was not scientifically valid but based on the association of ideas only. Tylor considered magic to be "one of the most pernicious delusions that ever vexed mankind" but nevertheless regarded it as based on a rational process of analogy that has been called the symbolic principle of magic.

His predecessors had taken a belief in magic as a sign of the infantile and ignorant thinking of early mankind. To argue that "savages" were capable of rational thought, even in a scientifically unfounded context, was a significant advance. He was also interested in learning why "savages," capable of rationality, accepted magic even though it was clearly ineffective. His views, which have been accepted by most later anthropologists, were that magical and empirical behavior are often coterminous, in that natural processes often achieve what the magician claims to do; that failure can be attributed to hostile magical forces on the part of rival magicians or to the breaking of taboos; that there is great plasticity of definitions of success and failure; and that the weight of cultural tradition and authority validates the practice of magic. Finally Tylor maintained that "magic" and "religion" are complementary parts of a single cultural phenomenon and are thus not merely stages in the evolutionary development of mankind, although he believed that magical belief and practice decreased in the later stages of human history.

The other great evolutionist of the period, Frazer, held rather different views that have long persisted in popular thought on the subject. He built up an evolutionary schema with three main stages of thought, each paramount in turn. He placed magical thought as the most primitive, then religious thought, and finally scientific thought. He contrasted magic with religion and with science, although he discerned certain resemblances between magical and scientific thought. He placed magic at an earlier stage in human development for three reasons: (1) because in his view it was logically simpler; (2) because it persisted as superstition even in industrial societies and so forms an underlying and persistent substratum; and (3) because the Australian Aborigines (at that time taken as the extreme case of an archaic remnant people) believed in magic rather than in religion (in this, Frazer's ethnographic facts were simply incorrect). So in his schema, magic was the earliest form of thought and behavior involving the supernatural. As people came to realize that magical techniques were ineffective, they postulated the existence of omnipotent gods that controlled nature and needed to be supplicated and propitiated. Finally, men began to recognize the existence of empirical natural laws, first by alchemy and later by true science, and religion came to join magic as a superstition. The "evidence" for this development was virtually nonexistent outside Frazer's mind, but he fit a vast amount of data into "proving" his deductive hypothesis.

Frazer defined the magical according to his belief that magical performances are sympathetic rites based upon his Law of Similarity, by which like produces like, and the Law of Contact, by which things that have been in physical contact then act upon one another even at a distance. He defined magic based on similarity as Homeopathic Magic and that based on contact as Contagious Magic, and he added taboo as negative magic acting according to the same "laws." Since much of science seemed to him also to be based on the same premises, he linked it with magic by accepting Tylor's earlier view of the existence of a rational link between cause and effect in the magician's mind. It is easy today to point to the flaws in these intellectualist arguments, citing their authors' projection of their own modes of thought onto other cultures, but at the time, these theories were highly influential.

Tylor and Frazer were followed by many less original scholars who refined their predecessors' somewhat crude schemata of evolution. In England were R. R. Marett (1866–1943), Andrew Lang (1844–1912), A. E. Crawley (1869–1924), and others. Marett maintained that in the earliest stages of human evolution, religion could not be differentiated from magic, because at that prior pre-animistic stage of development, religion did not condemn magic as mere superstition. He coined the term magico-religious, a blanket term that has muddled the issue of the natures of magic and religion for almost a century. Marett held that magic arises from the recourse to make-believe acts that the magician considers symbolic and different from their realization, and as a means of resolving emotional tensions. Magic is a substitute activity that gives courage and confidence, a view later reflected in the work of Malinowski. Crawley, writing less specifically, held that "primitive" peoples' mentalities are totally religious or superstitious, so that magic cannot be differentiated from religion, because both are based on fear in the face of an omnipotent unknown. In the United States, Alexander A. Goldenweiser (1880–1940) made the point against Frazer that magic and science are in fact not similar, in that only the scientist sees order and the working of regularities in nature, whereas the magician is unaware of them; he suggested that in early societies, magic was closely linked with religion but that later they grew apart, religion becoming more centrally associated with the formal structure of society and magic assuming a place on the fringes of legality and organized religion.

These were not the only psychologically minded scholars to discuss the nature of magic. Another important figure was Wilhelm Wundt (1832–1920), who held that magical thinking, as the earliest phase in the development of religious thought, was based on emotional processes, the principal one being the fear of nature, which appears as hostile to human well-being and which is conceptualized as an evil force that can be controlled by magic. In the same line of development came Gerardus van der Leeuw (1890–1950), who maintained that the magician believes that he can control the external world by the use of words and spells, and Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), whose notion of the omnipotence of thought was basic to his argument. Primitive magical rites and words correspond to the obsessional actions and spell-like speech of neurotics, who believe that they can affect reality by their own thoughts and wishes. Freud accepted the gross evolutionist schema of Frazer as a parallel to the psychological development of the individual. It is tension in the face of the sense of impotence that gives rise to magical thought both in the child and in early man: magic is wish fulfillment. Unfortunately this analogy has no basis in the ethnographic data supplied by anthropologists and must be considered a "just-so story." It puts a pattern of coherence into Freud's psychological work but tells little of the nature of magic and magical thought.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF MAGIC. In the years around 1900, the works of other kinds of thinkers became influential and have continued to be more so than that of the evolutionists and intellectualists. The principal theorists among these more sociologically minded scholars were Émile Durkheim (1858–1917), Marcel Mauss (1872–1950), and Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (1857–1939) in France and Max Weber (1864–1920) in Germany. All saw the social as more important than the individual or psychological.

The three French writers followed Auguste Comte in substituting sociological explanations of social processes for psychological ones. For them religion, including magic, is a social fact, brought into existence by collective action and then possessing an autonomy of its own; it is not merely an illusion (Durkheim realized that the religious and the magical both persist in "scientifically" based societies). The "religious" is defined as sacred, a realm set apart by the religion's adherents, whose beliefs and rites unite them into a single moral community or church whose members' ritual, linked to the sacred, fortifies their faith as members of a single community. The religious is a collective practice, there being no religion without a church in that sense. Magic, however, is an individual affair in the sense that the magician has a clientele and not a church. In magic, therefore, the function of ritual to fortify the faith of the group is lacking, and instead the magician attempts to bring about certain consequences by the use of magical or sacred objects and words. Durkheim's study of magic formed an unimportant part of his main study of Australian Aboriginal religion and seems to be included mainly for completeness of his treatment of what had conventionally been included under the "religious." However, in a sense the gap had already been filled by Marcel Mauss's essay eight years earlier, wherein he set out his general theory of magic. Both Mauss and Durkheim defined magic not by the structure of its rites but by the circumstances in which these rites occur. Much of Mauss's book is taken up with the relationship of magic to religion and science, the latter being similar to magic by analogy, the former being similar to magic in that both are based on beliefs in mana and the sacred.

Lévy-Bruhl did not present any theories of magic as such, but he was centrally concerned with the associated mode of thought, which he called prelogical or prescientific, that most later writers have associated with belief in magic. He argued that modern Western societies are scientifically oriented in their thought whereas "primitive" societies are mystically oriented toward using the supernatural to explain unexpected and anomalous events. Prescientific "collective representations" inhibit cognitive activities that would contradict them, so that events attributed to causes that are prescientific are not put to objective verification. "Prescientific" or "prelogical" thought (Lévy-Bruhl was later to withdraw the latter term) contravenes the rules of science and Western logic, but otherwise it is rational and builds up into a single coherent system. Examples are beliefs in the effects of witchcraft or of magical rainmaking. It is important that Lévy-Bruhl stressed the content of thought, which is determined by a society's culture, and not the process of thinking, which is not a social phenomenon but a psychological and physical one (a point on which he has often been misunderstood). A person's perceptions are determined by his or her culture's notions of the social and ritual value of those elements of experience that are perceived rather than merely being seen. That is to say, "primitives" do not perceive "mystically" because they are some way mentally inferior but perceive certain phenomena as significant because of the mystical properties given to them by their culture. Lévy-Bruhl called such thought "mystical" because "primitive" thought, unlike Western scientific thought, does not distinguish between the "natural" and the "supernatural" but considers them to be a single system of experience. There is therefore a "mystical participation" between the "primitive" and what Western science would call the natural, the social, and the supernatural, a participation that composes the "primitive's" total social personality.

In Germany the scholar Max Weber was working on somewhat different yet related problems. Particularly interested in the problem of rationality and its relationship to economic and political growth and development, he based his work mainly on comparisons between precapitalist religions in Europe, China, and India. His main argument was that magic had been the most widespread from of popular religion in pre- and proto-industrial societies, and in many parts of the world (especially in Asia, where capitalism might have been expected to develop early but did not), the recourse to magic prevented the rationalization of economic life. The power of magic might be broken by the appearance of prophets (of whom magicians were the precursors) who introduced new and rational schemes of reward and salvation. Much of the significance of Weber's work lies precisely in his views as to the relationship between the decline of magic and advances in technology. For him the former was a necessary forerunner of the latter, a view that has since met with considerable and sustained opposition from more literalist writers.

MAGIC IN ITS SOCIAL AND CULTURAL SETTING. The writers just mentioned were the last of the classic anthropologists and sociologists to have written about magic. Their successors based their findings and hypotheses on their own field research, where the importance of what people who believe in and use magic actually do and say about it and of the social contexts of their actions and statements become evident. The era of armchair scholars, however brilliant, was over. On the other hand, more recent work may be seen at one level to be based largely on proving, disproving, and refining the theories of the classic scholars. The later researchers and reports may usefully be divided into the literalists and the large and more diverse group of "symbolists," although it must be stressed that these labels are only rough and ready ways of identifying them.

The leading literalist was the Polish-born Bronislaw Malinowski, the first important anthropologist to present a coherent theory of magic based upon his own field research in the Trobriand Islands of Melanesia during the First World War. He insisted that among the Trobriand Islanders what is generally defined as magic is quite different from religion as religion refers to the fundamental issues of human existence while magic always regards specific, concrete, and detailed problems. For the Trobriand Islanders, magic was of several kinds and had several functions. First, its use lessened chance and risk and induced confidence in activities where risk was high and/or linked to techniques that may therefore easily be ineffective. His famous example was that of the use of magic when fishing in the open sea but not when fishing in the shallow lagoon. Besides acting as an extension to the technical, magic extended one's abilities into the realm of the miraculous, as with love magic, by which an ugly man attracts beautiful women, old men become rejuvenated, or a clumsy dancer becomes an agile one. And magic can also extend into the super-material or super-moral, as with the use of black or evil magic, or sorcery, that was thought to kill at a distance. Magic was to be expected and generally to be found whenever one came to an unbridgeable gap, a hiatus in his or her knowledge or powers of practical control.

However, Malinowski went further, in an important way. He stressed that the islanders' land was well watered and fertile and their sea rich in fish, so that the use of magic was not merely an extension of technical competence. The production of food provided, in addition to physical nourishment, a means of gift-giving and exchange whereby interpersonal bonds were recognized and prestige made and kept. Magic protected people from failure and enabled them to achieve success in which emotional and social involvement were high. Magic raised the psychological self-confidence of its believers, may have helped them achieve higher stages of technological and moral development, and may have enabled them better to organize their labor and to control the cooperative work on which the well-being of society's members depends. Magic "ritualizes man's optimism" (Malinowski, 1978, p. 70). Malinowski stressed also that among the Trobriand Islanders, the basis of magic lay in the immaculate saying and transmission of words and spells, which were validated by myth that created an inviolable tradition as to the magic's efficacy.

Malinowski projected his findings among the Trobriand Islanders onto all humankind, making their particular cultural beliefs, thoughts, motives, and actions into universals, and he has rightly been criticized for so doing. But at the same time, he did witness and participate in the magical practices of a "primitive" people. He was not adducing the functions of magic from his own thoughts as to what they might do and think but started from the ethnographic experience itself. It is true that, although he came to know the Trobrianders well, he may be suspected of projecting his own thoughts, emotions, and motives onto them when discussing the psychological functions of magic that he considered so central. Nonetheless, Malinowski revolutionized the study of magic.

Malinowski was essentially a successor to Frazer, who wrote the introduction to Malinowski's original book on the Trobriand Islanders in 1922. The first important immediate successor to the writers of the sociological school of Durkheim and Mauss was A. R. Radcliffe-Brown (1881–1955), who carried out research among the Andaman Islanders of the Bay of Bengal ten years before Malinowski's Trobriand work. Publishing *The Andaman Islanders* in 1922, Radcliffe-Brown created a book that was a landmark in the development of anthropological studies of religion and magic. In his work he did not rigidly differentiate between religion and magic. The Andamanese recognized certain objects and substances as possessing magical qualities in the sense that a magician may use them to cure sickness, control the weather, and the like. The magician acquired magical power and knowledge by coming into contact with spirits that possessed a mystical power, both dangerous and beneficial, for which Radcliffe-Brown used the Polynesian word *mana.*

He argued that the power of spirits and the substances and objects in which mana is manifest, or can be made manifest by a magician, was used to mark the importance of social position when it was being changed (e.g., at birth, death, in sickness). When undergoing these transitions, people became vulnerable to the dangers inherent in mana, and so they observed taboos and fears of pollution, which were removed by the use of this power in a magical performance. By this means the community was kept aware of the importance of cooperative ties between its members and, thus, of their sense of interdependence. The rites both gave confidence to the individual and (more importantly, in Radcliffe-Brown's view) demonstrated the importance of the activities magic delineates in this way—fishing for large animals, for example. These were important precisely because they represented communal activities and dangers and so emphasized the importance of members' dependence on one another. In brief, Radcliffe-Brown introduced to theories of magic the new dimension of ritual and social value and played down its relationship to technical knowledge and science.

THE LATER "SYMBOLISTS." Behind the work of both Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown lay the problem raised by Lévy-Bruhl, that of the nature of the "prelogical" or magical mode of thought and worldview, for which the terms "mythopoeic" and "prescientific" have also been used. Since his work there has been continual discussion on the points that he raised. The most important figure in this context has been E. E. Evans-Pritchard, whose *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande* (1937) has been the most influential of all writings on these topics. Evans-Pritchard carried out extensive field research among the Azande people of the southwestern Sudan, largely with the intention of testing Lévy-Bruhl's hypotheses. His book deals with Zande views on mystical causation in the contexts of accusations of witchcraft, of the use and working of oracles and divination to determine the identity of witches, and of the recourse to magic and the performances of magicians. He presented a detailed firsthand account of Zande magical beliefs and practices, setting them in their social contexts and stressing especially the modes of thought and the "collective representations" that lay behind them. Zande magic was based on the use of "medicines," mainly plants and vegetable substances, in which existed magical powers that were inert until activated by the verbal spells of the "owner," the magician, and which may be used for protection, production, and punishment of evildoers. Most magical performances were private, carried out by individuals, but there were also public magicians who performed magic that had consequences such as war, rain, and vengeance for death. Magic was in the hands of men, who were considered more responsible to use these powers than were women.

In an earlier paper, published in 1929, Evans-Pritchard contrasted Zande magic with that of the Trobriand Islanders as described by Malinowski. Among the former, there was no concept akin to that of mana that provided the power of magical objects for the Trobrianders, and the spell was of less importance and used essentially as a directive to the mystical power of the "medicines." Whereas among the Trobrianders, magic was "owned" by clans, as were the myths that validated it, among the Azande, it was spread out among the entire community, the distinction being due to differences in social organization and political authority. Evans-Pritchard emphasized the social context far more than did Malinowski and also stressed that magic could not be understood as an isolated phenomenon but only as part of a "ritual complex" (which one might call the occult), composed of magic, witchcraft, divination, and oracles. Indeed, without belief in witchcraft, Zande magic would have little meaning. Making an important point that went back to one made earlier by Radcliffe-Brown, Evans-Pritchard concluded that the main objective of the use of magic was not to change nature but rather to combat mystical powers and events caused by other people. In his research, the long-argued link between magic and science falls away, replaced with a network of social links, tensions, and conflicts of central importance.

Evans-Pritchard also discussed the reasons that magic persisted despite what would appear to be its frequent failure: believers in magic had a "closed" system of thought that inhibited "scientific" verification. His argument goes back to Lévy-Bruhl and has been taken up by later writers who have contrasted closed and open systems of thought, a dichotomy that has perpetuated the long-standing contrast between magic and science. Lévy-Bruhl had remarked that ignorance is culturally determined, and Evans-Pritchard stressed that what appeared to be failures in magical performances were attributed by the Azande not to their inefficacy in a technical sense but to failure of the magician to perform the magical rites correctly and to the counter-activities of hostile magicians or witches. The system answered its own problems in its own terms.

Later writers, in particular Robin Horton, have enlarged on the contrast between open systems of thought, where efforts are made objectively to prove or disprove hypothesized causal relations between scientific acts and natural consequences, and closed systems of thought, where this kind of verification is not attempted and success and failure are seen in the light of the already culturally accepted world-view. Other writers, especially those in collections of essays edited by Bryan Wilson in 1970 and by Horton and Ruth Finnegan in 1973, enlarged on the social and cultural factors, like literacy or division of labor, associated with this basic distinction between closed and open systems.

The discussion was taken further by suggesting that although the causal links in both magic and science are based on analogy, as had been said by Frazer and all later writers on magic (although using such terms as metaphor, metonymy, homeopathy, and the like), the analogies were of different kinds. Stanley J. Tambiah, for example, distinguishes "scientific" analogy from "persuasive," "rationalizing," or "evocative" analogy. He points out that the Azande themselves recognized the analogical or metaphorical basis of magical performances that have as their aim the transferal of a particular property or quality to a recipient person or object. Because of the similarity and/or difference between two objects, the magical rite transferred the desirable quality of the one to the other. The performance of the magical rites achieved and marked changes of quality or state through the "activation" of the analogy by the "performative" rite of magic.

The implication of these remarks is that the discussion of magic has widened in recent years from its relationships to religion and science to the mode of culturally determined thought behind it and to the social contexts of magical performances. The discussion has relied largely on the pioneering work of Lévy-Bruhl and Evans-Pritchard, but it has not all taken place among their anthropological followers. Important work has been done by philosophers such as Peter Winch and Martin Hollis, classicists such as G. E. R. Lloyd and E. R. Dodds, and others. A historian whose work merits mention here is Keith V. Thomas; his *Religion and the Decline of Magic* is concerned with the decline of magic in England from the seventeenth century onward. He stresses that, historically, magic cannot be separated from astrology and witchcraft, the relationship between them being both intellectual and practical.

Before the seventeenth century, religion and magic could not easily be distinguished, but with the rise in England of forms of Protestantism, there came a separation between the two, and the importance of magic declined. Thomas follows Weber in seeing this decline as permitting the "rationalization" of economic life, but he analyzes the historical situation with greater subtlety. He suggests that factors that led to the decline of magic included the growth of popular literacy and education, greater individual mobility, the development of forms of banking and insurance, and the rise of the new disciplines of economics, sociology, and statistics that were to remove much chance and uncertainty from everyday life. He also stresses the importance of optimism and aspirations in science and in medicine. Even though available technology had not yet greatly advanced, people considered that it could and would. For the history of English magic, at least, he considers the views of Weber as of more relevance than those of Malinowski. Even if the latter are correct for the Trobriand Islanders, they are not for what have become industrial societies. Malinowski's view, put neatly by Godfrey and Monica Wilson as "magic is dominant when control of the environment is weak," can be shown not to hold for "historical" and industrial societies (1968, p. 95).

A highly influential scholar in this context is Claude Lévi-Strauss, who has been concerned for many years with the nature of the magical worldview. He makes the point that by his performance, the magician is making "additions to the objective order of the universe," filling in links in a chain of causation between events that are distant from each other in space or in time (1966, p. 221). Magic may therefore be seen as a "naturalization of human actions—the treatment of certain human actions as if they were an integral part of physical determination," whereas in contrast religious rites bring about a "humanization of natural laws" (1966, p. 221). Religion and magic imply each other and are in that sense complementary and inseparable, neither having priority of any kind over the other.

Lévi-Strauss has suggested that the notion is similar to that of mana. Both are subjective notions, used by Westerners to mark off "outside" thought as different from "scientific" thought and by the Azande (for example) to distinguish surrounding peoples as more involved with magic and thus inferior to themselves (much as Westerners might call other cultures "superstitious" rather than "religious"). If magic is a subjective notion in that sense, it can have little or no meaning in cross-cultural analysis and understanding. The concept of magic is in itself empty of meaning and thus susceptible to the recognition of any meaning that one cares to give to it. Following this, Lévi-Strauss has implied that the category of magic must be abandoned.

Lévi-Strauss's observations notwithstanding, magic remains a category that has been and is used in accounts of systems of belief and ritual and so does merit continued discussion. Rather like the notion of totemism, which has also been "dissolved" by Lévi-Strauss, its shadow remains, and to understand most writings on comparative religion, its history as a concept must be analyzed in the wider contexts of differentiation between culturally determined modes of thought and forms of society rather than in the earlier terms of its relationship to religion and science.

Many more recent studies of magic, mainly by anthropologists and based on actual observation of its living believers and practitioners, have been concerned with the questions earlier discussed by Thomas in his work on the decline of magic and its link to modernization. In addition, writers have tended to follow Evans-Pritchard and to see magic as one element in the wider complex of the occult. The occult includes beliefs and practices of witchcraft, sorcery, divination, and sometimes of spirit possession. Unfortunately the word has acquired an implied quality of the uncanny and mysterious. This is an outsider's view and usually not that of local believers and practitioners. The "occult" is in practice part of the "everyday." It is considered normal, sensible, accepted. It may at times be seen as evil, as "black," but evil is everywhere, an accepted aspect of everyday life, even if unwelcome or feared. Like all religion, the occult is intimately linked to power and control of some people or forces over others. Practitioners, whether or good or evil, exert power and control; have to undergo training, acquisition of knowledge, and initiation; are professionals and experts; and can often pervert their skills. The normality of magic and the occult is an essential quality. It is not that everyone can practice professionally nor know much about it. But it is open to all to use it if they wish and can afford it. As with all forms of medicine, the "doctor" is trained and may monopolize the skill needed to make use of the occult, but his or her skills are part of total local knowledge.

In many places magic has indeed declined, but witchcraft, charismatic, and modern "deliverance" Christian cults have flourished and increased in importance. Many societies, throughout the world, undergo processes of modernization, globalization, and industrialization. They witness increases in the ambiguities and contradictions of morality; confusion of good and evil; breakdown of kinship, familial, and community ties and obligations; and greater differences between rich and poor, powerful and weak, and women and men. These factors are reflected in beliefs and practices of the occult that are considered to lie behind and to explain them, and are used to counter them. The occult becomes an important element in rivalry between modern political factions, ethnic groups, and inter-regional religious movements. The weak and poor may use the occult to give themselves some control over the powerful and wealthy; and the latter may use it to keep the former in their inferior place. Although magic may at times decline, its decline cannot be understood in isolation but only as part of the persistence of the entire occult complex, any element of which may rise or fall in importance with changes in the structure and organization of any particular society and community over time. Most earlier analyses of magic failed by merely distinguishing "magic," defined in the observer's own ethnocentric terms, as opposed to "religion."

To see magic as part of the occult (and so perhaps overcome the problem of translation of Eurocentric terms like "witchcraft" and "sorcery"), one may follow Lévi-Strauss in accepting its lack of value as explanatory phenomenon, and to single it out as being in "decline" may miss understanding it. Magic does not stand on its own but is part of the occult, which varies from one society to the next. It is the very normality of magic and the occult, as wide-ranging yet put into action or controlled by ordinary people, as a weapon in everyday relations and competition, that enables them to persist in ever-changing form.

SEE ALSO Miracles; Spells; Superstition; Witchcraft.

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Finally, there are two important historical works that deserve mention: Keith V. Thomas's *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London, 1971), a historical account of the decline of magic in England since the seventeenth century, and G. E. R. Lloyd's *Magic, Reason, and Experience: Studies in the Origins and Development of Greek Science* (Cambridge, U.K., 1979), an innovative study of the relationships between magic and science.

JOHN MIDDLETON (1987 AND 2005)

MAGIC: MAGIC IN INDIGENOUS SOCIETIES

Magic, in the view of many anthropologists and other scholars of small-scale societies—those in which effective political control is restricted to a village or group of villages—is the manipulation of enigmatic forces for practical ends. Magical means are said to be extranatural or supernatural, and the objectives of magical intervention, natural. The magician prepares a variety of special objects or "bundles," "spells," "incantations," or "potions," which are thought to bring about, in some mysterious way, real changes in a person, object, or event.

In the simplest foraging societies everyone knows some magic, and a shaman is usually a part-time specialist in healing and divination who may be called on for public religious ritual. In agrarian and other, more complex societies magicians tend to work for private clients in curing illnesses, in ensuring a positive outcome of an intended act, or in modifying the behavior of a third party. Magic in these societies, where there is greater specialization, tends to be practiced in private and, at times, against the public interest.

Some anthropologists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries believed that so-called primitive peoples confused magical causality and natural causality. Today most anthropologists hold that magicians can distinguish the one from the other. Magic is used to coax nature to do its job, not to replace it; that is, the magician tries to engender a desired natural process as opposed to some other natural process, and this he accomplishes principally through the use of metaphor—the "power of words"—or other magical formulas. The magician may also deceive the client into imagining that some noxious natural substance "removed" from the client's body is the source of his sickness or whatever supernatural harm has befallen him (when, in fact, the magician comes upon the substance through a trick and does not remove it from the client's body). Magic may be used to supplement natural causality so that no chances are taken. When natural causality is not known, use of magic may still be rational: that is, given that many actual or perceived dangers are beyond human control, one must at least try something.

Typically, magic is contrasted with science and religion. It differs from both in that its purposes are practical, not theoretical or cosmic. It shares with science the desire to obtain a utilitarian understanding of everyday events, and with religion the use of extranatural processes. Thus magic is neither primitive science nor the religion of primitive people, contrary to views prevalent among nineteenth-century theorists; rather it supplements each. In small-scale societies magic may be entwined with science and religion to such a degree that their disengagement is arbitrary. Observers of these societies tend to label communal rituals and beliefs "religion" and private uses of mysterious forces for personal gain "magic." In such societies, applied science is craft—the ability to make utilitarian tools and other objects—or the practical knowledge of planting, hunting, or curing. Here again magic is inexorably tied to science in a supplementary way, in that magical procedures give the craftsperson, gardener, or herbalist a measure of confidence in a risky endeavor: magic can protect a newly built canoe against sinking, keep insects out of gardens, and heal the sick. Magic is never an alternative to practical science or technology; rather it is an attempt to tip the odds in the favor of the practitioner in the likely event that scientific knowledge is limited.

In small-scale societies magic may represent the instrumental aspect of religious belief: the same myths—the stories that explain a people's origins or an ultimate cause—validate religion and magic. However, in religion the myths are believed to be universally applicable and are used to support the public good or the established order, whereas in magic the myths are fragmented and used for individual purposes. Thus the conflict between the social good and individual need sometimes finds expression as a conflict between religion and magic. As manifested in Europe, that conflict involved the church and the practice of witchcraft. Anthropologists have applied the term *witchcraft* to practices outside Europe, but the conflict with well-established religion that the use of this term suggests is not necessarily present in simple societies.

The terms *sorcery* and *divination* have also been applied to magical traditions outside Europe. Although there is substantial variation from society to society and among scholars who use these terms to describe indigenous beliefs, witchcraft usually refers to the involuntary practice of magic, and sorcery to the deliberate practice of magic. Witchcraft is thought to be involuntary, since at times the witch may be unaware of the condition. Furthermore, a witch may be possessed against his or her own will. Witchcraft receives greater attention in the literature than does sorcery, possibly because witchcraft appears to be more common and because anthropologists are interested in the social implications of accusations of witchcraft. Witchcraft activities may have good intentions ("white" magic), or they may have evil intentions ("black" magic), although here again field data suggest that such a distinction is not always clear. Divination is not identical to magic, as no manipulation of natural events is sought. Yet it is not entirely separate from magic. Divination is the attempt to reveal hidden information by "reading" the mystical symbolism found in otherwise ordinary objects or action. The oracle exposes the probable result of an intended action. The person who consults the oracle may then choose the action if that result is desired, or he may select some other course of action if it is not. Divination may not necessarily involve foretelling the future. An oracle may reveal the cause of some community problem: someone is a witch and so is the source of harm. Identifying the problem suggests its solution: exorcise the witch. Thus the diviner taps the same mystical forces that the magician employs. But, unlike the magician, the diviner does not attempt to change events; rather he seeks to know what has happened or what will happen.

An early interpretation of magic was set forth by James G. Frazer (1854–1941) in *The Golden Bough*, a massive study of supernatural practices around the world. In common with many social philosophers of the late nineteenth century, Frazer held that use of magic was typical of early societies. Human thought progressed from magic to religion and thence to science. Magic is like science in that both explain the causality of ordinary events by suggesting that cause A has effect B. However, magic is pseudoscience in that it confuses supernatural efficacy with natural results. Today most anthropologists disagree with Frazer on this point and follow the interpretation of Bronislaw Malinowski (1884–1942), who held that the magician is well aware of the distinction between the supernatural and natural realms.

Scholars look more kindly upon Frazer's classification of types of magic, if only for the sake of convenience. According to Frazer, magic follows the "law of sympathy": magical causes may have distinct effects through one or the other of two procedures. The first is homeopathic magic: the magician acts out a procedure on models of the intended victim, and what he does is mysteriously transmitted to the victim himself. "Like produces like" is the principle here. A pin stuck in a doll that represents the victim causes harm to the victim himself. The second type of sympathetic magic is contagious magic: items that have been in contact with the victim, such as his hair or nail clippings, may be magically manipulated to produce harm in the victim.

Malinowski best explicated what is today a commonly held view among scholars: that magic and science supplement each other and are not to be confused. In extensive fieldwork among inhabitants of the Trobriand Islands off northeast New Guinea (1914–1920), Malinowski found that these gardening and seafaring people were highly empirical in their approach to horticulture, canoe building, and sailing. Yet they consistently tempered their pragmatism with magic. In sailing, they ordinarily relied on their craft skills and seamanship, but they understood, too, that native craftsmanship and seamanship were at times insufficient aids in withstanding the unexpected foreboding condition, like a capricious storm on open water. For these possibilities the Trobrianders used magic: it seemed to make the unknown amenable to human action and therefore provided psychological reassurance for a potentially perilous voyage. For Malinowski, then, there is no evolution from magic to religion and ultimately to science; rather these three facets of human behavior must be understood together, as aspects of a cultural system.

In his classic study of a people of Zaire, *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande* (1937), E. E. Evans-Pritchard (1902–1974) took up Malinowski's argument that magic has its own logic. If one accepts the Zande worldview, then belief in magic follows. "Witchcraft, oracles, and magic are like three sides to a triangle," wrote Evans-Pritchard. "Oracles and magic are two different ways of combatting witchcraft" (p. 387). Consultation of oracles in divination can locate the source of witchcraft, and use of magic can combat it. For example, the Zande hold that all human death is caused by witchcraft. True, if a man walks under a cliff, is struck by a rock, and subsequently dies, the Zande would not deny empirical causality: surely the rock caused the death. Yet they would also claim an attendant causality: what, it could be asked, caused that person to walk under the cliff in the first place? Why did the rock fall just as the person was under the cliff? Surely some witch was responsible. To discover the identity of the witch, the Zande would consult the oracles.

The pioneering work of Malinowski and Evans-Pritchard contributed much to the development of the modern anthropological view of magic: specifically, that it has social, cultural, and psychological functions; that it is a rational activity akin to but separate from science; and that its use is not restricted to the so-called primitive peoples but may also be found in complex societies. These scholars emphasized the practical use of magic, as a private act in a social matrix. But there is a related stream of anthropological thought that concerns magic as an individual's ritual or cognitive act.

In his *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) saw magic and religion as embedded in each other. Both contain beliefs and rites, but whereas religious rites are concerned with the sacred, magical rites are directed toward the utilitarian. Religion works toward communal goals while magic deals with private ends. It is this that explains the abhorrence with which organized religions reject magical practices. Religion involves a church operating in public, while magic involves an individual operating in private.

Marcel Mauss (1872–1950), Durkheim's son-in-law and intellectual heir, saw magic as "private, secret, mysterious and tending at the margin towards the forbidden rite" (Lukes, in Sills, 1968, p. 80). Like Durkheim, Mauss emphasized the similarity between magic and religion. In Mauss's view, both involve mystical power. Magic is a "social fact," a fundamental unit of society. Every rite that is not communal involves magic. For peoples of Oceania, the supernatural or mystical force in magic is *mana*, a nonsentient supernatural power. Similar notions are found in many other parts of the world, and anthropologists have labeled them *mana* as well. *Mana* may be located in objects or people. It is the power transmitted through the laying on of hands when one is cured of illness. *Mana* resides in the "ghost shirt," a special garment worn by some nineteenth-century Plains Indians to protect against bullets. And *mana* is to be found in all lucky charms. The transfer of *mana*, or the aura given off by an object or person with *mana*, is at the heart of many magical practices: the transfer is said to ensure supernatural protection.

Central to any discussion of magic are a number of puzzling questions. How can people actually believe that a special garment will protect them against bullets? Why do people let themselves be duped by the hocus-pocus of the magician? Are people so credulous as to believe that placing a photograph of an intended victim in a coffin will actually harm that person?

Lucien Lévi-Bruhl (1857–1939) provided one answer to these questions. Like Frazer, Lévi-Bruhl developed an evolutionary scheme to account for cultural differences. He focused on human thought, however, not social institutions. For most of his career he held to what was essentially an elaboration of the racist notion that so-called primitive peoples are less fully evolved than "civilized" peoples, and that their thinking, which Lévi-Bruhl labeled "prelogical," is fundamentally childlike. Civilized peoples, in his view, think rationally, logically. Prelogical thinking involves a different order of perception: mystic properties are attached to inanimate objects or to living things. Magic is thus part of prelogical thinking, as are many other aspects of so-called primitive culture: language, enumeration, memory. Toward the end of his career, Lévi-Bruhl modified his position on the inherent difference of certain groups of human beings. Humans taken as a whole, he came to believe, have capacities for the various styles of thought: prelogical mentality is to be found everywhere, but it is emphasized more in primitive societies.

This brings us close to Claude Lévi-Strauss's view of the "savage mind." Magical action is, in his view, a subset of analogical thought, the mental activity emphasized in simple societies. Magic involves an assumption that metaphors work according to physical or natural laws. The case of the Zande peripatetic hit by a falling rock might be solved in this fashion: human intent of harm to that individual was paralleled by the natural event of the falling stone.

Lévi-Strauss formulated his own contrast between magic and religion: religion is "a humanization of natural laws," while magic is "a naturalization of human actions—the treatment of certain human actions as if they were an integral part of physical determinism" (1962, p. 221). Lévi-Strauss envisages no evolutionary sequence beginning with magic: magic, religion, and science all shade into one another, and each one has a place in human society.

S. J. Tambiah also sees analogy at work in science. Science, however, begins with known causal relationships between phenomena and then, through analogy, discovers the identical causal relations between unknown phenomena. Meaning imbued in the magical act is analogously transferred to the natural activity. This is not, Tambiah argues, faulty science but a normal activity of human thought: magic is a specialized use of analogy and the imputation of meaning from the magical procedure to a natural referent. Thus magic does what science cannot: it helps create a world of meaning. Seemingly bizarre magical behavior is to be understood as an exercise in the exploration of meaning in practical activity, not as a refutation of natural law.

Many anthropologists would argue that magic is part of the normal daily routines of people in modern, complex societies. Clearly magic is involved when a baseball player, in order to get a hit, crosses himself or picks up a bit of dirt before batting. *Mana* is the "charisma" of the persuasive individual; it is also the "prestige" of the person of high social station. Magical protection is afforded the automobile driver who places the statue of a saint on the dashboard. And magic is involved in the daily ritual of personal ablutions and grooming: "I must always wear this tie with that suit," "If my hair is not styled just so, I won't feel right." The doctor says, "Take two pills and call me if you don't feel better in twenty-four hours," and we take his advice, since, like most laypeople, we tend to see the science of the expert as a form of magic. And this is necessarily so, as we cannot all be experts in everything, yet we still need to reduce our anxiety and gain a sense of order and meaning in our lives.

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In a theoretical essay entitled *Magic, Science, and Religion* (New York, 1948) Bronislaw Malinowski criticized Frazer's armchair scholarship, and it is with Malinowski's *Coral Gardens and Their Magic*, 2 vols. (Bloomington, Ind., 1935), that the modern anthropological field study of magic really begins. E. E. Evans-Pritchard's *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande*, 2d ed. (1937; Oxford, 1950), is a classic field study of magic among a traditional African group. Religion in small-scale societies, especially among the indigenous peoples of Australia, is the subject of Émile Durkheim's *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1915; New York, 1965). Greater depth is given to the Durkheimian approach to magic in Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss's "Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie," *L'année sociologique* 7 (1904). Subsequently translated as *A General Theory of Magic* (London, 1972), this important essay is quoted by Steven Lukes in his article on Mauss in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, edited by David L. Sills (New York, 1968), vol. 9, pp. 78–82. The racist position that the use of magic is an outcome of "primitive" thought is set forth by Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, especially in his *Primitive Mentality* (New York, 1923).

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MAGIC: MAGIC IN GRECO-ROMAN ANTIQUITY

From the beginning, magic was an essential part of Greco-Roman culture and religion. Over the course of history, however, it changed in appearance, scope, and importance from being an element of simple rituals to becoming highly complex systems claiming the status of science and philosophy. To the extent that magical ideas were presupposed in early agrarian and sacrificial rites, purifications, and burial customs, magic even preceded the culture of the Greeks. Later, magical beliefs and practices steadily grew in significance and diversity. In the Hellenistic period that followed Alexander the Great (d. 323 BCE), magical material increased considerably. In Classical Greece of the sixth to fifth centuries BCE, Thessaly and Egypt had already been known as the prime sources of magical knowledge; but only Hellenistic syncretism produced the abundance of material now available. Within the Greco-Roman world magic formed to some extent a common tradition, yet at the same time each cultural region put its own stamp on it. The main traditions were those of Greek, Greco-Egyptian, Roman, Jewish, and Christian magic. While clearly distinguishable, these cultural contexts also overlapped to a considerable degree and produced a variety of syncretic forms.

SOURCES. The material to be considered falls into two categories. First, there is an abundance of primary sources: amulets, magical gems (often with pictorial and verbal inscriptions), curse tablets, spells on papyrus and on strips or sheets of metal, inscriptions, symbols, drawings, paintings, small figurines and larger sculptures, tools, and finally handbooks of magicians that collect the materials they used (especially the Greek Magical Papyri). Second, there is also a vast amount of secondary source material. Almost every ancient author presents literary and artistic descriptions of magical beliefs and practices. There are also many short references to such beliefs and practices as they existed at the time. Philosophers discussed the matter from early on. Scholarly investigations from the Hellenistic and Roman periods are extant (Plutarch's *On Superstition*; Pliny's *Natural History* 30). At that time the distinction between acceptable and unacceptable forms of magic became common, making it possible for even the educated to use magic in some positive way. Legal provisions had to be developed to deal with magic, especially with forms of it that were reputedly used to harm others.

Despite its reputation as illicit, fraudulent, and superstitious, magic was an essential part of daily life at all levels of society. The uses of magic seem to have been unlimited. In any case, they were also connected with legitimate forms of ritual, myth, symbol, and even language in general. Magic was presupposed in all forms of the miraculous, and in medicine, alchemy, astrology, and divination. Even so, magic retained its dubious reputation, and there were always those few who viewed it with total skepticism.

TERMINOLOGY. The phenomenon of magic is designated by several Greek terms, especially *mageia*, *pharmakeia*, and *goēteia*. The term *mageia* is derived from *magos* (pl., *magoi*), originally a Persian word (*magush*). Herodotus describes the Magoi (Magians) as a Median tribe. Later they were assumed to be priests and scholars of astrology, divination, and related subjects. Whereas Plato (*Alcibiades* 1.122) still speaks of *mageia* in a positive sense as referring to "the magian lore of Zarathushtra," Aristotle uses the term also in a negative sense as we do today (frag. 36; also Theophrastus, *History of Plants* 9.15.7). This negative meaning, which has little to do with the original meaning, becomes predominant in the Hellenistic period, when new words develop besides *magos* and *mageia*, as for instance *mageuein* and *magikos*. The positive meaning, however, is found in the writings of the magicians themselves, especially in the Greek Magical Papyri.

The negative meaning was taken over by the Romans; in Latin the terms are *magia*, *magicus*, and *magus*, as well as *maleficium* and *maleficus*. Modern English has inherited this negative meaning, with the exception of the Magi of *Matthew* 2:1.

DESCRIPTIONS OF MAGIC. What constitutes magic was already disputed in antiquity. Roman officials and intellectuals reflect the negative reputation that magic had acquired. Pliny (*Natural History* 30.1–2) points out its fraudulent and dangerous character and has a theory about its origins as a decadent mixture of elements from medicine, astronomy, and religion. Apuleius (*Apology* 26) sums up the view of it as being vulgar and making preposterous claims. By contrast, practitioners of magic provide favorable descriptions of the art (Apuleius, *Apology* 26; Greek Magical Papyri, passim), or they distinguish between lower and higher forms; *goēteia* became the lower, *mageia* the general, and *theourgia* the higher magic. This distinction allowed Neoplatonic philosophers, especially Iamblichus and Proclus, to accept theurgy as a form of philosophical magic.

GREEK AND ROMAN MAGIC. For reasons of methodology it is important to distinguish between primary (performative) and secondary (descriptive) material.

Primary sources. Primary sources for ancient magic consist of various kinds of artifacts, images, symbols, and written texts. Collections of such sources are today housed by public museums and libraries or with private collectors. The cataloging and publishing of these widely dispersed materials are still in progress.

Amulets. Greco-Roman antiquity has left us a large number of amulets of different kinds and purposes. The word *amuletum* occurs in Pliny and corresponds to the Greek *phulaktērion*. Amulets were magically potent objects that averted evil or increased a person's or a deity's divine power. They were worn around the neck or on the head, or arm, or were posted in various places in the house (on doors, at thresholds, etc.). Amulets come in many shapes and forms. Best known are the Egyptian scarab, the hand showing the *fica* (the obscene gesture called "the fig"), the phallus, the eye. Other forms are divine symbols and figurines, replicas of other parts of the human body, animals, and plants. Precious and semiprecious gems engraved with images of deities, inscriptions, and magical symbols were very popular. Often amulets were placed in capsules (*bullae*). While Egypt was the classical land of amulets, they were known in all parts of the ancient world. Among Jews the *tefillin* and the *mezuzah* should be mentioned, and among Christians the cross and the fish.

Curse tablets. Curse tablets, or *defixiones* (from Lat. *defixio*, "binding spell"; Gr., *katadesmos*), are known from Greece since the time of Homer. A large number of lead lamellae are extant from fifth-century Greece, but curse tablets exist also in the form of ostraca, seashells, and papyri, upon which the curse formulas were inscribed, often with the names of the cursed and the curser. The tablets were deposited in the ground near places where the spirits of the dead were believed to be or in such places as houses, baths, and sports arenas, so as to be communicated to avenging underworld deities (especially Hermes, Hekate, Persephone, and Typhon). Curse tablets were used for a variety of purposes, especially in erotic magic, court trials, political intrigues, and sports (gladiators, horse races). From the earlier and simpler curse developed the later, more elaborate, syncretistic forms of the Hellenistic and Roman eras; besides the magical formulas, inscriptions often included so-called *voces magicae*, characters, or drawings. A special form was the magical letter to the underworld deities.

Curse figurines. Curse figurines, of which several examples and descriptions have survived, were also widely used. To curse someone, one made a wax or clay figurine of the person and then stuck needles or nails into the figurine or mutilated it, while curse formulas were spoken over it. Like curse tablets, the figurines were deposited in the ground. This form of curse was apparently popular in erotic magic.

Drawings. Drawings have magical power in themselves, as extant magical papyri show. The subjects of the drawings can be deities, persons, or animals.

Tools. Magical tools are known to have existed and have in fact been found (nails, disks, etc.). The most important discovery was a set of tools found in Pergamum.

Symbols. A large number of magical signs and symbols appear on amulets, gems, and tablets. Although seemingly in use since Pythagoras (see Lucian, *Pro lapsu* 5), most of them are still unexplained today. The magicians called them *charactēres*. In Gnosticism they were also taken over by Christian magic (*Book of Jeu*, *Pistis Sophia*).

Incantations. Incantations belong to the magic of the word. They consist of magical formulas, prayers, and chants. The term comes from the Latin *incantamentum*, "incantation, spell" (Gr., *epoide*). Many examples of *incantamenta* are found in inscriptions, papyri, and literature, where they are quoted or described. They were widely used in medicine (healings, exorcisms), weather magic, cultic invocations of gods and demons, and erotic magic. Their significance for philosophy and rhetoric was recognized by the Sophists and Plato. They also appear as literary motifs in sagas, novels, myths, aretalogies, mystery cults, and collections of oracles.

Hymns. Hymns to the gods are closely related to incantations. In terms of poetry and religion, hymns are more and even highly developed forms. They were composed metrically and sung, with accompanying cithara and dance. Their basic form included the invocation of the gods, the gods' names and epithets (expressed in relative clauses, participles, adjectives, etc.), and the petition. Hymns existed from Archaic times on. Major extant collections include the Homeric Hymns (mainly from the eighth to the sixth centuries BCE), the Orphic Hymns (probably from the second century CE), and the hymn fragments inserted in the Greek Magical Papyri, some of which may be ancient.

Magical handbooks. Magicians collected the material they needed in handbooks, some of which are extant, as for example the great magical papyri of Berlin, Leiden, London, and Paris. Such handbooks include a wide variety of spells to be used by the magicians themselves or to be sold to customers. There are also rituals for acquiring assistant demons (*paredroi daimones*), initiation rituals, deification rituals, invocations for oracular séances with deities, and procedural matters (preparation of ingredients, instructions about when various procedures can be undertaken, etc.). Among the spells, those designed to attract a lover, harm an enemy, or restrain anger are most numerous. Other spells have to do with various illnesses, bedbugs, business problems, catching thieves, and horse races. To find out what the future holds, a host of mantic spells and longer rituals are provided. Outstanding among all these collections are the so-called Mithraic Liturgy, which exhibits yet unexplained relationships to the Mithraic cult, and the "Eighth Book of Moses," which contains three different versions of an initiation ritual. In addition to collecting magical material, the handbooks told magicians how to make and use amulets, curse tablets, figurines, and drawings, and how to use tools.

Secondary sources. Whereas primary sources present magical practices and beliefs directly, secondary sources presuppose, describe, or discuss them. The literature of Greek and Roman antiquity contains innumerable examples of such secondary sources, but careful distinctions must be made: while many authors have real knowledge of popular magic or even access to primary sources of magical literature, there is at the same time a purely literary tradition in which the same themes, motifs, and terms show up again and again. Therefore some authors simply imitate the descriptions of magical acts found in earlier authors or attempt to supersede them. While both kinds of authors may flourish simultaneously, some authors may have received their information from secondary sources exclusively.

Literary texts. Magic is a common literary motif in both Greek and Latin literature. Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* contain many allusions to and descriptions of magical acts. Pliny (*Natural History* 30.1) states that the *Odyssey* in particular was recognized simply as a book of magic. In fact, Homeric verses were used later as magical formulas. Magic plays a role in Odysseus's encounter with the witch Circe (*Odyssey* 10.274ff.) and his descent into Hades and consultation with the seer Teiresias (*Odyssey* 11.14ff.). The Homeric Hymns have numerous references to magic, some of which (depending on whether the hymns actually were used in the cult) may be primary rather than merely secondary sources. The *Hymn to Demeter* 228–230 is especially important because of its reference in the Demophon episode to a ritual baptism of fire. From the beginning, literary interests were focused not only on erotic magic but also on death and the underworld with its deities, especially Hekate and Persephone (e.g., Hesiod's Hekate episode in *Theogony* 411–452). There is also, of course, a close relationship between the literary and the pictorial art. Greek drama took to the subject as well, expressing it either in episodes (e.g., the calling up of the ghost of Darius in Aeschylus's *Persae* 619–842) or in whole tragedies (e.g., Euripides' *Medea*, treating one of the great witches of antiquity). Ancient comedy used magic for its own purposes, as in the description of a *goēs* ("quack") in Aristophanes' *Plutus* (649–747) or Menander's *Deisidaimon* and *Theophoroumene.* Theocritus's second idyll, entitled *Pharmakeutria* (The Witch), became a literary prototype for many later poets.

The superstitious man as a literary and ethical type was described by Theophrastus (*Characters* 16). The hymnic tradition was continued by the third-century BCE poet Callimachus (*Hymn to Demeter* 3–6; *On the Bath of Pallas* 9) and his pupil Apollonius of Rhodes, whose *Argonautica* included several magical sections (3.7ff., invocation to Erato; 744–911, Medea's preparation of magical drugs; 1163–1224, Jason's nocturnal sacrifice to Hekate; 1225–1407, Jason's magical defeat of the giants). Especially popular were descriptions of scenes of necromancy. In the Roman period the second-century Greek satirist Lucian of Samosata provides an almost complete inventory of magical beliefs and practices, as did the Greek novels.

In Roman literature the tradition continues with an increasing interest in the dramatic and the bizarre. Vergil's eighth eclogue (64–110) describes a magical ritual performed by a deserted lover that shows exact knowledge of magical details, although it is based upon Theocritus's second idyll. In the *Aeneid*, dramatic magical scenes are connected with the death of Dido (4.504–676). Horace's fifth epode has a macabre scene of the abduction and murder of a child.

Philosophical and scientific investigations. According to ancient tradition, philosophers have been preoccupied with magic since pre-Socratic times. The names of Heraclitus, Pythagoras, Empedocles, and Democritus appear several times in connection with magic, and spells under the names of Pythagoras and Democritus are found in the Greek Magical Papyri. Although the historical value of these references is doubtful, philosophers seem to have investigated magical phenomena since Pythagoras, who also may have been the first to make a positive use of it.

Greek philosophy in general rejected magic. The Skeptics, Epicureans, and Cynics produced an entire literature combating magic. But the attitude gradually changed with the development of demonology, mantic, and astrology. The Hermetic writings and the Neoplatonic philosophers Iamblichus and Proclus (and probably even Plotinus) accepted forms of magic and integrated them into their systems.

Scientific compendia of magical beliefs and practices are extant from the Roman period. Pliny's *Natural History* contains a history and theory of what he calls the *magicae vanitates* (30.1–18) and a large collection of remedies (see also book 28). Although written as an apology, Apuleius's *Apologia* (*De magia*) is in fact a compendium of magic. Apuleius's other works are also valuable sources for the magical beliefs of his time (see especially the *Metamorphoses*).

Legal provisions. Ancient law had no provisions for prosecuting magicians for the practice of magic. However, there are numerous accounts of trials in which magic played a role. These were trials not only of magicians and witches but also of philosophers (e.g., Anaxagoras, Socrates, Apollonius of Tyana, and Apuleius of Madaura). According to ancient writers, these persons were accused of murder by poisoning (*pharmakōn*) or of failure to honor the gods properly (*asebeia*), accusations broad enough to add emotional furor to a wide range of charges. If magic as such was not a reason for prosecution, harming a person by means of magic was. Plato included legal provisions against such injury in his *Laws* (11.933. D). The Romans went further and included property damages caused by weather or agricultural magic in the *Tabulae XII.*

JEWISH MAGIC. Magic played a somewhat different role in Judaism as compared with neighboring religions. The Old Testament shows that Israelite religion was well aware of the importance of magic in the religions of Egypt and Babylon, but on the whole it viewed magic negatively. For the Old Testament, magic is either foreign or marginal. Magicians are called in by Pharaoh (*Ex.* 7–10) or Nebuchadrezzar (*Dn.* 2:2); they serve Jezebel (*2 Kgs.* 9:22) and Manasseh (*2 Chr.* 33:6). The prophets warn against magic (*Is.* 47:9–15, *Jer.* 27:9, *Ez.* 13:17–19, *Na.* 3:4, *Mal.* 3:5, *Mi.* 5:11–12). The religion of Israel is believed to be more powerful than all magic, which is excluded by law (*Ex.* 22:18; *Lv.* 19:26, 19:31, 20:6, 20:27; *Dt.* 18:9–22). Especially important is the necromancy in the story of the witch of Endor (*1 Sm.* 28).

This picture, however, is deceptive. Pre-Israelite religions, most of them saturated with magic, have left numerous traces in Israelite religion; furthermore, popular Israelite religion must not be confused with what the Old Testament conveys. In this popular religion, magic has a firm place that was often approved of even by "official" religion (e.g., Moses' and Elijah's magical wands in *Ex.* 4:20, 17:8–13; *2 Kgs.* 4:29, 4:31; Urim and Tummim, ephod and terafim in *1 Sm.* 2:18, 14:3, 14:18; *Jgs.* 17–18; *Dt.* 33:8). More important than amulets and rituals was the magic of the word, especially curses and blessings and above all the name of Yahveh (see especially *Jgs.* 13:6, 13:17–18; *Ex.* 3:14). The name of Yahveh became the most important magical element in Judaism and, beyond it, in Hellenistic syncretism. Therefore the God Iao plays an enormous role in the Greek Magical Papyri, and on the magical gems and amulets of the Hellenistic and Roman period.

These various developments persist on a far broader scale in rabbinic Judaism. The official rejection of magic in rabbinic literature must be seen against the background of popular religion and the whole mystical tradition

(Merkavah, Qabbalah), both of which were very open to magical beliefs and practices.

Christian Magic. For early Christianity, magic presented difficulties. On the one hand, Christians had inherited Judaism's negative attitude toward magic (see *Gal.* 5:20, and the typical attitudes expressed in *Acts* 8:9–24, 13:6–12, 19:13–19). On the other hand, the emphasis on miracles and sacraments implied approval of some forms of magic. Jesus' activities as a miracle worker were soon attacked as being the work of a magician possessed by Beelzebub (*Mk.* 3:22–27 and parallels). Beginning with the presynoptic sources of the Gospels, New Testament apologetics was increasingly preoccupied with defending Jesus against classification with the magicians. Since his exorcisms and miracle work could not be ignored, distinctions were introduced to separate miracles from magic. Similarly, miracles worked by Christian healers had to be separated from those of non-Christians. This was accomplished by treating the latter as acts done by magicians.

Problems arose also because of the close affinities between the epiphanies of the crucified and resurrected Christ and the magical concept of the return as demons of persons who had died of violence (*biaiothanatoi*) (see especially *Lk.* 24:36–43, *Jn.* 20:19–23). Moreover, magical presuppositions in the rituals of baptism and the Eucharist led to practices approved by some and disapproved by others (see especially Paul, who tried to correct misuse in *1 Cor.* 1:10–16, 8:1–11:1, 11:17–34, and in *Rom.* 6:3–10). Paul first distinguished between abuse (magical misconceptions) and proper use (sacraments) of these rituals. The fundamental theological problems stated or implied in these early texts continued to assert themselves throughout the history of Christianity and have led to ever new conceptualizations.

From the second century on, popular Christian religion showed greater interest in amulets, relics, symbols, and signs (see the apocryphal gospels and *Acts*). The gnostics also made positive use of magic (see especially the *Book of Jeu*, the *Pistis Sophia*, and the writings found at Nag Hammadi, Egypt). The official church, through its bishops, synods, and the writings of the church fathers, was forced to combat and suppress new Christian forms of magic and superstition. The extant wealth of amulets, spells, relics, holy places, symbols, and images indicates that complete suppression was impossible. Still, Christian theology was able to contain and restrain the lower forms of magic by accepting some forms of christianized magic while eliminating other, unwanted forms. Liturgy and sacramental theology developed special kinds of magic thought to be compatible with the doctrines of the church. By the end of antiquity, the church had become the home of many forms of magic that coexisted in an uneasy and tenuous symbiosis. Some magic was banned, some was tolerated, some was approved, but none achieved domination.

See Also Amulets and Talismans; Cursing; Incantation; Theurgy.

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HANS DIETER BETZ (1987)

MAGIC: MAGIC IN MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE EUROPE

Information about medieval and early modern notions of magic is derived mainly from two types of source: (1) theological writings that describe and condemn magic, generally referring to it explicitly by the term *magic*, and (2) other works telling in greater or lesser detail how to perform particular types of magical operation, which are usually not identified explicitly as magical. The word *magic* is mainly an abstract and analytical term used in the theological literature. Practitioners more often described the purposes their operations served (e.g., healing, cursing, arousing love), without troubling to place these operations in an abstract category such as *magic*. In the fifteenth century this distinction broke down, and individuals who prescribed and practiced magic began referring to themselves as magicians or workers of magic. Apart from the theological works dealing with magic and the descriptions of concrete magical procedures, the study of law codes and the records of prosecution also provide some insights.

Magical techniques mentioned in medieval and early modern sources are largely identical with those found in many other cultures: manipulation of images to afflict another person physically or emotionally, administration of potions for these same ends, recitation of charms for healing or curses for harm, placing curative or apotropaic substances on a client's body, placing harmful substances in a victim's bed or under the threshold, gazing into reflective surfaces to divine the future or learn about hidden affairs, and conjuring spirits and bidding them to provide aid.

THE THEOLOGICAL TRADITION. Many early Christian writers condemned magical practices, which they associated with the pagan traditions of Greco-Roman society. The North African writer Tertullian (c. 200 CE) represented magic as a kind of fraud taught by demons to impressionable women. Origen (c. 185–c. 254) discussed magic chiefly in his work against the pagan writer Celsus. He too represented magic as an art taught by demons, but he emphasized the real efficacy of words, whether sacred or magical. The early Christian attacks on magic were transmitted to the medieval West primarily by *The City of God* and other writings of Augustine of Hippo (354–430). Although Augustine wrote after the Roman emperor Constantine (d. 337) and his successors had given Christianity an official status as an established religion, he still felt a need to respond to pagan critics of Christianity, and one part of his argument was the link between paganism and magic. For Augustine, magic was taught by demons and worked through the power of demons. Magical plants and stones might seem to have inherent power, but it is demons who disclose this power. Augustine conceded that there are objects in nature (such as the magnet) that do have inexplicable properties, but what he referred to specifically as magic was for him a form of pagan idolatry.

From the seventh century into the twelfth, the theological tradition was passed down through writers, including Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636) and Hincmar of Rheims (c. 806–882), who continued to draw on early Christian literature. This tradition's concern was fourfold: (1) to trace the origins of magic, seen as largely the invention of Zoroaster; (2) to categorize various types of magic, particularly forms of divination such as pyromancy (divination by fire), aeromany (air), hydromancy (water), geomancy (earth), and necromancy (consultation of spirits); (3) to expose the effects of magic as largely illusory; and (4) to explain its real effects as caused by the aid of demons. Within this tradition, magicians were so named because of the greatness of their evil acts—the noun *magus* (magician) is derived from the adjective *magnus* (great). They cause storms by disrupting the elements, they transform natural objects, they cause disturbance to people's minds, and, by the power of incantations, they can kill their victims.

John of Salisbury's (1120–1180) *Polycraticus* stands within this tradition. John divided magic into three primary categories: illusions (*praestigia*), bewitchments (*maleficia*), and divination (*mathematica*). He took over from classical and early medieval sources various subdivisions of divination, depending on the means used for divining the future. Among the many practitioners he catalogued are *vultivoli*, who use figures of wax or clay to bewitch people; *imaginarii*, who use images to gain control over spirits; *specularii*, who gaze into reflecting surfaces such as mirrors or basins and foretell the future according to what they see. If these arts have any efficacy, it can only be through their reliance on demons. John himself was exposed to the operations of the *specularii* when he was a boy, and he was sent to learn Latin from a priest who engaged in these practices and used his pupils as mediums.

Hugh of Saint Victor (d. 1142) in his *Didascolicon* gave a classification of the types of magic similar to John of Salisbury's categories. He argued that magic is alien both to philosophy and religion, that it is immoral and illegal, and that it is false and thus deceptive. True law, religion, and erudition, he insisted, all repudiate it.

Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225–1274) spoke of magic as used for purposes such as disclosing the future and finding hidden treasure, opening closed doors, making people invisible, causing inanimate bodies to move about and speak, and summoning spirits. He believed that magicians make use of herbs and other natural objects, verbal formulas, and inscribed figures and characters. They use rituals such as sacrifices and prostrations. With astrological calculation, they observe the proper times for obtaining their effects. He also described the notory art (*ars notoria*), which claims to acquire knowledge through rituals of fasting and prayer, along with occult figures and formulas. However, the underlying cause of these effects is the working of demons. Still, Thomas recognized in his letter "On the Occult Works of Nature" that many wondrous effects are possible through manipulation of occult forces within the natural order. But many practices that might elsewhere have been categorized as magic he included under the category of superstition, which he defined as the inappropriate veneration of a proper object or the directing of veneration to an improper object.

The position of Albert the Great (1193–1280) is more difficult to summarize. In his strictly theological writings he repeats traditional condemnations of magic, but his scientific works tend to portray magic in a more benign light. He recognizes plants as having divine or magical effects, and he writes with apparent approbation about the efficacy of magical stones and inscriptions. The *Speculum astronomiae*, plausibly attributed to Albert, is concerned mainly with distinguishing between the valid prescriptions of astrological magic (i.e., operations making use of inscribed astrological symbols for exploiting the powers of heavenly bodies) and the reprobate operations of necromancy (which appeal to demonic powers). Also complex was the position of William of Auvergne (c. 1180–1249), who had studied and condemned works of demonic necromancy but explicitly recognized natural magic as a branch of science that might be rarified (many of its operations required substances that might be plentiful in India and other lands but were rare in Europe) but was not forbidden.

THE LITERATURE OF MAGICAL INSTRUCTIONS. Before the twelfth century, works telling how to make use of occult—or magical, to the theologians—powers fell mainly into three categories: (1) works of medicinal magic that might combine Galenic conceptions of healing with the use of occult substances and formulas; (2) instructions for divination; and (3) lists of the wondrous properties to be found in gems and other natural objects.

Medicine could be classed as magical if it made use of symbolic remedies or adjurations. The late Anglo-Saxon text *Lacnunga* recommended, for example, that a pregnant woman fearful of miscarrying should obtain milk from a cow that is of one color, pour it into running water, retrieve the water and drink it, return from the stream by a route different from the one she took in approaching it, enter into a different house from the one she left, and throughout the procedure remain silent and take care not to look around. The symbolic meanings in this operation are not obvious, but it is at least clear that by taking these measures the woman is ensuring that she will bear a child and have milk for it to drink, and that, with the variations in her route, she is breaking from a past experience of a presumably difficult pregnancy. Medical adjurations are usually more explicit in their meaning: An adjuration is a type of charm addressed to the disease itself, or to the disease agent (pictured as a demon, a worm, an elf, or some other maleficent being), which is commanded to depart. Adjurations and other medicinal charms were widely recommended and used, sometimes by physicians, throughout medieval Europe. The body parts of animals and birds (e.g., the various organs of the vulture) were also sometimes catalogued according to their medical utility.

Instructions for divination were various and ranged from simple lists (e.g., of favorable or unfavorable days for various undertakings) to more complicated procedures for telling the future. One particularly famous text, the *Sortes Sangallenses* (Saint Gall Oracles) is found in a manuscript from around the year 600. Individuals wanting to know about medical prognoses, fortunes in love, the outcome of judicial business, or other matters could consult these oracles, using dice to find the correct answers to their questions. Astrology could furnish more sophisticated counsel about one's fortunes and was also popularized in simpler forms of lunar astrology—in particular, by giving almanac-like indications of what one might expect for each day in the moon's phases.

Of the works on the wonders of nature, one of the more famous was the lapidary written by Marbode of Renne (1035–1123). Writing in literary Latin, Marbode recommended using a sapphire to gain the favor of God and of mortals, chalcedony to obtain victory in battle, selenite to reconcile quarreling lovers, and other gems for a wide range of purposes—although it is difficult to know whether readers actually used these gems with the expectation of obtaining concrete results or merely read the compilation for the excitement of knowing about marvelous magical effects.

The literature of magical instructions was greatly expanded in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when interaction between Christians and Muslims (especially in Spain) resulted in the transmission of a substantial mass of astrological and magical learning to western Europe that had long been preserved in Arabic. Adelard of Bath (1075–1160) was a particularly important Christian student of the Arabic occult sciences and did much to make them available to Europeans in the twelfth century. The most famous work of Arabic astrological magic, translated into Spanish and Latin in the thirteenth century at the behest of King Alfonso the Wise of Castile (1252–1284), was a compilation known in the West as *Picatrix*. This book told in detail how to conjure the spirits associated with the planets, how to inscribe on metal the images of the heavenly bodies to accomplish one's purposes (including bodily harm to individuals and groups), and how to use other magical procedures and objects. The book also gives instructions on how to use fumigations to attract spirits with the smoke of particular plants and other substances and on how to manufacture a magical mirror, which must be fumigated with a mixture of effluvia from the human body. More explicitly than most magical texts, *Picatrix* recognizes magic as a noble science and the magician as an exalted and honorable figure.

The astrological magic of *Picatrix* was at times referred to as necromancy, but in the later Middle Ages this term more often referred to conjuring of demons. The term originally meant summoning the spirits of the deceased, but in late medieval Europe the terms *necromantia* (necromancy) and *nigromantia* (roughly, black magic) were fundamentally interchangeable. Works describing how to conjure demons were, not surprisingly, often prey to inquisitorial fires, but some have survived. They center mainly on verbal formulas commanding the demons to present themselves and to carry out the will of the necromancer. The terms *coniuro* (I conjure), *exorcizo* (I exorcize), and *impero* (I command) meant the same thing: a conjuration or an exorcism was a command addressed to a demon, whether it was being ordered to come or to depart. The necromancer typically made reference to sacred names and sacred events as sources of magical power over the demons; thus, the conjuration "I conjure you by the passion and death of Christ" might be used to invoke a demon to appear and perform some service. Necromancers often stood within circles, which served mainly as further means of magical power but also could be seen as protecting the necromancer from the demons summoned. Practitioners of necromancy were expected to know Latin and basic liturgical formulas. They clearly were, for the most part, clerics. Writings on the conjuration of demons continued to circulate in the early modern period, when they became known as *grimoires.*

Although the magic of Western Christendom from the twelfth century onward was heavily indebted to Arabic sources, it drew also on Jewish tradition for inspiration. One particularly interesting example is the notory art ascribed in the later Middle Ages to King Solomon. This was a method of prayers and meditations meant to instill command of the liberal arts and other knowledge. There was a long Jewish tradition of gaining knowledge through magical contact with angels, and the *ars notoria* built on this tradition.

THE MAGICIANS OF RENAISSANCE EUROPE. For the most part, the literature of magical instruction either was anonymous or was pseudonymously ascribed (e.g., to Solomon, to Aristotle, or to Albert the Great). Beginning in the later fifteenth century, it was far more common for notable figures in society to practice and to write about what they themselves called magic. Their practices might be indebted to the Arabic tradition of the occult sciences, but two further sources that commanded attention from the 1480s onward were the writings from antiquity ascribed to the mythical Hermes Trismegistus titled *Hermetic Corpus* and the aspect of Jewish mysticism known as practical Qabbalah.

The Italian humanist Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), in his *Three Books on Life* (completed 1489), provided one of the most important and influential syntheses of magical literature. Ficino was associated with Cosimo de' Medici (1519–1574), at whose urging he translated the *Hermetic Corpus* into Latin. He was also well acquainted with the third-century Neoplatonist philosopher Plotinus (205–270), from whom he took the notion of the universe as a great living being whose members worked in sympathetic harmony one with another; the fourth-century Neoplatonist Iamblichus, who had taught how to summon and make use of spirits by means of magical procedures; the *Picatrix*, which he used as a source for some of his prescriptions; and other works of Arabic astrological magic. His main interest was in using the beneficent influence of heavenly bodies (particularly the Sun and Jupiter) to enhance human life and health. This might be done by fashioning astrological images with the symbols of these celestial bodies, but in general Ficino was more favorably disposed to astrological "medicines" by which astral influences could be transmitted more effectively to humans: Saffron and honey, for example, were good repositories of solar virtue. Ficino also made use of Orphic hymns for their beneficent effect. Anticipating criticism for his use of magic, he pointed out that the magi in Matthew's gospel were honorable models for imitation, that Jesus had exercised healing arts, and that it was thus fitting for a priest and healer such as Ficino himself to use magical techniques to promote health and enhanced life. He insisted that he was advocating only natural magic, not demonic magic, although he did see astral powers as coming from heavenly bodies that were associated with attendant spirits, and he left himself open to the suspicion that these spirits were demonic.

Ficino's younger contemporary, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), was also eclectic in his use of material but, unlike Ficino, he ascribed special importance to the magical efficacy of the practical Qabbalah—in particular, the power found in Hebrew words. In 1486 Pico proposed nine hundred theses for public debate at Rome—many of which had to do with natural magic and Qabbalah. In the theses and in his defense of them, he was concerned more with the theory of these arts than with concrete prescriptions for its practice. He provoked a systematic refutation of his arguments (published 1489) by the Spaniard Pedro Garcia, who refused to acknowledge that there was such an art as natural magic as distinct from the demonic sort.

In northern Europe, the most comprehensive Renaissance articulation of magic was that of Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa (1486–1535), whose encyclopedic *Three Books on Occult Philosophy* showed how natural substances, astral powers, mathematical figures, sacred names, and rituals could be used to magical effect. Agrippa wrote his work in 1510 as a young man, and he later condemned all occult learning as vain. Yet he finally published his compendium in 1533, perhaps because he had renewed confidence in its validity, but possibly (as some have suggested) in a cynical quest of publicity. The incorporation of demonic magic only hinted at in Ficino is more explicit in Agrippa, who explains how demons may be conjured and commanded, although he warns that the magician must do this with the aid of good spirits.

The image of the Renaissance magician gave rise to the legend of Doctor Faust, who conjured and made a pact with the demon Mephistopheles, resigning his soul to Satan in return for twenty-four years in which Mephistopheles would be at his service. Loosely based on the report of a historical person, this legend was popularized in a German *Faust Book* published in 1587, which inspired Christopher Marlowe to write his play, *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus.* The assumption behind the legend is that Renaissance magicians were more like necromancers than they themselves claimed to be.

Giordano Bruno (1548–1600) is sometimes viewed as bringing Renaissance magic to its culmination, chiefly for his use of the Hermetic corpus and Qabbalah. His work *On Magic*, written late in his life, advocated the use of imagination as a way of gaining access to demonic power and discussed means for "binding" spirits. But this work was not published until 1891, and Bruno's notoriety in his own time was based mostly on his cosmological and philosophical theories. Still, *On Magic* is important in the history of Renaissance magic for its frank acknowledgment of the demonic element in magic. In Bruno, the complex relationship between natural and demonic magic that runs through Renaissance tradition from Ficino onward finds a striking resolution.

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RICHARD KIECKHEFER (2005)

MAGIC: MAGIC IN EASTERN EUROPE

Demonology, introduced by Christian religious thought in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, profoundly affected western European thought with respect to its conception of magic. The transformation of the witch into an expression of the demon who seeks to ensure his power on earth and prepare for his own advent obscured popular thinking, which possessed its own type of representations and its own system of values inherited from a rather deep-rooted paganism. In eastern Europe, where this intervention did not occur in the same way, the phenomenon of magic continued to evolve in its primary form, as a unified practice anchored in a popular culture of which it represented only one facet.

For so long isolated from the historical and sociological upheavals that affected western Europe, the peoples of eastern Europe still hold to a different worldview and use different means to account for the human condition. As Mircea Eliade states in his *De Zalmoxis à Gengis-Khan* (1970): "As in all other provinces of the Roman Empire, autochthonous religious realities outlived, more or less transformed, both the romanizing and the christianizing processes. There is enough proof of a pagan heritage" (p. 73). The common inherited substratum preserved by the Romanian and Balkan populations is considered by Eliade as "the principal unifying element in the entire Balkan peninsula" (ibid., p. 183). As early as the 1930s, Pierre Bogatyrev, in the introduction to his *Actes magiques, rites et croyances en Russie subcarpathique* (1929), noted a renaissance of paganism among ethnic groups practicing orthodox religions, even though he insists that this renaissance evidently took place "under the aegis of the Revolution and Soviet government." He adds: "Orthodox religion and witchcraft, the rival sisters, . . . form an unexpected ensemble. All of village Russia is divided into witchcraft parishes that do not yield to ecclesiastical parishes."

Given the importance of the pagan heritage (not to mention the circulation of motifs, sociocultural exchanges, and so on), it is not surprising that a rather large body of magical practices is shared by the majority of the traditional societies of southeastern Europe. In fact, there is no domain in which magic is not practiced; magic crosscuts all spheres in which human beings move. But recourse to magic becomes especially obligatory for the different phases of the life cycle; in this way it ensures its principal function, that of integrating individuals into their own collectivity and their own development. Throughout this region, for example, the Fates, those fabulous beings whom the Bulgars call "women or fairies of fate" and whom the Greeks name simply Morai ("fates"), participate in the "programming" of an entire life, from birth to death, including marriage. They are the ones to whom a woman addresses herself (even today, in a hospital setting) on the third day after childbirth:

> You, the Saints, You the Good Ones, You the Fates Predestine this child, This newborn. Come as sweet as honey, Come as smooth as water, And as good as bread, As gay as wine, As limpid as water, And give him intelligence and wisdom. To this child newborn, Give him health and good fortune in life. May he be protected by God.

In Romania, especially in the region known as Little Walachia, the Fates intervene in the principal magical rites dealing with marriage and love through the intermediary of their plant, the mandrake. When, for example, a mandrake is unearthed during rites designed to determine a young woman's mate, the Fates are addressed in the same terms as those used to ask about a child's destiny: "You, the Saints, / You the Good Ones, / You the Pure, / I give you honey, wine, bread, and salt. / Let me know the destiny of [so-and-so]." The Fates are also invoked through their plant in incantations that accompany magical rites aiming to reunite separated couples:

> You mandrake, You the Benefactress, Herb of the Saints, Know her lot. And if her husband had been destined to marry, If this union be his fate, Bring him back And reunite them, Keep them bound forever. . . . Give them a second chance. . . . If God had wanted them to separate, May they separate. But if not, Bring them together, you, Benefactress, Herb of the saints. Unite them a second time. Enliven her home. . . .

At times of death, the Fates through their plant are once again asked to intervene in a sort of ritual magic that is experienced and felt as a form of euthanasia. After the mandrake is unearthed "in order to summon death," an act performed in complete silence and sadness; it is boiled and the ill person is bathed with the decoction; at this time the Fates are invoked and asked to declare the lot they have selected for the sufferer: death or life. If it is death (as is usually the case), they are asked to palliate the victim's suffering: "May his fate be decided. / If it be death may it come quickly. / May he not suffer any longer." This type of magic ritual also appears in the Balkans, at least among the Bulgars, as Christo Vakarelski (1969) demonstrates.

Many other magical practices are shared by these traditional societies. Among them, the most important are the rites aiming to vitiate the contamination associated with childbirth and those aiming to avoid the contamination of death—all intended to ensure the separation of worlds that should not intersect. An extended comparative study, for example, could be undertaken on the magical precautions taken so that the dead remain dead and do not transform themselves into vampires, who are today still dreaded, feared, and fought. Represented as wild or monstrous carnivorous animals, these eternally unsatisfied beings are doomed to seek out earthly pleasures. They refuse to be relegated to the beyond and, instead, assume human form in order to finish on earth what they could not realize in life. In order to make sure the dead do not become vampires, certain preventive measures can be undertaken. One can, for example, deposit nine stones, nine marble chips, and nine millet grains under the person's head and utter the following incantation:

> Your mouth, I petrify. Your lips, I marbleize. Your teeth, to millet I transform. So that harm shall you never wreak.

Numerous magical practices (echoing religious rites) are also associated with the cyclical succession of the seasons and with the household. Incantations surrounding the home usually seek to expel malevolent forces and bring good luck:

> Just as the waters melt in March, Just as they are transported by the torrent And just as they clean and carry All the rust, All the trash, May my home and all those who live in it also be Cleansed Of all malfeasance, all bad luck, All illness, all ill will That may be in its walls.

These incantations and the rites they accompany are essential, for they situate man in a context of rituals that integrate him with nature and the order of the cosmos. In fact, it is in this domain that, from Romania to Bulgaria to Russia to Greece and Albania, the magical rites most resemble each other in both form and content.

Magical practices are also directed at administrative and legal authorities. For villagers the power of persuasion is the best weapon against these authorities with whom they are usually involved in a "battle of words." Silencing the authorities is seen as the ultimate form of persuasion, and many incantations thus request that they be silenced just like the dead:

> Just as the dead have now grown cold, May all members of the tribunal grow as cold. May no one be able to proclaim my guilt. May they stop speaking, May they lose their voice Just as the dead have lost theirs. The arms of the dead are crossed over their chest. May the case made against me grow as cold as they. May it go away.

In many regions of eastern Europe one could say that folk culture was not profoundly modified by the more or less important changes that occurred in modes of production. It is, however, not easy to speak of magic and witchcraft as it is currently practiced and experienced in these countries, because both official discourse and research data relegate these practices to an obscure past or consider them forms of charlatanism. A series of field trips conducted in Romania in recent years, however, confirms that folk beliefs remain very much alive and that recourse to magical practices in frequent, especially when it concerns the health of children, the prosperity of the home, the productivity of animals, and so on. In fact, one does not have recourse to magic merely on an occasional basis; it is the imaginary fabric into which all individuals are enveloped. There are few mothers, for example, who do not know one or another incantation to neutralize the effects of the evil eye (belief in the evil eye is found throughout the Mediterranean Basin and elsewhere). The following Romanian example is expressed in extremely violent terms:

> May he burst, the envious one. Evil eye he cast. May he explode. If a virgin spellbinds him, May her braids fall off. If his wife spellbinds him, May her milk dry up, May her breasts wither, May her child die of hunger. If a youth spellbinds him, May he burst completely.

Many practices and incantations form part of any individual's basic knowledge, but one seeks recourse to magic only if one has the gift, the power, the desire, and the daring to do so. The specialists commonly known as witches possess the gift and the daring to practice a distinct form of magic. A witch is frequently described as someone who uses supernatural forces to do evil (although most witches will say they do what they do for the good of humankind). Witches were and still are enormously feared because they are said to "give life or death." Consulting them always means incurring some form of danger, especially since they are thought to collaborate with the Devil (who appears in his diverse forms during the séance). Access to witches is also difficult and troublesome: they live often in faraway places (necessitating a tiresome journey, waiting one's turn among the others who have come for consultations, sleeping in a strange place); one can only see them on specific days and at specific times (at night, for example); one must be recommended to them by someone in whom the witch has confidence. Thus access to specialized magic could be said to presuppose a kind of punitive expiatory path.

People have recourse to witchcraft especially in cases of serious disequilibrium or when a significant disturbance has disrupted the natural order of things. Witches are especially sought out, for example, in cases in which a marriage is endangered by the intervention of a third party (usually the husband's mistress, a rival who wishes to substitute herself for his legitimate wife). Indeed, marital relations and extramarital ties are a source of great conflict and violence, and the greater part of specialized forms of magic is played out in this arena.

To control her husband, who should not waste his energies elsewhere, a woman has recourse to two forms of specialized magic, both of which aim to reunite the legitimate couple. In the first form the wife attempts to kill the intruder (the "rival," the "stranger") or to eliminate her from the protected sphere. In the process, the two women enter into a kind of magical battle using a number of possible weapons: a charmed knife that must symbolically reach the other; dolls made from scraps of the man's or the mistress's clothing: a yellow plant (*dosnica*), described as "terrifying," which causes the rival to wander to the ends of the earth; the mandrake, which can make people go mad; and an insect or a frog (seen as the mistress's substitute) captured under special conditions and made to suffer the worst treatments.

Specific procedures accompany the use of any of these means. For example, while piercing a symbol representing her rival with the charmed knife, the woman will utter the following incantation:

> You, charmed knife, Go into her body. Beat her, Crush her, So that her blood spouts forth. If she is alive, pierce her heart. If she is dead, seek her out in the Beyond.

While thinking of her rival a woman may prick an insect with a needle or a knife and utter:

> May the one who is breaking my home, The one who does not let me live with my man, The one who gives me no peace, May that one die and disappear.

In the second form—identified as the "magic of filth"—the wife will simply attempt to dissolve the soiled relationship in which her husband is involved in order to reestablish her original tie with him. She will use decoctions made from urine, semen, menstrual blood, fecal matter, sweat, or other secretions of intimate life (which serve as substitutes for the people concerned). These decoctions may be clandestinely fed to the husband. If he eats his own secretions (an act of autocannibalism), he is said to devour himself, thus reintegrating the forces and energies he seeks to dispense elsewhere. If he eats the substitutes of his wife, he is said to become impregnated by her, filled with her person.

Incantations accompany the administration of these decoctions; if, for example, the wife uses menstrual blood, she utters the following words (similar to those used in practices on certain Greek islands today):

> Just as the menses are cyclical, Have their hour and time, So, to each of my words May he likewise return. May he return to my body, May he return to my desire. . . . May my husband cling to me, May he explode, may he burst, May he not do without me.

The wife may also manipulate these secretions in other ways. She may, for example, take the earth on which her rival has trod and place it on her husband's feces, uttering an incantation all the while.

One could speak at length about these and other forms of magic still practiced in Romania and other east European countries. Indeed, despite all the sociocultural modifications and modernizing trends that have taken place in this part of the world, magic has adapted itself to its new environment. It is not a survival of a bygone era but an integral aspect of popular culture; it provides people with the power and know-how to understand their world and their position within it. Magic is still the arena through which different communities find a common language, a discourse through which they recognize themselves.

SEE ALSO Incantation.

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MAGIC: MAGIC IN ISLAM

Magic in Islam forms part of what are called *ʿulūm al-ghayb*, "the occult sciences," which include divination, astrology, oneiromancy, and all fields of learning relating to prophecy. Magic (Arab., *siḥr*) is an important branch, like divination and astrology, with which some forms of magic overlap.

Following the very rich literature of magic in Islam, I shall here treat the various categories of *siḥr* in three sections: black magic (*ʿilm al-siḥr*), theurgy (*ʿilm al-khawāṣṣ wa-al-ṭalāsim*), and white or natural magic (*ʿilm al-ḥiyal wa-al-shaʿwadhah*). The first section will deal with divinatory magic, exorcism of demons, spells and the summoning of spirits into bodily forms. The second section will examine the properties of divine names, numbers and certain spells, sympathetic magic or sorcery, amulets, talismans and potions, charms, and the properties of medicinal plants. The third section will consider the mutual connections between effective and efficient forces, the ability to vanish instantly from sight, and prestidigitation.

BLACK MAGIC. From the many Qurʾanic verses relating to magic (sixty-six, of which only three were revealed in Medina), one might conclude that the phenomenon of *siḥr* occurs in the revelation only in the form of a condemnation of pagan practices. In certain verses, however, magic appears as a fragment of a celestial knowledge that was given to humans by fallen angels such as Hārūt and Mārūt (*sūrah* 2:102). These angels revealed to humans secrets "that they ought not to have known" (*Apocalypse of Enoch* 64:10). Thus, "God decided, in his justice, that all the inhabitants of the world would die [by flood], for they knew all the secrets of the angels, and possessed the hateful power of the demons, the power of magic" (ibid., 64:6). Another group of verses, condemning this almost instinctive quest by humans to penetrate the will of God, connects magic with divination.

Divinatory magic. The boundaries between magic and divination remain blurred. In their classification of the sciences, the Muslim encyclopedists, such as al-Afkānī, Tāshköprüzade, and Ḥājjī Khalīfah, call divination a branch of magic. According to Edmond Doutté, the transition from magic to mantic takes place via a phenomenon of "objectivization of the desire" (Doutté, 1909, p. 352). Whether inductive or intuitive, divination partakes of magic in certain of its techniques. One of the sources of knowledge common to the magician and the seer is demonic inspiration. Furthermore, the Arab seer (*kāhin*), and especially the female seer, practiced magic and divination concurrently (see my book *La divination arabe*, Leiden, 1966, pp. 92ff.), so that in Islamic magical literature, the two run parallel without mingling. Both make use of supernatural means to predict natural elements; both share a practical and nontheoretical character. One searches in vain for a theoretical definition of magic in the Qurʾān or the *ḥadīth* (prophetic traditions).

Exorcism and spells. If divinatory magic has recourse to secrets revealed by fallen angels, the magic of incantations and spells is meant to compel the *jinn* and the demons to accomplish a desired end, by pronouncing the formula "ʾAzamtu ʿalaykum" ("I command you"). The Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth* say nothing of this, but theological consideration led to the following conclusion, formulated by Ḥājjī Khalīfah:

> This thing is possible and lawful, according to reason and the law; whoever denies it is not highly regarded, because he winds up failing to acknowledge the omnip-

> otence of God: to subjugate the spirits, to humble them before him, and to make them subordinate to men, is one of the miracles of [God's] creation. (Ḥājjī Khalīfah, ed. Flügel, 1955–1958, vol. 4, pp. 205–207)

Two kinds of conjuring, however, may be distinguished. One variety consists in directing the mind toward an object other than God, and thus being unfaithful to him. When this unfaithfulness appears as one of the elements making up the magical act through one of the means used to realize it, it becomes forbidden magic. In this case, the magician acts in a manner that is wicked and harmful to others, and, indeed, a controversy arose among medieval jurists concerning the question of knowing "whether they must be killed because of the unbelief which is antecedent to the practice [of sorcery], or because of their corrupting activity and the resulting corruption of created beings" (Ibn Khaldūn, trans. Rosenthal, 1967, vol. 3, p. 159.).

On the other hand, the conjuring of spirits is permissible when it is performed "with perfect piety and the complete absence of all unlawfulness, in solitude and isolation from the world and in surrender to God" (Ḥājjī Khalīfah, op. cit., pp. 205–207). This interpretation is basically consistent with the demonological conception of Islam, which considers the *jinn* servants of God, somewhat in the manner of humans and angels.

The writers differ on how this power derived from God is applied. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī sums up the opinion of the theologians thus:

> When the conditions are brought together and the incantations pronounced, God makes the latter like a mighty devastating fire, encircling the demons and the *jinn*, until the [four] corners of the world close in around them, and there is no place left for them to hide, nor any other choice than to come out and resign themselves to do as they are commanded. What is more, if the performer is skillful, being of good conduct and praiseworthy morals, God will dispatch powerful, rough, and strong angels to the demons to inspire them and lead them to obey and serve him. (quoted in Ḥājjī Khalīfah, loc. cit.)

Summarizing the views of the Muslim theologians, Ḥājjī Khalīfah adds: "The obedience of demons and *jinn* to humans is not something unimaginable, either from the standpoint of reason or from the standpoint of accepted practice." The best illustration of this conception of magical incantation is given by certain exalted mystics, the North African marabouts, or *ṭālib*s, who transform the old pagan magic and subordinate it to the omnipotence of the one God. How, in this case, can obtaining a miracle by divine favor be distinguished from the effects of magic?

For the philosophers, whose views are summed up by Ibn Khaldūn,

> The difference between miracles and magic is this: a miracle is a divine power that arouses in the soul [the ability] to exercise influence. The [worker of miracles] is supported in his activity by the spirit of God. The sorcerer, on the other hand, does his work by himself and with the help of his own psychic power, and, under certain conditions, with the support of devils. The difference between the two concerns the idea, reality, and essence of the matter. (Ibn Khaldūn, op. cit.)

Ibn Khaldūn himself locates the distinction in external criteria, which he defines as follows;

> Miracles are found [to be wrought] by good persons for good purposes and by souls that are entirely devoted to good deeds. Moreover, [they include] the 'advance challenge' [*taḥaddī*] of the claim to prophecy. Sorcery, on the other hand, is found [practiced] only by evil persons and as a rule is used for evil actions, such as causing discord between husband and wife, doing harm to enemies, and similar things. And it is found [practiced] by souls that are entirely devoted to evil deeds. (ibid.)

He adds that "this is also the view of the metaphysicians," and he concludes that "among the Sufis some who are favored by acts of divine grace are also able to exercise an influence upon worldly conditions. This, however, is not counted as a kind of sorcery. It is effected with divine support" (ibid.).

One should point out, finally, that wishing does not make a magician; indeed, to be a magician presupposes a disposition and a preparation not required of the worker of miracles. "This art," the Pseudo-Majrīṭī tells us, "can be practiced and applied only by one who has [the power of] it in his nature" (al-Majrīṭī, ed. Ritter, 1933, p. 187), and Ibn Khaldūn says that the philosophers "think that a sorcerer does not acquire his magical ability but has, by nature, the particular disposition needed for exercising that type of influence" (op cit., p. 167). This disposition is called *al-tibaʿ al-tamm*, "the perfect nature"; the person who possesses it attains "knowledge of the secrets of creation, of natural causes, and of the mode of being of things" (al-Majrīṭī, op. cit., p. 187; cf. Fahd, 1966, p. 192, n. 29). Pseudo-Majrīṭī's quotation from the so-called *Book of Hermes the Sage* defines this perfect nature in these terms:

> The microcosm that is man, if he possesses the perfect nature, has a soul like the solar disc, unmoving in the heavens and illuminating every horizon with its rays. It is the same with the perfect nature whose ray is found in the soul; it flashes out, touches the translucent forces of wisdom, and draws them to the soul that is its point [of origin], just as the sun's radiance attracts the forces of the universe and lifts them up into the atmosphere. (al-Majrīṭī, op. cit., pp. 193–194)

The progressive assimilation of the magician to the forces that he conjures, evokes, or invokes contributes to the effectiveness of his work and the success of his endeavor. The spiritual beings (*rūḥanīyah*) then appear to him as if in person, speaking to him and teaching him all things.

Evocation of spirits. In conjuring and incantation, the magician relies on the service of *jinn* and demons to accomplish his ends; in evocation, he compels the spirits of the dead, the demons, and the planets to carry out his wishes.

Necromancy, which really belongs with divination, is steeped in black magic. Like the summoning of demons, it generally involves two phases: a material phase, consisting of the preparation of a mixture of various products belonging to a special pharmacopoeia and fumigations of every kind, plus an intellectual phase, consisting of the formulation of a prayer naming all the qualities and attributes of the spirit invoked and stating the wishes to be realized.

The evocation of the spirits of the planets is based on the knowledge of the qualities and properties of each of them: its color (red-gray for Saturn, white-gray for Jupiter, the yellow-green-red of red-gold for Mars, red-gold for Venus, a mixture of all colors for Mercury, and green-white for the Moon), its odor, and its flavor (for details, see al-Majrīṭī, op. cit., pp. 140, 150–156). To evoke the spirit of a planet, one must be dressed in its color and perfumed with its scent; further, by means of ingestion, one must assume its essence and flavor. Having done so, one must watch for the moment when the planet reaches the point corresponding to it in the zodiac, on a direct line that does not cross the line of another planet of a different nature. When this is so, the line from the planet to earth will be straight and uninterrupted.

Next, from metals attributed to the planet, one must fashion a cross, hollow from top to bottom and with a hole at the top, resting on two feet. This cross is to be mounted on the image of whatever it is one plans to ask of the spirit invoked: that of a lion, for example, or a serpent, in case one desires to go to war or to overcome an enemy, that of a bird if one wishes to escape danger, of a man seated on a throne if one aspires to fame, power, or respect, and so on. Likewise, to gain control of someone, one carves that person's likeness from a stone characteristic of the planet that presided over his birth, at the proper time and in the position described above. This image then serves as a base for the cross. The choice of a cross has to do with the fact that every body takes this shape; thus it serves to establish a connection between the higher spiritual entity and an image that resembles it. An incense burner made of the same metals as the cross is also used; it must have only one opening at the top of the cover, for the smoke to escape.

To summon a celestial spirit, a proper location must be selected, completely open to the sky. The ground should be strewn with plants of the same properties as the planet whose strength is to be attracted, on the principle that like attracts like; there must be nothing else on the ground or in the area. Incense of the same essence as the planet being evoked must be burned so that the fumes, escaping from the single opening in the burner, will pass through the hollow cross from bottom to top. All this must be done at a propitious time. If all these conditions are met, the upper world will be in harmony with the lower and thus the request will be received favorably. (See al-Majrīṭī, op. cit., pp. 182–186; for a French translation, see Fahd, 1966, pp. 170–171.)

THEURGY. Other techniques aimed at tapping the planetary and stellar virtues lie on the borders between magic and theurgy. The distinction between the two, according to Ibn Khaldūn, lies in the fact that

> the sorcerer does not need any aid, while those who work with talismans seek the aid of the spiritualities of the stars, the secrets of numbers, the particular qualities of existing things, and the positions of the sphere that exercise an influence upon the world of the elements, as the astrologers maintain. The philosophers, therefore, say that sorcery is a union of spirit with spirit, while the talisman is a union of spirit with body. (Ibn Khaldūn, op. cit., p. 166)

"As they understand it," Ibn Khaldūn continues, "that means that the high celestial natures are tied together with the low [terrestrial] natures, the high natures being the spiritualities of the stars. Those who work with [talismans], therefore, as a rule, seek the aid of astrology" (ibid., p. 167).

Such is the theory, but in practice it is rare to find mention in the texts of a magical act carried out without recourse to a material support. While the talismanic art assumes a perfect technique, grounded in astronomical, astrological, and other data, this is not required for the practice of magic, which is performed with the help of prayers, evocations, and attempts to unite spirits, demons, and stars by magical means.

The talisman. According to Ḥājjī Khalīfah, the art of talismanry is intended

> to combine the active celestial forces with the passive earthly forces at moments favorable to the desired action and influence, with the help of vapors [able] to strengthen and attract the spirit of the talisman, with the intent of producing unusual manifestations in the world of generation and decay. In comparison with magic, this science is more accessible, for both its principles and its causes are known. Its usefulness is obvious, but mastery comes only after a great deal of effort. (Ḥājjī Khalīfah, op. cit., pp. 165ff.)

In fact, skill in talismanry can be acquired only by one who understands its principles, which spring from the branches of knowledge making up natural philosophy, in particular mathematics, physics, and metaphysics.

A great many elements come into play in the creation of a talisman. In addition to ease and efficiency, sympathy and antipathy, time and place, there is relativity, a basic principle of the talismanic art, the relationship between the planet and the object of the talisman as well as the similarities and parallels among its various components. To be effective, these connections should be located on the straight line crossing the talisman's field of influence.

Time plays a fundamental role in talismanry. Indeed, the proper moment is a condition *sine qua non* for the success of the undertaking. In order to seize it, one must observe the planet until it arrives at its operative position, the most favorable point in its influence, its conjunction with the other planets and its position with respect to them, the exact instant when the talisman must be set in place, and so forth. Position plays an equally important part, in particular the observer's vantage point, the spot where the talisman is made and set up, and the place of origin of the materials used to fabricate it. Numbers, as the measure of time and moment, are, like speech, necessary for the expression of quantity.

Quality, meanwhile, is equivalent in talismanry to causality. The object on which the talisman acts must bear a perfect resemblance to the quality transferred to it, so that its sphere of activity can spread. This is the basis of the connection between the higher and lower natures. Quality here is none other than inherent nature, the source of causality. Its role is therefore essential, not only in the discovery of the limited properties and influences of the planets but also in the diffusion of these same properties and influences. This leads to an increase in the quality of the material of which the talisman is made, by causing equivalent qualities to act upon it (al-Majrīṭī, op. cit., pp. 99–100).

The properties. In the words of Paul Kraus, the properties of beings are

> the virtues proper to minerals, plants, and animals, their sympathies and antipathies, as well as the use of these virtues in the various arts and in medicine. The miraculous occupies an important place here, and affinities with magic are undeniable. Men, animals, and plants are no longer considered objects of reasoned inquiry, but are endowed with occult powers, able to heal any malady and to procure happiness and miraculous power of man. (Kraus, 1942–1943, vol. 2, p. 61)

Among the physical properties, those of stones hold pride of place in talismanic practice, and knowledge of them is one of the essential conditions for a talisman's success, likewise for the properties of animal bodies, where magic comes to the aid of medicine; the latter are considered healthful even for incurable diseases. Plants possess many properties used in the rich magical repertoire of fumigations. A large number of these are found in the geographical compilation known as *Nabatean Agriculture*, and Pseudo-Majrīṭī also collected many of them. Among the plants used in magical operations are laurel, marshmallow, mandrake, elm, pennyroyal, myrtle, olive, horseradish, darnel, rice, beans, chickpeas, watermelon, and chicory.

The magical powers of plants are commonly connected with the natures of the planets. These natures impart their virtues to whatever responds to them. The fact that a plant sprouts in one soil and not in another comes not from the particular nature of the soil but from the marriage of a fixed disposition with given conditions of air and water. "The prime cause of this lies on the line crossing the horizon of this piece of ground and marking the zone of influence of certain planets on certain countries; thus the existence of plants and specific features in a given country to the exlusion of others" (al-Majrīṭī, op. cit., pp. 385ff.).

This learned theurgy, which systematically and "rationally" exploits the virtues of animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, is marked by its Hellenistic origins and by the rich syncretism from which it emanates. Popular magic in Islam has preserved this spirit, while opening it to new influences in the various Islamized countries, hence the existence of magical practices peculiar to each of the major Muslim regions.

There are innumerable survivals of ancient theurgy in Muslim tradition, where many instances are ascribed to the Prophet himself, and in the abundant magical literature that spread out throughout the Muslim world. A saying attributed to the Prophet reflects an important principle of ancient magic, namely the magical power of the spoken word: "There is," he is supposed to have said, "a kind of utterance that is none other than magic" (quoted in al-Majrīṭī, op. cit., p. 9). By virtue of this principle, onomatomancy became widespread in Muslim lands, and the ninety-nine "most beautiful names" of God, like the most ancient *sūrahs* of the Qurʾān, played a very great role in spells, amulets, and potions. Muslim magic was based in large part on the knowledge of the letters that made up the supreme name of God. At the base of these speculations, we find the theory asserting that the letters of the alphabet, being at the root of creation, represent the "materialization" of the divine word.

However, according to Ibn Khaldūn, there is

> a real difference between persons who practice talismanry and those who work with the secret virtues of names, regarding the manner in which the soul is made to act on living beings). . . . This soul has inherently the ability to encompass nature and control it, but its effect, among those who operate by means of talismans, is limited to drawing down from above the spirits of the spheres and tying them to certain figures or numerical supports. . . . It is otherwise with those who, to give their souls the ability to act, make use of the secret properties of names; they must be illuminated by the celestial light and sustained by divine help. (Ibn Khaldun, op. cit., pp. 175ff.)

These latter avoid giving the name of magic to practices consisting of the use of secret properties of letters, numbers, and names. Nonetheless, in practice, "they fall under the idea of sorcery" (ibid., p. 181), although they tend to locate their activities in the legitimate realm of natural magic.

WHITE OR NATURAL MAGIC. The branch of magic known in English as white magic, or natural magic, is denoted in Arabic by two terms: one, *simiyāʾ*, of Greek origin (*sēmeia*), and the other, *nīrinjāt*, Persian (*neyrang*). Both are applied generally to illusionism, prestidigitation, fakery, and legerdemain.

According to Ḥājjī Khalīfah (op. cit., pp. 646–647), natural magic involves imaginary phenomena, occurring in space and having no correspondence to anything palpable. Their production and causes remain a secret known only to the practitioners. Often it includes mixtures concocted by the magician out of natural essences, ointments, liquified materials, or even special words with suggestive powers. The range of such practices is very large: aerial illusions, atmospheric vapors, playing with fire, tricks with bottles, cups, and glasses, illusions with eggs, fruits produced out of season, wax figures, animal taming, discovery of hidden objects, preparation of magic ink, and so on.

In the *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm* of Pseudo-Majrīṭī, the term *nīrinjāt* is applied to charms that have an extraordinary power over human beings and natural phenomena alike, such as a magic ring that transfixes anyone who looks at it, amulets that ward off bad weather or neutralize weapons held by enemies, and so on (al-Majrīṭī, op. cit., pp. 242ff.). The making of these *nīrinjāt* requires extreme precision and careful handling of the poisonous materials used in their composition. These are potions that act by mans of absorption or fumigations of various powders and oils. The anticipated effects of these potions vary, and their application depends upon astrological conditions, as in all magical activity, and on the simultaneous utterance of a formulaic spell containing incomprehensible names.

In the same class of magical activity belongs the rainmaker, who commands the stars and who alternates between a demanding, coercive, and occasionally even insulting tone toward the heavens and flattery toward God. The imprecations he pronounces have a clearly magical character: often they include the use of the divine names with the aim of bending the will of heaven. The author of the *Theology of Aristotle*, followed by Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), affirms that "prayer influences the sun and the stars, by imparting a certain motion to them, because the parts of the world form a single whole, like a 'single animal'" (quoted in A. Goichon, *Directives et remarques*, Paris, 1951, p. 250). For greater effectiveness, the rainmaker stood inside a circle (*mandil*) or a magic square.

In this same category is also included the evil eye. Ibn Sīnā explains it as "an admiring tendency of the soul that exercises, by this property, a weakening influence on the object of its admiration" (ibid., p. 523). For Ibn Khaldūn, the effect is

> natural and innate. It cannot be left alone. It does not depend on the free choice of its possessor. It is not acquired by him. [It is] an influence exercised by the soul of the person who has the evil eye. A thing or situation appears pleasing to the eye of a person, and he likes it very much. This [circumstance] creates in him envy and the desire to take it away from its owner. Therefore he prefers to destroy him. (Ibn Khaldūn, op. cit., pp. 170–171)

It may be concluded from the foregoing that Islam, the heir of ancient civilizations, has preserved for us, in its rich cultural and folkloric patrimony, remnants of Semitic and Hellenistic notions that were developed and intermingled in the wide expanse of the ancient and medieval Near East.

SEE ALSO Theurgy.

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TOUFIC FAHD (1987)
Translated from French by David M. Weeks

MAGIC: MAGIC IN SOUTH ASIA

Since the beginning of modern Indology in the writings of travelers, missionaries, and administrators, Hinduism has been described as a religion saturated with magic and superstition. The work of the missionary-traveler Abbé Jean-Antoine Dubois (1765–1848) set the tone for this type of discourse, but the British utilitarians who administered India were more influential in differentiating the magical from religious and scientific rationality. Major dimensions of Hinduism were reduced to the animistic practices and beliefs of peasants, a "lower" form of religion that was designated pejoratively as magical. Sir Monier Monier-Williams, for instance, identified village gods with tutelary powers that warded off demons and evil spirits pervading the countryside. Peasants worshiped fetishes, symbols endowed with intrinsic powers, and were far more interested in the avoidance of harm than in spiritual goals.

The distinction between "high" Brahmanic religion and the lower folk superstitions thus marked a boundary, on one side of which lay two types of rationality—religious and scientific—and on the other side of which lay what E. B. Tylor and James G. Frazer codified as homeopathic magic. Even the great German sociologist, Max Weber, who emphasized the ideological foundations of socioeconomic practices in India, succumbed to this distinction. Subsequent Western scholarship, including the specialized textual studies of magic by Willem Caland, Victor Henry, and Maurice Bloomfield, were thoroughly taken in by the distinction between religion and science on the one hand, and magic on the other. The mid-twentieth-century scholars who followed in their footsteps (for example, Jan Gonda and Louis Dumont) continued to regard Indian magic as a domain that, if not limited to folk religion, is certainly a type of attitude that displays belief in supernatural causality, the faith in a ritual's power over nature and gods, and the intrinsic value of the fetish object (Gonda, 1980, pp. 249–250).

Recent developments in a number of disciplines bearing on South Asian cultures, among others, make the distinction between magic and religion hard to sustain, however. Medical anthropology and ethnomedicine (including ethnopsychiatry), performative and ritual theories based on the work of John Austin (and Stanley J. Tambiah), cognitive theories such as those of John Skorupski and Pascal Boyer, the use of postcolonial approaches, and the increasing focus on women's religious practices now allow researchers to understand so-called magic in a more inclusive manner. Numerous practices previously labeled magical can be seen as sharing a basic rationality with either religion or medicine, psychiatry, conflict resolution, or even technology. The rickshaw driver in Banaras who hangs a bottle of Ganges water in his vehicle could be symbolically articulating a wish for good fortune rather than trying to influence his fate. The pervasive practice of *vrata,* votive rituals in which practitioners, usually women, enact ritual performances in order to effect the well-being of others, cannot be seen either as exclusively magical or exclusively religious.

Still, the languages of South Asia contain dozens of terms that are either associated with magical practices, or in some way connote magic. This may be one of the main reasons that the conceptual distinction between magic and religion (or science) is still influential among many contemporary scholars.

MAGICAL TERMS AND PRACTICES. Due to the prevalence of magical practices throughout the subcontinent, from Nepal to Sri Lanka and from the tribal communities such as the Bhils, Warlis, or Gonds to the upper classes of Mumbai, the variety of terms is impressive. A very brief sample of various terms in Sanskrit, Hindi, Tamil, Newari, Sinhala, and other languages includes *yātū* or *jādū, māyā, karman, kṛtyā, śāṅti, abhicāra, tonā, ṭoṭakā, tantra-mantra, bhūt, mantravaadi, peey, peey-pisasu, tuna, mikhā, syākāḥ, kaiphaṭ, najar, abhicārin, ojhā, sokhā, gunia, baiga, bhagat, yakku, koḍivina, mantrayas, diṣṭiya,* and *yakṣa.*

These refer to a number of concepts, practices, and types of specialist, both in ancient times and today. The most common area of magical concern is the healing of humans (adults and children), animals, and even machinery such as vehicles. Since the time of the *Atharvaveda,* the dominant folk etiology has ascribed numerous health problems—when witchcraft or sorcery was not suspected—to the invasion of the person by ghosts or spirits (*bhūt-pret, piśāc, jinn* in Hindi/Urdu). Healing has often taken the form of exorcism, either at home or at specialized locations such as Bharatpur, or Baba Bahadur Sayyid in Banaras. These rituals are usually performed by specialists such as *ojhās* or *sokhās* or *gunia* in Nepal. The rites take the form of an expulsion, driving the invading agent out by mimicry and with the use of *mantras* and the help of the goddess, and imprisoning it in the body of an animal such as a fish or bird, which is then released into the wild. Patients are often given protective amulets (*kavac*) to prevent future problems.

The single most pervasive concern may be failure to conceive or safely deliver a child. Magical treatments range from exorcism to bathing in certain well-known pools, such as the Lorlark Kund in Banaras, the ritual offering of specially manipulated (and pricked) fruit such as coconuts, straddling Śiva-*liṅgams,* and chanting *mantras.* The specific problem and its remedy may be identified througha variety of divinatory rituals that includes the spinning of sticks, the throwing of dice, or the painting of fingernails with lampblack or collyrium *(kājjal).* Some diviners specialize in locating lost relatives and may work with the aid of reluctant spirits who whisper into their left ear, having been brought under control through so-called tantric rituals (Svoboda, 1986).

Despite the enormous technological and educational changes taking place throughout South Asia, few areas of human concern are untouched by magical technique. Even many of the trucks that speed along on highways display signs that threaten: "he who casts the evil eye (*najar*) will get a black face." The concept of evil eye—the damage done by an unfavorable glance—is extremely pervasive, and children are often armed (with facial paint) against it. Astrologers still do a booming business, from coordinating marriage matches to establishing auspicious travel dates. Art in villages, especially wall art, along with the ritual application of abstract diagrams (*kōḷam* in Tamil, *rangoli* in Maharashtra, etc.) on thresholds throughout the subcontinent, is associated with protection and auspiciousness. House construction, boatbuilding, and rickshaw and car purchase may be accompanied by special *pūjā* rituals for the pacification of evil influences and the peaceful enjoyment of ownership. Life-cycle rituals—especially those connected with young children (first solid feeding, cutting of hair, naming) and weddings—as well as the *vrata* rituals that religious practitioners (usually women) undertake are all associated with symbolic performances, *mantras,* and beliefs that may be interpreted as magical. The same even applies to yoga technique—Patañjali's *Yoga Sūtra* promises extraordinary powers to advanced practitioners—and tantric *sādhana,* and even the common *pūjā* that most Hindus perform frequently utilizes techniques and tools of magic.

MAGICAL TOOLS AND TECHNIQUE. Magic in South Asia is not a failure of scientific rationality or transcendental metaphysics. It is the daily application of a subtle ideology that enchants the world of the senses by means of divine power. The tools and techniques vary from one region to the next, but a number of basic features prevail universally. The first and foremost is the *mantra,* which is used as a verbal formula for blessing, cursing, mind-altering, spells, and so forth. The *mantras* vary from Vedic and Atharvavedic versions (*Viṣeṇa hanmi te viṣam*, "with poison I kill your poison") to tantric ones: "*hrīṁ, śrīṁ, krīṁ, pa-ra-me-śva-ri, svā-hā*" and even ad-hoc formulas such as "Śānte śān, glory of Ali, hit my enemy with a thousand arrows." *Mantras* may be sung, chanted, whispered, and even blown into a bottle or onto the head of patients. Scholars have debated the meaning and function of *mantras,* but in magical practice they are regarded as the single most powerful tool in the magician's bag.

Mantras are often associated with or replaced by geometric designs—*yantras* and *maṇḍalas*—that depict in spatial terms the meaning of the *mantra,* or embody the power and attributes of a god or goddess. The diagrams utilize precise geometric symbols, but also rely on an elaborate color symbolism (for instance, white, red, black, and yellow all have symbolic meaning) or on numbers. These symbolic systems owe their significance to tantric alchemical ideas, *Atharvaveda* authority, Āyurveda medical cosmology, or local traditions (Goudriaan, 1978, pp. 175–190).

Regional variations also determine the types of herbs, plants, oils, and other remedies used, the kinds of animals regarded as beneficial or harmful, and the tombs, shrines, trees, ponds, or hills which constitute centers of healing, fertility, or exorcism. For example, in Banaras, muscle or joint pain might require the rubbing of fish oil, while in Rajasthan, lizard oil serves as the remedy. Pastoral tribes may favor the goat for curing asthma while settled villagers may rely on buffalo or perhaps the leaves of the nim tree. In every case the performance of magical rituals reveals a close familiarity with the natural environment, an acuity of sensory perception, and a sophisticated attention to the social and psychological needs of patients.

INTELLECTUAL FOUNDATIONS OF INDIAN MAGIC. One of the basic and most frequently discussed aspects of Hindu thought is the Vedic cosmological continuity between the transcendent and mundane realms, or between the sphere of gods (*adhidevata*) and the sphere of humans (*adhyātman*). The two realms resemble or correspond to each other through an infinitely rich system of homologies (*nidāna*). These correspondences are instantiated—with a one-to-one precision—within the Vedic sacrifice (*yajña*), which is the ritual that mediates between the two realms while forming yet a third. This foundational conception has been very fecund in sprouting several distinct traditions, which have included the ritualistic sciences of the *brāhmaṇa* texts, the mystical speculations of the Upaniṣads, the medical systems of Āyurveda, the physio-psychology of yoga, and the alchemy of Tantra to name but a few. At the most basic level, these traditions shared the insight that a connection between the human/individual realm and the divine/transcendent is possible, as long as it was produced through a specialized technique, knowledge, or healing substance. An early and vivid example of this connection can be seen in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad's* opening line: "The head of the sacrificial horse, clearly, is the dawn—its sight is the sun." Cosmology and ritual (sacrifice) mirror each other and form a seamless continuity, which the ritual specialist can exploit.

Throughout Indian history the sacrificial ritual has played a role not only in cosmology, but also in other contexts as well. Tantric traditions, as David Gordon White shows, are systems of (alchemical) mediations based on the science of the sacrifice. Fluids, semen, moon, and mercury on the one hand, and fire, blood, sun, and sulfur on the other are mediated by air, wind, and breath to unify the macrocosm with the microcosm. Similarly, as the oldest medical knowledge (Āyurveda) was becoming systematized and situated within the normative traditions of *dharma,* it was the sacrifice that provided the primary method of linking the work of the surgeon to religious cosmology: the Āyurvedic surgeon was merely replicating the work of the divine Aśvin twins who had learned from Prajāpati (and Brahmā) how to reattach the head of the sacrifice severed by Rudra (*Suśruta Saṃhitā* 1:17–20).

Although the three broad traditions (Upaniṣads, Tantra, Āyurveda) are distinct in most ways of reckoning, all assume some continuity between the divine and mundane realms. In fact, most traditions inspired by the Vedic ethos refuse to differentiate categorically between speculative (or "scientific") and pragmatic concerns. The Vedic sacrifice itself is as much about prosperity and health as it is about obtaining heaven, immortality, or the selfless nurturing of the gods.

A ready example of this combined orientation is the literature on domestic rituals. Systematically expounded in the Gṛhyasūtras, domestic rituals ensure the correct maintenance of the household, but are equally attentive to the threefold knowledge (of gods, *ātman*—the mystical self—and sacrifice) that defines the worthiest Brāhmaṇ. The same texts that describe how to part the hair of a pregnant woman with a porcupine quill in order to obtain a son, also explain what is superior knowledge and why it is so (*Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhyasūtra*). Another way of putting the matter is that the techniques most closely associated with *mukti* (liberation)—namely concentration, austerities, self-control, recitation—are also conducive to *bhukti* (enjoyment): long life, health, power, children, and wealth (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 5:19:2).

Within this worldview, no insurmountable boundary separates the "arts" of magic from mystical speculation. According to the *Ṛgvidhāna* (1:15:4), a mystical *mantra,* chanted in reverse, can be used to destroy one's foes: it has the power of *brahman,* which is the hidden potency of the Vedic ritual, and is the underlying principle of the *brāhmaṇa* texts and the Upaniṣads. Much of what is generally regarded as mystical (transcendent, speculative) is also magical (mundane, pragmatic) and vice versa.

Two intersecting and overlapping concepts that underscore this point are "Indra's net" (*Indrajāla*) and *māyā* (illusion). In the *Ṛgveda,* Indra (or Maghavan) is a magician-god who can change forms at will, "changing shape by the use of magic" (3.53.8; 7.99.4). Indra uses his magic to bring rains, using the lightning as his magician's wand. His net is a powerful tool with a profound effect on human perception: "Indra's net is vast, as big as this world, and with Indra's net—this magic—I enmesh, entrap, those people with darkness." Lee Siegel argues that these ideas indicate the intimate link between ancient Indian conceptions of magic and conjuring: both involve deception and illusion, resting as they do on the vulnerable nature of human perception.

As Jan Gonda has observed, "*māyā* is an incomprehensible wisdom and power enabling its possessor, or being able itself, to create, devise, contrive, effect, or do something." (Gonda, 1965, p. 216) The possessor may be divine or human, but in either case the power to create has a profound phenomenal upshot: it fashions a sense-based reality that is both wondrous and powerful in hiding what is ultimately real. It is the card up the magician's sleeve.

In short, Indra's net, the snare with which God rules over the sensory world and over humans, is his power, his *māyā.* This is how Śaṅkara, the ninth-century philosopher, interprets the passage in the *Bhagavadgītā* in which Kṛṣṇa says to Arjuna: "My *māyā* is hard to overcome" (7:14). The net is a fitting image to describe the power of God because it is sensory perception that binds humans in this world. At the same time that it binds, however, sensory perception also provides a connection to God's creative energy (Goudriaan, 1978, p. 216). What is perceived by humans in this world corresponds to elements of the divine order, creating a bond, a correspondence that is sense-based and lies at the root of the homological rationality that one sees in much of India's traditional thinking: the elaborate system of resemblances and correspondences that misled James Frazer and Victorian scholars into perceiving what they encountered as homeopathic and superstitious. The principle underlying this way of sorting out the world is not an expression of "magical" thinking, but rather a privileging of sensory experience as the index of God's creative energy, and a recognition of its potential to further one's interests.

By recognizing the connection between divine power (*māyā*) and sense perception, humans can transcend empirical reality (*mukti*) and *māyā,* but they can also use this recognition to live a good life (*bhukti*). This is possible only as long as the meshes of the phenomenal net, so to speak, are not broken. In fact, all practical magic commences with a problem, a tear in the net or web of perceived relations. The health problems of humans and animals, failure to conceive, or bad luck in business—all problems brought to the attention of the magician—may be understood implicitly as the rip in Indra's net.

LITERARY SOURCES OF MAGIC. Due to the difficulty of isolating a distinct magical domain within Indian culture and literature, it is hard to name uniquely magical texts. Only two texts within the ancient corpus can be regarded as almost completely magical works in the sense that they focus exclusively on rites and *mantras* conforming to the ideology outlined above. One of these is the *Atharvaveda,* the fourth and latest addition to the Vedic canon. It is primarily a collection of verbal formulas uttered by the *atharvaṇ* priest in a wide array of circumstances: The majority focus on health matters, but many deal with procreation, love, wealth, warfare, property disputes, travel, justice and, of course, the counteracting of sorcery.

The other primarily magical text is the *Kauśika Sūtra* (c. 700 BCE), which either reflects an ancient ritual tradition that paralleled the atharvanic formulas, or was artificially composed to illustrate the ritual contexts in which the *Atharvaveda* was meant to be used. Hundreds of rituals, most of them nearly indecipherable without the much later commentaries of Darila and Keśava Kāśmīrin, cover matters of concern similar to those of the *Atharvaveda.*

But, more broadly, the *Ṛgveda* (and *Ṛgvidhāna*) with its *mantras* and mythical allusions, and the *Yajurveda* and, later, the *brāhmaṇas* with their sacrificial rituals, are also rich sources of magical ideas and performances. In fact, Mīmāṃsā philosophy explains that what makes Vedic rituals powerful and efficacious is the *adṛsta* type of action, the action that has no visible or empirical utility. For instance, the ritual's insistence on facing in a particular direction is more efficacious in producing results than cleansing the ritual utensils.

The Gṛhyasūtras prescribe the rituals and *mantras* that must be used in the household, governing the life stages (including pregnancy, birth, feeding, and naming) of twice-born members of society from the moment of conception until death. They describe in some detail, occasionally intersecting with the prescriptions of the *Kauśika Sūtra,* the verbal and ritual parameters that have to be observed in every stage of life. For instance, the *gurū* must initiate the student by sprinkling him with water three times—neither more nor less—as the student joins his hands in greeting (*Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* 2.2.10). During the wedding ceremony the groom seizes the bride by the thumb if he desires boys, by the other fingers if he wishes to bear girls (*Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* 1.7.3–4).

What makes these rituals "magical" is not that they are regarded as *yātū* or *abhicāra,* or that they seem to manifest magical thinking of the type defined by Frazer or even current theorists. The operative criterion is a recognition, based on sensory perception and performed symbolically, that life is constituted by interrelated phenomena (the number three, water, fingers, and children) that are both meaningful and controllable when properly understood. Numerous additional examples can be found in the *Suśruta Saṃhitā* and the *Caraka Saṃhitā,* the two major texts of Āyurveda medicine. Both texts are encyclopedic in range, covering every known medical topic, from medical philosophy (and cosmology) to diets, prognostics, surgery, pharmacology, and others. Both are based on a sophisticated humoral theory and both contain hundreds of healing procedures.

The legal texts, for example *Mānava Dharmaśāstra,* also describe rituals that could be characterized as magical by these ideological standards. The courtroom is a sacrificial hall and the criminal, especially the one who willingly confesses and submits to punishment, is a sacrificial player (the victim) who benefits by the punishment. Similarly, the *Kāmasūtra* is renowned for its use of carefully prescribed procedures designed to help in seduction, perpetuate or enhance love, improve sex, enrich the diet, and restore health. Even the pragmatic *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya describes the use of special procedures for complementing the normal devices of statecraft—for instance, using *mantras* and potions to confuse and subdue one's enemies.

The *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* both feature episodes involving magicians, although few rituals are explicitly prescribed. In contrast, some Purāṇa texts dating to the first millennium of the common era, most notably the *Agni Purāṇa,* contain large collections of spells, procedures, and formulas (including diets and herbal concoctions) for a variety of purposes: healing, undermining enemies, victory in battle, health, longevity, interpretation of dreams, astrological success, and so on. Other Purāṇas are not as detailed, but the *Devī Purāṇa* provides lengthy verbal formulas with detailed descriptions of their use.

A vast repository of magical practices and verbal formulas can be found in the literature that is broadly termed Tantra. Such texts as *Rasārṇava* (tenth–eleventh centuries CE), or the *Rasahṛdaya Tantra* of Govinda (tenth–eleventh century CE), contain spells and chants (*mantras*), geometric designs, alchemy, color symbolism, medical practices, and exorcism procedures.In popular street usage in India today, the word *tantra* has come to mean magic, due to the prestige of the tradition, along with its accessibility compared to the Vedic and Āyurvedic literature.

SEE ALSO Alchemy, article on Indian Alchemy; Mantra; Māyā.

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ARIEL GLUCKLICH (2005)

MAGIC: MAGIC IN EAST ASIA

Magic and mantic arts are endemic in Chinese life and prominent in the religions of China, both in popular religion and in Buddhism and Daoism. The same is true of Korea and Japan, where indigenous beliefs have been overlaid by the cultural influence of China. The magical practices of China found ready acceptance in Korea and Japan. Although many of the practices traveled on their own, religion—chiefly Buddhism, which had already absorbed elements of Chinese popular beliefs and of Daoism—was an important vehicle for the transfer of Chinese magic. The result was an amalgam of magical lore in East Asia, with Chinese knowledge often providing a frame to which specifically Korean or Japanese practices and permutations were affixed.

CHINA. In general, one should distinguish between magic, which provides a means to accomplish specific ends (through spells, gestures, amulets, talismans, and the like), and various occult sciences (such as yarrow-stalk divination with the *Book of Changes,* astrology, hemerology, geomancy, and alchemy), even though this distinction was not strongly maintained in the traditional Chinese schema of magic and the occult. There was in fact a fluid boundary between magic (where there was no cause for rationalization) and occult sciences, which were elaborated in terms of a theory of symbolic correspondence based on the concepts of *yin-yang* dualism and of Five Actions (*wuxing:* water, fire, wood, metal, and earth). Not only was this theory the product of prior conceptions of the magical power of fire, water, and other primary forces in nature (e.g., wind), but even after its full elaboration the symbolic correspondences did not negate the validity of magical practices. Not infrequently, occult theory supplied a *modus operandi* for magic and religious worship. For example, an astrological instrument designed to calculate the position of the Big Dipper (Chinese archaeology has recently brought to light a second-century BCE specimen of the device) was used by the usurper Wang Mang to direct the power of the Dipper against his enemies in 23 CE. From the beginning, this astrological instrument served as one means for conjuring the god of the Dipper and polestar (talismanic replicas of the constellation cast in metal were also used). The same instrument was influential in Daoist star magic, and it was the model for an astrological *maṇḍala* in the esoteric Buddhism of the Tang period (618–907 CE). Similarly, the hemerological symbols of the calendrical cycle were not simply neutral signs marking the passage of time; they constituted a succession of spirits whose magical powers could be summoned through spells and talismans.

The Warring States (403–221 BCE), Qin (221–206 BCE), and Han (206 BCE–220 CE) periods were the formative age for Chinese magic. Earlier, magic was employed in dealings with the spirits and was important in the royal ancestral religion of the Shang and early Zhou (c. sixteenth–eighth centuries BCE). But the proliferation of magical arts, and an increasing differentiation between magic as employed in archaic religion and magic for its own sake, began during the Warring States and continued to develop in Qin-Han times. The history of Chinese magic in later centuries followed from the developments of this period. It was during the same period that the theory of symbolic correspondence was formulated, and developments in occult sciences paralleled significantly those in magic.

Before the Warring States the principal practitioners of magic were the *wu,* a class of female (and in lesser numbers, male) shamans who mediated between the human and spirit worlds. Their methods included trances in which spirits might descend into their bodies or in which the shaman might journey into the spirit world, invocations and maledictions, and the utilization of magical materials to either attract or repel the spirits. Their functions overlapped those of incantators (*chu*) and other ritual officiants; however, the latter did not engage in ecstatic trances. The Warring States and Qin-Han periods witnessed the decline in prestige of these shamans, who came to be increasingly associated with witchcraft; the rise of occult specialists (*fangshi,* literally "masters of recipes"), whose skills extended to magical operations; and the formation of a Daoist clergy, who adapted magic to fill the needs of the newly emergent religion (organized Daoist religious communities made their first appearance in the second century CE). The general populace also practiced forms of superstitious magic in the course of daily life.

Historical records of Han rulers who favored shamans and masters of recipes provide an important source of information about ancient Chinese magic. Liu Che (posthumously titled Wu Di; r. 140–87 BCE), for example, established cults for shamans and made his court a gathering place for masters of recipes who claimed to possess magical powers and the secrets of immortality. One master of recipes, Li Shaoweng, was a psychopomp who gained Liu Che's favor by conjuring the ghost of the ruler's recently deceased concubine; he was executed after he was exposed for fabricating portents. Near the end of Liu Che's reign the court was paralyzed by an outbreak of a type of shamanic witchcraft known as *gu.* The word *gu* referred to a demonic affliction that attacked its victim as the result of witchcraft. According to some accounts, *gu* was a poison produced by sealing certain creatures in a vessel until only one remained, which became the *gu.* The tradition that the *gu* is a magical potion cultivated by women and passed down through generations is still alive today. Those who ingested the *gu* were believed to die and become the demon-slaves of the *gu* and its keeper. In two of the witchcraft incidents at Liu Che's court the *gu* agent was discovered to be a wooden effigy buried in the ground, where it was intended to bring harm to the ruler. There were other cases of witchcraft during the Han period in which shamans were hired to work black magic.

Accusations of charlatanism against masters of recipes and fear of shamanic witchcraft were widespread during the Han period. A negative perception of magical practices crystallized around the government's concern for its own political and spiritual authority. All magic and occultism were potentially subversive. They incited social unrest and infringed upon the holiness of the monarch, whose position as the Son of Heaven made him the only legitimate authority to oversee dealings with the spirit world. Popular religious cults not under the direct control of the government were branded "abusive worship" (*yinsi*), and ordinary citizens could be executed if caught illicitly performing magic or uttering imprecations. Such practices were identified as the "way of the left" (*dso-dao*). The word *left* did not connote the sinister aspects Western cultures associate with the left. Rather, in cosmoritual symbolism the left was the ruler's position of honor, and those who practiced the way of the left were abusing powers belonging properly to the ruler.

The Daoist sects that arose in the second century CE inveighed against those who placed their faith in shamans, worshiped demons, and believed the occultists' shams. These practices were an offense to the true deities of the Dao. Daoist liturgy incorporated many elements of popular worship, however, and the clergy engaged in many of the magical practices that they condemned in others. Indeed, in the eyes of the Han government the Daoist sects were rebel organizations whose religion represented simply another outbreak of "abusive worship." For the Daoist sects the fundamental issue was heterodoxy—the use of magic not sanctioned by religious authority. But in the continual process of syncretization that occurred over the centuries as Daoism interacted with popular religion and with Buddhism, the standard of orthodoxy fluctuated.

The Buddhist attitude toward magic was similar. Illicit magical practices fell under the category of the "arts of Mara" (*moshu*), Mara being the tempter and chief of malevolent demons. *Moshu* parallels other Chinese terms such as "shamanic arts" (*wushu*) and "way of the left" in referring to the forms of magic prohibited by the orthodox church (and the government). However, as early as the fifth century CE there was a tradition of Buddhist spell-casting in China rivaling the Daoist practices. Buddhist magic was most prominent in the esoteric practices of Tantrism. The Tantric literature contained magical formulas to be used to gain prosperity or harm adversaries; Tantric *mantras*, *mudrās*, and *maṇḍalas* were utilized as instruments for working magic. Tantric magic incorporated elements of native Chinese magic and occultism, while at the same time enriching Daoist and popular practices.

Most existing knowledge of actual magical procedures in premodern times comes from Daoist and Buddhist writing, which naturally reflect the practices of Daoism and Buddhism. Recently, Chinese archaeologists have discovered manuscripts from the third and second centuries BCE that describe magic as it was practiced in the ancient popular religion and occult tradition. Two of the manuscripts are almanacs that are strikingly similar to Chinese almanacs in use today and attest to a continuity in magic and occult practice. The Chinese almanacs combine information on portents to watch for during the year with material on spells, talismans, and other magical devices.

Many of the common forms of magic described in premodern sources are still practiced. There are spells to summon deities and to drive off demons (versions of popular, Daoist, and Buddhist spells are preserved). Spitting and spouting water over which a spell has first been uttered is another common device (sometimes Daoist or Buddhist priests will spout ignited alcohol). Substances believed to have magical properties are often identified in traditional materia medica. Amber, for example, wards off nightmare demons and is used in making headrests. Amulets to be hung in the open or worn on the body exist in many forms. Peachwood amulets are perhaps the most ancient. Talismans (*fu*) made from strips of silk and inscribed with undecipherable writing have been discovered in a second century BCE tomb. A medical manuscript discovered in the same tomb includes a recipe for curing *gu* witchcraft by burning a talisman, scattering its ashes over sheep broth, and bathing the victim with the brew. Water over which the ashes of talismans have been scattered has been used in Daoism to cure sickness since the time of the earliest Daoist sects. Daoism talismans inscribed with symbols and magic writing have many uses. The deities are summoned with talismans, which may be used in conjunction with spells. And, in addition to using the ashes, Daoists may wear talismans as phylacteries or swallow them in order for them to take effect. Love magic is represented in a second century BCE manuscript that provides recipes for two philters with which a person can "obtain the object of desire." Another example in the same manuscript is a recipe that instructs a person engaged in a lawsuit to write the opponent's name on a slip and insert it in a shoe, magically trampling the opponent.

KOREA AND JAPAN. In Korea, cults formed around female shamans were a source of native Korean magic. This popular religion is known as Mu-sok ("shamanic customs"). Contacts between Korea and China began well before the Tang, but increased markedly during that period. Knowledge of Chinese magic and occultism was part of the general flow of Chinese culture into Korea. And the initial impact of Chinese religion—before, for example, there was a more sophisticated understanding of Buddhist theology—was an admiration for its great magical power as compared with native practices.

Chinese political institutions and ethics were also influential in the formation of the early Korean kingdoms. In general, the antagonism between government and practitioners of magic, and between Buddhism and popular religion, followed along lines similar to the situation in China.

In the native religion of Japan, which came to be known as Shintō ("way of the spirits") after Buddhism took hold, there were two categories of religious personnel. The *miko* (female shaman) was a medium into whose body a spirit might descend, sharing essential characteristics with shamans throughout East Asia. The *kannushi* (spirit controller) was more in the nature of a priest who oversaw the worship of the spirits. As with the shamans in China, the *miko* were increasingly associated with witchcraft, whereas the *kannushi* came to function as officiants in the state cult. Esoteric tantric Buddhism had a strong influence in Japan, leading to a syncretism of Shintō and Chinese-Buddhist magic. Buddhist ascetics called *hijiri* (sage) and *yamabushi* (mountain recluse) traced their origins to the eighth century CE and were renowned for their magical powers. As in Korea, in Japan other forms of Chinese magic and occultism were absorbed into the culture.

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MAGNA MATER See CYBELE

MAGYAR RELIGION See HUNGARIAN RELIGION

MAHĀBHĀRATA.

Hindu India's national epic takes its name from Bharata, an ancestor of the central family of heroes. It is the story of his descendants, the Bhāratas or Kurus. The *Mahābhārata* (Great story of the Bhāratas) is a massive encyclopedic text. In one famous verse it claims to contain everything. It is said to consist of 100,000 verses, although no known recension comes to quite that number. The text is also known as *Jaya* (Victory), a reference to its concern with the victory of *dharma* over *adharma* as assured by Kṛṣṇa, who as the incarnation of Viṣṇu guides the main action of the story. The text is further called the *Kārṣṇaveda* (Veda of Kṛṣṇa), a reference whose ambiguity may be intended since the text not only is concerned with this Kṛṣṇa but is alleged to have been written by Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, the "island-born Kṛṣṇa," whose more familiar name is Vyāsa. Finally, it is called the "fifth Veda," indicating the importance that the epic's *brahman* poets attached to its prolongation of the Vedic heritage. The epic is a *smṛti* ("traditional") rather than *śruti* ("revealed") text, but its reputed author, Vyāsa, is the very person whom epic and classical mythology credits with the "division" of the Vedas into four.

The actual composition of the epic seems to have been carried out between about 500 BCE to 400 CE. The authors, however, probably drew on older bardic traditions with roots in Aryan lore of much greater antiquity. The central story is set in the area of the Ganges-Yamunā doab, and recalls tribal kingdoms that had settled in and around that area, after earlier residence in the Punjab, from about 1000 to 500 BCE. It is sometimes assumed that the Painted Gray Ware culture of this period provided the historical setting for a real war, of which the text of the *Mahābhārata* is but an embellished account. More likely, if the Painted Gray Ware peoples transmitted an early version of the story, it was as part of their mythology, for the epic has an Indo-European mythological structure.

Scholarly work since the 1940s, initiated by Stig Wikander and Georges Dumézil, has shown that the text is essentially mythological, though not denying that it integrates much "didactic" material, particularly in its postwar books. It prolongs the Vedic heritage by correlating the epic story and its leading characters with Vedic, and in some cases para-Vedic and Indo-European, mythological figures and narrative (particularly eschatological) themes. More recent work has focused on the epic's treatment of the war as a "sacrifice of battle," relating the narrative to Indian sacrificial traditions, particularly from the Brāhmaṇas. Most notably, Madeleine Biardeau has shown that the treatment of Vedic mythology and Brahmanic sacrifice in the epic forms part of a *bhakti* rereading of the Vedic revelation (*śruti*). From this perspective the epic is the first and grandest monument of *bhakti*, focused on Kṛṣṇa as the *avatāra* (incarnation) of Viṣṇu.

The main story begins when Viṣṇu and other gods descend or in some way assume human forms to relieve the burden of the goddess Earth, who is oppressed by demons. Following a succession crisis in the Lunar (i.e., Bhārata) dynasty, which rules India's "middle region," demons (*asuras*) infiltrate the royal lineages of the other kingdoms. In this situation two groups of cousins are born into the central lineage, each with its own succession claims: the five sons of King Pāṇḍu (the Pāṇḍavas) and the hundred sons (the Kauravas) of Pāṇḍu's older brother, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, who is prevented by blindness from ruling. The Pāṇḍavas are actually sons of gods, and their birth is part of the divine plan to rescue Earth. By means of a mantra their mothers (Kuntī, the senior wife of Pāṇḍu, and Mādrī, the junior wife) had invoked deities to sire them, thus circumventing a curse that would have caused Pāṇḍu's death had he had sexual relations with his wives. Thus, with Kuntī, the god Dharma sired Yudhiṣṭhira, Vāyu sired Bhīma, and Indra sired Arjuna; with Mādrī, the twin Aśvins sired the twins Nakula and Sahadeva.

Following the interpretation of Wikander and Dumézil, these groups of gods and heroes may be seen to represent a hierarchical axis within the Vedic (and Indo-European) pantheon that further evokes the order of the upper three Aryan classes (*varṇas*) and, more archaically, what Dumézil has called the three functions: (1) religious sovereignty and law (Dharma and Yudhiṣṭhira), (2) warfare (Vāyu and Bhīma, Indra and Arjuna), and (3) economic welfare and service (the Aśvins and the twins). While the Pāṇḍavas thus represent the nucleus of social and divine hierarchy and the principle of *dharma*, their hundred cousins—incarnations of *rākṣasas* (disruptive goblins), except for the eldest, Duryodhana, who is an incarnation of the *asura* Kali (Discord), the demon of the *kaliyuga*—represent undifferentiated chaos and *adharma*.

During their youth the two groups of cousins vie with each other and form alliances that continue into the war. Thus Karṇa, son of Kuntī and the sun god Sūrya (Kuntī had first tried out her mantra with Sūrya before marriage, and then abandoned the son), allies with Duryodhana. At the Pāṇḍavas' polyandric wedding with Draupadī (incarnation of Śrī, goddess of prosperity), they ally themselves with Draupadī's brother Dhṛṣṭadyumna, the incarnation of Agni (Fire), who will lead their army. It is also at the marriage of Draupadī that the Pāṇḍavas first meet their cousin Kṛṣṇa (who is Kuntī's brother's son) and consolidate their relation with him.

For a brief period the two parties divide the kingdom; the Kauravas retain the ancestral throne at Hāstinapura, while the Pāṇḍavas build a new palace at Indraprastha. But when Yudhiṣṭhira performs a Rājasūya sacrifice to lay claim to universal sovereignty, Duryodhana is inconsolable until his friends suggest he invite the Pāṇḍavas to a dice match and win their wealth at gambling. At the dice match Yudhiṣṭhira gambles away everything; the last stakes are his brothers, himself, and finally Draupadī. Duryodhana then orders his vilest brother, Duḥśāsana, to drag Draupadī into the assembly hall, and when she protests, Karṇa commands Duḥśāsana to disrobe her. But Duḥśāsana is unsuccessful, for new saris keep descending upon Draupadī—according to most versions, thanks to her prayer to Kṛṣṇa—to keep her covered. When Draupadī is thus miraculously saved, Dhṛtarāṣṭra grants her husbands their freedom and returns their weapons, which the Pāṇḍavas will use in the war to fulfill their vows to destroy Draupadī's offenders.

In a second gambling match the Pāṇḍavas lose again, and together with Draupadī they are exiled for thirteen years. The last year must be spent incognito if they are to get back their kingdom. They adopt disguises and escape detection, yet when the thirteen years are over Duryodhana refuses to return the Pāṇḍavas' half of the kingdom. But the brothers have spent their exile in pilgrimage and penance (Arjuna in particular has done *tapas* to get weapons from Śiva). Their last year in exile has the character of a *dīkśā* (consecration preparatory to a sacrifice), and they have thus prepared themselves for the sacrifice of battle.

As the war looms, Kṛṣṇa's role becomes increasingly central. Although he serves as the Pāṇḍavas' peace ambassador and is himself sworn to noncombatancy, he actually prepares both sides for war. Then, just before the first day's battle, as Arjuna's charioteer he "sings" the *Bhagavadgītā*, thus convincing Arjuna of his duty to fight. The eighteen-day war on the plain of Kurukṣetra (an ancient sacrificial terrain) then follows, in which all the divine and demonic forces converge in a vast holocaust that has been variously interpreted as a sacrifice or as the end of the universe (*pralaya*). By leading the Pāṇḍavas to victory, Kṛṣṇa as *avatāra* achieves his task of relieving Earth's burden and renovating the *dharma* at the juncture between the *dvāpara* and *kaliyugas*, the latter of which is our present age.

SEE ALSO Arjuna; Bhagavadgītā; Epics; Indo-European Religions, overview article; Kṛṣṇa; Kurukṣetra.

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ALF HILTEBEITEL (1987)
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MAHĀMUDRĀ is a multivalent term of great importance in later Indian Buddhism and Tibetan Buddhism. It also occurs occasionally in Hindu and East Asian Buddhist esotericism. Best translated from Sanskrit as "the great seal," *mahāmudrā* denotes a ritual hand-gesture, one of a sequence of "seals" in Tantric practice, the nature of reality as emptiness, a meditation procedure focusing on the nature of mind, an innate blissful gnosis cognizing emptiness nondually, or the supreme attainment of buddhahood at the culmination of the Tantric path. *Mahāmudrā* is best known as a central feature of the philosophical view, meditative practice, and conception of enlightenment in the Bka' brgyud (Kagyu) sect of Tibetan Buddhism, but it has a place in most Tibetan Buddhist traditions, as it did in late Indian Buddhist Tantric literature. It has inspired devout meditation, profound philosophy, and brilliant poetry throughout the Indo-Tibetan Buddhist world for over a millennium. Any attempt to write a "history" of *mahāmudrā* is complicated by the concept's complexity, as well as uncertainties about the Indian and Tibetan texts and authors crucial to understanding it. With these difficulties in mind, this survey will attempt to reflect general scholarly consensus on the evolution of the concept of *mahāmudrā* in India, its articulation in Tibet, practices characteristic of it in Bka' brgyud tradition, and controversies over its interpretation.

***MAHĀMUDRĀ* IN INDIA.** The history of *mahāmudrā* in India may tentatively be traced through the roughly chronological Tantric traditions that arose there and the works of the great adepts (*mahāsiddhas*) who expounded on Tantric themes in song and treatise.

***Mahāmudrā* in the Tantras.** In the ritually focused *kriyā* and *caryā* Tantras, as in much Indian yogic literature, the term *mudrā* refers to a hand-position that "seals" religious procedures. Perhaps the first text to mention *mahāmudrā* is the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (c. seventh century), where the term refers primarily to a "five-peaked" hand-position said to be the "heart-gesture of the *tathāgatas*," pure and stainless, the accomplishment of all worldly and ultimate aims, the highest of all *dharmas*. *Mahāmudrā* is mentioned with increasing frequency in the more soteriologically oriented yoga Tantras (first appearing in the late seventh century). In such texts as the *Tattvasaṁgraha* and the *Vajraśekhara-tantra*, *mahāmudrā* is linked with three other *mudrās*—the action (*karma*), pledge (*samaya*), and *dharma* seals—employed to confirm particular meditative attainments. *Mahāmudrā* here connotes a series of hand positions, *mantra* recitations, and visualizations that symbolize and help to effect one's complete identification with a deity's divine form or awakening mind (*bodhicitta*). The *mahāyoga* Tantras (first appearing around the eighth century) maintain the yoga Tantras' concern with complex, *maṇḍala*-based meditative practices (the "creation stage," *utpattikrama*), but also emphasize yoga within the human subtle body (the "completion stage," *utpannakrama*), and explicitly evoke erotic, violent, and other transgressive themes. In the *Guhyasamāja*, an important *mahāyoga* Tantra, *mahāmudrā* has multiple meanings, including a contemplation-recitation conducive to the adamantine body, speech, and mind of the *tathāgatas*; and the object—emptiness—through realization of which "all is accomplished." Elsewhere, the *Guhyasamāja* describes the awakening mind—synonymous with *māhamudrā*—as primordially unborn, empty, unarisen, nonexistent, devoid of self, naturally luminous, and immaculate like the sky.

In the elaborate, sexually charged, and profoundly gnostic *yoginī* Tantras (first appearing around the late eighth century), *mahāmudrā* emerges as a major Buddhist concept. Though still connected there to creation-stage *maṇḍala*-practice, it is more often related to completion-stage meditations involving the manipulation of mental and physical forces in the subtle body so as to produce a divine form and a luminous, blissful, nonconceptual gnosis. In the completion-stage discussions in such Tantric systems as the Hevajra, Cakrasaṁvara, and Kālacakra, *mahāmudrā* has three especially important meanings. First, it may refer to a practitioner's female consort in sexual yoga practices. Second, as before, it is one of a sequence of *mudrās* corresponding to various Buddhist concepts, experiences, and path-stages. Here, though, it usually is the culmination of the series, a direct realization of the nature of mind and reality that transcends and perfects other, more conventional seals, including those involving actual or visualized sexual yoga. Third, *mahāmudrā* by itself connotes the ultimate truth, realization, or achievement of *yoginī* Tantra practice: the great seal that marks all phenomena and experiences; a synonym for suchness, sameness, emptiness, space, and the goddess Nairātmyā (no-self); unchanging bliss beyond object and subject, shape, thought, or expression; and the ultimate gnostic attainment, *mahāmudrā-siddhī*.

The *Mahāsiddhas.* Despite *mahāmudrā*'s apparent origin in the Tantras, the "canons" of *mahāmudrā* texts identified later by Tibetan scholars consist primarily of collections of Tantric commentaries, treatises, and songs attributed to the elusive, charismatic, and unconventional *mahāsiddhas* who were prominent in north Indian Buddhism before and just after 1000 CE. Many of these *mahāsiddhas* practiced the *yoginī* Tantras, and thus placed *mahāmudrā* near the center of their conceptual world, alongside such related notions as the *yoginī* or *ḍākinī*, emptiness, great bliss, the innate (*sahaja*), and nonduality—and the gnosis comprehending all of these. They often expressed themselves in colorful and paradoxical language, and utilized a "rhetoric of immediacy" to emphasize a natural, nonconceptual approach to life and liberation.

Three of their collections were given special attention by Tibetan traditions. The "Seven Texts on Attainment," including Padmavajra's *Guhyasiddhi*, Indrabhūti's *Jñānasiddhi*, and Lakṣmīṅkarā's *Advayasiddhi*, are poetic commentaries on themes in the *mahāyoga* and *yoginī* Tantras. *Mahāmudrā* is mentioned occasionally, usually denoting "ultimates" such as the nature of mind, nonconceptual awareness, and a buddha's *dharma* body; *mahāmudrā* also is explicitly synonymous with such common terms as the innate and nonduality. The "Trilogy on the Essential" comprises the "King," "Queen," and "People" couplet-treasuries (*dohākoṣas*) credited by Tibetan tradition to Saraha. These texts seldom refer to *mahāmudrā*, but they do mention related concepts like the innate, nonduality, great bliss, the *yoginī*, and buddhahood; other songs ascribed to Saraha mention *mahāmudrā* often, describing it as, for instance, "the lamp of innate gnosis," the union of method and wisdom, emptiness, uninterrupted bliss, and mind itself. The "Twenty-Five [Texts] on the *Dharma* of Unthinking," attributed to Maitrīpa (1007–1085), contain few overt references to either *mahāmudrā* or unthinking (*amanasikāra*), but do discuss the attainment of a nonconceptual realization equivalent to *mahāmudrā*. Maitrīpa addresses *mahāmudrā* frequently in other texts ascribed to him, most notably the *Mahāmudrākanakamālā*, which provides a long list of "ultimate" synonyms for it, and concludes that "the path of *mahāmudrā* is unthinking."

Other *siddhas* also expounded on *mahāmudrā*, including Nāgārjuna, Śavaripa, Tilopa, Nāropa, Virūpa, and Vajrāpani. The *mahāsiddhas* not only sang *mahāmudrā*'s praises, but sometimes analyzed it in terms of other Tantric *mudrās*, as well as Mahāyanā "Perfection Vehicle" concepts like emptiness, mind-only, and *tathāgata-garbha*, or buddha-nature. They also divided *mahāmudrā* into sequences of basis, path, and result—or view, meditation, action, and result—and increasingly identified it as a distinct style of meditation in which, by various means, one settles nonconceptually into contemplation of the nature of mind as empty, luminous, blissful gnosis.

By the end of the Buddhist period in India, *mahāmudrā* evoked a variety of meanings, whether ritual, yogic, ontological, or soteriological, and it had become a crucial Buddhist term that could describe the nature of reality and of the mind, a ritual or meditative procedure for seeing that nature, and the enlightenment ensuing from that realization. Its usages sometimes were deeply Tantric, as when related to completion-stage notions like great bliss and luminosity, and sometimes more evocative of philosophical and meditative themes in Mahāyanā wisdom traditions, including Madhyamaka and Yogācāra. Though these Tantric and non-Tantric approaches would eventually be distinguished, in the syncretic milieu of late Indian Buddhism, they were virtually inseparable.

MAHĀMUDRĀ IN TIBET.

Some Tibetan Buddhists probably were familiar with *mahāmudrā* (Tib., *phyag rgya chen po*) as early as the ninth century, during the imperial period, when Indian Tantras using the term were first translated into Tibetan. *Mahāmudrā*'s real importance in Tibet, however, dates from the eleventh-century "renaissance" of Buddhism there. Traditions originating in this period all were shaped by the *mahāyoga* and, especially, *yoginī* Tantra systems that dominated late Indian Buddhism, so they usually accounted for *mahāmudrā* in their descriptions of the Buddhist path. *Mahāmudrā* was relatively peripheral among the Bka' gdams (Kadam), who de-emphasized the Tantras in favor of practices concerned with renunciation, compassion, and wisdom; the Sa skya (Sakya), who were heir to many *mahāsiddha* traditions, but tended to restrict the term to the final result of the Tantric path, *mahāmudrā-siddhi*; and the Rnying ma (Nyingma), whose central concern was the Great Perfection (*Rdzogs chen*), which is described much like *mahāmudrā*, but arose from different Tantric contexts. *Mahāmudrā* was more central to Zhi byed, Gcod, and Shangs pa Bka' brgyud, where it was closely connected to both Tantric practices and Mahāyāna wisdom perspectives. These traditions never developed strong institutional bases, and their practices eventually were absorbed by other sects.

Early Bka' brgyud. It was in the traditions of the Dvags po Bka' brgyud (Dakpo Kagyu) that *mahāmudrā* became central, and their long-term success helped assure *mahāmudrā*'s place in Tibetan religious discourse. The Tibetan progenitor of the Dvags po Bka' brgyud was Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros (Marpa, 1012–1097), a farmer and translator who traveled to India to acquire texts and teachings, and who studied there with the *mahāsiddha* Maitrīpa, under whose guidance he claimed to have attained *mahāmudrā*-realization. Tradition also claims he met the scholar-yogin Nāropa (c. 966–1040), who taught him the completion-stage practices called the "Six *Dharmas* of Nāropa" (inner heat, illusory body, dream, clear light, intermediate state, and consciousness-transfer), as well as *mahāmudrā* instructions received from his teacher, Tilopa (fl. tenth century). Mar pa and his greatest disciple, the ascetic yogin Mi la ras pa (Milarepa, 1028/40–1111/23), adapted Indian Tantric song styles to Tibetan forms, and *mahāmudrā* is often referred to in poems attributed to them. Their usages are multiple, but two are especially prominent: *mahāmudrā* as related to Tantric completion-stage practices like the Six Dharmas of Nāropa, and *mahāmudrā* as a wisdom-tradition technique for directly seeing the nature of mind as primordially empty, luminous, and blissful—though Mar pa and Mi la ras pa probably did not make such a distinction.

Mi la ras pa's disciple Sgam po pa Bsod nams rin chen, or Dvags po lha rje (Gampopa Sonam Rinchen, 1079–1153), however, apparently took *mahāmudrā* to connote realization of the ultimate either through completion-stage Tantric practice (the "path of means") or "Perfection Vehicle" wisdom and insight (the "path of liberation"). For the latter, initiation is not required; one must, rather, secure the blessings (*byin rlabs*) of one's *guru,* who gives a direct indication (*ngo sprod*) of mind's nature. Sgam po pa also described *mahāmudrā* as an "essential vehicle" beyond sūtra or Tantra, a realization that seals all phenomena and leads to enlightenment, either gradually through four yogas—one-pointedness, simplicity, single taste, and nonmeditation—or suddenly, in an insight given such names as the "thunder-strike" (*thog babs*) and the "white medicinal simple" (*dkar po gcig thub*). By combining Tantric and *mahāmudrā* teachings learned from Mi la ras pa with virtue-based practices drawn from the Bka' gdams, Sgam po pa laid the basis for later Bka' brgyud ideology and praxis, and his disciples and subdisciples—who included both scholarly monks and "crazy" (*smyon pa*) hermits—founded numerous subsects that became the backbone of institutional Bka' brgyud, most notably the Kar ma, 'Brug pa (Drukpa), and 'Bri gung (Drikung).

In subsequent centuries, 'Bri gung 'Jig rten gsum mgon (Drikung Jikten Sumgön, 1143–1217) promulgated the Fivefold (*lnga ldan*) *Mahāmudrā*, in which realization of the mind's true nature is the culmination of gradual practices drawn from Mahāyāna and the Tantras; and the more radical Single Intention (*dgongs gcig*), where all principles and procedures are subsumed under a single gnostic realization. Zhang tshal pa Brtson du grags (Zhangtselpa Tsöndudrak, 1123–1193) emphasized the sudden realization of *mahāmudrā* as the "white medicinal simple," but also explored it in terms of sūtra-based Buddhist philosophical schools and paths to liberation; slow, rapid, and instantaneous practices; the four yogas; and so on—as with 'Jig rten gsum mgon, *mahāmudrā* became a concept embracing all of Buddhism. The 'Brug pa master Gtsang pa Rgya ras pa (Tsangpa Gyarepa, 1161–1211) and others began to describe a "canon" of Indian *mahāmudrā* texts drawn from the songs and treatises of the *mahāsiddhas*, the Tantras, and such Mahāyāna texts as the Prajñāpāramitā sūtras, *Samādhirāja-sūtra*, and *Uttaratantra-śāstra*. They also identified a number of lineages of *mahāmudrā* instruction, the most important of which went back to Mar pa, thence in India either to Tilopa and Nāropa (the near lineage) or Saraha, Nāgārjuna, Śavaripa, and Maitrīpa (one version of a distant lineage).

Later developments. The third Karma pa, Rang byung rdo rje (Rangjung Dorje, 1284–1339), wrote a popular poetic epitome of *mahāmudrā*, analyzed it in terms of philosophical concepts like *tathāgata-garbha* and extrinsic emptiness (*gzhan stong*), and explored similarities between *mahāmudrā* and the Rnying ma Great Perfection. Gtsang smyon Heruka (Tsangnyön Heruka, 1452–1507) composed classic hagiographies of Mar pa and Mi la ras pa, and the definitive collection of Mi la's songs; *mahāmudrā* features prominently in all three. Dvags po Bkra shis rnam rgyal (Dakpo Tashi Namgyel, 1512–1587) wrote a still-influential compendium on *mahāmudrā* covering sūtra and Tantra sources, gradual and sudden paths, calm and insight meditation, and the four yogas. 'Brug chen Padma dkar po (Drukchen Pema Karpo, 1527–1592) composed *mahāmudrā* meditation manuals, a history of Bka' brgyud lineages, and treatises examining *mahāmudrā* in relation to Tantric theory and Madhyamaka philosophy. Synthetic trends emerged, too. Partly inspired by the Bka' brgyud, the first Panchen Lama, Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan (Lobsang Chökyi Gyaltsen, 1570–1662), revealed a Dge lugs (Geluk) *mahāmudrā* tradition—involving both sūtra and Tantra approaches—that was traced to Indian *mahāsiddhas*, but more directly credited to the sect's founder, Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa (Tsongkapa Lobsang Drakpa, 1357–1419), who supposedly received it in a vision from the wisdom *bodhisattva*, Mañjuśrī. Rnying ma pas absorbed *mahāmudrā* into their Great Perfection system, while Karma chags med (Karma Chakme, 1613–1678) brought the Great Perfection within the compass of Bka' brgyud *mahāmudrā* schemes. The nonsectarian (*ris med*) master 'Jam mgon kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas (Jamgön Kongtrul Lodrö Taye, 1813–1899) wrote extensively on *mahāmudrā*, published Indian and Tibetan *mahāmudrā* texts, and entered into comparative discussion of "ultimates" with members of other traditions.

In the modern era, *mahāmudrā* has continued to be central to Bka' brgyud (and to a lesser degree, Dge lugs) theory and practice. It often has been taught by modern lamas, and has great appeal for Western Buddhists, who often regard it as a simple and natural approach to spiritual life, free of the categories and complexities of more "culturally embedded" Buddhist practices.

Characteristic practices. Though the articulation of *mahāmudrā* was an ongoing process, and formulations of its practice were various, certain patterns eventually emerged. In a typical Bka' brgyud account, *mahāmudrā* generally is divisible into basis, path, and result, or, alternatively, view, meditation, action, and result. The basis is usually *tathāgata-garbha*, the mind's actual or potential enlightened nature. Rightly viewing the basis provides the motive for entering the path. Paths are multiple, and divisible into meditation and action. In an instantaneous path, one abides in the nature of mind and acts spontaneously and compassionately right from the beginning. In a Tantric path, one identifies with a deity such as Vajrayoginī and masters completion-stage practices like the Six Dharmas of Nāropa, attaining perfect gnosis and skill in acting, even if unconventionally, for the sake of others. In a gradual non-Tantric path (the one most commonly described), meditation commences with standard devotional practices directed to one's *guru* and various deities. One next attains mental tranquility through concentration on a single object—usually the nature of mind itself—thereby experiencing clarity, bliss, and nonduality. With the mind concentrated effortlessly on itself, one proceeds to insight meditation, in which an analytic search for any nonmental phenomenon anywhere, or any truly existent mind of any sort, yields literally nothing—or emptiness. One moves then through the four phases of *mahāmudrā* yoga: one-pointedness, where one is fixated on the nature of mind; simplicity, where all mental elaboration is stilled in the experience of emptiness; single taste, where all phenomena are seen to be sealed by emptiness; and nonmeditation, where the distinctions between meditation and action, between sentient being and Buddha—indeed, all dualities—are resolved in a perfectly integrated understanding. As meditative realization deepens, one's actions are increasingly natural, joyous, and beneficial to others. When one is utterly delusion-free and completely identified with the luminous, blissful, nondual gnosis that is one's inmost nature, one achieves the path's result: the *dharma*, enjoyment, and emanation bodies of a fully enlightened buddha—which are no different from the emptiness, luminosity, and appearances of the mind itself. This is *mahāmudrā-siddhi*.

Controversies. Discussions of *mahāmudrā* in Tibet raised several important philosophical and religious issues, which were debated vigorously. Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (Sakya Paṇḍita, 1182–1251) argued that some Bka' brgyud *mahāmudrā* teachings derived not from pure Indian lineages, but from discredited Chinese Chan influences; that there could be no such thing as a sūtra-based *mahāmudrā* because *mahāmudrā-siddhi* only can result from advanced Tantric practice; and that the Bka' brgyud rhetoric of immediacy was spiritually dangerous because it suggested that enlightenment was attainable through sudden insight alone, without recourse to gradual, virtue-based religious methods. Later Bka' brgyud (and Dge lugs) scholars rejected Sa skya Paṇḍita criticisms, asserting that *mahāmudrā*'s Indian roots were unassailable, its meaning articulated in both sūtras and Tantras, and its "sudden" rhetoric inclusive of virtue—and intended only for advanced practitioners.

Controversies also arose over whether *mahāmudrā* as a gnosis realizing emptiness is intrinsically empty of inherent existence just as worldly phenomena are (the *rang stong* view), or empty solely of worldly qualities extrinsic to it, itself being pure and permanent (the *gzhan stong* view); whether meditative experiences of clarity, bliss, and nonduality reflect genuine attainment, or are merely deceptions; and whether the multiple terms by which Tibetan Buddhists described the ultimate (*mahāmudrā*, Great Perfection, Madhyamaka, and so on) had identical or different referents. This latter discussion resonates still among contemporary Buddhists, who debate how *mahāmudrā* might relate to other Tibetan notions of ultimacy, to ideas and practices in other Buddhist traditions (especially Zen and *vipassana* meditation), and to reports of mystical experience the world around. Thus, though *mahāmudrā* is a concept specific to Indian and Tibetan Buddhist cultural settings, its implications transcend those contexts and suggest pan-Buddhist and universal human religious concerns.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Tibet.

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Roger R. Jackson (2005)

MAHARAL OF PRAGUE See LÖW, YEHUDAH BEN BETSAL'EL OF PRAGUE

MAHĀSĀṂGHIKA.

One of the earliest of the non-Mahāyāna Buddhist "sects" (the so-called Eighteen Schools of Hīnayāna Buddhism), the Mahāsāṃghika has been generally considered the precursor of Mahāyāna. However, although the Mahāsāṃghika and its subschools espoused many of the most radical views later attributed to the "Great Vehicle," other factors and early schools also contributed to the development of this movement.

Early Development. Traditional accounts differ on the occasion and reason for the schism that gave rise to the Mahāsāṃghika. Some accounts claim that the Mahāsāṃghika separated from the Sthavira at the time of the Second Buddhist Council (Vaiśālī, c. 340 BCE), others, that it occurred during a third council (sometimes confused with *the* Third Council held at Pāṭaliputra under King Aśoka, 244 BCE). The reasons for the schism have also been much debated. It is agreed that the split was motivated by matters of monastic discipline, but scholars disagree on the precise issues at stake. Most Western scholars are inclined to accept that the Mahāsāṃghika represented the more lax position in matters of discipline. Less common is the position of those who would claim the opposite, pointing to the fact that the Mahāsāṃghika had a very conservative Vinaya and that its Prātimokṣa was as strict as that of other Hīnayāna schools. It seems therefore unlikely that laxness in monastic regulations was the motive for the split.

Moreover, recent scholarship tends to distinguish the dispute that provoked the Second Council, which ended in reconciliation in the order, from a dispute that probably occurred shortly thereafter (anywhere between sixteen and sixty years later). It was this latter dispute that produced the schism that divided the Hīnayāna schools into its two major camps, the Sthaviras and the Mahāsāṃghikas. Be that as it may, it seems obvious that the Mahāsāṃghika criticized the *arhat* ideal and exalted the image of the Buddha, turning the historical life of the founder into an event of secondary importance and the *arhat* ideal into an inferior goal. In this sense they were making an argument against tradition, and whatever the significance of their Vinaya may be, their doctrinal positions were clearly innovative.

Literature. The Mahāsāṃghika tendency to innovate can be seen also in the content and structure of their Tripiṭaka. Although in its early stages it is believed to have been comprised of only three parts (Sūtra, Vinaya, and Abhidharma), the Sūtra Piṭaka was later expanded so that the *Kṣudraka Āgama* became a separate Piṭaka called Saṃyukta Piṭaka. According to some sources this section came to include "*vaipulya sūtras*," an expression that could refer to Mahāyāna texts. The last addition to the Mahāsāṃghika Tripiṭaka was a fifth section, the Dhāraṇī Piṭaka, a collection of spells and incantations. Some accounts, however, say that the fifth Piṭaka was a Bodhisattva Piṭaka, which presumably refers to a collection of Mahāyāna texts.

Unfortunately, little remains of this canon and it is now impossible to confirm or even clarify such general statements. The Prātimokṣa of the Mahāsāṃghika survives in its original Sanskrit, and part of the Vinaya survives in the Sanskrit work *Mahāvastu*, which claims in its colophon to be a work of the Lokottaravādin Mahāsāṃghika of Central India. Apart from these and a few fragments of the Vinaya and the Sūtra section of their canon found at Bāmiyān, the rest of the Indian texts of the school are lost. Even in translation only a few texts survive. There is a Chinese translation of their Vinaya by Faxian, and what seems to be part of their Sūtra Piṭaka (*Ekottarāgama*). The latter text appears to be a translation from a prakritic language. There is also a distinct Mahāsāṃghika influence on a Dharmaguptaka text, the *Śāriputrābhidharma Śāstra*.

The *Mahāvastu*—the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit text of which was preserved in Nepal as a Mahāyāna Sūtra—represents only that section of the Vinaya that establishes the "historical" basis for monastic institutions, that is, the life and early ministry of the Buddha. It is primarily a biography of the Buddha from his meeting with Dīpaṃkara to his first sermon and the conversion of the first disciples. It also contains a number of *avadāna*s. But it contains no material on matters of monastic discipline and its main narrative is interpolated with numerous digressions, mostly stories of the *jātaka* or *avadāna* genre. Although the oldest portions of this work must go back to the early stages of the formation of canonical Buddhism, it contains numerous late interpolations that place the extant recension in the fifth century CE.

Although the *Mahāvastu* is regarded as a transitional work, for the most part it does not show doctrinal leanings radically distinct from those of most Vinayas. There are, however, a few clear signs of those elements of doctrine and language that have been traditionally considered characteristics of Mahāsāṃghika, some of which also define Mahāyāna. The text speaks of the Buddha's *lokottara* ("supramundane") status, of his presence in the world only by dint of an illusion created in order to conform to the aspirations and perceptions of living beings. The fact that the *Mahāvastu* is written in Hybrid Sanskrit would seem to confirm the tradition according to which the Mahāsāṃghika used some form of Prakrit in their religious literature.

Doctrinal Developments. The most characteristic doctrine of the Mahāsāṃghika group are the famous "Five Points of Mahādeva" (sometimes attributed to a certain Bhadra), an attack on the *arhat* that has been the object of at least two interpretations: it can be regarded as an argument for more lax moral standards or it can be seen as an indirect way of arguing for the value of the *bodhisattva* ideal. These five points are (1) that an *arhat* can be seduced by another (*para-upahṛta*—meaning that he can have nocturnal emissions accompanied by an erotic dream); (2) that ignorance (*ajñāna*) is not totally absent in an *arhat* (his spiritual insight does not give him knowledge of profane matters); (3) that an *arhat* can have doubts (*kaṃkṣā*); (4) that an *arhat* can be surpassed by another (*para-vitīrṇa*—a term of obscure meaning); and (5) that an *arhat* can enter the higher stages of the path by uttering a phrase (*vacibheda*) such as "Oh, sorrow!" The exact meaning of these doctrines is far from obvious. Even the general intent is not transparent; one may ask if the Five Points imply that the *arhat* is more human than he was thought to be in other schools, or that he is weaker than others believe. Or is the implication that the *bodhisattva* path is superior?

Other doctrines attributed to the Mahāsāṃghika are equally tantalizing. For instance, it is said that they held that only *prajñā* liberates, a thesis that may reflect an early emphasis on *prajñā* such as would have led to the eventual centrality of the Perfection of Wisdom (Prajñāpāramitā) literature in Mahāyāna. The Mahāsāṃghika seem also to have claimed that all word of the Buddha are *nītārtha*; that is, they are in no need of interpretation. But this may mean not so much that the canon needs no exegesis as that the Buddha when he preaches has no hidden intent except for what living beings may find in his words, according to their capacities. At least this would be the only way this doctrine could accord with other statements attributed to the Mahāsāṃghikas, for they held that the Buddha preaches all *dharmas* with one word, that he preaches even when he does not speak, and that there is no conventional truth (*saṃvṛtti-satya*) in his Dharma.

BUDDHOLOGY. Also characteristic of the Mahāsāṃghika is the belief that there are many Buddhas in all of the ten directions and at all times in the past, the present, and the future. In this they differ from more conservative Buddhists who believe that a Buddha is a rare phenomenon. But the Mahāsāṃghika claim may be another side of the doctrine that has been called "Buddhist docetism," that is, the belief that Buddhas do not lead a human life, even when they seem to be appearing in history. Perhaps related to this doctrine is the notion that *bodhisattvas* make a vow (*praṇidhāna*) to remain in the cycle of transmigration for the sake of sentient beings. They prolong their stay voluntarily; in fact, *bodhisattvas* may choose a life in hell for the sake of living beings.

SECTARIAN OUTGROWTHS. Of the various sects that issued from the Mahāsāṃghika, the most important are the Lokottaravādins and the Prajñaptivādins. It has been suggested that these two branches represent two major doctrinal departures as well as two geographical centers of activity. Although both branches and their derivatives were active in more than one part of India, the Lokottaravādin group centered in the North (Mathura), the Prajñaptivādin groups in the southeast of India. It also seems that the northern groups preferred Sanskrit as their canonical language, whereas the groups in the South used Prakrit. Doctrinally, however, the distinction is difficult to maintain, since the traditional sources are often contradictory.

Lokottaravā. The Lokottaravādins seem to have emphasized the general docetic tendencies of the Mahāsāṃghika more than did the other subschools. Unfortunately, as the sources seem to conflate all doctrines of the Mahāsāṃghika splinter groups into their general description of the Mahāsāṃghika, it is difficult to distinguish one from the other or from the parent school. The tenet from which the Lokottaravā derives its name, the belief that the "career," or sequence of lives leading to and including the complete enlightenment of Buddhas, is only a series of apparitional events, is also attributed to the main school. According to this doctrine, Buddhas are supramundane; that is, they are not human beings but perfectly pure spiritual beings, free from the limitations of a physical body. This doctrine can be recognized in at least one key passage in the *Mahāvastu*, but it is far from being the dominant theme in that work. This does not necessarily prove that the belief was not as central to the school as claimed by the doxographers. It may be that much of the Mahāsāṃghika doctrinal speculation took place in the Abhidharma and the commentarial literature of the school—all of which is now lost. The monastic, meditational, and liturgical life of the communities probably did not reflect the doctrinal rifts that defined the schools.

Prajñaptivāda. In contrast to the general Mahāsāṃghika view, this subschool held that all statements of doctrine are merely of provisional or purely conventional meaning. Still, the Prajñaptivādins appear to have preserved some distinction between absolute and relative truths. In spite of the obscurity of this notion, one can see the connection between it and certain ideas of the Bahuśrutīyas. This may be due to a common origin from the Gokulika branch of the Mahāsāṃghika.

From the Prajñaptivāda arose other groups, the most important being the Aparaśailas and the Pūrvaśailas, whose main center of activity was in Dhānyakaṭaka (modern Andhra Pradesh). They seem to have counted in their literature some works of Mahāyāna tendency, perhaps even Prajñāpāramita texts in Prakrit.

If the Bahuśrutīya school is also an offshoot of the parent Mahāsāṃghika line then we would have to count among Mahāsāṃghika literature Harivarman's scholastic treatise, the Satyasiddhisastra (third century CE). This work clearly occupies an intermediate position between the Abhidharma of the Hīnayāna schools and the philosophical treatises of Mahāyāna.

INFLUENCE. Direct Mahāsāṃghika influence did not extend beyond the Indian subcontinent. But through its influence in the formation of Mahāyāna the school left its mark in the history of Buddhism in East Asia and Tibet. Its key doctrines—the centrality of *prajñā*, the *bodhisattva* vows, the apparitional life of the Buddha, the distinction between conventional and absolute truth—even today continue to affect Buddhist Mahāyāna perception of the world and of the Buddhist tradition.

SEE ALSO Arhat; Bodhisattva Path; Buddha; Buddhism, Schools of; Language, article on Buddhist Views of Language.

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MAHĀSIDDHAS. The Buddhist *mahāsiddha* ("fully perfected one"), or simply *siddha* ("perfected one"), is the central enlightened ideal of Tantric or Vajrayāna Buddhism, the last major developmental phase of Indian Buddhism and particularly prominent on the subcontinent between the eighth and twelfth centuries CE. Best known are the list of eighty four of the greatest Buddhist *siddha*s (as enumerated by the twelfth-century Indian author Abhayadatta) and the grouping of *siddha*s into seven lineages (by the Tibetan author Tāranātha). Like the Buddha for earliest Buddhism, the *arhat* for the pre-Mahāyāna tradition, and the *bodhisattva* for the Mahāyāna, the *siddha* stands as the preeminent model of an accomplished person for the Vajrayāna tradition. And like those earlier ideals for their traditions, the *siddha* embodies in his person the particular character and ideals of the Vajrayāna, with its emphasis on meditation, personal realization, the master-disciple relationship, and the nonmonastic ways of life of the householder and the wandering yogin.

SOURCES. Our knowledge of the Buddhist *siddha*s comes from a considerable amount of biographical material that survives chiefly in Tibetan texts, which are either translations of, or are based directly or indirectly on, Indian written and oral tradition. These biographies of the *siddha*s, which vary in length from a few lines to hundreds of pages, tell the "liberation story" (*rnam thar*) of their subjects, recounting their individual journeys from the ordinary human state to one of full awakening.

The biographies of the *siddha*s are especially characterized by strong mythological, symbolic, and magical overtones. As in the case of the Buddha Śākyamuni in his biographies, but to a much greater degree, the *siddha*s are depicted as beings whose lives are charged with the transcendent and supernatural. At the same time, the *siddha*s are shown as real men and women with specific connections to the everyday, historical world. Their stories depict them as coming from particular places, belonging to certain castes, and following this or that occupation. Their teachers, Tantric practices, and lineages are carefully noted. The greatest among them figure as great teachers, lineage founders, monastic officials, and prolific authors of extant Tantric texts. Many *siddha*s are known historically to have played important roles in the transmission of the Vajrayāna from India to Tibet, China, and Southeast Asia, and are part of the social and political history of those countries. This confluence of the mythological and transcendent on the one hand, and the historically tangible and specific on the other, is one of the particular marks of the *siddha*s and of the Vajrayāna in general.

STRUCTURE OF THE SIDDHA IDEAL. The *siddha*s are depicted in their biographies both as particular individuals and as members of a common type: their lives share a certain general structure or pattern, resumed here, that marks them as Buddhist *siddha*s.

Before enlightenment. The *siddha*'s life story generally begins with his birth, sometimes in the great Tantric areas of Kāmarūpa (northeast India), Uḍḍiyāna (northwest India), or Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (southeast India), sometimes in some other region. There typically follow details of caste status. In contrast to earlier Buddhism, where the higher castes are implicitly regarded as preferable, the *siddha*s come not only from the high castes (*brāhmaṇa* and *kṣatriya*) but as often from the low; some of the greatest *siddha*s were originally hunters, fishers, herdsmen, weavers, cobblers, blacksmiths, prostitutes, and even thieves. This diversity of social origins gives particularly vivid expression to the classical Buddhist insistence that caste and social distinctions are not spiritually rooted or inherent in reality, and that enlightenment can occur equally in any conditioned situation, whatever its conventionally stated social value.

The *siddha*s are typically depicted at the beginning of their careers as ordinary people who possess some often unspecified longing. They are men and women, monks and laypeople, privileged and destitute, but they all share a sense of unavoidable dissatisfaction and circularity in their lives. They reach a critical point in their religious career when they encounter a Tantric teacher who presents them with the possibility of a spiritual path—of meditation, of the shedding of habitual patterns, and of awakening. Their response is often a mixture of attraction and fear, but they share a feeling of connection with the teacher and with the message he articulates. Following this encounter, the future *siddha*s begin a demanding course of training under their *guru*s. The importance of the teacher-disciple relationship in each *siddha*'s biography reflects the Vajrayāna emphasis on the primacy of individual awakening and of the necessity of a realized, personal teacher to that process.

There follows in each *siddha*'s life a period of study with a teacher, whom the pupil sometimes attends for many years, and sometimes meets only periodically for new instructions. Formless meditation and liturgical Tantric practice (*sādhana*) are unremitting parts of the student's training, but so is activity "in the world"; many of these later-to-be-*siddha*s are instructed to carry out caste occupations and to marry. Some are instructed to perform tasks that are anathema to their former identities, such as the *brahmans* Bhadrapa and Lūyipa, who are told to make their living cleaning latrines and serving a prostitute, respectively. In general, hard tasks and humiliation of previous ego ideals marks the testing and training of the *siddha*s during their student days and their journey toward classic Buddhist realization of egolessness.

Siddhas as enlightened figures. After many years of arduous training, the *siddha*s emerge as fully enlightened people. In contrast to the Buddha, who was regarded as one of a kind thus far in our world age, to the *arhat*, whose enlightenment was seen as less than the Buddha's, and to the *bodhisattva*, who is enjoined to postpone his full awakening, the *siddha*s are depicted as having attained full awakening, thus fulfilling the Vajrayāna intention to make possible "enlightenment in this very lifetime."

As enlightened figures, the *siddha*s manifest a lively individuality as householders, yogins, or monks. Although the *siddha*s represent a basically nonmonastic ideal, they not infrequently turn up as followers of monastic discipline outwardly, but realized *siddha*s within.

The classical Vajrayāna understands itself as a development of the Mahāyāna; the *siddha*s are depicted as *bodhisattva*s whose primary motivation is to work for the benefit of others. Thus, the realized *siddha*s are all primarily teachers of others. Later Tibetan tradition explains the great diversity of origins, training, and teaching methodologies of the *siddha*s as a fulfillment of the Mahāyāna *bodhisattva* vow to help sentient beings in all stations and conditions by adopting their way of life.

This compassionate motivation is also given in explanation of the *siddhas*' undeniable unconventionality. As already noted, teachers sometimes send their students into situations conventionally forbidden to their caste. The *siddhas* themselves often break social and religious taboos as part of their teaching. The depiction of such unconventional activity is intended to reinforce the Tantric insistence that genuine spirituality cannot be identified with any particular external social form. Here, the *siddhas* give characteristic expression to the ancient dictum of the Buddha: awakening is a matter of seeing the conditioned structure of the world as such, not of slavishly identifying with a particular way of life or religious norm.

Magical elements. Magic also plays an important role in the lives of the realized *siddhas*. On one level, the *siddha* biographies articulate the traditional Buddhist (and pan-Indian) belief that spiritual awakening puts one in possession of miraculous powers. In this sense, the *siddha* carries on a motif present in the depiction of the Buddha, of some of the *arhats*, and of the *bodhisattvas* of higher attainment. But in the *siddhas*' lives, magic plays a more prominent role than it does in the earlier hagiographical traditions. This greater prominence is probably due to a combination of (1) the great emphasis in the Vajrayāna on practice and realization; (2) its alignment with nonmonastic, and thus yogic and lay, life; and (3) its bent toward breaking what it sees as the conservatism and stolid fixations of earlier Buddhism.

Some accounts of magic appear to be metaphorical, such as when *siddhas* turn others into stone, "petrifying" them with their unconventional teaching. Other feats, such as the production of jewels from a worthless substance, are perhaps psychological, indicating the way in which the *siddhas* can, through their insight, transform apparently worthless passions of the personality into the highest prize of enlightenment. Other examples of magic, such as Saraha's walking on water, may illustrate the *siddhas*' freedom from cause and effect. In all these examples the *siddhas*' use of magic points to the basic Vajrayāna (and classical Buddhist) teaching that the commonsense world is not as definite and fixed as it appears, but in fact contains unlimited freedom, power, and sacredness.

A final characteristic of the realized *siddha* is his passing away, which is understood not as a death in the ordinary sense but as a passing into a state that is invisible, but nevertheless real and potentially available. The *siddhas*, we are told, do not die, but rather go to a celestial realm from which they may appear at any time.

HISTORICITY AND THE SIDDHA BIOGRAPHIES. The historical concreteness of the *siddha* biographies, the existence of texts, songs, and lineages they created, their social and political impact, and the existence of the Vajrayāna itself leave little doubt that the *siddhas* were historical individuals. But to what extent are their stories simple historical accounts and to what extent do they represent a gathering of originally disparate elements around a particular figure?

Study of the Vajrayāna biographies themselves shows that it would be a mistake to take them simply as accounts of single individuals, at least in the ordinary sense. Many sometimes different, sometimes apparently contradictory accounts are given in the same and different texts about a single *siddha*. In addition, one finds the same motifs and even entire stories appearing in the lives of several different *siddhas*. In light of these factors, one perhaps best understands the *siddhas*' lives as sacred biographies, some elements of which undoubtedly emerged originally in the lives of those individuals, and others of which originated from elsewhere. These became the general property of the tradition, to be used and reused to clarify the nature of the *siddha* ideal itself through the medium of specific biographies.

Does this rather flexible approach to writing history reflect a lack of historical awareness on the part of Vajrayāna biographers? The temptation to answer this question in the affirmative must be resisted, at least until the particular Vajrayāna attitude toward history is clearly understood. The lives of the *siddhas* do not restrict themselves to what we in the West have typically understood as the legitimate domain of a person's "life," beginning with birth and ending with death. The "life" of a *siddha* may include "events" that precede birth and postdate death, and may also include dreams, visions, and supranormal experiences other respected persons may have had of those *siddhas* before, during, and after their human lives. This more inclusive attitude taken by the Vajrayāna toward a *siddha*'s life is due not so much to its lack of historical awareness, but rather to the particular understanding of history that it possesses. The *siddhas* are real people who are significant precisely because they embody cosmic, timeless, and universal dimensions of human reality. They may express themselves equally from their ordinary human as well as their transhuman aspects. For the tradition itself, contradictory stories about a *siddha* may simply indicate multiple manifestations of that person, while the repetition of the same stories in several lives may just mean a later *siddha* is teaching according to an earlier, typical pattern. Such elements are considered in the Vajrayāna not only a legitimate but a necessary part of proper historical writing about the *siddhas*.

Finally, it is necessary to mention the important impact of liturgy and of certain later Tibetan Tantric masters' lives on the understanding of the *siddhas*' biographies. What is understood as the universal and timeless essence of the *siddhas* makes it possible to invoke the living and tangible presence of the *siddhas* through liturgy. Moreover, many of the most famous *siddhas* are understood to be present, in later incarnations, in the persons of Tibetan *tulkus* (incarnate lamas). The living example of the *tulkus* and the invocation of the presence of the *siddhas* in ritual contribute significantly to the making present and interpreting of the *siddhas* whose lives and teachings can be read in the texts.

HISTORICAL ROLE OF THE SIDDHAS. The major historical legacy of the *siddhas* is the tradition they represented and the

Vajrayāna lineages they helped build, many of which are alive today. On a more restricted front, the *siddha*s were the authors of a great many Tantric works, hundreds of which survive in Tibetan translation. The most characteristic compositions of the *siddha*s are perhaps their *dohā*s ("enlightenment songs"), which survive in independent collections, in biographies, and in the Tantras themselves. These songs are supposed usually to have been composed in liturgical situations to express the individuality and sacredness of that moment of awakened experience. The *siddha*s also composed other varieties of texts, including commentaries on the *tantra*s, biographies of great masters, liturgical texts, and so on. A list of some six hundred works by Indian *siddha*s is given in the Tantric section of the Tibetan Bstan ʾgyur (Tanjur); works of the *siddha*s are also included in other parts of the Tanjur and in Tibetan collections of Indian Buddhist texts.

The *siddha*s also played an important part in the history of Indian and Asian Buddhism. In India, the *siddha*s were the prime carriers of the Vajrayāna for a millennium, in its early formative period (pre-eighth century CE), during the time of its prominence (eighth to twelfth century CE), in the several centuries following the Islamic decimation of monastic Buddhism at the end of the twelfth century, through the sixteenth century, when contemporary Tibetan accounts give a first hand picture of a strong and vital Vajrayāna tradition in India. In the history of Tibetan Buddhism, it was the *siddha*s who carried the Vajrayāna to that land. All four of the major surviving schools, and many that did not survive, ultimately derive from Indian *siddha*s: the Bkaʾ brgyud pa from Ti lo pa (988–1069) and Nā ro pa (1016–1100); the Rnying ma pa from Padmasambhava and Vimalamitra (both eighth century); the Sa skya pa from ʾBrog mi (922–1022); and the Dge lugs pa from Atisa (982–1054), who, while not himself a *siddha*, inherited some of their traditions.

*Siddha*s such as Śubhākarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi, and Amoghavajra, all of whom journeyed to Tang China in the eighth century, were responsible for bringing the Vajrayāna to that land. Although their unconventional and wonder-working activity proved ultimately discordant with the Chinese outlook, and although the Vajrayāna they brought did not long survive in China, their activity provided the foundation for the transmission of the Vajrayāna to Japan by Kūkai (774–835), who founded the Shingon school there. The *siddha* ideal played an indirect role in the religious history of the Mongols as well, following Mongol appropriation of Tibetan Buddhism in the thirteenth century.

Finally, the *siddha*s carried the Vajrayāna to Southeast Asia, where there is evidence of their activity in Java, Sumatra and Kamboja from the early ninth century onward. The Vajrayāna continued there until the sixteenth century at least, when the Indian Vajrayānist Buddhaguptanātha visited that area and gave firsthand accounts of the Tantric tradition there.

SEE ALSO Amoghavajra; Arhat; Atīśa; Bodhisattva Path; Dge lugs pa; Mar pa; Mi la ras pa; Nā ro pa; Padmasambhava; Shingonshū; Śubhākarasiṃha; Tsong kha pa; Vajrabodhi; Zhenyan.

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MAHATMA GANDHI SEE GANDHI, MOHANDAS

MAHĀVAIROCANA (lit., "the great illuminator"), the Great Sun Buddha, is the transcendent and cosmocratic apotheosis of the historical Buddha, Śākyamuni. Under the earlier designation *Vairocana* ("the luminous one"), he represents Buddhism's most profound speculation on the emptiness and interpenetration of all elements in the universe *(dharmadhātu).* As Mahāvairocana he is concretely envisaged as the all-encompassing lord of the cosmos and is the object of worship for a form of Tantric Buddhism that spread from India to Sumatra, China, Japan, and Tibet.

In India, the name *Virocana* appears in the *Ṛgveda* in connection with celestial phenomena and the luminous residence of Varuṇa. Other Vedic contexts link Virocana variously with Sūrya, the solar deity; Candra, the lunar deity; and Agni, god of fire. In the *Chandogya Upaniṣad,* Virocana, king of the *asura*s (anti-gods), loses a competition for true knowledge of the Self to his counterpart Indra, king of the *deva*s (gods). Pali Buddhist literature identifies the deity Verocana with the demon Bali, and in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* he again opposes his nemesis Sakka (Indra), this time in seeking knowledge from the Buddha.

Vairocana is mentioned in other Buddhist texts such as the *Mahāvastu* and the *Lalitavistara,* but his role as a symbol of ultimate reality is developed only in Mahāyāna scriptures such as the *Daśabhūmikā Sūtra* and the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra,* both found in the huge collection known as the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra.* According to the Chinese Huayan and the Japanese Kegon traditions, both of which are grounded in the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra,* Śākyamuni, the Buddha who preached the *Avataṃsaka,* had like all buddhas before him spent aeons as a *bodhisattva* striving toward enlightenment. On the night of his final enlightenment, he ascended to the palace of the Akaniṣṭha Heaven—the summit of the cosmos—where *abhiṣeka* ("initiation, consecretion") was conferred upon him by the buddhas of the Ten Quarters. He thus attained the "body of enjoyment" *(sambhogakaya)* and came to reign from the Akaniṣṭha Heaven as the celestial sovereign who preaches to highly advanced *bodhisattva*s. Simultaneously with this attainment, Śākyamuni realized his identity with the *dharmakāya* (reality as total, transcendent, and ineffable). The earthly body of Śākyamuni took up his preaching, but that body, as well as the "body of enjoyment," were now recognized as manifestations of the transcendent *dharmakāya.* Thus, Vairocana represents ultimate reality and at the same time permeates all levels of the manifest cosmos and the beings in it. The universe is his infinite body. All things are in him, and his presence shines in all things.

This notion of interpenetration—of the part in the whole and the whole in every part—is closely linked with images of light and illumination in the mythology of Vairocana/Mahāvairocana. The *Gaṇḍhavyūha Sūtra* describes reality as a universe of infinitely reflected light. As the solar deity, Vairocana is the center of the cosmos, its ruler and sovereign. He is above the cosmos, yet all its variations are reflections of him. A frequently used image is that of Indra's net. The net constitutes the universe, and at each knot there is a jewel that reflects all the other jewels in the net.

MAHĀVAIROCANA AND TANTRA. The name Vairocana points to an ultimate perspective to be realized through insight. Mahāvairocana, in contrast, is realized concretely in ritual practice. Mahāvairocana, the chief deity in much of the Buddhist Tantric tradition, rose to prominence sometime between the fifth and seventh century CE. While sharing Vairocana's symbolism, Mahāvairocana's distinctiveness in iconography, doctrine, and ritual is signaled by the Sanskrit prefix *mahā* ("great"). The principal scriptures that extol Mahāvairocana and describe his cult, the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* and the *Tattvasaṃgraha,* are no longer fully extant in Sanskrit, but their Chinese translations are the basis of the Chinese Zhenyanand Japanese Shingon (mantra) schools of Buddhism. Tibetan translations of these scriptures are regarded as the root texts of two of the four classes of Tantra in that country, Carya Tantras and Yoga Tantras. Although Mahāvairocana was important in Tibetan Buddhism, his cult was overshadowed by deities of the Anuttarayoga Tantras. For the Tibetans the buddha Akṣobhya, the "primordial buddha" (Ādibuddha), and the dialectical symbolism of cosmic sexuality represented by *yab-yum*, or "father-mother," images found in the *Guhyasamaja Tantra* and *Hevajra Tantra,* were more compelling.

MAHĀVAIROCANA IN EAST ASIA. The *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* and the *Tattvasaṃgraha* were brought to China by two Indian *ācārya*s ("teachers") from the North Indian monastic university at Nālandā, which in the seventh century CE had become a center for Tantric studies. Śubhākarasiṃha (637–735) and Vajrabodhi (671–741) arrived to missionize the Tang court in 716 and 720 respectively. Through their efforts and those of their disciples, the major texts and commentaries concerning Mahāvairocana were translated. A small but stable cult was established under the cautious patronage of the pro-Daoist Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756). Mahāvairocana as he is revealed in what became known as Esoteric Buddhism (Chin., Mi-chiao; Jpn., Mikkyō) assumes the symbolism of Vairocana. Mahāvairocana is described as the lord of the vast palace of the *vajradharmadhātu* that has been created by his wondrous power of transformation *(adhiṣṭhāna).* This palace is identified both as the Akaniṣṭha Heaven and as the entire cosmos. Like Vairocana, Mahāvairocana has received initiations (*abhiṣeka*s) from all the Buddhas, and the Akaniṣṭha Heaven is the scene of these initiations as well as of the revelation of the new Tantric scriptures. In the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra,* Mahāvairocana is portrayed as the light and sustenance of the manifest cosmos and as its supreme sovereign. He is at once the cosmocrat and the active participant in all manifestation; his presence is felt not only in the salvific action of *bodhisattva*s but also in weather, constellations, and all other phenomena. The *Tattvasaṃgraha* tends to emphasize the cosmos as it is reflected in Mahāvairocana. He is the Lord of Light, and the universe is an endless series of reflections of him.

ICONOGRAPHY AND WORSHIP. Mahāvairocana's distinctiveness is apparent in his texts, which are almost entirely devoted to ritual. While Vairocana represents absolute reality, to be realized through insight developed over long aeons, Mahāvairocana is realized through an active and immediate ritual participation in his very being. Practice is a ritual drama based upon iconographic conventions detailed in *maṇḍala*s, or cosmograms, drawn from the two major texts, and it consists of two intertwined acts. The disciple first attempts to realize his identity with the deity through imitating the iconographic conventions, or "marks," of the deity as revealed in the texts, and through oral instruction. His body and hand posture *(mudrā),* ritual incantation (mantra), and meditative vision *(samādhi)* seek to duplicate the very consciousness of the divinity he worships. Success in this *imitatio* is termed *siddhi* ("accomplishment"). The disciple undergoes a series of initiations *(abhiṣeka)* identifying him with deities at various levels of the *maṇḍala.* Should he be deemed fit, he may attain final realization of his identity with Mahāvairocana, reenacting the Buddha's quest and final ascent to the Akaniṣṭha Heaven to become an *ācārya.* Having realized his identity with the deity, he may now exercise that deity's powers for the good of others. This second act is also called *siddhi.*

Under the aegis of Vajrabodhi's disciple Amoghavajra (d. 774), under his Chinese successors, and under Kūkai (774–835), the Japanese founder of Shingon, the iconography of Esoteric Buddhism took a definitive form. Certain *maṇḍala*s were drawn from the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* and the *Tattvasaṃgraha* to produce the Womb Maṇḍala (Garbhakośadhātu Maṇḍala) and the Diamond Maṇḍala (Vajradhātu Maṇḍala). Mahāvairocana of the Womb Maṇḍala is usually golden, seated in meditative posture on a lunar disk that rests on a red lotus blossom. He is regally adorned as the master of the cosmos and represents the final achievement of buddhahood. Other divinities depicted in the *maṇḍala* represent his compassionate activity *(karuṇā)* in all phenomena and the possibility of illumination. The Diamond Maṇḍala is composed of nine *maṇḍala*s selected from the *Tattvasaṃgraha.* They represent Mahāvairocana's consciousness or wisdom *(prajñā).* The central image of Mahāvairocana is usually white or blue, seated upon a lotus blossom resting on a lunar disk. He is adorned and crowned and his hands are clasped in the Gesture of All-Embracing Wisdom (Jñānamuṣṭi Mudra). Shingon tradition describes the *maṇḍala* as representative of the cosmos as Mahāvairocana sees it, the timeless universe of the interpenetrating light of wisdom. These two *maṇḍala*s, which like conditional reality and ultimate reality are said to be nondual, provide a framework for classifying all phenomena. Initiation and ritual practice were organized around the new scheme, and therefore an *ācārya* must be initiated into both *maṇḍala*s. Kūkai introduced several refinements, the most important of which is the identification of the first five material elements of the cosmos with the Womb Maṇḍala and the sixth element, mind, with the Diamond Maṇḍala. Thus, for Kūkai, the material cosmos was the body of the transcendent *dharmakāya,* not an ontologically secondary manifestation as might be surmised from Huayan doctrine.

THE RELIGIOUS MEANING OF MAHĀVAIROCANA. The Great Sun Buddha Mahāvairocana represents one of the world's most profound religious conceptions. Like the physical sun, Mahāvairocana Buddha is the pivot of the manifest cosmos, the source of light and life. Yet this is far from pantheism, since Mahāvairocana transcends the universe just as he *is* the universe. Nor is this docetism. Indeed, no better term may be found than that coined by Masaharu Anesaki (1915), who speaks of Shingon's "cosmotheism." The full meaning of Mahāvairocana is apprehended in Tantric practice, for there Mahāvairocana functions as an icon, as both the embodiment of the divine and as a symbol pointing to divine transcendence. Thus, in the ritual drama of Tantra the practitioner realizes his own iconic nature. He is both the worshiper and the object of worship; he experiences the paradox of divinity that is the world and yet transcends the world. He is Mahāvairocana in this very body.

SEE ALSO Amoghavajra; Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, article on Celestial Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; Maṇḍalas, article on Buddhist Maṇḍalas; Shingonshū; Śubhākarasiṃha; Sun; Vajrabodhi.

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MAHĀVĪRA. Among the numerous philosophers and religious teachers who preached in eastern India during the sixth century BCE was the Jina ("conqueror"), considered to be the founder and systematizer of Jainism. The name given to him by his parents was Vardhamāna ("prospering"), for soon after his conception, it is said, things began to flourish and prosper for him and for those around him. The gods called him Mahāvīra ("great hero"), because, they claimed, "he stands fast in the midst of dangers and fears" (*Jinacaritra* 108). He is regarded as the twenty-fourth *tīrthaṃkara* ("fordmaker") or prophet, and the reformer of Jainism. Mahāvīra's symbol is the lion; like other *tīrthaṃkara*s, he is sometimes represented with his two guardian deities.

HAGIOGRAPHY. The main episodes of Mahāvīra's life and religious career are often described in Jain literature and are prominent in the Śvetāmbara canon. The five principal "auspicious moments" of his life—his conception, birth, renunciation, enlightenment, and passing into *nirvāṇa*—are celebrated by his followers to this day.

According to the Jains, Mahāvīra was born seventy-five years and eight and a half months before the end of the fourth descending period of the current *avasarpiṇī* era (or 599 BCE); by the calculations of Western scholars, the event probably took place at least some fifty years later. He was born in Kuṇḍagrāma, apparently a village near Vaiśālī, to the north of modern-day Patna in northern Bihar—where a Mahāvīra memorial has been erected and where the Research Institute of Prakrit, Ahiṃsā, and Jainology was founded by the government of Bihar in 1956.

Like all *tīrthaṃkara*s, Vardhamāna was alleged to have come from a princely family; the Jains hold that he had a *kṣatriya* lineage and that his mother, Triśalā, was closely related to the Vaiśālī ruler. The Śvetāmbara scriptures and miniatures even show the transplantation of his embryo, following Indra's orders, from the womb of a *brahman* mother, Devānandā, into that of Triśalā. This episode, which is reminiscent of the Kṛṣṇa legend, is rejected by the Digambaras. As will be seen, the two churches disagree on certain points in the biography of the twenty-fourth *tīrthaṃkara.* Both agree, however, that his conception was foretold to his mother in a series of fourteen (or sixteen) auspicious dreams by a white elephant, a white bull, a lion, the goddess Śrī, the full moon, the rising sun, an ocean of milk, and so forth. These dreams are frequently described in the literature and represented in manuscripts and in temples.

While still in the womb Vardhamāna began to practice *ahiṃsā:* He was careful not to cause his mother any pain, and even vowed not to renounce the world before his parents' death. His birth was the occasion of universal rejoicing and liberality. As a boy he received a princely education and his family appears to have followed the doctrine of the twenty-third *tīrthaṃkara,* Pārśva, whose teachings Mahāvīra was to reconsider and complete, but not, apparently, to oppose. According to the Śvetāmbaras he married the princess Yaśodā, who gave birth to a daughter; their daughter's husband was later to start the first schism of Jainism. The Digambaras, however, consider that Vardhamāna had no such worldly ties. They emphasize that Mahāvīra was one of an unending succession of *tīrthaṃkara*s: His earlier births are linked with Ṛṣabha (through one of the latter's grandsons), while one of his disciples, King Śreṇika Bimbisāra, will be reborn as the first *tīrthaṃkara* of the next *utsarpiṇī* age.

By the time Vardhamāna was thirty years old his parents had died. Having gained the consent of his elder brother he distributed his property, plucked out his hair, and renounced the world; this is an event commonly depicted in Jain iconography, with Indra devotedly receiving the saint's hair in his hands. Thereafter, Mahāvīra led the hard, solitary life of a wandering ascetic (*śramaṇa*), begging for food and shelter, moving from place to place (except during the four months of the rainy season) in the eastern region of the Ganges Valley. According to the Digambaras, Mahāvīra immediately abandoned clothing as well as ornaments, whereas the Śvetāmbaras hold that this occurred only after thirteen months of renunciation. Such discussions again reflect a difference of opinion, in this case concerning the importance of nakedness in the holy life.

Both sects do agree that the prophet shunned all violence to living beings, took nothing that was not explicitly given to him, spoke no lies, strictly avoided unchaste behavior in thought, word, and deed, and had no possessions—in short, he followed what were to become the five major vows of the Jain monk. Moreover, he endured severe hardships (due to nature, animal, and humanity) and practiced systematic penances that involved many kinds of prolonged and complicated fasts, "exerting himself," according to the *Jinacaritra* (119), "for the suppression of the defilement of *karman.*" He gained disciples, with whom he conversed in a Prakrit language. In this way he spent twelve years, six months, and fifteen days on the mendicant's path. Finally, on a summer night, near a sal tree on the bank of the river Ṛjupālikā, he attained omniscience (*kevala-jñāna*), "which is infinite, supreme, unobstructed, unimpeded, and full. . . . He knew and saw all conditions of all living beings in the world—what they thought, spoke, or did at any moment" (*Jinacaritra* 120–121). He had in fact acquired full knowledge of the world (and the nonworld), and of the past, present, and future of its inhabitants, whether divine, infernal, animal, or human. Concerning the state of enlightenment there are again differences between the Śvetāmbaras, who consider that even a *kevalin* eats and complies with constraints of the body without any defilement, and the Digambaras, who believe that following enlightenment one is free from all human imperfections (such as hunger) and only sits in perfect omniscience while a divine sound emanates from his person and instructs his hearers, directly or otherwise.

After attaining omniscience Mahāvīra preached the truth to immense assemblies of listeners and successfully organized the fourfold Jain community of monks, nuns, male laity, and female laity. He was assisted in this task by eleven *gaṇadhara*s (chiefs of religious communities): The first chief was Indrabhūti Gautama, who is responsible for having retained and handed down Mahāvīra's teachings. One of Mahāvīra's earlier disciples was Gośāla, who turned against him to become head of the Ājīvika sect.

Finally, at the age of seventy-two, sitting "single and alone . . . , reciting the fifty-five lectures that detail the results of *karman,*" Mahāvīra passed into *nirvāṇa.* According to tradition, this occurred in the town of Papa, near Patna, toward the end of the monsoon in the year 527 BCE. This year was to become the starting point of the era known as the Vīra Saṃvat; nevertheless, Western scholars tend to place Mahāvīra's death in 467 or 477–476 BCE, or even later. Be that as it may, at that time (which was a fast-day) the neighboring kings "instituted an illumination. . . . For they said: 'Since the spiritual light is gone, let us make a material illumination'" (*Jinacaritra* 128). As it happened, this homage coincided with the Hindu festival of Dīvālī, so that Hindus and Jains simultaneously conduct these two different celebrations.

MAHĀVĪRA'S TEACHINGS. Although the various discrepancies between the Digambara and Śvetāmbara accounts of Mahāvīra's career naturally imply doctrinal differences, the fundamental tenets upheld by the two churches are, nonetheless, basically similar, and can be regarded as deriving from Mahāvīra. Mahāvīra defined a pluralist substantialism that, typical of Jainism, is characterized by seven (or nine) *tattva*s (principles).

The first *tattva* is the soul or "life" *(jīva)*; it is immaterial, eternal, characterized by consciousness, and capable of cognition. The *tattva*s serve to explain the mechanism of transmigration, the innumerable reincarnations of the soul, and the soul's final liberation. In this context Mahāvīra explained *jīva* and its opposite, *ajīva;* the influx of karmic matter into the soul; bondage; stoppage of karmic influx; expulsion of previously accumulated karmic matter; and the final accomplishment of "perfection" *(siddhi)*, when karmic matter has been exhausted and the *jīva* has regained its pure spiritual nature.

This ultimate goal cannot be attained except by those who tread "the ford" that Mahāvīra built to the other shore of *saṃsāra.* They must train themselves to follow the ideal pattern of life, which has been set by the Jina, and they must master the "three jewels" of right (Jain) faith, right knowledge, and right conduct; "right conduct" necessitates performing the difficult and constant ascetic exercises that were undertaken by the Jina himself. As a consequence, from the beginning great importance has been attached to religious life and to the organization of the community, in which the female devotees seem to have been particularly active and numerous. According to the *Jinacaritra* (134–137), "the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra had an excellent community of 14,000 *śramaṇa*s with Indrabhūti at their head; 36,000 nuns with Candanā at their head; 159,000 lay votaries with Śaṅkhaśataka at their head; 318,000 female lay votaries with Sulasā and Revatī at their head. . . ."

MAHĀVĪRA'S SIGNIFICANCE IN THE INDIAN TRADITION. It cannot be denied that in the traditional biography of Mahāvīra some episodes are stereotypes that systematically serve elsewhere to describe the career of other "great men" (*mahāpuruṣas*). Additionally, there are many discrepancies concerning the date and place of his birth, his *nirvāṇa,* and so forth. Nevertheless, there is no reason to doubt the historicity of this vigorous original thinker and extremely capable organizer. While naturally accepting many of the basic assumptions of his society and his era, he was one of the first to oppose the Brahmanic ritualistic orthodoxy and to suceed in building a coherent system aimed at explaining the laws of the universe and the place of humankind therein, thus clearly linking metaphysics with ethics and speculation with social organization.

It has been justly emphasized that Jainism (like early Buddhism) integrated many older beliefs and practices that had previously been nurtured only by isolated Brahmanic ascetics. With Mahāvīra, these ideas appear to have gained in influence. Jainism has thus been equated with some of the most typically Indian tendencies and ideals; indeed, Jainism did much to enrich Indian ideals of spirituality. Among its contributions are the belief in the powers of asceticism, in the spiritual benefit to be derived from fasting (even unto death), and in the absolute necessity of avoiding injury to life (*ahiṃsā*), whether in thought, word, or deed. This last ideal constitutes the first vow of the Jains, which is a dedication to tolerance, unabated benevolence, and vegetarianism.

The Jain movement probably owes much of its influence to the missionary zeal and gifts of Mahāvīra, and to his ability to organize a coherent society of religious and lay believers. The well-structured Jain community of monks and nuns was, together with the Buddhist *saṃgha,* one of the first to exist in India. In the course of time it proved to be remarkably dynamic, capable of continuing Mahāvīra's action, and even, as he himself is alleged to have done, of gaining the sympathy and support of many rulers. Following his path and the example he had set, Jain *nirgrantha*s (religious mendicants) as well as laypersons have achieved the material as well as the spiritual glory of Jainism.

See Also Ahiṃsā; Ājīvikas; Gośāla; Jainism; Mokṣa; Tīrthaṃkaras.

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Two important Śvetāmbara canonical texts tell the story of Mahāvīra's life: One text is included in the first book of the canon (*Ācārāṅga Sūtra* 1.8); the other forms a major part of the *Jinacaritra* (Lives of the Jinas), edited in 1882 and 1879 respectively by Hermann Jacobi, and translated from Prakrit into English by Jacobi in volume 1 of *Jaina Sûtras,* "Sacred Books of the East," vol. 22 (1884; reprint, Delhi, 1964). The teachings of Mahāvīra are somewhat discursively presented in other canonical books, among them the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* and *Uttarādhyayana,* also translated by Hermann Jacobi, in volume 2 of *Jaina Sūtras,* "Sacred Books of the East," vol. 45 (1895; reprint Delhi, 1964).

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Colette Caillat (1987)

MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHISM See BUDDHISM, SCHOOLS OF, *ARTICLE ON* MAHĀYĀNA PHILOSOPHICAL SCHOOLS OF BUDDHISM

MAHDISM See MESSIANISM, *ARTICLE ON* MESSIANISM IN THE MUSLIM TRADITION

MAḤZOR See SIDDUR AND MAḤZOR

MAID OF LUDMIR

(c. 1805/1815–c. 1892). A semi-legendary figure, the Maid of Ludmir is reputed to have been one of the few women in Hasidism who functioned as a fully fledged spiritual master (*tsaddiq* or *rebbe*). Most of the information about her originates in oral traditions of "old women in Volhynia," first collected and published in 1909 by the historian Shmuel Abba Horodetzky. These were subsequently subjected to his own as well as others' elaborations and expansions, which appeared in a variety of popular-historical, belletristic, journalistic, and memoiristic works. Significantly, the hagiographical literature of nineteenth-century Hasidism does not refer to her at all, nor is any mystical or ethical teaching attributed to her in other genres of Hasidic writing. She is, however, mentioned briefly in an 1883 satirical work by an eastern European *maskil*, and, following the publication of Horodetzky's reports, in a handful of twentieth-century hagiographical anthologies.

As the oral tradition has it, the Maid, known as Hannah Rachel, was the only daughter of Monesh Verbermacher, an educated and well-to-do Jew in the Volhynian town of Ludmir (Vladimir). From an early age she distinguished herself not only by her beauty but also—unusually for a girl—by her ardor in prayer and remarkable aptitude for scholarship. Her betrothal to a beloved childhood playmate, which entailed the customary separation of bride and groom until the wedding, distressed the Maid and led to her withdrawal from society. This was exacerbated by the sudden death of her mother, following which she became a recluse, never leaving her room except to visit her mother's grave. On one of her visits to the cemetery she fell into unconsciousness followed by a prolonged and mysterious illness. When she recovered she claimed to have been given "a new and elevated soul." She broke off her engagement and declared that she would never marry, having "transcended the world of the flesh." From then on she adopted the full rigor of male ritual observance, and absorbed herself, like a male pietist, in intense study and prayer. She became known as the "Holy Maid" or the "Virgin" of Ludmir, and acquired a reputation for miracle working. Men and women, including rabbis and scholars, flocked to her study house in Ludmir, which functioned as her Hasidic court. She would grant blessings on request and deliver her weekly Hasidic teaching at the third Sabbath meal, as was customary among the male *tsaddiqim.* While her popular following grew, the male leadership of the movement disapproved, viewing her activities as a pathological manifestation of the powers of evil and impurity. Pressure was put on the Maid to abandon the practice of tsaddiqism and to resume her rightful female role in marriage. Following the personal intervention of Mordecai of Chernobyl—the most eminent *tsaddiq* of the region—she reluctantly agreed to marry, but the marriage was never consummated and soon ended in divorce. She married again, but divorced once more, apparently remaining a "maiden" to the end of her life. However, her marriages did have the desired effect of putting an abrupt end to her career as a *rebbe.* She eventually immigrated to the Holy Land—a remote corner of nineteenth-century Hasidism—where, as is almost certainly confirmed by archival documentation from the 1860s and 1870s, she spent the last years of her life as a childless widow affiliated to the Volhynian Hasidic community of Jerusalem.

The Maid of Ludmir was exceptional among the cluster of women reputed to have exercised charismatic authority within the Hasidic world of their day. Unlike most of them, she was not related by family ties—as mother, daughter, sister, or widow—to any of the illustrious male *tsaddiqim.* She could not, therefore, draw on the associative authority that some Jewish women could always derive from their connection to distinguished male relatives, and her charismatic powers were entirely her own. Nevertheless, while her career is often celebrated as a pioneering "feminist" success, the very terms in which the Maid tradition has been preserved present her case as an instructive failure. It serves precisely to reinforce, not to undermine, the traditional gender boundaries she attempted to cross.

The phenomenon of a spiritually empowered holy virgin, so common in the wider Christian environment of Hasidism, was alien to the Jewish tradition, which had always prized, albeit within limits, the practice of sexual abstinence by some men, while greeting with suspicion and ascribing no value to the adoption of celibacy by women. The anomaly of the celibate female *rebbe* was therefore perceived as an aberration of nature and a social deviation that the Hasidic leadership was quick to suppress. Only in the twentieth century, under the impact of modern feminism and the egalitarian elements of Zionist ideology, could the Maid of Ludmir tradition be presented as an inspirational model for national revival and proof of the alleged eradication of gender boundaries in Hasidism.

SEE ALSO Gender and Religion, article on Gender and Judaism; Hasidism; Tsaddiq.

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MAIMONIDES, ABRAHAM ben Moses (1186–1237) was a theologian, jurist, mystical pietist, communal leader, and physician. He was born in Fustat, Egypt, the only son of the great Jewish philosopher Moses Maimonides (1135/8–1204). Exceptionally gifted at a precocious age, Abraham Maimonides studied rabbinics, philosophy, and medicine with his father. Upon the latter's demise, though still a mere youth of eighteen, Abraham was elected to the esteemed position of *nagid,* leader of Egyptian Jewry. He was the first to occupy this office in his family, where, largely on account of Maimonides' aura, it became hereditary for almost two centuries. Despite the temporal and spiritual turmoil of the period, he proved to be an able administrator, a charismatic teacher, and an influential scholar. As court physician to the Ayyūbid ruler al-Malik al-Kamil (r. 1218–1238), he enjoyed personal relations with the Muslim authorities and men of letters, including the historian Ibn Abi Usaybi.

LITERARY WORKS. Though hampered by his pastoral responsibilities, Maimonides' literary activity produced notable works in four main areas: polemics, *halakhic* jurisprudence, ethics, and exegesis. Of the first category, a fair part responded to the *halakhic* and philosophical detractors of his father's works. His masterful *Milhamot ha-shem* (Wars of the Lord), written after 1235, was singularly directed against the criticism of the rabbis of Provence and contributed towards the consolidation of his own prestige. As head of the Rabbinical Court in Cairo, he was consulted on legal matters from as far afield as Yemen and Provence and has left a sizeable collection of *responsa.* As a thinker and moralist, Abraham upheld his father's elitist philosophical system, of which he considered himself the interpreter and continuator. Nonetheless, his mature views diverged widely from those of Moses Maimonides. The latter had considered knowledge of God to be the ultimate human aim, but his son stressed ethical perfection. Indeed, his markedly ascetic mysticism earned him the epithet by which he is often referred to in later literature, Abraham *he-hasid* ("the Pious").

His *magnum opus,* the *Kifāyat al-ʿabidin* (Complete guide for devotees), written circa 1230, sets out his own religious theosophy. Written in a lively and attractive Arabic, this monumental compendium of jurisprudence and ethics is not extant in toto, but substantial manuscripts survive in Genizah collections. It circulated widely, reaching Provence, and was read at least into the seventeenth century. Its initial sections rehearse Maimonides' legal rulings, albeit with a distinctively spiritualized tone, whereas the fourth and final section, on the "special way," highlights the virtues of the *ṭarīq* (the path) advocated by Abraham. These turn out to be the stations (*maqāmat*), well known from classical Ṣūfī manuals: sincerity, mercy, generosity, gentleness, humility, faith, contentedness, abstinence, mortification, and solitude, whose mystical goal, *wusul* ("arrival"), was the encounter with God and the certitude of his light. Abraham Maimonides openly admires the Muslim Ṣūfīs, whose practices, he claims, ultimately derive from the prophets of Israel. Thus he finds biblical counterparts for Ṣūfī self-mortifications, such as combating sleep, solitary retreats in dark places, weeping, nightly vigils, and daily fasts. Notable is the obligation of the novice to take as his guide an experienced teacher who has traversed all the stages of the path in order to initiate him into the intricacies of mystical discipline before bestowing on him his mantle, as Elijah did on Elisha.

Departing from the juridical mode of his father's legal code, *Mishneh Torah,* Abraham stresses the spiritual significance of the traditional Jewish precepts (*mitsvot,* "divine commandments") and the "mysteries" they conceal, in much the same manner as al-Ghazālī did in his classical Islamic summa, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm ad-dīn* (Revival of the religious sciences).

ṢŪFĪ INFLUENCES. Abraham championed a pietistic circle whose adepts were dissatisfied with formal religion. Their number included his father-in-law, Hananel ben Samuel, and his own son Obadyah (1228–1265), author of the mystical *al-Maqāla al-hawdiyya* (Treatise of the pool). Partly inspired by Abraham ar-Rabia (d. 1223), also known as *he-hasid,* whom he calls "our Master in the Way," Abraham Maimonides infused traditional Judaism with Ṣūfī ideals and practices.

Using to the utmost his prerogative as *nagid,* he endeavored to enforce on the larger community these far-reaching measures, which included such Islamic-influenced practices as ablution of the feet before prayer, standing in rows during prayer, kneeling and bowing, and raising the hands in supplication.

Abraham justified the adoption of Muslim customs and symbols with the idea that he had rediscovered lost mysteries of Jewish origin in traditions preserved by the Ṣūfīs but long forgotten by the Jews in the tribulations of their exile. Calling themselves "the disciples of the prophets," the Jewish pietists confidently awaited the imminent renewal of prophecy in Israel. The ancient Jewish traditions recovered from the Ṣūfīs were integral to the "prophetical tradition." Restoration of that discipline was a prerequisite to the return of prophecy itself, whose occurrence Moses Maimonides had predicted for an unspecifiable date.

Abraham also composed a biblical commentary. Although he intended to comment on the whole Bible, only the sections on *Genesis* and *Exodus* seem to have been completed. Here, as in the *Kifāya al-ʿabidin,* he projects his own mystical leanings into the patriarchal past, depicting ancient biblical figures as pietists, similar to the manner in which Ṣūfī literature perceives of Muḥammad and his companions as early Ṣūfīs. He often alludes to an esoteric interpretation of the "subtle mysteries" of the Pentateuch. Although he continually refers to his father's interpretations, these are not the latter's philosophical doctrines but rather point to his own pietistic concepts.

Perhaps due to his influence, later Judeo-Arabic exegetes, such as Tanhum Yerushalmi, and Syrian and Yemenite authors include certain Ṣūfī elements in their works. As for his ritual reforms, although intended to improve the spiritual decorum of the synagogue, they were not to go unchallenged. Despite his office and familial prestige, which considerably furthered the pietists' aims, Abraham confronted fierce opponents, who went as far as to denounce him to the Muslim authorities, accusing the Jewish pietists of introducing into the synagogue "false ideas," "unlawful changes," and "gentile customs."

This opposition, as well as the movement's own elitist character, seriously impeded its spread. With the general decline of oriental Jewry, Abraham Maimonides' construction of a Ṣūfī-influenced Jewish pietism gradually sank into oblivion, though some of its mystical elements were probably absorbed into the nascent Qabbalah.

SEE ALSO Jewish Thought and Philosophy, article on Premodern Philosophy; Maimonides, Moses; Sufism.

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MAIMONIDES, MOSES (c. 1135/8–1204), hellenized name of Mosheh ben Maimon; also known by the acronym RaMBaM (Rabbi Mosheh ben Maimon); distinguished Talmudist, philosopher, and physician, and one of the most illustrious figures of Jewish history. He had a profound and pervasive impact on Jewish life and thought, and his commanding influence has been widely recognized by non-Jews as well as Jews. His epoch-making works in the central areas of Jewish law (*halakhah*) and religious philosophy are considered to be unique by virtue of their unprecedented comprehensiveness, massive erudition, and remarkable originality and profundity. Their extraordinary conjunction of halakhic authority and philosophic prestige has been widely acknowledged. While the generations before the age of Maimonides produced philosophically trained Talmudists—scholars well versed in both Greek science and rabbinic lore—the extent to which Maimonides thoroughly and creatively amalgamated these disciplines and commitments is most striking. Many people of differing ideological inclinations throughout successive generations tend to find in or elicit from his great oeuvre a kind of *philosophia perennis.*

EARLY LIFE AND WORKS. Maimonides was born in Córdoba, Spain, to a family of scholars. In 1148 Córdoba was conquered by the Almohads, a fanatical Islamic confederation.

To escape religious persecution, the family fled the city; they wandered through southern Spain and North Africa from 1148 to 1158 and settled in Fez for several years. In 1165 Maimonides resumed his wanderings, going from Morocco to the Land of Israel, which was then the scene of the Crusades, turbulent and inhospitable. He was unable to take root there, and after making his way southward from the Crusaders' port city of Acre through Jerusalem to Hebron, stopping for prayer in the holy sites, he settled in Fusṭāṭ (Old Cairo). He began to practice medicine and became the house physician of Saladin's vizier. In a candid letter to his favorite disciple, Maimonides comments revealingly about his medical practice:

> I inform you that I have acquired in medicine a very great reputation among the great, such as the chief *qāḍī*, the princes . . . and other grandees. . . . This obliges me continually to waste my day in Cairo visiting the [noble] sick. When I return to Fusṭāṭ, the most I am able to do . . . is to study medical books, which are so necessary for me. For you know how long and difficult this art is for a conscientious and exact man who does not want to state anything which he cannot support by argument and without knowing where it has been said and how it can be demonstrated.

Simultaneously, Maimonides emerged as the untitled leader of the Jewish community, combining the duties of rabbi, local judge, appellate judge, administrative chief responsible for appointing and supervising community officials, and overseer of philanthropic foundations. He refused all remuneration for these services, a practice that reflected his religious and philosophical principles. His only son, Avraham, who was to become the official head *(nagid)* of the Jewish community and the author of important exegetical and philosophical works, was born in 1187; his writings are a significant source of Maimonidean doctrine.

Maimonides' biography underscores a noteworthy paradox. A philosopher by temperament and ideology, a zealous devotee of the contemplative life who eloquently portrayed and yearned for the serenity of solitude, he nevertheless led a relentlessly active life that regularly brought him to the brink of exhaustion. He was a harassed physician, subject to the pressures and whims of court service, and a conscientious leader of his community, sensitive to the physical and spiritual needs of its members. Yet he combined this arduous routine with constant scholarship and literary productivity in a way that reflected his conviction that superior leaders should combine intellectual perfection with practical and moral virtue (*Guide of the Perplexed* 3.54).

His determination to preserve his economic independence is completely consonant with his belief that scholars or religious functionaries should not seek or receive communal support. Some of his most passionate and animated prose (e.g., *Mishneh Torah*, Study of the Torah 3.10, Sanhedrin 23.5; *Commentary on the Mishnah*, Avot 4.7) was elicited by his distaste for this practice and his unyielding opposition to the existence of an institutionalized and salaried rabbinate dependent upon the largesse of patrons or charitable collections. But history did not favor the Maimonidean view, and such a rabbinate did emerge.

The natural integration of traditional Torah study and philosophy, which was a pivot of his massive literary achievement and an axiom of his understanding of Judaism, is emphasized even in existential contexts. In a plaintive letter written in 1184, after the completion of his fourteen-volume code of law, the *Mishneh Torah*, and while he was working on the *Guide of the Perplexed*, he underscored his devotion to these two disciplines: "Were not the study of the Torah my delight, and did not the study of wisdom divert me from my grief, I should then have perished in mine affliction." This is related, of course, to his intellectual open-mindedness and his conviction that one should "accept the truth from whatever source it proceeds." Hence he affirms concerning a certain work "that the ideas presented . . . are not of my own invention . . . but I have gleaned them from the words of the wise occurring in the midrashim, in the Talmud, and in other of their works as well as from the words of the philosophers, ancient and recent." Torah and philosophy are consistently juxtaposed as sources of his teaching and as natural companions.

Finally, Maimonides' creativity reflects a strong pedagogic drive. His youthful works (*Millot ha-higgayon*, on logic, and *Ma'amar ha-ʿibbur*, on the astronomical principles of the Jewish calendar) were composed in response to specific requests. Throughout his life he wrote hundreds of *responsa* (*teshuvot*)—decisions concerning the interpretation or application of the law—and letters of advice, comfort, or arbitration to all parts of the world, including Yemen, Baghdad, Aleppo, Damascus, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Marseilles, and Lunel. *Iggeret ha-shemad* (Epistle on Conversion) and *Iggeret Teiman* (Epistle to Yemen) are especially noteworthy. His code of law was intended for "small and great"; indeed, law for him was an educative force leading to ethical and intellectual perfection, and his code was intended to be not only a manual of commands but an instrument of education and instruction. His multifaceted erudition and constructive expository skills were widely appreciated, and he freely shared their fruits with inquirers and readers. Failure to share one's knowledge with others would be tantamount to "robbing one who deserves the truth of the truth, or begrudging an heir his inheritance" (*Guide*, intro. to part 3).

Maimonides' major works are the *Perush ha-Mishnah* (Commentary on the Mishnah), *Sefer ha-mitsvot* (Book of the Commandments), *Mishneh Torah* (Review of the Torah; also known as *Yad ha-ḥazaqah*), and *Moreh nevukhim* (*Guide of the Perplexed*). He also wrote some ten medical treatises that illustrate his vast erudition and the high ethical standards he brought to medicine. They are based to a large extent on Arabic medical literature. One of them deals with Galen and contains a rejoinder to Galen's criticisms of the Mosaic Torah.

Commentary on the Mishnah* and *Book of the Commandments. The pioneering, comprehensive *Commentary on the Mishnah*, which engaged the attention of Maimonides for about ten years (1158–1168), was intended as both an introduction to and a review of the Talmud. Because it was composed in Arabic and translated into Hebrew in installments over the next two centuries, it did not have as great or immediate an impact as his other works. It combines minute textual study, even lexicographical annotation, with conceptual analysis. Maimonides often digresses to elaborate a theological principle or elucidate a philosophic or scientific issue, for, as he confesses, "expounding a single principle of religion is dearer to me than anything else that I might teach." The book includes noteworthy discussions of many problems: prophecy; the reconciliation of physics with the traditional understanding of the biblical account of creation (*maʿaseh bereʾshit*) and of metaphysics with traditional interpretations of Ezekiel's vision of the divine chariot (*maʿaseh merkavah*); the reconciliation of belief in free will with belief in predestination; reward and punishment; the history of religion; magic, medicine, and miracles; immortality and the world to come; and the proper methodological use of allegory.

In the *Commentary* Maimonides was already preoccupied with a problem that was to engage him intermittently for the rest of his life and that was also becoming a staple theme of Jewish religious thought: the metaphorical interpretation of the *aggadah*, the sections of the Talmud that deal with lore rather than law. Maimonides had planned to write a special commentary that would classify, explain, and rationalize the *aggadah*, but abandoned the idea; the *Guide of the Perplexed*, which was devoted in great part to matters of exegesis and allegory, was, by his own account, intended as a partial replacement for this work. The interest shown by Maimonides in *aggadic* interpretation gives that subject more prestige and also suggests that the *Guide* is part of the aggadic as well as the philosophic tradition.

Embedded in the *Commentary* are three separate monographs. The general introduction is a comprehensive inquiry into the theoretical, historical, and doctrinal foundations of the oral law—its origin in the act of revelation at Sinai and, in particular, the ongoing process of its transmission and interpretation. Maimonides emphasizes that the oral law is a completely rational enterprise, subject to its own canons of interpretation and brooking no suprarational interference. Even prophecy is of little relevance to the juridical process. Only the prophecy of Moses was legislative; all subsequent prophecy was merely exhortatory and could not produce new laws (see also *Guide* 2.39).

Chapter Ten (*pereq ḥeleq*) of the Talmudic tractate *Sanhedrin*, beginning "All Israelites have a share in the world to come," provides an occasion for Maimonides to include a lengthy excursus on Jewish belief. After criticizing crude, materialistic conceptions of the world to come and identifying the religious concept of the world to come with the philosophical notion of the immortality of the soul, Maimonides defines the term *Israelites* by formulating the famous thirteen principles, or articles of faith, that every Israelite is expected to endorse. The thirteen principles may be reduced to three basic groups: God—his existence, unity, incorporeality, and eternity, and the prohibition of idolatry; the law—prophecy, the uniqueness of Mosaic prophecy, the divine origin of the written and oral law, and the eternity and immutability of the law; beliefs relating to reward and punishment—God's omniscience, divine compensation for good and evil, the coming of the Messiah, and resurrection. All subsequent discussion of dogma by Jewish thinkers relates to this Maimonidean formulation.

Maimonides' introduction to *Pirqei avot* (Ethics of the Fathers), entitled "Eight Chapters," is a psychological-ethical treatise: its basis is an analysis of the soul and its powers, while its goal is a full presentation of Maimonides' theory of the golden mean. Maimonides defines virtues as psychological dispositions situated between extremes of excess and deficiency; a good deed is one that maintains the mean between these two bad extremes. This theory is the basis for a forceful repudiation by Maimonides of asceticism and all forms of extremism. Maimonides criticizes Jews who imitate "the followers of other religions" (probably Sufism) by adopting self-mortification and renunciation of "every joy." The last chapter contains an unequivocal affirmation of human freedom and, concomitantly, the rejection of all views (e.g., astrology and divine predestination) that would undermine free will. These introductions or excursuses, with their philosophical, psychological, and ethical disquisitions, enable the reader to take a rather accurate measure of the Maimonidean temper. Some scholars suggest that the *Guide* contradicts these earlier writings of Maimonides on many points (including, for example, free will).

In preparation for his great code of law, Maimonides wrote the *Book of the Commandments*, which provides a complete list of the 613 commandments thereby helping him to guard against forgetfulness and omissions and ensuring the comprehensiveness of the code. A major achievement of this work is the introduction, which defines fourteen guiding principles that determine which laws should be included in the enumeration of the 613. The ninth principle introduces an interesting classification of laws: (1) beliefs and opinions (e.g., to acknowledge the unity of God); (2) actions (e.g., to offer sacrifices); (3) virtues and traits of character (e.g., to love one's neighbor); (4) speech (e.g., to pray). This fourfold classification is significant for its all-inclusiveness and its repudiation—intentional or incidental—of narrow "legalism," in the pejorative sense that is often attached to the term as a description of Judaism.

Mishneh Torah. Completed around the year 1178, the *Mishneh Torah* is a presentation of Jewish law without precedent or sequel in rabbinic literature. It is distinguished by five major characteristics: its codificatory form, its scope, its system of classification, its language and style, and its fusion of *halakhah* and philosophy.

1. *Codificatory form.* Maimonides presented the massive material in crisp, concise form, eliminating indeterminate debate and conflicting interpretations and formulating unilateral, undocumented decisions. He occasionally cites sources, mentions names of authorities, presents more than one view, includes exegetical and explanatory material, and describes personal views and practices.

2. *Scope.* One of the most revolutionary aspects of the code is its all-inclusive scope, which obliterates accidental distinctions between the practical and the theoretical. Maimonides opposed the pervasive tendency to study only those parts of the Talmud that were practical and relevant. He insisted that the abstruse, "antiquated" sections of the Talmud were not inferior to the popular, practical sections and should receive equal time and consideration. Laws concerning sacrifices or the messianic period were codified by him as precisely and comprehensively as laws concerning prayer and marital relations.

3. *Classification.* Maimonides abandoned the sequence of the Mishnah and created a new topical and pedagogical arrangement. Classification is, of course, a prerequisite for codification and necessitates interpretation, sustained conceptualization, a large measure of abstraction, and a synoptic view of the entire body of material. Legal classification concerns itself not only with the sum total of individual laws but with the concept of law per se. The ruling passion of Maimonides' life was order, system, conceptualization, and generalization, and this received its finest expression in *Mishneh Torah.*

4. *Language and style.* Maimonides chose the Hebrew of the Mishnah rather than the Hebrew of the Bible or the Aramaic of the Talmud and developed a rich, flexible style characterized by precision, brevity, and elegance. As a result, the *Mishneh Torah* contains substantial portions of the Talmud translated into fluent, felicitous Hebrew.

5. *Fusion of halakhah and philosophy.* Maimonides sought to bring about the unity of practice and concept, external observance and inner meaning, visible action and invisible experience, law and philosophy. This unification of the practical, theoretical, and theological components is underscored by Maimonides in a letter in which he describes the twofold objective of the *Mishneh Torah* as the provision of an authoritative compilation both of laws and of "true beliefs."

Book 1 of the *Mishneh Torah* (*Sefer ha-madda*ʿ, Book of Knowledge) is a summary of the essential beliefs and guiding concepts that constitute the ideological and experiential substructure of Judaism. Maimonides explains that he could not compose a comprehensive work on the details of practical precepts while ignoring the fundamentals of essential beliefs, those commandments that are the "root" (*ʿiqqar*) of Mosaic religion and that should be known before anything else. The systematic treatment of metaphysics and ethics; the use of separate sections for laws of study (*talmud torah*) and laws of repentance (*teshuvah*); the devotion of a section to idolatry, including a history of religion and a review of superstitions and magical practices that must be uncompromisingly rejected—all these are combined in book 1, which serves as an introduction to, as well as an integral part of, the entire code.

Philosophic comments, rationalistic directives, ethical insights, and theological principles are also incorporated in other parts of the *Mishneh Torah.* Maimonides' systematization of the *halakhah* includes a good measure of ethical interpretation, spiritualization, and rationalization—the whole system of *ṭaʿamei ha-mitsvot*, the reasons for the commandments. While not too many laws are actually rationalized, the mandate to engage in rationalization, to penetrate to the essence and the real motive powers of the commandments, is clearly issued in the *Mishneh Torah.* It is thus most significant that this code reveals Maimonides as jurist and philosopher simultaneously.

The *Mishneh Torah*, all the criticism of it notwithstanding, exercises a decisive, extensive, nearly constant influence on the study and practice of *halakhah.* This tightly structured work has become a prism through which passes practically all reflection on and analysis of Talmudic study. There is hardly a major literary development in the broad field of rabbinic literature—not only in the field of codification—that does not relate in some way to the *Mishneh Torah*, a work that remains *sui generis*, unprecedented and unrivaled.

GUIDE OF THE PERPLEXED. Maimonides' philosophic testament *par excellence*, his *Guide of the Perplexed*, was composed in Arabic sometime between 1185 and 1190 and was translated into Hebrew just prior to Maimonides' death by Shemuʿel ibn Tibbon (c. 1150–c. 1230). It is divided into three parts and covers a wide spectrum of philosophic problems. Maimonides deals with the basic problems that engaged all medieval religious philosophers: faith and reason, or the relation of philosophy to scripture; the existence, unity, incorporeality, and freedom of God; God's relation to the world in terms of its origin and government; communication between God and man through revelation; and the issues of ethics, free will, and human destiny, including immortality and doctrines of eschatology. The *Guide* was used extensively by Jewish thinkers and also by Christian scholastics, most notably Thomas Aquinas.

Why and for whom was the *Guide* written? Specifically, Maimonides composed it for his student Yosef ben Yehudah Shamʾun; generally, he addresses himself to the "perplexed," who is characterized as "a religious man for whom the validity of our law has become established in his soul and has become actual in his belief—such a man being perfect in his religion and character, and having studied the sciences of the philosophers and come to know what they signify." Maimonides is not concerned to teach "the vulgar or beginners in speculation nor those who have not engaged in any study other than the science of the law, I mean the legalistic study of the law. For the purpose of this treatise . . . is the science of law in its true sense." His reader is a religious intellectual, well versed in Jewish law and classical philosophy, who is perplexed because he wants to preserve the integrity of both and is unwilling to renounce either. Maimonides undertakes to achieve this objective by explaining metaphysics, revealing the mistakes of the philosophers, and interpreting the esoteric meaning of the Hebrew Bible and Talmud.

Maimonides emphasizes his insistence upon intellectual rigor and proper method in achieving these goals; hence his determination to expose the mistakes of certain "philosophers, particularly the followers of the *kalām*," who frequently "violate that which is perceived by the senses." He gives primacy to purity of method. The esoteric meaning of the Bible is elicited by proper use of the method of allegory—that is, the identification of the supraliteral sense of the religious texts. This is one way of affirming that the religious tradition contains the basic truths of philosophy. Moreover, there is essential harmony between faith and reason. In common with other medieval religious philosophers, Maimonides adds revelation to reason and sense perception as sources of knowledge. It is this epistemological assumption that alters classical epistemology and that accounts for Maimonides' axiom of the compatibility of religious tradition and philosophic reasoning. While there is no contradiction between them, Maimonides believed that demonstrated belief is superior to faith—he held what the historian of religion Harry A. Wolfson called a "single-faith theory of the rationalist type."

Maimonides' ideal was a blending of "the science of law, i.e., the legalistic study of the law" with "the science of the law in its true sense." The phrase "legalistic study of the law" is not a tautology. Maimonides here establishes in one bold stroke that law is two-dimensional: legal (in the restricted, positive sense) and metalegal or philosophical. Both, in Maimonides' view, are components of the oral law. According to his history of philosophy (*Guide* 1.71), which was shared by many Jewish, Christian, and Muslim writers down to the beginning of the modern era, the Jews in antiquity cultivated the sciences of physics and metaphysics, which they later neglected for a variety of historical and theological reasons; they did not borrow from Greek thought because philosophy was an integral part of their religious tradition. This dovetails perfectly with Maimonides' halakhic formulation (*Mishneh Torah*, Study of the Torah 1.11, 1.12), which grafts philosophy onto the substance of the oral law and makes its study mandatory. This is Maimonides' intellectual conviction and philosophic position: the essential relationship and constant intersection of philosophy and *halakhah*. For him, the issue is not the legitimacy of philosophy in religion, but the legitimacy of religion without philosophy. Just as Yehudah ha-Levi considered philosophy an unwelcome intrusion, Maimonides considered its absence undesirable and intolerable.

A third issue in Maimonides' treatment of philosophy—in addition to the epistemological issue (reason and revelation as twin sources of knowledge) and the historical issue (the existence of philosophy as a part of traditional Jewish lore)—is cultural: philosophy implies a measure of universality. Hence Maimonides assumes the identity of the lost classical philosophic tradition of Judaism with the study of philosophy that was in his own day being restored under foreign influence. He does not need to be uncomfortable when in his reconstruction of the history of philosophy he acknowledges the non-Jewish, primarily Muslim, stimulus for the medieval revival of Jewish philosophy. "We have already explained that all these views do not contradict anything said by our prophets and the sustainers of our law. . . . When in consequence of all this [exile and loss of wisdom] we grew up accustomed to the opinions of the ignorant, these philosophic views appeared to be, as it were, foreign to our law, just as they are foreign to the opinions of the ignorant. However, matters are not like this" (*Guide* 2.11). In a letter to his translator, Shemuʾel ibn Tibbon, he mentions his main philosophic sources: Aristotle, whose books are "the roots and foundations of all works in the sciences"; al-Fārābī, whose "writings are faultlessly excellent—one ought to study and understand them"; and the important commentaries on Aristotle by Alexander of Aphrodisias, Themistius, and Ibn Rushd (Averroës).

Maimonidean philosophy is full of problems and dialectical pressures. In order to enlighten some readers without disconcerting others, Maimonides abandoned his fastidious organization, separated a unified presentation of views into unrelated sections, and even introduced premeditated, carefully wrought contradictions. Reading the *Guide* is thus a major challenge. To this day this dialectic continues to befuddle students of the *Guide*, who disagree concerning Maimonides' true intention and actual religious-philosophic stance.

There is, of course, a basic tension in the very attempt to combine Aristotelian philosophy with Judaism, and it is not certain that the two sides of Maimonides—the sovereign master of *halakhah* and the zealous disciple of Aristotle—could be completely at ease together. Given the supremacy of the contemplative life for Maimonides, what significance did the practical religious life have for him? Is there a genuine incompatibility between the meaningful observance of *mitsvot* and the serious study and appreciation of physics and metaphysics?

All difficulties notwithstanding—and he himself (*Guide* 1.33) mentions the view of those who contend that philosophic inquiry "undermines the foundations of law"—Maimonides remained unswervingly committed to his brand of rationalism. Indeed, he believed that there is a religious obligation to apply one's intellect to the study of God and the world. "One only loves God with the knowledge with which one knows him; according to the knowledge will be the love. If the former be little or much, so will the latter be little or much. A person ought therefore to devote himself to the understanding and comprehension of those sciences and studies which will inform him concerning his master, as far as it lies in human faculties to understand and comprehend."

ACHIEVEMENT AND LEGACY. Maimonides' lifework—the fastidious interpretation and thoughtful reformulation of Jewish belief and practice—seems to have been clear in his mind from an early age. There is a conscious unity and progressive continuity in his literary career. It is striking how early his ideas, ideals, and aspirations were formed, how logically they hang together, and how consistently and creatively they were applied. As his work moves from textual explication to independent exposition, and from one level of exposition to another, the reader, moving with it, feels that Maimonides had from the very beginning a master plan to achieve one overarching objective: to bring *halakhah* and philosophy, two apparently incongruous attitudes of mind, into fruitful harmony.

Maimonides consistently espoused a sensitized view of religion and morality, demanding an uncompromising observance of the law, openly disdaining the perfunctory view of the masses, searching for the ultimate religious significance of every human action, and urging a commitment to, and quest for, wisdom and perfection. He pursued a vision of a meaningful observance of *mitsvot* combined with a genuine appreciation of philosophy. Routine piety and unreflective behavior he denigrated; Talmudism divorced from spiritual animation he found wanting. He emphasized the nobility of philosophic religion, in which rationalism and piety are natural companions and through which human perfection is advanced. As a religious rationalist, he was convinced of the interrelatedness and complementarity of divine and human wisdom and strove doggedly for their integration.

Maimonides knew that this could not be done easily or indiscriminately, but he was convinced that the very attempt, full of tension and problems, was indispensable for the achievement of true religious perfection. It may be said that Maimonides allowed religious rationalism, which had led a sort of subliminal existence in earlier rabbinic writing, to claim and obtain legitimacy and dignity. Maimonides picked up the various strands of rationalism and, by criticizing, refining, and extending them, emerged as the symbol of the religious rationalist mentality and the harbinger of a new direction in religious thought. To a great extent, subsequent Jewish religious-intellectual history may be seen as a debate concerning the wisdom and effectiveness of the Maimonidean position.

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MAITREYA.

Among the pantheon of Buddhist personages none offers such a complex array of incarnations as does Maitreya. His first and most important role is that of successor to Śākyamuni as a buddha who achieves the ultimate state of enlightenment after having been born as a human. The notion of Maitreya as the future Buddha is found within the traditions of all Buddhists, although there is no universal agreement about his life history or about the way in which he will realize the destiny set forth by his position as the next Buddha.

TEXTUAL ACCOUNTS. A survey of the literature provides us with some indication of the ways the Maitreya story has developed and increased in importance. The Pali canon, the source of much of our information on the early teaching, does not give Maitreya much significance, mentioning his name in only one of the early texts, the *Cakkavattisīhanāda Sutta.* In the noncanonic literature, two works are devoted primarily to Maitreya, the *Anagatavaṃsa* and the *Maitreyavyākaraṇa*, but the origin of these works and their precise dating are not known. An expanded version of the Maitreya story can be found in the *Divyāvadāna* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin school. Among this collection of tales is a story of a *bodhisattva* who wishes to perform an extreme act of ascetic practice and donate his head to a brahman teacher as a sign of his sincerity to pursue truth. But a deity, watching over the garden in which this scene occurs, attempts to save the *bodhisattva*'s life by keeping the brahman at a distance. The *bodhisattva* pleads with the deity to allow him to proceed because it was in this very garden that Maitreya had previously turned away from his desire to sacrifice his life for his teacher, thus failing to fulfill his highest aspirations, a flaw that should not be repeated.

The *Mahāvastu*, a text from the Mahāsāṃghika sect, provides a list of future Buddhas, placing Maitreya's name at the top. In this early account we find the name Ajita used to refer to Maitreya in his past lives. Later, Theravādins became quite interested in Ajita, and the story of his life was the focus of much attention by the fifth and sixth centuries. Ajita's identification as the son of King Ajātasattu of Magadha allowed the *saṃgha* to determine exactly where and how the *bodhisattva* will make his appearance when he achieves buddhahood. According to a section on Maitreya's life in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, a well-known history of Sri Lanka, Maitreya will reside in Tuṣita Heaven before descending to his earthly birth and maturation. The timing of this event is noted clearly. After Śākyamuni's *parinirvāṇa*, the world will enter a period of social and cosmological decline; five thousand years after the last buddha, the teaching will have fallen to a low ebb, and the human life-span will have been reduced to ten years. At this time the cycle will be reversed: life will improve until the length of an average life-span on earth will be eighty-thousand years. In this world of long life and an environment that will be conducive to the teaching of the Buddha, there will be a ruler, a *cakravartin*, who will provide for the welfare of the people and promote the teachings of the Buddha. When this paradise is ready, Maitreya will descend from Tuṣita Heaven, realize his full potential as a buddha, and teach the Dharma to advanced beings. Mahākāśyapa, one of the major disciples of Śākyamuni, will arise from the trance state he entered after the *parinirvāṇa* of his former teacher to once again serve a buddha and hear the teaching of the enlightened one.

This millenarian view of Maitreya is still held in the Buddhist areas of South and Southeast Asia, and in northern Myanmar (Burma) there is a belief that a contemporary teacher known as Bodaw was a universal king as well as the future Buddha Maitreya. The identification of Maitreya with leaders and founders is found consistently throughout Buddhist Asia.

Scholars have suggested that the idea of the future Buddha may be derived from the Iranian concept of the savior Saoshyant. In this light, Maitreya would represent the establishment of a world in which there is peace and abundance and where the Dharma will be taught and fully understood. Others, however, take the position that these ideas were already present in India at the time of Śākyamuni. The Buddhists, as well as the Ājīvikas and Jains, taught that there would be new *tīrthaṃkaras*, *jinas*, and Buddhas in the future. P. S. Jaini suggests that the source for the Maitreya development was within the Mahāsāṃghika school. Whereas the Theravāda paid little attention to Maitreya, giving only one canonic reference, the *Mahāvastu* of the Mahāsāṃghikas devotes a number of paragraphs to Maitreya, noting his name as Ajita, detailing events from his past lives, and telling of Śākyamuni's prediction of buddhahood for him. Thus, there is ample material to justify the study of Maitreya as a part of the Indian cultural and religious domain, without having to rely on a diffusionist theory of external influences to account for the notion of the future buddha.

The Mahāyāna tradition has given much attention to Maitreya, and we find in the literature many references to his life and activities. Since the Mahāyāna has emphasized the career and development of the *bodhisattva*, it is understandable that it would place Maitreya in this honored group. As with the earlier tradition, all Mahāyāna groups believe that Maitreya will follow in the footsteps of Śākyamuni. In the pantheon of *bodhisattva*s, Maitreya is not always given the highest place; he shares with such *bodhisattva*s as Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara the esteem of the community of believers. In the Prajñāpāramitā texts, Maitreya is involved in dialogue with the Buddha and a group of disciples made up of *bodhisattva*s and *arhats*. The *arhat*s, even the famous followers of Śākyamuni, are ranked far below the *bodhisattva*s in terms of their level of understanding. Thus the Prajñāpāramitā literature depicts Maitreya as ranking above an *arhat* such as Śāriputra. But Maitreya is not always portrayed so flatteringly in Mahāyāna literature. For example, in an account from the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*, Mañjuśrī tells Maitreya that in the past, when he had taught the Dharma to Maitreya, Maitreya was a slothful student more interested in fame than understanding. Thus, in this meeting with his old teacher, Maitreya still needs answers to his questions. The question of whether Maitreya and Śākyamuni had ever met in any of their former lives also arises in Mahāyāna literature. The *Mahākarmavibhaṅga* states that the Buddha had indeed met Maitreya and praised him for his desire to live as a *bodhisattva.*

The Tantric tradition of later Mahāyāna seems to have had little interest in Maitreya. This tradition's dismissal of Maitreya may be seen in the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, in which Maitreya is described as afraid and upset when he hears the Vajrayāna teaching. Because he is of limited learning, he is not able to comprehend this advanced instruction. The same questioning of Maitreya's level of comprehension is found in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, in which Maitreya is unable to give a proper response to the layman Vimalakīrti, who challenges the prediction of buddhahood by questioning whether the three times (past, present, and future) can be accepted as real. If they are not real, asks Vimalakīrti, in what sense can one say that a past prediction will result in future events? Unable to respond, Maitreya is reduced to silence. Thus the Mahāyāna texts present a varied view of this *bodhisattva*, showing him as destined for a great position in the future but still lacking the training necessary for a full understanding of the highest teaching within the tradition.

A much more glorified depiction of Maitreya occurs in the *Gaṇḍhavyuha Sūtra.* Here, Maitreya appears as a teacher of the young Sudhana, who travels about searching for answers from more than fifty teachers. Upon entering Maitreya's palace, Sudhana experiences, through the power of Maitreya, a trance in which he has visions of important places in the life of the future Buddha, including the place where Maitreya achieved the trance called *maitra* ("kind, amicable") that is the basis for his name. Sudhana then witnesses a long line of incarnations of Maitreya, including the life in which the *bodhisattva* was a king and another in which he was the king of the gods. Finally, Sudhana sees the Tuṣita Heaven, where Maitreya's rebirth will occur just prior to buddhahood. Maitreya tells Sudhana that they will meet again when the final birth has been accomplished. Even the texts that teach the superiority of the Pure Land of Amitābha and are usually considered affiliated with a school that was in competition with the Maitreya cult indicate that Sudhana is one of the privileged ones who have the ability to see the realm of Amitābha.

CULT. The practice that has grown up around the figure of Maitreya goes far beyond the aspects that have been noted in the canonical and popular literature.

China. When Buddhism arrived in China (c. first century CE), there was considerable interest in Maitreya, in part because of the Daoist belief in the ever-possible appearance of a sage capable of giving salvation to an elite band of devotees. As early as the Eastern Jin dynasty (317–420), Buddhist cultic life was directed toward Maitreya. Indeed, one of China's most famous monks, Daoan, took a vow to be reborn in Tuṣita Heaven in order to be near Maitreya and with him when he descends to earth. In the succeeding centuries, the Northern Wei (386–535) carved two great cave complexes, the first at Yungang and the other at Longmen. At Yungang, the earlier of the two sites, the Maitreya figures are prominent, and even today visitors can see him depicted in a number of poses. The caves at Longmen also contain many Maitreya figures, most dating to the first part of the sixth century. Tsukamoto Zenryū, who charted the number of images made in Longmen, has shown that although Śākyamuni and Maitreya were the chief models in the early days, by the seventh century attention was centered instead on Amitābha and Avalokiteśvara. (See his *Shina bukkyōshi kenkyū: Hokugihen,* Tokyo, 1942, pp. 355ff.)

Interest in the Pure Land teaching reached a high level during the seventh century and continued to have support throughout the Tang period (618–907); consequently, Maitreya's image was hardly ever depicted. But while Maitreya was no longer a popular subject for cave paintings or court-sponsored projects, he was not forgotten. At this time the Chinese people transformed him into a folk deity of great importance. Although majestic images of Maitreya carved in the caves disappeared from the repetoire of artists, a new form of Maitreya—as a fat, laughing, pot-bellied person—emerged in the Song dynasty. There is evidence that this vision of Maitreya was based on a popular historical figure, a tenth-century wandering sage. He is said to have been a native of Zhejiang and to have carried a hemp bag wherever he went. Children were especially attracted to him, and he is often depicted surrounded by them. Many stories arose about his miraculous abilities, including one that tells of the discovery of a third eye on his back. Because of the eye people called him a buddha, even though he begged them not to spread the word about his characteristics. Such stories led to the belief that this wanderer was none other than Maitreya himself, who had come down to earth and taken this unlikely form, attracting people through his wisdom and loving patience. Today, the figure of Maitreya in this guise is placed at the main entrance of Chinese monasteries, where he is revered by all laymen who wish for good fortune and prosperity.

Because he was conceived as a future Buddha who will come at a time when a great king rules, Maitreya was often used by those who wanted to secure political power or give themselves a legitimate basis for ruling. As early as the seventh century, Chinese rulers and would-be leaders were declaring themselves his incarnation or claiming they were destined to prepare the nation for the advent of the new Buddha. In 613, for example, Song Zixian, calling himself Maitreya, planned a revolt against the dynasty; later, during the Tang, Empress Wu made the same claim when she came to power. The Song dynasty (960–1279) saw the emergence of secret societies oriented to the notion that Maitreya was already in the world or that the world needed to be changed to accommodate him. The political use of Maitreya by those who challenged established authority may be one reason for the decline of royal patronage of artworks using this *bodhisattva* as a theme.

In Chinese cultic life Maitreya came to be associated with the three stages of cosmic time; he is the herald of the last age. In *baojuan* ("precious scroll") literature, which reflects the attitudes and beliefs of folk religion, we find the notion that he is a messenger who comes to earth during the last age as an ambassador of the Great Mother in order to save the sinful. A seventeenth-century *baojuan* text describes Maitreya as the controller of the heavens during the third age, which is symbolized by the color white. He sits on his throne, a nine-petaled lotus blossom, and waits for the time when he will rule for 108,000 years.

Maitreya was an important part of Chinese Buddhist development, in part because many millenarian movements could make full use of him without considering that he was anything but a Chinese deity; his foreign origin was forgotton. An example of the way in which motifs can spread from one culture to another is the case of Doan Minh Huyen, the charismatic Vietnamese leader who preached in regions devastated by the cholera epidemics of the nineteenth century. Doan advocated the founding of communities of believers who would teach followers and lead them to a state of spiritual perfection, thus ensuring that they would be protected from the upcoming holocaust. According to Doan, Maitreya would descend from Tuṣita Heaven to the mountains near Cambodia to preside over the Dragon Flower Assembly and bring about a new era.

The more orthodox Buddhists among the monastic and lay community were interested in Maitreya because they faced the uncertainity of living in a time when the "true teaching" was thought to be disappearing. In Maitreya, the Chinese found a deity that met their needs at many levels, and they did not hesitate to invest him with a variety of costumes, abilities, and cultic functions.

Korea. Another East Asian nation, Korea, has also paid much attention to Maitreya, in part because Buddhism was introduced on the peninsula at a time when the Maitreya cult was at the pinnacle of its importance in China. Since Maitreya practice was one of the first to be introduced, Korea held it in high esteem and continued to do so long after Chinese interest in the traditional aspects of Maitreya had died. The belief in Maitreya came to Korea from the Northern Wei and the kingdoms that followed it, and we can see him depicted in triad compositions from both the Paekche and Koguryŏ periods. Some scholars maintain that Maitreya practice in Korea was divided into two distinct approaches. Under Paekche rule, believers assumed that the nation had to prepare a proper environment for Maitreya before he would descend. During the Silla kingdom, on the other hand, it was thought that Maitreya would descend to the world and operate within it even if the times were troubled.

During the Three Kingdoms period (late fourth century–668), a semimilitary organization of young men, known as Hwarang, came to have a special relationship to Maitreya. Their association with Maitreya may be rooted in a sixth-century story about a monk who wished to have Maitreya reborn in the world so that he could pay homage to him. During a dream he discovered that Maitreya had already come into the world and had taken the form of a *hwarang* ("flower boy"). Identification of the *hwarang* with Maitreya was widespread, and it may be that the images of the *bodhisattva* that depict him as a pensive prince with one leg crossed over the knee of the other are visual representations of this association. During the Koryŏ period, there was much interest in the three periods of the teaching, and many believed that the final period, in which the true teaching would disappear to be replaced with a misunderstood one, had approached. Since the sūtras taught that this era would be reached fifteen hundred years after the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha, the Koreans assumed that the evil age was to start in the year 1052. There was much in subsequent centuries to justify the notion that an evil time had indeed come, and during these times of social disorder many understandably longed for the appearance of Maitreya in his role of protector. Even in the present, believers look to Maitreya for protection and assistance. Local people in Korea still approach statues of Maitreya to pray for good fortune, the birth of a son, the cure to an illness, and for protection in times of trouble.

The most distinctive images of Maitreya in Korea show a large platform secured to the top of his head, with either a tiered or a rounded form placed upon it. This headpiece may represent the stupa that Maitreya characteristically wears on the head.

The role of Maitreya in fertility cults is most easily seen in the practice now found in Korea's Cheju Island, in the northern East China Sea. At one site on the island an image of Maitreya has been placed next to a phallic stone; women come to the spot to touch the stone in the hope that this act will result in the birth of a son. When one takes an inventory of the objects toward which prayers for sons are directed, Maitreya is found alongside the Dragon King, the Mountain Spirit, and the Seven Stars. Of all the figures in the Buddhist pantheon, Maitreya was the one thought to be most able to answer particular prayers for children. This may explain the fat belly and surrounding children found in the Chinese form.

Maitreya also appears as a major element in the messianic groups that have arisen in Korea. One of these is a new religion founded in the late nineteenth century known as Chungsan-gyo, whose followers believe that a disease is present in the Kunsan area that, if not controlled, could spread throughout the world and bring destruction to the human race. Chungsan, the founder of this sect, taught that he alone had the magical spell necessary to control the disease. His followers believe that he was an incarnation of Maitreya and that he had descended to earth and for thirty years lived within an image of Maitreya. A more recent group, which has grown up around Yi Yu-song, teaches that Hananim, the primordial deity of Korean epics, the ruler of Heaven, will descend to Korea in the form of Maitreya Buddha.

Korean Buddhists continue to recognize Maitreya; twenty-seven major images of him in his majestic standing position have been constructed. Although the Chogye order of monks and nuns pays little attention to this *bodhisattva*, the laypeople of Korea, like those of China, refuse to let Maitreya fade from their religious practice.

Japan. The Japanese received the first information about Maitreya from Korea, a transmission that included images of the *bodhisattva.* Most of the monasteries said to have been founded by Shōtoku Taishi (574–622) contain statues of Maitreya in the pose of the pensive prince. It is probable that the Japanese viewed Maitreya as a *kami*, able to bring long life and prosperity, and thus rituals directed toward him were similar to those performed for indigenous spirits. During the later Heian period (794–1185), many felt that the time of the false teaching had been reached and found solace in the thought that Maitreya would soon descend to the earth and preach three sermons under the Dragon Flower Tree. Among those who hoped to see Maitreya was Kūkai (774–835), the founder of the Shingon sect, who proclaimed on his deathbed that he would be born into Tuṣita Heaven, where he would spend thousands of years in the presence of the future Buddha before descending with him to the world.

Later developments of the Maitreya cult can still be seen in Japan. In Kashima, for example, it is believed that the rice-laden Ship of Maitreya will one day come from a paradise out in the sea. During the Edo period (1600–1868) the Kashima area was the site of Maitreya dances in which the priestess of the shrine gave an oracle that foretold the coming year's fortune. In this capacity she reached out to the world of Maitreya, a paradise of abundance.

Some groups expect that Maitreya's future appearance will take place in Japan, on top of Kimpusan, where the Golden Land will be established and Maitreya will teach his three sermons. Followers in each of the major Buddhist areas in Asia have put forth the belief that Maitreya will be born within their own region and thus can be considered as one of their own rather than a foreigner.

Many of those who, by virtue of their membership in a Maitreya group, consider themselves an elite hope to remain on earth until Maitreya descends. In other cases, devotees believe that he has already appeared. For example, in 1773 a group known as Fujikō claimed that Maitreya had manifested himself on top of Mount Fuji. The leader, a priest named Kakugyō, announced the advent of the World of Maitreya. Later, Kakugyō sealed himself in a cell, drinking only water until his death, which his followers believe is but a stage of waiting for the new age with the future Buddha. The Fujikō articulated the hopes and aspirations of agrarian communities of the time. During the peasant rebellions of the Edo, large numbers of the group went on a pilgrimage called *eejanaika*, making the Ise Shrine the focus of their attention. Dancing themselves into ecstatic states, the pilgrims proclaimed that Maitreya would bring abundant harvests.

The twentieth century was a time of great interest in the "new religions" (*shinkō shūkyō*), which manifested the continuing thread of belief in the future Buddha and his appearance in the world. The Ōmotokyō, for example, have close ties with Maitreya. In 1928, Deguchi Onisaburo declared himself an incarnation of Maitreya. This proclamation was made during the year of the dragon, which the oracle had described as the year when great changes would take place. Another new group, the Reiyūkai, was founded by Kubo Kakutarō and his sister-in-law Kotani Kimi, who was renowned as a faith healer and called a living Buddha by her followers. After her death the sect established a mountain training center in which her teachings are the center of attention. The identification of Kotani with Maitreya can be seen in the name of the retreat, Mirokusan, or Maitreya's Mountain.

CONCLUDING REMARKS. Maitreya has been a significant figure in Buddhist thought wherever the religion has found support. For lay followers, the Maitreya cult was one method of creating good karma (Skt., *karman*) for themselves and of assuring that the future would be one of bliss. The element of hope for the future is a crucial part of the idea that Maitreya will or has appeared to lead humankind toward a better time. Since the story of Maitreya has yet to be completed, he can play a part in an infinite variety of scenarios, each established to meet the requirements of a specific time and place.

SEE ALSO Amitābha; Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, article on Celestial Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Korea; Cakravartin; Dao'an; Korean Religion; Mañjuśrī; Millenarianism, article on Chinese Millenarian Movements; Ōmotokyō; Reiyūkai Kyōdan; Saoshyant.

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MAJLISĪ, AL- (AH 1037–1110/11, 1627–1699/1700 CE), Muḥammad Bāqir ibn Muḥammad Taqī, preeminent Persian Shīʿī theologian in the late Safavid period. Born to a family of renowned scholars, he was made leader of the Friday prayers in Isfahan sometime after the death of his father in 1659. Shah Sulaymān appointed him as *shaykh al-Islām,* the highest religious official in the land, in 1687, and he reached the zenith of his power under Shah Sulṭān Ḥusayn, the last Safavid ruler (1694–1722). He died and was buried in Isfahan.

Al-Majlisī's career epitomizes the increasing predominance of the Shīʿī religious hierarchy. He used his influence in court circles to propagate his brand of Shiism, to persecute Ṣūfīs and non-Muslims, and to encourage the often forcible conversion of Sunnīs to Twelver Shiism. In order to reach beyond the learned circles in which Arabic was used as a means of expression he produced a large number of works in Persian, of which the best known are *Ḥayāt al-qulūb* (Life of the Hearts), a work of biographies of the prophets and imams, and *Ḥaqq al-yaqīn* (Certain Truth), his last completed work, which sets out the main tenets of Twelver Shiism.

In his Arabic works, al-Majlisī dealt with a variety of doctrinal issues; he also composed commentaries on some of the classical Shīʿī legal texts. Yet he is best known for his *Biḥār al-anwār* (Oceans of Light), a voluminous encyclopedia containing a vast number of Shīʿī traditions from various sources. As such, it spans virtually all major aspects of Twelver Shīʿī religious thought: the unity of God and the divine attributes; the concepts of knowledge, belief and unbelief, and free will and predestination; the lives of the prophets and imams and the pilgrimages to their graves; the position of the Qurʾān; and positive law.

Thanks to the *Biḥār*, much of the corpus of Shīʿī tradition was saved from oblivion and returned to center stage. In preparing the work, al-Majlisī relied heavily on the help of pupils and enlisted the financial backing of the Safavid court to obtain manuscripts of rare or inaccessible works. The first volume of the *Biḥār* appeared in 1666, and by the time of al-Majlisī's death seventeen of the twenty-six projected volumes had been finished. The rest were completed by his pupil ʿAbd Allāh Efendī. A lithograph edition of the entire work was first published between 1885 and 1897, and a new edition containing 110 volumes has been published in Tehran. Various volumes of the *Biḥār* have been translated into Persian, and the many excerpts, abridgments, and supplements in existence attest to the continuing influence of the work.

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ETAN KOHLBERG (1987)

MAKARIOS OF EGYPT (300–390), also known as the Presbyter and Makarios the Great; Christian ascetic and monastic leader. Known from childhood for his prudence and virtue, Makarios was characterized as a "child-old man," that is, a child in age and an old man in conduct. At the age of thirty he renounced the worldly life and went to the desert to become a monk. He repeatedly visited Antony of Egypt and was influenced both by his way of thinking and by his manner of life, which stressed flight from the world, austere asceticism, and constant struggle against Satan. In order to avoid the esteem and praise of others, Makarios went to Scete, in the remote part of the desert, south of Nitria. Because the inhospitality of the place made the ascetic life there difficult, only the most disciplined were able to endure it.

The reputation of Makarios as a saintly man, and his deeds, attracted many ascetics to Scete. In a short time, under his spiritual direction, the monastic center of Scete was enlarged and reorganized. The monks' work, their *ergocheiron* as it is called in monastic language, consisted of the preparation of baskets woven with straw cut from the marsh. They prayed at appointed hours of the day, and on Saturdays and Sundays they all gathered from the huts scattered around the church for the Divine Liturgy, which was usually celebrated by Makarios himself. Makarios had been ordained a priest at the age of forty, at which time he received the title of Mark the Presbyter. Once a day the monks ate a meal consisting of bread and vegetables, without oil, which was used only on Saturdays and Sundays. During the periods of the great fasts, their diet was more severe. Silence was regarded as one of the greater virtues.

During the more than sixty years that Makarios remained in the desert, he acquired the reputation of a great saint and wonder-worker. He was exiled for a short time to a small island in the Nile by the Arian bishop Lucius and died at the age of ninety. In the Orthodox church his feast day is January 10; in the Western church it is January 15.

The main works that come from the mouth, if not the hand, of Makarios are his *Forty-six Sayings*, included in *Gerontica* (narratives on the ascetical accomplishments of the Gerontes, or elders, of Scete). Gennadius of Marseilles mentions a letter of Makarios's that probably is the same as the first letter, *Ad filios Dei*, of the Latin collection. There is another short ascetical text of about two hundred lines, preserved in the Codex Jerusalemitus 113.

Some collections of homilies, discourses, and letters attributed to Makarios probably do not belong to him. Current research regards Asia Minor or Syria as their place of origin and the ascetic Symeon of Mesopotamia as their author. Preeminent among these is the collection of fifty homilies known as the *Spiritual Homilies*. However, the question of authorship of the *Spiritual Homilies* still remains open. Also attributed to Makarios are three other collections of various numbers of homilies; four letters (among which is the *Great Epistle*); seven treatises, or ascetical discourses; and two prayers, still used in the Greek Orthodox church.

In his writings Makarios presents the struggle of the faithful against evil, the world, and the passions. The believer can, with the help of divine grace, keep the senses of the soul clean so that they may be inundated by the divine light and become entirely light and spirit. Denial of the desires of the world, of material cares, and of earthly bonds is carried out so that one can receive the Holy Spirit and through the Spirit be enlightened and deified. Because of their mystical and ascetical character, Makarios's writings are highly esteemed, especially in the East. They exerted a great influence on the mystical theology of the Orthodox church, for example in the work of Gregory Palamas. Makarios's influence is also evident through the monastic figure and spiritual writer Evagrios of Pontus, his disciple.

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THEODORE ZISSIS (1987)
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MALALASEKERA, G. P. (1899–1973), Buddhist scholar, founder of the World Fellowship of Buddhists, and a dominant figure in the cultural life of Ceylon (now Sri Lanka). Born in Panadura, the son of a prosperous family, Gunapala Piyasena Malalasekera grew up in a scholarly atmosphere. As a schoolboy he was tutored in the Sinhala, Sanskrit, and Pali classics by his father, an Ayurvedic physician. During his formative years, Malalasekera was also deeply influenced by learned monks whom he came to know through his father, and he was inspired by men like Anagārika Dharmapāla (1864–1933), a leader in the Buddhist revivalist movement that had arisen in the age of British colonial repression of nationalistic aims and aspirations.

Preparing to follow in his father's footsteps, Malalasekera entered the Medical College in Colombo in 1917, but he had to abandon his medical studies the following year, upon his father's untimely death. Via external registration at the University of London, he then turned to the study of Western classics, graduating with first-class honors in 1919. In 1921 he joined the premier Buddhist school in Colombo, Ānanda College, as a teacher, and in ensuing years he became first its vice-principal and then its acting principal.

Upon the return of Ānanda's principal, Patrick de Silva Kularatne (1893–1976), Malalasekera was profoundly influenced by him in matters both educational and nationalistic. He went abroad for postgraduate studies at the University of London and obtained both the M.A. and the Ph.D. degrees in 1925. On his return home in 1926 he was appointed principal of Nālandā Vidyālaya, the new sister school of Ānanda, and within a year developed it to some stature. He was then appointed lecturer in Sinhala, Sanskrit, and Pali at University College, Colombo, and for most of the next three decades he pursued a brilliant academic career. He held the chair of Pali and Buddhist studies from the establishment of the University of Ceylon in 1942 until his resignation in 1959. As professor and dean for the greater part of this period, which saw the rapid expansion of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, he was a highly respected member of the academic community.

In 1957 Malalasekera was appointed ambassador to the Soviet Union, and he represented Ceylon at the ambassadorial level in Canada, the United Nations, and the United Kingdom until 1967, when he was called home to chair the National Council of Higher Education, a post in which he served with distinction for five years. Despite the demands of diplomatic assignments and administrative responsibilities, his scholarly activities were undiminished.

Malalasekera's major works include *The Pali Literature of Ceylon* (London, 1928); *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* (London, 1935), a critical edition of the exegesis on the *Mahāvaṃsa* (Great Chronicle of Sri Lanka); the *Extended Mahāvaṃsa* (Colombo, 1937); *The Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* (London, 1937); and *An English-Sinhalese Dictionary* (Colombo, 1948). He wrote a large number of other scholarly books and articles, and he contributed extensively to popular journals both in Ceylon and abroad. His highest intellectual achievement, however, was the work he did on the *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, whose completion he, as editor in chief, did not live to see. This undertaking, sponsored by the government of Ceylon in commemoration of twenty-five hundred years of Buddhism, was commenced in 1956 and is still in progress. As a contribution to Buddhist learning, it will stand as a monument to Malalasekera's love of scholarship and great perseverance as a student of the divers aspects of Buddhist thought, culture, and civilization.

Throughout his life, Malalasekera participated in various spheres of interest in Ceylon, religious and social, cultural and intellectual. At government level his advice was sought in many fields and was acceptable to people of all shades of political opinion, for he discreetly steered clear of party politics. He stood for equity and social justice, always taking up the cause of the underprivileged. As a social worker, he traveled the country at his own expense and addressed gatherings large and small. He was frequently heard over Radio Ceylon. His was a receptive mind, and he was noted for his ability to expound with precision and clarity on topics from fine arts and humanities to social sciences and current affairs. As a religious leader, for twenty-five years Malalasekera was president of the All-Ceylon Buddhist Congress (ACBC), an important platform for shaping public opinion, and he was principally responsible for the founding, in May 1950, of the World Fellowship of Buddhists, modeled largely after the ACBC.

Until that time, the voice of the Buddhist population, which forms more than a fifth of the human race, had not been heard, nor its views adequately expressed, nor its aspirations respected in world assemblies. Communication among Buddhists of various lands had been limited, and Buddhists the world over had had no forum to air their grievances or to redress injustices. The differences between the Mahāyāna and Theravāda schools had led to disunity. It was Malalasekera's indefatigable efforts that brought them together. As a sequel to a resolution passed at the twenty-eighth session of the ACBC in 1947, a resolution was passed at a conference of world Buddhist leaders held in 1950 in the historic Temple of the Tooth, in Kandy, to establish the World Fellowship of Buddhists. Malalasekera was founder-president from 1950 to 1958. During his lifetime it grew into a dynamic organization, expressing Buddhist opinion and unifying Buddhists under the six-hued flag bearing the emblem of the *dharmacakra*, the Wheel of the Law, as a symbol of peace.

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MALBIM, acronym (MaLBIM) of Meʾir Loeb ben Yeḥiʾel Mikhaʾel (1809–1879), European rabbi and exegete. Born in Volhynia, Russia, Malbim was chief rabbi of Romania from 1858 to 1864, having earlier served as rabbi to a number of communities in eastern Europe.

Malbim's life coincided with the struggle of European Jewry to achieve political rights. Some Jews, considering that the Judaism of the ghetto impeded their acceptance by their Christian neighbors, drifted away from Judaism. Others, who called themselves reformers, questioned the binding authority of the oral law, much of which seemed to them incompatible with the spirit of their age and therefore an impediment to emancipation. Malbim, a passionate and unyielding exponent of traditional Judaism, challenged the new Reform movement in his sermons and in his major work, a multivolume commentary on the entire Hebrew Bible. *Ha-Torah ve-ha-mitsvah,* his commentary on the Pentateuch, and *Miqraʾei qodesh,* his commentary on the Prophets and Hagiographa, were published between 1845 and 1876. In them, Malbim undertook to demonstrate that both the written law and the oral law form a unity, each component of which can be understood only through the other, and that, since the entire corpus of law and lore contained in the Talmud and Midrash had been revealed at Sinai together with the written law, no provision of either could be abrogated or amended. His stern refusal to compromise his convictions brought him into repeated conflict with the leaders of the communities he served, and his rabbinate was not a happy one.

Malbim introduces his commentary to *Leviticus* with a detailed analysis of 613 features of Hebrew lexicography, grammar, and biblical style that he insists had been forgotten by the medieval Jewish exegetes. He denies, for example, that true synonyms are to be found in the Hebrew Bible. Instead, an apparent synonym really introduces a new thought that demands its own exposition. Every word in scripture is the only word that could have been used in that particular context, and every verse conveys its own sublime meaning, though often that lofty message can be fathomed only by reference to Talmud, Midrash, and the literature of the Jewish mystics.

Because of his vigorous advocacy of traditional Judaism, Malbim remains a revered figure in Orthodox Jewish circles. Unfortunately, he is little known to the world of biblical scholarship because few of his writings have been published in English.

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Malbim's commentary on the Hebrew Bible has been republished in four volumes in the series "Otsar ha-perushim" (Jerusalem, 1956–1957). Volume 1, on *Genesis,* has been translated into English by Zvi Faier in two volumes (Jerusalem, 1978–1979). M. M. Yoshor has written a biography in Hebrew, *Ha-gaʾon Malbim* (Jerusalem, 1976). Yehoshua Horowitz's brief article on Malbim in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem, 1971) is the best source of information on Malbim in English.

A. STANLEY DREYFUS (1987)

MALCOLM X (1925–1965) was an American Black Muslim leader, born Malcolm Little on May 19, 1925, in Omaha, Nebraska. His father, the Reverend Earl Little, a follower of Marcus Garvey and a Baptist minister, died when Malcolm was six years old, and his mother, the sole support of nine children, was later committed to an insane asylum. Malcolm attended school in East Lansing, Michigan, dropped out at the eighth grade, and then moved to live with an older sister in the Roxbury section of Boston. There he became involved in petty criminal activities. As an unemployed street hustler and the leader of an interracial gang of thieves in Roxbury, and later in Harlem, he was known as "Detroit Red" for the reddish tinge of his hair. During his prison years (1946–1952), he underwent the first of his two conversion experiences when he converted to the Nation of Islam led by Elijah Muhammad. Following the tradition of the Nation of Islam, he replaced his surname with an *X,* symbolizing what he had been and what he had become: "Ex-smoker. Ex-drinker. Ex-Christian. Ex-slave."

An articulate public speaker, charismatic personality, and indefatigable organizer, Malcolm X expressed the rage and anger of the black masses during the major phase of the civil rights movement from 1956 to 1965. He organized Muslim temples throughout the country and founded the newspaper *Muhammad Speaks* in the basement of his home. He articulated the Nation of Islam's beliefs in racial separation and rose rapidly through the ranks to become minister of Boston Temple No. 11 and was later rewarded with the post of minister of Temple No. 7 in Harlem, the largest and most prestigious temple of the Nation of Islam after the Chicago headquarters. Recognizing Malcolm's talents and abilities, Elijah Muhammad also named him "national representative" of the Nation of Islam, second in rank to Elijah Muhammad himself.

In 1963, after his public comments on President John F. Kennedy's assassination, Malcolm X was ordered by Elijah Muhammad to undergo a period of silence, an order that reflected the deep tensions and disputes among Black Muslim leaders. In March 1964, Malcolm left the Nation of Islam and founded his own Muslim Mosque, Inc. During his pilgrimage to Mecca that same year, he experienced a second conversion, embraced the orthodox universal brotherhood of Sunnī Islam, and adopted the Muslim name el-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz. He then renounced the separatist beliefs of the Nation of Islam. In 1965, he founded the Organization for Afro-American Unity as a political vehicle to internationalize the plight of black Americans, to make common cause with Third World nations, and to move from civil rights to human rights. On February 21, 1965, Malcolm X was assassinated while delivering a lecture at the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem. His martyrdom, ideas, and speeches contributed to the development of black nationalist ideology and the black power movement in the late 1960s in the United States.

SEE ALSO Elijah Muhammad.

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LAWRENCE H. MAMIYA (1987)

MĀLIK IBN ANAS (d. 795), was a renowned Muslim jurist and the eponymous founder of the Mālikī school. Mālik was born sometime between 708 and 715 in Medina, where he spent most of his life and where he died. Biographical tradition records that for a while he was a professional singer, but because he was ugly, his mother advised him to give up that career. Instead, he became, like an uncle and a grandfather before him, a religious scholar. Mālik studied with a number of well-known scholars of Medina and then, as his fame spread, acquired many pupils of his own.

In 762 he lent the weight of his reputation to an Alid revolt against the Abbasid caliph al-Manṣūr. When that failed, he was punished by the governor of Medina. But his prestige did not suffer, and he regained royal favor. The next three caliphs, al-Mahdi, al-Hadi, and Hārūn al-Rashīd, were personally interested in his work, and Hārūn, while on a pilgrimage in the last year of Mālik's life, even attended one of his lectures. The *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadim (composed 987) reports that Mālik addressed a treatise on the land tax to Hārūn, a counterpart to the famous *Kitāb al-kharaj* of the Iraqi jurist Abū Yūsuf (d. 798), but some scholars consider this apocryphal. After spending his entire life in Medina, Mālik died in 795 and was buried there in al-Baqiʿ Cemetery.

The two main sources for Mālik's legal scholarship are his *Kitāb al-muwattaʾ* (Book of the smoothed path) and the *Mudawwana* (The recorded book) of Sahnun (d. 854), a student of Mālik's student Ibn al-Qasim (d. 806). The textual histories of both works are complex, and Norman Calder has suggested that neither was an "authored text" but came into their present forms in about 890 and 864, respectively. Before this they existed only as open texts belonging to a semi-oral school tradition. Calder's datings have been pushed earlier by subsequent scholarship based on extant manuscripts, but the *Muwattaʾ* especially seems nevertheless to have been subject to organic growth and redaction. It existed in fifteen known recensions, of which eight have been preserved at least partially. The most influential of these is the "Vulgate" of Yahya ibn Yahya al-Laythi (d. 848); the recensions of al-Shaybani (d. 805) and Ibn Wahb (d. 812) depart from that recension considerably, others somewhat less. Jonathan Brockopp argues on the basis of fragments of *al-Mukhtasar al-kabir fi al-fiqh* by Abd Allah ibn Abd al-Hakam that this text and the *Muwattaʾ* probably preserve a core of authentic juridical dicta which may be attributed reliably to Mālik himself.

Mālik's intellectual activity belongs to the period of Islamic jurisprudence when the explicit legislative legacy provided by the Qurʾān and the Prophet Muḥammad was proving insufficiently complete for the needs of the rulers of the expanding empire, and they were turning for further guidance to religious specialists such as Mālik. It became the task of these early jurists to ensure the Islamic character of public administration as well as to suggest ways in which individual Muslims could lead more pious lives. Before Mālik's time, legal literature consisted of compendia of *ḥadīth* (traditions)—biographical reports of the actions and statements of the Prophet and his contemporaries that were considered authoritative guidelines for behavior—and compendia of the decisions of authoritative scholars on various theoretical and practical issues. Mālik's achievement was to combine these two sources of authority. Mālik set forth, drawing on the *ḥadīth,* the legal practices that had evolved in Medina. He at times based legal doctrines on the actual practice *(ʿamal)* of Medina, at times appealed to the consensus among the authoritis of Medina, and at times drew on sound opinion (*raʾy*) or consideration of what is best (*istihsan*). The subsequent Mālikī tradition emphasized the first two principles but downplayed that latter two. Unlike later jurists, Malik does not restrict *ḥadīth* or the concept of *sunnah* (revered practice) to the Prophet Muḥammad alone. Despite the inconsistencies of his own procedure, the use of *ḥadīth* to support existing legal opinion came to play a vital role in the subsequent systematization of Islamic legal thinking and in the codification of Islamic law.

The *Muwattaʾ* is arranged in chapters that deal with the ritual and legal concerns of the Muslim community, and it represents the accepted legal practice of Medina as it was taught by Mālik and his contemporaries. The enduring and widespread influence of the *Muwattaʾ* may in part be due to the middle-of-the-road quality of the Medinese doctrine it presents but should be attributed even more to the activities and geographical distribution of successive generations of Mālik's pupils, who gradually came to think of themselves as followers of a distinctive school. Soon after Mālik's death, Fustat in Egypt became a major center for the elaboration of Mālikī legal doctrine; Qayrawan in Tunisia and Córdoba in Spain quickly followed. An eastern branch of the Mālikī school boasted considerable influence in Baghdad in the late ninth century and the tenth century but dwindled thereafter.

The Mālikī school still predominates in North Africa and in the other Muslim communities of Africa.

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DEVIN J. STEWART (2005)

MALINOWSKI, BRONISLAW (1884–1942), Polish-English social anthropologist. Born into an educated and aristocratic family, Bronislaw Kasper Malinowski received his Ph.D. in physics and mathematics from the Jagiellonian University of his native Cracow in 1908. Switching from the natural sciences to the human sciences, he entered the London School of Economics in 1910 and received a D.Sc. in 1916. He later traced his decision to study anthropology to his reading of James G. Frazer's *The Golden Bough.* The tribute was apt, for Malinowski became the leading British anthropologist of the generation following Frazer's, but also ironic, for no one did more to repudiate Frazer's method.

Malinowski's first contact with primitive society came during five months among the Mailu of Toulon Island off the southern coast of New Guinea in 1914–1915. In June 1915 he began the first of two extended periods of observation on the Trobriand Islands, to the east of New Guinea. Although colored by personal stress and ambivalence toward the natives, his twenty-one months in the Trobriands shaped his entire career. He became the apostle and exemplar of a new standard of anthropological fieldwork: ethnography must rely, he believed, on the participation of the ethnographer in the society under observation, rather than on the reports of travelers, missionaries, and hasty surveys. His fieldwork completed, Malinowski married Elsie Masson, daughter of a Melbourne chemistry professor. He began teaching at the London School of Economics after completing the manuscript of *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922), the first of his many books on the Trobriands. In 1927 he became the first professor of anthropology at the University of London.

Malinowski's approach to anthropology was psychological, but not psychoanalytic. His most celebrated work among nonspecialists was probably *Sex and Repression in Savage Society* (1927), in which he denies Sigmund Freud's claim that the Oedipus complex is universal. In this book Malinowski argues that among the Trobriand Islanders matrilineal descent (reinforced by ignorance of physiological paternity) diverted a boy's hostility from his father to the distant authority figure of his maternal uncle. Trobriand men repressed sexual desire for their sisters, not their mothers. Malinowski rejects Freud's claim in *Totem and Taboo* (1913) that an original Oedipal "crime" had established human culture: Freud's Lamarckian group psychology is simply wrong, Malinowski argues, and any other means of perpetuating the memory of the act requires the preexistence of culture.

Malinowski's attack on Freud reflected no personal reluctance to generalize; he had none of the methodological caution of his American contemporary Franz Boas. Malinowski's generalizations were rarely the product of systematic cross-cultural comparison: having rejected the Victorians' reliance on written sources, he went to the other extreme and generalized from his own intensive but necessarily limited fieldwork. His theory—"functionalism"—stressed the role of human culture in satisfying a hierarchy of human needs, consisting of those that are basic (i.e., biological), derived (i.e., cultural or social), and integrative (i.e., normative). He attacked the evolutionists' concept of "survivals" and the diffusionists' concept of "culture complexes," with their implications that cultures are heterogeneous accumulations of sometimes useless objects and institutions. While his American contemporaries, notably Ruth Benedict, saw cultural unity in terms of a culture's dominant style or personality, he saw it in the fulfillment of individual and group needs. In part because of Malinowski's own work, evolutionism and diffusionism were both in retreat by the 1930s. As they receded from view, functionalism lost much of its original force, and after his death Malinowski the ethnographer was praised above Malinowski the theorist.

Malinowski never wrote an account of Trobriand culture as a whole; he studied individual institutions in their social settings. The attention he paid to Trobriand economics and sex was in line with the premises of functional theory. His book *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* describes the complex and highly ritualized interisland trade known as *kula; The Sexual Life of Savages* (1929) deals with sex and the family; and *Coral Gardens and Their Magic* (1935) discusses Trobriand agriculture. In all these works Malinowski deemphasizes the "primitive" nature of Trobriand life by stressing the rational organization of economic life and focusing on the nuclear family rather than on the segmentary kinship system.

Malinowski also applied functional analysis to less obviously useful activities. In *Myth in Primitive Psychology* (1926), he argues that myths are neither explanations of natural phenomena nor poetry; instead, they are validations of the social order. The mythic "charter" strengthens tradition by appealing to the design and experience of a supernatural past. Myths of origin, for example, explain the relative superiority and inferiority of different Trobriand clans. Malinowski's explanation of magic denies both Lucien Lévy-Bruhl's claim that primitive thought is "prelogical" and Frazer's theory of an evolutionary progression from magic to religion to science. In "Magic, Science and Religion," an essay in *Science, Religion and Reality*, edited by Joseph Needham (London, 1925), Malinowski argues that magic provides psychological encouragement and a rationale for group cooperation in those activities where primitives lack the knowledge or technical ability to ensure success. Magic is a supplement to, not a substitute for, practical activity.

Malinowski's analysis of religion was not only less original but also less successful than his treatments of myth and magic. He denied Émile Durkheim's claim that the object of worship is society itself, although conceding that religion is socially organized. Religion is man's consolation in the face of tragedy and uncertainty, not a means of social cohesion. It can be distinguished from magic by the absence of an external goal, in that worship is an end in itself. Malinowski never resolved the tension between his individualistic analysis of religious motivation and his sociological analysis of religious practice. The absence of worship on the Trobriand Islands may have denied him the stimulus necessary for a more sustained inquiry.

Elsie Malinowski died in 1935, after a long illness. At the end of 1938, Malinowski left London for an American sabbatical; rather than return to Europe during World War II, he was for three years a visiting professor at Yale University. In 1940 he married Valetta Swann, an artist. During the summers of 1940 and 1941 he went into the field again to study Mexican peasant markets in conjunction with a young Mexican ethnologist, Julio de la Fuente. In early 1942 he accepted Yale's offer of a permanent professorship effective that October. He never took up the appointment; his death of a heart attack on May 16, 1942, caught him in the midst of new beginnings. Doubly an émigré, he lost the chance to play in America the commanding role he had held in British social science between the wars.

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Revised Bibliography

MAMI WATA (Water as Mother) is a pidgin designation for a class of African water divinities and spirits or, occasionally, for the primordial divinities collectively. Mami Wata is a complex transcultural phenomenon composed of elements from widely disparate places and traditions that coalesced on the continent probably by the end of the nineteenth century. Shrines to Mami Wata are frequently found in coastal, riverine, or lacustrine areas of the continent. The roots of Mami Wata began with the traditional water divinities that were elaborated by the fifteenth century to include European influences, including the mermaid-man that Africans adopted as a new representation of the water divinities. Light skin and non-African features (markers of the spirit realm as well as of ethnicity), sunglasses, powder, and perfume also became familiar in representations of Mami Wata. Africans transplanted by slavery to Surinam in the seventeenth century discovered there a tradition about a riverine water divinity Watra Mamma, who in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was credited with helping slaves secure their liberation. The idea of water as mother was common to many cultures despite the difference in names ascribed to the divinity. These traditions were brought back to Africa in the nineteenth century, probably by Kru sailors, and Watra Mamma was identified in peoples' minds with local water divinities. The conflation of various traditions of water divinities in nineteenth-century West Africa created Mami Wata.

Devotees established shrines for Mami Wata decorated with objects reminiscent of the various traditions. Boats reminiscent of those the slaves on Surinam used to escape captivity became familiar objects at Mami Wata shrines. A nineteenth-century German chromolith of a female snake charmer with rich black hair inspired the additional representation of Mami Wata as a dark-skinned snake charmer dressed in exotic clothing. By the early twentieth century representations of Hindu divinities and cultic practices brought to the continent by traders from India also found a place in Mami Wata representations and praxis. African devotees acknowledge icons of divinity, such as mermaids and snake charmers, as symbolic revelations of the transcendent, and they are open to these new manifestations of the divine. At the same time they recognize that the spirits they represent are traditional. So despite the obvious layering of multiple cultural traditions in Mami Wata representations, she or he is generally not considered a new divinity or spirit by Africans.

Like other African water divinities known for their dispositional fluidity, Mami Wata can favor devotees with riches of all kinds, including spiritual wisdom, healing and divinatory powers, and beauty and wealth. Or she or he can create natural disasters and reverse traditional social expectations. Mami Wata is consulted for a variety of human concerns and is considered to be well suited to dealing with the problems of modernity introduced by colonialism and postcolonialism. Mami Wata's power is considered so great that she or he is petitioned by people from all classes, stations in life, and religious traditions who seek physical, spiritual, social, and economic assistance.

Although Mami Wata evolved from multiple cultural traditions, the divinity's praxis is culture specific. African communities situate Mami Wata in an existing community of divinities in which she or he has a particular place and genealogy. Mami Wata is normally worshipped traditionally, with invocations, sacrifices, and dances as other divinities are honored, but she or he is also honored with specific dance forms, rhythms, and rituals.

The gender system of a culture also affects the conceptualization of Mami Wata. Mami Wata can be represented as either female or male; indeed it would be unusual for an African divinity not to have a counterpart of the opposite gender. The male-gendered representation of Mami Wata is sometimes called Papa Wata. In some communities, the male Mami Wata is said to marry his female devotees and the female Mami Wata to marry her male devotees.

The exercise of priesthood by a Mami Wata priest (who is also a chief) in one patrilineal culture reflects the gendered role designated for males in his society. He has a spousal relationship to a female Mami Wata but one that does not include the experience of female receptivity through possession. He nourishes his community through animal and other sacrifices to Mami Wata and the divinities. In return he receives power from Mami Wata to protect and sustain his community through healing and to provide guidance through divination. In a matrilineal culture with a dual-gender system and a matrilocal or duolocal residence pattern, Mami Wata mermaid representations are gendered not by sexual characteristics but by the traditional symbols of a pot for the female and a fish for the male. A Mami Wata priestess in this community acts as a vessel to receive the divinity through possession, thus producing sustenance for the community. She constructs her election by Mami Wata as a commitment to a matrilineage in which the divinity is her mother and exercises control over her life, rather than as a marriage relationship. Her descriptions of Mami Wata's home under the sea resemble those of the homes of important women in her community. She does not maintain her own shrine for Mami Wata; instead, she goes to the shrines and festivals where she is invited, and in a state of possession, she provides healing remedies and inspired guidance for the community.

Mami Wata scholarship has explored the origins and representations of Mami Wata and its devotional service, and newer studies have focused on Mami Wata's role and function in particular cultures as a member of the community of divinities who protect and guide the community. At the level of praxis, the global interconnections characteristic of Mami Wata's origins continue, as Mami Wata devotional service is spread outside of Africa by both Africans and non-Africans. Mami Wata has a particular appeal for diasporic African people who seek to reclaim their roots and to identify with the power of their ancestral traditions, but non-Africans are also drawn to this powerful Water Mother. It is impossible to predict how Mami Wata traditions, representations, and praxis will change in response to this global reappropriation. But as long as Mami Wata continues to be efficacious, humans will find Mami Wata a source of solace and guidance.

SEE ALSO African Religions, overview article.

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MAN See MASCULINE SACRALITY

MANA. A generic Polynesian term for self-effecting or self-transcending efficacy ("power") that is at once personal and impersonal, sacred and secular, contained and containing. In scholarly usage the term exemplifies a vogue, commonplace in the "evolutionist" and "diffusionist" phases of anthropological speculation, for appropriating exotic terminologies and making universalist claims upon them. *Mana* belongs to a small set of anthropological "markers" for concepts that are very difficult to put into words. Some of the others include the Siouan *wakan,* Iroquois *orenda,* Aztec *nagual,* and Arabic *baraka.*

If it takes a certain amount of power even to comprehend what *power* itself might be, then terms of this sort provide an explicit ethnographic contextualization for a sense of power or empowerment that is wellnigh universal. *Mana* is not merely "power," in the sense of an efficient causality ("energy," "skill," "artisanship") necessary to effect the felicituous outcome of some human task or intention, but rather an exponential (power times power) or second-order derivative of the potency at issue. Electricity, one might say, *has mana,* but the invention of electricity *is mana.* So the Maori of New Zealand, who often use electricity or electrical current as an explanatory analogy for *mana* (for example, one may generate it, apply it, use it, or lose it) would have to face the charge that although electrical energy may be bought or sold (or at least rented) *mana* itself is nonnegotiable. One cannot buy it or sell it, or take currency for its use, and its only direct analogue in the realm of purchase and exchange would be those priceless "heirloom" valuables that are never circulated.

Hence, although one may specify *kinds* of *mana* according to the requirements of certain tasks, such as the *mana* of woodcarving, of curing, or of deep-sea navigation, *mana* itself is not specific or specifiable in that way. It is not overspecific but *underspecific,* like the role of the denominator in a fraction, determining a quotient. John Keats might well have had Shakespeare's *mana* in mind when he spoke of the Bard's talent as *negative capability,* "that is, when a man is capable of being in uncertainties, mysteries, doubts, without any irritable reaching after fact and reason."

The *mana* of an American president would have less to do with the job description, the vote count in the election, or the fact of being an elected representative of the people than with personal qualities over and above the demands of the office. So the determination and rhetorical skill of an Abraham Lincoln, the feckless bravado of a Theodore Roosevelt, or the social standing and charisma of a John F. Kennedy would be particular to the *mana* of those individuals. A woman president might add "gender" to that list, provided she were the first to be elected. The presidency, in no uncertain terms, *has mana,* but the personality of the president, as a unique reinvention of the office, *is mana.*

Remarkably, then, a truly omnipotent deity, unless it could transcend itself like the Norse Odin, might have all the power in the universe but no *mana.* Hence the need for the mediating figure, the prophet, savior, demiurge, the president who is *answerable* to God but not divine, to serve as a common denominator of divine immanence, dividing it into measurable components of efficacy. Conversely, possessors of heroic *mana,* like Hercules and Perseus, make the opposite trade-off, losing earthly potency when elevated to the status of constellations, mere "superstars" of the night sky.

Imagine, then, the *mana* of the black hole, which exhausts the empirical criteria for existence to become, as astronomers have put it, "the most potent source of energy in the known cosmos." "You do not *play* with *mana,*" the Maori might want to add, "except that it plays with you." This feature of the concept, its agency in subject-object transformation, may be the secret of ancient Maori sorcery training. A story tells of the veteran Maori sorcerer who calls his young apprentice to him and tells him he must use all the techniques and self-discipline he has learned to kill his own mother. Appalled at the very thought of this, the apprentice has a major crisis, and then marshalls his thoughts and his feelings and eventually accomplishes the deed. Morally demolished, but full of pride, he returns to his mentor to ask whether he has now truly become a sorcerer. "Almost," says the veteran, "but not quite. Now you must kill *me.*" As a *legacy, mana* is made of very stern stuff.

To what extent can *mana* be moral? To the extent that the morality in question has *mana.* Otherwise it becomes a superficial and empty category, like those "politically correct" agendas and protocols of the late twentieth century that were either coldly indifferent to, or cruelly patronizing of, the "minorities" they pretended to justify. *Mana* has no pathos, and no false empathy either.

Mana is the most practical and "natural," and the least idealistic or "supernatural," force in the world. It could only be called "magical" or "mystical" in cases when it does not work (for then it is not *mana* either), and someone is obliged to make apologies or excuses for it. Mana never apologizes; the Maori apprentice in the story becomes unimpeachable (not "innocent") by killing all the witnesses to his deadly acts. Conversely, the magical or supernatural must always leave little traces of its cunning lying around to assure the skeptical that some sort of cheating was going on. *Mana* does not leave clues.

As the prime organizer of human tasks, crafts, rowers, and vocations, *mana* not only guarantees the social hierarchy but actually substitutes for it, assurring the secrecy and sanctity of social status and position. There is a *mana* of leadership, closely akin to that of oratory; the king of traditional Tonga was considered to be the actual begetter of his subjects. Otherwise *mana* does not obey boundaries or limits without, as a liminal quality, transcending them, so that the need to differentiate in some final sense pairs the concept with another indispensable Polynesian original, that of *taboo. Mana* knows no limits; taboo knows nothing else; together they comprise the form and content of the comprehehnsible world.

The real epistemological challenge, for the outsider as well as the Polynesian subject, would be to authenticate each of them as an objective, independently existing entity. There must be a *mana* of knowing just exactly what *mana* is all about, a single, convergent, and perfectly understandable "yes" that controls all the difficult, dangerous, and divergent forms of "no," the quotient of an infinite divisor. Would that be the same thing as the one single and singular *taboo* that banishes all others? Or would it be totally different? We do not know.

Hence, if an unconditional taboo were placed upon the very existence of *mana,* that *mana* inherent in that taboo itself would increase beyond all measure, swallowing the world in a generic potency of its own particulars. The very intransigence of the concept, like that of the Chinese *tao,* renders it invincible (as it is said of death, that it is "not only *educational,* but perfectly *safe*"). If gravity, for instance, were to be reconceptualized as a general taboo placed on straight-line navigation, then the old Polynesian adage that "the sea closes upon itself" would make sport of our terrestrial geometries.

Like the "big bang" theory of modern cosmology, or the notion that the universe came into being through the disintegration of a gigantic proto-atom, *mana* simplifies the eternal problem of creation ex nihilo by supplementing it with a transformation instead. A quality that increases in direct proportion to the resistance offered it, and does so quite simply by identifying itself as the force behind that resistance, has no necessary relation to the beginnings and endings of things. Polynesians might argue about the relative strengths and weaknesses of their gods or mythic heroes—what parts they played in the creation and even why they may have played them—but there would be no question as to what they used to do it. *Mana* is inherent in the created things of this world (for example, all natural objects, elements, and processes) for the same reason it inhabits the artifacts of a skilled craftsman.

In one respect *mana* resembles the concept of the dreaming (formerly "dreamtime") among the Australian Aboriginal peoples. Understood as an alternative "phase" of everyday reality, the dreaming is only incidentally attributable to the past (for the purpose of certain stories or illustrative accounts) and is fully *present* to its own ritual enactments. In that way *mana* might be understood as the inceptive energy coefficient of the objects, persons, and actions to which it is attributed. It is nonlinear, and one could no more escape its effectiveness than one could avoid dreaming at night.

Philosophically, then, *mana* is not only explanatory but self-explanatory and plays a role in Polynesian thought not unlike that of gravity or energy in the physical sciences, evolution in the life sciences, and culture in the social sciences. It is at once the mirror of our artifice, and the artificer of our mirror. Science performs its observations and experiments to discover the truth of things; *mana,* immanent at one and the same time in both the test and the result, the cause and the effect, the question and the answer, is *the thing of the truth.* Everyone can know, down to minute particulars, exactly what science has done and wants to do; no one can really know, despite all the energy expended on its definition, what *mana* may truly be. All we can do is say its name and hope that something really good will come of it.

Mana is the power of the named over the nameless (*cf.* Laozi: "The *named* is the mother of the myriad creatures"), the existent over the nonexistent, the creative over the uncreated. It is the divine part of the human and the human part of the divine, the least visible part of the metaphor that controls the visible world. Might it not be the case that the early explorers and anthropologists who named the Polynesians as "savages" or "barbarians" had their categories reversed, that the people did not drift randomly to their remote islands, in fear of some uncertainty, but actively navigated the wave trains to find homes for themselves at the center of infinity? Or so the name of Kapingamarangi, a remote Polynesian outlier, would tell us. Literally translated, it means "The Place That Is Held Together by the Horizon."

If there were a Nobel Prize for the naming of things, the old Polynesians might at least expect an honorable mention. And a niche in navigation's hall of fame: all one has to do is keep to the latitude where the star Arcturus (*Hokulea,* "The Star of Joy") is on the zenith, and sooner or later one will run into Hawai'i. That is part of the *mana* of finding

Hawai'i, the actuarial value of which has increased exponentially since the days of Captain Cook.

Real *mana,* of course, does not profit a smile; it eschews negotiability and must pursue a fugitive existence in those islands. It is not begged, borrowed, or stolen. We have superstars whose voices or countenances run into the millions, but all that might be said of the *mana* of image, including its bizarre narcosis in the modern "global" culture, was said by William Shakespeare in one of his sonnets: "They are the lords and owners of their faces." Real *mana* is something much more civilized than we could possibly imagine. We have a difficult enough time with *aroha* (*arofa, aloha*), commonly translated as "love."

Like the distinctive face or personality, *mana* inheres solely in the one who possesses it (or, more properly, is possessed by it), so that "teaching" it or "passing it on" implies qualities of holism and autonomy that are largely incommensurate with those terms. One would not learn it or acquire it but *teach onesself to it.* Tattooing the skin, a practice favored especially by the Maori, would, if accomplished with the requisite *mana,* effectively embody the social power of "face." And the *mana* of the expert woodcarver would transfer the stamp of personality inherent in that transformation to the utensils, objects, houses, and canoes of the surrounding world. *Mana* is only the specific, Polynesian version of a conceptual motif found widespread in the Pacific region. "Now you see me as I am," a lavishly decorated dancer at Mount Hagen, in New Guinea, once told the anthropologist Marilyn Strathern, meaning that he had turned himself inside out, showing the beautiful intentions of his soul (*numan*) in the befeathered lineaments of his outer body, that he had *taught himself* to the dance.

Mana is not the self, but the *artistry* of the self. It has no other ego. Examples of this sort suggest that although the total effect of *mana* resembles that of abstraction in many ways, its power is actually opposite to what we know by that term. Scientific abstractions depend for their explanatory power upon known and testable qualities, which are then extended over the range of phenomenal experience. *Mana,* which is *noumenal* rather than phenomenal in Kant's terminology, does not so much explain as it transforms, and the result is always something that is very concrete and specific. To abstract is to derive, generalize, render a subject remote and incorporeal, control the mind with intellectual fictions. *Mana,* which controls by nonfictions, makes its sense, or makes *sense* of the world, in a totally different way: the cold eroticism of the long, dark Pacific. There might be a *mana* of logic, but never a logic of *mana.*

SEE ALSO Atua; Polynesian Religions, overview article; Power; Taboo.

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ROY WAGNER (2005)

MANCO CAPAC AND MAMA OCLLO (probably thirteenth century), first Inca ruler, demigod ancestor of succeeding Inca rulers, and the founder, possibly legendary, of the Inca capital city of Cuzco, in the southern highlands of Peru. Early Spanish chroniclers reported various Inca creation myths. In one version, the Sun, taking pity on the miserable world, sent down his own son—presumably Manco Capac—and daughter to govern the people. According to another version, after the creation of the world the Sun summoned Manco Capac and, "speaking like an older brother," told him that the Inca would rule the world and that they must proudly regard the Sun as their father and worship him appropriately. In the most frequent variation, four brothers and four sisters emerged from a "window," or cave, in a rock at Pacaritambo ("inn of origin"), not far from Cuzco. After a period of wandering, one brother, Ayar Manco (later Manco Capac), having sent word that his father was the Sun, went to a hill above what is now Cuzco. The people of the valley looked up to see him dressed in gold ornaments that reflected dazzling sunlight. He founded Cuzco with a simple shrine on what would be the site of the great Temple of the Sun. He is said to have taught the people not only social and religious structure and ritual but also irrigation, planting, and harvesting.

When he was about to die, Manco Capac told his people that he must return to the sky, for his father had summoned him. His body was adored as a *huaca,* a sacred object. The Spaniards, seeking to destroy idolatry, removed the mummified bodies of other Inca rulers, but they could not find that of Manco Capac, which was kept in a village outside Cuzco. It was said to have turned into a stone (stone was particularly sacred to the Inca). This stone, elaborately dressed and adorned, was one of the most holy Inca objects, and ceremonies and sacrifices were held before it.

SEE ALSO Atahuallpa.

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ELIZABETH P. BENSON (1987)

MANDA D'HIIA ("knowledge of life") is the primary savior, messenger, and instructor in Mandaeism, a still-surviving gnostic religion in Iraq and Iran. Dispatched from the world above, the Lightworld, to the lower realms, Manda d'Hiia brings saving knowledge, warnings, and consolation to human beings and to deficient Lightworld beings stranded between the earth and the Lightworld. His descents and ascents parallel the route of the soul, which, having come from the Lightworld, returns to its home at the body's death. The "life" of which Manda d'Hiia is "knowledge" is the upper, ultimate Lightworld principle, in some texts called the King of Light and other names. The names *Manda d'Hiia* and *Life* are pronounced over Mandaeans at baptism, and Manda d'Hiia's name occurs frequently in prayer formulas.

The savior appears most often in the two main collections of Mandaean mythological speculation, *Ginza*, separated into *Right Ginza* and *Left Ginza*, and the Mandaean *Book of John*. The *Right Ginza*, the larger part of *Ginza*, contains cosmologies and mythologies dealing mainly with the earthly world, while the smaller *Left Ginza* centers primarily on the ascent of the soul toward the Lightworld. In *Right Ginza 3,* Manda d'Hiia descends to the underworld, vanquishing the evil powers there. His devastating effect on the evil ones on earth is described in *Right Ginza* 5.2. This tractate makes use of the Old Testament's Psalm 114 in portraying the frenzied reaction of mountains and ocean to the savior's appearance. In *Right Ginza* 11, as in 15.17, Manda d'Hiia battles with Ruha, the personified female spirit, and with the planets, the wicked world-rulers who ensnare human beings.

According to *Left Ginza* 1.3, Manda d'Hiia released Hawwa, Adam's wife, from the world, and warned against mourning for the dead, a behavior repudiated by Mandaeism. *Right Ginza* 5.4 tells of the death of John the Baptist, the Mandaean prophet. Manda d'Hiia appears to John in the guise of a small boy who wishes to be baptized. When John takes the boy to the river, it floods, owing to the presence of the savior. John nearly drowns, but Manda d'Hiia makes the water recede. As birds and fishes praise Manda d'Hiia, John realizes that his baptism candidate is the very Lightbeing in whose name John performs his baptisms. This baptism turns out to be John's last: Manda d'Hiia has come to take him away from the world. The baptist's body is left on the riverbank, the savior covering it with sand, and the two ascend together to the Lightworld.

Occasionally, Manda d'Hiia is portrayed unflatteringly. The *Book of John* 2 informs us that the savior has caused strife in the Lightworld by revealing the secrets of salvation to Ruha, his adversary. In the eighth tractate of the same book, a messenger pleads for Yushamin, a rebellious, jailed Lightbeing. The King of Light is favorably inclined toward Yushamin, but Manda d'Hiia thinks that Yushamin deserves no forgiveness. To this the King of Light responds that Manda d'Hiia harbors a long-standing jealousy toward Yushamin: Manda d'Hiia hates Yushamin because the latter once refused him a wife.

In general, though, Manda d'Hiia is a positive figure. He was the guardian of Adam's epoch, the first of the four ages of the world. Today we live in the fourth age, an evil age, which will end when no Mandaeans are left on earth.

SEE ALSO Ginza; Mandaean Religion.

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JORUNN JACOBSEN BUCKLEY (1987)
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MANDAEAN RELIGION. The religion of the Mandaeans (from *manda*, "knowledge") is a self-contained, unique system belonging in the general stratum of the Gnosticism of late antiquity. Thus Mandaeism shows affinities with Judaism and Christianity. For geographical reasons, it also exhibits certain early influences from the Iranian religious milieu. The Mandaeans live, as their ancestors did, along the rivers and waterways of southern Iraq and Khuzistan, Iran. Known by their neighbors as Subbi (baptizers), they form a Gnostic baptist community.

The Mandaeans can be traced to the second or third century of the common era. A hypothesis based on their language and literature indicates that they emigrated, during the first centuries of the common era, from the Jordan Valley area eastward to the environs of Haran, on the border between present-day Turkey and Syria, and finally to southern Babylonia. According to their text *Haran Gawaita* (Inner Haran), they fled persecution and traveled east under the protection of one of the three Parthian kings named Ardban who ruled from the early first century to 227 CE.

An East Aramaic dialect, the Mandaean language nevertheless contains West Syrian linguistic elements that point to the probability of a migration from west to east. Examples of these are *yardna* (running water; also designates the river Jordan), *sba* (baptize), *kushta* (truth, ritual handshake), *manda* (knowledge), and *nasuraiia* (observant ones). The last term (in English, Nasoraeans), also used by early Christians, refers primarily to the Mandaean priests. According to Rudolf Macuch, the date 271–272 CE may be argued as that appearing, in the hand of a Mandaean copyist, in the colophon of a hymnal (*qulasta*), published in *The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans* (1959). This colophon may well be the oldest extant Mandaean text. Macuch also dates Mandaean script on coins from what is now Luristan and Khuzistan as from the second and third centuries CE. Inscriptions on leather and lead strips, on clay tablets, and on magical bowls (labeled "magical" because they are used on a "folk religion" level) belong largely to the younger sources.

The Mandaean codex and scroll literature is found in the voluminous book *Ginza*, which is divided into *Right Ginza* and *Left Ginza*. It is a collection of mythological, revelatory, hortatory, and hymnic material. The *Right Ginza* contains generally cosmological, "this worldly" prose material, whereas the *Left Ginza*, much of it in verse, centers on the "otherworldly" fate of the soul. Symbolism of "right" and "left" is pervasive in Mandaeism, but in the case of the *Ginza* titles these terms are puzzling, for the right is usually connected to the beyond and the left to the earthly world. The Mandaean *Book of John* contains a variety of myths and legends. *The Canonical Prayerbook* includes hymns, liturgies, and instructions for priests. Central mythical and ritual material in this work and in the *Ginza* dates from the third and fourth centuries CE. Comments, exegeses, and instructions for rituals attested in *The Canonical Prayerbook* are in the texts *The Thousand and Twelve Questions*, *The Original Great World*, *The Original Small World*, and *The Coronation of the Great Shishlam*. The Mandaeans also have illustrated scrolls, such as *The Scroll of Abatur* and *The Scroll of the Rivers*, and a book on astrology, *The Book of the Zodiac*. Much of this literature was probably collected and edited after the seventh century CE, although most of the material is older.

Traditionally hostile to both Judaism and Christianity, the Mandaeans were confronted with the Islamic conquest in the seventh century CE. In response the Mandaean leaders declared the *Ginza* to be their holy scripture and proclaimed John the Baptist as the Mandaean prophet, since a holy book and a prophet were the Islamic requirements for recognition as a "People of the Book" (i.e., Jews, Christians, and Sabaeans), exempt from forcible conversion. The Mandaeans endured hardships under Islamic rule, but they were generally left in peace. Never aspiring to secular power or political expansion, the traditionally endogamous Mandaeans survived. The group was threatened by an outbreak of cholera in 1831 that eliminated the priestly class, but new priests were drawn from the ranks of literate laymen. Again as secularization set in during the twentieth century, scholars considered Mandaean culture to be in danger of extinction; however, a cultural, if not traditionally religious, revival seems to be taking hold. In Iraq two new baptismal pools and a new *mandi* (a clay and reed hut used by priests) were constructed in the 1970s. Mandaeans translated into Arabic Ethel S. Drower's *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran*, first published in 1937. In 1972 these translators compiled a Mandaean catechism for the benefit of the laity, who formerly were not allowed even to touch Mandaean books.

In bulk the Mandaean corpus exceeds anything transmitted from other Gnostic traditions, except perhaps that of Manichaeism. Relationships to other forms of Gnosticism are difficult to trace, but in 1949 Torgny Säve-Söderbergh demonstrated that the Manichaean *Psalms of Thomas*, dating from 250 to 275 CE, depend on a Mandaean original. In addition the long-held view that Mani had his roots in Mandaeism has been refuted by the discovery of the *Cologne Mani Codex*. However, the Syrian *Odes of Solomon* and a number of the Nag Hammadi tractates do show correspondences with Mandaean ideas.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Portuguese missionaries were among the first to bring Mandaean manuscripts out of the Orient. Thinking they had found the "Christians of Saint John," a misnomer for the Mandaeans, the missionaries were eager to trace the Mandaeans back to their putative origins. The possibilities of such a Christian connection contributed to the heyday of studies in Mandaeism in the first half of the twentieth century. Debates on Mandaeism's relationship to early Christianity have continued, although the question of a pre-Christian Mandaeism no longer holds the fascination it once did. Comparative issues are still central, but Mandaeism is also studied for its own sake. The relationship between the mythological and the cultic components remains a crucial issue, for in Mandaeism one faces a gnosis closely aligned with cultic practices. Kurt Rudolph in particular has sought to unravel the historical development of the Mandaean mythology and cult and to reconstruct the sequence of the variegated segments in the sources.

MYTHOLOGY. Mandaeism testifies to a basic framework of dualism in which diametrically opposed entities clash but also intertwine and to some extent recognize one another's claims. Good and evil, light and darkness, soul and matter vie for control from the very inception of the world. Mandaean mythological speculations center on the preexistent Lightworld (the upper, "heavenly" realm), on the creation of the earth and of human beings, and on the soul's journey back to its Lightworld origin. The primary Lightworld entity is "the Great Life" (also called by various other names), who resides with his consort "Treasure of Life" and numerous Lightbeings (*ʿutria*), the prototypes of earthly priests. The *ʿutria* gradually become involved in the creation, an entanglement causing their degradation and accrual of their sins. One of them, Ptahil, the pathetically unsuccessful creator of the earthly world and of human beings, fails to make Adam stand upright, for the creature is wholly material. A soul is brought—sometimes reluctantly—from the Lightworld, making Adam complete. The soul not only causes erect posture but functions as a revealer, instructing Adam and his wife Hawwa in *nasiruta*, the totality of Mandaean gnosis and cult.

Adam is taught to free his soul and spirit to return to the Lightworld, leaving the body behind. Of the three human constituents, *ruha* (spirit) is the middle, ambiguous component torn between body and soul. There is also a personified *ruha*, at times called Ruha d-Qudsha (holy spirit), who was originally fetched from the underworld prior to the creation of earth and human beings. By necessity Ptahil enters into fateful cooperation with this personified spirit, who has a stake in the human being. Ruha also enlists the planets and the zodiac spirits, her children, to help her. Together they demonize time and space. Arranging a noisy party to blot out the soul's revelatory voice in Adam, Ruha and her cohorts merely manage to frighten Adam, reawakening his quest for salvation beyond the earth (*Right Ginza*, 3).

In addition to the *ʿutria* Yushamin, Abatur, and Ptahil, there are others less stained by involvement in the lower realms. Manda d-Hiia (knowledge of life) and his son-brother Hibil are Lightworld envoys, revealers, and saviors busily shuttling between the Lightworld and the earth. Anosh-Utra, who imitates and competes with Jesus, and Shitil, the biblical Seth, are two less-central messengers. Shitil appears both as one of the *ʿutria* and as the first son of Adam. In the latter capacity Shitil dies vicariously for his father, who at the ripe age of one thousand years refuses to die. As a reward for his sacrifice, Shitil ascends and becomes the pure soul against which all human souls are weighed in the scales of Abatur on the threshold of the Lightworld.

Between Earth and the Lightworld the *matarata*, "purgatories" or "heavenly hells," provide tests and tribulations for ascending souls and spirits. The *matarata*—depicted in *The Scroll of Abatur*—present an inverted parallel to the underworlds mapped by Hibil before the creation of the earth. Demons, including some of the degraded *ʿutria*, serve as purgatory keepers, performing the thankless task of testing and punishing. Depending on the realm in which they appear, *ʿutria* and other divine beings may show themselves as good or evil. Abatur has been demoted from *rama* (elevated) to "lord of the scales." He must carry out his task until the end of time, though complaining bitterly (*Book of John*, 70–72).

Nonbelievers do not escape the *matarata*. Jesus, an apostate Mandaean, is doomed—unlike his mother Miriai, who converted from Judaism to Mandaeism, thus serving as the prototype of the west-to-east migrating Mandaean. In the *Book of John* 30 Jesus seeks baptism from John the Baptist, who at first hesitates, knowing Jesus' wicked intentions. John relents owing to a command from Abatur, but at the moment of baptism Ruha makes the sign of the cross over the Jordan, which immediately loses its luster, taking on many colors—a bad omen.

RITUALS. Among the Mandaeans, repeated baptism (*masbuta*) takes place on Sundays and special festival days. Two small rites of ablution, *rishama* and *tamasha*, are performed by the individual Mandaean and, unlike the *masbuta*, require no priest. At baptism the male candidates, clothed in white, and female candidates, who wear a black cloak over the white garment, line up on the riverbank. One at a time, each descends into the water and immerses himself or herself three times, whereupon the priest, in full ritual garb, submerges him or her thrice again. As the candidates crouch in the water, each receives a triple sign on the forehead with water and drinks three handfuls of water. Investiture with a tiny myrtle wreath—a symbol of spirit and of life—follows. Baptisms completed, the candidates sit on the riverbank. Now each is anointed on the forehead with sesame oil and partakes in a meal of bread (*pihta*) and water (*mambuha*). Finally, each baptized person exchanges a ritual handshake (*kushta*) with the priest. The entire ceremony is accompanied throughout by set prayers, formulas, and hymns uttered by the priest.

The laity undergo baptism as often as they wish. Moreover baptism is required on specific occasions: at marriage, after childbirth (for a woman), and as close to the moment of death as possible. Water not only cleanses sins and other impurities; it also represents the Lightworld as reflected in the earthly world. *Masbuta* anticipates and in some sense parallels the death mass, the *masiqta* (raising up), a complicated, lengthy, and essentially secret ritual celebrated for the dead and shielded from the view of the laity. Because baptismal river water symbolizes the Lightworld, the *masbuta* can be said to constitute a "horizontal" *masiqta*: immersion in water here on earth prepares for ascension at life's end.

The *masiqta* conveys spirit and soul from the dead body into the Lightworld. Three days after burial the "seals" put on the grave are broken, for spirit and soul are now ascending on their perilous journey through the *matarata* to the Lightworld. On this third day several priests celebrate the *masiqta*. In handling objects that symbolize the ascending spirit and soul, the priests' aim is threefold: to join spirit and soul; to create a new, Lightworld body for this joined entity; and to incorporate the new body into the community of deceased Mandaeans living in the Lightworld.

The majority of the symbolic objects in the *masiqta* are foodstuffs that feed the departed and act as creation material. Food links the living to the dead, maintaining the *laufa*, the connection between earth and the Lightworld. The priests personify the ascending spirit and soul, act as parents for the new body, and impersonate Lightbeings. As mediators priests are Lightbeings on earth, carrying out on earth rituals that have their models in the Lightworld. *Ganzibra* (treasurer) and *tarmida* (from *talmid*, "disciple") are the two surviving priestly ranks, each of which requires special initiation ceremonies; the supreme office of the *rishama* (head of the people) has been extinct since the mid-nineteenth century. Constituting the "Right," the Lightworld, the priests are complemented by the laity, who belong to the "Left," the material world. Neither can do without the other; the laity is required as witnesses for public rituals carried out by priests. This arrangement furnishes one among many examples of the carefully tempered dualism prevalent in the religion. The dualism and the relationship between myth and ritual remain among the most urgent issues confronting scholarship on Mandaeism, as do the editing and translating of unpublished Mandaean manuscripts.

HISTORY OF STUDY. As far as is known, the first Westerner to come into contact with the Mandaeans was the monk Ricoldo da Montecroce in around 1290. The story of the encounter is set out in a kind of travel diary, an *Itinerarium* or *The Book of Travels in Eastern Parts*, written in his later years in the quiet of the convent of Santa Maria Novella in Florence. The Mandaeans are defined as a kind of "monstrous" spiritual reality in a merciless way, even if the description is thorough. The Mandaeans are not mentioned again until 1555, by Jesuit missionaries in Mesopotamia, this time confused with the Christians of Saint John the Apostle and Evangelist (Lupieri [2002] describes the contacts between the missionaries and the Mandaean community, in which their presumed "Christian" origin is finally recognized).

At the beginning of the seventeenth century European knowledge of Mandaeanism expanded as a result of the accounts of travelers, such as the Roman aristocrat Pietro Della Valle and missionaries like Basilio di San Francesco, a Portuguese Carmelite who applied himself to the conversion of the Mandaeans with great fervor, founding the Catholic mission at Basra among others. The work of Basilio was continued by another Carmelite, Ignatius a Jesu, who was responsible for a kind of handbook on the conversion of the Mandaeans with the long title *Narratio originum, rituum, et errorum Christianorum Sancti Ioannis . . .* (1652). Just like previous missionaries, Ignatius was convinced that the Mandaeans had originally or in the past been Christians and thus their conversion really amounted to a return to the faith from which they had lapsed.

The interpretation of Mandaeanism offered by Ignatius was initially favorably received in Rome, but at the beginning of the eighteenth century it was replaced by a radical critical reappraisal by two Maronite priests, Abraham Ecchellensis and Joseph Simeon Assemani. Ecchellensis in particular was the first European to note the Gnostic dualistic nature of Mandaeism.

From the end of the eighteenth century European and especially German academic scholarship played a decisive part. Among the many scholars of theology, history, and Oriental languages who were interested in Mandaeism, an important position was occupied by the Swedish scholar Matthias Norberg. Between 1815 and 1816 Norberg published the *Codex Nasaraeus*, complete with relevant lexical material, but namely an erroneous transcription of the entire *Ginza* in Syriac alphabet. Following the fantastic stories of the Maronite Germano Conti di Aleppo, Norberg identified the Nusairi in an Islamic brotherhood of Lebanon (the text and theory are, from a scientific point of view, unreliable). Although criticized by subsequent scholars, the work of Norberg marks a significant stage, allowing an even wider audience to have access to Mandaean texts. He paved the way for Orientalists such as Heinrich Petermann, the scholar responsible for beginning the scientific study of Mandaeism, above all the Mandaean edition of the *Ginza* (1867), still used as a reference work in studies of Mandaean religion.

Among the more serious writing on the subject, the works of two German Orientalists, Theodore Nöldeke and Mark Lidzbarski, are extremely important. In 1875 the former compiled an essential Mandaean grammar, and the latter published and translated the most important texts. Setting Mandaeism in the broader context of the comparative history of religion may be dated to Wilhelm Brandt, followed by Richard Reitzenstein, Rudolf Bultmann, Hans Jonas, and latterly Kurt Rudolph, Edwin Yamauchi, and Jorunn J. Buckley. With the exception of Yamauchi, their studies have proved that Mandaean literature provides significant evidence of a Gnostic religion that flourished in late antiquity but with roots that presumably go back to a more remote, pre-Christian period. The Mandaeans are thus the last living witnesses of this religion and are important in the religious history of late antiquity. Intense speculation has sought to ascribe their origins in the history of early Christianity by identifying them as descendants of an ancient group of followers of John the Baptist. This point of view, as seen earlier, was already shared by the seventeenth-century Portuguese missionaries in Iraq; hence the long-standing practice of calling the Mandaeans "the Christians of Saint John." Even if it is not possible to support this theory, one can definitely state that Mandaean literature has preserved in its oldest writings evidence of the milieu, in the Orient, in which early Christianity developed, evidence that can be used to interpret certain New Testament writings (especially Johannine texts). Studies such as those by Viggo Schou-Pedersen, Eric Segelberg, Geo Widengren, Rudolf Macuch, and Kurt Rudolph have confirmed this.

Since the nineteenth century there have been numerous different attempts to understand surviving Mandaean oral tradition by greater understanding of their texts, including those by the German Orientalist Heinrich Petermann and the French vice consul of Mosul Nicolas Siouffi; in 1880 the latter wrote one of the most extensive and detailed accounts of Mandaeism to date. However, the extraordinary undertaking of collecting these sources was the work of the English scholar Lady Ethel Stefana Drower, the wife of the British consul in Baghdad. She used her abilities and indefatigable energy to record in precise detail the daily expressions of religion and worship of the religious community, and she obtained a series of previously unknown texts, available only to Mandaean priests, and published them in part. Thanks to the work of Drower scholars are thus in a position to obtain a much more accurate impression of the Mandaeans than was previously possible, especially as regards their worship and certain "secret" teachings. Along with this the works of Macuch have cast a new and detailed light on the development of the Mandaic language. He has been responsible for research and study on the Neo-Mandaic dialect as it is still spoken by the Mandaeans of Iran (particularly in Khuzistan). For a long time the lack of a dictionary of the Mandaean language was keenly felt, but one was published in 1963, compiled by Drower and Macuch, who made use of the works and largely unpublished notes of Mark Lidzbarski.

Modern studies on Mandaean religion have been boosted by two important conferences at Harvard in 1999 and Oxford in 2002. One should also note the dissemination of Mandaean culture by Majid Fandi Al-Mubaraki, a Mandaean who has published a variety of literary texts, including lesser ones, through his small publishing company. Philologists who have worked on Neo-Mandaic literature include the Italians Fabrizio A. Pennacchietti and his pupil Roberta Borghero.

ORIGINS AND INFLUENCES. A chronology of Mandaic literature is difficult because of the lack of historical evidence. It is possible to date only several parts of the *Ginza* and certain magical texts (magic bowls) with greater accuracy to the third and fourth centuries CE (according to Macuch, the second and third centuries CE). Their existence may be inferred from the doctrinal content of the main texts. Theodore bar Koni, a seventh-century CE Syrian heresiologist who wrote *Ketaba d-ʾeskolyon* or *Scholion*, in which he describes the "Dostheans" or Mandaeans, quotes several passages from the *Ginza.*

There are two possible approaches that may be adopted when studying this subject: to examine contemporary non-Mandaic evidence (Gnostic or Manichaean, for example) or to carry out internal textual analysis, studying the themes and literary style, examining the particular doctrinal contents of the text to establish a history of the tradition. The first method has been adopted by the Swedish Egyptologist Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, for example, who has shown through a comparison of parallel texts that part of a Mandaean hymnology already existed in the third century CE.

The Mandaeans consider their religion a direct divine emanation, created directly from the World of Light. Nonetheless certain clues may provide an answer to the question of their origin. Several texts have preserved a mythical geographical tradition describing a persecution of the community (or 360 "followers," *tarmide)* in Jerusalem by the Jews under the guidance of Adonai, Ruha, and their seven sons (the Planets), after which Jerusalem was destroyed as a punishment. In a quasi-historical text, the *Haran Gawaita*, it is mentioned that the Nasurai stayed in the "Mountain of the Maddai" (Tura d-Madai) or "inner Harran," where they took refuge under a king called Ardban (Artabanus), fleeing from the ruling Jews. The precise identity of this Artabanus is uncertain: Macuch has identified him with the Parthian king Artabanus III or Artabanus IV or V. Generally it seems that this may be placed within the context of a tradition describing in a mythical or legendary manner the penetration (perhaps only partial) of the group into territory that was then Iranian (between Harran and Nisibi or Media) during the late Parthian period (first or second century CE). Further on the same text describes the establishment of a community at Baghdad or in Mesopotamia and the Mandaeans' subsequent fortunes under the Sassanids.

This tradition also includes the events in Jerusalem, which here take place on the Euphrates, and the Mandaean legend of John the Baptist (Iahia, Iuhana), who is here called "the Prophet of the Kushta" (Truth) and "the Messenger of the King of Light." John is also mentioned in other texts, and the Mandaeans regard him as one of their own, representing him as their "Prophet" to Muslims. He is described as opposing Christ. As mentioned above, it has previously been inferred that the Mandaeans were descendants of the followers of John the Baptist. However, this theory has not been fully proven. Thus it is not possible to demonstrate that the Mandaeans possess their own independent tradition dating back to that period. It is clear that they had embraced and given a Mandaean interpretation to legends from heretical Christian (that is, Gnostic) circles, preserving the opposition between Jesus and John the Baptist. Furthermore John the Baptist is not a particularly central figure in Mandaean tradition.

A relationship between Mandaic traditions and Aramaic (i.e. Syro-Palestinian) Christianity can be established via stylistic analysis, especially of Johannine writings. Mandaean literature does not give any reason to believe that this religious community had been Christian during some earlier period, considering the extremely vehement hostility shown toward Christianity as a whole (Christ is regarded in an entirely negative light). On the other hand, based upon a large number of traditional and lexical indications and notwithstanding the harsh anti-Jewish polemic (Moses is regarded as the prophet of the evil "spirit" Ruha and Adonai as a false, evil god), the Jewish origin of this group appears, according to Macuch, to be incontrovertible. Another passage in the *Haran Gawaita* states that until the coming of Christ the Mandaeans "loved Lord Adonai." This could be a heterodox Jewish sect that, like the Essenes, openly held different opinions from official Judaism, embracing powerful Iranian and Gnostic influences and thus gradually isolating themselves. This clearly distinct position—in regard to the Jewish wars of liberation—led to the persecution of the community and ultimately to their emigration from the region of the Jordan (and indeed Jordan, that is, Yardna, is what they call the waters of baptism) to the east, first to Harran and the mountainous region of Media (Tura d-Madai) and then to the southern part of Mesopotamia (Caracene, Maisan).

The exodus from the west must have occurred during the second century CE at the latest, because certain Mesopotamian and Iranian-Parthian elements imply a rather lengthy period in the east. The theory is corroborated by links with trans-Jordan baptist sects (including with the one at Qumran) and with so-called Syrian Gnosis (*The Odes of Solomon*, the Sethians, the Naassenes, *Acts of Thomas*), also from certain surprising ancient Syrian lexical components in their language and mythology. It has been thought that Mani, the founder of Manichaeism, had absorbed Mandaean elements in his later works. The Manichaean *Psalms of Thomas* make clear the links, sometimes friendly and sometimes hostile, existing between the two religions. On the other hand, in the ninth book of the *Right Ginza* there is a dispute with the followers of Mar Mani.

The long-lasting settlement in the lands at the confluence of the Tigris and the Euphrates (the Shatt al-ʿArab) also brought about new developments within the community, such as the introduction of the Frash-Ziwa (the shining Euphrates) in place of the Jordan, the later development of ritual worship and religious hierarchy, the evolution of other Iranian ideas, and clearly also the re-creation in the new homeland of the situation in Palestine during the early days of the sect. There is also an increasing contrast with Christianity and the Christian missionary church, especially the Byzantine part. Christ "the Roman" is one who oppresses the community, whom it must be on its guard against.

In contrast to what occurred during the Arsacid period, under whom the sect enjoyed a tranquil existence (as shown by king Artabanus in the legendary story in the *Haran Gawaita*), relations with the Sassanids were not good. The *Haran Gawaita* talks of a considerable reduction in the number of Mandaean temples during that period. It is known only that under Shāpūr I (242–273 CE) there took place a persecution of foreign religions, including that of the Nasoreans (Kirdir inscription). Mandaean documents repeatedly mention curses against Muḥammad and his religion (especially in colophons). Islam also instigated other persecutions, despite the tolerance accorded to the "Sabaeans." Thus the persecuted community withdrew to more and more inaccessible marsh regions of southern Iraq, where it continues to exist, alongside other Aramaic Christian groups, dreaming about and longing for their own particular past, convinced that wickedness will soon disappear from this world.

The fundamental importance of the Mandaean religion lies in the fact that in its original essentials it may be considered as an expression—organized in a baptismal community—of Syrian Mesopotamian Gnosis, a clearly defined entity, a peculiar Aramaic social and linguistic unit, something that has not been proven for any Gnostic school. Its rich traditions offer the opportunity of studying this religious model of late antiquity with its typically Oriental origins, which by this time had disappeared from every other point of view, and in this way gaining some idea of the religious nature and inner life of a Gnostic community.

This is the generally accepted reconstruction of scholars (Rudolph is among the most influential). Yet clear links with the *Gospel of John*, the *Odes of Solomon*, and several Gnostic texts leave open the possibility that Mandaean traditions date back to a pre-Christian age, a theory that at the beginning of the twentieth century enthralled leading scholars, such as Reitzenstein or Bultmann, who formulated a major philological historiographical construct based upon a theory of this kind.

The oldest evidence of Mandaic writing comes from second and third century CE Caracene coinage. According to Macuch, these reveal surprising similarities with the Elymean inscriptions at Tang-e Sarwak in Khuzistan. On the other hand, these indicate knowledge of the Nabatean alphabet. Macuch was completely convinced that the ancient Mandaeans should be regarded as an important link between the Nabatean and Elymean cultures, namely that they had brought the script with them from the west and had passed it on to the Elymeans. Clearly this assumes that the Mandaeans effectively either "invented" or transmitted this writing system. Furthermore Macuch maintained that the Mandaeans should be associated with Aramean penetration of Khuzistan and Caracene. If so the Mandaeans should no longer be regarded as isolated and self-contained but rather as an important means by which Aramean culture was diffused throughout the Orient as well as linked to the development of the Middle-Persian Pahlavi script. The Iranian theory of Widengren is based upon such speculation. According to the distinguished Swedish scholar, the Mandaean religion is the result of the development of three main religious environments that are at times clearly distinguishable. The first, the Judeo-Semitic and Western, constitutes the Palestinian milieu in which Mandaeism was born and developed. The essentially Jewish aspects of Mandaean Gnosis, including the figure of John the Baptist, in fact come from this layer, which is the oldest. The Mesopotamian component is next, made up of archaic Babylonian traditional elements, recognizable in the large number of Akkadian linguistic loan-words as well as in a large number of mythical and ritual themes, not least the sacred kingship. Finally, there is the Iranian part, which is imbued with religious ideas and concepts most probably taken from the doctrines of the Mazdean-Zurvanite Magi of Media Atropatene, in particular beliefs concerning human redemption expressed in the dogma of Savior Saved may be derived from these.

Such ideas, originating from an Iranian milieu, would define the characteristics of Mandaeism in terms of Gnosticism and dualism. Thus it is likely that Mani, the founder of the "Religion of Light," grew in a community of baptists linked to the Mandaeans, the Elchasaites. Given what has been said so far, one must therefore agree with Widengren that "without a detailed understanding of Mandaic language and literature, it is impossible to have a genuine and precise concept of ancient Gnosticism" (*Handbuch der Orientalistik, VIII*, 1961, p. 98). It is not necessary to suppose a Palestinian Judeo-Semitic milieu, because Jewish communities were present in Mesopotamia since at least the sixth century BCE.

SEE ALSO Ablutions; Baptism; Ginza; Gnosticism, article on Gnosticism from Its Origins to the Middle Ages; Manda d'Hiia; Manichaeism, overview article.

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MAṆḌALAS

This entry consists of the following articles:

HINDU MAṆḌALAS
BUDDHIST MAṆḌALAS

MAṆḌALAS: HINDU MAṆḌALAS

The *maṇḍala*, a complex geometric design, is used in Hindu rituals in order to involve the whole cosmos in the ritual act. *Maṇḍala*s were first described in Tantric texts, but they already appear there in such detail and in such highly evolved forms that an earlier, unrecorded tradition of *maṇḍala* construction must be assumed.

The interest of the early Hindus in geometric designs with cosmological implications is attested by the careful construction of Vedic altars mentioned in the *Taitti-rīya Saṃhitā* (5.4.11) and in the *Baudhāyana Śulvaśāstra* and the *Āpasthamba Śulvaśāstra*. The best-known design is the falcon-shaped altar for the Agnicayana ritual. In this design, well-defined places are demarcated as seats for the gods during the ritual. Other geometrically shaped altars were in the forms of triangles, wheels, and so forth. They all developed out of a basic design, called *caturaśraśyenacit*, a fire altar "resembling a falcon [constructed] from squares." The shape of a particular *maṇḍala* depends on the special purpose of the sacrifice.

Another description of the geometrical designs for ritualistic purposes is found in the Vastuśātras, the handbooks on architecture. Instead of an outline in reduced scale, the Indian architect used a square (*vastumaṇḍala*) consisting of a grid of 64, 81, or more small squares as the starting point of a temple construction. Such a *vastumaṇḍala* was regarded as the body of the cosmic being (*vastupuruṣa*) in whose various parts the main deity, auxiliary deities, and temple guardians resided. The *vastumaṇḍala* is often closely connected with the actual design of the building and assures the builder of the presence of the gods.

Square forms, in contrast to the circular plans of Hindu and Jain cosmology, are also the basis for Hindu *maṇḍala*s used in Pāñcarātra (Vaiṣṇava Tantra) as well as Śaiva and Śākta Tantric rituals. The most elaborate designs to appear in the Pāñcarātra ritual are described in the *Lakṣmī Tantra* (c. tenth century CE), which contains a whole chapter on *maṇḍala* construction, and in the earlier *Jayākhya Saṃhitā.*

These texts prescribe at the beginning of the worship the construction of a square, which is divided into 256 small squares. The 16 small squares at the center and 8 squares of identical size at the margins are filled with one lotus each. The great square has gates and is surrounded by *śobhās* (ramparts; literally, "ornaments") and *koṇas* ("corners"). This *maṇḍala* is called Navapadma Maṇḍala ("*maṇḍala* of nine lotuses." The texts state that no matter whether the deity is worshiped in an image, in a pitcher, or under any other circumstances, the worshiper should always "recall to his mind the nine lotuses" of the *maṇḍala*, "which contains the whole world and is the exalted home of all gods, which encompasses all [other] loci and is the paramount abode" (*Lakṣmī Tantra* 37.22, 37.25). The Pañcarātrins also used a Cakrābja Maṇḍala ("*maṇḍala* having a lotus circle"), in which a large lotus fills the entire great square. A third form, the Navanābha Maṇḍala ("*maṇḍala* of the nine navels") has the great square divided into nine smaller squares, in each of which is a seat (*bimba*) for one of the nine manifestations of Lakṣmī (i.e., Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Nārāyaṇa, Virāṭṭ, Viṣṇu, Narasiṃha, and Varāha).

In several North Indian Tantric Śaiva and Śākta texts, *maṇḍala* worship is mentioned along with the *dīkṣā* ("initiation") ceremony, (e.g., *Prapañcasāra Tantra* 5.36–70). The similarities in preparation and designs with those of the Pāñcarātrins is striking: in both traditions a pavilion must be erected over the prepared ground on which the *maṇḍala* is to be constructed. Of four *maṇḍala*s, mentioned in Tantric texts, the first, called Sarvatobhadra Maṇḍala ("*maṇḍala* that is auspicious on every side"), is identical with the Navapadma Maṇḍala; the second is only its smaller variant. The third, the Navanabha *Maṇḍala*, is identical in form with the *maṇḍala* of the same name of the Pāñcarātrins, but instead of the nine seats for deities it has five lotuses and four *svāstikas.* The fourth *maṇḍala* is identical with the third but has only five lotuses and no *svāstikas.* Therefore, it is called Pañcābja Maṇḍala ("*maṇḍala* of five lotuses"). During the initiation ceremony among the Pāñcarātrins and among Tantrics, the blindfolded adept is led to the *maṇḍala* and throws flowers upon it. The deity on whose seat the flowers fall will provide him with a name or will become his special object of worship.

In their daily and thus more private rituals, Tantrics of all denominations start the ritual with the drawing of geometrical designs in vermilion or red sandalwood paste on a purified surface. For the devotee, these diagrams are a source of cosmic power and the place on which the deity dwells during the ritual. Although such diagrams are also often called *maṇḍala*s and their function of providing a proper abode for the deity is the same as in the *dīkṣā* rituals, it has become customary to call the simpler designs for daily worship *yantras*, and to reserve the term *maṇḍala* for the larger ones in public ceremonies where the whole cosmos has to be present.

Hindu *maṇḍala*s have attracted the curiosity of modern symbolists and psychoanalysts such as Mircea Eliade and C. G. Jung. However, as their interpretations are not always based on the evidence of the available texts, the explanatory value of these studies is limited. A definitive history of the geometric designs used in Hindu rituals has yet to be written.

SEE ALSO Tantrism; Temple, article on Hindu Temples; Yantra.

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MAṆḌALAS: BUDDHIST MAṆḌALAS

In general terms, the Sanskrit word *maṇḍala* (Tib., *dkyil 'khor*) refers to something that is round or circular. *Maṇḍala* also designates a region, terrestrial division, domain, assembly, or group. In Tantric traditions, the term *maṇḍala* often refers to a space with a specific structure that is enclosed and delimited by a circumferential line into which a deity or deities are invited by means of *mantras.* This space is often a circle, but may also appear as a square, a triangle, or another shape.

The center of a *maṇḍala* contains an image or symbol of the main deity, the *maṇḍaleśa* or *maṇḍala* lord, for which the *maṇḍala* is named. The *maṇḍaleśa* is identified with the whole *maṇḍala*, and the surrounding deities are the *maṇḍaleśa*'s aspects. The number of residents of a *maṇḍala* (e.g., buddhas, *bodhisattvas*, deities, consorts, offering goddesses, and gatekeepers) differs according to specific schools, giving rise to many varieties of *maṇḍalas*, which are difficult to classify. A simple *maṇḍala* has only one *maṇḍaleśa* with four surrounding deities situated in the four cardinal directions. This simple structure can be expanded by adding four more divine beings in the intermediate directions. Thus, the divinities surrounding the *maṇḍaleśa* usually number eight or multiples of eight. Greater complexity of the basic structure is achieved by increasing the number of divinities surrounding the center, by varying their spatial relationship to the center, and by grouping them around the center in circles of increasing distance.

Maṇḍalas can be classified structurally as unicyclic, with only one inner circle; bi-cyclic, with a second circle; tricyclic; and quadricyclic. The circles within some tricyclic *maṇḍalas* are called the body *maṇḍala*, the speech *maṇḍala*, and the mind *maṇḍala*, according to the way in which the deities are represented. Generally, the deities can be represented in one of three ways. They may appear as images with iconographic characteristics, in symbolic form, or as seed syllables (*bīja*), which are *mantras* of deities and are thus considered identical to them. The symbols are often identical with the attributes held by the images. In the body *maṇḍala*, the deities are represented as anthropomorphic images with iconographic attributes; in the speech *maṇḍala*, they are represented by their seed syllables; and in the mind *maṇḍala*, they are represented by their symbols.

Composite *maṇḍalas* consist of several individual *maṇḍalas*, each with a central deity. While the simplest *maṇḍala* houses one to five deities, more complex *maṇḍalas* may accommodate several hundred or more than one thousand deities. The *maṇḍala* structure can function as an important device for representing the pantheon of deities in a system or school, as well as the hierarchy of deities within the system. The hierarchical status of the *maṇḍala* inhabitants declines as one moves away from the center, and those in the outermost ring generally function only as guardians. The element of distance from the *maṇḍala's* center assumed importance when it came to including Brahmanic and Hindu deities, who were regularly assigned to the periphery of the *maṇḍala*.

There is no single uniform *maṇḍala* pattern. *Maṇḍalas* display various shapes and consist of different constituent parts, depending on the traditions of different schools, the ritual application, the deity worshiped, and the practitioner's qualifications and goals. It must be emphasized, however, that the *maṇḍala* is not merely a physical structure with a specific design. It is the place in which the practitioner beholds the deities who have been invoked into the *maṇḍala* and so have become an integral part of the structure.

One basic structural element of *maṇḍalas* (and *yantras*) is the lotus design. The lotus is a South Asian symbol of creation, purity, transcendence, and the sphere of the absolute, but it is especially known as a symbol of the female reproductive organ. In *maṇḍalas* of lotus design, the central deity is positioned in the pericarp, with the emanations or subordinate deities in the petals. A lotus design may feature one or more concentric rings of petals. Four-petaled and eight-petaled lotus designs are the most common. The petals of an eight-petaled lotus ideally point in the cardinal and intermediate directions and are thus well suited for positioning deities in their respective directions. Eight-petaled lotus designs are commonly found in the center of Buddhist (and also Hindu and Jain) *maṇḍalas*, such as in some versions of the *maṇḍala* of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas. The free-standing lotus *maṇḍalas*, which were manufactured in India from brass and later in Tibet from other metals, also feature an eight-petaled lotus with a statue of a *tathāgata* in the center and small statues of surrounding deities on the lotus petals. A pattern of nine lotuses arranged in groups of three placed one above the other appears in several important *maṇḍalas*, including versions of the Buddhist *vajradhātumaṇḍala*; this pattern also appears in Hindu Tantric *maṇḍalas*, such as versions of the *Pāñcarātra navapadmamaṇḍala* and the *Śaiva navanābhamaṇḍala*.

Maṇḍalas of the goddess Vajravārāhī (Vajrayoginī) include a hexagram consisting of two superimposed equilateral triangles, one pointing upwards and the other downwards. The triangles, which are also found in Hindu *maṇḍalas* and *yantras*, symbolize the union of the female and male principles. The hexagram is a widespread symbol and has been used for decorative purposes or as a magical sign in many cultures. It is also known as Magen David, the Shield of David, or as the Seal of Solomon.

Maṇḍalas have been used in different ways in various traditions. Indian Buddhist Tantric texts attest to their use in rituals, most importantly in Tantric consecration or empowerment (*abhiṣeka*) rites, which form part of a ritual initiation by a Tantric teacher. The number of empowerments received by the disciple differs according to the type of initiation. In the garland empowerment, a blindfolded initiate casts a flower on the *maṇḍala* in front of him. The initiate's buddha family is then determined from the place in the *maṇḍala* where the flower has fallen. A similar ritual is also known in Hindu Tantric traditions. *Maṇḍalas* for such temporary use in a specific ritual are prepared from various materials, including colored powders. After they have fulfilled their purposes, the *maṇḍalas* are ritually obliterated. The actual size of *maṇḍalas* differs according to the practitioner's means and goals. At times they are large enough for the practitioner to enter and move along pathways in them. *Maṇḍalas* are also visualized as part of Tantric *sādhana*s (described below).

MAṆḌALAS IN INDIAN BUDDHIST TEXTS. Descriptions of *maṇḍalas* for visualization appear in Indian *sādhana* texts in such collections as the *Sādhanamālā*. Some of these texts may date back to the ninth century CE or earlier. The term *sādhana* refers both to the methods employed by Tantric practitioners for the worship of a particular deity and the texts written to guide practitioners, often called yogins, in worship. As part of a *sādhana*, the practitioner may mentally create a *maṇḍala* of a deity in the following manner. After completing certain preliminary rites, the practitioner visualizes in succession: (1) an outer enclosure of ritual thunderbolt scepters (*vajra*); (2) a pavilion made of thunderbolt scepters; (3) a floor of adamantine stones; and (4) an outer boundary. Next the practitioner visualizes a white downward-pointing triangle inside the pavilion; this is the symbol of the female generative principle, called the "origin of existents" (*dharmodayā*), which is said to consist of space. Such an inverted triangle is also common in Hindu *maṇḍalas* and *yantras*, where it is a symbol of the female pubic triangle, sex organ, and womb. In the center of the triangle the practitioner visualizes a lotus with multicolored petals, and in its pericarp a five-pronged crossed thunderbolt scepter (*viśvavajra*) having the form of space. The spheres of the four great elements (wind, fire, water, earth), arising through the transformation of specific seed syllables, are configured atop one another in the center of the crossed thunderbolt scepter. Generated from the transformation of the four elements, the practitioner then visualizes a square palace, made from various jewels, with four gates, eight columns (two at each gate), four verandas, and four arches. The palace is decorated with garlands, half-garlands, mirrors, fly-whisks, various banners, bells, and other ornaments. In its innermost part the practitioner visualizes an eight-petaled lotus within whose pericarp the deity is enthroned.

Other patterns for *maṇḍala* visualization do not feature the origin of existents but call for the palace to be situated in the pavilion made of thunderbolt scepters and to rest on the five-pronged thunderbolt scepter, which is inside the pericarp of a huge lotus with multicolored petals. The lotus in turn rests on Mount Sumeru, which is surrounded by the oceans, continents, and subcontinents.

Structural elements of *maṇḍalas* appear more clearly in complex three-dimensional *maṇḍalas* made of such materials as wood, metal, or even precious stones. Three-dimensional *maṇḍalas* are already mentioned in the *Dharmamaṇḍalasūtra* by Buddhaguhya, a text composed in the eighth century and extant only in its Tibetan translation. This work deals with various aspects of the *maṇḍala* and its symbolism. The *Niṣpannayogāvalī* and *Vajrāvalī*, two complementary works by Abhayākaragupta that were written around 1100, are important documents for the study of late Indian Tantric *maṇḍalas*. Both texts describe in great detail twenty-six *maṇḍalas* from various Tantric traditions, including a version of the *kālacakramaṇḍala*. The *Niṣpannayogāvalī* focuses on the three-dimensional forms of these *maṇḍalas* for visualization (*bhāvyamaṇḍala*) and describes in detail the iconography of deities. The *Vajrāvalī* explains the construction and ritual use of two-dimensional *maṇḍalas*, which are to be drawn or painted (*lekhyamaṇḍala*) on the ground. In visualized *maṇḍalas*, the deities are mentally seen with their distinct iconographic characteristics, whereas in drawn *maṇḍalas* they are usually only represented by corresponding symbols (*cihna*, *samaya*). The elaborate ritual descriptions in the *Vajrāvalī* begin with the selection and purification of the site and the drawing of the lines of the *maṇḍala*, and include important details of the consecration rituals.

***MAṆḌALAS* IN THE TIBETAN AND NEVĀR BUDDHIST TRADITIONS.** Permanent *maṇḍalas* painted on cloth are known as *paṭa* (Skt.), *thaṅka* (Tib.), and *paubhāḥ* or *paubāhāḥ* (Nevārī). Such *maṇḍalas* on cloth are commonly found in the Tibetan and Nevār Buddhist traditions as objects of general worship, and must have been popular in India as well since simpler versions, which assign anthropomorphic images of deities in the directions and have been called proto-*maṇḍalas*, are described in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (eighth to eleventh century). Important painted *maṇḍala* collections of the later Tibetan tradition include the Ṅor collection, a set of 132 *maṇḍalas* produced at Ṅor Monastery, the headquarters of the Tibetan Sa skya (Sakya) pa Ṅor sect. The collection forms part of a voluminous work, the *Rgyud sde kun btus* (Compendium of Tantras), which is based on earlier *maṇḍala* texts and encompasses all Tibetan Tantric traditions, with an emphasis on the Sa skya sect. The text was compiled and the *maṇḍala* paintings were produced in Eastern Tibet during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Maṇḍalas are also painted on the walls and ceilings of temples in the Tibetan and Nevār Buddhist traditions, a practice that continues today. The painting of *maṇḍalas* became part of the Bon tradition of Tibet, which is still active as an organized religion and has absorbed considerable Buddhist influence. In addition to the painting of *maṇḍalas*, a tradition of manufacturing and installing stone *maṇḍalas* of Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara, a form of Mañjuśrī, for the purposes of worship started around the seventeenth century among Nevār Buddhists. Many such stone *maṇḍalas* can be found in the Kathmandu Valley.

A two-dimensional painted or drawn *maṇḍala* represents a three-dimensional *maṇḍala* structure from a bird's-eye view. The outer parts of Tibetan painted *maṇḍalas* are often made up of several concentric rings. The outermost rim consists of a circle of fire, with the flames represented by a line of scrollwork. This flame barrier is usually depicted in five colors: blue, red, green, white, and yellow. Contiguous to the circle of fire is a dark, impenetrable wall of thunderbolt scepters. Some texts identify it with the ring mountain of Buddhist cosmology, the world's most exterior boundary. Such a circle of thunderbolt scepters can appear in different positions on a *maṇḍala*. Its general function is that of a separator between the outer rings of the *maṇḍala*.

In some cases, especially in *maṇḍalas* of wrathful deities, a circle containing eight cremation grounds (*śmaśāna*) follows. They are represented as places of religious practice, with four in the cardinal and four in the intermediate directions. The cremation grounds are modeled on a detailed iconographic plan. Each site has been assigned a specific mountain, relic shrine (stupa), river, tree, and ascetic who practices there. An ocean appears between each of the cremation grounds. In some *maṇḍalas* the circle of cremation grounds is found in the outermost part of the *maṇḍala*, outside the circle of fire. The cremation grounds encircle a ring of multicolored lotus petals. These are the petals of the huge lotus, which is conceived of as supporting the entire *maṇḍala* structure. Inside these enclosures is a park-like courtyard, often filled with water or cloud motifs, or displaying symbols of victory and auspiciousness.

A square palace appears in the center of the *maṇḍala*. Each of the four sides of the palace is interrupted by a T-shaped gate guarded by a gatekeeper. The palace rests on a foundation consisting of a crossed thunderbolt scepter, whose prongs project beyond the T-shaped gates. The palace has an inner courtyard of four basic colors that represent the four directions, usually white (east), yellow (south), red (west), and green (north). The center of the palace, usually marked off by another circle, contains the throne of the deity, which takes such shapes as that of a lotus flower or a wheel. These structural parts of the *maṇḍala* may be adorned elaborately in various ways.

A comparison between the structural elements of some extant painted *maṇḍalas* in the Tibetan tradition and those of the visualized *maṇḍalas* described in Indian *sādhana* texts shows many similarities. The fire circle of the painted *maṇḍala* corresponds to the outer boundary, which is visualized as surrounding the whole *maṇḍala* structure on all sides like a fire. According to some *sādhana* texts this circle is visualized in five colors, as in the Tibetan *maṇḍala* paintings. The circle of ritual thunderbolt scepters corresponds to the outer enclosure of thunderbolt scepters, which is identified with the ring mountain in cosmology. The huge crossed thunderbolt scepter of painted *maṇḍalas*, upon which the *maṇḍala* palace stands, corresponds to the crossed thunderbolt scepter (*viśvavajra*) visualized as resting on the lotus inside the origin of existents. The multicolored lotus petals in the painted *maṇḍalas* are the petals of this lotus.

Offering *maṇḍalas*. While the basic structure of the *maṇḍala* suggests that it was originally intended to portray the central deity as a king on a throne surrounded by his court inside a palace, various theological and philosophical concepts and schemes became associated with the *maṇḍala* structure when the *maṇḍala* symbolism evolved to more intricate and complex levels in the course of time. Such elements as the four gates of the *maṇḍala* were identified with categories of the Buddhist path. Iconographic characteristics of the *maṇḍala* deities were interpreted as expressing Buddhist truths. This development naturally led to various interpretations of the *maṇḍala* structure. The interpretations are extremely varied so that even a single text may provide more than one interpretation of the structural elements of a *maṇḍala*.

In *The Theory and Practice of the Maṇḍala*, Giuseppe Tucci called the *maṇḍala* "a map of the cosmos" and a "psychocosmogram" (Tucci, 1961, p. 23). These terms have been taken over by many later authors, who speak about the *maṇḍala* as a "cosmogram." This can be misleading, since we do not find representations of the continents in deity *maṇḍalas*, although cosmological notions often became associated with them. The "world" depicted in a deity *maṇḍala* is mostly a divine, transcendent world, distinguishable from the universe offered up in another kind of *maṇḍala*, the offering *maṇḍala*.

The offering *maṇḍala* or Mount Meru *maṇḍala*, which is widely known in the Tibetan tradition, is the symbolic offering of the spheres of the universe to a deity or preceptor. This *maṇḍala* represents the component parts of the universe according to ancient Indian cosmology: Mount Meru, the four continents, the eight subcontinents, the sun and moon, and the symbols of wealth and auspiciousness. The offering is made in containers of various shapes and materials. The most commonly used container consists of a round plate topped by hollow concentric metal rings of decreasing diameter and held in position by the grain offering that is placed inside. A decoration, which may include the wheel of the law, is placed on the top of the *maṇḍala*. Handfuls of grain, signifying the components of the universe, are generally heaped into the concentric rings. In this way the donor makes an offering of the universe in miniature. A similar scheme is also represented by free-standing brass, silver, beaded, or wooden structures, which are often placed on altars. Similar to the Tibetan offering *maṇḍala* is the *gurumaṇḍala*, which figures prominently in rituals of Nevār Buddhists. It is an ancient ritual offering of Mount Meru and the continents to the *gurū*, identified with the transcendental Buddha Vajrasattva.

MAṆḌALAS IN JAPANESE SHINGON BUDDHISM. *Maṇḍalas* also play an important role in the Shingon and Tendai esoteric schools of Japanese Buddhism. Kūkai (774–835 CE), who received a Buddhist Tantric transmission of Indian origin from his teacher Hui-ko (746–805) in China, is credited with bringing to Japan copies of a pair of *maṇḍalas*. The paired *maṇḍalas* assumed a prominent role in the ritual of the Shingon school that Kūkai subsequently founded, which aims at integrating the individual with the Buddha. The two *maṇḍalas* are said to represent the two aspects of the *dharma*, the knower and the known, which are viewed as two aspects of the same reality. One is the so-called Womb or Matrix *Maṇḍala* (Skt., *garbhamaṇḍala* or [*mahākaruṇā*]-*garbhodbhavamaṇḍala*; Jpn., *taizō mandara* or *daihi taizō shō mandara*), meaning "*maṇḍala* generated from the womb of Great Compassion." The other *maṇḍala* is the Thunderbolt Realm *Maṇḍala* (Jpn., *kongōkai mandara*), which is one of several known versions of a *vajradhātumaṇḍala*. The Womb *Maṇḍala* features in its center the familiar pattern of an eight-petaled lotus with Mahāvairocana occupying the throne. The Thunderbolt Realm *Maṇḍala* can best be categorized as a composite *maṇḍala*, an aggregate of originally nine individual *maṇḍalas* arranged horizontally and vertically in rows of three. When viewed collectively, these individual *maṇḍalas* are referred to as the "assemblies." Structurally, the Thunderbolt Realm *Maṇḍala* can be compared to the above-mentioned nine-lotus *maṇḍalas*. In addition to these two fundamental *maṇḍalas*, other *maṇḍalas* are also known in these esoteric Japanese traditions.

SPECULATIONS ON THE ORIGINS OF THE _MAṆḌALA_. The origins of the Buddhist Tantric *maṇḍala* are not yet clearly understood. Several scholars have suggested that all Tantric *maṇḍalas* are rooted in Vedic traditions. The layout of Vedic altars is taken as indicative of an early interest in geometric designs endowed with cosmological symbolism. The method of determining the lines of the compass for the construction of sacrificial altars, the consecration of bricks on the surface of a *cayana* altar by means of *mantras* and the locating of deities on the bricks are essential features of Vedic rituals, and aspects of these rituals recur in the practice of constructing *maṇḍalas* and invoking deities into their parts. The sacred space of *maṇḍalas* and *yantras* can be seen as a continuation of the Vedic sacrificial site, and the square enclosure of many Tantric *maṇḍalas* can be seen as an analogue of the sacred fire altar. But the similarities between the two traditions are limited, since the patterns displayed by Tantric *maṇḍalas* are distinctly different, as are the details of the rites and the *mantras* and deities invoked. Influences from other traditions must also have played an important role in the development of the *maṇḍala*.

Ronald M. Davidson pointed out similarities between Buddhist *maṇḍala* structures and structural elements of political systems. He suggested a derivation of the form and functions of Buddhist *maṇḍalas* from the political situation in early medieval India, with the *maṇḍala* replicating the feudal system of vassals (*sāmanta*) and the relationship between overlords and peripheral states. This derivation, however, can only account for selected *maṇḍala* patterns. Earlier, Stanley J. Tambiah had interpreted *maṇḍalas* as patterns for social organization.

Some scholars have considered the Wheel of Existence (*bhavacakra*) as an antecedent of the Buddhist Tantric *maṇḍala*. The Wheel of Existence, whose earliest representation is a fifth-century painting found on the wall of cave 17 in Ajaṇṭā, is a graphic and pictorial didactic device for explaining Buddhist teachings, namely the endless cycle of birth and death. It differs considerably from a *maṇḍala* in its nature and function, since it is not concerned with deities and their emanations in the way *maṇḍalas* are. The *kasiṇa* disks used as concentration devices in early Buddhism and recommended, for example, in Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga*, have also been invoked as antecedents of *maṇḍalas*. However, these are plain disks and, unlike *maṇḍalas*, do not represent sacred space. Others have pointed to the symbolism and architectural form of stupas as contributing factors to the development of the Tantric *maṇḍala*. In contrast, Siegbert Hummel assumed that *maṇḍalas* originated outside India, probably in Tibet or China. Tucci believed that the symbolism of the *maṇḍala* was derived from the ziggurats of ancient Mesopotamia. These were towers built of mud brick with a square foundation and five (later seven) terraces, outside staircases, and a shrine at the summit.

Maṇḍala-like patterns are also found on Chinese mirrors, which led Schuyler Cammann to postulate the derivation of the Tibetan *maṇḍala* paintings from the Han dynasty's "TLV" mirrors. Cammann studied TLV patterns—three sets of angles, resembling the letters *T*, *L*, and *V*—on the backsides of Chinese mirrors used between 100 BCE and 100 CE. TLV patterns seem to represent the universe, but the symbolism of the mirror designs is still a matter of debate. The Chinese mirrors depict the square earth—that is, the Middle Kingdom, or China—at the center of the world with four T-shaped gates. In Tibetan *maṇḍalas* the T-shaped gates are also visible, but they are crowned with elaborate structures. Squares with T-shaped gates (called *earth squares*) are common elements of Hindu *yantras* as well. In the Chinese mirrors, the outer circle is thought to represent the sky, as indicated by a continuous string of clouds or "drifting cloud" design. In the Tibetan *maṇḍala*, however, the scrollwork on the outer ring represents fire.

SEE ALSO Buddhist Meditation, article on Tibetan Buddhist Meditation; Labyrinth; Mahāvairocana; Tantrism, overview article; Temple.

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GUDRUN BÜHNEMANN (2005)

MANI, the founder of Manichaeism—an important Gnostic and universal religion with pronounced syncretic tendencies and a marked missionary driving force—was born in the year 527 of the Seleucid calendar, which was calculated in Babylon as starting on April 3, 311 BCE. According to the evidence of al-Birunial-Bīrūnī, this equates to the year 216–217 CE, during the reign of the last Arsacid Parthian ruler, Ardawan (r. 213–224 CE). A comparison with Chinese and Coptic sources allows an even more accurate dating of his birth, in the spring of April 14, 216.

The Greek name *Manichaios* (Latin, *Manichaeus*) is a transcription of a name of Semitic origin, *Mani Hayya* (Mani the Living). The epithet *Hayya* (Living) indicated a particular quality of divine beings or benign individuals providing healing and life-giving power. The term thus represents an important feature of the spiritual life work of Mani: namely, his desire to establish himself as a doctor and healer of both body and soul, performing various miraculous cures that are mentioned in the stories and hagiographic accounts of his life. The honorific title "Lord Mani" (*Mar Mani*), was also known to the Chinese via the transcription *Mo-mo-ni* and to the Tibetans as *Mar Ma-ne*. The form *Manes* (the madman) was used in etymological wordplay (*mania*, "madness") by opponents in order to attack what they considered the absurd nature of his teaching. In the same way, the original Aramaic word *mana* (vessel), was turned around so that instead of being the "vessel of life" (*mana hayya*), insulting epithets were coined, such as the "vessel of Evil" (Ephraim) or "vessel of the Anti-Christ" (*Acta Archelai*).

INTRODUCTION. Third-century CE Mesopotamia was a flourishing province of Parthian, and later the Sassanid, empire. It had a high level of civilization and urban and commercial development (in contrast to the Iranian upland, with its agricultural economy and its predominantly warrior, feudal society). This aristocratic environment, based upon particular, overtly national values, was encouraged by Sassanid Zoroastrianism and the priestly cast of the magi, whose ascendancy was growing thanks to the groundwork of the high priest Kirdīr.

It was this aristocratic environment of Mesopotamia that came into conflict with the universalism of Mani and his ascetic teachings (preaching abstinence from agricultural labor and marriage), a situation that risked jeopardizing the religious, social, and economic basis of the empire. This increased importance of trade was not well-regarded in Zoroastrian ethical thought, in contrast to Manichaeism, in which we find an imaginary merchant ship (in the figurative language of its parables) and metaphors such as the Treasure and the Pearl, or the Merchant traveling in search of valuable merchandise, representing the itinerant nature of the seeker of knowledge, a feature common to both Manichaeism and Buddhism.

The extensive movement of peoples and goods in Mesopotamia encouraged religious, philosophical, and cultural interchange. The close proximity of beliefs from the Hellenism of late antiquity, Chaldean astrology, esoteric and Gnostic communities, and elements of Semitic paganism all produced a particularly syncretic environment. Furthermore, the vigor and growing spread of Christian proselytism now existed alongside Judaism, which had become entrenched over several centuries, and both Zoroastrianism and Buddhism had a presence in those areas adjacent to the great caravan routes that had encouraged the spread of Buddhism from India to Central Asia.

All of these belief systems influenced the spiritual development of Mani to varying degrees. Such an auspicious situation, in terms of geography and culture—cosmopolitan, eclectic, and with flourishing trade—opened a wide range of possibilities in terms of religious and philosophical opportunities. The distinctive features that caused the emergence of Mani, in the context of a varied and dynamic social outlook, were suffused with a concern for metaphysical and religious inquiry. His father, Patek, was no stranger to these views, for he belonged to the Elkasite baptismal community (the *Mughtasilah*—"those who are washed, who are purified"—mentioned bythe Arabic chronicler al-Nadīm [d. 995]).

BEGINNINGS. Mani was born in a place in northern Babylon, at Gaukhai in the Bēth Derāyē region, of Iranian parents. His father, Patek, was from Hamadan and his mother, Maryam, was from the noble Parthian Kamsaragan family. Mani's origins were a source of pride to him; he was aware that he came from an important part of the world in terms of its cultural, social, and religious relevance—a clear indication of its spiritual vitality. Mani *al-babiliyu* ("the Babylonian") as he was called in Arabic sources, would refer to the land of his birth on numerous occasions, with gratitude that he came from a cosmopolitan, eclectic land, a privileged starting point for his universalistic and missionary impulse. This drove him to spread his message in far-off lands: "A thankful pupil am I (Mani), I have come from the land of Babylon, I have come from the land of Babylon and I am posted at the door of Truth . . . I have come forth from the land of Babylon so that I might shout a call into the world" (M4a, Parthian).

The ancient prestige of Babylon—"gateway of the gods" (*bāb-ilāni*), as its name means—would thus be enhanced according to new needs of faith and salvation as a "gateway of Truth," as a means of getting to heaven, in line with the symbolism found in the language of various Gnostic and Manichaean passages, which regard religious teaching as a "gateway of salvation" (*dar ī uzēnišn*; M 5714, Middle Persian). The gates were opened by a savior who would proclaim a "call," launched by Mani to begin the missionary preaching drive, starting with the apostle himself, who was the first of the "heralds" of the message of salvation to be spread throughout the world.

Descriptions of Mani also survive in the polemical and heresiological works of Christian writers and confirm that his physical appearance was twofold—both Iranian and Mesopotamian, as when, in the *Acta Archelai* (XIV.3), Mani is described arriving dressed in "a multi-colored cloak of a somewhat ethereal appearance, while in his hand he held a very strong staff made of ebony-wood. He carried a Babylonian book under his left arm and he had covered his legs with trousers of different colors, one of them scarlet and the other colored leek-green, and his appearance was like that of an old Persian magician or warlord." Persian in appearance, like a wise man or magician as well as a warrior—for his clothes resembled that of a priest of the god Mithras (again, according to the *Acta Archelai* [XL.7])—this description of Mani is a clear and figurative representation of the dual nature of his ethnic and cultural roots—Iranian and Mesopotamian—and also illustrates another extremely important detail of the missionary activity and artistic and cultural output of Manichaeism—namely, the book.

Another epithet, "apostle," also appears in a Syriac inscription ("Mani, Apostle of Jesus Christ," a formula used by Mani to refer to himself that occurs in the *Epistula Fundamenti* passed on by Augustine) inscribed on rock crystal, on which there also appears what seems to be a picture of Mani in the center of a triptych of figures. He is wearing a hat and a band, his hair is flowing, and he has a long beard with a parting in the middle. Another representation, on a copper plate from the Oldenburg expedition in Turkestan, instead shows an image with oriental features. Here, Mani has long hair over his shoulders and a Middle Persian inscription, "the face of the Apostle of Light." Another probable depiction, more Chinese in style, is on a wall painting of Kočo (VIII-IX sec.), showing him as a church dignitary surrounded by his elect, with a beard and mustache, a richly-decorated hat, and a halo consisting of a lunar crescent surrounding a reddish-white solar disk.

THE PHYSICAL BODY AND FIRST TEACHINGS. According to the Arabic sources—the *Fihrist* of al-Nadīm—Mani was lame, but this reference to a physical disability can be interpreted in one of two ways. It may be seen as a term of condemnation and contempt by a religious opponent (normal practice in heresiological Muslim literature) intended to emphasize the physical (and hence psychological and spiritual) deformity of the heretical adversary, variously described as lame, cross-eyed, or a leper. On the other hand, it may be seen as a physical symbol of otherness, and of a lopsided walk (compared to the normal, erect posture) that is typical of exceptional individuals such as fortune-tellers, healers, shamans, and therapists. These types of individuals—like Oedipus, Melampus, Jason, or indeed Jacob—have been studied by Carlo Ginzburg (1992, pp. 206–224), who finds they are geographically and culturally closer to Mani, who after his night battle with the angel beside the river Yabboq limps because of a dislocated hip.

Walking lopsidedly is thus the sign of a physical abnormality, of an otherness that characterizes ecstatic experiences and journeys that anticipate going into the world of the dead, into a supernatural dimension involving those who are apparently dead. This could correspond to a side of Mani's character—namely, his ability as a wise man and healer, as well as his ability to wield miraculous powers (Middle Persian, *warz*). It was this aspect of Mani that influenced those who met him to convert. One such convert was the king of Turan, who was convinced of the merit of Mani's teaching because of his ability to levitate. In another episode, Mani miraculously showed to the skeptical king of Messenia the Paradise of Light with all of the gods in the immortal Air of Life, causing the king to faint. Mani then brought him back to consciousness by laying a hand on his head.

The miraculous, restorative power of Mani is thus shown mainly in cures. For this reason he is described—and describes himself—as a doctor, a therapist who treats both body and soul, wounded and imprisoned in the world of Matter. Thus, his healing was a means of conversion, a tangible sign of his message of salvation effected by restorative words (*salubria verba* in the *Epistula Fundamenti*), fully justifying the epithet "living" (*hayya*) that follows his name.

Yet these healing powers also resulted in his condemnation. In his last appearance before the Sassanid king, Wahrām I (prompted by the Zorastrian priests), the king accused him of being unskilled in war and hunting, and also of being an inattentive and ineffective doctor. Mani's defense—reminding the king of the benefits he had given to his family, the exorcisms that had given release to his servants and those who had been cured of fevers and deadly illnesses—was of no avail. The possession of miraculous healing powers was part of a whole raft of spiritual abilities gained during mystic and ecstatic experiences in visions and revelations by angelic beings and, in particular, by the angel known as "the Twin" (Greek, *syzygos*; Middle Persian, *narjamīg*; Arabic, *al-Tawm*).

The first revelation, which Mani experienced at the age of twelve, led him to renounce the rituals of the Elkasite baptist community in pursuit of more interior knowledge. It was the spiritual double of Mani, his protective angelic twin, who revealed to him the hidden mysteries of *gnōsis*. This was the main feature of his message, a *gnōsis* involving both knowledge and understanding of the human condition—and the pursuit of a regime of physical and mental asceticism—in order to achieve the appropriate separation within the individual life of the "mixture" of the two "principles" (or "natures," "substances," "roots") of Light/Wisdom, as opposed to Darkness/Ignorance. The mythical development of "two principles" was regarded as taking place in three "periods" of time (*initium*, *medium*, and *finis*, according to Augustine). These represent a first phase, in which Good and Evil were separate; a second phase, corresponding to mankind's present existence, in which the two principles were mingled after the onset of Matter' and a third future stage at the final apocatastasis, when Evil would be defeated and the two principles would separate once more. This outline forms the basis of the cosmological, soteriological, and eschatological myth of Mani's dualist system, a radical and absolute dualism that considered not just myth and metaphysics but also anthropology and ethics, so that microcosm and macrocosm reflected one other. Thus, the drama of the creation of the world and the redemption of Light imprisoned by Matter was the same as the inner experience of the Manichaean believer, with his existence enlightened by *gnōsis* and the *Nous* that would redeem his soul.

THE INITIAL TEACHINGS. Mani's first teachings were subject to many Jewish and Gnostic influences, as well as to teachers such as Marcion (d. 160?) and Bardaisan (154–222 CE). Mani probably inherited from Marcion a number of his views opposing the Old Testament, even if in the system of Mani various heterodox Jewish positions, like those of Qumran (Reeves, 1991), should be stressed. They are particularly recognizable in the structure of the Elkasite baptismal community into which Mani was introduced by his father and where he had his first religious experiences. It is far from insignificant that during this period apocryphal, apocalyptic literature (by Adam, Seth, Enoch, Shem, and Enosh) that was Gnostic in character was circulating; these works, along with the Christian Gospels, the Pauline Epistles, and the Acts (of John, Peter, Paul, Andrew, and Thomas) influenced Mani's initial spiritual training. Paul and Thomas were particular favorites of Mani, the former as an example of the ideal apostle who went all over the world and spread the message of salvation, regardless of adversity and persecution, and the latter because he had set out to preach the gospel in India and was thus the predecessor of Mani, whose own first mission was also to India.

From the philosophy of Bardaisan, who lived during the second and third centuries and was an exponent of Syriac Gnosticism derived from Greek and Iranian ideas, Mani was probably influenced by the idea of the two principles of Light and Darkness and their intermingling, and, therefore, by a number of mythical personifications that were remarkably similar (such as the Father of Greatness and the Mother of Light, which recall the Father of Life and Mother of Life in Bardaisan). He must also have inherited from Christians and Bardesanites the use of music as a way of elevating and purifying the soul. His knowledge of Zoroastrian religious teaching should also be mentioned, especially as regards the two principles, the three periods of time, and the importance of the complete nature of the separation. The Buddhist element—remarked upon by al-Bīrūnī, who mentions an Indian influence on the doctrine of transmigration—must also have influenced Mani's monastic organization and some of his injunctions, such as the nonviolence prescribed for the elect.

The aspect of Mani's teaching that is most different from the various forms of ascetic Gnosticism and proselytizing was his own prophetic and apostolic mission—via preaching—with a missionary zeal that spread his message of universal salvation both east and west. Once again it was his angel twin who ordained his missionary calling when he was in his twenty-fourth year (240 CE), driving Mani to divorce himself from the Elkasite community in order to undertake a missionary enterprise that would last for a further thirty-five years, during which time he would gain converts and encourage missions and those who followed him. He began by sailing to India, to the kingdom of Tūrān and—following the positive reception of Šābuhr—throughout the provinces of the empire: Persia, Media, Parthia, Adiabene, Babylon, Messenia, and Sushan. He also sent missions beyond the empire, and in the West, in Syria and Egypt, under the leadership of Addā, he succeeded in gaining important converts in the city of Palmyra, converting Nafšā, the sister of the queen Zenobia (and perhaps even Zenobia herself).

While in the East, under the leadership of Ammō, there were missions in Margiana and in Bactria, beyond the Oxus, and perhaps even in Armenia. In his missionary drive following the "call" proclaiming the words of salvation to mankind, Mani took the apostle Paul as his example and attempted to make himself the final link in a whole chain of redeeming figures. Beginning from the biblical line of Adam, Seth, Enosh, Enoch, Shem, and Noah—and with the addition of

Zoroaster, Buddha (even Laozi, according to the Chinese *Compendium*), and Jesus—this line of apostolic succession was ended with Mani himself, fulfilling the prophecy that depicted him, as he was called in Islamic sources, as the "Seal of the Prophets" (*khātim al-nabiyyīn*). The purpose of his coming was to perfect and fulfill the religions that had gone before him. Their teachings had been incomplete and imperfect before Mani's supreme revelation and his words of life, which he passed on in "living books."

THE SPREAD OF MANI'S TEACHINGS. The dissemination of Mani's message led to his being known in Central Asia in a large number of different ways and by many different expressions, such as the returning "Messiah-God," from a Christian perspective, or as "Mani the Buddha of Light" (*Mo-ni-guang-fo*), or as the "All-knowing king of the law" in Chinese texts, according to Buddhist phraseology that identified him with the future Buddha, Maitreya, and thus called him Buddha (*burxan*) or God (*tängri*). The eclectic and syncretic aspect of his teaching was not always well-received, and in some cases, as recorded in an eighth- or ninth-century Tibetan text, he was addressed as "the deceitful Persian Mar Ma-ne," and accused of dressing up his message in Buddhist guise, borrowing various beliefs in order to construct his own completely different versions.

Yet this chameleon-like ability, which encouraged the widespread expansion of his teaching, was the distinctive characteristic of Mani and his successors, enabling them to blend "wisdom and action" (M 5794, *wihīh ud kirdagān*), "wisdom and ability" (Mani Codex of Cologne 5.4: *sophia kai eumēchania*), and finding, as the Chinese texts remark, the "skillful means" (*fang bian*) that allowed them to adapt themselves to every geographical, cultural, and social situation in order to boost conversions and establish communities and institutions. With this practical wisdom, Manichaean *gnōsis* displayed the dual Buddhist ideas of *prajñā* (awareness) and *upāya* (means), showing a practical and industrious attitude that would enable it to flourish in a variety of places and obtain widespread recognition.

From this point of view, Mani was not an ascetic who was cut off from the world, and even if he preached detachment from Matter, involving fasting and abstinence, his approach toward daily life was anything but pessimistic and rejectionist. On the contrary, his clever strategy of promotion and general consensus was optimistic and proactive, cleverly avoiding any "radical" fundamentalist and anti-universal attitude, though with unfortunate political consequences resulting in his conflict with royal authority.

From the start of his missionary career, Mani sought the support of government and the Sassanid royal family, and he was staunchly supported by Šābuhr, even becoming part of the royal entourage (*komitaton*) and traveling with him to the provinces of the empire and on a campaign against the Romans. Perhaps it was also because of his Parthian noble ancestry, and for this reason—not just as a Gnostic metaphor—he was called "son of the king" (Puech, 1949, p. 36). Because of his attendance at court, Mani's religious imagery depicted royal and feudal institutions of the palace of Ctesiphon. Beginning with the figure of the Father of Greatness and his heavenly entourage of Eons, Kingdoms, and Divinities—which made up the "retinue" (*padwāz*) of the King of Paradise—other characters were added, including the "friends," those who stood in the presence of the King (*parwānag*), and the "guardian of the gate" (*darbān*).

Mani's ascension into heaven after his death on February 27, 277 CE, when he was sixty (following his suffering in prison), is the subject of a story (M5569) that mixes royal and warrior images, a story that became the paradigm for the fate of the devoted followers of his teachings. Much like a king who dons armor and is given divine garb, a diadem of light, and a marvelous garland, the Apostle Mani ascends to heaven in an apotheosis of light and glory to reach the Father.

THE PREACHINGS AND AUTHORED WORKS. Mani's preaching was thus strategically aimed at the royal circle, as is shown by the stories of famous conversions—such as the brother of the King of Kings, Mihršāh—and hence his first work was a book dedicated to his protector, the King of Kings, Šābuhr, titled *Šābuhragān* (*Nībēg;* "Book dedicated to Šābuhr"), written in Middle Persian and containing cosmology, prophecy, and apocalyptics.

Mani also wrote eight books in Eastern Aramaic: the *Living Gospel*, a kind of New Testament, which put forward a new version of the four Gospels and the Epistles of Paul, explaining the purpose of his mission; the *Treasure of Life*, a work of theology and apologetics; the *Mysteries* (al-Nadīm gives us the titles of eighteen chapters); the *Pragmateia*, a collection of Manichaean mythology; the *Image*, a collection of pictures representing teachings; the *Giants*, inspired by the Book of Giants and dealing with apocalyptics; the *Letters*, important organizational and missionary documents; and, finally, the *Psalms* and *Prayers*.

In Mani's versatile linguistic competence (he spoke Aramaic and Middle Persian), there are signs of the universal nature of his message, disseminated in many scripts and languages (Greek, Latin, Coptic, Iranian, Turkish, and Chinese). His writings were inventive, and he created a simplified Eastern Syriac alphabet (for the Iranic languages) that eliminated the complicated use of scribal heterograms, thus facilitating a better understanding and use of the languages (Parthian, Middle Persian, Sogdian) that spread his teachings. Thus, one of the prayers dedicated to Mani praises him as "interpreter of religion" (M 38 Parthian). His new gospel message continued to be translated into new languages and scripts.

The fundamental importance of the book as a secure means of transmitting truthfully his spiritual teaching and avoiding any possibility of misrepresentation reveals another important aspect of Mani's character. In addition to being a preacher, he was also an artist who gained a reputation as a tremendous communicator. He did this not simply via stories that had cumulative symbolic effect, but rather by accompanying these stories with pictures illustrating his baroque and impressionist mythology. The use of these pictures demonstrated that his missionary work did not involve only religion and writing, but that Mani was a painter as well.

CONCLUSION. The art of Manichaean manuscripts became famous in posterity, consisting of refined, finely-decorated miniatures with ornamental floral arrangements and bright colors. This work verified Mani's reputation as a calligrapher and as a painter (in Islamic sources) able to draw a large perfect circle. He was also regarded as the inventor of a kind of lute.

Mani, the Apostle of Light, was thus a custodian of divine revelation, a conscious syncretist, a miracle worker, a wise and able man, a rhetorician, a lyric and epic storyteller, and a dramatist. His original intellectual and artistic character indicates that he was a poet and visionary rather than a theologian and philosopher. Mani was detested and cursed as the founder of a heretical religion by the major religions of his day, Zoroastrianism and Christianity, and subsequently by Islam. Yet he was lauded as the Savior in hymns by the faithful, as well as in festivals such as Bēma—the day commemorating his death and his spiritual presence among believers.

SEE ALSO Bardaisan; Gnosticism, article on Gnosticism from Its Origins to the Middle Ages; Manichaeism, overview article and articles on Manichaeism and Christianity, Manichaeism in Central Asia and China, Manichaeism in Iran, and Manichaeism in the Roman Empire; Marcion.

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ANDREA PIRAS (2005)

MANICHAEISM

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
MANICHAEISM IN IRAN
MANICHAEISM IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE
MANICHAEISM AND CHRISTIANITY
MANICHAEISM IN CENTRAL ASIA AND CHINA

MANICHAEISM: AN OVERVIEW

The doctrine professed by Mani and the path to salvation that he revealed constitute a form of gnosis. It originated during the first half of the third century in Mesopotamia, a region of the Parthian empire in which a number of different religious and philosophical schools were actively present, notably Christianity, Judaism, and Zoroastrianism. The sects and communities of the region reflected the influence of one or the other of these cults to varying degrees and were often characterized by an evident Gnostic orientation. Hellenism was well rooted and widespread in Mesopotamia (as in neighboring Syria), especially in the urban centers of Seleucid origin. Open to commercial and cultural exchanges, Mesopotamia was the region within the vast Parthian empire that was most likely to absorb syncretic and eclectic cultural and spiritual trends. Manichaeism, however, was not only a gnosis in the narrow sense; it was primarily a universal Gnostic religion—the only great universal religion to arise from the Near Eastern Gnostic tradition. No other Gnostic school was as successful as Manichaeism, and no other aimed, as it did, to establish itself as a truly universal religion, founded and nurtured by an enterprising missionary spirit.

As with all Gnostic movements, Manichaeism holds that knowledge leads to salvation and that this is achieved through the victory of the good light over evil darkness. As with all Gnosticism, Manichaeism is permeated by a deep and radical pessimism about the world, which is seen as dominated by evil powers, and by a strong desire to break the chains holding the divine and luminous principle inside the prison of matter and of the body. Knowledge leads to salvation through an anamnesis, in which the initiate recognizes that his soul is a particle of light, consubstantial with the transcendental God.

MANICHAEAN LITERATURE AND SOURCES. Very little remains of the rich and varied Manichaean literature. We know the canon of its scriptures mainly through the titles of individual works, of which seven were attributed to Mani himself, and through fragments preserved in quotations by authors who were hostile to Manichaeism. Sometimes we do have most of the text, as, for example, in the *Living Gospel,* which was translated from Syriac to Greek. So too was the *Treasure of Life,* some passages of which were quoted by Augustine and by al-Bīrūnī; the *Mysteries,* of which we know the subtitles quoted by Ibn al-Nadīm and a few passages preserved by al-Bīrūnī; the *Treatise,* the *Book of Giants,* and the *Epistles,* of which Ibn al-Nadīm gives a list; and the *Psalms* and *Prayers.* All of these works were attributed to the founder of the faith, and rare and scattered fragments of them have been preserved in Manichaean texts from Central Asia (Turfan) and Egypt (Fayum). Two more works were attributed to Mani but are outside of the canon: the *Image* and the *Shābuhragān,* the book dedicated to the Sassanid king Shāpūr I. The purpose of the *Image* was to illustrate the main themes of the doctrine in a way that would be clear even to those not able to read. The *Shābuhragān,* the only work written in Middle Persian—Mani usually wrote in Syriac or Eastern Aramaic—discussed cosmology, anthropogony, and eschatology and is known to us through fragments preserved in the Turfan manuscripts and through an essential quotation by al-Bīrūnī concerning the Seal of the Prophecy.

Manichaean patrology is relatively better known to us than Mani's writings, mainly through the texts discovered at Turfan around the beginning of this century and those found at Fayum in 1930. Among the hagiographic works, we should mention the Manichaean Codex of Cologne, a Greek translation of a Syriac original, dating from the fifth century, and the Coptic *Homilies;* among the doctrinal ones, the Coptic *Kephalaia* and the *Chinese Treatise* of Dunhuang; among the hymns, the Coptic *Psaltery* and the Iranian hymn books, in Middle Persian and in Parthian, found in Turfan, as well as those in Chinese from Dunhuang; among the practical and liturgical writings, the *Compendium of Doctrines and Rules of the Buddha of Light, Mani,* a treatise dating from 731, found in Dunhuang, that was translated from Parthian into Chinese for use in the administration of the cult. To the last category also belonged the *Khwāstwānēft,* a handbook of formulas for the confession of sins, which has come down to us in a Uighur text from Central Asia.

Thus the discoveries of the twentieth century have brought to light, albeit only partially and in a fragmented fashion, a literature that in many cases, especially in the psalms and hymns, is distinguished by its considerable literary value and by its strong and delicate poetic sensibility. These writings substantially modified the picture of Manichaeism that had been reconstructed through indirect sources before the end of the nineteenth century.

These sources, however, are still valuable, and they contribute now in a more balanced way to a reconstruction of Manichaean doctrine and history. They are numerous, and all by hostile authors, Neoplatonic, Christian, Zoroastrian, Muslim. There are Greek sources, from Alexander of Nicopolis to the *Acta Archelai;* Latin sources, from the Pseudo-Marius Victorinus to Augustine; Syrian sources, from Aphraates and Ephraem of Syria in the fourth century to Theodoros bar Kōnaī in the eighth; Middle Persian and Pahlavi sources, from passages in the *Dēnkard* (The acts of religion) to a chapter of the *Shkand-gumānīg Wizār* (The definitive solution to doubts), a Zoroastrian apologetic work (ninth and tenth centuries); Arabic and Persian Muslim sources, from al-Yaʿqūbī (ninth century), al-Ṭabarī, al-Masʿūdī, and Ibn al-Nadīm (tenth century) to al-Bīrūnī, Ṭaʿālibī (eleventh century), al-Sharastānī (twelfth century), Abūʾl-Fidā, and Mirkhwānd (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries).

Until Manichaean literature was rediscovered, the works of Augustine, al-Bīrūnī, Ibn al-Nadīm, and the *Acta Archelai* were the cornerstones of Manichaean studies. Although the situation has undoubtedly changed considerably thanks to the more recent discoveries, the accounts of some anti-Manichaean authors remain extremely important, especially when viewed alongside those passages in Manichaean literature that discuss similar or identical subjects. It is now easier to distinguish between that which was written in polemic and apologetic ardor and that which resulted from accurate and intelligent information concerning Manichaean doctrines. Some of the sources are particularly relevant since they provide likely and precious data: for example, *de Moribus Manichaeorum, de duabus animabus, de Genesi contra Manichaeos,* the writings against Adimantus, Faustus, Felix, Fortunatus, Secundinus by Augustine, the Manichaean cosmogony of Theodoros bar Kōnaī, and a few quotations and excerpts by al-Bīrūnī and Ibn al-Nadīm.

THE FUNDAMENTAL DOCTRINES. Manichaean doctrine places great importance on the concept of dualism, which is deeply rooted in Iranian religious thought.

Dualism. Like Zoroastrian cosmology, which we know through relatively late texts (ninth century CE), Manichaean dualism is based on the doctrine of the two roots, or principles, of light and darkness and the three stages of cosmic history: the golden age before the two principles mixed together; the middle, or mixed, period; the present age, in which the powers of light and darkness battle for ultimate control of the cosmos; and the last age, when the separation of that which had become mixed, and between followers of good and evil, occurs. According to the Zoroastrian doctrine, this is the time of *frashgird* (MPers., "rehabilitation"; Av., *frashōkereti*) in which the two poles of good and evil will once again be distinguished. The holy books that he himself has revealed are those of the two principles and three stages. The two principles are light and darkness; the three stages are the past, the present, and the future; this information comes to us from a fragment of a Chinese text. This is the doctrine to which Augustine makes reference—*initium, medium, et finis*—in his anti-Manichaean treatises *Against Felix* and *Against Faustus.* It is more fully expressed in another Chinese text:

> First of all, we must distinguish between the two principles. He who wishes to join this religion must know that the two principles of light and darkness have absolutely distinct natures; if he cannot distinguish this, how can he practice the doctrine? Also, it is necessary to understand the three stages, that is, the prior stage, the middle stage, the posterior stage. In the prior stage, heaven and earth do not yet exist: there are only light and darkness, and they are separate from each other. The nature of light is wisdom, the nature of darkness is ignorance. In all motion and in all repose, these two are opposed to each other. At the middle stage, darkness has invaded light. The latter lunges forward to drive it back and thus itself enters the darkness and attempts at all costs to drive it out. Through the great calamity we acquire disgust, which, in turn, drives us to separate our selves from our bodies; in the burning abode the vow is made to attempt an escape. (Chavannes and Pelliot, 1913)

The "great calamity" is a metaphor for the body, and the "burning abode" stands for the world, seen as a burning house from which one is saved by escaping. The text continues: "At the later stage, instruction and conversion are accomplished, truth and falsehood have returned each to its roots: light has returned to the great light, and darkness has returned to the mass of darkness. The two principles are reconstituted" (Chavannes and Pelliot, 1913).

The two roots are not generated and have nothing in common: they are irreducible opposites in every way. Light is good, equated with God; darkness is evil, equated with matter. Because good and evil are coeval, the problem of the origin of evil (a central dilemma of Christian doctrine) is resolved, in the most radical and extreme way. Its existence cannot be denied; it is everywhere, it is eternal and can only be defeated by knowledge (gnosis), which leads to salvation through the separation of light and darkness.

The way in which the two principles are represented is reminiscent of the two spirits, or *mainyu*s, in the original Zoroastrian concept. Spenta Mainyu and Angra Mainyu are opposites in all things (*Yasna* 30.3–6), and their choice between good and evil, between *asha* ("truth") and *druj* ("falsehood"), is also prototypical of the choice that must be made by humankind. The ethical value of Manichaean dualism is no less strong, although its answer to the problem of evil is, of course, more typically Gnostic. The Manichaeans refused to consider Ōhrmazd and Ahriman, the Pahlavi equivalents of the two *mainyu*s, as two brothers who are opposed one to the other. The Uighur text *Khwāstwānēft* states: "If we once asserted that Khormuzta [Ōhrmazd] and Shīmnu [Ahriman] are brothers, one the cadet, one the firstborn . . . I repent of it . . . and I beg to be forgiven for that sin" (1c.3–4). Thus they were not so much addressing the dualism of the *Gāthās,* as opposing the later dualism of Zurvanism, which had demoted Ahura Mazdā to the role of a symmetrical opposite of Angra Mainyu and placed Zurwān, who personified infinite time, above the dualistic formula. In fact, it is interesting to observe how the Manichaeans restored Ōhrmazd to a central role in the drama of salvation and in the very Gnostic approach to the *prōtos anthrōpos,* while considering *Zurwān* as one of the names—the other Iranian name was *Srōshaw*—for the Father of Greatness, "sovereign god of the heaven of light," "god of truth," that is, one of the two terms of the dualistic formula. Terms for the opposite pole are *Devil, Satan, Ahriman, Shīmnu, Hulē, Matter, Evil,* the *Great Archon,* and the *Prince of Darkness.*

Rather than metaphysical speculation, we find at the root of Manichaean dualism a merciless analysis of the human condition, a pessimism largely common to all forms of gnosis and to Buddhism. By the mere fact of being incarnate, humans suffer; they are prey to evil, forgetful of their luminous nature as long as they remain asleep and dimmed by ignorance in the prison of matter. While the two principles remain mixed, all is waste, torture, death, darkness: "Liberate me from this deep nothingness, from this dark abyss of waste, which is naught but torture, wounds unto death, and where there is no rescuer, no friend. There can be no salvation here, ever! All is darkness . . . all is prisons, and there is no exit" (Parthian fragment T2d.178).

This pessimistic attitude toward the world and toward life, which perpetuates itself in the snares of matter, accompanied Manichaeism throughout its history, increasingly strengthened by the bitter and often violent confrontations between its followers and the other established religions of the eastern and western empires. It was probably also at the root of an antinomic tendency of these "subversives," who could see nothing good in a world full of horror, evil, and injustice. This was probably also an important reason for the fierce persecutions they suffered—as is evident from the testimony of Zoroastrian sources (*Dēnkard,* Madan edition, pp. 216–218)—as well as for their refusal to conform to traditional customs and practices. It also helped to bring about that *damnatio memoriae* to which Mani and Manichaeism were universally subjected.

Knowledge as the path to salvation. An essential and specific characteristic of Manichaeism is its Gnosticism, that is, its mixture of religion and science in a sort of theosophy. Manichaeism was attempting to give a universal explanation of the world, and it did not believe that mere faith and dogma were effective instruments in the search for redemption. On the contrary, Manichaean soteriology was based on knowledge. So it is understandable that Augustine should confess that he had most been attracted by precisely this aspect of Manichaeism during the years of his adherence to it (377–382), that is, to the promise that humankind could be freed of the authority of faith and tradition and led back to God simply by the strength of reason.

Manichaeans did not accept tradition, be it that of the New Testament or that of the Zoroastrian scriptures (*Kephalaia* 7), without first making a distinction between what they recognized as true and authentic in them and what, in their view, was simply the result of deceitful manipulations and interpolations by ignorant or insincere disciples. Only Mani's authority was worthy of trust, as it was based on reason and drawn from revelation. It was also set down in writing by him with extreme care and with the precise intent of not letting his teachings be misrepresented. Manichaeans, therefore, prided themselves on not asserting any truth without a logical and rational demonstration thereof, and without first opening the doors of knowledge.

Such knowledge was, ultimately, an anamnesis, an awakening; that is, gnosis was an *epignosis,* a recognition, a memory of self, knowledge of one's true ego and, at the same time, knowledge of God, the former being consubstantial with the latter, a particle of light fallen into matter's obfuscating mix. Thus God is a "savior saved," or one to be saved: a transcendental, luminous principle, spirit, or intelligence *(nous).* It is the superior portion of humankind's ego, exiled in the body, and is the subject of the act of knowledge, thanks to which we will know where we are, where we come from, and where we are going. Humans have forgotten their nature, a blend of light and darkness, spirit and matter. The enlightening power of knowledge makes them understand their own nature, that of the universe, and their destiny. It is, therefore, a universal science, blending theology, cosmology, anthropology, and eschatology. It includes everything: physical nature as well as history. Reason can penetrate anything: "Man must not believe until he has seen the object with his own eyes" (*Kephalaia* 142).

The cosmogonic and anthropogonic myths. It may appear paradoxical to find that the doctrine of Manichaeism, founded in reason, whose ability and dignity it praised, was expressed in a language of myth, one that was crowded with figures and images and painted in strong, often dark colors. In fact, its mythology, which was invented by Mani himself, is intellectualistic and reflexive, almost metaphorical in character: Manichaean myths serve the purpose of illustrating the truth about the drama of existence, both macrocosmic and microcosmic. They achieve their objective with the aid of powerful images, most of which are derived from the mythological heritage of previous traditions—a fact that lent them greater weight and authority—and by the use of divine figures, both angelic and demoniacal, familiar, at least in part, to the popular imagination. Because Mani's teachings were directed to all the world's peoples, the actors in the great play could, to be more easily understood, adopt different names in different countries, drawing from local pantheons. Thus, Manichaean mythology is like a great album of pictures arranged in a sequence aimed at awakening in the adept reminiscences and intuitions that will lead him to knowledge. Small wonder, then, that Mani, who was famous for his paintings, should also use a book of illustrations, the *Image* (Gr., *Eikon;* MPers., and Pth., *Ārdahang*), to convey his doctrine, or that his disciples later continued to do the same in their missionary activities.

Such a mythology must, of necessity, have keys to its interpretation. The first of these is the omnipresent dominant theme: that of the soul which has fallen into matter and is freed by its *nous.* Next, in order to understand what are often described as the aberrations of Manichaean myths—those repugnant acts of cannibalism and sexual practices with which they are studded, as well as the self-destructiveness and autophagia of matter—one must keep in mind two basic concepts: the Indo-Iranian idea of the equivalence of spirit, light, and seed (Eliade, 1971, pp. 1–30) and that of the distillation of light through the "gastric machine" of the elect, an act that corresponds to the great purification of the luminous elements (Syr., *zīwānē*), which was carried out by the demiurge and his children at the beginning of time (Tardieu, 1981). The premise of the first concept is that light resides in the seed and through procreation is decanted from one body into another, undergoing the painful cycles of births and deaths (Skt., *saṃsāra*). This follows the related doctrine of metempsychosis (Syr., *tashpīkā;* Lat., *revolutio;* Gr., *metangismos*), an idea that originally came from India and that Mani adopted as pivotal to his system. The premise of the second is that just as the universe is the place in which all luminous bodies are healed, so the stomach is like a great alchemist's alembic, in which the elect, thanks to the high degree of purification he has attained, is able to separate the light present in food from all impurities, through a double cycle of filtering and return. This cycle is a microcosm, whose corresponding macrocosm is the distillation of the *zīwānē* into the moon and the sun (Tardieu, 1981).

The Manichaean origin myth is based on the doctrine of two principles (light and darkness) and three stages of creation. During the first stage of existence, the two principles, personified as the Father of Greatness and the Prince of Darkness, are separate, residing, respectively, in the north and in the south, kept apart by a border between their two kingdoms. The Prince of Darkness—that is, agitated and disorderly matter—wishes to penetrate the kingdom of the Father of Greatness. Thus begins the second stage, in which the Father of Greatness, not wishing to compromise his five "dwellings" (Intelligence, Science, Thought, Reflection, and Conscience), decides to battle the Prince of Darkness and engenders an avatar, the Mother of the Living, who, in turn, produces Primordial Man. But the Prince of Darkness defeats Primordial Man and devours his five children. The avidity and greed of the Prince of Darkness, however, bring about his downfall; the five children of Primordial Man are like a poison within his stomach.

The Father of Greatness responds by creating a second being: the Living Spirit (who corresponds to the Persian god Mithra). The Living Spirit, who is also the father of five children, and Primordial Man confront the demons of the powers of darkness, and so the demiurgic action begins: from the bodies of the demons arise the skies, the mountains, the soil, and, finally, from a first bit of liberated light, the sun, moon, and stars. The Father of Greatness then creates a third being, called the Messenger, who incarnates *nous;* he is also called the Great Wahman, the Good Thought (Av., Vohu Manah). The Messenger calls forth twelve Virgins of Light, and they show themselves nude to the demons, both male and female, so that they will all ejaculate at the sight of such beauty and thus free the elements of light that they had ingested and imprisoned. The seed spilled on the dry earth gives life to five trees: thus is accomplished the creation of the world.

The creation of the human race then occurs as follows. The she-demons, thus impregnated, thanks to the Messenger's ruse, give birth to monsters, who swallow plants in order to absorb the light contained within them. Then Matter (darkness), in the guise of Az, the personification of concupiscence, in order to imprison the elements of light in a more secure fashion, causes the demons Ashaqlun and Namrael, male and female, to devour all the monsters, and then to mate. They then generate the first human couple, Adam and Eve. At this point, the work of salvation begins: Adam, kept wild and ignorant by the snares of darkness, is awakened from this state by the savior, the son of God, sent by the powers above. The savior is identified with Primordial Man, Ōhrmazd, or, later, with the transcendental Jesus, or the god of *nous.* The savior awakens Adam from his slumber, opens his eyes, shows him his soul, which is suffering in the material world, and reveals to him the infernal origins of his body and the heavenly origins of his spirit. Thus Adam acquires knowledge of himself, and his soul, thanks to gnosis, is resuscitated.

The third stage is the Great War between the forces of good and evil, characterized on the one hand by the desperate attempt of the Prince of Darkness to spread evil throughout the world by means of procreation—that is, by the creation of more and more corporeal prisons to entrap the elements of light—and on the other hand by the efforts of the Father of Greatness to spread good. Through the practice of the laws of the religion and, in particular, by interrupting the cycle of reincarnation, light is liberated; that is, the soul is freed by knowledge. When the church of justice triumphs, the souls will be judged, and those of the elect will rise to Heaven. The world will then be purified and destroyed by a fire lasting 1,468 years. All, or most, of the light particles, will be saved; Matter, in all its manifestations, and with its victims (the damned), will be forever imprisoned in a globe inside a gigantic pit covered with a stone. The separation of the two principles will thus be accomplished for all eternity.

ORIGINS. We now know something more about the origins of the Manichaean religion, by comparing the Manichaean Codex of Cologne to other available sources, mainly the Arabic ones. Mani was raised in the environment of a Judeo-Christian Gnostic and baptist sect, which had been founded by a figure, almost more mythical than historical, by the name of Elchasai (Gr., Alkhasaios; Arab., al-Khasayh). Elchasaism was a particularly widespread movement during the third and fourth centuries in Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Transjordan, and northern Arabia. It survived for many centuries and is mentioned by the Arabic encyclopedist Ibn al-Nadīm as still existing during the fourth century AH in what is today southeastern Iraq.

It would, however, be a mistake to view the origins of Manichaeism only, or even mainly, in the light of such information, for one might erroneously conclude that the principal inspiration for the Manichaean doctrine was Judeo-Christian Gnosticism. The origins of Manichaeism are still open to question (as are, in fact, those of Gnosticism). The most likely interpretation would recognize the dominating imprint of Iranian dualism since without a doubt the dualistic doctrine is central and pivotal to Mani's thought and to the teachings and practices of his church. We must, however, consider the presence of three different forms of religious doctrine: the Iranian, which is basically Zoroastrian; the Christian or Judeo-Christian; and the Mahāyāna Buddhist. Of these, the Iranian form held the key to the Manichaean system and provided the essence of the new universalistic religious concept that developed from the main themes and aspirations of Gnosticism. If we were to separate the Manichaean system from its Christian and Buddhist elements, it would not suffer irreparably.

Manichaeism was long thought of as a Christian heresy, but this interpretation was already being abandoned during the nineteenth century and has now been entirely rejected. We must also reject the approach that perceives the Judeo-Christian components, more or less affected by Hellenism, as dominant (Burkitt, 1925; Schaeder, 1927). There is a widespread tendency today to give equal emphasis to what we have called the three forms of Manichaeism and to consider it a great and independent universal religion, although such an approach is sometimes still weighted in favor of the relationship between Manicheaism and Christianity (Tardieu, 1981). Nevertheless, if we discount certain obvious differences, we can assert that Manichaeism has its roots in the Iranian religious tradition and that its relationship to Mazdaism, or Zoroastrianism, is more or less like that of Christianity to Judaism (Bausani, 1959, p. 103).

HISTORY. We can trace the beginnings of the religion to the second revelation received by the prophet at the age of twenty-four, that is, on the first of Nisan of 551 of the Seleucid era, which corresponds to April 12, 240 CE (his first occurred at the age of twelve while he was living in the baptist community). It was then that there appeared to him an angel, his "twin" (Gr., *suzugos;* Arab., *al-Tawm*), described as the "beautiful and sublime mirror" of his being, and it was then that Mani began his prophetic and apostolic ministry, breaking off from Elchasaism and its strict legalistic ritualism. He presented himself as the Seal of the Prophets and preached a new doctrine aimed at all peoples—Buddhists, Zoroastrians, and Christians.

A number of factors lead us to believe that, at the beginning of his ministry, Mani saw the universalistic religion he was founding as one that could be adapted to the new political reality of the Persian empire of the Sassanids, founded by Ardashīr I. To the emperor Shāpūr he dedicated a work, written in Middle Persian, that opened with a declaration of the universalistic idea of the Seal of the Prophecy. Any ambitions that great Sassanid ruler might have harbored for a universal empire would have found congenial a religious doctrine that presented itself as the sum and perfection of all the great prior religious traditions.

A missionary spirit moved Manichaeism from its very inception. Mani traveled first in the direction of the "country of the Indians" (perhaps in the footsteps of the apostle Thomas), with the hope of converting the small Christian communities scattered along the coast of Fars and Baluchistan (Tardieu, 1981) and perhaps, also, in order to penetrate lands in which Buddhism was already widespread. Manichaean tradition remembers this first apostolic mission by its conversion of Tūrān-shāh, that is, the Buddhist ruler of Tūrān, a kingdom in the Iranian world. That mission was a relatively brief one owing to the turn of events in the Sassanid empire. The death of Ardashīr and the accession to the throne of Shāpūr, the "king of kings of Ērānshahr," recalled Mani to Persia. Manichaeism began at that time to spread to Iran, where it acquired a prominent position, thanks also to the conversion of high court officials and even members of the royal family, and encouraged, to a certain degree, by the king's support. In fact, the image of Shāpūr in Manichaean tradition is a positive one: Manichaeism almost became the official religion of the Persian empire. Mani himself, after obtaining a successful audience with Shāpūr, joined the ruler's court and obtained his permission to preach the new creed throughout the empire, under the protection of local authorities. During this fortunate period for Manichaean propaganda in Iran, in the 250s, Mani wrote the *Shābuhragān,* a work he dedicated to his royal protector and which has reached us only in a fragmented form.

Once the work of its founder had established it as a real church, Manichaeism soon spread beyond the borders of Persia, both in the Roman Empire and in the east, southeast, and south. Mani wrote: "My hope [that is, the Manichaean church] has reached the east of the world and all inhabited regions of the earth, both to the north and to the south. . . . None of the [previous] apostles has ever done anything like this" (*Kephalaia* 1).

The political good fortune of Manichaeism in the Persian empire lasted only a few years. The official state religion, Zoroastrianism, grew increasingly hostile as the Magian clergy, guided by influential figures such as the high priest Kerdēr, organized it into a real national church, with its own strict orthodoxy and a strong nationalistic spirit. The reasons for the conflict between the Zoroastrianism of the Magi and Manichaeism during the third century are numerous: a hereditary clerical caste within a hierarchical social structure based on caste tended to be conservative and traditionalist; the eastern empire's cultural and spiritual horizons were narrow, typical of an agrarian and aristocratic society such as that of the Iranian plateau and very different from the ethnically and culturally diverse and composite one in the westernmost regions of the empire, where there had arisen a flourishing and cosmopolitan urban civilization. The alliance between the throne and the Magi, which remained strong despite some internal contrasts for the entire duration of the Sassanid empire, did not allow Manichaeism to take over and, by subjecting it to periodical and fierce persecutions, finally weakened its drive and confined it to a minority position.

On the one hand, Manichaeism accurately reflected the most widespread anxieties and aspirations of that period's religious preoccupations, through its soteriology, the idea of knowledge as freedom, and the value it placed on personal experience of the divine; on the other hand, the restored Zoroastrianism of the Magi reflected a tendency, widespread during the third century in both the Persian and Roman empires, toward the formation of a national culture. From this standpoint, we can view Manichaeism more as heir to Parthian eclecticism and syncretism—"one of the last manifestations of Arsacid thought" (Bivar, 1983, p. 97)—than as an interpreter of the vast cultural and political changes witnessed in Iran upon the ascent to power of the Sassanid dynasty.

The first anti-Manichaean persecution in the Iranian state began, after the death of Shāpūr and of his successor, Hormīzd I, with the killing of Mani himself, ordered by Bahrām I, probably around the beginning of the year 277. Many other episodes followed, affecting Manichaean communities in all regions of the empire, from Khorasan to Mesopotamian Seleucia (Ctesiphon), the seat of the Manichaean papacy. Manichaeism, however, was not completely eradicated from the Iranian world; in fact, it survived for centuries. Under the caliphate of the Umayyads it remained alive in those territories that had been Sassanid, despite internal schisms and disciplinary controversy.

During the third and fourth centuries Manichaeism moved west, into the Roman Empire. It spread through Egypt, North Africa, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, Dalmatia, and Rome and as far north as southern Gaul and Spain. Its adherents were the subjects of persecution by both central and peripheral imperial authorities, meeting everywhere with the strong hostility of the political and religious establishment. The Manichaeans were seen by Rome as a dangerous subversive element and were often thought to be agents of the rival Persian power. Despite persecutions and imperial edicts, such as that of Diocletian in 297, the faith for the most part persisted, except in some western areas of the Roman Empire. Manichaeism was perceived as a threat well into the Christian era. Repressive measures were repeatedly taken by Roman imperial and church authorities (notably Pope Leo the Great, in 445); nevertheless, in 527 the emperors Justin and Justinian still felt the need to promulgate a law inflicting capital punishment on the followers of Mani's teachings.

Like Zoroastrianism and Christianity, Islam had at first been tolerant of Manichaeism but in the end acted with equal violence against it. The advent of the Abbasid caliphate marked a renewal of bloody repressive measures, which succeeded in pushing the Manichaeans east, in the direction of Transoxiana, during the tenth century. It was in Khorasan, Chorasmia, and Sogdiana that the Manichaean faith expanded and gained strength, and there it became an outpost for the dissemination of Mani's gospel to China and Central Asia. In the last decades of the sixth century, the religion suffered a schism with the so-called Dēnāwars ("observers of *dēn,*" i.e., of the true religion), a rigorist and puritan sect. Samarkand became the new see of the Manicaean papacy.

Toward the end of the seventh century, Manichaeism reached the Far East. As the great caravan route from Kashgar to Kucha to Karashahr was reopened following the Chinese conquest of eastern Turkestan, Manichaeism made its appearance in China, mainly through Sogdian missionaries. In 732, an imperial edict allowed Manichaeans the freedom to practice their cult there. The religion also spread to Central Asia and Mongolia, to the vast empire of the Uighurs, who adopted Manichaeism as their official religion in 763. But political and military events following the fall, in 840, of the Uighur empire caused Manichaeism's supremacy in Central Asia to be short lived, although it probably survived there until the thirteenth century. In China, where the Manichaeans were persecuted during the ninth century and banned by edict in 843, just after the collapse of the Uighurs, Manichaeism nonetheless survived until the sixteenth century, protected by secret societies, alongside Daoism and Buddhism.

THE MANICHAEAN CHURCH. At the core of the ecclesiastical structure was a marked distinction among classes of clergy, which were subdivided into four. The first included teachers or apostles, never more than 12; the second, bishops, never more than 72; the third, stewards, never more than 360; and the fourth were the elects (that is, the elects in general). The laity made up a fifth class. Only men could belong to the first three classes, that is, the true clergy, and above these stood the leader of the faithful, the Manichaean pope. The clergy lived in monasteries in the cities and supported itself through the gifts and foundations of the laity, according to a system clearly derived from Buddhist, rather than Christian, monasticism (Baur, 1831; Widengren, 1965).

Different moral codes governed the clergy and the lay population. The former was required to observe the five commandments: truth, nonviolence, sexual abstinence, abstinence from meat and from food and drink that were considered impure, poverty. The laity was required (1) to observe the ten laws of good behavior, which, among other things, prescribed a strictly monogamous marriage and abstinence from all forms of violence, both against men and against animals; (2) to pray four times a day (at dawn, midday, sunset, and night), after observing particular rituals of purification; (3) to contribute the tenth, or the seventh, part of their worldly goods to support the clergy; (4) to fast weekly (on Sundays) and yearly for the thirty days preceding the celebration of the festival of the Bēma; and (5) to confess their sins weekly (on Mondays), as well as during a great yearly collective confession at the end of the fasting period.

The liturgy was simple: it recalled episodes of the life of Mani, his martyrdom, and that of the first apostles. The principal festivity was the Bēma (Gr.; MPers., *gāh;* "pulpit, throne, tribunal"), which, on the vernal equinox, celebrated Mani's passion through gospel worship; the collective confession of sins; the recitation of three hymns to Mani; the reading of the apostle's spiritual testament, the *Letter of the Seal;* chants glorifying the triumphant church; and a sacred banquet offered to the elect by the listeners. In Manichaean holy places the *bēma,* a throne on five steps, was left empty in memory of the one who, having left the world, nonetheless remained as an invisible guide and judge of his church. The empty throne was probably originally a Buddhist symbol.

HERITAGE AND SURVIVING ELEMENTS. The survival of Manichaeism as a source of inspiration for a number of medieval heresies in the West poses complex questions. Manichaean dualism has been adduced as an explanation for the origin of those heretical movements that were based on dualism, on moral asceticism, and on a more or less pronounced antinomism. Accusations of Manichaeism—the most widely despised of Christian heresies—were pronounced by adversaries against heretics to show their relation to the doctrines of Mani, although such a connection has been generally hard to prove beyond doubt.

Priscillianism, which arose in Spain at the end of the fourth century, was probably not related to Manichaeism, although Paulicianism, in seventh-century Armenia, probably was, as was Bogomilism. The latter arose in Bulgaria during the tenth century and spread along the Balkan Peninsula to the coastline of Asia Minor, along with the Cathari in southern France and northern Italy during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; together they were considered links in the same chain, which might be called "medieval Manichaeism" or "Neo-Manichaeism." A connection among these movements is probable, and in fact such a link is certain between the Bogomils and the Cathari. However, it is not possible to prove their derivation from Manichaeism. Their popular character, the social environment in which they developed, and the typically Gnostic nature of Manichaeism all suggest a generalized influence rather than a direct derivation, that is, a background inspiration from the great dualistic religion of late antiquity. It now appears certain that in some instances Manichaeism itself did survive in the West in clandestine groups and secret forms, especially in Roman Africa, despite the proscriptions and persecutions of the sixth century.

The problem is analogous in the East, except in China, where we know that Manichaeism did survive, camouflaged in Daoist or Buddhist guise, until the sixteenth century. A Manichaean origin has been ascribed to Mazdakism, a religious and social movement of Sassanid Iran between the fifth and sixth centuries (Christensen, 1925), and some degree of Manichaean influence upon it is undeniable, although a more accurate perception would probably see the movement as a heretical form of Zoroastrianism. There has been an occasional attempt to consider Manichaean any Muslim *zindīq* (Arab., "heretic, free thinker"). The word derives from the Middle Persian *zandīg,* used by Zoroastrians to describe those who used the *Zand,* the Middle Persian translation of and commentary on the Avesta, in a heterodox manner. Although it is true that *zindīq* is often used to mean "Manichaean," its sense is actually broader; *zandaqah* cannot, therefore, be strictly identified with Manichaeism.

In any case, Manichaeism survived in the Islamic world, even through the persecutions of the Abbasid caliphate, and exercised some degree of influence on Gnostic currents in this world. Finally, there is a great likelihood of a direct connection between Manichaeism and some Tibetan cosmological concepts (Tucci, 1970).

See Also Frashōkereti; Mani; Mazdakism.

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In the years following, a number of general studies were published that still remain important—G. Flügel's *Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften* (Leipzig, 1862); K. Kessler's *Mani: Forschungen über die manichäische Religion* (Berlin, 1889); F. C. Burkitt's *The Religion of the Manichees* (Cambridge, 1925); and H. H. Schaeder's *Urform und Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems* (Leipzig, 1927)—even though more recent studies and discoveries have, by now, gone beyond them. Also useful are A. V. W. Jackson's *Researches on Manichaeism, with Special Reference to the Turfan Fragments* (New York, 1932) and H.-J. Polotsky's *Abriss des manichäischen Systems* (Stuttgart, 1934).

A quarter of a century apart, two important status reports concerning the question of Manichaean studies were published: H. S. Nyberg's "Forschungen über den Manichäismus," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 34 (1935): 70–91, and Julien Ries's "Introduction aux études manichéennes," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 33 (1957): 453–482 and 35 (1959): 362–409.

General works that remain valuable, although they give a partially different picture of Manichaeism, are Henri-Charles Puech's *Le manichéisme: Son fondateur, sa doctrine* (Paris, 1949) and Geo Widengren's *Mani and Manichaeism* (London, 1965). We are also indebted to Puech for a very useful collection of essays, *Sur le manichéisme et autres essais* (Paris, 1979), and to Widengren for another, with an important introduction, *Der Manichäismus* (Darmstadt, 1977), pp. ix–xxxii, as well as for a more recent essay, "Manichaeism and Its Iranian Background," in *The Cambridge History of Iran,* vol. 3, edited by Ehsan Yarshater (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 965–990.

The volume *Der Manichäismus* contains some of the most important contributions to Manichaean studies, reprinted entirely or partially (all in German), by H. S. Nyberg, F. C. Burkitt, H. H. Schaeder, Richard Reitzenstein, H.-J. Polotsky, Henri-Charles Puech, V. Stegemann, Alexander Böhlig, Mark Lidzbarski, Franz Rosenthal, W. Bang-Kaup, A. Baumstark, Charles R. C. Allberry, Prosper Alfaric, W. Seston, J. A. L. Vergote, W. B. Henning, Georges Vajda, Carsten Colpe, and A. V. W. Jackson. Two noteworthy syntheses of Manichaeism in French are François Decret's *Mani et la tradition manichéenne* (Paris, 1974) and M. Tardieu's *Le manichéisme* (Paris, 1981); the latter is particularly full of original suggestions.

Two works from the 1960s are dedicated more to Mani himself than to Manichaeism, one concerning mainly the social and cultural background from which Manichaeism emerged and the other mainly dedicated to the religious personality of the founder: Otakar Klíma's *Manis Zeit und Leben* (Prague, 1962) and L. J. R. Ort's *Mani: A Religio-Historical Description of His Personality* (Leiden, 1967).

Although the once-classic work on Manichaean literature, Prosper Alfaric's *Les écritures manichéennes,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1918–1919), is now quite dated, there is a wealth of more recent works to which we can turn. A whole inventory of Iranian documents from Central Asia can be found in Mary Boyce's *A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichaean Script in the German Turfan Collection* (Berlin, 1960). Excellent editions of Iranian and Turkic texts are due to F. W. K. Müller, A. von Le Coq, Ernst Waldschmidt and Wolfgang Lentz,

W. Bang, and Annemarie von Gabain, F. C. Andreas, and W. B. Henning, published in the *Abhandlungen* and in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Prussian Academy of Sciences between 1904 and 1936. W. B. Henning's pupil, Mary Boyce, has also published, in addition to the above-mentioned catalog, two other important contributions to Manichaean studies, *The Manichaean Hymn Cycles in Parthian* (Oxford, 1954) and *A Reader in Manichaean Middle-Persian and Parthian,* "Acta Iranica," no. 9 (Tehran and Liège, 1975). Editions of Iranian texts, as well as a number of extremely careful philological studies, can be found in W. B. Henning's *Selected Papers,* 2 vols., "Acta Iranica," nos. 14–15 (Tehran and Liège, 1977), where are reprinted also Henning's fundamental *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan,* written in collaboration with F. C. Andreas between 1932 and 1934.

W. Sundermann and P. Zieme, two scholars from the Academy of Sciences in Berlin, are currently responsible for continuing research in the Iranian and Turkish texts from Turfan, which are preserved in Berlin. We owe to them, among other things, Sundermann's *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer* (Berlin, 1973), *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts* (Berlin, 1981), *Ein manichäisch-soghdisches Parabelbuch* (Berlin, 1985), *Der Sermon vom Licht-Nous* (Berlin, 1992), *Der Sermon von der Seele* (Turnhout, Belgium, 1997), and Zieme's *Manichäisch-türkische Texte* (Berlin, 1975), *Altun Yaruq Sudur. Eine Lehrschrift des östlichen Manichäismus* (Turnhout, Belgium, 1996). On the state of research into Iranian texts, see also Sundermann's "Lo studio dei testi iranici di Turfan," in *Iranian Studies,* edited by me (Rome, 1983), pp. 119–134. Recent research on Sogdian Manichaean texts has been done by N. Sims-Williams (London) and E. Morano (Turin), following the lead of Ilya Gershevitch (Cambridge). Again in the context of Central Asian texts, the handbook for the confession of sins has been carefully edited, after the work of W. Bang and W. B. Henning, and with an ample commentary, by Jes P. Asmussen in Xᵛ*āstānīft: Studies in Manichaeism* (Copenhagen, 1965); the *Shābuhragān* is the subject of an extremely useful work by D. N. MacKenzie, "Mani's *Šābuhragān,*" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 42 (1979): 500–534 and 43 (1980): 288–310.

Concerning the Chinese texts, the following are useful works. On the *Treatise,* see Édouard Chavannes and Paul Pelliot's "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine," *Journal asiatique* (1911): 499–617 and (1913): 99–392. On the *Compendium,* see Chavannes and Pelliot's "Compendium de la religion du Buddha de Lumière, Mani," *Journal asiatique* (1913): 105–116 (Pelliot fragment), and Gustav Haloun and W. B. Henning's "The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light," *Asia Major,* n.s. 3 (1952): 184–212 (Stein fragment). On the London Chinese hymn book, see, in addition to the work of Ernst Waldschmidt and Wolfgang Lentz, Tsui Chi's "Mo-ni-chiao hsia-pu tsan," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11 (1943): 174–219.

On the Coptic texts of Fayum, a survey of the state of research can be found in Alexander Böhlig's "Die Arbeit an den koptischen Manichaica," in *Mysterion und Wahrheit* (Leiden, 1968), pp. 177–187. Among editions of the texts are *Manichäische Homilien,* by H.-J. Polotsky (Stuttgart, 1934), *Kephalaia,* by C. Schmidt, H.-J. Polotsky, and Alexander Böhlig (Stuttgart, 1935–1940; Berlin, 1966), and Charles R. C. Allberry's *A Manichaean Psalm-Book,* vol. 2 (Stuttgart, 1938). On the Manichaean Codex of Cologne, see Albert Henrichs and Ludwig Koenen's "Ein griechischer Mani-Codex," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 5 (1970): 97–216, 19 (1975): 1–85, and 32 (1979): 87–200, and Ludwig Koenen and Cornelia Römer, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex. Über das Werden seines Leibes* (Opladen, 1988).

Of indirect sources, I shall mention here only the following few. On Augustine, see R. Jolivet and M. Jourion's *Six traités anti-manichéens,* in *Oeuvres de Saint Augustin,* vol. 17 (Paris, 1961); on Theodoros bar Konai, see Franz Cumont's *Recherches sur le manichéisme,* vol. 1 (Brussels, 1908); on Zoroastrian sources, see J.-P. de Menasce's *Une apologétique mazdéenne du neuvième siècle 'Škand-gumānīk vicār'* (Fribourg, 1945); and on Islamic sources, see Carsten Colpe's "Der Manichäismus in der arabischen Überlieferung" (Ph.D. diss., University of Göttingen, 1954).

Three valuable anthologies of Manichaean texts are A. Adams's *Texte zum Manichäismus,* 2d ed. (Berlin, 1962), Jes P. Asmussen's *Manichaean Literature* (Delmar, N.Y., 1975), Alexander Böhlig and Jes P. Asmussen's *Die gnosis,* vol. 3 (Zurich, 1980), Hans-Joachim Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road.* San Francisco 1998, and *Il Manicheismo,* edited by Gherardo Gnoli, vol. 1. Milan, 2003.

Concerning the spread of Manichaeism in Asia, in North Africa, and in the Roman Empire, there are numerous works. The old text by E. de Stoop, *Essai sur la diffusion du manichéisme dans l'Empire romain* (Ghent, 1909), heads the list, followed by Paul Pelliot's "Les traditions manichéennes au Fou-kien," *T'oung pao* 22 (1923): 193–208; M. Guidi's *La lotta tra l'Islam e il manicheismo* (Rome, 1927); Uberto Pestalozza's "Il manicheismo presso i Turchi occidentali ed orientali," *Rendiconti del Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere,* 2d series, 67 (1934): 417–497; Georges Vajda's "Les Zindiqs en pays d'Islam au debout de la période abbaside," *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 17 (1937): 173–229; Giuseppe Messina's *Cristianesimo, buddhismo, manicheismo nell'Asia antica* (Rome, 1947); H. H. Schaeder's "Der Manichäismus und sein Weg nach Osten," in *Glaube und Geschichte: Festschrift für Friedrich Gogarten* (Giessen, 1948), pp. 236–254; O. Maenchen-Helfen's "Manichaeans in Siberia," in *Semitic and Oriental Studies Presented to William Popper* (Berkeley, 1951), pp. 161–165; Francesco Gabrieli's "La *zandaqa* au premier siècle abbasside," in *L'élaboration de l'Islam* (Paris, 1961), pp. 23–28; Peter Brown's "The Diffusion of Manichaeism in the Roman Empire," *Journal of Roman Studies* 59 (1969): 92–103; François Decret's *Aspects du manichéisme dans l'Afrique romaine* (Paris, 1970); and S. N. C. Lieu's *The Religion of Light: An Introduction to the History of Manichaeism in China* (Hong Kong, 1979) and *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China* (Manchester, 1985).

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In the most exhaustive treatment of Manichaeism to have appeared in an encyclopedic work, Henri-Charles Puech's "Le manichéisme," in *Histoire des religions,* vol. 2, edited by Puech (Paris, 1972), pp. 523–645, we also find a full exposition of the problem concerning the heritage and survival of Manichaeism, with a bibliography to which one should add Raoul Manselli's *L'eresia del male* (Naples, 1963).

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GHERARDO GNOLI (1987)
Translated from Italian by Ughetta Fitzgerald Lubin

MANICHAEISM: MANICHAEISM IN IRAN

Manichaeism, a basically Gnostic religion founded by Mani, was widespread in antiquity. In Iran, this religion very strongly made use of Zoroastrian motifs to look like a genuine Iranian religion. This fact led both to intensive interaction between Manichaeism and other Iranian religions, also stimulating some aspects of those religions, and to severe persecution of Manichaeans alike.

THE LIFE OF MANI. Mani (216–277) was born into an Iranian family, but at the age of four his father took him to live with the religious community of the Elkasaites. Mani's father, Pattik, may have been of Arsacid stock, so it is assumed that Mani was well acquainted with Iranian and Zoroastrian tradition.

At the age of twenty-four, Mani began preaching. In 241, after Shāpūr I (r. 241–272) had become king of the Sasanian empire, Mani began to spread his teaching at the Sassanian court. He was introduced by Pērōz, a high-ranking member of the nobility, possibly the king's brother. The central themes in his message were the "two principles of light and darkness" and the "three times." Both ideas have their roots in Zoroastrian cosmology: first, the original time when the realms of light and darkness existed side by side with equal strength but separated by a boundary; second, the time of mixture after the combat between light and darkness; and third, the time of the renewed separation of the two principles.

Mani strongly depended on and made use of Zoroastrian religious thoughts combined with his own Gnostic teachings to provide an Iranian framework for his cosmogonical and eschatological myth. He not only adopted the terminology and the dualistic mythology of the Zoroastrians, but also made dualism even more exclusive: The material world was considered the devil's (or Ahreman's) realm; only the spiritual world was good.

Shāpūr, who was driven to acquire and introduce new knowledge into his kingdom, listened to Mani because Mani presented his religion as a kind of "reform" of Zarathushtra's (Zoroaster's) ancient teachings. Further, according to Mani's teachings, all former religions had been included in this new religion. This idea fit Shāpūr's dream of establishing a large empire incorporating different peoples and their different creeds. Therefore, Shāpūr viewed Manichaeism as a suitable syncretistic yet still Iranian religion to serve as a common bond for all people in the emerging empire: for Christians in the West, due to the Gnostic tradition picked up in Manichaeism; for Zoroastrians, due to Mani's attempt to present himself as a "new Zoroaster;" and for Buddhists in eastern Iran, as a result of the Manichaean missionary Mār Ammō's journeys during the middle of the third century. Thus Manichaeism flourished for thirty years within the Sassanian Empire. Mani himself stayed in the Persis and western Iran, where he developed a good deal of his missionary work and his church organization.

This situation changed after Shāpūr's death. Although King Hormīzd (r. 272–273) favored Mani, the religio-political career of the Zoroastrian priest Kerdīr (mid-third to early fourth century) started during this time. Following Hormīzd's short reign, his elder brother Wahrām I (r. 274–

277) became king. Kerdīr managed to influence the new king, strengthening Zoroastrianism and thus weakening Manichaeism. Mani was summoned to the court at Bēt Lāpāt (Gundēshābuhr) by Wahrām I and interrogated about his religion. Although Mani could heal Wahrām's servants from demons and fever, Wahrām sentenced him to prison in order to settle Zoroastrian accusations against Mani, possibly raised by Kerdīr. Mani died in prison on February 26, 277.

The years following Mani's death resulted in persecutions of the members of Mani's church, reaching their climax with the martyrdom of Sisinnos, then leader of the religion, in 286 during the reign of Wahrām II (r. 277–293). These years focused on Kerdīr's career and his promotion of Zoroastrianism as the only religion in the Sassanian Empire. This led to the persecution of other religions, as stated in Kerdīr's inscription from Naqsh-i Rostam:

> And the creed of Ahreman and the dēws was driven out of the land and deprived of credence. And Jews and Buddhists and Brahmans and Aramaic and Greek-speaking Christians and Baptisers and Manichaeans were assailed in the land. And images were overthrown, and the dens of demons were (thus) destroyed, and the places and abodes of the Yazads were established. (Boyce, 1984, p. 112).

THE SPREAD OF MANICHAEISM. Persecutions of the Manichaeans resulted in an exodus of Manichaeans from central Iran to Mesopotamia and the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. Other refugees found shelter with the Arab king Amaro of Hira (end of third to beginning of fourth centuries), who in the last decade of the third century convinced the Sassanian king Narseh (r. 293–302) to put an end to the persecutions of Manichaeans in Iran. Narseh had another reason to end the repression of the Manichaeans: when the Roman emperor Diocletian (r. 284–305) issued an edict against the Manichaeans in 297, Narseh saw a chance to get Manichaean support for his military agitations against the Romans.

For some years the Manichaeans managed to live calmly, but during the reign of Narseh's successor Hormīzd II (r. 302–309), the Zoroastrian priests again voted for the extirpation of the Manichaean creed. Once again the kingdom of Hira helped many Manichaeans to flee from Iran to the west; others sought refuge in eastern Iran, spreading Manichaeism along the Silk Road as far as central Asia in the following centuries. In eastern Iran (present-day Turkmenistan), Manichaeism had been known since the middle of the third century, due to the missionary efforts of Mār Ammō, and in the early fourth century, refugees could find shelter there. As a result, Iranian Manichaeism came into intensive contact with Buddhism that spread westward from the Kushāna Empire, thus leading to the further adaptation of Buddhist traditions by Manichaean missionaries, who partly adapted Buddhist terminology like *nirvāṇa* (Parthian: *prnybr'n*) or "salvation" (Parthian: *mwxš*) for Manichaean theological ideas.

In the sixth century, Manichaeism reached its climax in eastern Iran, with Samarkand as the religious and administrative center, independent from the Manichaean west. Shād-Ohrmezd (d. 600) was the most prominent East Iranian leader of the community of the Dēnāwars, the "Pure Ones"; he was very engaged in preserving and spreading Iranian Manichaean literature. Besides Parthian missionaries, Sogdians began to play an important part in transmitting Iranian religious ideas farther to the east. However, Manichaeism was accepted among Sogdians only from the end of the sixth century—after Zoroastrianism, Christianity, and Buddhism had spread among them.

ZOROASTRIAN PERSECUTION OF THE MANICHAEANS. Even though Mani spent most of his life establishing his religion in the core area of Iran, from the early fourth century on, Manichaeism had its centers elsewhere and there are relatively few extant original Manichaean sources in Iran. From the *Dēnkard*, a theological compendium of the Zoroastrians in Middle Persian language, it is written that during the reign of Shāpūr II (r. 309–379), the Zoroastrian priest Ādurbād ī Māraspandān (mid-fourth century) was the main adversary of Manichaeism, and the third book of the *Dēnkard* brings to light Ādurbād's refutation of Mani's doctrine, opening with the line: "Ten injunctions which the crippled demon Mani clamoured against those of the restorer of righteousness, Ādurbād ī Māraspandān." These refutations showed some differences between Manichaeism and Zoroastrianism, mainly that the Zoroastrian world view was believed to be much more in agreement with the cosmos and not as anticosmic as Manichaeism. It is probable that this theological refutation of Mani's religion by an important Zoroastrian priest of the time gave an ideological justification for the persecution of Manichaeans during the mid-fourth century.

Although the persecution of Manichaeans during the reign of Shāpūr II seemed to be less fierce than the persecution of Christians by the same king, there is one interesting Syriac text referring to the martyrdom of the Christian Aitāllāh: The Sassanian authorities tried to persuade Aitāllāh to abstain from his faith by referring to the example of an imprisoned Manichaean who, after being tortured, had anathemized Mani and his faith. To prove his abrogation from his former religion, this Manichaean even killed an ant to show that he no longer followed the Manichaean prohibition of killing any animal. Manichaeans believed that some part of the divine light was included in every being, thus killing even an ant would harm the divine element in it. This episode not only highlighted the persecution of Manichaeans in the Sassanian Empire, it also indicated the attempts to reconvert them to Zoroastrianism. By killing the ant, the (former) Manichaean not only showed his willingness to break with his former religious behavior, but also acted according to Zoroastrian behavior: Killing ants and other creatures of this kind, which are Ahreman's creations bringing evil to the world, is a religious act to partake as a Zoroastrian in the cosmic battle against Ahreman's creations.

During the fourth century Zoroastrians tried to convince Manichaeans to convert to Zoroastrianism, even through pressure. But the Zoroastrian clergy also reacted against the still-practicing Manichaeans in another way. Several scholars have argued that the appreciation Manichaeans gave to their canonical "holy books" led to the creation of a written *Avesta* by the Zoroastrian clergy during the fourth century (see cf. Hutter, 2000, p. 314). This book was produced to compete with the Manichaean books. In theological disputes, Zoroastrians no longer had to rely solely on the oral tradition; they now had a book showing that it was not Zoroastrianism that had failed, but Mani who had falsified the teaching of Zoroaster.

With such a book, Zoroastrian priests and judges could act against Manichaeism. In the early fifth century, during the reign of Yazdegerd I (r. 339–420), the persecutions of Manichaeans had been renewed. In the legal textbook *Mādigān ī hazār dādestān* (Book of thousand judgments), it is written that the property of heretics should be confiscated; heretics (*zandīq*) in this passage referred to Manichaeans. Also Mazdak's movement during the reign of Kawād (r. 488–497 and 499–531) was not always distinguished from Manichaeism. Mazdak (about 460–524) was a charismatic figure whose doctrine combined Gnostic thoughts with Zoroastrian, Manichaean, and Greek elements. His doctrine focuses on a good god, but man is bound to earth in a pessimistic way. When man comes in contact with the divine he is able to remove all his earthly bonds. Mazdak also tried to abolish social distinctions and and reach equality among all people.

Still, during the reign of Khosrow I (Anūshirvaān, r. 531–579), there lived some Manichaeans in the area of present-day Iran. Thus despite persecution, Manichaeans formed a part of the religious pluralism within the Sassanian Empire. After the decisive victory of the Arabs over the Persians in 637, the initial tolerance of the Arabs gave rise to Manichaeism in western Iran for a short period, with some Manichaeans returning from Khorasan and eastern Iran. But this was only a brief revival before the end of Manichaeism in Iran proper at the end of the seventh or at the beginning of the eighth centuries.

MANICHAEAN THOUGHT IN IRANIAN RELIGIOUS HISTORY. From the discoveries of Manichaean literature in the Turfan oasis in Chinese Turkestan during the early twentieth century, it has been determined that the Middle Persian language remained—even in central Asia—the ritual language for Manichaeans, at least at a symbolic level. There are passages in this language inserted in Parthian and Sogdian liturgical texts showing that the origin of Manichaeism in the core area of the early Sassanian Empire was long influential.

Manichaean thought also lived on in Iran proper, influencing later periods. When Ādurbād ī Māraspandān opposed Manichaeism in the fourth century, he supported the positive Zoroastrian stance to the material world against the pessimistic and negative tendencies of the Manichaeans. On the other hand, the "heretical" Zurwānite interpretation of Zoroastrianism, showing the material world in a negative light and as Ahreman's work, was comparable to the Manichaean worldview. Such ascetic aspects in parts of the Zoroastrian religion that try to avoid contact with the material world are possibly the result of Manichaean influence on Zoroastrianism.

Another important aspect is the Manichaean symbolism of the divine light: the Column of Light/Glory (*bāmistūn*) and the Maiden of Light (*kanīgrōšn*) are also adapted within Zoroastrianism, as well as partly in Sufism and even in the recent Bahā'ī religion. Mani's concept of the heavenly twin (*yamag*) may also have had some impact on Ṣūfī mystics. The idea that the succession of prophets, sent by God to different peoples at different times, was adopted by Mani to prove his claim to be God's last prophet for humankind. This same idea was taken up in Islamic thought (and transferred to Muḥammad), as well as in the middle of the nineteenth century—through Islamic intermediation—when it was taken as the cornerstone of Bahā'ī theology. The founder of Bahā'ī, Bahā'u'llāh, saw himself as the latest in a line of subsequent messengers, continuing God's revelation.

Manichaeism as a living religion flourished in the central parts of Iran only for a relatively short period, but nevertheless Iranian influence remained integral for Manichaeism, and Manichaeism had a lasting effect on Iran. Mani's ideas form one important branch in the religious history of Iran, leaving an impact on Zoroastrianism, Iranian Islam, and the Bahā'ī faith.

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MANFRED HUTTER (2005)

MANICHAEISM: MANICHAEISM IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

The early diffusion of Manichaeism in the late Roman Empire was achieved directly through the missionary vision of Mani and the evangelistic endeavors of his earliest disciples. Patronized by the Sassanid monarch Shāpūr I, Mani disseminated his teaching both within the Sassanid Empire and in the frontier regions of the Roman Empire, which had recently come under Persian domination. According to Manichaean texts, a mission led by Adda was active along the Syrian frontier at the time of the ascendancy of Odaenathus at Palmyra (c. 262–266). The mission appears to have spent some time in Palmyra and later reached Egypt, especially Alexandria; a number of communities were established, which might have later influenced the development of early Christian monasticism. It is possible that a separate mission to Egypt, probably via Eilat and the Red Sea ports, was also dispatched, and Luxor (Lycopolis) eventually became its center. The sect had reached Syria, North Africa, Asia Minor, the Balkans, and Italy, including Rome, by end of the third century CE.

The study of the history of the sect in the Roman Empire was greatly advanced by the recovery of genuine Manichaean writings in the form of ancient manuscripts and not merely citations transmitted in polemical writings by their enemies. The first manuscripts to come to light, between 1915 and 1919, were a small number of papyrus fragments in Syriac, written in the distinctive Manichaean Estrangela script, recovered from Oxyrhynchus in Egypt. A more substantial but highly fragmentary text in Latin was recovered from Theveste (Roman Tabessa) in North Africa in 1918. This text, probably a letter, was written in Latin by a Manichaean elect using Christian scriptures (both the Gospels and the Pauline epistles) to justify the apparently privileged position of the elect and the theological reasons for their needing the service of the hearers to attend to their daily needs. The elect members of the sect were the priests who were not permitted to engage in harvesting or thrashing or milling of the wheat or barley nor in the act of baking for fear of damaging the Light-particles which according to Manichaean teaching are found in plant-life. Their livelihood therefore depended on the service of the hearers who were members of the second rank. A substantial find of Manichaean texts were made at Medinet Madi (Roman Narmouthis) in Egypt, between 1929 and 1930, consisting of seven codices in the Lycopolitan (specifically dialect L4) or the Sub-Achmimic B dialect of the Coptic language, which was not native to the area where the texts were found. It is highly possible that the texts were originally translated from Syriac near Luxor (Roman Lycopolis) and brought to Medinet Madi in the late fourth century CE by Manichaean missionaries who hid them for fear of confiscation by the Christian Roman authorities. The cache was split up by the workmen who discovered it; some were purchased by the Irish-American collector Chester Beatty, and the rest by the Berlin Academy. The division is as follows:

In Berlin, at the Bode Museum for Egyptology:

1. The *Letters* of Mani.
2. The *Kephalaia of the Teacher* (i.e., Mani).
3. The *Synaxeis* Codex, which appears to contain a commentary on the *Living Gospel* (a canonical work of Mani's) and a text that remains unidentified.
4. A historical work that includes a life of Mani and the early history of the sect (the so-called *Acta* Codex).

In Dublin, the Chester Beatty Collection, originally in London:

5. The *Homilies.*
6. The *Psalm-Book.*
7. The *Kephalaia of the Wisdom of My Lord Mani.*

Unfortunately, substantial sections of the codices containing the *Letters* of Mani and the historical work were lost in the aftermath of World War II before the leaves were conserved and photographed. Nevertheless, the texts, which are still in the process of being edited and translated, throw an enormous amount of light on the earliest phase of the history of the sect in its original Mesopotamian homeland. To these texts from Medinet Madi must be added a miniature parchment codex containing an autobiographical account of the early life of Mani in Greek, which might have originally been recovered from Lycopolis in Egypt and is now housed and exhibited in the Papyrussammlung of Cologne University (the so-called *Cologne Mani Codex*). A Coptic version of this Greek text might have formed the first part of the now almost completely lost historical text in Coptic recovered from Medinet Madi. This text describes Mani's upbringing in a community of "baptists," who claimed Elchasaios, a Jewish

Christian known from Christian polemical writings, as one of the founders of their sect. The successful deciphering of this text in 1970 caused a sensation and completely altered the direction of research on Manichaean origins; scholars now had to look more closely at the esoteric fringes of Second Temple Judaism and at Gnostic Christianity for the ancestry of some of Mani's ideas, both on cosmogony and on ethics.

The existence of a Manichaean community at Kellis in the Dakleh Oasis in Egypt during the late Roman period (fourth century CE) came as a complete surprise to scholars. Manichaean texts in Coptic, Greek, and Syriac were recovered as part of the ongoing excavations at Ismant el-Kharab by an international team led by scholars from Australia. The texts recovered so far consist of papyrus codices, as well as inscribed wooden boards. These contain psalms and prayers and a substantial number of fragments of the canonical *Letters of Mani*. There are also bilingual Syriac and Coptic word lists, and the same Estrangela script that was used on the fragments from Oxyrhynchus was also used for these texts. This script is standard for the copying of Manichaean texts in Central Asia in Middle Iranian as well as Turkic languages. Because the texts from Kellis were recovered from a clearly recorded archaeological context, they show that the religion was widespread in the oasis and that the followers regarded themselves as true Christians. The discovery of a substantial section of Paul's epistle to the Romans shows that the sect was well versed in Christian literature, and it is clear from the unique private letters of the believers that the reading of both Manichaean and what is now called apocryphal Christian literature (e.g., *Acts of John*) was prescribed. The community disappeared when the oasis site was abandoned at the end of the fourth century CE.

The spread of Manichaeism in the Roman Empire was assisted above all by the conversion of the Empire to Christianity. This opened many missionary possibilities for a religion that claimed to be a superior form of Christianity and that was proclaimed by a prophet who styled himself the "Apostle of Jesus Christ" and the promised Paraclete. It is clear that Mani saw himself as a latter-day Saint Paul who could claim apostleship through special visionary appearances by his divine alter ego (his *syzygos*). It is also clear that Mani was familiar with both Christian literature and the hyper-Pauline and anti-Judaic writings of Marcion.

In the Roman Empire, when the religion was first disseminated under the last pagan regime prior to Constantine, its polytheism was thinly disguised. But as the religion circulated under Christian emperors it became a form of Christian dualism (between spirit and body, as well as between good and evil) with strong emphasis on asceticism, especially for the elect members of the sect. The Manichaean community at Kellis, for instance, clearly regarded itself as a sect of Gnostic Christianity, and the surviving correspondence of its members abounded in Christian (and Gnostic) terminology and shows familiarity with Christian (including apocryphal) writings. Persecution against the sect, instigated probably by the pagan emperor Diocletian or his colleague Galerius in 302, was probably instrumental in the establishment of a major Manichaean community at Kellis. The earliest Manichaean missionaries were undoubtedly Syriac speakers, but the sect's literature was soon translated into Greek, Latin, and Coptic. As in Central Asia, the copying of Manichaean texts was held in high esteem by the sect and was normally carried out by hearers. Manichaean books were handsomely bound, and extant examples display a uniformly high standard of calligraphy.

One of the best-known Roman converts to the sect was Augustine of Thagaste in North Africa, who became a hearer while he was a university student and teacher at Carthage (c. 373–382). After his famous conversion to a more orthodox Christianity (via Neoplatonism) in Milan in 386, he would devote a great deal of his intellectual energy into refuting the basic tenets of the sect, especially its dualism, its use of Christian scriptures, and its pseudo-asceticism, through his vast literary output. A particular source of concern for Christian polemicists like Augustine was the sect's claim to be a superior form of Christianity through its interpretation of Christian rather than Manichaean scriptures. The sect's rejection of the Old Testament—save for stories concerning certain figures like Seth and Enoch (who were also revered in Gnostic teaching)—as relevant for salvation would have been popular among pagans who wished to be converted to Christianity but who abhorred Judaism. The sect claimed to revere the crucified Christ; the long-term imprisonment of light by matter in the physical universe was, according to Manichaean teaching, personified by the "suffering Jesus" (*Jesus patibilis*). This allowed the sect to give a mystical interpretation to the crucifixion, and their use of the historical Jesus as a messianic figure who heralded the mission and "martyrdom" of Mani also enforced the appeal of the sect to a recently Christianized populace.

Christian leaders therefore had to demonstrate that Manichaean Christology had no scriptural basis and was founded on themes in apocryphal Christian literature, such as the *Acts of John* and the *Acts of Thomas*. They were also concerned that Manichaean belief in a dualistic creation myth could lead to the denial of the role of human volition in sin and the attribution of evil to a secondary deity that would challenge the omnipotence of the Christian God (the Father). Augustine, the most effective of the Christian polemicists on this score took the battle to the Manichaeans by accusing them of rendering the Judeo-Christian God less than omnipotent by removing him entirely from the horror of human existence. The God that Augustine presents to his Manichaean opponents is imbued with qualities that are more Neoplatonic than Christian. He is almighty, all-seeing, all-knowing, wise, loving, and above all creative, because all these qualities are not for his own gratification but emanate from him into the whole of creation. The world was created out of nothing (*ex nihilo*), and by "nothing" Augustine means absolute nonbeing, thereby rejecting the pagan view that the world was created out of "not anything."

Into this modified Neoplatonic picture of creation as emanation, Augustine injects the important Christian doctrine that God saw that everything he created was good (*Gn.* 1:10). The identification of creation with goodness is fundamental to him. Matter, in that it was created, is not in itself evil, as the Manichaeans would argue, but formless. Upon this basic substance God imposed "measure, form, and order" (*modus, species, et ordo*) in different ways to bring about the variety of his creation. Evil is not to be found in creation but in the way a certain object is deficient in its measure, form, and order. Evil is a negative force because it is a privation of good (*privatio boni*). Therefore, one cannot say that evil exists in the same way that good exists, because it is a corruption of good and hence parasitic in its existence. In short, evil exists only as a less desirable aspect of some actual unity that is intrinsically good, although it may have fallen far below the state that God intended. An earlier contemporary writer against the sect, Titus of Bostra, would argue that all suffering, including natural disasters, is the result of sin and not the work of a malignant deity. Human beings, according to Titus, are born neither good nor bad but fair. People acquire goodness through education and training. From birth they are imbued with the knowledge of good and evil. Consequently, they are able to reflect on the consequences of sinful actions and come to right decisions. What Titus advocates, therefore, is an all-out assault on evil by Christians in their daily living, rather than remaining on the defensive like the father of light in the Manichaean myth, waiting for the prince of darkness, his opponent, to take the initiative.

The much-vaunted ascetical commandments of the Manichaeans were seen by their Christian opponents as being based on the sect's belief in the evil nature of matter and not on genuine efforts to combat human desires. Manichaean leaders were frequently accused (e.g., by Augustine) of gluttony and overindulgence in expensive (vegetarian) food and (fruit) drinks. The sect was also labeled as libertines who used innumerable methods of contraception to enable the elect to practice sexual intercourse without leading to human birth and generation, which would prolong the "crucifixion" of light-particles in matter.

The religion, as already mentioned, was banned by the pagan emperor Diocletian in 302 for being a Persian sect that could endanger the moral values of patriotic Romans. The ban was later renewed by Christian emperors, who accused the sect of being a secretive cult, and Manichaeanism was heavily persecuted from Theodosius I onward as the most dangerous of Christian heresies. The standard punishment was the denial of rights of Roman citizenship, a punishment that prohibited members from making wills, which rendered any form of gift to the sect difficult. By the early Byzantine period, the death penalty was commonly inflicted on the leaders of the sect. The church was highly active in promoting polemical writings against the sect, especially a fictional life of Mani known as the *Acta Archelai*, in which Mani was portrayed as a failed miracle-worker who plagiarized his teachings from Christian sources. This and other polemical writings constituted the main source on the history of the sect until the beginning of the twentieth century. Moreover, they were used regularly by the Byzantine and Catholic churches in the Middle Ages against "Neo-Manichaean" sects, such as Paulicianism, Bogomilism, and Catharism. The actual religion itself was probably extinguished by persecution under Justinian, since no genuine Manichaean texts appear to be cited by, nor known by name to, the sect's medieval and Byzantine opponents.

SEE ALSO Mani.

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SAMUEL N. C. LIEU (2005)

MANICHAEISM: MANICHAEISM AND CHRISTIANITY

The teaching of Mani (216–277 CE) was essentially Gnostic, its constituent elements deriving from Judaism, Judeo-Christianity, and Iranian religion, especially Zoroastrianism in its Zurwānist form. It incorporated features from Marcion of Pontus (d. c. 160 CE) and from pluralistic Syriac Christianity represented by Bardesanes (Bardaisan) of Edessa (154–222 CE). According to the *Cologne Mani Codex* and several other primary texts discovered in Egypt, it is basically correct to see early Manichaeism as a kind of Christian heresy. Mani considered himself an apostle of Jesus Christ and, moreover, the Paraclete promised by Jesus. Within the Roman Empire the Manichaeans claimed to be the true Christian believers (*veri Christiani*), while they saw the members of the Catholic Christian Church as "semi-Christians." According to his *Capitula*, handed over by Augustine of Hippo (c. 400 CE), Faustus, the itinerant Manichaean bishop originating from Milevis (Algeria), declared his acceptance of the preaching of Jesus and his belief in a kind of Trinity. For many years the future Catholic bishop Augustine did the same (cf., e.g., *Confessions* III.6.10).

Mani himself believed he was promulgating a new universal religion that would supersede all others. The "prophet from the land of Babylon" was born on April 14, 216 CE, near the southern Mesopotamian town of Seleucia-Ctesiphon on the Tigris River. His father's name was Pattīg or Pattēg; in all probability the (Jewish) name of his mother was Marjam (Mirjam). After receiving several revelations from his heavenly Twin, Mani started his missionary journeys inside and outside the Persian Empire in 240 CE, at first accompanied only by his father and two other members of the Judeo-Christian (Elchasaite) sect of his youth.

Following the example of the apostles of Jesus, missionaries were sent out, and Mani himself journeyed in 241 CE by boat to India and up the Indus Valley to Turan, where he won over the king. Soon after the accession of Shāpūr I (242–273 CE) as the sole king of kings of the Persian Empire, Mani seems to have delivered to him his only Middle Persian writing, the *Shābuhragān.* His admittance into Shāpūr's entourage accorded him unique opportunities to propagate his new prophecy. After Shāpūr's death, Mani also found a willing ear with Hormīzd (Ōhrmazd, 272–273). At the beginning of the second year of the reign of Bahrām I (274–276/7), this benevolent attitude changed. Kardēr, the head of the Zoroastrian magi, began to persuade the great king to take action against the new prophet. Mani was summoned before Bahrām, duly accused, put in chains, and tortured. After twenty-six days in prison, Mani died. In several Manichaean sources his death is described as a crucifixion. Mani's religion soon spread from Mesopotamia to the Atlantic in the west and finally as far as the Pacific in the east.

Although Mani failed to make his revelation the official religion of Iran, he succeeded in what he really intended: the establishment of a new world religion or church. The firm interior organization of this church seems to date from Mani's times and, in essence, may even be a creation of the prophet himself. The church was headed by Mani and later by his deputy *archègos.* Immediately following this *archègos* or *princeps* there were, in the order of three subordinate ranks, the 12 apostles or teachers, the 72 bishops, and the 360 presbyters. The fourth rank was constituted by the elect, both men and women, and finally, the fifth rank consisted of the wide circle of auditors. In order to firmly establish the doctrine of his church, Mani composed a sevenfold canon of authoritative writings:

1. *The Living Gospel* (or Great Gospel);
2. *The Treasure of Life;*
3. The *Pragmateia* (or Treatise, Essay);
4. *The Book of Mysteries* (Secrets);
5. *The Book of the Giants;*

6. The *Letters*;
7. The *Psalms* and *Prayers*.

All of these writings only survive in fragmentary form, but in many cases its Jewish and in particular (Judeo-)Christian parallels are evident. The discovery of the *Cologne Mani Codex* shortly before 1970 produced a highly significant extract from the first and most important of Mani's writing, that is, his *Living Gospel*.

Like his followers in the West, Mani regarded himself as a true disciple of Jesus: he assumed the title "apostle of Jesus Christ." However, this title seems not to be fashioned after the example and role of the apostles of Jesus in the New Testament Gospels. Mani preeminently followed in the footsteps of the apostle Paul. In the case of Mani the concept of apostle should be taken in an even wider sense. In the *Cologne Mani Codex,* as in several other Manichaean writings, Paul functions as a link in a long chain of "apostles of truth." These apostles include such Jewish forefathers as Adam, Sethel, Enos, Sem, and Henoch, but also religious figures like the Buddha and Zoroaster had been called to become the apostle for their own time. The idea of the cyclical incarnation of the true apostle (or prophet or savior or evangelist: in many Manichaean texts these terms are interchangeable) was well known in Judeo-Christian circles. Moreover it is likely that, for the Manichaeans, Mani was also the seal of the prophets. Later on Muḥammad seems to have adopted this concept of being both the apostle (*rasūl*) of God and the seal of the prophets.

When Manichaeism moved east, much of its essential structure remained the same. In southern China, Mani was presented as a reincarnation of Laozi, the founder of Daoism; to many others, he was the Buddha of Light. Yet eastern and western Manichaeism were to a certain extent identical, though the eastern texts represent a much later and far more syncretistic form of Manichaeism. In all its varieties, however, the figure of Jesus had a certain place.

In order to understand both Mani's claim of being an apostle of Jesus Christ and the universal place of Jesus himself within the Manichaean system, some key elements of the Manichaean myth will be highlighted. According to this myth, a series of emanations took place in the heavenly world. From the Father of Greatness came forth the Messenger of Light, and from him emanated Jesus the Splendor, who in turn brought forth the Light-Mind, or Light-Nous. This Nous called forth the Apostle of Light, and during the course of world history this (heavenly) apostle became incarnate in great religious leaders, such as the Buddha, Zoroaster, Jesus the Messiah, and Mani. When Mani assumed the title of apostle of Jesus Christ, he actually considered himself an apostle of Jesus the Splendor and not of the historical Jesus. The figure of Jesus the Messiah was, in fact, well known in Manichaeism, but in comparison to the other apostles, he did not have any unique significance (as in mainstream Christendom). He also was an apostle of the Light-Nous, and thus of Jesus the Splendor.

Mani and his followers taught a cosmogony of a definitely dualistic kind: evil is an eternal cosmic force, not the result of a fall. Two realms or kingdoms—that of light and that of darkness, good and evil, God and matter—oppose each other implacably. This dualism, however, is not the Hellenistic dualism of spirit and matter but one of two substances: the divine light is a visible, spatial, and quantifiable element, as is the evil substance of darkness, the active principle of lust, the "thought of death."

THE MYTH. In the kingdom of light the Father of Greatness rules, and this kingdom is an extension of himself. It has four divine attributes (purity, light, power, wisdom), and the Father resides in his five intellectual powers or "limbs" (reason, mind, intelligence, thought, and understanding, which are otherwise substantially detailed as the five elements of living air, light, wind, water, and fire). Surrounding the Father are the twelve aeons, equally distributed toward the four directions of heaven and refracted into myriads of "aeons of the aeons."

Opposed to the kingdom of light is the realm of darkness, a kingdom that is essentially the domain of evil matter. It is disorderly and dominated by the Prince of Darkness, who is the product of (and even identified with) evil matter. This kingdom also consists of five areas or worlds (dark reason, dark mind), which are also referred to as the five elements of smoke, fire, wind, water, and darkness. In this area countless demons are actively present; they fight and devour each other. Because there was an accidental shift of these disorganized movements, the Prince of Darkness once glimpsed the radiance of light, desired to possess its life, and therefore attacked the kingdom of light. In the ensuing struggle, the Father of Light called forth the Mother of Life, who in turn evoked the First Man. This was the first series of "evocations." After that, the First Man, the "firstborn" Son of God, was called forth and, being equipped with the five light powers as his "sons" or "arms," went into battle. But Primal Man was defeated, and his fivefold armor or Living Soul was devoured by the powers of evil. This being the case, the divine Soul (also termed the Living Self that is suspended on the Cross of Light and, particularly in the West, personified as the suffering Jesus, *Jesus patibilis*) was mixed with the dark elements of matter and thus became in need of redemption.

The First Man, being vanquished, lay unconscious in the depths. In order to redeem him, the Father of Light called forth a second series of evocations: a new divine Trinity. First, the Father sent forth the Beloved of the Lights; from him came the Great Builder; he in turn produced the Living Spirit. This Living Spirit (also termed the Father of Life) sent his Call from the lowest boundary of the world of light to the First Man lying in the depths. First Man aroused from his unconscious state and responded by an Answer. Then the Living Spirit, together with its five sons and the Mother of Life, descended to the First Man and led him up to the world of light. To rescue the light still captured through the compound of the divine Soul with evil matter, the Living Spirit constructed, with the help of its sons, ten heavens and eight earths.

It is especially noteworthy that, according to the Manichaean cosmogonic myth, this act of creation is performed by a light god, not by an evil demiurge. Thus, in Manichaeism, unlike most other Gnostic systems, the structure of the universe is divinely devised. In order to create the cosmos, however, use had to be made of material of a mixed substance (light and darkness). The sun and the moon are considered to be vessels of pure light, being made from the particles of light completely unaffected by darkness. The planets and stars, however, are evil rulers because they are created from material contaminated with darkness.

With the world so constructed—as a well-ordered prison for the forces of darkness and also as a place where the divine Soul has been captured—the process of salvation could begin. To this end a third evocation of deities occurred. The Father of Greatness called forth the Third Messenger or Ambassador, who was charged to extract and purify the light still retained by the powers of darkness and contained in their bodies. By taking advantage of the innate lust of the male and female archons chained in the heavens, this Tertius Legatus and his female doublet, the Virgin of Light (also represented as the Twelve Maidens, each corresponding to a sign of the zodiac), made them relinquish the light they had devoured. It was concentrated in particular in their semen and in their wombs. The sins of the male archons fell upon the earth when they saw the beautiful Maiden(s). Out of that part of their semen that had dropped into water a monster arose, but this fearful beast was subjugated by the Adamas of Light. From the semen that had fallen on the dry ground, five trees sprang up, and from them all other forms of plant life originated.

When the female archons, pregnant by their own evil nature, saw the naked form of the Third Messenger, they were also agitated, and their fetuses fell down upon the earth. These abortions not only survived their premature births but also devoured the fruits of the trees that had grown out of the semen of the male archons. Driven by sexual lust, they united with each other and gave birth to the innumerable species of animals now known. The light that was not saved was thus transferred to the earth, where it is still scattered and bound in plants and, to a lesser degree, in the bodies of animals.

The next episodes of the Manichaean myth may be summarized, still with a certain emphasis on Christian parallels, as succinctly as possible. In order to continue the liberation of the light, the Third Messenger called forth the Column of Glory (who is also referred to as the New or Perfect Man; cf. *Eph.* 4:12–13) and set in motion the work of "the ships of light" (i.e., the sun and moon) in order to transport the light to the New Paradise that had been built by the Great Builder. This process frightened the powers of darkness, and in a desperate attempt to preserve some of the captive particles of light, they created the first human couple, Adam and Eve. Hence man was fabricated by the demons, but after the image of the Third Messenger (and so ultimately after the image of God), which the demons had seen on high. Man was thus rooted in two worlds, but at first he was unconscious of his high descent. However, Jesus the Luminous descended to bring him the saving knowledge; this revelation by Jesus to Adam is the archetype of all future human redemption. Gradually this liberation will be achieved. In order to bring about the redemption of the light, Jesus evoked the Light-Mind, or Light-Nous (Intelligence). This Nous in turn summoned forth the Apostle of Light, who became incarnate in the world's great religious leaders.

The final stage of history will be introduced by the Great War between the forces of good and evil. When the church of the righteous ones triumphs, all the souls will be judged, and those of the chosen will rise to heaven. After that the world will be destroyed and purified by a fire lasting 1,468 years. All or most of the light particles will be saved; evil matter, in all its manifestations and with its victims (the damned), will be forever imprisoned in a globe (*bôlos*, *globus*). Then the separation of light and darkness will be accomplished for all eternity.

This is an eclectic account of the myth. However complex its ramifications became in the course of many centuries, its essentials remained the same. It is Mani's doctrine that there are two principles and three "moments": the time before the commingling and the struggle, when the two kingdoms of light and darkness were opposed; the time of the commingling, the present world's existence; and future time, in which the two kingdoms will again be (and now definitively) separated. In essence this doctrine is typically Gnostic: the Nous (the heavenly revelation) rescues the Psyche (the divine spark of light in man) from Hyle (evil matter).

SPREAD OF MANICHAEISM. In the fourth century Manichaeism made great strides in Egypt and North Africa. In 373 Augustine joined the sect in Carthage, and he remained an ardent follower of Manichaeism for more than ten years. Later on, during his career as a Catholic presbyter and bishop, he opposed his former coreligionists in a great number of writings. Nevertheless it is still debated whether the most influential father of the Western church was also positively influenced by Manichaeism. Many of Mani's adherents became refugees with the onslaught of the vandals in the course of the fifth century CE. Hence in Rome, Pope Leo the Great (r. 440–461) actively sought out Manichaean refugees in order to suppress them. In 527 CE there were lawsuits against them in Constantinople. However, Manichaeism survived in North Africa until at least the eighth century CE.

In the East, on the other hand, especially in Chinese Turkestan, there is evidence that Manichaeans were still active in the thirteenth century. A Manichaean temple built in the fourteenth century is still standing on Hua-piao Hill not far from the modern city of Quanzhou on the South China Coast.

Statements by Catholic Christian writers in the Middle Ages suggest that Manichaeism persisted in the West. The Paulicians, the Bogomils, and the Cathari, as well as those who followed Priscillian were all charged with being Manichaeans. In fact, all these authorities were using *Manichaean* as a synonym for *dualist*, and any teaching that manifested a tendency toward dualism was accordingly called Manichaean. The teaching of Priscillian (c. 370 CE) is by no means easy to define, but it is doubtful that the epithet Manichaean is applicable. The Paulicians, first noted in Armenia in the seventh century CE, seem to have been straightforward Gnostics; they had a direct influence on the Bogomils, who emerged in Bulgaria in the tenth century. In the eleventh century the Cathari began to achieve notoriety in Italy, Germany, and France—being commonly called Albigensians in France—but it has yet to be proved that there was an evident historical connection between any of these and the ancient Manichaeans.

SEE ALSO Cathari.

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MANICHAEISM: MANICHAEISM IN CENTRAL ASIA AND CHINA

The diffusion of Manichaeism in Central Asia is documented only in Manichaean historical sources found in Chotcho near Turfan by German explorers at the beginning of the twentieth century. These were recovered in fragmentary condition, but they clearly once belonged to handsome codices produced in the Uighur kingdom in the tenth and eleventh centuries CE, when Manichaeism was the dominant state religion. From these historical texts we learn that the religion was under the leadership of Mar Ammo, one of the best known of Mani's disciples, who was chosen for the evangelization of Eastern Iran because of his knowledge of the Parthian language. He was accompanied by translators, which explains why Manichaean texts in Parthian often show traces of direct translation from Mani's original Syriac. Mar Ammo was also honored in later Manichaean tradition as the first missionary to cross the River Oxus into Khorasan.

Once established in the territories of the former Kushan Empire, Manichaeism came into competition and synthesis with Buddhism, and Manichaean texts in Parthian in particular acquired a large number of Buddhist terms and concepts, such as *vairocana*, *parinirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra*. In addition, Mani came to be worshiped as the Buddha of Light, but the Feast of the Bema, which commemorates Mani's death, remained a unique and important ceremony for the sect. At some point, Middle Persian-speaking Manichaeans also migrated into Central Asia, and the city of Merv probably became a merging point for both the Parthian-speaking and Middle Persian-speaking branches of the sect. As Manichaean missionaries moved eastward along the Silk Road, many of their converts would have been Sogdians or Sogdian-speakers, and their religious texts were translated into Sogdian, and also into Bactrian and Tocharian. Along the Silk Road, Manichaean missionaries probably performed a variety of roles, including those of musicians, scribes, and information gatherers (especially on prices of goods and exchange rates). Manichaeism was unique among religions in Central Asia in that it maintained three principal languages (Middle Persian, Parthian, and Sogdian) for its scripture. There are some examples of texts (such as Mani's *Evangelium*, of which only a few leaves have survived) that are diglottal (Middle Persian and Sogdian).

At the end of the seventh century CE, an important schism broke out between the followers of Mihr (the Mihrijja) and those of Miqlas (the Miqlasijja) in Mesopotamia over how strictly certain rules governing daily living should be followed. This dispute was continued by Manichaean communities in Central Asia, which generally followed the stricter Miqlasijja branch. The Sogdian Manichaeans also paid considerable attention to the hierarchical distinction between the elect who were committed to a life of ascetical living and the hearers who were members of the second rank and who were more involved with commercial activities along the Silk Road. The elect members who were mainly priests had to rely on the hearers for their sustenance and in return they absolved the hearers from their sins. The religion became synonymous with the *dynd'r* or *dyn'br* (Sogdian for "elect"), and when the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Xuanzang traversed Bactria and Tocharistan circa 630 CE, he noted that the religion of the Tinaba was a heresy among the Persians. Recent archaeological discoveries suggest that Manichaeism was already established in the Turfan area prior to the conversion of the Uighur Khaghan in 762 CE.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF MANICHAEISM IN CHINA. Little was known of the precise history of Manichaeism in China until the discovery of genuine Manichaean texts in Chinese from the Cave of a Thousand Buddhas in Dunhuang in the first decade of the twentieth century. These came as a surprise to Sinologists who believed that traditional China was highly impervious to foreign religious influences other than those of Buddhism and Islam. No account of the gradual diffusion of the religion from Eastern Iran to China via the Silk Road had come down to us from a Manichaean source. Chinese sources mention the sending of Mozak (a Manichaean priest of a high grade) by Tes, the King of Cazanistan and Tocharistan, to the Tang court in 719 CE. Mozak was reportedly well-received by the court because of his skills in astrology. Moreover, the Manichaeans in China preserved the tradition that the spread of the religion in the Middle Kingdom was brought about by the earlier arrival of Mozak during the reign of Emperor Gaozong of the Tang dynasty. Mozak's pupil, Mihr-Ōhrmazd (Mi-we-mo-ssu), who held the rank of *aftadan* (*fu-to-tan,* or *episcopus*), later also came to China and presented himself to the royal court, where he was granted an audience by the Empress Wu. According to later Buddhist sources in Chinese, Mihr-Ōhrmazd presented to the court a Manichaean work entitled the *Sūtra of the Two principles*, which was to become the most popular Manichaean scripture in China.

The religion was clearly popular among the Sogdian (i.e., East Iranian) merchants and there were attempts to win Chinese converts. In 731 CE a Manichaean priest was asked to provide a summary of the main tenets of the religion. It is interesting to note that the version of the summary (the *Compendium of the Teachings of Mani the Buddha of Light*) that was found among the Dunhuang documents already shows clear attempts to depict Manichaeism as a form of Buddhism; Mani was seen as an *avatar* (reincarnation or remanifestation) of Laozi, the traditional founder of Daoism in China. Many Chinese believed that Laozi had not died but had gone to the west, where he reappeared as the Buddha. This legend was used by the Manichaeans as a passport to the multireligious scene of Tang China. The legend was also welcomed by syncretistic Daoists who were keen to absorb the new religion into the mainstream of Chinese religions through this putative connection with the founder of Daoism. The response of the Tang government to the *Compendium*, however, was the prompt passage of a law in 731 that restricted the dissemination of the religion among foreigners in China and banned its spread among the indigenous Chinese. By then a substantial number of Manichaean texts had already been translated into Chinese from Parthian and Sogdian; one of the longest Manichaean texts in Chinese, a version of the *Sermon of the Light-Nous* (a popular Manichaean text in Central Asia) contains a character that was forbidden after the reign of Empress Wu.

In addition, the third of the three Chinese texts from Dunhuang, the *Hymnscroll,* contains hymns that are both transliterated and translated from Parthian, indicating an early period of contact with Manichaean communities in Central Asia. Some canonical Manichaean texts (non-extant) were listed among the Nestorian Christian texts translated by the famous Nestorian missionary Jing-jing, which may explain why the sacred writings of the Nestorians and Manichaeans in Chinese shared some common theological vocabulary. Beyond that, there was very little in common between the two sects, except that the Chinese authorities considered both to be of Persian origin until the Nestorians petitioned successfully in 745 to have the epithet "Persian" replaced by "Roman" in the title of their religion.

MANICHAEISM AS THE OFFICIAL RELIGION OF THE UIGHUR KINGDOM. A major landmark in the history of Manichaeism in China was the conversion of Moyu (Bogu) Khan of the Uighur Turks to the religion in 762. Since 755, Tang China had been fatally weakened by the so-called An Lushan rebellion; the Uighurs became the only effective fighting force in the service of the Tang government, and their troops garrisoned the sensitive frontier between China and Tibet. The conversion that was proclaimed on a trilingual (Old Turkish in runic script, Sogdian, and Chinese) inscription found at Karabalghasun at the end of the nineteenth century proudly announces the adoption of strict prohibitions, such as vegetarianism and the abstention from alcohol. Under the patronage of the Uighurs, Manichaean temples were permitted to be established in both the capitals of China (Chang'an and Luoyang), as well as four other major cities in North and Central China. The sudden collapse of the Uighur Empire in 840 led to the closure of most of the temples, and after the proscription against Buddhism and other foreign religions in 843, Manichaean priests were publicly humiliated and executed. The remnants of the Uighur Turks were resettled in the region round Chotcho.

Manichaeism continued to flourish and followers were rewarded with productive agricultural lands, which, despite the religion's rules against intoxication, were used for the cultivation of wine grapes. The brief period of foreign patronage probably only lasted a century, but it was the period in which most of the Manichaean texts that were recovered by the German Turfan expeditions were produced by highly professional scribes and artists.

MANICHAEISM AS A SECRET RELIGION IN CHINA. The religion reemerged during the Five Dynasties period (907–960) as a popular secret religion in Central and, in particular, South China. The earlier use of the myth of the Buddha Mani as an *avatar* of Laozi enabled the Manichaeans to pass themselves off as Buddhists or as Daoists. The religion was particularly popular south of the Yangtze, especially in and around the cosmopolitan port city of Quanzhou (Zaitun in Western medieval sources). The followers of the religion were sufficiently well connected for some of their scriptures to be accepted into the Daoist canon in 1019 (since then removed).

In 1120 a major rebellion took place under the leadership of Fang La, the owner of a lacquer grove, in protest against a special impost on luxury goods. It was widely believed by the authorities that many of the rebels were members of secret religious sects (castigated by authorities as "vegetarian demon worshipers") and that their meeting places were loci of political protest. This led to widespread crackdowns on unauthorized religious assemblies and the confiscation of noncanonical scriptures. A list of the latter was given in a memorial of 1120, which shows that much of the typical Manichaean terminology found in texts translated from Central Asian languages during the Tang period was still in use by members of the sect in South China. An exchange of letters between a Daoist abbot of a former Manichaean temple and a Confucian scholar, composed in 1204, shows that the strict commandments of the sect (on vegetarianism and sexual abstinence, as well as a requirement to pray seven times a day) still had admirers in Central China, though there were few devotees.

MANICHAEISM IN SOUTH CHINA UNDER THE MONGOLS. The Mongol conquest of South China in 1280 brought a century of freedom of persecution for the Manichaeans in that region. It is highly probable that the secretive "Christians" whom Marco Polo and his uncle Maffeo encountered in Fuzhou were in fact Manichaeans. Nestorianism also returned to China; many of the Mongol administrators and military commanders were Turkic-speaking Nestorians. Bishop Mar Solomon (d. 1313) is given the title "Bishop of the Manichaeans and Nestorians of the various circuits of Jiangnan" on a bilingual Turko-Syriac (i.e., Turkish written in Nestorian Syriac script with Syriac loanwords) and Chinese inscription discovered during the Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) at Quanzhou. It was under the Mongols that the Manichaeans took over a Buddhist temple on Huabiao Hill in Jinjiang near Quanzhou and refurbished it as a Manichaean temple with a statue of Mani as the Buddha of Light. This statue, which was recovered from a former Manichaean temple in North China, shows many similar features, especially in the design of its garments, with the famous portrait of a Manichaean leader as depicted on a wall painting from Chotcho that was destroyed in World War II.

The Nestorian community in South China, judging from the abundant remains of their funerary monuments in syncretistic Buddhist and Christian art forms and inscriptions in half a dozen languages (including Chinese and Turko-Syriac), was clearly reintroduced from Central Asia by Mongols to serve as administrators. Their presence in Quanzhou and their high social status probably enabled the Manichaeans to claim protection as a privileged foreign religion. However, as soon as the Mongols were expelled in 1368, Manichaeism found itself once more under persecution with the accession of a more inward-looking Ming dynasty. Nevertheless, as late as the fifteenth century, the followers of the sect would still count Jesus and the "primal man" among the religion's chief deities. The religion probably finally died out in the first decades of the twentieth century in South China. The temple on Huabiao Hill, which local worshipers call a *cao'an* (thatched nunnery), is still used daily as a Buddhist temple in which Mani is worshiped as a local Buddhist deity with special powers.

SEE ALSO Chinese Religion, overview article; Mani.

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MĀṆIKKAVĀCAKAR (ninth century CE), Tamil poet-saint devoted to the god Śiva. Māṇikkavācakar ("he whose speech is like rubies") is generally acknowledged to have been the greatest poet of Tamil Śaivism. For at least the past thousand years he has also enjoyed the status of a saint in South Indian temples consecrated to Śiva, where one frequently sees his image and hears his hymns sung by professional reciters (*ōtuvārs*) as part of the regular temple ritual.

Māṇikkavācakar probably flourished about the middle of the ninth century. He was born in the *brahman* settlement at Tiruvātavūr, a village near Madurai. According to the *Tiruvātavūrar Purāṇam*, a fifteenth-century hagiography, he was a precocious child and at an early age entered the service of the Pandya king at Madurai; there he soon became prime minister. His high position notwithstanding, Māṇikkavācakar harbored religious longings that remained unfulfilled until, while on a trip to Perunturai (modern-day Avadayarkoyil in Pudukkottai District), he unexpectedly met and was initiated by a guru who was none other than Śiva himself. This abrupt change led to a series of bizarre and amusing incidents revolving around the interactions of Māṇikkavācakar kar, the Pandya king, and Śiva in various guises—all counted among Śiva's "sacred sports" as narrated in the *Tiruviḷaiyāṭal Purāṇam*, the sacred history of the great Mīnākṣī-Sundareśvara temple in Madurai.

After gaining release from the king's service, Māṇikkavācakar is reputed to have visited several shrines of Śiva in the Tamil country, composing hymns as he went. He eventually settled in Chidambaram, site of the Naṭarāja temple. Here he composed more poems, defeated Buddhists from Lanka in a debate, and finally, according to the hagiography, disappeared into the inner sanctum of the temple, having merged with the god.

Two works are ascribed to Māṇikkavācakar. His premier poem is the *Tiruvācakam* (Sacred speech), a collection of fifty-one hymns addressed to Śiva. The *Tiruvācakam* displays a rich variety of poetic forms skillfully utilized. Some of the poems are based on women's folk songs that accompany certain domestic activities or village games. In these instances, form and theology coincide, for in the *Tiruvācakam* Māṇikkavācakar typically casts himself as a female who is in love with Śiva. The hymns of the *Tiruvācakam* have long been venerated by Tamil speakers not just for their musicality but also for their paradigmatic expression of devotion. These hymns frequently give voice to the intense emotions of longing for, separation from, and union with the deity. They celebrate a god who overwhelms his devotee, resulting in an experience of melting and surrender. Viewed historically, the *Tiruvācakam* forms a bridge between early Tamil devotional poetry with its inheritance of forms and images drawn from the Caṅkam period, and the later systematic treatises of the Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta school of philosophy.

Māṇikkavācakar's other work, the *Tirukkōvaiyār*, is a poem of four hundred quatrains modeled on Caṅkam *akam* ("inner," i.e., love) poetry. Ostensibly an erotic poem, the *Tirukkōvaiyār* has traditionally been interpreted as an allegory on the relationship between Śiva and the soul. Along with the far more popular *Tiruvācakam*, it comprises the eighth section of the twelve-part Tirumurai, the canonical poetry of Tamil Śaivism.

In addition to the deep reverence many Tamils have for the *Tiruvācakam*, the cult of the saint is still prominent at several locations in modern Tamil Nadu. Especially noteworthy is the Śrī Ātmanātacuvāmi temple in Avadayarkoyil, marking the site of Māṇikkavācakar's initiation. Here the saint is ritually identified with the god, for only the saint's image, decorated to look like various forms of Śiva, is carried in procession at festivals. Also, both major annual festivals of this temple conclude with a dramatic ritual reenactment of Māṇikkavācakar's initiation by Śiva.

SEE ALSO Śaivism, articles on Nāyaṉārs, Śaiva Siddhānta; Tamil Religions.

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MANISM

MANISM (from Lat. *manes*, "departed spirit, ghost") was a theory of the origin of religion briefly advocated in the late nineteenth century by the popular British philosopher Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) and by one of his disciples, the Canadian-born Grant Allen (1848–1899). It bears no relation to, and should not be confused with, theories based on the concept of *mana*.

That the spirits of the dead occupy an important place in the history of religion is verifiable simply by observation. All primal and many later cultures have regarded the dead—and particularly the newly dead—as continuing to be active and concerned members of their respective families. Having passed beyond the limitations of earthly life, they are in possession of power greater than that of mortals. This power may be turned to the advantage of the living if the memory of the dead is respected and offerings continue to be made at the graveside or elsewhere. The unburied or uncremated dead, who have not been sent into the afterlife with the proper rituals, or those neglected by their families, are, on the other hand, liable to be dangerous. Always, however, they are believed to occupy a relatively lowly position in the supernatural hierarchy. They have power, but their power is limited as a rule to the circles within which they moved while still alive. Naturally, those who possessed greater power and influence during their lifetimes (chieftains and kings, for instance) were held to wield greater, though still limited, power after death.

The first attempt to link belief in the power of departed spirits with the world of religion was made in the early third century BCE, by the Greek writer Euhemerus (c. 340–260 BCE), in his *Hiera anagraphē* (Sacred history). Euhemerus claimed that all the gods had been prominent men and women of their own day, revered when alive and worshiped after death. In fact, of course, examples abound in societies past and present of human beings accorded divine honors after death, and similar theories have often been put forward to account for the otherwise obscure origins of several deities. Snorri Sturluson in his *Prose Edda*, for example, traced the ancestry of Þórr (Thor) and Óðinn (Odin) back to the heroes of the Trojan War. This type of explanation is generally called "euhemerism," after its first advocate.

But euhemerism seeks not to account for the origins of religion as such but only for the worship of particular deities. The theory is certainly sound, if kept within appropriate limits, since the deification process is well attested historically. Manism, on the other hand, sought to explain—or to explain away—the whole of religion on this one principle.

Herbert Spencer's essay "Manners and Fashion" was first published in the *Westminster Review* in April 1854, thus antedating E. B. Tylor's *Primitive Culture* (London, 1871) by seventeen years. In it, Spencer claimed to have established a close relation between "Law, Religion, and Manners," in the sense that those who presided over these three areas of human activity ("Deity, Chief, and Master of the Ceremonies") were identical. Reflecting further on the role of chiefs and medicine men in primitive belief, Spencer came to the conclusion that "the aboriginal god is the dead chief: the chief not dead in our sense, but gone away, carrying with him food and weapons to some rumoured region of plenty, some promised land, whither he had long intended to lead his followers, and whence he will presently return to fetch them. This hypothesis, once entertained, is seen to harmonize with all primitive ideas and practices" (Spencer, *Essays*, vol. 3, London, 1891, p. 7). Thus humankind's earliest deity had been a deified "big man," a deceased chief, whose power had been sufficiently great to have become a tradition and whose power was believed still to be operative from the other side of the gulf between life and death.

In 1862 Spencer published the first volume of his massive composite work of "sociology," appropriately called *First Principles* (these principles were, however, greatly revised in subsequent editions). There he stated:

> As all ancient records and traditions prove, the earliest rulers are regarded as divine personages. The maxims and commands they uttered during their lives are held sacred after their deaths, and are enforced by their divinely-descended successors; who in their turn are promoted to the pantheon of the race, there to be worshipped and propitiated along with their predecessors; the most ancient of whom is the supreme god, and the rest subordinate gods. (Spencer, *First Principles*, London, 1862, pp. 158–159)

This was, in essence, Spencer's theory of what subsequently came to be called "manism," also known as the "ghost theory" of the origin of religion.

Following the publication in 1876 of the first volume of Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, in which the theory was again stated, E. B. Tylor made perhaps his only entry into the field of public controversy. He reviewed Spencer's book in the journal *Mind* (2, no. 6, April 1877, pp. 141–156); Spencer replied in the same journal (pp. 415–419), with a further rejoinder by Tylor (pp. 419–423), by Spencer again (pp. 423–429), and a final short contribution by Tylor (p. 429). Tylor's contention was that "Mr. Spencer seems to stretch the principle of deities being actual ancestors deified somewhat far," that his contentions often could not be tested, and that when they could, his cases "hardly look encouraging." His theory, Tylor concluded, was "in conflict not merely with the speculations of mythologists, but with the canons of sober historical criticism." Spencer, who did not like to be criticized and seldom ventured into public controversy, nevertheless penned a reply, suggesting that Tylor actually was in agreement with him "in regarding the ghost-theory as primary and other forms of superstitions as derived . . . [although] it appears that he does not hold this view in the unqualified form given to it by me." Tylor answered, virtually accusing Spencer of plagiarism on some points, but stating that although Spencer had the right to hold his "ghost theory" (which closely resembled the theory put forth by Euhemerus), "I look on this theory as only partly true, and venture to consider Mr. Spencer's attempt to carry it through unreservedly as one of the least satisfactory parts of his system."

The trouble was that it was so hard to envisage any process by which ghosts could become the other inhabitants of the spiritual world. Andrew Lang sketched the broad outlines of this hypothetical process: "The conception of ghosts of the dead is more or less consciously extended, so that spirits who never were incarnate as men become credible beings. They may inform inanimate objects, trees, rivers, fire, clouds, earth, sky, the great natural departments, and thence polytheism results" (*Cock Lane and Common Sense*, London, 1894, p. 339). This Lang did not accept. He was moving steadily in the direction of his theory of the existence of "high gods" and was disposed to question not only Spencer's "ghost theory" but also Tylor's theory of animism (which resembled Spencer's theory on certain points) as being inadequate explanations of the origin of the concept of deity. Lang appears actually to have believed in ghosts—which neither Spencer nor Tylor did—and was a keen psychical researcher (or at least a theorist about the researches of others). He was unable to discern any connection between ghosts and the higher gods, though "a few genuine wraiths, or ghosts . . . would be enough to start the animistic hypothesis, or to confirm it notably, if it was already started" (ibid., p. 346).

Although Herbert Spencer was enormously widely read in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, his popularity was due to the completeness of his system of "synthetic philosophy" rather than to his theory of manism, which won very few adherents. But in 1897 Grant Allen produced his book *The Evolution of the Idea of God* (abr. ed., London, 1903; reprint, London, 1931), which accepted the manism theory with very few modifications. Allen maintained that "in its simplest surviving savage type, religion consists wholely and solely in certain acts of deference paid by the living to the persons of the dead" (1931 ed., p. 18). But religion is not mythology; indeed, Allen, following Spencer, insisted that mythology, cosmogony, ontology, and ethics were all "extraneous developments," which sprang from different roots and had "nothing necessarily in common with religion proper" (ibid., p. 25). Religion, then, had developed from corpse worship to ghost worship and then to shade worship. All else had developed later and need not be considered as an essential part of religion.

Writing to Allen in 1892, James G. Frazer had stated his agreement with the manism thesis: "so far as I believe ancestor-worship, or the fear of ghosts, to have been on the whole the most important factor in the evolution of religious belief" (quoted in Edward Clodd, *Grant Allen: A Memoir*, London, 1900, p. 145). Others at the time certainly concurred, wholly or in part, though they preferred the more comprehensive term *animism* to describe the same set of phenomena and recognized that the theory of manism could accommodate other spirit phenomena only with the greatest difficulty.

Manism in the form proposed by Spencer and Allen was too narrow to account for the genesis of more than a certain selection of religious phenomena. It therefore appealed to very few scholars. Exceptions included, however, Julius Lippert (1839–1909) of Berlin, who applied it to the biblical material in *Der Seelenkult in seinen Beziehungen zur althebräischen Religion* (Berlin, 1881) and other works produced during the 1880s. It might also be argued that the manism theory exercised a certain indirect influence on the Myth and Ritual school. In his book *Kingship* (London, 1927), Arthur M. Hocart (1883–1939) stated categorically that "the earliest known religion is a belief in the divinity of kings . . . in the earliest records known, man appears to us worshiping gods and their earthly representatives, namely kings" (p. 7). But this connection was at best oblique.

Summing up, we may say that what binds together Euhemerus and Herbert Spencer (for manism might well also be called neo-euhemerism) marks a genuinely important aspect of the history of religion. It cannot, however, be seriously put forward as the origin of religion per se without very serious distortion. This was true even in the high period of evolutionary theory; today, Spencer's manism remains no more than a historical curiosity.

SEE ALSO Ancestors; Preanimism; Spencer, Herbert.

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MANITOU is the Algonquian name for a powerful and dangerous entity, especially one who appears in a nonhuman form and who controls a vital human resource, such as a food, medicine, pathway, or premonition. Although the numbers and types of manitous are believed to be indefinite and manifold, some common examples include animals, lakes, rapids, cliffs, winds, thunders, inspirations, visions, and dreams. Best translated as "spirit," *manitou* also refers to an individual's seat of personhood and agency. While the term originates specifically from the Algoquian-speaking tribes of the Great Lakes and Saint Lawrence River valley, the concept is ubiquitous among all indigenous peoples of the Great Lakes and Eastern Woodlands. Known by other names, including *oki, pilotois,* and *powwow* in the various languages of this vast region, *manitou* is the more prominent term among indigenous peoples and scholars alike.

The concept of manitou reflects an anthropomorphic outlook shared by the indigenous peoples of the Great Lakes and Eastern Woodlands, according to which all living things possess the same fundamental human characteristics. Rather than drawing sharp ontological distinctions between different classes of beings, such as humans, gods, plants, and animals, indigenous peoples of the region endow every living thing with the same type of tangible life force, or spirit, with the conjoined sense of personhood and power. According to this perspective, all beings possess similar (human) needs, emotions, motivations, and behaviors.

Conversely, the physical appearance of any particular living thing is understood as a nonessential, sometimes impermanent, feature of the person. This idea is evident in the indigenous oral traditions of the Great Lakes and Eastern Woodlands, where metamorphosis is a recurring theme. Some narratives, for instance, describe the circumstances in which certain ancestors transmogrified into the cliffs, lakes, hills, and other prominent physical features of the environment. Other stories relate occasions in which animals have transmogrified into human forms.

It is traditionally believed that while a person dreams the spirit wanders from the body and that at death it departs for the land of the dead or moves into a newborn's body. Thus it is the spirit that ultimately defines the person. Consequently, it is difficult and misleading in this context to speak of different classifications of manitous based on appearances, since these qualitative differences belie a common essential character that indigenous peoples confer to all living things.

But precisely what things, according to this perspective, are living? Given the variability that they associate with life-forms, it is perhaps not surprising that the indigenous peoples of the Great Lakes and Northeast Woodlands detect and classify sprits according to quantitative rather than qualitative measures. While all living things are persons, according to this perspective, a living presence itself is indicated by agency—that is, by a movement, force, or power of any kind. Hence, all powers are persons.

While there are an indefinite number of living entities, it is the powerful, the especially spirited who command the attention of others. Likewise, while there are an indefinite number of nonhuman forces that might occupy any given locality in the form of such things as plants, animals, winds, and rocks, it is the powerful among spirits—the particularly awesome, beautiful, or striking objects of experience—that indigenous peoples typically refer to as manitous. This may include wolves, bears, eagles, thunders, rapids, dreams, inspirations, and other impressive nonhuman entities. Like powerful human beings, these entities are honored and respected because their impressiveness is an ominous indicator of their ability to dispense fortune or misfortune. Prayer, song, tobacco, or other gifts of gratitude are humbly offered to them in hope of arousing their favor and calming their temper.

Likewise, many of these indigenous communities received their first European visitors, along with their guns, brass kettles, and other strange and impressive wares, as manitous. Thus, rather than honoring a manitou according to a rigid taxonomy of living things, indigenous peoples honor any given manitou in direct correlation to the spiritual capacity that they perceive in it, him, or her.

As they view all spirits within the same ontological frame of reference, indigenous peoples apply ordinary social protocols of exchange and reciprocity to guide and interpret their interactions with manitous. According to the ethics of reciprocal gift exchange, in lieu of an even trade, material goods are exchanged for political capital—that is, in exchange for honor and respect. Consequently, these societies are led traditionally by the accomplished hunters, fishermen, healers, and orators of their communities, that is, those who amass honor in return for the food, medicine, wisdom, and other precious commodities that they provide.

Likewise, indigenous peoples pay homage to the nonhuman forces to which they attribute their fortunes and misfortunes. Thus, in fishing, hunting, healing, traveling, and all other important enterprises that are subject to fortuitous circumstances, indigenous peoples seek the aid or forbearance of associated spirits by presenting prayer, song, tobacco, or other ceremonial offerings. By placing tobacco in a lake at the outset of a fishing expedition, for instance, the fisherman intends to compel the lake manitou to reciprocate by releasing its bounty.

In many of these traditions, an individual seeks his or her own personal spirit helper by performing a vision quest, often at the time of adolescence. Upon envisioning an eagle, bear, thunder, or some other manitou while fasting in isolation, the quester finds a charm that represents the manitou, such as a feather, claw, bone, shell, or stone, which he or she thenceforth carries in a medicine bundle.

The anthropomorphic outlook embraced by the indigenous peoples of the Great Lakes and Eastern Woodlands, which underscores the mutability of life forms, reflects a religious orientation that is ultimately grounded in a method, rather than an orthodoxy, for deciphering spirits. Although the characteristics of specific manitous are certainly conveyed by the many narrative traditions of the region, it is important to recognize that a people's oral tradition is in constant flux due to their ongoing encounters with the actual objects of experience that they consider manitous. In other words, while stories describe the anthropomorphic characteristics of a particular plant, animal, or landscape feature, these characteristics are shaped by the practical economic relationships that indigenous peoples have with them. As a people's relationships to various manitous shift over time, so do the corresponding myths and stories.

SEE ALSO North American Indians, articles on Indians of the Northeast Woodlands, Indians of the Plains.

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MAÑJUŚRĪ, an important figure in the Mahāyāna Buddhist pantheon, is a *bodhisattva*, one of a number of celestial heroes whose compassion has led them to postpone the bliss of final enlightenment until all other beings are freed of suffering. Especially associated with wisdom, Mañjuśrī is a key figure in numerous Mahāyāna scriptures, and he has been the focus of significant cultic activity throughout Mahāyāna Buddhist countries. His name means "gentle glory." Many of his alternate names and epithets refer to his relation to speech (Vāgīśvara, "lord of speech") and to his youth (Kumārabhūta, "in the form of a youth" or "having become the crown prince"). Because he is destined soon to become a Buddha, Mañjuśrī is often called "prince of the teachings"; for his role as master of the wisdom teachings (*prajñāpāramitā*) he is frequently described as "progenitor of the Buddhas."

Mañjuśrī's role in Mahāyāna scriptures is often that of interlocutor; as a senior *bodhisattva* at teaching assemblies, he frequently questions Śākyamuni Buddha and requests teachings of him. Although he is not highlighted in the early Mahāyāna texts on the perfection of insight, Mañjuśrī came to be known for his profound wisdom, and is associated with this textual tradition as its patron lord. The most common artistic representations and literary descriptions of Mañjuśrī (including scriptures, ritual texts, and meditation manuals) depict him as a golden-complexioned sixteen-year-old prince wearing a five-peaked crown. In his right hand he wields the sword of discriminating insight, which cuts through all ignorance and illusion, penetrating to the truth. In his left hand he grasps a book, the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (Scripture on the perfection of insight), whose teachings he has mastered and upholds. He sits upon a lion, which represents the roar of sovereign truth.

Mañjuśrī has been the focus of significant cultic activity. Perhaps the most extraordinary site for this has been a mountain complex in northern China named Wutai Shan, Five Terrace Mountain, where—until the mid-twentieth century—pilgrims from all over Asia have traveled in quests for visions of the *bodhisattva.* Beginning as a local mountain cult, the numinous precincts of this region eventually were identified as the special earthly domain of Mañjuśrī, and by the mid-eighth century it had become a thriving international Buddhist center, with seventy-two notable monasteries and temples, as well as numerous retreat huts.

Mañjuśrī traditionally is believed to be a celestial *bodhisattva* of the tenth stage *(bhūmi)*, the highest level prior to attaining buddhahood. He dwells continually in a meditative trance known as "heroic valor" *(sūraṃgamasamādhi)*, and is thus able to manifest himself at will throughout the universe, including Mount Wutai, in order to aid all beings. Wutai Shan was identified as Mañjuśrī's principal seat of manifestation through two means: time and again notable persons had visions of the *bodhisattva* there; and these visions received scriptural legitimation in the form of prophecies in a series of texts. The most significant of these texts is the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* (Flower garland scripture), in which Śākyamuni declared that in a future age Mañjuśrī would dwell on a five-peaked mountain in northern China. According to pilgrims' accounts of these visions, the *bodhisattva* manifests himself on the mountain in several forms, most typically as a sphere of glowing light, as a five-colored cloud, as a lion-riding youth, or as an old man. Further mountain sites in the Himalayas and central Asia, including Mount Gośṛṅga in Khotan, were identified as sacred to the *bodhisattva*, but, unlike Mount Wutai, they never gained international recognition and acceptance. As a further element in the mountain theme, Mañjuśrī popularly plays a role in the founding tales of Nepal: with his sword, he cut an opening in the mountains to drain a great lake, thus creating the Kathmandu Valley.

Mañjuśrī has been especially venerated in the Chan and Zen traditions of East Asia for his uncompromising quest for insight. He is also linked closely to the teachings of the Tantric schools, both as lord of profound knowledge and as a potent protector and guide of those on this path. While Mañjuśrī's special role within the Buddhist pantheon is to protect and uphold the wisdom teachings and to inspire students of these teachings, a wide range of scriptures, ritual texts, and popular traditions makes clear the multifaceted nature of his cult, which was extended far beyond Buddhist scholastic circles.

See Also Mountains.

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MANNHARDT, WILHELM

MANNHARDT, WILHELM (1831–1880), pioneer of scientific folklore in Germany. He was born on March 26, 1831, in Schleswig, the son of a Mennonite pastor; five years later the family moved to Danzig. Mannhardt was always in very poor health, having been afflicted with curvature of the spine at about the age of seven. Unsuited to active life, he read assiduously and showed an early interest in both Germanic mythology and folklore. The shape of his early thinking was established by 1848, when he read Jakob Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie* (Göttingen, 1835). While still at school he began his inquiries into the oral traditions of northern Germany, and was on one occasion suspected by one of his informants of being one of the dwarfs about which he was asking—he was at the time only one and a half meters tall.

Mannhardt studied German language and literature at the universities of Tübingen and Berlin, receiving his doctorate at Tübingen in 1854 and his habilitation at Berlin three years later. In 1855 he assumed the editorship of the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde*, a journal which survived only four years. In autumn 1855 he came into contact with the brothers Grimm, whose work he admired greatly, and in 1858 he published his first book, *Germanische Mythen*, extending his inquiries to cover not only European but also Indian material. He was perhaps the first scholar to compare the Germanic Þórr (Thor) with the Vedic Indra as two deities associated with thunder. In the early 1860s Mannhardt was forced by ill health to return to Danzig; there he obtained a librarian's post, which he held until 1873.

It was in Danzig that Mannhardt began the research work for which he was to become famous. He planned a comprehensive work to be called *Monumenta mythica Germaniae*, to be based not only on written sources but on first-hand information from the rural community (which was, however, even then beginning to change under the impact of scientific farming). The great work was never completed, but in its preparation Mannhardt circulated a questionnaire, and in so doing created a technique. The original questionnaire contained twenty-five questions (later expanded to thirty-five) concerning popular beliefs and practices connected with the harvest *(Erntesitten)*. His methodology was in general that of the emerging sciences of geology and archaeology, and was aimed at uncovering lower "layers" of belief, which might finally contribute to a "mythology of Demeter." Mannhardt also traveled widely in search of material in northern Europe, and interviewed prisoners of war in and near Danzig. After writing two preliminary studies, *Roggenwolf und Roggenhund* (1865) and *Die Korndämonen* (1867), he published in 1875 and 1876 the work for which he is chiefly known today, the two volumes of *Wald- und Feldkulte*. But his health was unequal to the sustained effort which his program required, and on Christmas Day 1880, at the age of forty-nine, he died, leaving behind a vast collection of material that has been little used.

Perhaps intimidated by the thoroughness of Mannhardt's methods, scholars for many years tended to accept his results virtually unaltered. His work provided most of the European material for James G. Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, and in general was used more by scholars of comparative religion than by folklorists. And certainly his studies marked an epoch in comparative study. In recent years scholars have begun to examine Mannhardt's material afresh. The emphasis is in process of shifting from beliefs in "spirits of the corn" to the function of harvest rituals in preindustrial, agrarian societies, but the irreplaceable material that Mannhardt collected remains a lasting memorial to his pioneering effort.

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MANSI RELIGION SEE KHANTY AND MANSI RELIGION

MANTRA

MANTRA is, most concisely, a sacred utterance, incantation, or invocation repeated aloud or in meditation in order to bring about a prescribed effect, such as the calming of the mind or a vision of a deity. The *mantra* may be with or without conventional meaning, but it contains esoteric or mystical potentialities.

The word *mantra* is derived from the Sanskrit verbal root *man*, "to think," and the suffix *-tra*, indicating instrumentality. Thus the word indicates, literally, a means or instrument of thought. More practically, a *mantra* is an efficacious sound or utterance. Its translation can be difficult, and is often inexact. In the earliest Indian text, the *Ṛgveda*, it often had the sense of "invocation," while in later literature it is closer to "incantation," "word(s) of power," "(magic) formula," "sacred hymn," "name of God," or sometimes simply "thought." Because by the twenty-first century the word has entered common English, it is best to leave it untranslated and allow context to determine its meaning.

Mantras were originally, and commonly, used in religions that originated in South Asia, particularly in Hinduism and its Vedic predecessors, as well as in Buddhism. Jainism and Sikhism, two other major South Asian religions, also employ *mantras* prolifically, but unlike Buddhism and Hinduism, Jainism and Sikhism did not contribute much to theorizing *mantra*.

Mantras can range from an entire verse with a conventional meaning to single syllables in which the meaning is esoteric, multileveled, and all but secret except to the initiated. A common element of *mantras* is that they are in Sanskrit (though arguments have been made that single-syllable *mantras* participate in a linguistic encoding beyond any conventional syntactically oriented language). As the word literally indicates, *mantras* are useful sounds or collocations of sounds. They are useful, powerful, or efficacious for several reasons: first, because the sounds themselves are said to bear their meaning; second, because they are used in ritual, in which the action lies within the sphere of liminality, which renders both words and actions unconventional and therefore (in a manner of thinking) more direct and effective; and third, because they are said to be transformative to the speaker in ways that ordinary language is not. Among the ritual settings in which they are used, *mantras* function as vehicles to meditation; as verbal accompaniments to offerings to a deity, which are thought to bring about the results of particular desires; and as linguistic or sonic embodiments of deities or other structures.

According to the orthodox Hindu theology of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā, the Vedas are uncreated, they are not the products of human endeavor (*apauruṣeya*). This elevates the words of the Vedas to the status of *mantra*, as their meaning is no longer simply conventional, representative, or marked by syntactic context. They are thus eternal, the products of the extraordinary vision of Vedic seers (*ṛṣi, kavi*), their phonetic embodiment equivalent with their meaning and materiality. Thus the Vedic hymns (*sūkta*, "well-spoken") are regarded as collections of *mantras*, expressing the true nature and structure of the cosmos. This ideology is the main reason why, in the later Vedic traditions, it became unimportant for those who studied the Vedas to know the meaning of the verses; it was sufficient to memorize the texts—precisely, with fastidious attention to pronunciation and accent. A by-product of this was the rise of the discipline of linguistics in India after about the sixth century BCE, particularly in a series of texts called *prātiśākhya*s dedicated to analysis of the pronunciation of the words in each textual branch (*śākhā*) of the Veda.

Several centuries earlier than these treatises on phonetics, however, in the late second millennium BCE, the texts on ritual use of the *Sāmaveda* showed an array of meaningless sounds, or, more accurately, sounds whose meaning was nothing but their sound. These undecipherable sounds, such as *bham* and *bhā,* were called *stobha*s, and they were recited within and surrounding more conventional Samavedic verse *mantras.* Slightly later, in the middle Vedic period, the centuries around the turn of the first millennium BCE, the theologians of the *brāhmaṇa* texts considered that the whispered utterance (*upāṃśu*), particularly of Vedic verses in ritual contexts, was superior to the audible one, and that the best of all was the silent (*tuṣṇīm*) or mental (*mānasa*) utterance. One such text, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (5.4.4.13), states that undefined or unmanifest (*anirukta*) speech represents the innumerable, the unlimited. This notion of the inseparability of speech and thought was to have a great impact on future ideologies of *mantra.*

Mantra achieved its highest development in Hindu and Buddhist Tantras, beginning in about the sixth century CE, though many non-Tantric Hindu theologians realized its importance as well. Tantric teaching on *mantra* revolved around the concept of *vāc*, both the deity and concept of speech, as well as the female energy principle. It is regarded as the force that animates the male principle, Śiva. The dynamics of *vāc* embody the threefold process of creation, manifestation, and resorption, a topic that receives considerable attention in the Tantras. The doctrine of speech, then, is essentially the "science of *mantra*" (*mantravidyā, mantraśāstra*).

The following *mantras* deserve mention:

- The syllable *oṃ* is regarded as the supreme *mantra*, containing within its sounds *a-u-m* the entire articulatory apparatus, and thus the sum total of all sounds and *mantras.* This *mantra* is said to have flashed forth in the heart of Brahmā, the creator, while he was in deep meditation, and to have unfolded in the form of Gāyatrī, the mother of the Vedas.
- The Gāyatrī Mantra is widely hailed as the most characteristic Vedic *mantra*—(Oṃ bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ) Tatsavitur vareṇyaṃ bhargo devasya dhīmahi; Dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayā't: "(Om. Earth! Mid-region! Celestium!) Let us meditate on that excellent radiance of the god Savitṛ; may he impel our visions" (*Ṛgveda* 3.62.10). This is to be recited a certain number of times (usually 108) two or three times per day by all *brahmans* initiated into the rites of the "twice-born." It served as a model for a substantial number of other *gāyatrīs* dedicated to different deities. (*Gāyatrī* is the name of the metrical pattern consisting of three times eight syllables, with the major division after the first two strophes.)
- Agne vratapate vrataṃ cariṣyāmi (*Vājasaneyī-Saṃhitā* of the *Śukla* [White] *Yajurveda* 1.5): "O Agni Lord of Vows, I will observe my vow." This *mantra* has been prescribed for nearly three millennia for a person or married couple about to undertake a vow of abstinence or penance. Agni is both the sacred fire and the deity of that fire who transmits oblations to the other deities. Thus, this *mantra* is recited while invoking the deity Agni in the form of fire as witness to the vow.
- Oṃ namaḥ śivāya: "Om, obeisance to Śiva." This is the famous "five-syllable *mantra*" (the *oṃ* is an addition) to the great Hindu deity Śiva. Large numbers of religious mendicants and lay people alike mutter this *mantra*

hundreds or even thousands of times daily. As with most *mantras* that mention the name of a deity directly or obliquely, it is believed that the number of times it is repeated is important in "attaining perfection" (*siddhi*) in the *mantra*. This means that after extensive "practice" of a *mantra*, the aspirant gains the ability to invoke the deity at will or even identify him or herself with that deity. This could mean either merging with the deity or becoming the deity.

- The well-known Hare Krishna *mantra*—Hare kṛṣṇa hare kṛṣṇa kṛṣṇa kṛṣṇa hare hare; hare rāma hare rāma rāma rāma hare hare: "O Hare, O Kṛṣṇa, etc.; O Hara, O Rāma, etc." This example of a *mantra* that contains only divine names was memorialized by Bengali mystic Śrī Caitanya (1486–1533).
- Oṃ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya: "Om, obeisance to the illustrious Vāsudeva (*Kṛṣṇa*)." This *mantra* is one of the most commonly recited by Vaiṣṇavas, followers of the different sects dedicated to the worship of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa.
- Oṃ aiṃ hrīm klīṃ chāmuṇḍāyai vicche: "Om Aiṃ Hrīm Klīṃ, to the goddess Chāmuṇḍā, Vicche." This string of monosyllabic or "seed" (*bīja*) *mantras*, with one of the names of the goddess appended, followed by the peculiar bisyllabic seed *mantra vicche*, is one of the most commonly used *mantras* in offerings to various forms of the goddess. *Bīja mantras* are regarded as the phonic representations of different deities, though many of them, such as *hrīm* and *klīṃ*, are used for several different deities.
- Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ: "Om (O heart of Avalokiteśvara), in the lotus made of jewels." This is the most popular *mantra* in Tibetan Buddhism. Its recitation is said to lead to rebirth in worlds contained within the hair pores of Avalokiteśvara's body.
- Sauḥ. This *bīja mantra* has received a great deal of attention and analysis in esoteric Śaiva Tantras, where its phonic components are broken down and assigned extreme cosmic importance. *Sauḥ* is considered the "heart *bīja*," holding within it the entire cosmos. The great Śaiva philosopher Abhinavagupta (c. 975–1025), in his massive *Tantrāloka* (4.186–189), breaks this *mantra* into three parts, *s-au-ḥ*: *s* equals being (*sat*); *au* is the three energies of precognitive impulse, cognition, and action; and *ḥ* (*visarga*) is emission, that which is projected outward by the supreme consciousness.

These are by no means the only *mantras* that deserve discussion; dozens of others are accorded equal or greater status by different sectarian traditions in South Asia and beyond (e.g., the *Heart Sūtra* is treated as a *mantra* by millions of Buddhists across East Asia, who recite it constantly because of its supposed esoteric effects). Thus, *mantras* are, and always have been, an integral and integrative part of Indian and pan-Asian religions, as religion across Asia has been intimately influenced by the use and ideology of *mantra* in South Asia.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, Schools of, article on Tantric Ritual Schools of Buddhism; Buddhist Books and Texts, article on Canon and Canonization; Hindu Tantric Literature; Oṃ; Tantrism.

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MANU.

There is no general agreement on the origin and etymology of the Sanskrit name *Manu*. It obviously is related to the verbal root *man-*, "think," and to various words meaning "human being, man," including *manuṣa*, *manuṣya*, and so on.

As early as the *Ṛgveda* (c. 1200 BCE), expressions such as "Father Manu [or Manuṣ]" seem to indicate that Manu was already conceived at that time as the progenitor of the human race. As such, he has often been compared with Mannus, the "origo gentis" in Tacitus's *Germania* (2.3). Manu most definitely is characterized as the father of mankind in a well-known story from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (1.8.1), dating to around 900 BCE. Following the advice of a fish, Manu builds a ship and, with the fish's help, survives the great flood alone among men. After the water recedes, he worships and performs penance. As a result, a woman, Iḍā (also Iḷā or Ilā), is produced, by whom "he begets this offspring of Manu."

Manu was not only the first man but also the first king. All royal lineages, in some way or other, descend from him. His principal son, Ikṣvāku, reigned at Ayodhyā. One of Ikṣvāku's sons, Vikukṣi, carried on the Aikṣvāku dynasty, also known as the solar race, at Ayodhyā, whereas his other son, Nimi, established the dynasty of Videha. Manu's second son, Nābhānediṣṭha, founded the kingdom of Vaiśāli; his third son, Śaryāti, the kingdom of Ānanta; and his fourth son, Nābhāga, the dynasty of the Rathītaras. Manu's "daughter," Iḍā, also had a son, Purūravas, who became the founder of the Aila, or lunar race, at Pratiṣṭhāna. Purūravas's romance with the *apsara* Urvaśī became one of the most popular stories in Sanskrit literature.

Certain texts refer to Manu as being the first to have kindled the sacrificial fire. According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (1.5.1.7), "Manu, indeed, worshiped with sacrifices in the beginning; imitating that, this offspring of his performs sacrifices." More particularly, Manu's name is connected with the origin of the Śrāddha, the ritual for the dead (*Āpastamba Dharmasūtra* 2.7.16.1).

In addition, Manu is considered to have been the originator of social and moral order. Many texts quote maxims relating to various aspects of *dharma*, and attribute them to Manu. In this connection he also became the *ṛṣi* who revealed the most authoritative of the Dharmaśāstras.

In later literature Manu—or rather a succession of Manus—can be seen to play a role in the Hindu cyclical view of time. Each *kalpa*, or "day," of Brahmā, corresponding to one thousand *caturyuga*s or *mahāyuga*s, is divided into fourteen *manvantara*s, "periods of Manu." In the most sophisticated system a *manvantara* consists of seventy-one *caturyuga*s, or 306,720,000 human years. The *manvantara*s are separated by fifteen transitional periods (Skt., *saṃdhi*s) of four-tenths of a *caturyuga*. Each *manvantara* is presided over by a different Manu. In the present *Śvatavārāhakalpa*, six *manvantara*s have by now elapsed (presided over by Svāyambhuva, Svārociṣa, Auttami, Tāmasa, Raivata, and Cākṣuṣa, respectively). The present, seventh Manu is Manu Vaivasvata, who will be succeeded by Sāvarṇi, Dakṣasāvarṇi, Brahmasāvarṇi, Dharmasāvarṇi, Rudrasāvarṇi, Raucya or Devasāvarṇi, and Bhautya or Indrasāvarṇi.

SEE ALSO Śāstra Literature.

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MAORI RELIGION [FIRST EDITION].

New Zealand is the southernmost island group in Polynesia and was one of the last places in the world to be settled. Its native inhabitants, a Polynesian people who call themselves Maori, reached New Zealand not much more than six hundred years before the Dutch explorer Abel Tasman became the first European to lay eyes on the country, in 1642. No other European arrived until James Cook's visit in 1769, which inaugurated regular and steadily increasing outside contact. At that time, the Maori numbered about one hundred thousand, the great majority of them residing on North Island.

GODS AND THEIR INFLUENCE. In common with other Polynesians, the Maori conceived of reality as divided into two realms: the world of physical existence (*te ao marama,* "the world of light") and the world of supernatural beings (comprising both *rangi,* "the heavens," and *po,* "the underworld"). Communication between the two realms was frequent. Birth, for example, was regarded as the passage of a human spirit from the spiritual realm into this one, and death marked the return of the spirit to its point of origin.

Gods or spirits, termed *atua*s, were frequent visitors to the physical world, where they were extremely active. Indeed, any event for which no physical cause was immediately apparent was attributed to the gods. This included winds, thunder and lightning, the growth of plants, physical or mental illness, menstruation, involuntary twitches in the muscles, the fear that gripped a normally brave warrior before battle, the skill of an artist, even—after the arrival of Europeans—the operation of windmills. As the naturalist Ernest Dieffenbach summarized the Maori view, "*atua*s are the secret powers of the universe" (Dieffenbach, 1843, vol. 2, p. 118).

Another critical concept in traditional Maori religion is *tapu* (a term widespread in the Pacific, often rendered in English as "taboo"). Numerous definitions of the Maori *tapu* have been advanced, some identifying it as a set of rules regarding proper and forbidden conduct, others as a condition diverse enough to cover both the "sacred" and the "polluted." Perhaps the most useful view is that of the nineteenth-century magistrate and physician Edward Shortland, who defined *tapu* simply as the state of being under the influence of some *atua.* Because the influencing *atua* might be of any nature, from a protecting and strengthening god to an unwelcome, disease-dealing demon, the condition of a *tapu* person or thing could be anything from sacred to uncommonly powerful or brave; from dangerous to sick, deranged, or dead.

In the last analysis, Maori religion was concerned with the exercise of human control over the movements and activities of *atua*s in the physical world. It attempted to direct the influence of the gods into areas where their influence was deemed beneficial and to expel it where it was not, or where it was no longer desired.

Establishing *tapu*. Directing the influence of the gods was primarily pursued by means of ritual. One common way of instilling *tapu* (that is, inviting the gods to extend their influence over someone or something) was through ritual incantations called *karakia.* Many of these are long and difficult to translate, but one brief and simple example is a *karakia* recorded by the nineteenth-century missionary Richard Taylor, which might be chanted for a war party setting out on a campaign:

> E te rangi, ho mai he riri! E te atua, ho mai he riri!
> O heaven, give us fury! O god, give us fury!

Maori gods did not look into the hearts of their devotees; impeccable delivery was sufficient for a *karakia* to work its power. One man, in fact, was within the bounds of orthodoxy when he had the incantation necessary for planting sweet potatoes and other crops recited by a talking bird.

Another means of attracting *atua*s and disposing them to lend their influence to human affairs was to give them gifts. Many Maori rituals included the preparation of several ovens; the food cooked in one of them was reserved for the gods. When an important new canoe was launched, the heart of a human sacrifice might be offered to the gods for protection of the craft.

The influence of *atua*s was considered to be highly contagious, readily spreading from things that were *tapu* to things that were not. One common pathway was physical contact. Death was highly *tapu,* and anything that came in contact with a corpse—the tree on which it was exposed during decomposition, the people who scraped the bones a year after death, the place where the bones were finally deposited—became *tapu* as well. The supreme conductor of *tapu* was cooked food, which drew the *atua* influence from whatever it contacted and transferred this influence to anything it subsequently touched. One young woman, for example, died within forty-eight hours of being informed that a sweet potato she was eating had grown on a spot where an important chief was buried. The *tapu* of death, particularly stemming from someone of such high rank, was more than she could sustain.

Another avenue for the passage of *tapu* was resemblance. In the early 1840s, the artist George French Angas encountered stiff resistance in the Lake Taupo region whenever he wished to sketch *tapu* persons or things. The loss or contamination of *tapu* was thought to be detrimental, and the Maori reasoned that godly influence would pass from someone or something to its representation, and thus to anything with which the representation might come in contact. The Maori also feared that desecration would occur if sketches of *tapu* persons or objects were stored in the same portfolio—or were executed with the same pencil—as sketches of lowly or defiling objects.

The principles of *tapu* contagion were used ritually to introduce godly influence into places or situations where it was desired. One means of doing this was to put rudely carved stone images in sweet potato fields during the growing season. These *taumata atua*s were resting-places that attracted the gods, whose influence would then permeate the field and stimulate the growth of the crop. Similar reasoning underpinned the notion that certain rocks or trees, which virile gods were thought to frequent, had the power to impregnate barren women who embraced them. Another rite designed to enlist the aid of a deceased ancestor in easing a difficult childbirth called for music to be played on a flute made from one of his bones.

Dispelling *tapu.* *Tapu* was by no means an invariably desirable state. Disease, as already noted, was thought to be the work of certain gods or demons noted for their maliciousness. *Atua kahu,* for example, were a special class of supernatural beings that originated in human stillbirths. Nasty by nature, to be *tapu* from their influence was to succumb to illness, anxiety, or confusion. Well-known mischief workers in the Rotorua area were Te Makawe, an *atua* who caused people to be scalded by geysers or hot pools, and the *atua* Tatariki, who rejoiced in swelling people's toes and ankles.

Even the *tapu* so necessary for the achievement of desired ends had its drawbacks. A fine house or canoe was *tapu* while under construction, because *atua*s animated the creative work of the craftsmen. That same *tapu,* however, precluded ordinary use of the house, or canoe, once completed. Likewise, the craftsmen themselves were *tapu* during construction, as were priests performing rituals or warriors on campaign. Being in a state of *tapu,* while essential for the successful accomplishment of their goals, placed a number of restrictions on one's activities. Given the propensity of *tapu* to spread, such persons exercised great caution regarding contact with other persons or things; one of the more irksome constraints was that they might not use their hands while eating.

The disadvantages associated with undesirable *tapu*—as also with desirable *tapu,* once its benefits had been realized—meant that quite often it was important for persons and things to be released from this state, to be rendered *noa,* free from the influence of *atua*s. The Maori had a number of means for terminating the *tapu* state. One was simply to leave the area. Many *atua*s were limited in their activities to a certain locale; thus one cure for disease was to take a long trip and thereby escape the afflicting *atua*'s sphere of influence. The most common procedure, however, was to perform a ritual of the type known as *whakanoa* ("to make *noa*"). Most of these rituals involved the use of one of the following agents: water, the latrine, a female, or cooked food.

Whakanoa rituals, designed to dispel *tapu,* were as important in Maori religion as those used to instill it. The study of *whakanoa* rituals is fascinating, largely because of the initial implausibility in Western eyes of some of the agents used (such as the latrine), and the challenge of working out the rationale peculiar to each one. Scholarly consensus has yet to be reached in this area; the following are some contemporary theories under consideration.

The property of cooked food as supreme conductor of *atua* influence has already been mentioned; this apparently has to do with growth. In Maori eyes, growth was an unmistakable sign of *atua* activity. Hence a sweet potato field during the growing season was extremely *tapu,* and the head—as the site of the most vigorous growth of hair—was the most *tapu* part of the body. By exposure to fire or intense heat, cooking destroys the capacity of food for growth. Thus a proverb that may be applied to someone who has not yet accomplished much, but from whom great things are expected, runs *iti noa ana, he pito mata* ("only a little morsel, but it has not been cooked"). It still has, that is, the capacity for growth. If, upon removing food from an earthen oven, a morsel was found that had not been cooked, it was suspected that an *atua* was lurking in it. Cooking, then, was thought to rout *atua* influence, leaving the food a veritable vacuum for *tapu.* Therefore, a cooked sweet potato or piece of fern root might be passed ritually over the hands of someone who had engaged in a *tapu* activity, such as tattooing or cutting the hair of a chief. The *atua* influence would be drawn into the food, leaving the hands *noa,* and the now-*tapu* food might then be thrown into a stream, deposited at the latrine, or eaten, often by a woman.

Water was thought to remove *atua* influence by washing it away. Those who had handled a corpse or who had been involved in the *tapu* activity of teaching or learning sacred lore might return to the *noa* state by immersing themselves in water, preferably the flowing water of a stream.

Women frequently played important roles in *whakanoa* rituals. A war party might be released from *tapu* by a rite in which a woman would eat the ear of the first enemy they had killed. A newly constructed house could be rendered *noa* by a ceremony in which a woman stepped over the threshold. Women had to be careful of their movements because they might inadvertently dispel beneficial *tapu.* The arrival of a woman at the site could spoil the construction of a house or canoe, drive cockles from a beach or birds from the forest, blight sweet potatoes in a garden, even stop the black mud that was used to dye flax from "growing." These female powers were intensified during menstruation.

Opinions vary as to the basis of the female's capacity to dispel *tapu.* Some scholars hold that women were repulsive to the gods; thus at the approach of a female the gods would withdraw, leaving a *noa* state behind them. Given this interpretation, however, it is difficult to explain the fact that women were able to instill *tapu* ritually as well as to dispel it. Students might be rendered *tapu* prior to training in sacred lore, for example, by eating a piece of food that had been passed under the thigh of a woman.

Another view is that women could make *tapu* things *noa* because they were thought to attract *atua*s, not repel them. According to this theory, the female—specifically her genitalia—represented a passageway between the two realms of existence. When brought in proximity with a woman, an *atua* would be drawn into and through her, and thereby repatriated to the spiritual realm. This would leave the person or thing that had been *tapu,* by merit of that *atua*'s influence, in a *noa* state.

The Maori viewed birth as the transit of a human spirit from the world of the gods to the physical world. That transit, of course, occurred via female genitalia. The female was also significant at death, when the spirit would leave this world and return to the realm of the *atua*s. This point is expressed mythologically in the story of the death of the culture hero Maui. He resolved to give humankind eternal life by killing Hine-nui-te-po, the personification of death. Maui intended to kill the huge woman by entering her vagina as she slept, passing through her body and emerging at the mouth. But she awoke as Maui was entering her, clenched her thighs, and crushed him to death. And it is the common fate of all of us, claimed a Maori who recounted this story, to be drawn at death into the genitals of Hine-nui-te-po. As with human spirits, other *atua*s might enter and leave the physical world by means of the female. This theory might account for the capacity of women to instill and to dispel *tapu.*

The remaining *whakanoa* agent to be discussed is the latrine. Built on the edge of a cliff or brow of a hill, the Maori latrine was made with a low horizontal beam supported by two upright, often carved, posts. The user placed his feet on the beam while squatting, preserving his balance by grasping hand grips planted in the ground in front of the beam. A person could be ritually released from a *tapu* state by biting the latrine's horizontal beam. This might be done instead of, or in addition to, immersion in water by students following a teaching session. Maori mythology provides a further example: the pedigree of humankind begins with the union of the god Tane with Hine-hau-one, a female being who was formed from the earth to be Tane's mate. The formation, vivification, and impregnation of Hine-hau-one were *tapu* procedures, at the conclusion of which she became *noa* by biting a latrine beam.

The latrine beam marked a sharp line of separation: before it was the village, humming with life; behind it was a silent, shunned area where excrement fell and where people ventured only for murderous purposes, such as to learn witchcraft. In Maori culture the latrine beam became a metaphor for the notion of separation in general and, most specifically, for the separation between life and death. Since the dead belong to *po,* part of the realm of the *atua*s, the latrine beam can further be understood to represent the threshold between the two realms of existence. From this perspective, *whakanoa* rituals utilizing the latrine are susceptible to the same sort of interpretation suggested above for those involving women. *Tapu* persons or things were taken to a portal between the two worlds, where the godly influence was ritually repatriated to the spiritual realm.

Also in common with the female, the latrine sometimes constituted a point of entry into, or departure from, the physical world for *atua*s and their influence. For instance, at the beginning of the construction of an important house or canoe, a chip from the carving work would be placed at the latrine. This can be interpreted as contributing to the *tapu* quality of the project by imbuing the chip (and therefore, by extension, the undertaking as a whole) with the influence of the gods. The clearest example, however, is the consecration of the Takitumu canoe. According to traditional history, Takitumu was one of the canoes that brought the Maori ancestors from their original homeland of Hawaiki to New Zealand. Before setting sail, Takitumu was rendered *tapu* so as to be under the gods' protection during the long voyage. This was accomplished by literally hauling the canoe up to a latrine. There, certain images that had been stored in a burial cave were placed on board, and the gods themselves—particularly Kahukura, a rainbow god—were ritually invited to embark.

MODERN MAORI RELIGION. Christianity was introduced to New Zealand in 1814, when Samuel Marsden, chaplain of the penal colony at New South Wales in Australia, preached a sermon at the Bay of Islands on Christmas Day. Conversion proceeded rapidly after 1825, and by midcentury nearly the entire North Island was covered by Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Wesleyan missions. Today, the Maori belong to a variety of Christian denominations, the largest of which are the Anglican, Roman Catholic, Methodist, and Mormon churches. Also important are two Christian sects unique to New Zealand: Ringatu ("upraised hand") was founded in the 1860s by the Maori warrior and preacher Te Kooti; Ratana, a larger sect, was established in the 1920s by the reformed alcoholic and visionary Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana. The Ratana church, which stresses faith healing, has been a major force in Maori politics.

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MAORI RELIGION [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS].

By the twelfth century the Maori people who migrated from eastern Polynesian had fully adapted their habitations to the cooler climate of land and sea in the austral islands of Aotearoa. New Zealand scholars initially believed the migrants arrived in one great fleet of canoes around 1350 CE, but subsequent research established that multiple canoe migrations began several centuries earlier and that occasional back-and-forth voyages between Aotearoa and the ancestral island of Hawaiki had taken place.

The Maori remained undisturbed by contact with foreigners until the late eighteenth century, when Europeans named New Zealand and began to harvest seals, whales, and timber from the South and the North Islands. Missionaries from Australia arrived in December 1814, and on Christmas Day Samuel Marsden celebrated the first Christian service in the islands, erecting a flagstaff and raising "'the flag of old England, the flag that has braved a thousand years'" (Rosenfeld, 1999, p. 29). He was unaware that Maori tribes claimed unoccupied land by setting up a pole and kindling fires. The ritual pole symbolizes the cosmic tree of Tane-mahuta, who separated his father, the Sky, from his mother, the Earth, by standing on his head and pushing them apart to form the human realm.

Sacred space is a fundamental feature of Maori religion. A tribe's land is marked by *wahi tapu*, "sacred places" named for what happened there and commemorated in *whakapapa*, "oral genealogies." Novelist Witi Ihimaera's protagonist in *The Matriarch* (1986) calls walking the land with his grandmother "my custom," a way of recalling the significant detail of what he had been told as a child (p. 102).

Before contact, conversion, and colonization, oral genealogies were redacted by schools of poets and recited during public gatherings on the *marae,* an open space near the house of a chief. This ritual has persisted throughout two hundred years of dynamic interaction between Maori and European settlers. Without the recitation of *whakapapa*, the indigenous people would have lost their identity. Whether the story of the descent group is told by a grandparent standing on the land or an appointed orator standing on the *marae*, the future is made possible in Maori terms by presenting the past as the domain of the ancestors and as the days that lie in front. In Maori story, Hawaiki is both the place of origin and the destination of the dead. The time before creation is conceived of as an undifferentiated womb out of which all things are born or as a serpent swallowing its tail.

The details of genealogy recited on the *marae* vary with each kin group's ancestors and experiences, and there are also different existing versions of primal myths. After the full translation of the Old Testament into Maori was published in 1858, a group of *tohunga*, "religious experts," redacted a more uniform version of cosmogonic myth that revealed a preexistent, supreme god, Io, whose essence fertilized the womb of potential being and set in motion the creation of the world. The reconciled cosmogony reflects the nineteenth-century preoccupation with *urmonotheismus*, but it also proves that indigenous religion authentically develops in response to experience. The controversy over Io continues to enliven discourse about Maori religion.

When they were baptized as Anglicans or Methodists, Maori converts were required to renounce their customs as things of the devil. As the number of conversions accelerated in the 1830s, some chiefs and charismatic leaders asserted their control over tribal space. Between 1844 and 1845, Hone Heke cut down the British flagstaff three times in a dispute with the governor over customs duties. Poles and borders became symbols of resistance in subsequent resistance movements. In 1856 chiefs representing the tribes of the North Island and the South Island gathered around a flagstaff to ritually convey their *mana* over their combined territories to the first Maori king and placed a *tapu* boundary around the center of the North Island.

The primal power of *mana* and the prohibitions of *tapu* maintain order in the social world. *Mana* is divine power made manifest in the human realm; it dwells in chosen members of society and natural species, as well as places and things. *Mana* has been defined as "prestige," "authority," "charisma," "dignity," and, especially, the "power to act." *Mana* can rise and fall, like the water level in a lake, and the loss of *mana* leaves the holder weak and impotent. *Tapu* is a condition of being. People, places, activities, and things are made *tapu* and set apart from the ordinary. *Tapu* is contagious and can kill; it designates what is out of bounds, prohibited, and restricted, and some define it as sacred. Tapu contagion is removed by *whakanoa* rites. Whatever has *mana* is *tapu* and vice versa (Metge, 1989, pp. 62–66).

Mana o te whenua, "power over the land," was a stipulated authority that was increasingly invoked by Maori leaders as their ancestral space was sold off, confiscated, or removed from their control by special legislation during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In 1835 the British resident and the northern chiefs signed "A Declaration of the Independence of New Zealand" that recognized the chiefs' *mana i te wenua* (the spelling changed over time), or "authority within the territory" of the New Zealand tribes (Moon and Fenton, 2002, p. 56). In 1840 thirty-five chiefs signed New Zealand's founding document, the Treaty of Waitangi, which substituted a foreign word for *mana* and precipitated a debate over sovereignty that is still being waged.

By the 1850s, the Maori and settler populations had reached near parity. Muskets, diseases, alcoholism, infertility, and land selling had reduced the Maori, hastening the abandonment of traditional villages. People unintentionally trespassed on neglected *tapu* sites and incurred an illness that was removed by male or female healers, who sometimes combined traditional rites with Bible-derived practices to remove the spiritual contagion.

Disputes between colonial officials and Maori chiefs precipitated a series of Land Wars between 1860 and 1872 that resulted in punitive confiscations of territory from tribes that resisted assimilation. Charismatic leaders rose up and initiated millenarian movements with their own flags, poles, rituals, offices, liturgies, holidays, prophets, and messiahs that grafted biblical branches onto the ancient tree of *tapu* and *mana*. The pentecostal "Good and Peaceful" ritual of the *niu* pole called down the sacred winds that endued all believers with god-given power to speak in tongues and resist harm in battle. As the *niu* cult swept over the North Island, Christian pastors withdrew from their missions and sought protection in largely European settlements until the wars ceased.

The charismatic prophet Te Kooti attacked his Maori and European rivals, who occupied his ancestral land after he was sent to prison on the false charge of spying for the Good and Peaceful movement in 1866. Two years later, he escaped with three hundred prisoners and founded the Ringatu sect, which became a licit church after his death.

During the Land Wars, the British crown colony grew into a self-governing nation. Regional militias fought pitched battles with disciples of unconventional *tohunga* imbued with *mana* from the Holy Ghost, Gabriel, and Michael, as well as the gods of their respective tribes. In the Old Testament these Maori *poropiti,* "prophets," found a disenfranchised people like themselves, who were led by Jehovah out of slavery and to their promised land. At the end of the century, one prophet took the name Kenana, or "Canaan," and marched his dispossessed disciples to the foot of his tribe's sacred mountain. They built a settlement with a *tapu* precinct, including a house called New Jerusalem for the prophet and his wives—all high-born women with lands he consolidated under his *mana*. When Rua Kenana first heard the call to be a savior for his people, he responded, "If your wish is for me to save only people, I won't help, but if it is to save the land, then I shall carry out this task" (Webster, 1979, p. 158).

Diverse religious movements revived Maori customs, including *mana* and *tapu*, while their members claimed Jewish descent from Noah's son, Shem, and worshiped Jehovah. Mormon missionaries began to attract Maori converts in the 1880s. In 1918 the prophet Wiremu Ratana preached repentance and conducted healings. Over the next forty years, the nondenominational Ratana church gathered in so many adherents that it was able to align itself with the Labour Party and elect Ratana followers to all four Maori seats in Parliament. Yet special land legislation continued to reduce the territory of the tribes, until only 1.2 million hectares remained in their possession at the end of the twentieth century.

By 1929 a symbolic substitute for the land was emerging. Over the course of a century, the communal plaza and the chief's dwelling had developed into a single ritual complex combining the *marae* and the *whare whakairo*, "meeting house," where funerals, weddings, and important meetings took place. The beams, pillars, art, and sculpture of the meeting house express the motifs of *whakapapa* and symbolize the body of the ancestor. The *marae* is the gathering place in front of the house, where parties meet to discuss issues of importance. Visitors must be called onto the *marae* by a woman with a welcoming song, which removes any pollution they bring with them. The elaborate protocol of the *hui*, "meeting," reinforced the system of *tapu* and *mana*, connecting the living with the ancestors and binding the present to the past.

After World War II, 70 percent of the Maori population gradually migrated to towns and cities. Political leaders, such as Sir Apirana Ngata and Te Puea Herangi, led the struggle for visibility and authority in a new milieu, where Maori neighborhoods formed islands in a largely European sea. Maori then comprised about 10 percent of New Zealand's total population. Urban leaders founded new clubs and associations that mobilized support for protests and focused public attention on longstanding claims to tribal fishing grounds, habitations, and reserves guaranteed to the tribes under the Treaty of Waitangi but subsequently removed from their possession. In 1975 the legislature set up the extraordinary Waitangi Tribunal to hear Maori claims under the treaty provisions and to recommend to Parliament their terms of settlement. Parliament and the courts have listened to the tribunal's powerful judgments and have restored fishing rights, paid compensation, and returned lands to Maori descent groups, enforcing the Treaty of Waitangi, redressing grievances, and demonstrating that even after two hundred years of tumultuous change, the divine gift of *mana* remains an efficacious ordering principle of the Maori social world.

SEE ALSO Mana.

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JEAN E. ROSENFELD (2005)

MAPONOS, a Celtic deity associated with youth, but of otherwise uncertain attributes, was identified by the conquering Romans with Apollo. The name is attested by several Romano-British and Gallo-Roman inscriptions in insular Britain and Gaul. It has also been found in an inscription in Gaulish at Chamalières (Puy-de-Dôme). In insular Britain, an inscription found in Ribchester, County Durham, reads "Deo sancto Apollini Mapono(o)," and another found in Hexham, County Northumberland, reads "Apollini Mapono" (*Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum,* Berlin, 1863, vol. 7, nos. 218, 1345). These indicate with exactitude the *interpretatio Romana:* Maponos is Apollo in his aspect of youth, an interpretation that takes into account the meaning "young man" associated with the stem *map-* ("son") and the theonymic suffix *-ono-s.*

Although no accounts of Gaulish theology survive, the name is enough to prove that the two aspects of the Celtic Apollo that are attested in Ireland—god of youth and leech god—also existed in Gaul and in insular Britain. The Irish equivalent is Mac ind Óg ("young son"), whose other name is Oenghus ("only choice"), son of Daghdha and of Boann, wife of Elcmhaire. Mapono's conception is recounted in the first version of the cycle of Édaín: Daghdha has sent Elcmhaire away and has magically suspended the course of the sun—and consequently the march of time—for nine months. The child is thus born on the evening of the day he was conceived. For this reason he is both the symbol of youth and the god of time, in opposition and complementarity to his father, the god of eternity.

Under the name of Mac ind Óg he is the hero of the adventure known as *The Taking of the Sid,* and, under the name of Oenghus, he is one of the principal personages of the cycle of Édaín. To him befalls the adventure of *The Dream of Oenghus,* a tale of a quest for sovereignty disguised as an amorous anecdote. And it is he who, at the end of the cycle, will vainly fight with Patrick over Eithne (Édaín), a personification of Ireland.

The Welsh form *Mabon mab Modron* ("Mabon son of Modron": *Modron* from **matrona,* "mother") is attested on several occasions, for example in the story *Culhwch and Olwen.* But this account gives only very brief indications as to his character: It is said only that he is kept prisoner from birth and that King Arthur ends up releasing him during the quest for marvelous objects needed for the marriage of Culhwch and Olwen.

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MAPPŌ. The Japanese term *mappō* (Chin., *mofa*) denotes the third and eschatologically decisive period in the history of the Buddha's Dharma as revealed in certain texts that were to have a significant impact on the evolution of East Asian Buddhism, particularly the Pure Land tradition. The three-stage periodization of which it is a part includes the period of the True Dharma (*shōbō*), when the Buddha's teachings were correctly practiced and people thereby attained enlightenment; the period of the Counterfeit Dharma (*zōbō*), when the teachings existed but very few upheld the practices and none attained enlightenment; and the period of Final Dharma (*mappō*, often translated as the "Latter Days of the Law"), when only the teachings remained, the practices were no longer pursued, and enlightenment was a mere word. In the view of those who espoused this eschatology, such a declining view of history, which was ascribed to the growing spiritual deficiencies of the *saṃgha*, spelled doom for the traditional schools of Buddhism. As many Buddhists came to believe that the traditional teachings had lost their relevance to the times and to the religious needs of the people, the Pure Land path emerged on the stage of history, claiming to have been especially prepared by the Buddha for the age of *mappō*.

The concept of the three stages of Dharma culminating in *mofa* appeared in the form we know it today in China during the second half of the sixth century, where it is first mentioned in the *Lishi yuanwen* (Vows) of the Tiantai master Huisi (515–577), composed in the year 558. A few years later, a Mahāyāna *sūtra*, the *Daji yuezang jing*, was translated into Chinese, introducing a variety of similar eschatological views concerning the period of Final Dharma. The Japanese scholar Yamada Ryūjō has shown that this *sūtra* was the product of four major strands of scriptures woven together, each containing various forebodings on the destiny of the Buddhist *saṃgha.* One of the earliest mentions of the three stages of Dharma is found in another text of the period, the *Dasheng tongxing*; however, the precise source of Huisi's formulation remains unclear.

The notion of three stages of Dharma evolved gradually through the centuries in the historical experience of Buddhism, incorporating the multiple and variegated factors that contributed to the progressive decline of the church. These factors, some of which had existed since the time of Śākyamuni Buddha himself, became exacerbated with the passage of time: the violation of monastic precepts, debates surrounding the ordination of women, sectarian rivalries, a tendency to adhere to the letter, rather than the spirit, of the teachings, corruption in the monastic centers, the emergence of anti-Buddhist despots in India and central Asia, social and political unrest throughout Buddhist Asia, and finally, the devastation of Buddhist communities in Gandhāra by the Ephthalites in the sixth century, an event that convinced many of the impending destruction of the *saṃgha*.

Prior to the mid-sixth century, various texts had made reference to the eras of True and Counterfeit Dharma, but none to the period of Final Dharma. However, the appearance of the *Daji yuezang jing*, coinciding with the wholesale devastation of institutional Buddhism during the Northern Zhou persecution of 574–577, confirmed the arrival of the age of Final Dharma foretold in that and other texts. In response to this historical crisis two powerful movements emerged, both proclaiming their teachings as eminently suited for the times: the Three Stages (Sanjie) school of Xinxing (540–595) and the Pure Land path of Daochou (562–645).

Ultimately, four basic chronologies emerged, each reckoned on the basis of the Buddha's decease, universally accepted in China as having occurred in 949 BCE:

1. True Dharma, 500 years; Counterfeit Dharma, 1,000 years
2. True Dharma, 1,000 years; Counterfeit Dharma, 500 years
3. True Dharma, 500 years; Counterfeit Dharma, 500 years
4. True Dharma, 1,000 years; Counterfeit Dharma, 1,000 years

Calculated on the basis of the first of these chronologies, the prevailing belief was that the period of Final Dharma, which was to last for ten thousand years, had begun in 552 CE. Although this belief was inherited by Japanese Buddhists, the year 1052 was also widely embraced in medieval Japan as the beginning of the age of Final Dharma, based on the fourth of the above-mentioned chronologies.

Belief in the three stages was combined with another popular view concerning the destiny of the *saṃgha*, one that divided Buddhist history into five five-hundred-year periods. This notion too had a complex history, but in its final form characterized the gradual eclipse of the Dharma as follows; an age in which enlightenment was the dominant feature of the religious life, an age in which meditative practices were firmly established, an age in which the study of scripture was firmly established, an age in which the building of stupas and temples was firmly established, and an age in which fighting and bickering and the decline and disappearance of the Dharma were the dominant features of the religious life. The period of Final Dharma was identified with the last of these ages. Another prevalent view, intimately connected with that of *mappō*, characterized our time as one of Five Defilements, in which the age itself, all religious views, all desires, all sentient beings, and all human life are defiled.

Mofa is mentioned by almost all of the eminent Buddhist writers of the Sui and Tang dynasties, but it was Xinxing and Daochou who refused to regard it as merely descriptive of external historical events and actually incorporated it into the very foundation of their teachings. That is, both thinkers affirmed the reality of the end time in their own religious awakening and realized the extent to which the fundamental ignorance (*avidyā*) of all beings precluded the mastery of traditional practices leading to supreme enlightenment. Such an admission of contemporary deficiencies, both inner and outer, justified in their view a new path to salvation.

In the case of Xinxing, this new path called for the universal recognition of the buddha nature in all beings and the consequent practice of selfless acts of compassion toward everyone, regardless of status, as an antidote to the blind ignorance and profound egocentricity of the age. For Daochou it meant entrusting the ego-self to the saving vows of the Buddha Amitābha (Chin., Womituofo; Jpn., Amida) as the only viable means of deliverance from the ocean of *saṃsāra*. Xinxing's Three Stages school experienced a turbulent history and eventually disappeared during the Huichang persecution of Buddhism in 845, but the Pure Land lineage of Daochou gained wide acceptance and became a major force in East Asian Buddhism.

In China, the implications of the concept of *mofa* were mitigated by the continuing vigor of mainstream Mahāyāna Buddhism, which insisted on the observance of precepts, adherence to meditative practices, and cultivation of wisdom as essential for supreme enlightenment. Daochou and the subsequent Pure Land masters, while proclaiming a new path suited for the age of *mofa*, were not entirely free from the weight of this great tradition and continued to advocate a variety of more traditional Buddhist practices. By contrast, in Japan a foreboding sense of doom permeated the whole of medieval society, involving all of the Buddhist schools. Recognition of the advent of *mappō* was thus a decisive factor in the formation of the major schools of Japanese Buddhism in the thirteenth century—Jōdo, Jōdo Shin, Nichiren, and Zen—and even affected the earlier schools founded during the Nara (710–784) and Heian (794–1185) periods.

The first nonscriptural citation of the term in Japan appears in the *Nihon ryōiki* (Miraculous stories from the Japanese Buddhist tradition), compiled in the ninth century. A lament in this text states, "We are already in the age of Degenerate Dharma. How can we live without doing good? My heart aches for all beings. How can we be saved from calamity in the age of Degenerate Dharma?" The nature of *mappō* is also the topic of the *Mappō tōmyōki* (The lamp to illuminate the age of final Dharma), attributed to Saichō (767–823), the founder of the Japanese Tendai school. According to Saichō, each of the three stages of history is characterized by practices relevant to that particular age. The practices suited to the period of True Dharma include observance of the precepts and the practice of meditative disciplines. Those practices endemic to the period of Counterfeit Dharma are the violation of the precepts and the accumulation of property by monks. In the period of Final Dharma all monks must be honored, even though they violate or disregard the precepts, since the very nature of the times precludes the very existence and validity of the precepts.

Such a view of the end time, widely held by both clerics and laity, meant not only the bankruptcy of the Buddhist *saṃgha* but appeared also to herald the end of the world itself through the operation of inexorable historical forces. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a variety of events seemed to confirm the reality of *mappō:* the impotence of imperial rule, the decline of the aristocracy, social upheaval, local uprisings, internecine warfare, natural calamities and pestilence, and conflagrations that destroyed the capital.

This sense of impending collapse generated a variety of responses among the Buddhist clergy. These were of two basic types. One vigorously rejected this pessimistic view of history and reaffirmed the power of traditional paths to enlightenment. The other accepted the fact of *mappō* as the manifestation of the basic human condition—weak, imperfect, vulnerable, and subject to temptations—and saw the working of Dharma in the very midst of such karmic limitations, whether through the Nembutsu, containing the saving vows of Amida Buddha, or in the Daimoku, manifesting the miraculous salvific powers of the *Lotus Sūtra.*

It was Hōnen (1133–1212), one of the pioneering figures of the Kamakura period (1185–1333), who incorporated the implications of the doctrine of *mappō* into a virtual revolution in Japanese Buddhism. For him, the end time of history did not signal the decline and destruction of the Buddhist *saṃgha* but rather the opening up of the true *saṃgha* to both men and women, upper and lower classes, clergy and laity alike. For Hōnen, *mappō* did not mean the rampant violation of precepts but the disintegration of the sacrosanct authority of precepts that discriminated against certain groups of people. Since the age of *mappō* meant the nonexistence of precepts, the path of enlightenment was now open to people considered evil in the eyes of traditional Buddhism: those who made a living by taking life (hunters, fishermen, peasants, and warriors) and those who were outcasts from society (traders and merchants, prostitutes, monks and nuns who had violated the precepts, and others). Such people he proclaimed to be the primary concern of Amida Buddha's Primal Vow (*hon-gan*), the ultimate manifestation of true compassion. On the basis of this conviction Hōnen proclaimed the founding of an independent Jōdo (Pure Land) school in 1175.

Thus, while *mappō* spelled doom and despair for the established sects, it was an age of boundless hope and optimism for the disenfranchised. More fundamentally, in this view history became witness to the truth and relevance of the Pure Land path to enlightenment, as had been prophesied by Śākyamuni in the Pure Land sūtras. The end time of history was here and now, but it was in the here and now that Amida's compassionate vow had become fully operative.

Shinran (1173–1263) pushed this acute sense of historical crises even more radically into an existential realization of the human condition. He saw the particular evils of the age of *mappō* as revealing the very ground of self-existence. For Shinran, evil, though particularized in the individual, forms the essence of humanity in *saṃsāra.* But this realization of profound karmic evil is not final, for deeper and wider still is the working of Amida's compassionate vow, operating through samsaric existence to deliver the self, as well as all suffering beings, into the Pure Land.

For Shinran, then, *mappō* was no longer a particular period of history but the fundamental reality of life itself, embracing all ages, past, present, and future. The Primal Vow of Amida is working not only in the end time but has always been responding to the deepest yearnings of humanity, whether in the period of True Dharma, Counterfeit Dharma, or Final Dharma, whenever and wherever man is steeped in brutish egoism. It took the radical breakdown of history, however, for this truth to surface within human consciousness. As Shinran wrote in the *Shōzōmatsu wasan* (Hymns on the last age):

> Throughout the three periods of True, Counterfeit, and
> Final Dharma Amida's Primal Vow has been spread. In
> this world at the end of the Counterfeit Dharmaand
> and in the Final Dharma age All good acts have entered
> the Palace of the Dragon.

SEE ALSO Amitābha; Daochuo; Hōnen; Jingtu; Jōdo Shinshū; Jōdoshu; Saichō; Shinran; Xinxing.

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TAITETSU UNNO (1987)
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MAPUCHE RELIGION. The Mapuche currently live in Chile and Argentina. In Chile, they have settled between the Bio-Bio River to the north and the Channel of Chacao to the south, a territory that encompasses the provinces of Arauco, Bio-Bio, Malleco, Cautin, Valdivia, Osorno, and Llanquihue (approximately between 37° and 41° south latitude). In Argentina, they are found at similar latitudes in the northern Patagonian province of Neuquén and, to a lesser extent, in the Río Negro and Chubut provinces; to the north there are scattered and isolated groups in the Pampas region. The most optimistic calculations estimate that there are 500,000 Mapuche in Chile and fifty thousand in Argentina.

The Mapuche belong to the Araucana-chon linguistic family. Most of the Mapuche live in small settlements in a pattern of scattered encampments. The basic economic activity among the Chilean Mapuche is agriculture; the Argentinians rely on sheep and goat herding, as dictated by varying ecological settings. Patrilineal descent, patrilocal residence, and matrilateral marriage are the most noteworthy traits of contemporary Mapuche society. Patrilineage or, in many cases, a subdivision thereof, as well as the residential family, increasingly constitute the minimal units of the settlement in economic, social, and religious terms.

The structural changes undergone by the Mapuche in the past hundred years—a product of their adaptation to a new natural and social environment—have transformed Mapuche economy and, to a lesser degree, Mapuche society. Nonetheless, despite insistent missionary activity by Roman Catholics and Protestants (particularly fundamentalists), the foundation of their system of religious beliefs and practices remains practically intact in many regions.

To describe their mythico-religious beliefs even briefly, to characterize the numerous major deities, both regional and local, and to elucidate the symbolic content and meanings of each of the many rites of this people are tasks far beyond the scope of this work. I have therefore chosen to summarize them, making use of two cognitive structures common to them all, which will allow me to piece together the complex Mapuche belief system of religious practices and images and to outline their internal logic.

The first structure—apparently the most widespread—is dualism, which orders and defines two polar elements according to their relationships of opposition and complementarity. The second is the tetradic division generated as a result of a first bipartition that brings two opposed couples face to face and a second bipartition of degree that defines in each couple a climax and its attenuation.

The vast Mapuche pantheon is divided into two great antithetical and complementary spheres. The first is made up of beneficent deities, organized into a tetradic family based on a combination of sex and age (old man and old woman, young boy and young girl). These deities are the agents of good, health, and prosperity, and their tetradic nature symbolizes perfection. Cosmologically and vertically, they are found in the celestial sphere, or *wenú mapú,* which is the summit of the positive aspect of the four vertical components of the universe. Horizontally, some of them are ranked, with varying degrees of positivity, with the four regions of the world (the east, south, north, and west cardinal points). Temporally, they are associated with clarity. Given that the tetradic division is also the ordering principle of the day, they have their most exact manifestations in *epewún* (“dawn”), a superlative concretion of *anti-* (“clarity”), whose sign is positive, and in *ki-ri-ni-f* (“dusk”), the attenuation of *pún* (“darkness”), whose sign is negative. Finally, they are associated with positive colors—blue (the most important) and white-yellow (denoting attenuation).

The second sphere of this theophanic dualism is made up of the malefic beings, of *wekufi-,* who appear isolated, in odd numbers, and of indeterminate age and sex. They are agents of evil, illness, and chaos, and they symbolize imperfection. Their place in the cosmos is ambiguous; some groups place them in the *anká wenú,* or middle heaven, but generally they are considered to belong to the *pu mapú,* or netherworld—the climax of the negative aspect in the vertical conception of the universe. The temporal acts of the *wekufi-* are most evident during *rangi-n púñ* (“midnight”), the most negative moment, and, to a lesser extent, during *rangíñ ánti* (“midday”), the attenuation of the positive pole. *Wekufi-* that are associated with red and black, the malefic hues, play an even greater role in determining the qualities attributed to them.

The implied symbolic network arises from various levels of discourse, such as the *ngetrán* (accounts of mythical or historical events characterized by truthfulness) and the decoding of dreams and signs—present events that anticipate the qualities of future occurrences. The social correlative of this theophanic dualism is incarnated in the figures of the *máchi* ("shaman") and *kalkú* ("witch"), who manipulate the forces of good and evil, respectively. The paraphernalia of the *máchi* include, among other things, the *kultrún* (a kettledrum), which serves as a symbolic microcosm; the *wáda* (a rattle); and the *kaskawílla* (a girdle with small bells). The *máchi* are assisted by benevolent deities and are responsible for staving off illnesses caused by the *kalkú,* who are assisted by the *wekufi-* beings.

Shamanic rites include Machiluwún, an initiatory rite carried out after the *máchi* has undergone a period of revelation through illness or dreams and after he has received instruction from an initiated shaman, and the Ngejkurrewén, a postinitiatory rite of power renewal. The Pewutún is a diagnostic ritual. There are two therapeutic rites: the Datwún, for serious illnesses, and the Ulutún, for minor ailments. All these rites and their associated artifacts and actions—including the *réwe,* a wood carving representing the cosmic stages; branches from sacred trees; ritual displacements of objects from the right (positive) to the left (negative), facing east and counting in twos, fours, or multiples thereof; songs and dances beseeching the benevolent gods to act; blue and white flags; and the moments (dawn and dusk) when the rites are performed—are symbolic expressions denoting supplication to the forces of good and the restoration of health.

In contrast, the witch directly or indirectly causes *kalkutún* ("harm") by throwing objects with malefic powers around the victim's house or by working magic on the victim's nails, hair, clothing, sweat, or footprints. The witch may poison the victim, or may enlist the help of a *wekufi*—such as a *witranálwe,* the soul of a dead man that has been captured by the *kalkú.* The nocturnal appearance of the *witranálwe* in the form of a great, resplendent, cadaverous horseman causes illness and death.

Community members take part in numerous rituals outside of the specialized orbit of shamanism and witchcraft. The funerary rites, or Awn, are still practiced in the Chilean settlements. Their object is twofold: to ensure that the soul of the dead can cross into the world where the ancestors live (a site that some scholars say is very close to, or is associated with, the domain of the benevolent deities) and to prevent the spirit of the dead person from being captured by a witch and transformed into his aide during his nocturnal ambushes.

The term *ngillatún* alludes to the act of prayer and connotes diverse practices on individual, family, and group levels. Strictly speaking, on the group level it designates a "ritual complex" that varies in several respects according to the traditions of the community performing it. These variations include the number and affiliation of the participants, the extent of group cohesion, the ritual's duration, its association with agrarian or pastoral economic cycles, and its occasional or periodic nature, that is, whether it is carried out to counteract natural phenomena or to observe crucial dates of the annual cycle. Despite this great diversity, what finally defines the *ngillatún* is its strongly propitiatory nature, its characters—varying with the time it is performed—as restorer of the cosmic order, and its enrichment of coherence and meaning within communal life through the ritual congregation.

Within this cultural domain, the symbolic network also impregnates with meaning each of the ritual episodes—for example, the forms of spoken and sung prayer, ritual sprinkling, ritual painting, women's songs, men's dances and mixed dances, sacrifices, libations, and horseback rides. It is this network that determines the temporal bounds of the episodes, the meaning of the displacements, and the colors used, as well as the number of times (twice, four times, or a multiple thereof) that each action must be repeated.

This summary, centered around the ideological principles that serve to organize and define a large part of the symbolic beliefs, rites, and images of the Mapuche, should not lead the reader to suppose that this is a closed system lacking flexibility. The history of the Mapuche people indicates exactly the opposite. They have adapted to new conditions while preserving their traditional knowledge and beliefs, even if these have sometimes been modified or given new meanings.

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MĀRA.

MĀRA. Although Māra appears in the Atharvaveda as a personification of death associated with the god Yama, it is in Buddhism that he comes to the fore. There he takes on the role of a mythological antagonist or metaphorical opponent of the Buddha, his teachings, and his community. Māra, one of whose epithets is "the Evil One" (Skt., Pāpīyāṃs; Pali, Pāpimant), has sometimes been compared to Satan; in fact, he is a god, the chief deity of the Realm of Desire (Kāmadhātu), a position he earned by virtue of a meritorious deed in a past life. As such, he rules over most sentient beings who are caught up in *saṃsāra* (including humans and the lower deities). He resides in the Sixth Heaven of Buddhist cosmology, the dwelling place of the Paranirmita-vaśavartin gods, and so is sometimes called Vaśavartin (Pali, Vasavattī; "controlling"), or, in East Asia, King of the Sixth Heaven. As Lord of the Kāmadhātu, Māra is best understood as a divine king who wants to keep sentient beings under his command, that is, in his realm of life and death, of desire and ignorance. Hence he actively opposes anyone who seeks to escape from his dominion by attaining enlightenment.

This opposition takes on many forms in Buddhist myth and legend. Most prominently, it is featured in a number of encounters Māra is said to have with the Buddha. He tries, for instance, to block the Buddha from going forth on his Great Departure from his father's palace, an episode often featured in Southeast Asian art and sometimes reenacted in ordination rituals. Later, under the bodhi tree at Bodh Gayā, Māra plagues the Buddha in a variety of ways. Desperate to keep the Blessed One from becoming enlightened, he musters a huge army of monsters, all armed with dreadful weapons, in an attempt to scare him away. Their attack, however, comes to naught. The weapons they fling at the Buddha turn to flowers and perfumes, and the Buddha remains unperturbed in meditation. Māra then challenges the Buddha's right to sit on the seat of enlightenment. He calls on his hordes to bear witness to his own merits, and they all shout that the bodhi seat—the highest point in this world—belongs to Māra. In response, the Buddha reaches down and touches the surface of the earth with the tip of his right hand, calling on it to bear witness to his merits. This earth-touching *(bhūmisparśa)* gesture, which became famous iconographically in countless Buddha images, elicits a response from the earth goddess, who affirms in no uncertain terms the Buddha's supremacy. In one version of the story, she appears physically and wrings out the water from her hair, causing a flood (symbolic of the Buddha's merits) that sweeps away the forces of Māra. In some biographical traditions, at this point or a bit later, Māra makes yet another attempt to counter the Buddha's enlightenment by sending his three daughters to seduce him. Needless to say, he is unmoved by their wiles. Having been unsuccessful in preventing the Buddha's enlightenment, Māra then tries to encourage him to pass promptly into *parinirvāṇa* (complete extinction) so as no longer to be a threat to his (Māra's) dominion.

Māra, however, did not limit his attentions to the Buddha alone. The *Samyutta Nikāya,* for instance, contains two collections of stories in which Māra variously tries to tempt, frighten, or trick not only the Buddha but ordinary monks and nuns. Sometimes he seeks to disrupt their practice or meditation; other times he tries to convince them of the truth of heretical doctrines. In doing so, he may take on various forms, even the guise of the Buddha himself. Thus, for example, he appears to the monk Śūra in the form of the Blessed One and deceitfully announces that he had lied when previously he had told him that all five *skandhas* (personality aggregates) are impermanent, marked by suffering, and without self, when in fact some of them are actually permanent, stable, and eternal. Śūra, luckily, is not duped by this. In other contexts, Hīnayānists are sometimes said to view the new Mahāyāna teachings not as the "Word of the Buddha" but as the "Word of Māra."

More broadly, any form of contradiction or opposition—from crude to subtle—to the practice and doctrine of Buddhism, however it is defined, may be thought to be an act of Māra. In Southeast Asia, if bad weather, drunkenness, or petty thievery mar the celebration of a Buddhist festival, it is said to be because of Māra. In East Asia, monks who are remiss in their observance of the precepts are sometimes said to be followers of "the way of Māra" (Jpn., *Madō*). In Tibet, Māra came to be associated with indigenous demonic divinities *(bdud)* whose subservience to Buddhism needed periodically to be reasserted. In China, due in part to linguistic confusion, Māra was identified with the god Īśvara, that is, Maheśvara (Śiva), or with the ambivalently-esteemed protector of the northeastern quarter, Īśāna. In Japan, in medieval times, a persistent creation myth told of the attempt by King Māra (Ma-ō)'s to block the creation of the Japanese islands themselves because he knew that Buddhism would thrive there. He only gave his imprimatur to the cosmogonic project when Amaterasu, the sun goddess, agreed to keep Buddhism at bay in her land, an agreement that she did not honor but which is why a taboo was established on Buddhist images, monks, and sūtras at the grand shrine of Ise. Māra's written contract with Amaterasu, moreover, came to be identified as the divine seal *(shinshi),* one of the three regalia of the Japanese imperial line.

Less mythically perhaps, throughout the Buddhist world, Māra came to be seen as a metaphor for various passions and impediments on the path. Thus practitioners are enjoined to recognize multiple Māras associated with the personality aggregates *(skandha-māra)* or the defilements *(kleśa-māraś).* Māra's daughters are said to symbolize pleasure, restlessness, and desire; and various troops in Māra's army are identified with lust, sloth, doubt, hypocrisy, ignorance, and so on.

Yet Māra is not always ultimately maligned and condemned. In contexts in which the doctrine of the potential enlightenment of all beings is asserted, the story is told of Māra's conversion to Buddhism by the arhat Upagupta, who first tames the "Evil One" by binding corpses around his neck, but then releases him when he agrees to stop harassing Buddhist monks, or when, in one version of the tale, he actually makes a vow for future buddhahood.

SEE ALSO Buddha.

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MĀRA (AND GREAT MOTHERS). A mythological female deity with features and functions of the Great Mother is frequently mentioned in the folk songs, legends, folk beliefs, and magic incantations of Latvian folklore. Opinion differs regarding the origin of the name *Māra.* In the first half of the twentieth century a group of Latvian folklorists and religious scholars that included Pēteris Šmits, Ludvigs Bērziņš, and Ludvigs Adamovičs tried to see a greater impact of Christian concepts in Latvian folklore, primarily based on phonetic similarities in the names Māra and Marija. They attempted to prove that Māra is nothing more than a phonetically transformed Holy Mary (Latvian, Svētā Marija). But one only needs to look at the text of a few folk songs, or *dainas,* that mention Māra to see that she is not Mary, the Christian Mother of God, but an independent mythological being. In Latvian folklore, Māra can be seen as a protectress of cows. She may be found sitting in a willow or under an aspen tree, and she is mentioned as guiding a boat of orphans across dangerous waters, but in some folklore texts she is also described as a harmful being, one who, for instance, takes away or disturbs sleep.

Other scholars have not expressed as categorical an opinion regarding the origin of Māra's image. The Latvian-born Swedish theologian Haralds Biezais believes that Māra incorporates features of an ancient fertility goddess whose name Latvians have long forgotten, so they now call her Holy Mary (Biezais, 1955, pp. 323–337). In 1940 Mārtiņš Bruņenieks had advanced a hypothesis that partially corresponds to Biezais's theory. According to Bruņenieks, Māra's name was borrowed from Mary, the Christian Mother of God, replacing the Latvian goddess of fate Laima, while retaining Laima's functions as a deity of fate. However, this presents an obvious contradiction because both the names Māra and Laima can be found in Latvian folklore, even though their functions, such as the protection of women in labor, are partially duplicated.

An opposing point of view was proposed in the first half of the twentieth century by the brothers Ernests and Arvīds Brastiņš. They believed that both in function and name Māra is a genuine Latvian goddess—a giver and taker of life and protectress of fertility, birth, and productivity.

During the Soviet occupation of Latvia (between 1940 and 1990), the topic of Māra was off limits to Latvian scholars. It was only during the second half of the 1980s that various scholars returned, with qualifications, to the hypothesis advanced by the brothers Brastiņš. Among them were Vjačeslav Ivanov and Vladimir Toporov, Moscow linguists and scholars of Baltic languages and mythology; Konstantīns Karulis, a linguist from Riga; Māra Zālīte, an author and folklore scholar; and, during the 1990s, the folklorist Janīna Kursīte. Their theory that Māra was not Holy Mary borrowed from Christianity but an independent female deity was based on both Latvian folklore and comparative source material from other Indo-European peoples. In this case, the name Māra hypothetically had been derived from the Indo-

European root form **mā*-, which was used to denote the concept of mother and archetypal maternal beginnings. Expanded by *r*, the **mā*-root expresses the active creative force, the goddess of creation, and the goddess of destruction.

With the passage of time the female goddess or female chthonic spirit who carried this name (and had the ambivalent role of both giver and taker of life) took on different forms within the traditions of the various Indo-European peoples. For some, including Latvians, the name denoted a primarily constructive goddess who promotes fertility and productivity. For others, such as the Slavic peoples, it referred to a harmful spirit who comes at night to disturb human sleep and nocturnal peace, on occasion appearing as a forerunner of death or actual death itself. For Czechs and Poles she is Marena or Marana, a goddess associated with rituals devoted to the change of winter and spring seasons and the calling for rain. In Russian mythology she is Mara or Kikimora, a spirit who is either tiny or exactly the opposite—a tall, bent, and ugly woman with matted hair who lives under the floor and at night weaves the thread of human lives and brings harm in various ways. A related comparison in English is the word *nightmare*, where *mare*, the second part of the compound word, incorporates the above-mentioned Indo-European root.

For Latvians, Māra appears in traditional folk beliefs, legends, and folk songs either as a woman in white clothing, a mooing cow heavy with milk, or a toad or snake. Usually Māra is called either Mīļā Māra (Dear Māra) or Svētā Māra (Holy Māra). In the first case this is a word formula, which people use to directly or indirectly approach Māra with a plea for her to be kind and protective to humans, which does not mean that the goddess is always kind and protective. The second word formula (Svētā Māra) has furnished an additional argument for scholars who have linked the origin of Māra's name to the Christian Holy Mary. Both the linguist Jānis Endzelīns and Pēteris Šmits proposed the theory in the first half of the twentieth century that Latvians had derived the word *svēts* (holy, sacred, blessed, or saint, before a word), along with the Christian religion, from their neighboring Russians. In fact, the word *svēts* is a Christian ecclesiastic term that originates in the ancient Russian language. It does not mean, however, that this word could not have existed before in the Latvian language as a way to refer to the concept of sanctity (*svētums*) in the pre-Christian context, because the word is based on the Indo-European root **kuei* (shining, bright, or white). If this ancient word *svēts* had arrived in the Latvian language by derivation, then there would not be as many toponyms and, in particular, ancient hydronyms throughout the Latvian and Lithuanian territory derived from this root form (e.g., Svētupe, Svēte, and Sventeļi). Moreover this root form appears in the synonym *svētelis* (literally, "white" or "shining"), used for the bird stork. More precisely Svētā Māra in its oldest, pre-Christian sense was seemingly used to describe the deity's essence and appearance, as in Baltā spīdošā Māra (White shining Māra).

Among Māra's specific functions, of significance is her protectorship of cows (as well as milk and butter). Māra is the giver of milk as a sacral drink to those going through puberty initiation rites. Thus, an etiological myth that has survived to the present day explains why the willow tree has slippery shiny leaves:

> *Aiz ko auga vītoliņš Glumajām lapiņām? —Mīļā Māra sviestu sita, Vītolā rokas slauka.* Why doth the willow tree grow With slippery leaves Dear *Māra* churning butter, Wipes her hands on the willow.

The gift of cows to an orphan girl about to be wed is dependant upon Māra's benevolence, since the orphan girl has neither father nor mother to provide her with the necessary dowry (property, goods, and farm animals, which were mandatory when getting married):

> *Mīļā Māra govis skaita Vītolā sēdēdama; Visas bija raibaļiņas, Dūmaliņas vien nebija; Nakti veda sērdienīti, Tai iedeva dūmaliņu.* Dear Māra counts her cows Sitting in a willow; All of them spotted cows, None of them smoke dark; At night the orphan girl was wed, She was given the smoke-dark one.

The being, deity or human, who is able to count cows or other such things in great numbers, is considered the owner of those things. The spotted cows mentioned in the folk song, in accordance with Baltic mythological concepts, are the most fertile and productive of cows, more so than the smoke-dark cow. In giving it as a gift to the orphan girl, Māra demonstrates her benevolence but she also indirectly indicates the social status of the orphan as one without the usual rights. For instance, the orphan girl is wed at night and not during the day, as is customary. In this and other folk songs it can be seen that Māra's tree is the willow, which shows Māra's link with ancient healing rituals—as well as fertility, which in Latvian folk songs is often symbolized by the shiny leaves of the willow. Māra is expert in, and in charge of, healing herbs. *Māras paparde*, the legendary fern blossom linked in Latvian folklore to the summer solstice, is described through the use of a possessive adjective as belonging to Māra. Māra is the creator of the spotted flowers of the bean plant, a death and rebirth ritual plant, symbolizing fertility:

> *Pupiņai raibi ziedi, Kas tos raibus darināja? —Mīļā Māra darināja, Debesīs sēdēdama.* The bean has spotted flowers, Who has made them spotted?—Dear Māra made them so, While she sat in heaven.

The structure of this folk song, which can be found in other folk songs mentioning Māra's name, is that of a sacral dialogue similar to the ancient Indian sacral dialogues *brahmodia*, which were created as oral components of a cosmogonic ritual.

Māra is invoked in magic incantations aimed at stopping bleeding (*asinsvārdos;* literally, "blood words"). In these verses Māra appears with a gold broom in her hand and is asked to sweep away the raven's blood or the fast-flowing river, the latter being a euphemism for the taboo words of human blood. An important role for Māra is the healing of breaks and bruises. In several mythological folk songs, Māra pieces together a broken jug (renewing the cosmos or microcosmos). As she renews the cosmos she mends a broken limb or heals bruises:

> *Dieviņš krūzu (kannu) sadauzīja, Svēta Māra salasīja, Sastīpoja sudraba stīpiņām, Lai nesāp, lai netūkst, Lai netek kā akmeņam. Dieviņš* [dim. of *Dievs*] broke a jug, Holy Māra picked up the pieces, Circled the jug with silver hoops, So it would not hurt, would not swell, Would not leak as if [made] of stone. (Straubergs, 1939, no. 395)

Māra is appealed to with special invocations in instances of birth complications during a woman's labor. Sometimes in folk beliefs and in magic incantations Māra is personified as a woman's uterus. In such instances Māra (= *dzemde* in Latvian = uterus) is invoked to come and replace the uterus of a woman experiencing birth complications, and if Māra will not take the place of the woman's uterus she is threatened with black cats or dogs who will bark and tear her to pieces:

> *Mīļā Māriņa, svētā Māriņa, Stāvi savā vietiņā, guli savā vietiņā! Necilājies, negrozies! Ja tu cilāsies, ja tu grozīsies, Nāks trejdeviņiem striķiem, trejdeviņiem pinekļiem, tevi tīstīs, tevi saistīs.* Dear Māriņa [dim. of Māra], blessed Māriņa, Stay in your place, sleep in your place! Don't shift, don't move! If you shift, if you move, They'll come with thrice nine ropes, [They'll come] with thrice nine hobbles, To tie you up, to bind you. (Straubergs, 1938, no. 394)

Māra is also called upon in instances of snakebites, and as a precautionary measure against meeting up with snakes in the woods. Snakes as killers or as healers are under Māra's supervision and, therefore, it is she and no other deity who is entreated by anyone wishing to evade snakebites. Māra is mentioned in many folk songs as a deity who does harm and is feared by humans, and against whose appearance from the sea or other waters people try to protect themselves. Humans wind a silver hoop around their houses so that Māra will not appear as a destroyer of flowers in cases where flowers are associated with life. In other folk-song texts Māra is shown as standing under an aspen tree, shaking and making it tremble. The aspen tree is most often associated with dying and the underworld in Baltic religious beliefs. Depicting Māra as standing under an aspen tree obviously underlines her ambivalent nature and her link to the kingdom of the dead and her role as overseer of the underworld.

People, especially women, made offerings and sacrifices to Māra to encourage her to appear more frequently in her benevolent rather than her destructive and harmful form. The most common sacrifice was a hen or a sheep. Sheep's wool and colored strands of wool were placed as offerings to Māra on the branches or in the hollows of trees, which most often were linden trees.

Māra's opposite, a masculine deity, is Dievs, the god of light, who is in charge of the higher world, the heavens, whereas Māra is in charge of the netherworld and earth. In several Latvian mythological folk songs, Dievs is shown as the ultimate judge over humans, the deity who brings on a monstrous flood as punishment for some unnamed violation, while Māra is the one who averts Dievs's anger:

> *Grib Dieviņš šo zemīti Ar ūdeni slīcināt; Mīļā Māra Dievu lūdza, Ap galviņu glāsīdama.* Dieviņš [dim. of Dievs] wants to drown This small land in flood waters; Dear Māra appeals to Dievs, Tenderly caressing his head.

Māra is associated with water. She helps fishermen threatened with danger and guides sailors' boats safely ashore, as well as a boat of orphans across the sea. She is the one who controls thunderstorms, tempests, and other natural disasters. The concept of Māras *avots* (Māra's spring) is connected to fertility. This is a special spring in which, during the summer solstice or other major ritual festivities, women wash themselves to gain fertility, health, and energy. In the best-known sanctuaries in Latvia, such as *zilie kalni* (blue hills), Māra's spring is often mentioned as a sacred object. The concept of Māras *baznīca* (Māra's church) also figures in folk beliefs and legends, often as a place (forest, cave, pile of stones, etc.) where Māra endows humans (primarily women) with their share or what they deserve of wealth or good fortune, or even poverty or ill fortune if the goddess has not received sufficient offerings.

Māra appears in mythological folk songs as the protectress of the world of the dead, most often together with the sons of Dievs. On the far side of a bridge fashioned of bones, across a river of blood, "shaking and trembling," she welcomes the souls of soldiers fallen in battle. This is a word formula that suggests an ecstatic emotional experience or epiphany and a transitional crisis situation.

Thursday night, the fifth night, specifically the time between Thursday and Friday, is frequently mentioned in references to Māra. Certain tasks primarily done by women, such as knitting and weaving, were forbidden on Thursday evening. This was considered to be the night of Māra's birth and this taboo was observed up until the nineteenth century (and even as late as the twentieth century in several far corners of the Latvian countryside). On this night one could not whistle or make any kind of noise because people believed that on the fifth night all magicians and witches had been born, and noise could accidentally call them forth. Certain parallels can be drawn with similar beliefs about the fifth night in other European countries. Thus, for example, *Friday* in English is derived from the German and Scandinavian chthonic goddess Freyja.

Māra's image among Catholics in the Baltics is quite different. This pertains, first of all, to Lithuania, and secondly to eastern Latvia, where the Catholic region of Latgale is located. Here the pre-Christian Māra's image has fused with the Catholic image of Holy Mary (Svēta Marija in Latvian). Prayers to Marija/Māra, the Mother of God, have become an important component of the Catholic faith practiced by the people. Thus, in Latgale on August 15 each year, on *Svātōs Marijas debesbraukšonas dīna* (Feast of the Assumption of Holy Mary into heaven), there are mass pilgrimages to Aglona Cathedral, where an altar painting of the Virgin Mary that is considered to be a special source of miracles is located. Māra's/Marija's sacred spring, whose healing power is renowned from ancient times, is located near the cathedral. However, the majority of Latvians have retained in their traditional folk consciousness their own Great "Mother of all Mothers" image—that of Māra from pre-Christian times. In Latvian folk beliefs a special Māra's day is celebrated several times per year in honor of Māra.

SEE ALSO Goddess Worship.

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JANĪNA KURSĪTE (2005)
Translated by Margita Gailītis and Vija Kostoff

MARANKE, JOHN (1912–1963), African religious prophet and founder of the Apostolic Church of John Maranke. John (or Johane) Maranke was born Muchabaya Ngomberume in 1912. His birthplace is believed to be near Bondwe Mountain in the Maranke Tribal Trust Land of Southern Rhodesia. His father, Mombe-rume, was part of the royal Sithole lineage, and his mother was the daughter of the Shona chief Maranke.

Church records indicate that Maranke was baptized a Methodist under the name of Roston at the local mission. Some of his instructors thought that he would eventually enter the Methodist ministry. In July of 1932, however, John, as he is referred to by his followers, received a spiritual calling to start the Apostolic church. An account of the visionary experiences leading to his calling is presented in the *Humbowo Hutswa we Vapostori* (The New Revelation of the Apostles), a book composed in the Shona language by Maranke and viewed by the movement as a major ecclesiastical text.

When John was five years old, he began to hear strange voices and see visions. After a year of Methodist primary school, he claimed that he had been visited by the Holy Spirit. He prayed continually and stood on top of anthills preaching to the trees. During this time, John was plagued by a mysterious childhood illness that could not be diagnosed. Following this illness, he lived for a short period of time in the mountains and was thought by his relatives and friends to be dead.

On the evening of July 17, 1932, near Mount Nyengwe in Umtali District, John allegedly witnessed a bright light and heard a heavenly voice that said: "You are John the Baptist, an Apostle. Now go and do my work. Go to every country and preach and convert people." John regarded this vision as a divine calling from the Holy Spirit to found the Apostolic church.

Between 1932 and 1934, John's church grew rapidly. After the initial spiritual revelation, John, his brothers Conorio and Anrod, and his uncle Peter Mupako went to spread the news to the neighboring settlements. Ruka (Luke) Mataruka, John's brother-in-law, became the first convert and evidenced signs of his spiritual calling immediately. John himself was baptized by Ruka. As the news of John's revelation spread beyond his extended family, people from all parts of the district flocked to him to receive spiritual healing.

On Saturday, July 20, 1932, the first Apostolic Sabbath was held near the Murozi, or "Jordan," River, in which the new converts were baptized. It is estimated that approximately 150 new members were baptized on that day. Ruka was made the first evangelist of the church. Two of John's cousins, Simon (Mushati) and Gwati, were designated respectively as the first prophet and first secretary of the church; his brother Conorio became the first healer. Momberume, John's father, was also baptized then and was made the elder judge (*mutongi*) of the church, charged with resolving disputes.

On August 24, 1934, the Passover (*Paseka* or *Pendi*) of the Apostolic church was held. This celebration was a combined reenactment of the Last Supper and a Eucharist. It was also intended to commemorate the moment at which John Maranke received his initial calling from the Holy Spirit and, hence, was also known as the Pendi, or Pentecost. After John's death, the date of the celebration was changed to July 17, in honor of the date of John's first calling. During the Passover, Apostles from all regions gather to confess sins of the preceding year and to celebrate spiritual renewal. As the church has grown, the importance of this celebration has increased.

Eventually, a leadership hierarchy consisting of four spiritual gifts (*bipedi*) and three ranks (*mianza*) was established for each Apostolic congregation. The spiritual gifts are designated as works of healing, evangelism, prophecy, and baptism. Members are ordained within each spiritual gift. The ranks within each gift are derived from the sacred word *Lieb-Umah* that John Maranke received in a prophetic revelation. The Apostles assert that this word means "he who speaks with God." John specified that each Apostolic congregation should contain three Lieb-Umahs, or priests, for each of the four gifts. Together, all of the men holding degrees of the Lieb-Umah rank within a single congregation constitute the Committee of Twelve Elders charged with its governance.

John and his relatives controlled the church from its center in Bocha, Zimbabwe (then Southern Rhodesia), until his death (allegedly by poisoning) in 1963. In the late 1940s, however, Ruka Mataruka gained a considerable following of his own and broke away from the parent church. John challenged Ruka's bid for power and was ultimately able to regain many of the dissident followers. After John's death, a schism again divided the Zimbabwean branch of the church when Simon Mushati formed another rival group. Simon argued that he had always been second to John in the leadership structure of the church and challenged the right of John's eldest son, Abel, to succeed his father. Invoking Shona customary law, John's brother Anrod performed a christianized version of the traditional inheritance ceremony and passed on the leadership to John's eldest sons, Abel and Makebo. By this time, the church was so large that it was necessary to travel to outlying districts and to other countries to perform the Passover. Abel, as John's legitimate successor, was given the power to perform the Passover and to lead the church. He divided these responsibilities with his younger brother Makebo, who traveled north to Nyasaland (now Malawi) and east to Mozambique on his behalf. By the 1960s, there were an estimated fifty thousand Maranke Apostles in Zimbabwe alone.

THE APOSTOLIC MOVEMENT ON AN INTERNATIONAL SCALE. The Apostolic church entered Zambia (then Northern Rhodesia) and Malawi (then Nyasaland) by 1948. Initially, the Shona evangelist Kasimil visited these areas and baptized many new converts who subsequently spread the word among their relatives and in neighboring villages. The early congregations also contained many Shona members who had migrated north in search of work.

In 1952, Nawezi Petro, a Zairian of Lunda origin, encountered the Shona Apostles on a visit to Southern Rhodesia. He claimed that they healed his wife of tuberculosis after a series of European doctors had failed to do so. Nawezi and his wife immediately converted and returned home to introduce the church to Katanga Province (now Shaba). Meanwhile, the church spread northward to the Kasai Province of Zaire and to the capital, Kinshasa (then Léopoldville). Kasanda Vincent and Mujanaie Marcel, the first spokesmen for the group in the Kasai area, quickly acquired a large following. Over the years, several schisms developed in the Zairian branch of the Apostolic church. The major rift took place when Nawezi's brother-in-law Musumbu Pierre broke away from the Katanga congregation and acquired a large local following in the Kasai region. This struggle between Musumbu and Nawezi was finally resolved in 1974 when the church center acknowledged Musumbu's status as the first leader of the Zairian branch and the official representative of the Zairian congregations.

A similar pattern of growth took place in Angola and Mozambique, where the Apostolic church went through the characteristic pattern of rapid growth and subsequent schism. By the early 1980s, there were an estimated three hundred thousand members of the Maranke Apostolic church in six central and southern African nations: Zimbabwe, Zaire, Angola, Mozambique, Malawi, and Zambia. The largest membership is concentrated in eastern Zimbabwe and southwestern Zaire.

THE IMPACT OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH IN CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN AFRICA. Apostolic theology is highly moralistic, emphasizing the keeping of commandments, observation of food and other taboos, and the regular confession of sins. The Apostles accept the Old and New Testaments of the Bible equally as the foundation for their belief. Saturday is kept as the sabbath day. Biblical teachings are supplemented by John's prophetic book *New Witness of the Apostles,* which is considered to provide spiritual and moral directives for a better life. Emphasis is placed on Holy Spirit inspiration and faith healing.

Apostolic doctrine involves a clear reaction to the mission churches. Voluntary polygamy is condoned, and church members are encouraged to avoid Western medical treatment. At the same time, Apostles eschew many aspects of traditional religion, including the veneration of the ancestors and the use of herbal medicines and charms. The role of women as ceremonial leaders is emphasized in the church, and they hold the positions of prophetesses and healers. Although marriage is not considered a sacrament among the Apostles, the customary dowry is de-emphasized and the importance of the family unit is stressed.

Ceremonies are conducted in multiple languages, and church liturgy varies somewhat from one congregation to another, although the basic format of worship remains consistent. While the influence of John Maranke as a prophet and founder is acknowledged by all congregations, there has been no attempt to elevate him to divine or messianic status. He is considered to be a messenger of God and a reformer whose interpretation of Christianity has made it relevant to large segments of the African population. The movement contains an innovative combination of African customs and Christianity. The charismatic appeal of the church and an ability to absorb cultural variations have accounted for its spread and popularity across several African nations.

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MARATHI RELIGIONS.

The Marathi language, which has demarcated the area in western India called Maharashtra for almost a thousand years, is an Indo-European language of North India that includes elements from the Dravidian languages of South India as well. Other elements of Maharashtrian culture—food, marriage customs, the patterns of caste groupings, and many aspects of religion—also reflect the fact that the Marathi-speaking area is a bridge between North and South. To the mix of Indo-European and Dravidian is added a mix of Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva traditions, and the whole is contained by a remarkable sense of the area's unity and integrity.

The major persistent natural and cultural subregions of Maharashtra are the coastal strip between the Arabian Sea and the Sahyādri Mountains (Western Ghāṭs), called the Koṅkan; the fertile northeastern region of Vidarbha, in central India; and, between these, the Deś, the Marathi-speaking part of the Deccan plateau, including the upper reaches of the Godavarī and Kṛṣṇa river systems. The upper Godāvarī valley is also called Marāṭhvāḍā.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MARATHI AND MAHARASHTRIAN RELIGION. The earliest examples of the Marathi language are found in inscriptions from the eleventh century. By the late thirteenth century, when the Yadava kingdom governed most of the area known as Maharashtra and Marathi literature began to appear, the language was already well developed. Three sorts of writings came into being at about the same time, setting in motion very different religious movements.

In Vidarbha, a court-supported philosopher, Mukuṇḍarājā, wrote the *Vivekasindhu,* a philosophical treatise in the Advaita Vedānta tradition of Śaṅkara. Mukuṇḍarājā created no cult or school, but his influence is reflected in later work, particularly that of the seventeenth-century Rāmdās, a religio-political saint contemporaneous with the birth of the Marāṭhā nation under Śivaji.

The thirteenth century also saw the beginnings of two religious movements that continue in the early twenty-first century. The Vārkarī sect, which is the area's most popular devotional religious movement and which has an important literature, understands itself to have begun with Jñāneśvar. Jñāneśvar was the author of an approximately nine-thousand-verse commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā* called the *Jñāneśvarī,* a work strongly influenced by the Advaita of Śaṅkara. A number of devotional poems (*abhaṅgas*) addressed to the deity Viṭhobā of Paṇḍharpūr are also ascribed to Jñāneśvar; it is on the basis of these that he is considered the first of a line of poet-saints who composed songs in honor of Viṭhobā, whom Vārkarīs take to be a form of Kṛṣṇa. These poet-saints, numbering around forty, include Nāmdev, a contemporary of Jñāneśvar to whom Hindi as well as Marathi poems are ascribed; Cokhāmeḻā, an untouchable; Eknāth, a sixteenth-century brahman from Paiṭhaṇ on the Godāvarī River; and Tukārām, the most popular Maharashtrian poet-saint, a seventeenth-century *śūdra* grocer who lived in Dehu, near Pune (Poona). Members of the Vārkarī sect, virtually all of whom are Maharashtrians, still sing the songs of these poet-saints and carry images of their footwear in an annual pilgrimage to Paṇḍharpūr.

The Mahānubhāv sect is not so widely popular today as the Vārkarī sect, but it has an important place in the religious history of Maharashtra. Founded by the thirteenth-century Cakradhar, the Mahānubhāv sect produced a large body of prose hagiographies and poetry. The sect spread primarily in the valley of the Godāvarī River and in Vidarbha. Like the Vārkarīs, Mahānubhāvs are devotees of Kṛṣṇa; but they exceed the Vārkarīs in their rejection of Brahmanic caste and pollution rules, and in their espousal of an ascetic way of life.

Another sect important in medieval Maharashtra was that of the Nāths, whose influence can be discerned in the early history and literature of the Vārkarīs and Mahānubhāvs. The Nāths were a sect of ascetics and yogins who specialized in various kinds of occult knowledge and who were devoted to the god Śiva. Aside from legends concerning the Navanāth, or Nine Nāths, the strongest Nāth influence today is probably in the figure of Dattātreya, to be discussed below.

MAHARASHTRIAN DEITIES. Although the two *bhakti* (devotional) sects of the Vārkarīs and the Mahānubhāvs are more pronouncedly Vaiṣṇava (or, rather, Kṛṣṇaite) than Śaiva, there is evidence of a Śaiva background against which they spread. And in the village and pastoral cults of Maharashtra, goddesses and Śaiva gods are far more prominent than Visnu or Kṛṣṇa.

Pilgrimage deities. The most important pilgrimage deity of Maharashtra is Viṭhobā of Paṇḍharpūr, whose primary mythological indentification is with Kṛṣṇa, but who also has strong connections with Śiva and who may have originated in a pastoral hero cult. Besides Viṭhobā, most other major Maharashtrian pilgrimage deities are goddesses and Śaiva gods. Of the many Śiva temples in Maharashtra, the two most important to Indian pilgrimage traditions may be Bhīmaśaṅkar in Pune District and Tryambakeśvar in Nasik District. Both temples are basic to the Maharashtrian landscape, since they are at the sources of the important Bhīma and Godāvarī rivers, respectively. Along with several other Maharashtrian Śiva temples, these two claim to be among the most important Śiva temples in all of India, the twelve *jyotirliṅga*s. Tryambakeśvar, together with the nearby city of Nāsik, is one of the four sites of the twelve-year cycle of Kumbha Melās.

Several other important pilgrimage deities, more or less closely identified with Śiva, appear to be deities of pastoralists, tribals, and warriors, eventually adopted by settled agriculturalists as well. Perhaps the most prominent of these is Khaṅḍobā, whose temples at Jejurī, near Pune, and at Māḻegāv (Nanded District) attract large numbers of pilgrims from a wide range of castes. Other extremely popular pilgrimage deities of this sort are Śambhu Mahādev at Singṇāpūr (Satara District) and Jyotibā at Vāḍī Ratnāgiri (Kolhapur District).

Four goddess temples that ring the Marathi-speaking area are also among the principal Maharashtrian pilgrimage places: the temple of Mahalaksmī at Kolhāpūr, that of Bhavānī at Tuḻjāpūr (Usmanabad District), that of Reṇukā at Māhūr (Nanded District), and that of Saptaśṛṅgī, at Vaṇī near Nāsik. These temples are linked to the religious geography of all of India as three and a half of the 108 *śakti pīṭha*s, places where, according to a Purānic story, body parts of Śiva's wife Satī were scattered throughout India; Saptaśṛṅgī is said to be the one-half *pīṭha* and thus is somewhat less important than the other three. Although they are all identified as *śakti pīṭha*s, each goddess has her own history and individuality as well. Bhavānī, for example, was worshiped by the seventeenth-century Marāṭhā king Śivājī in the form of his sword.

Distinct from temple priests, who in Śaiva and goddess temples are not necessarily brahmans but often belong to the *gurav* caste, there are special types of mendicant devotee-performers attached to several of the major pilgrimage deities of Maharashtra. *Vāghyā*s and *muraḻī*s, for instance, are such devotees, dedicated to Khaṅḍobā: *muraḻī*s are women dancers and *vāghyā*s are male devotees whose devotional performances sometimes involve acting like dogs, since a dog accompanies Khaṅḍobā. The most popular of such folk-religious figures are *gondhaḻīs*, who are devotees of goddesses, particularly of Reṇukā of Māhūr and Tuḻjā Bhavāni. Their performance, the *gondhaḻ,* combines music and storytelling, usually at a wedding or other family occasion, but the *gondhaḻī* also serves as bard, singing the heroic *pavāḍā*s that celebrate Maharashtrian bravery from the time of Śivājī on.

Other deities. The figure of Dattātreya illustrates a Maharashtrian reworking of religious influences from both North and South, as well as the synthesizing of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava motifs. A *ṛṣi* ("seer") in Sanskrit epic and Purāṇic literature, Datta first appears in Marathi literature as one of the five Mahānubhāv incarnations of the supreme God, Parameśvara. By the sixteenth century, however, Datta is clearly in the mainstream Hindu tradition, and has begun to be represented as the Brahmā-Viṣṇu-Śiva triad, in one body with three heads. Shortly before that time, incarnations of the god began to appear on Maharashtrian soil, and many believe that Datta has appeared in modern times, as Sāī Bābā, as the Svāmī of Akkalkoṭ, or as some other *avatāra.* Datta's chief and very popular pilgrimage center is at Gāṅgāpūr, located to the south of Maharashtra in northern Karnataka state. As in the northern tradition, Datta is seen as the patron deity of ascetics. Another element in Maharashtrian Datta worship is that while he is seen as a brahman, he has also become *guru* for people in all walks of life, even, it is said, for prostitutes, and his three-headed image or an image of one of his *avatara*s is found at all levels of society.

The elephant-headed god Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati is also particularly important in Maharashtra. There is a formal pilgrimage route of eight centers, all fairly near Pune, where *svayambhū* ("self-formed") elephant-headed stones bestow blessings as images of Gaṇeśa, but much more frequently worshiped are the representations of Gaṇeśa fixed over the doors of homes, brilliant with red coloring; among the stone sculptures on temple walls; and appearing here and there in the open countryside or in small shrines on city streets. Gaṇeśa was the family deity of the Peṣvās, the Citpāvan brahmans who ruled from Pune after the time of Śivājī, and the numerically small in numbers but nevertheless influential Citpāvans are still among Gaṇapati's principal worshipers. The annual Gaṇeśa festival has become a widely popular public event since 1893, when the nationalist leader Bal

Gangadhar Tilak organized it as a way to celebrate patriotism through religious means.

The god Rām is found in temples throughout Maharashtra, but seems not to carry the cultural importance found in great public events like the Rāmlīlā in the Hindi-speaking area. Rām's devotee, the monkey god Māruti (Hanumān), is tightly woven into Maharashtrian rural life; a Māruti temple is found in almost every Maharashtrian village or on its outskirts. Other deities prominent as village protectors are goddesses with names ending in *āī* ("mother"), *bāī* ("lady") or *devī* ("goddess"), such as Marīāī, the goddess of pestilence.

RITUALS. The ritual life of Maharashtrian Hindus includes festivals regulated by the calendar, celebrations of events in the human life cycle, and rituals performed in response to individual or collective crises.

Calendrical rites. Rituals occurring annually include pilgrimage festivals (*jatrās*) to particular places at particular times, and festivals celebrated locally or domestically in an annual cycle. Maharashtrian Hindus follow the luni-solar calendar, ending months with the no-moon day (the *amānta* system), as in South India, rather than with the full-moon day (the *pūrṇimānta* system), as in North India. The greatest concentration of pilgrimage festivals occurs during the month of Caitra (March–April), the first month of the Hindu calendar, but such festivals take place throughout the year. The pilgrimage deities mentioned above account for only a fraction of the thousands of *jatrās* occurring every year in Maharashtra.

Of local and domestic festivals, some of the most popular in Maharashtra are the following.

- Divāḷī: a complex of several festival days occurring at the end of the month of Āśvin and the beginning of the month of Kārtik (generally in October), celebrated domestically, most prominently by decorating homes with lighted lamps.
- Navarātra: a festival in honor of goddesses celebrated for the first nine days of the month of Āśvin (September–October); Navarātra culminates on the tenth day with Dasarā or Vijayadaśamī, a festival of triumph that is traditionally considered an auspicious day for inaugurating military campaigns or other enterprises.
- The Gaṇeśa festival: a ten-day festival ending on the fourteenth day of the month of Bhādrapad (August–September), in which temporary images of the elephant-headed deity Gaṇeśa are worshiped in home shrines (and, following Tilak's innovations, in elaborate neighborhood shrines in cities and towns as well); in some homes, women set up temporary shrines in honor of the goddess Gaurī (Pārvatī) for three days during the Gaṇeśa festival.
- Vaṭasāvitrī: a *vrata* (a fast and ritual) performed by married women on the full moon day of the month of Jyeṣṭha (May–June) for their husbands' welfare.
- Nāg Pañcamī: one of the many days of fasting and worship during the month of Śrāvaṇ (July–August), this festival is held on the fifth day of the month and is characterized by the worship of snakes and by women's songs and games.
- Polā: a festival usually celebrated on the no-moon day at the end of the month of Śrāvaṇ, a day on which the bullocks used in agricultural work are decorated, worshiped, and led in procession around the village.

In addition to such annual festivals, there are certain days of each fortnight and of each week that are especially dedicated to particular gods and that are observed by special worship of those gods and/or by fasting in their honor. For example, Monday is for Śiva, Tuesday and Friday for goddesses, Thursday for Dattātreya, Saturday for Śani (Saturn), Sunday for Khaṇḍobā, the fourth day of each fortnight for Gaṇeśa, the eleventh day of the fortnight for Viṭhobā, the thirteenth day for Śiva, and so on.

Life-cycle rites. Besides marriage and funeral rituals, those of the classical Hindu life-cycle rites (*saṃskāras*) most commonly celebrated in Maharashtra today are the ceremony of naming a child (this is performed on or near the twelfth (*bārāvā*) day after the child's birth and is hence called *bārseṃ*), and the ceremony, primarily among brahmans, of initiating young boys and investing them with the sacred thread (*muñja*). In addition, there are several rituals celebrating the early married life and pregnancy of young women. These rituals are generally performed by women and are not included in the classical list of *saṃskāras*. Such, for example, are Maṅgaḷā Gaurī, the worship of the goddess Gaurī and playing of women's games on a Tuesday of the month of Śrāvaṇ, for the first five years of a woman's married life, and Ḍohāḷejevaṇ, a celebration in honor of a pregnant woman, named for the cravings of pregnancy (*ḍohāḷā*).

Crisis rites. Rituals of crisis in Maharashtra most commonly take the form of a *navas:* one promises a deity that one will perform a particular fast or pilgrimage in his or her honor, or make some particular offering, if one gets a certain desired object—most typically, the birth of a son. If that object is attained, one must keep one's promise (*navas pheḍaṇeṃ*). With the notable exception of Viṭhobā of Paṇḍharpūr, many of the chief pilgrimage deities of Maharashtra are said to answer such prayers (*navasālā pāvaneṃ*); and many Maharashtrian pilgrimages, whether at special festival times or otherwise, are made in fulfillment of a *navas.*

In addition, there are village deities, such as Marīāī (the cholera goddess) and Śītalā (the smallpox goddess), who are especially propitiated for curing individuals of disease and for averting or bringing to an end such disasters as epidemics and droughts which affect an entire village. Marīāī is served by a *potrāj*—always, until the contemporary conversion to Buddhism, an untouchable *mahār*—who carries a whip and a burning rope, wears a skirt made of women's blouse pieces, and acts as priest for the goddess.

A popular but elaborate ritual called the Satyanārāyaṇ Pūjā is most common in modern, urban environments. It is performed in fulfillment of a *navas,* for thanksgiving, for safety on a journey, or for prosperity or success of some sort.

CHANGES IN HINDUISM IN MODERN MAHARASHTRA. Modern changes in Maharashtrian religion are many and varied, ranging from the training of women as ritual priests to a large-scale conversion from Hinduism to Buddhism (see below). Two streams of change in the nineteenth century affected the intellectual history of Hinduism, but seem not to have influenced common practice. Gopal Hari Deshmukh (1823–1892), writing as Lokahitavāḍī ("he who is concerned for the people's welfare"), set in motion a reform and liberalization of Hindu practice that was later organized as the Prārthanā Samāj, the "prayer society." This was the Maharashtrian counterpart of the Bengali Brāhmo Samāj, but was not as separated from mainstream Hindu life as the latter. The "non-brahman movement" begun by Jotibā Phule (1828–1890) was also liberalizing and rationalizing, but carried the additional message that brahman dominance was socially, politically, and, indeed, religiously destructive to the welfare of the lower classes. Phule's Satyashodhak Samāj (Truth Seeking Society) brought his religious ideas and ideals to every corner of the Des and Vidarbha. The chief carryover of Phule's movement in the first half of the twentieth century, however, was political rather than religious. Phule is revered today in the Ambedkar movement.

The institutional changes in Hinduism in the modern period incude the Gaṅapati festival as reorganized by Tilak; the formation of the Rāṣṭrīya Svayaṃsevak Saṅgh, a paramilitary service organization with a religious base for young men with a branch for women, and the training of women as sannyasis and as priests. While the Rāṣṭrīya Svayaṃsevak Saṅgh (RSS) has spread over much of India, it originated in the city of Nagpur in Vidarbha, and is still of great importance all over Maharashtra, particularly among brahmans. Begun by Dr. K. B. Hedgewar (1889–1940), the RSS was both a Hindu revival organization that combined Sanskrit prayer with military drill and a nationalistic service organization. Its leadership is celibate and promises lifelong dedication to the organization, but the majority of its members become associated with the youth groups of the RSS and maintain their formal affiliation only as long as they are students. The RSS is linked to the conservative Bhāratīya Janatā Pakṣa (BJP) political party, but retains its separate existence as a non-political body. It traces its intellectual heritage to the Hindu revivalistic thought of Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Vīr Savarkar, both also ardent nationalists.

Women have been of consequence in Maharashtrian religion from the days of Cakradhar and Jñāneśvar, and Muktābāī, Janābāī, Soyrābāī, and Bahiṇābāī are important figures in the Vārkarī movement. A pattern of prominent women devotees of even more prominent male saints was repeated in the twentieth century as Godāvarī Mātā succeeded Upāsanī Bābā at the important ashram at Sakori in Ahmadnagar District. Here the Kanyā Kumārī Sthān, a young women's religious training institute, was established, enabling women to become full-fledged ascetics. The most recent development is a program in Pune that trains women as Vedic ritual priests.

Maharashtra is home also of many gurus and their ashrams, the best known being Meher Bābā's center at Ahmadnagar, Muktānanda's at Ganeshpuri near Mumbai, and Rajneesh's in Pune. All of these have Western as well as Indian adherents. There are also many gurus whose followers are all Indian, such as Gajānan Mahāraj of Shegaon and Swāmī Samarth of Akkalkot.

RELIGIOUS MINORITIES. Of the non-Hindu religions in Maharashtra, Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity account for roughly 7, 8, and 1.5 percent of the population, respectively. Jains are few in number but important as merchants as are the Muslim merchant groups of Bohras, Khojas, and Memons. There is little writing on either contemporary Islam or Christianity in the Maharashtrian context, but there is much information on the most recent change in religion, the conversion to Buddhism.

The initial Buddhist conversion took place in the city of Nagpur in 1956 and has spread all over Maharashtra (and to many urban areas of India); the conversion movement is still gaining adherents. After a series of frustrated attempts on the part of untouchables to enter temples, B. R. Ambedkar (1891–1956), an untouchable *mahar* educator, reformer, and statesman, declared in 1935 that he "would not die a Hindu." The conversion was postponed for twenty years while political activities took precedence, but just before his death, Dr. Ambedkar publicly became a Buddhist and called for conversion to that once-important Indian religion. More than six million adherents, the majority of them in Maharashtra, now list themselves as Buddhist, and a Buddhist literature in Marathi, a growing order of Buddhist monks, and a program of building Buddhist *vihara*s (temples) now mark the Maharashtrian scene. Many of the converts draw inspiration from the world-famous ancient Buddhist cave-temples in Maharashtra, especially the complexes at Ajanta and Ellora.

The writing on contemporary Islam in the state is almost non-existent, but there seems to have been a considerable mixture of Hinduism and Islam in the past. Shaykh Muḥammad was an honored saint-poet within the *bhakti* tradition in the fifteenth century; the god Dāttatreya often appeared as a *faqīr,* or Muslim holy man, to his disciples; Sāī Baba of Shirdi was a Muslim but now is chiefly worshiped by Hindus, who flock to his center and pray to him for material well-being. The sea shrine of Hājī Ālī in Mumbai, accessible at low tide, is visited by Indians of all religions. Muḥarram is the name of the first month of the Muslim year, and the first ten days of that month are an important festival also known by that name. In the past Hindus participated in great numbers in the Muharram festival, and visited the shrines of Ṣūfī saints. There is less participation in Muharram today, but the festival continues to be important to Shīʿā Muslims. It is a solemn occasion associated with the memory of Ḥusayn, son of the Prophet's daughter by ʿAlī, and commemorates the death of Ḥusayn in the battle of Karbala in 680 CE. The festival involves a temporary structure called an *imāmbāra* for gatherings; the standard of a hand placed on a pole, emblematic of the five members of the family of the Prophet; a procession carrying a replica of Ḥusayn's tomb, called a *tābūt*, which culminates in its immersion in the river (at least in Pune); and a feast, which is also observed by Sunnis. Muslims observe the ninth month of the Muslim year, Rāmadān, with fasting.

Christian conversion in the area, outside of the Portuguese presence in Goa, began in the nineteenth century, with the American Marathi Mission being the most important of the foreign groups. Justin Abbott and others of this mission did much to translate the Vārkarī poets into English, and one famous convert of the mission, Narayan Vaman Tilak, wrote Christian *bhakti* hymns in Marathi. Another influential convert, not connected to any Maharashtrian institution, was Pandita Ramabai, who wrote on social and women's issues, established a home for girls, and introduced Braille to India. The educational institutions, particularly the colleges, established by both Protestants and Catholics, are very important. Festivals are also important, especially the feast of Mary's Nativity at the famous shrine of Our Lady of the Mount in Bandra in Mumbai. While the feast is held in other parts of the West Coast on September 8, coincident with the harvest, the Bandra festival goes on for a week with several hundred thousand people venerating the ancient statue in the shrine and attending the Bandra fair. There is also a feast for St. Gonsalo Garcia, the first Indian born saint, and an older feast for St. Francis Xavier, whose tomb is in Goa, on December 3.

The small but culturally and economically important group of Parsis, eighth-century Zoroastrian immigrants from Persia, is primarily based in Mumbai and other large cities of Maharashtra.There is also a small group of Marathi-speaking Jews, the Bene Israeli, most of whom have migrated to Israel.

SEE ALSO Ambedkar, B. R.; Brāhmo Samāj; Hindu Religious Year; Indian Religions, article on Rural Traditions; Parsis; Pilgrimage, article on Hindu Pilgrimage; Poetry, article on Indian Religious Poetry; Rites of Passage, article on Hindu Rites; Tilak, Bal Gangadhar.

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MARCION (d. 160?), founder of an independent Christian church in the second century and influential exponent of the idea that God's sole attribute is goodness. Marcion was born toward the end of the first century in Sinope, a city in Pontus, on the southern coast of the Black Sea. A shipowner by profession and a man of wealth, he was a member of the Christian church in his home city (where, according to some sources, his father was bishop), but he left there after being ejected by the church. He lived for a time in western Asia Minor but again left because his ideas found little acceptance. In Rome he became a member of that city's more cosmopolitan congregation, presenting it with the large gift of 200,000 sesterces, and came under the influence of Cerdo, a Christian teacher from Asia. As his ideas became more clearly defined, he ran into conflict with the leaders of the church in Rome, and in 144 he founded his own church (his money was returned), which spread rapidly throughout the Roman Empire and came to rival the Catholic Church. By the end of the century, there were Marcionite congregations in cities throughout the Roman world, and writers in Greek (Justin Martyr), Latin (Tertullian), and Syriac (Bardesanes, or Bardaisan) were refuting his views.

Both because of his success in establishing an organization parallel to the "great" church, with its own bishops, elders, catechumens, liturgy, and canon of holy scripture, and his radical conception of God as love, Marcion is a significant figure in early Christian history. He taught that Christianity has no relation to the Judaism from which it sprang, he rejected the Hebrew scriptures in their entirety, and he abbreviated the New Testament to conform to his teaching. He believed that the God of Jesus Christ has nothing to do with, and is superior to, the God of the Hebrew scriptures who created the world, and he believed that Jesus came to reveal an utterly new and strange God, who is of pure goodness and mercy and without wrath or judgment. Marcion claimed to have learned this message from the apostle Paul, who, he believed, was alone among the early Christian leaders in understanding the revelation in Christ. While most Christians saw continuity between the covenant with Israel and the new covenant initiated under Jesus, Marcion saw only contradiction and opposition, and by a selective reading of the scriptures he sought to restore and repristinate the original and authentic faith that had been obscured by Christian teachers. He did not, however, make any claims for himself, either as a prophet or as a holy man. He saw himself as a teacher and a man of learning who pointed beyond himself to the teachings of Jesus and Paul.

Like other Christian thinkers from this period whose views were not accepted by the growing consensus, Marcion has gone down in history as a "heretic," but this epithet should not obscure his importance. At a time when questions such as the relation of Christianity to Judaism, the place of the Hebrew scriptures (Christian Old Testament) in Christian life and thinking, the proper method for interpreting scripture (especially passages that describe God as capricious, despotic, or vindictive), and indeed the very terms in which the Christian faith would be expressed, were matters of intense dispute, Marcion provided clear and unequivocal answers. He also emphasized a central element in Christianity, the boundless grace of God, a point that was lost on his critics. Marcion repudiated all attempts to see Christ as the fulfillment of ancient prophecy. Christ is wholly unique and must be set apart from everything, that is, from Judaism, the created world, and the God who made the world.

His critics classified him among the Gnostics, but he does not fit easily into this classification. On certain points—his contrast between the creator God and the high God who is the father of Jesus, his depreciation of the world, his dualism, his docetic Christology (his view that Christ did not have a real human body), and his rejection of the Old Testament—there were affinities with Gnosticism, perhaps through the influence of Cerdo and others he met at Rome. But Marcion had little sympathy for the speculative systems of the Gnostic teachers: he did not think that salvation comes through *gnōsis* ("knowledge"), and he had a different anthropology (there is no "spark of light" in human beings; they are wholly the work of the creator God) and a different view of redemption.

Marcion was the first Christian to put together a collection of books (a canon) as a standard for Christian life and teaching. His canon of the New Testament, in contrast to the generally accepted Christian collection of twenty-seven books, comprised an edited version of the gospel of Luke (omitting such parts as the infancy narratives, genealogy, baptism, and temptation) and ten epistles of Paul (not including *1 Timothy*, *2 Timothy*, and *Titus*) with the references to God as judge and passages dealing with punishment or the fulfillment of Jewish prophecy edited out. His effort to provide an original and authentic witness to the gospel was a powerful impetus toward the adoption of an approved list of books by the Catholic Church. Marcion also figures in the history of textual criticism of the New Testament, although recent scholarship has tended to see his work less as that of an independent witness and more as a testimony to one branch of the textual tradition.

Marcion wrote one book, *Antitheses*, which is known only through fragments and allusions in the writings of his critics. It consisted of a series of contradictory statements setting forth opposition between the creator God of the Old Testament and the good and benevolent God of Jesus, between the Jewish law and the Christian gospel. Though designed as a polemical and theological work, it assumed a creedlike status as a confession of faith within the Marcionite congregations and served as a key for interpreting the scriptures.

Besides taking an active part in the formation of the biblical canon, Marcion indirectly forced Christian thinkers of the second and third centuries to clarify their ideas on the relation between the Old Testament and the New Testament and led them to affirm that the Hebrew scriptures were not to be discarded by the church. In modern times, largely through the historical and theological interpretation of the nineteenth-century German church historian Adolf von Harnack, there has been renewed interest in Marcion as an original Christian thinker with an alternative vision of the Christian faith; his admirers have included figures as diverse as the Marxist Ernst Bloch and the historian Arnold Toynbee.

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MARCIONISM. The movement known as Marcionism was founded in the second century by Marcion, an early Christian teacher from Sinope in Asia Minor. Of the many early Christian sects the Marcionites were among the most successful, creating a parallel organization to the Catholic Church. The Marcionite church existed in recognizable form for over three hundred years, until the middle of the fifth century. The oldest inscription from any Christian church building is from a Marcionite church in a small village south of Damascus. The inscription, in Greek, identifies the building as the "gathering place [*synagoge*] of the Marcionites of the village of Lebabon of the Lord and Savior Jesus Christ under the leadership of Paul the presbyter" and is dated 318–319. This inscription is evidence not only of the continuation of the Marcionite movement into the fourth century, but of the benefit it received from the toleration extended to the Catholic Church. The use of the word *Marcionite*, a term of opprobrium to other Christians, shows the veneration in which the founder was held.

Marcion broke with the Catholic Church in Rome in 144. By the end of the second century, Marcionite churches could be found in cities throughout the Roman Empire. The central elements of Marcionism are rejection of the Old Testament (the Hebrew scriptures) and the creator God portrayed there; belief in a strange God who has nothing to do with the world and who is revealed in Jesus Christ; acceptance of Marcion's Bible, a pared-down version of the New Testament comprising an edited text of the gospel of Luke and ten epistles of Paul; and acceptance of Marcion's own work, *Antitheses*, used as a key to the interpretation of the scriptures. The Marcionites followed a strict ascetic life that forbade marriage and encouraged the avoidance of wine and meat (but allowed fish). Perforce the movement spread through the winning of new converts, not by birth, and yet was extraordinarily successful.

Marcionism developed its own brand of orthodoxy, but under Apelles, a disciple who eventually broke with his master, there was an effort to modify Marcion's dualism and to trace all things back to a single principle. Apelles also taught that Christ had a real body though he did not undergo a human birth. Over the centuries, however, the main ideas of the group remained remarkably durable.

Evidence of the survival of Marcionism can be found from the third, fourth, and fifth centuries in all parts of the Roman world: Asia Minor, Crete, western and eastern Syria, Palestine, Alexandria, Carthage, and Rome. To untutored Christians its churches could hardly be distinguished from the Catholic Church, so similar were they in organization and ritual. To bishops and theologians, however, Marcionism was a deadly foe, and a series of key thinkers opposed it vigorously. It is mentioned by such diverse writers as Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyril of Jerusalem, Basil of Caesarea, Epiphanius of Cyprus, Adamantius, Bardesanes (Bardaisan), Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus. A fourth-century creed from Laodicea, a city on the Syrian coast, confesses "one God, ruler, God of the law and the gospel," suggesting that the framers thought it necessary to separate Catholic Christianity from Marcionism. As late as the fifth century some villages in Syria were predominantly Marcionite. After that time little is known about the movement.

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MARDUK (also known as Bel, "lord") was a god of the city of Babylon who rose from being an obscure god of the Sumerian pantheon to become head of the Babylonian pantheon by the first millennium BCE. The name was probably pronounced *Marutuk*, which possibly had the short form *Marduk*. Etymologically it is probably derived from *amar-Utu* ("bull calf of the sun god Utu"). This name may not be genealogically accurate, since Marduk was normally considered to be the son of Enki, the god of underground fresh waters. It may reflect an earlier genealogy, or may have had a political origin, in which case it would indicate that the city of Babylon was in the cultural orbit of the more important city of Sippar (whose god was Utu, the sun god) in the Early Dynastic times (early third millennium BCE). Marduk was probably already the god of Babylon in this early period, but he first became a great god with the rise of Babylon as capital of the Old Babylonian kingdom under Hammurabi in the eighteenth century BCE. The kings of the Old Babylonian dynasty owed special allegiance to Marduk as god of Babylon, and he became in effect the royal god.

Marduk continued to rise in popularity after the decline of the Old Babylonian period. When his (captured) cult statue was returned to Babylon during the reign of Nebuchadrezzar I in the twelfth century BCE, Marduk was officially recognized as head of the Babylonian pantheon. His rise was effected in theological terms through his identification with Asarluhi, the god of the minor southern city of Kuaru, who was closely associated with Enki and was considered his firstborn son. The process of identifying Marduk and Asarluhi began before the establishment of the Old Babylonian kingdom, for it is attested in a letter-prayer of King Siniddinam of Larsa in which Asarluhi is called "god of Babylon." Marduk became known as the firstborn of Enki, and he took Asarluhi's place as Enki's assistant/partner in the magical literature. The identification of Marduk with Asarluhi was eventually so thorough that Asarluhi ceased to be remembered as an originally distinct god, and the name "Asarluhi" was simply used as the name for Marduk, both in Akkadian literature and in the Sumerian portion of bilingual Sumerian-Akkadian literature (where Marduk appears in the parallel Akkadian line).

The ultimate rise of Marduk to become king of the Babylonian pantheon is described in *Enuma elish*, the most important mythological work in which Marduk appears. This lengthy myth was written in the second half of the second millennium, probably circa 1200 BCE. It declares its main purpose to be the exaltation of the god Marduk. *Enuma elish* was a state myth, and it was read aloud to the assembled populace as part of the Akitu festival, the spring New Year celebration, in the first millennium BCE.

Marduk's political fortunes are also mythologized in an esoteric text called the *Tribulations of Marduk* or the *Ordeal of Marduk*. Although it was originally understood to be a tale of a dying and resurrected god, there is no basis for this interpretation and no evidence at all that Marduk was a vegetation-type dying god. The text is cast in the form of an esoteric cultic commentary, possibly of events of the New Year ritual. Unlike other extant esoteric commentaries, this one was written for wide distribution. It relates cultic elements of the ritual to the misfortunes of Marduk, who has been captured, sentenced, and imprisoned by other gods; at the time of the text someone is interceding on behalf of Marduk, and there is a hint in the text that Marduk is or is about to be freed. The text is manifestly political, with the enmity between Ashur and Marduk alluding to that between Assyria and Babylonia. There may also be an allusion to the return of the statue of Marduk in 669 BCE from the "Assyrian captivity" it had remained in since Sennacherib's destruction of the temple of Marduk twenty years earlier. The celebration of the statue's return as a vindication of Marduk may be analogous to the composition of *Enuma elish* on the occasion of an earlier return of the god's statue.

Marduk is prominent in the magical literature, particularly in the Marduk-Ea (originally, Asarluhi-Enki) type of incantation. In these texts, a problem situation (such as illness) is described. Asarluhi (Marduk) relates the problem to Enki (Ea), who responds with a formulaic "My son, what do I know that you do not know, to your knowledge what can I add?" Enki then spells out a ritual to be followed to alleviate the problem. Here Asarluhi-Marduk is seen as almost the overseer of humanity. This involvement with humanity is also underscored in *Shurpu*, a ritual text used to relieve the distress of someone suffering for a sin of which he has no knowledge; in it Marduk is addressed as the god who is able to preserve and restore his worshipers. Marduk was considered a powerful and fierce god who punished sinners but who at the same time could be merciful and pardon his followers. In this judgmental role he is the subject of several literary prayers and of *Ludlul bel ne-meqi* ("I will praise the wise lord"), sometimes called "the Babylonian *Job*," a wisdom work about a righteous sufferer whose fortunes declined abysmally but who was ultimately restored by Marduk.

SEE ALSO Akitu; Dying and Rising Gods; Enuma Elish; Mesopotamian Religions, overview article.

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MARDU RELIGION.

The name *Mardu* refers collectively to Aborigines belonging to a number of language-named groups in Western Australia, principally the Kartujarra, Manyjilyjarra, and Warnman. Their traditional homelands lie in the vicinity of Lake Disappointment, a huge salt lake in the Gibson Desert, between 22° to 25° south latitude and 122° to 126° east longitude. It is impossible to estimate accurately the population of these groups prior to contact with Europeans, but today they number about 1,600. Many of them live in incorporated communities, run by elected Aboriginal councillors, at Jigalong, Parnngurr and Punmu, and in towns such as Newman, Nullagine, Marble Bar and Port Hedland. The Mardu speak mutually intelligible dialects of the Western Desert language, which covers one-sixth of the continent.

Since the mid-1960s, when the last groups of previously uncontacted desert people moved into settlements, there have been no fully nomadic hunter-gatherers living beyond the range of white Australian cultural influences. In the Western Desert region, their migration into settlements was gradual, beginning around the late 1800s. Some of the small, scattered bands that had exploited large overlapping tracts in their arid homelands began making contact with Europeans living at outposts on the pastoral frontier. Since then, their sedentarisation and increasing involvement with whites has wrought many changes: today they wear clothes, live in houses, watch television, shop in supermarkets, and so on, and continue to battle with the pernicious consequences of colonization, including high rates of unemployment, "life-style" diseases such as diabetes, kidney failure, and problems arising from alcohol misuse. Yet the Mardu retain strong continuities with their past in major beliefs and behaviors pertaining to kinship, religion, and values. Much of their rich religious life has been maintained into the present, because religion was absolutely fundamental to their culture. It is tenaciously maintained, albeit in a progressively more attenuated form, and still underpins Mardu worldview. Some Mardu have become Christians, but usually as a complement to, rather than a replacement for, the traditional religion.

It is important to stress that, despite the use of the present tense, this account refers to a past era, prior to and following initial contacts with the invading Europeans. It is, however, constructed on the basis of direct observation and interviews occurring during field research since 1963. Over this period, this author has observed many changes, and although the religious life has become less vigorous, it remains highly significant in the lives of most Mardu.

THE SPIRITUAL IMPERATIVE. Traditional Australian Aboriginal cultures are notable for the striking contrast they exhibit between comparatively simple material technologies and social and religious forms that reveal great richness and complexity. Clear proof of the adaptational skills of the Aborigines can be seen in their success in colonizing all of a continent that is almost three-quarters arid. Yet to appreciate fully their cultural accomplishments it is vital to understand how completely religion pervades their lives. The Aborigines base their existence firmly in the belief that spiritual beings are the sources and controllers of all power. As they understand it, spiritual power flows freely into the human realm as long as they act out their lives in accordance with the grand design originally laid out by their spiritual forefathers in the world-creating era. Aborigines learn obedience to the dictates of a heritage that, while transmitted by their ancestors, is nonetheless believed to have its origins in spiritual, not human, actions. Since all knowledge and power are said to derive from the spiritual realm, the Aborigines in effect deny the human innovatory component in their culture. They understand history in cosmic rather than chronological terms, and they grant primacy to spiritual conceptions of cause, being, and purpose. This certainly does not mean that people are denied their individuality, but simply that creativity is not admissible as part of the measure of a person's social worth. In the Aboriginal view, human worth is based on conformity to the founding design and on its perpetuation, which ensures that power will continue to flow from the spiritual realm and thus maintain the fertility of all life forms.

At the heart of Aboriginal religion is the Dreaming, a complex concept that embodies a creative era long past but also implicates the present and the future. During the Dreaming powerful ancestral beings, singly or in groups, are believed to have transformed the face of Australia in the course of their wanderings and creative activities. They hunted and gathered in much the same way as their human descendants, but much of their behavior was on a grander scale and sometimes more excessive than that permitted the first people they left behind as pioneers of human society. Aborigines point to a host of topographical features as undeniable proof of the Dreaming's reality. The eternal verities of the Dreaming are also encoded in mythology, rituals, songs, and objects, and all relate back to the land, the bedrock of metaphysical conceptions that formulate an indivisible unity of spirit and substance.

When their earthly wanderings ended, the creative beings "died," and they metamorphosed into landforms or celestial bodies, where their spiritual essence remains, withdrawn from, but watchful of, human affairs. The creative beings release enabling power into the human realm in response not to prayer or sacrifice, which have no place in Aboriginal religion, but to ritual performance. Individuals who are able to transcend their human consciousness for brief periods (during dreams, dances, visions, or heightened emotional states) may also bring about a release of power. The withdrawn creative ancestors use spirit beings as intermediaries for direct intervention in human affairs, most often while people are sleeping, and such encounters result in the transference of new knowledge and power from the spiritual realm. To maintain the unity they perceive in their cosmic order, the Mardu must, as their spiritual imperative demands of them, perform rituals regularly and in the proper manner, and they must also obey the dictates of the life design that is the legacy of the Dreaming.

THE TOTEMIC CONNECTION. The Mardu see themselves as quite distinct from the natural world because of their culture and their ritual control over all fertility, yet they acknowledge their intimate relationship with it. Totemic beliefs express and affirm this link, by positing a unity between individuals or groups and elements of the natural world. To the Mardu, the animals, birds, plants, or minerals that are identified as totems are signs or exemplifiers of the link between humans and nature, so their religious significance lies not in the particular identity of the totem, but in the linkage it represents. There are totemic connections linking Mardu *groups* to natural species, but these are much less significant than the ways in which totemism connects *individuals* to their spiritual origins. These ascribed affiliations are experienced as enduring and unbreakable bonds uniting every individual to the great powers of the Dreaming. The two most important forms of individual totemism, which are closely related in Mardu thought, can most aptly be termed "ancestral" and "conception." Wherever creative beings traveled during the Dreaming, they left behind inexhaustible supplies of life essence or power from which tiny spirit-children emanate. Thus a person's ancestral totem derives from whichever creative being or group of beings "left him or her behind." The totem is identified by linking the area or site where an individual was conceived with knowledge regarding the particular creative beings known to have traveled through or lived there during the Dreaming. Before entering its human mother, the spirit-child disguises itself in some plant, animal, or mineral form, which, when recognized by the parents, becomes the child's conception totem. People may share the same object or species as a totem, but never exactly the same set of circumstances or events that mark their "coming into being." So, in combination, these two forms of totemic affiliation not only enable everyone to establish his or her descent from the marvels of the Dreaming epoch but also provide each individual with a unique facet of social identity. The medium of the totem itself is less important culturally than the message of a personalized link between the individual and the associated spirit-child and Dreaming event.

LIFE CYCLE AND MALE INITIATION. The Mardu do not possess reincarnation beliefs, but they view life as cyclical in that it begins and ends with a spirit or soul that is indestructible. The life crises of birth, menarche, and marriage are not ritualized. A young woman's change of status to wife and mother is unheralded, and involves an essential continuity in activities, for she is already an accomplished food provider. Males, by comparison, undergo a protracted and richly detailed initiation into social adulthood and are not permitted to marry until they have passed through a long series of named initiatory stages. They learn to endure physical operations, to obey their elders, to observe strict taboos, to hunt meat for the older men in payment for ritual knowledge, and to assist in the supervision and care of younger novices.

At about age sixteen, after they have undergone minor rites involving tooth evulsion and the piercing of the nasal septum, youths are circumcised amid a great deal of ceremonial that is modeled symbolically on death and rebirth. The large ceremonies that conclude several months of preparation focus the energy and attention of the community on the several novices who are circumcised together. Within a year full manhood will be attained via subincision, an operation in which the ventral surface of the penis is slit open. Of the initiatory stages that follow, the most important is the Mirdayidi, a ceremonial feast held at the site of a group's secret cache of sacred objects, which are then revealed to the novice for the first time. After his introduction to the spiritual roots of his own being, a young man must subsequently go through the same ritual in neighboring territories and thus gain formal admission to the natural resources and ritual activities in those areas. The final initiatory stages entail the cutting and carving of sacred objects symbolizing the novice's links to his home territory, its creative beings, and the Dreaming. This stage completed, a man is entitled to claim his betrothed in marriage. Throughout the rest of his life he continues to acquire more knowledge through participation in rituals, and by middle age he is referred to as a *nindibuga* ("knowledgeable one"). With old age comes increased wisdom, respect, and a less physically active role in ritual life.

WOMEN'S ROLE IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE. Men control the secret and sacred core of the religion and the major rituals whose performance is considered by all Mardu to be essential to the future of their society. Women do not dispute men's dominance of the religious life. They, too, are actively involved in many aspects of it, and have their own secret-sacred rituals and associated objects, but they devote much less time to religious activities than men do and must arrange their activities to fit in with the plans of the men, not vice versa. Women collect the bulk of the food supply and maintain the life of the camp while men are engaged in religious activity, but they are also active participants in many rituals that are held in the camping area. In a passive sense, too, women and children provide a vital baseline or antithesis for men's division of life into dangerous-exclusive and mundane-inclusive dimensions. The conviction of mature men that only they have the knowledge to control powerful and dangerous spiritual forces invests their religious life with much of its tension and excitement.

MYTHOLOGY AND SONG SEQUENCE. Mardu learn much about their spiritual heritage and about the Dreaming from a rich mythology, which relates how things came to be as they are and outlines the memorable events of the Dreaming era. Long narrative myths chronicle the travels of the creative beings, following the paths they took and dwelling on the naming of places, but details of their secret-sacred doings are known only to initiated men. Together with song sequences and, in many cases, rituals, these narratives broaden people's horizons by providing vivid mental and "historical" maps of areas that may as yet be unseen, so that when people do visit such places for the first time they already "know" them in a religious sense. There are times and situations that are conducive to the telling of myths, even when this is an informal affair: for example, when children have the spiritual significance of landforms explained to them, or when initiates view secret-sacred objects for the first time and have extra details added to the version of the myth they already know.

All major rituals have an associated sequence of songs, which follows the movement of the creative beings concerned and highlights in cryptic fashion the more notable events of the Dreaming. Rote learning of the hundreds of songs in a given sequence is made easier by the brevity of each song, which consists only of a few words, and by repetition (each is sung several times). There is great variation in pitch, tempo, and loudness, and the singing often generates great excitement among performers and audience alike. In some public rituals women and children join in the singing and sometimes dance. The song sequence and myth associated with a given ritual are often very similar in theme, but the song sequence is not a mnemonic for the myth such that it would be possible to reconstruct the myth from the songs.

RITUAL. Mardu group rituals are culturally more important than individual rites, but both have the same aim: to induce the flow of power from the spiritual realm for human benefit. The manipulative aspects of ritual as communication are most evident in individual rites, most of which are publicly performed and socially approved. However, some individuals and groups are believed to practice sorcery, which is invoked at times as an explanation for serious illness or sudden death. Most individual ritual acts are spontaneous, as when magic is used to make a strong wind abate or to beckon a rain-bearing cloud. Although any adult with the requisite knowledge can perform such acts, they are most often the task of diviner-curers (*mabarn*), who are said to possess stronger psychic and magical powers than others. These part-time specialists use their diagnostic and curative skills for the benefit of sick individuals and the community at large.

One vitally important ritual that involves relatively few actors is the "increase" rite. This generally simple and brief rite is performed annually at particular sites, scattered throughout the Western Desert, that are the spirit homes of many different plants and animals. The purpose of the increase rite is to summon the spirits concerned to emerge, scatter, and be plentiful. There is at least one such site within the home area of every local group, so the Mardu and their neighbors are mutually dependent in ensuring through ritual the continued supply of food resources.

The major focus of group rituals is the *japal* ("big meeting"), a large assembly of bands from a wide area, who meet perhaps once or twice a year at a prearranged site when food and water resources permit. These gatherings mark the high points of the Mardu social calendar, when much activity is crammed into a short space of time in an atmosphere of excitement and intensified sociality. Besides their vitally important religious functions, Big Meetings provide an occasion for settling major disputes, arranging marriages, gift exchanges, and disseminating a large amount of information and gossip. Initiatory rituals usually form the major focus of religious activity, but many other ceremonies are held as well, and the exchange of religious lore is a major item of business. Initially there is an important division between hosts and visitors, but this soon dissolves in favor of kinship considerations in the conduct of the affairs at hand. The timing and coordination of large numbers of people and a complex division of labor demand planning and direction. An informal gathering of mature men directs the meeting, and the host group is most active in master-of-ceremonies roles. There is much discussion and consultation between the sexes and among the groups present. Ritual leadership is situational and changes as the rituals performed change. Ritual activities usually alternate between the camp area and secret bush grounds that are tabooed to women and children. Singing and dancing sometimes continue day and night.

Both men and women attain senior ritual status by repeated participation in the religious life over a period of many years and by diligent performance of their allotted tasks. The men with the highest status are generally elderly; they prepare food for ceremonial feasts, advise and direct rituals, dance the major secret-sacred dances, and caretake the caches of sacred objects. Next in the hierarchy are the active middle-aged men, who manage the ritual activity, transmit directives from those above them, and perform many important dances. Below them are the legmen, who play major roles as hunters and as supervisors of novices. At the lowest level are the partly initiated young male novices, who must obey all instructions, look on in silence, and learn.

Group rituals may be organized, too, when enough bands are assembled to provide the needed personnel. The death of anyone older than an infant is an occasion for ritual, which is performed by members of bands that are in the vicinity at the time, and the reburial of the bones, which occurs a year or two later, is the more significant ritual event.

The Mardu have two major ritual categories: *mangunyjanu,* said to have been passed down from the Dreaming; and *bardunjarijanu* ("from the dream spirit"), which have been revealed to humans during their dreams. The Dreaming rituals predominate, but it is highly likely that they were originally of the second type, wherein spirit-being intermediaries of the creative beings encounter humans during dreams and reveal ritual information. Men share these revelations with others, who then have similar dream experiences and add details concerning the necessary body decorations, song lyrics and tunes, and dances. When a new ritual comes into being, the old one is passed on to other groups and, with the passage of time and over great distances, becomes identified as a Dreaming ritual. The great appeal of the dream-spirit ritual is that it requires no special ground and can be staged with a minimum of preparation by small groups. Women and children join in the singing and a little of the dancing, and are excluded from only a small part of the proceedings. Although its secret-sacred element is not large, dream-spirit ritual is taken just as seriously by the men as are the important Dreaming rituals.

The Mardu identify some of their rituals in terms of a specific, primary purpose, such as rainmaking or increase of species, but all their rituals fulfill very important functions in the culture. As acts of communication and commemoration, rituals maintain the relevance of the Dreaming in the present. They are educational because novices are invariably involved, and they are beneficial because participants acquire strength and protection against malevolent powers through contact with the spiritual realm. To be effective, rituals require the harmonious unity of participants and the complete absence of conflict. In the Western Desert, group rituals override many other kinds of allegiances and thus serve to dilute rather than reinforce any tendencies toward local parochialism. The widely shared major rituals, in particular, force people's attention outward to regional concerns and wider bonds of interdependence, in which survival in this extremely harsh land is ultimately grounded.

SITES AND PORTABLE OBJECTS. Particular landforms and a variety of portable objects provide tangible reminders of the reality and power of the Dreaming. The sites created in the epoch of the Dreaming elicit powerful emotions of belonging that anchor a people to their home territory. Portable objects derive sacredness and power from their believed origins in, or close association with, the Dreaming. The most sacred are stones said to be the metamorphosed parts of the bodies of ancestral beings and wooden boards that men carve in representation of similar power-laden objects that were carried by the creative beings. In addition to these highly valued group-owned objects are those that are individually owned. Each man has a bundle of secret and nonsecret paraphernalia; these are often items of gift exchange and are frequently displayed and discussed when groups of men meet informally.

CONCLUSION. The genius in Mardu religion resides in its successful accommodation of two strongly contradictory elements: the everyday reality of an inherently dynamic culture and a dominant ideology that stresses continuity and changelessness. This ideology is founded in the concept of the Dreaming, which ordained a life design that is held to be fixed and immutable, so as to assure (prior to the European invasion, that is) the continuity of present and future with the founding past. Throughout the desert there is a continual diffusion and circulation of religious lore, and Aborigines are regularly engaged in the creation, acquisition, performance, and transmission of their religion. How, then, can the Mardu accommodate the undeniable facts of change in an ideological framework that entertains no notion of progress or evolution?

A close examination of the structure of their rituals provides an important clue. Each "new" ritual is in fact a unique recombination of already existing constituent elements rather than a structure fabricated from hitherto unknown components. The assimilation of incoming rituals is made easy because they contain so much that is already familiar. In their long history of isolation from the rest of the world, Aborigines were spared the trauma of confronting radically different or alien cultural forms. Thus the kinds of change and innovation they have encountered are those which "fit the forms of permanence," as W. E. H. Stanner so aptly put it in his seminal work *On Aboriginal Religion* (1968, p. 168).

Not all the knowledge derivable from the Dreaming is embodied in the life-design legacy that the Mardu faithfully perpetuate. Further knowledge and power are available to the living through the mediating activities of spirit beings, which link the spiritual and human realms. How, then, can newly acquired knowledge undergo transformation from peripheral, individually experienced phenomena into communally shared and supposedly timeless structures of the religious life? One example of this process was provided above, in the brief description of the creation of dream-spirit rituals from what initially are highly individual experiences. But once in existence, both ritual structures and song sequences become highly circumscribed in performance, and the necessity for faithful reproduction precludes them from becoming common avenues for the incorporation of new religious knowledge that is individually acquired. Mythology, on the other hand, has an inherent flexibility that makes it an ideal vehicle for incorporative purposes. In the easy and informal atmosphere of myth telling, people are free to indulge in elaboration and character development while leaving intact the main story line and theme. But myths also lend themselves readily to expansion to accommodate new information flowing from dream revelations and the discovery of hitherto unlocated sacred objects. Once new knowledge is embedded within existing myths, the Aborigines may examine the associated song sequence, if one exists, and reinterpret the meaning of the cryptic references therein, so as to accord with the truths of the expanded myth. In this way, and in the absence of the written word, changing political, social, and religious realities are validated and absorbed effortlessly into the ahistorical, cosmological flow of time. Thus is the "is-now" transformed into the "ever-was" of the Dreaming.

SEE ALSO Australian Indigenous Religions, overview article; Dreaming, The.

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ROBERT TONKINSON (1987 AND 2005)

MARETT, R. R. (1866–1943), British philosopher and anthropologist, who introduced the theory of preanimism and the term *animatism* into the scholarly debate. Robert Ranulph Marett was born on the Channel Island of Jersey on June 13, 1866. He was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, specializing in the classics, philosophy, and ethics, and in 1891 he was elected fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, where he remained for the whole of his academic career. His anthropological interests were fired by reading his fellow-Oxonian Andrew Lang's book *Custom and Myth* (1884) and after 1893 by association with E. B. Tylor (1832–1917), whose friend and disciple he became. In 1893 he submitted a prize essay titled "The Ethics of Savage Races," which was examined by Tylor. Despite the difference in their ages, a close friendship began, and as Tylor's powers began to wane, Marett became his assistant. Marett later wrote a bibliographical memoir, *Tylor* (1936).

On Tylor's retirement, Marett was appointed in 1910 reader in social anthropology at Oxford, a post which he held until 1936, when he was succeeded by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown. For some years he was also rector (i.e., president) of Exeter College. He traveled widely in Europe, visited Australia once, in 1914, and in 1930 delivered the Lowell Lectures in Boston. He was Gifford Lecturer at the University of Saint Andrews twice, in 1931–1932 and 1932–1933, and the two published volumes of these lectures, *Faith, Hope and Charity in Primitive Religion* (1932) and *Sacraments of Simple Folk* (1933), Marett believed to embody his best work. He also had an interest in prehistoric archaeology, and he conducted and supervised excavations at the Mousterian site of La Cotte de Saint Brelade on his native island of Jersey. He died on February 18, 1943.

As an anthropological theorist, Marett's reputation was made virtually overnight, by the publication in 1900 of his paper "Preanimistic Religion" (*Folklore*, June 1900), in which he called into question Tylor's theory of "animism" and introduced the terms *preanimism* and *animatism* (which are not synonyms). During the next few years he wrote extensively on this theme, suggesting that *tabu* is best understood as "negative magic" and emphasizing the importance of the Melanesian—actually common Pacific—word *mana* as its positive counterpart. *Mana* he explained most fully in a paper, "The Conception of *Mana*," delivered at the Oxford Science of Religion Congress in 1908, and in an article, "Mana," in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 8 (1915).

Where Marett differed most strikingly from other late Victorian anthropologists in Britain was in his degree of fellow-feeling with and indebtedness to the French sociologists of the *Année sociologique* school. This made him, in effect, the first of the British social anthropologists and gave his later work especially a dimension largely absent from the writings of his predecessors.

Marett's style was always admirably lucid, often being further illuminated by wit and a certain irony. Today he tends to be evaluated chiefly for work done between 1899 and 1910, to the neglect of his more mature writings. He will, however, always have an important place in the history of both anthropology and comparative religion, and he was also highly significant as an advocate of academic anthropology and as a trainer of anthropologists.

SEE ALSO Animism and Animatism; Preanimism; Tylor, E. B.

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MARI AND MORDVIN RELIGION.

The Mari and Mordvin languages together form the so-called Volga group within the Finno-Ugric linguistic family. In international literature, the Mari people are better known as the Cheremis (from the Old Russian name *Chermisy*). The Mari republic lies in western Russia in a heavily forested region north of the Volga river. The Mari may be divided into three groups based on their differing environments: the Mountain Mari, the smallest group; the Meadow Mari, the largest group; and the so-called Eastern Mari, which is the youngest group, having developed only in the seventeenth century.

The Mordvins (from the Old Russian name *Mordva*) consist of two related groups, speaking the Erzä and Mokša dialects of the Mordvin language. They differ from each other to such an extent that the speakers of Erzä and Mokša do not understand one another. Two separate literary languages have been formed accordingly. The Mordvin republic, Mordvinia, lies to the east of the Mari homeland in the Russian federation. In addition, there are some separated settlements in the Tatar and Bashkir republics. The population of the Erzä is approximately twice that of the Mokša. The Erzä could also be called Western Mordvins, living on the banks of the Sura River, and the Mokša of the Mokša River could be called Eastern Mordvins.

The Mari and Mordvin languages, with the Balto-Finnic and Saami (Lapp) languages, are believed to stem from a common Volga Finnic protolanguage, spoken from 1500 to 500 BCE. Around the beginning of the common era, Mari and Mordvin started to develop into separate languages. Although they possess a common linguistic background, the Mari and Mordvin cultures have, in the course of centuries, undergone diverse developments under the influence of Tatar and, later, Russian domination. For this reason, the Mari and Mordvins are culturally quite different from each other, particularly in their religious views and activities. There are very few common features in Mari and Mordvin religion, and many differences become manifest in the comparison of their specific cultural groups as well.

SOURCES. The first mention of the Mordvins is in the chronicle of the historian Jordanes (551 CE). He relates that in the fourth century, Ermanarik, the king of the East Goths, subjugated a people called Mordens. Nestor, on the other hand, tells in his eleventh-century chronicle of three peoples living at the Oka River where it meets the Volga: the Cheremis, the Mordvins, and the Muromans, a distinct third group. Giovanni da Pian del Carpini, the papal emissary, wrote in his report of 1245 that the Tatars occupied the domain of the Mordui people, living between Russians and Bulgars. Marco Polo, on the other hand, mentions Mordui as one of the groups under Mongolian power.

The influence of the foreign cultures, beginning with the Tatar hegemony of the medieval period, is evident in Mari and Mordvin religion. The conversion to Christianity began in the middle of the sixteenth century, when the Russians finally overthrew the Tatar khanate of Kazan. The often quite violent mission was strengthened in the seventeenth century, with the result that many features of pre-Christian Mari and Mordvin religion gradually disappeared. Many fieldworkers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have, however, been able to report religious beliefs and practices that clearly belong to the autochthonous elements of the Mari and Mordvin cultures.

Our earliest information on Mordvin religion comes from an earlier Italian explorer, G. Barbaro, who visited the district now called Eastern Russia in 1446. He gives an account of the horse sacrifices of the Mokša. In regard to the Mari, some valuable information can be found in the report published by an envoy from Holstein, Adam Olearius (1663), on Mari offering rituals. The sources of the eighteenth century include the accounts by N. Witzen, P. J. Strahlenberg, G. F. Müller, I. Lepeshchin, J. P. Georgi, N. Rytshkov, and P. S. Pallas. A valuable study on Mordvin religion is the Russian manuscript written by a surveyor named Mil'kovich in 1783. In addition to Russian scholars, several Finnish ethnographers, including Albert Hämäläinen, Heikki Paasonen, and Uno Holmberg Harva, have done fieldwork among the Mari and Mordvins in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Their collections have been published by the Finno-Ugric Society in Helsinki. Uno Holmberg Harva edited the monographs on the religion of the Mari (1914) and Mordvin (1942). Holmberg's study of Finno-Ugric mythology published in volume 4 (1927) of *The Mythology of All Races* is still a classic in its field, a comparative survey of Finno-Ugric worldviews. More recent publications include N. F. Mokshin's work on Mordvin religion (1968) and Thomas A. Sebeok and Frances J. Ingemann's work on Mari religion (1956).

Mari and Mordvin ethnic religions are described here mainly on the basis of the folklore sources of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As a result of the Russian socialist revolution, Mari and Mordvin cultures have undergone rapid changes that have had great influence on their religious views (secularization and acculturation).

LIFE AND DEATH. Both the Mari and the Mordvins employ a complex system of soul concepts. The Mordvins describe physical death with such expressions as *"ojm'eze l'iśś"* ("his spirit left") or *"ojm'enze noldaś"* ("he overthrew his spirit"). Various terms for soul denote the life-keeping elements, breathing, or simply "up"; in Mokša languages, *ojm'e* or *vajm'ä*, in Erzä, *arńe*, in Mari, *šüloš*. The life of this kind of soul is related to the length of the life of the individual whose body it inhabits, beginning with the first symptoms of physical life and ending with body's last breath. The soul then leaves the body like warm air or smoke. This kind of soul is linear, living only once with its personal character. The cyclical soul concept, in which the soul lives on after the physical death, in manifest in such words as *tšopatša* (Erzä), *šopatša* (Mokša), and *ört* (Mari). These souls are described as living with the body both in its lifetime in this world and after death in the place where the corpse has been buried. The *ört* may leave the body during a trance or dream or when a person is senseless. After death, the *ört* may appear as a ghost who disturbs relatives or wanders through the home. It is the *ört* that is moved to the land of the dead. The *tšopatša* is conceived of as a kind of personal guardian spirit that is embodied in the shadow or a picture of its carrier. It also lives after the physical death of its corporeal carrier and often takes the form of a soul bird.

Family cult rites associated with death are organized by the dead person's relatives. Life after death was regarded as a direct continuation of earthly life. The departed were believed to live in much the same way as they had upon earth, in log cabins within fenced groves that were called *šugarla* (Mari), *kalmazur* (Erzä), or *kalma-kuža* (Mokša). The articles used by them in life were carefully carried to the cemetery and placed beside their bodies in the grave. In death as in life family and kin remain together, so that the graveyard is simply the counterpart of the village. In this view, there is no realm of the dead in the universal sense. It was thus natural to construct the cabin of the dead in such a way that a window faced home; there also was a hole to allow the *ört* or *tšopatša* to revisit the living members of the family.

Each family worships its own dead. Festivals in honor of a departed individual were celebrated during the first year after death: immediately after burial, six weeks (or the fortieth day) after death, and one year after death. After this last ritual, the deceased was no longer honored as an individual but rather as a member of the collective group of the family dead in ceremonies celebrated annually in accordance with the economic and religious calendar.

Twice a year the Mordvins hold a festival called Pokśtšat Babat or At'at Babat ("grandfathers and grandmothers") for all departed ancestors. The ancestors are then requested to participate in a banquet shared between the living and dead members of the family. Formerly, animal sacrifices, often horses, were offered to the departed. Heikki Paasonen points out that this practice may derive from an earlier practice of human sacrifice. He also believes that the worship of some gods *(pas)* is related to the ancestor cult. The Erzä annually worship Staka, a god resembling a Turkic ruler or prince; in addition, the Erzä and Mokša worship a god called Keremet, who is given the title *soltan* ("sultan"), which seems to be a manifestation of a former local hero cult.

UNIVERSE AND NATURE. According to a Mordvin myth recorded by the Russian clergyman Fedor Saverskii in 1853, there were a pair of creators in the beginning of time. God was sitting on a rock in the midst of the huge proto-ocean contemplating the creation of the universe. A devil *(šaitan)* appeared and promised to help him in the act of creation. God asked him to dive into the depth of the ocean and to bring sand from the bottom. After having succeeded in his third attempt, the devil brought the material but hid some of it in his mouth, planning to create his own world. God threw the sand he had been given on the surface of the proto-ocean and it started to grow both there as well as in the devil's mouth, forcing him to empty it. Because of this dualistic conflict, there is evil as well as good in the universe.

The creator god is called Niške-pas or Niške in Mordvin languages, literally meaning "the great procreator." According to Erzä and Mokša folklore, he created heaven and earth, the rising sun, the wandering moon, black forests, and green grass. He also created the world sea and placed in it three mythical fish who support the universe on their backs. According to Mordvin incantations, the fish are white beings, probably whales; their movements cause earthquakes. According to this same myth, the Erzä were created as the first human beings to cut the forest and harvest the grass. The Erzä man is put to plow and sow; his position is superior to that of his wife, whose duty it is to cook.

In international literature, there are scholarly accounts of complex hierarchical systems of deities of the universe in Mari and Mordvin religions. However, they follow the well-known theoretical patterns of the supreme being, lord of the earth, and the Olympic idea of a system of twelve gods to such an extent that it is more probable that the theory has arranged the cultural material than vice versa. In spite of this, we may refer to the interesting account by Strahlenberg, who states that the highest deity of the Mordvins (meaning the Erzä) is Jumishipas, the sky god. The first part of the name is the same as the Mari *Jumo* and Finnish *Jumala*, meaning "God"; the latter part is equivalent to *Škipas*, the name of the sun god. There probably was some kind of sun worship in both Mari and Mordvin cultures.

Nature and culture were divided among the various supernatural beings, each of whom had control over a certain building or an area in nature. It was believed that these guardian spirits existed in order to aid the people in their struggles with neighboring tribes, competitive outgroups, and unknown supernatural powers. They also controlled the affairs and actions that took place in the area in their charge, warned for danger, and punished for wrong, immoral, or improper behavior. In Mari and Mordvin folklore, there are plenty of narratives about personal encounters with the supernatural in the natural and cultural realms. In family and clan festivals held during certain seasons of the economic year, sacrifices, for example, food offerings, were offered to them as a part of family or regional cult practice.

The Erzä and Mokša had a guardian spirit called Mastorava, an earth mother who was thought to grant good harvests and good health upon the tillers of the fields. Each tilled field was thought to have its own particular spirits. The guardian spirits of forests, water, and fire were often conceived of as female supernatural beings, as evidenced by their feminine names. Among the Mordvins, there were such spirits as Vir-ava ("forest mother"), Vedmastor-ava ("water mother"), and Tol-ava ("fire mother"). The first person buried in a graveyard was considered to be the guardian spirit of that particular cemetery. The important economy of the beehives was also guarded by a guardian spirit, P'erna-azor-ava, the hostess or keeper of the bees. She was given the first taste of the annual harvest of honey.

The guardian spirits of the cultural realm watched over their own buildings and controlled behavior there. The dwelling place as a whole, that is, the courtyard, the house, and its adjoining buildings, were later called *jurt (yurt)*, a word borrowed from the Tatar language. The spirit of this area was called Jurt-ava ("mother of the dwelling place"). This concept, particularly among the Erzä, replaced such former Finno-Ugrian concepts as Kudon'-tšin ("house god") or the Mokša Kud-ava ("house mother"). The word *kud* is similar to the Finnish *koti* or Saami *kota*, meaning "home."

Christianity, accepted by the Mari and Mordvins in its Russian Orthodox form, replaced the guardian spirits of the former autochthonous religion with the names of the saints and patrons of the Orthodox church. The functions of the spirits were easily mixed with the attributes and patronages of the Christian saints. The cult was transferred from the *keremet* (sacred groves) and so on to the cemeteries and neighborhood of the church. Some syncretic religious movements also appeared as a result of the encounter between the old and new religions, as, for example, the Kugu Sorta ("big candle") movement among the Mari at the end of the nineteenth century, combining monastic asceticism with pre-

Christian blood sacrifices in the old sacred groves and the worship of pre-Christian deities.

See Also Finnish Religions; Finno-Ugric Religions, overview article.

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Juha Pentikäinen (1987)

MARIE DE L'INCARNATION,

MARIE DE L'INCARNATION, originally called Marie Guyart, was born in Tours, France, on October 28, 1599. The fourth of eight children of Florent Guyart and Jeanne Michelet, she was a contemporary of René Descartes, who was born in Tours three years earlier. As a young girl she wanted to become a nun, but her mother considered her too lighthearted for this, guiding her instead toward a marriage with Claude Martin, which took place in 1617. Martin died in October 1619, leaving Marie with a six-month-old child, named Claude after his father, and a business that was so unsound she dissolved it. During the twelve years that followed, while taking care of her son, she ran the transport business of her brother-in-law, Paul Buisson, with whom she and Claude were living. Despite family pressures, she decided not to remarry. Her free time was dedicated to a solitary life of prayer and meditation and she began having regular mystic experiences, which she recorded. When her son was twelve, she made the difficult decision to entrust him to her sister"s care and on January 25, 1631, entered the Ursuline convent at Tours. Eight years later, following various spiritual, social, and political developments, she went to New France with Marie-Madeleine de Chauvigny de la Peltrie, a wealthy lay benefactor, thus becoming the first missionary nun to work abroad. In 1639 she founded the first Ursuline monastery in Quebec. She threw herself body and soul into prayer, the temporal and spiritual administration of the monastery, and the education of young immigrant and native girls in the colony. A woman of exceptional spirituality, she also was eminently practical, and gave advice to both religious and political authorities. Marie died at the monastery on April 30, 1672.

Marie de l'Incarnation left an enormous volume of writing, more than 13,000 letters according to some estimates, of which several hundred, the most important, have been preserved and published. There are two reasons for there being such a large number. On the one hand, letter writing was the only way of keeping in touch with her family and of passing on her wishes. On the other hand, her son had become a Benedictine monk at the convent at Saint-Maur shortly after his mother had left for New France, and a sustained, very intimate exchange of letters between them took place. In addition to these letters, Marie produced two autobiographical *Relations:* the first at the convent in Tours in 1633 at the request of the Jesuit Georges de la Haye, and the second in Quebec in 1654 for her son. Finally, in note form there are fragments of talks or discussions with young novices.

Marie never wrote with a view to being published. It was her son who, realizing the quality and profound nature of her writings, collected, selected, and edited them for publication. It is uncertain to what extent he touched up his mother's work so that it would meet his own stylistic and theological standards. In any event, the style and content of her writing are captivating. Her innermost soul is bared, without any attempt at argument or persuasion. In sharing her experience of God and of those whom she encounters, she narrates rather than debates. Her writing is not so much a matter of understanding but rather of listening. For her, the important thing is "that words have resonance." They have resonance in expressing her intimate experience of the infinite nature of God in relation to her own existential nothingness. Furthermore, throughout her letters words echo her own cultural transformation as she meets and learns about the Huron tribes, their languages, customs, and spirituality. In 1640 Marie wrote, "Canada was portrayed as a horrible place, we were told that it was a district of Hell, that there was no more wretched country in the entire world. Our experience is precisely the opposite, here we have found a heavenly place, which for my part I am unworthy to inhabit. There are savage young girls who have not a trace of barbarism" (*Correspondance,* Lettre XLVII). This attitude contrasted sharply with that of many of Marie's contemporaries, who regarded the Iroquois as agents of the devil who were beyond salvation. Studies on the challenges Marie de l'Incarnation faced in meeting "the enemies of God and the faith" shed light on the emerging tension between the mental images of the European Christian culture to which she belonged and her divine experience.

The Ursuline order of which she was a member and the Benedictine order to which her son Claude belonged knew of her literary output from 1677. However it took more than two and a half centuries and the prescient vision of the literary critic and religious historian Henri Bremond (1865–1933) for scholars such as François Jamet and Guy-Marie Oury to undertake critical editions of the writings of Marie de l'Incarnation. In addition to provoking new thinking in the field of spiritual theology, her works have been picked up by academics in other disciplines, mostly women, who have subjected them to secular analysis. This has contributed to their recognition as powerful writings that express and provide evidence of the experience of a seventeenth-century woman well aware of the sociopolitical realities of her age, realities apprehended in the context of a lively and inspired intimacy with God. Since the 1990s an increasing number of scholars, novelists, theologians, psychologists, historians, and sociologists have discovered in Marie de l'Incarnation's writings a fruitful source for their theses, essays, and novels. For them, she has much to say concerning the relationship between a woman and her body, a mother and her son, a "bride of Christ" and her divine husband, a nun and her ecclesiastical institution, and a missionary and Native Americans. Two international conferences, held in 1999 in Tours and Quebec on the occasion of the four-hundredth anniversary of her birth, have resulted in two collections, presenting a range of excellent analyses of current scholarship concerning the life and work of a woman who lived, in every condition of life, in close intimacy with God.

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RAYMOND BRODEUR (2005)
Translated from French by Paul Ellis

MARITAIN, JACQUES (1882–1973), French Neo-Thomist philosopher. Born in Paris, he was baptized in the French Reformed church and received religious instruction from the liberal Protestant theologian Jean Réville. During his youth, Maritain considered himself an unbeliever. He studied at the Sorbonne (1901–1906) but found the dominant positivism and rationalism—epitomized in the influence of the philosopher Auguste Comte and the historian and writer Ernest Renan—spiritually barren. At the Sorbonne, Maritain joined a circle of friends that included the writer Charles Péguy and a young Russian Jew, Raïssa Oumansoff. He also attended the lectures of the philosopher Henri Bergson at the Collège de France. Bergson's vitalistic philosophy liberated Maritain from positivism and made possible for him the rehabilitation of metaphysical thinking.

In 1904 Maritain married Raïssa Oumansoff, and soon they came under the influence of the fiery, uncompromising Catholic writer Léon Bloy. Primarily through Bloy's tutorship and personal example, they were baptized in the Roman Catholic church in 1906. Maritain spent the next two years in Heidelberg studying with the distinguished biologist and neovitalist Hans Dreisch. On returning to France he began reading the *Summa theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas. Thomas's philosophical realism became for Maritain a second and more decisive intellectual deliverance. For the rest of his long life, he revered Thomas as his master and saw as his own vocation the application of the perennial wisdom of Thomism to contemporary philosophy, art, politics, and education. "Woe unto me," he wrote, "should I not thomistize!"

Maritain served as professor of philosophy at the Institut Catholique de Paris (1914–1933), the Institute of Medieval Studies in Toronto (1933–1945), and Princeton University (1948–1952), as well as at other North American universities. At the invitation of Charles de Gaulle, he served as French ambassador to the Vatican from 1945 to 1948. During his years in North America, Maritain's influence on Catholic thought, as well as on arts and letters, was enormous.

Raïssa Maritain died in 1960, and the following year Maritain returned to France and retired to Toulouse to live with the Little Brothers of Jesus, a Dominican monastic order. In 1969 he entered the order. In 1966 Maritain published *The Peasant of the Garonne*, a sharp warning to the post-Vatican II reformers in the Roman church. Because Maritain had championed some liberal influences in the church, especially in the field of politics, the book surprised many and provoked widespread discussion. However, the work reflects a long-standing tension in Maritain between adherence to tradition and openness to new ideas, as well as his disdain of any modern ways that deviate from Thomas.

Maritain's literary output was prodigious, including about forty books published over a span of some sixty years. He ranged over almost every aspect of philosophy, and all his works—from *La philosophie bergsonienne* (1914) to his penultimate book, *On the Church of Christ* (1970)—are informed by the thought of Thomas Aquinas. Maritain traces what he perceives to be a cultural breakdown in the West to a disease of the mind. That disease has its beginnings in the early modern repudiation of Thomistic philosophy, first in William of Ockham's nominalism and rejection of Aristotelian metaphysics; then in Luther's severing of faith from reason; in Descartes's rationalism, in which reason is divorced from sensory experience and existing things; and, finally, in Rousseau's sentimental appeal to the inner feelings of the heart. Maritain sees metaphysical thinking brought to a close with Kant, and the future turned over to scientism and positivism on the one hand and subjectivism and relativism on the other.

Maritain's genius lay not only in his skill in demonstrating the inadequacies of a good deal of modern philosophy but also in exhibiting how the authentic truths of modern thought are consistent with, and conceptually more adequate when understood in terms of, Thomistic realism. Existentialism is a case in point. Its emphasis on action, and on what Maritain calls its "imprecatory posture," isolates the idea of existence from a genuine knowledge of being, since it involves philosophizing in a posture of dramatic singularity. Maritain argues that one can never know pure subjective existence. Objective philosophic knowledge necessarily involves a distinction between essence and existence, for the essence of a thing is what makes it intelligible as a being, what defines its nature. Essence and existence are correlative and inseparable. Maritain therefore insists that an "authentic" existentialism must go beyond the cry and agony of the subject to a genuine analysis of being.

Such an analysis will lead reflection beyond finite existence to that being whose essence is to exist, who exists necessarily (God). In works such as *Approaches to God* (1954), Maritain attempts to show that the Thomistic cosmological proofs of the existence of God are the development of a primordial, prephilosophical intuition of being. Furthermore, he seeks to demonstrate that Kant's widely approved critique of the Thomistic cosmological proofs—which holds that they imply the ontological argument—is in error. Maritain reconceives the five Thomistic proofs by appropriating ideas from modern physics and the philosophy of science. However, the philosophical critics of natural theology remain largely unconvinced.

Among modern religious philosophers, Maritain stands preeminent in his reflections on aesthetics, for example, in works such as *Art and Scholasticism* (1920; Eng. ed., 1962) and *Creative Intuition in Art and Poetry* (1953). Maritain's discussion of poetic intuition and knowledge and of the relationship between art and morality are profound and have influenced numerous writers and critics.

In *Scholasticism and Politics* (1940), *True Humanism* (1936; Eng. ed., 1938), and *Man and the State* (1951), Maritain argues eloquently for the dignity of the person, for human rights and liberty, and for what is essentially an American model of church-state relations. Maritain's writings on the person and on society and politics have had wide influence and are reflected in the documents of Vatican II.

Maritain represents, perhaps better than any other thinker, the intellectual confidence, indeed the aggressiveness, of Roman Catholicism in the 1940s and 1950s. Like the Protestant theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, Maritain was a brilliant critic of secular culture and a superb apologist for the Christian life. He was also, like Niebuhr, a "relative" pessimist who nevertheless held out hope for the recovery of an integral, Christian humanism—a humanism permeated by works of genuine sanctity.

Many Catholic intellectuals consider Maritain's Thomism as no longer an adequate guide and call instead for a philosophical pluralism in the church. The form of Thomism that does continue to have a wide following, the "transcendental" Thomism associated with Joseph Maréchal (1878–1944) and, more recently, with Karl Rahner, was repudiated by Maritain. While his work is presently in eclipse and his future influence is uncertain, Maritain will be remembered as one of the intellectual giants in the period between the two world wars.

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JAMES C. LIVINGSTON (1987)

MARK OF EPHESUS (1392–1444), a leader of the Greek Orthodox resistance against the unionist movement with the Western church. A native of Constantinople, Mark studied under prominent teachers and then opened a private higher school. He was elected metropolitan of Ephesus and participated in the Council of Ferrara-Florence as a representative of the patriarchate of Antioch at the expressed wish of the emperor John VIII Palaeologus. However, he became the strongest adversary of union with the Roman church. Mark abstained from the sessions of the council and was the only Eastern bishop to refuse to sign the decisions of the council in 1439. When Pope Eugenius IV—for whom unanimity and the support of Mark were determinant factors for union—learned of his refusal, he said, "Therefore, we have accomplished nothing."

After his return to Constantinople, Mark was offered the patriarchal see by the emperor and bishops in the hope that his zeal against union would decrease under the burden of the great responsibilities of office. Mark refused the offer. Attempting to go to Mount Athos, probably with the aim of mobilizing the monks against union, he was seized on the island of Lemnos by the imperial police and was not allowed to leave the island for two years. After his liberation, he directed the struggle in Constantinople. Shortly before his death he persuaded Gennadios Scholarios, the future patriarch of Constantinople, to succeed him in his function as head of the antiunionists.

Mark's theology is basically hesychastic with occasional use of Aristotelian categories to support his arguments. His work *Syllogistic Chapters on the Divine Essence and Energy* reveals his spiritual and intellectual origins. His polemics against the Roman church are included in various writings, of which the most important is *Syllogistic Chapters against the Latins.* By an encyclical letter, *To Christians All Over the Earth*, he directed the attention of Orthodox believers to the danger from those who were wavering and finding themselves in agreement with both Easterners and Westerners; he called these people "Greco-Latins."

Mark believed that differences with the Westerners over such matters as the procession of the Holy Spirit, purgatory, and the use of unleavened bread for the Eucharist were dogmatic differences; therefore, he considered the Latins heretics. A summary of his position may be found in his statement regarding a patriarch who favored union: "The further I stay from this man and others like him the nearer I come to God and to the faithful and holy fathers."

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PANAGIOTIS C. CHRISTOU (1987)

MARK THE EVANGELIST,

traditionally the author of the second canonical gospel, who wrote in Rome during the emperor Nero's persecution of Christians (early to mid–60s). Mark was not one of the twelve disciples of Jesus. Whether the evangelist is mentioned in the New Testament depends on the accuracy of the commonly accepted identification of him with the John Mark of Jerusalem mentioned in *Acts* and Paul's letters.

John Mark first appears in *Acts* 12:12: Peter is said to go "to the house of Mary, the mother of John, whose other name was Mark." (John would have been Mark's Semitic, Jewish name; Marcus is a common Latin, Roman name.) He is referred to in a similar way again in *Acts* 12:25 and 15:37, but in 15:39 he is called simply Mark. Elsewhere he is called only Mark (*Col.* 4:10, *2 Tm.* 4:11, *Phlm.* 24, *1 Pt.* 5:13). In *Colossians,* we read that Mark was the cousin of Barnabas, with whom he continued missionary labors after the break with Paul (*Acts* 15:38–39). Significantly, he is there grouped with the Jewish members of Paul's company (*Col.* 4:11), which fits the identification with John Mark. Since *2 Timothy* was almost certainly not written by Paul and the Pauline authorship of *Colossians* is questionable, *Philemon* 24 is the only unimpeachable Pauline reference to Mark as one of Paul's fellow workers. Yet all these references are significant because they show the traditional association of Mark with Paul. The same is true for *1 Peter* 5:13, which suggests Mark's association also with Peter in Rome (i. e., "Babylon").

The earliest statements about Mark the evangelist by Christian writers, beginning with those of Bishop Papias of Hierapolis in the first half of the second century, do not identify him explicitly with John Mark, but almost unanimously associate him with Peter as Peter's interpreter (cf. Eusebius's *Church History* 3.39.15). Frequently it is said that Mark and Peter worked together in Rome, and this, of course, accords with ancient church tradition about Peter's final place of abode, as well as with *1 Peter* 5:13. A somewhat later tradition recounts that Mark was the first to preach and to found churches in Egypt (*Church History* 2.16.1), and that he became the first bishop of Alexandria. A recently discovered letter of Clement of Alexandria, which, if genuine, dates from the end of the second century, relates how Mark came to Alexandria with the early canonical gospel and there augmented it for the sake of a special spiritual elite.

That the *Gospel of Mark* is actually the work of someone of that name is probable; that he was associated with Peter in Rome is possible, although that association would not entirely explain the character and content of the gospel; that he was actually John Mark cannot be said with certainty, nor can it be denied categorically. If Mark the evangelist was John Mark of Jerusalem it is at least striking that in his gospel Jesus' ministry is centered in Galilee (in contrast to the *Gospel of John,* which centers the ministry in Jerusalem) and that the disciples are encouraged to look to Galilee for the fulfillment of their hopes and plans whether by their own mission or by Jesus' return (*Mk.* 14:28, 16:7). Moreover, the gospel seems to assume a gentile-Christian rather than a Jewish-Christian readership (cf. *Mk.* 7:3–4).

Legend has it that Mark was martyred in Alexandria during Nero's reign and that his remains eventually were moved to Venice. The evangelist's symbol, the lion, became the emblem of that city, in which the cathedral is named for Mark. The symbolism, as old as the second century, is probably drawn from *Revelation* 4:7 and ultimately from *Ezekiel* 1:10. Mark's feast is celebrated on April 25.

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MAROON RELIGIONS SEE AFRO-SURINAMESE RELIGIONS; CARIBBEAN RELIGIONS, *ARTICLE ON* AFRO-CARIBBEAN RELIGIONS

MAR PA (Marpa, 1002/1012–1097) is acknowledged as the "forefather" who introduced the Lineage of the Oral Precepts (Bka' brgyud), later one of the four major schools of the Buddha's doctrine (the Kagyü), in Tibet. After the collapse of the Tibetan empire with the death of King Glang dar ma (Langdarma, r. 836–841), who had done away with the centers of monastic learning in the Land of Snows, the Buddhist tradition soon degenerated, creating a situation akin to one documented in a remote Himalayan valley in the early twenty-first century (Sihle, 2001). Some ritual techniques were preserved, but uninterrupted master–disciple transmission of the initiations and meditational instructions gave way to a legitimacy based solely on clan descendance and mere ownership of the books. Especially lacking was a cohesive overview of Buddhist learning, and the ability therein to distinguish the essence.

The responsibility for a potential revival rested on the shoulders of Tibetan aspirants willing to make the difficult journey to the firya lands, acquaint themselves with the spoken and written idiom of the country, study at the great monastic universities, or train under individual masters in India and Nepal. Among these, Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros ("*Dharma* Intellect" from the Mar clan) stands out as the *lo tsā ba* (yogin-translator) par excellence. One of the earliest *Golden Garland* redactions (by the thirteenth-century Rgyal thang pa Bde chen rdo rje [Dechen Dorje from Gyalthang]) that relates Mar pa's life in the context of a Bka brgyud lineage history introduces the subject by way of his previous birth as an Indian *brahman*, thus accounting for his future relative ease in picking up Sanskrit and the Indian vernaculars.

Mar pa Lo tsā ba was born in Lho brag (Lhotrak, "Southcliff"), the youngest of four siblings. An older sister, a Rdzogs chen (Dzogchen, "Great Perfection") practitioner, achieved the rainbow body. An older brother is explicitly mentioned as "being remarkable for his patience," the very trait that the young Mar pa entirely lacked, for he is described as a wild youth who quarreled with everyone. His relatives were more than willing to sponsor his removal to a monastery in distant Mu gu lung (Mugu Valley), headed by the long-term India resident 'Brog mi Lo tsāba (Drokmi Lotsāwa, c. 992/3–1043/1072). But when the latter exacted fees far beyond Mar pa's means for every meditational instruction imparted, young Mar pa decided to travel to the south.

Further funding by his relatives was meager compared to that of (the future) Gnyos Lo tsā ba (Nyö Lotsāwa) from Kha rag, whom Mar pa encountered en route, and who traveled in grand style, with a large entourage. Mar pa became his servant, setting up camp, cooking meals, fetching water, sweeping, and so forth. In the Nepal Valley they came across a huge religious gathering, presided over by two of the disciples of Nāropa (1016–1100), the Newar "Bald Head" (Bal po Spyi ther pa) and Guru Pentapa (probably Paindapa, "the alms gatherer"), and attended largely by the local "twice-born" (*brahmans*). The former granted Mar pa the Hevajra initiation; under Pentapa he continued his Sanskrit studies. Most important of all, they dispatched a messenger to India with an introduction letter to Mahā shrī Nāropa.

At the monastic university of Nālandā, Gnyos tried to dissuade Mar pa from studying under Nāropa, since the latter had switched from being a respected Doorkeeper Scholar to a possessionless Kusulu jungle-dweller. Mar pa remained adamant, and in the course of three journeys to India studied, under Nāropa and a number of other masters, all the main cycles of the Tantras, especially of the Mother and Father class in Highest Yoga. The range of his learning became extremely wide. No wonder, then, that even during his lifetime, Mar pa was regarded as a living buddha, and he is depicted as such on the well-preserved fresco portrait at the Nine-Storied Prince's Castle built by Mi la ras pa (Milarepa, 1028/40-1111/23) in Lho brag, wherein Mar pa is shown seated on a Buddha's lion throne and attended by standing *bodhisattvas* in old Indian attire.

Back in the Lho brag area, he established his own teaching center at Gro bo lung (Trowo Valley). There he became responsible for the transmission of: (1) the six yogas of Nāropa, directly obtained from that master, and (2) the "great sealing gesture" or *mahāmudrā*, specifically taught to him by Maitripa Mahāsiddha (c. 1007–1085). Elements thereof eventually spread to the other main schools. The cycles centered on the Mother Tantras gained major ascendancy in the Bka' brgyud line.

In one long episode (missing from Gtsang smyon Heruka's [Tsang Nyön Heruka, "the mad saint from Tsang"] fifteenth-century biography of Mar pa) Rgyal thang pa insists on the emanational (*nirmāṇakāya*) nature of Mar pa, his wife Bdag med ma (Dagmema), and their seven sons, all of them *bodhisattvas.* As proof he points out that the sons all died in ascending order, from the youngest up to Dar ma sdo sde Dar ma mdo sde (Tarma Dode), who dissolved into Bdag med ma who dissolved into Mar pa, whose consciousness dissolved into a rainbow. He likens this to the dissolving of the *maṇḍala* deities at the end of the Hevajra meditation scenario. (This is counter to Gtsang smyon Heruka's narrative of Dar ma mdo sde's transmigration into the body of a *brahman* boy in India, and his own rebirth as Ti phu pa.) In a view entirely in tune with the more important role accorded to Bdag med ma by Rgyal thang pa, upon Mar pa's return to Gro bo lung, Lord Nāro appeared to him in a dream and delivered a verse injunction to take Bdag med ma as his wife. This markedly differs from the somewhat misogynous tone of Gtsang smyon Heruka's redaction, which contains several snide remarks aimed at her (e.g., "A woman leading a meeting [is like] a goat leading the way, [like] a prairie dog serving as a sentry," 1986, p. 166).

The translation of Gtsang smyon Heruka's *Life of Marpa* has each chapter prefixed by a calligraphed *nges don* (definitive meaning), which applies to the instructions embedded in the spiritual songs. Much historical research is reflected in the notes, although Gtsang smyon Heruka's own intention was, rather, the creation of a flawless, near-filmic scenario, similar to a jewel box in which to enshrine the songs of instruction—the ones translated and commented upon in a masterly fashion in Trungpa Rinpoche's introduction. Studied in conjunction with a step-by-step *mahāmudrā* instruction like Si tu Pa cheṇ's spirited commentary to the root verses by the third Karma pa, the uniqueness of Mar pa Lo tsā ba's heritage retains a sense of timeless wonder.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Tibet; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism; Mahāsiddhas; Mi la ras pa; Nā ro pa.

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HUBERT DECLEER (2005)

MARRANOS, a term of opprobrium designating Jews (and, occasionally, Muslims) converted to Christianity (and their descendants), was used in the Iberian world in late medieval and early modern times. The Castilian word *marrano* (deriving from an Arabic word for "prohibited," or "illicit") means "swine," or "pork" and either expressed the same abhorrence toward converts as the converts had previously felt toward the ritually unclean animal or insinuated suspicions regarding the converts' continued loyalties to Judaism. Usage of the term appears to have been limited to common parlance and satirical literature. In modern times, Jewish historians revived the term to underscore the uniqueness of the "Marrano" phenomenon in Iberian and Jewish history.

More commonly, and more neutrally, the converts and their descendants are designated *conversos* (converts), *cristianos nuevos* (Span.), *cristãos novos* (Port.), or "New Christians." Referring specifically to *conversos* suspected or found guilty of practicing or adhering to some form of Judaism, Inquisitorial documents employ the term *judaizante,* meaning "judaizer" (or, in modern variations, the terms *secret* or *crypto-Jew*). In premodern and modern Hebrew sources, the *conversos* are designated as *anusim* (forced [converts]). To avoid the confusions of earlier historiography, present historians use *converso* and New Christian synonymously to refer strictly to the social group of converts and descendants, and reserve *judaizer* and *Marrano* as synonyms for those *conversos* whose retention of some form of Judaism may be demonstrated or suspected.

THE "*CONVERSO* PROBLEM." The large and problematical *converso* population and the concomitant Marrano phenomenon were the outcome of unprecedented, large-scale conversions of Spanish and Portuguese Jews between 1391 and 1497. In 1391 and 1392, social resentment of prospering urban Jewish minorities and religious militancy nurtured by a pugnacious Spanish tradition of spiritual warfare provoked a nationwide chain of pogroms, in the course of which large numbers of Jews fell victim to forced, legally irreversible baptism. The unrelenting persistence of anti-Jewish pressures resulted, in subsequent decades, in a second wave of more or less voluntary conversions, creating an initial population of tens of thousands of *conversos* of questionable religious sincerity.

Envy of the *conversos'* social and economic gains, made possible by their liberation from anti-Jewish restrictions, and lingering suspicions of their secret and private loyalty to Judaism, rekindled popular anger and violence against them (which also might have developed into antiroyalist sentiment) and gave birth to a social and religious "*converso* problem" that was politically threatening in that it potentially harbored antiroyalist sentiment. In 1478 a Castilian Inquisition, whose appointments were controlled by the crown, was established to deal with the problem's religious dimension; that is, to prosecute and punish insincere judaizing individuals and thus protect the purity of Catholic orthodoxy and, at the same time, lay to rest the popular suspicions and the indiscriminate, anti-*converso* scapegoating that were viewed as a political danger. Addressing the social dimension, "purity of blood" (Span., *limpieza de sangre;* Port., *limpeza de sangue*) statutes—the earliest was adopted (but nullified) in 1449 in Toledo—sought, whenever the circumstances proved opportune, to exclude the New Christians as a group from upper-echelon ecclesiastical, civil, and military positions by virtue of their Jewish or Muslim descent. The statutes became a more widely adopted mode of anti-*converso* social discrimination after 1555–1556, when, in the midst of a vociferous debate, the archbishop of Toledo, Juan Martínez Silíceo (1486–1557), obtained papal and royal ratification of a *limpieza* statute excluding New Christians from positions in the cathedral chapter of Toledo.

The remaining Jews of Spain, meanwhile, were implicated in fostering the persistence of Jewish loyalties among the *conversos* and in subverting the new state-church-city alliance. They were expelled by the Catholic rulers, Isabella of Castile (r. 1474–1504) and Ferdinand of Aragon (r. 1479–1516), from Andalusia, the scene of the first Inquisitorial discoveries of widespread judaizing, in 1483 and from the rest of Castile and Aragon in 1492. Seeking to avoid exile, many Spanish Jews hastily converted or returned converted after a temporary exile and joined the ranks of a not insignificant *converso* minority of approximately 2–3 percent of the total Spanish population. An estimated 150,000 Jews fled—between 80,000 and 120,000 to neighboring Portugal, where they raised the Jewish population to about 10 percent of the total population, and the rest to North Africa, Italy, and the Ottoman Empire. During 1496 and 1497, Manuel I, king of Portugal (1495–1521), forcibly converted the vast majority of Portuguese Jews, including the new arrivals from Spain, in a move meant to both rid his kingdom of the Jews, in compliance with a condition set forth by the Catholic king whose daughter he was to marry, and retain their services, which were deemed important for the country's (and its colonies') economic development.

In Portugal, too, the "unsatisfactory" (i.e., forced) conversions, as well as the social and economic advances of the *conversos,* created a proportionally more substantial "*converso* problem," notwithstanding royal promises not to investigate the *conversos'* religious life made in the expectation of their eventual total assimilation. Despite vigorous New Christian efforts to stave off its institution, a Portuguese Inquisition on the Spanish model was established in 1536. And, in ensuing years, Portuguese institutions adopted "purity of blood" statutes to turn the tide of upwardly mobile New Christians tainted by suspicions of judaizing (willfully retaining Jewish loyalties and practices) that were seemingly confirmed by Inquisitorial proceedings. As the Spanish and Portuguese colonies attracted larger populations, Inquisitorial tribunals were established in Goa (1560), Lima (1570), Mexico (1571), and in Cartagena, Colombia (1610). Only Brazil was treated differently and remained under the jurisdiction of the Lisbon tribunal, which sent periodic "visitors" (that is, small and occasional commissions of inquiry) to the colony.

HISTORICAL SOURCES. The records of the Inquisition, preserved in great abundance, are our primary and often exclusive source of information about the extent and nature of the Marrano phenomenon—that is, the secret and heretical (by definition of the church) retention of Jewish doctrines, rites, and customs by groups and individuals within the larger *converso* populations. The reliability of these documents is the subject of continual debate. Some historians deny them all validity because they originated from an entirely self-contained and secret organization whose stated aims of religious orthodoxy they dismiss. Most historians accept them as a faithful record of the Inquisitorial proceedings: some without further questioning, others with more or less serious reservations about Inquisitorial (as opposed to accusatorial) procedure. For the Inquisition operated without external checks and balances and, as accuser, judge, and jury, controlled every aspect of the trial, in complete secrecy. Its decisions to prosecute (whom and when), imprison (and for how long), torture (and how often), and sentence (and how harshly) were, wittingly or unwittingly, exposed to—and generally unprotected from—internal infusions of malice, prejudice, bias, error, or misunderstanding. Only a complete statistical and comparative profile of all the Inquisition's tribunals, as is now being assembled, might reveal where and when any such infusion must be suspected and taken into consideration. Inquisitorial procedure may also have influenced the accusations, testimonies, and confessions of witnesses and defendants. Inasmuch as witnesses as well as defendants communicated with the inquisitors, they often had to bridge a social and cultural gap and speak in a voice not quite their own—and they might, therefore, have intentionally or unintentionally misconstrued the realities under discussion. Only a complete reexamination of accusation, testimony, and confession might reveal the manner in which "translation" and misconstruction may have affected the reliability of any given Inquisitorial record.

THE NATURE OF THE MARRANO PHENOMENON. Inquisitorial documents (such as manuals, edicts of faith, testimonies, and confessions) and statistics about the numbers of judaizers are helpful in charting the extent of the phenomenon, but do not afford a rounded picture of its nature. The Inquisition's definition of heresy, moreover, inspired a preoccupation with the external manifestations but rarely with the spiritual content of judaizing and thus deprives us of a significant dimension of the phenomenon. Within these limitations, little more than a catalogue of judaizing practices—constituting a maximum of observance rarely, if ever, attained by any individual Marrano—can be offered. The following summary focuses on the "full-fledged" Marranism of the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. When Jews were still present and memories yet alive, the earliest transitional generations of Marranos no doubt practiced a wider range of observances and traditions.

LOYALTY TO JUDAISM. Echoing Inquisitorial parlance, the Marranos defined themselves as those who believed salvation could be achieved only through the Law of Moses (by which they meant Judaism). This thoroughly un-Jewish formula clearly reveals the two elements in Marrano religion: a rejection of salvation through Jesus and a loyalty to the Law of Moses. As either one constituted in itself sufficient proof of heresy, the Inquisition never queried deeper to establish which of the two elements weighed heavier.

The Marranos' loyalty to Judaism, encumbered by the need for secrecy, expressed itself in an ever more restricted variety of Jewish observances and traditions, a restriction that was due to the loss of knowledge about Jewish law and, especially, Jewish doctrines, and the virtual absence of sources of Jewish education. Fairly rapid to disappear were circumcision, ritual slaughtering, the covering of the head during prayer, the use of phylacteries, and such festivals as Ro'sh ha-Shanah, Shavuʿot, and Ḥanukkah. Passover and Sukkot survived here and there but were celebrated in attenuated forms.

The Sabbath, fasts, prayers, and certain domestic traditions formed the main staples of Marrano Judaism. These observances and customs not only lend themselves well to concealment but have also been central to the home-based daily rhythm of traditional Judaism. The cleaning of the house, the changing of linen and clothes, the taking of baths, the preparation of food—including the so-called *adafina* (a stew prepared before the onset of the Sabbath)—and the kindling of lights are mentioned in connection with the Marrano observance of the Sabbath. On the Sabbath itself, Marranos abstained from work as often as the opportunity presented itself and whenever the spirit moved them, that is to say, with a definite measure of irregularity. Some Marranos contented themselves with an abstention from work "in intention" only.

Fasting occupied a particularly prominent place in Marrano religious life. Not only was it easy to conceal, it also mirrored and opposed, to some extent, Christian practice. Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement) and the Fast of Esther were the holiest days of the Marrano calendar. As the Marranos had lost count of the Jewish lunar calendar, the dates of these fasts were computed on the basis of a mixed lunar-solar calendar: Yom Kippur was observed on the tenth day after the New Moon in September (or, sometimes, on the tenth of September) and the Fast of Esther on the full moon of February. On Yom Kippur, Marranos customarily extended mutual forgiveness to each other, but only rarely does one encounter a Marrano who went barefoot on that day, as did Jews. Either on the eve of Yom Kippur or on that of the Sabbath, Marrano fathers often blessed their children, even when the children had as yet no knowledge of the Jewish origin of this custom. The Fast of Esther, on the eve of Purim, has minor importance in traditional Judaism. As Purim itself fell into oblivion, Marranos retained and expanded the fast, especially in Portugal, undoubtedly because of the similarity between their situation and that of Queen Esther, who had also been forced to hide her ancestral religion in order to survive in an alien environment.

On the Sabbath and Yom Kippur and other festive or special occasions, Marranos recited—rather than chanted, as in traditional fashion—Jewish prayers. As the original Hebrew prayers were lost and memory of their content dimmed, Marranos resorted to readings of the Psalms of David and vernacular creations of their own to replace the Qiddush, grace after meals, and other prayers. These vernacular prayers—some transcribed verbatim in the Inquisitorial documents—stress the unity, omnipotence, and mercy of Adonai ("my Lord," one of the few Hebrew words to survive among the Marranos), the God of the heavens, creator and ruler of the universe, in conscious opposition to Christian trinitarianism. Several prayers beseech God to deliver the Marranos from their tribulations. A great many of these locally or familially transmitted prayers were still current among the Marranos of twentieth-century Portugal.

Among the domestic traditions recorded, some may be termed culinary or dietary, while others are associated with rites of passage. Whereas ritual slaughtering other than that of an occasional fowl fell into desuetude, the kosher preparation of meat—the draining of blood, the removal of nerves, and the salting of meat—did not. This is, perhaps, the reason that Marranos, not having a chance to prepare meat properly, preferred meals of fish and vegetables when breaking a fast. As much as possible and as desired, again irregularly, Marranos avoided eating meats and seafoods traditionally declared nonkosher—pork, rabbit, octopus, and eel, in particular. And when baking bread, some Marrano women had a habit of throwing three small balls of dough into the fire, in imitation of a *ḥallāh*-baking custom. In rites-of-passage traditions, there was a great deal of local variety. Jewish names were generally lost, except in a few particularly "noble" Jewish families that retained a memory of their ancestral family name. Otherwise, Marranos adopted Christian first names and surnames. In many places, a festive ceremony called Hadas ("fate"?) took place on the eighth night after a child's birth. The origin and the meaning of this custom are uncertain. Death and burial rites associated with traditional Judaism were quite common. The washing and dressing in shrouds of the corpse and the meals taken during the period of mourning, as well as sundry superstitious acts, are mentioned with relative frequency.

REJECTION OF CHRISTIANITY. The Marranos' rejection of Christianity consisted not only of a denial of salvation through the law of Jesus, of their opposition to the Trinity, and of their appropriation of the Paternoster for Marrano purposes. In early years, it sometimes included a ceremony intended to undo baptism. Later, Marranos more commonly were lax in their attendance at the Mass—which, however, was also not infrequently neglected by Christians. Some Marranos used to recite a deprecatory formula denying the efficacy of the sacraments or the veneration of images before entering a church. Others remained silent or mumbled through Christological parts of the liturgy or bent rather than kneeled at the requisite times. Evidence of Marranos' spewing out the Host after Communion is sparse, and accusations of Marranos' desecrating the Host may reflect the preconception of malevolent witnesses more than actual practice.

MESSIANIC INCLINATIONS. One final aspect of Marrano religion remains largely in the dark: messianism. Many Marrano prayers reflect a commitment to traditional Jewish messianism, but the degree to which this commitment explains New Christian participation in specific, often Christian messianic movements remains a matter for speculation. In the early years following the expulsion of the Jews, several reports from various parts of Spain speak of visionary experiences by *conversos* with more or less explicitly messianic overtones, especially around 1500 when three prophetic figures (including a charismatic twelve-year-old named Inés of Herrera) gained a large following almost overnight. Later, the Jewish adventurer David Reubeni's visit to Portugal and reception by the king from 1525 to 1527 stirred *converso* emotions, perhaps so deeply as to have provoked messianic expectations. And toward the end of the sixteenth century, messianic beliefs surrounding the deceased King Sebastian of Portugal, who had fallen in battle in 1578, again attracted *converso* attention and may even have been inspired by *conversos.* The participation of Spanish and Portuguese *conversos* in messianically inclined popular movements appears undisputed. On the basis of our meager sources, however, it is difficult to gauge whether they responded so eagerly as Marranos who rejected Jesus and retained Jewish messianic hopes, as New Christians prompted by a radical desire to alter the contemporary situation of Inquisitorial repression and socioreligious discrimination, or whether they were swept up by a general enthusiasm that also drew Old Christians *(cristianos viejos,* or *cristãos velhos)* into these movements.

THE TRANSMISSION OF MARRANISM. Originally, the transmission of Marranism was confined to the *converso* population. After the first generation, as more and more New Christians intermarried with Old Christians, their "partially" New Christian descendants often proved as susceptible to judaizing as did the "pure" New Christians. For reasons that smack of racialist prejudice, the Portuguese Inquisition made a point of carefully noting the exact degree of *converso*-parentage of its suspects. Only rarely does one encounter a "pure" Old Christian among the Inquisition's judaizer victims.

Most commonly, Marranism was transmitted through the family. In Inquisitorial documents, parents, grandparents, and close relatives figure most prominently as the teachers of the Marrano heresy. In fact, the Inquisition generally dismissed as incomplete any confessions that failed to reveal this familial link. Neither in "pure" nor in "partial" New Christian families was judaizing always continual: sometimes the Marrano tradition skipped a generation and was revived only among the grandchildren. Within the family, women played an important role in fostering the continuity of Marrano traditions. Less exposed to the assimilatory pressures of public life than men were, wives, mothers, grandmothers, and aunts perpetuated the essentially domestic rites and customs of Marranism. They thus maintained a Marrano home within which the male members of the family, exposed to public denigration and suspicion of *conversos,* found solace, approval, and peace of mind. During certain periods and in certain locales, there were more women accused by the prosecution than men; in addition, the wording of the accusations frequently differed, as the women were assumed to have taken a more active role than the men in judaizing. In the Marrano communities of twentieth-century Portugal, spiritual leadership rested, more often than not, on the shoulders of highly venerated older women. In general, children were not informed of the judaizing meaning of family ceremonies until they were between the ages of ten and fifteen, to protect the family against slips of the juvenile tongue or inopportune revelations before ever-vigilant Inquisitorial authorities.

Another channel of transmission ran through professional associations. In the earliest days, some Marranos refused to do business with other Marranos until the latter had sworn a Jewish oath. Later, such formal arrangements disappeared, yet informally shared and avowed Marranism appears to have infused subsequent commercial associations with highly prized trust and stability. In turn, and up to a point, this trust, based on a common loyalty and kept secret, contributed significantly to the socially created momentum of Marranism. Universities, too, with their colleges and student organizations, their relatively large concentrations of New Christians, and their pervasive preoccupation with purity of blood, proved important centers of judaizing. Especially in medicine, a profession traditionally associated with Jews and generally mistrusted by the religious establishment, Marranos reinforced each other's ancestral loyalties and, where opportune, drew into their orbit wavering *conversos,* who felt the attraction of New Christian solidarity or were reacting against Old Christian antagonism.

The religious education of the Marranos was extremely limited. For the most part, judaizers had to rely on family traditions of Jewish practices and prayers. Those who wished to deepen their intellectual understanding of Judaism culled information from the Vulgate translation of the Hebrew Bible—including the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, which are not part of the rabbinic canon—and the abundant vernacular literature on biblical themes. Marranos also turned anti-Jewish texts to their advantage, for polemic literature and Inquisitorial edicts of faith never tired of denouncing innumerable Jewish practices and ideas, and thus publicized forbidden traditions. Genuinely Jewish literature was occasionally smuggled in from the vernacular Spanish and Portuguese presses established by former *conversos* in Italy and Holland.

THE INQUISITION. In Spain the initial Inquisitorial hunt for judaizers was begun by district, in stages between 1480 and 1495, depending on the tribunal. Its duration varied widely from jurisdiction to jurisdiction: until about 1510 in most of Old Castile, into the 1520s in Valencia, and into the 1590s in Cuenca. In most of Spain, judging from Inquisitorial documentation, judaizing would appear to have been eradicated within one or two generations after the expulsion and the final wave of conversion, except where it appeared sporadically in isolated regions and in Majorca, where there were dramatic proceedings against several hundred "Xuetas" (probably, "little Jews") from 1675 to 1691. In Portugal, prosecution of judaizers started in 1536 and lasted without major interruptions until the 1760s—that is, across almost ten generations.

The activity of the Portuguese Inquisition is particularly uneven when viewed over time. Dramatic increases in Inquisitorial vigilance occurred between the years 1618 and 1640, between 1660 and 1674, and during the 1720s and 1730s. During the same period, Portuguese judaizers also made their appearance outside of Portugal. Under the union of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns (1580–1640), large numbers of Portuguese New Christians sought economic opportunities or respite from the Portuguese Inquisition, or both, in Spain and its American colonies. The Portuguese rebellion of 1640 rendered these somewhat suspect and increasingly more prosperous immigrants political enemies and provoked retaliation in Spain and its territories in America that lasted into the 1660s. Some Portuguese New Christians nonetheless remained in Spain, and their descendants became the final object of anti-judaizing activity in Spanish Inquisitorial history, from as early as 1630 and up until between 1720 and 1731. Ultimately, the Portuguese Marrano phenomenon survived Inquisitorial repression, and distinct vestiges of judaizing were discovered in Beira Alta and Trás-os-Montes provinces in the twentieth century and have persisted until today.

Some evidence suggests that women were as numerous as men among the judaizer victims of the Inquisitions. During certain periods, such as the first century of the Portuguese Inquisition, women may even have outnumbered men. Two groups stand out as constant and ubiquitous targets of Inquisitorial vigilance: professionals (especially physicians) and merchants of various ilk and size. Almost as numerous are the artisans and public servants, but their incidence varied more, presumably in accordance with local conditions. An occasional cleric is encountered, more apparently before the widespread introduction of *limpieza* statutes. In the earliest days of the Spanish Inquisition, the Jeronymite order, among others, was discovered to harbor a relatively large number of judaizers who had found in the monastery the perfect shelter for their secret activities.

A number of historical circumstances may account for the greater persistence and larger extension of the Marrano phenomenon in Portugal than in Spain. The coexistence of *conversos* and Jews in Spain from 1391 until 1492 forged a clear and permanent distinction between sincere and judaizing *conversos* and undermined *converso* solidarity. In Portugal, where the entire Jewish community was converted at once, ancestral loyalties remained latent, and so acted as a catalyst of group solidarity. Conversion there was even harder for the Spanish exiles, who by their act of emigration had already expressed a strong attachment to Judaism. The forty years that elapsed between the conversion and the institution of the Portuguese Inquisition, moreover, gave judaizers an opportunity to adjust themselves to the exigencies of secrecy. Finally, as former Spanish exiles, the vast majority of Portuguese New Christians (only a very small minority of whom were the descendants of the 20,000 native Portuguese Jews) constituted a distinct ethnic group whose primordial ties reinforced ancestral religious commitments.

Some of the geographic, chronological, and professional variations in Inquisitorial repression are undoubtedly a reflection of differences in the persistence and preponderance of judaizers. The 1618 Oporto arrests (and others of the same sort), the periodic increases in Portuguese Inquisitorial vigilance, and the anti-Portuguese campaign of the Spanish and American Inquisitions smack of arbitrariness and extra-religious inspiration. In these instances, victimization occurred in an atmosphere of commercial rivalry, xenophobia, political discontent, or economic decline. It is difficult, however, to pinpoint exactly how political or economic tension engendered a widening or deepening of Inquisitorial repression. Historians who accept the reality of the Marrano phenomenon and the reliability of Inquisitorial recording seek—but have not yet found, by reason of the sheer magnitude of such a project—reverberations of extrareligious considerations in the trial records themselves: in increases in spontaneous accusations and extorted denunciations, in a greater readiness (on flimsier evidence) to prosecute, or in a slackening of procedural rigor.

The Marrano phenomenon also extended beyond the Iberian world. Most New Christians who emigrated to non-Iberian Europe or to America returned to Judaism; some immediately, others after several generations, depending on the climate of toleration in the land of settlement. These ex-*conversos* founded Jewish communities during the sixteenth century in North Africa, Italy, Ottoman Greece and Turkey, and, during the seventeenth century, in southwestern France, Amsterdam, Hamburg, London, the Caribbean, and North America. The reasons behind their emigration are the subject of an interminable scholarly debate. Some *conversos* migrated in search of economic opportunities, others to reembrace their ancestral Judaism. Most, however, appear to have fled the threat or experience of Inquisitorial persecution. At first, immediately following the institution of the Portuguese Inquisition, this threat gave rise to a general fear, prompting many *conversos,* including those not directly threatened, to flee the country. Later, the Inquisitorial threat became particularized and was feared primarily by families that had relatives or close associates who had been incarcerated and might be forced, by Inquisitorial pressure or torture, to denounce their judaizing associates.

INTERPRETATIONS OF THE MARRANO PHENOMENON. Theories about the Marranos are almost as numerous as the scholars who have studied the subject. Difficulty arises from the nearly total lack of sources in the Marrano voice and the need, therefore, to rely almost entirely on the documentation of the Inquisition, a not disinterested adversary, for information. Some have seen the Inquisition as an instrument of the seignorial class designed to combat, through incarceration and expropriation, the economic, social, and political advances of a rising and largely *converso* middle class. Others have viewed the Inquisitorial persecution of the *conversos* as a continuation of the age-old anti-Jewish struggle of the church inspired by ecclesiastical paranoia. Both views considered the reality of Marranism an Inquisitorial myth and dismissed Inquisitorial documentation as a malicious or misguided fabrication. The *conversos,* they opined, had completely assimilated into Christian society, give or take an occasional atavistic Jewish custom.

At the other extreme, some historians have been convinced that many *conversos* consciously attempted to remain Jews to the degree that their enforced clandestinity permitted. The Inquisitorial efforts to stamp out all remaining traces of Judaism were therefore a response to a reality that an intolerant church defined as heretical, and Inquisitorial documentation reveals more or less substantial snippets of a vibrant and tenacious crypto-Judaism. The subsequent resettlement of many Marranos in Jewish communities in more tolerant parts of Europe and America confirms, according to these historians, their unwavering loyalty to Judaism.

Most historians today probably reject both interpretations. No matter what motivation one imputes to the inquisitors, the once secret and immensely detailed archives of the Inquisition are there now for everyone to see, examine, and compare, and the stories they tell are clearly beyond the powers of even the most devious imagination. On the other hand, a simple loyalty to Judaism is inadequate to account for the regional and chronological differences in the manifestations of Marranism, to explain why some and not other Jewish traditions were retained, or to justify the protracted and voluntary lingering of most Marranos in Portugal, Spain, and the colonies.

Historians now generally acknowledge the variety of *converso* religious commitments spanning a spectrum from the sincere Christian via the indifferent or wavering *converso* to the sincere judaizer. They accept that the social experiences of the New Christians, such as "purity of blood" discrimination and pressures to assimilate, influenced the *conversos'* religious commitment so that every New Christian was a potential Marrano who by any one of a number of social accidents or personal idiosyncrasies could become an active judaizer. For them, Marranism was "a potential Judaism, which entry into a Jewish community transformed most often into a real Judaism" (Révah, 1959–1960, p. 55).

Another avenue of approach recognizes Marranism as a popular tradition—that is, as the continuation of a popular Jewish tradition that, even when Judaism was a licit religion in Spain and Portugal, had always differed from the Judaism of the rabbinically educated elite. The domestic centrality of popular religion lodges it primordially in a network of familial and ethnic ties at the same time that its private nature renders it less susceptible to public dynamics. The fortunes of popular religion and of Marranism, therefore, fluctuate with the individual's relation to their family, extended group of families, or ethnic community. This relation, in turn, is shaped by the family or ethnic community's place in society at large. Under the conditions of social discrimination prevailing in Portugal and Spain, the New Christian family or ethnic community experienced differing and intermittent forms of social rejection. At this point, Marranism became the focus of a counterculture, a rejection of the religious principles under which the New Christians were refused their equal place as Christians in Iberian society. The variety of *converso* commitments to Marranism, therefore, spans a spectrum from a more or less witting retention of popular Jewish traditions to a more or less willful embrace of New Christian counterculture.

AFTERMATH AND IMPACT. The impact of the *converso* problem and the Marrano phenomenon on Iberian and Jewish history cannot be denied, however difficult it may be to gauge its profundity precisely. Scholarly estimations, therefore, vary widely, but the following observations have found a certain general acceptance.

Originally founded to inquire into the religious orthodoxy of the *conversos,* the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions usurped the supervision of many other religious affairs, set the strictest limits on religious dissension and innovation, and, in the end, encouraged Iberian Catholicism's drift toward conformism and ritualism. On the other side, the *conversos'* forced induction into Christianity, their rejection by Iberian society, and their involuntary marginality could not but have complicated New Christian attitudes toward Christianity in particular and toward religion in general. Some *conversos* vented their misgivings at contemporary Iberian Catholicism or sought satisfaction in more profound religious experiences than were available through the official church. New Christians were particularly numerous among the anticlerical, antiritualistic Erasmian humanists and pietists (e.g., Luis de León, 1527–1591, a poet and writer), some of whom (e.g., the Sevillian cleric Constantino Ponce de la Fuente) were confusedly accused of Lutheranism. Other New Christians were attracted to the urbane, reformist, heterodox mysticism of the *alumbrados,* who claimed direct, unmediated divine illumination (e.g., the brothers Ortiz), or to the enlightened and militant spirituality of the Jesuits (e.g., Laínez and Polanco, generals of the Jesuit order; possibly Juan de Mariana, a historian; and Baltasar Gracián y Morales, a writer). A few exceptional individuals (e.g., the cleric and reformer John of Ávila, Teresa of Ávila, and, possibly, the priest Miguel de Molinos) formulated their personal, mystical "innovations" in such orthodox terms that they passed even the rigorous examinations of the Inquisition. Other New Christians evaded the complication and retreated into religious indifference or a more or less radical rejection of any and all religions, with or without a public facade of piety and devotion. All in all, the criticism and spiritual quest, as well as the contrasting indifference of many sincerely Christian *converses,* left an indelible mark on the Christianity of sixteenth-century Spain and Portugal.

Various significant religious developments in seventeenth-century Jewish history, too, have been explained as reverberations of the Marrano phenomenon. Not surprisingly, among several first-generation Marrano refugees who reconverted to Judaism, one encounters an apologetic need to defend Jews and Judaism, as well as a polemic urge to counter the claims of Christianity, that is more common and more strong than that found among traditional Jews. Several of the apologetic works (e.g., those by Menasseh ben Israel, Isaac Cardoso, and Isaac Orobio de Castro) were published in the vernacular, became classics, and have influenced modern perceptions of Jews and Judaism. For reasons of law and self-censorship, the polemic treatises (e.g., by Eliau Montalto, Saul Levi Morteira, Orobio de Castro, and Abraham Gomes Silveyra) circulated in manuscript, in Spanish and Portuguese, among Jews only and have been brought to public attention only recently.

Scholars have also pointed to an unmistakable note of disillusionment with revealed and institutional religion among another group of ex-Marranos. They argue—differing in the weight they give this argument—that some Marranos carried their forceful rejection of Christianity over into a critique of parts or all of the Jewish tradition. Having lost faith in both the Christian and the Jewish traditions, these ex-Marranos joined the growing European community of skeptics; thus, each in a personal way projected a distinctly modern alternative to traditional revealed religion. Uriel da Costa (1585–1640) embraced Epicureanism; Barukh Spinoza pursued and reworked Cartesian philosophy to the point of *amor Dei (sive Naturae) intellectualis* (an intellectual love of God [or Nature]); and Isaac La Peyrère, according to one theory, envisioned a meta-Judeo-Christian messianism inspired by the manner in which the Marranos had combined and transcended both the Jewish and the Christian traditions.

Finally, ex-Marrano Jews played a leading role in the most important new Jewish movement of the seventeenth century, that of the pseudomessiah Shabbetai Tsevi. They were among the first and most ardent followers as soon as news of Shabbetai's messianic mission reached the European Jewish communities, and some (e.g., Abraham Cardoso) became prominent advocates of the heretical Shabbatean movement, which retained faith in Shabbetai's messiahship even after his apostasy. In the early days of the movement, ex-Marranos saw in Shabbetai Tsevi a confirmation of the Jewish messianic expectations many of them, as Marranos, had nurtured for several generations in the face of insistent Christian denunciations. Shabbetai's claims that he had apostatized for a messianic purpose reminded a few ex-Marranos of their former double life, and their acceptance of these claims helped put their guilt-laden memories in a new and positive light. Distinct echoes of the Marrano experience, therefore, resound in the two most novel Jewish movements of the seventeenth century: skepticism and mystical messianism.

NON-IBERIAN PARALLELS TO MARRANISM. Jewish loyalties among converted Jews survived elsewhere and at other times in Jewish history. A certain degree of Marranism attended every instance of a forced conversion of Jews. In most cases, the forcibly converted Jews either fled and returned to Judaism, were eventually assimilated completely into the native population, or were permitted by a subsequent decree to return to Judaism. In a few cases, however, the forcibly converted Jews remained a group apart. Thus, in Italy in the early 1290s, the Jews of Apulia were forcibly converted. Throughout the fourteenth and much of the fifteenth centuries, sources continue to speak of the *neofiti* (neophytes) or *mercanti* (merchants), the descendants of these converted Jews, as a group that had not completely abandoned its ancestral Jewish practices.

The other documented cases of Marranism occurred in Persia, whose *conversos* are referred to as Jedidim. In the middle of the seventeenth century, first the Jews of Isfahan and later those of the rest of Persia were forcibly converted. The converts and their descendants were known as *Jadid al-Islam* (New Muslim). In 1839 the Jews of Mashhad were forcibly converted and also called *Jadid al-Islam.* In both cases the Jedidim successfully resisted pressures to intermarry with the rest of the Muslim population. The ultimate fate of the earlier Jedidim is not known. The Mashhad Jedidim, however, maintained themselves as a community through endogamy, religious leadership, and communal observances and instruction. Some settled elsewhere either as Jedidim or as Jews (as in Jerusalem in the 1890s) and so gave rise to an economically important *Jadid* diaspora; others remained in Persia, where they still formed a distinct Judeo-Muslim group as late as the 1940s.

In sum, Marrano-like survivals of Jewish loyalties among converted Jews appeared where the converted Jews chose to stay in their native land, where the religious and social intolerance that had given rise to the forced conversion persisted unabatedly for many subsequent generations, and where the Jewish, neophyte, or Jadid community constituted a more or less distinct and cohesive socioeconomic group. The extent to which variations in the intensity of Jewish commitments prior to conversion played a role in emergent Marranism cannot be precisely assessed.

MARRANOS IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE. In the sixteenth century, Spanish *conversos* began to arrive in the Western Hemisphere along with the conquistadors. Some were seeking economic opportunities, and all were relieved to be far from the Spanish Inquisition's reach. Among them were judaizers, many of whom were tried by the Inquisitions established in Mexico and Peru during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some moved north to territories that would later become part of the United States, while others remained in Mexico, Brazil, Peru, and elsewhere.

Many of these crypto-Jews passed on traditions to their children, but as time passed, this transmission became more and more problematic. The majority experienced life as Catholics (some as Protestants), yet some retained a sense of identity as Jews or continued hidden religious observances, such as candle lighting or baking special types of bread. Near the end of the twentieth century (in 1990, to be precise), a great deal of media attention began to be paid to those who are or claim to be their descendants. There is considerable controversy about the nature of their identity, their genuineness, and their motives, and about how to receive them. Quite a few crypto-Judaic societies have been established, especially in the Southwest United States (New Mexico, Texas, Arizona, and Colorado) while in Latin America many individuals have sought out rabbis or chosen to convert; some have even gone to Israel to study, convert, and live as Jews.

SEE ALSO Domestic Observances, article on Jewish Practices; Heresy, article on Christian Concepts; Inquisition, The, article on The Inquisition in the Old World; Judaism; Messianism, article on Jewish Messianism; Polemics, article on Jewish-Christian Polemics; Rites of Passage, article on Jewish Rites; Shabbetai Tsevi; Spinoza, Barukh.

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MARRIAGE. Every culture of the world recognizes some form of the institution of marriage. In most cultures and religions neither man nor woman is considered complete, after reaching maturity, without a spouse. Many religions consider marriage as a sacred act that originates from a god or as the union of souls or spirits with the sacred realm.

Jewish beliefs trace the origin of marriage to Adam and Eve and view their union as a part of the fabric of creation. The nuptial blessings emphasize marriage in the scheme of creation and speak of the state of marriage as paradise regained. As a blessing from God, Jewish marriage should not only perpetuate humankind but should also enhance and complete the partners' personal growth.

Christian marriage is also identified with the sacred union of Adam and Eve and is regarded as a vocation. The ceremony joins the bride and groom into one spirit in union with Christ and God. In Christianity, marriage is also a metaphor for the marriage of the church to Christ. In this sense the bride and groom become the "bride" of Christ and are heirs together of the grace of life through the spirit of Christ.

For the Hindu, marriage is also a sacred institution whereby man and woman become one in spirit. Hindu marriage is also a social duty, and in the Vedic period it was a moral and religious obligation as well. Marriage and the siring of male children was the only possible way in which a man could repay his debt to his ancestors.

Marriage among the Zinacantecos, a Maya Indian group in central Mexico, is a mixture of native Indian religion and sixteenth-century Catholicism, as it is in most Latin American cultures. In these societies the celebration of a Christian marriage was urged on the native Indians by the Spanish conquerors as the only means to attain heaven at death. Marriage here takes place on two levels. It is not simply the relationship between two individuals and their families, but it is also a bond between the souls of the bride and groom.

Among the Hopi Indians of the American Southwest, a woman initiates a marriage and brings a husband to her father's house. The marriage is necessary for the girl's life after death. The wedding clothes that are provided by her husband's male relatives will become her shroud upon her death and will transport her spirit into the afterworld. And so, without entering into marriage, one cannot truly die.

PURPOSE OF MARRIAGE. The purpose of marriage and the beliefs that surround this institution must be viewed differently for every culture. Marriage in industrialized societies is very different from that in societies where kinship relations and the alliances created through those relations will be the most important part of an individual's life. Here, the marriage arrangements may not take individual choice into account. There are three major categories of belief about the purposes of marriage: Marriage may be viewed as existing primarily for the continuation of the family and society through procreation; it may be considered most importantly as an alliance, that is, the means to bring about the integration of society by setting up kinship ties and kinship terminology; and finally, the union of bride and groom may be perceived as a complex system of exchanges between groups and/or individuals. These categories will be validated through the religious beliefs of the society.

Continuation of society. The institution of marriage perpetuates society by socially recognizing the union of man and woman and incorporating their offspring into the fabric of social life. There are variants of marriage forms that exist in many cultures to allow for the continuation of the family and of society in the event that one of the marriage partners dies. The two best known forms are the levirate and the sororate. In the levirate, when the husband of a marriage dies, an approved male relative of his may live with the widow and the children. This replacement husband will conceive more children for the deceased as if he were the deceased. In the sororate, the place of a deceased wife is taken by her sister.

The Nuer and Zulu societies of Africa practice another variant of the more traditional marriage in order that the family of the deceased may continue. There are two types of this "ghost marriage." If a man is engaged and dies before the marriage, his fiancée should marry one of his kinsmen and conceive children for the dead man, in much the same way as in the levirate. A man may also "waken" a dead relative who was never married by marrying a wife to his name and conceiving children for him. Also among these two groups, women may "become" men to carry on the male line. A rich, important woman, or the eldest daughter in a family with no sons, can marry another woman and become the father of her wife's children who are conceived by some male relative of the female husband. The importance of all these forms of marriage is that they allow for the perpetuation of the family line, and indirectly the entire society, through the existing structure of social relations.

While these forms of marriage perpetuate society through those who have died, many societies ensure their continuation into the future by marrying off those individuals not yet born. Among the Tiwi of Australia, a young girl is contracted for her future marriage before her birth, at her mother's wedding ceremony. When the girl enters puberty her wedding ceremony is held. This ceremony is attended by the girl, her father, and her husband, as well as her future sons-in-law. For in the same way that she has been married since her mother's wedding, here at her wedding she also marries her daughters to their future husbands.

Alliance. The importance placed upon marriage in many societies is in its role in integrating society. Marriage is the starting point for the kinship ties that run across and between different and independent kinship or descent groups. A marriage will be used to create an alliance between two lines of descent with very little focus upon the relationship between the bride and groom. In many cases these will be arranged marriages, often making use of go-betweens to reach an agreement between the two families. Love is not a requirement here, but the affection that exists after many years of successful marriage is a product of the marriage. Among Georgian Jews, when dowry is unavailable, a love marriage may be effected by elopement, the legitimacy of which is later recognized if the match appears to be successful.

System of exchange. In the final category of marriage beliefs, marriage represents the gift or exchange of women between two descent groups. The position of giving or receiving wives sets up a constantly changing mechanism by which status is expressed and validated between the two kinship groups. The ideal exchange is for both descent groups to exchange sisters, thereby maintaining the status of each group as equal. Marrying a woman in compensation for the death of a man is also an exchange recognized as equivalent in many cultures for the settlement of quarrels.

When women are not exchanged equally, then the balance between the two groups remains unequal and must be achieved through other means. This balancing may take the form of payments made on behalf of the husband to the man or the family who has given up the wife. These payments are viewed as equivalent to the reproductive powers of the woman who is being given to another group as well as a return on the labor and usefulness the bride's family will lose upon her marriage. These payments are known as "bride-price" or "bride-wealth."

Postmarital residence or marriage service may be used in a similar way as bride-price or may even be combined with bride-wealth payments. To repay the bride's family for the loss of a daughter, the groom will serve his in-laws for an agreed-upon time. In the Hebrew scriptures, for example, this type of service is described in *Genesis* 29, which tells of Jacob's serving his father-in-law for seven years for each of his wives, Leah and Rachel.

Dowry is not the opposite of bride-price; rather, it is an endowment of property upon the bride from her own family and is generally viewed as her share of the family inheritance. In some instances, however, dowry may closely resemble the practice of paying bride-price, as in marriages between castes in India and Sri Lanka. Most Hindu marriages are traditionally made between members of the same caste, and no dowry will be given. However, when a girl marries into a higher caste she will be accompanied by a substantial dowry in symbolic payment for her movement to a higher status. This practice is known as hypergamy.

Exchange relationships at marriage may be expressed primarily through the flow of gifts between families, and frequently these expenses will be about equal on both sides. The power of the gift is not only in the object as gift but in the relationships that lie behind the gifts. It is the exchange itself that is essential to the completion and success of the marriage. This exchange of gifts is often an important part of the religious ceremony of marriage.

FORMS OF MARRIAGE. There are two basic forms of marriage: monogamy, the union of one man with one woman, and polygamy, the union of a man or a woman with multiple marriage partners. Polygamy can also be divided into two types: polyandry, in which a woman has more than one husband, and, conversely, polygyny, in which a man has more than one wife. Polygyny is the most common form of multiple marriage, and the plurality of wives is mainly the privilege of older men and their wealth. Polygyny augments the power of a man by increasing his alliances and following. But it may cause conflict among co-wives, as among the Ndembu of Zambia. Conflict between wives is very common in Islamic lands. The Tiv of Nigeria manage the problem differently: the first wife becomes the "husband" of the "little wives," and grows very attached to them.

The classic case of polyandry is in Tibet, where a group of brothers may jointly marry a wife. The wedding takes place when the eldest brother has reached the appropriate age, and on formal occasions it is he who will perform the role of father, although all brothers are viewed as the father to the children of the marriage. One effect of polyandry is to keep down the population, an important goal where arable land is a scarce resource. There is, however, an alternative to polyandrous marriage open to younger brothers: they may become monks and commit themselves to a life of celibacy. Such a "marriage" to religion or to God is an avenue available to both sexes in most societies.

Societies regulate not only how many spouses one can have but from what general categories these individuals should be selected. Exogamy, marriage outside a defined kinship group, is primarily concerned with incest prohibitions. Brother-sister and parent-child unions are forbidden in nearly every culture; cousin marriage is forbidden in the third degree of the collateral line among Roman Catholics, while it is recommended among many peoples of Africa. Endogamy is marriage within a defined group as required by custom or law. This group may be defined by culturally recognized kinship ties or by a religious tradition. Pious Roman Catholics and Jews obey the rule of endogamy and take a spouse from within their own religion. Good Hindus will keep marriage within their own caste, except when practicing hypergamy.

MARRIAGE AS A RITE OF PASSAGE. A rite of passage is a vehicle for moving an individual or a group of individuals from one way of being to another through a series of culturally recognized stages. A marriage ceremony moves the bride and groom from being unmarried to being husband and wife. Just as the definition of what marriage is will vary cross-culturally, so will the manner in which the union of marriage is created and recognized. The rite of passage may extend over a long period of time and include great finery and complex symbolism, or there may be no traditional ceremony at all, simply an action conducted in public view.

MARRIAGE RITUAL. The ceremonials of marriage may be entirely of a religious nature, include both religious and secular elements, or be entirely within the secular and legal realm. Two elements are used to mark a marriage, whether there is a ceremony or not: the sharing of food between the bride and groom (or some passage of food or other substance between them) and the necessity of a public statement or the requirement of witnesses to the marriage event, which may even include proof of virginity and consummation, as among Arabs.

Among the Mundurucú of South America, a marriage is marked only when the man brings the day's kill to his bride instead of to one of his close female relatives. The Ndembu of Africa, like the Tiwi of Australia, combine the puberty rites for a young girl with her marriage ceremony. Here the emphasis is upon fertility. The rites take place where the groom has planted his arrow by the "milk tree," a tree that represents the matrilineage. Among Trobriand Islanders, a man and a woman may have been sleeping together for a long while, but their marriage is not acknowledged until they eat yams together in public. The Burmese wedding ceremony does not create marriage but is, rather, the public statement that a couple intend to live together as husband and wife. The symbol of marriage here is the sharing of food from the same bowl by the bride and groom after the ceremony.

The Jewish marriage ceremony must have witnesses for the signing of the marriage contract and for the symbolic consummation, the *yiḥud,* or time of privacy. It is during this time of privacy that the couple break their fast and eat together for the first time. When they emerge from their seclusion, they are husband and wife and will then share a meal with their guests.

The wedding ceremony in Burma is not attended by Buddhist monks. This ceremony is a secular affair contained within religious rites. The Buddhist monks are fed a special meal in the bride's home the morning before the wedding. This feast acquires merit for the couple to be married and for the parents of the bride. A religious ceremony is held the evening after the wedding at the village shrine and offerings are made by the bride, her mother, and the mother of the groom to the guardian spirits of the village and to the spirits of the ancestors. During the secular wedding ceremony the couple are instructed to worship their parents and the Buddha. Their hands are held together and immersed in a bowl of water so that "their union should be as indivisible as water."

Christian marriage may be regarded as a sacrament, one of the outward signs of inward grace, and may include the Eucharist within the ceremony, the sacred sharing of the mystical body of Christ that unites all participants with God. In most Christian churches this is an optional rite, but a wedding will usually be followed by a sharing of food and drink with guests. This part of the ceremony is not sacred. One can also be a Christian and include few if any religious elements in the marriage ceremony—which may be performed entirely within the secular domain by various officers of law. Or a couple may become married simply by living together for a set period of years, thus forming a marriage in "common law." These options to the traditional marriage ceremony are available in other religions as well.

The necessity for consummation to occur in order for a marriage to be legally binding is not universal but is culturally and religiously specific. Although the Virgin Mary bore Christ without intercourse with her husband, any Christian marriage can be annulled or canceled if the couple do not consummate the marriage. In Hinduism, however, the most important rite for validation of a marriage is the ceremony called Saptapadi, the "taking of seven steps" by the couple before the sacred nuptial fire. Legally the marriage is complete with the seventh step, for according to the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 consummation is not necessary to make marriage complete and binding.

The marriage ceremony of Java is a syncretism of Hinduism, Islam, and folk religion from the villages. The evening before the ceremony, a feast called the Slametan is held. Then the bride must sit by herself for five hours until midnight. At midnight an angel enters her and will remain in her until five days after the wedding. The actual wedding begins the next day when the groom makes a trip to the office of the government religious official to register and legalize the marriage. For Javanese Muslims, this is the important part of the marriage ceremony, for it is here that the marriage is made official in the eyes of God and the government. However, according to the folk religion the couple is not married until they exchange their *kembang majang* ("blossoming flowers"), which stand for their virginity. And then they must eat from one another's dish but they must not finish their food. Consummation of the marriage is believed to have occurred when this food begins to smell in five days, or when the angel has left the bride.

CREATION MYTHS AND THE INSTITUTION OF MARRIAGE. Many origin myths that explain the creation of the world and of humankind also explain marriage. In Samoa the marriage of the creator god Tangaloa with a woman he has created begins the world and, through their union, all of mankind. The Makasar of Indonesia believe that the son of the sky deity was sent to earth on a rainbow to prepare the world for humans. This god married six female deities and their offspring became the peoples of the world. The union of the Japanese gods Izanagi and Izanami consolidates and fertilizes the moving earth. Through their union, they produced the islands of Japan. The marriage of Osiris, one of the greatest of ancient Egyptian deities, with his sister Isis accounts for the continuation of the pharaohs and their practice of marrying their sisters. And, for Jews, Christians, and Muslims alike, the marriage of Adam and Eve, two beings created by God, generates all of humankind.

SEE ALSO Hieros Gamos; Mystical Union; Rites of Passage; Sacrament, article on Christian Sacraments.

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PAMELA R. FRESE (1987)

MARS. The Latin name *Mars,* found throughout Italy, lacks any Indo-European etymology. It appears in both a simple form and in doubled form. The Latin *Mars* coexists with an ancient form, *Mavors* (kept in use by poets), as well as a contracted form, *Maurs* (see *Corpus inscriptiorum Latinarum,* Berlin, 1863, vol. 1, no. 49). As for the doubled form, *Marmar,* it very likely stems from **Mar-mart-s;* it is found in the *Carmen Arvale* along with *Marmor,* which seems an odd form. *Mamers,* which the ancients identified as an Oscan term (Paulus-Festus, ed. Lindsay, 1913, p. 150 L.), derived from **Mamars* by apophony of the second vowel. A god Maris is known among the Etruscan gods, but the identification with Mars is doubtful, since Laran is the Etruscan god of war. The Umbrian ritual of the seven Iguvine Tables (from ancient Iguvium, modern Gubbio) attests to the worship of Mars in that region: Table VIb1 mentions the sacrifice of three oxen to Mars Grabovius. With Jupiter and Vofionus, Mars receives the epithet "Grabovius" (the link with Latin *Gradivus,* epithet of Mars, is uncertain) and is the second god of the so-called "Grabovian trinity." Mars is the god to whom is dedicated the *ver sacrum,* an Italic ritual, originally Sabin (Strabo 5.4.12), in which the god is offered all that is born and produced during the spring. This evidence indicates that the Mamertini (whose name is linked with Mamars), when a plague spread in the Samnium, entered Bruttium in 288 BCE and then settled in Messana (Festus, p. 150 L). Such a ritual attests to the Italic dimension of Mars. The dative *Mamartei,* read in an inscription at Satricum dating from the sixth century BCE, implies the existence of a nominative, **Mamars.* The *Lapis Satricanus,* found in the foundation of a temple of Mater Matuta, mentions, in an archaic genitive form, the name of Valerius Publicola (consul in Rome at the beginning of the Republic), and a dedication or offering by his *sodales* to Mars (*popliosio valesiosio suodales mamartei*).

Mars is the Roman god of power, particularly of war. He held the second position in the archaic triad of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus, which, according to Georges Dumézil, pre-existed the Capitoline triad. He received the second share of the *spolia opima* in the threefold distribution of the highest military spoils established by the law of Numa (Festus, p. 204 L.). He had not only a particular priest, the *flamen Martialis,* but also a specific kind of offering: the *suovetaurilia,* a set of three victims (boar, ram, and bull) sacrificed as part of the Capitoline triad, a purification ritual called the *lustratio populi* celebrated by the Roman censors at the closing of the *lustrum* in the Campus Martius.The old brotherhood of the Salii, created by Numa (Livy, 1.20. 4), was specially concerned with the war rituals and the god of war. The Salii, divided into two twelve-member groups called the Salii Palatini and the Salii Collini, were under the protection of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus (Servius, *Ad Aeneidem* 8.663). It is probable that the opening service for the military season in spring was handled by the Salii Palatini, with Mars as their patron, and the closing service by the Salii Collini, with Quirinus as their patron.

Two sets of feasts, in March and October, correspond to the opening and closing of the military season. The first, in the spring, began on March 1, when the Salii Palatini went out of their *Curia* on the Palatine and the Salii Collini left the *Sacrarium* on the Quirinal to reach the Regia and offer a sacrifice to Mars. This cycle comprised the following feasts: the horse races on March 14 for the Equirria on the Field of Mars; on the same day, an old man would be expelled from the city in the Mamuralia, a reenactment of the legend of Mamurius Veturius (Mamurius Veturius, whose name recalled the god, was the smith who fabricated the shields, *ancilia,* of the Salii. One of the shields was said to have dropped from the sky—see Ovid, *Fasti* 3.369 ff.); a sacrifice called Agonium Martiale was celebrated on March 17; the lustration of arms took place at the Quinquatrus on March 19 and that of battle trumpets at the Tubilustrium on March 23. Before beginning operations, a Roman general entered the Sacrarium Martis in the Regia and exclaimed, "Mars uigila!" ("Mars, wake up!") If the lances of the god vibrated, it was a good omen and the war could begin.

The second cycle, in autumn, included the rite of purification at the Tigillum Sororium on October 1 (purification rites in memory of Horatius, who killed the Curatii and his own sister); the sacrifice of a war horse during the rites of the Equus October (October Horse), on October 15; and the lustration of arms, Armilustrium, on October 19. In spring, as in autumn, the priestly brotherhood of the Salii danced at the feasts (a dance called *tripudium*) while brandishing lances and shields. In ordinary times these arms were kept in the *sacrarium* of Mars within the Regia.

The god's military character was well established, but scholars of the predeistic shool, such as Herbert Jenkins Rose or Gustav Hermansen, who thought that Roman religion was based on *numen* (something like the Melanesian *mana*) and not on anthropomorphism, developed the theory of an agrarian Mars. This opinion seems to be based on a confusion between the god's intrinsic nature and the range of applications for his intervention. His power could be employed not only in warfare but also in agriculture. At an Eitrem Conference held in Oslo in 1955 Herbert Jenkins Rose insisted that the Equus October was sacrified *ob frugum euentum* (for the gathering of crops, but Georges Dumézil demonstrated that with this ritual the Romans intended to thank the god of war for preserving the harvest from enemies and allowing them to gather in their crops. If the lance of Mars is important in the ritual (Arnobius, *adv. nationes* 6.11, said that according to Varro the ancient Romans had *pro Marte hastam*) and can give a good omen with its vibrations, we cannot come to the conclusion that the Romans first worshiped the *hasta* and only later conceived a god with the human features of a warrior.

The name of the god does not appear in the fragments of the *Carmina Saliorum,* but Gellius (13. 23. 2) mentions it in an old prayer associated with *Nerio* and the *Moles,* two aspects of his power. In the *Carmen Arvale,* the Arval brothers prayed to "fierce Mars" *(fere Mars)* to protect Roman territory by "leaping to the border" *(limen sali).* Likewise, Cato the Elder's peasant, celebrating a private sacrifice of a pig, a sheep, and a bull, called *suovetaurile* for a *lustratio agri,* invoked Mars "to halt, rebuff, and cast away visible and invisible maladies" (*De agricultura* 141).

The god's most ancient place of worship was situated on the Field of Mars at the *ara Martis,* the altar near which D. Junius Brutus Callaicus erected a temple in 138 BCE. The most important sanctuary, outside the Porta Collina, near the Via Appia, had been dedicated on June 1, 338 BCE, and was the starting point for the annual cavalry parade (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 6.13.4).

At the beginning of the Second Punic War, in 217 BCE, Mars was associated in a *lectisternium* with Venus, after the pattern of Ares and Aphrodite, in order to exalt the connection between Romulus, son of Mars, and Venus, ancestor of the Aeneades. Later, Augustus created the cult of Mars the avenger (Mars Ultor)—avenger of the Roman disaster suffered by M. Licinius Crassus at Carrhae in 53 BCE, and also avenger of the assassination of Julius Caesar (the victory at Philippi in 42 BCE). In 20 BCE, a round temple was erected upon the Capitoline in honor of Mars Ultor and, in 2 BCE, the great temple, situated in its own forum, was built (Dio Cassius, 54.8.3 and 60.5.3). Thus Mars enjoyed new prestige.

SEE ALSO Flamen; Lustratio; Roman Religion, article on The Early Period.

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ROBERT SCHILLING (1987)
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MARSILIUS OF PADUA (c. 1275–1342), originally Marsilio dei Mainardini; Italian political theorist. Marsilius probably studied medicine at the University of Padua. In 1313 he was rector of the University of Paris, where he met such leading Averroists as Peter of Abano and John of Jandun. He is famous chiefly for his antipapalist treatise *Defensor pacis* (Defender of Peace; 1324), a landmark in the history of political philosophy. When his authorship of this work became known in 1326, he was forced to flee to the court of Louis of Bavaria in Nuremberg; Pope John XXII thereupon branded him a heretic. Marsilius subsequently assisted Louis in various imperial ventures in Italy.

The primary purpose of the *Defensor pacis* was to refute the papalist claims to "plenitude of power" as advanced by Pope Innocent IV, Egidius of Rome, and others in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The papal position had held that secular rulers must be subject to the papacy even in "temporal" affairs, so that they must be established, judged, and, if necessary, deposed by the pope. Marsilius, in contrast, undertook to demonstrate that the papacy and the priesthood in general must be subject not only in temporal but even in "spiritual" affairs to the whole people, with the powers of the priesthood reduced to the administration of the sacraments and the teaching of divine law.

Marsilius's doctrine overthrew the attempt to base human society on religious values under priestly control; instead, the way was opened for a purely secular society under the control of a popularly elected government. Hence, it is understandable that Marsilius has been hailed as a prophet of the modern world. His treatise exerted a marked influence on the conciliar movement and during the period of the Reformation.

Equally as important as these revolutionary conclusions are the three premises from which Marsilius derived them. These premises are found in his general theory of the state. The first is the Aristotelian teleological view of the state as subserving the good life. The various parts of the state, including government, are defined by the contribution they make to the rational "fulfillment" of man's natural desire for the highest ends of a "sufficient life," which include the common benefit and justice.

The second theme, in contrast, is a negative and minimal utilitarianism. It emphasizes the inevitability of conflicts among persons and the consequent need for the formal instrumentalities of coercive law and government in order to regulate these conflicts and avert the destruction of human society. In developing this theme, Marsilius presents a positivistic concept of law, which stands in contrast to his nonpositivistic conception of justice (a distinction often overlooked in discussions of his ideas). Marsilius, unlike most medieval political philosophers, holds that justice is not a necessary condition of law. What is necessary is that the legal rules have coercive force. These rules and the government that enforces them must be unitary in the sense that, if a society is to survive, it cannot have two or more rival coercive bodies of law and government.

The third theme of Marsilius's political theory is that the people are the only legitimate source of all political authority. It is the people, the whole body of citizens or its "weightier part," who must make the laws either by themselves or through elected representatives, and it is also the people who must elect, "correct," and, if necessary, depose the government.

Although all three themes of Marsilius's general political theory were found in earlier medieval political philosophers, no other philosopher had given the second and third themes as central a position as did Marsilius. The full consequence of these emphases emerges in the applications he makes of his general political theory to the problems of ecclesiastical politics.

In keeping with his first theme, Marsilius views the Christian priesthood as one of the parts of the state dedicated to achieving the "sufficient life" for all believers. Unlike the other parts of the state, however, the priesthood subserves the "sufficient life" to be attained primarily "in the future world" rather than the present one. Marsilius manifests skepticism about the rational demonstrability of such a future life; nevertheless, he officially accepts the Christian doctrine that the future life is superior to the present life. He also holds, however, that secular and religious values are in basic opposition.

Here he seems to be applying in the realm of the practical the Averroist doctrine of the contrariety of reason and faith in theoretical philosophy.

At this point, however, Marsilius's second and third themes have their effect. Since the essence of political authority is the coerciveness required for the minimal end of preserving society, it follows that the higher end subserved by the priesthood does not entitle it to superior political authority. The question of the order of political superiority and inferiority is thus separated from the question of the order of moral and religious values. According to Marsilius's second theme, the secular government, as bearer of coercive authority, must be politically superior to the priesthood. If the priests refuse to obey the government and its laws, then they must be compelled to do so, because such disobedience threatens that unity of coercive authority without which society cannot survive.

In addition to this political argument against diverse centers of coercive power in any society, Marsilius also stresses, from within the religious tradition itself, that religious belief, in order to be meritorious, must be purely voluntary. Hence, in order to fulfill its mission, divine law and the priesthood that teaches and administers it cannot be coercive in this world.

Marsilius's third theme, republicanism, also plays an important role in the political subordination of the priesthood and papacy. The only rules and persons entitled to the status of being coercive laws and government officials are those ultimately chosen by the people; hence, there can be no crediting the claims of divine law and the priesthood to a separate derivation of coercive political authority from God. Because the whole people is superior in virtue to any of its parts and because freedom requires popular consent or election, the priesthood itself must be elected by the people of each community rather than being appointed by an oligarchically chosen pope. Also, the pope himself must be elected by the whole of Christendom. Similarly, the whole people must elect general councils to provide authoritative interpretations of the meaning of divine law. In these ways Marsilius's general political theory leads to a republican structure for the church as opposed to its traditional monarchical structure.

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ALAN GEWIRTH (1987)

MARTIAL ARTS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
CHINESE MARTIAL ARTS

MARTIAL ARTS: AN OVERVIEW

The role of the warrior has been a position of importance to many cultures historically, with the efficacy of combat strategies and warrior skills often determining the course of history and the continued existence of groups of people. In the cultures of South Asia, Southeast Asia, and the Far East, religious beliefs and teachings often interpenetrated the martial traditions. Just as the physical forms of these arts have varied from one country to the next, so too have their religious and meditative components. For some martial traditions, these spiritual elements constitute the highest levels of practice. This article will introduce the varied religious and meditative dimensions of martial traditions as found in India, China, Japan, and Indonesia—an orientation often overlooked by practitioners of such disciplines, who prefer to concentrate upon the physical dimensions of practice. Regrettably, most of what is known about many martial arts is limited to information transmitted by oral tradition. Hence, even theories about the origins of the martial arts remain speculative and nebulous. However, most historians agree that some of the earliest traceable roots lead either to India or China.

INDIA. The origins of the martial traditions of India are difficult to trace and verify, but vestiges of fighting techniques used in ancient India do remain. Early references to combative situations can be found in such classic epics as the *Ṛgveda,* the *Rāmāyaṇa,* and the *Mahābhārata.* Contemporary writings generally emphasize wrestling forms *(kuṣṭhi, varja-muṣṭi, binoṭ, masti)* and weaponry (e.g., *bāṇa, pharī-gatkā, lāṭhī, paṭā, cilampam).* Wrestling flourished in India before the beginnings of the Aryan invasions (c. 1500 BCE).

Aside from wrestling and weaponry, there exists surprisingly little information concerning any organized martial disciplines. Some systems are mentioned sporadically in the literature, including *aṭitaṭa, cilampam, kuttu varicai* (Tamil), and *mukkebazi,* though no reference to religious practices is to be found. However, recent Western investigations of the Indian martial system known as *kaḷarippayaṯṯu* have begun to uncover the association between religious and physical aspects of practice in Indian culture today.

Kaḷarippayaṯṯu (*kaḷari,* "fencing school"; *payaṯṯu,* "fencing exercise"; *kaḷarippayaṯṯu,* "place where martial exercises are taught") is a system of martial training found in Kerala which, in its present form, dates back to at least the twelfth century CE. It was developed primarily to prepare Kerala's martial caste (Nairs) for combat, although higher-caste Yatra *brahmans,* lower-caste Tiyyas, and many Muslims and Christians were also proficient in the form. This system rests upon preliminary physical culture training (physical exercise and body massage) that is later followed by practice in unarmed combat as well as a variety of weapons.

In *kaḷarippayaṯṯu,* in-depth knowledge of the *marma*—vulnerable points of the human body—is required in order to know where to attack one's opponent, how to protect one's own body, and how to treat injuries to these vital spots during training or battle. Further, the use of breathing exercises, repetition of *mantra*s, visual concentration, and performance of special rituals (paying respects to deities and teachers) all aid in achieving proper mind-body coordination and may lead to the development of power *(śakti).* The lower abdominal region referred to as the *nabhi* or *nabhi mūla(m),* as well as the three lower *cakra*s of *kuṇḍalinīyoga,* may also be stressed in *kaḷarippayaṯṯu.* The *nahbi mūla(m)* corresponds to the second yogic *cakra, svādhiṣṭhāna,* and is recognized as the source of *prāṇa-vāyu* ("energy").

Attempting to articulate the spiritual dimensions of an Indian martial system is difficult in a culture that possesses such an indigenous spiritual tradition as yoga. It is evident that some of the techniques and practices employed in *kaḷarippayaṯṯu* overlap with yoga. However, within most schools, the process of spiritual emancipation *(mokṣa)* is overtly reserved for the discipline of yoga. These *kaḷarippayaṯṯu* masters familiar with yoga acknowledge that both disciplines develop the ability to focus at will on one point (i.e., the ability to "concentrate") but beyond this similarity the practices diverge, with yoga continuing as a self-conscious path of meditation. Among the Ṣūfī *kaḷarippayaṯṯu* practitioners of the Cannanore area of northern Kerala, however, great emphasis is placed upon spiritual training and development. Advanced training in meditation involves progressing through a series of rituals known as *dhikr*s (Arab., lit., "remembrance, recollection" of God), which are performed silently or aloud. Such practices can lead to experiences of ecstasy, realization of the internal white light, and union with God. As the connection between Indian martial traditions and religious practices is evident historically, it is safe to assume that additional investigations will provide more information on the practices and aims associated with the overlap of these martial traditions with meditative techniques and philosophies.

CHINA. Though lacking in strong documentation, historical reviews generally credit Bodhidharma (c. 448–527 CE) with playing a central role in the development of a systematized martial discipline in China. Bodhidharma is an obscure figure. However, he is generally acknowledged to be the first patriarch of the Chan (Jpn., Zen) school in China. Although no Indian records of his life are known to exist, Chinese sources indicate that he was trained in Buddhist meditation in Kāñcīpuram, a province south of Madras. Upon the death of his master Prajñātara, he reportedly left India for China, in part due to the decline of Buddhism in those areas outside of India proper. After visiting with the emperor at Nanking, Bodhidharma proceeded north to the Shao-lin Temple in Henan province. In his teaching there he reportedly became disturbed by the inability of monks to stay awake during meditation. To eliminate this tendency as well as to improve their health, Bodhidharma allegedly introduced a systematized set of exercises to strengthen the body and mind—exercises that purportedly marked the beginning of the *shaolin* style of temple boxing. These exercise forms were transmitted orally and transcribed by later monks in the *Yijin jing* and *Xishui jing.*

In addition to his contributions in the area of physical training, Bodhidharma was also said to have been centrally involved in transmitting the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* to his disciple Huike, insisting that it represented the key to buddhahood. The teaching of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* focuses upon enlightenment, with specific reference to such doctrines as "mind-only" *(vijñāptimātra)* and "all-conserving consciousness" *(ālaya-vijñāna).* It essentially records the Buddha's own inner experience *(pratyātmagata)* concerning the religious teachings of Mahāyāna Buddhism. A central theme of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* is the importance of transmission of doctrine from mind to mind without reliance upon written texts. In keeping with the Chan tradition, it appeals directly to the enlightened mind as its source of authority, rather than depending upon words to convey its message.

Many of these teachings were later incorporated into Chinese philosophy, interspersed with the already prevailing Daoist precepts of the *dao, yin-yang,* and the principle of dualism and change, the importance given to deep breathing *(lianqi)* and its relationship to the goal of longevity or immortality, and the doctrines of "nonaction" *(wuwei)* and "natural spontaneity" *(ziran).* The interpretation of Buddhist and Daoist precepts transformed martial and nonmartial teachings into a new form, the early search for *dao* being later replaced by the goal of *qianxing* ("illumination"), because of the Chan Buddhist influences noted above.

Contemporary Chinese martial arts are said to be derived from the original *shaolin* techniques introduced by Bodhidharma. These forms of *gongfu* are generally divided into two groups—"internal" *(neijia zhuanfa),* or "soft" *(rou),* and "external" *(waijia zhuanfa),* or "hard" *(gang).* In addition to stressing the importance of the Daoist and Buddhist philosophical-experiential principles described above, the "internal" system also concentrates on the will *(yi),* vital energy *(qi),* and internal strength. Further, Daoist deep breathing techniques of *qigong* are practiced to cultivate *qi* in the *dantian* ("cinnabar fields"), where it is collected and stored. Styles falling within the "internal" category include *taiji, bagua,* and *xingyi,* while *shaolin* boxing is classified as "external." Principles of Daoist philosophy and cosmogony are reflected in the three primary internal styles. Ironically, while the internal styles clearly draw upon the principles of Daoist and Chan teachings in the employment of specific self-defense techniques, strategies, and forms, few of the internal schools today emphasize the transformative religious goals stressed by the classical meditative systems and by some of the earlier practitioners of these martial disciplines.

JAPAN. From roughly the eighth century to the end of the sixteenth century CE, Japan was beset by numerous domestic wars. This sociopolitical climate provided the classical professional warriors *(bushi)* with not only a prominent role in molding the natural character of Japan, but also an opportunity to further develop and refine the combative techniques of the *bujutsu* (martial arts). During these centuries martial traditions *(ryū)* were founded with the specific purpose of formalizing and perpetuating practical combat systems. It was during the Kamakura period (1185–1333 CE) that Zen Buddhism was introduced to Japan from China, largely through the work of the Japanese Buddhist priests Eisai (1141–1215) and Dōgen (1200–1253), who had studied Chan in China. Through the efforts of their followers Tokiyori (1227–1263) and Tokimune (1251–1284), Chan, as Zen, was introduced into Japanese life, having a distinct impact upon the life of the samurai. The successful cooperation of the martial and spiritual disciplines led to the creation of Bushidō, the warrior code, which idealized such virtues as loyalty and courage and espoused the goal of achieving that state of mind in which the warrior's thoughts would transcend life and death *(seishi o chōetsu).*

In 1603, the Tokugawa military government *(bakufu)* was founded by Tokugawa Ieyasu, an event that marked the end of war as a pervasive aspect of the Japanese culture and the beginning of the Edo period (1603–1867 CE). In this era of peace, maintained by strict tyrannical rules, governmental influences stressed the redirection of the people's attention to the ideals of the past. This marked a notable shift in social awareness for *bushi* and commoner alike, leading to the development of the classical *budō* forms. Influenced by the Confucian interpretation of the Dao, the Japanese culture took the principle of *dao—dō* in Japanese—and modified it in such a way as to be compatible with Japanese feudal society and applicable to man in his social relationships. The shift from *bujutsu* (*bu,* "military [martial] affairs"; *jutsu,* "art") to *budō* (*dō,* "way") signified a change in emphasis from combat training to cultivation of man's awareness of his spiritual nature. The primary goal of classical *budō* was enlightenment as outlined in Zen teachings—a shift again from simply external perfection of (martial) techniques to self-mastery via "spiritual forging" *(seishin tanren).* The distinction between *bujutsu* ("martial arts") and *budō* ("martial ways") still holds true today.

The formation of specific *budō* systems began during the early seventeenth century. *Kenjutsu* ("sword art") was transformed into *kendo* ("sword way"); and the essence of *iaido* ("sword drawing technique") as a spiritual discipline appeared at this time in contrast to *iaijutsu.* Weaponless *budō* systems, such as *jikishinryu,* also appeared. The classical *budō* forms continued to evolve until the latter part of the nineteenth century when, with the rise of ultranationalism among the Japanese people, both the aims of classical *budō* and classical *bujutsu* disciplines were redirected to support this effort.

Modern *bujutsu* and modern *budō* are generally viewed as beginning in 1868, after the overthrow of the Tokugawa government. However, there are significant differences between these modern martial traditions and their classical counterparts. Collectively speaking, the modern disciplines are generally characterized as methods of self-defense or as tactics for sparring or grappling with an opponent. Modern *bujutsu* consists of hand-to-hand combat systems that are used as methods of self-defense and spiritual training. Modern *budō* consists of various systems of physical exercise or sport seen as methods of self-defense or as spiritual training aimed at bringing man into harmony with a peace-seeking international society. Examples of modern *budō* include modern *kendō,* modern *jūdō, karatedō, aikidō, (nippon) shōrinji kenpō,* and *kyūdō.*

In many cases, a comparison of the modern *budō* to their classical counterparts (which are still practiced today in Japan) reveals major differences in purpose. While the proclaimed concern for discipline, morals, and the importance of "spirit" carries over from the classical traditions, the concept of *dō* is largely distorted in the modern disciplines. Modern exponents have been accused of reinterpreting the *dō* to fit their own subjective interpretation of their personal role and needs in the world, rather than focusing upon classical martial-meditative goals. However, to dismiss all of the modern *budō* systems as poor imitations of once-thriving, authentic spiritual disciplines may be premature. For example, select schools of modern *kendō* and *kyūdō* do stress goals associated with the classical *(budō)* disciplines. It may be that the individual practitioners within a particular discipline remain the best measure of the degree to which the classical *budō* aims are stressed, realized, and exemplified.

INDONESIA. Throughout its history, Indonesia has been subject to the cultural and combative influences of other countries, including India, China, and Indochina. Furthermore, Java, its cultural and political core, has always been a center of magical and mystical beliefs and practices, which have become even more widespread since independence from the Dutch in 1949. With ongoing migrations of peoples of the many Indonesian islands and the combative and mystical elements continuing to evolve over time, highly sophisticated martial arts have developed, which are currently referred to as *pukulan.*

While several major combative forms are presently found in Indonesia, the martial art known as *pencak-silat* is the dominant self-defense discipline and the one with the strongest spiritual roots. It reportedly first developed on the Riouw archipelago in the eleventh century CE. By the 1300s it had become a highly sophisticated technical art that was open solely to members of nobility and the ruling classes. Indian, Chinese, Arabic and, later, Japanese influences permeated in varying degrees a number of the styles. These developments as well as travel between the different islands further modified its combative form (which was no longer limited exclusively to select social classes) leading to rapid diversification. There are now hundreds of different styles.

Though varying definitions exist, *pencak* usually connotes skillful body movements in variation, while *silat* refers to the fighting application of *pencak. Pencak-silat* is known to have been influenced by Hindu religious elements and to have evolved further through contact with a rich Islamic spiritual tradition. The emphasis placed on the spiritual aspects of the art will vary from one style to another, but most systems start with physical training aimed at learning and applying various techniques for avoiding physical harm at the hands of an assailant. Upon successful acquisition of these motor skills, the practitioner may develop his inner power, which can be expressed in varying forms. For example, the practitioner of the Joduk style of Bali is able to engage in mystic, trancelike states—an ability that distinguishes the individual as a *guru* ("teacher"). Further internal development in the various styles of *pencak-silat* leads to the title of *maha guru* ("master teacher") while those who have attained the summit of technique are given the title of *pendekar* ("fighter"; also connotes "spiritualist" and leader or champion who has obtained an understanding of true—inner—knowledge).

The final stage of training in *pencak-silat* is referred to as *kebatinan.* Importance is placed on inner emotional experience and personal revelation as derived from the practice of the mystical discipline, although the practices and methods employed as one advances on the mystical path vary noticeably from one sect to another. The path of *kebatinan* stresses intuitive feeling *(rasa)* and surrender *(sujud);* man rids himself of impulses and bodily desires by emptying himself so as to be filled with the divine presence of God—the revelation of the divine residing within the heart *(batin).* The path of *kebatinan* is no easy understanding. Overcoming one's attachment to the outward aspects of existence *(lahir)* may involve ascetic practices *(tapa):* fasting, prayer, meditation (particularly visual concentrative techniques), sexual abstinence, remaining awake throughout the night, or retreating to the mountains and into caves. It should be pointed out, however, as noted earlier with other martial systems, that the degree to which the mystical practices are pursued and realized will vary from one practitioner to another. For example, some *pendekar* avoid all involvement with mysticism and *kebatinan,* while others practice also the noncorporeal, mystical aspects of their discipline.

CONCLUSIONS. While the spiritual dimensions of several martial systems of India, China, Japan, and Indonesia have been briefly outlined, the meditative-religious dimensions of martial arts and martial traditions of other countries still need to be critically and comprehensively assessed. Today, the spiritual dimensions of practice are often overlooked, although increased interest in the concept of the "spiritual warrior" has begun to appear. Inclusion of this important component will serve to broaden our understanding of the interrelationship between the physical and spiritual sides of human existence.

SEE ALSO Attention; Bodhidharma; Bushidō; Spiritual Discipline; War and Warriors.

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MARTIAL ARTS: CHINESE MARTIAL ARTS

The Chinese term *wushu* (martial arts) is usually applied to fighting techniques practiced by individuals in a nonmilitary setting, as distinct from the training methods (*bingfa*) of soldiers in a regular army. Individual techniques within the martial arts tradition are usually called in Chinese *quan* or, less commonly, *zhang*. There are dozens of *quan* styles; some of the most famous are Shaolin Quan (Shaolin Hand-Combat), Taiji Quan (Great-Ultimate Hand-Combat), Xingyi Quan (Form-and-Intention Hand-Combat), and Bagua Zhang (Eight-Trigrams Hand-Combat).

The terms *quan* (literally, "fist") and *zhang* (literally, "palm") evince the significance of unarmed hand-combat in the Chinese martial arts. Even though each and every *quan* system has developed its own techniques of armed combat (usually with swords, spears, and staffs, but sometimes with such quintessential weaponry as metal-tipped fans), the foundation of all is empty-handed combat. Another characteristic of the Chinese martial arts is the stringing together of fixed positions into determined practice sequences, which define a given *quan* style. The invention of new body or weapon postures, or the combination of existing ones into new sequences, amounts to the creation of a new style, or substyle, of fighting.

The Chinese martial arts, of course, are first and foremost effective fighting techniques. However, their appeal to people of diverse interests, ages, and social backgrounds indicates that they have other dimensions as well. Young and old alike attest that the martial arts contribute to physical health and mental well-being. Whereas for some they are a competitive sport (some *quan* styles are included in international competitions such as the Asian Games), others consider them a performing art. (In traditional China, martial artists often made a living by giving public performances on holidays and at temple fairs, and some of their outstanding descendants—Bruce Lee [Li Xiaolong, 1940–1973] and Li Lianjie [Jet Li, b. 1963] for example—have made careers in the movies.) Finally, the martial arts are embedded in a rich matrix of Chinese religious and philosophical ideas. It is this unique combination of military, therapeutic, athletic, theatrical, and religious goals that is one of the martial arts' most striking features.

HISTORY. The history of the Chinese martial arts became the subject of critical inquiry during China's Republican period (1911–1948). Its pioneering scholars were Tang Hao (1897–1959) and Xu Zhen (1898–1967), who were followed, beginning in the 1970s, by such scholars as Lin Boyuan, Matsuda Ryūchi, Ma Mingda, Cheng Dali, and Douglas Wile. Despite their outstanding achievements, however, the history of Chinese martial arts is not yet fully charted. The following brief outline is therefore tentative only.

Ancient foundations. Contemporary Chinese martial arts share at least some similarities with ancient Chinese gymnastics. An elaborate gymnastics system called *daoyin* (literally, "guiding and pulling") is described in texts and paintings from the first centuries BCE. Individual *daoyin* exercises were often named—like training sequences in the modern martial arts—after specific animals that they purported to imitate, including, for example, the monkey, swallow, bear, tiger, deer, dragon, and toad. Another similarity between *daoyin* gymnastics and the later martial arts is the emphasis on breathing techniques and the internal circulation of vital energy, *qi*. Thus, in both systems external limb movement is joined by internal meditative practice.

Ancient Chinese literature highlights the therapeutic efficacy of *daoyin* gymnastics, classifying it as a branch of the medical science of "nourishing life" (*yangsheng*). Archaeology has shed light on this medical significance: In 1973 an annotated illustration of *daoyin* exercises was unearthed in Hunan, and in 1983 a *daoyin* manual was discovered in Hubei. Dating from the second century BCE, both the illustration (known as *Daoyin tu*) and manual (titled *Yinshu*) assign specific *daoyin* exercises for the treatment of specific illnesses. Four centuries later, the famous physician Hua Tuo (d. 208) created "Five Animals Exercises," which were each intended for the cure of a particular disease.

The medical significance of *daoyin* gymnastics was joined by religious import. In the course of the first centuries CE, *daoyin* exercises were incorporated into the emerging Daoist religion. Gymnastics was integrated with dietary, alchemical, and meditative techniques in search of the Daoist goal of immortality. Thus, *daoyin* gymnastics share with the martial arts not only certain principles of practice, but also medical and religious goals. The major difference concerns the latter's expressed martial purpose. Unlike the martial arts, ancient gymnastics was not combat related. The available sources do not assign *daoyin* any military significance.

As distinct from *daoyin* gymnastics, there also existed in ancient China a system of empty-handed combat called *shoubo*, which some scholars regard as the predecessor of *quan*-style fighting. Even though the available sources on *shoubo* are limited, Ma Mingda claims to perceive in it the four principles of kick (*ti*), grasp, (*na*), throw (*die*), and hit (*da*), which characterize the later period martial arts.

The emergence of *quan* systems. Even though *daoyin* gymnastics, and possibly *shoubo* combat, contributed to the evolution of martial arts, the emergence of distinctive *quan* styles occurred much later. The earliest evidence of individual unarmed techniques characterized by quintessential sequences of positions dates from the Ming period (1368–1644). Sixteenth-century military experts such as Qi Jiguang (1528–1588), Zheng Ruoceng (fl. 1505–1580), Tang Shunzhi (1507–1560), and He Liangchen (fl. 1565) allude to over ten *quan* styles, including, for example, Wenjia Quan (Wen-Family Hand-Combat), Song Taizu Chang Quan (Emperor Song Taizu's Long Hand-Combat), Hou Quan (Monkey Hand-Combat), E Quan (Decoy Hand-Combat), and Tongzi Bai Guanyin Shen Quan (Acolyte Worships Guanyin Miraculous Hand-Combat). The Ming period also witnessed the publication of the earliest extant manual of *quan* fighting: Qi Jiguang's *Quan jing jieyao* (Essentials of the classic of hand-combat, c. 1562), in which the famous general selected what he considered to be the best positions of earlier styles.

Ming-period *quan* techniques served as the foundation for the Qing-period (1644–1911) evolution of fighting styles with which we are familiar today: Taiji Quan, Xingyi Quan (originally called Liuhe Quan), Bagua Zhang, and Shaolin Quan all date from the Qing. The origins of at least some of these styles can be traced back to the dynasty's early days. Taiji Quan and Xingyi Quan, for example, are usually ascribed to the seventeenth-century martial artists Chen Wangting (from Henan) and Ji Jike (from Shanxi) respectively. As for the Shaolin Monastery's Buddhist monks, they too turned their attention to *quan* techniques in the course of the Ming-Qing transition. Shaolin clerics had been practicing fighting ever since the Tang period (618–907), when they lent military support to Emperor Li Shimin (600–649). However, all through the Ming period their quintessential weapon was the staff (*gun*). Only in the course of the seventeenth century did unarmed *quan* fighting eclipse staff training in the monastery's regimen.

Daoyin vocabulary already figured in some Ming-period martial arts; however, only in the course of the Qing period was the ancient gymnastics tradition fully integrated into unarmed fighting, creating a synthesis of martial, therapeutic, and religious goals. Most Qing-period *quan* styles combine external limb movement with internal meditative practice. *Qi* circulation techniques figure prominently in Qing-period martial arts manuals, such as *Taiji quan jing* (Taiji classic; c. nineteenth century) and the writings of Chang Naizhou (fl. eighteenth century). A similar emphasis upon "internal strength" and spiritual perfection is also apparent in the *Yijin jing* (Sinews-transformation classic), which is significant as the earliest source of the legend of Bodhidharma (fl. 500 CE). Even though it was authored in the seventeenth century, the manual presents itself as if it had been compiled a millennium earlier by the Indian saint (in his native Sanskrit). Thus, the *Yijin jing* initiated the widespread legend according to which Bodhidharma invented the Shaolin martial arts.

The integration of martial arts and *daoyin* gymnastics occurred, at least in part, in the context of armed sectarian activities. Leaders of popular messianic uprising, such as Wang Lun (fl. 1770s) taught their disciples *quan* and *qi* circulation alike. Often they began their careers as itinerant martial artists, making a living by public demonstrations of martial skills, as well as by healing. The intimate connection between martial arts, religion, and rebellion is apparent in shared nomenclature. Fighting techniques and sectarian groups sometimes shared the same titles: Eight Trigrams (Bagua), for example, was the name of a group that revolted in 1813.

During the late Qing and Republican periods the martial arts were incorporated into the rhetoric of national rejuvenation. The disintegration of the Qing regime and the incursion of Western (and Japanese) colonial powers threatened the existence of a Chinese political entity, and created fears lest China's cultural identity be lost as well. As in the case of other national movements, it was argued that the recreation of a Chinese political body necessitated a rejuvenation of its citizens' physical bodies. Being native, the martial arts were deemed appropriate for the task. Now renamed "national arts" (*guoshu*), fighting techniques such as Taiji Quan spread from isolated agricultural areas into China's biggest cities.

By the second half of the twentieth century, the Chinese martial arts had been internationalized. Chinese masters who traveled abroad and foreign students who studied in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and mainland China brought the martial arts to millions of Western practitioners. Native lineages of Taiji Quan, Shaolin Quan, and other fighting styles emerged in numerous countries, where local martial arts manuals and magazines are published in a variety of languages.

RELIGION. Arguably, the religious significance of the martial arts has been an important factor in their popularity outside their homeland. Chinese *quan* styles combine the goal of physical strength with the search of spiritual perfection. This synthesis is apparent not only in martial arts manuals, but also in the tradition's artistic representations. Martial arts novels such as Jin Yong's (Louis Cha) *Tianlong babu* (Extraordinary beings, date) and award-winning movies such as Ang Lee's *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (*Wohu canglong,* 2000) present the perfect warrior as spiritually enlightened. His or her religious attainments are articulated—in novels, films, and martial arts manuals alike—by a rich language that draws on diverse textual traditions. Even though they are often combined, it is possible to discern at least three religious vocabularies within the martial tradition: Daoism, Chinese cosmology, and Buddhism.

Daoism. Ancient *daoyin* gymnastics evolved partially in the context of Daoist religious practice. By the time this calisthenics tradition was incorporated into the late Ming and Qing martial arts, it was imbued with a rich Daoist vocabulary, which depicted the religious goal of immortality, as well as the various means—dietary, medical, alchemical, and meditative—of attaining it. For example, in some Daoist visualization practices the adept concocts in his brain, which serves as a crucible, an elixir. By drinking it, the practitioner creates an imperishable internal body, which, shedding the external one, emerges to immortality. This mystical language is reflected in Qing-period martial arts manuals, as in the following passage by Chang Naizhou:

> Training the body unifies our external form; training the *qi* solidifies our internal aspect. When we are as strong and firm as iron, we naturally develop an indestructible golden elixir body. In this way, we transcend the common, enter sagehood, and attain the highest level. If it is said that an enemy does not fear us, this is of little significance. (Wile, 1996)

Chinese cosmology. The unity of microcosm and macrocosm, which characterizes much of traditional Chinese philosophy, implies that the martial artist can reenact cosmic processes within his or her body, thereby attaining unity with the universe's underlying principles, or, as the Western scholar would term them, the divine.

The Chinese worldview does not recognize an external creator god. Instead the world is usually regarded as having evolved through a process of differentiation from a primordial unity called *taiji* ("great ultimate"). In this process of evolution several stages, or forces, are discernible, including *yin* and *yang*, the five elements (*wuxing*: water, fire, wood, metal, and earth), and the eight trigrams (*bagua*), which form the core of the ancient *Yi jing* (Classic of changes). In such fighting styles as Taiji Quan and Bagua Zhang—which are consciously named after the cosmology—the practitioner reenacts the process of universal differentiation. The practice sequence opens in the quiescence of the primordial *taiji*, and proceeds through the interplay of *yin* and *yang*, the five elements, and the eight trigrams to a profusion, which equals the myriad phenomena. The training sequence does not end however in this state of multiplicity. Rather, the practitioner goes back in time to the origins of the universe, receding from the myriad things to the eight trigrams and five elements, contracting further to the two cosmic principles *yin* and *yang*, and culminating in the tranquility of *taiji*. Thus, the martial artist achieves, in his or her body, a mystical experience of unity with the undifferentiated whole that preceded cosmic fragmentation.

Buddhism. As early as the Tang period, Chinese Buddhist martial practice was related to Buddhist martial mythology. Despite the religion's prohibition of violence, it featured a significant number of military gods, who could be relied upon as an excuse for warfare. Thus, Shaolin's tutelary deity was the fearsome Vajrapāṇi (Chin., Jingangshen), also known as Nārāyaṇa (Chin., Naluoyanshen), who was believed to bestow physical strength on fighting monks. As indicated by his name, Vajrapāṇi's original weapon was the mythic *vajra* (literally, "diamond"). However, in the course of the Ming period, when they developed techniques of staff fighting, Shaolin monks altered Vajrapāṇi's image, arming him with a staff. The relation between martial deities and martial monks was thus reciprocal: Fighting gods such as Vajrapāṇi sanctioned monastic violence, at the same time that fighting monks changed the deities' weaponry to suit their own military training.

Twentieth-century martial arts manuals associate the Shaolin fighting style not only with Buddhist mythology but also with the Buddhist search for enlightenment. Shaolin's abbot Yongxin (b. 1965) describes Shaolin Quan as "martial Chan" (*wuchan*), arguing that it is no different from meditation, the reading of scriptures, or any other form of self-cultivation practiced in the Chan (Jap., Zen) school. Some practitioners argue further that it is possible to perceive a Chan logic within Shaolin Quan's sequences of positions, which create patterns only to destroy them, thereby liberating the practitioner from preconceived notions.

It remains to be examined, however, when Chan vocabulary was first integrated into Chinese fighting styles such as Shaolin Quan. Preliminary investigations suggest that it is lacking from Shaolin-related literature all through the sixteenth century. But we know that Japanese Chan masters such as Takuan Sōhō (1573–1645) associated the martial arts with Buddhist self-cultivation. It is possible, therefore, that Chan rhetoric was introduced to the Chinese martial arts through Japanese influence. The notion that Chan could contribute to martial courage, for example, has been shown by Tang Hao to have been borrowed from Nitobe Inazō's *Bushidô: The Soul of Japan* (1899) into the *Shaolin quanshu mijue* (Shaolin hand-combat method secret formulas), first published in 1911.

SEE ALSO Bodhidharma; Buddhism, overview article; Chan; Daoism, overview article; Taiji; Yinyang Wuxing.

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MEIR SHAHAR (2005)

MARTINEAU, JAMES (1805–1900), English Unitarian. Born in Norwich, England, and educated at Manchester College, Martineau served as a minister, principally in Liverpool (1831–1857), and as a professor, and later principal, of Manchester College (1840–1885).

An early devotee of the materialistic philosophical determinism that Joseph Priestley (1733–1804) had absorbed from David Hartley (1705–1757) and transmitted to the English Unitarians, Martineau turned away from that position in the mid-1830s, in part under the influence of William Ellery Channing (1780–1842). He gave up external proof for intuition, metaphysics for ethics, and determinism for conscience and free will, and gradually abandoned his early belief in the historical validity of the scriptural miracles. Study in Germany in 1848–1849 reinforced the biblical skepticism that had led him to give up his belief in the evidential value of miracles. In his struggle to break the Priestleyan hold on his denomination, the passing of time and changing sensibilities gave Martineau a victory of sorts by the 1860s, but he had made many enemies in the older school, and he watched younger colleagues turn away from the theism to which he remained loyal to preach antisupernaturalism, humanism, and a variety of enthusiasms. In his later works, the impact of Darwinism and other scientific developments led him to a vast expansion of the argument from design, while the centrality he assigned to divine will bears some resemblance to his former determinism.

For most of his career, Martineau was highly controversial. A brilliant critic, he could be deliberately provocative, sometimes unscrupulous, and often wounding. He was denied the chair in philosophy at University College, London, after agitation by leading anticlerical intellectuals, among them his sister Harriet Martineau (1802–1876), whose book celebrating her conversion to free thought he had gratuitously and savagely reviewed in 1851. From the 1830s on, he rejected the Unitarian name, seeing it as sectarian and preferring the older Presbyterian or newer Free Christian labels, but few of his co-religionists followed him in this, and his plan in 1888 for sweeping denominational reform was a failure. But his prolonged and more irenic old age brought him almost universal admiration, and his stature in Unitarian history ranks with that of Priestley.

Martineau's subtle, complex, and self-consciously lyrical preaching was highly influential, as were his collections of hymns and liturgical services. His principal works are *The Rationale of Religious Enquiry* (1836), *A Study of Spinoza* (1882), *Types of Ethical Theory* (1885), *A Study of Religion* (1888), and *The Seat of Authority in Religion* (1890).

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R. K. Webb (1987)

MARTYRDOM. [*This entry deals with religious witness that involves loss of life. For discussion of ritual death in a cross-cultural context, see* Suicide. *For death suffered because of religious identity, see* Persecution.]

The badge of martyrdom is awarded by the leadership of a community to men and women who offer their lives voluntarily in solidarity with their group in conflict with another, ideologically contrasting, group. The martyr and his or her slayer are delegates, champions, or defenders of their societies. A few martyrs are suicides, but most are slain by judicial, military, police, religious, or other functionaries. These functionaries execute the martyr as a terrorist, a criminal, or a heretic who threatens fundamental social values or the physical safety of members of the society. The societies of the slayer and the slain struggle to control the meaning of the slaying: is it to be understood by the world as martyrdom or as judicial retribution?

Martyrs may be "witnesses," the literal meaning of the Greek term, of politically disestablished groups claiming self-determination or heroes of the expansionist wars of established groups. Contemporary images race before our eyes—a self-immolating Buddhist monk in Vietnam, an Irish Republican Army soldier dying of starvation in a British jail, a Japanese kamikaze diving his bomb-plane into an American warship. Martyrdom is an attempt to break through the ideological and social boundaries between the conflicting groups with hierocratic, religiously based power. A minority's religious power invokes a higher, purifying vengeance (Jacoby, 1983) upon a dominant adversary, who in turn vengefully slays the martyr.

The confrontation may unite the martyr's people, strengthening their opposition as they, under charismatic leadership, inch toward their own organizational power. The exemplary act of a martyr strengthens people's courage to bear their daily tribulations and directs their anger to the cruel, murderous adversary, the source of these tribulations. The martyrdom may also strengthen the adversary's will to repress the martyr's society. Martyrdom politicizes the relationship between the groups.

Martyrdom seems not to have appeared until rather late in history, perhaps the fourth century BCE. The identification of ideology as an independent cultural reality has been a prerequisite for martyrdom. The ideologies at issue serve as symbols of mobilization, principles around which the societies rally, reinforcing, even radicalizing, more mundane economic or political conflicts.

The religions of Egypt and Mesopotamia and Greek philosophy treat ideologies as distinct cultural realities already hosting the seeds of the ideas of active good and evil and heroism. Zoroastrian dualism proposed an independent evil force, and Judaism of the Maccabean age adapted this view of a struggle with evil for monotheism. Hellenism brought a personalistic element to the ideologies in the image of the ascetic philosopher. Oriental Christianity synthesized the dualistic idea with that of the individual hero and so previewed Islamic ideas of martyrdom, including the pledge of eternal life to martyrs, forgiveness of sins, exemption from the Last Judgment, and the intercessory ability of the souls of martyrs.

Martyrdom imbues economic and political conflict with sacred meaning, subjecting it to what Max Weber called "the ethic of absolute ends," the pursuit of goals with little attention to the cost. In fact, action guided by an "ethic of responsibility," the value of the goal weighed against the cost of the means, discourages martyrdom.

Martyrdom is a free voluntary act. It is also an altruistic act. The martyr may avoid death by conceding to the adversary, but nevertheless accepts, affirms or even seeks death. A soldier, even a gladiator, strives to defeat the adversary without being hurt or killed. If death occurs, it is an accident of the situation. Only when that situation is sacralized, as in the case of the Muslim *jihād*, is the slain soldier a martyr.

This article develops some elements of a social theory of martyrdom. The basic queries are: under what conditions does a society generate martyrs; what are the types of martyrs; and what special social circumstances give rise to each type?

HOW MARTYRDOM FITS INTO SOCIAL LIFE. Martyrdom infuses a mundane event with divine grace. The symbolism parallels that of a sacrificial animal attaining a sacred quality. The animal victim disappears, either eaten by the worshipers, delivering its sanctity to their fellowship, or, as a burnt offering, rising as a sweet savor to the Lord. The martyr, a human sacrifice, attains an indelible sanctity. The sanctity may take the form of a redemptory promise, softening the pain or enabling the martyr to persist despite pain. Early Christians imprisoned and awaiting martyrdom were believed to have the power to forgive sins. Those released might retain this power, perhaps becoming presbyters of the church.

The martyr dies convinced of his or her legitimate authority, an authority challenging that of the executioners. A religious martyr may believe himself or herself to be an incarnation of the Holy Ghost, as did Montanus (Frend, 1972); the Spirit of God, al-Ḥaqq, as did al-Ḥallāj (Massignon, 1982); or a receiver of the Torah, as did ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef.

The martyr, deceased, is a sacred symbol of an authority around which the society rallies. The authority created is charismatic, untethered by tradition. Such charismatic authority discards an older order in a breakthrough to a new social and cultural order, often conceived as a spiritual order.

Martyrdom is exemplary. A martyr is often a model for lesser forms of martyrdom. In Islam the idea of a martyr's death "in the way of Allāh" is applied metaphorically to the giving of *ṣadaqah*, or alms.

While suicide, being self-inflicted, is rarely accepted as martyrdom, asceticism, also self-inflicted, is a minor martyrdom. The adversary of the ascetic is bodily desire. The conquest of desire is a propaedeutic for the conquest of the social adversary.

The martyr demonstrates the human possibility of the act. That a person of flesh and blood succeeds in dying, sometimes painfully, facilitates the recruitment of future martyrs. Such a death is also a message deterring future deviance. That a member of a despised minority can show such commitment challenges the courage of members of the dominant group. The adversary may attempt to obscure the event. To be exemplary, martyrdom must be public and publicized. A private act, meaningful only to the martyr and the executioner, fails in this exemplary function. The martyr's group may be denied the benefits of its champion as witness. Undoubtedly, unrecorded martyrs died in dungeons with their ashes cast into the sea. However, martyrologies reveal no martyrs who sought social concealment.

In Jewish tradition, death for *qiddush ha-shem*, sanctifying of the name—or better, the reputation—of God, is intended to impress the Gentiles. This norm derives from a reading of the phrase in *Ezekiel*, "in the sight of the nations." Publicity for the Islamic *shahīd* ("martyr") is implicit in the idea of the *jihād* as a collective, rather than a personal obligation. Ibn Rushd (Averroës) wrote in his twelfth-century work on the *jihād*, *Bidāyat al-mujtahid*, that for *shahīds* to cancel the obligation for others, these others must know and recognize the volunteer's martyrdom. (Averroës, in Peters, 1977).

Martyrdom is political. Martyrdom is a political act affecting the allocation of power between two societies, or between a subgroup and the larger society. The Maccabean Revolt, which offered early and paradigmatic martyrs, was the action of a small community seeking a measure of local cultural independence. The Christian communities of Asia Minor, in the first and second centuries, offered martyrs to the Roman authorities in their struggle to limit the power of Rome to coerce particular expressions of loyalty. Certain religious martyrs may refuse to inflict physical violence on an adversary, but, as a political act, martyrdom is never a passive submission. The nonviolent martyr strikes the enemy psychologically.

The martyr's cry for vengeance mobilizes action against the adversary. The martyrdom of Mary Stuart followed a religious struggle over the crown of England. Elizabeth Tudor feared a bitter religious war were Mary to come to the throne. Mattingly (1959) writes of Catholic kings beyond the seas more eager to avenge the Queen of Scots dead than to keep her alive. Her shed blood cried out for vengeance on her enemies more unmistakably than her living voice could ever have done.

Where hierocratic power appears, political power may not be far behind. Sometimes one is transformed into the other. In this sense, the pope commands battalions. The Irish

Republican Army tapped the church's hierocratic power to support its struggle for Irish independence from Great Britain.

Martyrdom aims to reduce political authority to ineffectiveness by challenging the sacred basis of the legitimacy of the adversary's authority. The potential martyr is a rival claimant to authority and this political claim may be religiously legitimated.

The political struggle may be internal: an established society and a schismatic minority may share a faith and a political system. The Maccabees, Arnold of Brescia, Jan Hus, and Savonarola, for example, accused the leaders of their established groups of treason. The minority attack was treated as heretical, endangering the faith.

The eleventh-century Persian-born Ṣūfī ʿAyn al-Qudāt al-Hamadhānī challenged Islamic authorities. The authorities' claim to power rested on Qurʾanic revelation and the *sunnah*, the traditions deriving from it. He claimed that divine grace poured down on him with all manner of esoteric knowledge and precious revelations, and he was thus an independent source of law.

Jan Hus (1373–1415) was directly political. Hus challenged the legitimacy of the papacy, the see of Peter, by preaching that Peter is not the head of the church, that ultimate appeal must be made directly to Christ. Condemned at the Council of Constance in 1414 and imprisoned, he wrote a characteristic martyr's message to a friend in Prague: "In prison and in chains expecting tomorrow to receive sentence of death, full of hope in God that I shall not swerve from the truth nor abjure errors imputed to me by false witnesses." He was urged to recant after being tied to the stake but replied, as is the custom of martyrs, "God is my witness that I have never taught nor preached that which false witnesses have testified against me. . . . I now joyfully die."

The fire was kindled and Hus repeated the Kyrie Eleison until stifled by the smoke. His ashes were scattered in the river, a final device to control the meaning of the event, discouraging a sepulchral shrine. After his death, Hussites fought in Prague and established the ecclesiastical organization of Tábor, recognizing only two sacraments, baptism and communion, and rejecting most of the ceremonial of the Roman Catholic church.

The minority may organize as a secret society, a sect practicing an uncommon cult. The twelfth-century Tanchelm in the Low Countries and Edus de l'Étoile in Brittany both declared themselves sons of God. Their sectarian followers were repressed, and they were imprisoned and martyred (Cohn, 1961). Ecstatics and ascetics, critical of the established church, gather around such claimants and perpetuate the movements.

MARTYR TYPES: POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE AND ACTION ORIENTATION. The relative political power of the conflicting communities determines the task of martyrdom and the characteristics of the martyrs selected to carry out that task. Crescive, self-determining, and decaying societies all generate a peculiar form of martyrdom.

Christian communities within the Roman Empire were a politically crescive minority. The martyrs of this minority suffered passively, inviting violence but inflicting only moral or psychological pressure on the adversary. An expansive Islam in its early centuries exemplifies the self-determining society. Its martyrs were active and belligerent. The post-Enlightenment Jewish community of western Europe was a politically decaying society. Jews who died at the hand of their adversaries were not, by and large, martyrs but mere victims of pogroms and, lately, of the Holocaust.

The attitude of the society toward worldly action is a second influence on the type of martyrdom. Orientation to action may be primarily "otherworldly" or primarily "innerworldly," to borrow Max Weber's terms. These two orientations are related dialectically. The active political innerworldly understanding of life is a minor motif for crescive and decaying societies, but a major motif for a self-determining society. Segments of the society animated by innerworldly orientations tend not to be at peace with otherworldly segments. Heterodoxy is the case in which internal schismatics, themselves in a crescive stage, offer a religious otherworldly counterpoint to the political orientation of a ruling self-determining society.

The discussion will be organized in terms of the degrees of political independence of the societies. References to inner- or otherworldly attitudes are subsumed within the social type.

Martyrdom in crescive societies. A crescive society is one that is politically powerless but beginning to stir, perhaps renascent. The resistance of Jews to Hellenization under the Seleucid ruler Antiochus Epiphanes in the second century BCE is an early model. The elderly Eleazar, according to the apocryphal *2 Maccabees*, is the martyr type, choosing to give his life rather than eat pork in an already desecrated Temple in Jerusalem. That image is reconstituted in the second-century Judean rebellion against Hadrianic Rome in which the scholar and political leader ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef joined with Bar Kokhba, the leader of the revolt. Tradition has it that ʿAqivaʾ was burned, wrapped in a Torah scroll, in a Roman arena.

The exemplar of Christian martyrdom is the trial and the crucifixion on Golgotha as that event is related in the Gospels. Later martyrs strive to imitate Christ. The sacrificed Lamb of God survives, not in this world, but in the world beyond. Anomalously the divinely designated executioners were pagans. Ordinarily, only a priest could perform a valid sacrifice. This point was not lost on the eleventh-century Jews of Mainz, who, facing impending slaughter by Crusaders, slew their children and then themselves. They sanctified the sacrifice by their "priestly" hands, symbolically reviving the temple rite in Mainz. (Gentile slaughterers would have polluted the offering.) The adversary is made impotent by delivering to him dead bodies, the ultimate in noncooperation, and the spiritual strength and authority of the martyr's society is affirmed.

Martyrdom in crescive societies creates authority, escalates the struggle, unifies the minority, and legitimates the new culture by demonstrating its priority over nature. Furthermore, martyrs propel a politically crescive society toward self-determination, toward social and cultural freedom. The establishment of new authority is a step in this process, the martyr's group, for instance, becoming infused with the Holy Spirit (Klawitzer, 1980). The death of the martyr makes the ideological choice a matter of life and death. This escalates the struggle, perhaps expediting the resolution in favor of the minority. As the society moves toward increased responsibility, the culture itself changes. Ironically, the values for which the early martyrs surrendered their lives may not be significant to members of a succeeding and successful self-determining society.

Radicalizing and escalating the conflict unifies the two parties internally. The grievous injustice of the slaying of the defenseless martyr and the gruesome inhuman circumstances under which the slaying occurs leave few individuals on the sidelines. Martyrdom further unifies and strengthens the group in its struggle. If social solidarity is a prerequisite for martyrdom, how does the precrescive, perhaps fractured, group find its initial martyrs? Part of the answer to this question is that the martyrs constitute a small group within the minority. Intense primary relations in this group enable it to stand against the powerful larger group.

The unity of the minority community may be thwarted by a defection of some of its members to the majority. During the Christian conquest of Spain, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, for example, a number of Muslims and Jews manifestly accepted Christianity, while surreptitiously continuing to practice their previous faiths. Both Muslim and Jewish societies were decaying. The Inquisition struck at these New Christians and, at the same time, urged the state to expel those who had remained Jews and Muslims. Some unification was achieved by the Jewish émigrés in their Diaspora.

A crystallizing around a self-assertive core of a divided minority is necessary before serious manifest resistance is thinkable. The tragedy of unification amidst disunity is dramatized in the apocalypse in the *Gospel of Mark* (13:9–13), where it is written that brother shall betray brother, and father his child, and the children shall rise up against their parents and have them put to death.

With martyrdom, the culture of the minority, its ideology and law, is sanctified, a covenant established, stamped with blood. It is written in *Mekhilta*ʾ, a Jewish interpretative work, that every commandment that the Israelites have not died for is not really established, and every commandment that they have died for will be established among them (Herr, 1967).

Martyrdom, by placing ideology ahead of physical survival, affirms the priority of culture over nature and the group's life, law, and civilization over biological self-interest. A crescive society that values individual life above group survival and above its cultural survival is not ready to become self-determining.

The self-determining society: heroic martyrs. The self-determining society has achieved political control of its life. Examples are fourth-century Christians in Asia Minor following the victory of Constantine, Islam of the Umayyad caliphate in eighth-century Damascus, and the Yishuv, the Jewish community of Palestine during the 1920s led by the Vaʿad Leʾumi, the National Council. Martyrs in such a society are active, aiding the society in its expansion, openly propagandizing, sending missionaries to the unconverted, and warring against adversaries. In Islam the *jihād* is a religious obligation and the martyr, the *shahīd*, one who dies in this sacred battle. The European Christian society that sent an armed pilgrimage to Jerusalem under Pope Gregory VII, in the words of Cohn (1961), raced toward a mass sacrifice, a mass apotheosis in Jerusalem. Defending against external enemies is the major problem; the achievement of internal unity is a minor social problem. Nevertheless, the self-determining society suffers its internal schisms. Islamic historians say little about Muslim martyrs executed by Arab pagans, the early opposition group, beyond the early oppression in Yathrib. The record is clear on Islamic martyrs of internecine conflict, Muslim martyrs killed by Muslims during the crescive and during the self-determining periods are remembered by their sects. The historic example is Muḥammad's grandson, Ḥusayn, the son of ʿAlī, slain by the soldiers of Yazid, the son of the caliph Muʿāwiyah, to prevent Ḥusayn's accession to the caliphate. This martyrdom is commemorated yearly with flagellation, imitative suffering, in Shīʿī circles. The ideological conflict was between Shīʿī insistence on blood succession from the Prophet and an elective basis of caliphal legitimacy.

The politically decaying society: victims and antimartyrs. The politically decaying society is losing its ability to be self-determining. Roman provincial societies were decaying as they were co-opted by a victorious Christianity. Zoroastrian society became a weak minority in Persia, with a diaspora in India, shortly after the Islamic conquest. The world's smaller societies, such as those of the North American Indian civilization and of the Polynesian islands, were submerged by modern imperial powers.

The cause and the characteristic of this decay is loss of political autonomy. The society's symbols fail to command the loyalty of its members. Western European Jewish society, by the late eighteenth century, fits this mold. Local Jewish community control, supported by charters, was weakened as new concepts of statehood and citizenship took hold in Europe. Christian or secular frames of reference and values began to control the interpretations of Jewish tradition itself. The Jewish Haskalah, or Enlightenment, was built on the back of such intellectual symbols. Major civilizational contributions of Jews were made, not to Jewish society, as such, but to the environing societies. Heine, Mahler, Freud, and Einstein contributed to their German and Austrian cultures.

Martyrdom is latent in a decaying society. The adversary claims mere victims who affirm no ideology by their deaths. Jewish leaders tend to remember the victims of the Holocaust as martyrs for the sanctification of God's name. Breslauer (1981), in a dissent, writes that they were on the whole not sacred witnesses but passive victims, not proud martyrs for a cause but political pawns.

Leaders of a decaying society may dismiss resistance and martyrdom in favor of negotiation with the adversary. Rubenstein (1975) charges the Hungarian Jewish community leaders during World War II with near complicity in their own destruction. Though they knew about Auschwitz, one meeting with Eichmann convinced them that they had nothing to fear if they cooperated with the Schutzstaffel (SS) in enforced ghettoization, confiscation of real and personal property, and deportation for "labor service" in Poland.

Jewish resistance, independent and in cooperation with local partisans, produced genuine martyrs but was rarely supported by the officials of the Judenrat, the Jewish councils of the ghetto. The Warsaw ghetto uprising, authorized by ghetto leaders, was a final suicidal thrust, Samson at the temple of Dagon. Self-immolation requires a residue of moral strength, a will to protect the group's honor. Slaves may commit suicide, like concentration camp inmates throwing their bodies against the electrified wire, in order to relieve their suffering.

The negotiating victims may become collaborators or even converts. They may even become anti-martyrs. An anti-martyr may be a convert to the dominant ideology, remaining a leader of the minority and seeking to manage the conflict by collaborating with the dominant group. This effort may cost them their own lives. Anti-martyrs may strive to suppress martyrs whom they consider wrong-headed. They are not opportunistic turncoats, moved by personal avarice, but quislings, deeply committed to an enemy ideology, believing it best for their group. If they lose, they die unrelenting. The anti-martyr may meet his death at the hands of his new associates after they lose faith in him. Some new Christians, accused by the Spanish Inquisition of reverting to Judaism, went to the stake holding a cross. Leaders who suppress martyrdom out of a survivalist instinct without accepting the adversary are not anti-martyrs in the sense used here.

A martyr is delegated by the community and apotheosized by it. Anti-martyrs act individually or as members of a small separatist cadre. The minority condemns them as traitors and their apotheosis as evil.

How a Group Produces Martyrs. Martyr candidates may not always be found when needed. How does a community recruit and prepare individuals to sacrifice themselves? Ignatius of Antioch, seeking martyrdom, pleaded with his co-religionists in Rome not to try to rescue him but to allow him to die. At the same time, some bishops of the church denied their faith and fled to avoid court proceedings (Riddle, 1931). Not all sectors of the minority society are equally productive of martyrs. The level of devotion of most members of the community is insufficient to sustain martyrs. Zealots form cells within the wider community of devotees. These cells become a foundry for martyrs, supporting them throughout their ordeal.

The martyrs of politically crescive minorities, being leaders, tend to be recruited from its nobility. By and large these martyrs are males, not because females resist martyrdom, but because martyrs are drawn from the religio-political leadership. Female martyrs die affirming family principles. Barbara, one of a group of Catholic virgin martyrs, said to have been a follower of Origen in the third century, was immured in a tower, and ultimately beheaded by her father when he learned of her conversion to Christianity. Cecilia reportedly died as a martyr during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, along with her husband and friends whom she had converted.

What are the psychological characteristics, the motives of those who seek suffering and are willing to die? Although some writers tend to cite self-enhancing motives, such as a promise of redemption, or, as in Augustine's view, a way of avoiding a sin, one can safely say that altruism is the central motive. The basic commitment to moral action transcends the martyr's immediate interest in his personal fate. Sustaining such commitment requires ego integrity and the ability to overcome instinctive drives to escape.

Doubtless, some individuals throw themselves into martyrdom out of a mental derangement. But psychotics must be rare among martyrs, since they cannot usually establish and maintain the human bonds required in martyr cells. Many a stable mind, however, must become deranged during the tortures that can precede execution.

A martyr is prepared through life in a cell, that is, by social support. There he or she finds succor. The act is clothed ideologically and the potential martyr rehearsed. A martyr's ideology centers on the meaning of life in relation to death. It does not aim simply to attenuate the pain of martyrdom through a fantasy of a future life but provides a meaning for dying continuous with the meaning of the martyr's life. The martyr goes forward despite the pain.

Martyrologies, narrative or cultic, praise martyrs and expose evil. They prepare martyrs by example and encourage popular minor martyrdoms. A Christian cult of the martyr, in place by the end of the second century, exhibited relics—a bone, a lock of hair or some drops of blood—upon the anniversary of a martyrdom (Riddle, 1931). The more contemporary training of the kamikaze included worship at a special shrine for those who had died in training or in combat. There the trainees sought spiritual "intoxication" (Warner and Warner, 1982).

Exemplary martyrs need not be from one's own group. Invidiousness and pride can be as important as anger in strengthening the resolve to endure physical pain and degradation. The early Christians, not yet distinctively non-Jewish, identified with Maccabean martyrs. Gandhi, while struggling against the Boers in the Transvaal, praised the stalwart Boer women who survived an abominable incarceration by the English during the Boer War.

Ideology for preparing the martyr argues for the sanctity of the mission and the satanic quality of the adversary. It evokes earlier exemplary martyrs, including some from other groups. The lifelong preparation for the confrontation is materialized in a rehearsal for martyrdom. The rehearsal begins with the study of martyrologies, a vicarious experience, and follows with exercise of the minor martyrdoms—giving charity, fasting, and receiving the sacraments.

The early Christians offered organized rehearsals for the ordeal. The Roman process, being judicial, was predictable. Its stages included arrest, examination, threatening and persuasion, acquittal for recantation, and, as a test of loyalty, the performance by the recanter of pagan rites. Persons likely to be examined were trained in prepared responses for each stage.

HOW SOCIETY CONTROLS ITS OWN MARTYRS. A practical danger to a politically crescive minority is that some members will initiate open political action, perhaps open rebellion, before the community is ready to support such an act and, therefore, to succeed. Martyrdom, a harbinger of an uprising, is also a temporary alternative to it. A community must control its martyrs as it does its military zealots.

The community sets rules governing the occasions for martyrdom. Which principles are worth dying for? Who should die? When should one not die? The loss of such control among the Judean provincials during the latter part of the first century BCE was fatal for Jewish autonomy and nearly fatal for Jewry as a whole.

The thoroughness of the Jewish defeat in the Judean rebellion of 70 CE, which led to the destruction of the Temple, was symbolized in the redesignation of the Temple mount as Aeolia Capitolina. The subsequent Bar Kokhba Revolt (c. 132–135) was severely suppressed. The community, not prepared for these acts of desperation, had not widely supported Bar Kokhba. These catastrophes shifted the center of Jewish life to the Diaspora. The evidence is that the edicts of Hadrian, such as the edict forbidding circumcision, which were cited as giving the Jews no choice but to rebel, actually followed the rebellion as martial law.

Control is also a matter of ruling when martyrdom is not expected. A Muslim is forbidden to wish for death or for an encounter with the enemy. The *ṭalab al-shahādah*, the seeking of martyrdom, even on the battlefield, is too close to suicide for Islamic jurists. Mahmud Shaltiut, a recent Shaykh al-Azhar, allows the community but three reasons for declaring *jihād:* to repel aggression, to protect the mission of Islam, and to defend religious freedom, that is, the freedom of Muslims to practice their faith in non-Muslim lands (Shaltiut, in Peters, 1977).

The Talmudic laws of martyrdom were formulated at the Council of Lydda in the second century. These laws governed a minority in a province of pagan Rome. By the Middle Ages, Jews were a minority in powerful Islamic states from Arabia to Spain and in equally powerful European Christian states. From time to time the pressure on the Jews to convert increased to the point where martyrdom became an issue. Group, not simply individual, survival was also a sacred obligation. Moses Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon), writing his *Epistle on Apostasy* in 1162–1163, warned that the death of the martyr condemns all of his potential descendants to nonbeing (Maimonides, 1979). For this and other reasons, Maimonides sought to restrict the occasions for obligatory martyrdom.

The rabbis of the Talmud had restricted martyrdom to avoiding public worship of strange gods, incest or adultery, and murder. Under pressure it is permissible, writes Maimonides, to utter the Shahādah, the Muslim declaration of the unity of God and the prophetic mission of Muḥammad. The coerced Jew could think whatever he wished. If a Jew is coerced to violate publicly commands of the Torah other than the three specificed above, Maimonides advises submission, a position not repeated in his *Epistle to Yemen*, nor in his *Mishneh Torah*, his major work. It is not unlike Muslim dissimulation—acting when under pressure as if one has abandoned Islam. The person is culpable, however, if the violations are of his own free will. Maimonides recommends migration to more friendly shores, rather than awaiting the Messiah in the land of oppression.

Rules control the candidacy for martyrdom. Candidates who might not stand up to the adversary, who cannot assure that their action is voluntary, are to be discouraged. The rules given by Ibn Rushd (Averroës) for recruiting for a *jihād* recall the biblical rules limiting military service according to age, marital status, and attitude to danger. The *shahīd* should not recoil from fighting if the number of enemies is but twice the number of his own troops, an estimate based on a Qurʾanic verse (surah 8:66), but should flee before a greater disproportion (Shaltiut, 1977).

THE SUPPRESSION OF MARTYRDOM BY THE DOMINANT GROUP. A dominant group may strive to prevent martyrdom when it cannot exploit the public meaning of the event. Potential martyrs may be co-opted or suppressed.

The adversary group may, for instance, assimilate a sympathetic sector of the minority. The new "converts," given positions in the dominant society, may become a showcase for attenuating minority resistance. (This approach misfires when it polarizes the minority, inciting the resisters to attack the assimilationists, as in the case of the Maccabean assault on the Hellenizing Jews.) Since martyrdom depends on charismatic authority, any move toward rationalizing the social order gives the minority a sense of justice and order and undermines martyrdom.

Repressive measures may parallel co-optive measures in a kind of carrot-and-stick process. The martyr-producing cells may be attacked, for instance, by an infiltrating agent provocateur. Resistance cells may be made illegal and their members executed as part of a "witchhunt." Government-sponsored terror against the primary community may deprive the resisting cells of support.

Other ways of raising the penalty for martyrdom include inflicting more painful deaths or executing more martyrs, thus overtaxing the minority's supply of martyrs. Such increased viciousness may be an act of desperation. Its very horror may further radicalize the minority in its thrust against the dominant society.

Persecutions involve centrally sponsored repressions of the minority, not unique or local actions against potential martyrs. Christian tradition speaks of ten persecutions, including those under the emperors Decius, Valerian, and Diocletian. Under Valerian, for instance, an edict was issued in 257 CE compelling acts of submission in conformity with the Roman religion. Christians refusing them were condemned to the mines, beaten with whips and rods, branded on their foreheads, and shaven on one side so that if they escaped they could be recognized as runaway slaves or criminals. This extreme persecution occurred but two generations before Constantine's victory.

If martyrs must be taken, the impact of the martyrdom on the adversary's society may be limited by isolating the killing from view. Assigning the killing to specialists is one way to accomplish this. As there is preparation of martyrs, so there is preparation of their specialized slayers. The SS in Nazi Germany conceived of itself as a sacred order, an elite trusted to guard the messianic Führer. The concentration camps were a training ground toughening them for the task. Prisoners were thought of as belonging to inferior races, shiftless and asocial; subjected to starvation and unsanitary conditions, they came to resemble the walking dead. Any SS officer who showed compassion could be eliminated from the group. Those who made common cause with the prisoners were stripped of their rank, given twenty-five lashes, and consigned to the company of the "subhuman" (Kogon, 1973).

Precisely the opposite approach is to encourage wide public participation in the repression of the minority community as a whole. The goal is to eliminate or demoralize it to the extent that it cannot function as a hinterland for martyrs. Elements putatively out of the control of the authorities may carry out the establishment's justice, and so mask its intent. Operating with two faces, the dominant community may pretend to provide legal and police protection, diverting the minority from a planned defense. The same objective situation may occur, without duplicity, when more than one authority exists in society. In medieval Germany and in Poland, for instance, Jews resided under charter from the local bishop or nobility. This guarantee of safety was ineffective when Jews were attacked by soldiers and mobs during the Crusades and in the early Polish pogroms. The lynching of blacks in the post–Civil War American South has the same character of mob action, sometimes disapproved of, sometimes condoned by the authorities.

A society may deprive martyrs of an exemplary function by declaring them criminals. Justice is done by removing them from the society. By the second century the Romans had developed a literature justifying the suppression of the Christians and defining their martyrdom as insane. The works of Marcus Cornelius Fronto and Lucian, for instance, attacked Christians as public enemies, atheists, a fanatical species enamored of death, who ran to the cruelest tortures as to a feast. To discredit the ideology, these works ridiculed Christians who claimed that Jesus was born of a virgin into a poor family in a small town in Judaea, when, in reality, his mother had been cast off by her husband for committing adultery with a soldier named Panthera.

The meaning of the event is controlled in subsequent time by myths about the meanings of the event. The martyr views the battle as a prelude to the subjugation of his executioner and then as taking vengeance on the executioner and his society. The dominant society, seeing the event as punishment or vengeance, hopes that it will have no sequel, that the cycle is complete, the criminal punished, justice achieved.

Destruction of records is aimed to control later historical reconstruction. Allard (1971) reports that during the Diocletian persecutions (285–323 CE), churches were burned along with their manuscripts, which included passions of the ancient martyrs. Books were burned at public book burnings. The persecutors, having failed to stop the apostasies, attempted to abolish their memories.

Perhaps the greatest weapon of the state, particularly the modern state, is its ability to make martyrdom appear obsolete and meaningless. Bureaucratizing the killing accomplishes this end. Rubenstein (1975) says that the Holocaust could only have been carried out by an advanced political community with a highly trained, tightly disciplined police and civil service bureaucracy. The moral barrier to the riddance of a surplus population was overcome by taking the project out of the hands of bullies and hoodlums and delegating it to the bureaucrats.

SEE ALSO Holocaust, The; Jihād.

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MARX, KARL (1818–1883), German social and economic theorist. Marx was born in Trier on May 5, 1818. Both his grandfather and his uncle had been rabbis in the city and so had several of his paternal grandmother's ancestors. His mother also descended from a long line of rabbis in Holland. His father, Heinrich, had in 1817 converted to Protestantism in order to retain his position as a lawyer at the High Court of Appeals in Trier when the Rhineland, formerly French, became, through annexation, subject to the discriminatory laws of Prussia. Marx was baptized in 1824. During his high school years he enjoyed the literary tutelage of his father's friend, Baron Ludwig von Westphalen, whose daughter Jenny he would later marry.

In 1835 Marx registered in the faculty of law at the University of Bonn. A year later he transferred to the University of Berlin, but there he soon became ill through overwork. The following months of convalescence in the country completely changed his intellectual outlook. At first a romantic, vaguely religious idealist, he now converted to Hegel's philosophy. He joined a discussion group of "Young Hegelians," consisting of instructors and advanced students in a variety of disciplines, mostly of radical political and religious leanings. For them Hegel's dialectical method, separated from its conservative content, provided a powerful weapon for the critique of established religion and politics. The leading voices in the *Doktorklub*, as the group was called, were those of the theologians David Friedrich Strauss and Bruno Bauer. In his *Life of Jesus* Strauss had interpreted the gospel narratives as mythologizing the aspirations of the early Christian community. After some initial criticism, Bauer went even further: those narratives contained no truth at all, while the faith based on them had become the main obstacle on the road to political and cultural progress.

The young Marx extended these critical conclusions to all religion. His doctoral dissertation, *On the Difference between the Philosophies of Nature in Democritus and Epicurus*, which he submitted in 1841 to the Jena faculty of philosophy, was prefaced by a motto taken from Aeschylus's *Prometheus:* "In one word, I hate all the gods."

In 1843 Marx married Jenny von Westphalen. After his wedding and a prolonged vacation near Trier, he returned to Bonn, where he started writing for the radical Cologne paper *Die Rheinische Zeitung*. His first contribution consisted of a series of critical articles on the proceedings of the Rhineland parliament dealing with freedom of the press and the debates concerning the punishment of wood thefts. Other reports, on religious disputes, were censored and never appeared. In October 1842 Marx, having been appointed editor-in-chief, moved to Cologne. Six months later the paper folded under the pressure of Prussian censorship. In October 1843 Marx left the Rhineland for Paris, where he expected to find more freedom as well as make direct contact with French revolutionary workers' movements.

During his final year in Germany Marx's political position had developed from radically democratic to communist. At the same time he had increasingly come under the influence of that other critical interpreter of Hegel's philosophy, Ludwig Feuerbach. In *The Essence of Christianity* (1841) Feuerbach had applied Hegel's concept of alienation to all divine reality: in religion man projects his own nature into a supernatural realm and thus "alienates" from himself what rightly belongs to him. Marx instantly embraced the theory of religion as alienation, but he found Feuerbach's interpretation of the origin of the religious attitude inadequate. Religion, Marx asserted, mythically justifies a fundamental social frustration. Far from constituting the essence of human alienation, the need for religion implies a tacit protest against the existing, dehumanizing conditions of society. In that sense Marx called it "the opium of the people" in his essay "Introduction to a Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right" (1844), published in the Paris-based *Deutsch-Franzözische Jahrbücher*. "The abolition of religion as the illusory happiness of men is a demand for real happiness. The call to abandon their illusions about this condition is the *call to abandon a condition which requires illusions*." Full emancipation demands that the social structures that create the need for religion be changed.

The secondary character of religious beliefs with respect to social-economic conditions appears in another essay Marx published in the same issue of the *Jahrbücher*, "On the Jewish Question." Bauer had proposed the thesis that the Jewish problem could be solved instantly if Jews would cease to claim religious privileges from the state. By so doing, they maintained the religious state and prevented their own as well as other people's emancipation. Bauer held that emancipation of man required a secular state that recognizes neither Christians nor Jews. Marx agreed that the existence of religion always indicates an incomplete emancipation, but he denied that religion is the cause of the problem or, for that matter, that political rights are the solution. Bauer had simply identified religion with alienation and political equality with emancipation. But political emancipation is by no means human emancipation. "To be *politically* emancipated from religion is not to be finally and completely emancipated from religion, because political emancipation is not the final and absolute form of human emancipation." Even if the state should suppress religion, its own existence would remain a profane expression of an alienation that in time would irresistibly produce its religious form. So instead of being a remedy for religious alienation, the secular state is the purest symptom of its presence. Even more than religion, the state keeps alive the inhuman conditions that separate the individual from his fellow human beings and thereby prevent humankind from realizing its full potential. If religion means deception, the state is more religious than the church.

Henceforth Marx devoted his critical efforts entirely to the critique of the state. But under the influence of an essay by Friedrich Engels on political economy, published in the same issue of the *Jahrbücher* that had featured Marx's own two essays, he saw that political attitudes are rooted in economic conditions. This "genial" insight inspired the so-called *Economic Philosophical Manuscripts* of 1844, which would remain unpublished until 1927. Here, for the first time, Marx aims his attacks exclusively at the capitalist economy itself, a system that alienates the worker from the very activity through which he should achieve his humanization as well as from the kind of social cooperation required by genuine humanization.

In 1845 the French government (under Prussian pressure) forbade Marx all political activity and threatened him with imprisonment. Once again Marx emigrated, this time to Brussels, where he would remain until March 1848. This second stage of his mature life was to be a very productive one, even though little of his literary activity ever reached print.

Foremost among his unpublished writings from this period is *The German Ideology* (1845–1846). In it Marx developed the crucial concept of ideology and, with it, the basic principles of a powerful theory of history. Not what human beings think or imagine, not conscious decisions or theoretical schemes, but social-economic relations are the primary determining factors of history. Ideas, shaped by language, emerge from social-economic structures. The division between mental and physical labor, severing thinking from its vital, social roots, has given birth to an independent realm of abstract speculation. In fact, the theories accepted in a particular society express the interests and aspirations of the ruling class. As soon as one class acquires control over the process of material production, it falls heir to the "means of mental production" and begins to impose such ideas as best serve its dominion. Detached from its social-economic basis, theory turns into ideology. The term *ideology* refers to any theory that ignores the social conditioning of ideas and presents itself with a semblance of intellectual autonomy.

Engels later qualified Marx's position by suggesting that conscious processes, developed through the impact of social relations, in turn influence these relations. Unfortunately, Marx's later metaphorical reformulation of the relation (in the preface to his *Critique of Political Economy*) as one between base and superstructure confirmed the "derived" character of ideas rather than eliminating it. Clearly, religion considered as a "superstructure" can hardly do more than "reflect" its social origins.

In Brussels, Marx and Engels, who had met in Paris in 1844 and by now had become constant, though often distant, collaborators, intensified their revolutionary activity. For the newly founded Communist League they wrote their famous *Manifesto* (1848), an entirely new vision of history. Since his early Paris days, the social-economic category of class had, for Marx, come to dominate all others. In the *Manifesto*'s scenario, the class of the bourgeoisie, created by the capitalist system, would function as the revolutionary lever toward the communist society of the future. An unprecedented social and cultural mover in its own development, the bourgeoisie is now destined to terminate the class structure of society itself. It does so by creating an underclass, the proletariat, that will increase in numbers and in misery until its members, for the sake of sheer survival, will be forced to rise throughout the entire industrialized world. "What the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces above all else, is its own gravediggers."

In the same year, 1848, revolutions started all over the European continent. But when the Belgian authorities learned of an imminent republican putsch, they expelled Marx from the country for illegal political agitation. The exile barely interrupted Marx's revolutionary activity. Returning to Paris on March 5 with the papers of the Communist League, which a few days earlier had had its headquarters transferred from London to Brussels, Marx was, on March 10, elected as its president. In his French headquarters his attention remained fixed on Germany, where he still expected a "total" revolution to take place. Through his speeches to the German Working Men's Club (based in Paris) and his articles in the new communist paper of Cologne, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Marx continuously bombarded the German community with his revolutionary messages.

The June revolution in Paris confirmed at least part of Marx's theories, for in it social issues clearly prevailed over political ones. Meanwhile, Marx again had moved to Cologne to direct the *Neue Reinische*, which, not surprisingly, was gradually censored into extinction. Its editor was expelled from Prussian territory for having instigated open rebellion. During that same summer of 1848 Marx definitively settled down in London.

Here, amidst extreme poverty, domestic tragedy (several of his children died, possibly due to their living conditions), occasional family turmoil (his young servant bore him a child), and constant polemics, Marx completed the third stage of his career. Apart from revolutionary activity (mainly through the reorganized Communist League), he devoted himself entirely to his lifetime theoretical project: a definitive social critique of the capitalist economy. Only two parts of his voluminous theoretical writing during this period reached completion before his death: the *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859) and the first volume of what by then had already become a reduced project, *Capital* (1867).

In all his later writings Marx criticizes capitalist theories in categories often borrowed from the classical economists, especially Adam Smith and David Ricardo. Even his central concept of surplus value, the value generated by labor beyond the cost of wages and tools, appears in Ricardo. But the perspective differs substantially. For Marx shows how capitalist theory merely expresses the practice of a society at a particular historical stage of its development. Indeed, capitalism is now approaching the point where its internal "contradictions" (in fact, mostly social conflicts) must openly erupt and destroy the system itself. Throughout his development Marx never wavered in his confidence that bourgeois society would break down in a social revolution that would result in a socialist state and, in due time, generate a stateless communist society.

Yet during this same period Marx also produced an enormous output of noneconomic writings, most important among them, two historical studies on the French revolution of 1848 and the subsequent events leading to the Second Empire of Napoleon III: *The Class Struggles in France* (1850) and *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon* (1852). In addition, he wrote hundreds of newspaper articles for the *New York Daily Tribune* and for the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, his main source of support (beside the gifts of the ever-generous Engels) during that period.

From 1870 on Marx's health steadily declined. He increasingly suffered from respiratory problems, which, after 1880, forced him for prolonged periods to seek refuge from the damp, polluted London air in Margate, the Isle of Wight, Karlsbad (where he took the baths), Nice, and even North Africa. Yet despite his poor health his literary activity continued unabatedly, and his travels provided him with opportunities for establishing new revolutionary contacts as far away as Algiers. Still, it became gradually obvious that he would never complete his lifework, and during his final years he felt increasingly reluctant even to attempt bringing some order to his papers. Thus when he died on March 14, 1883, he left an enormous estate of unpublished manuscripts. Out of the more than a thousand pages of notes Marx had accumulated for the sequel of *Capital*, Engels published *Capital II* (1885) and *Capital III* (1894). In addition, in 1927 Karl Kautsky published the historical notes, *Theories of Surplus Value*, under the title *Capital IV*. In 1953 Marx's earlier preparatory notes for *Capital* appeared under the title *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie* (in English, simply *Grundrisse*).

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED IN THIS WORK

abbr. abbreviated; abbreviation
abr. abridged; abridgment
AD *anno Domini,* in the year of the (our) Lord
Afrik. Afrikaans
AH *anno Hegirae,* in the year of the Hijrah
Akk. Akkadian
Ala. Alabama
Alb. Albanian
Am. *Amos*
AM *ante meridiem,* before noon
amend. amended; amendment
annot. annotated; annotation
Ap. *Apocalypse*
Apn. *Apocryphon*
app. appendix
Arab. Arabic
ʿArakh. *ʿArakhin*
Aram. Aramaic
Ariz. Arizona
Ark. Arkansas
Arm. Armenian
art. article (pl., arts.)
AS Anglo-Saxon
Asm. Mos. *Assumption of Moses*
Assyr. Assyrian
A.S.S.R. Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
Av. Avestan
ʿA.Z. *ʿAvodah zarah*
b. born
Bab. Babylonian
Ban. Bantu
1 Bar. *1 Baruch*
2 Bar. *2 Baruch*
3 Bar. *3 Baruch*
4 Bar. *4 Baruch*
B.B. *Bavaʾ batraʾ*
BBC British Broadcasting Corporation
BC before Christ
BCE before the common era
B.D. Bachelor of Divinity
Beits. *Beitsah*
Bekh. *Bekhorot*
Beng. Bengali
Ber. *Berakhot*
Berb. Berber
Bik. *Bikkurim*
bk. book (pl., bks.)
B.M. *Bavaʾ metsiʿaʾ*
BP before the present
B.Q. *Bavaʾ qammaʾ*
Brāh. *Brāhmaṇa*
Bret. Breton
B.T. Babylonian Talmud
Bulg. Bulgarian
Burm. Burmese
c. *circa,* about, approximately
Calif. California
Can. Canaanite
Catal. Catalan
CE of the common era
Celt. Celtic
cf. *confer,* compare
Chald. Chaldean
chap. chapter (pl., chaps.)
Chin. Chinese
C.H.M. Community of the Holy Myrrhbearers
1 Chr. *1 Chronicles*
2 Chr. *2 Chronicles*
Ch. Slav. Church Slavic
cm centimeters
col. column (pl., cols.)
Col. *Colossians*
Colo. Colorado
comp. compiler (pl., comps.)
Conn. Connecticut
cont. continued
Copt. Coptic
1 Cor. *1 Corinthians*
2 Cor. *2 Corinthians*
corr. corrected
C.S.P. Congregatio Sancti Pauli, Congregation of Saint Paul (Paulists)
d. died
D Deuteronomic (source of the Pentateuch)
Dan. Danish
D.B. Divinitatis Baccalaureus, Bachelor of Divinity
D.C. District of Columbia
D.D. Divinitatis Doctor, Doctor of Divinity
Del. Delaware
Dem. *Demaʾi*
dim. diminutive
diss. dissertation
Dn. *Daniel*
D.Phil. Doctor of Philosophy
Dt. *Deuteronomy*
Du. Dutch
E Elohist (source of the Pentateuch)
Eccl. *Ecclesiastes*
ed. editor (pl., eds.); edition; edited by

ʿEduy. *ʿEduyyot*
e.g. *exempli gratia,* for example
Egyp. Egyptian
1 En. *1 Enoch*
2 En. *2 Enoch*
3 En. *3 Enoch*
Eng. English
enl. enlarged
Eph. *Ephesians*
ʿEruv. *ʿEruvin*
1 Esd. *1 Esdras*
2 Esd. *2 Esdras*
3 Esd. *3 Esdras*
4 Esd. *4 Esdras*
esp. especially
Est. Estonian
Est. *Esther*
et al. *et alii,* and others
etc. *et cetera,* and so forth
Eth. Ethiopic
EV English version
Ex. *Exodus*
exp. expanded
Ez. *Ezekiel*
Ezr. *Ezra*
2 Ezr. *2 Ezra*
4 Ezr. *4 Ezra*
f. feminine; and following (pl., ff.)
fasc. fascicle (pl., fascs.)
fig. figure (pl., figs.)
Finn. Finnish
fl. *floruit,* flourished
Fla. Florida
Fr. French
frag. fragment
ft. feet
Ga. Georgia
Gal. *Galatians*
Gaul. Gaulish
Ger. German
Giṭ. *Giṭṭin*
Gn. *Genesis*
Gr. Greek
Ḥag. *Ḥagigah*
Ḥal. *Ḥallah*
Hau. Hausa
Hb. *Habakkuk*
Heb. Hebrew
Heb. *Hebrews*
Hg. *Haggai*
Hitt. Hittite
Hor. *Horayot*
Hos. *Hosea*
Ḥul. *Ḥullin*
Hung. Hungarian
ibid. *ibidem,* in the same place (as the one immediately preceding)
Icel. Icelandic
i.e. *id est,* that is
IE Indo-European
Ill. Illinois
Ind. Indiana
intro. introduction
Ir. Gael. Irish Gaelic
Iran. Iranian
Is. *Isaiah*
Ital. Italian
J Yahvist (source of the Pentateuch)
Jas. *James*
Jav. Javanese
Jb. *Job*
Jdt. *Judith*
Jer. *Jeremiah*
Jgs. *Judges*
Jl. *Joel*
Jn. *John*
1 Jn. *1 John*
2 Jn. *2 John*
3 Jn. *3 John*
Jon. *Jonah*
Jos. *Joshua*
Jpn. Japanese
JPS Jewish Publication Society translation (1985) of the Hebrew Bible
J.T. Jerusalem Talmud
Jub. *Jubilees*
Kans. Kansas
Kel. *Kelim*
Ker. *Keritot*
Ket. *Ketubbot*
1 Kgs. *1 Kings*
2 Kgs. *2 Kings*
Khois. Khoisan
Kil. *Kilʾayim*
km kilometers
Kor. Korean
Ky. Kentucky
l. line (pl., ll.)
La. Louisiana
Lam. *Lamentations*
Lat. Latin
Latv. Latvian
L. en Th. Licencié en Théologie, Licentiate in Theology
L. ès L. Licencié ès Lettres, Licentiate in Literature
Let. Jer. *Letter of Jeremiah*
lit. literally
Lith. Lithuanian
Lk. *Luke*
LL Late Latin
LL.D. Legum Doctor, Doctor of Laws
Lv. *Leviticus*
m meters
m. masculine
M.A. Master of Arts
Ma ʿas. *Maʿaserot*
Ma ʿas. Sh. *Maʿ aser sheni*
Mak. *Makkot*
Makh. *Makhshirin*
Mal. *Malachi*
Mar. Marathi
Mass. Massachusetts
1 Mc. *1 Maccabees*
2 Mc. *2 Maccabees*
3 Mc. *3 Maccabees*
4 Mc. *4 Maccabees*
Md. Maryland
M.D. Medicinae Doctor, Doctor of Medicine
ME Middle English
Meg. *Megillah*
Me ʿil. *Meʿilah*
Men. *Menaḥot*
MHG Middle High German
mi. miles
Mi. *Micah*
Mich. Michigan
Mid. *Middot*
Minn. Minnesota
Miq. *Miqvaʾot*
MIran. Middle Iranian
Miss. Mississippi
Mk. *Mark*
Mo. Missouri
Moʿed Q. *Moʿed qaṭan*
Mont. Montana
MPers. Middle Persian
MS. *manuscriptum,* manuscript (pl., MSS)
Mt. *Matthew*
MT Masoretic text
n. note
Na. *Nahum*
Nah. Nahuatl
Naz. *Nazir*
N.B. *nota bene,* take careful note
N.C. North Carolina
n.d. no date
N.Dak. North Dakota
NEB New English Bible
Nebr. Nebraska

Ned. *Nedarim*
Neg. *Negaʿim*
Neh. *Nehemiah*
Nev. Nevada
N.H. New Hampshire
Nid. *Niddah*
N.J. New Jersey
Nm. *Numbers*
N.Mex. New Mexico
no. number (pl., nos.)
Nor. Norwegian
n.p. no place
n.s. new series
N.Y. New York
Ob. *Obadiah*
O.Cist. Ordo Cisterciencium, Order of Cîteaux (Cistercians)
OCS Old Church Slavonic
OE Old English
O.F.M. Ordo Fratrum Minorum, Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)
OFr. Old French
Ohal. *Ohalot*
OHG Old High German
OIr. Old Irish
OIran. Old Iranian
Okla. Oklahoma
ON Old Norse
O.P. Ordo Praedicatorum, Order of Preachers (Dominicans)
OPers. Old Persian
op. cit. *opere citato,* in the work cited
OPrus. Old Prussian
Oreg. Oregon
ʿOrl. *ʿOrlah*
O.S.B. Ordo Sancti Benedicti, Order of Saint Benedict (Benedictines)
p. page (pl., pp.)
P Priestly (source of the Pentateuch)
Pa. Pennsylvania
Pahl. Pahlavi
Par. *Parah*
para. paragraph (pl., paras.)
Pers. Persian
Pes. *Pesahim*
Ph.D. Philosophiae Doctor, Doctor of Philosophy
Phil. *Philippians*
Phlm. *Philemon*
Phoen. Phoenician
pl. plural; plate (pl., pls.)
PM *post meridiem,* after noon
Pol. Polish
pop. population
Port. Portuguese
Prv. *Proverbs*
Ps. *Psalms*
Ps. 151 *Psalm 151*
Ps. Sol. *Psalms of Solomon*
pt. part (pl., pts.)
1Pt. *1 Peter*
2 Pt. *2 Peter*
Pth. Parthian
Q hypothetical source of the synoptic Gospels
Qid. *Qiddushin*
Qin. *Qinnim*
r. reigned; ruled
Rab. *Rabbah*
rev. revised
R. ha-Sh. *Roʾsh ha-shanah*
R.I. Rhode Island
Rom. Romanian
Rom. *Romans*
R.S.C.J. Societas Sacratissimi Cordis Jesu, Religious of the Sacred Heart
RSV Revised Standard Version of the Bible
Ru. *Ruth*
Rus. Russian
Rv. *Revelation*
Rv. Ezr. *Revelation of Ezra*
San. *Sanhedrin*
S.C. South Carolina
Scot. Gael. Scottish Gaelic
S.Dak. South Dakota
sec. section (pl., secs.)
Sem. Semitic
ser. series
sg. singular
Sg. *Song of Songs*
Sg. of 3 *Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men*
Shab. *Shabbat*
Shav. *Shavuʿot*
Sheq. *Sheqalim*
Sib. Or. *Sibylline Oracles*
Sind. Sindhi
Sinh. Sinhala
Sir. *Ben Sira*
S.J. Societas Jesu, Society of Jesus (Jesuits)
Skt. Sanskrit
1 Sm. *1 Samuel*
2 Sm. *2 Samuel*
Sogd. Sogdian
Soṭ. *Soṭah*
sp. species (pl., spp.)
Span. Spanish
sq. square
S.S.R. Soviet Socialist Republic
st. stanza (pl., ss.)
S.T.M. Sacrae Theologiae Magister, Master of Sacred Theology
Suk. *Sukkah*
Sum. Sumerian
supp. supplement; supplementary
Sus. *Susanna*
s.v. *sub verbo,* under the word (pl., s.v.v.)
Swed. Swedish
Syr. Syriac
Syr. Men. *Syriac Menander*
Taʿ an. *Taʿanit*
Tam. Tamil
Tam. *Tamid*
Tb. *Tobit*
T.D. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō,* edited by Takakusu Junjirō et al. (Tokyo,1922–1934)
Tem. *Temurah*
Tenn. Tennessee
Ter. Terumot
Ṭev. Y. *Ṭevul yom*
Tex. Texas
Th.D. Theologicae Doctor, Doctor of Theology
1 Thes. *1 Thessalonians*
2 Thes. *2 Thessalonians*
Thrac. Thracian
Ti. *Titus*
Tib. Tibetan
1 Tm. *1 Timothy*
2 Tm. *2 Timothy*
T. of 12 *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*
Ṭoh. *ṭohorot*
Tong. Tongan
trans. translator, translators; translated by; translation
Turk. Turkish
Ukr. Ukrainian
Upan. *Upaniṣad*
U.S. United States
U.S.S.R. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Uqts. *Uqtsin*
v. verse (pl., vv.)
Va. Virginia
var. variant; variation
Viet. Vietnamese

viz. *videlicet,* namely
vol. volume (pl., vols.)
Vt. Vermont
Wash. Washington
Wel. Welsh
Wis. Wisconsin
Wis. *Wisdom of Solomon*
W.Va. West Virginia
Wyo. Wyoming
Yad. *Yadayim*
Yev. *Yevamot*
Yi. Yiddish
Yor. Yoruba
Zav. *Zavim*
Zec. *Zechariah*
Zep. *Zephaniah*
Zev. *Zevaḥim*
* hypothetical
? uncertain; possibly; perhaps
° degrees
+ plus
– minus
= equals; is equivalent to
× by; multiplied by
→ yields

efficacious images

EFFICACIOUS IMAGES

As odd or superstitious as it may appear to a scientific, secular view of nature, many religious images and objects are capable of great efficacy and able to protect against evil or misfortune, promote prosperity, heal illness, prompt fecundity, communicate favorably with the dead, or secure divine blessing. In fact, it may even be that such purposes constitute the greatest occasion for images in religious life. The reasons for attributing this kind of power to images or sculptures are as diverse as the psychological and sociological models for explaining their appeal. To those engaged in the visual practices of efficacious images, the reason is probably straightforward: properly crafted and consecrated, images are connected by virtue of tradition, ritual, and likeness to the realities to which they refer. They direct devotion, petition, and desire toward their intended end. And when that end is not achieved, it is not due to the failure of the image as a metaphysical device, but to the inappropriate ritual preparation of the image or the petitioner, or to the intervention of another will, human or divine. Even failure affirms the cultural system of efficacy—in the same way that a failed bridge does not move people in an industrial society to scrap bridge-making, but to reapply the principles of engineering and the methods of construction to create a more reliable bridge.

The horrific appearance of the Hindu goddess Kālī in the sculptural relief shown here **(a)** does not generate fear or revulsion toward the goddess among the faithful who bring their petitions and children before the image. Her fearsome countenance and brutal disemboweling of a figure actually suggest her vicious treatment of the evil afflicting those brought to her for healing, who will

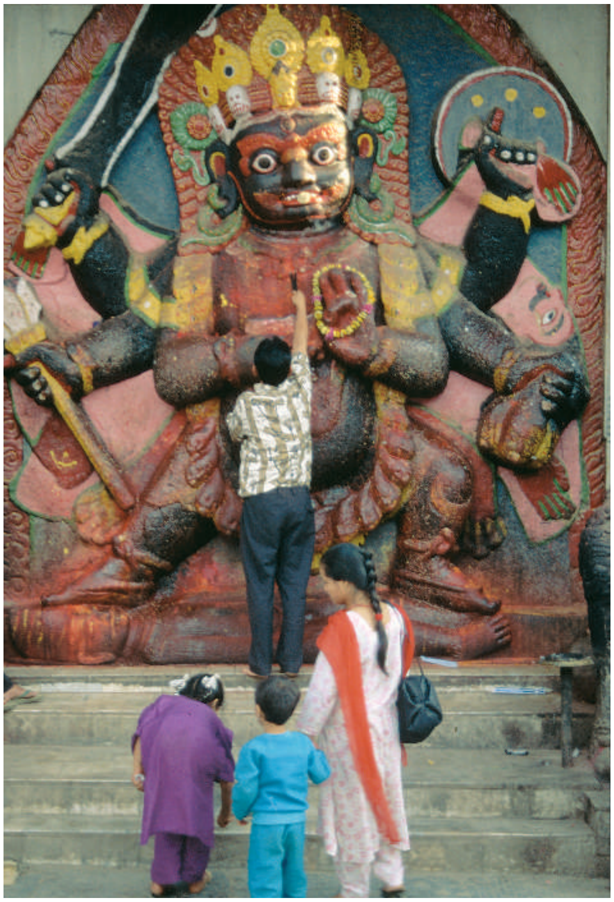

(a) A family views a sculpture of Kālī, a Hindu goddess, Kaalo Bhairab, Kathmandu, Nepal. *[©Macduff Everton/Corbis]*

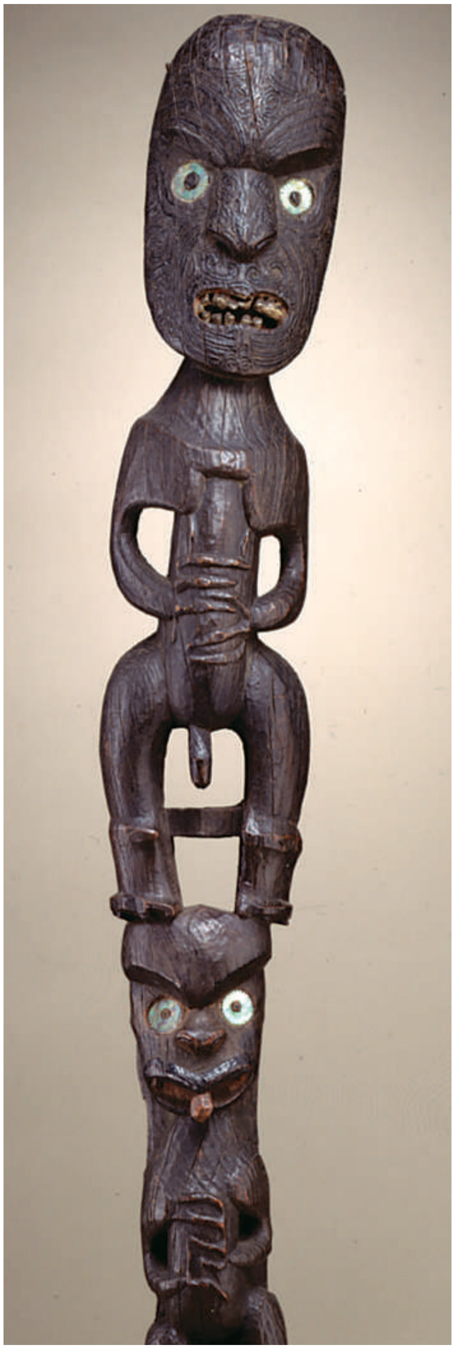

receive from her the strength she expends against the violated figure of evil upon which she stands. Likewise, the angry intensity of a wooden figure placed on the gable of a home in New Zealand **(b)** was not meant to deter family or friends from entering the home, but malicious spirits. Images charged with such tasks do so by communicating their intention and function to their human users in a routine of efficacy in which intention performs an important role. The medium of their efficacy is thought and feeling. Their very presence affirms the cultural logic of an entire way of life as the objects are viewed daily by their users and their neighbors.

Images are used for a great variety of purposes. Neolithic peoples in northern Europe probably used hand-held fertility figures like the so-called Venus of Willendorf **(c)** to enhance fecundity or secure safe child-

(b) **LEFT.** Gable figure used to thwart malicious spirits and protect inhabitants of the house, c. eighteenth century, carved wood, shell, human teeth, traces of red pigment, New Zealand. *[Masco Collection; photograph by Dirk Baker]* **(c)** **BELOW.** Venus of Willendorf, a hand-held female fertility figure, c. 28,000–25,000 BCE, carved limestone. Willendorf, Austria. *[©Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis]*

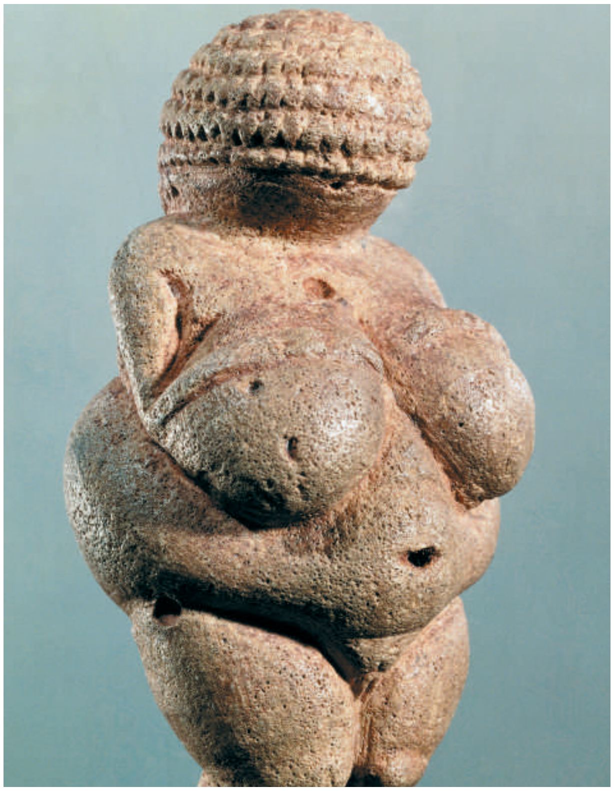

birth. Ancient Egyptians had themselves buried with small ceramic or wooden figures called *shawabtis* **(d)**, which in the afterlife provided necessary service with food production and preparation. They were incised with magical formulae and hieroglyphics that identified their purpose and ownership. Some Jews and Muslims use the emblematic figure of a hand—called *hamsa* in Hebrew **(e)** and Arabic for "five," often with scriptural texts inscribed on them—to shield them from the pernicious gaze of the evil eye. The origin of the *hamsa* pre-

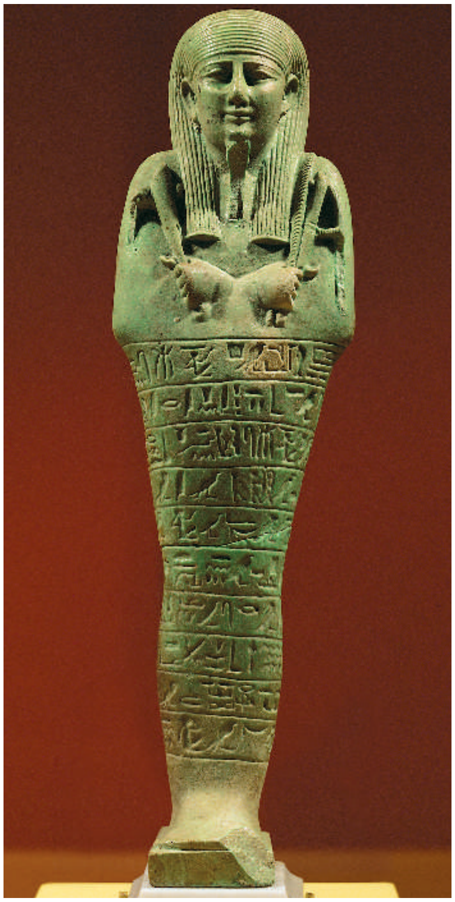

(d) **RIGHT.** Ushebti statue of Tshahorpata, chief of the conjurors of the goddess Sekhmet, faience, c. fourth century BCE. *[©Erich Lessing/Art Resource, N.Y.]* **(e)** **BELOW.** Jewish *hamsa* amulets, used as shields against evil, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, silver, enamel, silver on brass. *[©The Jewish Museum, N.Y./Art Resource, N.Y.]*

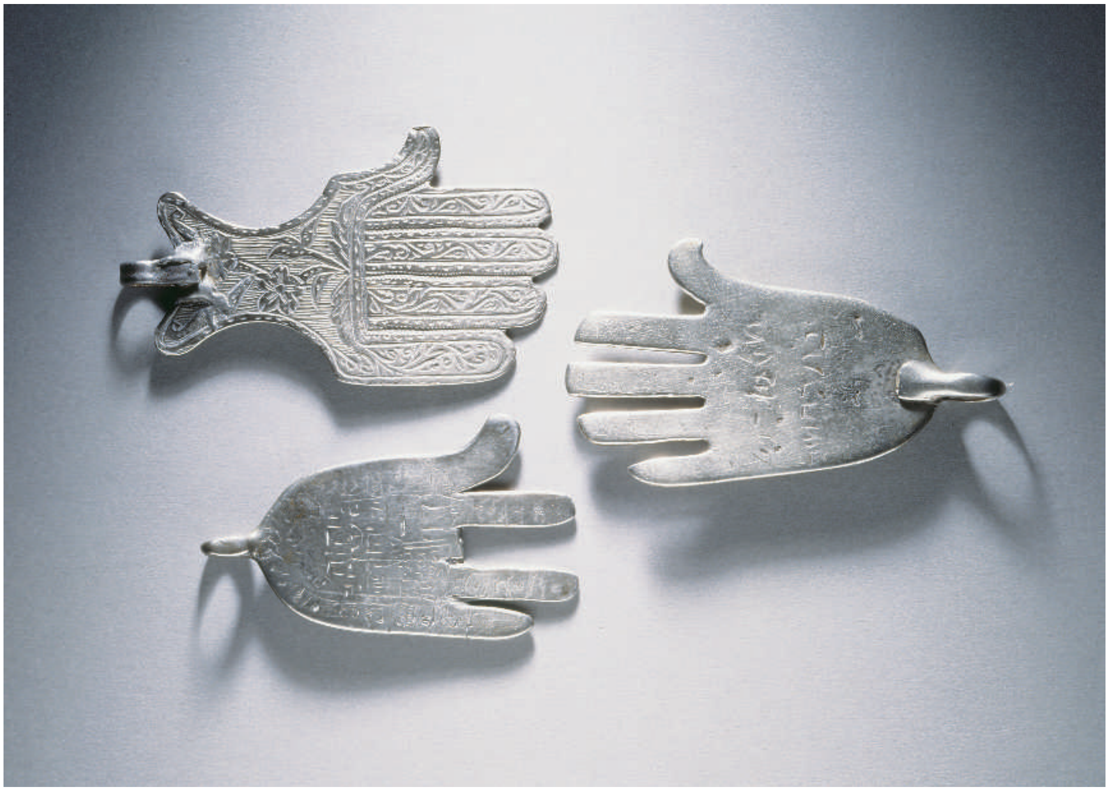

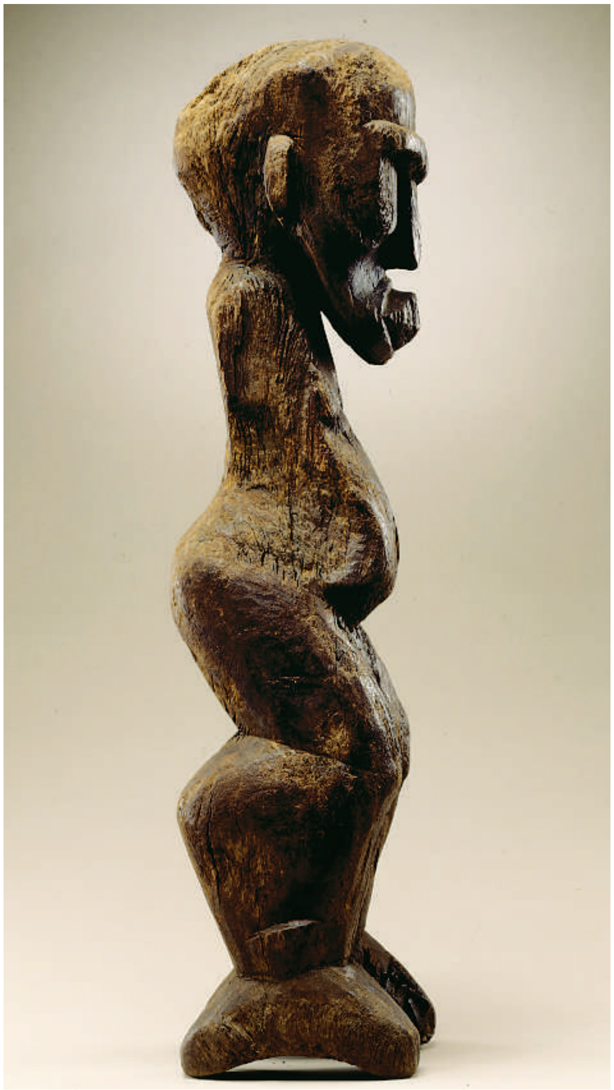

dates both Judaism and Islam. In Hawai'i, figures were erected in male lodges for the purpose of protection **(f)**.

Other images operate primarily as the means of directing petitions to divine forces or ancestors. For example, throughout India and among Hindus around the world, Gaṇeśa **(g)** is a favorite resource for overcoming obstacles associated with any aspect of life. In a like manner, practitioners of Santería create altars to the *orishas*, or deities whom they worship, such as the one shown here **(h)**. Roman Catholics direct their petitions to Saint Jude. Buddhists in Thailand and elsewhere apply gold leaf to sculptures of the Buddha **(i)** as acts of personal devotion and prayer that can solicit a portion of the Buddha's merit. Thai Buddhists hope that such a favorable karmic act will generate a beneficial consequence in this life or higher

(f) LEFT. Carved *aumakua* image, a Hawaiian deity of personal protection, found in 1917, wood, Maui. *[Masco Collection; photograph by Dirk Baker]* **(g)** BELOW. Dancing Gaṇeśa, Hindu remover of obstacles, tenth century, carved stone. *[©Philadelphia Museum of Art/Corbis]*

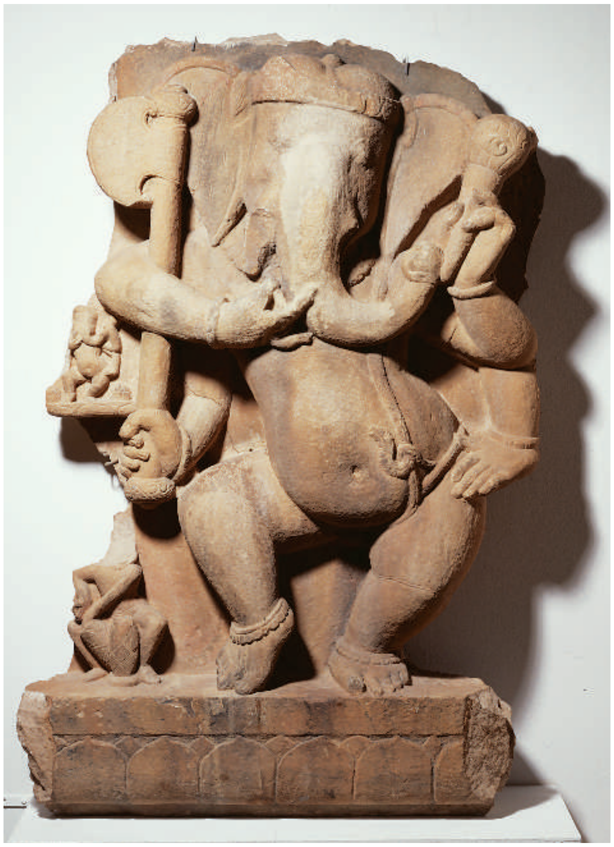

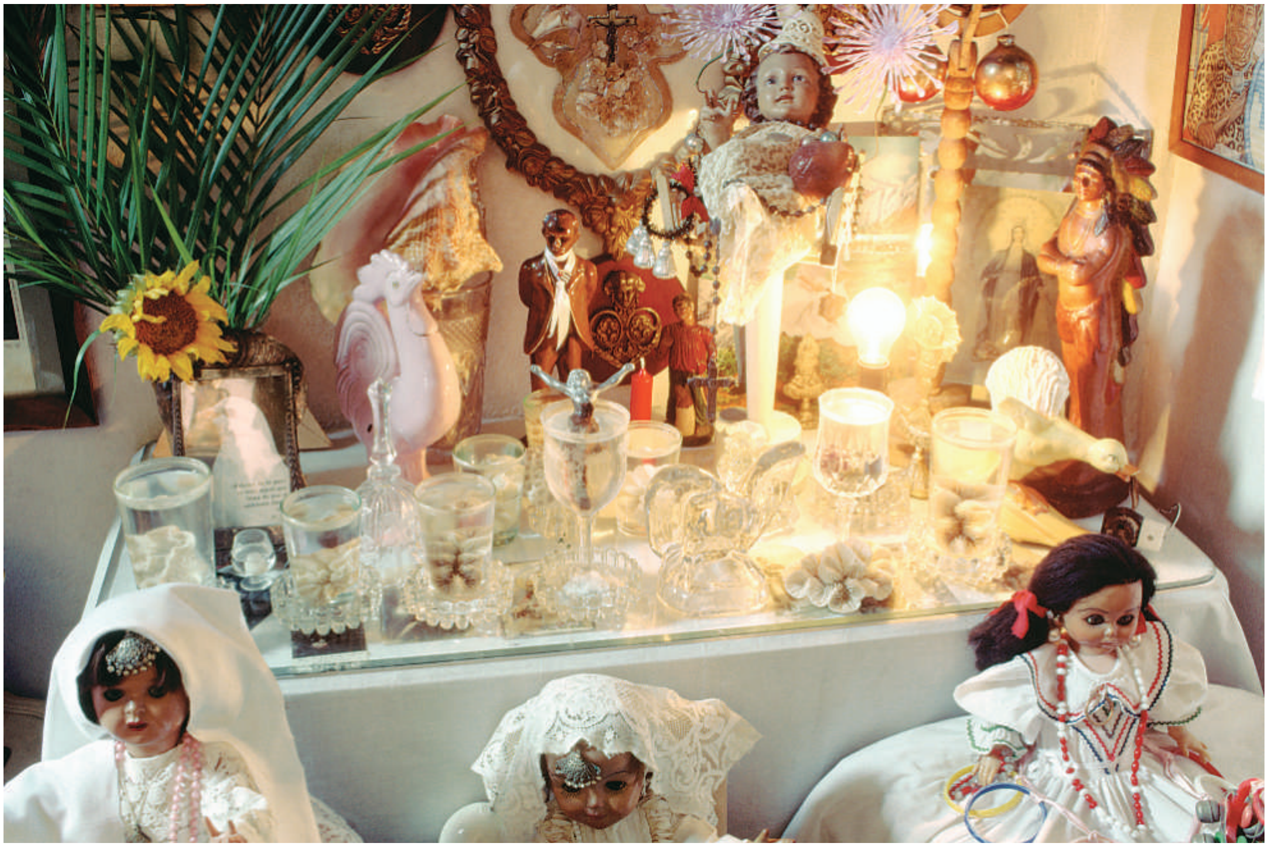

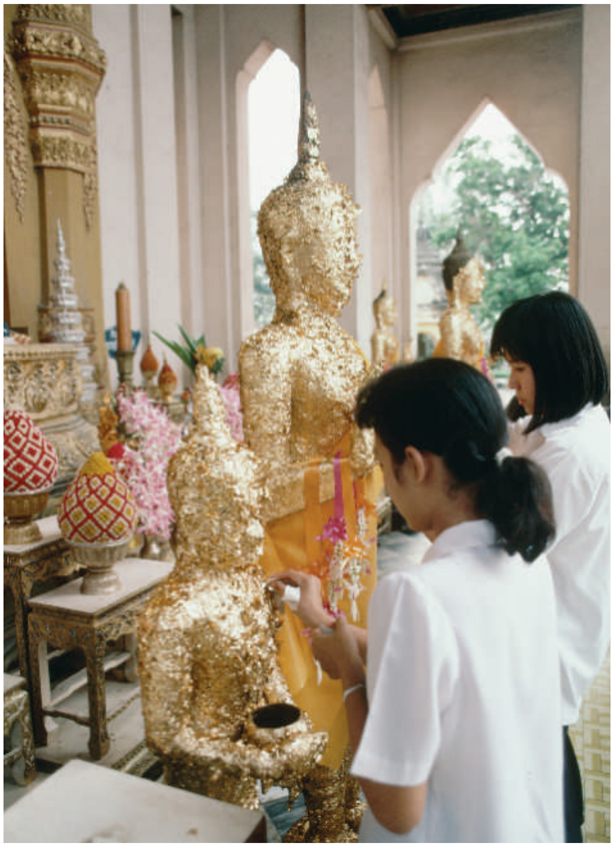

(h) **ABOVE.** Santería altar in Havana, Cuba. *[©Robert van der Hilst/Corbis]* **(i)** **LEFT.** Buddhists apply gold leaf to statues of the Buddha, Bangkok, Thailand. *[©Nik Wheeler/Corbis]*

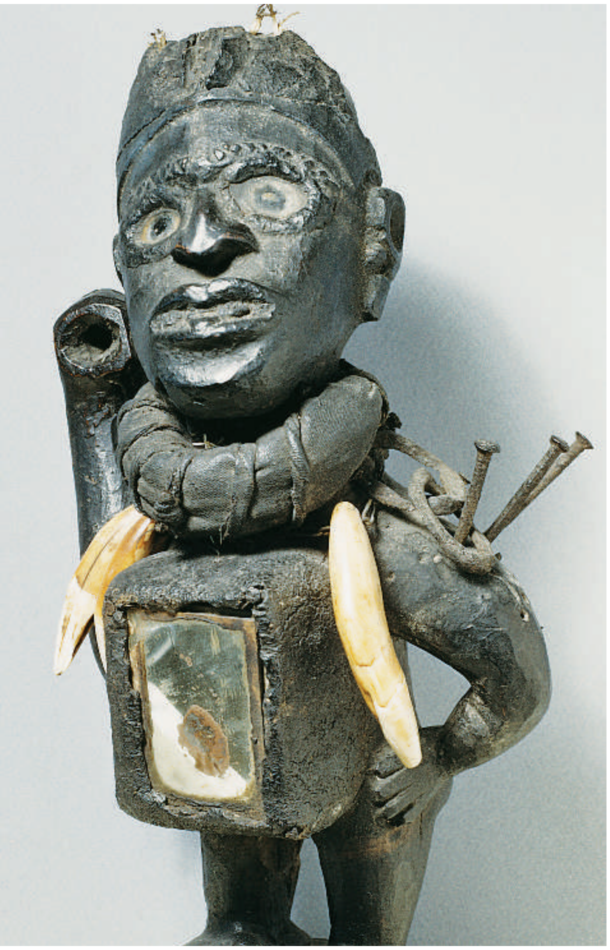

rebirth in the next. Tibetan Buddhists make use of prayer wheels **(j)**, which generate prayers at a multiplied rate as they are spun by the faithful. In addition to these uses, images serve as devices for directing influence (malicious or benevolent) toward another. A Congolese charm or spirit container **(k)**, for example, is a receptacle invested with items belonging to a petitioner or those of a targeted party and charged with the task of exerting influence.

Images are often made and used to assist with burial, memorial, and grief. Nineteenth-century American parents often had postmortem photographs made of their children. One of these is paired here with a photograph

(j) Above. Buddhist pilgrims in Lhasa, Tibet, spin prayer wheels, which generate prayers at a multiplied rate. *[©Galen Rowell/Corbis]* **(k) Left.** A nineteenth-century African Bakongo sculpture of a male figure, made from wood, glass, fiber, nails, and bone. The figure includes a spirit container (*nkisi*) used to instruct or admonish spirits. *[©Burstein Collection/Corbis]*

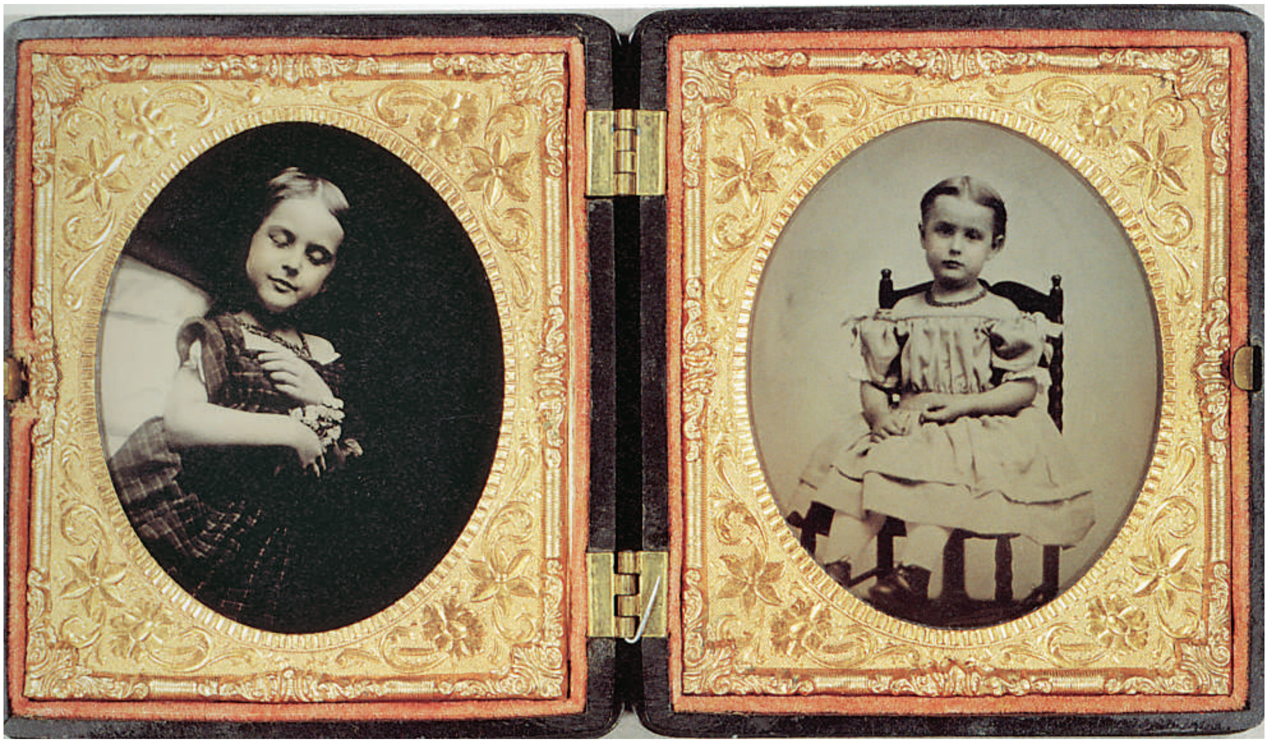

of the child taken during life **(l)**. The image on the left is the deceased, whose horizontal position in death has been changed to appear vertical, as if the child has not died, but poses peacefully asleep. Such imagery may have denied the death for grieving parents, or may have mitigated it to a peaceful slumber. If such images bring to mind the carefully prepared image of the corpse and in some vitally therapeutic manner replace the dead body and lost person with a memory image, traditional inhabitants of the Melanesian island of New Ireland used elaborate mortuary masks **(m)** to remove the spiritual traces of the deceased from his or her household. Dancers wearing such masks

(l) ABOVE. Paired photographs of a young girl who lived in the United States during the nineteenth century. The photograph on the left was taken shortly after her death. *[Courtesy of Jay Ruby, Center for Visual Communication]* **(m) RIGHT.** A Murua mask from New Ireland in Papua New Guinea, made from carved wood, sea sponge, and snail opercula. Such mortuary masks were used to remove traces of deceased relatives from the home. *[Masco Collection; photograph by Dirk Baker]*

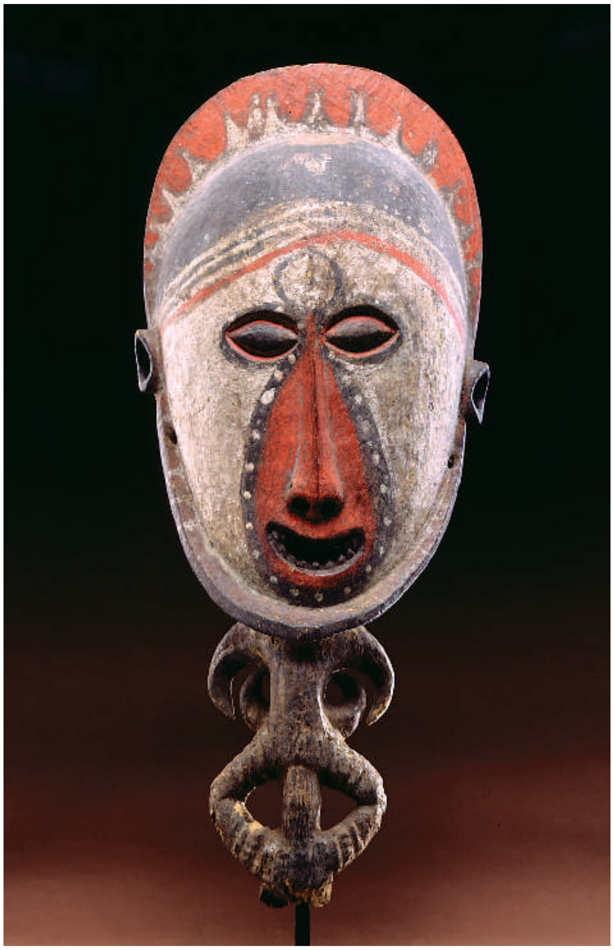

appeared at the home of the deceased in order to cleanse it of taboos by attracting any aspect of the dead away from the home to the site where the body had been cremated.

Perhaps the most common use of imagery is among rites of passage, when members of a society undergo crucial transpositions from one status or age to another. Images often serve to commemorate the event or to assist in the metaphysics of change. In the case of Papuan peoples, ancestors must be engaged to bless and guide the passage, to confer the new status, and to legitimate the change by bringing the initiate into the presence of the extended clan, represented by the totemic figures often included with such figures as the one reproduced here **(n)**.

(n) A carved wood figurehead, used in initiation ceremonies by the Avelam people from East Sepik province in Papua New Guinea. *[Masco Collection; photograph by Dirk Baker*]

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DAVID MORGAN (2005)

M
CONTINUED

MARY

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AN OVERVIEW
FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES

MARY: AN OVERVIEW

The New Testament description of Maria, or Mariam, includes Mary's virginal conception of Jesus. Preeminent among the saints, the Virgin Mary later became the object of piety and cult and, especially in the Roman Catholic church, of dogmas such as the immaculate conception and the assumption. Protestant treatment of her as a biblical saint varies. She is honored in the Qurʾān (*sūrah*s 3 and 19), Shīʿah speculation, and Ṣūfī mystical traditions (see Tavard 32–45, Pelikan 67–79). There is some Jewish interest in Mary as a Jewish mother and link to the people of Israel (Flusser).

Traditionally, Mary has been presented by combining all the references to her in the Gospels and *Acts of the Apostles* and viewing them in the light of the infancy narratives (*Mt.* 1–2, *Lk.* 1–2), which have been taken as her memoirs revealed years later to an evangelist. These accounts have then been psychologized and interpreted in light of later Marian thought. Further, *Revelation* 12, which speaks about "a woman clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars," who gives birth to a male child who in turn is caught up to God after escaping a dragon on earth, has been regarded as a reference to Mary. Similarly, passages in the Hebrew scriptures have been said to refer to Mary; in *Genesis* 3:15 she (as the Vulgate reads) "shall bruise" the serpent's head; in *Isaiah* 7:14 (*Mt.* 1:23) a young girl (Septuagint, "virgin") shall give birth to a son; in *Proverbs* 8 and other passages about Wisdom (personified as a woman); and in the female figure of the daughter of Zion (e.g., *Zep.* 3:14–20). On Old Testament typologies in patristic sources, see Pelikan 23–36, 41–45.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT CORNER. Mayan vase with relief depicting the head of the sun, c. seventh to tenth century. Naturhistorisches Museum, Vienna, Austria. *[©Giraudon/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Greek vase depicting Circe mixing a magical potion to transform the companions of Odysseus into animals. *[Photograph ©2004 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston]*; Late-nineteenth-century Alaskan Eskimo mask representing the spirit of the moon as a face encompassed by the air (board), the cosmos (hoops), and the stars (feathers). Sheldon Jackson Museum, Sitka, Alaska. *[©Werner Forman/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Ummayad Mosque in Damascus, Syria. *[©Christine Osborne/Corbis]*; The Abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel, France. *[©Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis]* .

Modern scholarship finds differing pictures of Mary in each gospel. Earlier accounts can be ascertained from sources used by the gospel writers, and a "historical Mary" can be sought behind such sources. The concatenation of biblical images, together with evolving Marian piety and influences from other religions, led to post–New Testament developments that were initially connected with Christology, then with ecclesiology, but by the Middle Ages and certainly since the seventeenth century, Roman Catholic dogmatics were treated separately as Mariology. Pelikan treats her many titles like "the second Eve" and "black Madonna."

MARY IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. The *Gospel of Mark* (written about 70 CE) describes Jesus' mother and brothers on the edge of a crowd listening to him teach (*Mk.* 3:31–35). "His own" (3:20), likely "his family" (NRSV), have come to take him away because Jesus was, they thought, "out of his mind"; they are like the hostile scribes who claim that he is "possessed by Beelzebub" (3:22). In *Mark* 3:34–35, Jesus designates as "my mother and my brothers" those who do the will of God, thus contrasting his natural family, including Mary, with his "eschatological family" of disciples. The passage in *Mark* 6:1–6a, about the rejection of Jesus in his home synagogue, shows Mary and Jesus' brothers sharing the unbelief of those of the surrounding countryside; 6:3, "son of Mary," does not indicate either virgin birth or illegitimacy (contrast Schaberg). References to another Mary, in addition to Mary Magdalene, in 15:40, 15:47, and 16:1 do not denote Jesus' mother. Hence the overall picture of Mary in *Mark* is a negative one. (For details, see Brown et al., 1978, pp. 51–72, 286–287.)

In the *Gospel of Matthew* (perhaps before 90 CE), a more positive view of Mary results, especially from the first two chapters about the birth and infancy of Jesus, the fruit of meditation upon the Hebrew scriptures within the Matthean community. The genealogy (*Mt.* 1:1–17), from Abraham through David to "Jesus who is called the Messiah," mentions five women, including "Mary, of whom [fem.] Jesus was born" (1:16). This genealogy was probably designed to emphasize how God carried out his plan to save his people through Jesus the Messiah (1:21) in spite of "marital irregularities" in each of the cases of the five women. With Mary, the irregularity is that Joseph learns she is with child "from the Holy Spirit." But this is in accord with God's plan (*Mt.* 1:21–22). That the women were "threats" but "vulnerable" is stressed by Gaventa 32–46. The evangelist cites *Isaiah* 7:14 (Septuagint) to verify that a virgin has conceived and that the child will be "God with us" (*Mt.* 1:23).

Matthew's portrait of Mary during the ministry of Jesus is also ameliorated by other details. In the scene of Jesus' eschatological family (*Mt.* 12:46–50) no reference is made to Jesus' natural family coming to take custody of him. In the synagogue scene at Nazareth (*Mt.* 13:53–58), Matthew drops out the Marcan reference to "his own kin" in what Jesus says (13:57; cf. *Mk.* 6:4).

The most positive synoptic portrayal of Mary comes in the *Gospel of Luke* plus *Acts* (perhaps after 90 CE). In *Acts* 1:14, Mary is a member of the Jerusalem church. In *Luke* 1–2, Mary is described as Joseph's "betrothed" (*Luke* 2:1–20, where, however, a virgin birth is not mentioned). More striking are (1) the scene where the angel Gabriel tells Mary that she will bear "the Son of the Most High" and "The Holy Spirit will come upon you, and the power of the Most High will overshadow you" (God's creative activity, *Acts* 1:8; *Gen.* 1), and Mary responds, "Let it be with me according to your word" (*Lk.* 1:26–38, Mary's faith); (2) the story of Mary's visit to Elizabeth (*Lk.* 1:39–56) and Mary's song, the Magnificat (1:46–55, Mary as prophetess), in particular, the words about her blessedness (esp. 1:42 and 1:48); (3) the account of Mary in the Jerusalem Temple where she comes for purification after childbirth and where Jesus is presented to the Lord (*Lk.* 2:21–40); and (4) the story of Jesus in the Temple as a twelve-year-old (*Lk.* 2:41–52). These accounts show Mary's faith in God (*Lk.* 1:38, 1:45); tell of the virginal conception (*Lk.* 1:31–34, cf. 3:23) and of Mary's status as a "favored one" (*Lk.* 1:28; Vulgate, *gratia plena*), employing the term *hail (ave);* and relate Simeon's prophecy to Mary: "A sword will pierce your own soul too" (*Luke* 2:35; Mary, also, must transcend the natural bonds of family and come to faith in Jesus). This she does, for Jesus declares blessed not the womb that bore him but those who hear and keep God's word (*Lk.* 11:27–28). The rejection scene at Nazareth (*Lk.* 4:16–30) is presented very differently, and the saying about Jesus' eschatological family (*Lk.* 8:19–21) lacks any contrast with his natural family. In *Luke* 2:19 and 2:51, Mary ponders over Jesus' birth and thus grows in faith and discipleship.

The *Gospel of John* (c. 90) contains no reference to the virgin birth, in part because the preexistence and incarnation of the Word are emphasized (*Jn.* 1:1–18). The scenes involving "the mother of Jesus" (never "Mary") during Jesus' ministry are totally different from those in the Synoptic Gospels. In the story about a wedding feast at Cana (*Jn.* 2:1–11), his mother does not yet seem to have grasped that his "hour" does not parallel the wishes of his natural family. Although she accompanied Jesus to Capernaum (*Jn.* 2:12), perhaps this was because she was seeking to bring him home (cf. *Mk.* 3:20–35). The mother of Jesus appears in one other Johannine scene (*Jn.* 19:25–27), standing at the foot of the cross with the Beloved Disciple. This *stabat mater* reference occurs only in *John,* among all the Gospels.

Earlier New Testament writings, like Paul's letters (c. 50–60, *Gal.* 4:4, antidocetist), make no reference to Mary, nor does the Q source, a reconstructed collection of Jesus' sayings, presumed to have been used by Matthew and Luke. A pre-gospel tradition could be behind *John* 2:1–11, or a common source could be the basis of the Matthean-Lukan stories of Mary's conceiving and the genealogy. More likely these are deductions of post-Easter Christology, theologoumena, dramatizing the divine origins of Jesus.

Regardless of the backgrounds and symbolism of the scene in *Revelation* 12 that are suggested by scholarship in the history of religions, the passage is intended to assert God's triumph in Christ over Satan's attacks. The woman who gives birth to the Messiah is Israel and the church, Christ's suffering people. Marian applications to the passage developed only in the fourth century.

MARIAN PIETY AND MARIOLOGY. In the second century, references to Mary are rare, found chiefly in the letters of Ignatius of Antioch about the "mystery" of Jesus' birth (e.g., *Ephesians* 19.1) and in Justin Martyr (*Dialogue with Trypho* 100). Justin typologically compares Eve and Mary, a theme developed by Irenaeus (*Against Heresies* 3.21.10). The New Testament Apocrypha and gnostic documents from Nag Hammadi expand references to Mary (see Tavard 17–31). The *Protevangelium of James* (an infancy gospel and life of Mary, written mid-second century), with its hagiographic details, was to have great influence. It said that Mary remained a virgin while delivering her son *(in partu)* as well as after Jesus' birth (*virginitas post partum*). Growing Christian emphasis on asceticism, with Mary as virgin model, and contacts with "mother goddesses" in other religions, especially in Asia Minor, encouraged Marian themes. But even in the third century there is no trace of belief in Mary's assumption into heaven (Brown et al., 1978, pp. 241–282).

Popular piety concerning Mary usually developed first in the East, often involving icons (see Tavard 67–73) and in a liturgical context, sometimes involving groups deemed heretical. The West was often more sober in its piety (see Tavard 65–100). The prayer in the Byzantine liturgy *Sub tuum praesidium confugimus* ("Under your mercy we take refuge, O Theotokos . . .") has been traced back to the fourth century or earlier (for details, see O'Carroll, 1983). In the *Refutation of All Heresies* 78–79 (c. 375), Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus, refers both to "opponents of Mary" who denied that she was perpetually a virgin (Gr., *aeiparthenos;* Lat., *semper virgo*), and to the Collyridians, women who offered cakes *(kollyrides)* to the Virgin as a goddess (cf. *Jer.* 7:18, 44:15–28). At the Second Council of Nicaea (787) clear distinctions were made: *latr(e)ia* ("worship") is for God alone; *d(o)ul(e)ia* ("reverence"), for the saints; and *huperdouleia* ("more than reverence"), for Mary.

In the Christological controversies of the fifth century, Mary took on more and more of the status of her Son. While Nestorius (d. 451) was willing to call Mary *christotokos* ("the one who bore Christ"), he boggled at the term *theotokos*, "God-bearer." This term became the rallying cry of Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444) and was proclaimed as a title for Mary at the councils of Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451). The intent was to assert that he whom Mary bore was, while "truly man," also "truly God." Use of the term *theotokos* also led to emphasis on Mary not simply as *Dei genitrix* ("she who gives birth to God") but also as *mater Dei*, the "mother of God" (see Tavard 49–64; Pelikan 55–65).

Marian festivals generally developed in the East and then spread elsewhere. They multiplied in number. Some had biblical roots, for example, the Annunciation on March 25 (*Lk.* 1:26–38) and the Purification on February 2 (*Lk.* 2:21–39, cf. *Lv.* 12). Others, like the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (September 8) and her Presentation in the Temple (November 21), have their roots in the *Protevangelium of James.* The fifteenth of August became the date for the Dormition, or "falling asleep" of the Virgin. Later there arose accounts of Mary's bodily assumption into heaven, paralleling Jesus' exaltation. Mary was regarded as now reigning with her Son, and thus she could be intercessor, or mediatrix, with Christ and God. A legend about Theophilus, who made a pact with the devil but obtained forgiveness through Mary, was an indication of her power to intervene. The Feast of the Immaculate Conception of Mary (December 8 or 9) arose around the theme of her sinlessness from the time of her birth (cf. *Protevangelium of James* 4). However, in the West there was a long debate over Mary's sinlessness in light of the Augustinian doctrine of original sin; the Franciscans promoted the feast, while the Dominicans (including Thomas Aquinas) opposed it.

Celebration of Mary had now moved from the realm of Christology to that of ecclesiology. Mary was Mater Ecclesiae ("mother of the church"), for she had brought forth Christ, the head of the church. One principle at work was *"potuit, decuit, fecit":* God *could* do a thing, it *was fitting* that God should, and therefore God *did* it—for example, God saw to it that Mary was born or exalted much like her Son. Other principles were exhibited by Bernard of Clairvaux's dictum "Everything through Mary" and the widespread medieval belief that one can never say too much about Mary. Reflections of this cascading piety can be seen in the Akathistos, a Greek hymn of the fifth or sixth century that has elaborate epithets for Mary, or in Western antiphons like *Alma redemptoris mater* (Sweet Mother of the Redeemer), or in the Ave Maria prayer ("Hail, Mary," *Luke* 1:28 and 1:48, with the later addition of "Pray for us sinners . . ."). Poetry, often outside the churches, e.g., by the English Romantics and pre-Raphaelites, and literature sometimes hailed Mary (see Tavard 153–167; Pelikan 165–175).

Some of the Protestant reformers (see Pelikan 153–163), including Ulrich Zwingli (see Tavard 104–109), grew up under the high Mariology of the late Middle Ages and its piety. Luther seems at times to have affirmed Mary's immaculate conception and even her bodily assumption and retained some Marian festivals, but with a Christological emphasis. More revealing is Luther's 1521 exposition of the Magnificat (*Works*, Saint Louis, 1956, vol. 21, pp. 297–358), where Mary is "the foremost example" of God's grace and of proper humility. The Lutheran confessions simply assume the virgin birth of Jesus Christ and even use stock phrases like *semper virgo.* But Calvin, who praised Mary as "holy virgin," expressed misgivings about calling her "mother of God." Protestant reaction to the post-Tridentine emphases in Roman Catholicism gave Mary less and less place (see Tavard 117–130; Dawe). Anglicanism often shares in (Roman) Catholic tradition about Mary, though not in the papal magisterium seen in the dogmas of 1854 and 1950 (see below; Tavard 134–152).

Eastern Orthodox regard for Mary has continued as living piety, but without the emphasis on dogmatic articulation found in Roman Catholicism (see Nikos Nissiotis, in *Concilium* 168, 1983, pp. 25–39, with bibliography). "Sophiology," Mary as created Wisdom (Sophia), developed especially in nineteenth-century Russian Orthodoxy (see Tavard 78–79; O'Carroll, *Theotokos* 332 and 90–92 on Sergius Bulgakov, 1817–1944). For Roman Catholic theology, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries brought new developments in spirituality having to do with Mary (for example, the devotion to the Immaculate Heart of Mary promoted by Jean Eudes, 1601–1680). In Italy, Alfonso Liguori (1696–1787) gathered stories about the Virgin in his book *The Glories of Mary.* Emphasis on Mary was encouraged by reported visions and appearances (Pelikan 178–187), for example, at Lourdes in 1858, with the announcement, "I am the Immaculate Conception," at Fatima, Portugal in 1917, and Medjugore in Bosnia-Herzegovina, beginning in 1981 (appearances have been claimed more frequently in the twentieth century than any previous time, so Tavard 186); also by international Marian congresses; by Marian years proclaimed by the pope; and by pilgrimages (for example to Czestochowa in Poland, Guadalupe, Mexico).

Reflective of such popular piety was Pius IX's 1854 definition of the immaculate conception as dogma for Roman Catholics in *Ineffabilis Deus:* "The most blessed Virgin Mary . . . was preserved free from all stain of original sin." In 1950, Pius XII defined the assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary as a dogma in the apostolic constitution *Munificentissimus Deus:* "The Immaculate Mother of God, the ever Virgin Mary . . . was assumed body and soul to heavenly glory." Protestant reaction was negative. The Orthodox reacted against the 1854 dogma because of their belief that everyone, Mary included, is afflicted with sin in the sense of human infirmity, but in 1950 they reacted only against papal claims of authority inherent in the proclamation (see Pelikan 189–213). Some Catholics have called for ecumenical rewriting of these dogmas (see Tavard 200).

Although some Catholic "maximalists" on Mary hoped that the Second Vatican Council would declare her coredemptrix with Christ, the council did not make such a statement. In fact, it voted in 1963 to include the material on Mary as chapter 8 of the Constitution on the Church, *Lumen gentium,* rather than to treat it as a separate schema. The dogmatic constitution treats her role in the economy of salvation, as Mother of God and of the Redeemer, as a model for the church, and as a sign of hope and solace for God's people in pilgrimage. There are also paragraphs on devotion to the Blessed Virgin, warning against exaggeration. However, the speech by Paul VI in 1964, promulgating *Lumen gentium,* proclaimed Mary as Mater Ecclesiae, and his apostolic exhortation in 1974, *Marialis cultus,* sought for renewal in devotion to Mary and called her "our sister." John Paul II has spoken frequently in traditional Marian terms, often devotionally (*Redemptoris mater,* 1987, announcing a Marian jubilee for 1987–1988, leading toward the bimillennium in 2000 of Jesus' birth). The net effect since Vatican II has generally been a greater restraint and balance in Roman Catholic Mariology and in Catholic devotional life. Some statements have suggested that Mary provides "the model of all real feminine freedom" (U.S. Catholic Bishops, *Behold Your Mother,* 1974). But for many feminists, Mariology, certainly in the church writers of the early centuries, has been all too androcentric (cf. Borrensen, Halkes, and Moltmann-Wendel, in *Concilium,* 168, 1983; contrast at points Tavard 49–57, 221–266). In ecumenical dialogues the fullest treatment has come in the United States "Lutherans and Catholics in Dialogue VIII," *The One Mediator, the Saints, and Mary,* ed. H. George Anderson, J. Francis Stafford, and Joseph A. Burgess (Minneapolis, 1992); "saints" and prayers for and to deceased saints proved more divisive than did Mary.

SEE ALSO Councils, article on Christian Councils; Cult of Saints; Goddess Worship; Jesus; Virgin Goddess.

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wart, 4th ed., vol. 5 (Tübingen, 2002): 798–799; Beverly Roberts Gaventa, *Mary, Glimpses of the Mother of Jesus* (Columbia, S.C., 1995), including literary approaches and "story." *Mary in the Churches,* edited by Hans Küng and Jürgen Moltmann, *Concilium* 168 (New York, 1983), surveys biblical origins and confessional attitudes today as well as trends in feminist and liberation theology and depth psychology and literature. *Mary's Place in Christian Dialogue,* edited by Alberic Stacpoole (Wilton, Conn., 1982), reflects work by the Ecumenical Society of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which also published Donald G. Dawe, *From Dysfunction to Disbelief: The Virgin Mary in Reformed Theology* (Washington, D.C., 1977). Stephen Benko's *Protestants, Catholics, and Mary* (Valley Forge, Pa., 1978) deals also with Josephology. Periodicals: *Marian Studies; Dialog* 31 (Fall 1992): 245–271.

JOHN REUMANN (1987 AND 2005)

MARY: FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES

The Virgin Mary has been a central figure in Catholic and Orthodox Christianity since the time of the early church. Although Marian devotion often has been aligned with papal power and Catholic imperialism, Mary also has been a focal point for popular devotional practices, legends, and folklore in Catholic culture, including those which express women's concerns with childbirth, motherhood, marriage, and religious life. Mary is a complex topic for feminist analysis, since the priorities and perspectives of a Western-educated feminist are likely to be different from those of a poor, illiterate Catholic woman, for whom the Virgin Mary nevertheless may be a potent source of inspiration and consolation.

FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES. The most common feminist critique of the Marian tradition focuses on the association between Mary and Eve, which is perceived as a destructive form of dualism that informs Christian concepts of womanhood. As the new Eve, Mary has been represented as the faithful, obedient virgin who brought life to the human race through her motherhood of Christ, whereas Eve has signified the disobedient virgin, the sexual temptress who brought death to the human race by eating the forbidden fruit and enticing Adam to eat it.

In parallel with the denigration of female sexuality in Eve's association with temptation, sin, and death, Mary's virginal motherhood is seen by feminist critics as representing an impossible ideal for women. The Christian understanding of female virtue has been constructed to a large extent around the contrast between Mary's virginal obedience, passivity, and modesty before God and Eve's disobedience, sexual incontinence, and susceptibility to temptation. This contrast has been exacerbated in the Roman Catholic tradition by the valuing of celibacy over marriage; as a result women have been identified with Eve as posing the ultimate threat to the spiritual and moral well-being of the celibate male.

CONTEMPORARY WRITINGS ON MARY. Although there is a long tradition of women's writings on Mary, contemporary feminist interpretations must be understood in the context of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965). The question of Mary's place in the church generated some of the most heated debates in Vatican II (at which no women were present), and the council's teachings on Mary eventually were incorporated into Chapter 8 of the document on the church, *Lumen Gentium.* Although *Lumen Gentium* emphasizes the unique dignity and privilege of Mary in her role as Mother of God, it also portrays her as the model of Christian discipleship and prayer.

After Vatican II, Catholic interest in Mary declined dramatically, and thus it is not surprising that she attracted relatively little attention from early feminist theologians. Those who did write about Mary tended to follow the trend of Vatican II, emphasizing her biblical persona as the poor woman of Nazareth and an exemplary disciple rather than her transcendent mystical significance as the Mother of God or her cultic role in popular devotions and feasts (Ruether, 1993). Feminist liberationist theologians saw Mary as a source of inspiration for the struggles of the poor and the oppressed, identifying her with the words of the Magnificat attributed to her in Luke's gospel (1:46–55). The Brazilian theologians Ivone Gebara and María Clara Bingemer (1989) proposed a feminist liberationist understanding of Mary that seeks to reconcile her human significance as Mary of Nazareth and her transcendent universality as the Mother of God.

Alongside these liberal and liberationist perspectives, some feminist thinkers have attempted to reclaim Mary's significance as the unacknowledged goddess of the Christian tradition (Baring and Cashford, 1993). From this perspective, the early church only partially defeated the goddess religions of the ancient world. Those religions were subsumed and incorporated into Christianity in the status and devotion accorded to the Virgin Mary while being divested of their potent matriarchal significance in the context of a patriarchal religious culture.

This is one of the ideas explored by Marina Warner (2000) in her feminist analysis of the development of Marian devotion and doctrine. Warner presents the Marian tradition as historically significant but anachronistic in terms of the aspirations, values, and questions of contemporary secular society, although in more recent editions of her work she has modified this stance by acknowledging the enduring capacity of Mary to meet the religious need for a mother goddess figure. Others, such as Charlene Spretnak (2004), offer a more positive affirmation of the need to recognize Mary's potential in terms of a maternal feminine divine presence in the Catholic tradition. Spretnak criticizes the Second Vatican Council for divesting the Marian tradition of much of its power and argues for the rediscovery of Marian devotion as an important aspect of feminist spirituality.

Mary is also a significant figure in the writings of the psycholinguistic theorists Luce Irigaray and Julia Kristeva. For Irigaray she represents the missing feminine dimension of the Incarnation. Irigaray (1991) argues that the fertile, corporeal, and maternal aspects of the Christian story have been neglected in favor of a life-denying religion based on the patriarchal and sacrificial relationship between a Father God and his crucified Son. Kristeva (1987), drawing on the insights of psychoanalysis, sees the cult of the Virgin Mary as contributing to the sublimation rather than the repression of the maternal relationship in Catholic Christianity, including its associations with the body, desire, and death.

These theoretical insights have informed feminist Mariology, particularly in the work of Tina Beattie (2002). A different critical perspective is offered by Sarah Jane Boss (2000). Drawing on the critical theory of the Frankfurt school in her reading of the Marian tradition, Boss argues that the increasing trend toward the domination of nature and the female body is reflected in changing attitudes toward the Virgin Mary in Western culture.

As a visible and ubiquitous symbol of maternal femininity in the Christian tradition the Virgin Mary is a vast cultural presence and historical influence whose significance has not been recognized fully by many secular feminists. The traditions, theories, and practices that surround her are too diverse and enigmatic to lend themselves to a straightforward feminist analysis or theory. However, it is hard to see how any feminist approach to questions of religion, history, and ethics in Western culture can ignore the extent to which the Marian tradition has shaped attitudes toward women in ways that extend beyond the doctrinal beliefs and devotional practices of Catholic Christianity.

SEE ALSO Asceticism; Celibacy; Eve; Feminine Sacrality; Feminism, article on French Feminists on Religion; Feminist Theology, article on Christian Feminist Theology; Goddess Worship, overview article; Liberation Theology; Spirituality; Virgin Goddess; Virginity.

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TINA BEATTIE (2005)

MARY MAGDALENE. Mentioned by name in only fourteen verses in the New Testament, Mary Magdalene is nevertheless one of the most important and influential figures in the history of Christianity. Mary came from a prosperous town on the shores of the Sea of Galilee, which in the canonical gospels is called by its Aramaic name, Magdala. In Greek it is known as Tarichaeae. In antiquity the town had a reputation for exporting quality salt fish and fish oil. It is possible Mary herself was engaged in some business related to the fishing industry. This occupation is well attested for women in early Roman Palestine, and the Herodian court at nearby Tiberias regularly purchased goods from female suppliers. When Mary is introduced in *Luke* 8:2, she is in the company of Joanna, the wife of a Herodian official, suggesting Mary had contact with the court.

Luke presents Mary Magdalene as one who followed Jesus during his ministry in the Galilee. According to the third gospel, Jesus healed Mary of an unspecified disorder, which singles her out as the only close companion whom he cures. *Luke* also records that Mary "ministered" (the Greek verb means "to care for" or "to provide") to Jesus and his followers "out of [her] resources." The verse may recall Mary's patronage as a well-to-do businesswoman.

Whenever a group of women followers is listed in the canonical gospels, Mary is mentioned first, an indication of her preeminence. The gospels also relate that Mary is present at the crucifixion in Jerusalem. Finally, she is the only person to be named in all four gospels as a witness to the resurrection, subsequently qualifying her to receive the accolade of apostle.

MARY IN NON-CANONICAL LITERATURE. In the late nineteenth century fragments of an extra-canonical gospel written in the name of Mary Magdalene were found. The discovery of an incomplete Coptic manuscript was followed in the early twentieth century by the recovery of additional portions of the text in Greek. Scholars generally date its composition to the second century. The gospel portrays Mary as the recipient of a vision of Christ in which she is praised for her fidelity. Peter appears as an adversary, attacking Mary when she explains her vision. Peter asks incredulously whether Jesus really did "speak with a woman without our knowledge [and] not openly."

The *Gospel of Thomas,* also a second-century text, depicts Peter's attempt to discredit any authority Mary possesses among the disciples, attributing to him the declaration, "Let Mary leave us, because women are not worthy of life." The risen Jesus refutes Peter's dismissal, replying, "Look, I myself shall lead her so that I will make her male in order that she too may become a living spirit resembling you males. For every woman who makes herself male will enter the kingdom of heaven."

A large corpus of Gnostic literature found at Nag Hammadi, Egypt, in 1945 was published in the 1970s. The texts include a number of extra-canonical manuscripts concerning Mary Magdalene, notably the third-century *Pistis Sophia,* the *Gospel of Philip,* and the *Dialogue of the Savior.* The *Sophia of Jesus Christ* was dated to the early fourth century, although some scholars argue that it exhibits features suggesting an earlier date of composition. These writings aroused new interest in Mary's relationship with Jesus and in her authority among early Christians. They also indicate a wide diversity of teaching during the formative years of the new religious movement.

Mary is depicted in the Gnostic works as having a particularly intimate relationship with Jesus. She is praised as worthy of having received private teaching from him and she is presented as a leader within the Christian community. Of particular interest, the *Gospel of Philip* portrays Mary as the one whom Jesus loved more than the other disciples and as one whom he kissed frequently. The act of kissing as a greeting and sign of affection is well attested as a common practice among early Christians, as Paul's epistles witness. Jesus' kiss, therefore, does not necessarily imply a sexual relationship, though some twentieth-century commentators have interpreted it that way.

Peter appears in the Gnostic texts consistently opposing Mary's authority. As a result, some scholars suggest that the Gnostic writings reveal a struggle within the early church between a faction that recognizes in Mary a model for women's authority and leadership, and a Petrine group that opposes women's authority. Other scholars interpret Peter as representing the emerging orthodox position, while Mary stands for the Gnostic view.

"APOSTLE TO THE APOSTLES." Writing in *Galatians* 1:11–17, Paul intimates that an apostle is one who receives an appearance of the risen Lord and one who is commissioned to proclaim his message. In the canonical gospels Mary is recorded as fulfilling both of these conditions. Hippolytus, a third-century bishop, is generally thought to be the first person to name her as an "apostle to the apostles." Augustine of Hippo in the fourth century and John Chrysostom in the fifth also accord Mary this title. Some scholars argue that the appellation of apostle is honorific in Mary's case. However, as she meets the criteria, there seems no need to assume the title was anything less than recognition of her apostleship. The persistence and survival of the epithet confirm Mary's importance among early Christians.

In the sixth century Pope Gregory I (the Great) declared that Mary Magdalene was beloved of the savior and was the leader of a group of apostles. He also proclaimed that the Galilean Mary Magdalene, the Judean Mary of Bethany, and the other Mary were one and the same person, conflating three distinct women. In the West, pious myths arose based on the conflation. According to an eleventh-century tradition, Mary, now identified as the sister of Martha and Lazarus, introduced Christianity to France. In eastern Christianity the confusion did not arise, for the distinctions among the women were maintained.

MARY THE PENITENT. Mary's reputation as an apostle, preacher, and leader declined as male authority increased in orthodox Christianity. Gregory I not only conflated three Marys, he also made Mary Magdalene into a prostitute, declaring her a redeemed whore in a sermon in 591. Mary was stigmatized as a prostitute through an association with the unnamed sinner mentioned in *Luke* 7:36–50, an erroneous identification that endured for fourteen hundred years. In church teaching and Christian art, Mary was portrayed as a model of repentance and was used as a propaganda tool. Her misrepresentation served the purposes of a church promoting asceticism, by making her into a moral paradigm: the unfaithful harlot forgiven and restored.

Scholarly consensus since the 1980s has returned Mary Magdalene to her position of authority and leadership in early Christianity. The identification of her as a prostitute has been exposed as mistaken and rejected for lack of evidence. Study of the noncanonical literature has revealed that Mary's influence endured for at least six centuries prior to her conflation with Mary of Bethany and the so-called other

Mary. At the same time, the Gnostic literature has raised questions about early Christian teachings regarding the salvation of women. Mary's canonical role as a close associate of Jesus, a faithful disciple, and a witness to the resurrection, coupled with the noncanonical accounts of her as a preacher and missionary, have revised her memory as a role model for Christian women.

SEE ALSO Gender and Religion, article on Gender and Christianity; Gnosticism; Nag Hammadi.

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DIANE TREACY-COLE (2005)

MASCULINE SACRALITY is the designation of some domain of the supernatural universe as masculine. It is a feature of numerous religious systems in human societies around the world. A comparison of such systems reveals three levels of expression for the masculine valuation of the sacred.

At one level, certain natural symbols recur in religious systems in the form of hierophanies or sacred manifestations of masculine higher being. These natural symbols include sky, peaks and mountains, thunder, rain, and certain horned beasts, as well as such creatures of flight as eagles. At a second level of expression, religious systems often attribute certain cosmic functions to masculine metaphysical entities and/or specifically male supernatural beings. Thus gods as opposed to goddesses tend to be credited with such cosmic functions as creation of the mundane universe, establishment of the moral code, invention of the elements of mortal subsistence, and the like. Finally, in many religious systems there is a belief in the masculine orientation of certain sacred values. These commonly include order, stability, permanence, and essentiality. This level of religious expression may be basic to the social ethic and organization of a community, and may furnish it with a model and sanction for the pursuit of distinctive life patterns on the part of men and women.

A masculine being or entity of a particular system may have reality at more than one of these levels of expression and possibly at all three simultaneously. A brief illustration may be furnished by Indra, one of the highest gods in the Vedic religion of ancient India. An atmospheric divinity, he is credited with the unleashing of rain and storms, expressive of the masculine fecundating force. In general, Indra personifies cosmic vitality: he fertilizes the earth and makes rivers, sap, and blood alike to circulate; his retinue is the winds. He is also sagacious and deceptive, given to fooling his adversaries by changing his form. Finally, the power of Indra is sovereign: he is the chief of the heavenly council of gods, and in iconography he usually wears a crown.

As a figure of the Vedic religious universe, Indra exemplifies a particular set of conceptions about the masculine nature of the sacred. These are realized at the three levels of expression discussed above. At the level of natural symbols Indra is represented by lightning, his cosmic projectiles, and by the rainbow, whereby he dispatches those projectiles. At the level of cosmic functions, Indra is associated with fecundation and life-giving force. Finally, at the level of religious values, Indra has the meaning of sovereignty: he is the prototype of the ruler. He exemplifies the values pertaining to the proper relationship of ruler and ruled, for he is lauded and invoked more than any other deity in the oldest of Indian sacred texts, the *Ṛgveda.* As a secondary value, Indra represents a force of mystery and delusion, since he is a cosmic magician, able to generate new aspects and shapes at will.

From Indra's example it should be apparent that the levels at which masculine sacrality is expressed in religious systems frequently interrelate. It is difficult to discuss natural symbols, cosmic functions, and religious values of the masculine in isolation from one another. Nevertheless, these levels of expression should be borne in mind in the following discussion of the basic attributes of masculine sacred being.

PRIMORDIALITY. In religious systems, a form of higher being anterior to and/or prerequisite to other varieties of being tends to be masculine. Thus if differentiated forms of being are said to arise from some primordial undifferentiated entity, the latter is frequently masculine. The Arapaho of North America, for instance, believe in a supreme god out of whom the entire manifest world originated. Their name for him is Spider, presumably because the spider weaves his web out of himself.

Alternatively, the being that first dwells in or emerges from the undifferentiated cosmic mass tends to be masculine. In world mythologies, masculine first beings are abundant. The supreme god of the Flathead of North America is Amotken ("the old one"). Similarly, the supreme god of the Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego is Watauniewa ("the old, eternal, unchangeable one"). Among the Hawaiians, the supreme male divinity is the god who dwells primordially, at the dawn of sacred time, in Pō, the world of obscurity or darkness. Again, for the inhabitants of the Gilbert Islands, the earliest being in the primordial void is a male divinity, Na Areau the Elder. In Australian religions, during the primordial time called the Dreaming, over the earth roamed the first beings called Great Men, who are fathers to the creatures of the present world.

In mythology, feminine being tends to be secondary to masculine being. Thus, in the Navajo creation myth, First Man is paired with First Woman; both of them emerged from the union of primordial mists, but the emergence of First Woman follows that of First Man. In general, where there occur masculine and feminine forms of primordial being, the former tends to provide precedent for the latter: Eve emerges out of the body of Adam, not Adam out of Eve.

HEIGHT. Religious systems widely associate with masculine sacrality the attribute of height, as well as the corollaries of ascendancy and transcendence. Mircea Eliade points out in *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (1958) that belief in the celestiality of the divine being is nearly universal in religious systems. To this it may be no less validly appended that the highest entities and beings of religion and mythology overwhelmingly tend to be masculine. Moreover, the sky is the most fundamental of all natural symbols of masculine sacrality.

In cosmology, sky beings are preponderantly male as opposed to female. Io, meaning "raised up" or "on high," is the supreme god of the Maori, while the Yoruba of Africa call upon a god named Ọlọrun, "owner of the sky." In mythology, masculine first beings not infrequently represent sky divinities: Amotken, the previously mentioned first being of the Flathead, is also a celestial god, living in the crown of the cosmic tree.

In some mythologies, high gods originate elsewhere than in heaven, but journey there before the onset of profane time. This theme is particularly well attested in Australia. Bunjil, the god of the Wotjobaluk, for instance, lived on earth as a Great Man but later went to the sky. Among the Aranda, some earthborn first beings fell slumbering to the ground and reemerged into it, while others climbed sacred passages to the sky. The former are identified with totemic ancestors, the latter with high divinity—the sun, moon, and stars.

Because the nearly universal attribute of masculine sacrality is height—often expressed symbolically in terms of celestiality—the idea of access to godhood tends to be expressed through the imagery of ascent or, occasionally, of descent. In the Tantric tradition of southern Asia (India, Nepal, Tibet), the sublime is taken to be masculine; integration with it demands a technique of focusing and directing upward the feminine energies of the physiological microcosmos. In popular Hinduism, on the other hand, humans are said to approach the sublime at the god's instance, by his willful descent to the mundane world on a series of occasions called *avatāra.* Thus a popular myth cycle portrays the high god Viṣṇu mercifully descending upon earth to be born in a series of mortal forms: as a fish, as a boar, as King Rāma, as the rambunctious cowherd Kṛṣṇa, and so on. By contrast, while a mother goddess occurs in popular Hinduism and at times manifests herself on earth, she is not specifically credited with the capacity of *avatāra*, or divine descent.

As an attribute of masculine sacrality, height is fundamentally but not exclusively symbolized by sky and atmosphere. Height may also find expression in the symbolism of entities associated with loftiness. Sacred mountains are often the dwelling places of gods: the mythical Mount Meru of India and the Greek Olympus are well-known examples, as are certain peaks in Japan and other parts of the world. In some religious systems, height as an attribute of masculine sacrality finds expression in the natural symbolism of sky-dwelling creatures. Fabulous birds, especially eagles, tend to be associated with godhood. The Bella Coola of the northwestern coast of America, for instance, believe in an *axis mundi*, or sacred pole connecting heaven and earth, that was erected by the highest god; it is topped by a seated eagle. Elsewhere in the religions of North America, and in parts of Siberia as well, an important position is held by a mythical creature of eaglelike appearance, the Thunderbird. The Thunderbird's association with the awesome and fecundating masculine force of the sky is underscored by the fact that he is said to cause wind and thunder by flapping his wings, and lightning by opening and closing his eyes.

EFFULGENCE. Along with loftiness and sublimity, effulgence is a common attribute of masculine sacrality suggested by the natural symbolism of the sky. Various religious systems characterize the supreme god as white or shining. The Khanty and the Mansi of the Asian Arctic, for instance, describe their supreme god Num-Tūrem as luminous, golden, and white. One of the most powerful gods of Hinduism—dwelling, incidentally, on mountains—is Śiva, the "shining one." Devotional literature sometimes refers to him as "the lord white as jasmine." In Hawaiian mythology, at the dawn of sacred time the first light in the universe was that of the original being and high god. Navajo mythology has it that First Man and First Woman arose in unparalleled radiance from the primordial mists of the sky, the former in the place of sunrise and the latter in the place of sunset. While each burned a fire to light the firmament, the light of First Man's fire was stronger.

In cultic practices, sacred objects associated with masculine divinities tend to be chosen for whiteness or luminosity. This is true, for instance, of the crystal stones used in some Australian rituals. (The supreme god Baiame of certain southeastern Australian tribes sits on a crystal throne.) Similarly, the First Man of Navajo legend burned crystal for his fire and was accompanied at his birth by white corn.

Fire, of course, is a common accompaniment to religious ritual. In Vedic India, not only was fire itself a god, but it served as the purifier and sacred conveyance of sacrificial oblations to the high gods in heaven.

PERVASIVENESS. The attribute of being immanent in the universe is widely associated with masculine sacred being. It is not without significance that the name of the Hindu god associated with *avatāra* or divine descent, Viṣṇu, means "pervader." However, in relation to the concept of supreme godhood, the attribute of pervasiveness should be carefully qualified because sky gods, those quintessential exemplifications of masculine sacrality, are typically characterized as distant, remote, and inactive.

Accordingly, in many religious systems no special cult centers on the high being of the heavens. He may be left out of ritual and worship altogether, or be called upon only in times of extraordinary crisis. Many mythologies speak of the sky god as having once been actively engaged in cosmic business, but as having withdrawn from direct intervention in the universe for all time.

As *deus otiosus*, or retired divinity, the sky god nevertheless often remains in touch with mundane affairs and manifests his presence indirectly. A particularly widely held belief is that thunder is a manifestation of such a god. For instance, people of the Andaman Islands believe that thunder is the voice of their supreme god Puluga, and the Kansa Indians similarly maintain that thunder is the voice of their high god Wakantanka, whom they have never seen. Conceived of as a masculine epiphany, the growling sound of thunder may be imitated in ritual to invoke the presence of the sublime. In Australian ritual one of the most sacred objects is the bull-roarer, a piece of wood with a string tied through a hole in one end. When swung around, this object makes a growling sound suggestive of a bull's bellowing or of thunder; it is particularly used in boys' initiation rites. Similarly, in religious rituals, particularly male initiation ceremonies, of the North American Southwest, an instrument called a bull-roarer or whiner is used to invoke and evoke the presence of the high god.

As a variant on the treatment of thunder as a masculine epiphany, the growling force of volcanoes is occasionally regarded as a sign of the immanence of sacred masculine being. In South America, for instance, the Puruhá tribesmen of La Montaña occasionally sacrificed humans to a volcanic mountain inhabited by a god who made his presence felt from time to time.

Another way in which the high god, as *deus otiosus*, maintains an immanent presence in the affairs of the universe is by delegating authority to lesser supernaturals. The high god is often credited with initiating creation, but not always with completing it. In many mythologies the completion of the work is delegated to other figures of the high god's designation. For instance, the supreme god Gicelamu'kaong of the Delaware delegates creation to the sun, the moon, the thunder gods, the four winds, the earth mother, and the master of animals. It is common in mythology for the *deus otiosus* to withdraw, leaving his own son behind to carry on his cosmic activities. One of the many instances of this is found in the creation myth of the Gilbert Islands, where the divine protagonist Na Areau the Younger inherits the task of creation from his progenitor, Na Areau the Elder, the primordial being.

As son and successor to the high god, a secondary celestial may acquire considerable preeminence over the original high divinity. This preeminence is graphically symbolized in some belief systems by treating the high god's offspring and successor as a solar deity. Thus among the Tiv of Africa, the sun is the male child of the supreme being Awondo. Similarly, among the Wiradjuri and the Kamilaroi of southeastern Australia, the sun is the creator god's son.

In many mythologies, a type of supernatural who mediates between a withdrawn cosmic father figure and the mundane sphere is called the culture hero. A culture hero is usually portrayed as being with the high god in primordial times, and his sacred activities are sometimes performed at the high god's instance. As a stand-in for higher divinity, the culture hero may play a role in mythology that is more important than that of the high god. Culture heroes are sometimes represented anthropomorphically, but just as frequently the culture hero has a theriomorphic representation: as a coyote among some southwestern North American peoples, and as a great hare on the eastern North American coast; as a wolf or a raven in eastern Siberia; as a bat among the Paresí of Bolivia; and as a tapir in the Amazon Basin. Whatever his representation, the culture hero invariably serves to keep terrestrial society in touch with godhood, and almost without exception is portrayed as a male.

The activities of the culture hero are varied. In some mythologies he assists in the work of creation. This holds of the earth diver, a culture hero widely revered in North America who, at the instance of the high god, brings up the first land from the primal waters. Another typical task of the culture hero is to provide the elements of culture and/or the basic tools of subsistence to the ancestors of modern men. Among the Northwest Coast people and in eastern Siberia, for instance, the culture hero Raven brings light and various elements of culture to the mundane world in primordial time.

Acting as he does as a kind of rival to the ethically sublime high god, the culture hero is often portrayed as a schemer or trickster. He may assist men at the expense of higher being, as, for example, by stealing water, sun, or subsistence materials from the other world or by releasing game enclosed in a cave or other place inaccessible to humans. This aspect of the culture hero's character is exemplified by the fire-giver Prometheus of Greek mythology.

Culture heroes are also frequently portrayed as sacred ancestors of human descent groups. In the case of theriomorphic culture heroes, such beliefs may find expression through totemistic cults like those common in Australia and North America. More generally, religious systems commonly embody a belief that sacred substance, as an immanent component and inheritance of human individuals, is masculine—that is, it is derived from a high god, is transmitted by supernatural males acting in sacred time as ancestors of men, and is passed along in profane time through the male descent line. Thus, according to Hindu social theory and law, men alone pass the sacred substance of their lineage to their descendants, whereas the sacred substance inherited by a woman is not immutable, being transformed to correspond to that of her husband at the time of marriage. According to Hindu doctrine, then, women transmit to their offspring no sacred substance of their own but only that of their husbands.

Finally, regarding pervasiveness, it should be mentioned that the natural symbolism of the sky overlaying and embracing the supine earth powerfully suggests the immanence of the masculine sacred principle. A sexual dichotomy is commonly featured in religious systems, the sky being associated with the masculine and the earth with the feminine. Earth goddesses are not infrequently paired with sky gods. Moreover, earth and sky together constitute the prototype of the cosmic pair. A common theme in world mythologies is that of the primordial separation of the mutually embracing sky and earth. The creatures responsible for forcing sky and earth apart are variously represented as culture heroes, ancestors of the present earth dwellers, and/or the divine offspring of sky and earth themselves.

Contact between the separated celestial and terrestrial realms is frequently achieved in sacred time (and, by that precedent, is renewable in present, profane time) by means of certain sacred paraphernalia or entities of a fairly obvious sexual symbolism. Apertures in rocks or clouds are commonly portrayed as sacred means of passage, as are fabulous pillars, trees, ladders, mountains, and the like. In other words, Sky the father and Earth the mother are mediated by sacred holes and poles. These devices, moreover, contrast somewhat in their orientation: the sacred holes tend to be earth-directed, and the sacred poles sky-directed. Thus in the creation myth of the Gilbert Islanders the culture hero Na Areau the Younger walks in sacred time upon the rocklike upper surface of the sky, then pokes a hole down through it to apprehend the earth. From the bowels of the earth Na Areau then enlists an eel that braces himself against the earth with his tail in order to lift the sky upward by his snout. Thus the once direct contact between earth and sky comes to be mediated by the phallic force of that cosmic uplifter, the divine eel.

The performance of rituals for reestablishing primordial contact between the mundane world and the sublime is fairly common in religious systems. Such rituals tend to embody the symbolism of ascent, and the implements used in them are often of a phallic appearance. Thus to symbolize the *axis mundi*—the sacred connector of heaven and earth—a pole, ladder, or tree is often used; it may be ascended by a ritual specialist, who thereby symbolically journeys to heaven on behalf of his community. Such ascent rituals are typically performed in Siberia and other areas of the world by shamans, ritual specialists in techniques of healing and ecstasy.

FECUNDITY. Masculine sacred being is widely associated with generative and fecundating powers. This association seems to be based on the natural functioning of the sky, which fecundates the receptive earth by precipitation. One ritual of ancient India gives explicit expression to the association: the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* enjoins the husband to unite with the wife after uttering the formula, "I am the heavens, thou, the earth."

High gods and important male supernaturals tend to be credited with extraordinary potency and sexual capacity. These capabilities may be seen as independent of and additional to any role played by a given divinity in the creation of the cosmos. In popular Hinduism, for instance, the high god Śiva shakes the cosmos by the force of his copulation. A symbol of Śiva is the lingam, a stylized phallus usually given concrete realization in black stone.

In natural symbology, the masculine attribute of fecundity is often expressed by animals of high fertility. Bulls are a particularly common symbol. Śiva's cosmic vehicle is a fabulous bull, and the bull is also the form assumed by Zeus in the early Greek myth of Europa's ravishment.

As a symbol of the masculine, the bull tends to be cross-linked with the symbolism of thunderbolts. The latter are sometimes represented in the shape of stylized horns. Also, the bull's bellowing, like thunder, is an epiphany of godhood. Thus in the ancient Near East, the god Min had the epithet Great Bull, lightning was one of his attributes, and he was responsible for rain and for giving life. In Papua New Guinea, the culture hero Sosom is aurally evoked by the bull-roarer, which is his voice; his body is of stone, and he has an exaggerated penis, suggesting his sexual and fertile powers. Indeed, Sosom is credited with fertilizing man as well as soil.

ACCULTURATION. Man's conception of order as a sacred force plausibly derives from observation of the events and entities of the heavens. Within the sky, which is itself unchanging and stable, celestial bodies move about according to a placid and unvarying rhythm. Because the sky is associated with the masculine, masculine sacrality comes to be seen more or less universally as the principle of permanence and order.

Thus, in mythology, the establishment of things that give permanence and stability to existence—rule, law, and the structured bases of things and institutions—tends to be treated as a masculine function. High gods and culture heroes delineate the features of the primordial landscape. They separate land from water and establish landmarks in the cosmos: sacred mountains, boulders, trees, rivers, and the like. Moreover, male supernaturals furnish society with the permanent institutions of culture, including law, moral code, and the forms of religious practice itself. At the same time, high culture tends to be perceived in religious communities as a domain proper to men. This is particularly true in regard to religion. Virtually without exception, human societies exclude women from the most sacred religious rites, as well as from manipulation of the most sacred objects of cult.

Where sacred values are associated with a dichotomy of gender, the usual tendency is for the masculine to be associated with stability and essentiality, and the feminine with change and materiality. The masculine may be identified with being's inner form—thought or structure—while the feminine is identified with being's outer forms—word or substance. The masculine may be associated with the potential, inactive form of being; the feminine, with kinetic, active being. The masculine is one and/or integrated; the feminine is plural and/or diffuse.

Thus in the Yoga and Sāṃkhya religious philosophies of India, the universe is said to be based on a polarity of two metaphysical principles. The masculine principle, *puruṣa* (which itself means "male" or "man"), is that of immanent and essential being, whose nature is immutable. By contrast, the feminine principle is associated with *śakti*, the energy that activates the ever-changing material universe. In the philosophical writings of the tradition, the masculine deprived of its *śakti* is compared to a lifeless god, while the feminine principle out of balance with the masculine is said to be rampant, capricious, and dangerous.

Navajo religion likewise associates dichotomies of cosmic function and religious value with the sacred masculine and feminine. In mythology the primordial being, First Man, creates a son and a daughter who are respectively Thought and Speech. The latter is called the outer form of Thought, and the former, the inner form of Speech; both are necessary for the creation of the inner forms of the present universe. As first boy and first girl, these entities are also said to have produced a daughter, a feminine deity identified with the earth. Her name, not insignificantly, is Changing Woman.

Gender dichotomies expressed in Navajo mythology are reflected with great consistency in the cultural and social patterns of the community. In *Language and Art in the Navajo Universe* (Ann Arbor, 1977), Gary Witherspoon points out that the Navajo associate the ritual and ceremonial domain with thought and the masculine. Thus most ceremonial practitioners are men. The ceremonies they conduct, moreover, are rigidly structured and must be performed without mistakes or modifications. Usually, Navajo ceremonies are concerned with restoring prior states of being. The fact that such ceremonies are the domain of men bespeaks a religious view that masculinity has to do with the origins of things and their culmination.

On the other hand, Navajo women are active in productive and domestic matters. They head most domestic groups and control land and sheep on behalf of those groups. This life pattern is consistent with the religious view of the feminine as the domain of growth, process, and change. For the Navajo, social and economic life concerns the generation of new conditions and new beings; it is characterized by movement, change, activity, and productivity. Here, then, it is appropriate that women dominate.

SUMMARY. Belief in a masculine domain of the sacred universe is common in religious systems and tends to be associated with recurrent natural symbols, cosmic functions, and religious values. Based on the patterns discussed above, the following can be enumerated as more or less universal tendencies. (1) Primordial first beings of cult and/or mythology are most often male or masculine. (2) Cosmic functions pertaining to creation and fecundation are usually associated with masculine—as opposed to feminine—entities, principles, and beings. (3) Elements of culture tend to be associated with or attributed to masculine—as opposed to feminine—principles and/or supernaturals. (4) In community life, important differences in life patterns between the sexes have sanction and justification in beliefs about gender sacrality. In particular, manipulation of sacred objects and ceremonies tends to be seen as the appropriate domain of men. (5) The most exalted beings and entities of the masculine sacred universe are almost always associated with the natural symbolism of the sky and derive their attributes accordingly.

SEE ALSO Ascension; Axis Mundi; Bull-Roarers; Culture Heroes; Feminine Sacrality; Fire; Hieros Gamos; Kingship; Light and Darkness; Phallus and Vagina; Shamanism; Sky; Supreme Beings; Tjurungas; Transcendence and Immanence; War and Warriors.

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Revised Bibliography

MASHTOTSʿ, MESROP

MASHTOTSʿ, MESROP (c. 345–440), inventor of the Armenian alphabet and saint of the Armenian church. The major source for his biography is the *Life of Mashtotsʿ* written by his pupil and associate, Koriwn. The name *Mesrop*, the etymology of which is still unknown, does not appear in the works of Armenian writers until after the fifth century.

Mashtotsʿ was born to a peasant named Vardan in the village of Hatsʿekatsʿ, in the district of Tarōn (present-day Muş, Turkey). He was educated in Greek letters as a youth. As a young man he entered military service, becoming a clerk in the royal army stationed at Vagarshapat (present-day Echmiadzin). Led to solitary life by his interest in the scriptures, Mashtotsʿ became an anchorite. He evidently headed a *kellion* (a small group of anchorites) in the 390s. While proselytizing the people of the district of Goghtʿn (Nakhichevan, Azerbaijan), he conceived the idea of inventing an alphabet for the Armenian language and making the scriptures available to the common people. After deliberating with Bishop Sahak of Armenia and King Vṛam-shapuh of Persarmenia, he learned that a certain Syriac bishop by the name of Daniel had in his possession an alphabet for Armenian, which was immediately solicited. Finding Daniel's alphabet unsuited to the phonetic structure of Armenian, Mashtotsʿ and his pupils set out for Edessa to do research, and there in 404 Mashtotsʿ himself invented an alphabet consisting of thirty-six letters.

Returning to Armenia, Mashtotsʿ founded schools and continued the task of translating the scriptures that he had begun in Edessa. He devoted the rest of his life to literary, educational, and missionary works. At first his activities were concentrated in the southeastern and eastern parts of historical Armenia (i.e., Armenia Magna). He preached in Goghtʿn and then in Siwnikʿ, where he founded schools and established an episcopal see. Subsequently, he went to Georgia, where he invented a script for Georgian and preached the teachings of the Christian church. His concern for the Armenians on the Byzantine side of the border led him in the 420s to Constantinople, where he met the emperor Theodosius and the patriarch Atticus. Having received from them the necessary permission for carrying out cultural work, he returned to Byzantine Armenia, where he established schools and introduced the new script. During his stay there he persecuted an obscure sect known as the Barbarianos and invented a script for Albanian.

After his return to Persarmenia, Mashtotsʿ went to preach in Caucasian Albania (corresponding to parts of present-day Azerbaijan and Dagestan). He then visited those districts of historical Armenia that had been annexed to Georgia and Albania in 363. An important contribution of Mashtotsʿ was to unify the Armenians of these districts through linguistic bonds.

Mashtotsʿ spent the final two decades of his life in Armenia devoting himself to writing homilies and letters, none of which has survived. Some scholars identify Mashtotsʿ with the chorepiscopus Mastoubios of Armenia. Mashtotsʿ died on February 17, 440 and was buried in the village of Oshakan. A martyrium was built over his grave and he was venerated as a saint. The Armenian people consider him the father of the Armenian literary tradition and the creator of the Armenian national identity. His grave is still a major site of pilgrimage.

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MASKS. This article will not attempt to establish a comprehensive inventory of masks and their various ritual uses because even larger works have only been able to do this imperfectly. Rather, as a general introduction to this field, it will concentrate on some of the general concepts and theories that have arisen from the study of masks. Its geographical focus will be Africa, Melanesia, and the Americas because these regions provided the data on which the theories discussed were based.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW. Although the importance of descriptions by travelers, missionaries, and topographers from at least as early as the sixteenth century should not be overlooked, it can be argued that effective study of ritual masks began only in the nineteenth century. At this time the first interpretations and general theories about European folk traditions emerged, following (among others) the work of the Grimm brothers, Jacob Grimm (1785–1863) and Wilhelm Grimm (1786–1859), for whom folktales revealed traces of beliefs and myths connected with ancient pagan gods. Later, Wilhelm Mannhardt (1831–1880) took an interest in the folk religion of his time, in particular that of the rural communities. Collecting vast amounts of data, Mannhardt underscored the predominance of beliefs in fertility spirits and in the existence of a connection between vegetal and human life. Under his influence, a number of mask rituals came to be understood as incorporating ancient beliefs dealing with fertility, and masks were interpreted as representing demons of the vegetal world.

At the same time, E. B. Tylor (1832–1917) began to establish anthropology as a science of human beings and their culture. He described the evolution of civilization from the first humans, who in his eyes were in large part represented by contemporary "primitive" peoples, up to the civilized human of his day. To this end he used a comparative method to organize an impressive number of facts and documents in support of his evolutionary perspective. He also analyzed the process whereby elements belonging to an older stage of evolution survive into later stages in which they do not function adequately.

Therefore, the various elements that formed the core of the study of masks by folklorists as well as anthropologists up to World War II were present as early as the last quarter of the nineteenth century. These elements are: (1) the evolutionist perspective, following which the history of Western society can be reconstructed by classifying all known societies according to the degree of civilization they have reached; from this point of view, the peoples studied by ethnology enabled modern humans to relive, as it were, stages experienced by the Western world thousands of years ago; (2) the notion of "survival," used to describe those remnants of ancient customs that resisted evolution and survived beyond the period in which they were truly meaningful; and (3) intensive use of the comparative method—on the basis of what ethnology reported on traditional communities of Africa, Oceania, or the Americas, it was thought possible to reconstruct the earlier stages in the evolution of a society and to recover the original meaning of a particular custom.

By the end of the nineteenth century, scholars were in possession of an ever-increasing amount of comparative data on masks. In 1883 Adolf Bastian wrote a general study on the role of masks. In 1886 Richard Andree published an overview and summary of far-ranging documents from various periods. He thus made a large database on masks available to other scholars while organizing it into categories that have been constantly taken up ever since. Finally, in 1898 Leo Frobenius linked masks, seen as representing spirits of the dead, to secret societies. From his perspective this relationship originated as a male reaction to matriarchy and provided an explanation for the exclusion of women from practically all mask rituals. These early theories of ritual masks marked the anthropological and folkloric study of masks for several decades.

In a well-known article published in 1933, Karl Meuli formulated a general theory of "primitive" masks that he then applied to European traditions. According to him, there is a close connection between masks and so-called matriarchal societies. Furthermore, the majority of primitive masks represent spirits, primarily spirits of the dead. Indeed, the strange appearance of masked figures indicates that they do not belong to the human realm. Their behavior reinforces this interpretation: the masks beg while threatening, they reprimand, and they punish, after which they distribute gifts and grant wishes of prosperity and then disappear. Meuli explains this behavior as the result of a primitive belief that no death is natural, every death being the result of the malevolence of a living person. At particular times during the transition from an end to a beginning (the passage from one year to the next, for example), the underworld opens up, allowing the dead to return among the living. The masked figures represent these dead, who first seek revenge. By letting them pilfer and chastise as they please, one gives them the opportunity to calm down, after which they again bestow benevolence.

This interpretation, applicable equally to the masks described by ethnology and to European folk masks, is a synthesis of the theories founded on evolutionism, the notion of survival, and the comparative method, to which it adds psychoanalysis. Influential both within and outside scholarly circles, Meuli's theory played an important role in the history of the study of masks. It appeared, however, at a time when anthropology itself was gradually turning away from the ambitious theories developed at the beginning of the century to focus instead on elaborate and detailed localized research, employing a more demanding method. A similar trend emerged somewhat later, after World War II, in the study of folk traditions.

Up until then, because of the survival theory, a given culture was not studied as a coherent contemporary phenomenon but rather as a patchwork of various elements that could be analyzed somewhat independently of each other. Critics noted, however, that a custom should not be considered as a mere relic: it survived because it still had a role to play in the society in which it was observed. From then on studies increasingly tended to consider each custom as part of a contemporary system, analysis of which would illuminate the function of each of its components. Similarly, comparison was no longer applied to isolated elements; rather, scholars compared systems of relationships. Finally, the problem of the continuity of culture and cultural traits was tackled on a new basis: the historic dimension was reintroduced into the analysis and replaced the notion of survival, which focused interest on the question of origins and, in effect, canceled out history.

For instance, earlier authors had interpreted Carnival as either an old agrarian rite of purification and fertility aiming at driving out the bad spirits of winter or as a survival of the Roman Saturnalia. However, as Suzanne Chappaz-Wirthner (1995) points out, integrating history into the study of Carnival reveals that the imagery linked to secular and religious power, as manifest in court festivals and liturgical celebrations, played a decisive role in the development of a repertoire of carnivalesque images unique to the Christian West; individuals as well as social groups resort to it to play out their conflicts and express their aspirations. Carnival therefore can be considered a language with cosmic resonance enabling a dramatization of social dynamics.

The traditional populations studied by ethnology were again placed in the historical framework that general theories considering them as "primitive" had somewhat obscured. Thus, anthropologists and art historians as well as folklorists came to carry on their research within concrete historical frameworks. They now deal with notions of identity, creativity, change, exchange, power, and politics among other elements that shape a particular mask ritual at a particular time.

PROBLEMS OF DEFINITION. Although everybody seems certain of what a mask is, the definition of the term poses important problems. In the narrow and usual sense of the word, a *mask* is a false face behind which one hides one's own face for purposes of disguise. In ethnology, mask also refers to headpieces that do not cover the face, as well as elements of costumes that are worn over the face (such as veils, fringes) and other full or partial adornments of the body or face. The term *mask* is also used to refer to any representation of a face, whether or not it is worn on the face of a dancer. Consequently this includes mannequins; effigies; faces painted, molded, or carved on buildings and boats; and pendant masks as well as finger or pocket masks. Finally, the definition is sometimes widened to include face or body paintings and tattoos. Since scholars do not agree on the denotation of the term, confusion permeates the literature on the subject. As M. C. Jedrej (1980) puts it, the word "mask" identifies no coherent class of institutions of any use to social anthropologists.

It is important to keep in mind this problem of definition when trying to understand some of the ideas frequently advanced on the subject of masks; for example, the claim for universality of the mask: it is only when makeup, paintings, and tattoos are included in the definition of mask that one can say that masks can be found in virtually all cultures. But is such a broad definition justified? No one can say, for this question has not yet been systematically investigated.

It is important to note that the focus on the face that museums, art galleries, and books on masks often maintain gives a distorted view of the ritual mask. This interest in the face has encouraged a tendency to relegate to the background the many masks that, lacking a face, are simple hoods or fringes of fibers or beads falling in front of the face of the wearer. Fascination with the face has also tended to minimize interest in the costume of the mask, which has often been hastily dismissed either as fundamentally designed to conceal the wearer or as merely accompanying the mask. The mask must, however, be considered from a larger perspective so as to include the costume, the headdress, and the possible accessories, as well as immaterial factors such as the behavior, the dance steps, and the songs or texts pertaining to the mask. As Eberhard Fischer (1980) points out, among the Dan of Liberia and the Ivory Coast it is the headdress, and not the face, that immediately signals a mask's type. Consequently, the first step in the transformation of a mask from one category to another is the alteration of the headdress. The Dan also have "night masks," which comprise no tangible face but may include feathered headdresses. In ancient Egypt the priests' masks were adorned only with animal heads. The priests playing the roles of anthropomorphic deities did not require masks: the headdresses and the specific emblems of the gods were enough to identify them.

The face, therefore, is not necessarily the place where the meaning of the mask is concentrated. It follows that, when faced with an ensemble that includes all the elements of a mask (costume, headdress, dance), it is rather difficult to decide that there is no mask simply because the face of the dancer is painted rather than covered with a hood or false face. In any case, some scholars see a continuity between face paintings and masks because of the similarities between the two phenomena: both are temporary adornments, both appear on special occasions (initiation, marriage, death, or the lifting of a prohibition), and both seem to have comparable functions. On the other hand, the inclusion of tattoos in the definition of masks creates more problems than it resolves, for it is difficult to see how masks and paintings, which are temporary, could simply be classified with tattoos, which are permanent.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF RITUAL MASKS. A narrower definition of masks—one that takes as a fundamental criterion the existence of one element of costume (false face, hood) worn in front of the face—forces the realization that even in regions that are traditionally considered the privileged domains of masks there exist extensive zones in which masks are not used. In Africa, for instance, masks are found mostly along a strip that cuts across the center of the continent from west to east and curves toward the south. In the Americas, intensive use of masks is most frequent in the western heights of both North and South America. Finally, in Oceania the mask is practically absent from Polynesia. It is extremely widespread in Melanesia, although it is not used among most of the highland peoples of New Guinea, in the main part of Irian Jaya and in eastern Papua New Guinea, in parts of the Bismark Archipelago, in the central and Southeast Solomons and the Santa Cruz group, and in the Fiji group.

Several hypotheses have been put forward to explain the gaps in the distribution of masks. According to one, peoples without masks simply lack the wish to express themselves plastically and use other means to formulate and express their beliefs. Besides being an example of circular reasoning, this explanation runs against a number of exceptions that it cannot explain, particularly among peoples that have a statuary but no masks. The absence of masks in certain regions of Africa has also been attributed to the influence of Islam. However, anthropologists have demonstrated that the Islamicization of a given region did not necessarily lead to the elimination of the art of masks. On the contrary, as René Bravmann (1977) showed, some African societies created new masks after the advent of Islam in order to represent the *jinn.* Masks have also been said to be more characteristic of agricultural peoples. This hypothesis, however, accounts only imperfectly for the presence of masks among hunters in Asia and the Americas. The most successful general theory has been that of the historical cultural school, which explained the distribution of masks by arguing for their relationship with so-called matriarchal societies. An examination of the available data has, however, discredited this hypothesis as well. To date no global model is available to explain the geographic distribution of masks.

As a matter of fact, since being forced to abandon the broad theories of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century, scholars have no longer shown much interest for the study of questions of this amplitude. Most have focused instead on the in-depth analysis of a particular society, avoiding any far-reaching comparative evaluation they consider responsible in part for those past mistakes.

Nevertheless, some interesting localized studies have attempted to specify the status of masks within certain populations. Some try to elucidate the relationship that may exist in particular societies between the mask and other religious and sociopolitical structures. Others look for the provenance of the masks of particular groups or even attempt to reconstruct its history. For instance, Jean Guiart (1966) showed that, in certain parts of New Caledonia, the development of the art of masks seems to have been linked to the development of chieftainships in the same region. And according to William Siegmann (1980), the use or nonuse of masks to manifest spiritual forces in West Africa seems directly related to the dominant features of social organization in particular areas, and especially to the role of lineages and political structures. But still lacking is a general model that explains the distribution of ritual masks, an extremely important element of this institution.

THE DATING OF MASKS. How far back can one trace the appearance of the ritual mask? Many scholars do not hesitate to go as far back as the Early Stone Age, but this raises a number of problems. The documents on which they base their conclusions are far from clear and admit of various interpretations. A workable example is that of the well-known "Sorcerer" of Les Trois Frères cave (Ariège, France, middle Magdalenian Age; c. 12,000 BCE). It is often presented as the oldest representation of a masked human, whereas paleontologists now prefer to see in it the portrayal of a mythical mixed being (half man and half beast). Such a figure may or may not be linked to the existence of masks; it may or may not constitute the inception or consequence of mask use. In any case, one cannot be categorical about it. This is true as well for an important number of the documents that have been interpreted as representing masked beings because they showed anthropomorphic figures with stylized or animal heads.

Ofer Bar-Yosef (1985) reports that, in a cave at Nahal Hemar in the Judean Desert, archaeologists have discovered fragments of several stone masks dating back to the prepottery Neolithic B period (seventh millennium BCE). It seems unlikely that these stone masks were affixed to the face of a wearer during ceremonies. They might be funerary masks or the facial part of effigies, or even masks that were hung from poles. Nothing allows a decision in favor of one or the other of these hypotheses. Nevertheless, these stone artifacts are the oldest reliable dated documents testifying to the existence of masks in the seventh millennium BCE. One cannot conclude from this find that there existed at the same time masks worn by living human beings during ceremonies. The oldest document from this point of view seems to belong to Egypt, where the representation of a masked figure appears on a fragment of a wall of the funerary temple of King Sahoure (fifth dynasty, c. 2500 BCE). From a general point of view, however, it may be assumed that the plausibility of the existence of ritual masks increases with the advent of the Late Stone Age, particularly in parts of the Middle East, Africa, and Europe.

WHAT DOES THE RITUAL MASK REPRESENT? Throughout the principal regions in which ritual masks are found—Africa, Melanesia, and the Americas—the majority of the figures depicted in masks are primordial beings, mythical ancestors, culture heroes, and gods. In fact, in most cases the mask is not limited to representing a particular figure: it evokes the events in which said figure played a role. These events are not necessarily enacted as on a theatrical stage; they can be recalled by a dance, by a song or chant, by a piece of costume, or by the recital of a text that accompanies the performance of the mask. They can even be implicit: the mask intervenes in certain circumstances, because the figure it represents was implicated in similar circumstances at the time of origins—a fact known to the initiates at least.

Among the Senufo of Ivory Coast, for instance, the *kponiougo* (head or face) of the Poro, the men's secret society, recalls the original state of the world as it is described in mythological narratives. Among the Dan the mask of the toucan recalls the events that led God to create the earth. Although knowledge of Melanesian myths is only fragmentary, many masks of that part of the world seem to strive to recall paradigmatic events. For instance, the performance of the Mai masks of the middle Sepik of New Guinea is accompanied by the recital of totemic names and mythical texts through a bamboo megaphone. Another mask represents a feminine spirit, who, along with a masculine being often represented in the form of a crocodile, is the protagonist of events that accompanied the creation of the present world.

On the northwest coast of North America, Bill Holm (1972) has noted that the great majority of Kwakiutl masks are worn in representations, in stylized dance form, of incidents from hereditary family myths. In some cases the dance dramatizes the mythical adventure of the ancestor, whereas in others it re-creates a dance given to the ancestor by a mythical being with whom he came in contact. And according to Frank G. Speck (1949), among the Iroquois, at the beginning of each reunion of the False Faces, the chief recalls the confrontation between the original False Face and the Great Spirit, in memory of which the False Faces wear masks with crooked noses. Before entering the home of sick people to minister to them, the False Faces produce weird noises. These nasal sounds are said to be in imitation of the utterances the original False Face made during one episode of his challenge of the Great Spirit.

In the southwest United States the masked dances of the Zuni represent various episodes of their mythology. In the Shalako ceremony, for instance, some dances consist of a mimetic representation of the actions of the kachinas when they want to send rain to the Zuni.

In South America the mask rituals and their symbolisms often have an elementary character. However, careful analysis of the ceremonies reveals that many commemorate the principal episodes of the tribal mythology. The Carajá, who live along the middle course of the Araguaia River, have masks that portray a pair of supernatural parrots whose descent to humankind is related in myth. The Aruana, a dance performed in the same region, bears the name of a fish whose form the Carajá bore before they became human beings.

The use of masks may reflect the will to enact certain events as much as the desire to portray certain figures. At times, masks represent no particular character at all but only events. For instance, Carl Laufer (1970) reports that, among the Mali-Baining of the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain, the main purpose of the Mandas festival is to represent the events that took place in the primordial mythic time. While a choir of women chants the story of creation, eighty masks enact its various phases: the birth of the sea, the appearance of the earth, the primordial forest, the flora, the winds, the animals and birds, and, when the stage has thus been set, the appearance of the first human couple and their sons. In this festival the *ngoaremchi* masks portray whirlpools and explain thereby the birth of the sea, which swirled forth in all directions, and the *ngavoucha* masks show how the earth was separated from the waters.

The Dogon of Mali have a mask called *sirige,* a term that can be translated literally as "two-storied house." This mask consists of a rectangular face surmounted by a high sculpted mast sometimes over five meters high. Marcel Griaule (1938) was told that the *sirige* was recent and profane, a mere sculpture inspired by the view of a two-storied house, and that the wide movements traced by its mast served only to allow the wearer to show off the power of his jaw and neck. Later, French anthropologists were given a more complex idea of Dogon cosmology, and it appeared that both the mask and the house recalled the same series of mythical events.

When the masks are shown in the main square of a Dogon village, the rich ensemble of things, animals, and human figures is a reproduction of the world, a catalog of both the live and extinct fauna of the cliffs and the plains. This display recalls all of the public functions, the trades, the ages; it presents a host of strangers, friends, or enemies; it mimics a wide variety of essential activities, all in a specified order, at least theoretically. It is truly a cosmos. When the mask society gets under way in the public square, it dances the march of the world; it dances the system of the world.

In some cases the system within which a population lives may be represented not by the ensemble of masks but by one particular mask that summarizes the entire system. Among the northern Igbo of eastern Nigeria, the mask *ijele* is a lofty tableau of figures with trappings hanging from its bottom edge to conceal the performer, who carries the whole structure on his head. According to John S. Boston (1960), the theme of the tableau that occupies the upper section of the *ijele* is the life of a typical Igbo community. Marie-Claude Dupré (1968) also tells that, among the Bantsaya group of the western Téké, the mask of the Kidumu dancer is a true summary of the culture of the group.

Masks are thus closely linked to the founding events of a society and its institutions, as well as to its values. It is therefore easy to understand why among many peoples the mask is linked to conservative forces and plays an important role in social control, assuming even a quasi-police function. The few examples given above also show that the primary function of masks is to represent rather than to conceal.

Sometimes the masks lose their ritual value at the end of the ceremonies of which they have been a part. This widespread phenomenon has often surprised observers. For instance, Francis E. Williams (1940) wondered why the *hevehe* masks of the Elema of New Guinea had to be killed and destroyed at the end of the ritual cycle, only to be re-created in the next cycle, when they might pass from one cycle into the other as if living throughout. He was puzzled to see the products of years of industry and art so readily consigned to the flames. This surprise in the face of the abandonment or destruction of the masks once they have been used reveals the bias of Western interpreters. First, Western interest in the mask as an artifact highlights the finished product and underestimates the ritual value involved in its making. Further, the Western tendency is to consider the masked ceremonies as theatrical performances and to think that all the preparations that precede them find their meaning only in the performance itself. This is a distorted view of those ritual cycles; often the making of the mask is in itself a ritual that reproduces the various phases of the creation of the archetypal mask. Therefore it is vitally important that the following cycle start anew at the beginning; that is, with the making of the mask. This is probably the reason why masks can be destroyed or left to rot without regret at the end of a cycle.

THE MASK AND ITS WEARER. The notion of a "primitive mentality" was prevalent among writers at the beginning of the twentieth century. One of the principal characteristics of this mentality was the supposed inability to truly differentiate between the being and its appearance, the thing and its image, the signifier and the signified. Influenced by this view, most of the books on ritual masks spread a theory according to which the wearer of the mask not only represented a certain figure (ancestor, culture hero, god) but actually became this figure. For these authors, therefore, to put a mask on was akin to undergoing a real transformation. Some scholars took this theory even further and claimed that it provided an explanation for the phenomenon of masking itself. According to them, masks stemmed from the possibility they gave people to liberate themselves, to repudiate their current personalities, to undergo metamorphosis.

The conditions of ethnographic fieldwork do not always lend themselves to an evaluation of the precise level of reality on which the presence of a mythical being is located in a given ritual. But in light of available knowledge, the range in which the various hypotheses mentioned above may apply is becoming narrower and narrower. The best studies show that cultures that utilize masks are perfectly capable of distinguishing between the thing and its image.

For instance, in 1938 Griaule wrote that the Dogon did not fit the prevalent assumption about the attitude of Africans toward the images they create. Far from being fooled by the appearances or the material effects of the ritual, they were definitely aware of the difference between the thing represented and its image. They even had a word, *bibile*, to express the concept of reproduction, image, resemblance, or double. A photograph was the *bibile* of the person it represented. The shadow of a living being was considered a *bibile* because it reproduced the silhouette, the posture, and the movements of that person. A masked dancer was called *imina bibile,* meaning appearance or reproduction of the mask. Similar findings have been made among numerous other societies of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas.

Other factors also seem to reduce the applicability of the metamorphosis thesis. For example, masks are rarely associated with possession of the wearer, although that would be in the logic of the hypothesis. Also, the initiates in those communities in which masks are found constantly stress the fact that only the uninitiated believe they are actually in the presence of a spirit or a god. These statements are difficult to reconcile with the metamorphosis thesis. They have from the very first forced the proponents of that thesis to embark on often complicated explanations in order to bring their theory into harmony with the ethnographic data.

Similarly attempts to explain the ritual mask phenomenon by a desire, a need, even an instinct of the wearer were probably influenced by theories geared to explain the persistence of Carnival masks in the Western world. In one example of what Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard (1965) called the "if I were a horse" type of guesswork, the feeling of liberation experienced by Western mask wearers was projected onto African, American, or Melanesian mask wearers. Even if such a feeling may exist among some of these people, it cannot be used as a general explanation of the masked-ritual phenomenon.

Moreover, wearing a mask often carries social responsibilities that make it a service rather than a liberation. This service is often compulsory: reprobation, a fine, or worse await those who try to sidestep it. Either one particular person or a category of people is compelled to perform this service: one or several members of the family of the deceased, all members of a brotherhood, all circumcised males, and so forth. Although wearing a mask can bring honor and prestige, it also burdens the wearer with various duties, such as the payment of a tax to purchase the right to wear a particular mask or several months of preparation during which the mask wearers learn the dance steps, intensively rehearse combined movements, and may have to memorize complicated texts, sometimes in a secret language.

Among the Asmat of Irian Jaya, for example, it takes four to five months to prepare the masks for the ritual called Jipae. H. C. van Renselaar reports that, during all of that time, the mask wearers have to support the mask makers (van Renselaar and Mellema, 1956). The relatives of the deceased for whom the Jipae is celebrated must in turn give daily supplies of food to the mask wearers. Furthermore, the mask wearers must act as the surrogate for the dead and adopt and provide for the children of the deceased.

THE MASK AND THE DEAD. One mask has been constantly associated with the representation of the dead: the skull mask. Some experts, such as Hans Nevermann, have considered it the most primitive form of masking (Nevermann, Worms, and Petri, 1968). Those partial or complete skulls, worn on the top of the head or in front of the face, decorated, remodeled, or covered with tight skin, have provoked a number of speculations. Frobenius considered them part of a logical continuum of mask making that began with the use of a complete skull and moved to the use of a skull mask, concluding with the mask carved out of wood. Skull masks are found in the three main mask regions. In Africa such masks are sometimes tightly covered with skin in a manner peculiar to the Cross River region, where Keith Nicklin (1974) reports this same technique is used also to cover the wooden supports of masks. In Mesoamerica the Aztec often combined the techniques of remodeling and decorating the skulls (e.g., with turquoise).

However, as noted by Hans Damm (1969), the Melanesian masks have given rise to the most speculation. In Melanesia the skull is partially or entirely remodeled or molded over with a kind of wax; it is then painted and often adorned with human hair. These techniques are not, however, limited to the making of masks. They are also used in the making of funerary effigies (for example the *rambaramp* of Malekula) and in the remodeling of heads that are preserved in cult houses and in dwellings. The same techniques are also used to mold human heads on wooden supports.

Because of the radical changes these traditions have undergone, many of the assumptions made and questions raised about them may never be checked or resolved. However, an examination of some other Melanesian masks portraying deceased historical persons (as opposed to those that portray the dead as a class) help define a general context in which the skull mask can most probably be placed.

In the Jipae ceremony of the Asmat, for example, masked men represent the dangerous dead, especially children, great warriors, and the victims of headhunters. Beginning at dusk the masqueraders dance, imitating the waddle of the cassowary bird. At sunrise the dancers move toward the men's house followed by the women. Suddenly the men of the village attack the masks with sticks, forcing them to enter the men's house and thus ending the ritual. In the Jipae the mask represents a specific dead person, but several solar characteristics are also ascribed to it. This ritual begins at nightfall, when, according to the Asmat, the sun puts on its mask to descend into the land of the dead. The dancers imitate the cassowary, which the Asmat associate with the sun. Finally, the ritual ends at sunrise; that is, when the sun leaves the land of the dead and removes its mask.

To understand the meaning of a ceremony of this type one must keep in mind that for a large number of societies, in Melanesia as well as in other parts of the world, it is not death itself but ritual that opens the way toward the next life. This ritual fulfills several functions linked together: it prevents the spirit of the dead from wandering among the living; it allows deceased persons to enjoy the status due to their rank in the hereafter; it removes the risk that—in despair about their unresolved fate—the deceased might act against the living to force them to celebrate the appropriate ritual. This ritual may also mark the end of mourning, it may be the occasion of the redistribution of the land, or it may serve as a framework or a background for initiations. It is mostly during this kind of ritual that masks representing deceased individuals intervene.

Early-twentieth-century scholars were so preoccupied with the idea that the mask wearer was adopting a new personality that they overlooked one of the mask's main purposes—which may have been to identify the dead with his or her paradigm (the first dead human, a culture hero) and not just to associate the mask wearer with the spirit of the dead. This is nevertheless one of the important elements of such rituals as the Malanggan of New Ireland, the Ne-leng of Malekula, the Horiomu of the Kiwai, the Jipae of the Asmat, and the Mbii-kawane of Mimika (New Guinea).

This identification can take various forms that fall between two extreme poles. In some cases nothing is done to bring the appearance of the masked figure, as it is defined by tradition, closer to that of the deceased. In those cases it is mainly the attitude of kin that expresses this identification; they act toward the masked figure as they would toward the departed they are mourning. The ceremony called Mbii-kawane described by Jan Pouwer (1956) is close to this type. In other cases a considerable effort is made to ensure that the masked person will resemble the deceased as closely as possible. In this case the identification with the paradigmatic figure is made through the text, which is sung or recited, and through the dance steps. This seems to be the case with the Horiomu of the Kiwai as reported by Gunnar Landtman (1927).

The above remarks also pertain to a number of funerary masks. This term has been used to categorize various types of masks found on mortal remains, on mummies, on funerary urns, or among the funerary furnishings found in certain tombs. Some of these masks are realistic and seem like portraits, and they have on occasion been molded directly onto the dead person's face. Others, sometimes called "idealistic," reveal traits that obviously did not belong to the deceased. In between those two categories, variations such as idealized or stylized portraits are found. Others, finally, do not have a real face. In some cases the mask could have been worn by somebody during a burial ritual, whereas in other cases there is no evidence to support that interpretation.

Given the extensive variations that may be found from one tradition to the next, funerary masks seem to have two basic purposes: (1) to prevent the spirits of the dead from wandering among the living (by offering them a new support, by luring or forcing them away from the living); and (2) to insure that the deceased will safely reach his or her resting place in the hereafter. The identification with a paradigm should not be overlooked as a means to achieve this goal.

MASKS, WOMEN, AND SECRET SOCIETIES. According to the Viennese school of the "culture circles," in a former era women played a leading role in society, and in order to resist their economic, social, and religious supremacy, men created secret societies. The theory postulated a quasi-organic link between secret societies and masks, the latter being the means used by men to seize power from women and secure their own domination. This link was even noted by authors who did not necessarily accept the hypothesis of matriarchy. Here, summarized in four points, is how Felix Speiser (1923) expressed it: (1) the goal of secret societies is to terrorize the uninitiated, in particular women; (2) this is achieved through the use of masks representing spirits; (3) for masks to represent spirits the wearer must not be recognizable; and (4) it follows that originally masks must have disguised the wearer's entire body.

This theory was immensely popular, for it offered a logical and unique framework for an array of puzzling facts. However, along the road taken by anthropology since the 1930s, every one of its elements was disputed and abandoned. Regarding secret societies, the apparent simplicity of the theory stemmed from the fact that its authors had amalgamated extremely diverse institutions under the term *secret society* (e.g., brotherhoods of men, age-group organizations, initiation societies, societies based on social rank, and more or less restricted cultic societies). Furthermore, later studies showed that masks could very well exist independently of secret societies and that many secret societies had no masks, while others had only recently adopted them. Therefore the concept of a primary and original link between masks and secret societies could no longer be taken uncritically.

As for secrecy, it is true that, in many societies with masks, the uninitiated must not speak of matters concerning masks, or they must only speak of them in a certain manner, or they are supposed to remain ignorant of certain things. However, the best-documented reports from Africa, Melanesia, and the Americas acknowledge that women in particular know the true nature of masks and that a large gap often separates that which they are supposed to know from that which they actually know. Secrecy, or the pretense of it, is but one element that helps delineate and maintain the identity of the various groups in a given society, but it cannot be taken literally.

The theory contended that masks were meant to terrorize women. However, because in many cases women were aware of the true nature of the masks, they could not be fooled by a ritual, the purpose of which would be to deceive them. Yet they display emotions, sometimes violent ones, during the performance of certain masks. If they are not fooled by appearances, then how can those feelings be explained?

When women express fear when confronted with the masks or when they recognize in them the deceased of their own families and implore them with cries and tears, one is forced to wonder if such a display of emotions is not an essential part of the ritual itself. There is no doubt that women are frightened in many societies. But they are afraid of the consequences that would follow if they did not behave as tradition requires or if they breached the prohibitions surrounding the masks. Depending on the situation and the society, a fine would be levied; a sacrifice would have to be made; the woman would become sick, sterile, or even die; the men might kill her; the mask wearer would die; or the entire community would disappear. But this does not mean that women act merely out of fright and that their emotions (for instance, their grief) are not genuine. Indeed this does not rule out sincerity in any way, but a sincerity that is addressed to what is represented in the ritual and a sincerity that cannot be understood unless one first accepts that all the participants may experience the ritual at the level of what is being represented while remaining perfectly aware of the means used to create the performance. The deeper meaning of masked rituals can only be perceived if one acknowledges that the behavior of everyone concerned is meaningful, the women's as well as the men's, both contributions being at once necessary to the ritual and constitutive of it.

The elegant "culture circles" hypothesis presented the relationship between masks and women as one of incompatibility, ignorance, and credulity. A detailed examination shows that the situation is more complex and differentiated. Indeed the prohibitions to which women are subject sometimes only cover a particular part of the mask or a special circumstance. It is also impossible to ignore the particular position that certain women occupy within the masking society (among the Dogon, the Kono, or the Mende, for instance). In certain cases women contribute to the preparation of masks or dancers or are entrusted with the care and preservation of the masks and other ritual objects otherwise prohibited to women. In addition, the wives of chiefs and the wives of the heads of initiation societies are sometimes initiated into the secrets of masks, and, from a more general point of view, numerous elderly women are exceptions to the "rule" that all women be excluded from masking rites. Last but not least, there are of course cases—attested in Africa, Melanesia, and the Americas—when masks are worn by women, often during women's initiations. Due to the anthropocentrism of early scholarship, little information was available on these ceremonies when the theory was proposed. Fortunately, since the 1970s this situation has been changing rapidly (for instance, see Sidney L. Kasfir and Pamela R. Franco [1998]).

However, even taking into consideration the numerous cases mentioned above, a simple statistical study will show that in most instances masks are worn by men, even though women are said to have discovered and owned them to begin with. Thus, if the masked ritual must be viewed in the context of a symbolism shared by men and women, the dialectic between the two sexes that the ritual reveals must not be neglected. It comes back to the sacredness peculiar to each sex and to the ambivalent attitude of men toward the extraordinary power of women: particularly with regard to women's ability to conceive and to self-regulate their uncleanness through their menstrual cycles.

SEE ALSO Ancestors, article on Mythic Ancestors; Bodily Marks; Carnival; Culture Heroes; Dogon Religion; Griaule, Marcel; Kulturkreiselehre; Paleolithic Religion.

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HENRY PERNET (2005)

MAṢLAḤAH is the Arabic term for the Islamic concept of public interest or general welfare of the community of Muslims. Consideration for the public interest (*istiṣlāḥ*) is held by Muslim legal scholars to be ancillary to the four canonical sources of Islamic law, namely the Qurʾān; the *sunnah*, or normative behavior of the Prophet; *ijmāʿ*, or the historical consensus of the community; and *qiyās*, analogical extension of accepted law or judgment. Although these sources are meant to provide guidelines for all eventualities, there have always been instances that seem to require abandoning either the specific ordinances of the Qurʾān and *sunnah* or the results of analogical reasoning, because of the overriding nature of the public interest.

In positive or applied law, considerations of *maṣlaḥah* in social and economic matters have usually led to the inclusion of pre-Islamic or non-Islamic local laws and customs in regional local practice. Historically, the concept of *maṣlaḥah* has been associated more often with Mālikī school than with the other Sunnī schools of law. This is largely due to the attention the Mālikī scholars of Morocco have given it in their recognition of the validity of local practice (*ʿamal*), even though they thereby allow institutions that strict Mālikī theory would reject. But the association of *maṣlaḥah* with the Mālikīyah should not be overemphasized; all Sunnī schools of law have contributed to its development and utilization.

The early and medieval Muslim scholars who wrote on *maṣlaḥah* defined it in various ways. Some approached it purely from a practical point of view; others considered it a problem of the philosophy of law and discussed its moral and ethical aspects. They all indicated, however, that the investigation of *maṣlaḥah* involved concern for the spirit rather than the letter of the law. Focusing on this feature of *maṣlaḥah*, a few twentieth-century Muslim reformers have put forward the idea of redefining *maṣlaḥah* in terms of the needs of contemporary society and then using *istiṣlāh* as a vehicle for modernizing and revitalizing Islamic law. Thus far, at least, their efforts have not been successful.

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SUSAN A. SPECTORSKY (1987)

MASORAH See BIBLICAL LITERATURE, *ARTICLE ON* HEBREW SCRIPTURES

MASPERO, HENRI (1883–1945), French Sinologist and pioneer of Daoist studies. Son of the Egyptologist Gaston Maspero, Henri Maspero did his first research in 1904 in Cairo on the financial system of ancient Egypt. In 1907 he obtained his *licence en droit* and his diploma in Chinese. From 1908 to 1920, he was a member of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) and was stationed in Hanoi, whence he traveled extensively throughout Southeast Asia and China. He was in Beijing during the winter of 1908–1909, at the time of the death of Emperor Tezong and the Dowager Empress Cixi, and he witnessed some of the ensuing revolutionary agitation. His research and publications covered an amazing range of subjects: the administrative geography of ancient Indochina, the beginnings of Buddhism in China, Chinese epigraphy, history of law, architecture, art, and astronomy, as well as linguistics. His articles on the Thai languages and on the phonetics of Annamese were the first serious studies of Southeast Asian languages. The Chinese elements in Annamese led him, before Bernhard Karlgren, to the study of ancient Chinese phonology.

In 1914, on a study mission to China, Maspero began an investigation of contemporary Chinese religious life, which he continued among Chinese expatriates in France during World War I. This fieldwork enabled him later to describe the modern Chinese folk religion in a remarkably lively fashion.

Maspero initiated and supervised, until 1920, the vast EFEO collection of Indochinese documents, a unique repository of the history of this region. Some of this material served him for comparative studies on modern Thai and ancient Chinese religion, studies that confirmed the results of Marcel Granet's epoch-making work (1919) on the *Book of Odes.*

In 1920 Maspero was recalled to Paris and appointed the successor of Édouard Chavannes at the Collège de France. The only book he published in his lifetime, *La Chine antique* (1927), is a history of China from the beginnings to the third century BCE. The remaining years of his life were devoted to a thorough preparation of a second volume dealing with Chinese history up to the Tang dynasty.

The summaries of Maspero's courses at the Collège de France (1921–1944) show that, among many other aspects of Sinology that he treated in numerous articles, he was most interested during this period in the emergence of the Daoist religion. This was virgin territory, uncharted not only by Western scholars but also by Chinese scholars, who traditionally had despised everything Daoist except the philosophers Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu. In 1926 the sole remaining complete set of the Daoist canon was published in 1,120 Chinese-style volumes. Maspero was the first to start extracting from this huge store of documents (dating from the fourth century BCE, in the case of the early Daoist mystical writings, to the sixteenth century CE) a chronology of texts and a coherent history of the origins and the first five centuries of the Daoist religion. He discovered that this religion, far from being the popular hodgepodge of superstitions described by missionaries, or the illiterate and seditious demon-worship denounced by the Chinese scholarly elite, was in fact the native high religion of all classes of Chinese society, with a literate tradition going back to the second century CE. Realizing the importance in Daoism of physiological longevity techniques and of mystical techniques for gaining union with the Dao (and participating in its immortality), Maspero devoted a detailed study to them.

On July 27, 1944, Maspero was expected in vain at a session of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belle-Lettres, of which he was president at the time. He had been arrested by the German occupation forces because of his son's activities in the French Resistance. On August 15, 1944, he was aboard the last prisoner transport to Germany before the liberation of Paris. He succumbed to disease amid the horrors of Buchenwald on March 17, 1945, less than one month before the liberation of this concentration camp by American troops.

SEE ALSO Granet, Marcel.

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Anna Seidel (1987)

MASS See EUCHARIST

MASSIGNON, LOUIS

MASSIGNON, LOUIS (1883–1962), French Islamicist. Louis-Fernand-Jules Massignon grew up in Paris, where he enrolled at the university and pursued various disciplines, including Arabic. He spent most of the period 1906–1910 studying in Cairo and carrying out research in Iraq and Istanbul, and in 1912–1913 he was visiting professor at the Egyptian (later Cairo) University. In 1922 he submitted his two requisite doctoral theses on al-Ḥallāj and early Islamic mysticism to the University of Paris; published in two volumes as *La passion d'al-Hosayn-ibn-Mansour al'Hallâj, martyr mystique de l'Islam exécuté à Bagdad le 26 mars 922* (1922), his *thèse principale* has since become a classic. A second, greatly enlarged edition appeared posthumously (1975). In 1926 Massignon was elected professor of sociology and sociography of Islam at the Collège de France in Paris, and in 1933 he was appointed director of studies for Islam at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, also in Paris, in the section of *sciences religeuses.* In the same year he was elected a member of the new Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo, where he spent several weeks working each winter.

Born and raised a Roman Catholic, Massignon underwent a particular inner experience in 1908, which he spoke of as his "conversion." As a result he became once more a loyal member of the Roman Catholic church, increasingly with a spiritual vocation with regard to Islam. In 1931 he became a third-order Franciscan, and in 1934 he founded the Badaliya sodality, the members of which were inspired by compassion and devoted themselves to "substitution" for their Muslim brethren. (The idea of substitution involves one person's taking another's suffering upon himself.) After joining the Greek Catholic (Uniate) church in 1949, Massignon was ordained a priest on January 28, 1950, in Cairo. Even though ordination in this church is possible for a married man, as Massignon was, the Vatican imposed the condition that Massignon's priesthood, which turned out to be an essential element in his spiritual life and vocation, should remain secret. Even after his retirement in 1954 Massignon continued to take an active part in defending victims of violence (e.g., Palestinians and Algerians) until his death on October 31, 1962, in Paris.

Massignon's work is the accomplishment and creation of a mind of remarkable stature, illuminated by flashes of genius but capable of being carried away, to the verge of aberration, by ideas. A reader is confronted with the difficult task of recognizing the particular perspectives in which Massignon interpreted his subject matter and correcting them according to the scholarly criteria of factual interpretation and validity. If Massignon's unique spiritual commitments made his oeuvre one of the richest in the whole field of Islamic studies, one must recognize that it drew its strength from an existential position unrelated to scholarship. While its originality deserves respect and admiration, the lack of scholarly standards must also be recognized.

Massignon's monumental study of al-Ḥallāj will probably remain his lasting contribution to the study of Islam and religion generally. It is more than a careful historical reconstruction of facts and bygone spiritual worlds. It is the record of a spiritual encounter in which a scholar fascinated by a religious truth meets a mystic of the past in whom this truth is recognized. Were it not for Massignon, such spiritual dimensions might not have been revealed in al-Ḥallāj, but to what extent the spiritual al-Ḥallāj discovered by Massignon is the result of valid hermeneutics of the texts and not a spiritual creation born of the religious needs and passions of Massignon as a person is a question that haunts the reader. Massignon's inner experiences of May and June 1908, as a result of which he received a "new life" of adoration and witnessing, welded together for him the figures of al-Ḥallāj and Christ, the existence of God and the experience of divine grace. Thereafter, al-Ḥallāj, Christ, and their witness Louis Massignon could no longer be separated either by Massignon himself or by those studying his reconstruction of the Hallajian drama.

Massignon's second contribution is his precise technical investigation of the religious, particularly the mystical, vocabulary in Islam. Apart from his claim that the spiritual realities to which these words allude can be rediscovered through the study of the words themselves—and that the researcher at a certain moment finds himself confronted precisely with that reality to which the mystic testifies—his technical achievements were enormous and have inspired such scholars as Paul Nwyia to proceed with their researches on religious vocabulary along the same line.

Massignon's third major contribution is to have succeeded, in a period of ever-growing specialization, in retaining a global view of what may be called the world of Islam in its various material and spiritual dimensions. He could see it all as forming a meaningful whole under the sign of Islam, just as he could see Islam as meaningful in the perspective of al-Ḥallāj. Thus his "minor works," collected in *Opera minora* (1963), include articles on widely varying subjects. Throughout these articles we find a complex hermeneutics of texts, personalities, and ideas directed to revealing not only their literary, historical, and semantic meanings but also their spiritual intentions. In his hermeneutical research, Massignon showed both an immense erudition and an extraordinary sensitivity, particularly to religious and devotional realities. His sensitivity extended to those realities that exist partly in the realm of dreams and partly in that of fact, realities to which the religious mind and what was once commonly called the "Oriental mind" are so attuned.

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JACQUES WAARDENBURG (1987)
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MATERIALISM.

As a philosophical doctrine, materialism can be given a deceptively simple definition: the view that matter is all there is. The simplicity is deceptive because, of course, the term *matter* can itself be understood in so many different ways. It is more illuminating, perhaps, to define materialism in terms of what it denies. It excludes the existence of entities that are radically different in kind from, and in some sense superior to, the matter of our ordinary experience. It rejects, therefore, a God or gods on whom the universe would depend for its existence or mode of operation; it denies the existence of angels or spirits that can affect the material order while ultimately escaping its limitations; it questions the notion of a soul, if taken to be an immaterial entity separable in principle from the human body it informs. Its two main targets are, therefore, theism and dualistic views of human nature.

Materialism has, in the past, usually derived from one or the other of two sources. The first is the conviction that the world can be understood in terms of a single set of categories derived from our everyday physical experience, without having to introduce a second set of "immaterial" entities of an altogether different kind. The second is the criticism of organized religion on the grounds of its superstitious or politically oppressive character and a linking of religion with belief in gods, angels, souls, miracles. The former allies materialism with naturalism. The stress in both is on "natural" modes of explanation; "supernatural" forms of action are rejected as unnecessary or even incoherent. Materialism also resembles reductionism, since both seek to reduce the diversity of the explanations offered for events in the world to a single category, or at least to a minimal number of categories. There are, for the same reasons, overtones in it of positivism, at least to the extent that both lay stress on science as the only legitimate source of knowledge about the causalities of the world. Where classic materialism would differ from these other philosophic emphases would be mainly in the specificity of its objections to the category of "spirit" on which religious belief is taken to rely.

BEGINNINGS. It is to Aristotle (384–322 BCE) that we owe the first explicit articulation of a concept of "matter," that is, an underlying substratum to which reference must be made in explaining physical change. Aristotle criticizes the Ionian physicists, his predecessors of two centuries earlier, because of their supposedly exclusive reliance on a common underlying "stuff" (water, air, fire) in explaining change in nature. Such a stuff would retain its own identity throughout all change; substantial change would, therefore, be excluded and the apparently fundamental differences between different kinds (different species of animal, for instance) would be reduced to mere differences in arrangement of the fundamental "stuff." Aristotle rejected this "materialist" doctrine. But he did not believe the Ionians to be materialists. He notes that Thales thought all things to be "full of gods" and to be in some sense "ensouled"; similar views are attributed to the other major figures in the early Ionian tradition. Though these men made the first known attempt to explain physical changes in a systematic way, they did not question the traditional explanatory roles of the gods and of soul.

A century later, the founders of atomism, Leucippus and Democritus, came much closer to a clear-cut materialist doctrine. Their view that all things consist of "atoms," imperceptibly small, indivisible, eternal, and unchanging entities, derived from the metaphysical arguments of Parmenides regarding the One, not from an empirical starting-point in observation. Change is nothing more than the movement and redistribution of atoms in the void. The planets, the stars, and even the earth itself have come to be by the aggregating of vortices of atoms. Since space is infinite, there will be infinitely many worlds produced in this way. Sensation is to be understood in purely physical terms; the soul itself consists of atoms, admittedly smaller and finer than even the particles of fire, but still of the same general kind as other atoms. All interaction is thus mechanical and explanation in terms of final causes is prohibited. Yet the atomists do not appear to have excluded the gods. Though Democritus is critical of those who would base ethical behavior on religious sanctions, he does seem to allow that the gods may visit men. This may, of course, have been no more than a concession to the orthodoxy of the day. Yet it would seem more likely that he had not yet reduced the gods, as he had done soul, to matter.

Epicurus (341–270 BCE) took this further step. The gods are situated in the intervals between the innumerable universes; they too must be composed of atoms, and they live in a state of bliss undisturbed by the affairs of mortals. Lucretius (99–55 BCE) popularized the teachings of Epicurus in the Roman world through his great poem, *De rerum natura*, which was the most complete expression of materialist doctrine in ancient times. The gods here seem to be dismissed entirely; insofar as there is a deity it is nature itself. Lucretius views the state religion of Rome as a primarily political institution and sees no reason for any exception to the atomist claim that all there is, is atoms and void.

THE RENAISSANCE. With the growth of Christianity, the attraction of Epicurean materialism diminished. During the Middle Ages, atomism was sometimes discussed by philosophers, but the Aristotelian arguments against it seemed overwhelming. There could be no serious defense of materialism in an age when the influence of spirit, in all its forms, seemed so palpable and when no plausible argument had been found for the claim that all change can be explained in atomic or material terms only. It was only when the "new science" of mechanics made its appearance in the seventeenth century that the outlines of an argument became faintly visible. Galileo and Descartes took for granted that matter is composed of a multitude of tiny corpuscles whose properties ("primary qualities") are precisely those required to make them subject to, and entirely predictable by, mechanical law. There was no real evidence for this, but it seemed plausible to extend the realm of the new mathematicized mechanics to the very small and thus make all types of physical change explicable, perhaps, in mechanical terms.

Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655) could now revive the ancient Epicurean atomism and present it as the best available (though admittedly hypothetical) scientific explanation of the sensory qualities of things. However, he did not carry his Epicureanism all the way to materialism; though an opponent of the claims to demonstrative knowledge made by scholastics and Cartesians alike, he was not disaffected with religion and saw no reason to extend atomism to the soul or to use it to deny the need for a creator God. His friend Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) had no such scruples. A severe critic of institutional religion, he argued that mechanical modes of explanation must be extended not only to sensation but to thought, which is no more than the motion of material particles in the brain. Nothing other than body can exist, so that God, if he exists (and Hobbes's real views on this issue are very difficult to discover), must be corporeal.

REDUCTIVE MATERIALISM. If all material things are to be understood by a single set of laws, the general laws of mechanics, it would follow that human action, too, can be reduced to mechanical law. This is the conclusion Hobbes reached; Descartes avoided it only by placing within man an immaterial mind. Reductive materialism or sharp dualism—these seemed to be the only options, if one decided to bring the entire domain of physical interaction under one science. Most philosophers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries found the alternatives unappealing, but it was not at all evident where a stable solution might be found. In France, where reaction against royal as well as ecclesiastical authority continued to mount, reductive materialism found favor with a number of writers, of whom the most original was Denis Diderot (1713–1784), editor of the great *Encyclopedia.* Influenced by George-Louis Buffon's *Natural History* (1749), he speculated about the sort of developmental laws that might have brought about the organic world we know from an initial chaos of material particles. A number of medical writers, of whom the most notable was Julien de La Mettrie (1709–1751), were at the same time developing a materialist physiology in which human action is reduced to simple mechanical causes. Paul d'Holbach (1723–1789), on the other hand, was much more metaphysical in his approach. His *Système de la nature* (1770) was the most thoroughgoing materialist statement of the century; in it, the two sources of classic materialism are especially evident: a conviction that because matter is one, only one sort of explanation is permissible, and a strong hostility to religion.

But the weaknesses of this kind of material monism were still evident. The claims to explain in mechanical terms the operations of the human body, to reduce sensation and thought to mechanical action between molecules, and to derive the profusion of organic species from an original undifferentiated matter were still almost entirely promissory. Materialism was still, at best, a program, not an achieved philosophy. To become something more, a genuine materialist science would have to be available to serve as support. And one of the fundamental premises of classic materialism, its reductionist principle, might have to be abandoned.

Major philosophers of the day were struck by the crudity, as they saw it, of the materialist doctrine. Hegel, in particular, attacked the mechanistic presuppositions of Newtonian science, its assumption that all motion can be explained by the single science of mechanics. In its stead, he attempted to construct a philosophy of nature and a theory of history in which spirit is the moving force. Motion involves contradiction, since for it to occur, a body has to be "both here and not here at the same time." Thus, contradiction pervades both nature and society; it is out of the consequent struggle and opposition that advance comes.

DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM. The most influential form of nonreductive materialism is undoubtedly that of Marx and Engels. Marx took over much of the structure of Hegel's account of society and of social change, retaining the discontinuities of the Hegelian "dialectical" method, but inverting the order of matter and mind. Mind originates from matter (as the reductive materialists had held), but in a discontinuous way that makes it irreducible to the categories of matter (which they had denied). Beliefs in God or in an immortal soul are no more than the projections of those who would rationalize an unjust social order instead of trying to change it. All knowledge of the world and of society must be based on sense experience and ultimately on science.

Marx's "historical materialism" is restricted to human history; by taking economic and industrial factors as the fundamental agencies of change, Marx believed that he could give a thoroughly "materialist" (i.e., empirical, naturalistic, scientific) account of history. Engels went on to a broader focus on nature. His "dialectical materialism" (as Plekhanov later called it) is first and foremost a philosophy of nature in the Hegelian tradition. He rejects Ludwig Büchner's claim that the sciences alone suffice; in Engels's view (and this has become a central tenet of Marxist-Leninist thought), positivism is inadequate because the sciences have to be supplemented by a unified and guiding philosophy. This philosophy is "dialectical" because it recognizes the presence of contradictions and of discontinuous change in nature and is unified insofar as it proposes a scheme that can grasp things in their totality. Engels characterizes as "idealist" any philosophical view that would deny that mind and spirit must originate from matter. Thus, anyone who believes in a transcendent God or in the dualism of soul (mind) and body would automatically qualify as "idealist" in this new sense.

The attempt on the part of Marx and Engels to "materialize Hegel" led to notable internal strain (many have argued, incoherence) within the materialism they proposed. On the one hand, there is the stress on the primacy of sense-experience (which is said to "reflect" the world) and consequently of science. On the other, the dialectical element (which is crucial to Marx's political theory) is difficult to sustain by science alone, unless it be almost emptied of content. This tension is even more evident in Lenin's version of dialectical materialism, which tries to mediate between positivism and Hegelian idealism, utilizing a rather naive realist epistemology.

CHRISTIANITY AND MATERIALISM. The progress of science since the mid-nineteenth century has undercut the older reductive materialism by showing that the categories of mechanics at any one time are never definitive and that there are, besides, different levels of explanation that are probably not reducible to one another, not in the sense in which reduction was supposed to be possible, at least. On the other hand, the progress of science has also demonstrated the strength of the naturalistic program of explanation. More and more, it seems possible to explain the entire order of nature in a single interlinked set of categories that leave no gaps "of principle" into which a different order of causality has to be interposed in order to render a coherent account of world process. It is hard *not* to be a "naturalist" in that sense.

Nonetheless, there are unsolved philosophical problems about the relation of mind and body, about the reality of human freedom in a world scientifically fully explicable, that have led to the formulation of alternatives besides that of a sophisticated nonreductive materialism, alternatives that would still maintain a broadly naturalist orientation. These would differ from materialism in the degree of stress they would lay on causal categories that derive from the domain of mind and freedom rather than from that of mechanical action even if the term *mechanical* be construed as broadly as it could plausibly be.

When naturalism/materialism is carried to the point of denying the possibility of a creator God or an afterlife for man, a conflict with religious, and specifically with Christian, belief is unavoidable. Christian theologians, however, have gone to some lengths to try to show that the notions of the natural order as sufficient in its own right, or of resurrection as independent of a strong dualism of soul and body, are perfectly compatible with—indeed entirely faithful to—the Christian tradition. The grounds for the materialist exclusion in principle of God or of a personal afterlife are thus brought into question.

Some have gone further to argue the propriety of a "Christian materialism" that would draw on the positive insights of the materialist tradition, particularly in its Marxist form. Such a view would suggest that all that happens in nature and in history is in principle explicable at its own level without directly invoking the intervening agency of God. "Christian materialism" would note and deplore the manner in which Christianity, like other religions, has often allowed itself to become the ideological legitimation of structures of social domination. It would oppose the "idealism" that would make Christianity a set of doctrines to be believed rather than a doctrine of redemption that finds its reality first in action and transformation.

The limits of such a view are set by the Christian doctrines of the dependence of nature and history on divine grace and of the entrance of the Word of God, as man, into the human story. There would be the reality to acknowledge of a God whose action entirely transcends the categories of nature. And that is something that materialism cannot do without ceasing (it would seem) to be materialism.

SEE ALSO Aristotle; Descartes, René; Earth; Empiricism; Hegel, G. W. F.; Idealism; Marx, Karl; Naturalism; Newton, Isaac; Positivism; Skeptics and Skepticism.

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MATERIALISTS, HINDU SEE CĀRVĀKA

MATHER FAMILY. Members of three successive generations of the Mather family were Puritan ministers in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in New England: Richard (1596–1669), Increase (1629–1723), and Cotton (1663–1728). Each achieved fame as a preacher and writer, and collectively they exerted a formative influence on the religious life of colonial America.

Richard Mather, who was born in Lowton, near Liverpool, matriculated at Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1618 but studied there for only a few months. He was preaching at Toxteth Park when, late in 1633, he was removed from the pulpit. His offenses are not known, although they were doubtless ecclesiastical; he did not conform to the practices of the Church of England in all ways. He and his family then immigrated to Massachusetts Bay, arriving in mid-August 1635. The people of Dorchester, Massachusetts, after failing to organize a church in April 1636, succeeded in August of that year, and Mather was immediately called to the church as its teacher.

In the pulpit in Dorchester, Mather served quietly and faithfully. Although in most ways he probably resembled most Puritan ministers of his time in Massachusetts Bay Colony, in several notable accomplishments he differed. He published defenses of the "New England Way," as the church polity of the Bay Colony was called; he helped to write the Cambridge Platform (1648) defining ecclesiastical polity; he contributed to the definition of Puritan baptismal practice in the so-called Halfway Covenant (1662); and he served as an overseer of Harvard College.

Increase Mather, sixth son of Richard, was the outstanding minister of his generation. Born in Dorchester, he entered Harvard College when he was twelve years of age; after graduation he went to Ireland, where he took an M.A. at Trinity College, Dublin. Preaching followed at Torrington in Devonshire, to the garrison on Guernsey, and in Gloucester. However, his heterodox opinions made life in England dangerous for him after the Restoration, so in 1661 he returned to New England. There he was soon asked by the Second Church in Boston (Boston North Church) to fill its pulpit.

Increase Mather spent his life expounding the "New England Way." He was not an innovator in religion; like his father he defended nonseparating Congregationalism. But Increase Mather was a much more imaginative man than his father and a more passionate one. The Puritan vision of New

England as a redemptive society was one of the passions of his life. He saw his American homeland as the one place on earth where true church polity might be established and the Protestant Reformation completed. The defense of New England carried him to England a second time shortly after the Glorious Revolution. He returned with a charter that protected much of the colony's—and its Congregational churches'—autonomy. Increase Mather's other achievements were varied: he acted as president of Harvard College; he wrote about science, especially astronomy; he advised governors; he helped to halt the persecution of those accused in the Salem witchcraft episode; and he preached and published on New England Christianity.

Cotton Mather was the first of Increase Mather's nine children. Although he never left New England, his visible achievements outnumbered those of his father. After a brilliant performance at Harvard College (A.B., 1678), Cotton Mather was ordained a minister in his father's church in 1685; the two served there together until Increase Mather's death almost forty years later. In 1689, while his father was in England securing a new charter for the colony, Cotton Mather played an important role in the expulsion of Sir Edmund Andros, governor of Massachusetts and head of the Dominion of New England. He also supported the witchcraft trials in Salem in 1692, although he was uneasy and had reservations about the proceedings.

Most of Cotton Mather's life was not spent in public affairs. He was a scholar of great learning and power and an immensely successful preacher. His learning extended to almost all fields of knowledge, although theology was the subject he knew most profoundly. Cotton Mather wrote histories, the greatest being his *Magnalia Christi Americana* (London, 1702), biographies (many first appearing in sermon form), scientific treatises, practical guides to medicine, prophetical works, and guides to conduct for the young, for sailors, and for almost every other order of society; most of his works, however, were sermons. He preached a "practical divinity," filled with exhortation and advice on the Christian life. Many of his sermons were intended to convert his listeners; others provided solace and nourishment to believers. Much of his work remains in manuscript, including "The Biblia Americana," his massive commentary on the scriptures.

Like his father, Cotton Mather was obsessed with the history and the future of New England. His great hope was that the second coming of Christ would take place in his lifetime and that New England would in reality prove to be the site of the New Jerusalem. He never surrendered his faith in the Congregationalism of his country, but he did come to preach an ecumenism embodied in his conception of a Christian Union, a worldwide league of believers. Cotton Mather earned a reputation in his day as a splendid preacher and scholar, but he was also widely disliked for the excesses of his style and expression. Despite his pride in his family and his attainments, he died feeling unappreciated and, to some extent, unfulfilled.

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MATRES.

The *matres* or *matrae* ("mothers"), Celtic feminine divinities, are attested throughout the ancient continental and insular Celtic domain (with the exception of nonromanized Ireland) by abundant Romano-British and Gallo-Roman epigraphic and iconographic testimony. The word is Latin, but it can only be the translation or adaptation of a Celtic word, as the Gaulish inscription at Nimes consecrated to the *matrevo namausikavo* ("Nimesian mothers") witnesses. On the evidence, the *matres* as a group are very diverse, and it would be difficult to propose a single explanation for them. A *matre* may be conceived in terms of a particular locale, a certain function, or a principle and sphere of sovereignty. Specific instances are frequently multiple: the Suleviae, solar goddesses who have been unduly transformed into psychopomps; the Iunones, who are multiple forms of the Latin goddess Juno; the simple Triviae or Quadruviae, who watch over crossroads (but may not be truly Celtic).

Thus the term *matres* has come to designate several types of feminine divinities who are in some instances anything but mother goddesses or protectors of fecundity. At first, prior to the identifications and multiplications, there was certainly a single feminine divinity. Described briefly by Caesar under the name of Minerva in his account of Gaulish religion, she is at once mother, spouse, sister, and daughter of the gods.

This unique goddess in multiple form may be identified, in the context of Irish myth, with a range of feminine deities. There is Brighid, daughter of Daghdha, but also mother of the gods and protector of leeches, poets, and smiths. There is Boann, who is wife to Elcmhaire but bears a son to Daghdha. Also, and preeminently, there is Édaín, sovereign and ancestor of a long line of Irish kings. Further, there is Morríghan ("the great queen"), goddess of war and wife of Daghdha, she who washes the bloody remains of heroes who have died in combat. There is Macha ("plain" or "level land"), eponym of Emhain Mhacha, capital of Ulster. There is the gentle Fann ("swallow"), wife of the god Manannán, who loves and tempts Cú Chulainn, and there is Tailtiu ("earth"), foster mother of Lugh. Finally, there are the allegorical personifications of Ireland and queens of the Tuatha Dé Danann: Ériu, Banbha, and Fódla.

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Translated from French by Erica Meltzer

MATTHEW THE EVANGELIST,

traditionally the author of the first canonical gospel, which bears his name. His exact dates are unknown, but the gospel was probably written in the last quarter of the first century, possibly in Syrian Antioch.

The name *Matthew* appears in every list of the twelve disciples of Jesus (*Mt.* 10:3, *Mk.* 3:18, *Lk.* 6:15, *Acts* 1:13). In the *Gospel of Matthew* Jesus calls him from his toll booth and his role as a despised tax collector to be a disciple (9:9–10), and in that gospel's list of the Twelve he is called Matthew the tax collector. Otherwise, Matthew does not appear in the gospel narratives or in the rest of the New Testament.

Mark 2:13–14 and *Luke* 5:27–28 relate the calling of a tax collector whose name is Levi, rather than Matthew (in *Mark* 2:14 he is called the son of Alphaeus; cf. "James the son of Alphaeus" in all the lists of the Twelve). Otherwise, the stories are quite similar, and in each case the call is followed by Jesus' eating at table with tax collectors and sinners and saying that he has come to call not righteous people, but sinners. (Tax collectors were regarded as egregious sinners, because the government sold the right to collect taxes to private entrepreneurs, who then realized as large a profit as possible at the expense of the public.)

The tradition of Matthean authorship of the first gospel has been questioned by critical scholarship for significant reasons. Matthew the tax collector turned disciple would have been an eyewitness of the events he narrates. Yet the close relationship between the narrative attributed to Matthew and that of Mark, which is generally accounted to be earlier, suggests that *Mark* was the principal narrative source. The fact that *Mark* was written in Greek (not Jesus and Matthew's native Aramaic) by someone who was not one of the Twelve makes it unlikely that the apostle Matthew would have relied upon it. Moreover, the gospel attributed to Matthew seems to have been written after the destruction of Jerusalem in the Roman War (70 CE; cf. *Mt.* 22:7), rather late for an apostolic writing. Quite possibly the name Matthew has been substituted for Levi in the call story of the first gospel, in which he is also singled out as the tax collector in the apostolic list.

Ancient church tradition, nevertheless, unanimously ascribes the gospel to the apostle Matthew. The fourth-century church historian Eusebius cites Papias (bishop of Hierapolis in Asia Minor during the first half of the second century) who wrote that "Matthew collected the sayings of the Lord in the Hebrew language, and each one interpreted them as he was able" (*Church History* 3.39.16). Later church authorities attribute a gospel to Matthew, agreeing that it was written in Hebrew. Matthew is frequently said to have preached among Hebrews. Interestingly, modern gospel criticism continues to see a pervasive Jewish or Jewish-Christian dimension in Matthew's gospel, whether in its tradition or intended audience. The statement of Papias concerning Matthew's collection of Jesus' sayings has sometimes been taken to refer to an earlier source (which can be discerned in *Matthew* and *Luke* and is usually called Q by biblical scholars) rather than to the present gospel. This interpretation avoids the difficulties of attributing the gospel to the apostle directly and helps to explain why the name of a relatively obscure disciple became attached to the most prominent gospel, but it remains at best a plausible conjecture.

Legends about Matthew grew in time. He is said to have worked among Gentiles in remote lands toward the end of his career. He came to be revered as a martyr (although tradition is not unanimous on this point), and he is commemorated in the Western church on September 21. However, we know nothing for certain of his career or fate. Since the second century Matthew has been represented in Christian symbolism as a winged man, said by Irenaeus to represent the humanity of Christ.

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D. MOODY SMITH (1987 AND 2005)

MĀTURĪDĪ, AL-

(d. AH 333/944 CE), more fully Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Samarqandī al-Māturīdī, was a Muslim theologian, jurist, and Qurʾān commentator. The name Māturīdīyah is also the eponym of a school of theology that represented an intermediate position between the Ḥanbalī traditionalists and the Muʿtazilah, advocates of religious rationalism in Islamic theology. Māturīdī was born in Māturīd, near the Central Asian city of Samarkand. Under the Persian Samanid rulers (874–999), al-Māturīdī lived in a setting of intense cultural and intellectual activity. He was trained by scholars of the Ḥanafī school of Islamic law. Not much is known of his life except that he wrote several books on theology, jurisprudence, and heresiology, as well as a commentary on the Qurʾān entitled *Kitāb taʾwilāt al-Qurʾān.* He is said to have led a simple and ascetic life. Some sources attribute to him miracles *(karāmāt)*—an obvious reference to his devout religious life. He died in Samarkand. Subsequent generations remember him by the honorific title Imām al-Hudá (leader of the right guidance).

Despite his fame in the Sunnī world today, no source earlier than the fourteenth century mentions a school of theology carrying Māturīdī's name. The manuals speak of the Māturīdīyah together with the Ashʿarīyah, or followers of al-Ashʿarī (d. 935), as the theological spokesmen of the *ahl al-sunnah wa-al-jamāʿah* (people of the prophetic norms and the community), the majority group in the Muslim world, commonly known as Sunnīs. Al-Ashʿarī lived in Baghdad and was a contemporary of al-Māturīdī, but there is no indication that they were aware of each other's work. Many similarities in their theological formulations have been noted. Al-Ashʿarī is much better known than his Ḥanafī counterpart, but recent studies have shown that the latter came nearer to providing a bridge between traditionalism and philosophical theology than did the Baghdad scholar. Substantial differences between the two are few, but they are sufficient to have created some rivalry between their respective schools.

The Māturīdīyah school spread in the tenth and eleventh centuries mostly due to the earnest efforts of Turks, mainly the Saljūqids, whose historic conversion to Islam had occurred in the preceding century. This was combined with the ardent support of the newly converted Turks for Ḥanafism. The famous cursing of al-Ashʿarī and his ideas in the Turkish-controlled Khorasan region on the order of the Saljūqid ruler Tughrul Beg points to a period of confrontation between the Māturīdī and Ashʿarite schools of *kalām* in the eleventh century. As the Māturīdī school was identified with Ḥanafism and Ashʿarism with the Shāfiʿī school of law, this led to some factional tensions and clashes between the Ḥanafis and the Shāfiʿīs in some Saljūqid-controlled areas. The Māturīdī school gained prominence between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries. A number of attempts were made to ease the tensions between the two schools during the Mamlūk period. The Ashʿarī Shāfiʿī jurist-theologian Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī composed a poem in which he tried to explain away the theological differences between the two as mostly terminological and rhetorical. This trend continued in later *kalām* history and reached a point where Māturīdism was redefined as a branch of Ashʿarism.

Al-Māturīdī, like al-Ashʿarī, was firmly grounded in the Qurʾanic revelation, but he also developed a rational epistemology, giving a high place to human reasoning—a sign of his strong Ḥanafism. He was much concerned with proofs for the existence of God and with the doctrine of creation, questions that probably reflect the intellectual climate of Samarkand and the terms of his encounter with other currents of religious thought. Al-Māturīdī accepted the reality of human freedom, as against the determinism of al-Ashʿarī, but he also opposed the Muʿtazilī view of human beings as creators of their own deeds. He maintained that every act of humankind is at the same time the result of human capacity and a divine creation. Using somewhat the same language as al-Ashʿarī and as his opponents, the Muʿtazilah, he nevertheless described a balance between divine omnipotence and human freedom that was distinctive.

Even though Māturīdī was opposed to the general thrust of Muʿtazilism, he agreed with some views of the Muʿtazilites. Like the Muʿtazilites, he believed in the human ability and, in fact, obligation to know God and worship him through unaided reason even in the absence of a specific prophetic revelation. While rejecting some interpretations of the Muʿtazilites, Māturīdī accepted the necessity of interpreting anthropomorphic expressions in the Qurʾān through metaphors and symbols rather than understanding them literally. On the question of the attributes of God, he took a position opposite to the Muʿtazilites and considered divine names and qualities described in the Qurʾān to be eternally subsisting in God's essence. Like al-Ashʿarī, he affirmed the negative formula that God's names and qualities are neither identical with the divine essence nor distinct from it. He accepted the possibility of beatific vision *(ruʾyat Allāh),* that is, the idea that human beings will be able to see God in the hereafter, but he rejected the specification "by the eyes," endorsing in some ways the famous Ḥanbalī position of "without [asking/knowing] how" *(bilā kayf).* Against al-Ashʿarī he held that faith, as the act that makes a person a member of the Muslim community, is immutable, incapable of either decrease or increase. This tenet was a part of the Ḥanafī doctrinal heritage. Furthermore, he defined faith *(al-imān)* as "consent by the heart" *(taṣdīq bi al-qalb)* and "confession by the tongue" *(iqrār bi al-lisān).* Like the Ḥanafīs and the Murjiʿas before him, Māturīdī held that works *(aʿmāl)* are not part of the doctrinal confession of faith.

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MĀUI is the most versatile, popular, and widely known supernatural hero in South Pacific mythology. Islanders as far west as the Micronesian island of Yap narrate how Māui, with his enchanted fishhook, pulled up a big "fish": an island complete with people, villages, and gardens of new food plants. Māui is, however, primarily a Polynesian hero; inhabitants of every island from Hawaiʻi to New Zealand and from Mangareva to Tonga and Samoa narrate versions of his exploits in separate myths or unified myth cycles. In the traditional culture, islanders recited his spells for success in their mundane lives; priests converted secular, humorous myths about Māui to their own serious purposes.

Māui is not only the earth-fisher but also the Polynesian sun-snarer, sky-raiser, fire-stealer, monster-slayer, seeker of immortality, and, in fact, the hero of so many mischievous exploits that Tuamotuans nicknamed him Maui-of-a-Thousand-Tricks and Tupuatupua ("super-superman"). To Hawaiʻians he was *aīwaīwa* ("wonderful") because he was marvelously skilled, yet weird, bad, and notorious. His best-known cognomen, Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga (or cognates), originated, the New Zealand Maori claimed, when his mother, Taranga, wrapped him—her last born and a miscarriage—in a topknot *(tikitiki)* of hair and cast him with a prayer into the ocean. Ocean and sky gods rescued and reared him until, as a boy, he rejoined his family. His tricks finally ended when he entered the womb of the sleeping goddess Hine-nui-te-po ("great Hine of the underworld") in order to gain immortality. He intended to depart through her mouth, but when his bird companion laughed at the sight, the goddess awoke and crushed Māui to death.

Māui was a shape-shifting trickster and, usually unintentionally, a culture hero. He was also the quintessential demigod, neither wholly god nor wholly man, a misfit, who continually tested his magic and *mana* against the cosmogonic gods and against his father and elder brothers in his attempts to usurp their privileges, to humiliate them, and to demonstrate his superiority. He was also a bridge in time between the ending of the era of creation and the beginning of the era of human migrations.

Polynesians believed that by using his incantations and referring to his deeds they would sanctify their work and, at its conclusion, lift taboos on the workers. New Zealand provides the clearest examples of this. A priest of bird-catching rituals regarded the sun as a great bird and would chant Māui's sun-snaring spell to ensure a good catch. To kindle sacred new fire he would recite the incantation by which Māui had overpowered the fire deity and learned to make fire. A priestly expert on the ceremonies accompanying the planting and harvesting of *kumara* (sweet potato) would chant Māui's "song of plenty" over a feather-ornamented, crescent-topped digging stick. The song recalled how Māui, in the guise of a pigeon, had perched on his father's stick after having sneaked after him to his underworld sweet potato garden. Using Māui's charm, fishermen would weaken a large fish's reluctance to leave the ocean, and hostile invaders would recite it to unnerve people and force them to leave their homes. High priests who had been influenced by Western religion rejected the common version of the earth-fishing story and divulged its esoteric, "real" meaning. The high god Io, they explained, gave Māui, his brothers, and their descendants—the Maori—possession of the earth (i.e., New Zealand).

Wherever Māui was known he was claimed as an ancestor. In the Hawaiʻian Islands the claim received royal recognition in the genealogical prayer chant, the *Kumulipo* ("source in deepest darkness"), which belonged to the family of King Kalakaua (1836–1891) and his sister Queen Lili'uokalani (1838–1917), and which described the family's descent from the time of primary gods to that of deified chiefs. Eighteen lines of the fifteenth of the sixteen chants comprising the *Kumulipo* cryptically list the principal events in Māui's life. The sixteenth chant opens with the names of Māui and his wife and ends with that of Lono-i-ka-makahiki. High chiefs once intoned this two-thousand-line prayer to consecrate an infant sacred chief; they gave him the revered name of Lono-i-ka-makahiki and activated his *mana* by naming his ancestors (who included spiritualized natural phenomena, cosmogonic gods, demigods like Māui, and deified chiefs). In 1778, high chiefs chanted the *Kumulipo* over Captain James Cook, welcoming him as a returned god whose name, like the sacred child's, was Lono-i-ka-makahiki.

Priests exploited Māui for several reasons. To Society Islands priests, Māui was a submissive helper who raised the low-lying sky and regulated the time of the sun's journey to enable his eldest brother, a priest, to build temples. In Rarotonga in the Cook Islands, high priests interpreted Māui as a giant who, the first time he stood up, pushed up the sky with his head; later Māui became the weary avenger of insults made by other gods against Tangaroa, his foster father.

References to worship of Māui are obscure, rare, and based on unsupported hearsay. Tongans, it is said, formerly had a shrine and priest of Māui. One Hawaiʻian priest declared that Hawaiʻi had long ago had a Māui cult and priests; another informant stated that Kamehameha I had built a temple to honor Māui. Most Polynesians usually respected Māui as an ancestor, despite his tricks, and they appreciated the benefits derived from his craftiness. But rather than to worship him, it seems that they preferred simply to enjoy the stories of how he humiliated many senior gods and earthly elders.

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KATHARINE LUOMALA (1987)

MAURICE, FREDERICK DENISON (1805–1872), Anglican theologian, founder of Christian Socialism.

John Frederick Denison Maurice was born near Lowestoft, Suffolk, England, the only son of a Unitarian minister, Michael Maurice, and Priscilla Hurry Maurice. Childhood memories of bitter family religious dissension (his mother and three older sisters abandoned Unitarianism for a form of Calvinism) left the young Frederick with a thirst for unity that was to motivate him all his life.

At Cambridge from 1823 to 1826, Maurice was influenced by Coleridge. During his intense conversion experience beginning in 1828, Maurice was deeply affected by the Scottish theologians Edward Irving (1792–1834) and Thomas Erskine (1788–1870). He decided to read for holy orders as an undergraduate, this time at Oxford, and was rebaptized and ordained in the Church of England in 1834.

At the core of this experience was Maurice's desire to know God directly as an actual, living person, in contrast to the abstract God of the Unitarians. This was not merely a romantic reaction to Western rationalism, but the discovery of a biblical, Christocentric, Pauline worldview, the great paradox of Christian faith, in which the holy and invisible God was at the same time in the person of a man. For Maurice, the fundamental, unchanging relationship at the heart of reality was that between God as revealer and man, the creature formed to know God. Man as the receiving image possesses no nature or life of his own. Man's sin is his assertion of independence, his striving hard not to be a receiver. Christ, the perfect image of the Father, is the image after which man was created. Christ is in every man, but the condemnation of every man is that he will not believe or act as if this were true. Maurice found the objective structure of this subjective faith in the articles, creeds, and liturgy of the English church. These formed a permanent witness to the fact that God had established a spiritual and universal kingdom on earth.

Maurice applied this worldview consistently to what he perceived as the basic need of his time: the rediscovery of revelation as the ground of faith. A divine-human struggle has marked all human history through man's distortion or denial of God's revelation. Instead of receiving and living within the given, divine order or constitution of the universe, man has been busily creating theories, systems, and opinions of his own as substitutes. These have resulted in the fragmentations of religious and political sects, parties, and factions and in philosophical attempts to bring heaven and earth within the terms of the intellect, Hegel being the latest offender. Maurice's method was the reverse: to be a digger, uncovering the original purpose and intent of all institutions, in order to show they were meant to be signs to the world of something invisible and permanent, the lineaments of an actual, existing kingdom of Christ.

In his writings, Maurice deliberately took the offensive, impelled by an urgent sense that a serious crisis of faith was growing among the young and that what passed for religion was a perversion of the Judeo-Christian faith that could not win their allegiance. His experience with young men was considerable: with medical students as chaplain of Guy's Hospital, London (1836–1845); as professor of English literature and history and then of theology (1840–1853) at King's College, London; with law students as chaplain of Lincoln's Inn, London (1846–1860). His luminous personal qualities and passionate devotion to truth attracted a growing circle of young men who were deeply influenced by him. These close contacts increased his concern about their questionings and doubts. They were being dosed with religion about God rather than with the living God himself: "Religion against God: this is the heresy of our age."

The revolutions of 1848 and the potentially explosive social situation in England found Maurice as spiritual leader of the short-lived but significant Christian Socialist movement (1848–1854), together with John Malcolm Ludlow (1821–1911) and Charles Kingsley (1819–1875). Convinced that cooperation, not competition, was the true foundation of a Christian society, their practical focus became that of cooperative associations for tailors and other trades. For Maurice the kingdom of Christ was the actual constitution of the universe, the "great practical existing reality which is to renew the earth." Society was not to be made anew but regenerated through uncovering its true functions and purpose, a view opposed to Ludlow's aim for reorganizing society on a socialist base. Maurice's interest in the education of the young was extended through his experience with workers, resulting in the founding in London of the Working Men's College (1854) to express his conviction that the true ground of human culture was not utilitarian but theological, the original purpose for which the ancient universities had been founded. His concern to set high standards for the education of governesses led to the founding of Queen's College, London, early in 1848.

Negative reactions to Maurice's theological and social views and to his growing influence reached a climax with the publication of his *Theological Essays* in 1853. These essays were written with the doubts and questions of the young in mind, as an alternative to the prevailing evangelical orthodoxy, which presented only theories and systems about God, Judgment Day, the verbal inspiration of the Bible, and everlasting punishment. This last Maurice viewed as a cosmic struggle between two eternal opposites: eternal life, which God presents to man, and eternal death, which man chooses for himself. But Christ's gospel reveals an abyss of love below that of death. This view was interpreted by the religious press as a denial of everlasting punishment and led finally to Maurice's expulsion from King's College in 1853 for unsettling the minds of the young.

Despite such controversies, increasing recognition and acceptance came to Maurice in his lifetime and he is viewed today as one of the most original thinkers of the Church of England. His permanent influence remains that of a prophet whose writings formed a sustained, passionate critique of the religious world of his time, comparable in depth to that of Søren Kierkegaard in the nineteenth century and of Karl Barth in the twentieth.

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The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice Chiefly Told in His Own Letters, edited by his son, Frederick Maurice (London, 1884), is a major source for understanding Maurice's thought. For a selection of the letters, see *Toward the Recovery of Unity*, edited by John F. Porter and William J. Wolf (New York, 1964). Characteristic themes appear in his early work *The Kingdom of Christ, or, Hints on the Principles, Ordinances, and Constitution of the Catholic Church in Letters to a Member of the Society of Friends* (1838; revised, London, 1842). A new edition by Alec Vidler, based on the 1842 edition, has been published in two volumes (London, 1958). The post-Reformation religious bodies—Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Anglican—have turned their true principles into separate systems and theories, thereby losing sight of that church universal that existed before these systems and whose signs are indicated in the book's title. A variation of this theme is applied to the history of philosophy in *Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy: Philosophy of the First Six Centuries*, 2 vols., 2d ed., rev. (1854; reprint, London, 1872), begun in 1835, which contrasts man's independent search for wisdom with that Wisdom that first sought him. A lengthy controversy over Henry L. Mansel's Bampton Lectures of 1858 resulted in an important statement of the actual revelation of God to man presented in two works: *What Is Revelation? A Series of Sermons on the Epiphany* (Cambridge, 1859) and *A Sequel to the Inquiry, What Is Revelation?* (Cambridge, 1860). Some of the flavor of Maurice's views on Christian Socialism may be gleaned from *Politics for the People*, weekly papers from May through August 1848 (London), and *Tracts on Christian Socialism* (London, 1850).

Works on Frederick Denison Maurice

Among the works by the many distinguished twentieth-century Anglicans interested in Maurice, Alec Vidler's pioneering study *Witness to the Light: F. D. Maurice's Message for Today* (New York, 1948), his later *F. D. Maurice and Company* (London, 1966), and Arthur M. Ramsey's *F. D. Maurice and the Conflicts of Modern Theology* (Cambridge, 1951) are outstanding. Frank M. McClain's *Maurice: Man and Moralist* (London, 1972) is a perceptive account of how Maurice's personal relationships shaped his outlook on those givens of the Kingdom: the self, the family, the nation, and the church as universal society. My own *Frederick Denison Maurice: Rebellious Conformist* (Athens, Ohio, 1971) is a historical study emphasizing the centrality of Maurice's conversion from Unitarianism to Anglicanism and assessing his stature as a major Victorian figure. The Danish scholar Torben Christensen's *The Divine Order: A Study of F. D. Maurice's Theology* (Leiden, 1973) is a detailed analysis of Maurice's thought as a fusion of the message of the Bible and the Platonic idea

of reality, in which Christianity is adjusted to Platonism. See also his excellent critical work *Origin and History of Christian Socialism, 1848–1854* (Aarhus, 1962).

Olive J. Brose (1987)

MAUSS, MARCEL (1872–1950), the father of French ethnography, has had a profound influence on human and social sciences and has left behind an incredibly rich intellectual legacy. He is automatically linked with his uncle and teacher, Émile Durkheim (1858–1917). Some would say that he was "in the shadow of Durkheim" when describing his scholarly output, produced in direct cooperation with him.

Born to a family of merchants and rabbis at Épinal in 1872, Mauss studied philosophy at Bordeaux under Durkheim. After gaining his *agrégation* (teaching exam) in philosophy in 1895, he gave up the standard career path of secondary teaching, turning his attention instead to sociology of religion. During his studies at the École Pratique des Hautes Études and a trip to Holland and England, he also gained a solid grounding in philology, the history of religions, and ethnology. From his university days Mauss was also politically active, supporting Dreyfus and the socialists. He worked with the *Mouvement socialiste* and he took part in founding the new *Société de librairie et d'édition* with Lucien Herr and Charles Andler. Once he became a professor, Mauss was involved in the cooperative movement and the Socialist Party and published numerous articles in *L'Humanité,* of which he had been one of the founders.

Marcel Mauss produced his first major work together with his friend and colleague Henri Hubert (1872–1927), titled "Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice" (1899) [Essay on the nature and function of sacrifice]. The essay appeared in *L'Année sociologique,* which Durkheim had just founded in 1898. In charge of the section on religious sociology, Mauss was one of its leading contributors. At the École Pratique des Hautes Études, where he succeeded Léon Marillier in 1901, Mauss was responsible for teaching the history of the religion of primitive peoples. Frequently comparative and backed up with detailed evidence, the research undertaken by Mauss was set out as part of a program that had as its subject the ritual expressions of religious life and as its purpose the development of a theory of the sacred. His work quickly went beyond the boundaries of the sociology of religion to deal with the theory of knowledge, as can be seen from the essay written with Durkheim, titled "Quelques formes primitives de classification" (1903) [Some primitive forms of classification]. Concerning sociology, the supporters of Durkheim were quick to point out that it was a collective psychology with the purpose of studying collective representation.

The main debate in Durkheim's first books at the end of the nineteenth century revolved around the conflict between the individual and society, one of the problems faced by sociology since its inception being its specific nature and its relation to other disciplines, particularly psychology. This debate not only pitted Durkheim against his opponents, such as Gabriel Tarde, it also divided his colleagues, as can be seen from the initial volumes of *L'Année sociologique.* Célestin Bouglé, who, like his friend Paul Lapie, was undecided regarding the theoretical framework proposed by Durkheim, recognized the role of the individual and sought to go beyond the conflict between the individual and society, talking of interaction, association between individuals, communication of conscious awareness.

In the work of Mauss was the intention to soften the dogmatic tone of Durkheim. In an essay titled "Sociologie" [Sociology] which he co-authored with Paul Fauconnet in 1901 for *La Grande Encyclopédie,* he stressed the psychological aspect of social life, beliefs and communal feelings. "The very core of social life is a collection of representations," he wrote. "In this sense then, it could be said that sociology is a kind of psychology . . ." (Mauss, 1901). He clearly means a psychology different from that of the individual. Together with Henri Hubert, in 1904 Mauss published in *L'Année sociologique* the important "Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie" [Outline of a general theory of magic], demonstrating that here the laws of collective psychology transgress the laws of individual psychology. "It is belief that creates the magician," they wrote, "and the effects he unleashes" (Mauss, 1904). The use of the concept of *mana,* as the source idea of magic, stirred up a long-lasting controversy.

After the First World War, a tragedy which resulted in the death of Durkheim, his son André and several contributors to *L'Année sociologique,* and during which Mauss had volunteered and served as an interpreter, the latter undertook the difficult task of replacing his uncle and he attempted to relaunch *L'Année sociologique,* but only two volumes appeared, in 1925 and 1927. He also kept up intense political activity, undertaking the editing of an important work on the State and, after publishing his "Observations sur la violence" [Observations on violence] in *Vie socialiste,* he planned a book on Bolshevism. Then, encouraged by the current exoticism, which was attracting a new public to ethnology, Mauss worked together with Lucien Lévi-Bruhl and Paul Rivet, and in 1925 he set up the Institut d'ethnologie de l'université de Paris. The Institute attracted many students and researchers—Jeanne Cuisinier, Alfred Métraux, Marcel Griaule (1898–1956), Georges Dumézil (1898–1986), Denise Paulme, Michel Leiris, Germaine Dieterlen, Louis Dumont, André-Georges Haudricourt, Jacques Soustelle, Germaine Tillion, and others—who led many field studies, particularly in Africa, and organized the first important ethnological expeditions.

A man of tremendous intellectual curiosity and exceptional erudition, Mauss undertook research in a large number of areas: from magic, to body technique via the idea of the individual, he rectified the anti-psychological attitude of his uncle. Mauss set new "Rapports réels et pratiques de psychologie et de la sociologie" [Real and practical relationships of psychology and sociology], in an article which he published in 1924 in *Journal de psychologie.* The following year, he published in the new series of *L'Année sociologique,* his "Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques" [Essay on the gift. The form and reason of exchange in archaic societies].

Durkheim's nephew had never before been so interested in concerning himself with work undertaken by psychologists, and he took part in the projects of the Société de psychologie, becoming its president in 1923. His friends included Charles Blondel, Georges Dumas and above all Ignace Meyerson, the managing editor of the *Journal de psychologie normale et pathologique.* "Sociology, psychology, physiology, everything should be combined," wrote Mauss. The intention is thus to take as a subject "the entire, actual human being" and to analyze "the phenomena as a whole." In 1936 then, again in the *Journal de psychologie,* he published a study on the "Effet physique chez l'individu de l'idée de mort suggérée par la collectivité" ["Physical effect upon the individual of the collectively suggested idea of death"]. Mental confusion, inhibitions, delusions, and hallucinations were all phenomena in which Mauss had a keen interest, but which, contrary to the opinions of psychologists, he did not perceive as pathological symptoms.

Marcel Mauss was elected to the Collège de France in 1930 and he became head of sociology. The texts he published at this period include "Les techniques du corps" [Body techniques] which appeared in 1935 in the *Journal de psychologie,* and "Une catégorie de l'esprit humain: la notion de personne, celle de « moi », un plan de travail" [A category of the human spirit: the idea of the person, the idea of 'self' a plan], in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.* His last academic presentation was in 1941 and consisted of the paper, "Les techniques et la technologie" [Techniques and technology], delivered to the Journée de psychologie et d'histoire du travail et des techniques organized in Toulouse in 1941 by Ignace Meyerson. Marcel Mauss died on February 11, 1950, aged sixty-seven.

Mauss's writings were first collected by Claude Lévi-Strauss in 1950 in *Sociologie et anthropologie,* then in 1969, by Victor Karady in three volumes, *Œuvres.* As for his extensive *Écrits politiques*—Mauss was a very active militant socialist—they were only collected by Marcel Fournier in 1997. The political work of Mauss consists of a large number of reflections and invaluable "reflections" where he combines and expresses, as he recognizes himself, the fervor of the scholar and the politician. He had no doubt at the end of his "Essai sur le don" [Essay on the gift] concerning the worth of ancient moral values, such as charity, and he put forward a morality based upon solidarity and reciprocity.

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MARCEL FOURNIER (2005)

MĀWARDĪ, AL- (AH 364–450/974–1058 CE), more fully Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb; Muslim jurist and political theorist. Al-Māwardī was born in Basra but spent most of his life in Baghdad. He studied Islamic law in both cities with eminent legists of the Shāfiʿī school of jurisprudence. Because of his reputation as a scholar, he was appointed judge in several towns, including Ustuwā in Iran and Baghdad in Iraq. In Baghdad the caliph al-Qādir (991–1031) chose him to write a resumé of Shāfiʿī jurisprudence; al-Qādir's successor, al-Qāʾim (1031–1074), used al-Māwardī for diplomatic missions to the Buyid and Seljuk rulers of Iran.

Although al-Māwardī is remembered primarily as the author of *Kitāb al-aḥkām al-sulṭānīyah* (Book of governmental ordinances), he wrote other books on jurisprudence and government, as well as treatises on such varied topics as Qurʾanic exegesis, the prophethood of Muhammad, the conduct of judges, proverbs and traditions, and Islamic ethics. The report that he did not permit circulation of his books until after his death is regarded as apocryphal. While his book on ethics, entitled *Kitāb adab al-dunyā wa-al-dīn* (Book of manners in worldly and religious affairs), is still read by Muslims, it is seldom taken into account in discussions of al-Māwardī's importance in the development of Islamic thought; surprisingly enough, the same holds true even for his works closely related in subject matter to *Al-aḥkām*. Accordingly, in the absence of any comprehensive study of al-Māwardī's complete works, estimates of his significance must be regarded as tentative despite the fact that the place assigned him in political thought by Western scholars is firmly fixed and widely accepted.

The date of composition of *Al-aḥkām* is not known, nor is the nature of the relationship of this book to a similar, in many respects identical, book of the same title written by al-Māwardī's contemporary, the Ḥanbalī jurist Abū Yaʿlā ibn al-Farrāʾ. However, scholars assume, without documentation, that since al-Māwardī's *Al-aḥkām* seems to be a mature work, it must have been written toward the end of his life; since, moreover, al-Māwardī was sixteen years older than Ibn al-Farrāʾ, it is believed that the latter must have borrowed, without acknowledgment, from the former. Clearly these are problems that need to be solved before al-Māwardī's originality and development as a thinker can be understood. In the meantime, an indication of the content of *Al-aḥkām* and its possible connection with the author's milieu must suffice.

According to al-Māwardī he wrote *Al-aḥkām* at the behest of a ruler, perhaps a caliph, as a convenient compendium of ordinances relating to government, culled from manuals of jurisprudence. This work, and Abū Yaʿlā's, are rightly regarded as the first books of jurisprudence to be devoted exclusively to the principles and practice of Islamic government. The parts of *Al-aḥkām* that have attracted most attention discuss the three highest offices of the medieval Islamic state: the caliphate, the vizierate, and the emirate by usurpation, even though at least two-thirds of the work is devoted to lesser administrative and judicial offices, taxation, and land policy. Scholars are divided as to whether the book, either as a whole or in parts, reflects actual political conditions prevailing in al-Māwardī's time or constitutes a program for establishing an ideal state or for reasserting the power of the caliphate in the face of threats posed by secular, military rulers. The prevailing view is that al-Māwardī was a supporter of al-Qāʾim and al-Qādir in their struggle against the Buyids and the Seljuks. His support, never explicitly expressed as such, came in the form of arguments derived from the Qurʾān, tradition (*ḥadīth*), and jurisprudence (*fiqh*) for the necessity of maintaining the caliph as executor of Islamic law and for the duty of the Muslim community to obey him. Admittedly, this dual principle seems remote from the realities of al-Māwardī's day, when generals exercised political power in Islamic states. But al-Māwardī tried to come to terms with this reality and to accommodate it within the scope of Islamic law in his chapter on the emirate by usurpation. There he argued that rule by emirs based on force was to be sanctioned as long as they acknowledged the authority of the caliphs and implemented Islamic law. In effect, such an admission constituted a first step toward concession to political expediency, which was characteristic of the subsequent development of medieval Islamic political thought. Be that as it may, al-Māwardī's formulation of the character of the Islamic state has been regarded as authoritative by many Muslim thinkers and Western scholars alike.

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DONALD P. LITTLE (1987)

MAWDŪDĪ, SAYYID ABŪ AL-AʿLĀ

(1903–1979), popularly known as Mawlānā Mawdūdī; Indian (later Pakistani), writer, religious thinker, political figure, and founder and leader of an Islamic revivalist movement. Mawdūdī was born into a religious family in Aurangabad, British India. With the exception of a short period in a Hyderabad *madrasah*, his education was gained at home or through his own efforts. His earliest occupation was journalism, and in 1920 he became editor of the highly influential newspaper of the Jamʿiyat-i ʿUlamāʾ (the organization of Indian ʿ*ulama*ʾ), where he remained for seven years. As one of the Indian Muslim leaders outraged by Gandhi's abandonment of the Swarāj movement for independence, he began to argue that Muslim interests could not be reconciled with those of Hindus. Although Mawdūdī had participated in the religio-political Khilāfat movement, he and his brother criticized the Khilāfat leaders for the fiasco of the *hijrah* ("emigration") movement from India to Afghanistan.

In the mid-1920s, in response to Hindu attacks on Islam resulting from the murder of a Hindu leader by a Muslim fanatic, Mawdūdī wrote a series of articles in defense of Islamic beliefs, subsequently published as *Al-jihād fīi al-Islām* (Religious War in Islam). He later said that this volume, his first serious work on Islam, represented his true intellectual and spiritual conversion to the religion.

Mawdūdī left journalism in 1927 for literary and historical pursuits. In the following years he wrote a history of the Seljuks and an unfinished history of the Asafi dynasty of Hyderabad. From 1932 he was associated with a Hyderabad religious journal, *Tarjumān al-Qurʾān*, which he edited from 1933 until his death; this publication has been the principal instrument for the propagation of his views. Criticizing the westernized class of Indian Muslims, Mawdūdī began to call for the mobilization of Muslims in the cause of Islam. In the political debates of the late 1930s he rejected both the Indian nationalism of the Congress and the Muslim nationalism of the Muslim League, calling instead for an Islamic order in India. His views from the period are collected in three volumes called *Musalmān awr mawjūdah siyāsī kashmakash* (The Muslim and the Present Political Struggle).

In 1941 Mawdūdī founded the Jamāʿat-i Islāmī, an organization for the promotion of Islamic principles, and was elected its chief, or *amīr*, which he remained until 1972. From 1941 until the partition of Indian he devoted his time to building the organization and to writing. In 1947, despite his unhappiness with the Muslim League, Mawdūdī moved to Pakistan, where he and his group became the leading spokesmen for an Islamic state. The Jamāʿat-i Islāmī sought political power, and its activities attracted the disapproval of government. Mawdūdī and his principal followers were imprisoned on several occasions; he himself was condemned to death by a military court after the anti-Aḥmadīyah disturbances of 1953, but the sentence was never carried out. His ideas and activities brought criticism from both modernist and conservative Muslims as well as from secularists.

Mawdūdī's teachings are set out in a large number of writings that include a six-volume commentary on the Qurʾān, *Tafhīm al-Qurʾān*. These writings have been translated into numerous languages, and he is at present one of the most widely read authors in the Islamic world. He believed Islam to be an ideology that offers complete guidance for human life, laid down by God in his holy book, the Qurʾān, and through his prophet, Muḥammad. The task of Muslims is to follow the eternal divine law by building an Islamic state, by creating an Islamic society as well as an individual Islamic life. The paramount feature of his teaching is the demand for an Islamic state, which he intended to be realized in the form of the Jamāʿat-i Islāmī. His vision of society was rigorous, puritanical, authoritarian, antisecular, and antidemocratic but was based upon a deeply held conviction that people must live according to the law of God.

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SHEILA MCDONOUGH (1987)

MAWLID is an Arabic word that literally means the time and place of a birth, but the word is used in particular for the birth of the prophet Muḥammad (*mawlid al-nabī*). In some Islamic countries it also refers to the festival days of local saints (*walīs*). The actual birth date of the prophet Muḥammad is unknown, but the anniversary of his birth is celebrated on 12 Rabīʿah al-Awwal of the Islamic lunar calendar, a day prior to the anniversary of his death (in 632 CE).

Muḥammad is portrayed in the Qurʾān as a messenger of God who was an ordinary mortal in other respects. Only in later centuries did many Muslims begin to assert a higher sanctity for his person. The first recorded celebrations of his birth occurred during the latter part of Fatimid rule in Egypt (909–1171). As Shīʿī Muslims who held descendants of the Prophet in particularly high esteem, the Fatimid elite similarly observed the *mawlids* of Muḥammad's son-in-law ʿAlī, his daughter Fāṭimah, and the reigning caliph. Palace dignitaries and religious notables held daylight processions and delivered sermons, a practice briefly prohibited but later revived. The Sunnī majority in Egypt took no part in these ceremonies.

The first popular *mawlid* occurred in 1207. Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kökbürü, brother-in-law of the famed Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), arranged for a festival in Arbalāʾ, a town near Mosul in present-day northern Iraq. As described by the historian Ibn Khallikān (d. 1282), a native of the town, the *mawlid* became an elaborate annual event, attracting scholars, notables, preachers, and poets from throughout the region. The deeds and person of Muḥammad were celebrated in religious poetry and songs and culminated on the eve of the *mawlid* in a torchlight procession led by the prince. Followers of Ṣūfī orders were also prominent in the celebrations, and gifts were lavishly distributed to participants.

Some aspects of early *mawlids* appear to have been influenced by Middle Eastern Christian traditions of the period, such as lavish entertainments and nighttime processions in honor of saints. Even as *mawlids* also developed for saints and other holy persons, especially in Egypt, the Prophet's *mawlid* continued to be the most elaborate. *Mawlid*s quickly became highly popular occasions associated with mysticism, during which Ṣūfī orders congregated in public, reciting rhythmical chants in praise of God and in some cases entering into trance. From Egypt, *mawlid*s spread to many other parts of the Islamic world.

The popularity of *mawlid*s met initial resistance from some theologians. Ibn Taymīyah (d. 1328) and others condemned the Prophet's *mawlid* as a harmful innovation (*bidʿah*). After considerable discussion, most theologians, except those precursors of the later Wahhābī movement, who espoused Islam in its most idealized and fundamental form, tolerated the *mawlid* as a praiseworthy innovation (*bidʿah ḥasanah*), since it inspired reverence for the Prophet. The central activity of *mawlid*s is the recital of long panegyrical poems and legends commemorating Muḥammad and his deeds, recitations so popular that they are repeated on festive occasions throughout the year.

The acceptance of popular practice by theologians shows the Islamic principle of consensus (*ijmāʿ*) at work. A key doctrinal tenet in Islam is that the community of believers cannot agree upon error. The legal opinions of religious jurists appear to have had minimal influence in reducing the popularity of *mawlid*s, so that most jurists were encouraged to accommodate theological doctrine to social realities.

As with other Islamic celebrations and rites of passage, *mawlid*s show considerable differences throughout the Islamic world. In some contexts, the *mawlid* is minimally distinguished from other festive occasions; elsewhere, it is one of the most important annual religious events. In nineteenth-century Cairo, *mawlid* celebrations started on the first day of Rabīʿah al-Awwal. Large tents were pitched in one of Cairo's quarters and decorated with lamps and Qurʾanic inscriptions. Each night Ṣūfī orders carried their banners in procession to their tents, where they chanted the name of God, recited poems in praise of Muḥammad, and provided refreshments to guests. In the daytime, dancers, clowns, and storytellers entertained the audience in a carnival atmosphere. Festivities climaxed on the eleventh and twelfth evenings of the month, with elaborate poems and songs in praise of Muḥammad that continued until morning. In recent times government restrictions against large public gatherings sought to curtail these events. Nonetheless, the Prophet's *mawlid* and to a lesser extent those for local saints continue to be large communal festivals attracting hundreds of thousands of people in Egypt's larger towns.

Elsewhere in the Islamic world, religious orders play a less central role in *mawlid* festivities. In Morocco, the month in which the Prophet's birthday occurs is popularly known as *mulūd*, the local pronunciation of *mawlid*. Children born during this month are considered especially fortunate and are often named after it, and it is a good time to circumcise boys. Celebrations last a week, culminating with recitations of panegyrics of Muḥammad in decorated and illuminated community mosques. On the final night, recitations continue until daybreak. Some families offer a feast and distribute food to the poor; women decorate their hands and feet with henna and visit cemeteries. In Java, a feast is offered for the *mawlid*, which is one of the two most important calendrical ceremonies in a region given over to elaborate festival cycles. A popular Javanese belief is that the giving of feasts for the Prophet's birthday and the end of Ramaḍān distinguishes Muslims from non-Muslims and humans from animals; this view of the importance of the occasion is not necessarily shared by those Javanese who have a more elaborate understanding of Islamic doctrine and ritual.

The symbolism of the *mawlid* is especially highly developed among Swahili-speaking East African Muslims. In the town and island of Lamu, located off the northern coast of Kenya, most Muslims hold that the prophet Muḥammad, created of dust, like all other persons, carried "light" to the earth in this month. The discipline of fasting during the month of Ramadan emphasizes the separation of nature and culture and the distance between actual human society and the Islamic ideal. Likewise, the month of Muḥammad's birth is regarded as a joyous occasion that emphasizes life as lived here and now, combined with belief in the Prophet's willingness to intervene on behalf of his people and to accept them in full recognition of their individual shortcomings. It is said that during this month the Prophet lives on the earth like a human being and loves and hates just as they do. The first twelve days of the month are marked by processions, singing, and the music of tambourines and flutes. Intense competitions are held on successive evenings in the mosques and religious associations of the various quarters in Lamu. Each quarter vies in enthusiasm to praise Muḥammad's life and deeds in song and prose and to show its love for the Prophet. *Sharīf*s, descendants of Muḥammad, are especially honored in Lamu during this period.

*Sharīf*s are invited to recite poems in praise of Muḥammad in most of the nineteen mosques of Lamu town. In beautiful performances on successive evenings, assemblies of young boys from mosque schools and musicians perform songs and poems that have been rehearsed for months. Brightly colored tunics, donated by wealthy Muslims, are worn for the ceremonies. The freeborn and the ex-slaves, members of two important local social categories, compete with one another during these celebrations to express a willingness to use earthly wealth—the offer of food and refreshments to guests—and talent to show their love for the Prophet. If not enough effort is put into the preparations for quarter festivities, the *sharīf*s are said to participate with less enthusiasm and to attract fewer blessings for the quarter. Love of the Prophet is said to join together the world of nature and the world of culture. Ceremonies include the sacrifice of cows, highly valued on the island, visits to cemeteries, and the distribution of rose water by *sharīf*s to symbolize Muḥammad's ability to cleanse his followers of their sins. Until the 1970s distinctions between freeborn and ex-slave and *sharīf* and commoner remained significant for many East African Muslims, although in recent years such distinctions have been eroded under pressure from reformist Muslims.

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DALE F. EICKELMAN (1987)

MAWU-LISA is a complex deity worshiped in coastal West Africa by the Fon and most of the Ewe. Occasionally Mawu and Lisa are considered as separate deities; sometimes they are seen together as a complementary sexual pair. The issue is complicated because the Ewe peoples use the term *mawu* both to refer to God in a general way or to a specific deity.

As a specific deity, Mawu is seen as a creator, but she rarely has shrines, priests, or rituals dedicated to her. Among peoples such as the Fon, Mawu is conceived of as a female deity associated with the moon, and it is in this manifestation that she is most often paired with Lisa. Among the Fon, the cult of Mawu-Lisa was centered in Abomey, the capital of the old kingdom of Dahomey. Mawu is depicted as an elder female figure in conjunction with Lisa, a younger male consort. Other complementary qualities are seen in them. For example, whereas Mawu is associated with the moon (night) and is cool (gentle and forgiving), Lisa is associated with the sun (day) and is hot (fierce and punitive). Sometimes even their actions are complementary. In one mythic tradition, Mawu created the earth and then retired to the heavens. When she saw that things were not going well with men, she sent Lisa to make tools and clear the forests so that men could farm and live a civilized life.

The name *Lisa* among the Fon appears to be derived from the nearby Yoruba people, who use the word *orịṣa* (or *orisha*) to refer to lesser deities. Lisa is an analogue for the Yoruba *orịṣa* Ọbatala and is variously described as the twin brother, husband, or son of Mawu. This paired complementarity is not all that unusual in West Africa. Other pairs of spiritual beings include Nana-Buku of central Benin and Togo, Dada-Sogbo of the Ewe, and Eṣu-Legba of the Yoruba. Their pairing need not refer to sexuality but merely to the unity of duality, however that may be defined.

Mawu also creates human souls and rules their destinies. The soul is called *mawuse* (the Mawu within a person). At first, Mawu made people out of clay, but after running short, she began to make them out of reused bodies (hence we can see resemblances in people). Mawu upholds moral law and also metes out rewards and punishments after death.

The priests of Mawu wear white, and at Abomey there is a rare statue of Mawu. The figure, painted red, has large breasts and holds a crescent moon. The cult of Mawu is not limited to West Africa. There are scattered instances of Mawu's cult in the New World. For example, in Yoruba houses in São Luiz, Brazil, there is said to be an *encantado* (spirit) of Mawu. There, as in West Africa, Mawu connotes a generalized notion of divinity.

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JAMES S. THAYER (1987)

MAXIMÓN is a trickster deity from Santiago Atitlán, Guatemala. His origin as a Mesoamerican merchant and lineage deity originates in the pre-classic Maya world (c. 500 BCE). His cult has spread throughout the highlands of Guatemala alongside the proselytizing evangelical movement among the Maya of the highlands. His image, in various forms, can now be found throughout the republic, but this essay concentrates on the deity found in Santiago Atitlán while recognizing the many similarities between the various Maximón cults found in different highland towns. Maximón is particularly important to all those people who want more out of life than simple sustenance; he specializes in giving everything that is "extra" in this world. His cult has thus grown to satisfy the focus of material wealth that is now so important to the people who inhabit the towns and villages of the Guatemalan highlands.

Maximón is a name derived from two different origins: first, from the Catholic Simón Pedro (Ximón Pedro) the first apostle of Christ who was given the keys to heaven and the power of "binding and loosing"; second, from the Tz'utujil term meaning "Mr. Knotted," derived from *ma* (mister) and *ximon* (to have knotted). Maximón is the trickster who waits at the portal of fate, where he either captures and binds his prey or loosens the knotted one from the trap of a predator. Like Simon Peter, he is seen as the gatekeeper of all those souls who are out on the road, at the crossroads of life, or in the marketplace where happenstance can change one's luck. Maximón is the one who opens or closes the road to opportunity, creates an accidental meeting at the crossroads, or finds the needed connection in the marketplace.

Maximón is Lord of Merchants, similar to God L and God M of the ancient Maya. He is a tireless walker of roads without end; his wanderings lead him to wherever he is called, as well as to all those places where he creates problems that he alone can solve. He is the shape-shifter who alters his shape to the changing shape of the world in which he exists as trickster, and because of this his disguises are infinite.

He is *versipellis*, a being who changes its skin to imitate another being or an environment, a completely flexible being whose way is "no way." Maximón is ever-present in his many forms, but mostly he is known to take the form of one of the following: a young girl, the old man, the latina temptress, the poor beggar, the wealthy plantation owner, the hummingbird, the blue jay, the skunk, the donkey, the wild mountain dahlia, the "divining tree," a whirlwind, a night breeze, a earth tremor, a fly, a mosquito, a wafting scent of a cigar, or even a ripple across still water.

Like all tricksters he makes himself known to his followers through signs given on the road, where a heightened sense of insecurity is always felt. All of his disguises or changes give messages to those who follow his guidance to safe passage and profitable markets. He is lord of all those portals of opportunity where tax collectors let one pass unmolested, where obstacles are lifted, where government officials look the other way, where traps are avoided, and where doors of opportunity are flung wide open. He is lord of the crossroads where destinies accidentally come together for better or worse. He is lord of the marketplace where abundance is turned into wealth and where finding a new product or person brings about a life reversal. Maximón is guide to souls in need, both in this lifetime and at death; it is he who is the *k'amal b'iey* (pathfinder) who ushers us towards the direction we must be taking. Sacred history tells that Maximón was made of the "Tz'ajtel tree" (*erythrina corallodendron*), a type of "divining wood" used by shamans, diviners, matchmakers, midwives, and oracles to see into the future or back into the past.

Maximón is also known as Mam or Rilaj Mam, Ancestor or Great Ancestor. *Mam* means both "grandfather" and "grandchild," making him a deity that replaces the ancestors with future ancestors in such a way that the lineage never dies. Mam is also known as "Year Bearer" in a Mayan world where the sun is carried on the back of humanity through ritual sacrifice. The Year Bearer carries the year, and the ritual practitioners carry the Year Bearer through rituals of sacrifice. The Year Bearer is a sacred being who occupies the four corners of the world in a quadripartite fashion. In Maya timekeeping, each year had one of four styles, each of which had a Mam from one of the four world corners. As one year ended, the Year Bearer of that year was dismembered, purified, and then put back together as another Mam, another Year Bearer. In this way years are seen as human ancestors that continuously replace one another throughout time.

Mam also signifies the five dangerous days of the Uayeb', a short, five-day month between two 360-day years, each of which is made up of eighteen months of twenty days. During this short five-day month of the Uayeb', the Mam was celebrated as one year ended and another began. Mam is thus the Lord of Middle, where years end and begin, as well as lord of endless generations of ancestors, or Mam, and their replacements, also known as Mam.

Mam has many similarities with God N, or Pawahtuun, of the classic Maya. Pawahtuun was depicted as an aged sky-bearing deity who went about dressed in a conch shell or turtle carapace, linking him to waterways, lakes, and seas of merchant people. He was an old man who loved a party, where he would indulge himself in drunkenness as well as the affections of wild young women. As a quadripartite deity he was closely associated with the Chaks, or rain deities, and may have been the rain deities' earthly counterpart. Mam, like Chak, is a deity of the four corners; as a mountain god, he personifies the stones or mountains that support the sky at each of the four corners. Mam in his most beloved form is an elderly lord of the earth, thunder, and the ancestors.

Tz'utujil tradition of Santiago Atitlán states that Mam was created by immortals known as Nawales, who were merchants and in much need of a guardian who would watch over their women while they were on the road and in the marketplaces of distant towns. As soon as Mam was brought to life by the Nawales as a replication of their perfection, he began doing what he had been ordered to. Pretty soon he was making love to all the wives of those who had created him. Eventually, Mam was dismembered and put back together in such away that he could never misuse his human body again: his head was twisted around backwards, and his arms and legs were left short. This is the image that is found today in the Cofradia of Santa Cruz in Santiago Atitlán. Like all tricksters, Mam's appetites cause his fall from prescriptive culture, and so teaches people how not to act in the world.

The present-day image of Maximón stands about four-feet tall in a brand new pair of boots. He is adorned in many silk scarves, which once may have been feathers. On his gourd skull is a wooden mask of an old man. On the backside of his head is another mask, giving Mam a 360-degree view. Upon this head of twin masks are two modern Stetson cowboy hats, signifying the duplicity inherent in this capricious being. (The Stetson hats are given as gifts to Maximón by wealthy Indian merchants, who wear them themselves to manifest their high status in the Indian world.) His body is made of pieces of divining wood that are tied together with sashes of traditional cloth and string. This ritually bundled core is adorned in traditional clothing from Santiago Atitlán and other towns from the lake region, creating a deity that looks much like it must have when the Nawales first formed it.

Mam, or Maximón, is a boundary crosser and a liminal character that lives at the threshold of this world of humans and the other world of the gods. He is the go-between and messenger that relays communication between humanity and their deities. In this middle ground between humans and gods he takes his payment in the form of offerings, including only flowers, incense, candles, liquor, tobacco, sweet-smelling waters, song, and prayers. He takes part of all that once was given only to the gods, and in this way he makes a good living by existing between and betwixt two worlds.

SEE ALSO Mesoamerican Religions.

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VINCENT STANZIONE (2005)

MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR (c. 580–662), Byzantine theologian, Eastern Orthodox saint, ascetic writer, and opponent of monothelitism. What is known about Maximos's life largely derives from an anonymous biography.

Born in Constantinople, Maximos received a good education, which was rare for his time. Indicative of his abilities was his appointment as first secretary to the emperor Heraclius (r. 610–641), but Maximos soon recognized his ecclesiastical calling. He entered the Monastery of Philipikos, in Chrysopolis (present-day Üsküdar, Turkey), probably in 614, where he eventually became abbot. Because of attacks by the Persians, Maximos and the other monks were forced to flee to the Monastery of Saint George, at Cyzicus (present-day Kapidagi, Turkey). Two years later Maximos was again obliged to flee because of Persian expansionism. His path likely took him through Crete, and probably Cyprus, to North Africa (626). It is well known that he was in Carthage on Pentecost of 632. At the Eucratas Monastery he became acquainted with Sophronios, another refugee, who later became patriarch of Jerusalem (634–638). Maximos was greatly influenced by Sophronios and later called him his forerunner, father, and teacher.

The two monks journeyed to Alexandria in an effort to overturn an agreement of union with the monophysites but were unable to persuade the former patriarch, Cyrus of Alexandria (d. 641), to their cause. Because such concessions to monophysitism were likely to terminate in the heresy of monoenergism, Sophronios had turned against the agreement; Maximos continued in the struggle against the union but acted in a reserved way. After Heraclius published his *Ecthesis* (638), and a monothelite direction was given to the heresy, Maximos cut off relations with the patriarch Pyrrhus and began his own antimonothelite activities.

Important stages of Maximos's struggle against monothelitism are his dialogue with the deposed Pyrrhus in Carthage; the convocation in North Africa of three antimonothelite synods, where he explained his position; and the continuation of his endeavors in Rome (646), which had become the new center of antimonothelitism. Maximos's efforts were now carried out with unmitigated zeal. He composed treatises and letters to the emperor, the pope, and the patriarch of Constantinople. His antiheretical struggle prompted the convocation of a synod in Rome (649) where he condemned monothelitism.

Maximos's initiatives were regarded by the imperial authorities as hostile to its policy of union and reconciliation. Therefore, Maximos and his companions, one of whom was the papal legate, were taken to Constantinople for questioning. (This was in 655, not, as is commonly reported, during the reign of Pope Martin I.) Although the charge that he had betrayed the interests of the empire was not proved, Maximos was exiled (along with his two disciples) to Byzia in Thrace for refusing to sign the new conciliatory declaration, the *Typus* of Constans II, under Patriarch Peter (655–666). Maximos was called back to Constantinople in 656 for another investigation, but after refusing once again to sign, he was exiled and imprisoned at Perbera. Although his opponents were determined, Maximos's intransigence in matters of faith prevented him from giving in to them. Six years later, Maximos, Pope Martin, and Sophronios were anathemized. There followed exchanges of messages, rumors of torture (some say Maximos was beaten, his tongue cut out, and his right hand lopped off), and further exiling. Maximos was finally imprisoned in the fortress of Schimaris, where after two months he died, on August 13, 662.

Maximos composed numerous works on the interpretation of scripture and on the teachings of the fathers. His doctrinal writings consist largely of short treatises against monophysitism, a more important series against monothelitism, and numerous other ascetical writings. He wrote commentaries on mystical theology and on the work of Dionysius the Areopagite (Pseudo-Dionysius). Also extant are many letters by Maximos, including the letters and disputation that he wrote to Pyrrhus. Some other writings exist only in manuscript.

The teachings of Maximos developed in two directions: on the one hand, in a theoretical direction, with strong metaphysical emphasis; and on the other, in an existential direction, which elaborated a spiritual way of life. In his theology of the unity and trinity of God, Maximos follows the ontological method and the teachings of the Greek fathers. The interpretation by some Western theologians that Maximos agrees with the view that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son cannot be demonstrated definitively. For example, Maximos sees in the Trinity the relation of three persons who participate jointly in one essence and jointly express a common divine energy: the Father, "by grace"; the Son, "by self-operation"; the Holy Spirit, "by synergy."

Maximos believed that the world was created by God so that beings could participate in his goodness. Accordingly, man holds the dominant place in creation and is the natural link between God and creation; further, all will is united to God through man. The first man, Maximos thought, was created with an orientation toward God and was meant to bridge the distance between "image" and "likeness." For Maximos, disobedience to the divine will constitutes deliberate sin, in which man's will is distorted and his nature corrupted; thus, man loses the grace of *apatheia.* Also, corruptibility in human nature is inherited; therefore, there is no human possibility of self-regeneration or of exemption from death. However, what man has done out of negligence, the man Christ has corrected.

Maximos's Christology is devoted to his struggle against monophysitism and monothelitism. For Maximos, in Christ, human nature, which had no previous existence as such, became substantial and received existence in the preexisting substance of God the Word (the Logos). As one being, Christ has the same humanity as man but he also has divinity. However, as in the Trinity, in Christ's being one essence is confessed without confusing the two natures.

The resolution of the question of whether there are one or two energies (or one or two wills) in Christ lies in the determination of their origin, that is, whether in the nature or in the person of Christ. For the monoenergists, Christ has only one energy because he has only one active element. For the monothelites, he has only one will because nature, according to doctrines of natural philosophy, is governed by the rule of necessity.

In order to oppose monophysitism, Maximos attempts to define the operational autonomy of the person on the basis of the dynamism of nature. He argues that nature, which is both noetic and created, "has no necessity" (*Patrologia Graeca* 91.293). Will, as a reasonable desire, presupposes the habit of nature, which is movement and energy, not stasis. The will governs this nature within the functions of the person. For example, sight and speech are capacities inherent in nature, but "how" one sees is dependent upon the person. In this way, Maximos distinguishes between the natural origin of the will and its personal (that is, "gnomic") orientation. As such, will does not violate the order of nature but diverts its movement and, in this case, expresses the ethical responsibility of the person.

According to Maximos, Christ is recognized as God and man from his divine and human qualities. Christ willed, or acted, as God and man. Maximos sees a "divine-human will" and a "divine-human energy" in Christ's very nature. In distinction from his opponents, Maximos argues that if will is identical with persons (and not nature), then the Trinity, which is a trinity of persons, and not of natures, would have to comprise three wills. Further, if the energy were to flow from persons, there would be three energies in the Trinity, and Christ would be cut off from the energy of the Father and that of the Holy Spirit.

The human will of Christ is, by the logic of nature, the same as ours, but its manifestation in Christ is directed by the person of God the Word. Hence, Christ's will experienced everything human except sin. The famous phrase "My Father, if it is possible, let this cup pass from me; nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt" (*Mt.* 26:39) expresses the will of the human nature in Christ, that is, his resistance to death as well as his acceptance of it. This is an indication that salvation is completed by the human will. Thus Maximos's intention is to defend the human will of Christ, which also constitutes a defense of the freedom of man in relation to God. Under such presuppositions, Christ healed and divinized corruptible human nature. Christ also formulated a new way of existence for man, free from sin and death. Furthermore, it is through the work of the church, Maximos believed, that familiarization with these gifts of Christ can occur. Likewise, in his dogmatic teaching, Maximos describes the spiritual life as a pedagogical way to salvation and divinization.

The three factors, according to Maximos, that mold man are God, human nature, and the world. It is man's will that moves him in relation to these factors. *Being* refers to the essence of man, *well-being* to the call of God to pass from the "image" to the "likeness" of God; *eternal being* is granted to those worthy of the grace of God. The development of the inner life cultivates the gift of baptism, through which human nature is renewed by Christ's existence. The discovery of freedom and the acquisition of virtues, especially of love, promote the social life of the person and union with God. Spiritual formation, which is carried out through natural and theological vision, follows. In the principles of creation and in the principles of human nature, God is discovered. In the divine Word we possess the unity of the Creator and creation, as the revelation of his person and work to the world.

Spiritual formation is fulfilled in the work of the Holy Spirit, which enlightens man, enabling him to understand beings, the meaning of the scriptures, and the mysteries of worship. At the very center of their existence Christians participate in the divine energy and receive awareness of the spiritual presence of God. Such a process—internal, moral, and spiritual—makes the person capable of *theōsis* (deification), that is, exemption from the corruption of creation and acquisition of union with God. Finally, full communion and union in the second coming of Christ is awaited as a consummation of our own personal lives, just as resurrection was the consummation of Christ's life.

Maximos's contribution to the intellectual support of orthodox views, his ecclesiastical conduct, and his witness as a confessor were recognized by the Third Council of Constantinople (680–681). The basic themes of his teaching, such as the distinction between nature and divine energy, the principles of nature and human will, the communion and synergy of God and man as persons, the participation of man in God, and *theōsis*—all of these influenced the spirituality and later direction of orthodox theology. For example, Maximos's authority was invoked during the hesychast dispute of the fourteenth century. The successful application of Aristotelian dialectic in theology was inaugurated by Maximos, and his teaching has provoked interest in modern theological circles.

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NICHOLAS KARAZAFIRIS (1987)

MĀYĀ.

MĀYĀ. is one of the key terms in Indian religious tradition. Its original meaning may be "creation" or "construction" (from the Sanskrit *mā*, "measure" or "mete out"), but the term can be used in several connotations, implying a power, a process, and the result of that process.

Development of the concept. In the history of Indian thought the term *māyā* is used with remarkable consistency, to express, define, and explain the enigma of life and the material world. The viewpoint expressed by Śaṅkara, admittedly pivotal, is often stressed too much, at the cost of other opinions conceived by intelligent minds from the time of the Vedas to the modern period. For the Vedic authors, *māyā* denoted the faculty that transforms an original concept of creative mind into concrete form, a faculty of immense proficiency and shrewdness such as is suggested by the English word *craft.*

In the Vedas, performances of *māyā* are mainly ascribed to divine beings, *deva*s ("gods") or *asura*s ("countergods"). Each god works *māyā* in his own way and for his own ends. Thus, through *māyā* Varuṇa metes out the earth and creates order in nature (*Ṛgveda* 5.85.5 et al.), and Indra employs it to defeat the demon Vrtra or to transform himself into another shape (*Ṛgveda* 6.47.18: "By his powers of *māyā*, Indra goes around in many forms," an oft-quoted phrase). The reality of all these mayic creations, however incomprehensible to common man, is never questioned. The Upaniṣads develop a metaphysical notion of *māyā* as the emanation of the phenomenal world by *brahman*, the cosmic Self. In post-Vedic Hinduism, the term can be used to convey a metaphysical, epistemological, mythological, or magical sense, depending on the immediate context.

METAPHYSICAL ASPECT. In Indian thought, *māyā* is the metaphysical principle that must be assumed in order to account for the transformation of the eternal and indivisible into the temporal and differentiated. Beginning with the Upaniṣads (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 6.1.4–6), empirical reality is most often conceived as a polymorphous modification or transformation of the Absolute, and thus maintains a "derived reality." Mahāyāna Buddhism, however, developed a concept of the world as a "substitution" or "delusion" conjured up by *māyā* as by an act of illusionism. The world process and our experience of it are devices to hide the inexpressible total void (Nāgārjuna, second century CE?), or cosmic consciousness. Even the Buddha's teaching is said to belong to this sphere of secondary reality. An attitude of nihilism is avoided by the concept of two levels of reality developed by Nāgārjuna: *pāramārthika* ("ultimate") and *vyāvahārika* ("practical"). It is therefore not correct to state that for these thinkers the world of *māyā* is a mere illusion.

In Hindu philosophy (especially the Vedānta school), the concept of *māyā* follows the Vedic tradition of a mysterious power of self-transformation. The Buddhist doctrine of an ultimate void is emphatically denied: the nonexistent cannot be the source of creation, just as a barren woman can never have a son, says Gauḍapāda (sixth century CE?). After him, Śaṅkara (c. eighth century CE) and later scions of the Advaita ("Nondualist") school also deny ultimate reality to the phenomenal world. But creation is not totally unreal either, since it cannot be separated from the truth that is *brahman* (what else could be its cause?), and also because it retains a pragmatic validity for the individual as long as the liberating experience of all-oneness has not been reached. "Illusion" thus implies the mysteriously different, not the *nihil*.

Other Vedānta theorists tend to emphasize the reality of the mayic transformation. According to Rāmānuja (eleventh century CE), the world is a mode of existence of *brahman*, related to it as the body is to the soul. The Śaiva and Śākta schools of thought also held a realistic view of *māyā*. In the recent period, Vivekananda, Aurobindo, and others have endeavored to restate the doctrine of *māyā* in reaction to objections by other philosophical systems without deviating in essentials from the tradition.

EPISTEMOLOGICAL ASPECT. *Māyā* deludes cosmic consciousness into associating itself with individuality, sense perception, and the sensory objects of phenomenal reality. Gauḍapāda interprets this process as a misconception *(vikalpa)* of the pure and undivided self-consciousness of the *ātman*, just as in darkness a rope is mistakenly perceived as a snake. To dispel false perception is to attain true insight into the undivided Absolute. Śaṅkara prefers the term *avidyā* ("nescience") or *ajñāna* ("ignorance"). This is not just the absence of insight but a positive entity, the cause of superimposition of external experience on the undefiled self-consciousness. Besides, there is a metaphysical *avidyā* assumed by Śaṅkara as a necessary cause for cosmic evolution in order to vindicate the doctrine of the static unity of *brahman*. Śaṅkara rejects the equation of ordinary waking experience with dream experience held by the Mahāyāna theorists and Gauḍapāda. In modern Hindu philosophy, the epistemological aspect of *māyā* is emphasized: *māyā* does not imply the denial of the reality of the world, but refers only to the relative validity of our experience.

OTHER ASPECTS. The speculative concept described above has often been clothed in religious myth and popular legend. In the popular mind, the power of *māyā* often amounted to feats of magic or illusionism *(indrajāla)*. In the epic *Mahābhārata* (and elsewhere), this power is said to be wielded by God to beguile and delude mankind. "The Lord plays with his subjects as a child with its toys" (*Mahābhārata* 3.31.19f.). In other contexts, the phenomenal world is likened to a bubble on the water, a drop trickling from a lotus leaf, evanescent autumnal clouds, a colorful patch, or a circle of fire created by a torch. Several legends express the same view in allegorical form. Such religious imagery remains very important in later Hinduism. In religious poetry, *māyā* is sometimes embodied as a tempting or fear-inspiring woman; she can be the consort of the male supreme being (Śrī for Viṣṇu, Rādhā for Kṛṣṇa, Devī for Śiva) or, in Śāktism, a manifestation of the Cosmic Mother in her own right as Māyādevī or Bhuvaneśvarī (Goddess of the World).

SEE ALSO Avidyā; Vedānta.

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Discussions of *māyā* and its place in Indian religious and philosophical thought are dealt with in several books of more general scope. A very scholarly, thoughtful, and dependable survey by a classical Indologist can be found in Jan Gonda's *Change and Continuity in Indian Religion* (The Hague, 1965), pp. 164–197. Gonda's discussion of *māyā* in this work is a summary and restatement of two of his earlier studies. Also very readable as an introduction is Paul D. Devanandan's *The Concept of Māyā: An Essay in Historical Survey of the Hindu Theory of the World, with Special Reference to the Vedānta* (London, 1950; Calcutta, 1954). The author's Christian viewpoint is not stressed. Anil K. Ray Chaudhuri's *The Doctrine of Māyā*, 2d rev. & enl. ed. (Calcutta, 1950), is a philosophical study with special emphasis on the epistemological doctrine of nescience in the Vedānta. A concise book that focuses mainly on *māyā* in twentieth-century Hindu philosophy is Ruth Reyna's *The Concept of Māyā from the Vedas to the Twentieth Century* (London and Bombay, 1962). My own book, *Māyā Divine and Human* (Delhi, 1978), is a study of Indian and Balinese sources in Sanskrit concentrating on the magical side of the *māyā* concept. Predating all of these works is Heinrich Zimmer's *Maya, der indische Mythos* (Stuttgart, 1936), which contains a wealth of legends and personal interpretations.

TEUN GOUDRIAAN (1987)

MAYA RELIGION, like many aspects of Maya civilization, is part of a widespread and long-lasting tradition of belief and culture shared by numerous ethnic groups in Mesoamerica. Neighboring cultures with whom the Maya interacted throughout their history, including the Mixe, Zapotec, and Mexica-Aztec, shared numerous aspects of this tradition, and indeed Maya religion, particularly in its present-day forms among traditional communities in southern Mexico and Guatemala, is difficult to distinguish as a separate tradition within the greater framework of Mesoamerican theology. These cultures shared a distinctive pantheistic model of belief and a specific calendar system defined by important numerological and ritual cycles. Maya religion is distinct, however, in that archaeological and textual data extend the direct evidence of its history and practice back some two thousand years, thus providing a time-depth unlike that available for any other Native American religious tradition. The vast majority of such ancient sources date from the so-called Classic period (250–850 CE), when particularly expressive religious monuments and inscriptions were widespread. In the post-Conquest world, Maya religion has adapted and transformed, adopting elements of Christian ideology while at the same time adhering to many ancient concepts and ceremonies. Today, political empowerment and activism by Maya in Guatemala, in particular, has led to the revitalization of native cultural identity; religious expression, often based on appropriated ancient symbols and idea, occupies an important place in this modern movement.

COSMOLOGY AND DEEP TIME. Numerous spatial categories defined the basic elements of Maya cosmology: prominent among these are the earth's surface (*kab*), the sky (*chan*), the sun (*k'in*) and moon (*uh*) and their recurring paths, caves (*ch'een*), and mountains (*witz*). These and a few other terms were the vocabulary of space and the cyclical processes that inhabited them. In the Classic period, the word that most closely translates as "world" or "universe" was *chan ch'een,* "sky-and-cave," which comprised the two vertical extremes of existence, above and below the earthly realm of everyday human experience, where various gods dwelled.

Mountains, caves, and springs are of special importance in defining Maya sacred landscapes. Among many traditional communities, mountains are seen as animate beings, sometimes as manifestations of the earth lord. Other individual mountains are seen to be localized gods or "containers" for important ancestral figures. Communication with ancestors and earth lords took place through caves, which have from the earliest times been important settings for Maya ritual.

The earth and sky share a fundamental quadripartite organization corresponding more or less to the modern notion of the four cardinal directions. According to some conceptualizations, the four points of the sun's emergence and entrance on the horizon at summer and winter solstice marked the division of space into four quarters: east (*elk'in*), north (*xaman*), west (*ochk'in*), and south *(nohol).* Each direction was associated with its own color (red, white, black, and yellow, respectively), which corresponded to the basic color variations of maize grown in Mesoamerica. Several deities had directional aspects or manifestations and were colored accordingly, including the storm gods called *chaak.* Many temples and ceremonial plazas were built to evoke this four-part structure of the world, and such layouts of built spaces have persisted to this day. Sacred mountains were considered to be distributed in the natural landscape according to this four-part directional model.

Maya communities both ancient and modern are spatially arranged to evoke and reproduce certain aspects of cosmic organization. In pre-Columbian times the most prominent architectural form was the terraced pyramid, which clearly often served as an artificial ritual mountain. Buildings and architectural groups are often oriented toward important astronomical phenomena (such as the winter solstice sunrise, for example), and roadways entering towns were sometimes radiated out toward the four cardinal directions. Town centers were nodes of ritual activity due to their importance as cosmological centers.

Agriculture and the cyclical growth of human sustenance, based largely on maize, have left indelible marks on cosmological beliefs and Maya religion in general. The four colors associated with the cardinal directions in Maya cosmology (red, white, black, and yellow) find replication in the four principal varieties of maize. Maize, being the basic staple of the Maya diet throughout history, was also equated with the human body and its substance. Robert Carlsen and Martin Prechtel note in "Flowering of the Dead" (1991) that cycles of growth and harvest were and are seen as a general metaphor for human and universal patterns of change and regeneration, or what the modern Tzutujil Maya call *jaloj-k'exoj,* perhaps best translated as "change and renewal."

The ancient Maya made ample use of a complex calendar system that was shared to some degree among all Mesoamerican cultures. The solar year, computed as 365 whole days, was subdivided into a set of eighteen twenty-day "months," plus a remaining five-day liminal period (the *xmak'abak'inob* or "days without name" among the Yukatek Maya) associated with renewal. The months bore names suggesting that they were originally tied to important agricultural periods, but they also served as a basic framework for the scheduling of ritual festivals throughout the solar year. Running concurrently with this was a separate reckoning of days based on a 260-day cycle, wherein a given day was expressed as one of a set of twenty named days accompanied by a numeral coefficient of 1–13. Today this same calendar remains in use among conservative "day-keepers" in the highlands of Guatemala, where it is used in rites of divination.

A separate calendar system widely known as the *Long Count* operated concurrently with the 260-day and 365-day rounds described above. The Long Count was different in its structure, presenting a more linear reckoning of days by means of a place-notation arrangement that expressed an accumulation of elapsed days from a set starting point in the distant past. The temporal scope of the Long Count was therefore much greater than the 260-day and 365-day components of the Calendar Round. The three systems—the Long Count, the 260-day round, and the approximate solar-year cycle—together constituted a triumvirate of calendars used throughout Maya history.

The standard Long Count has five units, each standing for a set period of time. These are, in increasing order, the *K'in* (the single day), the *Winal* (each equaling twenty *K'ins*), the *Tun* (eighteen *Winals,* or 360 days), the *K'atun* (twenty *Tuns,* or 7,200 days), and the *Bak'tun* (twenty *K'atuns,* or 144,000 days). In writing Long Count dates in hieroglyphic form, the periods assume the opposite order, beginning with the *Bak'tun* and descending to the *K'in.* It can be seen that the system reflects the basic vigesimal (base-twenty) structure of Maya numeration, with larger periods composed of twenty units of the next lower period. The exception to this vigesimal pattern is the *Tun,* which is made up of eighteen *Winals* (360 days), seemingly so as to approximate the solar year of 365 days. In the notation system, a numerical coefficient was assigned to each of these units to convey a certain amount of elapsed time from a specific starting date. A comparison to an automobile's odometer is perhaps apt, for the Long Count represented a perpetual accumulation of days.

In most circumstances, the standard Long Count of five periods provided an adequate mechanism for the tracking of time, yet it was structurally limited for recording and computing very large numbers of days. In certain ritual or mythical texts, however, scribes felt the need to compute greater time amounts—sometimes much greater—and in these records and calculations they employed time periods above the *Bak'tun.* The standard five-part Long Count is, in fact, a truncated version of a larger system composed of at least twenty-five periods that can be called the Grand Long Count. The standard Long Count represents the last five positions in this much larger cyclical arrangement. Textual evidence now points to the existence of twenty-one periods in the complete Grand Long Count, the highest period being equivalent to 20^{22} *Tuns* (that is, 20^{22} times 360 days). The conception of linear and cyclical time encompassed within this system is truly vast, and of course dwarfs the age of the universe as presently understood by Western science.

Ritual texts describe gods performing rituals millions of years in the past, but they also consistently refer to a "change" in the cosmic order on the day 13.0.0.0.0 4 *Ajaw* 8 *Kumk'u,* corresponding to August 13, 3114 BCE. This day, cited in numerous texts all over the Maya area, can rightly be called the traditional creation date in the ancient sources.

CREATIONS AND THE *POPOL VUH.* According to two related ancient sources, the creation of the present era on 13.0.0.0.0 saw the "placing in order" of various gods in the dark underworld. Another text on Stele C from Quirigua relates that a group of gods placed a set of three stones in the sky, reproducing the form of a domestic hearth. In many texts this particular location is described as being at "the sky's edge, the new hearth place." The establishment of the new cosmic order thus replicated the placement and dedication of a house, an idea that is no doubt based on the widely shared belief among Mesoamerican peoples that the sky is the roof of a vast cosmic house, with support posts corresponding to the four cardinal points.

The most detailed ancient sources for creation mythology are the extensive inscriptions from Palenque, Mexico. Inscribed wall tablets in numerous temples record primordial myths from the time of the creation, the most important being the birth of three sibling gods known to Mayanists as the Palenque Triad, who later play important roles as supernatural patrons of the royal dynasty of Palenque. Chief among these gods was the first brother, known today as GI, who seems to have associations with the rising sun and perhaps also to Venus as the morning star. According to one important inscription, GI was a king in the pre-13.0.0.0.0 era who oversaw the ritual sacrifice of a cosmological crocodile, perhaps a symbol of the earth. This act of sacrifice set the stage for the creation of a new era that saw the rebirth and reestablishment of a new cosmic order, with the Triad occupying a central role, at least at Palenque. Significantly, no other Maya kingdoms cite the Palenque Triad as a significant assembly of gods, suggesting the many communities had differing narratives of creation and the supernatural beings that participated in it.

Of all the primary written sources now extant, the most important is the *Popol Vuh,* or "Community Book," written by a Kiche' scribe probably during the mid-sixteenth century from an earlier pre-Columbian pictorial document. The manuscript was discovered in the early eighteenth century by Friar Francisco Ximénez at his parish in San Tomas Chichicastenango, Guatemala. His meticulous copy of the lost original is preserved today and is the source for several published versions and translations. Other accounts of world creation exist from other regions in the Maya area, but these are relatively short fragments for the most part; the *Popol Vuh* is truly epic in its scope and narrative.

Portions of the *Popol Vuh* clearly tell old and elemental stories of Maya mythology. It opens with an account of the "sowing and the dawning" of the world and its inhabitants, partly by two creator beings named Tz'aqol and B'itol, best translated as "Builder" and "Shaper," respectively. They act in concert with one another and with another more prominent creator being named Uk'u'xkaj, "Heart of the Sky," and together they create earth and the animals that roam it. The gods demand veneration from "the deer and the birds," but the animals cannot speak their names and worship them properly. In a series of trials and failures, Builder, Shaper, and Heart of the Sky therefore attempt to create humans, first with mud, then with wood. Before "proper" worshipful people are made, however, the story of creation shifts focus to the so-called Hero Twins, Hunahpu and Xbalanque. These brothers defeat a series of malevolent figures, including the proud primordial sun, Seven Macaw, and ultimately through cunning, trickery, and athleticism they defeat the lords of Xibalba, the realm of death. The twins are then resurrected as the sun and moon. Once this celestial and moral order is established, Builder and Shaper once more attempt the creation of humanity.

The ancient sources repeat certain elements of this story involving the Hero Twins—they are depicted in many examples of Maya art from a very early date—but creation narratives from Classic times suggest that several different accounts coexisted among various kingdoms. Palenque's complex mythological narrative, for example, is not found elsewhere, and it may well be that different ancient communities had different stories of sacred origin and creation.

GODS, SOULS, AND CONCEPTS OF THE SACRED. There is good reason to believe that the Maya religion saw the "sacred" as a pervasive and unifying feature of their natural and domestic world; the universe possessed this concept of deity (*k'uh*), but it was manifested most clearly and powerfully in specific places, objects, and individuals. This notion reflects a wider pantheistic organization of religious ideas within Mesoamerican philosophy. It is difficult to distinguish this widespread notion of "divinity" from the related notion that the natural and cultural worlds possess a pervasive vital essence that lends Maya religion a certain "animistic" quality.

The souls of humans are also expressions of this vital force. Recent ethnographic work has shown that complex concepts surrounding the human soul operate to orient human experiences and life events in a cosmological framework. Terms for the soul vary considerably from community to community, but there is a basic consistency to many of the ideas, which are also reflected to some degree in ancient religious texts and artworks. The well-studied soul concepts among the Tzotzil Maya of Zinacantan, Chiapas, Mexico, offer a good illustration of these ideas and how they help to explain a Maya conception of the sacred. In Zinacantan, humans possess two basic types of souls called *ch'ulel* and *chanul.* The *ch'ulel* is the animating life spirit of the individual that inhabits the heart and blood of the person, and it consists of thirteen parts. A *ch'ulel* soul can also inhabit nonhuman things and materials, such as musical instruments, crosses, and even salt, perhaps because these create important sensations (sound, emotion, and taste). The *chanul* is a person's animal alter ego, sometimes perceived through dreams. In Zinacantan, the animal souls of the community are closely guarded by ancestors called "mothers-fathers," who corral them within one of the important sacred mountains near the town. Both *ch'ulel* and *chanul* souls are key to understanding complex social relationships within the community. Through the *chanul* the ancestors exert powerful social and moral controls. As Evon Vogt states, "the most important interaction in the universe is not between person, nor between persons and objects, as we would perceive them; it is, instead, between the *ch'ulel* souls possessed by these persons and objects" (1976, p. 141). In ancient times, Maya kings derived much of their authority through their possession of an especially powerful *ch'ulel* soul, through which they expressed their divine role in the community and the cosmos.

The word *ch'ulel* derives from the word for *god* (*k'uh,* or its variant form *ch'uh*), and the term was applied to many sacred entities or objects. Ancient sources contains images and references to a great variety of deities that ranged from animate natural forces to localized patron figures and deified ancestors. Indeed, in the Classic inscriptions the collective term for the multitude of supernatural figures was *hunpikk'uh,* literally, "the eight thousand gods."

For the Classic Maya, demons and fantastic beasts called *way* were considered personifications of disease and illness, images of which often decorated ritual ceramic vessels. These curious entities remain poorly understood, but they seem to have been important in complex ideas of witchcraft and its association with royal power. Individual dynasties and kingdoms appear to have had their own "patron beasts" that were important to the expression of supernatural prowess within and among communities.

Among the major gods are several animated natural forces, most prominent among them being K'inich Ajaw, the sun god, who occupied a celestial throne and may have had the feminine moon as his wife. Another was the maize god, who embodied the principal staple of the human diet in Mesoamerica and thus served as the focus of numerous cosmological and agricultural rituals. Chaak, the rain or storm god, had four aspects, each associated with one of the cardinal points. A more complex figure was K'awil, who is described as a god of agricultural fertility and sustenance at the time of European contact, but who in the more ancient sources from the Classic period seems to have also served as the embodiment of dynastic power and royal ancestry.

The god Itzamnah was the most prominent of deities at the time of the Conquest, and is described as the patron of learning, esoteric knowledge, and the arts. Classic period sources suggest that he was also a ruler of the celestial sphere, and he may well have been an aspect of the sun god who existed in the primordial time before creation. One of his principal aspects or manifestations was the Principal Bird Deity, a large bejeweled avian creature that perched atop the cosmic tree and served as an important symbol of rulership in the pre-Classic and early Classic periods. This bird is probably a distant ancestor of the solar deity named Seven Macaw, who plays an important role in the *Popol Vuh.*

Human ancestors often are active and important members of Maya communities, and in ancient times certain illustrious figures became the focal points of important ancestral "cults" heavily invested with political and cosmological symbolism. Perhaps the best known royal ancestor from the Classic period is the venerated king K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' ("Great Sun Green Quetzal Macaw"), who was the dynastic founder at Copan, a major Maya kingdom in present-day Honduras. He reigned at Copan in the early fifth century, when he celebrated the turn of the *Bak'tun* cycle (9.0.0.0.0) in 435 CE. Over the next four centuries, later Copan kings declared themselves successors of the illustrious founder, and temples to him were continually refurbished and rebuilt over his resting place in the main acropolis. Excavations of this sacred *axis mundi* at Copan have revealed a series of superimposed buildings, ornately modeled and painted with iconography evoking the deified ancestor and his origin in distant time. All kings became divine ancestors upon death, and those who were more historically significant, such as "founders," came to be especially venerated.

In the ideology of Classic Maya kingship, the category of historical ancestors easily melded with gods and mythological characters of the very distant past. At Palenque, for example, late Classic rulers traced their political and religious authority not only to dynastic founders but also to semimythical beings that were said to live thousands if not millions of years in the past. For example, the king K'inich Janab Pakal (603–683 CE) linked his accession in 615 to a deity who had assumed the status of rulership more than twenty-five million years in the past. Such like-in-kind juxtapositions of primordial time and human history were consistently featured in Classic Maya political ideology.

RITUAL AND RELIGIOUS SPECIALISTS. The traditional keepers of religious and divinatory knowledge were named *ajk'in,* "he/she of the day(s)" or "day-keeper." This was sometimes simply translated as "priest" in colonial era sources, but the term was probably more specifically reserved for ritual specialists who possessed esoteric knowledge of the days and their varied meanings and prognostications. Today among the Kiche' Maya of highland Guatemala, for example, *ajq'ij* refers to priest-shamans who oversee rites of curing, marriage, death, and burial, as well as more mundane divination ceremonies. Given the complex social hierarchies of Maya communities throughout history, there were no doubt different categories of priests and religious officials at various times and places.

In the Classic period the ruler, or *k'uhul ajaw* (literally, "holy lord"), occupied the most prominent and public position in the religious hierarchy. Ancient Maya kings oversaw the passage of important stations in the long count calendar, and were even symbolically equated with the time periods themselves (all period endings in the Long Count calendar fall on the day named *Ajaw,* which also means "lord" or "king"). On these and other occasions rulers were said to "conjure" (*tzak*) the spirits of ancestors and fertility, known generically as *k'awil.* This process, evidently achieved through bloodletting, was among the principal royal duties, and was made possible through the kings' special ability to wield a force known as "creation and darkness" (*ch'ab ak'ab*). This enigmatic term probably relates to the widespread notion that birth and creation derive from "darkness," which then came to be embodied through the procreative powers of rulers in a cosmological setting.

Other rituals recorded in ancient inscriptions seem to have been anchored to political events like accession to power and anniversaries. Important rites included ceremonial bloodletting, incense burning, and dance, and in many ways these activities overlapped and occurred in combination with one another. Formulaic prayers and orations are today key aspects of ritual performance, as they were no doubt in ancient times as well. The ancient texts are also replete with records of dedication rites for temples and other important religious monuments or spaces. The ritual activation of a temple or house was called *och k'ahk,'* or "fire-entering," and presumably involved the placement of censers and other ritual fires within shrines and on interior temple floors. Such rites seem to be an obvious antecedent to house dedication ceremonies found among many Maya communities in modern times.

RELIGIOUS ART AND ARCHITECTURE. Arguably all public art produced by the ancient Maya can be considered religious or ritual art in some sense. The ubiquitous type of sculpture from Classic period was the stele, an upright stone slab or column that typically bore hieroglyphic inscriptions and a portrait of a ruler engaged in ritual activities. Stelae were usually erected in the open plazas before pyramids and platforms, and served to mark important stations in the Long Count calendar or significant events of political history.

Maya cities of the pre-Classic and Classic periods were dominated by large ritual structures, often in the form of imposing pyramids. The remains of the largest pyramids are also the earliest, found at ruins such as Nakbe and El Mirador in present-day northern Guatemala, and dating from about 200 BCE to 200 CE. These manmade mountains are in fact some of the largest structures ever built in pre-Columbian America. Their terraces were typically decorated with massive plaster sculptures of deities and cosmological symbolism, clearly marking them as microcosmic spaces. Later Maya pyramids at centers such as Uaxactun and Tikal were likewise conceived as replicas of cosmological structures, though at smaller but still impressive scales. Structures were often dedicated to particular deities or to venerated ancestors who were buried in their centers. The temples atop pyramids were often adorned with interior paintings, sculpted stone panels, or plaster decorations. Some contained inner shrines that held effigy figures of clay or stone, and the burning of copal incense was pervasive in such sacred spaces.

REVIVALISM AND MODERN CHANGE. The process of conquest and conversion by Europeans began in the early sixteenth century, and today, after several centuries, most Maya would consider themselves devout Christians. Yet elements of pre-Columbian belief and religion have persisted, often interwoven and tightly integrated with old traditions of "folk Catholicism." Today a core of basic beliefs still exerts a strong presence in Maya spirituality, and these vary widely among the communities of Guatemala, Belize, and Mexico. In recent years, indigenous political movements, in Guatemala in particular, have led to more open expressions of non-Christian ideas long hidden from view, as well as the appropriation of ancient ideas and symbols. Maya religion is increasingly being portrayed as a unified and unifying cosmovision and ideology, different in some ways from its Classic period expression, but with roots nonetheless in the deep pre-Columbian past.

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DAVID STUART (2005)

MAZDAKISM is a socioreligious movement that flared up in the reign of the Sasanian king Kavād (488–531 CE) under the leadership of Mazdak, son of Bāmdād. Its genesis, however, seems to go back to an earlier period, possibly the fourth century, when Zarādusht, a Zoroastrian priest, attempted through new interpretations of the Zoroastrian scriptures, to purify the faith.

A populist and egalitarian movement, Mazdakism socially preached in its acute form what modern scholars have called a communistic agenda, advocating an equitable distribution of property and breaking of the barriers which placed the concentration of wealth and women into the hands of the privileged classes. In terms of religious doctrine it exhibited some Gnostic features and apparently entertained a qabbalistic notion of the significance of numbers and the letters of the alphabet. The followers of the sect called themselves Derest-dēnān (of the right faith). Kavād favored the movement for a while, but it was brutally suppressed by his son and successor, Khusrau I (531–579 CE). It went underground as a result and reappeared in various sectarian forms after the advent of Islam and the fall of the Sasanian Empire in the mid–seventh century.

THE SOURCES. No work of the Mazdakites has survived. Nearly all the information on Mazdakism derives from hostile sources. These can be divided in two categories: contemporary and post-Sasanian. The first consists of Syriac and Greek (Byzantine) works. Chief among them are Procopius' *Persian Wars* and Agathias's *Histories,* both in Greek; Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite's *Chronicle* and Malalas of Antioch's, *Chronographia* in Syriac. The second comprises Middle Persian, Arabic, and New Persian sources. The latter two are believed to have generally derived their information from *Khwaday-nāmag,* a compendium of Iranian history, myths, and legends, reflecting the views of the Sasanian nobles and clergy, transmitted orally until it was committed to writing in the sixth century. Its translation into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffa (died c. 757) now lost, served as the chief source for subsequent Islamic histories of Persia. These focus on the events of the reigns of Kavād and Khusrau I, including the Mazdakite revolt. They emphasize the communistic features of the doctrine, lingering in particular—as do the Middle Persian passages—on sharing of women as common property and its evil consequences.

Among the most important is the report by the heresiographer Shāhrastānī (died 1153) which provides us with a glimpse of Mazdakite religious beliefs and theology. His source, Abu Isâ Hārūn al-Warrāq (died 861), a Manichaean or Zoroastrian convert to Islam, seems to have had access to some genuine Mazdakite source.

MAZDAKITE DOCTRINE. According to Shāhrastānī's account, the Mazdakites believed in two primordial principles, Light and Darkness. Light is endowed with knowledge and feeling and acts by design and free will, whereas Darkness is ignorant and blind and acts randomly and without direction. The admixture of the two is the result of pure accident, as will be their separation. From their mingling, two beings arose, the Manager of Good and the Manager of Evil. The Supreme Being is seated on his throne in the world above, as the [Sasanian] king of kings is seated in the world below; four Powers stand before him: Discernment, Understanding, Preservation, and Joy. There are four high-ranking officials before the king of kings, including the Chief Priest and Judge *(Mōbadān Mōbad),* the Chief *Hērbad* (religious doctor), the Commander of the Army *(Spāhbad),* and the Entertainment Master *(Rāmishgar).* The four Powers direct the world with the help of seven viziers (cf. the seven planets) who act within a circle of twelve spiritual forces (cf. the zodiac). When the four Powers and the Seven and Twelve come together in a human being, he becomes godly *(rabbānī)* and no longer subject to religious observances (implying antinomianism). The Supreme Being reigns by the power of the letters, of which the total sum constitutes the Supreme Name *(al-Ism al-a'zam).* Men who come to understand something of these letters have found the key to the Great Secret *(al-sirr al-akbar).* Those who are deprived will remain in blindness, ignorance, neglect and dullness (opposites of the four Powers).

From this brief but precious account the character and basic tenet of Mazdakite theology may be adduced and summarized as belief in:

1. A fundamental dualism, not far from that of Zoroastrianism or Manichaeism;
2. Three elements, compared to Zoroastrian four and Manichaean five;
3. The remoteness of the supreme deity, as evinced by the postulation of the two demiurgical "managers";
4. A spiritual macrocosm, reflected in the mesocosm of our world and mirrored in the microcosm of humans;
5. The symbolic power of letters, words, and numbers as keys to the redemptive knowledge; and

6. Irrelevance of religious obligations and, therefore, the outward meaning of religious prescriptions, once a revelatory knowledge of the essence of the "secret" of religion is gained.

Such beliefs, which are typical of Gnostic religions, bring Mazdakism unmistakably within the orbit of the syncretistic faiths which developed in the early Christian centuries with an admixture of Iranian, Syro-Babylonian, and Hellenic thought. However, Shāhrastānī's report probably reflects a late phase of Mazdakism, particularly since the terms used for the twelve spiritual forces are mostly New Persian rather than Middle Persian of Sasanian period. (Shāhrastānī's account, however, leaves us in the dark on many essential matters such as Mazdakite eschatology, or the nature of revelation and prophethood, and the origin of the Evil principle.)

One of the fullest accounts of the social aspects of Mazdakite doctrine in Islamic sources appears in *Ghurar akhbâr mulûk al-Furs*:

> Mazdak declared that God placed the means of subsistence *(arzāq)* on earth so that people divide them among themselves equally, in a manner that no one of them could have more than his share; but people wronged one another and sought domination over one another; the strong defeated the weak and took exclusive possession of livelihood and property. It is absolutely necessary that one take from the rich for giving to the poor, so that all become equal in wealth. Whoever possesses an excess of property, women or goods, he has no more right to it than another. (p. 600)

The noted Muslim historian al-Tabari (d. 923) adds in *The History of al-Tabari* that Mazdak believed that such deeds were "an act of piety that pleased God and was rewarded by Him with the best of rewards" (vol. 1, p. 893).

In his verse rendering of *Khwadāy-nāmag,* Firdawsi (d. c. 1026) provides some further detail on the moral philosophy of the sect (vol. VIII, p. 46): men are turned from righteousness by five demons (envy, wrath, vengeance, need [*ā niyāz*], and greed) to prevail against these and to tread the path of the good religion, wealth and women must be made common. The sources do not specify any rules or regulations that Mazdak may have prescribed for a just distribution of women and wealth; they mostly concentrate on the alleged community of women, the resulting promiscuity, and its confusing effect on the line of descent.

Many modern scholars, including Mansour Shaki (1978) and Patricia Crone (1991), have taken the sharing of women at its face value, ignoring the impracticability of such a provision in a large, tradition-based society as was Sasanian Iran, and where virtue depended as much on race and lineage *(gowhar, nasab)* as on personal accomplishments *(honar, hasab).* It would have gone against the grain of all the Zoroastrian faithful and would have destroyed the social fabric of the country. What appears to be true is that Mazdak advocated a number of measures, such as prohibiting accumulation of women or having more than one wife; reducing the financial requirement of marriage, such as the dowry (and marriage portion for the wife [*kābin*]); and breaking of the harems and allowing intermarriage among social estates. Hostile sources have cast such prescriptions in the mold of a standard accusation against all heretics as a juicy and scandalizing weapon against the Mazdakites. There is no evidence of promiscuity among the offshoots of the Mazdakism that sprang up in Islamic times and from which one learns more about the Mazdakites.

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(For fuller listing of the primary sources see Yarshater and Crone, below.)

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The first scholar to bring Greek, Syriac, and Islamic sources systematically together was Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber* (Leipzig, 1879), pp. 284–291. A. Christensen devoted a monograph, *Le règne du roi Kawādh I et le communisme mazdakite* (Copenhagen, 1925) to a full discussion of the Mazdakite revolt, believing mistakenly, however, that Mazdakism was an offshoot of Manichaeism. Gholam Hossein Sadighi's *Les mouvemets religieux iraniens au IIe et au IIIe siècle de l'hégire* (Paris, 1938) is particularly useful for its close examination of the Khorramis and some other Islamic sectarians with Mazdakite roots. Nina Viktorovna Pigulevskaya, in her *Les villes de l'état iranien aux époques parthe et sassanide* (Paris, 1963), pp. 195–230, reflects the Marxist point of view and considers the movement born of the peasant protests against Kavād's and Khusrau I's land survey and tax reforms. In 1957, Otakar Klima, the Czech scholar, published in Prague his monograph *Mazdak,* a comprehensive study of the movement (in the context of Sasanian history and Middle Eastern religions), conceiving Mazdakism as a social movement in religious garb brought about by social and economic conditions in Sasanian Iran. He followed later with another monograph on Mazdakism, *Beiträge zur Gesch-*

ichte des Mazdakismus (Prague, 1977), where he considered the absence of the Mazdak's name in contemporary sources as the result of a deliberate attempt on the part of Khusrau I to delete his name from all records and force oblivion of his memory. In 1978 Mansour Shaki published "The Social Doctrine of Mazdak," based on Middle Persian passages in the Zoroastrian encyclopedic work *Dēnkard,* written in the ninth or tenth century but based on Sasanian materials; he provided a new translation of these difficult and corrupted passages, attempted earlier by Marijan Molé in 1961, emphasizing the communistic aspects of Mazdakism and the sharing of women and property by all.

In 1982 Heinz Gaube, pointing to the absence of Mazdak's name in the contemporary sources and also a number of contradictions in the Islamic reports, doubted even the very existence of Mazdak and thought it likely that the revolt had to do with the tax reforms initiated by Kavād and followed up by Khusrau I, who later manipulated the reports and placed the blame for the upheavals on Mazdak, possibly an invention of him, in order to save the reputation of his father—a view which has not found favorable reception (see Crone, pp. 22–23).

Ehsan Yarshater's chapter on Mazdakism in the *Cambridge History of Iran* III/2 (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 991–1024, provides a comprehensive presentation of Mazdakite doctrine and analysis of the sources and discusses the Islamic sects, mostly of an esoteric nature, that derived from Mazdakism in the first centuries of Islam.

In a second article, "The Cosmogonical and Cosmological Teachings of Mazdak" (*Acta Iranica* XI, 1985, pp. 527–543), Shaki tried to make sense of a number of terms reported in the work of Shahrastānī.

In 1988, Werner Sundermann, who had written an article in 1977 about Mazdakite uprising, "Mazdak und die mazdakitischen Volksaufstände," *Das Altertum* 23, pp. 245–249, offered a German translation of the very obscure and laconic passage of Book VII of the *Dēnkard,* which differs somewhat from that of Shaki but still remains far from clear in all its details.

In 1991, Patricia Crone, in "Kavād's Heresy and Mazdak's Revolt" (*Iran* 29: pp. 21–42), presented a thorough analysis of the sources with a view of finding a solution to the existing contradictions in the reports about Mazdak and the historical events related to him. She, too, considered the revolt as a result of Khusrau I's cadastral reform and the hardship it caused the peasantry.

EHSAN YARSHATER (2005)

MAZE See LABYRINTH

MBONA (sometimes also spelled M'Bona or M'bona) is the name of the patronal deity of a famous shrine near the township of Nsanje in the Republic of Malawi (southeastern Africa). Although he is usually referred to as a rain god, Mbona is also invoked on the occasion of locust plagues, floods, epidemic diseases, and other acute threats to the productive and reproductive capacities of the land and its population.

Mbona's is a territorial cult, which may be defined as a cult whose constituency is a territorial group identified by common occupation of a land area, so that membership, in the final instance, is a consequence of residence and not kinship or ethnic designation. The cult is supervised by local chiefs and headmen under the chairmanship of a high priest and a chief administrator. In addition to these officials, there is also a spirit medium, a man or woman who on occasion claims to be possessed by Mbona and who comments on a variety of urgent political issues while possessed. Formerly, the cult also maintained a spirit wife, a woman consecrated for life to Mbona's service, who was supposed to receive revelations from the deity in her dreams and was regularly consulted by chiefs and other important people. There no longer is a permanent spirit wife, but on ceremonial occasions her place is taken temporarily by a local woman. Although the oldest known written documents on the cult date only from the middle of the nineteenth century, it is much older, predating even the Portuguese penetration of the southeast African interior in the first half of the sixteenth century.

According to oral tradition, Mbona was a celebrated rainmaker who, on account of his great popularity, came into conflict with the secular and religious authorities of the day, who in the end had him killed. Following his death, the local populace is said to have erected a shrine to his name and thus to have initiated the cult. The story of Mbona's life and death is known in many versions, but all follow a common structure and can be reduced to three streams or clusters depending on whether the events of the narrative take place in a stateless setting, an emergent state, or a highly centralized kingdom. The mightier the state, the more Mbona is portrayed as a marginal person. Mbona's diminishing status therefore seems to symbolize the increasing subjection of the commonalty to the aristocracy at successive stages of state formation.

As stated before, there are no known written documents on the cult prior to the middle of the nineteenth century; nevertheless, certain names and events referred to in the Mbona legends are also found in Portuguese documents pertaining to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. From a comparison between the legends and the historical texts it can be inferred, among other things, that the cult underwent major organizational and theological changes about 1600 and that, probably under Portuguese missionary influence, Mbona was attributed certain Christ-like traits. After this radical transformation, the cult gained its widest geographical acceptance and became one of the most influential religious organizations on the north bank of the Zambezi. In the twentieth century, however, its importance diminished to the extent that as of 1985 the cult had little more than local significance.

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M'Bona Cult among the Mang'anja," in *The Historical Study of African Religion,* edited by T. O. Ranger and Isaria N. Kimambo (Berkeley, Calif., 1972); "The Interaction of the M'Bona Cult and Christianity, 1859–1963," in *Themes in the Christian History of Central Africa,* edited by T. O. Ranger and John Weller (Berkeley, Calif., 1975); "Cult Idioms and the Dialectics of a Region," in *Regional Cults,* edited by R. P. Werbner (New York, 1977); "The Chisumphi and Mbona Cults in Malawi: A Comparative History," in *Guardians of the Land,* edited by J. Matthew Schoffeleers (Gwelo, 1978); and "Oral History and the Retrieval of the Distant Past: On the Use of Legendary Chronicles as Sources of Historical Information," in *Theoretical Explorations in African Religion,* edited by Wim van Binsbergen and J. Matthew Schoffeleers (London, 1984).

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J. MATTHEW SCHOFFELEERS (1987)
Revised Bibliography

MCPHERSON, AIMEE SEMPLE

MCPHERSON, AIMEE SEMPLE (1890–1944), American Pentecostal evangelist and divine healer. McPherson was born Aimee Elizabeth Kennedy on a farm near Ingersoll, Ontario, Canada. Raised in the Salvation Army, she was converted to Pentecostalism through the preaching of Robert James Semple, whom she married in 1908 and accompanied to China, where they served as missionaries until Semple's death in 1910. Two subsequent marriages ended in divorce.

In 1917, McPherson embarked upon an evangelistic and divine healing career in the United States that quickly brought her national and international fame. In 1923, she settled in Los Angeles and built the five-thousand-seat Angelus Temple, a center of welfare services, and in 1927, she incorporated her large network of churches as the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel. She also founded a ministerial institute, later named the Lighthouse of International Foursquare Evangelism (LIFE) Bible College.

McPherson's turbulent personal life, involving her alleged kidnapping, rumors of romantic liaisons, dozens of lawsuits, conflicts with her mother and daughter, and divorce from her third husband, brought her much notoriety. Nevertheless, she retained the unswerving loyalty of her followers. Her denomination grew to four hundred congregations in the United States, two hundred mission stations abroad, and a worldwide total of twenty-two thousand members at the time of her death.

McPherson's Foursquare Gospel was a restatement of standard Pentecostal doctrine focusing on Jesus Christ as savior, baptizer in the Holy Spirit, healer, and coming king. She wrote several autobiographical books, published numerous pamphlets and articles, edited two periodicals, and composed some eighty hymns and five sacred operas. In her preaching she avoided condemnation and appeals to fear, emphasizing instead the love and joy that religion provides.

McPherson was unique in her evangelistic style. Her mastery at promoting herself and her work through the media made "Sister Aimee," or simply "Aimee," a household name. She was a pioneer in religious broadcasting, establishing the first church-owned radio station (KFSG) in the United States in 1924. She adapted the techniques of vaudeville and the theater to evangelism, using costumes, lighting, scenery and props, orchestras and brass bands, huge choirs, and dramatizations to achieve an unforgettable emotional impact on her audiences. Endowed with enormous energy and optimism, a powerful, melodious voice, rare acting ability, and a physical attractiveness heightened by an aura of sexuality, she was acclaimed a spellbinding platform personality by the millions to whom she preached.

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ROBERT MAPES ANDERSON (1987)

MEAD, MARGARET

MEAD, MARGARET (1901–1978) was America's best-known anthropologist of the twentieth century. She grew up in Pennsylvania, briefly attended DePauw University in Greencastle, Indiana, and moved to New York City where she received her B.A. in psychology from Barnard College. Mead completed her education with an M.A. in psychology and a Ph.D. in anthropology from Columbia University. In the mid-1920s she became a curator of anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History in New York, where she spent her entire professional life. In a career that lasted over fifty years, Mead was an energetic researcher, prolific author, sought-after public speaker, influential public thinker, and tireless champion for the young discipline of anthropology.

Mead's research on several cultures in the South Pacific during the 1920s and 1930s, including Samoans, Manus, Balinese, and the Arapesh, Mundugumor, Tchambuli, and Iatmul of New Guinea, led to a number of popular books and professional monographs. Her research focused primarily on childhood, youth, and adolescence, as well as kinship and social organization. She is also known as the founder of the culture-and-personality school of cultural anthropology. Although Mead is not well known for her contributions to the study of religion, she nevertheless wrote about religion for both professional and popular audiences.

Mead's research on religion in her professional work is reflected in her detailed monograph on Arapesh supernaturalism (1940). It is her most comprehensive description of an indigenous religious system, containing extensive data on this New Guinea tribal culture's cosmology, myths, ritual beliefs, and practices. In this work, she gave special attention to rites of passage. Mead also published articles on taboo, magic, and men's houses in New Guinea. Based on her extensive fieldwork on the island of Manus, off the coast of New Guinea, she wrote about the belief in animism among adults and children, as well as long-term religious change in *New Lives for Old* (1956). She also described a revitalization movement on Manus (1964).

In *Balinese Character* (1942), Mead and Gregory Bateson used photographic analysis to comprehend Balinese trance. Their documentary, *Trance and Dance in Bali* (1952), is considered a classic in ethnographic film. In most of Mead's work on indigenous cultures, though, religion was tangential to other topics. For example, in *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928), she briefly discussed the role of Christianity in the lives of adolescent girls. Mead viewed Christianity as playing a relatively benign role in adolescent socialization and was subsequently criticized by anthropologist Derek Freeman for not fully addressing what he viewed as the harsh and puritanical Christian morality of the time (Freeman, 1983). Mead also wrote a chapter on the child and the supernatural in *Growing Up in New Guinea* (1930) and one on religious institutions in *The Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe* (1932).

Although she wrote about religion based on her fieldwork, Mead's detailed ethnographic work on religion did not provide major contributions to theories of religion. She favored a more scientific, psychological, and developmental approach to religion that was superseded by more humanistic, symbolic approaches in anthropology. Mead's pioneering descriptions published in the 1930s and 1940s yielded to the interpretive ideas of Clifford Geertz, Victor Turner, and Mary Douglas in the 1960s and thereafter. And, while Mead was a forerunner of feminist approaches to the study of culture in general, she did not offer a feminist approach to the study of religion.

Mead wrote a good deal about religion in her role as a public intellectual, especially in her later life. She was very interested in religion in her own life, in the United States, and in the world at large. Although her parents were atheists, at age eleven Mead asked to be baptized. Her first husband, Luther Cressman, was an Episcopalian minister, and early in their courtship Mead planned to be a minister's wife. As she became a professional anthropologist, her goals changed. Yet Mead continued to be a religious person, unlike most of her colleagues in anthropology. Unknown to many of her friends, she secretly maintained her Christian faith.

In the 1960s, she saw a new role for Christianity in the world community, involving issues like civil rights and ecumenism. She was asked to be a representative for the Episcopal Church to the World Council of Churches, which she attended for several years. Mead was deeply involved in this project and authored *Twentieth Century Faith: Hope and Survival* (1972) about religion in the age of technology. Mead also wrote a number of opinion pieces on religion for the lay public in religious magazines and for her long-running column in *Redbook* magazine. She discussed the spiritual dimensions of birth control, the right to die, women as priests, the contemporary fascination with the occult, and other issues of the day. Mead saw no conflict between religion and science, and she envisioned a world where the faiths of other cultures would not be considered inferior. In her role as a public intellectual, she wrote more extensively on religion for a popular audience than she had for her peers in anthropology.

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PAUL SHANKMAN (2005)

MECCA SEE PILGRIMAGE, *ARTICLE ON* MUSLIM PILGRIMAGE

MEDIA AND RELIGION.

The media have come to play an ever more prominent role in social and cultural life since the emergence of the so-called "mass media" in the late nineteenth century. Before that time, even though the media through which social and cultural knowledge were shared (oral transmission, ritual performance, writing, visual representation, and printing) were vital, they were more tacit and transparent to the processes they enabled. Today, in a range of social and cultural contexts, the media are foregrounded, even determinative.

The mass media emerged as the result of interacting technological and social developments. Mechanized printing, which developed with the industrial revolution and found its way into mass-market communication in Britain in the 1870s, brought about major changes in production, in reception, and in the political economy of media. Mass production allowed media to be financially supported by advertising instead of direct sales of newspapers or magazines. The resultant economic logic saw readers as audiences and sought to maximize their numbers. This coincided with the increasing concentration of populations in urban settings, removed from the social and cultural supports of the village and town. These audiences began to be thought of as "mass" audiences, and the content of media began to reflect more generalized class tastes.

A debate has raged ever since over how the resulting relationship between the mass audience and the mass media is to be seen. To some observers, the media ideologically dominate the audience. To others, the media act as a kind of cultural canvas on which is inscribed the more or less common themes, ideas, and discourses of the culture. To still others, the media are important as palliatives, replacing the lost connectedness of pre-industrial village life. For most, the class and taste orientation of mass media necessarily has meant that they are at least not the preferred communicational context for the authentic business of the culture.

These structural realities and social assumptions have come to condition the way the media function in relation to culture, and therefore, religion. The media are connected with generalized "mass" tastes. They are industrial and technical and thus are seen as artificial and their abilities to authentically articulate cultural and social artifacts, symbols, and values are suspect. They are commercial, and thus necessarily traffic in commodified culture and cultural experience. At the same time, though, they are intrinsically articulated into the fabric of modernity in ever-deepening ways. Thus, while social and cultural structures and institutions might wish to exist outside the boundaries of media culture, it is increasingly difficult for them to do so. These realities define the role that media play in the evolution of modern and late-modern religious institutions and practices.

The role of the media is not only social-structural, it is also geographic and semiotic/aesthetic. And, as the scholarly study of the interaction between religion and media has developed in recent years, it has become obvious that these three aspects of mediatization interact in interesting ways in the formation of the religious-media landscape. A phenomenology of media and religion in the twenty-first century would see media and religion in a number of different relationships.

RELIGION USING MEDIA.

There is of course a long and deep history of mediation of religion. Various religions have been typified by means of their relationship to various media. It is commonplace to think of the development of the religions of the modern West as having been affected in major ways by moveable-type printing. In the twentieth century, a number of religions developed specific and particular relationships to the mass media. In most cases, these relationships were defined by the assumption of a kind of dualism, separating the "sacred" sphere of authentic religious history, claims, faith, and practice, from a "profane" sphere represented by the media. Islam, for example, is widely thought to eschew mass mediation, and particularly mediated visual depiction. The asceticism of Buddhism is also thought to separate it from a media sphere dominated by materiality and material concerns. Jewish scholarship has stressed the importance of "the book," but has tended to think that other modes of communication and representation were less worthy.

At the same time that Christian thought has assumed the sacred-profane dualism, Christianity in the modern and late-modern West has come to exhibit a range of responses and relationships to mass media, and the Christian relationship has come to be in some ways definitive, due to the fact that the media of the Christian West have come to dominate the media worldwide (a situation that has begun to change in small ways). Christian groups were among the earliest publishers in both Europe and North America. The evangelical impulse in Christianity seems, over time, to have given it a particular cultural interest in publication. All Christian groups (and most non-Christian groups and other religious movements in Europe and North America) have historically produced printed materials such as tracts, pamphlets, newsletters, magazines, Sunday school materials, and books. Missions programs, including Bible societies, have also been prolific publishers.

The nonprint media have been a less comfortable context for most religions, however. In the twentieth century, as the establishment religions of Europe and North America confronted the emergence of the mass media, these groups began a struggle for definition and cultural ascendancy that continues unabated. The dualist assumption brings with it a suspicion of the media of the "profane" sphere. While the medium of print has long been understood by religions to be an appropriate context for the conveyance of religious ideas and values, the succeeding waves of non-print "new" media have been seen differently. Probably as a result of their association with secular entertainment and thus secular values, film, broadcasting, television, and digital media has, in its turn, met with suspicion on the part of religion and religious authorities.

The most significant exception to this has been the case of Evangelical Protestantism. Beginning with the earliest days of radio, Fundamentalist and later Evangelical individuals and groups have seen great promise in these new technologies. It can even be argued that through the careful use of film, radio, and television, that what now is known as "neo-Evangelicalism" found its place in the religious landscape. Billy Graham, for example, who became one of the most significant Evangelical leaders of the twentieth century, was an active producer of media of all kinds, and is widely regarded as having risen to prominence in part as a "media figure." This further suggests a central role for mass media in religious evolution, as the mediation of Graham and the Evangelical movement generally played a large part in establishing their legitimacy. The phenomenon of televangelism, which emerged in the 1970s in North America and then spread, as a form, to much of the world, further contributed to the definition of religious and political landscapes. Such use of media by religion is not without its dangers, however. As a number of scholars have noted, religion has had to make compromises in order to fit into the structural and other conditions and limitations of the media form.

Media Using Religion. Traditionally, the media have been most involved in the presentation of religion through journalism. The mass media era began with the development of a mass press, and in addition to the development of new audiences and new economies, it also developed new content. Before the mass press, most press in Europe and North America were partisan in one way or another, beholden to political, clerical, even corporate authority. The new economy of mass publication meant that the press could be freed from patronage, and that new readers and audiences would be coming to the press for a wider range of material than in the past. The result was the notion of newspapers and magazines as public records, presumably speaking from positions outside the narrow perspectives of special interests. This kind of journalism needed to find its voice, and new models of journalism and new roles for journalism in public and political life emerged.

In the case of North America, religion has not necessarily been part of that mix. For most of the twentieth century, religion was seen by journalism to be a story of religious institutions and their practices and prerogatives. At the same time, these institutions were treated with deference, when treated at all. There was much evidence that religious institutions, at least, were of fading importance as the century progressed, and journalism generally assumed that secularization was moving ahead apace. It was not until late in the century that religion came to be seen as "hard" news, largely as the result of news events such as the Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1979, the rise of traditionalist religious movements worldwide, and the emergence of Evangelicalism as a political force in North America. The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, on New York, Washington, D.C., and Pennsylvania, put religion much more squarely on the "news agenda," with increasing coverage of religion per se among European and North American journalism.

Religion and Media Converge. The entertainment media have had an independent relationship to religion and religious content. There has been a tendency for these media to see the relationship in dualistic terms, evidenced by such things as the separate best-seller lists maintained for religious and non-religious book titles. The religious "market" for commercialized religious films, magazines, and books is now a multi-million-dollar industry worldwide, but is still thought of as a separate field from the dominant, and larger, "secular" market.

In that secular market, there are important examples in most major media and across most of the century. Early in the century, the so-called "Biblical Epics" such as *The Ten Commandments* and *The Robe* became major breakthrough films, attracting large numbers of conservative Christians and Jews to theaters for the first time. Later in the century, an explosion of book and magazine publishing devoted to spirituality, therapy, and self-help became one of the major trends in that industry.

In entertainment television, a range of new programs and series began to appear in the 1990s, featuring both explicitly and implicitly religious themes. Globally syndicated U.S. programs such as *Touched by an Angel*, *The X-Files*, *Buffy: Vampire Slayer*, *The Simpsons*, and *Northern Exposure* integrated a wide range of religious sensibilities, from traditional, to spiritual, to New Age, to Pagan and Wiccan. The situation became even more diverse in the digital media of the internet.

These trends resulted from changes in both religion and the media. For the media, rapid change in the structure and regulation of the electronic and digital media led to an exponential increase in the ubiquity and number of such channels fed into homes worldwide. A simultaneous increase in the differentiation of printed media into smaller and smaller "niche" markets meant that the media were both motivated to seek out new content and audiences, and to become increasingly able to provide material suiting specialized tastes. At the same time, religion was also undergoing great change, described in the case of North America as a "restructuring" that de-emphasized the traditional religious institutions. At the same time, religion increasingly became focused in the religious practices and meaning quests of individuals.

This new, more autonomous religious individualism, called "seeking" or "questing" by sociologists, naturally articulates with a mediated culture that can and does increasingly provide resources related to that project. Thus, a market for commodified religious symbols, rituals, and other resources arises, made possible by emerging attitudes oriented to religious and spiritual issues, and by a media system that can provide for increasingly specialized and focused tastes. The result is the gradual erosion of whatever bright line might have once existed between the "sacred" world of legitimate religious media and a "profane" world of secular media. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, that division is less and less obvious. It has become, for all practical purposes, one media culture.

There are important antecedents to this convergence of religion and media. In the case of North America, which largely led these developments, Protestantism has long tolerated, even encouraged, the development of religious commodities, religious markets, and religious spectacles. American Christianity has thus long had a nascent culture of mediated religious commodities and has cultivated in succeeding generations tastes and interests in such approaches to faith and spirituality.

RELIGION AND MEDIA INTERACT. The evolving relationship between media and religion, then, is best seen as an interaction between them rather than an effect or influence one may have on the other. Increasingly, scholars of religion and media are describing this interaction in its reception and the experiences of individuals and groups as they encounter media culture and work to inhabit religious lives in relation to it. This can be seen on both radically local and radically global levels. On the local level, in a wide range of contexts, the interaction between media culture and religious culture comes alive in the ways individuals and groups use the various cultural resources available to them to make meaning in their lives. This is seen most readily in the field context, where observers encounter evidence of negotiated relations between the lived local and the mediated non-local. As anthropologist Lila Abu-Lughod reflects in her essay, "The Interpretation of Cultures after Television":

> In *Writing Women's Worlds*, I suggested that we could write critical ethnographies that went "against the grain" of global inequalities, even as we had to remain modest in our claims to radicalism and realistic about the impacts of these ethnographies. Television, I believe, is particularly useful for writing against the grain because it forces us to represent people in distant villages as part of the same cultural worlds we inhabit—worlds of mass media, consumption, and dispersed communities of the imagination. To write about television in Egypt, or Indonesia, or Brazil is to write about the articulation of the transnational, the national, the local, and the personal. Television is not the only way to do this, of course . . . [b]ut television makes it especially difficult to write as if culture and cultures . . . were the most powerful ways to make sense of the world. (Lila Abu-Lughod, 1999, pp. 110–135)

On the global level, media and religion interact in events such as the national and international experience of the September 11 attacks and their aftermath. The direct experience of the attacks was mediated, and the fact that the attacks in New York took place in the world's leading media center made the images available and accessible, live and in real time. Whatever national and international processes of existential reflection and ritual mourning ensued, those processes were largely mediated as well. Media were also implicated in the widespread impression of distance and misunderstanding that was invoked. The media should be the primary means by which the developed West knows the Islamic East and vice versa. That the Islamic East was self-defined in large measure by religious identity places the media at the center of whatever misunderstanding may have led to or exacerbated the attacks. Further, a measure of the Islamic critique of Western culture is rooted in a moral reaction to the profanity and licentiousness found in the largely American popular culture that floods the developing world. Thus the media are taken to represent religious culture whether they intend to or not. Finally, the media were and are the primary context for the national and global rituals of commemoration and mourning around the event, thus assuming a role not unlike a "civil religion" in this regard.

IDENTITY, REFLEXIVITY, AND GLOBALIZATION. Beyond the evolution in media and religion already discussed, the convergence and interaction between religion and media in late modernity are responsive to a number of social and cultural trends. Three stand out. First, the convergence and interaction are most clearly felt in the project of the self and religious identity. As theorists of late modern social life have suggested, the project of the self is perhaps the dominant concern of the age. As social life has become more and more complex and rationalized, the means of support available in the social sphere have withdrawn, leaving individuals increasingly to their own devices. This has driven individuals inward, to a quest for the self. This quest turns outward, however, to seek and appropriate resources relevant to its task, and the commodities of the media sphere are among the most obvious and available such resources. To the extent that the project of the self is a religious project, this becomes an important role for media in the formation and shaping of religious identity.

The second of these trends is reflexivity. Prominent theorists of late modernity recognize the role of mediation in the encouragement of a reflexive mode of consciousness. Reflexivity results from the access to sources and contexts of knowledge that offer individuals a self-consciousness of place that is historically unprecedented. With this reflexive knowledge comes a sense of autonomy in spheres of normative action, including self and identity. In late modernity, mediation plays a major role in our knowledge of place and location, and thus is implicated in important ways in the reflexivity that today defines much of the religious quest for self and identity.

Finally, globalization and what is coming to be called "glocalization," the blending of a global concept to a local application, are definitive trends. The media are major global and globalizing industries, of course, but their implications extend well beyond their structural and economic relations. To the extent that globalization is a fact, it results in large measure from the capabilities of the media to provide global interconnectivity, socially, culturally, and religiously. The media are, after all, "consciousness industries," and among their capabilities is the conveyance of cultural symbols, forms, and texts related to the deepest human desires for connection and belonging. They can transcend space and time, and frequently do provide, for a variety of "imagined communities," a connectivity across space and time that is unprecedented in its depth and speed.

Increasingly, the media can be seen to be active in the negotiative frameworks that underlie glocalization as well. The media are no longer thought of as determinative or dominant, as noted. Instead, they provide, to reflexive individuals and communities, senses of the structured relations of local, national, and global life, and symbolic and other resources relevant to making sense of that life. This involves the constructive negotiation of that consciousness, those contexts and those resources. What results is an imbrication of the global and the local, a reflexive consciousness of place within those frameworks, and senses of self and group identity relevant to this awareness. Religion is a fundamental quest, as well as an important dimension of these relations. Thus religion and mediation interact in fundamental ways in the ongoing development of global and glocal consciousness.

But the globalized world is not only a place of harmony, it is also a place of conflict and struggle. Among the social and cultural relations increasingly accessible today are those between conflicting worldviews. In the case of religion, the media can and do offer much information about the religious "other," but that does not necessarily lead to increased understanding. The Anglican Church, for example, learned during their struggles over gay ordination in the early part of the twenty-first century, that a global media context made those deliberations accessible worldwide, increasing the intra-communal tension as African Anglicans could have real-time access to the debates taking place among North-American Anglicans. As globalization and glocalization move ahead, international media will continue to place before religion challenges to self-understanding and inter-religious understanding.

MEDIA EFFECTS ON RELIGION. Given this discussion, there remain a number of ways that the media affect religious institutions and practices. First, the media increasingly set the context for religion and spirituality, and help define their terms in contemporary life. The 2004 film *The Passion of the Christ*, for example, both invoked a public debate about contemporary religious faith and presented a new set of images and symbols through which that aspect of the Christians' story will be understood for years to come. The performer Madonna, through songs and music videos, presented influential interpretations and juxtapositions of important Catholic symbols and artifacts. Because of their position in the culture, the media are now the context within which the most widely-held discourses in national and global culture take place, and religion and religious discourses must find their way within that larger context.

A second effect of media on religion is in the area of commodification. Contemporary social and cultural experience is becoming increasingly commodified, and the media sphere plays a major role in this trend. Religion is not immune to commodification, and indeed, there is a long and deep history of it in some traditions. In the mass media age, it makes sense to think of culture as a marketplace of symbols and ideas. Cultural commodities of all kinds, including religious ones, are valued and exchanged in that marketplace.

The third effect of media on religion is in the consumption and reception of religious symbols and discourses. The secular media define the terms of access for religious and spiritual material as it enters the public sphere. In the field of contemporary Christian music, for example, the ability of religiously motivated musicians to "cross over" into the mainstream, a desire by some, is constrained by a set of expectations established by the conditions under which the public, secular, mass media operate. The primary one is the expectation that to be public, such material must appeal to general as opposed to narrower, sectarian tastes. In both popular music and book publishing, separate "lists" continue to be maintained.

The fourth effect, then, is that in this and many other ways, religions can no longer control their own stories if they wish to be present in the public sphere and in public discourse. The terms of reference, the language, the visual and linguistic symbols, and the conditions under which religion becomes public are all matters determined by media practice. It is possible for religious groups and individuals to remain separate from this process, but they then surrender opportunities to be part of the public culture. Even groups that aspire to separation, such as the Amish, find it increasingly difficult to do so.

This relates to a fifth effect, that it is no longer possible for religions to retain zones of privacy around themselves. Increasingly, and as a result of the reflexivity of late-modern consciousness, individuals today expect a level of openness from public institutions. As religious groups and movements interact with the commercial and governmental spheres, they begin taking on the attributes of publicness and are thus seen to be subject to media scrutiny, journalistic and otherwise. Both the Roman Catholic Church, in its struggles over scandals and vocations crises, and the Anglican Communion (and other Protestant bodies) as they face the question of gay rights, have found that the conversation is not and cannot be a private one any more.

A sixth effect is that, as was noted earlier, the media bring individuals the religious and spiritual "other." In the context of globalization/glocalization, this is felt in the increasing cross-national and cross-cultural exchange of information, symbols, images, and ideas, circulated through journalism, through popular culture, and through the personal media of the digital age. In the context of the increasing international flow of persons, both through travel and through immigration, the media have become active in providing information about the "others" who are now arriving next door or in the next town. The media are now becoming the authoritative context for interreligious contact and dialog. At the same time, they can and do provide information about some traditions that other traditions find to be scandalous.

A seventh effect of media has been discussed in some detail already. That is that the media are today a major source of religious and spiritual resources to the "seeking" and "questing" sensibilities that increasingly define religion in the developed West. This is related to an eighth effect, that it has been suggested that the media have the potential to support the development of "new" or "alternative" religions. This has been thought by some to be a particular potential of the new digital media. The Internet provides opportunities for interactive relations among focused networks of like-minded people. Thus they might well be a context where those networks could develop into religious movements of their own. This of course remains to be seen.

Finally, an effect of media on religion is the central role that the media play in national and global rituals around major public events. Beginning with the Kennedy assassination and continuing through royal weddings and funerals, crises such as the *Challenger, Columbia,* and Columbine tragedies, the death of the Diana, Princess of Wales, and of course the September 11 attacks, the media have come to accept a central role in a new civil religion of commemoration and mourning.

The relationship between media and religion is a profound, complex, and subtle one. While the media have grown in cultural importance over the past century, and religious institutions and movements have contemplated how to respond and experimented with ways of accommodating to this new reality, a relationship has developed that now determines, in important ways, the prospects and prerogatives of religion into the twenty-first century.

SEE ALSO Religious Broadcasting.

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STEWART M. HOOVER (2005)

MEDIATORS SEE ANGELS; ATONEMENT, *ARTICLE ON* CHRISTIAN CONCEPTS; DEMONS; LOGOS; PRIESTHOOD; PROPHECY; SHAMANISM; SPIRITUAL GUIDE

MEDICAL ETHICS.

Religious beliefs are central to the process of deliberation in medical ethics. An awareness of the rich diversity of perspectives both within and among different religious traditions is critical to the development of respectful dialogue. This entry will focus on the religious traditions of Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. Readers interested in Hinduism are referred to S. Cromwell Crawford's *Hindu Bioethics for the Twenty-First Century* (2003) and those interested in Buddhism are referred to Damien Keown's *Buddhism and Bioethics* (1995).

OVERVIEW OF MEDICAL ETHICS. Medical ethics is the application of principles and rules of morality to healthcare (Clouser, 1974). It is a multidisciplinary field grappling with perplexing questions created by rapidly evolving scientific, technological, and social developments. There is not a single systematic theory of medical ethics. Rather, medical ethics has matured into a discipline that is enriched by a plurality of voices from clinical medicine, religious traditions, philosophy, literature, politics, and the social sciences.

One of the earliest articulations of ethical guidance for physicians is the oath of Hippocrates, which dates from as early as the fourth century BCE. Two statements in the Hippocratic oath—"into whatsoever house you shall enter, it shall be for the good of the sick to the utmost of your power" and "you will exercise my art solely for the cure of patients"—are the basis for the well-known principle of "above all do no harm" when caring for patients (Dorman, 1995; Carey, 1928).

In contrast to the personal expression of ideal conduct embodied in the Hippocratic oath, in 1803 Thomas Percival published *Medical Ethics or a Code of Institutes and Precepts* (Percival, 2000). This code became the basis of the American Medical Association's first *Code of Ethics* adopted in 1847 (Baker, 2000). The development of a code of ethics marked a radical transition from a personal ethic that focused primarily on elucidating the proper demeanor for physicians (Jonsen, 2000) to a collective professional ethic that renewed concern for the place of values in the practice of medicine.

By the middle of the twentieth century advances in medical science radically changed the ability of physicians to diagnose and treat illness. These developments created a moral crisis that cried out for a rethinking of the moral obligations of physicians. Notably, the condemnation of research without patient consent, codified as the Nuremberg Code in 1947, transformed the interaction of physician-investigators and patients in research. In 1950 an era of organ transplantation began, eventually forcing society to reassess the definition and criteria for death (*Defining Death*, 1981). In 1953 the structure of DNA was discovered and set the groundwork for the genetic revolution in the early twenty-first century. In 1961 hemodialysis became a reality, raising questions about the allocation of scarce resources and the appropriateness of using technology to prolong life. In 1973 the U.S. Supreme Court's *Roe v. Wade* decision affirmed the right of a woman to obtain an abortion during the first trimester of pregnancy. The 1970s also ushered in vigorous debates about who should live and who should be allowed to forgo lifesaving treatment. These questions were stimulated by the seminal cases of Karen Quinlan (*Quinlan* 70 NJ, 335A2d, 1976) and Donald "Dax" Cowart (Kliever, 1989) and continued into the 1990s with questions about the ethics of euthanasia and assisted suicide (*Deciding to Forgo Life-Sustaining Treatment,* 1982; *Washington et al. v. Glucksberg et al.*, 1997; and *Vacco, Attorney General of New York, et al. v. Quill et al.*, 1997). More recently, greater emphasis has been placed on the quality of end-of-life care and how to improve it. The advent of managed care has invigorated debates on resource allocation and the role of physicians as managers. The twenty-first century heralded in an era of genetics with the mapping of the human genome and questions about the acceptability of stem cell research and cloning (Shapiro, 1999; Nuffield Council on Bioethics, 2000). These questions are part of a gradual shift in the discipline from internal professional concerns to matters of public debate.

RELIGIOUS APPROACHES TO MEDICAL ETHICS. Theologians were among the first to contribute to the modern dialogue of medical ethics, and they were instrumental in shaping the emergence of the discipline (Callahan, 1990). Religious approaches to medical ethics share a common grounding of ethical positions in religiously based claims (Lammers, 1998; Williams, 1997). A brief discussion of the theological principles that guide each religion's vision of healthcare follows.

Catholic medical ethics. There is a long tradition of Catholic medical ethics dating from Augustine's writings on suicide and Thomas Aquinas's doctrine of natural law to modern-day directives on euthanasia and reproductive technologies (O'Rourke, 1999). The church's ethical and religious directives govern Catholic medical ethics (*Ethical and Religious Directives for Catholic Health Care Services*, 2001). The directives are grounded in the natural law approach of Catholic moral theology from which the church has derived its understanding of the nature of the human person, of human acts, and of the goals that shape human activity.

Fundamental to Catholic bioethics is a belief in the sanctity of life. Life is understood as a gift from God, and human beings are its steward (Wildes, 1997). The Catholic belief in the resurrection of Christ and an afterlife, however, influences the attitude toward life. Catholicism believes that human life and personhood begin at conception. Thus, a human fetus at any stage of development is a person who has a right to life. Central to Catholicism is a belief in a metaphysical conception of human beings as both body and soul. The presence of a living body, even if it has diminished or absent intellectual capabilities, is the defining characteristic of personhood. This belief has implications for ethical questions at the beginning and end of life.

As in most religions, there is a diversity of opinion within Catholicism. Richard McCormick has articulated a teleological ethic in which good is judged in relation to the common good. He argues for a proportionalist perspective in which an action viewed as evil might be justifiable if it brings about a good that is proportionate to or greater than the associated evil (McCormick, 1981b). This position is in opposition to Catholic beliefs in the absolute ontic nature of moral acts. McCormick has a dynamic understanding of Catholic theology that emphasizes an individualized and context-sensitive approach to moral problems (May, 1987 and 1994). According to McCormick actions should be judged based on what values they advance or denigrate within the context of an objective hierarchy of values (Rae, 1999). McCormick connects moral values to moral rights and duties. Thus the right to self-determination is linked to the moral value of human freedom.

Protestant medical ethics. Protestant medical ethics is rooted in the teachings of Martin Luther and such Reformation themes as "the freedom of a Christian," as well as biblical principles, such as love (Johnson, 1978). There are many strains of Protestant theology, and so there are diverse approaches to Protestant medical ethics. It is therefore difficult to define a uniquely Protestant approach to medical ethics, and most Protestants would view secular medical ethics as compatible with their personal religious beliefs (Pauls and Hutchinson, 2002). Paul Ramsey and James Gustafson are two prominent Protestant thinkers who have developed a Protestant approach to medical ethics. Ramsey develops an ethic that is rooted in the biblical concept of a covenantal relationship and the biblical conception of righteousness. His ethical positions are directed at meeting the needs of others (Ramsey, 1950). It is therefore not surprising that he focuses on the obligations of physicians to patients and those of researchers to human subjects. He leaves no room for consideration of the common good that might diminish the priority of care for individual patients. The individual's welfare is always first and foremost (Ramsey, 1970b). Ramsey also developed a phenomenological conception of Protestant natural law and argues that natural laws are discovered "in the course of active reflection upon man in the context of moral, social, and legal decisions" (Ramsey, 1962, p. 216). This is consistent with the historical Protestant emphasis on personal freedom and has contributed to the establishment of patient autonomy as a central concept within the moral framework of medical decision-making.

James Gustafson has emphasized the web of human relationships in which individuals are situated (Gustafson, 1965). The starting place for his ethical reflection is ordinary human existence rather than church doctrines or scriptural passages; nevertheless, Gustafson developed a theocentric ethic. Although he argued that Christian ethics should begin with human experience, human action should be judged primarily by the will of God and not by the welfare of human beings.

Jewish medical ethics. Jewish medical ethics is rooted in the application of the scriptural texts of the Five Books of Moses, the Talmud, codes of Jewish law, and the *responsa* literature to contemporary ethical questions in medicine. The Talmud is the primary sourcebook of Jewish law; it entails expositions and debates by rabbis about how to apply principles to different circumstances. The *responsa* literature is a compilation of written decisions and rulings by rabbis in response to questions posed about Jewish law. The questions are usually practical, and often concern new situations for which no provision had been made in prior codes of law. *Responsa* begin to appear in the sixth century CE, and all denominations within Judaism continue to formulate *responsa.* In recent years they have addressed many contemporary questions relating to medical ethics.

The presence of a well-defined corpus of religious legal texts does not mean, however, that there is one authoritative

Jewish position on questions of medical ethics. Within Orthodox Judaism (Freedman, 1999; Waldenberg, 1963) and among Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist Judaism there is a diversity of opinions on how to apply traditional sources to contemporary ethical problems. For some, Jewish medical ethics is constrained by the scriptural rules and precedents accumulated over thousands of years (Tendler, 1998; Jakobovits, 1975; Rosner, 1979). This approach is in tension with those who look more broadly at the values behind Jewish law and apply them to modern-day situations (Newman, 1995; Zohar, 1997; Gordis, 1989). What sources are selected and what methodological approach is used in the interpretation of traditional Jewish texts will influence the ethical decision that is reached. Jewish ethicists dispute fundamental questions about how concrete examples discussed in the Talmud can be extrapolated to modern-day questions in medical ethics.

In an effort to grapple with contemporary questions from a Jewish perspective, Elliott Dorff (1998) has articulated several fundamental beliefs underlying Jewish medical ethics. He argues that the following beliefs should inform the Jewish response to modern-day questions in medical ethics: a belief that human bodies belong to God, human worth flows from being created in the image of God, the human being is an integrated whole where body and soul are judged as one, the body is morally neutral and potentially good, there is an obligation to heal, and Jews have an obligation to engage in action that sanctifies God's name. Dorff thus puts forth a methodology of Jewish medical ethics that goes beyond strict legalism. He interprets Judaism's general rules not as inviolable principles, but as guiding policies that need to be applied with sensitivity to the contexts of specific medical cases.

Islamic medical ethics. Islamic medical ethics is based on *sharīʿah,* Islamic law, which is founded on the Qurʾān and the *sunnah*. The Qurʾān is the holy book of all Muslims, and the *sunnah* contains aspects of Islamic law based on the prophet Muḥammad's teachings. As in Judaism, Muslim scholars of religious law are called upon to determine religious practice and resolve questions in medical ethics. The application and interpretation of Islamic law is dynamic and flexible within the confines of a sacred set of values and texts (Van Bommel, 1999). In 1982 Abdul Rahman C. Amine, M.D., and Ahmed Elkadi, M.D., proposed an Islamic code of medical ethics that addresses many fundamental questions in contemporary medical ethics (Rahman, 1982). In Islam, life is sacred and every moment has value even where the quality of life is diminished. Full human life begins after the ensoulment of the fetus, and most Muslim scholars agree that this occurs at about 120 days after conception (Al Bar, 1986). A minority of scholars believes that ensoulment occurs at forty days after conception (Al Bar, 1995). Saving a life is considered a duty informed by the guiding principle mentioned in both the Qurʾān and in the Talmud, "If anyone has saved a life, it would be as if he has saved the life of the whole of mankind" (Qurʾān 5:35; and Mishnah *Sanhedrin* 4:5). Death is considered to occur when the soul leaves the body, but since this cannot be determined with certainty, physical signs are used to diagnose death. The concept of brain death was accepted by a majority of Islamic scholars in 1986 (Al Bar, 1995).

REPRODUCTION. Many religious traditions share the assumption that human life is sacred. This understanding of life has implications for the permissibility of abortion. Catholicism's official opposition to abortion has been based on two fundamental beliefs (Pope John Paul II, 1995). One is the belief that a human fetus is a person from the moment of conception, and thus aborting a fetus is tantamount to murder. The Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) condemned abortion unconditionally as an "unspeakable crime" (Pope Paul VI, 1965). The second belief that underlies the Catholic position on abortion, contraception, and assisted reproduction is that sex is permitted only when it is integrated into marriage and has procreative intent. In opposition to the antiabortion stance of the church, some Catholic theologians have tried to revive a more liberal position that claims that the male fetus acquires a soul forty days after conception, while the female fetus only acquires a soul eighty days after conception (Dombrowski, 2000). This position is based on the teachings of Augustine of Hippo (354–430), and it is strikingly similar to Jewish understandings of the fetus, but it was never held as a universal truth by everyone in the church.

Protestant views on abortion are diverse. Conservative groups believe that life begins at conception; however, some liberal denominations are pro-choice, believing that freedom of choice is an important principle. Exceptions to the duty to preserve life include medical indications, pregnancy resulting from rape, or social and emotional conditions that would not be beneficial to the mother or future child (Gustafson, 1970).

In Jewish law an embryo is considered to be mere water until the fortieth day (Epstein, 1935–1952). This leads some to argue that abortion is permissible during the first forty days of pregnancy (*Responsa Seridei Esh*, 1966). A fetus has the status of a potential human life, and thus Judaism permits abortion under certain circumstances. Where the mother's life is in jeopardy, abortion is mandatory. The Talmud speaks directly to this question where it says: "if the fetus threatens the life of the mother, you cut it up within her body and remove it limb by limb if necessary, because its life is not as valuable as hers. But once the greater part of the body has emerged, you cannot take its life to save the mother's, because you cannot choose between one human life and another" (Mishnah *Ohalot* 7:6). Thus a fetus becomes a person when the head emerges from the womb. As with most questions in Judaism, there is a diversity of opinion on when abortion is permitted (Feldman, 1980; Lubarsky, 1984; Bleich, 1968). Some authorities permit abortion in the case of rape, and some will permit abortion in the first trimester if the fetus would be born with an abnormality that would cause it to suffer. One Orthodox authority has argued that abortion is permissible until the end of the second trimester if the fetus has a genetic mutation that would be lethal and would cause great suffering (Waldenberg, 1980).

Islam discourages abortion, but permits it under certain circumstances. Abortion has been allowed after implantation and before ensoulment in cases where there are adequate reasons. However, many Shīʿah and some Sunnis have prohibited abortion after implantation unless the mother's life is in danger (Ebrahim, 1989).

END-OF-LIFE CARE. Advances in medical technology have made it possible to prolong life through the use of ventilators, artificial organs, intravenous feeding, and ventricular assist devices. The monotheistic religions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam uphold a duty to protect life that is on temporary hold from God. These faiths have uniformly rejected suicide. Within the Catholic tradition the failure to use ordinary measures to preserve life is morally equivalent to suicide. This does not imply, however, that there is a duty to prolong life in all circumstances, regardless of the patient's condition. Catholic theologians have distinguished ordinary and extraordinary life support, arguing that a person is obligated to use ordinary measures but that there is room for choice with regard to the use of extraordinary measures (Cronin, 1958). The directives outline compassionate care for the dying, which includes pain management but also respects informed and competent refusal of life-sustaining treatment. McCormick argues that Catholic moral theory connects self-determination with the duty to preserve life, but it places limits on this duty. "Life is indeed a basic and precious good, but a good to be preserved precisely at the condition of other values" (McCormick, 1981a, p. 345). He affirms the right of competent patients to reject life-sustaining treatment, arguing that individual patients will be in the best position to determine which treatments have a reasonable benefit and which treatments are accompanied by an unreasonable burden. McCormick urges patients to make a proportionate, reasoned decision in considering the rejection of life-sustaining treatment. This would include a consideration of the value of preserving life, human freedom, and lack of pain (McCormick, 1981a, p. 399).

Gustafson argues that life is not an absolute value, and yet he is also quick to say that life is the "indispensable condition for human values and valuing" (1971, p. 140). Thus we should neither worship life nor should we be quick to end life. Gustafson puts forth four religious qualifications to consider about life and death: (1) Life is a gift since human beings are dependent creatures; (2) Only God is absolute, and human life is of relative worth; (3) Human beings are accountable to God and responsible for how they treat life; (4) Human beings are participants in life who must respond to the developments and purposes that are made possible by God (Gustafson, 1968).

Jewish perspectives on end-of-life care are also informed by a belief that human life is sacred, and thus the preservation of life surpasses almost all other commandments. Most would argue, however, that this belief does not translate into a mandate to preserve all human life under all circumstances and at all costs (Herring, 1984). Although hastening death is prohibited, if something is an impediment to the natural process of death, it is permitted to withdraw that impediment. For example, if a person is certain to die, and is only being kept alive by a ventilator, it is permissible to withdraw the ventilator, which is impeding the natural process of death. Judaism attempts to balance the thrust to prolong life and the recognition that life may become unbearably difficult and painful (Rosner, 1979).

Islam considers the intentional hastening of death to be the equivalent of murder and thus denounces suicide and assisted suicide (Ebrahim, 2000). Islam does not condone the secular concept of a right to die. Like Judaism, however, Islam acknowledges that when treatment becomes futile, it ceases to be mandatory. A patient may refuse treatment when it will not improve his condition or quality of life. Although continued medical care, including the use of a ventilator may not be required, hydration, nutrition, and pain control should not be withheld (Khomeini, 1998).

GENETICS. The completion of the finished sequence of the Human Genome Project in 2003 marks the beginning of a new era of genetic manipulation. The potential for disease prevention, early detection, and improved treatment of diseases for which there is an identified genetic basis, however, is accompanied by concern about the ethical, social, legal, and psychological implications of genetic information (Andrews et al., 1994). One of the most promising and controversial areas of genetics is stem cell research. Stem cells are unique in their ability to differentiate into any cell of the human body. They have been isolated from adults, aborted fetuses, and embryos shortly after conception, and many believe stem cells are the key to developing treatments and cures for some diseases. Others, however, argue that using these cells is the equivalent of taking a human life, and even if their use leads to saving lives, it is not morally permissible to destroy embryonic stem cells.

Embedded within religious perspectives on the use of stem cells and cloning are varying theological assumptions that each religion has about a human embryo, the religious duty to procreate, and the relationship between human beings and technology. These assumptions lead to varied conclusions about the permissibility of stem cell research and cloning.

The Catholic Church has been unequivocal in its denunciation of the use of embryonic stem cells. This position is based on the belief that human life begins at conception and thus embryos must be respected (*Donum Vitae*, 1987). Because Protestant theology is pluralistic, there is not a unified position on the use of embryonic stem cells. The general synods of the United Church of Christ have regarded human embryos as due great respect, but they have not regarded embryos as the equivalent of a person (Cole-Turner, 1997). Other Protestant views consider the dangers of not respecting the weakest human being, namely the embryo, to be greater than any medical benefit that might be achieved through stem cell research.

Since Judaism does not consider an embryo to have significant moral status prior to forty days of gestation, the majority of Jewish authorities believe that embryos may be used for research (National Bioethics Advisory Commission, 1999; Breitowitz, 1996).

The successful cloning in 1996 of Dolly the sheep through the somatic cell nuclear transfer technique has raised the possibility of cloning humans. Some Catholic and Protestant thinkers have reiterated past opposition to cloning (Cahill, 1997; Verhey, 1994; Ramsey, 1966 and 1970a). The foundations of these claims are an opposition to "playing God," the view that cloning represents a violation of the unitive aspect of marriage, and a belief that cloning is a violation of human dignity (Haas, 1997; Moraczewski, 1997).

However, some Protestant thinkers have expressed qualified support for cloning research and for creating children using somatic cell nuclear transfer techniques. This view is based on an understanding of the meaning of human partnership with ongoing divine creative activity. Ted Peters argues that human begins are called to "play human" and assume the role of co-creator through the acquisition of knowledge aimed at improving humanity (Peters, 1996). According to this view there are no theological principles that the cloning of humans necessarily violates.

Jewish perspectives on cloning are guided by the biblical injunction to procreate and "master the world" (*Gn.* 1:28). The fulfillment of this biblical mandate is understood as permitting people to modify nature to make the world a better place (Dorff, 1997). Cloning is one example of mastery over the world, and it is not theologically problematic in the Jewish tradition (Tendler, 1997; Luria, 1971).

The model of a partnership with God in the creative process also appears in Islamic thought (Sachedina, 1997). Understood in this light, cloning may in some circumstances be an example of using human creative potential for good. Islamic scholars have argued that scientific discovery is ultimately a revelation of the divinely ordained creation. Scientific knowledge is therefore understood as a symbol of God's creation and an opportunity given by God to human beings (Hathout, 1997).

SEE ALSO Bioethics; Buddhist Ethics; Christian Ethics; Genetics and Religion; Hippocrates.

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MEDICINE MAN See SHAMANISM

MEDITATION. The terms *meditation* and *contemplation* are applied to a variety of manifestations throughout the historical and cultural geography of world religions. *Meditation* and *contemplation* are used in English to translate a number of specialized terms in several different languages. Attention will be paid here to the etymologies of these terms in English, so that the reader may determine the suitability of their application to foreign terms. Some general categories through which meditative and contemplative systems can be described will be introduced.

Confusion sometimes arises when the words *meditation* and *contemplation* are used interchangeably. However, a working distinction between the two terms can be suggested. Meditation is considered preparatory and contributory to the achievement of contemplation. Meditation involves concentration, the narrowing of the focus of consciousness to a single theme, symbol, catechism, or doctrine, yet it remains cognitive and intellectual. Meditation is usually rumination on a particular religious subject, while contemplation is a direct intuitive seeing, using spiritual faculties beyond discursive thought and ratiocination. In the felicitous phrase of Richard of Saint-Victor, a Christian theologian of the twelfth century, "Meditation investigates, contemplation wonders."

The English word *meditate* comes from the Latin *meditari. Meditari* connotes deep, continued reflection, a concentrated dwelling in thought. Contemplation is derived from the Latin *cum* ("with") and *templum* ("a consecrated place"). Frequently, contemplation is itself a spiritual state and serves as the end of an ascetic quest. Particularly in the monotheistic traditions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, this state is sometimes considered tantamount to the beatific vision bestowed upon the individual through the grace of God. This distinction between *meditation* and *contemplation* will serve for an examination of the following materials, but the reader should bear in mind the difficulty of translating these concepts from one language and culture to another.

As for the morphology of the theories and practices indicated by the terms *meditation* and *contemplation,* it may be useful to mention some categories of spiritual discipline. Meditation leading to contemplation can be apophatic. Involved here is an emptying procedure, in which the individual systematically removes from consciousness any content that is not the object of the quest. In Christian mysticism, this type of path is referred to as the *via negativa;* it is also an important technique in Buddhism.

Other forms of meditation and contemplation may be termed cataphatic. In this type of practice, a specific image, idea, role, or deity is held in the mind's eye. The object of the individual is to assimilate, or to participate in some way with, the chosen object. Apophatic forms of meditation tend to be more speculative, cognitive, and intellectual, at least in their early stages. They tend to be centered in the mind. Cataphatic forms of meditation and contemplation, on the other hand, tend to be more emotional and devotional. They tend to be centered in the heart. In what follows, meditation and contemplation represent a continuum, with different systems and traditions illustrating shifting perspectives within a descriptive framework that opposes the apophatic and speculative to the cataphatic and affective.

WESTERN TRADITIONS. The practice of prayer has always held a central place in the Western traditions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Although prayer may devolve into meditation and even into contemplation, these are more directly the concerns of the mystical and, in many instances, the monastic dimensions of these traditions.

Judaism. Meditation and contemplation in the Jewish tradition acknowledge the centrality and authority of the Hebrew scriptures. Reading and interpreting the Torah require concentration and discursive meditation. This meditation led to the development of commentary, such as the Mishnah and the Talmud, and schools came into being that fostered an experiential approach. Heavily influenced by gnosticism and Hellenism, this movement is referred to as *heikhalot* mysticism. Ascetical practices culminated in a contemplative ascent of the soul through seven heavens to reach its final home in a state of beatitude. The final state is viewed as one in which the mystic stands before the throne of God and sees and hears directly. There is no experience of mystical union, and God remains "wholly other." This tradition remained essentially cataphatic and nonaffective, although the symbolism of the ascent and the attainment of ecstatic consciousness is characteristic of Jewish contemplation.

A more immanentist approach to the contemplation of God developed within the Hasidic tradition. One can trace here the influence of Philo Judaeus, a Jewish philosopher of the first century CE who later was to have an important influence on Christianity. In Hasidic contemplation, the transcendent majesty of God is preserved by making the object of contemplation the *shekhinah,* or the spirit of the living God. God can be contemplated directly only at the end of the world, or the Day of Yahveh. The Jewish contemplative almost always retains a sense of the distance between himself and God. The quest ends not with mystical union but with a sense of adhesion (or being joined) to God, which is short of an actual union.

The qabbalistic school from the thirteenth century onward produced some major developments in the Jewish meditative and contemplative tradition. A major exponent of this school was the Spaniard Avraham ben Shemuʾel Abulafia. He developed a meditative technique designed to release the individual from bondage to the sensible forms and images that one must deal with in everyday life and that delimit the soul. Meditation is an avenue through which the soul can come to apprehend more than the forms of nature. Abulafia looks for a means to deautomatize the human faculties from the normal preoccupation with daily events. He seizes upon a system of meditation based on the Hebrew alphabet. The letters of the alphabet are sufficiently abstract so as not to preoccupy the mind with any specific meaning, but concrete enough to supply an object of intense focus and concentration. The letters of the alphabet are regarded by the meditator as constituents of the holy name of God. The meditator is instructed to combine and recombine the letters of the alphabet without any attempt to form words, thereby constructing a kind of nonrepresentational mystical logic. Such exercise produces interior freedom and detachment from natural objects and prepares the adept for the final achievement: the pure contemplation of the divine name.

Christianity. Meditation and contemplation, particularly within monastic circles, reached a high degree of differentiation and sophistication in the Christian tradition. The practices of the early church took form in an atmosphere influenced by Hermetic literature and the philosophy of Neoplatonism. Syncretic in nature, the Hermetic books present the theme of a mystical ascent to the knowledge of God. This important image (found also in Jewish mysticism) becomes central to the mysticism of Christianity. The idea of an ascent from the many to the One is taken over from the thought of the Neoplatonist Plotinus. Plotinus describes four movements in the ascent to divine knowledge: (1) purgation in the practice of virtue; (2) the development of thought beyond sense perception; (3) the transcendence of thought in the achievement of union; and (4) the final absorption in the One. In the Christian circles of third-century Alexandria, these non-Christian ideas came to be absorbed into the tradition and to exert an important influence. Two important figures of this development were Clement and Origen.

For Clement, meditation led to the apprehension of the intelligible realities and then, through *gnosis* as a gift of Christ, to hidden spiritual realities. Reflective reading of, and meditation on, the scriptures in order to discern this hidden meaning was important. Within this metaphorical framework, Origen introduces the symbol of a contemplative marriage between the soul and the Logos (Christ).

Anchoritism, or withdrawal into the desert, was a form of spirituality in the early church that gave full rein to ascetic and meditative practices. Disengagement from the concerns of ordinary life provided a favorable atmosphere for the awakening of the spirit to the word of God. The austere life of the desert could produce a deep, inner quiet and was conducive to a life of continual meditation on the scriptures in an attempt to hear the word of God and to ascend the ladder of perfection through grace.

Within this context, as early as the third century, a life of constant prayer developed as an ideal for the anchorite.

The beginnings of the prayer of the heart, or the Jesus Prayer, are found here. The Jesus Prayer is an apothegm translated as "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me." The first reference to this prayer comes from the seventh century. The practice of the Jesus Prayer became important in Eastern Orthodox spirituality and in the development of the movement known as hesychasm. Meditation came to be seen, in a movement away from Neoplatonism, as more properly centered in the heart rather than in the mind. Control of breathing and the fixation of the gaze were important ancillaries to the constant repetition of the apothegm. This tradition has survived down to the present day in its major center on Mount Athos, in Greece.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the Roman Catholic church were a period of rationalization and the systematization of meditative and contemplative processes. This movement looked back to a medieval interest in the methodology of meditation developed among the Franciscans. A major figure in this movement was Bonaventure (1217–1274). In his *De triplici via,* he gives an exemplary statement for Western Christianity on the three processes of meditation: purgation, illumination, and union.

Ignatius Loyola (1495–1556), the founder of the Jesuits, wrote a treatise entitled *Spiritual Exercises,* in which he outlines a progression in meditative practice. His notions of meditation may not be so exalted as others, but his methods are of interest insofar as they involve cataphatic visualization techniques that bear some resemblance to Hindu and Buddhist practices. For example, Ignatius's fourth method requires that the practitioner choose a specific image, such as the passion or the resurrection of Jesus, and apply each of the five senses to that image. Thus, through seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, and touching, the image is vivified in the consciousness of the meditator.

Teresa of Ávila (1515–1582) was a member of the Carmelite order. In her *Autobiography,* she narrates her meditative experiences and describes a period of spiritual desiccation followed by a series of ecstatic experiences. Teresa describes the latter in sexual images and draws upon the symbolism of the bride and the bridegroom, a symbolism that dates back at least to the time of Origen. In the *Autobiography* she catalogs degrees of meditation, using the symbolism of the husbandry of plants. She compares discursive meditation to watering the garden, bucket by bucket; recollection is analogous to the use of a water wheel, and quiet, to springs of water. Union is compared to a drenching rain.

Teresa's contemporary and fellow Carmelite, John of the Cross (1542–1591), modified the three ways of meditation developed by Bonaventure. Purgation is retained but illumination is replaced, using the bridal imagery, with betrothal, and union with spiritual marriage. Both Teresa of Ávila and John of the Cross describe a stage in contemplation referred to as the "dark night of the soul," an experience of alienation and isolation preparatory to illumination through the grace of God. This theme continues a long-standing tradition of a vision of God that includes the perception of darkness.

A major figure of the French church involved in codifying meditation was Francis of Sales (1567–1622). In his *Introduction to the Devout Life,* he teaches a five-step meditation. The preparatory stage of meditation involves three steps: (1) placing one's self in the presence of God, (2) praying for divine assistance, and (3) imagining a scene from the life of Jesus. The second step builds on the first through identification with those images that most affect the practitioner. In the third step feelings generated in the second are converted into acts of understanding and will. The fourth step involves thanksgiving and offering up the results of the meditation as a sacrifice, and petition for the putting into practice of the insights gained. The fifth step is the development of the "spiritual nosegay" or the preparation of some content of the meditation to sustain one in daily affairs.

Islam. The prophet Muḥammad (b. 570) considered his prophecy to be a continuation and reaffirmation of the Judeo-Christian tradition. The word *islām* means "submission" in Arabic; thus a Muslim is one who submits. Islamic theology emphasizes the transcendent majesty and unity of God. Humanity is considered to exist face to face with this transcendent majesty without intercessors. Humans are not expected to try to share the secrets of God.

In the more orthodox forms of Islam, daily prayer (*ṣalāt*) is one of the obligatory observances. Usually this prayer is conducted communally. Although it is also recommended that a Muslim perform *dhikr,* or remembrance of God, these practices are external formalities and not necessarily related to contemplation and meditation in the present sense.

By the eighth century, strict Muslim orthodoxy began to be challenged by Sufism, the generic term for Islamic mysticism. The Ṣūfī movement favored an interiorization and esotericization of the basic institutions of Islam. The orthodox religious attitudes of fear and obedience before the transcendence of God changed in Sufism to an attitude of ecstatic love of God and hope of union with him through a transcendence of the phenomenal self. Meditative and contemplative practices became an important part of this quest, and *dhikr* became a constant practice of the presence of God.

Ecstasy is the goal of the Ṣūfī path, and *dhikr,* in an expanded and intensified form, becomes a means to the goal. Techniques familiar in other traditions such as control of the breath, visualization of sacred words, and repetition of sacred phrases were adopted as important means to this end. The goal is termed *fanāʾ,* or annihilation of the lower self, which enables God through his grace to bestow on the mystic the rapture of union with him.

The Ṣūfīs developed sacred dance as a technique for the induction of ecstasy. The turning and whirling movements of the dance accompanied by hypnotic music and chanting of poetry bypassed the intellectual faculties and created a trancelike state of centeredness and concentration. The Mevlevi order of Ṣūfīs founded by Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī institutionalized this practice as the foundation of its worship.

EASTERN TRADITIONS. Sophisticated psychologies and techniques of contemplation and meditation were developed within the spiritual traditions of India and China. These traditions, which antedate the beginning of the common era, developed independently until the introduction of Buddhism into China in the first century CE. Thereafter, India's techniques of meditation strongly influenced Chinese religious thought.

India. A concern for meditative asceticism, which runs through Indian religious history, can be traced as far back as the Indus Valley civilization of the third millennium BCE. Artifacts recovered from this civilization can be interpreted as representing individuals or deities in meditative attitudes.

Yoga. An early systematization of meditative technique is found in the *Yoga Sūtra* of Patañjali, dating from the third century BCE. Patañjali defines *yoga* as "the cessation of the modifications of the mind." This statement forms the basis of much of pan-Indian spirituality. The Yoga system is one of the classical *darśana*s, or "viewpoints," of Indian philosophy. The object of meditation and other ascetic practices is to still the mind and the emotions with which the individual usually identifies. When this is accomplished, consciousness can reflect the pure absolute spirit (or *puruṣa*), which is the principle of consciousness itself. Realization of the *puruṣa* as one's true and ultimate identity brings with it release (*mokṣa*) from the tendency to identify with temporal experience.

The mind (*citta*) in Yoga philosophy is considered to be the repository of *saṃskāra* (the root impressions of past deeds). These impressions are stored from present and past lives in unconscious layers of the psyche and, in turn, produce binding proclivities, good and bad habits, and all forms of limited vision and false identification, which modify and determine a person's life in the unenlightened state. The unenlightened mind is modified by its past ignorant experience and in turn perpetuates such modifications into the indefinite future. (This is the pan-Indian doctrine of *karman,* which becomes axiomatic for much of Indian spirituality.) Hence the importance of causing the modifications of the mind to cease so that the pure unconditioned spirit may become manifest in meditation.

A primary object of Yoga discipline is to bring the mind into a state of one-pointedness or intense concentration. Moral and ethical abstinences and observances form the first two limbs of an eightfold prescription for attaining this state. A comfortable posture (*āsana*) is recommended, especially one that enables the practitioner to keep the spine correctly aligned and one that can be comfortably held for protracted periods of time as the mind becomes abstracted from the body. Breath control (*prāṇāyāma*) is then recommended, since states of breathing and states of consciousness correspond closely to each other. A calming and quieting of the breath produces a corresponding calming and quieting of the mind.

As concentration deepens, the next limb of Yoga, *pratyāhāra* (withdrawal of the senses from their objects), contributes to a further interiority. The next step is *dharaṇa,* or the concentration of the mind on a single object. This is followed by *dhyāna,* or the achievement of an uninterrupted nonverbal current of consciousness focused on the meditative object. The eighth and last limb of this meditative program is *samādhi,* in which the goal of complete cessation of the modifications of the mind is achieved, and a transcendent awareness of one's ultimate identity as *puruṣa,* or unconditional spirit, is attained. In this state of ecstasy, the normal ego sense and the experience of a dichotomy between subject and object is overcome. Yoga discipline in a variety of forms becomes an important ingredient in several Indian spiritual traditions and religions, including Jainism, various forms of Hinduism, and Buddhism.

Hinduism. *Hinduism* is a generic term used to refer to a variety of religious manifestations within the Indian subcontinent and other areas subject to Indian influence. In the early history of Hinduism, a stage referred to as Brahmanism, there was a movement away from the practice of exoteric ritual and toward meditative interiority and realization. As the tradition developed, Hindus came to be divided into three main sects: the Vaiṣṇava, the Śaiva, and the Śākta.

Vaiṣṇavism. The Vaiṣṇavas, worshipers of the god Viṣṇu and his many incarnations, developed a form of active, affective, and cataphatic meditation in which chanting, singing, and dancing were used to induce transic absorption into the deity. Perhaps the most popular incarnation of Viṣṇu is the deity Kṛṣṇa, whose worship is *bhakti* ("devotion"). In addition to performances of chanting and dance, a devotee was expected to remain ever mindful of his object of devotion. In turn, the deity extends his grace and love to the devotee. In both Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva forms of theistic meditation, the emotions are given a much freer rein than in the more abstract classical Yoga system. Transmutation of the emotions through devotion to Viṣṇu, Śiva, and their *avatāra*s became popular and had a far-reaching effect on Indian art and literature.

Devotional theism borrowed some of its elements from Sanskrit poetics. The term *bhāva,* which refers to an intense personal emotion in poetic theory, was adapted by the Vaiṣṇavas to refer to the meditative attitude that a devotee assumes toward Kṛṣṇa. There are four types of contemplative mood, determined by the form of relationship with the deity. These range from a relationship to Kṛṣṇa as supreme deity, as friend, as brother, and, perhaps most importantly, as lover. A devotee's chosen *bhāva* was to be cultivated through meditation, chanting, and dance until he experienced himself as the friend or lover of Kṛṣṇa. Continual absorption into these various roles enabled the adherent to experience the love and the personality of the deity.

Śaivism and Śaktism. The devotees of Śiva developed their own forms of contemplative worship. One is the growth of a cult dedicated to Śakti, the female consort of

Śiva. Śakti is the active female energy of the universe in contradistinction to the passive contemplative energy of Śiva himself. Śaktism became an important part of the Tantric manifestations of Hinduism. Tantric Hinduism developed several techniques of meditation, including the use of the *yantra.* A *yantra* is a geometric diagram that represents an abstract form or manifestation of a deity. Deities are essentially formless in their own nature but are thought to manifest themselves in a movement from the subtle to the gross, in the forms of sound, the geometric forms of the *yantra,* and the *mūrti* (or sculpted) image. A *yantra* is a series of triangles, squares, and circles emanating from a central point, which serves to focus the mind of the meditating yogin.

Visualization of a sculpted or painted form of the deity became important in Tantric meditation. The object was to achieve a high degree of absorption in the outward form so that it could be reproduced in complex detail within the mind of the meditator. When this stage was reached the outward form could be dispensed with. The general goal of Tantric meditation is the complete unification of the body, speech, and mind of the Tantric yogin with the body, speech, and mind of his chosen divinity. *Mantra*s, symbolic sounds or phrases for the sound form of the divinity, were used in this practice. *Mudrā*s were used in meditation also as symbolic gestures of the hands and body representing various stages of the unification process.

In *kuṇḍalinīyoga,* the macrocosmic Sakti is further identified, within the microcosm of the human body, as *kuṇḍalinī. Kuṇḍalinī* literally means "coiled" and refers to the visualization of Sakti as an energy within the body in the form of a sleeping serpent. This energy is associated with a meditative physiology of the subtle body of the human. The meditator visualizes six vital centers called *cakra*s placed along the spine from its base to the crown of the head. The *cakra*s are connected to each other by a central vein with two lesser veins, or channels, on either side. The object of the meditation and physical exercises of this form of Tantric yoga is to wake the latent energy of Śakti coiled at the base of the spine and to cause it to enter the central vein. As *kuṇḍalinī* ascends and is drawn upward through meditation, it energizes the six *cakra*s until it reaches the topmost *cakra,* where it is reunited with Śiva. At this point the body of the yogin and the body of the cosmos are resolved into the primal unity.

Buddhism. Buddhism is a tradition that seeks to penetrate the veil of appearances and social conditioning and, through meditative insight, to achieve a vision of the truth of reality. This vision leads to liberation from the round of karmic cycles and the achievement of ultimate freedom in *nirvāṇa. Nirvāṇa* is the goal of Buddhist ascesis subsumed under the term *bhāvana,* or meditation. *Bhāvana* has two secondary objectives: the first is the achievement of *śamatha,* or calm; the second is *vipaśyanā,* insight or higher vision.

As a foundation for other Buddhist meditation practices, a monk starts with the practice of mindfulness (Pali, *sati).* This practice is basic to both *śamatha* (Pali, *samatha*) and *vipaśyanā* (Pali, *vipassanā*) and can be used for both calming and higher vision. The practice of mindfulness, or total awareness, takes place in four main areas: the body itself, the sensations, thought, and mental objects. Mindfulness of the body begins with the observation of breathing. Strict attention is paid to inhalation and exhalation, note being taken of the duration of each as the practitioner becomes aware of this usually unconscious activity. Such concentration involves narrowing of the mind's focus. The effects of mindfulness of breathing include a refined awareness of the entire body and a sense of tranquillity.

Mindfulness of the body is next applied to a monk's postures and movements. Every bodily action is performed with complete awareness and consciousness. This discipline brings into awareness bodily activity, which normally goes on beyond the conscious level. As activities are performed, mindfulness tranquilizes, calms, and controls the body; mindfulness can then proceed with an examination of the constituent parts of the body, external and internal, and a breakdown of the body into its primary physical elements. These practices break up any tendency to identify with the body.

Mindfulness is then applied to the sensations that are discerned as pleasant, unpleasant, or neutral. In a continuing progression, from the gross to the more subtle, mindfulness is then applied to the mind, or thought itself, and its objects. Attention is paid to each thought as it occurs, whether it is with or without such factors as passion, hatred, delusion, or freedom. The objective is detachment and a loosening of the tendency to identify with any factors of experience. With the achievement of detachment, the monk has an increased ability to respond actively to the actual circumstances of life.

Through concentrative attention, a monk sees the momentary quality of life, and sees that a moment of experience arises based on temporary causes and conditions. The monk thus can see the real nature of experience, which had previously been obscured by incorrect mental fabrications and the false projection of permanent identity on a transient stream of moments.

The Buddhist *śamatha* practices are associated with *dhyāna,* or the achievement of meditative absorption. *Dhyāna* practice continues the work of mindfulness into an even greater experience of detachment, one in which contact with the normal content of worldly experience is gradually attenuated and almost altogether eliminated. The *dhyāna*s (absorptions) are as follows: four absorptions with form, four absorptions without form, and finally the cessation of conception and feeling. These stages represent a gradual elimination of the verbal, discursive, and affective contents of the mind. They lead a monk gradually out of the world of sense-based experience to a new, detached interior dimension. These stages are increasingly independent of the external world and signify a developing autonomy on the part of the monk. The monk is no longer bound by the accidental and chaotic sensory stimuli of the world of ordinary experience or by intellectual concerns, and begins to acquire the power of turning away from the "given world" and toward the ability to "create" an interior world of attenuated, simplified, and peaceful content. This is the meaning of *śamatha,* the calming of the contents of consciousness, and the attainment of release from subjection to external circumstances.

Calming, transic absorption and insight are important features of Buddhist ascesis; they continue to be fundamental in both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna schools. The Vajrayāna, or Tantric form of Buddhism, also developed elaborate visualization meditations in which carefully delineated images of deities, or *maṇḍala*s, were reproduced with great exactitude within the mind of the meditator. The Tantric form of Buddhist meditation became firmly established in Tibet.

China. Contemplation and meditation have held a position of high importance in Chinese religious traditions. This is particularly true of the indigenous Daoist tradition and the various schools of Buddhism imported from India.

Daoism. Daoism in its early literary form (here referred to as "classical Daoism") and its later offshoot, which is usually termed "Neo-Daoism," are usually thought of as the primary province of contemplation in the Chinese indigenous tradition.

Laozi (seventh century BCE?) and Zhuangzu (365–290 BCE?) are the two main figures of classical Daoism. Since their existence as historical figures is questioned, here they shall be referred to only by their works, now known as the *Laozu* (or *Dao de jing*) and the *Zhuangzi.* These two books contain the early formulation of the Daoist worldview and ethos. In Daoism there is a contrast between the superficialities of conventional reality and the insight achieved by the Daoist sage. The task of Daoist contemplation is to move from a partial and self-centered view of things to a holistic view of the cosmos and its spontaneously functioning dynamism.

The Dao is the primary object of contemplation and meditation in the Daoist tradition. It is the ultimate principle beyond phenomenal manifestations and yet within which all phenomenal manifestations are brought forth and undergo change. The first chapter of the *Dao de jing* emphasizes the ineffability of the true Dao:

> The Dao (Way) that can be told of is not the Eternal Dao;
> The name that can be named is not the eternal name.
> The Nameless is the origin of Heaven and Earth;
> The Named is the mother of all things. (Zhan, 1963, p. 139)

The Dao is the substratum that remains when all verbal and physical phenomena are discarded. Awareness of the Dao can be reached through apophatic contemplation and meditation, that is, only through direct meditative experience. In order to attain inner illumination, the Daoist sage has to follow a way of unknowing, of abandoning learning in favor of looking directly into himself. Real education for the Daoist, in the phrase of Zhuangzu, is "sitting and forgetting."

Buddhism. From the time when Buddhism entered China from India and Central Asia around the first century BCE, the Chinese were exposed to a bewildering variety of Buddhist teachings. The major Indian schools were represented, including the Madhyamika (Sanlun) and the Yogacara (Faxiang). Another school that developed in China, the Tiantai, promulgated an elaborate meditative regime based on a variety of scriptural sources. The Huayan school developed a teaching and meditative discipline that led to a vision of the harmony of totality and the mutual interpenetration of all things.

Two schools of Chinese Buddhism, the Chan and the Jingtu (Pure Land school), developed different understandings of meditation practice, a difference often referred to as that between "self-power" and "other-power." "Other-power" refers to a reliance on the grace of a deity for the achievement of salvation, an idea characteristic of the Pure Land school. The idea behind this emphasis is that human beings are not strong enough to bring themselves to *nirvāṇa* through their own meditative practices. Paradoxically, an adherent of this school is advised to call on the name of the saving deity (Amitabha; Chin., Omituo Fo; Jpn., Amida) with an undivided mind, thus constituting a mantralike form of apophthegmatic practice. Meditation in the "other-power" schools tends toward the affective and cataphatic.

"Self-power" schools, like Chan (Jpn., Zen) Buddhism, are more austere and apophatic. The word *chan* is a transliteration of the Sanskrit term *dhyāna,* which means "meditation" or "contemplation." The Chan school emphasized "self-power" and sitting in formless meditation. Because of its exclusive emphasis on meditation, Chan developed an iconoclastic attitude toward other forms of religious observance. In Chan, personal enlightenment through intense meditation was the goal, and nothing was allowed to stand in the way of this pursuit, not even the religious and doctrinal trappings of Buddhism itself.

In Chan monasteries, meditation occupied a major part of the daily routine. Formal meditation usually took place in a separate building erected for the purpose and was supervised by a senior monk. Attention was paid to details of technique, including posture in the lotus position, with an erect spine, and the achievement of comfort and relaxation therein. Chan meditation focuses on the process of breathing, leading to a gradual withdrawal from external stimuli. A monk is instructed simply to observe the thoughts, feelings, and visions that may come into consciousness, and let them pass away of their own accord. When a monk is successful in detaching from both external and internal stimuli, the result is an experience of stillness and emptiness. This breaks up the tendency to identify with the body and mind and provides a new perspective on ordinary experience, marked by detachment, equanimity, and freedom from a sense of the ego as a reference point for experience. This is a realization beyond doctrine and beyond words themselves. The semilegendary founder of Chan in China, Bodhidharma, is said to have described Chan as "a special transmission outside the scriptures; no dependence on words and letters; direct pointing at the mind of man; seeing into one's own nature and the attainment of Buddhahood."

SEE ALSO Alphabets; Attention; Breath and Breathing; Dhikr; Eremitism; Mantra; Mudrā; Mystical Union in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam; Mysticism; Nianfo; Postures and Gestures; Samadhi; Via Negativa; Yantra; Yoga.

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MEGALITHIC RELIGION

This entry consists of the following articles:

PREHISTORIC EVIDENCE
HISTORICAL CULTURES

MEGALITHIC RELIGION: PREHISTORIC EVIDENCE

In Neolithic western Europe, large stones, or megaliths (from the Greek *megas*, "great," and *lithos*, "stone"), were used for construction of tombs, temples, rings, alignments, and stelae. The largest number of some fifty thousand megalithic monuments are in Spain and Portugal, France, Britain, southern Sweden, and northern Germany. The terms *megalithic culture* and *megalithic religion* have been applied to the massive stone monuments. However, neither a separate megalithic culture nor isolated megalithic religion existed. The culture that produced megalithic monuments was a part of the western European Neolithic and Aeneolithic (a transitional period between the Neolithic and Bronze ages). It consisted of a number of regional culture groups whose religion can be understood in the context of the gynecocentric Old European (i. e., pre-Indo-European) religion inherited from Upper Paleolithic times. Huge stones were used wherever they were readily available. Monumental architecture, motivated by religious ideas, emerged synchronically with the rise of a sedentary way of life.

Carbon-14 dating has established that western European megaliths were built over a span of at least three thousand years, from the fifth to the second millennium BCE. They were constructed earlier than the Egyptian pyramids and do not descend from forms in the Near East; the majority of archaeologists now believe that their development was indigenous. If there was any diffusion of ideas, it occurred along the seaboard and from the Atlantic coast toward the interior.

Megalithic structures fall into four main categories. The first is the temple, found in the Mediterranean islands of Malta and Gozo. Maltese temples have solid walls of very large stone slabs, and their floor plan has apses that recall the shape of a seated or standing goddess. The second and largest category of megalithic structures is the burial chamber, which is subdivided into dolmens (monuments of two or more upright stones supporting a horizontal slab), passage graves, court tombs, and gallery graves. Some passage graves are monumental buildings whose chambers have corbeled vaults; for example, Newgrange in the Boyne River valley, Ireland, which dates from 3200 to 3000 BCE, rises twenty feet above the ground. The third category is the single upright stone, or menhir (the word comes from the Welsh *maen*, "a stone," and *hir*, "long"). Some of the menhirs found in Brittany are as high as six meters. A special kind of menhir, called a statue menhir, is sculpted to represent a divinity. The fourth category consists of grouped standing stones, placed either in rows or in elliptical rings.

Archaeologists once assumed that these megalithic monuments had evolved from simple to more complex forms, but the new chronology shows that some very elaborate buildings predate the simple gallery graves.

Temples and tombs were built in the likeness of the Mother of the Dead or Mother Earth's pregnant belly or womb; this is the key to understanding megalithic structures and their floor plans. The idea that caves and caverns are natural manifestations of the primordial womb of the goddess is not Neolithic in origin; it goes back to the Paleolithic, when a cave's narrow passages, oval-shaped areas, clefts, and small cavities were marked or painted entirely in red, a color that must have symbolized the color of the mother's generative organs. The rock-cut tombs and hypogea of Malta, Sicily, and Sardinia are usually uterine, egg-shaped, or roughly anthropomorphic. Red soil is found under each temple of Malta.

In western Europe, the body of the goddess is magnificently realized as the megalithic tomb. The so-called cruciform and double-oval tombs, as well as Maltese temples, are unmistakably human in shape. Some monuments replicate the ample contours of figurines of the pregnant goddess.

The earliest form of the grandiose chamber tombs is the passage grave, which consists of a corridor and principal chamber. The natural cave, with its connotations of the goddess's womb (vagina and uterus), was probably the inspiration for the aboveground monumental structures that were erected later. The basic form of the passage grave—a shorter or longer passage and a round, corbel-roofed chamber—dates from the fifth millennium BCE in Portugal, Spain, and Brittany.

The interior structures of many Neolithic court tombs found in Ireland are outlined in a clearly anthropomorphic form. In addition to a large abdomen and head, some structures have legs and even eyes. The term *court cairns* or *court tombs* comes from the semicircular entrance, built with large stones, that characterize these structures. In many instances, the court and one or more chambers attached to the middle of the edifice are all that remain of the cairn (De Valera, 1960, pls. ii-xxx). However, better-preserved examples show that the court marks the inner contour of the anthropomorphic figure's open legs; the chambers or a corridorlike structure next to it, which leads into the very center of the mound, represents the vagina and uterus. The same symbolism is manifested in different areas and periods. The Sardinian *tombe di giganti* of the third and second millennia BCE, consisting of a long chamber entered through the center of a semicircular facade, do not differ in symbolism from the Irish court tombs.

The other type of grave is a long barrow whose shape resembles that of a bone, a symbol of death. Like the court tombs, this type of grave has an entrance at the front that leads into an anthropomorphic or uterus-shaped chamber.

Megalithic monuments were built to be seen. Careful excavations and reconstructions have shown that much attention was paid to their outer walls and facades. For example, a reconstruction of a monument at Barnenez, Brittany, dating from the fifth millennium BCE (Giot, 1980), revealed a concentric series of walls with the upper parts of the internal walls visible. Another great structure, dating from the first half of the third millennium BCE, was reconstructed at Silbury, Wiltshire, in southwestern England (Dames, 1976). Later excavations revealed that there were once wooden structures on top and beside the megalithic monuments that were just as important as the monuments. Postholes (indicating the presence of structures) have been observed in low barrows in Brittany, Britain, and Denmark. Traces of a timber facade, a porch at the front end of the barrow, and palisade enclosures have also been discovered (Madsen, 1979). The exquisite decoration in bas-relief on stones at entrances (as at Newgrange) implies that ceremonies took place in front of the cairns. Settlement debris in Irish court cairns has led some scholars to believe that chambered tombs and long barrows should be considered not burial places but shrines. However, excavations of megalithic chambers over the past two centuries have revealed skeletons, suggesting that the monuments served as repositories and were used collectively by the community. Some tombs have yielded as many as 350 disarticulated skeletons; others contain only 5 to 20 skeletons, discovered in compartments where they were placed after the flesh had decayed. In a few instances, skulls were found stacked carefully in corners.

Long cairns in Britain have yielded so-called mortuary houses, which were constructed of timber or stone and had plank floors. The rectangular mortuary houses found at Lochhill and Slewcairn contained three pits; the central one had two posts while the end pits held large split tree trunks (Masters, in Renfrew, 1981, p. 103). Mortuary houses are also known from Denmark (Becker, in Daniel and Kjaerum, 1973, pp. 75–80; Madsen, 1979). These mortuary buildings yielded deposits of charcoal, dark soil, cremated bone, an occasional child's skull, and flint tools, indicative of rituals including sacrifices. It seems that megalithic structures and long barrows, not unlike Christian cathedrals and churches, served as shrines and ossuaries. No doubt the large monuments, exquisitely built and engraved with symbols on curbstones and on inner walls, such as those at Knowth and Newgrange (O'Kelly, 1983), Ireland, and Gavrinis, Brittany, were sacred places where funeral, calendrical, and initiation rites took place. These monuments should be called not "tombs" but rather "tomb-shrines." The egg-shaped mound that covers the tomb-shrine of Newgrange is sprinkled with white quartz and looks like a huge egg-shaped dome. Probably it was meant to represent a gigantic cosmic egg, the womb of the world.

It is very likely that not all rituals were connected with death of humans and of all nature; some may have been initiation rites. Typically, the entrances to the tombs are narrow, resembling vulvas. One enters the mortuary house by either crawling or crouching along a narrow passage of stone. A wall of large curbstones, forming a forecourt, supports the mouth of the passage entrance on both sides. The structure may be a replica of the narrow and difficult entry into the mother goddess's womb.

In megalithic gallery graves of France, Switzerland, and the Funnel-necked Beaker culture in Germany, partition walls sometimes have round holes. Their meaning is apparent if the still-extant veneration of stones with holes is considered; belief in the miraculous power of holed stones is still found in Ireland, Scotland, England, France, and in many other European countries. Trees with holes play a related role. By crawling through the aperture of a stone or tree, a person is symbolically crawling into Mother Earth's womb and giving oneself to her. Strengthened by the goddess's powers, he or she is reborn. The crawling constitutes an initiation rite and is similar to sleeping in a cave, that is, "sleeping with the mother," which means to die and to be resurrected. Well-known sculptures of sleeping women from the Hal Saflieni hypogeum in Malta, dating from approximately 3000 BCE, most likely represent such an initiation rite.

The pregnant mother's (or earth mother's) generative potential is emphasized by the symbol of a mound and omphalos (navel), which is found engraved or in bas-relief on stone slabs. For example, relief engravings completely cover the surface of twenty-three erect slabs within the passage grave of Gavrinis, rendering an overall impression of symbolic unity. This sanctuary, one of the richest megalithic monuments in Brittany, is situated on a small island in the Gulf of Morbihan. The extensive use of wavy and concentric arc motifs is in harmony with the monument's aqueous environment. The dominant symbol found in this sanctuary is the concentric semicircle, interconnected with or surrounded by multiple wavy lines and serpentine forms. Several slabs are decorated with concentric arcs, piled one on top of the other in vertical columns. The arcs in the center are larger than the rest and have an omphalos-like protrusion. In my opinion, this image is a glyph of the goddess's rising generative force. Emphasis is on the anthropomorphic vulva or cervix sign in the center. (For other illustrations, see Twohig, 1981, pp. 172–175.)

Symbolically related to the passage grave of Gavrinis is the roughly triangular backstone of a passage grave from La Table des Marchands in Brittany. It has a vulva at its center, flanked by energy signs—four rows of hooks—meant to stimulate the life source. This symbolism is similar to that found on ancient Greek vases, in which the young goddess (Semele, Gaia) is depicted within an artificial mound surrounded by satyrs, goatmen, and Dionysos, who stimulate her generative powers. On other passage-grave slabs, the symbol of an artificial mound surmounted by a knob is surrounded by axes, another energy symbol, or in association with serpentine lines or snakes and footprints. Still other engravings of the same image (called a "buckler" in the archaeological literature, where it has been seriously misunderstood) show wavy lines emanating from the upper part, which may signify the resurgence of plant life. The beehive-shaped chamber, topped with a flat stone, found in passage graves appears to be a pregnant belly and an omphalos. The so-called buckler sign replicates the same idea in an engraving.

In his analysis of the Silbury Hill monument, Michael Dames shows that in Neolithic Britain the hill functioned as a metaphor for the goddess's pregnant belly (Dames, 1976). The entire structure forms an image of the goddess: the hill is her belly, the ditch forms the rest of her body in a seated or squatting position. The circular summit of Silbury Hill is the goddess's navel, or omphalos, in which her life-producing power is concentrated. Veneration of sacred hills was found in Europe until the twentieth century. Worship of the earth mother was celebrated on mountain summits crowned with large stones.

The second deity associated with the symbolism of the megalithic monuments is the goddess of death and regeneration in the guise of a bird of prey, usually an owl. Her image is engraved or modeled on statue menhirs, slabs of passage and gallery graves, and on walls of subterranean tombs. She herself, her eyes, or her signs appear also on schist plaques, phalanges (bones of toes or fingers), and stone cylinders laid in graves.

The characteristic features of the owl—round eyes and hooked beak—can be seen on the statue menhirs of southern France and Iberia, as well as in reliefs and charcoal drawings in the hypogea of the Paris Basin. The face is frequently schematized as a T shape or depicted with only eyes and brows or with a square head, surrounded by chevrons, in the center of the forehead. On the slabs of gallery graves of Brittany, only breasts and necklaces are shown in relief as *pars pro toto* of the owl goddess. The images of the owl goddess on schist plaques in the passage graves of Portugal have a prominent nose or beak, schematized arms, three horizontal lines or bands across the cheeks, occasional indications of a vulva, and a chevron design on the back. The goddess's owl face appears on a very fine sculpture discovered at Knowth West, Ireland. Her visage is immersed in a labyrinthine design probably symbolic of the life source or life-giving waters; a vulva is in the center. Images of the owl goddess on vases from Almería in Spain are at times associated with a honeycomb design—a maze of Vs, triangles, and lozenges.

The symbols associated with the owl goddess—wavy lines, hatched or zigzag band, net, labyrinth, meander, honeycomb, tri-line, hook, ax—all seem to be life-source, energy, or life-stimulating signs. Their association with the owl goddess emphasizes regeneration as an essential component of her personality. The agony of death is nowhere perceptible in this symbolism.

The round eyes of the owl goddess stare from bone phalanges and stone cylinders deposited in megalithic tombs in Spain and Portugal. The eyes and brows are incised in the upper part of the bone or stone cylinder and are surrounded by chevrons, triangles, zigzags, and nets. Again, the symbols of death (bones, light-colored stone) are combined with aquatic, life-source symbolism.

The goddess's impressive, divine eyes gave rise to one of her names, which came into use after the publication of *The Eye Goddess* by O. G. S. Crawford in 1957. The goddess of the title was said to have originated in the Near East, her cult then diffusing across the Mediterranean to western Europe. Indeed, the resemblance of figurines from the temple of Tell Brak, eastern Syria (c. 3500 BCE), with their staring eyes and brows joined over the beak, to the stone idols of Spain and Portugal with their oculi motif is astonishing. The similarity, however, most probably resulted from a universally held symbolic concept of divine eyes, from which western variants developed. The western European eye goddess dates from the fifth and fourth millennia BCE (in Crawford's day considered to be the third and second millennia BCE). She has close parallels in southeastern Europe and certainly cannot be an imported goddess.

Small stone hourglass figurines, sometimes with triangular heads, are frequently found in Iberian megalithic tombs of the Los Millares type, dating from the end of the fourth or early third millennium BCE. Hourglass figures also are painted on Neolithic cave walls in Spain and are engraved on stones of Irish passage graves. The shape may have originated as a doubling of the pubic triangle (vulva) sign, connected at the tip. In Sardinian hypogea, vulva and hourglass signs are interchanged. Engraved triangles and hourglass shapes also appear to be associated on Irish megaliths. Not infrequently, hourglass symbols are engraved in triunes or next to three encircled round holes, as on Curbstone 52 from Newgrange. The number three may reflect the triple nature of the goddess. In vase painting, the hourglass sign appears in association with nets, serpentiforms, and snake meanders, which link this symbol with the life source and water of life symbolism. Bird feet or claws that appear attached to some hourglass figures on vases of the Cucuteni culture (northeastern Romania and western Ukraine) and of the Sardinian Ozieri culture speak for the association with the bird-of-prey goddess. The hourglass shape itself may symbolize an incipient form of life in which the goddess of death and regeneration emerges from graves or caves. This sign is related to the butterfly, a horizontal hourglass and symbol of new life. The origins of the goddess's image as a bird of prey are rooted in the Paleolithic, as is documented by portrayals of owls in Upper Paleolithic caves and by the large birds and wing bones of large fowl found in Paleolithic graves.

Disarticulated skeletons and skulls in megalithic tombs are proof that excarnation was practiced. Corpses were offered to the goddess, who was embodied in birds of prey. This practice is illustrated in frescoes of vulture shrines of Çatal Hüyük, central Anatolia. Large birds were also buried in megalithic tombs, probably as sacrifices to the goddess. Excavations have uncovered a large deposit in a chambered tomb at Isbister in Orkney, Scotland. The greatest number of bones came from the white-tailed eagle. Others were from short-eared owls, great black-backed gulls, rooks or crows, and ravens (Hedges, 1983). All these birds feed on carrion.

Geometric engravings on Irish megaliths—crescents, circles, and concentric circles; serpentiforms or zigzags with thirteen to seventeen turnings (the number of the moon's waxing days); subdivisions into four, six, or eight and twelve—suggest a preoccupation with the cycles of time. The involvement of the goddess in configurations of cycles of nature and human life is certain. She must have been the overseer and controller of life and moon cycles.

Many western European tomb-shrines have been constructed so that the entrances align with the winter solstice. The alignment of tomb entrances according to the moon's position at the winter solstice suggests the importance of lunar influences on burial customs and suggests the association with the lunar goddess, who was a cosmic regenerator. These monuments were not built to serve as lunar or solar observatories, as claimed by A. Thom (1979) and other scientists writing on the importance of megalithic astronomy. Rather, their orientation according to lunar and solar phases served essentially for the regeneration of life. Rebirth was in the power of the goddess. In megalithic symbolic art we see the link between the time-measuring symbols and the symbols of her regenerative power, between sundials and divine eyes, and between the gnomon and the cupmark, symbols of the life source and rebirth. Other associated symbols are expressions of regenerative aquatic or plant forces.

Ceremonial ships are engraved on inner tomb walls in megalithic tombs in Brittany and Ireland. All depictions of ships are highly abstracted; some are just a row of vertical lines connected by a bar at the bottom. However, frequently there is a zoomorphic or spiral head, probably that of a serpent, on the keel. Sometimes an abstracted image of the goddess is shown being pulled by what may be a snake or ship. If the ship and serpent are interchangeable symbols (as they are on Egyptian artifacts and on Scandinavian rocks from the Bronze Age), then many winding serpents engraved on tomb walls are life-renewal symbols. Perhaps it is not accidental that some of the winding snakes a and zigzags in Knowth and Newgrange are joined to a triangle or lozenge (two triangles joined at their bases), the special signs of the goddess of death and regeneration, just as the feet of the birds of prey are attached to the prow of the ship on Cycladic platters dating from the middle of the third millennium BCE.

Folk stories associate megalithic tombs with fearsome goddesses, such as the goddess Gráinne, the Old Hag of Celtic myths (Burl, 1981, p. 66). The original meaning of *Gráinne* is "ugliness." Some cairns are said to be composed of stones dropped from the apron of the Old Hag. At least forty chambered tombs in Ireland are nicknamed "Diarmaid and Gráinne's Bed." The passage grave at Knockmany, County Tyrone, is called "Annia's Cave," a reference to the home of the hag Anu, guardian of the dead. Breast-shaped hills in County Kerry, Ireland, are still called the "Paps of Anu." Anu is related to the Breton goddess Ankou ("death") and to other death goddesses with similar names (such as the Slavic *Yaga*, from **Enga*; the Proto-Samoyed **Nga*; the Near Eastern *Anat*, etc.). Thus the lunar goddess represented in figurines as the White Lady, or Death, is still alive in folk memories.

In sum, the art of the megalithic monuments reveals the association with the two aspects of the prehistoric Great Goddess, the chthonic and the lunar. The underlying idea of the ground plan and shape of the monuments was the belief in the self-creating Mother Earth who was also the Mother of the Dead. The sculptures (figurines and stelae), bas-reliefs, and engravings represent the lunar goddess in an anthropomorphic shape as White Lady (Old Hag) and in the guise of a bird of prey, usually the owl. This second aspect is the other side (the side associated with necrosis, night, and winter) of the life giver in anthropomorphic or water-bird shape.

SEE ALSO Feminine Sacrality; Goddess Worship; Prehistoric Religions, article on Old Europe; Stones.

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MEGALITHIC RELIGION: HISTORICAL CULTURES

Megaliths are simply monuments built of large stones. In Southeast Asia and Oceania, a variety of megaliths are found, some thousands of years old, others brand new. Early studies of these structures viewed them primarily in the context of theories suggesting prehistoric migrations of megalith builders. In 1928 the eminent Austrian archaeologist Robert Heine-Geldern wrote the first of a series of influential articles, in which he argued that megaliths were created during two great waves of prehistoric migrations into Southeast Asia. The first group, the "Older Megalithic Culture," was thought to have ushered in the Neolithic age, while the second, the "Younger Megalithic Culture," was credited with the introduction of metal.

Heine-Geldern's view of megaliths as stepping-stones by which archaeologists could trace prehistoric migrations dominated Southeast Asian archaeology for many years, giving rise to extensive debates on the "problem of megaliths." In the past few decades, however, fresh waves of archaeologists, equipped with superior tool kits for prehistoric research, have passed over the territory first explored by Heine-Geldern. As the picture of prehistoric Southeast Asia became clearer, Heine-Geldern's theory of migratory megalith builders had to be abandoned. Several prominent archaeologists subsequently issued a joint statement, for the benefit of those who might not have kept up with the current state of archaeological research, that “the label ‘megalithic culture’ cannot reasonably be applied to any of the phases or levels of social integration recognizable in the recent or prehistoric past of South East Asia” (Smith and Watson, 1979, p. 253). In the wake of the reaction against comprehensive theories linking megaliths to prehistoric migrations, little effort has been made to sort out the historical relationships among the various builders of megaliths in Southeast Asia and the Pacific. But, as we shall see, megaliths play an important role among many societies in the region, particularly those which share a common Austronesian cultural heritage. As Peter Bellwood, a leading authority on Pacific prehistory, observed recently, “The wide occurrence of megalithic monuments and statues in Oceania suggests that their origins may go very deep into the Austronesian past, possibly at least into the first millennium B.C.” (Bellwood, 1978, p. 226).

Many types of megaliths are found in the Indo-Pacific region, including menhirs (erect stones), dolmens (flat stones resting on two stone pillars), stone seats, stepped stone pyramids, and various types of stone tombs and sarcophagi. Active megalithic traditions exist today on several Indonesian islands, possibly related to megalithic customs still found among hill tribes of Northeast India such as the Nagas. In Southeast Asia, the most elaborate and well-documented megalithic traditions are found on the island of Nias, which lies about seventy miles off the northwest coast of Sumatra. In Nias, stones were put to many uses, foremost among them being the large menhirs and dolmens erected as monuments to chiefs.

In 1907 a Dutch colonial administrator, E. E. W. G. Schröder, photographed the erection of a dolmen as a monument for a chieftain who had died the previous year. A rectangular stone forty centimeters thick, three and one-half meters long, and two meters wide was dragged by means of logrollers from a quarry to the summit of a hilltop village, a distance of about two kilometers. There it was set on two stone pillars outside the former chief’s house as a monument to his glory and as a home for his spirit, whenever the chief might choose to visit the village. The project was organized by his son and successor, who mobilized 525 kinsmen and allies to transport the stone. Schröder’s dramatic photographs show the chief’s son atop the stone as it is being dragged uphill; he is wearing a warrior’s costume and waving his sword.

Such megaliths, called *darodaro*, were personal monuments erected about a year after the death of a chief by his kinsmen and allies. Often the chief’s skull was placed in a niche in the *darodaro*, along with his sword and other regalia. The larger the *darodaro*, and the more people who participated in dragging the stone and celebrating the funeral feast, the greater the chief. The same logic also applied to a second type of megalith erected in honor of chiefs, the *batu nitaru’o*, which was an upright stone or menhir placed in front of a living chief’s house. The erection of such monuments were important political events, with roots in the fundamental structure of Niasian chiefdoms. Niasian society was divided into patrilineal descent groups, and rank order within each lineage was determined by a cycle of feasts. Every adult male had to give the first six feasts in the cycle. But the “heads” (*ulu*) of lineage branches had to give up to six additional feasts, each more elaborate than the last. Each man would invite to his feasts his personal *öri* (“circle”)—a circle of kinsmen, friends, and allies linked by marriage ties or reciprocal feasting. The supreme feast, given only by lineage heads, drew together an *öri* of several lineages and villages, and established the boundaries of a chiefdom: a chiefdom was nothing more than the *öri* of a chief. This supreme feast was called the *batu nitaru’o ba wa’ulu* (“chief’s feast of the *nitaru’o* stone”). The larger the stone, the more people belonging to the chief’s *öri* who participated, the greater the chief. Political authority was not vested automatically in a man born as a lineage head; it had to be demonstrated through the feast cycle. The *öri* of the chief whose funeral Schröder photographed included sixteen villages.

In addition to the chief’s monuments, Niasians also erected smaller megaliths for a variety of purposes related to their belief that stones provided temporary shrines for various spirits. Each village had its *batu banuwa* (village stone) celebrating the origin of the village. Childless women, especially those of high rank, were considered likely to become dangerous ghosts. So they were often provided after their deaths with small *darodaro* in case they should visit the village. Schröder, who spent several years exploring the island in the first decade of this century, recorded a wide variety of megaliths in different villages. In one village, stones had been placed near a bathing place “for the spirits to dry their clothes.” In another, he found stone seats with footprints below for childless women, because “she who dies without children leaves no footprints on the earth.”

The advent of Christianity brought an end to most of the megalithic customs of Nias in the past few decades, but on the island of Sumba three thousand kilometers to the southeast, megaliths even larger than those of Nias continue to be erected in honor of important chiefs. On Sumba, there is no parallel to the Niasian *batu nitaru’o* (the stones erected by living chiefs), but the death of a chief calls for the erection of a stone sarcophagus reminiscent of the *darodaro*. Like the Niasians, the Sumbanese usually build their villages on hilltops, and the center of the village is dominated by an array of these megaliths, which may weigh as much as thirty tons. Stones (*ondi*) are cut from native limestone, and placed atop a wooden platform (*tena*) which the Sumbanese liken to a ship, complete with a figurehead in the shape of a horse’s head. Dragging the stone to the village may take weeks and call for the efforts of several hundred men. As in Nias, a chief (*rato*) stands on the stone and gives directions. Stone dragging is dangerous, and responsibility for managing things so that the stone does not slip and kill or injure someone rests with the chief. Every day, numbers of water buffalo and pigs must be slaughtered to feed the whole party.

As in Nias, Sumbanese social organization is based on alliances between clans, and the strength of an alliance is demonstrated by the number of allies who arrive to participate in the megalithic funeral, bringing gifts of water buffalo and pigs. As many as a hundred buffalo and pigs may be slaughtered for a major funeral, their horns and jawbones later tied to the chief's house as mementos of the feast. The more such trophies, and the larger the stone slab, the greater the chief. At the conclusion of the funeral, the chief's body is placed in the tomb and his favorite horse is killed so that the horse's spirit may lead him to the spirit world.

A different sort of megalithic tradition is found on the island of Bali, a tradition nicely exemplified by a chance discovery made in 1935 by the first archaeologist to work in Bali, William F. Stutterheim. Near a spring sacred to the early Hindu kings of Bali, he found a stone with a weather-worn inscription.

> None of the Balinese could decipher the old engraved letters, nor were the contents of the inscription known to anyone. The stone stood there, as every villager of Manukaya knew it from childhood, wrapped in a white cloth and provided with regular offerings. I was told, however, that on the fourth moon of every year, at full moon, this stone (which is also said to have fallen from the sky) is carried to the holy waters of Tirta Mpul and bathed therein—much to the detriment of the stone, by the way, which is a big slab of soft grey tufa covered as usual with a thin layer of cement. Deciphering the inscription, I found that it was none other than the charter of Tirta Mpul's foundation, made in the fourth month, at full-moon day, in the year 962 A.D. Thus the people have kept alive the connection between the stone and the watering place for a thousand years, and have always celebrated its anniversary on the correct day, but of the true meaning of this connection every recollection was lost. (Stutterheim, 1935, p. 7)

Bali is now famous as the last surviving Hindu-Buddhist civilization of Indonesia. But the stone of Manukaya draws our attention to deeper, pre-Hindu roots of Balinese religion. Although the Balinese worship Hindu gods, they do so in temples that resemble ancient Polynesian *marae* much more than traditional Indian temples. Balinese temples, like Polynesian *marae*, are basically rectangular walled courtyards open to the sky, with a row of menhirlike shrines at one end. While the Balinese shrines may be much more elaborate than those typical of Polynesia, occasionally replacing stone with wood, the two types of shrines perform the same function of providing a temporary resting-place for visiting spirits of gods or ancestors. Both Balinese and Polynesians believe that the gods are not continuously present, but temporary, invisible visitors who like to alight in menhirs or similar objects for brief visits. Even the details of worship are often quite similar—both Balinese and ancient Polynesians wrapped cloths around the stones for important festivals. Unlike the Balinese, but very much in the spirit of the Niasians and Sumbanese, the ancient Polynesians buried important chiefs within their temples, and sometimes consecrated them with human sacrifices.

The largest Polynesian *marae* were stepped stone pyramids, of which the greatest was the *marae* of Mahaiatea in Tahiti (now destroyed). Mahaiatea was a rectangular pyramid of eleven steps, with a base measuring eighty-one meters by twenty-two meters. Similar structures were once common in Bali, such as the village temple (Pura Desa) of the village of Sembiran, although in Bali such pyramids may be interpreted in a Hindu idiom as *prasada* ("cosmic mountain").

We have noted several common uses for megaliths in the Indo-Pacific region—as tombs and monuments to the power of chiefs, and as temporary shrines or resting-places for ancestral spirits and gods. In Polynesia, we encounter also a different type of megalith, the importance of which is only beginning to be recognized—navigational "sighting stones." These stones, which are found on several islands, appear to have served three related purposes: as markers to align beacons (watch fires?) for ships sailing to neighboring islands; as the centers of navigational schools where students could learn the movements of useful stars by watching star after star appear at a particular point on the horizon marked by a stone, according to the seasons; and as timekeeping devices, predicting the position of sunrise and sunset at the solstices. For example, on the island of Arorae, in the Kiribati (Gilbert Islands), nine stones at the northernmost tip of the island point accurately toward three neighboring islands. Each stone points about five degrees out, perhaps to allow for the drift caused by the equatorial current in different seasons. Although no longer in active use, these megalithic "sighting stones" may have played an important role in prehistoric Pacific voyaging. Much remains to be learned about the functions of these stones and the other megaliths of the Indo-Pacific.

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MEHER BABA (1894–1969), born Merwan Sheriar Irani, was a spiritual master who declared himself the avatar (descent of God into human form) of this age. Beginning in 1925 he observed silence for the rest of his life, communicating at first by pointing at letters on an alphabet board and later through hand gestures. Meher Baba (Compassionate Father) stated that his silence and the breaking of his silence would bring about a universal transformation of consciousness through a release of divine love in the world.

Meher Baba was born on February 25, 1894, in Pune, India, into a Zoroastrian family of Persian descent. In 1913, while attending Deccan College, he met the first of five "perfect masters" (fully enlightened or God-realized individuals), who made him aware of his identity as avatar. Stating that he had come "not to teach but to awaken," Meher Baba demonstrated the essential oneness of all life through acts of love and service. Throughout his life he served the poor, the physically and mentally ill, the "God-intoxicated" aspirants whom he called *masts,* and others in need. He indicated that his outer activities were symbolic of the inner awakening that constituted his real work. Giving no importance to the divisions of caste or creed, he drew followers from many faiths and social classes.

In the early days of his mission, Meher Baba forewarned his disciples that his "universal work" would require of him great suffering, including the shedding of his blood on American and Indian soil. Outwardly, the suffering took the form of two automobile accidents, the first in the United States (1952) and the second in India (1956). In one the entire left side on his body was injured, and in the other the entire right side was severely damaged. In spite of his suffering, Meher Baba gave *darshan* (personal blessing) to thousands of people during the 1950s and early 1960s.

Since his death (the "dropping of his body") on January 31, 1969, Meher Baba's worldwide following has grown modestly in the West, especially in the United States, Europe, and Australia, judging by the number of people attending gatherings devoted to Meher Baba in those countries. More rapid growth has taken place in India. It is difficult to calculate the precise number of followers around the world because there is no formal membership or central authority. Many Meher Baba devotees remain active participants in the world's major religious traditions. Nevertheless, a variety of organizations have been founded in his name in the West and East to spread his message of divine love and the oneness of all life.

Meher Baba's followers (often called "Baba lovers") attempt to heed his wish to found no new religion or sect by resisting efforts to impose any one creed or interpretation of his writings. They feel themselves to be in an individual lover-beloved relationship with Meher Baba, believing that he inwardly guides them in their spiritual journey to eliminate the ego (false self) and to realize God as the "true Self." Many of his followers gather informally in groups to share experiences of his love and guidance and to discuss his life and work.

Among Meher Baba's close circle of companions, Mehera J. Irani was his chief woman disciple, a role Meher Baba compared to that of Sītā for Rāma and Rādhā for Kṛṣṇa. During Meher Baba's lifetime, Mehera was strictly cloistered from the outside world. After his death, Mehera played a more public role, greeting pilgrims and sharing stories of her life with Meher Baba. Mehera passed away on May 20, 1989, and is buried next to Meher Baba at Meherabad, near Ahmednagar, India.

Two sites associated with Meher Baba's life have become places of pilgrimage for his followers. The most important is his tomb shrine at Meherabad, where tens of thousands of devotees gather every January 31 to commemorate the day Meher Baba left his physical body. Meherabad is also the site of a free school, medical clinic, hospital, and other institutions established at Meher Baba's directive to serve those in need. The other place of pilgrimage is Meher Spiritual Center in Myrtle Beach, South Carolina, where Meher Baba stayed during his three visits to the United States in the 1950s. This center is now a place of spiritual renewal and retreat for thousands of people each year.

See Also Indian Philosophies; New Religious Movements, articles on New Religious Movements in Europe, New Religious Movements in the United States.

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ME˒IR

ME˒IR (second century CE), Palestinian tanna. According to legend, Me˒ir was descended from a family of proselytes that traced its line back to the Roman emperor Nero. He allegedly studied with both ˓Aqiva˒ ben Yosef and Yishma˓e˒l. Me˒ir was one of the five rabbis secretly ordained by Yehudah ben Bava˒ during the Hadrianic persecutions that followed the collapse of the Bar Kokhba Revolt (c. 132–135 CE), and he was one of the seven disciples of ˓Aqiva˒ who issued a famous edict concerning the intercalation of the year that was crucial to the maintenance of the Jewish festivals.

Me˒ir is associated with Elisha˓ ben Avuyah, a heretic also known as Aḥer, "the Other." Some rabbinic sources depict Me˒ir as a sometime student of Elisha˓ (B.T., *Ḥag.* 15a).

The tomb of the legendary Me˒ir Ba˓al ha-Nes in Tiberias, a famous place of pilgrimage, is identified in some accounts as the burial place of Me˒ir. Other Talmudic traditions suggest that Me˒ir died in self-imposed exile in Asia Minor, where, at his request, he was buried beside the sea so that he could be near the waters that wash up on the shores of the Land of Israel (J.T., *Kil.* 9.4, 32c).

Me˒ir is prominently linked to the major rabbinic legislative and political activities of his generation. He served as the *ḥakham* ("sage") of the revived Sanhedrin that met at Usha in the Galilee. His ability to defend both sides of opposing legal viewpoints was greatly extolled. Ultimately, his opposition to the authority of the *nasi˒* Shim˓on ben Gamli˒el was the basis for his exile from Israel.

Legal rulings ascribed to Me˒ir make up an important part of the earliest rabbinic compilations, the Mishnah and the Tosefta. The Talmud states that all anonymous rulings in the Mishnah are to be attributed to Me˒ir. Epstein (1957) believes that the corpus of his teachings was one of the primary documents used in the redaction of the Mishnah. Since the laws in the Mishnah form the basis for much of Talmudic and later rabbinic thought and practice, it is fair to say that Me˒ir is one of the most influential classical rabbinic figures.

Me˒ir's dicta deal with most of the central values of rabbinic Judaism; he placed extreme emphasis on the study of Torah and strongly castigated the unlettered. One tradition attributed to him indicates his understanding of rabbinic ritual as a coherent system of practice that demanded punctilious observance: "Rabbi Me˒ir used to say, 'There is no man in Israel who does not perform one hundred commandments each day [and recite over them one hundred blessings]. . . . And there is no man in Israel who is not surrounded by [reminders of the] commandments: [Every person wears] phylacteries on his head, phylacteries on his arm, has a *mezuzah* on his doorpost and four fringes on his garment around him'" (Tosefta, *Ber.* 6.24–25). Many Midrashic teachings and several fables are also attributed to Me˒ir.

SEE ALSO Tannaim.

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ME˒IR BEN BARUKH OF ROTHENBURG

ME˒IR BEN BARUKH OF ROTHENBURG (c. 1220–1293), known by the acronym MaHaRaM (Morenu ha-Rav Me˒ir ["our teacher, Rabbi Me˒ir"]); German Talmudist, authority on rabbinic law, and communal leader. Me˒ir's early years were spent studying under Yitsḥaq ben Mosheh of Vienna and Yeḥi˒el of Paris; he witnessed the famous Paris disputation of 1240 and saw the Talmud burned publicly in 1242. Eventually he settled in Rothenburg and with the passing years was universally recognized by contemporaries as the greatest of Ashkenazic rabbis. With the increasingly precarious situation of German Jewry in the latter decades of the thirteenth century, culminating in Rudolph I's imposition of the status of *servi camerae* ("servants of the chamber") on all Jews and, in 1286, his confiscation of the properties of Jews who left his domain, many fled. Me˒ir himself was apprehended in Lombardy in an attempt to flee Germany and was imprisoned—possibly because of his role as a leader of the mass exodus. He remained in prison for the rest of his life, mostly in Ensisheim Castle in Alsace. Communal efforts to ransom the master never succeeded and, indeed, it was not until 1307 that his body was released for burial in exchange for a huge sum. In the sixteenth century Shelomoh Luria cited a tradition that Meʾir himself forbade payment of the exorbitant price, and Irving Agus has further claimed that the crux of the matter was its nature—was it to be ransom or tax? In these interpretations, Meʾir becomes a martyr for Jewish law and the integrity of the community. Sources contemporary with events more soberly indicate that Meʾir died in the course of protracted negotiations for his release.

Meʾir's preeminence is indicated by the express statements of his contemporaries, the scope and quantity of his *responsa,* and his impact on subsequent halakhic history. Though it is unlikely that Meʾir was ever officially appointed chief rabbi of Germany, he undoubtedly fulfilled that function. Close to one thousand of his *responsa* have been preserved, a number far exceeding the combined mass of all other tosafist *responsa.* On the whole, Meʾir avoids prolix discussions, combining care and decisiveness in his writing. Acknowledging fully the authority of the Talmud, he maintains an independent stance in relation to his contemporaries, even when their rabbinical posture is allied with communal and economic power. About one hundred of his *responsa* deal with community governance and organization. These texts are of great significance; they provide invaluable data on the social history of the period and offer substantial insight into Meʾir's political ideology. In general, Meʾir walks a thin line between the protection of individual rights and the need to give the community the legal weapons necessary for its survival and well-being.

In addition to his *responsa,* Meʾir wrote and edited *tosafot* ("additions") to many tractates of the Talmud; during his latter years in prison he was allowed access to some books and could be visited by students. His habits were noted and recorded by his students, who became the rabbinic leaders of the next generation. Meʾir's magisterial figure is prominent in subsequent Ashkenazic rabbinic development, and many of the decisions and customs recorded in Mosheh Isserles's glosses to the *Shulḥan ʿarukh,* authoritative for Ashkenazic Jews, derive from his work.

SEE ALSO Judaism, article on Judaism in Northern and Eastern Europe to 1500; Tosafot.

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MEISTER ECKHART SEE ECKHART, JOHANNES

MELANCHTHON, PHILIPP (1497–1560), born Philipp Schwartzerd; German theologian and major sixteenth-century reformer, writer of Protestantism's first systematic theology, organizer of the Protestant public school system, and author of two statements of Lutheran belief: the Augsburg Confession and its apology. Although he was a close friend of Martin Luther for twenty-eight years, his humanism and stance on nonessentials brought charges of corrupting Lutheranism.

Born in Bretten, Germany, and orphaned at ten, Melanchthon received tutoring from his grandfather John Reuter and the linguist John Unger. He attended the Pforzheim Latin School where his granduncle John Reuchlin, the Hebraic scholar and humanist, supervised him for two years. For achievement in Latin and Greek, Reuchlin named his nephew Melanchthon—Greek for Schwartzerd, meaning "black earth." He entered Heidelberg University in 1509, at the age of twelve, and was awarded the B.A. in 1511 but was rejected as too young to pursue the M.A. At Tübingen University he received the M.A. in 1514, edited for Thomas Anshelm's press, and published translations of Plutarch, Pythagoras, and Lycidas, comedies of Terence in verse, and his popular *Rudiments of the Greek Language* (1518). Called in 1518 to teach Greek at Wittenberg University, Melanchthon became Luther's lifelong colleague. While teaching, he studied theology and earned a bachelor's degree in 1519, his only theological degree. Thenceforth, Melanchthon taught classics and theology. In 1530 he married Katherine Krapp, who bore him four children.

In 1521 Melanchthon's *Loci communes rerum theologicarum* appeared, Protestantism's first systematic theology, which was highly lauded by Luther. It dealt with basic Reformation tenets on sin, law, and grace, and went through many enlarged editions. Besides maintaining an extensive correspondence, Melanchthon produced classical treatises, translations, commentaries, theological works, and numerous textbooks. He was called Germany's preceptor for reorganizing numerous schools and universities. The Augsburg Confession (1530), Lutheranism's basic statement of faith, was conciliatory toward Roman Catholicism without sacrificing evangelical views; the *Apology for the Augsburg Confession* (1531) was boldly assertive. Melanchthon encountered criticism when in the *Variata* of 1540 he changed the Augsburg Confession to allow a Calvinistic interpretation of the Eucharist. His ecumenical efforts brought temporary unity between Martin Bucer and Luther in 1536 on the real eucharistic presence of Christ. However, his irenic agreement with Cardinal Contarini on justification was rejected by Luther and the papacy. Fearful of antinomianism, Melanchthon, with Luther's support, insisted that good works follow faith, but this view seemed too Roman Catholic for some critics. Melanchthon's contention that the Word, the Holy Spirit, and the consenting human will have a part in conversion evoked charges of synergism—cooperation between God and man. Melanchthon was accused by many of being too humanistic, though not by Luther.

Following Luther's death in 1546 and the Lutheran military defeat at Mühlenberg in 1547, Melanchthon accepted some Catholic views as nonessentials, or *adiaphora*, in the Augsburg-Leipzig Interim of 1548–1549, in order to avoid civil war and the destruction of Wittenberg. Although Melanchthon boldly rejected the Augsburg Interim as too contrary to Protestant views, he later reluctantly accepted the Leipzig Interim after securing justification by faith, clerical marriage, and confession without enumeration of all sins, though scriptural authority was left vague. Other provisions—episcopal rule, baptism as in ancient times, confirmation, extreme unction, repentance, pictures, clerical dress, and numerous Catholic ceremonies—he agreed to as nonessentials. Strict Lutherans strongly objected. The Formula of Concord later asserted that nothing during persecution should be deemed nonessential. Melanchthon died in Wittenberg on April 19, 1560.

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CLYDE L. MANSCHRECK (1987)

MELANESIAN RELIGIONS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
MYTHIC THEMES

MELANESIAN RELIGIONS: AN OVERVIEW

Anthropologists have disagreed about the exact geographical boundaries of Melanesia, some using the term to designate only the islands east of New Guinea, though without arguing that New Guinea is culturally distinct. Others have suggested that Fiji, because of its links with Tonga, should be considered part of Polynesia. Here, following the most common usage, Melanesia will be understood to extend from New Guinea in the west to Fiji in the east, encompassing the islands of the Torres Straits, the Bismarck archipelago, the Solomons, Vanuatu (formerly the New Hebrides), New Caledonia, and many smaller islands.

Within the northeastern part of this region, a few islands are inhabited by people whose languages and cultures are classified as Polynesian, such as the inhabitants of Tikopia and Bellona. Although these peoples' homes now belong to the same political units as the Melanesian islands, scholars consider them part of Polynesia. Nevertheless, it is difficult to draw a line between the cultures of Melanesia and of Polynesia to the east, Indonesia to the west, and Micronesia to the north, and many continuities exist with these neighboring regions. Furthermore, given its small total land area, Melanesia contains a much larger number of distinct languages and cultures than any other part of the world. This diversity greatly hampers generalization about Melanesia; it is only possible to mention features that recur with some regularity, while acknowledging that a single culture might fail to exhibit any of them.

As has happened elsewhere, an additional complication was introduced by foreign missionaries bringing their own religions and seeking to replace the indigenous ones. The westernmost portion of the island of New Guinea was somewhat influenced by Islam, coming via Indonesia, but in the rest of Melanesia various Christian denominations have greatly altered most traditional religious practices and beliefs. These were further affected by encounters with other foreigners, whose very existence and whose technology changed traditional worldviews; colonial governments also forbade a range of practices, such as ways of dealing with corpses, that often were closely tied to religion. Both missionaries and government officers arrived in some parts of coastal Melanesia in the nineteenth century, but did not enter the Highlands (mountainous interior) of New Guinea until the 1930s. Fifty years later there are still a few parts of this island not yet exposed to missionary influence. Inevitably, our ideas about Melanesian religion derive mainly from a small sample of societies that were either contacted late or that, unlike most, resisted conversion to Christianity. Most of these are found in the interior of New Guinea and of some large islands in the Solomons and Vanuatu, but the group includes a few small islands, such as Manus (Great Admiralty Island) and Wogeo, both north of New Guinea, whose societies were described by anthropologists before the missionaries arrived.

As regards the rest of Melanesia, because conversion has often been recent and not so thorough as to eradicate all traditional beliefs, it is still possible in most cases to learn much about certain aspects of indigenous religion. Theories about the magical causes of disease, sexual attraction, and bad weather often persist long after orthodox Christian ideas about the destiny of the soul have been accepted. Rarely, however, is any religious belief or practice of Melanesians living in the twenty-first century precisely like that of their ancestors. The accelerated spread of ideas from other societies as the result of pacification and wage labor, the introduction of modern technology, new conditions such as foreign diseases, and an altered worldview produce changes even in such practices as garden magic and birth ritual. In the vast majority of cases, contemporary Melanesian religions are highly syncretic, and only in a handful of scattered societies is it possible to appreciate the full complexity and emotional impact of the original systems. Given the persistence of many ideas, however, it is still possible to use the present tense to describe selected aspects of the religions, as will be done here.

THE SPIRIT WORLD. One of the few valid generalizations about Melanesian religions is that they all include a belief in a variety of spirits, some of human origin and some not, who interact with living human beings.

Souls. All people are assumed to have a spiritual component or soul (and sometimes more than one). Depending on the culture, it may derive from the descent group of one parent, in which case the child is usually born with it, or it may be inserted into the child by another supernatural being, often well after birth. Belief in reincarnation is found only sporadically. In line with a widespread Melanesian tendency not to speculate about origins, many societies have no theory about the source of the human soul. It is usually thought to be only lightly attached to the body, and to wander in dreams; often it is considered dangerous to awaken a sleeper suddenly, lest he suffer soul loss that can lead to madness or death. The souls of babies are particularly vulnerable to attack or capture by other spirits, whereas the souls of adults are more likely to be captured by human sorcerers performing magic over personal leavings, such as food crumbs, that are thought to contain part of the victim's soul-stuff. Specialist curers may undertake soul rescue in dreams, or sometimes a suspected sorcerer can be persuaded to perform countermagic that releases the soul-stuff.

Ghosts. At death the human soul is transformed into a ghost that usually retains its identity but not necessarily its antemortem personality. In some societies ghosts are expected to be malevolent, resentful of the living, and likely to attack or kill them; in others, they are thought generally to be benevolent, especially toward their close kin; and in others it is assumed that their new condition makes them capricious or unpredictable. Sometimes the ghosts of those who die in particular ways, as in battle or childbirth, are feared even when other ghosts are considered benevolent; so may be the ghosts of former sorcerers.

There is usually a traditional abode of the dead, or a series of abodes, often a different one for each clan. Occasionally these are underground or in the sky, but usually they are on the earth and physically close to human habitations. Although it may be difficult for the ghost to reach the land of the dead, especially if the correct funeral rites have not been performed, very rarely is there any idea of punishment after death for those who have misbehaved in life. The land of the dead is usually much like that of the living, though perhaps somewhat more pleasant; in most societies all of the dead share the same sort of afterlife, gardening, marrying, and behaving much like the living. Ghosts of the newly deceased are thought most likely to stay around their old villages for some time before really severing ties with their kin, but often people have contradictory ideas about the behavior of ghosts, simultaneously believing that they proceed immediately to the land of the dead and that they continue to haunt the village and its environs. In Manus the skull of a particular dead kinsman, in which his ghost resided, would be kept to serve as guardian for each adult man but was banished into a sort of limbo when it failed to confer benefits or when its "ward" died. In many other societies men summon the ghosts of dead kin to help with specific enterprises such as hunting or weather control; they may be aided in this endeavor by keeping some relic of the corpse such as fingernails, but the Manus practice of harboring ghosts within the dwelling house seems to be shared only with the people of Sarera Bay in Irian Jaya. Much more often ghosts are thought to reside either in bones or in special paraphernalia kept in men's houses or cult houses, far from the women and children. In a few societies, however, ghosts are summoned to join the living on special occasions, as at the famous harvest festival of the Trobriand Islands.

Spirits of the dead always have abilities both to aid and to harm that transcend those of living human beings; but they may be thought to take little interest in those left behind, who in turn are primarily concerned to avoid meeting ghosts. As those who remember them die, the names of specific ghosts are forgotten, and conceptually they may be assimilated to spirits of the bush or sea that were never human. In some societies, however, the long deceased are more important and influential than the recently dead, especially if they were the founding ancestors of large descent groups such as clans. Judging from myths, such founding ancestors may have had supernatural attributes even when alive, but in other cases they have been raised near to the status of deities by the period of time that separates them from the living or by the ceremonies carried out on their behalf. Where ancestors are accorded great powers and are regularly appealed to, it is possible to talk of ancestor cults or ancestor worship. The beliefs that ancestors are greatly concerned with the health, fertility, and morality of their descendants and that they can be induced by ritual means such as sacrifice (usually of domestic or wild animals) to grant benefits to the living are found much less often in Melanesia than in surrounding areas, but these beliefs form a prominent part of the religion in many parts of eastern Melanesia and also in the Highlands of New Guinea.

Masalai. Spirits that have never been human play some part in all Melanesian religions, but their nature and importance vary greatly from one society to another. In western Melanesia, including New Guinea and the nearby islands, one of the most important is a type known in Pidgin English as *masalai*. *Masalai* live in wild places and, although they may assume human form, are typically animals of abnormal appearance—gigantic, brightly colored, sometimes wearing human ornaments such as earrings. Often they are associated with descent groups whose members they aid in distress—if, for instance, they are lost in the bush or drowning—but they do so only if the person has observed relevant rules concerning marriage and food taboos. Offenders may be punished by the *masalai*, who also attack outsiders who stray into their territory. Monstrous births may be attributed to the child's having been conceived in a *masalai* place (and possibly actually being its child); getting lost in the bush can result from being led astray by them; and sudden illness after eating wild animals or plants may be ascribed to either having ingested the *masalai* itself, in one of its transformations, or having "stolen" a food that actually belonged to the *masalai*. (The spirit may later visit the victim in a dream to explain its action.) Melanesia has few dangerous wild animals, but the uninhabited bush and the deep sea teem with dangerous spirits, and many people are uneasy about moving far outside the area of human settlement and cultivation. In some societies, men—as hunters, fishermen, traders, and warriors—think of the bush as peculiarly their own, free of the threat of sexual contamination by women, while in others women are banished from the village when they are in a dangerous condition (e.g., menstruation and childbirth). Usually the village is regarded as uniquely safe from supernatural threat, at least during the day; after dark, spirits more easily invade the human domain. Belief in menacing beings that assume a harmless form at daybreak is widespread in Melanesia.

Deities and culture heroes. Many spirit beings appear only in mythology and play no part in contemporary society apart from being remembered when origins and migrations are discussed. Some societies even lack such mythological figures. In a relatively small number of Melanesian cultures, however, people believe in uniquely powerful spirits who maintain an interest in the whole society rather than in specific descent groups. They are sometimes referred to in the scholarly literature as "deities," especially if they seem well disposed toward humankind; otherwise they may be called "demons" by outside observers. The large majority of Melanesian religions cannot be described as ethical; spiritual beings and forces rarely support the rules of society except in very limited spheres. Exceptions exist, especially in the east (where influence from Polynesia may be involved in some cases) but also in the New Guinea Highlands. In these societies, deities may punish misbehavior with crop failure, human infertility, sickness in the pig herds, or volcanic eruption. If procedures exist for ascertaining the will of the deity, it may be possible to placate him or her, usually with offerings. Otherwise people simply try to avoid or prevent behavior likely to evoke the wrath of the gods, and sometimes explain that they must do everything just as they were told to in the remote past lest disaster befall them.

Interestingly, several Melanesian societies in which the status of women is low have male cults devoted to the worship of female goddesses who promote male interests alone. Much more common are deities who are concerned with only one activity or one aspect of life, such as fishing for bonito, or warfare. Less powerful spirits may be invoked to aid with other activities such as gardening.

Whether or not deities remain near, or accessible to, human settlements after performing initial acts of creation, they may be mentioned in magical spells as a sign that the magic too derives from them. In a number of societies along the north coast of New Guinea, it is reported that meticulous maintenance and performance of ritual secrets imparted by these deities and culture heroes ensures success in a wide range of activities. Other societies are not so conservative, and their members try out any new rituals that seem promising. To the extent that deviations from morality are punished in these, the actual penalties are usually carried out by men wearing masks and manipulating ritual noisemakers such as flutes and bull-roarers to represent the voice of the spirits. The men may not believe that the spirits are present, but women and children are said to be deluded.

In a few areas there exist religious cults that are dedicated to a particular deity or other powerful being, or to the semideified collection of ancestors. In historical times such cults, typically involving secret rituals held in special structures, have spread widely in the New Guinea Highlands, honoring beings who promote health, strength, and fertility. Elsewhere, cults center on dispelling disease and other ills, so that cult performances tend to be triggered by disasters. Whatever their nature, cults, like most major religious activities in Melanesia, tend to involve only mature males.

RELIGIOUS SPECIALISTS. Officiants who intervene between deities and ancestors and the ordinary people have often been called priests, even though they are never full-time specialists. Throughout Melanesia the most esteemed religious expert is a man of mature age who possesses detailed knowledge of ritual, either through training by another expert or by attaining the higher grades of a secret society. Where he is expected to communicate with the ancestors, he is ideally their senior male descendant, but ability to learn and perform rituals may outweigh pure seniority. By contrast with some other parts of the world, ritual specialists are rarely set apart psychologically or sexually, although they may report many direct encounters with spirits in dreams or, while purportedly fully conscious, in waking life. They are taught what they know rather than being inspired. In a number of Melanesian societies mediums are possessed by spirits, like the Manus women who communicate with ghosts through their own deceased young sons, and the curing shamans of the Baktaman of New Guinea, who must be possessed by a particular spirit before assuming their roles. Such people are rarely the most esteemed experts; the mediums of the Kaluli of New Guinea described by Edward L. Schieffelin (1976) are exceptional in this respect.

That for most of Melanesia religious experts have been described as magicians rather than as priests or shamans reflects the most widely reported attitude toward the supernatural. Power lies in the hands of human adepts rather than with gods or other spirits. Given sufficient knowledge, men can control rain, sun, and wind; they can bring success to themselves and their kin and misfortune to others—making gardens flourish or blighting them, luring a pig into a trap or a rival's garden, sending a snake or crocodile to kill an enemy or causing him to fall from a tree, or enticing a woman from her husband. In some societies they accomplish their ends by manipulation of spirit beings, while in others the results follow automatically if ritual is performed correctly. Particularly as regards eastern Melanesia, much has been written about the concept of an invisible supernatural power, called *mana* (or some cognate term), which can be manipulated by the magician. As originally described by R. H. Codrington in *The Melanesians* (1891), *mana* was thought to be a power derived from "spiritual beings," but the term came to be understood by some other anthropologists as designating power that is impersonal and independent of spirits. Certainly the term exists in both eastern Melanesia and Polynesia, but there have been many debates about its exact significance, as Roger M. Keesing points out in *Kwaio Religion* (1982).

It is generally agreed that even when terms like *mana* are used, the speakers tend to have no clearly defined and expressed concept of just what this supernatural power is and how it operates. What interests them are results that can be duplicated. If an act seems to be effective, it does not matter just how the effect is produced. Typically, Melanesian magic involves the recitation of spells that must be carefully memorized; the use of substances thought to be potent in themselves, such as ginger; ritual acts that may involve imitation of the results desired; and maintenance of a state of potency by the observation of taboos, as on washing and sexual intercourse. Failure to achieve the desired results is usually attributed to countermagic performed by someone else, but it may also be blamed on failure to learn or perform correctly. All magic is not this complicated; sometimes only the spell or the act is needed. With the simpler forms, it may be difficult to distinguish magic from technology, and often distinctions are made by an outsider that would seem artificial to the local people. Trying to make a woman conceive by simply putting spider eggs into her food is an example of such a borderline case.

In Melanesia, intent is always involved in magic; there is no equivalent of the African witch or European possessor of the evil eye who harms others involuntarily. In most cases, too, evaluation of the act depends on the relation between the performer and those affected. In a few societies, such as that of the Tangu on the northern coast of New Guinea, there exists a belief in wholly malicious sorcerers all of whose attacks are condemned, but in many other societies a sorcerer is admired so long as he does not attack members of his own group. Usually all men know a little magic—for gardening, hunting, fishing, and sexual attraction—but only a few specialists know the major types such as those dealing with weather control, warfare, sorcery, and the curing of serious diseases. In most Melanesian societies all deaths except those of the very young and the very old tend to be attributed to supernatural causes—sorcery, spirits, or the breach of a taboo—and so do all major accidents and serious illnesses. Diviners and curers seek to ascertain the cause of sickness or death, to help cure the sickness (possibly by identifying the person responsible), and to direct vengeance in the case of death. Magicians are often paid fees when they perform outside their kinship group, unless their work benefits themselves along with others, as is the case with garden magicians. Usually each community contains a number of different specialist magicians, but political leaders are likely to control more than one major form of ritual, either through their own knowledge or by being wealthy enough to hire others. Political leadership is reinforced by religious knowledge, but only in a few coastal societies are there official magicians at the service of the leaders.

TABOOS AND TOTEMS. The English word *taboo* is derived from a Polynesian word (Tongan, *tabu*), and its cognates appear in many of those Melanesian languages that are related to Polynesian languages. Similar concepts, called by different terms, are found among speakers of unrelated languages. There is debate about the range of meaning of these terms, but they normally include the concept of "forbidden," and often "sacred" as well. The words meaning "taboo" may be nouns, adjectives, or active verbs. The source of taboos varies from one society to another, and so does the kind of thing encompassed by them. Sometimes they can be traced to edicts by deities in mythological times, as is usually the case with incest taboos. So too can special attitudes toward totemic animals or plants. These are species associated with particular descent groups, perhaps because people are thought to be descended from similar but supernatural beings; perhaps because they emerged from the underworld together with these species, as is believed in the Trobriand Islands; or perhaps because of aid given by a member of the species to a human ancestor. Whatever the reason for the connection, members of the descent group are usually forbidden to kill or eat members of their totemic species; if they break the taboo, they may sicken or die. Those who punish such breaches of taboo may be the creatures themselves, their ghosts (which may be possessed by animals and plants as well as people), the ghostly founders of the descent groups, or some impersonal force that acts automatically. All associations between people and natural species are not totemic; sometimes members of a particular descent group simply claim to have first discovered a food plant, or to have particular success in hunting certain animals. Where totems do occur, however, they are a significant part of the religion, but in a different category from spirits.

Many other taboos are tied in with aspects of the local worldview. For example, if the soul is called by the same term as the reflection and shadow, as is often the case, it may be taboo to stare at one's own reflection or to step on someone's shadow, for fear of soul loss. Traditional systems of belief typically involve the observation of many taboos, some of which result from revelation by spirits and some from simple deduction. An unexpected event such as an earthquake may be ascribed to the breach of a previously unknown taboo, the nature of which may be revealed by a supernatural being in a dream. Equally often, however, it is simply decided that any action out of the ordinary that immediately preceded the event actually caused it, especially if the action took place in the wild. To avoid further trouble, it may be decided and announced, for instance, that never again should anyone put a stick down a rat hole. Since taboos acquired in this way rarely form a coherent system, they can seem arbitrary and almost meaningless once their origin has been forgotten, but it may be strongly believed that the maintenance of society and of human life depends on meticulous observation of them.

WOMEN AND RELIGION. Melanesia is famous in the anthropological literature for what has been called sexual antagonism, most often expressed in male fears of contact, which can be dangerous and weakening, with women. At their mildest, such fears and avoidance are no greater than those found in many societies outside Melanesia. Men's reluctance to sleep with menstruating women, and their belief that sexual intercourse saps the strength of a warrior and is antithetical to the practice of religion, can be found almost everywhere. More characteristically Melanesian is the frequently encountered belief that fertile women in themselves are polluting to men, particularly, but not exclusively, when menstruating and during and immediately after childbirth. While menstruating, they may be forbidden to cook for men or to enter gardens, and in many societies have to retire to menstrual huts in the bush. If menstrual blood is feared, so too is the blood shed in childbirth. Not only does a man avoid the scene of childbirth, which also may be relegated to the bush, but he may consider both mother and baby to be polluted for months after the birth. It may be considered dangerous for a man to touch a young baby, surrounded as it is by the dangerous aura acquired from its mother. Later little boys may need to be ritually cleansed of female influences before they will be able to become mature men or to participate in male ceremonies. Where fears of female pollution are high, men usually spend much of their time in men's houses separate from the family dwellings. Such structures may be taboo to women and even to little boys, who will have to undergo special rituals before they can begin to sleep there. In a number of Melanesian societies, fertile women are thought to pollute anything that they step over, such as food, firewood, or human beings. Men must take care never to be physically below women, nor to drink downstream from where women bathe. In extreme cases, as among the Kwaio of Malaita in the Solomons, the whole village is built on ridges so that everything pertaining to men, including ancestral shrines, is uphill from the area assigned to women.

The situation is not always so simple as it seems at first glance. In some societies, such as Wogeo, women too are thought to be endangered by the sexual secretions of men, and menstrual blood may also be considered polluting to a woman (who then has to take great care while eating or chewing betel nut during menstruation) as well as to a man. Furthermore, it has been argued that women actually enjoy and profit from the periods of seclusion associated with menstruation and childbirth, rather than feeling that they are suffering because they are unclean. Certainly women's labors may be lightened if it is thought that crops planted by them will not grow well and that men will sicken if they eat food cooked by women. Furthermore, the possibility that an angry wife might put menstrual blood into the food of a husband who beats her, and so "poison" him, gives her some control over his behavior. If, however, women are thought to be innately malevolent, or to become malevolent because they are subject to discrimination in such matters as diet, their ability to harm men may count against them in that they are likely to be accused of causing deaths, and to be killed in revenge.

In most of Melanesia, however, the low status accorded women also keeps them from being considered powerful magicians. An exception is the so-called Massim region off the eastern tip of New Guinea (including the Trobriand Islands), where female status is relatively high, and where cannibalistic female witches who fly abroad seeking victims are blamed for many deaths. In most other parts of Melanesia, those deaths not attributed to spirits are more likely to be blamed on male sorcerers. If women know magic at all, it typically deals with female fertility and childbirth, and with the growth and health of small children. Nevertheless, women may play a role in religious life insofar as their dreams may be taken as seriously as those of men, so that they too may have meaningful encounters with spirits and can act as soul rescuers, as well as sources of information about the world of spirits. The most respected female adepts are likely to be women past menopause, who are exempt from many of the restrictions of their juniors, and who may even be identified with men.

Where women are considered unfit for the most esteemed activities, the reason may simply be that they are thought to be physically and mentally weaker than men. Often, however, it is held that femininity in itself, or because of its association with female blood and milk, is repulsive to spirits and to wild animals, who flee hunting and fishing equipment if women touch it. Sometimes it is the odor of sexual intercourse rather than of women specifically that is thought to repel other beings; nevertheless, even in those societies that do not practice the sorts of discrimination just described, women are usually forbidden to touch certain male tools and weapons, and warriors must avoid too much contact with women or risk death in battle. Usually these effects are automatic. If women are really feared and avoided in other contexts, boys are likely to need formal rites of separation from their mothers before they can join the men in their exclusive domain.

RITES OF PASSAGE. Whether changes of status during life are marked ritually depends on the society and on the individual's position within it. If there is a class system, as in many coastal areas, members of the upper class receive much more ceremonial attention than do ordinary people. Elsewhere ritual may be focused on the firstborn child, regardless of sex, in the belief that some benefits will extend to younger siblings. Often ceremonies mark the first time that the child engages in any new activity, such as going to the gardens or having his first haircut. Although rites of passage always mark a change of status, they need not contain a religious element. Ceremonies revolving around children or grandchildren are often sponsored by older men to enhance their own prestige, and the complexity and amount of display has little to do with the significance of the event except as a marker of wealth and social status. Of all the rites of passage commonly held in Melanesia, weddings are least likely to be religious ceremonies, whereas funerals almost invariably are.

Birth. A first pregnancy, and the birth of a first child, may be celebrated for the mother as marking her final shift of responsibility from her parents to her new status as a parent herself. Unless she experiences difficulties in childbirth, religious rituals are not usually involved except for the observation of many taboos on acts that might affect her or her child. The husband may need to observe these as well. After birth, however, the baby is vulnerable to many inimical forces, and is normally kept in seclusion until his survival seems likely, when his skin has darkened and the umbilical cord has dropped off. He may then be given a name and formally introduced to the community. Both parents continue to observe taboos on behavior that might affect him, staying away from spirit places and wild foods that might be associated with spirits. Spells are recited to promote his health and growth, and rituals may be performed in connection with such events as the appearance of teeth. Among the Siuai of Bougainville, the young child is the object of an elaborate ritual that summons spirits to help him, after which he is a full member of society; usually, though, the most complex rites are reserved for puberty.

Puberty and initiation. In many parts of Melanesia it is taken for granted that once the perils of early childhood are past, a child will mature naturally; supernatural aid is invoked only for illness. In others, boys especially are thought to need the aid of both society and the supernatural if they are to reach healthy adulthood. Puberty rites for boys are likely to be communal events occupying long periods of time. A girl very often undergoes a ceremony at menarche that may involve a period of seclusion, both because of attitudes about menstrual blood and because her emergence afterward is likely to mark her transition to the new status of marriageability. Sometimes elaborate rituals surround the whole period of isolation.

In a very few societies, such as the Orokaiva of New Guinea, boys and girls go through puberty ceremonies together. But much more often boys are separated from all females. In many parts of New Guinea they are subjected to rituals involving vomiting and bloodletting designed to rid their bodies of the pernicious effects of their former contact with women. In some societies, such as the Wogeo, male bloodletting is equated with female menstruation: designed to rid the body of "bad" blood, it is practiced throughout life. By contrast, in a group of societies in south central New Guinea, it is held that boys will mature only if they are "fed" with semen, and highly secret ceremonies involving ritual homosexuality form the center of the puberty rites. Where much secret knowledge is imparted at this time, puberty rites are indistinguishable from initiation into men's societies or cults; but usually the religious content of the rites is limited to the use of spells and practices to promote health, growth, and beauty. Various taboos are connected not only with separation from women but with the healing of any operations on the penis, nose, ears, or skin that also signal the change of status. At the end of the rituals, the boys emerge fully decorated in a new social persona, but may still avoid marriage for some years.

Men's societies forbidden to women extend from New Guinea to Vanuatu; only in this last island group are women reported to have similar societies of their own. Often the male societies are basically political rather than religious, a way for older men to dominate women and boys; but in some areas much secret knowledge of rituals essential to the maintenance of society is in the hands of the few individuals who have passed through various grades of initiation, typically with severe associated ordeals. Passing through all the grades may take a lifetime, and, in parts of Vanuatu, a fortune. Sometimes the actual secrets are minor, apart from the frequent revelation that purported spirits are simply human impersonations; the initiates may only learn how masks are made or how the "voices" of the spirits are produced. In these cases it could be argued that belief in the existence and nonhuman nature of these beings is part of the religion of the uninitiated but not of the initiates. A measure of deception need not, however, indicate the absence of other levels of belief among the initiates. Several recent studies of rites still being carried on in the interior of New Guinea reveal that often the older adepts really believe that they alone are able to keep society functioning; their activities are serious behind the facade of deception and frequent revelations of trivia. Overall, however, there is no necessary connection between the elaborateness of the ceremonies, the degree of hazing involved, and the care with which the secrets are guarded from noninitiates, and the actual religious content. Perhaps because of the way they spread from one society to another, rites that look very similar on the surface may differ greatly in function.

Mortuary rites. Death triggers the ceremonies most characteristic of Melanesia, particularly of the coastal and lowland regions. Beginning with the funeral, these may culminate years later in great festivals involving dances and masked performances and the dispersing of vast amounts of pork and other food to the participants. In most societies formal funerals are held for everyone, though they may be abbreviated when the corpse is that of a baby or an old woman who lacks close kin. At the wake that enables mourners to view the body, diviners often attempt to ascertain the cause of death from the ghost, which then may be ritually dispatched to the land of the dead. Although cremation is practiced in a few places, in many others initial disposal of the body is temporary. It may be exposed on a platform or buried for a few months until decay is complete, but thereafter some or all of the bones may be subject to special treatment. This varies according to local ideas about the relations between body and soul, and about the symbolic significance of bones and of specific parts of the body such as the head.

The period following initial disposal of the body is typically one of intense mourning for the surviving kin, who abstain from work, keep a restricted diet, make themselves as physically unattractive as possible, sometimes lop off a finger joint, and often go into complete seclusion. The heaviest restrictions fall on the widow, whose willingness to submit to them may be taken as evidence that she did not help to kill her husband by magical means. Only in Dobu, a matrilineal society in the D'Entrecasteaux Islands, east of New Guinea, is mourning for the widower more arduous than for the widow. In a number of lowland societies extending as far as Fiji, the wife or wives of prominent men or chiefs were formerly killed to join them in the afterlife, and in southwest New Britain all widows were killed and buried with their husbands, whose ghosts would linger around the settlements until their wives joined them. A widow cannot resume normal life in other parts of Melanesia until she has been formally released from mourning, in ceremonies that mark her reintegration into the community.

Personal possessions of the dead may be broken, trees cut down, and pigs killed either as signs of grief or so that their spiritual essence can be released to accompany the deceased into the afterlife. It may also be considered supernaturally dangerous for survivors to remain in close contact with the personal possessions, which are imbued with soul-stuff. Much of the remaining property, especially pigs and garden crops, is likely to be used in feasts celebrating the lifting of taboos from the mourners. When this is done, relics of the dead, such as the house in which the person died, may be destroyed. But if further ceremonies are planned, some relic will be preserved for use in these.

Major mortuary ceremonies are not held for everyone. Men of high status are usually honored in this way by their kin; but equally often, a leader or a man who aspires to that status sponsors such a ceremony primarily for the personal glory that he will gain. The dead person may be any type of kin, such as a young child or a mother-in-law; their importance as individuals in life or after death may be wholly subordinate to that of the sponsor. Throughout Melanesia leaders attain or ratify their positions by sponsoring ceremonies in which they try to outdo each other in display and generosity. Some of the food dispensed at mortuary ceremonies may derive from that left by the deceased, and so be taboo to some of those who attend. Furthermore, the specific parts played by those attending may reflect their relation to the dead as well as to the sponsor, and if relics are displayed, those holding them are likely to be close kin, who weep as they remember the dead. Unless the ghost is thought to attend, however, the religious content of such ceremonies may be confined to magic designed to produce a successful occasion, as by preventing rain and ensuring that the food supply is adequate. The deceased may be present only in memory. It is, however, common for a few final mortuary taboos to be lifted on these occasions, such as those prohibiting use of the fruit trees and the house site of the deceased.

In some societies apparently similar ceremonies have the deepest religious significance. Ghosts of the dead, sometimes including those of distant ancestors, may be summoned to attend, and rites are directed at them in an attempt to win their favor and avert their wrath. When pigs are killed, their blood soaking into the ground or burnt portions of their bodies are specifically intended as offerings to the ghosts. The fate of the bones of the dead varies with the sorts of continuing relations desired between their former owners and the living, but often they are deposited in sanctuaries such as caves, or in structures that serve as temples in which the bones will be a focus for future rituals. If bones are reburied or deposited in village or garden sites, their presence may create continuing prosperity, fertility, and safety for the descendants who use the land.

ART AND RELIGION. The spectacular art of most of lowland Melanesia is usually, but not invariably, connected with religion. In some societies, such as those of the area around Lake Sentani in Irian Jaya and of the Massim Islands east of New Guinea, almost all utilitarian objects are decorated, and in most cases the decorations have no religious significance. The most dramatic Melanesian sculptures, paintings, and constructions are, however, produced either specifically for religious ceremonies or to honor and commemorate particular spirits. Some of the most colorful constructions, made of painted barkcloth or woven fiber decorated with colored leaves and feathers, may be quite ephemeral; perhaps inhabited by spirits during a ceremony, they are destroyed or dismantled with the departure of the spirits for their own realm. The sculptures and painting that represent spirits may also be kept permanently hidden inside men's houses or ceremonial structures forbidden to noninitiates; viewing of these pieces, and explanation of their meaning, often forms a major part of initiation ceremonies. Women may never see them. The manufacture of ceremonial art, including even the gathering of leaves to conceal the bodies of maskers, is usually carried out in great secrecy, with women and children threatened with death if they approach the area or voice any suspicion that the supposed spirits are actually human creations. Spirits may indeed be summoned into the art objects after they are complete, and sometimes the actual process of manufacture introduces the spirit, as when eyes are painted on the masks of the Tolai of New Britain. In many societies, however, simple impersonation is involved, but magic is usually employed to ensure that the impersonations are successful, and sorcery is used to punish those who speak disrespectfully of the ceremonies.

When carvings are made for rituals—such as those connected with puberty and death—that honor specific individuals, they often include motifs associated with that person's descent group, such as totems and *masalai.* True portrait sculpture is rare but is found in a few areas, as in memorial carvings in parts of the Solomons and most notably in the modeling of features over the dead person's skull in parts of Vanuatu, New Britain, and the Sepik River region of New Guinea. Often memorials are destroyed when the mortuary ceremonies end, and anthropomorphic sculptures that remain permanently in place usually represent more distant ancestors or deities. Such sculptures are prominently displayed in many regions, forming the doorjambs and finials of houses in New Caledonia, and standing outside men's houses and clubhouses in parts of the Solomons, Vanuatu, and Sepik River region.

The ritual art of other areas focuses not on ancestors but on supernatural beings who are only partly human in form, like the shark god of parts of the Solomons or the culture hero with the body of a snake of western New Britain. Still other beings, such as those painted on the facades of Sepik ceremonial houses or constructed elsewhere for ceremonies to bring fertility or drive away sickness, have little or no trace of humanity in their appearance. Particularly in the New Guinea Highlands, divine power may reside in objects such as stones or boards that are painted with abstract designs of uncertain meaning.

Art objects collected for museums have often been arbitrarily identified as representing gods, ancestors, or totems, without any real evidence that they were so regarded by their creators. Detailed studies of Melanesian art in its context are few, and have demonstrated in some cases that people may be uncertain about the precise significance of designs that may still be thought to form an essential part of a ritual. Some anthropologists argue that art and ritual express and communicate messages that cannot be conveyed verbally, so that it is useless to expect native exegesis. The field is then open for the outsider to proffer his own explanations, and many have taken advantage of the opportunity. Some experts, especially those trained in a German tradition of reconstructing culture history in terms of postulated waves of migration, tend to see evidence in art of the previous existence of earlier religious attitudes such as sun worship. Anthropologists have more often relied upon psychoanalytic theory or a structuralism modeled on that of Claude Lévi-Strauss to explain what is being represented at a subconscious level. The same types of interpretation have been applied to myth and ritual.

In some societies, however, the local experts are willing and able to discuss art objects and their relation to religious concepts. As with other aspects of religion, many details remain inexplicable, simply a traditional way of doing things that is not questioned. It may also, of course, be improper to discuss esoteric matters with noninitiates; but outsiders have often been admitted to discussions that are closed to female or junior members of the society itself.

SACRED AND PROFANE. In describing Melanesian societies, many observers have hesitated both to use the word *sacred* and to contrast it with the *profane.* The reasons are several. First, the discovery that often masked men impersonate supernatural beings without feeling any religious awe emphasizes the secular character of many ceremonies. Second, the widespread tendency to rely on magic in which impersonal forces are manipulated by individuals, and the rarity of communal rites dealing with supernatural beings, makes it difficult to apply labels derived from other religious systems. Third, the frequent observation that Melanesian religions tend to be highly pragmatic, concerned with securing benefits in this life rather than rewards in another world, and not concerned with problems of good and evil, has led some to deny that they are really religions at all. The fact that supernatural beings are rarely all-powerful, awesome in appearance, wholly incorporeal in nature, or far removed from human habitations, and in fact that ordinary people so often encounter them in the bush or in their dreams, makes them seem part of everyday life rather than being set apart, natural rather than supernatural.

The rituals of some societies do, however, strike some observers as embodying concepts that can be labeled sacred. Communion with ancestral spirits by priests and other specialists in Fiji, Vanuatu, the Solomons, and Highlands New Guinea; first-fruits rites in New Caledonia; the invocation of powerful nonhuman spirits along the Sepik: all these seem on emotional and cognitive grounds to indicate that the term is applicable. *Sacred* has also been applied to the state of religious practitioners while carrying out ritual, and of those who are temporarily removed from normal society during rites of passage. In these instances it is suggested that women, children, and noninitiates belong to the realm of the profane, and doubly so as regards women if they are regarded as intrinsically polluting to men and antithetical to religious enterprises. Several investigators have, however, argued that such labels and dichotomies are misleading. If men are taboo when sacrificing to the ancestors and women are taboo when menstruating, they are seen as similar rather than separate (see Keesing, 1982, p. 66). Furthermore, the fact that women usually do interact with the spirit world and control some magical techniques of their own invalidates the assumption that they are excluded from the realm of the sacred.

When *sacred* is used today, it tends to be in two contexts. Places consecrated to spirits, such as burial caves, ancestral shrines and groves, and cult houses, may be permanently sacred, as are places inhabited by important supernatural beings such as *masalai.* By contrast, people may be only temporarily sacred during a religious performance; eventually they return to their normal state and to the everyday world. In this, the usual processes of life continue to involve them in contact with supernatural beings and forces, so frequently that it seems meaningless to characterize what is not sacred as profane.

SEE ALSO Christianity, article on Christianity in the Pacific Islands; Homosexuality; Solomon Islands Religions; Taboo; Totemism.

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MELANESIAN RELIGIONS: MYTHIC THEMES

The myths of all known Melanesian peoples are subtly, intricately, and often tacitly bound to fundamental matters of worldview, ethos, and personhood in religious systems of meaning. Yet the study of myth in Melanesia has a long, largely unvaried tradition of being descriptively rich but analytically impoverished. Indeed, this fascinating field of study remains a vast *terra incognita* in important respects and lags significantly behind the study of Melanesian ritual, in which significant theoretical and comparative advances have been made. Relatively few ethnographies of Melanesian cultures and societies have focused exclusively or even primarily on making theoretical or comparative sense of the marked diversity and remarkable intricacy of the mythology of this area. Most ethnographic studies contain some references to myth, but in general, myth tends to be merely a secondary feature of the central analytic endeavor and is explored—if at all—largely to enhance the primary interests of analysis. Only recently has Melanesian mythology begun to attract focal analytic attention on its own.

STUDIES OF MELANESIAN MYTH. The legacy of earlier studies of Melanesian myth still burdens present endeavors to summarize and to synthesize what is archivally available. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, scholars working among the myriad indigenous peoples of the Dutch, French, English, and German Melanesian colonies compiled extensive collections of mythic narratives in many forms. These often simplistic assemblages of myths, however, were ethnographically sterile and left ample room for varied academic fancies and fantasies to supplant Melanesian mythic realities. The collections were sometimes linguistically suspect and often unidentified by genre of oral literature and by sociocultural group. Thus, various kinds of myths, legends, folk tales, and other conventional classes of oral literature, sometimes from different regions, would often be merged in one collection regardless of local or analytic senses of genre. Compilations tended to include an emphasis on origin myths, mythic charters of institutional forms, and myths and legends of culture heroes and migrations. These early collections revealed little about other important aspects of Melanesian myth—of its role in or as a sacred performance and as an assertion of ideology or belief, a map of supernatural landscapes, a model of personhood, a mode of ethnohistorical discourse, a social or ritual charter, and a shared but also contestable collective representation (in the Durkheimian sense). They usually ignored the significance of myth as a vital, flexible, and changing but also enduring aspect of a lived, remembered, and imagined sociocultural reality among those islands of the southwest Pacific that constitute Melanesia.

The boundaries of mythology in Melanesia are sometimes obscure, for the analysis of myth as sacred narrative has been simplistic, uncritical, imprecise, and inconsistent and has not encompassed the many diverse kinds of regional oral traditions. Moreover, scant attention has been given to local genres of narrative, such as the Daribi *namu po* or *po page*, Kalauna *neineya*, Kamano *kinihera*, Keraki *ninyi-ji*, Kewa *lidi* or *ramani*, and Trobriand *kukwanebu*, *libogwo*, or *liliu.* Indeed, there are few ethnographic portraits of the classificatory complexity exhibited in the seventeen genres of Bimin-Kuskusmin oral tradition, or analytic frameworks that could accommodate such complexity. Nonetheless, the sacred qualities of myth often do seem to be marked in a more or less distinctive manner throughout Melanesia. Thus, myths may be distinguished by certain modes of discourse or language (as among Bimin-Kuskusmin, Daribi, or Kwaio); embedded formulas or linked songs or chants (as among Gende, Kamano, or Trobriand Islanders); tacit contextual associations and symbolic allusions (as among Baktaman, Bimin-Kuskusmin, Fore, Gende, Gimi, Gnau, Hua, Huli, Iatmül, Jate, Kai, Kamano, Keraki, Siane, Telefolmin, Umeda, or Usurufa); entitlements to know, to explicate, and to narrate bound to a complex sociology of sacred knowledge and related rules of secrecy, taboo, and revelation (as among Baktaman, Bimin-Kuskusmin, Elema, Kera-ki, or Marind-Anim); and intricate linkages with forms of art, magic, music, and ritual (as among Abelam, ʾAréʿaré, Elema, Ilahita Arapesh, Kwaio, or Sambia). Most myths are cast in the form of narratives and are sometimes interconnected in complex cycles; examples of these mythic cycles are the delicate mosaics of origin myths among the Nalum of the Star Mountains of Irian Jaya, the narratives of the founding ancestress Afek in the Mountain-Ok region of Papua New Guinea, the key Massim myths of canoe voyages and *kula* exchange transactions, and the mythic culture-hero cycles that pervade the whole of Melanesia. Other myths, however, may also be both danced and sung (Waropen), embedded in linked cycles of songs (Kiwai), or enacted in magical or ritual dramas (Elema, Marind-Anim) to enhance their performative efficacy or elocutionary force in creating a sacred cognitive-affective experience.

Despite their occasional entertainment value, the casual way in which they are often told, and their abstract literary qualities, the myths of Melanesia are profoundly anchored to the local foundations of sociocultural existence. They are portraits of various phenomena of sacred significance, "charters" (in Bronislaw Malinowski's sense) that both elucidate and legitimate fundamental institutional forms and practices, and narrated performances that are believed to affect the course of events of concern to human communities. The performance aspects of myth in Melanesia are less well understood than similar features of ritual, although there have been numerous studies of the place of myth vis-à-vis male initiation ritual (as among Awa, Baktaman, Bimin-Kuskusmin, Chambri, Gnau, Ilahita Arapesh, Mianmin, Ndumba, Sambia, or Telefolmin) and noteworthy analyses of myth by Jan van Baal (1966) on Marind-Anim, Catherine H. Berndt (1955) on the Kai-nantu area (Fore, Jate, Kamano, Usurufa), Kenelm O. L. Burridge (1969) on Tangu, S. Hylkema (1974) on Nalum, John LeRoy (1985) on Kewa, Roy Wagner (1978) on Daribi, and Michael W. Young (1983) on Kalauna. A linguistically and symbolically sophisticated approach to the ethnography of mythological discourse in Melanesia, however, is evident only in incipient and rudimentary form. Attention has been directed primarily toward more descriptive, functional, or structural characteristics of portrayals of mythic personae, landscapes, origins, migrations, and other sacred phenomena. Analysis of these mythical portraits has focused on varied aspects of their subjects' cultural, existential, psychological, social, or even theological significance in times of both stability and change.

PERSONAE OF MELANESIAN MYTH. Characters in Melanesian myth are variously and loosely identified as deities or primordial creator spirits, culture heroes, remote or recent ancestors, totemic figures, local spirits, demons or ogres, forest spirits, and tricksters. The notion of a supreme deity or creator is found rarely, or remains doubtful as an interpretation of local belief, in most areas of Melanesia, with the possible exceptions of the hierarchical societies of eastern Melanesia (notably Fiji) and the northwest and northeast coasts of Papua New Guinea. Certain renowned and omnipotent figures sometimes also appear in Melanesian myths, such as Enda Semangko (Kyaka Enga); Honabe (Huli); Marunogere (Kiwai); Oma Rumufa (Siane); Ora Rove Marai (Roro); Parambik (Ngaing); Sinatu, Mubu, and Obomwe (Garia); and Ye (Rossel). Although creative or regulative beings are known in most of the area's mythologies (except among the Tangu), such spirits rarely have the elaborate Polynesian features of the Kalou-Vu and other deities of the Fijian pantheon. Indeed, in eastern Melanesia at the Polynesian frontier cosmogonic myths and their portraits of the generative powers and acts of mythic creators are generally more intricate and are interwoven with representations of social hierarchy. In this subregion, myths tend to place greater emphasis on ideas of duality; totemic concepts; complex culture-hero or trickster cycles (at times almost as elaborate as those of the Polynesian Maui myths); images of regeneration, reproduction, or reincarnation (often in serpentine form and less bound to ideas of garden fertility than in western Melanesia); regional integration; and autochthonous origins—all in support of fundamental creation in and of the cosmos. In other parts of Melanesia, however, mythic creators are usually assigned less than cosmogonic tasks.

MYTHS OF COSMOGONY. Myths of origin, found in almost every cultural repertoire of Melanesian myth, generally assume the preexistence of the fundamental characteristics of the cosmos. When described at all, the primeval era is often portrayed either as a mosaic of basic elements, structures, and processes—earth, water, sky, astronomical bodies, the underworld, and the forces of wind, rain, tide, and temperature (Huli, Iatmül, Mae Enga, Marind-Anim, Mbowamb, Rossel)—or as a period of chaos, marked by cataclysms, storms, fires, floods, volcanic eruptions, eclipses, comets, and earthquakes, to be eventually put in order (Bimin-Kuskusmin, Orokaiva, Tangu, Trans-Fly, Waropen). Indeed, this primordial chaos is often paralleled by the mythical moral disorder attributed by many Melanesian peoples to the fringes of their known world (Bimin-Kuskusmin, Marind-Anim, Trans-Fly).

More often, however, such myths largely ignore cosmogony, focusing instead on subsequent modifications or transformations of terrain or seascape, flora, fauna, humankind, and culture or society brought about by important creators, culture heroes, totemic figures, or ancestors. Some of these mythic characters are both creative and regulative. Responsible for particular facets of cosmic order, they dwell in or near human settlements and supplicants, taking an interest in human affairs and often intervening in them. Other mythological beings are primarily or only regulative, possessing few if any creative powers but monitoring and intervening in human affairs after the establishment of the essential cosmic, moral, and social orders.

Culture heroes, on the other hand, are usually only creative. Soon after completing their acts of creation, they abandon human society, taking no further interest in its continuing affairs. But ancestral and totemic figures—through genealogical or ethnohistorical links with social groups founded on principles of descent or locality—tend to be significantly associated with the ongoing sociocultural life of particular communities. They model, validate, and also regulate aspects of the social, economic, moral, political, and ritual orders.

ORIGINS OF HUMANITY. In most Melanesian origin myths, primordial transformations reveal little sense of an original paradise and are attributed to various forms of hostility, to breaches of morality, and to conflict—often incest (Bimin-Kuskusmin, Huli, Marind-Anim, Waropen) but also adultery, desecration, homicide, rape, rebellion, sibling rivalry, suicide, treachery, and theft. The first humans are sometimes created through primeval acts of incest, although myths of ancestral parthenogenesis or virgin birth are also known (Bimin-Kuskusmin, Sambia, Trobriand Islanders). The original humans are depicted as emerging not only from the bodies of primordial humanoid forebears, but also from various sacred or mysterious cassowaries (Bimin-Kuskusmin), earthworms (Ndika), eggs (Rossel), stems (Kiwai), pigs (Tangu), palms (Keraki), and ground holes (Trobriand Islanders). Sometimes they emerge from other sources and sites—land, sea, sky, or perhaps some unknown, unmapped netherworld. Although they are occasionally completely formed, the first humans most often are molded or hardened by hand or by fire or sun into fully human form. They are then endowed with sensory, sexual, reproductive, and judgmental capacities, as well as other attributes of personhood (Bimin-Kuskusmin, Ilahita Arapesh, Marind-Anim, Trans-Fly). Once they are minimally human, these early beings are usually further endowed not only with the essential cultural artifacts—of gardening, fishing, hunting, and other productive activities—but also with such institutions as marriage, childrearing, ritual, magic, exchange, warfare, sorcery or witchcraft, and other foundations of Melanesian ideas of ethics, morality, and social order.

If the mythic bestowal of life, humanity, and sociality is complex and profound, the advent of death is usually associated with an apparently trivial incident that could well have had a different outcome—often involving some kind of acquisition or display of improper knowledge, emotion, or behavior and sometimes cast in the image of the shedding of skins and the apparent immortality of various lizards and snakes (Bimin-Kuskusmin, Kiwai, Trobriand Islanders). Yet Melanesian ideas of immortality tend to be ambiguous, and mythic beings are often given corporeal forms and mortal fragilities despite their recognized invisibility and supernatural powers. In turn, the complex symbolic relationships of birth, death, rebirth, and regeneration are commonly articulated in myths focused on and perhaps embedded in fertility, initiation, funerary, cannibalistic, and head-hunting rituals (Bimin-Kuskusmin, Gimi, Hua, Keraki, Marind-Anim, Trobriand Islanders).

CONTOURS OF THE COSMOLOGICAL LANDSCAPE. Myths of origin in Melanesia are often concerned with the primordial roles of sun, moon, stars, and other celestial phenomena and with the fundamental separations of water and land, earth and sky, valley and mountain, plain and river, night and day, and other key contours of a cosmological landscape (Bimin-Kuskusmin, Kyaka Enga, Tolai). The distinctions of forest, garden, and hamlet, or of sea, shore, and inland village, however, are often relegated to a later time when the sense of domesticated space and human community became apparent. Separations of the realms of natural and supernatural or living and dead are more problematic in both conception and representation, for many mythic spirits are imagined to live near human settlements and to be involved with their affairs. Indeed, these spiritual abodes are sometimes described as mirror images of, or as significantly overlapping with, the social world of the living.

The acquisition of fire commonly marks the inception of humanity and community. According to many Melanesian myths, the original fire, which is denied to beings other than the morally human, is usually brought by spirits, created by sacred lightning, or hidden in the body of an ancestral being—perhaps an old woman or a totemic animal (Bimin-Kuskusmin, Marind-Anim, Nalum, Trans-Fly). Sometimes the advent of fire is linked to the origin of a major food or of ritual plants and animals—especially taro, sweet potatoes, yams, sago, and valued wild flora, as well as cassowaries, dogs, pigs, marsupials, pythons, fruit bats, crocodiles, dugongs, and sharks. Such foods and the taboos applied to them are mythically portrayed as key sociocultural markers of self and person (Bimin-Kuskusmin, Hua, Manga, Ndumba). The common mythic theme of interwoven animal, plant, and human fertility is often bound to ideas of the generative powers of male and female substances, anthropophagic symbols, and images of human heads and acts of headhunting (Bimin-Kuskusmin, Marind-Anim, Rossel, Trans-Fly).

ORIGINS OF SOCIETY AND CULTURE. Throughout Melanesia, the beginnings of particular societies are attributed to both autochthonous origins and primordial migrations, which are often revealed in different contexts and serve distinct functions in the domains of ritual and ethnohistory (Bimin-Kuskusmin, Kwermin, Lagaip Enga, Umeda). It is in the context of these migrations that the culture heroes of Melanesia are often found. These culture heroes—including figures known over wide regions, such as Qat (Banks), Sido (Kiwai), Sosom (Marind-Anim), Souw (Daribi), Tagaro (Vanuatu), and Warohunuga (Solomons)—establish key aspects of sociocultural order, test the limits of morality, institute basic productive practices, introduce significant flora and fauna, and otherwise determine or shape the foundations of community. Often coming from a nearby land, the culture hero journeys across the known world, explores new frontiers, discovers new horizons, encounters strangers, enemies, or unknown women, travels to the realm of the dead, and shapes the world of the living. His exploits transform him profoundly and lend significance to the present condition of humankind. As he embarks on his odyssey of discovery, intrusion, indiscretion, insight, and creation, he is often cast as one member of an elder-younger sibling or cross-cousin set, and he marks the cultural boundaries of both cross-generational and male-female relationships. In exploring the moral boundaries of a community, the culture heroes exhibit some affinity with various local spirits, demons, ogres, fools, and tricksters, such as Gabruurian and Kamdaak Waneng (Bimin-Kuskusmin), Kakamora (San Cristoval), Masi (Ulawa), Muu-muu (Mala), Pakasa Uru and Tulagola (Lakalai), Tukis (Buka), and Yevale (Yéi-nan), but these figures never have the creative capacities of Melanesian culture heroes.

The myths of culture heroes introduce the sociological themes that are the foci of so many Melanesian narratives. Matters of egalitarian and hierarchical ethos and social order pervade the mythologies of western and eastern Melanesia, respectively. Ancestor spirits are genealogically and mythically marked in the descent ideologies of patrilineal, matrilineal, and cognatic Melanesian societies in different ways, but most of these societies—except in the patrilineal Highlands of New Guinea and hierarchical eastern Melanesia—emphasize the recently dead and largely ignore more remote ancestors. Although the myths of the classic New Guinea Highlands are substantially lacking in totemic figures or emblems, many fringe Highland and other Melanesian myths do associate totems with clans or moieties (Abelam, Bimin-Kuskusmin, Dobuans, Iatmül, Lakalai, Mountain Arapesh, Ngaing, Orokaiva, South Pentecost). Such mythic totemic figures may have few ritual implications (Keraki, Kiwai, Yéi-nan) or be associated with elaborate ancestor cults (Bimin-Kuskusmin, Marind-Anim).

Although Melanesian myths concerning ancestors and totems serve significantly as a community's corporate property, as charters of local or descent groups, and as the basis of claims on various social resources, many myths subtly depict a range of relations—between siblings, men and women, and generations—as a model extending from the family to the widest contours of social structure. Sibling relations are significant in almost all Melanesian myths. Emphasis is placed on either elder-younger (brother-brother, sister-sister) or male-female (brother-sister) configurations, with implications for matters of either generation or gender in transformations of the mythic sibling model (Bimin-Kuskusmin, Ilahita Arapesh, Mae Enga, Murik). Mythic portraits of generational relations tend to explore themes of authority and sexuality between parent and child and of amity in grandparent-grandchild relationships (Bimin-Kuskusmin, Mae Enga, Mountain Arapesh, Sambia). In turn, myths depicting gender relations tend to focus on substance, power, purity, and pollution; on the sexual division of labor; and on cultural images of virgins, wantons, witches, and female elders. These myths develop local ideas of primordial matriarchy and their ritual and political consequences (Asaro, Awa, Benabena, Bimin-Kuskusmin, Fore, Gadsup, Gahuku-Gama, Gimi, Hua, Jate, Kamano, Sambia, Siane, Tairora, Usurufa, Yagaria).

NEW FIELDS OF STUDY. Although the themes noted above have significantly shaped the described or analyzed character of Melanesian myths as they have been portrayed in more than a half century of anthropological study, several other foci are also worthy of special note. First, there is now a quite considerable tradition of concern with syncretic myths, which are subtly linked to mission Christianity or to various millenarian or messianic cargo cults. These analyses, which introduce the critical element of sociocultural change into the study of Melanesian mythology, extend to all major areas of the cultural region. Second, studies conducted in the second half of the twentieth century on Daribi and Kewa myths stressed the flexibility, metaphoric character, and creative potential of Melanesian myths, which are seen as complex forms of communication that play on ambiguity, trope, and innovation. Third, analyses of Kalauna and Tangu mythology emphasize the ways in which mythic understandings become variously embedded in both personal and public senses of self, person, experience, and symbol. In these studies, the analysis of Melanesian mythology has finally come to the forefront of anthropological interest, field research, and theoretical concern and promises to enrich this field of inquiry beyond traditional measure.

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The literature on Melanesian myths is immense and enormously varied, although it has remained primarily descriptive until quite recently. In the earlier periods of scholarly interest in Melanesia, the journals *Anthropos* (Salzburg, 1906–), *Baessler-Archiv* (Berlin, 1959–), *Folk-Lore* (London, 1890–), *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* (Paris, 1945–), *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Wellington, New Zealand, 1892–), *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1871–), *Man* (London, 1901–), *Oceania* (Sydney, 1930–), *Zeitschrift für Morphologie und Anthropologie* (Leipzig, 1899–), *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* (Braunschweig, Germany, 1870–1920), and other publications printed myriad unannotated texts of Melanesian myths. Despite the sterility of this early practice, the tradition of presenting such textual materials on mythology is being continued not only in some of the periodical literature listed above, but also in the exemplary anthologies of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, the Société d'Études Linguistiques et Anthropologiques de France, and the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, as well as in the journals *Bikmaus* (Boroko, Papua New Guinea, 1980–) and *Oral History* (Boroko, Papua New Guinea, 1973–). The vital importance of providing appropriate ethnographic context, however, is now recognized in these endeavors to establish an archive of Melanesian oral traditions.

There are many early but altogether excellent ethnographic studies of Melanesian cultures and societies based on the tradition of field research that give detailed and significant—if not focal—attention to mythology. A fine, sensitive, but highly descriptive presentation of numerous mythic and other texts that provides a rich sense of their ethnographic contexts is to be found in Gunnar Landtmann's *The Folk-Tales of the Kiwai Papuans* (Helsinki, 1917). A somewhat similar study is well represented in G. Camden Wheeler's *Mono-Alu Folklore (Bougainville Strait, Western Solomon Islands)* (London, 1926), which provides extensive annotations of many texts and thoughtful comparisons with diverse Melanesian myths, but which portrays a somewhat superficial sense of relevant ethnographic context.

The problem-centered, theoretical analysis of Melanesian myth, however, becomes more prominent in the era of functionalist concerns, which emphasize the intricate embeddedness of mythology in the cultural fabric of social institutions. Thus, the place of myth in a system of morality enforced and sanctioned through oracles is splendidly illustrated in Reo F. Fortune's *Manus Religion* (Philadelphia, 1935). The intertwined cultural, social, and psychological characteristics of myth and its key functions as a charter of magical, ritual, and social institutions is remarkably portrayed for Trobriand gardening beliefs and practices in Bronislaw Malinowski's *Coral Gardens and Their Magic*, 2 vols. (London, 1935), and for the theoretical and comparative study of myth in Malinowski's *Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays* (New York, 1948), which draws heavily on a range of Trobriand myths. A sensitivity to the psychocultural nuances of Melanesian mythology, however, is not generally a hallmark of the functionalist tradition and, beyond Malinowski's work, is perhaps best carried forward in John Layard's *Stone Men of Malekula* (London, 1942), which marvelously explores the cultural, psychological, and ritual character and context of myth on the islands of Malekula and Vao in the New Hebrides (now Vanuatu).

The analysis of Melanesian myth moves well beyond a simplistic concern with both function and charter in the seminal but little-recognized studies of the Keraki and other Trans-Fly groups and of the Elema, documented in Francis Edgar Williams's *Papuans of the Trans-Fly* (Oxford, 1936) and *Drama of Orokolo* (Oxford, 1940). A master of ethnography and no slavish adherent of functionalist dogma, Williams challenges the foundations of Malinowski's faith in mythic charters and opens new ground by raising significant questions about the cultural embeddedness, semiotic construction, and psychological importance of myths in Melanesia and elsewhere. In these several regards, Williams's central concern is to address the subtle relationships between mythic and ritual forms—an issue that is also richly explored in the magnificent studies of the Marind-Anim portrayed in Paul Wirz's *Die Marind-Anim von Holländisch-Süd-Neu-Guinea*, 2 vols. (Hamburg, 1922–1925), and in Jan van Baal's *Dema* (The Hague, 1966).

The classic study of the mythology of New Caledonia is beautifully represented in Maurice Leenhardt's *Do Kamo: Person and Myth in the Melanesian World* (1947; reprint, Chicago, 1979). In his exploration of matters of experience, epistemology, and personhood through myth and the nuances of the anthropological study of myth, Leenhardt provokes a depth of insight into Canaque myth that provides inspiration from Lucien Lévy-Bruhl to Claude Lévi-Strauss in the unraveling of Melanesian *mythologiques*. Yet the contemporary study of New Caledonian mythology, as admirably exemplified in Alban Bensa and Jean-Claude Rivièrre's *Les chemins de l'alliance* (Paris, 1982), is far less philosophical in its theoretical foundations and reflective in its methodological moorings and attempts to promote a more "scientific" emphasis on ethnosemantic classificatory schemas and sociopolitical patterns implicated in mythic narratives.

The state of the art in the anthropological study of Melanesian mythology is well examined and summarized for the period ending in the early 1960s in *Gods, Ghosts and Men in Melanesia*, edited by Peter Lawrence and M. J. Meggitt (Melbourne, 1965). This overview suggests how little progress had been made in the study of the myths and religions of Melanesia before the 1960s, which represented what might be called a renaissance of academic interest in Melanesian religions. Prior to this time, there is particularly little exploration of mythology in the New Guinea Highlands, with the notable exception of the monumental study of Fore, Jate, Kamano, and Usurufa origin, *kinihera*, and other genres of myth in Catherine H. Berndt's "Myth in Action" (Ph.D. diss., London School of Economics, 1955).

The modern era in the study of Melanesian mythology exhibits two particularly significant trends: (1) a comparative examination of mythological and other aspects of millenarian, nativistic, or cargo cult movements; and (2) a new emphasis on mythology as the focus of ethnographic interest and theoretical analysis. In the first instance, mythological portraits of the significance of sociocultural change, of altered conceptions of personhood, self, society, and cosmos, and of revitalized traditional or newly syncretic images are compared throughout much of Melanesia in Peter Worsley's *The Trumpet Shall Sound* (London, 1957) and in Kenelm Burridge's *New Heaven, New Earth* (New York, 1969).

In the second instance, however, the study of Melanesian myth comes fully into the mainstream of the best academic explorations of myth. These new and exciting analytic undertakings are perhaps best represented in a limited set of exemplary articles and in the monographic work of five scholars. The mythic exploration of moral ambiguities and dilemmas is insightfully examined in a Kamano text in Catherine H. Berndt's "The Ghost Husband: Society and the Individual in New Guinea Myth," *Journal of American Folklore* 79 (1966): 244–277. Subtleties of the conceptual images and internal paradoxes of Kaliai culture and society as represented in a single myth are unraveled in Dorothy Ayers Counts's "*Akro* and *Gagandewa:* A Melanesian Myth," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 89 (1980): 33–64. These analyses show the power of exploring the nuances of a single mythic narrative in elaborate sociocultural context. In contrast, a comparative examination of the dialectical relationship between sociocultural experience, moral order, and mythic representation in the Eastern Highlands region of Papua New Guinea is admirably constructed in John Finch's "Structure and Meaning in Papua New Guinea Highland Mythology," *Oceania* 55 (1985): 197–213.

Whether focusing within or beyond a particular sociocultural community, the monographic endeavors variously attend to problems of the comparative analysis of myth. The complex and subtle relations between mythology and matters of personhood, self, morality, and experience in Tangu society are elegantly dissected in Kenelm Burridge's *Tangu Traditions* (Oxford, 1969), which delicately probes the intricate way in which myth is variously embedded in diverse ethnographic contexts and which forcefully demonstrates how myths become crystallizations of cultural themes and of both social and personal experiences. Exploring a tension between the disclosure of immoral realities and the revelation of existential truths, enigmatic and oracular Tangu myths unveil dilemmas of the local human condition. How such mythic crystallizations are constructed and manipulated creatively and through complex understandings of cultural tropes is analyzed admirably for Daribi mythology in Roy Wagner's *Habu* (Chicago, 1972) and *Lethal Speech* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1978), which also attend to broader comparative issues in assessing the commonalities and peculiarities of Daribi myth in New Guinea and in Melanesia. The significance of variations among versions of myths with respect to the cultural discrimination of social differences and to the transformational characteristics of a corpus of myths within a particular society is illustrated in exemplary fashion for Nalum mythology in S. Hylkema's *Mannen in het Draagnet* (The Hague, 1974). The subtle interplay between narrative compositions and pragmatic experiences, between intertextual resonances and textual references, between the surfaces and the depths of constructed layers of meaning, and between the fanciful and the factual of cultural contradictions and social conflicts, is marvelously explored in the "fabricated worlds" of Kewa *lidi* myths in John LeRoy's *Fabricated World* (Vancouver, 1985), which is usefully complemented by a fine collection of the analyzed myths in *Kewa Tales*, edited by LeRoy (Vancouver, 1985). Finally, the problem of how myths—usually conceived as particular forms of collective representations (in the Durkheimian sense)—become articulated with personal symbols and subjective experience and embedded in autobiographical narratives is superbly examined in Michael W. Young's *Magicians of Manumanua* (Berkeley, 1983). These new studies reach well beyond the descriptive and analytic limits of their predecessors and hold much promise for the future of academic understandings of the subtleties of mythological constructions in the Melanesian cultural region.

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MELQART,

MELQART, whose name means "king of the city" (*milk qart*), was the patron god of the Phoenician city of Tyre and one of the major gods of the Phoenician and Punic pantheons. He was also known as Baal Sur (Lord of Tyre) and was identified with Herakles (Hercules) since at least the sixth century BCE. There is no longer any doubt about his link with Tyre (the "city" of his name) since the publication in the 1990s and early 2000s by Pierre Bordreuil of explicit epigraphical evidence, including a seal, tesserae, dedication, weight, and sling balls.

PHOENICIA AND SYRIA. The earliest epigraphical evidence on Melqart appears on a statue found near Aleppo (Bredj), Syria, dating from about 800 BCE. The royal Aramaic votive inscription bears the name of Barhadad, who probably was king of Arpad. This document is an important trace of commercial and cultural contacts between Northern Syria and Phoenicia, especially Tyre, which explains why an Aramaic king made such an offering to a Tyrian god. Melqart is represented on the stela, standing, striding from right to left, with a naked torso and bare feet, bearded, with a loincloth and a dome-shaped hat, a fenestrated ax on the shoulder (a royal symbol) and carrying what may be an ankh or a lotus flower in the right hand (a symbol of immortality). This is clearly a composite image, with Egyptian and Syro-Hittite affiliations. The same iconography, with a standing or seated god (on a throne), is also attested in different Mediterranean contexts (Cyprus, Carthage, Ibiza, Sardinia), but it is not certain that it always refers to Melqart.

Although the first reference to Melqart belongs to the beginning of the first millennium BCE, different literary sources link him with the founding of the city of Tyre, and Herodotus (II, 44) reports that, according to the priestly traditions, Melqart's Tyrian sanctuary was as old as the city itself. It is likely that Melqart's cult was based on a longtime religious tradition, the cult of royal ancestors, which is well attested in Mesopotamia and Syria until the third millennium BCE. However, Melqart became the poliadic god of Tyre, with this specific name, only at the beginning of the first millennium BCE, when Tyre became a great commercial center with a Mediterranean dimension. In fact, Josephus (*A.J.*, VIII, 145–146; *C.Ap.* I, 117–119) records that Hiram I, the king of Tyre during the tenth century BCE, built new temples for Melqart (Herakles) and Astarte in the city and celebrated for the first time the *egersis*, which was the resurrection ritual of Melqart, in the month of Peritios (February–March). During this annual ritual, the god "died" (perhaps in a fire) and was awakened or resuscitated, perhaps through a sacred marriage (*hierosgamos*) with the goddess Astarte. In this celebration, the Tyrian king probably played the role of the god, and a priestess played the role of the goddess.

Later in Cyprus and in the Punic world, a ritual title applied to important citizens is attested, surely in connection with Melqart's *egersis*: "The one who makes the god(s) awaken, bridegroom of Astarte(?)." In Greek inscriptions found in Amman, Ramleh, and Ashkelon, this function is translated as "*egerseites* of Herakles." On a vase, presumably from Sidon, there is a probable iconographical representation of the main moments of Melqart's *egersis.* In addition, in Gades (Spain), Hercules/Melqart's bones were kept (Pomponius Mela III 46). These elements seem to fit well with the known Frazerian pattern of the "dying and rising god," but this pattern has been critically challenged because it is an artificial construction that does not reflect the great diversity of the historical and "theological" backgrounds of the so-called dying and rising gods, a category that includes Osiris, Dumuzi, Attis, Adonis, and others. In Melqart's case, it appears clear that the annual ritual death and resurrection means that every year the natural, cosmic, sociopolitical, and religious order was renewed with and through the king. It is not simply a "naturalistic" ritual, but a way to assure fertility, order, peace, and wealth for all the people, because, as the Semitic royal inscriptions say, the king—mythical and historical—"makes his people live." It is also interesting to notice that Astarte seems to be the mother and *paredros* (companion) of the god. According to Cicero (*N.D.* III, 42) and Philo of Byblos (Eusebius, *P.E.*, I, 10, 27, 3), the Tyrian Herakles was the son of Zeus Demarous (from *Dmrn*, the "Warrior," possibly an epithet of Baal) and Asteria (Astarte); he was killed by Typho in Libya and was brought back to life by the goddess, who made him smell roasted quails (Eudoxus of Cnidos, fr. 284).

Direct evidence. After the Aleppo inscription, Melqart appears in two vassal Assyrian treaties. First, Melqart is mentioned in the treaty of 754 BCE between Matiel, king of Arpad (Northern Syria) and Ashurnirari V, king of Assyria. Here Melqart is included in the group of gods who warrant the treaty; together with Eshmun (the Baal of Sidon), Melqart is also named in the treaty of 675–670 BCE between the kings Esarhaddon of Assyria and Baal of Tyre. This treaty regulated the shipping and overland trade routes, and Melqart is included in the group of Tyrian gods, together with Astarte and Eshmun: "May Melqart and Eshmun deliver your land to destruction and your people to deportation; may they [uproot] you from your land and take away the food from your mouth, the clothes from your body, and the oil for your anointing" (Parpola and Watanabe, 1988, vol. II, p. 27).

Various scholars hold that the cult of Baal that King Ahab and his wife Jezebel, a Tyrian princess, introduced into Israel in the ninth century BCE (1 *Kgs.* 16), and against which the prophet Elijah fought on Mount Carmel (1 *Kgs.* 18:20–40), was in fact a cult of Melqart. The text that narrates the challenge between Elijah and Baal's prophets alludes to a god who sleeps and travels, like Melqart, the god of the *egersis* and the companion of the Tyrian expansion on the Mediterranean shores. But the god Baal Shamin (Lord of the Heaven) is another good possibility for the Carmel episode. In the sixth century BCE, Ezekiel's oracle against Tyre (*Ez.* 28:1–19) probably refers to the cultural background of the Tyrian kingship when he places in the king's mouth these words: "I am a god, I sit on a divine throne, in the heart of the seas." The Tyrian betyls (standing stones) that symbolize the city's power (*Ez.* 26:11) are probably the two stelae that Herodotus (II, 44) describes in Melqart's shrine and that are represented on the city's coinage. They were a symbol of his dominion, as were, later, the columns of Herakles at the end of the Western world (Libya, then Gibraltar). These elements prove that an aniconic tendency, maybe the older form of the cult, was still present in the worship of Melqart, especially in Tyre and Gades, though anthropomorphic figures are also known. On the Tyrian coinage, the Heraklean symbols occur frequently in the Hellenistic and Roman period. In the fifth century BCE a sea god riding a hippocampus is depicted, which could be Melqart represented as the protector of commercial expansion, but this is not certain.

When Alexander the Great reached Tyre in the fourth century BCE and began the siege, because of his Heraklean genealogy he tried to manifest his devotion to the Tyrian Herakles (Melqart), making several offerings in his temple (Arrian, *Anab.* II, 16–24). But by that time the Hellenization of the cult was already deep, and it is difficult to distinguish the local Semitic god and its Greek interpretation; one deals with a syncretistic figure (Melqart/Herakles) in a syncretistic context (the Hellenistic period). The Greek iconographical language completely covers the original Phoenician image, which is very poorly attested.

Just as the Tyrian influence expanded through the Mediterranean by way of trade and colonization, so did the cult of Melqart. The "Lord of Tyre" was also the "sailors' god" (Diodorus XX, 14), who traveled with the population. Melqart thus became one of the major figures of the ancestral religious traditions for the western Phoenicians (Punic people). For example, it is known that the Tyrian founders of Carthage and Gades brought on their ships, together with their families, relics of Melqart (Justin XVIII, 4, 15; XLIV, 5, 2). In these colonial contexts, the foundation of a sanctuary for Melqart, often *extra muros,* was probably one of the first concerns of the new inhabitants because the sanctuary was a neutral and sacral space that offered an adequate context for the first commercial and social contacts with the local populations. Melqart's temples probably had an important economic function, perhaps serving as "treasuries" of commercial exchanges through a system of tithe, but this aspect of his cult is still hypothetical because of the lack of documentation.

Elsewhere in Phoenicia and Syria, Melqart is mainly attested in Amrith (together with Eshmun), Sarepta (if he is the "holy god" of the inscriptions), Umm el-Awamid (under the name of Milkashtart), Jamnia, and Ascalon.

BEYOND PHOENICIA AND SYRIA. From Phoenicia, Melqart's devotion expanded in the eastern Mediterranean.

Cyprus. The first step was Cyprus. There Melqart is documented in several places: Kition, Amathus, Idalion, and Larnaka, which were the major centers of Phoenician colonization since the ninth century BCE. In Kition-Bamboula, Melqart's sanctuary was near Astarte's, while in Kition-Batsalos there is epigraphical evidence of a common cult to Melqart-Eshmun. In many Cypriot cult sites, a Heraklean iconography, similar to that present on the Syrian coast (Amirth) since the sixth to fifth centuries BCE, is present. It may allude to Melqart, but probably also alludes to other cults, including Reshef /Apollo and some anonym Cypriot god, as if the Heraklean shape were a standard male god iconography. Cyprus was thus a crucial place for the iconographical assimilation between Melqart, the royal god, perhaps associated with the lion (as in the Eastern iconography of the smiting king or god), and the Greek Herakles, who became the god with the *leonte*, the bow and the club. The Idalion cup (eighth century BCE) is the best illustration of this assimilation process.

Greece. Although there is little specific evidence of Melqart in Greece, it is probable that Samos was an important stage on the road that brought Melqart/Herakles from Phoenicia and Syria to Greece, through Cyprus and perhaps Rhodi, where an "awakener of the god" is attested, surely in connection with Melqart's cult. In Samos, where Hera looks much like Astarte, there is a famous pectoral (625–600 BCE) with the first Heraklean image of the hero with the *leonte*. Otherwise, Melqart's name never appears on Greek soil.

Herodotos reports (II, 44) that Melqart was venerated in Thasos as the *archegetes* of the city, just as the Thasian Herakles was venerated in Tyre, but excavations have not provided any evidence of this. In Crete, the Phoenician presence (at least in Kommos) is well documented, but Melqart does not appear, although the Cretan Herakles Daktylos may have some relationship to him and to the Egyptian Bes. Another important site in the religious map of the Greek world is Delos, where different oriental communities settled for commercial reasons. The Tyrian group considered Melqart as their patron god and therefore took the name of Heracleistes. Their decree (ID 1519) records that on the Aegean island they regularly practiced Melqart's cult as their *archegetes* during the second century BCE.

Africa. Though the monarchy disappeared in Carthage, Melqart, the royal god par excellence, remained popular as a symbol of the Phoenician roots of Carthaginian people, like the goddess Astarte. The divine couple, Melqart and Astarte, already attested in Phoenicia, survived in the Punic context and was often translated in Greek and Roman sources through the *interpretatio graeca* or *latina*: Herakles/Hercules for Melqart, and Aphrodite/Venus or Hera/Juno, especially but not exclusively, for Astarte. In Carthage, Melqart's cult provided one of the most important occasions to maintain the relationships between Tyre and its major Punic colony. Every year during Melqart's feast a tithe was sent from Carthage to Tyre to demonstrate the people's fidelity to the great ancestral god and to Tyrian traditions. When the Carthaginians interrupted this custom, they were badly punished by the god with war and epidemics, as reported by Diodorus of Sicily (XX, 14). In the famous treaty between Hannibal and the Macedonian king Philippus V in 215 BCE, Herakles (with the Carthaginian daimôn and Iolaus), who must surely be Melqart (Polybius VII, 9, 2–3), is mentioned among the Punic gods.

Elsewhere in Africa, Melqart is present in Leptis Magna (as Milkashtart, together with Shadrafa), Sabrata (as Hercules), El Hofra, and Lixus, where the classical authors placed the Hesperian garden.

Spain. In Spain, where Phoenician people founded emporia as early as the eighth century BCE, the main center of Melqart's cult was Gades. The evidence is entirely Greek and Latin, and relatively late, so it is difficult to determine what belongs to the Phoenician god and what to his later classical brothers. It is likely that Phoenician, Greek, and Roman cults were practiced together in a clearly syncretistic context, where each believer was able to recognize his own god.

Milkashtart, who could be a god similar to Melqart and who was also assimilated to Herakles/Hercules, appears in Gades in the second century BCE. His name alludes to a royal god (Milk) of Ashtarot, a Palestinian place name, and not to Ashtart/Astarte. The cult of Melqart/Herakles/Hercules propagated in several places in southern Spain, as demonstrated by local coinage with Heraklean symbols or images, including Herakles' head, bowl, and club, but the chronology of such a phenomenon is not clear. It is probable that the brief Punic dominion on Spain in the third century BCE under the leadership of the Barcides, a family who had a special devotion for Melqart, reinforced the god's presence in Spain. The Barcides imitated Alexander's coinage with the Heraklean head.

The cult of Melqart is also known through epigraphical and iconographical evidence to have been present in Ibiza. Scholars are not aware of any mythological cycle of Melqart's adventures similar to those surrounding Herakles, neither in Ibiza, the far West, or the East. The Western episodes of Herakles' myth are particularly important because they constitute the antecedent of his death and apotheosis. The West, the Sun's house, was considered to be the end of the world, a fabulous land where a person could communicate with the netherworld. But nothing similar is known about Melqart, and the old idea that the "city" contained in his name was the city of the dead is not convincing.

Italy, Malta, and Great Britain. Melqart is found in all Phoenician colonies, including Sardinia, Sicily, and Malta. In Sardinia, there is little evidence of Melqart's presence in Tharros, the most important Phoenician colony on the island, apart from a temple, known from an inscription. Astarte is much better documented, particularly on iconographical grounds, and these two gods probably formed a divine couple, as they frequently did elsewhere. Melqart is also documented in the Sid/Sardus Pater's sanctuary in Antas.

In Sicily, the name of Melqart occurs as a theophorous element in the onomastics, but there is no cultural evidence.

He was nevertheless probably venerated in different places, for example in Selinus, where the cult of Herakles is well documented, and in Mozia, where the famous statue of the Young of Mozia (fifth century BCE) has been interpreted as Heraklean iconography. Melqart also appears in the placename Roshmelqart (Cape of Melqart), which is documented in inscriptions and on the coinage but has not yet been definitively identified. In Sicily, the Heraklean presence is strong and is reinforced through the interaction (often violent, in the form of a conquest and assimilation) with indigenous cults.

In Malta, Melqart certainly had a temple, which is mentioned by Ptolemy as Herakles' temple; the location was revisited in 2003 by Nicholas Vella. The twin stelae with double bilingual inscriptions in Phoenician and Greek were probably offered in this temple to Melqart, Baal of Tyre, and to Herakles, *archegetes* of the Tyrians, that is, the founder, the "leader of the foundation" (Donner and Ršllig, 2002). These texts enabled Jean-Jacques Barthèlemy to decipher the Phoenician scripture in 1758. Astarte's cult is also well attested in Tas Silg in Malta.

Pyrgi is the most important site in continental Italy, which has something to do with Melqart. The evidence is both epigraphical and iconographical. The bilingual Phoenician and Etruscan inscription on the laminae includes a dedication to Astarte/Uni from the local king on a special occasion: "the day of the burial of the god" (Donner and Ršllig, 2002). The name of this god is not explicitly mentioned, but the iconographical evidence may indicate that he was Melqart—in the decoration of Pyrgi's temples (A and B), Heraklean motifs are common, probably in connection with the cults practiced there. In the Forum Boarium on the Ara Maxima in Rome, the local Hercules had economic and commercial functions. Because of the relationships between archaic Rome and different oriental groups (Cypriots and Phoenicians, maybe through the Etruscans), the Forum Boarium's Hercules could have some oriental connotations, just like he also has deep Greek shapes, but he is surely not *sic et simpliciter* Melqart.

Phoenician traders probably settled in Corstopitum in Great Britain, the cult site of both their ancestral gods, during the Imperial period. Melqart, translated as Herakles, and Astarte (*Inscriptiones Graecae,* XIV, 2253–2254) remain together, even in such a remote place.

From the rich evidence discussed above, from all the Mediterranean shores, scholars conclude that Melqart was one of the most important gods of the Phoenician and Punic world. He was primarily a royal god who was linked with the Syro-Mesopotamian background of the cult of royal ancestors and who had some chthonic, salvific, and healing connotations. Because of the commercial vocation of Tyre and its expansion in the West, Melqart became a god of the sea, who took the Tyrian people to the colonial world. He was not simply a vegetation god, an example of the dying-god typology, but rather a king who protects the population and assures security, victory, wealth, fertility, and stability. Melqart was thus the king's prototype in historical times. His cyclical death, recorded in a special ritual that involved the king, means that without the king's mediation between the divine and the human sphere the world cannot function, fertility ceases, and fecundity disappears, as in the Ugaritic Kirta myth. The annual death and resurrection (*egersis*) of Melqart must demonstrate what a society without a king (a catastrophic event) means and how it is important to reestablish and confirm the primary importance of the king in the balance between life and death, power and destruction, fertility and desolation. This pattern surely includes the life of nature and vegetation, but it goes far beyond.

SEE ALSO Dying and Rising Gods; Eshmun; Heracles.

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MEMORIZATION, as the act of storing information in the memory, is distinguished by the fact that it can be either mechanical or deliberate. It is through practice and imitation, through the mechanical repetition of the traditional gestures and speech of his social group, that the individual, without actually realizing it, memorizes most of the information necessary for proper social and religious behavior. Taken in this sense, memorization culminates in the acquisition of the innumerable actions, of behavior, thought, and sensibility, that define a social and cultural identity. From the classic texts of Maurice Halbwachs on social memory and Marcel Mauss on bodily techniques to the more recent studies of André Leroi-Gourhan on mechanical operatory chains and Erwin Goffman on interaction rites, this type of memory acquisition has been the object of numerous investigations that need not be considered here. It is sufficient to emphasize that, in contrast to this kind of memorization, there exists another, deliberate form, the techniques of which become especially prominent when certain individuals are momentarily separated from their usual social group in order to take part in an initiatory ritual or to become part of an educational institution. These extreme cases do not apply to all members of a community, however, and those to whom they do apply are never required to memorize everything, but only those gestures, techniques, and special narratives that are of particular importance, as for example certain ritual formulas, declarations of faith, religious chants, prayers, and rules of religious behavior. Deliberate memorization thus appears to be a specialization of the more natural process of acquiring knowledge and techniques, religious or otherwise, that unconsciously determine a person's membership in a particular tradition.

To this initial distinction, between mechanical and deliberate memorization, can be added another, which does not coincide with it, but applies to each term independently: the techniques and practices of memorization, be they mechanical or deliberate, vary according to whether they are associated with orality or writing. Studies by Laura Bohannan, E. A. Havelock, and Jack Goody have established that memory is organized differently when written records and models are available; without writing, memory does not function as exact reproduction, but rather as generative recollection that ties repetition to variation. It would be wrong to think that this second distinction is historical. Oral memory and memory determined by writing can easily coexist in the same culture, as the Greek, Jewish, Celtic, and Hindu examples to be mentioned below will show. This is also still the case in contemporary cultures. In the exposition that follows, which must be limited to only a few examples, will be traced a line that leads from the oral to the written. At each stage it is necessary to respect the double contribution of mechanical memorization and deliberate memorization.

In societies without writing, riddles, proverbs, myths, fables, and stories depend upon a memory that is more or less shared by the entire community. In this sense, one can speak of "social memory" or "shared knowledge." However, memorization is often an activity left to the free choice of individuals, to their tastes, affinities, and personal gifts. Henri Junod (1936) recalls a woman among the Tsonga who could tell riddle after riddle until late into the night. He met storytellers of every age and of both sexes: "Such a narrator might know only one story, and repeat it on every occasion, as did Jim Tandane, who told the story of an ogre, Nwatlakoulalambibi, with such enthusiasm that he was nicknamed after his hero! But others can tell six, ten, or twenty stories" (p. 159).

In certain societies, in particular among the Native Populations of North America, the knowledge and the possession of a myth or chant may be the privilege of an individual, who alone may pronounce it. It is for this reason that a Navajo of New Mexico may give as a sign of his poverty the fact that he does not own a single chant. A chant thus becomes a piece of "property" that concerns his own social and spiritual identity.

Most often, however, it is because certain stories are of an important collective interest that they are entrusted to the vigilant memory of one or more persons. The task of memorization is then taken up by a specific institution, often religious. These institutions are generally controlled by an elite close to power. In Rwanda, the oral tradition of the Ubwiiru, in which the rites to be performed by the king were described, was divided into eighteen rituals that were kept strictly secret. In an essay on this oral tradition Pierre Smith (1970) notes that "the individuals in charge of remembering and repeating it word for word—errors could be punished with death—were the most important dignitaries in the kingdom, and the most important three among them, the only ones who knew the text as a whole, partook of the sacred character of royalty" (p. 1385). Such "memory specialists" can be found wherever a community expresses in narrative its needs to preserve its identity. In Oceania, the experts in oral tradition, the "holders of memory," were assembled in colleges analogous to religious confraternities. The most famous among them, portrayed by Victor Ségalen in *Les immémoriaux,* were the *harepo* of Tahiti, who were the keepers of the genealogies, myths, and epics.

> These orators were given true responsibility only after a serious examination, composed of difficult tests. The least mistake in memory was enough to eliminate a candidate, whose preparation was the responsibility of the priests. It is said that the *harepo* practiced in complete isolation, during long nocturnal walks. The transmission of ancestral knowledge rested with them. These story tellers were surrounded by a whole set of religious rituals. (O'Reilly and Poirer, 1956, pp. 1469–1470)

On Easter Island, the *rongorongo,* from noble families often attached to the king, used to teach chants and oral traditions in special huts. Alfred Métraux (1941) describes how this oral tradition is learned: "The student's memory was perfectly trained. During their first years of schooling, they had to learn certain psalms by heart, which they recited while playing cat's cradle: each figure . . . would correspond to a chant to be recited" (p. 168).

Among the Inca, the education of the nobility was the responsibility of the *amauta*s, who were of aristocratic descent. Their instruction lasted four years. The first year was devoted to the learning of the Quechua language; the second year to learning the religious traditions; and the third and fourth years to the handling of the famous knotted strings, the *quipu.*

Memorization, as it is practiced by such specialists, becomes a technique that can be taught, and that has its appropriate equipment. The Peruvian *quipu,* the *kou-hau* made by the *rongorongo* on Easter Island, the skeins of coconut fiber adorned with knots made in the Marquesas Islands, the wooden tablets of the Cuna Indians in Panama, and the pieces of bark of the Ojibwa Indians of North America do not, strictly speaking, constitute writing systems, but they do represent mnemotechnical means pertaining to oral memory. The same is true of certain systems of pictographic notation, such as the Aztec ideograms. Fernandon de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl recalls that the Aztec used to have writers for each type of history:

> Some would work with the *Annals* [Xiuhamatl], putting in order the things which took place each year, giving the day, the month, and the hour. Others were charged with the genealogies and ancestries of the kings and lords and persons of lineage. . . . Others took care of the paintings of the boundaries, the limits, and the landmarks of the cities, provinces, and towns, and [recorded] to whom they belonged. (quoted in Léon-Portilla, 1963, p. 157)

These "writers" used pictographs to construct a mnemonic system that later historians could refer to, provided that they also referred to the purely oral tradition of the chants (ibid., p. 156), since as a system of notation it was not sufficient in itself for the total preservation of information. It was necessary in addition to have recourse to the memory that was transmitted by word of mouth through the traditional chants. One finds a similar situation, *mutatis mutandis,* in the early days of Islam, when to read the Qurʾān it was necessary that one already know it, since writing was still too rudimentary to be the sole means of transmission.

In oral cultures, memorization remains closely tied to the conditions of performance, despite the use of mnemonic techniques. Between listening and repeating, the absence of a fixed model does not allow for exact word-for-word repetition. Variability is essential, even though the transformations from one speaker to another often go unnoticed. There is no original version that others could reproduce, or from which they could depart. Claude Lévi-Strauss suggests that there is nevertheless a logical model, which follows certain laws of transformation. Although reproduction is not determined by the ideal of fidelity to an original (a "text"), this does not mean that it thereby becomes prey to arbitrariness. Its flexibility, its adaptability, respects certain formal conditions. "Understood in this way," notes Dan Sperber,

> the facts presented by Lévi-Strauss, these peculiar correspondances and regularities, represent the intellectual capital available for primitive thought, and more particularly . . . for storing and retrieving information in the absence of the external memory which writing provides. Thus the study of myths can clarify the nature of human thought itself, in some of its least known aspects. (*Le savoir des anthropologues,* Paris, 1982, p. 115)

As logical as these rules of transformation can be, and as apt be enlightening on the workings of the human mind, they are not incompatible with trivial motives. Take, for instance, what Edmund Leach (1954) reports of the Kachin of Burma:

> Kachins recount their traditions on set occasions, to justify a quarrel, to validate a social custom, to accompany a religious performance. The story-telling therefore has a purpose; it serves to validate the status of the individual who tells the story, or rather of the individual who hires a bard to tell the story, for among Kachins the telling of traditional tales is a professional occupation carried out by priests and bards of various grades *(jaiwa, dumsa, laika).* But if the status of one individual is validated, that almost always means that the status of someone else is denigrated. One might then infer almost from first principles that every traditional tale will occur in several different versions, each tending to uphold the claims of a different vested interest. (Leach, 1954, pp. 265–266)

This amounts to saying that the priestly bard adjusts his stories to the requirements of the audience who hired him. The horizon of expectation, the "reception," appears to be a constitutive component of oral memory, a component that conditions the very notions of fidelity and truth.

Oral memory does not like writing; there are numerous examples of this. This is not simply because it knows that writing can place it in contradiction with itself. It is primarily because the standard of truth is different for each. To understand this phenomenon better, one may turn to cultures where the two types of memory coexist. First the Celts, where the specialists of the sacred, the druids, ran their own schools, in which the main subject was memorization. According to an Irish judicial treatise, the *ollam* (the highest ranking scholar) was considered the equal of a king; he could recite 350 stories, 250 long ones, and 100 short ones. "As for the tenth-ranked *oblaire,* who makes do with leftovers at a feast, and whose escort is small, only seven stories suffices." The druids, who were the only Celts who knew how to write, refused to use their skill for religious purposes. "They say," wrote Caesar,

> that they learn a great number of verses by heart: some spend twenty years at their school. They believe that religion forbids the use of writing for this purpose, unlike any other purpose such as recording public or private stories, for which they use the Greek alphabet. It seems to me that they established this usage for two reasons. On the one hand, they did not want their doctrine to spread among the people; on the other hand, they did not want those who study to rely on writing and neglect their memory, since it often happens that the use of texts has the effect of reducing efforts to memorize by heart and weakens the memory. (*Gallic Wars* 6.13)

Georges Dumézil (1940) comments on this testimony as follows: "knowledge is reincarnated in each generation, in each student; it is not received as a deposit; it assumes a form which, even while retaining its meaning and its essential traits, rejuvenates it and in a certain measure actualizes it." It is this dynamic, flexible, and adaptable character of oral memory that is threatened by writing. This is apparent from recent testimonies as well, such as that of a native of New Guinea (Humboldt Bay), who told an ethnologist, "in putting down our myths and legislative rules in writing you just kill them." According to Freerk C. Kamma (1975) "he meant to say: to fix or stabilize a progressing living reality means to cut it off from accompanying the living community."

In India, the *brahman*s who teach the Vedas are specialists in the techniques of memory, even though the Vedas have for a long time been fixed in writing. Louis Renou has noted that

> there is something fascinating in the process of memorizing the verses. The master stares at the student while feeding him the verses, so to speak, with an implacable regularity, while the student rocks back and forth in a squatting position. After looking on for a few moments in such a recitation class, one better understands the hymn of the *Rgveda* (7.103) in which this monotonous delivery has been likened to the croaking of frogs. (Renou, 1950, p. 36)

A precise description of the techniques of memorization in the Vedic schools can be found in the fifteenth chapter of the *Rk Pratisakhya,* an old phonetic and grammatical treatise.

E. A. Havelock and Marcel Detienne have insisted on the coexistence of two types of memory in ancient Greece up until the time of Plato: (1) written memory and (2) social memory that is still dependent on oral tradition. Thus it is noteworthy that, although archives were available from the end of the fifth century BCE, it never occured to Greek historians to refer to them as historical sources more reliable than the tradition transmitted by the works of their predecessors (appraised according to their degree of verisimilitude) or transmitted by the experience of sight *(autopsía)* or hearing (testimony). And yet, already from about 470 BCE, Pindar and Aeschylus employ the metaphor that represents memory as an inscription, on the tablets of the soul, of what is fit to be remembered. Shortly before, the poet Simonides is said to have invented the art of memory, a technique built upon the metaphor of writing, which will undergo an important development, passing by way of Roman rhetoric (Quintillian) to the Renaissance. At the beginning of the fourth century BCE, Plato is obviously preoccupied with the negative effects of the invention of writing on memory. And Antisthenes of Athens recommends according more trust to personal memory than to the external memory of written annotations.

Although Homer appears to have been a necessary reference point in ancient Greece, since his written text was learned by heart in the schools and was recited by specialists at religious festivals, there was no religious text that had authority over others. Nor was there a class of religious specialists, comparable to the *pontifices, flamines,* and other Roman colleges, or to the Celtic druids or Vedic brahmans. Essentially pluralist and political, Greek religion was a religion without dogmas. It obeyed customs, which varied from region to region, and from one sanctuary to the next. As a result, correct practice depended on diverse forms of information derived from a variety of sources: the family, the tribe, the town, and so on. Certain religious practices, such as those connected with the mysteries or with divination, were sometimes reserved for certain families or circles of initiates (for example, the Eumolpides and the Ceryces, the Iamides, the Trophoniades), but every Greek, regardless of social status, was capable of addressing a prayer to the gods or performing the actions indispensable to a sacrifice. Deliberate memorization, and for that matter writing as well, appeared as religious practices only in the context of such marginal devotions as Orphism and Pythagoreanism.

In the Judaic tradition, memorization plays a different role in the study of the written Torah than it does in the study of the oral Torah. The written Torah is taught through reading. The transmission of the text, teaching of the scriptures, and public readings, must all be done from a book. Even if these activities eventually result in the memorization of the text, and in fact many rabbis do know the text by heart, it is specified that the written Torah must never be copied from memory. On the other hand, the oral Torah is taught through repetition from memory, even though written notes may be used as a mnemotechnic device, and even though, at an early date, the Mishnah, and then the Talmud, was committed to writing. The masters of the oral Torah, the *tannaim* ("teachers"), were like living memories, capable of reproducing an impressive number of traditions. Their knowledge, often mechanical and lacking in reflection, was used as a reference source by the rabbis and colleges. A famous example is Natronai ben Ḥavivai (eighth century), who wrote down the entire Talmud from memory after immigrating to Spain.

In the Christian tradition, the role of memorization seems to be much less important, although from the fourth century there are references to religious schools where the Psalms, the words of the apostles, prayers, and passages from the Old Testament, were learned by heart. In the Divine Office, for instance, the use of a breviary, even though required to be recited aloud, served as a substitute for memorization. Thus blindness could relieve a monk of the obligation of reciting the hours, save for what he knew from memory.

In Islam, which is a religion of the word as much as a religion of the book, memorization was essential from the very beginning. The words of the Prophet, which repeated the Archangel Gabriel's reading of the archetypal book, were transmitted orally by a group of the companions of the Prophet and by specialists in memorization before the Qurʾān was finally written down. From the time of the third caliph, writing made possible the fixation of the tradition, but it never did away with recourse to memory. In effect, to read the Qurʾān in its primitive form, it was necessary to know its contents. Later, writing and memorization continued to be closely related practices. The Qurʾanic schools (*madrasah*s) were tied to a mosque. Children came to learn the Qurʾān by heart, even before they could read. These schools also taught the *ḥadith*s, the tradition that was guaranteed by a chain of authorities, or *isnad.* Before being written down in such texts, such as that of al-Bukhari, this tradition was transmitted orally. The information it gives about the acts and words of the Prophet are used to regulate daily life down to the smallest details, in profane as well as in religious matters. The tradition represents the Prophet himself, sitting in the mosque and teaching the *ḥadith*s. His words are repeated three times by all present, until they are known by heart.

SEE ALSO Anamnesis; Dhikr; Oral Tradition; Tilāwah.

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Translated from French by Marie-Claude Hays-Merlaud

MEMORY SEE ANAMNESIS; MEMORIZATION

MENCIUS SEE MENGZI

MENDELSSOHN, MOSES (1729–1786), German-Jewish philosopher and public figure of the Enlightenment period. Born in Dessau, the son of a poor Torah scribe, Mendelssohn received a traditional education that, rather exceptionally, included the study of the philosophy of Moses Maimonides. In 1743 Mendelssohn followed his teacher to Berlin to continue his Jewish studies. There he was able to acquire considerable knowledge of contemporary mathematics, philosophy, poetry, and classical and modern languages. The German dramatist and critic G. E. Lessing encouraged Mendelssohn to publish his first German essays and used him as the model for the tolerant and modest Jew in his play *Nathan the Wise.* In 1763 Mendelssohn received first prize from the Prussian Royal Academy of Sciences for a treatise on evidence in metaphysics; in the same year he was granted the status of "protected Jew" with rights of residence in Berlin. Mendelssohn supported himself successively as family tutor, bookkeeper, manager, and partner of a Berlin Jewish silk manufacturer; his home became a gathering place for Berlin intellectuals. In the nineteenth century members of the Mendelssohn family (most of whom converted to Christianity after Moses' death) achieved considerable financial, academic, and artistic prominence.

GENERAL METAPHYSICAL AND RELIGIOUS WRITINGS. Mendelssohn's philosophical position was derived from the English philosophers John Locke (1632–1704) and Shaftesbury (1671–1713) and especially from the German rationalists Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz (1646–1716) and Christian Wolff (1679–1754). The publication of Mendelssohn's *Phädon* (1767), a work on the immortality of the soul and named after Plato's dialogue, established his reputation among the enlightened public. Drawing on Leibnitz's theory of monads, Mendelssohn argues that souls are primary, imperishable elements that impose unity on the changing features of the body. Continued personal consciousness of the soul after death is guaranteed by God, inasmuch as divine wisdom and goodness would not allow the soul to relapse into nothingness without fulfilling its natural impulse to self-perfection. *Morgenstunden, oder Über das Dasein Gottes* (Morning hours, or lectures on the existence of God, 1785), the most methodical of Mendelssohn's major works, moves from a discussion of epistemological issues to the importance of a belief in God, providence, and immortality for man's happiness, to a formal ontological proof of God's existence.

JEWISH WRITINGS AND ACTIVITIES. In the mid-1750s Mendelssohn collaborated in a short-lived Hebrew weekly and published a commentary to Maimonides' treatise on logic. He was forced to speak out as a Jew, however, after 1769, when he was publicly challenged to explain why he, an enlightened man, did not convert to Christianity. In a reply to the Swiss pastor, Johann Kasper Lavater, Mendelssohn rejected the implication that his loyalty to Judaism was inconsistent with his innermost enlightened religious convictions and devotion to rational inquiry. In the 1770s Mendelssohn used his influence with liberal Christians to deflect threatened anti-Jewish measures in Switzerland and Germany. In connection with efforts to protect the Jews of Alsace, Mendelssohn encouraged Christian Wilhelm von Dohm to write his classic defense of the civic betterment of the Jews but demurred from Dohm's support of limited judicial autonomy for Jews and the right of Jewry to excommunicate recalcitrant Jews.

Mendelssohn's translation of the Pentateuch into German was published in 1780. It was accompanied by a commentary (the *Bi'ur*) that draws on both traditional exegesis and modern literary aesthetics. Often reprinted, the translation drew the ire of some traditionalist rabbis but served as an important bridge to modern culture for many young Jews in the nineteenth century.

JERUSALEM, OR ON RELIGIOUS POWER AND JUDAISM. Mendelssohn's principal contribution to Jewish thought was the result of yet another challenge by a Christian, this time concerning an alleged inconsistency in his supporting the abolition of excommunication while remaining loyal to biblical law, which condones coercion. Mendelssohn's reply, *Jerusalem, oder Über religiöse Macht und Judenthum* (1783), was one of the first works in German to plead for freedom of conscience in religious matters, separation of church and state, and (indirectly) civil rights for the Jews. According to Mendelssohn both states and church have as their final goals the promotion of human happiness. The state is permitted to enforce specific actions, whereas the church's task is to convince its followers of their religious and ethical duties through persuasion alone. To the question of the continued authority of Jewish law, which was adumbrated by Spinoza in the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus,* Mendelssohn replied that the ceremonial law stemming from the Hebrew Bible is binding solely on the Jewish people; Judaism is a religion of revealed legislation, not of revealed beliefs. The existence and unity of God, the reality of divine providence, and the immortality of the soul are to be affirmed on the grounds of natural reason, not miracles or supernatural revelation. Mendelssohn acknowledges the importance of Spinoza in the history of philosophy but vigorously rejects Spinoza's pantheism. Spinoza's primary concern was the noninterference by the state or religious authorities in the intellectual freedom of the philosopher and scientist. Mendelssohn, while still affirming the continued authority of Jewish law, was concerned with freedom inside one religion as well as freedom of religion for minority communities.

Mendelssohn argued that the identification of church and state in biblical Israel ceased with the destruction of the ancient commonwealth; laws remaining in force are personal religious duties that preserve the universal principles of Jewish faith against lapses into idolatry and polytheism. These laws will not lose their force until God arranges another indubitable supernatural revelation to the Jewish people to supersede that of Mount Sinai. Loyalty to the Jewish law, however, does not prevent Jews from assuming the legitimate duties of citizenship in an enlightened society.

THE PLACE OF MENDELSSOHN IN THE HISTORY OF JEWISH THOUGHT. Although Mendelssohn's synthesis of philosophical theism and traditional religious observance was viewed as outdated by the next generation of Jewish thinkers influenced by Kant and Hegel, Mendelssohn could be seen as forebear of the conflicting trends of nineteenth-century German Jewry: Reform, for his openness to change; and Neo-Orthodoxy, for his insistence on the binding nature of Jewish ceremonial law. Mendelssohn's disciples among the writers who collaborated with him in the *Bi'ur* were prominent in the Jewish Enlightenment (the Haskalah) that emerged in Prussia in the 1770s and later spread to eastern Europe. Mendelssohn was revered by the Enlighteners (*maskilim*) for having moved from the ghetto to modern society without abandoning the Jewish tradition or the Jewish people. In the 1880s, however, at the end of the Haskalah period, Mendelssohn was assailed for having paved the way to the loss of Jewish distinctiveness and, therefore, to assimilation. In retrospect, his thought and life can be seen to have posed some of the fundamental issues of Jewish religious survival in secular, liberal society.

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MENDICANCY.

As a religious term, *mendicancy* (from the Latin *mendicare*, "to beg") denotes renunciation of all worldly possessions and the practice of begging alms from door to door. The custom is of ancient origin and, although its observance has varied in character from place to place, the general impetus for the phenomenon seems to have derived from an idea that the discipline of living solely on alms is conducive to the attainment of spiritual goals. Early in the Vedic period, *brahman* mendicants had precise rules for soliciting alms, and among the ancient Greeks, mendicant priests went from place to place in quest of alms on behalf of their favorite deities (e.g., Isis and Artemis Opis). Among the Romans, certain priests who were bound by vows of temperance received support from public almsgiving. (According to some critics, these mendicants had occasionally to be reminded to restrain their extravagant demands; see Cicero, *On the Laws* 50.) Although religious mendicancy is a phenomenon that still finds acceptance in varying degrees in a number of cultures, it is chiefly within the Hindu, Buddhist, Christian, and Islamic traditions that it has won sanction as a religious practice.

In the Hindu tradition, pious men with sons to carry on the family line have long had open to them a renunciant ideal by which they may give away their possessions to *brahmans* and go forth into homelessness, first as a hermit (*vanaprastha*) and later as a mendicant (*saṃnyāsin*) who begs from door to door. Individuals from different ranks of society have sometimes chosen to devote themselves to a life of poverty and meditation, dependent for support upon others. The Hindu mystic's quest for illumination, for union with ultimate reality, generally promotes such an attitude of indifference to worldly concerns, and, since liberation (*mokṣa*) from them is one of the recognized aims of a Hindu's life, the asceticism of the mendicant is perceived as a positive means for achieving that goal.

In Buddhism, the monastic enterprise instituted by Gautama Buddha was probably derived from even more ancient Vedic ascetic movements. For the Buddhist, renunciation of the world is considered meritorious in that it allows the devotee to dedicate his or her energies to the task of delivering people from suffering. Both laypersons and monastics subscribe to mendicancy as a practice leading to the lessening of attachment and, hence, ultimately to *nirvāṇa*. The daily life of the monastic mendicants usually includes regular rounds from house to house for the purpose of gathering alms; whatever food is placed in their bowls is to be accepted gratefully. Monks and nuns are exhorted to follow specific rules (e.g., not discriminating between houses when begging, eating solely from an alms bowl, eating only one meal per day, etc.). They are instructed that no real value obtains in external performances; only if alms-gathering is attended by the desire for *nirvāṇa* can this discipline be meritorious. Although the practice of begging food and alms still prevails in most countries where Buddhist monasticism exists, meals are also often brought to the monasteries so that the laypeople may acquire extra merit.

In early Christian history, pious mendicants (Lat., *solitarii*, *gyrovagi*) wandered through city and countryside, preaching and begging alms, but they usually did not meet with popular acceptance. Jerome, for example, complained that some of these *solitarii* were accustomed to wandering from house to house, often leading people astray and living a life of luxury at the expense of other Christians. Monastic or semimonastic communities were in existence by the beginning of the fourth century and, although their inhabitants may have had to resort to begging during hard times, they generally sustained themselves by their own labors. It was not until the time of Francis of Assisi and Dominic (twelfth and thirteenth centuries) that mendicant orders as such arose and eventually became sanctioned by the church hierarchy. The appearance of these mendicant orders ensued as a protest against the corruption within certain established monastic communities (a problem with which the mendicant orders themselves had to deal at a later time, when abuses crept into their own communities).

Four mendicant orders were approved by the Council of Lyons (1274): Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, and Augustinians. Francis insisted that his followers own nothing whatever, for they were to be "pilgrims and strangers in this world," living with confidence in God's care and subsisting on alms received from those among whom they preached and worked. After the deaths of Francis and Dominic, however, church authorities mitigated the orders' rules to allow for possession of worldly goods. From time to time, members of the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches have, in an attempt to return to the simplicity of the message of the Gospel, initiated reform movements that included mendicancy. Their belief was that through ascetic practices such as begging, Christians might rid themselves of the imperfections and sins that kept them from union with God—especially by placing one's daily life in God's hands (*divina providentia*)—by complete reliance on God for subsistence one might more quickly achieve that union with the divine. Toward the end of the Middle Ages, mendicancy as a religious practice was prohibited by the Roman Catholic church because of various abuses that had crept into the system.

Within Islamic tradition, there has generally been disagreement as to the value of mendicancy. Some have argued that, since the Qurʾān contains injunctions against begging, it is debatable whether dependence upon others for one's sustenance is more virtuous than having independent means. Mendicancy on a broad scale came into vogue with the ninth-century Ṣūfīs; these were Muslim ascetics who interpreted *zuhd* ("renunciation") in a strictly spiritual sense, viewing it as the abandonment of all that diverts one from God.

Many of the early Ṣūfīs carried the Islamic theory of *tawakkul* ("trust [in God]") to an extreme, defining it as renunciation of all personal initiative and volition. Since everything is in God's hands, Ṣūfīs were neither to beg nor work for pay but to depend on what God has sent as a gift, either directly or through the generous alms of others. This system often proved ineffective, and some Ṣūfīs wandered from place to place, trusting in God to provide their livelihood. At times, the result was starvation and, gradually, Ṣūfīs concluded that trust in God and seeking a livelihood were not mutually exclusive. The words *faqīr* and *darwīsh* (Arabic and Persian for "poor") are terms for religious mendicants who ask for food or money in the name of God. They profess a life of poverty and withdrawal from worldly pursuits for the purpose of deepening their spiritual insights and communing more intimately with God. Some mendicants follow their careers independently, and others (like their Christian counterparts) live communally. The doctrines of these mendicants and their orders are derived from Ṣūfī principles and beliefs, particularly those that stress dependence upon God.

Within these four religious traditions, mendicancy has generally connoted withdrawal from worldly possessions and worldly pursuits for the purpose of demonstrating and experiencing a sense of dependency upon God and/or a supreme life principle. Wherever mendicancy has become accepted as a religious practice, almsgiving also has been elevated to an act of merit whose efficacy is rarely surpassed by other virtues. It, too, is considered in positive terms as a way of distancing oneself from society in order to transcend the material world.

SEE ALSO Almsgiving; Eremitism; Religious Communities, article on Christian Religious Orders; Saṃnyāsa.

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ROSEMARY RADER (1987)
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MENG-TZU See MENGZI

MENGZI.

The name *Mengzi,* meaning literally "Master Meng," is the honorific epithet of Meng Ke (391–308 BCE), known in the West as "Mencius." Mengzi defended and developed Kongzi's (Confucius's) teachings in response to various challenges in the highly diverse and contentious intellectual world of fourth-century BCE China. In the process, he expounded innovative views about heaven, human nature, the mind, and self-cultivation that proved to be of profound and enduring importance in the later Confucian tradition.

Mengzi was a native of Zou, a small state located at the base of the Shandong peninsula. Traditional accounts claim that he studied under Zisi, Confucius's grandson, but it is more likely that he was a student of one of Zisi's disciples. Mengzi's teachings bear some similarities to parts of the *Li ji* (Book of rites), which tradition ascribes to Zisi. One also finds common themes and ideas in recently excavated texts, which show that Mengzi was participating in an ongoing debate about the nature of the emerging Confucian tradition.

The earliest information we have about Mengzi's life comes from the text that bears his name. In its present form, the *Mengzi* consists of seven books, each of which is divided into two parts, which are further subdivided into sections of varying length. The shortest sections consist of brief dicta, while the longest extend to over two thousand words. These purportedly record the teachings of Mengzi and conversations he had with various disciples, friends, royal patrons, and rivals. Some accounts claim that Mengzi himself composed the text, others that it was compiled by his disciples with his approval and advice. In the second century CE, the *Mengzi* was edited and several "chapters" were discarded by Zhao Qi, who also wrote the first extant commentary.

The *Mengzi* had a place, but not a distinguished position, among Confucian writings until its remarkable ascent toward the end of the Tang dynasty (618–907). In the following Song (960–1279), Yuan (1206–1368), and Ming (1368–1644) dynasties it came to occupy a singularly important place in the Confucian scriptural pantheon. The great Zhu Xi (1130–1200) wrote a highly influential commentary on the *Mengzi* and included it, along with the *Analects, Great Learning,* and *Doctrine of the Mean,* as one of the "Four Books"—a collection intended to serve as the gateway to Confucian learning. In 1315 the Mongol court recognized the *Mengzi* as a classic and secured its preeminent position within the tradition. Since that time the text has enjoyed remarkable influence and prestige. It is one of the most highly studied Confucian classics among contemporary scholars.

CENTRAL TEACHINGS. Mengzi is renowned for advocating the theory that "human nature is good" (*xing shan*; 6A2, 6A6). A central claim of this theory is that heaven has endowed human beings with nascent moral "sprouts" (*duan*), which are the defining features of human nature (2A6). These innate moral tendencies are active and observable aspects of human nature, but they do not exhaustively describe the nature of human beings. They are the beginnings of morality, but like all sprouts they require a period of growth, care, and the right kind of environment in order to reach maturity (2A2, 6A7). The sprouts of morality are sensibilities of the heart-and-mind (*xin*), which is also the seat of human cognition, emotion, and volition. For Mengzi, the task of cultivating one's nature begins with an awareness of the moral aspects of the heart-and-mind, and consists in mobilizing the various faculties of the *xin* to protect, nurture, and develop these nascent moral assets. Successfully cultivating the moral sprouts, and thereby fulfilling one's nature, is the proper way to serve heaven, and in the course of this process one comes to understand heaven's decree (7A1).

Mengzi claims that four moral sprouts constitute the core of human nature; these serve as the bases of his four cardinal virtues: benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom (2A6). Throughout one's life, these moral sprouts regularly spring up—even though one often fails to notice or cultivate them. In certain contexts, in unguarded moments, they break through accumulated bad habits and indifference to manifest themselves in small, spontaneous moral acts. One of Mengzi's main tasks as a moral teacher is to help people notice, appreciate, and focus attention on such "giveaway" actions.

Giveaway actions are one of several types of evidence Mengzi adduces for the existence of the moral sprouts. He also supports his claim about innate moral tendencies by posing hypothetical scenarios or thought experiments designed to illustrate the universal presence of moral feelings in human beings. For example, he asks us to imagine what one would feel if one were suddenly to see a child about to fall into a well (2A6, 3A5). Mengzi claims that every person facing such a scene would feel alarm and concern for the child. This spontaneous feeling of compassion shows that by nature we are creatures who care for one another.

Mengzi argues further that there is a heavenly endowed structure and hierarchy to human nature (6A14–15). Each of our various parts has a natural station and function that determine its place within the hierarchy and its relative value. No one who is aware of the natural hierarchy and its different functions would act against them, nor would such a person sacrifice a part of greater importance for one of lesser importance. The natural function of the *xin* is to reflect on and determine the relative merit of different courses of action because it alone has the capacity to consider, weigh, and judge among the various alternatives we face.

Mengzi never claimed that our innate moral tendencies alone guarantee moral development. These are only the beginnings of virtue; they need attention, effort, and the right kind of environment to attain their full forms. Without sustained and concerted work, human beings will not become moral. His central metaphors for self-cultivation are agricultural (not merely vegetative) and farming requires attention, persistence, and a great deal of hard work. According to Mengzi, people are not born good; but rather are born for goodness (6A6). Our moral sprouts must ripen, as grain must ripen (6A19), before our true nature is revealed.

NEO-CONFUCIAN REVIVAL. Toward the end of the Tang dynasty, Mengzi and his teachings became a rallying point for a broad revival that modern scholars call neo-Confucianism. This important movement was propelled by a series of political, military, economic, and social crises that together motivated many Chinese intellectuals to regard their contemporary culture as corrupted, weak, and ineffective and to seek a renewal in an older, indigenous Chinese culture. A number of influential late Tang thinkers pointedly criticized Buddhism and Daoism for eroding and undermining Chinese culture. The former was especially castigated as a "foreign" and baleful influence on indigenous culture and was held responsible for a litany of social problems. Accompanying such criticisms were calls for a return to "traditional" Chinese culture, and the *Mengzi* proved to be one of the most important texts singled out for renewed interest.

Modern scholars tend to describe this rediscovery of the *Mengzi* in strategic terms. That is to say, the *Mengzi's* teachings on human nature and the cultivation of the mind offered a version of the tradition that could effectively engage the sophisticated philosophies found in Buddhist and Daoist rivals. While there is some truth in this, such an account obscures the degree to which these "rival" traditions transformed the way all Chinese intellectuals thought about themselves and their world. It is more accurate to say that the *Mengzi* and other early texts favored by neo-Confucians, such as the *Doctrine of the Mean* and the *Great Learning*, were chosen because they fit what had become a new, general paradigm of thought, one that owed a great deal to the influence of Buddhism and Daoism.

Among the features of this new paradigm was a belief in a hidden, pure, fundamental nature and a manifest, defiled, physical nature. The former defines what we and other creatures *really* are while the latter corrupts our "original" nature and gives rise to everything bad. Our fundamental nature is shared with all things in the universe and unites us not only with all other human beings but with all creatures and things as well. Those who fully appreciate the true character of their nature understand this, and such insight allows them to "form one body" with all things. However, the understanding of most people is beclouded by the errant aspects of their physical nature, which give rise to and are reinforced by "selfish desires." The task of cultivating one's original heavenly nature consists primarily of eliminating the obscuring influence of such errant aspects. As a practical matter, this entails the elimination of selfish desires, a process that enables one to find the "Mind of the Way" (*daoxin*) within the "Human Mind" (*renxin*).

Under the influence of this new paradigm, neo-Confucians reappropriated Mengzi's teachings about a heavenly-conferred, morally good nature, along with its focus on the cultivation of the heart-and-mind. However, seen through this new lens, Mengzi's original teachings took on a dramatically different form. For example, while Mengzi had advocated the sustained and gradual development of moral sprouts, neo-Confucians sought to discover and bring into play a fully-formed moral mind. This change generated a new and unprecedented belief in the inherent perfection of all human beings and a corresponding concern with "enlightenment" as a religious goal. Mengzi did not employ the stark contrast, common to most neo-Confucian thinkers, between a pure, fundamental nature in opposition to a corrupt yet reformable physical nature. Nor did he ever envisage anything resembling the way neo-Confucians deployed these basic metaphysical notions to construct a scheme in which human nature was fundamentally united with the rest of the universe. Nevertheless, the major neo-Confucian thinkers all saw themselves as inheritors and defenders of Mengzi's line of the Confucian tradition.

The neo-Confucian revival was a vast, complex, and exceedingly rich movement that continued for more than a thousand years. However, many of its main themes were defined by the Lu-Wang and Cheng-Zhu schools. Both of these "schools" are loosely defined in terms of their respective emphases regarding the nature of the *xin* and the proper methods of self-cultivation. The former takes the thought of Lu Xiangshan (1139–1193) and Wang Yangming (1472–1529) as its primary sources of inspiration, whereas the latter looks to Cheng Yi (1033–1107), Cheng Hao (1032–1085), and Zhu Xi. Roughly speaking, members of the former school express a greater faith in the inherent purity and power of the *xin*. As a result, they tend to emphasize an extreme form of particularism in which every ethical decision and action is strongly dependent upon context, and moral progress is primarily a matter of personal reflection and struggle. They distrust rules, precedents, and conventions and advocate a radical independence on the part of individuals. Followers of the Cheng-Zhu school have an equally strong faith in the existence of a fundamental nature. However, they believe that human beings are guided to this nature primarily through a course of careful and dedicated study, practice, and reflection. They view adherents of the Lu-Wang school as self-indulgent and undisciplined and see their teachings and practices as the road to spiraling selfishness and deepening delusion.

Later Confucian thinkers such as Yan Yuan (1635–1704) and Dai Zhen (1723–1777) sharply criticized the followers of both the Lu-Wang and Cheng-Zhu schools for abandoning Mengzi's original legacy. Both of these Qing dynasty (1644–1911) critics accused earlier neo-Confucians of incorporating too much Buddhism and Daoism into their philosophy. They rightly pointed out that much of the metaphysical speculation underlying both Lu-Wang and Cheng-Zhu thought was alien to Mengzi and his age. Moreover, these foreign elements worked to obscure some of the most profound insights of Mengzi's original vision. Prominent among these is his emphasis on certain shared human reactive attitudes as the basis of the moral life. Both Yan and Dai insisted that our physical, embodied life, with all its feelings and desires, is the site of both our best and worst aspects. We must not look to obscure metaphysical theories for moral guidance. Heaven has endowed each of us with the means, and the Confucian tradition provides all of us with the Way. The challenge is to understand and practice the Way in order to develop the best parts of our nature to their full potential.

IMPLICATIONS OF MENGZI'S THOUGHT FOR RELIGIOUS ETHICS. Traditionally, religious ethics has had a difficult time bringing together a more anthropological, descriptive account of what is good for human beings and the prescriptions of revealed religion. An echo of this tension is seen as the central problem of modern philosophical ethics as well: how to reconcile one's personal interests with the demands of morality. Mengzi's thought appears to avoid many of the problems associated with at least the religious version of this type of challenge. For according to Mengzi, heaven has created us in such a way that we live the best lives possible for creatures like us only when we fully realize our heavenly endowed moral nature. Moreover, part of what heaven instills in us is a natural tendency and taste for morality and a natural aversion for what is morally bad. On such a view, there is no conflict between human flourishing and what heaven commands. In fact, a life in service to heaven is the only way to the most satisfying and pleasant life that human beings can have.

Such a view might lead one to ask if *heaven* is just an honorific term used to express approval for what human beings naturally find most satisfying. Does heaven place restrictions on what constitutes the human good? One possible response, which incorporates early Confucian concerns about the importance of natural harmony, is that heaven does constrain conceptions of the human good by serving as the source of all things in the universe. Humans seek harmony within the natural order but cannot fundamentally alter or damage this order without violating heaven's plan. While heaven is not a personal deity for Mengzi, it is an agent with a plan for the world, and that on occasion acts in the world to realize its will.

Mengzi's description of the religious life in terms of the *dao* and the degree to which knowledge of the Way is accessible to human beings are also issues of interest for religious ethics. Mengzi's reverence for Confucian learning, with its legacy of sacred texts, rituals, and sagely teachers, seems to privilege those within this tradition. On the other hand, he insists that heaven has endowed all human beings with the nascent sprouts that are the basis of moral knowledge. This seems to open up the Way to all who are prepared to dedicate themselves to the task of self-cultivation. In thinkers like Wang Yangming, these aspects of Mengzi's teachings find expression as a profound faith that each and every person has a pure and perfect divine guide within.

These brief remarks only sketch Mengzi's thought and offer some suggestions about its value as a source for religious ethical reflection. What is beyond dispute is that his religious vision has inspired many of the best minds throughout East and Southeast Asia for more than two thousand years, and the *Mengzi* continues to challenge and inspire contemporary thinkers throughout the world.

SEE ALSO Cheng Yi; Dai Zhen; Li; Lu Xiangshan; Mozi; Ren and Yi; Wang Yangming; Zhu Xi.

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MENNONITES. The Mennonites, a Christian denomination, were first called Menists, or Mennonites, in 1541 by Countess Anna of Friesland after the group's primary leader, Menno Simons (1496–1561). She used this name in order to distinguish the Mennonites, as peaceful settlers whom she welcomed in her lands, from other, revolutionary, groups. Historically and theologically, Mennonites are the direct descendants of sixteenth-century Anabaptists, a radical reform group in Europe.

Early History and Doctrine. One of the most significant influences upon Mennonite history and identity has been the experience of decades of persecution during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Numerous martyrologies, including the classic *Martyrs' Mirror* (1660), testify to this experience. The Mennonites lived in an age that was not ready for religious or social pluralism. In their insistence upon a church constituted of believers only, and in their embodiment of the principles of voluntary church membership and the separation of church and state, they represented a counterculture that society could not tolerate. In their reading of the Bible, however, they found these principles to be self-evident, particularly in the teaching and example of Jesus Christ. In keeping with the vision of their Anabaptist forebears, the Mennonites also shared the vision of a New Testament church restored both in essence and in form.

A church-world dualism was implicit in the Mennonites' theology and social view. It had been given early expression in the "Brotherly Union" of 1527, sometimes called the Schleitheim Confession of Faith, article four of which states:

> Now there is nothing else in the world and all creation than good or evil, believing and unbelieving, darkness and light, the world and those who are [come] out of the world, God's temple and idols, Christ and Belial, and none will have part with the other.

Toleration came to the Mennonites first in the Netherlands in the 1570s and somewhat later in other parts of Europe, except in Switzerland, where severe restrictions against them remained until the eighteenth century. Increasing freedom in the north led to rapid growth in membership, until by 1700 the Dutch congregations included 160,000 members. The sectarian virtues of frugality and hard work led to considerable affluence and to urbanization. Soon Mennonites became prominent patrons of the arts in the Netherlands. Numerous artists, poets, and writers from among their ranks achieved lasting fame. But the Enlightenment spirit of rationalism and secularism was also a part of these developments, and by 1837 there were only 15,300 members left in the Netherlands. Late-nineteenth- and twentieth-century developments resulted in another increase in membership.

The early pattern of survival through withdrawal from society led to numerous migrations. Records indicate that emigration from the Netherlands eastward to Hamburg and along the coast to Danzig (present-day Gdańsk) began as early as 1534. Eventually large settlements developed in the Vistula delta. In 1788, migrations began from there to the Ukraine. By 1835 some 1,600 families had settled on Russian lands. By 1920 this population had grown to 120,000. But migration began again, this time from Russia beginning in the 1870s, primarily to North America.

A similar pattern prevailed among the Swiss and South German Mennonites. Many escaped Swiss persecution by migrating to the Palatinate or to central Germany. Others immigrated to the United States and Canada, beginning in 1663. The first permanent Mennonite settlement in the United States was established at Germantown, six miles north of Philadelphia, in 1683. Yet the total number of western European Mennonites coming to North America did not exceed 8,000, which, along with the approximately 55,000 immigrants from Prussian, Polish, and Russian lands, contributed to a core immigration to North America of no more than 70,000 up to the mid-1980s. There have also been migrations from North America, primarily from Canada to Mexico, Paraguay, Bolivia, and other Latin American locations. Thus pilgrimage has been central to Mennonite identity.

While Mennonites are non-creedal and affirm the Bible as their final authority for faith and life, they have written numerous confessions throughout their history. Chief among these are the *Brotherly Union* (1527) and the *Dordrecht Confession of Faith* (1632). In these the nature of the church as a believing, covenanting, caring, and obedient fellowship is central, as would be in keeping with the vision of restoring the New Testament church. The importance of the new birth and the authority of the Bible are stressed. Peace, including absolute pacifism, is considered an integral part of the gospel and, therefore, part of the discipleship of the believer. This discipleship is possible within the context of an Arminian theology, which acknowledges free will rather than Augustinian determinism. The second Adam, Christ, has undone the damage of the first Adam, making possible a gradual transformation of the disciple's life into the image of Christ himself. Ethics is a part of the Good News. Grace is necessary for discipleship rather than being antithetical to it. The believer who has experienced this grace is ready to receive baptism as a covenanting member of the "Believers' Church," a term commonly used since the 1950s to refer to those who are baptized as adults.

Later Developments. Partly through migration and natural increase, but particularly through twentieth-century missionary activities, Mennonites were scattered across the globe by the late twentieth century. In the early 1990s their total membership worldwide was approximately 800,000. The

Mennonite World Conference, begun in 1925, meets every five or six years for fellowship and the sharing of ideas, as well as for worship and celebration. It is not a delegate conference, and no decisions binding upon world membership are made.

The extent to which contemporary Mennonites hold to the doctrines of early Anabaptism varies from nation to nation, from group to group, and even from congregation to congregation. Mennonites do form regional and national conferences, but they are basically congregational in polity. The Amish, who split off from Swiss and Alsatian Mennonites in 1693–1697, as well as the Hutterites and some conservative Mennonites, do not form conferences. Historically, Pietism, more than other socioreligious movements, has influenced Mennonite theology; fundamentalism has also had an impact in North America. Both movements strengthen the inner, personal, and experiential aspect of faith but weaken social concern, pacifism, and the inherent church-world dualism of the sixteenth century. An enthusiastic recovery of the Anabaptist vision, led by Harold S. Bender (1897–1962), has modified these influences since the 1940s.

Anabaptists Four Centuries Later (Kauffman and Harder, 1975) provides a profile of late-twentieth-century North American Mennonite religious attitudes and practices. In relation to two doctrinal orthodoxy scales established in the study, 90 percent of the respondents chose the most orthodox response on a liberal-orthodox continuum. About 80 percent of the members could identify a specific conversion experience. The practice of daily personal prayer ranged from a low of 73 percent in one conference to a high of 82 percent in another. More than 80 percent reported regular Sunday school participation, with teenagers having the highest rating. Fewer than 2 percent of the membership had experienced divorce or separation. Some 85 percent considered sexual intercourse before marriage as always wrong. The early emphasis on church-world dualism, pacifism, not taking oaths, and church discipline was affirmed by a range of from 60 to 80 percent, depending upon the conference.

This religious stance is nurtured through worship, attendance at denominational schools, devotional practices, small-group Bible study, and involvement in mission and service projects. Church buildings are generally functional and relatively austere. Worship services are usually sermon-centered. Most congregations enjoy singing, often a cappella. The Lord's Supper is celebrated two to four times annually. Some congregations practice the rite of foot washing.

Numerous liberal arts colleges are maintained in North America; they were established originally to train workers for church vocations. Seminaries, Bible schools, secondary schools, and other church institutions are maintained by Mennonites around the world as political and economic conditions permit. Retirement centers, community mental health centers, and medical and disaster aid services are maintained particularly in North America and Europe. The concern for united help for needy people around the world led to organization of the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) in North America in 1920. A Dutch Mennonite relief agency had been organized two hundred years earlier. In 2003, the MCC had a cash and material aid budget in excess of $62 million, spent on projects both abroad and in North America. In the same year, about 1400 long-term and over 800 short-term workers were involved in projects in over sixty countries.

These activities are a direct extension of the Mennonite conviction that word and deed must be one and that love must be visible. It may, however, also be that these and related activities serve the less altruistic function of legitimizing the social significance and usefulness of a traditionally pacifist and persecuted people. Nevertheless, most Mennonites are deeply concerned about the futility of war and nuclear weapons, as well as about global poverty and the need for peaceful steps toward economic and social justice. These concerns are part of the total global mission to which Mennonites continue to feel committed.

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Revised Bibliography

MEN'S STUDIES IN RELIGION is part of the unfolding concern within religion to address the effects of gender and sexuality upon religious faith and practice. As a new field of scholarly inquiry, it reflects upon and analyzes the complex connections between men and religion, building upon gender studies, feminist theory and criticism, the men's movement, and the increasing number of subdisciplines in the academic study of religion. Methodologically men's studies in religion is an open field; its object of inquiry is "men" as gendered beings in relation to religion. But the precise delineations of this inquiry are not yet determined. Distinctions between the academic study of men in religion, on the one hand, and affirmation of socially accepted forms of male religiosity, on the other, are not always drawn with sufficient clarity.

The compelling simplification that this new field is constituted by "men writing about religion" is misleading because it does not recognize that the sphere of the sacred has been traditionally male-centered and male-dominated. In many religions, religious norms and male experiences are indistinguishable, making men the beneficiaries of religiously sanctioned hierarchies. The task of men's studies in religion is to bring gender consciousness to the interpretation and analysis of men in relation to any aspect of religion. Simply put, the writing of a religious man is not the same as the scholarly study of a male author's gendered text and context.

Studies in this new field are, on the one hand, critical of normative models of masculinities and, on the other, also supportive of men struggling to find their place in religion and society. These studies may examine male religious authority, analyze societal attitudes toward men, or study religious practices that enforce gender norms. They may probe theologies that justify patriarchal hierarchies or investigate men's participation in religiously sanctified oppression. They may also suggest alternative devotional and spiritual practices for men and reenvision men's roles as caregivers in both the profane and sacred realms.

HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS. A trajectory can be identified from secular feminism to the current concerns of men's studies in religion. Feminists of the 1960s and 1970s drew attention to the devastating effects of patriarchy and heterosexism in Western culture. Their analyses deeply influenced women scholars of Christianity and Judaism so that by the 1980s feminist interpretations of Scripture and theology had become part of the theological norm. Also in the 1980s men outside religion began to respond to the feminist critique of patriarchy and to study the effects of hegemonic masculinity upon men themselves, drawing particularly on the fields of sociology, anthropology, and psychology.

Within the field of religion, in response to secular feminism, religious feminism, secular men's studies, and the rise of the gay liberation movement, gay men's issues in religion began to be addressed in the 1980s. One of the early controversial academic works was John Boswell's *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality* (1980). By 1988 gay men's issues in religion became a recognized group within the large, North American–based organization of the American Academy of Religion (AAR). Finally, in the 1990s men's studies in religion emerged as a field in its own right at the AAR. Stephen Boyd's "Domination as Punishment: Men's Studies and Religion," published in *Men's Studies Review* (1990), was probably the first public articulation of the need for such an inquiry, arguing that "in light of recent research in and theories of men's studies, the relationship between religion and male experiences" must be examined (Boyd, 1990, pp. 8–9).

Generally speaking, there is a difference between the men's movement (secular and religious) and the academic study of men in religion. Whereas the former tends to favor biological, essentialist, and archetypal models, the latter tends to see men as culturally constructed, gendered, and performing contradictory roles due to constantly changing ideologies of masculinity. Men's studies in religion then analyzes and understands "the role of religion in supporting or resisting unstable masculine identities" (Boyd et al., 1996, p. 286). The following trends within the field can be observed.

MEN RECLAIMING RELIGION AND FAITH. In the twentieth century the mythopoetic movement and various conservative men's movements have attempted to reclaim spirituality and faith-based attitudes toward male identity and toward larger social issues, such as family values. These movements can be viewed as essentialist responses to a perceived threat of feminism.

Mythopoetics is based on the archetypal theories of C. G. Jung, James Hillman, and Joseph Campbell. It was made popular outside Christian churches by Robert Moore and Douglas Gillette's *King, Warrior, Magician, Lover* (1990) and remained relatively marginalized in Christian communities until the writings by Robert Bly and John Gray. The mythopoetic movement generally assumes that biological and genetic differences between men and women preordain irreconcilable differences in gendered behavior and thought, often presuming an essential masculinity that can be threatened when men become too much like women. In response men need to be nurtured socially, religiously, and spiritually in ways that match their masculine nature, generally with a preference for male images of the divine.

Evangelical Christian men's movements arose in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the Western world out of the panic that women were moving into the sphere of the sacred and were taking over religious institutions. The first such development in the first half of the nineteenth century was known as Muscular Christianity. It was followed by the Freethought movement (1880–1920), which characterized Christian churches as feminized, numerically dominated by women, and therefore weak, sentimental, and irrational. The third development, the Men and Religion Forward movement (from about World War I through to the 1950s), coined the slogan "More Men for Religion, More Religion for Men." The fourth movement was spearheaded by the evangelist Billy Sunday, who uttered the famous statement at a sermon in Chicago in 1916: "Lord save us from off-handed, flabby-cheeked, brittle-boned, weak-kneed, thin-skinned, pliable, plastic, spineless, effeminate, ossified three-karat Christianity" ("Sunday, the Fighting Saint," *Trenton Evening Times*, January 6, 1916). Finally, in the 1990s two prominent movements emerged in the United States that strengthened the faith of their male constituencies: the

Promise Keepers, intended to draw men back to Christianity, and the Million Man March, organized in 1995 by the Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan, that mobilized African American men to commit themselves to religiously based values. Both argued for man's rightful position as head of the family.

SPIRITUAL AND CONFESSIONAL WRITINGS. The religious traditions have accumulated a wealth of spiritual journals and autobiographies, mystical journeys, and confessional testimonies written by men. They constitute a vast source for examining individual as well as collective presentations of the male self. Bringing a gender-conscious perspective to these texts yields critical insights into the male psyche and forms of male embodiment, intimacy, and sexualities.

The literature reflecting on men's spiritual and autobiographical voices often blends scholarly analysis with a more personal and existential style. The borders between critical analysis and an envisioned spiritual renewal are intentionally porous. Areas of concern in the Jewish and Christian traditions are issues of embodiment, sexual theologies, and the deconstruction of traditional masculine roles. The male body is reclaimed as a positive part of a male religious identity, so that the threats of impotence, disease, aging, mortality, and homophobia are turned into valuable spiritual resources. Rather than denigrating men's sexual nature, the sexual body is demystified and understood as an important source of theologies of intimacy and friendship with humans and the divine. These writings usually shun the privileging of hegemonic masculinity in order to engage otherness in the form of race, class, and sexual orientation. Particularly they counter the crippling effects of homophobia and abusive behavior toward women as well as culturally or sexually marginalized men. Instead, new forms of masculine spirituality are located in relationality, shared power, the aesthetics of the male and female body, creativity, ritual, and the living out of social justice through quiet service.

Another aspect of men's studies in religion is to reflect critically on confessional modes of male discourses on religion. Still an underutilized approach, most of this work is located within the Christian tradition, largely due to the lasting influence of Augustine's (354–430 CE) *Confessions* and the thought of the French philosopher Michel Foucault (1926–1984). In his *History of Sexuality* (1978) and "The Battle for Chastity" (1982), Foucault mapped out an influential theory about the Christian monastic roots of the modern concern over sexual practices, desires, and politics. The monastic orders, especially as envisioned by John Cassian (360s–430s CE), created intimate male-male spaces for the confession of sins that developed into "very complex techniques of self-analysis" (Foucault, 1982, p. 195). A Foucaultian framework helps analyze religious men's desire for intimate self-revelations; at the same time it can be used to investigate both subjugated and liberating knowledge of male sexualities as revealed in confessional, spiritual, and autobiographical writings.

THEOLOGICAL AND BIBLICAL INVESTIGATIONS. Men's studies in religion investigates the scriptural traditions as well as the Christian and Jewish theological heritages. Boyd (1995) identifies six cultural barriers that prevent white Christian men from enjoying true intimacy with the multiplicity of God's creation: classism, anti-Semitism, racism, homophobia, sexism, and femiphobia. This list can be completed by adding men's obsession with work as a source of identity, disappointments with biological fathers (and by extension with monotheistic father gods), tolerance of violence, body unconsciousness, and emotional deadness. By accepting such restrictive constructions of masculinity, men inhibit themselves from living into their potential of a creatively embodied *imago Dei.*

A number of writers interact critically with Christian thinkers such as Augustine, Martin Luther, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Matthew Fox, Alfred North Whitehead, Richard Niebuhr, Malcolm X, Desmond Tutu, and Howard Thurman. Other writers focus more on the psychology of male characters in the biblical Scriptures, highlighting the problems of contemporary men struggling with relationship and identity issues. Christian writers in this field generally focus on Jesus, Jewish writers on God and the rabbinic tradition when addressing such issues as boyhood and parenting, friendship and intimacy, community and accountability, and the experiential dimension of the male body, pain, and sacrifice.

Another trend in men's studies in religion is to examine how Christianity and Judaism have framed the discourse on masculine ideologies, especially in their formative periods of late antiquity. Following feminist scholars, who have reconstructed the complexity of religious women's lives, new studies show that notions of masculinity were far from stable in the culturally diverse Hellenistic world. During the waning of the Roman Empire and the rise of new religions (Catholicism in the West, Orthodoxy in the East, Rabbinic Judaism in the exilic communities, and eventually Islam), male identities had become fragile and contested, even among the educated upper-class men who were still the beneficiaries of male privileges. As inconsistencies grew between ancient ideals and new social realities, Jewish and Christian men began to redefine male sexuality and manly virtues. Christianity succeeded in replacing the Roman ideas of vigor and military strength with the virtues of a spiritual strength and sexual constraint.

While scholars of masculinity in early Christianity and late antiquity have stressed the rapid rise of a subordinate ideology of manliness to dominant status, Jewish scholarship has described rabbinic masculinity as subjected to and colonized by first the Roman then Christian supremacy. Talmudic discussions of what it means to be or to become a man differed greatly from the theologies of the Christian Church Fathers, not at least due to their profoundly different assessments of male celibacy. But both Jewish and Christian discourses converged on the issue of the male desire to be close to God. Positioning themselves as symbolic "woman" in relation to a (male) God, men excluded actual women from the sacred sphere. To hide the homosocial and homoerotic nature of this relation to the divine, they inscribed heterosexual norms by effeminizing subordinate and disloyal men. In Christianity the desire for male humility was a gesture of submissiveness toward God, not women. In Rabbinic Judaism, Jewish men saw themselves figuratively in the place of woman in the presence of God. Torah study itself became a highly eroticized passion from which (actual) women were excluded. Although the feminization of Jewish men is one of the enduring anti-Semitic stereotypes in Christianity, one scholar has suggested embracing "the feminized Jewish male" as an act of resistance to dominant Christian masculinities (Boyarin, 1997, p. xiv).

The debate about male-divine relations is echoed in a number of writings about the theological conundrum that both Christianity and Judaism posit a God who is ungendered and unsexed. How do men reconcile a craving for a male God when hegemonic masculinity demands that desire be felt and expressed (or denied) only between men and women? The monotheistic traditions offer no clear models for such homosocial desire. Judaism sees penile circumcision as a theological and covenantal act of mature obedience, while Christianity offers a more metaphorical interpretation: the circumcision of the heart. Neither religion answers the question about whether circumcision is a part of the *imago Dei* or an act of male violence toward males.

GAY AND QUEER STUDIES IN RELIGION. Gay men's religious studies have generally developed separately from men's studies in religion despite some significant overlap. Gay studies challenge hetero-normativity by focusing on diversity, pride, and liberation. Some writers understand gay spirituality as a theology from the margins, defining itself by difference, otherness, and intimacy. Sexuality is often conceived as an act of sacramental Eros and gay spirituality as an act of political protest. Gay men's studies walk a fine line between mainstream integration and resistance to Christian scriptural and theological heterosexism. They may focus on mapping out gay spirituality, developing theodicies on AIDS, or criticizing the attitudes of religious institutions toward homosexual clergy and faithful laity.

The work of the British clergyman and poet Edward Carpenter (1844–1926), a gay theologian of the early modern period, was not really built upon until after three disasters hit the international gay community: the trial of Oscar Wilde (1895), the Nazi extermination of gay men in the concentration camps (1940–1944), and the Stonewall riots in New York City (1969). In the early 1980s the theologian James Nelson may have been the first nongay in the men's movement to adamantly oppose double standards in sexual ethics that separate straight and gay. Others have divided gay men's spirituality into four types: the apologetic (the reasoned defense of homosexuality), the therapeutic ("coming-out" as a spiritual journey), the ecological (emphasizing liberation theology and right relation), and the autobiographical (Boisvert, 2000). This typology must be expanded to include the growing repertoire of transgressive and queer theologies and spiritualities. In general gay spirituality is earthed, embodied, daily mundane, and informed by feminist and Native American spiritualities.

Just as there are no fixed demarcations between men's and gay men's studies in religion, gay studies overlap in multiple ways with queer theory. Queer theory, which made its public debut in 1990, is less concerned about the same-sex orientation of men but instead focuses on sexualities in their multitudes. Queer theory questions any theoretical or practical system that claims sexuality as natural or biological categories, and it moves beyond the binary restrictions of men and women, of hetero- and homosexuality. Queer theory refuses hetero-normativity because it "recognizes that human desire . . . is queer, excessive, not teleological or natural" (Boyarin, 1997, p. 14). Scholarship on queer theory that engages issues of religion and masculinity includes biblical studies, Jewish studies on masculinity, and queer theology (the latter defined as a political theology that questions theological assumptions about sexuality).

OUTLOOK. Men's studies in religion as an emerging field of inquiry is still heavily located within the scholarly traditions of the West, specifically Christianity and Judaism. It has not yet sufficiently engaged other religious traditions and been tested seriously as a topic of interreligious dialogue within an increasingly globalized community. Men's studies in religion has the potential to offer a sustained, gender-conscious critique of foundational religious texts and practices in order to envision nonhegemonic models of masculinity and to allow all men and women to participate in religious life fully and equally.

SEE ALSO Feminism, article on Feminism, Gender Studies, and Religion; Gender and Religion, overview article, article on History of Study; Gender Roles; Homosexuality; Human Body, article on Human Bodies, Religion, and Gender; Patriachy and Matriarchy; Spirituality; Women's Studies in Religion.

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"whole men" as opposed to "real men," Nelson discusses the human need for intimacy and sensuousness. He asks why men have trouble establishing deep friendships and how God's transforming love can work among men who take risks. In particular this book is known for offering a healthy spirituality of male genital desire.

Björn Krondorfer (2005)
Philip Culbertson (2005)

MENSTRUATION. It is questionable whether late-modern scientific, detraditionalized Western societies can still be said to institute a menstrual taboo. Today in westernized cultures, menstrual blood is more likely to be considered a bodily waste product whose disposal is more a matter of hygiene and social etiquette than a threat to the cultic order. However, the contemporary world is only partially and unevenly secularized, and the role and status of women in the world's religions cannot be fully understood without reference to the negative powers generally ascribed to menstrual blood. And more than that, while menstrual taboos vary in practice and intensity in the world's religious cultures, menstruation remains central to the construction of female difference.

Where early anthropologists and historians of religion claimed that menstrual taboo was universal, more recently Thomas Buckley and Alma Gottlieb (1988) have argued that the Western repugnance for menstrual blood and Western cultural alienation from female biological processes have been projected onto the interpretation of indigenous menstrual practices. The power of menstrual blood may not, in fact, be universally regarded as negative, but sometimes as positive and, if handled with due care, life-giving. Indeed, menstruation, and especially menarche (the onset of menstruation) can for North American Indians, such as the Sioux, confer honor and power on a woman rather than stigmatize her.

Nonetheless, in both historical and contemporary practice, the major world religions share an overwhelmingly negative view of menstruation as a pollutant of sacred public and domestic space, which requires some form of separation of the menstruant from the family or community. Menstrual blood is a contact pollutant and excludes women from religious acts either during their menstruation or simply because they are persons who menstruate. These exclusions owe much to the symbolic and material ambivalence of menstrual blood. On the one hand, it is a defiling natural excretion whose cyclic flow is not susceptible to (masculine) cultural control. Menstrual blood actually and metaphorically represents the loss or abortion of a potential life, yet it causes a woman no painful threat to her life. On the other hand, menstrual blood belongs to the mysterious, quasi-divine processes of creation: the gestation and birth of a new life.

Menstruation in the World Religions. Given the complexity of religious traditions, the following remarks are necessarily very general and may not pertain to all forms of a specific religion. Nonetheless, it is broadly the case that in Brahmanical Hinduism, menstrual blood is considered polluting and requires a woman to separate from her family for the first three days of her period. During this time she cannot perform religious acts of devotion and, secluded from her family, cannot cook, look after children, brush her hair, or wear jewelry. She must perform a purificatory bathing rite before normal relationships and activities can resume.

Similarly, in Buddhism, menstrual pollution prevents a woman from undertaking pilgrimage or entering a temple. The prohibitions differ according to context: some temples in northern Thailand do not allow women to circumambulate the stupas, fearing the pollution of relics held at their center. However, contemporary Buddhist apologetics frequently disown the menstrual taboo as non-Buddhist and as originating in the older purity codes of host countries such as India and Japan.

In the Qurʾanic view (2:223), menstruation is polluting and requires the Muslim woman's seclusion from her husband. The *ḥadīth* literature prohibits a menstruant from reciting prayers, fasting, entering a mosque, and touching the Qurʾān until she has finished her menses and taken a full bath *(ghusl)*. This purification ritual allows her to resume sexual relations with her husband. There are, however, some notable variations in practice: the Khārajīs, for example, believe that a menstruant should continue to fast and pray.

In Judaism, the menstrual taboo derives from the priestly codes of the Hebrew Bible and from rabbinic law. After Judaism's post-biblical transformation from a religion of cultic sacrifice to one of law, the rabbis reinforced the injunctions of *Leviticus* 12:1–5 and 15:19–32 by ruling that a menstruant is impure for the five or so days of her menses and for at least seven days afterwards. After this time has elapsed, the menstruant (*niddah*) visits a ritual bath (*miqveh*) and, after immersion, physical relations with her husband can be resumed. However, the power of menstrual blood to defile Jewish sacred objects and spaces is limited: the touch of a menstruant cannot pollute the Torah scroll, and menstruating women are not excluded by law, though sometimes historically by custom, from the synagogue. Only the ultra-Orthodox are punctilious in observing the laws of menstruation (customarily termed "the laws of family purity"), but the contemporary apologetic emphasis is on the laws' alleviation of sexual boredom in marriage, rather than on a superstitious or cultic repugnance for menstrual blood as such. Conservative Judaism has modified the laws of menstrual purity, and Reform Judaism has abolished them as irrelevant, archaic, and offensive to women.

The Christian tradition is historically and denominationally diverse in its view of menstruation. In the New Testament, Jesus is presented as having abolished the Jewish menstrual taboo among other distinctions between the clean and the unclean. Most significantly, in a story found in all three synoptic Gospels, Jesus heals the menstrual disorder of a woman whose touch he experiences not as a defilement but as a mark of her faith. Nonetheless, Christian feminists have argued that, as the church developed, a legacy of Greek philosophical misogyny, ancient Mediterranean menstrual superstition, Gnostic asceticism, the institution of a celibate priesthood, and the authority of the Old Testament combined to reinstate the view of menstrual blood as unclean. To this day, the Christian menstrual taboo informs the disqualification of women from ordination because in most quarters of the church (notably the Orthodox and Catholic Churches) it is believed, if not always stated, that a woman's biological presence pollutes the sanctuary.

By contrast, the menstrual taboo would appear to have fallen into disuse in the contemporary Protestant denominations. In the Anglican Church, for example, the practice of churching (derived from *Leviticus* 12:2–8), where a woman undergoes a purification ritual forty days after she has given birth to mark her return to the community, is no longer observed. Whether Protestantism's apparent indifference to women's menstruality is a function of its egalitarian, word-centered, and anti-priestly ecclesiology, or whether it is ignored because it is considered socially unmentionable, remains a matter of debate.

FEMINIST SUBVERSIONS OF THE MENSTRUAL TABOO. From the mid-1970s to the 1990s, a number of influential feminist studies of menstruation were published in which Jewish, Christian, and Goddess feminists critiqued, subverted, and reclaimed the menstrual taboo, broadly construing its various forms as the fear, appropriation, and regulation of women's sacral power. Two central arguments were proposed. First, it was observed that the gendering of blood underpins gendered inequalities of religio-political power. That is, whereas the cultural, controlled flow of the blood of male animals spilled in the Israelite Temple cult in the covenantal circumcision of Jewish boys—and the sacrificial passion and crucifixion of Jesus—reunited the world and God, the natural cyclic flow of female blood has separated them, leaving female time, space, and bodies unfit for direct contact with the divine presence or its revelation. Second, it has been noted that if menstrual blood is, as it were, repulsive of divine presence, then that has left women historically vulnerable to unjust charges of unreason and maleficence.

While some religious feminists find menstrual taboos distasteful and irrelevant, others have interpreted the apparent reverence of some of the world's pagan traditions for menstrual blood as suggestive of a more ecological and feminist approach to religion and spirituality. The anthropology of indigenous ritual seclusion practices has been read selectively to suggest ways for menstruating women to gather together in rest and friendship to celebrate the female transformation mysteries. In these, as in some Jewish feminist circles, menstruation is experienced as a time of creative energy rather than lassitude and depression; daughters' menarches are celebrated as affirmatory rites of passage into womanhood, and menopause is marked by rituals that allow women to reflect with other women on their passage through time into greater wisdom and independence. Rejecting, then, the demystifying secular feminist view of menstruation as what Germaine Greer once called the "liquidification of abjection," these spiritual feminists have together produced a new menstrual praxis that celebrates the connections of menstrual flow to the phases of the moon and the tides. Spiritual feminists have reclaimed the magic-natural charge of menstruation and put it to regenerative ends, sometimes using menstrual blood in rituals, and they have ritualized political direct action to protest the masculine wasting or spilling of blood in war.

SEE ALSO Blood; Human Body; Purification; Rites of Passage.

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Melissa Raphael (2005)

MERCIER, DÉSIRÉ JOSEPH

MERCIER, DÉSIRÉ JOSEPH (1851–1926), a leading figure in Roman Catholic neoscholastic philosophy at the end of the nineteenth century and Cardinal Primate of Belgium (1906–1926). Born November 21, 1851, in Braine-l'Alleud, near Waterloo, Mercier studied philosophy and theology at Malines and earned a licentiate in theology at Louvain University (1877). Subsequently, he studied psychiatry in Paris.

Ordained a Roman Catholic priest in 1874, Mercier became a staunch supporter of Pope Leo XIII's call for a revival of Thomistic thought in the encyclical *Aeterni patris* (1879). Initially a professor of philosophy at the Malines seminary in 1877, Mercier then became the first holder of a new chair for Thomist philosophy at Louvain University in 1882. He soon sought papal approbation for a new institute at Louvain, and in 1889 Leo XIII approved the Institut Supérieur de Philosophie with Mercier at its head. Calling former students together from around the globe, he assembled an international group of disciples.

Working in opposition to Mill's positivism, and above all to neo-Kantian idealism, Mercier became a major figure in the development of Roman Catholic neoscholastic thought, which sought to mediate between modern natural science and traditional Thomistic metaphysics. While neoscholastic thought of the nineteenth century was concerned mainly with questions of epistemology and the soul-body relationship and locked its responses to these problems into a rigid anti-Kantian tradition, Mercier strove to make Thomistic philosophy dependent upon the thought of his time: to see the "new" in the "old." His main area of concentration was psychology, and in 1892 he founded the first experimental laboratory at his institute in that discipline; later laboratories, emphasizing his regard for experimental methods, followed in cosmology, chemistry, and physics.

In contrast to most Roman Catholic thinkers of his time, Mercier saw philosophy as distinct from theology, and above all as an enterprise that should be free of all apologetics. Without abandoning all tradition, he sought to imbue philosophy with the same ethic of investigation that marked other university disciplines; philosophy must address the people, their times, and their problems. Even when dealing with such questions as truth and certitude, Mercier appealed to human experience. This led to his system of "illationism," which admitted that truth and certitude came from intellectual reflection, but that the content of such abstract thought always had its origins in concrete experience. Though this direction produced much controversy in neoscholastic circles, it was unable to sustain itself as a "school" at Louvain University. Mercier gave expression to his thought in a series of textbooks (his *Course in Philosophy*) that dealt with logic, psychology, metaphysics, and the criteria for truth and certitude (1892–1899). In addition, he founded the influential *Revue néo-scolastique de philosophie* (1894), in which many of the movement's most important debates were carried out.

Appointed archbishop of Malines in 1906, Mercier was created a cardinal by Pius X in 1907. Though never a leading figure in the controversy of modernism that rocked the Roman Catholic church at the beginning of the twentieth century, he did issue a famous Lenten pastoral letter in 1908 against the work of George Tyrrell (1861–1909), a prominent Irish modernist thinker; his letter prompted a vitriolic but brilliant rejoinder by Tyrrell in his *Medievalism* (1908). As a pastorally concerned leader of his diocese, Mercier was deeply involved in the spiritual life and development of both his clergy and the laity; indeed, he sought greater cooperation between both groups as well as advances in social justice. Though Mercier never became a strong political figure in Belgium—his attachment to French culture hindered his understanding of the Flemish and their problems—he did become a figurehead for the Belgian people during the German occupation of World War I (1914–1918), strengthening their morale through sermons and pastoral letters. This proved so effective that the Germans placed him under house arrest, which earned him great prestige among the Belgian people and much praise from the Allies after the war.

Mercier's final years after World War I were dedicated to more universal problems, particularly those of church reunion. He founded the Institute of the Monks of Union at Chevetogne in Belgium in order to further reunion and reconciliation with the Eastern churches and made perhaps his most influential and lasting effort in hosting and participating in the famous "Malines Conversations" (1921–1925). Suggested by Lord Halifax (Charles Lindley Wood, 1839–1934), these meetings were concerned with aiding the mutual understanding and relations between the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches. Mercier's most famous moment came in the fourth session when he presented his paper on "The English Church United Not Absorbed," in which he proposed that the archbishopric of Canterbury be made a patriarchate, that the Roman code of canon law not be imposed in England, that England be allowed its own liturgy, and that all of the historical English sees be left in place while the newly erected Roman Catholic sees (1850) be suppressed. These suggestions generated much controversy and opposition in Rome, and Mercier's death on January 26, 1926, in Brussels effectively meant the end of the "Conversations."

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given at the Higher Institute for Philosophy at the University of Louvain. Many of Mercier's writings and public utterances were collected in the *Œeuvres pastorales* (Brussels and Louvain, 1911–1929), in seven volumes. Finally, his famous exchange of letters with the commandant of the German occupation forces during World War I appeared as *La correspondance de S. E. cardinal Mercier avec le gouvernement général allemand pendant l'occupation, 1914–1918*, edited by Fernand Mayence (Brussels, 1919); in English translation as *Cardinal Mercier's Own Story* (New York, 1920). The most complete bibliography of Mercier's published writings should be consulted in the commemorative volume *Le cardinal Mercier, 1851–1926* (Brussels, 1927), pp. 341–372.

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GARY LEASE (1987)

MEREZHKOVSKII, DMITRII (1865–1941), chief proselytizer of the religious renaissance in Russia in the early twentieth century. Scion of an eminent Saint Petersburg aristocratic family, Merezhkovskii was educated at the Third Classical Gymnasium and at the Historical-Philological Faculty of the University of Saint Petersburg (1884–1888). Interested in metaphysical and existential issues, he dissented from the positivism and materialism of his contemporaries and searched, all his life, for a new and all-encompassing higher ideal.

In the 1890s, he championed mystical idealism as the bridge between the atheistic intelligentsia and the believing peasantry, campaigned against mandatory social didacticism in literature, introduced Russians to French symbolism and the philosophy of Nietzsche, and reintroduced them to classical antiquity and the Renaissance. Versatile and erudite, he expressed his ideas in poetry, literary criticism, essays, novels, and plays. Major works of this period are *Symbols* (1892), a book of poems; "On the Causes of the Decline of Russian Literature and on the New Trends in Poetry" (1893), an influential essay sometimes considered the manifesto of Russian symbolism; *New Verse* (1896); and *The Outcaste* (1895), later retitled *Death of the Gods,* a historical novel about Julian the Apostate. Attracted by pagan values of earthly happiness and Christian ideals of personal immortality and love, and unable to choose between them, by 1896 Merezhkovskii had concluded that Christianity and paganism were two halves of a yet unknown higher truth.

Around 1900, Merezhkovskii advanced a new interpretation of Christianity, designed to synthesize the "truth of heaven" and the "truth of the earth," and based on the second coming of Christ and on a forthcoming third testament. Proclaiming a new religious consciousness that stressed the human need for faith and religious quest, he dismissed historical Christianity as obsolete and rejected the asceticism, altruism, and humility preached by Russian Orthodox Christianity. Major works of this period include *Tolstoy as Man and Artist with an Essay on Dostoevskii* (1901–1902), which treats these writers as exemplars of the religious principles of the flesh and the spirit respectively; *Birth of the Gods: Leonardo da Vinci* (1901); and *Antichrist: Peter and Alexis* (1905). Together with *Julian the Apostate,* the last two comprise his historical trilogy, *Christ and Antichrist.*

To disseminate their views (sometimes called "God-seeking views"), Merezhkovskii, his wife Zinaida Gippius, and Dmitrii Filosofov founded the Religious Philosophical Society of Saint Petersburg (November 1901–April 1903). The society, which featured debates between intellectuals and clergymen on burning issues of the day, became a focal point of the religious renaissance. The minutes of the meetings were published in the Merezhkovskiis' review, *Novyi put'* (New Path, 1902–1904), founded as a showcase for the new trends in art and thought. Permitted to reopen in 1907, after the Revolution of 1905, branches of the society were later founded in Moscow and in Kiev. Through these public activities and through his writings, Merezhkovskii's ideas reached a wide audience, challenged traditional verities, inspired other reinterpretations of Christianity, and even stimulated the Bolshevik secular religion of "God-building," which featured worship of the collective spirit of humanity instead of God.

The Revolution of 1905 led Merezhkovskii to consider social and political questions. He interpreted it as the first stage of a great religious revolution that would usher in the kingdom of God on earth. He denounced autocracy as a tool of the Antichrist, and advocated religious community, viewed as a kind of Christian anarchism, as the solution to social conflict. Hostile to Marxist materialism and collectivism, he claimed that socialism stifles creativity and argued that Jesus Christ is the supreme affirmation of the individual. Major works of this period are *Dostoevskii: Prophet of the Russian Revolution* (1906), *The Coming Ham* (1906), and *Not Peace but a Sword* (1908). He opposed Russia's entry into World War I, welcomed the February Revolution, but regarded the Bolshevik regime as the reign of the Antichrist. He cooperated with attempts to overthrow it, both before and after his emigration in 1919, until his death in Paris, in 1941.

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BERNICE GLATZER ROSENTHAL (1987 AND 2005)

MERIT

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
BUDDHIST CONCEPTS
CHRISTIAN CONCEPTS

MERIT: AN OVERVIEW

The terms *merit* and *merit making* are used in connection with religious practices that have the calculated aim of improving the future spiritual welfare of oneself or others. However, the number of contexts in which a specific terminology such as *merit* (Lat., *meritum*) or its older analogue, the Buddhist *puṇya* (Pali, *puñña*) has developed are surprisingly few. It is probably for this reason that most well-known systematic or phenomenological studies of religion have little or nothing to say on the subject. Elsewhere, the use of these terms in writing on religion is widespread but extremely sporadic, occurring mainly in discussions of generally related subjects such as judgment, reward and punishment, grace, and salvation.

In religion west of India, the earliest specific teaching on merit, or merits, is found in rabbinic Judaism, although merit was not the subject of formal definitions. From the third century CE, the concept played an increasingly significant role in Western Christianity; it reached a high point in the Middle Ages, only to be drawn into the vortex of Reformation debate on grace and the relation between works, faith, and man's justification in the sight of God.

Recent years have seen a smooth and indeed justifiable transfer of the English term *merit* (as well as of European equivalents such as the German *Verdienst*) to that area of Buddhist practice and interpretation covered by the Sanskrit term *puṇya* and its equivalents. The term *merit making* implies an observational, analytic stance not usually found in studies of merit in Christianity, which have been more doctrinal or theological in tone. Nevertheless, interesting parallels can be drawn between Buddhism and Christianity as regards merit. Elsewhere, the relationships are much less clear, and comparative questions have to be suggested much more loosely insofar as they are relevant at all. The following observations should be understood as indicating the general context in which specific teachings on merit have arisen in rabbinic Judaism, Buddhism, and Christianity.

INDIA AND CHINA. That religious action has practical effects in this existence and others has been widely assumed in the religious systems of Asia, though with many variations. In the Indian context, the common assumption of post-Vedic religion is that of a series of existences, each conditioned by the *karman*, or accrued causal momentum, of the previous existence. Since *karman* can be either bad or good, there is room for improvement through religious practice or moral effort. Thus, loose analogies exist with other religious teachings on reward and punishment, religious works, and spiritual development. The main characteristic of Indian assumptions on the subject, whether Hindu, Jain, or Buddhist, is that karmic cause and effect are in principle self-regulating, not subject to divine decision, arbitration, or satisfaction.

In Jainism, seven "fields of merit" (*puṇyaksetra*) are recognized as conducive to a pleasantly advanced rebirth. These have been presented by Padmanabh S. Jaini in *The Jaina Path of Purification* (Berkeley, 1979) as seven categories of meritorious activity: donating an image, donating a building to house an image, having the scriptures copied, giving alms to monks, giving alms to nuns, assisting laymen in their religious or practical needs, assisting laywomen similarly. The concept of *karman* should not in itself, however, be regarded as amounting to a doctrine of merit. This would push the analogy beyond its limits.

In Chinese religion, two relevant strands are discernible. First, there is the tradition of self-discipline and cultivation, in Confucian form oriented socially and pragmatically, in Daoist form linked to the achievement of supernormal powers, longevity, and even immortality. The idea of achieving supernormal physical and psychical powers through strenuous self-discipline is also present in Indian religions, including Buddhism, and hence in all cultural areas influenced by China and India. At the same time, this motivation for religious practice and achievement is not directly related to any concept analogous to merit.

Second, Chinese religion also knows the theme of postmortal judgment, presided over by Yen-lo (counterpart of the Indian god Yama) as god of death and ruler of the hells. Aided by his assistants, Yen-lo brings out the inexorable law of *karman*, and many illustrated works depict this as a warning to the living. (See, for example, the illustrated volumes *Religiöse Malerei aus Taiwan: Katalog* and *Die Höllentexte*, publications 1 and 2 of the Religionskundliche Sammlung der Philipps-Universität Marburg, 1980, 1981.) Religious imagery of this kind, though clearly related, does not entail a distinct doctrine of merit except insofar as it is influenced by Buddhism.

EGYPT AND ANCIENT NEAR EAST. In ancient Egypt, the diffusion of the cult of Osiris as lord of the underworld who had died, been judged, and risen again, provided the first common focus for postmortal expectation and concern. Elaborate funerary rites were accompanied by preparations for judgment before Osiris assisted by assessors. The candidate for new life asserted his innocence of numerous moral transgressions and saw his own heart weighed on scales against a feather representing truth in the sense of divine order (*maat*). Gradually, efforts were made to organise the outcome of the judgment in advance by preparing in advance lists of good deeds and declarations of innocence. This process was ritualized and commercialized through the sale of appropriate rolls of text to be filled in with names before death, modern scholars have named these texts collectively *The Book of Going Forth by Day*. On the other hand, these phenomena may be regarded as the earliest indication of attempts to establish an individual's worth—in effect to "make merit" for him, in order to achieve a desired effect after death.

The idea of merit apparently did not develop in Mesopotamia, where notions of existence after death remained shadowy and pessimistic. Nor did Canaanite or early Hebrew views of death include a postmortal goal toward which the individual could work. The Hebrew concept of She'ol as a silent, forgotten abode beneath the earth was related at least in type to the Babylonian.

The clearly delineated cosmological dualism of Iranian religion gave prominence to the alternatives awaiting the individual after death. The spiritual position of the soul was determined in accordance with its behavior before departure from the body. In principle, the thinking is analogous to the Egyptian conceptions mentioned above, for there is evidence of attempts to influence the judgment. Eschatologically, Iranian ideas strongly influenced developing Judaism, so that She'ol became the place of postmortal punishment, while up to seven heavens were enumerated as abodes of pleasure and bliss.

THEISTIC RELIGIONS. A theistic worldview in the Abrahamic tradition does not necessarily entail a detailed doctrine of merit, as may be seen in the cases of the Qumran community, very early Christianity and, later, Islam. In both the teachings of Qumran and of the New Testament, the concept of calculable merit is entirely lacking. What is required is total, inward obedience to the law, or will, of God. The subsequent development of Christian teachings on merit has been variously described and interpreted. Historical priority must be ascribed to the rabbinic teachings on merit, or merits, which, in a transposed form, underlay Paul's interpretation of the death of Jesus. (This relationship has been skillfully delineated by W. D. Davies in *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 2d ed., London, 1955, pp. 227–284.)

The rabbinic doctrine of merit, though articulated in detail in the first four centuries of the common era, is based on two fundamental ideas which reach much further back in Jewish tradition. These are, first, that keeping the Mosaic covenant with God (i.e., observing the Torah), will lead to blessing and welfare and, second, that the responsibility and benefit of this covenant are essentially corporate and pass from generation to generation. Stated negatively, disobedience leads to punishment in the form of social or political suffering, but this punishment can be moderated by credit accumulated by previous generations. Looking forward, the idea of caring for one's children spiritually as well as physically was a motivating force for assiduousness in religious duty and charitable works. The justifiableness of a man, his standing before God in these respects, is summed up in the term *zakkut*.

As Davies points out, this line of thought is not without variations: some rabbis taught that the dividing of the waters at the exodus took place on account of the merits of Abraham, or the combined merits of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, while others stressed the meritorious faith of the Israelites at the time. The underlying spirit of the teaching is neatly expressed in Arthur Marmorstein's summary of the ideas of Rabbi Yanna'i: "A man who kindles light in daytime for his friend when it is light, what benefit has he derived? When does he obtain any advantage from light? In case he kindles it in the night-time, in darkness. The affection Israel has shown in the wilderness was kept for them from that time, from the days of Moses" (Marmorstein, 1920, p. 17). From regarding the keeping of the Torah as meritorious, and beneficial for future generations, it was not far to the idea that God gave the Torah so that merit could be achieved or even the idea that the whole of creation was designed to this end.

As to life beyond death, reference to this was by no means lacking, and it was considered possible that some individuals, through lack of merit, might fail to be rewarded. Nevertheless, the calculation of one's credits and debits was always regarded as ultimately in the hands of God, so that while relatively good men might tremble, even the wicked might hope. In practical terms, merit was typically considered to accrue through "faith, charity, hospitality, the circumcision, Sabbath and festivals, the study of the Torah, repentance, the Holy Land, the Tabernacle, Jerusalem, the tithe, and the observances in general" (ibid., p. 65).

With Islam, it was, and is, expected that realizable duties will be fulfilled. However, God, and only God, knows what is actually possible for each individual; moreover, he is patient of human weakness. Thus, insofar as it is possible, the pilgrimage to Mecca is required of Muslims. This may be regarded as a negative doctrine of merit in that every Muslim has to assess whether or not he or she is able to make the pilgrimage. While Islam has always recognized that some acts are not strictly required but are nevertheless praiseworthy, any assessment of human behavior for the purpose of achieving salvation was quickly ruled out by the strong emphasis on the preeminent knowledge and grace of God, which amounted to predestination. A broadly similar doctrinal structure was to appear, in the Christian world, in Reformation theology, and in Jansenism.

COMPARATIVE REFLECTIONS. A simple typology of religions with respect to concepts of merit and broadly related aspects of religiosity may be delineated in four parts.

First, it should be noted that much religion simply has not included the concept of merit, especially when notions of the future are shadowy, when a future existence is prepared for by elaborate funerals for royalty only, or when life after death is understood in any case to be the same for everybody. Thus, primal religions—even, for example, the highly developed Japanese Shintō—presuppose neither a radical dividing of the ways based on merit nor any elaborate path of cumulative spiritual development for the individual. Such religions naturally bear powerful religious values, such as a sense of cosmological orientation and belonging. Transactional religiosity, however, is directed in this context towards proximate, this-worldly, goals such as social and economic well-being, the avoidance of disaster and sickness or, in a modern differentiated economy, personal welfare and success.

Second, when clear-cut conceptions of future existence have developed, we see an extension of transactional religiosity into the future, as in Egyptian and Iranian religions, or, in a very different way, in Indian religion. The same holds for Chinese religion, though not without influence from Indian Buddhism. Such transactionalism may or may not be morally differentiated. The key feature here is that an element of future-directed management and even calculation is introduced to cope with an assumed judgment to come or with implications of the present for future existences. In principle, responsibility lies with the individual, although he may seek the assistance of priests, or, in the interesting variation of rabbinic Judaism, draw on the worthy performance of previous generations. Islam also belongs to this type, although in this case there is little interest in calculation and a great reliance on God's compassionate appraisal of what could realistically be expected from each individual in the circumstances of life.

The third type is represented above all by Buddhism and Christianity, although these emerged from quite different assumptions. Here we see that specific doctrines of merit arose at the point of intersection between transactional religiosity and soteriological concern. The natural, or primal, community is left on one side, and the possibility of the transfer of merit from transcendental or intermediate beings is envisaged. Interestingly, this latter idea did not go unopposed in Theravāda Buddhism, where it was criticized on ethical grounds. At the same time, the recommendation of merit-creating activities by the priesthood becomes normal.

Fourth, Buddhism and Christianity are similar not only in having produced an individualized soteriology based, at times, on a doctrine of merit. They have also both seen movements within the tradition which radically internalized the reception of spiritual assistance or grace. For Christianity, this is connected with the Reformation; for Buddhism, such movements are associated with the teachings of the Japanese patriarchs Hōnen (1133–1212) and, above all, Shinran (1173–1263). The latter argued, for example, that there was no value in reciting the Nembutsu (calling on the name of Amida Buddha) on behalf of the deceased because as a human work it could not benefit them in any way. All that was possible was reliance on the grace of Amida Buddha to effect rebirth in the Pure Land in the western heavens. Thus, the soteriological focus was internalized and the idea of merit was transformed from within. These subjectivizing trends within the Buddhist and Christian traditions, though influential, have not become dominant, and, broadly speaking, the vocabulary of merit continues to play a distinctive role in both.

SEE ALSO Judgment of the Dead.

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MICHAEL PYE (1987)
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MERIT: BUDDHIST CONCEPTS

The notion of merit (Skt., *puṇya* or *kuśala;* Pali, *puñña* or *kusala*) is one of the central concepts of Buddhism, and the practice of merit-making is one of the fundamental activities of Buddhists everywhere.

The idea of merit is intimately bound up with the theory of *karman*, the Indian law of cause and effect. According to this theory, every situation in which an individual finds himself is the result of his own deeds in this or a previous lifetime, and every intentional act he now performs will eventually bear its own fruit—good or bad—in this or a future lifetime. Thus present felicity, wealth, physical beauty, or social prestige may be explained as the karmic reward of past deeds of merit, and present suffering, poverty, ugliness, or lack of prestige may be attributed to past acts of demerit. In the same manner, present meritorious deeds may be expected to bring about rebirth in a happier station as a human being or as a deity in one of the heavens, and present demeritorious deeds may result in more suffering and in rebirth as an animal, a hungry ghost (Skt., *preta*), or a being in one of the Buddhist hells. A mixture of meritorious and demeritorious acts will bear mixed karmic results.

This basic understanding of the workings of merit and demerit can be traced back to the time of the Buddha, or the sixth to fifth centuries BCE. It received its fullest elaboration later, however, in the vast collections of *jātaka*s (stories of the Buddha's previous lives), *avadāna*s (legends), and *ānisaṃsa*s (tales of karmic reward), which were and continue to be very popular in both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism.

MERIT-MAKING ACTIVITIES. There are, according to the Buddhists themselves, many ways of making merit. One of the most comprehensive listings of these is the noncanonical catalog of "ten meritorious deeds" (Pali, *dasa-kusalakamma*), which has been widely influential in South Asia. It comprises the following practices:

1. Giving (*dāna*)
2. Observing the moral precepts (*sīla*)
3. Meditation (*bhāvanā*)
4. Showing respect to one's superiors (*apacāyana*)
5. Attending to their needs (*veyyāvacca*)
6. Transferring merit (*pattidāna*)
7. Rejoicing at the merit of others (*pattānumodana*)
8. Listening to the Dharma, that is, the Buddha's teachings (*dhammasavana*)
9. Preaching the Dharma (*dhammadesanā*)
10. Having right beliefs (*diṭṭhijjukamma*)

It is noteworthy that most of the deeds on this list (with the possible exception of the ninth, which is more traditionally a monastic function) can be and are practiced both by Buddhist laypersons and by monks. It is clear, then, that merit making in general is a preoccupation not only of the Buddhist laity (as is sometimes claimed) but also of members of the monastic community, the *saṃgha*. In this regard, it is interesting too that meditation—a practice that is sometimes said to be an enterprise not concerned with attaining a better rebirth but aimed solely at enlightenment—is also seen as a merit-making activity and is engaged in as such by both monks and laypersons.

Another noteworthy item on this list is *sīla*, the observance of the moral precepts. For the laity, this consists of following the injunctions against killing, stealing, lying, sexual misconduct, and intoxication. On certain occasions, however, *sīla* may also involve the voluntary acceptance of three additional precepts, sometimes counted as four, against eating after noon, attending worldly amusements, using ornaments or perfumes, and sleeping on a high bed. Monks, who by their very status are thought to be more filled with merit than the laity, are expected to observe all the above precepts at all times; in addition, there is a tenth injunction for monks against the handling of money.

The most meritorious practice on this list, however, is giving, or *dāna*. In many ways, this is the Buddhist act of merit *par excellence*. Monks engage in it by giving the Dharma to laypersons in the form of sermons or advice, or by the example of their own lives. Laypersons practice it by giving to the monks support of a more material kind, especially food, robes, and shelter. The ideology of merit thus cements a symbiotic relationship between the *saṃgha* and the laity that has long been one of the prominent features of Buddhism.

Not all lay acts of *dāna* make equal amounts of merit. The specific karmic efficacy of any gift may depend on what is given (quantity and quality can be significant), how it is given (i.e., whether the gift is offered with proper respect, faith, and intention), when it is given (food offerings, for example, should be made before noon), and, especially, to whom it is given. Although *dāna* may sometimes be thought to include gifts to the poor and the needy, offerings made to the *saṃgha* are seen as karmically much more effective. Thus, making regular food offerings to the monks, giving them new robes and supplies, funding special ceremonies and festivals, building a new monastery, or having a son join the *saṃgha* are all typical lay acts of *dāna*. These activities share a common focus on the monks and are consistently ranked as more highly meritorious than other types of social service; they are even more highly valued than observation of the moral precepts.

Metaphorically, acts of merit are seen as seeds that bear most fruit when they are planted in good fields of merit (Skt., *puṇyakṣetra*), and the most fertile field of merit today is the *saṃgha*. This obviously has had tremendous sociological and economic implications. In Buddhist societies, the *saṃgha* often became the recipient of the excess (and sometimes not so excessive) wealth of the laity, and thus from its roots it quickly grew into a rather richly endowed institution.

Traditionally, however, the best "field of merit" was the Buddha himself. The model acts of *dāna* that are recounted in Buddhist popular literature often depict gifts that are made to him. Today, in addition to donations to the monks, offerings are made to images and other symbolic representations of the Buddha and are still thought of as highly meritorious. The roots of *dāna*, therefore, lie not only in a desire to do one's duty to the *saṃgha* but also to express one's devotion to the faith in the Buddha. This experiential cultic side of merit-making has often been overlooked, yet it is frequently emphasized in popular Buddhist literature.

AIMS OF THE MERIT MAKER. In addition to expressing individual faith and devotion, the merit maker may be said to be interested in three things. First, an individual wants to obtain karmic rewards for himself in this or the next lifetime. Thus, for example, he might wish, by virtue of his acts of merit, to enjoy long life, good health, and enormous wealth, and never to fall into one of the lower realms of rebirth where suffering runs rampant, but to be reborn as a well-to-do person or a great god in heaven. Many such statements, in fact, may be found in the inscriptions left by pious Buddhists throughout the centuries to record their meritorious deeds, and in anthropologists' descriptions of present-day merit-making practices.

Second, the merit maker may also be interested in enlightenment. It is sometimes claimed that this is not the case, that beyond receiving karmic rewards the merit maker has no real ambition for *nirvāṇa.* To be sure, in the oldest strata of the Buddhist canon *nirvāṇa* is not thought to be attainable by merit-making alone, but Buddhist popular literature soon tended to take a different view. In the Avadānas, for example, even the most trivial acts of merit are accompanied by a vow (Skt., *praṇidhāna*) made by the merit maker to obtain some form of enlightenment in the future. This enlightenment may be a long time in coming, but when it does it is portrayed as the fruit of the merit maker's vow and act of merit, and not as the result of any meditative endeavor.

In present-day Theravāda practice, these same vows take the form of ritual resolves to be reborn at the time of the future Buddha Maitreya and to attain enlightenment at that time. Far from rejecting the possibility of *nirvāṇa*, then, the merit maker, by means of a *praṇidhāna*, can link an act of merit to that very soteriological goal.

THE TRANSFER OF MERIT. Third, the merit maker may also wish to share his or her merit with others, especially with members of the family. By clearly indicating whom the merit maker intends to benefit by a good deed, an individual can transfer the merit accrued to that other person. This does not mean that one thereby loses some of one's own merit; on the contrary, one makes even more, since the transfer of merit is in itself a meritorious act.

Such sharing of merit is sometimes thought to be in contradiction to one of the basic principles of *karman*, according to which merit-making is an entirely individual process whereby one reaps only what one has sown oneself. While this may be correct theoretically, and while it is true that the transfer of merit is not mentioned explicitly in the earliest canonical sources, the practice quickly became very common. It had always been the case, of course, that an individual could undertake an act of merit on behalf of a larger social group. Thus, the housewife who gives food to a monk on his begging round makes merit not only for herself but for her whole family. Buddhist inscriptions and popular literature, however, testify also to the wishes of donors to have their merit benefit somewhat more remote recipients, such as a deceased parent or teacher, the suffering spirits of the dead, or, more generally, all sentient beings.

Probably one of the motivations for such sharing of merit was the desire to continue, in a Buddhist context, the Brahmanical practice of ancestor worship. The transfer of merit by offerings to the *saṃgha* simply replaced the more direct sacrifice of food to the spirits of the dead.

The literalness with which this transfer was sometimes understood is well illustrated by the story of the ghosts of King Bimbisāra's dead relatives. They made horrible noises in his palace at night because they were hungry, for the king had neglected to dedicate to them the merit of a meal he had served to the *saṃgha.* Therefore he had to make a new offering of food to the monks and properly transfer the merit. Once fed, the ghosts no longer complained.

It is worth noting in this story the crucial role played by the field of merit—in this case the *saṃgha*—in successfully transmitting the benefits of meritorious deeds to beings in the other world: the monks act as effective intermediaries between two worlds. They continued to enjoy this role in China and Japan, where their efficacy in transferring merit to the ancestors was much emphasized.

MERIT-MAKING AND THE BODHISATTVA IDEAL. Although the doctrine of the transfer of merit has its roots in the Hīnayāna, it was most fully developed in the Mahāyāna. There it became one of the basic practices of the *bodhisattva* (buddha-to-be), who was thought to be able freely to bestow upon others the merit accrued during a greatly extended spiritual career.

Actually, there are two stages to a *bodhisattva*'s meritorious career. In the first, while seeking enlightenment, he amasses merit by good deeds toward others. In this, his actions are not much different from those described in the Jātakas and attributed to the Buddha in his former lives. In the second stage, the *bodhisattva* (or, in Pure Land Buddhism, the Buddha Amitābha), infinitely meritorious, dispenses merit to all beings.

After initially awakening in himself the mind intent on enlightenment (Skt., *bodhicitta*), the *bodhisattva* begins his career with the path of accumulation of merit (*saṃbhāramārga*), during which he performs great acts of self-sacrifice over many lifetimes and begins the practice of the perfections of giving, morality, patience, energy, meditation, and wisdom. In all of this, his actions are governed by his vow for enlightenment (*praṇidhāna*). Unlike the vows of the Hinayanists, however, those of a *bodhisattva* can be quite elaborate (especially in Pure Land Buddhism), and generally involve his willingness to postpone individual attainment of final *nirvāṇa* in order to be able to lead all sentient beings to enlightenment.

As a result of such altruism, certain great *bodhisattva*s, such as Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, Kṣitigarbha, or Samantabhadra, came to be seen as having stored up virtually inexhaustible supplies of merit, which they can now dispense to sentient beings in order to allay their sufferings. The mechanism by which this is done is that of the transfer of merit, but this is now seen as a more total and compassionate act than in the Hīnayāna. Not only does the *bodhisattva* confer on others the benefit of specific deeds, but he also seeks to share with them his entire store of merit, or, to use a different simile, his own actual roots of merit (*kuśalamūla*). In this, all desire for a better rebirth for himself has disappeared; the only sentiment remaining is his great compassion (*mahākaruṇā*) for all sentient beings in their many states of suffering.

SEE ALSO Bodhisattva Path; Karman, article on Buddhist Concepts.

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Four kinds of sources are most useful in considering the practice of merit-making in Buddhism.

First, there are anthologies of popular Buddhist stories illustrating the workings of merit and demerit. These are too vast and numerous to be described here, but they include the Jātakas (tales of Buddha's former lives), the Avadānas (legends about the lives of individual Buddhists), and innumerable stories of karmic rewards either included in commentaries on canonical works or gathered in separate collections. For translations of examples of each of these three types, see *The Jātaka*, 6 vols. (1895–1905; London, 1973), edited by E. B. Cowell; *Avadāna-çatakạ: Cent légendes bouddhiques*, translated by Léon Feer (Paris, 1891); and *Elucidation of the Intrinsic Meaning: The Commentary on the Peta Stories*, translated by U Ba Kyaw, edited by Peter Masefield (London, 1980).

Second, there are the descriptions and discussions of merit-making practices in present-day Buddhist societies by anthropologists and other observers in the field. For a variety of these works, which also present significant interpretations of merit making, see, for Sri Lanka, Richard F. Gombrich's *Precept and Practice* (Oxford, 1971), chapters 4–7; for Thailand, Stanley J. Tambiah's "The Ideology of Merit and the Social Correlates of Buddhism in a Thai Village," in *Dialectic in Practical Religion* (Cambridge, 1968), edited by Edmund Leach; and, for Burma, Melford E. Spiro's *Buddhism and Society* (New York, 1970).

Third, there are the inscriptions left by merit makers in India and elsewhere to record their acts of merit. Various examples of these invaluable and fascinating documents may be found in Dines Chandra Sircar's *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, vol. 1, *From the Sixth Century B.C. to the Sixth Century A.D.,* 2d ed. (Calcutta, 1965).

Finally, there are the more specialized scholarly studies of specific aspects of merit-making. Only a few of these can be mentioned here. For a fine discussion of the various connotations of the word for "merit," see Jean Filliozat's "Sur le domaine sémantique de puṇya," in *Indianisme et bouddhisme: Mélanges offerts à Mgr. Étienne Lamotte* (Louvain, 1980). For two very helpful studies of the transfer of merit in Hīnayāna Buddhism, see G. P. Malalasekera's "'Transference of Merit' in Ceylonese Buddhism," *Philosophy East and West* 17 (1967): 85–90, and Jean-Michel Agasse's "Le transfert de mérite dans le bouddhisme pāli classique," *Journal asiatique* 226 (1978): 311–332. The latter is an especially suggestive article and has an English summary. For a social scientist's view of the way in which merit-making combines with other forces in defining social roles and hierarchies, see L. M. Hank's "Merit and Power in the Thai Social Order," *American Anthropologist* 64 (1962): 1247–1261. Finally, for a clear discussion of the place of merit in the development of the *bodhisattva* ideal, see A. L. Basham's "The Evolution of the Concept of the Bodhisattva," in *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhism* (Waterloo, Ontario, 1981), edited by Leslie S. Kawamura.

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MERIT: CHRISTIAN CONCEPTS

The term *merit* derives directly from the Latin *meritum* as used by theologians in Western Christianity beginning with Tertullian (160?–225?). Earlier Christian apologists had stressed the importance of postbaptismal works as a preparation for eternal life, and indeed this line of thought can be traced back in a general way to various New Testament writings. The important question as to whether the third-century teaching on merit emerged naturally out of early Christianity or whether it was a distortion, or at best a countertheme, is variously assessed by Catholic and Protestant theologians. Thus, in an article on merit (1962), Günther Bornkamm emphasized the absence of any concept of merit in the New Testament, while his co-writer Erdmann Schott roundly declared that "only the Roman Catholic church developed a doctrine of merit." However, both of these writers recognize the presence of those elements in early Christian writings, including the New Testament, which writers with a Catholic viewpoint see as the basis for the development of the doctrine. These elements are none other than judgment, reward, and punishment. Thus according to Anselm Forster (1965) references to such themes are so numerous that the apostolic fathers and the apologists simply brought the idea of merit into their proclamation of salvation as circumstances required, without any need for systematic reflection at that time.

The New Testament writers certainly made much use of this complex of ideas, as seen for example in the vision of judgment in *Matthew* 25. However, such ideas do not in themselves amount to or necessarily require the development of a doctrine of merit, as may be observed in parallel situations in the history of religions. Historically, there certainly was no general belief in the New Testament writings that some sufficient degree of merit either should or even could be accumulated for any purpose. The main thrust of early Christian teaching was rather to overcome any calculating religiosity in favor of a trusting reliance on the promises of God and spontaneous, uncircumscribed works of love. This holds good both for the teaching of Jesus himself, as far as this can be precisely ascertained, and also for the teaching of the major theological exponents, John and Paul. A doctrine of merit as such did not clearly arise until the third century.

PATRISTIC VIEW OF MERIT. With Tertullian, well known for his legal metaphors, the doctrine of merit came into semiformal existence. He distinguished between good works as a source of merit and nonobligatory good works as a source of extra merit, thus introducing an element of calculation. He also taught that human sinners are required to render satisfaction to God, a satisfaction that could be fulfilled by the offering of merits. Other church fathers accepted Tertullian's teaching, above all with a view to the care of postbaptismal life within the church.

Thus Cyprian (c. 205–258), bishop of Carthage, taught that sins could be purged by charitable works and by faith. This did not refer to those sins contracted before baptism, for they were purged by the blood and sanctification of Christ. But, Cyprian says in *On Works and Charity*, "sic eleemosyne extinguet peccatum" ("as water extinguishes fire, so charitable work extinguishes sin") and "eleemosynis atque operationibus iustis" ("as the fire of Gehenna is extinguished by the water of salvation, so the flame of transgressions is assuaged by almsgiving and just works"). He goes on to say that God is satisfied by just works and that sins are purged by the merits of mercifulness (*misericordiae meritis*). Indeed, by charitable works our prayers are made effective, our lives saved from danger, and our souls liberated from death.

Of importance for later understanding of the doctrine was the debate between Pelagius, Augustine, and others in the first part of the fifth century. Pelagius, whose teaching was current in Rome and North Africa, stressed the power of man through free will to choose and practice the good, and he viewed grace conveyed by the example and stimulus of Christ as a welcome but theoretically not absolutely essential extra. Augustine considered Pelagius's teaching to present a faulty doctrine of man and to render Christian salvation all but superfluous. For the present subject the debate is of importance in that it had the effect of subordinating teaching on merit to the doctrine of grace. Since Pelagianism was condemned as heretical at the councils of Milevum and Carthage (in 416 and 418), Augustine's treatment of the subject set the framework for later Western definitions and ultimately for the divergence that broke out at the Reformation.

It may be noted in passing that the concept of merit was never worked out in detail and did not become a matter of controversy in the Eastern (Orthodox) churches because the operation of divine grace and human free will were and are seen in terms of synergy. By this is meant a cooperation of powers that are unequal but both essential. Although human response and action are necessary within the event of salvation, the preeminent role of grace means that calculations are of no relevance. The perfect example of synergy is provided by Mary, honored as the mother of God (*theotokos*).

MEDIEVAL AND REFORMATION VIEWS OF MERIT. In medieval Latin Christendom an increasingly carefully defined doctrine of merit was current. This doctrine was, with minor variations, consistent from Peter Abelard up until the Reformation. Both obligatory and nonobligatory (supererogatory) works were regarded as meritorious in the sense that they contributed, within the overall economy of divine grace, to the ensuring of salvation. Grace itself can be understood at various levels: all-important was *gratia praeveniens*, but Peter Lombard distinguished between the self-effective *gratia operans* and the *gratia cooperans* that assists in the creation of merit. Widespread in the Middle Ages was the distinction between acts that ensure divine recognition and acts that merely qualify for it at divine discretion. These two types of merit are referred to as condign merit (*meritum de condigno*) and congruent merit (*meritum de congruo*) respectively. However, the sovereignty of God was maintained by the teaching, for example of Thomas Aquinas, that while merit arises equally from free will and from grace, the effective status assigned to condign merit was itself still dependent ultimately on grace. The underlying idea here, not usually made explicit, is that the church in its teaching function can reliably assert the positive availability of grace in such circumstances. Some discussion centered on the possibility of regaining a state of grace through merit after committing deadly sin, which Bonaventure considered possible and Thomas impossible. Another aspect arose with John Duns Scotus, who emphasized the crucial role of the divine acceptance of merit over against the value inherent in the work itself. This permitted the assertion that God recognizes the merits of supernaturally assisted works within the economy of salvation rather than of those performed by man in his natural state simply because he so wishes. (For more details on these and other aspects of the medieval doctrine of merit, see Schott, 1962.)

The doctrinal subtlety of many medieval theologians was clearly directed toward safeguarding the principle of the prior, determinative grace of God over against any idea that salvation could be ensured by calculated acts on man's part. However, not all medieval Christians had the ability, or, in their often short and hard lives, the leisure, to appreciate these points. Since theology had a place for individual acts that might be meritorious, that is, of assistance in securing salvation rather than damnation, the common assumption was that some of these acts had better be performed. It was plainly believed that bad things had to be compensated for by good things if lengthy or eternal punishment was to be avoided, and this meant in daily religious life: penance, good works, and the sacraments. Thus salvation became for many a transaction, albeit a mysterious one. The sale of indulgences in respect of a plenary remission of sins may be regarded as an extreme example of this and was understandably criticized at the Reformation as an abuse. That the element of weighing, or paying, had become a standard feature of Western Catholic tradition, was evident also, however, in the large numbers of chantries endowed for masses to be said for the patron's benefit, via a transfer of merit, after his death.

The Reformation saw a massive reassertion of grace and a straightforward rejection of reliance on works of any kind. With Martin Luther the language of justification was central but was used paradoxically, as in Pauline literature, to refer to God's gracious justification of man through Christ, even though man himself is not able to stand before God in judgment. With this fundamental shift of emphasis, which became increasingly critical of current religious practice, the doctrine of merit related to works was swept away. Yet the vocabulary of merit did not immediately disappear. Indeed the traditional terminology of condign and congruent merit occurs in Luther's *Dictata super Psalterium* (Lectures on the Psalms) and serves as the basis for a gradual transposition of the concept of merited salvation into that of unmerited salvation (cf. Rupp, 1953, esp. pp. 138f.). Thus the idea of the insufficiency of merit or of works provided Luther at one and the same time with a polemical differentiation from the existing tradition of Western Christianity and an invitation to faith in the saving and transforming power of grace leading to good works as the fruit of Christian life. As far as these matters were concerned, the position of other reformers, including John Calvin with his formula *sola gratia* (by grace alone), was essentially similar. As a result, wholesale changes occurred in the practical forms of religion. At the same time the transactional aspect was concentrated in the doctrine of atonement through the merits of the death of Christ.

MERIT IN CATHOLICISM. The positive significance of merit in the context of the religious life was reaffirmed for Western Catholicism at the Council of Trent (1545–1563), the relevant definitions and thirty-three anathemas being contained in the sixteenth chapter of the text for the sixth session: "De fructu justificationis, hoc est, de merito bonorum operum, deque ipsius meriti ratione" (Denzinger, 1965). The argument is tightly linked to the concept of justification, which is viewed as a process within the believer that leads to meritorious good works. Since the merit of good works was considered to bring about specific results contributing to the increase of grace in the present life, to eternal life itself, and to the increase of glory, room was left for the continued pastoral management of religious life in terms of relative achievement, within the overall context of divine grace. This has essentially been the basis of Catholic religiosity ever since.

Thus the marketing of indulgences was abandoned, but the attainment of an indulgence through devotional practice (e.g., on "the first nine Fridays") or through special sets of prayers (Our Fathers, Ave Marias, etc.), leading to a reduction of the number of days required to be spent in purgatory (by 500, 1,000, etc.), has continued down to the present. Moreover such remissions can, via the communion of saints and the work of Christ himself, be applied to the suffering of souls already in purgatory, through prayer, fasting, alms, and the saying of Mass. As one popular nineteenth-century work put it: "She [the church] appears before the tribunal of the judge, not only as a suppliant, but also as the stewardess of the treasure of the merits of Christ and his saints, and from it offers to him the ransom for the souls in purgatory, with full confidence that he will accept her offer and release her children from the tortures of the debtor's prison" (F. J. Shadler, *The Beauties of the Catholic Church*, New York, 1881, p. 404). One could hardly hope to find a clearer statement both of the idea of the transfer of merit and of the transactional manner in which merit is, or can be, understood. Other presentations content themselves with a loose statement of the need for both grace and works, thereby allowing elaboration at the pastoral level. Thus a modern catechism declares: "We can do no good work of ourselves toward our salvation; we need the help of God's grace," but also: "Faith alone will not save us without good works; we must also have hope and charity" (Catholic Truth Society, *A Catechism of Christian Doctrine*, London, 1971, pp. 22f.). The consciousness of ordinary Catholic believers may be summed up in the view that while one cannot ensure one's own salvation one is certainly expected to make a contribution.

In recent years theological controversy about merit in the context of Christianity has lost much of its sharpness for three reasons. First, the theme is subsumed, for Protestants, into the greater theme of faith and grace over against works. From this point of view relying on merits or merit is simply a variant form of relying on works and therefore hardly requires separate consideration. Second, although the concept of merit is retained by Catholics, it is usually made clear, at least in formal accounts, that the prior grace of God is an essential condition. Although, admittedly, this does not meet Protestant objections to all and every form of reliance on works, it does mean that from the Catholic side, too, attention is directed fundamentally toward man's position in the overall economy of divine grace. Third, and this applies to Protestant and Catholic theologians alike, interest is directed toward other issues such as the historical and social responsibilities of Christianity, questions arising through the encounter with non-Christian traditions, and philosophical reflections about the very nature of religious language. In such a perspective, while theological viewpoints regarding merit remain distinct, it is not currently considered to be a matter requiring intense or urgent debate.

SEE ALSO Atonement, article on Christian Concepts; Free Will and Predestination, article on Christian Concepts; Grace; Justification.

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MERLIN.

The origins of Merlin, the magician, prophet, and guardian of the legendary British king Arthur and a central figure in medieval Arthurian romance in both French and English, are to be found in a number of early Welsh poems and related material in Latin. The name *Merlin* was created by the twelfth-century pseudohistorian Geoffrey of Monmouth, who described the conception of "a fatherless boy" by a nun who had been impregnated by an incubus in the South Wales town of Caerfyrddin (modern-day Carmarthen). The omniscient boy's advice to King Vortigern suggests that Geoffrey modeled his Merlin on an earlier Welsh story of the wonder-child Ambrosius. Although two later exploits, the removal of Stonehenge from Ireland to England and the disguising of Uter Pendragon as Gorlois so that he might sleep with the latter's wife (a ruse that results in the conception of Arthur), are not found in the earlier sources, Merlin's major role as a political prophet in Geoffrey's *Historia regum Britanniae* is traditional.

The prophet's birth at Caerfyrddin is a sure sign that he is in fact the Welsh Myrddin, whose name is variously spelled *Merddin*, *Merdin*, and *Myrtin*, which Geoffrey changed to *Merlin* to avoid unfortunate associations with the French *merde.* There are extant a large number of medieval Welsh poems claimed to have been composed by a fictional Myrddin. The majority of these are post hoc vaticinations and contemporary comments on political events attributed to the famed prophet, who had acquired this role by the tenth century, as the poem *Armes Prydein* (c. 935) shows, a role he was to retain throughout the Middle Ages. There may also be discerned, however, a substratum of story to which other pre-twelfth-century poems allude and which can be reconstituted from these and other sources. Myrddin, a member of the court of King Gwenddoleu, became insane at the Battle of Arfderydd (fought in 573 in modern-day Cumbria). He fled in terror from King Rhydderch of Strathclyde to the Caledonian Forest (in the Scottish Lowlands), and lived there the life of a wild man (his Welsh epithet is *Wyllt*, "wild"). He was befriended by his sister, or lover, Gwenddydd, to whom he prophesied events at court. These traditions were used by Geoffrey of Monmouth in his poem *Vita Merlini*, which is designed to correct the nontraditional elements and to supplement the picture he had earlier given in his *Historia.* His two Merlins appeared to contemporaries as distinct characters named Merlinus Ambrosius (in the *Historia*) and Merlinus Silvestris (in the *Vita*), but it is better to regard the distinction as being due to Geoffrey's imprecise knowledge of the genuine tradition at the time of his writing of the *Historia.*

The northern Myrddin is found under the name *Lailoken* in the twelfth-century *Vita Kentigerni* of Joceline of Furness, and he has an analogue in the ninth-century Irish character Suibhne Geilt. Lailoken's tale was relocated in South Wales, and, according to the claims of A. O. H. Jarman, the madman was given a new name derived from *Caerfyrddin.* Rachel Bromwich, stressing Myrddin's status as a poet in Welsh bardic tradition, suggests that he was a sixth-century historical poet, none of whose work is extant but who developed legendary features, as happened to Taliesin. There is little doubt that the sagas of two characters have influenced one another, and they are linked in a pre-twelfth-century dialogue poem which may have been known to Geoffrey of Monmouth, who used the device of dialogue in the *Vita.* Although Welsh literature does not show the influence of later Arthurian romance in the character of Myrddin, late medieval Welsh poetry does contain allusions to his imprisonment and death and to erotic elements in the legend.

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BRYNLEY F. ROBERTS (1987 AND 2005)

MERTON, THOMAS (1915–1968), Roman Catholic monk, author, and poet. Merton pursued a career that may be divided into three distinct phases: secular, monastic, and public. The secular career encompasses the first twenty-six years of his life and culminates with his entrance into the abbey of Gethsemani, Kentucky, in 1941. The basic elements that influenced his later life were set in place during this period. Merton was born on 31 January 1915 in Prades, France, the first child of artist Ruth Jenkins Merton of Zanesville, Ohio, and artist Owen Merton of Christchurch, New Zealand. The family moved to New York City the next year to escape World War I. The loss of his mother while still a child, his father at age sixteen, and a younger brother in World War II, contributed to Merton's sense of the tragic contingency of human life and, possibly, to his decision to enter monastic life. The influence from two parents who were artists and instinctive pacifists bore fruit in their son's pursuits as writer, poet, and prophet of nonviolence.

Merton attended school in the United States, Bermuda, France, and England before commencing higher education. He entered Clare College of Cambridge University on scholarship and completed his undergraduate education at Columbia University in New York. His friendships with Professor Mark Van Doren, the Pulitzer Prize poet, and fellow student Robert Lax, the future poet, helped to develop his already existing interests in mysticism, poetry, and monasticism. He converted to Roman Catholicism in 1938, completed an M.A. in literature from Columbia in 1939, and entered the abbey of Gethsemani in 1941 while working on a never-completed Ph.D. thesis on Gerard Manley Hopkins and teaching English at Saint Bonaventure University in New York State.

The second phase of Merton's career is his life as a monk of the Cistercian Order of the Strict Observance. The rigor of this life is characterized by perpetual silence, a lifelong vegetarian diet, and many hours of daily prayer starting at 2:00 AM. The purpose of this regimen is the development of a contemplative life. Many of those who knew Merton well believe he became a mystic during these years. The last three years of his life were also lived as a hermit, removed from the communal life of the monastery.

The third phase of Merton's life, the public career, is somewhat coincident with the second and is marked by an intense involvement in writing, social protest, and Asian spirituality. The most famous of his sixty books is *Seven Storey Mountain*, an autobiography about a personal search that brings him from unfocused activism to contemplation and from a life of self-indulgence to self-discipline. The writings of Merton include eight volumes of poetry and some six hundred articles.

If a career in writing was unconventional, Merton's involvement in social protest was even less part of the monastic model. He objected vehemently to the United States' involvement in the Vietnam War, the nuclear arms race, violations of the rights of black Americans, and the dehumanizing effects of technology. This protest caused him difficulty at times with readers who favored a pietistic style of writing, with church superiors, and with members of his monastic community. He persevered in putting his views forward, however, believing that mystics owed their contemporaries the value of their own unique witness.

In the final years of his life, Merton was committed to Hindu and Buddhist spiritual wisdom without diminishing his attachment to Catholic Christianity. Zen Buddhism, most especially, appealed to Merton because of its emphasis on experience rather than doctrine. Merton searched for God through participation in the ancient spiritualities of Asia on a long journey to the East that was his personal pilgrimage and a metaphor of his life. He died of accidental electrocution in Bangkok, Thailand, on December 10, 1968.

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ANTHONY PADOVANO (1987)

MESOAMERICAN RELIGIONS

This entry consists of the following articles:

PRE-COLUMBIAN RELIGIONS
FORMATIVE CULTURES
CLASSIC CULTURES
POSTCLASSIC CULTURES
COLONIAL CULTURES
CONTEMPORARY CULTURES
MYTHIC THEMES
HISTORY OF STUDY

MESOAMERICAN RELIGIONS: PRE-COLUMBIAN RELIGIONS

Through several millennia and up to the present, complex forms of indigenous belief and ritual have developed in Mesoamerica, the area between North America proper and the southern portion of isthmic Central America. The term *Mesoamerica*, whose connotation is at once geographical and cultural, is used to designate the area where these distinctive forms of high culture existed. There, through a long process of cultural transformation, periods of rise, fall, and recovery occurred. On the eve of the Spanish invasion (1519), Mesoamerica embraced what are now the central and southern parts of Mexico, as well as the nations of Guatemala, Belize, El Salvador, and some portions of Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica.

Distinctive forms of social organization began to develop in this area from, at the latest, the end of the second millennium BCE. Parallel to these social and economic structures, various forms of religion also flourished. Most contemporary researchers agree that Mesoamerican religion, and the Mesoamerican high cultures in general, developed without any significant influence from the civilizations of Asia, Europe, and Africa. But whereas it is generally accepted that the various forms of high culture that appeared in Mesoamerica shared the same indigenous origin, a divergence of opinions exists regarding the question of how the various religious manifestations are ultimately interrelated.

According to some scholars (e.g., Bernal, 1969; Caso, 1971; Joralemon, 1971, 1976; Léon-Portilla, 1968; Nicholson, 1972, 1976), there was only one religious substratum, which came to realize itself in what are the distinct varieties of beliefs and cults of peoples such as the Maya, the builders of Teotihuacan, the Zapotec, the Mixtec, the Toltec, the Aztec, and others. A different opinion (maintained by, among others, George Kubler [1967, 1970]) postulates the existence of various religious traditions in ancient Mesoamerica. Those adhering to this view nonetheless admit to reciprocal forms of influence and even to various kinds of indigenous religious syncretism.

This essay on pre-Columbian religions postulates the existence of what is essentially a single religious tradition in Mesoamerica, without, however, minimizing the regional differences or any changes that have altered the continuity of various elements of what can be labeled "Mesoamerican religion" (Carrasco, 1990).

The assertion about the existence of a single religious tradition rests on various kinds of evidence:

1. All over Mesoamerica there were identical calendrical systems which guided the functioning of religious rituals in function of which religious rituals were performed.
2. The Mesoamerican pantheon included a number of deities that were universally worshiped, including the supreme Dual God, Our Father our Mother; an Old God known also as God of Fire; a Rain god; a Young God of Maize; Quetzalcoatl, Kukulcan, god and priest; a Monster of the Earth; and others. The gods also had calendrical names.
3. Rituals performed included various kinds of offerings such as animals, flowers, food and human sacrifices.
4. Self-sacrifice also played an important role.
5. There was a complex priestly hierarchy.
6. The temples were built in a basically similar architectural pattern, truncated pyramids with sanctuaries on top.
7. Recorded texts show the existence of a similar worldview, which included the sequence of several cosmic ages and spatial symbols such as cosmic trees, birds, colors, and deities.

EARLIEST RELIGIOUS MANIFESTATIONS. Because of lack of evidence, scholarship does not extend back to the religious concerns of the earliest inhabitants of Mesoamerica (c. 25,000 BCE). Nevertheless, some archaeological findings show that the early hunter-gatherers had at least some metaphysical or religious preoccupations. Reference can be made to their rock art: paintings and petroglyphs, some of which date to about 10,000 BCE, several of which suggest religious or magical forms of propitiation through hunting, fishing, and gathering.

Objects that are more obviously religious in function date only from 2500 to 1500 BCE, when the earliest village-type settlements appeared in Mesoamerica. By that time, after a slow process of plant domestication that probably began around 6000 BCE, new forms of society began to develop. It had taken several millennia for the hunter-gatherers to become settled in the first small Mesoamerican villages. In the evolution of Mesoamerican culture, what has come to be known as the Early Formative period had commenced.

Those living during this period employed an ensemble of objects indicative of their beliefs about the afterlife, and of their need to make offerings to their deities. At different sites throughout Mesoamerica (especially in the Central Highlands, the Oaxaca area, and the Yucatán Peninsula), many female clay figurines have been found in what were the agricultural fields. Scholars hypothesize that these figurines were placed in the fields to propitiate the gods and ensure the fertility of crops. Burials in places close to the villages (as in Asia, Africa, and Europe) also appear, with a large proportion of the human remains belonging to children or young people. These burial places are accompanied by offerings such as vestiges of food and pieces of ceramics.

OLMEC HIGH CULTURE. Villages of agriculturists and potters, who evidently were already concerned with the afterlife and with "sacred" fertility, became gradually more numerous in Mesoamerica, with the villages established in hospitable environments experiencing significant population growth. Among these, the communities in the area near the Gulf of Mexico in the southern part of the Mexican state of Veracruz and neighboring Tabasco underwent extraordinary changes around 1200 BCE. Archaeological findings in the centers now called Tres Zapotes, La Venta, and San Lorenzo reveal that a high culture was already developing and, with it, a strong religious tradition.

Olman (land of rubber), the abode of the Olmec, with its large buildings mainly serving religious purposes, stands out as the first high culture in Mesoamerica. The center of La Venta, with its mud-plastered pyramids, its semicylindrical and circular mounds, carved stone altars, tombs, stelae, and many sculptures, anticipates the more complex ensembles of religious structures that proliferated centuries later in

Mesoamerica. The central part of La Venta, built on a small island in a swampy area sixteen kilometers from the point where the Tonala River empties into the Gulf of Mexico, was no doubt sacred space to the Olmec. The agriculturist villagers who had settled in the vicinity of La Venta were already developing new economic, social, political, and religious institutions. Although many villagers continued their subsistence activities—especially agriculture and fishing—others specialized in various crafts and arts, commercial endeavors, the defense of the group, and—of particular significance—-the cult of the gods. Government at this point was most likely left to those who knew how to worship the gods.

Olmec religious iconography. Olmec religious representations have been described as "biologically impossible" (Joralemon, 1976, p. 33). Human and animal features are combined in these representations in a great variety of forms. Early researchers pointed out the omnipresence of a jaguarlike god, who seemingly had the highest rank in the Olmec pantheon. One early hypothesis stated that the main traits of what later became the prominent Mesoamerican rain god derived from these jaguarlike representations.

A more ample and precise approach to Olmec iconography has led Peter D. Joralemon (1971, 1976) and Michael D. Coe (1972, 1973) to express the opinion that the variety of presentations of the jaguarlike god portray distinct, though closely associated, divine beings. A number of divine identities integrate various animal and human attributes. The animal features most frequently used in combination with the basically human-shaped face are a jaguar's nose, spots, and mighty forearms, as well as a bird's wings, a serpent's body, and a caiman's teeth. Thus, one finds beings that might be described as a human-jaguar, a jaguar-bird, a bird-jaguar-caiman, a bird-jaguar-serpent, a jaguar-caiman-fish, a human-bird-serpent, a bird-caiman-serpent, and a bird-mammal-caiman (Joralemon, 1976, pp. 33–37).

Iconographic comparisons between representations of these kinds and other religious Mesoamerican effigies from the Classic (c. 250–900 CE) and the Postclassic periods (c. 900–1519 CE) reveal that the nucleus of the Mesoamerican pantheon was already developing in the Olmec epoch. One god is sometimes represented as a kind of dragon, frequently featuring a jaguar's face, a pug nose, a caiman's teeth, and a snarling, open, cavernous mouth with fangs projecting from the upper jaw, a flaming eyebrow, various serpentine attributes, and at times a hand/paw/wing linked to the occipital region. Other, more abstract, motifs include crossed-band designs in the eyes, crossed bands and a dotted bracket, four dots and a bar, and the symbols for raindrops and maize.

This god, probably the supreme Olmec deity, was worshiped in his many guises, as the power related to fertility, rain, lightning, earth, fire, and water. In him, various forms of duality—an essential feature in the Classic and Postclassic Mesoamerican universe in both its divine and human aspects—can be anticipated. Prototypes of other gods that were later worshiped among the Maya, as well as the peoples of the central highlands and those of Oaxaca, can also be identified in the Olmec pantheon. Among these are the Maize God, the One Who Rules in the Heavens, the Old Lord (protector of the sacred domestic hearth), and the Serpent, who has birdlike attributes and is a prototype of the Feathered Serpent.

Other researchers have recognized that, in additon to emphasizing the appearance of the omnipresent Olmec god as a kind of a dragon with a jaguar's face, it must also be identified by its equally visible serpentine traits. Román Piña Chan summarizes such an interpretation:

> We can say that during the period of maximum Olmec development they gave birth to new religious concepts: [. . .] rattle snake representations, or bird-serpents, that began to symbolize the god of rain or celestial water. (Piña Chan, 1982, p. 194)

Chan and others have recognized that the god with serpentine traits is the antecedent of Tlaloc, the rain god of the central plateau, known also as Chac among the Maya, and as Cocijo among the Zapotec of Oaxaca. It can be asserted that iconographic studies support this view.

The Olmec thought of their gods as endowed with interchangeable traits and attributes. Thus, a kind of continuum existed in the sphere of the divine, as if the ensemble of all the godlike forms was essentially a mere manifestation of the same supreme reality. This distinctive character of the divine—represented through ensembles of symbols, often shifting from one godlike countenance to another—perdured, as will be seen, in the religious tradition of Mesoamerica. That continuity, subject to variations of time and space, did, however, undergo innovations and other kinds of change. One important change derived from the relationship that was to develop between the perception of the universe of the divine and the art and science of measuring periods of time (i.e., the development of calendrical computations).

Origins of the calendar. The earliest evidence of calendrical computations—inscriptions discovered in places influenced by Olmec culture—also conveys other related information. Of prime importance is the indication that the political and social order was not only closely linked to the universe of the divine, but was also conceived in terms of the measurement of time—all of whose moments are bearers of destiny. In the Stelae of the Dancers (a stele [pl. stelae] is an engraved upright stone slab), at Monte Albán I (epoch I) in Oaxaca (c. 600 BCE), where Olmec influence is present, the human figures, described "as an expression of political and ritual power" (Marcus, 1976, p. 127), are accompanied by hieroglyphs denoting names of persons (probably both human and divine), place names, and dates.

The calendar was doubtless the result of assiduous astronomical observation. Its early diffusion throughout various parts of Mesoamerica implies an old origin (probably 1000–900 BCE) for this calendar that later came to determine all divine and human activities. Humans are represented in several Olmec monuments, such as the Basalt Altar 4 in La Venta, as emerging from the mouth or cave of the supreme "dragon" deity, signifying humankind's birth into a universe where time moves in sacred rhythms. The recurring Olmec symbols—quadruple and quintuple patternings (indicative of the four corners and the center of the earth), stylized maize plants, and other motifs—seem to reveal that a prototype of what became the classic Mesoamerican image of sacred space had been developed as far back as Olmec times.

MAYA RELIGION. Olmec civilization acted as a ferment of many cultural transformations. Archaeological research has identified the traces of its ample diffusion. In addition to the numerous sites excavated in the Olmec heartland of Veracruz-Tabasco, many villages of the Early Formative type in the Central Plateau—in the western region along the Pacific coast in Oaxaca—and in the land of the Maya, show evidence of having undergone processes of rapid change. (The Maya territories include the Yucatán Peninsula and parts of the present-day Mexican states of Tabasco and Chiapas, as well as Guatemala, Belize, and parts of Honduras and El Salvador.)

Antecedents of cultural grandeur. Some notable findings have highlighted the processes that culminated in the grandeur of Maya high culture. These findings reveal that a preoccupation with the sacred cycles of time resulted in extraordinary achievements as early as several decades BCE. One of the findings is Stele 2 of Chiapa de Corzo, Mexico, where a date corresponding to December 9, 36 BCE is expressed in what modern researchers describe as the calendar's Long Count (see below). Two other inscriptions, registered in the same Long Count, have been found in places closer to the ancient Olmec heartland, one on Stele C at Tres Zapotes, Veracruz (31 BCE), and the other on the Tuxtla (Veracruz) Statuette (162 CE). The deeply rooted Mesoamerican tradition of measuring the flow of time, a tradition whose oldest vestiges appear in Monte Albán I, Oaxaca (c. 600 BCE), became more sophisticated around 200 to 100 BCE with the complexities and extreme precision of the Long Count. To understand its functioning and multiple religious connotations, one needs to be familiar with two basic systems—the 365-day solar calendar and the 260-day count—described later in this article.

Other vestiges that have been unearthed point to cultural changes that were taking place during this period, called the Late Formative. In the Pacific plains of the southernmost Mexican state of Chiapas and in adjacent parts of Guatemala, several centers boasted impressive religious buildings, temples, altars, stelae with bas-reliefs, and a few calendrical inscriptions. Archaeologists rightly consider these centers to be the immediate antecedents of Maya culture. The centers of Izapa, Abaj Takalik, and El Baúl contain monuments that are outstanding. Stele 2 at Abaj Takalik contains a carved image of a celestial god and an inscription of a date, which, though partly illegible, is expressed in the system of the Long Count. In El Baúl, other calendrical instriptions correspond to the year 36 CE. Maya culture—one of the variants of Mesoamerican civilization—was about to be born.

Stele 5 of Izapa in Chiapas is particularly remarkable; in it a vertical image of the world is represented. One sees in it the cosmic tree of the center, and at its sides, the figures of Our Father and Our Mother, as they appear on pages 75 to 76 of the Maya *Codex Tro-Cortesiano.* In the stele, two feathered serpents surround the scene, which at its bottom shows the terrestrial waters and at its top the celestial ones. This stele, as well as others from the same center and from nearby sites, provides a glimpse at the beginnings of what was to become the vision of the world and of the supreme deity in Maya culture.

Chronology and sources. A Classic period (c. 250–900 CE) and a Postclassic period (c. 900–1519 CE) have been distinguished in the cultural development of the Maya. The most magnificent of their religious and urban centers flourished during the Classic period: Tikal, Uaxactún, and Piedras Negras in Guatemala; Copán and Quiriquá in Honduras; Nakum in Belize; Yaxchilán, Palenque, and Bonampak' in what is now the Mexican state of Chiapas; and Dzibililchaltún, Cobá, Kabáh, Labná, Chichén Itzá, Uxmal, Río Bec, and others in the Yucatán Peninsula. At these sites, sophisticated forms of spiritual development emerged. Even Diego de Landa, the Spanish friar who in the sixteenth century set fire to many of the written records of the Maya, could not refrain from remarking on "the number, the grandeur, and the beauty of their buildings" (Landa, trans. Tozzer, 1941, p. 170), especially those devoted to the cult of their gods. Besides Maya architecture—which included among its techniques the corbel vault—also deserving of special mention is their sculpture, mural painting, and bas-relief carving on stone stelae, stairways, lintels, panels, and plaques of jade. On them, thousands of hieroglyphic inscriptions have been found, some related to the universe of the gods and others having more mundane historical content. These inscriptions at times accompany carved images of gods as well as of rulers and other dignitaries.

To compensate for the obscurities that still surround the spiritual achievements of the Classic period, one has to look for whatever is indicative of a cultural continuity in the Postclassic. From the latter period, three pre-Columbian books—or codices—survive; and, even more significantly, a considerable number of indigenous testimonies, in Yucatec-Maya, Quiché-Maya, and other linguistic variants, have come down to us in early transcriptions done by Maya priests or sages who survived the Spanish conquest and learned to use the Roman alphabet. Among these testimonies, the *Popol Vuh* (The Book of counsel) of the Quiché-Maya, the several *Chilam Balam* books of the Yucatec-Maya, and the *Book of Songs of Dzitbalche* (from the Yucatán) stand out as conveyers of the religious wisdom of this remarkable people.

The Maya image of the world. To approach the core of the religious worldview of the Classic Maya, one has to analyze an ensemble of elements—some with antecedents in the Olmec culture, yet enriched and often transformed. The most significant of these elements include the Mayan image of the earth and universe, their calendrical concerns and ideas about time, and the ultimate meaning of the divine and of humans within their spatial and temporal universe.

In several Classic monuments, as well as in Postclassic books and other representations, the surface of the earth is conceived as being the back of a huge caiman with saurian, ophidian, and feline attributes that sometimes resemble those of the so-called Olmec Dragon. The monstrous creature is surrounded by vast waters. In Palenque, in the Tablet of the Cross and the Tablet of the Foliated Cross, cosmic trees rise from the earth monster. In some representations, one sees a double-headed serpent in the sky. The creature also appears with other attributes of the Olmec Dragon, such as crossed bands and various celestial symbols. The double-headed serpent covers and embraces the earth. It was this celestial serpent that, dividing the terrestrial monster into two parts, activated this universe and introduced life on earth. Thus, a primeval duality presides over and gives rise to the universe.

The surface of the earth, as in the case of the Olmec prototype, is distributed into four quadrants that converge at a central point: the navel of the world. One finds in Classic inscriptions and Postclassic codices hieroglyphs for each of the world quadrants and their associated colors. Cosmic trees and deities reside in the "red east," "white north," "black west," "yellow south," and "green central point." Above and below the surface of the earth are thirteen heavens and nine underworld levels, where thirteen celestial gods and nine "lords of the night" have their respective abodes.

MAYA DEITIES. The comparative study of religious iconography, the contents of the three extant Pre-Columbian Maya codices, and the relatively numerous texts of diverse origin within this culture allow us to surmise that the idea of a divine duality was deeply rooted in Mesoamerican thought since at least the Classic period, if not since the Olmec. The Dual God resides in the uppermost of the celestial levels. In the *Popol Vuh* of the Quiché-Maya, he-she is addressed both as E Quahalom (Begetter of Children) and as E Alom (Conceiver of Children). In the first of the *Songs of Dzitbalche* appears the following reference to the father-mother god:

> The little yellowbird, and also the cuckoo, and there is the mockingbird, they all delight the heart, the creatures of the Father, god, so likewise the Mother, such as the little turtle dove. . . (Edmonson, 1982, p. 176)

Our Father Our Mother has other names as well. There is evidence to identify him-her with the Postclassic Itzamná (Lizard House), the name probably referring to the primeval celestial and terrestrial being of monstrous countenance, whose house is the universe. This supreme creator-god is invoked at times with the feminine prefix *Ix-,* as in Ix Hun Itzam Na. To him-her—that is, to the "begetter-conceiver of children"—the Maya ultimately attributed the creation of the earth, heavens, sun, moon, plants, animals, and, of course, humans. As in the case of the Olmec nuclear deity, traits of caiman, bird, serpent, and jaguar can be perceived at times in the god's iconography.

The quadruple patterning expressed in certain Olmec monuments proliferated in Maya religious representations. The divine duality, "begetting and conceiving" children, develops a quadruple being—the various ensembles of gods that have to do with the four quadrants of the universe. The Red Itzamná appears in the East, the White in the North, the Black in the West, and the Yellow in the South. Other quadruple sets are the four Bacabs, supporters of the sky at the four corners of the world; the four Chacs, gods of rain; the four Pahuatuns, deities of wind; the four Chicchans (Owners of Thunder), godlike giant snakes; and the four Balams (Tigers), protectors of the cultivated fields.

Divine reality also permeates the upperworld and underworld levels. Itzamná is at once a celestial, a terrestrial, and an underworld god. The Oxlahum-ti-ku (thirteen gods) rule in the thirteen heavens, and the Bolom-ti-ku (nine gods) preside over the nine inferior levels.

Prominent in the Maya pantheon is Kin, the sun god, who, wandering above, creates the day and the cycles of time. When he reaches his home in the West, he enters the fangs of the earth monster and journeys through the obscure regions of the underworld to reappear in the East, from the same monster's fangs. Although the sun god himself cannot be considered the supreme deity of the Maya, his frequent association with the worlds above and below, with the four quadrants of the world, and with all the calendar's periods makes him a multifaceted god with innumerable religious connotations. He is often related to Itzamná as a celestial deity, and also to Yum Kimil (Lord of Death) who abides in the netherworld, the region visited at night by the sun god disguised as a jaguar. The abode of Yum Kimil is also the place to which most of the dead go. Only a few dead—chosen by the Chacs, the gods of rain—attain a sort of paradise, a place of pleasure situated in one of the heavens. It is not clear whether those who go to the abode of the lord of death are to remain there forever, are eventually reduced to nothing, or if, after a period of purification, they are transferred to the celestial paradise.

Other gods worshiped by the Maya include the moon goddess Ixchel (another title of the mother goddess, often described as wife of the sun god). The "great star" (Venus), whose heliacal risings and conjunctions were of great interest to Maya skywatchers, received at times the calendrical name *1 Ahau* (1 Lord), but it was also associated with five other celestial gods, whose identification implies the assimilation of cultural elements in the Postclassic from the Central Plateau of Mexico. There also appear to have been patron gods of specific occupational groups, such as merchants, hunters, fishermen, cacao growers, medicine men, ball players, poets, and musicians.

With regard to the "feathered serpent god," a distinction has to be made. On the one hand, serpent representations—in association with bird's elements such as plumage, or with traits belonging to other animals such as the caiman or jaguar—had been extremely frequent since the early Classic period. As previously mentioned, these complex figures—sometimes described as celestial dragons, earth monsters, cosmic lizards, and so forth—are representations of gods like the Chicchan serpents, deities of rain, or of the multifaceted Itzamná. On the other hand, the idea of a particular god and culture hero, Kukulcan, corresponding to central Mexico's Quetzalcoatl (Quetzal-Feathered Serpent), was borrowed from that subarea in the Postclassic.

Priests and forms of worship. The existence of a priesthood, and of the many sacred sites and monuments reserved for the various kinds of cult, imposed a canon to be observed in the communication with the universe of the divine. The chiefs, *halach uinicoob* (true men), could perform some religious ceremonies; but for the most part, the cult of the gods was the duty of the priests. Above them was a class of high priests, who in Postclassic texts were named "rattlesnake-tobacco lords" and "rattlesnake-deer lords." These priests were in custody of the ancient religious wisdom, the books and the calendrical computations. They were considered prophets and acted in the most important ceremonies. Of a lower rank were the *ah kinoob,* the priests whose title can be translated as "those of the sun." Their duty was to interpret the calendrical signs, to direct the feast-day celebrations, and to "read" the destinies of humans. To some of the *ah kinoob* fell the performance of offerings and sacrifices, including human sacrifices.

Bearers of the rain god's name were the *chac* priests, assistants in the sacrifices and other ceremonies. The lowest rank was occupied by the *ah men* (performers, prayer makers), who were concerned mostly with the local forms of cult. Women who lived close to the sacred buildings assisted the priests in their duties.

Obviously, great differences existed between the ceremonies performed in the important religious centers and those that took place at a more modest level in a village or at home. Most ceremonies were preceded by different forms of fasting and continence. Thus, the gods would be appeased by their acceptance of what people were expected to offer as payment for what they had received from the gods. A recurrent belief—not only among the Maya but also in other Mesoamerican subareas—was that, in a primeval time, "when there was still night," the gods entered into an agreement with humans: humans could not subsist without the constant support of the gods; but the gods themselves needed to be worshiped and to receive offerings.

The Maya practiced autosacrifice in various forms, as can be observed in multiple representations of both Classic and Postclassic monuments. Most often, blood was offered by passing a cord or a blade of grass through the tongue, the penis, or some other part of the body. Offerings of animals (quail, parrots, iguanas, opossums, turtles) and of all sorts of plants or plant and animal products (copal, flowers, cacao, rubber, honey) were also frequent.

Human sacrifice was performed following various rituals. The most frequent form required opening the breast of the victim to offer his or her heart to the god. Other kinds of human sacrifice included shooting arrows at a victim tied to a frame of wood, beheading, and throwing the victim—usually a young girl or child—into a cenote (Maya, *dz'onot,* a natural deposit of water in places where the limestone surface has caved in) or into a lake, as in certain sites in Guatemala. Human sacrifices—never so numerous among the Maya as they became among the Aztec—were performed during the sacred feasts to repay the gods with the most precious offering: the life-giving blood.

A considerable number of prayers in the Maya languages have been preserved. Among them one can distinguish sacred hymns (hymns of intercession, praise, or thanks) from those accompanying a sacrifice and from those to be chanted in a domestic ceremony.

Religion and the calendar. The calendar provided the Maya with a frame of mathematical precision, a basis for understanding and predicting events in the universe. Thus, all the sacred duties of the priests—the ceremonies, sacrifices, and invocations—were not performed at random but followed established cycles. Observation of the celestial bodies and of whatever is born and grows on the earth demonstrated that beings undergo cyclical changes. The Maya believed that if humans succeeded in discovering and measuring the cyclical rhythms of the universe, they would adapt themselves to favorable situations and escape adverse ones. The belief that the gods and their sacred forces are essentially related to the cyclical appearances and intervals of the celestial bodies—which are their manifestations—led the sages to conclude that the realm of the divine was ruled by a complex variety of cycles.

The Maya saw the manifestations or arrivals of the gods in these cycles; all the deities were thought of as being endowed with calendrical presences, and so the gods were given their respective calendrical names. As for humans, the divine presences along the counts of time could not be meaningless: they brought fate, favorable or adverse, and all dates had therefore to be scrutinized to discover the destinies they carried. This probably explains why calendrical and religious concerns became so inseparable for the Maya.

The calendar systems they employed were not a Maya invention (although they added new forms of precision to these systems). Two forms of count were at the base of the complexities of all Mesoamerican calendars. One count is that of the solar year, computed for practical purposes as having 365 days and subject to various forms of adjustment or correction. The other count, specifically Mesoamerican, is the cycle of 260 days. In it a sequence of numbers from 1 to 13 is employed. A series of 20 day names, each expressed by its respective hieroglyph, is the other essential element of the calendar.

The solar-year count and the 260-day count meshed to make it possible to give a date not only within a year, but also within a 52-year cycle, as well as in the so-called Long Count. To represent the calendar's internal structures and forms of correlation is to represent the precise mechanism that provided the norm for the order of feasts, rites, and sacrifices; astrological wisdom; economic, agricultural, and commercial enterprises; and social and political obligations. This mechanism was also the key to understanding a universe in which divine forces—the gods themselves and the destinies they wrought—became manifest cycle after cycle.

The 260-day count places the numbers 1 to 13 on a series of 20 day names, whose meanings in the Maya languages are related to various deities and other sacred realities. The 20 days have the following names and associations: *Imix* (the earth monster); *Ik* ("Wind" or "Life," associated with the rain god); *Akbal* ("Darkness," associated with the jaguar-faced nocturnal sun god); *Kan* ("Ripeness," the sign of the god of young maize); *Chicchan* (the celestial serpent); *Cimi* ("Death," associated with the god of the underworld); *Manik* ("Hand," the day name of the god of hunting); *Lamat* (day name of the lord of the "great star," Venus); *Muluc* (symbolized by jade and water, evokes the Chacs, gods of rain); *Oc* (represented by a dog's head, which guides the sun through the underworld); *Chuen* (the monkey god, the patron of knowledge and the arts); *Eb* (represented by a face with a prominent jaw; related to the god who sends drizzles and mists); *Ben* ("Descending," the day name of the god who fosters the growth of the maize stalk); *Ix* (a variant of the jaguar-like sun god); *Men* (associated with the aged moon goddess); *Cib* (related to the four Bacabs, supporters of the sky); *Caban* ("Earthquake," associated with the god/goddess of the earth); *Etz'nab* ("Obsidian Blade," linked to human sacrifice); *Cauac* (day name of the celestial dragon deities); and *Ahau* ("Lord," the radiant presence of the sun god).

During the first 13-day "week" of the 260-day cycle, the numbers 1 through 13 are prefixed to the first 13 day names. At this point, the series of numbers begins again at 1, so that, for example, *Ik,* whose number is 2 during the first week, has the number 9 prefixed to it during the second week, 3 during the third week, and so on. The cycle begins to repeat itself after 260 (20 x 13) days. In this 260-day count, one also distinguishes 4 groups of 65 days, each of which is broken into 5 "weeks" of 13 days (each presided over by a particular god).

The solar count of the *haab,* or year, is divided into 18 groups—*uinals*, or "months"—of 20 days each (18 x 20 = 360), to which 5 *uayebs* (ominous days) are added at the end of the cycle. These 18 "months" of 20 days and the 5 final days are the span of time along which the 260-day count develops. The intermeshing of the two counts implies that in each solar year there will be a repetition in the 260-day combination of numbers and day names in 105 instances (365 - 260 = 105). As the number and the day name together form the basic element to express a date, the way to distinguish between such repetitions is by specifying the position of the days in the different 18 months of 20 days of the solar count.

Thus, if the day *13 Ahau* (13 Lord) is repeated within a 365-day solar count, one can distinguish two different dates by noting the day to which it corresponds in the series of the 18 months. For example, *13 Ahau*, *18 Tzec* (the day *13 Ahau* is related to the 18th day of the month of *Tzec*) is different from *13 Ahau*, *18 Cumhu* (the day *13 Ahau* is related to the 18th day of the month of *Cumhu*).

The number of possible different interlockings of the two counts comprises 18,980 expressions of the day name, number, and position within the month. Such a number of differently named days integrates a Calendar Round, a cycle of 52 years. Each of these 18,890 calendric combinations was designated as the bearer of a distinct divine presence and destiny, obviously not of that many different gods, but of a complex diversification of their influences—favorable or adverse—successively oriented towards one of the four quadrants of the world.

The Long Count System. But the Maya, like some of their predecessors who were exposed to Olmec influence, could also compute any date in terms of the Long Count, in which a fixed date, corresponding to a day in the year 3133 BCE (probably representing the beginning of the present cosmic age), was taken as the point of departure. The end of the Long Count's cycle will occur on a date equivalent to December 24, 2011. The Long Count was conceived to express dates in terms of elapsed time, or *kin* (a word that has cognates throughout the Maya family of languages and that means "sun, sun god, day, time, cosmic age"). Periods within the Long Count were reckoned in accordance with Mesoamerican counting systems, which employed base 20. These periods, each of which had its presiding deity, were registered in columns of hieroglyphs, beginning with the largest cycle, as follows:

> *Baktun* (7,200 days x 20 = 144,000 days) *Katun* (360 days x 20 = 7,200 days) *Tun* (20 days x 18 = 360 days) *Uinal* (20 days) *Kin* (1 day)

By means of their dot, bar, and shell— numerical signs for 1, 5, and 0, respectively—the Maya indicated how many *baktuns, katuns, tuns, uinals,* and *kins* had, at a given moment, elapsed since the beginning of the present cosmic age. The date was finally correlated with the meshed system of the 365-day solar calendar and the 260-day count, which thus became adjusted to the astronomical year.

Besides these precise forms of calendar, the Maya developed other systems devised to measure different celestial cycles, such as those of the "great star" and of the moon. The inscriptions on Maya stelae allow us to understand some of the main reasons for their astronomical and calendrical endeavors. To the Maya, dates conveyed not only the presence of one god on any given day, but also the sum total of the divine forces "becoming" and acting in the universe. The deities of the numbers, of the day names, of the periods within the 260-day count, of the *uinals* (or months of the year), and of the divisions within a 52-year cycle—as well as of the many other cycles within the Long Count system—converged at any given moment and exerted their influences, intrinsically coloring and affecting human and earthly realities.

Through color symbolism and indications like those of the "directional hieroglyphs of the years," one can identify the cosmic regions (quadrants of horizontal space and also celestial and inferior levels) to which specific cycles and gods address their influence. For the Maya, space separated from the cycles of time would have been meaningless. When the cycles are finally completed, the consequence will be the end of life on earth, the death of the sun, the absence of the gods, and an ominous return to primeval darkness.

The priests known as *ah kinoob* (those of the sun and of the destinies) whose duty was to recognize and anticipate the divine presences, as well as their beneficial or dangerous influences, were consulted by rich and poor alike. Thanks to special rites and sacrifices, favorable destinies could be discovered that would neutralize the influence of adverse fates. In this way one escaped fatalism, and a door was opened to reflection and righteous behavior. The wisdom of the calendar was indeed the key to penetrating the mysterious rhythms of what exists and becomes. This probably explains why the priests were also interested in the computation of dates in the distant past. On Stele F of Quirigua is inscribed a date, *1 Ahau, 18 Yaxkin,* that corresponds to a day 91,683,930 years in the past!

In the Postclassic period, the Long Count fell into oblivion and the simplified system of the Count of the *Katuns* (13 periods of 20 years) was introduced. The destinies of the *katuns* remained an object of concern and a source of prophetic announcements. In spite of the Spanish Conquest, the burning of the ancient books, and the efforts of Christian missionaries, elements of the ancient worldview and religion have survived among the contemporary Maya, as has been documented by the ethnographer Alfonso Villa Rojas (León-Portilla, 1973, pp. 113–159).

Epigraphy and religion. For a long time, the reading of the Maya inscriptions in monuments, codices, and other objects was limited (for the most part) to the calendar's registrations and the names of some gods and feasts. In the 1950s the Russian Yuri Knorosov made a basic contribution that opened the entrance into the realm of Maya inscriptions. In opposition to the opinion of well-known scholars such as Günter Zimermann and J. Eric S. Thompson, who insisted upon the ideographic nature of Maya writing, Knorosov asserted its basically phonetic character.

Knorosov's Rosetta Stone was found in Friar Diego de Landa's *Relación de Yucatán*, where a supposed Maya alphabet was included. Knorosov carefully analyzed de Landa's work and reached the conclusion that, far from dealing with an alphabet, he was confronted with a syllabary. Further research led him to identify a large number of syllables as well as glyphic markers of morphological relations (Coe, 1992).

Following Knorosov's steps, a growing number of Mayists, including American, Mexican, and European scholars, have advanced in deciphering a writing that for centuries remained a mystery. As a result, readings of many inscriptions have been achieved that provide a better understanding of the religion and history of the Maya. Whereas in the past it was thought that most of the inscriptions were of calendrical and astronomical nature, today it is recognized that they provide first-hand information on the dynasties of the rulers and their deeds, and on their relations with the gods and the realm of the beyond.

Linda Schele, Mary Ellen Miller, and David Freidel have made substantial contributions in this respect. Their books, *The Blood of Kings: Dynasty and Ritual in Maya Art* (1986), and *A Forest of Kings: The Untold Story of the Ancient Maya* (1990), offer readings that have unveiled the dynastic sequences of those who ruled in a good number of Maya centers. With respect to the religion, these authors have revealed the various ways in which the Maya conceived of the relationship of their *Ahauob* (lords or rulers), and the people in general, with the universe of the gods and ultimate realities.

The readings of hundreds of inscriptions and the iconographic approaches to the inscriptions' accompanying imagery carved into panels, lintels, stelae, and other monuments and objects—as well as the unveiling of the architectural planning of the temples, palaces, and ballcourts situated close to great plazas—has led to a better understand of how the Maya maintained the relationship between the rulers and the universe of the gods.

Cerros, an important Maya center near the mouth of a river that empties into the Bay of Chetumal in the southern part of the Yucatán Peninsula, appears as one of the earlier sites where, kinship having been formally established, new religious symbols and rites were introduced. Pyramids were erected on broad platforms; a stairway was built to reach the summit of the temple; and below, in the open space of the great plaza, the people would attend the rituals performed on top of the pyramid. There, the *ahau*, or high ruler, would proceed towards the front door of the temple—he was about to leave earthly space to penetrate the realm of the divine.

A ritual represented in several monuments, that of self-bloodletting was practiced by the *ahau.* The imagery and inscriptions carved in dintel 25 from a temple of Yaxchilan in Chiapas illustrate the performance and meaning of such ritual. One sees there a kneeling noblewoman, Lady Xoc. She holds in her hands obsidean lancets, a spine, and bloodied paper. She is looking upwards, contemplating the vision of a great serpent; she is having a revelation. Lady Xoc is recalled in the lintel in commemoration of the accession to the throne of Yaxchilan of the Lord Shield Jaguar.

Scenes like this one of self-bloodletting are not rare in several Maya centers. These scenes represent the ritual by which nobles would pay the gods for their creation and accession to a throne from which they were destined to rule in permanent communion with the gods.

Among other forms of representation of the relation of the *ahauob* with the gods, there is one in which a perdurable life for the rulers is asserted and parallels are established between the rulers and the deities. This is the case with a carved panel from temple 14 of Palenque. Its imagery includes the effigy of Chan Bahlum dancing after his victory over the Lords of Xibalbá (the underworld). His mother, Lady Ahpo-Hell, welcomes him, lifting an image of the god Ah Bolon Tzacab, a primordial deity that has been described as the Maya equivalent to the Nahua god Tezcatlipoca.

The inscription on the left side of the panel registers the date in which the tablet was erected: a day *9 Ik* and the month *10 Mol*, corresponding to November 6, 705 CE. Lord Chan Bahlum had died three years before. On the right side, the inscription correlates the event represented with happenings that took place in a previous cosmic age, more than nine hundred thousand years before. The mother of Chan Bahlum, also represented in the tablet, "is likened to Moon Goddess" (Schele and Miller, 1986, p. 272).

Those who rule—the *ahauob*—are likened to the gods, and it is on them that the people depend. The *ahauob* are in communion with the Otherworld, and this is why their memory shall be kept. Rulership and royal dynasties were thus forever linked to the ritual and beliefs of the Maya.

ZAPOTEC AND MIXTEC RELIGIOUS VARIANTS. Mountain ranges that encompass several valleys, as well as the slopes that lead to the Pacific plains in the Mexican state of Oaxaca, have been the ancestral abode of the Zapotec, Mixtec, and other indigenous peoples. The Zapotec reached their cultural zenith in the Classic period, whereas the Mixtec achieved hegemony during the Postclassic period. Although linguistically different, the Zapotec and the Mixtec were culturally akin. Olmec culture had influenced the Zapotec since the Middle Formative period.

Zapotec religion. From 200 to 800 CE, the Zapotec developed forms of urban life and built magnificent religious buildings in their towns (Monte Albán, Yagul, Zaachila). Their sacred spaces included large plazas around which the temple-pyramids, altars, ball courts, and other religious monuments were raised.

Mainly through what has been discovered in subterranean tombs near the temples, reliable information can be offered about Zapotec gods and other beliefs. In paintings preserved on the walls of the tombs, prominent members of the Zapotec pantheon appear, accompanied at times by inscriptions. Pottery—urns in particular—also tell about the attributes of the Zapotec gods and their ideas of the afterlife.

As in the case of the Maya, a supreme dual god, Pitao Cozaana-Pitao Cochaana, presided over all realities, divine and human. Addressed as a single god, he-she was Pije-Tao (Lord of Time), principle of all that exists. Godly beings often appear with the symbolic attributes of the serpent, bird, caiman, and jaguar—motifs also familiar to the Olmec and Maya. Cocijo, the rain god, also had a quadruple form of presence in the world. Pitao Cozobi was the god of maize.

Zapotec writing (since its early beginnings in Monte Albán 1, c. 600 BCE) appears to be the source of the forms of script later developed by the Mixtec and transmitted to the groups of central Mexico. The study of Zapotec writing reveals their calendrical concern.

Zapotec pottery urns, used mostly as containers of water, were placed near the dead in the tombs. Most of the urns include the molded representation of a god—often the rain god Cocijo. The headdress of the god conveys his emblem, in which the combined traits of serpent, jaguar, and bird are often visible.

It is known that the Zapotec of the Classic period believed in a supreme dual god. They also worshiped several deities revered in other Mesoamerican areas. The Zapotec were so much concerned with death that they placed their dignitaries' remains in sumptuous tombs close to their temples. The Zapotec also knew about time computations.

Mixtec religion. The Mixtec founded new towns, and they conquered and rebuilt places (c. 1000 CE) in which the Zapotec had ruled. The Mixtec were great artists, excelling in the production of metal objects, many of which bear religious connotations. Several Mixtec books of religious and historical content have survived. These books constitute one of the most precious sources of the cultural history of a Mesoamerican subarea.

In the Mixtec books known as *Codex Selden* and *Codex Gómez de Orozco*, an image of the Mixtec worldview is offered. It is a worldview that closely corresponds to that of the Maya: the earth is represented by the monstrous animal with traits of caiman, serpent, and jaguar; below it is the underworld; while above the earth nine levels of the upperworld (not thirteen as in the Maya worldview) are represented. The sun and the moon and the stars are there. The dual god, with the symbols of time and of his-her day names, resides on the uppermost level.

According to other traditions, this dual god caused the earth to rise out of the waters. Later he-she built a beautiful place on the top of a large rock. The children he-she engendered and conceived are the gods of the various quadrants of the world—the gods of rain and wind, gods of maize, and so on. According to Mixtec belief, the earth and the sun had been destroyed several times; the Mixtec believed the gods waged combat in a celestial ball court. (This is represented in a gold pectoral found with other religious objects in Tomb 7 within the sacred space of Monte Albán, the site that had been built by the Zapotec but that was later conquered by the Mixtec).

Another extraordinary Mixtec book, known as *Codex Vindobonensis*, conveys the beliefs of this people about their origins in the present cosmic age. They had come from a place called Yuta Tnoho (River of the Lineages). There they were born from a cosmic tree. The Mixtec calendar systems corresponded to the 260-day count and the 365-day solar year computed by the Zapotec and the Maya. (Caso, 1965, pp. 948–961).

TEOTIHUACAN. As in the Maya and Oaxaca areas, some Early Formative–type villages in the Central Plateau experienced important changes. Places like El Arbolillo, Zacatenco, Tlatilco, Cuicuilco, and others received the ferment of Olmec influence. Special areas began to be reserved for religious purposes; temple pyramids and round platforms were built. Clay images of the fire god Huehueteotl (Old God), who much later was also worshiped by the Aztec, have been dated to the Late Formative period (c. 500 BCE).

In Tlapacoya, not far from where Teotihuacan was to be established, another important Late Formative center flourished (c. 300–100 BCE). Here, temple pyramids, tombs, and mural paintings anticipate, in many respects, what was to be the grandeur of Teotihuacan.

Teotihuacan ("the place where one becomes deified") marks the Classic period's climax in the Central Plateau. Archaeological research has revealed that it was here that whatever is implied by the idea of a city became a reality. It took several centuries (100–500 CE) for generations of priests and sages to conceive, realize, modify, enlarge, and enrich the city, which probably was planned to last forever. Beside the two great pyramids of the Sun and the Moon, the Temple of the Feathered Serpent, and the Palace of the Quetzalpapalotl (quetzal butterflies), many other enclosures, palaces, schools, markets, and other buildings have been unearthed. Large suburbs, where members of the Teotihuacan community had their homes, surrounded the religious and administrative center. The pyramids and palaces were decorated with murals. Gods in the forms of human beings, fantastic serpents, birds, caimans, lizards, and jaguars, as well as flowers, plants, priests, and even complex scenes—such as a depiction of Tlalocan, the paradise of the rain god—were represented in the paintings.

Teotihuacan was the capital of a large state—perhaps an empire—the vestiges of whose cultural influence have been found in Oaxaca, Chiapas, and the Guatemalan highlands. According to annals preserved by the Aztec, "In Teotihuacan orders were given, and the chiefdom was established. Those who were the chiefs were the sages, the ones who knew secret things, who preserved old traditions" (from *Codex Matritense*, trans. Léon-Portilla, folio 192r).

The inhabitants of Teotihuacan worshiped several deities whose iconography is similar to that of gods later revered by other groups in central Mexico: the Toltec (900–1050 CE), the Acolhua, and the Aztec (1200–1519 CE). The Aztec called these gods by the following names: Tlaloc and Chalchiuhtlicue, god and goddess of the waters, who together constitute one aspect of divine duality; Quetzalcoatl (Quetzal-Feathered Serpent); Xiuhtecuhtli, the fire god; Xochipilli (The One of the Flowery Lineage); Xipe Totec (Our Lord the Flayed One); Itztlacoliuhqui (Stone Knife), whose traits resemble those of the Toltec and Aztec god Tezcatlipoca (Smoking Mirror); Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the god of the morning star, and Xolotl, the god of the evening star, who were also aspects of the divine duality; and Yacatecuhtli, the god of merchants (Caso, 1966; Séjourné, 1966).

In addition to these gods, a large number of other symbols and a few hieroglyphs identified in the mural paintings, sculptures, and ceramics persisted in the corresponding Toltec and Aztec ensemble of religious expressions.

Although some researchers have dismissed the validity of comparing iconographic symbols of one culture with those of another culture from a subsequent epoch, the evidence supporting a common Mesoamerican religious tradition, and the fact that one is not dealing with isolated cases of iconographic similarity but rather with ensembles of symbols, seem valid reasons for rejecting the skepticism of those who deny this cultural interrelation. Archaeological finds have shown that Teotihuacan actually influenced Toltec and Aztec cultures, which the religious iconographic similarities are obvious.

It is reasonable to assert that the arrangement of sacred space at Teotihuacan, and the gods worshiped there, was prototypical for the future religious development of central Mexico. In part because of the relative abundance of the Postclassic historical testimonies of Toltec and Aztec cultures, scholars now have a better understanding of Teotihuacan symbols.

Aztec consciousness of Teotihuacan as the ultimate source of their own culture led Aztec to see the sacred space of the Place Where One Becomes Deified as a kind of primordial site, where, *in illo tempore,* the Fifth Sun (the present cosmic age) had its beginning. An Aztec text that describes the four previous Suns, or cosmic ages, and their successive violent destructions says about the fifth and new age, "This Sun, its day name is 4-Movement. This is our Sun, the one in which we now live. And here is its sign, how the Sun fell into the fire, into the divine hearth, there at Teotihuacan" (from *Annals of Cuauhtitlan,* trans. Léon-Portilla, folio 77).

The Aztec myth about the beginning of the Fifth Sun at Teotihuacan tells how the gods met there to discuss the remaking of the sun and moon, and of human beings and their sustenance. "When there was still night," the text relates, the gods gathered for four days around the divine hearth at Teotihuacan to determine which god would cast himself into the fire and thus become transformed into the sun. There were two candidates, the arrogant Tecuciztecatl (Lord of the Conch Shells) and the modest Nanahuatzin (The Pimply One). Tecuciztecatl made four attempts to throw himself into the flames, but each time he backed away in fear. Then it was Nanahuatzin's turn to try. Closing his eyes, he courageously hurled himself into the fire, was consumed, and finally appeared transformed as the sun. Tecuciztecatl, fearful and too late, was only able to achieve transformation into the lesser celestial body, the moon.

To the surprise of the other gods, the sun and moon did not move. The way to solve this problem was through sacrifice. To give the sun energy, the gods sacrificed themselves, offering their blood, a primeval act that had to be reenacted by humans—for it is only through the bloody sacrifice that the sun and life exist; only through the sacrifice of human blood could existence be prolonged. With their own blood, human beings had to repay the divine sacrifice that had prevented the cataclysms that put an end to previous suns. Here was the seed that later flowered as the Aztec rituals of human sacrifice.

QUETZALCOATL AND TOLTEC RELIGION. It appears that Teotihuacan came to a sudden, and still unexplained, end around 650 CE. Its collapse, however, did not mean the death of high culture in Mesoamerica. From among those cultures that inherited numerous cultural elements from the Classic glory of Teotihuacan, the city of Tula stands out. Tula is about eighty kilometers north of Mexico City. Its name, Tula, means "large town, metropolis," which is what the Toltec, following the advice of their high priest Quetzalcoatl, actually built.

Quetzalcoatl, a legendary figure, was believed to have been a king who derived his name from that of the "feathered serpent god," in whose representations two of the pan-Mesoamerican iconographic elements—the serpent and the plumage of the quetzal—became integrated. It is said that Quetzalcoatl, while still young, retired to Huapalcalco, a village not far from Teotihuacan, to devote himself to meditation. He was taken there by the Toltec to serve as their ruler and high priest.

Native books attribute to him whatever is good and great. He induced his people to worship benevolent supreme dual god, Ometeotl. This same god was also invoked as the Precious Feathered Serpent or Precious Feathered Twins. Both meanings are actually implied by the term *Quetzalcoatl*, at once the name of the god and that of his priest. The original Toltec text says,

> And it is told, it is said,
> That Quetzalcoatl invoked, took as his God,
> The One in the uppermost heaven:
> She of the starry skirt,
> He whose radiance envelops things;
> Lady of Our Flesh,
> Lord of Our Flesh;
> She who is clothed in black,
> He who is clothed in red;
> She who endows the earth with solidity,
> He who covers it with cotton.
> And thus it was known
> That toward the heavens was his plea directed,
> Toward the place of duality,
> Above the nine levels of Heaven. (from *Annals of Cuauhtitlan,* trans. Léon-Portilla, folio 4, 1995)

The dual god Ometeotl—who in the night covers his-her feminine aspect with a skirt of stars, but who during the day reveals himself as the sun, the greatest of the light-giving stars—-appears also as the Lord and Lady of Our Flesh, as he-she who vests himself-herself in black and red (colors symbolizing wisdom), and, at the same time, as the one who gives stability to the earth. Thus the priest taught the Toltec how to draw near to Ometeotl-Quetzalcoatl, the god who dwells in the uppermost heaven:

> The Toltec were solicitous of the things of God; they had but one God; they held him to be their only God; they invoked him; they made supplications to him; his name was Quetzalcoatl. The guardian of their God, their priest, his name was also Quetzalcoatl. And they were so respectful of the things of God that everything that the priest Quetzalcoatl told them they did, and they did not depart from it. He persuaded them; he taught them: This one God, Quetzalcoatl is his name. He demands nothing except serpents, except butterflies, which you must offer to him, which you must sacrifice to him. (from *Codex Matritense*, trans. Léon-Portilla, folio 179r.)

The Toltec understood the doctrine of Quetzalcoatl. Under his guidance they were able to relate the idea of the dual god with the ancient image of the world and the destiny of man on earth. *Codex Matritense* is clear on this point:

> The Toltec knew that the heavens are many; they said that there are thirteen divisions, one upon the other. There abides, there lives the True God and his Consort. The Heavenly God is called the Lord of Duality, and his Consort is called Lady of Duality, Heavenly Lady. Which means: He is king, he is lord over the thirteen heavens. Thence we receive our life, we men. Thence falls our destiny when the child is conceived, when he is placed in the womb. His fate comes to him there. It is sent by the God of Duality. (From *Codex Matritense*, trans. Léon-Portilla, folio 175v)

The golden age of the Toltec produced all sorts of achievements: palaces and temples were built; many towns and peoples accepted the rule of Quetzalcoatl. Only some enemies—most likely religious adversaries—attempted to bring about the downfall of that age. Some texts speak of the appearance of one named Tezcatlipoca, the Smoking Mirror, a god who came to Tula to force Quetzalcoatl to abandon his city and his followers. According to these accounts, the departure of the wise priest precipitated the ruin of Tula. Other texts speak of two different critical moments. The first was that of the flight of Quetzalcoatl. Although tragic, it did not bring about the complete downfall of Tula. The second crisis took place several decades later. Huemac was the king ruling at that time. His forced departure and death, around 1150, marked the total collapse of Tula. The ruin of the Toltec also meant a diffusion of their culture and religious ideas among various peoples, some distant from Tula. The existence of the Toltec is recorded in annals such as those of the Mixtec of Oaxaca and the Maya of Yucatán and Guatemala.

Henry B. Nicholson has written an excellent volume on Quetzalcoatl. Originally written as a Ph.D. dissertation and presented at Harvard University in 1957, this work has retained its value as "the most thoroungh and insightful analysis of a large part of Mesoamerican ensemble of primary sources ever done in a single volume" (Carrasco and Matos Moctezuma, 2001, VI). It was revised by Nicholson and published in 2001 as *Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl. The Once and Future Lord of the Toltecs.*

Nicholson analyzes a large number of primary sources from Central Mexico (Nahuatl and non-Nahuatl); from Oaxaca (Mixtec and Zapotec); and from Chiapas and Guatemala, Tabasco-Campeche, as well as the Yucatán (Maya); and he elaborates on interpretations of the data presented. One can assert that his book, although by now several decades old, remains a fresh and relevant approach to the complexities surrounding the figure of Quetzalcoatl, a subject that in many forms permeates Mesoamerican religion and ethnohistory.

While Quetzalcoatl is an extremely important figure in the history of Mesoamerica, he has been the subject of several divergent interpretations (see Nicholson 2000 and Carrasco 2003).

On the one hand, attending to the meaning of his name, "Feathered Serpent," it can be inferred that he was worshipped in Teotihuacan since the Classic period. There, at the so-called Temple of Quetzalcoatl, one can see heads of serpents with quetzal feathers.

Quetzalcoatl was also the name of a prominent priest and sage, portentously conceived by his mother, who lived in Tula-Xicocotitlan in the ninth century. A legendary figure, he had taken his name from that of the "feathered-serpent god" and became the ruler and guide of the Toltec.

THE AZTEC RELIGIOUS VARIANT. By the end of the thirteenth century CE, new chiefdoms existed in central Mexico. Some were the result of a renaissance in towns of Toltec or Teotihuacan origin. Others were new entities made up of the cultures of semibarbarian groups from the north (the so-called Chichimecs) and the remnants of Toltec civilization.

At the same time, other peoples made themselves present in the Central Plateau. Their language was Nahuatl, the same that the Toltec had spoken. The various Nahuatlan groups—among them the Aztec, or Mexica—had been living in northern outposts, on the frontier of Mesoamerica. In the Nahuatlan texts they repeat, "Now we are coming back from the north. . ." The Aztec return (or, as it is often described, their "pilgrimage") was a difficult enterprise. They had to overcome many hardships until finally they were settled (c. 1325 CE) on the island of Tenochtitlan (in the lake that then covered a large part of the Valley of Mexico). It took the Aztec a century to initiate the period of their greatness in Mesoamerica.

Cultural and religious heritages. The Aztec's worldview, beliefs, and cultural forms, which by the time of Aztec hegemony were already fully integrated as elements of their own culture, had diverse origins. The Aztec preserved ancient traditions that were the common inheritance of many peoples of Mesoamerica, such as the worship of the "Old God," Huehueteotl, who had been revered since several hundred years before the beginning of the common era. Other beliefs and practices were probably derived from the cultures that had flourished along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, such as the veneration of Xipe Totec ("Our lord the flayed one"), a god of fertility.

Some deities, such as Tlaloc, Chac, or Cocijo (different names of the rain god, whose presence in Mesoamerica since the Classic period is amply manifested in the archaeological evidence), also became members of the Aztec pantheon. So did the two Toltec gods Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca. Besides individual gods and ensembles of gods, Aztec culture incorporated the old Mesoamerican spatial image of the world, with its four quadrants, central point, and upperworld and underworld levels (as well as the symbolic meanings attached to these divisions), and it integrated the solar calendar, the 260-day count, and the Mesoamerican system of writing.

To this heritage, the Aztec's own beliefs must be added. Among these are the Aztec patron gods Huitzilopochtli (Hummingbird of the South, or Hummingbird of the Left) and Coatlicue (She of the Skirt of Serpents).

Consciousness of divine destiny. Aztec accounts speak of the place in the north from which they had come, Aztlán Chicomoztoc (The Place of the Herons, or The Place of the Seven Caves). There they had been oppressed by a dominant people. One day, the "portentous god," Tezcatlipoca, spoke to the Aztec high priest, Huitzilopochtli. Tezcatlipoca offered to liberate the Aztec from their rulers. He would lead them to a place where they could enjoy freedom and from which they would extend themselves as conquerors into the four quadrants of the world. This he would do if the Aztec promised to be his vassals and to have him as their tutelary god. The Aztec then began their march to their promised land. On the way, Huitzilopochtli died, but the spirit and power of Tezcatlipoca entered into Huitzilopochtli's bones, and from that moment on the god and the priest were one person. When the Aztec, in their search for their predestined land, arrived at Coatepec (Mountain of the Serpent), they learned that the mother goddess Coatlicue was present there and that their own god Huitzilopochtli was to be miraculously reborn as Coatlicue's son. Huitzilopochtli's birth occurred at the precise moment when another goddess, Coyolxauhqui (She of the Face Painted with Rattles), was about to kill Coatlicue because of the offense Coatlicue had caused her and her four hundred brothers, the Warriors of the South, when it became known that Coatlicue was inexplicably pregnant. As Coyolxauhqui and her four hundred brothers were climbing Coatepec, Huitzilopochtli was born to Coatlicue, and he immediately used his weapon, the Fire Snake, to hurt Coyolxauqui and to cut off her head. He then pursued the Warriors of the South, driving them off the top of the mountain and destroying them. Huitzilopochtli stripped the four hundred brothers of their belongings and made them part of his own destiny. Later, when the Aztec had established themselves on the island of México-

Tenochtitlan, they constructed their main temple (the so-called Templo Mayor) to Huitzilopochtli in the form of the mountain Coatepec, and there they ritually reenacted Huitzilopochtli's portentous birth. A representation of the goddess Coatlicue stood near Huitzilopochtli's shrine on top of this "pyramid mountain," as did representations of the beheaded goddess Coyolxauhqui, the Fire Snake, and the four hundred Warriors of the South. The gods' primeval confrontation was reenacted on the feast of Panquetzaliztli (When the Flags are Raised). Objects found during the excavations of the Templo Mayor (Great Temple), undertaken from 1979 through 1990, have corroborated the native texts: all of the symbols of the Mountain of the Serpent and the story of Huitzilopochtli's birth have been recovered from the temple site.

Tributary wars and the reenactment of the sacrifice at Teotihuacan. The Aztec knew the story of the sacrifice at Teotihuacan, where the gods gave their blood and lives to strengthen the "Giver of Life" (the sun) whose movement was enabled by the sacrifice. The Aztec, believing they had to imitate the gods, took on the mission of continuing to provide the sun with vital energy. They deemed themselves called to offer the sun that same precious liquid that the gods had shed, and they obtained it from human sacrifice.

As if hypnotized by the mystery of blood, the Aztec proclaimed themselves the chosen People of the Sun. Ceremonial warfare—the principal manner of obtaining victims for the sacrifice—became the dominant activity in the Aztec's social, religious, and national life. Thus, they developed what can be described as a mystical imperialism: they devoted themselves to conquest in their effort to maintain the life of the sun and to keep the age of 4 Movement alive. The theme of war in Aztec visual art and in Aztec literature is everywhere linked to that of national greatness. In the primeval myth of Teotihuacan, mention is also made of the eagle and the ocelot (or jaguar), who were present at the divine hearth into which the gods had hurled themselves. Eagles and ocelots therefore became the symbols of warriors.

Fire, which had blazed in the hearth at Teotihuacan, and water, without which nothing green grows on earth, were strangely linked in the minds of the priests. Jointly, fire and water conveyed the idea of the mystical warfare that makes the life of the universe possible. *Atl/tlachinolli* (water/fire), *quauhtli/ocelotl* (eagle/ocelot), *mitl/chimalli* (arrow/shield), *yaoxochitl/xochiaoctli* (flowery wars/flowery liquor), *quauhtli/nochtli* (eagle/prickly pear, or the sun/the red heart): these are some of the binary forms of symbolic expression that recur in Aztec hymns, chants, and discourses and echo the Aztec's official worldview:

> From where the eagles rest, From where the ocelots are exalted, The Sun is invoked. Like a shield that descends, So does the Sun set. In Mexico night is falling, War rages on all sides. O Giver of Life! War draws near, Proud of ifself Is the city of México-Tenochtitlan. Here no one fears to die in war. This is our glory. This your command, O Giver of Life! (Cantares Mexicanos, trans. by León-Portilla, fol. 19 v.)

Divine duality. Paintings and ideograms in some of the native books corroborate what is proclaimed in the songs of the Aztec warriors. Again, binary forms of expression—captains' headdresses in the forms of eagles and ocelots, the hieroglyphs for fire and water coupled, and so on—appear consistently related to the universe of the gods, who are essentially dual entities.

Below, in the abode of the dead, reign Mictlantecuhtli and Mictlancihuatl, the god and goddess of that region. On the surface of the earth is Our Father-Our Mother, who is at once the Old Lord, He-She of the Yellow Face, and Creator of Fire. And above, in the various celestial levels, other dual divine manifestations exist: Tlaloc and Chalchiuhtlicue (god and goddess of rain and of the terrestrial waters); the precious twins Quetzalcoatl and Cihuacoatl (the feathered serpent and the female serpent); Tezcatlipoca and Tezcatlanextia (the mirror that obscures things and the mirror that makes them brilliant); and, above all other deities, the dual god Ometeotl, a supreme being endowed with both male and female countenances.

In both Aztec and Maya religion, the Dual God, in an unfolding of his-her own being, gave birth to four sons, who are primordial divine forces. In Aztec thought these are known as the four Tezcatlipocas—White, Black, Red, and Blue—who presided over the successive cosmic ages. Their actions connoted confrontations between opposing forces as well as diverse kinds of alteration and becoming. Tezcatlipoca sometimes appears as the adversary of Tlaloc, at other times of Quetzalcoatl. Tezcatlipoca also often becomes identified with other deities—as in the story related above of Huitzilopochtli's transformation.

An iconographic analysis of the Aztec gods confirms that they shared the attribute of "divine becoming"—that is, of procession through a series of transformations. There are representations in which this "divine becoming" is evident, where, for example, Tlaloc, the rain god, is portrayed as if he were Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the god of the morning star; Mictlantecuhtli, the god of death; or Xochipilli, the god of dance and song. This "becoming" of the gods was linked to the Aztec canon of religious celebrations. Abundant information about the feasts along the 365-day calendar can be found in several of the indigenous texts: the *Borbonicus*, *Matritense*, *Florentine*, *Magliabecchianus*, *Tudela*, *Ixtlilxochitl*, *Telleriano-Remensis*, and *Vaticanus A* codices.

SACRIFICE AND OTHER RITES. Penance, abstinence, and the offering of a variety of animals and vegetables were frequent in Aztec celebrations. Intonation of sacred hymns was accompanied by music and dances. More than any other Mesoamerican people, the Aztec practiced human sacrifice during their celebrations. A sort of perpetual drama developed in which the primeval events were reenacted, with the victims playing the roles of the gods who *in illo tempore* offered their blood to make life on earth possible. The forms of human sacrifice were similar to those that had been practiced by the Maya. The largest number of sacrifices took place at the Templo Mayor at the center of México-Tenochtitlan.

Afterlife. Some manners of dying promised glorious destinies: death in battle, death while trying to take captives, the death of a sacrificial victim, and the death of a woman in childbirth (while bearing a future warrior). To die in any of these ways meant that one would travel, after death, to the House of the Sun, to be his-her companion in the heavens. Persons chosen by the rain god for a special kind of death (by drowning, being struck by lightning, or through a serious disease such as dropsy) were destined to enjoy Tlalocan, the rain god's paradise. Others of the dead were said to go to Mictlan (the place of the dead), which was also known as Ximoayan (the place of the fleshless) and Tocempopolihuiyan (our common destination, where we lose ourselves).

Doubt and skepticism. In contrast to the officially accepted beliefs, there are some indigenous texts from the Aztec epoch in which doubts are expressed. A conviction that the mystery that surrounds human existence will never be completely unveiled appears again and again in these compositions. These beautiful poems, written by the sages (*tlamatinime,* "those who know something"), at times convey pessimism and even a sort of natural skepticism. Their core question seems to be whether or not it is possible to say true words about the beyond, the universe of the gods, or one's survival of death. The following example is eloquent:

> Even if we offer the Giver of Life Jade and precious ointments, If with offering of necklaces You are invoked, With the strength of the eagle and the jaguar, With the force of the warriors, It may be that on earth No one speaks of truth. (from *Cantares Mexicanos*, trans. by Léon-Portilla, folio 13r)

The contrast between the official religious militarism of the Aztec and the questionings of these sages seems to reflect the vitality of the spiritual world of Mesoamerica.

The Templo Mayor. Testimonies that encompass the history of a single monument are seldom found in the available Mesoamerican sources. In the case of the Aztec Templo Mayor, a good number of testimonies permit the interpretation of the many symbols incorporated into it during its successive enlargements. The testimonies include pictorial manuscripts of indigenous provenance, some of them produced a few decades after the destruction of the temple as a consequence of the Spanish Conquest. There are, as well, texts in Nahuatl derived from the native orality and put in written form by means of the Latin alphabet by Nahua scribes. To this, one has to add descriptions in Spanish done by several friars and others interested in the subject.

Among the testimonies thus produced are descriptions of the Templo Mayor; of its various buildings; of the sacrifices and ceremonies held therein; of the sacred hymns that were entoned and the prayers that were recited; and, in sum, copious references about what the temple was and how it functioned as the most important precinct dedicated to the cult of the Aztec gods.

It can be asserted that the Templo Mayor was conceived as a plastic representation of the Coatepetl or "Mountain of the Serpent," situated near Tula—the ancient Toltec metropolis—where the Aztec patron god Huitzilopochtli was born. His shrine was built on top of the pyramid. Close to it, a sculpture of Huitzilopochtli's mother, the goddess Coatlicue, was placed. At the botton of the same pyramid the Aztec placed the effigy of Coyolxauhqui, the rebel sister of Huitzilopochtli. She appeared beheaded and dismembered by her brother who, once born, resisted her attack and killed her with his invincible weapon, the Xiuhcoatl (Fire Serpent). A stone sculpture of the Xiuhcoatl stood near the shrine of Huitzilopochtli. This complex of symbols, repeated in each enlargement of the temple, corresponds to what is proclaimed in a Nahuatl hymn that recalls the birth of Huitzilopochtli.

The Aztec reenacted Huitzilopochtli's portentous birth on the feast of Panquetzaliztli (Raising of Banners). A young warrior representing Huitzilopochtli carried his image, and he would have to fight in front of the temple against Coyolxauhqui and her allies. The young warrior's victory symbolized the triumph of the Sun against the forces of the night.

A shrine dedicated to Tlaloc, the rain god, was placed on top of the twin pyramid close to that of Huitzilopochtli (both pyramids were built on a common platform to symbolize divine dualism). Tlaloc, although called by various names, was a universally worshiped god in Mesoamerica. By placing his adoratory side by side with that of Huitzilopochtli, the Aztec were proclaiming at once their veneration to their own tutelary god and also to the one omnipresent in Mesoamerica, known as Tlaloc in central Mexico.

The sources that describe the rituals performed in the temple along the eighteen groups, or "months," of twenty days demonstrate that Aztec religious beliefs and practices somehow centered upon two temporal axes. One was that of *Tonalco*, "the time of the heat and the Sun"; the other was *Xopan*, "the time of verdor," when water abounds. In both periods, however, Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc were present, intertwined with several gods and goddesses with which they were associated. During *Tonalco*, the dry and hot season, Tlaloc and Chalchuihtlicue (the goddess of the terrestrial waters), as well as their servants, the Tlaloques, and the gods related to maize, were asked to protect the people against eventual famines. Sacrifices, including those of adults and babies, were performed in the main temple.

When the feast of Tlaxochimaco ("flowers are given") took place in the ninth "month," people went to the fields looking for flowers to celebrate the god Huitzilopochtli. Banquets, music, and dances were held in his honor. Tlaxochimaco marked the beginning of the second half the year. In the following months—and already in the rainy season—once again Huitzilopochli, Tlaloc, and the gods of maize, salt, and fire, as well as Tonantzin (Our Mother), invoked under various names, entered the temporal and spatial scene of the Templo Mayor. Then and there the Aztec asked for abundant harvests and would practice the sacrifices that could propitiate them.

The great temple of Mexico, Tenochtitlan had become not only an extraordinary architectural monument and precinct, as its surviving vestiges indicate; it was also a living stage where a sort of perpetual drama was played out by the Aztec. These were a people who thought of themselves as "chosen" by the primordial sacrifice of the gods and who, therefore, had to repay them in a similar form to foster the existence of their present cosmic era.

In *The Aztec Templo Mayor, a Visualization* (2001), Antonio Serrato-Combe presents computer-generated, three-dimensional color imagery of Tenochititlan, conceived to explore the architectural configuration of the main temple and its whole precinct. The author describes his method in the book as a "digital modeling process," and the book adds interesting contributions to what is known about the largest and most important sacred monument in Aztec Mesoamerica.

MESOAMERICAN SACRED LITERATURE. Mention has been made of the available archaelogical and documentary sources for the study of Mesoamerican religion. One must also take into consideration the material that is properly labeled "Mesoamerican sacred literature." Notwithstanding the many destructions and consequences of the Conquest, indigenous texts do exist that can be considered part of a corpus of Mesoamerican sacred literature.

A clear distinction can be made pertaining to these texts that allow the corpus to be divided into two eras: (1) those works of a pre-Spanish provenance; and (2) those texts produced after the Conquest, either as transcriptions of older testimonies or as surviving documentary manifestations of native religiosity.

The works clearly of a pre-Spanish provenance include inscriptions in monuments excavated by archaeologists, mainly from the Maya area, and some of the fifteen extant codices or "books" (i.e., those of religious content, such as codices from Central Mexico known as *Borgia*, *Vaticanus B*, *Cospi*, *Fejérváry-Máyer*, and *Laud;* those from the Maya known as *Dresden*, *Tro-Cortesiano*, *Paris;* and those from the Mixtec of Oaxaca, such as *Vindobonensis*.

Transcriptions from older documents or from the oral tradition, produced after the conquest, include the Quiché *Popol Vuh*, or Book of Council; the Maya *Books of the Chilam Balamob;* the Nahua *Huehuehtlahtolli,* or Testimonies of the Ancient Word (the conveyors of the moral discourses, as well as the expression of the wisdom of the elders); and the collections of *Mexican Songs*, manuscripts preserved at the National Library of Mexico and the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection of the University of Texas at Austin. The surviving documentary manifestations of native religiosity encompass texts like those collected in the seventeenth century by Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón in what is today the State of Guerrero.

In this corpus of Mesoamerican sacred literature one finds testimonies on the pre-Columbian religious beliefs and practices (feasts, sacrifices, and offerings); on the relationship of the gods and rituals with the calendrical computations; and on prophetic ennunciations, incantations, moral precepts, prayers, hymns, and a variety of songs and poetry.

AFTER THE CONQUEST. The Spanish Conquest, which, in the case of the Aztec, was completed in 1521, brought with it the burning of native libraries, the demolition of temples, and the annihilation of whatever appeared to the conquistadors to be "idolatrous." Nevertheless, neither the Conquest nor the zealous activity of some Christian missionaries who followed in its wake succeeded in completely erasing all of the ancient traditions. It is extraordinary to discover that contemporary Maya, Mixtec, Zapotec, Nahuatl, and other groups keep remembrances of the old mythic traditions as part of their lore.

Studies of contemporary Mesoamericans' worldviews and religious attitudes reveals that Christianity and indigenous Mesoamerican traditions have combined to form several kinds of syncretistic systems. Whereas in some cases a Christianized paganism has developed, in others one can see that new forms of Christianity, embedded in an indigenous Mesoamerican world of symbols, have been born.

Syncretism is present among contemporary Indians and other peoples in Mexico who reinterpret the Christian dogma of the Holy Trinity partially through indigenous conceptions. For instance, instead of speaking of the Trinity or the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, people refer to Our Father Jesus and Our Mother, the Virgin of Guadalupe, in an implicit reference to the dual supreme god, Our Father, Our Mother. Another example of syncretism in religious practices is provided by contemporary acts of self-sacrifice that follow the admonition "to pay" for what the gods have done for us in the creation of various forms of life. Today such practices of self-sacrifice or repayment to the gods are performed in pilgrimages to sanctuaries such as those of Chalma, Talpa, Tepeyac and others, as well as in determined Christian feasts.

SEE ALSO Aztec Religion; Calendars, article on Mesoamerican Calendars; Human Sacrifice, article on Aztec Rites; Maya Religion; Olmec Religion; Quetzalcoatl.

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MIGUEL LÉON-PORTILLA (1987 AND 2005)

MESOAMERICAN RELIGIONS: FORMATIVE CULTURES

Religious practices during Mesoamerica's Preclassic, or Formative, period (1500 BCE–250 CE) can only be inferred from the archaeological remains. One of the most thoroughly investigated regions is the lacustrine Basin of Mexico in the central highlands, where remains of pottery and figurines provide a yardstick for determining the cultural sequence within the Basin and adjacent regions. Throughout the Preclassic this region witnessed a steady population increase and a locally diverse progression from small farming communities with developing social stratification to large towns with complex political hierarchies. The period is divided in four major phases. Different time spans for the major phases, as well as local subphases, have been proposed by various researchers. These are consolidated in the following chronology: Early Preclassic, 1500–800 BCE; Middle Pre-classic, 800–500 BCE; Late Preclassic, 500–150 BCE; Terminal Preclassic, 150 BCE–250 CE. (Piña Chan, 1972; Sanders et al., 1979).

BASIN OF MEXICO. During the Early Preclassic, the Ixtapaluca subphase (1400–800 BCE) in the southern part of the Basin of Mexico contains pottery strongly related to the Olmec style of San Lorenzo on the Gulf Coast. The Olmec tradition is also evident in figurines of great refinement, found in large numbers in the Tlatilco cemeteries, which have since been engulfed by present-day Mexico City. Most of these figurines are female. Some indicate advanced pregnancy, suggestive of a concern with human as well as agricultural fertility. Other figurines show two heads on one body or heads with three eyes and two noses, believed to perhaps represent diviner-healers. In general the Tlatilco figurines, which include both Olmec and local styles, are thought to be merely grave offerings without explicit religious function. Olmec influence in the Basin was only marginal; its impact was stronger in the states of Morelos, Puebla, and Guerrero.

In the Middle Preclassic new hamlets appeared around the system of lakes in the Basin of Mexico (which have now virtually disappeared). At Zacatenco and Ticomán, figurines abound but are cruder. As they were no longer placed in graves but appeared in refuse middens, it is assumed that they served as fetishes in household cults. There are no representations of gods or goddesses that can be recognized as such with reference to the iconographic system prevalent in the Classic and Postclassic periods (250–1521 CE). Nor is there definite evidence of civic-ceremonial architecture. It has been argued that a society capable of supporting potters not engaged in full-time food production should also be able to maintain religious practitioners, such as shamans. Certain figurines depicting masked dancers in peculiar costumes have been identified as magicians (shamans) and ballplayers but they are part of the Olmec component, as are the pottery masks (Coe, 1965). Concrete evidence of shamanism, amply demonstrated for North and South America, is lacking for Preclassic Mesoamerica.

In the Late Preclassic, pyramidal mounds of modest proportions occur at some sites in the southern part of the Basin of Mexico and indicate the beginning of ceremonial activities outside the immediate household clusters. This period is notable for a veritable population explosion. Cuicuilco became the dominant political center, with five to ten thousand inhabitants, while Ticomán remained only a minor village. At Cuicuilco several small pyramids were located in the residential zone and may have served the local populace. By 400 BCE a large, oval, truncated pyramid of adobe bricks with rough stone facing was built in tiers or stages, each of which contains an altarlike structure. Access was by a ramp facing east, toward the sunrise. The town and the lower parts of the pyramid were covered by a lava flow that, according to latest estimates, occurred around 400 CE, when Cuicuilco had long ceased to be a dominant center (Heizer and Bennyhoff, 1972). However, earlier eruptions from the nearby Xitle volcano, with spectacular displays of fire, smoke, and molten lava, led to the creation of the first deity in Mesoamerica, the "old fire god." He is portrayed in clay and later exclusively in stone sculpture as an old, toothless male with a wrinkled face who bears on his head a large basin for the burning of incense. Known by his Nahuatl (Aztec) name Huehueteotl ("old god"), he became one of the major deities of the Teotihuacán pantheon and, after the Toltec interlude, reappeared in the Aztec pantheon in different guise as Xiuhtecuhtli ("turquoise lord" or "lord of the year"). The burning of incense as an offering for petitioning the gods became general practice throughout Mesoamerica, both in household and in elaborate temple rituals. This is indicated by the great variety and number of ceramic incense burners that have been excavated.

Between 150 and 1 BCE, Teotihuacán occupied an area of about six square kilometers and was a highly stratified agrarian community. It developed into an urban center of twenty-five to thirty thousand people in the Tzacualli phase (1–150 CE), when the grid system of the town was laid out with a main north-south axis, known as the Street of the Dead (so named by the Spanish, who thought the place a necropolis). On either side of the axis were erected numerous complexes, each with three temple-pyramid and a central courtyard. The monumental Pyramid of the Sun (sixty-three meters high) and the substructure of the Pyramid of the Moon were completed in this phase during a single fifty-year construction episode. (Again, these names were given by the Spanish.) The ceremonial precinct, over four kilometers in length, served civic and religious functions and became a pilgrimage center. Dependence on seasonal rainfall for agriculture gave rise to a cult of a god of rain and lightning, Tlaloc, who became the supreme deity and continued to be one of the major gods in later cultures up to the Spanish conquest (1521). The establishment of a hierarchical priesthood can be inferred from the art and architecture of this period. In the Classic period (250–750 CE) the pantheon expanded, and Teotihuacán became the largest city of the New World.

WESTERN MEXICO. In Guanajuato, to the northwest of the Basin of Mexico, elaborate pottery and finely modeled figurines of the Chupícuaro tradition (500–1 BCE) were lavishly used for tomb offerings, and ceramic flutes, whistles, and rattles were interred in children's graves. Ceremonies included the practice of decapitation, related to warfare. This custom, however, did not become widespread until the Middle and Late Classic.

The Preclassic cultures of western Mexico (in the present-day states of Michoacán, Colima, Jalisco, and Nayarit) remained outside the Mesoamerican cotradition until about 350 CE when the Teotihuacán and Gulf Coast cultures began to penetrate the area and introduced their culture and ideology.

Most noteworthy among these loosely united chiefdoms was their concern for the dead, as evidenced by the Shaft Tomb Complex (c. 200 BCE–400/500 CE). Unparalleled in other parts of Mesoamerica, it extends in a great arc from south-central Nayarit through central Jalisco to Colima. The tombs consist of vertical entrance shafts 1.5 to 8 meters deep, with narrow, short tunnels at the end leading to one or more vaults carved in the hard volcanic soil (*tepetate*). After interment the shafts were completely filled with rubble and hand-packed dirt; stone slabs prevented the fill from entering the burial chambers. Grave offerings comprise large, hollow ceramic figures in varied local styles, representing men (some of them tomb guards with armor and weapons) and women in different poses and attitudes. The human figures have stylized features and disproportionate bodies but they are very expressive, approaching portraitlike countenances. They reflect the customs, dress, and ornaments of the ancient inhabitants (von Winning, 1974).

Funeral processions and mourning scenes modeled in clay depict rites preceding interment. They show the mourners in orderly arrangement following a catafalque being carried to a house, or groups of mourners surrounding a corpse. Other kinds of grave offerings include complex scenes of villagers and their huts, family gatherings, ball-court scenes, bloodletting and cheek-perforation rituals, and dancers with musicians, all consisting of small, crudely modeled figurines attached to clay slabs. The variety of ceramic house models of one or two stories, some of them multichambered, is interesting inasmuch as no masonry architecture existed in this area. They replicate constructions of wattle daubed with mud, covered with a thatched roof. These were tomb offerings intended as shelters in the afterlife.

Among the smaller, solid figurines are those showing a female strapped to a slab. They appear to represent corpses on biers laid out for funeral rites, ready to be lowered through the shaft into the burial chamber. Similar ceramic "bed figures" occur in coeval contexts in Ecuador, and sporadically in the Old World (von Winning and Hammer, 1972).

A variety of large, hollow animal effigies occur also in the shaft tombs. In Colima dog effigies abound, their well-fed appearance indicates that they had been deliberately fattened to provide food for the departed. (In Aztec times fattened dogs were sold in the market for human consumption.) Skeletons of carefully buried dogs have been found in graves at Tlatilco and Chupícuaro, and it is generally believed that the dogs were supposed to help the souls of the deceased on their paths through the perils of the underworld.

The generally held view that the ceramic sculptures of the Shaft Tomb Complex portray secular subjects indicative of everyday village life has been rejected by Peter T. Furst (1975). Based on ethnographic comparisons—mainly with the beliefs and shamanistic practices among the modern Huichol Indians whose remote ancestors occupied part of the Shaft Tomb zone—he concludes that the art of western Mexico was no less religious than that of the rest of Mesoamerica. However, none of the figures display attributes that clearly identify them as deities or deity impersonators in the manner of other Mesoamerican religion and iconography. Tlaloc and Huehueteotl effigies occur only after the end of the Shaft Tomb period. Lacking temple pyramids and relevant documentary sources, the ceramic sculptures provide the only evidence for a ceremonialism that emphasized a cult of the dead.

GUERRERO AND THE PUEBLA-TLAXCALA AREA. Preclassic ceremonialism was introduced into this area by Olmec intruders. For the period after the decline of Olmec influence (after 800 BCE), information on social, political, and religious aspects is lacking. The Mezcala region of Guerrero produced a remarkable number of highly stylized anthropomorphic figures and masks, ranging from the Preclassic Olmecoid to Teotihuacanoid types, but the stylistic sequence is not datable. Among the small stone sculptures are flat models of temple facades with doorways in which a human figure occasionally stands on top of the stairway. However, masonry temples of this type have not been reported from the Mezcala region, and the date of these artifacts is unknown. These temple sculptures probably were made in the Classic period. In the Tehuacán Valley, developments from early village life to urban communities paralleled those in other parts of Mesoamerica. The archaeological remains give no indication of religious activities.

In sum, the Preclassic figurines that appear all over Mexico north of the eighteenth parallel are similar insofar as their features were incised and clay fillets added. Neither these nor the Shaft Tomb figures represent well-defined deities with determinative attributes such as occur in later periods. With the exception of the Olmec intrusive layer and the emergence of the old fire god at Cuicuilco, and the rain god Tlaloc in Teotihuacán, in all other regions the gods, as Ignacio Bernal once said, had not yet been born.

SEE ALSO Olmec Religion.

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HASSO VON WINNING (1987)

MESOAMERICAN RELIGIONS: CLASSIC CULTURES

The Classic period in the Valley of Mexico and its environs (150 BCE–750 CE) was one of florescence and of great achievement and intellectual advancement in the fields of art, government, and ideology. These centuries saw urbanism defined. Intense trade developed along established routes, diffusing ideas and material goods from one corner of Mesoamerica to another and consolidating religious thought and ceremonial.

Data for Classic period religion is based on archaeology; while no written documents from that period have come down to us, we can rightly regard mural painting, architecture, and other works of art as valid documents. Sixteenth-century chronicles describing Aztec religious belief and custom—about eight centuries after the decline of Teotihuacan—nevertheless can help us interpret earlier cultures, if used with caution. Ethnographic evidence can also shed light on ancient cultures, since in many cases there seems to be a continuity of tradition. It is significant, too, that Mesoamerica constituted a unified culture area, unlike the Mediterranean civilization that had interaction with totally different cultures from very early times on. In addition to the shared urbanism of its cultures, pre-Columbian Mesoamerica was in many ways unified by a common ideological system, with regional and temporal variation. This apparent underlying tradition of many basic beliefs allows us to compare one culture with another, but only to a certain extent and allowing for changes over time.

During the Classic period the characteristics of Mesoamerican religion were formalized. Patterns in belief, ritual, and iconography, some of them derived from earlier cultures, were set, and they formed the basis of later societies, especially those of the Toltec and the Aztec. The belief that natural forces were animate, the measurement of time as coordinated with sacred space, and the observation of heavenly bodies were some of the main characteristics. There was an intense ceremonialism supported by iconography and by oral mythic tradition. The gods were numerous, often human in form and often conceived as animals that were the gods' doubles. Religion was integrated with social organization, politics, economy, art, music, and poetry. There was a patron deity for virtually every activity, and all objects received homage and offerings, from certain flowers reserved for sovereigns to humble implements for planting and harvesting. The world was considered a sacred structure, an image of the cosmos.

Sites and structures (and probably human activities such as processions and ritual dancing) were oriented to the sun, moon, stars, and to sacred geographical places. Architectural splendor was manifested in pyramid platforms surmounted by temples; many were painted in symbolic colors, their exteriors and interiors covered with murals. The temple in each city was the *axis mundi*, the center of the universe. Sculpture depicted religious themes, and much pottery was decorated with images of the gods. The worldview of Classic Mesoamerica was peopled with deities who intervened in every phase of life. Men who governed were deeply enmeshed in ritual. Every ruler had his priestly duties, and the priests themselves controlled the ritual calendar and thus the agricultural cycle, which was a basic part of the economy.

TEOTIHUACAN. During the Classic period, Teotihuacan, which means "place where the gods are made," became the center of the Mesoamerican world. A vast settlement occupying more than eight square miles in the valley of the same name, a subvalley of the Basin of Mexico, the city of Teotihuacan was the leading Classic center and the most highly urbanized center in the New World. Although Teotihuacan at its height ruled the trade routes and set religious patterns for many other cultures, in its early period it barely set the stage for its later grandeur.

Founding and early history. Around the beginning of the common era, a small settlement was established in the northern part of what we now call the Teotihuacan Valley. After the eruption of the Xitle volcano in the southern part of the Basin of Mexico (c. 1000 BCE), some residents of Cuicuilco, which had been covered by lava in the eruption, probably moved to the east, into the Teotihuacan area. The refugees would have brought their own deities, especially the fire god. We see him in the Teotihuacan braziers of Huehueteotl ("old god"), who may have originated in Cuicuilco. At an early period Teotihuacan also was strongly influenced by the Puebla-Tlaxcala peoples. During the Patlachique (150–1 BCE) and the Tzacualli (1–150 CE) phases, Teotihuacan experienced explosive growth. People from the eastern and southern parts of the Basin of Mexico concentrated around this center, raising the population of Teotihuacan to eighty thousand or more (Sanders et al., 1979, pp. 184ff.; Millon, 1981, p. 221). This population concentration was reflected in the city's direct control of agricultural production and of the obsidian industry, as well as in its importance as a regional economic center, which at the same time stimulated religious manifestation.

Toward the end of the Tzacualli phase the great Pyramid of the Sun was erected, standing more than 63 meters high and measuring 225 meters on each of its four sides. Shortly after this the Pyramid of the Moon was built with the Avenue of the Dead leading up to it. (These structures were named by the Aztec; we do not know what the Teotihuacanos called them.) The orientation of the Avenue of the Dead is 15°25° east of north and the major structures were aligned with this axis, slightly "skewed" from the cardinal directions. From the Tzacualli phase on, an exuberance of construction filled Teotihuacan with splendid structures, all carefully planned on a grid pattern.

Caves and cults. The most sacred place in the Teotihuacan complex was the spot where the Sun pyramid stood, underneath which lies a sacred cave. Caves were considered sacred throughout Mesoamerica, and this one designated the site for the construction of the great pyramid. Teotihuacan was a powerful religious magnet and attracted pilgrims from all over. The influx of large groups of pilgrims undoubtedly created the need for more spectacular structures and probably provided the economic means and hands for the work. According to Mircea Eliade in *The Sacred and the Profane* (New York, 1959), sacred time is relived in a sacred space by means of a pilgrimage, and divine space is repeated by building one holy place over another. In Teotihuacan this repetition took place when the great pyramid was erected over a primitive shrine, itself built over a subterranean cave. A cult of long standing existed in this cavern and was one reason that Teotihuacan became a religious center. The presence of drainage channels through which water was brought into the cave (Millon, 1981, p. 234) indicates the performance there of rituals associated with water, and the remains of ritual fires suggest a symbolic juxtaposition of fire and water, which juxtaposition was basic in Mesoamerican religion. It is likely, René Millon suggests, that the guardians of beliefs and cults in the sacred cave had awesome prestige and that this prestige and the importance of religion and ritual in general played a major part in the shaping of Teotihuacan's hierarchical society and in the legitimation of the authority of the state.

Orientation, symbolic planning, and architecture. Urban planning, architecture, myth, and ritual were interrelated in ancient Mexico. The blending of religious-cosmological conceptions with an acute awareness of nature constituted much of the Classic worldview. The orientation of Teotihuacan's major axis, the Avenue of the Dead, was astronomically and calendrically determined. The star group Pleiades was also influential since some structures were oriented to its rising position. The main facades of most of the pyramids, except the Pyramid of the Moon, faced west (that is, in the direction of the setting sun), as did monuments in later Mesoamerican cultures. An astronomical symbol found in strategic positions all over the city was also one of the determinants of the orientation of streets and structures. This symbol is the "pecked cross," actually a quartered circle consisting of dots whose number probably referred to a calendrical-ritual count. It was carved on the floors of ceremonial buildings and also on rocks on the periphery of the city, which were aligned with the monuments (Aveni, 1980, p. 223).

There are more than seventy-five temples in the city. Some, found on the Avenue of the Dead, are grouped into complexes of three, perhaps a symbolic number. More than two thousand residential compounds are located in Teotihuacan, and every residential compound had one or more local temples within it. Even within smaller units a miniature temple is often found in the center of a courtyard. That the natural environment and nearby topographical features were part of the worldview of Teotihuacan and that they figured in the planning of the city is evident from the relation of Teotihuacan to the mountains, caves, and bodies of water in its environs. On the mountaintops, rites to the rain gods were held, for here the clouds gathered and formed the precious liquid. Chronicles referring to the Aztec, whose practices can perhaps give us an insight into the earlier period, tell us that mountains were seen as female; water was thought to be held inside them as if in the womb. The mountain north of the Avenue of the Dead, whose form was mirrored by the Pyramid of the Moon, was called Tenan, "the mother" (i.e., of people) by the Aztec. Hills and waterholes were considered sacred, as were trees, for they protected people and provided sustenance in the form of leaves, fruit, and roots.

Teotihuacan, like most of Mesoamerica, was basically an agricultural society. Observance of the seasons was controlled by a ritual calendar and the invocation of rain through propitiation of the gods was an important ceremony. Lake Tezcoco, the great body of water that covered a large part of the Basin of Mexico, came almost to the borders of Teotihuacan and provided aquatic foods and a waterway for transportation. So for the Teotihuacanos, the gods of water were associated with "Our Mother" (as the lake was called in Aztec times) as well as with rain and mountaintops. This setting of natural abundance was enhanced in Teotihuacan by local deposits of obsidian, which was considered divine.

The Avenue of the Dead extends almost two thousand meters from the Sun and Moon pyramids to the Ciudadela (Span., "citadel"), Teotihuacan's religious and political center during much of the metropolis's existence. The vast quadrangle (4.4 hectares) is surrounded on each of its four sides by wide platforms topped by four low pyramids on three sides, and by three at the east or rear (Millon, 1981, p. 203). Entrance to the complex is only from the Avenue of the Dead on the west and from the north, suggesting that entrance to and exit from the area were strictly controlled. Living quarters in the northeast and southeast of the Ciudadela could have housed about 250 persons, probably high cult officials. George L. Cowgill states that while the head of state must have resided in the Ciudadela, his presence here was largely ceremonial and the real governing activity was carried out elsewhere (Cowgill, 1983). A square platform with a staircase on each of its four sides in the middle of the quadrangle suggests large-scale rites; theatrical performances of a religious character evidently were held here.

At the eastern end of the Ciudadela stands the majestic pyramid known as the Temple of Quetzalcoatl, so called because of the feathered serpents that decorate its facade—although the temple was not necessarily dedicated to Quetzalcoatl, who in the Postclassic period was a god of civilization, creation, and the arts. Also on the facade are heads of fire serpents that have been identified erroneously as representations of the rain god Tlaloc. The spectacular Temple of Quetzalcoatl was erected in the second construction period of the Ciudadela (probably 150–200 CE), coeval in part with the Sun and Moon pyramids, and was used (and at times rebuilt) up until the end of Teotihuacan, around 750 CE. But at one period in the city's history (c. 300 CE), another smaller pyramid, the Adosada (Span., "affixed") was attached to its facade, partly blocking the earlier building. The Adosada seems to have enhanced rather than eclipsed the Temple of Quetzalcoatl's religious importance. Perhaps this was an architectural rather than an ideological renovation. According to Cowgill (1983), the religious and political significance combined in the Ciudadela and the Quetzalcoatl pyramid cult was intimately associated with Teotihuacan's rulership. He also suggests that increased activity associated with the Quetzalcoatl temple may have necessitated the building of this extra structure.

A pyramid platform in the southern part of the Ciudadela is decorated with red X designs and with green circles, symbols of water, "that which is precious." The X is clearly an *ollin*, symbol of motion (or of the movement of the sun, according to later Aztec tradition). The joining of water and fire (in this case, the sun) are thus represented during this early period. Although the combination symbolized war in the Postclassic period, here in Teotihuacan it may have had astronomical significance.

Another enormous area of dwellings, pyramids, platforms, temples, and courtyards occupying many hectares along the major avenue, and known as the Avenue of the Dead Complex, has been tentatively identified as the center of governmental functions. The *talud* ("sloping panel") combined with the *tablero* ("vertical panel") is the characteristic Teotihuacan facade for religious structures and has long been recognized as the sign that a building faced in such a way is a temple (Millon, 1981, p. 229). This convention was also applied to public buildings and residential compounds, thus consecrating the entire avenue, as well as giving a sacred character to buildings in other zones that incorporate the *talud-tablero* mode of facing. Juan Vidarte de Linares (cited in Cowgill, 1983) has interpreted the Avenue of the Dead, lined with temple platforms thus built, as a great open-air cathedral.

Art. The art of Teotihuacan is intensely religious. Mural painting (one of the major art forms) on buildings, temples, and shrines, leads Clara Millon (cited in Millon, 1981, p. 213) to consider it the "official graphic medium for transmitting ideas and beliefs . . . ideologically acceptable and desirable." Murals were an ideal medium for communication because they were out in the open for all to see. In the interior of palaces, where the paintings usually had a religious context, their messages, perhaps understood only by priests, must also have constituted a type of didactic "book" on the walls. Sculpture in Teotihuacan was usually architectural: roof merlons with year-sign motifs, serpentine balustrades on stairways (later seen at Tenayuca, Chichén Itzá, and other sites), zoomorphic stone heads on the facades of buildings (on, for example, the Temple of Quetzalcoatl and at one time on the Pyramid of the Sun), and stone figures perhaps representing gods, such as the old fire god. A relief panel recently discovered in the West Plaza of the Avenue of the Dead Complex represents a personage with rain god characteristics holding a rattle in either hand. According to Noel Morelos, the archaeologist who discovered it, the image is somewhat similar to Tlaloc figures in the Tetitla and Tepantitla murals at Teotihuacan. Another rich source of information is pottery, painted or decorated with other techniques, that depicts rituals and either deities or priests.

The large braziers found at Teotihuacan are sometimes called "theaters" because the masks surrounded by symbolic elements that are attached to them are reminiscent of the stage. *Candeleros* (Span., "candle-sticks") must have been used for copal incense; the Teotihuacanos had no candles. The use of clay figurines can only be guessed at. Some may have been used on household altars or kept by pilgrims as souvenirs from sacred places. "Portrait figurines," sometimes called "dancers," are small, nude, sexless people in animated positions. Other clay figures are "puppets," with movable arms and legs, nude bodies, and carefully made and adorned heads. Lack of body adornment on the portrait figurines and puppets suggests that they were dressed in bark paper, a ritual material, for ceremonial use. Clay dogs may, as among the Aztec, have represented the animal that accompanied the deceased to the afterworld.

A possible warrior cult, involving relations with other regions of Mesoamerica, is indicated by representations of military figures in the murals, on decorated pottery, and in figurines. Some of the figurines wear warrior vestments, including animal helmets. Painted representations of people holding excised hearts on knives, as in a mural in the Atetelco (another architectural complex, or palace), may indicate the existence of a warrior cult, although they might represent human sacrifice practiced for ritual reasons. Citing the work of Hasso von Winning and George Kubler, Esther Pasztory (1978, p. 133) notes that war-related iconographic themes in Teotihuacan include the sun god as a raptorial bird and as a feline, warriors in animal disguise, and an owl-and-weapon symbol.

Burials. Funerary customs also shed light on the religion of Teotihuacan. Cremation was practiced and was possibly related to the later Aztec belief that a person's possessions must be burned in order to travel to the afterworld, where they would be turned over to the lord of the dead. Interment was also practiced; burials were accompanied by grave goods—vessels whose contents may have been food or other necessities for the other world and miniature objects that were symbolic offerings. Mica decorated some of the large braziers and urns and has been found under floors. Its meaning is obscure, but it is mirrorlike and mirrors were used for divining.

Deities. Names of Teotihuacan gods are unknown to us; therefore we refer to them by their characteristics or symbols, sometimes comparing them to Aztec deities whose iconography and function are similar. Esther Pasztory (1973, p. 147) has noted that the structure of Teotihuacan iconography is in many ways similar to that of the Aztec, for which we have written data, and image clusters have been identified in Teotihuacan that have elements similar to representations of Aztec deities. The presence of water-agricultural deities is indicated by aquatic symbols such as streams, water dripping from shells, fish, frogs, and water lilies. The god associated with rain and the earth is distinguished by traits found on the Aztec deity Tlaloc—goggle eyes and fangs, for example—but also by a water lily in his mouth, a lightning staff, a vessel with water, a year-sign headdress, and crocodilian traits. Pasztory calls him "Tlaloc A." "Tlaloc B" appeared later on the scene when there was a trend toward militarism in Teotihuacan. Some of Tlaloc B's diagnostic traits are a bifurcated tongue, a *bigotera* (Span., "mustache"), and jaguar features. Both "Tlalocs" are associated with water, although the latter, because his image is found in foreign centers and is related to persons who may be representatives of the Teotihuacan state, seems to be connected with military and foreign relations as well. Pasztory (1978, p. 134) sees Tlaloc B, or the "Jaguar Tlaloc," as possibly being the patron deity of Teotihuacan, and claims that the "patron deity cult," later practiced among the Toltec and Aztec (which was different from a cult to deified ancestors) originated in Teotihuacan. She also notes that Teotihuacan was the first culture in Mesoamerica to develop a state cult from the earlier agricultural fertility cult. To this must be added the importance of aquatic sustenance from the nearby lake, to which many of the water symbols may refer.

Evidence of other deities is scanty, but among those believed to have existed in Teotihuacan are Huehueteotl, whose brazier, which was designed to be carried on the head, suggests he is a fire god, and an earth mother figure who may have been associated with water and vegetation. She is represented in the Tepantitla murals surrounded by fertility symbols such as plants, drops of water, seeds, and birds. Formerly she was thought to be a male water god, and in Aztec times she had a number of names, including Xochiquetzal ("precious flower"). A precursor of this goddess may be represented in some figurines whose headdresses bear flowers, usually the characteristic mark of Xochiquetzal. A majestic stone statue discovered near the Pyramid of the Moon may have water association, due to the "meanders" (water symbols) on her garments. The agricultural fertility cult was associated with gods of earth, water, rain, crops, sun, and moon. A large stone disk, with rays surrounding a skull head, seems to represent the sun. It was painted red, the color applied to bodies of the deceased; thus it may represent the setting sun that dies in the west. Deformed figures represented on the walls of the Atetelco suggest Nanahuatzin, the sick god of the Aztec tradition who became the sun, although these may not actually portray him. Another god portrayed is the feathered serpent, but there is no way of knowing if he is the same god the Aztec worshiped under the name Quetzalcoatl. There is also a "flayed god," represented in clay figurines and on pottery vessels. One statue depicts a flayed god (or his surrogate) wearing a human skin. This deity may be related to the later Xipe Totec, Aztec god of vegetation, although this large clay figure dates from the beginning of the Postclassic era.

There may also have been a "dual complex," a male-female creative force, such as existed later in Aztec cosmology. This could be inferred from the two major pyramids. Innumerable figurines with hollow interiors that in turn contain one or more miniature figures fully dressed may represent a creator deity. But the most convincing evidence indicates that the pantheon was built around forces of water and fertility.

Creation of the sun in Teotihuacan. Animals portrayed in a mural painting called the Mural of the Mythological Animals may be an early version of the myth of the four Suns, or eras, that form part of Aztec mythology (Millon, 1972, p. 7). Jaguars devouring fish, a type of *cipactli* (crocodilian) earth creature, and evidence of a cataclysm are seen in the Teotihuacan mural. The creation of the Fifth Sun in Teotihuacan (the Aztec mythical celestial plain), in which the poor deformed god Nanahuatzin threw himself into the fire to become the sun, constitutes one of the great Mesoamerican myths. This myth may have been invented *a posteriori* by the Aztec in order to explain the creation of their own era, the Fifth Sun, associated with the "place where the gods are made" (i.e., Teotihuacan) and with their sacred ancestors, the Teotihuacanos. The impact of Teotihuacan religion and myth on the Aztec is evident from the orientation of the sacred precinct in Tenochtitlan, the Aztec capital. This was based on the fact that, in the myth of the Fifth Sun, the gods in Teotihuacan, after the birth of the sun, faced the four directions to see where it would rise. Four gateways facing these directions were made in Tenochtitlan in memory of the myth. The desire of the Aztec to view Teotihuacan as the sacred ancestral place can be seen here and also in the fact that the Aztec sovereign worshiped there every twenty days.

Ritual. Ritual, as represented in many paintings, was clearly an important aspect of Teotihuacan religion. One example of such a representation is that of the priests, depicted in profile, who face the great central figure in the Tepantitla mural, and who evidently are carrying out a ceremony involving this earth-god figure. Men (as gods' surrogates) in ritual attitudes are also depicted on decorated pottery. The very layout of the major avenues and structures of the city brings to mind the probability of dramatic processions led by religious leaders, involving a large part of the population and possibly pilgrims. Processions would probably have stopped at the small altar-platforms in the center of the avenues, where rites would have been performed. Fray Diego Durán (1971, p. 296) writes about didactic yet amusing skits involving deities that were performed during the later Aztec religious festivals, which may provide us with parallels of earlier ritual celebrations. Colonial chronicles describe Aztec processions in which the costumes of the participants, the materials of which they were made, and their colors were all significant: yellow face paint symbolized maize; "popcorn" garlands represented the dry season. People walked, danced, and sang in the processions; the beat of the drum, the shrill sound of a native flute, and the rhythmic tone of chanted poetry set the pace for their steps. Large braziers may have been carried at the head of the procession, smoke from resin incense floating upward as a medium for communication with the gods. A ritual liquid such as *pulque* may have been poured on the ground. Hands pouring precious symbols in streams are depicted in Teotihuacan murals, representing this type of libation. Processions like these would have been public rituals to celebrate seasonal, calendrical, religious, political, and agricultural events. The changing of the seasons and their effect upon the crops, for example, called for constant celebration and/or propitiation of the gods.

Parallel with the public rituals would have been rites performed at small temples in residential compounds. Household worship probably occurred at times when major events took place but also in relation to the more private cycles of the household. People close to the soil practice innumerable ceremonies important to their well-being. In postclassic times rites were performed annually (as they still are today) to honor agricultural implements; permission is still ritually requested of the earth to break the surface in order to plant; clay figurines are buried in the fields as offerings; terracotta frogs or water-deity figures are thrown into waterholes; food and clay images are placed in caves for the "owners of maize" and plants. Evidence of some concern in Teotihuacan culture for human fertility is provided by figurines of pregnant women, which were most likely used in rites of fecundity.

The end of Teotihuacan and its heritage. The eclipse of Teotihuacan took place around 750 CE, when much of the city was burned, the destruction centering on religious and public buildings. Statues of the gods were broken and their faces mutilated (Jarquin and Martínez, 1982, p. 36). (In the pictorial manuscripts from Postclassic Mexico the conquest of a city is generally depicted by the burning of its temples.) Burning occurred mainly in the heart of Teotihuacan—four hundred instances of burning are evident in the Avenue of the Dead zone alone (Millon, 1981, pp. 236–237)—but to date there is no evidence of foreign invaders, such as non-Teotihuacan weapons or the like. The burning of temples and smashing of images implies ritual destruction, and René Millon points out that many religious structures in Mesoamerica were ritually burned and then reconstructed. The destruction of Teotihuacan's temples was so complete, however, that in spite of later building at the site, the city never again rose to even a portion of its former grandeur.

Meanwhile, other peoples had filtered into the valley, including the Toltec and the Chichimec. As Teotihuacan fell other centers rose. Sites in Tlaxcala expanded. Cacaxtla adopted many Teotihuacan motifs and possibly its cultural ideas as well. Xochicalco, a critical point on a trade route from the south, became powerful. El Tajín acquired more importance in the Gulf Coast region. Teotihuacan as a live metropolis disappeared, but its fame and influence lived on. South to the Maya region, east to the Gulf, west to the Pacific, and north to Alta-vista (near what would become the United States border), Teotihuacan religion, art, myth, and tradition spread and were adapted to other cultures. This great civilization and religious center took its place as the revered ancestor of many later cultures.

CHOLULA. About two hundred kilometers to the southeast, Cholula was a sister city to Teotihuacan during the Classic period; Quetzalcoatl was its principal god. According to archaeologist Eduardo Merlo, the earliest pyramid at Cholula (c. 150 BCE), was constructed over a sacred spring, paralleling the Teotihuacan tradition of building over a consecrated spot. The Mural of the Bebedores (Span., "drinkers"; c. 200 CE) in Cholula, at the west side of the great pyramid, portrays elaborate scenes of ritual drinking of *pulque.* This mural is dedicated to agricultural fertility and to *pulque* gods. The main Classic period deity here was the water goddess, and it is interesting that the patron saint of present-day Cholula, whose sanctuary is built on top of the great pyramid, is the Virgin of Los Remedios, whose special province is the control of the water supply (Olivera, 1970, pp. 212–213).

Cantona, in the Puebla-Tlaxcala Valley, was contemporary with early Cholula and Teotihuacan but was evidently eclipsed by the dramatic rise of the latter. Cantona must have been an important religious pilgrimage center and was possibly a Gulf Coast link with the central highlands. More than sixteen square kilometers in area, this site dates from the Late Preclassic into the Middle Classic and exhibits strong Veracruz influence, as seen in the ball-game cult, represented by sixteen courts. There are thousands of unexplored mounds, many dwellings, one excavated igloo-type sweat bath, and the unexplored remains of about twenty more of these structures. According to archaeologist Diana Lopez, these were used for ritual bathing.

MONTE ALBÁN AND OAXACA. The Valley of Oaxaca is an archaeologically rich area in the central part of the present state of Oaxaca in south-central Mexico. Ecological advantages, effectively exploited, contributed to the rise of urbanism here centuries earlier than in other nearby regions north and west of the valley (Paddock, 1966, p. 242). In this setting the splendid Zapotec civilization of Monte Albán arose. This city was built on five artificially leveled hills just east of today's city of Oaxaca and covered a total area of six and a half square kilometers. Monte Albán's main plaza, 150 by 300 meters, dominates the central hill, producing a whole that can be seen as the center and four corners of the universe. This central hill contains both religious and residential buildings: pyramid platforms, a main plaza and smaller ones, a ball court, the royal residence, and subterranean tombs whose entrances are protected by gods and whose interiors were filled with funerary urns in the form of gods. Richard Blanton (in Flannery and Marcus, 1983, p. 84) suggests that Monte Albán, constructed on a hilltop not easily accessible, yet near a rich alluvial plain, was the principal center of the region. Its hilltop location probably was in part a defensive measure against possible incursions, although many other important centers in Oaxaca also were built on mountaintops: for example, Monte Negro, Quiotepec, and Guiengola. There could also have been a religious motivation in this, in that the summits of mountains were often held to be sacred in ancient Mesoamerica and are dedicated to gods of rain.

Although Monte Albán has traditionally been seen as indebted to Teotihuacan for much of its religion, art, and ideas, Kent V. Flannery, Joyce Marcus, and John Paddock (Flannery and Marcus, 1983, p. 161) point out that the Zapotec autonomous tradition was thousands of years old when Monte Albán was built (c. 100 BCE) and that hieroglyphic writing was developed there before Teotihuacan was founded. Strong influence and exchange between the two centers did exist, however. There was an enclave of Oaxaca people in Teotihuacan, whose residents lived in their own zone, produced Oaxaca-style pottery, constructed a stone-lined Oaxaca tomb and stela, or tomb jamb, and who worshiped their own gods, if one may judge from two funerary urns representing a god with serpent buccal mask found in the tomb (Millon, 1973, I, pp. 141–142). Although no comparable Teotihuacano enclave has been found at Monte Albán, Teotihuacan personages are represented on some of the city's monuments. They carry copal incense bags (characteristic of priests) and wear identifying deity, animal, or "tassel" Teotihuacan headdresses. A Teotihuacan-style temple is also depicted. Marcus (Flannery and Marcus, 1983, p. 179) interprets these scenes as visual proof that Teotihuacan and Monte Albán had emissaries who consolidated agreements through rituals, thus placing these treaties in a sacred context.

Early history. Monte Albán has a long history, beginning about 500 BCE. Between 200 BCE and 100 CE (Monte Albán I–II) this center of ten thousand inhabitants constructed large defensive walls and masonry tombs. Three hundred carved stone monuments with calendrical and military themes have been found dating from this period, along with hieroglyphic writing and effigy vessels possibly representing gods (Marcus, in Flannery and Marcus, 1983, pp. 52–53, 95). The nude figures in distorted poses known as *danzantes* (Span., "dancers") were carved on stone slabs along with symbols of sacrifice. They represented captives and as such may refer to ritual death. They also may represent a symbolic display of power. Fear-inspiring propaganda of this type was repeated—in ritual, not sculpture—many centuries later by the Aztec, who invited their enemies to witness mass sacrifices of war captives. Toward the end of this early period there were highly developed traits such as a complex pantheon of deities, ceremonial architecture, a stratified society, increased population, and political, economic, and military influence outside the Valley of Oaxaca (Paddock, 1966, pp. 111–119). The plan of the Zapotec temple at this time, with an inner chamber reserved for members of the cult, points to the existence of full-time priests and an incipient state religion (Flannery, in Flannery and Marcus, 1983, p. 82).

Florescence of Monte Albán. Classic Monte Albán (Monte Albán III) covers the period from 100 to 600 CE. This was a period of florescence during which the population reached its maximum size and both the main plaza and neighboring hills became covered with monumental structures. Restricted entrance to the main plaza suggests that its use may have been mainly for religious and civil leaders, yet its size would indicate that on some occasions rites were celebrated involving the general populace, which Blanton (in Flannery and Marcus, 1983, pp. 131–133) estimates at approximately thirty thousand. The temples had full-time priests plus a high priest (Flannery, in Flannery and Marcus, 1983, pp. 132, 134). As in other Mesoamerican societies, the Zapotec ruler was given a year of religious training, and the priesthood was drawn from noble families. The ruler worshiped at a special shrine.

Tombs, funerary urns, and Zapotec gods. Typical of Monte Albán is the subterranean cruciform tomb, probably constructed during its future occupant's life and over which a temple or residential structure was built. Living quarters over these tombs indicate that the descendants of the deceased (probably usually rulers) practiced ancestor worship (Flannery and Marcus, 1983, pp. 135, 345). Personages represented in the murals of Tomb 104 and Tomb 105, described by Alfonso Caso as gods, evidently depict royal couples dressed in the garb of deities. As in Asia, the dead ruler or forefather had to be propitiated in order to protect the living. The people portrayed in these tombs, then, are the royal, deified ancestors of those buried here. The four rooms of the building over Tomb 105 are oriented to the four cardinal directions, indicating a cosmic plan in the building of Monte Albán. In a niche above the entrance to each tomb is a funerary urn. Within the tomb more urns appear. Urns have been found, too, as offerings in temples and caches. Most of the urns are anthropomorphic in form; many wear zoomorphic masks and headdresses and they are adorned with numerals and glyphs.

One type of urn, the *acompañante* (Span., "companion" or "attendant"), has been found either with the deceased or with the major urns themselves. There are two schools of thought regarding the funeral urns. Alfonso Caso and Ignacio Bernal (1952) define them as gods, while Joyce Marcus (in Flannery and Marcus, 1983, pp. 144–148) interprets them as deceased ancestors. Sixteenth-century chronicles associate calendric names with personages but not with gods. The Spanish at that time did not understand this reference to ancestors because they were unfamiliar with the system of naming forefathers with dates; therefore they often mistook figures of dead rulers for deities, and this confusion has persisted. Because they had no knowledge of Zapotec, Europeans often mistook titles of nobility or references to natural forces (such as *cocijo*, which means "lightning") for names of deities.

Caso and Bernal (1952), who believe them to be gods, identify the figures depicted on the funerary urns as follows: Cocijo, the rain god (who also has maize aspects, judging from the corn cobs in his headdress on some urns); Pitao Cozobi, god of maize and grains; other maize-sustenance deities such as 5 Flower Quiepelagayo and a god referred to as "with bow in the Headdress"; a Zapotec version of Quetzalcoatl; a flayed god (Xipe?), represented carrying a disembodied head; an old god associated with caves and the underworld; 13 Serpent, an earth mother; and animal deities such as the parrot (associated with the sun), the jaguar (associated with rain), and the bat and the *tlacuache* (opossum), both associated with maize.

Natural forces. Joyce Marcus (in Flannery and Marcus, 1983, pp. 345–351) stresses the importance in Zapotec religion of animism—the animate character of things such as trees, stars, hills, but especially powerful natural and supernatural forces. A vital force was *pèe* ("wind, breath, spirit") and this existed in man, animals, the 260-day ritual calendar, light, the sun, the moon, clouds, lightning, rain, fire, and earthquakes. *Pitào*, the augmentative form of *pèe*, means "great breath" or "great spirit," and refers to a sacred quality. Lightning, (*cocijo*) was a highly revered element among the Zapotec because it brought rain. According to Fray Juan de Córdova's *Arte del idioma zapoteca* (1578), the thirteen-day period in the pre-Hispanic calendar (13 numbers x 20 day names = 260 days constituting the ritual-divinatory calendar) was called *cocijo* or *pitào*. Thus the gods were identified with time periods and with phenomena associated with the calendar.

Clouds were held as sacred by the Zapotec. In fact, they considered themselves descended from clouds, just as the Mixtec regarded trees as their primordial ancestors. After death, the Zapotec believed, they once again became clouds. The Zapotec not only had an organized priesthood, temples, and elaborate ritual, but they also considered places such as caves, mountains, certain trees, springs, and other natural sites to be sacred shrines.

Other Oaxaca sites. Monte Albán was the major Zapotec civil and religious center, yet it was not the only sacred place in Oaxaca. Dainzú, a place distinguished by stone reliefs of masked ball players, was coeval with early Monte Albán. The ball players, some in jaguar disguise, are evidently engaged in a ritual game. A number of these carved slabs are set into the lowest level of a pyramid-temple structure. They are similar to Monte Albán's *danzantes.* Stones of the same type have turned up in many sites in the Oaxaca Valley, among them Macuilxochitl and Tlacochauaya. Other sites in the valley, of which there are many (Yagul, Caballito Blanco, Mitla, Loma Larga, Lambityeco) were contemporary in part with Monte Albán and shared the same religious beliefs and practices. Many of these were not occupied until after the Classic period and thus fall outside this discussion. But Oaxaca is rich in archeological zones, many dating from the Classic. In the Ñuiñe culture in the lower Mixtec region (northern Oaxaca and southern Puebla), the pantheon was similar to that of Monte Albán, containing gods of earth, rain, wind, death, fire, jaguar, and perhaps vegetation represented by flayed figures (Moser, in Flannery and Marcus, 1983, p. 212). San José Mogote was largely a Preclassic settlement, but in the Classic period (corresponding to Monte Alban II), there were numerous temples there and, as at Monte Albán, a court for the ritual ball game.

EL TAJÍN AND THE GULF COAST REGION. About three hundred kilometers east of Teotihuacan lies the lush, humid Gulf of Mexico region, home of numerous archaeological sites. The most important of these is El Tajín, dating from around 100 BCE and continuing through the Classic period and into the early Postclassic. El Tajín continued to be occupied, by the Totonac, on a small scale for a few centuries after this. Although this rich region is called Totonacapan, the Totonac, for whom it was named, were a late group; the modern inhabitants are still Totonac. El Tajín was built by the Maya-related Huastec people. It may be that the baroque flavor in El Tajín art derives from a Maya heritage, but probably this reflects the natural environment with its lush vegetation. *Tajín* means "lightning," "hurricane," "thunder" and names these forces. Like the Zapotec, the Totonac believed that lightning brings rain, but near the Gulf of Mexico the rain often comes in the form of hurricanes, for this is a region of violent winds and precipitation. Thus, Tajín and the god Huracán are often seen as one, the god of tropical storms, who, like the Aztec god Tezcatlipoca, can be both beneficial and destructive.

Religion at El Tajín followed the typical Mesoamerican pattern of temple-pyramids, formal priesthood, a pantheon of gods, ritual calendar, pilgrimages to its center district, periodic festivities, sacrifice and bloodletting, and other traits already mentioned. But El Tajín and the Gulf Coast region exemplify certain distinct characteristics not found elsewhere. For example, the main pyramid at El Tajín is lavishly decorated with niches, which is typical of this site and of nearby Yohualichan ("house of night") in southern Puebla. The ball court, although common in Mesoamerica, occupies a primary importance in El Tajín, where there are ten (Wilkerson, 1980, p. 219). Their wall panels are decorated with spectacular scenes of ritual and sacrifice.

El Tajín became the major religious and administrative center of the region in the first few centuries of the current era. El Tajín's peak, in size, population, wealth, and religious importance, was between 600 and 900 CE, toward the end of the Classic period. This great city has been partially excavated by Mexico's Instituto Nacional de Antropologia e Historia. Its most spectacular building is the Pyramid of the Niches, dedicated to rain and wind gods, whose 365 niches are thought to be related to the solar calendar. Originally the pyramid's facade was painted in various colors, mainly red, the color of life and also of death. A *xicalcoliuhqui*, a fret in stone mosaic, decorates the balustrades on either side of the pyramid's stairway. The *xicalcoliuhqui*, popular in ancient Mexican sites, especially Mitla, but probably of Maya origin, may be symbolic of serpents of rain and wind. Originally, grotesque wind-rain serpents framed the panels of ritual scenes at the top of the temple.

The ball-game cult. Typical of the Gulf area is the *yugo-hacha-palma-candado* (Span., "yoke-ax-palm-padlock") complex, consisting of objects sculptured similar to these forms. The elements of this complex seem to form part of the ritual ball game. In the Maya zone, players are depicted wearing padded waist protectors formed like yokes, and figures are often seen wearing *palmas* in their belts. S. Jeffrey K. Wilkerson (1980, p. 219) states that at El Tajín the paraphernalia of the ball game became cult objects when carved in stone, and that stone copies of the wooden waist protectors, or yokes, were symbols of the jaws of the earth, into which the wearer descended after death. In El Tajín and probably all over Mesoamerica the ball game was a ritual act and concluded with one of the players, usually impersonating a god, being decapitated. Burials in the Veracruz region were frequently accompanied by elaborately carved stone yokes and other ball-game symbols. The ball-game cult started in the Preclassic, probably among the Olmec. The Gulf area was the home of rubber and the cult most likely originated here and then spread out to other regions, diffused by traders who took cacao and rubber (as well as their ideology) from the lowlands to the highlands. Both the cacao tree and ballplayers are represented in murals at Teotihuacan. In the Maya region, some Classic period ball-court markers were associated with symbols of the sun, water, and vegetation. The purpose of the sacrifice of a player at the end of the game, as seen on El Tajín reliefs, was the rejuvenation of agricultural and solar fertility, the cycle of death and rebirth in nature (Pasztory, 1978, p. 139). The stone reliefs at El Tajín portray ballplayers, rites to the rain god and to a deity of pulque, autosacrifice from genitals, decapitation of a ballplayer and his descent into the underworld, and sacrifice by extraction of the heart (Kampen, 1972).

Smiling figures and divine women. Among the ritual manifestations of the Classic period of the Gulf area are the "smiling figures" from Remojadas and El Zapotal, murals from Higueras, and lifesize terracotta sculptures of *cihuateteo* ("divine women"). El Zapotal, located in southern Veracruz near the Olmec site of Cerro de las Mesas, had its florescent period from 500 to 800 CE. Unlike the Zapotec and Mixtec, who had a cult to the dead, this Totonac culture apparently maintained a cult to death itself. In a major temple at El Zapotal there is an altar 1.6 meters high with a seated terracotta figure of the death god. His skeletal form is surrounded by skulls. Equally dramatic are the monumental clay figures called by the Postclassic term *cihuateteo.* Colonial chronicles identify the *cihuateteo* as women who died in childbirth and who then were deified, joining dead warriors in the task of helping the sun cross the sky. They were considered warriors because they lost their lives while taking a "prisoner," that is, the child. These striking figures wear skirts fastened by large serpent belts and carry trophy-head staffs in one hand. Each woman seems to be covered with a flayed skin, which might indicate a cult to a female vegetation deity (Gutiérrez Solana and Hamilton, 1977, p. 146). The presence of the serpent around the waist may refer, however, to a Serpent Woman who was, in Postclassic times, a goddess (the Aztec goddess Cihuacoatl) associated with war, sacrifice, and political power. Among the other deities represented in the monumental El Zapotal sculptures are male gods of rain, an old fire god—whose presence shows Teotihuacan influence—and a flayed god. Skeletal remains at this site, found in burials where offerings of terracotta sculptures were placed, reveal decapitation and dismemberment on a vast scale, probably as a result of sacrifice. Next to one rich offering of sculpture was an ossarium containing eighty-two skulls, many of them women's. The female skulls may indicate a death-fertility cult because, in a later period, sacrifice by decapitation represented the harvesting of first fruits, especially the cutting of an ear of corn. At El Zapotal, yokes, axes, and smiling figures have also been found, although the latter are more typical of Remojadas, a site north of El Zapotal noted for its splendid clay sculpture. The smiling figures are just that: their mouths are open in broad smiles, their legs are apart in an attitude of dancing, their arms flung wide. These have been interpreted as representations of a cognate of Xochipilli, the Aztec god of song and dance, but it is possible that they portray surrogates of the gods, drugged as they go to their sacrifice. The colonial chronicler Durán described the pre-Hispanic custom of giving these god-representatives drinks containing hallucinogens so they would laugh, dance, and fling out their arms on the way to the sacrificial knife. If they were not "happy" this was considered a bad omen.

Las Higueras is a late Classic Totonac site (600–800 CE), with outstanding mural paintings. Represented here are the ever-present Huracán, shown supine at the bottom of the sea, surrounded by sharks; water or "flood" gods, pouring liquid over the land; a female moon; the sun; and a crocodilian earth god. Priests with incense bags, a temple, and ball courts are also represented (Arellanos et al., 1975, pp. 309–312).

SEE ALSO Caves; Maya Religion.

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Doris Heyden (1987)

MESOAMERICAN RELIGIONS: POSTCLASSIC CULTURES

This entry is devoted to a summary of the religious patterns of the leading peoples of that portion of the Mesoamerican area cotradition located west of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec in the Postclassic period (c. 900–1521 CE). Western Mesoamerica was a complex mosaic of linguistic-ethnic groups organized into various polities, but certain ones stand out most prominently: the Aztec, Tarascan, Otomí, Huastec, Totonac, Mixtec, and Zapotec. Although those who spoke the same language normally shared most cultural characteristics, including religious-ritual patterns, rarely were they unified politically. The more advanced groups were organized into what can be called city-states. Occasionally an especially powerful one of these, usually confederated with others, embarked on an imperialistic course, extending its military and political control over a wide area. The earliest well-documented empire of this type, one that may have dominated much of central Mexico, was that of the Toltec, so named from their capital, Tollan (or Tula), north of the Basin of Mexico. The flowering of the Toltec empire appears to have been essentially coterminous with the Early Postclassic period (c. 900–1200 CE). Coverage will begin with a concise review of what is known concerning Toltec religion.

Toltec Religion. At the time of the Conquest, many traditions were extant concerning the Toltec, the prestigious political and cultural predecessors of the Aztec. Whereas they emphasized dynastic themes primarily, they occasionally included some references to religious-ritual aspects. Together with the archaeological evidence, they provide a picture, however incomplete, of a rich religious tradition directly ancestral to that which prevailed in central Mexico at the time of the Conquest.

Many Aztec deities were anticipated in the Toltec pantheon. The most prominent was Quetzalcoatl, symbolized by a rattlesnake covered with feathers. In Aztec religious ideology this deity particularly expressed creativity and fertility, with emphasis on the vivifying and fructifying role of the wind (or breath), Ehécatl, which Quetzalcoatl bore as an additional appellation. The fusion of snake and bird in his icon can be interpreted as the creative coupling of earth and sky. The Toltec concept of Quetzalcoatl was probably similar, but the situation is complicated by the merging of the supernatural personage with a Toltec ruler, Topiltzin, apparently a particular devotee of the god, whose name he also carried as a title. A rich corpus of traditional narratives surrounded this remarkable figure, Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl, who was the archetype of the Toltec and Aztec priesthood and credited with introducing autosacrificial rituals into the cult. Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl was forced to abandon Tollan, persecuted by the omnipotent, capricious god of gods, Tezcatlipoca. Moving down to the Gulf Coast with a band of followers, Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl died and was cremated, and his soul ascended into heaven and became the Morning Star. He was considered to have been the founder of all "legitimate" political power in central Mexico, and the rulers of Mexico Tenochtitlán, the Aztec capital, claimed direct dynastic descent from him—with the expectation that he would some day return to reclaim his royal dignity.

Other Toltec deities mentioned in the traditions include the androgynous creative deity with various names, among them Ometecuhtli/Omecihuatl; Xipe Totec, who expressed the concept of fertility in a macabre fashion as his devotees ritually donned the skins of sacrificed human victims; Tlazolteotl-Ixcuina, a major earth and fertility goddess whose cult was reputedly introduced from the Huastec; and Tlaloc, the ancient, preeminent rain and fertility deity. Archaeological evidence confirms the importance of these supernaturals in the Toltec pantheon and indicates the presence of various others: the *pulque (octli)* gods, as well as Mayahuel, the female personification of the maguey plant, the source of the intoxicating beverage *pulque;* the Venus deity, Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, closely related to Quetzalcoatl; the hunting and war deity, Mixcoatl; Itzpapalotl, another earth and fertility goddess allied to Mixcoatl; and, possibly, the old fire god, Xiuhtecuhtli-Huehueteotl. The Toltec pantheon probably included many other deities not mentioned in the traditions or evidenced by archaeological remains, and it is likely that at the time of the Conquest most were still propitiated in some form in central Mexico.

Toltec ceremonialism was probably similar to the overall system prevailing in the Late Postclassic, especially as regards the calendrically regulated ritual. It is virtually certain that the two basic Mesoamerican calendric cycles, the 260-day (13 x 20) divinatory cycle, called the *tonalpohualli* by the Aztec, and the 365-day (18 x 20 + 5) vague solar year *(xihuitl),* were well established by Toltec times and possibly much earlier. Most of the names employed for the twenty day-signs and apparently at least ten of the eighteen twenty-day periods, the "months," were the same as those used in the Aztec system. The major Toltec public ceremonies were undoubtedly geared to the eighteen months and followed the same basic ritual patterns as those current at the time of the invasion of Spanish forces under Hernán Cortés.

Archaeological evidence at Tula (ancient Tollan) and other Toltec-influenced sites, such as Chichén Itzá in Yucatán, demonstrates that Toltec religious architecture was essentially similar to that of the Late Postclassic. Basic continuities are manifest, especially in the forms of the temples and other sacred structures such as skull-racks (Nah., *tzompantli*) and small platform altars (Nah., *momoztli*). Certain specific Toltec traits, exemplified by *chacmools,* the reclining anthropomorphic images positioned in the vestibules of shrines, and reliefs of files of warriors decorating the faces of stone benches (banquettes) along the walls of rooms in structures adjoining the temples, were closely replicated in Aztec sacred architecture, most notably in the Templo Mayor precinct of the imperial capital, Mexico-Tenochtitlán.

After a series of disasters, the Toltec hegemony collapsed, probably in the late twelfth or during the thirteenth century, and barbarous newcomers, collectively known as the Chichimec, flowed in from the north. In the mid-fourteenth century a powerful new Basin of Mexico city-state, Azcapotzalco, arose. Under a remarkably vigorous ruler, Tezozomoc, the Tepanec, as the people of Azcapotzalco were called, established a central Mexican imperial system on the Toltec model. However, it did not long survive the death of Tezozomoc in 1426, and by 1434 the final pre-Hispanic political order emerged in central Mexico. This was headed by two former tributaries of Azcapotzalco, Mexico-Tenochtitlan and Tezcoco, joined, as a junior partner, by Tlacopan, an erstwhile ally of, and of the same Tepanec affiliation as, Azcapotzalco. This so-called Triple Alliance generated great military power and by the time of the Conquest dominated much of western Mesoamerica. Most of the leading ethnic-linguistic groups within this area had fallen completely or partially under its sway. The Tarascan of Michoacán, however, successfully maintained their independence and ruled a sizable empire of their own in western Mexico. Most of the Huastec-speaking communities, in the northeastern sector of Mesoamerica, also remained beyond Triple Alliance control.

AZTEC RELIGION. The following summary applies primarily to the Nahuatl-speaking communities of the Basin of Mexico and adjoining territory, whose culture is traditionally labeled "Aztec," although fundamentally similar religious systems prevailed over a much more extensive area. Following this overview of the Aztec religious-ritual system, what is known concerning the religions of the major non-Nahuatl-speaking groups will be summarized, emphasizing aspects that appear to have been especially distinctive to each particular group.

Cosmogony and cosmology. Four great cosmic eras, or "suns," were believed to have preceded the present age. The inhabitants of each era were destroyed at that era's end—with the exception of single pairs that survived to perpetuate the species—by different kinds of cataclysmic destructions: respectively, swarms of ferocious jaguars, hurricanes, rains of fire, and a devastating deluge. The first era was assigned to the earth, the second to the air or wind, the third to fire, and the fourth to water. Different deities presided over each, and each age was also ascribed to one of the four cardinal directions and to its symbolic color. The last era, the Fifth Sun, was to be terminated, with the annihilation of humanity, by shattering earthquakes.

At the commencement of this final period, two major creative deities, Tezcatlipoca and Quetzalcoatl, dispersed the waters of the great flood and raised the sky, thus creating a new earth. Fire was next produced, followed by a fresh human generation. Quetzalcoatl traveled to the underworld, Mictlan, to obtain from its ruler, Mictlantecuhtli, the bones and ashes of previous human beings. With them the assembled gods created the primeval human pair, for whom they also provided sustenance (above all, maize). A new sun and moon were next created by the cremation in a great hearth at Teotihuacán of two gods, one a diseased but courageous pauper and the other wealthy but cowardly, who were thereby transformed into, respectively, the orbs of day and night. The gods then sacrificed themselves to provide food and drink (hearts and blood) for the rising sun. But the sun's terrible sustenance had to be supplied constantly to satisfy his insatiable appetite and unquenchable thirst. War, for the purpose of obtaining victims for sacrifice, was therefore instituted—and this perpetual obligation was laid on humankind.

The earth was conceived by the Aztec in a schematized geographic fashion and mystically and metaphorically as well. In the first conception the earth was visualized as a quadrilateral landmass surrounded by ocean. From its center four quadrants extended out to the varicolored cardinal directions, which, with the center, played a very important cosmological role as a basic principle of organization of numerous supernaturalistic concepts. At each direction stood a sacred tree upon which perched a sacred bird. In the fashion of Atlanteans, four deities supported the lowest heaven at each cardinal point. In the second terrestrial image, the earth was conceived both as a huge crocodilian monster, the *cipactli,* and as a gigantic, crouching, toadlike creature with snapping "mouths" at its elbows and knees and a gaping, teeth-studded mouth, called Tlaltecuhtli, which devoured the hearts and blood of sacrificed victims and the souls of the dead in general. Both creatures were apparently conceived as floating on the all-encompassing universal sea.

There was also a comparable vertical organization of the universe. The heavens were conceived as a series of superposed varicolored tiers to which various deities and certain natural phenomena were assigned. The commonest scheme featured thirteen celestial layers and nine subterrestrial levels.

Gods. A crowded pantheon of individualized, essentially anthropomorphic deities was believed to control the various spheres of the universe. Almost every major natural and human activity was embodied in at least one supernatural personality. This plethora of deities was organized around a few fundamental cult themes. Within each theme can be discerned "deity complexes," clusters of deities expressing various aspects of what amount to subthemes. Three major themes stand out: (1) celestial creativity and divine paternalism; (2) rain-moisture-agricultural fertility; (3) war, sacrifice, and the sanguinary nourishment of the sun and earth. Included within the first theme were such important deities as Ometeotl (Ometecuhtli/Omecihuatl or Tonacatecuhtli/Tonacacihuatl), the androgynous creative deity; Tezcatlipoca, the omnipotent "supreme god"; and Xiuhtecuhtli Huehueteotl, the old god of fire. Prominent within the second theme were Tlaloc, the paramount fertility deity and producer of rain; Ehécatl Quetzalcoatl, the wind god; Centeotl Chicomecoatl, the maize deity (with both male and female aspects); the *octli (pulque)* deity, Ometochtli, who had many individualized avatars, each with its own name; Teteoinnan Tlazolteotl, the earth mother, with many aspects; and Xipe Totec, the gruesome "flayed god." The third theme featured Tonatiuh, the solar deity; Huitzilopochtli, the special patron of Mexico Tenochtitlán, who had strong martial associations; Mixcoatl Camaxtli, the Chichimec hunting and war god; Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the god of the planet Venus; and Mictlantecuhtli, the death god. Many minor deities presided over various crafts and occupations, the most important of which was Yacatecuhtli, the merchant deity. A major, protean god who defies neat categorization was Quetzalcoatl, whose creative function especially stands out and, as indicated, with whom a semilegendary Toltec ruler was inextricably entwined.

Ritual. The ritual system was intricate, variegated, and often highly theatrical. Some of the Spanish missionary ethnographers, influenced by Christian ceremonialism, divided the public, calendrically regulated rituals into those that were "fixed" (geared to the *xi-huitl,* the 365-day vague solar year) and those that were "movable" (geared to the *tonalpohualli,* the 260-day divinatory cycle). The eighteen "fixed" ceremonies, which were normally celebrated at the end of each "month," or twenty-day period, together constituted the most important series of rituals in the whole system, closely linked to the annual agricultural cycle. Many were primarily concerned with fertility promotion and involved the propitiation of deities that most explicitly expressed this theme. The "movable" *tonalpohualli*-geared ceremonies were generally more modest in scope, but some were quite impressive, especially that which occurred on the day 4 Ollin dedicated to the Sun, which featured a strict fast and ritual bloodletting by the whole community. The sacrifice of war captives and condemned slaves and ritual cannibalism often, but not invariably, accompanied these major ceremonies. There were numerous other significant ritual occasions: key events in the life cycle of the individual, dedications of new structures and monuments, before and after battles, triumphs, investitures (especially royal coronations), and the like. There was also considerable daily domestic ritualism, centered on the hearth fire and the household oratory. Many ceremonies were also conducted in the fields by the cultivators.

The profession of the full-time, specialized priest, *teopixqui* ("keeper of the god"), was highly important. Practitioners were numerous and well-organized, with formal, hierarchic ranking. Much sacerdotal duty also devolved on "rotational priests" who served successive shifts for particular periods of time. Priests usually lived together, practicing sexual abstinence, in a monastic establishment *(calmecac)* in the temple compound. They were obligated to perform a rigorous daily round of offertory, sacrificial, and penitential exercises. Religious activities were focused on the temple *(teocalli)* and the sacred precinct, usually walled, within which it was situated. These precincts also contained the priestly dormitories and schools, sacred pools for purificatory bathing, skull racks, platform altars, courts for the ritual ball game, giant braziers for perpetual fires, gardens and artificial forests, arsenals, and so on. The typical *teocalli* consisted of a solid, staged substructure with a balustraded stairway on one side. At the top was the shrine containing the image—of stone, wood, or clay—of the deity to whom the temple was dedicated. The space between the door of the shrine and the head of the stairs was the usual position for the sacrificial stone.

As indicated, the calendric cycles were intimately interconnected with the ritual system. The most basic cycle, the *tonalpohualli,* a permutation cycle of twenty days and thirteen numbers (totaling 260 days), was employed largely for divinatory purposes. Each day, which possessed an inherent favorable or unfavorable augury, was patronized by deities in two series, one of thirteen ("lords of the day") and one of nine ("lords of the night"), plus the thirteen "sacred birds." The days were also grouped into various divisions; the most common arrangement consisted of twenty periods of thirteen-day "weeks," each of which was patronized, as a unit, by a deity or deity pair. These complex batteries of influences, for good or evil, were carefully taken into account by the diviners *(tonalpouhque),* particularly when "casting the horoscope" of the newborn child on the basis of the day of his or her birth.

No sharp division existed between the religious-ritual system that served the community as a whole and that was administered by the formally organized, professional priesthood and the more private system dominated by procedures usually defined as magical and practiced by "magicians" and diviners or, as anthropologists usually prefer to call them, shamans. Aztec shamanism was richly developed. Often neglected in general treatments of Aztec religion, its importance deserves special emphasis.

The most generic term for shaman was *nahualli,* also applied to his "disguise," usually a kind of animal familiar into which he could transform himself. The power of the *nahualli* could be used for beneficial or harmful ends. The malevolent practitioner employed a variety of techniques to inflict harm on his victim, including the application of sympathetic magic to destroy the victim by burning his effigy. One of the most important activities of the benevolent shaman was divination. Aside from calendric divination, mentioned above, various techniques were employed: scattering maize kernels and beans, knotting and unknotting cords, scrying by peering into a liquid or an obsidian mirror, and so on. Divining by ingesting various hallucinogens was also practiced. Divination to ascertain the cause of disease was important in curing, which usually involved magical procedures, although many genuinely efficacious empirical therapeutic techniques were also employed. Both the intrusive-harmful-object and soul-loss concepts of illness were recognized.

Various illusionistic tricks were performed on occasion, such as animating wood images, burning structures without actually damaging them, and the shaman's dismembering himself, also without inflicting real harm. Interpreting omens, auguries, and dreams was another important function of the *nanahualtin,* who were frequently consulted at times of crisis. A famous example occurred after the arrival of Cortés, when a bewildered Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin (Moctezuma II), the ruler of Mexico Tenochtitlan, turned to the diviners in desperation in an unsuccessful attempt to understand the implications of the sudden appearance of these strange newcomers on the shore of his empire.

The Spanish missionaries were generally successful in eliminating the established native priesthoods, but the individualistic practitioners of magic managed to carry on their activities with little interference. Their repertoire was actually enriched by their adoption of various congenial European magical practices. In the less-acculturated Mexican Indian communities of today, the basically indigenous shamanistic tradition still thrives.

TARASCAN RELIGION. The Tarascan-speakers, the Purepecha, centered in the modern state of Michoacán in the area around Lake Pátzcuaro, were a numerous and vigorous people who, contemporaneously with the rise of the Triple Alliance empire in central Mexico, built up a smaller but still sizable dominion in western Mexico that effectively blocked Aztec expansion in that direction. Pre-Hispanic western Mexico shared most fundamental Mesoamerican culture patterns but often expressed them in a distinctive fashion. The Tarascan religious-ritual system, which is only incompletely known, was typical in this respect. Compared to that of the Aztec, it appears to have been somewhat less elaborated, with a smaller pantheon and a simpler ceremonialism.

The most important deity seems to have been Curicaueri, the special patron of the Tarascan royal house. Curicaueri was connected with fire, the sun, and warfare, and he was symbolized by the eagle and a flint sacrificial knife. The Tarascan ruler was apparently considered to be his incarnation. Urendecuaucara, the god of the planet Venus, was also of some importance. Other significant members of the pantheon included a deity of *pulque,* a god related to the Aztec Xipe Totec, and a death god, in addition to numerous lesser deities, among them various local patrons. Two goddesses stand out: Xaratanga, an important fertility deity linked with Curicaueri, and Cuerauaperi, the old earth-mother goddess, seemingly cognate with the Aztec Teteoinnan Tlazolteotl (flaying and skin-wearing rituals were common to both cults).

The Tarascan priesthood was well organized, with a hierarchy of various specialists headed by an influential high priest. Like Aztec priests, the Tarascan priests wore badges of office and carried gourd vessels for tobacco pellets, but unlike Aztec priests they were not celibate. Shamanism was also well developed, and divination by scrying (peering into a liquid surface or a mirror) was of special importance. Tarascan temples *(yacatas),* consisting of straw-roofed shrines atop massive, partly circular, staged substructures, were sometimes large and elaborate (e.g., the five major temples at Tzintzuntzan, the imperial capital). Sacred images of both wood and stone (and often portable) represented the major deities.

The ceremonial system featured fire rituals. In each temple was a perpetual fire, and even the ruler was obligated to cut and collect wood for these sacred fires. The principal ceremonies, during which the most prominent deities were propitiated, were geared to the standard Mesoamerican annual calendar (18 x 20 + 5 = 365). The basic ritual patterns appear to have been quite similar to those of other Mesoamerican groups, featuring abundant offerings, human and animal sacrifices, and dancing.

OTOMÍ RELIGION. After the dominant Nahuatl-speakers, the Otomí constituted the most important group in central Mexico. Their center of gravity lay northwest of the Basin of Mexico, but they were also numerous, interdigitated with the Nahuatl-speakers, in the Basin itself. While Otomí were much deprecated, and considered backward rustics by Nahuatl-speakers, there actually seems to have been no sharp cultural division between the two groups. Their religious-ritual systems were quite similar, although that of the Otomí did exhibit some distinctive features. They clearly shared most of the leading deities of the pantheons of their Nahuatl-speaking neighbors.

A particularly important Otomí cult revolved around a fire-death god who bore various names—Otontecuhtli ("lord of the Otomí"), Xocotl, and Cuecuex—and who was merged with Xiuhtecuhtli Huehueteotl, the standard fire god of the Nahuatl-speakers. He was especially important in the cult of the Tepanec, who from their capital at Azcapotzalco had dominated a large area of central Mexico before the rise of the Triple Alliance. Indeed, Otontecuhtli was considered to have been the divine ancestor of the Tepanec, among whom the Otomian ethnic element was very strong. His particular annual ceremony featured various rituals surrounding the erection of a tall pine pole at the top of which was affixed a special, mortuary version of the god's image formed of amaranth seed dough. Boys scrambled up this pole on ropes, competing to be first in grabbing the image. Both the Otomí- and Nahuatl-speakers called this ceremony the Great Feast of the Dead. It was also designated Xocotlhuetzi ("Xocotl falls") by the Nahuatl-speakers, who had widely adopted it. An integral part of this ceremony was the sacrifice of a victim who was first roasted on glowing coals, then dispatched by the usual heart extraction method.

One source ascribes even greater importance among the Otomí to another deity named Yocippa. He can apparently be identified with Mixcoatl-Camaxtli of the Nahuatl-speakers, who was especially associated with the more nomadic, hunting lifestyle of the Chichimec, with whom some of the less sedentary Otomí were connected. His special annual feast probably can be equated with Quecholli, dedicated by the Aztec to Mixcoatl Camaxtli, which involved camping out in the fields and hunting and sacrificing deer and other game animals Chichimec-style. In the cult of the major Otomí center of Xaltocan in the northern Basin of Mexico, during the fourteenth century a significant imperial capital in its own right before its conquest by Azcapotzalco, a lunar goddess was preeminent. Lunar deities also appear to have been important in the northeast Otomí-speaking region.

The overall Otomí ritual system was essentially similar to that of the Nahuatl-speakers. It also featured human and animal sacrifice, autosacrifice, incensing with copal and rubber, vigils, fasts, dancing, processions, chanting, and so on. Their calendric systems, including both the 260- and 365-day cycles, were also basically the same.

HUASTEC RELIGION. The Huastec occupied the northeast corner of Mesoamerica, mainly in northern Veracruz, southern Tamaulipas, and eastern San Luis Potosí. They spoke a language of the Mayan family, although their territory was separated from that of the other Mayan-speakers by a considerable distance. The Huastec were regarded by the Aztec as possessing numerous exotic traits: head deformation, filed teeth, tattooing, exaggerated nasal septum perforation for insertion of ornaments, yellow and red hair dying, no loincloths worn by males, tendency to drunkenness and general lewdness, and a reputation as great sorcerers, especially illusionists. Nahuatl-speakers had encroached on their territory, and some of their southernmost communities had been subjected to Triple Alliance imperial control. Most, however, were still independent—and often in conflict with each other—at the time of the Conquest.

Huastec religion is not well documented, but it appears to have been as richly developed as most Mesoamerican systems. The pantheon must be largely reconstructed from Aztec sources that refer to various deities associated with the Huasteca and that were represented wearing Huastec costume and ornamentation. The clearest example is Tlazolteotl Ixcuina, a licentious earth-fertility goddess, who was regularly portrayed with costume elements and insignia of Huastec type. It has been suggested that her alternate name, *Ixcuina,* may actually be a Huastec word meaning “lady of the cotton,” a substance with which Tlazolteotl was intimately associated and that flourished in the hot, humid lowlands of the Huasteca. Flaying rituals were important in her cult, and these also seem to have been an element in the Huastec ceremonial complex (possibly also reflecting the presence of a version of Xipe Totec).

Another important deity with strong Huasteca connections, both iconographically and in tradition, was the wind and fertility deity, Ehécatl Quetzalcoatl. The numerous *pulque* deities, with the common calendric name *Ome Tochtli (2 Rabbit),* were more connected in Aztec sources with the area south of the Basin of Mexico, centered on Morelos. But in the Codex Borgia group of ritual-divinatory pictorials, which probably originated in southern Puebla, western Oaxaca, or Veracruz, these deities typically display Huastec insignia. The alcoholic tendency attributed to the Huastec would support this connection. It is further evidenced by the survival in modern Huastec communities of the ancient deity of earth and thunder, Mam, also considered to be the god of drunkenness. Another Aztec deity, Mixcoatl, usually ascribed to the Chichimec, the barbaric hunting peoples of the north, was also frequently depicted with patently Huastec features. Some version of this god, therefore, probably also figured in the Huastec pantheon.

Archaeological remains from the Huasteca, including engraved shell ornaments, stone images and reliefs, and wall paintings, evidence the presence of other deities, including a death god, whose identifications often remain obscure. Archaeological evidence also indicates that Huastec temples were often circular in form, both the staged substructures and the shrines on top of them. These have sometimes been connected with round temples dedicated to Ehécatl Quetzalcoatl, whose Huastec iconographic affiliations I have mentioned above.

The Huastec ritual system is barely known, but human sacrifice and autosacrifice are well attested both ethnohistorically and archaeologically. The modern survival of the Volador, or Flying Pole ceremony, indicates its ancient importance. There is also archaeological evidence for the existence of the 260-day divinatory cycle, while one colonial source lists a few apparent Huastec names for the eighteen twenty-day periods of the 365-day annual cycle. It seems likely, therefore, that, as elsewhere in Mesoamerica, the major Huastec ceremonies were geared to these cycles, but no further data are available.

TOTONAC RELIGION. The speakers of Totonac, a language unrelated to Nahuatl but perhaps remotely related to the Mixe-Zoquean and Mayan linguistic families centered farther to the east, occupied the lowland tropical area of central Veracruz, extending into the high mountains edging the Mesa Central to the west. At the time of the Conquest their principal community was Zempoala (Cempoallan) near the coast, the first large Mesoamerican urban center visited by the Europeans, a few days after Cortés’s landing farther south near the present city of Veracruz. Zempoala and most of the other Totonac-speaking towns had been conquered by the Triple Alliance some years earlier. Totonac culture patterns were basically Mesoamerican, reflecting strong influence from their Nahuatl-speaking neighbors and conquerors, but the Totonac also exhibited various distinctive features, some of which they shared with their northern Gulf Coast neighbors, the Huastec.

The rather thin amount of knowledge of pre-Hispanic Totonac religion derives from the incompletely known archaeology of the area and, especially, from a lost account, apparently written by the young page reportedly left at Zempoala by Cortés in August 1519 to learn Totonac. Preserved in part in three later missionary chronicles, this source describes a Totonac trinity of deities: the Sun, Chichini; his wife, the great mother-fertility goddess; and their son, who was expected to return at some future time as a kind of redeemer. The goddess might have been a version of Tlazolteotl-Ixcuina, known to have been important in the cults of the Gulf Coast groups, perhaps merged with the maize goddess. The son might be identified with the youthful male maize deity called Centeotl by the Nahuatl-speakers. Some Christian influence here seems obvious, but the basic nature of these deities might have been accurately reported with the possible exception of the redeemer aspect of the son. From archaeological evidence, principally at Zempoala, the cults of other deities are discernible, including those of Ehécatl Quetzalcoatl and Xochipilli Macuilxochitl. The latter, the Aztec young god of flowers, dancing, music, and sensuality in general, also had solar associations and overlapped with Centeotl. Undoubtedly the Totonac pantheon was much more extensive than this, but more specific information is lacking.

The early Spanish account mentioned provides some interesting information on the Totonac priesthood. A hierarchy of six major priests is described whose attire and functions were essentially similar to those of Aztec priests. Lesser religious functionaries assisted them, particularly in tending the sacred fires. The priests also instructed children between the ages of six and nine in the tenets of the religious-ritual system. The importance of two elderly penitent "monks," dedicated to the cult of the "great goddess," is stressed. Consulted regularly by the other priests as oracles, they lived in a retreat on a mountaintop, spending most of their time painting ritual books.

The same source describes various aspects of Totonac ritual, including incensing, fasting, circumcision, human sacrifice, autosacrifice involving the passing of straws through a perforation in the tongue, ritual cannibalism, confession of sins to a priest, and child sacrifice followed by the ingestion, "like the sacrament of communion," of a concoction of rubber and seeds mixed with the young victims' blood. The Totonac calendar appears to have been typically Mesoamerican. Although the key early account speaks of only three major ceremonies annually, all of which featured human sacrifice on a limited scale and ritual cannibalism, there is evidence that the usual round of eighteen principal ceremonies was celebrated at twenty-day intervals. The importance of the Volador ceremony is known from modern survivals. Archaeological evidence, especially at the site of Zempoala, demonstrates that Totonac temples were basically similar to those of the Aztec. The sacred images they contained seem to have usually been carved of wood. No specimens survive.

MIXTEC RELIGION. The speakers of Mixtec, a language remotely related to Otomí and closely allied to Zapotec, occupied an extensive region centered in western Oaxaca. Generally characterized by a very broken topography, the Mixteca featured numerous small city-states, politically autonomous but closely linked by an intricate network of dynastic marital alliances, a basically common language, and a shared religious ideology. Although it has recently been claimed by some scholars that the Mixtec religious-ritual system might have been quite different from that which prevailed in central Mexico, it appears to have been similar in most fundamental features. The influence of the adjacent Nahuatl-speakers to the north was very strong in late pre-Hispanic times, and most of the Mixtec city-states were tributary to the Triple Alliance at the time of the Conquest.

No systematic account of pre-Hispanic Mixtec religion is available, but its basic outlines can be reconstructed from a variety of sources. Among these are an unusual wealth of pictorial histories that include much material relevant to the Mixtec pantheon, ritual system, cosmogony, and cosmology. What is known of Mixtec versions of their beginnings indicates that cosmogonical concepts were intertwined with dynastic origins and ritualized community foundations throughout the four quarters of the Mixteca. A "celestial prologue" to Mixtec royal history involved the creation by a primordial demiurge male-female pair (probably corresponding to the Aztec Ometecuhtli/Omecihuatl) of a culture hero, apparently also conceived in twin form, who iconographically and functionally closely resembles Ehécatl Quetzalcoatl of the Nahuatl-speakers. Descending from the celestial realm, he presided over dynastic and community initiations and consecrations and was apparently considered to have been the divine ancestor of Mixtec royalty. Other dynastic ancestors were believed to have emerged from a cosmic tree near the northern Mixtec community of Yutatnoho/Apohuallan (Apoala).

These semidivine ancestral heroes, as in the Nahuatl-speaking world, interacted closely with various deities, and no sharp line can be drawn between gods and men at this stage. Although it has been suggested that the central Mexican concept of deity, *teotl*, does not conform to its putative Mixtec equivalent, *ñuhu,* the two concepts were probably not dissimilar. In any case, the pictorial iconography of Mixtec supernaturalism was quite close to that of central Mexico. Costume elements and insignia of personages often bear striking resemblance to those of recognized Aztec deities. Each major Mixtec community appears to have had a special patron deity or deities, and the names (mostly calendric) of many of these are known. More than in any other Mesoamerican pantheonic system, the Mixtec supernaturals were designated, both in the texts and pictorially, by their calendric names. Only in part do they agree with their central Mexican counterparts. A number of their verbal names are also known, such as *Dzahui,* name of the basic rain and fertility deity, cognate with the Aztec Tlaloc.

Mixtec ceremonialism was richly developed, particularly that revolving around "sacred bundles." Human sacrifice and autosacrifice were a regular part of propitiatory ritual. Here too the Volador ceremony was important, as was the ceremonial ball game played in formal I-shaped courts. The widespread cult of Xipe Totec, featuring flaying rituals, was well established in the Mixteca, including its attendant ceremony, the "gladiatorial sacrifice," wherein the victim perished in ceremonial combat. As elsewhere, much of the ritual was calendrically regulated. Mixtec temples were often represented in the pictorials and were very similar to those of central Mexico. The holiest shrine of all, the Mixteca—seat of a far-famed oracle—was located on a mountain top near Ñuudeco/Achiotlan in the heart of the Mixteca Alta—with a subsidiary shrine in a cave in the valley of Yodzocahi/Yanhuitlan to the north.

The Mixtec priesthood was well organized and influential. Candidates were ordinarily recruited when quite young from the ranks of the nobility and underwent a rigorous training for at least a full year as novices. All future rulers received this same sacerdotal education, also being required to serve their yearlong novitiate. Following their training, most future priests apparently returned to secular life and married until called to their term of office, during which they usually served a particular deity and were required to be strictly celibate. Maintained by the rulers and constantly consulted by them, in control of all "higher education," they exerted great power in their communities. Shamanism was also well developed. Mixtec practitioners of magic and sorcery particularly specialized in calendric divination but also employed many other techniques, sometimes aided by ingestion of hallucinogens.

ZAPOTEC RELIGION. The Zapotec-speakers occupied an area of considerable ecological diversity in the eastern portion of Oaxaca. Like the Mixtec, who were close cultural and linguistic relatives, the Zapotec were not politically unified. In the Valley of Oaxaca, Zaachila/Teozapotlan dominated a wide area, and its political offshoot, Daniguibedji/Tehuantepec controlled much of the southern Isthmus of Tehuantepec. At the time of the Conquest most of the major Zapotec communities were tributary to the Triple Alliance.

The Zapotec heritage was an ancient one. Most students believe that the great Classic period (c. 100–700 CE) civilization of Monte Albán was mainly the creation of Zapotec-speakers. By the time of the Conquest, Zapotec supernaturalism was typically Mesoamerican in its richness and complexity. As in the case of the Mixtec, it has recently been suggested that the Zapotec lacked the concept of individualized anthropomorphic deities. It seems likely, however, that Zapotec religious concepts were not that different from those of other advanced Mesoamerican cultures. A large number of Zapotec names for what the Spaniards, at least, regarded as *dioses* (Span., "gods") were recorded in various colonial textual sources. Some appear to have been appellations and general designations of godhead rather than proper names in the usual sense.

A typically Mesoamerican abstract, creative godhead was of considerable importance, known by various appellations: Coquixee, or Coquixilla ("lord of the beginning"), Piyetao ("great spirit"), and others, described in 1578 by Fray Juan de Córdova as the "god without end and without beginning, so they called him without knowing whom," and "god of whom they said that he was the creator of all things and was himself uncreated." Overlapping this deity was Pitao Cozaana (procreator) with an apparent female counterpart, Pitao Huichana (procreatrix). This Zapotec creative power was obviously cognate with a similar concept among the Nahuatl-speakers, known, among other titles and appellations, as Tloque Nahuaque ("master of the near and the adjacent"), Ipalnemoani ("he through whom one lives"), and Ometeotl ("dual deity").

The fertility theme, as usual, received special emphasis and was expressed by various supernatural personalities. Standing out was Cocijo ("lightning"), the fundamental male fertility and rain deity, cognate with the Aztec Tlaloc and the Mixtec Dzahui, along with Pitao Cozobi, a deity of maize and foodstuffs in general, cognate with the Aztec Centeotl. Pitao Xicala (Pecala), "god of desire and dreams," would also seem to fit in this category; he has been equated with the Aztec Xochipilli-Macuilxochitl.

Apparently a widely venerated deity, sometimes even stated to have been the principal Zapotec god, was Pitao Pezelao, lord of death and the underworld. This deity was especially connected with the greatest of the Zapotec oracular shrines, Liobaa/Mictlan (Mitla), which provided a ritual focal point for the Zapotec communities in and adjacent to the Valley of Oaxaca. This god was also closely connected with the veneration of royal ancestors, whose tombs were prominently featured at Liobaa. The macabre Aztec "flayed god," Xipe Totec, whose cult was virtually pan-Mesoamerican but was especially connected with the Oaxaca-Guerrero area, clearly played a role of some importance in Zapotec religion, although the local sources provide scant information. Many more names of ostensible Zapotec deities are extant, but their importance and precise functions are obscure. As was common throughout Mesoamerica, each community featured a special supernatural patron or patrons, including, at times, deified ancestors. These were sometimes important, widely venerated deities; in other cases their cults were apparently only local. As in the Mixteca, they were often designated by calendric names.

Zapotec ceremonialism seems to have displayed virtually all known major Mesoamerican ritual patterns, including human sacrifice and its attendant ritual cannibalism. Oracular sanctuaries, often in caves, were important. In addition to that at Liobaa, one famous cave was situated on an island called in colonial times Laguna de San Dionisio, east of Daniguibedji/Tehuantepec, the capital of the Isthmus Zapotec. Here the deity venerated as "the soul and heart of the kingdom" appears to have been an earth god, perhaps known as Pitao Xoo, and related to Tepeyolotl of the Nahuatl-speakers. The professional priesthood played an influential role in Zapotec society; it was headed by a high priest, *uijatao* ("great seer"), assisted by lesser functionaries: *copa pitao* ("guardians of the deities"), *ueza eche* ("sacrificers"), and *pizana* (or *vigaña*, "young or student priests"). Shamanistic diviners called *colanij* were also important, particularly in calendric divination. As elsewhere, much of Zapotec ritual was calendrically regulated, particularly the vital pancommunity fertility-promoting ceremonies geared to the annual agricultural cycle.

CONCLUDING REMARKS. This capsule survey of the religious-ritual systems of the major western Mesoamerican groups in the Postclassic period reveals that they all displayed numerous fundamental ideological and ceremonial similarities in spite of expectable regional differences in gods' names and ritual emphasis. The importance throughout western Mesoamerica of the two basic calendric mechanisms, the 260- and 365-day cycles, in ceremonial regulation and in divination, deserves special emphasis as a common ideological structure linking the various subregions. The question arises, therefore, as to whether one is dealing here with a single fundamental religious-ritual system with numerous regional variants or with various essentially independent systems that happened to share, due largely to historical contacts, most basic features. One way of addressing this question is to ask whether Aztec, Tarascan, Otomí, Huastec, Totonac, Mixtec, and Zapotec priests, if brought together (assuming an effective method of linguistic communication) to compare notes could adequately understand each others' cultic systems. The evidence appears to indicate that the similarities would have far outweighed the differences and that they might well have had no difficulty in basic comprehension. If this view is valid, the religions of these groups could be likened to an essentially common language divided into a number of mutually intelligible dialects—all of which would underscore the fundamental cultural unity of the Mesoamerican area co-tradition.

SEE ALSO Aztec Religion; Human Sacrifice, article on Aztec Rites; Toltec Religion.

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MESOAMERICAN RELIGIONS: COLONIAL CULTURES

The colonial period in Mesoamerica began with the founding of Spanish colonies in the 1520s to the 1540s and ended with the emergence of independent states during the 1820s. The Spanish Conquest and the imposition of colonial rule was often violent, disruptive, and accompanied by epidemic disease. In the long run, however, most Mesoamerican communities enjoyed local self-rule and flourished under the relative stability of the *pax colonial.* The native subjects of what the colonists called New Spain were exploited economically, but many aspects of native culture persisted under Spanish rule, influenced only gradually by contact with non-Mesoamerican cultures. However, the one dimension of Mesoamerican culture that Spaniards were implacably dedicated to destroying was its religion.

Arguably, therefore, the colonial institution that most profoundly affected indigenous life in Mesoamerica was the Catholic Church. Its impact was initiated by the earliest arrival of Spaniards in Mesoamerica; by the time Hernando Cortés and his men arrived in Tenochtitlan on November 8, 1519, for example, they had destroyed native temples, erected wooden crosses, and criticized indigenous religious practices, often against the advice of the Spanish priests in their company. Cortés's efforts were allegedly showcased during one of his first conversations with Moctezuma, the Mexica (or Aztec) emperor. According to Bernal Díaz, a Spaniard who accompanied Cortés, the Spanish conquistador sought out Moctezuma in his palace. There he promoted the worship of Christ, grieved about the Mexica worship of devils, and begged Moctezuma and his party to become Christian. Moctezuma's often-quoted reply was:

> I understand what you have said to my ambassadors about the three gods and the cross, and what you preached in the various towns through which you passed. We have given you no answer, since we have worshipped our own gods here from the beginning and know them to be good. No doubt yours are good also, but do not trouble to tell us any more about them at present. (Díaz, 1963, pp. 222–223)

Moctezuma's response speaks to the Mesoamerican tendency to incorporate new religions into their own belief system rather than replace them. This incident foreshadowed indigenous responses to subsequent, more systematic evangelization efforts in Mesoamerica. As influential as the church remained throughout the colonial period, indigenous individuals and communities played an equally significant role in the development of Mesoamerican Catholicism.

THE SPIRITUAL CONQUEST. Coming in the wake of (or preceding) military invasions, campaigns of evangelization have often been viewed as manifestations of the Conquest. The best-known example of such a view is Robert Ricard's use of a term coined by colonial-era Franciscans, "spiritual conquest," in his seminal work on Christian evangelization efforts in Mexico, *La conquête spirituelle du Mexique* (1933). Since then, spiritual conquest has come to denote the methodical proselytization of indigenous Mesoamericans led by the mendicant orders—primarily the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians, but also the secular clergy and later the Jesuits. Although Ricard argues for the success of Christianization efforts in Mexico, scholars have challenged traditional assumptions about the evangelization of Mesoamericans, specifically the notion that native peoples were "spiritually conquered," since the 1970s. This work began with the study of the Nahuas of central Mexico. In 1974, for example, Miguel León-Portilla published the first study examining Nahua reactions to evangelization. Building upon this research, in 1982 J. Jorge Klor de Alva outlined a typology of diverse and complex Nahua responses to Christianity, and in *The Slippery Earth: Nahua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (1989), the anthropologist Louise Burkhart analyzed native-language catechetical texts, arguing for a reciprocal model of evangelization, essentially a Nahuatilization of Christianity (see also Dibble, 1974). Other scholars, working with texts in Spanish and Nahuatl, have reinterpreted indigenous responses to Christianity through the lens of resistance, subversion, and dissent, particularly in examining sacramental confession (e.g., Gruzinski, 1989; Klor de Alva, 1999). Not surprisingly, the development and treatment of native agency during the "spiritual conquest" parallels the progress of scholarship regarding native agency in other areas of the Conquest and colonialism.

Although priests accompanied the conquistadors in their earliest expeditions to the mainland (most significantly the Mercedarian Fray Bartolomé de Olmedo in Cortés's party), the effective Christianization of Mesoamerica did not begin until the arrival of the Franciscans in Mexico City, which rose on the ruins of Tenochtitlan as the capital of the viceroyalty of New Spain. In 1523, Fray Pedro de Gante (Peter of Ghent), a Flemish lay Franciscan, and his two priest companions were the first to arrive in New Spain. It was the 1524 appearance of twelve Franciscans in Mexico City, however, that initiated the systematic evangelization of Mesoamerica. Led by Fray Martín de Valencia, "The Twelve" landed at Veracruz and walked the entire distance to Mexico City. One of them, Fray Toribio de Benavente, changed his surname to Motolinía when he noticed natives pointing to his tattered garments and realized it was their word for "poor person." Motolinía's response exemplifies the Franciscan preoccupation with native language and culture that characterized Franciscan activity in the early colonial period and continued to some extent to its end. For their part, the Nahuas of Tenochtitlan were impressed by the reverence with which Cortés and the other conquistadors received these men.

Mesoamericans witnessed the appearance of numerous mendicants in the early post-Conquest period. Another religious order, the Dominicans, sent a group of twelve friars to New Spain in 1526, led by Fray Tomás Ortiz. Because the Franciscans had already begun extensive evangelizing in the central plateau, the Dominican presence was confined to the valley of Mexico and the Zapotec and Mixtec lands, obliging them to base their evangelization efforts in Oaxaca. By the time a group of seven Augustinians, the third major mendicant order, reached New Spain in 1532, they found themselves relegated to the lands unoccupied by the other two orders. In these early years, the religious were among the only Spaniards living in the Mesoamerican countryside. When Spaniards eventually founded a permanent colony in Yucatan in the 1540s, it was likewise the Franciscans who led evangelization efforts and claimed the most lucrative parishes.

IBERIAN CHRISTIANITY. Understanding the Castilian Catholicism that the Spanish conquistadors and mendicants brought with them to Mesoamerica is essential to understanding the progression of the "spiritual conquest." This form of Roman Catholicism developed in the Iberian Peninsula in part due to the *Reconquista*, the eight-century-long struggle to expel the Moors, who had invaded the Visigoth kingdom in Iberia as new converts to Islam in 711. In 1492 the last Moors were driven from Granada, their remaining Iberian kingdom. Led by the expansionist central kingdom of Castile, the *Reconquista* represented a reinterpretation of the Iberian past and the promotion of the present as a Christian crusade, one that aggressively persecuted Jews and Muslims. Fresh from the unifying experience of fighting for Christian restoration in their homeland, sixteenth-century conquistadors and mendicants simply transferred their exclusionary mentality from Islamic ritual to Mesoamerican religious practices. Oftentimes they also possessed a militaristic approach to evangelization that was not adverse to the use of force for religious purposes. This attitude was reinforced by the doctrine that salvation resided in the Catholic Church alone as the true church founded by Christ. Not yet affected by the religious upheaval resulting from the secession of Martin Luther (in 1517), sixteenth-century Iberians nevertheless struggled with the presence of crypto-Jews who publicly professed Catholicism yet privately participated in Jewish rituals. It was from this crusading atmosphere that the conquistadors and mendicants arrived in Mesoamerica, intent on the complete conversion of the peoples they encountered.

Within the Franciscan order during the colonial period another form of spiritual urgency existed. Certain members of the order, often called Spiritual Franciscans (as opposed to Conventional Franciscans), embraced millenarianism, the belief in the imminent second coming of Christ, which they saw as dependant upon mass conversion of the newly discovered peoples in Mesoamerica. As John Leddy Phelan explains in *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World* (1956), Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta was the most notable colonial Franciscan advocate of this mystical interpretation of the Conquest. He based his ideology on the parable of the banquet in *Luke* 14:16–24. In addition to the host (whom Mendieta identified as Christ), the parable names three groups of people: the guests initially invited to the banquet who refuse to come; those from the streets who are invited in their stead; and those compelled to attend to fill the hall. According to Mendieta, these groups represented the Jews, the Christians, and the Gentiles in Mesoamerica respectively, with the understanding that once the last group had entered the hall (i.e., become Christian), God's plan for the world would be fulfilled and it would come to an end. The influence of this belief among the Franciscans persisted until late in the colonial period, evidenced by Fray Junipero Serra's founding of his California missions in the northern frontier of New Spain in the eighteenth century. Not all Franciscans advocated millenarianism, but for those who did, evangelizing the natives in Mesoamerica was seen as an extraordinary opportunity to become active participants in the unfolding of God's eternal plan.

ESTABLISHING CHURCHES IN MESOAMERICA. Rather than implement a completely new system of church buildings and dioceses in Mesoamerica, the friars turned existing native communities into parishes and deliberately constructed churches upon the ruins of Nahua, Mixtec, and Maya temples. Mexico City's cathedral, for example, was erected adjacent to the foundation of Tenochtitlan's central temple. In many instances, the temple's ruins provided the construction materials as well as the site for the new Christian church. In important native towns such as Cholula (central Mexico) and Izamal (Yucatan), churches were built on top of the preserved pyramidal platforms of former temples using the same stones. Not only did the mendicants raze Mesoamerican temples and rebuild Christian churches, but they also destroyed images associated with native religious practice and dismantled the native priesthood—inadvertently driving its remnants underground. Afraid of what might be contained in "pagan" religious documents, the friars confiscated and burned numerous native codices. This method ensured a rapid transition to Christianity—at least outwardly—that allowed the more pressing matter of evangelization to begin; its unintentional side effect was to stimulate complex and largely clandestine native attempts to reconcile aspects of the new religion to old beliefs and practices. These efforts were viewed as heretically recidivist by the Spanish priests who discovered them; they also believed that hieroglyphic and painted books aided such spiritual resistance.

The friars' motivation for establishing churches in this manner was both pragmatic and symbolic; they desired to extirpate any native attachment to paganism and idolatry (which were more or less the same in Mesoamerica, due to the devil's influence, according to the Jesuit Fray José de Acosta), and to eliminate any reverence for previous Mesoamerican holy sites. On a spiritual and psychological level the friars hoped to channel Mesoamerican religious loyalty towards Christianity and its manifestation by erecting new structures on traditionally sacred land. For the mendicants then, new church buildings served as powerful symbols of the spiritual superiority of Christianity and the permanence of its establishment. Not surprisingly, Mesoamericans often used their own religious language to identify these new structures; the Nahuas referred to the church as *teocalli* (sacred house) and the Mayas used the word *kuna* (god-house). They also imbued new churches with local cultural and political meaning, painting and decorating them elaborately (in Mexico) or adding impressive towers (in Yucatan and in the Mixteca) with an enthusiasm that friars interpreted as spiritual zeal, rather than as a continuation of the competitive community pride that had given rise to pyramids and other monumental pre-Conquest structures.

During the colonial period, native parishes were called *doctrinas* (doctrines) rather than *parroquias* (parishes) to emphasize indigenous status as neophytes engaged in the process of conversion. This also differentiated native religious communities from local Spanish churches. Because of the limited numbers of Spanish clergy in Mesoamerica, only the larger urban native communities had resident priests; smaller towns would receive only occasional visits from a priest living nearby, at which time he would celebrate Mass, baptize those born since his last visit, hear confessions, and preside at weddings. Certain Mesoamerican communities criticized negligent or incompetent clergy whose visits were infrequent or whose lackadaisical attitude resulted in mediocre spiritual attention. Accusations of physical abuse or sexual molestation by priests, as well as complaints that clergy charged exorbitant fees to administer the sacraments, surfaced with some regularity. Those priests who were dedicated, particularly if they were fluent in the native languages of these communities, remained in high demand throughout the colonial period. In 1567, for example, Maya parishioners petitioned the king to send them Franciscans who "speak well to us, truly and clearly preaching to us, [and] wish to learn our language here," but not secular clergy, who spoke no Maya and "really ask and ask for a great deal of money" (quoted in Restall, 1998, pp. 160–165). Native community *cabildos* (town councils) made skillful and often successful use of their access to the colonial legal system to petition for the removal of abusive, negligent, or unpopular priests.

NATIVE LANGUAGES AND CHRISTIANITY. From its earliest interactions with native Mesoamericans, the church evangelized them in their own languages, a policy that was formally accepted at the First Mexican Provincial Council in 1555. Members of the religious orders developed extensive linguistic and cultural training programs both in the New World and in Spain. Beyond the immediate goals of communicating with the natives under their care, preaching to them in the open patios of their churches, and hearing their confessions, the friars ultimately sought to understand native culture and religious practice in order to identify and eradicate it. Knowledge of local custom and language also enabled them to compose new sacred texts such as catechisms and instruction manuals for confessors that replaced the burned native codices. The mendicants developed native-language dictionaries and grammars by establishing schools where they trained male nobles and their sons to write their languages in the Roman alphabet. In the sixteenth century alone, numerous native-language dictionaries, confession manuals, grammars, catechisms, and dramas were published.

The Franciscans dominated linguistic and ethnohistorical studies in the colonial period (native complaints that priests did not speak the local language tended to be leveled against secular clergy). Some of the most important native-language work was done by the Franciscan Bernardino de Sahagún, who arrived in Mexico in 1529 and remained until his death in 1590. Sahagún devoted his life to a methodical study of native history, customs, and language, using a cadre of native assistants to produce a monumental, twelve-volume work, the *Historia universal de las cosas de Nueva España*. Usually referred to as the *Florentine Codex*, these volumes remain an invaluable resource for numerous aspects of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Nahua (especially Mexica) culture and history; their study has become a veritable subfield of scholarship, complete with a debate on whether Sahagún's project was essentially medieval (e.g., Browne, 2000) or modern (e.g., Klor de Alva et al., 1988).

The challenge of indigenous language acquisition remained more complex than simply translating Spanish texts into native languages. The translation of Christian doctrine and such concepts as the Trinity and the Eucharist required careful attention to the nuances of individual native languages. Spanish clergy often resorted to incorporating words such as *Dios* (God), *Espiritu Santo* (Holy Spirit) or *obispo* (bishop) into their sermons or sacred texts, hoping—often in vain—that by introducing a foreign word the concept would remain purely Christian. When the friars did use native words, however, the result was often ambiguous. For example, the Nahuatl word that was used to convey the Christian idea of "sin," *tlahtlacolli*, meant "destruction, error, or crime," while the word used for "devil," *tlacatecolotl*, meant "owl-person," a Mesoamerican malevolent night creature who could make people sick, sometimes fatally. Similarly, the terms Dominican friars used to convey Christian concepts in Ñudzahui, the Mixtec language, illustrate the linguistic and conceptual difficulties that priests experienced in replacing pre-Conquest religious ideas with Christian ones: "idolater" was *tay yoquidzahuico*, "person who makes feasts"; and "the devil" was *tiñomi ñaha*, "owl-person," or *ñuhu cuina*, "deity who robs or tricks." Understandably, Mixtecs accused of sins or crimes in the sixteenth century sometimes claimed that "the devils deceived me" (quoted by Terraciano, 2001, p. 304).

THE NATIVE CLERGY DEBATE. In the early post-Conquest years, from about 1521 to 1542, the majority of churchmen, both religious and secular, looked favorably upon the prospect of ordaining native clergy. Spanish priests and lay brothers generally considered natives capable of Christianization and education, as well as full cultural Hispanization. In particular, the Franciscans believed that "Indians" were raw material waiting to be formed in the Christian faith, and that God had given the Franciscan Order a unique opportunity to bring souls to Christ to counterbalance the numbers who were leaving the church to follow Luther. Given this attitude, it is not surprising that the 1532 *Junta Apostólica*, a quasi-official gathering of clergy who met to draw up guidelines for New Spain's young church, made a statement in favor of the native capacity to accept Christianity. More importantly, this *Junta* took the preliminary steps toward approving natives for priestly ordination by declaring that educated natives and mestizos could be admitted into the minor orders, a preparatory step toward the priesthood. Despite these favorable beginnings, the *Junta Apostólica* of 1544 declared that native peoples could never be fully civilized and Christianized. Furthermore, the First Mexican Provincial Council of 1555 not only forbade the ordination of natives to the sacramental priesthood, but also prohibited them from touching the sacred vessels. The official church position regarding native clergy in New Spain reflected the attitudes present throughout Mesoamerica, so that with very few exceptions—in some Jesuit missions or frontier regions—native men were not allowed to become priests (see Poole, 1989).

Among the secondary schools founded in Mesoamerica, the Franciscan College of Santiago Tlatelolco played the most significant role in the native clergy debate. Established in a Mexico City neighborhood in January 1536, the school trained the sons of Nahua nobles in reading, writing, music, Latin, rhetoric, logic, philosophy, and indigenous medicine. Given the Franciscan position in the debate, the student body, the daily educational structure, and the subjects offered, this school appears to have been intended as a seminary. Although its numbers grew in the first year, by the 1570s the project was abandoned; not one of its students received holy orders. The persistent opposition of the Dominicans, the secular clergy, and the general Spanish population to the college's goals may have contributed to its demise. Within its brief existence, however, the Franciscans' most beloved student was a Nahua named Antonio Valeriano, a brilliant Latinist who became one of Sahagún's collaborators. In sharp contrast to Valeriano was a former Tlatelolco student named don Carlos of Texcoco, a native leader accused of heresy and executed in 1539 by Fray Juan de Zumárraga, an inquisitor and the first bishop of Mexico City.

THE ROLE OF THE INQUISITION IN MAINTAINING CHRISTIANITY IN MESOAMERICA. From the 1530s to the 1560s, Inquisition-like proceedings, usually led by Spanish bishops, often resulted in the torture and execution of Mesoamericans accused of heresy or idolatry. One of the most extensive—and, eventually, infamous—of these proceedings was the campaign to extirpate idolatry in Yucatan led by the Franciscan Fray Diego de Landa in 1562, during which some four thousand Mayas were interrogated under torture (hundreds died). The much-publicized execution of don Carlos, of which most crown and church officials disapproved, instigated a debate that was settled in the wake of Landa's auto-da-fé; Spanish policy finally recognized the inappropriateness of subjecting a people in the process of learning Christianity to inquisitorial persecution as heretics. Importantly, the church defined a heretic as a baptized person who obstinately denied some aspect of Catholic doctrine, a condition that did not apply to most indigenous neophytes. Removing natives from persecution also reflected a common paternalistic attitude towards Mesoamericans that persisted among clergy throughout the colonial period. Nevertheless, in remote regions native priests continued to practice traditional rituals quite openly, although many were prosecuted. For example, a Mixtec priest named Caxaa, arrested in 1544, testified that he and two colleagues had continued to perform rites such as human sacrifice since before the Conquest.

Consequently, when the Holy Office of the Inquisition was formally established in Mexico City in 1571 to uncover and penalize crimes against Catholicism, native people were exempt from prosecution. Although Mesoamericans did not fall under Holy Office jurisdiction, the bishop-controlled *Provisorato de Indios* (also known as the *ordinario*) monitored religious adherence in native communities. The church's policy toward indigenous Christians remained in effect until the Inquisition was dissolved in the nineteenth century.

OFFICIAL INDIGENOUS PARTICIPATION IN COLONIAL CHURCH LIFE. Although native men could not enter the priesthood, and the early decades of evangelization were often accompanied by violent campaigns of extirpation, Mesoamericans exercised considerable control over their religious lives during the colonial period. Not only were churches built on pre-Conquest holy sites, but friars preserved aspects of Mesoamerican religious social and political structure. Again, this decision was motivated by practical concerns, since there were so few priests available to administer to the thousands of native parishes scattered throughout Mesoamerica.

Within each parish the mendicants appointed a hierarchy of native officials to hold positions of importance. This hierarchy was usually drawn from the community's male elite; both before and after the Conquest, elite men represented local noble families, enjoyed privileged access to political office, and were responsible for organizing activities around the temple and palace complex (pre-Conquest) or parish church (post-Conquest). They became lay catechists who were trained by the friars in the basic tenets of Christianity, instructed in the Spanish language, and expected to assist in the recitation of the daily office. When Spanish priests were not present these native officials handled most of the day-to-day affairs in their church, organized the community religious festivals, and otherwise supervised matters of faith in the parishes. With this system the mendicants found yet another method of easing the transition between Mesoamerican religious ritual and the introduction of Christianity. By reinforcing the pre-Conquest Mesoamerican inter-association of religious and political offices, friars also reinforced the status of local elite families at a time when socioeconomic differences among natives were lessened by colonial exploitation.

Each parish hierarchy consisted of several specialized positions. The *fiscal* was the most important religious official; he acted as the priest's assistant or deputy. His duties included overseeing local matters such as teaching catechism to the parish children, monitoring the village Mass attendance, and updating the parish birth, marriage, and death records. The parish records that have survived are now some of the most valuable sources of information for historians studying family structures, naming patterns, and demography. Other religious officials included the *sacristanes* (sacristans), who supervised the upkeep of the church buildings and who, with the *maestros de capilla* (chapel choirmasters), translated prayers and hymns into native languages for use during Mass.

Music was an integral part of daily church life, particularly during Mass and other services, so that the native position of *maestro de capilla*, or alternately the *maestro de coro* (choirmaster), brought considerable status. For his services the choirmaster occasionally enjoyed such privileges as tribute exemption and might receive a small salary. Often, the other native members of the parish choir (i.e., the singers and musicians) shared these benefits. Despite this honor, native salaries did not compare to the wages received by choir members in the Spanish parishes. In addition to these important religious officials, several minor religious positions existed that often varied by parish. In Nahua (and even in some non-Nahua) parishes, the Nahuatl term *teopan tlaca* (church people) labeled those responsible for such tasks as preparing bodies for burial, digging graves, cleaning the church, and decorating the altar with fresh flowers and other seasonal adornments.

Over time, the elite members of these religious hierarchies—as native representatives of the church—became a link between the local communities and the regional Spanish representatives of the church. They also interacted on the community's behalf with crown representatives of the Inquisition and *Provisorato* responsible for monitoring the purity of the faith. Influential in their communities and benefiting from their position as representatives of the crown, native elites became instrumental in shaping church doctrine and developing devotional practices according to local custom.

COFRADÍAS. Because parish hierarchy was limited to the native male nobility, the most important institution in native religious life was the *cofradía* (confraternity, religious brotherhood, or sodality). Everyone was welcome to participate in *cofradías*, including women and children. Importantly for women, they could assume informal leadership roles in a manner unavailable to them within the parish hierarchical structure, thereby gaining community status while actively participating in local religious life. Already widespread in Europe, the *cofradía* gained popularity rapidly in Mesoamerica, even as it adapted to local custom. These voluntary organizations of local residents devoted themselves to some aspect of Catholic belief, devotion, or to a particular saint. A *cofradía* dedicated to the Virgin Mary, for example, could focus on the assumption, the rosary, the immaculate conception, or any of her numerous forms. If a *cofradía* chose Christ as its patron, it might be devoted to the child Jesus, the passion of Christ, or the Eucharist. Small villages usually had only one or two confraternities; larger towns could support a dozen confraternities; and cities might have several confraternities associated with each local church.

Since each confraternity was responsible for sponsoring a public religious celebration associated with its devotion, the name of the confraternity became important in dictating the schedule of community festivals. If a *cofradía* was dedicated to the assumption of the Virgin Mary, for instance, the Virgin's image would be carried in an elaborate procession through the streets on August 15. The members of the *cofradía* might even sponsor and reenact the event by configuring a platform with pulleys to raise an actress posing as the Virgin heavenward while onlookers sang a Marian hymn. The souls in purgatory, another popular devotion among confraternities, would celebrate its feast day on November 2, All Souls' Day. In addition to the standard procession, this celebration might include a visit to the local cemetery with offerings of food and flowers or a donation to the priest to offer Masses for the souls of departed relations.

These elaborate religious celebrations were financed by the confraternity's treasury, to which each member contributed yearly dues. These funds were often invested in *cofradía* properties or other enterprises, such as cattle ranches. The treasury was also used to cover the cost of members' funerals, to sponsor Masses for the souls of the dead, and to purchase flowers, candles, costumes, and other accessories necessary for religious celebrations. Additional duties included caring for images in local churches and manufacturing priestly vestments and processional platforms to be used when religious images were carried outside the church. Along with their spiritual duties, members attended to the physical needs of other members, particularly orphans and widows. *Cofradías* were by no means exclusively native organizations, however, since each group was formally instituted and overseen by the Catholic Church. Nevertheless, at a local level they allowed communities to unite and organize their own religious festivals, and they offered a counterbalance to the spiritual leadership of the local foreign priest. As economic and political organizations, as well as social and religious ones, Mesoamerican *cofradías* were connected to all aspects of native life.

THE QUESTION OF NATIVE CONVERSION. The existence and popularity of *cofradías* implied a homogeneity within native communities that did not always exist. Although most natives were baptized within decades of Spanish rule, throughout the colonial period priests complained that Mesoamericans resorted to their prior beliefs even after appearing to accept Christianity. In 1588, for example, a Jesuit criticized his native parishioners for worshiping Christ only at the urgings of priests or judges; he disapproved of their apparently superficial veneration and doubted they believed the faith wholeheartedly. Clerical responses to the problem of native conversion ranged from a paternalistic pardoning of their actions as childlike confusion and innocent misunderstanding to fiery allegations of inherent indigenous laziness, incompetence, malicious intent, or even possession by the devil. The aspirations of the mendicants who arrived in the sixteenth century intending to convert Mesoamericans within a generation or two were never realized. In fact, localized versions of Christianity influenced by native practices continue to evolve in Mexico and Guatemala today.

The numerous similarities and possibilities for identification between native religions and Christianity complicated attempts to determine the sincerity of native conversion. For example, in addition to the successful introduction of the *cofradía*, the Christian cult of saints gained popularity throughout Mesoamerica. The patron saint of the local church became the symbolic head of the community, replacing or even merging with the area's pre-Conquest deity. Mesoamericans at times organized religious feasts for these saints, who were listed on the new Catholic calendar, on days devoted to deities in their own religious calendars. Similarly, during the colonial period the identity of Christ was often associated with one of the manifestations of the ancient sun god. Despite the outward appearance of Christianity and the efforts of the Spanish priests, pre-Conquest beliefs remained in wide circulation.

Even if Mesoamericans wanted to accept the Christian belief system, misunderstanding or reinterpreting Catholic concepts in terms of their own cultural and ideological principles was inevitable. Significantly, many fundamental Christian principles had no Mesoamerican equivalent—concepts such as heaven, hell, and the devil. With respect to the latter, for example, Fernando Cervantes has shown that the pre-Conquest Mesoamerican belief that notions of the demonic and the divine were "inextricably intertwined" contributed to early colonial diabolism (Cervantes, 1994, p. 40). When priests confronted Mesoamericans caught in apparent anti-Christian activities, the native defense was often to claim deception by the devil; in the 1530s, for example, Andrés Mixcoatl made such a claim when arrested for casting spells and claiming to be a god, as did Tacaetl for making rain sacrifices to the devil, and Culoa Tlaspicue, who claimed to be a prophet responsible for "the care of the devils" (Cervantes, 1994, p. 46). These men were not simply resisting Christianity, but attempting to reconcile the new religion with old practices and beliefs—to preserve sacrifice, which was so important to Mesoamerican religions but which the friars insisted was the work of the devil.

Thus the cultural divide that existed between Spanish priests and their native parishioners prevented either side from engaging in dialogue on an equal plane. For the priests, conversion was an act of exclusionism, but for Mesoamericans, accepting Christianity did not signify a rejection of prior beliefs, since incorporating the gods of their conquerors into their own systems of belief was an orthodox religious practice. For this reason, even as Catholicism outwardly replaced indigenous religion, ancient practices often combined with Christian forms to develop into highly individualized local traditions. The paucity of priests in Mesoamerica throughout the colonial period contributed to the inconsistent native response to Christianity, so that the Christianization process in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was often a confused and reactive one; natives in rural communities responded in unorthodox ways to inadequately explained and alien concepts, then absentee priests responded in turn when these unorthodoxies created local tensions.

The religious syncretism that often emerged from native responses to evangelization had larger cultural implications. Priests sought to regulate not just belief and ritual, but also family life, gender relations, and sexual identity; in these areas too, native ideas and practices persisted while being gradually influenced and altered by Catholic culture. Scholars examining native conversion continue to uncover indications of personal decisions and forms of devotion by colonial Mesoamericans. These are illustrated by the explanation made to the Dominican fray Diego Durán by an "idolatrous" Nahua that natives were "still *nepantla* . . . which means, to be in the middle" (quoted in Burkhart, 1989, p. 188; Cervantes, 1994, p. 57). Scholars have interpreted *nepantlism* variously as a form of syncretism, as representing a middle ground between faiths, as reflecting the lack of a middle ground between mutually exclusive alternatives, or as a panacea for myriad personal accommodations. Personal responses are also revealed in baptism patterns (which cannot solely be explained by priestly activity, since natives often requested the sacrament for religious, social, or political reasons), in the religious formulas that open the testaments dictated and recorded in Mesoamerican languages (formulas based on Spanish models but exhibiting local and even individual variations that hint at personal piety), and in the keeping and bequeathing of saint images.

Indeed, the prevalence of personal syncretic devotions remains most evident within the private rather than the public sphere. At the household level, a family altar became the center of religious devotions. Called *santocalli* (saint's house) in Nahuatl, Christian images such as saints, rosaries, and crucifixes were displayed alongside figurines associated with indigenous deities without concern for religious inconsistency. Families gathered before these altars to recite Christian prayers in their native languages, to make offerings of flowers or food, and to clean and sweep around it. These altars even became the focus of native wills that specified the types of offerings and reverence the inheritor was to perform.

THE PERSISTENCE OF FOLK RELIGIOUS CULTURES. Mesoamerican altars were only one aspect of native folk religion that developed in the colonial period and that continues to this day. Indigenous curers, midwives, and conjurers maintained their practices after the introduction of Christianity, often with the inclusion of Catholic prayers, rituals, or objects. Kevin Terraciano's observation that "conventional European distinctions between priests and sorcerers, religion and magic, did not apply in the Mixteca" was true to some extent throughout Mesoamerica (Terraciano, 2001, p. 271). The confusion created by Christianization further blurred the line between native medicinal practices and the persistence of Mesoamerican religion at the folk level—as well as that between medicinal practitioners or healers and the underground post-Conquest native priesthood. The abovementioned Andrés Mixcoatl, for example, confessed to the Inquisition that he had preached that "the [Franciscan] brothers' sermons were good for nothing, that I was a god, that the Indians should sacrifice to me." (quoted in Gruzinski, 1989, p. 36), but he also behaved much like the shamans who could be found in many regions of Mesoamerica throughout the colonial period and beyond—practicing divination with grains of corn (a Maya *h-men* might have used cacao beans), healing the sick, and using hallucinogens such as mushrooms.

Mixcoatl was but one of hundreds of non-Spaniards investigated by Inquisition or *Provisorato* priests for crossing over, in speech and deed, the religious lines drawn by the church in New Spain in its Sisyphean efforts to forge Catholic orthodoxy. The patterns contained in these cases are still being studied by scholars, but the following simplification may be made: in the sixteenth century, Spanish priests were more likely to associate native shamanism with idolatry; in the seventeenth century they were more likely to condemn shamanism as witchcraft or as superstition. This gradual shift reflected the ongoing syncretism of Mesoamerican religion and Christianity with unorthodox native practices less readily identified by Spaniards as idolatrous; it also reflected the impact of African folk religious and healing practices as the quarter of a million black slaves imported into New Spain before 1650 and their Afro-Mexican descendents began to mix culturally and biologically with Mesoamericans.

THE TZELTAL REVOLT. Although most Mesoamericans accepted Christianity at least outwardly, the colonial period witnessed numerous resistance movements among native peoples. Many forms of dissent remained personal, such as refusal to accept baptism, persistence in polygamous relationships even after promising Spanish clergy to become monogamous, or refusal to attend religious services. Yet even when resistance became communal, Mesoamericans usually sought to form their own Christian cults that incorporated native beliefs rather than completely reject Catholicism. Localized native resistance may be read as an assertion of the right to govern local religious development rather than rely on a foreign (i.e., nonlocal) clergy. Rebellions typically began as a reaction against negligent or abusive priests, and generally centered on an individual who appropriated the identity of the Virgin Mary, Christ, or another saint.

One of the most well-known religious rebellions took place in Chiapas in 1712 among the Tzeltal Maya. Often called the Tzeltal Revolt, this event remains unusual, for although small local riots and revolts were commonplace, large regional revolts such as this, amounting to a localized revolution in ideological terms, were not. The revolt began when the Virgin Mary appeared to a thirteen-year-old Tzeltal Maya girl named María López (later known as María de la Candelaría) as she walked along the outskirts of Cancuc. María's father, Augustín López, a sacristan in his community's parish, was instrumental in advertising the miracle and gaining local support to build a small chapel on the site at the Virgin's request. Fray Simón de Lara, the Dominican priest assigned to Cancuc, investigated the event, denounced it as instigated by the devil, and flogged María and Augustín. He did, however, allow the chapel to remain.

Events escalated quickly; later that month several citizens from Cancuc were imprisoned after they traveled to Chiapas to ask the bishop's permission to maintain the chapel. Religious authorities also imprisoned Cancuc's civic leaders, but their prompt escape only served to strengthen the cult. Its members removed the Christian images from their local church, placed them in their own chapel, and proceeded to participate in a ceremony imitating Mass during which native priests were ceremoniously ordained. A letter signed by "the Most Holy Virgin Mary of the Cross" circulated among the townspeople encouraging them to revolt against Spanish rule since there was neither God nor king.

The people of Cancuc were joined in the Tzeltal Revolt by twenty neighboring native villages. These rebels not only raided Spanish towns, killing clergy and militiamen and forcing women to marry Maya men, but they also attacked indigenous towns that remained loyal to the colonial regime. Their movement was eventually repressed by a Spanish and native army and its leaders flogged or executed; Cancuc was razed and its residents forcibly resettled. By February 1713, nine months after the apparition outside Cancuc, the last of the rebel leaders abandoned the cause, and the Spaniards initiated strict laws regarding apparition stories or claims of miraculous occurrences.

THE VIRGIN OF GUADALUPE. Significantly, the two most successful religious devotions to emerge from the colonial period in Mesoamerica, the cults of the Virgin of Remedies (La Virgen de los Remedios) and the Virgin of Guadalupe, were not born in revolt. Both have been, at various times, highly controversial, but nonviolent debate seems to have encouraged rather than diminished the popularity of, and a widespread devotion to, these Virgins—especially Guadalupe—that has persisted to this day.

The Virgin of Remedies has enjoyed several phases of devotion in central Mexico. She first appeared during the Conquest, allegedly assisting the Spaniards against the Mexica during the war of 1519 to 1521. Twenty years later she appeared to a Nahua nobleman, Juan de Tovar, who maintained a shrine to her, at first in his home but later among the ruins of a pre-Conquest temple on Tetoltepec hill. Then, in the 1570s, the Mexico City council appropriated this cult, founded a new church and *cofradía* for her, and made her the patron saint of the city. Over the following half-century, despite competing stories relating to the appearance of the Virgin and numerous lawsuits over the shrine, the image of a benevolent Mary associated with local Nahua followers gradually replaced the earlier Conquest-related Virgin of Remedies. In other words, "the symbolism of Remedies was altered to correspond to changing colonial reality" (Curcio-Nagy, 1996, p. 374). By 1700, the statue of the Virgin had been carried into Mexico City nineteen times; she made the journey another thirty-two times between then and 1810, while a second image of her, known as the *Peregrina*, made regular visits to native communities in and around Mexico City, many of which also claimed her as their patroness. The Virgin of Remedies was eventually replaced, at both an official and popular level, by Guadalupe, but her festival—featuring native dance performances—still takes place on top of Tetoltepec hill.

From its earliest days in the sixteenth century, when a small shrine to the Virgin of Guadalupe was dedicated at Tepeyacac hill outside Mexico City, the devotion to Guadalupe divided the Spanish clergy, disrupted communities who embraced it, became the topic of passionate sermons and polemical colonial writings, as well as the subject of hundreds of colonial paintings. The reason for the Guadalupe debate was and continues to be the lack of contemporary historical evidence to support the tradition's origins. In fact, the first extant source that references the Guadalupe story is *Imagen de la Virgen Maria, Madre de Dios de Guadalupe* (Image of the Virgin Mary, Mother of God of Guadalupe), a Spanish account written in 1648 by a Spanish Mexican priest named Miguel Sánchez. The following year, a priest named Luis Laso de la Vega published a similar account in Nahuatl, known as *Huei tlamahuiçoltica* (and whose full title translates as "By a great miracle the heavenly queen, Saint Mary, our precious mother of Guadalupe, appeared here near the great Altepetl of Mexico in a place called Tepeyacac"), which was destined to replace Sánchez's version as the standard apparition account.

According to Catholic tradition, popular Mexican belief, and these accounts, the Virgin Mary appeared to a widowed 57-year-old Nahua peasant and recent convert named Juan Diego as he walked to Tlatelolco for Saturday morning Mass. After departing from his village of Cuauhtitlan on December 9, 1531, Juan Diego suddenly heard the singing of many birds as he passed Tepeyacac hill near Mexico City. The singing ceased as suddenly as it began, replaced by a vision of a beautiful brown-skinned lady standing amidst the rocks and shrubs. Summoning him tenderly, she identified herself as the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and requested that he approach the bishop so that he might build a chapel at that site to signify her love for Mexico's indigenous people. After several meetings with Fray Juan de Zumárraga, the first bishop of Mexico City, and subsequent meetings with the Virgin, to whom Juan Diego reported his failure, the bishop asked him for a sign from the lady to prove that she was indeed the Mother of God.

On December 12 the Virgin asked Juan Diego to walk to the top of Tepeyacac hill and gather the roses he would find growing there, which she arranged in his cloak (*tilmatli*, now known as *tilma*) with her own hands. When Juan Diego unfolded his *tilma* before the bishop, the roses fell to the ground to reveal a miraculous imprint of the Virgin. Fray Zumárraga fell to his knees, realized his error in not believing the humble Nahua, and took the image to his private chapel until construction of the Virgin's chapel was completed on December 26, 1531.

The story of Guadalupe remains one of the most treasured accounts in Mexican popular culture from the colonial period, inspiring writers over the centuries to debate the case for it as truth or legend. Stafford Poole's *Our Lady of Guadalupe: The Origins and Sources of a Mexican National Symbol, 1531–1797* (1995) points out several internal inconsistencies within the Nahuatl document in de la Vega's *Huei tlamahuiçoltica*. For example, he notes that although the text refers to the Franciscan presence in Tlatelolco, sources indicate that these friars had not yet established missions there by 1531, but had, in fact, resided in Juan Diego's hometown of Cuauhtitlan as early as 1525. In addition, native commoners in 1531 did not usually take double Christian names. Most important is the name of the devotion itself, taken from the Spanish Virgin of Extremadura, but whose pronunciation would have been difficult for Nahuatl speakers, since there is no *d* or *g* in their language. Poole also challenges scholarship that accepts Tepeyacac hill as the site of pre-Conquest Nahua worship of the mother goddess, Tonantzin, pointing out that native sources never mention this. He notes that Fray Bernardino de Sahagún first made this identification and remains the principal source of this error perpetuated by subsequent chroniclers. All of these complications lead Poole to conclude that the chapel at Tepeyacac hill dedicated to the Virgin of Guadalupe predated the apparition account. Many historians agree with this conclusion, including Nahuatl scholars Lisa Sousa and James Lockhart, who together with Poole published a new English translation and transcription of the *Huei tlamahuiçoltica* in 1998. Nevertheless, considerable scholarship exists to support the historicity of Juan Diego and his sixteenth-century vision, especially in Mexico, beginning with priest and professor Luis Becerra Tanco's two books of 1666 and 1675 in defense of the tradition, and the polymath Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora's devotion to Guadalupe later that century. By the late nineteenth century, when Joaquín García Icazbalceta concluded that the tradition was not historically credible, he was "savagely attacked" by a large body of apparitionists (Brading, 2001, p. 10). The Jesuit church historian Mariano Cuevas also defended the cult in the 1920s, as did priest and honorary basilica canon Lauro López Beltrán, with great passion, from the 1940s to 1980s. The position adopted by the influential Angel María Garibay (a Nahuatl scholar and basilica canon) in the 1950s was ambiguously neutral on the issue of historicity, prompting criticism from Edmundo O'Gorman, who argued in the 1980s that Antonio Valeriano was the original author of the Nahuatl account (the official position today of the Mexican Catholic Church). Even so, O'Gorman did not believe that this supported the historicity of the apparition story. Since Poole published his 1995 book, there has been no shortage of Mexican scholars, José Luis Guerrero prominent among them, to respond to him and his colleagues.

Despite the persistent controversy over the historicity of the apparition, the Catholic Church approved the Guadalupe tradition in official declarations beginning in the eighteenth century. In 1723, Our Lady of Guadalupe was proclaimed the "Patroness of Mexico City" and in 1737 she was named the "Patroness of New Spain" from California to El Salvador. Pope Benedict XIV approved these declarations for universal devotion by proclaiming Guadalupe the "Patroness of Mexico" in 1754. Official recognition gained further momentum in the late twentieth century. Pope John Paul II beatified Juan Diego on May 6, 1990, at the Basilica of Our Lady of Guadalupe, declaring December 9 as his feast day. On July 31, 2002, he canonized Juan Diego before a crowd of millions at the Basilica, making him the first indigenous American saint of the Catholic Church.

Because the worlds of academic discourse and personal faith do not often intersect, the debate over Guadalupe will remain controversial both within its colonial context and in its modern form. Considered alternately as being of indigenous origin, an invention of the sixteenth-century Spanish clergy to argue for their successful evangelization efforts, a seventeenth-century development to promote unity among clergy born in the New World, or as an authentic apparition story, the Virgin of Guadalupe has become the national symbol of Mexico and an important aspect of Latin American life today. Despite the roles of the colonial Spanish clergy and of modern Mexican politics in the development and perpetuation of the Guadalupe cult, the Virgin also represents the importance of the native influence on the evolution of Mesoamerican Catholicism. Christianity was not just imposed on Mesoamerica; it was in numerous ways appropriated by indigenous peoples and made Mesoamerican—that is, made meaningful in local, native terms.

SEE ALSO Afterlife, article on Mesoamerican Concepts; Colonialism and Postcolonialism; Temple, article on Mesoamerican Temples.

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MESOAMERICAN RELIGIONS: CONTEMPORARY CULTURES

Since long before the arrival of the first Europeans to Mesoamerica, the area's indigenous inhabitants have understood their world and indeed the cosmos to be an inherently unstable place whose continuity has demanded periodic human intervention in the form of religious rituals. It is ironic that a tendency for the world to slip into chaos has provided a primary organizing force, one which links the Mesoamerican with his or her individual community, its leaders, and ultimately with the cosmos beyond. This ritually forged cultural nexus has been pivotal in the cultural survival that has characterized the post-Conquest history of many regional towns. A widespread belief that a given town's leaders are uniquely capable of performing the rituals needed to maintain cosmic order has functioned in a centripetal manner to strengthen the community at its political center. This in turn might buttress the capacity of a town to negotiate with outside religious, political, and economic interests.

These dynamics help explain a common characteristic of post-Conquest Mesoamerican religion: its distinctly local orientation. In various places, such as Zincantan, Mexico, and Momostenango, Guatemala, the town has been understood by its inhabitants to be the literal center of the cosmos. Whereas this sense of sacred center manifest on a local level has identifiably pre-Conquest origins, with the arrival of Europeans it came to include key elements of Catholicism, such as the saints, Jesus, and the Virgin Mary. In marked contrast to this syncretistic blending of indigenous and European religious expressions are other Mesoamerican locales that have been fully integrated into the European cultural sphere. The capacity of a given town or region to avoid this type of integration—and similarly to maintain its customary local orientation—has often been a function of geographic or economic isolation.

In the early twenty-first century the dynamics of globalization are fully engaged in undermining that isolation. Diverse global forces, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), loss of land to agribusiness, massive internationally based missionization, and cable television mean that in the struggle between tradition and change, the defining currents are steeply slanted toward change. The capacity of local communities to maintain any sort of viable autonomy is being overwhelmed. As a result modern Mesoamerica has witnessed changes in the religious landscape not seen since the Conquest nearly five hundred years ago. As the traditional religious-based political hierarchies have lost their capacity to successfully negotiate with outside interests, the local citizenry has turned away from both those hierarchies and traditional religious beliefs as well. In some cases secular national political parties have replaced the customary indigenous hierarchies. In other cases new religious-based political movements have ascended to power. Notable in this regard has been the politics of Guatemalan Efraín Ríos Montt. Founding his politics on an overt platform of evangelical Protestantism, Ríos Montt reigned over an exceedingly violent military junta in the early 1980s. He remains perhaps the most influential politician in the country in the early twenty-first century.

Despite the success of recently introduced religions in contemporary Mesoamerica, especially Protestantism, aspects of the older religious forms are still evident. In fact the religious landscape of Mesoamerica is highly diverse. The range of religious identifications and behaviors exceeds just indigenous expressions with deep historical roots and recently introduced religions with unmistakable foreign characteristics but also includes such expressions as revitalization movements representing a backlash against outside intrusions.

CUSTOMARY RELIGIOUS EXPRESSIONS. Before the arrival of the first Europeans to Mesoamerica, the region's indigenous inhabitants conceived of the cosmos as square. At its center was an axis mundi, typically in the form of a mountain, a tree, or a maize plant. There was a general consensus that the cosmos was layered and populated by multiple deities. Whereas the specifics of the configuration varied regionally, the subterranean realm(s) included an association with death and similarly with ancestors and the past. Although this realm seems to have evoked frightful emotions—to the K'iche' it was even called Fright Road—it was also understood by many of the region's inhabitants to be a source for the regeneration of the living present. Whether pertaining to humans, plants, or the vital life-nurturing rain, life was thought to come from death. Another widespread characteristic was a belief that religious ritual, typically performed by specialists, was needed to insure the recycling of death into life and ultimately back into death. These beliefs contributed to a ritual focus that was circular and repetitive in nature and all the while aimed backward to the ancestral past. This death to life cycle was sometimes expressed using vegetation metaphors, underscoring the centrality of agriculture in daily life.

In 1519 Hernan Cortés and the first large contingent of Spaniards arrived in Mesoamerica. While primarily motivated by the desire for wealth, these conquistadores also sought to convert the region's indigenous population to Catholicism. Although within a few decades newly built churches—often constructed on the sites of pre-Conquest temples—were to be encountered in all but the most isolated areas of Mesoamerica, the Europeans soon discovered that the "spiritual conquest" of the region was far more difficult than its military subjugation. A general dearth of Spaniards and a preference for the company of their own countrymen, compounded by their attraction to areas rich in readily exploitable economic resources, insured a high degree of indigenous self-administration, particularly in peripheral rural areas. In his book *Catholic Colonialism*, Adriaan van Oss observes that "by approaching the conversion of Indian communities through their traditional leaders, missionaries insured that the persons who played an active role in the establishment of the new cult, for example as sacristans, acolytes, catechists, etc., would in many cases be exactly the same individuals who before the conversion had occupied comparable positions in the spiritual life of the community, with obvious implications for the kind of Christian observance which took root" (van Oss, 1986, p. 21). The effects of that situation are evident in the religious lives of many Mesoamericans even in the twenty-first century.

COSTUMBRE. Central to the "Christianity" that took root in post-Conquest Mesoamerica is a shadowy construct known simply as *costumbre. Costumbre*, which can be defined as "old inherited ways of knowing and doing," is often employed in verb form, as in to "do *costumbre.*" For most of the past five hundred years life in many Mesoamerica communities has been molded by it. To be a member of the community was to be a Costumbrista, a practitioner of *costumbre. Costumbre* can be performed in myriad forms, from praying to the gods to planting maize. This vastly important component of post-Conquest culture tends to be shrouded in secrecy. In *Corn Is Our Blood* the anthropologist Alan Sandstrom observes that the Nahua of Amatlán, Mexico, passively avoid revealing anything about *costumbre* to outsiders by simply never revealing where or when a ritual is held. He writes that "so effective is their method of concealment that I had spent almost five months in Amatlán before I was aware that there was any ritual activity in the village. I was beginning to wonder whether perhaps I had discovered the first human group without rituals or religion" (Sandstrom, 1991, p. 231). The stealth aspect of *costumbre* hints of a certain anti-Spanish underpinning to the construct.

THE FIESTA SYSTEM. A primary venue for the performance of *costumbre*, and certainly a key element in the understanding of the evolution of post-Conquest indigenous society, has been the fiesta system. Variously referred to in the literature as the "cargo system," "*cofradía* system," and "*mayordomía* system," the fiesta system is the institutionalized celebration of regularly occurring fiestas. Whereas there is strong evidence for pre-Hispanic antecedents, in its strict sense the fiesta system is Catholic. Most of the fiestas are celebrated in accordance with Catholic saints' days. In its modern form the fiesta system typically includes some form of "cargoes," non-paying periodically rotated positions. This usage of the term *cargo* comes from Spanish and means position, duty, and responsibility. Attached to the cargo positions is a characteristic hierarchical structure. At some point the religious hierarchies in many Mesoamerican communities assumed political leadership duties as well. The resulting "civil-religious hierarchies" eventually shaped the subsequent cultural development of the communities over which they presided. The cultural forms, which emerged often, resembled pre-Hispanic forms, hence undermining the desires of the church and state alike.

One defining aspect of the emergent culture that echoes the pre-Hispanic era is the fiesta system's ritual focus on the ancestral past. In many locales, such as Tlayacapan, a town in Morelos, Mexico, the connection with the past is vestigial and faint. The focus on the ancestral past is more evident in the Day of the Dead ceremonies celebrated in many Mesoamerican communities, though in some regions, such as in the Purepecha area of Michoacán, Mexico, it is performed in a heavily Catholic infused milieu. In other cases the pre-Hispanic connection is far stronger. For instance, in the Tz'utujil town of Santiago Atitlán, Guatemala, the fiesta system (*cofradía* system) is directly associated with the ancestral World Tree, the axis mundi thought to exist at the center of a four-cornered world. For Costumbristas in that town, the ancestors are said to lie at the root of the Tree, and the people of the town are its leaves and flowers. The leader of the system is believed to be the trunk (he is literally called Trunk), and his ritual input is thought to be vital for the world's orderly functioning.

Although this type of belief can be traced to the pre-Conquest past, it would be incorrect to conclude that it represents some pristine form of ancient culture. Instead, even when having significant links to the past, the indigenous cultural expressions of post-Conquest Mesoamerica have been "reconstituted" in entirely new ethnic and class contexts. Clearly when the Spanish arrived and began their attempts to subdue and to control the indigenous inhabitants—to conquer them—that population's embrace of the ancestral past took on significant new political implications. While in the words of one scholar the foreigners sought to "put an end to everything indigenous, especially in the realm of ideas, even so far as to leave no sign of them," many Mesoamericans simply refused to cooperate (K. Garibay in Anderson, 1960, p. 33). By aiding and abetting the refusal of their own spiritual conquest, the embrace of the ancestral past assumed subversive ethnic dimensions that had not previously existed.

***COFRADÍA* BARTER AND BARRIER.** The Catholic fiesta system was introduced into Mesoamerica within a decade of the Conquest with the importation of the first *cofradías*. *Cofradías* had long existed in Spain and Portugal as voluntary lay organizations whose primary purposes were the veneration of a particular saint and providing funerals and taking care of members' widows. The initial Mesoamerican *cofradía* prototype matched closely its European counterpart, including the provision of social services. However, the Spaniards' reasons for the institution's introduction had little to do with such altruism. Rather, it was intended that *cofradías* (1) provide for the collection of revenues and (2) further the indigenous population's integration into the church. Catholic priests, who were often poor, itinerant, and living in distant towns, came to be reliant on the funds paid by *cofradías* for the saying of mass on saints' days. Because they had neither direct control over the *cofradía* funds nor over the amount of the stipend, it is of little surprise that they were forced to concede to certain indigenous demands. Bluntly, in various parts of Mesoamerica the local population utilized *cofradía* revenues to buy off otherwise intrusive outsiders, particularly priests, and in that way to subsidize a degree of cultural autonomy. Although outsiders did manage to successfully exploit *cofradías* for personal economic gain, that success came at a significant cultural and theological price.

This "barter" aspect has allowed many communities to subvert the second Spanish motivation for the introduction of *cofradías*: the facilitation of the local population's integration into the church. Evading the scrutiny of their pious overlords living in distant towns, many communities have used the *cofradía* system to transfer aspects of pre-Conquest religious ritual, refabricating the institution in the process. Given that the *cofradía* system was ostensibly Catholic, as long as what the church looked upon as patently "idolatrous gear" was kept from sight, the system was on the whole at least minimally acceptable. (This is certainly not to say that "idolatry" disappeared. To the contrary: in some locales it has flourished, and in important ways the *cofradía* system has provided the platform for that survival.) Whereas enough of the accoutrements of Catholicism are generally present in the *cofradías* to deflect direct intervention, at the same time the system can constitute a "barrier," the occult side of which offers a venue for the celebrations of characteristically indigenous religious expressions.

THE SAINTS. A particularly salient component of post-Conquest Mesoamerican religious expression is the cult of the Catholic saints. Whereas the role of the saints in the religious life of the region's inhabitants has changed considerably over time, in many cases they continue to resonate with what Nancy Farriss in *Maya Society under Colonial Rule* identifies as the "chameleon nature" of the pre-Hispanic gods. Writing about the Yucatecan Maya, she observes that the saints lining the walls and altars of the *cofradías* and parishes in many cases merely came to represent aspects of far more inclusive local deities. According to Farriss, "the addition of one more guise to the multiple permutations each deity already possessed would hardly have fazed the Maya theologians" (Farriss, 1984, p. 313). In some cases in the early twenty-first century the relation of pre-Hispanic deities with Catholic saints is only vaguely discernible. For instance, in Tlayacapan, Mexico, there is a faint relation of the central Mexican rain deity Tlaloc with John the Baptist. In other cases the conflation of ancient gods with Catholic saints is evident. In Santiago Atitlán, Saint Peter (called don Pedro) has a strong association with the ancient Mayan god Mam. In the town the "saint" is typically called Mam. Moreover both Mam and Saint Peter have associations with the *uayeb*, the five "delicate" days of the Mayan solar calendar.

Evident in these examples is the difference of interpretation in the significance of the saints encountered from community to community. This variation is further underscored in local understandings of the saints' origins. In many communities the saints are believed to have come from foreign lands, though they may now be thought to inhabit nearby mountains. Other accounts of the origins of the saints may be more ambivalent, with some interpretations citing a local indigenous pedigree and others (at times coming from the same informant) describing a foreign origin. The regional variation in the significance of the saints is also evident in the specific roles and importance attached to them. For instance, in one town (Santiago Atitlán) Saint John might be associated with wild animals, whereas in another town (Amatlán) he might be linked to water.

Mesoamerican saints commonly behave in humanlike fashion, which is to say that they do not always display "saintly" behavior. Karl Wipf observes that the saints "may lie, lose their composure, take revenge, have love affairs, and so on" (Wipf, 1987, p. 430).

JUDAS. A tendency for Mesoamericans to interpret the "saints" in ways that differ from orthodox Catholicism is evident in understandings of Judas, again underscoring the church's limited success in regulating the ideological and social contexts of Mesoamerican religious expression. Although in many communities Judas is reviled—just as he is in most of Christianity—in other communities he is venerated as a saint. These wide differences in interpretation notwithstanding, in various instances interpretations of Judas find common ground in their reflections of indigenous Mesoamericans' conflicts with the competing dominant national ethnic sector. In a classic study of Mayan passion plays, June Nash writes that in the Chiapas town of Amatenango del Valle, Judas is associated with the devil and the leader of the Jews. She adds that this disdained entity also prevents corn—the indigenous staff of life—from growing. Particularly significant is that in Amatenango "the Indians, with all the subtlety and intensity of the dominated, have transmogrified the despised villain of the anti-Semitic Christian passion into an icon of their own oppressor, the Christian Ladino" (Nash, 1968, p. 323). The fact is that in Amatenango Judas is unequivocally equated with Ladinos (non-Indians).

Starkly contrasting with Amatenango, in Santiago Atitlán, Guatemala, the local Judas figure is revered. Exemplifying the diversity of Mesoamerican Judas figures, in Atitlán Judas does not represent Ladinos but instead is said to have been created by local rain gods (*nawals*) and is typically considered to be Mayan. Moreover the deity embodies various definitively ancient Mayan aspects, including calendric associations. Connections with the ancient Mayas notwithstanding, the deity clearly embodies an anti-Catholic dimension. By elevating the enemy of orthodox Catholicism to a deified status, the local Mayas reaffirm their separation from the dominant ethnic sector. These ethnic underpinnings of the Judas figure indicate that the local adoption and subsequent reworking of foreign cultural elements has been integral in mediating the external hegemonic threat, of which the adopted elements originally were a part.

MAXIMÓN. Judas veneration in Guatemala is generally linked to the worship of a rum-chugging, cigar-puffing deity commonly called Maximón. In fact Judas is but one facet of Maximón, a complex deity who is worshipped in various cult centers around the country. The most important centers are located in Zunil, San Andrés Itzapa, and Santiago Atitlán. The god is addressed by a multitude of names, including San Judas, San Simón, don Pedro, Lord Skunk, and Lord Tobacco. Unlike virtually all other aspects of traditional indigenous religion in Guatemala, the Maximón cult may actually be growing. There is no central organization to the cult, explaining in part why the appearance and significance of the deity varies from town to town.

In customary usage the name Maximón is specific to the cult as it exists in the Tz'utujil town Santiago Atitlán. Only in the late twentieth century was the name adopted elsewhere. (Previously the other shrines generally employed the name San Simón.) Indicative of the deity's complexity, the name Maximón has multiple meanings. It is a conflation of Mam, an ancient Mayan god and one of Maximón's primary names, with the biblical Simon. Additionally in Tz'utujil the name means Mr. Knotted, this in reference to the deity's manner of construction. While the exact nature of Maximón's construction is a secret, it is widely known that the figure is made of tied tz'ajtel wood sticks. Its mask is carved from the same wood, accounting for another of its names, Lord Tz'ajtel. The god, who stands about four feet tall, wears two Stetson hats, one atop the other, and is draped in scarves, hence the name Lord Scarves. Varying from the other centers, where the deity is depicted as a seated Ladino (non-Mayan) wearing European-style clothing and dark glasses, in Atitlán it stands, wears the local style of handwoven dress, is Mayan, and never wears dark glasses.

Devotees in Atitlán recognize Maximón as the Lord of Looking Good. This is related to the deity's fancy garb but also pertains to sexual aspects. According to some scholars, this dimension may have its roots in an antecedent deity: the cigar smoking, lecherous ancient Mayan god L. Sexuality certainly underscores Maximón's creation. According to myth, Maximón was created in the primordial past by rain deities—*nawals*—to watch over their unfaithful wives. Contrary to plan, Maximón displayed unbridled hypersexuality, forcing the *nawals* to break the deity's neck to curb its behavior and power. Maximón nonetheless retained a capacity to transform into unworldly beautiful women or men. However, should one succumb to Maximón's sexual temptations, the price is insanity and death.

The ambivalent gender of Maximón reflects one of the god's more esoteric dimensions. Mayan cosmology has long emphasized binary opposition, including the world's never-ending transformations of male into female aspects, of dry into wet, and of life into death. As Lord of the Center, Maximón occupies the space between opposites and is the power that attracts one to the other. This underscores Maximón's Judas aspect, which devotees understand to be requisite to Christ's resurrection, hence the world's transformation of death into life and similarly of the dry into the rainy season.

SUN, MOON, AND EARTH. Whereas Maximón is recognized and worshipped in numerous Guatemalan towns, other deities of unquestioned pre-Hispanic origin have even wider representation in Mesoamerica. Central among those deities are the sun, the moon, and the earth. Like the Maximón cult, specific interpretations of these deities tend to vary from region to region. In fact in the primary Maximón cult center, Santiago Atitlán, Maximón includes the sun among his attributes. In that town the annual solar cycle is equated with waxing and waning of sexual "heat" and the evolution of Maximón (Mam) from his young to old forms. Local residents often refer to the sun as father. The sun is also called father by the Nahuas of Amatlán, Mexico, where it is considered to be the most powerful of the spirits. In marked contrast to Santiago Atitlán, where the sun is associated with Maximón-Judas, in Amatlán it is associated with Jesus. A pairing of Jesus and the sun is also found in the Tzotzil town of Chamula and elsewhere.

In numerous Mesoamerican towns the moon is equated with Mary. This association is found in communities that are generally thought of as traditional, such as Chamula, and also in those that are highly acculturated, such as Tlayacapan. No doubt one reason for the salience of this association is that in Catholic iconography the Virgin of Guadalupe is generally depicted standing on a crescent moon. Not all towns that recognize a moon goddess pair her with Mary. In Santiago Atitlán, the moon, who is revered as "Grandmother," is not linked with Mary. In that town, the moon goddess' association with childbirth and weaving points to an origin in the ancient Mayan deity Ix Chel, who was also a moon goddess and associated with birth and weaving. For the Nahua of Amatlán, the moon is related to the revered goddess Tonantsij, Our Honored Mother, but is also associated with the feared Tlahuelilo, "Wrathful One." This ambivalent understanding reflects both the moon's relationship to birth and fertility but also to the feared underworld and hence death.

This ambivalence about fertility and life on the one hand and death on the other stems from a Mesoamerican understanding of the earth in general. Writing about Amatlán, Sandstrom notes that "people are considered to sprout from the earth like the corn plant, and they are placed back in the earth when they die. The earth is the womb and tomb, the provider of nourishment and all wealth, home to the ancestors, and the daily sustainer of human life" (Sandstrom, 1991, p. 241). The idea of the earth as "womb and tomb" is also widespread in highland Guatemala, as is the association of the human body with corn. So important is the earth in this regard that it is deified. In several Mayan languages the word for earth is *ruchiliew*, "face of the land," which to Costumbristas refers to an understanding that the surface of the earth is the literal face of the deity. The Mixe of Oaxaca believe that the earth deity is female and call her Na·swi·ñ, or "earth surface." In some parts of Mesoamerica the earth deity is called simply Dios Mundo, World God.

LOCAL GODS. The local orientation of traditional Mesoamerican culture and religion translates into a certain local orientation for all the gods, even those such as the sun and moon that have wide regional recognition. This orientation is even more pronounced in a diverse set of gods explicit to individual Mesoamerican towns and subregions. For instance, many Mesoamericans believe deities inhabit local mountains. In Zinacantan these important deities are called Father-Mothers and are linked with ancestors. For the Tz'utujil of Santiago Atitlán, the primary surrounding mountains are thought to be the abodes of rain deities identified by a variety of names, including *nawales* and *achijab* (warriors). In Atitlán these deities, who are often conflated with the New Testament apostles, are believed to have wives, variously called the Marias and *ixok ajauwa* (lady lords). Several of the Marias are believed to be deified parts of the backstrap loom. Mountain gods and goddesses in the Q'eqchi' region of Guatemala are generically called *tzuultaq'a*, from the word *tzuul* (mountain) and *taq'a* (valley). The *tzuultaq'a*, who may be equated with saints and are thought to have a human form, live deep inside the mountain in a "house" (a cave). At the same time, a given mountain is thought to be the physical body of the god. Citing a Q'eqchi' informant, Richard Wilson writes that "a tzuultaq'a feels pain when we clear the brush with machetes and jab the planting sticks into the earth" (Wilson, 1995, p. 54). Wilson adds that a given mountain is believed to have a face, a head, a body, and a cave that is either its mouth or womb. In various Mesoamerican towns the local mountain gods are said to be the "owners" of a particular mountain or volcano.

"SHAMANISM." Numerous published studies of contemporary Mesoamerican towns cite the presence of "shamans," sometimes including the indigenous term for the specific type of practitioner and sometimes not. A careful reading of this literature shows that the activities of the different practitioners vary significantly. This wide range of practices is at the basis of fierce scholarly debate about the use of the term *shaman* for ritual practitioners in Mesoamerica and elsewhere. One camp in this debate argues vehemently that shamanism is a viable concept that refers to an identifiable human activity. Others counter that it is really just a "made-up, modern, Western category." Critics contend that the literature stereotypes a vast array of religious specialists and behaviors from widely differing cultural, historical, and class backgrounds when it presents those specialists under the tidy rubric "shaman."

Whereas it may be useful and accurate to have a single term shaman, there is no doubt that in reference to Mesoamerica the category combines a wide range of differing ritual specialists. Among the different types of Mesoamerican specialists often labeled as shamans are herbalists, indigenous calendar specialists, bonesetters, midwives, snake and spider bite healers, and spirit mediums. Further underscoring these differences is that shamans in communities such as Amatlán and Momostenango are generally respected, whereas in other communities, such as Santiago Atitlán and San Antonio Ilotenango, they are not. A primary reason for the negative association, where it exists, is suspicion of witchcraft.

SYNCRETISM AND TRANSCULTURATION. Over most of the past five centuries a defining characteristic of Mesoamerica has been what one scholar describes as "radically asymmetrical relations of power" (Pratt, 1992, p. 7). Since the Conquest the region's indigenous inhabitants have been subordinate to Spaniards and later to Ladinos. In this environment temples were sacked and churches built in their places. The indigenous inhabitants had to watch as the Spaniards brought in the cult of the saints and *cofradías*, as they introduced new artistic styles, even new forms of clothing. Over time few aspects of indigenous cultural expression were left untouched by European contact. In the wake of this contact many indigenous societies were completely integrated into the European cultural sphere.

Yet a survey of Mesoamerican religious practices and behaviors demonstrates that the region's inhabitants have not been passive witnesses to their own history. Reflecting cultural resilience and transformative capacity, in many generally rural areas significant cultural aspects could be traced to the pre-European past. Evident in the Mesoamerican cult of the saints—or the fiesta system—is that defining aspects of the post-Conquest cultures commonly have a European outer form but retain an identifiably indigenous meaning. In fact the Mesoamerican cultural landscape presents a textbook example of syncretism, the blending of two formerly discrete cultural traditions leading to the formation of new one. A simple observation of syncretism, however, leaves an important question unanswered. To what extent did Mesoamericans purposefully hold on to their pre-European traditions and in that way attempt to subvert the agendas of their would-be overlords?

Syncretism can be the natural outcome of subconscious thought processes and need not indicate purposeful intent. All people tend to interpret novelty according to preexisting understandings. In that light it is not surprising that Mesoamericans understandings of the saints, for instance, came to closely resemble those of their traditional gods. Whereas this sort of subconscious dynamic helps to explain Mesoamerican religious beliefs, it cannot account fully for the situation in towns where purposeful attempts to retain pre-European beliefs have occurred. In places like Amatlan, Momostenango, and Santiago Atitlán, traditionalists are aware that their *costumbres* differ from church teachings. An element of antichurch sentiment may also be apparent, as is evident in the Maximón cult or in the phenomenon of *cofradía* barter. These types of situations are explained by transculturation, the process in which marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted to them by a dominant or metropolitan culture. In *Imperial Eyes*, a book about transculturation, Mary Louise Pratt points out that "while subjugated peoples cannot readily control what emanates from the dominant culture, they do determine to varying extents what they absorb into their own and what they use it for" (Pratt, 1992, p. 6). Mesoamericans may have had to watch as the Spaniards brought in the saints. Yet far from converting the Mesoamericans to Catholicism, Mesoamericans converted the saints to their own identifiably Native American religion.

EMERGING RELIGIOUS EXPRESSIONS. On March 15, 1873, Guatemalan president Justo Rufino Barrios signed the Freedom of Worship Act, eliminating Catholicism as the state religion and opening the country to Protestant missionization. A few years later the president went to New York, where he successfully petitioned the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church to commence a presence in Guatemala. Barrios's petition had little to do with his personal religious conviction. Instead, Barrios, a Catholic, sought to attract foreign entrepreneurs otherwise ill-disposed toward Catholic countries. Although the early decades of the twentieth century did see a significant increase in the number of foreign entrepreneurs, it is not possible to determine how much of that was due to Barrios's strategy on religion. What is clear is that the strategy had little impact on conversion to Protestantism. Fully a half century later, in 1940, less than 2 percent of Guatemalans identified themselves as Protestant. Guatemala remained solidly Catholic, though often with a substantial infusion of the *costumbres*. That situation has now changed.

PROTESTANTISM. Contemporary Mesoamerica is experiencing a surge in Protestant growth. In Mesoamerica, as elsewhere in Latin America, the category Protestant, *evangélico* in Spanish, lumps a diverse group of religious identities, including Mormon, Jehovah's Witness, Pentecostal, and mainline denominations (predominantly Baptist, Presbyterian, and Lutheran). Since the 1970s Guatemala has witnessed particularly impressive Protestant growth, mostly among Pentecostal denominations. As many as one in three Guatemalans now identify themselves as Protestant. In fact three of the past seven heads of state have been Protestant. While the number is far lower in neighboring Mexico—around 5 percent of the country's roughly 100 million people—that country is now also witnessing significant Protestant growth, especially among the indigenous population. This growth is in part explained by conversions from Catholicism. Yet a Catholic migration explanation may be oversimplified, particularly when Costumbristas are lumped with orthodox Catholics. A different picture emerges when these groups with scant mutual resemblance are treated separately. In Santiago Atitlán, the town for which the best data are available, growth in orthodox Catholicism has actually outpaced the otherwise impressive Protestant growth. In both cases the growth has come at the expense of the Costumbristas, whose numbers declined precipitously in the late twentieth century.

There are multiple reasons for the surge in new religious identities and similarly for the abandonment of the *costumbres*. Where Protestant converts typically point to the Holy Spirit as the cause, scholars tend to look to an interplay of local, national, and international socioeconomic variables. The complexity of the situation, even on just the local level, is evident in consideration of population dynamics. Studies in Guatemala indicate that explosive local population growth has contributed to land scarcity, with catastrophic implications for religious systems founded on agriculture. In contrast, an analysis of the abandonment of the *costumbres* in the area in and around Tenango de Doria in Hidalgo, Mexico, by anthropologist James Dow, shows that an actual decline in the number of males, and hence of potential candidates to assume positions in the cargo system, has been a factor. In her book *Protestantism in Guatemala*, Virginia Garrard-Burnett observes that new religious identities held little appeal as long the so-called "traditional community" remained in tact. "But when the center began to give, through the erosive processes of 'development,' migration, and war, many beliefs, practices, and institutions that shaped identity gave way with it. It is, at least in part, the attempt to re-create some sense of order, identity, and belonging that has caused so many to turn to Protestantism in recent years" (Garrard-Burnett, 1998, p. xiii). Other factors, which may add to the local appeal of Protestantism, can be its opposition to the sometimes excessive alcohol consumption associated with the *costumbres*. Additionally the relative quickness and efficiency of the Protestant seminary track has allowed a widespread network of local churches staffed by local ministers. This is in contrast to a severe shortage of Catholic priests.

ECONOMIC UNDERPINNINGS OF CONVERSION. Various Mesoamerican scholars have written about a correlation between social and economic marginalization and religious conversion. Sandstrom's observation in Amatlán is typical in this regard. Sandstrom notes that early converts were from the most impoverished households in the village and included three alcoholics, one suspected thief, and another who was a "deadbeat" that refused to pay his debts. All were villagers who had lost hope that they could succeed in the prevailing socioeconomic environment. Similar dynamics are also evident in the Kaqchikel town San Antonio Aguascalientes, Guatemala. Sheldon Annis writes in *God and Production in a Guatemalan Town* that "to those who are economically marginalized by an abject poverty or socially marginalized by increased entrepreneurial activity, Protestantism says: Come to me" (Annis, 1987, p. 141). The attraction of Protestantism to the poor may be enhanced by "prosperity gospel," a message conveyed by some missionaries that conversion will bring concrete material gain. Sandstrom writes about statements by missionaries in Amatlán that local residents are poor because the *costumbre* religion is of the devil and conversely that all people of the United States are Protestants and "it is because of their religion that God has rewarded them with such great wealth" (Sandstrom, 1991, p. 352).

Whereas it might seem logical to simply dismiss any economic validity to prosperity gospel, there is evidence of a relation between Protestant conversion and economic advantage. Arguments for such advantage—what mission theorists sometimes call "redemption and lift"—usually point out that the cargoes attached to the traditional fiesta system are expensive and entail a trade of significant personal wealth for political power and prestige. Although this sort of economic redistribution and leveling may be socially stabilizing in a functioning subsistence-based agricultural society, it is anathema to entrepreneurship and the market economy. In his study on San Antonio Aguascalientes, Annis argues that ecological crisis, made worse by inequitable distribution of land, has pushed local residents toward Protestantism and its largely pro-entrepreneurial ethic. He observes that Protestants dominate a successful capitalist stratum in the town.

CONVERSION AS SOCIAL BACKLASH. One key factor benefiting Protestant entrepreneurs in San Antonio Aguascalientes has been convenient access to markets in the bustling nearby city Antigua. Much of rural Mesoamerica does not have that sort of economic advantage. One town that does not is San Antonio Ilotenango, Guatemala, as described by Ricardo Falla in his book *Quiché Rebelde*. Although Falla, who is both a Jesuit priest and an anthropologist, notes that some early converts in the 1970s did experience upward economic mobility, he points out that not all did. Hence Falla's study underscores both the possibilities and the limitations of religious conversion in effecting economic change. His study is also notable because the converts he describes are primarily orthodox Catholics. Large-scale religious conversions often represent a backlash against existing power structures. In San Antonio Ilotenango, as in much of Mesoamerica, that power structure has not been orthodox Catholic so much as the *costumbre*-based indigenous religion and its civil-religious hierarchies. It should be recalled that in Mesoamerica the customary religion has often included a steadfast embrace of the ancestral past. That embrace elevated traditionality—and thus an emphasis on nonchange—to the level of religious dogma. Yet the undermining of traditional cultural forms, including subsistence based agricultural economies, now demands change. In what one scholar has called a "revolt against the dead," as the traditional forms have eroded, many Mesoamericans have converted to new religious beliefs and identities (Brintnall, 1979).

EMERGENT CATHOLIC IDENTITIES. As the word *catholic* implies, the Catholic Church has always included a wide range of religious behaviors and identities. In the aftermath of the reign of the *costumbres* in rural Mesoamerica, several primary identities have emerged as dominant. One particularly salient expression, charismatic renewal, is the subject of considerable ambiguity in Catholic ranks. Mesoamerican *carismáticos* de-emphasize the saints and sometimes the central role of the Virgin Mary as well. Similarly they de-emphasize priestly liturgical participation, at times even refusing to conduct their religious services in the church building. Like their charismatic counterparts in other regions and countries, Mesoamerican *carismáticos* emphasize the role of the Holy Spirit and the reception of divine gifts, charisma. Given the similarities to Protestantism, particularly Pentecostal, some critics suggest that charismatic renewal represents a "Trojan horse" to the church, that it is a grave danger to legitimate Catholic belief and ritual. Others contend that *carismáticos* are really just Protestants-in-becoming. Whereas it is certain that some *carismáticos* may gravitate to Protestant Churches, for those that do not it may provide a bulwark to Protestant expansion. Charismatic worship may also help to "recapture" former Catholics.

An emphasis on the reception of divine gifts helps to explain charismatic renewal's near total disregard of social and political issues. That disregard contrasts with another emergent Catholic group in Mesoamerica, Catholic Action. Although originally established by Pope Pius XI (r. 1922–1939) to be a nonpolitical lay organization, Catholic Action has generally worn the mantle of politics. This has been particularly evident in Guatemala, where, following on the heals of the organization's role of attempting to stem the tide of communism and secularism in Franco's Spain, it was employed in 1935. Largely confined to Guatemala City in its early years, the scope of the movement increased significantly in 1944, when a revolutionary regime with secular leftist tendencies assumed the Guatemalan presidency. Additionally that year the church took particular notice of its deteriorating state, as evidenced by the fact that a mere 120 priests attempted to serve the entire country. Under the direction of Bishop Rossel y Arellano, Catholic Action was introduced throughout the countryside. Newly formed lay groups were instructed in Catholic orthodoxy and in the sins of nonsanctioned religious ritual. In this way the Guatemalan architects of Catholic Action intended that it serve both as a defense against Protestantism and communism and that it target the *cofradías* and shamans.

Although by the time of the introduction of Catholic Action into the countryside the efficacy of the traditional civil-religious hierarchies was already eroded, that introduction did cause considerable social turmoil and backlash in communities such as San Andrés Semetebaj and San Antonio Ilotenango. Perhaps most notable in that regard was Santiago Atitlán, where in 1950 leading members of Catholic Action were involved in the stealing of the head of Maximón and the temporary outlawing of the god's cult. Ironically it was the intercession of town Protestants on the side of the Costumbristas and against the Catholics that restored the legal status of the cult. The occasional Costumbrista triumph such as this notwithstanding, Catholic Action has become a dominant social and religious force in rural Mesoamerica.

LIBERATION THEOLOGY. Augmenting the strategic introduction of Catholic Action in the fight against secularism, communism, and Protestantism, the Catholic Church began to aggressively place new priests in the indigenous countryside. Of particular note in Guatemala was the introduction in the late 1940s and 1950s of number of Maryknolls, based in the United States, and Belgian Sacred Heart brothers, who arrived a year after the church-supported overthrow of the leftist government in 1954. In Mexico the appointment in 1949 of Samuel Ruiz to be bishop of the heavily Mayan diocese of Chiapas proved significant. On his arrival to San Cristobal de las Casas, where the diocese is centered, Ruiz was shocked to find that the indigenous peoples were prohibited even from walking on the sidewalks. The Maryknolls and Sacred Heart brothers were equally shocked by the poverty and squalor in the indigenous communities to which they were sent and the inhumane treatment of the population by some in the dominant Ladino sector.

Because of the crisis state of the local economies in both Guatemala and Chiapas, including an increasingly critical shortage of available agricultural land, many residents were forced into seasonal plantation work. In that highly exploitative environment, people from all over intermingled and talked. Gradually they became aware of national social and political issues. Some even learned that the plantation land now owned by international agribusiness was former Indian land that had earlier been expropriated. Many of these migrant workers were catechists, members of Catholic Action. Garrard-Burnett notes that, in stark contrast to the local orientation of the Costumbrista civil-religious hierarchies, "catechists were outwardly focused leaders informed by contemporary ideas of development and, more recently, by concepts of social justice as defined by liberationist Catholicism as introduced by the foreign priests" (Garrard-Burnett, 1998, p. 129).

Beginning in the 1960s and gaining full momentum with the 1971 publication of *A Theology of Liberation* by the Peruvian Catholic priest Gustavo Gutierrez, many Latin American priests embraced liberation theology. In Mexico, Bishop Ruiz became probably the leading figure in the movement. At the forefront of that trend in Guatemala were the Maryknoll and Sacred Heart orders. Ironically, though it had originally been intended that those orders be a firewall against communism, liberation theology is founded on a Marxist substrate. In particular liberation theology fully embraced the notion of dependency theory and its argument that the economic development of the core developed countries entailed the subsequent underdevelopment of the Third World. The radical clergy aggressively sought to break the ties of that dependency. Finding a particularly receptive base within their newly activist parishioners, the liberationist priests embarked on program of *conscientización* (consciousness raising) and economic development. Central to the liberationist strategy was the establishment of base ecclesial communities (CEBs), which were groups of twenty to thirty lay members who regularly met with a nun or priest to discuss issues of philosophy and religion and to initiate strategies for liberation.

THE NEW JERUSALEM. On March 23, 1982, a military coup established General Efraín Ríos Montt as the head of state in a Guatemala embroiled in a lengthy civil war. That night on national television the born-again Protestant proclaimed, "I am trusting my Lord and King, that He shall guide me." A week later Ríos Montt appeared on *The 700 Club,* where the host Pat Robertson appealed to viewers to pray around the clock for the general and pledged $1 billion for Guatemala's reconstruction. With Guatemala now firmly established in the holy war against godless communism, Ríos Montt oversaw what one scholar has called "total war at the grassroots" (Jonas, 1991, p. 148). In sanctioning this campaign the "born-again" general time and again noted Guatemala's central role in divine providence. "We are the chosen people of the New Testament," Ríos Montt said. "We are the new Israelites of Central America" (Annis, 1987, p. 4). Deflecting charges that his policies, which ultimately led to the total destruction of more than four hundred Maya communities, amounted to a "scorched earth" campaign, the dictator replied that it was in fact a "scorched communist" campaign.

The great majority of those "scorched" were Maya living in the countryside. Particularly hard-hit was the Department of El Quiché, the primary area served by the Maryknoll and the Sacred Heart orders. Suspected as being communist, the nuns and priests and their parishioners in the base ecclesial communities were common targets for state-sponsored violence, though many Protestant Maya were also killed or displaced. Garrard-Burnett notes that for Ríos Montt, "communism represented the ultimate rejection of morality and God-given authority; it had to be countermanded by his divinely sanctioned 'final battle against subversion,' which he conceptualized in nearly apocalyptic terms" (Garrard-Burnett, 1998, p. 145). The dictator talked of the "rottenness of mankind," which he said had a name "communism, or the Antichrist, and all means must be used to exterminate it" (Garrard-Burnett, 1998, p. 148). Although Ríos Montt was only in power for seventeen months before being toppled in another military coup, the number of people killed during his regime far eclipsed any other head of state in Guatemala's thirty-year civil war.

THE ZAPATISTA UPRISING. On New Year's Day 1994 the world awoke to the surprising news of a massive revolt in Chiapas, Mexico. As stunning as the "Zapatista" uprising itself was its coincidence, to the day, with the implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). In hindsight the uprising perhaps should have come as no surprise. Amid incessant heralding of the widespread benefits that free trade must inevitably bring, even proponents of NAFTA confessed that its implementation would entail certain "adjustments" for some of those involved. Simply put, those that took to arms in the mountains and jungles of Chiapas believed that they themselves were in danger of being adjusted. Of particular concern was NAFTA's dismantling of Article 27 of the Mexican constitution. That article, which grew out of the *Tierra y Libertad* (Land and Liberty) rally cry of Emiliano Zapata's followers in the Mexican Civil War, is a constitutional guarantee of land for all Mexican citizens.

For some years prior to the uprising, displaced peasants from highland Chiapas and elsewhere in Mexico began forming communities in the sparsely populated jungle areas of eastern Chiapas. Included in the population were thousands of Protestant Tzotzil and Tzeltal Maya who had been expelled from their towns because of their religious beliefs. One town, Chamula, has expelled more than thirty-two thousand mostly Presbyterian evangelicals in the previous twenty years. The 1990 census showed that Protestants numbered between 20 and 51 percent of the population in the *municipios* (towns) of eastern Chiapas. Included in the population is a mix of Seventh-day Adventists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Pentecostals, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Mormons. In part to counter the growth of Protestantism, the Catholic Church ramped up its community building efforts in the region, concentrating much of their efforts in a group of settlements lying in the Lacandón rain forest near the border with Guatemala.

The anthropologist George Collier, perhaps the leading authority on the Zapatista rebellion, argues that the social mix of eastern Chiapas provided fertile ground for the rise of the EZLN, the Zapatista National Liberation Army. Because most of the residents were recent immigrants, there were few established power structures to limit the emergence of participatory democratic communities. Moreover the newly arrived religious groups established functioning networks for building those communities. Another key factor in the incipient peasant movement was the input of liberationist dialogue, mostly coming from Bishop Ruiz and his colleagues. Of particular significance was the church-sponsored 1974 Chiapas Indigenous Congress. Collier observes that the demands issued at the conference on issues of land, food, education, and health were almost identical (suspiciously so) to those the EZLN issued twenty years later.

The catechist delegates took the lessons of the Indigenous Congress with them when they returned to their communities in eastern Chiapas. Ultimately they were stymied in getting their message out by the region's religious pluralism. Collier observes that only truly secular movement appealing to pluralism and democracy could unite the peasant communities across the chasm of religious diversity. Ultimately the EZLN filled that role. Although the level of direct involvement of Bishop Ruiz and his catechist colleagues in the formation of the EZLN remains unclear, some level of involvement is certain. Critics have charged the bishop with being a primary architect of the movement. Others claim that his lessons were merely an inspiration. For its part the EZLN declares that "we have no links to Catholic religious authorities, nor with those of any other creed . . . . Among the ranks, the majority are Catholic, but there are also other creeds and religions" (Collier, 1999, p. 65).

Fully a decade after first seizing the world's attention, the EZLN steadfastly declares that "land is for the Indians and peasants who work it, not for the large landlords. We demand that the copious lands in the hands of ranchers, foreign and national landlords, and other non-peasants be turned over to our communities" (Collier, 1999, p. 64).

PAN-MAYANIST ACTIVISM. Activist demands for land and human rights in Mesoamerica are not limited to those emanating out of the Zapatista communities in eastern Chiapas. Of particular note in this regard is Pan-Mayanism, a coordinated activism bringing together Maya from far-flung locales. Whereas there are indications that this movement may be starting to take hold in Mexico, it is primarily associated with Guatemala. In fact in many ways it was the social turmoil created by the civil war and aggravated by such factors as globalization and ecological crisis that provided the impetus for Maya to unite in demands for the halt of racism, ethnocide, poverty, and violence. Joining in that demand has been a loosely knit group of foreign intellectuals and scholars who have provided organizational and technical support to the movement. A challenge for those involved has been to refocus Maya culture and ethnic identity from its customary local orientation to a national level of identity. Stated differently, the challenge has been to create a sense of Maya nationalism. It has been helpful that various key indigenous leaders of the movement have been educated in urban universities, where they could share perspectives and kindle their activism. The outgrowth of the Pan-Mayanism can be seen in dozens of indigenous organizations dedicated to the preservation of Maya languages, cultural research, publishing, and civil rights. The movement was also influential in the inclusion of a plank recognizing Maya culture and indigenous rights in the peace accord ending Guatemala's civil war.

This activist substrate to Pan-Mayanism is explained in part by its having built on the Catholic Action pattern of leadership. Given the original anti-*costumbre* agenda of Catholic Action, it might seem curious that many Pan-Mayanists embrace a "decolonized" form of the *costumbres*. In a classic display of revitalization, they have attempted to remove all traces of Christianity. Yet revitalization movements never fully succeed in purifying themselves, and they typically include new beliefs and behaviors. This is evident in the use of laptop computers to calculate Maya calendar dates by the movement's "Maya priests" or in their embrace of New Age concepts. Ironically, in the attempt to recreate the original form of Mesoamerican religion, Pan-Mayanism may actually have created its newest form. In any case apparent is the agency, creativity, tragedy, and sense of hope that has always characterized religion in Mesoamerica.

SEE ALSO Gender and Religion, article on Gender and Mesoamerican Religions; Roman Catholicism; Shamanism, article on South American Shamanism; Syncretism; Transculturation and Religion, overview article.

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MESOAMERICAN RELIGIONS: MYTHIC THEMES

Myths emphasize realities and events of the origins and foundations of the world, of humanity, of staple food, and of supernatural beings—of gods and cultural heroes.

In the case of Mesoamerican pre-Hispanic myths, the various primary written sources have often survived in fragmented form. As for present Mesoamerican peoples, most scholars count on ethnographic material collected by anthropologists in the twentieth century.

Mesoamerica shares a common cosmovision and therefore many similar myths with a diversity of cultures. The sources that describe the aboriginal cultures were written mostly in Spanish—and primarily about Central Mexico—in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; some were written in Nahuatl by the conquerors themselves, by friars who began to evangelize, or by converted indigenous peoples. Whereas a few complete texts remain—such as the creation of the sun and moon in Teotihuacan and the story of Quetzalcoatl—most of these texts contain only fragments of the myths. There is the long, well-structured Mayan cosmogonic myth of the *Popol Vuh*, written around 1551. This myth was written in Roman characters, in Quiché, with the intention to be read in their secret ceremonies (a tradition that is still alive among the present indigenous peoples).

The ethnographic data cover wider areas, but share some mythic themes with each other, as well as with pre-Hispanic myths. Much Christian syncretism also exists, because many saints and virgins become merged with old deities.

Many symbols of the pre-Hispanic myths that have not reached us are shown iconographically in the archaeological remains, like the cosmic tree, the earth monster, or the jaguar.

Mesoamerican thought is dominated by a concept of duality. The Nahua Supreme God is known as Ometeotl ("Lord Two") who represents a unity of contraries. He-she lives in Omeyocan ("Place Two"), which has been identified with Tamoanchan ("the house where they came down") and Xochitlicacan ("the place where the flowers raise") and is located above the thirteen heavens. When Ometeotl unfolds, he-she becomes Omecihuatl ("Lady Two") and Ometecuhtli ("Lord Two") who together create four gods—the creators of the rest of the gods and of the world: fire, the calendar, the lord of the land of the dead, a great sea, aquatic gods, the earth monster, and twelve more heavens. Omecihuatl and Ometecuhtli then made a man and a woman, the first sorcerers and the parents of humankind.

In the middle of Tamoanchan, the heavenly paradise, rises a marvelous flowering tree. According to one version of the myth, the beautiful goddess Xochiquetzal lived there in happiness and plenty, but she was seduced by Tezcatlipoca. In another version of the myth, the gods tear the branches off the tree, cutting off its flowers in the process. For this deed they are punished by the supreme gods Tonacatecuhtli and Tonacacihuatl and thrown out to earth and to the underworld.

Alfredo López Austin (1994), has written about Tamoanchan and the actions that took place there, working from the fragments of myth and from Nahuatl poems. López Austin concludes that through the actions of the gods for which they were punished, they originated sex, created other space, other beings and other time. The gods had been contaminated with death, but they could now reproduce.

Michel Graulich writes that the main theme in the origins of Mesoamerican myths is the passage from one era to another, by the way of a rupture between the sky and the earth as a consequence of a transgression (1997). When the gods are banished from Tamoancham, Tollan, Tlalocan, and Aztlan—places mentioned as paradises or ideal lands which represent the union of opposites—a state of unity and harmony is achieved where the primordial couple and their children lived in perfect tranquility. When the creators punish the gods, they are sent to darkness. However, they return to light following a sacrifice

COSMOGONIC MYTHS. The concept of cyclic time and the cosmogonic ages (or "suns") is based on the idea that the gods created the universe to be inhabited by humans so that they would serve, worship, and feed the gods. This concept emerged through a cyclic process of creation and destruction through which the beings (humans) that the gods wanted to serve them evolved progressively.

> In central highland Mexico there were held to have been four previous Suns or eras, each of which ended in a cataclysm, then a fifth which is the present world. The fist age was called 4 Ocelotl (4 Jaguar) and Tezcatlipoca became it's Sun. Giants lived during this time but were devoured by jaguars when the Sun ended. The second era was 4 Ehecatl (4 Wind), when Quetzalcoatl Ehecatl was the sun. This epoch was destroyed by great winds, the survivors turned into monkeys. The third creation was 4 Quiauitl (4 Rain), the Sun of the rain god Tlaloc. This world ended in a rain of fire and the few survivors became butterflies, birds and dogs. In the fourth age, 4 Atl (4 water), Chalchiuhtlicue, the water goddess, was the Sun. The world disappeared in a great deluge and any survivors became into fish. The force of the flood caused the sky to fall down, so Tezcatlipoca and Quetzalcoatl became into great trees and raised it back into place. The name of the Fifth Sun 4 Ollin (4 movement), refers to the movement of the solar phenomena; This era was presided by the earth god Tlaltecuhtli and was to be destroyed by an earthquake. (Heyden, 1987).

According to Mayan myth, in the first creation the gods made the animals but these animals did not praise the gods; they only cried, croaked, or screeched. The gods then made some men out of mud, but they were destroyed by water, so they in turn made man out of wood and woman out of reeds. These creations also could not serve the gods and were destroyed by the rebellion of their domestic animals, their household objects, and by a flood. The remaining humans became monkeys. At last the gods created four men who were so intelligent and with eyesight that was so perfect that they could see all that exists. The gods realized, however, that they had once again failed; if humans were perfect they would then equal the gods and would not propagate. So "Heart of Heaven" threw his breath on the eyes of these four men and blurred their sight, preventing them from seeing only that which was nearest to them. Thus, their wisdom was destroyed. This myth can still be found among the Lacandon.

In another Maya version, thirteen men and twelve women were created by Hurakan and the other gods by their mixing maize dough with the blood of a snake and a tapir.

Many modern Mayan groups still believe in the different cosmic ages, with the various beings inhabiting them. In the modern era, however, these beliefs have expanded to also include Adam, Eve, Jesus, and Mary. These groups have also lost the idea that humans were made to worship and sustain the gods.

THE DELUGE AND THE CREATION OF MEN. The last creation was destroyed by water. The version of the deluge and the creation of the new humanity is told in pre-Hispanic versions, but it is also widely known among many modern ethnic groups. In the pre-Hispanic version of the myth, Tezcatlipoca chose a couple, Tata and Nene, to be saved from the deluge. He asked them to make a canoe out of a hollow tree and save themselves. When the water receded they broiled a fish, but the smoke reached heaven and the gods became angry. So, Tezcatlipoca came down and converted Tata and Nene into dogs.

The more widely spread ethnographic version of this myth says that a man was saved from the deluge on the advice of a supernatural being. The man took with him on his boat maize and a bitch. When the waters receded, he went to the field to work. Every time he returned home he found that food had been prepared. One time the man hid and found that the bitch was in fact a woman who had taken off her bitch skin; it was she that was doing the cooking. The man burned the skin and took the woman as a wife, and from the descendants of that couple the earth was inhabited again.

In some pre-Hispanic myths humans are also created from the bones of people of other ages. This creation myth has been explained by López Austin (1994) as the generic creation of human beings against the differentiated birth of human groups from Chicomoztoc (Seven caves). When the world had been restored, the gods got together and asked themselves: who is going to inhabit the world? They decided to send Quetzalcoatl to the underworld to get the bones to create the new humankind. (Another version of this myth claims that it was Xolotl who was sent to the underworld.) Quetzalcoatl went to the underworld and asked for the bones of the Lord of the dead. Quetzalcoatl was given the bones, but at the last minute the Lord changed his mind. After persisting, Quetzalcoatl at last retrieved the bones and brought them to Tamoanchan, where the goddess Cihuacoatl Quilaztli ground them and mixed the powder with the blood from Quetzalcoatl's penis. With this material the new humanity was created.

OTHER CREATIONS OF MAN. The first four gods created by the primeval couple made a man and a woman, Oxomoco and Cipactonal, who were ordered to till the soil and to spin and weave. Then they were given maize kernels for divination. Oxomoco's and Cipactonal's children formed early mankind. The *Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas* (1964) relates that when the sky fell and Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca raised it again, they had to create four men to help.

In yet another myth, when the first four gods made a sun to light the world and this was fed hearts and blood to help it move, war was invented; humans were created in order to wage that war. In the Tlaxcala tradition, Camaxtli, the hunting and war god, hit a great rock with his staff and four hundred Chichimecs came out to settle the land. The Chichimec, who later changed their name to Otomí, regarded both Camaxtli and the rock as their mythical ancestors. According to accounts from Tetzcoco, related in *Historia de México* (1964), an arrow shot from the sky landed near Tetzcoco and formed a great hole in which appeared a man and a woman. But they were in the form of busts, with half bodies. This man and woman copulated with their tongues and had children who settled Tetzcoco. Another account states that Citlalicue ("skirt of stars," i.e., the Milky Way) sent sixteen hundred sons and daughters to Teotihuacán, but all perished there. According to Mendieta (1945), Citlalicue gave birth to a flint knife. This frightened her other children, and they threw the knife out of the sky and it landed in Chicomoztoc ("seven caves") near Acolman in the vicinity of Teotihuacan.

However, the sixteen hundred sons and daughters sent by Citlalicue (or who miraculously came from the flint knife) were more divine than human; they demanded that their mother provide people to serve them (Heyden, 1987).

SUN, MOON, AND STARS. The myth of the Fifth Sun (the present era) is one of the best known in Mesoamerica: when all was in darkness, the gods gathered at Teotihuacan (identified in historical tradition with the historical city of Teotihuacan) to create a new sun. Two gods offered to sacrifice themselves: the rich Tecuciztecatl, who performed penance with costly objects; and Nananhuatzin, who was poor and diseased and whose offerings were only reeds, grass balls, maguey spines, and paper. After four nights of penance, both gods were led to a sacred fire. Tecuciztecatl was terrified by the strength of the fire and withdrew, whereupon Nanahuatzin threw himself into the flames, which purified him and turned him into the sun. Inspired by this metamorphosis Tecuciztecatl also leaped into the fire. But it had died down and no longer burned brightly, so he turned into a lesser light. He became the moon (Heyden, 1987). When the moon came out, one of the gods hit its face with a rabbit, the mark of which can still be seen. After this, the sun stopped in the sky and refused to move unless all of the gods were sacrificed. (A version of this myth was recorded in 1949 by R. Barlow in Tepoztlan, Morelos, and another version is still told among the Huichol people.)

The Maya version of the sun creation myth is included in the *Popol Vuh* and it relates the adventures of the twins called Hun Hunahpu ("1 hunter") and Vucub Hunahpu ("7 hunter"). One hunter had two sons who were both wise men, painters, and diviners. The twins were fond of playing ball and the noise they made bothered the Lords of Xibalba (the underworld). These lords incarnated different diseases. They called the twins to their realm and had them pass through a series of trials until they ended up sacrificed and buried. The head of Hun Hunahpu was placed in a gourd tree. Ixquic, the daughter of one of the Lords of Xibalba, approached the tree and the head of One hunter spat on her hand and made her pregnant. Ixquic was condemned to be sacrificed because of this, but escaped with the help of her would-be executioners, who were two owls. Ixquic went to the surface of the earth and gave birth to another pair of twins, Hunahpu ("Hunter") and Xbalanque ("Deer jaguar") who are taken care of by their grandmother. After some adventures—which include converting their half brothers into monkeys—they also start playing the ball game; again they are called to Xibalba, but this time they pass the trials, deceiving the lords of the underworld. At last, however, Hunter and Deer jaguar decide to burn themselves, thus becoming the sun and the moon.

The creation of Venus is also the result of the sacrifice of Quetzalcoatl, ruler of Tollan, who after having been deceived by his rival gods, Tezcatlipoca and Huitzilopochtli, leaves his city and goes to a land called Tlillan Tlapallan, the land of red and black. It is here that he burns himself and becomes the morning star.

SACRIFICE. Sacrifice as a means of creation, transformation, sustenance of the world is an important mythic theme, as has been seen in the cosmogonic myths in which not only the sun, moon, and Venus have to incinerate themselves to become stars, but so too do the rest of the gods have to sacrifice themselves so that the sun agrees to move on in the sky.

Sacrifice is also mentioned in the story of how the Sun made four hundred men, the Mimixcoa, wage war and give to him the blood and hearts of their captives to eat. The Mimixcoa, however, occupied their time hunting and having fun and failed to do their duty; therefore, the sun decided to create four other men and a woman, ordering them to kill the first four hundred and to feed the sun and the earth. The division of the primeval androgynous monster to create heaven and earth is a form of sacrifice, as the earth would not give her fruits if she was not given to eat men's hearts and was not irrigated by their blood.

Sacrifice is also demanded by the Tlaloque—the gods of water—as a requirement for the ability to grow edible plants. In the last days of the Toltecs, there was a period of storms and destruction of crops; to stop this, the tlaloque asked for the sacrifice of the Mexica Tozcacuex's daughter; he did did this, and received as his prize good crops of maize.

THE ORIGIN OF MAIZE AND OTHER EDIBLE PLANTS. Because maize was the staple food of Mexico, much of the ritual life was guided towards its production. In pre-Hispanic as well as in modern times, plenty of myths relate to it; most of them are ethnographic.

According to the pre-Hispanic version, Quetzalcoatl saw a red ant carrying a maize kernel and asked the ant many times from where she had obtained it. Eventually the ant told him that she received it from the Tonacatepetl ("hill of our sustenance"). So, Quetzalcoatl transformed himself into a black ant and got the kernels, which he took to Tamoanchan; there the gods chewed them and put the kernels into the mouths of humans to make them strong. They then sent Nanahuatl to break Tonacatepetl, and the tlaloque collected the maize of four colors and other edible seeds to make them available to humans.

In another version, maize and all edible plants came from the body of the god Cinteotl ("god of maize") who "enters" the earth. In some ethnographic versions, one can still find the stories of the ants hiding the maize kernels.

Ethnographic versions of a maize child are very widely spread all over Mexico. His name may be Oxchuk, Dipak, Piltontli, or many others. This myth was discovered by George Foster (1945). In it, the child who has golden hair is found inside an egg by two old people. The child has marvelous powers, as well as good and bad relations with animals. Afer a while, the elderly couple tries to kill and eat him, but he discovers their intentions and kills them first. The child then has more adventures, in one of which he has an encounter with Hurakan, a god of the sea and/or of thunder, whom he defeats.

In the Totonac version (Ichon 1973), the father's child is killed because he likes to play the violin. Shortly after the child is born, he dies and is buried by the mother, and from his tomb a plant of maize grows. She cuts some kernels and throws some grains to the water; there, a turtle keeps one on her shell, and from that grain the maize child is born again. The child then has many adventures, including creating thunder and the clouds of rain.

Maguey was a very important plant in Central Mexico, from which, among other things, the intoxicating drink *octli* or *pulque* was (and is) made. The story says that Quetzalcoatl went to heaven to look for a maiden goddess called Mayahuel. He found her among other maidens who were being taken care of by their grandmother, a *tzitzimitl* (a monster). Quetzalcoatl woke Mayahuel up; he told her that he was taking her to earth, which he did, transforming them both into a tree with two branches. One branch was Quetzalcoatl, the other Mayahuel. When the *tzitzimitl* discovered that Mayahuel was missing she went after her, found the tree, and broke Mayahuel's branch and, along with other *tzitzimitl*, ate her up. Quetzalcoatl gathered Mayahuel's bones and planted them, and from these bones the first *maguey* was born.

MYTHOLOGIZED CULTURAL HEROES. The hero acts as a point of intersection between different times that may be both mythic and historic; he gets close to beings who travel through the three cosmic levels: heaven, earth, and underworld, and are capable of supernatural feats. Many heros must pass through initiation trials. They also have miraculous births. Heroes may act as tricksters, they are deified, and they are expected to return.

The first example of a hero is Quetzalcoatl, born miraculously—according to different versions—from Chimalma, who swallowed a green stone or was made pregnant by Mixcoatl. Quetzalcoatl's jealous uncles or brothers try to kill him, but they fail and instead kill his father. He takes revenge and kills the uncles or brothers, then begins searching for his father's bones. Quetzalcoatl becomes the wise ascetic king of the city of Tollan, which becomes very prosperous under him. He spends his time praying; he bans human sacrifice. However, Quetzalcoatl's eternal enemy, Tezcatlipoca—along with other gods—deceive him by making him drunk and then introducing into his chambers a woman: his sister or a prostitute.

When Quetzalcoatl recovers from his drunkenness he feels so ashamed that he decides to leave Tollan and goes to the west until he reaches the coast of the sea. In a land called Tlillan Tlapallan he burns himself, thus becoming the Morning Star. Before he becomes the star, however, he first promises that he will return. Quetzalcoatl is also said to have gone to the Maya area, where he is known and worshipped as Kukulkan.

Quetzalcoatl, along with Tezcatlipoca, is one of the gods in charge of creation. These two gods divided the primeval monster and created heaven and earth, keeping heaven and earth separate. Both gods had been suns in the past ages. Quetzalcoatl went to the Land of the Dead to get the bones to create man. He also brought maize from the Tonacatepetl and helped with the creation of maguey.

Much has been written about the mythic hero Quetzalcoatl, by Alfredo Lopez Austin, Blas Castellón, David Carrasco, and H. B. Nicholson. According to Nicholson, Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl "was conceivably a genuine historical figure prominently involved with an early stage of Toltec history. . . if so he later seems to have become blended and, occasionally, to some extent confused with certain supernatural personalities, particularly an ancient fertility/rain/wind creator deity, Ehecatl Quetzalcoatl." After several other appreciations he concludes that "the evidence for a widespread belief in his eventual return to reclaim his power, which might have influenced Motecuhzoma II of Mexico Tenochtitlan—who apparently was considered to be the direct dynastic successor of Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl—during his initial dealings with Cortés, is quite strong" (1992, p. 291).

Huitzilopochtli, the patron god of the Mexica's story, is connected with the Mexica pilgrimage and with their success as conquerors of almost all of Mesoamerica. He seems to have been a shaman priest who was in communication with the god Tetzauhteotl, who may have been a form of Tezcatlipoca. Huitzilopochtli was the one who took the Mexica out from Aztlan and guided them during their pilgrimage. He dies on the way and on his bones incarnates the god Tetzauhteotl and then continues guiding them. According to the best known story, Hutzilopochtli is born from Coatlicue ("Skirt of snakes") who was made pregnant by a ball of feathers that fell from the sky while she was sweeping the temple and which she put under her dress. Her other children, the four hundred Huitznahua, led by the sister Coyolxauhqui, felt ashamed of their mother and tried to kill her. But Huitzilopochtli, born in full warrior's regalia, fights and defeats them. He cuts off Coyolxauhqui's head and dismembers her, then annihilates the rest of the brothers. Huitzilopochtli then leads the Mexica to their final destination, giving them orders and advice and setting the rules for the privileges given to warriors who distinguish themselves in battle by offering more prisoners for sacrifice.

Hunahpu and Xbalanque are examples of mythic heroes, as well. Among the ethnographic mythic heroes, one can also include the maize child, in addition to Kondoy, Fane Kantsini, and Tepozteco from the Mixe, Chontales from Oaxaca, and the Nahua from Morelos.

Kondoy and Fane Kantsini were born from an egg and raised by adoptive parents. Both developed rapidly and became great hunters, fighting against the Zapotecs. Both Kondoy and Fane Kantsini disappeared but promised to return to help their people.

The other cultural hero is Tepozteco, whose mother became pregnant by a bird that flew around her for a time. Tepozteco was not liked by the grandparents. When he grew up, he did a marvelous deed, however, by placing the bells on the towers of Mexico City's cathedral in a very strong wind. Tepozteco then returns to his town and builds a house on the top of the hill of the Tepozteco, where he remains to this day. He is the one who causes the winds to blow; he is worshipped by the inhabitants of Tepoztlan.

TRICKSTERS. Tezcatlipoca has many traits which can identify him as a pre-Hispanic trickster. One of his names is *yaotl* ("the enemy"), he who introduces all disagreement in the world. Yaotl seduces Xochiquetzal in Tamoanchan, and therefore is one of the main transgressors. He cheats Quetzalcoatl and makes him leave his kingdom. He also does many evil things against the Toltecs, thus causing their destruction; at the same time, however, he is also a creator.

But the typical trickster is the Huichol cultural hero Kauymali, or Kauyumaric, who appears through all the mythical time of the Huichol. He is the son of the Sun. He is called "Big Brother"; he is the inventor of many useful things for his people; and he is a great teacher who provides the Huichol with most of their knowledge. Kauymali guides the way of the shaman to their pilgrimage to Wirikuta, the sacred place where the peyote is collected. He disguises himself as a deer and as several other animals, and he is inclined to sexual excesses. He also has a voluble character, is mischievous, and at times even evil. In one of his adventures he fights against the women of vagina dentata.

The Mayan Hunahpu and Xbalanque, as do many of the ethnographic heroes that have been mentioned have also many trickster traits.

TWINS. Twins appear in many of the myths, not only those of Mexico, but in all of the Americas. In pre-Hispanic Mexico, Quetzalcoatl and Xolotl are supposed to be twins. Xolotl sometimes transforms himself into a double maize kernel, or into a double *maguey* cactus. In the ethnographic material, many twins are cultural heroes and tricksters, born in a miraculous way, most found by an elderly couple who try to kill and eat them. The twins, however, after several successful attempts at subterfuge, eventually save themselves and end up killing the elderly couple.

A version of the killing of the elderly couple appears in many stories of cultural heroes—not necessarily twins—who are raised by the grandmother who has a husband-lover who is a deer. When the twins discover this, they kill the deer, stuff his skin with wasps and bees, and when the old woman goes to meet him, the insects come out of the skin and kill her.

Sometimes the twins have to kill a serpent and get hold of the eyes, one of which becomes the sun and the other the moon.

PILGRIMAGE. Another mythic theme is the pilgrimage, on which one seeks a final destiny from an original home of the different ethnic groups. Typically these groups come from caves located in a hill called Chicomoztoc (seven caves). From each cave a different group emerges that is guided by a powerful person who carries a "sacred bundle," within which are contained the relics of the person's patron god, with whom he or she is in communication. The guide later becomes deified. The promised land is marked by a sign.

Even though most Mesoamerican ethnic groups have a story of their pilgrimage, the best known story is the Mexica's, who are guided by Huitzilopochtli till they reach the promised land, which is marked by the sign of the eagle standing in the prickly pear cactus.

Graulich finds the same structure of the banishment of the gods from Tamoanchan in the expulsion of the land of origin, and, after wandering in darkness, they arrive in the light at the promised land.

The pilgrimage of the Huichol to Wirikuta, the sacred land of the peyote, was performed for the first time by the ancestors, who formed the first group of "peyoteros" who reached the desert of "Real de Catorce." Here, by trying the psychotropic cactus for the first time, they could become gods and could be transformed in all the elements of nature that their descendants, the human beings, needed in order to live. The route and the adventures that take place in this pilgrimage are sung to the Huichol children by the shamans in a special ceremony. This allows them to travel with their imaginations (Anguiano and Fürst, 1976).

ANIMALS. Animals play an important part in several myths. In many ethnographic groups it was believed that animals and human beings participated in original life together. The Huichol called their mythical predecessors *hewi*, who were animal and person at the same time. In many parts of Mexico, every person has an animal companion that may live in a mountain near the village; when the animal companion suffers an injury, or is killed, the person suffers the same fate. This is a very widespread belief, and since pre-Hispanic times powerful people have believed that they can transform themselves into animals called *nahual.*

In many myths, especially those of the Mayans, it is frequently seen that some animals had previously been human. or that they—the animals—inherited their characteristics from people who lived in other ages (like the *tepezcuintle*, armadillo, squirrels, coatis, racoons and monkeys).

There are also "lords of the animals" who take care that the animals and are not killed in exaggeration by hunters; sometimes the lords of the animals will punish the hunters.

The earth monster is apparently a crocodile in Central Mexico, as well as among the Maya. The very Supreme Creator of the Maya Itzamna is an iguana. Some of the creator gods of the Maya have animal names: *tlacuache*, coyote, great white coati, great boar, and *guacamaya.*

Although there are lots of iconographic representations of the snake, no myths exist about the serpent. The name of the Quetzalcoatl, "Feathered serpent," seems to be also the name of an old fertility god that blended with the mythical cultural hero. Also among the Maya, the cultural hero and demiurge is called Gukumatz ("feathered serpent"). Among the Huicholes and Coras, a serpent of the West is the personification of nocturnal sky without stars that is conceived as water, and which is pierced by an arrow every morning. Also among the Huichol, water in the form of a snake, associated with thunder, is conceived of as an aquatic goddess who lives in the center of rain clouds.

The dog carries the soul of the dead over the river of the underworld, and a bitch is the ancestor of the human race. The god Xolotl is depicted as a dog.

The opossum steals the fire from the gods, is killed, then made into pieces; it revives; however, and takes the fire to men. López Austin identifies her with Quetzalcoatl.

The people who lived in the second cosmic era were transformed into monkeys. And Hunahpu and Xbalanque transformed their half brothers into monkeys.

SEE ALSO Human Body, article on Myths and Symbolism; Myth, overview article; Sacrifice; Tricksters, overview article and article on Mesoamerican and South American Tricksters.

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MESOAMERICAN RELIGIONS: HISTORY OF STUDY

A number of diverse primary sources exist for the study of the religious systems of ancient Mesoamerica, foremost among them being archaeological remains. The investigation of these remains provides the only means of obtaining information about Mesoamerican cultures from the Preclassic period (beginning c. 1500 BCE) to the period shortly before the early sixteenth century CE, when the Aztec empire was destroyed by the Spanish. Most of the archaeological remains are structures that were devoted to religious purposes.

EARLY TEXTS. Eighteen pre-Hispanic pictorial documents were saved from the religious zeal of the Spanish conquerors. A number of these are *tonalamatls,* or "books of destiny," which deal with the ritual divinatory calendar of 260 days. They are of special importance for the study of pre-Hispanic religion because they contain in their screenfold pages illustrations of the religious aspects of the calendar, as well as other esoteric paintings that deal with Mesoamerican astronomical conceptions. Some of these books have not been completely deciphered or interpreted.

The most important *tonalamatls* are six of the Borgia group (originally from the Mixteca-Puebla region), the Dresden Codex (from the Maya area), and the Codex Borbonicus from the Mexican Plateau. Besides these pre-Hispanic manuscripts are others that the Spanish priests and rulers commissioned for their own purposes; these were usually executed in a Spanish pictorial style. Among these commissioned works, the Codex Magliabecchiano and the Florentine Codex, both of which contain important religious data, deserve special mention.

During the century following the Conquest a number of manuscripts were written by priests whose special interest in the religious beliefs and practices of the Indians was dictated by their desire to suppress the indigenous religious systems. Toribio Motolinía was one of the first twelve Franciscan friars to travel, in 1524, to the recently conquered "New Spain" to evangelize the Indians. His work is one of the earliest testimonies on native Mesoamerican culture; unfortunately, only a portion of his writing survives. A reconstruction by Edmundo O'Gorman of the original work has been published under the title *Memoriales, o Libro de las cosas de la Nueva España y de los naturales de ella* (1971).

Without any doubt, the most important work about the customs of the ancient Mexicans is that compiled by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún. His informants were native elders who dictated in Nahuatl to young Indians who had been trained by Sahagún. They produced several manuscripts that have been named after the places where they are now kept: the Florentine Codex and the Matritense Codex. The former is the more celebrated; it is also known under the title given it by Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España.* Produced in twelve volumes between 1569 and 1582, it was first published in 1820. It has been translated into English by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble and published as *Florentine Codex* (13 vols., 1950–1982). The first five books of Sahagún's work, which deal with the gods, myths, calendar, temples, and priests of the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlan, constitute the most important source for the study of the religion of the ancient Mexicans.

Fray Diego Durán, a Dominican, arrived in New Spain as a child and learned Nahuatl and some of the old traditions from the native people of the Valley of Mexico. He also had access to old manuscripts. He devoted the second volume of his *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España e Islas de Tierra Firme* (concluded 1581) to descriptions of the gods, rites, and calendar of ancient Mexico. Fray Diego de Landa, who was responsible for the burning of massive numbers of precious ancient Maya manuscripts in the city of Mani in 1562, was also the author of the most important early book about Maya culture and religion, *Relación de las cosas de Yucatan* (first published in 1864). Fray Juan de Torquemada, a Franciscan, was the first person to write a "comparative" history of the peoples of New Spain. He was deeply interested in historiography, and many of the long digressions in his book *Monarquia indiana* (1615), which utilize biblical and classical references, were designed to show that the aboriginal Indian cultures followed universal laws of history. Four chapters of his book contrast native religion with the "true" religion, Christianity. Also of interest to the study of religion are the *Códice Chimalpopoca, Anales de Cuauhtitlan, and Leyenda de los soles,* three manuscripts written in the second half of the sixteen century, two anonymous in Nahuatl and one in Spanish by Pedro Ponce and the *Historia de Tlaxcala,* written in the sixteenth century in Spanish by the mestizo Diego Muñoz Camargo.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. The Jesuit priest Francisco Javier Clavigero was fluent in Nahuatl and had some knowledge of other Indian languages. He was the first to write a work devoted solely to the history of Mexico, his *Storia antica del Messico* (1780–1781), written and published in Italy during his exile there. The work contains an excellent chapter on religion. Although in his writings Clavigero tends, as might be expected given the time during which he wrote, to use Christian scripture and theology as norms of judgment, this tendency hardly colors his description of native religion. Indeed, it surfaces only in one passage within which he characterizes the ancestral religion of the Indians as a jumble of mistaken, cruel, and childish practices—the knowledge of which might help the ancient Indians' descendants to see the great advantages of Christianity. Clavigero shared the belief, widespread among his contemporaries, that the ancient Mexicans displayed knowledge of biblically recorded events, and he reiterates the belief, then common, that Quetzalcoatl was none other than Thomas, the disciple of Jesus, who had traveled to America to evangelize its inhabitants. Clavigero's book was widely read, and it helped to further a growing interest in the history and culture of ancient Mexico. It also fostered the spirit of nationalism among New Spain's mestizo population.

MEXICO AFTER INDEPENDENCE. Shortly after Mexican independence in 1821, the Museo Nacional was established to house pre-Conquest antiquities. In conjunction with the museum's founding, a number of studies of Mexico's ancient culture were carried out. Influenced by current liberal, positivistic ideas, a group of Mexican scholars began to study the ancient Mexican civilizations. Manuel Orozco y Berra, Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, Cecilio A. Robelo, and Alfredo Chavero were the first to investigate Mesoamerican religions in this new manner. The first volume of Orozco y Berra's *Historia antigua y de la conquista de México* (4 vols., 1880–1881), is devoted to a study of native myths and thought, which he compares to Pythagorean and Hindu philosophies, doubtless with the purpose of demonstrating the universal value of Nahuatl ideas. Among other works of scholarship produced were Paso y Troncoso's erudite and well-documented commentary, *Codex Borbonicus: Descripción historia y exposición del códice pictórico de los antiguos náuas* (1898). Robelo compiled a *Diccionario de mitología nahuatl* (2d ed., 1911), which contains source material and scholarly interpretation about ancient Mexican religion in general. Chavero wrote several works on ancient Mexican religion, including *Historia antigua y de la conquista* (1888), the first volume of an ambitious publication project directed by D. V. Riva Palacio and titled *México a través de los siglos* (Mexico through the Ages). In this volume, Chavero espouses the belief that religious ideas provide a means of measuring the degree of advancement of the Mexican people and of determining their social tendencies. He maintains the thesis that native Mexican religion was materialistic inasmuch as it did not include a belief in a spirit or a soul. Later scholars have dismissed Chavero's interpretations as sheer fantasy.

The commencement of the publication of the periodical *Anales del Museo Nacional de México* in 1877 marked the transformation of research from a private endeavor into an academic pursuit in Mexico. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Mexican contribution to the reconstruction of the Indian past was greater than that of any other national group.

OTHER NATIONAL SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT. The German traveler, naturalist, and man of letters Alexander von Humboldt visited New Spain in 1803–1804 and brought back to Europe a vision of the New World that had up until then eluded the attention of European scholars. Humboldt was so impressed by the vestiges he saw of the ancient pre-Columbian cultures that he proclaimed these civilizations comparable to that of ancient Egypt. He published his most important books on the Americas in French. In one of them, *Vue des Cordillères, et monuments des peuples indigènes de l'Amérique* (1810), which contains paintings and images that captured interest, he deals extensively with the pre-Hispanic calendars, myths, and rituals. By the second half of the nineteenth century, waves of European travelers were visiting Mexico. They made drawings and took photographs of the pre-Hispanic ruins and carried off ancient manuscripts and objects, thus broadening interest in the ancient Mesoamerican cultures.

France. In 1858, a group in France founded the Société des Américainistes de France and started a specialized journal. As an outgrowth of this, the first Americanist congress was held in Nancy in 1874. Some of the first French scholars to write about Mesoamerican religion were Albert Réville (*Les religions du Mexique de l'Amérique Centrale et du Pérou,* 1855), Hyacinthe de Charency (*Le mythe du Votan,* 1871), and Léon de Rosny (*L'interprétation des anciens textes Mayas,* 1875, among dozens of other works). Much later, the ethnologist Jacques Soustelle, of the French sociological school, worked in the field of Mesoamerican religion. In his book *La pensée cosmologique des anciens Mexicaines* (1940), Soustelle claimed that the Mexican image of the universe reflected the people who created it, and he asserted that the gods Huitzilopochtli and Quetzalcoatl corresponded to the ideals of a distinct faction of the dominant class of Aztec society.

Germany. From von Humboldt's time up to the present, German scholars have been producing studies on the subject of Mesoamerican religion, either as parts of works about religion in general (e.g., Friedrich Majer's *Mythologische Taschebuch oder Darstellung und Schilderung der Mythen: Religiösen Ideen und Gebrauche aller Völker,* 2 vols., 1811–1813) or in the form of monographs specifically focusing on Mesoamerica (e.g., J. G. Müller's *Geschichte der amerikanischen Urreligionen,* 2d ed., 1867; and Konrad Haebler's *Die Religionen mittleren Amerika,* 1899). From the analysis of the Mayan Codex Paul Schellhas extracted the first classification of the Mayan gods (*Die Götter festallen der Maya Handschriften. Ein Mythologisches Kulturbild aus dem Alten Amerika* 1897).

Perhaps the most eminent scholar of Mesoamerican religion that Germany produced was Eduard Seler. He was influenced in his interpretations of the origin of myths by his contemporary F. Max Müller (1823–1900), and even more by Ernst Siecke's ideas concerning lunar mythology. Seler's most important work was his commentary on *Codex Borgia: Eine altamerikanische Bilderschrift der Bibliothek der Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (3 vols., 1904–1909). The first part of volume 4 of Seler's collected works (*Gessamelte Abhandlung zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde,* 5 vols., 1902–1915) is devoted to the mythology and religion of the ancient Mexicans. Hermann Beyer, one of Seler's followers, published more than forty articles (1908–1924) relating to pre-Hispanic religion and symbolism which were published in 1965 in vol. X of *El Mexico antiguo.* Beyer tried to prove that the Aztec's vision of the cosmos was monistic and pantheistic.

Another of Seler's disciples, Konrad T. Preuss, was the first to use pre-Hispanic Mesoamerican religion as the basis for ethnographic studies. His most important work was *Die Nayarit-Expedition,* volume 1, *Die Religion der Cora-Indianer* (1912). Walter Krickeberg in 1928 published a compilation of American myths, *Märchen der Azteken und Inkaperuaner, Maya und Muisca;* in 1956 he brought out *Altmexikanische Kulturen,* in which he emphasized the strong connection between religion and art in Mexican thought.

England. The interest in American antiquities was stimulated in England by E. K. Kingsborough's project, *Antiquities of Mexico,* which eventually produced nine huge volumes (1830–1848). For the most part, British scholars specialized in Maya archaeology. Among them was J. Eric S. Thompson, who from 1927 to 1972 published a number of books and articles and contributed to the deciphering of Maya hieroglyphic writing. In *Maya History and Religion* (1970), Thompson summarized all his research. In his last years, he expressed doubts about the possibility that Maya religion will ever be thoroughly understood, especially given the kind of data that are available to scholars.

Lewis T. Spence, the British historian and mythologist, took quite a different approach; he was one of the few students of Mesoamerica who were primarily specialists in religion. Besides his books on the Americas (e.g., *The Mythologies of Ancient Mexico and Peru,* 1907; *The Civilization of Ancient Mexico,* 1912; *The Myths of Mexico and Peru,* 1913; *The Gods of Mexico,* 1923; and *The Magic and Mysteries of Mexico,* 1930), he wrote about the legendary continents of Atlantis and Lemuria and about the mysteries of ancient Britain and Spain and those of Egypt, Rome, Babylonia, and Assyria. Spence is noted for introducing some ideas that retain importance for contemporary scholars. For instance, he claims that Quetzalcoatl's cult was a "wisdom"-type religion that taught a highly developed form of mysticism and that was similar to the mystery religions that flourished in ancient times in Britain, Greece, and Egypt. The differences between Old and New World systems were superficial, he said, and they arose from a variance in magical practices. The Mesoamerican mystery religion was basically a complex rain cult upon which the solar cult and, later, the Quetzalcoatl rain cult had been superimposed.

United States. Another important researcher in the field of Mesoamerican mythology was Daniel Garrison Brinton. His most important works were *The Myths of the New World: A Treatise on the Symbolism and Mythology of the Red Race of America* (1868) and *Nagualism: A Study in Native American Folklore and History* (1894). Brinton claimed to be using modern methods of scholarship and, in contrast to prevailing scholarly consensus, maintained that the gods of the American tribes had their origins in the observation of natural phenomena rather than in historical chiefs or heroes. He tried to prove that the gods of Mesoamerica were human and benign, that they were loved rather than feared, and that their worship carried within it the seeds of benevolent emotion and sound ethical principles.

One of the great scholars of Maya ritual and religion was Alfred Tozzer who did important archaeological work in Tikal and Chichén Itzá and who developed a meticulous method for organizing his field work. Tozzer looked for contemporary survivals of the prehispanic Maya ritual. In his 1907 *Comparative studies of the Maya and the Lacandon* he dedicated more than half the book to the description of rites and ceremonies, which the author had the opportunity to witness.

The Norwegian scholar Carl Lumholz led a Mexican expedition that was sponsored by American Institutions during the last decade of the nineteenth century, which uncovered vivid examples of religiosity and daily life among tribes of the western Sierra Madre. He was allowed to photograph places and ritual practices as well as interview and collect oral traditions and myths. His *Symbolism of the Huichol Indians* (1900) and *El México desconocido* (1904) provide important data about the world view and ritual life of the Huichol and the Tarahumara peoples.

CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES. During the 1930s and 1940s there was some pioneer ethnographic and historical research done, like Alfonso Villa Rojas's *Dioses y espíritus paganos de los mayas de Quintana Roo* (1941), George Foster's

Nagualism in Mexico and Guatemala (1944), and Robert M. Zingg's *The Huichol, Primitive Artists* (1938). In 1949 the Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología started organizing their Round Tables in which important Mesoamerican themes were discussed.

During the 1950s several important books on the subject of Prehispanic Mesoamerican religions appeared. One of these, *El pueblo del Sol* (1953), by the Mexican archaeologist Alfonso Caso, was the first book written on a popular level to give a general overview of Aztec religion. Caso distinguished three levels of religiosity in Aztec culture: the popular and polytheistic, the priestly, and the philosophical, which, according to Caso, almost attained monotheism. He stressed that the Aztec's actions and, indeed, their very sense of life were derived from the belief that they were a people with a mission. The Aztec conceived of themselves as a people favored by the Sun, allied to the forces of goodness and engaged in a moral struggle against the forces of evil.

One of the most articulate voices on Mesoamerican philosophy and religion is Miguel Léon-Portilla, whose many books and articles have set a standard for writing about worldview, metaphor and poetry. His first book, *La filosofía náhuatl* (1956; *Aztec Thought and Culture,* in English, 1956), attempted to demonstrate that among the ancient Mexicans there was a group of genuine philosophers distinct from the class of priests. He argued that there existed among the ancient Mesoamericans two opposite points of view regarding life and the universe. One was mystic-militaristic, oriented toward war and bloody sacrifice (the main purpose of which was to preserve the life of the sun, which was menaced by the threat of final cataclysm). The other worldview, represented by the Nahuatl symbol for knowledge, Quetzalcoatl, was philosophical and attempted to find the meaning of life through intellectual means. Léon-Portilla, in his *Tiempo y realidad en el pensamiento Maya* (1968; *Time and Reality in the Thought of the Maya,* in English, 1973), provides us with a useful overview of how time and the passage of time was understood to permeate every level of daily life and reality among the Maya. He later wrote other books, including *La religión de los nicaraos* (1972) and *Mexico Tenochtitlan, su espacio y tiempo sagrados* (1978). Appended to *Tiempo y realidad* was included Villa Roja's important essay "Los conceptos de espacio y tiempo entre los grupos mayences contemporaneos."

Corona Núñez wrote two books on the Tarascan: *La religión de los tarascos* (1957) and *Mitología tarasca* (1962). Pedro Carrasco (1950) wrote an ethnohistorical study on the Otomí, and Barbro Dahlgren (1954) on La Mixteca with very important sections on the religion of these ethnic groups.

French archaeologist Laurette Séjourné's *Burning Water: Thought and Religion in Ancient Mexico,* (1957) synthesizes her interpretations of Mexican religion. According to her, the myth of Quetzalcoatl constitutes the paradigmatic revelation at the heart of Aztec tradition, and can be compared to some of the world's great religions. For Sejourne, the chief difference from other great religions was to be found in the distinctive symbolic language of the Quetzalcoatl tradition, which reveals that the human soul passes thorough different stages and ordeals until it reaches a liberated consciousness.

From the 1950s and especially in the 1960s there was an increase in the ethnographic research with an emphasis in indigenous cosmologies and religious practices, including beliefs related to medicine, Indian and Spanish syncretic religion. Most of these studies were made under research projects of the University of Chicago and Harvard University. Many themes are still relevant, including: fertility associated with death; the importance of agricultural myths—especially the ones associated with the rain cycle; the concepts of cold and hot, of the soul, of *tona* and *nagual;* diseases related to the spiritual sphere; and the ritual specialists who had as their main task curing people. While much of this research was synthetized in articles published in the *Handbook of Middle American Indians,* one article in particular constitutes a watershed in the study of Mesoamerican religions, H. B. Nicholson's classic study "Religion in Prehispanic Central Mexico" which appeared in Vol. X (1971) provides us with a thorough account of prehispanic Central Mexican religion. This essay gives special atttention to cosmogony, cosmology, major cult themes, deities, and ritualism based on the archaeological, documentary and pictorial sources, and on the authors who had dealt with the themes up to his publication.

In volumes VII and VIII devoted to Ethnology, specialists wrote about the different ethnic groups, each with a section on religion. Volume VI on Social Anthropology (1967) included several articles related to religion: William Madsens' "Religious syncretism," Frank Canciani's "Religious and Political organization," and Michael E. Mendelson's "Ritual and Cosmology," based on his own investigations and the ethnographic studies published so far by several authors. He directs his attention to Indian and Spanish acculturation, giving priority to the Mayan people, to the distribution of ritual personnel, and to the general study of the forms of ritual and the contents of myth.

Other important books written during these years were Guiteras Holmes's *Perils of the soul* (1961); Holland's, *Medicina maya en los Altos de Chiapas* (1963); Aguirre Beltrán's *Medicina y magia, el proceso de aculturación en la estructura colonial* (1963); and Alain Ichon's *La religion des totonaques* (1969).

In 1972 the twelfth "round table" of the Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología was held in Cholula, Mexico. During the conference, which was titled "Religion in Mesoamerica," ninety-six scholars presented papers, most of which were later published in a volume (1972) and were the seeds of new full investigations. Discussion at the conference centered on a perennial question in Mesoamerican studies: is "Mesoamerican religion" one religious system or many? On one side of the argument were Alfonso Caso and Jiménez Moreno, who posited the unity of the Mesoamerican religions. On the other side was George Kubler, who argued for a Mesoamerican co-tradition following Bennet's 1948 proposal for Peruvian co-tradition. The problem of methodology was raised again during the conference by Kubler's critical voice against the validity of using modern ethnological analogies explaining prehispanic religion. In fact, Kubler was against using even sixteenth century colonial analogies to interpret prehispanic religion explaining older Mesoamerican cultures. He proposed instead Panowsky's principle of disjunction.

Modern Mesoamerican ethnographic studies have proven a unity of Mesoamerican culture, including cosmovision and religion. In 1973 the first Round table of Palenque organized by Merle Green took place and has continued to the present publishing the proceedings, which are the results of important studies.

From the late 1970s, new discoveries in the fields of Mesoamerican ethnography, archaeology and Maya epigraphy have led to an increasing amount of research dealing with the religious systems of Mesoamerica. It includes new types of theoretical trends, such as Marxist, structuralist, cognitive anthropology, symbolic anthropology, phenomenology, hermeneutics, and the scientific study of religion. The increase in publication is so vast that it is impossible to mention all the names involved, therefore only the most significant will be noted.

Eva Hunt, in her book *The Transformation of the Hummingbird: Cultural Roots of a Zinacantecan Mythical Poem* (1977), claims to employ the social-scientific theories of Auguste Comte, Karl Marx, Émile Durkheim (1858–1917), Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), Claude Lévi-Strauss, and Victor Turner—among others—as tools of interpretation. She interprets a modern Maya-Zinacantecan poem in light of its antecedents in Mesoamerican mythology. She concludes that Mesoamerican religion is of a type characteristic of agrarian states, and that it is based upon an agrarian paradigm of space and time.

Other authors who wrote important books on mayense groups include Gary Gossen, *Los chamulas en el mundo del sol* (1979), and Evon Z. Vogt, *Ofrenda para los dioses* (1983).

Alfredo López Austin has contributed many new ideas to the field of Mesoamerican religions. His book *Cuerpo humano e ideología* (1980) examines Nahuatl concepts concerning the human body (of which the soul was considered a part) from within a frame constructed through an understanding of the society from which these concepts arose. López Austin's interpretations of what he calls "soul entities" represent a new kind of reading of ancient Mesoamerican religious thought. He has also put forward the hypothesis of a "hard nucleus" of Mesoamerican culture, a complex of ideas quite resistant to change, but with a dynamic cultural unity which admitted cultural variations, and is followed by almost all Mexican Mesoamericanists.

In his publications *Los mitos del tlacuache* (1990) and *Tamoanchan* (1993), he studies cosmic typology and its significance, the foundation of Mesoamerican mythology from prehispanic times to the present, and proposes an archetype of vegetable type with concepts concerning vegetation and the life and death cycle, which emphasizes the preeminent role of maize.

López Austin also develops cosmological conceptions of the duality of the mythic Tamoanchan and Tlalocan. For him Tamoanchan is the great cosmic tree situated in the center of the universe, which sinks its roots into the underworld and extends its foliage into heaven. Through its two intertwisted trunks, in a helicoidal form, run the streams of opposite forces which, in their struggle, produce time.

A number of scholars, including Michael Graulich, Doris Heyden, Johanna Broda and Yolotl González, have explored the diversity and complexity of Mesoamerican mythologies. Graulich believes that a fundamental pattern in mythology follows the transgressions of the gods and their expulsion from paradise, resulting in human strategies of sacrifice in order to return, in some symbolic or actual way, to a glorious world. Doris Heyden's work has shown how plants, caves, and stones were understood to be imbued with mythic powers and thereby became substances that enabled commoners and elites alike to participate in the worlds of the gods. González Torres shows us how myths of sacrifice not only served as models for ritual sacrifice but also functioned to weave political authority and hegemony together with religious power and prestige. Broda has given special importance to rituals, above all to agricultural rituals and to hills as models of the universe and as *axis mundi*—the center of the world. She sees in all these a reflection of the observation of nature and the cosmos.

Among the many authors who have written about the religion of the Mayans is Mercedes de la Garza, whose methodological approach is the science of religion. She considers Maya religion as a cultural phenomenon by itself, leaving behind interpretations of archeology and other disciplines. Her books include: *El universo sagrado de la serpiente en el mundo maya* (1984) and *Sueño y alucinación en el mundo nahuatl y maya* (1999).

Other authors who have written about Maya religion, are Karl A. Taube, *The Major Gods of Yucatan* (1992), Linda Schele and Mary Ellen Miller, *The Blood of Kings* (1989), and David Freidel, Linda Schelle, and Joy Parker, *Maya Cosmos: Three Thousand Years on the Shaman's Path* (1993). The authors of these books analyze through iconography and epigraphy sacrificial practices and the development of Maya religion and cosmology. Since the 1990s, epigraphic discoveries of David Stuart and Stephen Houston on supernatural domains and spiritual essences have added to the religious knowledge of the Classic Maya.

TYPES OF STUDY. The study of Mesoamerican religions has been the domain of archaeologists, ethnologists, art historians, historians of religion, and sociologists. Most of the literature has been published in anthropological journals, such as *American Anthropologist* (Washington, D.C., 1899–), *Anthropos* (Salzburg, 1906–1979), *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (Berlin, 1869–), *Anales del Museo Nacional* (Mexico City, 1877–1945), *Estudios de cultura náhuatl* (1959–), *Estudios de cultura maya* (1962–), *Tlalocan* (1943–) and many other magazines. A newer one is *Arqueología* (1993–), which has articles on Mexican anthropology and history superbly illustrated, with religion occupying an important place. There have been other articles on "Mexican gods," "sacrifice," "rituals" and so on, written by specialists on the particular subjects.

Several museums in Mexico, the United States, Europe, and Asia have held exhibitions of prehispanic objects, most of which are religious, having been found in burial sites and ceremonial centers. These exhibitions have added to the knowledge and the diffusion of prehispanic culture and religion. The most relevant have been: "The Blood of Kings," Forth Worth, Tex. (1986); "Aztec, the World of Moctezuma," Denver, Colo. (1992); "Teotihuacan. Art from the City of Gods," San Francisco (1993); "Gods of Ancient Mexico," Mexico City (1995–1996); "The Mayans," Venice and Mexico City (1999); "A Trip Through the Land of the Gods," Amsterdam (2000); and "Aztecs," London (2002) Berlin (2003) and Washington (2004).

Some exhibitions' catalogues reprint material already discussed in other publications, while others offer new research and become texts in their own right.

There are articles written by different scholars about Mesoamerican religion in encyclopedias of world mythologies or religion (*Larousse World Mythology,* 1988, *Man and His Gods,* 1971) or general histories of religion, like Francisco Diez de Velasco's *Introducción a la Historia de las Religiones* (2002). Dictionaries of Mesoamerican religion have also been published, including: Yolotl González's 1991 *Diccionario de Mitología y Religión mesoamericana* and Mary Ellen Miller and Karl Taube's 1993 *The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Mexico.*

Many research and educational institutions, especially in Mexico, are doing research on Mesoamerican religion, including: the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH) with its different museums and regional centers; several research institutes of the National Autonomous University (UNAM); and many other universities and educational centers. The French Center for Latin American Studies (CEMCA), the Italian Mission Italiana and the Polish Center for Latin American Studies have produced books like J Gallinier's *La mitad del mundo en la cosmovisión otomí* (1990); Guillaume Olivier's 1997 *Moquerie et metamorphosis d'un dieu azteque. Tezcatlipoca* (*Mockeries and Metamorphoses of an Aztec God: Tezcatlipoca,* in English); Anne-Marie Vié-Wohrer's 1999 *Xipe Totec, Notre Seigneur l'Ecorché;* Italo Signorini and Alessandro Lupo's *Los ejes de la vida, alma, cuerpo y enfermedad entre los nahuas serranos* (1989); Lupo's *La Tierra nos escucha* (1995); and Andrez Wiercinski's *Tlillan Tlapallan. Estudio de la religión mesoamericana* (1998).

Alcina Frank has written "Dioses zapotecas," 1972, and *El temazcal* (Mesoamerican steam bath), 1999. Rivera Dorado wrote *Religión maya* (1986).

The study of Mesoamerican religions received a major stimulus from the stunning discoveries made in downtown Mexico City by Proyecto Templo Mayor between 1979 and 1985. Led by Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, this truly multidisciplinary excavation uncovered the primary religio-political shrine of the Aztec Empire. The dig uncovered seven complete rebuildings of the Great Temple. Most amazing were the excavations of over 115 ritual caches buried by the Aztecs at key religious cermonies between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. Among the many important works written about these discoveries is Leonardo López Luján's excellent synthesis "Offerings of the Templo Mayor of Tenochtittlan." This is one part of Templo Mayor studies developed in a twenty-year collaboration between Eduardo Matos and Davíd Carrasco, who set up the Mesoamerican Archive at the University of Colorado in 1984. Together they have organized important investigations of archeological, ethnohistorical and ideological analysis of sacred space, urban plans and ceremonial practices in ancient Mesoamerica. At Harvard University's Peabody Museum, the archive, in collaboration with the University Press of Colorado, launched a series "Mesoamerican Worlds" which has published results in books, including *To Change Place: Aztec Ceremonial Landscapes* (1991). Carrasco is the author of *Religions of Mesoamerica: Cosmovision and Ceremonial Centeres* and was the editor-in-chief of the three-volume *Oxford Encyclopedia of Mesoamerican Culture* (1999).

Mesoamerican religion is a topic—and sometimes main theme—of numerous meetings of institutions and associations, including: Americanists Congress, American Anthropological Association, Dumbarton Oaks Foundation, and recently, the International Congress of the History of Religion.

The Instituto de Investigaciones antropológicas de la UNAM and the Sociedad mexicana de Estudios de la Religión A.C. organized three coloquia under the name of Historia de la Religión en Mesoamérica y áreas afines. Its proceedings were published by Barbro Dahlgren in 1987, 1990, and 1993.

Recent years have seen an explosion of ethnohistorical and interpretive publications. Significant work has been performed by art historians who have developed a new grasp on the iconographic traditions relating religiosity to politics and art styles. Especially important are the works by Doris Heyden, George Kubler, H. B. Nicholson, Esther Pasztory, Richard Townsend, Elizabeth Boone and Carmen Aguilera. The growing community of Mesoamerican scholars who have developed intensive dialogues among themselves has resulted in a loss of interest in cross-cultural analysis between Mesoamerica and other parts of the world. This is due in part to the recent discrediting of the diffusionist approach of earlier scholars. It may be that in time, new comparative studies will result in useful tools for developing broader views for the rise and complexity of state societies. While historical interpretations of myths continue to dominate the scholarship, a small but potent series of publications drawing on the structuralist approach continue to contribute to our understanding of religion an ideology.

The problem of myth and history has continued to engage scholars such as López Austin, González Torres, Enrique Florescano, Davíd Carrasco and H. B. Nicholson, particularly in regard to the Toltec tradition. Carrasco (*Quetzalcoatl and the Irony of Empire*) and Florescano (*Quetzalcoatl y los mitos fundadores de Mesoamérica*) argue, in different ways, that Teotihuacan either stimulated the idea of Tollan in the minds of Mesoamerican people, or was the original Tollan. In a recent celebrated publication, H. B. Nicholson (*Topiltzin quetzalcoatl: The Once and Future Lord of the Toltecs*) outlines the possibility of some degree of historicity in the Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl of Tollan tale. Others, including López Austin and López Luján, emphasize that Quetzalcoatl and Tollan were understood primarily as mythic sites and figures.

Due in part to the leadership of Anthony Aveni, Franz Tichy, Johanna Broda, S. Milbrath and Y. González, Mesoamericanists have placed an increasing emphasis on astronomical alignments, appearances and patterns in their interpretations of Mesoamerican religions and societies. New fields of study, including archaeoastronomy and ethnoastronomy, have emerged as a result of their publications, and a series of productive conferences in Mexico, the United States and Europe have taken place.

Other studies explore the relationships between energy, man, and the cosmos in ancient and modern Mesoamerican thought. These concepts have been associated with the concept of *mana.* Several authors have linked these concepts with hot (positive) and cold (negative) energy which circulates between the underworld, earth and the supraworld through cosmic trees, and also with the acute consciousness of entropy—which, according to Christian Duverger in his *La fleur létale: Économie du sacrifice aztèque* (1979), characterized the thought of the Aztec.

Concepts about the relation of man to nature and the cosmos present in beliefs, symbols, and rituals permeate almost all Mesoamerican research. Important also has been the research about religious specialists: *rezanderos* (shamans and healers) and *graniceros* (diviners and witches).

For a long time, the main task for all scholars studying Mesoamerican traditions has been to gather all available ethnohistorical and ethnographic material and to attempt, on the basis of this evidence, to reconstruct the different aspects of Mesoamerican cultures, including their religious systems. This reconstruction continues, as new archaeological and ethnographic discoveries are constantly providing new data. New ethnological studies have shown that it is possible to use knowledge of modern Indian religions to help interpret data concerning pre-Conquest religion, and vice-versa. It shows the unity and continuity of Mesoamerican cosmovision, in spite of the superimposition of Catholicism, which has led to the syncretic religion that has been called "popular religion" and has become a wide field of study. One of the most prolific writers on this field is Félix Baez Jorge, the author of *Los oficios de las diosas* (1988), *Las voces del agua* (1992), *La parentela de María* (1994), and *Nahuales and Santos* (1998). Also important is James Dow, author of *Santos y Supervivenicas* (1974), *Giménez Gilberto* (1978), *Cultura Popular y religión en Anahuac, Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán* (1986), and *Zongolica: encuentro de Dioses y Santos Patronos.*

Isabel Kelly (1961), Isabel Lagarriga (1975) and Silvia Ortiz Echaniz (1991) have studied the "espiritualismo trinitario mariano," a widespread popular religion which gives great importance to spiritual healing.

The role of religion and identity consciousness has also become an important aspect of study, linked to nativism and revival religions. One area in particular has received scholarly attention, resulting in three powerful publications: The contemporary religious practice in communities near Lake Atitlan in Guatemala have been effectively studied by Robert Carlsen (*War for the Heart and Soul of a Highland Maya Town*), Vincent Stanzione (*Rituals of Sacrifice: Walking the Face of the Earth on the Sacred Path of the Sun, a Journey Through the Tz'Utujil Maya World of Santiago Atitlan*) and Nathaniel Tarn and Martin Prechtel, (*Scandals in the House of Birds: Shamans and Priests on Lake Atitlan*).

Indian symbolic reelaboration of Christian stories and calendric festivals like the celebration of the Holy Cross in May and the day of the death in November, as well as the carnival and Holy Week, sanctuaries, pilgrimages, religious dances and the cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe, so strongly linked to Mexican identity, have produced a number of investigations (De la Maza 1981, Nebel 1992, Noguez 1993). Since the 1980s there has been a rapid spread of Protestantism in Mesoamerican communities, especially among the mayense groups of Mexico and Guatemala. This, and the influence of the Catholic Liberation movement, has greatly changed the cosmovision of the different ethnic groups and has led to much religious conflict.

Also appearing are revival and nativist movements, formed mostly by non-Indians, influenced by New Age ideas and pan Indian movements. They try to revive an idealized Aztec religion, denying the practice of human sacrifice. They have adopted as one of their main rituals the "concheros" or Aztec dance and claim that the main archaeological sites are their places of worship, charged with the sacredness of "their ancestors," especially in the equinoxes and the solstices. Some groups have adopted the North American Lakota dance of the sun as their most important ritual. These revivalist religious movements are spreading rapidly throughout Mexico, among the Mexican Americans, and even in Europe. There is also a group of priests, who after the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), where it was decided that the people had cultural and religious rights, have followed what they call the Indian theology. They argue that the Indians have had their own theology since prehispanic times and that now there should be a dialogue between the Christian theology and the religiosity of the Indian populations.

SEE ALSO Calendars, article on Mesoamerican Calendars.

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MESOPOTAMIAN RELIGIONS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW [FIRST EDITION]
AN OVERVIEW [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]
HISTORY OF STUDY

MESOPOTAMIAN RELIGIONS: AN OVERVIEW [FIRST EDITION]

Ancient Mesopotamia is the country now called Iraq. Its northern part, down to an imaginary line running east-west slightly north of modern Baghdad, constituted ancient Assyria, with the cities of Ashur (modern Qalʾat Shergat), which was the old capital; Calah (Nimrud); and Nineveh (Kouyundjik), which took its place later, at the time of the Assyrian empire in the first millennium BCE. The country consists of rolling plains resting on a bed of rocks. Rainfall over most of the area is sufficient to sustain a cereal crop. The main river is the Tigris, which traverses the country from northwest to southeast. The language spoken in historical times was Assyrian, a dialect of Akkadian, a Semitic language related to Hebrew and Arabic.

The southern part of Mesopotamia, south of the imaginary line mentioned, was ancient Babylonia, with Babylon (Babil) as its capital. The country here is flat, alluvial plain, and the average rainfall is too scant to allow a cereal crop. The country thus depends on artificial irrigation for its agriculture. It was in antiquity crisscrossed by a formidable net of rivers and canals. Such rains as fall are, though, sufficient to bring up pasture of grasses and herbs in the desert for a short grazing season in the spring. The language spoken was the Babylonian dialect of Akkadian.

The designations *Assyria* and *Babylonia* are appropriate only for the second and first millennia BCE, or, more exactly, from about 1700 BCE on, when Ashur and Babylon rose to political prominence. Before that time the later Assyria was known as Subartu, while what was to become Babylonia consisted of two main parts. Dwellers of the region north of an imaginary line running east-west slightly above Nippur (Nuffar) in historical times spoke Akkadian, while those of the region south of it spoke Sumerian, a language unrelated to any other known language or language family. The northern region was known as Akkad in Akkadian and as Uri in Sumerian, while the southern one was called Sumer or, more correctly, Shumer in Akkadian, Kiengir in Sumerian.

The capital of Akkad was in early times the city of Kish (Uheimir); later on, the city Akkad (not yet located) took its place. The country was traversed by two rivers, the Tigris flowing along the eastern border areas and the Euphrates farther to the west. The course of the Euphrates was, however, not the same then as it is today. Its main branch flowed by

Nippur and east to Shuruppak (Fara), then south to Uruk (Warka), and on to Ararma (in Akkadian, Larsa; now Senkereh) and Ur (Muqayyir). Above Nippur an arching branch, the Arah-tu, took off in a westerly direction, flowing by Babylon before rejoining the main course; another branch flowed south to Isin (Ishan Bahriyāt). In an easterly direction a major arching branch, the Iturungal, took off, flowing by Adab (Bismāya) to Zabalam (Bzeikh), Umma (Joha), and Patibira (Medina) before rejoining the main course at Ararma. At Zabalam the Iturungal sent a branch east, then south, to serve Girsu (Tello), Lagash (Tel al Hiba), and Nina (Zurghul). The main course of the Euphrates south of Uruk sent a branch south to Eridu (Abu Shahrein).

Economically, as mentioned, both Akkad and Sumer depended mainly on irrigation agriculture. There were, however, also other important economies. The region around Uruk and south along the Euphrates was, then as now, famous for its date groves; herding of sheep and oxen provided wool and dairy products as well as meat; fishing and hunting were important along the rivers and in the southern marshlands.

Capital cities in Sumer were Uruk and Ur; later on, Isin and Ararma. Of central religious and political importance was Nippur, seat of the god Enlil.

HISTORY. The earliest settlement of Mesopotamia of which we have evidence took place in the north, in the plains of the later Assyria. Here small agricultural villages, dependent essentially on rain agriculture and herding, occurred as early as the seventh millennium BCE. In the south, the later Babylonia, settlement began in the sixth millennium only, with what is known as the Ubaid period. The people who settled were most likely the forebears of the later Sumerian-speaking people of the region. Their settlement form seems originally to have been one of campsites and seminomadic small villages located along natural watercourses. They depended partly on irrigation hoe agriculture, partly on herding and fishing. Each tribe had a fixed center, a "treasury" in which it kept stores and religious objects that would have been inconvenient to take along on wanderings. Such tribal centers appear to have formed the nuclei of many of the later cities and central sanctuaries, to judge from their names.

The period of the earliest occupation, the Ubaid period, was a long one, and it saw, toward its end, the rise of the first cities. They lined the edge of the southern marshes and may well have owed their existence to a combination of the varied economies of the region: irrigation farming, herding, fishing and hunting; the key requirement for the rise of a city is the availability of economies able to sustain a massing of population on a small space.

Among these first cities were Eridu, Ur, and Uruk, and with the Uruk period, which followed in the late fifth millennium, the cities and the lifestyle they fostered had grown to a point where, as the period was coming to an end around 3500 BCE, we can speak for the first time of true civilization, characterized by magnificent sculpture, monumental architecture, and—most important of all—the invention and development of writing.

As to political forms then in vogue, the occurrence of the term for general assembly (*unkin*) in the early inscriptions is of interest. It belongs in a political pattern called "primitive democracy." Supreme power was vested in a general assembly, which served as a court, as a legislative assembly, and as the authority for electing officers, such as the religio-economic manager, the *en*, and in times of crisis, a war leader, the *lugal*, who served for the time of the emergency only. This pattern made its imprint on early myths and survived as a feature of local government down into the second millennium. In the following Jemdet Nasr and Early Dynastic periods there are suggestions that the pattern of primitive democracy was extended from a local to a national scale with the formation of a league of the city-states along the Euphrates, which met for assembly in Nippur. What specific circumstances could have induced these city-states to forget their local rivalries and join in a common effort is not known for certain, but a plausible guess would be that pressure from invading Akkadian-speaking nomads from the west, which should date to about this time, would have constituted a danger clear and present enough to impose unity, at least for a while.

Whatever unity may have been imposed by the common need to stem the Akkadian advance can have been of short duration only. The Early Dynastic period quickly became one of wars between city-states, which vied with one another for hegemony over the country. The first city to achieve such status was Kish in the north, and its rulers maintained that status long enough to make the title "king of Kish" a term for overlordship over all of Sumer and Akkad. After Kish, various other cities, prominent among them Uruk and Ur, held the hegemony for shorter periods, always precariously and open to successful challenge.

The warlike conditions of life made their mark on the kind of political leadership that had evolved, that of the en and the *lugal*. The *en* was basically a person who produced abundance. He or she participated as spouse of the city deity in the yearly fertility drama of the Sacred Marriage, and generally, through personal charisma, managed city affairs productively. One might speak of a "priest-king" or "priest-queen." The *lugal* was quite different. The term means "great householder," not "great man," as it is generally translated, and the *lugal* was originally the son of a major landowner, chosen in the assembly for his military prowess and for the house servants of his paternal house, who would form the core of the army and its high command. As times grew more warlike—and evidence for war appears already with the late Uruk period—the *en*, if he wished to retain his leadership, was forced to turn his abilities to military leadership also, while the *lugal*, who originally had been chosen for the term of an emergency, tended to become permanent as the threat of war became so. This imposed on him responsibility also for the religious, administrative, and economic tasks that belonged originally to the *en*, so that the functions of the two offices tended to merge. The old title of *en* was continued in Uruk. Almost everywhere else that of *lugal* was preferred. A new title of rather more restricted claim, which made its appearance in the Early Dynastic period, was that of *ensi*, "productive manager of the arable lands." It designated the official in charge of plowing, and thus of the city's draft animals, which in war would serve the chariotry of its army. The *ensi*, therefore, tended to become the political head of the community, its ruler.

At the very end of the Early Dynastic period a ruler of the city of Umma succeeded in extending his domain to include all of Sumer and Akkad. After an unsuccessful campaign in the north he was defeated and his realm taken over by Sargon of Akkad (c. 2334–2279). Sargon's successors kept a precarious hold on the south until, at the accession of Naram-Sin (c. 2254–2218), that region made itself independent. Akkad continued to flourish, however, deriving its wealth from its position on the major overland route from the Mediterranean to Iran and India, a route the Akkad rulers carefully policed. The city's wealth may have been the cause of an attack on it by a coalition of neighboring countries. Naram-Sin met their armies one by one and defeated them, thus regaining control of all of Mesopotamia. This feat so awed his fellow citizens that they deified him and chose him city god of Akkad. Under Naram-Sin's successors Akkad went into decline, and the Gutians, invaders from the eastern mountains, for a while took control. They were defeated, and the country liberated, by Utuhegal of Uruk, who in turn was succeeded by the famous third dynasty of Ur. Under that dynasty a well-integrated administrative system was developed. The formerly independent city rulers now became governors appointed by, and responsible to, the king and his corps of central officials.

The third dynasty of Ur ended in disaster. A breakthrough of Mardu tribes, nomads of the western desert, disrupted communications and isolated the former city-states from the capital, Ur, which lost control of all but the immediately adjacent territory. Eventually the city fell to an invading force from Elam and was mercilessly looted. Its fall spelled the end of Sumerian civilization even though the language, as the vehicle of culture and learning, continued to be taught in the schools.

The third dynasty of Ur was followed by two long-lived dynasties, one of Isin and one of Larsa, which divided the country between them. They in turn gave way to the short-lived rule of all of Babylonia by Hammurabi of Babylon (fl. 1792–1750), famous for his law code, and his son Samsuiluna. Late in the latter's reign the south and middle of Babylonia again made itself independent, now under the name of the Sea Land. It covered much the same territory as had Sumer, and its kings consciously stressed their role as heirs to Sumer's ancient language and culture. The dynasty of Babylon fell to a raid by the faraway Hittites around 1600 BCE. When the Hittites had withdrawn, invaders from the mountains, the Kassites, took control and ruled Babylonia for a substantial length of time. One of these Kassite kings, Ulamburiash, conquered the Sea Land and thus unified Babylonia once more. The major rivals of the Kassite kings were the rulers of Assyria, which since the time of Hammurabi had grown in power and influence.

The Kassite dynasty fell before an attack by Shutruk-Nahunte of Elam, who controlled the country for a while. Then a move to regain independence developed in Isin, and the energetic ruler Nebuchadrezzar I (1124–1103) completely liberated the country, defeated Elam, and brought back the statue of Marduk, the city god of Babylon, which the Elamites had earlier taken as booty. From this time on begins the rise of that god to a position of supreme power in, and creator of, the cosmos. Before then the traditional view with Enlil as supreme god had held sway as the officially accepted one.

The following centuries saw a steady rivalry between Babylonia and Assyria, with the latter eventually victorious. After a gradual extension of their authority over Syria by the Assyrians, Tiglath-pileser III (745–727) conquered Babylonia, and under his successors, Sargon II, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal, it remained an Assyrian dependency even though at times it had its own Assyrian-appointed king and a semblance of independence. Throughout this time, however, Babylonia remained a thorn in the side of its Assyrian overlords. It even drove Sennacherib to the extreme of obliterating the city, only to have it restored by his son Esarhaddon.

Assyria fell in 609 BCE, after the capital, Nineveh, had been captured in 612 in a combined attack by the Medes and the army of Babylonia. Here an Aramean, Nabopolassar, had achieved freedom from the Assyrian yoke and founded a dynasty. After participating with the Medes in the destruction of Nineveh and Assyria, he turned to the conquest of Syria, which was accomplished by the crown prince Nebuchadrezzar, who followed his father to the throne in 605.

In 539 BCE Babylon opened its gates to the Persian king Cyrus. The last indigenous ruler, Nabonidus, had incurred the hatred of the Marduk priesthood through his championship of the moon god Sin of Harran and his attempts at religious reform. For part of his reign he left rule in Babylon to his son Belshazzar and withdrew himself to the Tema Oasis in Arabia. With him ended Babylonian independence.

DIVINE FORMS: THE NUMINOUS. Basic to all religion, and so also to ancient Mesopotamian religion, is, I believe, a unique experience of confrontation with power not of this world. The German theologian and philosopher Rudolf Otto called it the numinous experience and characterized it as experience of a *mysterium tremendum et fascinans*, a confrontation with a "wholly other" outside of normal experience and indescribable in its terms. It is the human response to it in thought (myth and theology) and action (cult and worship) that constitutes religion.

Since what is met with in the numinous experience is not of this world, it cannot be described, for all descriptive terms necessarily reflect this-worldly experience and so fall short. At most, therefore, it will be possible to seek to recall and suggest the human response to the numinous experience as closely as possible by way of analogy and evocative metaphor. Every religion, accordingly, has evolved standardized versions of such metaphors. They form the link from firsthand to secondhand experience, become the vehicle of religious instruction, and form the body of collective belief. They will differ, naturally, with the different civilizations in which they are grounded and from which their imagery is taken. Study of any given religion must thus begin with the study of its favorite and central metaphors, taking due care not to forget that they are but metaphors and so are no end in themselves but are meant to point beyond.

Physiomorphism. Turning, then, to the world of ancient Mesopotamian religion, its most striking characteristic seems to be an innate bend toward immanence. The numinous was here experienced as the inwardness of some striking feature or phenomenon of the situation in which it was encountered, as a will and power for that phenomenon to be in its particular form and manner and to thrive. It was therefore natural that it should be considered to have the form and name of the phenomenon whose inwardness it constituted. It was also natural that the early settlers should have been drawn particularly to those numinous forces that informed phenomena vital to their survival, the early economies, and that they should have wished to hold onto them and maintain them through cult and worship.

The original identity of numinous powers with the phenomena they were thought to inform is indicated by divine names such as *An* ("heaven") for the god of heaven, *Hursag* ("foothills") for the goddess of the near ranges, *Nanna* ("moon") for the moon god, *Utu* ("sun") for the sun god, *Ezen* ("grain") for the grain goddess, and so forth. Occasionally an honorific epithet, such as *en* ("productive manager, lord") or *nin* ("mistress"), was added, as in *Enlil* ("lord wind") and *Nintur* ("mistress birth-hut"). In some cases the mythopoeic imagination elaborated on a phenomenon to bring out its character more vividly, as when the numinous thundercloud Imdugud ("rain cloud") takes form as an enormous bird floating on outstretched wings and emitting its thunderous roar through a lion's head, or when Gishzida ("wellgrown tree") is given form as the stock of a tree entangled in roots having the form of snakes, thus visualizing the belief of the ancients that tree roots could come alive as snakes.

The early selectivity of powers experienced in phenomena of vital economic importance to the settlers shows in the distribution of city gods, who must be considered coeval with their cities, over the various regional economies of the country. The extreme south is marshland with characteristic economies such as fishing, fowling, and hunting. Here was Eridu, the city of Enki, whose other names were *Daradim* ("wild goat fashioner") and *Enuru* ("lord reed-bundle"), signifying power in the marsh vegetation and in the reed bundles with which reed huts were constructed. Farther east, in Nina, resided Enki's daughter Nanshe, goddess of fish, the numinous force producing the teeming schools of fish that gave the fisherman his livelihood. South of Nina, in Kinirsha, was the home of Dumuzi-Abzu ("producer of healthy young ones of the marsh"), the mysterious numinous will and power for the young of marsh fauna to be born healthy and unimpaired. Through the marshlands along the Euphrates runs also the country of the ox herdsman and the orchardman. To the ox herdsman's pantheon belonged the bull god Ningublaga and his consort Nineiagara ("lady of the creamery"). In Ur resided Nanna, the moon god envisaged by the herdsman as a frisky young bull with gleaming horns—the new moon—grazing in the pasture of heaven. In Ararma, farther up river, resided the sun god Utu, whose round face was seen as the round face of a bison. At Uruk, finally, was the cow goddess Ninsuna ("mistress of the wild cows"), who was herself visualized as cow-shaped, and her bull-god husband, Lugalbanda. The ox herdsmen grazed their herds on the young shoots of reed and rushes in the marshes along the Euphrates. Closer to the river itself was the country of the orchardmen, who depended on the river for the irrigation of their plantations. To them belonged Ninazu of Enegir, seemingly a god of waters, and his son Ningishzida ("master of the good tree") of Gishbanda, a deity of tree roots and serpents. His wife was Ninazimua ("mistress of the well-grown branch"). Damu, city god of Girsu on the Euphrates, was a vegetation god, especially, it would seem, the power for the sap to rise in plants and trees in the spring. Farther up still, at Uruk—in antiquity as today a center of date culture—there was Amaushumgalana, the power for animal growth and new life of the date palm, and his consort Inanna, earlier Ninana ("mistress of the date clusters"), a personification of the date storehouse.

At Uruk the country of the orchardmen and the oxherds joins that of the shepherds; called the *edin*, it is a wide, grassy steppe in the heart of Sumer, ringed around by the Euphrates and the Iturungal. Here on the western edge is Uruk with Inanna of the shepherds, goddess of the rains that call up verdure and grazing in the desert, and her young husband, Dumuzi ("producer of healthy young ones"). This pair was also worshiped in Patibira on the southern edge, and in Umma and Zabalam on the eastern edge. On the southern edge lies also Ararma with the sun god Utu and his son Shakan, god of all four-legged beasts of the desert, and to the north is the domain of Ishkur, god of the thundershowers that turn the desert green like a garden in the spring.

North and east of the *edin*, finally, lay the plowlands with cities dedicated to cereal and chthonic deities, or deities of the chief agricultural implements, the hoe and plow. Shuruppak on the Euphrates was the home of Ansud, goddess of the ear of grain and daughter of Ninshebargunu ("mistress mottled barley"). Farther up the river was Nippur with

Ansud's divine husband, Enlil; and since Enlil's winds were the moist winds of spring that made the soil workable, he also was god of the oldest and most versatile agricultural implement, the hoe. Nippur—the city rather than its sacred quarter around Enlil's temple, Ekur—was also the home of Enlil's son Ninurta ("master plow"), god of the younger implement, the plow, and charged in Nippur with the office of plowman (*ensi*) on his father's estate. Identified by the ancients with Ninurta were the gods Pabilsag ("first new shoot"), who in Isin was husband of the city goddess Nininsina ("mistress of Isin"); and Ningirsu ("master of [the city] Girsu"), who in Girsu, southeast of the *edin*, was essentially a god of the thundershowers and the floods of spring. Farther north, in Cutha, resided the netherworld gods Meslamtaea ("the one issuing from the luxuriant mesu tree")—presumably originally a tree deity—and Nergal. In Kish resided Sabbaba ("ever spreading the wings"), a god of war and originally, perhaps, of the thundercloud. In Babylon Merodakh, or Marduk ("calf of the storm"), was the city god. He was a god of the thunderstorm envisaged as a roaring young bull.

Anthropomorphism. It seems reasonable to consider the physiomorphic forms the original and oldest forms under which the gods were envisaged, yet one should probably not altogether exclude the possibility that the human form may be almost equally early. The two forms were not mutually exclusive, and a deity might well choose to appear now under one, now under another. Seal impressions from the late Uruk period show the ritual scene of the sacred marriage with the goddess Inanna in her physiomorphic form of storehouse gateposts on some, in her human form on others. A later example is a statement about Gudea, ruler of Lagash (fl. c. 2144–c. 2124 BCE), who lived shortly before the third dynasty of Ur and whose goddess mother was the cow goddess Ninsuna. He is said to have been "born of a good cow in its woman aspect." As late as the early first millennium, a hymn to the moon god revels in attributing to the god physiomorphic and anthropomorphic forms alike: he is a prince, a young bull, a fruit selfgrown, a womb giving birth to all, and a merciful, forgiving father.

Although human and nonhuman forms thus could coexist peacefully, there are indications that they were not always equally favored. The human form was clearly seen as more dignified and appropriate than the nonhuman one and tended to eclipse it.

One outcome of this attitude was representations in which the two different kinds of form were blended but with the human features dominant. In Girsu, for instance, at the end of the Third Early Dynastic period a mace head dedicated to Ningirsu, god of thundershowers and floods, shows the donor in a pose of adoration before the god in his old form of a thunderbird. Somewhat later, when Gudea saw the god in his dream, Ningirsu was essentially human in form although he retained the thunderbird wings and merged the lower part of his body with a flood. From the time of Gudea stems also a vase dedicated to Ningishzida that shows the god in his cella with the door open and flanked by two gatekeepers in dragon form. The god appears in his original form of the stock of a tree entwined by serpent-shaped roots. To this same period belongs a relief that shows Ningishzida introducing Gudea to Ningirsu. Here he is in completely human form except for two heads of serpents peeping out from his body at the shoulders. In much similar fashion, vegetation deities on seals are shown with branches and greens protruding from their bodies as if—in the words of the archaeologist Henri Frankfort—their inner being was seeking to burst asunder the imposed human form.

Composite forms such as the above still recognize the relevance of the nonhuman forms and preserve their essential characteristics even if the human form clearly dominates; but more radical trends away from the physiomorphic representation deliberately separated the deity from the phenomenon which he or she informed. The deity became a power in human shape; the phenomenon subsided into a mere thing owned or managed by the deity, and the form derived from it into a mere emblem.

Thus, for instance, the goddess Hursag ("foothills") ceased being the deified foothills themselves and became instead Ninhursaga ("mistress of the foothills"). Similarly, the deified wild cow became Ninsuna ("mistress of wild cows"). Gishzida ("good tree") turned into Ningishzida ("master of the good tree"). Ningirsu's form of thunderbird was referred to by Gudea as his emblem, and it adorns—and perhaps protects—Ninurta's war chariot on the famous Stela of the Vultures. Inanna, as goddess of the morning and evening star, had the physiomorphic form of the small, round disk which that star looks like in the Near East. That too became an emblem carried as a standard by the contingent from her clan when Gudea called it up for work on the temple he was building.

As so often with religious beliefs, so also here: no change is ever a clean break. Although demoted to emblems, the old forms did not altogether lose their potency. It is in these forms, as standards, that the gods followed the army in war and gave victory, and it is in these forms that the gods sanctioned oaths. Oaths were taken by touching them.

At times the aversion felt for the older, nonhuman forms must have been intense enough to engender open enmity. This seems to have been the case with the thunderbird, which from being Ningirsu's early shape became first a mere emblem of his and then was listed by editors of the myth about him, called *Angim*, among the god's captured enemies pulling his triumphal chariot. In still later time the bird—often shown as a winged lion rather than as a lion-headed bird—even became the god's chief antagonist. Thus in the Akkadian myth of Anzu (the Akkadian name of the bird) the god victoriously routs and subdues his own former self. A pictorial representation of the battle graced his temple in Nimrud. In these later materials Ningirsu is called by the name of Ninurta, the god of Nippur with whom he was early identified.

Sociomorphism. Man is a social being: he exists in a context of family and society generally, so in attributing to the gods human form the ancients almost unavoidably attributed to them also social role and status. One such basic context implied in the human form was that of family and household. In the case of major deities the household could be sizable, resembling that of a manorial lord.

The factors that determined the grouping of deities into a given divine family are not always obvious and may have been of various kinds—similarity of nature, complementarity, spatial proximity, and so forth. Similar character probably dictated the grouping of seven minor cloud goddesses as daughters of the god of thundershowers, Ningirsu. The nature of their mother, Ningirsu's wife, Baba, is less clear; she may have been a goddess of pasture. Ningirsu's son Igalima ("door leaf of the honored one") appears to be a deification of the door to Ningirsu's court of justice. Since clouds were seen to rise as mist from the marshes, the positing of the rain-cloud god Asalluhe as son of the god of the marshes, Enki, seems understandable. So too does the marriage of Amaushumgalana, the power producing the date harvest, to Inanna, the goddess of the storehouse. A logical connection seems observable also between the aspect of Enlil in which he is god of the older agricultural implement, the hoe, and that of his son Ninurta, god of the younger implement, the plow; but only too often no explanation readily suggests itself.

Our most complete picture of a major divine household is given by Gudea in the hymn known as Cylinder B. It lists the minor gods who served as functionaries in Ningirsu's house, that is, his temple, lending divine guidance to the human staff. Thus Ningirsu's oldest son Shulshagana served as majordomo, the traditional role of the eldest son. His brother Igalima functioned as chief gendarme responsible for the maintenance of law and order on the estate. Ningirsu's septuplet daughters served as his handmaidens and also presented petitions to him. He had two harpists—one for hymns, one for elegies—and a chambermaid, who bathed him at night and saw to it that his bed was provided with fresh straw. For the task of administering his estate and sitting in judgment in disputes that might arise, the god had a divine counselor and a secretary *(sukal)*. There were two generals, and an assherd to look after the draft animals. Goats and deer on the estate were cared for by a divine herder of deer; a divine farmer looked after the extensive agricultural holdings; a tax gatherer supervised the fisheries; and a ranger protected the wildlife of the estate against poachers. A high constable and a night watchman kept the estate safe.

In addition to their local functions of looking after their estates, most of the major deities had also wider, national responsibilities as officers of the divine polity into which the sociomorphic view was gradually transforming the cosmos. Highest authority in this divine state was a general assembly of the gods, which met in Nippur in a corner of the forecourt of Enlil's temple, Ekur, called Ubshuukkinna. An and Enlil presided; the gods took an oath to abide by the decision of the assembly, and voted by saying "Heam" ("May it be!"). The assembly served as a court—it once even banned Enlil himself—and it elected cities and their rulers to hold sway over all of Sumer and Akkad. The election was for a term only, and when the assembly decided a term was ended, it voted to overthrow the reigning city and transfer its kingship to another city and ruler.

Besides the office of king, the divine state knew also more permanent offices. For the most part these offices, which were called *me* ("office, function"), were reinterpretations of functions already innate in the gods in question, the phenomena and processes of which they were the indwelling will and power; they were now envisaged as the official duties of members of a divine bureaucracy. A comprehensive statement of this view of the cosmos is found in the myth *Enki and the World Order*, which tells how Enki, acting on behalf of Enlil, institutes the proper course of natural phenomena and the manner of engaging in human industries, appointing in each case a divine official to be responsible for them. The regime of the Tigris and the Euphrates thus comes under the administration of the "inspector of canals," the god Enbilulu. Other officials are appointed for the marshes and the sea; the storm god Ishkur is made the official in charge of the yearly rains. For agriculture the farmer god Enkimdu and the grain goddess Ezinu are appointed; for the wildlife, the god of beasts, Shakan; for the flocks, Dumuzi, the shepherd; for just boundaries, the god of justice, Utu; for weaving, the spider goddess, Uttu; and so forth.

THE PANTHEON.

A pantheon seeking to interrelate and to rank the innumerable deities the ancient Mesopotamians worshiped, or merely recognized, in cities and villages throughout the land evolved gradually through the diligent work of scribes, who produced lists of divine names as part of their general lexical endeavors. The resulting scheme as it is known to us from old Babylonian copies was based primarily on the prominence in the cosmos of the cosmic feature with which the deity in question was associated, secondarily on his or her family and household ties. It is thus anthropomorphic and sociomorphic in character. First came the deities of heaven, the winds, the eastern foothills, and the underground fresh waters, each with his or her family and household. Then followed deities of smaller entities such as the moon, the sun, and the morning and evening star. A following section dealing with deities of the Lagash region was probably not part of the original list, since that region was considered enemy territory down to the time of the third dynasty of Ur. Last came the deities of the netherworld. In its main lines, and necessarily highly selectively, the pantheon may be presented as follows (Akkadian names, when different from the Sumerian ones, are given in parentheses).

An. An (Anum) was god of the sky and father of the gods. The main center of An's cult seems to have been in

Uruk. An was given form mythopoeically as a mighty bull whose bellowing was heard in the thunder. The rain was seen as his semen impregnating the earth (*ki*) and producing vegetation. As the cloudy skies vanished with the spring, An as Gugalanna ("great bull of heaven") was thought to have been killed and gone to the netherworld. A different tradition saw An (Anum) as the sky in its male aspect married to An (Antum), the sky in its female aspect. She, like her husband, was given bovine form and seen as a cow, whose udders, the clouds, produced the rain. An important aspect of An was his relation to the calendar, the months having their characteristic constellations that announced them. To this aspect belonged monthly and yearly festival rites dedicated to An.

Enlil. God of wind and storms, Enlil was the most prominent member of the divine assembly and executor of its decrees. The city of Enlil was Nippur (Nuffar), with his temple, Ekur. He was married to the goddess Ninlil ("lady wind"), who was also known as Ansud ("long ear of grain"). Her mother was Ninshebargunu, the barley goddess, and her father, Haya, was keeper of the seal with which the doors of Enlil's granaries were secured. Originally in keeping with the agricultural ambience of his wife, Enlil would seem to have been the power in and for the moist winds of spring that soften the hard crust on the soil and make it tillable. Thus he was also god of the oldest tool of tillage, the hoe. With the hoe, after he had invented it, he broke—according to one myth—the hard crust on the earth at Uzumua ("flesh-grower"), in Nippur, so that mankind could shoot up like plants from the earth.

Two quite different myths deal with the wooing of Ninlil or Ansud by Enlil. In one he follows successfully established procedures for winning her. In the other, more primitive one, Ninlil, disregarding her mother's instructions, deliberately tempts Enlil to take her by force by bathing in the canal of the town. Enlil is then banished from the city by the assembly of gods for his misdeed and leaves for the netherworld. Ninlil, pregnant with the moon god Suen (Sin), follows him. On the road Enlil, posing successively as gatekeeper of Nippur, man of the river of the netherworld, and ferryman, persuades her to lie with him that she may conceive a further child, who may take Suen's place in the netherworld. Thus Suen's netherworld brothers, Meslamtaea, Ninazu, and Ennugi, are engendered. The myth ends—oddly to a modern reader—with a paean to Enlil as a source of fertility: "A lord of great consequence, a lord of the storehouse are you! A lord making the barley grow up, lord making the vines grow up are you! Lord of heaven, lord of abundance, lord of earth are you!"

The aspect of Enlil in which he was the benevolent provider of abundance is clearly an old one, and it was never lost sight of. With time, however, his character took on also more grim features. As leader of the divine assembly and executor of its decrees, he became the power for destruction of temples and cities, the all-obliterating storm with which the assembly overthrew dynasties and their capitals as it shaped history. This later aspect of Enlil is prominent in laments, where more and more the will of the assembly becomes subsumed in his will, and it is for him alone to relent and to restore what he had destroyed. In the first millennium, as Marduk of Babylon rose to preeminence, Enlil, as representative of the often-rebellious south, even came to be treated as enemy and evil in northern Babylonia, as is clear from his role in ritual texts; or he was totally ignored, as in the late creation epic *Enuma elish*, which celebrates Marduk as the creator and ruler of the cosmos.

Besides the tradition which had Ninlil or Ansud as consort of Enlil, there existed a variant one in which he was paired with the goddess Ninhursaga, the older Hursag ("foothills"). Here probably also belongs an aspect of Enlil in which he was seen as a mountain deity, his name in that capacity being Kurgal ("great mountain") and that of his main temple, Ekur ("mountain house"). The connection between this mountain aspect and his aspect as god of the wind appears to correlate with the fact that the ancients believed the home of the winds to be in the mountains. Enlil would thus originally have been specifically the east wind, *imkura* ("wind of the mountains").

On Ninhursaga, Enlil begat the seasons of the year, Winter and Summer, and he also fathered the god of the yearly flood of the Tigris, Ningirsu. In the form the myth of the latter takes in Gudea's references to it, Ningirsu is the semen of Enlil reddened in the deflowering. This may be taken to refer to the waters of the melting snow in the high mountains in Iran (Enlil as Kurgal) in the spring. The waters make their way through the foothills (*hursag*), where the clay they absorb gives them a reddish hue, to pour into the Tigris, swelling it to flood, Ningirsu.

Ninurta. In Nippur, the town itself—as distinct from the sacred area around Ekur—had as city god a son of Enlil called Ninurta, whose wife was the goddess Nin-Nibru ("queen of Nippur"). Ninurta's name may be interpreted as containing a cultural loanword, *urta* ("plow"), thus identifying him as god of that implement, much as his father, Enlil, in one aspect was god of the older agricultural tool, the hoe. Ninurta held in Nippur the office of plowman (*ensi*) for Ekur, and at his yearly festival the king opened the plowing season behind a ceremonial plow. Ninurta was early identified with Ningirsu of Girsu, and myths pertaining to the latter were freely attributed to him, so that it often is difficult to determine which traits are original to whom.

A clear case is that of the myth *Lugale*, which can be shown to belong originally to Ningirsu. It depicts the god as a young warrior king who learns that a rival has arisen in the mountains and plots to kill him. He sets out with his army for a preemptive strike, attacks impetuously, and faces disaster, but is saved by advice from his father to send out a heavy rain, which lays the dust that his adversary, one Azag, had raised against him, nearly suffocating him. He then succeeds in killing Azag and goes on to organize the regime of the Tigris, bringing its waters down for irrigation. Before that they had flowed into the mountains, where they froze. To hold the waters on their new course, Ningirsu constructs a barrier of stone, the foothills (*hursag*), and when his mother comes to visit he presents it to her as a gift, renaming her Ninhursaga ("mistress of the foothills"). Last he sits in judgment over Azag's warriors, various kinds of stones that he had captured, and imposes rewards or punishment according to their conduct in the war. His judgments determine the nature and the distinguishing traits of the stones in question for all time. He finally returns victoriously home.

To Ningirsu probably also belongs the myth *Angim* (mentioned above), which describes the god's victorious return from war and how he has to tone down his boisterous behavior lest he upset his father, Enlil. The basis for the tale would seem to be a spell for averting thunderstorms—Ningirsu was god of the thunderstorm—from Nippur. Conceivably a hymn praising Ninurta in his relation to various stones could be in origin Ningirsu material.

So perhaps also is a myth telling how the thunderbird stole the tablets of destiny from Enki in Eridu, how Ninurta set out to recover them, intending to keep them for himself, and how, when his weapon stunned the bird, it let go its hold of the tablets, and they of themselves returned to Enki. Frustrated in his ambition, Ninurta then raised a flood against Eridu, but Enki craftily had a turtle dig a pit, and he lured Ninurta into it. Underlying the myth is apparently a concept of the rain cloud rising as mist from the swamps, Enki's underground waters (*apsu*), and, moving in over the mountains, the flight of the thunderbird. The return of the waters in the flood is seen as the god's jealous attack on Enki, and his imprisonment in the turtle's pit must stand for the eventual dwindling of the flood to a trickle between towering banks, the pit.

Nusku. To Enlil's household belonged Nusku, in origin a god of lamps. He served as Enlil's trusted vizier and confidant.

Ninhursaga. Ninhursaga ("mistress of the foothills"), earlier simply Hursag ("foothills"), was the power in the fertile near slopes of the eastern mountains, the favorite grazing grounds in the spring. Her cities were Kesh, not yet identified, and Adab, the modern mound Bismaya. In addition to the name *Ninhursaga*, the goddess was also known as *Ninmah* ("august mistress"), Dingirmah ("august deity"), and *Nintur* ("mistress birth-hut"), her name as goddess of birth. Her Akkadian name was *Beletili* ("mistress of the gods"). She, An, and Enlil formed in the third millennium the ruling triad of cosmic powers.

Enki. Enki (Ea) was god of the underground fresh waters that come to the surface in rivers, pools, and marshes. The Sumerians imagined them as a vast subterranean freshwater sea, which they called Abzu or Engur. Enki's city was Eridu (Abu Shahrein), where he resided in the temple called Eengura ("house of the deep"). A myth tells how he built it and celebrated its completion with a feast for his father, Enlil, in Nippur. Enki's mother was the goddess Namma, whom the scribes listed as Enlil's housekeeper. Other evidence suggests that she was the deified riverbed that gave birth to the god of the river, Enki. Her name seems to mean "mistress vulva," and it may be that the mythopoeic imagination of the ancients saw the chasm of the empty riverbed as the vulva of the earth. Enki's spouse was called Damgalnunna ("great spouse of the prince"), a name that tells us little about her. Enki's vizier was a Janus-faced god, Sha (Usmu).

The name *Enki* means "productive manager [lord] of the soil," which must seem highly appropriate for the god of river waters in a society dependent on irrigation agriculture. In a hymn he describes himself in this aspect, saying: "When I draw near unto heaven, the rains of abundance rain down; when I draw near unto the earth, the early flood at its height comes into being; when I draw near unto the yellowing fields, grain piles are heaped at my command." Water not only slakes the thirst of men, animals, and plants, it also serves to cleanse. In that aspect, as power to cleanse, Enki appears in rituals of purification from all that defiles, including evil spirits attacking man, causing disease and uncleanness. One such elaborate ritual, meant to purify the king of possible evil caused by an eclipse, has the form of a trial before the sun god in which Enki sends a messenger, the exorcist, to speak for the claimant, the polluted king, and undertakes to enforce the verdict. This he does by washing all evil away with his water. The ritual is called Bitrimki ("bathhouse"). In other rituals Enki provided the effective incantation and prescribed the needed cleaning and healing acts, and it is not too much to say that he occupied a central position in all white magic for combating demons of illness.

Since Enki always knew what to do to drive away demons, he generally rated as the most resourceful and ingenious of the gods. He was skilled in every craft, and under different names he served as patron deity for most of them. His practical ingenuity also made him a born organizer. He was the one who organized the cosmos for Enlil in the myth *Enki and the World Order*, discussed above. Enki in the myths told about him never uses force; instead he gains his point by cunning deftly exercised. An example is the story of Adapa, the steward of Enki, or rather of Ea, for the text uses his Akkadian name. When Adapa once was summoned to appear before Anu in heaven for having broken the wing of the south wind, Ea told him how to gain the goodwill of the two gods who guarded the gate so that they would intercede for him. Ea also warned him not to eat and not to drink, for he would be offered the bread of death and the water of death. All went as planned, and Anu was appeased by the intercession of the doormen. When Adapa refused food and drink, however, Anu was surprised and asked why. Adapa told him, and Anu burst into laughter. The food and drink would actually have made Adapa immortal, which Ea knew and did not want to happen.

A rather more momentous occasion on which Enki showed his cunning was when he saved the human race from destruction at the hand of Enlil. We are told about it in the Sumerian story of the flood, which forms part of the myth called the *Eridu Genesis.* Mankind, having been created and provided with leadership—in the form of kings—by the gods, prospered and proliferated, to the extent that the noise they made became so irksome to Enlil that he persuaded the assembly of the gods to wipe out man with a universal flood. Enki, who was present, was able to warn the pious King Ziusudra to build an ark. Ziusudra followed the advice and was eventually accepted among the gods and granted eternal life as reward for saving all living things.

A far more detailed—and conceivably more original—version of this story is found in the Akkadian tale of Atrahasis ("the surpassingly wise"), who here takes the place of Ziusudra. The story falls into two halves, each clearly originally a separate tale. The first half tells how in the beginning the gods themselves had to work for their food, digging the needed irrigation canals. They eventually rebelled, and Ea thought of the solution, creating man to do the hard work. To that end a god was killed and his blood mixed into the clay from which man was to take form. The mother goddess gave birth to him, and there was general rejoicing. The second half tells how mankind proliferated on earth and with their noise kept Enlil from going to sleep. Enlil therefore tried to cut down on man's numbers by a succession of diseases and famines, but each time Ea found ways of stopping the evils before it was too late, and soon man again proliferated as before. Finally Enlil decided on a desperate means: wiping out mankind with a flood. Again Ea frustrated the plan, by having Atrahasis build an ark in which he survived with his family and the animals. As he emerged from the ark he offered a sacrifice, and the gods were delighted, for all through the flood, with no humans to offer sacrifice, they had suffered severely from hunger. Only Enlil was wroth, but him Ea appeased by instituting plans for population control: barrenness, child disease, and so forth. Thus harmony in the universe was reestablished. As given in the tale of Atrahasis, the story of the flood is the most detailed we have. A shorter version—shorn of any motivation for the flood—was added to the *Epic of Gilgamesh* by the later editor Sinliqiunnini. In the story of Adapa, Enki used his ingenuity against Anu; in the flood story, against Enlil.

A third myth, *Enki and Ninmah,* pits Enki against the third in the triad of highest deities, Ninhursaga, whom the myth calls Ninmah. Like the Atrahasis story, this composition consists of two separate myths only very loosely connected. The first of these is a Sumerian counterpart to the first part of the Atrahasis story, where the refusal of the gods to work had Enki propose the creation of man. Here he is fathered by "the engendering clay of Abzu," which once also fathered Enki, and he is given form and is borne by Enki's mother, Namma. The second myth begins with a party given by Enki to celebrate the birth of man. As he and Ninmah, who had assisted Namma as birth helper, drink deeply, Ninmah begins to boast that she controls men's fortunes, determining whether they will be good or bad. (That makes little sense if she was, as here, a mere midwife. Apparently, in the original myth underlying this part of the composition she was, as in the Atrahasis story, the one who gave shape to the embryo of man and bore it as an infant.) Enki accepts her challenge, waging that he can counter anything she can think up. She then creates a series of misshapen or otherwise defective human beings, but for each one Enki is able to think of a place in society where it can function and support itself. When Ninmah finally gives up, Enki proposes that he try his hand and that she find a place for his creature. He then fashions an embryo and has it given premature birth by a woman provided by Ninmah. There is nothing Ninmah can do for it, and she breaks out in lament. Enki, however, calms her with a conciliatory speech, pointing out that it is precisely her contribution, the maturing of the embryo in the womb, that it lacked. The man's contribution to the engendering of a child is not enough by itself; the woman's is needed too. And so he praises her powers.

The question thus raised, of the respective share of the male and the female partner in procreation, seems to have been variously answered at different times. The first part of *Enki and Ninmah* gives the woman all the credit. Man was engendered from clay, formed, and given birth—as it specifically states—without a male being involved. Somewhat similarly, the tale of Atrahasis has man created from clay and divine blood and formed and given birth by Nintur, that is, by Ninmah. Enki's contribution in both cases was chiefly the idea of making man. In the second part of *Enki and Ninmah,* however, this changes. Enki's power to create an embryo, although not to mature it and give it birth, is stressed; and finally, in the account of the creation of man in *Enuma elish* at the turn of the first millennium, the birth goddess has vanished, and Enki does the creation all by himself.

One final odd composition with Enki as its hero remains to be mentioned, *Enki and Ninhursaga.* It begins with praise of the island of Dilmun (modern Bah-rain) and its pristine purity at the beginning of time. It then tells how Enki provided it with fresh water and made it a port and an emporium. Next we hear how Enki attempts to seduce Ninhursaga but is rejected until he proposes marriage, making her his wife. She gives birth to a daughter, whom Enki seduces as soon as she becomes nubile, fathering a second daughter, whom in turn he seduces and makes pregnant. Her daughter, Enki's granddaughter, is Uttu, the spider goddess, and Ninhursaga warns her against Enki. Uttu therefore refuses to let him into the house unless he brings wedding gifts of fruits. He does so, and when Uttu lets him in, he takes her by force. Uttu's screams bring Ninhursaga, who removes Enki's semen and sows it. From it eight plants grow up. Later, passing by, Enki notes the plants, and as his vizier gives them names, Enki eats them. Ninhursaga, discovering what has happened, vows never to look upon him with her life-giving eye. The plants, Enki's semen, which he swallowed, then begin to develop as embryos in his body. Being male, he is unable to give birth to them, and so falls critically ill. The gods are greatly distressed, but the Fox offers to bring Ninhursaga. It does so; she is released from her vow, places Enki in her vulva, and successfully gives birth to eight deities, who are named and given status, their names serving as grotesque puns on the words for the part of Enki's body from which they come. The last is the goddess of Dilmun.

The stress on Dilmun, and on Enki's amorous success with his daughter, granddaughter, and, in one version, great-granddaughter, the "comely spider goddess Uttu," is hardly meant to be taken seriously. Presumably, the earthy humor of the composition was intended to amuse visiting sailors from Dilmun when they were entertained at the court of Ur.

Asalluhe. Asalluhe ("man-drenching Asar"), city god of Kuar, near Eridu, and god of rain clouds, was Enki's son. He appears predominantly in incantations against all kinds of evil doings. Floating as a cloud above the earth, he was in a position to observe what was going on below and duly reported it to his father, Enki, who was not in a similar, favorable position to observe. On hearing Asalluhe's account, however, out of his profound knowledge he was able in each case to tell how the evil was to be countered. Identified with Asalluhe in later times was Marduk.

Marduk. Marduk, or preferably Merodakh, city god of Babylon, was an old Sumerian deity who, like Ninazu in Eshnunna (discussed below) and Meslamtaea in Cutha, was taken over by the Akkadian invaders. His name, abbreviated from *(A)marudak* ("calf of the storm"), characterizes him as a god of thunderstorms visualized as a bellowing young bull. The thundershowers of spring mark the appearance of verdure in the desert and of plowing and sowing; thus Marduk's chief festival, the Akiti (Akitu), or "time of the earth reviving," was further described as "of the seed plowing." His city was Kadingira ("gate of the god"), translated into Akkadian as Babilim. The name indicates a settlement grown up at the entrance to a sanctuary, presumably Marduk's temple Esagila ("house with head held high"). Throughout the third and second millennia, it would seem, Marduk's status was little more than that of a local city god. With the advent of the first millennium, however, began his rise to supreme god of the universe and his rivalry for that honor with Ashur of Assyria.

Marduk's claim to supremacy was celebrated in the creation epic *Enuma elish*, in which he is presented as savior of the gods and creator and organizer of the cosmos. The myth begins by tracing world origins from a watery chaos of fresh waters, Apsu, and salt waters, Tiamat, the sea. From them stemmed various generations of gods: Lahmu and Lahamu; Anshar and Kishar, the horizon; Anu, heaven; and Nudimmud or Ea. The younger gods, getting together to dance, proved disturbing to the older generations, who prized peace and quiet. Tiamat, as a long-suffering mother, bore with it, but Apsu decided to get rid of the troublemakers. However, before he could carry out his evil design he was overcome and slain by Ea, who then built for himself a house on top of Apsu's body. There Ea engendered his son Marduk. Anu, inordinately fond of his grandchild, fashioned the four winds for little Marduk to play with. The winds disturbed the still surface of the sea, creating billows. This greatly vexed the older gods, and they were able to rouse Tiamat to action. An army was assembled to destroy the younger gods and was placed under the command of Tiamat's paramour Kingu. The threat to the gods was serious and caused consternation among them. Both Ea and Anu, who were sent to cope with the crisis one after the other, failed and turned back. Finally, since the gods were in deepest despair, Ea suggested to the leader of the gods, Anshar, that Marduk be summoned to champion the gods. Marduk came and was willing to undertake the task, but he demanded full authority. The gods agreed, gave him the power for his word to come true, and made sure by a test that his word now had that effect. Marduk then rode to battle on his storm chariot. The sight of him overwhelmed the enemy; only Tiamat dared face him, but after an angry exchange of words, as she opened her maw to swallow him, he drove in the winds and then killed her with an arrow. Her army he took captive, enclosing it in a net held by the four winds. Out of the carcass of Tiamat Marduk then created the extant universe. He split her in two, and made out of one part heaven; out of the other, earth. To prevent her waters from escaping he provided bolts and guards. In heaven, directly opposite Ea's Apsu, he built his own house, Esharra, which the text says was the sky. He then fashioned the constellations, organized the calendar, fixed the polestar, and gave the moon and sun orders about their motion.

When Marduk returned home, he was hailed by the gods, who reaffirmed their allegiance to him. His first demand of them, then, was that they build him a city, to be called Babylon. He then pardoned the captive gods, who gratefully hailed him as king and savior and promised to build his city for him. Their willingness moved Marduk to think of a means of lightening their labors, and he decided to create man. An assembly was called. Kingu was denounced as the instigator of the rebellion and was slain, and out of his body Ea fashioned man. Marduk then divided the gods into two groups, one celestial and one terrestrial. The gods for the last time took spade in hand and built the city Marduk wanted, Babylon. At a great housewarming party to celebrate the completion of Babylon, Marduk was appointed permanent king of the gods. The myth ends with the gods naming Marduk's fifty names, each of which expressed a power that he held. Marduk's consort was the goddess Sarpanitum; his son, the god of Borsippa near Babylon, was Nabu, god of the scribal art.

Nanna. Nanna (also Suen or Sin) was the god of the moon. His city was Ur (Muqayyir); his temple there, Egishnugal. His wife was Ningal. His own name, *Nanna*, would seem to designate him as the full moon, while *Suen* would be the name of the sickle moon. He was regularly envisioned in a bull shape, an image that the hornlike shape of the sickle moon may have encouraged. He was also visualized as a herder driving his herd—the stars—across the pastures of heaven, or as riding in the heavens in a boat, the sickle moon. A late myth—actually an incantation to ward off the evils of an eclipse of the moon—tells how he was attacked by storm demons after they had lured the storm god, Ishkur, and Inanna, who aspired to queenship of heaven, to their side. The attack was noted, however, by Enlil, who alerted Enki and had him send Marduk to the rescue.

Utu. The god of the sun and of justice and fair dealings was Utu (Shamash). His cities were Ararma (Larsa) in the south and Sippar in the north. His temple in both cities was called Ebabbar; his wife was Ninkurra (Aya). As judge, Utu presided each day in various temples at specific places called "the place of Utu." He was greeted in the morning as he rose on the horizon, heard cases all day, and was sped on his way in the evening, at sundown. During the night he sat in judgment in the netherworld. The cases he heard, whether by day or by night, were apparently normally such as were brought by the living against ghosts and demons that plagued them.

Ishkur. Ishkur (Adad) was the god of rains and thunderstorms. A text, basically a spell to avert a threatening thunderstorm from Nippur, tells him to go away so as not to disturb his father, Enlil, with his clamor. His original form seems to have been that of a bull. In many ways he resembles Ningirsu, but he seems to be more specifically a herder's god, the power in the spring rains that bring up pasture in the desert.

Inanna. Inanna (Ishtar) was earlier called *Ninana*, which can be understood as either "mistress of the date clusters" or "mistress of heaven." The center of her worship was, in the south, at Uruk, in the temple called Eana, and in the north at Hursagkalamma, near Kish. Characteristic of her is her great complexity and many-sidedness. It is apparent that a variety of originally different deities were syncretized in her and also that the ancients had been able to blend these differences into a fascinating, many-faceted, and convincing character. Normally she was envisioned as a rather willful, high-handed, young aristocratic girl of marriageable age or else as a young bride. Her lover or husband is a form of the god Dumuzi (Tammuz). In the complex image the goddess presents it seems possible to distinguish the following aspects, presumably once independent figures.

1. As goddess of the storehouse of dates, Inanna was at home in Uruk, situated in a famous date-growing region. Her name *Ninana* here stands for "mistress of the date clusters"; the name of her temple, *Eana*, for "house of the date clusters." Here, at the gate of the storeroom (*egida*), she received her bridegroom, Amaushumgalana ("the one great source of the date clusters"), that is, the one great bud that the date palm sprouts anually. He was the power that made the date palm produce; their wedding and his entering Inanna's house constitute a mythopoeic view of the bringing in of the date harvest. As the rite of this marriage was performed later, the ruling king not only took the role of, but actually became, Amaushumgalana, while the goddess would have been incarnate in the queen, Ninegala ("mistress of the palace"). In the literature relating to Inanna's wedding she is therefore often called by that epithet, and in love songs written for that occasion it is often difficult to tell whether they celebrate Inanna's love for Amaushumgalana or perhaps rather that of the human queen for her husband. The cult of Inanna in her aspect of goddess of the date storehouse was a happy one. There was no sense of loss, no "death" of the god. The dates, eminently storable, were always with the community, and so was the power they represented.
2. Rather different was another aspect, also at home in Uruk, but in the Uruk of sheepfolds rather than of date groves. In this aspect Inanna was the power of the thundershowers of spring, on which the shepherds depended for pasturage in the desert. In this aspect she was paired with Dumuzi, the shepherd. Her early form was apparently that of the lion-headed thunderbird, which remained with her as an attribute. Besides it, and more or less replacing it, was also the form of the lion alone.
3. Closely related to Inanna's aspect as goddess of the thunderstorm was her aspect as goddess of war. The thunderous rumble of the primitive war chariot made it easy to see and hear thunder as the chariot's counterpart in the sky. The ferocious nature of other forms such as lions and bulls fitted easily into the image. As goddess of war, Inanna led the Dance of Inanna, the moving of the battle lines toward each other as if they were lines of dancers. In the myths about her she subdues the insubmissive Ebeh mountain range in southern Assyria.
4. An astral aspect of both Inanna and the Akkadian Ishtar is that of goddess of the morning and evening star, with which she forms a triad with her father, the moon god, and her brother, the sun god. Her precise function in this role is not clear except insofar as her appearance marked the beginning and the end of the working day. As goddess of the morning and evening star her name was understood to mean "mistress of heaven," and her celestial affinities conceivably also encouraged an interpretation of the name of her temple, *Eana*, as "house of heaven" and a belief that it had originally descended from heaven. There is even evidence that in later times she managed to supplant the goddess of heaven, An (Antum), as spouse of the god of heaven, An (Anum), and became queen of heaven. In the *Eclipse Myth* she unsuccessfully conspires with the storm demons to obtain that position, but in a later myth, the *Elevation of Inanna*, the august assembly of the gods itself petitions An to marry her, and she is invested with supreme powers among the gods.
5. Finally, as protector of harlots, Inanna was herself envisaged as a harlot. Her original form in this aspect was that of the owl, which, like the harlot, comes out at

dusk. Correspondingly her name as harlot was *Ninnina* ("mistress owl"). In Akkadian her name was *Kilili.*

In the myths dealing with Inanna a frequently occurring motif is her insatiable desire for power. In the *Eclipse Myth*, as noted, it leads her to conspire with the evil storm demons; in *Enki and the World Order* she complains bitterly that all other goddesses have offices and only she has none, so Enki tries to assuage her. In the myth *Inanna and the Parse*, that is, Inanna and the divine offices called in Sumerian *me*, we are told how she visited Enki in Eridu, how he drank deeply at the party welcoming her, and how in an expansive mood he conferred upon her one office after another. Wisely, she decided to leave immediately for home with her newly won offices, so that when Enki woke up sober and wanted the offices back it was too late. The myth lists the offices one by one; they constitute a formidable list. Owing, probably, in large part to the syncretistic background of the image of Inanna, the offices attributed to her show little unity or coherent pattern; rather, they form a motley collection of variorums. That did not trouble the ancients though; instead, they gloried in Inanna's versatility, and a major hymn to her even makes a point of praising her as goddess of opposites, of insult and veneration, downheartedness and good cheer, and so on.

Inanna's lust for power is also an important motif in the best known of the myths about her, *Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld.* It prompts her to descend to the realm of death to wrest queenship over it from its rightful queen, Ereshkigal. The attempt fails, and Inanna is killed and turned into a cut of meat gone bad and hung on a peg. When she fails to return, her loyal handmaiden Ninshubura seeks help, first from Enlil in Nippur, then from Nanna in Ur, and finally from Enki in Eridu. Only Enki can think of a means to help. He creates two creatures from the dirt under his fingernails and sends them to the netherworld with instructions to condole with Ereshkigal, who, as is her custom, laments children who have died before their time. Then, when moved by the creatures' concern she grants them a wish, they are to ask for the tainted meat hanging on a peg and to throw on it the grass and water of life which Enki has given them. They follow the instructions, and Inanna rises alive. As she is about to leave the netherworld, however, its ruling gods stop her and decree that she must provide a substitute to take her place. So she is accompanied by a detachment of netherworld police to ensure that she will designate a substitute to go back with them.

On the journey back to Uruk she is met by one loyal servant after another, all clad in mourning for her, and she refuses to hand any of them over to the demons. When they reach Uruk, however, they come upon her young husband, Dumuzi, sitting in fine clothes and enjoying himself listening to the music of reed pipes. This flagrant lack of concern infuriates Inanna, and in a flash of jealous rage she hands him over to the demons, who carry him off. In his distress he calls upon his brother-in-law, Utu, god of justice and fairness, and asks Utu to change him into a gazelle—in another version into a snake—so that he can escape his captors. Utu does so, and Dumuzi escapes, only to be again caught; again he escapes, until finally he is caught for good in his sheepfold. The story ends with Dumuzi's sister Geshtinanna, the goddess of the grapevine, seeking him. Eventually, advised by the Fly, she finds him and joins him in the netherworld. In distress at the undeserved misfortune of both Dumuzi and his sister, Inanna decrees that they may share the obligation to serve in the netherworld as her substitute: Dumuzi will serve half a year below; then he will return to the world above while his sister takes over. She in turn will return after half a year as he goes below.

This ends the tale, and a closer look at it will suggest that *tale* rather than *myth* is the proper designation, for it is most easily understood as a composite of dead myths put together for dramatic effect by the storyteller and haphazardly embellished. The myth of Inanna's death and transformation into a cut of spoiled meat is best understood as an original myth in which she represents the underground storehouse for meat; she becomes like a grave when the meat rots in summer, but she is revived—as the storehouse is restocked with fresh meat from the flocks fed on the grass and water of life, the pastures of spring. The myth has nothing to do with Inanna's aspect as the morning star, in which the storyteller has her present herself when she seeks entry into the netherworld. The second part of the tale was originally a separate myth dealing with Dumuzi rather than with Inanna, and it has also come down, in slightly variant forms, as a separate, self-contained myth.

Dumuzi. Like Inanna, and perhaps even more so, does her lover and bridegroom, Dumuzi (Tammuz), present a highly complex, syncretized image, one in which it is not always easy to sort out cleanly the various strands woven into it. Some fairly distinct aspects do, however, stand out and may reasonably be assumed to represent originally separate, independent deities. They are the following.

1. *Dumuzi as Amaushumgalana*, the power for productivity in the date palm. His marriage to Inanna as numen of the storehouse celebrates the bringing in of the date harvest. His cult was based in Uruk.
2. *Dumuzi the shepherd*, the power causing ewes to produce normal, well-shaped lambs. His bride was Inanna as goddess of the spring rain showers that call up verdure for pasture in the desert. The vanishing of the power he represented when the lambing season came to an end was seen as the death of the god, to be observed with wailing and lament.
3. *Dumuzi of the beer.* No separate distinctive name sets apart this aspect of the god. The texts dealing with it sometimes use the name *Dumuzi*, sometimes *Damu.* They involve the search for him after his death by his sister and mother.
4. *Damu the child*, the power for the sap to rise in plants

and trees in the spring. Considered lost during the dry summer, he was sought by his mother and found coming down the river, presumably with the beginning of the early flood in spring. His cult was based in Uruk.

5. *Damu the conscript*, an aspect of the god under which he was seen as a young boy liable for military service. He has been taken forcibly from his mother by brutal recruiters, and she seeks him, gradually realizing that he is dead. What precise power he represented is not clear; most likely it was one connected with the welfare of cattle herds. His cult was based in Girsu (Tello) on the Euphrates.

The myths about these various aspects of Dumuzi naturally fall into two groups, those dealing with wooing and wedding and those dealing with his death and the search for him. To the first group belongs a dialogue between Inanna and Dumuzi in which he has found a house for them near her parents. She does not know that they have chosen him as her future husband, and he teases her, stating that his family is like her family, as it were. Eventually he enlightens her, and she is well pleased. The Inanna of this tale seems very young. Slightly older, she appears in a tale in which Dumuzi's sister Geshtinanna tells him that Inanna invited her in and told her how she, Inanna, suffered from love for her brother. Dumuzi is quick to ask leave to go, and is off to ease the damsel's suffering. At about the same age, Inanna appears in a different story, awaiting Dumuzi toward evening. They had met and fallen in love the day before, and when Dumuzi appears he impetuously propositions her. She promptly turns him down and apparently—the text is broken here—makes him propose properly. When the text resumes they are on their way to her mother's house to announce the engagement.

Another story tells how Inanna's brother Utu has arranged a marriage for her but is unsure about how she will receive the news. He therefore speaks obliquely, proposing to bring her fresh flax for a linen sheet. He does not say that it is to be her bridal sheet, but she immediately understands. Afraid to hear her brother's choice in case it turns out to be a wrong one, she postpones the crucial question, pretending that she has nobody to ret the flax, spin it, double the thread, weave it, dye it, and bleach it, but each time Utu offers to bring the flax already prepared. So at last she has to come to the point: who is to lie down with her on it? When Utu tells her it is Amaushumgalana, she is overjoyed. The wedding itself is recounted in a tale which begins with Inanna sending for her bridegroom and attendants, specifying what gifts they are to bring. They appear before the house, but Inanna is in no hurry. She bathes and dresses in all her finery and listens to instructions from her mother about the obedience due to her parents-in-law. Eventually she opens the door to Dumuzi—the formal act that concludes a Sumerian marriage—and presumably (the text is broken here) leads him to the bridal chamber for the consummation of the marriage. A wedding feast probably follows the next morning. When the text resumes, Dumuzi is leading his young bride to his house and wants first to take her to his personal god that he may bless the marriage. But Inanna is thoroughly frightened, so Dumuzi tries to hearten her by telling her what an honored position she will occupy in the household and how no domestic work whatever will be demanded of her.

The other group of myths, centering on the death of the young god, is perhaps best represented by the myth called the *Dream of Dumuzi*. In it, Dumuzi has an ominous dream that Geshtinanna interprets as boding death for them both. Dumuzi sends her up on a mound as lookout, and she reports the arrival of a boat with evil recruiters. Dumuzi decides to hide in the desert, but first he tells his sister and colleague where he will be. When the recruiters land and offer bribes for information, Geshtinanna is steadfast; however, the colleague betrays his friend. Dumuzi is captured but appeals to Utu to help him escape by turning him into a gazelle. Utu does so, and Dumuzi does escape, only to be again caught. This repeats itself until he flees to his fold. The pursuers break in, wrecking everything on their way, and Dumuzi is killed. A similar myth, the *Most Bitter Cry*, also describes the attack on the fold and the rude awakening of Dumuzi, naked and a prisoner. He manages to escape and flees toward Uruk. As he tries to cross the Euphrates, however, he is swept off by the flood and drowns before the eyes of his horrified mother, Duttur, and wife, Inanna.

Lugalbanda and Ninsuna. Lugalbanda ("fierce king") and Ninsuna ("mistress of the wild cows") were apparently city god and goddess of Kullab, a city that was early absorbed into Uruk. Both were deities of cattle, but with the absorption of his city Lugalbanda seems to have lost definition, and even his divine status. He appears in historical times predominantly as an ancient king of the first dynasty of Ur, and his achievement in the extant epic about him, that of a supernaturally gifted messenger, was probably tacked on precisely because nothing else was known about him. Ninsuna for her part managed to keep her divine status. She was the tutelary goddess of Gudea of Lagash and, curiously enough, in that role was the consort of Ningishzida, not of Lugalbanda.

Ningirsu. Ningirsu ("master of Girsu") was the city god of Girsu, with the temple Eninnu. His wife was the goddess Baba. Ningirsu was god of the thunderstorms in spring and of the spring flood of the Tigris. His early form was that of the thunderbird, an enormous eagle or vulture with a lion's head out of which thunder roared. Ningirsu was early identified with Ninurta of Nippur, and a great deal of his mythology was therefore transferred to the latter (it has been discussed above). *Ninurta* was also the name under which the god was borrowed by the Assyrians when he became prominent as god of war.

Gatumdug. Gatumdug was goddess of the city of Lagash (Al Hiba), south of Girsu. The meaning of her name is not clear, but other evidence suggests that she was also a goddess of birth giving.

Nanshe. The goddess of fowl and fish was Nanshe. She was city goddess of Nina (Zurghul), with the temple Siratr.

She was, according to Gudea, the interpreter of dreams for the gods.

Ninmar. City goddess of Guabba and seemingly a goddess of birds was Ninmar.

Dumuzi-Abzu. Dumuzi-Abzu was city goddess of Kinirsha, and the power for fertility and healthy new life in the marshes.

Nininsina. Nininsina ("mistress of Isin") was city goddess of Isin (Ishan Bahriyat), south of Nippur, which served as capital of Sumer for most of the time after the third dynasty of Ur until the advent of the Old Babylonian period. She seems to have been envisaged in the shape of a dog and was presumably the goddess of dogs. Her special powers were those of the physician. Her daughter Damu—different from the boy of Girsu on the Euphrates—followed in her mother's footsteps as goddess of healing.

Ereshkigal. The name of the goddess Ereshkigal (Allatum) meant "queen [of the] greater earth." The ancients believed that there was a "larger heaven" above the visible sky that connected with a "larger earth" below the observable earth. In the larger earth was the realm of the dead, of which Ereshkigal was queen, although a variant—and conflicting—belief located the realm of the dead in the eastern mountains. The ancients imagined it as a walled city. As with cities on earth, the wall served not only to keep out enemies but also to keep in people—as, for instance, the slaves—who were not free to leave the city. It had its own police and a court where the sun god presided during the night. Existence there was dreary. If one had no son to make funerary offerings, one lived like a begger, but with many sons one could enjoy a degree of comfort. Reasonably well off were also young men killed in battle—they had their parents take care of them—and small children, who played with golden toys. In the second and first millennia ideas about existence below seem to have become even darker: dust was said to cover all; the dead were clad in feathers like birds; and when an Assyrian prince visited the netherworld in a vision, he found it full of horrifying monsters. Ereshkigal herself was cast in the image of a mourning woman, pulling her hair and raking her body with her nails for grief as she lamented the children dead before their time. In the late myth of Nergal and Ereshkigal she plaintively tells of her joyless life: even when young she never played as other young girls did. Ereshkigal's husband seems to have been originally Gugalanna ("great bull of heaven"). A variant, perhaps later, tradition has Ninazu as her spouse, and finally Nergal became king of the netherworld with Ereshkigal as his queen.

Ninazu. The meaning of the name *Ninazu* is not clear, but it apparently has to do with water. Most likely, since he was a netherworld god, his name refers to the waters underground. His wife was Ningirda ("mistress [well-]rope"), a daughter of Enki. In the north, in Eshnunna (Tel Asmar) in the Diyala region, where his Akkadian name was *Tishpak* ("outpouring"), he was a god of rain storms. His city in the south was Enegir on the lower Euphrates.

Ningishzida. Ningishzida ("master of the well-grown tree") was the god of trees, especially the powers in the root that nourish and sustain the tree. As god of tree roots he was naturally seen as an underground, netherworld power. His office there was that of throne bearer, an old title for the head of the constabulary. Ningishzida's wife was Azimua ("well-grown branch"). His city was Gishbanda on the lower Euphrates. The ancients thought that there was a common identity between tree roots and snakes, the latter being roots moving freely. Accordingly, Ningishzida was also the god of serpents, and his older form, as noted above, was that of the stock of a tree around which serpent roots wind, the whole resembling the Greek caduceus.

Nergal. The other names of Nergal ("lord great city"), originally probably designating different gods, were *Meslamtaea* ("the one issuing from the luxuriant *mesu* tree") and *Irra. Meslam* or *Emeslam* ("house Meslam") was the name of Nergal's temple at Cutha, in Akkad.

A myth preserved in a copy found at Tell al-ʿAmarna in Egypt and dating from the thirteenth century BCE tells how Nergal came to be king of the netherworld. Once when the gods were feasting they sent a message down to Ereshkigal inviting her to send up her vizier, Namtar, to fetch her a portion of the delicacies. She did so, and when he arrived all the gods rose respectfully except one, Nergal, who rudely remained seated. When Namtar reported this, Ereshkigal furiously demanded that the offending god be delivered up to her so that she could kill him. But when Namtar came for Nergal, Ea had changed his appearance so that Namtar did not recognize him. Later, however, Ea told Nergal to take a throne down to Ereshkigal to placate her. Nergal was understandably reluctant, but Ea insisted and gave him demons to hold open the gates of the netherworld so that he could get out fast if needed. However, he met with no resistance, pulled Ereshkigal down from her throne by the hair, and threatened to kill her. When she pleaded for her life, offering marriage and rule over the netherworld, Nergal accepted, kissed her, and wiped away her tears, saying wonderingly, "It was but love you wanted of me from months long ago to now." A later version greatly enlarges on the tale. It has Nergal visit the netherworld twice, the first time to bed Ereshkigal against Ea's advice and to escape, the second time to stay after Ereshkigal has passionately pleaded with the gods for his return.

Another myth, the *Irra Epic*, celebrates Nergal under the name *Irra* (an Akkadian name meaning "scorched earth"), which most likely originally designated a separate god. The epic tells how Irra was roused to action by his weapon, Sibittu (the name means "heptad"), and how he persuaded Marduk to leave him in charge of the world while Marduk went to have his jewels cleaned. Irra's first act was to foment rebellion in Babylon and have it ruthlessly put down by the commandant of the Assyrian garrison in that city. Next Irra had riots, rebellions, and wars spread all over the country, and might have destroyed it completely had not his vizier, Ishum, reasoned with him and persuaded him to leave a remnant. The epic ends with self-praise by Irra, who nowise regrets his deeds of violence—rather, he suggests that he may cut loose again at any time.

Ashur. Ashur was city god of Ashur (Qal'at Shergat) and chief god of Assyria. No recognizable features characterize him other than those that belong to his role as embodiment of the political aspirations of his city and nation. Even his wife and the name of his temple are not truly his own; they were borrowed from Enlil as part of Ashur's aspiration to the universal dominion for which Enlil stood. Basically, thus, he may in origin simply have been a *numen loci*—a spirit inhabiting a place and imbuing it with its character—named from the place where his presence was sensed.

THE TEMPLE. The earliest Mesopotamian temples may have been in origin storehouses in which nomadic or seminomadic tribes kept their sacred objects and provisions, which were too cumbersome to carry along on their wanderings. Very soon, though, these structures would have been considered, as always later, dwellings of the gods to whom they belonged. The earliest recognizable form was that of a dwelling house with a large, rectangular middle room from which two smaller rooms projected at the end, creating a T-shaped effect. With time the projecting rooms disappeared and left a rectangular room that was entered from a door in one of the side-walls near its end. At the short end-wall farthest from the door was a dais that kept the seat of the owner, in this case the god, out of the floor-level draft. In later times a niche in this end-wall steadied a baldachin, or tentlike aedicula, further protecting the god. Before the dais a curtain shielded him from profane eyes. On low benches along the side-walls stood statues of worshipers to remind the god of the people they represented and their needs. The god himself was, to judge by depictions dating from as early as the late Uruk period, represented by a statue in physiomorphic or anthropomorphic form. Facing it—conceivably inside the hanging—stood a large vase with greenery of various kinds, sometimes placed over a drain, into which petitioners received in audience by the god would pour libations before presenting their petitions.

Temples were by preference built on existing high ground; in addition, frequent rebuildings, during which stumps of the old walls were left while their upper parts were dumped in the space between them as fill to make a new building site, tended to create a small mound under the new rebuilding. In fact, this development, by which a temple came to stand on the walls of earlier ones, became in later time so much a part of the concept of a temple that builders created underground artificially filled-in walls for the actual walls to rest on. Such a filling was known as a temple terrace (*temen*). At the time of the third dynasty of Ur, possibly already in the time of the dynasty of Akkad, these mounds were built high, with stairs leading up to the temple on top, and were squared off to form a stage tower, the so-called ziggurat. With larger temples it became customary in early dynastic times to surround them with a protective oval wall, called an *ibgal.* The pattern for this may conceivably have been the long curved pile of camel-thorn gathered for fuel with which bedouins—then as now—ringed their camps in the desert. It served the double purpose of protection and a handy fuel supply. Inside the oval, along its sides, were the various storerooms, kitchens, and workshops for the temple personnel, while the house on top of the terraced tower constituted the god's living quarters: bedroom, bath, and so on. Often a few side rooms were added to the central structure.

In time—as can be seen by comparisons of temple plans from Khafaje with those for the later one at Ishchali—a tendency toward squaring off the oval and greatly enlarging the plan of the temple on the high terrace led to a new concept of the older design. The central room was enlarged so that its lower parts with the door became the size of a court. At its end the hanging or hangings were replaced with walls having doors in the middle, thus creating a rectangular cella with the niche and dais at the middle of the far side-wall, a so-called broad-room cella, which became standard for Sumero-Akkadian and Babylonian temples from the third dynasty of Ur on. The remainder of the original central room developed into a court with surrounding rooms. A gate and covered landing midway up the stairs leading to the temple above often served as court of justice in which the god sat in judgment. In Assyria the development from the bent-axis approach took a different course. There the door was relocated around the corner nearest to it to the middle of the end-wall facing the wall with the niche and dais, thus creating the long-room type of temple.

The temple, rising over the houses of the community, was visible and tangible proof of the god's presence and, more, that he was himself a member of the community and had a stake in it, with his house, his servants, his oxen and sheep, and his fields in grain. To have the temple was a privilege. To build it or rebuild it needed divine approval, which was not always granted. The story of the *Cursing of Akkad* told of the dire consequences of King Naram-sin's willful decision to rebuild Ekur in Nippur without Enlil's permission. Even rebuilding after enemy attack and demolition needed divine cooperation. The god had to be roused from his state of shock after the catastrophe to make him able to act, so laments to soothe him and to recall past happiness were part of the ritual. Originally these laments had clear reference to a specific historical situation; later they were generalized for wider use. In later times they became obligatory for any rebuilding, since that implied demolition of the existing structure, and some even became part of the daily program of temple music and were used to awaken the temple personnel in the morning. Older than the laments for the destruction of a temple are, it would seem, hymns to temples. They celebrate the specific powers inherent in the temple to uphold the welfare of the country. The Cursing of Akkad tells how the peace of the country, its harvest of grain, and so on vanish when corresponding parts of Ekur are demolished. In fact, the temples shared in inordinate measure in the particular kind of holiness that characterizes the gods inhabiting them, and it is often difficult to distinguish between god and temple. The temple shares name and function with its god as if it were his embodiment.

THE CULT. The communal cult of the gods was of two kinds, celebrating the appropriate festivals of the various gods at appropriate times and providing daily services such as would be required by any high human dignitary. The earlier of these are undoubtedly the festivals, most of which are best understood as communal magic rites for prosperity developed into cult dramas performed by community representatives. There is evidence for various types of such dramas: the Sacred Marriage, the Death Drama, the Journey Drama, and the Plowing Drama. Others may have existed.

The Sacred Marriage is attested in Uruk as early as the late Uruk period. The ruler (*en*) "became" the god of the date palm, Amaushumgalana, and brought the harvest as wedding gift to the date storeroom of the temple. His wife—one presumes—similarly "became" the goddess of the storehouse, Inanna, and opened the door for him, thereby concluding the marriage and lasting union of the powers for producing and storing the dates. Their meeting at the gate is depicted on the famous Uruk Vase and on contemporary cylinder seals. In this early form the source of abundance clearly was the god. In later times—as shown by materials from Isin and Larsa—emphasis oddly changed, and the goddess came to be seen as the conveyor of bounty. The high point was now a blessing by the goddess of the marital couch after the king had proved his prowess as bridegroom. By Isin-Larsa times, too, focus was no longer narrowly on dates but on prosperity generally. A special form of the rite—perhaps at home among herders—saw it still quite directly as sympathetic magic for fertility. Here the rising of the king's member in the sexual congress of the rite immediately made plants and greenery shoot up.

The Death Drama had the function of performing for the dying god of fertility—characteristically Dumuzi—the rites of lament due to the dead. Such data as we have suggest that processions of mourners went into the desert in early summer lamenting the god of dirges sung by representatives of his mother, sister, and young widow. The rite was a magic strengthening of the emotional bonds with the god, a seeking to have him back.

In the Journey Drama, the god, perhaps represented by his image or an emblem, traveled to visit a god in some other city. There are references to a yearly visit to Eridu by Ningirsu traveling from the Lagash region, and similarly there are texts connected with such a journey by Ninurta of Nippur. Whether in so traveling these gods conferred a boon on Enki and Eridu, or conversely were themselves the beneficiaries, is not always clear. In a myth about Enmerkar, founder of Uruk, a ritual journey he made to Eridu is mentioned in terms suggesting that he was reconfirmed or enhanced in his office of lord (*en*), that is, of provider. Most likely also the myth of Inanna and the offices she obtained from a not-too-sober Enki preserves memories of a rite in which Inanna's various offices were authenticated from Eridu. A rather full statement of a ritual journey is given in a text describing how Nanna of Ur travels up by boat to visit his father, Enlil, in Nippur, bringing first fruits from the products of the south. He is warmly received and leaves to go back to Ur with matching gifts from the agricultural lands around Nippur. The Plowing Drama of Ninurta's festival that opened the plowing season in Nippur is thus far unique. The king himself guided the plow, and a report was made to Enlil.

Last there is the Battle Drama. It seems to be at home with gods of the thunderstorms of spring, Ninurta and Marduk, and it is conceivable that it was once performed to activate these powers, to rouse the thunderstorms that were seen—as in the relevant myths—as the divine warrior attacking the mountains. There is, however, no evidence so far to indicate performance in such terms. The name of Marduk's main festival, Akitu ("time of the earth reviving"), does, as mentioned earlier, refer to an early aspect of him as the power causing natural abundance, but there is no indication of any battle drama. Such ritual evidence as we have for this type of drama all shows a later, completely politicized form behind which little if any trace of earlier implications survives. The materials for the Battle Drama are contained largely in cultic commentaries from Ashur, which, however, are clearly Babylonian in origin and reflect the bitter political rivalry between Babylon and the Sea Land to the south. Braziers and torches are lighted to signify the burning of Kingu, Anu, and Enlil. A chariot arriving with great show of martial prowess is Nabu, who was sent against Enlil and now returns victorious. A loaf of bread is bounded by the king and a bishop, who represent Marduk and Nabu. The loaf is the heart of Anu, whom Marduk bound and whose heart he tore out.

The Babylonian epic of creation, *Enuma elish*, which tells how Marduk "vanquished Tiamat and assumed kingship," reflects the same political conflict, with Marduk representing Babylon and Tiamat representing the sea and the Sea Land. It is generally—and perhaps rightly—assumed to be a cult myth corresponding to a dramatic ritual reenactment of this primordial battle each new year. However, our knowledge about the actual ritual of the Akitu festival in later times is scant in the extreme. We know that *Enuma elish* was read on one occasion and that Sennacherib, when he tried to transfer the festival to Assyria with Ashur as its hero, decorated the gates to his Akitu house with a relief showing the battle with Tiamat, but that is all. Otherwise such information as we have indicates that on the tenth of the month of Nisan, Marduk traveled by boat to the Akitu house, where a feast was celebrated on the eleventh, and that he then returned to Babylon. That is all. Not usable, unfortunately, for reconstructing the festival is a lengthy commentary called—not too happily—*Death and Resurrection of Marduk.* It has been shown to be an Assyrian, anti-Babylonian propaganda pamphlet, and it does not mention any death of Marduk.

The trend toward sociomorphism imposed on the gods the patterns of the human family and household, and this in turn implied service such as was rendered to a human magnate in providing for his bodily comfort and assisting in the running of his estate. All of this became the daily temple cult, as described earlier. A further implication of anthropomorphism and sociomorphism was that since the god had become ruler of the community, it was essential to know what he wanted done. Thus a variety of methods of communication was developed. Some of these left the initiative to the god: he might show signs in the stars or on earth that the initiated could interpret. Others were available when man needed to know the divine will. The earliest of these methods of communication of which we have evidence are dreams sought by incubation in the temple, and inspection of the liver of a sacrificed kid for propitious or nonpropitious shape. This latter method was used by Gudea as a check on the message obtained when he was dreaming. An extensive and highly detailed literature serving as textbook for these and many other manners of prognostication developed during the second and first millennia. Originally meant as guides for rulers and war leaders, this literature soon broadened its scope to take in the fortunes of ordinary citizens.

For conveying human wishes and needs to the gods and asking for help, a ritual of seeking audience to present petition and prayers was developed. The petitioner was led in before the deity with his greeting gift, usually a lamb or a kid. Here he libated water or wine in a huge vase with greenery that stood before the deity, and he spoke a formal greeting prayer. He then presented his petition. As the ritual for seeking an audience with the god was an occasional one, dependent on special circumstances, so the cult comprised other rituals for use in exceptional situations. I have mentioned the elaborate one called Bitrimki ("bathhouse"), which aimed at lustration of the king when he was threatened by the defiling evil of an eclipse of the moon; others were available for the rebuilding of a temple or for making or replacing a cult statue. In this last ritual great pains were taken to nullify by powerful incantations the fact that the statue was a work of human hands, and to make of it instead a god born in heaven.

The cult so far described was the communal, public cult. There was, however, a private cult as well. City life and its ever-greater differentiation between the fortunes of families and individuals and those of other families and individuals encouraged feelings that special success was due to a god's personal interest in a man and his family, while, conversely, misfortune would seem to be due to the god's abandonment of his ward for some reason or other. Thus the term for having luck became "to acquire a god." Since no achievement could be had without divine help, that of engendering a child necessarily implied such intervention. A god and goddess entered the body of the human father and mother and made the mother conceive. Thus the god and goddess who were assumed to have helped became family deities and were visualized in the image of a father and mother. As such they also took on the protective roles of parents, chief among which was to defend their wards against demons of disease and inspire successful thought and action. They had their altars and received daily offerings in the house of their wards, and prayers and petitions were addressed to them there.

The close connection between the personal god and success could not but raise problems, for experience showed that virtue was not always rewarded; rather, a virtuous man might fall ill or suffer other miseries such as should have happened to evildoers only. The obvious solution, that the virtuous man unwittingly must have offended his god, was accepted in a measure, and prayers often asked for enlightenment as to how a sufferer had sinned, so that he could do penance and mend his ways; but as a general explanation it did not carry full conviction, and the vexing problem of the righteous sufferer arose. It is dealt with in two major compositions datable to Middle Babylonian times. One is called *Ludlul* ("let me praise"), after its beginning, "Let me praise the possessor of wisdom." It tells of a pious and just man who suffers one misfortune after the other but does not lose his trust in Marduk. Eventually Marduk takes pity on him and restores him to health and prosperity. No real answer to the problem of why he had to suffer is attempted; the text merely holds out the conviction that the gods can have a change of heart and take pity. The other composition is known as the *Theodicy.* It is in the form of a dialogue between two friends about the fact that evil men appear to prosper, whereas good men fall on evil days. Here, too, there is no real answer, only a conviction that eventually retribution will come to evildoers.

The question of the innate justice—or, rather, injustice—of existence is also dealt with in a famous work known as the *Epic of Gilgamesh.* It tells how Gilgamesh, an ancient ruler of the city of Uruk endowed with exceptional vigor, drives his people too hard. They complain to the gods, who create Enkidu, a wild man who becomes a friend and brother of Gilgamesh. Together they set out to kill a famous warrior, Huwawa, who lives far away in the cedar mountains. They succeed. After their return to Uruk, Gilgamesh scornfully turns down a marriage proposal from the city goddess Ishtar. In her anger at being rejected she borrows the bull of heaven in order to kill Gilgamesh, but he and Enkidu overcome it. Then, however, things catch up with the two friends: the gods decide that Enkidu must die for having killed Huwawa. Gilgamesh is inconsolable at the loss of his friend and at the thought that he, too, must die. He therefore sets out on an arduous journey to an ancestor of his, Utanapishtim, who had gained eternal life. Eventually Gilgamesh reaches him, but Utanapishtim has no solace to offer. He invites Gilgamesh to try fighting Sleep—Death's younger brother, so to speak—but Gilgamesh fails miserably to keep awake. So Utanapishtim gives him clean clothes and sets him on his way home. There is no escape from death, however unjust it seems that man may not live forever.

It seems likely that the original epic ended here. At a later date, probably in the Middle Babylonian period, a certain Sinliqiunnini reworked the epic from a radically different point of view. Where the outlook of the earlier epic was tragic—a tale of a quest for eternal life that failed—the reworking saw Gilgamesh as a heroic traveler to romantic foreign parts who recovered hidden knowledge of the ancient times. A long story about the flood was added, as well as a further tale about a plant with the power to rejuvenate, which Gilgamesh obtained only to lose it again by carelessness. An introduction and conclusion stressed Gilgamesh's achievements, including lasting fame as builder of the city walls of Uruk. Finally, part of a Sumerian tale in which Enkidu describes conditions in the netherworld was tacked on, perhaps by some copyist. Passionate protest against existential evil thus became pleasure in romantic quest for hidden knowledge in faraway lands.

SEE ALSO Adad; Akitu; An; Anthropomorphism; Ashur; Atrahasis; Divination; Drama, article on Ancient Near Eastern Ritual Drama; Dumuzi; Dying and Rising Gods; Enki; Enlil; Enuma Elish; Gilgamesh; Hierodouleia; Hieros Gamos; Iconography, article on Mesopotamian Iconography; Inanna; Kingship, article on Kingship in the Ancient Mediterranean World; Marduk; Nabu; Nanna; Nergal; Ninhursaga; Ninurta; Pyramids, overview article; Temple, article on Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean Temples; Utu.

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MESOPOTAMIAN RELIGIONS: AN OVERVIEW [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

The Sumerians, who built human civilization over their thousand-year history, from 3000 BCE to 2000 BCE approximately, were not the only players on the Mesopotamian social and political stage. As we turn the pages of their history, we find that there is another ethnic group, of Semitic origin, living in the same territory at almost the same time, a people conventionally known as the Akkadians, who came to power and took control of the entire region in 2350 BCE under their king Sargon the Great, founder of a dynasty of the same name.

At least until the 1950s and 1960s, there was a lively debate amongst Assyriologists—on the one hand, those who believed that there was an ethnic link between the Sumerians and the Akkadians, almost a direct symbiosis, and on the other, those who, while not overemphasizing that they were different racial groups, stressed that their ways of life were basically different, in their model of political thought, in their cultural traditions, even in the different languages that they spoke. The Sumerians spoke an agglutinative language ("Sumerian"), whereas the Akkadians spoke an inflected Semitic language ("Akkadian").

In 1970 F. A. Kraus, holding that the use of a different language did not necessarily relate to different ethnic origins, concluded that "the Sumerian and Akkadian texts are evidence of the same culture, namely Babylonian" (pp. 1ff.) In the following year Giovanni Pettinato published *Das altorientalische Menschenbild und die sumerischen und akkadischen Schöpfungsmythen,* in which he maintained exactly the opposite position—that, at the very least, language is an important piece of evidence in the investigation of the cultures of these two peoples. Simply on the basis of mythological texts concerning the creation and conception of the human race, Pettinato reached the conclusion that, contrary to what is published in books on Mesopotamian history and civilization, the Sumerians and the Akkadians, the two main peoples that inhabited Mesopotamia, had very different approaches to such matters, and this is central to our understanding of their thinking. The Sumerians and the Akkadians were exponents of two quite distinct cultures, with mutually incompatible principles and ideals. Thus the opinion put forward by Assyriologists concerning this symbiosis seemed to be completely incorrect and not borne out by the surviving documentary evidence, which has been even more firmly established and developed in recent years.

In 1992 W. G. Lambert proposed a comparison between Sumerian and Akkadian tales of the creation of the human race and stated that the two traditions had certain fundamental motifs in common, concluding: "for the moment it is most sensible to consider the two mythological corpora as expressions of a single culture" (Lambert, 1992, p. 130). He comes to the same conclusion when he compares the Sumerian narratives of the Descent of Inanna with the Akkadian versions concerning Ishtar. The studies of Steinkeller (1992) and Durand (1993), which demonstrated the existence of a Semitic mythology that was completely different and alien to the Sumerian, were of no avail, because all this left Heimpel completely unmoved; for him, Kraus's theory remained unchanged and unchangeable. In fact, Falkenstein was probably right when he stated that the Sumerians and the Semites (= Akkadians) maintained and propagated two very different traditions. Subsequent studies have confirmed the views of Pettinato (1971), and the discoveries at Ebla, in ancient Syria, have provided us with evidence of a level of civilized development and a cultural heritage to match the richest and most abundant in the Sumerian world. For these reasons, it is both useful and necessary to examine the two cultures, the Sumerian and the Akkadian, separately, because only in this way will we be able to join the dots together and thus understand the interchange between different cultures, something which is now a primary duty of our research.

SUMERIAN BELIEFS. To understand the essentials of Babylonian religion we should refer to the beliefs of the first inhabitants of Mesopotamia, the Sumerians. Only a few key aspects of Sumerian religious literature were of interest to the Babylonians; for example, there was no information concerning the origin of the cosmos, which interested the Babylonians keenly. What was of far greater significance to the Sumerians was the organization of their own world, in which the divine intervened regularly. The Sumerians had two leading gods in their divine pantheon: Enlil, the poliad god of Nippur, and Enki, the poliad god of Eridu. The first is the undisputed head of the Sumerian pantheon, the second is the god of wisdom par excellence. Besides these two main divinities, another god, the father of both, plays a prominent role in the Sumerian religious outlook—An, the god of the sky. These three gods formed the supreme triad of the Sumerian pantheon around which all the other gods revolved. Their role in the world was well defined and constantly overseen by the assembly of the gods. It is no coincidence that Babylonian astronomy was based upon these three Sumerian divinities, nor indeed that the astrological series *Enuma Anu Enlil* begins with these words: "When the gods Anu, Enlil, and Ea prepared the outline of heaven and earth. . . ." (Ea is the Semitic name of the god Enki, and Anu is the Semitic form of the Sumerian An.)

There were naturally other important gods, such as the seven mother goddesses led by Ninhursag, the mother of all creatures, and the three astral gods of the sun, moon, and Venus, respectively called Utu, Nanna, and Inanna. The sun god, whose watchful eye never falters, guarantees justice; the moon god lights up the earth by night and lets travelers find their way in the dark; Inanna (Venus) is the goddess of love and war, a very important figure in the pantheon, who along with her two brothers Nanna and Utu controls the smooth progress of events, but in particular guarantees the kingship. It is no less important to note that Inanna was the poliad goddess of Uruk, as Utu was the god of Sippar and Nanna of Ur, cities of major historical importance from 3000 BCE onwards.

From the mythological literary compositions dealing with the creation of the human race, which the traditions of Nippur and Eridu attribute respectively to the gods Enlil and Enki, we learn that the main gods had various spheres of influence, as follows: An, the sky; Enlil, the earth; and Enki, the waters of the deep. Thus Enlil is the ruler of the earth and everything that happens there is in a certain sense controlled and determined by him.

Humanity's attachment to the divine world is expressed in terms of a deliberate, and perhaps even joyful, obedience. The human race, as the Sumerians considered it, had been created to carry on with the gods' work of putting the world in order. Well aware of the onerous nature of the work they had been created to carry out, the Sumerians accepted this burden willingly, confident of leaving a permanent impression, just as the gods had done when they had created the world. What the texts emphasize, from different angles, is the presence within human beings of a divine element, bestowed by either Enki or Enlil, according to the two different traditions, which allows them to survive the finality of death; there is firm belief in an afterlife. There were some attempts to overcome death, as in the effort of Gilgamesh, but the firm laws established by the gods from the time of creation were accepted without argument by the Sumerians.

Although the creation texts, because of their concise nature, do not indicate the evolution of the human race, both Sumerian documents referring to the Nippur tradition and the Chaldean Berosus, dealing with the Enki variant, stress in no uncertain terms that man became a city dweller by going through various stages of development. In the Nippur tradition, after human beings had been created they were living like wild animals and behaved as such. It was only after Enlil instilled in them the vital spiritual spark, that is, the divine element, that the human race was ready to undertake the task of organizing the world. The story told by Berosus of the early stages of human development is even more significant: in this tradition too, human beings were ignorant of the benefits of civilization, so Enki, the god of wisdom, had amphibian creatures that were half-fish, half-human emerge from the ocean depths and live with human beings, teaching them how to behave in a civilized way, and instructing them in all the arts. These are the renowned *apkallu,* known from cuneiform literature, who after this first stage of human development served the king of the earth as his advisers when the gods sent down the kingship from heaven. Gilgamesh, the mythical king of Uruk, was the first to have a purely human adviser, signifying in its way a break in the history of humanity as decisive as the first real break, which was caused by the direct intervention of the gods—the Universal Flood.

EARLY BABYLONIAN BELIEFS. The Sumerians transmitted their religious ideas in myths, hymns, and wisdom texts, which the Babylonians, once they arrived in Mesopotamia, began to copy and translate so that the knowledge of the Sumerian world would not be lost. In the schools of Babylon and in other centers of learning, knowledge of the previous peoples was preserved and began to be developed, and it was adapted to later people's own beliefs. It should not be forgotten either that the Assyrians, although mainly preoccupied with war, did not scorn the culture of the Sumerian and Babylonian schools, as shown in that miraculous monument to human history, the library at Nineveh, from which the vast majority of the literary texts written by the inhabitants of the "land between the two rivers" now come. Although it had the highest regard for the previous tradition, which she welcomed in toto, Babylon nonetheless was faced with a problem of enormous proportions—how to introduce the principal Babylonian god, Marduk, into the established Sumerian pantheon.

The Mesopotamian kingship was regarded by the inhabitants of the region as a gift from the gods; it had descended from heaven, in fact. For the Sumerians, the protector of the kingship was the god Enlil, who was both the city god of Nippur and the ruler of the earth. For the Babylonians, on the other hand, the guardian of the kingship was Marduk, a god who had no role in the religious tradition of Mesopotamia. Even in the Old Babylon period, around 1800 BCE, during the reign of Hammurabi, Marduk was not only seen as the poliad god of the city, but also the controller of the kingship of the Babylonian sovereigns. There was nothing new in terms of the religious and political situation in Mesopotamia; just as in the past, local rulers received their sovereign powers from their own city god. The problem occurred when one city tried to predominate over the others; only then was it necessary to resort to the god of the earth, Enlil, the god of Nippur, to be invested with sovereignty.

Later too, in the Middle Babylonian period, around 1100 BCE, it is still Marduk who conferred the kingship on the Babylonian sovereigns. In the New Babylonian period (c. sixth century BCE) the position changed: Babylon wanted to become the political center of the whole of Mesopotamia, and Marduk was sufficient in stature to secure such an expectation. Yet, the rulers of Babylon called Marduk "ruler of all the gods," "source of the kingship." What happened in the preceding centuries? Did a religious revolution occur, so that no one could accuse the kings of Babylon of blasphemy? In fact, Babylonian scholars devised a new myth, reintegrating the theology that underpinned Babylonian hegemony in the religious and political environment of ancient Mesopotamia.

The prologue to the Code of Hammurabi provides information on the Babylonian pantheon: the gods were subdivided into two categories, the Anunnaki and the Igigi, who were respectively the greater and lesser gods. Anu, Enlil, and Enki, the supreme triad, clearly belonged to the Anunnaki, together with the classical divinities of the Sumerian world, and Marduk was part of the second group, the Igigi; in the prologue he is called "firstborn of Enki" and "leader of the Igigi." Yet, this description shows that we are still a long way from the moment when Marduk, following his actions in the *Enuma elish,* became the new head of the Babylonian pantheon.

In the myth of Atrahasis, too, the pantheon is divided in two, the Anunna and the Igigi; the triad Anu, Enlil, and Ea belongs to a group of seven, the greater gods, whereas the Igigi, the lesser gods, are obliged to put up with the burden of hard work. The roles that they are given are the same as those assigned by the Sumerians, so the change has not yet taken place. (It is interesting that the god Marduk is not mentioned once in the myth of Atrahasis.) The Sumerian religion was still very much alive in the period that followed, and any radical change of a religious nature would have had enormous difficulty in being accepted.

ENUMA ELISH. The situation is completely different in *Enuma elish* (end of the second millennium BCE), the greatest religious poem of Babylonian literature. The scribes had grasped that there were two possible ways to elevate their poliad god to a central position in the pantheon: either to link Marduk to the god of Nippur or—certainly more subtle—to relate him to the god Enki. It may be surprising that they chose to establish a father-son relationship between Enki and Marduk, since the latter had never historically guaranteed the kingship, but the choice of the scribes shows a quite remarkable intelligence: they wanted to overturn historical reality and turn it to something of universal significance.

All of the Sumerian traditions assigned the position of principal god in their pantheon to Enlil, but at the same time they emphasized that the first seat of the kingship before the Flood was the city of Eridu, the home of the god Enki, who was therefore regarded as the first holder of royal power on earth. Hence the decision of the scribes to make Marduk the son of Enki. Their syllogistic reasoning is clear: if Enki the king is Marduk's father, then Marduk becomes the king. And that is not all:if Eridu is the home of Enki and at the same time the location of his kingship, then Babylon, the home of Marduk, is automatically the one true location of the kingship. So when we read the words of Berosus, that the first royal capital on earth was Babylon, we begin to understand how convincing the syllogism devised by the scribes of Babylon had become for later generations.

To make such a revolutionary idea acceptable, those responsible for creating the poem *Enuma elish* were obliged to confront subjects never dealt with by mythological texts of the preceding period. The seven tablets on which the poem is set down refer back to the primordial world, to the beginning of everything, which preceded the present cosmos. Thus they began the tale in the time before the birth of the sky god An, the future head of the Sumerian pantheon. The description of the situation that preceded the birth of the god of the sky was completely new, even if it may have been indirectly reconstructed from known sources. First of all, there existed only the primordial waters, the sweet and salt waters, Apsu and Tiamat. These two beings joined in marriage and produced pairs of completely shadowy beings, until the couple Anshar and Kishar brought forth the god of the sky, An. The text then goes on to describe the generation of the god Enki and his son Marduk, thus ensuring that Marduk is given a definite place in the Mesopotamian pantheon.

Yet the priestly scribes went still further. They were anxious to install the Babylonian god in a leading position, and they accomplished their task in a most admirable way. Marduk could only become the ruler of the gods if he performed some quite exceptional act. The facts are quickly set out: the young gods were disturbing the rest of the primordial gods with their noise, so Apsu became angry and intended to punish them. Tiamat, their mother, did not want the young gods to die—they were still her children, after all—but Apsu was unyielding. The younger generation, led by An and Enki, refused to accept the decision of Apsu, and Enki killed his grandfather by trickery. At this, Tiamat declared all-out war on the entire set of young gods and there ensued a cosmic battle setting the old generation against the new. The forces of the primordial gods were led by Tiamat herself, and on Enki's advice, the task of commanding the young gods' army was given to Marduk. After various ups and downs, Marduk was victorious over Tiamat, thus doing away with the power of the primordial gods; only then did the gods unanimously agree to make Marduk their leader. The tale goes on to detail all of Marduk's actions, including the creation of the present cosmos with the constellations and planets (especially the sun and the moon), the setting up the calendar, and the foundation of Babylon, the new capital of the world.

The revolutionary idea underlying this poem should not be underestimated: all religious thinking had to be revised, and yet the Babylonian scribes did not actually omit anything from the religious situation. Among the Sumerian literary texts copied in the schools of Babylon, a prominent place was given to lists of Mesopotamian gods handed down from the Sumerians, but here an innovation occurred in the drafting of the texts: the divinities were subject to a great theological reworking that organized all the gods into a well-defined family structure—that is, into a pyramid with Marduk at its head, as a result of his victory over Tiamat. Not one of the great Sumerian gods was ousted—not An, nor Enlil, nor Enki—and they are the ones who elevate the young god and choose him as their undisputed new leader.

OTHER BABYLONIAN RELIGIOUS LITERATURE. We would be mistaken, however, if we thought that the Babylonians stopped at what we might term institutions. The ancient scribes believed, as we do, that ideas are truly revolutionary when they are popularly accepted. The mythological texts were accompanied by wisdom texts in which the scribes dealt with the problem of humanity, its suffering, its pain, and its eventual death. Although they recognized various solutions, the scribes directed their response towards the god Marduk. The poem *Ludlul bËl nËmeqi* is a document of unusual beauty which puts forward Marduk as the true savior of every human being. Similarly, individual prayers rediscovered in the libraries of Babylon, as well as all the theophoric onomasticons (names made up of divine constituent parts), provide irrefutable evidence that the cultural mission undertaken by the theological schools had been spread amongst the populace, and had become a fundamental idea within Babylonian culture.

If we turn our attention to the plan devised by the Babylonians to attain supremacy, which they would not be able to gain through political means, we see a genuine religious and intellectual revolution brought about by some exceptional minds. Precisely because Babylon was a city that had been recently founded, the learned priests of Marduk, the supreme god of Babylon, needed to find some means of incorporating their city and their god in his proper position in the primordial world from which their civilization had developed, and from which the kingship had originated. In the religious and historical texts of the Sumerians, the first inhabitants of Mesopotamia, we find a quite precise list of the order in which the first cities were founded and power was given to mankind by the gods. Even the divine world is duly ordered, with the principal gods, Anu, Enki, Enlil, and Inanna, allotted their specific roles and tasks, so that the world is organized and unchanging. At that time, Babylon did not yet exist, so later Babylonian priests needed to find a way for their city and their god to re-enter the Sumerian schema, or Babylon would share the same fate as many other cities, such as Ashur and Nineveh—powerful politically, but completely irrelevant in the intellectual and religious spheres. Of course, the priests of Marduk had one weapon on their side, and that was the actual ancestry of the god himself. Marduk was indeed the son of Enki, the Sumerian god of wisdom and one of the four main Sumerian gods, and thus it was in principle possible to link him with the existing Sumerian traditions, so that he could enter fully into a cultural framework from which newcomers had been excluded.

In *Marduk, the Heir of Enki,* there is clearly a subtle change in the Sumerian tradition which the Babylonian priests referenced: Enki is the creator of the human race and organizes the world, but he is also the father of Marduk. This is highly significant, because it is not only Marduk, but also Babylon that is elevated to the status of legitimate heir to Sumerian civilization, the first civilization in Mesopotamia. Marduk, as creator of the human race, is also the guardian of the kingship, of the exercise of power, which he grants to whomsoever he chooses, but in his chosen city, and thus Babylon becomes the legitimate home of the kingship. In the festival of the New Year the god Marduk solemnly renews his choice of the Babylonian sovereign and once again grants his trust to the shepherd of his people.

In the Babylonian schools a plan was set in motion to rework all previous knowledge, both religious and secular. Thus Babylon became the repository of Mesopotamian learning, once again invoking the divine world. Marduk has a son, the god Nabu, heir to the knowledge and wisdom of his grandfather Enki; Nabu oversees all intellectual endeavor and is the patron of the prestigious class of scribes.

Akkadian Literature. The mythological texts of Assyro-Babylonian literature are in fact a product of the Semitic people who replaced the Sumerians around 2000 BCE, and correctly identified with the large-scale migration there of the Amorites, who were able to create new dynasties and a new series of capitals, such as Babylon in the south and Ashur in the north. As early as the start of the Old Babylonian period there was sudden, intense literary activitywhich was faithful to tradition, in particular regarding the role of the principal triad An, Enlil, and Enki/Ea, but which also included a number of properties and personalities with characteristics that appear to be the product of exclusively Semitic thinking. For the typical nature of Sumerian civilization, which adapted to the dictates of the divine world without a murmur, there was substituted a much more typically Semitic character that was rebellious and in a certain sense inimical to the preordained plan of the divine world. There is sympathy for the view that the Semitic scribes expressed a way of thinking that was different and perhaps also at variance with the norm, in certain verses giving their assessment of cosmic and human reality.

Some historians of Akkadian literature stress that the Assyro-Babylonians needed several hundred years to produce literary and mythological compositions, which reached the height of the works created by the Sumerians. This conclusion is probably incorrect, as shown by the myth of Atrahasis, already in existence in the Old Babylonian period, at the beginning of settlement in Mesopotamia by the Semitic Amorites. Of course, until 1966, the Old Babylonian version of this myth was not known, because it was buried in the vaults of the British Museum. However, there were already sufficient other literary texts providing evidence of the literary maturity of the Babylonian scribes to prevent this kind of mistake.

In addition to the myth of Atrahasis, which had a long tradition and reworking that lasted until the New Babylonian period, we should recall the following as definitely attributable to the same period of Hammurabi: the myth of Etana, the myth of Ninurta and Anzu, the myth of Adad and the dragon, *Belet-ili and Lillu,* and the first draft of the *Epic of Gilgamesh.* Naturally, successive periods saw the reworking of these myths, along with the editing and composition of new myths, such as, for example, the *Descent of Ishtar to the Underworld* and *Nergal and Ereshkigal,* and in the Neo-Assyrian period there were the wonderful compositions of *Enuma elish* and the myth of Erra, which reached new and unequalled literary heights. Other texts that are considered mythological include the series of incantations that have introductory passages which refer to cosmological or human events (as well as serving as introductions to the actual spells themselves). There are also various hymns to divinities that allude to events which are, in the true sense of the word, mythological.

In conclusion, then, it can be stated that Akkadian mythology was certainly not in any sense inferior to Sumerian, and indeed was at least its equal, if not somewhat superior on account of its underlying distinctive, dynamic, and vigorous nature.

See Also An; Atrahasis; Enlil; Enuma Elish; Marduk; Utu.

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Translated from Italian by Paul Ellis

MESOPOTAMIAN RELIGIONS: HISTORY OF STUDY

The study of ancient Mesopotamian religions, like the study of ancient Mesopotamia in general, was severely hampered in its early phases by an imperfect understanding of Sumerian and Akkadian, the languages of its source materials, and by the relatively limited and fragmentary nature of the materials then available. To some extent, similar difficulties still exist, and new finds as well as new insights may challenge even seemingly assured results.

General Presentations. The earliest attempt at a comprehensive presentation of ancient Mesopotamian religions is François Lenormant's *La magie chez les Chaldéens et les origines accadiennes* (1874). Lenormant posited an early Sumerian (then called Akkadian) animistic stage of belief in spirits that were controlled by magicians. Contrasting with this was the religion of the Semitic inhabitants (now called Akkadians), a debased form of monotheism in which hypostases of the supreme god, called Ilu, had become separate powers in natural phenomena, especially astral phenomena. These two competing kinds of beliefs were eventually unified into a single system under Sargon of Akkad, whom Lenormant dated at about 2000 BCE. Part of this systematization included the ordering of local deities into the later pantheon.

The next major contribution to the study of Mesopotamian religions, and one of a wider scope, was A. H. Sayce's *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religions as Illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians* (1887). Sayce's book deals with various Babylonian deities, such as Bel-Merodakh (Marduk), Tammuz, and Istar (Ishtar), among others. He also discusses what he called "the sacred books of Chaldea," as well as cosmogonies and astro-theology. Sayce saw evidence of totemism in the animal forms that many of the gods could assume. Because Prometheus brought fire to man, Sayce saw him as a parallel to the deity Lugalbanda ("fierce king"). In his overall view of religious development, Sayce essentially followed Lenormant.

The Sumerian beliefs in spirits that were controlled by a body of medicine men was termed by Sayce "organized animism." The Sumerian word for spirit was thought to be *zi,* and "the *zi* was simply that which manifested life, and the test of the manifestation of life was movement" (p. 327). The spirits in those major cosmic elements that were considered good gradually developed into gods. The level of power of motion possessed by an object, or in a force of nature, was the test of its supernaturalism (that is, of the existence of a spirit within it). Sayce writes:

> The spirit of the moon, for example, developed into a god, but the god was abstracted from the visible moon itself, and identified with the creative force of the lunar orb which manifested itself in motion. The new god might in turn be abstracted from the creative force, more especially if he was assimilated to the sacred steer; in this case the creative force would become his spirit, in no way differing, it will be seen, from the spirit that was believed to reside in man. (p. 334)

Sayce attributed to the Semitic-speaking Akkadians a change from the gods as creators to the gods as fathers, a change encouraged by anthropomorphism and the creation of a family-based pantheon.

In his later *Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia* (1902), Sayce modified his position and rejected the idea that the gods might have developed out of older spirits. He assumed instead that the idea was brought in by immigrants from the south, who founded a tradition centered on the god Ea of the ancient city of Eridu.

Much more comprehensive than any previous treatment was Morris Jastrow's *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (1898). Jastrow discusses the land and peoples of Babylon and Syria, the general traits of the Old Babylonian pantheon, the gods and their consorts prior to the days of Hammurabi, the pantheon of Hammurabi, Gudea's pantheon, and the minor gods in the period of Hammurabi. The book also deals with the gods appearing in temple lists and in legal and commercial documents of the area. Other topics that Jastrow investigates rather extensively are the animism that survived in Babylonian religions, the Assyrian pantheon, the triad and the combined invocation of the deities, the Neo-Babylonian period, and the Babylonian cosmology. Jastrow's work also examines the religious literature—magical texts, prayers and hymns, penitential psalms, oracles, omens, the *Epic of Gilgamesh,* and other myths and legends. There is also a discussion of the Babylonian view of life after death, and of the temple and cult in Babylonia and Syria.

Because Jastrow avoided theorizing as much as possible, his treatment is sober and descriptive. He also deliberately avoided distinguishing Sumerian from Akkadian contributions. Jastrow argued that animism was still basic to the religion of Babylonia and Assyria, and he observed that the gods had evolved from their role as spirits of the settlement plots. As these settlements grew into cities, the spirits grew correspondingly in stature and importance. The detailed bibliography of the field up to 1898 that Jastrow included in his book is particularly valuable. A later work by Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* (1905–1912), although never completed, is essentially a lengthy study of divination texts.

To the third edition of *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (1903), which was edited by Eberhard Schrader, the German Assyriologist Heinrich Zimmern contributed his study *Religion und Sprache,* discussing the religious system of the Babylonians; the formation of the pantheon; local cults; the Semitic and Sumerian elements still evident in Babylonian religion; the Babylonians' reliance on the heavens in the formation of beliefs, practices, and myths; and the Babylonian view of life. Zimmern's presentation was strongly influenced by the school of *Astralmythologie* that flourished in Germany at the time, so an overabundance of gods were seen as solar in character. For example, Marduk was said to represent the sun of morning and spring; Ninurta (whose name was then read as Ninib) represented the eastern or western sun; the destructive glowing south, noon, and summer sun were represented by Nergal; and so on. The purview of the book called for comparisons with biblical materials (twenty-one pages were devoted to a comparison of Marduk and Christ), but the methods used have since been discounted.

In 1910 Édouard Dhorme's *La religion assyro-babylonienne* was published; the materials are organized with such clarity and relevance that the book remains one of the most notable early treatments of Mesopotamian religions.

Dhorme's work focused on the sources of the Assyrian and Babylonian religions and their conception of the divine, including the gods, gods of the cities and of kings, gods and men, moral laws, prayers, sacrifice, and the priesthood. A new, enlarged edition was published in 1945 under the title *Les religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie.* Although it achieved a far greater coverage of detail, it lost the enlightening clarity that characterizes the earlier work.

A most useful, purely factual, and well-documented presentation was given by Bruno Meissner in the second volume of his *Babylonien und Assyrien* (1925). For ready access to the main data of pantheons, cults, divination, and magic, it remains unrivaled.

Jean Bottéro, in his *La religion babylonienne* (1952), sought to present the development of Babylonian religion among the Semitic-speaking inhabitants of Mesopotamia during the last two millennia before the Common Era. The work is marked by a great sensitivity and respect for the ancient achievement. A few of the subjects Bottéro discusses are deserving of special mention: religious sentiment, the theology of the divine, and cults of adoration and sacrament. His method of treatment is reminiscent of what is known as the phenomenology of religion.

A different approach, one that belongs to the Myth and Ritual school, is represented by S. H. Hooke's *Babylonian and Assyrian Religion* (1953), a well-written and very readable account of the essentials of its subject that is free of any extreme positions. Other general presentations include L. W. King's *Babylonian Religion and Mythology* (1899), Giuseppe Furlani's *La religione babilonese e assira* (1928–1929), Charles F. Jean's *La religion sumérienne* (1931), Hans Hirsch's *Untersuchungen zur altassyrischen Religion* (1961), and W. H. P. Römer's article "Religion of Ancient Mesopotamia" in *Historia Religionum,* volume 1, *Religions of the Past,* edited by C. Jouco Bleeker and Geo Widengren (1969). Also important are J. van Dijk's "Sumerische Religion" and Jørgen Laessøe's "Babylonische und assyrische Religion," in volume 1 of *Handbuch der Religionsgeschichte,* edited by Jes P. Asmussen, Jørgen Laessøe, and Carsten Colpe (1976). In this, as well as in other works, van Dijk refers to Eliade's phenomenological approach.

Thorkild Jacobsen's *The Treasures of Darkness: A History of Mesopotamian Religion* (1976) is a pivotal study of Mesopotamian religion. Jacobsen based this work on Rudolf Otto's theory on numinous experience, but when he set that theoretical approach in the history of Mesopotamia, he gave the book an evolutionist structure, a structure that is, however, absent in his entry "Mesopotamian Religion" in the first edition of this encyclopedia. Jacobsen provides an overall reconstruction of the poems describing the love and death of Dumuzi and Inanna, and he discusses a pre-urban historical phase, a period when the village communities were struggling to survive and the gods were conceived as providers (as stated in the title of Chapter 2 in *Treasures of Darkness.*). With the development of urban life, the gods became rulers in a society living in a state of endemic war. The book also includes important insight into personal religion, the epic of Gilgamesh, and the apotheosis of Marduk.

General presentations that appeared after Jacobsen's work include Helmut Freydank's "Religion Mesopotamiens" in *Kulturgeschichte des alten Vorderasien,* edited by Horst Klengel (1989); Joachín Sanmartin's "Mitología y Religíon" in *Mitología y Religíon del Oriente Antiguo,* edited by Gregorio del Olmo Lete (1993); and Jean Bottéro's *Plus vieille religion en Mésopotamie* (1998), translated into English by Teresa L. Fagan as *Religion in Ancient Mesopotamia* (2001).

SPECIAL STUDIES. As important as the general presentations on ancient Mesopotamian religions are, a wealth of special studies are in many cases even more essential for understanding these religions' major aspects. Unfortunately, considerations of space do not allow any comprehensive and systematic treatment; it is only possible to comment on a somewhat random and necessarily subjective selection.

The nature of the concept of divinity in Mesopotamia is treated in Johannes Hehn's *Die biblische und die babylonische Gottesidee* (1913) and in Elena Cassin's *La splendeur divine: Introduction à l'étude de la mentalité mesopotamienne* (1968). Rich in materials is Knut Tallquist's *Akkadische Götterepitheta* (1938). For discussion of the pantheon, Anton Deimel's *Pantheon Babylonicum* (1914) and part one of his *Sumerisches Lexikon,* volume 4, *Pantheon Babylonicum* (1950), are still standard references.

The origins and development of the pantheon were dealt with by Tharsicius Paffrath in his book *Zur Götterlehre in den altbabylonischen Königsinschriften* (1913) and by W. G. Lambert in his article "The Historical Development of the Mesopotamian Pantheon: A Study in Sophisticated Polytheism" in *Unity and Diversity,* edited by Hans Goedicke and J. J. M. Roberts (1975).

A representative collection of myths and epics in translation may be found in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (3d ed., 1969), edited by J. B. Pritchard. Thorkild Jacobsen's *The Harps That Once—Sumerian Poetry in Translation* (1987) translates a selection of significant religious poems from the Sumerian, and Stephanie Dalley's *Myths from Mesopotamia* (1989) does the same for Akkadian. Jean Bottéro and Samual Noah Kramer's *Lorsque les dieux faisaient l'homme* (1989) includes translations of almost all the Sumerian and Akkadian mythological poems.

Treatments of mythology include Samuel Noah Kramer's *Sumerian Mythology* (1944; rev. ed., 1972); D. O. Edzard's article "Mesopotamien," in the first volume of *Wörterbuch der Mythologie,* edited by H. W. Haussig (1965); Giorgio R. Castellino's *Mitologia Sumerico-Accadica* (1967); and Alexander Heidel's *The Babylonian Genesis* (1942; 2d ed., 1963) and *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels* (1949; 2d ed., 1963).

Aspects of the daily cult are the focus of Agnès Spycket's book *Les statues de culte dans les textes mesopotamiens* (1968).

Other books of interest include Friedrich Blome's *Die Opfermaterie in Babylonien und Israel* (1934) and Yvonne Rosengarten's *Le concept sumérien de consommation* (1960). For the times of the annual festivals, there is Benno Landsberger's magisterial (and still standard) work, *Der kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer* (1915). The *raison d'être* of the festivals was first clarified by Svend Aage Pallis in his book *The Babylonian Akitu Festival* (1926). Of crucial importance because it dismissed once and for all some serious misunderstandings of the Akitu is Wolfram von Soden's article "Gibt es ein Zeugnis dafür das die Babylonier an die Wiederauferstehung Marduks geglaubt haben?" (Is there any proof that the Babylonians believed in the resurrection of Marduk?), which appeared in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 51 (1955). Beate Pongratz-Leisten's *Ina Šulmi Īrub* (1994) examines textual material on the Akitu festival. *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East,* edited by J. Quaegebeur (1993), offers additional insights into this topic. Thorkild Jacobsen's "Religious Drama in Ancient Mesopotamia" in *Unity and Diversity,* edited by Hans Goedicke and J. J. M. Roberts (1975), gives a general treatment of festival rites.

Rites of divine journeys are treated in *Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur,* edited by A. J. Ferrara (1973), and in Daniel David Reisman's Ph. D. dissertation, "Two Neo-Sumerian Royal Hymns" (University of Pennsylvania, 1969). Royal inauguration rituals are discussed in Karl Friedrich Müller's *Texte zum assyrischen Königsritual* (1937), which is the first volume of his *Das assyrische Ritual.* Ritual meals are treated in Rintje Frankena's *Takultu: De sacrale maaltijd in het Assyrische ritueel* (1954).

The religious aspects of kingship are the subject of René Labat's *Le caractère religieux de la royauté assyro-babylonienne* (1939) and of Henri Frankfort's *Kingship and the Gods* (1948). An interesting strand in the fabric of kingship is treated in Ilse Siebert's *Hirt, Herde, König* (1969). To this research must be added the important articles by Å. Sjöberg, "Die göttliche Abstammung der sumerisch-babylonischen Herrscher," *Orientalia Suecana* 21 (1972); Piotr Michalowski, "History as Charter: Some Observations on the Sumerian King List," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103 (1983); and Claus Wilcke, "Genealogical and Geographical Thought in the Sumerian King List," in *Studies in Honor of Å. Sjöberg,* edited by Erle Leichty (1989).

Communal laments are covered in Raphael Kutscher's book *Oh Angry Sea (a-ab-ba-hu-luh-ha): The History of a Sumerian Congregational Lament* (1975). Penitential psalms are the focus of Julian Morgenstern's *The Doctrine of Sin in the Babylonian Religion* (1905), Walter Schrank's *Babylonische Sühnrites* (1908), Walter G. Kunstmann's *Die babylonische Gebetsbeschwörung* (1932), and Geo Widengren's *The Accadian and Hebrew Psalms of Lamentation as Religious Documents* (1936) and *Hymnes et prières aux dieux de Babylonie et d'Assyrie* (1976). Excellent translations may be found in Adam Falkenstein's *Die Haupptypen der Sumerischen Beschwörung literarisch untersucht* (1931). An updated study of the rich material on this topic has been accomplished by Werner Meier, *Untersuchunen zur Formensprache der babylonischen "Gebetsbeschwörungen"* (1976).

Divination is treated in Georges Conteneau's *La divination chez les Assyriens et les Babyloniens* (1940) and C. J. Gadd's *Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient Near East* (1948). Important studies include Ivan Starr's *The Rituals of the Diviner* (1983), Ulla Jeyes's *Old Babylonian Extispicy* (1989), and Barabara Böck's *Die babylonisch-assyrische Morphoskopie* (2000). An overview of celestial divination can be found in Ulla Koch-Westenholz's exhaustive *Mesopotamian Astrology: An Introduction to Babylonian and Assyrian Celestial Divination* (1995).

On magic, L. W. King's *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery* (1896) and B. A. van Proosdij's *L. W. King's Babylonian Magic and Sorcery* (1952) are joined by the pivotal study by Erica Reiner, *Astral Magic in Babylonia* (1995). Studies of exorcistic traditions include Markham J. Geller's "Freud and Mesopotamian Magic," in *Mesopotamian Magic,* edited by Tzvi Abusch and Karel van der Toorn (1999), and Tzvi Abusch's *Mesopotamian Witchcraft: Toward a History and Understanding of Babylonian Witchcraft Beliefs and Literature* (2002). The subject of wisdom has been comprehensively treated in W. G. Lambert's *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (1960).

In Mesopotamian thought, the cosmos were conceived of as a unity in which the gods, the impersonal powers, and all the realities of the tangible world were a part. Aspects of this cosmology are investigated in the seminal study by Jean Bottéro, "Le noms de Marduk, l'écriture et la 'logique' en Mesopotamie ancienne," in *Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Memory of J. J. Finkelstein,* edited by Maria de Jong Ellis (1977), and developed in his *Mésopotamie: L'écriture, la raison, et les dieux* (1987), translated into English by Zainab Bahrani and Marc Van De Mieroop as *Mesopotamia: Writing, Reasoning, and the Gods* (1992).

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The study by Simo Parpola, "The Assyrian Tree of Life: Tracing the Origin of Jewish Monotheism and Greek Philosophy," in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 52 (1993) deserves attention despite its problematic methodology. Thorkild Jacobsen's last work, "The Historian and the Sumerian Gods," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114 (1994), is devoted to methodological approaches in which Jacobsen employs the concept of *epoché,* derived from Husserl's phenomenology.

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For information on specific topics in Mesopotamian religion see the entries in *Reallexicon der Assyriologie* (1932–1957) and *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible,* 2nd ed. (1999), edited by K. van den Toorn, B. Becking, and P. W. van der Horst. The published volumes of the proceedings of the Melammu Symposia deserve a particular mention: *Mythology and Mithologies,* edited by R. M. Whiting (2001) and *Ideologies as Intercultural Phenomena,* edited by A. Panaino and G. Pettinato (2003). Jeremy Black, Anthony Green, and Tessa Rickards's *Gods, Demons, and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia: An Illustrated Dictionary* (1992) is both accessible and accurate.

UNCERTAINTIES. The script and languages of ancient Mesopotamia continue to present great difficulties to the modern student. These are so serious that almost no translations of Akkadian texts made prior to the twentieth century can safely be taken at face value; they need to be checked by a competent Assyriologist. As for Sumerian, at present no consensus about basic features of writing and grammar exists, and translations of one and the same text may differ radically. Extreme caution is thus indicated.

Since the late 1970s, however, in spite of the many difficulties, many important religious texts in Sumerian and in Akkadian have been published. While not aimed at the nonspecialist, this great mass of philological work does provide the essential basis for further knowledge.

Last but not least, important work has been published by scholars looking for patterns that show the influence on the Greek religious world. Outstanding studies include Geoffrey S. Kirk's *Myth: Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures* (1970), and *The Nature of Greek Myths* (1974), Martin L. West's *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient* (1971), and *The East Face of Helicon* (1997), and Walter Burkert's *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (1977), and *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in Early Archaic Age* (1992).

SEE ALSO An; Ashur; Dagan; Dumuzi; Enlil; Inanna; Marduk; Nabu; Nanna; Nergal; Utu.

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PIETRO MANDER (2005)

MESROB SEE MASHTOTSʿ, MESROP

MESSIANISM

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
JEWISH MESSIANISM
MESSIANISM IN THE MUSLIM TRADITION
SOUTH AMERICAN MESSIANISM

MESSIANISM: AN OVERVIEW

The term *messianism* is derived from *messiah*, a transliteration of the Hebrew *mashiaḥ* ("anointed"), which originally denoted a king whose reign was consecrated by a rite of anointment with oil. In the Hebrew scriptures (Old Testament), *mashiaḥ* is always used in reference to the actual king of Israel: Saul (*1 Sm.* 12:3–5, 24:7–11), David (*2 Sm.* 19:21–22), Solomon (*2 Chr.* 6:42), or the king in general (*Ps.* 2:2, 18:50, 20:6, 28:8, 84:9, 89:38, 89:51, 132:17). In the intertestamental period, however, the term was applied to the future king, who was expected to restore the kingdom of Israel and save the people from all evil.

At the same time, prophetic oracles referring to an ideal future king, though not using the word *messiah*, were interpreted as prophecies of this same eschatological figure. These passages include *Isaiah* 9:1–6 and 11:1–9, *Micah* 5:2–6, and *Zechariah* 9:9, and certain of the "royal" psalms, such as Psalms 2, 72, and 110. Precedence for this later conception lies in the royal ideologies of the ancient Near East, where the king played the role of the savior of his people: every new king was expected to bring fertility, wealth, freedom, peace, and happiness to his land. Examples are found both in Egypt and in Mesopotamia. The French scholar Édouard Dhorme, in his book *La religion assyro-babylonienne* (1910), quoted some texts indicating such expectations under the heading "The Messiah King."

JUDAISM. In the Judaism of the intertestamental period, messianic expectations developed in two directions. One was national and political and is most clearly set out in the pseudepigraphic *Psalms of Solomon* (17 and 18). Here the national Messiah is a descendant of David. He shall rule in wisdom and righteousness; he shall defeat the great powers of the world, liberate his people from foreign rule, and establish a universal kingdom in which the people will live in peace and happiness. The same kingly ideal is expressed in the description of the rule of Simon in *1 Maccabees* 14:4, which echoes the messianic prophecies of the Old Testament.

Some apocryphal documents, especially the *Testament of Levi*, speak also of a priestly messiah, one who is to bring peace and knowledge of God to his people and to the world. The Qumran community even expected two anointed ones, a priest and a king, but very little is known about their functions.

The other line of development is found above all in the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Enoch (1 Enoch)* and in *2 Esdras* (also called *4 Ezra*). It centers around the term *son of man*. This term is used in the Old Testament to refer generally to a human being (*Psalms* 8:5, 80:18 [English version 80:17] and several times, addressing the prophet, in *Ezekiel*). In the vision recorded in *Daniel* 7, the term is used in verse 13 with reference to a "man-like being," which, in contrast to the usual four animals representing the four great powers of the ancient world, stands for Israel in its prominent role at the last judgment.

In the apocalyptic books mentioned, the son of man is a transcendental figure, more or less divine, preexistent, and at present hidden in heaven. At the end of time he will appear to judge the world in connection with the resurrection of the dead. The pious will be freed from the dominion of the wicked, and he will rule the world forever in peace and righteousness. He is often referred to as "the chosen One" but only occasionally as "the anointed One," that is, the Messiah. Obviously, this interpretation of *Daniel* 7:13 takes "son of man" to refer to a person and not to an object of comparison. The problem is the extent to which these passages are pre-Christian. *2 Esdras* was definitely written after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE, and those parts of *1 Enoch* in which references to the son of man occur do not appear among the Aramaic fragments of the same work found at Qumran. On the other hand, the New Testament seems to presuppose this same interpretation of *Daniel* 7:13.

CHRISTIANITY. Early Christianity took many of the Jewish ideas about the Messiah and applied them to Jesus. *Messiah* was translated into Greek as *Christos*, that is, Christ, thereby identifying Jesus with Jewish messianic expectations. Matthew interpreted *Isaiah* 9:1 (EV 9:2), "The people who walk in darkness shall see a great light," as fulfilled in Jesus (*Mt.* 4:14–18). *Micah* 5:1 (EV 5:2) is quoted to prove that the Messiah should be born in Bethlehem (*Mt.* 2:6). *Zechariah* 9:9 is read as a prediction of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem (*Mt.* 21:5), and if the story related by Matthew is authentic, it must mean that Jesus wanted to proclaim himself as the Messiah. *Psalms* 2:7 ("You are my son") is quoted or at least alluded to in connection with the baptism of Jesus (*Mt.* 3:17, *Mk.* 1:11, *Lk.* 3:22). (The Jewish Messiah, however, was not regarded as God's son.) *Psalms* 110:1 is used to prove that the Messiah cannot be the son of David (*Mt.* 22:44); other parts of Psalm 110 are behind the exposition in *Hebrews* 5, 6, and 7. However, the New Testament rejects the political messiahship described in the *Psalms of Solomon*. Jesus refused to be made king (*Jn.* 6:15); he proclaimed before Pilate: "My kingdom is not of this world" (*Jn.* 18:26). Despite this, he was accused of pretending to be "the king of the Jews" (*Jn.* 19:19).

The New Testament, however, although maintaining that the Messiah is the Son of God, also uses the epithet "Son of man." According to the Gospels, Jesus uses it of himself. In a few cases it could possibly mean simply "a human being" or "this man" (*Mk.* 2:10, *Mt.* 11:8, and parallels; *Mt.* 8:20 and parallels). A number of passages refer to the coming of the Son of man at the end of time (*Mt.* 24:27, 24:37; *Lk.* 18:18, 18:22, 18:69; *Mt.* 10:23; *Mk.* 13:26); these imply the same interpretation of *Daniel* 7:13 as that implied by *1 Enoch* and *2 Esdras* but add a new element in that it is Christ who is to come a second time, returning as the judge of the world. A third group of "Son of man" references allude to the suffering and death of Jesus, sometimes also mentioning his resurrection (*Mk.* 8:31, 9:9, 9:31, 10:33, 14:21, 14:41; *Lk.* 22:48 and others). These introduce the idea of a suffering messiah, which is not entirely unknown in Jewish messianism but is never linked with the Son of man. (If the latter is sometimes described in terms of the "servant of the Lord," the chapter on the suffering servant, *Isaiah* 53, is never applied to him.) In the *Gospel of John* the Son of man is almost always the glorified Lord as king and judge; he is also described as preexistent in heaven (*Jn.* 1:51, 3:13, 8:28). *Hebrews* 2:6–8 applies Psalm 8, in which "son of man" was originally meant as "human being," to Jesus, thus giving the expression an eschatological meaning.

A new feature was introduced in New Testament messianism by the identification of Jesus with the suffering servant of *Isaiah* 53. *Mark* 9:12 says that it "was written of the Son of man that he should suffer many things and be treated with contempt" (cf. *Is.* 53:3). *Acts of the Apostles* 8:32 explicitly quotes *Isaiah* 53:7–8 as fulfilled in Jesus, and *1 Peter* 2:22–24 quotes or alludes to parts of *Isaiah* 53 as referring to him. It would seem that this identification is an original creation of Jesus (or, possibly, of the early church).

Thus, New Testament Christology utilizes a great many traits drawn from Jewish messianism. At the same time, it adds a new dimension: the idea that Jesus, though he has already in person fulfilled the messianic expectations, is to return in order to bring them to their final fulfillment.

ISLAMIC MESSIANISM. Ideas comparable to that of the second coming of Christ are found in Islam, probably owing to Christian influence. While the Qurʾān envisages God as the judge on the Day of Judgment, later Muslim tradition introduces certain preparatory events before that day. Muḥammad is reported to have said that the last day of the world will be prolonged in order that a ruler of the Prophet's family may defeat all enemies of Islam. This ruler is called the Mahdi, "the rightly guided one." Other traditions say that he will fill the world with justice as it is now filled with wrong, an apparent echo of ancient kingship ideology. Some identify the Mahdi with Jesus (Arab., ʿIsā), who is supposed to appear before the end of the world to defeat al-Dajjāl ("the deceiver"), the false messiah, or antichrist. Such traditions were utilized by founders of new dynasties and other political or religious leaders, especially among the Shīʿah. The last such example was the rebel leader Muḥammad Aḥmad of Sudan, who from 1883 temporarily held back the British influence in this area.

"NATIVISTIC" MOVEMENTS. With some justification the concept of messianism is used to describe a number of "nativistic" cults in different parts of the world that have emerged as the result of a clash between colonialist Christianity and native religions. Following Vittorio Lanternari (1965), however, a distinction should be made between messianic and prophetic movements. "The 'messiah,'" he says, "is the awaited savior, the 'prophet' is he who announces the arrival of one who is to come. The prophet himself can be the 'messiah' after he has died and his return is expected as a redeemer, or when the prophet himself, leaning upon an earlier messianic myth, declares himself to be the prophet-messiah" (p. 242n.).

Examples of such movements are known from all parts of the aboriginal world. As early as the sixteenth century, successive waves of Tupi tribes in Brazil moved to the Bahia coast, impelled by a messianic quest for the "land without evil." Another such migration to find the "land of immortality and perpetual rest" is reported to have inspired the Spaniards' idea of El Dorado. Similar migrations took place in later centuries, led by a kind of prophet described as "Man-God" or "Demi-God," that is, local shamans who came to the natives as religious leaders and reincarnations of the great mythical heroes of native tradition and announcing an era of renewal.

The Ghost Dance movement in the western United States was initiated in 1869 by a certain Wodziwob, who had visions through which the Great Spirit announced that a major cataclysm would soon shake the entire world and wipe out the white man. The Indians would come back to life, and the Great Spirit would dwell among them in the heavenly era. Wodziwob's son, Wovoka (John Wilson), established contacts with the Mormons in 1892 and was considered by them to be the Messiah of the Indians and the Son of God.

In the Kongo region in Africa, Simon Kimbangu, who had been raised in the British Baptist Mission, appeared in 1921 as a prophet to his people. His preaching was a combination of Christian and indigenous elements. He prophesied the imminent ousting of the foreign rulers, a new way of life for the Africans, and the coming of a golden age. Both he and his successor, Andre Matswa, expected to return after death as the liberators of their people. Several movements of a similar kind are known from other parts of Africa.

In the early twentieth century, Melanesia and New Guinea saw the emergence of the so-called cargo cults. Common to them all is the belief that a Western ship (or even airplane), manned by whites, will come to bring riches to the natives, while at the same time the dead will return to life and an era of happiness will follow. Some prophets of these cults were regarded as incarnations of spirits.

It would seem that all these movements originated among people under oppression and gave expression to their longing for freedom and better conditions. Obviously, the conditions under which Christianity arose are somewhat comparable.

SEE ALSO Cargo Cults; Kingship, article on Kingship in the Ancient Mediterranean World; Millenarianism; Revival and Renewal.

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HELMER RINGGREN (1987)
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MESSIANISM: JEWISH MESSIANISM

The term *messianism* denotes a movement, or a system of beliefs and ideas, centered on the expectation of the advent of a messiah (derived from the Hebrew *mashiaḥ*, "the anointed one"). The Hebrew verb *mashaḥ* means to anoint objects or persons with oil for ordinary secular purposes as well as for sacral purposes. In due course the nominative form came to mean anyone with a specific mission from God (i.e., not only kings or high priests), even if the anointing was purely metaphorical (prophets, partiarchs), and ultimately it acquired the connotation of a savior or redeemer who would appear at the end of days and usher in the kingdom of God, the restoration of Israel, or whatever dispensation was considered to be the ideal state of the world.

This specific semantic development was due to the Jewish belief that the ultimate salvation of Israel, though wrought by God, would be presided over or realized by a descendant of the royal house of David. He, the "son of David," would be the Lord's anointed *par excellence*. From its original Jewish context the word *mashiaḥ* then passed into general use, denoting movements or expectations of a utopian character or otherwise concerned with the salvation of society and the world. The messianic complex appears at times as restorative in character (the *Paradise Lost-Paradise Regained* syndrome), in the sense that it envisages the restoration of the past and lost golden age. At other times it appears as more utopian, in the sense that it envisages a state of perfection the like of which has never existed before ("a new heaven and a new earth"); the Messiah will not merely renew the days of yore but will usher in a "new age."

The term *mashiaḥ* in this specific eschatological sense does not occur in the Hebrew scriptures. *Isaiah* 45:1 calls the Persian king Cyrus II the Lord's "anointed" because it was evidently as the chosen instrument of God that he permitted the Israelite exiles to return from Babylonia to Jerusalem. Using later terminology one may, perhaps, commit a technical anachronism and describe as "messianic" those scriptural passages that prophesy a future golden age, the ingathering of the exiles, the restoration of the Davidic dynasty, the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the Temple, the era of peace when the wolf will lie down with the lamb, and so on.

Such is the nature of messianism that it develops and flourishes in periods of suffering and frustration. When the present is satisfactory it need not be redeemed but should be perpetuated or renewed (e.g., by periodic or cyclical renewal rites). When the present is profoundly unsatisfactory, messianism emerges as one of the possible answers: the certainty of a satisfactory natural, social, and historical order (and this certainty was particularly strong in Israel, based as it was on God's promise enshrined in his eternal covenant) is projected on the horizon of an ideal future. As the biblical account amply shows, already in biblical times the present was generally perceived as far from satisfactory (wicked and sinful kings, enemy incursions, defeats), and hence ideas concerning an ideal order under an ideal Davidic king began to crystallize.

The tendency to look toward future fulfillment was reinforced by the destruction of the First Temple (587/6 BCE), the Babylonian exile, and the subsequent return to Zion under Cyrus, hailed by "Second Isaiah" as an event of a messianic order. But this "messianic" salvation proved a sad disappointment. The severe persecution under the Syrian Seleucid ruler Antiochus IV (r. 175–163 BCE) similarly led to messianic-eschatological hopes, as evidenced by the *Book of Daniel*, the composition of which is generally dated in that period. But the great salvation wrought by the victory of the Maccabees similarly proved, in the long run, a sad disappointment. The revolts against the oppressive "kingdom of wickedness," Rome in 65–70 CE (which ended with the destruction of Jerusalem and the Second Temple) and again in 132–135 CE (the Bar Kokhba Revolt, which ended in the practical destruction of Palestinian Jewry) no doubt had messianic elements. Thereafter messianism was a mixture of firm and unshakable hope in ultimate redemption, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, fear of the dangers and disastrous consequences of messianic explosions—"messianic activism," as the historian would call it, or "premature messianism," as the theologian would call it.

The messianic doctrines that developed during the second half of the Second Temple period from approximately 220 BCE to 70 CE (also called the "intertestamentary" period) were of diverse kinds, reflecting the mentality and spiritual preoccupations of different circles. They ranged from this-worldly, political expectations— the breaking of the yoke of foreign rule, the restoration of the Davidic dynasty (the messianic king), and, after 70 CE, also the ingathering of the exiles and the rebuilding of the Temple—to more apocalyptic conceptions, such as the spectacular and catastrophic end of "this age" (including a Day of Judgment), the ushering in of a new age, the advent of the kingdom of heaven, the resurrection of the dead, a new heaven and a new earth. The main protagonist might be a military leader, a kingly "son of David," a supernatural figure such as the somewhat mysterious "son of man" mentioned in some books of the Hebrew scriptures as well as in apocryphal apocalyptic texts. Many scholars think that Jesus deliberately avoided the use of the term messiah because of its political overtones (especially as he was announcing a kingdom that was not of this world) and preferred the unpolitical term "son of man." On the other hand, those responsible for the final redaction of the *Gospel of Matthew* thought it necessary to provide Jesus with a lineage proving his descent from David in order to legitimate his messianic status, since the *mashiaḥ* (Gr., *christos*) had to be identified as the "son of David."

These examples, incidentally, also show that the origins of Christianity have to be seen in the context of the messianic ferment of contemporaneous Jewish Palestine. Messianic ideas developed not only by way of interpretation of biblical texts (e.g., the *pesher* of the Qumran community and the later *midrash* of rabbinic Judaism) but also by "revelations" granted to apocalyptic visionaries. The latter tradition is well illustrated by the last book of the New Testament, the *Book of Revelation*.

But messianic ideas and expectations could also be based on "rational" (i.e., nonvisionary) insights, especially when the interpretation of scriptural prophecies took the form of calculations and computations of the dates allegedly hinted at in the obscure symbolism of the texts. Jewish messianic enthusiasts would often base their calculations on the *Book of Daniel* (much as Christian millenarians would compute the end time from the "number of the beast" mentioned in *Revelation* 13:18). Since the high-pitched hopes generated by these calculations would often lead to disaster (or at best to severe disappointment), the Talmudic rabbis had very harsh words about "those who compute the [messianic] end."

One tradition, probably influenced by *Zechariah* 3–4, appears to have held a doctrine of two messianic figures, the one a high-priestly "anointed one" of the house of Aaron, the other a royal messiah of the house of David. This belief, which was held by the Qumran community (also known as the Dead Sea Sect), obviously implies that these complementary messianic figures are not so much saviors and redeemers as symbolic types presiding over the redeemed and ideal social order. Echoes of this doctrine seem to be present in the (apparently polemical) insistence of the New Testament *Letter to the Hebrews* that Jesus was both king and high priest. The doctrine seems to have survived into the Middle Ages (by what channels is not quite clear), for it is found also among the Karaites.

Another version of the "double messiah" developed in the second century CE, possibly as a reaction to the catastrophic failure of the Bar Kokhba Revolt. The messiah of the house of Joseph (or Ephraim)—a possible echo of the motif of the ten lost tribes—falls in battle against the forces of Gog and Magog (the Jewish counterpart to the Battle of Armageddon). He is thus not a suffering messiah but a warrior messiah who dies a hero's death, to be followed by the victorious messiah of the house of David. This view of a double messiah also expresses an essential duality in Jewish (but not only in Jewish) messianism: messianic fulfillment is preceded by cosmic, natural, and social upheavals and catastrophes. (The Christian transformation of the Jewish motif is the idea of the Antichrist let loose to rule the world before being finally vanquished at the Second Coming.) Hence, whenever severe sufferings and tribulations were visited on the Jewish people, these could be, and often were, interpreted as the predicted premessianic catastrophe (the "birth pangs" of the messianic age, in the language of the Talmud) heralding an imminent messianic consummation.

Messianism in the wider sense of an ideal future need not imply the belief in a particular, individual savior or redeemer figure. While *Isaiah* 11 and 2:2–4 envisage a peaceful and utopian world under a Davidic king, the parallel text *Micah* 4:4 has even fewer miraculous elements and speaks of an earthly happiness, with every man dwelling under his vine and under his fig tree. For Jeremiah too, though his vision of the future also emphasizes the moral dimensions—compare *Jeremiah* 31:30ff. and 32:36–44 with Ezekiel's "new heart" and "heart of flesh" instead of the previous heart of stone (*Ez.* 2:4, 11:19, 18:31, 32:9, 36:26)—the promised boon is that "there shall enter into the gates of this city [Jerusalem] kings and princes sitting upon the throne of David, riding in chariots and on horses" (*Jer.* 17:25). Noteworthy in this text is not only its this-worldly ideal, with Jerusalem as a bustling royal city, but also the reference to kings, in the plural. The idea of the *one* messianic savior-king had not yet developed.

In later, especially modern and secularized, versions of messianism, the idea of a personal messiah increasingly gave way to the notion of a "messianic age" of peace, social justice, and universal love—conceptions that could easily function as progressive, liberal, socialist, utopian, and even revolutionary transformations of traditional messianism. Thus the Philadelphia program of American Reform Judaism (1869) substituted for the belief in a personal messiah the optimistic faith in the advent of a messianic era characterized by "the unity of all men as children of God in the confession of the One and Sole God," and the Pittsburgh Platform (1885) spoke of the establishment "of the kingdom of truth, justice and peace." Twentieth-century disillusionment with the idea of progress seems to have given a new lease on life to more radical and utopian forms of messianism.

In the intertestamentary period, messianic beliefs and doctrines developed, as we have seen, in a variety of forms. Messianism became increasingly eschatological, and eschatology was decisively influenced by apocalypticism. At the same time, messianic expectations became increasingly focused on the figure of an individual savior. In times of stress and crisis messianic pretenders (or forerunners and heralds announcing their advent) would appear, often as leaders of revolts. Josephus Flavius as well as the author of *Acts* 5 mentions several such figures. Moreover, the Messiah no longer symbolized the coming of the new age, but he was somehow supposed to bring it about. The "Lord's anointed" thus became the "savior and redeemer" and the focus of more intense expectations and doctrines, even of a "messianic theology." Compare, for example, the implications of Paul's reading of *Isaiah* 52:20, "and the Redeemer [i.e., God] cometh to Zion," as "the Redeemer [i.e., Christ] cometh *from* Zion" (*Rom.* 11:26).

Since many Jews of the Diaspora lived under Christian domination, which meant also Christian persecution and missionary pressure, theological polemics inevitably centered on christological—that is, messianic—themes. (Is Jesus the promised messiah? Why do the Jews refuse to acknowledge him? Because of carnal blindness or diabolic wickedness?) Since both religions recognized the Hebrew Bible as holy scripture, polemic often assumed an exegetical character (i.e., it claimed a correct interpretation of the "messianic" prophecies in the Bible). As a rule, Jewish messianism never relinquished its concrete, historical, national, and social expectations and was little impressed by the "spiritual" character of Christian doctrine.

Christian polemics, from the early church fathers to the Middle Ages and later, accused the Jews of an inferior and crude materialism that made them read the scriptures *kata sarka*, with eyes of flesh rather than with eyes of the spirit. Paradoxically, the Jews considered this reproach as a compliment, since for them the claim that the Messiah had come was, in an unredeemed world plagued by wars, injustice, oppression, sickness, sin, and violence, utterly meaningless. In the famous disputation of Barcelona (1263), forced upon the Jews by Dominican missionaries and held in the presence of King James I of Aragon, the Jewish spokesman, the great Talmudist and qabbalist Moses Nahmanides (Mosheh ben Naḥman, c. 1194–c. 1270), simply quoted *Isaiah* 2:4 and observed that His Most Christian Majesty, in spite of his belief that the Messiah had come, would probably find it difficult to disband his army and send home all his knights so that they might beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks.

Throughout Jewish history there has existed a tension between two types of messianism, already briefly mentioned before: the apocalyptic one, with its miraculous and supernatural elements, and a more "rationalist" one. Throughout the Middle Ages old, and usually pseudepigraphic, apocalypses and messianic *midrashim* were copied and new ones were produced by messianic enthusiasts and visionaries. The rabbinic attitude, at least the official one, was more sober and prudent: too many messianic outbursts had ended in disaster, namely, cruel suppression by the gentile rulers. A burned child dreads the fire, and the rabbinic hesitations (probably a result of the traumatic experience of the Bar Kokhba Revolt) found eloquent expression in the homiletic interpretation of *Song of Songs* 2:7: " 'I charge you, you daughters of Jerusalem, that you stir not up nor awake my love till he please'—this verse contains six charges to Israel: not to rebel against the kingdoms of this world, not to force the end of the days . . . and not to use force to return to the Land of Israel" (B. T., *Ket.* 111a). On a more theoretical level, already one Talmudic master had given the opinion that "there is no difference between this age and the messianic age but the oppression of Israel by the heathen kingdoms [which will cease after Israel regains its freedom under a messianic king]."

The great medieval authority, the philosopher-theologian Moses Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon, 1135/8–1204), although he enumerated belief in the advent of the Messiah among the basic articles of faith, was careful to rule in his legal code as follows:

> Let no one think that the messianic king would have to perform signs or miracles . . . and let no one think that in the messianic era the normal course of things would be changed or the order of nature altered. . . . What scripture says on the subject is very obscure, and our sages [too] have no clear and explicit traditions in these matters. Most [of the prophecies and traditions] are parables, the real meaning of which will become clear only after the event. These details are therefore not articles of religion, and one should not waste time on their interpretation or on the computation of the date of the messianic advent, since these things are conducive neither to the love of God nor to the fear of God. (*Mishneh Torah*, Kings 11, 12)

In Maimonides' own lifetime, messianic movements occurred in parts of the Diaspora, and as the acknowledged leader of his generation he had to do his best, without offending the messianic enthusiasm of the pious folk, to prevent disasters and backlashes by carefully preaching his more sober approach (e.g., in his *Epistle to Yemen* and *Epistle on the Resurrection of the Dead*). Nevertheless, messianic longing and apocalyptic imagination, fired by persecutions and suffering, continued to flourish and to ignite messianic outbursts. There was no dearth of messianic pretenders ("pseudomessiahs") or precursors announcing the advent of the Redeemer, provided the people would prepare themselves by appropriate means (e.g., penitential austerities).

But no matter whether messianic hopes and beliefs were apocalyptic or more sober, a matter of feverish agitation or of theological dogma, they had become an essential part of the Jewish faith and of the Jewish experience of life and of history. The apocalyptic texts might be rejected by some as too fantastic, but the heritage of messianic prophecy was accepted by all—not only in its biblical form but even more decisively in its subsequent rabbinic development. The most influential factor was, perhaps, the constant emphasis of messianic beliefs (the ingathering of the exiles, the restoration of the Davidic kingdom, the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the Temple) in the daily liturgy, in the grace recited after every meal, and especially in the prayers on Sabbath and holy days. This is not the only instance in the history of religions that illustrates how the prayer book and the liturgy can exert a more pervasive influence than theological tracts.

Messianic movements accompanied Jewish history throughout the Middle Ages, and there were probably many more than have come to our knowledge through chronicles, rabbinic *responsa*, and other incidental references. Most of them were local phenomena of short duration. The movement usually petered out after its suppression by the authorities or the disappearance (or execution) of the leader. In this respect the movement inspired by the seventeenth-century messianic pretender Shabbetai Tsevi is an exceptional case. Messianic movements are attested in Persia from the eighth century (Abū ʿIsā al-Isfahānī and his disciple Yudghan) to David Alroy (Menaḥem al-Dūjī) in the twelfth century. Abū ʿIsā, who proclaimed himself the messiah of the house of Joseph, duly fell in battle against the Abbasid forces against which he had marched with ten thousand followers, while David Alroy (known best from Disraeli's fanciful novel) staged a revolt against the sultan. Several messianic pretenders appeared in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in western Europe, particularly in Spain. Later, under the influence of Qabbalah, messianic activism became more mystical and even magical. Spiritual activism, when all realistic and practical outlets are closed, easily becomes magical activism, and Jewish legend tells of masters who undertook to force the messianic advent by means of extreme mortifications, special meditations, and qabbalistic incantations. These legends, the most popular of which was that concerning Yosef della Reyna, usually end with the qabbalist adept falling prey to the demonic powers that he had sought to vanquish.

To understand the various messianic movements properly, one would have to examine carefully, individually, and in detail the specific historical circumstances and external pressures as well as internal tensions that precipitated them. The common fate of Jews everywhere as a despised and persecuted minority, existing in a hostile environment yet sharing the same religious culture and messianic hope, provides a general framework; nevertheless it is clearly inadequate as an explanation of specific messianic movements. The permanent presence of messianic dynamisms is also attested by the phenomenon of smaller or larger groups of Jews leaving their countries of origin in the Diaspora in order to settle in the Holy Land. While less blatantly millenarian than the acute messianic outbursts, these movements often had messianic motivations. Although the Messiah had not yet appeared or called the faithful to the Promised Land, the motivation was often "preeschatological" in the sense that a life of prayer and ascetic sanctification in the Holy Land was thought to prepare or even hasten the advent of the Redeemer.

With the emergence of Qabbalah after the thirteenth century, and especially its development after the expulsion of Jews from Spain and Portugal, qabbalistic mysticism became a major element and driving social force in Jewish messianism. This process requires a brief elucidation. As a rule mystical systems have little or no relationship to time or to the process of time, history, and hence to messianism. After all, the mystic aspires to a supratemporal sphere, the anticipation of timeless eternity and the "everlasting now" rather than to the crowning consummation of history. It is therefore not surprising to find messianic tension decreasing in inverse proportion to the mystical tension. This principle seems to hold true also regarding classical Spanish Qabbalah. The new Qabbalah, Lurianic Qabbalah, that developed after the Spanish expulsion in the great centers of the Ottoman empire, but especially in Safad in the Holy Land, was remarkable for its high, one would almost say explosive, messianic charge, especially in the form that it received at the hand of the most original, charismatic, and outstanding qabbalist in that group, Isaac Luria (1534–1572).

Lurianic Qabbalah interpreted the history of the world in general, and Israel's exile, suffering, and redemption in particular, in an idiom of a type that might be called gnostic, that is, in terms of a cosmic, or rather divine, drama in which God himself was involved. One might also describe the system as a theosophical *Heilsgeschichte.* According to this strangely "gnostic" myth, a primordial catastrophe or "fall" occurred—long before Adam's original sin—at the moment when the divine light-essence externalized itself with a view to creating the world. The vessels that were to carry and transmit the divine light collapsed (the "breaking of the vessels") and the divine light-sparks fell into chaos and have since been imprisoned and "exiled" there, where—and this is part of their tragedy—they sustain the life of the demonic realm.

Israel's exile and suffering thus merely reflect on the historical, material, and external level the more fundamental mystery of the exile and suffering of the divine fallen sparks. Redemption thus means the liberation of the divine sparks from the defiling embrace of the demonic powers and their return to their divine source, no less than the liberation of Israel from subjugation to the Gentiles and its return to the

Holy Land. Indeed, the latter process would follow as natural consequence from the former, which it was Israel's true and mystical vocation to bring about by a life of piety and holiness. This is spiritual activism at its most extreme, for here God has become a *salvator salvandus*. To the harassed and hounded Jew, exile became meaningful because it was seen as a reflection of, and participation in, the profounder exile of God, and God himself required Israel's cooperation in the redemption of himself, his people, and his creation. It is not surprising that, at least at first, the personality of the Messiah played a relatively minor role in this system. He was not so much a redeemer as a sign and symbol that the mystical messianic process had been consummated. In fact, the messianic doctrine of Lurianism comes close, at least structurally, to an evolutionist scheme.

This qabbalistic system provided the background of one of the most remarkable messianic episodes in the course of Jewish history—the movement centered on the person of Shabbetai Tsevi. The ignominious debacle of Shabbateanism, with its aftermath of heresy, antinomianism, and apostasy, left a trail of spiritual confusion and disarray as a result of which both Qabbalah and messianism declined, at least in their public and social role. Apart from a few minor messianic convulsions, "automessianism" (as Martin Buber called it) declined steadily. The messianic idea remained alive in Judaism, influencing no doubt also non-Jewish ideologies of utopia and hope (see the influential work of the Marxist thinker Ernst Bloch, *Das Prinzip Hoffnung*), but no more messianic pretenders appeared. Orthodox Judaism continued to believe in the traditional doctrine of a personal messiah but *de facto* retreated into a shell of strict halakhic observance. The myth had lost its power to trigger messianic movements.

Hasidism, the great spiritual revival launched in eighteenth-century eastern Europe by the Besht (Yisraʾel ben Eliʿezer, 1700–1760), certainly did not relinquish traditional messianic beliefs, but its main emphasis was on closeness to God through spiritual inwardness or (at times) ecstasy. Gershom Scholem has described this process (though the subject is still a matter of scholarly debate) as a "neutralization of the messianic element." But while Hasidism attempted to provide an answer, in a traditional idiom, for the spiritual seekers as well as for the pauperized masses in the ghettos of eastern Europe, the Jewry of western and central Europe entered the modern age (civil emancipation, assimilation, Reform Judaism).

The implications of these developments for Jewish messianism are still a matter for research. Many of the modern ideologies undoubtedly preserved some of the traditional messianic overtones. At times they made deliberate use of messianic terminology. Of course the progressive liberals and later socialists, and needless to say the national revival known as Zionism, did not think in terms of Armageddon, or a heavenly Jerusalem descending from above, or the "son of David" riding on an ass, but rather of civil liberties, equality before the law, universal peace, all-around ethical and human progress, the national emancipation of the Jewish people within the family of nations, and so on. But all these aspirations were somehow surrounded with a messianic halo. Jews rarely asked the literalist questions so congenial to Christian fundamentalism. They do not, as a rule, inquire whether a particular historical event is the "fulfillment" of a particular biblical prophecy. But it is impossible, for most of them, to pass through apocalyptic events such as the Holocaust, or to experience the end of exile and the reestablishment of Israel as a sovereign commonwealth, without the stirring of messianic chords in their souls.

In fact, since the Yom Kippur War, a trend toward a "messianization" of politics has become noticeable in Israel, especially among groups advocating settlements on the West Bank or Jewish rights on the Temple Mount. Some of this messianized Zionism goes back to the teaching of Avraham Yitsḥaq Kook, chief rabbi of Palestine from 1921 to 1935. In the Prayer for the State of Israel the chief rabbinate refers to the state—in an incredibly primitive dispensationalist fashion—as "the beginning of the sprouting of our Redemption." Others, however, feel that messianism as an eschatological concept should be kept out of the pragmatics and ambiguities of current politics, since it tends to demoralize and mythologize them instead of moralizing them (in the prophetic sense). It is still too early for a definitive historical and sociological evaluation of these conflicting tendencies, and of the nature and role of messianism in contemporary Judaism.

SEE ALSO Apocalypse, articles on Jewish Apocalypticism to the Rabbinic Period, Medieval Jewish Apocalyptic Literature; Eschatology; Polemics, article on Jewish-Christian Polemics; Qabbalah; Shabbetai Tsevi; Zionism.

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MESSIANISM: MESSIANISM IN THE MUSLIM TRADITION

Islamic messianism has taken two main forms: one is the *masīḥ*, or "messiah," which is the title given to the prophet ʿĪsā (Jesus) in the Qurʾān; the other is the *mahdī*, or the "divinely guided one." These two messianic figures are closely associated with *al-masīḥ al-dajjāl*, or the "false messiah." In its most basic definition, Islamic messianism consists of the belief that at the end of time, when the world has degenerated into moral corruption and depravity, a *mahdī* will be sent by God to revive Islam, restore faith in God, and bring justice and prosperity to the world. The arrival of the *mahdī* will trigger the emergence of the *dajjāl*, which will in turn be followed by the return of the prophet ʿĪsā. The *dajjāl* will then be defeated by the *mahdī*, by *ʿĪsā,* or by both. Finally, these events will bring about the end of the world and the advent of Judgment Day. For Muslims, this doctrine is one of hope in the face of a world that at times may seem to have strayed very far from the path to God. While Islamic messianism refers primarily to the return of the *mahdī*, it is important to begin with the Muslim understanding of the role of ʿĪsā al-Masīḥ (Jesus the Messiah) and his perceived relationship to the false messiah, or *al-masīḥ al-dajjāl.*

ʿĪSĀ AL-MASĪḤ (JESUS THE MESSIAH). In the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth,* the title *masīḥ* (messiah) is given to ʿĪsā (Jesus the son of Mary). In addition to countless *ḥadīth*, there are nine Qurʾanic verses referring to Jesus as the messiah (3:45, 4:157, 4:171, 4:172, 5:17, 5:72, 5:75, 9:30, and 9:31). While these verses clearly refer to Jesus as the messiah, the Islamic scripture conceives of a messiah somewhat differently from the Jewish and Christian traditions. In Islam, Jesus is viewed as a Muslim prophet who was miraculously conceived and was sent to deliver the Islamic message and scripture. This view is part of the broader Muslim belief that Christianity is a divergence from the primordial Islam, which has existed since the creation of the universe.

Muslims believe that Jesus was a prophet in a chain of thousands of Muslim prophets, beginning with Adam and ending with Muḥammad, who were sent by God to preach Islam. According to this view, Jesus is considered to be entirely human and does not share in any way in God's divinity. In fact, many of the Qurʾanic references to Jesus as the messiah specifically reject the Christian conception of the Trinity. For example, Qurʾān 4:171 states:

> O people of the Book [i.e., Jews, Christian, Zoroastrians, and some other monotheists]! Commit no excesses in your religion: nor say of God aught but the truth. Christ [*masīḥ*] Jesus the son of Mary was (no more than) an apostle [i.e., a prophet who brought scripture] of God, and His Word, which he bestowed on Mary, and a Spirit proceeding from Him: so believe in God and His apostles. Say not "Trinity"; desist: It will be better for you: for God is One God: glory be to Him: (Far Exalted is He) above having a son. To Him belong all things in the heavens and on earth. And enough is God as a Disposer of affairs. (Abdullah Yusuf Ali translation)

While Muslims consider Jesus to be one of many prophets, he is still viewed as a somewhat unique prophet. Like Muḥammad, Abraham, Moses, and David, Jesus is one of the few prophets who brought actual scripture, rather than merely being divinely inspired to preach God's word. Unlike other prophets, Jesus is also believed to be returning at the end of time. However, since Muḥammad is universally accepted as the final prophet, Jesus' mission is not understood to be a prophetic mission in the strict sense of the term. Rather, Jesus is believed to be returning for a specific purpose, which is to bring justice to the world by reaffirming God's religion on earth and by destroying the false messiah, either by himself or in cooperation with the *mahdī*, thus paving the way for the end of the world and the coming of the Day of Judgment. In some traditions the concepts of *masīḥ* and *mahdī* have been conflated, but the majority of Muslims make a clear distinction between the two. Jesus is viewed as a prophet who is returning for a specific purpose. The *mahdī*, on the other hand, is not represented as a prophet at all. Rather, he is viewed as a divinely guided man with a religious mission, but not a prophet. For example, it is not believed that he will bring any new scripture.

This conception of the return of Jesus is based primarily upon *ḥadīth* and popular religious beliefs. For example, in one *ḥadīth* the prophet Muḥammad is reported to have said "[Jesus the] son of Mary will shortly descend among you people (Muslims) as a just ruler" (Bukhārī, 3.34.425). In another *ḥadīth* Muḥammad explains:

> The *dajjāl* will appear in my *ummah* [i.e., Muslims] and he will stay (in the world) for forty—I cannot say whether he meant forty days, forty months, or forty

> years. And Allāh will then send Jesus son of Mary who will resemble ʿUrwah ibn Masʿūd. He (Jesus) will seek him out and kill him. Then people will live for seven years in which there will be no conflict between any two people. (Muslim, 41.7023)

***AL-MASĪḤ AL-DAJJĀL* (THE FALSE MESSIAH).** The false messiah, or *al-masīḥ al-dajjāl*, is portrayed by Muslims as an evil but powerful human being, with a blind right eye that protrudes like a grape. He symbolically represents everything that is evil in human nature, namely greed, atheism, arrogance, malice, tyranny, and deception. For Muslims, his appearance serves as a test of faith in this world, because his power and ability to seduce the hearts of humanity is supposed to separate pious believers from "those who are more concerned with this world than with the next." It is believed that he will come to oppress humanity and to spread disbelief by trying to convince people to worship him as a god. In one *ḥadīth* the prophet Muḥammad is quoted as saying:

> He (the *dajjāl)* will be a young man with twisted, curly hair, and a blind eye. . . .he will appear somewhere between Syria and Iraq and will spread mischief right and left. . . .We said: "Allāh's messenger, how long will he stay? He said. . . .For forty days, one day like a year, and one day like a month and one day like a week and the rest of the days would be like your days." He went on to explain how the *dajjāl* will oppress humanity and try to lead people away from faith. Then he said ". . . .and it will be at this very time that Allāh will send the messiah, Jesus son of Mary, and he will descend at the white minaret in the eastern side of Damascus wearing two garments lightly dyed with saffron, while placing his hands on the wings of two Angels. . . .He will then search for him *(dajjāl)* until he will catch hold of him at the gate of Ludd and will kill him." (Muslim, 41.7015)

THE *MAHDĪ*. Although Muslims consider Jesus to be the messiah, the focal point of messianism among Muslims is not Jesus. Rather, it is the *mahdī* (the guided one). The term *mahdī* in this context is also understood to mean that he will guide Muslims. Its grammatical function is therefore simultaneously active and passive. While *mahdī* has always been a common Muslim name, when used in the context of religious doctrine it has a very specific meaning. The doctrine of the *mahdī* is based on *ḥadīth* and popular consensus, rather than the Qurʾān. The following are two samples of such *ḥadīth*: "[Muḥammad] said 'There will be a caliph in the last (period) of my *ummah* who will freely give handfuls of wealth to the people without counting it'" (Muslim, 41.6961). This *ḥadīth* is understood by many to refer to the *mahdī*. Another *ḥadīth* states, "The Prophet (peace be upon him) said: 'The *mahdī* will be of my stock, and will have a broad forehead, and a prominent nose. He will fill the earth with equity and justice as it [previously] was filled with oppression and tyranny, and he will rule for seven years'" (Abū Dāʾūd, bk. 36, no. 4272).

Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) gives an account of the doctrine during his time:

> It has been well known (and generally accepted) by all Muslims in every epoch, that at the end of time a man from the family (of the Prophet) will without fail make his appearance, one who will strengthen Islam and make justice triumph. Muslims will follow him, and he will gain domination over the Muslim realm. He will be called the *mahdī*. Following him, the antichrist [*al-masīḥ al-dajjāl*] will appear, together with all the subsequent signs of the hour (the Day of Judgment), as established in (the sound tradition of) *ṣaḥīḥ* [*ḥadīth*; afterwards, the *mahdī*] ʿĪsā (Jesus) will descend and kill the antichrist. Or, Jesus will descend together with the *mahdī*, and help him kill (the antichrist), and have him as the leader in his prayers. Such statements have been found in the traditions [*ḥadīth*] that religious leaders have published. They have been (critically) discussed by those who disapprove of (the matter) and have often been refuted by means of certain (other) traditions. . . .a number of leaders have published traditions [*ḥadīth*] concerning the *mahdī*, among them at-Tirmidhī, Abū Dāʾūd, al-Bazzār, Ibn Mājah, al-Ḥakīm, al-Tabarānī, and Abū Yaʾlā al-Mawsilī. (Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah*, 1958, pp. 156–157)

The concept of the *mahdī* has evolved over the centuries, but there are several basic characteristics of the doctrine that are common to most definitions. Most Muslims believe that a descendant of the Prophet will return at the end of time, when the world has descended into moral depravity, to revive and restore both his community and the religion of God. It is also believed that he will spread prosperity and goodwill. He is usually described as being a handsome young man with long dark hair, a broad forehead, and a high and prominent nose. He is usually considered to be a descendant of the Prophet. It is often believed that in the process of uniting Muslims and the whole world, he will defeat the *Rūm* (Romans, Greeks, etc.) and will conquer Jerusalem and Constantinople. Some believe that he will make himself first appear in the Levant, while others claim that he will come from Mecca or even Khorasan in northeastern Iran.

The role of the *mahdī* is closely linked to two concepts in Islam: *iṣlāḥ* (to reform Islam through purification) and *tajdīd* (to renew or revive Islam). Both concepts encompass the basic Muslim conception of reform, correction, or purification of the faith. *Iṣlāḥ* is mentioned in the Qurʾān, whereas *tajdīd* is based on interpretations of *ḥadīth.* The core principles in these doctrines is that the Muslim community, which is always in danger of straying from the commandments of God and the examples set by the prophet Muḥammad, must continually be reformed and revived. The primary method for realizing such reforms is to expunge heretical elements from the faith. Reform, therefore, equals purification. For example, if cultural or regional customs enter into the faith (as they usually do), these are often criticized by Muslims as "heretical innovations" (*bidʿah*). Likewise, when people convert from another religion to Islam, they sometimes carry over their previous beliefs and practices. All these are labeled as *bidʿah*, and are condemned. It is not surprising that accusations of *bidʿah* have always been among the more common tactics used by Muslims in sectarian, ideological, and political polemics. Sectarian views that are regarded as heresies are often dealt with in the same way, by labeling their doctrines as *bidʿah*, and calling for the need to purge Islam of these heretical innovations.

In its most general sense, *tajdīd* and *iṣlāḥ* are considered to be the duty of every Muslim. However, in the more specific doctrinal sense, it is believed that this sort of reform should be carried out by a religious leader who is supposed to come at certain intervals (usually once per century) to revive and purify Islam. As one would expect, different groups of Muslims have normally disagreed on exactly who these leaders are, based on sectarian, ideological, and political divisions. For example, al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) and Ibn Taymīyah (d. 1328), whose views were often diametrically opposed to one another, have both been referred to as *mujaddids* (*tajdīd* reformers). The *mahdī* is often treated as a special type of *mujaddid* in that much greater success, power, and influence are attributed to him, and he is divinely guided in a supernatural way. In fact, in some traditions, the *mahdī* is considered to be the last in a chain of *mujaddids.* The fact that he is singled out for mention by the Prophet gives him an added symbolic significance. Most importantly, Muslims believe that he will help to bring about the changes that will set the stage for the end of the world and bring about the Day of Judgment. This gives him a much more specific and important eschatological function compared to other *mujaddids.*

The title *mahdī* has also been used by some Muslims to refer to such early Muslim leaders as Abū Bakr, ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān, and ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (these four caliphs, who ruled from 632 to 661, were sometimes collectively referred to as al-Khulafāʾal-Rāshidīn al-Mahdīyyīn). The title *mahdī* has also been used to refer to Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (d. 680), the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar II (d. 720), and ʿAlī's son by a Ḥanafī woman, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah (d. 700). Several Umayyad, Abbasid, and Fāṭimid caliphs were also referred to as *mahdī.* In fact, the term *mahdī* was used often during the Umayyad and Abbasid periods as a polemical device to legitimize a wide variety of religious leaders.

The most dynamic period of Muslim history with regard to the concept of the *mahdī* is without a doubt the seventh century (especially following the Battle of Karbala in 680) through the twelfth century. The main reason for this is the relative diversity of religious views during this period. The wide variety of heterodox views that proliferated during these centuries, along with the ideological civil wars that were underway, provided an ideal environment in which political and religious leaders were considered to be the *mahdī.* In many cases these early *mahdīs* were Shīʿī leaders of various sorts, like Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah, his son Abū Hāshim (d. 717), Mūsá Kādhim (d. 799), and others. However, some of these early *mahdīs* were associated with the Sunnī community, such as Umayyad caliph ʿUmar the II; the founder of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, al-Saffāḥ (d. 754); and other Abbasid caliphs. (For a detailed discussion of these early uses of the term *mahdī*, see Madelung, 1986.)

One of the most significant divisions among Muslims on the doctrine of the *mahdī* is between Shīʿah and Sunnīs. The primary difference between the Sunnī definition of the *mahdī* and the Shīʿī view is his identity, and by extension his sectarian affiliation. Generally, the Twelver Shīʿah consider the *mahdī* to be a vanished *imām* who will return at some future time. While Sunnīs and Shīʿah generally accept that the *mahdī* will reward the faithful and punish the wicked, for most Shīʿah the *mahdī* will also vindicate the Shīʿī cause by showing Sunnīs and other non-Shīʿah the errors of their ways, thus reaffirming Shiism and the doctrine of the *imāmat.*

A typical *ḥadīth*, attributed to the first *imām*, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, sums up the Shīʿī doctrine:

> Soon God shall bring forth a group whom He Loves and they too are His lovers and the one who is like a stranger amongst them shall take over the Government. Verily, he shall be the 'MAHDĪ'; his face rosy and hair golden in color. He will fill the earth with justice without any difficulty. In his very childhood, he shall get separated from his mother and father and from the viewpoint of training he shall be rare and matchless. He shall rule over the Muslim countries with utmost calm and security and time shall be favorable and friendly toward him. His words will be accepted; the young and the old shall humbly obey him. He shall fill the earth with Justice just as it had previously been filled with oppression. Then, at that moment his *imāmat* shall reach its perfection and Viceregency will be established for him. Moreover, Allāh will make the dead to rise from their graves and return them back to this world. Then, like people who get up from their sleep, they shall see nothing but their own houses. The land will flourish and by blessing of his [i.e., *mahdī's*] existence, it shall become fresh and fruitful. Seditions and disturbances shall vanish and blessings and welfare will increase manifold. (Ṣadr Iṣfahānī, 1994, pp. 39–40)

While Shīʿah and Sunnīs have historically disagreed on the identity of the *mahdī*, they have agreed on many of the basic details surrounding his return. For example, they generally accept that the *mahdī* will be a descendant of the Prophet who returns at the end of time, when corruption and tyranny are widespread, in order to spread justice and renew Islam. Shīʿah have relied on both Shīʿī and Sunnī *ḥadīth* to articulate their definition of the *mahdī*. For example, the prominent Shīʿī scholar Ṣadrudīn Ṣadr Iṣfahānī, in his book *Al-Mahdī* (1994), quotes Sunnī *ḥadīth* from Abū Dāʾūd, Tirmidhī, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, and Ibn Majah in which the Prophet is quoted as saying: "If there remains not more than a day from the life of the earth, indeed God shall make a person from my progeny to appear" (p. 33). He also quotes another *ḥadīth* of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal: "*Qiyāmat* shall not be established until the earth is filled with cruelty and oppression. Then a person from my progeny shall appear and fill it with equity and Justice" (p. 33).

However, since Shīʿī groups have different definitions of the imamate, they also differ on the identity of the *mahdī*. For example, the most widespread Shīʿī group, called the Ithnā ʿasharīs (Twelvers) or Imāmīs, believe that the *mahdī* will be the twelfth *imām* Muḥammad al-Mahdī, who was believed to have gone into occultation in 874. For other Shīʿah, the *mahdī* is (or was) believed to be a different *imām*, such as ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, Ismāʿīl ibn Jaʿfar, Mūsá al-Kāẓim, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah, the *imāms* of the Fāṭimid dynasty, or other *imāms.*

The earliest historical record we have of a clearly Shīʿī conception of the *mahdī* was shortly after the massacre at Karbala of the Prophet's grandson Ḥusayn along with his family in 680. This traumatic event inspired many Muslims to call for an uprising of someone from the Prophet's progeny to take vengeance on the Umayyad regime. It was within this context that in 685 to 687 Mukhtār led an uprising in the name of Ḥusayn's half brother, Muḥammad ibn al-Hanafīyah. He said: "Al-Mahdī Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī [i.e., ibn al-Ḥanafīyah], the son of the *Wāṣī*, sent me to you as his trusted man, minister, and chosen supporter, and as his commander. He ordered me to fight against he blasphemers and claim vengeance for the blood of the people of his House, the excellent ones" (Jafrī, 1979, p. 262). Eventually, Mukhtār and his follows were killed, but once Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah died he was considered by many to have gone into occultation. Following this precedent, several Shīʿī claimants emerged, and others were given the title with or without their own acknowledgement.

Another variation on the *mahdī* doctrine is the Ṣūfī view, which stresses the mystical lineage of the *mahdī* and his role as Ṣūfī master. Overall, the Ṣūfī view does not fundamentally differ from the views articulated by other Muslims, except in one very important respect. Whereas the Sunnīs expect the return of a pious Muslim reformer, and Shīʿah expect the return of a vanished *imām*, the Ṣūfīs generally expect the *mahdī* to be the final link in a long change of masters and disciples in the Ṣūfī tradition. In that sense, this continuous chain or lineage begins with Muḥammad and ends with the *mahdī*. The *mahdī* is therefore viewed as the final and most perfect Ṣūfī master, who is able to guide Muslims to God. As the "divinely guided guide of humanity" he will occupy a place between the believers and God. This is not to say that the *mahdī* will be divine in any way. Rather, it is to say that he will serve as the axis of human faith in God, or stated differently, he will serve as a doorway of sorts on the path to God.

It is not surprising that throughout Muslim history there have been numerous political and religious leaders who either claimed to be the *mahdī*, or were considered by others to be the *mahdī*. These mahdist movements usually have involved a combination of charismatic leadership, religious reformism, and revivalism, and some sort of military struggle, either against non-Muslims or against Muslim leaders who were deemed to be morally corrupt. One interesting historical trend is that for Shīʿah the *mahdī* rebellions tended to be restricted to the early centuries of their movements, at a time when Shīʿī doctrines were more heterodox than orthodox. There are some later exceptions to this general rule, such as Ismāʿīl Safavī's (d. 1524) mahdist claims in the fifteenth century. Ismāʿīl was accepted as a messianic figure by his tribal followers, the Qizilbāsh, who have been accused by some of going so far as to deify him. While Ismāʿīl and his followers were technically Shīʿī, his movement was based more on a particular strain of rural Ṣūfī beliefs that tended toward Shiism. His military successes helped to bolster his religious legitimacy. However, after the Safavid Empire was established in 1501, the state shifted toward orthodox Shīʿī doctrine, according to which he could not be considered a messianic figure.

While for Sunnīs, mahdist movements have not been particularly widespread, they have occurred throughout Islamic history. In fact, mahdist movements continued to emerge as late as the early modern period, after which there was a noticeable reduction in the frequency of their occurrence. Often these movements had roots in Sufism. The most famous mahdist movement in recent history occurred in the Sudan in the 1880s. A local Ṣūfī leader named Muḥammad Aḥmad declared himself the *mahdī* in 1881. His movement was centered on a rejection of the religious legitimacy of the Egyptian Ottoman rulers, whom he accused of straying from Islam by tolerating (or even promoting) gambling, prostitution, music, dancing, and the drinking of alcohol. His followers were called the Anṣār, and they believed that his military successes were due to divine intervention. The state he established in Khartoum lasted until 1899. This movement was in many ways typical of Sunnī mahdist movements in that it was built around a charismatic leader who took up a local political cause by pursuing armed struggle against the state. It was also similar to many mahdist movements in that it was at the political periphery of the empire and was associated with rural Sufism and heterodox Islam.

In recent decades, the use of the *mahdī* doctrine in political discourse has been less common. One of the reasons for this has been the relative displacement of traditional popular religious ideals by modernist religious orthodox sentiments. Muslim political movements have tended toward orthodox legalism, which is usually hostile to Sufism, Shiism, and popular Islam. A similar trend in orthodox Shiism can be seen, because anyone who claims to be the *mahdī* would necessarily have to be the vanished *imām* as well.

SEE ALSO Eschatology, article on Islamic Eschatology; Modernism, article on Islamic Modernism; Nubūwah.

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MESSIANISM: SOUTH AMERICAN MESSIANISM

Messianism is not a universal religious phenomenon. It appears in some, but not all, societies of the world, and in some religious systems but not in others. South America is one of those regions prone to the development of messianism, regardless of the nature of a society. This entry shall explore how expressions of messianism may be found among the peasant inheritors of the high civilizations that developed in the Andes, as well as among hunters and gatherers of the Amazonian region. Although most evidence derives from the postconquest period, it is possible to identify certain structural concomitants and cultural motives associated with South American messianism that are different from Christian and European forms of this religious phenomenon. Hence the kind of messianism that this entry will discuss is a non-Western variety, although in some cases it may disguise itself in Christian trappings.

In contrast to Christian messianism, South America messianism is generally accompanied by a cyclical or static conception of time, which is believed to be encapsulated in fixed ages that are represented under a symbolic number, generally five or three. For Mesoamericans, these ages were also conceived as having ended as a result of a cosmic cataclysm that closed a period lasting either one thousand or five hundred years. In the Andes, the Quechua name for this catastrophic event was *pachacuti*, which literally means "transformation of the earth." The name for the thousand-year period was *capac huatan,* or "great year." Since the beginning of time, four *capac huatan* were thought to have taken place, along with nine *pachacuti*, given that during every *capac huatan*, an internal *pachacuti* divided it into two periods of five hundred years. Linked to this schema was the idea that the Incas, when they were conquered by the Spanish, were seen as emerging after an elapse of 4,500 years, after which they would eventually disappear at the close of the 5,000-year period.

In Mexico the means devised to avoid the interruption of the circulation of the sun, which produced the end of the ages, was the sacrifice of human beings. Among the Incas, however, the king was believed to have a divine nature, raising him to the level of the gods. Divine kingship was common to both cultural areas, but as Henri Frankfort noticed when comparing the Egyptian pharaohs with the kings of Mesopotamia and Israel, the position of the Inca king was next to the celestial gods, whereas the kings of Mesoamerica were considered to be closer to mortal beings. As such, the Inca king could command and punish the divinities, and he could even stop time. Consequently, some of the human sacrifices that took place in the Andes were intended to maintain the health of the Inca king, given that what really endangered the cosmic order was his death.

A paradigm of the capacity to maintain and restore order embodied in each Inca king can be found in one of the Incas who are generally listed as members of a dynastical order. His name is Pachacuti, and he occupies the ninth position within the dynastical list that is commonly found in old chronicles. Pachacuti holds the same name as the cataclysm described above because as the restorer of order and the initiator of a new age he is also part of the interregnum that marks the transition from chaos to order. Interestingly, Pachacuti's ninth position corresponds to the most ordered time cycle within the sequence of five ages—the last Inca dynasty that started in the 4,500th year.

It is under this conceptual framework that postcolonial Andean messianism tended to develop. It is manifested more clearly in a chronicle written during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries by a Peruvian Indian named Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala (1526–1614). The title of this manuscript is *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (First new chronicle and good government), but given its messianic overtones, it could more properly be titled "Letter to the King." A careful reading reveals that for the author the Spanish conquest was not properly a historical event but a *pachacuti* that had been triggered by the intermingling of Spaniards and Indians, who represented two separate principles within a dualistic conception of order that conceived the principles as separate and in equilibrium. As a consequence of this cosmic event, the world was turned upside down. The social order had been altered by the introduction of circumstances that enabled the possibility of change, and the Indians lost their property and suffered innumerable injustices.

The best evidence that the conquest was seen as a *pachacuti*-type cataclysm is that throughout his chronicle Guamán Poma speaks about the existence of five ages, with the Incas being located in the fifth age. However, when he is forced to incorporate the conquest and its aftermath, he expands his schema of ages to include a tenth age, naming the sixth *Pachacuti*. But even more important is the fact that Guamán Poma estimates the duration of the world since its beginnings to be 6,613 years, a figure he obtains by adding the year in which he was writing his chronicle (1613) to a mythical 5,000-year period corresponding to the closing period of the five ages.

Having conceived in these terms the sorrowful sentiments awakened by colonial domination, the only solution sought by this Indian writer is that somebody proportional to the cosmic nature of the crisis might overcome it. For him this person was the king of Spain, but the king of Spain conceived as an Inca king—that is, as a kind of metaphysical being capable of confronting a problem whose solution was beyond the power of common mortals. Guamán Poma thus addresses his chronicle to the king of Spain, not as a humble Indian but as the descendant of the "Second Person" of the Inca (who, as king of Chinchaysuyo, was a leader next in hierarchy below the Inca king and the one who held the highest position among the kings of the four quarters) and as the unified voice of the Indians of the four quarters. This perhaps explains why he chose to call himself *Guaman* (a bird associated with the upper realm) and *Poma* (a feline linked to a lower moiety), since this image conveys a sense of unity through complementary opposites.

After Guamán Poma, the figure of the Inca king became central to the numerous messianic expressions that developed in the Andes, even up to the present day. However the first messianic movement recorded for this area does not clearly show that this heroic figure would have been present. Instead, those who figure prominently are a type of Andean divinity known as *guacas*.

The first messianic movement known to have emerged in the Andean region was the *Taqui Onqoy*, a Quechua term that literally means "dance illness." One of the characteristics of this movement was that followers entered a state of trance provoked by dancing and oscillating their heads under the rhythm of a repetitive chant and the consumption of large amounts of coca leaf and brewed maize. This movement dates from around 1564; a priest named Cristóbal de Albornoz had an important role in its discovery and in its extirpation. Through him and other priests we learn that the preachers of this movement explained to their followers that the Spaniards dominated the Indians because their God had defeated the *guacas*. However, a change was taking place, and the *guacas* were becoming stronger and were in the process of defeating the Christian God. Under the framework of a dual conception of the world, the followers of the movement grouped around two important religious centers—one associated with an upper moiety, and the other with a lower one. The first site had as its central divinity the god Pachácamac and was located towards the north in Chinchaysuyo; the second had the god Titicaca and was located in Collasuyo, towards the south. To attain final triumph, which would consist of a reversal of time analogous to a *pachacuti*, the preachers directed the Indians to avoid Christian practices and resume those from before the Hispanic period.

Perhaps because the Inca rulers were still actively resisting the Spanish in Vilcabamba, this messianic movement does not recall the presence of an Inca image (as in later movements), and instead addresses the *guacas*. However, the movement shares with Guamán Poma's messianism the expectation of a cosmic reversal of the world associated with a cyclical view of time and an image of a unified Indian world, an image represented by the two most important religious centers located in opposite but complementary moieties.

Evidence of the centrality of the Inca in Andean messianism can be found in the movements headed by Juan Santos Atahuallpa (forest of central Peru) and José Gabriel Condorcanqui (Cuzco) during the eighteenth century. Two representative movements of the nineteenth century are those of Atusparia (Ancash) and Rumi Maqui (Puno). The twentieth century witnessed the vast expansion of the Inkarri myth and the embodiment of this myth in such messianic leaders as Ezequiel Ataucusi Gamonal, the founder of the Israelites of the New Universal Covenant. The Inkarri myth has many versions, but those with more messianic connotations describe a hero named Inkarri (a combination of *inka* and *rey*, or king), who is the offspring of the Sun and a herder woman. After being beheaded by the Spaniards, Inkarri was said to be in the process of magically reconstituting himself. Once this process was complete, order would be reintroduced to the Andean world.

This myth was prominent primarily in the highlands, although stories of a hero known as "Inca" (or "Inka") spread among the inhabitants of the Amazonian lowlands. This figure also carried messianic overtones, but they were unlike those associated with the highland hero. Rather, this figure resembled other Amazonian heroes who suggest the Cargo cults of Melanesia. For the Ashaninka of the Peruvian central Amazon, Inka was the ruler of their territory and a great shaman "who voyaged downriver on a raft at a time when a great flood was produced by the Caucasians. This enabled the Caucasians, whose territory is downriver, to capture Inka and force him to manufacture the superior artifacts which they now possess. Inka remains a captive downriver to this day, wishing to return to his people but restrained by the Caucasians. If he ever did return, the existing relationship between the Campa and Caucasians would of course be reversed" (Weiss, 1969, p. 109).

In other Ashaninka versions of this myth, the owner of these attributes is Pachakamaite, the son of the Sun and his wife, Mamantziki. Pachakamaite has the power to manufacture guns, ammunition, pots, salt, and other objects important to the wider society. Stéfano Varese's informants told him that in the past their ancestors, who were poor, could obtain these objects by acceding to this divinity after a long journey during which they met a number of dangerous beings. But this is no longer possible because white people have appropriated these goods to sell them to the Ashaninka. They have thus interrupted the route to Pachakamaite's realm by raising fences to keep natives from obtaining what Pachakamaite has promised them (Varese, 1973, p. 360).

Mythical heroes with similar characteristics are also found among other Peruvian Amazonian groups, including the Amuesha and Machiguenga, and among natives of other South American countries. Among some Ge Indians of central Brazil, for example, heroes of this nature are reported with names associated with their particular dialects. Some of these heroes became the focus of messianic movements. This is the case with the Ramkókamekra-Canelas Indians of Maranhao, who in 1963 developed a messianic movement headed by a woman prophet called Kee-khwei. According to William Crocker, Kee-khwei predicted that civilized people would be thrown into the forest to live as hunters, and the Indians would go to the cities, where they would direct road construction and pilot planes. Kee-khwei obtained this prediction from a revelation granted to her by a mythical hero known as Aukhé, who spoke to her through a daughter she carried in her womb. The unborn daughter was thought to be the hero's sister, and it was explained that she was coming to this world because her brother was tired of the ill treatment that white people imposed on Indians. Certain rituals consisting mostly of dancing were conducted to ensure the materialization of this prediction, which was to occur at the moment the child was born. The more intense the dance and the greater the offerings, the more plentiful the wealth that would be received in the new life. Not performing the rituals or contributing money to the movement would result in severe punishments from a group of youngsters who served Kee-khwei. In addition, followers were free to seize the cattle of any person because the cattle was said to belong to Aukhé. Followers did not fear repression because it was stated that the mythical hero would divert bullets and that a great fire would annihilate aggressors (Crocker, 1976, p. 516).

Almost twelve years before this movement, around 1951, a similar messianic movement had developed among the Krahó, an eastern Timbira group. Here again the expectations focused on appropriating material objects belonging to white people through the mediation of a divine hero. Although the characterization of this divinity as a bearded man with curly hair and holding a gun do not correspond to the mythical pantheon of this group, the linkage of this hero with rain makes him similar to Aukhé (Sullivan, 1988, p. 584). According to Julio César Melatti, the movement unfolded around a prophet named Rópkur Txortxó Kraté, also known as José Nogueira, who incorporated the powers of the divinity to punish Christians and to transform the Indians into civilized people. Because the divinity was associated with rain, thunder was the main weapon with which he was to inflict his punishments, which were considered revenge for Indians who had been killed and a means for the Indians to avoid being dispossessed from their lands. Among the methods suggested for becoming civilized was the building of a big house to store the merchandise that would arrive in a riverboat and the performance of both traditional and Western dances on certain days of the week. In addition, the consumption of specified foods, particularly meat, during certain days was prohibited in order to accelerate the Indians' transformation into civilized people.

As reported by Roberto Da Matta (1967, 1970), Julio César Melatti (1972), and Lawrence Sullivan (1988), all of these movements were inspired by the image of Aukhé, a hero who became widely known among several Ge groups. This personage was always associated with water and with the wealth of the whites, which the Indians believed was rightfully destined to belong to them. The resemblance of this hero with the Amazonian Inka and Pachakamaite is well known. All these cases, however, can be contrasted with the messianism that developed in the Andes. Whereas that of the Amazon suggests an inclination to accede to Western civilization, the messianism of the Andes suggests a wish to express a rejection. In both cases, white people are evil, but in the Amazon it is because they have developed obstacles to the Indians' access to wealth, whereas in the Andes it is because white people have altered the Indians' normal conditions of existence.

Another South American messianic expression that has attracted the attention of scholars is the search for the land without evil by several native groups, in particular the Tupi-Guaraníes. Curt Nimuendajú (1978) and Alfred Métraux (1973) suggest that this search began before the arrival of Europeans. Once more this expression incorporates an idea of temporal cycles that end in cataclysms, the presence of a divine figure, various beliefs about the afterlife, and the presence of shamans as leaders. The most overt manifestation of this kind of messianism is the mobilization of vast contingents of Indians throughout Brazilian, Peruvian, and Paraguayan territory. These were led by shamans who preached the imminent destruction of the world, with the only possible salvation being to settle in a land without evil. In traditional mythology this place was the settlement of Nanderuvusú, the creator, and of his wife, Ñandesy. It was described as a realm where plants grew without being cultivated and fruits ripened at the spot. It was commonly said to be located at the center of the earth, which was identified as existing in the east. Only the souls of the children could arrive there after overcoming dangers. It was also said that if the creator had the power to create the world, he could destroy it. By ordering his son Ñanderikey to remove the east-west–oriented pole located at the center world, Nanderuvusú could cause the world to collapse. However, there was a magical solution for escaping this threat. The solution involved dancing and migrating in an easterly direction.

Among the Quechua Indians of southern Peru, an equivalent to this land without evil is Paititi. A settlement with this name, located towards the east in the southern forest, was known as early as the sixteenth century. Even the eighteenth-century rebel Tupac Amarú II mentioned Paititi as part of his dominion as an Inca. Today, Paititi is described as a kind of urban paradise, with golden buildings where Incas from the past continue living. According to some versions, only Indians who speak an uncontaminated Quechua language are permitted to enter Paititi. Ezequiel Ataucusi Gamonal, the prophet of the Israelites of the New Covenant, is sometimes included as one of its visitors.

Such is the permanence and expansion of this belief that not only did the Israelites of the New Covenant succumb to it, but other syncretic movements did as well, including that developed in the Peruvian Amazon by José Francisco de la Cruz, who began his movement in the 1960s in Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, Argentina, Peru, and Colombia. In Peru the name of the church he founded is Cruzada Católica Apostólica Evangélica del Perú (Catholic, Apostolic, Evangelical Crusade of Peru). In Peru this church has about four thousand followers. In Brazil, where there are approximately twenty thousand followers, the main center of the church is located in the village of Vila Santa next to the Putumayo river, an area regarded as a land without evil (Regan, 1993, p. 341). Like many syncretic messianic movements, this one departs from the idea of salvation in the face of an imminent end of the world. To overcome this threat, the symbol of the cross and the search for the land without evil is assigned an important role, which has had great appeal among natives of the Tupi Guarani family and acculturated Cocamas, Cocamillas, and Omahuas, who believe that those who search for the land without evil will have larger harvests (Regan, 1993, p. 360).

Another syncretic movement—this time of Andean origin—that has incorporated belief in a land without evil is the Israelites of the New Universal Covenant. Followers of this movement hold that salvation in the face of the imminent end of the world will be possible only by becoming a member of this religious organization, whose leader, Ezequiel Ataucusi Gamonal, is seen as the new Christ and the incarnation of the Holy Ghost, as well as a new Inca. They call themselves "Israelites" because they have incorporated into their movement the ancient ritual practices of the Israelites of the Old Testament including wearing the kinds of garments the Hebrews used in the past during their celebrations. To this form of nativism they also proclaim a restoration of Inca practices, and it is according to these practices that they model the colonies they have developed in the Amazonian region. Moreover, this Inca "utopia" became the headquarters of the political party the group established to support the candidacy of Ezequiel Ataucusi Gamonal to the presidency of the Republic of Peru.

The colonies, therefore, represent the materialization of the Inca utopia, and as such they become the land without evil, where all the Israelites should go to wait for the end of the world; it is from here that they will be transported to Canaan, once more located in the east, to attain complete salvation. The Israelites of the New Covenant represent a synthesis of almost all the varieties of messianism that developed in South America, although this group added a biblical dimension that is a variation of Adventism.

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METALS AND METALLURGY. Archaic, nonliterate peoples, as well as prehistoric populations, worked meteoric iron long before they learned to use the ferrous ores occurring on the earth's surface. They treated certain ores like stones, that is, they regarded them as raw material for the manufacture of lithic tools. A similar technique was applied until recently by certain peoples having no knowledge of metallurgy: they worked meteorites with silex (flint) hammers and fashioned objects whose shapes resembled their stone models in all respects. This was how the Greenland

Inuit (Eskimo) made their knives out of meteoric iron (Andrée, 1984, pp. 121ff.). When Cortés asked the Aztec chieftains where they had gotten their knives, they pointed to the sky. Like the Maya of Yucatan and the Inca of Peru, the Aztec used only meteoric iron, which they valued more highly than gold. In fact, excavations have revealed no trace of terrestrial iron in the prehistoric deposits of the New World (Forbes, 1950, pp. 401ff.).

Paleo-Oriental peoples presumably held similar ideas. The Sumerian word *an-bar*, the earliest vocable designating iron, is written with the signs for "sky" and "fire." Campbell Thompson renders it "celestial lightning (or meteorite)," but it is usually translated "celestial metal" or "star-metal" (Eliade, 1978, p. 22; Bjorkman, 1973, pp. 114ff.). For a long period the Egyptians too knew only meteoric iron, and the same is true of the Hittites: a text of the fourteenth century BCE states that the Hittite kings used "the black iron of the sky" (Rickard, 1932, vol. 1, p. 149). Iron, therefore, was scarce, and its use was principally ritual.

The Discovery of Smelting. It required the discovery of the smelting of ores to inaugurate a new stage in the history of mankind. Unlike the production of copper or bronze, the metallurgy of iron very soon became industrial. Once the secret of smelting magnetite and hematite was discovered, there was no longer any difficulty in obtaining large quantities of iron, for deposits were very rich and easy to exploit. But the handling of telluric ores differed from that of meteoric iron, as it did also from the smelting of copper and bronze. It was not until after the discovery of furnaces, and particularly after perfecting the technique for "hardening" metal brought to the point of white heat, that iron achieved its preeminent position. It was the metallurgy of terrestrial iron that made this metal fit for everyday use. The beginnings of iron metallurgy on an industrial scale can be fixed at a period between 1200 and 1000 BCE, in the mountains of Armenia. From there the secret of smelting spread across the Near East, the Mediterranean, and central Europe, although, as I have noted, iron, whether of meteoric origin or from superficial deposits, was known in the third millennium in Mesopotamia, in Asia Minor, and probably also in Egypt (Forbes, 1950, p. 417; Eliade, 1978, pp. 23ff., 201ff.).

Mines: The Womb of Mother Earth. The discovery of furnaces had important religious consequences. Besides the celestial sacredness of the sky, immanent in meteorites, there was now the telluric sacredness of the earth, in which mines and ore share. Metals "grow" in the bosom of the earth. Caves and mines are assimilated to the womb of Mother Earth. The ores extracted from mines are in some sense "embryos." They grow slowly, as if obeying a temporal rhythm different from that of vegetable and animal organisms; nevertheless, they do grow, they "ripen" in the telluric darkness. Hence, their extraction from Mother Earth is an operation performed prematurely. If they had been given the time to develop (that is, if they were to come to term in geological time), ores would become ripe, "perfect" metals. Belief in the natural growth, and thus in the metamorphosis, of metals is of very ancient origin in China and is also found in Vietnamese Annam, in India, and in the Malay archipelago. The peasants of Vietnamese Tonkin, for example, have a saying: "Black bronze is the mother of gold." They believe that gold is engendered naturally by bronze, but only if the bronze has lain a sufficiently long period in the bosom of the earth. "Thus the Annamites are convinced that the gold found in the mines is formed slowly *in situ* over the centuries and that if one had probed the earth originally, one would have discovered bronze in the places where gold is found today" (Przyluski, 1914, p. 3). Similar beliefs survived even into eighteenth-century Europe (Eliade, 1978, pp. 46ff.).

The Egyptians, who, according to Plutarch and Diodorus, hated iron—which they called "the bones of Seth"—considered that the flesh of gods was made of gold; in other words, that the gods were immortal. That is why, after the model of the gods, Pharaoh was also assigned flesh of gold. Indeed, as repeatedly proclaimed in the Hindu Brahmanas, "Gold is immortality." Consequently, in many cultures, to obtain the elixir that transmutes metals into alchemical gold is tantamount to obtaining immortality.

In Eastern as in Western alchemy, the transmutation of metals into gold is equated with a miraculously rapid maturation. The elixir (or the philosopher's stone) completes and consummates the work of nature. One of the characters in Ben Jonson's play *The Alchemist* (1610) asserts that "lead and other metals . . . would be gold if they had time," and another character adds, "And that our Art doth further." That is to say, the alchemist prolongs the dream and the ideology of miners and metalworkers: to perfect nature by accelerating the temporal rhythm, with the difference that the *aurum alchemicum*—the elixir—confers health, perennial youth, and even immortality. As is well known, by the end of the eighteenth century alchemy was supplanted by the new science of chemistry. But the alchemist's ideals survived, camouflaged and radically secularized, in nineteenth-century ideology.

In many parts of the world miners practice rites involving a state of purity, fasting, meditation, prayers, and cultic acts. The rites are governed by the nature of the intended operation, for the performance of them is meant to introduce the worker into a sacred zone, supposedly inviolable: he enters into contact with a sacrality that does not participate in the familiar religious universe, for it is a deeper and also a more dangerous sacrality. The miner feels that he risks entering a domain that does not rightfully belong to man: the underground world with its mysteries concerning the slow mineralogical gestation taking place in the womb of Mother Earth. All the mythologies of mines and mountains, their countless fairies, genii, elves, phantoms, and spirits, are the multiple epiphanies of the sacred presence that the individual confronts when he penetrates the geological levels of life (Eliade, 1978, pp. 53ff.).

Thus, the Melanesians opened a new mine only after long rituals and ceremonials. The Malay *pawang* (medicine man) derived a very fair revenue from propitiating and scaring those spirits who had to do with mines and mining (W. W. Skeat, quoted in Eliade, 1938, p. 92). Among many African peoples, the chief, surrounded by a shaman and the workers, recites a special prayer to his ancestral spirits, who preside over the mine, and only then does he determine where the digging shall be done (Cline, 1937, p. 119). In Europe, until the end of the Middle Ages, miners opened a mine only after the celebration of a religious ceremony (Sébillot, 1894, p. 421).

FURNACES AND THE “GROWTH” OF THE ORE. Laden with this dark sacrality, the ores are taken from the mine to the furnaces. Then begins the most difficult and riskiest operation. The artisan takes the place of Mother Earth in order to hasten and perfect the “growth” of the ores. The furnaces are in some sense a new, artificial womb in which the ore completes its gestation. Hence the countless precautions, taboos, and rituals that accompany smelting.

In Africa, camps are set up in the vicinity of the mines, and there the workers live, in a state of purity, throughout the mining season, which sometimes lasts for several months (Cline, 1937, p. 119). The Kitara believe that if the bellows-maker has had sexual relations during the course of his work, the bellows will constantly fill up with water and refuse to function (ibid., p. 121). The belief that the sexual act can in some way compromise the success of the work is general throughout sub-Saharan Africa. This prohibition is even stated in the ritual songs sung during the work. Indeed, smelting represents a sacred marriage—the mixture of “male” and “female” ores—and consequently all the sexual energies of the workmen must be kept in reserve, to ensure the magical success of the union that is taking place in the furnaces. The nuptial symbolism is present in many metallurgical ceremonies. The Kitara smith treats the anvil like a bride. When men bring it into the house they sing as though for a nuptial procession. In accepting it, the smith sprinkles it with water so that it “may bear many children” and tells his wife that he has brought a second wife home to help her (ibid., p. 118).

THE MAGICO-RELIGIOUS POWERS OF THE SMITH. The metallurgist, like the blacksmith and before him the potter, is a “master of fire.” It is by means of fire that he brings about the passage of a material from one state to another. Smelting proves to be not only the means of “acting faster” but also of acting to make a different thing from what already existed in nature. This is why, in archaic societies, smelters and smiths are held to be masters of fire, along with shamans, medicine men, and magicians. But the ambivalent character of metal—laden with powers at once sacred and demonic—is transferred to metallurgists and smiths: they are highly esteemed but are also feared, segregated, or even scorned. Thus, in West Africa, smiths play important roles in secret societies, enjoy the prestige normally accorded magicians, and form separate clans. In the Kongo and surrounding regions, they have a close association with priests and chiefs (and sometimes are one and the same); elsewhere (e.g., among the Chagga, Hamitic Bantu-speaking agricultural workers) the smith is both feared and respected. By contrast, in pastoral Hamitic cultures and among steppe hunters, smiths are despised and form a caste set apart (Eliade, 1978, pp. 90ff.; see also Dieterlen, 1965, pp. 10ff.). In Indonesia and elsewhere in South Asia, the smith and the smelter are much respected for their secret powers (O’Connor, 1975, pp. 177ff.).

The tools of the African smith share this sacred quality. The hammer, the bellows, and the anvil are considered animate and miraculous; they are regarded as capable of operating by their own magico-religious force, unassisted by the smith. The art of creating tools is essentially superhuman—either divine or demonic (for the smith also forges murderous weapons). Remnants of ancient mythologies belonging to the Stone Age have probably been added to, or woven into, the mythology of metals. The stone tool and the hand ax were charged with a mysterious power; they struck, inflicted injury, caused explosions, and produced sparks, as did the thunderbolt. The ambivalent magic of stone weapons, both lethal and beneficial, like the thunderbolt itself, was transmitted and magnified in the new instruments forged of metal. The hammer, successor to the ax of the Stone Age, becomes the emblem of the powerful storm gods. Indeed, storm gods and the gods of agricultural fecundity are sometimes conceived as smith-gods (for examples, see Eliade, 1978, pp. 92ff.; Dieterlen, 1965, passim).

In many mythologies divine smiths forge the weapons of the gods, thus insuring them victory over dragons or other monstrous beings. In the Canaanite myth, Koshar-wa-Hasis (literally, “adroit-and-clever”) forges for Baal two clubs with which he will kill Yamm, lord of the seas and underground waters. In the Egyptian version of the myth, Ptah (the potter god) forges the weapons that enable Horus to conquor Seth. Similarly, in the Vedas, the divine smith Tvaṣṭṛ makes Indra’s weapons for his battle with Vṛtra; Hephaistos forges the thunderbolt that will enable Zeus to triumph over Typhon. But the cooperation between the divine smith and the gods is not confined to his help in the final combat for sovereignty of the world.

The smith is also the architect and artisan of the gods, supervises the construction of Baal’s palace, and equips the sanctuaries of the other divinities. In addition, this god-smith has connections with music and song, just as in a number of societies the smiths and braziers are also musicians, poets, healers, and magicians. Thus, the mythic African smith is a culture hero. He has been enjoined by God to complete creation, to organize the world, to educate men, that is, to reveal to them the arts and the religious mysteries. For this reason, in many African cultures, smiths play the central role in puberty initiations and in male secret societies. Similarly, in early Greece, certain groups of mythical personages—Telchines, Cabiri, Curetes, Dactyls—were both secret guild associations performing initiations of young boys and corporations of metalworkers (Eliade, 1978, pp. 101ff.). Blacksmiths were equally important in the initiatory rituals of the ancient Germans and in the Japanese male societies. In old Scandinavia there was a close connection between the profession of the smith and the art of the poet and musician. The same associations are to be found among the Turco-Tatars and Mongols, where the smith is linked with horses, singers, and poets. Tzigane nomads are, even today, a combination of smith, tinker, musician, healer, and fortune-teller (ibid., pp. 98ff.). It seems, then, that on many different levels of culture (an indication of great antiquity) there is an intimate connection between the art of the smith, occult techniques (shamanism, magic, healing, etc.), and the arts of song, of the dance, and of poetry.

All these ideas and beliefs articulated around the trades of miners, metallurgists, and smiths have markedly enriched the mythology of *homo faber* inherited from the Stone Age. But the wish to collaborate in the perfecting of matter also had other important consequences. In assuming the responsibility for changing nature, man took the place of time; what would have required eons to ripen in the subterranean depths, as the artisan believed, he could obtain in a few weeks, for the furnace replaced the telluric womb. Millennia later, the alchemist did not think differently.

SEE ALSO Alchemy, overview article; Blades; Elixir; Gold and Silver.

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MIRCEA ELIADE (1987)

METAMORPHOSIS SEE SHAPE SHIFTING; TRANSMIGRATION

METAPHYSICS is generally understood as a philosophical inquiry into the fundamental nature of reality. The word *metaphysics* derives from the Greek *meta ta phusica* ("after the things of nature"), a classificatory rubric used by commentators on and editors of Aristotle's corpus to refer to an untitled group of texts concerned with "first philosophy." Western medieval and modern philosophers often have construed metaphysics as the most basic and most comprehensive of philosophical inquiries, one that is primarily focused on the ontological status of objects, the existence of entities that transcend nature, and the generic features exhibited in experience. African and Eastern philosophers usually have conceived of metaphysics (in the sense implied by the word's etymology) as more closely interwoven with the axiological (or value-laden) character of the cosmos and the moral quality of human community.

A distinctive feature of Western metaphysics is the attempt to understand the universe by means of a logical investigation of concepts rather than an empirical inquiry based on sensory evidence. Such metaphysical sentiments rest upon a relative distrust of the variable, visible, and sensible world and involve a quest for the invariable, invisible, and intelligible world. They also assume a basic unity of thought and being, of logic and the world. Rationally coherent and logically consistent systems of thought are believed to reveal the way the world really is.

The origins of Western metaphysics go back to Parmenides of Elea (c. 515–475 BCE). In the poem usually titled *On Nature*, Parmenides provides the first exemplary philosophical argument of Western metaphysics. In the form of a journey to the heavens to receive wisdom from "the goddess," Parmenides attacks the reality of the physical world, condemns difference as illusory, and proposes that fundamental reality is invariable, invisible, and intelligible, as well as single, indivisible, and homogeneous. This metaphysical viewpoint rests upon the deployment of the basic binary opposition of reality and appearance, in which the realm of the former is qualitatively different from and superior to the realm of the latter.

Parmenides' metaphysical conception of being, grounded in his logical reasoning and monistic conclusions, has been a major influence in Western metaphysics. This Parmenidean legacy can be seen in Plotinus's One, Spinoza's God, and Hegel's Absolute. The most immediate influence of Parmenides is found in Plato's *Phaedo*, in which, despite subtle gradations, the reality/appearance distinction is appropriated to undergird the existence of a separate order of Forms accessible only to the mind and more real than the senses. In his heroic efforts to refute the skepticism of the Sophists, Plato (427–347 BCE) extends the ontological binary opposition of reality/appearance to epistemology, morality, and politics, thus including distinctions such as knowledge/opinion, nature/convention, and philosopher/sophist. In this way, Plato's metaphysics, like that of some African and Eastern thinkers, is inseparable from ethics and political philosophy.

The religious significance of Plato's metaphysics is his doctrine of recollection, which defends the immortality of the soul. In *Meno*, Plato portrays Socrates interrogating a slave boy, an interrogation that results in the boy arriving at a geometric truth. Socrates then argues that since this truth was not told to the boy but rather elicited from him, the truth must reside in the boy at birth and in a previous existence: his questions merely prompted the boy to remember what he had forgotten from an earlier life. Similar arguments, related to the existence of a separate order of Forms, are found in the *Phaedo*, while a more speculative account of the transmigration of souls, life after death, and the soul fleeing the bondage of the body is put forward in the tenth book of the Republic.

Aristotle (384–322 BCE) set forth the first Western metaphysical system, including a new vocabulary, an articulation of the central issues, and a thorough treatment of these issues. He conceives of metaphysics as a "first philosophy" that investigates the fundamental principles presupposed by the other sciences. Aristotle's metaphysics can be viewed as a profound and persistent polemic against the notions of indeterminacy and infinity. Its aim is to establish a fixed beginning point, the limits of inquiry, the determinateness of concrete individual objects, and the termination of epistemic chains of justification. Aristotelian notions of causality (material, formal, efficient, and final), substance, being, essence, form, and actuality set the terms for Western metaphysical discourse through the twentieth century. The legacy of Aristotle's metaphysics in religious thought is found most clearly in the Christian systematic theology of Thomas Aquinas and the neo-Thomist tradition of the Catholic church exemplified in thinkers such as Étienne Gilson (1884–1978) and Jacques Maritain (1882–1973).

The last great metaphysical system of classical antiquity was the Neoplatonism best represented by the Hellenized Egyptian philosopher Plotinus (205–270 CE), his pupil Porphyry (232–306?), the Syrian school of Iamblichus (250–330?), the Athenian school of Proclus (c. 410–485), and the Latin Christian school of Boethius (480–524). This system (and its various versions) is rooted in Plato's devaluation of the sensible world and elevation of the intelligible world. Yet, as in certain themes in Plato's second and seventh letters, Neoplatonism promotes a kind of mysticism and asceticism that deeply influenced the Christian theology of the African thinker Augustine (354–430). This mysticism is based on an intuition of the unity and wholeness of being, the One, which differentiates itself downward into lesser degrees in spirits, souls, and, lastly, physical objects. This process of emanation from undifferentiated unity to modes of differentiated disunity results in a return (or epistrophe) to unity and wholeness.

The Syrian philosopher Porphyry not only made Plotinus's lectures available but also wrote a short introduction to Aristotle's *Categories*, titled *Isagoge*, that directed attention to the relation between the essential and accidental attributes of things and the status of universals. This influential text, translated into Latin by Boethius, provided the framework and language for metaphysical reflection in the early Middle Ages by Christian theologians such as John Scottus Eriugena (fl. 847–877), Anselm (c. 1033–1109), and Bonaventure (c. 1221–1274).

The thirteenth-century translations of Aristotle and his Arabian commentators into Greek and Latin by Robert Grosseteste and William of Moerbeke facilitated the crowning achievement of Western metaphysics in the late Middle Ages: the magisterial system of Thomas Aquinas (c. 1224–1274) and the critical nominalism of William of Ockham (c. 1280/1285–1349?). Thomas creatively appropriated Aristotelian metaphysics into a Christian philosophy, whereas William paved the road for the new "modern way" (*via moderna*) by separating metaphysics from Christian faith and thereby emphasizing religious faith and church tradition. William influenced major figures of the Reformation.

The modern conception of metaphysics in the West begins with René Descartes (1596–1650), who tried to apply the rigor and standards of mathematics and geometry to metaphysical claims. Descartes's quest for indubitability within the immediate awareness of a thinking self and his call for clarity and distinctness in truth-claims reflect an ingenious and influential philosophical response to the rise of modern science, especially the wedding of quantitative models with physics and chemistry. Barukh Spinoza (1632–1677) and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) followed the Cartesian project of scientific rigor and philosophical boldness by setting forth deductive metaphysical systems. Spinoza's mechanical and deterministic view of the universe, in which the only two known attributes of substance are thought and extension, yielded a pantheistic conception of God as identical with nature. This conception would inspire later forms of German idealism. Leibniz's rationalist commitments to a priori reasoning, the analysis of concepts according to logical necessity and rational intelligibility, produced refined versions of ontological arguments for the existence of God that sharpened modal logical tools for subsequent efforts by Christian theists.

The crisis of modern Western metaphysics begins with the major empiricists: John Locke (1632–1704), George Berkeley (1685–1753), and, especially, David Hume (1711–1776). All three assumed the Cartesian starting point for philosophical reflection as within the arena of immediate awareness of a thinking self. But in contrast to Descartes, Locke argues that sense impressions are the primary data for knowledge of the world, self, and God. This restriction requires that we cannot have "clear and distinct ideas" of substance and essence, only empirical access to their properties and powers. Therefore, the most privileged notions in traditional Western metaphysics, such as substance and essence, were rendered problematic. Berkeley further questioned the distinction between ideas of objects and properties of objects that cause ideas, thereby radically calling into question material substance. Hume changed the course of Western metaphysics by dissolving philosophical conceptions of the self, subject, and mind into mere bundles of sensations and perceptions. By replacing philosophical notions of necessity and causality with psychological accounts of imagination and sociological notions of habit and custom, Hume defended an inescapable skepticism regarding the possibility of metaphysics. This position presented religious thinkers with the options of a rational agnosticism or a nonrational religious faith.

The significance of Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) lies in his rescue of Western metaphysics by specifying the limits of human knowledge. This rescue took the form of rejecting the dogmatism of Cartesian metaphysical projects and circumscribing the skepticism of Hume's empiricism. The result was a critical idealist metaphysics that preserved the objectivity of knowledge-claims yet prevented human access to ultimate reality. The aim of Kant's metaphysics was to disclose the universal conceptual scheme that people employ in theoretically ordering the world and practically acting within it. For Kant, religious faith became a mere appendage to ethics, a practical postulate for moral behavior.

The last great metaphysical system in the modern West—a response, in part, to Kant—was that of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831). Like Plato, Aristotle, and the Neoplatonists, Hegel attempted to penetrate to the fundamental nature of reality by means of rational deliberation. Yet he conceived of this reality as a historical and dialectical process intelligible only to the discerning and retrospective philosopher. Hegel's metaphysics emphasized the radical dependence of God upon the world and promoted a divine immanent presence in human history.

Western metaphysics has been under severe attack since Hegel. Apart from the ambitious project of Alfred North Whitehead (1861–1947), the vitalistic program of Henri Bergson (1859–1941), the versions of logical atomism of Bertrand Russell (1872–1970) and the early Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889–1951), and Paul Ricoeur's (b. 1913) recent metaphysics of narrativity, post-Hegelian philosophy has been strongly antimetaphysical. The Christian existentialism of Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855) and the transcendental phenomenology of Edmund Husserl (1859–1938) inspired the ontological hermeneutics of Martin Heidegger (1889–1976), which claims to have "destroyed" the Western metaphysical tradition. The logical positivism of the Vienna Circle (Otto Neurath, Moritz Schlick, Rudolf Carnap, and others) and ordinary-language philosophy served as steppingstones for the later Ludwig Wittgenstein's linguistic conventionalism, which claims to have "dodged" the bewitching traps of Western metaphysics. The perspectivism of Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) and the structuralist vocabulary of Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913) provided resources for the present-day poststructuralist skepticism of Jacques Derrida (1930–2004), which claims to have "deconstructed" the Western metaphysical tradition. Lastly, the pragmatism of William James (1842–1910) and John Dewey (1859–1952) and the epistemological holism of W. V. Quine (1908–2000) and Nelson Goodman (1906–1998) are employed by Richard Rorty (b. 1931) in his contemporary attempt to "demythologize" the Western metaphysical tradition. Whether the influential attacks of Heidegger, Wittgenstein, Derrida, and Rorty on Western metaphysics are skeptical moments in the history of Western philosophy (like those of Pyrrho and Montaigne in times past) or proleptic precursors of a new stage remains an open question. The religious significance and implications of these attacks—within and outside the West—remain relatively unexplored.

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CORNEL WEST (1987)
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METEOROLOGICAL BEINGS.

Religious people of very different times and cultures have tended to "humanize" meteorological phenomena by telling stories about the displays of celestial power and fruitfulness they witnessed, converting those events into elements of a sacred narrative intended to explain how the world and humankind have come to be the way they are. The experience of life in a properly religious world differs radically from our experience of life today. For one thing, it makes no distinction between the natural and human realms. Whereas for us a storm is invariably an "it," the storm has been much more a "thou" for the better part of human history. It is not the storm that religious people have worshiped but the sacred power, will, and qualities that are somehow revealed there, although it would be quite incorrect to speak of the "personification" of inanimate nature or, for that matter, to invoke some sort of animistic theory to explain why meteorological phenomena play the important roles in religious life that they do. For religious people, storms are everywhere manifestations of the sacred. As such they engage the whole human person—meaning his or her emotional, imaginative, and intellectual faculties taken together—in a vital relationship.

Moreover, the various qualities of storm and rain have suggested, both to our religious forebears and to our contemporaries living in the so-called traditional societies, countless analogies that have enabled them to express—perhaps even to discover—certain important truths about their experience of life and their religious aspirations. For example, by analogy with atmospheric lightning, Iglulik Inuit shamans refer to a mystical experience called *qaumaneq* ("lightning" or "illumination") that confers clairvoyance. Indeed, lightning, or dreams about it, typically figures in shamanic initiations or callings; and by the same token the rapidity or suddenness of spiritual "illumination" has been compared to lightning in many of the religions of history.

Storms have both a benign, life-sustaining aspect, because they bring rain, and a dark, chaotic one, owing to their potential for destruction. The high winds and distant roll of thunder that in one instance may announce an imminent end to prolonged drought may in another have inspired an apocalyptic vision, or a collective memory preserved in myth, of the world's complete destruction by flood. The storm gods, for their part, often garner trust as senders of the moisture upon which living things depend, but just as often they are feared as agents of divine punishment, retribution, or simply inexplicable malevolence. Symbols derived from the phenomena of storm thus express quite effectively humankind's deeply rooted ambivalence toward the sacred. Or, put another way, they express the profound anxiety that men and women have felt about the sacred powers that sustain the world, powers over which human beings have little if any control.

Finally, and what is most important, storm symbols function the way other religious symbols do in making it possible for the human situation to be translated into cosmological terms and vice versa. They reveal a fundamental oneness between human life and the structure of the world and so have led people out of their isolation in subjectivity, beyond the human condition as it were, toward a stance vis-à-vis their own experience of life that one could easily describe as a kind of transcendence. That much, at least, accounts for the essentially religious character of these symbols.

In this article I propose to continue the morphological description of sky symbols begun elsewhere, concentrating now on the divine figures connected with dramatic meteorological events, chiefly thunder, lightning, and rain. No single explanation can account for the uniformity and variety of the storm gods in history. Some are also supreme beings, some appear in animal guise. All of them display in varying proportions what I have chosen to call "two kinds of sovereignty," the one more "spiritual" and derived from the ideas and values associated with the sky and sky gods, the other more "physical" and connected with the earth and its fertility.

STORM DEITIES AND THEIR FORMS.

If all the sky gods were arranged on a line according to their dominant powers and attributes, the result would be a broad array with, at one end, deities who display most fully the characteristics that make them creators, sovereigns, lords of the universe, law givers, and moral overseers. To the second half of the array would belong a collection of progressively more varied and colorful deities whose chief traits describe a generative, vitalizing mission in the world. These latter are typically male deities, often spouses of the Great Mother, and givers of rain, hence prone to develop into more specialized storm gods and fecundators. All are epiphanies of force and violence, those necessary sources of energy on which biological life and civil order in the world depend; and, over a broad geographical expanse throughout Africa, Europe, and Asia, many have a connection with the bull. (The bull and the thunderbolt appear historically very early in connection with the storm gods. The Kannada word *ko*, which means "ox, sky, or lightning, ray of light, water, horn, mountain," preserves intact the full semantic range of this complex of symbols.)

The so-called specialization of the sky gods either in the direction of *dei otiosi* or into the gods of storm and rain derives from the ambivalent structure of the sky symbols generally and has led scholars to speak of the "passive," transcendent nature of the sky gods and, conversely, of their tendency to give way to more active, vital divine forms. Of course nowhere in history does one find either specialized type, the far-off ruler whose celestial attributes predominate, or the storm god-fecundator, in isolation; invariably there are mixtures of the two. Sometimes both functions belong to a single deity's sphere of activity; elsewhere a rather clear division of labor prevails, with the storm god usually subordinate to a celestial ruler who is often the storm god's father. In certain cases the storm deity represents the exercise of legitimate force on behalf of some higher authority; in other cases his link with agriculture is more important.

Specialization usually brings with it a radical change of form: that is, the storm gods can be said to have abandoned absolute transcendence in favor of powers and attributes that did not belong to their original celestial make-up. For that reason they are apt to betray foreign influences too. For example, Parjanya, the Indian god of hurricanes and son of Dyaus, the ancient Indo-Aryan sky god, was said to rule the waters and all living things. He made the whole universe tremble with his storms. His specialization, though, rendered him no longer omniscient like his father (with whom the authors of the *Ṛgveda* sometimes confused him) nor a sovereign like Varuṇa. As a result, in Vedic times he yielded his place to Indra, a warrior king, also god of rain and easily the chief god of the *Ṛgveda.* Indra, for his part, is always compared to a bull or a ram, two animals associated with Rudra, a non-Aryan divinity, many of whose attributes Indra would absorb over the course of time. In fact Indra's connection with bulls, soma, and the Maruts (to the degree they personified the wandering souls of the dead) would suggest that he also acquired certain lunar prerogatives: that is, Indra *qua* symbol expanded in the direction of a larger integrated expression of life's power and sacrality, one that included even elements belonging to the symbolism of the moon.

The point is that storm gods, no matter how early in time they appear and no matter what type of culture they belong to, always show evidence of long and complicated histories. Thus, in using the term *specialization* here to account for the forms the storm gods take, I do not mean to imply that storm, rain, and fertility gods are necessarily late developments, for we have no reason to doubt the antiquity of dramatic, stormy elements in the sky god's make-up. There is a unity of structure to the sky symbolism that we can only assume has been present from the very beginning, and that unified structure includes both distant supreme soverignty and active, even violent, involvement with life processes in the human world.

METEOROLOGICAL PHENOMENA AS ATTRIBUTES OF A SUPREME BEING. Some religious people have seen none other than the supreme sky deity behind the stormy atmospheric displays that, for them, attest to his all-knowing presence, will, and power. The Andaman Islanders know such a deity in Puluga, whose breath is the wind and whose voice is thunder. Hurricanes signal his anger, and lightning bolts are the punishment he executes against those who violate his laws.

The tribes of Southeast Australia report that Baiame created all things out of nothing, but Baiame is creative in another sense, for in causing the rain to fall he makes the whole earth new and green. Natives can discern his voice in thunder. On the east coast of Australia other tribes worship Daramulun, who also speaks in thunder and sends them rain. Daramulun is said to have created the first ancestor during his stay on earth, giving him the laws and customs that have passed from one generation to the next ever since. Most importantly, Daramulun left behind the initation ceremony, which entails, among other things, a solemn display of the bull-roarer, said to make a noise like thunder and to represent the supreme being's continued presence among his people. Indeed, almost all the Australian sky gods communicate their presence in thunder, lightning, the wind and the rainbow, which is to say that meteorological traits belong inseparably to their supreme, celestial modes of being.

THE AMBIVALENCE OF THE STORM DEITIES: CREATIVITY AND CHAOS. Stormy attributes help to express the dual nature of supreme beings, who on account of their power over life and death are apt to inspire both trust and fear in equal measure. For example, the Maasai of Kenya pray to a supreme being named Ngai ("sky" or "rain") who lives high above our world where the winds circulate through his nostrils. Lightning is the dreadful glance of his eye, thunder a cry of joy at something he has seen, and raindrops are the joyful tears he sheds at the sight of fat beehives during the rainy season when cattle grow sleek. By analogy with the sky's polychrome appearance, the Maasai refer to a black, red, gray, and white Ngai, but they ultimately reduce those four to the black and red Ngai alone, two opposed and complementary forms of deity. The black Ngai is good because, like the black, cloudy sky, he brings rain; whereas the red Ngai, like the red, hot sky, withholds it. (In Babylonian mythology it is the gigantic bird Imdugud that rescued human beings from drought. It covered the sky with the black storm clouds of its wings and consumed the Bull of Heaven, whose hot breath had scorched the crops down below.)

The Inca of pre-Columbian times worshiped Illapa (whom the Aymara knew as Thunupa). Both dreaded as a storm god and adored as a bringer of rain, Illapa was pictured as a man with club and sling who draws water from a heavenly stream (the Milky Way) using pitchers that he leaves in the safekeeping of his sister until he breaks them with his thunder club.

By some early accounts the Aztec rain god Tlaloc has four pitchers, and according to the one he uses, the result will be a good maize crop or a harvest spoiled by vermin and frost. No Aztec deity enjoyed a more active or widespread cult than he. Tlaloc, the giver of rain, but also the wrathful deity of lightning, was conceived in multiple form as *tlaloques* (lesser, sometimes dwarflike, storm deities) assigned to the four directions, or as the leader of a group of *tlaloques*, who were said to dwell on mountaintops in caves, where storm clouds brew. Descriptions of Tlaloc's heavenly paradise supply further clues about his ambiguous nature. It is a place of infinite abundance and perpetual verdure where those who had died by drowning or had been struck by lightning or were suffering from such afflictions as leprosy, venereal disease, skin ailments, gout, and dropsy enjoyed eternal happiness. They were the only dead whom the Aztec did not bury; all others were cremated.

According to Juan Ignacio Molina and other writers of the second half of the eighteenth century, the Mapuche knew a supreme being with many forms of address. One of his epithets, "two faces" (black and white), apparently referred to the rain and sunshine prayed for in public rites but also to the deity's ambivalent attitude—both indulgent and severe—toward his worshipers. Older sources dating back to the seventeenth century call this deity Pillán; he was said to produce thunder and lightning and all manner of violent and destructive weather phenomena such as volcanic eruptions, river floods, tidal waves, and epidemics. On the other hand, Pillán was considered a protector of the crops and hence a beneficent weather god as well.

TWO KINDS OF SOVEREIGNTY. It is not uncommon for storm gods to display this dual character, especially in parts of the world where sudden, unpredictable shows of meteorological force dominate the landscape and must surely have compelled people to theological reflection. For example, by contrast with the reassuring periodicity of the Egyptian cosmos, the environment in which Mesopotamian civilization grew and flourished could only have led men and women to conclude that order was not a given but rather something to be achieved through the continual integration of many different competing wills, each one powerful and frightening. As a result, the Mesopotamians envisioned a huge cosmic state that included human beings, animals, inanimate objects, natural phenomena, and even such abstractions as justice, righteousness, and the form of a circle. An assembly of gods presided over this "state," led by Anu (An), the god of heaven, and next to him in rank, Enlil his son, the god of storm. So far as the Mesopotamians were concerned, Enlil had revealed himself both in nature and in history. The violence that fills a storm and is expressed there *was* Enlil.

But a meteorological analogy also made it possible to interpret such catastrophic events as the destruction of Ur by the Elamite hordes sweeping down from the eastern highlands as Enlil's handiwork too: that is, in some deeper, truer sense those barbarians were also a storm, Enlil's storm, in and through which the god himself had executed a verdict passed on Ur and its people by the divine assembly. In keeping with the Mesopotamian vision of a cosmic bureaucracy, Enlil's specialized juridical role was distinguished from that of another diety, Enki, known as "lord of the earth," who administered the waters, specifically, rivers, canals, irrigation, and the organization of all productive forces. Enki's ministerial role derived from the sovereignty exercised by Anu and Enlil. Anu and, later, Marduk represent the magical or "spiritual" component of that sovereignty, whereas Enlil's sovereignty is of a more physical kind; and the latter's stormy attributes, though in this case they have little to do directly with fertility, have everything to do with the problem of legitimate force, especially the legitimate force that must have been an important concern—and a deep source of anxiety—for the citizens of such a highly regulated cosmos.

While it is true that in many cases the sky god withdrew in favor of storm gods and other divinities with more specific and concrete functions, in other instances the sky god assumed a new role. That is certainly what happened in the Greek and Roman traditions, where Zeus and Jupiter stood for both kinds of sovereignty, being at once divine guarantors of cosmic order, supreme rulers, moral arbiters, even personifications of law, as well as gods of rain and fertility. Zeus preserves in his name the Sankrit root *div* ("shine" or "day"), leaving no doubt as to his celestial nature and shared heritage with the ancient Indo-European sky god Dyaus. However, scholars in the past were so quick to seize upon the etymology of Zeus's name as the key to his religious significance that they usually inquired no further into Zeus's unique and complicated mode of being, much of it vividly expressed in his meteorological attributes.

The many epithets for Zeus in Homer explain why he came to be equated with weather deities elsewhere in Asia Minor: he is called at various times Ombrios and Hyetios ("the rainy one"), Ourios ("he who sends favorable winds"), Astrapios ("sender of lightning"), and Bronton ("thunderer"). Other epithets tell of an affinity with crops and the dark earth: Georgos ("the farmer"), Chthonios ("earth-dweller"), and even Zeus Katachthonios ("the underground Zeus"). Zeus's theriomorphic aspect—he is sometimes a bull, as in the myth of Europa, or a wolf to whom sacrifice was performed in time of drought or storm—is further evidence of his link to agriculture and rain.

The transforming quality of lightning that accounts for its role in shamanic initiations may help to explain yet another of Zeus's prerogatives, for whatever was used to purify from sin and much of what pertained to rites of initiation fell directly or indirectly under his control. Lightning marked his direct epiphany, and wherever it struck, a sanctuary was raised to Zeus Descending.

The whole complex of ideas, powers, and attributes belonging to Zeus's stormy aspect reappears on a different level of symbolic expression in the divine twins. The Dioscuri, or "Zeus's sons," like many other pairs of mythic twins, issued from the union of a god and a human mother and thus represented in a peculiar way the sacrality of the sky god on earth. In the Indo-European tradition, the twins are usually sons of the sky god, warriors, magic healers, saviors, and fertility gods; as gods of light, they are often associated with the dawn, the morning and evening stars, and the pair, thunder and lightning. The Dioscuri, for example, became popular as rescuers from personal distress, especially from danger at sea. Saint Elmo's fire, the electric discharge from the ship's mast during a thunderstorm, was widely regarded as their corporeal epiphany. Also, like Herakles, they were said to have been initiated at Eleusis. The various pairs of divine twins in the Indo-European tradition—the Germanic Freyr and Ñord, the Vedic Asvins, and the Dioscuri, to name three—were invoked to witness the swearing of oaths. Likewise, at Olympia a statue of Zeus Horkios ("Zeus of the oath"), before which competitors took their oaths, had in either hand thunderbolts with which to punish false swearers; and according to the Homeric formulas of oaths, Zeus was always the first deity called upon to guarantee an oath and punish any violation that might occur.

In ancient Rome when a building was struck by lightning, fulgural ritual prescribed that an opening be made in the roof over the spot so that the god could always have free access to the place he had chosen for his sanctuary. The most solemn oath was that sworn in the name of Iuppiter Lapis ("Jupiter present in the thunderstone"). The sacred stone was used when the *fetiales* took an oath and made sacrifices upon allying themselves with a foreign power. We know from Vergil that such an alliance received its highest sanction from the storm god himself. The priest, pronouncing a curse on the contractor who should first violate the sacred compact, hurled the stone at the sacrificial swine saying, "Jupiter, strike down the Romans as I now strike this pig, and strike them more heavily, for your power is greater than mine." This action represented in ritual form the stroke of lighting, and it has survived in the practice of Masurian (East Prussian) peasants who hurl a stone ax in a ritually designated manner against the door to protect their homes from lightning. Comparable practices are documented for other traditions.

Yahveh developed along lines that in some ways parallel the development of Zeus and Jupiter. Throughout the history of Israel, he shows himself a god of sky and storm, omnipotent creator, absolute sovereign, author of the norms and laws that make human life possible and good. By contrast Indra's exaggeratedly "physical" sovereignty develops into a personification of cosmic and biological energy. Indra is not a creator; instead the creative function is specialized in Indra's case into a generative, vitalizing one. Of course the *Ṛgveda* does feature a sky father called Dyaus Pitṛ, a cognate form of *Zeus Pater* and *Jupiter*, but by Vedic times Indra had already assumed the role of celestial sovereign in India, and storms are the supreme manifestations of his creative force. He wields the thunderbolt, frees the waters, absorbs fabulous amounts of soma, fertilizes the fields and bestows fertility on human women, displays fantastic sexual powers himself, and leads an army of lesser storm gods, the Maruts, to victory for the Indo-Aryan invaders.

The Germanic deities Óðinn (Odin) and Þórr (Thor) offer a clear example of a storm god's specialized function and the two kinds of sovereignty implicit in this cosmic division of labor. Óðinn belongs primarily to a category of divine sovereigns that includes the Chinese Tian, the Indian Varuṇa, and Ahura Mazdā of Zoroastrian belief, although in the course of his development, he took on certain attributes of agricultural and fertility gods as well, becoming in the process a chthonian master of the souls of dead heroes. Óðinn typifies what the great Indo-Europeanist Georges Dumézil has called "the magical sovereign" because, like Varuṇa, he employs the power to bind and discerns the future. Þórr, on the other hand, god of tempests and combat, represents a second, more physical and less spiritual, kind of sovereignty, and his "physicality" takes in more than his martial qualities. Modern Scandinavian folklore studies, the remnants of old agrarian cults, and archaeological findings have all tended to prove that Þórr was originally much more than a warrior. Through rain, the happy side-effect of his atmospheric battles and the exploits of his hammer, he assisted the growth of crops; and Swedish peasant names for him recall the Saami (Lapp) cult dedicated to a fertility god who gives rain or sun according to the needs of the soil and sees to it that growing things mature and bear fruit.

STORM ANIMALS. The world's mythology and folklore describe a whole host of animals associated with thunder, lightning, and rain. The goat, the ram, or horses, for example, frequently accompany the storm god or pull his thundering vehicle across the sky. But the most common and widespread of the storm animals are probably the thunderbird or woodpecker, the dragon, and the bull.

North American Indians worship various supernatural beings in avian guise who produce thunder by the whir of their wings and lightning with flashes—a winking or twinkling—of their eyes (Cree, Hare, Tlingit, and other tribes). The distribution of this thunderbird belief is very wide, but the kind of bird in question ranges from a crane (Pawnee), jackpine partridge (Beaver), or humming bird (Lilloet) to a gigantic eagle (Sauk, Hare, and others). In eastern North America, the thunderbirds are typically four in number, one for each of the cardinal directions; and over the same region, they are considered to be locked in a cosmic struggle with evil water spirits, panthers, or horned serpents. This antagonism on the level of myth finds cultic expression in the division into sacred moieties characteristic of the eastern tribes who rely on agriculture for their subsistence. However, it may also reflect a dualism known elsewhere in world mythology that usually pits the thunder god against a reptilian water monster (the way Indra opposes Vṛtra or the way Marduk battles Tiamat). The same sort of struggle recurs, for example, in northern Siberia and among the Buriats around Lake Baikal, this time between the ruler of birds (a great eagle) and a many-headed water snake. The thunderbird motif also appears in the Gran Chaco, in Ecuador, and among the Carib-speaking peoples on the northern coast of South America. In fact the thunderbird's range would seem to indicate it was a much more vital presence in the minds and hearts of religious people in earlier times than now.

Across Europe, around the Mediterranean, and in parts of Inner Asia, at least, the woodpecker was believed to have supernatural powers because of its association with thunder, rain, and fertility. There is much evidence to suggest that the belief arose in Neolithic times with the spread of cultivation by means of the hoe and, later, the plow. In many places the woodpecker also has a connection with divine twins and, like the storm gods, with war and agriculture. For example, according to Roman legend Romulus and Remus were cared for not only by the she-wolf but also by the woodpecker; and Mars, god of war and at one time a god of agriculture, was said to have fathered the two by the vestal virgin Rhea Silvia. In other words the woodpecker has a dual nature corresponding to the storm's ambivalent values: destructive power and fertility.

Among the classes of dragons in China, there is first the dragon (*jiao*), originally an evil, snakelike creature that lived and always stayed in water. Then there is a river-god dragon, the *long-wang*, a form strongly influenced by the Indian *nāga*, originally a snake and, in fact, a version of the *jiao* that spread to India along with other elements of coastal culture. Under Indian influence the *jiao* dragon became a *long-wang*, or river god, with cults in many places along major waterways in China.

The *long* dragon associated with storms is neither the dragon *jiao* nor the *long-wang*. It too lives in water but has the unique ability to ascend to Heaven in the springtime and to summer there as the rain dragon. The *long* can frequently be seen in the sky during thunderstorms and is basically a benevolent animal that produces rain and ensures fertility. In the Chinese classics it sometimes corresponds to Heaven itself and therefore also to the emperor. (Later Chinese myths describe a thunder god whose characteristics derive from the wild boar, the promoter of wet-field agriculture.)

The mythologies of India, Africa, Europe, and Asia regularly associate a divine bull with the gods of the atmosphere and fertility, Indra and Rudra being two such examples. In pre-Aryan India the cults of Mohenjo-Daro and Baluchistan included important bull cults, and temples dedicated to Śiva are full of his bovine images. At Ur in the third millennium, the god of the atmosphere was a bull; in ancient Assyria men swore by a god in the form of a bull; and the supremacy achieved by such storm gods as Teshub, Hadad, and Baal in the religions of the Near East is notable for their connections with bulls. What is venerated in these and other bull gods of lightning who are married to the great earth goddess is both their transcendence, expressed in violent weather phenomena, and their physical potential as fecundators. In other words the interdependence of the "celestial" and "generative" functions in the figure of the bull seems abundantly clear. The same could be said of storm gods and of every storm hierophany.

SEE ALSO Hierophany; Rain; Sky.

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METHODIST CHURCHES. Methodism arose from the search of John Wesley and his brother Charles for a deepened religious life within the ordered ways of the Church of England, which John described as "the best constituted national church in the world." He sought no drastic reform in doctrines but rather a greater emphasis upon a personal experience of God's saving and perfecting grace and more opportunity for a spiritual quest within Christian groups, undeterred by denominational barriers. He downplayed the divisive element of his movement, publishing in 1742 an elaboration of Clement of Alexandria's description of a perfect Christian as *The Character of a Methodist* and offering this simple definition in his *Complete English Dictionary* (1753): "A Methodist, one that lives according to the method laid down in the Bible."

John Wesley, both as the living leader and later as the almost legendary "Mr. Wesley" of "the people called Methodists," so greatly influenced the developing thought of Methodism that he demands a far greater proportion of attention than if he had been the mere titular founder of a new denomination.

After his heart was "strangely warmed" on May 24, 1738, Wesley began to preach salvation by faith with the conviction of personal experience, and he gathered around him an organized society in London, the first of many that spread throughout the British Isles. These societies were intended to supplement, not supplant, the worship of the church. In his *Rules* (1743) he argued that a society was simply "a company of men 'having the form, and seeking the power of godliness,' united in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their salvation." There was only one condition for membership, "a desire . . . to be saved from [their] sins." To test and reinforce his followers' sincerity, however, the *Rules* insisted that members should avoid evil, do good, and seek holiness, for which illustrative examples were given in all three categories.

In order to proclaim his message and administer his societies Wesley enrolled a steadily increasing number of lay preachers to join the handful of sympathetic clergy who engaged in an itinerant evangelical ministry under his supervision. In 1744 he called these together in London to confer about doctrine and organization. This was the first annual conference of Wesley's Methodism, although the Welsh Calvinistic wing of the movement, who looked to George Whitefield as their chief inspirer, had been holding their "Associations" for several years.

The primary purpose of the Conferences of 1744–1747 was to formulate the major doctrinal emphases of Methodist preaching: salvation by grace through faith, confirmed and exemplified by good works; the witness of the Holy Spirit to a person's salvation from the penalties of past sin and to his power over present temptations to sin; and the theoretical possibility of personal triumph over temptation, under the title of Christian perfection, which Wesley defined as perfect love to God and man, though consistent with human error and with no guarantee of permanence. These doctrines, as taught and illustrated in Wesley's first four volumes of *Sermons* (1744–1760) and his *Explanatory Notes upon the New Testament* (1755), formed the basis of all Methodist preaching.

The early Conferences also consolidated the organization of Methodism into a *connexion*, a network of societies served by lay preachers itinerating regularly on a circuit, or round, covering a district such as a county in tours lasting from four to six weeks, but also itinerating between circuits periodically—at first every three months, then every six, and eventually every year. Each year Wesley's own preaching and administrative journeys took him over most of England. In 1747 Ireland was added to his tour, and in 1751, Scotland. Wesley and his itinerant preachers developed a strong family identity among the societies.

This connectional unity became so strong that in 1749 Wesley published two sets of extracts from the minutes of his conferences, each with the same title—*Minutes of Some Late Conversations between the Revd. Mr. Wesleys and Others*—one summarizing Methodist teaching, the other Methodist organization. In effect they constituted a declaration that Methodism had become an established ecclesiastical body. Inevitably this process of consolidation aroused much criticism of Methodism: the preachers' teaching, so unfamiliar to non-Methodists, was incorrectly described as unorthodox; their vigor, warmth, and ebullience were pejoratively labeled "enthusiasm"; and Wesley's unconventional preaching in the open air and in other parishes, and, worse still, his authorizing laypeople to preach, were regarded by even sympathetic clergy as a grave breach of ecclesiastical order. Preachers and people were occasionally mobbed, but the somewhat quiescent church authorities took no concerted action.

The chief threat, indeed, came from within the movement. The people's desire to receive the sacraments from their preachers fed the preachers' natural ambitions to improve their status and to transform the society into a church. John Wesley was inclined to let things run their course, but the vehement opposition of his brother Charles led him to tighten the rein on his preachers, most of whom from 1752 onward signed agreements "never to leave the communion of the Church of England without the consent of all whose names are subjoined." Avowed separation from the church was narrowly averted at the Conference of 1755, when all agreed "that (whether it was *lawful* or not) it was no ways *expedient*." This deferred any open separation for almost thirty years.

Meanwhile, British and Irish immigrants brought Methodism to America, where it became so firmly rooted that Wesley responded to their plea for help by sending out matched pairs of itinerant preachers in 1769, 1771, 1773, and 1774, of whom by far the best known and most influential was Francis Asbury, who remained throughout the Revolutionary War (1775–1783). With some difficulty Asbury persuaded the American Methodists not to sever their ties with Wesley in their eagerness for religious independence, and thus Wesley himself was able to assist Americans in the birth of the first independent church within Methodism.

The year 1784 was "that grand climacteric year of Methodism." Aided by Dr. Thomas Coke, Wesley prepared a deed poll (in which one party binds himself or herself without reference to obligations undertaken by another) that legally defined the term *Conference*, and made that body heir to British Methodism after Wesley's death. Wesley also entrusted to Coke a major part in publishing a revision of *The Book of Common Prayer* for the use of American Methodists, and discussed with him a complementary plan for securing a threefold ministry in American Methodism. Already convinced that in any ecclesiastical emergency the power of ordination resided in presbyters, Wesley ordained two of his preachers, first as deacons and then as elders. With their assistance he then commissioned Coke as "superintendent" of the American flock, with instructions to share his new authority with Asbury upon his arrival in America.

At the Christmas Conference in Baltimore (1784–1785) with Wesley's blessing, a new denomination was launched, the Methodist Episcopal Church. In England Methodism still remained a society, governed by a presbyter of the Church of England and at least theoretically within the fold of that church. After Wesley's death in 1791, however, under the terms of his deed poll, the Conference of preachers became the ruling body, with a modified presbyterian system of government rather than the modified episcopalian polity that was being developed in America. Although some of Wesley's Anglican friends had occasionally referred to "the Methodist church" during his lifetime, not until 1893 did the class tickets indicating membership in the Wesleyan Methodist Society carry the word *church*.

When in 1739 Wesley had written, "I look upon all the world as my parish, " he was defending his disregard of ecclesiastical boundaries in Britain, but in fact he did also cherish a vision of a world renewed in the image of Christ, and was convinced that his liberal, pragmatic approach to theology and to churchmanship should make good missionaries of his people—as indeed it did. He heartily supported Coke's missionary plans, and a month before his death wrote to a native American preacher, "Lose no opportunity of declaring to all men that the Methodists are one people in all the world." Within a century after Wesley's death immigrants and missionaries from both sides of the Atlantic had planted Methodism on each continent and in almost every country.

Methodist missionary expansion during the nineteenth century varied little whether it came from the British or the American type of church polity, because polity was overshadowed by ethos, and the ethos sprang from Wesley, Methodists everywhere remained within a tightly knit *connexion* governed by a conference. They followed Wesley in assigning major responsibilities to laypeople, and were progressive in enrolling women as leaders, and even as preachers. They emphasized evangelical preaching and continued to experiment with an adventurous and flexible organization. While making good use of their rich heritage of Charles Wesley's hymns they observed those almost uniquely Methodist forms of worship, the watch-night, the covenant service, and the love-feast, as well as the close fellowship of the class-meeting and the bands, with their cherished tickets of membership. They constantly remembered their early rules, by "avoiding evil of every kind—especially that which is most generally practised," and by "doing good of every possible sort, and as far as is possible to all men."

It is true that the full appreciation of some of these features fell off even during the nineteenth century, and a few were almost forgotten in the twentieth, such as Wesley's constant charge, "Press on to perfection." Human frailty brought about fragmentation into many independent denominations, a process furthered during the twentieth century by the hiving off of national churches from the parent bodies.

The first major division in England, the Methodist New Connexion (1797), was a revolt against the autocracy of the leading Wesleyan preachers, but the Primitive Methodists (1811) and Bible Christians (1819), though also favoring more lay leadership, left because they wished to restore evangelism. The Wesleyan Methodist hierarchy came under increasing attack from 1849 onward in a disruptive pamphlet warfare that led to eventual democratic reforms at the cost of losing many thousands of members. Happily, some of these breaches were progressively healed through the formation of the United Methodist Free Churches in 1857, the United Methodist Church in 1907, and the Methodist Church in 1932.

In America, where membership had almost drawn level with that in the British Isles by Wesley's death, Methodism expanded and divided far more rapidly than in Britain during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The controversy over the institution of slavery and other disruptive forces similar to those in England were at work in America. Coke and Asbury had unsuccessfully sought to eradicate slavery from the Methodist Episcopal Church, but even in the abolitionist strongholds of New York and Philadelphia race remained an issue among Methodists. There, blacks forsook their second-class membership to form their own congregations, which eventually became the African Methodist Episcopal Church (1816) and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (1820), with communities of 3.5 million and 1.2 million respectively, in the 1990s. In 1844 the whole Methodist Episcopal Church split north and south over the issue, though other factors were also at work, including varying views of the episcopacy. In 1870 the Methodist Episcopal Church South blessed the incorporation of their own black members into the Colored (now "Christian") Methodist Episcopal Church. Slavery was also a factor in the formation of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection (1843), which did not name itself a church until 1947, and which also sought a return to earlier Wesleyan evangelism and the abolition of the episcopacy. The Free Methodist Church (1860) arose after lengthy preliminaries from a widespread desire to recover Wesley's teaching upon Christian perfection. A similar emphasis within American Methodism upon the need to recover scriptural holiness led to the piecemeal formation of the Church of the Nazarene.

In American Methodism and its missions, as well as in the British Commonwealth, a measure of consolidation took place during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, notably in the union of the northern and southern churches with the Protestant Methodists in 1939 to form the Methodist Church, which in 1968 united with the Evangelical United Brethren (itself a union of churches with a German-speaking background) to form the United Methodist Church, with a membership of eleven million out of a total world Methodist community of around fifty million. At the beginning of the twenty-first century the total world Methodist community numbered around thirty-five million.

These and other unions were consummated largely because of the coming together in Christian fellowship of representatives from dozens of autonomous Methodist churches and missions from all over the world, first decennially from 1881 in the Ecumenical Methodist Conference, then quinquennially from 1951 in the World Methodist Council. Welcome guests at these gatherings are representatives from churches where Methodism has subsumed its identity in an interdenominational union, such as the United Church of Canada (1925), the Churches of North and South India, the Uniting Church in Australia, or other such unions in Belgium, China, Ecuador, Japan, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Zambia. As an important element in the World Council of Churches, Methodism remains true to the spirit of its founder, who gloried in the catholicity of his early societies, open to persons of all creeds, and who firmly maintained, in spite of attacks by his critics, that "orthodoxy, or right opinions, is at best but a very slender part of religion."

SEE ALSO Asbury, Francis; Coke, Thomas; Wesley Brothers; Whitefield, George.

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METHODIUS SEE CYRIL AND METHODIUS

MEYKAṆṬĀR (thirteenth century CE), Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta author and theologian. Meykaṇṭār ("he who saw the truth") was the first of the four *santāna ācāryas* ("hereditary teachers," here referring to four successive theologians) of the Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta school of philosophy-theology. Originally called Svētaraṉam, Meykaṇṭār, who lived in Tiruveṇṇainallūr, received the name by which posterity recognizes him from his guru Parañcōti Muṉivar. Meykaṇṭār's prominence rests almost entirely on his composition of a single work, the *Civañāṉapōtam* (Skt., *Śivajñānabodha,* The understanding of the knowledge of Śiva). The *Civañāṉapōtam,* written in the early thirteen century, is held to be the *mutaṉūl* ("primary treatise") of the fourteen theological texts that have canonical status in Tamil Śaivism. These fourteen texts are collectively called the *Meykaṇṭaśāstra,* although Meykaṇṭār is the author of only one of the fourteen, but the fundamental one, the *Civañāṉapōtam.*

The *Civañāṉapōtam* consists of twelve Tamil sūtras along with two sets of glosses, the *cūttirakkaṇṇaḻivu* (the words of the sūtra divided into sentences) and the *cūrṇikai* (a brief gloss on the sentences setting forth their meaning in simple prose), as well as a commentary composed of articles (*atikaraṇam*), each consisting of a thesis *(mēṟkōḷ),* reason (*ētu*), and illustrative verses (*utāraṇam*). The twelve sūtras of the *Civañāṉapōtam* are also found in the *Rauravāgama,* one of the Sanskrit Āgamas also held sacred by Tamil Śaivas. Whether Meykaṇṭār translated the sūtras from Sanskrit into Tamil or the author of the *Rauravāgama* borrowed from the *Civañāṉapōtam* is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain and is a subject about which there is no scholarly consensus. Suffice it to note here that possession of a Sanskrit Agamic prototype for the authoritative text is hardly surprising when one considers the concern of medieval Hindu sectarian schools to establish their legitimacy.

The *Civañāṉapōtam* is a highly systematic and logical presentation of basic Śaiva Siddhānta ideology. The first six sūtras establish the existence, attributes, and interrelations of the three fundamental components of Śaiva Siddhānta ontology: *pati* (the Lord, i.e., God, Śiva), *pacu* (the soul), and *pācam* (the bondage that enslaves souls and separates them from knowledge of God). Meykaṇṭār cites the fact that the world evidences intelligible processes of creation, maintenance, and dissolution to establish God's existence. God is claimed to be both immanent in souls and yet different from them. The soul's knowledge of reality, however, is clouded by its being conjoined with an innate impurity (*cakajamalam*, i.e., *āṇavamalam*, the basic component of *pācam*). But the soul can be illuminated by the Lord's grace and overcome its bondage. The soul is thus an entity that is defined by its relations—either to "bondage" (*pācam*), "impurity" (*malam*, i.e., the structure of finite, phenomenal existence), or to the Lord *(pati)*, who bestows divine knowledge and bliss. Specific aspects of the soul's realization of its *advaita* relation with *pati* are the subject of the final six sūtras of the *Civañāṉapōtam.* Here in germ are the basics of a Śaiva Siddhānta path of spiritual realization: the necessity of a guru who is free of bondage and hence manifests the Lord, the use of the five-syllabled mantra ("*nama śivāya*"), and above all the centrality of devotional love (*bhakti*; Tam., *aṉpu*) for God, and the value of associating with other *bhaktas* (devotees).

SEE ALSO Māṇikkavācakar; Umāpati Śivācārya.

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MIAO RELIGION SEE SOUTHEAST ASIAN RELIGIONS, *ARTICLE ON* MAINLAND CULTURES

MICAH (fl. eighth century BCE), or, in Hebrew, Mikhah; Hebrew prophet whose prophecy is recorded in the biblical *Book of Micah.* Although the *Book of Micah* employs a personal approach in which the prophet occasionally speaks directly in the first person to reveal his deep feelings (e.g., 1:8, 3:8 [citations herein follow the English version]), the prophet reveals neither his personal life nor his background, in contrast to many other prophets, including his contemporary, Isaiah. He does not even provide an account of his call. We know only his general period of time as stated in the superscription (1:1), which is derived from a later hand. There is also a reference to Micah's hometown, Moresheth (cf. Moresheth-gath, 1:14), which is located southwest of Jerusalem. Interestingly, this information is repeated later, in *Jeremiah* 26:18, demonstrating the strong impact of Micah's prophecy.

According to the superscription, the period of Micah's activity was during the time of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah in the second half of the eighth century BCE. It was a politically stormy time dominated by the Syro-Ephraimite war and Assyrian military threats against Judah. Yet these major military events, which underlie Isaiah's prophecy, are not specifically addressed in Micah's speeches, for he was mainly concerned with the internal situation—the social and moral injustices of the rulers of Judah. Micah's attack on the false prophets (3:5–12) is noteworthy in that he was the first to devote an entire speech to the problem.

A large part of *Micah* concerns prophecies of salvation and the "new age." Many scholars consider the relationship between oracles of doom and prophecies of salvation to be mutually exclusive, and tend to distinguish between the oracles of doom, that is, the authentic Micah, and prophecies of salvation, which they consider later additions. As a rule, these scholars consider the major parts of chapters 1–3 (except, perhaps, 2:12–13) the core of Micah's own prophecy, with the remainder reflecting thinkers of later periods who were influenced by Micah (as in *Jer.* 26:18) and sought to update the outcome of the old prophecies.

This distinction between Micah and his later editors is based upon a particular modern scholarly understanding of the nature of the authentic prophecies. Stylistic and linguistic criteria, however, are not the decisive factors in determining the original text as opposed to additions. This distinction is based upon theme rather than stylistic literary analysis. We should, however, take into consideration the possibility that prophecies of judgment may mingle with oracles of salvation, that the prophet did not merely record his surroundings but also developed a specific perspective on the new age, which he sought to share with his audience. Micah's criticism of his present world leads to his prophecy of the new age, the period of peace and justice. A distinction between original prophecies of doom and supplementary prophecies of salvation would therefore be misleading.

Much has been written about the relationship between the two contemporaries, Micah and Isaiah, because of the similarity between the visions of the “new age” in *Micah* 4:1–5 and *Isaiah* 2:1–4 (or 5). Since Micah’s vision is not in chapters 1–3 of *Micah*, which contain oracles of doom (considered to be the words of Micah himself), scholars tend to regard this vision as inauthentic. Isaiah’s vision is likewise regarded as an addition, since it is a prophecy of salvation. It has been stated above, however, that the distinction between oracles of doom and prophecies of salvation may be an artificial one. Notice should be taken of Micah’s conclusion: “For all the people walk each in the name of its god, but we will walk in the name of the Lord our God for ever and ever” (4:5, RSV). Insofar as this differs from Isaiah’s emphasis on the universality and centrality of the mountain of God, the house of the God of Jacob, Micah’s national approach here conveys a message that contrasts with Isaiah’s universalism. Furthermore, Micah speaks specifically about the total destruction of Jerusalem (3:2; cf. *Jer.* 26:18), while Isaiah avoids such a description of the holy city. In this context we may also question Micah’s criticism of the other prophets. For instance, when he condemns them for calling for peace (3:5), is he referring to Isaiah’s call for peace during the Syro-Ephraimite war (*Is.* 7:4–9)?

There are no definite criteria for determining where Micah’s various speeches begin and end in the text. He starts with the subject of Judah’s military troubles, and then in chapter 2 presents a sharp social criticism of those who oppress the poor and take their houses and property. In chapter 3 this attack is addressed more directly to rulers who tyrannize their citizens. In 3:5–12, Micah admonishes the prophets for misleading the people concerning the political situation. The style of discourse of chapters 1–3 maintains the characteristic prophetic conception of cause and effect: that the political and military situation reflects social and moral misbehavior. Wars and political disasters do not occur in a vacuum: political events are initiated by God as a punishment; they are God’s response to the moral misconduct of the rulers of Judah.

Micah 4:1–5 describes the new age, the period of peace, while 5:1–5 concentrates on the new ruler of Israel, a descendant of the house of David, who will come from the town of Bethlehem. At 5:9 a prophecy begins concerning the destruction of the state’s symbols of power—the military horses, chariots, and fortresses—as well as the destruction of foreign religious idols. It prophesies a conflict between God and Israel in which God condemns Israel for its betrayal. The speech ends with a moral-religious revelation (6:6–8). The lament of 7:17 is followed by a prophetic liturgy (7:8–20), which concludes with God’s praise and the assurance that God will continue to protect his people as he has done in the past.

Despite numerous textual difficulties, Micah’s message is clear and precise, and he clarifies the role of the prophet:

> But as for me, I am filled with power, with the Spirit of the Lord, and with justice and might, to declare to Jacob his transgression and to Israel his sin. (3:8)

Above all, the book lucidly states the meaning of Yahvistic religion in terms of God’s demands upon the worshipers. Micah stresses the elements of justice, love, and kindness as God’s preference in worship (6:6–8).

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MICHAEL PSELLUS SEE PSELLUS, MICHAEL

MICRONESIAN RELIGIONS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
MYTHIC THEMES

MICRONESIAN RELIGIONS: AN OVERVIEW

In 1838, the French explorer Dumont D’Urville divided up the Pacific into Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia. Scholars since then have debated whether or not these three terms do justice to the diversity of cultures in these areas, especially in Micronesia, where the first settlers arrived at various times and brought with them different cultures and languages. The Micronesians’ exposure to Western influences also varied. The people of the Marianas, for example, were Christianized by the Spanish by 1700 CE. The Caroline island of Ifalik, on the other hand, became Christian only after World War II.

When the missionary Luther Gulick arrived on the central Pacific island of Pohnpei in 1852 he found the native priests dying out, and their shrines, like the megalithic Nan

Madol, were almost abandoned. Populations were decimated by whaling ships that left behind diseases to which the local people had no immunity; the Caroline island of Kosrae, one of the hardest hit, was left without a population large enough to support elaborate priestly hierarchies and religious title holders. Western governments raced to the islands to claim their shares of the new colonies in the Pacific, and so Micronesia became a patchwork of Spanish, German, British, Japanese, and American trusteeships, protectorates, and colonies. In the twenty-first century all of the Micronesian islands except Guam, a U.S. territory, are independent.

Few of the "little islands" that give Micronesia its name were unified at the time of first contact. Kosrae was the only island with a centralized government under a single paramount leader, and the smaller islands sometimes had several chiefs. The geology of the islands varies greatly. Some, like Pohnpei, one of what are called the high islands, are volcanic with lush vegetation. Others are coral atolls of a few acres only a few feet above sea level. The Marshall Islands, for example, are made up of coral atolls and islands with a total dry land area of 74 square miles spread over 375,000 square miles of ocean. Kosrae, on the other hand, is a single high island of 42 square miles with its highest point, Mount Finkol, at 2,064 feet above sea level.

In spite of the diversity within Micronesia, its cultures and old religions demonstrate certain shared patterns. These patterns can be seen in three areas: the Micronesian conception of the cosmos, the spirit inhabitants of this cosmos, and the patterns of interaction between spirits and humans.

Why these common traits exist when the Micronesian islands were settled by different peoples who spoke different languages and were widely separated from each other isn't entirely clear. Certainly the fact that the Micronesians were and still are some of the Pacific's finest boatbuilders and navigators is part of the explanation; they had the technology to make the Pacific Ocean not an obstacle but a means of colonizing and trading over long distances. Evidence of traffic in precontact Micronesia includes a highly organized trading and exchange system called the *sawei* (basket) that joined the people of Yap and the central Caroline atolls, with the Ulithi islands as the intermediary. Pottery exchanges show that this system began in the seventh century CE.

THE MICRONESIAN COSMOS AND ITS SPIRITS. Their image of the cosmos allowed the Micronesians to explain how things work and why things happen (as is the case with the Polynesians and Melanesians). The cosmos defined the spheres of activity between spirits and humans. Within the cosmos are places for gods, ancestral spirits, and living humans. There are places where people go after death, places where the dead are put to various tests, and places where the living can interact with their deceased kin.

Most Micronesian views of the cosmos are of a sky world as an inverted bowl, with several layers populated by different categories of deities. The islands of Micronesia are seen as columns projecting up from the bottom of the sea, and the bottom of the sea has a trapdoor that opens not into an underworld but into an undersea world. This is where the people of some islands believe they do when they die.

Early ethnographers recorded descriptions and even collected drawings depicting the cosmos, including a surviving sketch made by a native of Puluwat in 1910. The inverted bowl is the most widespread image, but there are variations. In Pohnpei the vault of the sky was like the roof of a ceremonial meeting house. In the Marshalls there were four heavenly post-men who held up the heavens in each of the four cardinal directions. But as the post-men fell asleep the heavens at each corner collapsed, and then the vault of heaven became an inverted bowl. On the Kiribati atolls the cosmos are depicted as a gigantic clamshell that the god Naurea tried to pry open to let the light come in. He persuaded Riki to help him. Riki succeeded in opening the shell and was rewarded by losing his legs and becoming the eel or snake in the sky: the Milky Way.

Curiously the sun, moon, and stars—all important to navigators—are not of widespread importance in most Micronesian religions, with Kiribati the notable exception. Kiribati is influenced by Polynesian religions, where the sun and moon play prominent roles in myth and ritual. One also finds occasional myths about the sun and moon on Palau, and the constellations Antares and the Pleiades play a role in Marshallese mythology. In the Marshall Islands story, Liktanur, the mother of two brothers, asks the older brother Tumur (Antares) to take her along with him in a canoe race, but he does not want the extra weight. Jebro (Pleiades), the younger son, does take his mother, and as the race begins Liktanur opens a parcel and sets up the first sail and rigging. As Jebro begins to overtake his older brother, Tumur commandeers the sailing boat. But clever Liktanur keeps some of the rigging, and Tumur is unable to change course. Liktanur and Jebro finish the race first and hide in the bushes. Tumur lands and proclaims himself winner and chief. Then Liktanur and Jebro emerge from hiding, and Liktanur proclaims young Jebro the new chief.

This is what is known as a charter myth and is typical of Micronesian mythology. In this case it demonstrates the unwritten law that the rank of chief (*irooj, lerooj,* or *iroojlaplap*) is determined by the mother's lineage. This myth has been reinterpreted by contemporary Christians on the remote atoll of Ujelang, who see the rising of Jebro/Pleiades, which comes into view about the time of Christmas, as symbolic of Jesus' birth.

The people of Pohnpei have the same myth, which also has both political and religious meanings. A woman named Likitanir creates the starts. None of her children wants to listen to her, with the exception of the smallest one, Margiregir, who obeys her and takes her in his canoe. She teaches him sailing and proclaims him *nahnmwarki* (a paramount chief, the equivalent of *iroojlaplap* in the Marshalls). Margiregir becomes Margigi on Yap and is a mythic foundation for both the political and religious centers of Yap. This story, like many others, transcended the boundaries of ocean and language to become one of the common features of Micronesian mythology.

The spirit population. The spirit population of the cosmos exemplifies the Micronesian characteristic of great diversity with certain common features. Many of the islands use the same term to describe the myriad spirits in their cosmos: *énú,* or some cognate of this Chuukic term, which is applied to various kinds of spirits. Across Micronesia, these spirits fall into the following main categories:

- Sky gods, often called the great spirit. An example is the Chuukic Enúúnap. Frequently the sky god's son or brother, the spirit Luk or Nuuk (among other variations), works for the sky god.
- Patron deities. They may live in highest heaven but are still deeply involved in helping humans. They sometimes bring culture and technology, like Liktanur of the Marshalls, who taught humankind the all-important art of sailing.
- Ancestors of the family, the lineage, or the clan. These are the spirits who take possession of their living kin and offer advice, help, and predictions. The Micronesian attitude toward these spirits ranges from what we commonly refer to as ancestor worship to a veneration that is more akin to filial piety.
- Nature spirits (tolls, ogres, and wee people). These spirits are geographically bound to certain locations, like the reef spirits of the Chuuk Main Lagoon.
- Trickster spirits. The trickster is a common mythic symbol throughout Polynesia and Micronesia. He is Olifat (Wonofáát) in the Chuukic islands, Letau in the Marshalls, Nareau in Kiribati, and Maui in Polynesian Hawai'i. In some places he is pure trickster, the archetypal character who does everything wrong, breaks all the rules, and hops into bed with his brother's wife. In others he is cruel, and in many stories he kills one of his brothers. He can also be helpful: on some islands it is the trickster who brings fire to humankind. In general, he functions more as the central figure in a cycle of morality stories illustrating how not to behave than as a supernatural sanction against breaking cultural rules.

A further assortment of divinities does not fit into the above categories. Most cultures have a local deity whose activities overshadow all the others in importance. On the central Carolinian atoll of Ifalik this is Tilitur, who was sent by the high sky god Enúúnap to take care of the people of this atoll. Anthropologists just after World War II recorded the reverence the people of Ifalik showed for Tilitur and his interactions with them. He frequently possessed his chosen vehicles.

Two types of spirits are either rare or completely missing in Micronesia: an omnipotent and uncreated deity and a purely evil deity. The Micronesian pantheon generally lacks an uncreated creator of all things who existed before the universe and before other gods. Naurea of the Kiribati opens a cosmic clamshell to let light into the world, for example, but that world was already in existence. There is one known exception: ethnologist Wilhelm Müller recorded, and in 1917 published, a Yapese story about an uncreated deity who, merely by thinking, brought into existence the other deities, who in turn created islands, people, plants, and fish (p. 505). However, Dobbin, writing in 1996, found that no contemporary Yapese knew of this god, who was called Gavur li yel yel.

The Micronesian pantheon also lacks a genuinely omnipotent deity and an incarnation of evil like Satan or the devil in Western cosmology, despite the ideas of early Christian missionaries, who identified Enúúnap with the Judeo-Christian God and the trickster figures with Satan. Enúúnap, like Zeus or Jupiter in Greco-Roman mythology, is caught up in the foibles of his children and nagged by his wife. Whatever else he may be, he is not omnipotent. In the category of evil spirits, none is totally evil like the Christian Satan. The tricksters Letau, Nareau, Wonofáát, and Yalifath are a glorious mixture of evil, stupidity, and cleverness, acting at various times as gift givers, killers, and slapstick comics.

Another kind of spirit found only in rare instances occurs when a dead human being returns to possess the body of a living person. William Lessa (1961) traced one of the few examples to an infant boy from Ulithi named Marespa, born in the mid-nineteenth century. The infant's father was possessed by his deceased child, and the spirit of Marespa quickly inspired a cult for healing and curing that spread to other islands, including Yap, Ngulu, and the atolls south of Palau.

Roles in the spirit world. While it is possible to draw a genealogical chart of the spirits for most islands, who begat whom is notoriously inconsistent. The spirits' characteristics vary as well. Olifat (Wonofáát) is a trickster and sometimes a cruel spirit in eastern Micronesia, but on Yap he is Yelafath the Elder (a god who creates the other gods) and Yelafath the Younger (the trickster). This pattern also occurs in Kiribati, where one manifestation of Nareau is a creator and the other is the trickster. In Chuuk tradition, Luk and Lukenleng (or Nuuk and Nuukeyinen, literally "middle of heaven") are one and the same god, a god who is something of an heir apparent who does most of the work of Enúúnap. In Yap tradition, however, Lug (Luk) is the god of death who flies about snaring humans in his net, and Lukenlang is a different god.

Patron deities were active in the everyday work of craftspeople, healers, medicine makers, and navigators, and helped assure a bountiful harvest or successful fishing trip. The blending of religion and daily life involved more than just blessing a new canoe or house or praying for the safe return of the fleet. The famed navigators of old learned their craft through training filled with religious ritual. They were initiated into the profession with an elaborate ceremony and performed complex rituals before setting sail. In medicine the healing chants and formulas for making up medicines ultimately came from the spirits through dreams, possession and trace, or from an elder who passed on these spirit-given gifts.

The creator deities, the sky gods, had different ways of working with the cosmos and human beings. Some of the great sky gods were aloof from the lives of humankind, having finished their creating work and retired to the bliss of one of the high heavens. But in the Chuuk tradition the priest-chiefs (*itang*) invoked the sky gods Enúúnap and Luk as they led their men into battle. The Marshallese creation myth resembles the first chapters of *Genesis,* where God says, "Let there be . . ." and lo, there it is, only in this case the chief Marshallese sky gods send a divinity to earth to teach canoe building, sailing, and tattooing.

Pohnpei mythology offers an interesting contrast. The Pohnpei universe is created by divinities and humans working together. A supernatural octopus directs the first human settlers to the place where the rocks will be deposited to become Pohn-pei, literally "upon a stone altar"). The god Dau Katau confers the first title of Soumenlang on the priest at Salapwuk; this according to oral historian Bernart Luelen is the beginning of religion and the title system on Pohnpei. After the Sau Deleu dynasty was destroyed, the god Luk appeared in a canoe floating in the sky. The current priest-chief, Soukisenlang, and the ruler of Ant Island are brought to the canoe, and they talk with Luk. Together they determine the political structure of Pohnpei: autonomous states (*wehi*) each led by a paramount chief, the *nahnmwarki.*

The relative importance of each type of spirit varies from island to island, again following the Micronesian pattern of diversity and similarity. In the Chuuk Main Lagoon and nearby atolls the spirits of the ancestors were of primary importance. On nearby Pohnpei the high gods like Dau Katau or Luk were more important.

WHERE SPIRITS AND HUMANS MEET: PLACES. There is no doubt that Micronesians of old believed that the divine met the human at certain physical sites, and the belief in the sacred or taboo nature of some of these sites continues in the early twenty-first century.

Household shrines were common through much of Micronesia. In the eastern Chuuk-speaking islands hanging shrines or altars, often in the shape of miniature double-hulled canoes, provided a place for the spirits of the ancestors to be with their kin. Here offerings of flowers and food were made, and it was at the household shrine that the ancestor spirits could possess a living family member, enabling the possessed one, called the *wáátawa,* to answer questions in the voice of the spirit, predict events and even deaths, and give advice to the living.

Sacred places were often combined with living spaces. The Palauan *kerong* (a possessed and entranced diviner like the *wáátawa* of Chuuk) often conducted their rituals in part of their own house. The raised-rock platforms (*taliuw*) on Yap were both the sacred dwelling sites of the gods and the residence of priests. On Pohnpei a variety of natural rock formations were considered to be sacred sites where the gods gave the island its physical shape and its culture.

Sacred places were created in other ways. On Kiribati collections of ancestral skulls became a kind of portable shrine that the living talked to in their homes and took to dances in the giant meeting houses, the *maneba.* The cult of the skulls, as Sir Arthur Grimble called it, gave the character of a sacred spot to the place where the skulls were kept.

WHERE SPIRITS AND HUMANS MEET: RITUAL. Micronesians also sought interaction with the spirit inhabitants of the cosmos by means of ritual.

Household rituals. Probably the simplest and most widespread ritual around Micronesia was conducted in the family dwelling or boathouse and dedicated to the remembrance of deceased kin. Rituals were conducted at household shrines throughout Micronesia, even in places with gigantic cult centers like Kosrae's Lelu. On Nauru the household shrine was located at the center pole of the house, where gifts of food were placed for the ancestors (later replaced by Roman Catholic converts with a picture of Jesus). The hanging altar or shrine of the Chuukic-speaking islands, the *faar,* was basically a household shrine for the lineage. Flowers, wreaths, and food could be place in this hanging altar. In some areas the ritual was even simpler. On Palau the ancestor's betel nut bag (a purse holding the ingredients needed to chew betel nuts) might be hung on the wall of the house and offered a tidbit of food. The Kiribati kept their ancestors' skulls in the house and treated them quite informally, talking with them, offering them cigarettes, and blowing cigarette smoke into the skull.

Divination. Micronesians had a bevy of divination rituals to call on to help them make decisions and forecast the future. The simplest methods were perhaps not religious at all, but, like tarot cards, horoscopes, and palm reading, simply a way of probing into the unknown. Micronesian divination involved analyzing the number and sequence of knots made from fresh young palm fronds. Sometimes the palm knots were replaced by stones thrown on the ground. A Micronesian equivalent of tea-leaf reading analyzed the lines on the inside of a coconut shell. These were forms of do-it-yourself divination, although some people were known to be better at it than others.

Professional diviners worked in a variety of ways. The *kerong* of the Palauans might, for a price, offer to make predictions or answer questions in their own dwellings, from behind a screen, possessed by a spirit but apparently not in a trance. In some cases they had special huts next to their houses reserved for divining. Or they might rapidly chew and spit betel nut in order to stimulate a trance state, during which they spoke as a possessing spirit. Sometimes another person interpreted the words of the entranced diviner.

In some Palauan villages a god or goddess ruled the village, and the leading *kerong* passed along its decisions. At times these diviners or oracles became threats to the political chiefs. One of the few nativist movements in Micronesia involved a revival of the diviners' arts. In 1915 a *kerong* named Tamadad developed a syncretistic religion that combined elements of the old ecstatic rituals and healing and curing with Christian elements. The religion, known as Modekngei, still exists.

Ecstatic rituals. In Micronesia divination ritual leads logically to ecstatic ritual, which involves trances or altered states of consciousness that are often interpreted as possession. Trances or possession can be found in the past or present culture of almost every atoll or island of Micronesia. The priests at the great cult centers on Pohnpei and Kosrae used trances in divining rituals. The *ibonga* of Kiribati, whom Sabatier variously described as soothsayer, magician, divine, doctor, prophet, miracle worker, and charlatan, used trance. On the atoll of Ifalik, women who fell into trances were often the inspiration for new songs; the same was true of certain people on Yap.

The best-recorded tradition of trance and possession is on the Chuukic-speaking atolls and especially in the Chuuk Main Lagoon. Ancestor spirits were believed to descend onto the shoulders of a living relative and possess them. Those chosen as vessels by the ancestors were called the *wáátawa* or *wáánaanú,* literally "the canoe of the spirit." This possession did not happen automatically, however, and there was often speculation at the wake and burial about whether the deceased would be a helping spirit or a harmful one. The hope was that the spirit would descend from the hanging shrine (*faar*) and possess one of the living kin, who would become the *wáánaanú* for the family or lineage and offer valuable advice to the living. Some reports indicate that this tradition is still alive on certain atolls, but by the end of World War II the *wáánaanú* as an official status within the community was rare.

What did continue in Chuuk communities is a more voluntary form of spirit possession and trance, especially among young girls. The signs of an altered state are clearly present in the transformation of the individual's persona. Dobbin has argued that the possession trance is a culturally sanctioned way for young females to protest problems, especially family problems that their cultural status prohibits them from otherwise confronting. If a girl is possessed by her mother or grandmother, the matrilineal Chuuk social system allows the senior woman to berate male family members. Contemporary possession trance is reported in other Micronesian islands, but it is rare. The Chuuk case is a classic example of continuity and change in Micronesian ritual.

Funeral rituals. Funeral rituals vary throughout the islands of Micronesia. The wake and burial rituals on Palau focused on the transfer of the deceased's title (if he or she was a titleholder) and determination of why the person died. The leading women of the group, which might be a clan, extended family, or village, gathered together, and one woman held a bouquet of *sis* branches (*Cordyline fruticosa*). The women would shout out potential reasons for the death, and if the *sis* bouquet shook, this indicated that the correct cause had been found. Sometimes someone known to be good at this type of divining was invited to the ceremony. Early reports indicated that the woman holding the branches was believed to be possessed by the deceased's spirit, but the evidence is vague. Palauan funerals may still feature trances without possession, as they did in the past.

Burial rituals also vary greatly from island to island. On Yap the dead are considered a source of spiritual pollution, and the immediate kin leave the deceased's house as quickly as possible. They may remain in seclusion and eat a restricted diet for as long as a hundred days. In some areas upper-caste people are buried by landless lower-class people who are beholden to them (this tradition is still observed on Yap). In the past burial was often at sea among the Chuuk, while burial on the family homestead was common on Kosrae. In some places the interment of the body in the ground was temporary, and the bones and skulls were exhumed and given places of honor, often in the home. In some of the matrilineal societies where Christian cemeteries have replaced older burial sites, some of the old ways continue.

The rituals of medicine. Traditional or local medicine is still commonly used in Micronesia, as it is in many parts of the Pacific. How much of it is tied to spirit beliefs and ritual is impossible to gauge. On islands that are overwhelmingly Christian, nobody wants to be known as a pagan, so the use of traditional healing rituals is often disguised. The physical ingredients of a medicine may be used without the traditional chants or with the chants mumbled. Dobbin, however, describes how the mother in a devout Christian family was in the process of becoming a medicine expert and received curing chants in a dream.

The local medicine system may begin with an informal diagnosis of an illness, but there is also a more formal system in which a diagnostic specialist uses divination to determin which spirit power is responsible for an illness. In some cases another specialist will then be called in who has the means to cure the illness. Sometimes these are one and the same person. The curing ceremonies are generally public events that require the presence of family and friends. The location of medicinal plants and details of the recipes, however, may be kept secret.

Occasionally a medicine specialist in Chuuk will receive chants and recipes for medicines while in a trance state, but the more common source of local medicine, as it is called now, is through dreams sent by spirits. One can learn the specifics from an elder or even buy the formula, but ultimately medicine, especially on Chuuk and Pohnpei, comes from the spirits.

Fertility and increase rituals. This category includes rituals designed to help mothers with pregnancy and childbirth and to insure a good harvest and a bountiful catch from the land and sea. On Yap the *tamarong* (priest, magician, conjuror, or diviner) visited the pregnant woman at distinct periods during pregnancy and offered ritual words or chants (*pig*) to insure the healthy birth of a child. Chuuk had elaborate rituals to ensure the fertility of crops, probably some of the most elaborate among the smaller Micronesian communities.

Breadfruit was the staple starch of the Chuukic world, and the spirits of the breadfruit were believed to live in the mystic south of the cosmos. A breadfruit caller would beckon the spirits to come to the community's breadfruit trees so that the flower would blossom and produce large breadfruits. So important was the caller that his larynx or entire body might be mummified when he died, lest he take the breadfruit spirits with him when he went on to Ewúr, the mystic home of the breadfruit gods and goddesses.

As a breadfruit season approached, the caller began his rounds, blowing on a conch horn and calling the spirits or souls of the trees to come and blossom. Some of these prayers and petitions are still remembered on Puluwat, where the caller was a ritual specialist of high honor. He petitioned, and he begged, and he prayed. He assembled the leading men of the island in a procession. The caller led the way, chanting, and the followers responded as he waved a spear-like rod from side to side. They stopped at each complex of extended family residences, where the caller plunged the rod into the ground and put some of the earth into a basket. He deposited the earth in his own land, and repeated the ritual around the atoll.

The incarnate breadfruit god, a conger eel called the *Hewanu,* appeared on the shores of Puluwat every few years. When one arrived, the breadfruit caller took the eel, wrapped in mats, to a meeting house; only the caller (or priest, as the early reports call him) knew what the sacred eel was saying. The eel's presence sometimes meant that one of the select few who traditionally took care of the eel was going to die, and the ritual became a dirge for the coming death. In other cases the eel was checking up on the Puluwatese, and inquired of the breadfruit caller as to how hard they were working. The eel was put on a special platform bedecked by the women with sweet-smelling wreaths of flowers, and the men brought coconuts as offerings. At first all could come and pay their respects to the breadfruit god, later only men were allowed, and finally only the select few who served the eel god maintained the vigil. Eventually the eel was returned to the sea.

The eel was an important symbol throughout Micronesia. The Kosraean breadfruit goddess, Sinlanka, was symbolized by an eel, and the grand ritual at Pohnpei's Nan Madol included the sacrifice of a turtle to a ravenous moray eel. Myths abound on Pohnpei about the smaller freshwater eels as well.

The grand rituals at Nan Madol and Lelu. Nan Madol at Pohnpei and Lelu at Kosrae were elaborate stonework constructions that functioned as the residence of the leading political authorities and groups of hierarchically ranked priests, and also served as ceremonial centers.

Kosrae had a centralized chief or king, the *tokosra,* and several priesthoods, each dedicated to a leading deity such as Sinlanka. Some priests stayed in the ritual and political center of Lelu at Kosrae. Others lived at shrines scattered across the island, and on certain occasions these rural priests led processions into Lelu. One of the most important rituals they led celebrated the coronation of the king and his queen.

Nan Madol was the residence of the leading chief of the Sau Deleur dynasty with a section for the attending priesthoods. Next to the Sau Deleur residence and court was the tiny islet of Idet, where a turtle was sacrificed to a sacred moray eel. To what extent Nan Madol controlled all of Pohnpei is debatable, but other ritual centers with priest-chiefs continued to exist as independent entities.

The turtle–eel ceremony may have been the culmination of a longer, more ancient ritual. Its symbolism is debated. Rufino Mauricio, a Pohnpeian archaeologist and specialist in oral histories, has suggested that the Nan Madol ritual combines an older ritual focused on sacred sites with newer rituals worshipping living animals like the eel. Another interpretation focuses on the meaning of *wehi,* the turtle, which is also the name for the main sections of Pohnpei, and says that three *wehis* sacrificed their independence and autonomy to the ravenous appetite of the Sau Deleur dynasty.

Neither interpretation is compelling, especially since the ritual outlived the fall of the Sau Deleurs and then was stopped by one of the paramount chiefs (*nahnmwarki*) of the Nan Madol area after a priest killed the eels because he did not get his share of the turtle meat. After about 1860 the priesthoods disappeared along with the animal sacrifices. Nan Madol is now abandoned, a monument to the Pohnpeian fear of centralization.

The political structure after the fall of the Sau Deleurs mirrors a shift in the evolution of Pohnpeian religion. One or two priestly centers of worship predate Nan Madol and the Sau Deleur dynasty, with a high priest who also was the political chief of the area. At least one of these the high priests and chiefs, the *soukisenleng* (literally "the master of the part of heaven"), eventually joined the post-Sau Deleur structure of autonomous, paramount chiefs (*nahnmwarkis*) and took or was given the highest title of *nahnmwarki.* His priests took lesser noble titles. The ruler or *nahnmwarki* of the southern *wehi* of Wene is still called the *soukisenleng,* and the other nobles of Wene still have the old priestly titles. Mauricio judges this shift to be an early form of secularization. Of the priesthoods only the titles remain, although it is not known when they lost their religious functions.

Some elements of the old priestly rituals are maintained in the ceremonial houses (*nahs*) of the *nahnmwarkis.* Ritual offerings of *sakau* (kava, *Piper methysticum*) are made to the god as they were in days of old. *Sakau* offering is part of a formal reconciliation ritual led by the chiefs; it is now incorporated into the Roman Catholic sacrament of forgiveness. In modern times *sakau,* which is made into a slightly narcotic drink, has been secularized, and can be enjoyed in *sakau* bars.

The dance as sacred ritual. On some islands the dance tradition has all but disappeared. On Guam a so-called ritual fire dance is performed by Filipino entertainers for visiting tourists at the Guam Hilton hotel. Palau is struggling to revive its dance traditions. But in two areas the dance needs no revival: on Kiribati and on Yap. The extent to which Kiribati dance is considered holdy or sacred is uncertain, although the dancers of old were thought to be inspired by the spirits. But on Yap the sacred dance still exists. Sometimes the men or women of a village perform the dance for their village, with no outsiders allowed to attend. Yap is now largely Roman Catholic, and the sacred dance is regularly performed as part of the liturgy. At the adoration of the cross on Good Friday, the women perform the mourning dance and dirge; at the Easter vigil, the hymn of the resurrection, the *Exultat,* is danced. At the ordination of a priest or deacon, the dancing comes after the Roman Catholic ritual. As one Yapese remarked after the Catholic ceremony was finished, "now the real liturgy begins."

In the late nineteenth century on the Mortlock islands of Chuuk, a strong outbreak of dancing occurred. Protestant missionaries, fearing both its inspiration by the spirits and also what they saw as its obscene forms, thought this a return to the old pagan ways, although the German colonial authorities encouraged it. Different denominations reacted differently to the old ways. On Kosrae and in the Marshalls, where Boston-based Congregationalism became the dominant Christian denomination, the bare-breasted women were required to wear the all-encompassing muumuus. In Yap, the Catholic services are filled with bare-breasted women and men in scanty wraparounds that cover only the genitals.

WHAT HAPPENS AT DEATH. An almost universal Micronesian belief is that the soul and/or the spirit leave the body three or four days after death. On some islands, like the Marshalls, early writers could not find a clear notion of soul among the locals, probably because the Micronesians did not distinguish between soul and spirit, or perhaps because the spirit functioned like the soul of Western traditions. The people of Yap and Chuuk believe in two spirits within a single individual: a good-spirit soul, *ngúnúyééch,* and an evil-spirit soul, *énúngngaw.* The good spirit was a spiritual double of the living person and hence could appear to the living. The Chuukese also had a separate word for soul, *gnúnú.*

Another almost universal belief in Micronesia is that a departed spirit can be helpful to its living kinfolk. This is the basis for what early writers called ancestor worship, but the term is misleading. Although the deceased might be put in the same general category as the sky deities, for example, in other cases, such as on Chuuk, the good *ngúnúyééch* might become an *énú,* which is the global Micronesian term for gods and goddesses, patron deities, and harmful land or sea spirits. Various islands also had a combination term that identified the *énú* as a spirit that originated as a human being (*énúúyaramas* in Chuukese).

Widespread ambivalence among the living regarding recently deceased kin is common throughout Micronesia. On the one hand, people hope the deceased will be helpful to his or her relatives, and even take possession of one of the living who will function as the family or lineage medium. On the other hand, they may burn the possessions of the deceased, hoping that the spirit will climb on the column of smoke away from the living and up to the heavens.

Few Micronesian islands seem to have had a version of eschatological judgment, where one's accumulated merit is rewarded or punished at death, although this is debated. Various reports, like Father Cantova's interviews in the 1720s with Chuuk-speaking atoll dwellers who were stranded on Guam or records from the Russian expedition of 1927 speak of an afterlife involving reward and punishment. Spiro's investigations on Ifalik found a highly developed morality, but the sanctions for enforcing the morality came from the chiefs, not the gods or the religious specialists. He saw no evidence of an afterlife of reward and punishment.

The destination of the dead is often determined by a test rather than the record of a good life. Pohnpeians at death came to a swinging bridge over water. If the deceased could not sing well, the swinging bridge dumped the poor singer into the "place of no return." Yapese could not ascend to the sky layer unless their ears were pierced. On Ulithi a bad person might be destined for a sticky garbage pit. Many traditions include a long journey to the place where the deceased would ultimately live, sometimes on the mystic island of Matang. It was also commonly believed that one went to a part of the cosmos associated with one's occupation, like the deceased breadfruit callers who went to the south part of the heavens where the spirits of the breadfruit came from.

THE PRACTITIONERS OR LEADERS OF THE OLD RELIGIONS. Religious leaders in Micronesia generally performed a combination of roles, including soothsayer, magician, divine, doctor, prophet, and miracle worker. The biggest problem in describing them is to find an appropriate word for, say, the Palauan *kerong,* the Chuuk breadfruit caller (*sowuyótoomey*), or the Marshallese diviner and magician (*drijikan).* Three of the high islands, Kosrae, Pohnpei, and Yap, had distinct hierarchies of priests. The Kosraean and Pohnpeian priests disappeared in the nineteenth century, and the last practicing Yap priest (*peq'taliuw*) performed his final rituals, unattended by anybody, after World War II. Saipan or Guam had no religious hierarchies, and the Palauan *kerong* generally worked alone. The religious status these leaders hold is given or inherited, not chosen or earned. The spirits have selected these people to receive their spiritual gifts.

Many religious practitioners were part-time functionaries, as is still the case for the Chuuk healers, the *sowusáfey,* and for the Yap masters of the weather, the *tamarong.* Certain practitioners were also craftspeople, experts, and possessors of exotic lore. Classic examples include navigators and the priest-chiefs (*itang*). The navigators had to have technical skills as well as spirit-given knowledge and power to succeed. The priest-chiefs had the technical knowledge to plan wars and also the power of the spirits to lead battles with success. The *itang* were actual combatants poised ahead of their own battle lines. In a sea battle they stood in the lead canoe, blowing the conch horn, waving a spear, leading the men in battle chants and prayers to the war god. When the German colonial powers banned warfare, the *itang* became the respected repositories of traditions, old customs, and lineage histories. Functionally speaking, the *itang* are now the equivalent of the Pohnpeian oral historians, the *soupoadoapoad.* In the twenty-first century about five or six *itang* are reportedly still working in the Chuuk Lagoon. They seem to be confined to the eastern Chuukic islands. The names of some of the *itang* training schools are the same as the navigators' schools in the central Chuuk atolls, where perhaps the navigators were also *itang.* The priest-chiefs found it valuable to know both the skills of the *itang* and of the navigators.

THE UNSOLVED DISTINCTIONS AND TERMS. Many of the neat terminological distinctions made by scholars about the Pacific religions cannot be sustained in Micronesia, including the distinction between magic and religion. When the Ulithian masters of the weather gather near the ocean side of the lagoon and make their pleas and petitions to the gods, is this magic or religion? Some of the chants certainly are petitions and not an attempt to manipulate the powers of the cosmos. Some priests also worked as diviners, and some of the breadfruit callers functioned like priests when they recalled the legends of the breadfruit spirits and petitioned the breadfruit spirits to come and bless the trees with a good harvest.

Every Micronesian culture has words for taboo (forbidden) and sacred (holy). On the islets of the Kwajalein atoll, the places where the chiefs were buried and medicine was made were called sacred, but they could just as easily have been called taboo. And the *taliuw*—the platforms used by the Yap priests of old, which had a shrine for the site's god of goddess on top of the platform—were sacred because of the deity dwelling there, and access was prohibited to anyone but the priests, making them both holy and taboo. Many English translations or glosses for Micronesian words and religious terms are less that perfect fits. Their meanings were frequently distorted by observers who did not understand the theology or cosmology they were reporting.

WAS THERE A SINGLE MICRONESIAN RELIGION? The pre-Christian religions of Micronesia underwent a long period of evolution and change. Pohnpei is the best example of the shift in religion from the cult centers of the priest-chiefs to hierarchical priesthoods at various sites, followed by an attempt at centralization under the Sau Deleurs and new rituals involving the sacrifice of living beings, and ultimately the secularization of priestly titles in the polity of the autonomous states (*wehi*) under paramount chiefs, the *nahnmwarkis.*

Rituals and religious organizations varied from region to region. Patterns such as the prominent role of divination and the widespread use of trance and possession cut across the diversity in Micronesia, although they are carried out differently in different regions. Certain types of gods are universal: sky and creator divinities, patron gods and goddesses, evil spirits bound to certain locations on land and sea, and of course ancestors. The main categories are the same, but the emphasis given to various gods varies greatly. A test or trial to determine who goes where in the cosmos after death is widespread, and the general lack of eschatological judgment to allot rewards or punishment in the afterlife is a common feature across Micronesia.

Because of the regional differences fostered by geographic distances as well as varying degrees of influence from adjacent culture areas, an overall character cannot be assigned to Micronesian religion. It is a mélange of many elements: celestial and terrestrial deities, nature spirits, demons, and ancestral ghosts, with a strong infusion of magic, taboo, and divination. No one trait dominates the system, but many common patterns run through the overarching diversity.

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MICRONESIAN RELIGIONS: MYTHIC THEMES

Micronesian myths (as distinguished from folktales) have been primarily the domain of clan elders and sometimes of trained specialists, who cite them in regard not only to community land claims, rights, values, authority, and prestige but also to functions of deities, sequences of rulers, and origins of place-names. On Chuuk, in the Caroline Islands, the specialists *(itang)* narrate myths according to the practice of the school that has trained them; they observe taboos, and they speak a secret jargon consisting of standard words with altered meanings, archaic expressions, and words spoken backward. On Pohnpei, also in the Carolines, the sacred narratives, called "establishing the foundation," tend to be organized into a cultural and historical developmental sequence about the origins of physical objects and of society and about migrations, wars, and religion; the narratives also include songs that are based on myths. In the Marshall Islands, *rebwebwenato* (storytellers) are the repositories of oral narratives that explain the origins of physical reality as well as the human and spiritual worlds. The Kiribati and Banaba Islanders systematize their sacred narratives so that they begin with creation, continue with traditions about the migrations of clan ancestors from Samoa and about their settlement and experiences in the Kiribati, and usually end with the narrating clan elder's genealogy.

Creation and Cosmogonic Deities. Even within the same archipelago or on the same island, diversity and contradiction characterize the myths about the origins of the world, the pantheon, the islands, living beings, and customs. In the Carolines, for example, the functions of named gods often shift from island to island. However, a persistent Micronesian theme is that a preexistent god or goddess created and generated everything or delegated all or part of the work to newly created subordinates.

According to the Jesuit missionary Diego Luis de Sanvitores, who wrote between 1668 and 1672, the Chamorros of Guam believed that parentless Puntan and his unnamed sister lived before the earth and sky existed. Concerned for the welfare of humankind, which was as yet uncreated, Puntan at his death gave all his powers to his sister, enabling her to fashion the earth and sky from his breast and back, the sun and moon from his eyes, and the rainbow from his eyebrows.

On Chuuk, the Carolinian earth mother is replaced as the primal deity by Enuunap (or Anulap, great spirit). Enuunap either creates the world himself or has Nikowupwuupw (or Ligoupup, bearer or nurturer)—his wife, whom he made from his blood—do it. Their children commit incest and, along with a girl who is born from a boil that afflicts Enuunap, found the clans, for which Nikowupwuupw establishes social rules and to whom she gives healing medicines. Faraulep Islanders state that Solal, a god who was half man and half fish, planted his staff in the primeval sea; it grew mightily, after which his brother Aluelap, who was also half man and half fish, climbed it to sprinkle down earth and so make land. Aluelap now rules the sky while Solal rules the sea and the district under it.

In the Marshall Islands, parentless Lowa is said to have glanced down and murmured until a reef, islands, plants, and a white tern rose from the primeval sea. The tern then created the sky by flying back and forth as if weaving a spiderweb. Lowa's commands produced deities, each with specific duties. A couple born from a blood tumor on his leg had two children who tattooed nearly every living being. Because the sky rested on people's heads, two maternal nephews of Iroojrilik (god of the west and of reproduction), netted it and raised it by flying about in the same way as had the tern. His brother, Lomotal, created the seas, lagoons, fish, and seabirds in the same way with his voice.

The myths of the Kiribati show much Polynesian influence; they poetically and metaphorically elaborate the themes of creation from a person's body, of the planted staff, of divine incest, and of sky raising. They may indeed have a broader base in ancient Austronesian culture. Their primordial deity, Na Areau (Na Areao or Nareau), may be not only the creator but also a world transformer, shape-shifter, and trickster, or there may be two Na Areaus, an elder who creates the world and a younger who puts the world in order. Although Na Areau's name means "Sir Spider," the Kiribati rarely think of him as such. Na Areau brooded alone on the rock-hard carapace of the undifferentiated universe, called "the darkness and the cleaving together." With his potent staff he penetrated its hollow interior, where, some say, the last child of Rock and Nothingness (who were the offspring of Sand and Water) was Na Areau the Younger. The elder Na Areau then vanished to leave the work to the younger, who, after naming and activating the preexistent, recumbent Fools and Deaf Mutes, had them free and raise the carapace of the universe, which became the sky.

In one version, Na Areau the Younger took the eyes of the elder Na Areau to form the sun and the moon, his brains to make the stars, and his spine for the Ancestral Tree on Samoa, a land that Octopus and Wave had formed. Humanlike and nonhumanlike deities, male and female, grew happily on and under the tree, each in his or her place, until Red-tailed Tropic Bird, who lived at the crest of the tree, defecated on those below. Na Areau then burned the tree, forcing the ancestors to seek new homes in the Kiribati, which had been created by Na Areau's commands (or other means). Red-tailed Tropic Bird then settled in Makin, where it ate people until the ever-benevolent Titua-bine, whose pet it was, ordered it killed. Red-skinned men grew on what had been its pandanus perch, and women grew on the coconut tree that had been planted by the goddess on her pet's grave. These newcomers (both male and female) became chiefs in the local assembly house. Other Kiribati also have local ancestral trees that have sprung from an ancestor's grave.

Some Kiribati replace Na Areau in his role as the transformer with Auriaria, son of Tituabine and Tabakea (hawksbill turtle), who are sister and brother born as a result of Earth and Sky rubbing together. According to this alternative version, Na Areau sprang from Tabakea's head. When Auriaria, having directed the separation of Earth and Sky, struck Heaven with the staff given him by Tabakea, the islands on top of Heaven tumbled upside down into the sea with Tabakea under Ocean Island. Then Auriaria planted his staff on Samoa, which he had raised from the sea, so that the staff could grow into the Ancestral Tree. Later he married Na Areau's daughter, whose descendants now live in the Kiribati.

The high god who had been described in most detail, Enuunap of the Chuuk area, lives in a mansion, one part for himself, the other for his ten siblings. Flounder, who has both eyes on the same side, guards Enuunap; while Sandpiper, on the clashing rocks at Enuunap's door, shrieks as souls of the dead try to enter, allowing only the worthy to pass safely between the rocks. The now aged, white-haired, long-breasted, weak, and virtually inactive god has two men to raise his eyelids so that he can see; they also open his mouth and raise his upper lip so that he can eat. Like Puntan, Enuunap does not receive worship. Nonetheless, he is omniscient, the creator, the ruler of the pantheon, and with his brother Semenkooror (Father of Determining), he is the god of wisdom, the greatest *itang*. Among the high gods there are others of similar inactivity.

The Ifaluk high god Aluelap's only activity is to advise his son Lugeilang (middle of heaven), who raises Aluelap's eyelids to get his attention. Yet there are also high gods who actively help people. Yalafath of Yap, a most helpful deity, had Dessra, the thunder god, bring people fire; Yalafath also sent his wife as a frigate bird to scout a flooded island's needs, and once, after resuscitating a dead boy, he gave the boy and his mother sand to form islands and seedlings to plant.

HUMAN ANCESTORS. Except in those Micronesian mythic traditions in which the primal deity and his or her spouse have children, it is usually unclear how the first people originated. Rather, attention is paid to particular individual mythic figures, male or female, and the role of the opposite sex is often denied. Husbandless females, human or animal, bear human beings and animals and so establish clans. Children also emerge from parts of the body or from maggots on the body of a deity who is more often male than female. Even trees bear people, as in the Kiribati, and in some traditions a tree growing from a person's head splits open to release children. In one story the earthly parentage of a clan's female ancestor is denied when she, a fingertip-size baby, falls from heaven.

A female animal ancestor often becomes her clan's totem. In one of several variations on the "swan maiden" theme, a Yap man, by hiding the fins of a dolphin girl who came ashore to dance, captures and marries her. Years later, on finding her fins, she leaves her human family to return to the sea, and her daughters establish the Dolphin totemic clan. Occasionally a totem animal is helpful, as in the Pohnpei story in which stingrays blanket the sea, tossing a disrespectful minor chief from one to another until they finally kill him for sending their totem descendant, the king, a pregnant woman's corpse instead of the bananas he had requested.

Many traditions include the tale of an animal mother's beautiful daughter who marries a king who has never seen his mother-in-law. For example, in one version Good Lizard makes channels on Pohnpei Island as she crawls to visit her daughter, who was married to the king, holder of the dynastic title Sau Deleur (Lord of Deleur). When the husband brings his mother-in-law her food, she tells him not to look at her. He disobeys, panics, and sets fire to the enormous guesthouse he had prepared for his wife's mother. His wife runs into the flames; he, for love of her, follows, and the three perish.

There are numerous myths about marriages between sky gods and mortal women. Olofat, the Caroline Islands trickster, is the son of Lugeilang and an earthly woman, from whose head he emerges. Like many culture heroes, he grows precociously. Later he flies to his sky father on a column of smoke. A Kiribati semidivine clan ancestor, Bue (burn), snares his father the Sun to demand knowledge and magic; Bue is not, like the Polynesian Maui who performed a similar feat, trying to regulate the sun's speed.

On both Pohnpei and Kosrae it is said that Isokelekel (Ijokelekel, shining noble or wonderful king) is the son of the Pohnpei thunder god Nansapwe (Nan Djapue) and the latter's aged clan sister from Katau (which may be Kosrae or a spiritual place to the east). The tart lime given to her by Nansapwe makes her pregnant, and in her womb Isokelekel learns that he is to take revenge on the irreverent Sau Deleur, the ruler who had once imprisoned Nansapwe for seducing his wife. When he is a young adult, Isokelekel sails against this Sau Deleur with 333 warriors and their families. Isokelekel defeats his enemy, seizes power, and puts an end to a long line of increasingly oppressive rulers who had set their subjects impossible tasks. For instance, a certain Sau Deleur had demanded a rare shell; a boy, aided by fish, went under the sea to get the shell, but on his return he and his family committed suicide to escape having to perform any further such tasks.

TRICKSTERS AND DEATH. Cycles of myths tell of divine and semidivine tricksters who are magicians, shape-shifters, transformers, and gross adulterers. When the demigod Olofat (Chuuk Wonofaat Stamper), who is known throughout the Carolines, was insulted by boys in the sky world, he gave their pet sharks teeth and their stingrays barbs such as they have now. Pretending ignorance of his relationship to him, Olofat jealously kills his half brother. When Half-Beak kills Olofat for stealing his wife, Lugeilang resuscitates him. Na Areau also enrages gods and men. When carpenters jam a house post down on him, Na Areau, like Olofat in a similar story, has a side passage ready. With red earth and coconut he simulates blood and flesh and deceives his enemies into thinking he is dead; then he appears and mocks them.

In the myths of the Marshall Islands, Etao and Jemaluut are either the sons of Iroojrilik and Lijebake (Libage Lady Turtle) or spring from the thunder god Wullep's head. Etao constantly outwits his elder brother and others, and like Na Areau he plays the oven trick. Telling his host of an easy way to get food, he lies down in a hot earth oven, is covered over, and later strolls up from the beach to uncover an oven full of fish and taro. His foolish host, imitating him, perishes, and the trickster takes his wife. This is an Austronesian-wide mythic theme found, for example, among the people of New Hanover in Papua New Guinea.

In these Micronesian myths there is little interest in the origin of permanent death. Olofat decrees that all must die and stay dead, and his sister adds that Olofat too, but not the gods, must die when the world ends. Forgetfulness leads to permanent death when children forget to dig up their mother's corpse as directed or when those who, having learned a man's god-given secret of eternal life, forget a part of the secret and fail to revive him. Stories of temporary death and resuscitation are frequent. When the Belauan semidivine Milad dies in a flood, the gods whom she had once sheltered restore her to life and send Mud Hen, a personified mythic bird (progenitor of *Rallus pectoralis*), to fetch the "water of immortality" in a leaf. However, selfish Mud Hen has a hibiscus bush pierce the leaf. While the spilled "water" makes the hibiscus immune to harsh conditions, Milad loses the chance of immortality. The angry gods, striking Mud Hen's head, give it a red stripe to make it a symbol of wickedness and ugliness. All mud hens now have that stripe.

THE LAND AND ITS FRUITS. According to the myths of the area, numerous islands and islets developed not only from sand but also from taro, flowers, branches, and the like that were cast on the sea, often by disgruntled women leaving home. Dead bodies could also be the bases of islands. Belau developed from a giant's corpse and the people of Belau from its maggots; Lelu developed from a whale-mother's corpse. Except on Fais and Mile, island fishing is less important in the myths of Micronesia than in those of Polynesia. When Motikitik (a cognate of Mauitikitiki, or Maui) fishes up Fais, his dead mother's signal confirms that he, not his brothers, owns it and can divide it into its present three parts. Because it acquired the magical hook, a Yap district dominates Fais politically; were the hook lost, Fais would sink. Etao capsized Mile to test some diviners' skill in coconut-leaf divination; they located the island, fished it up, and made a drain hole that is now a taro pit. Stories of building an island, usually with rocks flying magically into place, are common. Aided by an octopus, explorers found an exposed reef on which to build Pohnpei and shelter it with mangroves and a barrier reef. Later Olsihpa and Olsohpa constructed eighty or ninety artificial islets, Nan Madol, as sites for a ceremonial center, now in ruins. Olsohpa was perhaps the first to bear the royal title Sau Deleur. According to some folk beliefs, bands of "little people," also known in other islands, did the actual work of construction. In most accounts the work is communal, and the heaviest labor is accomplished by magic and a couple of large, strong people.

The principal cultivated plants or certain varieties of these came directly or indirectly from celestial beings, usually women. Even modern Micronesian gardeners think any new variety of plant has fallen from heaven. When three swamp taros *(Cyrtosperma)* fell into the sea from the Kiribati sky, they became porpoises, swam to Arorae, turned back into taros, and were planted by a man whom Tituabine instructed. Two sky men gave taro to Majro Atoll after Namu had rejected it. Milad taught the people of Belau to cultivate *Colocasia* taro; each island learned differently.

More than one mythical woman who bore both human beings and food plants had a coconut son. Limkade, Iroojrilik's sister, planted her coconut son Tobolaar after he told her of benefits that would grow from him and therefore prove his value to his hostile, older, human brother. Like other Pacific Islanders, Micronesians tell of coconut trees growing from the head or the grave of an eel or a person. Nikowupwuupw saw her first child's eyes and mouth in the nuts from the coconut tree growing on his grave. When a female eel, which Yalafath sent to Yap to populate the island with people, was killed generations later, a coconut tree grew from her buried head, a banana plant from her middle, and a swamp taro from her tail.

On Pohnpei, kava grew from a bit of the god Luhk's flesh that he gave a kind woman to plant, and sugarcane grew on the grave of a man he had ordered buried. Observing that rats stupefied themselves on kava and then chewed sugarcane as a chaser, people imitated them, as did the sky dwellers.

According to the myths, easy ways to get food eventually fail through envy or carelessness. Jealous neighbors who chopped down Milad's god-given tree, which produced breadfruit and fish, thereby caused a life-destroying flood; carved wooden storyboards from Belau portray the scene. Travelers bring home new foods or carry them elsewhere. Yalafath, on sending his guest Galuai flying home on a chicken-festooned pole, said that if he took proper care of the chickens they would excrete yams. Soon Galuai became careless, and the hungry chickens, by eating the yams, lost their magic (as in another tale did another man's mistreated money-excreting bird). Travelers, including gods, who eat from an inexhaustible taro plant, coconut tree, or fishpond in an alien land or from a tree growing in midocean must watch out for supernatural hazards.

ORIGIN OF FIRE AND TECHNOLOGY. People ate only sun-baked food until male spirits, usually from the sky and consigned to earth against their will, rewarded helpful women or boys with the knowledge of fire and cooking. Etao taught a generous boy; a disoriented spirit (only a head) instructed a Mortlock boy who escorted him home (and also restored the life of the boy's brother). When a Yap woman extricated the thunder god from a prickly pandanus, he put two sticks under his arm to imbue them with fire and then demonstrated how to make fire with them and cook; he also taught her pottery making. Fire from a god's body is a recurrent motif in Austronesian mythology. On Chuuk, Rat, a personified mythic being, taught a sympathetic woman to make fire and cook after Nuukeyinen (Lugeilang) had set Rat's muzzle on fire and driven him from heaven for thievery. On Mortlock and Namoluk, Olofat, after escaping from being burned alive for his tricks, became the god of fire and the condemned and sent fire to earth in a starling's beak.

In the myths of the Kiribati, fire came from the ocean. Because the sunbeam that was caught by the boy Te-ika (the fish) set numerous fires in the ocean world, his father Bakoa (shark), Lord of the Ocean, exiled him. On earth, Tabakea, Lord of the Land, beat Te-ika and his sunbeam to death with sticks that absorbed the fire. Subsequently he revived Te-ika with the same sticks because of Bakoa's grief, but the fiery boy died at the water's edge. Like Maui in Polynesia, Na Areau in the Kiribati repeatedly demanded fire from its keeper (here, Lightning); but unlike Maui, Na Areau did not want to learn the secret of making fire. He wished only to provoke the thunder god Tabuariki to a wrestling match and to weaken him by breaking his arm.

Spirits keep secret their fishing techniques, gear, and magic except from generous and deserving individuals. A woman to whom a sea spirit has divulged family secrets in exchange for her new yellow skirt has to flee from the sea spirit's angry father to another island where, however, she sells her secrets. In exchange for secretly borrowing his canoe, spirits later show a Ulithi man how to make fish traps. According to a complex myth, the people of Chuuk did not know how to fish until the god Solal taught a neglected one-legged boy, whose success then led villagers to make him chief.

Because of the enormous hazards of seafaring, experts in the practice, lore, and magic of canoe building and navigation are highly prized by the islanders. Experts from the Marshall Islands fear that they may at sea forget their mnemonic, informational, magical, and courage-inspiring chants; others fear watchful Jemeluut (Rainbow), who might punish them for mistakes at sea. In Ulithi, when Palulop (great navigator), a sky man residing on earth, teaches his sons navigation, the as yet unborn Ialuluwe (Aluluei) listens. As elsewhere in the Caroline Islands, he subsequently became the supreme sea god. Like the Polynesian Tinirau, he has two faces, one looking ahead and the other looking back at dangers people cannot see. Of his sons, Rongerik studies diligently under his father, as a future navigator should, and later has to rescue his brother Rongolap, who had thought only of women and had neglected his studies.

Three women who transmitted navigational lore to people are the Yap goddess Legerem, who taught canoe building, navigation, and star lore; the Kiribati ancestress Branch of Buka, whose grandfather taught navigation and bonito fishing to her rather than to her selfish brothers; and in the Carolines, Aluluei's daughter, who, having given three navigation gods an inexhaustible drinking nut, received from them knowledge that was as yet unknown to her father.

Certain mythical canoes made of rock, sand, taro tubers, or pandanus drupes obey verbal commands even if the owner is not aboard. Others skim through the air, reflecting Micronesian interest in flying by magic over their vast island area; in one myth a man's hollow wooden bird carries him to his abducted wife. More pragmatically two Pikinni (Bikini) men are said to have invented the Tridacna adze and the paddling canoe. Subsequently the Marshall Islanders learned about Loktanur's invention of masts and sails, with which she had enabled Jebro, youngest of her five sons, to win a race to become chief. Like other Pacific Islanders, a canoe maker may find his or her felled tree restored by an offended spirit. When this happened to Rongerik, Aluluei told him to first greet a trilling bird named Seilangi, god of carpenters. This done, happy Seilangi made Rongerik's canoe in one night to start him on his great career as a navigator.

POLITICS AND POWER. Throughout Micronesia knowledge is power. Those who possess the narratives hide things, change things, and selectively reveal things that will give a certain shape to political and social reality. While myths seem to speak of the past, certain themes, such as the resistance to hegemony found in trickster stories, address the present and offers hope for the future. On Pohnpei, Isokelekel's victory over the increasingly despotic Sau Deleur becomes a motif for resistance to the regionalizing tendencies of the Federated States of Micronesia. In the Marshall Islands, Etao does prevail against the more powerful gods and thus becomes a symbol of hope in the struggle of the people of Pikinni, Anewetak, and Epja against the American military weapons program.

SEE ALSO Myth; Nature, article on Worship of Nature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following publications are organized according to three eras of collection of mythological materials.

First Era

The Belief among the Micronesiana, the third volume of James G. Frazer's *The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead* (London, 1913–1924), gives English translations from the first era of Spanish and German collections of myths, tales, and legends that, despite Frazer's title, relate to more than simply death and immortality. These collections date up to and include 1914. The volume also contains many examples from Wilhelm Müller's *Yap* (Hamburg, 1917–1918), which is contained in *Ergebnisse der Südsee-expedition, 1908–1910* (ESSE), edited by Georg Thilenius, a work that is conventionally identified as ESSE II. B. II.1–2. Frazer's *Myths of the Origin of Fire* (London, 1930) includes Micronesian examples from English sources, such as Frederick William Christian, *The Caroline Islands* (London, 1899; reprint, London, 1967), and English translations of Spanish and German sources, including examples from several ESSE volumes.

As almost every ESSE volume includes myths (some are devoted entirely to narratives and chants), the series is an indispensable primary source. Also during the first era, the series Anthropos Bibliothek published August Erdland, *Die Marshall-Insulaner* (Münster, Germany, 1914), and Laurentius Bollig, *Die Bewohner der Truk-inseln* (Münster, Germany, 1927), both of which take into account the islanders' own classification of genres. Paul Hambruch, *Südseemärchen aus Australien, Neu-Guinea, Fidji, Karolinen, Samoa, Tonga, Hawaii, Neu-Seeland* (Jena, Germany, 1921), has valuable notes on the distribution of certain myths.

Second Era

As the first era was that of Spanish, and then German, political control of the Marianas, Carolines, and Marshalls (the Gilberts remained British), the second era of collection was that of the Japanese between the two world wars. Lack of translation from the Japanese has made largely inaccessible such publications as those by Masamichi Miyatake and Masaachi Noguchi for Palau (now Belau) and especially Hisataka Hijakata for Palau and Satawal. Until Hijakata taught Palauans to carve portable storyboards, they had carved mythic scenes only on men's clubhouses.

Third Era

The third collecting era in the three archipelagoes began after World War II with the Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology (CIMA) and led many Americans to do fieldwork in the area. A work of special note is Edwin Grant Burrows's *Flower in My Ear: Arts and Ethos of Ifaluk Atoll* (Seattle, Wash., 1963), which discusses myths and chants in terms of style and social values. Roger E. Mitchell, *Micronesian Folktales* (Nagoya, Japan, 1973), includes notes on distribution. Seventeen pages of annotated listings of Micronesian, including Kiribati, mythology are in Margaret Orbell, *A Select Bibliography of the Oral Tradition of Oceania* (Paris, 1974).

Collections by Micronesians themselves are increasing. Particularly remarkable is John L. Fischer, Saul H. Riesenberg, and Marjorie G. Whiting, eds. and trans., *The Book of Luelen: Luelen Bernart* (Honolulu, 1977). Luelen (1866–1946?), a Ponapean man, wrote and dictated between 1934 and 1946 what he considered significant for his family to know about Pohnpei, including its myths, oral history, and song texts. John L. Fischer, Saul H. Riesenberg, and Marjorie G. Whiting, eds. and trans., *Annotations to the Book of Luelen* (Honolulu, 1977), adds explanations, variants, and comparative data.

Yale University's Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) has produced English translations of parts of the German ESSE and other works. An example is the complete translation into English of the German work by Augustin Krämer and Hans Nevermann, *Ralik-Ratak (Marshall-Inseln)* (ESSE II. B. XI; Hamburg, 1938), as HRAF no. 1003. Most Micronesian school readers retell the traditions, but Pensile Lawrence et al., eds., *Pohnpei ni Mwehin Kawa: Old Po-nape* (Saipan, 1973), uses Paul Hambruch's *Ponape* (ESSE II. B. VII.3; Hamburg, 1936), quoting his Ponapean texts and translating into English Hambruch's free German translations.

There have been significant attempts to collect, preserve, and use Micronesian myths. Students have become more aware of their heritage, as evidenced in Gene Ashby, comp. and ed., *Never and Always: Micronesian Stories of the Origins of Islands, Landmarks, and Customs,* 2d ed. (Eugene, Oreg., 1983). Museums and libraries have begun to collect local myths, for example, the Alele Museum on Majro, the Belau National Museum, the libraries at Belau Community College and the Community College of Micronesia, and the Oceania and Special Collections at Northern Marianas College. These and other sources contributed to Bo Flood, comp., *Marianas Island Legends: Myth and Magic* (Honolulu, 2001), and Bo Flood, Beret E. Strong, and William Flood, comps., *Micronesian Legends* (Honolulu, 2002).

Anthropologists continue to develop an understanding of Micronesian myths. Glenn Petersen explores the meanings and political uses of narratives in *Lost in the Weeds: Theme and Variation in Pohnpei Political Mythology,* Occasional Paper 35 (Honolulu, 1990). Ward H. Goodenough analyzes the relationship between myth and personhood in *Under Heaven's Brow: Pre-Christian Religious Tradition in Chuuk* (Philadelphia, 2002). A notable collection of myths is Jack A. Tobin's *Stories from the Marshall Islands: Bwebwenato jan Aelon Kein* (Honolulu, 2002). Tobin provides texts collected over the last forty years in both Marshallese original and English translations.

There have been some creative attempts to bring myths to bear on present realities. Robert Barclay probes the neocolonial arrangement on Kwajalein through parallel story lines juxtaposing life in the expatriate American community, life in the Marshallese labor community, and life in the spiritual world of Etao and Jemaluut in *Melal: A Novel of the Pacific* (Honolulu, 2002).

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MIDRASH AND AGGADAH [FIRST EDITION].

Regardless of what specifically the Hebrew word *midrash* stands for in its two occurrences in a postexilic book of the Hebrew scriptures (*2 Chr.* 13:22, 24:27), where the reference is clearly to something written or written in (Heb., *ketuvim*; Gr., *gegramménoi*), by the last century BCE it stands for oral interpretation, that is, interpretation of the Torah, the Law of Moses; and one who interprets the Law is referred to as *doresh ha-torah*. This we learn from the literature of the Dead Sea sectarians (*Damascus Covenant* 6.7, 7.18f., 8.29; *Manual of Discipline* 6.6, 8.15; see also *Ecclesiastes* 1:13). Indeed, it is possible that already at the beginning of the second century BCE there were in existence schools where Torah interpretation was going on. In the Hebrew of *Ben Sira* (c. 200–180 BCE), the author, Simeon ben Joshua ben Sira, or Sirach, by whose time "wisdom" is already equated with the Torah, speaks as follows: "Turn to me, you who are untaught, and lodge in my school [*beit midrash*; literally, 'house, or place, of *midrash*'; *en oikō paideias*]." *Midrash* is therefore a school activity. In the *beit ha-midrash*, the school, learning is to be found, wisdom is to be acquired, there is a master, and there are disciples; through interpretation, understanding of the Torah is attained: "The book of the covenant of the Most High God, the Law (Torah) which Moses commanded us . . . fills men with wisdom, like the Pishon, and like the Tigris at the time of the first fruits. It makes them full of understanding like the Euphrates, and like the Jordan at harvest time" (*Sir.* 24:23–26)—and there is more to this effect.

ORIGINS OF THE MIDRASH. A question that may never be answered satisfactorily is that of when, precisely, the interpretation of the Torah began. For from the moment any text is adopted as a rule or guide of life, some interpretation—added explanation, commentary—inevitably becomes necessary. In scripture itself, though most commandments are lucidly drawn up, there are four occasions when even Moses was in need of further instruction regarding procedures for laws already established *(Lv.* 24:10–23; *Nm.* 9:4–14, 15:32–36, 27:1–11). The *Midrash* also calls attention to Moses facing difficulty in understanding specifically what God has ordered (*Mekhilta'*, ed. Jacob Lauterbach, 1.15; cf. *Sifrei Zuṭa'*, ed. Saul Lieberman, 6.16; but see also Harry Fox in *Tarbiz* 49, 1980, 278ff.). In scripture such cases are reported probably to underscore that no human legislator, not even Moses, is the originator of biblical laws, that Moses only transmits what the Lord ordains; the Law of Moses is God's law which he communicates through Moses. But these cases at the same time illustrate that no written code can be operative without supplementary instruction. And supplementary instruction is what *midrash* provides.

There is therefore a measure of justice to the traditional view that the written Torah had to be accompanied from the outset by expository teachings of some kind, transmitted and inherited orally (the oral Torah). But we are in no position to fix the time when precisely such very ancient supplementary teaching began. In legendary lore there are views that, for example, statutory prayer services were first established by the patriarchs (B.T., *Ber.* 26b); that benedictions of the grace after meals were added by Moses, Joshua, David, and Solomon (ibid., 48b); and that already at Sinai at the giving of the Ten Commandments interpretation was taking place (*Mekhilta'* 2.267). But such statements have no historical value and perhaps are not meant to be taken as history in the strict sense. They represent a tendency to project later institutions farther and farther back in time in order to suggest high antiquity and that these are not recent unauthorized inventions.

Whatever very ancient interpretation may have been like (reflected also in glosses, popular etymologies, and parables within the Hebrew scriptures themselves; cf. I. L. Seeligmann in *Supplement to Vetus Testamentum*, vol. 1, 1953, pp. 150–181), it is unquestionable that from roughly 250 BCE, when the Pentateuch was translated into Greek (as the Septuagint), and continuing for seven hundred years and beyond, when major collections of midrashic literature continued to be redacted, *midrash* flourished in the Jewish academies of Palestine. From the end of approximately the second century CE, *midrash* flourished to a lesser extent in the Babylonian Jewish academies as well, though it was principally a Palestinian creation.

Hellenistic-Roman influence on intellectual and cultural life in Jewish Palestine affected midrashic activity, as can be seen in the penetration of Greek (and other foreign) terms, the terminology for some rules of interpretation, the circulation of tales and epigrams, the parables drawn from royal and imperial establishments, a few cultic details, and the significance given to the numerical value of Hebrew words (*gimaṭriyyah*). In short, while it would be inexcusably uncritical to assume that wherever there is influence there is simultaneously direct dependence and borrowing, the rich and constant intellectual preoccupation with explanation of the language and content of scripture by teachers to students in the schools, and to the public at large by means of sermons in the synagogues, is an echo of the stimulation provided wherever—not only in Palestine—the spirit of Greek learning and letters came to the attention of the learned classes. Native traditions were not necessarily abandoned; indeed, they might now be held onto more tightly, but they would also be interpreted in ways comprehensible to those who lived in an age when Greek models of thinking and expression dominated the overall intellectual climate.

AGGADIC MIDRASH. *Midrash* (i.e., interpretation, commentary, exegesis, amplification) was applied to all of scripture, and in tannaitic times (approximately the first two centuries CE), especially to four books of the Pentateuch, *Exodus* through *Deuteronomy*, because these contained the bulk of biblical *halakhah*, the regulations governing the conduct of society as well as individual practice. However, even in these books there is considerable nonhalakhic material, what is called *aggadah*, and the first book of the Pentateuch, *Genesis*, is almost entirely *aggadah*. Aggadic subject matter was therefore also commented on in the tannaitic *midrashim*, and some of the leading masters of *halakhah* were also leading masters of *aggadah*. Thus we have aggadic *midrashim* not only on *Genesis* but also in the midrashic compilations on the other Pentateuch books as well, and aggadic discussion is thus included not only in the tannaitic *midrashim* but in subsequent works devoted to all the books of the Hebrew Bible.

The word *aggadah* may be rendered as "narrative, recitation, account based on scripture," but the term, the concept, implies and refers to very much more in the midrashic and Talmudic corpora. By *aggadah* is meant that which strictly speaking is not classified as *halakhah*, as required, normative practice. *Aggadah* includes narratives, historical composition, poetry, speculation, genealogical records, fanciful interpretation, moral exhortation—in short, the exposition of the whole variety of scriptural contents beyond the codified, legislative, and juristic, prescribed courses of action which constitute *halakhah*.

There are instances where a sharp line between aggadic comment and halakhic cannot be drawn easily; see, for example, *Keritot* 6.3 (and cf. Eliʿezer in *Keritot* 6.1). On the whole, however, a halakhic discussion is easily distinguished from an aggadic one. In the former, legalistic concern is uppermost, norms of practice are sought, there is close attachment to what the sages regard as literal meaning, argument by authorities is erudite and acute, there is constant resort to tradition, rules of interpretation are followed with due regard for their function (those of Hillel in the first century, those of ʿAqivaʾ and Yishmaʿeʾl in the second century), and casuistry is employed as in all legal and scholastic disciplines. On the other hand, *aggadah* is unrestrained contemplation and interpretation associated with the vocabulary and themes of all parts of the Bible. There is free application of the subject of one verse in scripture to another verse far removed from it, so that, for example, in undertaking to comment on *Leviticus* 1:1, the teacher or preacher introduces *Psalms* 103:20 and by skillful adaptation can demonstrate that the *Psalms* verse explains the intention of the *Leviticus* verse. *Aggadah* is very often sermonic, interpretation for the benefit of the folk in the synagogue, and therefore, though there are, so to speak, rules of interpretation for *aggadah* as well, they do not really confine the *aggadot* within strictly drawn hermeneutical perimeters.

Considerable liberty of interpretation was permitted to and practiced by the authors of *midrash aggadah*, who employed all the rhetorical devices common among textual scholars of their time, used, for instance, in the interpretation of Homer. Thus much is made of punning, of homophones, of methods of dream interpretation, of figures of speech, and of acronyms. A frequent form of interpretation is the parable of kings and their subjects. Verses receive not just one but many interpretations, which indictes not the rejection of previous explanation but the simultaneous legitimacy of a number of meanings which the biblical, divinely revealed text contains and hence, also, beneath-the-surface lessons. *Midrash aggadah* is employed for polemic purposes, against internal challengers as well as antagonists from the outside. For example, when Pappos interprets *Job* 23:13 as a statement of God's omnipotent and arbitrary power, ʿAqivaʾ hushes him up by means of an alternative interpretation that every decision of God is just, (*Mekhiltaʾ* 1.248). Or when Israel is mocked because the Temple was destroyed (presumably, a sign of God's rejection of Israel), one sage declares that this was, on the contrary, a sign of God's love for Israel, in that he let out his wrath on the sticks and stones of the structure (his own habitation) rather than on the people themselves (*Lam. Rab. on Lam.* 4:11 ed. Buber, 74b). Comments like these were obviously made as a consolation after profound tragedy. And they reveal too the ready resort to paradox: even misfortune may be for the good (see also *Genesis* 45:5–8; for paradox in *halakhah*, see *Tanḥumaʾ* on *Numbers*, ed. Buber, 52a–b).

Along with polemics, *midrash aggadah* does not hesitate to indulge in varieties of apologetics. Thus examples of questionable behavior of the patriarchs and Israel's heroes (the twelve sons of Jacob, David, and Solomon) are frequently excused and presented in a positive light, while their enemies' characters are in almost all respects regarded as wicked—typical folkloristic treatment. Events in scripture are identified as foreshadowings of experiences later in the sages' own times and of the age to come. By means of *midrash* the protests and resentments of later generations find eloquent outlet, and this in turn leads to attempts at theodicy. In the retelling of biblical narratives legendary lore is drawn upon in order to emphasize particular values and ideals; so, too, to contrast the ways of the nations of the world with Israel's ways. And in virtually all interpretation, especially where more than immediate, literal meaning is sought, the aim of aggadic *midrash* is moral and didactic. This is particularly noteworthy in the stories told about famous sages: in these, fancy and fact are so closely intertwined it is rare that the one can be separated from the other.

Aggadic *midrash* also preserves evidence of Gnostic speculation by certain rabbis on the theme of creation, on the chariot spoken of by Ezekiel, on the overpowering reality of the godhead and his celestial retinue, on major historic experiences of Israel (at the sea after the redemption from Egyptian bondage and at the Sinai revelation), on the contrast between the fate of man after the Fall and before it and what might have been otherwise.

With such latitude available to aggadic *midrash*, all aspects of life come under review—the relations of man to God and of man to fellow man. Piety of conduct (in the light of the law and in action surpassing legal prescription) and piety of thought are exemplified. Public virtue and private virtue are discussed in the light of moral expectation, related to biblical verses, which are quoted and given novel interpretation, and interrelated with the particular theme in the mind of the teacher or preacher.

For example, scripture (*Ex.* 19:1–2) reports that "On the third new moon after the Israelites had gone forth from the land of Egypt, on that very day, they entered the wilderness of Sinai. Having journeyed from Rephidim, they entered the wilderness of Sinai and encamped [here the verb is plural: *va-yaḥanu*] in the wilderness. Israel encamped [here the verb is singular: *va-yiḥan*] there in front of the mountain."

To draw the moral of these verses the homilist first invokes a verse from *Proverbs* in which the subject is the excellence of wisdom, which for the homilist and his audience is already understood as the Torah. Then *Proverbs* 3:17—"Its [wisdom's] ways are ways of pleasantness, and all its paths are peace"—is made to shed light on the *Exodus* report. Thus the Holy One, blessed be he, actually wished to give the Torah to Israel at the time they left Egypt, but the Israelites kept quarreling with each other, saying all the time, "Let us head back to Egypt" (*Nm.* 14:4). Note what is written (*Ex.* 13:20): "They set out from Succoth and encamped at Ethan"—both verbs are in the plural, for as the Israelites moved on ("set out"), they quarreled, and as they halted ("encamped"), they quarreled; but when they reached Rephidim, they all made peace and became a united assembly (a single band). (And when is the Almighty exalted? When Israel forms a single band, as it is said [*Am.* 9:6], "His band he founded on the earth" [*Lv. Rab.* 30.12, 710]—possibly an appeal not to break up into conflicting sects.) How do we know that they all became a united assembly? For the verse (*Ex.* 19:2) says, "Israel encamped there in front of the mountain," and this time the verb is in the singular: *va-yiḥan*; it is not written, "they encamped," with the verb in the plural, *va-yaḥanu.* Said the Holy One, blessed be he, the Torah, all of it, is peace (-loving); to whom shall I give it? To the nation that loves peace. Hence (*Prv.* 3:17), "and all its paths are peace" (*Mekhilta'* 2.200; *Lv. Rab.* 9.9, 188; *Tanḥuma'* on *Ex.*, ed. Buber, 37b, 9).

A number of elements, typical of *midrash* as a whole, appear in this passage. To begin with, there is the association of a verse "far removed" (in *Proverbs*) with the particular verse (in *Exodus*) to be interpreted—which is meant to demonstrate that all parts of scripture endorse each other and that it can be shown, when necessary, that they are not in conflict. Second, there is meticulous attention to minutiae—the significance even of shifts from plural to singular (by dropping one consonant)—from which an important lesson can be derived. Third, verses are cited at every opportunity to serve as proof text; in many *midrashim* this feature is even more lavishly exhibited than in our passage, and there is no trace of their authors' possessing concordances to help them in their search for apt quotations. Finally, of course, there is the chief theme with which the *midrash* may be concerned, in our case, the theme of peace (which may be a warning against sectarianism or even an exhortation not to contemplate rebellion against the ruling powers). That study of the Torah thrives on peace and leads to peace is what the midrashic and Talmudic sages frequently tried to stress.

GOALS AND THEMES OF THE MIDRASH. There are very many *midrashim* even more complex in their structure and content, but basically it may be said that all midrashic teaching undertakes two things: (1) to explain opaque or ambiguous texts and their difficult vocabulary and syntax thus supplying us with what we would call literal or close-to-literal explanation or, for lack of that, purely homiletical guess; (2) to contemporize, that is, so to describe or treat biblical personalities and events as to make recognizable the immediate relevance of what might otherwise be regarded as only archaic. As we have seen, a scene from the account of the revelation of the Ten Commandments becomes a homily on Torah and peace. Patriarchs will be described as mourning for the destruction of the Temple. Esau comes to represent the Roman empire. The twelve sons of Jacob become extraordinary military heroes. And so it goes for the rest of scripture: the past addresses the present, directly or indirectly, and drops hints of the future. There are midrashic interpretations that grow out of both a lexical problem in the verse and the desire to apply the explanation to the thinking and need of the later age. For example, for *ve-anvehu* ("and I will glorify him" [*Ex.* 15:2]) Abba' Sha'ul says, "Take after him [*ani ve-hu'*; lit., 'I and he'], even as he is gracious and compassionate, so should you be gracious and compassionate"; thus a meaning of the problematic *anvehu* is provided and along with that the moral lesson of *imitatio dei* (*Mekhilta'* 2.25).

Although, as I have said earlier, the midrash takes into account whatever scripture refers to, there are at least three themes to which much reflection and commentary are devoted. The first is the absolute unity and incomparability of God. The cue for this is of course in scripture (*Dt.* 6:4 and elsewhere), but the kind of emphasis given is essentially postbiblical—that is, that no dualism or plurality of gods is to be tolerated; no worship of God is to be modeled after pagan worship; that regardless of what overtakes Israel, God's justice is not to be denied; that unlike frequent frivolous treatment of their gods by the pagan world, Israel must love God absolutely, with no reservations, come what may. In the *midrash* God may be spoken of anthropomorphically; this does not embarrass the sages; they know that such speech is metaphorical and inevitable (therefore its presence in scripture itself); what they fear is blasphemy and anything that can lead to the desecration of God's name.

A second recurring theme is Israel—that is, Israel of the biblical past, Israel of the present, and the ideal Israel of the age to come. To the patriarchs of Israel there had already been the promise that God would maintain a unique relationship with their descendants. And though God may grow angry at them and visit them with punishments and disasters, the bond between God and their people is a permanent one (see also *Ezekiel* 20:30–44). Israel is under obligation to carry out his commands, and in midrashic and Talmudic centuries this meant not merely the commands as formulated "briefly" in the scriptures but as interpreted at length by the sages: "'If you do not hearken unto me' (*Lv.* 26:14), that is, if you do not hearken to the interpretation, the instruction [*midrash*] of the sages" (*Sifra'* 111b; see also *Sifrei, Dt.* 49, ed. Finkelstein, 114f.). Along with this fundamental view come all sorts of promises of ultimate reward for adherence to the terms of the covenantal relationship and all sorts of regulations concerning how Israel is to remain distinct from the nations of the world in whose midst Israel of the present must live. The self-consciousness demanded by the original covenant and its subsequent reaffirmations is not merely taken for granted or left implicit; it is repeatedly articulated.

No less pervasive is the third theme, that of Torah, which has two meanings, often simultaneous but often also distinct, and it is not always easy to decide which is intended. The word *torah* can stand both for the study of the Torah and for putting into practice the teachings of the Torah. While obedience to the commands of the Torah is already a frequent biblical injunction, what especially characterizes the demands of the sages in the *midrash* is their tireless exhortation that all must study Torah, that neglect of study is not just a sign of a poor education but a deficiency in one's role in life. The sages do not deny that one may merit a share in the life of the world to come even if he is not a scholar or student. But this hardly satisfies them, and ever and again they return to the duty and privilege of Torah study. It is a person's required curriculum from the time he begins scripture study at the age of five—from the time he begins to speak, he should be taught selected verses on the theme of Torah—until the day of his death. Many hyperbolic sayings occur in this connection, and these are indicative of the lengths to which the sages were prepared to go in order to impress on all classes in society, rich and poor, the supreme obligation and value of Torah study. It is the emphasis on Torah study, indeed, that gradually transformed the originally prophetically oriented religion of Judaism into an intellectually directed religious experience in which scholars are the elite.

THE PROCESS OF COMPOSITION. The bulk of aggadic *midrash* commentary which we possess very likely came into being as homilies in connection with the Torah reading as part of synagogue worship. Unfortunately, it is still impossible to fix the time when public Torah reading was first institutionalized. It was certainly in existence by the end of the last century BCE and the first century CE, for Philo Judaeus, Josephus Flavius, and the New Testament all refer to the study and exegesis of Torah (and prophetic selections) as a weekly Sabbath program. The weekly reading (in Palestine, according to a three-and-a-half-year cycle) served as the principle of organization, the scheme of arrangement for the midrashic homilies.

The different midrashic compilations display a certain variety of composition—there are *midrashim* that comment on the biblical text verse by verse (exegetical *midrashim*; e.g., *Genesis Rabbah*) and those that comment only on the opening verse or verses of the pericope and then move on to the next biblical unit (homiletical *midrashim*; e.g., *Leviticus Rabbah*) In these exegetical and homiletic *midrashim*, before the principal midrashic interpretation there may be an introductory homily or homilies, petiḥta᾿, petiḥata᾿, or proems, as a kind of overture to the principal interpretation; perhaps (as suggested by Joseph Heinemann in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, 1971) these served as brief sermons before the Torah reading. Tanḥuma᾿ Yelammdenu *midrashim* tend to introduce the aggadic discourse by citation of a halakhic question and answer, doubtless not only to convey a rule of practice but to underscore that *halakhah* and *aggadah* are one in aim. There are midrashic texts drawn up for the round of special days in the year, feasts and fast days and other appointed occasions (e.g., *Pesiqta᾿ de-Rav Kahana᾿*). There are still other compilations, but what is significant is that in all these texts, regardless of stylization, there is created an intellectual, didactic, hortatory tone which all the *midrashim* share, and thus all the *midrashim* sound as though they all were in manner or approach alike. At a later time (from about the seventh century on), midrashic views are combined to create a literary composition—for example, on the sacrifice of Isaac or Abraham, on the rabbinic martyrs of the Hadrianic period, on Abraham's discovery of and commitment to the one God, on the death of Moses, and so forth.

There seem occasionally to have existed books of *aggadah* even in rabbinic times, but the rabbis disapproved of them. Like all other branches of study, except for scripture, aggadic *midrash* was delivered and attended to as part of the oral law, that branch of the total tradition that was not to be put in writing: midrash, Mishnah, targum, Talmud, the *halakhot* and the *aggadot*—in other words, what the rabbis taught.

The creators of the aggadic *midrashim* were the rabbis, but this does not mean that they drew only on scholarly sources or had only scholarly exposition in mind. The rabbis did draw on these, especially when biblical terms were difficult; but they also drew on folklore, on popular legends, on anecdotes, on deliberately imaginative identifications which would make the passage they were interpreting intelligible and also surprising to their audience. They might use current Greek words and epigrams to add special vividness to their interpretation. They might adopt allegorical methods of explanation. Everyone, including women and children, attended the synagogue to hear the preacher. Midrashic method became so popular that even nonscholarly men could express themselves in the form, or so the *midrash* relates. For example, a rabbi's ass driver undertakes to refute a Samaritan when the rabbi himself is at a loss for a proper retort (*Gn. Rab.* 32.10, 296f.); an unlearned man offers an interpretation of a verse the rabbi had not thought of, and the rabbi promises the man that he will use that interpretation in a sermon in the man's name (ibid., 78.12, 932f.). When a homily is admired, one might praise it as "a precious gem."

Exposure and attention to aggadic *midrash* were certainly widespread, especially when the hearts of the people craved comforting. But aggadic *midrash*, as I have mentioned, was also part of the oral law and was also a subject of the *beit ha-midrash*, the academy. There is no lack of comments emphasizing the value of this study, but the very repetitions in favor of *aggadah* create the impression that scholars had to be encouraged again and again not to neglect it. Early allegorists said, "If you wish to recognize him who spake and the world came to be [i.e., if you wish to have correct thoughts about the creator of the universe], study *aggadah*, for it is thus that you will recognize him who spake and the world came to be and cleave to his ways" (*Sifrei Dt.* 49, ed. Finkelstein, p. 115). The superlative estimate of *aggadah* is here evident: what leads one to a proper knowledge of God and to attachment to his ways is to be found not in pursuit of halakhic studies (alone?) but in reflection on the acts of God as described in many places of the *aggadah.* But the feeling is inescapable that such sentiments imply a criticism of those scholars who, because they are chiefly masters of the law, experts in the complex disciplines of dialectic and halakhic subtleties, tend to regard *aggadah* condescendingly. The very freedom of speculation it permits and its very lack of fixed rules of mandatory conduct probably make the sages uncomfortable. Moreover, the exacting analytic exercises demanded by *halakhah* may have made single-minded halakhists feel superior to that which appealed to popular taste. On the other hand, for the folk as a whole the *aggadah* was a perennial refreshment of spirit and of the courage to endure. This the scholars did not deny, and that experience of refreshment remained true for centuries to come.

PRINCIPAL COMPILATIONS. The following is a list of the principal midrashic compilations and treatises; critical editions are listed briefly within parentheses. Particular but noncritical editions are listed without parentheses.

First are the tannaitic *midrashim*; these are essentially halakhic, but they contain a good deal of aggadic material as well:

1. *Exodus: Mekhiltaʾ de-Rabbi Yishmaʿeʾl* (edited by Jacob Lauterbach; a second edition was edited by Hayyim Horovitz and Israel Rabin) and *Mekhiltaʾ de Rabbi Shimʿon bar Yoḥʾai* (edited by Jacob Epstein and Ezra Melamed).
2. *Leviticus: Sifraʾ*, edited by I. H. Weiss. There is also an edition by Meir Ish Shalom [Friedmann] that is critical but only a beginning; Louis Finkelstein has published Vatican Manuscript Codex Assemani LXVI of the treatise with a long and instructive introduction. Finkelstein's critical edition of *Sifraʾ* has begun to appear.
3. *Numbers: Sifrei de-vei Rav*, and *Sifrei zuṭaʾ* (both edited by Horovitz).
4. *Deuteronomy: Sifrei* (edited by Finkelstein) and *Midrash Tannaʾim*, edited by David Hoffmann.

The following are aggadic *midrashim* from the amoraic period (c. third through fifth or sixth century) to the thirteenth century:

1. The collection known as *Midrash* Rabbah on the Pentateuch and the Five Scrolls (*Song of Songs*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Ecclesiastes*, and *Esther*). The individual works were drawn up in different times: *Genesis Rabbah* (edited by Julius Theodor and Chanoch Albeck), from the late fourth to early fifth century, is the earliest, and just a little later is *Leviticus Rabbah* (edited by Mordecai Margulies). For *Deuteronomy Rabbah*, see also the edition by Saul Lieberman. On this collection as a whole, see Zunz (1892).
2. *Tanḥumaʾ* on the Pentateuch and *Tanḥumaʾ*, edited by Solomon Buber.
3. *Pesiqtaʾ de-Rav Kahanaʾ* (edited by Bernard Mandelbaum).
4. *Midrash Tehillim* (Midrash of the Psalms), edited by Buber.
5. The Yemenite *Midrash ha-gadol* on the Pentateuch, by David ben Amram Adani (thirteenth century), which draws on earlier midrashic compilations (some no longer extant) and even Maimonides to form a collection of its own: *Genesis* and *Exodus* (edited by Margulies); *Leviticus* (edited by Nahum Rabinowitz and Adin Steinsalz); *Numbers* (edited by Solomon Fisch; a second edition was edited by Tsevi Rabinowitz); *Deuteronomy* (edited by Fisch).
6. *Yalquṭ Shimʿoni*, also of the thirteenth century, by a rabbi Shimʿon, which gathers its material from many earlier *midrashim* and covers the whole of Hebrew scriptures.

SEE ALSO Biblical Exegesis, article on Jewish Views; Torah.

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On all this literature see the classic presentation by Leopold Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden* (1832; 2d ed., Hildesheim, 1966) but even better the Hebrew translation thereof, *Ha-derashot be-Yisraʿel* (Jerusalem, 1947), which is brought up to date and corrected by Chanoch Albeck in the light of later research. Other midrashic collections not listed here, albeit of considerable importance, are also described and discussed in this work.

The best presentation of the sages as aggadic teachers is Wilhelm Bacher's *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, 2 vols. (1884–1890; reprint, Berlin, 1965–1966); *Die Agada der palästinischen Amoräer*, 3 vols. (Strasbourg, 1892–1899); and *Die Agada der babylonischen Amoräer* (Strasbourg, 1878). Bacher introduces each of the principal teachers separately, organizes the teachings around major categories as embodied in many scattered sayings, and comments on them. This work is also available in Hebrew translation by A. Z. Rabinowitz). See also E. E. Epstein-Halevi's *Ha-aggadah ha-historit biyyogerafit le-or meqorot Yevaniyim ve-Laṭiniyim* (Jerusalem, 1973).

The nature of Judaism as a religion as it emerges from aggadic *midrash* especially (but not exclusively) is best represented by Solomon Schechter's *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology* (London, 1909), reprinted as *Aspects of Rabbinic Theology* (New York, 1961); George Foot Moore's *Judaism in the First Three Centuries of the Christian Era, the Age of Tannaim*, 3 vols. (1927–1940; reprint, Cambridge, Mass., 1970); Joseph Bon-sir-ven's *Palestinian Judaism in the Time of Jesus Christ*, translated by William Wolf (New York, 1964); and E. E. Urbach's *The Sages: Their Concepts and Beliefs*, 2 vols., translated from the second Hebrew edition by Israel Abrahams (Jerusalem, 1975). For additional reading one may consult the selected titles listed below.

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JUDAH GOLDIN (1987)

MIDRASH AND AGGADAH [FURTHER CONSIDERATONS].

Scholarship on midrash and aggadah grew exponentially during the last two decades of the twentieth century. As a result, many of the areas covered by Judah Goldin in the first edition of this *Encyclopedia* have been subjected to further academic scrutiny and changed consensus. New avenues of inquiry have opened and are discussed here. This essay primarily covers the ideas and works of authors who have been active since the 1980s. The updated bibliography briefly annotates the works cited here.

ORIGINS OF MIDRASH. Goldin's assumptions regarding the biblical origins of midrash have been buttressed in a number of works. This insistence on biblical antecedents has been exhaustively demonstrated by Michael Fishbane (1985) and also linked to the scribal and wisdom circles of the late Second Temple era by James Kugel (1986, 2001). It should be noted that this tracing of the lineage of the midrash to its biblical roots is somewhat apologetic in nature in that it depicts rabbinic activity as preexistent within the canon and as the natural outgrowth from it. Nevertheless, the prerabbinic origins of midrash and aggadah are now considered well established.

COMPARISON WITH OTHER LITERATURES. The work of comparison of rabbinic literature and its exegetical activity with that of Hellenistic authors continues apace. Henry Fischel (1977) edited an anthology of essays on the issue, and he appended a thoroughly annotated bibliography. It is now a given in scholarly circles that midrashic literature sits quite comfortably within a Hellenistic milieu, as demonstrated in the Stroum Lectures by Lee Levine.

At the same time, scholarly attention has turned to comparison of the midrashic works of the rabbis with those of the Church Fathers. Here, the commonalities of their exegetical techniques are explored, and areas of rabbinic polemic against the church are also considered. The work of Burton L. Visotzky (1995) includes a consideration of methodology in these areas as well as a survey of recent scholarship on the topic. This comparison of rabbis and Church Fathers builds on the earlier comparative work done with Hellenistic literature and recognizes the common intellectual patrimony that both rabbis and Church Fathers owe to their Hellenistic forbears.

TEXTUAL CRITICISM AND TRANSLATION. The production of critical editions of rabbinic works of midrash and aggadah also continues. New editions, such as those of *Exodus Rabbah—Part I* (Shinan, 1984), *Midrash Mishle* (Visotzky, 1990), and *Pesiqta Rabbati* (Ulmer, 1997), now share a place on scholarly bookshelves. Other scholars, including Menahem Kahana (1999) and Menahem Kister (1998), published preliminary studies to critical editions. Although a debate continues between scholars such as Peter Schäfer (1986) and Chaim Milikowsky (1988, 1996) regarding the proper form such a critical edition should take, there is a growing interest in the use of electronic media in the production of online virtual editions and CD-ROM texts with search capabilities. This trend promises to enhance further scholarly activity in the study of midrash and aggadah and potentially obviate the debate regarding printed text editions.

A broad variety of translations into English were published in the last two decades of the twentieth century. Four principal publishing programs have enhanced this scholarly translation movement. Jacob Neusner and his students translated much of the library of rabbinic literature, including works on midrash and aggadah. The Yale Judaica Series and the Jewish Publication Society also have continued to produce high quality, annotated English translations of classic rabbinic works. Finally, the Soncino Press continues to reprint their earlier, yet still reliable translations. All in all, most major works of midrash and aggadah now are available in English translation.

FROM HISTORY TO LITERATURE. During the two-decade period that closed out the twentieth century, under the influence of the work of Morton Smith and his students (e.g., Jacob Neusner, Lee Levine, Shaye J. D. Cohen, and Seth Schwartz), there has been a decisive move away from treating works of midrash and aggadah as evidence for the history of the rabbinic period. This group of historians, writing primarily in North America, determined that rabbinic literature is largely undependable for historic documentation. The reasons for this vary, but include the lack of reliable attributions of traditions to given named rabbis, the insecure dating of traditions within rabbinic documents, and the didactic literary forms of the legends themselves.

In place of this negativist assessment and concomitant with the growth of postmodern literary studies in the greater academy, the study of midrash and aggadah has turned more and more to literary critical techniques for its methodology, as exemplified in the works of Jonah Fränkel (1981) and James Kugel (1990). Treating midrash and aggadah as literature values these texts in their own right and also yields differing results regarding the role of the literature. The recent attention to deconstruction and other postmodernist trends in the broader literary world has also affected the study of midrash and aggadah. The work of Susan Handelman (1982) sought to compare midrash and deconstruction (decisively criticized by David Stern, 1984). A broader anthology of essays linking the postmodernist literary critical movement with midrash was edited by Geoffrey Hartman and Sanford Budick (1986). The thoughtful work of David Stern (1996) is an excellent example of the move to literary theory on midrash and aggadah. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first century there has been a much broader interest in and study of midrash and aggadah as literature than at any time in modern history.

Richard Sarason (1981) led the way in treating midrash as literature rather than as historic documentation. His work caused scholars to cease looking for synagogue settings for what had been presumed to be the collected sermons and homilies of the rabbis. Instead, the works currently are treated as intertextual exegetical exercises by Daniel Boyarin (1990), as miscellanies of various literary and homiletic materials by Burton Visotzky (2003), and artfully edited anthologies by scholars as diverse as Jacob Neusner (1985) and Norman Cohen (1981).

A form of midrash called the *petihah*, or its Aramaic form, *petihta*, best exemplifies the debate regarding the question of synagogue setting versus literary compilation. Some scholars, including Joseph Heinemann, hold the opinion that this form, which is sometimes translated as a "proem," is a redacted sermon or an introduction to the weekly triennial Torah lection in the synagogues of the Land of Israel—although they are careful to refer to the form as a "literary homily." Other scholars, including Sarason (1982) and Visotzky (2003), imagine the *petihah* as a primarily literary or editorial construct, devised as a means of ordering and anthologizing earlier textual and oral traditions. The current trend toward treating midrash and aggadah first and foremost as literature is readily apparent, even when scholars continue to use the historical-critical tools of analysis associated with the old school of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, such as philology and traditions-history. Günter Stemberger's (1992) update of Hermann Strack's classic *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* remains the best summary of the now-waning historical-critical avenue of research.

ORALITY AND FOLKLORE. Scholars are also currently considering a newly nuanced view of the oral nature of the midrash and aggadah. Obviously, all of the midrashic works extant are literary, in that they are preserved in a written text form. In the past, however, the debate regarding the origins of these traditions was framed as either there are oral or written materials, with no middle ground. Today, the scholarship of Martin Jaffee (1998, 2001) advocates a blurring of the relationship between the possible oral origins of midrash and aggadah and their written record. Jaffee suggests that each sermon may have been an oral performance of traditional materials and that texts as they now exist may thus be *librettos* or snapshots of given performances of these traditions. Jaffee's theory helps explain the existence of variant textual traditions, allows for the literary development and editorial redaction of these rabbinic works, and potentially maintains a grip on the theory of oral origins in the "performance" of the synagogue sermon. This area of scholarship offers great promise for future research on understanding the origins and transmission of midrash and aggadah.

Another direction of research related to oral performance is the treatment of some parts of the corpus of midrash and aggadah as folk literature. Particularly in Israel, folklorists such as Dov Noy and Galit Hasan-Rokem treat elements of aggadah as folklore, subjecting it to the types of analyses common in that cross-cultural field of study. Another field of study, still operating under the assumption of an original synagogue setting for midrash and aggadah, displays a growing interest in the nexus of midrash and aggadah with the Aramaic translations of the Torah called *Targum*, notably in the scholarly writings of Avigdor Shinan (1992). Yosef Yahalom explores the relationship of both of these genres of rabbinic literature with synagogue liturgical poetry, *Piyyut.*

OTHER SUBCATEGORIES OF MIDRASH. There is growing interest in the subcategories of midrashic literature, as evidenced by the studies in the *petihah* and the genres of *Targum* and *Piyyut.* The parable *(mashal)* in the midrash garnered the interest of David Stern (1981, 1991) and Daniel Boyarin (1985), who debated the role of the *mashal* in the pages of a journal of Jewish literary history. The *mashal* continues to be of interest to those who would compare it to the New Testament parable and forms of Hellensitic *allegoresis.*

The religious ideas expressed in midrash and aggadah also remain of great interest to students and scholars alike. The theological ideas of the literature and their relation to Christian or Hellenistic philosophical thought of the Late Antique period of Roman history are discussed by a broad range of both Jewish and Christian scholars. Rabbinic theology is decidedly unsystematic and is expressed, instead, through *mashal*, various exegeses, and narratives. Michael Fishbane (2003) has considered the varying modes of rabbinic mythopoesis, the ways in which the rabbis reshape and expand earlier biblical and ancient Near Eastern myth. The beginning of a broad intellectual history of rabbinic thought has also been ably explored by David Kraemer (1990).

MIDRASH AND AGGADAH. This discussion of the ideas of midrash and aggadah leads to a consideration of rabbinic literature as composed of two interrelated, yet distinct modes of narrative. In the first, midrash, the rabbis perform exegesis of Scripture, playfully yet seriously unpacking the Sacred Writ. However, rabbinic exegesis of Scripture, which might be construed as narrowly focused explication of biblical words and phrases, can and often does yield narrative, as demonstrated by Israeli scholars Ofra Meir (1987) and Fränkel.

In the second mode of narrative, aggadah, the rabbis employ a style less directly tethered to Scripture, often in the form of Sage Tales about one another. These Sage Tales, although emphatically not biography, are a form of religious didactic fiction, a Jewish version of the legends or *Lives of the Saints.* This latter aggadah is the subject of intensive study relying on literary techniques such as New Criticism in the works of Fränkel and his American student Jeffrey Rubenstein (1999). Further consideration of this type of rabbinic narrative has been done under the rubric of new historicism by Daniel Boyarin (1993). The results of these various studies yield a corpus of rabbinic short stories, as it were, which express the religious and social ideas of the rabbis through tales and legends about the characters who are the very authors of the literature itself.

IMPACT OF FEMINISM. Feminist theory is one of the other manifestations of postmodern literary criticism that has had a profound impact on the study of midrash and aggadah. In this arena, there is still a great deal of criticism needed, and such studies as those of Judith Baskin (2002) help lay the groundwork by explicating texts about women in rabbinic literature. The work of Miriam Peskowitz (1997) offers a gendered reading on all aspects of rabbinic literature and bears a great deal of fruit as a sophisticated methodology with roots in feminist studies.

Feminism and this new approach to midrash also gave birth to an outpouring of creative writing about women in biblical narratives. In some instances, a Bible story is retold from the perspective of a woman character. In further instances, voice is given to female characters who otherwise are silent. Works such as Anita Diamant's *The Red Tent* (1997) achieved enormous commercial popularity. Many other studies offer feminist perspectives on biblical narratives, and these, too, contribute to what is being called modern midrash. Norma Rosen's *Biblical Women Unbound* (1996) is a representative work of this latter genre of current fiction.

OTHER FORMS OF MODERN MIDRASH. In addition to feminist studies, other types of modern midrash are burgeoning in creative areas as diverse as fiction, poetry, television and film. In fiction, older works such as that of Thomas Mann's *Joseph and His Brothers* (1948) have been supplemented by writings such as Israeli author Shulamit Hareven's *The Miracle Hater* (1988). The nexus of midrash and aggadah with poetry is ancient, going back to classical *piyyut.* In the modern era, Israeli writers in particular offer poetry that contemplates biblical themes, such as the works of Dan Pagis and Yehuda Amichai. Again in Israel, a great deal of television programming has been devoted to midrashic explorations of the Bible. In the United States, in addition to the regular fare of costume-dramas, public television has taken up "Genesis: A Living Conversation," in a ten-hour series hosted by Bill Moyers. Finally, even Hollywood produced modern midrash, most notably the animated feature *Prince of Egypt.*

In summary, the study of midrash and aggadah continues to expand in both academic and popular settings. The annotated bibliography that follows offers sources for more in-depth study.

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BURTON L. VISOTZKY (2005)

MIGRATION AND RELIGION. Migration almost always affects religion. This is so because when people migrate to a new place they alter routines of daily life, and new experience inevitably acts upon even the most tenaciously held religious tradition. Conversely, religion often inspires migration.

RELIGIOUS MOTIVES. Organized religious groups may decide to move to a place where their pursuit of holiness will face fewer obstacles. Some successful colonies of this kind played important historic roles by defining patterns of conduct for larger, less religiously incandescent communities that succeeded them.

Among Christians and Muslims, though rarely for other religions, armed migration also played an important part in spreading and defending the faith. Crusade and *jihād*, between them, defined the frontier between *Dār al-Islām* and Christendom for more than a millennium, from the first Muslim conquests of the seventh century until the secularized statecraft of the eighteenth pushed religious antipathy to the margins of military enterprise. The Muslim conquest of India (eleventh to seventeenth century) was likewise sustained by a flow of fighting men who came to Hindustan in order to combat infidelity, and, perchance, to acquire fame and wealth in the process.

Personal and private pursuit of holiness has also inspired innumerable pilgrims to visit shrines that are usually located where their religion originated or had its earliest efflorescence. A contrary flow of holy men beyond the frontiers of the society of their birth has often led to the conversion of strangers, even across linguistic and cultural barriers. Overall and in general we may therefore say that religiously inspired migration, whether peaceable or warlike, had a great deal to do with the definition of civilizational and cultural frontiers in historic times.

Pilgrimage affirmed and helped to homogenize religious and secular culture within each civilization. It became especially important for Islam. Long after the caliphate collapsed, the thousands of pilgrims who traveled to Mecca each year from all over the Muslim world maintained a loose but effective unity among the community of the faithful. Holy war and peaceable conversion on the other hand, enhanced heterogeneity by bringing new populations within the circle of one or another religion from time to time. Diversity did not bother Hindus and Buddhists very much, but new frictions arose among Jews, Christians, and Muslims with every missionary success, since converts inevitably retained some remnants of older "pagan" outlooks and habits. For these faiths, therefore, local and sectarian diversity remained in perpetual conflict with the ideal of uniform and punctilious obedience to God's will as authoritatively defined by religious experts and administrators.

Second only to crusade and counter-crusade, religiously inspired collective migrations offer the most dramatic manifestations of how human motility and religiosity interact. The migrants' goal, of course, is to find a place where the will of God can be more perfectly obeyed. Undoubtedly, most sectarian enterprises of this sort do not last very long. The mass suicide of Jim Jones's followers in the jungles of Guyana in 1978 was a reminder of how such ventures may collapse in grisly failure. At the other extreme, the Puritans of Massachusetts and the Mormons of Utah dominated their chosen localities for generations and still influence the mainstream of American life. In Russia, communities of Old Believers played almost as prominent a part, for they, too, throve on the frontiers and influenced the wider community around them by pioneering privately managed trade and industry in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In the deeper past, monastic communities offered the most important examples of collective migration undertaken for religious reasons. Buddhist, Daoist, Shintō, and Christian monasteries were often set up in remote rural localities where the monks' devotion and learning propagated and sustained the faith among surrounding populations while also providing a focus for economic exchange and (at least sometimes) for political activity as well. Such monastic centers were especially important in times and places where towns were absent or poorly developed, and tended to become marginal in proportion to the rise of secular urban centers.

The initial establishment of such monasteries was achieved by deliberate, collective migration of bodies of monks or nuns. Subsequent recruitment came from far and wide, since the inhabitants did not reproduce themselves. Monastic establishments thus depended on and could only thrive by retaining connection with the currents of personal migration in search of holiness that flowed within (and sometimes between) each of the Eurasian civilizations.

Private, personal migration for religious reasons is difficult to document since itinerant holy men, living on alms, seldom recorded their experience in writing. The forest retreats of ancient India where the Upaniṣads were generated constitute the oldest attested examples of personal, private migration away from the toils of ordinary society in order to pursue religious enlightenment and truth. They were, perhaps, archetypical. At any rate, India's warm climate was propitious since it allowed seekers after holiness to survive on little food and with little clothing. The ascetic way of life, in turn, encouraged and sustained mystic visions of transcendental reality—visions that validated the holy way of life and confirmed the aspiration of escaping from the ills of this world by entering into contact with suprasensory reality.

Transient and personal master-disciple relationships among Indian holy men took a new and enduring form among the followers of Gautama, the Buddha. For, on the occasion of his death (484 BCE), the Buddha's followers defined a holy way of life that combined itinerant mendicancy with periods of rest and recuperation in specially constructed monasteries. Following this regimen, Buddhist monks soon penetrated far beyond the borders of India, traveling along the caravan routes of Asia to the Far East and boarding merchant vessels bound for Southeast Asia as well. In ensuing centuries, holy men of other faiths (Manichaeans and Nestorian Christians especially) adopted similar modes of life. Later still, Daoists and adherents of Shintō established monastic communities modeled more or less closely on the Buddhist prototype.

Wandering holy men, whether of the Buddhist or some other persuasion, had much in common with the merchant-peddlers who frequented the same trade routes. Indeed, these itinerant holy men *were* a kind of merchant whose stock-in-trade consisted of esoteric knowledge and personal experience of the transcendental world. They lived, in effect, by exchanging their special access to the supernatural for the alms that sustained their bodily wants.

Mainstream Christianity and Islam went in opposite directions in developing the Buddhist pattern of religiously motivated migration. Early in the history of Christian asceticism, monastic rules inhibited the private pursuit of holiness by itinerant almstakers. Yet this did not prevent the systematic establishment of new monasteries at distant frontier locations. Rather, monasteries played a leading role in spreading Christian civilization beyond the borders of the Roman Empire, both in the west among Germanic peoples and in the east among the Slavs. Then, after the voyages of discovery by Europeans during the sixteenth century, missionary orders met with enormous success in converting Amerindians to Roman Catholicism, but failed to win many Asians or Africans to their faith. Protestant missions flourished mainly in the nineteenth century, and probably converted more Asians and Africans to the secular aspects of Western civilization than to their various versions of Christianity.

Within the realm of Islam, on the other hand, the initial effort to make the entire community perfectly obedient to God left no room for monks or any other kind of specially holy personages. The Qurʾān accordingly forbade monastic vows. As a result, when the first burst of conquest came to a halt, pious Muslim merchants took over the missionary role that had been exercised for other faiths by monks and other religious specialists. Thus with the advent of Islam the convergence between missionary and merchant, already apparent in Buddhist practice, became complete.

To be sure, from the twelfth century onward, dervish communities, somewhat analogous to the monastic orders of other religions, arose within Islam. They flourished most in the frontier lands where the expanding Turkish power encountered the Christian populations of Asia Minor and the Balkans. Dervish forms of piety had an important role in converting Christians to Islam along that frontier, but the dervishes never escaped the taint of heterodoxy.

There is profound irony in the upshot of all these various religiously motivated patterns of migration. Puritans of New England as much as Old Believers in Russia, along with all the variegated company of monks and holy men who propagated Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, and other faiths along remote frontiers, all sought to escape from the corruptions of civilized society as exemplified in their initial homelands. Yet the net effect of their efforts at withdrawal and pursuit of a more perfect obedience to the precepts of their religion was to spread civilized skills and knowledge among previously simpler societies. Institutional success in the form of flourishing monastic or civil communities, dedicated to holiness though they might be, perversely propagated the very corruptions of civilization which the founders had so earnestly wished to escape from. Of course, discrepancy between intentions and accomplishments is normal in human affairs, but the gap is seldom so patent as in these instances.

SECULAR MOTIVES. Migration undertaken for other than religious reasons also had the overall effect of spreading civilized complexity. Its immediate impact on religion was usually to provoke some sort of blending of old and new traditions as immigrants encountered new peoples and new conditions of life along with alien faiths and religious practices. But religious interactions exhibited many variations, depending on conditions of the encounters and on choices individual leaders and teachers made in coping with unprecedented novelties.

If one seeks to make sense of such diversity it is useful to distinguish between migrations that carry a particular population up a cultural gradient and migrations that carry people in an opposite direction toward frontiers where civilized institutions weaken or disappear.

A people that moves up a cultural gradient may do so as conqueror or captive. Peaceable infiltration of individuals or small family groups is also theoretically possible but remained statistically unimportant until the nineteenth century, when the advent of superior public peace, efficient communications, and mechanically powered transport made that kind of migration feasible on a mass scale for the first time. It follows that the Israelites' conquest of Canaan on the one hand and the African slave trade on the other are the appropriate models for most historical migration, unlike the sort of individual and family migration that did so much to populate the United States between the 1840s and 1920s.

In matters of religion, conquerors and captives alike have three options when arriving in lands whose skills are superior to their own. The newcomers may accept the established religion of the land to which they have come, retaining only a few telltale traces of their own older practices. The Akkadian invaders of ancient Sumer seem to have accepted this option at the very beginning of civilized history; Turks coming into the realm of Islam either as slaves or as conquerors did the same. So did the African slaves imported to North America to work on plantations.

Slaves had little choice as a rule. Forcibly separated from the social context that had nurtured them, they could not, as more or less isolated individuals, carry very much of their native religion with them. Conquerors, however, were in a position to choose. Nevertheless, simple maintenance of accustomed rites and ideas was seldom possible. New experiences, ideas, and circumstances crowded in on successful conquerors. To resist their subjects' religions took a special effort, all the more difficult in view of the fact that the established rituals of the land were already adapted to the circumstances of civilized and agricultural life.

The Bible record shows how hard it was for the Israelites to maintain their desert faith in the land of Canaan after settling down to an agricultural existence. Energetic, violent means were needed to repress Baal worship. This was the work of kings and prophets, who in reaffirming the old religion in fact transformed it. That transformation is what made Judaism so enormously influential in the world at large, but its influence also attests the exceptional character of the prophetic response to the conditions of agricultural civilization.

Other invaders who rejected the religion of the land they had conquered were nonetheless affected by contact with people of a different faith. This happened even when the subjected population accepted the faith of their conquerors en masse. The contamination of Turkish Islam with Christian elements was a pronounced feature of Ottoman life, for example, while the Mughals in India alternated between a policy of permitting and resisting the parallel contamination of their faith with Hindu practices and ideas. A similar situation prevailed in the crusading states of the Levant, and when the Mongol Empire was at its height, Khubilai Khan's policy of patronizing all available religions, so as not to foreclose any avenue of access to the supernatural, shocked and puzzled Christians and Muslims alike.

A third policy that attracted many "barbarian" conquerors was to try for the best of both worlds by espousing a heretical form of civilized religion. This marked the conquerors off from their subjects and helped to maintain a collective *esprit de corps* among the invaders, while also allowing the new rulers to benefit from advantages of civilized religion—for example, literacy, an authoritative scripture, and a hierarchical priesthood. The German tribesmen who adhered to Arian Christianity when invading the Roman Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries followed such a policy. The Uighurs, who became Manichaeans, and the Khazars, who became Jews, illustrate a variation on the same theme, for the religions of their choice served to mark them off from neighbors and subjects while at the same time offering rulers the support of a fully civilized faith.

Nevertheless, such barbarian polities were transitory and so were the heresies they found attractive. The reactions that mattered were assimilation to civilized forms of religion on the one hand and inventive rejection on the other that has been so central in the history of Judaism, of Shintō, and, since the mid-nineteenth century, to the evolution of Hinduism and Islam as well.

Migrations undertaken for economic or political reasons that carry a people to lands less developed than those they leave behind ordinarily have less impact on traditional religious practices. The Chinese migration from north to south that created the imposing mass of contemporary China, for example, had no very obvious effect on Chinese religion. The same may be said of Japanese expansion northward through their islands and of the German *Drang nach Osten*.

Only in modern times did it become possible for family groups and isolated individuals to migrate safely toward an open frontier. In such circumstances, of course, pioneers left organized religion behind. This prepared the ground for itinerant revivalists. Emotionally vibrant forms of established religion fared best in such circumstances, with conspicuous individual conversion the goal.

Proletarian migrants into cities faced circumstances similar in some important respects to the deculturation and individual isolation of the rural frontier. It is not really surprising therefore that the Methodists who first addressed themselves to unchurched urban populations of Great Britain were also among the most successful on the American frontier.

Other varieties of religious revivalism are currently flourishing among urban immigrants, both in the United States and beyond its borders. Islamic revivalism is the most politically prominent of such movements, but sectarian forms of Christianity also have a vigorous life in American cities and in many developing nations, while offshoots of Buddhism can also be observed making headway in urban contexts, both Eastern and Western. Marxism, too, is no more than a secular heresy competing in this environment for human commitment to its materialist doctrines.

CONCLUDING REMARK. In the world at large, as populations increase and migratory flows swell to unexampled proportions, religious interminglings and interactions—both hostile and pacific—are sure to intensify. The future history of humankind will in all likelihood be written around the clash of religions and cultures that is taking place around us, for secular thought and abstract reasoning are weak reeds by comparison with the tidal flows of faith and feeling that govern human conduct today as much as at any time in the past.

SEE ALSO Crusades; Jihād; Mendicancy; Missions; Monasticism; Pilgrimage; Zionism.

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WILLIAM H. MCNEILL (1987)
Revised Bibliography

MI LA RAS PA (MILAREPA) (1028/40–1111/23) was a highly revered Tibetan yogin, famous both for his austere hermetic lifestyle and for the Tantric instructions he imparted through songs of realization. Mi la ras pa is considered an early founder of the Bka' brgyud (Kagyu) sect of Tibetan Buddhism, and therefore an heir to the Tantric tradition of the Indian *siddhas*, or spiritual adepts, Tilopa (fl. tenth century), Nāropa (c. 1016–1100), and Maitrīpa (1007–1085). He is also esteemed throughout the Himalayan Buddhist world as an exemplar of religious dedication, perseverance through hardship, and meditative accomplishment. Themes principally associated with his life story—purification of past misdeeds, faith and devotion to the *guru*, ardor in meditation and yogic practice, and the possibility of attaining liberation in a single lifetime—have shaped the development of Buddhist teaching and practice in Tibet. Mi la ras pa's biographical tradition also inspired works of significant literary achievement in which readers found not only the portrait of an exemplary life but an exhortation to lead such a life themselves.

As a child, the yogin was called Thos pa dga' (Delightful to Hear) and was later given the Tantric initiation name Bzhad pa'i rdo rje (Laughing Vajra). But the master is ubiquitously known as Mi la ras pa. *Mi la* was his clan name; *ras pa* is derived from the single cotton robe (*ras*) worn by Tibetan anchorites—an attire Mi la ras pa retained for most of his life. The name is therefore an appellation, perhaps translated as "The Cotton-Clad Mi la." He is universally addressed with the title *rje btsun*, a word difficult to translate (it is often rendered as "Venerable Lord") but which carries the meaning of both skillful guide and unsullied master.

Mi la ras pa's life story has been the subject of a vast hagiographic tradition in Tibet. Perhaps the earliest record of the yogin's life and teachings is found in an extensive work known as the *Bu chen bcu gnyis* (The twelve great disciples version), purportedly written toward the end of Mi la ras pa's life by a group of his close disciples. Accounts of the biography soon proliferated, and Tibetan authors writing several centuries later mention the existence of more than one hundred versions of the life story.

In the late fifteenth century, the iconoclastic author Gtsang smyon Heruka (1452–1507), the so-called Madman of Central Tibet, completed what would become Mi la ras pa's definitive portrait. Beginning in 1488 he published two major works concerning the yogin: a sacred biography, often known simply as the *Mi la ras pa'i rnam thar* (The life of Mi la ras pa), and a collection of versified teachings organized within short framing tales, the *Mi la ras pa'i mgur 'bum* (Hundred thousand songs of Mi la ras pa). Cast as a first person narrative, the *Life* draws upon traditional models of Buddhist hagiography (including the historical Buddha's pursuit of enlightenment), poignantly describing Mi la ras pa's childhood, his search for a Buddhist master, and his rigorous practice of solitary meditation. The latter collection presents Mi la ras pa's teaching career, his assembling of disciples, subjugation of harmful spirits, and forging of a sacred landscape across the Himalayan region. As its name suggests, the work also preserves Mi la ras pa's primary legacy: his songs of practical instruction and inner realization. The number "one hundred thousand" in the title is a conventional reckoning used to signify a great quantity. Compilations called one hundred thousand songs (*mgur 'bum*) became a popular genre of Tibetan writing, of which Mi la ras pa's was arguably the most famous example.

While clearly based on earlier accounts, these two works became classics in Tibet. As literary masterpieces of the highest order, they quickly eclipsed all previous accounts of Mi la ras pa's life. They were also promoted, and promptly accepted, as presenting the authorized version of the saint's life, which came to be known by generations of readers around the world. Innumerable Tibetan authors refer to Gtsang smyon Heruka's editions; modern scholars continue to hail Mi la ras pa as "Tibet's most celebrated saint," largely based on the popularity of these two works.

Although his dates are debated, biographies agree that Mi la ras pa was born to a prosperous family in the Gung thang region of southwest Tibet. At an early age, after the death of his father, he lived with his mother and sister under the care of a paternal uncle, with the family estate stipulated to return to the boy upon his reaching majority. The rapacious uncle instead appropriated the estate for himself, reducing Mi la ras pa and his family to lives of poverty and privation. At the behest of his mother, Mi la ras pa sought out instruction in black magic and hail making in order to exact revenge upon their manipulative relatives.

In central Tibet, Mi la ras pa found several skilled teachers, fervently applied himself to their instruction, and quickly showed signs of success. Traditional sources describe how, through the power of a particularly effective magical rite, he murdered thirty-five people gathered one evening for the wedding reception of his uncle's family, sparing his aunt and uncle only so that they could bear witness to his revenge. In retaliation, the surviving relatives conspired to kill Mi la ras pa's mother. To defend her, Mi la ras pa once again applied himself to the practice of magic, this time destroying the crops of his village under a great hailstorm. Eventually, through the ensuing tumult, Mi la ras pa came to realize the magnitude of his misdeeds. Feeling deep contrition for his past actions, he sought to redeem himself from their karmic effects through the practice of Buddhism. He secured the support of his former magic instructor, promised to devote himself to the *dharma*, and set out in search of a Buddhist master.

Mi la ras pa briefly studied Rdzogs chen (dzogchen, Great Completion) practice under one lama before meeting his principal *guru*, the great translator of Indian texts Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros (Marpa Chokyi Lodro, 1002/1012–1097). The relationship that developed between Mar pa and Mi la ras pa would become a celebrated example of the link forged between *guru* and disciple in Vajrayāna Buddhism, emphasizing the central role of faith and devotion in the reliance upon a spiritual guide. It is said that the mere mention of Mar pa's name caused Mi la ras pa's body to shake with devotion. Mar pa, however, was famous for his quick-tempered and demanding personality, and he did not immediately teach his new disciple. He instead subjected Mi la ras pa to repeated abuse, segregating him from other students and forcing him to undergo various ordeals, such as the famous trial of constructing immense stone towers. Pushed to the brink of despair, Mi la ras pa contemplated escape, and later suicide. Mar pa finally assuaged his disciple, revealing that the trials were actually a means of purifying previous negative *karma*. He explained that Mi la ras pa was, from the beginning, a disciple prophesied by Mar pa's own *guru*, the Indian *siddha* Nāropa. Mi la ras pa received numerous Tantric initiations and instructions—especially those of *mahāmudrā* and the practice of *gtum mo* (*tumo*), or yogic "inner heat"—together with the command that he should persevere against all hardship, meditating in solitary caves and mountain retreats.

Mi la ras pa spent the rest of his life practicing meditation in seclusion and teaching small groups of disciples, mainly through spontaneous poetry and songs of realization. He had little interest in philosophical discourse and no tolerance for intellectual pretension. His songs are composed in vernacular idioms, abandoning the highly ornamental formal structures of classical poetry in favor of a simple, direct, and often playful style. Employing metaphors from everyday Tibetan life, they illuminate the nature of mind, emphasize meditation over study, and reflect a love for solitude in nature.

Mi la ras pa traveled widely across the Himalayan region where he attracted a devout following among ascetics and householders alike. Dozens of locations associated with the yogin have become important pilgrimage sites and retreat centers. He spent much of his life in southern Tibet, at caves sites such as Brag dkar rta so (Drakar Taso, White Rock Horse Tooth), La phyi (Lapchi), and Chu dbar (Chubar),and he visited Nepal on several occasions. According to tradition, he secured Mount Kailåsa (Kailash) as a Buddhist pilgrimage site after defeating a priest of the Bon religion in a contest of magic. One account records his stay at the acclaimed Stag tshang (Taktsang) hermitage in Bhutan, first consecrated by the eighth-century Indian adept Padmasambhava. Mi la ras pa's disciples, including the illustrious Sgam po pa Bsod nams rin chen (Gampopa Sonam Rinchen, 1079–1153) and Ras chung pa Rdo rje grags (Rechungpa Dorje Drak, 1084–1161), established a lineage of Bka' brgyud masters that continues to play an important role in the dissemination of Tibetan Buddhism.

The figure of Mi la ras pa has likewise remained deeply embedded within the Tibetan religious world. Buddhist practitioners of all sectarian affiliations throughout the Himalayan region still memorize his songs; elaborate temple murals and scroll paintings record episodes from his life story in great detail; monastic dances reenact his meetings with important disciples; Tantric rituals and *guruyoga sādhanas* invoke his presence as an enlightened being; and new generations of Buddhist yogins embark on solitary meditation retreats, often in caves that he is said to have inhabited, with him as a chief inspiration. Mi la ras pa's biographical tradition also played a central role in the study of Tibet by early European and American scholars. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, the *Life* and *Hundred Thousand Songs* were among the first Tibetan texts to receive widespread attention. Compilers of the earliest Tibetan-English dictionaries made frequent use of passage from these works as models of Tibetan literary usage and style. The figure of Mi la ras pa, the tales of his life, and the penetrating wisdom of his songs persist as part of a living tradition within Tibetan Buddhist communities, and now serve as potent symbols of Tibet to the rest of the world.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Tibet; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism; Mahāsiddhas; Mar pa.

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The first complete English translation of Mi la ras pa's life story was edited by W. Y. Evans-Wentz (in collaboration with the Sikkimese translator Kazi Dawa Samdup), published as *Tibet's Great Yogī Milarepa* (Oxford, 1928). A modern translation by Lobsang P. Lhalungpa, *The Life of Milarepa* (New York, 1977), has now largely superseded this pioneering effort. The standard collection of Mi la ras pa's songs appears in Garma C. C. Chang, trans., *The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa: The Life-Story and Teaching of the Greatest Poet-Saint Ever to Appear in the History of Buddhism* (New Hyde Park, N.Y., 1962). Two further volumes of Mi la ras pa's stories and songs have been translated by Lama Kunga and Brian Cutillo in *Drinking the Mountain Stream* (Novato, Calif., 1978) and *Miraculous Journey* (Novato, Calif., 1986). These works are of particular interest since they include material left out of Gtsang smyon Heruka's versions and may therefore offer, in the translators' words, "pieces from the cutting-room floor."

ANDREW QUINTMAN (2005)

MILLENARIANISM

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
CHINESE MILLENARIAN MOVEMENTS

MILLENARIANISM: AN OVERVIEW

Millenarianism, known also as millennialism, is the belief that the end of this world is at hand and that in its wake will appear a New World, inexhaustibly fertile, harmonious, sanctified, and just. The more exclusive the concern with the End itself, the more such belief shades off toward the catastrophic; the more exclusive the concern with the New World, the nearer it approaches the utopian.

MILLENARIAN THOUGHT. Complexity in millenarian thought derives from questions of sign, sequence, duration, and human agency. What are the marks of the End? At what stage are we now? Exactly how much time do we have? What should we do? Although warranted by cosmology, prophecy, or ancestral myth, the End usually stands in sudden proximity to the immediate era. The trail of events may at last have been tracked to the cliff's edge, or recent insight may have cleared the brier from some ancient oracle.

The root term, *millennium*, refers to a first-century eastern Mediterranean text, the *Apocalypse of John* or *Book of Revelation*, itself a rich source of disputes about the End. John of Patmos here describes in highly figured language a penultimate battle between forces of good and evil, succeeded by a thousand-year reign of saintly martyrs with Jesus, and then the defeat of Satan, the Last Judgment, a new heaven, and a new earth. This interim, earthly reign is literally the millennium (from Lat. *mille*, "thousand"; Gr., *chil*, whence "chiliasm," sometimes applied pejoratively to belief in an indulgent, carnal millennium, or "chiliad"). Not all millenarians expect an interim paradise before an ultimate heavenly assumption; not all anticipate precisely one thousand years of peace; not all stipulate a messianic presence or a saintly elite. Like John, however, they have constant recourse to images, for millenarians are essentially metaphorical thinkers.

In theory, as a speculative poetic enterprise, millenarianism is properly an adjunct of eschatology, the study of last things. In practice, millenarianism is distinguished by close scrutiny of the present, from which arise urgent issues of human agency. Once the fateful coincidence between history and prophecy has been confirmed, must good people sit tight, or must they gather together, withdraw to a refuge? Should they enter the wilderness to construct a holy city, or should they directly engage the chaos of the End, confront the regiments of evil? Millenarians answer with many voices, rephrasing their positions as they come to terms with an End less imminent or less cataclysmic. Where their image of the New World is that of a golden age, they begin with a restorative ethos, seeking a return to a lost purity. Where their image is that of the land of the happy dead or a distant galaxy of glory, their ethos is initially retributive, seeking to balance an unfortunate past against a fortunate future. Few millenarians remain entirely passive, quietly awaiting a supernatural transformation of the world; those who go about their lives without allusion to the looming End customarily escape notice. Most millenarians conflate the restorative and retributive. They act in some way to assure themselves that the New World will not be unfamiliar. Images of a fortunate future are primed with nostalgia.

A millenarian's sense of time, consequently, is neither strictly cyclical nor linear. However much the millennium is to be the capstone to time, as in Christian and Islamic traditions, it is also in character and affect the return of that carefree era posited for the start of things. However much the millennium is to be an impost between two of the infinite arches of time, as in Aztec and Mahāyāna Buddhist traditions, it is for all mortal purposes a release from pain and chaos for many generations.

To the uninitiated, the millenarian mathematics of time may seem mysteriously scaled: how can one account for that arbitrary algebra that assigns the value 3,500 years to the locution "a time, and times, and half a time" (*Rv.* 12:14)? Millenarian thought is figurative in both senses of that word—metaphorical and numerological. Intricate play with numbers of years is founded upon a faith in the impending aesthetic wholeness of the world-historical process. Millenarian searches for laws of historical correspondence between the individually human and the universally human bear a formal similarity to one another, whether the searchers are nineteenth-century social visionaries (the Saint-Simonian Gustave d'Eichthal, the young Hegelian August von Cieszkowski, the Confucian reformer Kang Yuwei), seventeenth-century theologians (the Puritan chronologist Joseph Mede, the natural philosopher Isaac Newton, the Shīʿī Neoplatonist Muḥammad Sadr al-Dīn), or twelfth-century monastics (the abbess Hildegard of Bingen, the abbot Joachim of Fiore, the White Lotus monk Mao Ziyuan). Each discerns a pattern of historical ages that promises both completion and recapitulation.

World religions have known two deep reservoirs of millenarian thought, one noumenal and Gnostic, the other phenomenal and nomothetic. When the reservoirs empty into each other—when mathematicians allude to secret knowledge or contemplatives allude to laws of physics (as in fifth-century southern China, seventeenth-century Western Europe, twentieth-century North America)—millenarianism waxes strong. Alchemy and astrology, nuclear physics and molecular genetics share with qabbalistic magic and Tantric yoga an appreciation for techniques of prediction and mutation. Popularly set in sharp contrast to millenarian "fanatics," scientists and mystics have in fact been crucial to the cultural continuity of millenarian thought; they have preserved an intense concern with processes of transformation and the pulsing of time.

Among the world religions we can locate two constellations of millenarian thought about an epochal pulsing of time, one Zoroastrian-Jewish-Greek-Christian, the other Hindu-Buddhist-Daoist-Confucian. In the Mediterranean littoral, an epochal aesthetic was elaborated by scribal elites who were resistant first to Greek rule (thus producing the Jewish *Book of Daniel* and the lost sources for the Mazdean *Apocalypse of Hystaspe*), then to Roman rule (producing the Egyptian *Potter's Prophecy* and Judeo-Christian apocalypses such as *Enoch* and the *Epistle of Barnabas*), and finally to Muslim rule (producing the Syrian-Christian *Revelations* of Pseudo-Methodius). Feasting upon a cosmopolitan diet of Zoroastrian cosmology, Jewish notions of Sabbath, and Greco-Roman ideas of historical recurrence, these literati stamped the disturbing flux of empires with the template of the divine creative week, which they saw being played out again at length in human history through a reassuringly predictable series of world kingdoms over a period of six or seven thousand years. At the end lay a millennial sabbath, transposed from a time of perpetual rest to a time of truce and earthly reward prior to the final onslaughts of the dragon, tyrant, or false messiah.

This demonic figure of imperium acquired a righteous cousin, the Last World Emperor, whose inexplicable abdication would open the way to his black kin. The dialectic between devious shape-changing evil and prematurely vanishing good, played out against a Christian backdrop that placed a redemptive event close to the center of Roman history, gradually reversed epochal theory, which had begun with a fourfold schema of decadence from golden antiquity. The upshot by the fourteenth century was a progressive tripartite schema bounded on one side by fall and flood, on the other by fire and judgment, and aesthetically framed: here a primordial earthly paradise spoiled by a fork-tongued beast; there a climactic earthly paradise spiked by a horned beast, the antichrist. Between these ran three broad historical ages, each with its bright dawn and horrid nightfall. These ages were identified with other trinities (Father-Law-Justice, Son-Faith-Grace, Spirit-Love-Freedom). Over the next centuries, the millennium itself was annexed to the third age and enshrined in historical rhetoric (classical, medieval, renaissance; feudal, capitalist, socialist). Nineteenth-century exponents of infinite progress had only to remove the limiting aesthetic frame.

Across East Asia, a millenarian aesthetic developed within contexts far less adversarial, and we find no figure antiphonal to the universal perfect ruler (the Hindu *cakravartin*, the Buddhist Rudra Cakin, the Javanese hybrid *Ratu Adil)* or to the future incarnate savior (the Hindu Kalkin, the Maitreya Buddha, a reborn Laozi). Furthermore, the epochal scheme was overwhelmingly degenerative: it fixed all recorded history within the last of the four increasingly chaotic eras (*yuga*s) of the aeon (*kalpa*). The problem here was not to expand the prophetic horizon but to foreshorten the 4.3 million-year Indian *kalpa* cycle so that hundreds of thousands of distressing years of the fourth era, the *kaliyuga*, did not still lie ahead.

Each *kalpa* was to end in a cosmic disaster that would, after some blank time, initiate a new cycle whose first *yuga* was always a golden age. Strategic foreshortening brought present catastrophe stern to snout with a renewed world. The foreshortening began in northern India with early Mahāyāna Buddhist images of *bodhisattva*s, compassionate enlightened beings who chose to work in this world for the benefit of others rather than withdraw into final *nirvāṇa*. Almost simultaneously, Chinese commentators during the Later Han period (25–220 CE) alloyed the Confucian golden age of antiquity, the Datong, to the Daiping golden age, which according to Daoist sexagenary cycles could be both ancient and imminent, as the Yellow Turban rebels in 184 sincerely hoped. By the sixth century, the colossal four-cycle Indian cosmology had collapsed under the weight of Daoist alchemy, pietist Pure Land Buddhism, and popular Chinese worship of the Eternal Mother (Wusheng Laomu) and the *bodhisattva* Prince Moonlight (Yueguang Tongzi).

There were then three accessible ages, associated cosmologically with the Daoist Former, Middle, and Latter Heavens, typologically with the three Buddhas (Lamplighter, Śākyamuni, and Maitreya), and synecdochically with the Buddhas' lotus thrones of azure, red, and white. Each age begins with a new buddha and then declines, again in triplets: True Doctrine, or Dharma; Counterfeit Doctrine; and Last Days of Doctrine. Since the days of the historical Buddha, Śākyamuni (and, traditionally, of Confucius and Laozi), we have squatted uncomfortably in the dissolute Last Days, awaiting Maitreya or his predecessor, Prince Moonlight, who is due to sweep in at the height of catastrophes one thousand years after Śākyamuni's *parinirvāṇa.* Profitably vague as it was, such a schedule made it clear that Venerable Mother, responsible for sending each of the buddhas, intended our imminent return to the Pure Land, the Western Paradise.

The upshot of this foreshortening was an epochal aesthetic which, by the fourteenth century, called for rounded contours to a humanly proportioned history, and a millenarian White Lotus rebellion, which in 1351 drew the curtain on the Yuan dynasty and set the stage for the Ming (from Ming Wang, the Chinese name for the Manichaean "perfect ruler," the Prince of Radiance). This aesthetic survived to inform the White Lotus uprisings of the eighteenth century, the Taiping Rebellion of 1851 to 1864, the Dao Lanh sect founded in 1849 by the Vietnamese Buddha Master of Western Peace, Doan Minh Huyen, the Ōmotokyō, founded in 1892, by the Japanese farmer Deguchi Nao, and the Saya San rebellion in Burma from 1930 to 1932.

Stretched between the Mediterranean and East Asian constellations, Manichaeism and Islam transected both. Mani's lithe dualism darkened the antichrist and highlighted the Amitābha (Pure Land) Buddha and the Ming Prince of Radiance. Islam shared with the Mediterranean a demonic end-time imposter, al-Dajjāl, and with East Asia a degenerative epochal theory, but more important was its caravan of redeemers. By 1300, Shīʿī Muslims had at least four candidates for the job of world-renewer: the twelfth spiritual guide, or *imām,* who had disappeared in the ninth century and was in hiding or occultation; a twelfth caliph, under whose reign would appear the restorer of the faith, the Mahdi, to usher in a short golden age before the End; and ʿĪsā (Jesus) who would do military honors at the End. Ismāʿīlī and Ṣūfī emphasis on the hiddenness of the *imām* may have colored later Christian visions of a Last World Emperor dying (or vanishing) prematurely, and Shīʿī Mahdism certainly splashed across North India and Indonesia. Eventually, *imām,* caliph, and Mahdi merged; in Africa even ʿĪsā had joined ranks by the mid-1800s. Two epochal motifs also merged then, a punctual one, according to which a renewer of the faith would appear at the end of each Islamic century, and a symmetrical one, according to which the twelfth *imām* would reappear in the thirteenth century AH (1785/6 to 1881/2 CE), which was a century of worldwide Mahdist movements—northern Nigeria (1804), India (1810, 1828, and 1880), Java (1825), Iran (1844), Algeria (1849, 1860, and 1879), Senegal (1854), and the Sudan (1881).

Common to millenarian aesthetics in all the world religions is this epochal scenario: a calm inaugural and a riotous finale to each act; the circling of two protagonists near the End, one imperial, the other sacramental; and a time at the End that is at once encore, intermezzo, and the throwing open of the doors.

Millenarianism stands therefore in contrast to the modern pessimism that paints miniatures of global devastation yet mounts no panorama of a future marvelous world. Though flood, plague, famine, or war may summon visions of collective death, millenarians promise more than an accurate prediction of catastrophe. They promise an earth lifted beyond safety to grace. Even at their most catastrophic, millenarians insist that a classical tragedy must be fought through only to reach a genuinely good time. From this conviction of drama derive those socially uncompromising rituals of breaking—obscenity, nudity, fasting, celibacy, rebellion—so coincident with millenarian movements. At their most utopian, millenarians tone down the nightmare of the final act: the earth will be transformed by sheer unanimity. Through evangelism, prophecy, and technologies of translation (speaking in tongues, polyglot scriptures, computer mailing), people will, in the face of local despair, embrace the same faith. A single faith, warmly bespoken, must entail a universal community whose very existence will effect the harmony, sanctity, and security long sought. A time of crisis thus becomes a time of redemption.

Characteristically, millenarians are least specific concerning the millennium itself, a time of instant and perfect communication whose seamlessness makes anatomical detail unnecessary. Millenarians are, rather, diagnosticians of bodies in metastasis. It is hardly coincidental that millenarianism in such diverse contexts as central Africa, western Europe, and northeastern Brazil has been chartered by homeopathic healers, who best appreciate the dramatic working-through of crisis. Not all healers become prophets, but most millenarian prophets claim therapeutic powers that extend from the ailing human body to the ailing body politic. Themselves usually colporteurs of regional symbolic systems, the prophet-healers take millenarianism from diagnosis to prescription, from philosophy to jubilee.

MILLENARIAN MOVEMENTS. If millenarian thought is curled inside calendar scrolls, millenarian movements are engraved on maps. Their rhetoric has to do less with time than with place. Just as millenarian thought focuses upon golden ages, so millenarian movements have golden places: Heaven on Earth, the Pure Land, the Blessed Isle, the Land without Evil, California (this last from a sixteenth-century Spanish romance read by Hernán Cortés). And since in most iconographies what is closest to perfect is closest to the eye of the storm, millenarians are sure that any migration they make is no retreat but a step toward the New World. Millenarian crying of doom and recruitment of the elect must be understood as the epochal duty of taking into the calm center the kernel of humanity.

Prime metaphor of millenarian movements, migration can also become the prime experience, palpable or vicarious. Millenarians encourage those sensations of the migrant that observers may mistake for motives: exile and wandering, put in scriptural tandem with the peripatetic Buddha, the Wandering Jew, the itinerant Jesus, and Muḥammad's Hijrah; nostalgia for lost lands; contrary moods of excited expectation and deep remorse; inflation of the spiritual benefits of transit, sustained by epics of a terrifying, miraculous crossing; ambivalence toward the New World as both brave and strange.

Whether a millenarian group solicits new gods or extorts aid from the old, it will confuse old home with new. Imagery of migration brings into view earlier mythical dislocations (deluge, expulsion) even as it makes evident the need to accommodate to a new land. The more intransigent the notion of home, the more people must provide themselves with apologies for imagined or actual movements away from it, and the more they will tend toward migration as a commanding metaphor.

We know that the English Puritan settlement of "New" England, like the Spanish Franciscan conquest of "New" Spain, had such millenarian resonance that neither Puritans nor Franciscans were able to acknowledge the historical integrity of the so-called Indians. We know also that for many societies, visitors of a different complexion already had a millenarian role in myths of migration and ancestry (the pink-skinned Europeans for the Fuyughe of the New Guinea highlands, the white-skinned Europeans for the MuKongo of the region of the Kongo, the dark-skinned Mongols, or "Tartars," for western Europeans). For victor as for vanquished, millenarian vertigo has conditioned initial contacts, later misunderstandings, violence, and oppression.

If millenarianism is the religion of the oppressed, it is no less the religion of the oppressor. What prompts the oppressed to envision a new moral order is likely to be the same as what, some decades earlier, prompted the oppressor to move on or over or through. So millenarianism may be both cause and result of migration. This is seen most vividly in the conjunction of Sudanese Mahdism with long-term migration south from an expanding Saharan desert, accelerated pilgrimage across the Sudan to Mecca during the thirteenth century AH, and Egyptian disruption of slave trade from 1850 to 1880.

There is, to many millenarian movements, a primary ecology dependent upon this experience of migration, whether lived or fantasized. Millenarians commonly foresee an End in which the elements of the world are used up, consumed by fire, lava, or flood. As the faithful migrate, the world does too, its elements recombining. How else could that ultimate harmony between the human and the natural be established? Although the elemental reshuffling may be divinely operated, millenarians have typically excited notice by their own human, mimetic acts of violence, their putative disregard for the wealth of the world and the bonds of social life. Cattle killing or pig killing, bonfires of earthly possessions, neglect of crops—these are more than public commitments to prophets or prophecies; they are attempts to act in concert with what seems to be a driving rhythm of history—humanity and nature cracking apart in war and earthquake or crumbling more silently through immorality and faithlessness.

The New World implied by most millenarian movements presumes not only a new natural physiognomy but also a new human physiognomy, one that is messianic in import. We can make no easy distinctions between messianic and millenarian movements. Few messianic leaders appear without heralding an instantaneous New World. Obversely, where there are no focal messianic leaders, as in the Chinese Eight Trigrams Rebellion in 1813, millenarians usually take upon themselves a collective messianic mantle, with cloth enough to redress themselves and the world.

For those who follow prophets toward a New World already marked out—Jan Beuckelzoon's Münster (Germany, 1534), Jemima Wilkinson's Jerusalem (New York, 1788–1794), Antonio Conselheiro's Canudos (Brazil, 1893–1897), Julian Baltasar's Cabaruan (the Philippines, 1897–

1901), Rua Kenana's Maungapohatu (New Guinea, 1907–1916)—the millennium begins in miniature as a sacred prologue. For civic millenarians—the Japanese of Nichiren's Tokaido region in the 1250s, the Italians of Girolamo Savonarola's Florence in the 1490s, the Americans of the 1860s in Emanuel Leutze's mural *Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way* in the Capitol, Washington, D.C.,—the burden of pointing the way toward the millennium lies not upon any prophetic enclave or diasporal elite but upon the entire population. The city, the city-state, the state itself becomes the vehicle for world renovation.

So millenarianism may beat at the heart of aggressive nationalism, as in the French revolutionary anthem "La Marseillaise" (1792) or at independence day extravaganzas everywhere. It has underlain beliefs in a Russian mission to redeem civilization, as promoted by the novelist Johann Heinrich Jung-Stilling, the occultist Baroness Barbara Juliane von Krüdener, and Tsar Alexander I before his Holy Alliance of 1815; a Hungarian mission, as in *The Entry of the Magyars*, (1892–1894), a cyclorama celebrating Hungary's "millennial constitution"; a German mission—the Nazi Third Reich; and a Greek mission—the Zoeist Fraternity of the 1950s. Ancient westerly migrations from the Asian steppes by Huns, Magyars, Aryans, and Dorians have thus been rousted out of annals, written into history, and gilded to serve as a national mandate. Talk of a "Third World" as the last hope for a failing planet is a contemporary extension of the same civic millenarian ideal.

"First World" scholars tend to link civic millenarianism with modern Christian postmillennial theology, which holds that Jesus' second coming will postdate the start of the millennium, and that no great tumult will intervene between this world and the New World. Millenarians of this type may be told only by their rhythms from the gentler rocking of reformers. In contrast, premillennialists, paradoxically considered both more primitive and more revolutionary, actively prepare for the advent. The New World, inaugurated by Jesus, ruptures the historical chain and affirms the supernal nature of deity. ("Amillennialists," such as Augustine of Hippo, run the millennium concurrently with the life of the church, so that there can be no separate future earthly kingdom.)

Millenarian movements do not settle conveniently into a pre- or postmillennial stance; even within Latin Christianity, these categories had little bearing before the nineteenth century. From the time of Lucius Lactantius (c. 240–320) until the Reformation, the issue for millenarians was whether the millennium would occur before or after the advent of the antichrist. When early Protestants convinced themselves that the Roman papacy was the antichrist, their heirs had to rephrase the advent debate in terms of the reappearance of Jesus. In the seventeenth century, another generation built up historical arguments in favor of Protestantism by adducing a theory of dispensations through which God progressively revealed divine law. Their heirs mustered courage to reread the *Book of Daniel* and the *Book of Revelation* as if these books could at last be compassed. Such courage led John Nelson Darby (1800–1882) to lower from the flies a startlingly theatrical machine that inspired many subsequent premillennial scenarios: the "secret rapture," an unannounced ascension of the living elect while Jesus returns to do battle on the earth below (cf. *1 Thes.* 4:17). Certified by the widely distributed Cyrus Scofield Bible commentary (1909; amended 1919), this machine resembles Hellenistic blueprints of the Gnostic sage's ascent to the lower heavens during world conflagration. Both tend to cloud the supposedly radical thrust of premillennialism.

In larger perspective, it is less useful to distinguish between conservatives and radical millenarians than to note that millenarian movements go through phases: an expansive phase during which believers move out to a ripening world and an astringent phase during which they pull in toward a holy refuge. These phases are equally political. In the stubbornest withdrawal to the most undesirable, inaccessible places (like Jim Jones's village in the Guyanese jungle from 1972 to 1978), millenarians become *prima facie* political threats, whether or not they speak of loyalty to earthly regents. Total withdrawal so often suggests cabal that the more a millenarian group seeks full disengagement, the more the ruling elite may suspect conspiracy and subversion. Similarly, in their expansive phase, millenarians may be the missionary outriders of empire (Christopher Columbus, for example, his monogram qabbalistic, his "Christ-bearing" mission self-consciously prophetic) or the counterforce to empire (the Plains Indian Ghost Dance of the 1880s, the Contestado of Brazil in the 1910s, the New Mexican La Raza movement in the 1960s); they may be the impetus for nationalism (the Tana Bhagat of India, 1915) or the barrier against it (the Watchtower and Kitawala movements in south-central Africa since 1909, Alice Lenshina's Lumpa Church in Zambia in the 1960s); they may be universalists (the International Workers of the World and their general strikes of 1905 to 1920) or ethnic separatists (Juan Santos presenting himself in 1742 as Apu-Inca, descendant of the last Inca, Atahuallpa, or the Altai Turks in 1904 awaiting the Oirot Khan's return and freedom from the Russians). Expansive or astringent, millenarian movements are inherently political but not inherently reactionary or revolutionary.

Typologies of millenarian movements. Altogether, as a system of thought and social movement, millenarianism spins on two axes: golden age or new era; primitive paradise or promised land. This oscillation leads perplexed observers to depict millenarian movements as volatile, metamorphic, undirected, and ephemeral. Journalistic or academic, administrative or missiological, works on the subject abound with images that have shaped policy. Millenarianism is described in five iconic sets:

1. a contagion to be quarantined (as with Mormonism in Utah in the later 1800s);
2. a quicksand to be fenced off (as in the legal actions

against the American Shakers in the early 1800s and the present-day anticult campaigns against the Unification Church);

3. a simmering stew to be watched, on the premise that a watched pot never boils (as in police surveillance of the group surrounding Catherine Théot in Paris in 1793 and 1794);
4. a boil to be lanced (as in the English kidnapping of the prophet Birsa from Munda country in northeastern India in 1895 or the Belgian imprisonment of Simon Kimbangu and his first disciples from 1921 to 1957);
5. an explosion to be contained (the German war against the Maji Maji of German East Africa [modern-day Tanzania] in 1905 and 1906 or the Jamaican government's preemption of Rastafarian music and rhetoric).

Millenarianism appears here as an epiphenomenon, a symptom of or a pretext for something more sinister. These images (and policies) have an august history. Church councils in Latin, Byzantine, and Protestant Christianity, legal scholars of Sunnī Islam and rabbinic Judaism, the presiding monks of Buddhist *saṃghas*—all have long regarded millenarianism as a disguised attack on codes of behavior that are meant to govern faith and cult. Rulers and their bureaucracies—Confucian, Islamic, Hindu—have regarded millenarianism as a ritual mask worn by crafty rebels.

Present-day typologists are somewhat more sympathetic. For them, millenarianism is emblematic, a ceremonial flag waved furiously over swamps of injustice. Such an interpretation was codified by the French and German Enlightenments, then refurbished by liberals in the nineteenth century until positivist denials of a religious instinct made religion itself seem epiphenomenal. Latter-day social scientists have made millenarianism doubly emblematic, for they describe it as the sign of transition from a religious to a secular society.

Current typologies work along three scales: temporal focus, soteriology, and sociopolitical engagement. On the first scale, typologists range those movements oriented toward (1) the reconstitution of an earlier social structure (called nativist, traditionalist, conservationist, restorative), (2) the imaginative making of peace with change (called acculturative, adjustive, perpetuative, revitalist, reformative), and (3) the creation of an ideal future society (called messianic or utopian). The second scale runs from those movements concerned exclusively with individual salvation (called redemptive, revivalist, thaumaturgic) to those that demand an overhaul of economy and etiquette (called transformative or revolutionary). The third scale starts at total isolation and finishes with collective assault on the state. This scale especially has been plodded and plowed by rhetoric (re-actionary/progressive, passive/active, prepolitical/political, mythological/ideological). Like mule teams, these binary terms are hardworking but perpetually sterile, since millenarians delight in the yoking of opposites.

Dynamic typologies, plotted by such scholars as Mary Douglas (1970), James W. Fernandez, (1964), and Wim M. J. van Binsbergen (1981), are quadrivalent, balancing social pressures against social structures. Douglas uses two variables, social cohesion and shared symbolic systems. Fernandez takes acculturation as his ordinate, instrumentality as his abscissa. Van Binsbergen considers both the source of disequilibrium (infrastructural, superstructural) and the nature of the threat ("peasantization," "proletarianization"). Such typologies, more appreciative of the complexity of millenarian movements, still hesitate before the phase shifts through which most movements go.

Motives for the fabrication of typologies may themselves be classified as prophylactic or exploitative. Most typologies mean to be prophylactic. Political scientists, for example, may hope to forestall the rise of charismatic tyranny; anthropologists in colonial settings may want to persuade authorities to handle millenarian movements more reasonably and with less show of force; missionaries may wish to avoid spawning highly independent churches or syncretic cults. Other typologies are exploitative. Marxist and capitalist alike place millenarians on a sociohistorical ladder so as to direct their obvious energies upward, toward national liberation and socialism or toward modern industrialism and oligopoly. Occultists and irenic church people place millenarians on one rung of the ladder of spiritual evolution so as to draw them toward higher consciousness, the Aquarian age, or one broad faith.

Explanations for millenarian movements. Despite the many typologies, there are but two current scholarly explanations for the birth of millenarian movements. The first asserts that millenarianism arises from feelings of relative deprivation in matters of status, wealth, security, or self-esteem. Millenarian movements appear in periods of crisis, when such feelings become most painful. The crisis may be as blatant and acute as the sack of a city or as subtle and prolonged as the passage from isolated agrarian community to industrial megalopolis. Whichever it is, the crisis engenders personal fantasies of invulnerability and escape, which are transformed by charismatic individuals who are often members of displaced elites. These prophets shape public expressions of protest at a time when more straightforward political action seems useless. In the necessarily unsuccessful aftermath, millenarians master the cognitive dissonance between expectation and failure by perpetuating millenarian beliefs within a revised chronology and a new missionary plan. The underlying causes for feelings of deprivation will not have been resolved, so a millenarian tradition, halfway between social banditry and the politics of party, burns on.

The second, complementary explanation says that millenarian movements spring from contact between two cultures when one is technologically far superior to the other. Millenarianism spreads within the settled, inferior culture, whose polity is critically threatened. The newcomers, usually white and literate, disrupt traditional systems of kinship, healing, and land rights. Most wrenching are the factorial economics introduced by the newcomers, whose quantitative uses of time and money rasp across the qualitative webs of social reciprocity. The indigenes must redefine their notions of power, status, and law, or they must stave off the well-armed traders, their navies, and their missionaries. Acknowledging the superiority of the newcomers' technology but not that of their ethic of possessive individualism, the indigenes begin to speculate about the true origin of the goods and gods of the stingy, secretive newcomers. The result is the contact cult (also called a "crisis cult" or "cargo cult") devoted to frenzied preparation for the receipt of shiploads of goods (cargo) that will dock unaccompanied by whites or in the company of fair-skinned but unselfish ancestors. Already under intense pressure, the people ceremonially destroy sacred objects and standing crops. They believe that this world is ending and a new one must begin, best with the newcomers gone and themselves masters of the secret of wealth.

Contact is the sociology for which deprivation is the psychology. Contact leads to millenarianism when one group feels unalterably deprived vis-à-vis a new other. The two explanations, compatible with stock images of eruption and contagion, rely on the premise of a closed system. At the millenarian core lies frustration; out of frustration squirms fantasy, and fantasy breeds violence. Early Freudian analyses of hysteria, psychosis, and schizophrenia have been employed here to wire the circuit between individual fireworks and collective explosion.

Deprivation theories prevail despite decades of criticism for their being slackly predictive. Scholars have noted that relative deprivation does not account specifically for millenarianism; it may as easily induce fracas, sabotage, or personal depression. Conversely, millenarian movements have not "burst out" where relative deprivation has been most apparent: eighteenth-century Ireland, nineteenth-century Ethiopia, the southeastern coast of modern India. Indeed, as critics may add, where across this imperfect world has relative deprivation ever been absent or a crisis lacking?

At this point, theorists invoke a *homo ex machina*, the charismatic prophet who processes the raw stuff of frustration. As a person whose life portends or echoes social crises, the prophet articulates the myth-dream of the people and so becomes invested with the power to direct its expression. Wherever gambols a weak social theory about religious movements, sure to follow is the fleece of charisma. For face-to-face groups, as W. R. Bion showed in his *Experiences in Groups* (New York, 1961), prophetic leaders may embody group fantasies of rebirth. For larger groups—like most millenarian movements—charisma becomes narcotic, a controlled substance rather than a theory of social relations.

Theorists have given particularly short shrift to the remarkable prominence of women as millenarian prophets. In all but Islam and Judaism, women have stridden at the head of millenarian movements, with men as their scribes, publicists, and ideologues. The list is long; a few examples must do: Priscilla and Maximilla of the New Prophecy (the Montanists) in Asia Minor in the late second century; Guglielma of Milan and her women disciples in the late thirteenth century; Dona Béatrice's Antonine movement in the Lower Congo from 1703 to 1706; Joanna Southcott with perhaps twenty thousand followers in England before her death in 1814; Ellen Gould White, chief oracle of the Seventh-day Adventists in the United States, in the late nineteenth century; Jacobina Maurer of the Brazilian Muckers movement from 1872 to 1898; the visionary Gaidaliu in Assam from 1929 to 1930 and 1961 to 1965; Mai Chaza's Guta ra Jehova (City of Jehovah) in Rhodesia from 1954 to 1960; Kitamura Sayō's Dancing Religion (Tenshō Kōtai Jingukyō) founded in Japan in 1945.

Deprivation theories maintain that women, an injured group, use religion as a means to power otherwise denied them by patriarchies. This makes religion a negative (compensatory) vehicle for women and a positive (creative) vehicle for men, and it fails to explain the power that women gain over men through millenarian movements. There is as yet no sufficient discussion of female charisma. Indeed, where prophetic leadership is male, analysis customarily proceeds from the instrumental, socioeconomic background to doctrine and political tactics; where female, it proceeds from affective, sexual background to ritual and spirit possession. Active men, reactive women: a contact theory of the sexes.

Contact theories are tricky. Amazed by discoveries of previously unknown tribes in the Amazon region and in the Philippines, industrial societies exaggerate the isolation of nonindustrial people. Nonetheless, contact is always a matter of degree: from armies with bulldozers abruptly grading runways in Melanesia to pandemics of smallpox hundreds of miles from (European) vectors. Contact is never so much a shock that some prophecy or other has not already accumulated around a piece of strangeness that years before drifted in on a storm tide or fell from the clouds.

In addition, we have sparse evidence that a number of peoples—the Guaraní of South America, the Karen of Burma, the Lakalai of the island of New Britain, and perhaps the Pacific Northwest Indians—had myths, rituals, and cults whose motifs were millenarian and whose origins were prior to contact with an in-pressing "superior" (Eurasian) culture.

Furthermore, not every uneven contact lights a millenarian "fuse." While the same material imbalance between Europeans and natives faced both Polynesians and Melanesians, millenarian movements have been infrequent among the politically stratified societies of Polynesia. More loosely bunched and socially fluid, Melanesians had inadequate etiquette by which to carry out diplomacy between distinctly separate orders. The customary structure of discourse, not contact itself, seems to have been a key variable in the general absence of cargo cults in Polynesia and their flowering in Melanesia, where consistently powerful Europeans could not be dealt with as easily as could another and analogous order.

At best, deprivation predisposes, contact precipitates. There are six other factors whose presence predisposes to millenarian movements:

1. permeable monastic communities and lay sodalities that extend loyalties beyond the family;
2. itinerant homeopathic healers who carry ritual and rumor across regional borders;
3. a mythopoetic tradition in popular drama and folktale, which makes history prophetic and the people the bearers of prophecy;
4. numerology and astrology, which encourage people habitually to search out relationships between number, event, and time;
5. rituals of inversion, such as carnival or exhaustive mourning, in which endings and beginnings are willfully confused;
6. migration myths that call for the return to an ancestral land or for the return of the dead to a renewed land.

There are negatively prejudicial factors as well. Millenarian movements are least likely at the extremes of the economic spectrum—that is, among those who have complete freedom of mobility and among those absolutely constrained. No millenarian movements occur within groups whose positions are secure, comfortable, and protected by mechanisms of caste (classical North Indian, Japanese, and Roman aristocracies). Nor do millenarian movements occur within groups whose mobility has been severely restricted by political oppression (prisoners, inmates of concentration camps), economic oppression (slaves), physical illness (hospital patients, the starving), or mental illness (asylum inmates, the autistic).

This verges on tautology: millenarian movements happen where physical movement is possible. But the near tautology is suggestive. Where cultural ideals of physical movement differ, so, correspondingly, may the nature of social movements. For example, to be harshly schematic, Western Europeans have stressed vertical, direct, outbound motion in their sports, their dancing, their tools, and their manners; the head and shoulders lead, with the mass of the body in tow. Sub-Saharan Africans such as the Dogon have a kinesthetic of orchestral, highly oppositional, polyrhythmic motion in which the body twists at the hips. The northern Chinese have in their martial arts, their medicine and calligraphy a kinesthetic of sustained circular motion, an integrated body linked to the flow of universal energy. These differences may be expressed in the European proclivity for a tight echelon of prophets leading an undifferentiated millenarian body, the African tendency toward coextensive and fissiparous leadership, the Chinese history of generational continuity from one guiding millenarian family to the next. Kinesthetic differences may also determine the relative importance of the precipitants of millenarianism: where a society looks for whole-body motion, the triggering instances must affect the entire society; where a society looks for articulated or isolated motions, the triggering instances may be more local.

The following four factors recur cross-culturally as major precipitants of millenarian movements:

1. the evangelism of foreign missionaries whose success requires the reordering of native patterns of marriage, family, diet, and calendar;
2. displacement by refugees or invaders, or as a result of persecution, economic decline, or natural calamity;
3. confusion about landholdings due to shifting settlement, the superposition of a new legal grid, or the advent of new technologies, as foreshadowed most particularly by census taking, geological surveys, rail laying, and road building;
4. generational distortion, where the traditional transfer of loyalties and moral authority is profoundly disturbed by war deaths, schooling, long-distance migrations, or urbanization.

These are, of course, related. Threaded throughout are anxieties about inheritance, boundaries, and language (its intelligibility, its capacity for truth-telling). Set within a matrix of predisposing factors, granted some rumors and good weather, these anxieties should specifically engage the wheels of millenarianism, with its special freight of ages, places, and figures of speech. Expansive millenarianism occurs when believers are imperiled or impressed by forces within their society; astringent millenarianism occurs when the forces seem foreign.

Patterns of millenarian movements in world history. The world's great religions share a larger historical pattern of millenarian activity (although Vedānta Hinduism may be a partial exception). Founded on the fringes of empire or at the fracture line between competing kingdoms, these religions find themselves several centuries later at the center of an empire. Millenarian thought then appears in canonical form, drawing its impetus from those forces of imperial expansion that compel the recalculation of calendars, histories, distances, and sacred geography. The new arithmetic signals a shift in scales of measurement, mediated as much by mystics as by scientists. When an empire seems to have reached its limits, millenarian movements flourish, usually several generations before the dynastic collapse.

When the millennium does not arrive, or when millenarian movements are co-opted by a new dynasty, as in Ming China or Safavid Iran, millenarianism does not fade away. End-of-the-world images linger in the dreams and speech of the people, and end-time ideas are filtered through monasteries, lay brotherhoods, and scientific communities. As these are gradually attracted to the nodes of political power, millenarian movements reappear either as adjuncts of conquest or as resistance to it. Millenarian activity peaks again when the limits of territorial coherence are felt within the empire and along its colonial periphery.

This sequence may obtain for other than the great world religions (e.g., for the Aztec, Iroquois, and Ba-kongo), but materials are lacking that would sustain such an argument for the many preliterate cultures. It is tempting, in the same way that millenarianism itself is tempting, to offer a global explanation—such as climatic cycles—for its rhythms. The quest for global explanations, however, like the quest for a fountain of youth, tells more about the explorers than it does about the territory.

CONTEMPORARY FASCINATION WITH THE END. Why does millenarianism presently seem in such need of some kind of covering law? The answers to this question have to do with the characteristics of the North Atlantic ecumene, which is responsible for most of the law making.

A first answer is that millenarians tend not to fall within the bell of the ecumene's emotional curve. Although sternly depressed about current affairs, millenarians are at the same time exultant about the prospects for a New World. European and North American psychologists interpret ambivalence as a symptom of inner discord; the greater the ambivalence, the more serious the illness. But "sensible" middle-class citizens join UFO cults, buy fifteen million copies of Hal Lindsey's *The Late Great Planet Earth* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1970), and order bulk goods from End Time Foods, Inc., in Virginia. Why?

A second answer is that millenarians threaten the stability of the ecumene, upsetting the development of outlying colonies. Millenarians seem haphazardly amused by industrial investment and international tariffs. Why do they keep popping up to make a hash of foreign policy, and why do they prefer the "magical" to the "practical"?

A third answer is that the wars of the twentieth century burned the mark of the beast on North Atlantic arts, philosophy, and history. The beast roared through the no-man's-lands of World War I and the gas chambers and radioactive cinders of World War II. Apocalypse has lost its reference to millennium; it has become simply a synonym for disaster.

We can also trace the growth of a catastrophic mood in North Atlantic science over a century of work in astronomy, cosmology, ecology, climatology, and, recently, morphogenetics and mathematics (the last two united by catastrophe theory, which accounts topologically for instant changes of state). The mood has prevailed in popular science from Henry Adams's 1909 essay on the second law of thermodynamics ("The Rule of Phase Applied to History") to the syzygy scare of the so-called Jupiter effect (1974–1982).

A fourth, more upbeat answer is that archaeology, theology, politics, and the Gregorian calendar have conspired to regenerate the utopian side of millenarianism. Although no millenarian movements and exceedingly few prophecies were geared to the year 1000 (few then used such a calendar), the historical myth persisted because it seemed to many that the year 2000 would be truly millennial. The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls since 1947 has underscored the contention, popularized by Albert Schweitzer in 1906, that eschatological hope was vital at the time of apostolic Christianity and should therefore be part of all true Christian belief. Israel's statehood in 1948 and its 1967 reunification of Jerusalem have convinced fundamentalist Christians of the nearness of the Second Coming, for which a principal sign is the Jews' return to Zion. So we see in the ecumene a telephone hot line for news of the latest scriptural prophecies fulfilled, an international conference on end-of-world prophecies (in Jerusalem in 1971), and a new perfume called Millennium: "In the life of every woman's skin there comes a turning point, a time when her face begins to look older. Now there is an alternative."

Outside the ecumene, detached from Christian dates, Hindu and Buddhist revivalists (Hare Krishna, Divine Light Mission, Sōka Gakkai) preach the last era, the *kaliyuga* or *mappō.* Shīʿīs awaiting the Mahdi at century's end (AH1399/1979–1980 CE) experienced instead the Iranian revolution. Mexican intellectuals of the Movement of the Reappearance of Anauak, following the Aztec calendar, find this a time of cataclysm. Marxists, flipping through an economic almanac, tear off the leaves of late capitalism.

The fifth answer, then, is that from within and without the ecumene, notions of change have taken on a prepotently millenarian cast.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MILLENARIANISM. Claims for the significance of millenarianism, either as a system of thought or as a tradition of social movements, range from the thoughtfully deprecatory (that it is one more index to the predicament of capitalism) to the modestly dismissive (that it is an expression of a universally human fantasy of returning to the womb and resuming unhindered power in a practically timeless world) to the complimentary (that it is a rich mode of dissent where other modes are either unavailable or unavailing) to the genuinely laudatory (that in the form of the myth of the eternal return and its rituals of cosmic renewal, it is the taproot of religion and revolution). The truth, as usual, lies athwart.

SEE ALSO Eschatology; Exile; Golden Age; Utopia.

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Millenarian scholarship, chiefly a phenomenon of the North Atlantic ecumene, has followed the same patterns of historical change.

During the sixteenth century, while European merchants redefined time as fortune, millenarians appeared in Roman Catholic histories of heresy and Protestant martyrologies. For Catholics and for the Magisterial Reformers, millenarianism was occasioned by lust (impatience, appetite without love); for radical Protestants, millenarianism came of a desperately loving desire to return to the apostolic model. Then, as today, the bell cows of any overview were the communalistic Taborites in fifteenth-century Bohemia, Thomas Müntzer's rebels in the German Peasants' Revolt of 1524–1525, and the antinomian Anabaptist kingdom at Münster in 1534. In these three episodes the consequences of the millenarian program were so played out that most subsequent commentaries used them to distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate visions of religious and social renewal.

Early seventeenth-century histories, written in a confusing era of religious warfare, tended to describe millenarianism as the confused or gangrenous extension of piety, for which in En-

glish was coined the word *enthusiasm*, an outlier of the syndrome of melancholia. Melancholics seemed to resemble the age itself, mixing categories and muddling the practical, the extravagant, and the fantastic.

After the near revolutions of midcentury—the French Fronde with its *illuminés*, the English Civil War with its Levellers and Fifth Monarchists—millenarianism was implicated in political plotting and secret communication. So the medical figure of contagion, used earlier against witchcraft, was resurrected in works about millenarians, who might be possessed or mad or deluded but were likely first to have been infected by conniving knaves. Every one of these explanations was offered for the mass appeal of the great Jewish false messiah, Shabbetai Tsevi, who in 1666, at the height of his career, converted to Islam under penalty of death.

Eighteenth-century accounts, although sometimes pietist and sympathetic to millenarians, moved toward a vaguely biological description: millenarianism was seen as corpuscular, nervous, iatromechanical. In an era of newly accurate clocks and mortality statistics, historical source-criticism and the propaganda of Newtonian science, millenarians seemed to have lost their sense of time and power of memory.

Most modern assumptions about millenarianism were in place soon after the French Revolution. Encyclopedias of religion and dictionaries of sects sank the stakes: millenarianism was a personal reaction to internal chemical imbalance or to feelings of envy or lust; it was a social ploy or a disguise for politicking, money making, or ambition. Later in the century, under the impact of revivalism and labor agitation, millenarianism became part of the sociology of crowds; as a personal disorder it was associated homologically with *dementia praecox* (soon to be called schizophrenia). Anthropologists worked with Europocentric genetic metaphors: if millenarian movements occurred within Western civilization, they were classified as throwbacks to the spiritual childhood of religion; if outside, they were seen as infantile tantrums of primitive societies.

At least three thousand studies of millenarianism have been printed in this century, more and more often with a sympathetic preamble. Even so, because millenarians seem destined to inevitable disappointment, people of all political persuasions have resented the millenarian label, none more so than revolutionaries who want to make it clear that their programs for a New World are neither illusory nor doomed. Since Ernst Bloch's *Thomas Müntzer als Theologe der Revolution* (Munich, 1921), millenarian scholarship has been especially sharpened by political as well as religious polemic.

At midcentury, out tumbled a spate of works insisting on the centrality and continuity of millenarianism: for European culture, Normal R. C. Cohn's *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (1957), 3 ed. (New York, 1970); for peasant culture, Eric J. Hobsbawm's *Primitive Rebels* (New York, 1959); for world culture, *La table ronde*'s full issue on "Apocalypse et idée de fin des temps" (no. 110, February 1957); and the human condition, Mircea Eliade's *Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return* (New York, 1954). Simultaneously, in *When Prophecy Fails* (1956; reprint, New York, 1964), Leon Festinger, Henry W. Riecken, and Stanley Schachter developed a theory of cognitive dissonance to explain the endurance of millenarian beliefs from the point of view of social psychology. The capstone was a conference in 1960 sponsored by *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (The Hague, 1958–), the journal that is still the most active in millenarian studies. The event set the agenda for at least a decade of research, prompting scholars to fashion typologies and to formulate distinctions between varieties of millenarian activity. The conference results were published in book form in *Millennial Dreams in Action: Essays in Comparative Study*, edited by Sylvia L. Thrupp (The Hague, 1962).

Although the works discussed above remain the most consistently cited sources in millenarian studies, their popularity is largely a measure of the comfort they have afforded a North Atlantic ecumene that is increasingly upset by liberation movements and cold war apocalypse diplomacy. Millenarianism, they assure us, has a history, a tradition, a phenomenology, a philosophy, and a psychology.

Henri Desroche's *Dieux d'hommes: Dictionnaire des messianismes et millénarismes de l'ère chrétienne* (Paris, 1969), although incomplete and outdated, codified much earlier scholarship. That year also saw a general turn away from theories of social pathology and mental illness to explain millenarian movements. Sophisticated analysis has turned toward the creative and polysemous nature of millenarianism. The following are some of the most thoughtful and evocative works published in English since 1969.

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HILLEL SCHWARTZ (1987)
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MILLENARIANISM: CHINESE MILLENARIAN MOVEMENTS

The yearning for a utopia where one is free from want and where peace and prosperity reign supreme has been very much an integral part of Chinese religion since pre-Qin times (before 221 BCE). Confucius (551–479 BCE) maintained the notion of a golden age when Sage-Kings such as Yao and Shun reigned effortlessly in perfect harmony. Laozi also espoused the idea of small agricultural communities where life was simple and government was noninterfering. The Moist concept of undifferentiated and nondiscriminating love was expressed in the form of *datong* ("grand unity" or "great equality"), which had been incorporated into the Confucian text *Liji* (The classic of rites). However, all these utopian states were understood to have existed in the distant past. As time progressed, the conceptualization of utopia became more concrete and contemporary. During the Qin-Han period (221 BCE–220 CE), mysterious lands in the extreme east and west of China were regarded either as paradises inhabited by immortals, or as idealized countries where justice and honesty prevailed. The realm of Xiwangmu or Queen Mother of the West, on Mount Kunlun in the west and the three fairy islands of Penglai ("proliferating weeds"), Fangzhang ("square fathom"), and Yingzhou ("ocean continent") in the eastern seas belonged to the first category, while the land of "Great Qin" (Da Qin), an idealized version of the Roman Empire, belonged to the second.

In contrast to pre-Qin utopias, all these ideal realms were understood to be contemporaneous with those who visited or reported on them. However, they were accessible to only a few privileged members of society. The Queen Mother of the West, for example, entertained only emperors and regaled them by her turquoise pond with her peaches and wine of immortality. The three fairy islands were similarly inaccessible to ordinary mortals; they either sank into the ocean when approached, or caused big storms to drive people off course.

EARLY MOVEMENTS. Two major soteriological movements developed in China in the second century of the common era. Both had appeal to the masses. The first, centered in western China (present-day Sichuan and Shaanxi), was headed by Zhang Lu, who created a theocratic state between 186 and 216 CE. Tracing his teaching to his grandfather Zhang Daoling (34?–156? CE), Zhang Lu taught that illness was a sign of sin and could be healed by confession. Furthermore, he advocated the establishment of communal facilities to expedite the realization of his utopia on earth. These facilities provided free food for the needy and undertook all kinds of public works for the good of the commonweal. Zhang's movement, known as the Five Pecks of Rice (Wudoumi) or Way of Celestial Masters (Tianshi dao), survived the Han-Wei dynastic transition because of his accommodation with political authorities. It became the recognized orthodox Daoist tradition in China, and Zhang Daoling was revered as the first Daoist patriarch.

There was another religious movement in eastern China that, under the leadership of Zhang Jue (d. 184 CE), existed contemporaneously with Zhang Lu's and in many ways resembled the latter in both belief and organization. It was called the Way of Highest Peace (Taiping dao) because of its alleged subscription to the text *Taiping jing* (Classic of highest peace). However, it differed from Zhang Lu's movement in that it rebelled in 184 and was ruthlessly crushed by the Han imperial forces. This rebellion, known as the Yellow Turban Rebellion because of the color of the headgear worn by the rebels, represented the first large-scale religiously inspired rebellious movement in Chinese history.

Some scholars argue that the impetus for the militancy of the Yellow Turbans came from the *Taiping jing* which, despite its Confucian and perhaps even Buddhist borrowings, was obviously a Daoist text concerned with eschatology and changing the course of history. Compiled in the form of a continuing dialogue between the Celestial Master, an emissary of Dao, and his disciples, the *Taiping jing* offers description of an ideal society and provides expectation of a renewal of the world through heavenly agents. The significance of the text's eschatology lies in the fact that it relativizes the validity of the existing society. It sees drastic change in the course of history as imminent and desirable, for the demarcation between this world and the beyond will be broken down, and the dawning of a mystical new order will be at hand.

Thus, from the original view of an ideal world existing in the remote past, through the transitional view of the utopia existing in distant lands contemporaneously, Chinese religion finally came to the view of the perfect realm existing in the future, the arrival of which would signal the end of the present age.

THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD. The several centuries after the collapse of the Han dynasty were a time of burning religious zeal, caused in part by the people's desire to seek solace from a rapidly disintegrating society brought about by "barbarian" invasions and incessant warfare. With Confucianism in eclipse, both Daoism and the newly introduced Buddhism made great inroads into the hearts and minds of the Chinese. Especially attractive to the suffering masses was the promise of messianic deliverance offered by both Daoist and Buddhist sectarian groups. It was during this time, specifically from the fourth century on, that a Chinese-style millenarianism developed, complete with the identification of an eschatological crisis, the appearance of a messianic figure, the apocalyptic battle, the guaranteed survival of the elect, and the portrayal of the "New Jerusalem."

In sectarian Daoism, millenarianism was expressed in the cult of Laozi, which now assumed the name of Li Hong the Perfect Lord. Between the fourth and the fifth centuries numerous rebel leaders, claiming to be incarnations of Li Hong, staged uprisings. As described in the *Dongyuan shenzhou jing* (Classic of divine spells from the deep cavern), a Daoist text compiled in the early fifth century, the millenarianism of the Li Hong cult contains the following themes:

1. There is an impending crisis of cosmic proportions caused by the accumulation of evil. The time of reckoning will be the year *renchen* (which occurs once every sixty years in the Chinese calendar, but was generally understood to specify the year 392 CE), when floods surging upwards of several thousand feet and epidemics of every imaginable kind will afflict the world.
2. The savior Li Hong will appear to deliver his believers from this cataclysmic disaster and to eradicate all nonbelievers, who will be discarded as chaff. This apocalyptic battle will result in the total triumph of Li Hong and his chosen ones.
3. An era of unutterable joy and peace will ensue. The ravages of war will be eliminated. The cosmos will be reconstituted. The entire earth will be covered with seven treasures. One sowing will yield nine crops and human lifespan will be extended to three thousand years, after which it will be renewed again. All men and women will be sages and evil people will no longer exist.

This Daoist millenarianism was paralleled by a Buddhist version of the same period. Centered around the messianic figure of "Prince Moonlight" (Yueguang tongzi), a minor character in the legendary biography of the Buddha, this Buddhist millenarianism has essentially all the features of its Daoist counterpart, with the same expectation of apocalyptic happenings designated to take place in a specific year. In fact, the similarity between the two versions of millenarianism is so striking that one is compelled to assume that Daoism and Buddhism must have overlapped or merged together at the popular level during their parallel development at this time.

Prince Moonlight was later superseded by a much more powerful and famous Buddhist savior—the Buddha Maitreya. In Buddhist mythology, Maitreya was the Buddha who "has yet to come." He was believed to dwell in the Tusita heaven, waiting to descend to earth to save all believers. There is the further understanding that when he arrives the world will be experiencing the last days of the Buddhist *dharma* (an age known as the *mofa*), and that with one bold stroke he will rid the world of all evil elements and usher in a new golden age. The Maitreya Buddha was thus perceived as a savior, as his coming would signal the end of existing misery and injustice. Unlike Amitābha Buddha, who promised salvation in the form of rebirth in his Pure Land and made no attempt to improve this world, the Maitreya Buddha served as a world redeemer who would radically and dramatically change the status quo and transform the world into a realm of bliss and abundance. What made Maitreya worship even more subversive was the belief, pervasive since the fifth century, that his coming was imminent (rather than in the distant future as originally believed). This immediately turned him into a symbol for numerous antidynastic movements, all of which aimed at the speedy toppling of the existing order.

In addition to Daoist Li Hong and Buddhist Maitreya, there was yet another millenarian tradition in medieval

China—Manichaeism. Originally introduced from Persia during the early Tang dynasty (618–907), Manichaeism subscribed to a dualistic view of the world wherein the forces of Light, under the leadership of Mani, would engage in a fierce struggle with the forces of Darkness. Followers of this tradition held the belief that cosmic history progressed in three stages: the first stage characterized by a clear division between the realms of Light and Darkness, the second by a blurring of this division that resulted in the struggle between the two, and the third by the ultimate triumph of Light over Darkness and the creation of a realm of everlasting peace. Believing themselves to be living near the end of the second stage, followers of Mani led a pure and puritanical life in order to guarantee victory over the forces of Darkness and evil. They practiced strict vegetarianism, refused to worship spirits, ghosts, and even ancestors, and buried their dead naked. Indeed their vegetarian diet had become such a distinguishing feature that they were pejoratively referred to as "vegetable eaters and devil (Mani) worshipers" (*chicai shimo*). Their antinomian values, demonstrated by such practices as naked burial and nonobservance of ancestral rites, earned them further suspicion from the authorities.

THE LATE IMPERIAL PERIOD. All the above-mentioned millenarian traditions interacted with one another as they evolved. By the fourteenth century, such a substantial merger had taken place among them that they were collectively known as the White Lotus, a catchall label used by the government to encompass most of the proscribed millenarian groups, all of which had their own respective names. In fact, White Lotus had a very distinguished beginning. It was allegedly the name of a lay Buddhist group organized in 402 by the eminent monk Huiyuan to worship the Buddha Amitābha. Later, the Pure Land master Mao Ziyuan (1086–1166) also used this name to designate his pious vegetarian group. In any event, White Lotus had obviously metamorphosed into a millenarian sectarian movement under the leadership of Han Shantong (d. 1355) toward the end of the Yuan dynasty (1206–1368). Combining Maitreyan with Manichaean elements, Han boldly declared the "incarnation of Maitreya Buddha and the birth of the Manichaean Prince of Light." Although he was captured and executed, Han was the symbol of the religious movement that eventually brought an end to the Yuan regime.

During the ensuing Ming dynasty (1368–1644) (some scholars even argue that the very name *Ming,* which means "light," is indicative of the Manichaean influence on the founder of the dynasty), the folk sectarian tradition generally labeled by the government as White Lotus became even more systematized. Central to this mature sectarian belief was the notion of Wusheng laomu, or the Eternal Mother, who, as progenitor of the human race, had vowed to save all her repentant children from certain demise. She would deliver them to the *zhenkong jiaxiang* ("native land of true emptiness") where they would enjoy peace and affluence forever. This dual concept of the Eternal Mother and her Native Land of True Emptiness became the identifying creed of these late imperial Chinese sectarians. It served as a profession of faith and a powerful bond that drew all the sect members together into one big religious family. This concept also enabled them to relativize their attachment to their earthly parents and their native communities, and allowed them to see that this world was not the best of all possible worlds, that a "new beginning" would arrive in time to replace the existing order, and that this new beginning would sit in judgment over the entire past.

Like the Manichaeans before them, the Ming-Qing sectarian believers maintained that time progressed in three major epochs: the age of the Lamplighting Buddha of the past, the age of the Śākyamuni Buddha of the present, and the age of the Maitreya Buddha of the future. Crucial to this time scheme was the expectation that the third or future age was imminent, to be ushered in by an apocalyptic conflagration that would scourge the world to remove all evil elements. (Some sects used the epithets Blue Sun, Red Sun, and White Sun to represent the respective ages.) This cataclysmic turning point was known as the kalpic transition *(jie),* characterized by floods, epidemics, earthquakes, and all kinds of unspeakable disasters during which the whole cosmic order would be torn asunder and the elect and the doomed would be separated. When the Maitreya Buddha finally appeared as the messenger of the Eternal Mother to deliver the surviving faithful, the world would be reconstructed and the reunion between the Mother and her lost children would take place. The saved would enjoy the new order, which, according to the description of the *baojuan* ("precious scrolls")—a special genre of religious tracts compiled by the sectarians in profusion during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—would be peaceful, immortal, and egalitarian.

Because of this millenarian and antinomian orientation of the sectarians, they were feared and ruthlessly persecuted by successive dynasties. Their very expectation of the advent of the third age was a negation of the present age, thus undermining the authority as well as the legitimacy of the existing regime. As it turned out, this obsession with salvation in the future age did occasionally inspire ambitious individuals within the sects to proclaim the descent of the Maitreya Buddha and to raise the banner of rebellion in an attempt to usher in the third age. To be sure, the correlation between millenarianism and rebellion was never a direct one, yet the government was always suspicious of millenarians, who, it had reason to fear, were not averse to using violence in order to hasten the end of the present age. There was only a fine line separating the anticipation of the kalpa from the expedition of its arrival. Given the fact that the leaders of these sectarian groups were often uprooted, restless, and disgruntled elements in society, this official apprehension is understandable.

Suspicion was further reinforced by the vicarious sibling relationship of the sect members, which undermined the Confucian emphasis on blood ties, as well as the relative equality of the sexes within the sectarian group, flouting the orthodox insistence on strict sexual distinctions. Sectarian organization itself, though lacking centralization, was nevertheless capable of forming large-scale regional networks in a short time because of shared beliefs among the majority of the sects. Quite often, different groups in different geographic areas would subscribe to the same precious scrolls, thus espousing the same doctrines. Many of these tracts had been handed down through generations of sect leaders, allowing the creation of a hereditary folk religious elite. Notable groups such as the Dacheng sect of Wang Sen (d. 1619) maintained an uninterrupted hereditary transmission for at least two centuries. This resilience of the sects was a great source of worry for the government.

The Taiping Rebellion. The most famous and spectacular millenarian movement in traditional China was, of course, the Taiping Rebellion (1850–1864) led by Hong Xiuquan (1813–1864). Hong was a frustrated examination candidate who had received Christian literature from a Chinese convert. With that minimal exposure, he wove together a religion that was a mixture of traditional Chinese eschatology and Christian salvationism. He also organized the God-Worshipers Society, which, reacting to ethnic tensions and prompted by Hong's own sense of mission, rebelled in 1850.

Hong Xiuquan's religion is best understood through the designation he chose for his movement after 1850. He named it Taiping tianguo ("heavenly kingdom of highest peace"). Taiping, it should be recalled, was the ideal of the Yellow Turbans who rebelled in 184, and had inspired various millenarian groups throughout Chinese history. *Tianguo* was derived from the Judeo-Christian notion of God's kingdom. Together, the two compound terms indicate Hong's unshakable faith that God's kingdom, in the form of Highest Peace, could be realized on earth, and that he himself would be the instrument through which this momentous task would be accomplished. Declaring himself to be the second son of God and the younger brother of Jesus, Hong saw himself as the redeemer of China, if not of the world as well. At once anti-Confucian and anti-Manchu, his brand of messianic salvationism was by far the most radical China ever witnessed.

Hong's Heavenly Kingdom was characterized by the proclaimed equality of all men and the liberation of all women. To be sure, there was the inevitable discrepancy between theory and practice. Yet this Taiping ideal was unequivocally enunciated and applied to concrete situations in the form of policy promulgations such as the land tenure system. This system provided equitable land redistribution, going so far as to observe no distinction between the sexes in land allotment.

When the Taiping army captured the city of Nanjing in 1853, Hong made it his Heavenly Capital. Nanjing, scene of the signing of the treaty that concluded the Opium War between China and Great Britain only eleven years earlier, was seen by Hong as the "New Jerusalem" promised in the *Book of Revelation.* But internal strife, coupled with Manchu military reforms and growing Western hostility toward the Taipings, finally resulted in their crushing defeat in 1864.

Chinese millenarianism can thus be seen having a history that goes back to the early medieval period. It can still be detected among certain religious groups on the mainland, in Taiwan, and in Southeast Asia. It has exerted its greatest appeal among marginal or peripheral members of society who, though not necessarily economically deprived, were denied access to power and prestige in the orthodox world. Through mutual aid and group solidarity these people were able to gain self-respect and a sense of worth from their affiliation with sectarian organizations. The charismatic and talented among them might even achieve positions of power and influence within the sect. This was particularly true of women, who were otherwise totally barred from meaningful contacts outside of their families. Ethically relativistic because of their orientation toward the future millennium, members of these movements often invited the wrath and oppression of the authorities. They interpreted times of economic distress, social turmoil, and natural disasters as signals of the advent of the third age, an age when they would emerge triumphant in their combat against exploitation and injustice, as well as against death itself. They therefore became agitated and expectant, if not openly rebellious, and always potentially subversive. Their antinomian values and behavior posed a direct challenge to the orthodox tradition, while their millennial yearning to build a better world often implied their rejection of the present one. In a certain sense, twentieth-century Chinese revolutionaries, including the Communists, operated much in the same mode as the earlier millenarian sectarians in their attempt to change the world.

See Also Huiyuan; Maitreya; Manichaeism, overview article; Zhang Daoling; Zhang Jue; Zhang Lu.

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MĪMĀṂSĀ. The word *mīmāṃsā* means "investigation" in ordinary Sanskrit. Since the term is applied to an important South Asian philosophical school, it must originally have meant "the investigation of the proper interpretation of the Vedic texts." The Mīmāṃsā school is thus better known as the Purva-mīmāṃsā school, which is sometimes called the Dharma-mīmāṃsā (inquiry into the nature of *dharma* as laid down by the Vedas, the supreme authority). Uttara-mīmāṃsā is the descriptive name for the Vedānta school, which deals with the nature of *brahman* as laid down in the latter part (*uttara*) of the Vedas, and in the Upaniṣads, hence also called Brahma-mīmāṃsā (inquiry into the nature of *brahman*). The word *dharma* is of prime importance in this context. It stands here for one's "duty" (*codanā*) enjoined by the Vedas, which includes both the religious or sacred duties or actions and the moral duties as well. *Dharma* also denotes the "virtue" attainable by performing such duties or following such courses of actions. Thus *dharma* is the main topic for discussion in the Mīmāṃsā school.

The Vedic scriptures were seriously attacked by the Śramaṇas (mendicant Brahmanic philosophers) about 500 BCE, and as a result its authority was apparently being devastated by criticisms. Hence the Mīmāṃsā school originated among the Vedic priests who wanted to reestablish this authority by resolving the apparent contradictions and other textual problems found in the Vedic scriptures. The Mīmāṃsā school in this way developed the science of exegesis. A *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra* was compiled as early as the first century BCE, and it was ascribed to an ancient sage, Jaimini. It is regarded as the key text of the school.

Regarding *dharma*, Mīmāṃsā maintains a form of fundamentalism. It claims that the scriptures are the only means of knowing what is *dharma* and what is not. Only by following the injunctions of the scriptures can we attain *dharma*, or the "good," that cannot be attained by any other means. Other means of knowledge (perception, inference, reasoning, etc.) are of no help in the realm of *dharma*, for concerns of *dharma* are with transcendental matters, the imperceptibles and the unverifiables, such as the afterlife, heaven, and the moral order. Hence the Mīmāṃsā school defines the essence of the Vedas (*vedatā*) as that which informs us about such a transcendental realm. And the authority of the Vedas in such matters is self-evident. The truth of the scriptural statements is self-validating. The Vedas are to be regarded as eternal and uncreated. The scriptures are *revealed* texts, there being no author of them. In short, the truths of the Vedas are transempirical, hence no empirical evidence can conceivably bear on them.

The problem of interpretation has led the Mīmāṃsā school to the study and discussion of topics which are of great philosophical interest. The Mīmāṃsā developed itself into a kind of philosophical discipline, incorporating into it a theory of knowledge, epistemology, logic, a theory of meaning and language, and a realistic metaphysic. With its emphasis on the philosophy of language and linguistics, the Mīmāṃsā has sometimes been called the *vākya-śāstra* ("theory of speech"). It also formulated various rules of interpretation in order to resolve and eliminate the apparent inconsistencies of the scriptural texts.

Later on, the Mīmāṃsā school was divided into two subschools (c. 600–700 CE), following the two important exponents of the school, Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Prābhākara. They are called the Bhāṭṭa school and the Prābhākara school. Of the many minor differences between the two subschools, only a few of the more notable ones have been noted here.

Kumārila speaks of six *pramāṇa*s ("legitimate ways of knowing")—perception (*pratyakṣa*), inference (*anumāna*), verbal testimony (*śabda* or *aptāvacana*), comparison (*upamāna*), presumption (*arthāpatti*), and nonapprehension (*anupalabdhi*). Prabhākara accepts the first five only. Since he rejects "absence" (*abhāva*) as a separate reality, as a "knowable" entity (*prameya*), he does not need "nonapprehension" to establish such entities. For the Bhāṭṭas, a cognition is not a perceptible property, but it is inferred from the "cognizedness" (*jñātatā*) of the object cognized: since this pot is cognized by me, a cognition of it must have occurred in me. For the Prābhākaras, a cognition is self-cognized—it perceives itself. But both regard knowledge to be self-validating. Kumārila admits both Vedic and non-Vedic *śabda* (sentences, speech) to be *pramāṇa*. Prabhākara holds that real *śabda-pramāṇa* is the Vedic *śabda.* Both try to establish the Vedic authority not on God but on such transcendental reality as *dharma* and *mokṣa.* The Bhāṭṭas explicitly hold the *jñāna-karma-samuccaya-vāda,* that both knowledge and action lead to liberation. The Prābhākara view does not seem to be very different.

The two subschools differ in their views about the correct incentive for man's action (which includes both moral and religious acts). The Prābhākaras say that it is only the sense of duty while the Bhāṭṭas argue that both sense of duty and the desire for benefit constitute the correct incentive for action. On another rather technical matter, the two disagree. The Bhāṭṭas believe that the sentences get their meanings from their atomistic constituents, the individual word-meanings, while the Prābhākaras believe that the words directly constitute the sentence-meaning as a whole only insofar as they are syntactically connected (*anvita*) with other words in the sentence.

SEE ALSO Vedānta.

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MIND SEE ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE; CONSCIOUSNESS, STATES OF; EPISTEMOLOGY; NEUROSCIENCE AND RELIGION, *ARTICLE ON* NEUROEPISTEMOLOGY

MINERVA, a Roman goddess, was the protector of intellectual and manual skills. The oldest form of her name, *Menerva,* may derive from the Indo-European root **men-*, which is expressive of mental processes. Various Etruscan transcriptions of the name, though earlier attested than any Italic form, probably should be regarded as borrowed from the Latin.

Minerva appears neither in the so-called Numan calendar, which registers the oldest public festivals in Rome, nor in connection with a priesthood. Her first occurrence is with Jupiter and Juno as a member of the divine triad that was worshiped on the Capitoline Hill in Etruscan-ruled Rome at the end of the sixth century BCE. Archaeological findings in Santa Marinella and Veii-Portonaccio bear witness to a contemporaneous cult of Minerva in southern Etruria.

Images of the goddess show many features of the Greek Athena: helmet, shield, spear, and aegis stamped with the likeness of a Gorgon. Recent discoveries in Pratica di Mare (the ancient Lavinium) show that the influence of Greek art did not exert itself exclusively through the Etruscan medium. The mythological episodes that were selected in Italy represent the goddess as a patroness of warlike heroes and gods (especially Herakles and Mars) and as a palladium (a token of invincibility).

Minerva was worshiped throughout Italy and on several Roman hills: with Jupiter and Juno on the Capitoline and the Quirinal and alone on the Aventine. There were also sanctuaries of the "captive Minerva" (brought from Falerii in 241 BCE) on the Caelius and of Minerva as patroness of physicians on the Esquiline. The emperor Domitian (81–96 CE), a prominent votary of the goddess, increased the number of her cult places.

Minerva was the special patroness of craftsmen, and at least from the time of Augustus (27 BCE–14 CE) craftsmen attended the festival of the Quinquatrus (March 19–23). The festival was publicly solemnized by gladiatorial exhibitions and included a *tubilustrium* (a ritual purification of war trumpets), further evidence of a link with Mars and war. Flute players celebrated a festival of their own ("little Quinquatrus") on June 13.

The cult of Minerva, supported by the municipal institution of capitols (imitations of the Roman temple of the Capitoline triad) and the devotion of craftsmen and soldiers, diffused widely throughout the Roman Empire until the beginning of the common era.

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MINISTRY. The term *ministry* traditionally refers to offices of leadership in the Christian church, but there has been a growing recognition that it also describes the way the mission of the whole church is conducted. Both in terms of specific offices (ministers) and in terms of the work of the church in general, ministry has biblical roots. In Hebrew, *sheret* ("to serve") applies to temple officers and was normally translated *leitourgein* in the Septuagint. This use was carried over into the New Testament, where the various linguistic forms of *leitourgein* are used not only for general acts of service to others (*Rom.* 15:27, *2 Cor.* 9:12, *Phil.* 2:30) but also for worship (*Acts* 13:3) and particularly for priestly and Levitical functions under the Old Covenant (*Lk.* 1:23; *Heb.* 8:2, 8:6, 9:21, 10:11). But the New Testament introduced the words *diakonia* ("service") and *diakonein* ("to serve"), referring to the menial work done by a *diakonos* ("servant") or *doulos* ("slave") to indicate the quality of ministry in the church. These words represent not status but the serving relationship of the minister to the one served: following the example of Christ (and, subsequently, the example of the apostle Paul) is at the heart of the Christian understanding of ministry (*Jn.* 13:1–20; *1 Cor.* 4:16, 11:1; *Phil.* 3:17).

Scholars dispute how far the New Testament reflects a uniform and obligatory pattern of ministerial orders. Roman Catholic scholars generally hold that it does, but most Protestant scholars believe that the New Testament offers several patterns of ministry (*Eph.* 4:11–12; *1 Cor.* 12:27–31; *1 Tm.* 3:1–13, 4:11–16, 5:3–10, 5:17–22). The former view maintains that the orders of ministry are fixed by tradition and that their authority is transmitted by historical succession from the apostles through bishops or the pope as the vicar of Christ (apostolic succession). The latter view regards ministerial orders as essentially functional and focused on faithful transmission of the apostolic testimony.

There is, however, agreement that all ministry traces its authority to Jesus Christ and to the apostles who testified to his saving work and resurrection (*Mt.* 16:13–24, 18:18, 28:18–20; *Jn.* 20:23). Although the apostle Paul could not claim personal connection with the Galilean ministry, he did claim commission from Jesus Christ as the heart of his own call to apostleship (*Gal.* 1:1, 1:11–24, 2:1–21). Churches also generally agree that officers in the church's ministry (i.e., the clergy) have particular responsibility for preaching, for administration of the sacraments (or ordinances), and for the oversight and nurture of their congregations.

By the beginning of the second century, three principal orders of ministry—bishop or pastor (*episcopos,* "overseer"), presbyter or priest (*presbuteros,* "elder"), and deacon (*diakonos,* "servant")—had become widely accepted, and although various confessional groups may not agree how far or when these orders became dependent on the Roman pontiff, the primacy of the pope seems to have been widely acknowledged by the time of Leo I (d. 461) and continued in the West until the Reformation. In the Eastern church the break with Rome, the Great Schism, is often given the date 1054, but scholars recognize that this was the end of a process of estrangement over centuries. However, the threefold ministry remained unchanged in both halves of Christendom through a millennium of Christian history.

Catholic branches of the church claim unbroken succession with this earlier history and believe that these offices are prescribed (i.e., *iure divino*) and guaranteed by apostolic succession. Ordination is a sacrament whereby the Holy Spirit is transmitted through the bishop's imposition of hands, which imparts special grace to administer the sacraments and to exercise authority in the church. In the Roman Catholic Church these powers derive ultimately from the pope, while among the Orthodox it is exercised by the bishop within the corporate authority of the Orthodox community. Old Catholics and Anglo-Catholics hold a position on apostolic succession close to that of Rome but do not acknowledge the infallible authority of the papacy.

The sixteenth-century Reformation challenged the absolute authority of ecclesiastical tradition and its priesthood. Protestants turned from papal authority to the authority of the Bible, which led to revisions in their understanding of the church and its ministry. In the main, they claimed to restore the New Testament pattern, and in reaction to ecclesiastical legalism they tended to appeal to the Bible as a divine law book. New Testament "restorationism" appears in the early Luther, based on a primary appeal to scripture and on scripture exegeted by "the priesthood of all believers." Luther may be described as advocating a form of "evangelical pragmatism," since he accepted any pattern consistent with scripture that served the effective preaching of the word and the proper administration of the sacraments. Lutheranism has therefore adopted episcopal, consistorial, and congregational forms of churchmanship.

Attempts to restore a more biblical pattern of church and ministry are to be found in almost every form of Reformation church, and not least the Reformed church. Differences between Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531) and the Anabaptists (Swiss Brethren) were not over the primacy of scripture but over its interpretation. John Calvin (1509–1564) systematized the Reformed position, claiming that church and ministry are of divine institution (*Institutes* 4.1, 4.3). Like many in his day, he regarded apostles, prophets, and evangelists as peculiar to the apostolic age, although he recognized that they might be revived "as the need of the times demands." Pastors and teachers, he argued, were indispensable. Pastors exercised general oversight discipline and preached and administered the sacraments; teachers were responsible for doctrine. Calvin also recognized the New Testament office of deacon in care of the poor (within which he included the office of the "widow"). He insisted on both the inward call of a minister and the recognition by the church of that call. In matters of discipline the pastor was to share power with a consistory of elders so that power would not be exclusively in the hands of a single person.

Calvin's fourfold ordering of ministry was taken over by the Reformed church and the Puritans in the British Isles and colonial America in the Presbyterian and Congregational churches. Similar forms of ministry arose out of English Separatism (e.g., Baptist churches) and the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) movement of the American frontier. Differences between the classic Reformation positions and later restoration movements turned not so much on the appeal to the Bible as on other matters affecting scriptural interpretation: the relationship of the church to civil authorities, insistence on the church's purity, ministerial training, and how far literal appeal to scripture may be modified by the Holy Spirit revealed in scripture. Extreme restorationists reject any deviation from the New Testament pattern; at the other extreme, the Society of Friends (Quakers) claims that the spirit of the scriptures requires no specially ordained ministers.

A different modification of the church's ministry is seen in the Anglican settlement. In the sixteenth century, Henry VIII sought to separate from Rome without changing the shape of the national church, and his daughter, Elizabeth I, followed his lead. She wooed English Catholics by maintaining traditional vestments, liturgy, and forms of church government (episcopal). From the first the Church of England tried to reconcile appeal to scripture and to church tradition. Originally the settlement was based on the authority of the crown (the divine right of kings), but at the turn of the seventeenth century appeals to the divine right of the episcopacy began to appear. Differences concerning the role of the episcopacy are reflected in the so-called high church (Anglo-Catholic), broad church (Latitudinarian), and low church (Evangelical) traditions within Anglicanism.

In the eighteenth century, John Wesley, founder of Methodism, refused to separate from the Church of England. He finally became convinced that priests and bishops were of the same order in the New Testament and that he had the right to ordain ministers for America, but he refused to designate bishops and instead appointed superintendents. The decision to employ the term *bishop* in American Methodism probably arose from the determination to assert independence from Anglicanism. But although Wesley believed that the threefold order of ministry is scriptural, he offered an essentially pragmatic interpretation of these offices. His position was fundamentally the evangelical pragmatism seen in Luther.

By the mid-1980s there was no acceptance of the ordination of women in the Roman Catholic and Orthodox branches of the church, but a growing acceptance of women into the ordained ministry of Protestant denominations and in some provinces of Anglicanism was evident. Protestant and Anglican practices stem from the theological belief that the call to ministry is open to all God's people. The ecumenical movement has also prompted many churches to reexamine earlier claims and to recognize that they have much to learn from each other. Statements on ministry prepared for the Consultation on Church Union (1984), which reflected the views of ten American Protestant denominations, and by the World Council of Churches (1982) indicate a significant and growing consensus. This consensus reveals an emphasis on the servanthood of ministry as evidenced in the ministry of Jesus; an awareness that the whole church is the proper context in which the ordained ministry should be considered; an awareness that the doctrines of church and ministry cannot be separated; and a recognition that the traditional threefold ordering of ministry should not be lightly discarded. This growing consensus shows that many Christian churches seek to manifest their essential unity and to arrive at a point where their ministries may be mutually recognized.

SEE ALSO Anglicanism; Apostles; Church; Discipleship; Ecumenical Movement; Leadership; Methodist Churches; Ordination; Papacy; Priesthood, article on Christian Priesthood; Reformation.

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MINOAN RELIGION See AEGEAN RELIGIONS

MIQVEH.

In Jewish tradition, a *miqveh* (plural *miqvaʾot*) is a pool of water, either natural or constructed, used for ritual purification of persons and objects.

BIBLICAL PERIOD. Biblical texts concerning contraction of ritual impurity, such as *Leviticus* 15 (impurity from bodily emissions), *Numbers* 19 (impurity from contact with a corpse), and *Numbers* 31:22–23 (impure objects), ordain that immersion in water is required to remove ritual uncleanness in some instances. However, biblical legislation does not specify the nature of the pool or the source or amount of the water in which ritual immersion is to take place, nor does the word *miqveh* appear in the Hebrew Bible in this context. It seems likely that immersion in the biblical period was generally restricted to priests who were required to be ritually pure before partaking of the freewill offerings (*terumah*) given by the people.

SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD. The earliest archaeological remains of ritual bath installations date from the Hasmonaean period (second century BCE), when concern for ritual immersion appears to have become a public matter, possibly under influence from Hellenism, with its strongly developed bathhouse culture. More than three hundred *miqvaʾot* dating from Hasmonaean times through the Roman period have been discovered in Judea and Galilee, half in the Jerusalem area; many were built beside agricultural installations (wine and olive presses) in both cities and villages, and others were constructed in the private dwellings of wealthy, often priestly, families. Hasmonaean ritual baths have been discovered in Jericho, Qumran, and Gezer, and it seems likely that some of the Roman period ritual baths were also in earlier use.

The most common use of such *miqvaʾot* in the Second Temple period was purification prior to entering the area of the Temple. Many *miqvaʾot* were located on the Temple Mount (over forty have been excavated south of the Double and Triple Gates), and the Temple itself contained pools for priests. A large number of valid *miqvaʾot* were also available to festival pilgrims in towns and villages around Jerusalem. Rabbinic sources indicate that the Jewish court (*bet din*) supervised the construction, the validity, the measurements, and the cleanliness of the *miqvaʾot* that served these crowds of visitors to the Temple. Because stored rainwater was always a scarce commodity, water from caves, springs, and rivers was utilized whenever possible in building *miqvaʾot.*

RABBINIC PERIOD. *Miqvaʾot,* the sixth tractate in the order *Tohorot* (purities) of the Mishnah (edited in the Land of Israel in the third century CE), discusses the characteristics of a valid *miqveh*, various ways of constructing a *miqveh*, and the nature and sources of the water necessary for a valid *miqveh*; it also delineates what constitutes valid immersion. According to this tractate, a *miqveh* must be hewn out of rock or built into the ground; it must also be made watertight, usually with plaster, because any leakage invalidates it. A *miqveh* must contain a minimum of forty *seʾah* (approximately one hundred gallons) of free-flowing clean water, sufficient for full immersion either vertically or horizontally. Rain- or springwater is valid, as is water diverted from a river, lake, or ocean. Once a *miqveh* contains the minimum of at least forty *seʾah* of valid water, drawn water of any amount may be added. Similarly if an upper *miqveh* contains forty *seʾah* of valid water and drawn water is then added to it and at least forty *seʾah* flows into the lower pool, that lower pool is also a valid *miqveh.* Because water must not flow through metal vessels or other materials that are susceptible to ritual uncleanness, all pipes and other accessories are attached to the ground. The *miqveh* may not be emptied through a drain in the bottom; such a drain could allow leakage, and any drain plug would be regarded as an unacceptable vessel. A variety of construction methods based on these principles have developed over time.

MEDIEVAL PERIOD. *Miqvaʾot* have been essential features of Jewish communities over the centuries. A recently discovered *miqveh* complex in the old Jewish quarter of Siracusa in Sicily probably dates from the sixth century CE and may be the oldest surviving ritual bathing area in Europe. Medieval *miqvaʾot* have been discovered at a number of other European sites, including Cologne (c. 1170), Speyer (c. 1200), London (c. 1200), and Friedberg (c. 1260). The *miqveh* in Worms (c. 1190), a subterranean building with Romanesque architectural elements, is typical: from an aboveground structure, nineteen steps descend to an entrance hall, and then another eleven steps descend to the *miqveh*. A similar medieval underground *miqveh* also exists in Cairo. In many instances the *miqvaʾot* of the Middle Ages also served as bathhouses because of orders from Christian rulers forbidding Jews to wash in rivers.

***MIQVEH* USE HISTORICALLY.** Most biblical laws of ritual impurity lapsed with the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE, and since the rabbinic era the *miqveh* has been used most frequently by women who immerse prior to marriage, at a specified time in each menstrual cycle, and following the birth of children. *Miqveh* immersion is also obligatory according to *halakhah* (rabbinic legislation) as part of the ceremony of conversion to Judaism. Some Jewish groups have encouraged *miqveh* immersion for men on the eve of the Sabbath and festivals. The *miqveh* has also been used, in accordance with *Numbers* 31:22–23, to immerse new metal and glass vessels and vessels purchased from non-Jews.

The requirements of *miqveh* immersion for women are detailed in rabbinic *halakhah*, particularly in the Talmudic tractate *Niddah*, which discusses the practical consequences of women's menstrual and nonmenstrual discharges. In this rabbinic legislation biblical ordinances are expanded into a complicated system of rules for avoiding not only sexual intercourse but any physical contact between husband and wife during the wife's menses and for an additional seven days following the cessation of flow. On the eighth "white day" the wife must immerse in the *miqveh* before marital relations may resume (interestingly, immersion following menstruation is not a biblical commandment). The rabbinic *halakhah* is concerned with preserving men from the ritual pollution that would follow from any contact with their ritually impure wives. However, procedures for calculating the interval of time when spousal contact is forbidden relies heavily on a woman's knowledge of the stages of her cycle. Fidelity to the rules of self-examination and expedient immersion as soon as legally possible comprise one of the three areas of ritual obligations specifically incumbent on women (together with separating a part of the dough used to make Sabbath loaves and kindling Sabbath lights). Jewish girls were traditionally taught to comply strictly and promptly with the regulations connected with the *niddah* (the menstruating woman). The process of immersion, which includes the recitation of a benediction, takes place only after the body has been thoroughly cleansed and must be complete; whereas one total immersion is sufficient according to the *halakhah*, three have become customary. Postmenstrual and postpartum women have usually visited the *miqveh* at night, often accompanied by other women.

CONTEMPORARY *MIQVEH* USE. In the first half of the twentieth century female *miqveh* observance appears to have declined significantly in North America, even among nominally traditional families, despite Orthodox exhortation in sermons and written tracts on the spiritual and medical benefits of *taharat hamishpahah* (family purity regulations), as these laws came to be called. Factors militating against *miqveh* use included disaffection of Americanized children of immigrants with their parents' Old World ways, the success of liberal forms of organized Judaism (the Reform, Conservative, and Reconstructionist movements) that did not advocate *miqveh* use, and the deterrent effect of ill-maintained and unhygienic *miqvaʾot*. Many Jewish feminist writers of the late twentieth century also condemned *taharat hamishpahah* regulations as archaic expressions of male anxiety about the biological processes of the female body that reinforced the predominant construction in rabbinic Judaism of women as other and lesser than men.

However, the 1980s and 1990s saw a resurgence in the numbers of Orthodox Jews and a new sympathy for various previously discarded practices of traditional Judaism in Reform, Conservative, and Reconstructionist Judaism. In this period positive new interpretations of *miqveh* immersion developed, accompanied by construction of attractive modern *miqvaʾot* in many Jewish communities. Contemporary Orthodox advocates of *taharat hamishpahah* regulations praised the ways in which they enhanced the sanctity of marriage and human sexuality, maintaining that traditional Judaism recognizes and values the fluctuating rhythms of human relationships by mandating a monthly separation between husband and wife when spousal communication and empathy must be enhanced in nonphysical ways. Supporters commended the elevating value of fulfilling a demanding divinely ordained mandate. They also praised the consciousness of the body and its functions that these rules impose on women and the feeling of personal renewal and rebirth following each immersion.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century *miqveh* immersion has became a symbolic expression of a new spiritual beginning for both women and men in all branches of Jewish practice beyond the domain of *taharat hamishpahah*. In addition to conversion to Judaism, rituals have developed that incorporate *miqveh* immersion as part of bar mitzvah and bat mitzvah (coming of age); before Jewish holidays; prior to marriage; in cases of miscarriage, infertility, and illness; and following divorce, sexual assault, or other life-altering events. An indication of the probable long-term impact of this trend is the increased construction of *miqvaʾot* by non-Orthodox Jewish communities.

SEE ALSO Conversion; Purification, article on Purification in Judaism.

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MIRABAI (b. circa 1500 CE) is the most famous medieval woman saint of *bhakti*, or devotional Hinduism. Known for her unwavering devotion to God in the form of Kṛṣṇa (the amorous incarnation of Viṣṇu) and for her suffering and perseverance in the face of extreme opposition to that love, Mirabai's lifestory and songs are performed throughout India and beyond. Like other *bhakti* saints, her sainthood was not conferred by any institutional authority but rather by countless subsequent devotees who have found in her an exemplar of the ideal devotee and a spiritual guide.

According to hagiographic and legendary accounts, Mirabai was born to a minor royal family in Merta, Rajasthan, in western India, probably around the beginning of the sixteenth century. Devoted to Kṛṣṇa from childhood, she was married into the royal family of the neighboring kingdom of Mewar, but she refused to honor her new husband or his family, seeing Kṛṣṇa as her true husband and Lord. Her in-laws found her behavior as a woman intolerable, particularly her public dancing and singing in temples and her conversing openly with holy men. Attempts were made first to stop her and then to kill her, the method of choice being poison. Who tried to kill her varies by account. Some say she was a devoted wife and it was only after her husband's death that an evil brother-in-law began to persecute her, but many more name her husband as her would-be killer.

The Mughal emperor Akbar is said to have come in disguise to see this renowned devotee of God, her appeal extending across religious boundaries. But eventually she grew weary of persecution and left her marital home to become a wandering saint, going first to Kṛṣṇa's holy city of Vrindavan. There Jiv Goswami, disciple of Caitanya (1486–1533), initially refused to meet her, having vowed not to speak to women, but he then welcomed her after she reminded him that all souls are feminine in the presence of the decidedly male Lord Kṛṣṇa. She settled in Dvaraka until a delegation of Brahmin priests arrived from her marital family to escort her back, threatening to fast to death if she refused. Entering the temple to take leave of Kṛṣṇa, she disappeared, merging with his image.

Other stories also speak of Mirabai taking the untouchable leatherworker Raidas as her guru, an act which places her under male authority but also adds defiance of caste to her transgressions. The story of Mirabai's life has inspired not only devotees of God, but also oppressed low-caste people; women whose suffering, longing, and independence parallel hers; Indian nationalists seeking heroic Indian women to inspire their struggle against the British; and such figures as Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948), for whom she was an ideal practitioner of non-violent resistance. Upper-caste male historians have also sought to write the definitive historical biography of Mirabai, but historical sources record little about her, and Parita Mukta has even argued that Mirabai's marital family sought to actively suppress her memory. The resulting biographies, like the stories told by others, are—and indeed must be—shaped significantly by the values and assumptions of the tellers. The dates they give for events in her life and the assignment of Bhoj Raj, son of Sanga, as her husband must be treated as speculative.

Like other *bhakti* saints, Mirabai expressed her devotion in songs which have been primarily preserved and disseminated through oral traditions. No early extensive written collections of her songs exist, though such collections are available for male saints like Kabīr (c. 1450–1525) and Surdas. Unlike them, Mirabai was never formally adopted by any institutionalized branch of devotional Hinduism—she remained well loved but outside such structures, in all likelihood because of her independent behavior as a woman.

Among the songs attributed to her, those actually composed by the sixteenth-century woman cannot be distinguished from those composed by others in her name and style.

These songs speak in the first person of deep love and longing for God and of Mirabai's persecution and rejection of the royal world of her husband. They traverse the range of emotions connected with love—longing, anticipation, the ecstatic joy of union, adoration, jealousy, and anger—but also speak of a merger with the One who transcends all distinctions and forms. Throughout her stories and songs, the overriding theme is absolute love of God, with complete disregard for the consequences.

The variations in the telling of Mirabai's story show a deep appreciation for her devotion coupled with a recognition of the depth of opposition she faced and consequent suffering she endured. However, they also reflect the ambivalence that continues to surround a woman's defiance of social norms even out of devotion to God. Mirabai remains immensely popular as a saint but also both powerful and controversial as an exemplary woman.

SEE ALSO Bhakti; Hindi Religious Traditions; Poetry, article on Indian Religious Poetry; Vaisnavism, article on Bhāgavatas.

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NANCY M. MARTIN (2005)

MIRACLES

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
MODERN PERSPECTIVES

MIRACLES: AN OVERVIEW

The history of religions has preserved the record of miracles, that is, events, actions, and states taken to be so unusual, extraordinary, and supernatural that the normal level of human consciousness finds them hard to accept rationally. These miracles are usually taken as manifestations of the supernatural power of the divine being fulfilling his purpose in history, but they are also caused to occur "naturally" by charismatic figures who have succeeded in controlling their consciousness through visions, dreams, or the practices of meditation. Although miracles have assumed diverse forms, healing miracles and exorcisms have often attracted most attention.

However diverse the forms may be, miracles are preeminently sociological phenomena. It is, of course, true that no miracles exist without miracle workers who often claim religious authority of one kind or another based on their performance of miracles; but as the etymological meaning of the word *miracle* (Lat., *miraculum*) may suggest, one of the conditions indispensable for the creation of miracles is the presence of those people, spectators, who take the performance of miracle workers to be wonderful, extraordinary, and worthy of admiration. These people are often the followers of miracle workers, witnesses of miracles, or professional priests or laymen of the cults at whose shrines, temples, or caves miracles have occurred, and it is they who are often responsible for the creation and propagation of miracle stories in which the saving power of the divine beings and the extraordinary personality of miracle workers are extolled.

MIRACLES IN THE "PRIMITIVE" TRADITION. In primitive societies religious specialists, such as magicians, medicine men, sorcerers, and shamans, are known for their performance of miracles as well as for their exercise of magico-religious powers. They have acquired such miracle-working powers through the practices of meditation, vision quest, or a series of initiatory sicknesses and dreams.

In some parts of Asia, Australia, and North America, it is believed that illness is caused by the intrusion of a magical object into the patient's body, or through his possession by evil spirits. Healing is effected by magicians, sorcerers, or medicine men through the extraction of the harmful object or the expulsion of demons. Among the Aranda in central Australia, for example, a man is initiated into the profession of medicine man through a series of hardships and rituals: one of the older medicine men pierces the index finger of the novice with a pointed magical wand. By this operation the novice acquires the ability to drive out the objects causing illness in his future patients. The old medicine man also seizes the tongue of the novice and cuts a hole in it with a sharp stone knife. This is done to enable him to suck out the evil magical forces to be found in the bodies of his patients.

The vision quest among the Indians of North America is a means of acquiring supernatural power through personal contact with the divine. In California, the vision is sought by shamans wishing to effect a cure. The shaman occupies a unique place among religious specialists due to his ability, in a trance state, to make the ecstatic journey to the beyond. He is engaged in the spiritual journey most often when he has to cure the sick; when he finds that the illness of a sick person has been caused by the loss of his soul, the shaman searches for the lost soul in heaven, in distant space, and most frequently in the underworld.

The shaman acquires the power of healing as well as other magico-religious powers through his unique psychic experience. In Siberia, as a rule, the future shaman is sick for an indefinite period of time; he stays in his tent or wanders in the wilderness, behaving in such eccentric ways that he could be mistaken for a madman: he becomes suddenly frenzied, loses consciousness, feeds on tree bark, or flings himself into water and fire. These pathological symptoms can properly be interpreted in terms of initiatory trials, which the future shaman is destined to undergo in order to be miraculously transformed into a "new being."

Significantly, in the state of sickness, dreams, and visions, the future shaman has the experience of being dismembered, reduced to bones, and then given entirely new internal organs. For example, a Tunguz shaman (Ivan Cholko) states that before a man becomes shaman he is sick for a long time, his head being in a state of confusion. The spirits of the dead shaman-ancestors come, cut his flesh in pieces, and drink his blood. They also cut off his head and throw it into a caldron. According to a Buriat shaman (Mikhail Stepanov), before a man becomes shaman he is sick for a long time. Then the spirits of dead shamans come and teach him; he becomes absentminded, speaking with the dead shamans as if he were with living persons. He alone is able to "see" the spirits. They torture him, strike him, and cut his flesh in pieces with knives. During this surgical operation the future shaman becomes half dead; the beating of his heart is scarcely heard, his breathing is weak, and his face and hands are dark blue. A Yakut shaman (Petr Ivanov) gives further details concerning the initiatory ordeal of dismemberment, followed by the renewal of the body: his limbs are removed and disjointed with an iron hook by the spirits of ancestral shamans; the bones are cleaned, the flesh scraped, the body fluids thrown away, and the eyes torn out of their sockets. After this operation all the bones are gathered up, joined together with iron, and new eyes are put in place. He is thus transformed into a new being, a shaman.

The experiences described above by no means exhaust the shaman's transforming initiatory trials. The Inuit (Eskimo) shaman, for example, acquires the *qaumaneq* (mystical light). "The first time a young shaman experiences this light," Knud Rasmussen states, "it is as if the house in which he is suddenly rises; he sees far ahead of him, through mountains, exactly as if the earth were one great plain, and his eyes could reach to the end of the earth" (*Intellectual Culture of the Igtulik Eskimos*, Copenhagen, 1930, p. 113). According to Franz Boas: "When a person becomes shaman, a light covers his body. He can see supernatural things. The stronger the light is within him, the deeper and further away he can see, and the greater is his supernatural power. The light makes his whole body feel well. When the intensity of this light increases, he feels a strong pressure, and it seems to him as though a film were being removed from his eyes which prevented him from seeing clearly. The light is always present with him. It guides him, and enables him to see into the future and back into the past" (*The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay*, New York, 1901, p. 133).

Shamans must demonstrate to spectators the new, superhuman condition that they have acquired: they gash themselves with knives, touch red-hot iron, and swallow burning coals. Shamans are masters over fire. They also incarnate the spirit of fire to the point where, during séances, they emit flames from their mouths, noses, and whole bodies. The practice of fire walking is imposed on shamans and medicine men in, for instance, Australia, Indonesia, China, and among the Manchu. Sometimes a shaman must prove his miraculous powers by resisting the most severe cold or by drying a wet sheet on his naked body. Among the Manchu, for example, nine holes are made in the ice during winter; the candidate has to dive into the first hole, come out through the second, and so on to the ninth hole. A young Labrador Inuit obtained the title of *angakkoq* (shaman) after remaining five days and nights in the icy sea and proving that he was not even wet. A shaman sometimes shows his miraculous powers to the public by climbing a ladder of knives. Among the Lolo in southern China, a double ladder made of thirty-six knives is built, and the barefoot shaman climbs it to the top, then comes down on the other side. Similar feats are also attested in other parts of China and among the Chingpaw of Upper Burma.

MIRACLES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD. In archaic Greece, Abaris, Aristeas, and Epimenides were known for their wonders and miracles. Abaris was a shamanic figure; carrying the golden arrow in his hand, he passed through many lands, dispelling sickness and pestilence, and giving warning of earthquakes and other disasters. He was also known to fly through the air on his arrow, a symbol of magic flight. Aristeas of Proconnesus could appear at the same time in two places far apart, sometimes assuming the form of a crow. Epimenides was a master of the techniques of ecstasy, well known for his miraculous powers; he journeyed through many lands, bringing his health-giving arts with him, prophesying the future, interpreting the hidden meaning of past occurrences, and expelling the demonic evils that arose from misdeeds of the past.

Especially noteworthy is Pythagoras, whose image in the Hellenistic Mediterranean world was quite complex in nature. According to his biographies by Porphyry and Iamblichus dating from the third and fourth centuries CE, Pythagoras was a "divine man" (*theios anēr*), combining the figure of the popular miracle worker, the portrait of the philosopher, and the idealized image of the practical statesman. His image as miracle worker was enhanced by several recurring motifs: (1) Pythagoras was seen in two cities at the same time; (2) he could recall his previous existences; (3) he was endowed with the ability to stop an eagle in flight; and (4) he could predict events in the future. It is highly probable that, as Neo-Pythagoreanism gained popularity among ordinary people, the image of Pythagoras the thaumaturge was promoted by a circle of followers quite distinct from those who wished to cultivate his reputation as a philosopher and scientist.

Apollonius of Tyana, a wandering Pythagorean philosopher of the first century CE, also worked miracles. It is generally accepted that early traditions about his activity as a miracle worker were incorporated into subsequent accounts of his life, which were apologetically intended to present him as a philosopher. Apollonius described exorcisms and instances of healing the blind, the lame, and the paralytic in India (see Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 3.38–39); more important than that, he performed similar miracles himself. Apollonius reportedly performed even the miracle of raising the dead while he was in Rome (4.45): a girl had died just before her marriage, and the bridegroom was following her bier lamenting; the whole of Rome lamented with him, for she belonged to a consular family. Apollonius, meeting the funeral procession, said, "Put down the bier, for I will put a stop to your tears for the girl." Then he asked her name. The crowd thought he was going to deliver a funeral oration, but he merely touched her and said something in secret over her, and thus he awoke her from her seeming death. In the magical papyri, his name is attached to a spell, a fact indicating his considerable popularity as a magician. According to Dio Cassius, the Roman emperor Caracalla (r. 211–217) built a temple in honor of Apollonius, who was a "perfect example of the magician."

The figure of Moses was one of the most important propaganda instruments that Jews of the Hellenistic period used in their competition with non-Jewish schools and cults. In *Deuteronomy* 34:10–12, Moses is described as the greatest prophet in Israel, known for his signs and wonders as well as for his mighty powers and great and terrible deeds. This Moses was presented to the Hellenistic world as a miracle-working philosopher, as is exemplified in Philo Judaeus's *On the Life of Moses.*

There are many stories in late Judaism narrating how rabbis worked miracles of healing. The best known, perhaps, is the healing of the son of Yoḥanan ben Zakk'ai by Ḥanina' ben Dosa'. Both rabbis lived in Palestine around 70 CE. Ḥanina' ben Dosa' went to study the Torah with Yoḥanan ben Zakk'ai, whose son was seriously ill. Yoḥanan requested: "Ḥanina', my son, pray for mercy for him that he may live." Ḥanina' ben Dosa' laid his head between his knees and prayed, and then the boy was cured (B.T., *Ber.* 34).

Miracles of healing were performed also by kings, for example, the Roman emperor Vespasian (r. 70–79). While the emperor was in Alexandria, a blind man approached him, acting on the advice of the god Sarapis; he fell at Vespasian's feet, demanding with sobs a cure for his blindness and imploring the emperor to moisten his eyes with the spittle from his mouth. Another man with a maimed hand, also inspired by Sarapis, asked Vespasian to touch it with his heel. "To the great excitement of the bystanders," states Tacitus, Vespasian "did as the men desired him. Immediately the hand recovered its functions and daylight shone once more in the blind man's eyes" (*Histories* 4.81; see also Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 65.8, and Suetonius, *Vespasian* 7.2–3).

Throughout late antiquity, Epidaurus was a holy site especially celebrated for the epiphany of Asklepios, the divine healer. According to Strabo, Asklepios was believed to "cure diseases of every kind." His temple was always full of the sick as well as containing the votive tablets on which treatments were recorded (*Geography* 8.6.15). Asklepios would appear to the sick sleeping in his temple—more precisely, in the innermost chamber (*to abaton*) of the sanctuary; he would approach the sick in dreams and visions, or, as Aelius Aristides put it, in a "state of mind intermediate between sleep and waking." This practice of temple sleep, incubation (*incubatio*), was of vital importance to the sick; it was in the state of such dreams and visions that one was healed or given instructions by Asklepios. The healing god would touch his patient's body with his hands, apply drugs, or undertake surgical operations. Consequently, the eyesight of the blind would be restored, the lame would walk, the mute would speak, and the man whose fingers had been paralyzed would stretch each of them one by one. Some examples of Asklepios's miracles follow.

Ambrosia of Athens, blind in one eye, came to Epidaurus to seek help from Asklepios. But as she walked around the temple, she mocked at the many records of divine healings: "It is unbelievable and impossible that the lame and the blind can be cured by merely dreaming." In her sleep she had a dream: Asklepios approached and promised to heal her; only in return she must present a gift offering in the temple—a silver pig, in memory of her stupidity. After saying this, Asklepios cut open her defective eye and poured in a drug. Her sight was soon restored. The following miracle story about a man with an abscess inside his abdomen reminds us of the initiatory dreaming of Siberian shamans. While asleep in the temple, the man saw a dream: Asklepios ordered the servants who accompanied him to hold him tightly so that he could cut open his abdomen. The man tried to escape but could not. Then Asklepios cut his belly open, removed the abscess, and stitched him up. Sometimes, the healing power of Asklepios reached the patient far away from his temple. Arata, a woman of Lacedaemon, was dropsical. While she remained in Lacedaemon, her mother slept in the temple on her behalf and saw a dream: Asklepios cut off her daughter's head and hung up her body in such a way that her throat was turned downward. Out of it came a huge quantity of fluid matter. Then he took down the body and put the head back onto the neck. After the mother had seen this dream, she went home and found her daughter in good health; the daughter had seen the same dream.

The Mediterranean world knew Egypt as the home of thaumaturgy, theosophy, and esoteric wisdom. There, the goddess Isis was praised for her miraculous healings; she was credited with bringing the arts of healing to men and, once she had attained immortality, taking pleasure in miraculously healing those who incubated themselves in her temple (Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History* 1.25.2–5). At her hands the maimed were healed and the blind received their eyesight. According to the inscriptions found on the island of Delos dating from about the first century BCE, Isis worship was attended by a functionary specifically called an *aretalogos*, an interpreter of dreams, who may have functioned as a proclaimer of miraculous events. The temple of the god Sarapis at Canopus, not far from Alexandria, was also famous for its divine healing; Sarapis would visit those who slept in his temple, giving them advice in dreams.

YOGINS, DAOIST CONTEMPLATIVES, AND YAMABUSHI. Indian ascetics practicing Yoga are well known for their miraculous powers. The yogin sits cross-legged and firm on a flat space with his eyes fixed on a certain object beyond him. He has to master, at the same time, the breathing techniques (*prāṇāyāma*); at first, the breath is kept for one minute and then exhaled. This practice goes on for days, weeks, and months until the period of retention of the inhaled breath is gradually increased.

According to the Indo-Tibetan Tantric tradition, the ascetic is able to produce "inner heat" on the basis of rhythmical breathing and various "visualizations." During a winter-night snowstorm, the degree of his progress is tested by his ability to dry a large number of soaked sheets draped directly over his naked body. "Sheets are dipped in the icy water," reports Alexandra David-Neel. "Each man wraps himself in one of them and must dry it on his body. As soon as the sheet has become dry, it is again dipped in the water and placed on the novice's body to be dried as before. The operation goes on until daybreak. Then he who has dried the largest number of sheets is acknowledged the winner of the competition" (*With Mystics and Magicians in Tibet*, London, 1931, pp. 227–228).

The yogin acquires the "miraculous powers" (*siddhis*) when he has reached a particular stage of his meditational discipline called *saṃyama*, referring, more specifically, to the last stages of yogic technique, that is, concentration (*dhāraṇa*), meditation (*dhyāna*), and *samādhi*. For example, by practicing *saṃyama* in regard to the subconscious residues (*saṃskāras*), the yogin knows his previous existences; through the practice of Yoga, he arrives successfully at the state of mind in which he is one with the things meditated, namely, his subconscious residues. This enables him to ideally relive his former existences. Through *saṃyama* exercised in respect to notions (*pratyaya*), the yogin also knows the mental states of other men; he sees, as on a screen, all the states of consciousness that notions are able to arouse in their minds. Some of the yogin's "miraculous powers" are even more extraordinary: he can make himself invisible by practicing *saṃyama* concerning the form of the body. "When the yogin practices *saṃyama* on the form of the body," Vācaspatimiśra comments, "he destroys the perceptibility of the color (*rūpa*) that is the cause of perception of the body" (Eliade, 1958, p. 87).

In India, the yogin has always been considered a *mahāsiddha*, a possessor of miraculous powers, a magician. However, a yogin is still far from attaining his final goal of absolute freedom so long as his miraculous powers serve him as his "possession." As soon as he consents to use the magical forces gained through his ascetic discipline, the possibility of his realizing absolute freedom diminishes; only a new renunciation, a determination not to use the miraculous powers, would lead the ascetic to a higher spiritual horizon.

Daoists in ancient China are convinced that man can become an "immortal" (*xianren, shenxian,* or *shengren*), that man is able to transcend his human condition by various means, including the practice of meditation. The *Zhuangzi* tells of one such extraordinary man living on a remote mountain: "He does not eat the five grains, but sucks the wind, drinks the dew, climbs up on the clouds and mist, rides a flying dragon, and watches beyond the four seas" (chap. 1). Moreover, "by concentrating his spirit, he can protect creatures from sickness and plague and make the harvest plentiful" (ibid.). Abstention from cereals belongs to a basic requirement in Daoism for nourishing life, as is illustrated by Ge Hong's *Baopuzi* dating from the early fourth century CE. "Sucking the wind" and "drinking the dew" are technical terms in Daoism for breathing exercises. It is certain that the story speaks about a Daoist contemplative on his ecstatic journey, transcending the universe. Especially interesting in the story is the fact that he is able to "concentrate his spirit," that is, to solidify his spiritual potency. The ability to solidify the spiritual potency or light belongs to the privilege of such religious specialists as shamans, yogins, and Daoist saints. According to Max Kaltenmark, the solidification of the spiritual potency points to an essential feature of the Daoist technique of meditation, which consists in freezing the faculties of the soul, concentrating them in a single point.

The practice of meditation essential for attaining immortality leads inevitably to the possession of miraculous powers. According to the *Baopuzi*, the Daoist immortal Ge Xuan, one of Ge Hong's paternal uncles, would stay at the bottom of a deep pond for almost a whole day in hot summer weather. This "miracle" was possible because of his mastery of "embryonic respiration": he was able to accumulate his breaths and to breathe like a fetus in its mother's womb. Ge Xuan was a disciple of the famous Daoist immortal Zuo Ci, of whom it is said that, despite abstinence from eating cereals for almost a whole month, his complexion remained unchanged and his vitality stayed normal (*Baopuzi*, chap. 2).

Mountain ascetics in Japan known as *yamabushi* acquired magico-religious powers through a series of disciplines. The *yamabushi* was the master of heat and fire; he walked barefoot on red hot charcoals without injury; he proved his extraordinary power when, with only a white robe on his naked body, he entered a bath of boiling water and came out entirely unscathed; and he surprised his spectators by climbing a ladder of swords, the sharp edge facing upward. Like a shaman, he was a spiritual being. In his inner consciousness he was a bird in control of cosmic space; at the culminating moment of a ceremony, the *yamabushi* in a trance would spread his arms and fly in the sky in imitation of a bird. In view of the extraordinary powers at his disposal, it is not surprising that he cured the sick, exorcised demons, and fought triumphant battles against evil spirits.

MIRACLES IN FOUNDED RELIGIONS. The founders of three major religions of the world—Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam—have each taken a different attitude toward miracle; Jesus Christ was utterly positive in working miracles, whereas Muḥammad, as represented in the Qurʾān, categorically rejected them. Significantly, the Buddha took the middle course, so to speak. Despite this remarkable divergence among these founders, the subsequent history of these religions demonstrates unmistakably that miracles and miracle stories have been an integral part of man's religious life.

Buddhism. The Buddha was well aware that the practice of meditation essential for attaining enlightenment leads eventually to the possession of "miraculous power" (Skt., *siddhi*; Pali, *iddhi*). But he did not encourage his disciples to seek *siddhi*s. "O *bhikkus*," the Buddha said, "you must not show the superhuman power of *iddhi* before the laity. Whoever does so shall be guilty of an evil deed" (*Vinaya Texts*, trans. T. W. Rhys Davids and Hermann Oldenberg, vol. 3, Delhi, [1885] 1965, p. 81). The true task was not to acquire miraculous powers but to transcend the world of pain and suffering and to attain the state of enlightenment (see *Dīgha Nikāya* 24.3). Moreover, the possession of one miraculous power or another in no way promoted, in the Buddha's mind, the propagation of the central message of Buddhism; yogins, ecstatics, and other ascetics could perform the same miracles.

"Miraculous powers" are one of the five classes of "superknowledge" (Skt., *abhijñā;* Pali, *abhiññā*), which are (1) *siddhi*, (2) divine eye, (3) divine hearing, (4) knowledge of another's thought, and (5) recollection of previous existences. By virtue of deepening meditation, the Buddhist saint is able to acquire the *siddhi* in its various forms: he becomes invisible at his own will; he goes, without feeling any obstacle, to the far side of a wall or rampart or hill, as if through air; he penetrates up and down through solid ground, as if through water; he walks on water without breaking through, as if on solid ground; and he travels cross-legged in the sky, like the birds on the wing (*Dīgha Nikāya* 2.87, 11.4).

According to biographical sources, the Buddha himself was sometimes led to work miracles; for example, when he returned to his native city, Kapilavastu, for the first time after attaining enlightenment, he rose in the air, emitted flames of fire and streams of water from his body, and walked in the sky (see *Mahāvastu* 3.115). According to Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* (19.12–13), in order to convince his relatives of his spiritual capacities and prepare them for conversion, the Buddha rose in the air, cut his body to pieces, let his head and limbs fall to the ground, and then joined them together again before the amazed eyes of the spectators. Among the eminent disciples of the Buddha, Moggallāna (Skt., Maudgalyāyana) was well known as the "chief of those endowed with miraculous powers."

As Buddhism was transplanted to China, its missionaries often resorted to the display of miraculous powers. Especially in northern China, Buddhist saints performed magical feats for evangelical purposes; Fotudeng, who came to China at the beginning of the fourth century CE, worked the miracles of producing rain, creating a lotus out of a bowl of water, and drawing water from dried-up wells. The fame of the monk Dharmaksema was based not only on his scholarly contributions but also on his supernatural powers to produce rain and foretell the outcome of political events or military campaigns. One may not be prepared to accept all of these miracle stories told by pious biographers, but they were undoubtedly created with the good intention of glorifying the Buddha, who was able to endow his ardent followers with such miraculous powers.

Christianity. Jesus Christ performed the miracles of healing and exorcism. In the miracle stories that, together with his sayings and passion narratives, occupy an important place in the Synoptic Gospels, Jesus of Nazareth is presented as the supreme thaumaturge, the great miracle worker, the magician. In fact, there was a charge that Jesus was in league with Beelzebul (*Mk.* 3:22, *Mt.* 12:24, 12:27) and, according to a rabbinic tradition (see B.T., *San.* 43a), Jesus was executed for his practice of sorcery, misguiding the people of Israel.

Typically, the miracle stories of healing and exorcism in the Synoptic Gospels all emphasize three motifs: (1) the history of the illness, (2) the actual process or techniques of the healing, and (3) a demonstration of the cure to the satisfaction of spectators. There is no doubt that the miracle stories were utilized internally for the strengthening of Christian faith and externally for propaganda purposes in a world in which such stories were commonly told of heroes of faith.

Particularly interesting are the techniques that Jesus employed for healing and exorcism. There is no question that he considered prayer to be essential for working miracles (*Mk.* 9:29). But, as a thaumaturge, he had to work up his emotions; in healing a leper Jesus was moved with "anger" (*orgistheis*), stretched out his hand, and touched him (*Mk.* 1:40–45). Jesus displayed the emotional frenzy of the thaumaturge (see also *Lk.* 4:39). In the story of the deaf and mute man (*Mk.* 7:32–37), Jesus puts his fingers into his ears, spits and touches his tongue. Looking up to heaven, he sighs and says to him, "Ephphatha" ("Be opened"). In *Mk.* 8:22–26 Jesus heals a blind man by spitting on his eyes and laying his hands on them. Groaning sighs and spittle were often used by the thaumaturges. As to the use of Semitic words for healing purposes, the account in the *Gospel of Mark* (5:41) of Jesus restoring a girl to life by saying, "Talithȧ Koum" ("Little girl, stand up"), retains the original Aramaic words even in otherwise translated versions. According to the German theologian Martin Dibelius, the preservation of such foreign words and phrases may show that the stories were utilized as a kind of handbook to Christian miracles and magic. The image of Jesus as the thaumaturge can still be identified in the *Gospel of John* (see 9:6, 11:33, 11:35, 11:38, 11:43).

Especially interesting is a cycle of miracle stories in the *Gospel of Mark* (4:35–5:43) that includes the stories of the Gerasene demoniac, the woman with an issue of blood, and the daughter of Jairus. Each of these has all the characteristics of the popular miracle story, and each contributes to the impression that Jesus is a "divine man," tempting New Testament scholars to talk about the development of "divine man Christology" in the *Gospel of Mark*; the miraculous power of Jesus is such that the Gerasenes beg him to leave their district, the touch of his clothes effects a cure, and he raises the dead by strange-sounding words. Moreover, Jesus is presented as performing the miracles of stilling the storm (4:35–41), feeding the five thousand people (6:34–44; see also 8:1–9), and walking on water (6:45–52).

Jesus Christ was followed by his apostles in working miracles (*Acts* 2:43, 5:12), and it seems that they worked the miracles of healing and exorcism "in the name of Jesus Christ" (*Acts* 3:6, 16:18; see also 19:13–17). Stephen and Philip demonstrated great wonders and signs among the people (*Acts* 6:8, 8:5–7), while Peter healed the lame and the paralytic, restoring the dead to life (*Acts* 3:1ff., 9:32ff., 9:36ff.). Even his "shadow" was believed to have healing power (*Acts* 5:15). Paul is also presented in *Acts* as a great miracle worker: he healed a cripple at Lystra (14:8ff.), performed an exorcism in the name of Jesus Christ (16:18), and cured Publius's father, who was sick with fever and dysentery, by putting his hands on him (28:8). Even handkerchiefs and aprons that had touched Paul's body were believed to be effective for curing sickness and exorcism (19:11–12). In *Acts* 13:4–12, Paul evokes belief in the proconsul Sergius Paulus by showing his superior thaumaturgy over the Jewish magician Bar-Jesus and another magician, Elymas.

As we can see from the portrayal of these apostles in *Acts*, the Christian community in the Hellenistic Mediterranean world had a tendency to view its heroes as "divine men"; Paul's opponents in Corinth, especially those he argued against in 2 *Corinthians*, understood a Christian apostle as one who exhibited the aura and power of a "divine man," and they claimed it of themselves and wanted Paul to demonstrate it of himself. Accordingly, Paul had to write to the Corinthians that he had shown the signs of a true apostle among them, "with signs and wonders and mighty works" (2 *Cor.* 12:12; see also *Rom.* 15:18–19a; 1 *Cor.* 12:9–10; *Gal.* 3:5).

Jesus Christ and his apostles in the first century set the examples to be followed by the faithful. In the subsequent history of Christianity, charisma or divine gift of "power" was represented on earth by a limited number of exceptional charismatic figures, such as the martyrs of the second and third centuries, the bishops of the late third century, and, finally, the succession of great Christian saints of ascetic origin, from Anthony onward.

Islam. Muḥammad, the "seal of the prophets," rejected every request to pose as a miracle worker; in contrast to Moses and other Hebrew prophets, as well as Jesus, who all worked miracles (*muʿjizāt*), Muḥammad made no attempt to advance his religious authority by performing miracles, although people demanded them, saying, "Why does he not bring us a sign from his Lord?" (*sūrah* 20:133). To those people who wondered why signs, that is, miracles, had not been sent down on him from God, Muḥammad responded: "The signs are only with God, and I am only a plain warner" (29:49; see also 13:27–30, 17:92ff.).

According to Muḥammad, as presented in the Qurʾān, all the existing things in the universe are the signs (*āyāt*; sg., *āyah*) pointing to the reality of God in action. Natural phenomena, such as rain, wind, the structure of heaven and earth, the rhythmical alternation of day and night, and so forth, are not simply "natural" occurrences; they should be understood as "signs" or "symbols" manifesting God's mercy and compassion for man's well-being on earth. God declares, "We shall show them our signs in the horizons and in themselves" (41:53; see also 51:20–21). The universe is thus miraculously transformed into a forest of symbols; human beings dwell within the forest of divine symbols, and these symbols can be deciphered by anyone if he is spiritually prepared to interpret them as symbols. There should be no miracles except for these "signs."

However, the majority of the Islamic community has never ceased to expect miracles. Muḥammad is presented in the traditions (*ḥadīths*) as having worked miracles in public on many occasions. It was especially Ṣūfī saints who performed miracles (*karāmāt*). Often called the "friends of God" (*awliyāʾ*, sg. *walī*), they worked miracles by divine grace. On the one hand, it is often said by the Ṣūfīs that saints must not seek after the gift of miracle working, which might become a serious obstacle in the path to the union with God. On the other hand, the biographies of leading Ṣūfīs abound in miracle stories that certainly have been utilized for evangelical purposes: saints traveled a long distance in a short time; walked on water and in the air; talked with such inanimate objects as stones, as well as with animals; miraculously produced food, clothing, and other necessities of life; and made predictions of future events. Even after their death, saints are believed to work miracles at their own graves on behalf of the faithful, and their intercession is piously invoked.

SEE ALSO Asklepios; Dreams; Healing and Medicine; Magic; Shamanism; Spittle and Spitting; Supernatural, The; Yoga.

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MIRACLES: MODERN PERSPECTIVES

The attitude toward miracles in the Western world is a strange combination of belief and disbelief. Most of the Mediterranean cultures that laid the groundwork for Western thinking believed that human beings have two modes of coping with animate and inanimate reality. One is the ordinary way, the other the religious or miraculous way. (Most nineteenth-century Western anthropologists called the second way magical.) Humans act in the ordinary way when they use habit, conventional thinking processes, or acquired skills. When these methods fail, when humans cannot adequately deal with the physical world, or when other human beings are hostile or unchanged by threats, war, contracts, or persuasion, another option is available: they can seek the help and intervention of a spiritual or nonphysical dimension of reality, which exists alongside and interpenetrates the ordinary physical dimension. This supplication can be quite conscious or it can be performed unconsciously through actions that imply control over these powers. Help can be invoked through concentration, meditation, ritual, spell, or ecstatic trance. Aid can be sought for knowledge, protection, or deliverance. The spiritual powers called upon can be either beneficent, malignant, or neutral. When a result appears in response to such an action, a miracle is said to occur. The miracle may occur within an individual or in the external world.

Four different attitudes toward miracles are to be found in Western cultures at the present time. (1) Christianity's view, which has remained quite consistent from the teachings and practice of Jesus to the present time, holds that miracles are natural manifestations of God. (2) Rational materialism maintains that material reality accounts for all data of experience and infers therefrom that spiritual reality is an illusion and that miracles do not exist. This view has encouraged liberal Christianity to doubt the reality of the miracles found in the New Testament and to rule out the possibility of their happening at present. This view has influenced conservative Christianity as well, for conservatives believe that miracles did occur within the dispensation of God at the time of Jesus but that they do not occur now. (3) A resurgence of interest in and study of phenomena not accounted for within the framework of materialism constitutes yet another approach to miracles, which has recently engaged the scientific community. (4) A fourth attitude toward miracles prevails in Hinduism, Buddhism, and Western Christian Science. In this view, material reality is seen as illusion. A miracle occurs once an individual realizes this truth. This approach is increasingly popular in the West, for it provides an alternative to rational materialism.

CHRISTIANITY AND MIRACLE. Christianity is both a historical religion and a living one. The historic Christian faith is one of the few in which miracles are seen as constituent of the orthodox faith. It continues the Old Testament tradition of God acting powerfully in the physical world. As C. S. Lewis (1947) points out, historical Christianity sees the incarnation of God in the world as the greatest miracle that culminates in the crucifixion and resurrection. Through this invasion of God the powers of evil are defeated and the kingdom of heaven begins to manifest itself on earth. Reginald H. Fuller (1963) sees the New Testament miracles as signs of the breakthrough of the kingdom into the ordinary world, though he questions the historicity of most miracles.

I have shown in detail in *The Christian and the Supernatural* (1976) that the miraculous in the ministry of Jesus and the apostles described in the New Testament falls into six categories:

1. The most common miracles are physical and mental healings, from curing ailments like a fever (*Mk.* 1:30) to raising the dead.
2. Another class of miracles involves exorcism, or healing through the expulsion of a spiritual force causing mental or physical illness. Most mental and physical sickness was perceived not as the action of God but as the infiltration of negative spiritual powers at war with God, an infiltration that morally caused sin, physically caused disease, and mentally caused madness or possession.
3. The third category comprises communication with the spiritual world and with God through dreams, visions, revelations, or prayer. Such communication is a basic principle of the teachings and practice of Jesus.
4. Nature miracles comprise a fourth category. Examples include Jesus walking on the water (*Mk.* 6:48), the stilling of the storm (*Mk.* 4:38), physical disappearance (*Lk.* 4:30), and the feeding of the multitudes (*Mk.* 6:35).
5. In another category of miracles Jesus shows telepathic, clairvoyant, and precognitive power (*Mk.* 2:6, *Jn.* 1:47, *Mk.* 11:1). Sometimes his statements are prophetic, as when he foretells his own death and resurrection, relates the destruction of Jerusalem, and speaks of the coming of the Kingdom.
6. In the final category of miracles are the resurrection appearances of Jesus, which combine both the physical and the spiritual in a religious experience that is dynamic and transforming.

Similar miracles are reported among the apostles after the ascension of Jesus in *Acts of the Apostles* and in other books of the New Testament. This tradition of miracles continued without interruption in both Roman Catholicism and Orthodox Christianity; services for healing and exorcism are found in the official service books of both. Writing during the fifth century, Sozomenos reports that miracles began to occur again at the end of the Arian controversy, when churches held by Arians were returned to Orthodox pastors (*Ecclesiastical History* 7.5). Throughout Christian history miracles have been reported to occur around saintly people. To this day several attested miracles are required by the Roman Catholic church before a saint is canonized.

During the Reformation, both Luther and Calvin wrote that the age of miracles was over and that their occurrence should not be expected. At the same time Protestantism was overwhelmed by the rationalism and materialism of the Enlightenment, and discussion of the miraculous nearly disappeared. The Roman Catholic church upheld its practice without trying to defend it intellectually, and shrines like Lourdes drew great crowds. The academic Protestant community came to believe that the practice of Christianity was largely a matter of morality and that neither God nor the spiritual world contacted or influenced practical human life to any great extent. Rudolf Bultmann presented this thesis consistently and thoroughly.

PHILOSOPHICAL MATERIALISM. Materialism as an adequate explanation for all things originated in the thinking of several classical Greek thinkers, was developed by Aristotle, and came to fruition in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. My book *Encounter with God* (1972) traces this development from its first beginnings to its full-blown denial of any aspect of reality not perceived by the five senses and not objectively verifiable. This view, diametrically opposed to the view of Hinduism and Buddhism, dominated the intellectual and academic life of the West in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and influenced nearly all disciplines from psychology and anthropology to comparative religion and Christian theology. In several books B. F. Skinner dismisses human consciousness as the ghost in the box. Melvin Konner in *The Tangled Wing* (New York, 1982) writes that there is only the blind action of natural selection, sifting material genes. A person is only a gene's way of making another gene. This skeptical materialism has arisen many times in human history—in China, Greece, and Rome—but only recently has it effectively taken over nearly a whole culture.

This worldview considers all miracles and all contact with any dimension of reality other than the concrete physical one absurd, the result of ignorance, superstition, or the refusal to search long enough for the purely physical causes. Supposedly intelligent people will classify miracle with magic and ignore any experience purporting to be miraculous.

SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF PARANORMAL EXPERIENCE. Since the mid-twentieth century, when man succeeded in splitting the atom and the implications of Heisenberg's principle of indeterminacy and Einstein's theory of relativity were fully realized, theoretical physics has become much less certain that it can provide final answers. In *Physics and Philosophy* (New York, 1962) Werner Heisenberg suggests that we live in an open universe and that the conventional words describing God and spirit may have greater correspondence with reality than the highly developed words of physics. The mathematical thinking of Kurt Gödel, the analysis of scientific theory presented by Thomas S. Kuhn in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago, 1962), the findings of psychosomatic medicine, the work of modern anthropologists, the data in Andrew Greeley's *The Sociology of the Paranormal: A Reconnaissance* (1975), the scientific study of parapsychological phenomena, and the theory underlying the depth psychology of C. G. Jung all cast doubt on Western materialist determinism.

In the heyday of materialism in London a group of serious scientists organized the Society for Psychical Research in 1882. An American society was organized three years later in which William James was active. Sigmund Freud was a member of the original society and contributed to its publications. Jung too studied and published on the subject of paranormal experience; he discussed synchronicity, mediumship, and telepathy and provided models for understanding these events. Joseph Banks Rhine at Duke University did many scientific studies of events that did not fit into the materialistic paradigm.

Finally, the professional organization calling itself the Parapsychological Association was accepted as an affiliate by the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1969. One of the most comprehensive surveys of scientific parapsychology to date is that of Robert F. Jahn (1982). Jahn describes four categories of psychic phenomena; three of these are divided further. These categories are similar to the Christian ones. In the following outline, I have added explanations of the terms.

I. EXTRASENSORY PERCEPTION (ESP)

A. Telepathy: information passing from mind to mind without physical means

B. Clairvoyance: perception of events or happenings at a distance in space

C. Precognition/Retrocognition: perception of events in future time or past time

D. Animal ESP

II. PSYCHOKINESIS (PK): THE AFFECT OF MIND OR PSYCHE OR SPIRIT ON A MATERIAL ENVIRONMENT

A. Physical Systems

1. deliberate, actually effected by conscious intent
2. spontaneous, as in poltergeist phenomena

B. Biological Systems

1. psychic healing
2. plant PK

III. SURVIVAL: EXPERIENCES OF THE DECEASED

A. Reincarnation: evidence of a former life of the individual

B. Apparitions: experience of the person deceased or spiritual reality

C. Mediumship: using others to make contact with this nonphysical domain

IV. OUT-OF-BODY EXPERIENCES (OOBE): THE EXPERIENCE OF HAVING EXISTENCE AS A PSYCHE, BUT NO LONGER TIED TO THE PHYSICAL BODY. Once it is acknowledged that human beings can receive verifiable information through means other than the five senses and that this reception breaks the rules of space and time, the serious scientific study of miracle becomes possible. It becomes possible to examine critically data that are not easily verifiable, such as communication from the deceased and the transformative power of religious experience. A strict materialistic framework considers communication through nonphysical means as absurd as a miracle, because it assumes that some physical signal has to enter the closed system and move the cogs so that the message can get through. An alternate theory of perception is required to avoid such an impasse.

Since the first decade of the twentieth century the medical profession has come to realize that a materialist point of view cannot explain or heal all human disease. Both James and Jung point out that the experience of meaninglessness is a disease causing both emotional and physical sickness. In *The Broken Heart* (1977) James J. Lynch describes the medical consequences of loneliness and calls organized religion to task for not providing ways to meet this human need, which is largely ignored in a mechanistic, materialistic society. O. Carl and Stephanie Simonton have described a meditative treatment for cancer in *Getting Well Again* (1978). Herbert Benson describes what he calls the faith factor in *Beyond the Relaxation Response* (1983).

In *The Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche* (1960), Jung presents a theory of synchronicity developed in conjunction with the Nobel Prize-winning atomic physicist Wolfgang Pauli. He offers a hypothesis as to how events can be influenced both by physical causality operating within the material world and by other forces as well. Jung never denied physical causality, but he concluded that it could not explain all happenings, a conclusion also reached by other scientists. Those events not explainable in purely causal terms Jung called acausal or synchronous. In his theory each instant of time contains meaning; there is a coherence in each period of duration, and these coherences have their source in the nonphysical, psychoid, or, in Christian terminology, the spiritual aspect of reality. The Chinese call this the Dao, and the Chinese book of oracles, *I ching*, is based upon this principle. Miracles exemplify synchronous events. In oracular information, dream interpretation, religious experience, healing, and nature miracles the synchronous appears autonomously or through mediation.

The most recent studies seem to suggest that the issue of miracle or paranormal experience remains an open question in the Western world.

SEE ALSO Otherworld; Philosophy, articles on Philosophy and Religion, Philosophy of Religion.

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MIʿRĀJ. The belief that Muḥammad ascended to heaven in the course of his life and beheld the secrets of the otherworld as no other person had ever beheld them is shared by all factions of Islam. In Muslim religious literature, the idea of the Miʿrāj, Muḥammad's ascension to heaven, is closely associated with that of the Isrāʾ, his nocturnal journey. Neither term appears as such in the Qurʾān, yet both developed in close connection with crucial, though ambiguous, Qurʾanic passages.

QURʾANIC ASSOCIATIONS. The term *isrāʾ* is taken from surah 17:1, "Glory be to him who carried his servant by night from the Holy Mosque to the Further Mosque, the precincts of which we have blessed, that we might show him some of our signs." It is reasonably certain that "his servant" refers to Muḥammad, "the Holy Mosque" to Mecca (*sūrahs* 2:144, 2:149, 2:150, 2:191, 2:196, 2:217, 5:2, 8:34, 9:7, 9:19, 9:28, 22:25, 48:25, 48:27), and "by night" to a journey begun by night (44:23), without reference to the journey's miraculous nature. Far less certain, however, is the intended meaning of "the Further Mosque" (*al-masjid al-aqṣā*). Since the earliest prophetic traditions (*ḥadīth*), this term has been explained either as a sanctuary on earth ("terrestrial" Jerusalem, the temple precinct) or in heaven ("celestial" Jerusalem, the environs of the divine throne). There is no apparent connection between the *isrāʾ* verse and a dream (*ruʾyā*) shown to Muḥammad by God and mentioned in the same *sūrah* (17:60), although the *ḥadīth* would interpret this dream as a vision of Jerusalem that Muḥammad communicated to the unbelieving Meccans.

The association of "the Further Mosque" with the terrestrial Jerusalem, which became the most widely accepted explanation, seems to be supported by the Qurʾanic phrase "the precincts of which we have blessed," referring to the Holy Land (21:71, 21:81, 7:137, 34:18), although Palestine in general is referred to as the "nearer part of the land" (30:3). This explanation was favored under the Umayyads, who were intent on glorifying Jerusalem as a holy territory rivaling Mecca, then ruled by their opponent ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr. The interpretation of "the Further Mosque" as al-Jiʿrānah, a place on the fringes of the holy precinct of Mecca from which Muḥammad set out on his pilgrimage (*ʿumrah*) of Dhū al-Qaʿdah 630, has been rejected on decisive evidence (Maurice Plessner, "Muḥammad's Clandestine ʿUmra in the Ḏūʾl-Qaʿda 8 H. and Sūra 17,1," *Revista degli studi orientali* 32 [1957]: 525–530; Rudi Paret, "Die 'ferne Gebetsstatte' in Sure 17,1," *Der Islam* 34 [1959]: 150–152).

The association with the celestial Jerusalem was favored in the classical sources of *ḥadīth* and Qurʾān commentary, which tended to use *isrāʾ* for the ascension to heaven and thus linked Muḥammad's night journey with his ascension. This explanation, which also included the purification of Muḥammad's heart as a preparatory stage, tended to interpret the story as Muḥammad's divine initiation to his prophetic career.

As a term for ascension, the word *miʿrāj*, literally "ladder," appears to conceal a vaguely understood reference to Jacob's ladder (*Gn.* 28:12). The term was probably borrowed from the Ethiopic *maʿāreg* (*Ethiopic Book of Jubilees* 21:37) as a translation of the Hebrew *sullām.* The background for the cryptic references in the Qurʾān may be provided by various motifs: the apocalyptic images of a heavenly ladder that recur in Jewish *heikhalot* literature; symbolic notions of a seven-runged ladder on which the soul ascends through the gates of heaven, found in the liturgy of Mithras; and gnostic ideas of the ladder as a means of ascending to heaven, as in the Mandaean *sumbilta* and the Manichaean pillar of glory.

In fragmentary Qurʾanic references, God is called "the Lord of the Stairways" (*dhū al-maʿārij*, 70:3; see also 43:33, 40:15), to whom the angels, the spirit, and the divine command "mount up" (*taʿruju, yaʿruju*) in a day (70:4, 32:5). God knows what comes down from heaven and what goes up to it (34:2, 57:4). The notion of heavenly ascent appears to be implied when Pharaoh gives orders to build a tower so that he may reach the cords of heaven and climb up to the god of Moses (40:36–37), or when Muḥammad is challenged by his opponents to go up into heaven (17:93). To this he replies, "Let them ascend the cords" (38:10) and "Stretch up a rope to heaven" (22:15), for even if God opened to them "a gate in heaven" (15:14), or if they had "a ladder" into heaven (*sullam*, 52:38, 6:35) and were climbing to it (6:125), they would not believe.

Three Qurʾanic passages not explicitly referring to heavenly ascent appear nevertheless to be linked with Muḥammad's visionary experiences of heaven. *Sūrahs* 81:19–25 and 53:1–12 give a parallel account of a vision in which Muḥammad saw a divine messenger on the horizon, and *sūrah* 53:13–18 gives an account of a vision in which he beheld the greatest signs of God near the lote tree on the edge of Paradise. In both cases the heavenly messenger approaches the Prophet from a distance but does not carry him off.

On the basis of the Qurʾanic evidence it appears certain that *miʿrāj* and *isrāʾ* refer to experiences Muḥammad had prior to his emigration from Mecca to Medina in 622, since the relevant Qurʾanic passages can be traced back to that period. It cannot be ascertained, however, whether or not these experiences occurred toward the beginning of Muḥammad's prophetic activity in Mecca, although they seem to have their natural setting in that time.

NARRATIVE LORE. The Qurʾanic references became associated with legends that proliferated rapidly during the first two centuries of Islam through the activity of the *quṣṣāṣ*, pious and popular storytellers. Their stories in turn were taken up and recast in the *ḥadīth* methodology of the Prophet's biography (*sīrah*) with the aim of establishing a scholarly consensus (*ijmāʿ*) concerning this legendary and mainly oral tradition. This consensus, reflected in the *Sīrat Muḥammad* by Ibn Isḥāq (d. 767), revised by Ibn Hishām (d. 834), admitted both interpretations of "the Further Mosque" and harmonized the two by assigning *isrāʾ* the particular meaning of the nocturnal journey to Jerusalem. This harmonization implied the elimination of an earlier tradition that made Mecca the starting point of the ascension and the substitution of Jerusalem, the starting point of Christ's ascension, where, perhaps since ʿAbd al-Malik's caliphate (685–705), the Prophet's footprint was shown to Muslim pilgrims.

Sīrat Muḥammad. Ibn Isḥāq's account of the miraculous events occurring during a single night combines all features in a continuous narrative, yet inverts the events. One night Muḥammad is asleep near the Kaʿbah at Mecca (or in the house of Umm Hāniʾ) when he is awakened by the angel Gabriel, who leads him to a winged animal called Burāq. Gabriel places the Prophet on the back of this steed, and they journey together to Jerusalem. In Jerusalem they meet several prophets, notably Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. By leading a public prayer service *(ṣalāt),* Muḥammad takes precedence over all the other prophets assembled there. When the Prophet finishes all that has to be done in Jerusalem, so the narrative continues, the beautiful ladder (*miʿrāj*) on which the dying fix their eyes, and which the human souls ascend to heaven, is brought. Gabriel makes Muḥammad ascend it and brings him to the gates of the seven heavens, one after the other. At each gate Gabriel is asked to identify Muḥammad and testify that revelation has already been made to him. Then follows a long description of Muḥammad's experiences in the heavens, in each of which he meets one of the prophets. Finally, Muḥammad beholds the garden of Paradise (as, from the first heaven, he has witnessed the tortures of Hell) and appears before God's throne to converse with him. God then reduces the number of obligatory daily prayers incumbent on the Muslim community from the original fifty to five. Muḥammad returns to Mecca and the next morning informs the Meccans that during the night he has gone to Syria and come back again. The public, including his close companion Abū Bakr, is naturally skeptical at first, and many of the Prophet's followers apostatize.

Ḥadīth. Influenced in part by the Jewish and Christian apocalyptic traditions, *ḥadīth* literature embellished the basic narrative of the Prophet's ascent to heaven with a great variety of detail that focused on the preparation for the ascent, the riding animal, and the experiences in heaven. It was also at this point that the story of the purification of Muḥammad's heart was prefixed to the ascension narrative. As Muḥammad is sleeping in the neighborhood of the Kaʿbah, angels appear, lay him on his back, open his body, and, with water from the well of Zamzam, wash his heart and bowels, cleansing them of doubt, idolatry, ignorance, and error. They then bring a golden vessel filled with wisdom and belief and fill his body with faith and wisdom. Purified in his heart and dedicated to be a prophet, Muḥammad is taken up to the lowest heaven.

The animal that carries Muḥammad to Jerusalem, Burāq (etymologically probably Arabic, "little lightning flash"), is depicted as a miraculous beast of exceptional fleetness. It is described as a brilliant steed of either gender, saddled and bridled, in size between a donkey and a mule, with a long back, shaking ears, and "a cheek like that of a man." Wings on its shanks propelled legs that moved in one stride as far as its eyes could reach. It was the riding beast of prophets in the past, Abraham in particular, and more recently Jesus. Upon the arrival in Jerusalem, according to some traditions, Gabriel tied it to a rock or ring, while, according to others, Burāq served as a flying steed for Muḥammad's ascension, taking over the function of the ladder. In its pictorial representations Burāq received a human face, a woman's head, and a peacock's tail. From the earliest extant image in a 1314 manuscript of Rashīd al-Dīn's Jamīʿ al-tawārīkh (Universal history) to the most splendid Persian and Turkish miniatures of later centuries, the steed, its rider, and its guide became a highly cherished motif of Islamic painting and poetry. Beautiful miniatures of Muḥammad's *miʿrāj* can be found, for example, in the fifteenth-century *Miʿrāj-nāmah* translated into Eastern Turkish by Mīr Ḥaydar and calligraphed in Uighur script by Mālik Bakhshī of Herat (see Marie-Rose Séguy, *The Miraculous Journey of Mahomet*, New York, 1977).

The meeting of the Prophet with Abraham, Moses, and Jesus at Jerusalem may be modeled on accounts of the transfiguration of Jesus on Mount Tabor (*Mt.* 17:1, *Mk.* 9:1, *Lk.* 9:28). Muḥammad encounters Adam as judge over the souls of the dead in the first heaven, Joseph in the third, and Enoch/Idrīs in the fourth. Jesus and John the Baptist appear together in the second heaven, whereas Aaron and Moses appear separately in the fifth and sixth. Moses weeps, realizing that Muḥammad is higher than himself in God's esteem and that his followers will be more numerous than his own. Muḥammad refuses his advice to ask God to reduce the obligatory daily prayers to fewer than five. Finally, in the seventh heaven, that of Abraham, Muḥammad finds himself in the presence of God's throne, reaches the lote-tree marking the limit of knowledge that creatures possess, and beholds the rivers of Paradise, where he is offered vessels of water, wine, milk, and honey but partakes of the milk alone.

ADAPTATIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS. The theme of the Prophet's ascension found its place in the literature of Islamic theology, philosophy, and Sufism. Muslim theologians were preoccupied with the question, already discussed since early times, of whether the night journey and ascension took place in a literal or a spiritual sense. Al-Ṭabarī (d. 923) strongly favored the belief, shared by the majority of Muslims, that the Prophet was transported literally, with his body and while awake. Others, in particular the Muʿtazilah, held that he was carried in spirit to Jerusalem and heaven while his body remained at Mecca; this view was supported by a statement attributed to Muḥammad's favorite wife, ʿĀʾishah. Al-Taftāzānī (d. 1389) states that the event happened in body and spirit but does not rule out its possible occurrence in sleep or in spirit alone. The question of whether or not Muḥammad saw God face to face on the occasion of the ascension constituted another debate within Islamic theology, in particular against the background of the controversy concerning the beatific vision of the believer.

The Neoplatonic philosophers of Islam gave an allegorical meaning to the Prophet's ascension. The *Epistles* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ (Brethren of Purity), completed in 969, adopted the pattern of cosmological descent and eschatological ascent and interpreted the latter as the ascent *(miʿrāj)* of the human soul that abandons its bodily existence and returns to its angelic state of pure spirituality. Abū al-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (d. 1057) wrote a parody, *Risālat al-ghufrān* (The epistle of forgiveness), on the traditional accounts of the *miʿrāj.* Two treatises of al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) are focused on the theme of ascension: his *Miʿrāj al-sālikīn* (The ladder of those who follow the path) elucidates the theme from seven different topical angles, while his *Mishkāt al-anwār* (The niche for lights) offers a Neoplatonic interpretation in purely psychological terms. Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī (d. 1127), in his *Kitāb al-ḥadāʾiq* (Book of gardens), describes the ascent of the purified spirits to the supernal world on "the ladder of ascensions" *(sullam al-maʿārij)* that follows a straight line connecting the terrestrial and celestial spheres.

For the Ṣūfīs, the night journey and ascension of the Prophet became the prototype of the soul's itinerary to God as it rises from the bonds of sensuality to the height of mystical knowledge. It is doubtful whether, as is frequently asserted, Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī (d. 875) claimed to have experienced *miʿrāj* himself, leading to mystical union with God. Al-Ḥallāj (d. 922) meditated on the theme in his *Kitāb al-ṭawāsīn.* Al-Qushayrī (d. 1074) collected accounts current among moderate Ṣūfīs in his *Kitāb al-miʿrāj* and included in it a discussion of the ascension attributed to Enoch/Idrīs, Abraham, Elijah, Moses, and Jesus. He reserved ascension in body and spirit for the prophets and conceded to the Ṣūfīs only the dream experience of ascent to heaven. Al-Hujwīrī (d. 1077) makes a clear distinction in his *Kashf al-maḥjūb* (Elucidation of the secrets) between the ascension of prophets, which occurs outwardly and in the body, and that of the saints, which takes place inwardly and in the spirit only. Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1240) expounded the Prophet's night journey and ascension as a symbol of the soul's itinerary toward mystical union in his *Kitāb al-isrāʾ* and also devoted two lengthy sections of his *Futūḥāt* (Revelations) to the subject. In one section he has a mystic and a philosopher make the journey together; the philosopher has to stop short at the seventh heaven, while no secrets remain hidden from the mystic. In the other section applies the Prophet's ascension to the mystical experience of Ṣūfī ecstasy, recording his own mystical ascent and his conversations with the prophets about mystic themes.

The Miʿrāj provided an ideal type for the symbolic narratives created by Ṣūfī philosophers and poets intent on explaining the spiritual heights of mystical union. In the fine Persian *Miʿrāj-nāmah*, attributed to Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037) or Yaḥyā Suhrawardī (d. 1191), yet probably written by an anonymous eleventh-century author, the theme of the post-mortem ascent of the soul to heaven under conduct of the angel is overshadowed by the ecstatic ascent of the mystic to the divine throne in imitation of the ascension of the Prophet, the archetypal mystic. This symbolic narrative may be understood, topically although not historically, as bridging the gulf between Ibn Sīnā's Arabic allegory, *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, and ʿAṭṭār's (d. 1220) grandiose mystical Persian epic, *Manṭiq al-ṭayr* (Conversation of the birds), both of which, in their respective ways and not unlike the Persian *Miʿrāj-nāmah*, move from the level of the symbolic interpretation of the narrative to the plane of the existential exegesis of mystic ascent experienced in the human soul.

The theme of *miʿrāj* appears in many aspects in Persian Ṣūfī poetry from Rūmī (d. 1273) to Iqbal (d. 1938). For Rūmī the Miʿrāj became the symbol of the radical difference between discursive reason and mystical union. Gabriel, the symbol of reason and the guide of the heavenly journey, remains outside the divine presence while the Prophet, the symbol of the true lover of God, enjoys "a time with God" in the chamber of union and mystery. The *Jāvīd-nāmah* of Iqbal describes a contemporary version of the spiritual journey made by the poet from earth through and beyond the spheres to the presence of God.

Later popular accounts of the Prophet's ascension collect and systematize the material scattered in the older sources, largely augmenting the matter without increasing its depth. Al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505) presents a fine disquisition on the traditions of *isrāʾ* and *miʿrāj*, discussing their nature, time, place, and details in *Al-āyah al-kubrā fī sharḥ qiṣṣat al-isrāʾ*. Al-Nuʿmānī, a disciple of Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 1449), collects a medley of traditions, theological views, and mystical statements concerning the Prophet's night journey and ascension in *Al-sirāj al-wahhāj* (The glowing lamp). The most popular *miʿrāj* book down to modern times is the *Kitāb al-isrāʾ wa-al-miʿrāj* of al-Ghaythī (d. 1573), on which Dardīr (d. 1786) wrote a gloss. Al-Barzanjī's (d. 1766) *Qiṣṣat al-miʿrāj* appears to be modeled on al-Ghaythī's work. The Uighur *Miʿrāj-nāmah*, composed in 1436/7, documents the spread of the legend in Central Asian languages.

The Christians of the Middle Ages possessed a certain knowledge about the Muslim legends surrounding Muḥammad's miraculous journey to heaven. This is evidenced by the famous Latin version of the legend, apparently prepared by Ibrāhīm al-Ḥakīm, a Jewish physician active at the court of Alfonso X of Castile (1264–1277). This Latin version (*Liber scalae*) and a French translation from Latin (*Eschiele Mahomet*) became the focal point of the discussion surrounding the question of Dante's Muslim sources in his *Commedia* (raised by the Spanish Jesuit Juan Andrès about 1780, again advanced by Ozanam in 1838 and Labitte in 1842, and clearly formulated by Blochet in *Les sources orientales de la divine comédie*, Paris, 1901).

SEE ALSO Muḥammad.

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Gerhard Böwering (1987)

MIRIAM, or, in Hebrew, Miryam; Israelite prophetess who flourished, according to tradition, in the thirteenth century BCE. Biblical tradition recalls Miriam as the sister of Moses and Aaron who helped Moses lead the Hebrew slaves out of Egypt (*Mic.* 6:4). *Exodus* 15:20–21 describes how she led the women of Israel in a hymn of victory to YHVH, Lord of Israel, after he had split the Sea of Reeds, enabling the Hebrews to pass through and escape their Egyptian pursuers:

> Miriam the prophetess, sister of Aaron, took the drum in her hand. All the women went out after her with drums and dances. Miriam declared to them: "Sing to the Lord, for he has triumphed; horse and its rider he has hurled into the sea."

Modern scholars now tend to view the sibling relationships between Miriam, Aaron, and Moses as an embellishment on earlier traditions. Miriam was originally identified as an associate of Aaron, Israel's first priest, and later as his sister. When biblical tradition similarly developed a sibling relationship between Aaron and Moses, the great leader, prophet, and lawgiver of Israel, Miriam became known as the sister of Moses too (*Nm.* 26:39). In the story of Moses' birth (*Ex.* 2:2–7), the unnamed older sister who guards him is assumed by Jewish and Christian tradition to have been Miriam. If her name were of Egyptian origin, as some have explained, that would reinforce the conclusion that she was of the priestly tribe of Levi, as several prominent Levites bore Egyptian names.

Miriam figures primarily in one episode in the Pentateuch, *Numbers* 12:1–16, in which she and Aaron reproach Moses for having taken a Cushite wife—who may or may not be identified with his Midianite wife, Zipporah—and in which they challenge the superiority of Moses' prophetic stature to their own. YHVH responds to their challenge by asserting the unique and intimate nature of his revelations to Moses and responds to their reproach by afflicting Miriam with leprosy. Moses intercedes on Miriam's behalf at Aaron's request—thereby demonstrating his intimacy with God—and after a seven-day quarantine, Miriam's health is restored. The legendary quality of the episode is suggested by the fact that Miriam's leprosy became an admonition to any who would fail to heed the priests (*Dt.* 24:8–9). Miriam predeceased Aaron and Moses (*Nm.* 20:1) and, so far is known, never married.

The references to Miriam's leadership in *Micah* 6:4, to her prophetic status in *Exodus* 15:20, and to her importance to the Israelites in *Numbers* 12:15, create the impression that Miriam was an even more significant figure than the present form of the Pentateuch suggests. According to rabbinic legend, Miriam was on par with Moses and Aaron. The Israelites were sustained by water drawn from Miriam's well, which traveled with the Israelites on their journey in the wilderness.

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MIRRORS.

Object and symbol, instrument of knowledge and type of reflection or speculation (the Latin word for mirror is *speculum*), means of visual perception and hallucination: there is scarcely a single culture that has not been interested in the mirror, first in its primitive form—a bowl filled with water, a sparkling stone (jade, obsidian)—then in more elaborate guise—polished metal discs (bronze, silver, or steel), a mirror of balloon-shaped mediaeval glass—and, finally, in the form of the plane mirror, clear as rock crystal. Because it reflects an image of the self that the eye is unable to see directly, because it traps light, because the effect of the reflection is to reveal an unseen "other," and because it faithfully reproduces its subject while making it seem different—that is, reversed—religions have made the mirror central to the mystical life and knowledge of self.

What is the nature of that which can be learned from a mirror? It can be used in divination, metaphor, analogy, or mimicry. In the West, meditation on the mirror image originates with Plato. Before him, the reflected image was seen as a living animate form, the double that attracted Narcissus from beneath the surface of the water. One can see this myth in its original form as expressing ancient beliefs in the existence of a double or in the idea of the soul taking shape, concepts still found in primitive cultures up until the present day. It was not until the philosophy of Classical Greece had reached a certain stage of development that the reflection came to be seen as a flimsy illusion, a snare.

COSMIC PROCESS AND MYSTIC EXPERIENCE.

Is the reflection in the mirror merely a deceitful trick? According to Plato, it has another function: by producing an immaterial form, it invites the mind to free itself from what is perceived by the senses and to ascend to the world of ideas. Although itself devoid of reality, a reflection provides access to the thing it signifies. It is not an optical illusion but a revelation of something hidden, an apparition rather than an appearance. Pausanias says that a mirror adorned the entrance of the temple of Lycosoura in Arcadia, and that anyone who looked in it before entering the sanctuary saw a reflection unlike any they had seen before. Thus they had to shed their appearance and assume a new identity.

According to the Neoplatonists, what is produced by the world of the senses comes about in the way that a mirror "creates" reflections. Plotinus (*Enneads* 4.3) regards the world of the senses as a mirror image emanating from the world of eternal forms, and the body as a reflection that the soul produces when it comes into contact with matter, in the same way as a human being produces a reflection when facing a polished surface: the spiritual exercise or mystical experience consists of once again ascending from the light of the body to the earlier light, without allowing oneself to be mesmerized by an illusion (like Narcissus).

Christian thinking, derived from Judaism and infused with Neoplatonist thought, has developed the concept of the symbolic double to explain the resemblance of the human being to God and the indirect knowledge of God that can thus be obtained through analogy. According to *Genesis,* God created man in his image and likeness. The soul is a reflection of the beauty of God, but because sin has made the mirror darken, one must look in the mirror of the Bible, a book and a mirror without blemish, to restore the likeness that has been lost. The mirror is also a model of knowledge. According to Saint Paul (*1Cor.* 13:12), the knowledge that mankind has of God here on Earth is like an image "seen through a glass darkly": the mirror gives no more than an indirect image of the Truth. At the end of time, however, humans will see the vision of God not through the intervening reflection, but clearly, face to face. In mystical experience, the mirror is the juncture point where the visible face sees its invisible face: "We shall be like God, because we shall see him as he is," says Saint John (*1 John* 3:2). Teresa of Ávila describes this union in the mirror: "My entire soul appeared before me like a clear mirror, back, top and bottom, everything was lit up. In the center appeared Jesus Christ" (*Autobiography,* ch. 49). Faithful and flexible, the mirror no longer indicates a different vision but the receptive nature of the person who gazes into it.

Islamic mysticism, inspired by Neoplatonism, has not ignored the reflection, that likeness by which individual essence sees itself as part of the divine being. If the body is the dark reflection in the mirror, writes the Persian poet Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār, the soul is the "clear one." According to a famous *ḥadīth,* the more the reflective surface of the soul is purified by asceticism, the more it will be fit to reproduce the truth faithfully, so that the believer actually becomes a mirror for another believer. As Louis Massignon and Louis Gardet point out in *Mardis de Dar-el-Salam* (1951), the back-to-front image of the face reflected in the mirror is a symbolic indication of one who has been straightened out, in accord with his essential reality. For Ṣūfīs, the entire universe is an array of mirrors in which the eternal essence may be gazed upon in many forms, all emanations of the One Being.

The Far East has developed a rich mythology concerning the reflective power of mirrors. According to a Chinese tradition going back to the third century BCE, the divine intelligence that is symbolically identified with the sun is reflected in a mirror that is circular in shape—but the mirror is also a lunar symbol, because the moon reflects the light of the sun. Huge vats filled with water were used to attract sunlight, a method subsequently replaced by the use of bronze mirrors. The idea of a link between the mirror and the sun became widespread in Japan around about the first century CE. A well-known Japanese myth describes how the goddess Amaterasu, the Divine Light, retreated into a cave following some wrongdoing by her brother, plunging the Earth into darkness. The gods arranged a ceremony, and when the goddess was attracted by this and appeared at the entrance of the cave, she saw her image reflected in a mirror that had been set up by another god. Surprised at the existence of another similar goddess, she leaned out of the place where she had retreated far enough to be seized. The cave was sealed shut behind her and she lit up the world.

Buddhism has made "mirror knowledge" one of the four stages of the path of Awakening, along with three other kind of knowledge: of equality, of clear-sightedness, and of the task to be completed. The mirror is used metaphorically in the Mahāyāna literature to suggest that Reality contains everything in the same way that a mirror contains images. The images in the mirror are clear and distinct; although not unreal, they are nonetheless not taken as real, because they cannot be grasped. Having obtained knowledge of mirrors, the consciousness of the *bodhisattva* no longer involves a division of subject and object, but becomes a clear omniscient consciousness, capable of reflecting images of everything in the universe, while also being one with what it reflects. With an understanding of universal equivalence based on the recognition of the emptiness of all things, and with the achievement of clear-sightedness concerning the nature most appropriate to each thing, the *bodhisattva,* having achieved awareness of the mirror, the peak of the mystic life, reaches Awakening. There is no more intention, no more projection; consciousness merges with the mirror. Consciousness, according to Asaṅga, is "a mirror, because in it there appear reflected images, delights, buddha-ness and knowledge" (*Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* 9:69).

MAGIC MIRRORS AND DIVINATION MIRRORS. The shining brilliance of the reflective surface gives rise to all kinds of hallucinations and lends itself to divination: like dreams, mirrors can reveal what is not visible. Divination by mirror (or catoptromancy), which originated in Persia, is described in many texts. In the *Oneirocritica* (translated as *The Interpretation of Dreams*), for example, the Greek Artemidorus Daldianus (second century CE) devotes several paragraphs to the art of reading the future in mirror images. The magical use of mirrors to learn the future, namely, to know if one will have a long life, is frequently mentioned in European folklore. In central Asia, shamans practiced divination by mirror by pointing mirrors toward the sun or moon, which were themselves considered as mirrors in which was reflected everything that took place on Earth. In the Congo, soothsayers sprinkled reflective surfaces with kaolin (a fine, usually white, clay) in order to question the spirits.

The belief that reflections could reveal secrets rested in turn upon an ancient belief in the existence of a double. This mysterious spiritual double, as close as possible to the bodily self, was a representation of the idea of the soul and offered the possibility that one could deny death by splitting in two. Yet whereas the double guaranteed immortality and implied fertility, it also continually reminded a human being of the end; it was the specter of repressed death. In ancient Greece, for example, looking at one's reflection or seeing it in a dream could lead to death or be a premonition of death. An old European tradition requires that mirrors in the house of someone who has died be covered, to prevent them from absorbing the soul and forcing the deceased to remain on Earth. The fear of having one's portrait painted or photograph taken, widespread all over the world, stems from the same concern: the soul represented by its image may be imprisoned by a stranger and subjected to evil spells.

Containing both the potential for harm and beneficent power, the mirror is regarded ambivalently in every culture. Small children are stopped from looking into the glass in case the sight of their reflection brings them bad luck; pretty girls who look at themselves see the devil suddenly appear; anyone looking at themselves at night risks losing their reflection, and anyone losing their reflection loses their creative force. In the Christian West, the mirror of God could become the mirror of the devil—something produced by the fear of death. Like all magicians, those who practiced magic with mirrors were persecuted by the Inquisition: in 1326 Pope John XXII excommunicated "those who have made a pact with Hell, manufacturing a mirror to secure demons." Daoists believe a mirror reveals evil influences and that one may protect oneself by placing a mirror over the door of a house. In the Middle Ages, Christian pilgrims sewed small mirrors into their hats in order to absorb grace from relics that were exposed during processions. Because of what water and mirrors have in common, the Bambara people use mirror fragments or cups of water to make rain fall. In China, a mirror is a sign of harmony and fertility, but a broken mirror means that a separation will occur, particularly in marriage. The mirror has an important place in marriage ceremonies: in modern India, the couple, instead of looking at each other directly, exchange looks in a mirror hung at the far end of the room and see their faces looking up, as they will be in eternal life.

MIRROR AND SELF-KNOWLEDGE. From the start of the common era onward, mythological tradition concerning the mirror has given rise to philosophical commentaries, focused not so much on revealing a universal process as on describing a moral and spiritual condition: the disorder in the minds of those who allow themselves to be bewitched by their own reflections. The misfortune of Narcissus lies in his inability to love someone else. A later myth, in a version by Olympiodorus, recounts that the child Dionysus, fascinated by his reflection, let himself be cut into pieces by the Titans, who scattered the pieces all over the world. Commentators see in this the fate of a mind so seduced by its own reflection that it lets itself be torn to pieces by its passions. A number of such collective motifs still remain current today, along with their accompanying taboos, and modern psychology suggests new interpretations of them. The demon that appears in the mirror is the projection of repressed images. The death of Narcissus signifies the failure to transfer youthful libido to another person and fixation upon oneself in a process of autoerotic regression.

As for the double (shadow or reflection), nineteenth-century writers (Alfred de Musset, E. T. A. Hoffmann, Edgar Allan Poe, Guy de Maupassant, Rainer Maria Rilke) spent much effort exploring its deadly significance and the regions of the unconscious mind: the image in the mirror is no longer seen as a visual effect, but as a real alter ego. Psychiatry has described the defense mechanisms by which a pathologically self-centered subject seeks to create a double by expelling a part of himself that is associated with his shameful desires, so that the double, having become a rival, both assuages his anxiety and threatens him with a powerful feeling of guilt.

The importance of the reflection in the mirror in the inception of the ego has been stressed for more than a century in the work of a number of neuropsychiatrists and psychoanalysts, including Henri Wallon, Geza Roheim, and Paul Schilder. In 1938 Jacques Lacan made the "mirror stage" an essential part of his theories on the psychological development of the infant. The infant in front of the mirror moves from awareness of his body in pieces to perceiving his reflection as a single being, and thus acquires a new grasp of symbolic function at the same time that he or she comes to understand the difference between the body and its reflection. The process of visual perception is the reverse of what befell Dionysus, because by looking at themselves infants avoid dismemberment. Françoise Dolto considered this emphasis on visual perception misleading, and preferred the idea of the "unconscious image of the body" created by all the senses. Later, Lacan introduced into his outline the necessary presence of a symbolic third party, the mother whose approval and smile validate the task of recognition. The infant thus returns to the adult: he tests the formative image that the reflection in the mirror has shown him, but he also tests, in turning back to the other, everything which is absent there, the absence of desire. It is indeed this absence, this hidden part, this "other" that the human being continues to seek by questioning the mirror.

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Translated from French by Paul Ellis

MISHNAH AND TOSEFTA. The Mishnah is a law code and school book, containing the legal and theological system of Judaism. It was brought to closure about 200 CE under the auspices of the head of the Jewish community of the Holy Land at that time, Yehudah ha-Nasi', and has remained the foundation stone of Judaism from that time to the present. The Tosefta is a collection of supplements to the Mishnah, with approximately three-fourths devoted merely to citation and amplification of the contents of the Mishnah. The other fourth of the whole is constituted by laws essentially autonomous of, but correlative to, the Mishnah's laws. The Tosefta has no independent standing, being organized around the Mishnah. Tosefta was formulated and gathered together some time in the centuries following the closure of the Mishnah, with the fifth century being a safe guess for the time of closure. These two documents together are extensively cited and analyzed in the two Talmuds, one produced in Babylonia about 500 CE, the other in the Land of Israel about 400 CE.

The Mishnah (with the Tosefta) is important in Judaism because it is represented, from the time of its closure onward, as part of "the one whole Torah of Moses, our rabbi," that is, as revealed to Moses at Sinai by God. The Mishnah and all of the documents flowing from it later on, beginning with the Tosefta and the two Talmuds, thus form an integral part of the canon of Torah, that is, of Judaism. The Torah myth distinguishes two Torahs of Sinai. One is in written form, the other, oral. This oral Torah, encompassing the Mishnah and its continuators and successors, was revealed alongside the written Torah. But it was transmitted in a different way. While, as its name indicates, the one was written down, the other was formulated for memorization, and it was then transmitted in this easily memorized form.

Viewed structurally, the two Torahs of Judaism may be compared to the conception of an old and a new testament in Christianity, thus:

Old Testament = Written Torah (Hebrew scriptures)
New Testament = Oral Torah (Mishnah and its continuators)

The top line on both sides speaks of the same holy book, but with the words particular to Christianity and Judaism, respectively. That is to say, the biblical books that Christians know as the "Old Testament," Judaism knows as the "written Torah." The Mishnah is the first and principal expression of this other Torah, the oral Torah revealed to Moses at Sinai. It thus is as important to Judaism as the New Testament is to Christianity.

CONTENTS. Six divisions, or orders, comprise the Mishnah's system: Zeraʿim (Seeds, or Agriculture), Moʿed (Appointed Times), Nashim (Women), Neziqin (Damages, i.e., civil law), Qodashim (Holy Things, i.e., cultic law), and Ṭohorot (Purities, i.e., cultic taboos). Each division is divided into tractates, and each tractate into chapters and paragraphs. There are, in all, 63 tractates, divided into some 531 chapters.

The critical issue in economic life (i.e., in farming) is treated in the Mishnah's first division, Agriculture, or Seeds. This is in two parts. First, Israel, as tenant on God's holy land, maintains the property in the ways God requires, keeping the rules that mark the land and its crops as holy. Next, the hour at which the sanctification of the land comes to form a critical mass, namely, in the ripened crops, is the moment ponderous with danger and heightened holiness. Israel's will so affects the crops as to mark a part of them as holy, the rest of them as available for common use. The human will is determinative in the process of sanctification.

In the second division, Appointed Times, what happens in the Land of Israel at certain special times, especially in the lunar year, marks off areas of the land as holy in yet another way. The center of the Land of Israel and the focus of its sanctification is the Temple. There the produce of the land is received and given back to God, the one who created and sanctified the Holy Land. At these unusual moments of sanctification, the inhabitants of the Holy Land in their social being in villages enter a state of spatial sanctification. That is to say, the village boundaries mark off holy space, within which one must remain during the holy time. This is expressed in two ways. First, the Temple itself observes and expresses the special, recurring holy time. Second, the villages of the Holy Land are brought into alignment with the Temple, forming a complement and completion to the Temple's sacred being. The advent of the appointed times precipitates a spatial reordering of the land, so that the boundaries of the sacred are matched and mirrored in village and in Temple. At the heightened holiness marked by these appointed times, therefore, the occasion for an affective sanctification is worked out. Like the harvest, the advent of an appointed time, a pilgrim festival, also a sacred season, is made to express that regular, orderly, and predictable sort of sanctification for Israel that the system as a whole seeks.

If for the moment we now leap over the next two divisions, the third and fourth, we come to the counterpart of the divisions of Agriculture and Appointed Times. These are the fifth and sixth divisions, Holy Things and Purities. They deal with the everyday and the ordinary, as against the special moments of harvest, on the one side, and special time or season, on the other.

The fifth division, Holy Things, is about the Temple on ordinary days (i.e., not during appointed times). The Temple, the locus of sanctification, is conducted in a wholly routine and trustworthy, punctilious manner. The one thing that may unsettle matters is the intention and will of the human actor. This actor, the priest, is subjected to carefully prescribed limitations and remedies.

The division of Holy Things generates its companion, the sixth division, Purities, the one on cultic cleanness. In the sixth division, once we speak of the one place of the Temple, we address, too, the cleanness that pertains to every place. A system of cleanness, taking into account what imparts uncleanness and how this is done, what is subject to uncleanness, and how that state is overcome—that system is fully expressed in response to the participation of the human will. Without the wish and act of a human being, the system does not function. It is inert. Sources of uncleanness, which come naturally and not by volition, and modes of purification, which work naturally, and not by human intervention, remain inert until human will has imparted susceptibility to uncleanness, until, that is, human will introduces into the system some object of uncleanness—food and drink, bed, pot, chair, or pan—that becomes subject to contamination. The movement from sanctification to uncleanness takes place when human will and work initiate it.

This now brings us back to the middle divisions, the third and fourth, Women and Damages, respectively. They take their place in the structure of the whole by showing the congruence, within the larger framework of regularity and order, of human concerns of family and farm, politics and workaday transactions among ordinary people. For without attending to these matters, the Mishnah's system does not encompass what, at its foundations, it is meant to comprehend and order: Israel's whole life. So what is at issue is fully cogent with the rest.

In Women, the third division, attention focuses upon the point of disorder marked by the transfer of that disordering anomaly, woman, from the regular status provided by one man to the equally trustworthy status provided by another. That is the point at which the Mishnah's interests are aroused: once more, predictably, the moment of disorder.

In Damages, the fourth division, are two important concerns. First, there is the paramount interest in preventing the disorderly rise of one person and fall of another, in sustaining the status quo of the economy, of the house and household, of Israel, the holy society in eternal stasis. Second, there is the necessary concomitant in the provision of a system of political institutions to carry out the laws that preserve the balance and steady state of persons.

The third and fourth divisions take up topics of concrete and material concern, the formation and dissolution of families and the transfer of property in that connection, the transactions, both through torts and through commerce, that lead to exchanges of property and the potential dislocation of the state of families in society. They deal with the concrete locations in which people make their lives, household and street and field, the sexual and commercial exchanges of a given village.

So the six components of the Mishnah's system insist upon two things: first, stability, second, order. They define as a problem something out of line, therefore dangerous. Laws for a woman must be made, in particular, when she changes hands, moving from father to husband, or, in divorce, from husband to father. Laws for the governance of civil transactions must make certain that all transactions produce equal and opposite results. No one emerges larger than when he entered; none is diminished. Equal value must be exchanged, or a transaction is null. The advent of sacred time, as we shall see, not only imposes the opposite of the Temple's rules upon the village. The holy day also has the effect of linking the Israelite to one place, a particular place, his or her village. So for a moment sacred time establishes a tableau and creates a diorama, a still place of perfection in a silent and perfected moment.

CONTEXT. The Mishnah came into being during the first and second centuries of the common era. The document contains ideas likely to have circulated even before the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE, among people whose traditions were carried forward and ultimately written down in the Mishnah itself. But the structure of the system presented by the Mishnah is well attested only after the Bar Kokhba War (c. 132–135). It is attributed principally to authorities who flourished in the middle of the second century. Accordingly, using antecedent ideas and laws, the document came into being at the end of two wars—the first war against Rome (66–73), culminating in the destruction of the Temple, and the second, Bar Kokhba's. Since the Mishnah emerges after a time of wars, the one thing we should expect to find is a message about the meaning of history, an account of events and their meaning. Central to the Mishnah's system might well be a picture of the course of Israel's destiny, in the tradition of the biblical histories—*Samuel*, *Kings*, or *Chronicles*, for instance—and in the tradition of the prophets of ancient Israel, the several Isaiahs, Jeremiah, and the rest.

The Mishnah's principal point of insistence is the opposite. It speaks of what is permanent and enduring: the flow of time through the solar seasons, marked by lunar festivals and Sabbaths; the procedures of the cult through the regular and enduring sacrifices; the conduct of the civil society through norms of fairness to prevent unjust change; the pursuit of agricultural work in accord with the rules of holiness; the enduring, unchanging, invisible phobias of cultic uncleanness and cleannesss. The Mishnah has no division devoted to the interpretation of history. There is no pretence even at telling what had just happened. There is scarcely a line to address the issue of the meaning of the disasters of the day.

The Mishnah does not address one-time events of history. Its laws express recurrent patterns, eternal patterns as enduring as the movement of the moon and sun around the earth (as people then understood it) and as regular as the lapping of the waves on the beach. These are laws on plowing, planting, harvesting; birth, marriage, procreation, death; home, family, household; work, rest; sunrise, sunset—private lives, not the stuff of history. The laws speak of the here and now, not of state or of tradition, past or future. Since, in the time in which the ideas of the Mishnah took shape, most other Jews expressed a keen interest in history, the contrast cannot be missed. The Mishnah imagines a world of regularity and order in the aftermath of the end of ancient certainties and patterns. It designs laws after the old rules all were broken. It speaks of an eternal present—generally using the continuous present tense and describing how things are—to people beyond all touch with their own past, its life and institutions.

Since, as we know, in the aftermath of the war against Rome in 132–135, the Temple was declared permanently prohibited to Jews, and Jerusalem was closed off to them as well, the Mishnah's laws in part speak of nowhere and not now. Why not? There was no cult, no Temple, no holy city, to which at this time the description of the Mishnaic laws applied. Much of the Mishnah deals with matters to which the sages had no material access. They had no practical knowledge at the time of their work on cultic law. They themselves were not members of the priestly caste. Yet we have seen that the Mishnah contains a division on the conduct of the cult, namely, the fifth, as well as one on the conduct of matters so as to preserve the cultic purity of the sacrificial system along the lines laid out in the *Book of Leviticus*, the sixth division.

There is a further point of unreality. Many of the tractates of the first division, on agriculture, deal with the rations provided for the priests by the Israelite farmers out of the produce of the holy land. The interests of the division overall flow from the Levitical taboos on land use and disposition of crops; the whole is an exercise of most acute interest to the priests.

Furthermore, a fair part of the second division, on appointed times, takes up the conduct of the cult on special days, the sacrifices offered on Yom Kippur, Passover, and the like. Indeed, what the Mishnah wants to know *about* appointed seasons concerns the cult far more than it does the synagogue, which plays a subordinate and trivial role.

The fourth division, on civil law, for its part, presents an elaborate account of a political structure and system of Israelite self-government based on Temple, priesthood, and monarchy, in tractates *Sanhedrin* and *Makkot*, not to mention *Shavu'ot* and *Horayot*. This system speaks of king, priest, Temple, and court. Not the Jews, kings, priests, and judges but the Romans conducted the government of Israel in the Land of Israel in the time in which the second-century authorities did their work.

Well over half of the document—the first division, the second, part of the fourth, all of the fifth, and most of the sixth—speaks of cult, Temple, government, priesthood. But these things did not yet exist. They derived, moreover, from other groups in Israelite society. The Mishnah takes up a profoundly priestly and Levitical conception of sanctification as the principal statement on Israel's condition. Sages had no control of these matters. Furthermore, in the very time the document was written, the Temple lay in ruins, the city of Jerusalem was prohibited to all Israelites, and the Jewish government and administration, which had centered on the Temple and based its authority on the holy life lived there, were in ruins. So the Mishnah's sages could not report any facts they had observed on their own. Much of the Mishnah speaks of matters not current at the time it was created because the Mishnah's sages wished to make a statement on what really matters: the holiness of Israel as they defined it.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS. From what has been said, we should never be able to account for the persistence of the Mishnah as half of the whole "Torah" of Judaism. The bulk of the document was irrelevant to its own time, all the more so to the ages that would follow. The two Talmuds, indeed, pick and choose what they want from the Mishnah, and, in so doing, revise the system of the whole. The Talmud of the Land of Israel, for example, provides elaboration and commentary for only thirty-nine of the Mishnah's sixty-two tractates, omitting reference to the fifth and nearly the whole of the sixth division. The Babylonian Talmud, for its part, treats the fifth division but ignores nearly all of the first. What both Talmuds do in common is ignore the system and structure of the whole and divide the Mishnah into tiny bits and pieces. These were then subjected to close and thorough analysis. The upshot is that the two Talmuds took up the whole. By continuing what Yehudah ha-Nasi' had treated as concluded, they carried forward the unending process of revelation and canon. That is to say, the heirs of the Mishnah revered the document but also took responsibility for interpreting it. In the very process of their quite accurate and careful reading, they in fact accomplished a considerable reformation of the Mishnah itself.

SEE ALSO Talmud; Tannaim.

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Mishnah

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JACOB NEUSNER (1987)
Revised Bibliography

MISSIONS

This entry consists of the following articles:

MISSIONARY ACTIVITY
BUDDHIST MISSIONS
CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

MISSIONS: MISSIONARY ACTIVITY

Many records and some suggestive studies of the foundations, motivations, dynamics, techniques, and sociocultural effects of missionary activity in specific locales exist. Most of them are written from the perspective of the missionaries or are based on the study of records, letters, or fund-raising reports they have left. Certain encounters between the major religious orientations in various parts of the world have also been documented, but few systematic, cross-cultural, and comparative studies of missions and missionary activities have been produced.

There is no lack of material dealing with the dissemination of and conversion to a specific religion from the standpoint of that religion's advocates, nor of the theological warrants or mandates given by a particular faith for its propagation. Cultural historians and social scientists have also studied the effects of religious change in specific periods, and psychologists have attempted to identify the psychodynamics of conversion. Still, systematic overviews of organized proselytism and the basic ideational, social, and institutional foundations on which it rests remain sparse.

In the nineteenth century, to be sure, certain evolutionary theories of the development of "high" cultures offered rather triumphalist accounts of the spread of "ethical religions" over territories where "animistic" or "polytheistic" faiths previously claimed the loyalties of the people. And in the early twentieth century certain theories of religio-cultural "diffusion" attempted to comprehend world historical development in ways that would also account for the spread of religions by analogy with the spread of artifacts such as the plow or the clock. Theories of political-economic and cultural imperialism have gained considerable prominence as a framework for interpreting missionary activity, a fact that will require comment here. None of these efforts, however, has resulted in a compelling account of the nature, character, and dynamics of missionary activities that bear cross-cultural scrutiny.

Near the end of the twentieth century, after the end of the cold war that occupied much of the world's attention, many became aware that governments, policies, and economic systems pass away, but that religions endure and seem to be able to renew themselves, even in areas where they were thought to be surpassed. The idea that modernization meant "progress" and inevitable secularization seems to have died a thousand deaths. In fact, the religions have undergone a substantial resurgence and have amazed and troubled no small number of social theorists, historians, and liberal religious scholars. The troubling part of this resurgence for many is that the world religions have reasserted themselves in conservative and fundamentalist forms. Some religions are local, tribal, or ethnic in character, and they often seek to recover eroding identity in the face of globalizing developments. More amazing is the fact that an enormous range of peoples have converted to Christianity and, to a somewhat lesser degree, to the other great world religions in the age that was assumed to be, according to enlightened orthodoxy, an age in which the religious illusions of the past were demystified by scientific fact. It turns out that the facts suggest that the religions in their conservative forms are engaging in vigorous missionary activity and converting the world. Why this is so is not altogether clear to observers and critics. Yet the evidence is rather clear. Evangelical, Pentecostal, fundamentalist, and heterodox (e.g., "Mormonism") forms of Christianity have been growing around the world at a record pace, as have the more militant forms of Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism. Tribal religions, reemerging as ethnic identity religions, have erupted into fits of violence and "ethnic cleansing." The study of these dynamics continues, with many dynamics being obvious, though the are causes not.

FOUNDATIONS AND MOTIVATIONS. Nonetheless it is possible to venture some generalizations about missionary activity that seem relevant for all the great missionizing religions. The first point is that they all seem to be impelled by a unique revelation or a great discovery about the nature of being and existence, the discovery of which prompts a momentous personal transformation and a revitalization of social and cultural purpose given by an awareness of transcendence that brings spiritual and moral renewal. This generates a salvific metaphysical-moral vision that is not only of intense personal meaning but also thought to be of universal import for humanity. This vision induces a passion that intellectually, morally, and emotionally is felt by those grasped by it from magical practices of local deities and cults, from familial, clan, caste, or ethnic loyalties, from feeble or dysfunctional political-economic conditions, and from "meaningless" or ineffective rites and rituals. The missionary impulse that grows from this source becomes "homeless," for it finds its true home in a realm that relativizes all that is understood to be natural or conventional, which it then tries either to escape or to transform. It further evokes a desire to bring about the universal acceptance and application of the vision, which it holds to be universally true in principle, even if it is not universally accepted.

Every missionizing religion thus is by definition transcultural; where it is not entirely transmundane, it is cosmopolitan. It endows its advocates with a transcendental, ecumenical, cross-cultural, and global perspective, and it understands humanity to be trapped in chaotic states of mental, spiritual, social, or physical oppression from which humanity must be delivered by accepting a new foundation of meaning and a new discipline. It thereby promises to liberate humanity from evil and falsehood and bind humans to the good and true—although the precise definitions of the causes of the evil and the nature of the good, the marks of falsehood and the indicators of the true, and the means that are able to move humanity from one to the other are what divide these religions from each other.

A missionary is one who seizes or is seized by a universalistic vision and who feels a mandate, a commission, or a vocation to bring the vision and its benefits to "all." Thus missionary activity, both domestic and foreign, is the most intense in those moments when the metaphysical-moral vision of a religion is engendered or revitalized and held to be particularly pertinent in changing conditions. "Home" missions often take the form of new programs for youth, "purification" of religious and cultural practice, proselytism of marginal groups, protest against lax practices among the social elite (including the established clergy), and often moral or spiritual attempts to put domestic social, political, and economic policies on a new foundation. "Foreign" missions attempt to take the vision beyond the land of origin and thereby to lay the foundations for a new spiritual world order by transforming the souls and minds of individuals and the social habits of society. Missionary activity always alienates its converts from previous belief and practice to some degree, for it introduces a different way of organizing faith and life. Both domestic and foreign missionary activity is marked by intense intellectual activity, for the whole of reality has to be reconsidered from the new perspective. It also is the breeding ground of freedom, for in conversion a person finds that he or she can make an ultimate choice about, or be drawn by grace into, a new relationship to the truly divine. Such a person no longer has an identity determined by age, gender, class, custom, status, ethnicity, or the dictate of any lesser authority—parental or political, cultural or economic. Having been drawn into freedom, all other areas of life are subject to reevaluation and reconstruction.

One or another universalistic vision has provided the foundations and motivations for Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, and that fading secular "civil religion," Communism, to name but four of the most obvious missionizing faiths. Certain strands and periods of Judaism, Zoroastrianism, and "syncretistic" religions, such as Baha'i, Sikhism, and the Unification Church (Moonies) have a similar dynamic. A universalistic metaphysical-moral vision is less pronounced, however, in the beliefs of the primal religions, Daoism and Shintōism, and is less overt in Confucianism and most strands of Judaism and Zoroastrianism. However great their spiritual, moral, and intellectual achievements, these latter religions are constitutively tied to specific sociopolitical contexts and often to ethnic particularities. These religions may also claim to possess a universalistic message—they may welcome converts, and aspects of their metaphysical-moral visions may be honored or adopted by other religions, but they spread more by the migrations of peoples or by the gradual incorporation of immediate neighbors than by organized missionary activities. They are, as some say, the "staying" religions, in contrast to the "going" religions.

Hinduism represents a special and exceedingly complex case, for while it is similar to nonmissionizing traditions in many respects, and while it seems to have spread essentially by a process called sanskritization (the gradual adoption of Vedic practices and Brahmanic authority by non-Aryan peoples on the Indian subcontinent), it has had periods of vigorous missionary activity. Indeed, active missions have not only been carried out by "evangelical" forms of Hinduism, such as the Ramakrishna Mission, the International Society for Krishna Coinsciousness (ISKCON), and the organizations supporting the teachings and charitable works of Sai Baba, but are being actively pursued in another way by the *Hindutva* movement. Represented in its political mode by a Hindu nationalist party that presently heads the Indian government, a series of related "safron" groups (made up of priests and "holy men") and lay militant activists are seeking to "convert" Dalit and tribal groups into their "original" status as part of the religious and cultural fabric of the "Indic" peoples and to "deconvert" former Hindus who have become Muslim, Christian, or neo-Buddhist. Their methods often include persuasion, aid in building local temples, and promised access to educational and medical opportunity, but they also sometimes use violence against mosques, churches, and stūpas; against minorities who resist their efforts; or against missionaries from such religions. Many see this movement as a threat not only to other faiths but to the democracy, socialism, and human rights guaranteed by the Indian constitution, principles that, since Gandhi, have been held by many as almost sacred.

Most initial efforts to spread the faith focus rather strictly on the message of salvation, presented in its simplist forms. This is partly a matter of conviction. It is often also a matter of necessity—in authoritarian cultures, it is dangerous to begin pointing out all the social implications that a conversion might eventually entail. This is not to say that when missionizing religions expand they cease to have cultural, political, ethnic, or economic content and become purely transcendental, for that is seldom the case. Rather, missionaries often believe that they have a message based on a salvific metaphysical-moral vision, which is in fundamental respects separable from accidental sociohistorical trappings and thus able to be transplanted into new cultural settings. This is true even if the bearers of the message believe that at its core are implications for ethical changes in society that ought also to be spread for the well-being of humanity. Those living religions that claim the most universalistic visions and evidence the most extensive missionary zeal beyond the place of origin—Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, and indeed Communism—have never been able to extricate themselves fully from the social contexts in which they were developed nor from the unintended consequences that follow from the transplanting of the faith.

KEY DYNAMICS OF MISSIONARY ACTIVITY. As a population is missionized, new patterns of educational, familial, cultural, political, and economic life are introduced, and the indigenous "tradition" is reshaped on new foundations. The tendency to identify the universalistic message with the newly established patterns of life within the converted group is widespread. The vision "for all" once again becomes a vision "for us," until such time as a new burst of piety and learning renews the awareness of the universalistic vision and revitalizes missionary efforts, demanding a purging of false tendencies to syncretism and closed localistic identity. Missionary religions are continually or episodically engaged in religious renewal and reformation from within. The great missionizing religions are in part to be contrasted with the occasionally proselytizing, primal, and localistic religions precisely by the enduring and recurring vitality of their universalizing, in contrast to the particularizing and syncretizing tendencies of the localistic religions. It is not surprising that missionary religions are those with authoritative scriptures and "orthodox" doctrines that serve as the standards for periodic renewal.

The great universalistic teachings of the missionizing religions are, however, always treasures borne in "earthen vessels," to paraphrase Paul, the model of all Christian missionaries. And the line between the treasure and the vessel is frequently extremely fine. Early Buddhist missionaries, to cite another example, were sent out presumably armed with nothing but the pure and unadulterated message of Gautama's great discovery of the secret of true enlightenment. Wittingly or not, however, they carried with them both the philosophical presuppositions of Indian religious thought, which were the terms in which and through which the Buddha found his truth, and the political, social, and cultural patterns of Indian society. Theravāda Buddhism, as it missionized in Sri Lanka, Burma, and Thailand, brought with it metaphysical-moral assumptions and sociopolitical principles that derived from Hindu traditions and which, in part, the Buddha had sought to overcome and transcend. In Mahāyāna Buddhism as well, careful scholars can speak of the "Indianization of China."

Later, when this stream of Buddhism became wedded to motifs from Confucian and Daoist sources, its movement into Korea and Japan carried powerful elements from Chinese traditions, elements that also became wedded to Korean shamanism and Japanese Shintōism. And it is well known that both Christianity and Islam carried Greco-Roman patterns of thought, medicine, and political theory—as well as Hebraic understandings of ethical monotheism—with them as they expanded in the medieval periods. Islam has also always borne a certain Arabic cultural stamp wherever it goes, and Communism bears everywhere the marks of Germanic philosophy, French revolutionary zeal, and British economic dynamics from the days of the industrial revolution. Along with the gospel, modern Christian missions transmit Western definitions of human rights, democracy, and scientific methods in the fields of education, medicine, management, agriculture, and corporate organization. These cursory examples serve to illustrate the point that, while missionary activity must always be understood first of all in terms of the universal metaphysical-moral vision that calls it into being and gives it its transcultural raison d'être, it is always laden with particular philosophical, social, and cultural elements.

MISSIONS AND CULTURAL IMPERIALISM. The inevitable presence of intellectual and social assumptions and implications, even in the "purest" of faiths, has made missionary activity subject to the charge of cultural imperialism. But two factors differentiate missionary expansion from it. First, the truly religious missionary recognizes a distinction between the message and the accoutrements, the universalistic kernel and the incidental husk. However difficult it is to distinguish the two, the primary concern is with the former. Transformation of the latter is allowed in terms of and for the sake of the former. The imperialist understands the message only in terms of its sociocultural trappings in highly particularist ways. Imperialism obtains when, for example, Buddhism in Myanmar becomes identical with and a tool of the Burman peoples as opposed to those of the Chin, Kachin, or other Burmese peoples; when Christianity becomes "Aryanized" in the Nazi period or sanctifies apartheid as in South Africa; when Islam in, for instance, Malaysia, Iran, or Saudi Arabia is understood to be coterminous with the fate of the countries themselves; or when Communism is thought to be identical with "socialism in one country" and celebrated with a personality cult. These forms of cultural imperialism have had their vicious corollaries in many lands wherever a particular social group, political hegemony, or economic advantage is confused with a universalistic religious message and spread by coercive means to colonize peoples in the name of religion.

Second, missionary activity is rooted in the fundamental assumptions that, once people are exposed to "the truth" that has been proclaimed, they will choose this truth and that they ought to be free to encounter and choose even "foreign" truth. Missions presuppose that a truly universalistic vision is convincing to the mind, compelling to the will, and attractive to the heart. Missions thus require, or provoke, a situation in which freedom of thought, choice, and affection can create new communities of conviction to celebrate and exercise what the will, mind, and heart have come to hold dear. However much missionary activity has been carried out hand in hand with cultural arrogance, military power, and economic opportunism, there has been and remains in principle a sharp tension between missionary efforts and imperialistic imposition of religion by force or "mind control," a fact increasingly documented by missiologists examining the relative validity of the charge that missions are but the ideological instrument of colonial practice. Those incapable of imagining a fundamental transformation of thought, disposition, and loyalty by conversion to a new religious insight, however, always attribute the change to nefarious interests.

It is certainly true that every missionizing religion has had periods during which something like the classic Islamic pattern could be documented. H. A. R. Gibb wrote of Islam that, "while the faith itself was not spread by the sword, it was under the wing of Muslim dominance that its missionaries found most favorable conditions for their activities of conversion. This view of Islam . . . was universally held by its adherents; the theologians found justification for it in the Koran, the jurists made it the basis of their expositions of Muslim law, and the mass of the people accepted it as a self-evident fact" (Gibb, 1932/1973, p. 56). Comparable patterns could be cited regarding periods of Buddhist expansion at the hands of pious war lords, Christian missions in Latin America, or Communist movements in eastern Europe. Nevertheless, the Qurʾān and the authoritative teachings of every other missionizing religion agree that forced conversion is false and that truly universal religion must depend on the freely convinced mind, will, and heart of the convert (although Communists held that changing the social conditions themselves would bring about the fading of religion and the turning to the true ideology of humanity). Thus, wherever missions go and do not immediately preclude other missionary efforts by force, they open up new vistas for mind, will, and heart, and thus for new social practices to which people are invited to turn.

REACTIONS OF MISSIONIZED PEOPLE. Every missionary religion must be received as well as propagated. Where it is not received, missionary activity dies, and doubt about the universality of the originating vision sets in. Where it is received under coercion, and not in the mind, will, heart or the transformed customs of the people, the indigenous religion goes underground, eventually resurfacing as a revitalized rallying point to overthrow "foreign gods" or as a heterodox or heretical religion in contention with the one brought by missions. Where the missionary religion is received in the heart, will, and mind, newly converted people soon send out their own missionaries. But it is almost never received as given. It is filtered through the philosophical, sociopolitical, and historical perspectives of the recipients. The old traditions are almost never entirely abandoned. They are inevitably active in interpreting and modifying the new message, helping to at least partially purge it of missionary-borne incidental elements that can be seen as merely cultural biases or sociopolitical interests.

One of the most fascinating studies of the reception of a religion is that by Kenneth Ch'en (1973) of the way in which Buddhism was modified, acculturated, and indigenized in China. A message, such as that exported by Indian Buddhism, that called for the breaking of family ties and demanded that kings give honor to monks simply did not make sense in a culture where filial piety and homage to the emperor were absolutely central to both belief and social order. Ch'en demonstrates that, if one speaks of the "Indianization of China" with the spread of Buddhism, one must also speak of the "sinicization of Buddhism." In China, key Buddhist texts were given fresh interpretation; apologetic literature, new poems, and new regulations for the community of monks were promulgated that modified or transformed aspects of the Buddhist message so that it could fit into, and in some ways revitalize, both the indigenous folk religions and of the Confucianism and Daoism of that land. Comparable stories can be told of every missionizing religion: the Christianity of the Copts in Northeast Africa is not the same as that of the Kimbanguists of West Africa; the Islam of Morocco differs from that of Mindanao in significant ways; Communism in North Korea is distinct from that of Cuba. This is so in spite of the fact that each of these great traditions tends to press the local society and culture in a distinctive direction.

In this connection it must be noted that some religions engage in missionary activity precisely as a result of being invited, sought, or adopted with great eagerness. In several places where traditional systems have been displaced by exploitative cultural contact, war, crop failure, or the failure of a social system to survive its own internal strains, missionary groups bearing universalistic messages are readily embraced, for they offer new symbolic and cognitive models by which life and its perplexities may be interpreted. Often the appropriation of a new religion is accompanied by a quest for new technological, educational, and sociopolitical frameworks for organizing the common life. Missionaries often agree that such a quest is implied by the core of their metaphysical-moral vision. Certainly a comparable phenomenon has occurred in quite different locales, as John Garrett (1982) has shown in regard to the Pacific Islands and Frederick S. Downs (1983) has demonstrated concerning the Christianization of tribal peoples of Assam in the twentieth century. More ancient examples are the historic reception in the sixth and seventh centuries of Chinese Buddhism (and Confucianism) into Japan at the hands of the imperial court; the reception in the ninth to eleventh centuries of Eastern Orthodox Christianity into Russia, bringing with it Byzantine art, literature, and political theory; and the reception in the twelfth to fifteenth centuries of Islam (as mediated through India) in the Malay archipelago that was accompanied by aspects of mysticism and caste-related social patterns.

In almost no instance, however, is a new religion received without some resistance. This resistance is sometimes easily overcome. When the indigenous faith is a highly literate and complex religion, however, the resistance is usually prolonged and powerful. One of the dramatic examples of this resistance is that, while Buddhism originated in India and at one time had nearly swept the subcontinent, in the twenty-first century can be found there only in forms of neo-Buddhism newly reintroduced by Bhimo Rao Ambedkar and the Dalai Lama. This is because Hinduism reasserted itself by a ten-century-long process involving the adoption of some aspects of Buddhism (especially the revitalization of devotional practice in *bhakti*), the bloody slaughter of Buddhist monks, extensive philosophical argumentation, and an effort that was more organized than that of Buddhism. But the neo-Buddhism being introduced is taken as protests against the Hindu caste system, recently celebrated by some Dalit (outcaste) Christians. Similarly, Confucianism reasserted itself in China during the "neo-Confucian" period of renewal in the ninth century by a similar process—one that relegated the Buddhists and Daoists to an inferior status while borrowing some motifs from them. Islam encountered intellectual and military resistance when it threatened expansion into Europe from the time of Charlemagne through the Crusades. The Christianity that expanded into central Asia has been essentially stamped out, and what remains in western Asia is now weak and scattered because of Islamic resistance. Most Western Jews and Christians resist the Hindu, Islamic, and Buddhist missions as well as the host of hybrid or syncretistic cults rooted in these, or in some heterodox Christian faith, found in most of the major cities of the West. Meanwhile, indigenized forms of Christianity from Africa, Latin America, and Asia are challenging the kinds of Christianity that have developed in the West.

One notable feature of the phenomenon of "mission" and "resistance" is that missions that do not succeed among the intellectual and political-economic elites of a new country but that do succeed among the people become fatefully drawn into perennial tensions between the rulers and the ruled. If conversion is successful among the masses but not among leadership, intense resistance results. If conversion occurs only among marginal groups, ethnic conflict is frequent, and minorities are suspected of being agents of foreign powers. If missions are successful among some sections of the leadership and among wide segments of the people, the stage is set for revolutionary change.

TYPES OF MISSIONARIES. In surveying mission and missionary activity, however, one must not only note the primacy of the metaphysical-moral vision—its relationship to social and cultural patterns, its patterns of reception, and resistances to it—one must also consider certain similarities of institutional form that are characteristic of missionary activity. What groups or classes of people undertake missionary activity, and how do they organize to do so?

On missionaries, merchants, and mercenaries. The earliest missionaries are, more often than not, traders or travelers with them. One does not have to accept the Marxist interpretation of the relationship between commercial exploitation and religion to observe that the spreading of a new religious insight repeatedly follows commercial traffic lanes—and that this insight is frequently borne by merchants. Further, it must be noted that both commercial and missionary activities can only be conducted in conditions of relative peace and stability. When that is disrupted, soldiers are frequently brought in to establish it, and they are accompanied by new waves of chaplains, who become missionaries. Since traders and soldiers vary widely in their behavior, from the relatively congenial to the simply marauding, missionary activity has often been conducted within networks of shifting alliances, both economic and military, on the far end of trade routes. It is not possible to make any single generalization about these relationships, however, for missionaries have resisted exploitative trade as often as they have benefited from it, and they have fought imperial "pacification" as often as they have been protected by it.

The cross-cultural frequency of missionary activity by merchants, however, invites speculation as to why this general class has played so significant a role in missionizing. Perhaps it is because merchants are people who seek increased opportunity by taking the risk of leaving the settled and accepted patterns of life at home. The very act of engaging in trade on a cross-cultural basis, however crass the individual motivation might be, requires a somewhat more cosmopolitan perspective on the world than is frequently present in those societies where religion and morality run in channels circumscribed by fixed economic roles and duties for people of each specific ethnic, gender, age, and class status. In addition those societies that send merchants farthest and equip caravans or ships the most extensively for trade are usually the more highly developed economically, politically, militarily, and socially. It would not be strange for them to hold the view that their "superiority" in this respect is due, in substantial part at least, to the "superior" religious, spiritual, and ethical foundations of their faith. In an influential study, Edward Said (1995) has argued that this accounts for the various condescending projections on Eastern cultures by Western merchants, soldiers, and missionaries.

Professional missionaries. New religions are seldom, if ever, however, fully developed in a new location by the sometimes quite unholy alliance of missionaries, merchants, and soldiers, or by general processes of cultural diffusion that accompany them. The introduction of a religion through commercial channels (the character and quality of which influence reception or resistance) has everywhere been succeeded by the arrival of professional missionaries. For most religions throughout most of history, the professional missionary has been monastic, that is, organized into ascetic, trained, and disciplined religious orders intentionally "homeless" for the sake of the metaphysical-moral vision held to be universally true.

Missionary monks and nuns attempt to spread their religious convictions by public proclamation and commentary on sacred texts at both popular and learned levels; by teaching hymns, chants, and prayers; by establishing new centers of worship where the truth they know can be celebrated; and by service—that is, by medical, educational, pastoral care, social relief, and advocacy. Needless to say all missionary religions have relied on "wondrous," magical, or technological demonstrations of "spiritual" power from time to time. The stories well known in the West about saintly missionary monks, such as Patrick (387–493), Columba (c. 521–597), Boniface (d. 755), Ramón Lull (1232–1316), and Francis Xavier (1506–1552), are paralleled in the lore of Buddhism, in the formation of the *matha*s as a Hindu reaction to the challenge posed by Buddhism, and in the roles played by the "schools" of jurists and even more by the Ṣūfī orders of Islam.

To carry out their tasks, missionaries have four requirements. First, they must have a dedication, a commitment—a piety, if you will—linked to learning. Missionaries must be able to articulate the faith and to interpret it in intellectual and cultural terms that are foreign to them. They must be able to understand and put into perspective whatever they encounter in the course of their work. It is no accident that several sciences, including modern comparative linguistics and anthropology, to a large extent have their roots in missionary activity. Everywhere professional missionaries are given to literary activity—they have published apologetics, tracts, propaganda, and commentaries, and they are responsible for the composition and dissemination of poetry, song, and history.

Second, missionary professionals require a reliable institutional foundation, a polity, to sustain them. Missionary orders and societies are surely among the world's first transnational, nonprofit corporations. These polities, however, are ever subject to incorporation into the existing polities of the host countries. Thus the Buddhist *saṃgha,* spread under the protectorate of kings, is ever tempted to become simply an instrument of state. Some converted Christian communities in India are always in peril of becoming more a subcaste than a church, and the *ṭarīqah*s of Islam tend to become simply trade guilds or sanctified tribal brotherhoods.

Third, missions require funding. Economic support may derive from state funds, charitable bequests, the establishment of plantations, handicraft manufacturing centers, agricultural communes, and religious taxes. The economic ties of a missionary enterprise with its country of origin or with the elites of the host country are the source of enormous distrust of missionary activity.

And fourth, missionaries must have a clear policy, one that coordinates strategies and tactics and prevents divergent teachings from confusing potential converts. These policies must cover such matters as how much of the indigenous culture to allow and what to disallow, how to deal with marriage practices, "pagan" festivals, various "fraternities" that are marginally stamped with traditional religious practices, and the like.

Indigenous missionaries. While most professional missionaries are sent to a foreign land, they can measure their success by whether or not they are replaced by indigenous lay or clerical missiological leaders. The mark of successful reception is that the newly converted themselves become motivated to spread the message to which they have been converted, both to others in their own land and to other lands, and to develop institutional and financial support systems for their own missionaries. It was largely Chinese Buddhists who missionized not only many parts of China but Korea and Japan after Indian and Tibetan Buddhists established monasteries in China and trained Chinese novices. It was Malay Muslims who missionized Indonesia and Mindanao after Arabic traders and missionaries brought the faith to the region. And it is Chinese, Indian, and Korean Christians who are spreading the faith in South and East Asia after most Western missionaries only come as short-term visitors or to provide support for specific projects. And in Africa and Latin America, local leadership has become the spearhead of massive growth. The direct knowledge of the language, culture, common worldviews, lifestyles, felt needs, and life's difficulties allows the message to become more directly pertinent and more thoroughly embedded in the life of the people. It also alters the contours of the faith and renders fresh theological perspectives, as seen in Christian history by the names of major branches of the Christian faith: Greek Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism, German Lutheranism, Dutch Calvinism, the Anglican Church, and American Evangelicalism. Sometimes the organizations that once sent missionaries abroad find that the work is better done by believers who live there and that they must attend to the fact that the faith at home has become cool, routine, and so deeply enculturated that it needs renewal. They turn to the reevangelization of their home cultures or to fresh views of the global mission.

MODERN PRACTICES. Modern missionary efforts have been pursued not so much by monastic orders (although these orders continue to missionize around the world) as by nonmonastic missionary "societies." This situation is prompted primarily by the rather unique developments of "free-church" Protestant polities, economic support systems, and policies. While the established churches in Europe had been sending out monastic missionaries for centuries and the Moravians anticipated later developments, the formation of the London Missionary Society in 1795 inaugurated a new form of paraecclesial organization that continues in the twenty-first century and is emulated by non-Christian missionaries. Missionary societies, of which there are hundreds, raise funds by freewill contributions and form nonmonastic "voluntary associations" staffed by a combination of nonparochial clergy, lay professionals, and volunteers not only to save souls from "paganism" but to sweep away superstition and oppression; to offer agricultural, technical, medical, and educational assistance; and to engender a desire for democratic institutions, human dignity, self-sufficiency, and social liberation. Some modern theorists indeed suggest that these efforts at social service and social change are the very core of missionizing and theological renewal.

A notable example of the side effects of this pattern can be illustrated by reference to the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). The association was formed in England in 1844 as a part of a "home mission" voluntary association for youth flocking to the cities to get jobs in factories, and it attempted to provide a wholesome place where young men could find physical, mental, social, and spiritual benefit on a biblical foundation. The movement spread to North America and to most of the countries around the world where missions were active. It was often the agent of evangelization and the womb of efforts at social change by young men who came under its influence. Other religions responded by forming counterorganizations on a comparable basis. One can find not only the YMCA but the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the Young Men's Buddhist Association, the Young Men's Hebrew Association, and the Young Men's Muslim Association, as well as youth hostels for Hindus scattered throughout much of Asia and in many parts of Africa and South America. Comparable developments could be documented regarding schools, colleges, presses, hospitals, orphanages, institutions for the handicapped, human rights advocacy groups, organizations for battered women, or substance abuse centers, all organized outside of traditional political, familial, and clerical control. Examples of such independent organizations exist in all the world religions. This not only introduces new principles of organization in more closed societies, it suggests the possibilities of converting traditions without converting whole populations. The proliferation of communities of a faith-based, voluntary-associational type is one of the most remarkable and explosive social effects of missionary activity in the twentieth century, one not fully documented on a comparative basis.

Increasingly, the great missionizing religions are confronting not only the primal or folk religions, where missionary activity has been most pronounced, and not only the social needs in various contexts, where missionary activity has been remarkable, but one another. Thus far missionary efforts with regard to the other great missionary religions have been only marginally successful. This is in part because of severe restrictions on missionary activities in especially Islamic and Marxist lands and in parts of India, where induced conversion has been criminalized, but also because the world religions that have shaped complex civilization rarely had to confront one another directly and tend to do so only in intercivilizational clashes. In a globalizing age, however, when economic, political, educational, scientific, medical, technological, and cultural traditions shaped by these religions are interacting with great intensity and frequency, encounter is unavoidable. Although some theorists have argued that these religions are moving toward a great synthesis of world faiths (an essentially Hindu argument), others have attempted to find analogous meanings in shared symbolic patterns present in all religions as manifestations of the development of the species (an evolutionary argument), and still others have sought the common ethical teachings that can prevent mutual assassination (a natural-law argument). Still the way these religions will continue to deal with one another is not at all certain. None of the great faiths can be satisfied with a complete relativism, but some can recognize diversity. It is contrary to a deep faith and to missionary activity to hold that what is ultimately true about the divine and the realities of this world is only true for some in specific cultures, times, or places, even if all agree that people perceive the true state of affairs in somewhat different ways due to the influece of context, time, and space. Few think the world will soon, or ever, be converted to one faith only.

In the face of this development, a new set of writings about "theologies of religions" has begun to emerge. It is, in brief, an attempt to identify what the religions hold in common, where they differ, and in some measure how they have, can, or could mutually enrich and correct one another without loosing integrity. It is the likely case that dedicated evangelists for one or another faith will confront the questions sooner or later, and it is surely the case that these questions are the most lively ones to be faced intellectually.

SEE ALSO Religious Communities.

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MISSIONS: BUDDHIST MISSIONS

The term *Buddhist mission* was invented in the 1830s to explain the religion's diffusion throughout Asia, and "missionary spirit" has been treated as an essential dimension of Buddhist spirituality in virtually all English-language works about Buddhism composed since. By the 1870s "Buddhist mission" had been theorized further by early historians of religions as a key plank in the subsequently ubiquitous disciplinary distinction between "missionary" or "world" religions (Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity) and "national" or "indigenous" religions (all the rest) which did not expand far beyond traditional geographical borders. Two proof-texts were singled out for citation in Western writings on Buddhist mission, namely, the Buddha's so-called great commission, and stories about the transmission of his religion associated with the age of King Aśoka (third century BCE).

The "great commission" is an ancient passage found already reworked in three canonical Buddha biographies, the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya,* the *Mārasaṃyutta* of the *Samyutta Nikāya* and the *Mahāpadānasutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya.* According to these accounts, after attaining enlightenment and gathering together his first followers (later reckoned to be sixty in number), the Buddha, realizing that all of them were already saints (*arhats*) who required no further guidance, gave them leave to depart, saying:

> Wander about on wanderings, monks. For the good of many folk, for the happiness of many folk, out of compassion for the world, for the good and happiness of gods and men, don't two of you go by one [road]. Preach the *dharma*, monks, which is lovely at the beginning, lovely in the middle, lovely at the end, in meaning and sound. Demonstrate the purified celibate life which is fully complete. There are beings with little dust in their eyes; they are falling away from the *dharma* for not hearing it. There will be people who understand, monks.

According to later reckonings this occurred just after the concluding ceremony (Pali, *pavāraṇa*) of the first-ever Buddhist rains retreat (Pali, *vassa*), which for subsequent monastic and lay Buddhists became an annual time of renewal and recommitment.

The Buddha's actions in this moment were important to later Buddhists as a watershed in the history of the monastic community (*saṃgha*), especially in the emergence of monastic discipline (*Vinaya*). At that time none of the monastic rules had yet been promulgated—as perfected saints, the first sixty monks did not require rules. According to the *Mahāvagga* account, however, permitting them to preach to others while wandering about ultimately required the Buddha to promulgate the rules one after another because the people who heard them preach, and sometimes then joined the order, were not yet themselves enlightened. The passage in question was not portrayed as a commission to all Buddhists; the point was that only the first sixty (and presumably subsequent) saints were free to wander forth unguided by the monastic discipline. But removed from such literary contexts, constructed grammatically to make the wandering dependent upon the preaching rather than the other way around (which is possible, though against the grain of the commentarial tradition), and translated into biblical English, this passage was easily read as a much-remarked parallel to Jesus' great (or apostolic) commission (*Mt.* 28:18–20).

All versions of the legend of King Aśoka agree that some favored patriarch of his, directly connected through pupillary succession to the Buddha himself, convened a great council at the conclusion of which monks were sent to "establish the Buddha's dispensation" (Skt., *śāsana*; Pali, *sāsana*) in various regions. The patriarch himself (or some special disciple) is said to have taken it to a region that the Buddha or the patriarch had foreseen would be a future Buddhist center. These legends, which emerged in oral traditions shortly after Aśoka and were composed in their surviving written forms beginning around the first century CE, include colorful stories about these monks' encounters in various regions, emphasizing their supernormal attainments. Though the oft-repeated claim that Aśoka himself sponsored this event is ungrounded—in the texts the patriarch, not the king, always provides the impetus to hold the council and send the dispensation to some far-off region(s)—the portrayal of these texts as "missionary" is understandable, for the basic themes also constituted important dimensions of nineteenth-century Christian missionary discourse.

But the wide divergence among various versions of this narrative—especially as regards the identity of the patriarch, his lineage, his sectarian affiliation, and the future Buddhist center—suggests that they are better viewed as specific, even polemical, claims about their own times than as windows into actual Aśokan history (there is no mention of Buddhist councils, nor of the dispensation-transmission, in the known Aśokan epigraphs; scholars now agree that the legendary "missions" cannot be read into the diplomatic embassies Aśoka does mention). As elaborated below, these stories enjoyed wide significance among later Buddhists, but in precolonial times these did not include the claim of nineteenth- and twentieth-century writers that Aśoka, the patriarch, or the "missionaries" (often said to be trying to fulfill the Buddha's great commission) were manifesting "missionary spirit," nor is there warrant for assuming that these legends were read as paradigms and guides for missionary service in the same way that the apostolic missions were significant to Christian missionaries.

Little else is cited in writings about "Buddhist mission," not only because these problematic examples were considered sufficient proof, but also because apart from them premodern Buddhists demonstrated no concern with "mission" in its nineteenth-century trappings. Aspects of what Christians consider "mission"—preaching, modeling, and advocating proper behavior; reproducing and disseminating texts; confronting religious others; traveling—certainly did concern Buddhists from ancient times, but the premodern tradition lacked specialized vocabulary for discussing them as "mission" (nor were there words for conversion, missionary spirit, or mission field), and the premodern tradition never produced missiological literature as such. "Mission" never figured in the systematic lists of practices, virtues, or spiritual attainments so carefully articulated by Buddhists around the world.

Indeed, until the late nineteenth century it was notoriously the case for Christian missionaries serving in Buddhist countries that then-contemporary Buddhists lacked any glimmer of "missionary spirit." During the early nineteenth century, Buddhist monks allowed Christian missionaries to use their temples for rallies and politely refused challenges and taunts that they debate comparative doctrine or salvation; missionaries regularly complained that Buddhists would listen to sermons and even enact approbation without undergoing the existential "conversion" that was a hallmark of Christian missionary discourse and expectations. Rather than catalyze revision of the (Western, Christian) presuppositions that made "mission" an essential dimension of Buddhist religiosity, however, this actual lack of it was treated as a failure of Buddhists to live up to their own essence.

Nineteenth- and twentieth-century writings on Buddhist (and Muslim) mission made available for study an "other" mission to juxtapose with Christian mission. This comparative framework originally contributed to Christian missionary self-confidence, portraying their approach as a middle-ground between overly forceful (Muslim) mission and overly tolerant (Buddhist) mission. Beginning in the 1870s, however, a growing number of Western Buddhist sympathizers turned this discourse upside-down, using the "tolerance" of Buddhist mission to chastise Christian evangelism, a comparison that, eventually internalized by missionaries themselves, played an important role in the general abandonment of evangelical missions by mainstream Protestant churches since World War II. At the same time, as mentioned above, Buddhist mission was central to the classification of religions into "world" and "national" types, a classification whose persistence (sometimes in modified language) belies its foundation in fact, despite the problematically "missionary" framework through which the global reach strongly characteristic only of Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam has been theorized.

But "Buddhist mission" was an inadequate tool for understanding pre-nineteenth-century Buddhist history, sometimes misconstruing the spread of the dispensation and the functioning of the pan-Buddhist world on the basis of Christian presuppositions about how religions expand. Increasingly employing the context-appropriate language of traditional Buddhist historians—who discussed the "spreading out" or "establishment" of (some particular sectarian version of) the dispensation—recent scholars have been able to better understand the various important phenomena hitherto lumped together as "Buddhist mission."

THE SPREAD OF THE DISPENSATION. Scholars agree on the basic chronology of this spread of the dispensation because its formal establishment regularly resulted in Buddhist construction projects that survive as archaeological evidence, the creation of monastic lineages and schools, and textual accounts of the event(s), preserved and embellished in the different regions. Even during the Buddha's lifetime his community certainly had grown into a sizeable institution spread throughout the kingdoms of northeastern India; traditional accounts claim that thousands of people ordained or participated in the early community as laypeople. The Buddhist presence there and beyond was bolstered by Aśokan stupa building and other Buddhist projects that he and his successors undertook from the third century BCE to the third century CE. The earliest archaeological evidence of Buddhist practice in the northwest (Kashmir) and far south (Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka) dates from about Aśoka's time, while Buddhist texts agree in narrating the establishment of the dispensation in these secondary centers (Kashmir and Sri Lanka) as part of the Aśoka legend itself. The texts chronicle the northern transmission from Kashmir to modern Iran and Central Asia from the first century CE onwards in various kingdoms (the last was Tibet, during the seventh to eighth centuries) and China (first century), and from the latter to Korea (fifth century) and thence to Japan (sixth century); and the southern transmission from northeast and central India to Sri Lanka, and from there (or India directly) to kingdoms in modern Burma (fifth century), the Maldives (seventh century), the Malay Peninsula and Indonesian archipelago (fifth century), Thailand (seventh century), Cambodia (fifth century), southern Vietnam (fifth century), and Laos (twelfth century). Later Buddhists as far afield as China and southeast Asia sometimes directly extended the Aśoka legend—or even the Buddha's own preaching career—to include their own kingdoms.

Like any schematization, however convenient, this one is deceptively neat. Archaeological and textual evidence suggests that Buddhists were present in various regions prior to the formal establishment of the dispensation there, and the sources leave no doubt that transregional transmissions continued to occur long after. Such efforts included numerous organized Chinese endeavors to bring additional texts and practices from India and Sri Lanka (especially from the fourth to seventh centuries) and corresponding Indian, Central Asian, and Sri Lankan embassies to China (during the first to ninth centuries); imperial exchanges of texts and *dharma*-masters through which Chinese Buddhist schools were transplanted in Korea, Japan, and northern Vietnam (especially during the seventh to the ninth and twelfth centuries); formal diplomatic embassies to reestablish monastic higher ordination (*upasampada*) and transmit texts that traded the dispensation back and forth among the Theravāda Buddhist traditions of Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos (from the tenth to twenty-first centuries); and discussion and comparison of pan-Buddhist philosophies and practices at multicultural Buddhist universities (such as

Nālandā in modern Bihar, which flourished in the last centuries of the first millennium CE) and pilgrimage sites (most importantly Bodh Gayā, also in modern Bihar, which continued to function as a transregional Buddhist center from the time of Aśoka until about the thirteenth century, and has regained that significance from the nineteenth century to the present). Chinese translation of Sanskrit and Pali texts obtained in India and Sri Lanka (which was often compared with the voluminous output of Christian mission presses) lasted at least until the eighth century, while Tibetan translations of Indian and Chinese texts only began in the eighth century and Mongolia only received the dispensation, from Tibet, in the sixteenth century. Many vernacular translation projects around the globe are still on-going. In addition to these formal transmissions, groups of Buddhists periodically, from the Buddha's time to the present, have moved into new regions, establishing at the grass roots their own versions of the dispensation, at least through their presence, and often with much more lasting effect.

Further complicating the picture, these transmissions did not occur according to modern geographical and sectarian boundaries. Thus there were Buddhists in the Burmese kingdoms of Thaton, Pyu, and Arakan by the fifth century, but the (Theravāda) dispensation was formally established in Bagan in the eleventh century, while the continuing presence of northern Buddhist cults and texts in this subsequently officially Theravāda Buddhist region make certain that transmissions there were more multiple still. Moreover, in all regions the fortunes of a variety of different Buddhist schools (with different transmission histories) waxed and waned vis-à-vis each other as well as non-Buddhist religious orders. And throughout the Buddhist world, especially after it was dislocated by the rise of Asian Islam and virulent "national" religions such as Hinduism in India and Confucianism in China (tenth to twelfth centuries) there occurred a process of popularizing Buddhist teachings and practices through vernacular literatures and preaching, which effectively involved transmissions to people who ostensibly had already been Buddhist for centuries. These medieval popularizers—ranging from the authors of Sinhala devotional writings to charismatic Japanese figures like Ippen, Shinran, and Nichiren—expressed motivations to increase universal access to the *dharma*, which represents the closest Buddhist approximation of missionary spirit (mostly confined to what Christians called *home mission*). Clearly, the dispensation did not become established fully formed in a single moment anywhere in the Buddhist world.

No single reason accounts for all these transmissions; scholars have suggested various factors that contributed to the spread of the dispensation. One was certainly a willingness to share the *dharma*, which has characterized the whole tradition. In the earliest Buddha biographies the Brahmanical God implores a Buddha who is not inclined to preach that he nevertheless do so "for the good of many folk," echoing the precise language the Buddha uses later in these same texts to dismiss the first sixty saints. The underlying virtue that motivates the Buddha to assent to preach is compassion (*karuṇā*), one of the four "godly states" (*brahmavihāra*) that constitutes buddhahood. Compassion is also singled out in the "great commission" passage as the reason monks should bother to preach while wandering about, and in the Aśoka legends compassion motivates the patriarch and his associates who established the dispensation abroad. Unlike missionary spirit or the desire to convert others, such compassion for others' suffering figures prominently in lists of virtues and accomplishments across the Buddhist tradition. In texts about the establishment of the dispensation, the corresponding emotion, on the part of the recipient, is pleasure (*pasāda*); in Buddhist hagiography such feelings of pleasure in Buddhist contexts prove ultimately salvific, whether in this or future lives. One of the few technical terms developed by early Buddhists that could correspond to *missionary* was *pasādaka*, or "pleaser," signaling the importance of generating this emotion on the part of those who would transmit the *dharma.*

The exercise of such compassion was facilitated by the fact that—unlike contemporary Jains and Ājīvikas—Buddhists suffered virtually no restrictions on travel; unlike contemporary Brahmans they did not have to adhere to inhibiting dietary or purificatory regimens. Coupled with the consistent attraction to Buddhist teachings and practices—perhaps in part for these reasons—evinced by an urban middle class that from the time of Aśoka onward was increasingly involved in transregional trade, these factors simply allowed Buddhists to be more mobile than their would-be competitors. Because there were also few restrictions on public preaching and no secret doctrines to be guarded, explications of the *dharma* must have occurred quite often and naturally wherever Buddhists went. The public, and no doubt publicized, support that Aśoka and subsequent Indian emperors gave the Buddhists would have increased their presence and prestige in various extra-Indic courts and cities.

In the process, what we might think of as Buddhist technologies quickly circulated across the northern (land-based) and southern (sea-based) Silk Routes. These technologies included magical and medical practices and texts (which overwhelmingly dominate the manuscript finds at archaeological sites along the northern Silk Route); meditative strategies; sociopolitical principles and organizational forms; banking and even the minting of coins; funerary rites; stone architecture and sculpture; literature and manuscript preparation; and a vernacular (*prakrit*) language that with minor modifications served as a *lingua franca* throughout South, Southeast, and Central Asia and through systematic translation intersected the east Asian *lingua franca* (Chinese). Such technologies could be adopted or participated in without any further claim upon the participant because there was no formal "conversion" requiring the renunciation of previous religious ideas and practices. The line between Buddhist and non-

Buddhist was left gray, it being unproblematic (as far as Buddhists were concerned) to continue practicing previous religions, save perhaps in terms of their unproductiveness in the Buddhist context. Those whose interest became more serious were always free to adopt the five, eight, or ten precepts of a layperson, or even to take robes. Another beneficial absence among Buddhists was exclusion based on wealth, class, caste, gender, age, or educational/professional background. These higher levels of participation involved increasingly strict disciplinary codes but still nothing approximating the nineteenth-century idea of "conversion."

As the Buddhist presence in various kingdoms grew, and sectarian identities crystallized, Buddhist historians—like their nineteenth- and twentieth-century Western counterparts—tidied up this messy history by composing the regional accounts of the establishment of the dispensation (usually attached to Aśoka legends) mentioned above. These narratives hierarchically ordered various regional Buddhists within a single sectarian framework by making the entire regional dispensation derivative of (or preparatory for) a single original transmission portrayed in the sectarian garb of the monks and nuns who composed any particular account. These accounts always involve the approbation of a paradigmatic regional king (and archaeological evidence leaves no doubt that the support of royal families and other wealthy elites did contribute to the religion's success wherever it went), thereby entailing sectarian appeals to royal power and patronage as well. On the other hand, these narratives located such regional Buddhist kingdoms and sectarian groups within the larger pan-Buddhist imperial situation and the larger universal *saṃgha* of a given period. These larger organizational structures involved their own hierarchical orderings based on highly contested interpretations of the Buddha's teachings and practices and early Buddhist history; the different accounts of the establishment of the dispensation were therefore consequential in terms of transregional political and religious diplomacy, alliance and enmity, and prestige. As late as the fifteenth century, Burmese ambassador-monks greeted Sri Lankan hosts by invoking their shared version of the Aśokan transmission legend, and even in the nineteenth-century Burmese chronicle *Sāsanavaṃsa*, new claims associating this transmission with the kingdoms of peninsular southeast Asia were advanced.

This simultaneously local and transregional significance helps explain the widespread literary and sometimes liturgical veneration of the different enlightened monks and nuns who established any particular instance of the dispensation, like Mahinda and Sanghamittā in Sri Lanka, Sona and Uttara in Burma, Madhyantika in Kashmir, Padmasambhava in Tibet, Bodhidharma in China, and Upagupta throughout the northern Buddhist world. It also helps explain why the details are so contested across the different versions. But because they were deeply connected with Buddhist identity and portrayals of exemplary saints, these stories certainly also had more specifically religious significance through the ages. Beyond the polemics and politics they also effected feelings of gratitude for the efforts made by the "pleasers" who brought the dispensation to their kingdoms, renewed commitment to practice and, at least in the case of Upagupta, hope for worldly and spiritual assistance, and would have helped cultivate that compassion for others that lies at the heart of the tradition.

MODERN BUDDHIST MISSIONS. If the term *Buddhist mission* shows up the danger in cross-cultural application of categories derived from particular religions, it also exemplifies the powerful impact that scholarly discourses can have upon the actual practice of the religions they analyze. Reared on accounts that read mission into their sacred texts and history, beleaguered by criticisms that nonmissionary Buddhism is moribund, provoked to respond to Christian missionaries, and befriended by Westerners (including Christian and Jewish converts to Buddhism, among the first Buddhist missionaries proper) who though sympathizers with the Buddhists remained deeply immersed in missionary thinking, Buddhists throughout the twentieth century (especially in Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand, and Japan) created actual Buddhist missionary societies in the very image of what Western writers said they ought to possess.

Beginning with the founding of the Maha Bodhi Society in Sri Lanka in 1891, these organizations—now numbering in the thousands and spread throughout the world—incorporated "missionary spirit" as such into their explications of Buddhist religiosity (often based on the "great commission" passage) and declared (first at the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893) a world Buddhist mission that has witnessed considerable success in the last century, especially in the West. Simultaneously, they adopted and transformed into particularly Buddhist enterprises numerous Christian missionary strategies, such as scripture and tract publication and distribution; "Sunday school" and other youth movements like the Young Men's Buddhist Association (YMBA); revival rallies, temperance, and other social-reform movements; transregional ecumenical organization (most notably the World Fellowship of Buddhists, founded in 1956); study of foreign religions (and other schools of Buddhism) and interfaith dialogue; and the sponsorship of foreign Buddhist missions (ranging from Sri Lankan missionaries in India, Nepal, Cambodia, Vietnam, and Singapore to Japanese missionaries in Hawai'i and California).

Branch offices and full-fledged temple-monastery complexes representing a variety of Buddhist traditions have been established to serve immigrant Buddhist communities in major cities throughout the world, while simultaneously reaching out to non-Buddhists there. The twentieth century produced a vast discourse in English (and many other European and Asian languages) that is properly missiological: biographies of famous Buddhist missionaries and eulogistic histories of various Buddhist missions, treatises on Buddhist missionary strategies and calls for expansion of Buddhism based on global conversion statistics, discourse about competitor religions, missionary annuals and keepsake volumes, and missionary newspapers and websites. In addition, vernacular vocabularies have been developed; the term for *Buddhist missionary* used in southern Buddhist countries, *dharmadūta* (Skt., "emissary of the teachings," sometimes wrongly conflated with the *dhaṃmamahāmātas* or "righteous ministers" of the Aśokan inscriptions) was first coined as a Sinhala translation of the English word in a Christian missionary dictionary, published the same year the world Buddhist mission was declared. And in the late twentieth century, Buddhist missionaries in the West even developed formal conversion ceremonies to match the expectations of converts there.

This transformation of the religion (especially in elite, Westernized Buddhist circles) as appropriate to the nineteenth- and twentieth-century missionary-dominated global context for understanding and participating in human multireligiosity reflects its unique adaptability to changing local circumstances (what has been called its "missionary tolerance"), perhaps the most important factor underlying all these instances of *dharma*-transmission. The creation of modern Buddhist missions was continuous with a long history of taking up and "Buddhicizing" non-Buddhist religious forms, ideas, and practices that truly does stretch back to the time of the Buddha himself; it has been nurtured in this case by an ability to find new meanings in the ancient Buddhist texts about preaching and hagiographies of the various "pleasers" of significance to different traditions, and by relaxing monastic discipline in contexts where specific minor rules prove unfeasible. Its results represent a modern transmission of the dispensation broader in scope even than the legendary accounts of the time of Aśoka.

SEE ALSO Aśoka; Saṃgha.

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For all its ubiquity in Buddhological scholarship, "Buddhist mission" has actually received little direct scholarly attention. Though the details of the spread of the dispensation and later exchanges of it, in specific situations, have become increasingly well known, the idea itself has remained virtually unexamined since the 1830s. Probably the earliest use of the English term *Buddhist mission* was in George Turnour's "Examination of the Pali Buddhistical Annals," *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal* 7, no. 2 (1838): 687, 716–717, 1050. Prior to Jonathan S. Walters's "Rethinking Buddhist Missions," Ph.D. diss. (University of Chicago, 1992), only in one instance (C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Outlines of Buddhism: A Historical Sketch* [London, 1938], pp. 90–96) was the construct "Buddhist mission" even questioned (Rhys Davids pointed out its inapplicability to the texts about Aśoka and its inconsistency with the utter lack of missiological literature in the premodern tradition, though she did not totally abandon the concept). But it was subsequently mentioned—and often made the underlying historical force—in virtually every English-language work on Buddhism, world religions, and especially Buddhist history published from Turnour's day up to and including the present; in this sense the bibliography on Buddhist mission nearly overlaps with the entire bibliography on Buddhism or, for that matter, "world religions."

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MISSIONS: CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

Mission, the extension of the church beyond its existing frontiers, has been characteristic of the Christian fellowship from its earliest beginnings. In its claim to universal relevance, the Christian church resembles the other great missionary religions, Buddhism and Islam, which are also alike in looking back to a single historic founder. "Go forth, therefore, and make all nations my disciples" (*Mt.* 28:19). It is perhaps doubtful whether Jesus of Nazareth expressed himself in precisely these terms; but there is no reason to suppose that his followers gravely misunderstood his intentions. His personal ministry was directed to Jews; but when he found among non-Jews what he recognized as adequate faith, he showed no inclination to exclude them from his fellowship.

THE EARLY FOLLOWERS OF JESUS. The earliest followers of Jesus seem to have understood the universal dimension of their faith as the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy *(Isaiah, Zechariah),* according to which all nations would come up to Jerusalem to receive the law of the Lord in the form of the new covenant in Jesus. Two new factors reversed this original Christian understanding. The first was persecution, which led to many Christians being dispersed from Jerusalem. The second was the adventurous spirit of certain Greek-speaking Jews who crossed over a well-marked boundary and in Antioch began to proclaim the gospel to non-Jews, apparently with considerable success. This new Christian perspective was rationalized by Saul of Tarsus, also called Paul, who, believing that he had received a commission as apostle of the Gentiles, worked out a master plan for establishing Christian groups in all the main centers of the Greco-Roman world. He looked to Rome, and beyond that even to Spain, the western limit of the Mediterranean world.

So great a project was far beyond the strength of one man, but the impulse given by Paul never died. The Christian proclamation was carried out almost entirely anonymously; indeed, the names of the founders of the great churches of the Roman empire remain for the most part unrecorded. Yet this early work had surprisingly rapid success. Within a century of the death of the founder, churches came into existence in many parts of Asia Minor, in Greece, in Italy, in Egypt, almost certainly in France and Spain, and perhaps even as far away as India. To this day, the Thomas Christians in Kerala claim that their church was founded by the apostle Thomas in person.

Whence this rapid success? By around AD 100, many more Jews lived outside Palestine than within its borders. The strict monotheism of the Jewish faith, and the high moral standards inculcated by their law, had attracted many to at least a partial acceptance of the Jewish faith, and this served for some as a preparation for the Christian gospel. In that hard and often cruel world, a fellowship of people who really loved one another and cared for one another's needs clearly had attractive power. The fervent expectations of the Christians, both for the world and for the individual, must have come as a message of hope to those who had none. Jesus became known as the Savior of the world.

PERSECUTION AND STABILIZATION. The persecutions to which the early Christians were periodically exposed seem to have done little to hinder the advance of their faith. Not all Christians were being persecuted all the time, and the number of martyrs was greatly exaggerated in tradition. To be sure, there were signs of hysteria among the faithful, and some failed to stand fast. But persecution often undermined its own purpose because the courage, dignity, and charity shown by martyrs often won the allegiance and admiration of some who might otherwise have remained indifferent. This has been a recurring phenomenon through the centuries up to the great persecution in Buganda in the 1880s, and in more recent events in Germany and Russia.

The great change in the Christian situation came in 313 when Constantine made Christianity the religion of the empire at a time when its followers cannot have numbered more than about 10 percent of the population. From that time on, the resemblance between Christianity and the other missionary religions has been startlingly close. From the time of Asoka in India (third century BCE) to Sri Lanka and Thailand in 1983, Buddhism has always maintained close relations with the ruling powers. In all Muslim countries, and in all those which have come under Marxist domination, the identification of the state with religion or ideology has been undisguised and taken for granted. But since Christians claim to be followers of the Prince of Peace, close connections between interests of state and interests of religion have proved a burden and an embarrassment rather than a help. Justinian, who reigned from 527 to 565, seems to have been the first Roman emperor to accept coercion as a legitimate instrument of conversion to Christianity.

By the year 600, the Mediterranean world was almost entirely Christian, with outliers among the Goths, in the approaches to Inner Asia, in Ethiopia, and in what is now Sudan. At the end of the century, Gregory the Great (540–604) saw the importance of the world which lay north of the Alps and which was yet to be converted. Hence the pope's mission to the Angles in Kent. This was the first mission of the church to be officially organized; it paved the way for the central control over the missions which Rome exercised for many centuries.

A LONG PERIOD OF UNCERTAINTY. In the year 600, it might have seemed that the gospel was destined to carry all before it. Then suddenly everything went into reverse. In 610 an obscure prophet named Muhammad began to preach a new faith to the tribes of Arabia. By the time of his death he had given to these tribes unity, a simple demanding creed, and a sense of destiny. Only a century later, the Muslim armies were at Tours, in the very heart of France, and were repelled only by the vigor and military skill of Charles Martel (685–741). By that time the Christian churches had almost disappeared in Palestine, Syria, and Egypt, and were gravely threatened in Persia, North Africa, and large parts of Asia Minor. In 1453, the Turks succeeded in capturing Constantinople and destroying the Eastern Empire, which for a thousand years had been the bulwark of the Christian world. Many causes have been adduced for the disappearance of so many churches. Military weakness was no doubt one, but there were others as well: dissensions among Christians, the rise of national feeling in Egypt and elsewhere, and the superficiality of conversion in such areas as North Africa, where the church had failed to express Christian truth in the languages of the local people.

In this period, the wisdom of Gregory was vindicated. During the centuries between 632 and 1232, the Christian faith spread west, north, and east until the conversion of Europe was complete. There was a dark side to this advance. When at the end of the eighth century Charlemagne succeeded in conquering the long-refractory Saxons, he agreed to spare their lives on the condition that they accept baptism. It was only one of many regions in which cross and sword went together. In Scandinavia, conversion proceeded more easily. In many areas the ruler was the first to accept the faith, and this brought about a quiet revolution. Iceland seems to have been unique in accepting the faith (around 1000) by genuinely democratic methods. With the conversion of Jagiello (1383), king of the Lithuanians, conversion seems to have reached its natural term.

Monks and nuns played a creative part in the building of churches. In the remote places where they settled they introduced better methods of agriculture and new crops. They laid the foundations of literature in the languages of Europe. They gave to isolated peoples a sense of belonging to one great unity: the Catholic Church. Out of these beginnings grew the splendid cultures of medieval Europe.

Missionary activity sometimes took on the form of conflict between the old and the new. Such actions as Boniface's felling the oak of Thor at Geismar must not be misinterpreted as mere missionary vandalism. The people of that time believed that the powerful spirit who inhabited the oak would be able to take condign vengeance on any intruder, thus they expected Boniface to fall dead upon the spot. When he survived, they concluded that the god whom he preached was more powerful than their own.

The Eastern church, with its base in Constantinople, beginning with the conversion in 988 of Vladimir, grand duke of Kiev, created the great Slavonic cultures, the Christian origins of which are not disputed even by Marxist opponents of religion. These cultures survived the fall of Constantinople. During the fifteenth century, the faith was received by more remote peoples to the east and north, a process that continued until by the end of the nineteenth century it had reached the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

With the great Franciscan and Dominican movements of the thirteenth century, the missionary enterprise of the Western church looked beyond the limits of Europe; the "friars travelling abroad in the service of Christ" reached strange lands far afield. One of their most remarkable achievements was the creation of an archbishopric in Beijing; the first archbishop to fill the post, John of Monte Corvino, lived there from 1294 to 1328, greatly respected by all. But the church's hope of converting the Inner Asian peoples was frustrated by the Muslims' success in winning them to the Islamic faith. The lines of communication with Inner Asia were too tenuous, however, and in the fifteenth century the mission to China faded away. For the moment Christian expansion seemed to be at an end.

THE COLONIAL PERIOD. The last decade of the fifteenth century saw the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492 and the opening up of the sea route to India by Vasco da Gama in 1498. These two events changed the relationships between the nations of the world and in time gravely affected the presentation of the Christian gospel to the non-Christian world.

Roman Catholic monopoly. For two centuries the greater part of the missionary enterprise of the Western church was in the hands of the Portuguese, who, following the precedent of Muslim evangelism in Europe, expected their converts to accept Portuguese names, manners, and customs. There was, however, never total adoption of this principle. By the end of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese had on their hands three considerable blocks of Indian Christianity. In those possessions which they directly controlled, the process of Europeanization was almost complete. The Thomas Christians in Kerala and the Parava converts on the coast of Coromandel, on the other hand, declared and maintained their intention to be and to remain Indian Christians, a stance from which they have not departed in four centuries.

Moreover, in these years two notable attempts were made to adapt Christian thought to the ideas and ways of Asia. The Italian Matteo Ricci in 1601 succeeded in reaching Beijing. He and his Jesuit colleagues, by mastering the Chinese language, winning the favor of the emperor and other leaders by their skill in astronomy and other sciences, and by adapting Christian faith to Chinese ideas, were able to maintain their mission, albeit with varying fortunes, through nearly three centuries. In southern India another Italian, Roberto de Nobili, learned Tamil and Sanskrit, and in order to win over the brahmans turned himself into a brahman, and not without success. Unfortunately, in 1744 Rome condemned all such efforts at adaptation, thereby sterilizing the Roman mission for the next two hundred years.

Internationalization of missions. The Lutherans sent their first missionaries to India in 1706. In 1794 the English Baptists, represented by their great pioneer William Carey and his colleagues, set up their work in Bengal. Thus the enormous resources of the English-speaking world, followed by those of the Dutch, the Swiss, and Scandinavians, were let loose throughout the world.

From this time on, relations between the Western governments and Christian missionary forces became unimaginably complicated. On the whole, the British maintained an attitude of lofty neutrality toward missionary activity, modified by the personal interest of a number of Christian government officials. But as government financial aid became available for educational and medical programs and for other forms of service, the Christian missionaries in the forefront of such enterprises profited greatly, perhaps excessively, from the provision of such aid. On the other hand, in British India the Indian rulers prohibited all Christian propaganda in their areas; religious freedom in India was proclaimed not by the British but by the government of independent India after 1947. In northern Nigeria, the British clearly favored Islam at the expense of Christianity.

In German, Dutch, and Belgian colonies, the association of governments with missions was undesirably close. In China, because of Napoleon III's decision that all missionaries, of whatever nationality, must be in possession of French passports, Roman Catholic missions were inevitably stigmatized as dangerous and foreign. By contrast, Hudson Taylor, the director of the largest Protestant mission, instructed his missionaries that in case of trouble they were to turn not to consular authorities but to the local representatives of the Chinese governments.

A new factor emerged when the Japanese government showed itself as the great colonial power in the East. American missionaries in Korea sympathized deeply with Korean national aspirations and were opposed, though quietly and discreetly, to Japanese colonial enterprise.

Varieties of missionary enterprise. Over two centuries there has been significant diversification of missionary enterprise, including the activities of women missionaries, which indeed have been far more numerous and diverse than those of men. Almost every conceivable means of communication has been employed. Education, on the basis of the Christian conviction that all truth and all knowledge are from God, has been emphasized. Together with this priority has gone the widespread distribution of Christian literature in countless languages. Medical and social services were conceived and have been rendered by Christians, not as propaganda but as manifestations of the universal love of Christ, and they were perceived as such by many who were served. Public lectures to interested non-Christians have in many areas left deep impressions on the minds of the hearers, though debates between the adherents of different religious systems have tended more to exacerbation than to conviction. Preaching in the open air in villages and public places has made many hearers aware of the existence of alternative systems of belief. Quiet study groups, under the guidance of sympathetic Christians, have helped to clarify questions about Christian belief. Where no open propaganda has been permitted, the mere presence of loving Christians as neighbors has proved remarkably effective as witness to the faith.

The nature of conversion. No full and scientific study of the process of conversion in the non-Christian world has as yet been written. Undoubtedly in a number of cases the desire for social advancement and a better manner of life has played a powerful part. But is this a blameworthy motive in the case of those who have been subjected for centuries to ruthless oppression reinforced by religious sanction? For many, the gospel comes with promise of deliverance from the power of evil forces which are believed at all times to threaten and beleaguer the well-being of humans. For some, the gospel represents an immense simplification of religion. It has been stated that in India more people have been converted to Christianity by reading the first three chapters of *Genesis* than in any other way, for the majestic simplicity of these chapters appeals deeply to those perplexed by the complexity of Hindu mythology. Other converts, oppressed by the burden of sin, are drawn by the promise of forgiveness in Christ, so different from the inexorable law of *karman* in Hinduism. Others, conscious of moral infirmity, have come to believe that Christ can offer the inner rehabilitation which they feel they need. Yet others have been impressed by the intensity of mutual love manifest in the society of Christian believers. Varied as the process may be, in all there is a central unity. Christ himself stands at the center of everything. Only when the risen Christ is seen as friend, example, savior, and lord can genuine Christian conversion be expected to take place.

Conversion to Christ is not necessarily identical with acceptance of the church; but in the vast majority of cases this follows, though this second acceptance may prove to be more difficult than the first.

Missionary motives. For more than four centuries the Western powers have exercised a dominating influence on the destinies of the rest of the world. Since so many people, especially in Muslim countries, have identified the West with the Christian West, there has been a natural tendency to regard Christian missionary enterprise as no more than an expression of Western aggression and imperialism. How far is there any adequate basis for this equation?

Many careful studies of missionary motivation have been made. Clearly no human motives are entirely pure. But only in a minority of cases can it be shown that national and imperialistic motives have played a strong part in missionary devotion. More frequently the glory of Christ has been the central and dominant motive. Some missionaries have gone so far in identifying with those they have come to serve as to renounce their own nation and to accept naturalization in the countries they have made their own. All have accepted some measure of acculturation in new surroundings. All who have served long years in alien lands have accepted with equanimity the destiny of becoming strangers in their own homes. The number of missionary martyrs is legion, their sacrifice equaled only by the devotion of their friends in many nations around the world who have also given their lives in the service of Christ.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. When in 1910 the first World Missionary Conference was held at Edinburgh, twelve hundred delegates from all over the world (including, however, no Roman Catholic or Orthodox Christians) could look back on a century of almost unimpeded progress. Converts had been won from every form of religion. In almost every country—a notable exception being Tibet—churches had come into existence, and the process by which the foreign mission was being transformed into the independent self-governing church was well advanced.

The years which followed were marked by a number of major setbacks to Christian missionization, such as the Russian revolution and the fading of religion in many Western communities. Yet the *World Christian Encyclopedia*, edited by David B. Barrett (1982) makes it plain that the achievements of the prior seventy years had been greater than those of the preceding century. For the first time in history the possibility of a universal religion appeared a reality. Roughly one-third of the inhabitants of the world had come to call themselves Christians. The progress of Christian missions continues in almost every area of the world. In India, Christians, already the third largest religious community after Hindus and Muslims, are also the most rapidly increasing in number.

Hostile critics of the Christian enterprise have maintained that the gospel has failed to touch deeply the mind and conscience of peoples outside the West, that the Christian churches in these areas are fragile and exotic blooms that came with the colonial powers, have been dependent exclusively on foreign aid and support, and that with the disappearance of the colonial powers these churches will also disappear. The twentieth century has shown that there is no ground at all for these expectations. After the communist takeover in China (1949), it was held even by a number of Christians that "missionary Christianity" in China had no roots and that there was little if any chance of its survival. When relaxation of government control occurred in 1980, however, it was revealed that several million Chinese had remained faithful to the Christian church. Chinese Christians have made known their determination to be fully independent of every kind of foreign control and to work out for themselves a form of Christian faith which will be genuinely Chinese. Elsewhere, if all foreign support has been compulsorily withdrawn, as in Burma, the churches have simply declared their maturity and have planned for a future of self-support and radical independence. Where this has taken place, accessions to the Christian faith have been more numerous than they were in the flourishing colonial days.

Changing world order. As a world phenomenon, the Christian church has not remained unaffected by the violent changes that have taken place in the troubled modern world. During the nineteenth century the dominant nations and the churches which were dependent on them assumed that they could plant Christian missions wherever they pleased, sometimes imposing their will by force on unwilling peoples. In the twentieth century all this has changed. A number of nations (e.g., Burma, Guinea, Saudi Arabia) prohibit all religious activity by foreigners which is directed at native citizens. A number of others make it very difficult for missionaries to obtain visas or residence permits. Yet others (e.g., Nepal) admit missionaries with few restrictions, but only on condition that they engage in what the government regards as nation-building activities (such as educational or medical services). Where all access is made impossible, churches in neighboring areas fall back upon the help that can be rendered by prayer alone.

The churches have gladly accepted the claim of these nations to independence and national dignity. No case is on record of a missionary leaving his or her assignment through unwillingness to accept the changed conditions of service. Christian witnesses have desired to stay on and to become in fact what they always wanted to be—servants of those to whom they came to minister. Even in China missionaries stayed on until it became clear that there was no longer any useful service that they could render. From Burma and other areas, foreigners withdrew because they felt that their work was done, since the local churches could carry on without their aid, and that their continued presence might embarrass—and possibly endanger—their Christian friends. Some have been deported, at very short notice, for political reasons.

Anti-Western sentiments and resentments have been strong in many countries of the world since the end of the nineteenth century. Since 1947, decolonization has taken place with quite unexpected rapidity. Yet wounds remain. Some nations have desired to emancipate themselves from Western influences, but this has proved impossible. The more far-sighted leaders have seen it as their task to retain all that is valuable in the Western inheritance and at the same time to assert or to rediscover the integrity of their own national traditions.

From foreign mission to independent church. The major change in the twentieth century was the process of transfer of power from foreign mission to independent local church, a process almost complete by the end of the century in almost every country in the world. The churches in some emerging nations think that the process has not gone fast enough or far enough; that it is on the way cannot be doubted by any observer of the process of change. Where churches are still wrestling with the problems and the prejudices of the past, they may be unwilling to accept the help of foreigners. Where they have reached maturity, as in India and Korea, and are becoming aware of the immense tasks still before them, they are in many cases glad to accept the help of foreigners, provided that these are prepared to keep their proper place and to accept only such responsibilities for service or leadership as the local church may lay upon them. Nor need it be supposed that all missionaries will be from the Western world; missionary interchange among developing nations is one of the most interesting features of the contemporary situation.

The independence of churches outside Europe and North America is increasingly shown in a number of remarkable ways. One that has attracted considerable attention is the rise of African independent churches, all of which have grown out of the mission-controlled churches of the past. Some of these are unorthodox. But the great majority desire to remain part of the main lines of the Christian tradition and have yet to create for themselves a place in which to feel at home, to think out the gospel for themselves, and to decide for themselves which of the ancient traditions of Africa can be retained within the Christian structure. Many Christians, even in the mainstream churches outside the West, are rethinking their own past in the light of divine providence, expecting to find signs of the working of God no less in their own pre-Christian history than in the special history of which the Old and New Testaments are the record. Some in India, for example, have suggested that the Upanisads are the real "old testament" of the Indian Christian and should take rank at least on the same level as the Hebrew scriptures. The nature of this quest is neatly summed up in the title of a book by Raimundo Panikkar, *The Unknown Christ of Hinduism* (New York, 1981). Genuinely indigenous theology is still in its beginnings, and it has to be confessed that the reapings in this field are still rather scanty; but what there is gives promise of a richer harvest in days to come.

One reason for the Christian quest to discover Christ beyond the historical bounds of Christendom is to be found in the remarkable resuscitation in the twentieth century of the ancient non-Christian faiths. Rediscovering the treasures of their own past, non-Christians feel able to approach Christians with renewed confidence and a sense of security. The Buddhist knows himself to be in contact with the great mystery of nothingness, the Hindu to be in contact with the unchangeable mystery of infinite being, the Muslim with the mystery of the infinite exaltation of God. There need be no Christian doubt about the greatness of these religions. Christian and non-Christian alike have much to teach one another in a manner different from that of the past.

The basis of this approach is a conventional rationale of mutual respect. Through centuries millions of men and women have lived by the teachings that they have received in these various religions, and, therefore, these may not be treated as though they did not matter, even though some of their teachings may be displeasing to the adherents of other religions. So one who engages in dialogue with those of faiths other than his own must come to it in the spirit Chaucer described in the words "gladly would he learn and gladly teach." Confident in the value of what he has experienced through his own faith, the Christian is able to delight in everything that he learns from others of what is true and good and beautiful, and at the same time maintain his hope that those who have seen in their own faith what he must judge to be partial may come to find the full-orbed reality of the true, the good, and the beautiful as he himself has seen it in Jesus Christ. If mission is understood in this sense, some of the asperities of the missionary approach in the past may be mitigated.

A NEW UNDERSTANDING OF MISSION. Almost all Christians who are members of churches outside Europe and North America are conscious of belonging to a single great worldwide fellowship, regardless of the denominational label they may bear. Several, though not all, are ardent supporters of contemporary ecumenical movements for the unity and renewal of the church. But they too are almost at one in holding that reconsideration of the meaning of the term *mission* is long overdue. Those who have traveled in the lands of older Christian traditions and sensed the decay in Christian allegiance of many in these countries are inclined to think that mission should be labeled as a product intended for universal and international export. In the past, the gospel traveled across continents and oceans almost exclusively in one direction. Has not the time come to establish two-way traffic, to have the gospel travel across continents and oceans in many directions? If this is true, the word *mission* may be in need of new and contemporary definition.

SEE ALSO Christianity; Constantinianism; Ecumenical Movement; Persecution, article on Christian Experience.

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Countless lives of Christians, Western, Eastern, and African, have been written, but almost all the older works need to be rewritten in the light of modern knowledge. As a notable example of a biography of a twentieth-century saint, mention may be made of Hugh Tinker's *The Ordeal of Love: C. F. Andrews and India* (New York, 1979). Georg Schurhammer's *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1973–1982) is a superb example of what can be achieved by intense industry continued over almost sixty years.

Peter Beyerhaus's *The Responsible Church and the Foreign Mission* (London, 1964) is a pioneer work on the transformation of a foreign mission into an independent local church. The works of Roland Allen, especially *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?*, 6th ed. (London, 1968), let loose questionings and discussions which have continued to the present day.

On the Christian confrontation with the non-Christian religions, the World Council of Churches in Geneva has published a whole series of valuable books, under the editorship of Stanley J. Samartha. On contemporary trends in mission thinking and theology, the interconfessional and international series "Mission Trends," edited by Gerald Anderson and Thomas Stransky (Ramsey, N. J., 1974–), will be found full of up-to-date and relevant information on almost all matters related to the Christian mission.

STEPHEN C. NEILL (1987)

MITHRA. After Ahura Mazdā and together with Anāhitā, Mithra is one of the major deities of ancient Iran, one that later crossed the borders of the Iranian world to become the supreme god of a mystery religion popular throughout the Roman Empire. In the Avesta and the later Zoroastrian literature Mithra turns up frequently; indeed, an entire Avestan hymn is dedicated to him (*Yashts* 10). He was also the subject of the Mithrakāna, a great festival that took place annually in the seventh month of the Zoroastrian calendar, which was itself dedicated to him. He is known to us from many other sources: in the inscriptions of the Achaemenids, beginning with Artaxerxes II (404–359 BCE), he is mentioned and invoked together with Ahura Mazdā and Anāhitā; on the coins of the Kushan empire he is named as Mioro and is depicted as a solar deity; in Parthian and Sogdian Manichaeism he is the *tertius legatus*; in Persian Manichaeism, he appears as the *spiritus vivens*; and so forth.

Mithra is essentially a deity of light: he draws the sun with rapid horses; he is the first to reach the summit of Mount Harā, at the center of the earth, and from there watches over the entire abode of the Aryans; he shines with his own light and in the morning makes the many forms of the world visible. If his name is synonymous with the word *mithra*, meaning "contract, covenant," as Antoine Meillet (1907) suggests, his functions are not restricted to merely personifying that notion. In the Iranian world, besides being a deity of light with strong solar characteristics (which explains his identification with the Mesopotamian Shamash), Mithra has a clear significance as a warrior god. Thus, in relation to the gods of the Indo-Iranian pantheon, he is closer to Indra than to the Vedic Mitra. He also, however, has the traits of a divinity who ensures rain and prosperity and who protects cattle by providing it ample pasturage.

The cult of Mithra, together with that of Anāhitā, constitutes the principal innovation of Zoroastrianism as it evolved after Zarathushtra (Zoroaster) and represents its major compromise with ancient polytheism. It was probably Mithra's role as defender and guardian of *asha*, truth and order—the fundamental principle of earlier Indo-Iranian religion, as well as of Zoroastrianism—that redeemed him from Zarathushtra's original general condemnation of polytheism.

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GHERARDO GNOLI (1987)
Translated from Italian by Roger DeGaris

MITHRAISM. The name *Mithraism,* with its equivalents in other languages, is a modern term for a cult known, at least to Christian writers and in later antiquity, as "the mysteries of Mithras," but for which the most neutral term is "the Roman cult of Mithras." Its usual organization was based on small, exclusively male groups that gathered for sacrificial meals in honor of the originally Indo-Iranian god Mitra/Mithra/Mithras. Owing to the virtually total loss of ancient discursive accounts, almost all important aspects of the cult are more contentious. Much of what passes as received knowledge about Mithraism has little or no evidential basis.

HISTORY OF RESEARCH. The mythological compilations of the High Renaissance, particularly L. G. Giraldi's *De deis gentium* (1548), assembled virtually all the classical texts relating to the god Mithras, then identified with Helios-Apollo, but these provided no coherent account either of the god or of the Roman cult. However, a handful of inscribed reliefs from Rome and elsewhere showing Mithras stabbing a bull to death enabled antiquarians such as Martin de Smet/Smetius (c. 1525–1578) and Steven Pigge/Pighius (1520–1604) to correctly identify them. Throughout the early modern period to 1700, the key text was *Statius Thebais* 1.719f.: *Persaei sub rupibus antri—indignata sequi torquentem cornua Mithram*, "[Apollo addressed as the god] who, beneath the rocks of a Persian cave, twists the resistful horns—Mithras." The god's act in stabbing the bull to death was understood as an allegory of the Sun's role in furthering agricultural fertility; indeed the god himself was often interpreted as the Good Husbandman. This assumption that Mithras was simply another name for the Sun-god underpinned all important studies over the following two centuries; such progress as was made consisted in the description of new statues and reliefs, but much Mithraic imagery remained unintelligible, and thus prey to speculative evocation.

Given the essentially enigmatic character of the iconographical evidence, the device of allegorical interpretation could only be challenged by an appeal to history. Although Georg Zoega (1755–1809) had stressed the possible role of the Persian magi and the Cilician pirates mentioned by Plutarch, *Pompeius* 24, 631c, in transmitting the cult of Mithra from the East, a substantial effort at historicization was only possible once James Darmesteter (1849–1894) published his translation of the Iranian sacred books, the *Zend-Avesta* (1892–1893).

In 1889, inspired by the model of the Egyptian cult of Isis, the Belgian scholar Franz Cumont (1868–1947) advanced a view of the cult of Mithras as a syncretistic borrowing from Zoroastrian dualism, through the medium of Greek-speaking Iranian priests *(magousaioi)* who, he claimed, remained active in Anatolia after Alexander's conquest of the Persian Empire (336–330 BCE). Although no Iranian antecedent could be found for Mithras killing a bull (rather than Ahriman, the principle of evil; or the Saoshyant, at the end of the world), much of the iconography could, he thought, be referred to Zoroastrian precedent and thus explained. Cumont's main work (1896–1899), supported by a full archaeological inventory, provoked what would now be called a paradigm shift and continued to be the dominant account until the early 1970s. Its decline was provoked by two independent developments. First, the ever more hypothetical claims made by certain Iranists, for example Geo Widengren's (1907–1996) theories about ancient, non-Zoroastrian, Iranian religion, including the role of Aryan warrior-societies (*Männerbünde*) and supposed analogies with a Mazdakite revivalist sect, the al-Babakiyah, or Leroy A. Campbell's obsessively precise translation (1968) of every particular of Roman Mithraic imagery into Zoroastrian terms, tended to discredit the very idea of direct transmission. Second, it came to be realized that the Roman cult was much more independent of its presumed Iranian origins than Cumont allowed—by contrast with the cases of Cybele, Isis, and Iuppiter Dolichenus, for example, which were certainly maintained in the western Empire at least in part by actual Anatolian and Egyptian priests, there were traces in the West neither of the magi *(magousaioi)*, nor of a fire-cult, nor of Mithra as god of the contract. As a result, with one or two exceptions, Iranists have now abandoned Mithraism to classical archaeologists and historians of Greco-Roman religion.

Since the 1970s, research has moved in three directions, all of which emphasize in different ways the Greco-Roman character of the cult. The first, picking up a suggestion by the Swedish scholar Martin P. Nilsson that Mithraism was the invention of an unknown religious genius, starts from the assumption that it was founded in Rome or Italy in the first century CE and stresses its integration into the hierarchical social system of the Empire (Merkelbach, 1984; Clauss, 2000). Another approach has concentrated on the enigma of the bull-killing scene, and, in a reversion to Renaissance techniques of allegory, read it as a star-map, evoking either a particular season or an identification between Mithras and a constellation (Orion, Perseus, Auriga . . .) (e.g., Ulansey, 1991). A third approach has emphasized the cult's local diversity in the Roman world, employing the techniques of the "new" archaeology to establish new facts—for example, the contrast between the "Italian" sacrificial diet of at least some Mithraists in the northwest Empire (chickens, piglets) and the "Gallo-German" diet of local soldiers (mainly beef), or the probable date of particular celebrations (Martens and de Boe, 2004). Such facts have little to do with belief as traditionally understood, but emphasize instead the cult's lived ritual practice. At the same time, the archaeological evidence has greatly increased both in quantity and in quality: well over sixty Mithraic temples (modern term: *mithraeum*) were excavated between 1934 and 2004.

ORIGINS. Generally speaking, Iranists have wanted to find, like Cumont, a strong Iranian kernel, an actual pre-existing Iranian cult or myth. The main obstacle here has always been the energetic filtering of nonorthodox traditions from the Pahlavi sacred books of Zoroastrianism. Moreover it is difficult to isolate a meaningful group of distinctively Iranian features of the Roman cult. Indeed, one can list only the god's name itself, the god Areimanius, and two apparently Old Persian words, *nama* ("Hail!") and *nabarze(s)*, the latter of which is not recorded as such in Iranian sources but is found in the aristocratic personal name Nabarzanes. Moreover, if the cult had entered the Greco-Roman world from the eastern part of Anatolia (Cappadocia, Armenia Minor, Commagene), or from Parthia, one would have expected, as with Cybele, Isis, Iuppiter Dolichenus, and early Christianity, a clear pattern of evidence documenting its progress from east to west.

It is because it appears to provide such a bridge that Plutarch's statement that the Cilician "pirates" worshiped Mithra by means of special rites *(teletai)* on Mount Olympus in Lycia-Pamphylia during the late Republic (c. 67 BCE), and still did so in his own day, has to many seemed so decisively important. However to single out this cult (which is not Cilician but Lycian) is to overvalue one among several attested local cults of Mithra) in Hellenistic Anatolia simply because it happens to be found in a written text and to take for granted what needs to be demonstrated, namely that Plutarch mentions it because he already knew about "our" Mithraism. While that is not absolutely impossible in the period 110 to 120 CE, it is much more likely that Plutarch was interested in Mithra(s) for the same reason that he was interested in Isis and Osiris, namely because, as a Platonist, he welcomed the late Stoic view that foreign mythologies contained traces of the truth revealed in primitive religion. However that may be, archaeologically speaking the cult is documented only 170 to 190 years later, in the mid-Flavian/early Trajanic period, more or less simultaneously in a number of widely scattered sites, sometimes in military contexts, such as at Heddernheim/Frankfurt (Germania) and Carnuntum (Pannonia); sometimes in connection with the organized collection of tolls, such as at Novae (Moesia Inferior) and Pons Aeni (Raetia); and elsewhere again in relation to private harbour activities (Caesarea Maritima, Judaea). The earliest datable evidence from Rome, of the same period, is a statue, dedicated by a trusted, evidently rich slave of the Praetorian Prefect, of Mithras killing the bull. Such a pattern provides no clear support either to any strong Iranian thesis yet proposed nor to the more recent idea that the cult was founded in Italy; nor does the idea of a transition between a Lycian mountain-top cult and a private dining cult celebrated in pseudo-caves seem especially compelling.

Three weak Iranian scenarios have been offered, two of them emphasizing the cult's interest in astral-astrological phenomena. One of these is that a group of Stoicizing philosophers in Tarsus (Cilicia) seized upon the phenomenon of the "precession of the equinoxes" (the very gradual movement of the fixed stars around the pole of the ecliptic) supposedly discovered by Hipparchus in the late second century BCE. This group interpreted it as a "movement of the great cosmic axis," and made this into the central secret of a preexisting local cult of Mithras, now identified as the constellation Perseus (Ulansey, 1991). Each one of these claims has been hotly disputed; the thesis rests undeniably upon misunderstandings both of Hipparchus and of his ancient reception. The second scenario is that the cult emanated from the court of Commagene, which had both the requisite Irano-Hellenic culture and familiarity with astrological lore, and which was dispersed early in the Flavian period (72 CE) (Beck, 1998). By contrast, the third, quasi-Cumontian scenario focuses on the Mithraic magical gems and sees the origins of the Roman cult in the lore of Hellenized magi offering magical healing at centers of existing mystery-cults, such as Samothrake (Mastrocinque, 1998).

Whatever the merits of these suggestions, it seems intuitively more plausible to suppose that the Roman cult developed, or was created, in the late Hellenistic or early imperial period out of the debris of ancient Iranian cult in Anatolia rather than that it was a genuine esoteric development among certain pre-Sassanian Zoroastrians somehow mediated across the culture gap between the Parthian and Roman Empires. Theophoric names, such as Mithres, Mithradates, and Mithratochmes, are widespread in Anatolia; by contrast with the case of Anāhīta, no major temple of Mithra survived the conquest, and such worship of him as continued must have been mainly private and local. Yet hints of the sporadic existence of public cult have turned up in western Anatolia, including Mithras-Helios at Oenoanda (Lycia) and a tantalizing but hopelessly fragmentary link between Mithras and the magi in relation to a temple in northwest Phrygia. One possibility is that the Mithrakana, the Iranian Fall festival, which continued to be celebrated in some places, was apparently restricted to men, and involved bull-sacrifice, provided the stimulus for the invention of a private Hellenistic cult of moral self-affirmation, of the kind known from Philadelphia (Lydia), whose rules were allegedly revealed to a certain Dionysios by Zeus Eumenes around 100 BCE (Barton and Horsley, 1981).

However it is to be explained, the reappearance within the Roman cult of four themes already linked with Mithra in the Avestan Mithra-Yašt cannot be accidental: association with light, mighty strength, the bestowal of life and fortune, and knowledge of human actions. It is certainly important to remember that there is no archaeological trace of Christianity's westward progress in the first and second centuries CE, but, unlike Christianity, worshipers' relation to Mithras was to a significant degree based on vows and votive offerings, which required fixed places of worship where they could be set up. This point suggests a rapid, almost explosive, expansion in the Flavian period of one among several local Anatolian cults of Mithras, a cult which must already have been a bricolage of Iranian, Anatolian, and Hellenic themes. The scheme of the tauroctony itself is evidently borrowed from that of Nike (Victory) sacrificing, a type which experienced a marked revival in the Flavian, then in the Trajanic, period. Whether this successful cult was first practiced in Commagene, further north (Cappadocia, reduced to provincial status by Vespasian), or further west (Phrygia, Lycia) is unknown; the handful of Anatolian *mithraea* so far discovered are later and may be due to Roman influence.

THE ROMAN CULT. Two main difficulties, both exemplified in the work of Cumont (and many others), have stood in the way of an adequately historical account of Mithraism. One is the unitarian belief that evidence widely scattered in space and time could legitimately be fitted together to produce an account of a single, essentially unchanging, religion; the other is its classification as an oriental mystery-cult. The first legitimated the reading of monuments from different periods as evidence for the same unchanging reality; perhaps even more seriously, texts were treated as atemporal sources, blithely disregarding the argumentative contexts within which the supposed information occurred. The second meant that Mithraism was absorbed into a larger discourse about the originality and status of pagan religious thought, whose real subject was the priority or otherwise of the truth-claims of Christianity: the category *mystery-religion* was an invention of German Protestant historiography of the 1880s. Although the construction of typologies, for example, that of Ugo Bianchi (1979), may help to highlight major similarities and distinctions, they necessarily depend on received views and cannot respond to the implications of new discoveries, which may be considerable in the case of cults for which, as with Mithraism, the evidence is almost entirely archaeological. Moreover, it seems advisable on principle to disregard all evidence attested solely by Christian sources and wherever possible to rely on internal Mithraic evidence, such as the verse-lines from the Santa Prisca Mithraeum in Rome, circa 210 to 230 CE (Vermaseren and Van Essen, 1965).

A Weberian model would suggest a wide initial appeal crossing social boundaries, followed by consolidation within a relatively homogeneous social stratum. The evidence, such as it is, however, indicates instead a continuous expansion of social and geographical range well into the fourth century, and a gradual acceptance as a Roman cult. A list of ninety-eight members accruing to a *mithraeum* in Virunum (Noricum) over a period of some eighteen years (183–201 CE) confirms that the typical urban adherent either occupied some function within imperial or local administration, as at Poetovio (Pannonia Superior), or belonged, as at Ostia, to the more prosperous urban craft-population descended from freedmen: the great majority of *cognomina* are Latin, implying that their holders were at least second-generation citizens; there are twenty-three Greek *cognomina,* two Celtic names, and only one (private) slave. Moreover, not a single woman is listed: the repeated attempts to show that women might belong to the cult are wishful thinking (Piccottini, 1994). Recent discoveries in the northwest provinces suggest that the belief that the cult was mainly attractive to soldiers is an error based on the accident of excavation: in this area, practically every *vicus,* even some villas (large farms), now appear to have had a *mithraeum.* Nevertheless, the discovery of a late second- to early third-century *mithraeum* inside the house of the military tribunes of senatorial rank (*tribuni laticlavii*) in the permanent camp of Legio II Adiutrix at Aquincum (Pannonia Inferior) both attests to the continuation of the early association between Mithraism and the military and suggests one likely means whereby the cult eventually came to the notice of the social elite.

The early archaeological evidence in the West confirms that three fundamental features of the cult were already established on its appearance in the Roman world: Mithras's cult title as *(Deus) Sol Invictus Mithras,* "Mithras, the divine never-vanquished Sun"; the interpretation of Mithras's act of killing the bull in both a cosmological and an anthropological sense; and a highly original conception of the *mithraeum* as sacred space, ambiguous between natural cave and human construct, between temple-cella and sacrificial dining room, and between a meeting place and a coded representation of the cosmos as a whole. Although the earliest evidence for a narrative that framed and commented on the central bull-killing act is late-Antonine, parts of it must have existed long before: the earliest evidence (140–160 CE) for an initiation ritual is the representation on a krater from Mainz (Germania Superior) of a seated member of the highest grade, Pater (Father), aiming an armed bow at a cowering naked initiand, in a clear reference to Mithras's mythical act in shooting an arrow to produce a stream that gushes from a rock (Beck, 2000). This in turn suggests that one motive for representing scenes of the sacred narrative was to establish mythic charters or analogies for initiatory and other ritual events. On the other face of the Mainz vessel is the earliest surviving representation of at least three of the grades: Miles (Soldier), Pater, and Heliodromus (Messenger of the Sun), who form a procession moving to the left. The rear is taken up by a smaller, fourth figure with a raised staff, perhaps a Corax (Raven). This procession has been interpreted as a ritual reenactment within the *mithraeum* of the sun's course along the ecliptic (Beck, 2000).

All this suggests that what was initially attractive about the cult of Mithras was its integration of a distinctive (albeit generically familiar) cosmogony and cosmology with an image of a physically and morally steadfast hero, submissive to the will of the gods, a sort of Persian Herakles. One of the few genuinely internal statements we possess, from the Santa Prisca Mithraeum in Rome, runs: *Atque perlata humeris tuli[t] m[a]xima divum*, "And he has borne on his shoulders the gods' behests, to the very end" (Vermaseren and Van Essen, 1965: 204–205, line 9). Mithras offered a model, directed exclusively at men, of personal submission. This model was enforced, in evidently dramatic ways, by the humiliation, pain, and fear to which initiates were exposed, as on the Mainz vessel, and still more clearly in the podium paintings at S. Maria Capua Vetere (c. 220–240 CE) (Vermaseren, 1971).

At the same time, the death of the bull was interpreted as salvific: another (damaged) line at S. Prisca reads: *Et nos servasti . . . sanguine fuso,* "And you have saved us . . . by shedding (the) blood" (Vermaseren and Van Essen, 1965: 217–221, line 14). This salvation could be understood in different ways. In the early second century it was probably evoked primarily in the usual sense of divine protection and guidance. Salvation no doubt continued in some contexts and geographical areas always to be understood in those traditional terms. However, a generation later than the Mainz vessel, the Middle Platonist philosopher Celsus alludes (Origen, *Contra Celsum* 6.22) to an elaborate Mithraic scheme of a ladder representing the soul's ascent to the fixed stars (c. 175–180 CE). In the mid-third century the Neo-Platonist philosopher Porphyry cites a certain Euboulus for the claim that the Persian prophet Zoroaster was the first to dedicate a cave to Mithras, "creator and father of all," a cave which was artfully marked out with the symbols of the cosmos whose demiurge was Mithras (*De antro* 6); and the related claim that North and South (of the *mithraeum*) were associated with the entry and departure of souls into and out of the world (*De antro* 24). Turcan has argued that such claims represent a systematic distortion of Mithraic belief by Platonists for their own purposes (Turcan, 1975). Beck, on the other hand, has urged that Porphyry's data are to be taken at face value: the Mithraists designed and constructed their *mithraeum* as an image of the cosmos so as to be able to reenact a ritual of the descent and return of souls (Beck, 2000). The image of Mithras killing the bull is, inter alia, a representation of Mithras "seated at the equinoxes" (*De antro* 24). It is also a kind of explanatory commentary on the two central, albeit enigmatic, claims of Mithraism, that Mithras both is and is not identical with the Sun (*Deus Sol Invictus Mithras*), and that the universe is sustained by the "harmony of tension in opposition" (Beck and Gordon, 2005).

If Mithras's heroic feat of subduing and killing the bull began as a hunt, it ended as a sacrifice, the primal sacrifice, which established the terms of the asymmetrical relationship between gods and men. It also offered a distinctive myth of the origin of cosmic order and civilized life (fire, agriculture). Ethically, the cult seems to have imposed strict self-discipline (Porphyry, *De antro* 15); soteriologically, it offered the promise of a gradual, differentiated, self-identification with Mithras. For example, the bull-killing scene has rightly been seen as representing an epiphanic moment (Zwirn, 1989); the grade Leo (Lion) evidently had a mystic link with that animal, which exists simultaneously on earth and in heaven (the constellation) and appears in numerous, albeit to us unintelligible, contexts in the iconography; the Pater in the procession scene at S. Prisca is represented as the god receiving the initiates. The principal ritual means of this self-identification was the shared sacrificial meal, which alluded to that eaten by Mithras and Helios/Sol (the Sun-god) immediately after the butchery of the bull, on a couch (*kline*) covered by its skinned hide, during the course of which the gods ate the grilled *splangkna* (heart, liver) and drank pure, unmixed wine. The krater containing this wine appears together with a snake and a lion on many German reliefs, and usable reproductions of it have been found widely in *mithraea,* such as at Tienen (Belgica), where the vessel was constructed in such a manner that the heated wine and water could be poured (or sucked) through the snake's mouth. The vine itself could be given a Mithraic meaning: on a probably Syrian relief now in the Israel Museum, Mithras, who, being born from a rock, had no mother whose milk he could drink, is depicted as a baby drinking the juice extruded from bunches of grapes—the wine of the feast is the civilized version of that primitive, natural juice.

Mithraism thus constituted an elaborate, self-conscious, meritocratic form of the cult community widespread in the western Roman Empire, whose most striking feature was that, despite being supra-regional (indeed, in the northwest and northeast provinces, virtually universal), it tenaciously retained its private character, and (except in military contexts) resisted absorption by the religio-political rhetoric of public religious institutions. Its self-consciousness as a cult is epitomized by the fact that, despite the marked regional variation, individuals could and did pass from one end of the Empire to the other and find a cult of Mithras recognizably the same as that which they already knew: there are several examples of miniature reliefs suitable for packing in one's luggage and several examples of reliefs fabricated in the Danube area but found in Germany, Italy, and Israel.

Another source of self-consciousness was the sense of being a foreign cult: relatively unhampered by implication in local (politico-social) meanings, Mithraism was able constantly to reinvent itself, not least among those with intellectual pretensions. An important recourse here was astronomy-astrology; another was the Greco-Roman reception of Persia. Statius, writing in the decade 80 to 90 CE, knew already that the bull was sacrificed inside a Persian cave, and we have no reason to doubt Euboulus's statement (mid-third century) that the cult claimed to have been founded by the Persian sage Zoroaster. The systematic association that Celsus attests between planets and metals looks typical of the occultic preoccupation with (fanciful) list-making, whereas both Euboulus and a certain Pallas, cited by Porphyry, *De abstin.* 4.16, evidently tried to explain Mithraism by invoking metempsychosis and soul-journeys, beliefs which they knew to be "Persian" probably because they, or their sources, found them in pseudonymous texts purportedly by Zoroaster (the so-called Zoroastrian pseudepigrapha). At the same time there is evidence that some *mobeds* (Zoroastrian priests) in the Sassanian period did indeed believe in metempsychosis. The "Mithras Liturgy" in the Great Paris magical codex, which gives every appearance of including a mystic vision of the god, may also have been influenced by such ideas (Betz, 2003).

Mithraists themselves certainly drew upon analogous texts: the existence of a Mithraic god Areimanius, known from Rome and Aquincum, is best explained as a back-formation within Roman Mithraism owed to familiarity with descriptions of Persian religion by historians such as Theopompus and philosophers such as Eudemus of Rhodes and Hermippus "the Callimachean." These accounts commonly represented Ahriman as Hades, god of the Underworld (de Jong, 1997). The Persian magi are cited in the *mithraeum* at Dura-Europos (Syria) as authority for the idea of "fiery breath," possibly in relation to the end of the world, but more probably in relation to punishment for sin. The most striking example of a reference to Iranian ideas, however, is a fresco (c. 370–380 CE) in the *mithraeum* of Hawarti/Huarte near Apamea (Syria), where a group of ghastly decapitated human and demonic heads is depicted strung along a city-wall, each pierced, like representations of the evil eye, by a spear. The simplest explanation is that they evoke the descriptions of Mithras's savage destruction of the enemies of religion, human and demonic, in the Mithra-Yašt, and that this is an example of late Mithraic borrowing—self reinvention—from authentic Sassanian Zoroastrianism. Such knowledge was probably passed through frontier cities such as Nisibis, which was ceded to the Sassanians in 363 CE, but continued even thereafter to be an important commercial and cultural bridgehead.

SEE ALSO Hellenistic Religions; Iranian Religions; Roman Religion.

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RICHARD GORDON (2005)

MOABITE RELIGION.

In ancient times the land of Moab comprised the narrow strip of cultivable land on the Transjordanian Plateau east of the Dead Sea, between the escarpment and the Arabian Desert. This was an area about twenty-five kilometers wide and, during its periods of greatest strength, about ninety kilometers long, stretching the length of the Dead Sea. The main Moabite plateau extended from the Wādī al-Ḥesā (the biblical river Zered) at the south end of the Dead Sea to the Wādī el-Mūjib (the biblical river Arnon) at the midpoint. The northern portion of Moab from the Wādī el-Mūjib up to around Tell Ḥesbān (biblical Heshbon), however, was historically not as secure and seems to have been open to incursion, a fact that is illustrated by the Moabite Inscription (MI), the largest preserved Moabite text. Not many details are known about Moabite history, but Moab as an independent kingdom probably arose in the last centuries of the second millennium BCE and disintegrated in the mid–first millennium BCE (that is, c. 1300–600 BCE), falling first to the Assyrians and then to subsequent conquerors.

The Moabite religion seems to have shared several features with that of other Iron Age kingdoms in the region, such as Israel, Edom, and Ammon, and all of them probably inherited much from their Bronze Age "Canaanite" predecessors. However, while it used to be commonplace to claim that all four kingdoms had their own national god (Kemosh for Moab, Yahweh for Israel, Qaws for Edom, and Milkom for Ammon), it is perhaps better to be more cautious in view of the meager evidence outside the Bible. At any rate, the MI shows that King Mesha of the Moabites worshipped a patron deity (Kemosh), in whose name Mesha conducted warfare, made sacrifices, and consecrated sanctuaries and even the peoples he had defeated (compare the biblical *ḥerem,* or "sacred ban"). The Moabite religion probably slowly disappeared as new religions such as that of the Nabateans entered the region at the end of the first millennium BCE.

SOURCES. The most important of the scarce textual sources concerning Moab and the Moabites are the Mesha Inscription (Donner and Röllig, 1966–1969) and the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament). Other relevant written evidence is preserved in a few other fragmentary Moabite inscriptions, several Moabite seals with inscribed personal names, and a handful of references to Moabite place or personal names in Assyrian and Egyptian texts. Archaeological remains have been uncovered as well; in addition to various regional surveys of the Transjordan, there are excavated sites such as Dhībān and Tell Ḥesbān to analyze.

DEITIES. Kemosh (or Chemosh) was presumably the chief deity of the Moabites, although they doubtless worshipped other gods as well. Kemosh is known from earlier times in Syria-Palestine, with the consonants *kmš* or *kmṯ* variously vocalized, having the phonological forms *kam*(*m*)*iṯ* or *kam*(*m*)*uṯ*. For instance, at Ebla in the third millennium the deity was known as Kamish ($^{\mathrm{d}}$*Ga-mi-iš* or $^{\mathrm{d}}$*Ga-me-iš*), and he played a significant role; he received sacrifices, possessed a sanctuary, and even had a month named after him. The deity may even have been the chief god of the city of Carchemish/Kār-Kamiš in northern Syria, since the very name signifies "quay or port of Kamiš." In Akkadian texts from the second millennium onward, the divine name appears as Kam(m)ush ($^{\mathrm{d}}$*Ka-am-muš* or $^{\mathrm{d}}$*Ka-mu-uš*). Alphabetic texts from fourteenth-century Ugarit preserve *kmṯ* in combination with another divine name *ẓẓ* (*ẓẓ.w kmṯ*), and the resulting compound (perhaps pronounced *Ẓiẓẓu-wa-Kamāṯu*), may or may not be related to the later Moabite deity. In Moabite texts (also written without vowels), the name is given as *kmš* and was possibly pronounced Kam(m)ash or Kam(m)ush (note the two Moabite royal names that appear in Akkadian as $^{\mathrm{m}}$*Ka-ma-aš-ḫal-ta-a* and $^{\mathrm{m}}$*Kam-mu-su-na-ad-bi*). Finally, in the Bible, the name is written once as *Kĕmîš* (*Jer.* 48:7) but otherwise as *Kĕmôš*, which has become the conventional way of pronouncing this deity's name ever since.

The meaning of the name Kemosh in its nonbiblical forms may be "conqueror, subduer," from variously an adjective (*qaṭṭil*-pattern), a causative verbal adjective *(qaṭṭul)*, or a nomen agentis *(qaṭṭāl)*, from the same root as Akkadian *kamāšu* or *kamāsu*, which means "to bow or kneel." The Masoretic pronunciation *Kemosh* (*Kĕmôš*) as it appears most often in the Bible is difficult to explain. The Greek Septuagint and Latin Vulgate versions of the Bible have instead *Khamós*/*Chamos*, hinting that the correct vocalization of the Hebrew *Kemosh* should have been *kāmôš* from an original *kam*(*m*)*âš*. One suggestion for the Masoretic twist in pronunciation is that it was given the same vowels as *bĕʾôš,* "stench." A similar treatment was given to other divine names in the Bible; for example, Baʿal, which is sometimes rendered as *bōšet,* "shame," or the pronunciation *ʿAštōret* (ʿAshtoreth, for the goddess Astarte), whose two final vowels also reflect those of *bōšet*.

Personal names containing the element Kemosh attest to the god's popularity. The father of Mesha was possibly *kmšyt* (Kamash-yat, "Kemosh has given [a son]"). In seals, one finds among others the names *kmšyḥy* (may Kemosh live), *kmšmʾš* (Kemosh is [my] gift), *kmšʿm* (Kemosh is kin), *kmšʾl* (Kemosh is god), *kmšṣdq* (Kemosh is righteous or Kemosh has done justly), *kmšdn* (Kemosh has judged), and *kmšntn* (Kemosh has given). In Assyrian texts recording tributes from Moab, one also finds royal names with *kmš*: Kamush-nadbi ($^{\mathrm{m}}$*Kam-mu-su-na-ad-bi*, "Kemosh is my abundance"), Kamash-ḫalta ($^{\mathrm{m}}$*Ka-ma-as-ḫal-ta-a*, "Kemosh is strength").

CHARACTERISTICS OF KEMOSH. In the MI, Kemosh is portrayed as a god of war who delivers his people, the Moabites, up to their enemies when he is angry and then “delivers” them and “returns” their land. Scholars as far back as Eusebius (c. 260–330 CE) have equated Kemosh with the Greek god of war, Ares, based especially on the fact that there was a town named Areopolis in the center of the Moabite region (although this may be a folk etymology). The so-called Shīḥān Warrior Stele, with its javelin-wielding figure, has also been interpreted as depicting a warrior deity, perhaps Kemosh.

Also in the MI, Kemosh accepts the consecration of the massacred populace under the name “ʿAshtar-Kemosh” (*ʿštr.kmš*, MI, line 17). The “ʿAshtar” element is most likely the name of a well-known West Semitic astral deity ʿAshtar/ʿAthtar, combined with Kemosh in a compound name, as is not uncommon with West Semitic divine names (see above *ẓẓ.w kmṯ* at Ugarit). Another less likely option is that the name is that of Kemosh’s consort, a goddess—for example, the goddess Ishtar or Astarte. However, in West Semitic the goddess’s name should have a final *-t*, and the compound should thus have more likely been spelled *ʿštrt.kmš*. At any rate, the basis for the association of Kemosh with ʿAshtar is unknown, as the compound only appears in this single inscription.

In the Bible, the name Kemosh appears eight times (*Nm.* 21:29; *Jgs.* 11:24; *1 Kgs.* 11:7, 33; *2 Kgs.* 23:13; and *Jer.* 48:7, 13, 46), and Kemosh is said to be the god of the Moabites or, as in *Judges* 11:24, the god of the Ammonites.

Since Kemosh was worshipped throughout Syria-Palestine, one may also look to non-Moabite sources for relevant information. For instance, Kemosh may well have had a chthonic nature. In a Middle Assyrian copy of a Mesopotamian god list (*Cuneiform texts from Babylonian tablets in the British Museum* 24, 36:66), the Akkadian name ^{d}*Ka-am-muš* is equated with Nergal (god of war, death, and the netherworld). In a Mesopotamian lexical list, Kamush (^{d}*Ka-mu-uš* or ^{d}*Ka-muš*) appears as one of several possible readings of the Sumerogram GUD, which sometimes stands for Akkadian *eṭemmu,* “ghost, spirit” (Ea IV 142 = *Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon*, vol. 14, p. 361). In three Ugaritic invocations of gods (*KTU* 1.100:36; 1.107:41’; and 1.123:5 —the last two are incantations against serpent bites), there is a deity with a double divine name that may refer to Kemosh: *ẓẓ.w kmṯ* (*Ẓiẓẓu-wa-Kamāṯu*). The *ẓẓ* element perhaps means “mud, clay” (compare Akkadian *ṭîṭu*, Hebrew *ṭîṭ*), a substance that in ancient Near Eastern texts is often said to be abundant in the netherworld. The location of the main cult place of *ẓẓ.w kmṯ* is said to be *ḥryt*(*h*) (see *KTU* 1.100:36), perhaps one of the two or three towns known by the name Hurriya in Syria and northern Mesopotamia.

OTHER MOABITE DEITIES. On the basis of Moabite place and personal names, it is possible to perhaps identify other deities in addition to Kemosh that were known or worshipped by the Moabites. The several occurrences of Baʿal (*bʿl*) as a theophoric element in personal names (e.g., *bʿlntn*, “Baʿal has given”) and in place names (Baʿal-peʿor, Bamoth-baʿal, Baʿal-meʿon) might mean one of two things: either they indicate that the deity Baʿal was worshipped by Moabites or else the word *baʿal* was used to mean merely “lord” and could have referred to Kemosh himself. There are also combinations with ʾEl in Moabite personal names, as in *mšpṭʾl* or Mishpaṭʾel, “El (or the god) is justice.” However, in these cases as well one does not know if the Canaanite deity ʾEl is meant or simply the generic definition “god.” The Moabite place name Nebo in the MI (*nbh*) and the Bible may indicate that the Mesopotamian god Nabu was worshipped. The name Shalamanu (*Sa-la-ma-nu*) for a Moabite king in a Tiglat-Pileser tribute list may attest to worship of the god Shalman, and other Moabite personal names in published seals may perhaps attest to the knowledge of further deities in Moab. The name of the god Ḥoron may appear in the place name Ḥawronen (*ḥwrnn*) in the Mesha Inscription (line 32, compare the biblical *Ḥōrōnayim, Jer.* 48:34). Ḥoron was known as a deity of magic and exorcism in especially Ugaritic and Egyptian texts. Finally, the Bālūʿa stele bears iconographic witness to what is probably a god and goddess in front of a worshipper. The stele, which has Egyptianizing artistic elements, may or may not reflect Kemosh and a female consort.

SANCTUARIES OR TEMPLES. According to the MI, King Mesha built a “high place” (*bmt*, compare the Hebrew *bāmāh*) for Kemosh at Qarḥoh (perhaps a name for the acropolis or royal quarter of the city of Dibon, modern Dhībân). In another inscription also found at Dhībân, a sanctuary is mentioned that may have been devoted to Kemosh too (only the *k* of the god’s name is preserved). Excavations at Dhībân in 1955 suggested that the Iron Age II structure in Section L was the palace complex of Mesha, on the east side of which there may have been a sanctuary. In this vicinity a terra-cotta incense stand was found along with two female figurines. The fact that there was a Nabataean-Roman temple built much later on that site may indicate a continuous sacred tradition. There may also have been a sanctuary of Kemosh in Kir-hareseth (modern Kerak), and the Bible retains a tradition that Solomon made a high place to Kemosh at Jerusalem (*1 Kgs.* 11:7–8; *2 Kgs.* 23:13).

CULTIC PRACTICES. Information about sacrifices and rituals is scarce. In the Bible, however, Moabites are said to make sacrifices (presumably to Baʿal) in *Numbers* 22:40–23:30 and to make sacrifices and burn incense in *Jeremiah* 48:35. *Numbers* 25:1–5 mentions sacrifices again as well as orgiastic practices carried out by Israelites with Moabite women in honor of Baʿal of Peʿor. Most shockingly of all, in *2 Kings* 3:4–27 the Moabite king Mesha is said to offer a human sacrifice. On this occasion, a campaign of King Jehoram of Israel (son of Ahaziah, son of Ahab) against Mesha ends with a siege at Kir-hareseth, the city in which Mesha had taken refuge. The Israelites are said to have withdrawn after Mesha sacrificed his oldest son on the city wall. Although one may doubt whether or not this story reflects merely a pejorative tradition about the practices of Israelite enemies, there are other clues that suggest at least the possibility that the Transjordanian peoples were acquainted with human or child sacrifice. One notes that the Deir ʿAllā inscriptions from the mid-eighth century BCE, which relate to a certain prophet Balaam (compare the biblical non-Israelite prophet of the same name in *Nm.* 22–24), have several key words that might indicate child sacrifice was practiced in the region (e.g., *nqr* "sprout" or "scion" for a human sacrificial victim, *mlk* as the word for a kind of offering). In fact, child sacrifice constitutes a highly debated topic in modern scholarship concerning the Phoenician and Punic world.

Priests and Prophets. *Jeremiah* 48:7 refers to priests of Kemosh, but evidence for other cultic practitioners is unknown. It has been suggested that line 32 in the MI, "Kemosh said to me, 'Go down, fight against Ḥawronen,'" indicates divination of some sort, requiring a prophet or the like to obtain an oracle or vision from the deity. The hiring of Balaam by King Balak of Moab to curse the Israelites in *Numbers* 22–24 perhaps also indicates that the Moabites used seers and diviners.

Sacred Warfare and Divine Intervention. In the MI, King Mesha says he dedicated to Kemosh the Israelite inhabitants of the cities ʿAṭaroth and Nebo. The idea of sacred battles and a consecrated massacre of peoples (including men, women, and children) is shared with the Hebrew Bible's theological accounts of the Israelite conquest of Canaan, in which Yahweh is said to demand such a destruction (with use of the root *ḥrm* in, for example, *Dt.* 7:2, 20:16–17; *Jos.* 6:17–19, 21; *1 Sm.* 15:3; compare line 17 of the MI). In fact, the MI can actually be seen as a religious document that has the same theological tone and envisions the same divine involvement in human affairs as the Hebrew Bible.

Afterlife. There is no textual evidence for Moabite beliefs in an afterlife. However, the Iron Age II rock-cut tombs at Dhībân from around the time of Mesha contain mortuary goods such as pottery, jewelry, and at least one anthropoid clay coffin, suggesting a Moabite concern for proper burial with an eye to needs in the afterlife. There has also been some speculation that since Kemosh was perhaps associated with the gods of the netherworld, Moabites might have believed in some form of continued existence after death.

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Tawny L. Holm (2005)

MODERNISM

This entry consists of the following articles:

ISLAMIC MODERNISM
CHRISTIAN MODERNISM

MODERNISM: ISLAMIC MODERNISM

As is the case with a number of other Islamic discourses, it can be hard to locate the precise boundary of Islamic modernism. Few Muslims explicitly self-identify as "Muslim modernists," instead referring to themselves simply as Muslims, Muslims involved in the process of reform and renewal, Muslims committed to democracy, or even Muslims intent on reviving the original spirit of Islam. In this essay, Islamic modernism is defined as those discourses of Islamic thought and practice in the last two centuries in which modernity itself is seen as a viable category to be engaged and drawn upon, not merely dismissed or used as a foil to define oneself against. In other words, advocates of Islamic modernism are not simply modern Muslims but those Muslims who see something (if not all) of modernity as a constitutive element of their worldview and practice.

As is the case with other intellectual and religious traditions, Islamic engagements with modernity have been neither static nor uniform. Traditions ranging from the revivalism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to the rationalizing and Salafī tendencies of the early twentieth century, as well as liberal movements of the twentieth century onto the progressive Muslim movement of the twenty-first century, can all be discussed under the broad parameter of Islamic modernism. At times, it has been difficult to locate the boundary between Islamic modernists and some nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Salafī thinkers. While both advocated fresh interpretations of the Qurʾān, the modernists tended to engage modernity explicitly, while many Salafīs couched their language in terms of the "righteous forefathers" (*al-salaf al-salih*), the generation of Muslims living with and immediately after the Prophet Muḥammad in the seventh century. As the Salafī movement has become more intertwined with Wahhabism in the later half of the twentieth century, the overlap between modernists and Salafīs has greatly been reduced.

The discourse of modernity itself has not stayed static, as it has come under severe critique and contestation from feminists, environmentalists, Marxists, subalterns, and others. As the discourse of modernity continues to change, so do the Muslims' engagement with modernity.

There has also been a long-running tendency among Western journalists and even some scholars to look at the more conservative articulations of Islam (such as those of some traditional religious scholars) and even Muslim extremists as somehow representing "real" Islam. Subsequently, these same sources have not adequately engaged Muslim modernists, who are unfairly dismissed as lacking a constituency or influence. Even more problematic is the view that any explicit reimagination of Islam is no longer proper Islam. Lord Cromer, the British high commissioner in colonized Egypt, once said: "Islam reformed is Islam no longer." That attitude misses out on the vigorous and dynamic debates that are going on within not only modernist circles but also much wider segments of Muslim societies.

WESTERNIZATION AND ISLAMIC PARADIGMS. Part of the difficulty in establishing the proper boundaries of Islamic modernism has to do with the way that the legacy of Islamic thought in the modern era is conceived. Many Western scholars (such as Bernard Lewis and others) have seen modernity as the exclusive offspring of the West. As a result, they approach any other civilization that engages modernity through the lens of "westernization." There is no doubt that the encounter with Western institutions and thought has had a profound impact on Islamic modernism both positively (emphasis on human rights, constitutional forms of government, adoption of science, etc.) and negatively (colonialism, support for autocratic regimes). At the same time, many of the issues that Islamic modernism engages today, such as human rights, democracy, gender equality, and the like, are truly seen as universal struggles. Furthermore, most Muslims who engage these issues frame their own discourse not as a borrowing or "influence" from Western discourses but rather as a part of indigenous Islamic interpretations. Positioning the Muslims' struggles in these universal arenas as perpetually derivative vis-à-vis Western paradigms robs them of their own legitimacy and dynamism.

The above debate is also related to when one begins the history of Islamic modernism. The older paradigm that viewed Islamic thought as being hopelessly stagnated before being jolted into a renaissance by its interaction with European colonialism is now critiqued by many scholars. Without diminishing the profound experience of responding to the shock, inspiration, and violation of the colonial experience, it is also important to realize that some of Islamic modernism also taps into important reform traditions such as Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi (d. 1762) and many others that predate the full-blown experience of colonialism.

Many Muslim modernists have readily acknowledged their interactions with Western models, institutions, and figures. At the same time they have been careful to cast their movement in decidedly Islamic terms. Perhaps the most common strategy for presenting modernism as an indigenously and authentically Islamic movement is through the framework of *ijtihād. Ijtihād* initially had a narrower meaning, referring to the process whereby Muslim jurists would arrive at rulings for unprecedented cases. Modernists have gradually expanded the definition of *ijtihād* to mean critical, independent reasoning in all domains of thought. In other words, the proper domain of *ijtihād* was taken to be not just Islamic law but rather all aspects of thought. In an egalitarian move, modernists often hold that it is not just jurists but all Muslims who have the responsibility to carry on *ijtihād.* The majority of Islamic modernist writers emphasize the need for *ijtihād*, often juxtaposing it polemically against *taqlīd.* As with *ijtihād*, modernists often came to reinterpret *taqlīd. Taqlīd* had originally meant simply following a school of Islamic law, or a designated authority (*marjaʿ*) in the case of Shīʿī Muslims. For modernists, who wished to highlight independent critical reasoning, *taqlīd* came to mean blind imitationism, becoming a symbol of everything they held to be wrong with Islamic thought.

Like many other Muslims, modernists have also cast their own struggles as perpetuating the spirit of the Qurʾān and the teachings of the Prophet Muḥammad. Modernists often insist that the egalitarian spirit of the Qurʾān in areas ranging from women's rights to religious pluralism should take precedence over more conservative later rulings. The distinction between essence and manifestation (universals and particulars, or other similar dichotomies) is a common motif in the history of modern religious thought. Many modernists also argue for a situated and contextualized reading of the Qurʾanic revelations.

Modernists find Qurʾanic precedence for their own critique of tradition-embedded injustice by pointing to Qurʾanic voices (such as Abraham and Muḥammad) who challenged their own community, which had insisted on continuing "the ways of the forefathers." In appealing to prophetic legitimization, many modernists have recorded the conversation between Prophet Muḥammad and a companion named Muʿādh ibn Jabal (d. 627). Muʿādh stated that if he found no explicit guidance in the Qurʾān or the prophetic *sunnah*, he would rely upon his own independent reasoning. While the systematic nature of this anecdote may well belie a later juridical desire to legitimize their own methodology, it has served as a powerful tool for modernists to sanctify their own appeal to *ijtihād*.

Modernists also tapped into other traditions of Islamic legitimacy that predated the encounter with Europe. One of their most powerful means of legitimizing themselves was by adopting the title of "renewer" *(mujaddid)*, which recalled a statement attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad: "God sends to this nation at the beginning of every century someone who renews its religion." In doing so, modernists could lay claim to carrying the mantle of Islamic renewal, following established masters such as Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (1058–1111) whose *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* (*Revivification of Religious Sciences*) had explicitly evoked the theme of rejuvenation and renewal after death and stagnation.

RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY. The crisis of contemporary Islam is inseparable from the struggle over defining Islam and the concomitant question of who gets to define Islam, using what sources and which methodologies. The question of authority in Islam is today—and has always been—a contested one. It has often been noted that there is no formal church structure in Islam, thus making the base of religious authority more fluid. However, the lack of a formal structure of authority does not mean that there is *no* religious authority in Islam. Competing groups of Muslims claim authority for themselves by appealing to religious language and symbols. Foremost among them have been the religious scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*) and the mystics (Ṣūfīs) of Islam. However, Sufism is a contested category today, and many in the Muslim community who gravitate towards Salafism view Ṣūfīs with skepticism. For example, the mainstream Muslim organizations in the United States, such as the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) and the Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA), avoid almost all mention of Sufism (and also Shiism). Ismāʿīlīs, particularly those under the leadership of the Aga Khan, are arguably the most cosmopolitan and modernity accommodating of Muslims, yet they too are seen by some conservative Sunnī Muslims as suspect.

The majority of Muslims turn to the *ʿulamāʾ,* religious scholars, for religious guidance. However, many *ʿulamāʾ* today are ill equipped to handle the more sophisticated aspects of modernity. Traditional *madrasah* institutions in many Muslim-majority countries no longer offer the highest level of critical thought. Whereas these institutions historically attracted the brightest minds in the community, today they are often a haven for those who have been unable to gain admittance to more lucrative medicine, engineering, and computer science programs. By and large, there are very few *madrasah*s for the training of *ʿulamāʾ* in a curriculum that takes modernity in the sense of engagements with modern philosophy, sciences, politics, economics, and the like seriously. Ironically, while it is precisely modernist Muslims who are often best suited to handle those decidedly modern parameters, many community members view the same scholars with some skepticism because modernists are not usually products of the *madrasah* system. This skepticism of the community members reveals a great deal about the presuppositions of many contemporary Muslims regarding the "purity" of Islamic knowledge and how it may be "contaminated" by Western training. Ironically, this compartmentalized view of knowledge contradicts both medieval philosophical notions and certain contemporary rigorous interpretations of Islam. As early as the ninth century, the philosopher al-Kindī had stated: "We should not be ashamed to acknowledge truth and to assimilate it from whatever source it comes to us, even if it is brought to us by former generations and foreign peoples." This epistemological pluralism is also echoed in the works of the Iranian modernist intellectual ʿAbd al-Karim Soroush, who states: "I believe that truths everywhere are compatible; no truth clashes with any other truth. . . . Thus, in my search for the truth, I became oblivious to whether an idea originated in the East, or West, or whether it had ancient or modern origins."

The vision of Islam espoused by many modernists is a more liberal, inclusive, humanistic, and even secular interpretation of Islam that is greatly distrustful of Islamist political discourses. By "secular" what is intended is a model of social relations in which the boundaries between religious discourse and political legitimacy are not collapsed, not one in which one would seek an exile of the religious from all of the public domain. The modernists' suspicion of models of government that base themselves on Islamic discourses often provides their critics with ammunition to accuse them of laxness of religious practice. Whether it is warranted or not, modernists have often been perceived as being less observant than their conservative coreligionists.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. One of the characteristics of the modernist movement in the twentieth century was its transregional, translinguistic, and transnational character. While figures such as ʿAbduh and Rida worked in Egypt, others such as Sayyīd Aḥmad Khān, Muḥammad Iqbal, and Fazlur Rahman hailed from South Asia. Figures such as Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī moved with seeming ease from Iran and Afghanistan to the Ottoman Empire. One could mention other well-known figures such as the Malaysian Chandra Muzaffar, Indonesians Aḥmad Ḥassan and Nurcholish Madjid, the Algerian/French Mohamed Arkoun, and American Amina Wadud to give a sense of its global reach.

Still, moving toward and into the twentieth century, a few Islamic modernists stood out above the rest. Almost all later modernists engaged the following figures explicitly or implicitly.

Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1838–1897). Along with his disciple ʿAbduh, al-Afghānī is seen as the most important of the nineteenth-century Muslim modernists. When in the Sunnī Arab world, he adopted the name Afghānī to distance himself from his Iranian Shīʿī heritage. He was instrumental in arguing for a vision of Islam that adopted modern sciences. He is a good example of the ambiguity many modernists have vis-à-vis realpolitik, now supporting the British imperial forces, now opposing them.

Muhammad ʿAbduh (1849–1905). Along with al-Afghānī, he published the highly influential *al-ʿUrwa al-wuthqa* (*The Firmest Handle*), a title that harkens back to Qurʾān 2:256. Initially exiled from Egypt, ʿAbduh eventually returned to head al-Azhar. Generally considered the most influential of the nineteenth-century Muslim modernists in terms of his impact on later thinkers, ʿAbduh was responsible for many reforms in the educational system.

Rashid Rida (1865–1935). Rida was a link between ʿAbduh and twentieth-century modernists. His *al-Manar* was one of the most important means for disseminating modernist ideas. He too talked explicitly about the need for renewal (*tajdīd*) and renewing (*tajaddud*), connecting it back to the aforementioned *ḥadīth* that God sends a renewer (*mujaddid*) at the beginning of every century.

Muḥammad Iqbāl (1877–1938). Iqbal is widely credited for having been the philosophical inspiration behind the creation of the state of Pakistan. One of the few Islamic modernists with serious interest in poetry and mysticism, he is remembered for having argued for the importance of dynamism in Islamic thought. His widely influential *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* simultaneously harkens back to Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī as it pushes the discourse into the twentieth century.

Fazlur Rahman (1919–1988). A British-trained scholar of Islam, he highlighted the importance of educational systems in the reinvigoration of Islam. For the last twenty years of his life he taught at the University of Chicago, beginning a long legacy of exiled Muslim intellectuals who took up teaching posts in Europe and North America. A fierce critic of fundamentalism, Rahman is usually acknowledged as the doyen of Islamic modernism in the latter half of twentieth century. Unlike many modernists, Rahman was profoundly steeped in the tradition of Islamic philosophy, especially that of Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1632).

PROGRESSIVE ISLAM. The most significant development in modernist Islamic thought in the last generation has been the various understandings of Islam that go under the rubric of "progressive Islam." Fully immersed in postmodern critiques of modernity, progressive Islam both continues and radically departs from the 150-year-old tradition of liberal Islam. Many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century modernists generally displayed an uncritical, almost devotional, identification with modernity and often (though not always) bypassed discussion of colonialism and imperialism. Progressive understandings of Islam, on the other hand, are almost uniformly critical of colonialism, both in its nineteenth-century manifestation and in its current variety. Progressive Muslims develop a critical and nonapologetic "multiple critique" with respect to both Islam and modernity. That double engagement with the varieties of Islam and modernity, plus an emphasis on concrete social action and transformation, is the defining characteristic of progressive Islam today.

Unlike their liberal Muslim forefathers (who usually were fore*fathers*), progressive Muslims represent a broad coalition of female and male Muslim activists and intellectuals. One of the distinguishing features of the progressive Muslim movement as the vanguard of Islamic (post)modernism has been the high level of female participation and leadership. This is particularly the case in Western countries, where a majority of Muslims who self-identify as progressive are female. The majority of progressive Muslims also highlight women's rights as part of a broader engagement with human rights.

Progressives measure their success not in developing new and beatific theologies but rather by the amount of change for good on the ground level that they can produce in Muslim and non-Muslim societies. As Safi and a number of other prominent authors noted in the volume *Progressive Muslims: On Justice, Gender, and Pluralism* (2003), this movement is noted by a number of themes: striving to realize a just and pluralistic society through critically engaging Islam, a relentless pursuit of social justice, an emphasis on gender equality as a foundation of human rights, a vision of religious and ethnic pluralism, and a methodology of nonviolent resistance.

Muslim libera(c)tion. Progressive Muslims perceive of themselves as the advocates of human beings all over this world who through no fault of their own live in situations of perpetual poverty, pollution, oppression, and marginalization. A prominent concern of progressive Muslims is the suffering and poverty, as well as the full humanity, of these marginalized and oppressed human beings of all backgrounds who are called *mustadʿafūn* in the Qurʾanic context. The task of progressives in this context is to give voice to the voiceless, power to the powerless, and confront the "powers that be" who disregard the God-given human dignity of the *mustadʿafūn* all over this earth. Muslim progressives draw on the strong tradition of social justice from within Islam from sources as diverse as Qurʾān and *ḥadīth* (statements of the Prophet Muḥammad) to more recent spokespersons such as ʿAlī Sharīʿatī. The Qurʾān itself specifically links fighting in the cause of God (*Sabīl Allāh*) to the cause of *mustadʿafūn*.

The methodological fluidity of progressive Muslims is apparent in their pluralistic epistemology, which freely and openly draws from sources outside of Islamic tradition, so long as they serve as useful tools in a global pursuit of justice. These external sources include the liberation theology of Leonardo Boff, Gustavo Gutiérrez, and Rebecca Chopp, as well as the secular humanism of Edward Said, Noam Chomsky, and others. Progressive Muslims are likely to combine a Qurʾanic call for serving as "witnesses for God in justice" (Qurʾān 42:15) with the task of a social critic to "speak truth to the powers."

As is the case with many feminists and African-American scholar-activists, progressives do not accept the dichotomy between intellectual pursuit and activism. Whereas many (though not all) of the previous generations of modernist Muslims were at times defined by a purely academic approach that reflected their elite status, progressive Muslims realize that the social injustices around them are reflected in, connected to, and justified in terms of intellectual discourses. They are, in this respect, fully indebted to the majestic criticism of Edward Said. A progressive commitment implies by necessity the willingness to remain engaged with the issues of social justice as they unfold on the ground level, in the lived realities of Muslim and non-Muslim communities.

Progressive Muslims follow squarely in the footsteps of liberation theologians such as Leonardo Boff, who in his *Introducing Liberation Theology* deemed a purely conceptual criticism of theology devoid of real commitment of the oppressed as "radically irrelevant." Boff recognized that *liberação* (liberation) links together the concepts of *liber* ("free") and *ação* ("action"): there is no liberation without action. The aforementioned *Progressive Muslims* (Safi, 2003) volume states: "Vision and activism are both necessary. Activism without vision is doomed from the start. Vision without activism quickly becomes irrelevant" (pp. 6–7).

This informed social activism is visible in the many progressive Muslims organizations and movements, ranging from the work of Chandra Muzaffar with the International Movement for a Just World in Malaysia, the efforts of Farid Esack with HIV-positive Muslims in South Africa, and the work of the 2003 Nobel Peace Prize winner, Shirin Ebadi, with groups such as the Iranian Children's Rights Society. Progressive Muslims are involved in an astonishing array of peace and social justice movements, grassroots organizations, human rights efforts, and the like.

Toward an Islamic humanism. At the heart of a progressive Muslim interpretation is a simple yet radical idea: every human life, female and male, Muslim and non-Muslim, rich or poor, "northern" or "southern," has exactly the same intrinsic worth. The essential value of human life is God given and is in no way connected to culture, geography, or privilege. A progressive Muslim agenda is concerned with the ramifications of the premise that all members of humanity have this same intrinsic worth because each member of humanity has the breath of God breathed into them: "And I breathed into humanity of my own spirit" (*wa nafakhtu fīhi min rūhī*) (Qurʾān 15:29 and 38:72). This identification with the full humanity of all human beings amounts to nothing short of an Islamic humanism. In this global humanistic framework, progressives conceive of a way of being Muslim that engages and affirms the full humanity of all human beings, that actively holds all responsible for a fair and just distribution of God-given natural resources, and that seeks to live in harmony with the natural world.

Engaging tradition. Progressive Muslims insist on a serious engagement with the full spectrum of Islamic thought and practices. There can be no progressive Muslim movement that does not engage the textual and material sources of the Islamic tradition, even if progressives themselves debate what those sources should be and how they ought to be interpreted. Progressives generally hold that it is imperative to work through inherited traditions of thought and practice: Sunnī, Shīʿī, Ṣūfī, juridical, philosophical, theological, mystical, poetical, "folk Islam," oral traditions, and others all must be engaged. In particular cases they might conclude that certain preexisting interpretations fail to offer Muslims sufficient guidance today. However, they can only faithfully claim that position after—and not before—a serious engagement with the tradition.

Social justice, gender equality, and pluralism. Justice lies at the heart of Islamic social ethics. Time and again the Qurʾān talks about providing for the marginalized members of society: the poor, the orphan, the downtrodden, the wayfarer, the hungry, and so forth. Progressive Muslims believe that it is imperative to translate the social ideals in the Qurʾān and Islamic teachings in a way that those committed to social justice today can relate to and understand. For all Muslims there is a vibrant memory of the Prophet repeatedly talking about a real believer as one whose neighbor does not go to bed hungry. Progressives hold that in today's global village, it is time to think of all of humanity as one's neighbor.

Progressive Muslims begin with a simple yet radical stance: the Muslim community as a whole cannot achieve justice unless justice is guaranteed for Muslim women. In short, there can be no progressive interpretation of Islam without gender justice. Gender justice is crucial, indispensable, and essential. In the long run, any progressive Muslim interpretation will be judged by the amount of change in gender equality it is able to produce in small and large communities. Gender equality is a measuring stick of the broader concerns for social justice and pluralism. As Shirin Ebadi, the 2003 Nobel Peace Prize winner, stated, "Women's rights *are* human rights."

Progressive Muslims strive for pluralism both inside and outside of the *ummah.* They seek to open up a wider spectrum of interpretations and practices marked as Muslim and epistemologically follow a pluralistic approach to pursuit of knowledge and truth. In their interactions with other religious and ethnic communities, they seek to transcend the arcane notion of "tolerance" and instead strive for profound engagement through both commonalities and differences.

Progressives and *jihād*. The pervasive discourse of *jihād* has become thoroughly associated with Islam, to the point that one may legitimately ask whether the term can be redeemed. Both Muslim extremist groups such as al-Qāʿidah and Western Islamophobes in fact do use the term to mean a holy war. On the Muslim side, one can point to the public statement of Usāmah bin Lādin: "In compliance with God's order, we issue the following *fatwa* to all Muslims: The ruling to kill the Americans and their allies—civilians and military—is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country. . . ." Scholars of Islamic law have been quick to point out that the very parameters of this alleged "*fatwa*" violate both the letter and the spirit of Islamic law. At the same time, one has to acknowledge that bin Lādin supports his own recourse to violence through the discourse of *jihād.* This same sentiment is reflected on the Western Islamophobic side, where many Christian evangelicals are recasting centuries old polemic against Islam in a new guise.

Progressive Muslims counter both the Muslim extremists' and the Western Islamophobes' definition of *jihād.* Instead, they hold firmly to the notion that *jihād* is key, not in the sense of holy war and violence but rather in its root meaning of resistance and struggle. In this regard, progressives in the Muslim community emphasize the responsibility to engage the wider social order by confronting injustice and inequality, while always remembering that one must do so in a nonviolent way. In doing so, they are the heirs of both Muslim visionaries such as the mystic Rūmī ("Washing away blood with blood is impossible, even absurd!") as well as exemplars of nonviolence such as Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr., and the Dalai Lama. This new understanding of *jihād,* which seeks to uphold resistance to well-entrenched systems of inequality and injustice through nonviolent means, is one of the key contributions of progressive Muslims. Building on the comments of religious figures such as the Dalai Lama (in his Nobel acceptance speech), they recognize that even terms like "peace" are insufficient when peace is not connected to justice and the well-being of humanity. The goal is not simply peace in the sense of absence of war but rather a peace that is rooted in justice.

Also revealing their indebtedness to American voices of social justice, many progressive Muslims are also inspired by Martin Luther King Jr. For these Muslims, King embodies speaking out for justice from the depth of a religious commitment, from the very midst of a faith community to that community and beyond. Thus, he is a great source of inspiration for many progressive Muslims to be voices of conscience speaking not in the wilderness but in the very midst of society. Progressives thus seek to be voices for global justice speaking firmly and powerfully to the powers that be while perpetually affirming the dignity of all human beings.

AN ISLAMIC REFORMATION? Modernist Muslims are often asked whether their project constitutes an "Islamic reformation." They answer the question in both the affirmative and the negative. It is undeniably true that there are serious economic, social, and political issues in the Muslim world that need urgent remedying. Much of the Muslim world is bound to a deeply disturbing economic structure in which it provides natural resources such as oil for the global market while at the same time remaining dependent on Western labor, technological know-how, and staple goods. This economic situation is exacerbated in many parts of the modern Muslim world by atrocious human rights situations, crumbling educational systems, and worn-out economies. Most modernist Muslims would readily support the reform of all those institutions.

However, the term *reformation* carries considerably more baggage than that. In speaking of the "Islamic reformation," many people have in mind the Protestant Reformation. It is this understanding that leaves many Muslims uneasy. Theirs is not a project of developing a "Protestant" Islam distinct from a "Catholic" Islam. Most insist that they are not looking to create a further split within the Muslim community so much as to heal it and to urge it along. For this reason, iconic figures such as Shirin Ebadi eschew the language of "reform" and "reformation," instead calling for a return to a real, just Islam.

A global phenomenon or a Western Islam? It would be a clear mistake to somehow reduce the emergence of progressive Islam to a new "American/Western Islam." Progressive Muslims are found everywhere in the global Muslim *ummah.* When it comes to actually implementing a progressive understanding of Islam in Muslim communities, particular communities in Iran, Malaysia, and South Africa *lead,* not follow, the United States. Many American Muslim communities—and much of the leadership represented in groups such as Islamic Circle of North America, the Islamic Society of North America, and the Council on American-Islamic Relations—are far too uncritical of Salafī (if not outright Wahhābī) tendencies that progressives oppose.

Wahhabism is by now a well-known, puritanical reading of Islam that originated in eighteenth-century Saudi Arabia. It was not until the discovery of oil in Saudi Arabia that Wahhabism had the financial resources necessary to import its evangelical mission all over the world, including to the United States. In spite of their exclusivist ideology, Wahhābīs have had a great working relationship first with the British and since the 1930s with the U.S. administration. Lesser known is the Salafī movement, which represents an important school of Islamic revivalism. Salafīs espouse a "return" to the ways of the first few generations of Muslims, the "righteous forefathers." Central to their methodology has been a recentering of Qurʾān and *sunnah* of Prophet Muḥammad. It would be a mistake to view American Muslim organizations such as ISNA and ICNA as Wahhābī. On the other hand, interpretations of Islam such as Shiism and Sufism are largely absent from these organizations, and the representation of important and contested issues such as gender constructions tends to reflect a conservative, Salafī orientation as well. It is in opposition to both Wahhabism and Salafism that many Muslim progressives define themselves.

One also has to acknowledge that the European and more importantly the North American context has provided a fertile ground for the blossoming of progressive Islam. Many participants in this young movement have found a more hospitable and open environment in the North American milieu than in Muslim-majority areas. Even the contested public world of post-9/11 America still offers great possibilities for conducting public conversations about difficult matters of religion and politics. It would be hard to imagine those critical conversations taking place freely and openly in many Muslim countries. Also one has to acknowledge the significance of North American educational establishments, as well as many fruitful cross-pollinations with liberal religious institutions, human rights groups, and the like.

Challenges to Islamic modernism. Muslim modernists face a whole host of challenges. Many modernists have profound internal disagreements about issues ranging from hermeneutical approaches to Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*, women's rights, and others. More problematic is the ongoing question of modernity versus the hegemony of the West. Many modernists have wrestled with the question of how to incorporate political institutions, science, and the like from the same Western civilizations that have continued to colonize and exploit much of the Third World, including many Muslim-majority countries.

Some initial phases of Islamic modernism became entangled in apologetic presentations of Islam in which Islam was idealized and imagined as an initially perfect system that had only been sullied through the misogyny and stagnation of later Muslim generations. That presupposition does not enable one to deal constructively with problematic questions in the Qurʾān or the lifetime of the Prophet and the early companions, even as it dismisses useful resources in later developments.

Other challenges are external. Muslim modernists do not have a natural institutional home other than academia and some media outlets. They have continuously struggled to find a home in the *madrasah* systems, although in some places they have achieved a measure of success because of the efforts of Muḥammad ʿAbduh and others. In other cases, they live in exile (Fazlur Rahman and Naṣr Abū Zayd, for example) for having been persecuted in their homeland. Politically they have often come under attack from a number of directions: state authorities who find the modernists' political critiques disturbing; secularists who are puzzled by the modernists' continued involvement with Islam; traditional religious authorities whose own understanding of Islam is undermined by the modernists. In spite of all the above, some modernists such as Fazlur Rahman and Iqbal have the strange designation of being the target of persecution as well as large-scale admiration.

In conclusion, it is clear that Muslims are entering yet another age of critical self-reflection. Given the level of polemics and apologetics, it is extraordinarily difficult to sustain a critical level of subtle discourse. Yet these Muslims today are not merely initiating social transformation, they are reflecting much wider processes at the same time. They are well situated to provide the most balanced and critical synthesis of Islam and modernity.

SEE ALSO Jamāʿat-i Islāmī; Muslim Brotherhood; Wahhābīyah.

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Omid Safi (2005)

MODERNISM: CHRISTIAN MODERNISM

The related terms *liberalism* and *modernism,* when occurring in a religious or theological context, are usually no less imprecise than when used with other references. As T. S. Eliot put it: "Liberalism is something which tends to release energy rather than accumulate it, to relax, rather than to fortify. It is a movement not so much defined by its end, as by its starting point; away from, rather than towards, something definite." Accordingly the content of a set of doctrines or principles described as liberal depends upon that of the "orthodoxy" from which such liberalism diverges, or which it relaxes or qualifies. Much the same applies to *modernism,* which refers not simply to what exists today but to something deemed to be distinctive of today or of the more recent past, and so to be commended as such, in contrast to what represents a settled tradition or a historic inheritance. Defining both terms therefore presents difficulties, and an understanding of what either signifies is best reached by observing how in fact the word has been used, and in particular by recording agreement as to what it at least denotes.

The word *liberalism* was employed early in the nineteenth century to designate "the holding of liberal opinions in politics or theology." Theologically the word did not at first have a favorable connotation. Thus Edward Irving stated in 1826 that whereas "religion is the very name of obligation . . . liberalism is the very name of want of obligation." John Henry Newman went further and spoke in 1841 of "the most serious thinkers among us" as regarding "the spirit of liberalism as characteristic of the destined Antichrist." Liberalism itself he stigmatized in 1864 as "false liberty of thought, or the exercize of thought upon matters in which, from the constitution of the human mind, thought cannot be brought to any successful issue, and therefore is out of place." More succinctly, Newman condemned it as "the anti-dogmatic principle."

Gradually, however, this view point changed with the broader adoption by theologians of opinions more or less critical of received dogma or traditional interpretations of scripture. Employment of the word *liberalist* came instead to be a mark of approval, in opposition to attitudes referred to pejoratively as traditionalist, dogmatist, or even obscurantist. Moreover, liberalism was taken to signify a readiness not only to modify or actually negate certain doctrines or beliefs usually associated with received religious teaching but also to propagate views of a more positive nature, such as the necessity for freedom of inquiry and research and the conviction that new knowledge, when soundly based, will not prove subversive of fundamental religious truth but rather be a light by which to clarify and enhance such truth. Hence to be identified as "liberal" was regarded as a compliment by an increasing number of Protestant thinkers and scholars in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

At about the same time the term *modernism* gained currency, especially in Anglican circles, as an alternative, and preferable, designation for such theological liberalism. However, *modernism* has long been accepted in a stricter sense as indicating a type of "progressive" theological opinion to be found in the Roman Catholic Church during the pontificates of Leo XIII and Pius X, and many would now consider usage of the word best limited to this latter sense. "Liberal Catholicism" also designates certain tendencies in nineteenth-century Roman Catholicism, notably in France. Its concern, however, was more political and social than theological.

Attitudes that could in some sense be characterized as liberal or modernist have been recurrent throughout the history of Christian thought, but the movements or tendencies that usually carry one of these epithets are of nineteenth- or twentieth-century occurrence, and in the interest of clarity the present entry will observe this restriction.

The immediate intellectual background of theological liberalism was the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, with its striving for political, social, and cultural liberty. The criterion of "enlightened" judgment was the use of reason, in which the mysteries of religious faith were prone to seem mere relics of the ignorance and superstition of the past. Deism became the widely prevalent expression of this largely negative standpoint. A new era opened with the later philosophy of the century's greatest thinker, Immanuel Kant, who sought by an analysis of the nature of knowledge itself to offer a rational justification for faith. But the answer he produced in the *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781) was such as to destroy the long-established "natural" theology that most Deist as well as orthodox thinkers regarded as fundamental. In its place he put the witness of the moral consciousness: belief in God was to be seen, philosophically, as a postulate of "practical," or moral, reason. The scientific understanding could not prove the existence of God, but the will, as the faculty of the moral life, required it. Kant's own philosophy of religion—or, more correctly, his philosophy of the Christian religion—was embodied in his suitably entitled *Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone,* one of the main sources from which modern theological liberalism derives. Indeed, Paul Tillich is right in claiming Kant's teaching as "decisive for the theology of the nineteenth century" (*Perspectives on Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Protestant Theology,* London, 1967, p. 64).

The perspective within which Kant views religion appears, on the face of it, narrow. Religion, he maintains, is morality; or at all events morality is of its very substance, albeit construed in terms of divine command. In other words, the religious problem is not a speculative one in which the religious object is validated primarily at the metaphysical level; it is a practical problem, pertaining wholly to man's ethical nature. "The illusion of being able to accomplish anything in the way of justifying ourselves before God through religious acts of worship is *superstition*" (*Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone,* New York, 1960, p. 162). The reductionism that this implies therefore necessitates a critique of traditional beliefs and institutions in anticipation of a more positive statement of what a genuinely rational Christianity must involve. Such insistence on the need for distinguishing between the essential and the nonessential—reason and conscience providing the criteria—was to become the guiding principle of all forms of liberal Christianity, and especially of German nineteenth-century Protestantism.

LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM. Nevertheless, if liberalism is to attain any sort of useful definition, some discrimination has to be made. "Liberal Protestantism," that is to say, is not simply to be equated with "Protestant liberalism." "A moderately orthodox believer," said the French liberal theologian Jean Réville, "may practise liberalism; he will not thereby become a liberal Protestant" (*Liberal Christianity,* London, 1903, p. 17). Protestant liberalism is in fact no more than the conception of Christianity of those who combine a liberal turn of mind with a broadly Protestant type of religious conviction. Such a position is subject, obviously, to many different sources of influence and offers a wide variety of opinion. Liberal Protestantism, on the other hand, is a designation best applied to the kind of theological thinking that, against a generally Lutheran background, developed in Germany during the nineteenth century under the stimulus first of Friedrich Schleiermacher and then of Albrecht Ritschl. Not that it remained confined to Germany: in France, Auguste Sabatier (1839–1901) and Jean Réville (1854–1908) himself, for example, may fairly be classed as liberal Protestants, as are such men as the Presbyterian William Adams Brown in the United States and the Congregationalists T. R. Glover and C. J. Cadoux in Great Britain. Again, Kantian reverberations are as a rule clearly audible in liberal Protestantism, whereas in Protestant liberalism (at all events, in an English and Anglican setting) the prevailing spirit is more that of the seventeenth-century Cambridge Platonists or the latitudinarianism associated with archbishop John Tillotson (1630–1694) than that of Kant or, still less, of Schleiermacher.

Yet to press such distinctions too far would be to obscure the very large amount of common ground that liberals of all shades of opinion occupy in contrast to traditionalist, let alone "fundamentalist," views. Differences are less of kind than of degree, and they are inevitably marked by national and denominational characteristics. Thus all liberals desire, first, a broad interpretation of dogmatic formularies, where these exist and retain some authority. Second, they are cool toward theological speculation that appears to have no particular ethical relevance. And third, they are especially sensitive to the impact on traditional belief of new knowledge in the sciences, both natural and historical. Indeed, in the more recent phases of liberal religious thought, a determining factor has been the historical criticism of the Bible and the effect that this criticism is bound to have upon the understanding and use of scripture—always for Protestants the ultimate source of Christian doctrine. Hence the varieties of liberalism arise in the main from differing responses on the part of individual religious thinkers to each of these leading considerations.

The starting point for a study of liberal Protestantism is the work of Schleiermacher (1768–1834), "the father of modern theology," as he has fitly been called. Kant, for all his anticipation of subsequent trends of thought, was very much an eighteenth-century figure, in whom the individualist note of ethical rationalism was all-pervasive. Schleiermacher, on the other hand, brought to religious reflection a different spirit. For him religion was primarily a condition of the heart; its essence is feeling *(Gefühl).* Without a deep emotional impulse it cannot be sustained in its true character and becomes either dogmatism or moralism. Authentic religion is, rather, a "submission to be moved by the Whole that stands over against man," a "sense and taste for the Infinite." In his great work on systematic theology, *The Christian Faith* (1821–1822; 2d ed., 1830), Schleiermacher called religion a "feeling of absolute dependence" or, for the Christian specifically, a feeling of absolute dependence upon "God in Christ." Thus in Schleiermacher's religious philosophy a fundamental principle of liberalism is already evident, namely, the appeal to inward experience, and therewith an element of subjectivism from which the liberal standpoint can never be dissociated. In this, indeed, Schleiermacher had been anticipated by Kant; but whereas for Kant the subjective determinant was moral, for Schleiermacher it could best be described as aesthetic. In the subsequent development of liberal Protestantism, the moral factor was consistently the more potent.

This is especially so in the teaching of Ritschl (1822–1889), the most influential German theologian of his era, who for the greater part of his career held the chair of theology at the University of Göttingen. His main literary work was *The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation* (1870–1874). Ritschl disliked Schleiermacher's emphasis on feeling, and although his own concern was strongly ethical, he believed also that faith must have an objective basis. Such objectivity, however, he found not in metaphysics, Hellenic or Hegelian (for which, as far as theology was concerned, Ritschl had no use), but in history, or rather in the unique historical events of the New Testament. In his younger days he had come under the influence of the eminent Tübingen historian of early Christianity, Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792–1860), whose skeptical conclusions in this field had to a large extent been dictated by his Hegelian presuppositions. But by 1856 Ritschl had repudiated the Tübingen position, although he welcomed historical criticism as such since he believed that recourse to the original salvific events would bypass the metaphysical Christology of Catholic dogma, which to the genuinely religious mind had become an impediment. In short, he saw Christianity as essentially a life devoted to action, both Godward and manward, in which the ethical imperative is supreme. The corollary of this was that religious doctrines are not assertions of fact, in the ordinary meaning of the word, but "value judgments" *(Werturteile)* expressive of humanity's attitude to the world about it and relating to its moral and spiritual ends. For the human claim to moral freedom and the responsibility that this entails is, in Ritschl's mind, the necessary counterbalance to the determinism of nature as described by modern science, and the primary role of religion is to uphold this claim. To quote Ritschl: "In every religion what is sought, with the help of the supernatural power reverenced by man, is a solution of the contradiction in which humanity finds itself, as both a part of the world of nature and a spiritual personality claiming to dominate nature" (*Justification and Reconciliation,* Edinburgh, 1874–1900, p. 199).

For Ritschl, the distinctiveness of Christianity lay in the unique clue to an understanding of the divine nature and purposes offered by Jesus, who for the Christian is the sole medium of salvation. And Jesus as the Christ is to be known not through any abstruse theology of his person, but by his work—that is, by his own consciousness of God communicated in turn to us, whereby one experiences forgiveness of sin and restoration of the desire and power to do the will of God. The church, to which Ritschl attached high importance, is the only sphere in which justification and reconciliation are experienced. As such, it is the community of the redeemed.

Ritschlianism, however, includes more than the personal teaching of Ritschl himself and comprises the thinking of a number of theologians prominent in German Protestantism down to at least the outbreak of World War I. It also was not without its representatives in the Anglo-Saxon world. Of the German Ritschlians, the most distinguished were Wilhelm Herrmann (1846–1922), Julius Kaftan (1848–1926), and Adolf von Harnack (1851–1930). Indeed, Herrmann's *The Communion of the Christian with God* (1886) is perhaps the most typical as well as the most sympathetic expression of the Ritschlian viewpoint one could cite. Its author, who was professor of theology at the University of Marburg, was if anything even more anxious than Ritschl to sunder Christian doctrine from all traffic with metaphysical philosophy. For him, as for Ritschl, the heart of the gospel is an ethical ideal, and confessions of theological belief are altogether secondary. The object of a Christian's faith is Jesus as he lived. The more radical side of Ritschlianism is represented by Harnack, for many years professor of church history at the University of Berlin. Here again the bedrock of faith is the historical Jesus. In his well-known *What Is Christianity?* (1900), Harnack sets aside the entire Catholic tradition of dogma, hierarchy, and cult; indeed, under the guiding light of modern criticism, he goes far beyond Reformation Protestantism in negating the past. To discover the *Wesen,* the essence, of the Christian religion, the theologian of today must return not merely to the New Testament—theological distortion had already begun with Paul—but to the teaching of Jesus as preserved in the Synoptic Gospels, the heart of which is the principle of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. The "kingdom" that Jesus preached, shorn of its apocalyptic trappings, must therefore be understood in a purely ethical sense. "The individual is called upon to listen to the glad message of mercy and of God's Fatherhood, and to make up his mind whether he will be on God's side as the Eternal's, or on the side of the world and time."

The final phase of liberal Protestantism is really post-Ritschlian and centers upon the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* (history of religions school), typified in the work of Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923) and Wilhelm Bousset (1865–1920). Troeltsch, at first professor of theology at the University of Heidelberg and afterward professor of the history of philosophy at the University of Berlin, was much influenced by the sociologists Wilhelm Dilthey and Max Weber. The fact, as Troeltsch saw it, that Christianity, like any other cultural phenomenon, must be understood primarily in relation to its attendant historical conditions inevitably posed the problem of the absoluteness of its claims in respect not only to the world's other religions but to cultural change generally. The proper approach to Christianity appeared to be by way of the history and philosophy of religion; dogmatic theology acquired relevance only within this broader scholarly framework. Not surprisingly, it was an opinion that to the more traditionally minded placed divine revelation at the disposal of a relativistic historicism. This, along with the persistent anthropocentrism of liberal theology, was to lead, by the end of World War I in 1918, to the antiliberalist reaction of Karl Barth, whose *Epistle to the Romans* appeared in the following year, and to the so-called neoorthodox movement generally.

But despite the powerful Barthian influence that lasted for at least four decades into the twentieth century, the liberal aim of communicating the Christian message to modern humanity in terms of its own modernity was not revoked. This aim is evident enough in the work of two of Barth's most outstanding Protestant contemporaries, Paul Tillich and Rudolf Bultmann, albeit that the associated philosophy here is existentialism rather than post-Hegelian idealism. Moreover, the distinctively humanist tone that since about 1960 has come more or less to pervade virtually all Western theological thinking is clearly continuous with the older liberalizing attitudes.

In the English-speaking world, liberal Protestantism did not form so clearly defined a force as it did in Germany. At any rate it is more difficult to distinguish between liberal Protestants, in Réville's meaning of the term, and theological liberals in a broader sense. But in this broader sense liberalism is multifarious, depending on varying denominational allegiances, although also to a large extent on individual interests and idiosyncrasies. Classification therefore demands much tact.

The antecedents of English liberalism, particularly within the Anglican context, are to be located in eighteenth-century latitudinarianism, in the "noetic" school at Oxford University in the early nineteenth century—whose chief exponents are Richard Whately (1787–1863), Renn Dickson Hampden (1793–1868), and Thomas Arnold (1795–1842)—and in the midcentury "broad church" as represented by H. H. Milman (1791–1868), A. P. Stanley (1815–1881), and Benjamin Jowett (1817–1893), as indeed by all the authors of *Essays and Reviews* (1860), including Jowett. Frederick Denison Maurice (1805–1872), in some ways the most fertile theological mind of his time in England, eschewed the name "broad church," but his teaching, permeated as it was with the influence of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, had a broadening effect within the Church of England and undoubtedly contributed substantially to the shaping of modern Anglicanism. Maurice himself seems scarcely to have appreciated the unsettling effect on orthodox thinking of the historical criticism of the Bible.

A more self-consciously innovative type of liberalism, however, made its appearance toward the end of the century. It was associated with the names of Percy Gardner (1846–1937), professor of classicial archaeology at Oxford University; Hastings Rashdall (1858–1924), dean of Carlisle; W. R. Inge (1860–1954), dean of Saint Paul's, London; H. D. A. Major (1871–1961), principal of Ripon Hall, Oxford; and E. W. Barnes (1874–1953), bishop of Birmingham. All of them were connected with the Modern Churchmen's Union, founded in 1898, and with its organ the *Modern Churchman.* But their "modernism"—to use their own preferred designation—had little theological coherence. Such unity as it possessed stemmed chiefly from a marked opposition to the doctrine and practices of the Anglo-Catholic party within the established church. The Union achieved its highest public notice with its Cambridge conference of 1921 on the general theme of "Christ and the Creeds." Rashdall's paper "Christ as the Logos and Son of God" aroused sharp controversy with such statements as the following: "It is impossible to maintain that God is fully incarnate in Christ, and not incarnate at all in any one else." But by the end of the 1930s Anglican modernism was in decline and is now but the merest wraith of its former self. Indeed, the very name has been virtually abandoned.

A liberalism more akin to continental liberal Protestantism was to be found among the English Nonconformists, or "Free Churchmen," rather than among Anglicans. In the main, however, the Free Church theologians, of whom the most distinguished representatives included P. T. Forsyth and A. E. Garvie (the latter a close student of Ritschlianism), were less inclined to doctrinal novelty than were some of their Anglican contemporaries. The Congregationalist R. J. Campbell (1867–1956), author of *The New Theology* (1907), was an exception. So too was T. R. Glover (1869–1943), a Cambridge classical scholar and author of the popular *Jesus of History* (1917), the thesis of which is much the same as that of Harnack's *What Is Christianity?* Another exception was C. J. Cadoux (1883–1947), whose *Catholicism and Christianity* (1928) propounded a radical critique of Catholic orthodoxy from a liberal angle. The Unitarian tradition, maintained with high repute throughout the nineteenth century by James Martineau (1805–1900)—perhaps the greatest Protestant liberal of his era in England—was also represented, if somewhat journalistically, by L. P. Jacks (1860–1955).

In America the liberal movement in religious thought may be said to have begun with William Ellery Channing (1780–1842). Brought up in the strict ways of New England Calvinism, Channing came to be considered a Unitarian. But critical though he was of traditional doctrines, he believed Christ to have been the perfect revelation of God and the living ideal of humanity. Against Calvinism he set a confident faith in an individual's freedom and inherent capacity for good as a child of God. The leader of the New England Transcendentalist movement, Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882), whom Matthew Arnold, addressing an American audience, described as "your Newman, your man of soul and genius," remains the best-known American religious thinker of the nineteenth century. His religious views are expounded in *Nature* (1836) and the two volumes of *Essays* (1841–1843). The basis of his position was belief in the essential divinity of man; redemption was to be sought in the individual's possession of his or her own soul by original thought and effort. Jesus, he held, was best honored by following his example. A liberal of more orthodox persuasion was Horace Bushnell (1802–1876), who for much of his career was pastor of the North Church at Hartford, Connecticut. His *Discourse on Christian Nurture* (1847) took a mediating line between the old orthodoxy, with its preoccupation with Original Sin and human depravity, and Enlightenment theories of human perfectibility. In *God in Christ* (1849) he applied the moral criterion to dogma, and he insisted that even in scripture the "soul" must be distinguished from the "body."

Nearer the close of the century European influences—and not least Ritschlianism—are discernible in American theology, notably in the writings of H. C. King (1858–1934), president of Oberlin College, Ohio, and William Adams Brown (1865–1943) of Union Theological Seminary, New York, whose work *The Essence of Christianity* appeared in 1902. Among historical scholars of a liberal bent was A. C. McGiffert (1861–1933), also of Union Theological Seminary, who believed religious certitude to be, in the last resort, independent of historical events. Other prominent liberals of the early twentieth century include the well-known New York preacher Harry Emerson Fosdick; Shailer Mathews, whose book *The Faith of Modernism* (1925) is as forthright a statement of liberal ideals as could be wished; and H. N. Wieman, author of *The Wrestle of Religion with Truth* (1927).

ROMAN CATHOLIC MODERNISM. The use of the word *Modernism* in restricted reference (hence the capitalization of its initial letter) to a movement of a theologically "modernizing" or liberalizing character in the Roman Catholic Church at the turn of the twentieth century has already been alluded to. But it should at once be said that to describe Roman Catholic Modernism as a movement at all is somewhat misleading, as it had little cohesion, and those to whom the designation "Modernist" has usually been applied do not in any sense constitute a school. As the most famous of them, Alfred Loisy (1857–1940), expressly stated, they were only "a quite limited number of persons" who individually shared "the desire to adapt the Catholic religion to the intellectual, moral and social needs of the present time." But the exact determination of their overall aim differed from one writer to another, according to his particular interest. Thus the only satisfactory way of studying Modernism is not to attempt to impose upon it a schematization like that of Pius X, by whose encyclical *Pascendi dominici gregis* it was condemned in 1907, but to examine and assess each author's contribution to the cause as a whole. The countries where Modernist tendencies were most in evidence were France, Italy, and England. Germany, rather surprisingly, was less affected, and in the United States it had no real following at all.

The task that, in one way or another, the Modernists undertook was that of presenting the world of their day with a defense of Catholicism, in both its doctrinal and institutional aspects, which could be accepted as intellectually plausible. In other words, what Protestant liberals had done for the Reformation tradition they would attempt for the post-Tridentine, and their procedure was often no less radical. Thus Loisy, in *The Gospel and the Church* (1902), approached the whole problem of historical Catholicism—its dogmas, its hierarchy, its cult—along evolutionary lines as a natural growth responsive to spiritual and social needs and determined by the continuously changing cultural environment. A direct reply to Harnack's *What Is Christianity?,* Loisy's book denied that the essence of Christianity could be located at any one stage or identified with any single element within its historical life. The entire historical life of Christianity, he maintained, alone provided the data for a true—because empirically grounded—estimate of what the Christian religion is. In this context, Catholicism will be seen to be justified—so Loisy argued—by the sheer fullness and diversity of its content. Similar arguments were used by the Anglo-Irish Jesuit George Tyrrell (1861–1909), notably in his posthumous work *Christianity at the Cross Roads* (1910).

The peculiar difficulty facing the Modernists lay in seeking to validate a form of Christianity that appeared fatally vulnerable to historical criticism. Indeed, they felt that the main pressure upon faith came from precisely this quarter, and the familiar type of Catholic apologetic, tied as it was to biblical fundamentalism, was incapable of meeting it. Moreover, the question of dogma also raised other issues, of a philosophical order. Catholic philosophy, by official direction, meant Thomism, although more often than not Thomism conceived in a narrow, unhistorical, and scholastic form. A more dynamic religious philosophy was wanted, according to Modernists like the French Oratorian Lucien Laberthonnière (1860–1932), a disciple of Maurice Blondel (1861–1949), as well as to the Bergsonian Édouard Le Roy (1870–1954) and to Ernesto Buonaiuti (1881–1946), protagonist of the Italians and author of *The Program of Modernism* (1907). For a more dynamic philosophy they looked not to Kant, as Pius's *Pascendi* had alleged, but rather to the voluntarist tradition of much nineteenth-century French thought and even to American pragmatism. Tyrrell and Laberthonnière both stressed the role of the will in belief and were disposed to understand doctrine in terms of an ethical symbolism. Le Roy's account of dogma (*Dogme et critique,* 1907), in particular, represented it primarily as *une règle de conduite pratique* ("a rule for practical conduct"), without intrinsic speculative content. Thus the doctrine of the divine personality means in effect "Conduct yourself in your relations with God as you would in your relations with a human person." The vindication of dogma, therefore, will rest on its capacity to induce the experience in which it is itself grounded.

However, the Modernist apologetic, whether historical or philosophical, won no approval at Rome, and the movement was summarily suppressed. In 1910 a specifically anti-Modernist oath was imposed on the clergy, or at least those engaged in teaching. The result of the Vatican's action was to retard Catholic biblical scholarship, as well as practically all non-Thomist theological thinking, for many years to come.

ASSESSMENT OF LIBERALISM. The strength of liberalism lay in its conviction that the Christian gospel can be offered to modern individuals without affront to their intelligence. It recognized frankly that Christian belief arose, developed, and was formulated in an era and a culture vastly different from that of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Western society, and that both its intellectual presuppositions and the language in which it came to be articulated are inevitably alien and even in large measure unintelligible to this age. Unless therefore one tries to seal oneself off from all contemporary influences, one is bound to reassess the basics of faith in the light of the radically altered ways of thinking that the post-Reformation era has brought about. Especially must Christianity be seen in the perspective of scientific history, even though this may no longer support forms of belief that have persisted over centuries. Indeed, it is difficult to see how on this score the liberal case can be refuted; the facts speak for themselves, and any modernized version of the Christian religion has to take account of them from the outset.

Nevertheless, liberalism has had its critics from at least the beginning of this century, and not merely among the partisans of a crass traditionalism. To many, its immanentist theology greatly overemphasized the continuity between the world and God and between humanity and God, at the expense of the received belief, on which the whole scheme of redemption turned, that as between finite and infinite, human and divine, there is a qualitative and not merely a quantitative disparity. (The liberal Christology is usually circumscribed by the humanity of Jesus.) In keeping with this, liberalism seemed to its critics if not altogether to minimize sin and evil, yet to interpret these too easily in terms of ignorance, immaturity, and simple maladjustment, while overlooking the sheer heinousness of sin. In fact, liberalism's view of humankind exhibited an optimism stemming from a combination of Enlightenment notions of human perfectibility and the nineteenth-century ideal of progress. Such optimism is encouraged neither by the traditional Christian doctrine of the "natural" human condition as corrupted by the fall nor by the cumulative evidence of sin to that humankind's historical life bears sorry witness. It is also possible to consider as in principle subjective the liberal conception of the church itself: a fellowship of those who share the same or a similar experience, in recognition of which they meet together in worship, hence expressing the social character of religion. Tolerance is applauded because opinions in religious matters inevitably differ. In sum, the values of liberalism, so its critics complain, are essentially those of a bourgeois ethicism having little or nothing of that sense of the eschatological *kairos* ("time") and impending judgment that characterizes the New Testament and persists as a motif in all traditional doctrine.

It was the serious inadequacies of liberalism—as he felt them to be—that led the young Swiss theologian Karl Barth (1886–1968), who had been deeply influenced by Kierkegaard, to protest against the anthropocentrism of liberal theologies in the name of the uncompromising theocentrism of the biblical revelation. The starting point of theology, he urged, must not be subjective "religiousness" but rather God's own self-disclosure through his Word: "God is known by God alone" (*Church Dogmatics* 2.1). Thus neither "religious experience" nor speculative natural theology provides any necessary prolegomena to faith. Instead of the Thomist *analogia entis* ("analogy of being"), Barth offered the *analogia fidei* ("analogy of faith"), that is, the insights of faith based on revelation.

The upshot of the Barthian theological revolution was that all forms of liberalism fell more or less into discredit. This "Barthian captivity," as Reinhold Niebuhr called it, of twentieth-century religious thought persisted for some four decades, and only in the years immediately preceding Barth's death in 1968 did its end become manifest. The neoorthodox reaction, although it has not ceased to exert its pull on some minds—conservative evangelicalism unquestionably gained heart from it—now appears to have been less a recovery of the old certainties than a temporary *arrêt* in a process that is actually part of modernity itself. In other words, the theological difficulties that liberalism had sought to resolve remain, inasmuch as orthodoxy, if it is to uphold its claim to intellectual respectability, cannot avoid the challenge of criticism, whether philosophical or historical. A serious fault in Barth himself was his evasiveness on the historical authenticity of Christianity. These unresolved difficulties have no doubt influenced theologians' disposition to reconsider the achievements of liberalism in a more sympathetic light.

SEE ALSO Evangelical and Fundamental Christianity; Neoorthodoxy; Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity; Petre, Maude Dominica; Vatican Councils, article on Vatican I.

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MODERNITY. Many factors working together have generated interest in modernity and religion. Among these are an increasing consciousness of the many human societies that now exist, an awareness of previous societies recorded in history, and a recognition of the overwhelming variety of cultures associated with them. The constellation of cultural characteristics associated with the modern period is very different from that normally associated with an isolated tribal culture, a medieval peasant society, or a transitional society of the early modern period. To talk of religion is to identify a particular set of cultural attitudes and activities that point to the deep sources of power in a culture, how humans relate to that power, and the corresponding, codified beliefs and behaviors surrounding it. Each concept is highly complex; to discuss the relationship between them compounds the challenge.

For some time it has been a sophisticated convention to assume that the progressive extension of scientific knowledge sparked the emergence of dynamic Western societies and the extension of their influence. The subsequent triumph of reason and rational behavior over ways of thought and patterns of action associated with traditional cultures was more or less taken for granted. Thus it seemed logical to expect that religious beliefs and behaviors would be forced to the periphery of societies that were becoming modern. By extension it seemed conceivable that religion would disappear altogether. Yet in fact, evidence has suggested that religion, far from disappearing or losing influence, has a prominent place in modern societies. Indeed, religions play many different roles in modern societies, and these societies in turn play back upon religion a wide variety of effects. The term *modernity* refers to the cultural conditions that set the terms for all thought and action in a particular culture. Religious beliefs and behavior cannot be unaffected, even when those who espouse some religion consider themselves untouched by their cultural location. Just as religion remains a cultural reality in modernity, so there can be no escape from modernity, even through a wholehearted appropriation of a comprehensive religious tradition.

DEFINING MODERNITY. *Modern*, *modernism*, *modernization*, *modernity*, and related terms, taken alone, qualified, or compounded, are used every day in the popular media as well as in specialized journals and technical exchanges. The ubiquity of these terms is due in part to the shifting sets of meaning they carry. To clarify the current discussion, I propose certain distinctions between these terms.

First, *modern* is a correlative term; it implies what is new as opposed to what is ancient, what is innovative as opposed to what is traditional or handed down. However, what is judged modern at a particular time and place in a culture will not necessarily be defined as such either in the future or in some other context. Students of religion, especially, who by definition are interested in cultural patterns viewed in a long-term framework, must not fail to put in perspective changing perceptions of what is "new" and what is "old." Since a judgment about what is modern is a matter of the perspective of the observer, phenomena that appear similar may in fact vary considerably depending on their context. Thus, "modern architecture" of the mid-twentieth century now has a distinctly dated look. Similarly, nineteenth-century symphonic music must have seemed "modern" to those brought up on the baroque, but outmoded to those brought up on Stravinsky and Hindemith.

Second, the terms *modernism* and *modernization* represent, respectively, cultural and social attitudes or programs dedicated to supporting what is perceived as modern. Modernism entails a kind of explicit and self-conscious commitment to the modern in intellectual and cultural spheres. It involves a commitment to support the tenets of the "new" in the face of critics, opponents, and detractors. In this it parallels the commitment to modernization, a programmatic remaking of the political and economic aspects of society in support of the "new." This distinction implies that it is more appropriate to speak of modernism in nineteenth-century French Roman Catholicism, or in twentieth-century American Protestantism, or even among those who espouse contemporary versions of ancient Indian traditions, than it is to refer to the "modernization" of a religious tradition. Conversely, it is appropriate to refer to the modernization of a factory plant or its organization of production, or of a tax structure. *Modernism* would normally not be a useful designation with respect to such matters—unless we speak about factory architecture in the one case or art objects as shelters under the tax code in the other.

Thus it is inappropriate to refer to the "modernization" of a religion unless we mean as part of a self-conscious, perhaps largely social and political, program. On the other hand, *modernism* in this context implies a commitment (and usually a cultural program in addition) to render religion compatible with more general commitments in other areas. But is modernism divisible? Attitudes toward art, music, drama, religion, and so forth usually hang together and form a powerful set of interactive commitments. Indeed, such a set of cultural ideals may be related to economic and political change as designated by modernization. The conviction that cultural modernism is often associated with programs for social modernization frequently evolves into a more general belief that secularization is relentlessly supplanting the old with the new. In its extreme form this argument concludes that a process of secularization makes claims upon those involved with it that exhibit a religious character, or that seem like religion in that they are ultimate, unqualified, and beyond review.

Only at this point does the term *modernity* enter our discussion. It explicitly identifies an openness and a commitment to the new as opposed to the old. Our move to the term *modernity* brings us to the consciousness of cultural change. Yet a further move attributes a congruence to the many aspects of a modern culture that makes them appear to be the expression of an entity powerful and coherent in its own right. This third step effectively serves to reify the term *modernity.* To take this step will generally promote confusion in our thinking. It is not helpful to use the term *modernity* as if it referred to a spiritual medium in contemporary life that necessarily rivals religious traditions. It is much more helpful to use it in a prereified or nonreified way as a means of recognizing that cultural change and awareness of that change are pervasive in contemporary societies. What depends upon this distinction between reified and nonreified uses of *modernity*?

One unfortunate consequence of reifying the term *modernity* is that it settles by definition an issue that ought to remain under discussion. To conceive of modernity as a spiritual medium that envelops and interconnects all particular instances of commitment to the modern, whether through modernism or modernization, is to posit an implicitly religious phenomenon, for it assumes that modernity plays the cultural role or roles characteristic of religion. As a consequence, modernity is seen as a rival to traditional or "authentic" religion. An important implication of this view is that religion in a modern society is regarded dichotomously. Either an individual or group is thought to be "for" modernity (and thus against traditional religious commitments) or "for" traditional religion (and thus antipathetic toward modernity in any and all forms). In its most intense version, this dichotomy is characteristic of every period of cultural change known to us and especially of the period we know as the modern one. Under conditions of social and cultural change, and of modernity in particular, one of many responses will be an attempt to reaffirm traditional cultural forms, albeit in highly selective and often strident versions.

CULTURAL CHANGE AND MODERNITY. It is important to explore, at least briefly, the distinction between cultural change and modernism. Stated exactly, the latter is a special case of the former. Cultural change has been a given in human societies throughout every period of which we have knowledge. There have been some periods of more, and others of less, intensive social and cultural change; but certainly no society we know anything about has been altogether free of cultural change. Records of ancient societies and cultures do not permit refined distinctions, but access to more recent historic examples allows some generalizations. Certainly it is possible to identify characteristic religious responses to periods of intensive cultural change. One is the development of the dichotomous view of the world upon which we have already remarked—"civilized" versus "barbarian," "believers" versus "heretics," and so forth. Another response has been the enhancement of orthodoxy, orthopraxy, or tradition in both ancient and recent examples of interaction between cultures as well as within a single culture. A third is the frequently recurring millenarian or apocalyptic response to cultural change. Here change is experienced as so threatening and intense that it is believed a "big change" will necessarily occur.

Cast in this framework, modernity, too, is a special category of social and cultural change. It is, to be precise, social and cultural change embraced self-consciously in the contemporary world. Some characteristic attitudes toward religion mark modernity, but they tend to be special cases of the more general attitudes toward change and not exclusively related to religion. For example, modernity includes a systematic commitment to rationality, that is, a conviction that logically consistent and universalizable principles ought to be the basis for change. Again, modernity tends to undervalue the role of symbols and the subconscious. A third and related attitude is that human life is highly malleable. This set, and the preceding enumeration, is certainly not a full set and is surely a special case of attitudes to social and cultural change. But it is also a special case, because it is self-conscious, of conceivable responses to that larger and more universal phenomenon of social change. Hostility on the part of religious traditions to the modern, especially when cast as a rejection of modernity, is itself as much a characteristic response to social change as its opposite, the enthusiastic acceptance of change by a confirmed modernist. An explicit and positive attitude toward social change is no more directly related to the experience of change than is a negative response. Both are typical attitudes of individuals and groups throughout history who have been religiously sensitive to social and cultural change.

If modernity is not reified as a spiritual entity, and if modernism is recognized as a special and self-conscious case of positive response to social and cultural changes, our proper subject is how religion appears to respond and vary under the conditions of self-conscious social and cultural change in the contemporary world. If we distinguish the fact of cultural change from a postulated, spiritualized, and thus reified modernity as the controlling commitment, we are then in a position to review what seems to happen to religion under the conditions of prolonged change—or at least what has happened in social contexts that have been so characterized. Specifically, in an era that is conscious of the new, are there characteristic changes in religion, especially in relationship to the modern?

THE IMPACT OF MODERNITY ON RELIGION. If we take modernity in this descriptive sense, the decisive commitment to modernization socially and to modernism culturally is first to be observed as a coherent process in the United States. It may be thought that revolutionary France in the last decades of the eighteenth century or Japan in the late twentieth century represent more thoroughgoing examples of commitment to the "modern." Certainly, for brief periods other societies may well have manifested an intense and thoroughgoing commitment to change. But over time, at least to date, American society has set about more thoroughly than other societies to overcome traditional ways and self-consciously to replace them with new ones. It is here that the best exhibits are available, and exhibits over time, of the kinds of cultural changes attendant upon the systematic modernization of society. Further, the actual changes we can observe in religion seem to be remarkably heterogeneous, that is, the changes by no means run in one direction only. How can we best summarize what happens to religion under conditions of modernity?

One useful distinction at this point is between responses to modernity that are explicitly keyed to the whole scope of a religious tradition, and those effects that represent the taking on of a coloration from modern society or that are evidence for generalized, nonspecific influence of modernity. It is preferable to consider the latter kind first, since these effects are ubiquitous; this will enable us in turn to review without confusion explicit religious responses to modern life.

Bureaucratization and rationalization. Some of the changes to be observed in religion relating to the modern world clearly derive from the permeation of religious institutions by techniques and procedures developed in other sectors of the society. For example, European-derived (and certainly American-begun) church traditions have adopted much from the business world. These techniques or procedures are inevitably centralizing. This is apparent, for example, in communications: telephone calls have taken the place of pastoral letters, written reports preempt personal visits, revivals and healing services are often televised rather than held locally. Other consequential changes have to do with the liquidity of wealth; even as successful a promoter as the evangelical John Wesley could not have imagined the means available to the contemporary Methodist (or Roman Catholic) church to generate financial resources and shift their allocations throughout a worldwide, well-organized structure.

Adoption of these kinds of management technique potentially strengthens the hands of central religious leaders. But the same modern society also extends to laity the knowledge and ability to challenge such a transfer of power to central authorities. Countervailing trends, then, are at work, leading both to enhanced localism in the parishes and to the creation of extraecclesial religious organizations. Like centralized religious organizations, the latter make use of techniques widely used in the modern world (media appeals, direct mail campaigns) to raise and dispense funds and to exercise influence. These techniques often are used independently of, if not against, more established ecclesiastical authorities whose power is thus countered.

Other kinds of changes characteristic of the modern world also permeate religious behavior. Many have to do with the high degree of rationality required to function in societies of the scale and complexity characteristic of the contemporary world. One example of this concerns the ordering of time. In the past, traditional religions imposed, or at least sanctioned, a structuring of time to include myriad festivals and feasts. In our society such patterns are in tension with broad social (and especially economic) objectives, so they no longer carry much weight. Thus we can observe certain new constraints or limitations on traditional religion as it impinges on the modern public world. Correspondingly, however, the relevance and influence of religious traditions in the realm of private time and space receive greater emphasis.

These are examples of what we might term the "coloration" through which "new" or modern societies influence all kinds of religious behaviors and beliefs in very basic ways. This "coloration" is thoroughly comparable to the codification of religions in the idioms and through the symbols of particular periods and societies, whether nomadic, pastoral, or urban. The *degree* of penetration by context is different in the contemporary world in some respects, but it is not a different *kind* of penetration. Thus religion is generally affected in the modern era but not solely in terms of conscious response to social and cultural change as represented in modernity.

Religious responses to modernity. There is, however, a contrast between this coloration or permeation of religious traditions and much more explicit religious responses to social change as represented in modern society. Especially as exhibited in American society, these responses may be seen to fall into five categories.

1. One kind of response is the advocacy of new religious ideas or the claim to new insights into ancient religious traditions. This frequently entails embracing the "new" in the name of correctly understanding the old. One dramatic example of this response in North America is the Oneida Community of the nineteenth century. Its founder, John Humphrey Noyes, believed that the spiritual sources for the new modern common life of his community flowed from early Christianity, whose tenets the community claimed to fulfill. Another interesting case is that of Christian Science. Its founder, Mary Baker Eddy, believed that she had correctly interpreted Jesus' teaching, indeed the essential message of early Christianity, which she thought to yield "modern" insights into healing. Many contemporary religiously innovative groups find their sources not so much in Western traditions as in Eastern lore and ritual. (In these cases, too, the connection with healing is often pronounced.)
2. Another response is self-conscious accommodation of religious traditions to modern society, often in very explicit terms. Indeed, here the term *modernist* is frequently used pejoratively with respect to religion. Into this category fall such well-known adaptations as Protestant liberalism (with European as well as New World ver-

sions), the Jewish Reform tradition (which of course had its origins in accommodation to modern European culture at the time of the Emancipation), and Roman Catholic Americanism in the late nineteenth century (a largely indigenous movement).

3. A third pattern of response is the determined attempt to preserve the continuing tradition, albeit self-consciously within limits posed by the new framework. In many respects this strategy undergirds various churchly responses of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to modern societies, ranging from the proliferation of mainstream Protestant denominations to the careful and restrained Roman Catholic updating of tradition that became highly visible as a result of the Second Vatican Council and to the self-conscious but limited case of the isolated Mercersburg Movement of antebellum nineteenth-century America.
4. A still different pattern, infrequently recognized as equally a response to modernity, is the strident reassertion of a presumed tradition in a condensed, purified, or even reductionist form. The strands of "fundamentalism" in most of the major religious traditions of the globe are to be interpreted in this light. In this perspective, fundamentalisms, as the simultaneous reduction and enhancement of particular traditions, are no less than modernisms determined by the modern culture that they so stridently reject. Here also American society provides the most fully developed instances of fundamentalism, specifically within denominations with a self-consciously British heritage and especially among Presbyterians and Baptists.
5. A final pattern in the religious response to social change in the modern world is the generation of wholly new traditions. This entails celebration of the modern in often bizarre and idiosyncratic ways, although it may also take the form of recovering pagan traditions or exploiting exotic or esoteric beliefs. These new religions are explicit attempts to reject old traditions rather than to accommodate them. But in the larger sense they are also a response to the intense social and cultural changes experienced by people living in the modern era.

This fivefold pattern is, to be sure, an arbitrary division, for the lines between these five types are always shifting. But it serves to point out that the explicit relationships between modern cultures and religions are not single or of one kind only. They vary greatly. Indeed, the relationships are so plural that respective religious movements responding to perceptions of modernity in different ways may in fact be directly opposed to each other. The classical confrontation between liberalism (or modernism) and fundamentalism in American culture is a prime exhibit of this antagonism between essentially related, though very different, responses to a common cultural experience.

CONCLUSIONS. Modernity has proven to affect religion in heterogeneous ways, both explicit and implicit. The various explicit religious responses range from a strong and strident reassertion of traditions, frequently on a reduced basis, to outright and uncritical celebration of cultural change. In this the term *modernity* most usefully refers to the kind of intense social, and hence cultural, change that especially characterizes Europe and America, of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but that has extended to other cultural areas a well. This period is not unique, however, for in earlier periods something like the same pattern of a range of religious responses to social change has been evident. Religious life within the Roman Empire may be a useful parallel. With respect to the second kind of response—the implicit level of coloration provided by purely technological aspects of contemporary society—it does seem helpful to identify a peculiar cultural configuration exclusively with "modernity." But this coloration extends as much to the activities of critics of the modern as it does to its partisans. Finally, a significant point is that the modern is not to be seen as itself a spiritual medium, that is to say, a unique religious stance.

When taken together, the concepts of modernity and religion identify the broad range of religious responses to intense and self-conscious social change in the contemporary world. What is uniquely modern is not the particular religious responses to change per se but their variety, intensity, and duration in the contemporary world. Crucial is the insight that religion is not so much threatened by modernity as challenged by it. And the challenge involves an inevitable and implicit coloration of virtually all religious behavior as well as a forcing of responses of many kinds, some direct, some indirect, all to some degree explicit, in the realm of religious belief. In these terms, the concepts of modernity and religion encompass a subject as fascinating as it is complex.

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MOGGALIPUTTATISSA, Buddhist elder and *arahant* leader of the monastic order (*saṃgha*) in India during the reign of Aśoka (274–232 BCE). According to the chronicles of the Theravāda tradition (*Mahāvaṃsa* and *Dīpavaṃsa*), he was the chief Buddhist adviser to Aśoka. After Aśoka became a generous supporter of Buddhism, he asked Moggaliputtatissa whether anyone had ever been a greater kinsman of the Buddha's religion. Moggaliputtatissa responded that a true kinsman of the Buddha must let his son or daughter enter the *saṃgha*. As a result, Aśoka encouraged one of his sons, Mahinda, to become a monk and one of his daughters, Saṃghamitta, to become a nun. Moggaliputtatissa subsequently became Mahinda's teacher in the *saṃgha*.

The primary work of Moggaliputtatissa is reported to have been the purification of the *saṃgha* and the organization of the Third Buddhist Council. Because Aśoka supported the *saṃgha* with lavish patronage, the *saṃgha* became corrupt and filled with undisciplined monks. When Aśoka's ministers, sent to ascertain what was wrong within the *saṃgha*, rashly executed some of the monks, Aśoka feared that the blame for the sin would accrue to him. Moggaliputtatissa, however, reassured Aśoka that he was not to blame for the act. Then, seated beside Aśoka, Moggaliputtatissa questioned all the monks and purged the *saṃgha* of those who did not subscribe to the Vibbhajjavāda interpretation of the teachings. The chronicles relate that he then chose a thousand *arahant*s and held the Third Council, at which the Tipiṭaka was recited and committed to memory in its complete and final form. Moggaliputtatissa himself recited the *Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa* at this council.

Moggaliputtatissa also arranged for Buddhist monks to be sent as missionaries to other countries. The most notable of these missionaries was Mahinda, who is credited with the introduction of Buddhism to Sri Lanka.

See Also Aśoka.

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MOGHILA, PETR See PETR MOGHILA

MOHENJO-DARO See INDUS VALLEY RELIGION

MOHILEVER, SHEMUʾEL (1824–1898), a leader of the proto-Zionist movement Ḥibbat Tsiyyon. Born in Lithuania, Mohilever served as rabbi in various communities in Lithuania and Poland. In the 1860s and 1870s, he wrote articles in the religious periodical *Ha-Levanon,* in which he advocated cooperation between the Orthodox and the *maskilim,* the followers of the Jewish Enlightenment. Relations between these two groups were extremely bitter, and Mohilever's attempt to create a bridge between them remained ahead of its time.

Like some of the *maskilim,* Mohilever was attracted to the idea of settlement of Jews in the Land of Israel even before the pogroms of 1881. Following the pogroms and the beginnings of mass emigration, he joined with others in creating the Ḥibbat Tsiyyon movement to divert the emigrants to Palestine. Mohilever was the honorary president of the Kattowitz conference of 1884, and his closing speech became a classic Zionist sermon. Ḥibbat Tsiyyon was torn from the outset by tensions between its religious and secular members, and these ultimately led to a withdrawal of support by many Orthodox Jews who had initially favored the movement. True to his belief in working with the *maskilim,* Mohilever remained in Ḥibbat Tsiyyon. However, in order to further religious interests in the movement, Mohilever suggested establishment of a "spiritual center" (*merkaz ruḥani*) which, following his death in 1898, became the foundation for Mizraḥi, the religious Zionist faction within Theodor Herzl's Zionist movement.

Mohilever worked intensively on developing Jewish colonies in Palestine and influenced Baron Edmond de Rothschild to contribute money toward this end. He also headed a tour of agricultural colonies in 1890. These settlement activities, although small and often failures, laid the groundwork for the later Zionist settlement.

Mohilever joined Herzl's World Zionist Organization when it was founded in 1897, but because of his infirm condition, he played no role in its activities. Nonetheless, he made an important contribution to the later Zionist movement with his insistence on an alliance between religious and secular Jewish nationalism.

See Also Zionism.

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MÖHLER, JOHANN ADAM (1796–1838), German Roman Catholic theologian. Möhler was born on May 6 in Igersheim, Germany, near Mergetheim, about fifty miles from Stuttgart. Having determined to become a priest, he entered the seminary at Ellwangen, which seminary was incorporated by the government of Württemberg into the University of Tübingen in 1817. Möhler was ordained in 1819, and after a year in parish work he returned to Tübingen, to continue his studies in classical philology. Because the seminary authorities experienced continuing difficulty finding a suitable instructor in church history, Möhler found himself appointed privatdocent in church history in 1822 and instructed to prepare himself as best he could. He was given leave in 1822–1823 to travel to various German universities, the high point of his trip being brief contacts with Johann August Wilhelm Neander, Philipp Marheineke, and Friedrich Schleiermacher in Berlin. In the summer of 1823, Möhler began to teach church history, patristics, and canon law at Tübingen. He also contributed articles and reviews to the *Tübinger theologische Quartalschrift,* founded in 1819 by his principal mentor, Johann Sebastian Drey.

Möhler's first major work appeared in 1825: *Einheit in der Kirche, oder Das Prinzip des Katholizismus, dar-gestellt im Geiste der Kirchenväter der drei ersten Jahrhunderte* (Unity in the Church, or the principle of Catholicism, as presented in the spirit of the fathers of the first three centuries). Following the path of Drey's interest in, but by no means full acceptance of, the views of Schleiermacher and Schelling, Möhler in effect locates the Romantic concern for the organic unity of man with man and man with God in the writers of the first Christian centuries. This unity is traceable to the working of the inner spirit of the church, although, like Drey, Möhler retains a clear distinction between the divine and the human. (It should be noted that throughout his theological career Möhler tended to a somewhat Jansenistic view of the anticipatory, or initiating, role of divine grace.) Möhler differed with what later in the century would be standard Roman Catholic teaching in his conception of the church: the outward forms of Christianity are simply produced, as needed, by the spirit, with no assurance that the forms thus produced will always be the same. He wrote, for example, that "the Church is the body belonging to the spirit of the faithful, a spirit that forms itself from inward out." This and similar expressions earned Möhler the mistrust of those German Catholics who lived under Prussian rule, frustrating his attempt to move to one of the Prussian universities. Later some Catholic commentators, such as Edmond Vermeil, saw in Möhler a progenitor of modernism. In 1827 Möhler's *Athanasius der Grosse und die Kirche seiner Zeit* (Athanasius the Great and the church of his time) appeared, in which he criticizes Schleiermacher's Sabellianism and his tendency to blur the God-man distinction. In the following year Möhler was made *professor ordinarius* and doctor of theology.

With Marheineke's *Institutiones symbolicae* as his apparent model, and answering to the renewed German interest in the doctrinal differences arising from the Reformation, Möhler published in 1832 the first of five editions of *Symbolik, oder Darstellung der dogmatischen Gegensätze der Katholiken und Protestanten* (Symbolics, or presentation of the dogmatic differences of Catholics and Protestants). The title refers not to religious symbols but to the Latin *symbolum*, that is, creedal statement. His characterization of Protestant churches drew a number of sharp replies from that quarter, the most significant being the work of his university colleague (on the Protestant theological faculty) Ferdinand Christian Baur, *Der Gegensatz des Katholicismus und Protestantismus . . . mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Herrn Dr. Möhlers Symbolik.* Besides these two works in their various editions, Möhler and Baur each addressed an additional book-length reply to the other, Möhler's *Neue Untersuchungen* and Baur's *Erwiederung auf . . . Möhlers neueste Polemik.* It would appear that the controversy upset both the peace of the university and Möhler's health, with the result that Möhler moved to Munich, where he began teaching in the university in 1835 and where he died on April 12, 1838. His lectures on church history, patristics, and Paul's *Letter to the Romans* were published posthumously.

Möhler's *Symbolik* is divided into two books. After an introduction, book 1 compares Roman Catholic with Lutheran and Reformed teaching in the areas of original sin, justification, the sacraments and the church, and eschatology. Book 2 takes up "the smaller Protestant sects," namely, those of the radical Reformers, Quakers, Pietists, Methodists, Swedenborgians, Socinians, and Arminians. Möhler's conception of comparative dogmatics goes far beyond merely recording divergent views. It is necessary, he writes, "to decompose a dogma into the elements out of which it has been formed and to reduce it to the ultimate principles whereby its author had been determined." On the other hand, it is also necessary that all "parts of the system be viewed in their relation to the whole, . . . to the fundamental and all-pervading idea." Whereas the spirit of the church led Catholicism, as a collectivity, to produce Catholic dogma, the teachings of the reformers were their individual productions. In Luther's mind and teaching, remarks Möhler, there was only "the inordinate pretension of an individuality which wished to constitute itself the arbitrary centre round which all should gather." In this apotheosis of the human, Schleiermacher is "the only genuine disciple of the Reformers." (Interestingly, Baur basically accepted Möhler's assessment of Protestantism. What he objected to was Möhler's denial of Protestantism's right to doctrinal development.) Paradoxically, the germ of Luther's error lay in his theological anthropology, in his understanding of original sin, wherein the total loss of human freedom leads to the affirmation of universal divine necessitation. Viewed systematically, Protestantism displays the fatal flaw of the disappearance of the merely finite human. By 1832 Möhler had sufficiently mastered church history to recognize and accept fundamental theses of the Council of Trent: synergism in justification and good works, and the positive, outward role of Jesus Christ in the institution of the church and the seven sacraments.

In its immediate effect Möhler's work was a noteworthy contribution to increased self-respect and intellectual respectability among mid-nineteenth-century German Catholics. The long-term effect of Möhler's work arose less from his polemical thrusts than from his essentially Romantic vision of the place of Christ in the church. If the whole life of Jesus Christ is "one mighty action," then "the Church is the living figure of Christ manifesting himself and working through all ages. . . . He is eternally living in his Church, and in the sacrament of the altar he has manifested this in a sensible manner to creatures endowed with sense." Möhler's interest in the organic nature of reality and in the dignity of the human as a finite symbol of the divine can be traced, for example, in M. J. Scheeben's *The Mysteries of Christianity* (1865) and Henri de Lubac's ecclesiological studies—and ultimately in papal and conciliar documents, namely, Pius XII's *Mediator Dei* and *Mystici corporis* and the Constitution on the Liturgy of Vatican II.

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MOKOSH is the life-giving goddess in ancient Slavic mythology, inherited from the pre-Indo-European pantheon and debased during the early Christian era. She is the only female deity mentioned in the Kievan pantheon established by Vladimir I in 980 CE. In northern Russia, she has survived as a house spirit, Mokysha or Mokusha; a tall woman with a large head and long arms, she shears sheep at night and spins flax and wool. Her name is connected with spinning and plaiting (Lithuanian *meksti*, *makstyti*, "to plait," and *mākas*, "shirt"; Russian *meshok*, "sack, bag," *moshna*, "pouch") and with moisture (**mok-* or **mokr-*, "wet, moist"). These associations suggest her ties with the life-giving and life-taking goddess of Old Europe—that is, with Fate, the spinner of the thread of life and the dispenser of the water of life. Menhirs (*kamennye baby*), venerated in some Slavic areas into the twentieth century (and some now called *Maria*), seem to be connected with this ancient goddess, who possessed healing powers. Paralytics, the blind, and the deaf offered flax, wool, and sheep to these stones.

In the Christian era, Mokosh was superseded by Paraskeva-Piatnitsa ("Friday, fifth day") or Lianitsa ("linen washer"). In the Russian Orthodox tradition she is identified as Saint Paraskeviia (from the Greek *paraskevi*, "Friday"). Friday was a day sacred to the goddess and was characterized by taboos on women's work. In Carnival processions, the saint's image was that of a woman adorned with flax, her hair hanging loose and her hands extended. Legends speak of the miraculous powers of healing springs or river sources associated with Paraskeva-Piatnitsa. In the Russian ritual called *mokrida* (from *mokr-*, "wet"), a sacrifice to her consisted of flax, wool, thread, or woven articles such as towels and shirts. Her most important holiday fell on October 28, a day within the annual period of flax preparation. Women may not work on this day. Disregard of this rule may bring on blindness or some other malady, or may even result in death. Piatnitsa may transform intransigent women into frogs. Posts and shrines in her honor were built at crossroads, and wooden images of her were erected as late as the twentieth century.

In northern Russia, old icons testify to the continuing importance of this pre-Indo-European goddess in Christian guise. In them, Saint Paraskeviia, who replaced Mokosh, is shown as one of a saintly triad, along with Saint Elijah (Il'ia), who replaced the Indo-European deity Perun, and Saint Blasius (Vlasii), who replaced the Indo-European deity Veles-Volos.

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MOKṢA. The term *mokṣa*, a Sanskrit masculine substantive, and its feminine synonym *mukti*, are derived from the linguistic etymon *muc*, meaning "release." Both terms have always been employed in an exclusively religious sense, denoting release from the tedious and painful cycle of transmigration (*saṃsāra*). Such a notion first appears in Indian thought with the oldest Upaniṣad, as well as in early Buddhism.

The notion of *mokṣa* is found neither in old Vedic literature, nor in the Saṃhitās ("collections"), nor in the Brāhmaṇas, the commentaries referring to sacrificial rites. Indeed, the oldest known Vedic texts are concerned with enjoyment *(bhukti)* of the earthly world, not with release from it. The metaphysical, moral, and soteriological associations of the concept of *mokṣa* are based on a religious sensibility that places absolute priority on the experience of being liberated from those very structures and patterns.

It was not until the sixth century BCE that texts began to give evidence of what would come to be the main concern of Indian religious thought, that is, release from the cycle of rebirth or *saṃsāra*, which is generated by the weight of actions (*karman*) fulfilled during the present life or during previous ones. Such a preoccupation arose at the same time in Brahmanism and Buddhism, and eventually extended throughout the Indian subcontinent. It lies at the very base not only of the Upaniṣads but of the teachings of the Buddha and of his contemporary, the other great religious reformer, Mahāvīra.

The concept of *mokṣa* becomes more elaborately developed in both the *Mahābhārata* and the *Laws of Manu.* The idea also appears in the early Upaniṣads, but is expressed with the synonymous term *mukti.* When *mokṣa* appears, it is under its compound *vimokṣa*, but with the same meaning. Early Buddhism employes the Pali form *mokkha.*

The *Bhagavadgītā*, which very likely constitutes one of the earlier parts of the *Mahābhārata*, does not yet employ the word *mokṣa*, but the etymon *muc* provides substitutes to specify those who have a mind to gain release (4.4); the one who is released is referred to with the adjective form *mukta* (5.28) and, as in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, which predates the *Gītā* by three centuries, the substantive form appears only as *vimokṣa* (16.5) or *nirvimokṣa*, with the same meaning.

Often, where *mokṣa* might be expected, other words are substituted for it. A word derived from Vedism, *amṛta*, is used to introduce the notion of immortality; in that case, however, it takes on a particular significance, putting the stress on the fact that *mokṣa* results in a privileged position, the major effect of which is to avoid rebirth. The essential point is that *mokṣa* is liberation from the ties of action (*karman*) and from *saṃsāra*, the endless chain with no beginning.

By using a different vocabulary, the later systems derived from Brahmanic thought give a different coloration to their conception of release. For instance, the Yoga system proposes *apavarga*, which emphasizes escape from the cycle of rebirths; the Sāṃkhya chooses the word *kaivalya*, that state of being in which one regains primitive unity. However, in spite of a different wording, the aim remains the same, that is, the liberation of the *jīva*, or the individual soul.

In the Vedānta texts of the Middle Ages, composed by the commentators on the *Brahma Sūtra*, it is the substantive term *mokṣa* that is preferred. The most influential of these commentators are Śaṅkara (eighth century CE), Rāmānuja (c. eleventh to twelfth century), Nimbārka (thirteenth century), Madhva (fourteenth century), and Vallabha (fifteenth century). Following them, modern Indian philosophers of the nineteenth century as well as contemporary thinkers adhered to the same term.

Mokṣa is a perennial word in the Indian religious vocabulary; the notion it conveys in every case is the assurance that the practitioner is never to come back to this world again. Various ascetic traditions throughout Indian history have taught that the release from the world can actually take place before one's physical death. Such traditions speak then of the *jīvanmukta*, that person who is "released while still alive."

Writings colored by Tantric influences, particularly those connected to the Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra, mention three ways to liberation. The first is based on a full differentiation between the god and his worshiper. The second is based on a theory of union between the two of them: Self and self make one; God and soul are one. The third way to liberation consists of an attempt to reintegrate the Supreme Self through complete identification with it. In Tantric Vaiṣṇavism, that expectation is named inmost union, or *sayujya*.

The *Bhagavadgītā* delineates three paths of self-discipline leading to freedom: through action (*karmayoga*), through knowledge (*jñānayoga*), and through devotion (*bhaktiyoga*). In the first, one is deemed bound by each good or evil deed yet can win appropriate reincarnation through actions or deeds. On the face of it, it seems impossible to place *karman* and *mokṣa* together; good deeds may only be valued as preliminary steps to liberation. But we must consider here the particular context of *karman* in its primitive significance as a ritual act, an act specially consecrated. The word *karman* is, of course, basically related to action. However, one will not be tied up by one's actions if one bears in mind the all-important rule not to expect a reward in this world or later on. Only acts with no self-concern may open the kingdom of the *brahman*.

The main characteristic of *jñānayoga* is the cognition that *ātman* and *brahman* are identical. It is cognition or insight that grants man real freedom, for the individual soul is considered free but fails to recognize it.

The *Bhagavadgītā*, together with all of the theistic systems, also espouses a third way to reach emancipation, that is, through *bhakti*, or devotion. Originating in Vaiṣṇavism, *bhakti* spread forth into other religious traditions of India, and became particularly important in Tantric Śaivism.

With regard to cognition or meditation as a path to *mokṣa*, both the Upaniṣads and Śaṅkara hold that there is a procedure of mind bound to an intuitive recognition between the *ātman* and the *brahman*, that is, the identity of the self within the Self, or the Primary Energy from whom all energies proceed. Through mere concentration of mind one should seize that identification content as the intuitive recognition of the famous *tat tvam asi:* "that thou art."

In the theistic systems, the meditation process, rather than relying upon abstractions, rests on a personification of the Ultimate. Meditation is achieved by concentrating on the god's performances such as they are reported in the sacred texts. The gods are invoked through prayer formulations known as mantras, which are expected to be impregnated by the very energy of the One invoked. The foundations of a relationship with the Lord are built on love and confidence. In return, the Lord, through his benevolence, grants his worshiper the deliverance others achieve only through the course of multiple lifetimes. Sometimes, *mokṣa* appears as a favor granted by the god, owing nothing at all to human effort. The notion of delivery is conceived of quite differently by theistic and nontheistic systems. If such a quest is evident in the Indian current of thought, it is out of a theistic conception that it acquires its full religious significance.

Indian writings with a political tendency often mention the three traditionally recognized objects (*varga*s) of earthly life: *dharma* (moral duty or law), *kāma* (enjoyment), and *artha* (material wealth). In a combined philosophical and religious context, a fourth object, *mokṣa*, is added. Philosophically, it is recognized as the most important, for it expresses the human being's supreme object, his return to the primary cause, the Ultimate.

In the Upaniṣadic context, *mokṣa* is the cause of little mythological elaboration. It is from traditions where *mokṣa* is won by worshiping a personified god that the myth takes strength in literature as well as in iconography. From the epic poems (i.e., the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*) onward, the notion of liberation is given a mythological context. One of the most striking examples is provided by Kṛṣṇaism. In the separate forms of a child, a warrior, and a lover, the hero Kṛṣṇais a permanent actor in the quest for salvation of his worshipers.

The Vedānta circles that issued from Rāmānuja and Nimbārka, and later from Vallabha, emphasized the combined worship of Kṛṣṇa and of his favorite shepherdess, Rādhā, for the predominance of love over any other feeling may in itself lead to emancipation. Because every iconic image keeps a fragment of divinity after ritual ceremonies have been practiced, worshiping images is a definite step in adoration; more potent than the rite itself are the images, charged with a salvific power. The Śaiva tradition also recognizes the efficacy of worshiping the images of the god (Śiva) and the goddess (Devī or Kālī or the Great Goddess).

When people beg for material valuables, the one "who knows," as it is said in the Upaniṣads, is aware that only through the benevolence of God may he reach the Ultimate, which is the way out of the cycle of rebirths.

SEE ALSO Bhagavadgītā; Bhakti; Jīvanmukti; Jñāna; Karman, article on Hindu and Jain Concepts; Madhva; Mūrti; Nimbārka; Rāmānuja; Sāṃkhya; Saṃsāra; Śaṅkara; Vallabha.

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MONASTERY.

[*This entry discusses the architecture of Christian monasteries. For discussion of monasteries in Asian religions, see* Temple, *articles on* Buddhist Temple Compounds, Daoist Temple Compounds, *and* Confucian Temple Compounds. *For further discussion of the monastic way of life, see* Religious Communities.]

A monastery is a building or group of buildings arranged for the members of a religious order to live as a community apart from the world in work, study, and prayer dedicated to God. The term *monastery* will be broadly used here to mean not only the houses of monks but also the houses of nuns (convents) and friars (friaries); the term *monk* will be used to mean both male and female residents of monasteries.

The practice of Christian monasticism has its origins in Egypt where, beginning in the late third century, men withdrew to the deserts and mountains to meditate and fast in solitude. Soon these hermits (Lat., *eremites*) formed groups of cells adjacent to a small oratory or church (*laura*). Pachomius (c. 292–346) was the first to organize hermits into a cenobitic community (*coenobium*), where each monk lived alone in a room or a cell but joined with the other monks for prayer and meals. Nothing is known about the physical appearance of these monasteries except that the informally disposed buildings were surrounded by a wall, and the monks grouped according to skills or crafts. In Asia Minor, Basil the Great (c. 329–379) added charitable works such as establishing orphanages, hospitals, and workshops to the monks' activities. Some monastic communities included buildings for travelers and pilgrims.

By the fifth century, the cenobitic system had spread throughout the Mediterranean world and north through Europe. The organization of the buildings varied from monastery to monastery, according to what activities were performed and at what times of the day and night. A coherent and logical architectural scheme was worked out only after the monks' day was strictly regulated.

In 529, Benedict of Nursia (c. 480–547) established a community at Monte Cassino, in Italy, where he composed a rule to govern its life. The rule demanded a blend of liturgy, study, meditation, and manual labor under the close direction of an abbot (*abbas*). While not prescribing the physical features of the monastery, the rule profoundly influenced its design by touching on all aspects of monastic activity, including the monastery's services to society.

THE BENEDICTINE SCHEMA. By the late eighth century, Benedict's rule was the accepted code for western European monasteries. The first monastic plan is known as the Plan of Saint Gall—it is extant and now resides in Saint Gall, Switzerland. This plan is a copy from about 820 of a lost scheme for an ideal monastic complex formulated during the reform synods of Aachen in the years 816 and 817. The plan did not designate a specific monastery and was never built as such; rather, it was a statement of policy showing what buildings should make up an ideal monastery and the relationship of these buildings to one another. The Plan of Saint Gall provided a model for later monasteries where the rule of Saint Benedict could be lived in the most rational manner.

Designed to accommodate 110 monks and 150 to 170 serfs and workmen, the Saint Gall plan clearly defines the different activities of the monastic community within separate buildings. Broadly described, these buildings comprise the church; the cloister and its buildings for the monks; the buildings for the sick, the elderly, and the novices; the buildings for the monastery's secular responsibilities; and the domestic buildings serving the community. Each building on the plan is labeled, and these labels are sometimes complemented by a reference to the spiritual significance of the building. The order and logic of the plan both served and reflected the order of the monks' lives as prescribed by Benedict's rule—a perfect life required a perfect monastery.

Components. The monastery, a self-contained and self-sustaining community within the larger community of empire, kingdom, or nation, was enclosed by a high wall with only one means of access. Its physical and spiritual heart was the church. Whereas in the eastern Mediterranean, the centralized, or cross, plan was more popular, in the West, as the Saint Gall plan shows, the basilical plan was preferred. East or West, the church was always the most resplendent building in the monastery, invariably constructed of stone or brick and richly ornamented. The church served the local parish, pilgrims, and guests as well as the monastic community. The lay community and visitors were restricted to the western end of the church, located closest to the monastery's entrance.

The monks, housed in their own group of buildings, were isolated from serfs and workmen and from the secular activities of the monastery. Located alongside the eastern half of the church, the monks' quarters consisted of three ranges of large, often double-storied buildings tightly locked around a square or rectangular courtyard that was the cloister. This cloistral complex was usually sited on the south side of the church in cooler northern climates and on the north side in southern climates; site constraints also influenced its location.

A continuous covered arcade surrounded the open court and so gave direct access to all the buildings. The walk closest to the church often was used for reading or study and from the fifteenth century contained recesses or carrels to hold the monks' desks. The origin of the cloister as an architectural unit is still unclear, but the square-shaped cloister surrounded by the monks' quarters was an invention of the Carolingian age; its development was dependent on the adoption of the highly controlled and ordered life prescribed by Benedict.

On the eastern side of the cloister, the dormitory was placed at right angles to the church and, joined to it at the transept, provided direct access for the monks during night services. Monks slept communally in the early Benedictine monasteries, although the dormitory often was divided into separate cubicles by wooden partitions. After Pope Martin V conceded single cells to the Benedictines in 1419, the common dormitory became rare. Taking up a greater area than a dormitory, single cells probably led to the two-story cloister composed of cells on all three sides of the upper floor. On the Saint Gall plan, the dormitory was raised above the monks' warming, or day, room. Located near the dormitory was the reredorter, or latrine, which was linked by a covered passage to protect the monks in inclement weather.

The refectory was placed at right angles to the dormitory, parallel to the church, with the vestiary, or wardrobe, above. While most refectories were at ground level, some were raised on undercrofts, which were used for food storage. Like the dormitory, the refectory had to be large enough to accommodate all the monks at one time. Monks ate at long tables while listening to scriptural readings given from a pulpit. A fountain or basin for the monks to wash in before eating was located near the refectory, often in the south walk of the cloister. From the twelfth century, the fountain was commonly an independent structure projecting into the cloister opposite the refectory. The kitchen was located near the refectory but usually outside the cloister.

On the west side, for easy access to the outer world, was the cellar, located on the ground floor, with a larder above. Between the cellar and the church, the sole formal exit from the cloistral area was through the monks' parlor, where monks, when permitted, met guests. Except for the time they spent working, the monks spent their entire lives in the cloistral complex. This complex, an architecturally conceived whole, provided a self-contained world for the monks within an already separate world.

From the eleventh century, one other building or room not included on the Saint Gall plan became a standard feature of the cloistral area: the chapter house. Used for business matters of the monastery and as a burial place for the abbots, the chapter house was located either next to the church or under the dormitory. In England, it was sometimes a separate circular or polygonal building.

The other buildings that made up a typical medieval monastery, as shown on the Saint Gall plan, were sited and grouped according to their function and their relationship with the secular world. Attached to the north side of the church were rooms for the porter and visiting monks. Flanking the apse was the scriptorium, where selected monks copied and illuminated manuscripts, with the library above it. By the twelfth century, the library frequently was located under the dormitory, alongside the chapter house. Also on the north side of the church, but freestanding, were the buildings that served the monastery's obligations of hospitality and education. These included the house and kitchen for visitors of rank; a school for children of the local nobility; and a house and kitchen for the abbot, whose social responsibilities included such secular activities as entertaining guests. The inscription on the Saint Gall plan notes that the ideal abbot's house is constructed of stone; in many monasteries, except for the church, the abbot's house was the most splendid building.

Isolated to the northeast of the church was the infirmary. This infirmary, also used as a nursing home for aged monks, often was designed as a monastery in miniature, with its own refectory, dormitory, bath house, and chapel arranged around a cloister. Completing this unit was the doctor's house, the house for bloodletting, and a medicinal herb garden. Nearby was the cemetery, which in the Saint Gall plan doubled as an orchard. The novitiate, also planned as a monastery in miniature, was to the south of the infirmary.

The L-shaped tract of land on the south and west was occupied by the service buildings. These included chicken and goose houses, a granary, a mortar and mill, workshops, houses for livestock and their keepers, and facilities for visiting pilgrims, paupers, and servants of distinguished guests.

Careful attention was paid to sanitation. In the Saint Gall plan, most of the latrines were placed on the perimeter. Whenever possible, monasteries were located near flowing water, which was channeled both to provide fresh water and to carry away waste. The importance of the water supply and drainage in medieval monasteries is attested to by a plan, drawn up around 1160, for the installation of a new water system at the Canterbury Cathedral monastery.

There is a coherent and logical organizing principle underlying the plan of Saint Gall. The hierarchical division and separation of buildings by function that is integral to the plan is clearly realized in all later monasteries. The plan provided a highly generalized statement adaptable to highly particularized site conditions, needs, and size. The clarity and unity of the plan served the monastery at a symbolic as well as a practical level, reflecting the order of the Benedictine rule and, by extension, the divine order and rule. For many centuries, the scheme of Saint Gall remained the guiding principle for the layout of a monastery, easily adapted to meet the requirements of orders other than the Benedictine.

OTHER DEVELOPMENTS. The monasteries of the Carthusian order are a variation on the carefully conceived scheme of Saint Gall. In 1084, Bruno of Cologne (c. 1030–1101) fused the eremetic life with the cenobitic in one complex at Chartreuse, France, soon called La Grande Chartreuse. It was designed to house twelve monks and a prior, with each living alone in a cell and working alone in the private garden attached to his cell. The only communal activities in these Carthusian monasteries were mass, matins, vespers, and occasional meals. To ensure the monks' solitude, the cells and gardens were arranged around a large cloister and separated from the ancillary activities of the monastery by the church, refectory, chapter house, library, and prior's cell, all of which were organized around a second and smaller cloister. The quarters for the lay brothers *(conversi)*, who ministered to the needs of the monks, and for the guests were arranged around a separate cloister. Because their tasks required more frequent contact with the outside world, lay brothers inhabited either the western range of the cloister or a duplicate cloistral complex to the west. The Certosa di Pavia, the charter house in Pavia, Italy, founded in 1396, is typical of the layout and, like many Carthusian monasteries, housed twice the ideal number of twelve monks. Despite the adoption of single cells and private gardens, there was no substantive alteration in the ideal monastic scheme since there was no fundamental change in the monk's world of prayer, study, and work.

The Cistercians, founded in 1098 by Stephen Harding, dedicated themselves to restoring the original concept of Benedict's rule—self-sustaining communities based on a life of hard manual labor and prayer. They built their first monastery at Cïteaux, France, but it was later, under the leadership of Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), that the order grew rapidly. Uniformity of activities and liturgy within the order resulted in uniformity in plan and design. For example, all the early churches followed the so-called Bernardine plan of a long nave and a rectangular apse in imitation of the church at Clairvaux. The Abbey of Maulbronn, Germany, founded in 1139, exemplifies Cistercian planning as a whole as well as the early design of the church. Located in secluded valleys, Cistercian monasteries possessed small guest quarters and no outer school. The lay brothers, in the western range of the cloister, were physically separated from the cloister by a walk known as the lane. The monks' refectory was usually at right angles rather than parallel to the church, probably to provide space for the kitchen between the refectory and the quarters of the lay brothers. Extensive and often distant land exploitation required granges consisting of living quarters, a chapel, and barns.

Over the centuries, Benedictine monasteries increasingly were adorned with figural sculpture and painting intended to instruct the faithful in Christian doctrine. For Bernard, this architectural ornament achieved an aesthetic and emotional power inappropriate for monks. Cistercian architecture was without figural sculpture and was minimally embellished, but the unplastered stone buildings achieved an austere monumentality reflective of Cistercian ideals. Cistercian monasteries were structurally innovative and influential in the dissemination of the pointed arch and vault throughout Europe.

The Franciscans (founded by Francis of Assisi, c. 1181–1226), the Dominicans (founded by Dominic of Osma, c. 1170–1221), and the Augustinians (late eleventh century) adapted the Benedictine schema to serve their synthesis of the contemplative life and active ministry. Located in cities and towns, their churches were large and spacious to serve better the new emphasis on preaching. From the 1520s, these three orders played a crucial role in the colonization and conversion of the Americas. In Mexico alone, nearly sixty monasteries were built in the sixteenth century. The early monasteries consisted of a church, often of single nave, and accommodations for the friars grouped around a cloister. For the enormous number of converts, the friars built a large walled courtyard that was attached to a side or corner of the church; this served as a temporary outdoor nave for the huge congregations. A typical courtyard consisted of a vaulted structure with a triple-arched façade to house the Sacrament on the side opposite the entrance and small square structures known as *posas* (Span., *posar*) at the corners. Pauses were made at the *posas* during liturgical processions around the courtyard, and they were used by the friars when teaching separate groups in the corners. The Dominican Monastery of Tepotzlan, Mexico, built in the sixteenth century, shows this ensemble. Both the open court and the *posas* appear to be an original architectural solution, probably invented by the Franciscans, for the particular spatial needs of the early Mexican monasteries. By the mid-sixteenth century, it was normal for these nontraditional open courtyards to be roofed, using traditional European techniques.

As early as the seventh century, and as formalized in the Saint Gall plan, many monasteries served the dual needs of both the monks and the larger community. In England, for example, in ten of the seventeen dioceses, the bishop's residence was in a monastery, and the monastery church also served as the cathedral church. Built within cities, the monks' buildings were set apart by a high wall. The church formed a physical and spiritual link between the conventual buildings and the bishop's palace, court, and administrative buildings outside.

The alliance of secular power with the monastery was demonstrated most influentially in the Escorial palace-monastery in Madrid, built between 1563 and 1584. It was conceived and endowed by Philip II as a retreat for himself and as a mausoleum for his father, Charles V; the monks, in this case of the Hieronymite order, performed daily rituals of commemoration for dead and living royalty. The Escorial was built on a plan of axial symmetry, with the church and crypt at the center and the monastic community housed around five cloisters on the south side of the church and its forecourt. To the north were the palace, a college and seminary, and lodgings for guests. A radical innovation was the king's apartment wrapped around the sanctuary of the church; its location simultaneously stated the power of the monarchy and affirmed monarchal piety. The absolute order of the design of the Escorial, where even the cruciform church echoes the overall grid, reiterates this union of church and monarchy.

The union of religion and state achieved its greatest architectural grandeur in the eighteenth-century Baroque monasteries, especially in central Europe. Adopting a symmetrical and axial plan in emulation of the Escorial, both monastic and secular precincts also were built around their own cloisters. Imperial apartments usually possessed a monumental, ceremonial staircase leading to the imperial hall, a large library to assert the monastery's role as a center of learning, and often a theater. These colossal and ostentatious monastery-palaces had magnificent façades and, sometimes, vast forecourts.

From the beginning, Byzantine and Russian monasteries showed less uniformity of plan than did those in the West. Although the church was normally in the center of the complex, the support buildings were variously arranged. But in the Baroque period, many newly founded monasteries followed the symmetrically planned and sumptuously appointed models of central Europe.

MODERN TIMES. Following the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century and the French Revolution of 1789, many monasteries were dissolved or suppressed, and the buildings were destroyed. A monastic revival in mid-nineteenth-century Europe, coupled with colonization and increased missionary activity, saw the establishment of monasteries in Africa, the United States, and, by the end of the century, Japan. In the twentieth century, and especially after World War II, many monastic communities launched extensive building programs, often selecting internationally renowned architects. Emphasis was on mission and on hospital and educational work, including higher education. Some monasteries extended the concept of hospitality to serve as temporary retreats for the laity. As before, the church acted as the spiritual unifier and the physical separator; the cloistral area was located on the side farthest from the visitor's area, and the school and other buildings were on the other.

Even before the Second Vatican Council of 1965, monastic churches were designed to emphasize the unity of monks and laity. The Benedictine Abbey of Saint John in Collegeville, Minnesota, founded in 1856 and redesigned by Marcel Breuer in 1953, preserves traditional plan organization while epitomizing the new trends. The entire complex of conventual buildings, a seminary, a university, and a high school, center on and revolve around the church. Scholastic zones are grouped to the north and west, and the conventional buildings are to the south. But the bell-shaped church has a centrally located altar, which allows the monks' choir to be visible to the laity, and new materials and structural forms directly express contemporary technology and ideas.

The monastery provides a physical environment to serve the contemplative and active dimensions of the monk's life and has, therefore, a continuity in overall planning concepts and building type irrespective of the circumstances of time and place. At the same time, within the type, monastic architecture shows the persistent experimentation and variation necessary for the particular requirements of the different orders.

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MONASTICISM

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
BUDDHIST MONASTICISM
CHRISTIAN MONASTICISM

MONASTICISM: AN OVERVIEW

The Greek word *monos*, from which *monasticism* and all its cognates derive, means "one, alone." According to this etymology, therefore, the basic monastic person may be a hermit, a wandering ascetic, or simply someone who is not married or a member of a household. However, the term *monastic* normally refers to people living in community and thus embraces the cenobitic as well as the eremitic and peripatetic lifestyles. In Western societies, the definition of *monasticism* has often been restricted to its classic manifestations, especially the Benedictine tradition. By this definition clergy who adopt some aspects of monastic life and rule (canons regular or regular clerks), mendicant orders (Franciscan, Dominican, and like associations), and other religious orders are not properly called "monastic." Furthermore, within the classic definition one might be able to include some kinds of non-Christian monasticism—that is, those with goals and life patterns fairly similar to the Benedictines—but not others.

Nevertheless, many religious traditions feature (with varying degrees of formal institutionalization) a recognizable type of social structure for which *monasticism* is an appropriate name. The Buddhist *saṃgha*, the Christian religious and monastic orders, Jain monasticism, and Hindu *sādhus* or *saṃnyāsins* provide the most obvious examples. Daoist associations and Muslim Ṣūfī orders share many of the essential features of monasticism, although they also have some atypical aspects. Among primitive peoples something like monasticism exists in the phenomenon of secret societies. Other traditions, for example, Judaism and Protestant Christianity, have little expression of this religious possibility. Even within these religions, however, there have been associations much like monastic communities: among the Essenes, for example, and various sixteenth-century Lutheran groups, through the deaconess movement, to a current interest, most notably in the community at Taize, France.

With all these examples in mind, in the following paragraphs I shall attempt to develop a comprehensive analysis of the monastic phenomenon. In order to avoid the gender specificity of *monk* and *nun*, persons who exhibit and represent the monastic phenomenon will be called "monastics."

DEFINING FEATURES. First and most prominent of the essential features of monasticism is the monastic's distinctive social status and pattern of social relationships. The monastic person is identified as one whose self-perception and public role include membership in a special religious category of persons, a status which is deliberate and extraordinary. In some cases the monastic lives with other monastics, but in other cases participation in a communal life may only be sporadic. Most monastics are at least theoretically members of a group, but they may not live with that group for most of their monastic existence. The monastic status can involve either a new home or homelessness.

The second defining feature of the monastic situation is a specific program or discipline of life. The most obvious examples of formal regulations for the monastic life are the Vinaya of Buddhism and the Benedictine rule, but even less clearly defined categories set up expectations concerning appropriate behavior and activities for monastics. Monastic life, in contrast to the rest of human life, is entirely oriented toward a personal religious goal. Hence, the monastic adopts special patterns of living in order to achieve that goal.

Monastic status is differentiated from other religious roles, offices, and functions in that it is not primarily based on performing some service to others in the religious tradition or to the larger society but on the more private cultivation of a path of transformation. A minister, priest, shaman, or similar expert in sacred procedures exhibits a kind of religious leadership dependent on a community to which sacred values are transmitted. Certainly these roles can be merged: some religious professionals also live like monastics. Likewise the monastic person or community can take on many and varied tasks of service, only some of which may be obviously connected to the pursuit of the personal religious goal. Nevertheless, the essential element in any monastic situation is the longterm focus of the monastic life: separation from normal human existence in the pursuit of individual aspirations.

Third, monastic status is celebrated and publicized in various ways. A process of initiation marked by ceremony is very important to public perception as well as to monastic self-consciousness. Monastic status is also often indicated by distinctive clothing, modifications of the body (such as tonsure), and symbolic accoutrements (for example, the Buddhist staff and begging bowl). In many traditions the monastic leaves the arena of family, clan, or similar "natural" grouping and lives in a deserted place. The difference between monastics and others can be expressed through such factors as a different daily schedule: many monastic rules call for interrupted sleep or early rising. A specific diet may be prescribed. In all cases the monastic status represents a new or added identity expressed by specific behaviors, signs, and patterns of relationship to others.

Finally, it is important to note the presence of a larger religious tradition and set of institutions within which the monastic phenomenon takes place. We do not call those institutions "monastic" when the religious community in question is the whole legitimate religious tradition. The Shakers, for example, had many of the patterns of monastic life but constituted a whole church in and of themselves. This is the phenomenon that is more often termed a "sect" or "cult." Monasticism, by contrast, exists as an option within a wider grouping or identity; it is a special possibility that not everyone in that religious group adopts or is expected to adopt.

The optional monastic identity may be central or peripheral to the larger tradition. Christianity can exist without monasticism because, in the "secular" priesthood and episcopal office, it has a social structure and forms of leadership independent of monastic patterns. Such patterns are even less central in Islam, where much of the tradition disowns monasticism completely. By contrast, monasticism is central to Buddhism and Jainism; indeed, the monastic is sometimes thought to be the only true representative of these traditions and the lay community no more than a subordinate support group. Jainism and Buddhism began with monasticism, whereas Christianity manifested this pattern clearly only after a few centuries of existence.

The basic, common features of monasticism, therefore, can be reduced to these four: special status; dedication of monastics to the practice of personal religious disciplines; ritual entry and ongoing identification marked by special appearance; the role of monasticism as an option for some persons within a larger tradition and community. In addition to these features, however, there are many other frequent characteristics of the monastic situation that are not found in all examples.

FREQUENT CHARACTERISTICS. Even though the most careful definition of *monasticism* could not include communal life as a necessary factor, there can be no doubt that monastic existence is rarely completely solitary. Even wandering or hermit monks assemble periodically. These assemblies and the buildings constructed for longterm residence constitute the most visible aspects of monasticism and therefore might assume a larger place in one's perception of the phenomenon than they should. Much that is important to monastic life is personal, private, mental, or otherwise difficult for outsiders to gain access to. It is often only in public ceremonies or visible features such as the monastery itself that the outsider observes the monastic phenomenon. However, any adequate comprehension of monasticism requires a knowledge of the lives, conversations, and writings of monastics.

Sometimes monastic status is lifelong; this would seem to be the normal implication of the initiation into a higher realm. In some situations, however, temporary affiliation with a permanent community or temporary communities is a possibility. In Thailand many young men enter the preliminary stages of monastic life with no intention of persevering. A few months of monastic existence is better than none from their point of view. The Hindu phenomenon of the ashram is also deliberately temporary yet has many of the characteristics of a monastic community. The ashram may be thought of as the stage of life through which a pious Hindu man proceeds on his way from being a householder with a family to becoming a *saṃnyāsin*, a wandering, homeless, holy man. The ashram may also be thought of purely in terms of a forest dwelling place of such a man and the community that may gather around him.

Christian religious orders often have some arrangement whereby laypeople can become affiliated with the order without becoming full members. The third order of the Franciscan tradition and the Benedictine oblates are two such orders. In some instances a residential oblate may live just like the other members of the community or order. Certain Ṣūfīs live a kind of monastic existence in addition to being married, and several contemporary Christian religious communities are experimenting with such an arrangement.

Another frequent feature of monastic life and a major dynamic in its communal form is the phenomenon of discipleship and obedience. Monastic aspirants gather around a spiritual master, *guru,* or initiator who becomes their model and guide. The starets in the Russian Orthodox Christian tradition, the *shaykh* or *murshid* in Sufism, and the Zen Buddhist master are prominent examples. The relationship of master and disciple also can be found in nonmonastic situations. In all examples this type of association is much more intense and personal than that normally experienced between teacher and pupil. The master embodies the lesson and mediates transcendent power; radical obedience is an important discipline in the attainment of the monastic goal. Monastics sometimes validate their doctrine and practice by reference to their masters and their masters' masters, forming lineages back to the founders of their traditions.

Another important aspect of much monasticism, yet one not essential to it, is poverty or simplicity of lifestyle. The constitutive factors of distinction from normal or prevailing forms of life and the adoption of a specific rule and discipline are often expressed in the rejection of comforts or luxuries enjoyed by the rest of society. It is ironic that, despite the attempt to be ascetic or plain, monasteries often become quite wealthy. In order to participate in the holiness of the monastic community, the surrounding community characteristically bestows its valuables on the monastery, hoping to exchange them for the treasures of merit, wisdom, and piety cultivated by the monastics. Also the industry and discipline of monastic work has occasionally produced significant wealth. Such accumulation of wealth, as well as other factors that may lead to a change in the character of a monastic community's life over a period of time, have produced successive reforms within long monastic traditions. Benedictine history is a story of reforms: the first notable one took place under the aegis of Benedict of Aniane about three hundred years after Benedict of Nursia founded the order. This was followed by the reform programs of Cluny, the Cistercians, the Trappists, and so on.

Monastic clothing has had great significance in some traditions. In many cases the origin of such clothing was merely an extension of the emphasis on simplicity—the garments of the poor were adopted. Ṣūfīs are so called because of their affirmation of simple wool *(ṣūf)* in contrast to the silks of the rich. The ocher robe in India and the various colors of the Christian communities have been important means of identification. There has also been a "romance of the cowl." The monastic garment itself has had a fascination and religious significance, for example in the desire to be buried in a cowl through deathbed profession. In Jain monastic practice we find the unusual phenomenon of nakedness as monastic "clothing." The Digamambara Jain monks are thus "sky-clad" as a precaution against harming even a body louse and as an ascetic discipline, and at the same time to signify their monastic status by departing from the normal way of dressing.

According to one interpretation, monasticism can be understood basically in terms of asceticism; self-denial and the acceptance of pain are the basic reasons for the existence of the institution, from this point of view. Insofar as "asceticism" can refer to any kind of discipline, one cannot argue with this approach. "Asceticism," however, is usually associated with painful and rigorous disciplines, and not all monastic systems prescribe difficult or unusually painful practices. The range is very broad between mild ascetic disciplines and self-denial on a heroic scale, although it is rare that a monastic is not self-conscious about avoiding and rejecting many human potentials and comforts. At the least sleep and eating are usually regulated and reduced. Silence is kept for extended periods. However, ascetic practice is also always a matter of perspective and degree: what seems like suffering to one person might not disturb the comfort of another. If a monastic thinks that suffering must be cultivated in order to achieve a religious goal, many and various techniques may be used. In other situations what might seem like asceticism to the outsider may be understood and experienced more as simplicity and the reorganization of life.

Most monastics in the history of world monasticism have been men; indeed, the founders of monastic orders, including the Buddha, have allowed women to be monastics only reluctantly. This probably has been due more to surrounding cultural factors than to anything intrinsic to monasticism. The avoidance of sexual activity and arousal, however, has been an important aspect of much monastic asceticism. Some monks apparently have thought of women primarily as temptresses, and their literature sounds misogynist. The Orthodox Christian monastic center on Mount Athos, in Greece, forbids entrance to women. By contrast, there is greater interest today in mixed communities and in lessening the isolation of monastics from the rest of society.

MONASTIC ACTIVITY. The program, rule, or discipline that is so important in monastic life varies widely between traditions and monasteries. Some monastics spend their time in liturgical activities, others in devotional or yogic exercises, and many in work that does not seem to be religious at all. The monastic performs any task with its religious effects in mind no matter what its other benefits. The basic monastic purpose is to achieve a religious goal, even if the activities performed by monastics may seem somewhat incidental to such a goal. Apparently irrelevant activity often looms large in specific situations and may provide much motivation for the monastic and support from the larger community. The list of monastic disciplines and activities contains none that are absolutely unique to monasticism but many that have been especially prominent and perhaps easier to pursue within a monastic context.

Meditation and prayer, in their various forms, have been the most important activities in most monasteries: meditation may be discursive, ecstatic, yogic; prayer can be spontaneous, formal, communal, solitary. However, all kinds of religious practice are cultivated in monastic situations. Formal liturgical ceremonies (monastic profession or initiation, sacrifices, and sacred dramas) are frequent and conspicuous aspects of monastic life. Monasteries are known for their communal chanting of sacred texts, as certain Ṣūfī orders are known for their dancing rites; other arts are also developed by monastics in the interests of their religious application. Some monastic traditions have been suspicious of particular art forms, associating them with the luxuries of the world or seeing them as distractions; but even simplicity has artistic intention and power. The stark beauty of a Zen garden or a Cistercian church exemplifies a use of the arts in the service of monasticism as much as more ornate and elaborate artistic expressions.

A special kind of meditation or reflection is important to the monastic endeavor in many places and ways. This is the attention given to every detail of life, both physical and mental. Not only are monastics intent on orienting everything in their lives toward the achievement of religious transformation; their heightened consciousness about the motions and thoughts of everyday life becomes itself a transforming mental discipline. They argue that too much human life is lived unconsciously and thus without purpose or organization. By consciously acknowledging and reflecting on such commonplace activities as breathing, walking, or thinking, the monastic gains a new perspective on the human phenomenon. The smallest building blocks of life may be used to evoke ever-deeper awareness and ultimately enlightenment.

The whole of cenobitic monastic life is choreographed by the rules of the order. Times of sleeping, eating, praying, meditating, and working are all prescribed, and these actions are performed by the monastics in unison. The sounds of bells and other signals punctuate the day and coordinate the many lives of the monastics into a single harmonious program. This attempt to blend individual lives into a larger social unity has been influential as a model for utopian theorists and represents to many lay people an attractive aspect of monastic existence. Religious symbols of unity, harmony, and peace are reinforced by the living of the monastic pattern.

It is not difficult to recognize prayer, meditation, and rituals, which are important in any religious situation, as being important as well in the monastic pursuit of religious transformation. However, monastics also do other works that are not so obviously religious. Many monastic rules demand that the monastic perform menial, common chores, not only because work of that sort must be done by someone in any community of human beings but also because of the meaning that is attached to it within the monastic framework: menial labor may give a form to humility, its rhythms may be seen as an aid in meditation, its performance may be an act of service and obedience to the master, and so on. An emphasis on self-sufficiency and isolation has led monastics and monasteries to be pioneers in foreign and remote areas, performing a service in civilizing or proselytizing. Monasteries have also functioned as hotels and hospitals in remote places.

Some monastic work involves intellectual activity. Benedict's rule emphasizes reading *(lectio divina)* as a major component of the monastic life along with prayer and work. The path to perfection or religious transformation is often an intellectual path that requires a new understanding of the self and the world. Reading and study in the monastic context is a means of salvation, a technique for the reconstruction of one's worldview. Also, because the rule, religious texts, and other written guides to meditation, prayer, and discipline must be available to monastics, much of their effort has been put to copying, studying, and teaching these materials. Their educational task starts with that monastic necessity, easily comes to include other religious scholarship, and may extend to more "secular" knowledge as well. Wisdom and religious insight may be cultivated for their role in religious transformation, but here, as elsewhere, there is the potential for great benefit to the rest of society incidental to the main goal. The role of Christian monasteries in preserving classical Greek and Latin writings is a famous example of the intellectual by-products of monasticism. Buddhist *vihāras* in India and elsewhere have been important centers of learning.

In some situations charitable acts are held to be more important for the monastic than more individual disciplines. A distinction is made within Christian communities between contemplative orders, where activities like those mentioned above predominate, and active orders, where emphasis is placed on work with beneficial effects for others. In the active monastic styles the way to attain deeper or higher religious status is associated with the merit and value of meeting people's needs, in addition to or instead of the cultivation of private pieties. Thus a monastic belonging to an active order may be a teacher, nurse, priest, or support person in some beneficial institution, but with an interest or investment in the work that is beyond that of nonmonastic colleagues. For the monastic such work is part of a discipline or rule, a means toward a religious goal.

The services of monasteries to society as schools, hospitals, and places of hospitality to travelers have been mentioned. Monastics have often provided priestly or pastoral services for their larger communities. Monasteries have also served as orphanages, places of burial, research institutes, and pilgrimage centers. They have provided places of reflection and restoration for individual and communal visits and retreats. It may also be important to people preoccupied with daily, practical concerns that monasteries simply exist; the knowledge that somewhere people are praying and meditating can in itself be beneficial.

A number of answers can be given to the question "Why do people become monastics?" Some of these answers might be given by the monastics themselves; others could be provided by students of human behavior attempting to see beneath and beyond the self-consciousness of participants in a social phenomenon. Some of these responses might seem pejorative or critical of the monastic endeavor, while others would be admiring and adulatory. Some answers are psychological and personal, others more social or historical in focus, and most are complex and ambiguous.

Many people have associated the monastic with words like *escape* and *retreat.* This manner of speaking reflects a perception of the monastic world as a realm dominated by an inability or unwillingness to cope with normal life or "the world." This view might lead one to a conception of monastic life as a refuge for the weak or the scrupulous. Insofar as one understands the world and "normal life" to be diabolical or illusory, however, the monastic retreat is the more courageous and realistic option, calling for extraordinary strength and dedication. Monasticism has also been significant as a preserver of culture and civilization in eras when the political structures of the world were weak. Certainly during the disintegration of the Roman Empire monasteries provided islands of tranquillity and an opportunity for the pursuit of intellectual activity that was unavailable in the surrounding society.

The adoption of a markedly different way of living cannot but imply some criticism of the alternatives. Thus some observers have emphasized the role of monastic life as a protest against the prevailing patterns of the world or of the religious tradition. Even without a specific aim of reforming or transforming their traditions, monastics have offered an alternative set of ideals to their coreligionists and in so doing have often, perhaps unwittingly, inspired change.

The meaning of monastic life in specifically religious or theological terms goes beyond the analysis presented above. By means of symbols and doctrines the visible rites and practices of monastic life are understood to be much more significant than is apparent to the outside observer. The theme of death, for example, is prominent in various ways. Through profession or initiation the monastic technically attains a status comparable to that of the dead. Indeed, the death and rebirth symbolism in these rites is often quite clear. Through the transformation of joining the monastic community or adopting monastic status, one enters the realm of being of the angels, the ancestors, or those who have achieved enlightenment. Furthermore, it has been noted that Christian monasticism began when martyrdom ceased, indicating that it took over as the arena of ultimate commitment, the new form in which one could die to the world for one's faith. Buddhist monasticism is also a way of death in that the *dharma* provides a program for eliminating all attachment to the world as well as any desire to be reborn.

When ascetic activities are stressed in a monastic life they may be understood as penance and sacrifice to atone for sinfulness. Suffering can be thought beneficial to oneself or to others, the latter leading to the possibility of merit and its transfer in the thought of the monastics or their surrounding community. Ascetic practice may be seen as a means of gaining power, not only over oneself but also over others, even the gods, for example in the ideas associated with *tapas* in Hinduism.

Monastics as well as scholars have understood monastic life primarily as a pursuit of mystical experience. The *ṭarīqah* in Ṣūfī monasteries can be seen both as a rule and as a method for attaining advanced spiritual life. Many monastics praise and cultivate special states of mind and body, states in which enlightenment, ecstasy, or union with the divine is said to be reached. No matter how advanced the person or the community, however, such states are bound to be rare. Thus, much that is monastic is at best only oriented toward those rare moments, and perhaps quite irrelevant to them. Furthermore, the broad definition and description of monasticism developed in this article includes possibilities for the orientation of monastic existence in other directions. In other words, many monastics may have a conception of the ideal spiritual state that does not center on mystical experiences or realizations, but could instead be focused on charitable, liturgical, or scholarly work to the neglect or exclusion of private mysticism.

One of the criticisms of monasticism has been that it is selfish, that it is in essence a private, individualistic religiosity. That assertion may be true in some instances, but there is much to counter it. Monastic works of charity offer one kind of counterevidence. The social environment of the monastery represents another. Few, if any, monastics have ever been unknown to at least some other people in their environment, and the very fact of their existence has been influential on others. Even if monasticism is centered on the self and its transformation, there has rarely been a monastic for whom the Dominican motto has not been true: "Contemplata aliis tradere" ("To give to others the fruits of contemplation").

CONTEMPORARY MONASTICISM. In recent decades monastics from various religious traditions have become more aware of each other. Toward the end of his life the famous Trappist monk Thomas Merton wrote and spoke of the many similarities among the world's monastic systems. Roman Catholic monasteries in traditionally non-Christian areas have been interested in this consanguinity and have produced some writing on monasticism as an interreligious phenomenon. Since 1960 an organization known as Aide Inter-Monastères has encouraged dialogue between monastics of various religions. Some Christian monastics and monasteries now practice techniques borrowed from Hinduism and Buddhism.

In the United States many experimental as well as traditional new religious communities have been established. A monastic impulse seems to have been a part of the "counterculture" revolution of the sixties and seventies. Monasticism apparently continues to be a persistent and beneficial social and religious structure. In the seriousness with which the monastic reexamines life and its goals, in the rigor with which a discipline of life is pursued, the monastic phenomenon offers an alternative way of life and view of the world to the rest of society.

SEE ALSO Asceticism; Eremitism; Merit; Secret Societies; Spiritual Discipline.

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MONASTICISM: BUDDHIST MONASTICISM

The myth of the historical Buddha's life provides the basic model for Buddhist monasticism. Prince Siddhārtha Gautama went, in Buddhist language, on the "Middle Way," a life of moderate asceticism, between lay life and extreme asceticism. His practices were based on the belief in the existence and attainability of a transcendent reality, enlightenment more profoundly real, powerful, and blissful than the world as experienced in a nonenlightened state. The exercise of meditation, learning, ethical conduct, and progress on the path to liberation were thought to be best managed in solitude, or at least in single-gender communities that did not engage society in traditionally accepted, lay-oriented ways.

Buddhists believe that the best way to follow the path to enlightenment is to live a disciplined lifestyle, one conducive to generating awareness of one's mental states and the causally produced nature of all elements of existence. Sexual relations, marriage, procreation, family life, career, and personal concerns are distractions from religious concerns and thus rejected as preconditions for admission to the Buddhist monastic communities. Buddhists monks and nuns who take vows are, in canonical terms, "pleased" (*prasādita*) by their vows. Joining the monastic order has a tempering or "cooling" (*śītala*) effect on the passions, anger, and delusions of monks and nuns. According to Buddhist doctrine, to be rid of the bonds of habitual thought and behavior is a happy and pleasing thing; monastic life is not supposed to be oppressive or restrictive.

In the monastic literature, whenever the Buddha prohibited an action and instituted a rule, he did so to please his disciples. Buddhist monastic life is considered a liberation from mental and physical bondage and conducive to religious development. In the monastic literary corpus there are many examples of the advantages of monastic life. In one episode from the Pali Vinaya, translated by Isaline B. Horner in *The Book of the Discipline*, the parents of a young man named Upāli were confused about how to educate, care for, and provide for the best interests of their beloved son:

> "By what means could Upāli, after our demise, live at ease and not be in want?" Then it occurred to Upāli's parents: "If Upāli should learn writing . . . his fingers will become painful. If Upāli should learn calculation . . . his breast will become painful. If Upāli should learn money-changing . . . his eyes will become painful. . . . Now if Upāli should go forth among the recluses, the sons of the Śākyans, so would Upāli, after our demise, live at ease and not be in want." (Horner, 1938–1966, vol. 3, pp. 10–11)

When Upāli heard of his parents' plan, he was delighted and encouraged his friends to join him in the Buddhist order. Entry into the monastic order was socially acceptable and advantageous, not a punishment or life-denying exile. Commitment to, or at least proximity to, religious mysteries brought social and political status, and for this reason monks and nuns gained prestige and power in their support communities.

Fully developed Buddhist monasticism likely did not originate during the historical Buddha's lifetime. Still, Buddhist monks and nuns use the example of the Buddha's life story as a behavioral model. Through Buddhist history, in communities of celibate Buddhist men and women there were two ideal modes of behavior, reflecting the origins and historical developments preserved in the Buddha's story. The two are eremitic asceticism, likely taken from the earliest years of the order, and cenobitic community life, in which monks and nuns are engaged with monastic brethren and lay society. Some monks continued the practice of strictly renunciative solitary retreats in sometimes remote areas, affirming the ancient eremitic roots of Buddhism, while others, often from the same monastery, were concerned with active monastery affairs, community academic studies, and ritual practices—a cenobitic lifestyle. Similarly, solitary or group pilgrimage to sacred sites, for example, was an accepted practice for Buddhist monks, as long as the monks stayed within the ethical and behavioral parameters. Both modes of behavior were validated by the life story of the Buddha: the renunciative mode by Siddhārtha leaving his home, family, and birthright; and the active mode of behavior by his activities after his enlightenment, when he returned to public life as a teacher and monastic community developer. This apparent duality of active behavior and renunciative behavior, even in the context of settled monastic life, is one of the characteristics of Buddhist monastic behavior that continues throughout the history of the institution in many if not all its manifestations.

THE SPREAD OF BUDDHIST MONASTICISM. One of the important factors in the spread and growth of Buddhist monasticism was its adaptability. As long as monks and nuns preserved the basic teachings and social behavior patterns, Buddhism could be translated into any language or culture. That is, as long as monks obeyed the monastic laws and engaged in the ritual and meditative practices, Buddhism could and did appear in manifold forms through history. This flexibility served the Buddhist "conquest" of Asia well and stimulated the growth of a massive religious institution with broad sociological diversity, extensive literature, philosophy, ritual, and considerable political power. Indeed, in addition to places for meditation and worship, monasteries were centers for the study and practice of medicine, for writing and building library collections, for Buddhist arts, for adjudicating community disputes, and in general for serving the needs of host communities. Buddhism was and remains an international religion and was intended for transmission into different languages and cultures.

The first example of Buddhism's adaptability to its cultural environment is in India itself. Buddhism was a new innovation that adapted as India grew and developed. The early Buddhist Vinaya collections record the growth and evolution in an Indian cultural context. In the first years of Buddhism, like their Upaniṣad-motivated brethren, Buddha's followers were strictly eremitic, following an extreme ascetic lifestyle. The Vinaya monastic literature records that early monks and nuns wandered from place to place, even through the rainy season. These Buddhist wandering mendicants practiced firm renunciation of worldly concerns. With the success of Buddha's system, however, problems developed because of the sheer numbers of converts. Farmers began to complain about crops destroyed by Buddhists wandering in the monsoon, poorly nourished and weak monks and nuns began to develop illnesses, and the large numbers were difficult to manage. Buddha therefore instructed his communities to set up shelters and temporary residences (*ārāma*) for the duration of the monsoon season. Two sections of the Vinaya deal with the realities of feeding, housing, and occupying itinerant Buddhist monks and nuns during the four-month Indian monsoon season.

The new residences soon increased in size, quantity, and quality, thanks in part to continuing donations of buildings and land by the lay populations and political authorities. Buddhist authorities were soon faced with the problems of retreat conduct, and they needed an effective method to propagate the teachings during the retreat time, when monks and nuns did not wander. The earliest solutions for the communities were the *Poṣadha* (the twice-monthly rules *[prātimokṣa]* recitation ceremony) and, eventually, regular collective meetings for group rituals, practice, and instruction. The recitation meetings were not a Buddhist innovation; other Indian religious groups kept the ancient Vedic tradition of meeting on the days of the full and new moon, a practice common to religions of that era, Buddhist and non-Buddhist. It was nonetheless one of the significant steps in the development of collective Buddhist monastic practice and a demonstration of the order's adaptability to local conditions.

The corpus of Indian Buddhist ritual practices and philosophies grew as the order spread and encountered different environments, languages, and social structures. Buddhist monasteries maintained the fundamental teachings and moderate ascetic lifestyle, but Buddhists soon elaborated on the basic doctrines and accommodated new ritual practices current in its own and in new host cultures. Buddhist monasteries became centers for the production of an extensive literary corpus that was often translated into new host languages and subsequently expanded. Though restricted at various times by adverse sociological, economic, and political conditions, Buddhist monasteries were centers for teaching and learning, for medical study and practice, and for elaboration of Buddhist doctrines and associated rituals.

With regional developments in India and gradually elsewhere, first in tropical Śrī Laṅkā and Southeast Asia and later in high-altitude Northwest India, disputes over points of doctrine and monastic discipline arose. These controversies and resolutions were sometimes recorded in detail and sometimes not, with the result that there is a huge body of often fragmented information about early Buddhist monasticism recorded and transmitted out of its original contexts. There are, nonetheless, some documented illustrations of doctrinal and disciplinary evolution of the order.

The process of institutional development can be seen in recorded events. After Buddha's death in the fourth century BCE, his disciples held a meeting at Rājagṛha, which is historically regarded as the First Council. It is plausible that the faithful would hold a meeting after the death of Buddha to formalize the doctrines and the ethical rules and to eulogize the late Buddha. According to the tradition, after the death of the great teacher the disciples gathered to collect and preserve his teachings. Other meetings followed the First Council. The number of these councils is, however, uncertain, and it is probable that there were many more such meetings than are recorded in the standard histories. The point is that there were general meetings at which the doctrinal and disciplinary teachings were reviewed, codified, and sometimes modified to meet the exigencies of changing conditions. While there were obviously developments of major significance resulting in schisms in the community and the development of historical sects, little of the data in the accounts of the early Buddhist conventions and institutions can be confirmed. All of the specifics of the First, Second, and later Councils—the dates, the places, the topics, the resolutions, the participants—are subject to questions. The interest in the councils lie in what philosophical, ethical, and social questions they raised and how those were resolved to support the evolution of the doctrine and spread of the community.

After the first meeting on the occasion of Buddha's death, there were councils at Vaiśālī and later at Pāṭaliputra (Patna). There was eventually a division in the Buddhist monastic order (between Mahāsāṃghika and Sthavira), but the divisive issues are not well understood. These meetings were either concerned with ten points of monastic discipline or with five points of doctrine attributed to one Mahādeva. The list of ten points includes rather trivial matters, and it is probable that these were in themselves indicators of larger issues.

Indeed, a probable cause of the early schism in Buddhism was a controversy between the majority Mahāsāṃghikas and the Sthaviras over expansion of the Vinaya. The Sthaviras evidently saw a need to expand the Vinaya to meet changing conditions. The Mahāsāṃghikas disagreed and were accused of laxity in discipline, which led to the sectarian dispute.

The early schism in Buddhist monasticism is alternatively attributed to five issues of doctrine called the "heresies of Mahādeva." The five points, which may have been issues of the Third Council, clearly involve points of doctrine, including the status of an enlightened being (*arhat*), but their importance and any significant outcomes are unclear. The sequence, chronology, specific philosophical positions, and importance of the specific points are uncertain, but nonetheless the matters involved monastic life. Later sectarian disputes and divisions likewise were over matters of the inviolability of received scriptures, doctrine, and discipline. The main point is that, as Buddhist monasticism developed, there were disruptive forces in the community. These, however, did not impede the growth of Buddhism; they instead signal how Buddhism adapted to different conditions and ideologies and grew larger as a result.

The early councils and schisms were followed by modifications in later times and other places. Mahāyāna Buddhism developed soon after the early schisms, and new theories, rituals, literature, and engagement with lay society were accommodated by and institutionalized in Buddhist monasteries. Monasticism flourished in Northwest India under the Kūṣāṇa kings, and as time went on Buddhist monasticism spread along the central Asian trade routes into China, Korea, Japan, Southeast Asia, and Tibet. Through all of its manifestations it adapted to local cultures and environments and at the same time preserved its basic doctrinal message and its moderate ascetic lifestyle.

BUDDHIST MONASTICISM AND POLITICS. A key factor in the historical success of the Buddhist monastic institution was its ability to function together with political authorities. Even though monks and monasteries were outside of temporal society and did not recognize conventional social and political authority structures, relationships between monasteries and governments were often symbiotic. Buddhist monasteries enjoyed the extensive support and protection of political authorities, and in turn monasteries offered religious services, education, and public legitimization. Monasteries were often civic institutions and served the needs of local communities, generating considerable political influence. It was in a government's best interest to support and be validated by these institutions, and many of the most famous monasteries were built during the major dynastic periods throughout Asia.

The monastic literature includes accounts of imperial support for Indian Buddhist monasteries even during the Buddha's lifetime. The story of Anāthapiṇḍika tells of support by wealthy merchants and kings, King Bimbisāra in particular, who donated the Jeta Grove near Rājagṛha in Māgadha to the Buddha and his community of followers. In her translation of the Vinaya, Horner reports that "[t]he householder Anāthapiṇḍika had dwelling places made, he had cells made, porches, attendance halls, fire halls, huts for what is allowable, privies, places for pacing, wells, halls at the wells, bathing halls, lotus ponds, etc. . . . [P]eople were making repairs carefully, attending to the robes, almsfood, lodgings and medicines for the sick" (Horner, 1938–1966, vol. 5, pp. 222–223). Such lavish support brought merit to the wealthy and royal classes. Royal support also brought the kings legitimacy and provided lay and monastic communities education, medical and hospice care, and religious services.

Royal and wealthy lay political support is evident throughout Buddhist history. Monasteries spread with official support in Māgadha, Bihar, Śrī Laṅkā, and Southeast Asia in the early years after Buddha's death. India was experiencing new growth and had close contacts with Persia and Bactria, Central Asia, and locales even further. In India monasticism survived and grew with local political support, especially under the Mauryan king Aśoka (c. 269–236 BCE). According to the legend, this king was particularly aggressive in his conquest of the Indian subcontinent and subsequently converted to Buddhism. After his conversion he was an avid supporter of religion, especially Buddhist monastic institutions. Buddhism, and specifically the interests of Buddhist monasteries, became factors in national policymaking. As a result, monasteries grew in number and in strength in India, in the far northwest as far as the Greek colonies, to the north in the Himalayas, and in Southeast Asia.

After the fall of the Mauryas, Buddhism continued to develop with government support from central Asian kingdoms. There was a succession of kings, including the Buddhist supporter King Milinda (r. 160–140 BCE). The short-lived Śuṅga (187–151 BCE) and Kāṇva (151–106 BCE) dynasties sponsored a great deal of construction of stupas, temples, and Buddhist institutions. The Kūṣāṇa dynasty was the next major dynasty to officially endorse and sponsor Buddhist institutions. The first of the major transmissions of Buddhist monasticism to China began during the Kūṣāṇa dynasty. Their kings sponsored Buddhist monasteries that stretched from Afghanistan into Samarkand and through modern Pakistan. The kingdom included all of northern India and was influential in Khotan, Yarkand, Kashgar, and further east. Kaṇiska, the best known of the Kūṣāṇa kings, supported Buddhist monasticism. In these times there was extensive growth of Buddhist ritual, Mahāyāna philosophy, sūtra literature, and institutional expansion.

During the Gupta dynasty (320–580 CE), Buddhist monasticism was supported by the royal courts and by craft guilds. Monasteries were well endowed and became centers of learning and religious practice, and often of community life. Some of the most famous monastic scholars lived in the Gupta period, and monasteries were built throughout India on a grand scale with much political and social support. Religion and politics became so closely related in this period that kings who sponsored building projects often took on nearly divine status. Monasteries also increased their wealth and political power. Some of the most renowned Buddhist monasteries in history were built in the Gupta period. Nālandā Monastery in Bihar, for example, was known throughout classical Asia and was a source of doctrine and monasticism for important Southeast Asian communities.

During the division of India into small kingdoms in the Pāla era (650–1250), Buddhist monasteries consolidated into larger monastic institutions because of a lack of pan-Indian institutionalized support structures and because of the destruction of major Gupta monastic centers by invading armies. Nonetheless, monasticism became the vehicle for the transmission of Buddhism to Tibet, China, and Japan, and to new monastic sites in Cambodia, Pagan, Burma, Java, and elsewhere. Pāla era kings especially established and legitimized their imperial rule by resorting to Buddhist religious models and extensive support of Buddhist monasteries. The practice of religiously legitimizing kingship continued in Tibet and Southeast Asia, notably in the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) during the reign of the Qianlong emperor in the late eighteenth century. As a result, monastic institutions increased, for example, in Tibet and Mongolia, where thousands of new Buddhist monasteries were built in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.

Because Buddhist monasteries enjoyed popular support and often wielded political power, Buddhism was sometimes criticized and even persecuted or regulated by lay authorities. In Tang China (618–907); Buddhism was persecuted, powerful Buddhist monasteries were secularized in Meiji Japan (1868–1912); and monasteries were targeted in Tibet in the modern period under Chinese rule. Monasteries often accumulated so much influence that they threatened the integrity and credibility of lay governments and were thus a threat to established lay political authority.

Monasticism, and its special relationship with political authority, was present in all of its support cultures. The Buddhist community's moderate asceticism and Middle Way doctrines were transmitted intact into an enormous variety of cultures, preserving monasticism as the constant, the vehicle and foundation necessary to reestablish itself in a foreign environment. Its survival and prosperity often depended on local political authorities, and it did indeed survive and prosper.

BUDDHIST MONASTICISM AND ECONOMICS. The Buddhist order was founded and based on metaphysical principles, but its functions were based on the truth of conventional operations in the world. Accordingly, Buddhist monks and monasteries accepted donations of cash, land, and material of all kinds, and they sometimes became rich and powerful. In spite of the injunctions against individual monks owning money, the monastic literature allows the collective ownership of donated and community wealth. Some monks managed their own finances, and in some places a special lay office was established at monasteries to handle donations and finances for monks. Permanent endowments of land and tax rights; endowments of properties with guaranteed long-term agricultural, pastoral, or other income; rights to impose corvée; and constant donations from the lay communities made some monks and monasteries extremely wealthy.

Monasteries were given land, buildings, novice sponsorship, and donations by political authorities and wealthy businesspersons as a matter of routine. Wealthy persons often willed their properties to monasteries or individual monks further increasing monastic holdings. Local laypeople offered food and materials appropriate to their means. Monasteries and monks had other sources of income, depending on the wealth and circumstances of their support communities. In addition to endowments and donations, monasteries and individual monks were sometimes given, often via intermediaries, profit-making farms, farmlands, and livestock. In Tibet and elsewhere, for example, monasteries received regular payments from profits and percentages of commodities produced or sold. Some monasteries lent money and land rights, receiving interest income and payment in kind. The understanding or basic principal at work here was that monastic income, donated and entrepreneurial, was to be used for religious purposes, even if personal and institutional interests coincided. Scholarship has shown that the monastery and individual monks were involved in a broad range of economic activities and that some monasteries and monks became wealthy.

MONASTICISM AND LAW. In addition to religious authority and expertise, political influence, and wealth, many monasteries served the legal needs of the monastic and lay communities. The Buddhist order had a fully developed internal legal system. The monastic law codes divide offenses according to severity and include detailed definitions and case examples for what constitutes each kind of transgression. In addition to internal monastic law codes, Buddhist canonical law was often a validating instrument for lay law. For example, Burmese monastic leaders produced, implemented, and preserved a fully developed lay legal system based on Buddhist law. Monastic law codes were a source of law and legal authority in Southeast Asian cultures and elsewhere, affirming the Buddhist monastic commitment to engagement in worldly matters. Direct involvement in lay legal matters on all social levels shows further that monasteries and lay political, social, economic, and legal institutions interacted closely in symbiotic relationships.

As time went on, Buddhist monasticism was fully integrated into societies in Southeast Asia and in Tang and, especially, Song China. Chinese monasteries interacted closely with government and influenced legal guidelines in politics, business, and lay life. In Tibet, monasteries were often seats of religious and lay power. The Tibetan practice of combining religious and lay authority put political and legal power in the hands of monastic leaders. There are many examples of religious authorities adjudicating lay disputes over civil and criminal law in addition to laws for monastic behavior.

WOMEN IN BUDDHIST MONASTICISM. The history of women in Buddhist monasticism is varied. Patriarchal societies and gender values took their toll on women's institutions. Though according to mainstream doctrine women can be enlightened, in the canonical versions of Buddhist monastic literature women are often cast in unflattering roles. The number of vows nuns must keep is larger than that for men, and there are specific rules that establish the subordinate status of nuns. There are some early literary collections, the *Therīgātha* hymns, and later writings, but there were few women writers. Women most often did not have access to monastic education. In many countries, moreover, women's ordination lineages did not survive. In modern Tibet and in parts of Southeast Asia, for example, there are no unbroken lineages of full ordination from nun to nun, and nuns are able to take only a brief list of vows.

However, it is also true that women in Asian Buddhist cultures had extensive and important roles in local communities in addition to positive, historical human and divine role models. The status of women varied, depending on specific cultural contexts, economies, and historical periods. There were successes for Buddhist women, including women's ordination lineages. For example, modern scholarship gives evidence of well-established and well-endowed nunneries in India in the Gupta dynasty, though these went into decline in the following centuries. In China, women's ordination lineages were preserved intact.

When women's monasteries were in decline, women reestablished monastic life as they were able. In Tibet, for example, where there was no lineage for full ordination, there were nonetheless many nunneries. Women did not have the educational opportunities that were available for men, but they were able to engage in Buddhist meditations and rituals in celibate monastic institutions. In Tibet there were traditions of women pilgrims, ascetics, and even community leaders and teachers who were recognized by the community at large. Thus, whereas women's monasticism was not preserved in Tibet according to ancient Indian models, there were still vibrant women's communities throughout Tibetan history. Educational standards and facilities were not as developed as in men's monasteries, but women built and maintained strong traditions of meditation, ritual, and community solidarity. Indeed, in twentieth-century Amdo, Northeast Tibet (modern Gansu province), the greater Labrang Monastery community supported women's monasteries even without full ordination.

SEE ALSO Priesthood, article on Buddhist Priesthood; Saṃgha, overview article.

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MONASTICISM: CHRISTIAN MONASTICISM

Christian monasticism does not differ from monasticism in other world religions in its most basic motivation: to allow those who consider themselves capable of practicing a form of religious life that is beyond the means of ordinary believers to do so. The goal and purpose of such extraordinary achievements in Christianity derive from the evangelical counsels of fasting, chastity, and the renunciation of property. With the renunciation of secular attachments, the nun or monk begins a journey of continuous self-mortification with the goal of contemplative unity with God through prayer. Such renunciation has to be practiced and trained for, which requires both abstention and continuous exercise. Abstention is core to the term *monachos,* which means a single, independent, or solitary person. Continuous refinement of practice is core to the term *askesis,* which means training or exercise. Yet whereas singularity through ascetic abstention can highlight the status of religious virtuosi, it may also marginalize them and signify a precarious, even heretical, existence. As such, the salience and permanency of ascetic religious-virtuoso status depends on the reactions of the community and ecclesiastical and political authorities.

BEGINNINGS OF MONASTICISM AND THE "AGE OF THE DESERT" (C. 200–C. 500 CE). Recent research has shown that at the beginning of monasticism, Christian monastic ascetics were only a part of a larger ascetic landscape that was populated by a variety of holy men from different religious traditions in the Roman Empire. It also has become increasingly clear that Christian monasticism does not a have a single beginning, but originated in a variety of communities in different areas. Structural heterogeneity spans the familiar forms of anchorites, who live alone, and cenobites, who live in a stable community, but also the Syrian wandering beggar-ascetics and small communal groups within existing inhabited zones in Egypt; moreover, domestic forms of early monasticism existed that were particularly common among women, which shall be addressed further below. It appears, in fact, that the long-held model of the emergence of Christian monasticism out of the prototypical Egyptian recluse must be abandoned. Egyptian Christian monasticism, in its earliest ascetic forms, was located in urban spaces, and it did not inspire, or was not an apparent model for, monastic developments in the Christian world. Monasticism in Palestine, too, was not about eremitical withdrawal into remote desert regions but rather an integral part of Christian life there from early on. One of the main sources of the traditional view of the eremitical/desert beginnings of monasticism, Athanasius's *Life of Antony,* which portrayed Anthony of Egypt (c. 251–356) as an exemplary Christian person who perfected his sanctity through solitary life in the desert, is now understood as a discursive strategy with the purpose (and result) of homogenizing different forms of monasticism and consolidating them into a type that could be more easily demarcated from other forms that were, in the eyes of ecclesiastical authorities, less desirable. The common characterization of this monastic era as the "Age of the Desert" is therefore questionable at best.

The cenobitic form of monasticism can be traced back to Pachomius of Egypt (c. 290–346). It was based on the consideration that the ascetics' heroic virtue could be bolstered and more easily sustained if they lived in a communal setting, allowing them to create a Christian community of love (*koinōnia,* hence "cenobitic"). This community required both stability in a fixed abode (claustration) and governing principles and guidelines, or a *rule,* which became the hallmarks of monasticism. Neither as removed from society nor as regimented and strictly disciplined as it was once believed they were, Pachomian communities spread in the fourth century and were the precursors to later cenobitic forms of monasticism in the monastic age.

THE WESTERN MONASTIC ERA (C. 500–C. 1200). After the turbulences of the fifth century associated with the onslaught of the barbarian tribes, which ended the Age of the Desert, monastic establishments in Western Christianity were given a normative foundation by the sixth-century Rule of St. Benedict. Named after Benedict of Nursia (c. 480–c. 547) and likely based in part on the earlier *Rule of the Master,* the Rule of St. Benedict emphasized stability, peacefulness, order, and collective self-sufficiency. Confronted with often unstable political conditions and a yet largely untamed natural environment, monks and nuns achieved stability by living in a permanent setting that offered shelter from these conditions. Removed from an outside world of violence and warfare, these "athletes of God" fought a more peaceful, spiritual battle instead. This task necessitated order and a structured, methodical way of life.

The prologue to the Rule calls on monks and nuns to "establish a school for the Lord's service" (Fry, 1981, p. 165), which offered training in the virtues of obedience and discipline. Obedience meant subservience to the abbess or abbot, who had authority over monastic communities' secular and spiritual matters yet was an elected leader and governed by precise mandates of conduct. Discipline both reflected and facilitated commitment to a principled, methodical way of life, which was, because "idleness is the enemy of the soul" (Fry, 1981, p. 249), precisely structured with daily routines. For the most part, these routines focused on collective prayer, *lectio* (the study of texts and private meditation), and work. Collective prayer was organized around a daily round of divine service, the *Opus Dei.* It was complemented by *lectio,* which led to the emergence of Benedictine monasteries as perhaps the foremost centers of learning, scholarship, and literary production from about the eighth century until at least the eleventh century.

Work was also considered one of the constitutive elements of the monastic profession: "When they live by the labor of their hands, as our fathers and the apostles did, then they are really monks" (Fry, 1981, pp. 249, 251). The valorization of work came out of a tradition that viewed labor both as a means of subsistence and charity and as a way to combat the temptation of *acedia,* or sloth and lethargy brought on by idleness. It enabled the members of a monastic community to aid the poor and sick, prevented them from falling into idleness, and contributed to their material self-sufficiency.

The Rule stated that because for members of monastic communities it was "not all good for their souls" to leave the stable and disciplined environment of the monastery, "the monastery should, if possible, be so constructed that within it all necessities, such as water, mill and garden are contained, and the various crafts are practiced" (Fry, 1981, p. 289). The combination of advancing education and craft skills with improving technologies for cultivating land enabled the monastic communities to achieve a high degree of self-sufficiency.

Monastic houses commonly followed a mixed rule, or a combination of observations taken from different rules, until the Rule of St. Benedict ascended to dominance in the early eighth century. Local customs and conventions continued to be accommodated through so-called customaries.

Cluniac and Cistercian monasticism. The term *Cluniac monasticism* denotes a movement to revive and restore Benedictine monastic life after the decline of the Carolingians and the plundering and pillaging of monasteries by the Vikings and Saracens. The tenth-century reforms that emanated from Cluny and a large number of affiliated or similar reform-minded monastic houses such as Gorze, Hirsau, and Bec led to a ceremonialization of the monastic life and much closer affiliation with nobility. Whereas the Rule of St. Benedict prescribed about three and a half hours a day of prayer and recitation of psalms, Cluniac monastic communities engaged in such activities to a much greater extent. As the number of recited psalms increased from 15 to 170, most of the day was spent in the choir, and the celebration of private and commemorative masses further added to the liturgical demands on the monks.

At the same time, Cluniac monasticism represented a closer affinity with the upper, noble strata of society, in that monks performed religious services for nobles in return for material endowments and protection. The Cluniacs' link to the nobility was further strengthened by the fact that many nuns and monks came from noble families and that the higher ranks of the Cluniac organization were populated by men of aristocratic origins. For members of the nobility, the endowment of a monastery in land was thought to secure the donor's temporal and eternal welfare, and noble patronage of monasteries continued to provide privileges and means of influence on the administration of monastic life even after the Gregorian reform movement and canon law curtailed lay proprietorship of cloisters. In part, this was a utilitarian *do ut des* transaction within an economy dominated by gift and barter, a transaction by which secular wealth and status were traded for spiritual assistance in this life and what was to follow thereafter; in part, however, gift transactions and transfers, as newer historical studies have shown, also served to establish, affirm, and deepen lasting social commitments and moral bonds between donors, donees, mediating agents, and their surrounding communities, thereby integrating these parties into a network of relations and encompassing the realms of both the sacred and the profane.

A different, less feudalized and ceremonialized type of spirituality was embraced by the Cistercians. In reaction to changes within the larger society, such as political consolidation and the expansion of commercial markets, they developed a spiritual program that strongly stressed simplicity, poverty, manual labor, and charity. These goals were to be achieved by rejecting worldly entanglements and restoring a strict, literal adherence of the Rule of St. Benedict. Within 150 years the Cistercians expanded from the "new monastery" formed by two dozen monks around Robert of Molesme (c. 1027–1110) and guided by the charismatic Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153) to an organization with perhaps over twenty thousand members by the mid-thirteenth century.

The Cistercians' economic achievements are well known. They include opening up uncultivated frontiers, converting rural hinterlands into flourishing farmlands, and enhancing the agricultural productivity of already developed estates. Frugality and a distinct economic organization were at the root of their success in transforming the rural economy. The Cistercians emphasized simplicity and austerity, reflected in a comparatively brief and modest liturgy, plain architecture, and the absence of ornaments in their churches. Intrinsic to Cistercian austerity was an emphasis on manual work, to be performed with vehemence and regularity and viewed as the principal means for supporting a monastic community—an approach in stark contrast to the dominant practices in Benedictine monasticism at the time. This religious attitude was complemented by the rationalized economic organization of Cistercian *granges*—or estates composed of contiguous fields and farms obtained through a combination of gifts, leases, pawns, and purchases. Organized into a single unit for agricultural production, a grange allowed a much more methodical estate management than did the previously fragmented patches of land. Granges were exempt from ecclesiastical tithes and other agricultural taxes, and local markets in the countryside and urban settings (if available) provided a ready outlet for their agricultural and pastoral products.

Having few outlets for expenditure beyond charity and subsistence, the Cistercians could re-invest their wealth in the acquisition of monastic estates, and thus further the basis of their economic success. But in the second part of the thirteenth century, Cistercian land acquisition came to a halt. The peasantry had fewer material incentives to join the order, with serfdom disappearing, markets for agricultural products expanding, and cultivation methods improving by the late twelfth century. Burghers and knights, too, found other spiritual avenues, and the burghers of the cities were differently served by the urban mendicant orders. By the thirteenth century the "new monastery, " a highly aristocratic order, in some ways looked like the monastery of old.

THE MENDICANT ERA (C. 1200–C. 1500). During the twelfth century, monasticism was both revived and altered, developments which occurred in the context of rapid social change. An expanding commercial economy, the revival of the cities, a newly found individualism, and increasing levels of lay literacy altered established social traditions—and with them religious life.

In Italy and France an early response to this change came in the form of religious hermits. Drawing on traditions of eremitical poverty in early Christian monasticism, charismatic hermits such as Romuald of Ravenna (950–1027) or Norbert of Xanten (1080–1134) rejected the stability of the monastery and lived their lives as wandering ascetics. Committed to austerity and noninvolvement with a commercializing, more individualist society, the hermits ushered in a new type of religious eremiticism by not seeking a life of solitude but rather associating with loose groups of followers and supporters. Many of these groups disbanded after the death of their leader, while others assimilated into monastic groups where they continued their serene eremitical life.

A different response came in the form of lay religious movements, which also embraced apostolic poverty but lived in small communities seeking to emulate the life of early Christian communities. Groups such as the Italian Humiliati and the early French and Italian Waldensians rejected the monastic traditions of concentrating on spiritual labor and withdrawing from the world. Combining preaching with itinerancy and austerity, they formed the model for a revival of Christian monasticism in the form of the mendicant orders.

The mendicants. The Franciscans and Dominicans responded to changing socioeconomic conditions by radically breaking with received monastic traditions. They did not question the contemplative life as the ultimate form of Christian perfection, or prayer as the pivotal means to achieve it. They dispensed, however, with the life in a stable, enclosed residence that had been the hallmark of traditional monasticism, and they were governed by ecclesiastical rules whose explicit raison d'être was preaching to the populace. As popular preachers admonishing the laity to repent and to seek inner conversion, they left the seclusion of the cloister for the busy streets of the city, voluntarily renouncing all forms of property, be it personal, as their monastic predecessors had done, or corporate. Instead of collective stability and withdrawal from society, they chose individual mobility and participation in secular affairs.

With this turn, monastic spirituality opened itself to the world. The mendicants rejected the legacy of world flight in monasticism and recentered the meaning of asceticism on notions of strict poverty and active ministry. The attraction of the mendicants was extraordinary: in the first one hundred years they grew from a few men around Francis of Assisi (1181/82–1226) and Domingo de Guzmán (c. 1170–1221), the two founders of the major mendicant orders, to a total of about twenty-eight thousand Franciscans and about twelve thousand Dominicans.

Rapid organizational growth, however, brought about significant changes in mendicant spirituality within the first fifty years, during which some of their early ideals were significantly changed or even abandoned. In the case of the Franciscans, the first friars who joined Francis of Assisi shared his ideal of imitating the simple, austere life of the apostles. Much like other religious charismatics at the time, Francis renounced the vanities of the world, which in his case meant the comfortable lifestyle of a wealthy merchant's son, for the transient existence of an itinerant preacher. Money was not even to be touched, and academic studies were not encouraged. Yet whereas the early Franciscans were expected to support themselves by working and begging, within a span of less than forty years the Franciscans' commitment to manual labor changed, together with their views on the futility of learnedness and absolute avoidance of money. Manual labor was abandoned, as growth in numbers and the inevitable routinization of Franciscan charisma necessitated changes in the order's structure and some of its defining spiritual characteristics. The precarious existence of itinerant beggars and laborers was difficult to reconcile with the need for some institutional and economic stability. It became necessary to impose organizational structures onto the order and to regulate the avenues of admission and advancement, as well as to adopt a less unworldly stance toward money. Furthermore, a great number of priests joined the order, and heresy continued to be viewed as a primary threat. The rustic views of Francis on learning and the unresolved relation of the friars-priests to the secular clergy were at odds with the view shared by many clerics and more-learned members of the order that active ministry required a trained, professional apostolate and the definition of rights and duties vis-à-vis the parish priests. By about the mid-thirteenth century, the Friars Minor were a highly clericalized and learned order, steeped in university life. Earlier notions of absolute poverty gave way to the permission for corporate use, if not ownership, of property, and full control over it.

The other major mendicant order, the Dominicans, did not experience the same organizational dilemmas and shifts in spiritual orientation or emphasis. From the beginning it was conceived to be a priestly order devoted to preaching. The meaning and extent of poverty, while important, was not as contested as among the Franciscans, and intellectual training was considered paramount for an active apostolate. For the professional pastors and preachers who stood at the forefront of the defense of the church as inquisitors and who attended to the spiritual needs of the laity, a solid foundation in theology and the art of preaching was essential. Because the nature of the order was clerical and its orientation priestly, there was no place for work. In the daily routine, manual toil and meditative reading—two of the pillars of the Rule of St. Benedict—gave way to a brief liturgy and the occupations of preaching, studying, and teaching. In both orders, therefore, asceticism was channeled toward the methodical training of the intellect and endured in corporeal and social renunciations such as chastity and penury.

In the later Middle Ages the monasticization of the mendicants and persistent debates over the role of wealth were indicative of significant challenges to religious life. Such challenges were also obvious in traditional religious orders, where abuses and discipline problems as well as declining numbers reflected a crisis in monastic life.

THE REFORMATION, PROTESTANTISM, AND THE ENLIGHTENMENT. Laxity in spiritual discipline in religious life was one of the issues that prompted the Augustinian friar Martin Luther (1483–1546) to question the foundations of monastic life. Luther, as well as other reformers, ushered in a period in which Protestant authorities disbanded existing houses and disallowed the establishment of new ones. Monastic property was seized and distributed into secular channels.

Ever since the Reformation, the notion of the priesthood of the believer, which exalts each believer to the status of religious virtuoso, has remained one of the pillars of Protestantism. This notion mitigates against the establishment of religious orders whose members enjoy a fundamentally different religious status from that of other members of the church.

A second challenge to monastic life after the Reformation came in the form of the Enlightenment. Enlightenment thinkers tended to equate monastic rituals and traditions with unenlightened superstition and tied them to the society of old. In the wake of the French Revolution and Napoleon Bonaparte's rule, most monastic communities were disbanded or destroyed.

THE APOSTOLIC ORDERS AND TEACHING CONGREGATIONS. Reform in the Catholic Church took its own shape in its reformations of religious life in the sixteenth century. One of more than a dozen new apostolic orders that emerged and prospered in that period, the Jesuits represented a new form of order that replaced the emphases in traditional monasticism on contemplation and in the mendicant orders on poverty with a stress on ministry, discipline, and commitment to furthering the church's causes. Founded by Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556), the order grew rapidly. Within a hundred years of their papal approval in 1540, they represented an organization of over 15,000 members. A precipitous decline occurred in the late eighteenth century, however. This decline affected them as well as the traditional monastic groups and the friars. Within a period of fifty years after Pope Clement XIV disbanded the order in 1773, the number of male monks, friars, and members of apostolic orders has been estimated to have dropped to only 70,000, and only about forty of more than one thousand monasteries of the traditional monastic communities survived.

A reversal of such decline was made possible through the revival of traditional monasticism's appeal in the nineteenth century, which led to a revival of Benedictine and Cistercian communities. Numerically more significant, however, was the emergence of hundreds of new religious communities, particularly religious congregations that substituted an active charitable agenda for the traditional contemplative orientation. In practice, this often involved teaching, nursing, and social services. These brothers and sisters in congregations contributed tremendously to the renewal of Catholic religious orders up to the second part of the twentieth century.

THE CHALLENGES OF SECULARIZATION. In an attempt to bring about the *aggiornamento* modernization of Catholic faith, the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) initiated various changes in the Catholic Church. This occurred at a time when theologians presumed that modern societies underwent a process of secularization that required religious communities to evolve in order to better meet the demands of modern life. Distinctions between laity and priesthood were reduced, and the leveling of status also affected the religious vocation of a member of a monastic community. A steep decline in the number of Catholics entering religious communities ensued. In the United States, by 1990 the annual number of women who entered a religious order was about one-seventh of what it had been three decades earlier, and the number of men in a religious order had been reduced to less than half. Whereas Canada and western European countries experienced a similar decline (with concomitant financial exigencies and geriatrification of membership), the opposite is true for sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia. Catholic religious communities in those areas have grown significantly, to the extent that for some orders these countries produce a very significant portion of novices. So far, no reversal of these trends is in sight for the twenty-first century.

MONASTICISM AND GENDER. The role of women in Christian monasticism has undergone many changes. The predominance of teaching congregations over contemplative communities since the second part of the nineteenth century is a reflection of one of the most fundamental changes in monasticism, the increasing involvement of women, as women have joined active congregations in much greater numbers than their male counterparts. When Catholic religious communities reached their numerical peak in the United States in 1965, sisters outnumbered brothers by a ratio of about five to one. Worldwide, the vast majority of Catholic religious today are women.

Women, however, have not always been so strongly represented in Christian monasticism, nor has the cloistered life always been encouraged for female religious. In early monasticism, female religious virtuosity was related to the celibacy of virgins and widows. For women, separation from the world often did not mean withdrawal from the community and living a life of self-mortification in the desert or wilderness (although for some women, it did), but rather a selective abstention from worldly life (sex, marriage, and food) within a family, house, and community. The structure of early female Christian asceticism was heterogeneous: some women lived in informal ascetic groups, others lived an anchorite life, while most remained in their families and communities or joined a household with a clergyman. By the fifth century the claustration of women in cenobitic communities was under way and set the stage for the institutionalization of women under the Rule of St. Benedict.

Following a period of expansion and the flowering of new monastic foundations for women in the seventh century, especially in the form of double monasteries, the proportion of houses dedicated to women declined steadily until the end of the eleventh century. The first Cluniac cloister for women was not founded until about a century and a half after the foundation of Cluny itself. Similarly, while recent scholarship no longer contends that there were no Cistercian establishments for women, the early Cistercians did anything but welcome women with open arms. Further, when women joined they had to maintain strict lifelong enclosure. Nevertheless, half of the about 850 nunneries that were founded for women in France and England between 410 and 1350 appear to have been founded in the period between the late eleventh century and the late twelfth century, including women-centered monastic communities such as Fontevraud and the Gilbertines.

The tradition of claustration continued among the Franciscans and the Dominicans in the later Middle Ages. In 1206, some nine years before the first male Dominican community was founded, Dominic established a cloister for women at Prouille—as an imitation of Cathar houses for women—with the purpose of winning over converts from the Cathars. Unlike Francis, who remained reserved toward the idea of women affiliating with his order, Dominic appears to have been open to women's wishes to join the religious life. The establishment of other monasteries for Dominican nuns followed, and their numbers increased significantly, even though a quota system was put in place to regulate demand. Franciscan convents, inspired by the saintly example of Clare of Assisi (1194–1253), proliferated as well. Yet the nuns lived a religious life quite different from that of the friars. Most importantly, they continued the monastic tradition of strict enclosure for women. Their claustration prevented them from preaching and begging, and no provisions were made for organized study. It required considerable pressure from the papacy to ensure that communities of women were properly integrated into the mendicant orders, if only in thoroughly regulated and well-defined terms. The restrictions on women's access to the apostolic life and on the ways in which they were allowed to live it led them to focus on contemplation. Medieval nuns contributed greatly to the mystical and devotional literature of the later Middle Ages.

In the apostolic era, apostolic orders for women flourished. This was the case for both cloistered and uncloistered communities, even though the latter often had difficulty with ecclesiastical authorities when insisting on performing charitable work for the poor. It was not until the decline of apostolic orders in the late eighteenth century and the revival of monastic communities in the teaching and nursing congregations that active worldly services would become a predominant focus of women religious.

CHRISTIAN MONASTICISM IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE. With the exception of Max Weber, few scholars have attempted a comparative study of monasticism in different religious traditions. Weber's writings in the sociology of religion, which focused on the economic ethics of the world religions, revealed that monastic groups generally attracted followers of religious traditions who were best suited for, and most committed to, stringent ascetic practices. The stringency and direction of such ascetic practices varies, however. Compared to its counterparts in Confucianism, Daoism, Hinduism, and Buddhism, Weber argued, Christian monasticism is comparatively unique in two aspects: (1) its relatively modest ascetic requirements, and (2) its stronger innerworldly focus. Even though Christian monasticism knew of extremely demanding ascetic practices, such as those displayed by the stylites (fifth- and sixth-century Syrian ascetics who solitarily dwelled on a pillar for up to several decades, themselves influenced by Eastern precedents), its practices never quite equaled those required of Hindu ascetics, who may have produced some of the most extraordinary religious forms of world renunciation and bodily abnegation known to humankind. In contrast, Western Christian monasticism, especially as it became guided by the Benedictine rule, aimed for consistency, not supererogatory achievements possible only for a very select few. The emphasis on consistency contributed to Western monasticism's methodical character, and its less stringent ascetic demands coincided with a stronger inner-worldly focus. In other words, Christian monastics were not expected to leave the world behind in contemplation nearly as much as Hindu or Buddhist monks were, but rather embraced manual labor as an ascetic practice.

In practice, the tension between contemplative and ascetic practices proved difficult to resolve. On the one hand, tedious practices of manual labor tended to be given over to monastic affiliates of lesser status to free the monks and nuns proper to engage in contemplative practices, which lessened monasticism's inner-worldly focus. For example, in Cluniac and Cistercian monasticism, most of the manual chores fell on the *conversi,* or lay brothers. On the other hand, reformations of monastic life periodically restored manual labor's status and contributed to important technological advances, such as the use of the watermill and the rationalization of agriculture (particularly on Cistercian estates), or moved it close to the center of monastic spirituality, as happened in the early Franciscan groups. While all forms of monasticism in the world's major religions were much more concerned with transcending the secular spheres than with mastering or rationalizing them, the tension between the two directions appears to have been more pronounced in Christian monasticism; attempts to resolve it brought about a variegated monastic landscape over time.

More recent scholarship has broadened this perspective and led to significant revisions. For example, Mayeul de Dreuille's overview of the monastic traditions in Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, and Egyptian religions provides a much-needed newer comparative perspective and reminds the reader of the possible influences of these traditions on Western monasticism. Ilana Friedrich Silber's comparative study of Theravāda Buddhism and medieval Catholicism points to patterns of lay support and interaction with laity as well as to political patronage as factors shaping monasticism's societal impact and the direction of its spirituality—thus indicating a more dynamic relationship between monasticism and society than is suggested by Weber. In spite of these newer studies, research on comparative monasticism and asceticism remains in its infancy.

SEE ALSO Monastery; Nuns, article on Christian Nuns; Religious Communities, article on Christian Religious Orders.

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MONEY. In examining the significance of money in the history of religions, one must begin by making a distinction between the commercial use of money in societies that have developed a market economy and the uses of money in societies with nonmarket economies. In the former, money is used primarily as a medium of exchange and standard of value in the marketplace, and its value lies in its abstractness, in its ability to mediate the exchange of goods between all persons who desire to engage in exchange, regardless of their social status and regardless of the nature of the goods involved. In this context money plays a major role in the economy, and the economic sphere is relatively independent of the social and religious spheres. When money is used in the context of a nonmarket economy, on the other hand, its use is more intimately connected with social and religious institutions. Whereas in a market economy money is used primarily for the commercial exchange of essential goods, in nonmarket economies such exchanges are often accomplished through nonmonetary means (such as barter or redistribution by a political authority), and money is reserved for a more exclusive set of exchanges that are at once social and religious in significance. This article will accordingly focus on the social and religious significance of money in communities with nonmarket economies.

Marcel Mauss (1914) was one of the first scholars to call attention to the religious significance of money in so-called primitive and archaic societies. In 1914 Mauss noted the use of objects like shells and precious metals as means of exchange and payment by peoples who were without a system of coinage. Drawing on evidence from Africa, Oceania, and North America, he insisted, against the anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski, that such objects are rightly described as money, but he added that they are to be distinguished from modern money in being used only in specific social contexts and in being endowed with numinous or sacred value over and above their economic worth.

One of the most famous examples of such money is provided by the *kula* ring of the Trobriand Islanders, studied by Malinowski and discussed as well by Mauss. The *kula* ring is a complex system of exchange by which armbands and necklaces made of shells, collectively called *vaygu'a,* are traded around a large ring of islands just east of New Guinea. The armbands and necklaces, items of high value but of little practical use (they are seldom used even as ornaments), are traded in opposite directions around the circle by various sets of trading partners who make periodic voyages between their respective islands. The complex system of gifts and countergifts that develops is closely connected with the social order. The higher a person's social status, the more trading partners that person is liable to have, and the more generous he or she may be expected to be in gift giving. Not only is status an important factor in the giver, but the *vaygu'a* themselves develop a kind of status. The more a particular necklace or armband is traded, the more valuable it becomes, receiving a name and personal history and taking on a certain numinous quality. This trade in *vaygu'a* forms the heart of a more extensive trade between the islands that includes trade in ordinary commodities as well as in the valuable shell ornaments. Furthermore, the *vaygu'a* themselves can be given a definite price, in terms of baskets of yams, and in some specific circumstances can serve as a means of payment for services. Mauss argued that they could therefore be considered as a form of money, although clearly not the impersonal medium of exchange normally intended by that word. The *kula* ring thus provides a good example of money in a nonmarket economy, where it is an integral part of the economic system and yet still has a definite social and magico-religious value.

The use of shells as money goes far beyond the Trobriand Islands. The commonest form of shell money is the cowrie shell, which is found in China, India, the Near East, Africa, Europe, and the Americas. This small, attractive shell is well suited to serve as money because of its portability, countability, and immunity to counterfeiting. However, the use of the cowrie as money was originally motivated by more than its practicality. Mircea Eliade (1969) has pointed out the rich symbolism of shells in general, and the cowrie is no exception. It has been used widely as a talisman and is commonly viewed as a symbol of fertility, while among certain Indian tribes of North America it was treated as a sacred object. Like gold and jade, both rich in symbolism, cowries were also quite commonly buried with the dead. In China, cowries were placed in the mouth of the dead person, perhaps as a kind of passage money, similar to the obol for Charon in ancient Greece. The association of cowries with gold is evidenced by the fact that cowries actually made of gold have been found in Egypt and Cyprus. The popularity of the cowrie as a form of money is thus also due to its intrinsic symbolic properties.

Another widespread form of money is the glass bead. These seem to have been particularly common in Africa, where they were believed to grow naturally in the ground and thus to partake of the sacrality of the earth. Like the cowrie, they provided a convenient form of currency that was also endowed with numinous and magical properties. They were used not only as money but also in various rituals. Among some African peoples they were ground up, mixed with water, and rubbed on children to aid their growth. Again like the cowrie, they are often found in graves.

Not only were many types of primitive or archaic money endowed with an intrinsic numinous quality; some were also used as the specified means of payment for various religious services. This is seen clearly in ancient India, where the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* enjoins that the payment (*daksina*) of the priests officiating at a sacrifice be made in gold, cattle, clothing, or horses. With the possible exception of clothing, all these objects are laden with religious symbolic significance. Their value was at least partly intrinsic, and it was this intrinsic worth and not their raw economic value that made them fit for the remuneration of priests. Their economic value was located within a broader context of social and religious value.

A particularly interesting case of an exclusively religious use of money is the Chinese custom of making offerings of paper money to gods, ghosts, and ancestors. Four centuries before paper money began to be used for commercial exchange in China, it was already being used as a sacrificial offering. The money itself consisted of pieces of paper in varying sizes and colors, decorated with designs, depictions of gods, or Chinese characters. A small piece of tin foil was sometimes attached to the center of the paper in order to represent silver or, when dabbed with yellow tint, gold. Obviously this paper money had little real economic value, but this was in fact intentional, because it was believed that what was a mere imitation in this world would become, when transformed by the sacrificial fire, a genuine treasure in heaven. There it would be added to the Celestial Treasury for the benefit of the person making the offering. This paper money is still in use in Taiwan, where four principal types are found: "gold" paper money, offered to the gods; "silver" money, offered to ghosts and ancestors; "treasure money" for repaying the "debt of life"; and "money for the resolving of crisis," used primarily in rites of exorcism.

It goes without saying that gold and silver have been favorite forms of money from earliest times. Long before they came to be used for commercial exchange, however, they were used for gift exchange and as a standard of value among various political, social, and religious elites. Exchanges of articles made of these precious metals were a primary means of asserting and maintaining one's status. The cups, tripods, bowls, and arms exchanged among the ruling elite of Homeric society, for instance, were often made of precious metals and were endowed with the numinous quality that is associated with these metals more generally. A king's treasury could express not only his political sovereignty and personal wealth but also an intrinsic sacred power that could come to the aid of his kingdom in times of crisis.

The close association of gold and silver with royalty, on the one hand, and with religious values, on the other, did not cease when these metals eventually began to be used in the manufacture of coins. Although it has been customary in textbooks on economics to attribute the introduction of coinage or "real" money to a merchant class seeking to overcome an awkward system of barter, this hypothetical reconstruction contains little historical truth. In fact, as illustrated above, the use of money cannot be equated with the use of currency in a market. Furthermore, the transition from a nonmarket to a market economy is a gradual one that is not identical with the introduction of coinage. According to Édouard Will (1954), who builds upon the earlier work of Bernhard Laum (1924), the introduction of coinage in ancient Greece must be understood in the context of the social and legal reforms of the time of Solon (c. 630–560 BCE). Far from being intended to facilitate trade (which was in fact not a Greek but a Phoenician concern), coinage was introduced by the state in order to provide a new standard for an older system of exchange that had become decadent and unjust, and to provide a standard means for payments made to the state such as taxes, fines, port fees, and the like. The introduction of coinage was thus the initiative of the same group with which gold and silver were already associated, namely, the royalty.

The religious significance of the earliest coins must be seen in this larger political context. Although it was argued in the nineteenth century, in particular by Thomas Burgon and Ernst Curtius, that early Greek coinage had a direct religious origin, it seems more likely today that the numerous religious symbols found on these coins are to be understood both as symbols of the issuing city-state and as symbols of the divine sanction behind a specific issuing body and hence behind the value of its coinage as well. This is not to deny that religious representations have been favorite themes on coins throughout history; but these representations are to be understood as expressing the religious values of the issuing body and not necessarily as implying an intrinsic value in the material coin itself.

With the introduction of coinage, therefore, a gradual movement began away from the more archaic pattern of attributing sacral value directly to the material objects used as money and toward the highly abstract forms of money used today, which are valued purely on the basis of their usefulness as indirect media of exchange in commercial markets.

With the introduction of fully monetized market economies, one begins to encounter a reversal in religious attitudes toward money. Whereas the earliest forms of money had a positive numinous quality for many archaic peoples, the disruptive effects that moneys and markets can have on the social structure of previously nonmarket societies can lead to negative evaluations of money as an evil. This can be seen clearly in the medieval West, where the introduction of markets and the increased use of money from the eleventh century onward led to a variety of religious protests. Money was increasingly represented as demonic. Feelings of awe before the numinous qualities of gold and silver were transformed into feelings of disgust for gold and silver coins, which were increasingly compared to excrement. By the end of the thirteenth century, depictions of apes defecating coins begin to appear in the margins of manuscripts. One also finds a picture of the head of a monster vomiting gold coins into a golden bowl. In less extreme forms this religious suspicion of the role of money in a market economy has persisted into the modern era.

SEE ALSO Economics and Religion; Gold and Silver; Wealth.

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MONGKUT (1804–1868), Thai Buddhist reformer and later king of Thailand. A son of the second king of the Cakkrī dynasty (1782–), Mongkut was heir apparent to the throne. However, when his father (later known as Rama II) died before Mongkut had reached his twentieth birthday, his claims were passed over in favor of those of his uncle (Rama III). Having entered the Buddhist monastic order for a temporary stay only two weeks prior to his father's death, he decided to remain a monk. Mongkut's monastic career did not end until more than a quarter of a century later when, following his uncle's death in 1851, he was chosen to succeed to the throne. At that point he left the order, became king (Rama IV), and began a reign that continued until his death.

Mongkut began his monastic career at Wat Samorai, a forest monastery near Bangkok that was renowned for its emphasis on ascetic practice and meditation. After a year of apprenticeship there he became increasingly dissatisfied because no adequate intellectual grounding or justification was being provided for the practices in which he was engaged. For this reason he left to become associated with a monastery in Bangkok, Wat Mahāthāt, which emphasized the study of the sacred texts written in the Pali language. There he quickly demonstrated his intellectual ability, becoming a leading expert in Pali studies.

Despite his increasing erudition, however, Mongkut remained skeptical about the authenticity of the tradition in which he was participating. At a certain moment during his stay at Wat Mahāthāt he reached a point of spiritual crisis (so the story goes) and vowed that if his doubts were not resolved within the week he would give up the struggle and leave the order. Before Mongkut's self-imposed time limit had expired, the answer that he was seeking came to him during an encounter with a Mon monk. (The Mon were an ethnic group with a long and venerable history in both Thailand and Burma.) This teacher was able to convince Mongkut that the Theravāda tradition as preserved and practiced by the Mons was the authentic tradition, the one remaining truly faithful to the teachings of the Buddha and to the testimony of the Pali scriptures (the Tipiṭaka). The obvious correlary was that the Thai version of the Theravāda tradition was inauthentic, misguided, and in need of reform.

Soon after his encounter with the Mon monk, Mongkut returned to Wat Samorai, where he launched his reform movement. Having initiated his own program of Pali studies at this forest monastery, he soon "discovered" that the boundary stones that established and set off the sacred precincts (*sīmā*) were not in accord with the requirements set forth in the Vinaya (the portion of the Pali Tipiṭaka that deals with the behavior of monks and the proper ordering of monastic life). Thus, he concluded, the ordinations that had taken place at this monastery, which for many years had been an ordination center for the Thai *sangha* as a whole, were invalid. In order to rectify the situation Mongkut arranged for the proper consecration of the sacred precincts at the Wat, and for his own reordination by monks who had been ordained in the Mon tradition. Through these formal ecclesiastical acts Mongkut made an irrevocable break with the traditionally oriented community of Thai monks (the Mahanikai; Pali, Mahānikāya) and established a new, reformist Thai lineage that later came to be known as the Thammayut (Dhammayuttika) Nikāya.

During Mongkut's remaining years in the order, he gradually built the new lineage into a small but distinctive and distinguished community. This community came to include within its ranks a number of serious and intellectually creative young monks, most of them from high-ranking families in the kingdom. It gained the support of many laymen and laywomen, including prestigious and influential members of the nobility. It also gained widespread popular recognition through an active program of teaching, not only in the capital city but also in the countryside.

Like many reformers who have emerged in traditions that have preserved sacred scriptures from the distant past, Mongkut appealed to the authority of those scriptures in order to purge supposed accretions that had, from his perspective, come to compromise the purity of the original tradition. He also combined his emphasis on scripturalist reform with an openness to the new modes of scientific rationality (and the accompanying rejection of inherited "superstitions") that were then being introduced from the West. The effect of these reforms on religious practice was the adherence, by the monks, to more canonical forms of monastic discipline and ritual. Doctrinally, the reforms resulted in a new modernist form of Buddhist teaching that emphasized the humanity of the Buddha and highlighted the ethical and humanitarian aspects of his message.

When, at the age of forty-seven, Mongkut left the order and became king, he assumed the traditional royal responsibility for the support of the *sangha* as a whole. In this new role he provided patronage and protection for the older and much larger Mahanikai lineage, but he clearly favored the reform-minded Thammayut lineage that he himself had founded.

By the time of Mongkut's death in 1868 the reform movement that he had originated was well established. During his long career as a monk he had provided the intellectual and organizational leadership that had enabled the new Thammayut lineage to become a coherent community with its own distinctive emphases and goals. Subsequently, during his seventeen years as king, he fostered both the religious and intellectual atmosphere and the institutional ecclesiastical adjustments that enabled the new movement to consolidate its position and extend its influence. In so doing, Mongkut has contributed, more than any other individual of his era, to the establishment of the gradual but pervasive process of modernist reform that characterized the development of Thai Buddhism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

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MONGOL RELIGIONS.

If stereotypical reports from early times are taken into account, the religious forms of the Mongols have been influenced by the religions professed by all ethnic groups who have lived in what later was to become Mongolian territory prior to the emergence of the Mongols. The oldest of these religious forms was shamanism, which was the religion of the Liao empire of the Kitan (907–1125) and their usurping successors, the Jurchen (1115–1234). There have been accounts of Buddhist influences in the steppes since the Chinese Han period (206 BCE–220 CE), while Iranian influences are attested among the Turkic peoples of the region. Nestorian Christianity is reported as early as the twelfth century among the Turkic neighbors and later compatriots of the Mongols, the Kereit, Naiman, and Önggüt. This nourished contemporary Western beliefs that located the realm of the fabulous Prester John in their territory. Later conversions of Mongols by Catholics even led to the foundation of a bishopric in Khanbaliq (Beijing), but this development was short-lived. Renewed Christian missionary attempts in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have again failed to leave recognizable traces in Mongol popular religions.

In addition to the influences of Nestorianism, Manichaeism, with its dualistic ideas of light and darkness and good and evil, also played a role in the religious history of the region. It had strong footholds in the oasis towns of the Uighurs, which were incorporated into the Mongol Empire under Chinggis Khan (1162–1227). The Zoroastrian deity Ahura Mazdā was an Iranian import who in Mongol popular religion became Khormusta Tengri, with a retinue of thirty-three heavenly beings (*tengri*). All these professions have been of temporary influence, however, while shamanism has remained the perennial dominant religious practice of the Mongols.

In contrast to the abundance of studies on the shamanism of the Siberian ethnic groups and of the Buriats, shamanism in Mongolia has not yet received the scientific treatment needed to form a well-founded opinion of this religious manifestation. Following the trends of research on Siberian shamanism, the emphasis of investigation has been placed on such external paraphernalia as drums, ceremonial dresses, and idols. But unlike the Yakut and Buriat shaman songs, both of which show important Mongolian components, only a very small number of invocations from Mongolia proper have been published; an even smaller number of these incantations have been translated. Recently published materials, however, show shamanism still in existence in the northwestern parts of the Mongolian People's Republic and in eastern Mongolia. A number of invocations gathered in 1982 in the eastern part of Inner Mongolia and among the Daghurs of northwestern Manchuria also testify to the continued existence of shamanism. Some studies on these forms of shamanism have been published.

Mongol shamanism developed into its current state in various phases. In the original phase, fear of natural powers that were thought to be caused by evil forces led to the worship of the spirits of ancestors. One of the few remaining chronicles about the origin of shamanism, a text from the Chahar region, states that the living "made offerings of one wooden bowl of tea, one wooden bowl of water, and one bowl of milk brandy on the first, seventh, and ninth days of each new moon; saluted; and worshiped," attempting thereby to obtain the protection of the ancestral spirits. Through these actions one would combine forces with the masters of places and the waters, thus becoming powerful enough to fight the detrimental forces. The shamans (male, *böge;* female, *idughan/udaghan*), however, by their worship and incantations became the mediators and the means of communication with the forces to which all life was exposed. In addition to the spirits of ancestors, the spirits of unfortunate people who had not found a natural end, having been killed by accident, murder, or suicide, were thought of as possessing particular powers. They were added to the group of helpful powers that were manifest in the venerated idols called *ongon*s. Because personal *ongon*s were transferred into a greater unit through the merger of smaller ethnic groups or through marriage, the number of *ongon*s of the individual shaman increased. (A shaman who marries obtains the *ongon*s of his wife's clan.) The more *ongon*s a shaman possesses, the greater is his power. This explains the diversity of incantations and the varying names of the invoked spirits and *ongon*s. The functions of shamanism, as explained by the shamans themselves, are to invoke the *ongon*s, to shamanize with their help, to intercede on behalf of ill persons, to exorcise evil and the powers creating calamities and illness, to expel these into effigies that are then destroyed, and to pronounce charms and prognostications by scapulimancy and other divinatory methods.

Shamanism thus appears to have developed out of the needs of a primitive economic society for the preservation and protection of the means of subsistence (health, fire, food, game, and livestock, as well as human labor, i.e., children), all of which were obtained through the help of the ancestors. People seek shamanic assistance for immediate concerns; there is no belief in its efficacy for retaliation or reward in another world or in a future life. Shamanism, lacking any moral incentive, is a matter of this world, using combinations of natural means to achieve supernatural results. The culmination of all shamanic practice is the ecstasy the shaman experiences when the protective spirit enters his body. The shaman then acts in the spirit's power and speaks in its voice. The ecstatic state is achieved in part by self-hypnosis, and in part by constant turning around in circles, inhaling burning juniper, and gulping large doses of alcohol; no other use of drugs and stimulants is traceable among Mongol shamans. In this state the shaman travels into another world, searching for the soul of the ill person, fighting with evil powers for it, and trying to win back the victim's health. The fate of the person in whose behalf the shaman acts is uttered by the protective genius through the mouth of the shaman.

The shaman's drum serves as the vehicle of this spiritual journey, having the function of a horse or a boat. Some Mongol shamans explain the streamers on their vestments as feathers enabling them to fly on the spiritual journey. Others call these streamers snakes. To transport themselves to the spirit world, certain shamans from Inner Mongolian tribes use wooden or iron staffs, each crowned with a horsehead and terminated with a carved hoof, and adorned with rattling iron rings and little stirrups. Beating the drum and shouting and singing loudly with the assistance of helpers is part of the shaman's ritual; these actions are intended to frighten and scare away the evil spirits and demons. Such an aim is already attested for the Kitan shamans of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Once exorcised, the evil originators of the illness are banished into effigies that are burned or buried.

To become a shaman a person must have the calling. The mental instability, resulting in a long period of initiatory illness, that is often reported for the Siberian and northern Eurasian shamans is rarely mentioned in Mongolia. Such a nervous and feeble condition would not accord with the historical fact that until the time of Chinggis Khan, the shaman (*böge/bägi*) often was the head of the clan and therefore was not only its spiritual leader but also its political and military leader. Mongol shamans seem to be perfectly healthy individuals. The prospective shaman is singled out by an old shaman who becomes his teacher (*bagši*). From the *bagši* the student learns the names of all the ancestral spirits, which eventually are all bequeathed to him. The young shaman thus becomes a link in an age-old chain of religious and ethnic tradition. The continued existence and activity of the *bagši* is still being reported. One famous *bagši* died as recently as 1970 in the Bulghan district of northern Mongolia; in 1983 the incantations of a sixty-one-year-old *bagši* and his pupil (*šabi böge*) were recorded in eastern Mongolia. The costumes of Mongol shamans furthermore lack any of the female symbols and emblems reportedly common among Siberian and Central Asian shamans.

In the thirteenth century Mongol shamanism was influenced by administrative measures when the first Mongol emperor in China, Khubilai Khan (r. 1260–1294), established by imperial decree the office of the state shamans. These shamans were responsible for offerings in memory of Chinggis Khan and his house as well as for the worship of fire. According to the *Yuanshi*, the official Chinese history of the Yüan dynasty, these shamans pronounced their prayers and invocations in the Mongolian language. Judged by the evident longevity of the Mongolian oral tradition and its extraordinary reliability, it seems certain that some of the prayers still used today at the so-called Eight White Yurts, the center of worship of the deified Chinggis Khan in the Ordos territory, contain remnants of these early shamanic prayers and supplications. Tradition has outlived the destructive influences of the fratricidal warfare of the Mongols in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as well as more recent attempts at annihilation. The faithful handing down of the clan-bound names of the ancestral spirits from one generation of shamans to the next is proof of the age of the many different extant samples of shaman invocations and poetry. The Yuan government's early administrative measures regulating religious affairs may also account for a certain conformity of expression in the shamanic supplications. The mention in invocations of Chinggis Khan's son, Čagadai, and Čangqulang, one of Čagadai's spouses, testifies to the continued inclusion of historical personages of the Mongol imperial line in the realm of the powerful ancestral spirits and *ongon*s. The same holds true for the mention of members of the Mongol imperial family among the persons lauded in the fire prayers for having brought the flame to life by striking sparks from flint and steel.

The ephemeral contacts of Buddhism with the ruling strata of the Mongol nobility during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and later did not lead to any decisive intrusion of Buddhist notions into the religious conceptions of the bulk of the Mongol populations. Shamanism remained dominant. Only when Buddhist missionary work began among the Mongols in the sixteenth century did shamanism come under heavy attacks. Biographies of Buddhist missionaries such as Neyiči Toyin (1557–1653), who converted the eastern Mongol tribes; the lamas who were active in the southern part of Mongolia ruled by Altan Khan of the Tümet (1507–1583); and the western Mongol Zaya Paṇḍita (1599–1622), who spread Lamaism among the northwestern Mongol groups, show clearly the methods of conversion. All of these missionaries had recourse to the persecution of shamanism and the shamans and to the sequestration and destruction of their idols, vestments, and paraphernalia, using ruthless force, persuasion, and bribes. The conversion aimed particularly at prohibiting bloody offerings of animals and the worship of the *ongot*, the collective term for *ongon* figurines. Princes and overlords sustained the missionaries by donating horses and cows to converts while burning the confiscated shamanic idols in iconoclastic purges. Thousands of the idols were destroyed in this period, and the shamans had to renounce their profession and faith. Many fled during the sixteenth century into more remote regions, even as far as the territory inhabited by the Buriats.

Considered by both the Lamaist clergy and most princes to be a meritorious deed that would further the spread of Buddhism, such persecution has been repeated again and again up to the beginning of the twentieth century. Cases of rounding up, mistreating, and burning shamans were reported among the eastern Khalkha Mongols in the nineteenth century and in the remote northwest of Mongolia in 1904. Yet shamanism and related forms of popular religious worship have not been totally subdued. Forced during the periods of worst suppression into some camouflaged forms, it found a new, more syncretic expression by adding and adapting objects and forms of Buddhist veneration. The old, true forms of "black" and "white" shamanism were supplemented by a third, "yellow" shamanism or semi-shamanism that included praying to Buddhist and shamanic numinous representations. In addition to the traditional objects of veneration (the *ongon*s; the sun and moon; Köke Möngke Tengri, the "eternal blue sky"; Khormusta and his thirty-three *tengri;* and the lords of the places, mountains, and waters), a new pantheon was worshiped.

While shamanism calls itself a "faith without scriptures," there exist a great number of written prayers and invocations for this other group of venerated numinous images. Most of these are directed toward obtaining help, blessings, and consecration through the instrument of incense offerings (*sang*). The structure of the *sang* follows the pattern of Buddhist incense offerings, but, shrouded in some Buddhist phrases and verses, contains ancient pre-Buddhist conceptions. This development was due to the necessity of creating a prayer that would appear to be a genuine work of Buddhist liturgy, a practice engaged in by both famous Buddhist ritualists and stout shamanic believers. The former intended to use these new scriptures to expel shamanic ideas completely, while the latter hoped to preserve essential parts of the old belief under the veneer of the new Buddhist religion. The Buriat scholar Dorzi Banzarov, the first to study the popular religion of the Mongols, described this practice: "The Lamas collected prayers which survived on the lips of the people, added to them new ones more in conformity with the new religion, and again distributed them among the people" (Banzarov, 1891, p. 2). In the sixteenth century a process thus began that resulted in the creation of numerous prayers and hymns of semi-Buddhist character, which became an inexhaustible mine of information concerning the conceptions of old Mongol religion. The Hungarian scholar Alice Sárközi has aptly stated the importance of these texts for the history of religions: "Every new text, or even new variants of already known texts can enlarge our knowledge of popular native beliefs and can shed a light on details which up to now have not been quite intelligible" (Sárközi, 1984). Analysis of such materials has yielded insights into the rather complex figure of a fire goddess who developed out of one of the oldest rituals into the worship of mountains and heights (*obogha*) and into the existence of a triad or pentad of gods of fate, headed by Möngke Tengri and Atagha Tengri, all considered to be "a late hypostasis of Eternal Heaven," as Sergei Iu. Nekliudov phrased it (Nekliudov, 1982, p. 500).

These divine representations, as well as those of Chinggis Khan and Geser Khan, the hero of a widely known epic, present an iconography related to the Tibetan "enemy gods" (*gra lha*), wearing the armor of Central Asian warriors of the first millennium CE and mounted on horses of varying color. All of these equestrian deities have protective functions. In addition to Köke Möngke Tengri, Čaghan Ebügen ("white old man") is venerated as the personified creative power, the lord of all earth and water, protector of animals and guarantor of longevity. He is certainly one of the oldest deities of the Mongol pantheon. Prayers to him refer to a legendary meeting between the White Old Man and the Buddha in which the Buddha confirmed him in his functions, testifying to this deity's pre-Buddhist origins. All requests addressed to these numinous representations of the popular religion are requisite to the nomadic/seminomadic pastoral way of life and its additional economics. The prayers ask for the same things as the shamanic invocations do: health; fertility and children; multiplication of livestock; protection against evil, dangers, war, and robbers; prevention of droughts, inundations, and blizzards; and safe roads, journeys, and caravan travel. In regions of additional or expanding agriculture, requests for augmentation and protection of crops are added, but the formulas of the prayer remain the same.

In more recent times the healing activities of the shamans have been more and more predominant, the shaman personnel being divided into real shamans (*böge/udaghan*) and non-shamanic healers and singers. The method of healing employed tends toward a kind of group therapeutic treatment of psychic illness (*andai*), which consists of shamans, helpers, and a crowd of laymen singing and arguing with the patient as a means of restoring him to his normal psychic state. In eastern Mongolia this singing therapy has been practiced since at least the mid-nineteenth century.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Mongolia; Chinggis Khan; Erlik; Gesar; Ongon; Shamanism; Tengri; Ülgen.

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WALTHER HEISSIG (1987)
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MONISM is a term applied to a group of thinkers or to philosophical systems that emphasize the oneness or unity of reality. Thinkers ordinarily regarded as monists do not themselves use this label, and do not refer to an agreed-upon monistic model. Unlike philosophical systems such as Platonism or Daoism, however, examples of monism cannot be identified by means of an accepted source or criterion. Moreover, in contrast to philosophical schools of thought such as pragmatism or existentialism, monism lacks an identifiable point of origin and a historical framework. In this respect, monism is a conceptual label, like idealism, realism, or determinism. It might be more appropriate to use only the adjectival form: thus, rather than regard a philosophical system as an example of monism, we should understand that, in a variety of ways, philosophical and religious systems are more or less monistic. In view of the arguable character of monism, perhaps the most useful task of the present essay would be to establish one or more definite examples of a monistic system and to abstract from such examples the specific features that render them monistic.

Philosophies frequently regarded as monistic are found in both Asian and Western traditions and are rather evenly distributed among ancient, modern, and contemporary sustems. Many philosophical systems ordinarily regarded as monistic are influenced by mystical experience. Even though there are monistic systems that are not mystical, as well as mystical systems that are nonmonistic, there is a close affinity between monistic and mystical systems of thought. Most of the systems referred to in this article exhibit a mystical as much as a monistic emphasis. The decided influence of mysticism on monistic systems, as well as the considerable frequency with which mystical experience is expressed in a monistic system, would seem to be due to the unitive quality of the mystical experience itself. The great mystics, especially those of the Indian and Christian traditions, emphasize that their blissful experience of oneness with or in the divine renders all particulars insignificant, and in some cases, relatively unreal and illusory. This tendency of monistic thinking to favor unity and oneness at the expense of the particular has confined monism per se to a minority position in philosophy and religion, both Asian and Western. Even in India, ordinarily regarded as uniformly monistic in philosophic and religious outlook, the monistic system of Śaṅkara (traditional dates 788–820) is but one of several competing interpretations of the Hindu scriptures. Similarly, in the Western tradition, philosophical thinkers such as Plotinus (204–270) and Spinoza (1632–1677), and others who espouse an unabashed monism, have proven unable to gain a dominant position in the tradition. Despite significant differences, Śaṅkara, Plotinus, and Spinoza individually and collectively show the essential strength as well as the typical weaknesses of monism as a philosophical position.

ASIAN TRADITIONS. Perhaps of all claimants to the label "monist," the paradigmatic system is that of the ninth-century mystic philosopher Śaṅkara, who stands in the Indian tradition as the foremost interpreter of the ancient scriptures and the creator of an original philosophy of *brahman*, the Absolute, "one without a second." Śaṅkara's *advaita* (nondual) system is one of several alternatives within Vendānta, the religious-philosophical tradition consisting in systematic exposition and speculation based on the Vedas (c. 800–400 BCE) and the Upaniṣads (c. 800–400 BCE), mystical and quasi-philosophical texts in the Sanskrit of the *ṛṣis* (seers) of ancient India.

The dialectic between Śaṅkara and his competitors, both Vedāntins and proponents of other Indian philosophical schools, has helped to establish Śaṅkara's system as a model of monistic thinking. Because his sources are evident, because his arguments on behalf of an absolute oneness of reality are systematic, ingenious, and influential, and because his interpreters and opponents have shown his position to be committed to an unambiguous epistemological and metaphysical monism, Śaṅkara serves, in Wittgenstein's terminology, as a "home base" for the "family resemblances" that monistic systems would seem to share. Whatever else monistic systems have in common, they all seem committed to a conception of reality that resembles Śaṅkara's idea of *brahman* in its oneness and in its contrast to the unreal or less real particulars of the spatial and temporal world, all of which are, according to Śaṅkara, ordinarily and erroneously experienced as separate from *brahman*.

Of the thirteen Upaniṣads that have survived and have been commented upon by sages such as Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, and Madhva, some tend toward theism, but most contain passages that have placed a definite monistic stamp on the Indian philosophical tradition. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and *Chāndogya* Upaniṣads offer some of the strongest texts for the monistic position:

> Brahman indeed was this in the beginning. It knew itself only as "I am Brahman." Therefore it became all. Whoever among the gods became awakened to this, he, indeed, became that. . . . Whoever knows thus, "I am Brahman," becomes this all. (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 1.4.10)

> Verily, this whole world is Brahman, from which he comes forth, without which he will be dissolved and in which he breathes. (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 14.1.1)

According to Śaṅkara, the concept of *brahman* in the Upaniṣads teaches that all particulars of the spatial or temporal world—all objects, thoughts, spirits, and gods (since gods are temporal, they are less than *brahman*)—are real only with respect to, only by virtue of being one with, *brahman*. Particulars that appear real to the observer independent of *brahman* do so because of an all-pervasive ignorance (*avidyā*). Although the universal self and God (in whatever form, by whatever name) is *brahman*, the ignorant perceiver, or believer, habitually regards these and lesser entities, or appearances, as independent realities.

Śaṅkara follows the Upaniṣads in distinguishing two aspects of *brahman*, namely, *nirguṇa* (indeterminate) and *saguṇa* (determinate), and identifies Īśvara (God) as the personification of *saguṇa brahman*. In itself, (*nirguṇa*) *brahman* is beyond qualities—not only beyond description, but beyond any specificity, including the temporal nature of God. *Saguṇa brahman*, which includes everything that is not *brahman* per se—from the most ephemeral entity or musing to the most perfect concept of God—issues from *brahman*, has its reality by virtue of *brahman*, and in the end is gathered into *brahman*. Or rather, *saguṇa brahman* in all of its multiplicity is finally—or once again—realized as the one indivisible (*nirguṇa*) *brahman*, which it never ceased to be even though it most assuredly appeared to be separate from (*nirguṇa*) *brahman*. That is, *saguṇa brahman* appeared real as *saguṇa* (having qualities, particularized, pluralized) even while its true identity as *nirguṇa brahman* ("one without a second") was hidden not only from human consciousness but, presumably, even from higher beings and perhaps from God as well. Obviously, the terrible burden (or flaw) of a system that is so strongly on the side of oneness is to establish a degree of reality for particulars, which range from fleeting moments to God the creator of the universe.

The most effective alternative interpretation to Śaṅkara was provided by the South Indian philosopher-saint Rāmānuja (c. 1017–1137), who argued that the level below *brahman* must also be counted as real. Rāmānuja's position is within Vedānta, but it is closer to traditional theism as developed in the Jewish, Christian, and Muslim traditions. Rāmānuja's criticism of Śaṅkara's advaitist (nondual) conception of *brahman*, however, does not lead him to deny either the *nirguṇa brahman* or Śaṅkara's contention that the reality of *saguṇa brahman* is entirely dependent on *nirguṇa brahman*. In this respect, Rāmānuja's position is closer to that of a theist who affirms, in addition to a God involved in the world, a conception of God or godhead that is beyond and ultimately unaffected by the temporal experiences of God and humanity.

The twentieth-century philosopher-statesman Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan (1888–1975) tried to combine the merits of Śaṅkara's absolute nondualism and Rāmānuja's qualified nondualism by attempting to reconcile, in a polar relationship, the two natures of *brahman*—absolutely one and beyond, on the one side, and pluralistic and particular on the other. It must be admitted that Radhakrishnan's view is very close to that of Śaṅkara except that he forcefully affirms the reality of the world. As he notes in his semiautiobiographical essay *The Religion of the Spirit and the World's Need: Fragments of a Confession* (1952), his intent is to "save the world and give it a real meaning"; it is *brahman* that gives the world its true meaning, but only if *brahman* is understood in a positive relation to the world.

Radhakrishnan's metaphysics shows the influence of both Plotinus's description of the One/Intellect (*nous*)/Soul/World and Whitehead's conception of the divine in process:

> [The *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*] affirms that Brahman on which all else depends, to which all existences aspire, Brahman which is sufficient to itself, aspiring to no other, without any need, is the source of all other beings, the intellectual principle, the perceiving mind, life and body. It is the principle which unifies the world of the physicist, the biologist, the psychologist, the logician, the moralist and the artist. (Radharkrishnan, 1953, p. 59)

> We have (1) the Absolute, (2) God as a Creative power, (3) God immanent in this world. These are not to be regarded as separate entities. They are arranged in this order because there is a logical priority. The Absolute must be there with all its possibilities before the Divine Creativity can choose one. The divine choice must be there before there can be the Divine immanent in this world. This is a logical succession and not a temporal one. The world-spirit must be there before there can be the world. We thus get the four poises or statuses of reality, (1) the Absolute, Brahman, (2) the Creative Spirit, Īśvara, (3) the World-Spirit, Hiranyagarbha, and (4) the World. This is the way in which the Hindu thinkers interpret the integral nature of the Supreme Reality. (ibid., p. 65)

In his attempt to articulate the integral nature of the Supreme Reality, Radhakrishnan argues that *brahman* includes Īśvara, and Īśvara is the concrete manifestation of *brahman:* "There is nothing else than the Absolute which is the presupposition of all else. The central mystery is that of Being itself. We should not think that emphasis on Being overlooks the fact of Becoming" (intro. *The Brahma Sutra*, New York, 1960, p. 119). This fact of becoming is none other than *saguṇa brahman* or Isvra: "The Absolute is a living reality with a creative urge. When this aspect is stressed, the Absolute becomes a Personal God, Īśvara" (ibid., p. 126). Īśvara is not something other than or in addition to *brahman;* Īśvara is *brahman* itself: "The creative thought 'let me be many' belongs to Brahman. It is not simply imagined in him. The energy that manifests itself in Brahman is one with and different from Brahman" (ibid., p. 142).

Despite Radhakrishnan's determination to reconcile Śaṅkara's conception of the *brahman* with the reality and value of the world, he nevertheless admits, with the Upaniṣads and Śaṅkara, that the absolute oneness of (*nirguṇa*) *brahman* is unaffected by God and creation:

> So far as the Absolute is concerned, the creation of the world makes no difference to it. It cannot add anything to or take anything from the Absolute. All the sources of its being are found within itself. The world of change does not disturb the perfection of the Absolute. (Radhakrishnan, in Muirhead, 1958, p. 502)

It is possible to find in some of the Buddhist schools metaphysical and epistemological teachings that seem to be examples of monism, though if one keeps in mind the aim of all Buddhist teaching—to attain enlightenment, *nirvāṇa* (eternal peace), or Buddhahood—such teachings will be seen to be only incidentally and superficially monistic. The concept of *śūnya* or *śūnyatā* as developed by Nāgārjuna (second or third century BCE) offers a vivid example of the way in which Buddhist teaching can be, though perhaps should not be, interpreted monistically. Zen Buddhism (or, in Chinese, Chan Buddhism) offers a second, equally ambiguous example of apparent monism. In both cases, as in the Buddhist tradition generally—to the extent that any generalization can be made accurately for the full variety of Buddhist teachings—the monism affirmed is intended primarily as a mere philosophical or conceptual stage on the way to an enlightenment experience concerning which no statements can be stable or adequate. According to Nāgārjuna, absolute reality can be positively experienced but only negatively expressed: "There is no death, no birth, no destruction, no persistence, no oneness, no manyness, no coming, no departing" (*Madhyamakakārikā* 1).

D. T. Suzuki (1870–1966), the prolific interpreter of Mahāyāna Buddhism and exponent of Zen Buddhism in the West, offers a more explicit account of the paradoxical character of the extent to which Zen may—and may not—be regarded as monistic:

> We may say that Christianity is monotheistic, and the Vedānta [the dominant school of Indian philosophy, based on the Upaniṣads] pantheistic; but we cannot make a similar assertion about Zen. Zen is neither monotheistic nor pantheistic; Zen defies all such designations. Hence there is no object upon which to fix the thought. Zen is a wafting cloud in the sky. No screw fastens it, no string holds it; it moves as it lists. *No amount of meditation will help Zen in one place.* Meditation is not Zen. Neither pantheism nor monotheism provides Zen with its subjects of concentration. . . . Zen wants to have one's mind free and unobstructed; even the idea of oneness or allness is a stumbling block and a strangling snare which threatens the original freedom of the spirit. (Suzuki, 1974, p. 40)

The Mādhyamika (Middle Way) of Nāgārjuna and Zen Buddhism share with monistic philosophies a systematic and highly effective assault on the apparent self-sufficiency and presumed reality of all particulars, but as expressions of Buddhist spiritual wisdom, they move beyond the monistic consequence of this assault to the silence of enlightenment.

In the Chinese tradition, particularly in the writings of Laozi (traditionally, sixth century BCE?) and Zhuangzi (latter fourth to early third century BCE), the illusive but uniquely formative concept of the Dao performs a function similar to the concept of *śūnyatā* in Mādhyamika Buddhism. According to the *Dao de jing* (*The Way and Its Power*), the poetic-philosophical text attributed to Laozi but in actuality compiled by his followers in approximately the early fourth century BCE, the Dao is the unity and the creative principle underlying all particulars. In contrast to an absolute monism such as defended by Śaṅkara, the Daoism of Laozi and Zhuangzi does not threaten, and in fact celebrates, the reality and value of particulars. Space and time, persons and nature, life and death, and all shades of being and becoming arise in and return to the Dao. But the Dao is not a principle or concept to be thought; it is a mysterious, ineffable reality to be experienced—and to the extent experienced, expressed only indirectly and inadequately. The Dao cannot be grasped or defined, but it can be received and hinted at by artful, seemingly effortless, action. The Dao is above concepts, above either being or nonbeing, and yet it runs through all realities named by concepts. It is the One behind the many—but not the One that can be named, thought, or delineated. Like the butterfly, which ceases to be itself when caught and mounted, human attempts to catch the Dao can catch expressions of the Dao, but not the Dao itself.

WESTERN TRADITION. There are perhaps a dozen thinkers spread throughout the history of Western thought who would likely be included in any survey of monistic systems. Among the ancient Greeks, probable candidates include Parmenides for his enigmatic but highly influential definition of reality as One. If monism were to be regarded as a theory of one kind of reality (as distinct from the more usual conception of monism as defining reality as singular), Democritus would be included for his definition of reality as consisting in atoms. Plotinus, the Neoplatonic mystic of the third century, articulated a philosophy of the One that stands as an obvious model of monistic thinking in the history of Western philosophy. The Christian period is steadfastly theistic—that is, maintaining a real separation between creator and creation—with the notable exceptions of the ninth-century Irish theologian John Scottus Eriugena and the fourteenth-century Rhineland mystic Meister Eckhart.

In Judaic and Muslim thought, orthodox theism and its attendant resistance to monism proved effective except for Ibn ʿArabī, the thirteenth-century Spanish Ṣūfī Muslim, who taught that God, or reality, is absolutely singular, and that the human soul is indistinguishable from God. It is important for anyone unfamiliar with Islamic thought to understand that the Muslim thinkers of the Middle Ages were using the same philosophical sources—primarily Plato and the Neoplatonists—as were medieval Jewish and Christian thinkers. Obviously, thinkers in each of these three religious and cultural traditions also drew from—and in turn influenced—their respective religious traditions. In the case of Ibn ʿArabī, his Muslim experience took the form of mysticism known as Ṣūfism. As R. C. Zaehner notes: "The introduction of Neoplatonic ideas into Ṣūfism from philosophy was, of course, made much of by Ibn al ʿArabī who systematized them into something very like Śaṅkara's version of the Vedānta" (*Hindu and Muslim Mysticism*, New York, 1969, p. 174). Although Ibn ʿArabī's system is generally regarded as heretical by orthodox Muslims, his writings—perhaps because of his vast erudition and manifest saintliness—were influential on subsequent Muslim and Christian thinkers.

In the modern period the two most important monistic philosophers have been the seventeenth-century Sefardic Jew Barukh Spinoza, who defines reality as one substance, calling it either God or Nature, and the nineteenth-century German idealist G. W. F. Hegel, whose concept of the Absolute continues to hold its place in the modern West as the dominant monistic philosophical system. Within the present century there are at least four philosophers, all American or British, who have extended the Hegelian, or absolute idealist, variety of monistic philosophy: Josiah Royce and F. H. Bradley, who wrote at the turn of the century, and W. T. Stace and J. N. Findlay, both Hegel scholars and metaphysicians who wrote at midcentury.

Virtually all of these philosophers, religious thinkers, and mystics, as well as others who could be added to the list, can be understood as a variation or subset of one of the following five influential figures: Plotinus, Eriugena, Eckhart, Spinoza, and Hegel.

Plotinus (c. 205–270), the last great thinker of antiquity, combined a profound knowledge of Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics with an equally profound mystical experience of absolute oneness. Although Plotinus thought that he was faithfully interpreting the philosophy of Plato, he is rightly credited with founding a new school of philosophy, that is, Neoplatonism. Moreover, although Plotinus's writings, and therefore the tenets of Neoplatonism of which he was the first and greatest exponent, were neither influenced by Christian teachings nor read by medieval Christian theologians, nevertheless they exercised a significant influence on Christian thinking indirectly through Augustine (354–430) and Dionysius the Areopagite (fl. c. 500). By the time Plotinus's *Enneads* were rediscovered by Marsilio Ficino, the fifteenth-century head of the Platonic Academy of Florence, Meister Eckhart (1260–1327?) had articulated a novel monistic system, fashioned equally by Neoplatonism and by his spiritual life and thought as a German Dominican monk. The Neoplatonic—or Plotinian—cast of Eckhart's mystical monism accounts for its distinctiveness and for his difficulties with defenders of orthodox Christian theism. A close look at Plotinus's idea of the One will show both its affinities and its ultimate incompatibility with Christian doctrine; not surprisingly, Eckhart's use of Neoplatonic monism led his writings to be censored as heretical.

Plotinus's concept of the One is comparable to, and in part derived from, the absolute One of Parmenides, the Good of Plato's *Republic*, Aristotle's First Cause, and the immanent God of the Stoics. In affirming the absoluteness and transcendence of the One, however, Plotinus is speaking from a compelling mystical experience of Unity. Throughout the *Enneads*, which Plotinus's student Porphyry arranged in six sets of nine treatises each (Gr., *ennea*, "nine"), all of his references to the One, particularly those in the final tractate (6.9), "On the Good, or the One," emphasize that the One cannot be described or characterized, but can only be pointed to as the ineffable source and goal of mystical experience. In terms comparable to the Upaniṣadic concept of *brahman*—though with a greater affirmation of the value and beauty of the individual soul and the physical world—Plotinus conceives of the One as the absolute unity and harmony underlying all particularity and all polarities. The One is the source of the other two principles, or levels, of reality, both of which exist within the One and share completely in its divinity. But the One is not less absolute for their existence. Since the second and third principles, Mind or Intellect (*nous*) and Soul, are also real (though not absolute in their own right), it is not easy, as Plotinus admits, to state in what the One, or the Unity, consists. Unity can be experienced, but not described. Plotinus tells us:

> We are in search of unity; we are to come to know the principle of all, the Good and First; therefore we may not stand away from the realm of Firsts and lie prostrate among the lasts: we must strike for those Firsts, rising form things of sense which are the lasts. Cleared of all evil in our intention towards The Good, we must ascend to the Principle within ourselves; from many, we must become one; only so do we attain to knowledge of that which is Principle and Unity. . . . The Unity, then, is not Intellectual-Principle but something higher still: Intellectual-Principle is still a being but that First is no being but precedent to all Being: it cannot be a being, for a being has what we may call the shape of its reality but The Unity is without shape, even shape Intellectual. (*Enneads* 6.9.3)

In this tractate, Plotinus continues with a series of negative definitions: the One is not merely the Good, nor merely Mind, nor Soul, but is the indivisible source and perfect goal of all of these limited realities. While all characterizations of the One must be negative, experience of the One cannot but be overwhelmingly positive. This experience is more than an intuition or a vision; it is "a unity apprehended":

> The man formed by this mingling with the Supreme must—if he only remember—carry its image impressed upon him: he is become the Unity, nothing within him or without inducing any diversity; no movement now, no passion, no outlooking desire, once this ascent is achieved; reasoning is in abeyance and all Intellection and even, to dare the word, the very self: caught away, filled with God, he has in perfect stillness attained isolation; all the being calmed, he turns neither to this side nor to that, not even inwards to himself; utterly resting he has become very rest. (ibid., 6.9.11)

As this passage shows, it is difficult to separate the mystical from the philosophical assertions in Plotinus's philosophy, and in this respect, although he was not a Christian, Plotinus stands at the head of a line of Christian mystical philosopher-theologians for whom the concept of God, or the Absolute, is equally the object of mystical experience and philosophical reflection.

In his work *On the Division of Nature*, for example, the Irish theologian John Scottus Eriugena (810–877) affirmed and extended several Plotinian tenets: the absolute ineffability of God—a concept expressed in Christian theological language almost identical to descriptions of the One of Plotinus; a dual process of emanation from, and return to, the One of lower stages of reality—stages that also resemble those articulated in the *Enneads*. At the same time, Eriugena also used Christian ideas as developed by Dionysius the Areopagite and Gregory of Nyssa, both of whose works he translated from Greek to Latin. For Eriugena as for Plotinus, God or the One is not only beyond human thought, but equally beyond his own thought: God is incomprehensible even to himself because in his oneness he does not think at all. In fact, the reason for creation, which is accomplished through his ideas (*nous* in Plotinus's system, the divine attributes in Eriugena's), is to manifest the otherwise absolute and eternally hidden nature of God. Thus, the God of Eriugena is virtually identical to the One of Plotinus in that he (or it, in view of its absolute and transpersonal nature) is the source of being and knowledge but absolutely transcends both.

Meister Eckhart (1260–1327?) drew from Eriugena, and through him from Plotinus and early Neoplatonic Christian thinkers. He developed a concept of the Absolute, or God, that he called godhead, from the two points of view developed by Plotinus and Eriugena and comparable to the unqualified (*nirguṇa*) and qualified (*saguṇa*) dual conception of *brahman* in Advaita Vedānta. According to Eckhart, God is Being per se, or all that is, but is also inexplicably above and beyond Being, totally other and absolutely one. Existence or Being can be seen from two points of view, as the mysterious source of being and as being (or creation) itself, but ultimately there is only one existence. This affirmation of absolute unity of being, on the one hand, and on the other, the idea that all beings, including the human soul, are none other than God or Being from the perspective of creation, shows why Eckhart's teaching was regarded as too monist not to be at odds with orthodox Christianity. Eckhart's conception of the unity of God follows Eriugena's negative characterization of God and resembles Nāgārjuna's conception of the ultimate as *śūnyatā*, emptiness or nonbeing. Clearly, there is a point in the monist position at which the absolute fullness and the absolute emptiness of being appear to be indistinguishable—they are equally true and equally inadequate ways of expressing the absolute otherness of the One, the ultimate ineffable source of all particularity.

The same need to see the Absolute from two perspectives—as it is in itself and as it is from the perspective of creation—recurs in the metaphysical system of Barukh Spinoza (1632–1677), according to which the Absolute is referred to as Substance, God, or Nature. These three terms are declared to be perfectly synonymous, infinite, and absolutely necessary: "God, or substance, consisting of infinite attributes, of which each expresses eternal and infinite essentiality, necessarily exists" (Proposition 11). God (or Substance or Nature) manifests itself through an infinity of attributes, two of which, thought and extension (or ideas and bodies), are intelligible to man and constitutive of his experience. These two attributes, which are capable of infinite combinations, are related to each other (in contradistinction to Descartes's dualism of mind and body) through their common source in one divine Substance. Spinoza's solution to the Cartesian dualism, however, generates the same problem that attends all monistic systems—the difficulty in establishing the reality of particulars, which Spinoza refers to as modes, within the one indivisible Substance. Although Spinoza may be thought to have generated his metaphysics from a religious or mystical impulse, his conception of the divine as impersonal and absolutely necessary was clearly not influenced (except perhaps negatively) by either Jewish or Christian theological orthodoxy.

In conceiving of the world as God's manifestation of himself within his inviolable unity, Spinoza is in general agreement with other absolute monists like Advaita Vedānta (of the Upaniṣads and Śaṅkara), Plotinus, Eriugena, and Eckhart, but he is unique in attributing absolute determinism to the divine substance. On this point Spinoza is rigorously consistent even if his terminology gives the impression of inconsistency or paradox: he refers to the necessity of the divine Substance as both freedom and determinism because God is free to do what is required by his nature. God is free because of what he is—or because of the necessity which is the essential character of his existence. Since only God must be, and must be what He is, only God is free. Further, all of God's attributes and modes are what they are necessarily as part of God's essence. Without violating its unity and necessity, one can conceive of God, or Nature in polar terms, as the creator, or *natura naturans* ("Nature naturing"), and as creation, *natura naturata* ("Nature natured"), which consists in the infinite combinations of attributes and modes of the one divine Substance, God, or Nature. Within this Substance, all things that exist do so, and do so in the way that they do, because they are not other than God, and God's nature is absolutely necessary.

In the conclusion of *Ethics* Spinoza asserts that this Substance—which, it must be remembered, is the one and only reality regardless of how plural and diverse it appears to a human perspective—can be known by the third or highest form of knowledge, the intellectual love of God. This love, which is knowledge of a particular in relation to its divine cause (or divine nature), is in effect a direct knowledge of God, or Nature, in its infinity, eternality, and necessity. In this discussion of the intellectual love of God, which occurs in part 5 of *Ethics*, "Of Human Freedom," Spinoza's monistic conception of Substance (God or Nature) reveals a reverence and a personal experiential depth that would appear to be mystical even if not religious in the usual sense. While the overall force of *Ethics* would seem to represent an atheistic monism that allows no room for the God of Western religion, the profoundly mystical love of divine necessity, which is the goal and perhaps the source of Spinoza's entire system, would seem to justify Novalis's often-quoted reference to him as "a God-intoxicated man." W. T. Stace holds to both of these interpretations and suggests that Spinoza "exhibited in himself the living paradox of being a God-intoxicated atheist" (*Mysticism and Philosophy*, p. 217).

In that his philosophy of the absolute Spirit is the result of philosophical reflection rather than the product of his own mystical experience, G. W. F. Hegel is closer to Spinoza than to Plotinus or Eckhart. Hegel would also seem to resemble Spinoza in that his philosophy of the Absolute is an expression, however partial and indirect, of the experience and understanding of absolute Unity for which the great mystics, of both Asia and the West, are the primary source. In explaining the relation between mysticism and philosophy in Hegel, Frederick Copleston wisely remarks that Hegel was not a mystic and did not look to mysticism to solve the problems of philosophy, but rather "he saw in mysticism the intuitive grasp of a truth which it was the business of philosophy to understand and exhibit in a systematic manner" (*Religion and the One*, p. 135).

While Hegel's conception of the Absolute combines elements of many predecessors, including Plotinus, Eriugena, Eckhart, and Spinoza, in his original synthesis he introduces novel conceptions so as to create a uniquely profound and modern monistic philosophy. In terms similar to the conception of God in Eriugena or Eckhart, Hegel conceives of the absolute Spirit as revealing itself through spatial and temporal creation. For Hegel, however, the Absolute is neither empty nor so totally transcendent as to be characterized as nonbeing. Rather, the absolute Spirit of Hegel more closely resembles Spinoza's conception of Substance in that it is intelligible to human consciousness. In fact, it is through human rationality that the Absolute has its being: the Absolute exists through its self-knowing, which is none other than its being known through speculative philosophy. In this respect, Hegel's conception of absolute Spirit may be said to exhibit a radical temporality characteristic of process philosophy and other modern philosophical systems influenced by the theory of evolution. Spirit itself evolves through human consciousness, without which it cannot be said to be intelligible—or real, which comes to the same, according to Hegel's identification of the rational and the real.

Is Hegel's system, then, monistic? In what does his principle of unity, or oneness, consist? Since Hegel's system precludes univocal summations, two responses may fittingly be offered: in that the absolute Idea is single, rational, and the sole reality, Hegel's system clearly resembles monistic systems such as those of Plotinus, Eriugena, Eckhart, and Spinoza; since, however, the absolute Idea cannot be thought to exist in its own right as a full or finished reality separable from the process of human consciousness by which it knows itself, there is a sense in which the One in question, the absolute Idea, is equally plural and temporal. Absolute Spirit is there in the beginning, and without it, there would be no beginning—but it is equally the case that it comes to be, or comes into being, by being thought—as all human reflection is advancing, or making real, the actual content of the divine Idea. In Hegel's view, his *Phenomenology of Spirit* was itself a significant contribution toward the self-realization of absolute Spirit.

Delineating the relationship between these two perspectives—absolute Spirit as the one source of all and as the temporal-spatial process—required thousands of torturous pages by Hegel and continues to produce countless volumes of interpretation by his followers and critics. While it might be possible to solve the problem of the one and the many in contemporary terms without recourse to Hegel, most of the important work on this problem in the present century is demonstrably traceable to one or another interpretation of the Hegelian system. The most promising effort would seem to be that of J. N. Findlay, whose Gifford Lectures, *The Discipline of the Cave* and *The Transcendence of the Cave*, given from 1964 to 1966, represent a reformulation, by phenomenological and dialectical methods, of problems first set forth by Plotinus and Hegel.

CONCLUSION. A survey of monistic systems ranges from the uncompromising Advaita ("nondual") Vedānta of Śaṅkara to those thinkers, such as Radhakrishnan and Hegel, who have attempted to affirm the unity or oneness of reality without jeopardizing the reality or value of the many. In this regard, Radhakrishnan's response to, and restatement of, Śaṅkara's conception of *brahman* "so as to save the world and give it a real meaning" would seem to be a telling critique of the absolute monist position: the stronger the affirmation of oneness, the more difficult it is to affirm particulars in their own right. Within the context of absolute unity, all particulars are relegated to a quasi reality. If all is *brahman*—or Being, or the Absolute, or the One by any other name—then sticks and stones, civilizations and planets, ideas and gods must all share, and perhaps lose, their distinctive reality within the all-inclusive (or all-consuming) reality of the One.

Given the extent to which a monistic system jeopardizes the reality of the ordinary world, it is perhaps not surprising that it typically has drawn its inspiration from, and in turn lends its formulations to, mystical experience. The three most formidable monistic systems—those of Śaṅkara, Plotinus, and Spinoza—are all dependent on mystical awareness, however rational may be their respective processes of articulation. In view of the monistic tendency to devalue the full range of particulars, it is understandable that throughout the history of Western thought, monism has been countered not only by orthodox theologies (of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam) but equally by dominant philosophies. In Asia, and particularly in India, monism may appear to have enjoyed greater success historically, but most Asian thought systems—for example, Confucianism in China, theism and Yoga in India, and various forms of Buddhism throughout Asia—have not been monistic. Further, the remarkable influence of Advaita Vedānta in India may be due as much to its apparent mystical source and hermeneutical power as to its philosophical argumentation. The monist affirmation of the One (in whatever terminology) may well be truer than the myriad religious and philosophical positions that hold to the reality of the many, but while the vast majority of religious thinkers and philosophers fall short of mystical insight, it seems probable that in the future of philosophy and religion monism will continue to be a strongly opposed minority position.

SEE ALSO Dualism; Images; Neoplatonism; Pantheism and Panentheism; Transcendence and Immanence.

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MONKEYS.

Monkeys have played a complex and ambiguous role in the religion and folklore of diverse cultures. Although deities in monkey form have occasionally been venerated as psychopomps, tricksters, or intercessors, simians have more commonly been viewed as comical or degenerate simulacra of human beings. Both responses suggest a perception of these animals as challenging boundaries and categories, a theme that in the modern world remains implicit in much visual representation and fictional and scientific narrative. Despite a tendency among premodern authors and artists to be vague and generic about nonhuman primates (a confusion that persists in nontechnical discourse conflating, for example, tailed "monkeys" and tailless "apes"), human responses to simians, especially in regions in which the latter abound, have often been species-specific, reflecting characteristic features or behaviors of particular primate groups.

Perhaps the most widely attested response to anthropoid primates has been the notion that they are degraded or fallen humans, whose bestial status reflects punishment for a transgression. Thus a Jewish legend holds that the men who contrived to place idols atop the tower of Babel were turned by God into apes, and in a Greco-Roman tale a diminutive race of humans who attempted to deceive Hercules were punished by the gods by becoming "tailed ones" *(cercopes).* A Muslim story holds that apes originated when a group of Jews were cursed for violating the Sabbath, and an Algerian tradition traces them to a human group deprived of speech by divine wrath. According to a medieval European legend, when God visited Adam and Eve after the fall, Eve concealed some of her numerous progeny out of shame over her sexual activity, and, as punishment, God transformed the hidden children into monkeys. Although such tales reflect the anthropocentric prejudices of monotheist religions, they are not confined to Europe and the Middle East. The motif of transgression and metamorphosis into a simian is preserved in the Mayan *Popol Vuh,* and it also occurs in Southeast Asia, in the tale of a wicked couple who are tricked by a god into squatting on red-hot bricks; when their backsides are burned red, they flee in shame into the forest. Similar stories, often involving punishment for sexual license, are the commonest explanations of simian origins among tribal groups in India, and cast doubt on the frequent assertion that Hinduism's now-robust cult of Hanumān derives from a hoary and indigenous tradition of "monkey worship." Comparable tales have been reported concerning the orangutans of Indonesia and the chimpanzees of the Ivory Coast. Japanese folktales involve many instances of cross-species transformation, yet those involving monkeys nearly always feature the one-way metamorphosis of a human who has incurred divine punishment. Even in the case of Hanumān, a sense of transgression of divine powers and of being "marked" as simian in punishment is found in the tale of his jaw (Sanskrit, *hanu*) being disfigured by Indra's thunderbolt. The abundance of such stories confirms Horst Janson's assertion that, when faced with the discomfort aroused by the similitude of simians, humans in general have tended to become "Darwinists in reverse" (Janson, 1952, p. 13).

Veneration of monkeys has been more sporadic. The earliest attested instance, in ancient Egypt, was directed toward a single species of baboon known to Greco-Roman authors as *cynocephalus* or "dog-head" because of its canine facial appearance. In contrast to other monkeys who appear in Egyptian art as leashed pets or performing grotesques, this animal was considered sacred and associated with both sun and moon. Images of seated male baboons, hands raised in adoration of the rising sun, adorn the columns of several temples, and mummified animals were commonly interred in a seated posture. Sculpted baboon images often display erect penises—a mark of lasciviousness in the view of later observers—that probably indicated the connection of both the sun and the animal with fertility. Yet the baboon was also associated with the moon and sacred to the moon god Thoth, a healer and magician, scribe of the gods, and guide of deceased souls. In some myths, the baboon taught hieroglyphics to Thoth and wore his lunar orb on its head. Its image regularly appeared atop scales, signifying postmortem judgment, over which Thoth presided. The god himself was sometimes depicted in the form, or with the head, of a baboon. The humanlike menstrual cycle of the female cynocephalus, which further linked the animal to cosmic rhythms, was noted by some ancient writers, as were temples where troops of semidomesticated baboons were fed by priests.

Elements of Thoth worship were transposed onto the Greco-Roman mystery cult of Hermes Trismegistos—who was likewise a magician, healer, and psychopomp—and gemstone rings carved with images of ithyphallic baboons enjoyed a vogue in the late Roman Empire, possibly as aphrodisiac charms. But the more common response to the Egyptian baboon-deity in classical Mediterranean cultures was scorn and ridicule. A minor decorative motif in Greek art, monkeys appear to have had no sacral significance; rather, they commonly represented ugliness, sycophancy, and immorality. Aristotle's brief observation that anthropoid primates constitute a morphological category situated between humans and quadruped animals would later definitively establish the "link" occupied by these animals in the medieval "great chain of being." The Romans sometimes kept monkeys as pets, but held the sight of one in a dream to be an evil omen. Roman writings, including Galen's accounts of his dissections of Barbary apes (a nearly tailless macaque native to North Africa and Gibraltar, and the best-known monkey in the ancient West), reveal discomfort with their likeness to men, exemplified in the punning aphorism of the second century BCE poet Ennius: "The ape, that vile beast, so similar to us" *(Simia quam similis turpissuma bestia nobis).*

Simian semblance took on ominous implications for religions whose scriptures declared the human form to be the "image of God." The stump-tailed posterior of the Barbary macaque was especially problematic, for God had declared in *Leviticus* 22:23 that all animals were to have tails. A Jewish legend declared that Adam himself was created with a tail, which God later removed as a sign of exaltation over bestial creation. The macaque was hence viewed as a duplicitous beast trying to "ape" human rank. A variant on the story claimed that God himself had cut off the ape's tail as punishment for its presumption, leaving "scars" on its backside—the ischial callosities, or "sitting pads," common to Old World monkeys. The Patristic writings of early Christianity are strident in their denunciation of "idolatrous" Egyptian religion and often focus on "ape worship" as its most loathsome practice. In medieval sources, the devil was called "God's ape" *(simia Dei)* because he tried unsuccessfully to imitate God's creative acts, and the monkey in turn was labeled "likeness of the devil" *(figura diaboli).* Renaissance paintings of the "fall of man" sometimes feature an ape slyly munching one of the forbidden apples; the gullible Eve points to the beast in order to sway her consort's resolve to uphold God's commandment—one instance of a common patriarchal tendency to associate women (as less-than-men) with monkeys.

In time, the Christian morphological preoccupation with monstrous *similitudines* and "hybrid races" that threatened to erase the boundary between the human self and the feral "other" would influence the response of Europeans to newly discovered primates and people in other parts of the world, contributing both to the racism of the colonial era and to the pseudoscience of eugenics that arose in the wake of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859). The association of simians with the "primitive" and "savage" as well as with the infantile and feminine, and the caricaturing of subject peoples and human enemies as "monkeys," has long persisted in Western discourse, as has the whimsical portrayal of simians as human surrogates in visual art. A recurrent theme in popular culture (reflected in such works as the Danish Baron Hollberg's eighteenth-century novel *Nicolai Climii iter subterraneum,* and the twentieth-century American *Planet of the Apes* films) has been the discovery of a realm in which simians and humans trade places and confront the contingency of species roles. Late-twentieth-century scholarship has also critiqued the burgeoning scientific literature of primatology as (in feminist Donna Haraway's phrase) "simian orientalism," and asserted that its ostensibly "objective" discourse contains numerous elements of disguised mythos (Haraway, 1989, p. 10).

The rich traditions of monkey gods and heroes found in South, Southeast, and East Asia all appear indebted, to varying degrees, to the ancient Indian epic *Rāmāyaṇa* (c. fourth century BCE), in which a race of magical, talking monkeys befriend the human hero Rāma and assist him in recovering his kidnapped wife, Sītā. This tale probably penetrated much of Asia in the early centuries of the common era and may have become interwoven with local monkey lore. In many Southeast Asian Buddhist versions of the story, Rāma's principal helper, Hanumān, here identified as a magical White Monkey, is portrayed as a resourceful but lascivious trickster whose amorous and martial adventures sometimes eclipse those of his human master. The tale of his liaison with the Fish Queen, resulting in a marvelous hybrid son, remains a favorite in the dance theater traditions of Thailand and Cambodia and in the visual art of Malaysia.

In Japan's indigenous Shintō tradition, a "monkey deity" *(saru gami)* named Saruta Biko is attested in texts dating to the eighth century. He belongs to the category of gods associated with liminal spaces such as village boundaries, functions as a messenger between the heavenly and earthly worlds, and serves as mediator between humans and the *kami,* or spirits, particularly the powerful Mountain Deity. He has a special connection with horses and is used in rites intended to protect them from disease. In later Japanese lore, the monkey is primarily portrayed as a trickster and clown, and is associated with human "outcastes" who, like him, mediate between people and gods, yet serve as bearers of pollution. Today, a highly adaptive local species of macaque is considered the "national monkey" of Japan and is said to be the only animal referred to with the honorific *san,* otherwise reserved for humans. The work of twentieth-century Japanese primatologists has been cited for its more emotional and sympathetic response to these animals, exemplified by the monkey funerals sometimes held at research labs.

In China, the popular "monkey king" Sun Wukong of Daoist and Buddhist legend, Ming-period fiction, and modern Beijing opera, probably combines elements of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and of Southeast Asian White Monkey tales with indigenous lore concerning gibbons and macaques. As the most endearing character in the hundred-chapter novel *Xiyou Ji* (Record of the westward journey, 1592), Monkey aids a Buddhist monk in a perilous pilgrimage to India in quest of scriptures, displaying the supernatural powers he acquired by stealing peaches and pills of immortality from the Jade Emperor of the Daoist heaven. Plucky and exuberant, he represents both the Buddhist concept of the restive "monkey mind" that must be tamed to achieve enlightenment and the pragmatism and resourcefulness of a homegrown Chinese culture hero. Despite the centuries-long effort of the literati to suppress non-elite lore and the postrevolutionary crackdown on religious expression, a folk Daoist cult of Monkey survives on Taiwan and in Singapore, where he is revered as a trickster, esoteric preceptor, and healer (especially of children and horses), and as an exorcist sometimes invoked through rites of possession.

The origins of the immensely popular Hindu monkey-god Hanumān, also known as Māruti and Āñjaneya, are obscure. Ceramic monkey figurines from Indus Valley sites and a single Vedic hymn featuring a "virile monkey" have led to speculation that an earthy folk deity *(yakṣa)* in simian form may have preceded Hanumān's literary debut in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa.* Born of the union of the wind god Vāyu with a celestial nymph who was cursed to assume monkey form, the epic's Hanumān has a rambunctious childhood in which he nearly devours the sun and is wounded and then blessed by the gods. He matures into a sagacious and powerful ally of Rāma who leaps across the ocean carrying his master's ring and message to the captive Sītā, burns the demon city of Lanka with his flaming tail, fetches a Himalayan summit covered with healing herbs to save Rāma's wounded brother during the climactic battle, and ultimately receives the boon of physical immortality as well as Rāma's boundless gratitude. His role expanded in later vernacular retellings of the story, and his independent worship, well attested from roughly the tenth century CE, has undergone dramatic growth in modern times.

Though understood as a devotee of Viṣṇu in the Rāma-incarnation, Hanumān is also regarded as an avatar of Śiva, especially in the latter's awesome and destructive persona as Rudra, and is sometimes paired with local mother goddesses as a guardian or familiar. His propitiation by villagers as a boundary protector, by Śaiva ascetics as an immortal yogi, by the mentally afflicted as a shamanlike exorcist, and by wrestlers as the patron of martial arts may reflect ancient practices only marginally associated with the Rāma narrative. His shrines are ubiquitous in many regions of India and draw huge crowds, especially on Tuesday and Saturday, when worshipers seek his protection from malefic planetary influences. Although Hanumān's visual representation spans the gamut from fully simian to humanlike (though invariably tailed) icons, the deity's celibacy and sagacity pointedly contradict the normal Indian perception of simians, and earthly monkeys, especially the black-faced "hanuman langur" and (less commonly) the reddish rhesus macaque, receive only wary respect and occasional protection as his somewhat debased relatives. A god who is said to combine self-assertive *śakti* (power) and self-effacing *bhakti* (devotion), Hanumān may be read, especially in the discourse of Hindu nationalism, as a subaltern enforcer of traditional high-caste authority, yet he has more typically expressed the upwardly mobile aspirations of lower- and middle-status groups. At once comic and cosmic, subhuman and supernatural, aggressive and contemplative, earthy and divine, Hanumān exemplifies and theologically transfigures the boundary-challenging role that simians have so often played for human cultures.

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MONKS
SEE MONASTICISM; RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES

MONOLATRY
SEE HENOTHEISM; MONOTHEISM

MONOPHYSITISM, meaning "one nature" and referring to the person of Jesus Christ, is the name given to the rift that gradually developed in Eastern Christendom after the Council of Chalcedon in 451. While the definition agreed upon at the council laid down that Christ should be acknowledged "in two natures," human and divine, the properties of each nature retaining their identity, the Monophysites held that after the incarnation the two natures became one, so that all the thoughts and acts of the Savior were those of a single unitary being, God in Christ.

The germ of Monophysitism may be found in the *logos-sarx* (Word-flesh) theology of the Alexandrian church. The question of how Christ's personality should be acknowledged could not be avoided, however, once the Creed of Nicaea (325) confessed that he was "of one substance with the Father." If this was so, how was Christ to be considered of one substance with man? Fifty years later, the answer was given uncompromisingly by Apollinaris, bishop of Laodicea in Syria, a friend of Athanasius and an Alexandrian-trained theologian. Scripture, he maintained, emphasized that Christ was "one." In *De fide et incarnatione* he wrote, "There is no distinction in Holy Scripture between the Word and His flesh; He is one energy, one person, one *hypostasis* [individuality], at once wholly God and wholly man." This exactly summed up what was to become the Monophysite position: Christ was "out of two natures," one.

Apollinaris's opinions aroused the opposition of the Cappadocian fathers and were condemned at the Council of Constantinople in 381, but his works circulated widely under the names of orthodox personalities, and as such they influenced profoundly the theology of Cyril of Alexandria (412–444). Cyril, however, was willing to admit at least the mystical reality of the two natures after the incarnation. His successor as patriarch of Alexandria, Dioscorus (444–451), less subtle and more impetuously ambitious for his see, made an uncompromising one-nature Christology the basis of his theology, and enunciated it in his vindication of the archimandrite Eutyches at the Second Council of Ephesus in August 449 (the "Robber Council"). The Council of Chalcedon reversed this situation, and Dioscorus himself was condemned (though for indiscipline rather than for heresy) and exiled. However, a large proportion of Eastern Christians, especially in Egypt, showed that they supported the one-nature Christology and rejected Chalcedon.

Dioscorus died in exile at Gangra in Paphlagonia in 454. Three years later his supplanter, the former archpriest Proterius, who had been consecrated by Egyptian bishops at Chalcedon, was lynched. Another former presbyter of Cyril, Timothy Ailuros (d. 477), was consecrated bishop by the anti-Chalcedonians. Although Timothy was also exiled, until 482 the Church of Alexandria was divided between an anti-Chalcedon majority and a Chalcedonian minority.

Schism, in the sense of establishing a rival church with its own hierarchy, was far from the minds of Timothy and his supporters. They were entirely loyal to the empire politically, but they aimed at persuading the emperor and his advisers to abandon the *Tome* of Leo and the Council of Chalcedon in favor of their one-nature interpretation of the theology of Cyril. Timothy opposed Eutyches' belief that Christ's human nature was not the same as that of ordinary man. In 475 the anti-Chalcedonians came near to success when the usurper Basiliscus, who had forced the legitimate emperor Zeno (474–491) into exile, issued an edict declaring his adherence to the councils of Nicaea and Constantinople and *both* councils of Ephesus, and declaring as anathema the

Tome of Leo and "all that was said and done at Chalcedon in innovation of the holy symbol of Nicaea."

In 476 Basiliscus fell, largely because of the support given to Zeno by the patriarch of Constantinople, Acacius, who was determined to protect the prerogatives of his see against possible renewal of threats from Alexandria. On July 28, 482, in an attempt to reunite the church in Egypt and reconcile it to communion with Constantinople, Zeno issued a circular letter, known as the *Henotikon*, to the "bishops, monks, and laity of Alexandria, Egypt, and Cyrenaica." This letter, drafted on Acacius's advice, reaffirmed the creedal statements of Nicaea, Constantinople, and the first council at Ephesus (431), condemned Nestorius and Eutyches, accepted the Twelve Anathemas of Cyril (which tended toward one-nature Christology), and proclaimed that Jesus Christ, consubstantial with both God and man, and "incarnate from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary and *Theotokos* is one and not two." Anyone who thought differently was anathema. The *Henotikon* avoided denouncing Chalcedon as such, which would have removed from Constantinople its legal superiority, grounded in Canon 28 of that council, over the other sees in the East; but the letter went just far enough to secure the uneasy agreement of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. The popes, however, refused to accept the *Henotikon* and denounced the restoration of communion between Acacius and Peter Mongus, patriarch of Alexandria (482–490), as "double-dealing."

The Acacian Schism lasted from 484 to 519. During this time Monophysite opinions hardened in Egypt and Syria, while the emperor Anastasius (491–518) personally favored them. The Monophysites found a spokesman in Severus, a monk from a noble ecclesiastical family in Pisidia who in November 512 was promoted to be patriarch of Antioch. During his six years of rule he evolved a theology based almost entirely on Cyril's teachings. Severus's Christological beliefs, expressed repeatedly in tracts and a massive correspondence (of which four thousand letters and fragments have survived), might be summed up as follows: "The Fathers have taught us that God, the Word, the Unique One begotten by his Father without beginning, eternally, impassably, and incorporeally, did in the last times for our salvation take flesh of the Holy Spirit and of the holy *Theotokos* and ever-virgin Mary, flesh consubstantial with us, animated by an intelligent and reasoning soul." Christ was both God and man, of one single nature; the ideas of Eutyches and Dioscorus, and the *Tome* of Leo and the definition of Chalcedon, were alike repudiated. In the last years of Anastasius's reign, the empire was moving rapidly toward Monophysitism. Communion between the four Eastern patriarchates was maintained, at the expense of communion with Rome.

The death of Anastasius in July and the succession of the Latin-speaking and pro-Chalcedonian Justin I (518–527) brought about an immediate change. Communion between Rome and Constantinople was restored in 519. Severus was exiled, along with his chief supporter, Philoxenus, bishop of Hierapolis (Mabbug) in Mesopotamia, and some fifty-five other bishops. Gradually it became clear that if the Monophysite congregations were to survive, a hierarchy would have to be created to administer sacraments to them. Severus, in exile in Alexandria, reluctantly assented to the ordination of presbyters and deacons in 529/30. Great numbers of volunteers came forward. The schism between the Monophysites and Byzantine orthodoxy may be said to date from that moment.

During the reign of Justinian (527–565), the Monophysite movement assumed the form it was to retain through the centuries. In 532 the emperor tried to settle the controversy through a conference aimed at agreeing upon a statement of doctrine based on the Theopaschite interpretation of Christology, that is, that "one of the Trinity suffered in the flesh and was God." Although this came near to the Monophysite position, the emperor's insistence on the canonical status of Chalcedon wrecked the possibility of agreement. Between that time and the death of Theodora in 548, however, the Monophysites had a firm ally in the empress. At the end of 534, Severus was invited to the capital by the emperor, and the following year Theodora secured the election of a new Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria, Theodosius (535–566), and a pro-Monophysite patriarch of Constantinople, Anthimus, bishop of Trebizend (535–536). This was too much for the emperor, the pope, and the Chalcedonians. Anthimus was replaced, and Severus was condemned by a powerful synod held at Constantinople on June 10, 536; the condemnation was confirmed by edict on August 6.

Severus died at Alexandria in February 538. By that time, Justinian, urged on by the papacy, had restored the Chalcedonian line of patriarchs in Alexandria, a factor that more than any other associated the Monophysite patriarch with the Coptic Christians as a national representative of the Egyptians. Though their patriarch, Theodosius, was ordered to Constantinople at the end of 537, the Monophysites, thanks to Theodora, were not without means of reply. A mission under the presbyter Julian was fitted out by the empress and arrived in the kingdom of Nobatia (Nubia) to convert the royal court to Monophysite Christianity. Even more effective was the series of missions carried out by Jacob Baradai (Burd'ana), who had been consecrated bishop of Edessa by Patriarch Theodosius. Between 542 and his death in 578 he crossed and recrossed the whole area between the Bosporus and the Persian frontier, establishing congregations and a Monophysite hierarchy to govern them. The eventual tally of twenty-seven metropolitans and 100,000 clergy all over the eastern part of the Roman Empire given by Baradai's contemporary John of Ephesus (d. 585) may be exaggerated, but clearly Baradai's missions established the Monophysite church on a permanent footing. Not for nothing did the Syrian Monophysites take the name Jacobites, which they have retained to this day.

On the emperor's side, the Fifth General Council held at Constantinople during 553 may be reckoned as another effort to placate the Monophysites, through its condemnation of the Three Chapters (treatises criticizing Cyril's theology by the Antiochene theologians Theodore of Mopsuestia and Ibas of Edessa). In 573 Justin II (565–578) issued a second *Henotikon*, which again stressed the oneness of Christ, without, however, repudiating Chalcedon. Under Heraclius (610–641), what proved to be the final, though at first the most promising, effort to find a settlement failed. Intrinsically the Monophysites could accept the formula proposed to them by the emperor: that there was one will and one energizing activity in Christ, even if two natures were confessed. For three years following the restoration of the True Cross in Jerusalem in 630, it looked as though this compromise doctrine, known as monoenergism, was providing common ground between Monophysites and Chalcedonians. But once more, suspicion of any formulas that left a shred of authority to Chalcedon, Egyptian distrust of Cyrus "the Caucasian," the emperor's nominee as patriarch of Alexandria, and cleverly orchestrated opposition to monoenergism by Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem (634–638), brought the plan to nought. When, within a few years, Egypt, Palestine, and Syria were lost to the Arabs, the Monophysites saw the hand of God in their success against the Byzantines.

By this time, Monophysitism was a missionary faith that had assumed many forms. On the one hand, it rejected outright any idea that the flesh of Christ was liable to suffering—preached by the followers of Julian of Halicarnassus (fl. 520–530)—that is, acceptance of the views of Eutyches; on the other, it accepted the theology of Cyril of Alexandria combined with rejection of the Council of Chalcedon as incompatible with it—represented by the Armenian and Ethiopian churches. The Coptic church and what is known of the Nubian church followed Severus of Antioch more closely and seemed to have been more hostile to Chalcedon and the two-nature Christology enunciated in the *Tome* of Leo. The Syrian church looked back to its great protagonist, Jacob Baradai. Rejection of Chalcedon, on the one hand, and of the two-nature Christology held in the West and by the Nestorians, on the other, has formed the common ground between various national and regional churches known to other traditions as the Monophysite churches. Reluctantly, these have remained separate from the Eastern Orthodox churches and from the West to form one of the four main divisions of Christianity that have survived to our day.

SEE ALSO Councils, article on Christian Councils; Eastern Christianity.

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Revised Bibliography

MONOTHEISM. Derived from the Greek *mono* ("single") and *theos* ("God"), the term *monotheism* refers to the religious experience and the philosophical perception that emphasize God as one, perfect, immutable, creator of the world from nothing, distinct from the world, all-powerfully involved in the world, personal, and worthy of being worshiped by all creatures. Some forms of monotheism, however, differ about the notions of God as distinct from the world and as personal.

The term *monotheism* has generally been used theologically rather than for philosophical or cross-cultural descriptions of religion. Philosophers have used the term *theism* with the same meaning as *monotheism*, and cross-cultural descriptions find categories like *monotheism* and *polytheism* to be inappropriate in describing some religious traditions. The term *monotheism* presupposes the idea of *theos*—a divine being with mind and will, fully personal, conceivable in images drawn from human life, and approachable through prayer. In this respect monotheism differs from deism and from the various forms of monism. It also presupposes the unity of the divine and raises one *theos* exclusively to absolute supremacy and power, producing and governing everything according to the divine will. In this respect monotheism differs from those views that accept a plurality of divine beings. In the strict sense, *monotheism* best describes the idea of God in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, and in the philosophical systems based on these traditions. But one may extend the term to include conceptions of deity in certain other traditions such as Zoroastrianism, Sikhism, and some forms of Hinduism and Buddhism, even though these traditions include somewhat different conceptions, such as the existence of evil forces alongside God, the nonpersonal nature of God, God's complete immanence in the world, or the fundamental unreality of the world. In this article, the basic requirement for a religious tradition to be considered monotheistic is that it emphasize both *theos* and *monos*.

MONOTHEISM IN RELIGIOUS HISTORY. Whereas monotheism is most often associated with the Jewish, Christian, and Islamic religions and philosophies, tendencies contributing toward a monotheistic outlook have long been present in human religious history. Monotheism is like a river with many springs and many tributaries. The course of the river is difficult to map, for monotheistic beliefs are often put forward in protest against other beliefs and practices.

Obscure as they are, springs of monotheism can be discerned at the very earliest levels of known human cultural life, in the primordial high god of the archaic hunters. The theory of *Urmonotheismus* ("original monotheism") as put forth by Wilhelm Schmidt and others held that a primordial monotheism was the earliest form of human perception of deity, and that the plurality of gods and spirits found in most primal religions was a degeneration from this original perception. While that theory cannot be substantiated in the history of religions, research in recent years has made it clear that a great many primal or archaic peoples have conceptions of a high god who is creator of the world, has supreme authority over other gods and spirits, and presides over human morality. Some of the most archaic peoples, such as certain groups in Africa, Australian Aborigines, and the nomadic hunters of Tierra del Fuego, have definite conceptions of a supreme god associated with the sky who is changeless, invisible, and all-powerful and who gives morality. The supreme high god characteristically is a remote god (*deus otiosus*), too distant, all-powerful, good, and just to need worship or to be intimately involved in ordinary existence; there are lesser gods and spirits who play a much more active role in the lives of the people.

The streams of the monotheistic vision run dimly through the fertile valleys of archaic agricultural religions with their pluralistic experience of the forces of nature centered on Mother Earth. Here the high god tends to become head of the divine pantheon; pushed into the background by earth gods of fecundity, the high god could hardly be the focus of a unifying perception of deity. But a few high gods developed with supreme sovereignty and autonomy, as sources of fecundating power and guarantors of the order and norms of the world and of human society. For example, Zeus and Jupiter were ruling high gods fashioned in accord with the Greek and Roman notions of norm and law. In India, Varuṇa was sovereign guardian of *ṛta*, cosmic order, a role taken over later by the great gods Viṣṇu and Śiva. Yahveh, the high god of the ancient Hebrews, was known as all-powerful creator, absolute sovereign, and author of all norms and laws by which the earth functions. Belief in these high gods did not necessarily exclude lesser divine forces, but it did provide the opportunity for reflections on the unity of divine reality, as will be seen in the following examples from ancient Greece, Hinduism, and Buddhism.

Greek religion. Among Greek thinkers, ideas of a unitary divine reality were expressed as a means of showing the order and reasonableness of the world. Already in pre-Socratic times, it seems, philosophers like Xenophanes depicted the spiritual unity of the whole world in the notion of the All-One, uncreated, unchangeable, and immanent in all things. Plato stressed the unity of the Good and identified God with that: God must be perfectly good, changeless, and the maker of the best possible world. Aristotle also made the idea of goodness central to his concept of God, the causal principle of all. The unicity of the supreme First Mover follows from the unity of the physical world: God is one, eternal, and immutable. God is defined as pure mind (*nous*), who always thinks one and the same subject, namely himself—and thus this view is not really theism. Later in the Hellenistic religions, the sense of God's unicity was expressed by raising one god or goddess to supremacy, encompassing all others. For example, Apuleius described Isis as the one Great Mother of all, by whatever name she may be called in different areas (*Metamorphoses* 11).

Hinduism. Hinduism is characterized by monistic (*advaita*, or nondualistic) thought, which merges the divine reality with the world in a unity called *brahman*. Here the unifying principle is strong, but the theistic quality of the unified divine reality is of lesser importance. There have always been theistic tendencies in Hinduism, but these have been associated with a variety of divine beings. Yet intense concerns of *bhakti* (devotion to a god) have sometimes led Hindus to raise up one god as supreme ruler, or to see the various gods as manifestations of one God. "They call it Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, and Agni . . .; but the real is one, although the sages give different names" (*Ṛgveda* 1.169).

Among Vaiṣṇavas, Viṣṇu tends to become all, and the same is true of Śiva among Śaivas. Kṛṣṇa, *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, can be put forth as the supreme God behind all names: "Many are the paths people follow, but they all in the end come to me" (*Bhagavadgītā* 4.11). One theistic strand in Hinduism identifies ultimate reality with Devī, the Great Goddess, in one of her many forms. Thus Hinduism does recognize the oneness of the divine, and it includes theistic forms of worship, even worship of one God exclusively, without denying the reality of other gods.

Buddhism. Buddhism, like Hinduism, is based on monistic or nondualistic thought and posits only an inferior role for those born at the level of gods, trapped as they are like all living beings in the cycles of rebirth. But in Mahāyāna Buddhism, the idea has arisen that beings who have realized their Buddhahood (that is, Buddhas and *bodhisattvas*) can function similarly to gods in theistic religions. Generally Mahāyāna Buddhism holds to the multiplicity of these powerful beings, but in certain schools one such Buddha becomes supreme and is worshiped exclusively. Such is the case with Amitābha (Jpn., Amida) Buddha in Pure Land Buddhism, a soteriological monolatry offering the one hope of salvation for this degenerate age. Esoteric (Vajrayāna) Buddhism has developed a unified cosmotheism, according to which the whole universe is the body of Mahāvairocana, the Great Sun Buddha, with all Buddhas and *bodhisattvas*—and thus all reality—united in this supreme Buddha-reality.

Egyptian religion. One of the earliest forms of exclusive monotheism apparently developed in ancient Egypt. Within the elaborate and complicated polytheism of Egyptian religion there had long been rationalistic tendencies toward seeing various gods as different forms of one particular God, with an emphasis on the supremacy of the Sun God, who tended to absorb other gods. Around 1375 BCE Pharoah Amunhotep IV repudiated the authority of the old gods and their priests and devoted himself exclusively to Aton, the god appearing as the sun disk. He proclaimed himself the son of Aton, taking the name *Akhenaton* ("devoted to Aton"), and he imposed this worship on others. By royal decree Aton became the only God who exists, king not only of Egypt but of the whole world, embodying in his character and essence all the attributes of the other gods. Akhenaton even had the names of the other gods effaced from inscriptions and replaced with the name of Aton. Akhenaton's monotheism was related to protest against abuses in the cults of the gods, but it does not appear to have led to new ethical standards. Within twenty-five years Akhenaton was gone, and his successors restored the old cults.

Zoroastrianism. Growing from the ancient Indo-Iranian polytheistic religion, Zoroastrianism unified all divine reality in the high god Ahura Mazdā. Zarathushtra (Zoroaster), who probably lived sometime between 1700 and 1000 BCE, was a priest who turned against some of the traditional cultic rituals and proclaimed the overthrow of polytheism. In his teaching, Ahura Mazdā (Pahl., Ōhrmazd) is the one God who, to implement the divine will in the world, associates with the six Amesha Spentas ("holy immortals"), spirits or angels that represent moral attitudes and principles. Ahura Mazdā, the Wise Lord, is good, just, and moral, one who creates only good things and gives only blessings to worshipers. The one God is sovereign over history, working out the divine plan for the world. Humans are to assist God through upright deeds, and there will be a final judgment in which every soul will be judged to see if it is worthy of entering Paradise. Conflict is accounted for as the hostility of two primordial spirits: Spenta Mainyu, the good spirit, and Angra Mainyu (Pahl., Ahriman), the evil spirit. Ahura Mazdā apparently fathered these two spirits; the struggle between them has been going on since the beginning of time, when they chose between good and evil. It appears, then, that Ahura Mazdā cannot be called omnipotent, for the realm of evil is beyond his control; in that sense it may be said that this is not a complete monotheism. Yet there is no doubt that Zoroastrianism considers the realm of Ahura Mazdā to be ultimately victorious. Further, in this eschatological religion the conflict between good and evil is understood not so much metaphysically as ethically, involving the free choice of humans either for the rule of the Wise Lord or for that of Angra Mainyu. It is true that later Zoroastrianism brought some of the other gods back into the picture again. But in the teaching of Zarathushtra in the *Gāthās* is found a unique type of monotheism with an ethico-dualistic accent and an eschatological monotheistic fulfillment.

Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The three religions that generally are held to be the full expressions of monotheism, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, also arose against the background of the polytheism of the ancient Near East. These three religions are closely related in that they grew from the Semitic cultural background and the foundations of the religion of ancient Israel.

Although it was the fountainhead of this type of monotheism, the religion of ancient Israel was not actually monotheistic in early times. Stories of the patriarch Abraham show that he worshiped the Canaanite high god ʾEl in a variety of forms in addition to the god of the clan, and when the people of Israel entered into a covenant with the high god Yahveh they did not exclude the existence of other gods. One might call early Israelite religion henotheistic or monolatrous in the sense that exclusive loyalty was to be given to Yahveh, but Yahveh's power was limited because other nations had their own gods. Some Israelites lived with a polytheistic vision, giving loyalty to Yahveh as the god of the covenant but also worshiping Baʿal and the other gods of fecundity as they settled in Canaan and became agriculturalists. But the covenant relationship with Yahveh contained the seeds of monotheism; the Israelites experienced Yahveh as personal, being revealed in historical events and demanding exclusive loyalty and ethical behavior according to the covenant law. Prophets arose who challenged the polytheistic notion that various gods controlled the functions of nature. Elijah and Hosea, for example, held that it is only Yahveh who has power in all areas of existence, as the creator of all and the one God who sends corn at the harvest and wine at the vintage. Just as polytheistic ideas were overcome, the prophets also struggled to overcome the limitations of a henotheistic view of God. At one time it was accepted that one could not worship Yahveh outside the land of Israel. But Amos insisted that the one God, Yahveh, had not only brought Israel out of Egypt, but had also brought the Philistines from Caphtor and the Arameans from Kir (*Amos* 9:7). And Second Isaiah, the prophet of the Babylonian exile, went so far as to describe Cyrus II, the mighty king of the Medes and Persians, as "the anointed one of Yahveh" whom Yahveh had taken by the hand (*Is.* 45:1). In the vision of these prophets, Yahveh is no tribal god sharing power with other nations' gods but is in fact the universal creator of all and the director of the history of all peoples, according to Yahveh's own design.

Jews, Christians, and Muslims drew on the fundamental monotheistic vision of ancient Israel, each group filling out the picture of God with colorings and shapes drawn from its own particular culture. The dimensions of the Jewish, Christian, and Muslim type of monotheism will be discussed at more length below.

Sikhism. One more expression of monotheism should be mentioned in this religio-historical survey: Sikhism. Starting with Gurū Nānak (1469–1539 CE), an Indian type of monotheism developed that synthesizes the mystical monotheistic tendency found in Hinduism and the ethical, personal monotheism brought into India by Islam. In Gurū Nānak's teaching, there is only one God, who is immortal, unborn, self-existent, creator of all the universe, omniscient, formless, just, and loving. God is both transcendent as pure potentiality and immanent as world-embodiment. Thus God is contained in everything. God is personal but is beyond complete knowledge, to be worshiped mainly in rituals of repeating his name. Revelation comes through *gurūs* who speak the divine word. Humans attain heaven or hell at the end of a lifetime, although they are involved in many rounds of births and deaths. Final salvation for humans is *nirvāṇa*, absorption into God's being like water blending with water.

Summing up this cross-cultural religio-historical survey, it is clear that monotheism has arisen in a number of ways. In some areas it came through rationalization, seeing the logic of unified divine power. In other traditions, mystical experience of everything as one and unified with the divine gave rise to monotheistic expressions. In still other traditions, historical experiences of one powerful, personal God led toward formulations of monotheistic belief.

MONOTHEISM IN CONTRAST TO NONMONOTHEISTIC VIEWS. Monotheism often arises in opposition to other views of divine reality. One of the most obvious contexts against which monotheism defines itself is a plurality of divine beings or forces, which is commonly called polytheism. Central to polytheism is the notion of *theoi*, personal divine beings within nature and society. These gods have personal wills, control specific spheres, and interact with one another to make up a functioning organism. The functioning of nature is seen as the operation of a plurality of divine wills, and this plurality and conflict are extended to human life and society. Typically there is a head of the pantheon, but this high god is limited in power and authority and often is thought of as old or impotent.

Monotheism distinguishes itself from the various forms of polytheism in that the whole realm of divine power is unified, with no conflicting wills or limitations. God has unlimited authority and power but still is *theos*, possessing personal will and relationship to the world. The plural forces are seen as qualities and attributes of God or as subservient beings of the created world. In the monotheistic view, God transcends the world of nature and human society; the world is not the locus of divine power, for God is the universal creator of everything out of nothing (*ex nihilo*). Humans find value and integration of meaning by realizing their common creaturehood and serving this one universal God. Revelation from God is the source of unified, universal meaning.

Related to polytheism is what F. Max Müller called henotheism and what others have called monolatry: worshiping one god at a time or raising up one most powerful God as the only one to be worshiped. The other gods, while real, are downgraded before this supreme God. Monolatry means one God is worshiped as supreme, though the lesser gods of other peoples are recognized. Henotheism (kathenotheism) would be the view that different gods can be worshiped as the supreme God one at a time without implying that the other gods do not exist.

In contrast to monolatry and henotheism, monotheism universalizes the power and authority of the one God exclusively, for even sharing power with lesser gods would be a limitation that cannot apply. Monotheism is intrinsically universal, transcending tribal or nationalistic limitations; the one God has authority and power over all peoples, friends and enemies alike. And monotheism refuses the henotheistic idea that one god can be worshiped as supreme at one time and another at another time, although it does allow for the experience of various aspects of the one God at different times.

A form of thought close to monotheism but still related to polytheism and henotheism is theistic dualism. Typically, this experience of the divine reality separates out the hurtful or evil elements and associates these with another divine power, thus setting up a divine struggle with echoes in human life. One unified supreme God is posited as the good divine force, and the source of evil can be thought of as many beings or as one evil being.

Strictly speaking, monotheism does not allow the one God to be limited even by the causes of destruction and evil; these causes cannot be divine forces outside the will of the one God. Ultimately the one God must be the source of all reality and all events, including those that humans experience as evil and destructive. Some forms of monotheistic thought do allow for evil beings as creatures of God, permitted to cause destruction and evil for various purposes within the overall authority of the one God. But these demons, devils, and satans are only part of the panorama of human existence, and they cannot limit or act against God's power, authority, and will.

Monism in the history of religions refers to a broad category of thought and experience that emphasizes the oneness or unity of all reality, so that no ontological separation exists between the divine and the world itself. All reality, including humans, share in the divine nature. Hindus and Buddhists have preferred the term nondualism, emphasizing that multiplicity arises from a single basis, and that there is no ultimate duality between self and other. Monism and nondualism tend to be nontheistic, for qualities of personal will and otherness from the world do not fit this perception of the divine. The world is not what it appears to be in the multiplicity of one's perceptions. Rather, either the world is in essence one divine reality, or it is fundamentally an illusion, or it consists of forms and expressions that emanate from the one divine source. Further, monism and nondualism tend to be nonhistorical, in the sense that a cyclical rhythm of time expresses the experience of the one divine reality. The religious path is one of mystical discipline and meditation, bringing progressively higher stages of knowledge and ultimate liberation in union with the one divine reality. Of course, provision is made for theistic practices at the lower levels of spiritual perfection.

Monotheism distinguishes itself from the various forms of monism and nondualism by positing a definite separation between the one divine reality and the world that God brought into existence. In this sense there is a dualistic emphasis in monotheism, for there are two distinct realms of reality, the divine and the created world. Only God is eternal and transcendent, having created the world out of nothing (*ex nihilo*). At the same time, most forms of monotheism hold God not only as transcendent but also as immanent in the world: God's presence, power, and operation are immediately present in human experience. The world is a creature, real and good as part of God's design. Revelation from God is important as guidance; prophetic and devotional emphases predominate over the mystical and meditative ones. God is a personal *theos* who confronts one in historical existence as an Other, to whom one relates through obedience and service. And God works in the history of the world, directing events toward an eschaton in which there will be evaluation and judgment. History has a beginning and an end, and God transcends it all.

DIMENSIONS OF MONOTHEISTIC BELIEF AND PRACTICE. In setting up a typology of monotheism to show the ideal types toward which the various monotheistic religious traditions seem to point, it is important to realize that even within one tradition there will be different experiences and philosophies of monotheism. Thus, while a tradition may be dominated by a certain type, its particular coloration may be affected by hues drawn from other types. Further, monotheistic thought focuses especially on the theoretical or verbal dimension of religious experience. In moving to the practical and the social spheres one encounters a variety of phenomena that at times may not be distinctively monotheistic. Worship, law, customs, and social forms may show striking parallels in different religions without regard to the theoretical stance on monotheism, polytheism, or monism. For example, visual images of the divine reality are used in Christianity as well as in Hinduism, but not in Islam or Judaism—and also not in polytheistic Shintō. Some Muslim mosques are as bare and simple as Buddhist meditation centers, while some Christian churches gleam with golden brocade, candles, images, and saints that rival Hindu or Daoist temples. Orders of priests, monks, and nuns bring some Christian groups close to Buddhism, while the rabbi and imam of Jews and Muslims resemble more the learned teacher of a Hindu ashram. The veneration of saints in some sectors of Islam and Christianity appears similar to the veneration of spiritual beings in traditional African religions, but other sectors of Islam and Christianity strongly reject these practices. Thus care needs to be taken in setting up a monotheistic typology, so that religious traditions are not fitted in too tightly, doing damage to the integrity and richness of the particular religion.

The following typology of dominant emphases in the monotheistic religions includes elements from some religious traditions that may not be fully monotheistic, yet they all put forth the two essential ingredients of monotheism: *monos* and *theos*.

Monarchic monotheism. Monarchic monotheism, the belief in one God who rules over many gods, is close to polytheism and grows out of a cosmic religious context. One high God rises to supreme authority and unlimited power, forcing the other powers to total submission. Akhenaton's monotheistic movement in ancient Egypt was of this type; and Yahvism in early Israel displays this form, with Yahveh pictured as "a great king above all the gods" (*Ps.* 95:3). The attitude that subjugates other religions and imposes a monolithic system on all may be a result of this type of monotheism.

A subtype of monarchic monotheism would be dualistic monotheism: one God opposed against evil forces. In this view there is one ruler God, all-good and all-just, who tends to become distant, watching over the struggle within existence in which evil divine forces play a part. The distinctive quality of this type of monotheism is that it takes evil away from the being of the one God, accounting for it through demons or devils. Zoroastrianism is a classic example of dualistic monotheism: although the one God, Ahura Mazdā, is supreme, the evil spirit Angra Mainyu struggles throughout the history of the world, to be overcome only at the end. Popular forms of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam have sometimes approached this type of dualistic monotheism with ideas of Satan or the devil defying God's will, although generally these religions see the evil one as a creature permitted by the one God to perform evil within creation. The struggle between God and evil forces can be seen as a cosmic struggle, as in the Hindu Purāṇas, in which demonic powers arise anew in each new age and Viṣṇu is incarnated anew in an *avatāra* to do battle and realign the cosmic order. Some traditions in Judaism and Christianity describe God's struggle with Satan or the Antichrist as taking place on a transhistorical, cosmic plane. More commonly, however, dualistic monotheism has strong ties to the historical plane of human existence and provides an ethical dimension for human involvement in God's struggle against evil.

Emanational mystical monotheism. Emanational mystical monotheism may be divided into two subtypes: the worship of one God through many gods, or the worship of one God as the world soul. The first subtype, congenial especially to a monistic context, recognizes many gods but sees them as emanations of the one divine source, which is conceived of in theistic terms. Some ancient Greeks rationalized the plurality of the gods in relation to a particular supreme high god in this way. Hindu theistic cults sometimes offer this explanation of the relation of the many gods to the one great god worshiped in that cult. Viṣṇu, for example, can also be worshiped in many *avatāra*s and with many different names. Another example would be Esoteric (Vajrayāna) Buddhism, in which all Buddhas and *bodhisattva*s can be seen as emanations of the Great Sun Buddha, Mahāvairocana.

Another type of monotheism related to the monistic worldview is the mystical view of the one God as the world soul. This type of monotheism holds that there is one personal *theos* who is not sharply separate from the world but rather is the creative divine force in everything. Again, the great theistic cults of Hinduism and Buddhism often show this type. For example, Rāmānuja's "Qualified Nondualism" holds Viṣṇu to be the absolute, supreme God to whom the worshiper relates in *bhakti* as qualitatively different from the worshiper himself; yet Viṣṇu and the worshiper are united as soul and body are united. In the theistic Kṛṣṇa cults, Kṛṣṇa as the supreme personality of God can be experienced as different from the world, yet in the highest mystical experiences these differences fade away and Kṛṣṇa becomes all, as expressed in Arjuna's vision (*Bhagavadgītā*, chap. 11). Sikhism is a monotheism that emphasizes God as absolute creator, self-sufficient and unchanging; yet God is embodied in the world, and the believer who finally reaches *nirvāṇa* becomes absorbed in God. Sikh monotheism, like Hindu monotheistic forms, tends to be nonhistorical, looking on existence as a countless series of cycles until finally the separation is overcome and the worshiper achieves complete union with the one God. Certain mystical movements within Judaism, Christianity, and Islam have also approached this type of monotheism without displaying the ahistorical feature. For example, the "panentheism" ("everything is in God") of Ṣūfī mystics like Ibn al-ʿArabī (1165–1240 CE) or of medieval Jewish mystics tended to see the whole universe as an emanation of God's own being, a reflection of the divine, while maintaining a view of God as distinct from the world.

Historical ethical monotheism. Historical ethical monotheism, the belief in one God guiding the historical design, characteristically describes God as personal, having a will for the historical design of the world, guiding all events as the creator, separate from the world yet immanently involved in human history as the God whose law governs all, who gives value to all and holds all accountable at the end of history, and who is revealed through pivotal prophets, events, and scriptures. Humans are expected to follow God's design by establishing goodness and justice in human society. God makes total demands, controls political history, is intolerant of other gods or other ultimate commitments, and is to be worshiped by all exclusively.

Zoroastrianism contains most of these monotheistic features, although it makes the dualism of good and evil central to the conception of the divine and thereby assigns some limits to the power of God. Sikhism also contains many of the features of ethical monotheism, but it gives central place to a cyclical view of existence and the goal of mystical absorption into God.

The family of religions made up of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam most fully expresses this type of monotheism and places it at the center of religious thought and practice. Each of these three traditions also adds its particular hue to the universal monotheistic vision. Judaism places a strong emphasis on the personal character of God, encountered in an "I-Thou" relationship and providing an ethical design for life as spelled out in the Torah and Talmud. The universal character of the one God is seen as turned toward humankind, especially in the very specific form of the covenant relationship with the Jews as "chosen people." The particular nature of this covenant and its demands does not negate God's universality, in the Jewish view. God's design for the world is to be fulfilled especially through the covenant with the Jews and thus a great responsibility is placed on them. Further, all non-Jews who fulfill in their lives the basic human principles known as the "seven commandments of the children of Noah" will have a share in the life of the world to come. Thus the religion of Judaism expresses a universal monotheism that focuses on God's particular relationship to humans through the covenant with the Jews.

Christians have modulated historical ethical monotheism into concrete, existential terms by emphasizing the personal character of the one God revealed in human history. Resisting tendencies of *tritheism*, Christian tradition has worked out a *triunity* that makes God concretely immanent in this world as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Central to this vision is the incarnation of God in the person of Jesus Christ, a historical particularization of the universal God that provides a pivot for all of human history and points to the fulfillment of God's whole design in the eschaton. Christians insist that their Christology is monotheistic; Christ is one substance (*homoousios*) with God the Father. Jews and Muslims, of course, find this doctrine of the incarnation of God in Christ to be out of line with their understanding of monotheism.

Muslims have made the unity *(tawḥīd)* of God the central statement of their confession of faith: "There is no god but God." Islam puts forth a very radical monotheism in insisting on the utter transcendence and sovereignty of God, all-powerful in every aspect of the universe, to be likened to nothing. The greatest sin is *shirk*, associating anything else with God. The universal God is particularized in Islam by making the Qur'ān the concrete revelation by which God relates to all humans and gives them guidance. While the final revelation came through the prophet Muḥammad, it is intended for all humans in all ages as their guide to the ethical life and to the blessings that God intends for faithful creatures.

CURRENT REFLECTIONS ON MONOTHEISM. Monotheism is the long-established religious tradition in the cultures informed by Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, but still a considerable amount of searching and rethinking goes on. Philosophers and theologians continue to draw out the implications of the monotheistic vision for thought and society. For example, an influential work by H. Richard Niebuhr, *Radical Monotheism and Western Culture* (New York, 1960), argues that modern society tends toward henotheism, making one particular society into the center of value and the object of loyalty; in contrast, radical monotheism has as its reference the One, beyond all the many, from whom all reality receives its value. Contemporary Jewish and Muslim writers have also stressed radical monotheism as a critique of the polytheistic or henotheistic tendencies of modern society.

Modern thinkers have also been wrestling with some of the central characteristics of traditional monotheism that seem to be problematic. Difficulties revolve around issues such as God's personality, God's immutability, God's strict separation from the world, the theocratic overtones of monotheism, its patriarchal associations, its seeming suppression of human freedom, and its supposed tendency toward exclusion and violence toward others. Recent critiques of traditional monotheism have come particularly from analyses of the type of ideology and society associated with monotheism. In 1935 Erik Peterson, in an treatise called *Der Monotheismus als politisches Problem* (Leipzig, 1935), described monotheism as a political ideology linked with the notion of divine kingship and leading to totalitarianism, and this line of criticism has recently been renewed. For example, Regina M. Schwartz in *The Curse of Cain: The Violent Legacy of Monotheism* provides a strong indictment of traditional monotheism for the way it has supported various forms of oppression and violence. Feminist thinkers, especially in the Christian and Jewish traditions, have criticized monotheism as a model of the highest form of patriarchal power and authority; in monotheism, God is imaged as male, omnipotent with unilateral power and authority over the world, separate and autonomous, exclusive, and opposed to everything related to change, sensuality, nature, feeling, and femininity. Disillusioned by the effects of secularism, thinkers such as Alain de Benoist and Manuel de Diéguez blame monotheistic ideology for suppressing human freedom and forcing people to adopt atheism as the only alternative. They seek a neopagan resurgence as a new location of the sacred in the plurality and freedom of human life rather than in the monolithic totalitarian rule of monotheism. David Miller likewise has suggested that monotheism can no longer sustain and provide creativity for modern culture, calling for a return to the creative sources of polytheism.

Without surveying all the recent reinterpretations of the idea of monotheism among philosophers and theologians, several lines of thought may be mentioned here. In general, theologians and other thinkers have attempted to be more careful in the use of conventional dualisms like monotheism-polytheism, personal-impersonal, and transcendent-immanent, recognizing that religious traditions, including those labeled monotheistic, are complex and embody elements from both sides of these conceptual dualities. For example, feeling that the traditional view of God as personal tends to make God another being in additional to those known in the world, John Macquarrie and Paul Tillich speak of the divine reality as "Being" or the "Ground of Being," avoiding pantheism but holding God to be not one being but the *source* of all being.

The movement known as process philosophy or theology has attempted to move to a *via media* between an untenable unipolar theism in which God is immutable and completely separate from the world, and an equally untenable pantheism. Alfred North Whitehead and Charles Hartshorne maintain that God includes and penetrates the world, while still being distinct from the being of the world. This bipolar view sees God as infinite personal existence and thus independent of the actual world in abstract identity but including the actual world in concrete existence. God is the source of love and the cause of nature's order and has an overall design for the world. Since God is personal, change and growth take place in God as well as in the world.

Many Christian theologians, like Jürgen Moltmann and Colin Gunton, recognizing the problems with a monarchical, patriarchal monotheism, stress God's liberating relation to humans by reemphasizing the trinitarian conception—though such emphasis widens the gulf between Christian thought and that of Judaism and Islam. Feminist thinkers have produced far-reaching reinterpretations of monotheism, making extensive use of feminine experiences and symbols. For example, Elizabeth Johnson re-envisions the patriarchal God and the attendant hierarchical world order by a theology "from below," drawing on women's life experiences and focusing on the biblical Sophia (Wisdom) tradition as a way of bringing out feminine aspects and qualities of God.

Some scholars continue to defend the value of the traditional monotheistic perspective. For example, Bernard-Henri Lévy turns to the Jewish tradition to show that the monotheistic ideal of eternal, universal law actually has a liberating function, safeguarding against totalitarianism and all the idols of nature, ideology, and the state. In contrast to the criticism that monotheism represses human freedom and creativity, Lenn Goodman draws on Jewish and Islamic philosophy to bring out the interplay of human values and the idea of monotheism, arguing that the monotheistic idea of God illuminates one's social, moral, cultural, and aesthetic life and guides one toward a genuinely humanistic philosophy.

This ongoing discussion makes it clear that monotheistic thought, while often challenged by and in tension with alternate and modified religious understandings, is still central to most of the Western world and will continue to be a dominant mode of experiencing and expressing the divine reality.

SEE ALSO Deism; Dualism; Henotheism; Monism; Theism; Transcendence and Immanence.

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nity (Cambridge, 1993), argues that both trinitarian and monotheistic perspectives are necessary for upholding human freedom. Elizabeth A. Johnson, in *She Who Is: The Mystery of God in Feminist Theological Discourse* (New York, 1992), is representative of many feminist scholars as she reinterprets the "one living God" with metaphors and images suggesting relationship and communion. Drawing on extensive studies in Jewish and Islamic philosophy, Lenn E. Goodman presents philosophical investigations of monotheism with respect to ethics and human values, notably in *Monotheism: A Philosophical Inquiry into the Foundations of Theology and Ethics* (Totowa, N. J., 1981); and also in *God of Abraham* (Oxford, 1996).

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MONSTERS. Strictly speaking, a monster is a mythical being and may be human or animal or a combination of both; it may be huge, misshapen, or grotesque, malevolent, savage, or terrifying. Such creatures have been a feature of popular lore and religious cult in all parts of the world from earliest times. The term is applied also to human "freaks," or "monstrous births," that is, persons with more or less than the normal number of limbs or organs, Siamese twins, hermaphrodites, and even albinos.

In popular legend, monsters are commonly portrayed as both stupid and gluttonous. What they have in brawn, they lack in brain, and when they devour their victims, it is not because they are innately hostile to the human race but because they possess insatiable appetites. It is often their obtuseness and greed that prove their undoing.

One kind of mythical monster is the dragon, the embodiment of primordial chaos, who is believed to have been subdued in battle by a leading god before the world order could be established. The Sumerians of Mesopotamia spoke of such a combat between the monster Azag ("demon") and the god Ninurta; the Babylonians, of the defeat of the rebellious Tiamat by their supreme god Marduk; the Hittites, of the defeat of a sea serpent named Illuyankas by the combined efforts of the goddess Inaras and a mortal hero; the Hebrews, of Yahveh's rout of Leviathan; the Hindus, of Indra's subjugation of Vṛtra; the Iranians, of the dispatch of the serpentine Azhi Dahaka; and the Greeks, of the triumph of Zeus over the contumacious Typhon.

The primordial monster appears not only in myth but also in ritual. It is a widespread custom to inaugurate a new year or season by staging a mimetic combat between two antagonists who represent respectively the old year and the new, winter and summer, drought and rainfall, and the like—a combat that survives, albeit in distorted form, in the English Mummers' Play and similar seasonal performances elsewhere. What thus inaugurates each separate year or season is thought to have inaugurated the entire procession of years and seasons in any given era and to be destined to happen again before a further era can begin. The defeat of the monster is therefore retrojected into cosmogony and projected into eschatology: Leviathan, Vṛtra, Azhi Dahaka, and Fenrisúlfr of Norse mythology, for instance, are said to be imprisoned but not slain and will eventually burst their bonds and have to be subdued again.

In several myths, the monster personifies the swollen rivers or winter squalls that threaten to inundate the earth unless properly channeled. In Chinese folklore, the subjugation of raging streams is called "caging the dragon." Conversely, however, the monster sometimes personifies a malevolent power who impounds the subterranean waters that have to be released in order to prevent drought.

Adverse natural phenomena are also personified as monsters, though it is sometimes difficult to determine whether these represent the phenomena themselves or the demonic powers that are believed to cause them. One such monster is the gigantic North American deity called the Thunderbird, the flapping of whose wings is believed to cause storms. The ancient Sumerians spoke likewise of a gigantic bird named Heavy Wind (Im Dugud) who caused storms; the Teutons spoke of Hraesvelgr. Analogous figures appear in the folklore of such diverse peoples as the Chinese, the Burmese, and several American Indian tribes.

Hurricanes are often attributed to the rampages of monsters. In the Mesopotamian creation epic *Enuma elish*, the rebellious Tiamat is accompanied into battle by a cohort of gruesome monsters that includes Stormwind, Cyclone, and the like. The Seneca Indians saw in hurricanes the activity of a monstrous bear named Ya-o-gah. According to some scholars, the English word for this phenomenon derives ultimately from *Hurucán*, the name of a monstrous wind god of the Quiché Indians of Central America.

Equally widespread is the belief that eclipses are caused by a monster's swallowing and then disgorging the sun or moon. The Hindus spoke of a dragon called Svarbhanu; analogous figures appear almost universally. In the language of the Turkic-speaking Chuvash and of Estonian folklore, a verbal form translated into English as "eaten" is used to describe an eclipse. Drums and gongs are beaten, bells rung, and trumpets blown in many parts of the world to scare away the dire adversary. A variant of this notion asserts that the sun is pursued nightly by a voracious monster—in ancient Egypt by the serpent Apopis and in Norse mythology by the wolf Skoll.

Another natural phenomenon personified as a monster is the whirlpool, which is said by some scholars to be the original referent of the word *gargoyle* (from the Latin *gurges*). In Arabic a waterspout is popularly termed *tinnīn* ("dragon"); in the Old Testament the sea monster Leviathan is sometimes referred to by the term *tannin.* So, too, Edmund Spenser describes a whirlpool as a whale.

Not only natural phenomena but also human situations and infirmities are personified as monsters or are attributed to their activities. In Babylonian magical incantations, epilepsy and palsy are represented as a demonic monster with a bird's head and human hands and feet, and impotence as one with a lion's mouth, a dragon's teeth, and an eagle's talons. In Jewish folklore, noontime sunstroke and dizziness are attributed to an ogre who has the head of a calf with a revolving horn in the center, one eye in its breast, and a body covered with scales, hair, and eyes.

Sexual dreams are commonly represented in popular lore as due to the assaults of monsters who consort with sleeping men and women. Those that assail men are known as succubi; however monstrous their activities, they are usually portrayed not as grotesque harridans but as voluptuous sylphs or *femmes fatales.* Those that assail women are known as incubi. Belief in such creatures was widespread especially in the Middle Ages and was held even by such noted churchmen as Augustine. They were thought to be the demon lovers of witches, and intercourse with them was said to produce "monstrous births," deformed persons, hermaphrodites, and sometimes albinos. Indeed, according to many medieval commentators the "sons of God," who are said in the *Book of Genesis* (6:1–4) to have consorted with mortal women and thus engendered a race of giants, were in fact incubi.

Fairly universal is the belief in a monstrous beldam who seizes and strangles newborn babes and kills their mothers or drains the mothers' milk. In ancient Mesopotamia, she was known as Lamashtu and was portrayed with a lion's head, a woman's body, and bird's feet. She held serpents in both hands and suckled a black hound and a pig at her breasts. The Hittites knew her as Wesurya ("strangler"); known among the Greeks as Gello, Lamia, or Strix, she could take the form of a screech owl or bat. The Arabs saw her as a goggle-eyed hag whose one foot was that of an ass and the other that of an ostrich. In German folklore, she is a sharp-nosed, scrawny harridan. Superstitious Jews identify her with Lilith, the legendary first wife of Adam, who was expelled childless from Eden for her rebellious behavior and who is therefore envious of all new mothers. In many parts of the world plaques and amulets are hung up to ward her off.

Not only diseases and human infirmities but also death and the netherworld are portrayed as monsters. In several passages of the Old Testament (*Is.* 5:14, *Hb.* 2:5, *Prv.* 1:12) hell is depicted as a being with jaws agape, a portrayal frequent in medieval art, for example, in the east window of York Minster. Supay, the Peruvian deity of the nether regions, is similarly characterized.

There are also animal monsters, creatures that combine the parts of several different beasts or of beasts and human beings. Not all of them are regarded as harmful; some, despite their grotesque forms, represent beneficent spirits or deities. Many of these monsters acquired acceptance through descriptions of them in medieval and later bestiaries, which in turn derive largely from a book about animals known as the *Physiologus,* compiled (probably in Greek) between the third and fifth centuries CE by an unidentified writer and subsequently translated into many European and Oriental languages. Under the hands of Christian redactors, symbolic and allegorical meanings were given to the fabulous beasts, and they were thus incorporated into heraldry (e.g., the lion and the unicorn of British heraldry). Prominent among such creatures are the unicorn, the phoenix, the griffin, and the manticore.

The unicorn is first mentioned by the Greek writer Ctesias (third century BCE) as native to India and akin to the rhinoceros. It was later portrayed in art and literature as a white horse with a single horn protruding from the middle of its forehead. It is identified by some early translators of the Old Testament with the *re'em,* a beast mentioned in several passages, and on the basis of this identification it became prominent in Christian symbolism. The *re'em,* however, is said explicitly to have more than one horn (*Dt.* 33:17, *Ps.* 22:21) probably it is the now extinct aurochs. Legend asserted that the unicorn could be caught only if it leapt into the lap of a virgin sent into the woods to entice it.

The phoenix, a red bird variously identified as an egret or flamingo, is said to be native to Arabia. It was believed to live for five hundred years and then to burn itself in its nest. Out of the ashes arose a new phoenix. Modern scholars believe that this is simply a Greek transmogrification of the Egyptian mythical *bennu* bird, who represented the resurgent sun and rose daily from a flaming tree at Heliopolis.

The griffin is a creature with a lion's head and the wings of an eagle who, in Greek mythology, guarded the gold in the north. It is probably to be identified (even in name) with the biblical *cherub* (Babylonian *karūbu*), who was not an angel, as is commonly supposed, but a monster who guarded the entrance of ancient Mesopotamian palaces and who is also related to the legendary dragon who guards the pot of gold.

The manticore is a hybrid monster described in the bestiaries as possessing a lion's face, a man's body, and a tail with a serpent's head and a scorpion's sting. It has gleaming eyes and can leap prodigious lengths. It is said to be native to the Far East but may in fact derive from the fabulous Indian monster *makara.*

In general, harmful demons are often portrayed as monstrous beasts. A representative example is the Russian Zmei Gorynych, a snake that typifies all evil and is prone to run off with mortal girls.

One example of a beneficent animal monster is the Iranian Senmurv, part dog, part bird, and sometimes part reptile, who gave mankind seeds scattered from a tree in which it lived. Another is the Chinese Qilin, a spirit of good luck who has a deer's body, a bushy tail, cloven hoofs, and horns.

Besides these individual theriomorphic monsters there are also classes of such beings, for example, centaurs, Gorgons, and harpies. Centaurs are most commonly described in Greek literature and portrayed in Greek art as half human and half horse. It should be observed, however, that this is but one variety of them, for their human parts are said to be combined alternatively with those of asses and other beasts. It has therefore been suggested by some modern scholars that centaurs are really the mythical counterpart of the bands of wild men who are said to rampage in animal pelts and perform ritual dances at certain seasons in Balkan countries and who find their congeners in the hobbyhorse performers of English folk custom. The Gorgons are, in Greek mythology, three horrendous sisters whose glance petrifies the beholder. Their hair consists of serpents, and they possess golden wings, brazen claws, and huge teeth. One of them, Medusa, is mortal. Harpies ("snatchers") are filthy winged monsters, part woman and part bird, who defile whatever they encounter and who, according to Hesiod, also carry off newborn babies. In the latter capacity, they have their counterpart in Canaanite lore. Hesiod calls two of them by the names *Aello* ("stormwind") and *Ocypete* ("swift flier"). These names are included to this day in the Jewish amuletic plaques mentioned above as a device for averting the child-stealing beldam.

Human "monsters" or freaks are popularly attributed to the union of mortal women (especially witches) with incubi, or demons. Included among them are misshapen children and adults, androgynes, and persons with extra limbs and organs. An outstanding example is the Pig-faced Lady, Tanakin Skinner, who appeared in London in the early seventeenth century. An otherwise gracious person, she was said to have the head of a sow and to eat from a trough. Her grotesque form was attributed to divine vengeance on her mother, who had refused alms to a poor woman begging for the sustenance of her child. Another example is the Elephant Man, the subject of a well-known play by Bernard Pomerance. Albinos too fall into this class, although the popular attitude toward them is ambivalent. In Senegal, for instance, they are regarded as ominous; in Gabon they are killed at birth, whereas in New Guinea they are deemed holy.

Remote, "outlandish" peoples are often depicted as monsters in traveler's yarns, medieval romances, and the writings of various ancient authors. Herodotus (485?–425 BCE) and Pliny the Elder (23–79 BCE), for example, mention a legendary people of the far North named the Arimaspeans, who have no heads but have eyes in their stomachs. Japanese legend tells of Jon-li, a remote island inhabited by people whose bodies are half human and half dog. Marco Polo says that the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands are dog-headed, and other writers similarly describe the Karen of Burma. The Jewish traveler Binyamin of Tudela (twelfth century) reports that men who live in the Turkish steppes have no noses, although this may refer to flat-nosed Mongolians. In the same vein, Jean Struys (1650) asserts that tailed men are to be found on the southern side of Formosa, and a similar statement is made by later writers about an allegedly cannibal race called the Nuam-ni'aros who lived between the Gulf of Benin and Ethiopia. Jews during the Middle Ages were also commonly accused of cannibalism.

Some monsters are not objects of actual belief but are deliberately invented to scare unruly children. The outstanding monster of this type is the Greek figure Mormo ("bogey"), also called Mormolukeion ("bogeywolf"), who survived in British nurseries as late as the nineteenth century. Similar creatures are the beldam Bebau in central France and the *windigo* of the Ojibwa Indians of North America.

The conquest of a draconic monster who ravages a country or holds a princess or other fair maiden captive is a standard motif in heroic legend. One is the Chimera, a fire-breathing monster, part lion, part dragon, and part goat, who ravaged Lycia and the neighboring lands but was slain by the hero Bellerophon mounted on the winged horse Pegasus. Typhon, a hundred-headed, fiery being, challenged the sovereignty of Zeus but was destroyed by a thunderbolt and buried under Mount Etna. The Minotaur, half bull and half man, was kept in a labyrinth by King Minos of Crete to devour the youths and maidens demanded of Athens as periodic tribute. He was eventually defeated by the hero Theseus with the aid of the princess Ariadne. (The exaction of periodic tribute by water spirits as the price of averting inundation is a not uncommon theme in world folklore.) The Hydra was a hundred-headed monster of the Peloponnese who was slain by Herakles as one of his twelve labors. Whenever one head was severed two grew in its place, but the hero eventually scorched the growth with a firebrand. Geryon was a monster with three heads or three bodies whose herds near Gades (Cadiz) Herakles carried off as his tenth labor, slaying their guardians, the giant Eurytion and the two-headed hound Orthros, as well as the Geryon itself. Fenrisúlfr (Fenriswolf) was the monstrous offspring of Loki in Norse mythology. The gods eventually bound him with a fetter made by dwarfs from the sound of a cat's footfall, the breath of a fish, and the spittle of a bird, and then imprisoned him in the depths of the earth. He will break forth, however, at the final twilight of the gods (Ragnarǫk) and slay Óðinn (Odin), only to be himself slain by Óðinn's son Víðarr. Battles against monstrous dragons are familiar also from the legends of Perseus, Beowulf, Saint George, and many other heroes.

From time to time—especially in the present century—reports have circulated of gigantic prehistoric monsters sighted in various parts of the world. These are commonly termed "monsters," but that designation is misleading, for a monster is essentially abnormal, whereas these creatures are supposedly surviving specimens of mammoths, mastodons, and the like. To this class belongs especially the celebrated Loch Ness monster of Scotland, said to have been seen sporadically throughout the ages, but a subject of public interest only since 1933. It is reputed to have been seen since then by no fewer than four thousand witnesses, and several scientific expeditions have attempted to photograph and identify it. A group of sonar and photographic images obtained in 1973 by the Academy of Applied Science has, for some, lent credence to its existence. It is usually described as being dark gray or brownish black in color, about fifteen to twenty feet long, with a thin neck, small head, long tail, four paddles or fins, and several humps. Another such alleged prehistoric monster is the Yeti, or Abominable Snowman, said to have been sighted or to have left gigantic footprints in remote areas of the Himalayas. He is described as resembling an ape, standing nearly six feet tall, shaggy in appearance, with huge teeth in a large mouth, and a head tapering to a point. However, native Sherpas declare that he is far smaller and has red or black tufts of hair and the face of a monkey. He has no tail and apparently walks on two legs.

Cousin to the Yeti is Sasquatch, or Bigfoot, a hypothetical species of primates said, since 1840, to have been sighted in the mountains of the Pacific Northwest. This creature is reported to be between seven and nine feet in height and to weigh from six hundred to nine hundred pounds. He is not ferocious. He looks like a furry ape, walks upright, and leaves footprints sixteen inches long and six inches wide. Sasquatch plays a role in the folklore of the Northwest Coast Indians and in turn has a cousin in the Mono Grande of the Andes. It has been suggested that the Abominable Snowman, Sasquatch, and Mono Grande may be surviving specimens of a prehistoric ape-man known as *Gigantopithecus,* fossils of which have been discovered in China and other parts of Asia.

Monsters and ogres survive also in popular lore in such figures as Frankenstein's monster, King Kong, and the like—staples of horror movies, television, and comic strips. An interesting development in this respect is the circulation of stories about visitors from outer space allegedly seen emerging from flying saucers. Significantly, many of these stories come from rapporteurs of Irish descent, and the creatures are described as having a form closely resembling that of the leprechauns of Irish folklore.

Finally, it may be observed that monsters also appear as figures of political propaganda. An outstanding instance is the protrayal of the Japanese in World War II as "monkeys"—a tendentious revival of the old practice (mentioned above) of so characterizing remote, unfamiliar peoples. Similarly, barbaric historical personages are commonly designated "monsters," for example, Attila and, in our own day, Adolf Hitler and Joseph Mengele. In such characterizations, the essential nature of a monster is effectively expressed; huge, savage, and hostile, he is the direct opposite of the diminutive dwarf, elf, or gremlin, who, albeit mischievous, is essentially benevolent.

SEE ALSO Dragons; Therianthropism.

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THEODOR H. GASTER (1987)
Revised Bibliography

MONTAGU, LILY (1873–1963), founder of the Liberal Jewish movement in England. Born in London on December 22, 1873, Lily H. Montagu was the sixth child of Ellen Cohen Montagu and Samuel Montagu. Her father was a wealthy banker and leading member of the Orthodox Anglo-Jewish community. Convinced that Orthodoxy offered her, and other women, little room for religious self-expression, she found in the works of Claude Montefiore a vision of Judaism that mirrored her own understanding of true religion as personal in nature, universal in outlook, and best revealed through daily conduct.

In the January 1899 issue of the *Jewish Quarterly Review,* Montagu published "The Spiritual Possibilities of Judaism Today," an essay in which she asked all religiously committed Jews to help her form an association aimed at strengthening the religious life of the Anglo-Jewish community through the propagation of Liberal Jewish teachings. Membership would not necessarily demonstrate allegiance to what Montefiore identified as Liberal Judaism but simply would demonstrate the recognition of its ability to awaken within many Jews a sense of spirituality and personal responsibility to God. The Jewish Religious Union (JRU), established by Lily Montagu in February 1902, instituted Sabbath afternoon worship services conducted along Liberal Jewish lines and propaganda meetings, led by Montagu, to clarify and spread its teachings. Though Montefiore agreed to serve as the group's official leader, Montagu assumed responsibility for its major activities and daily affairs.

By 1909, acknowledging the failure of its initial, all-inclusive vision, the union declared itself to be a movement specifically committed to the advancement of Liberal Judaism. During the next few decades, Lily Montagu helped form Liberal Jewish synagogues throughout Great Britain, frequently serving as their chairman or president, and became lay minister of the West Central Liberal Jewish Congregation in 1928, a position to which she was formally inducted in November, 1944. Following Montefiore's death, in 1938, she assumed the presidency of the JRU, later renamed the Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues. Having conceived of the idea for an international JRU as early as 1925, Montagu also helped found and eventually became president of the World Union for Progressive Judaism.

Montagu was the author of eleven books, including *Thoughts on Judaism*, a theological treatise published in 1902, and her autobiography, *The Faith of a Jewish Woman*, published in 1943.

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Little has been written either on the history of the Liberal Jewish movement in England or on Lily Montagu herself. The only critical study of Montagu's life and thought published to date is my book *Lily Montagu and the Advancement of Liberal Judaism: From Vision to Vocation* (Lewiston, N.Y., 1983). A second volume, *Lily Montagu: Sermons, Addresses, Letters and Prayers*, edited and with introductions by me (Lewiston, N.Y., 1985), includes a fully annotated selection of her unpublished writings. Finally, for a more detailed account of Montagu's contribution to the development of Liberal Judaism, see my essay "The Origins of Liberal Judaism in England: The Contribution of Lily H. Montagu," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 55 (1984): 309–322.

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MONTANISM. Although there are various reports (e.g., Hippolytus, *Refutatio* 8.19.1; Eusebius, *Church History* 6.20.3) that the leaders of Montanism composed many writings, none of these has come down to us. As a result, special importance attaches to the approximately twenty-five surviving fragments of their prophecies and oracles (see new edition in *Kirchengeschichtliche Entwürfe*, 1960) and a few inscriptions, as well as to the writings from Tertullian's Montanist period, although the latter reflect essentially the later development of Montanism. Even the writings of the adversaries of Montanism have disappeared and are known to us only from citations by the fathers of the church. Especially important are Eusebius's account in his *Church History* and the *Panarion* of Epiphanius of Salamis, both of which are based on numerous sources. By contrast, what we know of Montanism from Jerome and Augustine has significantly less value as a source.

According to the sources, Montanism arose in Asia Minor in 156/7 CE and was centered there, at least in its first period. Its founder was Montanus, but he was evidently accompanied from an early date by prophetesses, among whom Priscilla (or Prisca) and especially Maximilla were particularly important. After they had first attracted attention by speaking in tongues, Montanus and his associates made use of intelligible oracles and prophecies to proclaim the final revelation and the will of the Holy Spirit. The Spirit was calling for an intensified expectation of the end, since the Parousia (the second coming of Christ) was imminent. The thousand-year reign would descend to earth at Pepuza (and Tymion?) in Phrygia, and the faithful were to travel there in order to share in it as soon as it appeared. They were to prepare themselves by intensified asceticism.

Glossolalia and the claim of a communication of the Spirit were at this time just as suspect to the official church in Asia Minor as was the expectation of an imminent end. The bishops endeavored in vain through exorcisms to resist the "new prophecy," as the apparently tightly organized movement was called, and they tried to coordinate their activity against the "Cataphrygians" (so called after their place of origin) at the first provincial synods. Despite these efforts, Montanism spread far beyond Asia Minor. Only with great difficulty was its recognition by the bishop of Rome prevented, and approximately in the year 207 in North Africa it made a convert of Tertullian, who became a passionate proselytizer for Montanism.

The fight against the movement was difficult because early Montanism was orthodox in its doctrine and exemplary in its ethics. Its characteristic traits—a heightened expectation of an imminent Parousia and a resultant intense asceticism (to the point of seeking martyrdom)—were basic elements of early Christianity, as were speaking in tongues and the claim to immediate revelation from the Holy Spirit. Montanus claimed that in him the Paraclete had made his appearance. After all, the coming of the Spirit was expressly announced in the *Gospel of John*. In addition, millenarianism found justification in the *Revelation to John* and was especially widespread in Asia Minor, and this even in the subsequent period. The *Revelation to John* and the *Gospel of John* were evidently among the spiritual sources from which Montanism was derived.

By the second half of the second century the official church and its theology had moved beyond the expectation of an imminent Parousia and had made room for the idea of postponement of the end. The *Second Letter of Peter* and the *Shepherd of Hermas* are clear proof of this. In the community at large, however, the expectation of an imminent end was still alive, at least in a latent form, and was given new life by Montanism. It was this expectation that made it possible for the movement to spread so quickly and so widely. The church's opposition to Montanism began to be effective only when the predicted return of the Lord did not occur and the prophetic energies of the movement fell off. Maximilla's oracle, "After me there will be no further prophet but only the end" (Epiphanius, *Panarion* 48.12.4), gave the church a weapon that became all the more effective as time passed after the death of Maximilla and neither the predicted end nor even the disturbances and wars preceding the end came to pass. During the second half of the second century, Montanism underwent the same kind of development that official Christianity had experienced: there was a withering of the prophetic element, cessation of glossolalia, and a decline in ethical standards.

It was the ethical rigorism of Montanism that converted Tertullian. When he became a Montanist in about 207, he evidently had been in conflict with the official church, which in his opinion was too lax, for some time. The gift of prophecy was still alive in Montanism at that time, as was eschatological expectation, though this was no longer as intense as in the beginning. The gift of tongues had disappeared, and the Lord's thousand-year reign was expected to come no longer in Asia Minor but in Jerusalem.

It is not possible to say for certain to what extent Montanism had spread in the West and how long it persisted there. Modern writers often rely too much on the lists of heresies, in which Montanism soon acquired its fixed place, as proof that the movement actually existed in a given area. Although Augustine wrote of "Tertullianists" in Africa, it is uncertain to what extent they are to be identified with Montanism. On the other hand, in the East the laws against heretics give the impression down to the beginning of the fifth century that Montanism was still a living reality there.

The attempt (by Wilhelm E. Schepelern and, later, B. W. Goree Jr., for example) to explain Montanism in terms of the paganism of Asia Minor and especially the cult of Cybele is not a promising one in view of the state of the sources. What these writers view as a tradition peculiar to Asia Minor (e.g., emphasis on ecstasy, the special place of women, intense asceticism) was in fact the common possession of early Christianity.

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Translated from German by Matthew J. O'Connell

MONTANUS, second-century Christian schismatic. For information on the life of Montanus we are dependent on statements made by the Christian controversialists of the time, as transmitted by the fathers of the church. Only a few utterances of Montanus himself have come down to us: "I am the Father and I am the Son and I am the Paraclete," as in the *Dialogue between a Montanist and an Orthodox Christian* (J. Ficker, 1905, pp. 447ff.) and according to Didymus of Alexandria (*De Trinitate* 3.41) and Epiphanius (*Panarion* 48.11.1). "The Paraclete" is sometimes replaced by "the Spirit" or "the Holy Spirit" or some expanded form of this. Man is like a lyre, and Montanus is described as the plectrum that sweeps across the strings. Extraordinary promises are made to the faithful, but no concrete indications are given of Montanus's teaching or ethical demands in any of the extant sources concerning him.

Montanus reportedly first attracted notice in the time of the proconsulate of Gratus (Quadratus?), in Ardabau (on the Phrygian border of Mysia), as promulgator of the "new prophecy." When combined with data provided by Eusebius and Epiphanius of Salamis, this information suggests the date 156/157 as the approximate beginning of this movement. Montanus is also reported to have been a recent convert to Christianity (in Eusebius's *Church History* 5.16.17) and to have previously been a priest of Apollo (this designation appears in the *Dialogue*) or, more generally, a priest of idols (in the *Dialogue* and in Didymus's *De Trinitate* 3.41). Jerome speaks of him (*Letters* 41, to Marcella) as *abscisum et semivirum* (castrated and half a man), that is, a priest of Cybele. Montanus is reported to have hanged himself (*Church History* 5.16.13). Since the same story is told of Maximilla, the prophetess and close associate of Montanus, the report is evidently a piece of antiheretical polemic, passed on by an anonymous writer simply as a rumor (cited in *Church History* 5.16.15). We cannot say for certain whether the report is true that Montanus was originally a pagan priest, but the contradictory claims suggest that early Christian polemics played a role in the report, especially since there is no reference to this pagan background of Montanus among the writings of the anti-Montanists of the second century.

Augustine (*De haeresibus liber* 26) reports that Montanus celebrated the Lord's Supper with bread that had been prepared using the blood of a one-year-old infant. The blood had been extracted by means of countless tiny punctures. The same story is told by numerous church fathers (Epiphanius, Filastrius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Jerome), but it represents nothing more than the acceptance into antiheretical Christian polemics of the pagan legend of the orthodox Christian Lord's Supper as involving the ritualistic sacrifice of an infant. This story was told at the end of the second century (cf. Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 9.5). Because they did not recognize this, some scholars saw the story as reflecting the influence of an orgiastic culture in Asia Minor and considered it as justification for looking into the matter further. Montanus's contemporary adversaries knew nothing about the story, or they gladly would have used it in arguments against him. Also, Eusebius, who summarizes virtually everything of the anti-Montanist writings, would undoubtedly have passed the story on.

There was nothing about Montanism that could not have been found, at least in the form of tendencies, in the early Christian church. Montanism was a movement of renewal that sought to revive, in the second half of the second century, certain elements of worship, doctrine, and ethics that had gradually died out in the church at large during the first half of the century. Montanism itself eventually underwent the same kind of development that official Christianity had experienced (cessation of glossolalia, withering of the prophetic element, nonfulfillment of the expectation of the second coming of Christ, decline in ethical standards), so that in the third century Montanism's internal energies were gradually exhausted and nothing was left but a sect that, from the fourth century on, was exposed to ecclesiastical and civil persecution and was doomed to extinction.

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MOODY, DWIGHT L. (1837–1899), American revivalist preacher. Dwight Lyman Moody was born in Northfield, Massachusetts. Like many Americans of his era, he left home as a teenager for the city—first Boston, then Chicago. In each city he quickly established a reputation as an aggressive boot and shoe salesman, but in Chicago he soon turned his organizational talents to religious endeavors, especially those of the local YMCA. During the nearly two decades he lived in Chicago, Moody moved from volunteer to full-time religious work, developed his techniques as an urban evangelist, and began to establish a national reputation as a leader in church circles. After several tentative, exploratory trips overseas, Moody in 1873 launched a career in England as a full-time revivalist. Within two years he had established himself as a highly effective revivalist, able to stir religious feelings in large numbers of people during lengthy revival "campaigns" conducted in the principal cities of England and Scotland.

Moody parlayed his fame overseas into even greater public acclaim in the United States. Beginning in 1875 he conducted a series of lengthy revivals, carefully planned and orchestrated, in most major American cities. True religious sentiment and feeling were to be found in these revivals, even though Moody's activism, efficient organization, and roughhewn appearance seemed also to exemplify the emerging materialism of industrial America.

By 1880 Moody had established a permanent residence at his birthplace, Northfield, Massachusetts. This act, combined with the evangelist's continuing round of annual urban revivals, exemplified the tension many late nineteenth-century Americans felt in living between the two worlds of small-town origins and big city realities. Moody broadened his concerns beyond mass revivalism in the 1880s. Shifting part of his energy and interest into education, he founded Mount Hermon and Northfield academies in his hometown, and the Moody Bible Institute, for training urban evangelists, in Chicago.

In the last years of Moody's life, growing divisions between liberals and conservatives in American Protestantism somewhat undermined his leadership. His personal integrity and his irenic temperament, however, made it possible for him to bridge the gap between these divergent groups, and only after his death in 1899 did tensions grow so great that open conflict erupted.

In numerous ways Moody epitomized popular American Protestantism in the second half of the nineteenth century. His family life and personal values reflected evangelical Protestant ideals of personal piety and morality. In the public realm, also, Moody embodied key characteristics of the evangelical world. He had transformed that world by adapting the revival tradition to the new urban, industrial context of late nineteenth-century America. His public activities in his later years also offer fascinating glimpses of the breakup of the cultural synthesis evangelism had provided in the nineteenth century. To the end of his life, Moody remained one of the best representatives and reflectors of popular Protestant culture and practice in the United States.

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MOON. To observers on earth, the moon appears to be the most changeable of celestial phenomena. In earlier times the appearance of the new crescent was often greeted with joy as a return of the moon from the dead; the full moon was considered an occasion for celebration, the waning a time of anxiety, and the eclipse a cause for dread. In religion and mythology the moon plays a variety of roles. It is personified as a male or female divinity, or, like the sun, thought to be an object thrown up into the sky by some supernatural being. It may be thought of as kindly or malicious, male or female, pursued or pursuer, a god of destruction or of birth and growth.

An early recognition of a connection with menstruation gave rise to the conception of the moon as the guardian of the female cycle and of birth or, alternatively, as a male god who monthly defiles women. In connection with dew, rain, or tides, the moon may promote the growth of vegetation or bring disastrous floods.

The moon has been a measure of time from early times, especially for hunting societies. In tropical climates, where the sun is cruel, the moon is considered beneficent, especially by nomads and caravan drivers. As a male god the moon appears as the Strong Bull of Heaven who cares for his cows, the stars; or as the sacrificed god, the son or lover of the mother goddess.

As a goddess, the moon brings cures and eases childbirth or, on the other hand, helps to rot corpses and receives the dead. The waxing and waning of the moon led to the idea that it dies and is reborn, and thus the moon became a part of funeral ceremonies and rites of resurrection. The discovery that the moon is the closest celestial body to the earth led to the idea that the moon was the "abode of souls," a way station to immortality.

The phases of the moon seem to echo the life cycles of women and therefore connect the moon with the Triple Goddess who presided over birth, initiation, and death. The Moon became part of a triad with Hekate, goddess of the underworld, and with Artemis, the divine huntress, whose hounds were the stars. Sometimes even the Egyptian goddess Isis joined the grouping. In this connection the qualities of the moon are fertility, moisture, change, darkness, and magic. In the ancient Chinese division of the universe into *yang* (hot, dry, strong, male) and *yin* (cool, moist, weak, female) the moon is considered *yin.*

Usually the waxing moon is a fortunate omen and waning moon a dangerous one. In the Andaman Islands the waxing moon is male and the waning moon female. The dark of the moon is the time for gathering herbs to be used in spells and curses. The new or full moon is the time for white magic. In some systems, however, the moon rushes to conjunction with the sun to be refreshed by his light.

In poetry, the dying god, who is related to the divine powers of the plant world, is often compared to the moon. Intoxicating liquors used in many religious ceremonies are said to drip forth from the moon. As spider, spinner, and weaver, the moon is likened to the three Fates, who spin and weave man's destiny.

The moon is often paired with the sun, as either father, son, wife, sister, or daughter. Sometimes the moon and sun are twins, and the weaker one, usually the moon, is doomed to live in the underworld, while the other rides on high. Frequently both are thought of as boats riding through the ether as on the ocean. Often, the sun rides in a chariot pulled by four white horses. The moon is pulled by two white horses, or by a bull, a stag, or a cock.

The moon's animal is often the bull, because of the crescent shape formed by its horns, or the hare, because of its fertility or because the "man in the moon" is thought to resemble a hare. The bear is also associated with the moon, because its hibernation and waking are like death and resurrection; the snail, because it retreats and reappears; or the frog, because it is an aquatic creature.

THE MOON AS A MEASURE OF TIME. Aside from night and day, the moon is the most obvious natural measure of time. The Indo-European root is the same for the *moon*, *month*, and *measure.* There exist what may be notations of the moon's phases in Paleolithic caves in Spain from 7000 BCE. Stonehenge in Great Britain (c. 3000 BCE) may have been used to measure the movements of the moon as well as those of the sun. There are still primitive peoples who use only the moon to measure time. Before the arrival of Europeans, American Indians counted the lunations as "war month," "month of flowers," and so forth. The dark of the moon was the "naked time"; its first appearance, the "coming to life."

Agricultural people, however, needed to have their times of planting and reaping coincide with the seasons—that is, with the sun. Thus began the long effort to correlate twelve lunations (too few) or thirteen lunations (too many) with the solar year. Accounts from republican Rome show the problems associated with this effort. We are told that from earliest times a *pontifex minor* would watch for the new moon from the Capitoline Hill, and when it was sighted, call out to Juno, the queen of the gods. The first of the month was called the calends from the verb "to call out." Juno is in this way identified with the new moon, as her husband, Jupiter, is with the ides, or full moon. The priest then announced the series of festivals for the coming month and whether the nones (the half-moon) would fall on the fifth or the seventh. The festivals, sponsored by the state, were instituted as a means of keeping the agricultural, military, and civil activities in order. It was necessary for all farmers to come into the city to learn on what days they could not work but must keep festival. On calendars that have come down to us, festival days are marked *nefas,* meaning that no work could be done; 109 out of the 355 days of the year were designated *nefas.*

The priesthoods, like the early magistracies, were in the hands of the patricians. The inconvenience of not knowing the feast days was one of the problems that led to the "struggle of the orders." Eventually the *fasti* (calendars) were published, in 304 BCE. The year began in March, and any time that had to be intercalated to bring the months into line with the seasons was added in February, after the Terminalia (a festival of boundaries and the year's end, celebrated on February 23).

Until the end of the republic the work of intercalation was the duty of the pontifices, who were often inefficient or corrupt. For instance, the date of court cases could be shifted by altering the intercalations. By the end of the republic, the whole calendar was out of harmony with both the sun and the moon. Cicero, writing to his friend Atticus, says he is not sure whether or not there will be an intercalation. There was a clause in contracts that read "si intercalat" ("in case of an intercalation").

Julius Caesar, aided by his Egyptian astronomer, made a clean sweep of the quasi-lunar calendar, extended the year 45 BCE from 355 to 445 days, and started anew on January 1, 45 BCE, with a cycle of 365 days, adding another day on the fourth year, after the Terminalia. This, with a few adjustments, is the solar calendar under which we live.

The ancient Greeks sent out criers to announce the sighting of the new moon. At some unknown point in history, the Greeks had limited the length of the year to twelve lunations of "full" or "hollow" months (comprised of thirty and twenty-nine days respectively), with an intercalary month every two years. We learn from Geminus that "they sought for a period which should, as to years agree with the Sun, as to months, with the Moon." The first period they constructed was an eight-year cycle called the *octaeteris.*

A nineteen-year cycle was suggested by the astronomer Meton in 432 BCE but was apparently not accepted by the cities, which went their own way, creating their own calendars and even inventing their own names for the months. In *The Clouds* of Aristophanes, the Moon complains, "You subvert the calendar and fail to observe her days. When the sacred days are unobserved, the gods go hungry, and it is the Moon they threaten." In this confusion, many citizens returned to direct personal observation of the rising moon. Beginning in the second century BCE, two sets of dates were recorded, "according to the state and according to the deity [Selene]."

In Mesopotamia the month began with the sighting of the new moon. A letter to the Assyrian king Esarhaddon (r. 680–669 BCE) states, "On the thirtieth I saw the moon. It was in a high position. The king should wait for the report from the city of Assur and then may determine the first day of the month." There are indications that in some cities months alternated between thirty and twenty-nine days in a nineteen-year cycle with regular intercalations. By the time of the Seleucids (third century BCE), it was possible to calculate the appearance of the new moon and to predict eclipses.

In India, religious festivals are still regulated by the lunar calendar, as are such domestic events as marriages. The moon festivals—two days for the new moon, one for the full moon—are considered important, even by Buddhists. The present names of the months are derived from the *nakshatras* ("lunar mansions"), twenty-seven or twenty-eight conspicuous stars along the ecliptic through which the moon passes.

The early Hebrews celebrated the new moon with a feast, which was a family gathering at which animals were sacrificed. The months were identified by the agricultural activity taking place at the time. The beginning of the month, after being attested to by observers, was announced to various communities by fire signals at first, and later by messengers. Since messengers could not always reach the outlying groups in a day, festivals often went on for two days. Since Passover, celebrated at the full moon, was originally a feast of the first fruits, it had to occur after the reaping of the grain. Thus it became necessary to add another month after Adar (approximately March). After the exile the calendar followed the Babylonian system, using Babylonian names for the months, counting the days from the evening, and intercalating an extra month on a regular basis. After the third century there was increasing dependence on calculation of the beginning of the month, though some sects from time to time insisted on reverting to direct observation.

The lunar year to which Muslims adhere was not established until 631 CE, when Muhammad made his last pilgrimage to Mecca. There he proclaimed that the year should consist of twelve lunar months and that intercalation should be forbidden. As Arabs before that time had probably had a combination lunar and solar calendar, it is likely that Muhammad intended to discourage old pagan festivals. His system won acceptance by the Arabs, who since ancient times held the moon in special reverence. The festivals now run through the whole year and come back to the same solar season in about thirty-three years. The new month begins when two trustworthy Muslims notify the authorities that they have observed the new moon from a mountaintop or from an open field. The crescent motif (the *hilal)* has been much used throughout the centuries in Islamic art and in the last two hundred years has appeared on the standard of Islam.

Early Christians attached importance to celebrating Easter at the time of the Jewish Passover but agreed that Easter should fall on a Sunday. In the third century Christians began to frame lunar calculations for themselves. The Easter controversy raged in the early church and still exists between the Western and Eastern churches. The final conditions arrived at in the West are that Easter must be kept on the Sunday after the paschal moon (the calendar moon whose fourteenth day falls on or after the vernal equinox), reckoned from the day of the new moon inclusive.

THE MOON AS DEITY. Only once, so far as is known, did the moon as divinity command political power and an influential priesthood, but it did so for about three thousand years, through changes of race, language, and regime. The place was the area between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, known as Mesopotamia ("between the rivers"), and the cult spread or grew independently in Syria, Palestine, Arabia, and Anatolia.

In the southern part of the Land between the Rivers there appeared around 5000 BCE the first urban civilization—a group of cities in which trade, division of labor, metalworking, organized religion, and writing were developed by a people whom history knows as Sumerians. Each of the cities was under the protection of a high god and in the beginning was probably ruled by the priesthood of the god. By the time the first records appear, these gods are all related. An is the creator-sky god. His son, Enlil, the Air, carries on most of the business of controlling the other gods and resides in the holy city of Nippur. The first son of Enlil is Nanna, the Moon, patron of the important city of Ur. His wife is Ningal, daughter of the Lady of the Reeds, a moisture goddess from the marshes. The children of Enlil and Ningal are Utu, the Sun, and Inanna, warrior goddess of love and the Evening Star. The trio of Moon, Sun, and Evening Star are often found together on royal stelae down through Babylonian times.

The Semitic-speaking peoples who succeeded the Sumerians—Akkadians, Assyrians, and Babylonians—took over most of their inventions and adopted the Sumerian pantheon, giving the gods Semitic names. Nanna became Sin; Utu, Shamash; and Inanna, Ishtar.

C. Leonard Woolley, excavating at Ur in 1922–1934, found the famous royal tombs, containing the bodies of mass suicides, royal ladies (who Woolley surmised might have been priestesses of the Moon), and a harp with a bull's head and a lapis lazuli beard, the Strong Bull of Nanna. He also describes the ziggurat of Ur, dedicated to the Moon, the best preserved of its kind in the Near East. At the top of the ziggurat, a high staged tower terraced with trees, was a shrine where the god rested, gave dream oracles, or took part in a sacred marriage. This last is suggested by a hymn in which Ningal addresses Nanna, "In your house on high I will come to you, Nanna. In your perfumed cedar mountain, in your mansion of Ur, I will come to live."

At the base of the ziggurat was a large temple, the real home of the god, where he was fed and clothed daily. Probably the people saw the god only when he was paraded at each phase of the moon—on the first, seventh, and fifteenth days of the month. The temple was a huge complex of storehouses, kitchens, and rooms for priests and slaves. It was a landowner and received rent in kind, which was used for sacrifices and for feeding the enormous staff. Slaves were employed in smelting, weaving, and preparing goods for sale. The high priestess of Nanna was traditionally a king's daughter.

A text describes how Nanna made a pilgrimage to visit his father Enlil at the holy city of Nippur, taking agricultural products and receiving in return Enlil's blessing. Enlil confirmed his son in power as Nanna, the king of Ur. It is likely that the king acted out the life of the god. During the dark days of the moon, called the "days of lying down," the queen conducted the rituals.

The temple complex at Ur was destroyed and reconstructed many times over the centuries, by Assyrians, Babylonians, even by alien Kassites, and finally by Cyrus, the Persian invader. The complex was rebuilt not to conciliate the people but to preserve good relations with the god.

The Assyrians, who took over from the Sumerians the worship of the moon under the name of Sin, built another moon city, Haran, on the Euphrates. The Assyrian kings came to Haran to "take the hand" of Sin after they had been confirmed by their own god, Ashur. In the sanctuary at Haran was a dream oracle, where Esarhaddon (r. 680–669 BCE) was told to proceed to the conquest of Egypt, which he did. Moon worship continued at Haran well into Islamic times when it was the center for a planet-worshiping people called the Sabaeans. The emperor Julian worshiped the moon at the temple in Haran in 365 CE.

In the early sixth century BCE, Babylon was the area's greatest city. Its founder, Nebuchadrezzar, set about rebuilding Ur. His successor, Nabonidus, was an antiquarian and a devoted worshiper of the moon. His mother (or grandmother) had been governor of Haran, and he was perhaps partly of West Semitic origin. In records of Ur, Nabonidus found the inscription of Ur-Namma, founder of the third dynasty of Ur (2100 BCE), whom he called "a king before me." Upon the ancient foundation he rebuilt the ziggurat "as in old times." He also rebuilt the temple at Haran and one in the Arabian city of Tema, where he remained for eleven years. Many critics in Babylon claimed he was putting his god Sin above Marduk.

The name of the moon in Canaan was Yarih. A Canaanite text tells of his wedding to Nikkal (related to Ningal, wife of the Sumerian moon god): "I shall make her field into vineyards, the field of their love an orchard" (Samuel Noah Kramer, *Ugaritic Manual,* 1955, no. 77). There is no doubt that the golden calf worshiped in *Genesis* was a figure of the moon and that Mount Sinai was his home.

Throughout Anatolia there are depictions of and inscriptions to the Anatolian moon god, called Men, from the Indo-European root for *moon* and *measure.* He was known as Menotyrannus ("lord of the moon"), Men Ouranios ("lord of the sky"), or Katachonios ("lord of the underworld"), suggesting that he was a god of death and rebirth. We cannot be sure whether he arrived along the trade routes from the Near East or was an indigenous deity. Later Men became confused with the "dying and rising god" Attis, the castrated follower, son, or lover of the Great Mother of Phrygia, Cybele, as well as with Dionysos and Sabazios of Thrace, two other dying and rising gods.

THE MOON IN MYTHOLOGY. In ancient India, Soma was the deification of a sacred plant that, when pressed, strained, and mixed with milk and barley, became an intoxicating drink for men and gods. The whole ninth book of the *Ṛgveda* is devoted to the praise of the yellow drink, which it identifies with the yellow moon. There is a marriage hymn in which the god Soma is married to the Sun, Sūrya, and has his head in the laps of the Nakṣatras ("lunar mansions"). Soma is celestial and bright, dispelling darkness and dwelling in the waters. In a later hymn, Soma is said to have married all twenty-seven Nakṣatras, daughters of the creator god, but he prefers one, Rohiṇī (possibly identified with the evening star). The other wives complain to their father, who afflicts the moon with a wasting sickness, causing his waning and disappearance. The Moon promises to reform and then grows back again, but always he relapses. In this problem the Moon is aided by Śiva, like Soma an ancient god of change, fertility, and destruction. Śiva wears the Moon's crest on his head; Soma is known as the "crest of Śiva." In a wheeled chariot drawn by a horse or an antelope, Soma leaves the sky to visit the earth at the new moon to revitalize plants and animals. *Soma* as an intoxicating drink has been compared to the wine of the Greek Dionysos, which the playwright Euripides described as "a drink that is poured out, a god for a god."

In Iran there is also a ritual of the sacred drink, there called *haoma*, which is not identified with the moon. In one hymn, the Moon is one of a triad of divinities, the lowest one being the sacred ox, who is sacrificed. The seed of the ox enters the Moon, where it is purified and divides into all the species of plants and animals. Iranians dedicated the right eye of every sacrificed animal to the Moon. They believed that when all things were put in motion by Angra Mainyu, or Evil, the Moon created time, which will run until Angra Mainyu is overthrown.

The ancient Greeks had only one myth concerning the moon, there called Selene, "the bright one." It is the story of how she fell in love with Endymion, a prince of Elis, while he was sleeping on Mount Latmos in Asia Minor. She begged Zeus to give Endymion eternal sleep so that she could visit him every night. In this way she managed to have fifty children by him, the number of the lunations between Olympic games, or equal to one-half of the eight-year cycle. Though there are almost no rituals associated with the moon in Greece, there are traces of moon worship from earlier times and in outlying regions. The Endymion myth connects Asia Minor with western Greece. According to Plato, mothers and nurses in ancient times taught children to bow down to the new moon. Torchlight parades for Selene are mentioned. A dream oracle in the Peloponnese, frequented by ephors from Sparta, was dedicated to Helios (the Sun) and to Pasiphae (the name, meaning "shining on all," is an epithet of the Moon). There was a queen named Pasiphae in Crete, where there are many traces of bull worship. In the myth, this Pasiphae fell in love with a white bull and from their union produced the Minotaur, who was half man and half bull. Another bull brought Europa (whose name, meaning "broad-faced," is another epithet for the Moon) from Phoenicia to Crete.

In Baltic mythology the sun is feminine and the moon masculine. The Balts say that the Sun was once married to the Moon, but he left her for the Morning Star. This so enraged the storm god, the most important Baltic god, that he beat the Moon with his sword, thus reducing the latter's size. The Sun and Moon have many children, the stars, but the Morning Star is a product of a union of the Sun with the storm god himself. The Moon, in shame and anger, avoids his wife, and they never appear together.

In Japan, the Sun, the most important divinity, is feminine; the Moon, her brother, plays only a minor role. Once the Sun ordered the Moon to go down to earth to find out what the goddess of food was doing. When the Moon arrived on earth, the goddess of food, meaning to please him, turned her face toward the land and from her mouth poured out boiled rice; toward the sea, all kinds of fish; and toward the mountains, all kinds of game. The Moon, instead of being pleased, was so enraged that she had offered him things from her mouth that he killed her. Out of her corpse were born the horse, the cow, and the silkworm. Back in Heaven the Sun, angry with her brother for what he had done, said, "I'll see you no more," and so they never meet.

Another myth of plant discovery is told by the Machiganga of Peru. It relates that the Moon gave mortals cultivated plants, giving instructions about them to a mortal girl whom he eventually married. He caused his wife to be fertilized by a fish, and she produced four sons: the daytime Sun, the planet Venus, the Sun Under the Earth (i.e., the sun at night), and the nocturnal Sun, invisible to all but shedding its light on the stars. This fourth child was so hot that he scorched his mother's womb, and she died. The Moon's mother-in-law reproached him, saying that there was nothing left for him to do but to eat the corpse. His wife, disgusted with life on earth, had left her body there and taken her soul to the underworld. The Moon was distressed but obeyed his mother-in-law. Thus the Moon became an eater of corpses and decided to move far away from the earth.

All types of creation myths explain the origin of the moon, usually together with the sun. The cosmic egg motif occurs in the Finnish epic *Kalevala:* the egg falls from heaven onto the knee of the creator goddess as she floats in the cosmic waters, and from it emerge all the aspects of the universe. The sun was made out of the yellow of the egg and the moon out of the white. In Greenland, the Sun and Moon are a mortal pair, sister and brother. In a house with no light they lay together. When the sister discovered that she had committed incest, she tore off her breasts and threw them at her brother; the holes they left became sunspots. Then she flew away and he after her, both carrying torches. The sister's torch burned brighter so she became the sun, and her brother, the moon.

To the type of myth in which the world is created out of the body of a primal being belongs the Huron story of Ataentsic. She was a creation mother goddess who was thrown down from heaven through the hole in the sky she had made by tearing up the world tree. Landing on earth, she gave birth to twins, one good and one evil. The evil son killed her, but the good one made the sun from her face and the moon from her breasts.

In the Aztec pantheon, Huitzilopochtli is a warrior god, culture hero, and the sun. When Mother Earth became pregnant with him (her last child), her other children, the stars, were angry and pursued her to kill her. But one, called Golden Bells, ran ahead to warn her mother. The sun god sprang fully armed from the womb and beheaded Golden Bells. Learning that she had meant well, in compensation he put her head in the sky as the moon, but he chased the other stars away, as the sun does at rising.

The Greek Hesiod (seventh century BCE) describes all creation as the result of sexual union. From the original parents, Earth and Sky, were born twelve Titans, who paired off and produced most of the natural objects as well as the gods. One pair, Theia and Hyperion, become the parents of the Sun (Helios), the Moon (Selene), and the Dawn (Eos). Another pair of Titans became the grandparents of Hekate, goddess of the underworld, and of Artemis, the huntress. Hekate and Artemis later became identified with the moon. In the Homeric *Hymn to the Moon* (sixth century BCE), the Moon has a daughter, Pandia, by Zeus. There was a festival at Athens called the Pandia where round moon cakes were sold and eaten.

In one of the emergence myths characteristic of the southwestern United States, the Pueblo tell how mortals came up in several stages to the surface of the earth. Finding it in darkness, they tossed into the sky the moon and sun, which they had brought with them. A variant of the emergence myth is found in Oceania, in which mankind or the gods are originally enclosed in a shell that they have to pry open. In a Micronesian story, the creator god, Ancient Spider, encased in such a shell, found two snails; after he opened the shell he used the smaller for the moon and the larger for the sun.

In Queensland, the Sun is a woman made by the Moon; although she has two legs, she has a number of arms, which can be seen as the sun's rays. Among the Aranda (Arunta) of Australia, a man of the Opossum totem carried the Moon around with him in a shield, keeping it hidden in a cleft of the rocks all day. One day a man of another totem saw the Moon shining and ran away with it. The Opossum man, unable to catch the thief, called out to the Moon to rise into the sky and shed light on everyone. This it did, and it has remained in the sky ever since.

According to the Pima Indians of North America, the Sun and Moon are parents of Coyote, the famous trickster figure in mythology. In another story, it is Coyote who invents the Sun and Moon. Some Altaic-speaking peoples of Siberia believe that in the beginning there was no sun or moon, but people themselves flew around in the air and gave out light. A high god sent a spirit to help them. Stirring the primeval waters, he found two mirrors, which he set up in the sky as the sun and the moon. Mirrors are often used in rituals by Siberian shamans, and in their out-of-body travels they frequently reach the moon.

THE MOON AND DEATH. Because of its monthly disappearance and return, the moon is often connected with the idea of mortal death and rebirth. In the Caroline Islands it is believed that in the beginning men rose from the dead, as did the moon. Every month they fell into a deep sleep when the moon became dark and awoke when the moon returned. An evil spirit disapproved of this and arranged for men to stay dead. In New Zealand, in a similar story, it is the culture hero Maui who wished men to live forever, but the moon said, "No, let them die and become like the soil."

In western Ceram, an island westward of New Guinea, a divine maiden was desired in marriage by the sun god. When her parents, disapproving, put a dead pig in her marriage bed as a substitute for her (perhaps a vestige of a changeover from human to animal sacrifice), the Sun caused her to sink into the ground. The girl called out to her parents, "Slaughter a pig and make a feast. In three days, look into the sky where I will be shining like a light." Thus the feast of the dead was instituted, and mortals for the first time saw the moon rising.

To the Siberian Inuit (Eskimo), death is conceived as loss of one's soul, which travels up to the moon and finally to the sun. This upward flight of the soul through the planets and stars is a widespread motif, found earliest among the Sumerians. It turns up again in Plato's *Republic* and in Cicero's *Somnium scipionis*, where the younger Scipio Africanus dreams he visits his grandfather in the heavens and looks down on all the celestial spheres. Below the moon, his grandfather tells him, all is chaos, but up here all is pure and serene.

The fullest account of the moon as the "abode of souls" is found in the essay *De facie lunae* by Plutarch (second century CE). Pythagorean philosophers had already taught that the Elysian Fields, the Greek isles of the dead, were situated on the sun and moon. In his essay Plutarch describes mortals as consisting of three parts: body, soul, and reason. In death the body is dissolved by Demeter, who stands for Mother Earth. The soul, together with reason, floats upward and, if pure, reaches the moon. If corrupt, it must wander between the earth and the moon until it is purified. The moon is ruled by Persephone, the Greek queen of the underworld, now transferred to the upper spheres. The souls who remain on the moon become beneficent spirits who return to earth to give oracles and help mortals in other ways. Gradually they are dissolved into pure reason and reach the sun.

In one of the earliest Indian Upanisads we are told that there are two roads open to souls after death: the road of flame and the road of smoke. The road of flame leads to the sun and the gods; the road of smoke to the moon, the ancestors, and reincarnation.

In the teaching of Mani, founder of the Manichaeans, the souls of those who have learned the truth during their lives are taken up to the wheel of the sun, where they are purified and passed on to the moon, here described as the superior station. Both of the luminaries are pictured as boats sailing to and fro in the upper atmosphere. When the moon becomes full of souls, it ferries them toward the East to the "aeons of light," who place them in the "pillar of glory," their final resting place. Then the moon, greatly reduced in size, returns for another load of souls.

THE MOON AND THE OCCULT. Witches' meetings are held at the full moon, but the dark of the moon is the time for black sorcery. A practice known as "drawing down the moon" is pictured on Greek vases. In the *Voyage of the Argo* (Apollonius Rhodius, third century BCE), Medea, the priestess of Hekate, is gathering herbs when the Moon addresses her, saying "How often have you disorbed me, making the nights moonless so you might practice your incantations." In this case the Moon would seem to be guiltless in the magic rites.

The lucky rabbit's foot must be taken in the dark of the moon, perhaps because the hare is one of the Moon's animals and she might protect it. According to Aelianos, a Greek writer of the third century CE, the moon causes epilepsy, which may be cured by a special kind of peony that, like the mandrake root, cannot be seen by day but must be gathered at night by tying to it a dog who pulls up the root and then dies (*On Animals* 24). This plant also cures afflictions of the eyes "in which moisture congeals and robs the eyes of their sight." Spells to reunite lovers are especially effective when cast by moonlight. In Theocritus (third century BCE) a lovesick girl calls on the moon for help in her enchantment. The Roman poet Catullus (first century BCE), in his hymn to Diana, calls her Trivia, Lady of the Crossroads (i.e., Hekate), and the "moon with counterfeit light." In the Middle Ages Diana was considered the ruler of witches, together with the "horned god." Pope John XII (tenth century) accused witches of "riding with Diana."

In dream divination, according to Artemidorus (*Interpretation of Dreams*, second century CE), "Intercourse with the Moon is entirely auspicious for shipmasters, pilots, merchants, astronomers, vagabonds and people fond of travelling. But for others it means dropsy. . . . Selene the Moon represents both the wife and mother of the dreamer. She also represents prosperity, business ventures and navigation."

Thoth, the Egyptian god of measure and writing, was appointed by the sun god Re to take his place in the underworld as the moon. Thoth is also the god of magic and spells, like the Greek Hermes. In the Hellenistic period, the two were combined as authors of a series of magico-mystical writings under the name of Hermes Trismegistos.

In the astrology that took form in Alexandria around the second century BCEas a combination of Near Eastern star lore and Greek mathematics, the moon, "when at its northern or southern limits helps in the direction of greater versatility, resourcefulness and capacity for change; in its rising, toward greater natural endowments, firmness and frankness; in its waning, towards dullness, less fixity of purpose and less renown" (Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, second century CE).

In modern astrology, the moon "stands for the feminine, indrawn, receptive, and imaginative side. It tends toward carefulness, prudence, timidity, shyness, and the secluded life, though the lunar person is shrewd and practical in business" (Charles E. Carter, *Principles of Astrology*, London, 1969, p. 50).

THE MOON IN FOLKLORE. Almost universal are cautions and devices to take advantage of the beneficent (and to avoid the unlucky) aspects of the moon, as well as theories to explain the moon spots. It has seemed an obvious ritual to farmers all over the world to plant during the waxing moon and reap during the waning moon, and this is still done in many parts of the United States. In pre-revolutionary France the law required trees to be felled during the waxing moon so that their wood would be drier. Hair, on the other hand, should be cut at the waning moon to make it thick. In England, shingles laid during the waning moon tend to swell. All over Europe, money, especially silver, the moon's metal, is exposed to the waxing moon or turned over in the pocket to make it grow. In Uganda, potters wait for the waxing moon before firing their pots. Warts are everywhere believed to grow as the moon waxes and to decrease at the wane.

Some Muslims in India practice a ritual called "drinking the moon." They fill a silver basin with water, let it reflect the light of the full moon, and drink it at a gulp as a remedy for palpitations and nervous disorders. Mothers in many places present their babies to the full moon so they will grow. In New Guinea, men on a hunting expedition leave their women at home to sing to the new moon for the success of the hunt. Natives of Greenland believe that women can become pregnant from sleeping in the light of the full moon. To prevent this, women wipe their abdomens with spittle. Weddings are variously believed to be lucky if held at the full moon or at the dark of the moon. The latter is explained by Plutarch (*De facie lunae*), who claimed that the moon rushed to conjunction with the sun so that she might be refreshed by his light.

There are innumerable explanations for the spots that the West calls the "Man in the Moon." Some South American Indians believe they are ashes or menstrual blood smeared on the (male) Moon when he raped his sister the Sun. The Selk'nam of South America say they are the results of a beating the (female) Moon received when the Sun discovered that she had disclosed her initiation rites. The same spots are often described as a hare, a frog, a snail, or some other animal or as some mortal lured up to the moon. In Scandinavian mythology they are a boy and girl carrying water, supposed to be the prototypes of Jack and Jill. The Shawnee Indians see in the spots their creator goddess bending over a cooking pot. Among the Malay, they are an old man making a fishing line under a banyan tree. At the other end of the line is a rat, who is eating the line as fast as the man can make it. When the old man is finished, he will use the line to catch everything on the earth and reel it up to the moon.

There is widespread belief that the light of the full moon turns humans who are so disposed into werewolves and causes lunacy if one sleeps in its beams. Very common in Europe and America is the idea that, during the night of the full moon, more crimes are committed, more children are born, and more patients committed to mental hospitals than at other times.

SEE ALSO Feminine Sacrality.

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MOORE, GEORGE FOOT. George Foot Moore (1851–1931) was an American scholar of Hebrew scriptures, Judaism, and the history of religions. Born of Scottish-Irish ancestry in West Chester, Pennsylvania, Moore received his B.A. degree from Yale University (1872) and his B.D. degree from Union Theological Seminary, New York (1877). Following ordination as a Presbyterian clergyman (1878), he served a five-year pastorate in Zanesville, Ohio. Moore's academic career began with his appointment as professor of Hebrew language and literature at Andover Theological Seminary (1883). Moore became professor of theology at Harvard University (1902) and later professor of the history of religions there (1904), a position in which he remained until his retirement in 1928.

Moore's reputation in biblical studies was established with the publication of *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges* (1895) and *The Literature of the Old Testament* (1913). His *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era, the Age of Tannaim* (1927–1930) is still the finest description of the religion of the rabbis of the Mishnah in existence. Moore's work is in line with the then regnant paradigm among Jewish scholars (e.g., Solomon Schechter, Louis Ginzberg) for study of the Pharisees/rabbis. This approach focused primarily upon the religion and literature of the Rabbinic elite and its construction of Judaism. *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era* has been criticized by more recent scholars, principally Morton Smith and his school, for treating the rabbis as representative of what Morton Smith called "Normative Judaism," without focusing on the mystical, magical, or apocalyptic in Judaism beyond the rabbis. Morton Smith's approach is well in line with Moore's general interest in religious elites.

Moore's two-volume *History of Religions* (1913–1919) filled the need for a new handbook on the history of religions with the unity and continuity that single authorship could provide. In this work, Moore limits his treatment to the religions of the "civilized" peoples, omitting any discussion of "primitive" (i.e., tribal) religions. Moore's treatment of the various religions manifests an impressive capacity to master the best current scholarship. Two uncritical assumptions underlie his work, neither of which was uncommon in his day: an evolutionary theory concerning the development of religion and a basic methodological distinction between the religions of "civilized peoples" and "other" (i.e., "primitive" or tribal) religions.

His contributions as a historian of religions were marked by two notable qualities. First, he demonstrated the possibility of pursuing work in the history of religions in a manner that was characterized by openness to the richness of diverse religious traditions (among the "civilized" peoples) on the one hand and by disciplined scholarship on the other. Second, it was singularly important to the study of religion in North America that, even though most work in comparative religion and the history of religions had tended to focus attention on religious traditions other than Judaism and Christianity, his *History of Religions* extended equivalence of treatment and analytical criticism to these "higher" religions. This approach was significant for the development of the study of religion in America and in the communal realm for the ecumenical movement between Christians and Jews.

Moore made frequent contributions to scholarly journals, writing almost forty articles for the *Encyclopedia Biblica* (1899–1903) alone. He was instrumental in the establishment of the *Harvard Theological Review,* contributed to it often, and twice was its editor (1908–1914 and 1921–1931). Moore held presidencies in such notable professional societies as the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (of which he was a fellow), the American Oriental Society, the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, and the Massachusetts Historical Society.

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MORALITY AND RELIGION. In the minds of many people, the terms *morality* and *religion* signal two related but distinct ideas. Morality is thought to pertain to the conduct of human affairs and relations between persons, while religion primarily involves the relationship between human beings and a transcendent reality. In fact, this distinction between religion and morality is a relatively modern one. Although tension between religion and morality is already evident in the writings of Plato and other Greek philosophers, the popular modern conception that religion and morality are separate phenomena is probably traceable to the Enlightenment. At that time, a number of thinkers, reflecting Europe's weariness with centuries of religious strife, sought to elaborate ethical theories based on reason or on widely shared human sentiments. In so doing they established the assumption that the norms governing conduct, morality, and ethics (that is, the effort to reason about or justify these norms) were separable from matters of religious belief.

This same cultural context also gave rise to a number of efforts to explain the relationship between morality and religion. Since it was now possible to conceive ways of thinking and acting morally that were not dependent upon religious revelation, it became natural to ask why these two phenomena have usually been so closely linked in human history. Answers to this question were diverse, but they might be broadly divided between those that were friendly to religion and those that were hostile. Kant's thinking epitomized the views of those who believed that religion and morality are mutually necessary: although he was willing to criticize religious excesses and fanaticism, he was convinced that belief in a God who rewards the righteous and punishes the wicked was necessary to ensure full moral commitment.

In the hands of thinkers less friendly to religion, this claim—that religion involves the assumption of a morally governed world—became the simpler assertion that religion represents the effort to buttress morality by adding to its ordinary social sanctions a concocted series of supernaturally mediated rewards and punishments. This was not a new idea. It had already been stated in antiquity by some Greek, Roman, and Chinese philosophers. Although compatible with a respect for religious belief, it generally laid the foundation for a series of stinging critiques of traditional religion. Since morality could be understood in human or rational terms, it seemed to follow that the use of religious sanctions to support moral conduct was appropriate only where primitive, gullible, or morally weak persons were involved. By this reasoning, religion was at best useful during an early stage of human cultural evolution where it provided the "matrix" for moral concepts; in time, it was bound to be replaced by more rational modes of thought.

Some thinkers doubted the usefulness of religion in any context. A social critic like Marx, for example, viewed religion as the effort to support the moral norms and codes of privileged strata and ruling groups, while also masking worldly wrongs with the false allure of otherworldly rewards. Marx did not usually justify this view and his opposition to religion in moral terms. Indeed, he was equally critical of the moral systems and moral philosophies of his day, believing that they, too, were deeply involved with and compromised by the social and material conditions of the era. Yet, in many ways his attitude toward religion is similar to that of the critical Enlightenment philosophers: religion is to be rejected because it is ultimately opposed to the development of full human freedom and moral responsibility.

Decades later, Freud makes this point even more explicitly in *The Future of an Illusion* (1927), arguing that religion must be put aside because it undermines moral responsibility and encourages fanaticism. Individuals or groups whose only reason for being moral is fear of supernatural punishments cannot be counted upon to respect other persons once these fears lose their hold, as they inevitably must before the advance of reason. Furthermore, religious promises of forgiveness of sin and absolution are an encouragement to morally irresponsible behavior. For a mature and morally healthy world to emerge, Freud concluded, men and women of good will must meet together on the common ground of reason and atheism.

Not surprisingly, criticisms of this sort engendered a reaction. Often accepting the claim that religion and morality were only problematically linked, thinkers more sympathetic to religion like Friedrich Schleiermacher or Rudolf Otto sought to develop an abiding place for religion independent of its moral significance. Schleiermacher found this in the emotional state of "God-consciousness," while Otto found it in an essentially nonmoral sense of awe before the mysterious and transcendent. This reaction probably reached its zenith in the writings of Søren Kierkegaard, particularly in *Fear and Trembling* (1843). Although Kierkegaard was fully appreciative of the value of morality, he believed that religious faith ultimately transcended ordinary human moral considerations. In the story of God's command to Abraham to sacrifice Isaac, Kierkegaard discerned a "teleological suspension of the ethical," according to which morality was essentially subordinated to religious concerns. "Duty," he concluded, "is precisely the will of God."

THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS OF WESTERN ETHICAL THEORY To an outside observer, these debates among Western philosophers and theologians concerning the relationship between religion and morality may seem culture-bound. The emergence of ethics as a separate field of inquiry, the effort to distinguish morality from religion, and the countervailing effort to reassert a place for religion in human life all arise from a very particular cultural and social context. Nevertheless, the fact that systematic thinking about ethics emerged in the West, and that it generated a series of divergent explorations of the relationship between religion and morality, does not mean that this thinking or aspects of these views have no validity across cultural lines. The physical sciences, too, have been most fully developed in the Western context, but the value of their findings, and even of their different hypotheses, is not limited to this setting. In trying to understand the relationship between religion and morality, therefore, it may be useful to employ concepts and approaches developed over the past centuries by Western philosophers, theologians, and social scientists. If one keeps in mind that concepts or ideas developed in a Western context are at best tentative efforts to penetrate complex realities and that they may not be wholly applicable to moral and religious traditions elsewhere, this approach can provide an interpretive guide through diverse religious and moral traditions.

Definitions of Religion and Morality. Surveying the modern body of thinking about religion and morality, one can identify a number of distinctive ideas. Foremost among these is an idea already mentioned: that morality and religion, however intertwined, are at least conceptually distinct phenomena. Religion involves beliefs, attitudes, and practices that relate human beings to supernatural agencies or sacred realities. It addresses what has been called the problem of interpretability, which includes such persistent questions as the ultimate nature and purpose of the natural world and the meaning of death and suffering. In contrast, morality has usually been thought of as a way of regulating the conduct of individuals in communities. It represents a response to the problem of cooperation among competing persons or groups and aims at settling disputes that may arise in social contexts.

Force also represents a method of adjudicating conflict, but morality differs from force by appealing to principles or rules of conduct that are regarded as legitimate, that is, as having a justification potentially acceptable to each member of the community. The complex interrelationship between religion and morality is illustrated by the fact that moral legitimation may sometimes involve appeal to shared beliefs involving the supernatural or the sacred. But this is not a necessary aspect of moral justification, which can appeal to reason or to considerations of human welfare.

The Superiority and Logical Independence of Moral Norms. Philosophical analysis has also led to a series of more specific ideas about morality and ethics. For example, moral norms are regarded as among the most authoritative guides to conduct. This means that the dictates of morality are superior to and take precedence over self-oriented, or "prudential," considerations. The fact that something is morally wrong is thus held to be a sufficient grounds for refraining from doing it. Moral philosophers have disagreed over the questions of whether self-interest may play any role in moral decision and whether moral rules may ever be qualified or suspended to protect oneself or those one personally cares for. They have also disagreed over the larger question of whether these rules are absolute or permit exceptions. But that the dictates of morality have considerable authoritativeness and superiority is widely acknowledged.

A tradition of philosophical analysis, beginning with Plato's dialogue *Euthyphro* and culminating in the writings of Kant, has also insisted on the logical independence of moral norms and their conceptual priority over religious and other requirements. According to this line of thinking, human reason and conscience must be the final arbiter of right and wrong. Even religious norms and divine commands must be tested by the "autonomous" individual conscience. Recent discussions by philosophers and theologians have softened the contours of this view. Early rationalist claims that, to be acceptable, every religious command or requirement must conform to existing moral beliefs have been replaced by a recognition that religious teachings, in a dialogue with reasoned morality, can instruct and inform conscience. But the point made by Plato centuries ago, that human reason is the final forum of judgment, is still widely accepted, since to subordinate reason to other considerations is to renounce the very possibility of rational discourse and justification.

THE UNIVERSALITY OF MORAL NORMS. The writings of Western moral philosophers also reveal broad lines of agreement about the nature and content of morality. By and large, for example, these thinkers have not been impressed by the position known as "ethical relativism," which holds that basic moral principles or modes of reasoning differ substantially from culture to culture. While ethicists do acknowledge the truth of "cultural relativism," the view that accepted or prohibited modes of conduct vary among cultures, they have pointed out that this does not necessarily mean that fundamental principles are dissimilar. Different technical and social situations can cause common basic principles to yield different results in specific circumstances. For example, a general principle of respect for parents may produce a stringent ban on parricide in a technically advanced civilization but may lead to a custom of abandoning infirm or very elderly parents in hunter-gatherer cultures where there is no provision for sustaining the disabled and where dependency is regarded by all as shameful.

In contrast to the position of ethical relativism, most Western philosophers have subscribed to the essential universality of moral principles. This understanding, in fact, has several important meanings. First, it implies the descriptive point just made: at their most basic level, very similar basic moral rules and principles are understood and respected by human beings everywhere. Second, it implies the normative claim that not only is this so but that it ought to be so. There is a universal standard of morality to which all persons are accountable. This standard is sensitive enough to the reality of specific circumstances to justify broad tolerance of differing social practices, but even so there are limits. Thus, where a strict ethical relativist might conclude that "right" and "wrong" are definable only by the norms of a particular culture, nonrelativists have pointed out that certain cultural practices are so heinous that they cannot be judged morally acceptable without violating human beings' deepest moral self-understanding. For example, the fact that some societies have practiced genocide against minorities in their midst cannot be thought of as making this conduct right. Some things are wrong no matter how widely they are accepted in particular societies. Finally, morality has been regarded as universal in the sense that its rules and protection extend to all who are human. Precisely because it is a reasoned method of settling social disputes and, hence, superior to force or coercion, moral discourse remains the preferred method of relating to all who are capable of this method of social adjudication. G. J. Warnock has expressed the logic behind this view:

> If conduct is to be seen as regulated only *within* groups, we have still the possibility of unrestricted hostility and conflict *between* groups—which is liable, indeed, to be effectively ferocious and damaging in proportion as relations between individuals within each group are effectively ordered toward harmonious co-operative action. Thus, just as one may think that a Hobbesian recipe for 'peace' could securely achieve its end only if all Hobbesian individuals were engrossed within a single irresistible Leviathan, there is reason to think that the principles of morality must, if the object of morality is not to be frustrated, give consideration to *any* human, of whatever special group or none he may in fact be a member. (Warnock, 1971, p. 150)

Warnock and other philosophers who share this view would of course concede that it has more often been honored in the breach than in practice, but we shall soon see that the theoretical assumption that morality embraces the entire human community has special importance for the understanding of religious ethics.

The Moral Rules. Moral philosophers also display wide agreement on the most fundamental rules of morality. These include rules prohibiting persons from killing other persons, from inflicting injury on them, or from depriving them of freedom and opportunity. Other rules prohibit deception or the breaking of promises. All these rules presume that the recipient of the action in question has not voluntarily consented to it. Thus, a surgeon is not regarded as wronging a patient by cutting into his flesh, nor is a stage actor regarded as practicing immoral deception. In addition, these rules are clearly held to apply only where the persons affected by one's choice have not acted immorally in a way that necessitates breaking a rule with respect to them. While killing others or depriving them of their freedom is ordinarily viewed as wrong, for example, it may be justified when individuals threaten harm to others, as in criminal conduct or aggressive war.

These rules for personal conduct constitute only the minimum requirement for moral conduct. They are largely negative in character, prohibiting certain forms of behavior but not requiring positive efforts on others' behalf. In addition to this, however, ethicists recognize supererogatory actions, performance of which is an occasion for moral praise but omission of which does not ordinarily merit condemnation or blame. These actions include forms of mutual aid, generosity, and self-sacrifice. Along with respect for the basic rules, attention to these supererogatory requirements is ordinarily held to enter into the character ideals or standards of virtue that form part of a full system of ethics. Such ideals are separate from, but conceptually dependent upon, the understanding of right acts, since virtuous individuals are those who can be counted upon habitually to do what is right. Kant's famous statement that the only thing that can be called "good without qualification" is the morally good will is not meant to identify the norm of right or wrong conduct (for that, Kant believed, the test of the categorical imperative is required); rather, it is directed to the assessment of individual moral worth. In this connection, it is important to note that the intention of the agent plays a major role in evaluating conduct in terms of such character ideals. Since it is pointless to hold individuals morally responsible for the unforeseeable or uncontrollable consequences of their actions, the moral worth of persons is usually assessed in terms of what they intended to do, although morally acceptable intentions are ordinarily held to encompass reasonable prevision for consequences.

While moral theorists are widely agreed on at least the basic principles governing individual conduct and defining individual virtue, there is far less agreement on the norms or principles that ought to guide the conduct of social and economic institutions. At least for the context of industrialized societies, various competing theories have been advanced to justify everything from laissez-faire through welfare state societies to fully socialist and egalitarian systems. This is no place to settle a debate that continues to be one of the most heated in contemporary moral literature. It is important to note, however, that the very basic condition that moral principles be potentially acceptable to all persons tends to support views acknowledging a significant degree of social responsibility toward those who, through no fault of their own, are seriously disadvantaged. Thus, even thinkers who minimize society's responsibility for social justice tend to endorse efforts to ensure equal opportunity and hardship relief.

The "Moral Point of View." Behind these specific rules, many philosophers have also discerned a way of reasoning that is basic to moral judgment. This involves, first of all, an element of imaginative empathy for the other persons affected by one's choices and a willingness to consider the impact of one's conduct on their welfare. In addition, it calls for a willingness to reason about moral choices in an impartial way, as though the agent were only one interest among all of those affected by a choice. This perspective of impartiality is sometimes called "the moral point of view." Various moral theories have tried to integrate this way of thinking into decision procedures for moral choice. Views that derive moral decisions from the presumed judgments of an ideal sympathetic spectator and those that see such choices as arising from the decisions of self-interested but impartial contractors are examples.

Why Should One Be Moral? Delineation and justification of the moral rules have been the principal focuses of most moral theory. Yet, beyond specific normative issues, a series of persisting questions has stood at the far side of ethical discussion and has been dealt with increasingly by ethicists, as the nature and content of the moral reasoning process have become better understood. One of the most important of these questions is why one should be moral. Because this question can easily be misunderstood, its full significance and the difficulty of answering it may not be appreciated. If it is asked in the sense of why people in general should think and act morally, why morality itself should exist, then, to answer the question, it is necessary only to point to the general usefulness of morality as a method of settling social disputes. In this sense morality is in everyone's interests. Again, if one who has adopted the moral viewpoint of impartiality and empathy for others asks why he or she should obey the moral rules, then it is necessary only to point out that impartial persons would certainly advocate obeying the rules they would choose. But if this question is asked in its sharpest sense of why one should adopt the moral point of view in the first place, it becomes exceedingly difficult to answer. This is especially true whenever acting morally occasions serious loss for the individual agent.

Some philosophers have tried to answer this question in terms of the demonstrable longterm interest and welfare of the moral agent: they have argued that it is, by and large, advantageous to be a morally upright person and disadvantageous to be an immoral one. They point to the social and psychic costs that openly immoral conduct or covert and hypocritical behavior can entail. But others have rejected this approach either on the grounds that it is often not correct (immoral people sometimes do very well) or because it introduces essentially nonmoral motives into one's reasons for being moral. Some who argue this way have contended that no self-interested reasons should be given for being moral: that one's decisions to be moral must rest on a respect for moral reasoning requiring no further justification. For these thinkers the voice of duty, in the words of George Eliot, is "peremptory and absolute." Still others, rejecting both the appeal to personal advantage and the claim that no further justification need be given, have stressed the importance of various metaphysical or religious views in grounding, explaining, and justifying commitment to the moral life. These thinkers have argued that without at least some metaphysical or religious basis moral striving makes no sense. This basis may range from the minimal belief that morality is not pointless or futile, that one's efforts do make a difference, to the stronger belief that, however much it may appear true that good people suffer for their commitments, moral acts and dispositions are, in the ultimate scheme of things, acknowledged and rewarded.

It is noteworthy that discussion of the question "Why should one be moral?" returns ethics to basic matters of religious belief. Hence, the separation of ethical theory from theology and philosophy of religion, which ethical theorists effected during the modern period, has to some extent been reconsidered. It is interesting that this development was anticipated strongly in the work of Kant. To be sure, Kant is well known for his emphasis on the rational accessibility of moral norms and for his insistence that moral commitment must be autonomous, in the sense that it must be based on respect for the dictates of reason and conscience rather than on norms imposed from without and enforced by external rewards or punishments. Nevertheless, Kant's later writings, especially the *Critique of Practical Reason* (1788) and *Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone* (1793), were focused largely on questions concerning the philosophy of religion. In these writings, Kant developed the position that, to make sense, moral striving requires belief in a morally intentioned governor of the universe (this was Kant's "moral proof" of the existence of God), and he began to explore the relationship between ethics and themes in biblical theology. Foremost among these were the issues of sin, repentance, and the possibility of moral righteousness. Kant's discussions here are dense, but it can be said that, in perceiving the need to ground moral commitment in voluntarily assumed religious beliefs, Kant also recognized the difficulty of providing any clear and incontestable rational justification for being moral. Thus his work highlighted the difficulty of sustaining moral commitment and opened up, as never before, the prospect of rational persons' defecting from morality. Discussing this problem under the rubric of the "radical evil" of the human heart, Kant introduced themes that were later developed by Christian theologians like Kierkegaard, Barth, and Niebuhr.

MORAL THEORY AND RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS This body of reasoned reflection on basic issues in morality and ethics provides a useful background for exploring the variety of concrete traditions of religious ethics. Regarded superficially, these traditions display a bewildering variety of teachings and beliefs, making difficult any general conclusions about the relationship between religion and the moral life. But when they are assessed against the framework of concepts just presented, religious traditions display some common patterns. Moreover, identifying these common patterns also helps highlight some of the important differences between traditions. In approaching these concrete traditions with the framework of ethical assumptions as a guide, one should keep in mind one other important consideration: religious traditions are not static entities that display finished form at any moment in time; rather, like most human creations, they develop in the course of history. In his book *Beyond Belief* (1970), the sociologist Robert Bellah has suggested that religious evolution, like the evolution of other complex systems, often involves movement from simplicity to greater differentiation of structure (pp. 20–50). In terms of moral ideas, this suggests a development of greater sensitivity to the full gamut of specific issues and questions identified by systematic ethical theory. We shall see that questions or distinctions barely occurring to thinkers or writers within a tradition during its earliest phases emerge as important issues later in the tradition's life. In addition to looking at traditions synchronically in terms of their structure at any given moment, therefore, we must also look at them diachronically over the course of their development.

The Superiority of Moral Norms and Independence of Moral Reasoning. As we look at the variety of religio-ethical traditions, it is striking that a sense of the distinction between religious, ethical, and even legal norms is often not present, and that when it is, it is often a late development. Furthermore, because the very distinctions are lacking, traditions do not always assert the superiority of moral norms over specifically ritual or religious requirements. This does not mean that these ideas are not present; often they are implicit and can be discerned only by a careful examination of how conflicts between norms are handled.

As I have already observed, most historical traditions tend to see the normative structures bearing on human life as an integrated whole, wherein moral requirements are fused with religious, ritual, and legal norms. In this respect it is often strained to speak of Jewish, Hindu, or Islamic "ethics." In Judaism, for example, the sacred norms for human life constitute *halakhah.* Incompletely understood as "law," *halakhah* is more properly thought of as sacred teaching or guidance, although it is also "law" in the sense that many of its specific requirements were upheld by public sanctions and punishments, when Jews were politically able to govern themselves. In all, *halakhah* discusses 613 specific commandments or normative prescriptions identified by commentators in scripture, including the Ten Commandments. While this body of norms does contain many requirements that are recognizably “moral,” these are not clearly distinguished from what we would identify as ritual or religious norms. At a fairly late date in the development of the tradition, commentators would puzzle over why specific ritual commandments (for example, the requirement that only the ashes of a red heifer be used in a specific ritual of expiation) had been placed on a par with obviously important moral norms. But the early tradition tends not to make distinctions of this sort, and even later commentators who were rooted in this tradition agreed that all the norms of *halakhah* were equally sacred and equally incumbent upon the pious Jew. What is true for Judaism in this case, however, may also be said for *sharīʿah* in the Muslim tradition or *dharma* in the Hindu and Buddhist traditions. In each case we have a legal-moral-religious teaching containing the totality of enjoined actions in an undifferentiated unity.

Neither can it be said that many traditions display ethical theorizing in the contemporary sense of an effort to work out and to justify moral norms in rational terms. Commentators on early Christian ethics have noted the striking difference between the tone of early Christian ethical writing and that of the surrounding Greco-Roman world. Whereas Greek and Roman thinkers were concerned with such questions as what constitutes “the good” for man and what patterns of conduct are most conducive to individual and communal well-being, Christian writers commonly established rules for conduct by citing biblical commandments, or by holding up as models for behavior exemplary persons in scripture. Throughout, it is the hope for God’s approval (or the avoidance of his wrath) that is pointed to as the principal reason for living a Christian life. As is also true for Judaism and Islam, not human reason but God’s will remains the source and sanction for moral conduct.

It is true that in our era each of the biblically based traditions has developed bodies of systematic ethical reflection, and it is also possible today to find treatises on Buddhist, Hindu, or Jain ethics. Yet the separation of moral reasoning from other dimensions of the religious life is largely alien to all these traditions. In Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, the appearance of ethical theorizing initially represents a response to the authority of Greek and Roman philosophy. Thus, some of the earliest thinking about the relationship between religious and rational norms in these traditions—as for instance Sa’adyah Gaon’s *Book of Beliefs and Opinions* (933 CE) and Thomas Aquinas’s discussion of the forms of the law in his *Summa theologiae* (2.1.90–97)—emerges during the medieval period, when classical philosophy was rediscovered. Similarly, modern efforts to develop statements of Jewish, Christian, or Islamic ethics are very much a response to initiatives in philosophical ethical theory. The authority of Western thought has had a corresponding effect in stimulating thinkers in African and Asian religious traditions to develop systematic approaches to ethics. But in all these cases, writers are usually compelled to begin their discussions with the observation that the moral teachings of their tradition are inseparable from its theological, metaphysical, or ritual dimensions.

Are we to conclude, then, that the separation of ethics from these other aspects of religion is only a Western phenomenon, and one largely traceable to the classical philosophers of Greece and Rome? It is true that systematic, rational thinking about morality—ethics in the modern sense—does emerge primarily in the Greco-Roman world, although one might also speak of ancient Chinese ethics in this sense. Interestingly, in both these cases it was partly the breakdown of an older religious ideal that prompted rational reflection on the human good (a theme we shall return to later). But while ethical theorizing per se may be culturally localized, a sense of the independence, special significance, and even superiority of moral norms with respect to other normative requirements is present throughout many of these diverse traditions.

Criticism of purely ritual efforts to please God, for example, is one of the hallmarks of the Hebrew prophetic tradition. *Amos* 5:21ff. gives classic expression to the theme: “I hate, I despise your feasts, and take no delight in your solemn assemblies. . . . But let justice roll down like waters, and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream.” In less impassioned but equally serious tones, Confucius would criticize members of the Chinese elite who believed that Heaven was satisfied with outward displays of piety and ritual in lieu of sincere efforts at righteousness and benevolence: “A man who is not good, what can he have to do with ritual? A man who is not good, what can he have to do with music?” (*Analects* 3.3). Neither the prophets nor Confucius, of course, would eliminate ritual from the life they believed human beings were called to live. For both traditions of thought, a fulfilled human existence was a moral and religious whole. But their opposition to efforts to reduce morality to one lesser aspect of the religious life evidences their sensitivity to the importance and relative priority of the moral norms.

This point could be further illustrated within a number of diverse traditions, but it becomes even clearer when we survey the historical development of religious thought. Not only do traditions tend to highlight moral requirements as they develop over time, but major religious controversies and schisms giving rise to new religious traditions usually effect dramatic ethicization of aspects of the older traditions, thus indicating how important the issue is for diverse religious communities. Many examples from the history of religions could be given: early Christianity’s prophetic denunciation of Jewish religious observance and its replacement of the many ritual requirements of Jewish law with a simplified set of primarily moral norms; Protestantism’s revolt against Catholic sacramentalism and against the idea that God’s favor could be won by religious observance devoid of moral or religious sincerity; Buddhism’s deliberate rejection of the heavily ritualized Indian caste order, and its replacement of that order with an ethicized hierarchy based on moral and spiritual attainment; and Daoism's repudiation of alleged Confucian formalism in the name of a simplified religious and moral ideal of spontaneous selflessness.

To be sure, each of these important moments of religious change involves more than moral reform (nor are the allegations of the "reformist" tradition always correct). But it is noteworthy that in each of these cultural contexts the effort to highlight and assert the priority of the moral norms is of such urgency that it could well be an important contributing factor to major religious change. It is also noteworthy that in these quite different contexts change is always unidirectional; religions do not efface the distinction between religious and moral norms as they develop, nor do they subordinate moral requirements over time. On the contrary, just as a theoretical appreciation of the importance of moral norms would suggest, traditions move toward greater clarity about the distinctiveness and relative superiority of moral requirements.

One final matter deserves attention: the claim that the basic derivation of norms in some traditions is religious, not moral. The supreme guide to conduct in these traditions, it is said, is God's command, and because this command is not always moral, these traditions are fundamentally opposed to any idea of the distinctiveness or superiority of moral norms. This viewpoint is associated with forms of divine command ethics in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Many believe it finds its strongest biblical support in God's command to Abraham to sacrifice his son Isaac (*Gn.* 22:1–19).

In fact, the issue of divine command ethics is a complicated one. Theoretical defenses of this position (as voiced by al-Ghazali in Islam and by William of Ockham, Duns Scotus, and Kierkegaard in Christianity) usually arise in contexts where the very authority of the tradition is under attack by rationalist critics. These defenses may seek less to represent the tradition in its integrity, therefore, than to place it beyond assault. Examined with less apologetic interests in mind, the traditions themselves do not necessarily support the religiously authoritarian reading they are given. While biblically based traditions trace their norms to God's will, this will is usually viewed in such ethicized terms as to render it unthinkable that God could ever require anything fundamentally wicked or immoral.

The Abraham-Isaac story in *Genesis* 22 is no exception to this rule. Readings based on this passage alone (such as Kierkegaard's) tend to omit the fact that, several chapters earlier, in *Genesis* 18:23–33, Abraham has questioned God concerning the possible destruction of innocent persons along with the wicked in Sodom and Gomorrah, asking boldly, "Shall not the judge of all the earth do right?" Abraham's willingness to question God in moral terms and God's willingness to enter into dialogue with Abraham do not support an understanding of the divine character as arbitrary or nonmoral. In many ways, the episode in *Genesis* 22 reinforces this impression: though a supreme demand is made, the sacrifice itself is not required. The God of the Hebrew scriptures, unlike deities worshiped by idolators, does not demand the slaughter of children. Indeed, this was precisely the lesson drawn by most later Jewish, Christian, and Muslim commentators. In this single text, therefore, we see both sides of the biblical tradition: its emphasis on obedience to God's will and its essential faith that this will is trustworthy and righteous. Taken together, these ideas do not suggest a religious attitude that would subordinate morality, but one that discovers moral intentionality at the tradition's highest level of authority.

Universality and the Moral Rules. We have seen that the term *universality* has several distinct meanings when used in reference to moral rules. It signifies the fact that at least the basic rules of morality are the same across cultures. It also signifies that these rules are to be regarded as applying across cultural lines presumably to every human being. All who are human are members of the moral community and bear the rights and responsibilities of this status. A survey of different historical traditions bears out the presence of these ideas, although historical development and other considerations sometimes render matters complex.

Common moral principles. One of the most striking impressions produced by comparative study of religious ethics is the similarity in basic moral codes and teachings. The Ten Commandments of Hebrew faith, the teachings of Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount and of Paul in his epistles, the requirements of *sādhāraṇa,* or universal *dharma,* in Hinduism (*Laws of Manu,* 10.63), Buddhism's Five Precepts, and Islam's decalogue in the Qurʾān (17:22–39) constitute a very common set of normative requirements. These prohibit killing, injury, deception, or the violation of solemn oaths. C. S. Lewis has called basic moral rules like these "the ultimate platitudes of practical reason," and their presence and givenness in such diverse traditions supports his characterization. Also remarkably similar are norms bearing on social and institutional life, especially economic relations. While none of these traditions condemns private property (though common possession is sometimes viewed as appropriate for the religious elite, or is thought to have prevailed during a utopian era at the beginning of time), all are solicitous of the needs of the disadvantaged or powerless and, in different ways, all encourage active assistance to the poor. Judaism and Islam institutionalize this ethic through rules requiring tithing and charitable donation (indeed, *zakāt,* almsgiving, is one of Islam's Five Pillars of Faith). Christianity accomplishes the same end by encouraging extreme sensitivity to the plight of the weak or needy. Despite their other differences, Confucianism and Daoism share the Chinese conviction that the mark of just rule is a prosperous and happy peasantry. Both laud generosity by the rich and powerful, and both vigorously condemn economic oppression and rapaciousness. The caste system of Hinduism, though opposed to any notions of social equality, aims at ensuring a livelihood and a share in the social product for all members of the community. This was accomplished by means of the *jajmani* patronage system, involving the exchange among castes of services and goods at socially established and protected rates. Finally, while charitable giving in Buddhism goes largely to the monastic community and is directed toward spiritual attainment and not toward economic need, this community itself often has been a refuge for the poor and for orphans and widows. Furthermore, Buddhism espouses a vigorous ideal of shared prosperity in its conception of the duties of the righteous monarch *(cakravartin).*

Similar assessments of individual moral worth. Beyond these common moral principles, interesting normative similarities may also be identified with respect to the role played by individual decision and intention in the evaluation of moral worth. We have seen that while intention does not figure into the rightness or wrongness of a particular act, it is a crucial consideration in estimating the merit or blame of the moral agent. This aspect of moral reasoning, as well as the centrality of the individual agent as moral subject, is apparently well appreciated by the major traditions under discussion, although again some historical perspective is needed. Very often during their earliest periods, traditions evidence an objective assessment of moral culpability: individuals may suffer social or religious penalties for wrongs accidentally committed. Similarly, the earliest strata of some traditions at times display notions of collective guilt whereby all members of a community are regarded as meriting punishment for the wrongdoing of a few.

Characteristically, however, these less differentiated ideas give way over time to greater precision in the assessment or apportionment of blame. In the Hebrew faith, Ezekiel's rejection of collective punishment (*Ez.* 18:1ff.) represents a watershed in the development of biblical ethics (similar changes in attitude can be discerned in *Deuteronomy* 24:16 and *2 Kings* 14:6). This process of differentiation becomes particularly apparent during moments of radical religious change. None of the "daughter traditions"—neither Buddhism, Christianity, nor Islam—defends the idea of corporate punishment, whereas all put much stress on intention in assessing individuals' deeds. Jesus' criticism of religious and moral hypocrisy may not be fair to the Jewish tradition from which he sprang, but it is fully consistent with the spirit of greater interiority in the assessment of worth that marks the development of biblical faith. Much the same might be said of the Buddhist remolding of the doctrine of *karman* to the effect that karmic consequences are seen to derive from the willing of the agent rather than from the outward deed. The importance of intention *(niyah)* in validating religious and moral observance in Islam and of the kindred concept of *kavvanah* in rabbinic Judaism exemplifies this same process of increasing precision in the assessment of individual worth.

Differences between traditions. Despite all these remarkable similarities, there are also important differences among the codes and teachings of these traditions. Thus, the permitted range of sexual conduct differs from tradition to tradition, with the concept of sexual chastity apparently not ruling out polygamy in some cases (ancient Israelite religion, Islam, Confucianism) but requiring monogamy and even recommending celibacy in others (monastic Christianity and Buddhism). Wrongful killing, too, is variously defined. For Jews and Muslims, killing is permissible if done in self-defense or to punish wrongdoers whose conduct is believed to threaten the community. The New Testament, however, suggests a stance in which even self-defensive killing of other human beings is prohibited. Buddhism and Jainism take this position one step further by discouraging the killing not only of human beings but of all sentient creatures.

Differences of this sort represent an important object of study. Why is it that traditions whose moral attitudes and teachings are in some ways similar tend to differ in other respects? But the significance of these differences for our basic understanding of the relationship between religion and morality should not be exaggerated. For one thing, these differences are manifested against a background of basic similarities in moral teaching. It is sometimes assumed, because religious traditions hold widely different religious beliefs, that their ethics must correspondingly differ; what is remarkable, however, is that these great differences in beliefs apparently do not affect adherence to at least the fundamental moral rules. Furthermore, where moral differences do occur, they do so within the permitted range of moral disagreement. For example, even though Western religious moralists have vested sexual conduct with great importance (often intolerantly imposing their norms on other cultures), there are many different ways in which societies can organize sexual conduct so as to fulfill the more basic moral objective of protecting human beings from injury. In some circumstances the welfare of women and children might seem best accomplished by polygamous relations; in others, monogamy might be desirable. Changing circumstances within a single tradition can even recommend a movement from one pattern to the next, as has been the case for Judaism and, to a lesser extent, Islam. That traditions would differ over a difficult moral issue like this is almost predictable. What would be surprising, and what would throw open to question any claim that religions are basically respectful of the moral rules, would be teachings that permit rape or other violently abusive sexual acts. But no major historical tradition tolerates anything of the kind.

Some differences in these teachings are also traceable to differing moral ideals or standards of supererogation. We have seen that, above and beyond the basic moral rules (which are largely negative and prohibitory), there are a variety of positive encouragements to generosity, sharing, and self-sacrifice. Since views of what is "above and beyond the call of duty" normally differ even within cultures and between individuals, it is not surprising that differences among religious traditions should be marked. Indeed, some of the disagreements with respect to sexual conduct and killing just mentioned are also differences of this sort. New Testament

Christianity, for example, would interpret self-sacrifice to imply celibacy, disregard for material wealth, and abstention from physical self-defense. Buddhists and Jains adopt very similar norms (possibly less for reasons of self-sacrifice or altruism than as part of a vision of spiritual self-cultivation), whereas Judaism and Islam tend to associate self-sacrifice with unstinting obedience to every provision of their respective religious laws. This may require extreme efforts at charity and the willingness to accept martyrdom in the name of the faith, though neither tradition advocates poverty, celibacy, or the renunciation of self-defense. As important as they may be for the study of comparative religious ethics, however, these differences with respect to supererogatory ideals are matters about which reasonable and morally well-intentioned persons can disagree, and they do not affect the traditions' agreement about the basic moral rules.

"Omnipartiality." Probably nothing makes this agreement clearer than the ways in which diverse religious traditions communicate to their adherents the perspective I have called "the moral point of view." We have seen that this requires imaginative empathy for others, an ability to put oneself in their shoes, and the willingness to make moral decisions from a standpoint of objectivity and impartiality. The element of reciprocity here is aptly expressed by the Golden Rule of Christianity (*Mt.* 7:12). While Christians are justly proud of the moral wisdom represented by this simple decision procedure, the Golden Rule is by no means limited to Christianity. Jesus' teaching is initially drawn from Hebrew scriptures (*Lv.* 19:18). Within rabbinic Judaism a negative form of the Golden Rule ("Do not do unto others. . . .") is presented by the sage Hillel as a virtual synopsis of the law. In the *Analects* (12.2), Confucius utters this same negative form of the Golden Rule, and variants of both the negative and positive forms are to be found in Buddhism's *Dhammapada* (10.129–130). Parallels like these led early missionaries and scholars to speculate on the possibility of historical borrowing or even parallel divine revelation in the East and the West. But this similarity of moral perspective does not have to be attributed to anything more than the essential and universal logic of the moral reasoning process.

While the Golden Rule is an impressive intuitive guide to responsible moral decision, its focus is too narrow. In making moral choices, we must consider not only the immediate neighbor but all other persons affected by our conduct or choice. Hence the requirements of universality, objectivity, and impartiality in moral reasoning. In fact, the term *impartiality,* though widely used in moral theory today, is inappropriate, because it suggests detachment and distance in reasoning when what is really required is genuine empathetic concern for all those affected by our decisions. In this respect either *omnipartiality* or *omnicompassion* would be a better term.

When we examine the very highest reaches of religious thought, we are struck by the ways in which adoption of this perspective is encouraged. In the Western traditions believers are called upon to imitate God while trying to develop their own moral and religious lives. The various metaphors for God that express the traits to which believers should aspire convey this moral point of view: God is the creator and king of all the world, the righteous ruler in whom there is neither partiality nor injustice. He is also a parent who loves his creatures with tender mercy and concern. Modeling their behavior on God's, Jews, Christians, and Muslims are thus called to distance themselves from selfish interests and to adopt an omnipartial point of view. Some Asian religions share this teaching. Adherents of the *bhakti* (devotional) tradition of Hinduism find a model in the god (often embodied in the figure of Kṛṣṇa) whose love transcends social distinctions of caste, wealth, or gender. In the ancient Chinese and Confucian traditions, Shangdi ("lord on high") and Tian ("heaven") represent the standard of impartial justice. Knowing no favorites, Heaven judges by merit alone and casts out the unworthy.

Mystical traditions, which often place less emphasis on obedience to God and more on the adherent's experience of a transcendent reality, arrive at this standpoint in a different way. Characteristically, once a person has joined with or is in contact with transcendent reality (whether as *brahman, nirvāṇa,* or the Dao), the ego assumes reduced importance. No longer clinging to the self, one participates sympathetically in all of reality. In Mahāyāna Buddhism this experience eventuates in compassion *(karuṇā)* for all sentient beings and the desire to help extricate them from suffering. The Daoist adept, in achieving mystical insight into the Way, participates in its spontaneity, generosity, and support of all living creatures.

It may be objected that the picture of universal compassion presented here is one-sided: that while the historical religions sometimes counsel universality of perspective, they have also been seedbeds of intolerance, persecution, and cruelty, and that under the guise of religious devotion, all sorts of nationalisms and even tribalisms have flourished. Certainly these things are true. But once again, historical perspective is in order. One of the salient features of all traditional cultures is their tendency to view themselves as human, while outsiders, often all those beyond the narrowest boundaries of a local community, are looked upon as enemies, barbarians, or less than fully human. Frequently this assessment has a real basis in self-perpetuating conditions of conflict and vendetta that render every outsider untrustworthy and dangerous. To some extent, we see this mentality in the early strata of many of the literate traditions, although even there universalist elements are discernible. For example, *Genesis* contains many passages in which Yahveh is depicted as little more than a tribal deity who fights without quarter on behalf of his people, whereas other passages display remarkable universality of perspective. Sometimes the two impulses are joined. A poignant example occurs in *Genesis* 21 when the working of the divine plan on behalf of Isaac's lineage leads Abraham to expel Hagar and her son Ishmael into the desert.

In a moving passage, Yahveh personally intervenes to save the lives of the abandoned pair. Though his first loyalties may be to Israel, the chosen instrument of his purpose in history, Yahveh reveals himself as a God whose compassion and concern transcend national lines.

As traditions develop, one finds an almost invariant movement from relative particularity to greater universalism. Examples include the lofty visions of prophetic faith, where Israel's chosenness comes to be viewed in terms of a mission of universal instruction and redemption; the emergence of *bhakti,* the devotional strain, in later Hinduism, with its perception of the sanctity of all human beings; and the development of various forms of messianism in Mahāyāna Buddhism, placing salvation within the reach of all and rendering every person potentially an enlightened being, or *bodhisattva.* If such development can be found within the traditions, it once again shows itself most dramatically at moments of decisive religious change. Christianity's abandonment of Jewish religious law, for example, opened its community, "the new Israel," to a membership drawn from the entire ancient world. Paul's statement in *Galatians* 3:28 that in Christ "there is neither Jew nor Greek . . . slave nor free . . . male nor female" fully expresses Christianity's universalizing impulse. Similarly, Buddhism, by rejecting Hindu notions of caste, severed the geographical ties to India that had characterized Hinduism and, as a result, Buddhism became a world religion. By expanding the possibility of salvation beyond the narrow community of mendicants, religious developments in later Mahāyāna Buddhism merely accentuated a tendency implicit in Buddhism from the outset.

But probably no tradition better illustrates this tendency to universalism coupled with the possibility of intolerance than Islam. Over the centuries, Muslims' willingness to use the sword in defense of their faith has earned Islam a reputation, especially among Christians, as a paradigm of religious intolerance and persecution. In fact, Islam's record in this regard is much more complex than its foes admit. Not only is the idea of holy struggle *(jihād)* a less bellicose and more defensive concept in the classic Muslim sources than it is often thought to be, but in many ways Islam's record of religious toleration is enviable. And even if some Muslims have promoted their faith through violence, it must be remembered that, in its essence, this faith has the most universalistic aspirations. The object of Islam is precisely to bring all human beings, whatever their race or nationality, into submission to God's will. Islam would create one human community in which all share obedience to a high moral and religious standard and in which all merit the protection embodied by that standard. The fact that some Muslims have at times been prone to excess in promoting this objective may be thought of as an unfortunate consequence of the breadth of their moral and religious vision. This vision is representative of the tendency of other major world religions to fulfill the promise of universality implicit in the moral point of view.

Why Should One Be Moral? Religions are not just bodies of teaching about right and wrong; they are total ways of life. As a result, it is not surprising that they provide answers, whether explicit or implicit, to some of the more urgent "transnormative" questions of morality, among them the questions of why one should be a moral person and how one can attain a morally estimable character. In many ways, these questions are central in religious teaching. While standards of right or wrong conduct are readily elaborated by traditions, efforts to secure full adherence to these standards are a major preoccupation.

Retribution. Religious traditions commonly provide answers to the question "Why should I be moral?" by affirming the existence of an order in which moral retribution (reward and punishment) is assured. Those raised in the West are familiar with some of the standard forms of this belief: God is consummately righteous; he is the omniscient judge of human acts and intentions; he upholds the moral law by punishing the wicked and rewarding the righteous; and, in some cases, he metes out reward and punishment directly in the course of a person's life. But since there is an apparent discrepancy between moral conduct and one's worldly fate—too often the good suffer and the wicked prosper—divine retribution is usually consigned to an eschatological realm, whether a personal afterlife, a period of judgment at the end of history (the kingdom of God), or some combination of these two.

Although this retributive scheme prevails in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, it is not the only one that religions (including these same Western traditions) have elaborated. The idea of eschatological retribution is absent from many nonliterate traditions, and even in biblical faith it is a relatively late development. More common is a perception of death as departure to a state where the discarnate soul suffers neither punishment nor reward. The principal expectation for virtuous conduct, therefore, lies in the hope of worldly prosperity, numerous progeny, good health, and long life, so as to "come in sturdy old age to the grave," as the *Book of Job* (5:26) says. It may be that more explicitly eschatological thinking arises, as it did in Hebrew faith, only after massive and repeated frustration of these expectations and, even then, only within a context of historical expectation and sustained reflection and writing about this experience.

Neither is the apportionment of reward and punishment always accomplished by a supreme, morally intentioned deity. In some traditions the sincerity of oath takers is tested by requiring them to undergo a quasi-magical ordeal such as ingesting a poison that is expected to prove fatal only if they are guilty of deception. (An instance of such an ordeal is found in *Numbers* 5:11ff., where an accused adulteress is required to vindicate herself by consuming a draft of "bitter waters.")

In many of the nonliterate traditions of Africa and in some Native American religions, lesser supernatural agents such as witches and sorcerers also play a role—indeed, a complex one—in upholding the moral order. These agents are often "negative exemplars," embodying attitudes of selfishness and resentment that are the opposite of the open and generous attitudes expected of a good member of the community. Since witches and sorcerers can themselves expect to be punished for their behavior, the lesson to all is clear: avoid becoming persons of this sort. But the presence of these malign agents also reinforces the moral conduct of others. Anyone who neglects hospitality obligations and treats a stranger unkindly, or who deals unfairly with one of his several wives, or who fails to be generous to others while himself experiencing prosperity may easily fall prey to the destructive powers of a witch. Indeed, since witches and sorcerers are masters of deception, combining outward benevolence with inward wrath (and so, once again, are consummate examples of how *not* to be), it is possible that, if mistreated, one's nearest kin or neighbors may become a threat.

Among the traditions of India, moral reward and punishment are also the province of religious thought, but (at least in the post-Vedic period) they are accomplished by means very different from those in the West. In Indian thought the operative mode is the impersonal, natural-moral law of *karman:* the certainty of moral punishment or reward in combination with a belief in metempsychosis or the transmigration of the individual soul. In the world of *karman,* each act and each volition entails consequences for the welfare of the agent. In a sense, it is misleading to label these consequences rewards or punishments, since they do not result from the action of any judge but are part of the natural law of occurrences in the world. As such, these consequences may be experienced within the lifetime of an individual. More commonly they take many successive lifetimes to work their effect as one's *karman* "ripens." When morally caused suffering does occur, it is often suited to the crime. One who habitually lies, for example, may become the victim of slander in some future life; one who drinks to excess may be reborn insane. Just because it is an impersonal, natural law, *karman* is inescapable. As the *Dhammapada* (9.127) says, "Not in the sky, not in the midst of the sea, not if one enters into the clefts of the mountains" can one be freed from the consequences of evil deeds.

Belief in *karman* is so widely shared among the Indian traditions—Jainism, Hinduism, and Buddhism—that it may be called the principal dogma of Indian religious belief. For these traditions, to reject *karman* is to put oneself outside the religious pale. Indeed, the one intellectual tradition of ancient India that did just this, the Carvaka or materialist school, lives on, like the Sophists of ancient Greece, only as an object of ridicule by the other traditions. It is further testimony to the centrality of this belief in Indian religion that Buddhism, whose doctrine of *anattā* ("nonself") opens to question who or what agent could be the inheritor of continuing karmic forces, nevertheless continues strongly to affirm the reality and significance of this natural-moral law.

One of the future tasks of comparative religious ethics is to better understand why retributive doctrines evolve and take the different forms that they do. It is also important to understand why, in some cases, religious doctrines of retribution lose their power or vanish altogether. To a large extent, but probably for different reasons, this occurred in ancient Greece and China.

In the case of Greek religion, confidence in a reliable religious-moral order may have been eroded, in an increasingly complex society, by repeated frustration of moral expectations. Furthermore, the traditional religion was based on a panoply of deities whose moral integrity and power had been open to question from an early date. The result was a withering of religious confidence and its replacement with an effort to ground moral obedience in an understanding of the relationship between virtue and personal welfare *(eudaimonia).* Thus the rational discipline of ethics, as found in the writings of the great classical philosophers, arose amid the crisis of a religious-moral culture.

In China an opposite series of events seems to have led to the same result. From an early date, Chinese religious thinkers correctly linked human well-being, in the form of a stable, secure, and prosperous society, to moral conduct on the part of rulers. Misrule, it was believed, would manifest itself in popular unrest, rebellion, and susceptibility to invasion. "Heaven sees and hears as our people see and hear" (*Book of Documents* 3.74) was the teaching of the various Chinese traditions. It may be that, in time, this direct, demonstrable, innerworldly link between virtue and welfare largely obviated the need for an impassioned affirmation of religious retribution (at least among the intellectuals who were shaping the tradition). In the Chinese experience, in a very direct and material way, virtue may have reasonably been thought to bring its reward. This was not always to remain true, of course, and at a later date Buddhist eschatology filled a void left by the earlier tradition.

In these respects, the course of Greek and Chinese religious thought contrasts markedly with that of ancient Israel, where an emphasis on religious retribution was magnified by successive and intense experiences of both failure and vindication of moral expectations. This leads one to conjecture that strong schemes of religious retribution are most likely to flourish where confidence in moral retribution is neither too secure nor too imperiled.

The uncertain link between moral conduct and moral reward has a further very important consequence for religious thought: it contributes to the development of sustained reflection on the problem of human sin and wrongdoing. Earlier, I noted how difficult it is to provide answers to the question "Why should one be moral?" If moral or immoral conduct were always followed by its appropriate reward or punishment, not only would this question be easy to answer but individuals would have little temptation to pursue selfish goals. The fact, however, that this is not the case, and that moral commitment may have to rest on uncertain religious beliefs or on metaphysical beliefs, leads to the recurrent possibility of moral weakness and moral failure.

Redemption. It is important to note that strong affirmation by religious traditions of the existence of a morally retributive order, while it relieves this problem in some ways (by reinforcing confidence in retribution), accentuates it in others. It does so first of all because, in a world assumed to be governed by moral considerations, ordinary forms of suffering (sickness, famine, or premature death) are naturally attributed to moral and religious failures on the part of the individual or community. Not surprisingly, therefore, we find a concern with the expiation of sin present in many nonliterate traditions, and even the earliest documents of the literate traditions (such as the cultic ordinances in *Leviticus,* the *Ṛgveda,* or the Chinese *Book of Rites*) emphasize these matters. But as traditions develop, a further problem emerges that often leads into the most subtle and paradoxical reaches of religious thought. Earlier I noted that moral reasoning, though it may lead to a recognition of the need for some confidence in moral retribution, is nevertheless opposed to basing moral commitment on crass considerations of personal benefit or gain. Indeed, not only are individuals who calculate their commitments in this way morally unreliable (since expediential considerations can easily lead them to be immoral), but they do not attain to the highest standard of moral virtue, in which a spontaneous and pure love of righteousness is the principal motivating ground of conduct.

But since religions inevitably hold out the promise of reward, how are they, at the same time, to lead their adherents into such an elevated level of moral attainment? Or, as the outward behavior of adherents becomes more refined, how are religions to prevent egoism from corrupting the inner core of intention? To answer these questions fully would require an extensive exploration of various traditions' conceptions of sin and redemption. We can, however, identify a very common direction taken by religious thought at this point. Simply stated, in coming to terms with this problem, traditions tend to qualify and soften their own insistence on moral retribution. The world may be a moral order, but ultimate redemption does not necessarily rest on the moral performance or accomplishments of the individual agent. The effect of this teaching is twofold: it relieves the inevitable self-condemnation of the morally conscientious yet knowingly frail person, but at the same time it eliminates any vestiges of cloying self-regard that might corrupt the moral life and make it an instrument of pride and self-assertion.

Traditions affect this qualification of the retributive scheme differently. Judaism, Christianity, and Islam emphasize God's grace and the recurrent possibility of repentance. Pauline Christianity takes this teaching to the extreme conclusion that salvation comes not by works of the moral and religious law, but through God's free, unnecessitated love. Similar conceptions are found in the devotional *(bhakti)* tradition of Hindu thought, but in the Indian-derived traditions the retributive order is more commonly qualified differently: ultimate redemption requires one to attain the consciousness that full liberation *(mokṣa, nirvāṇa)* is open only to those who transcend attachment to *saṃsāra,* the karmic realm of merit and demerit.

On the surface, all these teachings appear to undermine the significance of morality and moral striving—indeed, of the very retributive order these faiths have affirmed—and it is true that, at one time or another, teachings such as these have been taken to antinomian conclusions. But religious thinkers or traditions advancing such "transmoral" ideas often seem to have the opposite intent: namely, to free conscientious and morally committed individuals from the last vestiges of self-regard in order to make possible a spontaneous, joyful, and sincere moral life. Thus Paul, after stating his doctrine of justification through grace in *Romans* 5 and posing the rhetorical question "Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound?" (6:1), replies "By no means!" To draw an antinomian or immoralist lesson from this teaching, in Paul's view, would miss the point that it both presupposes and aims at devoted moral commitment.

Hindus and Buddhists are equally vehement in rejecting the idea that, according to their teachings, the religiously liberated person acts immorally. Liberation may take one beyond the moral order of *dharma,* but it is by no means the same thing as *adharma,* or lawlessness. On the contrary, attaining liberation requires a disciplined, righteous life as preparation; for most Hindu and Buddhist thinkers, furthermore, it issues in the most consummately moral existence. Precisely because the liberated person has put all vestiges of egoism behind, he has attained a state of mind where, without regard for personal benefit, he acts out of a free compassion for other beings. This is exactly the state achieved by Arjuna in the *Bhagavadgītā.* Perplexed over the terrible implications for himself and his kinsman if he performs his warrior's duty, Arjuna is unable to act until, in a series of religious encounters, he learns from Kṛṣṇa-Visnu that one's true self is not stained by moral good or evil. This instruction frees him to do his duty and thereby help sustain the cosmic-moral order. Far from being antinomian or immoral, therefore, this teaching of "detached action" *(niskama karman),* as Max Weber observed, is one of the loftiest achievements of Indian moral and religious thought.

CONCLUSION As far back as the historical record allows us to see, religion and morality have been intertwined. This collaboration has not always been fruitful. Such Western critics as Marx and Freud regarded the link between religion and morality as unfortunate. Among other things, they criticized it for producing immoral teachings (whether in the economic or sexual realms) and dubious or morally questionable eschatological schemes, for basing morality on fear of punishment, and for using doctrines of forgiveness for manipulative or immoral purposes. All these criticisms were valid, not just for Western religion in this late period but for all traditions at one moment or another in their history. Religions engage some of the most fundamental and most difficult questions of the moral life, and it is no wonder that their failure to deal adequately with these questions can have the most serious consequences. In the effort to transcend narrow tribalism, for example, a religion can contribute to the reinsertion of tribal attitudes at an ever higher and more dangerous level.

Nevertheless, this critical word is not all that can be said. Religions, whether nonliterate or literate, characteristically emerge and develop in a process of intense dialogue with the requirements of the moral life. They elaborate codes of conduct, procedures for reasoning morally, and standards of virtue. To support commitment to the moral life, they help configure the world as a moral order. Finally, they are prepared to qualify or refine this order so as to permit anyone to attain the highest level of moral excellence. In all these ways, religious traditions have contributed to human moral development and self-understanding. Religion is not reducible to morality, as some nineteenth-century thinkers argued, because religions address a variety of human interests and concerns. Aesthetic propensities, historical or scientific curiosity, speculative and ritual tendencies—all find expression in religious faith. But no one can deny that moral concerns in their fullest sense have been a central aspect of religious life.

SEE ALSO Buddhist Ethics; Chinese Philosophy; Christian Ethics; Confucianism; Dharma; Enlightenment, The; Evil; Freud, Sigmund; Good, The; Halakhah; Islamic Law; Israelite Law; Karman; Kierkegaard, Søren; Law and Religion; Marx, Karl; Neoorthodoxy; Nonviolence; Otto, Rudolf; Relativism; Schleiermacher, Friedrich; Suffering.

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Unfortunately, while there are a number of good specific discussions of Christian, Jewish, Hindu, or Buddhist ethics, relatively little work has been done on the comparative analysis of religious traditions in a way comprising not just their specific normative teachings but also their doctrines of retribution and their fundamental ways of relating ethics to other features of the religious life. Two classic discussions in this area are Edward A. Westermarck's *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas,* 2 vols., 2d ed. (London, 1924), and his *Christianity and Morals* (1939; reprint, Freeport, N.Y., 1969). These works provide a wealth of information about the moral and religious beliefs of preliterate and literate cultures, though the moral perspective is colored by Westermarck's moral relativism. Even more systematic comparative discussion of specific traditions can be found in Max Weber's pioneering studies of 1915–1919: *Ancient Judaism* (Glencoe, Ill., 1952), *The Religion of India: The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism* (Glencoe, Ill., 1958), and *The Religion of China: Confucianism and Daoism* (Glencoe, Ill., 1951), all translated and edited by Hans H. Gerth and Don Martindale. More recent treatments of comparative ethics include my own study *Religious Reason* (Oxford, 1978) and David Little and Sumner B. Twiss Jr.'s *Comparative Religious Ethics: A New Method* (San Francisco, 1978).

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MORAL THEOLOGY SEE CHRISTIAN ETHICS

MORAVIANS. The Moravian church, as the Unitas Fratrum (Unity of Brethren) is popularly known, is a Protestant denomination with roots in the fifteenth-century Hussite reformation and the eighteenth-century German Pietist movement. By the late nineteenth century, these influences had coalesced to give the denomination its contemporary form and character.

The Unity of Brethren was founded in March 1457 in Kunwald, Bohemia, as the Jednota Bratrská (Society of Brethren), but the issues behind this event stretch back more than a century. From the mid-fourteenth century there had been growing demands for reform within the Roman Catholic Church of Bohemia and neighboring Moravia. The reform movement was centered in the capital city of Prague and the newly established Charles University (1348). Persistent Waldensian influences as well as newer Wyclifite influences from England were evident in this movement.

The calls for reform finally found their most eloquent voice in Jan Hus, priest, university professor, and popular preacher. Although attracted to the doctrines of Wyclif, Hus claimed to advocate independently a return to apostolic simplicity in the church, and he vigorously attacked the lax morality of the clergy. As Hus's popularity increased, so did controversy about his ideas and his difficulties with the hierarchy. He was excommunicated by Pope John XXIII in 1411 but eventually appealed his case to the Council of Constance then in session. After his trial, deemed irregular by later historians, he was burned at the stake as a heretic on July 6, 1415.

Hus's death served to arouse his followers in Bohemia. His ideas soon became entwined with a developing Bohemian nationalism, and Hus himself became something of a folk hero. When civil war erupted, a series of unsuccessful crusades were launched, with the blessings of the papacy, in an attempt to subdue the heretics. Among the most ardent Bohemians, highly respected for their military zeal, were a group of radical religious and political reformers headquartered in the town of Tabor. Although they were destroyed as a separate party by the late 1430s, many of their religious ideas lingered on in the population. Bohemia's political situation would remain unstable for a century after Hus's death until 1526, when the crown was acquired by the Habsburg Ferdinand I.

Upheavals occurred also in the religious life of the Bohemians and Moravians as several groups claiming the heritage of Hus emerged alongside the Roman Catholic Church. One such group, the Utraquists, represented a conservative attempt at reformation, finally insisting only on the right of all believers to receive the bread and wine at Communion and continuing to hope for a reunion with a purified Roman Catholic Church. It was the Utraquist archbishop-elect Jan z Rokycan (c. 1390–1471) whose preaching inspired one of the founders of the Brethren, his nephew Gregory (d. 1474), to pursue more vigorously the goal of reformation. Jan z Rokycan also introduced Gregory to the writings of the radical reformer Petr Chelčický (c. 1380–c. 1460).

Within ten years of the founding of their society, the Brethren felt the need to establish their own clerical orders to insure the efficaciousness of their ministry. They chose deacons, presbyters, and bishops from among their membership. One of the candidates was a former Roman Catholic priest, and some Waldensians may have participated in the establishment of the new orders. Modern historians see in these events an attempt by the Brethren to reconstitute the style of ministry of the New Testament church. Any attempt by the Brethren to claim apostolic succession as traditionally understood must be laid to a faulty reading of Waldensian history on their part. The orders established in 1467 have been carried on into the contemporary Moravian church.

The first decades of the Brethren organization were marked by sectarian characteristics including pacifism, rejection of oaths, communal organization, use of the titles brother and sister for all members, suspicion of advanced education, reluctance to admit members of the nobility to membership, and a preference for rural living. This trend was reversed under the leadership of Bishop Luke of Prague (c. 1460–1528), who succeeded in 1494 in having the works of Chelčický and Gregory reduced to nondogmatic status. The group gave up much of their exclusiveness and moved into the mainstream of society, though not without the defection of a conservative minority. The majority, although retaining a strict church discipline, grew rapidly. It has been estimated that by the 1520s there were from 150,000 to 200,000 members located in 400 congregations in Bohemia and Moravia.

Under the leadership of such bishops as Jan Augusta (1500–1572) and Jan Blahoslav (1523–1571), the Brethren maintained generally friendly contacts with Luther (who wrote favorably about them) and later with leaders of the Reformed churches. Although ecumenical in spirit and experiencing strong influences from first Lutheran and later Reformed theology, the Brethren maintained their own course. They structured their church with dioceses headed by bishops, abandoned clerical celibacy, and eventually accepted a general Reformed understanding of the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist.

In worship, while ritual was simplified, the church year was retained and lay involvement encouraged through the publication of hymnals and the Czech-language Kralitz Bible (1579–1593) in six volumes with commentary. The church sponsored schools and encouraged the training of clergy in foreign universities.

Since their legal status was often in doubt, the Brethren endured periodic persecutions by the Utraquists and the Roman Catholics. But they continued to maintain their vitality and established congregations in Poland, which later merged with the Reformed church.

The involvement in political affairs of members who were of the nobility helped to bring about disastrous consequences for the Brethren in the opening phase of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). With the defeat of the Protestant forces at the Battle of the White Mountain (1620), suppression of Protestantism in Bohemia and Moravia began. The events of this era are highlighted in the career of Bishop Johannes Amos Comenius (1592–1670), the renowned educational theorist. He spent much of his life in exile developing his reforms of education and despite several personal tragedies never lost his belief in the power of the educated mind to serve God's purposes for humanity.

The traditions of the Brethren survived in Bohemia and Moravia through secret meetings and the laxity of government officials in enforcing conformity. Sporadic contacts with Lutherans in border areas also helped to sustain morale.

A group of these secret Brethren were led in 1722 to the German estate of Count Nikolaus Zinzendorf (1700–1760) by the lay evangelist Christian David (1690–1751). There they established the village of Herrnhut. A creative theologian and gifted leader, Zinzendorf became the driving force behind the merger of the Brethren's traditions with the emphases of the Pietist movement.

After initial difficulties, the growing community experienced a series of unifying experiences in the summer of 1727, culminating in a service of Holy Communion on August 13. The fellowship now developed the unique characteristics that would mark its second phase. The residents were organized into residential groups based on age, sex, and marital status ("the choirs"). The intent was to foster spiritual experience appropriate to one's stage in life and to utilize the resources of a concentrated labor force. From Zinzendorf's Christocentric emphasis flowed a rich liturgical life with stress upon the Advent–Christmas and Holy Week–Easter cycles. The Moravian understanding of the joyous nature of the relationship between the believer and the Savior enabled them to develop education and the arts in his praise, sponsoring schools and producing musicians and artists of note. The Brethren's clerical orders were continued through new ordinations by the two remaining bishops in exile. Since the church developed a conferential form of government, however, the bishops became primarily spiritual leaders.

Worship was characterized by a simplified liturgical ritual that observed the festivals of the Christian calendar with particular attention to the Advent–Christmas and Holy Week–Easter cycles. Unique features included the singing of many hymns, with the minister clad in a surplice for the celebration of the sacraments of baptism and Holy Communion. The Lovefeast, patterned after the *agapē* meals of the early Christians, developed as a significant service. In it participants were served a simple meal as an expression of their fellowship with one another.

Under the leadership of Zinzendorf and his de facto successor Bishop Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg (1703–1792), Herrnhut became the model for some twenty similar communities established in Europe, England, and the eastern United States. These self-sufficient "settlement congregations" were to serve as the home base for two types of outreach developed by the Brethren.

Beginning in 1727 the Moravians sent forth members to serve in their "diaspora" through establishing Pietist renewal societies within existing state churches. This practice is supported by European Moravians today. In 1732, after Zinzendorf's presentation of the plight of the West Indian slaves to the community, the Brethren Leonard Dober (1706–1766) and David Nitschmann (1696–1772) went to Saint Thomas. By 1760 the Moravians had sent out 226 missionaries to the non-European world. This effort introduced into Protestantism the idea that missionary outreach is the responsibility of the whole church, brought the Moravians into significant ecumenical contacts, such as that with John Wesley (1703–1791) in Georgia and England, and helped shape the contemporary Moravian church.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the settlement congregations were given up as no longer viable and the towns opened to all who wished to settle in them. German and Scandinavian immigration to North America in the last century brought new Moravian congregations into being in the eastern and midwestern United States and western Canada. The end of World War II found Herrnhut and the older settlements in East Germany and, through the movement of refugees, a stronger Moravian presence in western Europe. Immigration continues to affect the Moravian church through the recent movements of Surinamese members to the Netherlands and Caribbean-area members to cities in England and North America.

The Moravians have also experienced constitutional changes as they have moved beyond their European origins. The British and American areas of the church gained independence from the German in the mid-nineteenth century, but the foreign missions continued under control of an international board that met in Germany until the end of World War I. Responsibility for the work was then divided among the European, British, and American areas of the church. A major constitutional change in 1957 resulted in the creation of the present seventeen autonomous provinces located in Europe, England, North America, Central America, and Africa, and the undertaking of educational work in India and Israel. The provinces constitute the Moravian Unity and send delegates to periodic meetings of the Unity Synod. The late twentieth century witnessed the rapid growth of the church in Africa and Central America. In America, the Moravian church did not experience significant growth until after the mid-nineteenth century. Earlier attempts at "diaspora"-style outreach had proved unsuited to America, since there was no religious establishment within which to work. Groups gathered by diaspora workers simply became congregations of other denominations. The retention of the exclusive settlement congregations until the 1840s also retarded outreach.

The church has continued to honor many of its traditions of worship and practice. While eschewing a formal dogmatic theological tradition of its own, it affirms the historic creeds of the Christian faith, continues to emphasize the believer's relationship with Christ, and to encourage fellowship among its members. Both men and women are ordained as pastors. The church's historical ecumenical stance is reflected in its participation as a founding member of the World Council of Churches and in the activities of the various provinces in regional councils of churches. Total worldwide membership in the late 1990s was around 720,000.

SEE ALSO Comenius, Johannes Amos; Hus, Jan; Pietism; Zinzendorf, Nikolaus.

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MORDVIN RELIGIONS SEE MARI AND MORDVIN RELIGION

MORMONISM.

The religious movement popularly known as Mormonism encompasses several denominations and sects, the largest of which is the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, which is headquartered in Salt Lake City, Utah, and had a worldwide membership of about twelve million in 2003. The second largest organization is the Community of Christ (formerly known as the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints) with headquarters in Independence, Missouri, and a membership of about 250,000. Perhaps the smallest of numerous Mormon splinter groups is the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Strangite) in Burlington, Wisconsin—composed of followers of James T. Strang (1813–1856)—with about two hundred members. All of these churches trace their origins to founder Joseph Smith Jr. (1805–1844).

ORIGINS OF MORMONISM. Mormonism began in western New York in the 1820s, a time when the fires of the Second Great Awakening were sweeping across the "burned-over district," and America's most important nineteenth-century waterway, the Erie Canal, was being completed there. Such a mingling of spiritual and physical developments was a perfect expression of the symbiosis between evangelical religion and an emerging industrial order that radically transformed American society, leaving many Americans bewildered and confused. Among those passed by in the rush for progress was the family of Joseph and Lucy Mack Smith, who had left New England with their children in 1816 in search of better economic opportunities in western New York. They settled in the village of Palmyra, directly on the canal route. Though skeptical of the religious enthusiasms of the revivalists, the Smiths were persuaded of the need for religious affiliation. However, they found it difficult to make a choice among competing denominations. Their third eldest son, Joseph Smith Jr., was particularly confused in his search for the one true church. According to a later official church account, in the spring of 1820 the boy, aged fourteen, retired to a grove on his father's farm, where he prayed for divine guidance. In a vision he beheld two personages. One of these spoke to him, pointing to the other, saying "This is my beloved son, hear him!" He was told to join none of the existing denominations, for they were "all wrong."

As young Joseph matured, he had a number of subsequent visions and revelations that convinced him that God had chosen him as his instrument to restore the true church of Christ, which through the course of history had been corrupted by fallible and evil people. In preparation for this restoration, Smith was directed by an angel to unearth a set of golden records from a hill near his parents' farm. He then translated these records with divine aid and published them in 1830 as the *Book of Mormon,* a sacred history of three groups of pre-Columbian migrants to America, including the ancestors of some American Indian tribes. According to the *Book of Mormon,* Christ had visited the inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere after his crucifixion, taught the gospel, and instituted a church "to the convincing of the Jew and Gentile that Jesus is the Christ, the Eternal God, manifesting himself to all nations" (*Book of Mormon,* title page). Although accepted as scripture by believing Mormons, and popularly called the Mormon Bible by nonbelievers, Smith regarded the *Book of Mormon* as a supplement rather than a substitute for the Bible.

Smith also believed that no scripture, ancient or modern, was sufficient for the restoration of the gospel. More than anything else, mankind needed divine authority to act in the name of God, an authority that had vanished after a great falling away in the early days of Christianity. This authority was restored in the spring and summer of 1829, when the powers of the priesthood of the early church—which included the authority to baptize and the gift of the Holy Ghost—were conferred upon Smith and his associate Oliver Cowdery by John the Baptist and the apostles Peter, James, and John. Smith now felt authorized to restore the church of Christ, which he officially organized under the laws of the state of New York on April 6, 1830, shortly after publication of the *Book of Mormon.* In 1838 the name was changed from Church of Jesus Christ to Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Although the new religion initially met with skepticism and persecution, it succeeded in attracting a substantial following among restorationists, who saw in Mormonism the fulfillment of the awaited return of the true church of Christ led by a divinely ordained priesthood. Perhaps the most prominent and influential of these early converts was Sidney Rigdon (1793–1876), erstwhile associate of Alexander Campbell (1788–1866). Rigdon brought virtually his entire Ohio congregation over to the new religion, thus inducing Smith and most of his New York followers to establish a Mormon settlement in 1831 in Kirtland, Ohio. There Smith greatly amplified and broadened his theological and organizational principles in a series of revelations first published in 1833 as *A Book of Commandments* and later enlarged into the canonical *Doctrine and Covenants.* The Saints were enjoined to gather in communities as God's chosen people under an egalitarian economic order called the Law of Consecration and Stewardship and to build a temple that was, literally and symbolically, the sacred center of the community. Jesus, Moses, Elias, and Elijah then appeared to Smith and Cowdery in the temple in 1836. These revelations initiated a patriarchal order that harkened back to Old Testament traditions and established the nucleus of a kingdom of God in which the temporal and the sacred became indistinguishable.

These innovations—radical departures from traditional Protestantism—while attracting many new converts, strained the loyalty of some early Saints and also began to arouse the hostility of non-Mormons. When the Saints were forced to leave Kirtland in 1838, it was largely the result of internal conflict; however, as early as 1833 a Mormon settlement in Jackson County, Missouri, had to be abandoned because of persecution. When the Mormons were completely driven out of Missouri in 1839, it was primarily because of opposition to their kingdom. Internal conflict also intensified as Smith continued to move beyond his early restorationist impulse in favor of a kingdom of God that achieved its fullest expression in Nauvoo. Founded in 1839 for refugees from Missouri, Nauvoo became Illinois's largest city in its day, with a population of about eleven thousand by 1844. It was a city under the full religious, social, economic, and political control of the Mormon kingdom. Much of this development was the result of the spectacular success of missionaries in Great Britain who, beginning in 1837, sent a steady stream of converts to the American settlements.

The success of Nauvoo may well have led Smith to overreach himself. He assumed the leadership of the Mormon militia and announced his candidacy for the presidency of the United States. Smith ostensibly made this gesture to avoid having to make an inexpedient choice between the Whigs and the Democrats, who attracted the majority of voters, but he was also imbued with the millennial belief that, if God wished him to become president and establish Mormon dominion over the United States, who would hinder him? The temple in the center of Nauvoo was much more Hebraic in design and ritual (with Masonic borrowings) than the one in Kirtland, which resembled a New England meetinghouse. Innovative doctrines and ordinances, such as baptism for the dead and especially plural marriage for time and eternity, with Smith and his closest associates secretly taking numerous wives, offended the religious sensibilities of many Saints, who believed they had joined a more traditional, more Protestant kind of Mormonism. Similarly controversial doctrines, such as belief in the preexistence of humans, metaphysical materialism with its attendant denial of the belief in creation *ex nihilo*, eternal progression, a plurality of gods, and the capacity for humans to achieve divinity through obedience to the principles of Mormonism, outraged not only nonbelievers but tested the faith of some of the more traditionally oriented Latter-day Saints. A group of alarmed anti-Mormons effectively capitalized on internal dissent and formed a mob that killed Smith and his brother Hyrum on June 27, 1844.

History has shown that the killers of the Mormon prophet were wrong in thinking that they had delivered a mortal blow to Mormonism. Although Smith's energy and genius started the new religion and kept it going in the face of nearly insurmountable external and internal opposition, a number of able leaders had been attracted to the young religion. They helped ensure its survival after Smith's death. As early as 1834, Smith had organized some of his most loyal lieutenants into a council of twelve apostles in restorationist emulation of the primitive church. In 1840, Brigham Young (1801–1877) became president of this powerful and prestigious group. In this capacity Young was sustained as leader by those Mormons who had unquestioningly accepted Smith's Nauvoo innovations. Most of those devotees followed Young to the Rocky Mountains, while most of the more traditional Saints, who rejected plural marriage and kingdom building, remained in the Midwest. In 1860, Smith's son Joseph Smith (1832–1914) became president of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, which established its headquarters in Independence, Missouri.

SETTLEMENT IN UTAH. Young's advance pioneering party arrived in the valley of the Great Salt Lake in July 1847 and immediately began to survey a site for a city with a temple at the center. Aided by a steady stream of immigrants, Young built an inland empire, including Utah and parts of present-day Idaho, Wyoming, Arizona, Nevada, and California, which boasted a population of over 100,000 by the time of his death in 1877. A practical leader not given to visions and revelations, he insisted throughout his life that he was implementing the plans that Smith had been unable to realize fully in Nauvoo. Plural marriage, practiced secretly in Nauvoo, was publicly announced to the world from Salt Lake City in 1852. Most of the church leaders took numerous wives to set an example for their somewhat reluctant followers, and by the 1860s more than 30 percent of the Mormon population lived in polygamous households. Temporal government was placed in the hands of ecclesiastical leaders under the auspices of a political kingdom of God whose theocratic model was ancient Israel. An ambitious attempt to establish a Mormon State of Deseret failed, but home rule for the Mormons was only partly thwarted, as the federal government, under the Compromise of 1850, created the Utah Territory with Young as governor.

In 1857, however, President James Buchanan (1791–1868) felt compelled to act on reports by territorial officials, who had accused Young and his followers of disloyalty to the United States and of immoral polygamous liaisons. The president sent an expeditionary force of the U.S. Army to Utah to prove to a reform-minded North that the Democrats were at least against one of the "twin relics of barbarism" (meaning slavery and polygamy), whose elimination had been the rallying cry of the Republican Party platform in 1856. "Buchanan's blunder," however, did not gain him any political advantage and ended in a negotiated settlement. Although Alfred Cumming, a non-Mormon, was officially installed as the new governor, the Mormons regarded Young as *de facto* governor of Utah. Nevertheless, the handwriting was on the wall for Young's Mormon kingdom; further government attacks on polygamy and the political kingdom were delayed only by the Civil War. Beginning in the 1870s, the U.S. Congress exerted increasing pressure on the Mormons, who in 1890 were forced to relinquish polygamy and the political kingdom as the price of their religion's survival. Mormon president Wilford Woodruff (1807–1898) issued a manifesto disavowing any further sanctioning of plural marriages by the church, symbolizing the passing of an era and the beginning of the reconciliation of Mormonism with the world—a transformation reinforced by a "second manifesto" issued by church president Joseph F. Smith (1838–1918), a grandnephew of the founding prophet, in 1904.

MODERN MORMONISM. Throughout most of the nineteenth century, Mormonism had been an antimodern, antipluralist religious movement in a modernizing, pluralistic world. The latter was represented perhaps most significantly by the symbiosis between evangelical religion, entrepreneurial capitalism, and political pluralism. Religion, like politics, had become a commodity in the free marketplace of ideas and beliefs. Democrats and Whigs might disagree about means but not about ends. The same was true of Protestant religious denominations, who agreed that ultimately they would all arrive at the same truth, if by different routes. This was a world alien to Smith and most of those who became Mormons. Smith's original quest, which had sent him to pray in his father's grove, was for the one true church. Because truth ultimately could not be divided, "correct principles" also applied to economics, society, and government—principles that were incompatible with an emerging, competitive, capitalist American society. Here then was a fundamental source of conflict between the Saints and their adversaries, in which the former were sustained by their millennial expectations of the near advent of their Savior and the eventual triumph of the kingdom of God over its enemies.

When the Saints voted on October 6, 1890, to accept Woodruff's manifesto, they may not have perceived the full significance of their decision. Yet this event was a watershed in Mormon history, as the Saints then had to jettison some of their most distinctive institutions and beliefs: economic communitarianism, plural marriage, and the political kingdom. Mormons now followed their erstwhile evangelical adversaries into the pluralistic American cultural mainstream, joining what the historian Martin Marty has called "a nation of behavers." In search of new boundaries and symbols of identification, the Mormons, much like the evangelicals, placed greater emphasis on strict codes of behavior: abstinence from alcohol, tobacco, tea, and coffee; acceptance of regulated dress norms; and more intensive monitoring of sexual morality. These codes reflect the very values that had aided nineteenth-century evangelicals in their adaptation to an emerging capitalist industrial order requiring work discipline that was effectively sustained by internalized behavioral norms. Nevertheless, the question of how close modern Mormonism has moved to the Protestant mainstream remains controversial. In spite of Mormon protestations to the contrary, major conservative evangelical groups continue to reject the Mormon claim to be Christian.

In any case, Mormons found modern values congenial in their own adaptation to a competitive, individualistic social and economic order. They prepared the rising generation to meet this change not only through the family but also through a growing number of church auxiliaries: primary associations for the very young, young men's and women's organizations, Sunday schools, priesthood quorums, and women's auxiliaries. Such institutions were all designed to keep Mormons active in their church from the cradle to the grave, while at the same time allowing them to become productive members of the larger American society. Religion thus became a springboard for social and economic success in the world (though not intentionally so), which was further facilitated by the Mormons' increasing commitment to education. In the early years of the third millennium CE some fifty thousand Latter-day Saints (LDS) attended church-sponsored institutions of higher learning, such as the flagship Brigham Young University as well as church colleges in Idaho and Hawai'i. Many thousands more studied at secular universities throughout the United States and the Western world, receiving religious instruction at LDS institutes adjacent to such campuses. Mormons serve in prominent positions in the federal government, in the military, in major business corporations, and in major universities.

Many of these Mormons are third- to fifth-generation Latter-day Saints who have a strong cultural identification with their religion that is enhanced by closely-knit family ties. The strong Mormon emphasis on family solidarity finds theological and institutional expression in the belief in the eternal nature of the family when family ties have been solemnized within the sacred precincts of the temple. Temple ordinances, conducted not only for the living but also vicariously for the dead, are intended to bind families and ultimately the entire human race through sacred covenants. Only those Mormons who observe their religion's strict rules of conduct are allowed to enter the temple and participate in these ordinances and rituals. Temples, then, are not ordinary church buildings but are regarded as special edifices and are found only in major population centers. There are more than a hundred of these in various parts of the world. Meetinghouses, on the other hand, are functional buildings where congregations of several hundred members hold simple worship as well as social and athletic events—all open to non-Mormon visitors. Often two congregations share one building.

Modern Mormonism has succeeded in extending its appeal to members of diverse racial, social, and cultural backgrounds around the world. Missionaries who serve the church at their own expense for two years (mostly young men and women of college age) are increasingly successful in attracting converts in Asia, Latin America, and Africa. Many of these converts are attracted by a lay church that offers active participation to all of its members and provides an instant, socially cohesive group whose authoritarian male leaders set boundaries while providing recognition for behavior that conforms to group standards. Many converts are especially drawn to the Mormon family ideal.

This rapid expansion of Mormonism beyond its traditional culture region as it becomes a world religion brings with it some potential for conflict. Some multigenerational Mormons are apprehensive about the erosion of traditional symbols, such as architecture, in favor of a generic utilitarian building style. Others see this as a necessary accommodation of their religion to the cultural needs of new converts. Prophet President Spencer W. Kimball's 1978 revelation extending the lay priesthood to all Mormon males, irrespective of race or color (blacks had been denied the priesthood prior to that date), can be seen as a clear message indicating recognition of the need for major change. This is not to say, however, that tradition had suddenly lost its hold on a conservative hierarchy. Rather, it could be said Mormonism is cautiously backing into the future. A telling example of continuing conservatism is the persistent opposition to changes in the role of women, who are admonished to remain at home to raise children while partaking of the priesthood only through the male heads of families. (By contrast, the Community of Christ, which had never withheld the priesthood from blacks, announced that women were eligible for ordination to the priesthood.) This emphasis on "family values" is also reflected in continuing resistance to tolerance of homosexuality. At the same time, while not condoning abortion, Mormon leaders are less visible in their opposition than the Catholic hierarchy. They have also refrained from getting involved in the public controversy over stem-cell research, having adopted a wait-and-see attitude. Thus, if their history is a reliable guide to the future, the Mormon hierarchy in Utah will not allow its conservatism to hinder the progress of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the twenty-first century.

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MORRISON, ROBERT (1782–1834), first Protestant missionary to China. Morrison was born in Morpeth, Northumberland, England, on January 15, 1782, of humble Scottish parentage. At an early age he became an apprentice to his father in making wooden boot trees. During these years he joined the Church of Scotland (1798) and soon began studying Latin, Hebrew, and theology. In 1802 he entered the Congregational Theological College at Hoxton (now Highbury College). His Christian upbringing and studies inclined him toward missionary service and in 1804 he offered himself to the London Missionary Society, which, though not yet ten years old, was beginning to prepare workers for China. Morrison spent the next two years at the Missionary College at Gosport. While there he began an intensive study of the Chinese language using a Chinese tutor and a Catholic translation of part of the New Testament into Chinese kept in the British Museum.

Shortly after his ordination on January 8, 1807, Morrison began making final arrangements for his departure for China on January 31. Because the British East India Company (BEIC) was hesitant to promote Protestant missions to China at that time, Morrison could only gain passage to New York. After receiving a personal written recommendation from James Madison, the American secretary of state, to the American consul in China, he set sail from New York and arrived in Canton on September 7, 1807.

Upon arrival, Morrison found the English-Chinese political situation tenuous. The propagation of Christianity was prohibited by the reigning Ch'ing dynasty. The Missionary Society knew this and had instructed Morrison not to preach openly but rather to concentrate on learning Chinese and to make the necessary preparations for publishing religious literature that would be used for long-range evangelism. Morrison stayed in various Western trade houses in Canton, where he assumed Chinese dress and dietary customs while studying the language with two Roman Catholic Chinese. Pressure from the government, however, eventually forced him to seek refuge in Portuguese Macao, where he stayed for one year with an English family, marrying their oldest daughter in 1809. During that same year he became employed by the BEIC as an interpreter. Having thus been able to acquire permanent residency, Morrison began to turn his efforts to ways in which to propagate the gospel. Realizing that under the current circumstances literature was virtually the only open avenue, he focused his attention on the printed word. The BEIC provided invaluable assistance at this point by allowing Morrison to use their press. His works were prolific and diverse: in 1810, his translation of *Acts* became the first portion of scripture translated into Chinese by a Protestant missionary; *Luke* (1812); the New Testament (1814); a Chinese grammar (1815); *A View of China for Philological Purposes* (1817); the entire Bible (written in 1818, published by 1823, 21 vols.); his magnum opus, a Chinese-English dictionary (3 vols., 1815, 1822, 1823); and catechisms (1812) as well as portions of *The Book of Common Prayer* (1833).

Morrison's wife died in China in 1822. He returned to England in 1824 and became a well-received lecturer able to generate interest for Chinese missions. Shortly before returning to China in 1826, Morrison married Eliza Armstrong.

Morrison witnessed his first Chinese baptism on July 16, 1814. After twenty-five years, his Society co-workers and he had baptized only ten individuals. Yet, in spite of difficulties that he encountered in his work, Morrison succeeded in laying down a foundation for others who were to follow. William Milne (1774–1822) came with his wife to assist Morrison in 1813 and was instrumental in helping translate and publish the Chinese Bible. Later, building upon Milne's school for Chinese established in Malacca (1816), Morrison founded the Anglo-Chinese College (1818). The purpose of this institution, besides providing a context for evangelism, was to establish reciprocal cultivation and respect of Chinese and European culture, language, and literature.

For his efforts, Robert Morrison was awarded an honorary degree from the University of Glasgow (1817); he became a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1824. After his death in Canton on August 1, 1834, his eldest son, John Robert Morrison (1814–1843), succeeded his father as Chinese secretary and interpreter for the British authorities in Canton.

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MORTIFICATION. The term *mortification* derives from the church Latin *mortificare* ("to put to death"), a term that appears several times in the Latin New Testament. In the *Letter to the Romans*, Paul counseled the early Christians, "if you live according to the flesh you will die, but if by the Spirit you put to death [*mortificetis*] the deeds of the body you will live" (8:13). In the *Letter to the Colossians* the Christian is exhorted: "Put to death [*mortificate*] what is earthly in you: fornication, impurity, passion, evil desire, and covetousness, which is idolatry" (3:5). This "mortification of the flesh" was intimately connected with the "mortification" of Jesus Christ, that is to say, with his crucifixion. According to Paul, Christians carry this death (*mortificatio*) of Jesus in their bodies so that the life of Jesus might also be manifest in them (2 *Cor.* 4:10). All who belong to Christ have "crucified" the flesh with its passions (*Gal.* 5:24). The Christian notion of mortification thus derives from this originally Pauline ideal of participation in the passion of Christ through the putting to death of the inordinate desires of the flesh. This ideal was exemplified by the early martyrs, and when the persecutions eventually came to an end mortification began to function as a sort of self-imposed martyrdom. Thus the adoption of practices of mortification made it possible for future generations of Christians, living in more or less settled times, to recapture some of the self-sacrificing intensity of the early church.

In the general history of religions the term *mortification*, despite its specifically Christian origins, may be extended by way of analogy to refer to a wide variety of practices that aim at the religious transformation of the individual through specific forms of bodily discipline, often entailing a degree of actual physical pain or suffering. Mortification is to be distinct from asceticism in that it is one of the latter's possible components. The term *asceticism* usually refers to a general regimen or way of life that may or may not include specific forms of mortification. Indeed, if mortification is understood as involving the deliberate infliction of actual physical suffering, then it may be altogether absent from some forms of ascetic life, such as that practiced in Buddhism.

For the sake of the following exposition I will distinguish two general types of mortification: the ascetic type, which is more or less integrated into a general form of religious life (and may include, for example, the wearing of rough or inadequate clothing), and the initiatory type, which is occasioned by specific ritual initiations and is more likely to involve the temporary infliction of pain.

ASCETIC MORTIFICATION. In Christianity, mortification usually has been an element in a more general practice of the ascetic life. Among its most extreme forms are self-flagellation and the wearing of a hair shirt. Flagellation is intended to reproduce the scourging of Christ, while the hair shirt, an ancient penitential symbol, can function as a kind of continuous flagellation. The semantic history of the hair shirt is informative. Originally it was simply a garment made of very rough cloth. In the *Book of Daniel* (9:3) the wearing of rough cloth garments is associated with fasting and with strewing ashes on one's head in order to entreat God. In the *Gospel of Matthew* (11:23), such garments are associated with strewing ashes on the head as a sign of conversion. In primitive Christianity they were the dress required of catechumens; from the fourth century on they were adopted by monks as a means of mortification. In the sixteenth century the name *hair shirt* was given to what was really a scourge worn as a belt against the naked flesh, the rope made more painful by being knotted or by the addition of metal nails. This type of hair shirt was first used by certain mendicant orders and became a form of private mortification.

These and other less extreme forms of mortification, such as fasting, could be used as means of individual penance for particular sins or as a more general form of asceticism associated in particular with the monastic orders. In both cases mortification was ideally intended to have a transformative effect, aiding in the transition from a life devoted to the gratification of the desires of the body to a higher, sanctified life in the spirit.

The forms of mortification that one finds in various Hindu religious traditions also aim at a radical transformation of the practitioner, but there is a marked difference in the attitude taken to the suffering that this entails. Whereas in the Christian tradition, the suffering is connected with the sufferings of Christ as an *imitatio Christi*, in Hinduism the suffering lacks this positive aspect and is used negatively as an inducement to rise above the human condition. The practices of Yoga, for instance, aim primarily at the suppression of suffering or at the cultivation of an attitude of complete indifference to it. In itself the suffering involved in mortification has no positive religious significance. The ideal is to reach a state of detachment that is in many respects similar to the Stoic ideal of *apatheia* and is thus quite different from the intense involvement implied in the notion of the *imitatio Christi*.

Buddhism is quite similar in this regard, although the Buddhist ideal of the Middle Way served to moderate some of the more extreme forms of mortification found among the ascetics of the Buddha's day. The Buddha's own engagement in mortification led him to death's door before he renounced such extreme practices. To the extent that the idea of mortification implies immoderation it cannot be accepted as a Buddhist ideal. Nevertheless, Buddhist ascetic practices may still be regarded as forms of mortification to the extent that they aim at the cessation of *saṃsāra*, the cycle of life.

INITIATORY MORTIFICATION. In a wide variety of archaic religious traditions mortification occurs in the context of initiation rituals. In some of these cases, practices of mortification seem intended symbolically to assimilate the initiate into a deathlike condition that is to precede an initiatory rebirth. Such practices thus place the initiate temporarily outside of the normal human order. The practices include a number of temporary dietary restrictions, ranging from fasting to complete abstinence, and various forms of imposed deprivations, such as deprivation of water and of sleep. This may also be the motivation behind several practices designed to test the initiate's endurance of extremes of heat and cold.

The keeping of watches and vigils is widespread. Such practices have been attested to among the Andaman Islanders and peoples of New Guinea (the Siana), Africa (the Venda), and South America (the Ocaina). Deprivation of sleep, food, and drink seem to be ways of symbolizing death: the dead do not eat, drink, or sleep.

Other forms of mortification associated with initiation rituals are more difficult to interpret. A number of practices of a punitive character, such as flogging, for one reason or another form an integral part of the initiation process. Some involve torture, such as the practice of biting the initiate's head through to the bone (Australia) or that of hanging the initiate from a rope that passes through a hole made between the muscle and the shoulder bone (as among some Plains and Northwest Coast tribal groups of North America).

Ritual forms of abuse are usually interpreted as endurance tests, an interpretation at times suggested by the requirement that the painful ordeal be undergone without complaint lest the rite be invalidated. But there are also cases in which the initiate is not forbidden to cry out, and even cases in which a cry of pain must be heard by those who are present. If, when faced with such cases, we refuse to characterize such ritual abuses as purposeful (for example, as tests of endurance), all that remains is to characterize them as expressions of violence. Violence may serve to separate the initiate from his earlier natural state (the infantile) and to introduce him to the social status of an adult. It is violence of this sort that the smith, a common initiator among many African peoples, exerts upon the natural elements in order to transform them into the tools of culture, through a kind of symbolic mortification. Violence may have a similar purpose in rituals of initiation. In the ritual hanging mentioned above, for instance, the initiate is made to spin around as he hangs until he faints. This loss of consciousness, which is precisely the attainment of a state similar to death, may well be the final goal of this rather grim form of mortification.

In general, however, violence is of secondary importance; it is not strictly required in order to act out an initiatory death. In some cases symbolic death may be achieved merely by conducting funeral rites over the initiate or over something that represents him. The initiate may be mourned, spoken of as deceased, subjected to a fake interment, or in other ways treated like a corpse.

Initiatory forms of mortification that involve the creation of a symbolic state of death may also be detected in baptismal rites that call for the complete immersion of the initiate. The passage from impurity to purity implies not only a rebirth but also a death of the old condition. Immersion in water may signify a mortification through a reimmersion in the primordial waters of chaos prior to rebirth. From this perspective, one can say with Mircea Eliade (1958) that the same logic has produced both baptismal rites and myths of inundation, both involving initiatory forms of mortification endowed with cosmic significance.

MORTIFICATION OF THE KING. There is a cosmic dimension as well in the "mortification of the king," a rite of periodic cosmic renewal. In Babylonia, this annual ritual consisted merely of stripping the king of his regal insignia, slapping his face, and pulling his ears. However, as James G. Frazer argued in *The Golden Bough*, this seemingly harmless "mortification" may be merely a survival of an earlier practice in which the king was actually put to death.

The practice of the mortification of the king recalls the passion of Christ, who was crucified with the title *Rex Judeorum:* Christ "mortified" as a worldly king so that he could rise again as the heavenly king. The death of Christ also marks the end of a cycle and the initiation of a new order. It is in this death that the Christian participates, both through the initiation of baptism and through the practice of mortification. The initiatory type of mortification, though not prominent, is nevertheless discernible in Christianity in a somewhat attenuated form. This is but one indication that the types of ascetic and initiatory mortification that I have presented here need not be viewed as mutually exclusive.

As a final note, it is interesting that the expression "mortification of the king" (*mortificatio regis*) appears in the literature of alchemy as one of the most frequent symbols of the disintegration of matter. Interpreted spiritually, this *mortification regis* is a part of what Renaissance alchemists called the "saving Christian mystery." Meditation on the *mortificatio regis*, therefore, was comparable to meditation on the *mistero doloroso* of the passion of Christ in the Catholic practice of the recitation of the rosary.

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MOSES (c. thirteenth century BCE, but date uncertain), or, in Hebrew, Mosheh, was the leader of the Hebrews in the Exodus from Egypt and giver of the Law at Sinai. Tradition regards Moses as the founder of Israel's religion—the mediator of its covenant with God (Yahveh) and its cultic institutions.

HISTORICITY OF MOSES. Any discussion about the historicity of Moses is entirely dependent upon an evaluation of the biblical account of his life and activity. There are no extant records from Egypt that make any reference to him or to the Exodus. Yet most scholars believe that a person named Moses existed and had a connection with the events of the Exodus and the wilderness journey as described in the four biblical books from *Exodus* to *Deuteronomy.* But there is little agreement about how much can be known about Moses or what role he played in the events, because the biblical accounts have been modified and embellished, and Moses' place in some of the traditions may be secondary.

The one point that seems to argue for regarding Moses as historical is his Egyptian name. An explanation of the name *Moses* that few would dispute is that it derives from the Egyptian verb *msy* ("to give birth"), a very common element in Egyptian names. This verb is usually combined with the name of a god (e.g., *Re,* as in *Remesses,* i.e., *Ramses*), and the shortened form, *Moses,* is in the nature of a nickname. But whether in the long or short form, the name is common in Egypt from the mid-second millennium onward. None of the persons in Egyptian historical records bearing the name Moses can justifiably be identified with the biblical Moses, and to do so is quite arbitrary. The only argument for historicity to be derived from Moses' Egyptian name is its appropriateness to the background of Israel's sojourn in Egypt. Other examples of Egyptian names occur among the Israelites, particularly within the ranks of the priests and Levites. Such names may have survived in Canaan at sanctuaries and urban centers from the time of Egyptian control of the region in the Late Bronze Age.

A name by itself, however appropriate to the time and events described, does not make a historical personality. The various elements of the Exodus story do not correspond with known Egyptian history, and historians have usually set about reconstructing the events to make a better fit between the Bible and contemporary records. For instance, the presence of numerous Asiatic slaves in Egypt during the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties (1550–1200 BCE) was not the result of an enslavement, out of fear and hatred, of a specific people already resident in Egypt, as pictured in *Exodus.* Slaves were brought into Egypt in large numbers as prisoners of war from many different peoples and social classes and were dispersed throughout Egypt to serve in many different capacities. Many Asiatics became free persons within Egyptian society and were found at various levels of rank and status. The nineteenth dynasty in particular was one of great assimilation of Asiatic religion and culture in Egypt. Furthermore, while bedouin were allowed certain grazing rights in the eastern Delta, there is no suggestion that they were enslaved or made to do menial labor. Nothing in the Egyptian records suggests any acts of genocide or any distinct group of state slaves resident in the eastern Delta.

None of the pharaohs in *Exodus* is named, but the reference in *Exodus* 1:11 to the Israelites' building the store cities of Pithom and Ramses is enough evidence for many to date the events to the nineteenth dynasty. Yet Pithom (Tell el-Maskhuta), in the Wadi Tumilat, was not built until the end of the seventh century BCE, and the reference to Ramses and the "land of Ramses" hardly suggests the royal residence. The name *Goshen,* as the region where the Israelites were said to reside, is known only from the latest geographic texts. The few specific names and details, therefore, do not point to a particular period of Egyptian history, and scholars differ on the dating and background of the Exodus precisely because so many details must be radically redrawn to make any connection possible. The quest for the historical Moses is a futile exercise. He now belongs only to legend.

LITERARY TRADITION. The traditions about Moses are contained in the Pentateuch from *Exodus* to *Deuteronomy,* and all other biblical references to Moses are probably dependent upon these. The view of most critical scholars for the past century has been that the Pentateuch's presentation of Moses is not the result of a single author but the combination of at least four sources, known as the Yahvist (J), the Elohist (E), Deuteronomy (D), and the Priestly writer (P), and composed in that order. The existence of E as a separate work from J has long been disputed; at best it is very fragmentary. It is best to treat J and E as a single corpus, JE, as will be done below. The usual dating for these sources places them in a range from the tenth to the fifth century BCE, although there is a strong tendency, which the author of this article supports, to view D (from the seventh century) as the earliest work, JE (from the sixth century) as exilic, and P (from the fifth century) as postexilic. This would account for the fact that so little is made of the Moses tradition outside of the Pentateuch.

Whether one adopts the older scheme or the later date for the Pentateuchal sources, a long period of time separates any historical figure from the written presentation of Moses in the Bible. To bridge this gap one is faced with evaluating the diversity of traditions within the Moses legend and with tracing their history of transmission prior to their use by the later authors, as well as with considering the shape and color the authors themselves gave to the Moses tradition as a reflection of their own times and concerns. The history of the preliterary tradition has occupied a lot of attention but with few convincing results because it is so difficult to control any reconstruction of the various stages of oral tradition. One is therefore left with an examination of the traditions about Moses in their present literary forms within the larger context of the Hebrew scriptures.

Moses as deliverer from Egypt. The general background for the deliverance of the people through Moses is the theme of the oppression and enslavement in Egypt. This theme of Israel's oppression is often mentioned elsewhere in the Hebrew scriptures as the condition of the people from which God "redeemed" them, often without any reference to Moses (note, e.g., *Ez.* 20). The Pentateuch continues to stress God as deliverer but now makes Moses the human agent.

Within the tradition of enslavement the JE writer introduces a special theme of attempted genocide (*Ex.* 1:8–22), which provides the context for the story of Moses' birth and his rescue from the Nile by the Egyptian princess (*Ex.* 2:1–10). But once this story is told, the theme of genocide disappears, and the issue becomes again that of enslavement and hard labor. The story of Moses as a threatened child rescued from the basket of reeds and reared under the very nose of Pharaoh to become the deliverer of his people corresponds to a very common folkloric motif of antiquity. Similar stories were told about Sargon of Akkad and Cyrus the Persian. However, Moses' initial attempt at deliverance (*Ex.* 2:11–15), whereby he kills an Egyptian for beating a Hebrew, is antiheroic because it ends in failure and leads only to his flight to the land of Midian, where he becomes a shepherd (*Ex.* 2:16–22, 3:1). This prepares the way for the author (JE) to present Moses as a most unheroic leader, totally dependent on the divine word from Yahveh for each action he takes.

The story of Moses' experience of the burning bush theophany at Sinai/Horeb, in the land of Midian (*Ex.* 3–4), has all the marks of a new beginning. It resembles that of the prophetic-call narratives in which the prophet experiences a theophany and then is given his commission (*Is.* 6, *Ez.* 1–3). Moses' protest is similar to that of Jeremiah in his call (*Jer.* 1:6–10), but the author in *Exodus* develops it into an elaborate motif. At the same time Moses' call bears some resemblance to the commissioning of a military leader whose task it is to deliver his people from oppression (*Jgs.* 6, *1 Sm.* 9). But Moses is not given the task of being a military leader, nor are the signs he receives meant to give him confidence of victory. The primary concern in the dialogue between Moses and Yahveh is in Moses' role as a spokesman whom the people will believe and who can speak on behalf of the people to the foreign ruler. The author (JE) has drawn upon both the tradition of classical prophecy and the literary history of Gideon and Saul to fashion his rather composite presentation of Moses' call and commission as Israel's deliverer.

The plague stories (*Ex.* 7:14–11:10) carry out the image of Moses as deliverer through the prophetic word of judgment and salvation. But they also add the element of the prophet as a wonder-worker similar to Elijah and Elisha. Yet in the plagues tradition the wonders are all carefully circumscribed by divine commands so that Moses and Aaron—aside from a slight gesture—are almost completely passive and unconnected to them (see also *Ps.* 78:43–51, 105:26–36). The notion of the man of God as miracle worker has been largely absorbed by the view of the prophet as messenger and spokesman. The P writer, however, introduces the notion of a contest between Aaron and the magicians of Egypt (7:8–12). The plague stories as a whole are intended to emphasize the greatness and power of Yahveh and add very little to the Moses tradition.

The climax of Israel's deliverance is at the Red Sea (*Ex.* 13:17–14:31), and here again Moses' role is to announce judgment on the Egyptians and salvation for Israel. In the JE account Moses and Israel do nothing but witness the divine rescue, while in the P version Moses, at God's command, splits the sea with his rod to create a path for the Israelites and, again at divine command, makes the sea come back upon their pursuers. The effect is that the people fear Yahveh and believe in him and in his servant Moses. It is remarkable that except for one late addition to *Deuteronomy* (11:4) there are no references to the Red Sea event in this source even though the Exodus is mentioned many times. This suggests that the Red Sea episode is really secondary to the Exodus tradition. In its present form it constitutes a transition to the wilderness themes and to Moses' direct leadership of his people.

Moses as leader. Apart from an initial contact with Israel's elders in Egypt, which did not turn out very well (*Ex.* 5), Moses' direct leadership of the people begins only when they depart from Egypt. As their leader he is the one to whom the people complain about their hardships in the wilderness. But it is always God who meets their needs, with manna from heaven, or quails, or water from a rock. In the case of the people's complaints or rebellions, sometimes directed at Moses (and Aaron), God answers with judgment, and Moses must act as intercessor to mitigate the severity of the punishment. In all of this Moses is primarily a spiritual leader, a kind of prophetic mediator between the people and God with no other form of authority or legitimation.

Moses is also the supreme judge and head of the administrative functions of the wilderness community. In these capacities the tradition tells of two occasions in which Moses sets up civil institutions, one a system of courts for the purpose of sharing the judicial responsibility of the people (*Ex.* 18, *Dt.* 1:9–18) and the other a council of seventy elders for a sharing of the governance (*Nm.* 11:16–30). But these stories merely represent etiologies of later Israelite institutions. Moses' authority is his endowment of the prophetic spirit and the means by which God speaks and directs the people in every decision.

On a few occasions the Israelites are involved in military encounters, but Moses' role in these is very limited. In their fight against the Amalekites (*Ex.* 17:8–16) Joshua is the military captain, while Moses raises his hands as if to receive divine aid. When Moses sends spies to survey the land of Canaan, it is Joshua and Caleb who play the major role in support of a military campaign and against the negative report of the other spies. When the people finally attempt a southern assault, Moses does not go with them, and they are defeated. In the campaign against the Midianites (*Nm.* 31 [P]) it is Phinehas the priest who takes charge of the army while Moses remains in the camp. In the campaign against Sihon and Og (*Nm.* 21:21–35, *Dt.* 2:24–3:11) Moses appears to lead the forces in the D account, but in JE he recedes into the background. Moses is not a military hero in these traditions.

Moses as lawgiver. The theme of Moses as lawgiver is more closely associated with the theophany at Sinai/Horeb (*Ex.* 19–20, *Dt.* 4–5), and with the prolonged stay at the mountain of God, during which the Law was given to Israel through Moses. Many scholars have argued that the giving of the Law at Sinai originated as a separate tradition. In many respects it represents a detour on the way from Egypt to Canaan and is parallel to another law-giving tradition, which is reflected in *Exodus* 15:25–26. But the matter is hotly debated and still unresolved.

Within the corpus of laws in the Pentateuch there is great variation of type and function reflecting different social settings and historical perspectives. Some of these laws represent the casuistic style of civil law used in the settled life of Israelite society in the land of Canaan. Others are apodictic commands that express universal principles of ethics and religion. There are also laws regarding cultic observances and regulations. Each category of law contains examples of parallel versions among the various Pentateuchal sources, and the law codes of the various sources can be correlated with certain periods of Israelite history. Thus the comparative study of the laws of the Pentateuch has become an important aspect of the study of Israel's social and religious history far removed from the wilderness period, which is their present narrative setting.

Nevertheless Moses has often been viewed as the author of the Ten Commandments. But the two forms, in *Deuteronomy* 5 and *Exodus* 20, are in the sources D and P respectively, and their language is so characteristic of D that there seems little reason to believe that they are any older than the seventh century BCE. Even in these two sources the "ten words" are said to have been given to the people directly without the mediation of Moses and only later written by the finger of God upon the two tables of stone. Furthermore, the JE corpus does not regard the Ten Commandments as a distinct series and has quite a different set of laws and instructions written on the two tables of stone (*Ex.* 34).

The JE corpus of laws in *Exodus* 20:22–23:33, usually designated as the Book of the Covenant (24:7), is a mixture of all types of law, religious and civil regulations, absolute principles of religion and ethics, and paraenesis. These are all given through Moses at one time on Sinai and constitute the basis of the covenant between the people and their God (*Ex.* 24:3–8). Portions of the civil laws are generally regarded as quite old in origin and perhaps taken over from the earlier Canaanite society, but this corpus of laws in its present form derives from the exilic period. The Deuteronomic code (*Dt.* 12–26) is the body of instructions given to Moses *after* the Ten Commandments were proclaimed. The D code was delivered to the people in written form in the land of Moab as preparation for their entry into the promised land. In actual fact the code represents a cultic reform movement of purification and centralization of worship in the time of Josiah (c. 625 BCE). The Priestly code is primarily concerned with setting out an elaborate program of cultic regulations to form the basis for the cult of the Second Temple during the restoration. Its view of Judean society is strongly theocratic, with the high priest as the real head of state—hence the elevation of Aaron alongside of Moses. The P writer has much of this code revealed to Moses at Sinai (*Ex.* 25–31, 35–40; *Lv.; Nm.* 1–10), but some instructions are given during the remaining part of the wilderness journey. In P, Moses' role as the revealer and instructor in divine law is the most dominant.

For all the biblical writers the wilderness period was the constitutional age, the time of Israel's beginning. Whatever was most fundamental to Israelite society was deemed to have arisen in this period. And Moses as the leader, the prophet, the founder, was regarded as the one through whom all this came about. Modern historical criticism, however, has made the Moses tradition problematic by identifying its anachronisms and by dating its materials to later ages. While some scholars have tried to find some elements of the tradition, particularly within the Decalogue, that may go back to Moses, there are others who dispute that any of the laws and customs of the Pentateuch derive from Moses or the wilderness period.

MOSES AS THE FOUNDER OF ISRAELITE RELIGION. Many scholars believe that Moses is the founder of Israel's religion, at least in the form of a worship of Yahveh alone and, ultimately, in the form of monotheism. This position is based upon a number of arguments. First, the P source explicitly states (*Ex.* 6:2–3) that the name of Yahveh was not known before the time of Moses and that the forefathers worshiped God as El Shaddai. In *Genesis* there are also frequent references to forms of El worship among the patriarchs. Yet the JE corpus clearly regards the patriarchs as worshipers of Yahveh and the El epithets as merely titles for Yahveh. It is the P writer who has created a periodization of revelation out of the El references. The use of *El* as a designation for Yahveh becomes particularly frequent in the exilic period (see *Is.* 40–55) and says nothing about early Israelite forms of worship.

Second, in the call narrative of *Exodus* 3:13 Moses inquires about God's name and is given an answer that seeks to explain the name *Yahveh* (actually YHVH in the unvocalized Hebrew text) in terms of its supposed etymology from the verb *hyh* ("to be"). This could be interpreted as signifying that Moses introduced a new understanding of the name and character of Yahveh and Yahveh's relations with his people. Yet this piece of dialogue is unrelated to anything else that follows in the tradition and has the character of theological speculation and interests in the author's own time. It tells nothing about Moses.

Third, the first and second commandments of the Decalogue emphasize the exclusive worship of Yahveh and an imageless cult. Those who attribute the Decalogue to Moses also use it as a basis for their view that Moses was the founder of monotheism. But it is unlikely that these laws predate the seventh century BCE. Archaeological evidence confirms the fact that as late as the eighth century BCE Yahveh was regarded by some Israelites as having a divine consort. At Kuntillat ʿAjrud, a Judean sanctuary in eastern Sinai, two inscriptions were found containing blessings "by Yahveh and his Asherah" (a female deity). One of these inscriptions was accompanied by a drawing of a seated female deity alongside two male divinities(?). At Khirbet el Qôm in western Judah a similar inscription referring to Yahveh and his consort Asherah was also found. The first commandment of the Decalogue may be understood as a direct protest against such a consort being placed or named "beside" Yahveh.

Fourth, there are those who would see in the Sinai covenant Moses' achievement in creating a unique politico-religious union centered upon commitment to Yahveh and a new social order among his fellow Israelites. These scholars point to the Hittite suzerainty treaty model of the Late Bronze Age, which emphasizes absolute loyalty to the great king based upon past favors and complete obedience to a series of stipulations regulating relations between king and vassal as well as between vassal states. The force of the argument lies in the attempt to establish parallels between this model and the giving of the law and covenant ratification at Sinai in *Exodus* 19–24, as well as in the fact that the time of Moses and the time of the Hittite empire are relatively close. The theory, however, has come under criticism because the parallels are too forced to be convincing, the treaty form is not so restricted in time, and the greatest correspondences to such a treaty-covenant form is to be found in *Deuteronomy*—very likely written shortly after Judah had experienced such vassalage to Assyria. In fact, it has been strongly argued that the notion of such a Sinai/Horeb covenant between Yahveh and his people is no older than D and cannot be traced back to Moses.

While the critical scholar may doubt that a historical figure, Moses, living in the thirteenth century BCE was the founder of Israelite religion in anything like the form reflected in the Pentateuch, the tradition itself has clearly regarded him as such, and thus he remained in all the subsequent developments of that tradition in later times.

MOSES IN POSTBIBLICAL JUDAISM. The great diversity within Jewish piety and religion in the centuries that followed the Hebrew scriptures does not allow for a simple statement about the development of the Moses tradition in this period. Nor is it possible to do justice to all the sources or varying viewpoints. Yet a few common features are shared by most of them and may be listed as follows. (1) The Law of Moses, the Torah, becomes understood as the whole of the Pentateuch and not just the laws within it. This means that God revealed to Moses past history as well as future events, in addition to law. (2) The legend of Moses, especially details about his birth and youth, was greatly expanded. (3) Moses is consistently viewed as the greatest prophet of Israel, although the understanding of this "office" and the nature of the revelation he received were not always the same. (4) Moses is the great intercessor and defender on Israel's behalf and the one responsible for mitigating God's punishment for the people's sins. This article now considers some of the special developments of the Moses tradition.

Moses in Hellenistic Judaism. One of the characteristics of Hellenistic Judaism in the period from 200 BCE to 100 CE was its strong apologetic character. A number of pagan writings represented Judaism and its history in a bad light and included Moses in this vilification. In order to counteract this, Jewish writers presented their history in a way that would have special appeal for Gentile audiences and win support for their religion and way of life. Thus Moses was portrayed as a great culture hero and inventor of the arts of civilization, including writing, philosophy, statesmanship, and religion. Moses' early life was modeled after the Hellenistic biography of the divine man, with prophecies about his birth and greatness, accounts of his beauty and royal upbringing, and his great military exploits on behalf of the pharoah. In all these embellishments of the tradition the authors were responding to criticisms of Moses.

Josephus Flavius, the Jewish historian writing at the end of the first century CE, stands in this stream of Hellenistic historiography. Moses is both the Hellenistic "divine man" and the Hebrew "man of God." As lawgiver he is presented in Greek terms as legislator and founder of the ideal constitution—a theocracy (*Jewish Antiquities* 2.6–24, 3.180, 4.13, 150, 156; *Against Apion* 2.75, 145, 154ff.). At the same time Moses is the greatest of the prophets as the "apostle" of God and interpreter of the words of God (*Antiquities* 4.165, 329; 3.85–87).

Philo Judaeus of Alexandria, who also lived in the first century CE, stands in the tradition of Judeo-Greek philosophy and mystical religion. He identifies Moses as the ideal king of Hellenistic ideology and combines in this role most of Moses' task (*Life of Moses* 1). Moses, with his special qualities as divine man, his royal upbringing, and his life as a shepherd, is prepared to become the king of Israel in the wilderness period. To his role as king is related his function as legislator, because the king is the embodiment of law (2.8ff.). The priesthood is also part of the royal office, and Moses is priest, according to Philo, in his establishment of the cult and in his role as intercessor (2.66ff.). Moses is also *the* prophet for Philo but in the special sense of the ecstatic who gains direct intuition of the truth through the mystical experience (2.187ff.). The theophany of Sinai was such an experience for Moses whereby he ascended to heaven itself and became a divine king through divinization. In some of Philo's writings he describes Moses as a hierophant, and the Torah is interpreted as a guide into the mysteries of God (*On the Decalogue* 18; *Allegorical Interpretation* 3.173).

The apocalyptic tradition. In two apocalyptic works, the *Assumption of Moses* and *Jubilees,* Moses receives special and secret knowledge about both past and future as well as the unseen worlds of heaven and hell (*Jub.* 1.26; *Asm. Mos.* 1.16–18). The apocalyptic literature reveals this information with special emphasis on the events of the end of time. Great emphasis is also placed upon Moses as intercessor, but this is not restricted to the wilderness period. Because Moses' death is understood as an assumption into heaven, his role as defender of Israel continues throughout Israel's history up to the Last Judgment (*Jub.* 1.18–21; *Asm. Mos.* 11.17).

The Essenes living at Qumran on the shores of the Dead Sea in the first centuries BCE and CE were a community dedicated to living by the Torah. They regarded themselves as the true Israel, who withdrew to the desert "to prepare the way of the Lord" for the last days (*1 Qumran Scrolls* 8.14f.). The biblical wilderness period was a model for their own experience, and a study of the Law was intended to yield an eschatological revelation for their own times. Moses was the great prophet whose words were the primary revelation for this apocalyptic community (*1 QS* 1.3, 8.15; *Code of Damascus* 5.21).

Rabbinic view of Moses. The rabbinic tradition represents a vast array of sources from the second century to the Middle Ages, containing a wide spectrum of belief and opinion. At the same time it fell heir to many of those traditions and impulses in the Moses tradition that has already been noted above.

In the legal tradition (*halakhah*) Moses represents the great "teacher" by which Israel was instructed in the Torah. This includes not only the laws of the Pentateuch but all the subsequent oral Torah, which was handed down from Moses to Joshua and in succession to the rabbis. All students of the law were really disciples of Moses.

The homiletic tradition (*aggadah*) brought to the fore those other aspects of the Moses tradition that were a part of Jewish piety. It continued to embellish the biography of Moses as the "man of God," but more central is his role as the servant of God. As such he was God's agent for bringing about the rescue from Egypt, for mediating the covenant and the laws to Israel at Sinai, and for leading the Israelites to the Promised Land. The role of servant emphasized Moses' function as intercessor for his people and as one who suffered and died on their behalf. Through his death in the wilderness instead of in Canaan Moses was identified with the sinful generation of the wilderness and thus ensured its salvation in the resurrection.

Moses was the supreme prophet as revealer of the words of God and the one to inaugurate the succession of prophets. The traditions about Moses as king and priest were viewed in a more limited fashion, for while he may have been king during the wilderness period and priest in the dedication of the Tabernacle rites, he was not able to pass on this succession to his heirs, and it remained for David as king and Aaron as high priest to found these lines of succession.

There is also a tradition within the *aggadah* about Moses' heavenly ascent at Sinai that elaborates on his vision of God and his struggles with the angels to acquire the Torah for Israel. These stories have much in common with the ascension materials called *heikhalot,* which Gershom Scholem has seen as reflecting ecstatic mystical experiences. There was a certain reticence expressed by some rabbis toward this form of piety and the rather speculative character of its traditions.

MOSES IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. The New Testament accepts Moses as the author of the Pentateuch (*Mt.* 8:4, *Mk.* 7:10, *Jn.* 1:17), but the real significance of the Pentateuch is as a prophecy that discloses the origins of Christianity (*Lk.* 24:25–27). Yet the whole of the institutional and ritual forms of Judaism as well as the Pharisaic-rabbinic tradition is associated with Moses, so that Moses reflects the ambivalent feelings of Christianity's continuity and discontinuity with Judaism.

In the Gospels, elements in the life of Jesus are parallel to those in the expanded legend of Moses. The infancy narrative in *Matthew* (chap. 2), with its predictions and warnings to king and father, its slaughter of the innocents, its recognition of Jesus' royalty, and the flight into exile until the king's death, is modeled on the Moses biographies. The scene on the mount of transfiguration where Jesus appears with Moses and Elijah has many allusions to the Sinai theophany (*Mt.* 17:1–8, *Mk.* 9:2–8, *Lk.* 9:28–36); Jesus' feeding of the five thousand (*Mt.* 14:13–21, *Mk.* 6:32–44, *Lk.* 9:10–17, *Jn.* 6:1–14) is directly associated in John's gospel with Moses giving the manna in the wilderness (6:25–34); and his forty days of fasting in the wilderness parallel Moses' fast at Sinai (*Mt.* 4:1–2, *Lk.* 4:1–3; cf. *Dt.* 9:9). The story of Jesus' ascension in *Luke* and *Acts* has similarities to the traditions of Moses' assumption (*Lk.* 24:51, *Acts* 1:9–11).

The ministry of Jesus is also compared with that of Moses. In Matthew's gospel, Jesus' teachings are given a setting—that of the Sermon on the Mount—that is parallel to the receiving of the law at Sinai. In *Luke,* Jesus as prophet is a second Moses who has come to redeem his people. In *John,* the comparison with Moses is especially pronounced: "The law came through Moses but grace and truth came through Jesus Christ" (1:17). John's message to Jewish believers is that Jesus is superior to Moses and supplants him so that one must make a choice between Moses and Jesus.

The apostle Paul, using the methods of Hellenistic Jewish exegesis, interprets the time of Moses typologically as a reference to Christianity (*1 Cor.* 10:1–11). But for Paul generally Moses represents a religion of the law, to which he compares his religion of grace.

The *Letter to the Hebrews* draws parallels between Jesus and Moses in order to demonstrate that Jesus is superior. Moses as the servant of God is inferior to Jesus, who is the son of God. Moses instituted the earthly sanctuary, which is only a copy and a shadow of the heavenly, and in this earthly sanctuary the Levitical priesthood ministers according to the law. But Jesus is the eternal high priest who ministers in the heavenly sanctuary by interceding for the faithful (*Heb.* 8:1–6). In the same way Moses is the author of the old covenant, but this was only a preparation for and a foreshadowing of the new covenant through Jesus (*Heb.* 8:7–10:18).

MOSES IN ISLAM. Moses is highly regarded in Islam as the great prophet who foretold the coming of Muḥammad, his successor. Details about Moses' life from the *aggadah* are to be found in the Qurʾān, but there are additional details with parallels from folklore as well as borrowed from other biblical stories and applied to Moses (see especially *sūrah* 28:4–43; also 7:104–158, 20:10–98, 26:11–69). Apart from explicit references there is much in the life of Muḥammad that is implicitly reminiscent of the Moses tradition. This is particularly true of the notions about a dictated revelation received through angels and the experience of an ascent to heaven, in Muḥammad's case, from Jerusalem.

SEE ALSO Israelite Law.

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MOSES BEN MAIMON SEE MAIMONIDES, MOSES

MOSES BEN NAHMAN SEE MAIMONIDES, MOSES

MOSQUE

This entry consists of the following articles:

HISTORY AND TRADITION
ARCHITECTURAL ASPECTS

MOSQUE: HISTORY AND TRADITION

The mosque is a built facility with certain unique characteristics for Muslim prayer, as well as an institution dedicated to maintaining community life. As a building its primary and minimal role is to accommodate a congregation that performs its ritual prayers in formation while oriented toward Kaʿbah in Mecca. As an institution it marks the sociocultural existence of a Muslim community, acting both as its center and its emblem.

ETYMOLOGY. The original Arabic word for mosque is *masjid* (plural, *masājid*), meaning a place of *sujūd*, the highly symbolic act of prostration (before God) during *ṣalāt* (ritual prayer), when the whole body reaches its lowest position and the forehead is placed on the earth in a prescribed manner. Since *ṣalāt* is universally performed in Arabic, its constituent stages, including *sujūd,* and its place, *masjid,* have maintained their Arabic form in Persian, Urdu, Turkish and other dialects of the Muslim world. The anglicized word *mosque* is widely used, and its transformation from *masjid* can be traced through the Egyptian *masqid*, Italian *moscheta* or *moschea*, Spanish *mezquita*, and French *mousquaie* or *mosquee.* The etymological source for *masjid* can be traced back to the Aramaic verbal root *s-g-d* and the word *msgd* used for Nabatean and Abyssinian sacred places.

THE TWO SANCTUARIES OF SACRED HISTORY. The Qurʾān presented itself as a continuation and completion of earlier monotheistic revelations through Abrahamic messengers, including Moses and Jesus. The people holding on to those revelations were called *ahl al-kitāb* (People of the Book), and they asserted that they were in posession of revealed books that preceded the Qurʾān. These messengers were introduced as followers of the path of submission (*s-l-m*, the root word for Islam) to the same One God to whom Muḥammad was inviting everyone (Qurʾān 3:66). It is little wonder then that Kaʿbah in Mecca, whose construction is directly associated with Abraham and his son Ishmael, is identified in verses in the Qurʾān, as *bayt* (house), and the precinct around it as *al-Masjid al-ḥaram* (the sanctified mosque). Beyond the historical existence of the word *masjid* before Islam, these verses suggest Muḥammad's mission to restore the sanctity of *Masjid al-ḥaram* and reestablish the centrality of Abrahamic Kaʿbah as *bayt Allāh* (the house of God) for all the People of the Book, including Muslims (Qurʾān 2:125–128, 3:96–97, 5:97).

Masjid al-aksa (the remotest mosque) is mentioned in the Qurʾān (7:1): " Praise be to Him who made His servant (Muḥammad) journey in the night from *al-Masjid al-ḥaram* to *al-Masjid al-aqsa* which We have surrounded with blessings to show him of our signs." This verse was revealed during the last year in Mecca before *hijrah* (migration) to Medina. There have been disagreements among historians and Qurʾanic scholars as to the exact identity and location of this "remotest mosque." It is possible to conclude, however, that the term *masjid* here has been used for a place that existed at the time of this revelation but was not built by Muḥammad or his followers, as they were still in Mecca. If it refers to the destination of *Miʿrāj* (ascension) as a heavenly precinct of the throne of God, then it can only be imagined in a metaphoric sense and not as an earthly mosque. If it refers to the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, then it could only be referring to the memory and continued sanctity of the site associated with the devotions of the prophets Elijah, Abraham, David, and Solomon and not the actual physical presence of the Temple of the Lord (*2 Chr.* 3:1), which had been detroyed in 586 BCE and then again in 70 CE. The *Masjid al-aqsa* verse revealed around 621 CE, and Muḥammad's elaborations of his miraculous journey to the Temple Mount and then ascension to heaven *(Miʿrāj),* brought Jerusalem and its sanctuary (Hebrew, *Har Hebayit*; Arabic, *Haram esh-Sharif)* into Muslim consciousness as a remote though unseen place of prostrations (*masjid*) of earlier prophets. Jerusalem, the city of David and Solomon, thus became analogous to Mecca, the city honored as the "first house" of God built by Abraham and Ismael (Qurʾān 3:96–97). The two *ḥarams* (sanctuaries) of Mecca and Jerusalem had thus defined for Muḥammad and his followers the goal of an Abrahamic axis and a shared religious geography of the monotheism. In this context the sequential adoption of Jerusalem and then Mecca for the *qiblah* (prayer orientations) from Medina makes more sense than the oft-implied political strategy in Muḥammad's choice and then rejection of Jerusalem in favor of "his" ancestral Mecca. In fact, early Islam's ecumenical attitude toward *ahl al-kitāb* of Syria is demonstrated through the rebuilding of the Temple Mount and accommodating policies of Jewish and Christian prayer during the first century after the conquest in 638 CE, especially when compared with the pre-Islamic treatment by their Byzantine and Roman predecessors.

THE PROPHET'S MOSQUE IN MEDINA. In Mecca, Muḥammad and his followers became progressively disenfranchised by the ones whose pagan and tribal traditions were challenged by Islam. Muslims who called for return to the One God of Abraham could not pray without harassment in the *Masjid al-ḥaram* around the sanctuary of Kaʿbah, whose very existence was credited to monotheism (Qurʾān 2:214, 5:3, 8:34, 22:25). They prayed alone or in small numbers in residences. The Prophet sometimes led a group prayer at the houses of Muḥammad's wife Khadījah and his friend Abū Bakr, but they never had what could justifiably be called a mosque.

Having failed to dissuade Muḥammad from his mission for over a decade, the Meccans planned his assassination. He decided to migrate to a welcoming settlement called Yathrib (later Medina), some three hundred miles north. The year was 620 CE, and the event is called *hijrah* (migration), which marks the beginning of the new Muslim lunar calendar. There are different traditions about what has come to be known as the first mosque in Medina, *masjid al-Kuba*. One tradition suggests that it was used as a place of prayer by those who anticipated Muḥammad's arrival and that he stayed there for some days. Another tradition suggests that the Prophet founded this mosque himself, and even after he established the main mosque in Medina, he made a practice of praying there every Saturday. The Qurʾanic reference to this mosque as the one "whose foundation was laid from the first day on piety (*taqwa*)," especially when it is presented in contrast with *masjid al-dhirar* (mischief), later constructed to create infidelity and division in the community, makes it a reference point in ethical intentions rather than the physical fact of a mosque (Qurʾān 9:107–110). Having arrived in Medina, Muḥammad purchased, rather than accepted as a gift, a piece of land for the mosque from the two orphans who owned it. With the help of his companions he built a modest four-sided enclosure of stone foundations and sun-dried mud bricks. On the outside of the eastern boundary he placed his private chambers (*hujurāt*, Qurʾān 49:4), whose curtained doors opened into the mosque courtyard. On the north toward Jerusalem, and later on the south side as the *qiblah* shifted to Mecca, he built shaded porticos (*riwāq*) of palm tree trunks and dried palm leaves and clay. There was no *miḥrāb* (niche) in the north or the south wall yet. Muḥammad's presence as leader of the community—and his staff, which he leaned on while delivering sermons—established the *qiblah* orientation. There was no minaret, as the call to prayer was either from the courtyard or from a nearby roof. There was no formal *mimbar* (stepped pulpit), though he did use makeshift platforms to raise himself to be seen while speaking to large gatherings. In spite of an apparent lack of formality in religious practices, political protocol, communal gatherings, and architectural furnishings in this austere compound, the *ḥadīth* literature and the corresponding verses of the Qurʾān suggest much intensity in this mosque as the formative principles of *sharīʿah,* the structure of Islamic life, were being formed. There Muḥammad taught the Qurʾān as revealed to him, elaborated upon the commandments, led the ritual prayers, received delegations, settled disputes, planned campaigns, assigned tasks, and socialized with his family and community. This place became the crucible for genetic codes that are at the core of continuity in basic religious practices and institutions, especially the mosque, all across the Muslim world.

BEYOND THE PROPHET'S MOSQUE. The historical distance between Muḥammad's death (632 CE) and the formalization of both his *ḥadīth* (sayings) and *sīra* (life) literature, especially considering the internal strifes and partisanships during that period, can justifiably stir some doubts about the accuracy of some narrations about the happenings in the *Masjid al-Nabi.* It is noteworthy, however, that the patterns, if not the exact details, associated with that mosque have become widely accepted as the reference for the purest forms of Islam as intended by God and lived out by his messenger. It is this memory of Muḥammad, constructed with direct reference to his mosque and his city, that is fundamental to the codification of Islamic practices. And if the leader, the state, and the city as Islamic polity is absent, the mosque becomes its primary home and essential ecology. It is little wonder then that any Muslim community idealizes its mosque as a place where there is an *imām* (leader) worthy of the Qurʾanic knowledge, where *ḥadīth* is rehearsed, where *jamaʿat* (congregation) is established, and where a communal life is modeled on Muḥammad's example and the legacy of his companions. The development of mosque in history can thus be presented briefly as a mostly positive but sometimes negative interpretation of one or more of the traditions of the Prophet's mosque.

***DĀR AL-IMĀRA* AND *MASJID AL-JAMĪʿ*.** During Muḥammad's time the intimacy between the leader and his community was maintained by his unique status and was facilitated by the physical adjacency of his residence and the mosque. When the new settlements of al-Basra and al-Kufa in Iraq and al-Fustat in Egypt were established, the Muslim governors, who represented the *Khalīfa* in Medina, maintained the pattern of the Prophet's mosque as both the religious and administrative center. However, factors like local histories of conquered lands, sheer increase of numbers, tribal tensions within the army, ethnic diversity among new converts, and increasing fear of assasinations led to the development of the more secure *dār al-Imāra* (residence of the commander) with a prison and *dīwān* (treasury) that formed one complex in the heart of the new city. In Syria, where the existing structures of Damascus were adapted as the capital of the dynastic caliphate of Umayyads, the existing Roman and Byzantine church was transformed into the Umayyad Mosque and the adjacent palace converted to the *dār al-Imāra* with a secure connection for the ruler-commander-caliph to enter the mosque from his *qiblah* wall side, avoiding having to walk through the congregation and risking assassination attempts. *Maqsūra,* the secure enclosure, was introduced for the ruler to speak from. While the symbolic unity of the place of communal prayer and the place of governance was maintained through sermons and edicts in the name of the ruler, the two started to develop clearer and harder boundaries and ultimately started to become different buildings.

Impractical distances between the original center of the city with its great mosque and the ruler's palace (as in the newly founded Abbasid city of Baghdad) and the expanded periphery of Muslim settlements, as well as a dramatic increase in population, led to the evolution of a religious geography of primary and secondary centers. Primary were the mosques in which the community formed the obligatory Friday congregation (Qurʾān 62: 9–11) and took the name *masjid al-jamaʿah* (also *masjid al-jumʿah* or *masjid al-jamiʿ,* "place of assembly"). Later they were called *al-jamīʿ* or simply *jamīʿ*, meaning the place where the Friday *khuṭbah* (sermon) is delivered. Secondary centers were small mosques (*masājid*) where the immediate neighborhood could conveniently offer the daily prayers.

SEATS OF LEARNING AND ACADEMIES FOR TRAINING. Because it was in the capital city, the central *masjid* often had the patronage of the ruler or that of a high-ranking minister of the court, and it usually expanded into a complex with colleges, libraries, hostels, kitchens, and infirmaries. Among many similiar cases, the example of *Jamia al-Azhar*, founded in Cairo by the Fāṭimids (970 CE), illustrates such an interpretation of the legacy of the Prophet's mosque as a seat of learning. It is instructive to note that *Jamia* in this sense implies a gathering of faculties (*kulliye*), much like a modern university. However, as various sects and schools of law hardened in their respective interpretations of Islam, the mosques started to get identified as such. The character of their associated institution transformed from a university-like environment to that of *madrasah*, where the aim was less to nurture an inquiring and critical scholar and more to train an evangelical protagonist of a particular *madhab* (sect) and *fiqh* (jurisprudence). Many governments in Muslim history supported such mosque-*madrasah* institutions to prepare individuals trained in particular Muslim schools of thought.

FOR REMEMBRANCE OF GOD. Perhaps the most enduring legacy of the Prophet and his mosque is rooted in the Verses of Light (Qurʾān 24:36–37). The first verse, through a rich yet imaginable parable, introduces the likeness of God's light as an unearthly, dreamlike "lamp in a niche." The second verse states that this light resides in the "houses which God has permitted to be elevated to honored status; for the celebration in them of His name and His glorification in the mornings and the evenings, again and again." In the verses that follow one can see the distinctions created between those who remember in these mosques and those who are distracted or even deny the necessity of this rememberance. Beyond having provided sustained inspiration for the ambience of interior mosque space from the *qiblah* wall to the *miḥrāb*, the light in the *miḥrāb*, the lights in the prayer hall, the niches for keeping the Qurʾān, and the designs of the prayer rugs (*sijjādah*), the Verse of Light is one of the most frequently calligraphed in the mosques. This attitude toward the mosque as a place where a totally noncorporeal omnipresent God could "reside" through individual and collective rememberance of believing humans is corroborated by many other verses (Qurʾān 2:114, 9:17–18, 72:18), which has led to the pervasive belief among Muslims that every mosque is the "house of God." The understandable desire to build a "house" for God, especially with the *ḥadīth* promise that for anyone who builds a mosque on this earth God will build an equivalent house in paradise, led to many mosques commemorating his blessings. Kings, conquerors, princes, and successful businesspeople commissioned such projects with revenue-generating endowments *(awqāf)* to maintain the building and charitable services like kitchens and the staff who kept such a complex alive. Often such projects encompassed a mausoleum-graveyard of the patron's family, with the idea that the grace of the mosque and charity will help deliverance of their souls on the Day of Judgment. It is important to note that whereas the state mosque continued the Prophet's legacy as the governing leader of the community, the devotional mosque preserved those aspects of Islam's spiritual legacy that had started to become victims of political contingencies. Thus the Prophet's mosque, while maintaining some fundamental ritual and formal structure, had to metamorphose into specialized categories.

MOSQUES, PROPHETS, AND SAINTS. There is a fine line between a location—especially the burial place of a prophet, an *imām*, a saint, or a martyr—remaining a place of commemoration or becoming a focus for worship parallel with the worship of God. Muslim history has walked a fine and careful line between the veneration of sites that preserve the sacred memories of a great religious personality or even a *qiblah*-oriented congregation in a mosque with an unshared intention to pray to no one except God. With reference to the Qurʾanic story of the *ashāb al-kahf* (companions of the cave) (Qurʾān 18:2–22), it is important to note that the prevailing party of believers erected a *masjid* over the place to memorialize them while making sure that it was the mosque that was used for prayers to God, rather than the "cave," which could have become the object of idolatory. Likewise, while the Prophet's mausoleum continues to assert his historical presence in his own mosque, the activities of the mosque are totally aimed at the continuation of his mission to establish and maintain a God-conscious, God-directed community based on the Abrahamic monotheistic axis. It is also in this sense that all mosques of the world, whatever particular national, cultural, or historical motivations they have been built upon, maintain the continuity of Muḥammad's Abrahamic mission.

SEE ALSO Ḥaram and Hawtah; Madrasah; Ṣalāt; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Muslim Worship.

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MOSQUE: ARCHITECTURAL ASPECTS

The mosque (from the Arabic *masjid,* meaning "place of prostrations") has been the place of congregational prayer for Muslims since the formation of Islam in 622 CE. It takes on numerous regional styles and varies greatly in size from that of the congregational Friday mosque, called in Arabic *masjid al-jamiʿ*, in Persian and Urdu (*masjid al-jumʿah*), or in Turkish (*ulu çami*), to a simple oratory (*masjid*), to an outdoor space for large assemblies (*musalla*) for special times such as Eid festivals.

Formal ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*)—a sequence of standing, kneeling, and prostration—is one of the "pillars" of Islam. Muslims often pray alone, but the *ummah,* the community of believers, is basic to the mosque. Since Islam does not distinguish between the spiritual and the secular, the mosque is a center for both. It is the emblematic building of Islam.

For a Muslim the building of a mosque is a pious act. The prophet Muḥammad said, "whoever builds for Allāh a mosque, seeking by it Allāh's grace, Allāh will build for him a house in paradise" (related by al-Bukhārī and Muslim). Most mosques are endowed through the creation of a pious trust or *waqf* established by the mosque's builder. In most Muslim countries the state has by now taken over many of the trusts, usually with a ministry of *awqāf* to manage the properties.

All mosques are places of worship, but they are not sacred or consecrated spaces. In the Qurʾān the word *masjid,* although used many times, is applied only to three specific buildings (usually considered sacred), the most holy place being the Kaʿbah in Mecca and its surrounding mosque, al-

Masjid al-ḥaram. It is, according to the Qurʾān, "the very first house of prayer established for humanity. . . . The place where Abraham stood. . . ." (Qurʾān III: 95–97). The other places are the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem with the Al-Aqsa Mosque (built originally in 715, in its present form around 1350) and the Mosque of Quba in Medina built by the Prophet himself.

The mosque also often incorporates a variety of other functions. Most common is a *madrasah,* or religious school, and small library, a soup kitchen to feed the poor, and a medical facility. Often there may be a public drinking fountain or well. Sometimes there is a shrine to a saint or ruler, but the dead are usually buried elsewhere. Graveyards adjacent to mosques do occur, notably in Eastern Europe. In urban areas shops often form the periphery of the mosque and subsidize the expenses of the facility.

ARCHITECTURAL AND LITURGICAL ELEMENTS. Architectural elements of the mosque are not prescribed except for the requirement that worshipers pray facing Mecca, the spiritual center of the Islamic world, and that the surface they pray on be clean. Worshipers pray in straight rows, generally making the prayer space wide and shallow. Islam has two main sects, the Sunnī (around 90 percent of Muslims worldwide) and the Shīʿah, but their mosques are generally architecturally indistinguishable. The most apparent differences lie in the choice of Qurʾanic verses that are displayed in the building.

The direction of Mecca in the prayer hall or space itself is denoted by a *qiblah* wall and niche (*miḥrāb*). The *qiblah* may be simply marked by a line on the sand or can be part of a building. The *miḥrāb* is usually outlined and embellished with calligraphy from Qurʾanic passages. The *imām,* who leads the prayers, stands by the *miḥrāb* in front of the congregation.

A pool, fountain, or simply running water for ritual cleansing (ablutions) before praying is usually provided, as are prayer mats to maintain the cleanliness of the floor surface and define individual areas. Worshipers often bring their own rugs to the mosque. Indeed, the prayer hall of the mosque can be regarded as a modular space based on the dimensions of a prayer mat.

The minaret or *minar* (from *minara,* or lighthouse) is usually a tower from which the *muezzin* (*muʾadhdhān),* a specially delegated person, gives the call to prayer (*adhān*). Traditionally the human voice has carried the *adhān,* but in contemporary times the voice is amplified by loudspeakers to rise above the general cacophony of the city. The minaret also acts as a visual marker for the mosque.

Other physical elements commonly used are the entrance portal marking the transition into the mosque from the outside world, the circular dome, an abstraction of the heavens, and the courtyard (*sahn*), also used as an overflow prayer space. In a large mosque, there is often a *dikka,* or raised platform, on which one person or a small group of worshipers transmit the *imām*'s postures to those unable to see or hear the *imām* himself.

Inside the mosque adjacent to the *miḥrāb* is the *mimbar,* or pulpit, from which the sermon is delivered after the Friday prayers. It consists of a movable platform with steps, usually made of elaborately carved wood.

Islamic civilization has made significant contributions to architecture. One is the use of two- and three-dimensional geometry at all scales, which not only organizes space but also imparts symbolic meanings. The three-dimensional *muqarnas,* the so-called stalactite form, is unique to Islam. This device is usually used as a transitional element between two surfaces (for example, at a corner) and acts to "dematerialize" space. Calligraphy, the word of God expressed in written form, is another important contribution. Such texts on buildings—epigraphy—signal the presence of Islam and add beauty and complexity to surfaces. Gardens have always been important reminders to Muslims to be stewards of the earth. They follow geometric principles of design and scientific and engineering principles dealing with sustainability and nature, for example, in the recycling of water. Water features are present in almost all gardens, seen as places of pleasure and individual contemplation, but gardens do not occur frequently in mosques.

TYPOLOGY OF THE MOSQUE. Each region of the Islamic world combines these elements to express a local architecture in which vernacular and historic traditions are distinguished. Architecturally, the mosque may be divided into five main types corresponding to historical and regional manifestations.

The first type, the *hypostyle* mosque, originated in the Arabian Peninsula. It also occurs elsewhere, with varied form and construction materials. The mosque consists of a rectangular hypostyle, or many-columned covered hall, usually in wood and earth block or brick, with a flat roof. It is perhaps the most ancient construction method. One enters first into an enclosed courtyard with its ablutions facility, then into the hall from the side opposite the *qiblah* wall. A single square minaret with an internal staircase rises above the building. The hypostyle mosque was the most dominant form from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries and has not significantly altered over the ages. Its model was the Mosque of the Prophet—the Masjid an-Nabi—which as far as we can tell started off as the Prophet's house in Medina, a simple courtyard with rooms on two sides. In 707 CE the caliph al-Walid replaced it with a new building with minarets added as visual markers or to carry the *adhān.* Because of its symbolic importance, it has expanded over the centuries to accommodate the multitudes that pray in it, until today the early mosque is unrecognizable.

The Umayyad Great Mosque (715) in Damascus encompasses the former Church of St. John, itself built on the site of a Roman temple. The Great Mosque of Córdoba, Spain (786–990), has elegant double-horseshoe arches, into which a cathedral was inserted in the sixteenth century. Other prominent examples of hypostyle mosques include the

Mosque of Ibn Tulun (879) in Cairo, and the Kutubiyya (twelfth century) in Marrakech, Morocco.

A different hypostyle earth building tradition is found in Northern Africa, especially in Sudan, and was transmitted by Muslim Arab traders across the African continent to the western sub-Saharan region. Commonly referred to as the Hausa-Fulani tradition, it combines the use of the hypostyle hall with buttressed walls and towers to produce a vernacular common to both monumental and rural buildings. Mosques incorporate older African symbols, such as ancestor pillar fertility symbols and tops covered in ostrich eggs for strength. Construction methods use reinforcing stick scaffolding that remains embedded in the structure. It is a living tradition, which makes these mosques difficult to date. The present building of the Great Mosque of Djenne in Mali was built in 1909, although the mosque is much older. A recent earth mosque in Yaama (1962–1982), Niger, uses the same architectural language and appears to be timeless.

There are two interesting exceptions in Africa. In East Africa, where Islam was brought from India and Oman and rooted itself in the coastal area, there is Indian-inspired mosque architecture. The second is the Afro-Brazilian mosque, so named for West African slaves in Brazil who worked as church builders. In the late nineteenth century they returned to Niger and surrounding countries, where they produced mosques that are clearly Portuguese Catholic baroque. Local people regard them as traditionally Islamic.

The next type is the mosque with four *iwans,* which occurs mainly in Iran, Central Asia, and Afghanistan, developed from the indigenous Iranian building used for houses, *madrasahs*, and caravansaries. In Iran the traditional vault-and-dome building was used to develop *iwans,* or vaulted open porches, encompassed by a giant portal (*pishtaq*) arranged around a central courtyard. Off one *iwan* is the prayer hall. The local tile-making techniques transferred from China produced blue-and-white ceramics to cover the important entrance portals and the *miḥrāb*. Epigraphy attained artistic heights.

The *iwan* mosque coalesced during the Seljuk dynasty (1038–1194) and penetrated Egypt under the rule of Salah ad-Din (Saladin) and his Ayyūbid dynasty (1171–1250). Under the patronage of Mamlūk sultans (1250–1517) elaborate mosque complexes marked the power and wealth of the rulers. The Tilakari Mosque-Madrasah (1660) in Samarkand, Uzbekistan, is a fine example of this style, but the pinnacle of perfection is the Masjid-i Shah (1637) in Isfahan, Iran. This type remained in the architecture of the region and was also transmitted to Central Asia and India, where it was transformed.

The third type is the *Indian mosque,* fully developed by the Imperial Moguls (1526–1828). It is characterized by a wide rectangular prayer hall covered with triple domes, a courtyard with a pool of water surrounded by colonnades, and a monumental entrance. Building material in the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent was mainly brick, and construction techniques and decorative schemes combined the Persian and Hindu traditions. Mosques varied in scale from the small Moti (Pearl) Masjid of 1662 in the Delhi Red Fort to the magnificent large Badshahi Mosque (1674) in Lahore.

The Ottomans (1281–1922) in Anatolia developed in the sixteenth century the fourth type, the *central domed mosque,* that has become the dominant model for contemporary architecture. It is characterized by a large central domed space without columns. It places pencil-thin minarets at the building's corners. The origins of this form lie in the Byzantine centralized basilica plan of the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul (then Constantinople). It was taken to unprecedented heights by the great architect Sinan in the Sulemaniye Complex (1557) in Edirne, and in the picturesque Sultan Ahmet or Blue Mosque (early seventeenth century) of Istanbul, designed by his disciple Mehemet Agha. Both the courtyard and prayer hall are square in plan, with the courtyard open to the sky and surrounded by domed porches.

The same typology occurs again in Indonesia and Malaysia, where there is essentially a unified central space but in a very different style and in wood construction. Islam spread via the sea routes to Southeast Asia in the eighteenth century. The buildings in this region retained their own traditional forms based on the Javanese pavilion with its central two- to five-tiered pyramidal roof. The structure of the main hall is supported by four columns (*saka-guru*), with the roof covered with either wood shingles or clay tiles. The ablutions space is usually housed in a separate pavilion. The minaret, when present, is a freestanding structure, made usually of brick. The complex is often surrounded by a compound wall. Mosques throughout the archipelago adhere to this model, with variations such as elevation onto stilts. A good example is the Masjid Agung (1474) in Demak, Central Java, the oldest extant mosque in the region. Until the nineteenth century Javanese mosques were often not oriented toward Mecca but retained the culturally auspicious east-west axis: this, however, has changed. Minarets too, perhaps to be more normative, are now commonplace. (However, some of the coastal towns reveal clearly their Indian antecedents.)

The last type is the Chinese *pavilion* mosque, developed using architecture associated with Chinese culture. (The exception is the western Xinjiang region, where wood and brick building traditions of Central Asia prevail.) The first Muslims appeared in China during the Tang dynasty (618–907) and soon began building with indigenous Chinese architecture. The Chinese mosque employs the traditional pitched roof form with upturned ends, a timber structure, and a rectangular columnar prayer hall. As in Southeast Asia, the complex consists of independent structures, each housing a different function. Even the gateway and the minaret are separate structures. The minaret is a square to octagonal several-tiered pagoda. The mosque form is essentially indistinguishable from other public buildings. The surrounding high wall encloses Chinese gardens, where the transition between one area and another is marked by traditional Chinese moon gates. The most famous example of this type is the Great Mosque of Xian (eighth century, in present form from 1392). It has a minaret-pagoda, a series of pavilions and gardens, and a *qiblah* wall with a very ornate *miḥrāb* made of wood. Another example is the Niu Jie (Ox Street) Mosque (1362) in Beijing. Islam adapted the techniques and meaning of local architecture while bringing in new elements.

SOME CONTEMPORARY ISSUES. The contemporary mosque often expresses the identity of its users—especially true where Muslims are in the minority. There are three streams of design—the vernacular, historic, and modern.

A fine mud-brick mosque was designed in the vernacular mode by Hassan Fathy at New Gourna (1948) near Luxor in Egypt as an alternative to the pan-Islamic modern architecture.

Perhaps the greatest recent historicist mosque is the Hassan II Mosque (1993) in Casablanca, Morocco. It is the largest contemporary mosque in the world, built on the edge of the city on reclaimed land. The location was inspired by the verse from the Qurʾān that states: "the throne of God lies on the water" (Qurʾān XI: 7). It uses forms of twelfth-century Moroccan architecture, scaled up several times, in a very ornate structure. Its 650-foot-tall minaret has a laser beam projecting twenty miles in the direction of Mecca. The prayer hall can accommodate 25,000 worshipers. The structure's center acts as a courtyard when the roof slides open. There are some rather fantastic features, such as a swimming pool and the most elaborate ablutions facility anywhere. The craftsmanship of the whole complex reflects some extraordinary features. It is a modern building in the guise of tradition.

Contemporary mosques that proclaim modernity together with Islam can be found worldwide. The Shah Faisal Mosque (1970–1986) in Islamabad, Pakistan, was conceived as a national mosque to reflect the then progressive modern state. The Sherefuddin Mosque (1980) in Visoko, Bosnia, is uncompromisingly modern, and the Manhattan Islamic Center Mosque (1991) in New York skillfully abstracts the Ottoman mosque.

The way in which architecture reflects society is observed in the spaces designated for women's prayer. Usually 10 to 15 percent of the prayer area is demarcated for women, in a balcony or to the sides, separated from the men. One mosque that places women in a central location is in Kingston, Ontario, Canada. Perhaps this was due to the fact that women were on the mosque building committee—itself a rare occurrence—and that the community is formed of a liberal university population. In their debate over the physical position for women, some one hundred letters were written to *imāms* all over the world to get their opinions. There was no consensus and the community had to make its own decision.

Women in many countries attend mosque for prayer but also for educational and social functions. In Europe and the United States, women and children are increasingly frequenting mosques, where the use of the complex is changing. This may affect the design of mosques, which have usually been centers for men.

Mosque design is undergoing a "globalizing" influence in terms of using elements thought to be normative. Indeed, a dome on a mosque built in 2000 in Shanghai, China, is used only as a sign. It has no relationship whatsoever to the building's structure or interior spaces—it merely sits atop the flat roof. In Indonesia, ready-made tin domes sold along the sides of roads are replacing the indigenous pyramidal roof. It is the dome and the minaret that have become the desirable symbols for the mosque, leading to the neglect of regional architectural traditions. Largely because of the current influence of the Arab Middle East, especially Saudi Arabia, such elements become the expression of an Islam that tries to be universal.

The architecture of the mosque is not just about design and place making. Its importance lies also in the collective meanings it transmits over time. To understand mosques is to understand the architecture of the region and place, and even more significantly, the culture to which it belongs. The mosque reflects the pluralism of Islam while remaining unchanged in its ritualistic aspects. Modernity and internationalism with their own tenets have created new mosque styles, but in the main mosques today continue to emulate either vernacular or historicist models in order to give them legitimacy and instant recognition in the eyes of a global *ummah*-community.

SEE ALSO Calligraphy, article on Islamic Calligraphy; Iconography, article on Islamic Iconography; Ṣalāt; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Muslim Worship.

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HASAN-UDDIN KHAN (2005)

MOTHER GODDESS SEE GODDESS WORSHIP

MOTOORI NORINAGA

MOTOORI NORINAGA (1730–1801), regarded as the preeminent scholar of the Kokugaku ("national learning") school of premodern Japan. Born Ozu Yoshisada to a merchant-class family in Matsuzaka, Norinaga became interested in literature as a young man. Following the death of his brother-in-law in 1751, Norinaga's mother skillfully juggled the family finances in order to send her son to the capital, Kyoto, to continue his education. In 1752 he became the student of Hori Keizan, a Confucian scholar, with whom he studied Chinese literature. That same year he also discovered a book on Japanese poetry written by the Shingon monk Keichu, the first Kokugaku scholar (*kokugakusha*). This experience moved Norinaga to undertake the study of the earliest Japanese documents, an occupation that he complemented with the study of practical medicine. As a result of his reading, which inculcated in him a growing awareness of, and sensitivity to, Japan's long cultural and religious history, he abandoned the name Ozu in favor of his family's ancestral name, Motoori. Later, he took Norinaga as his personal name.

Norinaga returned to Matsuzaka in 1757 and began to practice internal medicine, but his main interest continued to center on "ancient learning" (*kogaku*), the literary and historical heritage of the early Japanese state. His early works include *Ashiwake obune* (A small boat on a reedy river), which discusses the nature of *waka* poetry; *Shibun yōryō* (The essence of *Genji*), an analysis of the *Genji monogatari* (Tale of Genji); and *Isonokami sasamegoto* (Whisperings of Isonokami), in which he developed the celebrated concept of *mono no aware*. This term, which literally means the sentiments or affections felt immediately after experiencing something, Norinaga considered to be the integrating concept of the *Genji monogatari*. Using this notion, he attempted to free the analysis of literature from the moralism of contemporary criticism. His emphasis on human experience for its own sake was fundamental to his existential outlook on life; it was from this standpoint that he would later explore his own cultural identity within the Shintō tradition.

Norinaga's major work, the *Kojikiden* (Commentary on the *Kojiki*), was begun in 1763, soon after Norinaga's first and only meeting with Kamo no Mabuchi (1697–1769), a disciple of Kada Azumamaro (1668–1736) and a major figure in the Kokugaku movement. Their meeting took place as Mabuchi was passing through Matsuzaka on a pilgrimage to the Grand Shrine at Ise. Prior to this, Norinaga had already begun to read the works of Mabuchi, intending to study the *Kojiki* with him sometime in the future. After their fortuitous meeting, Mabuchi accepted Norinaga as his student; through a lively correspondence that continued until Mabuchi's death, Norinaga gradually laid claim to the intellectual successorship of the Kokugaku movement. Some thirty-five years elapsed between the time Norinaga began work on the *Kojikiden* and its completion in 1798. During that time he produced a number of other important works. These include the most representative of his treatises on Shintō, *Naobi no mitama* (The Spirit of Naobi; 1771); *Hihon tamakushige* (Special Edition of *The Spirit Box;* 1787), a discussion of Japanese politics presented to the Kii (one of three collateral Tokugawa families); and *Uiyamabumi* (Introductory Remarks for Scholastic Beginners; 1798), which marked the end of his scholarly career. In that year he began to draw a pension from the daimyo of Kii in response to an earlier request.

In the year preceding his death Norinaga wrote *Shokki rekichō Shōshikai* (Commentaries on Imperial Edicts in the *Shoku Nihongi*) and his will, which described in detail the procedures to be followed at his funeral. He also purchased land at the top of Mount Yamamuro to be used for his burial plot. Many have interpreted these actions as a rejection of Buddhism and an affirmation of his conviction that his spirit would remain on this earth forever.

In his many works Norinaga combined philological acumen with a keen sense of the primacy of the ancient texts of Japan, providing a basis on which scholars of his generation could forge a new appreciation of Shintō myth. He regarded Shintō as the way of the *kami* (which he defined as anything possessing awe-inspiring or superior power) and thus essentially the way of the emperor, the direct descendant of the deity Amaterasu. According to Norinaga, it is not our fate after death that should be our concern but rather a spontaneous and natural appreciation of life itself. In this life-affirming ethic he advocated a joyous reliance on the will of the *kami*, and maintained that each person was possessed of an innate sense of moral rectitude that renders manmade ethical systems unnecessary. For Norinaga, these attitudes were the very essence of the received traditions of antiquity. He himself eschewed the word *kokugaku*, holding that "learning" could not but refer to the study of the ancient texts and traditions of Japan.

SEE ALSO Kokugaku.

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MO-TZU SEE MOZI

MOUNTAINS have an important place in the symbolic geography of religious traditions the world over, although the ways in which mountains are significant have differed. Some have been seen as cosmic mountains, central to an entire worldview; others have been distinguished as places of revelation and vision, as divine dwelling places, or even as geographical manifestations of the divine.

Attitudes toward mountains in general have varied widely. Chinese poets such as Xie Lingyun (fourth to fifth century CE) and Hanshan (eighth to ninth century CE) were attracted by mountains through a sense that these peaks piled one upon the other led not only to the clouds, but to heaven. And yet in the West, the image of jutting mountain peaks touching the clouds has not always had a positive symbolic valence. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for example, Luther and others held the view that mountains appeared in an otherwise pleasingly symmetrical world only after the flood, which scarred the surface of the earth with "warts and pockmarks" and signaled the fall and decay of nature. Mountains were, in the view of the sixteenth-century English writer Edward Burnet, the ruins of the postdiluvial world, a sign of chaos and fractured creation. However, in the late seventeenth century with the "aesthetics of the infinite" came a new appreciation of the splendor and height of mountains as stretching the imagination toward God. One writer of the time described his response to the Alps as "a delightful Horrour, a terrible Joy, and at the same time, that I was infinitely pleas'd, I trembled" (quoted in Nicolson, 1959, p. 277).

THE COSMIC MOUNTAIN AS SACRED CENTER. As the center of the world, linking heaven and earth and anchoring the cardinal directions, the mountain often functions as an *axis mundi*—the centerpost of the world; it is a cosmic mountain, central to the order and stability of the cosmos. One of the most important such mountains is Mount Meru, or Sumeru, the mythical mountain that has "centered" the world of the majority of Asians—Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain. According to Hindu cosmology, four lotus-petal continents spread out from Mount Meru at the center and beyond them the seven ring-shaped seas and ring-shaped continents of the wider universe. Mount Meru rises heavenward as the seed cup of the world lotus. As an *axis mundi,* this mountain, rooted deep in the netherworld, rises high through the realms of heaven, where it spreads out to accommodate the cities of all the gods. Interestingly, Meru does not form a peak, for the geographical texts of the Purāṇas agree that Meru is wider at top than at bottom, true to both its seed-cup prototype and the polytheistic consciousness that accommodates many gods at the top. Meru has four sides of different colors (*varṇa*s) and is flanked by four directional mountains. Above Meru stands the polestar, and daily the sun drives his chariot around the mountain. The heavenly Ganges in its descent to earth first touches the top of Meru and then divides into four rivers that run in the four cardinal directions to water the earth.

As the center of the world-circle, or *maṇḍala,* Mount Meru is symbolically repeated in many Hindu temples that take the mountain as an architectural prototype. The *śikhara* (spire or peak) of the temple rises high above the cavelike womb-chamber of the sanctum and is capped with the cogged, ring-shaped *āmalaka,* the sun itself, a symbol of the heavens. The mountain is also repeated in the architecture of the Buddhist stupa, the reliquary dome with gateways in the four directions and a multileveled mast at the top marking the *bhūmi*s ("worlds") that lead to heaven. The mountain symbolism is most elaborately seen in the stupa of Borobudur in Java, which is actually built over a small hill. There one sequentially circumambulates the nine *bhūmi*s of the cosmos to reach the top. In China and Japan, the vertical dimension of the stupa became attenuated in the structure of the pagoda and came to predominate over the dome-shaped tumulus of the reliquary. Even so, the pagodas of the Far East preserve the basic mountain symbolism of the stupa. In Southeast Asia, one of the many duplicates of Meru is Mount Gunung Agung, the great volcanic mountain that is at the center of the island of Bali. Throughout Bali, individual temples repeat the mountain symbolism and are called *meru*s. Their nine roof-layers again signify the vertical dimensions of the cosmic mountain linking heaven and earth.

Like Meru, other mountains have been seen as cosmic centers. Mount Hara has a central place in the ancient cosmology of the Zoroastrian tradition. According to the *Zamyad Yasht,* it was the earth's first mountain, and its roots the source of the other mountains of Iran. Like other cosmic centers, it is the pivot around which the sun and the stars revolve, and like many other sacred mountains, it is also considered to be the source of heavenly waters. In Japan, the great volcanic peaks, among which Fuji is the most famous, have been thought to link earth and heaven. In Morocco, the great Atlas range in the territory of the Berbers is sometimes called the "pillar of heaven." Mountains that center and stand at the quarters of a fourfold cosmos are numerous, as can be seen in the quadrant mountains of China and in the "Encircled Mountain" of the Navajo, around which stand four peaks, each identified with a direction and a color.

Mountains not considered "centers" in any cosmology still share this image of stability and permanence, of both height and unshakable depth. The *Book of Psalms* speaks of the "foundations" of the mountains and hills. Among the Yoruba, myths stress the durability of the hills and, therefore, their ability to protect. The Yoruba say "Ota oki iku," meaning "The rock never dies." In East Africa, one might receive the blessing "Endure, like Kibo." Kibo is the peak of Mount Kilimanjaro and marks, for the Chagga people, the direction of all that is powerful and honorable.

In a similar vein, there are many traditions of the mountain that stood firm during a great flood. Mount Ararat in Turkey is known as the mountain where Noah found land and the ark came to rest. Among the Native American peoples of the Pacific Northwest, Mount Rainier was a pillar of stability during the flood. Peruvian myths from the Sierran highlands claim the same for several of the high peaks of the Andes.

The mountain as nature's great link between heaven and earth has also been widely symbolized architecturally, as in the case of Meru. In ancient Mesopotamia, the seven-storied ziggurat, with its high temple at the top and its low temple at the bottom, allows for the descent of the divine. The pyramids of Mesoamerican civilization, such as the ruins at Teotihuacán, are clearly aligned to stand at the center of ceremonial avenues. The Pyramid of the Moon at Teotihuacán is further aligned with Mount Cerro Gordo, which it duplicates.

MOUNTAINS OF REVELATION AND VISION. There are many mountains that may not have a central role in cosmology but that are, nonetheless, places of powerful contact between the divine and the human. For example, on top of Adam's Peak, or Śrī Pada ("auspicious foot"), in Sri Lanka is a large indentation said to be a footprint. According to Buddhists, it is the footprint of the Buddha himself, matched by a similar imprint at Phra Sat in Thailand. For Hindus, it is the imprint of Śiva; for Muslims, that of Adam; for Christians, that of the apostle Thomas. In any case, the belief that the peak was once trod by one larger than life is held by the people of all four traditions who climb to the top on pilgrimage.

In the Islamic tradition, it was on Mount Hira on the outskirts of Mecca that Muḥammad heard the revealed word of the Qurʾān. At nearby Mount Arafat, the entire assembly of pilgrims stands from noon to sunset on the ninth day of the *ḥājj* pilgrimage. This collective act of standing, before God and around Arafat, is considered by many to be the most powerful moment of the *ḥājj.*

Mount Sinai, where Moses encountered Yahveh face to face, is one of the most striking examples of the mountain of revelation. There Yahveh appeared to the Hebrews as a storm, with fire and lightning, or as a cloud that covered the peak. And there Yahveh also appeared directly, when Moses and the elders ascended the mountain and "saw the God of Israel" (*Ex.* 24:10). In the Elohist and Deuteronomic traditions, Yahveh appeared on Mount Horeb. There Moses enountered Yahveh in the burning bush. And there Elijah stood before the Lord, who, after the rock-breaking wind, the fire, and the earthquake, spoke to him as "a still small voice" (*1 Kgs.* 19:11–12). And Jesus was transfigured upon a high mountain, sometimes said to be Mount Hermon, and appeared to Peter, John, and James with a glowing countenance, in dazzling raiment, and flanked by Moses and Elijah (*Mt.* 17:1–8; *Mk.* 9:2–8; *Lk.* 9:28–36).

The mountain top is a revelatory landscape, its height offering both the vision of heaven and a broad perspective on earth. Mountain ascent is associated with vision and the acquisition of power, as is clear in the vision quest of many of the Native American traditions and in the ascents of the *yamabushi,* the mountain ascetics of Japan. In both cases, transformation, including spiritual insight, is part of the mountain experience. For the pilgrim who is not an adept, a shaman, or an initiate, the mountaintop still affords ecstatic vision. In the words of the great Chinese mountain poet Hanshan, "High, high from the summit of the peak, / Whatever way I look, no limit in sight" (*Cold Mountain,* trans. Burton Watson, New York, 1970, p. 46).

THE DWELLING PLACE OF THE DIVINE. For the Hebrews, God's "dwelling place" was surely not Sinai, the place of revelation, but Mount Zion, the sturdy, rocky mount of Jerusalem. Zion, neither lofty nor dramatic, was the firm foundation of Jerusalem, the "City on a hill." Here God was said to dwell in the midst of the people. The awesome mountaintop, where God appears in fire and lightning, is replaced with the security and protection of a fortress mountain.

The hills of Canaan were the high places of powerful local *baalim,* and Mount Zaphon was the abode of the great Baal Hadad. In the *Ras Shamra* Ugaritic texts, Baal describes his dwelling place "in the midst of my mountain, the godly Zaphon, in the holy place, the mountain of my heritage, in the chosen spot, the hill of victory" (Clifford, 1972, p. 138). Many of Zaphon's traditions have likely become attached to Zion.

Perhaps the earliest evidence for mountaintop sanctuaries is in the Middle Minoan period (2100–1900 BCE) on Crete, where peak and cave sanctuaries such as those at Mount Juktas, Mount Dikte, and Mount Ida have been found, along with evidence of votive offerings to the goddess. In the Greek mythological tradition, Olympus is the dwelling place of the gods, especially of Zeus, whose cult was widely associated with mountaintops. Hermes, Apollo, Artemis, and Pan had mountain sanctuaries as well.

The hilltop and mountain shrines of both local and widely known gods are also important in the sacred geography of India. Śiva is called Giriśa, the "lord of the mountains." He dwells upon Mount Kailash in the Himalayas and has mountain shrines all over India, such as Śrī Śaila in Andhra Pradesh and Kedara in the Himalayas. Śiva's consort, Pārvatī, is the daughter of the mountain (*parvat*), and she too dwells on mountaintops in countless local forms—as Vindhyavāsinī in central North India or as Ambikā at Girnār in Gujarat. Similarly, in South India, Skanda has hilltop shrines at Palṇi and Tirutaṇi, Ayyappan dwells on Mount Śabari in Kerala, and Śri Veṅkateśvara dwells on the Seven Hills of Tirupati.

In China, there are four mountains that came to be associated with the four directions and four prominent *bodhisattvas*. Most famous among them is the northern peak, Wutai Shan, associated with Mañjusri, the *bodhisattva* of wisdom. When the Japanese monk Ennin visited Mount Wutai in the ninth century CE, it was a bustling center of monastic learning and of lay pilgrimage. The others are Mount Jiuhua in the south, Mount Emei in the west, and the hilly island of Putuo Shan off the Zhejiang coast in the east. According to popular tradition, the *bodhisattva*s associated with these mountains were to be seen not merely in the temples but would take human form and appear as a beggar or an elderly monk to pilgrims along the way.

In addition to this group of four Buddhist mountains there are the five mountains of the Daoist tradition, again situated at the four compass points, with a center mountain shrine at Song Shan in Henan Province. Tai Shan in Shandong Province is perhaps the most famous of the five, with seven thousand stone stairs leading to the top where, next to the Daoist temple, a stone monument stands uninscribed but for the word *di* ("god"). The poet who was supposed to honor the mountain on this tablet was silenced by its splendor.

MOUNTAINS CHARGED WITH DIVINE POWER. Japanese traditions recognize many mountain divinities—the *yama no kami.* In a sense, they dwell upon the mountain, but it might be more correct to say that the *yama no kami* are not really distinct from the mountain itself. In the Shintō traditions of Japan the separation of nature from spirit would be artificial. In the spring, the *yama no kami* descend from the mountains and become *ta no kami, kami* of the paddy fields, where they remain for the seasons of planting, growth, and harvest, returning to the mountain in the autumn. Even as the *kami* change locus, they remain part of the nature they inhabit.

In the Heian period, with increasing Shintō-Buddhist syncretism, the mountain *kami* came to be seen as forms of Amida Buddha and the various *bodhisattva*s, and the Shugendō tradition of mountain ascetism began. Among Japan's important mountain sanctuaries are Mount Haguro, Mount Gassan, Mount Yoshino, Mount Omine, and the Kumano mountains, identified with the Pure Land of Amida Buddha. Religious associations called *ko* organize locally or regionally for the ascent of particular mountains, taking the name of the mountain itself (Fujikō, Kumanokō, etc.).

Many Native American traditions share this sense of the inseparability of mountain and spirit power. The peoples of the Pacific Northwest, for instance, often begin their tales with "Long ago, when the mountains were people. . . ." The mountains, such as Tacoma, now known as Rainier, are the mighty ancestors of the past. Farther south, the divine personification of mountains can be seen in Popocatépetl and his spouse Iztaccíhuatl in Mexico or in Chimborazo and his spouse Tungurahua in Ecuador. The Zinacantecos of Chiapas still honor the tutelary ancestors, the Fathers and the Mothers, in shrines at both the foot and summit of their sacred hills. Among the Inca, the localization of power is called *huaca,* and is often manifest in stones or on mountains, such as the great Mount Huanacauri above Cuzco.

The mountain *is* the temple. Mount Cuchama in southern California, known as the Place of Creation, was one of the four exalted high places of the native peoples. For worship and initiation, it had no temple, for it was itself nature's own temple. India has many such striking examples of divine mountains, among which is Aruṇācala (Dawn Mountain) in the Tamil lands of South India. This holy hill is said to be the incandescent hierophany of Śiva and is reverently circumambulated as a temple would be.

LIFE AND DEATH. As givers of life, mountains are the source of rivers and, thus, the source of fertility. This is made explicit in the relation of the mountain and rice-field *kami* in Japan. On the south side of Mount Atlas in Morocco, fruits are said to grow spontaneously. And on the mythical Mount Meru the divine trees are said to yield fruits as big as elephants, which burst into streams of nectar when they fall and water the earth with divine waters. As the prophet Amos said of the Land of Israel, "The mountains shall drip sweet wine, and all the hills will flow with it" (*Am.* 9:13).

Mountains are the source not only of nourishing waters but also of rains and lightning. Storm gods are often associated with mountains: Zeus, Rudra/Śiva, Baal Hadad of Ugarit, Catiquilla of the Inca, and many more.

Mountains, the source of the waters of life, are also seen as the abode of the dead or the path to heaven for the dead. Among the Shoshoni of the Wyoming, for instance, the Teton Mountains were seen primarily as the dangerous place of the dead. The Comanche and Arapaho, who practiced hill burial, held similar beliefs. The Japanese elegy literature makes many references to the mountain resting place of the souls of the dead. A coffin is called a "mountain box," choosing a burial site is called "choosing the mountain," and the funeral procession chants "We go to the mountain!" Throughout the Buddhist world, the stupa, which originally is said to have housed the relics of the Buddha, has become on a miniature scale the symbolic form in which the ashes of the dead are housed.

THE PERSISTENCE OF THE MOUNTAIN. Through the ages many sacred mountains have accumulated many-layered traditions of myth and pilgrimage. Moriah, the mount of the Temple in Jerusalem, is a good example. First, it was an early Canaanite high place, a threshing floor and sanctuary for harvest offerings. According to tradition, it was there that Abraham came to sacrifice Isaac. And it was there that Solomon built the great Temple, and Nehemiah rebuilt it after the Babylonian exile. And much later, according to Islamic tradition, it was there that Muḥammad began his ascent from earth to heaven on his mystical "night journey" to the throne of God.

In Mexico, Tepeyac, the hill of the Aztec goddess Tonantzin, became the very place of the apparition of Our Lady of Guadalupe when the Catholic tradition was layered upon indigenous traditions. Similarly, the great mountain-shaped pyramid of Quetzalcoatl at Cholula became, in the age following the conquest, the site of Our Lady of Remedios. In Japan, Mount Koua and Mount Hiei, both charged with the power of their particular *kami,* became in Buddhist times the respective centers of the Shingon and the Tendai traditions. In countless such cases, the mountain persists as a sacred center, while myths and traditions change.

See Also Architecture; Center of the World; Cosmology, articles on Buddhist, Hindu, and Jain Cosmologies; Geography; Iconography, article on Buddhist Iconography; Pyramids; Stupa Worship; Temple, articles on Buddhist Temple Compounds, Mesoamerican Temples.

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Diana L. Eck (1987)

MOVEMENT FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS OF GOD.

On March 17, 2000, several hundred followers (estimates vary, but there may well have been more than three hundred, including seventy-eight children) of the Ugandan Movement for the Restoration of the Ten Commandments of God (MRTCG) died in Kanungu, Uganda, when their church was burned, in what was alternately called a mass suicide or a homicide perpetrated by the movement's leaders. The subsequent discovery, in various locations, of mass graves containing the remains of people believed to be murdered (most of them stabbed) raised the death toll to 780 and possibly more, the largest such incident in recent history at that time.

The MRTCG, a fringe Catholic group, had been established among an epidemic of apparitions of the Virgin Mary and Jesus in Catholic circles in Africa, most of them not recognized by the Roman Catholic Church. These apparitions occurred during and after a series of famous apparitions in Kibeho, Rwanda, from 1981 to 1989. There, seven "seers" were encouraged and approved by the Catholic hierarchy. The apparitions that led to the formation of the MRTCG started in 1987, when a number of Catholics claimed to have had visions of Jesus and the Virgin Mary in southwestern Uganda after Specioza Mukantabana, a Rwandan girl who claimed a connection with Kibeho (although she was not one of the seven "approved" seers) moved in 1986 to the Ugandan diocese of Mbarara and later to the diocese of Masaka, starting a movement in Mbuye. Among the new Ugandan seers were Paul Kashaku (1890–1991) and his daughter Credonia Mwerinde (1952–2000), a barmaid with a reputation for sexual promiscuity. Mwerinde later claimed to be a former prostitute—probably a false claim and a conscious attempt to replicate the role of Mary Magdalene. Kashaku had a past as a visionary and claimed to have seen, as early as 1960, an apparition of his deceased daughter Evangelista.

Kashaku claimed to have had a particularly important vision in 1988, and he impressed, among others, Joseph Kibwetere (1931–2000), who claimed to have himself received visions since 1984. Kibwetere was a solid member of the Catholic community in Uganda. He had been a politician and a locally prominent member of the Catholic-based Democratic Party in the 1970s. Eventually, a community was established in Kibwetere's home in 1989. The newly formed group attempted to merge the movement with other "apparitionist" groups, including the one established in Mbuye by Mukantabana (a group that had been condemned by the local Catholic bishop). These attempts failed however. A group of twelve apostles (six of them women) was appointed, and Kibwetere became their leader after Kashaku's death in 1991.

The seers claimed to have seen Jesus, Mary, and Joseph in several different visions, which were heavily influenced by recognized Catholic apparitions, such as those at La Salette and Fatima. The visions were also influenced by unofficial Catholic sources, including the messages of the Italian visionary priest Father Stefano Gobbi, several visionaries based in the United States, and William Kamm ("Little Pebble"), a marginal Catholic prophet who claimed that he would eventually become pope. The messages of the seer's visions addressed typical Ugandan themes, such as the AIDS epidemic and government corruption.

Eventually, the village of Kanungu was designated *ishayuriro rya Maria* (rescue place for the Virgin Mary), and the seers moved there in 1994. The group converted to their prophetic visions a handful of Catholic priests and nuns, including Father Dominic Kataribaabo (1967–2000), a Ugandan Dominican priest who was educated in the United States. The MRTCG developed an archconservative brand of Catholicism, and some of its leaders and members were eventually excommunicated by the Roman Catholic Church, although the priests were only suspended from their priestly functions rather than excommunicated. The MRTCG broke with the Ugandan Catholic Bishops on questions of reliability of apparitions (including their own), clerical garb, and the proper ways of taking communion. They regarded as licit only communion taken kneeling, and rejected the practice of the communicant taking the host in his or her hands. Unlike other Catholic traditionalist movements, however, the MRTCG did accept ecumenism and the new ritual of the Mass introduced after Vatican II. The MRTCG's Masses were celebrated in vernacular rather than Latin. The movement's publications strongly denied that the MRTCG was a new religious movement, and claimed that it was simply a conservative Catholic group. The Ugandan Catholic Bishops, however, concluded otherwise.

The Movement for the Restoration of the Ten Commandments of God was legally incorporated with this name in 1994, and a boarding school was licensed until 1998, when the license was revoked by the government on the grounds that its teachings that were contrary to the Ugandan constitution. The government also expressed concern over breaches of public health regulations and possible mistreatment of children. In fact, the main message of the MRTCG was that the Ten Commandments had been distorted and needed to be restored in their full value. The third edition of the handbook *A Timely Message from Heaven: The End of the Present Times* (1996), mainly written by Kataribaabo, proclaimed: "Ours is not a religion but a movement that endeavors to make the people aware of the fact that the Commandments of God have been abandoned, and it gives what should be done for their observance." Additional comments in the book about morality refer to themes common in traditionalist and other Catholic archconservative circles. For example, inappropriate dress is seen as a sign of immorality in the statement: "girls prefer wearing men's trousers to wearing their own dresses." The message was also apocalyptic:

> All of you living on the Planet, listen to what I'm going to say: When the year 2000 is completed, the year that will follow will not be year 2001. The year that will follow shall be called Year One in a generation that will follow the present generation; the generation that will follow will have few or many people depending on who will repent. . . .The Lord told me that hurricanes of fire would rain forth from heaven and spread over all those who would not have repented.

It is worth noting that these MRTCG visions are very similar to those of the church-approved Kibeho visionaries, who saw rivers of blood, great fires, and decapitated corpses. The Kibeho seers warned, on the basis of what the Virgin Mary had told them, that "there isn't much time left in preparing for the Last Judgment. We must change our lives, renounce sin. Pray and prepare for our own deaths and for the end of the world" (Maindron, 1985, p. 107). Of course in Kibeho, church approval also meant church control, and the apocalyptic elements were given approved and centuries-old metaphorical interpretations. But once the MRTCG left the Catholic fold, the group acted out some of the Kibeho images literally.

The approximately five thousand members of the MRTCG (the movement had branches in several small Ugandan towns) were said to avoid sex and to rarely talk for fear of breaking the commandment about not bearing false witness, and they were reported to have developed a sign language (reports of their unusual behavior may have been exaggerated after the tragedy). Although most members were former Catholics, the group also included some from the African Initiated Churches (AIC, formerly called African Independent Churches) and from local spiritualist groups.

The MRTCG was considered to be among the less violent local apocalyptic movements in Uganda. However, the group did predict the end of the world for December 31, 1999, later revising the date and claiming that on March 17, 2000, the Virgin Mary would appear and take members to heaven. The prophetic failure may have induced a number of members to doubt the leaders and ask for the return of money they had contributed. This development (similar to what occurred in the Order of the Solar Temple prior to the homicides and suicides of 1994) may have created a category of "traitors" who were killed in various waves prior to March 17 and whose bodies have been found in several mass graves. On the other hand, the mass graves remain in many respects a mystery, and it is also possible that some "weak" members, regarded as not fully prepared to commit suicide, were killed without being regarded as "traitors."

Shortly before March 17, Kibwetere wrote to his wife Theresa (not a member of the MRTCG), urging her to carry on the movement after his departure. A nun visited nearby villages announcing the coming of the Virgin Mary for March 17. Apparently, while some members did know about the suicide plan, others were simply told about an imminent supernatural event and did not expect to die. As in the case of the Solar Temple (and notwithstanding the obvious differences) there were three categories of victims: those who knew about the suicide and regarded it as a "rational" way to escape a doomed world (a minority); those who expected to go to heaven but did not know how; and the "traitors" who doubted Kibwetere after the prophetic failure. The latter may have been assassinated before the church fire. The presence of three, rather than two, categories of victims creates a continuum between homicide and suicide.

Among the leaders, Kataribaabo was originally identified among the dead, but later the Ugandan government issued a warrant for his arrest, along with warrants for Kibwetere and Mwerinde. Dental records for the three are unavailable, and it has been impossible to determine whether they died in the fire (as their families believe) or escaped with the movement's money (as some witnesses suggest and the Ugandan government apparently believes). The idea that the leaders were con artists who escaped with the money was also the explanation preferred by the media and some members of the law enforcement community in the Solar Temple case, before dental records proved this theory wrong. Most scholars believe that the leadership of the MRTCG died in the 2000 fire, and the leaders' behavior prior to these events supports this conclusion.

Uganda is home to hundreds of religious movements, many of them apocalyptic and millenarian. This is not surprising since Uganda experienced a virtual apocalypse during the bloody regime of Idi Amin Dada (1925–2003) and given the atrocities of the civil war. Followers of apocalyptic movements in Uganda expect justice to come with the end of the world, not through politics. Scholarship about Uganda's apocalyptic movements warns against applying Western models to situations peculiar to that country. In fact, conflict between "cults" and the national army, as well as protest and violence (even suicide), are often manifestations of preexisting ethnic, tribal, and political conflicts.

In general, tragedies in Uganda also confirm that violence connected to new religious movements erupts because of a combination of factors internal and external to the groups. In the MRTCG case, internal factors included the personalities of the leaders, their literal interpretations of prophecies about the end of the world (as exemplified by Kibeho and Gobbi), and the crises within society and the Roman Catholic Church. Once dissociated from the church's time-tested metaphorical interpretations, apocalyptic revelations may be taken literally and acted upon. External factors include the difficult situation prevailing in Uganda, particularly in areas ravaged by disaster, famine, and civil war.

After the tragedy of Kanungu, some African governments reacted strongly against "cults." The risk is that they will engage in witch-hunts, failing to acknowledge that most apocalyptic movements throughout the world are law-abiding and nonviolent. In Africa, as elsewhere, claims that all millenarian and apocalyptic movements are heading for mass suicide are grossly inaccurate. These assumptions may in fact amplify tension and deviance, thus operating as self-fulfilling prophecies, helping to cause the very evils people claim they want to prevent.

SEE ALSO Cults and Sects; New Religious Movements, overview article, article on New Religious Movements and Millennialism, article on New Religious Movements and Violence; Temple Solaire.

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MASSIMO INTROVIGNE (2005)

MOZI. Very little is known about the life of the fifth-century BCE Chinese thinker Mozi (Master Mo), although a number of clues suggest that he may have been trained as an artisan. He was the first major thinker to challenge the heritage of Confucius (551–479 BCE) and is best known as the founder of the Mohist school or lineage of thinkers that flourished in the fourth and third centuries BCE, but he fell into obscurity soon after. Although the teachings attributed to Mozi, under the eponymous title Mozi (the core of which is held to represent Mozi's own writings rather than elaborations and accretions by later Mohists), were transmitted to posterity, they exercised little influence after the third century BCE and were largely ignored until the nineteenth century.

Whereas in early Confucian writings it is the figures of the ruler and the father that served as authority models, Mozi appealed to a higher authority: *tian* (heaven). For him, it was the ideal model of what is constant, reliable, objective, measurable, and equally accessible to all (Hansen, 1992, p. 100). Many of Mozi's arguments are backed by an appeal to *tian* or *(shang) (supreme ancestor).* This is one of the reasons that Mohism has often been described as a religion. Mozi's concept of *tian* is conventionally understood as a morally normative force with authority above the ruler, which expressed its wishes through a variety of mechanisms, including portents and the appearance of spirits.

There is, however, a real question as to whether Mozi did, in fact, believe in a normative *tian.* A more pragmatic interpretation would be that he actually believed that if people act as if *tian* is a normative force, then they will be more inclined to act in ways that conform with Mozi's own philosophical principles. It is important to note that Mozi does not talk of tian's decrees *(ming),* but only of its intentions or goals *(zhi).* From a moral point of view this affords people the responsibility to make their own moral choices. Further supporting the pragmatic interpretation is the fact that order in the world is only achievable through strenuous effort on the part of both humans and *tian.* For Mozi there is no preexistent order of things: an ordered human society is produced and maintained by the purposeful cooperation of *tian,* spirits, and humans, who work together in the face of the constant propensity of things to revert to a state of chaos (Schwartz, 1985, p. 141). The social upheavals of the times would certainly have reinforced this view.

The message is clear: if humans want order, they, like *tian,* must work at it, and the model they should follow is the one that *tian* itself has shown them: favoring utility and benefit over harm. Moral conduct was defined as acting so as to benefit others, which ultimately will benefit oneself. For Mozi's utilitarianism to work, it is crucial that people believe that their efforts can make it work. Utility/benefit provides a measurable standard that anyone can use with accuracy. For Mozi, utility included such things as food and shelter, peace, and the material conditions of life. The benefit-harm distinction also appeals as being a standard that is natural or pre-social rather than conventional. As such, it seems to offer a neutral basis for ranking alternative proposals about what is the best course of action. Confucian moral standards, by contrast, are derived from the teachings of so-called sages, or culled from tradition. Another weakness with Confucian ethics is that moral concern is graded according to one's relationship with someone, and family members always come first. Mozi argues that morality must involve equal concern for all people. Indeed, Mozi's most celebrated doctrine is the doctrine of ungraded concern for others *(jian ai).* He maintained that the world's disorders are the product of human selfishness and a lack of mutual concern. Mozi's panacea for these ills requires people to be as concerned about others as they are for themselves.

Mozi had four main criticisms of early Confucians: (1) they did not believe in the existence of *shangdi* (supreme ancestor) or spirits, thus incurring the displeasure of these anthropomorphic powers; (2) they insisted on elaborate funerals and practiced three years of mourning when a parent died, resulting in a waste of resources and energy; (3) they attached great importance to music, another extravagant waste of resources; and (4) they believed in predetermined fate, which leads to laziness and resignation.

Mozi applied three standards to gauge the value of any doctrine: its basis, its verifiability, and its applicability. Take the example of fatalism, which Mozi criticizes on the following grounds: (1) Fatalism is not in accord with the intentions of *tian* or the teachings of the ancient sage kings. This is proved by quoting ancient writings that record the teachings of the ancient sage kings. (2) The real existence of fate cannot be proven by any means. It cannot be proven empirically by the senses of hearing and sight, for no one from the beginning of time to the present could testify that they had ever seen or heard directly from such a thing as fate. Moreover it cannot be proven using moral arguments because moral arguments require the nonexistence of fate. (3) Fatalism is the creation of tyrants, used by bandits and other wrongdoers, and welcomed by lazy people. Although it has been claimed that these three standards are the earliest known example of an attempt to formulate principles of reasoned argument in early China, it should be noted that the appeal to ancient authorities still occupies first place (Graham, 1978, p. 11).

Although Mozi's writings have often been criticized for being dull and repetitive, he did use consistent and rigorous arguments. Positive assessments of his legacy note his attempts to justify his philosophical ideas; his efforts to submit traditional morality to the test of social utility; his defense of innovation; his support for the new kind of centralized state, with merit rather than birth as the grounds for preferment; and for introducing reasoned argument into classical Chinese thought (Graham, 1978, p. 4).

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JOHN MAKEHAM (2005)

MUDRĀ. *Mudrā* in Sanskrit means seal or stamp of authority. In ordinary Sanskrit this meaning has always been in use. For instance, a political play written by Viśākhadatta (c. 7 CE) is called *Mudrā-rākṣasa* (The signet [ring] of Rākṣasa). Rākṣasa was the chief minister of the Imperial Nandas, the enemies of Candragupta Maurya, king of Magadha, and this ring was his seal of office.

However, in the medieval Brahmanic tradition, especially in religious practice, another meaning of the term *mudrā* became prevalent. In this context *mudrā* is a symbolic representation of a concrete form, or an idea, presented through gestures *(hastas)* and, sometimes, facial expression. It thus becomes closely associated with hand gestures used in dance and acting. *Mudrā* can also refer to hand gesture in an iconographical context, though this is a late innovation (see Colas). For example, in the Buddhist Tantra the term *mudrā* is sometimes used to describe hand postures found in images of the Buddha and Bodhisattva. Some esoteric Buddhist Tantras, such as the *Guhyasiddhi* written by Padmavajra during the seventh century, call the adept's female partner mudrå. According to the *Siddha Tantras,* supreme Sakti who is nameless (*anakhya*) is designated as mudrå. As the term means divine authority and as Sakti is indeed the manifest divine authority, it is correct to call her *mudrå.* Tantric's partner is taken in rituals as a representative of the supreme Sakti and thus the divine authority incarnate (White, 2003).

In early Indian religious understanding, the term *mudrā* refers exclusively to ritual hand gestures symbolizing a variety of meanings and conferring legitimacy on a ritual act. The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa,* a famous early work on iconography, interestingly associates *mudrā* with esoteric rituals *(rahasya-mudrā).* In book III (the book on dance), it describes techniques of dance, including hand gestures *(nṛtta-hasta).* Not until the middle of the book does it turn to a discussion of the *mudrā* hand gestures *(mudrā-hastān vyākhyāsyāma),* which are presented as being in a separate category from the other hand gestures. Although the whole section on the performing arts in this Purāṇa concerns ritual worship, the mention of "esoteric" *(rahasya)* in relation to the *mudrā-hastas* clearly indicates that such *mudrās* were reserved for esoteric worship and not intended for use in the forms of public worship that incorporated dance along with gestures and mimesis. This esoteric quality becomes obvious when one takes into account the sorts of things that are represented by *mudrā-hasta*s. Often these are abstract ideas like the mystic syllable *"Oṃ"* or the esoteric use of the vowels (Beyer, 1973, pp. 101–102). The same Purāṇa introduces a type of *mudrā* known as *śāstra-mudrā* (3.33.15–16). These gestures depict deities in the special characteristic postures described in the *mantras* associated with them. *Śāstra-mudrās* also include a not particularly esoteric group of gestures used to represent the vehicles of these deities.

It is clear that a gesture is called *mudrā* when it accompanies a *mantra* and has an explanatory mimetic connection with what the *mantra* expresses. It may mime some salient features of the deity of the *mantra,* or it may mime the abstract idea expressed in the *mantra;* for example, the *mantra "aḥ,"* which depicts the deity of the primal point of creation, must be uttered along with prescribed hand gestures. *Mudrā* also is seen as an agent that invests the *mantra* with the energy of its associated deity, and thus invests the worshipper with that deity's power. During the ritual investment of divine power, a process known as *nyāsa,* the ritual hand gestures indicate the divesting of power from each part of the deity's body to the corresponding part of the worshipper's body. Finally, one may deduce from the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* that *mudrā* not only refers to a type of hand gesture but also symbolizes the seal of approval of the deity whose *mantra* the *mudrā* accompanies. It seals the *mantra*'s efficacy with divine authority.

The formulation of *mudrās* in a ritual context has been elaborately systematized. Indeed, all the major religious systems of classical India record the correct formulation of these hand gestures in their canonical texts and exegetical works. *Mudrās* are divided into three categories, each associated with different stages of a ritual. The first consists of *mudrās* associated with ritual purification of the worshipper's person, of the place of worship, and of the ingredients of offerings. These are called purificatory gestures, and are used at the beginning and end of a ritual. The second category is made up of those hand gestures known as *saṃskāra mudrā.* These are associated with the part of a ritual in which the worshipper envisages a cosmogonic sequence through which the deity gradually assumes a personal form and takes up residence in the worshipper's innermost core. This is the adept's heart conceived as a lotus, the seat of the deity, and is known as the lotus-heart. The worshipper invites the deity to emerge from his lotus-heart to sit upon the divine pedestal set up in front of the worshipper, so that offerings may be made. The third category of *mudrās, pūjā-mudrā,* comes into play when the worshipper makes offerings and imagines them being received by the deity. The final offering is of the worshipper's own self. A ritual ends with the worshipper envisaging the deity taking leave and being reabsorbed into the worshipper's heart.

The *Mudrās* form a secret system of sign or symbolic language known only to sectarian participants in various rituals. Buddhist, Śaiva, Śākta, and Vaiṣṇava tantric sects each have some sets of *mudrās* that are different from those used by other sects. In fact, members of one tantric sect can communicate with each other secretly by using *mudrās* unknown to an enemy sect.

In general, though, when the same type of object is being referred to, sectarian variation in *mudrā* use is not extreme. Furthermore, some *mudrās* do not vary, at least significantly, from sect to sect. For example, the *mudrā* used to welcome a deity (extrapolated from the everyday gesture used to welcome a revered guest) is almost the same in the Śaiva, Śākta, and Vaiṣṇava sects. Likewise, all sects use an identical *mudrā* called *surabhī* when a jug of water or other drink that is being offered to the deity is mentally identified with divine nectar. (The name of this *mudrā* is derived from the celestial cow Surabhī, whose milk is nectar.)

Ritual hand gestures are acts of elaborate mimesis. An act of warning toward any malevolent agent is played out either by imitating a weapon, for instance an arrow, or by making an explosive sound by snapping fingers or clapping hands. The ritual worshipper is an actor creating a totally supernatural world of religious reality through focused meditation, vivid imagination, and total understanding of his religious ideology and aims. That is why his gestures carry an authority invested by long religious tradition.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, Schools of; Hands; Mantra.

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MUḤAMMAD ibn ʿAbdullāh (c. 570–632 CE) is revered by Muslims as the prophet to whom the Qurʾān, the sacred scripture of Islam, was revealed. Apart from the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth*, the main sources for his life history are the biographies written by four early Muslim historians: Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq (d. c. 767), Muḥammad ibn Ṣaʿd (d. c. 845), Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī (d. c. 923), and Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar al-Waqīdī (d. c. 820).

EARLY LIFE (C. 570–610). Born in Mecca, in the Arabian Ḥijāz, in about 570, Muḥammad was a member of the Quraysh, the ruling tribe of Mecca, but of the clan of Hāshim, one of its less influential family groups. Orphaned early in life, he was brought up by his uncle Abū Ṭālib, and although he was treated kindly, the experience of deprivation made an indelible impression on Muḥammad, who remained poor throughout his youth and a marginal figure in the thriving city of Mecca. Mecca had long been the holiest city in Arabia. The Kaʿbah, the cube-shaped shrine in the heart of the town, was of great antiquity. It was a place of pilgrimage. Each year, Arabs came from all over the peninsula to perform the arcane rites of the *ḥājj* pilgrimage, whose original significance had been forgotten but which still yielded a powerful religious experience. Because of the great sanctity of the Kaʿbah, all violence was forbidden in Mecca and its environs, and this made it possible for the Arabs to trade peacefully there, away from the endemic tribal warfare that engulfed the Arabian steppes. During the sixth century, the Quraysh had made Mecca a vital station in the spice trade, and they had become rich by trading in the surrounding countries.

Little is known about Muḥammad's early years. After his death, legends developed that indicated that he had been marked out from birth for future greatness, but until he was about twenty-five there was little sign of this glorious future. He grew up to be a very able young man and was known in Mecca as al-Amīn, the reliable one. He was handsome, with a compact, solid body of average height. His hair and beard were thick and curly, and he had a strikingly luminous expression. Yet his orphaned status held him back. He could get no position commensurate with his talents, but became a merchant, whose job it was to lead the trading caravans to Syria and Mesopotamia. But in about 595, his luck changed. Khadījah bint Khuwaylid, a wealthy businesswoman, hired Muḥammad to take some merchandise into Syria, and she was so impressed that she proposed marriage. Even though she was considerably older than he, this was no mere marriage of convenience. Muḥammad sincerely loved Khadījah and together the couple bore a son, who died in infancy, and four daughters who survived: Fāṭimah, Zaynab, Ruqayyah, and Umm Kulthūm.

But by the time he was forty years old, Muḥammad had become deeply concerned about the malaise that was apparent in Mecca. The Quraysh had become rich beyond their wildest dreams and had left the desperate nomadic life of the steppes behind. But in the new stampede for wealth some of the old tribal values had been lost. In the desert, most Arabs lived on the brink of malnutrition, taking their herds from one watering hole to another and competing desperately with the other tribes for food and sustenance. Throughout Arabia, one tribe fought another in a murderous cycle of vendetta and counter-vendetta. In this brutal existence, the unity of the tribe was essential for its very survival, and a strict nomadic code insisted upon the importance of protecting its weaker and more vulnerable members. But the aggressive capitalism of Mecca had resulted in some of the Quraysh making money at the expense of some of the tribe's poorer clans, including Muḥammad's own clan of Hāshim. The old values were disappearing, nothing new had yet appeared to take its place, and while the more successful members of the Quraysh were naturally happy with these developments, the weaker clans felt endangered and lost.

There was also spiritual restlessness in Mecca and throughout the peninsula. Arabs knew that Judaism and Christianity, which were practiced in the neighboring Byzantine and Persian empires, were more sophisticated than their own pagan traditions. Some had come to believe that the high God of their pantheon, *al-Lāh* (whose name simply meant "the God"), was the deity worshiped by Jews and Christians, but he had sent the Arabs no prophet and no scripture in their own language. Indeed, the Jews and Christians often taunted the Arabs for being left out of the divine plan. Intent on finding a solution, Muḥammad used to retire to a cave on the summit of Mount Ḥirāʾ, just outside Mecca, during the month of Ramaḍān, where he prayed, fasted, and gave alms to the poor. It was in this cave that on 17 Ramaḍān 610 Muḥammad woke to find himself overwhelmed by a devastating presence, and heard the first words of a new Arabic scripture pouring from his lips.

THE MESSAGE OF MUḤAMMAD. For the first two years, Muḥammad kept quiet about this revelation, confiding only in his wife Khadījah and her cousin, Waraqa ibn Nawfal, who had converted to Christianity. Both encouraged him to believe that this was a genuine revelation from God, who had chosen him to bring the old religion of the Jews and the Christians to the Arabs. In 612, after another powerfully endorsing revelation, Muḥammad began to preach in Mecca, and he gradually gained converts, including his young cousin ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, his friend Abū Bakr, and the young merchant ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān from the powerful Umayyad family. Many of the converts, including a significant number of women, were members of the poorer clans; others were unhappy about the new inequality in Mecca, which was alien to the Arab spirit.

Muḥammad's message was simple. He taught the Arabs no new doctrines about God: like the Jews and Christians, most of the Quraysh already believed that Allāh had created the world and would judge humanity in the Last Days. Muḥammad had no intention of founding a new religion, but saw himself as the latest in a long line of prophets that included Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus (Qurʾān 2:129–132). Muḥammad was not attempting to contradict or supersede these prophets, and he never required Jews or Christians to convert to his new Arab faith, because they had received authentic revelations of their own. Constantly, the revelations that he received from God insist that Muḥammad's followers must respect the *ahl al-kitāb* (People of the Book). God commands them to speak to the Jews and Christians with courtesy: "Say to them: We believe what you believe; your God and our God is one" (Qurʾān 29:46). God had sent one prophet after another to every people on the face of the earth, each of which had expressed the divine message in its own language and cultural idiom (Qurʾān 35:22). In principle, one cult, one tradition, one scripture was as good as another (Qurʾān 6:160). What mattered was the quality of one's surrender (*islām)* to God, not to any mere human expression of his will.

The essence of Muḥammad's message was, therefore, not doctrinal but social and ethical. It was wrong to build up a private fortune, but good to share wealth and create a society where the weak and vulnerable were treated with respect. If the Quraysh did not mend their ways, their society would collapse (like other unjust societies in the past) because they were violating the fundamental laws of existence.

MUḤAMMAD AND THE QURʾĀN. This was the core teaching of the new scripture, which became known as the *qurʾān* (recitation) because it was an aural revelation, designed to be listened to for the music of its language, rather than perused page by page. Most of the believers, including Muḥammad himself, were not learned, and they absorbed its teachings by listening to public recitation of its chapters (*sūrahs*). The Qurʾān was revealed to Muḥammad piecemeal, verse by verse, *sūrah* by *sūrah*, during the next twenty-one years, often in response to a crisis or a problem that had arisen in the little community of the faithful. These revelations were very painful to Muḥammad, who used to say: "Never once did I receive a revelation without thinking that my soul had been torn away from my body." In the early days, the impact was so frightening that his whole body was convulsed; he would sweat profusely, experience a peculiar heaviness, or hear strange sounds, such as the tolling of a bell. The great prophets of Israel also felt the divine impact as a near lethal blow and found it almost impossibly painful and difficult to utter the word of God.

Muḥammad had perceived the great problems of his people at a deeper level than most of his contemporaries, and when he "listened" to events as they unfolded, he had to delve deeply into his inner self to find a solution that was not only politically viable but also spiritually sound. He was also communicating a new literary form and a masterpiece of Arab poetry and prose. The extraordinary beauty of the Qurʾān was in fact responsible for the conversion of many of Muḥammad's first disciples. One of the most dramatic of these conversions was that of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, who was passionately devoted to the old paganism and initially opposed to Muḥammad's message. But he was also deeply versed in Arabic poetry, and the first time he heard the language of the Qurʾān, it broke down all his reservations. "When I heard the Qurʾān, my heart was softened and I wept, and Islam entered into me."

THE MISSION IN MECCA (612–622). The new teaching would eventually be called *islām* (surrender), and a *muslim* was a man or a woman who had made this existential submission of their entire selves to Allāh and his demand that human beings behave towards one another with justice and compassion. It was an attitude expressed in the prostrations of the ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*), which Muslims were required to make three times a day, facing Jerusalem, the city of the Jews and Christians. Thus at first Muslims were turning their backs on the pagan religion, symbolized by the Kaʿbah, and reaching out towards the monotheistic tradition that they were now determined to follow. The posture of their prayer was thus designed to change their fundamental attitude and orientation. The old tribal ethic had been egalitarian. Arabs did not approve of kingship, and it was abhorrent to them to grovel on the ground like a slave. But the prostrations were designed to teach their bodies, at a level deeper than the rational, to counter the hard arrogance and self-sufficiency that was rife in mercantile Mecca, to lay aside their selfishness, and to accept that before God they were as nothing. Muslims were also required to give a regular proportion of their income to the poor in alms (*zakāt*) and to fast during the month of Ramaḍān, reminding themselves of the privations of those who were too impoverished to eat and drink when they wished.

Social justice was, therefore, the cardinal virtue of Islam. Muslims were commanded, as their first duty, to build a community (*ummah*) in which wealth was fairly distributed. This was far more crucial than any doctrinal teaching about God. The political and social welfare of the *ummah* would have sacred value for Muslims, and would become the chief sign that Muslims were living according to God's will. This habit of mind has persisted to the present day. Muslims would be profoundly affected by any misfortune or humiliation suffered by the *ummah*. Its spiritual and political health is as crucial to Muslims' religious lives as theological doctrines have been to Christians.

Muḥammad found the Christian preoccupation with doctrine difficult to understand. The Qurʾān tends to regard such speculation as self-indulgent guesswork (*ẓannah*). It seemed pointless to argue about abstruse dogmas that nobody could prove one way or the other. He did have to take up certain theological positions, of course. By the sixth century, most of the Arabs were tending towards monotheism, and even though the Kaʿbah was officially dedicated to Hubal, a Nabatean deity, and was surrounded by effigies of some 360 gods, many Arabs believed that it had originally been dedicated to Allāh. Indeed, those Arabs who had converted to Christianity felt comfortable making the *ḥājj* pilgrimage because they saw the Kaʿbah as the shrine of their own God, and Muḥammad and the Muslims continued to perform the old rites there. Some of the Quraysh, however, were still happy with the old paganism, and they were especially devoted to three Arabian goddesses: Manāt, Allāt, and al-ʿUzzah. Muḥammad forbade his followers to take part in their cults, comparing the pagan deities to weak tribal chiefs who were a liability for their people because they could no longer give them adequate protection. The Qurʾān put forward no philosophical arguments in favor of monotheism. Its approach was strictly practical, and appealed to the pragmatic Arabs. The old religion was simply not working (Qurʾān 25:3; 29:17; 44:47). This was evident in the spiritual malaise, the chronic tribal warfare that was tearing the peninsula apart, and an injustice that violated the highest Arab traditions. The way forward was to be found in the worship of a single God, the creation of a united *ummah*, and the pursuit of justice and equity that alone would bring peace to Arabia. But the Qurʾān insisted that it was teaching nothing new. Its message was simply a "reminder" of truths that everybody knew already (Qurʾān 80:11). This was the primordial faith that had been preached to the whole of humanity by all the prophets of the past.

Muḥammad gradually acquired a small following, and eventually about seventy families converted to Islam. At first the most powerful and successful men in Mecca ignored the Muslims, but by 616 they had become extremely angry with Muḥammad, who, they claimed, reviled the faith of their fathers and was obviously a charlatan who only pretended to be a prophet. They were especially irritated by the Qurʾān's description of the Last Judgment, which they dismissed as primitive fairy stories. But their greatest fear was its condemnation of their ruthless capitalism. On the Last Day, Arabs were warned that their wealth would not help them, nor would the power and influence of their family connections. Everybody would be tried on his or her own merits. Had they looked after the poor? Why had they built up private fortunes instead of sharing their money? The Quraysh, who had become rich and prosperous as a result of the new economy, did not appreciate this kind of talk, and an opposition party developed, led by Abū al-Ḥakam, who is called Abū Jahl (Father of Lies) in the Qurʾān. Muḥammad's old friend, Abū Sufyān, an extremely able and intelligent man, and the devout pagan Suhayl ibn ʿAmr also joined the opposition. All had relatives who had converted to Islam, and all feared that Muḥammad was plotting to take over the leadership of Mecca. At this stage, the Qurʾān insisted that Muḥammad should have no political function in the city; he was simply a *nādhir* (a warner). But how long would it be before a man who claimed to receive instructions directly from Allāh would feel inspired to seize supreme power for himself?

PERSECUTION IN MECCA. By 617 the Muslims' relationship with some of the Meccan establishment had deteriorated beyond repair. Abū Jahl imposed a boycott on Muḥammad's clan of Hāshim, forbidding the people of Mecca to marry or trade with the Muslims. This meant that nobody could sell them food. This ban lasted for two years, and the food shortages may have caused the death of Muḥammad's beloved wife Khadījah. The ban certainly ruined some of the Muslims, such as Abū Bakr, financially. Slaves who had converted to Islam were particularly badly treated, tied up, and left to burn in the blazing sun. Most seriously, in 619, after the ban had been lifted, Abū Ṭālib, Muḥammad's uncle and protector (*wālī*) died. This made Muḥammad's position untenable. As an orphan, he was now entirely without powerful family backing. According to the tribal laws of vendetta that still prevailed in Mecca, without a patron who could avenge his death, a man could be killed with impunity. It took Muḥammad a long time to find a chieftain in the city who would become his *wālī*. Clearly he had to find a new solution for himself and the community of Muslims.

Tradition has it that it was during this dark period that Muḥammad experienced his mystical flight (*isrāʾ*) to the Temple mount in Jerusalem. There he was welcomed by all the great prophets of the past, who invited him to preach to them. This vision represents Muḥammad's longing to bring the Arabs, who had apparently been left off the map of salvation, from far-off Arabia into the heart of the monotheistic family. After his sermon, Muḥammad made the *miʿrāj*, ascending through the seven heavens to the throne of God.

In Mecca, however, the Muslims' position had become so untenable that Muḥammad was ready to listen to a delegation of chiefs from Yathrib, an agricultural settlement some 240 miles north of Mecca, who approached him in 620 with a novel proposal. A number of different tribes had settled in Yathrib, abandoning the nomadic lifestyle, but the habits of tribal warfare were so engrained that they found it impossible to live peacefully together. As a result, Yathrib was caught up in one deadly feud after another. Some of these tribes had either converted to Judaism or were of Jewish descent, and so the people of Yathrib were used to monotheistic ideas, were not so wedded to the old paganism as some of the Meccan families, and were desperate to find a means of living together in a single community. They had heard of the prophet in Mecca who claimed to be the messenger of the one God, and thought that he might be what they were looking for. During the *ḥājj* of 620, delegates from Yathrib approached Muḥammad, converted to Islam, and made a pledge with the Muslims. Each side vowed that it would not fight the other, and they would defend each other from common enemies. There were further negotiations and discussions. Finally Muḥammad reached a momentous decision. In 622, the Muslim families slipped quietly out of Mecca, one by one, and made the migration (*hijrah*) to Yathrib. Muḥammad, whose new protector had recently died, narrowly escaped assassination, and he and Abū Bakr were the last of the Muslims to escape.

THE *HIJRAH* (622). The *hijrah* marks the start of the Muslim era, because it was at this point that Muḥammad was able to implement the Qurʾanic ideal fully in a social setting. It was a revolutionary step. The *hijrah* was no mere change of address. In Arabia, the tribe was the most sacred value of all. To abandon your own kin to join forces with another group, with whom you had no blood relationship, was not only absolutely unheard of, it violated a strong taboo and was essentially treasonable. The Quraysh, shocked to the core by this extraordinary defection, were outraged, and they had no means of accommodating a development that had no precedent in their world. They vowed to exterminate the *ummah* in Yathrib, which had flouted the deepest and strongest sanctities of Arabia.

The Muslims themselves found the migration a wrenching, painful experience. They were not going forward eagerly into a new life, like other emigrants, but were primarily aware only of the trauma of severance. This is clear in the word they used to describe their radical departure from their tribe. The first stem of the Arabic root word *HJR, hajarahhu*, can be translated: "he cut himself off from friendly or loving communion or intercourse. He ceased to associate with them." The people of Yathrib were also aware that they were engaged in a highly controversial and precarious experiment in promising to give protection (*awliyah*) and help *(naṣr)* on a permanent basis to people who were not kin. Henceforth, they would be known as the Anṣār, the "helpers" of the Prophet, but the English translation gives rather a feeble impression of what was involved. *Naṣr* meant that one had to be ready to back up one's "help" with force, if necessary. The pledge that the Anṣār had made with the Muslims was therefore called the "Pledge of War."

Muḥammad had not expected to hold political office, and initially had no intention of founding a new polity. But the force of circumstances that he could not have foreseen meant that overnight he had become the head of a collection of tribal groups that had no blood ties but were bound together by a shared ideology—an astonishing innovation in Arabia. Nobody in Yathrib was forced to convert to the religion of the Qurʾān, which forbids any coercion in religious matters in the strongest terms (2:256). But on his arrival, Muḥammad drew the people of Yathrib together in a covenant. The Muslims, Jewish tribes, and those who preferred to stay with the old paganism all belonged to a single *ummah*, could not attack one another, and vowed to give one another protection. They were all to be "helpers" to each other. News of this extraordinary new "supertribe" spread, and though at the outset nobody in Arabia believed that it would survive, it proved to be the inspiration that would bring peace to Arabia, just ten years after the *hijrah*.

Yathrib would become known as al-Madīnah (*the* City) because it became the archetype of the perfect Muslim society in Islamic thought. Throughout history, many Muslims have looked back on the Prophet's sojourn in Medina as a golden age, when the ideals of Islam were fully incarnated in society. They have idealized this period, much as Christians have idealized the primitive church. In fact, however, these were hard and difficult years, full of darkness and danger for Muḥammad. When he arrived in Medina, one of his first actions was to build a simple mosque (*masjid;* literally, a place of prostration). It was a rough building, which expressed the austerity of the early Islamic ideal. The roof was supported by tree trunks, a stone marked the *qiblah* (the direction of prayer), and the Prophet stood on a tree trunk to preach. Future mosques would be inspired by this model. There was also a courtyard where Muslims met to discuss all the concerns of the *ummah*—social, political, and military, as well as religious. Muḥammad and his wives lived in small huts around the edge of the courtyard. Unlike holy places in other traditions, the mosque was not separated from secular activities and devoted only to worship. In the Qurʾanic vision, there is no dichotomy between the sacred and the profane, the religious and the political, sexuality and ritual. The whole of life is potentially holy and must be brought into the ambit of the divine. From the start, the aim was *tawḥīd* (making one), a holistic vision that would give Muslims intimations of the unity that is God.

MUḤAMMAD'S WIVES. In Mecca, Muḥammad had remained monogamous, married only to Khadījah, even though polygamy was common in Arabia. In Medina, however, Muḥammad became a great *sayyid* (chief) and was expected to have multiple wives, but most of the marriages he contracted were politically motivated. The tie of blood was still important, and as he formed his supertribe, Muḥammad bound some of his closest companions to him by marriage. His favorite new wife was ʿĀʾishah, the daughter of Abū Bakr. He also married Ḥafṣah, the daughter of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, and arranged the marriages of two of his own daughters to ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān and ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, his cousins. Many of his other wives were older women who were without protectors or were related to the chiefs of tribes that became the allies of the *ummah*. None of these wives bore the Prophet any children.

In the West, Muḥammad's wives have occasioned a good deal of prurient interest, but they were sometimes more of a worry than a pleasure. On one occasion, when he found them quarrelling about the division of booty after a raid, he threatened to divorce them all unless they lived more strictly in accordance with Islamic values (Qurʾān 33:28–29). Muḥammad was no chauvinist, but he genuinely enjoyed women's company. ʿUmar and some of his other companions were shocked by the way he allowed his wives to stand up to him and answer him back. Muḥammad regularly helped with household chores, mended his own clothes, and took his wives' advice very seriously. On one occasion Umm Salāmah, the most intelligent of his wives, helped him to prevent a mutiny.

The Qurʾān gave women rights of inheritance and divorce centuries before women in other cultures, including the West, were accorded such legal status. The emancipation of women was one of Muḥammad's objectives. In pre-Islamic Arabia, elite women, like Khadījah, enjoyed a degree of power and independence, but the vast majority of women had virtually no human rights and were treated little better than slaves or animals. The Qurʾān prescribes some degree of segregation for the Prophet's wives, as a matter of protocol, but there is nothing in the Qurʾān that commands the veiling and segregation of all women in a separate part of the house. These customs were adopted some three or four generations after Muḥammad's death, when Muslims imitated the customs of the Greek Orthodox Christians of Byzantium (also Iran), who had long veiled and segregated their women in this way. The Qurʾān is an egalitarian faith, and sees men and women as partners before God, with identical duties and responsibilities (Qurʾān 33:35). The women of Medina played an active role in public life, and some even fought alongside the men in battle. It was only later that Muslim men dragged the faith back to the old patriarchy (the same process happened in Christianity).

THE CHANGE OF THE *QIBLAH* FROM JERUSALEM TO MECCA. When he arrived in Medina, Muḥammad eagerly anticipated the prospect of working alongside the Jewish tribes, believing that they would welcome him as a prophet in their own tradition. Shortly before the *hijrah*, he had introduced some practices that would make the connection with Judaism more explicit, such as communal prayer on Friday afternoon, while Jews would be preparing for the Sabbath, and a fast on Yom Kippur. He was therefore greatly disappointed when the Jews of Medina refused to accept him as an authentic prophet. Some of the Qurʾanic accounts of such figures as Noah or Moses were different from the biblical stories, and many of the Jews scoffed when these were recited in the mosque. Like many of the pagan Arabs of Medina, the three main Jewish tribes also resented Muḥammad's political ascendancy. They had formed a powerful bloc before his arrival, and now felt their position threatened.

But some Jews in the smaller clans were friendly and increased Muḥammad's knowledge of their scriptures. He was especially excited to hear that in the book of *Genesis*, Abraham had two sons, and that Ishmael, the child of his concubine Hagar, was said to be the father of the Arab nation (*Gn.* 16; 18:18–20). Abraham had cast Ishmael and Hagar out into the wilderness at God's command, and the Jews and Christians of Arabia believed that they had settled in Mecca, that Abraham had visited them there, and that together Abraham and Ismāʿīl had built the Kaʿbah. Muḥammad was delighted to hear this, since it showed that Arabs had not been left out of the divine plan after all, and that the Kaʿbah was not really a pagan shrine, but had been the first temple of the true God in Arabia.

By 624 it was clear that most of Medina's Jews would never accept Muḥammad, who was also shocked to learn that Jews and Christians, whom he had assumed to belong to a single faith, actually had serious theological disagreements. It seemed disgraceful to split the unity of God's religion into warring sects because of abstruse speculations that nobody could prove definitively. Such sectarianism was idolatrous in erecting a human theological system to the unity that was essential to the faith of Allāh. It made people quarrelsome and unkind, and Muḥammad wanted no part of this sectarianism. So, in January 624, he made one of his most creative innovations. During prayers, he told the congregation to turn around so that they faced Mecca rather than Jerusalem. This change of *qiblah* was a declaration of independence. By turning towards the Kaʿbah, which had been built by Abraham, who had lived before the revelation of the Torah and the Gospels, Muslims were tacitly reverting to the original pure monotheism that had pertained before the divisions in God's religion. Muslims were turning to God alone, not to one of the established faiths; they were abjuring divisive sectarianism and would take their own direct route to God (Qurʾān 6:159, 161–162).

JIHĀD. A few weeks after the change of the *qiblah*, Muḥammad took yet another decisive step. The Emigrants who had made the *hijrah* had no means of earning a living in Medina. There was no land left for them to farm, and most of them were merchants and businessmen, with no experience of date cultivation. The Anṣār, as the helpers in Medina were called, could not be expected to feed and support this large community, because their own resources were stretched to the limit, so Muḥammad resorted to the tradition of the *ghazw* (colloquial, *ghazū*; "raid"). The *ghazū* was rather like a national sport and a crude means of redistributing resources in a region where there were simply not enough of the necessities of life to go round. Raiding parties would attack the herds or trading caravans of a rival tribe and carry off booty and livestock. The trick was to avoid taking human life, because this would automatically trigger a vendetta, and nobody wanted that. It was forbidden to conduct a *ghazū* against a tribe that had become an ally or "client" (a weaker tribal group that had sought protection from one of the stronger tribes).

In order to earn their keep in Medina, some of the Emigrants began to conduct raids, attacking the rich caravans from Mecca. But this was a shocking departure from tradition, because it was unheard of to initiate a *ghazū* against your own tribe. But the Emigrants saw themselves as the victims of the Quraysh, who had persecuted them and forced them to leave their homes. The traumatic breach of the *hijrah* meant that they had been cast out of their tribe. The Anṣār, who had no quarrel with the Quraysh, took no part in these first raids. At first the raiding parties enjoyed some success, but in March 624 Muḥammad led a large band of Emigrants to the coast in order to intercept the largest Meccan caravan of the year. When the Quraysh heard of this shocking project they dispatched an army to defend the caravan, but even though they were heavily outnumbered, the Muslims were able to inflict a defeat on the Meccans at the well of Badr. The Quraysh fought in the old Arab style, with careless bravado, and had no overall strategy, but the Muslims fought under Muḥammad's unified command with greater discipline. The victory made a great impression on the nomadic tribes, who were not displeased to see the haughty Quraysh humiliated in this way. They began to look with interest at the prophet who seemed to be the coming man in Arabia.

But the Quraysh were certain to retaliate, and Muḥammad now found himself engaged in a full-scale war with Mecca. During the five years of hostilities, the Qurʾān gives instructions about proper conduct on the battlefield, and develops a theory of warfare that is similar to the Christian ideal of the just war. The Qurʾān permits only a war of self-defense; Muslims must never initiate hostilities (2:191). Warfare is always abhorrent (2:217), but sometimes it is necessary to fight in order to bring the kind of persecution the Muslims had endured in Mecca to an end or to preserve decent values (2:217:22:40). As long as the fighting continues, Muslims must dedicate themselves to the war wholeheartedly in order to bring hostilities to a speedy conclusion, but the second the enemy makes a peaceful overture, all hostilities must cease (2:192). But it is always better to avoid warfare, to forgive injuries, to talk rather than to fight, and to forgive (5:45).

The word *jihād* does not mean "holy war," as Western people often imagine. It means "struggle" or "effort." It is difficult to put God's will into practice in a flawed and violent world, and Islam demands that Muslims make an effort on all fronts: physical, moral, political, social, spiritual, and intellectual. Sometimes it may be necessary to fight, but far more important is the interior *jihād*, the personal struggle to eradicate greed, hatred, and egotism from one's own heart. Thus, after the Battle of Badr, Muḥammad is said to have told his companions: "We are returning from the lesser *jihād* (the battle) to the greater *jihād,*" the more crucial and demanding effort to reform one's own society and one's own self.

But for five years after the Battle of Badr, the Muslims had to fight in order to survive. Abu Sufyān launched two major offensives against the Muslims in Medina, vowing not merely to defeat the Muslims but also to exterminate the entire community, as Arab tradition demanded. Muḥammad also had to contend with hostility within Medina, since some of the pagans in Medina resented the power of the Emigrants and were determined to expel them. In 625, Mecca inflicted a severe defeat on the *ummah* at the Battle of ʿUhud, but two years later the Muslims overcame the numerically superior Meccan army at the Battle of the Trench, so called because Muḥammad had protected the settlement by digging a ditch around it. This victory was a turning point because it convinced most of the nomadic tribes that the supremacy of the Quraysh was over. The old religion seemed discredited because the gods were clearly unable or unwilling to come to the aid of Mecca. Many of the tribes allied themselves to Muḥammad, who began to build a powerful confederacy whose members swore not to attack one another and to avenge attacks on one another. Some of the Meccans also began to defect and made the *hijrah* to Medina. After five years of deadly danger, it seemed that the *ummah* would survive.

THE MASSACRE OF THE JEWISH TRIBE OF QURAYẒAH. Three of the most powerful Jewish tribes of Medina—Qaynuqāʿ, Naḍīr, and Qurayẓah—had joined the disaffected pagans of the settlement and plotted the overthrow of Muḥammad. To this end, the Jewish tribes had formed alliances with Mecca. They were a security threat, since the location of their territory meant that they could easily join a besieging Meccan army and attack the *ummah* from within. When the Qaynuqāʿ staged an unsuccessful coup against Muḥammad in 625, they were expelled from Medina. Muḥammad tried to reassure the Naḍīr and made a special alliance with them, but when they attempted to assassinate him, he sent them into exile too. The exiles joined the nearby Jewish settlement of Khaybar, and helped to build support for Abū Sufyān from the northern Arab tribes. When the remaining tribe of Qurayẓah sided with Mecca during the Battle of the Trench, Muḥammad showed no mercy. The seven hundred men of Qurayẓah were killed and their women and children sold as slaves.

This was an appalling incident, and Muḥammad was acting exactly like a traditional Arab chieftain, retaliating mercilessly to ensure the survival of his own people. An Arab *sayyid* was not expected to spare surviving enemies. Had Muḥammad simply exiled the Qurayẓah, they would have swelled the Jewish opposition in Khaybar and brought another war upon the *ummah.* The executions sent a grim message to Khaybar and helped to quell pagan opposition in Medina. Muḥammad acted according to the old tribal ethic in an attempt to bring hostilities to an end as soon as possible. This had been a fight to the death, and both sides had understood that the stakes were high.

The struggle did not indicate any hostility towards Jews in general, however, and showed no antipathy to Jewish religion. The Jews of Medina who had not sided with Mecca continued to be a part of the *ummah* and to enjoy Muslim protection. The Qurʾān continued to command Muslims to respect the People of the Book and to revere the Jewish prophets. Later, Jews, like Christians, enjoyed full religious liberty in the Islamic empires. Hatred of Jews became marked in the Muslim world only after the creation of the State of Israel in 1948 and the subsequent loss of Arab Palestine. As a result of this originally secular conflict, some Muslims now quote the passages in the Qurʾān that refer to Muḥammad's struggle with the three rebellious Jewish tribes, thus distorting both the message of the Qurʾān and the attitude of the Prophet himself, who felt no antagonism toward the Jewish people.

A PEACE OFFENSIVE (628–630). The massacre of the Qurayẓah may have been a personal watershed for Muḥammad himself. His struggle with Mecca had followed the old patterns of violence in Arabia. The persecution of Muslims in Mecca had led to the *hijrah* and subsequent Muslim raids on the Meccan caravans. *Ghazū* had led to full-scale warfare. Attack had led to counterattack, injury to reprisal and retaliation. There had been atrocities on both sides. This had long been the chronic problem of Arabia. As long as Muḥammad continued to behave like a traditional Arab chieftain, he and his Muslims would be caught in an escalating spiral of violence, vendetta, and counter-vendetta. After his victory at the Battle of the Trench in 627, therefore, Muḥammad felt that it was time to break this vicious cycle.

In March 628, Muḥammad initiated an audacious campaign of nonviolence that eventually brought the conflict to an end. He announced that he was going to make the *ḥājj* pilgrimage to Mecca and asked for volunteers to accompany him. Since pilgrims were forbidden to bear arms during the *ḥājj,* the Muslims would be walking directly into the lions' den and putting themselves at the mercy of the Quraysh. Nevertheless about a thousand Muslims set out for Mecca with the Prophet, attired in the traditional white pilgrim robes and performing the rites of the *ḥājj* meticulously. Muḥammad was well aware that he was putting the Quraysh in a difficult position. If they attacked unarmed Arab pilgrims, they would violate the most sacred principles of Arabia and would be reviled as unworthy guardians of the Kaʿbah. The Quraysh did dispatch their cavalry to attack the pilgrims, but with the help of friendly local tribes the Prophet evaded them and managed to reach the well of Ḥudaybiyah, at the edge of the Meccan sanctuary, where all violence was forbidden. The Muslims then dismounted from their camels and sat down peacefully to await developments. Eventually the Quraysh were pressured to send a delegation and to sign a treaty with Muḥammad.

The treaty was extremely unpopular with the Muslims because Muḥammad appeared to throw away all the advantages that he had gained in the course of the long conflict. Even though Muḥammad could easily have forced the issue, he agreed to waive his right to complete the *ḥājj,* on the condition that the Muslims could make the pilgrimage the following year. There would be a truce between Mecca and Medina. This meant that Muḥammad had to abandon the economic blockade that was beginning to strangle the Meccan economy and that the Muslims could no longer engage in lucrative raids on the Meccan caravans. Muḥammad also promised to return any Meccan who converted to Islam and made the *hijrah* to Medina. The treaty so enraged the Muslims that there was danger of mutiny. But the Qurʾān insists that as soon as the enemy sues for peace, Muslims must bring hostilities to an end and sign a treaty, no matter how disadvantageous the terms. The Qurʾān refers to the treaty of Ḥudaybiyah as a "manifest victory": it was the spirit of peace that distinguished the true believer from the violence of paganism (48:1, 26–27)

Ḥudaybiyah was another turning point. More tribes came over to Muḥammad's confederacy, and conversion to Islam became an irreversible trend. Arabs were pragmatic people: once the old religion had shown itself to be inadequate, they would not remain committed to it. Many of the new members of the confederacy, however, joined for political reasons and did not alter their religious conviction. Muḥammad was well aware of this and did not press for conversion in these cases.

Eventually, in 630, the Quraysh violated the treaty of Ḥudaybiyah by attacking one of Muḥammad's tribal allies. The Prophet was then free to march on Mecca with an army of ten thousand men. Faced with this overwhelming evidence of the change in their fortunes, the Quraysh conceded defeat, opened the city gates, and Muḥammad took Mecca without bloodshed. He destroyed the idols around the Kaʿbah, but nobody was forced to enter Islam against their will, according to Qurʾanic principles. Muḥammad's victory, however, convinced some of his most dedicated opponents, such as Abū Sufyān, that the old faith had failed, and they became Muslims.

LAST DAYS (630–632). After his victory, Muḥammad returned to Medina. He had promised the Anṣār that he would never abandon them in order to return to his native city, and Medina remained the administrative capital of the Islamic polity for another thirty years. His most significant act during these final years was the farewell pilgrimage to Mecca in 632, during which he reinterpreted the old pagan rituals of the *ḥājj* and gave them a Muslim significance by linking them to episodes in the story of Abraham, Hagar, and Ishmael. Therefore, when Muslims make the *ḥājj*, which is the peak experience of their religious lives, they are not reminded of Muḥammad but symbolically rehearse their relationship with the whole monotheistic family, returning to the roots of this faith. Shortly after this last pilgrimage, Muḥammad died in ʿĀʾishah's arms on June 8, 632. He was buried in her little hut in the courtyard of the mosque of Medina by members of his immediate family.

MUḤAMMAD IN MUSLIM PIETY. The Qurʾān warns Muslims against the dangers of idolatry (*shirk*); they must not give to any mere creature the honor due to God alone. Constantly Muḥammad had warned the *ummah* against deifying him, as the Christians had deified Jesus. Muḥammad was a mere mortal, like themselves. Nevertheless, devotion to the Prophet is crucial to Muslim spirituality. Muslims call him the "perfect man" because his life represents the ideal of *islām*, a wholehearted surrender to God. Just as Christians attempt to imitate Christ, Muslims imitate Muḥammad in their lives in order to approximate as far as possible this perfection, and to come as close as they can to God himself. The *sharīʿah*, the corpus of Islamic law, was developed on the basis of the Qurʾān and the daily practice of the Prophet. During the ninth century, scholars began a process of research and compiled the great collections of Muḥammad's maxims (*ḥadīth*) and accounts of his customary behavior, traveling throughout the Islamic empire to discover as much evidence as they could.

The *sunnah* (i.e., the model conduct of the Prophet) and *sharīʿah* taught Muslims to imitate the way Muḥammad spoke, ate, loved, washed, and worshiped, so that in the smallest details of their external lives they reproduce his actions in the hope of attaining his interior submission to God. This means that throughout the Islamic world, Muslims have acquired a clear identity, which draws them together. The way they pray or wash, as well as their table manners and personal hygiene, follow a common distinctive pattern. Muslims from China, Indonesia, and the Middle East, for example, all perform the prostrations of *ṣalāt* in the same way. This devotion also means that Muslims internalize the Prophet at a profound level and identify with him deeply. As a result, if Muḥammad is attacked or denigrated in any way, Muslims may feel personally violated.

The imitation of Muḥammad has also influenced many of the various political movements in Islam. Muḥammad did not retire to a cave or mountaintop, but was a man of the world, who worked incessantly to change his society. The society of Medina in Muḥammad's time has become the blueprint of the ideal Muslim society and has always been the starting point of political science in Islam. Because of the Qurʾān's emphasis on the paramount importance of social justice, politics has an inescapably religious dimension in Islam, and from a very early date Muslims have followed the example of Muḥammad's own life when they have sought to reform the *ummah*. From the early seventh century to the present day, Muslim reformers have first withdrawn from mainstream society in imitation of the Prophet's *hijrah*, and then engaged in a *jihād*, a struggle that may or may not include military action, to bring their fellow Muslims back to the Islamic ideal. The pattern of migration and struggle has become an archetypal form of engaging in political action. Most recently, the Egyptian activist Sayyid Quṭb (1906–1966) developed a fundamentalist ideology based entirely on Muḥammad's life, and he followed this archetypal pattern closely in his seminal book *Milestones* (1964). Quṭb's vision has inspired almost every single fundamentalist movement in the Sunnī world. Usāmah bin Lādin, the founder of the terrorist organization al-Qāʿidah, whose members attacked the Pentagon and the World Trade Center in New York on September 11, 2001, is a disciple of Quṭb. Unfortunately, Quṭb's ideology has distorted the Prophet's life by reducing the meaning of *jihād* to "holy war" and making this the climax of Muḥammad's career, forgetting that the Prophet finally abjured armed struggle and won victory by an ingenious policy of nonviolence.

The example of Muḥammad also informs Sufism, the mystical dimension of Islam. From the eighth century, Muslims who were disturbed by the growing wealth and luxury of the Islamic empire withdrew from the mainstream and imitated the simple lifestyle of the Prophet. The Ṣūfīs may even derive their name from their practice of wearing the kind of coarse woolen cloth *(taṣawwuf)* preferred by Muḥammad. In their spiritual exercises, Ṣūfīs hope to put themselves into the same receptive state of mind as the Prophet when he received the revelations of the Qurʾān, and they see the story of the *miʿrāj* as the archetype of the return that everybody must make to God, the source of their being. The *miʿrāj* is regarded as the supreme example of Muḥammad's surrender to the divine. But Ṣūfīs do not withdraw from the world in the same way as Christian or Buddhist monks. Their mystic call is often experienced as an inner rebellion against social or political injustices, and like Muḥammad they engage in a campaign of spiritual effort, which they call the "greater *jihād*." To this day, an intense spirituality modulates easily into political activism in the Muslim world. Ṣūfīs have often been at the forefront of many reform movements or in the vanguard of opposition to anything that threatens the *ummah*, externally or internally.

The prophet Muḥammad is equally venerated in the Shīʿah. Indeed, because of their devotion to the Prophet they also venerate his descendants, whom they believe should be the political leaders of the Muslim community. According to the traditional ethos of Arabia, the special gifts of a chieftain was handed down to his sons and descendants, and after the Prophet's death many of the Muslims believed that Muḥammad's prophetic quality would have been inherited by his male descendants. Because he had no surviving sons, these Muslims believed that some of his prophetic charisma had passed to ʿAlī, Muḥammad's cousin and son-in-law, to his sons—Ḥasan and Ḥusayn—and, following Ḥusayn's tragic murder by the Umayyad caliph, to the descendants of Ḥusayn, until the line finally died out in the ninth century. Each of these inspired *imāms* were the spiritual "leaders" of their people; each had inherited a secret knowledge (*ilm*) of divine truth. Each, as it were, kept some of Muḥammad's unique prophetic qualities alive, and in some mysterious way, kept the Prophet alive in each generation.

SEE ALSO Ḥadīth; Islam, overview article; Islamic Law, article on Sharīʿah; Miʿrāj; Qurʾān, overview article; Shiism, overview article; Sunnah.

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MUḤAMMAD AḤMAD (AH 1260–1302/1844–1885 CE), Sudanese preacher and mystic who claimed to be the Mahdi of Islam. Muḥammad Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh was born at Labab Island on the Nile in Dongola province of a Nubian family claiming descent from the Prophet and was brought up at Karari, just north of Omdurman. He received a traditional Islamic education and at age seventeen became apprenticed to Muḥammad Sharīf Nūr al-Dāʾim, a shaykh of the Sammānīyah Ṣūfī order. He spent seven years serving and imbibing mystical wisdom from his master who then authorized him to teach the doctrines of the order and to initiate others.

In 1870 he took up residence on Aba Island on the White Nile just north of Kosti, along with his three brothers, who were engaged in the family trade of boat building. Once settled there his growing reputation as a Ṣūfī teacher and ascetic began to gain him a considerable following among the local peoples. His teacher, Muḥammad Sharīf, also established himself nearby in 1288/1872, but before long the two men fell out, perhaps because of the elder man's jealousy at this pupil's acclaim. Muḥammad Sharīf announced Muḥammad Aḥmad's expulsion from the Sammānīyah order, whereupon the latter declared his allegiance to a rival shaykh of the order and denounced his former shaykh as a man who flouted the *sharīʿah*.

In 1878 his new shaykh, al-Qurashī wad al-Zayn, died, and Muḥammad Aḥmad was immediately recognized as his successor. Shortly afterward he received a visit from the man who was to be his political successor, the *khalīfah* ʿAbd Allāh (ʿAbdullāhi) ibn Muḥammad Ādam. ʿAbd Allāh's attachment to Muḥammad Aḥmad, however, was more than that of a Ṣūfī disciple to his master. He recognized him as the expected Mahdi, the final regenerator of Islam who, it was believed, would appear shortly before the end time to usher in a period of justice and Sammānīyah equity and unite the whole world under the banner of Islam.

Up to this point there is no indication that Muḥammad Aḥmad had considered the possibility that he might be the Mahdi, though he must have been aware of the widespread belief in the Sudan and West Africa that the Mahdi would appear in the thirteenth century of the Hijrah (1785–1882 CE). Even now he hesitated, but following a series of visions he became convinced in 1881 that God had designated him as the Mahdi. For three months his Mahdihood was a secret, revealed at first only to trusted disciples and then, on a visit to al-Ubayyiḍ (El Obeid) in Kordofan, to religious scholars and finally, to the common people. Finally, on June 29, 1881, his public manifestation (*ẓuhūr*) as the expected Mahdi took place on Aba Island, and he called upon his adherents to rally to him.

Events now moved rapidly. In keeping with the Prophet's practice to muster his followers and distinguish the true believers, he undertook an "emigration" (*hijrah*) from Aba Island to Jabal Qadīr in the Nuba Mountains of southern Kordofan, naming those who rallied to him the "helpers" (*al-anṣār*) after the Prophet's allies in Medina. While encamped at Jabal Qadīr, his supporters won two resounding victories against forces sent by the Turco-Egyptian government of the Sudan, gaining for the Mahdi enormous prestige and a considerable quantity of arms and other booty. The Mahdi now turned his attention to central Kordofan, where he had been warmly received before his manifestation and where there was already a body of believers in his mission. An initial attack by Mahdist forces on al-Ubayyiḍ in September 1882 was repulsed by government troops with heavy losses, but a siege resulted in the town's fall to the Mahdi early in 1883.

The universal implications of the Mahdi's mission were now made plain. A vision assured him that he would eventually offer prayer in Cairo, Mecca, Jerusalem, and Kufa. The first step was to strike at the heart of the Turco-Egyptian administration, Khartoum, and this city was duly occupied after considerable bloodshed in January 1885.

Following this triumph the Mahdi established his headquarters in nearby Omdurman, but he was destined to survive for only six months, dying, it is generally believed, from typhus. The Islamic state he was in the process of establishing, however, lasted for a further fourteen years until the forces of the Anglo-Egyptian "reconquest" mowed down the *khalīfah* ʿAbd Allāh in 1899.

The mission of the Mahdi, however, had not been to establish a lasting political structure. His claim to Mahdihood implied that the apocalypse was at hand, and he constantly exhorted his followers to reject the world and its deceits and to prepare for the life to come. As a divinely appointed leader he claimed a status only a little short of that of a prophet. While preaching strict adherence to the Qurʾān and the prophetic *sunnah*, he placed himself above the interpretations of the *madhhab*s, the Islamic law schools, and issued authoritative pronouncements on ritual, social, and economic matters through a series of written proclamations (*manshūrāt*) and oral rulings issued in public gatherings (*majālis;* sg., *majlis*). Though a Ṣūfī and shaykh of a suborder, he ordained that belief in his mission overrode all other loyalties and that his prayer manual, the *Rā-tib*, superseded the litanies of the orders. Mystical ideas, however, pervaded all his thinking. His mission was announced in visions in which the Prophet invested him as Mahdi in the presence of Khiḍr, the legendary immortal "man of God," and other "saints" (*awliyāʾ*). He was told by the Prophet that he had been created from the light of the core of his heart, an allusion to the preexistent light before creation that God made incarnate in Adam and other prophets and, finally, in Muḥammad and his descendants.

Although his claims to be the Mahdi must be judged to have been unsubstantiated, many Sudanese remained loyal to Muḥammad Aḥmad's memory. His posthumous son, Sayyid ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, was won over by the British administration and was able to benefit from popular pro-Mahdist sentiment (especially among the Baqqārah) to establish grassroots support for a national political party. The Ummah party, which he founded in 1945, played the dominant role in Sudanese politics in both the first republic (1956–1958) and the second (1964–1969). The Mahdi's great-grandson, Sayyid al-Ṣādiq, a Western-educated Islamic modernist, remains an influential thinker and a key political personality.

SEE ALSO Messianism, article on Messianism in the Muslim Tradition.

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JOHN O. HUNWICK (1987)

MUḤAMMAD ʿALĪ LĀHORĪ See LĀHORĪ, MUḤAMMAD ʿALĪ

MUISCA RELIGION. Located high on the Colombian plateau, the territory of the Muisca people extended a scarce 300 kilometers long by 125 kilometers wide. To history, the Muisca have become known as the Chibcha, a name derived from Chibchacum, one of their major deities (Von Hagen, 1974, p. 78). Their state comprised two principal kingdoms that, for four generations of rulers preceding the Spanish conquest of this area in 1537, were ruled by two hereditary monarchs, the Zipa from Bacata in the south and the Zaque from Hunsa in the north. Independent allied territories bordered the northern region. The city of Sugamuxi, which was governed by an elected *cacique* ("leader") was an important religious center (Falchetti and Plazas de Nieto, 1973, pp. 39–45).

Unlike the theocratic empires of Mexico and Peru, the fledgling Muisca state had no stone pyramids, temples, or sculpture. In common with the religions of other American theocracies, however, that of the Muisca placed special emphasis on the adoration of the sun. In Muisca cosmology, the supreme deity, Chiminigagua, was equated with light. Myth recounts how, in the beginning, darkness and silence reigned over a sterile world. Light existed only as the omniscient Chiminigagua within an impenetrable shell of clay. On the occasion of the first dawn, the god broke the shell and illuminated with beauty all that had previously been chaos. He then dispatched two ravens to the ends of the earth. As the birds flew, bright light emanated from their beaks, revealing all the creations of the omnipotent god: the sun, the moon, the vivid birds that animate the sky, and the animals and plants of the earth (Pérez de Barradas, 1950–1951, vol. 2, p. 372; Samper, in Camargo Pérez, 1937, p. 186).

Complementing this dawn-creation myth is the legend of Bachue, fecund mother and matrilineal deity. One spring morning, the sun's rays, like a luminescent emerald, projected sparkling colors over the bleak moor. Warm breezes cleared the early mists as brightly hued birds skimmed over Lake Iguaque. With the gentle murmur of waves, Bachue and her three-year-old son appeared from the waters. Bachue raised her son to maturity, at which point they married. With each pregnancy the prolific Bachue gave birth to five or six children and peopled the entire Muisca realm. With her consort, Bachue instructed the Muisca in the moral precepts of society. Finally, after many years, the couple returned to Iguaque, where they changed into snakes and disappeared into the depths of the lake. Thus Chiminigagua is the energizing power of the universe and Bachue is the progenetor of the Muisca people (Arango Cano, 1970, pp. 29–40).

Bochica, the envoy of Chiminigagua, was a protective deity who saved the Muisca from a disastrous flood inflicted by the irate god Chibchacum (Triana, 1970, p. 82). From a rainbow Bochica hurled a golden staff that dispersed the menacing storm clouds and shattered the mountain below, allowing the flood waters to escape into the Tequendama Falls. For the cruelty he inflicted on the Muisca, Chibchacum was condemned for eternity to carry the earth on his shoulders; as he shifts the weight from one shoulder to another, earth tremors are felt (Arango Cano, 1970, pp. 65–72). The conflict between the two deities is thought to symbolize the rivalry between the chiefs, whose patron was Bochica, and the merchant class, which was protected by Chibchacum (Pérez de Barradas, 1950–1951, vol. 2, p. 401).

Muisca gods were worshiped at the streams, lakes, waterfalls, and mountains of the territory. Rocks bearing the footprints of Bochica were venerated, and many cliff and rock surfaces were carved or painted with sacred designs (Pérez de Barradas, 1950–1951, vol. 2, pp. 340–354). The holiest shrine was the Temple of the Sun, a circular building with cane walls that were whitened with mud daub and floors covered with fine esparto mats. On platforms against the walls lay the mummies of illustrious ancestors. In tribute to their forefathers, the faithful brought to the temple offerings of emeralds and gold that were placed in hollow wood or ceramic sculptures. The gold or *tumbaga* (an alloy of gold and copper) objects, known as *tunjas*, were anthropomorphic or zoomorphic, in the form of snakes, lizards, birds, monkeys, or felines. Kneeling reverently in the temple with arms held high, the supplicant chanted hymns to the omnipotent spirit of the Sun (Camargo Pérez, 1937, pp. 53–59; Samper, in Camargo Pérez, 1937, p. 190).

Birds were sacrificed in the temple in great numbers. Especially valued were macaws and parrots that were taught to speak; after the sacrifice their heads were preserved. Human sacrifice took place prior to departure for war, and head trophies were taken from the enemy to adorn the temples. During the construction of a temple, posts were driven into the ground through the bodies of living slaves. In honor of the Sun, young boys known as *moxas* were procured from alien territories and reared in the temples as priests. Believed capable of conversing with the Sun in song, these youths were considered sacred, and their movements were circumscribed by strict taboo. Sexually innocent, they were sacrificed in early puberty. To the chanting of hymns, the heart and viscera of a *moxa* were removed, his head severed, and his blood sprinkled on the temple posts. To placate the Sun in times of drought, a youth would be sacrificed before sunrise on a mountain peak, the east-facing rocks anointed with blood, and the body exposed on the mountain to be devoured by the Sun (Kroeber, 1946, p. 907).

Another important ceremonial offering took place at the Lake of Guatavita in commemoration of a legendary princess. Long ago, a ruler, upon discovering his wife's adulterous liaison with a young warrior, tortured and impaled the man and forced his wife to eat the heart and genitals of her lover. Grief stricken, the princess fled, seeking refuge with the guardian spirits of the sacred lake. Full of remorse, the ruler sent priests to reclaim his wife, but they found her in an enchanted palace protected by a great snake. In memory of his abused wife, the ruler promised to give bountiful gifts; thus, on nights of full moon, the princess appears above the waters of the lake to remind people of their obligation and to bring prosperity to the Muisca.

At the investiture of a ruler, offerings were made to obtain the benevolence of the lake's tutelary spirits. Before sunrise, to the sound of flutes and drums, the ruler, carried on the shoulders of painted warriors, approached the Lake of Guatavita. Boarding a raft, he shed his cloak and stood naked, his body anointed with fragrant resin and coated with gold dust. Accompanied by nobles and priests, the raft proceeded to the center of the lake, as worshipers along the banks intoned sacred hymns. When the first rays broke across the horizon, the gilded monarch, resplendent in the Sun's divine light, emitted a joyful cry that was echoed by his reverent subjects. Placing in the waters offerings of gold and emeralds, the ruler finally immersed himself in the lake to wash away the precious gold particles. And on his triumphant return to shore he was received with acclaim and celebration (Arango Cano, 1970, pp. 101–119).

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MULLĀ ṢADRĀ (AH 979/80–1050, 1571/2–1641 CE), popular name of Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Shīrāzī; Persian philosopher, theologian, and mystic. As his name indicates, Muḥammad, titled Ṣadr al-Dīn ("breast-plate [defender] of the faith") was born in Shiraz; his father, Ibrāhīm ibn Yaḥyā, is said to have been a governor of the province of Fārs.

LIFE. Little is known of the details of Mullā Ṣadrā's life. He came at a young age to Isfahan, which was the Safavid capital and the center of a flourishing school of philosophy established by Muḥammad Bāqir Mīr Dāmād (d. 1631), Mullā Ṣadrā's mentor and a philosophic thinker of fairly high caliber. Ṣadrā also studied theology with Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1621), a theologian, mathematician, and architect whose treatises on mathematics and science were taught at al-Azhar University in Cairo. His third teacher, Mīr Findiriskī (who died the same year as Mullā Ṣadrā), is believed to have taught Ṣadrā the Peripatetic philosophy of Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna).

Sometime in his youth, most likely during his middle twenties, Mullā Ṣadrā left Isfahan under persecution from certain traditionalist circles who, probably among other things, accused him of pantheism; he was also impelled by a strong inner need to base his thought on a more solid footing than the superficial method of debates and "verbal quibbles," as he calls them. He settled in the village of Kahak in the mountains near Qom (an important center of religious learning in Iran), where he led a solitary life, devoting himself to deep contemplation of the basic problems of truth and life, particularly of human destiny. This was accompanied by strenuous religious exercises as a means of spiritual catharsis, as he avers, and as preparation for the reception of truth. It is not certain how long he stayed in Kahak: reports vary from seven to fifteen years, but the latter figure appears to be more accurate within the periodization of his life suggested below. In any event, Ṣadrā informs us that during this stay, as he resigned himself to God and passively submitted to truth, his mind was "flooded with invasions of intuitive truth." This infused new life into him; he had gone into seclusion troubled and brokenhearted, but he came out of it with a new philosophical discovery, a discovery that was to serve him as the master principle for the solution of all philosophical problems, from the theory of movement, through epistemology, to the nature of the self and God. This was the principle of the reality of existence and the fictitiousness of essences. To expound this principle he wrote various works, including his *magnum opus, Al-asfār al-arbaʿah* (The four journeys).

After his stay in Kahak, Ṣadrā returned to his native town, Shiraz, where it is said a mosque school was built for him by Allāhwirdī Khan under orders from Shah ʿAbbās II. This was the "Khan School" mentioned by the seventeenth-century traveler Thomas Herbert as the most prominent school in Iran; it offered courses in philosophy, astrology (that is, astronomy: astrology is prohibited in orthodox Islam), physics, chemistry, and mathematics. The building, though badly in need of restoration, still stands today. Here Ṣadrā wrote practically all of his works and trained scholars, the most famous of whom were Mullā Fayḍ Kāshānī and ʿAbd al-Razzāq Lāhījī. He is said to have died in Basra on a return from his seventh pilgrimage to Mecca; he was buried there. If reports are to be believed, he made several pilgrimages to Mecca on foot. Such a journey is not uncommon among Muslims, but in the case of a busy intellectual leader it would have been an almost incredible feat.

The life of Ṣadrā thus falls into three broad periods. The first covers his childhood and his period of study in Shiraz and Isfahan—up to his early or middle twenties; the second is the period of his self-imposed exile in the village of Kahak, which, if it spanned fifteen years, would bring him to the age of almost forty, and the last period covers the last thirty lunar years of his life, which would give him a total of seventy lunar or sixty-eight solar years.

THOUGHT. Mullā Ṣadrā tells us that in his early youth he held to the primary reality of essences and considered existence to be a "secondary attribute" contributed by the mind to external reality. This doctrine of "essentialism" arose with Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl, "the Martyr" (d. 1191), who criticized the view of Ibn Sīnā that existence is a "real" attribute of existents. Suhrawardī held that in reality there are only essences, and that existence is a most general attribute contributed only by the mind and with no counterpart in the external world. This doctrine became very popular after Suhrawardī and gave rise to the doctrine of the "unity of being" *(waḥdat al-wujūd),* according to which all beings share existence equally but differ in their essences, a doctrine often linked with pantheism since it asserts the unity of the existence of God with all beings. At some point during his period of seclusion, however, Ṣadrā abandoned this view in favor of the idea of the primary or sole reality of existence, which he then used as his master principle in all fields of philosophic inquiry.

The doctrine of the sole reality of existence implies (1) that essences are not real but are produced only in the mind by the impact of outside reality upon it and (2) that existence is in eternal progressive motion, which at each point assumes all previous grades of movement and transcends them. Let us now consider the fuller impact of each of these propositions. First, existence is "something whose nature it is to be in the external world," while mind is the natural home of essences. The moment we conceptualize existence, therefore, it becomes an essence and falsifies real existence; thus, existence cannot be known through conceptual reason but only through direct intuition, just as we know ourselves. As Ṣadrā puts it, "That which is directly experienced is existence, but that which is understood by the mind are essences." Even so, however, the concept of existence differs from all other concepts or essences, in that it alone presupposes real existence. Essences are dysfunctional to existence: the more something has of existence, the less it has of essence. God, the most perfect being, is therefore pure and absolute existence without any essence, although this fact does not, in Ṣadrā's view, negate God's attributes, because each of them, as an infinite and concrete entity, is identical with God's existence and is only conceptually distinguishable from the others, while essences are closed and mutually exclusive. Existence alone is all-inclusive; from it, the mind somehow partitions and carves essences for certain practical purposes, but the continuum of reality is falsified in the process.

Second, this continuum of reality is the continuum of eternal progressive motion, which is unidirectional and irreversible. This movement, which Ṣadrā calls "substantive movement," occurs in the very substance of everything and not just in its accidents or extrinsic attributes, such as color, shape, locus, and so on. This latter kind of movement is reversible in quality and quantity—hot can become cold or vice versa—but such extrinsic motion is dependent upon an inner, intrinsic one that is irreversible. This intrinsic or substantive motion is so imperceptible that we become aware of it only after a great deal of cumulative change has occurred and a critical point is reached. In view of his doctrine of "substantive motion," Ṣadrā, of course, denies that real motion has any enduring substratum. But contrary to the theologians (*mutakallimūn*), who believe in atomism, he spends a good deal of effort to prove continuity, without which the whole idea of process would become impossible, and he would end up denying the very motion that he wants to establish. He therefore concludes by asserting that while the idea of a fixed and enduring substratum is real with regard to accidental movements, it is fictional with regard to substantive movement, which is itself a veritable unity wherein the potential and the actual or the "active" and the "passive" principles are one and the same. In a self-actualizing process, any dualism between that which produces change and that which is receptive of change vanishes.

In the entire field of reality, it is only existence that is characterized by substantive change. Existence alone is therefore "systematically ambiguous" (*mutashakkik*) because it is "that which, by virtue of sameness, creates difference"; other phenomena, like extrinsic motion and time, are so only because they are contingent upon this substantive change. This substantive movement of the world process always proceeds from the general to the specific, from the genus to the differentia, from the abstract to the concrete, and every subsequent development contains the prior developments and transcends them. Ṣadrā also describes the process as movement from mutually exclusive to mutually inclusive parts of being, or from the "composite" to the "simple" being. He thus enunciates the principle: "The truly simple is all reality." A consequence of this principle is that what appears contradictory at a lower level of being appears as a synthetic unity at a higher level, since mutually exclusive factors progressively become mutually inclusive.

Whereas God is absolute existence, the perpetually and progressively moving grades of existence are the "modes" of existence; these modes, in proportion to the measure of existence they realize, are organized according to the principle of "more or less," or *ad priorem et posteriorem*, a principle that Ṣadrā borrowed from Suhrawardī. But while for Suhrawardī the principle of "more or less" applies to essences, according to Ṣadrā it applies to existence alone, and that is, as we have seen, the "systematic ambiguity" (*tashkīk*) of existence. On the basis of this *tashkīk* of existence, moreover, Ṣadrā asserts that although in this life all humans partake of one species, thanks to the progressive motion from abstract to concrete in the evolutionary process, in future life every human will become a species unto himself. Strictly speaking, on this principle, every form or mode of being has an irreducible reality of its own, which cannot be dissolved without residue: each being, Ṣadrā tirelessly repeats, exists in its own right as a unique and unanalyzable particular (*fard*). Yet so strong is the pull of the pantheistic-monistic worldview of his earlier days that Ṣadrā emphatically tells us that only God is real and truly existent; every other being is only a chimera, a pseudo-being beside God. Here lies the most basic tension in Ṣadrā's thought, one which he never seems able to overcome; it is the tension between his philosophical and his religious motivations. Thus, while he tells us that the question "why does the world move?" is a meaningless one, like the question, "why does fire burn?"—for the only answer is "because this is its very nature"—in the same breath, he insists that it is God who creates change at every moment in the world process, that nothing other than him has any reality whatever, and that all contingent beings are not just things related to him, but mere relations, a hardly intelligible proposition.

Nonetheless, Ṣadrā applies his fundamental theory of existence and its evolution to various traditional problems of philosophy with an amazing degree of consistency and success. Thus, in his theory of knowledge he argues strongly against the Peripatetic view that knowledge comes about by way of gradual abstraction of the object of knowledge from matter and its relationships until pure intellective knowlege is attained. If this is the case, then our intellective knowledge of an animal, for example, since it is abstracted from the matter of the animal, must falsify the object of knowledge, because the real animal has matter, and "concepts in the mind would become like engravings on the wall." Knowledge, in fact, since it is at a higher plane of being than material things, is more concrete, simple, and inclusive, until, at the highest level, the full knowledge-being equation is reached as in God.

In his eschatology, Ṣadrā rejects the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, giving as one reason, among others, that when a soul has developed in a body it cannot regress and start from scratch, which it would have to do if it joined a newborn body. Applying his doctrine of the systematic ambiguity of existence to the problem of will, Ṣadrā asserts that will (like knowledge and other intrinsic attributes) is commensurate with a particular form of existence. Fire, for example, has a certain tendency (like other natural objects) but no will; humans have a will with choice between alternatives. They have to choose because they are a mixture of power and powerlessness, knowledge and ignorance; their "free will" means that they have choice, but also that this choice has determinants. Philosophers who hanker after an "absolutely free will" for humans are running after a mirage. God has a free will without choice since, in his case, there is no question of alternatives to choose from; nevertheless, he does not work under constraint. Thus, an individual can say, "If I will, I will write; otherwise not," and God can say, "If I will, I will create; otherwise not," even if God must always create, given his nature; but fire cannot say, "If I will, I will burn; otherwise not." These differences are due to the nature of existence in each case.

WORKS. The editor of *Al-asfār al-arbaʿah* (Tehran, 1958) puts the number of Ṣadrā's works at thirty-two or thirty-three; S. H. Nasr, in his study *Mullā Ṣadrā and His Transcendent Philosophy*, mentions forty-six, although he includes a number of items entitled "Answers to Questions." Although Ṣadrā wrote works of religion as well as philosophy, the latter are by far the more important, since the former are products of the application of his philosophical hermeneutics to religious tenets. His writings can also be divided into original works and commentaries; the commentaries on Ibn Sīnā's *Metaphysics* and Suhrawardī's *Ḥikmat al-Ishrāq* are very important and certainly more influential even than most of Ṣadrā's smaller original pieces. His most important and comprehensive work is undoubtedly *Al-asfār al-arbaʿah*. The first part deals with ontology, discussing questions of existence, essence, and movement. The second, apparently addressing the categories of substance and accidents, deals with his natural philosophy. The third "journey" is devoted to a discussion of God's being and attributes, while the last deals with humanity and its destiny, which is the final purpose of the entire work. Two other important late works are *Al-mabdaʾ wa-al-maʿād* (The Origin and the Return, that is, of all being from and to God) and *Al-shawāhid al-rubūbīyah* (Divine Witnesses), held to be his last work; these are both in the nature of summaries of the *Asfār*.

Despite his fame, Ṣadrā had little influence in his own lifetime. As mentioned earlier, two of his pupils gained prominence. It appears that since he had synthesized several schools of Islamic thought and also wrote commentaries on some of their prominent texts, his works gradually became a focal point of philosophic studies in Iran and subsequently in the Indian subcontinent, where Ṣadrā's commentary on Ibn Sīnā's *Metaphysics* was taught and where numerous manuscripts of his works still exist uncataloged.

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The latest edition of the *Asfār* (Tehran, 1960–) so far includes three "journeys" in nine volumes; the publication of the second "journey," which exists only in the 1865 Tehran lithograph edition, is still awaited. The first great commentator on the *Asfār* was ʿAlī Nūrī (d. 1831), followed by a series of other commentators, the most able and prominent of whom was Hādī Sabzawārī (d. 1871). A list of important commentaries (which have never been published independently of the text) is given in the publisher's introduction to the recent edition of the *Asfār* mentioned above. Ṣadrā has had many "debunkers" as well, particularly Abū al-Ḥasan Jalwah (d. 1894), who claimed that Ṣadrā "stole" practically all of his characteristic ideas without naming his sources, a claim that of course cannot be taken seriously. For the past few decades, Iran has witnessed reinvigorated interest in Ṣadrā. The celebration of his four hundredth anniversary in 1961 occasioned the publication of some valuable information about him and his writings, along with editions of some of his previously unpublished works.

In the West, the first book on Ṣadrā's thought, *Das philosophische System von Schirāzi* (Strassburg, 1913), was published by Max Horten. This was followed by Henry Corbin's translation of *Al-mashāʿir* as *Le livre des pénétrations métaphysique* (Tehran, 1964). I have published a detailed critical analysis of Ṣadrā's philosophy based primarily on the *Asfār* entitled *The Philosophy of Mullā Ṣadrā* (Albany, N. Y., 1975). Seyyed Hossein Nasr's *Mullā Ṣadrā and His Transcendent Philosophy* (Tehran, 1978) contains useful information on the life and works of Ṣadrā. James Winston Morris has published an annotated English translation of Ṣadrā's treatise *Al-ḥikmah al-ʿarshīyah* entitled *The Wisdom of the Throne* (Princeton, 1981), with a lengthy introduction from an esoteric angle.

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FAZLUR RAHMAN (1987)
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MÜLLER, F. MAX (1823–1900), German-born philologist and Vedic scholar, professor at Oxford University and celebrated public lecturer in the comparative study of language, mythology, and religion, editor of the *Rig-Veda Samhitâ* (6 vols.), and editor of *The Sacred Books of the East* (50 vols.).

Friedrich Max Müller was born December 6, 1823, in Dessau, in the small German Duchy of Anhalt-Dessau. His father, Wilhelm Müller (1794–1827), had been a distinguished young Romantic poet known to many as the "Byron of Germany" for his *Griechen Lieder,* written in support of Greek nationalism. Before Wilhelm's untimely death, Franz Schubert had composed a pair of song cycles—*Winterreise* and *Die Schöne Müllerin*—that immortalized two of Wilhelm's best sets of poems. Max Müller's mother, Adelheide Müller (c.1799–1883), had been the eldest daughter of Ludwig von Basedow, a chief minister of Anhalt-Dessau. Max Müller was educated in nearby Leipzig, at the Nicolai-Schule where Leibniz also had been a student, and then at the University of Leipzig, where his father's memory opened doors for Müller into the city's artistic circles. Müller at first considered a career as a poet and musician before settling upon the life of a scholar. Although he studied philosophy with Christian Weisse and M. W. Drobisch, Müller proved to be an especially gifted student of languages, mastering Greek and Latin as well as Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit, the latter of which he had taken under Hermann Brockhaus.

After completing a Ph.D. in philosophy in 1843, Müller continued his studies in Sanskrit and comparative philology at Berlin under Franz Bopp, who had been famous for examining the linguistic links among the so-called Aryan family of languages, and Friedrich Schelling, under whose influence Müller himself began to see striking parallels between the history of language and the history of religion. In early 1845, Müller traveled to Paris to study Sanskrit under Eugène Burnouf. Although Müller's brief stay in Berlin saw the publication of his first book, a German translation of ancient Indian fables known as the *Hitopadesa* (1844; Eng. trans., 1866), it was in Paris where Müller received the research direction he needed. At Burnouf's urging, and with the diplomatic support of Baron Christian von Bunsen, Müller was commissioned by the East India Company and Oxford University Press to edit a critical edition of the *Rg Veda,* a project that would take him twenty-four years to complete and would culminate in the six-volume *Rig-Veda Samhitâ,* with Sānaya's commentary (1849–1873). In 1846, Müller traveled to London, where a complete set of the Vedas was archived. Bunsen also helped Müller secure his first teaching and research positions at Oxford. Except for brief excursions to the Continent, Müller worked and resided at Oxford for the remainder of his life.

In 1856, Müller achieved broad public recognition when he published his book-length essay "Comparative Mythology." In this essay, Müller applied current linguistic analysis to the study of mythology in order "to account in a more intelligible manner for the creation of myths" (1909, p. 17). According to Müller, the sun in its various phenomenal modes was the chief source of ancient mythology. In myths Müller saw not simply the personification of the sun, the dawn, the twilight, and so on, but a metaphysical correspondence that human thought and human language drew between the perception of nature and the analogies that the ancient Indo-Europeans had used when communicating what they perceived. The names that people gave to these phenomena, the *nomina* (sing. *nomen*), were later mistaken for divine beings, or *numina* (sing. *numen*), and myths began to develop around these names to account for their existence. Thus, for Müller, mythology represented an earlier "mythopoeic" period or strata in the evolution of human thought and, as such, was viewed by him as a vestige of the past that still impressed itself on the thought and language of the present. Though Müller appears to have borrowed this and other ideas from Burnouf, including his assertion that mythology is a "disease" or weakness of language, the solar thesis that Müller had advanced as a young scholar came in time to overshadow much of his later, more original, thought. Beginning in the 1870s, critics, such as Andrew Lang, savagely attacked Müller's views on mythology. Indeed, it was Lang's relentless barrage against Müller that seemed to have had the most deleterious effect on the respect and influence that Müller's views on mythology had earlier enjoyed.

In 1858 Müller was elected fellow of All Souls College, which, along with his stipend as deputy Taylorian professor of modern European languages, provided a sufficient income for him to marry and raise a family. In 1859, he published his most scholarly work to that point, *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature.* Although in 1860 Müller had lost a bitter election bid to fill Oxford's Boden Chair in Sanskrit, in 1861 and again in 1863 he presented a series of celebrated lectures on the study of language that were published in two volumes as *Lectures on the Science of Language.* By now Müller had become a leading voice in his field and, in recognition of his achievements, Oxford University created for him a chair in comparative philology, which he occupied from 1868 until his retirement in 1875.

In his lifetime Max Müller achieved renown not only for his work in comparative philology and mythology, but also as a champion for the comparative study of religion as a "science" apart from theology. But, despite his best efforts, Müller's work would never gain the lasting success for which he had hoped. After his death in 1900, a *Times* of London obituary mourned his loss, acclaiming him "one of the most brilliant and prolific writers of our time; one whose voice has charmed several generations of Englishmen; who was a great scholar . . . possessing . . . a power of breathing human interest into dry bones, a curiously sympathetic intelligence and a rare mixture of the talents of the poet and the savant" (quoted in Voigt, p. 81). But others were much less effusive, such as Louis Henry Jordan, who called Müller's work in comparative religion "incomplete and strangely defective." Jordan believed that Müller had "attempted to be an investigator in far too many departments" and thus "was able to devote only such fragmentary leisure as he could manage to command. It was for this reason that he never really found time to apply himself, with resolute and persistent purpose, to the promotion of Comparative Religion" (pp. 153–154).

Although Müller could not resist the temptation to open every door that invited his curiosity, he had in fact outlined for himself a specific research program that focused on questions concerning the origins and development of religion, mythology, and philosophy (or rather, cognitive thought) through a "scientific," that is, comparative and historical, examination of language. It was near the end of his life, in his *Contributions to the Science of Mythology* (1897), that Müller laid out for his readers the logic behind the four sciences to which he had devoted much of his fifty-year career at Oxford. Following the method of analyzing and clarifying concepts that he adopted from the German philosophers Johann Herbart and Friedrich Schelling, Müller's aim was to trace the Indo-European (or Aryan) languages back to their common word roots, layer by layer, in order to uncover and comprehend "the whole sphere of activity of the human mind from the earliest period within the reach of our knowledge to the present day" (p. v). As he explained further:

> There is nothing more ancient in the world than language. The history of man begins, not with rude flints, rock temples or pyramids, but with language. The second stage is represented by myths as the first attempts at translating the phenomena of nature into thought. The third stage is that of religion or the recognition of moral powers, and in the end of One Moral Power behind and above all nature. The fourth and last is philosophy, or a critique of the powers of reason in their legitimate working on the data of experience. (p. v)

Müller believed that in the ancient Vedic scriptures, especially in its mythology, he had found the roots of human thought and the earliest form of religion. As he had proclaimed in his *Autobiography* (1901):

> All knowledge, whether individual or possessed by mankind at large, must have begun with what the senses can perceive, before it could rise to signify something unperceived by the senses. Only after the blue aether had been perceived and named, was it possible to conceive and speak of the sky as active, as an agent, as a god. The step from the visible to the invisible, from the perceived to the conceived, from nature to nature's gods, and from nature's god to a more sublime unseen and spiritual power. All this seemed to pass before our very eyes in the Veda, and then to be reflected in Homer and Pindar (pp. 149, 150).

Over three decades earlier, in the preface to his multi-volume collection of essays, *Chips from a German Workshop* (1867), Müller had already arrived at the interconnection among language, mythology, religion, and thought and the need for scholars to examine these connections historically and comparatively. As he wrote: "There is to my mind no subject more absorbing than tracing the origin and first growth of human thought—not theoretically, but historically" (p. ix). At times he likened his linguistic work to that of an archaeologist and at other times to a geologist, digging down through the rock and shale to find the bottom layer of human conscious perception upon which the whole history of the evolution of human thought, mythology, and religion had been founded. "Language," he continued, "still bears the impress of the earliest thoughts of man . . . buried under new thoughts, yet here and there still recoverable in their sharp original outline. . . . [B]y continuing our researches backward from the most modern to the most ancient strata, the very elements and roots of human speech have been reached, and with them the elements and roots of human thought" (p. ix). As with the roots of language, so with the roots of religion: "The elements and roots of religion were there as far back as we can trace the history of man; and the history of religion, like the history of language, shows us throughout a succession of new combinations of the same radical [or root] elements" (p. x). For Müller, that foundation was the first conscious perception of the Infinite, this "One Moral Power behind and above all nature" mentioned earlier. Müller was convinced that it was from this perception of the Infinite that the root elements of all religions emerged, which included "a sense of human weakness and dependence, a belief in a Divine government of the world, a distinction between good and evil, and a hope of a better life" (p. x).

During his long career, Müller was engaged in nearly every intellectual debate that stirred up controversy, the most important of which was the debate over Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859). In his *Lectures on the Science of Language,* Müller argued forcefully that the distinction between human- and animal-kind was the possession of language by the former. So strong was Müller's position that when his younger Oxonian colleague Edward Tylor defended Darwin's position, Müller took it as a breach of their otherwise friendly rivalry. Then, when Darwin's book *The Descent of Man* appeared in 1871, Müller responded in 1873 with his *Lectures on Mr. Darwin's Philosophy of Language,* aimed largely to counter Darwin's supporters. Müller reiterated his views more systematically in *The Science of Thought* (1887), and once more in his *Three Lectures on the Science of Language* (1889). It should be noted that in all these works, Müller's main concern had been over the threat that Darwin's ideas posed, not to religion, but to natural science. Müller, for his part, had already accepted the idea of an evolutionary development of religion, rejecting special revelation or any religious faculty or instinct in humankind as the source of religion or religious ideas. As Müller saw it, unless apes could speak and hence reason, Darwin was flatly wrong. For, as Müller declared, "language forms an impassable barrier between man and beast" (1899, p. 5; see 1887, pp. 152–178).

Finally, in addition to his public stand against Darwinism, Müller also began to present to the English public his ideas on the comparative study of religion. Although Müller had been recognized chiefly for his work in comparative philology and mythology, it was his lectures in the "science" of religion that would prove to be his most provocative, earning him praise in some circles, but denunciation in others as being little more than an atheist in academic disguise. For instance, one clergyman condemned Müller's 1888 Gifford Lectures as "nothing less than a crusade against Divine revelation, against Jesus Christ, and against Christianity."

Müller's first lecture series on religion, which he titled "Lectures on the Science of Religion," were given in 1870 and published in 1872 with a later dedication to Ralph Waldo Emerson. His second series of lectures, published in 1878 as *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as Illustrated by the Religions of India,* was presented at Westminster Abbey as the inaugural Hibbert Lectures. During this same period, Müller began work as editor of the monumental series *The Sacred Books of the East,* the highly acclaimed fifty-volume collection of sacred scriptures. For this collection, Müller offered several of his own translations, notably of the *Upanisads* (2 vols., 1879–1884) and of the *Dhammapada* (1881), both of which remain in print.

During the last decade of his life, Müller returned once more to his views on the natural, or evolutionary, development of religion in four sets of Gifford Lectures, presented in Glasgow between 1888 and 1892. He published these lectures under the titles *Natural Religion* (1889), *Physical Religion* (1891), *Anthropological Religion* (1892), and *Theosophy or Psychological Religion* (1893). As Müller explained anew, religion began with humanity's first perception of the Infinite in and beyond nature and natural phenomena. The Infinite has always existed but remained unnoticed until human consciousness rose above that of a brute animal. This awareness came, not by a divine revelation, but through human reflection upon the Infinite in nature, in humanity, and in the self. In essence, this is what Müller meant by natural, not nature, religion.

Though almost wholly ignored by most modern critics of Müller's work, these four series of lectures encapsulate Müller's most complete and developed views, which had originated a half-century earlier. And though Müller believed that in his Science of Religion he was moving beyond theology to history, in the end his views were perhaps too heavily imbued with the language of theology—European as well as non-European—to enable him to work out a truly comparative science of religion.

SEE ALSO Indo-European Religions, article on History of Study; Lang, Andrew.

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MÜLLER, KARL O.

(1797–1840), German classical historian and mythologist. Karl Otfried Müller was educated at Breslau and at Berlin under the classical philologist August Böckh. In 1819 he was appointed adjunct professor of ancient art and literature at Göttingen and taught there until 1839, when he left Germany to study and travel. He died of fever in Athens the next year.

Müller may be claimed as the most balanced and versatile classical historian of his time, especially in the area of Greek religion and myth. None before him had portrayed this ancient religion and mythology within such a broad and unfolding historical context. Müller's innovation, as Henri Pinard de la Boullaye said, was "not a thesis but a method." Müller related cult and myth, for example, to such complex matters as the shift from agriculture to war and hunting, the founding of cities and colonization, the movement of tribes, and the way differences in locale and climate affect ritual and belief. His many-sided approach gave scholarly rigor to Johann von Herder's emphasis, a generation earlier, on seeing national culture as an organic whole, developing from its own historical roots, language, customs, and geography. Müller thus opposed the Romantic view, common in his time, of Greek religion as patently derived from India and the East, usually by way of migrating priests. He treated Greek civilization in its own terms and applied any useful method: philology, the history of religions, aesthetics, cartography, archaeology. By this variety of means, he clarified what might be called the historical topography of Greek cults and myths as they arose, flourished, and spread. He traced the way this changed over time, and he tried to assign causes, explaining, for example, how a single deity (such as Demeter) was replaced by the Homeric pantheon, how earlier cults remained visible in later and different forms, why the role of local sanctuaries changed, and why mystery religions emerged.

Müller postulated that cult originates in symbol, which is both a transcending and a material representation; myth comes afterward, as an explanation of the cult. He treated myth mainly as a historical document, a clue that the Greeks themselves gave to the meaning of existing customs, beliefs, and important events. He took myth to be a most reliable guide, however, and he was convinced that the folk mind speaking in myth does not falsify or even invent. (Here he reflected the influence of his friends the famous German folklorists Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm.) The most exalted role Müller allowed myth was that of giving an ideal representation to otherwise realistic matters.

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BURTON FELDMAN (1987)
Revised Bibliography

MÜNTZER, THOMAS (1488?–1525), also known as Münzer; radical Protestant reformer involved in the German Peasants' War of 1524–1525. Little is known about Müntzer's early life. His name first appears in the 1506 matriculation records of the University of Leipzig, which required entering students to be at least seventeen years old. Attempts to demonstrate that Müntzer was born earlier than 1488—perhaps as early as 1468—on the basis of records reporting his membership in a religious order have been successfully refuted by Walter Elliger in his detailed biography, *Thomas Müntzer* (Göttingen, 1975, pp. 10–11). Born of a well-to-do family in the Saxon town of Stolberg, Müntzer attended the universities of Leipzig (1506–1512) and Frankfurt an der Oder (1512–1516), where he received the master of arts degree. He was ordained, perhaps in 1513.

Increasingly curious about the relationship of faith to history, Müntzer learned Hebrew and Greek. He studied Eusebius's *Church History,* Augustine, Jerome, the apocalyptic speculations of the Italian Cistercian abbot Joachim of Fiore, the German mystics (especially Johannes Tauler), the records of the reform councils of Constance (1414–1418) and Basel (1431–1449), and canon law. Between 1516 and 1520, Müntzer was an itinerant priest and scholar, for a brief period taking the positions of provost and father confessor in the convents of Frose and Beuditz. In 1518, he traveled to Wittenberg, where he may have met Luther, then north to Jüterbog, where he became known as "emulator of Martin." In 1520, on Luther's recommendation, he became pastor of Zwickau, the "pearl of Saxony."

Zwickau had become the center of the silver trade, with a large influx of tradesmen hoping to make a fortune. There Müntzer began a reform program to eliminate socioeconomic differences between the rich and the poor. He organized meetings of small groups of common people, mostly weavers who had lost their jobs in the wake of the silver boom. Nicholas Storch, the leader of the unemployed weavers and a member of a radical Christian group known as the Zwickau Prophets, persuaded Müntzer that there was sufficient evidence to suggest that the end of the world was near. The city council soon accused the Zwickau Prophets and their pastor, Müntzer, of fomenting rebellion. Müntzer tried to enlist the support of Luther who, however, did not respond.

In 1521, the Zwickau council dismissed Müntzer from the pastorate of Saint Catharine's Church. Müntzer went to Prague, hoping for the support of the Hussites, who were well-known enemies of the Roman papacy. There he posted a handwritten declaration (later known as the Prague Manifesto) on the doors of various churches. Written in German, Latin, and Czech, this manifesto attacked the status quo and announced the beginning of a final reformation leading to a "renewed apostolic church" in which only the Holy Spirit would reign. Müntzer called on the people of Prague to support him in communicating the new "living word" and to oppose anyone defending the status quo. The Prague authorities first placed Müntzer under house arrest and then banned him from Prague.

Once again Müntzer took to the road, traveling through Saxony with brief stops in Erfurt, Halle, and Nordhausen; by 1523 he was penniless and nearly starved. However, he was convinced that his personal suffering was but a prelude to the final tribulations of the world. He met and married the apostate nun Ottilie of Gersen in 1523, the same year he received a call to the pastorate in Allstedt, a small town in electoral Saxony. In 1524, the Müntzers became parents of a son.

In Allstedt, Müntzer implemented his new vision of church and world. First, he reformed congregational life by creating a German church order, a German Evangelical mass, and the German Order of Allstedt, this last to help "poor and collapsing Christendom." He wrote Luther, his Stolberg friends, and Karlstadt that he had become the advocate of the Holy Spirit, who would radically change Germany and the world. In addition, Müntzer wrote several revolutionary tracts. Published in 1524, the tracts *Concerning the Invented Faith, Protestation, A Clear Disclosure of the False Faith of an Unfaithful World,* and *A Highly Necessary Defense and Answer against the Soft-Living Flesh of Wittenberg* (all written in German) declared that the "elect of God" must experience the "bitter Christ" in the "depth of the soul" in order to be purified for the final battle between good and evil, the final struggle between the status quo and new life in the Holy Spirit. Müntzer now called himself the "new Daniel," the leader of a "league of the elect" who would smash the opponents of the Holy Spirit. Those who refused to accept the Holy Spirit in their souls, Müntzer proclaimed repeatedly, would have to be forced to do so, if necessary by the sword. No "ungodly" could be tolerated among the "elect."

When Müntzer led a small band of "elect" in destroying a small Catholic chapel outside Allstedt, Saxon authorities became alarmed. Having been warned by Luther against the "restless spirit of Allstedt," representatives of the Saxon court met with Müntzer in Allstedt, where he preached a radical sermon to them. They then summoned him to Weimar and ordered him to stop his agitations. When the authorities confiscated copies of his treatises, Müntzer was convinced that the time had come to oppose the status quo with force. But, in a letter of September 5, 1524, the Anabaptist reformer Conrad Grebel warned Müntzer against the use of violence.

Müntzer never received the letter because he had left Allstedt vainly seeking support in Switzerland, especially in Basel. He then joined bands of rebellious peasants in Mühlhausen. He and the radical priest Henry Pfaiffer tried once again to create a model of reform, but the Mühlhausen authorities banned both of them. By the spring of 1525, Müntzer had joined the rebelling peasants in Thuringia and had become their chaplain. In May of 1525, the peasants were cruelly defeated at Frankenhausen, and Müntzer, who had fled before the massacre, was captured, tortured, and beheaded. Luther approved of Müntzer's execution, calling it a "just and terrible judgment of God."

Müntzer was the first Protestant theocrat who advocated a Christian crusade to liberate the world from sin, death, and evil. He was a spiritualist who could no longer endure the compromise between internal spiritual experience and living in an imperfect external world; a truly apocalyptic thinker, he tried to transform theological ideas into revolutionary action. Reformers like Luther and Calvin made him the symbol of villainy, and Anabaptists and other radical reformers refused to support him. Ironically, he would become a hero in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to Marxists and other communist groups who advocated revolution, although of course without Müntzer's theological foundation.

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MŪRTI.

According to many Hindu religious traditions, *mūrti* is a god's form, its infinite metaphysical reality manifested visibly. Aside from a limited class of objects called *svayambhū* (self-created or natural), *mūrti*s are mainly anthropomorphic figures or symbols. They are the ritually consecrated cult images at the center of *pūjā* (worship), which is the dominant form of Hindu religious practice.

In Vedic sacrifice the deity is unseen, being represented only by the chanted *mantra*s of the priests as they move among the abstract geometric forms of the altars that represent the cosmos. The deity's form first emerges in the practice of the orthodox tradition with the later, theistic Upaniṣads, where a vision of the *mūrti* of the personalized deity is summoned through meditation. In the epics, image worship is mentioned and accepted, but it is given only marginal and fleeting notice, while major interest is centered upon the fire sacrifice. Only with the emergence of sectarian Agamic and Puranic literature, from the fourth century CE on, did the notion of *mūrti* and its use in *pūjā* become systematically formulated. There, for the first time, the claim is made that worship of *mūrti* succeeds or even supplants the sacrifice.

Paralleling this textual record are inscriptions and fragmentary temple and image remains from as early as the second century BCE. Very few images of orthodox Puranic deities have survived from before the third century CE, however, and not until the fifth and sixth centuries were *mūrti*s and the temples that house them committed to the permanence of stone throughout the subcontinent. Nearly all earlier images, and most later ones, were made of perishable materials, and so lost.

An image is a *mūrti,* not by virtue of looking like the deity it represents, but because it conforms to prescribed measurements and symbolic conventions and is accorded orthodox consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*) and authentic devotion by those whose activities create it, the initiated artist (*sthapati*), priest (*ācārya*), and devotee (*bhakta*). This process is expounded in two sets of authoritative texts. Requirements as to materials, measurements, proportion, decoration, and symbolism according to which the *mūrti* is shaped are provided in technical manuals known as the Śilpaśāstras. Explanation of the metaphysical significance of each stage of manufacture and the prescription of specific *mantra*s to sanctify the process and lodge the power of the deity in the image are found in the Agamas and Tantras, liturgical handbooks. The process is modeled on the instructions found in the Brāhmaṇas for building fire altars.

Mūrti worship also, partially patterned after the fire sacrifice, takes place in the complementary contexts of household and public altars. Images of *iṣṭadevatā* and *kuladevatā,* family deities who are treated as honored guests, are found in a discrete location in every household. The *mūrti*s of public cults are established in palatial temples, where they are served by an attached priesthood and may be visited by their devotees. As material extensions of the *mūrti* and descendants of the sacrificial altar, such temples are created in accordance with the same technical and liturgical prescriptions as the *mūrti*s themselves.

SEE ALSO Iconography, article on Hindu Iconography; Temple, article on Hindu Temples.

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MURUKAṈ, the Tamil name for the Hindu deity also known by such names as Skanda, Kumāra, Subrahmaṇyam, or Kārttikeya. The name is sometimes transcribed as Murugan. While Murukaṉ is the most popular god in present-day Tamil India, he has been worshiped in a variety of forms from at least the third or second century BCE. In his earliest South Indian form, Murukaṉ was described in classical (or Caṅkam) literature as a god of hill and hunt, who was worshiped by hill people, the *kuriñci*s, as a possessor of young damsels and avenger of *anaṅku* and *cūr,* malevolent spirits of the hills.

In North India, Skanda was depicted in epic mythology as the son of Rudra-Śiva or Agni, and as a warrior deity patronized by such dynasties as the Śakas, Ikśvaku, and Guptas. By the eighth century CE, and throughout the medieval period, these earlier attributes of the god seem to have merged, as subsequent literature, iconography, and temple architecture attest to Murukaṉ's worship in South India as a high god and the son of Śiva.

Murukaṉ was especially extolled by such medieval Tamil *bhakti* (devotional) poets as Aruṇakirinatha of the fifteenth century and Kacciyapaciva of the seventeenth. Late in the nineteenth century, worship of Murukaṉ was given new impetus by a Tamil renaissance, during and after which temples to Murukaṉ were renovated, pilgrimages to these centers increased, and the god came to be viewed as the quintessential Tamil deity.

The basic myth of Skanda-Murukaṉ's life and exploits is found in the *Mahābhārata* (3.223–232; 9.46–47; 13.130–133). It is repeated in the *Ramāyāṇa* (1.36–37), and further embellished in a wide range of Sanskrit and Tamil literature, especially in Kālidāsa's (fourth century CE?) *Kumārasambhava* and the *Skanda Purāṇa.*

According to Kālidāsa's version of the myth of Skanda's birth, the deity is born of Śiva's semen when the latter marries Pārvatī following an extensive period of meditation and austerities (*tapas*) on Mount Himavat. Later accounts, as in the *Skanda Purāṇa,* say Skanda is born of sparks emanating from Śiva's brow. According to the *Mahābhārata,* Skanda is born of Agni's love-play with Svāhā while she is impersonating the wives of six *ṛṣi*s. Once born, Skanda is suckled by the six Kṛttikā (Pleiades) maidens and engages in a variety of childhood exploits, including the defeat of Indra, the humiliation of Brahmā, and the instruction of Śiva as to the meaning of the sacred syllable *oṃ.* On the sixth day of his life, he is made general of the divine army and conquers the *asura*s headed by Tāraka (or, in South Indian accounts, Surapadma). After the battle, according to the epic myths, he is given in marriage to Devasenā (literally, "army of the gods"); in southern versions, Murukaṉ woos Vaḷḷi, a hunter damsel who becomes the god's second consort.

Murukaṉ is the most widely worshiped god among Tamil Hindus in the early twenty-first century, and three of the six most popular pilgrimage centers in Tamil Nadu are temples consecrated to him. One of these, Palani, is the second largest pilgrimage complex in South India. Six major festivals celebrating events in the god's life attract millions of worshipers, from the festivals of Skanda-Ṣaṣṭi in October-November to Vaikāci Vicākam in May-June. The cultus incorporates a whole spectrum of rituals, from classical fire sacrifices and Tantric invocations as prescribed in the Śaivagāmas to folk forms of possession and dancing with the *kāvaṭi,* or peacock arch. In addition, the god is popularly perceived to be the inspirational source of Tamil literature, vanquisher of cosmic and personal malaise, and the embodiment of Śaiva thought and religion.

SEE ALSO Tamil Religions.

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MUSAR MOVEMENT. The Musar movement for individual self-examination and ethical renewal spread among mid-nineteenth-century Lithuanian Jewry after its founding by Yisraʾel Salanter (1810–1883). So called from the Hebrew term *musar* ("ethics, instruction"), the Musar movement can be viewed as one of the first attempts in eastern Europe to organize traditionalist circles within Jewish society in modern forms, although its long-term legacy and influence remained limited to the Lithuanian *yeshivot.*

The Musar ideology was formed during the young Yisraʾel Salanter's fifteen-year sojourn in Salant during the 1820s and 1830s. There, in addition to achieving mastery of Talmud in the standard manner, Salanter came under the influence of the saintly reclusive figure Yosef Zundel of Salant. Zundel devoted his attention to the ethical aspects of Jewish law, which in his view had been neglected. He believed that in order to overcome the temptations of evil, special actions were necessary beyond a theoretical knowledge of one's legal obligations. To this end Zundel developed a system of regular self-analysis and study of ethical texts, and he introduced such innovations as the repetition of Talmudic statements on ethical issues as a way to induce the proper mood for soul-searching. Yisraʾel Salanter built upon the system of his master, but unlike Zundel he attempted to present the Musar doctrine to the community at large within an organizational framework.

In Vilna in the mid-1840s, Salanter made his first efforts to establish a mass Musar movement. Departing from the standard practice for heads of *yeshivot,* he presented a series of public talks addressed not only to scholars but also to artisans and most particularly to affluent educated businessmen. Salanter called for the inclusion of ethical works in the curriculum of Torah study that is incumbent upon every Jew. Such study, besides making the individual aware of the ethical responsibilities stipulated by Jewish law, would also help him recognize and struggle with his unconscious impulses and bring them under control. For this purpose, Salanter set up a *musar-shṭibl* (Yi., "house of moral instruction") where, through the combined practice of meditation and the somber repetition of moral texts, an appropriately ecstatic-fearful mood could be created for the encounter with elemental passions and drives. During this Vilna period, Salanter arranged for the reprinting of classic ethical texts and attracted the first of his key disciples.

By all indications, Salanter intended the Musar movement to answer the threat to traditional Jewry posed by the Haskalah, the movement for Jewish Enlightenment, one of whose major centers was in Vilna. Believing that existing institutions could not meet this danger, Salanter instead tried to bolster the religious loyalties of the individual Jew. His emphasis on ethical behavior indicates that Salanter shared many of the Haskalah's criticisms of the social and economic ills of Jewish society, but unlike proponents of Haskalah he did not prescribe a thorough educational and economic reform of Jewry as the proper solution for these problems. In Salanter's view, a revival of the standards for social and economic relations demanded by Jewish law would redress the imbalances in Jewish society.

In 1849, rather than accept a teaching position offered him in a government-sponsored rabbinical seminary in Vilna, Yisraʾel Salanter transferred his base of operations to Kovno (modern-day Kaunas). He succeeded in establishing *musar-shṭiblekh* there and in several other towns. Yet the immense personal prestige that Salanter enjoyed in his lifetime was not reflected in a corresponding success for his planned mass movement. By the 1850s *musar-shṭiblekh* existed in only five communities, with an estimated following in the hundreds. More lasting achievements of the Kovno period include the model of a Musar *yeshivah,* where self-examination and the study of ethical tracts formed regular parts of the curriculum, and where responsibility for the students' spiritual development was assigned to a *mashgiaḥ* ("supervisor"), who functioned alongside the normal teaching staff. Salanter's disciples from this period spread this model to most of the major Lithuanian *yeshivot,* among whose students the movement found its greatest success. Salanter's letters to his disciples, later collected and published, laid down the basic ideological direction of the Musar phenomenon.

Despite Salanter's unassailable personal moral and scholarly credentials, his innovations aroused no little criticism in rabbinical circles. Some claimed that the stress on ethics undermined the centrality of Torah study, while others worried that the elitist spirit of the Musar groups carried a potential for sectarianism. This polemic over the Musar movement continued into the twentieth century.

After 1857, when Yisraʾel Salanter moved to Germany, although he maintained his personal influence over his students, the practical work of spreading the movement's teachings was carried on by the disciples. Through their efforts Musar became the dominant mode in the Lithuanian *yeshivot,* despite occasional strong resistance on the part of more traditional *yeshivah* leaders. Among the major successors of Yisraʾel Salanter were Simḥa Zisl Broyda of Kelem (1824–1898), who in the schools under his supervision tried to develop a systematic educational method based on Musar principles; Yitsḥaq Blazer (1837–1907), former rabbi of Saint Petersburg and interpreter and publisher of Salanter's teachings, who served as head of the Kovno *kollel* (an advanced *yeshivah* providing stipends for married students); Eliʿezer Gordon (1840–1910), rabbi of Telz and head of its noted *yeshivah;* Note Hirsh (Natan Tsevi) Finkel (1849–1927), known as the Old Man of Slobodka, spiritual director of the central Musar *yeshivah* in Slobodka. Each of these figures put his personal stamp on the basic Musar doctrine and thus helped to evolve variations of its teachings on the nature of man, the nature of evil, and the ways to struggle with evil. All of the Musar *yeshivot,* however, featured daily Musar studies (often at twilight) and the role of the *mashgiaḥ,* whose responsibilities included regular talks to the student body as well as individual guidance. Most extreme among the Musar schools was that directed by Yosef Yosl Hurwitz, the Novaradok (Nowogródek) school, where students were required to pursue intense Musar study and to perform unusual (i. e., socially unacceptable) actions in public as a way of subduing the lower instincts.

The expansion of the Musar *yeshivot* continued in the period following World War I, but was cut off by the Nazi Holocaust. The Slobodka and Novaradok Musar approaches live on, however, in *yeshivot* set up in Israel and the United States.

SEE ALSO Jewish Thought and Philosophy, article on Jewish Ethical Literature; Salanter, Yisraʾel; Yeshivah.

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MUSES. Near the highest peak of snowy Olympus, the nine Muses—Clio, Euterpe, Thalia, Melpomene, Terpsichore, Erato, Polyhymnia, Ourania, and Calliope, daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne (Memory)—were born to be, in Hesiod's words, "the forgetting of misfortunes and respite from sorrow" (*Theogony* 55). Like-minded virgins, free from grief, their only concern is song. Always accompanied by the Graces and Desire, they dance in chorus on delicate feet on the mountaintops, bathe in springs with violet glints, and make their way to the radiant abodes of Zeus, which laugh under the spell of their sweet voices (*Theogony* 1ff.).

What the Muses sing is *mnēmosunē*—memory of what is, what was, and what will be. And for the Greeks, memory is truth. The subject of their song is the kingdom of Zeus the father, he who subdued the Titans, who restored his brothers' power and imposed a harsh fate on their father Kronos, and who bestowed honors on all the gods. The Muses sing the victory of the cosmos, of harmony over chaos, and their sweet accents make Zeus's enemies tremble in the depths of the earth (*Theogony* 68ff.; Pindar, *Pythia* 1.13). They also sing the miserable fate of mortals, who live in bewilderment, unable to find a cure for death or a remedy for old age (Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* 190ff.).

With Apollo, the Muses select and inspire the men they cherish. These are the lyre players and singers, and they, too, are able to make sorrow and grief disappear from mortal hearts with the sweet strains that flow from their lips. Thus when poets sing to Apollo and the Muses at the beginning of their songs, they put themselves under divine protection and make an offering at the same time. Invoking the Muses is the price the poet pays in order for his song to be called veracious and in order that he may breathe the imperishable memory and knowledge that the Muses alone bestow. Those who disdain this inspiration and pride themselves on being capable of creating and fashioning their songs without the Muses are punished; they are made to sing untruths and soon become mute, like the poet Thamyris (*Iliad* 2.594ff.).

Each of the nine Muses presides over one of the arts. According to one scheme, Clio is linked with history, Euterpe with music, Thalia with comedy, Melpomene with tragedy, Terpsichore with dance, Erato with elegy, Polyhymnia with lyric poetry, Ourania with astronomy, and Calliope with eloquence. Only Calliope, first among the Muses, has a role in the courts of kings (*Theogony* 80ff.); it is she who gives them wisdom and mellow voices. If the political initiation resembles poetic initiation, the music that Calliope teaches kings can in no case be confused with that of the poet. The Muse inspires kings with the knowledge of the kingdom of Zeus, so that the divine cosmos may be recreated among men.

The spirit that emanates from the Muses is the springlike freshness that allows mortals to derive some fortune from divine nature and to forget death. That may be why the Muses warn poets that they know how to sing untruth just as well as truth.

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MUSEUMS AND RELIGION.

The last generations of the twentieth century saw a huge increase in the number of museums worldwide; one estimate suggests ten thousand in 1950 and ten times that number fifty years later. In the more developed countries of the world they took on a dramatic new importance and public recognition. In many of the new museums the emphasis has been on attracting new visitors and offering them both entertainment and education rather than on scholarship and on their collections. So far, though, most have shown little interest in religion.

The first two great modern museums were perhaps the British Museum in London and the Museé du Louvre in Paris. The first was formed in 1759 from the collection of Sir Hans Sloane, who described it as "tending many ways to the manifestation of the glory of God [and] the confutation of atheism and its consequences" (quoted in Altick, 1978, p. 229). The second was formed in 1793 by France's atheist revolutionary government from artworks seized from the church, the king, and the aristocracy. These two traditions—respect for, and hostility to, religion—continue in the modern museum, but even stronger is the Enlightenment heritage of indifference to "traditional" faith. One observer commented that "the message of galleries and museums is that religion is a thing of the past, but that if there is anything sacred in society, it is art" (O'Neill, 1996, p. 191).

THE VICTORIAN MUSEUM: SCIENTIFIC COLLECTING AND PUBLIC IMPROVEMENT.

As both urbanization and democracy rapidly grew in Europe and North America in the nineteenth century, the museum became an important expression of emerging national and civic identities, aimed at assertion to the world outside and production of loyal and educated citizens within. The later nineteenth-century museum was not only part of what Habermas (1989) called the "bourgeois public sphere," but a "new apparatus for the production of knowledge" (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992); it took on the job of informal public education, aimed sometimes at the proletariat but more often at the middle and upper working classes. In this new seriousness of purpose, museums were frequently in alliance with the churches and often used the language of faith, even of mission, to describe their efforts not only to improve the lot of the poor but to improve society itself. Visitors were encouraged to consider the wonderful works of the Creator, as well as offered opportunities for self-improvement. The most radical efforts were an attempt to help the poor to "see," in John Ruskin's sense that "To see clearly is poetry, prophecy and religion" (Koven, 1994, p. 25). We should note too the plethora of commercial attractions with a biblical theme (such as panoramas of the Holy Land) Victorian London offered, whose "sacred interest . . . attracted thousands of visitors who were not profane enough to enjoy ordinary sights" (quoted in Altick, 1978, p. 182).

RELIGION AND SCIENCE.

The British Association for the Advancement of Science met in 1860 in the newly completed University Museum at Oxford. At this meeting took place the famous exchange between Bishop Samuel Wilberforce and scientist T. H. Huxley, which ever since has been taken (however unjustly) as a symbol of the clash between religion and the theory of evolution. The issue had been caricatured as a question of whether human beings were descended from apes, and the popular version has it that Wilberforce asked Huxley if he was descended from apes on his grandfather's or grandmother's side. Huxley is supposed to have replied that he would sooner be descended from an ape than from a "divine who employed authority to stifle the truth."

It was appropriate that this famous exchange took place in a museum, for museums in the urbanized West were in the later nineteenth century the forums for public debate on fundamental questions in a way in which, perhaps, they have never been since. While for some Victorian curators "the study of natural science was a kind of religious contemplation, and the scope of the museum's displays was thus enormously important in communicating that religious purpose" (Yanni, 1999, p. 65), a sizable proportion of visitors now probably saw specimens as emblems of evolution rather than as evidence of God's handiwork. This tension remains today; in the late twentieth century one half of all U.S. college students were alleged to believe in creationism, that is, that God created the earth and all that is in it pretty much as it is today, so the caution displayed by the Field Museum in Chicago when they wanted to set up a new gallery devoted to evolution is understandable (Asma, 2001).

AMBIGUITY AND RESOLUTION?

In 1941 the *New Yorker* published a cartoon by the famous comic artist Charles Addams (Paine, 2000, frontispiece). It depicted a dark-skinned man wearing a suit and tie but also a headband, standing quietly in front of a huge and mysterious statue, holding a goat. One museum guard says to another: "He wants to know if he may make a small sacrifice in front of it." The joke is threefold: firstly, the very idea that a "native person," however respectable, could still have any rights over an object in a museum; secondly, the idea that a once-holy object could continue any longer to retain any of its holiness once it had been transferred to a museum; thirdly, the notion of a goat being sacrificed in a neat and tidy museum. It demonstrates starkly the ambiguity of the sacred object in the profane museum.

Half a century later, in 1990, the Dalai Lama personally consecrated a Tibetan altar, designed and built by a Tibetan trained at a monastery in Sikkim, in the Newark Museum in New Jersey (Gaskell, 2003, p. 149). Those fifty years had seen a radical change in the approach of museums to objects in their care regarded as "sacred" by some. The key to this turnaround of consciousness was the political—and thence cultural—demands being made by the indigenous peoples of "settler" countries, particularly in North America and Australia. In the United States these demands climaxed in the 1990 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, which required museums to list, and to return when asked, a wide range of significant cultural objects, as well as human remains. Australia had in part led the way with the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act, 1984.

At both a legal and ethical level, debate about the care of sacred objects has been closely bound up with debate about the care of human remains, about the restitution of looted property, and—in some countries—about the treatment of sacred sites. The International Council of Museums' Code of Ethics, adopted in 1986, demanded that material of sacred significance be looked after "in a manner consistent with professional standards and the interests and beliefs of members of the community, ethnic or religious groups from which the objects originated."

Museums have responded in four ways to the realization that a museum object may also be a sacred object. Many museums have decided that secular values must prevail; that the museum must continue to treat it as a specimen, historical document, material evidence in a framework of scientific inquiry that discounts nonscientific or nonaesthetic explanations.

The second way is to return the object to those who would treat it as sacred. Glasgow Museum in Scotland returned a Ghost Dance Shirt to the Lakota Sioux, with much support from local opinion in the city. In both North America and Australia objects of religious and other cultural significance have been returned to local museums and "keeping places" run by indigenous communities (Simpson, 1996).

The third way is to retain the object in the museum but to house and treat it in ways that those who see it as sacred would approve. Rotorua Museum in New Zealand offers a bowl of water for purification to visitors to their display of Te Arawa treasures. The National Museum of the American Indian in Washington State provides in its Cultural Resources Center a ceremonial room with a fire pit where objects can be "smudged" with burning sweetgrass.

The fourth way of responding is to allow the object to move regularly between the sacred and the secular. In Moscow the Tretyakov Gallery displays the supremely important and powerful Virgin of Vladimir icon in a church attached to the museum, but on three great feast days a year it is removed from its showcase and displayed for veneration; moreover, the patriarch of Moscow has been accorded curatorial status within the museum (Gaskell, 2003, p. 154).

ART MUSEUMS. Art museums worldwide are full of religious images, very many of them produced for formal liturgical use, as altarpieces or cult statues, or as the decoration of places of worship or the paraphernalia of a cult; the museums of such countries as Italy and India, with a rich heritage of religious art, are famous for their extensive collections. Yet seldom is the original religious purpose of these objects given much prominence in the museum's presentation: labels will give date, artist, and a brief summary of the iconography but little if any explanation of a work's liturgical function or religious significance.

The same approach is found even where the title of a gallery, "Islamic Art," for example, might lead the visitor to expect some explanation of what it is about Islam that informs the works of art displayed and the role they played in Muslim praxis. In reality, religion here is being used simply as a label for a culture, and it is very seldom that an "Islamic Art" gallery gives much attention even to any liturgical use its exhibits may once have had.

Though many modern artists tackle religious themes or more or less consciously incorporate and express spiritual values in their work, it is seldom that these influence either the design of the overall building in which they are displayed or the museums' public programming. Two exceptional art museums are the Museum of Contemporary Religious Art in St. Louis and the Museum of Biblical Art in New York. Very special is the Rothko Chapel in Houston, Texas, which was opened in 1971 to house a series of fourteen great contemplative abstract paintings by the American artist Mark Rothko, which were designed as a group to create a numinous space. The chapel was intended from the start to be a multifaith center and focus of religious debate.

HUMAN HISTORY MUSEUMS. There is a constant debate among curators of human history museums: should the exhibits concentrate on presenting the objects the museum holds, or should the objects be used to help tell a story? In other words, which comes first, object or story? The majority of museums worldwide probably say "the object," which is one reason religion too seldom features largely in museums of local history. Even in museums that say "the story," religion appears as a very minor aspect of local history. With some commendable exceptions (Paine, 2000, p. 157), museums seldom try to analyze the role of religion in local society and in popular culture, in the way that the best of them examine the local economy or try to analyze the role of class and gender.

It is particularly disappointing that social history museums, which aim to present the life of their communities, so seldom include the popular religion that always accompanies and underlies official religion. Museums dedicated to the ethnography of non-European societies are in a different situation, not least because their curators are firmly grounded in the academic study of anthropology and because religious paraphernalia have attracted the attention of collectors. As a result, ethnography museums have generally treated indigenous religions with great seriousness, though Museon in The Hague is one of very few that address religion as a worldwide phenomenon.

When a human history museum has collected prominent examples of the material culture of religion for other reasons, it may find itself having to tackle the issue. Skansen, the hugely influential open-air museum established near Stockholm, Sweden, in 1891, received its first church in 1916. Today many open-air museums include places of worship reconstructed or moved from elsewhere, and these are very commonly actually used for worship; one African example is the Ghana National Cultural Centre in Kumasi, Ghana, which includes both a chapel and a traditional Ashante shrine (Duah, 1995, p. 110). By contrast with open-air museums where buildings from elsewhere are reconstructed, "ecomuseums" comprise an alliance of buildings, sites, and object collections still in their original places, and very often these include places of worship. The ecomuseum of Hiranocho in Japan, founded by the Ryonin Kawaguchi, priest of the Senkouji Buddhist Temple, comprises fifteen different attractions, including a number of active temples and shrines (Davis, 2004, p. 98).

THE TEMPLE AS MUSEUM. There is no hard-and-fast distinction between museums and historic monuments. Many of these monuments, in countries around the world, are religious, and increasingly they are being subject to the same type of visitor-oriented—sometimes even commercial—management as conventional museums. Inevitably this gives rise to special problems, especially where the site is still regarded as "sacred" by a local population. Indeed, one can see an increasing convergence between museums and sacred spaces—from York Minster charging entrance fees to Druids wanting to perform ceremonies at Stonehenge. These issues are interestingly discussed by Shackley (2001).

Larger places of worship tend to amass treasures, sometimes very rich treasures indeed. The huge Venkateswara temple at Tirupati in eastern India, which sees over ten million pilgrims a year, for example, houses a massive number of valuable items. Many traditional treasuries have evolved into modern museums. Thus, the sacristy of the Cathedral of the Assumption of the Virgin at Dubrovnik, Croatia, was designed in 1712 to display the relics of Saint Blaise and 138 other reliquaries; the intention was both to display relics for veneration and also to display precious gold and silverwork in honor of the saint. The display is very like an early museum.

Throughout Catholic Europe there are diocesan museums; in England many cathedrals have "treasuries" to display gold and silver plate from churches in the diocese. In most of these museums, though, the emphasis has now come to be on the "decorative arts" aspects of the objects; statues of saints are arranged by period and artistic school, silverware by makers. Seldom is there much attempt to explain to visitors the religious significance and function of the object. Even at the Antivouniotissa Museum in Corfu the labels tend to explain the icons in this wonderful collection in terms of Byzantine art history rather than as spiritually powerful tools. A notable exception to this pattern is St. Catharine's Convent Museum at Utrecht in the Netherlands. Here the story of religion in the Netherlands is told through its artifacts, from an early ninth-century chalice to late nineteenth-century Catholic and Protestant labor union banners.

THE MUSEUM AS TEMPLE. The rhetoric that later nineteenth-century museums shared with churches has continued to be used ever since. Throughout the later nineteenth century and much of the twentieth, art museums in particular were called "temples of art," "cathedrals," in which works of art were "enshrined" and some of which became "sacred places of pilgrimage for museum-goers." For some observers museums do not merely share a rhetoric with religious shrines but actually share many of their functions. Art museums, in particular, share with shrines a separateness from the mundane world, an expectation that visitors will adopt a particular receptive frame of mind and a particular pattern of reverent behavior, that they will follow a ceremonial path. Museums are the forums for a ritual associated with rational, scientific thought. (Duncan, 1990, p. 92; 1995, p. 12). The visitor comes away—or is expected to come away—transformed by communion with immortal spirits of the past, with a sense of being enlightened, spiritually uplifted.

Sometimes museums and shrines converge more literally. Commemorative museums often take on the character of shrines; examples include many Holocaust museums; the Nikko Toshogu Shrine, burial place of Tokugawa Iegasu, the first modern shogun of Japan; and the Tuol Sleng Museum (museum of genocide) in Phnom Penh, Cambodia.

FAITH COMMUNITY MUSEUMS. Faith communities, especially minority communities, often create museums to explain their faith and its history to their own community and to others. Many Jain temples, in India and now also elsewhere, have attached "museums" that—through a series of dioramas—show historical incidents in, and aspects of, their faith. Jewish museums fall into two distinct categories: those that exhibit the paraphernalia of synagogue or domestic worship and balance art history and religious practice and belief, and those that tell the story of the local Jewish communities. The Jewish Museum in London has two sites: one for the former, one for the latter.

Some faith communities maintain museums dedicated to their founder or leaders; an example is John Knox's House in Edinburgh, dedicated to the sixteenth-century Scottish Protestant leader. In the Buddhist tradition visitors to such museums can gain merit. Wat Tham Khlong Paen, a sacred site near Nong Bua Lamphu in Thailand, was the meditation ground of the late Luang Phu Khao, a highly revered monk. A small museum there exhibits his few personal possessions and a life-size wax figure, and "opens daily to public for merit-making and homage-paying."

WORLD RELIGION MUSEUMS. The German philosopher of religion Rudolf Otto, professor of theology at Philipps-Universität in Marburg, Germany, set up the Religionskundliche Sammlung in 1927, devoted to the academic study of religion as a worldwide phenomenon. Sadly, Otto "felt obliged, like most curators, to present the objects in a 'rational' and 'scientific' manner, with no attempt to evoke the 'feeling for the numinous' which was at the heart of his own great contribution to the study of religion" (O'Neill, 1996, p. 195). In the 1990s the Musée des Religions was opened in Nicolet, Quebec, and the St. Mungo Museum of Religious Art and Life, in Glasgow, Scotland; the motive for both was the encouragement of mutual respect and understanding among mixed populations.

Other museums that seek to address religion on a worldwide basis stem from faith backgrounds but ones that accept that there are many paths to the truth and that an understanding of their different routes will help everyone on the journey. The earliest of these was surely Glencairn Museum at Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, established by the Swedenborgian bishop William Henry Benade in 1879. The Eternal Heritage Museum is part of the Sai Baba Ashram at Puttaparthy, Andhra Pradesh, India, while the Museum of World Religions in Taipei, Taiwan, was founded in 2001 by Buddhist Master Shih Hsin-tao. The Museum of the History of Religion in St. Petersburg, Russia, is a museum whose declared purpose has changed dramatically. In 1932 the Kazan Cathedral was turned by the Soviet state into a Museum of Atheism; after the fall of the Soviet Union the cathedral was returned to the Russian Orthodox Church, and the museum has become the Museum of the History of Religion, housed in a new building.

MUSEUMS AND THEIR PUBLICS. Museums today are making a bigger effort than at any time since the mid-nineteenth century to engage with their communities and to attract wider audiences. The fashionable terms are access, social inclusion, and outreach, and if museums seem reluctant to tackle religion in their permanent displays, the situation is improving in their public programming. In Europe and North America, at least, there is a growing number of temporary exhibitions that treat aspects of religion. Some—notably the 2000 Seeing Salvation exhibition at London's National Gallery—take their theme to a new level of serious debate and public response. Education programs, too, regularly tackle religious subjects, sometimes deliberately underpinning the school curriculum but often seeking to address cultural diversity issues.

Museums have adopted a variety of methods of consulting with their publics and encouraging their participation. St. Mungo's Museum in Glasgow uses a "feed-back board" on which visitors are encouraged to pin their comments and remarks; these have been the subject of a fascinating analysis by the French sociologist of religion Patrick Michel (Michel, 1999).

The impact of mass population movement from the later twentieth century has led many Western museums to celebrate diversity of local cultures, including religions, with the aim of promoting a more tolerant society. The museums of cities like Bradford, Leicester, and Liverpool in the United Kingdom have included Islam, Sikhism, and—to a lesser extent—Chinese religions in their local history exhibits and have promoted educational programs and temporary exhibitions to celebrate and interpret immigrant faiths. This approach has its dangers, not least that the "host" majority community will feel alienated, and this may particularly be true where "their" museums pay little attention to what many may still see as "their" faith (Hooper-Greenhill, 1997; Paine, 2000).

MUSEUMS AND RELIGIOUS CHANGE. Museums have long had a role in religious change. Nineteenth-century European missionaries frequently sent home items relating to the former religions of their converts; in their new homes these objects took on a new life, often symbolizing the dark Other and feeding racism as much as commitment to mission. Today many of these objects survive in European and North American ethnography museums, like the Royal Museum for Central Africa at Tervuren in Belgium (Wastiau, 2000), or, less often, in museums set up by missionary societies themselves, like the Norwegian Missionary Society's Museum of Mission in Stavanger, Norway. Much more research is needed into the role these religious objects took on in their new homes: to what extent was their "religious" function remembered, or were they regarded simply as "works of art"?

What kind of new material culture was adopted by converts has been even less explored by museums until recently. Fieldwork carried out by the British Museum in the New Guinea Highlands in 1990, presented in a book and an exhibition, contrasted the incorporation of much traditional culture by Wahgi converts to Roman Catholicism, while evangelical converts were urged to make a radical break (O'Hanlon, 1990, p. 35). Nor has much attention—at least in English-language literature—been given to change in the perspective of those studying religion. So far there has been little attention given to changes brought to the way religion is interpreted in museums by the collapse of Marxism in the countries of the former Soviet Union.

During the Civil War in Bosnia many museums and many mosques and churches were damaged and destroyed. Often the heritage of the enemy becomes a target for hatred and destruction, and where intercommunal struggle is also religious conflict, museums can seldom escape becoming involved, even if they try hard to remain even-handed and above the fray—although too often they enthusiastically take sides. Museums, too, are often deeply involved in struggles between religious and secular interests and can be created to assert secular values over religious. The great Byzantine church of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul was turned into a mosque in 1453, but in 1932 it was turned into a museum as part of Atatürk's secularization campaign (Tunbridge and

Ashworth, 1996). The nearby sultan's palace was also turned into a museum, so that the relics of the Prophet, brought from Cairo in 1517, are now cared for by a secular museum.

FURTHER PERSPECTIVES ON MUSEUMS AND RELIGION. Museums aspire to tell the story—stories—of humankind, to celebrate human creativity, to inspire, to be a forum for public debate, to research every aspect of material culture, and to raise people's awareness of their environment and history. There is scarcely an aspect of human life and endeavor, or of the natural world in which we live, that museums have not at some time or other claimed to explore and reflect upon. Traditionally, museums have been about acquisitions, preservation, and presentation of both the works in their permanent collections and special exhibitions. They have been the centers for explanations and explorations of the ways in which art, in its many forms and varieties, has influenced, shaped, or reflected human history and achievements. The stories of diverse communities—social, ethnic, and religious—have been told in museums; individual artists and curators have presented traditional and controversial opinions about religion, politics, and gender through special exhibitions or permanent displays. Globally, museums have become the storage sites for objects once created for religious purposes but now rendered mundane.

As the idea of taste has been transformed from the concept of selection and decision with moral valuing to that of connoisseurship reflective of class and, thereby, economic and social distinctions, there has been a parallel evolution in the idea of the museum from its beginnings in the Enlightenment into the twenty-first century. However, in recent years, the irony has become that as ethically charged issues confront museums each successive day—from the question of the repatriation of sacred objects to that of the censorship of displays or exhibitions in response to religiously motivated critiques, as, for example, in the outcries surrounding the exhibitions of Edwina Sandys's sculptures to Andres Serrano's photography to Chris Offili's paintings—museums face challenges related to or inspired by religion. As the twenty-first century unfolds, museums will continue to play significant roles in the lives of individuals, communities, and nations; thereby cultural and religious values will continue to impinge upon, to illuminate, and to question each other.

As the role and purpose of the arts, including performance and display, garners more attention from scholars of religion, the museum both as an individual entity and as an institutional repository of religious and sacred art will become a focus for research and a conversation partner. Critical to both museum studies and religious studies, if not to the day-to-day practicality of museums, is the relationship between publicly or privately funded institutions in their displays, presentations, research, and programs for religious and sacred art. The curatorial responsibility in recognizing and privileging the religious history and values of works of art presents a profound responsibility. The questions of distinguishing between religious art and sacred art and the modes of display and preservation accorded to each further requires sensitivity and knowledge of religion not simply as a historical entity but as a living reality. A working partnership between museum professionals and religion scholars will be necessary to face the challenge of maintaining within the museum environment the individual integrity of the two working principles of museums as caretakers of cultural and religious patrimony and of religion as a communicator of social, cultural, or moral values.

SEE ALSO Art and Religion; Iconoclasm; Iconography; Icons; Idolatry; Images; Popular Culture; Visual Culture and Religion.

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The growth in their numbers and repute has been reflected in a significant growth in academic interest in museums: their collections, what prompts people to collect and what is going on when they do, their political context, their social function, their history, their educational role and how people learn in museums. As Pearce (1999, p. 1) puts it, "It is . . . incumbent upon the investigator to try to find ways in which, first, the social meanings of individual objects can be unraveled; second, the significance of the museum as a cultural institution can be understood; and third the process through which objects become component parts of collections, and collections themselves acquire collective significance, can be appreciated." A variety of approaches, derived from other disciplines and philosophies, have informed the growth of the modern discipline of museology, and recent scholarship has been increasingly concerned with ways in which museums display culture, construct difference, and produce relations of power. But there has been disappointingly little crossover between such scholarship and the equally lively field of religious studies. O'Neill (1996), Paine (2000), Clavir (2002), and Gaskell (2003) comprise most of the literature in English on museums and religion, while the wider topic of the material culture of religion is admirably introduced by Plate (2002).

Material Religion: The Journal of Objects, Art and Belief is the only journal devoted to the material culture of religion. Published three times a year, it gives close attention to museum issues. Three leading museum journals, which occasionally cover religious matters, are UNESCO's quarterly *Museum International*, the American Association of Museums' bimonthly *Museum News*, and the (U.K.) Museums Association's monthly *Museums Journal*.

Valuable websites on museums in general include the Canadian Heritage Information Network website at http://www.chin.gc.ca, the J. Paul Getty Trust website at http://www.getty.edu, and the International Council of Museums website at http://www.icom.org. At http://www.icom.org/vlmp is ICOM's invaluable gateway to museum sites throughout the world; a new museum site is added every day.

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CRISPIN PAINE (2005)

MUSIC

This entry consists of the following articles:

MUSIC AND RELIGION
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RELIGIOUS MUSIC IN THE WEST

MUSIC: MUSIC AND RELIGION

Music and religion are closely linked in relationships as complex, diverse, and difficult to define as either term in itself. Religious believers have heard music as the voices of gods and the cacophony of devils, praised it as the purest form of spirituality, and condemned it as the ultimate in sensual depravity; with equal enthusiasm they have promoted its use in worship and sought to eradicate it from both religious and secular life. Seldom a neutral phenomenon, music has a high positive or negative value that reflects its near-universal importance in the religious sphere. This importance—perhaps difficult to appreciate for post-industrial-revolution Westerners accustomed to reducing music to the secondary realms of "art," "entertainment," and occasional "religious" music isolated behind sanctuary walls—has nonetheless been pervasive.

Religious "texts" have been sung, not written, throughout most of human history; and religious behavior has found musical articulation in almost every religious tradition. Navajo priests are "singers"; the primary carriers of Sinhala traditional religion are drummers and dancers; and the shamans of northern Eurasia and Inner Asia use music as their principal medium of contact with the spirit world. Through the centuries, priests, monks, and other specialists have sung the Christian masses, Buddhist *pūjās*, Islamic calls to prayer, Hindu sacrifices, and other ceremonies that form the basis of organized religious observances in the world's major religions.

The values, uses, and forms of religious music are as diverse and culture-specific as the religious traditions in which they are found. Christian liturgical music is generally as characteristically "European" as Hindu devotional music is "Indian"; both use sounds, forms, and instruments from their respective cultures and have contributed greatly to the overall musical life of their own regions. Yet music, like religion, can transcend cultural limits; the religious musical systems of Ethiopia and Tibet, for example, differ almost as greatly from the secular musics of their own respective cultures as the musics of foreign countries.

Religious musical systems may also extend across cultural boundaries. Islam, for example, has forged musical links across vast regions of Asia and Africa; and North American traditions such as the Ghost Dance and the peyote cult have created musical bridges between very diverse ethnic groups. Other well-known intercultural religious musical traditions include Jewish, Christian, Hindu, Buddhist, and West African/Latin American possession music. Additional cases may include (1) the drumming and singing of Asian shamans, perhaps constituting a related tradition stretching from Scandinavia to the Himalayas, and possibly even extending into the Americas; (2) the epic songs, based on improvisatory recombinations of traditional song segments, of Central Asia and eastern Europe; (3) the bronze gong ensembles, associated with cosmological and calendrical symbolism and functions, of Southeast Asia; (4) perhaps the ancient sacrificial chants, linked to modal systems built on tetrachords, of Indo-European peoples extending from India to Greece; and (5) conceivably an even wider connection between Chinese, Indian, and Greek conceptions of music as an embodiment of universal cosmological and mathematical laws.

Yet, second only to its universal occurrence, diversity is the most characteristic feature of religious music, even in the great intercultural religious traditions. Christian music, for example, includes not only Gregorian plainsong, Palestrina masses, Protestant hymns, and Bach oratorios but also the resonant basses of the Russian Orthodox choir, the ornate melodies of Greek Orthodox chant, and the percussion-accompanied dances of Ethiopian Coptic worship; in the postcolonial era, it encompasses West African rhythms, and metallic sonorities of the Javanese *gamelan* orchestra, and the driving beat and electronic tones of the rock band as well. Hindu music aimed at helping to achieve the meditative state of *samādhi* can employ the very non-Indian sounds of Indonesian bronze instruments. Musical diversity in its religious and cultural contexts will be treated in other articles; here, I shall discuss some panreligious and pancultural issues.

DEFINITIONS AND CONCEPTS. Given the close links between musical and religious concepts, a nonsectarian definition of music may be impossible. For example, one common definition of music as "humanly patterned sound" conflicts with widely held religious beliefs that music is not humanly, but rather, divinely patterned. To members of traditions holding that music or, at least, religious music originates with the gods or with devils, the assertion of the human origin of music must seem the ultimate in Western materialistic dogmatism, however scientifically neutral it may seem to the outsider.

Even definitions as simple as the dictionary staple "art of sounds" carry ethnocentric and sectarian implications. In many religious contexts, music is less an expressive "art" than a technology applied to produce practical results, from the storage and retrieval of information contained in religious narratives and teachings memorized in song to the attraction of animals in hunting, increase of harvests, curing of diseases, communication with the divine, supplication, and control of the various levels of psychocosmic experience. While aesthetic beauty may or may not be integral to such technologies, individual self-expression plays little part in them and may be detrimental to their intended results.

The concept of music as an "art" carries overtones of a late European ideology based on the sanctity of self-expression and individualism, ultimately rooted in Greek and Judeo-Christian notions of ego, self, and soul. For some traditions, music is antithetical to the very notion of an individual self or soul. One group of Buddhist texts takes music as the archetypal embodiment of impermanence and conditioned causality, dependent on external sources and conditions, in order to show that there can be no such thing as an individual self. By contrast, modern Western scholars tend to view music, at least in its ideally purest forms, as fundamentally independent of external causes and conditions; they draw a sharp line between "extramusical" elements such as symbolism, function, purpose, and so forth, and "the music itself," which is supposed to consist of pure arrangements of tones. This concept of music seems to reflect European post-Renaissance religious concepts of an autonomous and inviolable soul wholly contained in the body of the individual. Perhaps it also reflects postfeudal economic concepts of individual entrepreneurial freedom, just as the Buddhist concept of an impermanent music resulting from temporary combinations of causes and conditions reflects basic Buddhist religious beliefs.

Even sound may not play a decisive role in religious concepts of music, at least not in any technical sense. When fundamentalist Muslims ban recordings of Western popular music and fundamentalist Christians burn them, they are not necessarily reacting to the melodic or chordal structures that constitute the essence of music for the technically oriented outsider. The "music of the spheres" extolled by early Christian writers was not sound in the sense of physical waves propagated in a gaseous medium; and, in Tibetan Buddhist thought, music consists of both the "actually present music" produced by sound-making voices and instruments and the "mentally produced music" perceived and imagined by each listener, with different results according to individual differences in experience, skill, and imagination. Religious traditions have by and large no more conceived music to consist of sounds and the "extramusical" than they have considered persons to be made up of the physical body and the "extrapersonal." Hence, even the most basic technical definition of music will ignore or deny essential aspects of music as conceived by many religions, while labels such as "symbolism" applied to nonacoustic aspects may appear misguided or even hostile from a believer's perspective.

The very attempt to define music neutrally and openmindedly might be objectionable from some religious viewpoints. For certain Christians, some kinds of secular music and the musics of other religions are the works of the devil and should not be mentioned without condemnation; on the other hand, for the Mahāyāna Buddhist author Sa Skya Paṇḍita, all music deserves praise because it relieves human suffering. Some Muslims would object to a discussion of Qurʾanic vocalizations and other songs under the same heading and would assign negative connotations to music in general; but some Ṣūfī writers discuss music only in terms of highest praise for its capacity to lead to spiritual fulfillment, and they would consider a neutral approach as evidence of a lack of real understanding or appreciation of music's most important meanings and values.

Many religions and cultures do not have a concept corresponding to "music" or "religious music." For Islam, *al-mūsīqī* ("music") is, in principle, what the West might consider secular music, controversial for its potential to mislead believers into sensual distractions; melodic vocalizations of the Qurʾān and certain religious poetry are not "music," however musical they may seem on technical and aesthetic grounds. To avoid violating the integrity of a tradition by imposing a dissonant external viewpoint, it might help to consider all such cases of performances that sound musical to the outsider, but are not music to the insider, as "paramusical."

Cultures as diverse as those of Ethiopia (Shelemay, 1982) and modern Tibet have distinct terms and concepts for religious and secular music, with no common category of "music" to unite them. The music of the Chinese *chin* (a type of zither), on the other hand, is clearly conceived as music and has strong roots in Confucian and Daoist concepts and practices; but it certainly is not "religious" in the same sense as the singing of monks in Buddhist or Daoist temples. And, although the point lends itself all too easily to distortion and romanticism, it is a well-known fact that in many small-scale kinship-based societies of hunters, nomads, and subsistence farmers, where formal role distinctions are much less prominent than in bureaucratized state civilizations, it is often as difficult to draw a clear line between "sacred" and "secular" musics as it is between religion and everyday life. Are Pygmy honey-gathering songs part of a traditional ritual, a comic entertainment, a social regulatory system designed to ensure and enhance egalitarian universal participation in community life, or an aesthetically exquisite polyphonic art? The question, if not meaningless, is at least inelegant.

Musics, like religions, are most meaningfully defined in their own terms. Along with aspects of musical sounds and their structural relationships, religious definitions frequently take into consideration such factors as cosmological and mathematical laws, divine origin or inspiration, psychological and emotional effects, social and ethical implications, relations or contrasts between religious and secular musics, and a wide range of other elements.

Since the selection of factors varies widely from one religious tradition to another, as does the relative importance assigned to any particular element, an approach that attempted to define all religious musics "in their own terms" would result in a collection of mutually unintelligible approaches to what must on some level be a cosmically, divinely, or humanly universal topic. For want of a better solution, we must discuss music and religion in the terms most widely shared by the full range of musical and religious traditions; and these, in the first place, require attention to the technical elements of music and of the paramusical phenomena found in religious contexts.

TECHNICAL FEATURES. Music has its technical basis in human voices and/or musical instruments that produce sounds with patterned acoustical characteristics. Religious traditions often stress a distinction between vocal and instrumental music and frequently assign higher value to vocal music. This is usually because of its capacity to communicate meanings through the words of song texts, because the human body seems more a part of divine creation than instruments created by human artifice, or because of negative associations of instruments and their music. In some traditions, such as the Mennonite churches and Theravāda Buddhist monasteries, vocal music is performed *a cappella*, without instrumental accompaniment. No cases are known in which vocal music is rejected entirely in favor of instrumental music; but there are significant examples (such as the Siberian shaman's drum) where instruments and their music equal or overshadow vocal music in religious importance.

Patterned human vocalizations take two forms: speech, emphasizing contrastive distinctions between units (phonemes, syllables, words) with distinct meanings, and singing, emphasizing prolonged continuity of sounds with controlled pitch (frequency of vibration). Singing without words produces a melody, a patterned sequence of tones; with words sung to the melody, one has a song. A song may be sung on a single, steady pitch level (monotone); or its melody may rise and fall to any number of higher and lower pitches, the total of which, arranged in ascending or descending order, are its scale; or it may consist of continuous, gradually shifting tone contours without distinctly separate high or low levels. Sets of musical scales may be conceived as modes that incorporate standard melodic patterns, ethical and cosmological implications, and other non-acoustic features.

Religious traditions may place greater value and emphasis on either words or melody; and vocal styles may range from formally simple, with few up-and-down melodic movements to avoid distortion of the words of the texts, to more elaborate, with complex melismatic movements to enhance musical beauty. It was once widely believed that such differences represented an evolutionary sequence from "primitive" chant to musical art; but, as Edith Gerson-Kiwi (1961) has convincingly argued, melodic simplicity may be a deliberately developed stylistic alternative to elaborate secular styles in complex cultures. Varying textual/musical emphasis may reflect varying mythic/ritual applications, stressing either the informational content of religious narratives or the aesthetic beauty or power of a religious offering. Contrasting textual/musical emphases may also reflect differences in communicating with human believers in an intelligible language, or with spirits or gods, who may prefer the special mode of musical communication.

Melodies may be performed as a solo by a single singer or instrument player, in unison by a chorus of singers, or accompanied by other singers or instruments playing independent, distinct musical parts. They may be arranged so as to occur simultaneously with other melodies (polyphony), with a steady-pitch monotone (drone), or with conventionally arranged sequences (harmony) of other pitches or simultaneous-pitch clusters (chords). The most musically complex of these features may occur in the smallest local religions of the sociopolitically and technologically simplest cultures. Generally, such traditions tend toward maximum religious and musical participation by the whole group, while the "great" religions of urban civilizations tend toward complex patterns of religious and musical specialization. However, the existence of religious and musical specialists such as the shaman in small cultures, of complex divisions of musical function in the group performances of hunter-gatherers such as the Pygmies and San, and of movements toward community religious and musical participation such as the growth of the Lutheran chorale and Buddhist monastic chant in urban civilizations in Europe and India, show that even the most general rules may find exceptions in religious and musical traditions.

Rhythms are the product of patterned accents and "long" and "short" durations of sounds. Their patterns may be varying groups of irregular or equal-length beats (abstract or actually played accent/time units) and pulses (shortest units actually played); or patterns may recur in cycles of the same number of beats played again and again. Rhythms and cycles may be classified as appropriate to specific gods and ritual activities, and some traditions (such as Tantric Buddhism) use mathematical beat groups extending into the hundreds to musically embody cosmological and other religious concepts. Rhythms often form a link between music, words, and dance. In songs with prose texts, musical rhythms are often free, varying along with long-short syllable and sentence patterns; while songs with poetic texts often reflect the meter of poetic stanzas, with the same number of syllables and beats recurring in successive lines. However, musical settings may also utilize different rhythmic patterns from the texts set to them. Dance rhythms provide cues of accent and patterning to coincide with movements of the body; they range in style from syncopated (favoring sounds that fall between and overlap beats) and very fast styles associated with some African American possession religions to the asymmetrical, extremely slow rhythms used in Tibetan Buddhist dances.

Musical instruments are scientifically classed into four groups according to the means used to produce sound: idiophones (bells, gongs, etc.), which produce sound by means of a solid vibrating body; membranophones (drums, etc.), which utilize a stretched membrane; chordophones (lutes, harps, etc.), which use strings; and aerophones (flutes, trumpets, etc.), in which vibrating air produces the sound. Instruments of all these classes are widely used in religious music, although one class or another is looked on with special favor or disfavor by various religious traditions. Instruments are often played in groups or ensembles. These are sometimes called "bands" or "orchestras," with the latter term technically implying greater size and more variety of instrument types; but the terms are often used simply to connote a lesser or greater degree of respect on the writer's part.

Some Western writings on religion and music, particularly works by early scholars and missionaries, contain misnomers that convey false technical implications. Most common is the term *primitive*, which implies both "early" and "simple"; in fact, historical evolutionary chronologies of musical types are speculative and controversial, and the term has been indiscriminately applied solely on racial grounds to musics comparable in complexity and sophistication to the music of any known civilization. Words such as *noise*, *din*, and *cacophony* often simply indicate lack of understanding or sympathy.

Instruments are frequently misnamed; for example, *flageolet*, the name of a flute, is widely applied to oboes and trumpets; *tambourine*, a frame drum with jingles, is used for every kind of drum; and *guitar* and *harp*, applied to almost any chordophone. A more ambiguous usage is *chant*, a term that should carry technical implications of free rhythm, limited pitch range, and a relatively simple melodic style. In fact, the term is widely used as a simple synonym for "religious vocalization" or "religious song," even in cases of melodically and rhythmically very complex music; hence, it may impart the misleading impression that a music is of inferior aesthetic quality simply by virtue of its being religious.

ORIGINS, MYTHS, AND SYMBOLISM. The close relationship of music and religion may imply, as some myths and legends claim, a common or related origin. From the eighteenth to the early twentieth century, evolution-oriented scholars debated theories of musical origins in the sounds of birds and animals, emotional cries of grief at funerals, language intonations, stylized recitations of religious texts, and animistic awe of "voices" heard in natural objects such as shells and bamboo tubes, and so forth. All such theories proving no less speculative and resistant to objective investigation than the traditional myths they were meant to replace, the issue gradually lost scientific interest, and it is now all but ignored in musical research. But, as if in discouragement at having failed to construct their own myth of musical origins, scholars also made little effort to explore the origin question in its traditional context of religious mythology; and today we still find ourselves in the "surprising" position of finding, as did Alan P. Merriam (1964, p. 74), "that there seem to be almost no available accounts of beliefs concerning the ultimate origin of music."

Accessible information, while insufficient to allow for generalization or systematic analysis, is abundant enough to show that music is as diverse in myths of origin as in any other of its aspects. Music may be thought to originate in a primordial divine power, as in the *nāda-brahman* "God-as-sound" of Hinduism, or in the efforts and discoveries of such human originators as Jubal and his father Lamech, briefly mentioned in Jewish and Islamic traditions (see *Gn.* 4:21), or Fuxi and Huangdi, in Chinese legend the discoverers of music and its mathematical-cosmological basis. Music may also play a cosmogonic role in the origin or maintenance of the world, as in the drum-playing and cosmic dance of the Hindu god Śiva Nataraja or in widespread stories of gods who "sing" their creations and creatures into existence.

The creation of individual pieces of music and musical instruments may involve contact with the divine. In the vision quest of the Plains Indians, individuals would go out alone into the wilderness to fast and seek divine messages revealed in songs, which they would then bring back to enhance the religious and musical life of the community. The Asian shaman's quest for a drum may take him to the center of the world and the beginning of time, just as the Australian Aborigine's dreaming of songs may provide a link to the primordial Dreaming. Musical creation may even move in the opposite direction, from the human world to the divine, as in the case of the Tibetan composer Milaraspa (1040–1123), whose songs are said to have been "imported" to heaven by the mkha' 'gro ma goddesses who, like their counterparts in many other religions, fill the Tibetan Buddhist heavens with their music.

The idea that music originally belonged to "other" places, times, persons, or beings is found in many myths, sometimes with connotations of conflict and conquest, as in the South American and Melanesian legends of male theft of sacred flutes from the women who originally possessed them. However, the discovery or creation of music is more often a joyful or ecstatic experience, as in the many vocal and instrumental pieces and religious dances of Tantric Buddhism experienced in dreams and meditations as celestial performances and then recomposed by the meditator for performance in the human world. Handel's often-quoted account of seeing God and the angels while composing the "Hallelujah" chorus—to say nothing of the religious experiences the chorus continues to evoke for many of its performers—may indicate the viability of such concepts even in cultures that favor ideas of human composition of music over divine creation and that tend to conceptualize musical "inspiration" in more secular terms.

Specific beliefs in music coming to us from other realms and beings may be a special case of a more general belief in the otherness, the special or extraordinary nature, of music in human experience. Such beliefs are seldom rooted in simple perceptions of music as strange and alien but rather seem based on recognition of the beauty and power of music. Thus, even when some traditions condemn music, they are condemning aspects of it that other traditions find worthy of praise: music exerts a strong appeal on humans, spirits, or gods; it stimulates sensual, bodily, and mental involvement, and so on. Does the power of music come from physical sensations of breath, motion, and vibration, from cognitions of proportion and symmetry as unexpected and serendipitous in the auditory realm as geometric arrays in nature, from socially and culturally conditioned associations? Is there one explanation, or are there separate causes for different kinds of musics and experiences? Whatever the answer, music enhances, intensifies, and—in ways that may elude precise analysis and control but which are nevertheless apparent both to participants and observers—transforms almost any experience into something felt not only as different but also as somehow better. In this transformative power, music resembles religion itself; and when the energies of music and religion are focused on the same object in an isofunctional adaptation of both toward a common meaning and goal, intensification reaches a peak greater perhaps than either might achieve by itself. Thus, the "otherness" of music and the "other" levels of reality and beings encountered in religion merge into a heightened synthesis of religious-musical experience. The possibility of such a synthesis may help to explain the aspect of music in religion that we usually call symbolism.

Symbolism is a problematic concept for both religion and music. Like the gods and spirits who remain invisible to an outside observer or to a camera, music's religious meanings and functional effects that elude capture by microphones and tape recorders may strike the uninitiated outsider as pure symbolism and yet be at least as real as its physical sounds to the aware and sensitive insider. For the Aztec, songs were flowers, birds, pictures, and the spirits of dead warriors called back to earth (Bierhorst, 1985); we ourselves would probably find it easier to agree that a song "is" a picture than that a song *is*, rather than *symbolizes*, a spirit. And if we adopt the kind of viewpoint that reduces the symbolic relationship between symbol and meaning to questions of physical-intangible and real-unreal, thus disposing of the spirits, we still have not decided whether songs are the symbols of flowers or vice versa. One senses that either choice is equally arbitrary; but if both are admissible as the real basis of the symbol, then why not the spirits as well?

Even if we take musical symbolism as a comparative and technical question of meanings attributed to sounds and forms, there are further questions of how so abstract and nondiscursive a medium can symbolize effectively, other than by purely arbitrary association, in the absence of explicit content that would lend itself to unambiguous communication. Some hear the diabolical in sounds that others find sacred; cross-cultural searches for even the most general agreement on music's cognitive or emotional significance have been unrewarding. There even seems to be a contradiction in the attempt to encode or decipher symbolic meanings in music: its aesthetic power seems to rely on the manipulation of abstract forms, however defined by a given culture and style, to the extent that subjecting form to an externally imposed system of meanings and functions might imply conflicts of purpose and musically inferior results.

Yet, if a symbol is that which stands for and reveals something other than itself, then music throughout the world has been accepted as successfully symbolizing the "other" of religion. Part of its success must derive from its generally perceived qualities of otherness and extraordinariness, and perhaps even from the very abstractness that frees it from associations too narrow to be associated with religious goals and meanings. But symbolic effectiveness must also rely on more specific associations than arbitrary applications to meanings or goals, which, even though they may be isofunctionally linked to the goals of religious practice, may still appear extrinsic to the music. If such associations do not arise from explicit musical content, then they must result from specific forms that accord with other meaningful forms in the religious sphere. Isoformalism of shared musical and religious forms, then, may combine with isofunctional applications to produce music that effectively symbolizes a religious object, and moreover without compromising the aesthetic integrity or viability of music as a medium of structured forms. Taking religious inspiration as the primary element in the process, this synthesis would occur when the form of a religious experience, action, image, or statement stimulated the creation of a corresponding musical form appropriate to and effective in the context of the musical system of its particular culture or religious tradition.

When religious and musical forms and purposes thus coincide, we have the kind of congruence that allows religious meaning to pervade every aspect of music from its assumed origin to the forms of individual instruments, songs, and pieces, and at every level of meaning from the most central to the most peripheral, from the most general to the most specific. The synthesis may be so complete as to leave no certainty whether either component, religion or music, takes precedence over the other; and it certainly allows for influence in both directions. There are, for example, not only myths of music, but also musics of myths; and the influence of music on mythology is almost certainly more pervasive and more important than the influence of mythology on music.

Contrary to a famous assertion by Lévi-Strauss, Wagner was far from the first, even in the Judeo-Christian tradition, to structurally "analyze" myths through music, for there are European precedents for the musical structuring of mythic narratives and themes going back to the Middle Ages, and far older examples from other parts of the world. These range in complexity from dramatizations as musically elaborate as Bach's or Wagner's (for example, the many performance genres of the Hindu epics *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* in South and Southeast Asia), to the almost universal forms of mythic vocalization that utilize a simple binary contrast of sung myth/unsung ordinary discourse, or melodic and rhythmic highlighting of important words and passages to create a musically enhanced structure for a mythic narrative. For most religions throughout history, myths have been embodied not in written literature but in musical performance; and such performances provide one of the most characteristic bridges between religious belief and action, between myth and ritual.

TIME, SPACE, AND RITUAL. Music is widely used as a demarcator of ritual time and space. In traditional settings all over the world, one may enter a community just before or during a ritual performance and be drawn toward the center of religious activity by musical sounds that grow progressively stronger as one moves toward the center. At the ceremonial site, music may emanate from the exact center of action; or musicians may be placed at the borders of the ritual site, creating a boundary zone of maximum sensual stimulation through which one passes to enter the ritual area itself. In either case, the ceremonial space is pervaded by musical sounds that, more than any other element, fill the entire sacred area with a tangible energy and evidence that a special situation has been created.

Sometimes architectural or geographic isolation is used to confine the sound to the ritual space, and the music becomes an intimate or secret experience restricted to ritual participants and unheard by the general public. In other contexts, musical contrasts may mark the boundaries of sacred spaces by reserving different styles or sounds for sacred centers and profane peripheries: for example, Christian churches with bells that ring on the outside and organ music on the inside, or Theravāda Buddhist monastic ordinations with royal processional instruments outside the temple and choral chanting inside.

Unlike works of visual art, which exist in their entirety and all their details at any given moment, music unfolds through time. Thus, it creates a temporal framework that may be synchronized with ritual time in various ways. At the simplest level, the beginning and ending of a musical performance may coincide with the beginning and end of a ritual performance. Music may begin before a ritual and end after it, enclosing the performance in a temporal bracket or frame; or music may be performed selectively at temporal high points in ritual activity, highlighting significant periods of religious action.

But music also structures the experience of time in more complex ways. The tempo of the sounds that constitute the "events" of a musical performance may be considerably faster or slower than the pace of everyday experience, and they may combine in unusual temporal patterns. Music uses formal devices such as cyclicity, repetition, contrast, variation, and development of one pattern of organization into another. Any or all of these devices may be used to create perceptual impressions of the extension or compression of a moment of experience to a longer or shorter time than normal, the return of a previous moment, or the building of intensity toward a climax and emergence of a new structural and experiential framework.

For both time and space, the structuring effect of music and other performance media may thus function in quite distinct ways. The most obvious way is by contrastive marking of boundaries between music-filled sacred space/time and profane space/time without music. The musical preludes and postludes performed before and after Christian services, or the conch-shell trumpet notes sounded before and after many South Asian rituals, often from a temple door or gateway, exemplify the boundary-marking aspect of music used to highlight ritual activity by creating a sonic frame around it in time and space.

A different mode of organization is used when the spatial and temporal centers, rather than the boundaries, of ritual activity are brought into concentrated focus by music. This phenomenon occurs at a conceptual or "symbolic" level when music is perceived as a spatio-temporal *axis mundi*, a channel of communication with spiritual realms and primordial eras. For example, singing the "drum lineage" songs of the Tibetan Bon religion evokes a link with the beginning of time and the center of the world.

More concretely, the central spatiotemporal foci of ritual actions in the physical world may be highlighted by musical intensification, while movement toward or away from the center is marked by gradually changing intensity rather than a sharp boundary. For example, the religious and musical focus of a Sinhala Kohombā Kankāriya ritual is in the drumming, singing, and dancing of the priests themselves; their sound is heard with decreasing intensity as one moves outward through the concentric rows of the audience in the open-walled ritual enclosure, through the streets of the village, and on out through the fields of the surrounding district, which may be the ultimate space consecrated by their performance.

In such cases, the consecrated space is defined by its relation to the ritual action at its center, rather than by a boundary at its edge; and the gradually diminishing intensities of musical sounds emanating from the center serve well to embody this central-focal mode of spatial demarcation. A similar mode of temporal demarcation seems to occur in, for example, the Shona Bira ritual described by Berliner (1978, chap. 8), in which the *mbira* musicians begin their performance with unobtrusive, unelaborate playing and gradually build to a peak of musical and religious interaction with the audience. Both musical intensity of creative improvisation and religious experiences of spirit possession occur within this focal period, and both gradually fade away to more ordinary levels as the ritual draws to an end. In such modes of application, music ceases to be a simple boundary marker, enhancer, or accompaniment to ritual action and religious experience: musical and ritual structure and content begin to take on more vital and significant relationships.

The most basic and widespread musical and ritual time-structuring device is repetition, often carried to such lengths as to perplex or bore the outside observer. It may be that repetition and redundancy serve to impart sensations of continuity, stability, and security, that they aid concentration and provide safeguards against distraction, or that they simply allow continuation of a "state of music" to enhance a ritual performance. Whatever the cause, the use of repetition is surely wide enough to show the importance of this little-understood formal device. However, except in unusual cases such as South Asian *mantra*, Japanese Nembutsu chanting, and some kinds of instrumental accompaniments to rituals, which may involve very prolonged repetitions, musical repetition is almost always found in conjunction with variation, and each depends on the other.

For example, we might consider three possible musical settings for the beginning of the Christian Mass, "Kyrie eleison / Christe eleison / Kyrie eleison." (1) The same melody, musical form, and so forth, is repeated in all three phrases. This would appear to minimize the effect of the textual variation "Kyrie . . . / Christe . . . / Kyrie" and create a musical analogue of the textual continuity provided by the triple repetition of "eleison," reinforcing the conceptual unity of the plea for mercy expressed in all three phrases. (2) Each phrase is set to a different melody or form. Here, the formal analogue is with the variation of initial words, rather than continuity and repetition, and the cognitive effect might be a heightened awareness that each phrase represents a new act of asking mercy, even though there is textual repetition in the first and third phrases. (3) The beginning and ending "Kyrie . . ." phrases are set to the same or a similar melody or form, with the intervening "Christe . . ." set to a different one.

Here, the use of musical variation and repetition corresponds exactly with the variation and repetition of "Kyrie . . . / Christe . . . / Kyrie"; continuity and conceptual unity are given cyclic expression in the identity of the beginning and ending phrases, while the middle phrase receives the special treatment of being given its own individual musical setting. Both repetition and variation in this context acquire a different significance than in (1), with its triple repetition, or (2), with its ongoing changes. The individualized setting in the second phrase is likely to be experienced by performers and observers alike as a special or climactic moment between the pattern established in the first phrase and repeated at the end; and a participant might experience it as a special enhancement of asking mercy in the name of Christ, without special attention to the role played by musical forms. But the formal differences remain: (1) with its repetition and sense of continuity and prolongation of a moment and action already begun, (2) with its emphasis on change and newness, and (3) with its variation-repetition structure and sense of return to a previous moment when the text and music of the first phrase are repeated at the end.

Similar cases can be found in many religious traditions; for example, in the various settings of the Buddhist Triple Refuge, with its three-phrase invocation of Buddha, Dharma (teaching), and Saṃgha (religious community). The actual use of musical structuring through repetition and variation is frequently much more complex, and each tradition tends to develop its own characteristic styles. For example, many Christian Mass settings use extensive repetitions of text phrases such as "Kyrie eleison" with increasingly different variations of the melody, developing it into new forms, and building to climaxes of musical intensity. Buddhist settings of the Triple Refuge, on the other hand, tend to use melodic variation in more restrained ways, and concentrate instead on text/music repetitions that build to mathematical or exponential permutations such as triple repetitions of a three-phrase structure, resulting in a 32 formal structure, and perhaps a sense of transcending cyclic repetition to reach a more abstractly perfect state. However such structures may be felt or interpreted in their own traditions, it is clear that they make equally sophisticated but formally quite different use of such features as continuity, change, and development of basic elements into more complex forms. And since each in its own context is only a small part of a much longer ritual performance, opportunities for complex structuring of musical time are obviously great.

Yet, however natural the concept "musical time" may appear to us, we must treat the issue with caution. Westerners may not be the only ones to conceive of music and its structures in temporal terms. For example, the Javanese prince Mangkunegara VII (1957) and others see the *wayang kulit* (shadow play) in such terms. For them, this all-night performance, with its chronological ordering of musical modes and its complex alterations of repeating sections and new developments, encapsulates the experience of progress through a prolonged state of *samādhi* meditation and through life from birth to spiritual fulfillment. And Judith Becker (1979, 1981), in a series of provocative articles, suggests that Javanese music embodies local and Hindu-Buddhist time concepts from cyclicity to the coincidence of differently ordered calendars.

Alan P. Merriam (1981) has warned that we may be imposing our own prejudices on African music by discussing it in terms of a "musical time" for which African languages have no corresponding terms. Nevertheless, we find areas in Africa with both musical coincidence of different-length beat cycles and calendrical coincidence of different-length week cycles, and the parallel seems too exact and complex to be unrelated. Perhaps one solution would be, in studying a culture, to adopt a comparative perspective that takes musical time as one of the fundamental modes of human time perception and organization, whether or not the culture calls it by a term that also applies to calendrical or experiential time, just as we continue to identify and study "music" and "religion" in cultures that have no equivalent terms. Since each culture and religion has its own concept of time, some such artificially neutral viewpoint may be necessary to think clearly about questions of musical and ritual durations and structures, questions that transcend both cultural and religious boundaries.

SEE ALSO Chanting; Drums; Percussion and Noise.

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There is no integrated study of this subject on a worldwide scale. Older studies tended either toward ethnographic-scrapbook approaches, indiscriminately assembling all kinds of traveler's remarks on music hastily encountered and little understood, or to evolutionist approaches meant to "explain" the superiority of European religion and music. The articles on music in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, edited by James Hastings, vol. 9 (Edinburgh, 1917), exemplify both approaches. More recent research has favored field studies of single communities or ethnic groups. Although such studies have resulted in intensive exposure and considerably more extensive and accurate firsthand information, they have also produced works that frequently tend to one-sided emphasis of either religious or musical factors with inadequate attention to their mutual relationships. Readers who want to learn more about the religious music of a given tradition should consult not only the bibliographies of the articles on music that follow but also the general articles on the same religious traditions elsewhere in the encyclopedia.

The most extensive collection of studies of religious music by individual authors writing on different areas and religions is the *Encyclopédie des musiques sacrées*, edited by Jacques Porte (Paris, 1968), and, in English, articles listed under the names of individual religions and countries in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20 vols., edited by Stanley Sadie (London, 1980). Other collections of recent studies are found in two special "Sacred Music" issues of the journal *World of Music* (Berlin; vol. 24, no. 3, 1982, and vol. 26, no. 3, 1984), and in *Sacred Sound: Music in Religious Thought and Practice*, edited by Joyce Irwin (Decatur, Ga., 1984). Standard works on the theory and method of research on world musics, including religious music, include Bruno Nettl's *The Study of Ethnomusicology* (Urbana, 1983), in which see especially chapters 11, 12, and 15, and Alan P. Merriam's *The Anthropology of Music* (Evanston, Ill., 1964), in which see chapters 4, 11, and 12. The most comprehensive cross-cultural theoretical approach to a single aspect of religious music is Gilbert Rouget's *Music and Trance: A Theory of the Relations between Music and Possession* (Chicago, 1985). Less helpful applications of cross-cultural theory are found in works such as *Man, Magic and Musical Occasions* by Charles L. Boilès (Columbus, Ohio, 1978), which subsumes all kinds of religious practices under "magic," or Arnold Perris's *Music as Propaganda* (Westport, Conn., 1985),

which evaluates the musics of other religions by European Christian standards.

A number of studies of religious music in specific traditions make effective use of anthropological approaches to religion, particularly those approaches that focus on language and symbolism. Classic anthropological studies include works by David P. McAllester on the Navajo, *Enemy Way Music* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), and on the peyote cult, *Peyote Music* (New York, 1949). A broadbased anthropological approach is used in *Horses, Musicians, and Gods: The Hausa Cult of Spirit Possession* by Fremont E. Besmer (South Hadley, Mass., 1983), while a focus on symbolism marks Steven Feld's work on the Kaluli of Papua New Guinea, *Sound and Sentiment* (Philadelphia, 1982). Works in the emerging category of "performance studies" place less emphasis on technical description and analysis of music but give it an important place in a multidimensional exploration of the multimedia world of cultural and religious performances; examples include Bruce Kapferer's study of Sinhala lowland possession cults, *A Celebration of Demons* (Bloomington, Ind., 1983), and Ellen B. Basso's study on the Kalapalo Indians of Brazil, *A Musical View of the Universe* (Philadelphia, 1985). These newer studies often show a sophisticated approach to the sung and narrated "texts" of oral traditions that may eventually enable more meaningful comparisons with traditionally text-oriented studies of the literate religions of Asia and the Mediterranean.

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MUSIC: MUSIC AND RELIGION IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

The most compelling reason for music making in Africa derives from religious experience, for it is generally believed that the spiritual world is responsive to music and deeply affected by it. Acting through human mediums, the gods are known to object to the singing of particular songs and to express dissatisfaction when performances are slipshod or lacking in animation. Now and then they also bring new songs or themes of songs to their worshipers. Hence worship always finds its most intense expression in music making, which can go on for hours or days during major religious festivals, for performing sacred music in this manner gives not only aesthetic satisfaction but also the assurance of continuous contact with the spiritual world. Accordingly, those who worship particular gods often describe themselves in songs as the children of those gods and may distinguish themselves from other members of the community, among other ways, by their repertoire of songs, instruments, and dances.

Ancestral spirits, as well as gods, generate repertoires of songs and instrumental forms. The scale and intensity of expressions related to ancestral spirits, however, varies considerably in relation to the perspective from which they are viewed. While some societies emphasize the spiritual and behavioral aspects of ancestors in the performance of rain rites, curative rites, initiation and other rites of passage and special rites for the dead, others focus on the philosophical aspects of the concept of the ancestor. Celebrations of life or the triumph of life over death indicated by the continuing presence of the dead is given scope in special festivals involving displays of ancestral masks and dramatic enactments accompanied by music and dance. Some centralized traditional states employ music and ritual for political ends.

ORGANIZATION OF SACRED MUSIC. Because the spiritual world is believed to be sensitive to music, performances of sacred music are usually controlled. Accordingly there are occasions during which (1) little or no music is performed (such as personal ritual and worship); (2) music other than the sacred music of the gods is performed (such as events during which social rather than religious values are emphasized); (3) both sacred and nonsacred music may be performed (for example, the funeral of a priest or priest-medium or religious festivals that incorporate the singing of songs of insult sanctioned by the gods for the release of tension in society); and (4) sacred music is performed (such as fixed days of worship, festivals, and other special occasions on which dramatic enactments, including trance and spirit possession, take place). The repertoire of sacred music used on ritual occasions usually includes either songs and instrumental pieces or sound events that function as codes or signals for indicating divine presence or for inviting undivided attention.

As in many cultures of the world, African songs provide avenues for making references to the sources of religious experience and to the values that hold a community of worshipers together. Marion Kilson shows in her study of Ga songs and symbols that a homogeneous body of sacred songs may include references to the supreme being, individual lesser gods and their interrelations, creatures and objects of nature connected with the religious experience, the seasons, ritual symbols, interpersonal relations, and events in the life of the community of worshipers. Africans sing about their gods and their own social history in their sacred songs because their gods accompany them during their migrations as well as in their encounters with other societies.

Sacred song repertoires usually include items that fulfill special functions related to the details of worship or a ritual occasion. Some songs are sung for the opening and closing of worship while others accompany, precede, or follow particular rites or provide the link between different phases of a ritual occasion. Getting in and out of trance or remaining in a state of trance can be aided by particular songs, while changes in the mood of worship can be effected not only through the content of songs but also through variations in form and singing style, including the occasional use of spoken verse; changes from speechlike chants in free rhythm or recitative style to songs in strict rhythm; and differentiations between simple litany types of songs and songs that utilize more complex forms or occasionally songs in strophic form.

Group singing is invariably led by cantors, who may not necessarily be priests or priest-mediums. Special chants performed as solos that require mastery of particular vocal techniques and repertoire may be performed by specialists in the religious community. In some societies the songs of public worship are performed by a select group of singers well versed in the tradition and not by the entire congregation.

Sacred songs may be sung unaccompanied (especially when they are in free rhythm) or they may be accompanied by handclapping, bells, rattles, friction sticks, or by more complex percussion on drums or tuned idiophones (*mbira* and xylophones). Chordophones such as lutes, harp-lutes, and arched harps are also used in religious contexts in some societies.

In general, instruments that can play complex melodic and rhythmic patterns are treated not only as accompanying instruments but also as instruments that can stand on their own in ensembles. They may be assigned their own limited repertoire of pieces that are specific not only in their basic materials but also in style and tempo, so that they can be correlated with various songs, movement, and dance. During performances it is the instrumental ensemble that provides the required energy levels for movement expression and more especially for trance and spirit possession.

Because of the different roles performed by vocal and instrumental pieces and the dance, it is customary to combine all three in a full performance. Where this is done, all that a priest-medium who wants to perform a particular dance while in trance needs to do is start a song in the set for the particular dance. The instrumentalists will switch automatically to the rhythms he needs. The singers will similarly take up the song he started and continue with others in the same set.

A number of conventions are used to distinguish the sacred from the secular. For example, a simple ritual act of dedication or the use of external symbols of sacralization, such as marks of white clay, special drapes, pendants, or symbolic carvings, might distinguish sacred instruments from their secular counterparts. There are a few instances where the distinction is made in the form, structure, and tuning of instruments. For example, among the Lobrifor of Ghana, there is a xylophone used in sacred rituals that has fourteen bars, like other xylophones; however, only twelve bars are played, and a tetratonic tuning is used instead of the usual pentatonic. Similarly the *mbira dzavadzimu*, a tuned idiophone (*sansa*, or hand piano) of the Shona of Zimbabwe, used for playing music connected with ancestral rituals, is distinguished from those tuned idiophones played for entertainment, such as the *mbira dzavandau* and the *karimba*. It has twenty-two keys that are generally wider and thicker than those of other instruments and a keyboard with three manuals.

The organization of sound events that function as signals or codes follows similar conventions. Instead of the clapperless bells used in musical ensembles, clapper bells may be used in ritual contexts. Instead of a regular flute made of bamboo, a flute made out of the tip of an animal horn may be used. Instead of an instrument, voice masks and whistling may be used to indicate the presence of particular gods or spirits. Ankle buzzers and similar devices normally used in the context of the dance may be worn by a novice, a ritual expert, or a medium when he is in ritual contact with his god so that anyone approaching him might take a different route.

Similar functions may be performed by instruments set aside for this purpose. Thus the bull-roarer (or thunder stick) is used in some societies to represent the voice of the ancestor (for example, among the Dogon of Mali) or the voice of a god (such as Oro of the Yoruba of Nigeria). The major god of the Poro initiation society of the Senufo is represented not only by the sound of an eland's horn incorporated into an aerophone ensemble but also by the bull-roarer. Here and there one finds sacred drums that function in the same manner, drums such as the *digoma* of the Lovedu of the Transvaal, beaten twice a year in a ritual addressed to the ancestors; the drums of the Lozi of Zambia associated with chiefship; and the *bagyendanwa* drum in the Ankole region of Uganda.

Coded sounds are not always played as independent sound events. They can also be incorporated into regular pieces. For example, where the gods are worshiped collectively, the entrance and exit of each god can be indicated aurally through changes in rhythm or instrumentation or by a song functioning as a code.

IMPACT OF RELIGION ON MUSICAL LIFE. Because music makers, artists, and crafters are also carriers of the religious beliefs of their societies, religious concepts and practices extend to artistic behavior in the public domain. A music club or association that performs recreational music may begin with libation, a song of invocation, or an instrumental prelude from the sacred repertoire in order to ensure that nothing goes wrong in the course of the performance. Some societies ban all musical performances for a few days after rites performed at the beginning of the planting season or before the annual harvest festival, while others prohibit the performance of certain musical types outside prescribed contexts. The making of instruments such as xylophones and drums begins and ends with rituals irrespective of the contexts in which they will be used. In some societies the rituals continue at various stages in the process of manufacture and on each occasion on which the finished product is used. There are also instances where musicians seek ritual protection not only for their instruments but also for themselves and their art. Belief in ancestors also sometimes plays a role in the recruitment and training of musical specialists, such as the royal musicians (*ingombe*) of the Bemba of Zambia and the royal drummers and fiddlers of the Dagomba of Ghana.

Because sacred music is held in high esteem, the borrowing and adaptation of instruments or musical items of particular aesthetic or verbal interest occurs now and then in the music performed in the public domain. While in the past this was done with discretion, social change now seems to have opened the door to conscious exploitation of the aesthetic potential of sacred music, both in traditional music practice and in the new forms of African popular and art music. The reverse process, whereby traditional sacred music is influenced by secular music, does not seem to be common, although a few notable examples can be cited. The emergence of centralized states in Ghana in the pre-European period, which developed royal court music of a complex order, seems to have encouraged the incorporation of the talking drum (*atumpan*), an instrument of kingly command, and the royal heavy drum (*bommaa*) into the ensemble of gods regarded as state gods.

Similarly, the advent of new cults that worship in the traditional manner has led to the development of new repertoires of traditional sacred music that utilize the recitative song style of traditional hunters' associations. These songs are used partly because of their affective character and partly because the gods of the new associations are regarded as hunter gods who specialize in the neutralization of evil forces such as witchcraft and sorcery.

INTRODUCED RELIGIONS. Although indigenous religions have continued to maintain the vigor and vitality of their beliefs and expressive forms, both Islam and Christianity are also well established in many parts of Africa in spite of the alien modes of worship they brought with them.

Islam. Because Islamic religion does not view the sensuous qualities of music with favor and therefore tends to discriminate between what is admissible in religious life and what is not, the connection between music and Islamic religious observances in Africa has been marginal, in contrast to traditional African religions in which music is integral to worship and ritual observance. Apart from the call to prayer and the Qurʾanic recitations that are at the core of Islamic worship and that have been maintained in sub-Saharan Africa, it is religious events in the life of Islamic communities that provide outlets for music. The type of music used in these contexts depends on the community, in particular whether it is an Arab or Afro-Arab community, an African community ruled by an Islamic aristocracy, or an African community with Islamic leaders and a traditional aristocracy.

In all three types of communities the Qurʾān is chanted in the original Arabic during worship and on other occasions, while nonliturgical music may be in the local language and idiom. Friday services are observed, while the Prophet's birthday and his ascent to heaven or particular episodes in his life are commemorated in the form of festivals at which music in the local idiom may be performed. The end of Ramaḍān, the period of daytime fasting, is marked by feasts and music, while the routine pilgrimage to Mecca also provides a pretext for music making for the pilgrims, both on the occasion of their departure and on their return.

There is a general tendency in Islamic communities for a simple musical event that satisfies the Islamic ideal to grow into a more elaborate and sometimes inadmissible form, a process that leads to its secularization as entertainment music. The Yoruba Islamic musical types *apala*, *waka*, *fuji*, and *sakara*, for example, which started as modest forms of pilgrimage music, have become part of the general entertainment repertoire. Similarly among the Dagomba of Ghana *damba* music and dance performed at the *damba* festival, which celebrates the birth of the Prophet, is now performed in other contexts by *lunsi* drummers. Sectarianism and syncretic tendencies have similarly encouraged the use of African musical resources at *dhikr* gatherings as well as modifications in liturgical practice that allow for the development of a corpus of songs based on local models.

Christianity. A different picture presents itself when one turns to Christianity in Africa, for it has been less compromising than Islam as far as the use of local musical resources is concerned. Like traditional African religion, Christianity regards music as an integral rather than a marginal aspect of worship. Accordingly they share a similar approach to the organization of the content of sacred songs.

However, the values that guide the selection and use of music and musical instruments in Christian worship as well as performance organization and musical behavior are very different from those of traditional African worship. Until recently, African modes of expression and behavior seemed to the leaders of the Christian church not only unsuitable for Christian worship, but also not conducive to the restrained Christian life expected of converts. African drumming and dancing and the exuberance of African celebrations such as festivals and rituals of the life cycle were not tolerated. The problem that Christianity in Africa has had to face, therefore, is how to integrate Christian worship with indigenous cultures and preserve at the same time the basic Christian beliefs, values, and norms of behavior that characterize the religion. Although the Ethiopian church could have been used as a model of integration, it was ignored for quite a long time because it did not conform to the norms and values of the Western church.

The most obvious practical step toward indigenization of music widely adopted in the nineteenth century was the translation of hymns in European languages into African languages. It was not generally realized, however, that indigenization, in a fuller sense, would have also meant setting the translated texts of hymns to tunes that reflect African rhythmic and melodic characteristics or that follow the intonational contour and rhythm of texts, since many African languages are tone languages (that is, languages in which tones or pitches distinguish meaning or tend to be fixed for particular words, phrases, and sentences). The retention of the Western tunes invariably led to the distortion of the words, a situation that has not been fully remedied in many parts of Africa.

A few missionaries and African church leaders who became aware of this problem tried to provide other solutions. The Livingstonia Mission in Malawi, for example, encouraged local Ngoni people to adapt their traditional songs for church use, and also arranged for traditional instruments such as bells, drums, and horns to be used for calling worshipers to church. Elsewhere songs in the traditional style emerged (such as the Fanti lyrics of the Methodist Church of Ghana) that could be sung as spirituals or anthems.

The search for solutions to this problem, and to the whole question of Christianity in relation to African cultures, continued in the early decades of the twentieth century with the formation of the International Missionary Council. A more liberal attitude toward African cultures as well as to the indigenization of Christian liturgies and music emerged. This has encouraged not only African contributions to Western hymnody in African languages but also the development of new forms of syncretic church music that combine African and Western resources. Songs and anthems as well as a number of new settings of the Mass that use drums and other traditional African instruments as accompaniment have become fashionable in Roman Catholic churches. The All African Conference of Churches and local church music associations are also giving encouragement to the creation and dissemination of new African hymns.

African Independent Churches have also grappled with the problem. Beginning with hymns in translation and original compositions in the same style, leaders of these churches give scope to songs in the style of traditional African music as well as songs based on the style of marching songs and African popular music. Both African drums and Western band instruments not generally used in ecumenical churches are utilized by independent churches, since physical movement and expressions of ecstasy are encouraged.

As might be expected, there is a close relationship between trends in African church music and trends in contemporary African secular music, for many contemporary composers of art music are also composers of church music and of music for educational institutions formerly run largely by churches. Church choirs and singing bands as well as school choral groups are the main performers of African choral music in the art music tradition, while the repertoires of the few independent choral societies often include new African church music. Because of the large number of independent churches that have sprung up, composers of African popular music now include religious themes and tunes sung by such churches in their repertoire of dance music, a practice that enables their songs to be performed not only in independent churches but also in ballrooms, cafes, night clubs, and on social occasions.

SEE ALSO African Religions, article on New Religious Movements; Bull-Roarers; Drama, article on African Religious Drama; Drums; Percussion and Noise.

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MUSIC: MUSIC AND RELIGION IN INDIGENOUS AUSTRALIA

In indigenous Australia music and religion are discussed with reference to the concept of the dreaming. The term *dreaming* is an English way of describing the era of creation in indigenous Australian belief when great ancestral beings walked the earth, experiencing, interacting and creating landscape and life. A senior Yanyuwa man from the Aboriginal community at Borroloola in the southwest Gulf of Carpentaria of the Northern Territory explains the dreaming in the following way:

> In our language, in Yanyuwa, we call the Dreaming Yijan. The Dreamings made our Law or narnu-Yuwa. This Law is the way we live, our rules. This Law is our ceremonies, our songs, our stories; all of these things come from the Dreaming. . . . The Law was made by the Dreamings many, many years ago and given to our ancestors and they gave it to us. . . . The Dreamings were the first to dance our ceremonies and sing our songs. Some of these songs are dangerous, they are secret and sacred, women and children are not allowed to see them. Others are not secret, everyone can look at them, but they are still sacred. . . . The Dreamings named all of the country and the sea as they travelled, they named everything that they saw. The Dreamings gave us our songs. These songs are sacred and we call them kujika. These songs tell the story of the Dreaming as they travelled over the country, everything the Dreaming did is in the songs. . . . These songs are like maps, they tell us about the country, they are maps which we carry in our heads. (Mussolini Harvey, in Bradley, 1988, p. xi)

His words clearly illustrate the integral relationship of song to *Yijan,* or the dreaming, of song to country and place, of music to religion and to an Aboriginal sense of spirit or spirituality in Yanyuwa culture. Indigenous Australian language and cultural groups show basic similarities in their understandings of the relationship between music and the dreaming, although each has its own unique and specific stories, language, and discourses of creation and ceremony linked to country and geographical region. For example, Pitjantjatjara-speaking peoples of the Western Desert region in Australia refer to the dreaming as *Tjukurrpa.* The diversity of indigenous understandings and performance of music and religion is enormous. For the purposes of this article, examples will be drawn from Yanyuwa culture to illustrate broader concepts of performance practice and religious belief.

Indigenous Australia has no equivalent term for "spirituality" or "religion" as it is used in English. There are, for example, a number of generic and specific terms that translate as "spirit being," there are terms for the creative ancestral beings, and there are also terms that speak of one's spirit having a source; but none of these terms is used to create a term that speaks of the spirit as it is used in spirituality and as such must be used with trepidation (Rose, 1992, p. 59). The words *spiritual* and *spirit* are open to many interpretations. From a Western perspective such terms have their roots in Greek and Christian thought and imply a split between the secular material world and the realm of the spirit. This binary view subtly suggests that enactment of spirituality means leaving the everyday world of the body behind to enter into a separate and disembodied sacred or holy domain. For example, as we have discussed elsewhere (Bradley and Mackinlay, 2000, 2003), in the Yanyuwa context the boundaries between the sacred and the secular are necessarily blurred. For Yanyuwa there is only one world, one environment, one country that is simultaneously material and spiritual. The spiritual is tied to everyday lived reality and immersed in seemingly mundane pragmatic activities. Practices such as singing clearly establish an immutable relationship of what could be called the spirit of place to the spirit of people. Yanyuwa cosmology therefore allows the Western terms *spirit* and *spirituality* to be used in many circumstances but always tightly bound to the expression and performativity of people's relationship to kin and country.

In many indigenous Australian cultures, a distinction is made between those phenomena, experiences, and knowledges that are considered restricted and unrestricted. These terms delineate who can access the knowledge and information contained within performance through participation. The term "restricted" refers to performance that limits the participants on the basis of gender, age, and/or kinship affiliation. In contrast, the term "unrestricted" denotes performance that does not have any conditions attached on who may participate. The Yanyuwa have two terms, *kurdukurdu* and *lhamarnda,* that could be seen as synonymous with the above terms and by extension with the Western terms "sacred" and "secular." Yanyuwa people often explain *kurdukurdu* as a correlate to the terms "secret" and "sacred" and therefore restricted, while *lhamarnda* is described as "free," or not secret and sacred.

In many ways the Yanyuwa terms *kurdukurdu* and *lhamarnda* resonate with discussions of "inside" and "outside" knowledge in Yolngu culture by both Keen (1994) and Morphy (1991). While we do not want to suggest that Yanyuwa and Yolngu systems of knowledge are the same, it is useful to consider briefly the overlap between them and therefore contextualize Yanyuwa knowledge in relation to other indigenous Australian cultures. Morphy (1991, p. 78) asserts that the concepts of inside and outside in Yolngu culture operate as a continuum and are central to understanding the structure, rationale, and existence of levels of knowledge in Yolngu culture. He also describes "inside" sacred knowledge as "restricted" and "outside" mundane knowledge as "unrestricted" (1991, p. 79) and emphasizes that there is great fluidity between them insofar as "the ancestral world extends into the everyday world, the inside flows into the outside" (1991, p. 80).

Importantly, Morphy acknowledges that there is much interaction and interconnection between inside and outside realms and suggests that "outside forms are in a sense generated by inside forms and not separate from them." This can generate, as Keen (1994, p. 226) contends, the performance and realization of inside concepts in outside spaces or "secrecy in public." In such performances, the restricted esoteric "inside" knowledge has clear referents, but the subjects or their significance is not inferred discursively (1994, p. 227).

In most indigenous Australian cultures there is not one singular translatable word for music, and categorization of performance into styles and genres by people is determined according to a complex set of interrelationships between the origins of songs, the purposes they serve, and the people who may participate in performance (Bradley and Mackinlay, 2000, p. 2). Conversations about categories of music often begin with a distinction being made on the basis of whether the creative source of the music resides in ancestral or human beings. For example, in Yanyuwa culture songs from ancestral beings are described as *kujika*, belong to *kurdukurdu* (restricted) forms of performance, and have their basis in the actions of the Spirit ancestors who lived their lives by traveling, marking, and singing the landscape into being during the creative period, which the Yanyuwa call *Yijan* (generally translated into English as "dreaming"). Songs made by human beings (when composed by men, these songs are called *walaba;* by women, *a-kurija*) are *lhamarnda* (unrestricted) and contrast directly with the big history of the ancestral beings in that they document little history or individual and community memory of events within living recollection.

Knowledge of song, both restricted and unrestricted, is but one way people give order to their country and to their history of human and nonhuman kin. Such songs are ultimately concerned with attachment to place and contain many emotional dimensions. It is these emotional dimensions that become the means by which groups of people and individuals are in constant negotiation with each other, for songs are not just free to anyone. All song and music in indigenous Australian performance traditions are bound by negotiations. These negotiations include the legitimacy of claims to knowledge and connections to place and people, to the past, to the present, and also to the future. Thus, even in relation to songs life becomes much more than the pragmatics of singing and performing, or even the often alluded to mystical/religious and historical conceptions; rather, it is about the union of all these things.

The songs of the dreaming ancestors are said by indigenous people to hold and carry the knowledge of the ancestral beings as they walked across the country, and each song verse becomes one footprint in the songline of that Spirit ancestor. In Aboriginal ceremony and ritual, performers aim to recreate the actions of the ancestors by tapping into the power of the dreaming through correct presentation of all the elements of the song cycle, including song text, melodic line, rhythmic pattern, and other ritual behavior such as the painting of body designs, the use of ceremonial objects, the preparation of and performance on ceremony ground, and the actions of performers. In Yanyuwa, song cycles are called by the generic term *kujika,* a word that has widespread use throughout the Gulf region and even into northeast Arnhem Land (Avery, 1985; Merlan, 1987; Trigger, 1992; Keen, 1994), and by its cognate form in the Victoria River region of the Northern Territory (Wild, 1987, Rose, 1992). When people sing a song cycle, they are described as *wandayarra* (following) or *yinbarraya* (singing) the road.

There is no one term for *kujika* verse in Yanyuwa; people use the Kriol term "leg," a term also recorded by Merlan (1987). Singers or knowledgeable people reference the song verses by what the actual song verse is about; in many instances each song verse has a key word by which that verse is known. In addition, song verses are also tied to the landscape via named places. In Yanyuwa, *kujika* song texts are always described using the present participle form of the verb; thus, they are described as *jiwini ki-awarala* (constantly being in country), *wulumantharra* (running), *wingkayarra* (moving, going), or even in some instances as *wujbantharra* (flowing); when the singers near a place name or a particular species, it is described as *rdumatharra* (getting). The songs are also *windirrinjarra* (ascending) and *lhankanbayarra* (descending) and are always accompanied by a cardinal direction marker. When the song is nearing completion, it is then described as *yibarrantharra* (placing). There is a sense that these songlines are ever present on the country like flowing conduits of meaning. If the code is known, they can be tapped into and followed, and then voice is given to that which is always on or in the country and the sea.

Of importance to any understanding of music and religion in indigenous Australian cultures is the concept of "taste," "skin," or "essence." In Yanyuwa the term for essence is *ngalki* (Kirton and Timothy, 1977). *Ngalki* is best described as that thing which marks the individual identity or essence of something. It can refer to the taste or smell of food, one's own particular body smell, or the positioning of people, flora, fauna, and natural phenomena into the four semi-moieties that exist in Yanyuwa society. Broadly speaking, *ngalki* as a concept presents the Yanyuwa way of making sense of the complex relationship between the people who make music, the process of music making, and the sound that is music. In terms of musical structure, the *ngalki* of a particular song is often described by Yanyuwa people as the melody or voice. It also includes the type of beating accompaniment used, the particular types of rhythmic patterns attached to song text, the way these are fitted onto a specific melodic shape, and the way all three components are combined during the act of musical performance. Thus, the correct interlocking of all performance elements gives each Yanyuwa song style its unique identity, and it is through the act of performance that the embedded power within genres is given meaning, accessed, and utilized by performers.

When used in relation to song, the term *ngalki* is often prefixed by a descriptive marker that marks the perceived quality of the performance or a person's opinion of the tune that is associated with a song. Thus *yabi ngalki* (literally, "good essence") can refer to both a good performance or a song that is seen to have an enjoyable tune; *wardi ngalki* (literally, "bad essence"), to a song that is quite plainly not being well performed; *jirda ngalki* (literally, "bitter/bad-tasting essence"), to a song that is not being performed properly because the tune is incorrect or the singers are discordant; *daburrdaburr ngalki* (literally, "rough/troubled essence"), to the tune of a song that is considered hard to learn and requires a long time spent with older accomplished singers. This is a term often used by men to describe a number of songs associated with various ceremonies and ritual actions. The term has a special relevance to songs that are considered powerful enough to affect other human beings or impact upon the order of the natural world and where the correct tune is considered to be the conveyer of the song's inherent power or *wirrimalaru.*

Within a Yanyuwa understanding of good performance, especially of *kujika,* a person who is seen to be performing song cycles at a high level of emotional engagement and technical skill is often described as *jarrilu-ngalkiwunjayarra,* "he is drinking the essence of the road." It is felt that he has embodied the song to such an extent that it is if the country that is being sung is through him and sustaining him. It is interesting that song knowledge is described in terms of "food," where the ability to learn and acquire song knowledge, especially that relating to the sacred knowledge of the land, is something that ones needs, like food, in order to survive. This survival can be seen at both the level of the singer and the country itself; perhaps the inverse of this is that if one does not sing and refuses to "drink the essence," then both the individual and country will not be truly seen to live.

To know and to sing in Aboriginal culture is to also know and acknowledge kin and country, to be aware where one fits in the family, the history of the family, and the country and sea that one's family has moved across and also calls home. While *kujika* may speak of how one belongs to land in terms of a cosmological understanding, there are the other more intimate, humanly composed songs that speak of the totally human dimension to experience. These songs are an excellent example of what Fox (1997, pp. 6–7) terms "social knowledge," a kind of knowledge that allows people constantly to comprehend, interact, and interpret their place-world. These songs are an important part of connectivity between people and place, and in many respects these songs are the containers that hold memories that connect people and places. This genre of new or unrestricted songs in Yanyuwa culture, and more generally across indigenous Australia, includes the diversity of contemporary rock and popular musics—these forms of performance too hold important individual, social, historical, emotional, and spiritual relationships, memories, and meanings. For example, the appearance of specific and nonspecific places, notions of place, and attachment to place (Dunbar-Hall, 1997, p. 62) within the song texts of these new songs plays an important role in naming, knowing, and remembering country in this unrestricted performance genre. This naming of places in unrestricted forms of Aboriginal performance resonates with the texts of restricted songs "[w]here singing about sites and events of the past associated with them are a means of affirming group and individual identity and of stating relationships to places. In this way, Aboriginal sites become songs" (Dunbar-Hall, 1997, p. 62). By specifically naming place in unrestricted singing, the composer reveals the personal, emotional, and spiritual significance implied in a particular locality.

Today, many indigenous Australian peoples and communities fight daily to survive against the contemporary realities of colonial and historical legacy, social upheaval, and cultural dispossession. Many indigenous communities suffer from high rates of family violence and alarmingly high alcohol and substance abuse statistics. Age expectancy is low for both men and women, and suicide among young people is increasing. Combined with increasingly poor health (for example, diabetes, renal failure, heart conditions, disease related to poor nutrition) and inadequate housing conditions, indigenous peoples are struggling to exist under the impact of dramatic social upheaval and change and Western systems of domination and oppression. Beneath these daily experiences of trauma, however, performance remains a powerful way to sustain a strong cultural and spiritual identity for Aboriginal people. Music is a religion in indigenous Australia in the sense that it is the central way to sing, know, and embody relationships to family, place, and spirituality. In the worldview of many indigenous Australian peoples, landscape and song are integrally related whereby knowledge and memories of landscape are named, encoded, and embodied in music performance. Through performance of place and country in restricted and unrestricted contexts, singers negotiate and evoke memory and emotion to continually create and re-create the knowledge associated with landscape and what it means to be an Aboriginal person in body, mind, and spirit—a unified, complete, and whole person. Understandings of sacred and secular, inside and outside knowledge, and restricted and unrestricted performance are integrally connected and the lines of distinction between them blurred. Lived experience of song, kin, and country enacts a performative memory and knowledge of time, space, and location that connect spirit of place to the spirit of indigenous Australian peoples.

SEE ALSO Australian Indigenous Religions, overview article.

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MUSIC: MUSIC AND RELIGION IN OCEANIA

The uttering of formulaic texts, the sounding of musical instruments, and the enactment of physical movements are all integral to the expression of religious beliefs throughout Oceania. The supernatural beings that were contacted varied widely in the extent of their powers and the nature of their physical embodiments, but much human activity was intended to open lines of contact with that other world. Music was not and is not a self-contained art, nor merely the vehicle for communication with the other world, but in many instances it is the means of opening such lines of communication, and it is intended both to express and to reveal. Singing at a predetermined location and appropriate time enables contact with beings somehow residing outside space and time. For participants, religious rituals exist primarily to be perpetuated. A personal understanding of the theological or mystical bases for rituals, or the meanings of song poetry, or the symbolism of their myriad of sacra, is secondary. Essentially, process takes precedence over product.

POLYNESIA. Accounts of the origins of the universe established the first associations between humans and gods. Rituals maintained such links through a body of sacred lore administered through both individual and group expressions of worship, supplication, instruction, and appeasement. Polynesian pantheons consist of named categories of supernatural beings and named individuals within those categories. Major deities—Tāne, Tū, Rongo, and Tangaroa in East Polynesia; Tangaloa and Maui in West Polynesia —were associated with land creation and elements of nature. References in oral tradition to such beings tended to be confined to spoken accounts or recited poetry. East Polynesia, particularly Tahiti and Hawai'i, saw the development of religious specialists in the form of an established priesthood, and religious buildings in the form of temples. The carvings on pre-European East Polynesian drums, particularly those beaten during temple-based rituals, often included representations of major deities. The priesthood also held responsibility for the many years of teaching chants and dances to neophytes. In the many and varied contexts of performance, the agent activating the human-superhuman link was the uttered word.

Mythology credits the importation of the first *pahu* temple drums and their associated sacred dances from Tahiti to Kauai Island, whence its use in *heiau* temples spread to Hawai'i's other islands. The primary use of this sharkskin-covered wooden drum was to signal major events within the temple, summoning gods to enter the precincts and to speak through its sound. It also accompanied sacred dances. On Tahiti itself, such a drum was used both for signaling and for accompanying religious rituals. In both areas, the drums were given personal names.

The areas of association and influence of minor deities included natural events, local topography, and specific domestic activities. Such beings were considered contactable during periods of heightened emotion, particularly at moments of danger, such as illness and warfare. In Samoa, people of two villages used a song to summon the deadly Nifoloa to avenge any major insult to local residents. In another village the locally based god Te'e was appeased through a song in its honor. To cure certain ailments, Samoan traditional healers may still resort to exorcism, singing their command to the malign spirit believed responsible to leave the patient's body.

Throughout East Polynesia, minor gods were routinely contacted to ensure ongoing maintenance of the normally benign social relationship with local communities. In this context, the gods were held to share human pleasure in the performing arts, most notably singing and dancing, together with the sight and fragrance of costumed and perfumed bodies in action. The practice of performance as god appeasement was most developed in Hawai'i, where Pele and Laka were considered divine patrons of dancing. Much song poetry was dedicated to these beings—and still is, as part of the ongoing renaissance of Hawaiian culture. Whether invisible or existing in emblematic form, the gods were believed to be present during performances. The religious goal of hula performances was additionally based on a belief in sympathetic magic. By presenting an act in the context of dance, one gains power over it. One can thus govern the outcome of a future act or cause a past act to happen again.

The elevated nature of such expressive arts was emphasized by a corresponding expectation of performance perfection. If such perfection was not achieved due to accidental error, the result was held to be personal disaster. The accidental omission of a word in an incantation performed at the birth of the Maori mythological character Maui resulted ultimately in his death and failure to win immortality for humanity. Avoidance of breath breaks in the melodic flow was a feature of traditional Maori incantations and group chant on the grounds that the consequences were death or disaster. A system in which the group leader, having snatched an early breath, continued singing wordlessly at the ends of poetic lines while the group took breath overcame such concern.

In some regions ancient song poetry addressing gods survived Christian missionizing through prompt transcription, but it exists now more as an artifact of culture than an instrument of religion. In Tokelau, a handful of songs referring to the supreme god Tui Tokelau are now sung at festivals as affirmations of corporate ethnicity, and on Niue a song addressing the god of the ocean, Tagaroa, is routinely featured in cultural displays and competitions. The revival in the 1970s of oceangoing voyaging in reconstructions of traditional East Polynesian canoes stimulated a return of interest in associated rituals and performance styles. A convergence of such canoes at the sacred Tahitian site of Taputapuatea in 1995 signaled the formal reconnection of ancestral relationships among several Polynesian island groups. The renewed interest in cultural activities, also began in the 1970s in Hawai'i, French Polynesia, and New Zealand—possibly influenced by the newly established South Pacific Arts Festival—has seen the incorporation into public performances of various reconstructions of practices associated with indigenous religion. In Hawai'i, the construction and use of *pahu* drums, revived performances of chants and dances honoring named gods, and the performance of chants at the opening of the state legislature and other major public events all testify to the renaissance. Recitation of *karakia* incantations to national gods is a routine feature of major Maori activities, such as the openings of new public buildings and museum exhibitions.

In several parts of urban Polynesia, an ironic shift in attitudes has recently occurred. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Christian missionaries strove hard and successfully to ban many performances of dancing on the grounds that the activity was heathen. Now, however, among both island homeland and expatriate communities of Polynesians, Christian churches may include dance tuition among their cultural programs and even numerically dominate competitions of traditional dance at local and national levels.

Although details of most Polynesian religions are now recounted in the past tense following almost two hundred years of intensive and successful Christian missionizing, a few Polynesian-populated outlier islands in Melanesia have attempted to maintain their indigenous practices in a reaction against what they consider the culturally damaging activities of missionaries and Christian churches. Communities on the islands of Takū (Mortlock Islands), Nukumanu (Tasman Islands), and Mungiki (Bellona Island) have participated in such a movement. Although some activities are now restricted to some extent by national legislation, others flourish. On these small, fragile, and remote islands, ongoing supernatural assistance is considered a survival necessity for which the formal performance of a variety of songs and dances is offered as a gesture of gratitude. Men may call on their dead ancestors while fishing, and, in the poetry of songs composed to mark their subsequent success, duly name their ancestors and acknowledge their supernatural assistance. In preparation for formal dances on the ritual arena, both men and women may wear emblems of their clan's founding ancestor as protection against the malevolent spirits believed to be in attendance during the performance. Also on the ritual arena in front of the assembled community, senior men take turns to intone long invocations to clan spirits and ancestors in order both to ensure continuation of clement weather and bountiful fish stocks, and also to avert crop diseases. The poetry of such invocations tends to be fixed by tradition and contains semantically dense language.

MICRONESIA. Preliminary findings from the few published studies of Micronesian religion indicate that religious activities incorporating singing (with or without dancing) tend to focus on village or matriclan efforts to ensure the maintenance of personal health, food production, and travelers' safety. The Micronesian pantheon contains no recognized paramount individual. Typical group religious activities have a patron god possessing limited geographical authority. Shamans sing to establish contact with such beings and to obtain advice and admonition, using incantations to lay a mantle of divine protection over hazardous occupations. At shrines, priests lead performances of humanly or divinely composed songs and dances to entertain a village or district god whose reaction in turn is conveyed by the priests.

ISLAND MELANESIA. Diversity features strongly among the many religious practices of Island Melanesia, where speech rather than song tends to be the chief medium of communication with the supernatural realm. Both here and in Papua New Guinea there is no sharp distinction between religion and magic. Human ancestors function not only as genealogical markers of the historical past but also as points of supportive contact for living descendants. Musical performances are featured in ancestor worship rituals in the Solomon Islands, New Caledonia, and Vanuatu. Dances and songs assist families of the recent dead to ensure that the physical severance occurring at death is accompanied by the spirit's enduring departure from the region, since a lingering presence can be mischievous. By contrast, in other regions the ability of the recent dead to maintain useful and essentially benign contact with the world of the living is ritually emphasized as elderly relatives sing in imitation of spirit voices while living descendants dance.

In contrast to Polynesia, specific sound quality itself may assume religious significance in both Island Melanesia and Papua New Guinea. Blasts from conch trumpets may be believed to expel unwanted spirits at a funeral or to represent actual spirit voices. It is a widespread belief that the ghost of a local person influences local affairs, causing or curing sickness, prophesying, and controlling the weather and crops. In regions where male initiation still assumes cultural significance, the real origin of the sounds of conches and flutes is initially kept secret from initiates (who are told that they are hearing spirit voices) and only later revealed as sound-producing devices. Until the mid-twentieth century, secret societies flourished in Vanuatu, where men (and sometimes women) achieved social elevation through competitive grade-taking that culminated in large-scale performances of song and dance.

Until it was sanitized by missionaries to become primarily a social activity in New Caledonia, the round dance was the means of contacting ancestors at the culmination of the large-scale *pilou-pilou* ritual. Processing around a central pole that symbolized the material connection between the living and the dead, Kanak men and women believed themselves to be the very bodies of their own ancestors as they danced. Other Kanak men's dances are totemic, giving visual expression to an association with either a maternal or paternal clan. The totemic ancestors' world, characterized by black land, a rancid smell, and ashes, can be entered only by persons possessing those same features. Dancers therefore plaster themselves with layers of earth and ashes as part of an effort to acquire the ancestors' restorative powers. The totemic bonds between paternal and maternal clans may similarly be given visual expression through dancing.

PAPUA NEW GUINEA. Papua New Guinea represents a maze of sociocultural groups and extreme linguistic complexity. Published information on cultural practices is marginal for many regions and may be nonexistent for others. The following generalized comments are therefore necessarily tentative.

Much New Guinea music is associated with various types of revelation in the context of religious ritual. Religious experience and understanding are the intended results of enhanced sensation and heightened emotion, states that are frequently instigated and sustained by periods of singing and dancing. The sense of mystery may be additionally intensified by the use of lyrics that are ungrammatical, archaic, foreign, or even secret. Men's formal activities tend to be held inside communal longhouses over a period of several days and nights. In contrast with other regions of Oceania, one goal of religious activity here may be the invocation of benign spirits, who are invited to meet with the living and so strengthen them.

Sacred instrumental music tends to be valued more for its sonic qualities than its aesthetic content as such. Flutes and bull roarers are widely used to produce sounds understood by the uninitiated to be spirit voices. Only after their physical ordeal are the real sources revealed to male novices, but even then under pain of secrecy. Slit drums and bull roarers are prominent in this respect in New Britain and New Ireland. Slit drums and paired flutes predominate in the central Highlands, Papua Gulf, and Huon Gulf areas. The absence of finger holes on these end-blown or side-blown flutes from the Sepik and Highlands, whose unequal size represents male and female identities, allows only the fundamentals and selected harmonic pitches to be sounded. The so-called fanfare melodies produced result from a sharing between the two instruments of individual notes in the melodic line. Acoustic continuity is one goal of both the paired flutes and other sound-producing devices, fostering the illusion of a nonhuman source of the sounds. For a similar purpose of subterfuge, men may modify their voices by singing into empty containers such as gourds, bamboo, or conches. In some regions the handles of the hourglass-shaped drums that men carry to accompany their own dancing may be carved with ancestral figures or combine human and avian forms to emphasize mythological connections. Bird symbolism is also common for paired flutes and their repertoires, and is visually represented through men's knee-bending dance movements. Much ritual dancing is more participatory than presentational, constituting statements of entitlement intended for fellow participants rather than acts of entertainment intended for an audience.

Among the Kaluli of the Southern Highlands province, bird calls are simultaneously avian identifiers and talk from the dead, since birds are a frequent visible form of a spirit reflection. In particular, *gisalo* dance songs, whose tonal organization is identical to that of musical representations of the call of a fruit dove, are composed with the intention of moving a male audience to tears. Women's response to the men's weeping is to break into song, thus creating a culturally activated cycle based on the belief that the *gisalo* performer is transformed into a bird during song and dance performance.

Ancestor appeasement through singing is widely practiced, using a limited repertoire of music that those ancestors themselves either composed or transmitted. Easing the passage of the human spirit from the human world is also a part of religious ritual life in the Trobriand Islands. Songs sung in what is believed to be the language of the dead describe in glowing and erotic terms the quality of life in the afterworld, thus facilitating the departure. These (and other related) activities confirm the spirit's retention after death of aesthetic preferences and values espoused during life.

Mythology frequently attributes the invention or discovery of specific musical instruments to women, who later yielded them to men. Men subsequently appropriated the instruments for themselves and continue to monopolize their use through stealth and deception in an apparent gesture of male self-enhancement. A prime focus of religious music in New Guinea and islands to the immediate east is the widespread practice of puberty rites, in which singing and dancing are integral to each stage of the rituals. In some regions the structure of male initiation rituals suggests the processes of menstruation, impregnation, gestation, and parturition, as men further attempt to obtain for themselves through ritual the female life-imparting capabilities denied to them in reality. In other areas the initiation ritual, together with its complex of songs and dances, may reflect and validate sex-role social structures.

SUMMARY. It is not possible to generalize in a temporal sense for all of Oceania, since continuation of religious beliefs and practices is no longer universal, largely as a result of Christian missionizing. Whereas Polynesia and Micronesia have favored the undisguised human voice in vocal contributions to religious ritual, Island Melanesia and Papua New Guinea seek to disguise it as being of nonhuman origin, furthering the notion of deception by restricting knowledge of the real source of instrumental sounds. In the one region, musical sound is an elevated and consciously refined form of the uttered word, and in the other it was and is a vocal means to an essentially nonmusical end. In much of Oceania, careful contact with the spirit realm was considered expedient, if not essential, for the achievement of essentially positive social outcomes.

Whether through family heads or specialists within the society, contact with a variety of supernatural beings was couched in terms of individuals whose personal identity was known and acknowledged in song poetry. Some activities were preemptive from a position of social balance and were intended to achieve ongoing physical and mental health, continued sexual attractiveness, and the availability of adequate food resources. By contrast, remedial activities such as healing and forceful victory over adversaries arose as a result of perceived social imbalance. In all such spheres of activity, whether by invocation or entertainment or supplication, the gods' potentially benevolent powers were exploited and their potentially malevolent attributes avoided. And one major means by which peaceful and productive coexistence with the gods was managed was—and in some regions still is—through the performance of song and dance.

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MUSIC: MUSIC AND RELIGION IN MESOAMERICA

In Mesoamerica, multifaceted music cultures were characterized by an ancient substratum of shared function and meaning. Common to all cultures is the ritualization of both vocal and instrumental music, as well as dance practices. Many studies have dealt with pre-Hispanic musical traditions, starting with "Aztec Music" (1883) by Hilborne T. Cresson and "Altmexikanische Knochenrasseln" ("Bone-rattles of ancient Mexico," 1898), by Eduard Seler. However, only a few explicitly discuss the autochthonal understanding and underlying religious aspects of these traditions (Stanford, 1984; Stevenson, 1996).

METHODS. A rich volume of source material is available for research in the ancient music cultures of Mesoamerica. There are not only numerous preserved musical instruments, but also a large quantity of depictions in art showing ritual functions of music. Written documents from the early colonial period (sixteenth century and early seventeenth century) also provide enlightening information. Moreover, it is possible to make ethnomusicological comparisons on the basis of cultural continuities.

Archaeology. Archaeological information, such as the context of unearthed sound artifacts, is of great importance, since it provides insight into invaluable information on the function and meaning of music in pre-Hispanic cultures in precise chronological order. Depositing musical instruments into burials indicates a use in death cults, whereas using them as offerings in the fills of superimposed temple structures indicates a use by the cults practiced at these locations. Both cases reflect the concept of music in the spiritual realm. In this way the instruments, which possibly represented the personal property of the deceased, were taken with him or her into the world of the dead. Offerings such as those at the Aztec Templo Mayor in the Valley of Mexico (1325–1521 CE) represent cosmograms that reflect the notion of numinous spheres filled with specific sounds.

Music iconography. From an iconographic point of view, of interest are both the preserved musical instruments and other archaeological findings, such as figurines of musicians and figurative votive representations of musical instruments, particularly the representation of musicians and dancers in stone relief, mural and vase painting, and picture manuscripts. On the basis of these sources, specific functions of the instrumentary and the context of musical practices can be meticulously reconstructed. Sound scrolls or volutes provide a pictographic clue about instrumental music and recitative song, which attained the level of a complex, incompletely decrypted symbolism in Teotihuacán in the Mexican Highlands (c. 150 BCE–750 CE) (LaGamma, 1991). In Mesoamerica, volutes also symbolized scents, smoke, and precious liquids, such as water or blood, and in the depiction of offerings and sacrificial acts they stood for the connection with the spiritual world (Heyden, 1979; Houston and Taube, 2000).

Ethnohistory. The written sources from the early colonial period provide extensive insight into the musical traditions of Mesoamerica. Because Spanish missionaries mainly composed these sources, a critical interpretation is essential to avoid misinterpretations or disinformation. Valuable information is contained within the descriptions of indigenous musical practices with regard to ceremonial dances, processions, and temple rituals but also comes from traditional myths, in which musical instruments play an integral role (see section on Music in Aztec Myth, below). Dictionaries and bilingual chronicles also provide an important contribution to the understanding of autochthonous musical traditions. In addition to Aztec terminology, Mixtec and other terminologies point to a uniform concept of music in Mesoamerica (Stanford, 1966).

Ethnomusicology. Despite multilayered syncretism, certain musical practices of contemporary ethnic groups in Mexico and Guatemala contain pre-Hispanic elements. Thus, ethnomusicological studies can be highly informative. On the other hand, it should be pointed out that the process is increasingly more difficult the more distant the temporal, spatial, and cultural reference points are from one another. The problem becomes clear when looking at the function of wooden rasps among Mexican ethnic groups, such as the Tarahumara (Sierra Madre Occidental, Chihuahua), in comparison to the function of similar instruments made from human thighbones by the Aztecs. While the wooden rasps are played on a wooden resonator and on the head of the sick person in a Tarahumara peyote ceremony (Deimel, 2000), bone rasps were played on a skull resonator in the Aztec death cult to help the deceased on his or her difficult journey into the underworld (Seler, 1898). The rasp, called *omichicahuaztli* (instrument for strengthening the bones) by the Aztecs, has maintained a magical function until the twenty-first century, though its culture-specific meanings must be clearly differentiated.

THE HISTORY OF MUSIC IN MESOAMERICA. Some percussion instruments (idiophones and membranophones) and wind instruments (aerophones) used in Mesoamerica are unique in the world with regard to their shape and technical functions. A historical survey shows that the music cultures of Mesoamerica reflected a more than three-thousand-year-old history prior to the Spanish conquest (Castellanos, 1970; Dultzin Dubín and Nava Gómez Tagle, 1984).

Archaic period (prior to 2500 BCE). It can be assumed that the knowledge of bone flutes was brought into the New World when America was first populated, as these instruments were already produced in the Old World during the Upper Palaeolithic Era (c. 40,000–10,000 BCE). Among the prehistoric musical instruments of Mesoamerica that were made by hunters and gatherers around 10,000 BCE are whistles from the toe bones of ungulates as well as ribs with simple perforations that were possibly used to produce calls (Schöndube, 1986, p. 91, photos 1–2). The ability to imitate specific sounds from the natural environment using the human breath with the aide of acoustical tools represented an effective medium of communication with the outside world with which the environment could be commanded and controlled—as with the imitation of animal calls for the hunt. Sound association must have played an increasingly larger role when making instruments that could produce sounds not present in nature. Among the first instruments in Mesoamerica that required sound association were percussion instruments, such as conch tinkles, bone rasps made from the shoulder blades of deer, and turtle shells that were struck with deer antlers, with which complex rhythms could be created.

Preclassic period (c. 2500 BCE–150 CE). Archaeological finds confirm that pre-Hispanic instrumentary was extensively expanded in the Preclassic period, during which the first large ceremonial centers were erected. Simultaneous with the first use of ceramics, sophisticated whistles and flutes were produced, which can hardly be differentiated from subsequent instruments (Martí, 1968). This suggests similar instruments made out of perishable materials, such as cane flutes, were already in existence centuries earlier. Shell trumpets are among the earliest burial findings of musical instruments in Tlatilco, Valley of Mexico, dated to around 1400–1200 BCE, revealing the existence of complex trade relations (García Moll et al., 1991, p. 220). They possibly assumed an important role as ceremonial signaling instruments whose potent, vibrating sounds could be heard over long distances. In Tlatilco, spherical rattles made from ceramics that could have served as simple hand rattles were also unearthed (García Moll et al., 1991). As suggested by ceramic figurines, they were perhaps attached to the dancers' ritual clothing as row rattles (Feuchtwanger, 1980, p. 140, Figures 28–29). Other figurines show gourd rattles, tripod drums, and flute players (Feuchtwanger, 1980, p. 141, Fig. 32–36). These finds attest to the complexity that musical and dance practices had already attained in the Middle Preclassic period (c. 1200–300 BCE). Among the remarkable instruments that were produced in Tlatilco are whistling bottles, which function on the principle of air pressure against a whistle that is initiated by the movement of water within the axially shaken vase (Martí, 1968, pp. 110–119). Because the instruments seem to sound of their own accord, they must have been related to a particular ritual function with unknown implications. The production of flutes and whistles in the shape of birds and other animals, such as snakes, also suggests a specific cult use, as animals were seen as manifestations of supernatural beings and the instruments cannot always imitate the animal represented.

Mass findings of elaborately decorated shell trumpets in West Mexican shaft tombs, dated to the Late Preclassic period (300 BCE–150 CE), suggest that certain musical instruments became status symbols for high-ranked individuals (Furst, 1966; López Mestas Camberos and Ramos de la Vega, 1998). On the basis of West Mexican figurines that show musicians riding on drums, Peter T. Furst made the interpretation that drums served as vehicles with which the path into the spiritual world was taken (Furst, 1998, pp. 183–185). The high importance of rattles and wooden drums in shamanic practices, which continue in the twenty-first century in the ceremonies of various Mexican ethnic groups, can possibly be attributed to the creation of repetitive rhythmic structures to put the musicians, dancers, and singers into a trance. The high tone frequency of many ceramic wind instruments that lies in a sensitive hearing range and leads to interference effects when played simultaneously can also produce strong psychological effects (Both, 2002b). Among other techniques for selectively evoking altered states of consciousness are hyperventilation and ritual intoxication with highly psychoactive substances obtained from various plants associated with the deities of music (Wasson, 1980, pp. 56–78; Heyden, 1985, pp. 21–39).

Classic period (c. 150–750/900 CE). In the Classic period, in which many important cultures developed in Mesoamerica, the existing instrumentary was further expanded. The large quantity of musical instruments found in ceremonial centers and preserved depictions in mural and relief art show the important position attributed to ritual musical and dance practices. On the basis of the widely distributed production of various ceramic flutes and whistles, it can be seen that even smaller regional centers were characterized by their own unmistakable music. Several findings, including a large find of ceramic flutes in a burial in Tres Zapotes, Veracruz, suggest the use of panpipes in the Early Classic period (Martí, 1968, pp. 95–106). The production of multi-tubular duct flutes, which reached a climax in Teotihuacán, suggests the development of complex scale systems (Martí, 1968, pp. 191–213). The use of slit-drums in the Early Classic period is suggested by findings of figurative votive representations in West Mexico and at Monte Albán, Oaxaca (Furst, 1998, p. 184, Fig. 23; Martí, 1970, p. 104, Fig. 88). The instruments initially exhibit a box shape with four feet, as indicated also by stone sculptures from the Mayan region (Castellanos, 1970, pp. 47–48, Figs. 7.B–8.A).

Also proven to have been used in the Classic period are ceramic trumpets and long tubular trumpets made out of vegetative material that were used for various occasions, such as battles, processions, and autosacrificial rites, according to the preserved depictions. In the mural paintings of Structure 1 in Bonampak, Chiapas (790 CE), there is a preserved mural of a Mayan court ceremony, in which musicians are depicted with tubular trumpets, turtle shells, a tripod drum, and gourd rattles. Shell trumpets were especially important, so much so that sanctuaries were erected for them. An example of this is the Temple of the Plumed Conches in Teotihuacán, dated to 200 CE (Bernal, 1963, photos 15–16, Lám 7). In the Jaguar Compound in Teotihuacán (c. 450–700 CE), mural paintings of forward-walking cats of prey playing shell trumpets were uncovered, which suggests a procession of jaguar impersonators (Fuente, 1996, vol. 1, pp. 115–119). Other murals in Teotihuacán show shell trumpets playing of their own accord and calling certain divine beings associated with the fertility cult (Séjourné, 1966, Fig. 142; Kubler, 1967, Fig. 5). In Teotihuacán the ceremonial instrument was decorated with the iridescent tail plumes of the quetzal bird, and mouthpieces were attached that possibly consisted of circular ear spools. Also in the Mayan region, organological modifications were made to shell trumpets, with the perforation of up to two finger holes. The instruments were possibly deified both in Teotihuacán and in the Maya culture and were closely related to the fertility cult, sacrificial practices, and the underworld. Unusual instruments that were perhaps also associated with the underworld are huge bone rasps made from whale ribs, which were discovered in an offering at Monte Albán (Caso et al., 1967, p. 103, Figs. 70–71). Even if the conceptual implications of the instruments cannot be determined with absolute certainty, it can be assumed that whale bones were considered to be the remains of gigantic beings from bygone eras, such as the bones of mammoths and other prehistoric animals.

Postclassic period (900–1521 CE). In Postclassic Mesoamerica the ancient concepts were further developed. The instrumentary was expanded with bells and metal discs that could have served as gongs (Flores Dorantes, 1979). Bells made out of copper alloys and gold were found in the Sacred Cenote at Chichén Itzá, Yucatán (750/900–1200 CE) and in the tombs reused by Zapotecs and Mixtecs at Monte Albán

(900–1400 CE). Fine metallic sounds became an expression of stately power (Hosler, 1994).

Aztec music culture finally developed in the Late Postclassic period (1325–1521 CE). Rattle sticks became important instruments and were attributed with a magical function in cults dedicated to rain, water, and mountain gods (Neumann, 1976, pp. 247–248). The preserved slit-drums, which either exhibited an elaborately decorated box shape or zoomorphic and anthropomorphic shapes, suggest high craftsmanship in the production of wooden drums (Castañeda and Mendoza, 1933). On the famous tripod drum from Malinalco, the "four-movement" (*nahui ollin*) sign for the fifth world era and a representation of the deity of music Xochipilli (Flower Prince) in a bird costume are depicted. The drum is additionally ornamented with Aztec war imagery, such as dancing jaguars and eagles as well as volutes in the form of the *atl-tlachinolli* sign, the metaphor for war (Seler, 1904). A stone representation of a slit-drum to scale, on the other hand, shows Macuilxochitl (Five Flower), a deity of music closely related to Xochipilli. The imagery of his eyes is noteworthy, into which the palms of two hands are incorporated, as are the flowers surrounding the mouth, a metaphor for music and sacrifice. In addition, jaguar pelts are represented on the sides of the drum, thus indicating the existence of a hybrid instrument consisting of a slit-drum and a double-sided cylindrical drum, which could have been played by two priests simultaneously.

In the excavations of the previous Aztec temple precinct of Tenochtitlán in the center of Mexico City, many musical instruments were unearthed, such as metal bells, conch tinkles, ceramic flutes, shell trumpets, fragments of shell trumpets, and incense ladles with rattles built into the handles (López Luján, 1993). The context of the findings provides highly informative data about ritual music practiced in the temple cult of the Aztecs and reflects the association of specific sounds with the aquatic underworld or the paradisiacal spheres of the rain god Tlaloc.

In several shrines called the Red Temples, the Aztec deities of music and musical instruments were honored in the form of figurative votive representations (Olmedo Vera, 2002). In a court east of the Templo Mayor, the monumental representation of a shell trumpet was found next to an altar, from which it possibly was knocked down (Luna Erreguerena, 1982). The sculpture underscores the high position of the trumpet, because no other instrument was sculpted in a comparable size.

Written sources from the early colonial period suggest that in Late Postclassic Mesoamerica a differentiation was made between temple music practiced by specialized priests and court and palace music practiced by professional musicians (Both, 2001). It can be assumed that similar differentiations were made in earlier cultures. The priests responsible for the temple music of Tenochtitlán introduced the nightly sacrificial practices with shell trumpets in the *tlatlapitzaliztli* ritual, the "frequent sounding of wind instruments" (Sahagún, 1997, p. 80). At midnight began the *tozohualiztli* ritual, the night watch of the drummers, which was connected with songs and astronomical observations from atop the temples (Sahagún, 1997, p. 80). The ritual human sacrifice was accompanied by shell trumpets and tripod drums (Sahagún, 1950–1982, vol. 3, bk. 2, p. 28). In a temple designated as "house of mist" (*ayauhcalli*), priests sounded shell trumpets and gongs during ritual cleansing (Sahagún, 1950–1982, vol. 3, bk. 2, p. 77). Ritual music was also practiced by women, who played slit-drums or rattle sticks as representatives of female deities and appeared as temple singers and dancers in various ceremonies.

While the priest-musicians lived in the temple precinct of Tenochtitlán, the professional musicians formed a group that resided at the court. They were responsible for providing music in the ruler's palace and for large ceremonial dances in the temple precinct, in which cult activities such as ritual human sacrifices were interwoven (Both, 2001). From the depiction of circle dances in picture manuscripts, it can be seen that dancers often carried gourd rattles decorated with feathers, whereas the drummers were positioned in the center of the dancers (Martí and Prokosch Kurath, 1964). In addition, there are reports of music by trumpets, pipes, and portable drums during battles, which served as distraction noise for surprise attacks and for giving signals (Moreno, 1961). It is unclear whether priests or court musicians were responsible for the noise, or whether there was a third group of specialized musicians among the eagle and jaguar warriors.

MUSIC IN AZTEC MYTH. In the Aztec cosmogony some key information shines light on the ritual function and meaning of musical instruments in Mesoamerica. The Legend of the Suns tells of the origin of the shell trumpet while discussing the creation of humankind (Johansson, 1997). At the beginning of the fifth world era the divine creator Quetzalcoatl (Feathered Snake) travels down into the underworld into the kingdom of the ruler of the dead, Mictlantecuhtli. Quetzalcoatl is supposed to procure the bones of the beings of foregone eras, which is to be ground up and mingled with the sacrificed blood of deities to create humankind. In order to be allowed to take the bones, Quetzalcoatl is to blow on the shell of the ruler of the underworld four times and turn to the four corners of the world when doing so. However, Quetzalcoatl must first create the shell trumpet by removing the tip of the spire of the shell thus producing the embouchure. Quetzalcoatl accomplishes what seems impossible through his magical powers with the aide of caterpillars and black bees, which bore a channel into the shell. After Quetzalcoatl performs the shell trumpet ritual, Mictlantecuhtli must let his opponent leave with the bones.

Noteworthy about this myth is that the creation of humankind was announced in the underworld with the shell trumpet, and thus tremendous creative potential is attributed to its sound. As a wind instrument with a spiral-shaped channel, the trumpet was closely related to the magical powers of Quetzalcoatl (Corona Núñez, 1966). The myth additionally provides an explanation for why musical instruments had to be played four times facing the four corners of the world to guarantee the effectiveness of a ritual. This musical practice was paraphrased with a metaphor that can be translated as "carry something [i.e., the musical instrument or the sound] four times in all directions around the precious circular greenstone [i.e., the center of the world]" (*nauhpa xictlayahualochti in chalchiuhteyahualco*). It is important to ascertain that numerical symbolism and musical directionalism, even in conjunction with other instruments, such as in the flute ritual of the deity Tezcatlipoca (Smoking Mirror), played an important role (Both, 2002a).

Another myth that has been handed down in two versions explains the history of the origins of the tripod drum (*huehuetl*) and the slit-drum (*teponaztli*) (Ceballos Novelo, 1956). At a time when music still did not exist on the earth, the instruments lived as singers at the court of the sun; one had three feet and the other had large ears. To give humans the ability to conduct ceremonies and thus connect with the deities, a representative of Tezcatlipoca in one version and the wind god Ehecatl in the other takes up the journey to the sun with ritual songs to induce the singers to manifest themselves as drums on earth. For this purpose they call up whales and turtles that form a bridge over the ocean to the sun. The sun forbids the singers to hear the song, but it is so powerful that they are enticed to come to earth.

In this myth the drums are described as divine creatures that originate from the sun. Based on the imagery on preserved instruments, these beings could have been Xochipilli and Macuilxochitl. It is therefore assumed that drums represented sounding idols—"vessels" in which the respective deities resided during the ritual. In this regard, music was possibly seen as the ritual voices of divine beings. This principle is still present in the twenty-first century in ethnic groups in Mexico. Thus, the deified ceramic drums of the Maya-Lacandón (Selva Lacandona, Chiapas) exhibit sounding holes that are so situated that the sound emanates from behind the effigy of the deity K'ayom (Ochoa Cabrera et al., 1998, p. 70), and the holes situated in the body of the tripod drum of the Huichol (Sierra Madre Occidental, Nayarit und Jalisco) are considered to be the mouth of the deity T'epu (Berrin, 1978, pp. 180–181). In Mesoamerica this concept was also extended to other instruments, in particular ceramic flutes (Both, 2002a). According to ethnohistorical sources, Tezcatlipoca spoke through the flute to announce his will (Sahagún, 1950–1982, vol. 7, bk. 6, p. 50).

In Mesoamerica, musicians assumed the position of expert mediators. They established a form of communication with the spiritual world that helped the voices of the gods to be heard, and they were therefore attributed high reverence. The autochthonal understanding also explains the high degree of formalization of musical practices, which looked back upon a three-thousand-year varied history at the time of the Spanish Conquest. Even shortly after the Conquest, Spanish missionaries prohibited their practice because it represented an integral component of religious activities.

SEE ALSO Afterlife, article on Mesoamerican Concepts; Aztec Religion; Deification; Drama, article on Mesoamerican Dance and Drama; Funeral Rites, article on Mesoamerican Funeral Rites; Human Sacrifice, article on Aztec Rites; Iconography, article on Mesoamerican Iconography; Maya Religion; Mesoamerican Religions, article on Classic Cultures; Shamanism, overview articles; Tezcatlipoca; Tlaloc; Underworld.

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ARND ADJE BOTH (2005)

MUSIC: MUSIC AND RELIGION IN SOUTH AMERICA

South America is a remarkably musical and religious continent. All of its countries show vigorous popular and indigenous traditions, which have music and dance as its core. Catholicism is the predominant official religion in all of South America, but the continental religious scenarios are diverse and constantly changing, especially with the recent growth of evangelic churches and with the development of many alternative religions, most of them derived from local and syncretic practices. One common trait in the majority of these South American religious practices is the role of music in religiosity in communicating with spiritual beings.

The centrality of music in South American sacred rituals has been indicated not only by ethnological and ethnohistorical research, but also by archeological evidences of pre-

Columbian musical instruments. During the last decades, the knowledge about South American pre-Columbian societies has changed the vision of these groups as simple survivals of Andean complex societies. According to recent archeological research, the settlements around the Amazon River were densely inhabited complex societies, organized in agricultural chieftains with intense ritual life. These findings will change the perceptions of Amazonian societies of the past and also of their music. In Brazil, due to climatic conditions and to the fact that most of the musical instruments were made of perishable materials, few archeological evidences have been found until now. One exception is the deer bone flute found at the Northeastern Zona da Mata's Madre do Brejo site, estimated to be two thousand years old. On the other hand, from the Andes and the Pacific coast there are several archeological records of musical instruments such as pottery rattles, metal cymbals, stone and pottery horns and flutes, and leather and wood membranophones.

Rich ethnographical material comes from the writings of the first voyagers who visited South America during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. One example is Jean de Léry's description of the religious musical rituals of the Tupi Indians of the Brazilian coast, considered to be the first ethnomusicological account. Voyagers who crossed the continent from the Brazilian coast to Peru through a pre-colonial path named Peabiru provided descriptions of the Guarani Indians' large religious festivals. There are accounts of such musical rituals in various South American lowlands societies, and archeological research reinforces these descriptions with the discovery of enormous pottery vessels used in drinking rituals.

Since the beginning of the invasion of South America by European peoples, missionaries made a systematic and strategic effort to convert indigenous societies to Christianity, trying to make them abandon their beliefs and native cults. The procedures of the missionaries were sometimes violent, involving even the destruction of musical instruments and the demonization of certain music repertoires. European Church music was largely used for this goal, including translation of Christian texts into native languages. Music was largely used to attract indigenous peoples to the missions. A remarkable example of the dimension of these missions is the so-called Sete Povos das Missões (Missions' seven peoples), a conglomerate of Jesuit missions founded in the region of southern Brazil and northern Argentina in the seventeenth century. In these *reduções* (reductions, as those missions are called), hundreds of Indians were taught to construct and play European early Baroque music. At the end of the seventeenth century, Sepp, a Jesuit missionary especially dedicated to musical activities, wrote a letter in which he reported that music was played daily by the Indian musicians at mass and that if all those musicians were assembled, they would amount to 3,000 people. This strategy was largely employed in South America in general.

During the Brazilian colonial period (1500–1822), large populations of people were brought from western Africa to work as slaves. The religious practices of these people and their Afro-American descendents are very musical, and this religious musicality influenced much of Brazilian contemporary music and culture. Much historical data about the Afro-Brazilian religious and musical practices was preserved. In contrast, in Peru, the music of African descendents was ignored and emphasis was placed upon the Indigenous musical heritage. However, both cases show that the Colonial period was crucial in the construction of South American popular religiosity. The colonial heritage is usually analysed through the idea of syncretism in all South American popular celebrations, many of them part of the Catholic calendar, though there are notable regional differences.

Many popular contemporary Brazilian festivals have dance and music as their central axis. For example, there is the Festa do Divino Espírito Santo (Holy Spirit's Feast), which occurs seven weeks after Easter, in which several musical genres are represented, such as *congadas* and *catiras.* During this ritual, a group of singers visits a villager's house asking for donations. Between Christmas and January 6, hundreds of cities in Brazil celebrate the Folia de Reis (Companies of Kings), their songs recalling the Three Kings' journey to welcome the baby Jesus. Musicians playing *viola* (five-stringed guitar), *pandeiro* (tambourine) and *cavaquinho* (four-stringed mandolin-like guitar) accompany the singers. During the Festas Juninas (June Festivals), which celebrate Saint Peter, Saint Anthony and Saint John, the musical genre played the most is *forró,* which originated in northeastern Brazil and is usually played by a trio of accordionist-singers, a triangle player, and a *zabumba* player (the *zabumba* is a sort of bass drum).

If Brazilian popular religiosity expresses itself through musical practices, one may say the same happens in all of South America, considering its common cultural heritage from the indigenous peoples and the colonizers and immigrants from Europe. Other examples are the Señor de los temblores (Cuzco, Peru), the Señor de los Milagros (Lima, Peru) and the *Cuasimodo* (Chile), this last example a religious procession that takes place on the Sunday after Easter. There is great variability concerning the musical instruments employed and their repertoires.

In Peru, Catholic and agricultural popular festivals are the center of community life in Andean villages like Conima, where they occur at least once a month. In the rituals of *t'inka* and *ch'alla,* Aymara Peruvians worship local deities and also sacred places, such as certain rivers that are conceived as animate and powerful. The maker of the musical instruments is a community member who is considered to be the owner of esoteric knowledge. Recent investigations of similar rites have identified symbols of Indian identity and subversion codified in music, choreography and mask styles.

Since the second half of the twentieth century, ethnological research has shown that shamanism constitutes not only a curing system but a fundamentally religious practice, facilitating the interaction between humans and supernatural beings. South American lowlands indigenous societies' worldviews reveal simultaneously a deep religious sense and a musical hearing of the world. In all these peoples, there is a central role of the shaman both as curer and mediator between human and spiritual beings. The connection between mythic beliefs and everyday life makes it possible to think of these cosmologies as native systems of thought about the universe, or, in other words, as religions.

The indigenous peoples who live in central Brazil's Upper Xingu Park believe their cosmos is populated by spiritual beings that severely interfere in human lives. They are monstrous invisible spirits, related to certain animals,, plants, and other natural beings, and can only be seen by the shaman through his tobacco-induced trance. For the Xinguanos, all human sicknesses originate from these spirits' actions on the body, into which they throw an invisible object in order to provoke sickness and death and steal the precious human souls. The cure of a sick person is highly related to the aesthetic dimension in such a way that the restoration of health may be equated with the restoration of the original condition of beauty. A ritual must be performed in which the music of the specific spirit causing the sickness is played. All native music belongs to these spirits, and it is played in curing rituals in order to please the spirits and to transform them from the sick person's enemy to his life-enduring ally.

The Guarani compose one of the largest indigenous societies of South America, the total population amounting to about 150,000 people living in Paraguay, Bolivia, Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay. After more than five hundred years of contact with European colonizers, of submission to forced labor by Portuguese and Spanish invaders and of threats to eradicate their religious beliefs by Jesuit missionaries, the Guarani continue to speak their language and perform their music in daily rituals. In daily shamanistic rituals, as the Sun, the creator hero, sets in the horizon, the Guarani sing, play and dance, for music is the path to reach the divinities. The communication with the spiritual beings is a means for the Guarani to express their orphaned state, for their ancestors were abandoned by the Gods as they left this earth. Guarani rituals serve to ward off sadness and exercise the body,, and at the same time serve to care for the health of the entire earth. The Kaiowa Guarani use maraca rattles and rhythmic sticks, and the Mbyá Guarani use also guitar, fiddle and drum. The Chiriguano Guarani from Bolivia, adorned with leather or wooden masks, play the *quena* flute during the extended festival calendar. The Mbyá use of guitar and violin is an example of how musical instruments introduced by the European colonizers in the early years of contact were appropriated by the Indians into their native mythology. As early as the seventeenth century, a dictionary of Guarani language, elaborated by the Jesuits, presents a definition of *mbaraka* that includes, beside the rattle, string instruments such as the guitar and fiddle. Currently the Guarani in southeastern Brazil and Argentina use in their rituals a five-stringed guitar that is tuned in a special way.

All indigenous rituals show a central role of music, and in fact they may be considered music rituals. At the same time, these ritual activities concern spiritual or supernatural beings, myths and mythic beliefs, or in other words, their cosmology. Ethnologists have been studying Amerindian cosmologies as essentially shamanic, arguing that the figure of the shaman centers all ritual and mythic thought, for he is the subject who can perceive different perspectives to the universe. Several ethnographies emphasize the shamanic practice as both healing and musical, such as the Shipibo-Conibo of the Peruvian Amazon, whose shamanic songs are transformed into invisible drawings that are printed on the patient's skin.

In the last few decades, South American indigenous societies have experienced the reinforcement of native identities and, at the same time, faced the increasing presence of various protestant churches in their villages. In this scenario, in which native cosmologies reveal both adaptation and appropriation of elements of these churches, the role of music remains strategic, as has been shown for the Wichi of Argentina.

In fact, since the 1990s there has been a noticeable growth of evangelic churches—especially the Pentacostal movement—throughout all South America. This growth parallels the retraction of Catholicism, even in Brazil, which is considered the largest Catholic country in the world. A reaction of the Catholic Church has been its so-called Movimento Carismático (Charismatic Movement), which largely employs typically evangelic strategies directly related to music. In this sense, there is a stimulation of musical practices and an opening to a variety of musical genres, particularly those appreciated by the younger generations, such as rock and rap music. This is a model imported from North American protestant churches, widely adopted in Brazil and all South American countries. American black music, like gospel, has been a fundamental influence on this popularization of the evangelic music movement. The Catholic charismatic movement has been trying to adopt the use of popular music genres, but the church's conservative leadership does not approve of this modification. For example, the Vatican released a document ordering the return to the earlier mass ceremony, condemning the use of popular music.

In Brazilian culture, the official and the popular, as much as the religious and the superstitious, intermingle in such a way that there is a generative process that is constantly re-elaborated. Brazilian religiosity is a composite of distinct approaches to the sacred that is simultaneously inclusive and exclusive, moving towards syncretism. New religious centers develop alongside the official religions, creating an ever changing and growing religious field, especially among the poorest classes. A similar movement happens in Brazilian music in general, constantly and creatively transforming itself and generating new musical genres, as if religion and music constitute a means of expressing both the protest for the social condition and the meaning of existence. Recent studies show that, instead of over-emphasizing the African components in South American black musical traditions, one should envision all the rich dialectics of these practices.

A famous example of Brazilian syncretism is Candomblé, an African American religion organized around the cult of African mythic ancestors called *orixás,* but also with reference to indigenous figures (the so-called *caboclas*) and to Catholic saints. The music of its cults, understood as a fundamental element of Candomblé, is the only means of getting in touch with these ancestor spirits through trance and possession. Candomblé cults have been growing in Argentina and Uruguay. In Uruguay, African descendent populations take to the streets of the capital, Montevideo, many times per year with their drum orchestras. These are rituals of renewing the cultural identity that are marked by a warrior ethos, all these meanings being generated through music.

In South American cities, young generations following the New Age movement of the eighties are still searching for new ways of developing their religiosity. Due to this, there has been an important growth of practitioners of oriental religions, like Buddhism. However, there is also a vigorous valorization of local and regional identities which points to more authentic local practices, for example, those that mix spirituality and the indigenous world. One example in this direction is the recent psychotropic plants-based religions, like União do Vegetal (Union of the Vegetal) and Santo Daime (Saint Daime), which largely use *ayahuasca* (*Banisteriopsis caapi*).The former religion has in its musical repertoire the master's *hinos* (hymns), which are sung for the purpose of teaching and leading the collective hallucinogenic experience. Santo Daime and União do Vegetal churches, as well as the practice of *mestizo* shamans and *vegetalistas* (vegetalists), have been spreading in many locations all over Brazil and neighboring countries, not only around the Amazonian villages from where they originated, but also in large cities. According to Peruvian Amazon *vegetalistas,* the power of curing and traveling through time and space is acquired through the memorization of magical melodies and songs called *icaros.* These songs are learned from plant, animal and stone spirits during dreams or visions.

In northeastern Brazil, the *toadas* and *cantigas* lead the religious rituals in which the participants drink a psychotropic plant called *Jurema.* Amongst indigenous peoples of this region, similar rituals are called *toré.* The *toré* rituals exhibit different configurations according to the group. During the drinking of *jurema,* the Xukurú Indians sing the *toré* songs accompanied by rattle and flutes made of plastic. In the African-indigenous ritual called *catimbó-jurema,* the singers are accompanied by drums. Both of these *jurema* drinking rituals reveal striking Catholic elements.

All the musical performances mentioned here, and others like Carnaval, are expanding the connotations of the religious field to other social and political domains. Though they may not be seen by its agents as instruments to make politics, these rituals reinforce the bonds of social identity by joining religious and ethnic symbols. Thus, many groups that have suffered social prejudice throughout their history recognize that their culture was preserved through the performance of their religious rituals, as the case of Brazilian northeastern Indians, for whom these practices function today as an affirmation of their emerging ethnicity. This particular mixture of the ethnic and the religious is certainly a characteristic of the relationship between music and religion in South America.

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MUSIC: MUSIC AND RELIGION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Highly developed musical cultures entirely devoted to religious worship flourished in ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt. Each was distinguished by a well-organized ritual, a rich hymnody, numerous musical instruments, and an established musical theory. In Mesopotamia cuneiform texts, artworks, reliefs, plaques, and seals provide a wealth of information concerning the musical culture. In Egypt musical scenes frequently appear on the walls of tombs because the Egyptians believed that pictorial reproductions of domestic life secured a pleasurable existence in the other life. Few musical instruments have been excavated in Mesopotamia, but a great many have been found in Egypt, where the aridity of the desert has preserved them from decomposition.

Despite the great variety of cultures in the region, the general approach to sacred music, its nature, function, and meaning, was imbued with a spirit of unity. The music has been characterized as normative and refined, and as giving primacy to such diverse performing styles as singing to a solo instrumental accompaniment, performing with an instrumental group, dancing, and other ritual gestures. Performances were confined to a distinct class of well-trained male and female musicians and dancers.

It is tempting to conclude that this music lacked the freshness, spontaneity, and devotional expression characteristic of folk worship, yet despite its refinement and professionalism it remained linked in many ways to its magical antecedents and the divine origins from which it drew its vitality. Being essentially associated with worship, sacred music served to honor the gods in the performance of the daily liturgy in temples and to accompany the traditional funeral rites and the annual festivals. The link between past and present and between humanity and the cosmos is evident in this music in many respects. Thus the Babylonian New Year festival symbolized the reduction of the primordial epoch to a scale of annual duration. This annual celebration of plant life and fertility has been associated with a wedding of the gods and with the epic of the creation of the world, recited on the fourth day of the festival.

Both in Mesopotamia and Egypt, sacred music has been associated with divinities and celestial protectors. The head of Hathor, the Egyptian goddess of heaven, love, and sacred music, was usually surmounted by the sistrum. This shaken musical instrument, consisting of a handle and a frame with jingling crossbars, was used to accompany ritual ceremonies associated particularly with the goddess. The bull, a symbol of fertility and divine power, shown frequently in the gigantic Assyrian reliefs surmounted by a human head as a guardian against misfortune, was associated in the Ur period (2600–2350 BCE) with the lyre, whose sound box was modeled after the body of a bull. The lyre had a yoke-shaped frame consisting of two arms and a variable number of strings stretched over the frontal soundboard. In a later stylized form, only the bull's head remained as an embellishment. Three precious specimens of the instrument have been excavated at the royal cemetery in Ur.

Any attempt to figure out how this music sounded would be fruitless. It is true that the earliest form of musical writing was the cuneiform system used from the middle of the fourth millennium BCE by the Sumerians, Babylonians, and Assyrians. However, the few written examples that have been deciphered in recent years do not alter the basic fact that sacred music of the ancient civilizations was oral by nature and conception and regarded as a priestly secret not to be divulged. Hence, like other musical traditions transmitted orally, it did not lend itself to a fixed definite version. However, regarding performance practices and particularly the numerous instruments and their functions researchers are on firmer ground.

Vocal music, which predominated, emphasized the religious texts through varying modes of expression, from a solemn recitation performed in a tense voice to a well-constructed song with instrumental accompaniment. Hymns were sung either by a solo performer or by a chorus in responsorial and alternating rendition. As with the superscriptions of the biblical psalms, Mesopotamian and Egyptian texts frequently included musical instructions whose meanings are still largely unknown. The most significant information concerns musical instruments and their ample usage in worship. They range from the rudimentary to the highly sophisticated. Among the simpler instruments, used mainly for ritual or apotropaic purposes in both Mesopotamia and Egypt, are various small clay or metal bells embellished with symbols of gods; clay rattles in the form of animals; clappers with animal heads or in the form of a human hand, found in Egypt; bronze cymbals of various sizes that can be struck in a vertical or horizontal movement and were used at sacrifices and funerals; and the sistrum.

Drums in various shapes and sizes were also used in worship, particularly in Babylonia where they attained great importance. A table of sacerdotal instructions from Erech, dating from the Seleucid period, gives precise details for making the sizable goblet-shaped drum *lilissu,* as well as a description of its ritual. Made of metal in the shape of a perfectly formed bull, this drum was prepared by means of a long ceremonial process accompanied by sacrifices, libations, and prayers. The instrument was used to raise lamentations of grief for the darkened moon and served as an object of worship in itself. The bronze trumpet made its first appearance in association with cult during the reign of Ramses II (1304–1237 BCE). Two trumpets, richly decorated with bells, were found in the tomb of Tutankhamen. Pipes were rather common in Egypt but rare in Mesopotamia where strings were preferred. The same is true of side-blown flutes, which appeared in the Old Kingdom (c. 3000–2200 BCE).

The richest and most highly developed category of instruments was that of the various harps and lyres. Harps appeared in two main types, one in which the body of the instrument forms an arch and the other in which the neck and body forms an angle. In both types the strings were either vertical or horizontal to the soundboard and were plucked either with or without a plectrum. The arched harp, the earlier type, first appeared in the Sumerian period. The vertical arched harp was most common in Egypt, where it is found in tombs of the Old Kingdom together with flutes and pipes. The lyre arrived relatively late in Egypt, not earlier than the New Kingdom (c. 1569–1085 BCE).

MUSIC IN THE BIBLE. The Bible is the chief and richest source of information about music and musical activity in ancient Israel. It seems that in the earliest nomadic period and during desert travel music did not play a significant role in worship. However, the biblical texts provide many references to certain types of folk music used for various popular occasions of rejoicing, such as the celebration of the arrival of the sacred ark in Jerusalem (*2 Sm.* 6:5), the singing of the canticle of the sea, which marked the victory over the Egyptians (*Ex.* 15:20, 15:21), and the welcoming of a hero on his return from the battlefield by dancing and drum-playing women (*Jgs.* 11:34, *1 Sm.* 18:6–7). A magical character is associated with the various uses of the ram's horn, or *shofar,* the effects of which are depicted in relation to the theophany (*Ex.* 19:13–19, 20:18) and to the fall of Jericho (*Jos.* 6:6–20). Two references reveal the important role music played in ecstatic prophecies (*1 Sm.* 10:5, *2 Kgs.* 3:15). From the reproachful sayings of the prophets Isaiah and Amos concerning banquets and music, the existence may be inferred of a secular art music (*Is.* 5:12, *Am.* 6:5).

The bulk of biblical references concern sacred music associated with temple worship. This music was similar in many ways to the traditions mentioned above in its ceremonial aspect, organization, and performance practices. It also was confined to a distinct class of highly trained professional musicians, the Levites. The *Book of Psalms* contains many instructions regarding musical performance, as well as the names of the leaders who conducted the ensembles of singers and instrumentalists playing lyres, cymbals, rattles, clappers, and other instruments. However, this music excluded dance from worship and was exempted form all associations with deities or celestial protectors. As to the ultimate origin of music, the Bible ascribes its invention, in antediluvian times, to a human hero, Jubal "the father of them that play upon the harp and the organ" (*Gn.* 4:21). This statement occurs in a passage also naming other inventions including the products of bronze and iron.

MUSIC UNDER JEWISH AND MUSLIM RELIGIOUS AUTHORITIES. After the destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans (70 CE) and the dispersion of the Jewish people, the attitude toward music in worship underwent a significant change. Individual and communal intimate prayer replaced the Temple's ceremonial worship, and theologians became more and more involved in the revision of norms regarding the place and nature of music in the synagogue service. The first consequence of this new attitude was the total banishment of musical instruments except for the *shofar.*

The exclusion of instruments usually has been justified as being an aspect of ongoing mourning over the Temple's destruction. The reasoning involved in the long-lasting debate over the use of sophisticated musical forms in synagogal singing was of a rather ideological nature. It is interesting to note in this regard that the basic views expressed in the rabbinical arguments, with reference to the scriptures, have much in common with those expounded by Muslim theologians very soon after the emergence of Islam (622 CE). In relation to *samāʿ* (Arabic for "hearing"; often also meaning the thing heard, for example, music) there developed a large polemical literature dealing with the question of the lawfulness of music from a theological point of view. The term *samāʿ* has been contrasted with *ghināʾ,* which means "singing," and, by extension, secular art music. This identification led the authorities of both religions to assign the concept of music to secular entertainment music. The resulting frictions and conflicts with that flourishing urban music, echoed in the literature, have determined to a large extent the intransigence of those who oppose music.

Another argument found in this polemical literature concerns the respect for the holy texts and for their adequate rendition. Beautifully composed melodies with instrumental accompaniment and dancing were considered distractions that prevented the faithful from concentrating on the message in the text. Those having the most extreme form of this attitude considered music harmful, capable of affecting adversely the behavior and judgment of the hearer. Some authorities went so far as to attribute the origin of music to satanic forces and held that its direct influence on the listener's soul was basically a temptation of the devil or a delusion.

A Jewish Midrashic exegesis of the biblical verse concerning the invention of musical instruments singled out the fact that the inventor, Jubal, belonged to the posterity of Cain. Cain's descendants were plunged into amusements that combined music, adultery, and drinking of intoxicating liquors. This combination of music making and depravity was said to have incurred God's wrath and thereby contributed to bringing about the flood. (See Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews,* vol. 1, Philadelphia, 1956, pp. 116–118.) Some Muslim theologians, referring to this exegesis, actually included Satan among the inventors or promoters of music.

An interesting Arabic version of the origin of music, cited by several writers, attributes the invention of music to Jubal's father, Lamech. It relates that Lamech, at an advanced age, lost his only son. In his grief he refused to be separated from the boy and hung his corpse in a tree so that he could be near him and see him. He later made a *ʿūd* (lute) from a leg of the corpse and sang laments to its accompaniment. Lamech's invention and the lament corresponding to the first biblical song (*Gn.* 4:19) may refer to ideas concerning the making of a musical instrument out of human bones, thus suggesting the incorruptibility of the corpse, the rebirth of the defunct spirit, and the identification of that spirit with the sound of the instrument within which it continues to vibrate.

MUSIC AND THE MYSTICAL EXPERIENCE. The Jewish and Muslim mystical movements concerned themselves with various complex views regarding music, its role, effects, and origin. In qabbalistic literature all musical topics are interwoven with a multitude of qabbalistic symbols that are correlated with the whole of creation. Islamic mysticism, or Sufism, which can be traced back to the eighth century, developed complex congregational ritual and spiritual exercises in which music and dance play a determinant role. A related system of symbolism has been elaborated in the appropriate literature.

As to the question of music's origin, both Jewish and Muslim mystics advanced in different formulations the idea that music is neither monogenetic nor monovalent, that is, it oscillates between the divine and the satanic, the celestial and the terrestrial. The impact of music on the listener depends on the individual's virtue as well as the degree of mystical cognition of God and his revelation. In its highest form the listening experience becomes entirely spiritual, according to the Spanish Muslim mystic Ibn al-ʿArabī (1165–1240). He claimed that this form of the listening experience consists of hearing with a spiritual ear the singing of all things in creation praising the glory of God, and in seizing and enjoying the significance of this. The role assigned to music as leading to knowledge and the constant repetition of music's revelation through mystical intention indicates, according to the qabbalists, that music was God's creation. He created it on the third day, making angels out of his own breath to sing his glory day and night. This highly spiritual function of music led the founder of the Mawlawīyah order, the poet Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (1207–1273), to declare: "There are many ways leading to God; I have chosen that of music and dance."

The analogy between humankind and the universe and the sought-after resonance and harmony between them are frequent themes in mystical speculation. The music created by human beings is considered a pale reflection of the most exalted and perfect harmony embodied in the heavenly spheres. Therefore whoever sets out to learn to enjoy the pleasures of the celestial music will find that in order to do so he must first shake himself free of the defilement of matter and release himself from the shackles of this world. On the level of individual experience, music helps the devotee untie the knots that bind the soul to matter, allowing it to go beyond the barriers of its own personal existence. Indeed, human spirits, whose origin is the superior world, recall their homeland when hearing music. The ascent of the soul from its earthly existence to its divine home, which signifies redemption, has been symbolized in the mystical imagery of certain Ṣūfī orders by dance and movement. It is said that dance uproots the foot of the worshiper, transporting him to the summit of the world.

Qabbalah went further by introducing the idea that the power of human sacred music exerts an influence in the celestial realm. Thus humankind is a protagonist in the cosmic drama. It is said in this regard that everything done by the individual or the community in the mundane sphere is magically reflected in the upper region, that the impulse from below calls forth one from above. Hence the singing of hymns on earth causes an immediate resonance in the upper spheres; by means of his mystical intention the devotee contributes to the establishment of perfect tuning and harmony between himself and the macrocosm. However, the ideal perfection, the harmony that signifies salvation, is hard to obtain. This is because the way leading to it is constantly obstructed by evil forces. Adam's fall and the interference of Satan have been the causes of the contamination of divine music and the disturbance of the original harmony. To overcome these obstacles and restore the original harmony, the realm of darkness must first be defeated. Sacred music and prayer directed by mystical intention are the most formidable weapons in the combat for salvation.

SEE ALSO Chanting; Samāʿ.

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MUSIC: MUSIC AND RELIGION IN INDIA

Music has historically given unity to Indian society and civilization, often doing so in contrast to the discord among the dominant religions and multiple sects of South Asia. The symbolic meanings of music provide common musical substance and practice, and they are shared across sacred boundaries of many kinds. The religious and philosophical unity embodied through musical practice, therefore, has deep historical roots, which has meant that music and religion share many aspects of a common ontology. South Asian musical practices, moreover, have often mediated the conflicts between religions, responding to new possibilities for shared dialogue and intensifying worship. It is, therefore, virtually impossible to separate music from religion in India, for religious meaning, concrete and abstract, is present in South Asian music at every level.

Sound in its infinite varieties is of crucial importance to Indian religious thought. The universe itself is constituted of and by sound, and the omnipresence of sound envelops daily life. Hearing and listening to sound, therefore, are required of the individual to negotiate a path through life. Accordingly, the ontology of music depends on the physical perception of sound as a means of contemplation and worship. In Hinduism the primacy of hearing and listening for devotion is clearly evident in the term given to the foundational sacred scriptures, *śruti* (literally, "something that is heard"), which also refers to the fine divisions of pitch in Indian melodic modes, or *rāgas.* The aural perception of music also serves as the central ontology of music in Islam, in which the term *samaʿ* (both "hearing" and "listening") refers to music making and establishes the importance of aural perceptions, rather than sound production.

Just as the universe of sound is omnipresent, it is also dense, often even loud and cacophonous. The music of the Hindu temple, for example, is not limited to the sounds of instruments performing discrete pieces in a ritual performance. The general commotion of worshipers usually joins an instrumentarium consisting of percussion instruments of all kinds, as well as horns and woodwind instruments, fashioned to produce the loudest possible volume. The amplification of this sound universe is extreme throughout India, with loudspeakers broadcasting Hindu temple music into the streets or the Muslim *adhān,* or call-to-prayer, across the urban landscape. The density of sound is central to an epistemology of sacred experience through music. Sustaining the universe of sound is possible because of the multitude of musical experiences that channel devotion and join human beings together in communal worship. That epistemology of sacred experience through music crosses religious, linguistic, and socioeconomic boundaries, providing some measure of unity, both real and idealized, to the subcontinent of India.

CORE CONCEPTS ABOUT THE RELATION OF MUSIC TO RELIGION. Organized and articulated as music, sacred sound has the power to represent the order of the universe and by extension symbolically to sustain human existence. The metaphorical unity of music lies in the capacity to sustain a central pitch, the *ōm* of Hindu metaphysics, the drone of the Indian music. Like the *ōm,* a drone displays characteristics of centrality and unbrokenness. Both characteristics are evident in the most ancient musical practice of Brahmanic Hinduism, the performance of passages from the *Ṛgveda,* in which chanters sing melodies that surround and return to the symbolically central pitch, which itself is intoned to the syllable, *ōm.* Virtually every Indian musical practice has adapted the symbolic use of sound to articulate the order of the universe, concentrating it in the drone pitch, which is not only played without break by a drone-producing instrument (e.g., the *ṭambūra* in the classical traditions), but provides the pitch to which the percussion instruments are tuned. Around the drone pitch there is a constellation of pitches in the melodic modes, or *rāgas,* which focus on the drone through their melodic motion. Accordingly, the organization of the universe is symbolically present in virtually every manifestation of sound in Indian music, linking music and religion through shared traits of a common metaphysics.

The temporal organization of Indian music also expresses many fundamental aspects of South Asian religious and philosophical thought. Meter in Indian music relies extensively on cyclical patterns, and rhythm results from additive principles, rather than the division into smaller and smaller units found in Western musical theory. Meter, or *tāla,* unfolds as a hierarchy of patterns, smaller ones embedded in larger ones, which return again and again to the same point of beginning. Musical structure, therefore, does not result from a unidirectional teleology leading toward conclusion—that is, there is no forward movement, no development in the Western classical sense. The cyclical character of musical time reflects the aspects of life and history that are fundamental to Indian religions. The absence of a strict impulse toward a telos of ending reflects many aspects of soteriology in religious thought; that is, it mirrors beliefs in the continuation of both human and musical life in an afterlife. Many musical forms, as well as individual pieces and performances, can be extended through improvisation that reiterates and embellishes the basic cyclical units. In a more practical sense, the epistemological extension of the life of a musical piece can enhance devotion and contemplation; for example, the standard South Indian compositional form, *kriti,* revolves around texts which repeatedly enjoin the musician to reflect on the name of a god (and at times on the life-giving acts of the *kriti's* composer).

Cyclical concepts of sacred time and the soteriological relation between birth and rebirth also influence the broader patterns of music history in South Asia. Music does not change through radical innovation and growing complexity, but rather retains connections to musical principles that have constituted musical theory and thought since at least the eighth century CE. New traditions and new pieces enter Indian music history, but they do so not by displacing the old, but rather by expanding repertoires and musical ideas that already have a long historical presence. This is particularly evident in the retention of many aspects of Hinduism in the musical styles and practices of Muslim North India and Pakistan. The Hindu narratives that provide a representational template for *rāga,* for example, remain no less important in Hindustani music in the Muslim North, even when used for devotional purposes in Islam. Similarly, musical influences from the Middle East, especially from Persia, came to serve Indian musical ends in Mughal India, for example, in the shaping of the Hindustani instrumentarium (e.g., with the integration of the plucked-lute *[sitār]* and pair of drums *[tablā]* associated by some with the fourteenth-century Ṣūfī, Amīr Khusraw). The epistemological relatedness of musical and religious thought in India historically underlies many of the transformations described by the term *Indianization.*

Just as music is inseparable from most rituals in Indian religions, so too is ritual meaning densely present in much musical activity. Music has the potential to recalibrate the temporal and social components of ritual, transposing them from the everyday to the sacred world. In tribal societies, music making is highly ritualistic, accompanying virtually all seasonal and life-cycle events. Generally speaking, music is most efficacious during ritual when it enhances participation. Ritual music making, therefore, encourages congregational devotion and often accompanies processions and dance. Because certain types of music making are suspect in Muslim rituals, and because Brahmanic tradition suggests a preference for silence in certain Hindu rituals, such as funerals, the use of music in specific rituals can also dispel polemics against music itself. Musical performance, even in the classical tradition, would be unthinkable without the expressive presence of ritual. The choice of *rāga,* the order of genres, and the interaction of musicians from different castes and religions influence the performance itself and account for the ways in which musical and religious connections remain intact.

Religious difference in South Asia is represented by music and mediated, even ameliorated, through musical practice. Musical historiographies, both Indian and Western, divide Indian musical practices, including devotional music, between North and South. That division has both musical and religious distinctions. In the South, Hinduism plays the overwhelming role in determining sacred meaning and musical structure. In the North, Islam is critical for the shaping of music. Despite the musical divisions between North and South, the distinction between Muslim and Hindu ontologies can only be partial, for the musical borders between North and South, as well as between the religions and sectarian groups in all parts of India, have been very fluid.

A more accurate distinction, particularly from a musical perspective, might instead be based on the contrast between change that accommodates religious and social difference and that which more conservatively retains the hierarchical structure of older religious traditions, Hindu and non-Hindu. The tension between these two patterns of religio-social difference does not obey a strict division between North and South, Muslim and Hindu. Religious accommodation in northern India—for example, Vaiṣṇava movements in the Bengali-speaking regions—has led to sweeping changes in music, from the emergence of a new music culture among the mendicant Bauls in Bengal to the crucial presence of musical "houses," or *gharānā*s, with origins in Bengal, such as the Benares *gharānā* in which Ravi Shankar and Ali Akbar Khan are principal members.

Indian music and religion share a common distribution of specialist roles across a hierarchy. This hierarchy is most apparent in Hinduism, in which the most respected musical specialists—those who chant the Vedic hymns or play the *vīṇā,* the classical instrument with the highest status in Karṇāṭak (South Indian) art music—have traditionally been restricted to the Brāhmaṇ castes. In contrast, musicians with the lowest status in Karṇāṭak music, drummers who touch the skins of animals, or *paṟaiyar*s (Tamil for "drum maker"), are literally low caste and figuratively outcasts. The sacred priesthood is in many ways interchangeable with the musical specialists of the classical instrumental tradition. In contrast, the nonspecialist sacred repertoires, such as *bhajan*s, have the potential to level hierarchical differences, and thus create a common repertoire.

The distinction between musical specialization and everyday music making extends to the nature of the musical repertoires themselves and to their transmission. The religious priesthood and musical specialists perform from written traditions, most often in a "high" sacred language, such as Sanskrit. Nonspecialized traditions, however, are entirely oral, and the texts of songs or hymns constituting ritual and everyday repertoires are regional and vernacular. Though this tension between the classical and the quotidian subsided to some degree in the twentieth century, it remains one of the distinguishing characteristics of the ways in which music reflects the structure of South Asian religions.

Religious narrative inscribes meaning directly and indirectly on the structures of Indian music and musical instruments. Gods and goddesses, real and apocryphal saints, assume many and varied forms throughout the great epic cycles of Hinduism and the genealogies of Muslim shrines. The most frequently appearing musician-god in the Hindu epic *Mahābhārata* is Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa represents a constellation of divine attributes, among them divine love and beauty *(prema* and *rupa),* but even more important for his symbolic role in musical narrative are the many episodes in his life during which he is associated with *gopīs,* female cowherds, in a grouping that allegorically symbolizes the relation of the soul to god. That relation appears in countless images of Kṛṣṇa playing the flute to the *gopīs,* in the myths that associate narratives with specific *rāgas,* and in iconography used to depict divine love.

The musical representation of Sarasvatī specifies the different mythological and narrative roles she plays as a Hindu goddess. In Hindu writings Sarasvatī represents an ontology of human understanding, *vidyā,* that allows the human to transcend the cycle of death and rebirth, and it is this ontology that she brings to the most fundamental of all Indian musical instruments, the *vīṇā.* So basic is the meaning of the *vīṇā* to Hinduism that its very physical shape, with a head and vocal cords that sing and a gourd body that resonates as the human body, is regarded as metaphysically human. To enhance Sarasvatī's ability to effect *vidyā,* she appears frequently in the iconography appearing on *vīṇās* themselves. The *vīṇā* of Karṇāṭak classical music is, in fact, often referred to as the *sarasvatī vīṇā.*

The sacred music of South Asia maps place and identity in complex sacred geographies. Fundamental to the sacred geographies of all South Asian religions is the relation between centers and peripheries. Sacred musical centers coalesce around Hindu temples, Muslim shrines, and Buddhist monasteries. Musical activity at these centers is intensive and usually highly ritualized. Though the musical activity at a temple or shrine may be in the hands of a religious priesthood or musical specialists, it nonetheless depends on the participation of the devout who travel from elsewhere to worship at the center. Musical activity at the centers of the sacred geography is also the densest, and music itself concentrates sensory experiences to heighten the awareness of god and the efficacy of devotion.

The sacred journey from the periphery to the center usually involves pilgrimage, a form of ritual journey and community-formation common to all South Asian religions. The music of pilgrims is communal and congregational, practiced not by specialists but by the devout, who learn and adapt new songs, usually from oral tradition, to their sacred journeys. Folk and regional musical practices characterize peripheries, serving local functions and producing local liturgies and repertoires. Music in particular connects the sacred journey to the shrine at which worship is concentrated, multiplying the ways in which diverse genres of music collectively underlie religious experience. The sacred geographies of India, therefore, create possibilities for unity through the musical practices that reflect their dynamic quality and coalesce through ritual and performance at temples and shrines.

HINDUISM. Historically, Hinduism has provided the body of religious thought that has most fundamentally shaped Indian musical practices. Music, either possessing a discrete ontology or embedded in other sacred and performative practices (e.g., devotion and dance), appears in the earliest sacred texts, such as in the Upaniṣads and the Vedas. The evidence of Hindu influence on musical thought has remained clear, even profound, until the present day, even in those repertoires and styles that now characterize other religions, including Islam. The historiography of Indian musical thought, in certain fundamental ways, runs parallel to the history of Hinduism, with its dynamic relation between central principles and texts, and variant denominations and interpretations. Just as Hinduism itself has not always prescribed a single religious orthodoxy, musical practices that arise from Indian religious thought do not always prescribe canonic classical traditions of music.

Surveying the diverse musics that embody and articulate Hinduism requires an understanding of the ways in which hierarchy and egalitarianism yield two contrasting domains of musical practice. Within the hierarchy there are those, notably Brāhmaṇs, endowed with particular power to practice religious and musical specialties. The resilience of a religious hierarchy is evident in the long history of classical music in India, a tradition based on complex texts and highly developed performance skills. It is not by chance that the classical tradition is full of religious overtones. Until the modern era, for example, some practices of classical music, such as playing the *vīṇā* in the South and singing *dhrupad* in the North, were the restricted domains of high-caste Hindus or high-status Muslims. If the influence of Hinduism on Indian music seems to display a top-down trajectory, it also produces the tension that generates the need for musical egalitarianism. It is for this reason that the most widespread practice of Hindu devotional music, the singing of *bhajan*s, attracts the broadest participation from Indian society and spreads across religious and sectarian boundaries. Any discussion of music and Hinduism must therefore account for both highly specialized and broadly egalitarian musical practices.

The mythological concepts concerning the creation of the world and the human position in it that are recounted in the foundational texts of Hindu thought and Brahmanic tradition, the Vedas, are profoundly musical. The Vedas are recognized as a body of revealed texts, compiled during the millennium or so of Aryan invasion and ascendancy in South Asia, from around 1500 BCE to 500 BCE. Although the four basic texts of the Veda—*Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda, Atharvaveda*—differ in function and historical appearance, all Hindus recognize that they embody fundamental aspects of Hindu thought. The formal aspects of the Vedas are musical, and the texts are often referred to as "hymns," compiled into hymnals. *Rc* glosses most often as "hymn," that is, as a body of songs, employing repetitive patterns, that to some degree rely on collective, even congregational, performance. Other English terms used to describe the Vedas range from "incantation" to "chant," all of them recognizing the performative foundation in song.

Unlike many religions, Hinduism employs musical concepts in the discourse about and practice of its foundational sacred texts. Performance of the Vedic hymns relies on specific pitch structures, with specific pitch patterns and tonal hierarchies, usually a group of two or three pitches surrounding a central pitch, the sustaining of which symbolizes the unbroken order of the universe. Similarly, the metrical performance of Vedic hymns generates a temporal framework that is rendered musical through the repetition of stress patterns. As foundational sacred texts, therefore, the Vedas generate identifiable musical parameters, and many of these remain central to the structure of music in South Asia until the present, especially: (1) The sustained presence and focus provided by a fundamental tone or drone; (2) a hierarchy of pitches, in which some pitches have greater tonal significance than others; and (3) the logogenic, or word-generated, nature of musical rhythm and meter.

The Vedic hymns are inseparable from Brahmanic ritual, which they transformed into the enactment of everyday Hindu practice. Ideally, the performance of the Vedas is ceaseless and seamless, the ultimate realization of everyday devotion through music. The ritual of performing the Vedic hymns, moreover, gave rise to other texts, specifically the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads. Of the two bodies of text, the Upaniṣads are more speculative and philosophical, whereas the Brāhmaṇas are more expository, developing principles set forth in the four Vedic canons. The Brāhmaṇas, thus, have performative functions, realized through the articulation of ritual through prayer and song. A Brāhmaṇ literally is "one who prays."

Already in the second millennium BCE, the Vedas and Brahmanic tradition succeeded in establishing and maintaining fundamental musical concepts, and they historically represent a first instance of the ontological unity afforded to Indian religion through music. Performance of the Vedas established a direct relation between the religious text and the manner of its performance. By extension, a logogenic relation between text and performance emerges. Music becomes a medium or vehicle for the more complete expression of words. The music that serves as such a medium, furthermore, is immanent in the words of a sacred text. The music embodies some aspect of meaning contained in the words, and therefore music is never separable from words, even when words are absent—such as in South Indian instrumental music, in which the composed melody, the *kriti,* is always based on a song with a specific text. The logogenic meaning of music may be direct (e.g., when enforced by specific metrical rules) or indirect (e.g., when reflecting the same sense of cosmological order with which the texts of the Vedic hymns concern themselves). Together, musical performance and religious ritual are wedded as music and text become inseparable.

Early Hindu and Brahmanic tradition generated fundamental ideas about music, such as concepts concerning composition and improvisation, and the identity of discrete forms, genres, and pieces of music. Music in the Brahmanic tradition conveys stories, indeed fundamental narratives from Hindu mythology and cosmology. Though a piece of music, such as one of the *kritis* of South Indian classical music, may not be literally "about" a particular story, knowing the story in question is critical to understanding the music. The Vedic hymns are the source of music's formal structures, which are developed in performance through improvisation within a system of pitches and patterns functioning in predetermined ways. As with the sacred texts, music contains the *ōm,* the fundamental pitch that focuses the Vedic text and sustains the order of the universe. The fundamental structure and symbolic meaning of music in sacred practice was present from the beginnings of Hindu practice.

Devotion in Hinduism intensifies unity and is itself intensified through congregational prayer and song. The unity of devotion resides in the possibility of evoking *rasa,* a constellation of emotional moods, among them yearning and compassion, but also wonder and fear, through performance. The primary genres of Hindu vocal music enhance *rasa* through their power to facilitate emotional unity and congregational participation. Hindu devotional music is both specific to South Indian regions because of its frequent use of vernacular languages and malleable enough in some genres, notably *kīrtana* and *bhajan*s, to extend its egalitarian notion of devotion, or *bhakti,* to other religions and to regional practices in North India and Pakistan.

Beginning roughly in the fourteenth century CE, poet-saints created repertoires of Hindu devotional songs that combined both musical and poetic properties of *rasa.* The emergence of the devotional repertoires was significant for the spread of vernacular musical practice across regional, linguistic, and sectarian borders. The great devotional singer-composers of the early era of *kīrtana* singing came from Kannada (e.g., Narahari Tīrtha, fourteenth century), Bengal (e.g., Caitanya, 1486–1533), and Telugu-speaking regions (e.g., Tallapakku Annamāchārya, b. 1424). Devotional repertoires spread across India, moreover, because of the activities of *haridāsa* singers, devotees of Vaiṣṇava Hinduism, who visited shrines and festivals, and integrated *kīrtana*-singing with pilgrimages. *Kīrtana* were quickly accessible to the diverse communal and linguistic groups who sang them because of their reliance on composed refrains, or *pallavi,* often with repeated meditations on the names of god, and then the unfolding of a series of strophes, or *caraṇam,* that worshipers without previous knowledge could quickly learn.

The most widespread form of Hindu devotional music is *bhajan*-singing. The concept of *bhajan* relates both to a specific vocal genre and to the performance practices necessary for communal singing. As genre and repertoire, the *bhajan* is remarkably accessible, consisting often of a very brief text, in which textual formulae, particularly forms of the names of Hindu deities (e.g., Rāma or Śiva), and even non-Hindu deities (e.g., Allah), will serve as the basis of repeated reflection. The relatively simple texts also ensure mobility, making it possible to move *bhajan* repertoires across linguistic borders and to gather them in such ways that they could become the primary song form accompanying Hindu pilgrims. Musically, too, formulae, such as antiphonal patterns in which a leader is followed by a chorus singing the same text and melody, invite rather than encumber participation.

The social context of *bhajan*-singing is communal, both when performed privately and when performed publicly. Homes, temples, and community centers (sometimes called *bhajan* halls) serve as the gathering place for the intensive performances. Modern technologies, particularly the widespread and inexpensive dissemination of *bhajan*s on audio cassette, continue to make devotional song one of the most widely practiced of all musical genres in South Asia at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

BUDDHISM. Buddhist music is important in modern South Asia not so much because of extensive presence, but rather because of the ways it contains fundamental historical-aesthetic concepts about the ontology of music and because its practices provide bridges to the music of East and Southeast Asia. Buddhism survives into the twenty-first century primarily in the north and the northeast, especially Tibet, and in the south, almost entirely in Sri Lanka. The musical practices of the two areas of South Asian Buddhism differ considerably. Monasticism dominates Tibet, and musical practices there represent the ritual practices of monastic life, itself an epistemological realization of the cycles of birth and rebirth. Theravāda Buddhism provides the framework for ritual and musical practice in Sri Lanka, where the interaction of monks and lay practitioners is much more extensive.

Historically, Buddhism has provided a theological impetus for unity and egalitarianism in Indian religion. The rise of Buddhist thought in the centuries following the Buddha's life (c. 485–405 BCE) provided a theological and philosophical counterpoint to the domination of the Brahmanic tradition and the Upaniṣads. From the earliest centuries, Buddhism opened up new possibilities for the contemplation of the external world primarily through mental and spiritual processes. Contemplation, moreover, achieved its highest form through various practices that required discipline, in particular that which takes place in monastic settings. Ritualized and inscribed in treatises, such as the *Śvaraśāstra* (Treatise on melody) and the *Vādyaśāstra* (Treatise on instrumental music), Buddhist concepts of music rely on the intensity and the unity achieved through contemplation that can be both individual and communal. For Indian musical practices, the fundamental principles of Buddhism have been significant for several reasons. Aesthetically, Buddhist thought opened epistemological possibilities for resolving the tensions between elite and vernacular musical practices.

In Buddhist devotion, contemplating sound itself is the most efficacious form of meditation. The sound universe of Buddhist devotion is encountered through various forms of ritual and worship. Early Buddhist texts, for example, stress that the contemplation of sound allows the individual to transcend the limitations of individual being through *srotra vijñāna,* or "aural knowledge." The bells and other percussion instruments that accompany monastic ritual, moreover, have direct religious significance, as they recall the ways in which the Buddha entered the world into which he was reborn as Siddhārtha. The contemplation of sound requires both the listening to and the production of music. Chanting is particularly important as a communal experience, in which vocal performance requires an intense awareness of the relation between individual melody lines and the overall texture of the group's chants; in other words, Buddhist chanting entails heterophonic singing, in which individuality and communality are at once distinct and merged.

Theravāda Buddhists in Sri Lanka base their chanting on oral interpretation of the Pali canon of sacred texts. Melodic ideas remain anchored in an understanding of the Buddha's teachings, that is, in a practice known as *sarabhanna,* in which a sustained choral sound elongates text across slowly moving pitches virtually devoid of ornaments. At the same time, Buddhist musical practice contains many of the structural features of Indian music. Critically important, for example, is that sound be unbroken, which in turn means that chanters employ overlapping phrases. Weighted tones, moreover, anchor chanting, and because of the seeming absence of phrases, the sound of chanting produces a sense of deployment around a drone pitch.

Sustained choral chanting and the maintenance of an unbroken flow of sound characterize Tibetan Buddhist worship. In Tibet, however, percussion instruments—bells, cymbals, and drums—produce a much more articulated feeling of pulse and rhythm, in which the temporal qualities of music are not entirely anchored to sacred texts. Tibetan instrumental ensembles may become quite large, and monastic repertoires may become highly stylized and distinct from chanting. Though Buddhist religious and musical thinking so emphatically provides a framework for music in South Asia, musical practice is by no means unchanging. Buddhist repertoires are diverse, as are the ways Buddhists achieve unity and devotion through the contemplation of sound and music.

ISLAM. From the first settlements of Muslim peoples in South Asia in the eighth century CE until the sixteenth century, when the Persian-speaking Mughal Empire established a firm foothold in North India, Islam became an increasing presence in South Asian culture and music. Despite its proscriptions against music in some contexts, Islam offered South Asians an alternative approach to the cultivation and performance of music. As a whole, Muslim music making was more egalitarian than that of Hinduism, and just as Islam attracted converts because of the openness of its religious doctrines, so too did it multiply the possibilities of music making, in both sacred and secular domains of society. In many areas of cultural and musical life, Islam proved to be flexible, encouraging regional diversity in the music of Afghanistan, Pakistan, Kashmir, and Bengal, all of which can claim classical music systems of their own in the twenty-first century. The Muslim regions also fostered extensive musical exchange with the Middle East and Central Asia, which enriched the diversity of musical genres and introducing new instruments and instrumental ensembles.

The Indianization of music that has led to unity throughout India has an historical counterpoint in the Muslim areas of the North, namely Islamicization. Roughly speaking, Islamicization results when a musical concept, form, theoretical system, or ensemble structure undergoes a transformation allowing it to express the cultural distinctiveness of North India or Pakistan. One of the earliest forms of Islamicization is evident in the cultivation of Mughal miniature paintings from the sixteenth century onward. Imported with the Mughal settlement from Persia, miniature-painting frequently included musical subject matter revealing the many ways in which music and musicians were crossing religion-based musical boundaries. Miniature-painting even influenced the visual representation of Hindu myth in *rāgmālā*-painting, which also depicted the *rāga* classification of North Indian classical music. Islamicization is particularly prominent in the modern era—for example, in the modes of popular music that make room for devotional practice (e.g., *qawwālī*) and in pan-Islamic musico-poetic genres (e.g., *ghazal*). In this sense, Islamicization is far less a process of restricting musical activity than a means of expanding the religious significance that South Asian musics have worldwide.

The musical genres of Muslim South Asia fall into two general categories: (1) genres common to devotional practices throughout the Islamic world; and (2) genres with musical, linguistic, and historical roots in South Asia itself. In the case of both categories it is critical to understand just how music finds its place in Islam. Scriptural pronouncements about musical practice in Islam are very much open to interpretation, both because of their ambivalence and because of their paucity. Orthodox interpretations found in the commentaries on the Qurʾān, the *aḥādīth,* are conclusive only insofar as they show the Prophet to have found some musical practices acceptable and others suspect. South Asian practice, especially in Pakistan, where Islam is also the state religion, suggests a fairly orthodox and literal interpretation of the position of music in Islamic society. On one hand, music in the strictest sense, especially music including instruments, does not have an official place in the institutions of public worship. Though the Qurʾān employs melody and modes, reciting is considered "reading" *(qirāʾah)* and never "singing." On the other hand, the aural experience of music, *samaʿ,* or "listening," is fully sanctioned, especially when the music in question is used to accompany recitation of the Qurʾān or takes the form of devotional song. Sacred musics in Muslim South Asia respond to these positions in various ways, and their reception throughout the world thus varies as well.

Devotional music in Muslim South India is very widespread, and it provides aesthetic and cultural continuity across the borders of the three largest nations with Muslim populations, namely India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. Many sacred musical genres are common to the three countries, such as *qawwālī.* The shrines and saintly lineages around which certain repertoires coalesce have local and international-al aspects, which reveals the extent to which the borders of the northern parts of South Asia have remained contested through history. Whereas repertoires may be similar, individual practices may differ extensively. Differences are particularly evident in the use of various languages in performances of devotional song, not only due to the prevalence of regional languages and folk melodies in *kāfī,* or "devotional song," but also on account of the mix and hybrid use of languages and musical styles in *qawwālī.* Instrumental ensembles may also be at once local and global, as seen, for example, in *qawwālī* with its use of the hand-pumped organ, or harmonium, and in the use of variants of the bowed spiked fiddle, or *sāraṅgī,* in Rajasthani and Pakistani devotional musics. Muslim devotional musics, therefore, are never static, bounded repertoires, but rather are fluid musical practices that constantly respond to change and the shifting attitudes toward music within Islam.

Local practices of Muslim devotional music are largely encompassed by the term *kāfī. Kāfī* is not one style or genre of devotional music, but many, whose common characteristics reflect musical influences and change from below. The texts of *kāfī* appear to come from regional narratives, often featuring heroes and heroines associated with historical events. In the songs themselves, however, the regional stories and characters take on a larger, symbolic meaning, especially with regard to the ways in which the devout achieve spiritual union. Though the roots of *kāfī* are to be found in the use of folk instruments and strophic structures, they have moved stylistically toward the classical traditions. The string instrument commonly employed with *kāfī,* the *sāraṅgī,* has become a classical instrument only in the past century, but has definitively won its position in the classical instrumentarium of North Indian, or Hindustani, classical music. Even the term *kāfī* has found its way into Hindustani classical music, where it has become the name of a *rāga.*

The most global Muslim devotional music of South Asia is *qawwālī,* which since its introduction to the West by the Sabri Brothers in the mid-1970s and its popularization on an international scale in the 1980s and 1990s, principally by Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, has become the world music of South Asian Sufism. Like other devotional genres in South Asia, *qawwālī* is not a single style, but rather embodies a constellation of sacred practices and musical sounds that together give it identity. *Qawwālī* is, first of all, a poetic genre, lending itself to an expansive musical repertoire. It is played by specialists, who are also often professionals, namely *qawwāls* ("fluent" or "eloquent" ones), a term that refers to the primacy of the text and is derived from the Arabic word *qaul,* "to speak or to say."

Qawwālī also has a specific function and venue. Its performances constitute the musical and spiritual life of a shrine dedicated to a specific Ṣūfī saint. Through performance, therefore, *qawwālī* expresses a specific history and tradition. For Chishtī Ṣūfīs, the spiritual lineage extends back to Amīr Khusraw (1244–1325), a *qawwāl* and poet himself, who was a disciple of the Ṣūfī saint and great spiritual founder of Chishtī Ṣūfīs, Nizāmuddīn Auliyā. The tradition of devotional song thus follows a specific path, made possible by the succession of sheikhs who supported shrines in Pakistan and North India.

The compositional nature and musical structure of *qawwālī* is no less specific, for it is possible to talk about individual pieces transmitted with discrete identities through oral tradition. For example, one of the best-known *qawwālī* songs, "Man kunto Maulā" (see the recorded examples on tracks 1 and 2 of the CD accompanying Qureshi, 1995), contains the following constellation of musical and symbolic meanings and references:

1. "Man kunto Maulā" refers to the Chishtī Ṣūfī lineage, and is performed at shrines dedicated to both Amīr Khusraw and Nizāmuddīn Auliyā.
2. The text is in Persian, which connects the song to Islam in the Middle East.
3. It contains an example of a subgenre known as *basant,* which here serves to signify a specific aspect of a saint's life, Amīr Khusraw's reflections on Nizāmuddīn Auliyā's love for his deceased nephew.
4. The melody consists of two segments, one ascending *(asthāyī)* and the other descending *(antharā),* which together provide the structural framework for almost all melodies in Hindustani music.
5. The *rāga* is a hybrid form, *megh-ushshaq,* which has both North Indian *(megh)* and Middle Eastern *(ushshaq)* connotations.
6. The structure of the *rāga,* which features mixed tetrachords, reflects techniques associated with Amīr Khusraw.

Though technical, this brief analysis of a single *qawwālī* song reveals the ways in which musical ends can provide a direct link to Ṣūfī religious thought and comment on the genealogy of Muslim South Asia and its historical roots in the Middle East. Symbolic power also moves from religious signification to music in "Man kunto Maula." Amīr Khusraw, for example, in addition to being a spiritual leader in Chishtī Sufism is recognized as the legendary inventor of the *sitār* and the *tablā,* canonic melodic and percussion instruments in Hindustani classical music. Such associations further suggest an interchange between music and religion, leading some to claim that Hindustani music itself formed from Ṣūfī practices. If such a claim is in large part untenable, it nonetheless deserves attention for pointing out the religious dimension of musical thought in North India and Pakistan, and for illustrating the ways in which Sufism and its most widely recognized tradition of devotional music, *qawwālī,* has historically established an appropriate place for music in Islam.

OTHER SOUTH ASIAN RELIGIONS AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICES. The religious diversity of South Asia is far greater than the usual concentration of musicological and theological surveys on Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam suggests. An understanding of religion in South Asia requires the survey of tribal and regional religious practices, some of them religions in their own right, others local variants of the larger religions. The musical practices of such religions and sects also fall generally into two categories. In the first of these, music takes place primarily as the expression of ritual, and its structure and style are linked to function and the efficacy of ritual-musical activity. Regarded in this way, the music of ritual is secondary to the ritual itself, thus limiting the extent to which a musical system with its own structures and independent form can evolve.

In the second category, the music of tribal and regional religions possesses the dominant systemic qualities of a larger Indian music cultures, for example *rāga* and *tāla,* but the variants of these are simpler than in the classical systems, and local inflection often determines the ways in which the music itself functions. Neither of these categories has historically explained the diversity of tribal music with sufficient thoroughness. The study of tribal, regional, and sectarian music, nonetheless, began attracting considerable ethnographic and ethnomusicological attention in the 1980s and 1990s, so much so that scholarship in the first decade of the twenty-first century holds the promise of reformulating the basic study and understanding of Indian music.

The potentially unifying influence of music on Indian religious thought remains present even across the sacred landscapes of smaller religions. Religions that distinguish themselves primarily from Hinduism frequently have embraced hymns, even *bhajan*s from the Hindu tradition, as a repertoire for congregational performance. The primary body of songs in Jainism, for example, consists of hymns whose texts and functions owe an historical debt to Hindu devotional music. The Ṣūfī musical tradition of Kashmir *(ṣūfyānā mūsīqī)* embodies both Middle Eastern and Indian classical traditions, producing a classical tradition of its own, which is suited to performance in mosques and temples alike, as well as in the special shrines of Kashmiri Ṣūfīs, the *tekke.* Sikhism and Zoroastrianism, too, make extensive use of styles and repertoires borrowed from Hindustani classical music, adapting them to their own ritual practices rather than radically breaking from them. These specific cases of sectarian religious tradition in South Asia make it clear that Indianization of religious musics requires the transformation of similarities no less then differences.

Historically, musical influences have been introduced into South Asia by smaller religions and religious sectors that have arrived from elsewhere. Jewish communities established themselves in India as early as the first millennium CE, making communities such as the Cochin Jews some of the oldest in the Jewish Diaspora. Jewish musical traditions remained both relatively isolated and intact, but also sometimes integrated with Indian music—for example, in the theater ensembles in urban centers such as Mumbai.

Christian communities can also claim long and complex histories in South India. Among the oldest Christian sects are those that descend from the Christian Orthodox traditions of the Middle East, especially the Syrian Orthodox church. In some parts of India, especially in Kerala, the Christian population is comparable in size to other religious groups, making it no longer possible to consider them as simply a minority religious community. Christian musical traditions have distinctive qualities, but they also reflect the unifying sound aesthetic of Indian music as a whole. Christian worship is extensively liturgical, lending itself to the congregational performance of hymns. As a result, Indian Christian churches are capable of adapting Christian hymn repertoires from Europe and North America, but are no less disposed to draw upon *bhajan* repertoires.

South Asia has long attracted intensive missionary activity, some of it at the behest of colonial forces, and some under the auspices of Christian denominations in the West. Anglican and evangelical Protestant traditions are therefore present in the cities and regions of English domination, whereas Catholicism is more common in areas of Portuguese colonialism, particularly in Goa and some parts of Sri Lanka. Evangelical Protestantism also has an especially strong presence in Sri Lanka.

The musical traces and transformations produced by the presence of Christianity in South Asia are considerable. During the twentieth century, the publication of hymnals with regional Indian languages supplanting European texts became so extensive that it is possible to speak of an Indianization of Christian hymnody. The instrumentarium of South Asian music, moreover, also reflects missionary and colonial influences, as can be seen in the widespread use of brass bands, including for rituals of various kinds. Another example of this influence is the Indianization of the harmonium, a portable organ of European origin with hand-pumped bellows that has encroached into South Asian music—for example, into *qawwālī,* which would be unthinkable without the harmonium.

Whatever the influences from Christianity and Western religious incursions into India, it is still necessary to recognize the resilience of Indian music itself. Rather than rejecting hymn traditions and Western instruments as foreign, Indian musical traditions have transformed them and integrated them so that they play unifying roles in the interaction between music and religion in India.

POSTCOLONIAL AND GLOBAL SITES FOR MUSIC AND RELIGION. Religious musical practices in South Asia have embraced rather than rejected modernization, with its changing technologies and diverse media. Even the most basic ontologies of sound and its density in the universe have benefited from technologies, not least among them electronic amplification and recording. In the sound universe of the Indian city, the broadcasting of music from loudspeakers, radios, and cassette recorders produces a texture comprised of competing voices and traditions. Extreme volume itself has become a medium for enhancing the contemplation of devotional music in the public sphere.

Modern technology and mediation have also proved particularly useful for the popularization of South Asian religious music. In the vast industry of Indian film-making, for example, the reconciliation of religious difference has long provided one of the most fundamental themes. Whether focusing on the virtually irreconcilable relationships between the families of Hindu-Muslim lovers or on past and present moments of sectarian violence (e.g., Mani Ratnam's *Bombay,* which won international acclaim in 1995), Indian filmmakers and composers draw upon music to signify religious unity, even to effect it symbolically on the screen. In the twenty-first century film is perhaps the preeminent site in which religious themes are expressed through the unifying power of Indian music.

The religious musics of South Asia have also achieved global distribution as world music. The globalization of religious music began during the British colonial era, not least because of the successful establishment of a colonial recording industry by British firms. Recordings broadened the audience base both in South Asia and abroad, creating processes of exchange and hybridity. The first vocalists to achieve global status were the *dhrupad* singers, Faiyazuddin Dagar (1934–1989) and Zahiruddin Dagar (1932–1994) Few musicians anywhere have achieved the global stardom of Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan (1948–1997), whose performances of *qawwālī* wove traditional motifs of devotion into a world-music mix.

The globalization of religious music has further benefited from the South Asian Diaspora, with its extensive patterns of settlement and exchange with India itself. The musical styles of the Diaspora integrate religious musics in complex ways, from the merging of folk and ritual musics in *bhangra,* to the *bhajans* and other devotional practices that provide the template for the styles known as *chutney* in Indo-Caribbean popular music. Throughout the history of India, sacred musics have accommodated religious influences from outside the subcontinent, and they have themselves extended across Asia with the spread of Hinduism and Buddhism, and with the colonial dispersion of Indians to South Africa, the Pacific, Europe, and the Americas. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the religious musics of India thrive in the Diaspora. Even as they respond to the pressures of globalization, they retain their vigor and their significance in South Asian society, providing unity to the Diaspora no less than during the millennia of religious diversity in India itself.

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MUSIC: MUSIC AND RELIGION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

The ten nation-states of Southeast Asia, namely Brunei, Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam, contain many hundreds of ethnic groups. These regional groups speak thousands of different languages practice various religions, and perform thousands of styles of music. Although many of the Southeast Asian countries are trying to build national cultures, regionalism is usually accepted, sometimes celebrated, and occasionally suppressed. Major faiths practiced in Southeast Asia include Islam, Buddhism, Christianity, and Hinduism.

Vocal and instrumental music has been central to the religious life of the region from antiquity to the present. Most of this music shares some common characteristics that distinguishes it from compositions found in other areas of the world. Separating music strictly by country can be misleading. The mainland countries of Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia, for example, all celebrate certain ceremonial traditions (such as the *wai kruu* ritual) that honor teachers, ancestral spirits, and the Buddha, whereas Malaysia and Indonesia, most of whose residents are Muslim, share several contemporary Islamic musical styles. Vietnam's religious music shares more similarities with the Chinese music of East Asia than with ritual songs in other neighboring countries.

Southeast Asians belong to all of the major world religions. In the past, the religious rituals practiced within any particular faith differed markedly by country. Mass communications and education throughout the region, however, have reduced or eliminated local adaptations. Reform movements and urbanization also have helped to standardize religious and musical practices. For example, Muslims in southern Thailand or Vietnam now worship in much the same way as do their counterparts in the southern Philippines and the Lesser Sunda Islands of Indonesia.

Despite the modernization that threatens the unique regional traditions, most Southeast Asian countries maintain distinctive strata that represent various periods of cultural developments and belief systems. In central Java, for example, in the courtyards of the royal mosques during the week-long Muslim celebration called Mawlid that commemorates the birth of the prophet Muḥammad, musicians still play the *gamelan* called *sekaten,* a musical ensemble that was first developed in the 1600s to help spread Islam. Oddly enough, these performances occur near the headquarters of a Muslim reformist organization Laskar Jihad, which pointedly rejects such music, as it seeks to transform most of Southeast Asia into an Islamic super state. Such unique regional traditions seemingly in contrast to modernist movements are often contested and may disappear or secularize to survive.

Indigenous faiths—once widely practiced—are gradually decreasing as evangelism, modernization, and deforestation encroach on the rural environment. Most premodern ethnic groups are converting, adapting, or moving to urban centers and giving up their rich ritual and musical traditions. Several groups in remote areas of each country, however, have maintained their ancestral beliefs. The Temiar people of Malaysia, for instance, continue to practice their traditional songs of healing, gender relationships, and trance mediums.

Musical activity in Southeast Asia ranges from frequent to rare. In Bali, Indonesia, creating art—dance, sculpture, and painting in addition to music—is a fundamental part of the Hindu religion. In some parts of Malaysia, by contrast, Islamic leaders may prohibit music.

NOTIONS OF POWER. Transformational ideas of spiritual and political power have had a long history in numerous religious traditions. These notions are usually centered on a person, place, or object. Great leaders and artists, for example, are often perceived to have become more spiritually powerful after a religious experience; in Muslim regions, for example, a musician may become purer after having visited the holy city of Mecca. Moreover, many famous composers and compositions often are considered to have been divinely inspired; in Bali, this concept is described by a standard term: *taksu.* Ancient places thought to be invested with spiritual force, such as Cambodia's Angkor Wat and Java's Borobudur, also can be viewed as centers of power. Similarly, certain objects, such as heirlooms and musical instruments, may be believed to contain or emanate divine power.

Gong-chime musical ensembles have often been viewed as vessels of power and as vehicles for ennobling rulers or framing ceremonial events. These ensembles usually feature hanging or horizontally-mounted knobbed gongs (as distinguished from vertical East Asian flat gongs), sometimes accompanied by wind or stringed instruments or drums. The craft of metallurgy, which has been practiced for thousands of years, was initially developed in Vietnam. Bronze musical instruments gradually assumed ritual prominence throughout the region; religious ceremonies incorporated bronze drums, for instance, as early as 100 BCE. Later artisans constructed foundries in order to manufacture instruments; by the second millennium CE, the smiths who crafted these instruments were being hailed as artists that could harness the power of the earth.

Examples of these ensembles include the various gamelans of Java, Bali, and Lombok, in Indonesia; the *kulintang* of the southern Philippines; the Thai *piphat*; the Burmese *hsaìñwaìñ*; the Cambodian *pinn peat*; and various others found in Malaysia, Laos, and elsewhere. According to their believers, these ensembles frequently mediate power. For example, in some ensembles musical instruments or elements that unite male and female (in counterpart pairs) or other cosmological symbolism may be thought to invoke the divine or balance the world through performance. Similarly, in Thailand, worshipers believe that elder *piphat* musicians can access power through a sacred repertoire and then manifest the divine while they play.

Many Southeast Asians also believe that these gong-chime ensembles possess a residing spirit; faithful listeners will provide offerings on a regular basis. In Indonesia, older ensembles are generally thought to be more sacred; the greater the age of the instruments, the greater their interaction with the ancestors, and therefore the greater reverence and power the ensemble commands. In these gamelans, the gong is the spiritual center; it may receive a title or name during a consecration ceremony on behalf of the ensemble. Some scholars have asserted that gamelans are symbolic depictions of macrocosm and microcosm, and that they represent a tripartite universe or anthropomorphism of head, body, and foot; others note that some of the ensembles are considered to be living organisms. Reports in Java, of particularly "alive" gamelans playing on their own without human musicians, add to the ensembles' identity and mystique.

Gong-chime compositions also are believed to be powerful, able to influence nature, time, places, people and objects. For example, some Javanese believe that a composition called *Anglir Mendung* (Like storm clouds) can cause rainfall if it is performed at the proper time. Many scholars have also suggested that the cyclic nature of the gong-punctuated music produced by gamelans in Java and Bali echoes the passage of time; they compare it to the region's complex calendar systems and interpret the music as a powerful metaphor of the structure of life and the cosmos.

Most of the ancient concepts of power and music were originally based on Hindu-Buddhist ideas; they were widely adopted in the region partially because early monarchs found these notions appealing. Later, Muslim evangelists who traveled to the region appropriated these ideas as they sought to gain converts in areas like the southern Philippines and Java. They also developed new instrumental, vocal, and dramatic musical forms in order to spread Islam; similarly, Christian missionaries adapted Western hymns to the regional musical genres to draw converts to their faith.

Poetry in song form—intended to communicate new teachings, sacred stories, and prayers—has been central to Southeast Asian religious life for generations. Sacred texts sung in many different sacred languages—Hinduism in Sanskrit, Buddhism in Pali, Islam in Arabic, and Catholicism in Latin—accompanied these new religions into Southeast Asia. At first, these languages were used solely in the courts, in order to legitimize authority through sung poetry and chant. Stories from religious texts—such as the *Rāmāyaṇa,* the *Mahābhārata*, the Qurʾ ān, or the Bible—often became songs that were sung in either the local or the imported language; these songs, in turn, popularized the new beliefs. Some songs that blended the old and the new had particular powers; in Java, for example, certain songs could be sung to stop heavy rains, tame crocodiles, or to exorcise malevolent spirits. In Sumatra, a shaman trained in black-and-white magic could use eleven different grades of song to entice and capture renegade tigers that had trespassed onto human lands.

One powerful musical ritual celebrated in several countries is the shadow puppet theater. In many cultures, it carries cosmological significance, particularly in the Indonesian areas of Java, Bali, and Lombok. There, puppeteers (*dalang*) are greatly respected for their power to re-create the universe, restore spiritual balance, achieve healing, and perform other transformations. The accompanying music is also powerful; in Java, the gamelan compositions played during the overture symbolize the span of a human life, while in Lombok, the opening gamelan pieces invoke the elements of life (fire, air, water) to help re-create the world. A *dalang* transmits the morals of a story and imparts spiritual and ethical values while entertaining and educating the audience. Moreover, a puppet theater performance might affect the environment. In Cambodia, the Reamker shadow theater, a local appropriation of the *Rāmāyaṇa,* is believed to attract rain.

Authenticity and Acculturation. Musical ideas frequently accompanied new religions into the region; these either were retained fairly intact, such as the Buddhist chants that were adopted in mainland Southeast Asia, or absorbed into local forms. Religious influences from India came to Southeast Asia unevenly and over many centuries; most of the regions modified a particular faith's notions of hierarchy, city-state, ruler, and texts to suit the local environment. Musical incorporations are much less obvious, though some scholars have suggested that the cyclic metric cycles used in the gong-chime ensembles may have originated with Indian *tala* systems, and some Sanskrit terms have become part of the musical vocabulary.

The texts of Hinduism and Buddhism have been inspiring and powerful influences, and the scriptures have stimulated dance dramas based on epics such as the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, as well as poetry and song. The forms that developed were generally indigenous and based on preexisting frameworks. For example, artists in some mainland Southeast Asian areas, such as Laos, constructed unique courtship songs to transmit Buddhist *Jātaka* tales and Hindu-Buddhist cosmological stories. In the lowland Philippines, the passion of the Christ (*Pasyon*) was recited or sung following performances of older, pre-Christian epics, and the all-night singing that recounts the birth of Muḥammad in the southern Philippines adopted the same framework.

Influences from China, too, have been widespread and particularly prominent in Vietnam, where many Buddhist texts have been translated and maintained in classical Chinese. Chinese instruments have found favor in several areas, and some Chinese narratives have spread as far away as Bali. Chinese immigrants throughout Southeast Asia (the fewest of whom live in Laos, with the majority in Singapore) have maintained or adapted their religious and musical traditions to their particular context. Though India and China have been religious "donor" countries to some extent, it is unwise to suggest that Southeast Asia merely adopted their influences. Each ethnic group and country has changed over time; in addition to exporting socioreligious ideology, India and China also have actively borrowed beliefs from Southeast Asia.

Southeast Asian countries have exploited each other for millennia. Victors in early Siam often carried off Cambodian music organizations following a conquest, and then institutionalized Cambodian music in Thai courts; Thai musicians, in turn, were often kidnapped and taken to Burma; Laotian court music is thought to have originated in Cambodia; and monks from these countries frequently visited Buddhist centers in other nations, thus spreading and sharing liturgical and musical ideas. Javanese religio-cultural influence was imposed upon much of the archipelago during the reign of dynasties such as the Hindu-Buddhist Majapahit and the early Islamic Mataram. Religious and cultural concepts and musical instruments thus moved frequently throughout the region, inspiring local artistic responses to Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam. Reform movements, found primarily within Islamic societies, have fought against such heterogeneity and striven for purity in religious and musical practices.

Islam in Southeast Asia is often termed moderate by scholars. In rural areas, Islamic events may still be celebrated with local music, though in coastal and urban areas, orthodox or standardized forms of worship are the norm. The Islamic Minangkabau people in west Sumatra, who live in coastal and inland areas, are a case in point. While the coastal Minangkabau have discontinued most of their indigenous poetic forms, gong-chime ensembles, and matrilineal family patterns to follow Islam, most of those that live inland have retained them.

The Christian Batak in north Sumatra faced a similar dilemma. Barred from using indigenous music in church, many of them switched to German-style brass bands in conforming to so-called Christian notions of proper music. These ensembles, however, soon lost favor; coupled with a change to local control and a revival movement, the "traditional" drum-gong ensemble, *gondang sembilan*, was then brought into the church for services. Much earlier, in fact, Catholics in Central Java had featured masses that were accompanied by gamelans. Such blending of the local music with the adopted religion is often contested, however, particularly within the Islamic communities.

Though the relationship between music and Islam has been complicated, many Southeast Asian Muslims regularly enjoy music. Several instruments have become associated with pan-Islam in the region, including barrel drums, frame drums, plucked lutes, and oboes. The two musical-like behaviors directly associated with Islam—Qurʾanic recitation and call to prayer—are fairly uniform throughout the region. Earlier distinctions in practice seem to have largely disappeared, with the development of telecommunications, Islamic schools, recordings, and the visits of specialists from countries such as Egypt. Many Southeast Asian Muslims also travel to the Middle East to study these prayer forms, and participate in frequent national and international contests designed to standardize these activities. In some areas, such as Indonesia, chant is accepted as a form of "music"; a separate genre (*seni musik Islam*, or Islamic musical art) can promote music as an agent of *dakwah* (bringing people to Islam); while in other areas (similar to Arabic countries), chant is not considered to be music because it is based on the divine word of the Qurʾ ān, and music in Islam is rarely approved. One intriguing development in Malaysia and Indonesia is participation of women and girls in Qurʾanic recitation. They perform in public and on television, and, in modern Indonesia, even in the company of men. In these respects—allowing women to publicly perform recitation and generally accepting music—Islam in Southeast Asia appears to be more moderate than in most of the Middle East and South Asia.

The spread of Islam to many areas has led to a marked decrease or a secularization of non-Islamic musical forms. For example, the shadow puppet theater has disappeared in several parts of Malaysia (where it conveyed Hindu epics), while that on the Indonesian island of Lombok has further secularized and is frequently aimed at tourists. Other forms have had to become more Islamic to survive; for example, many poetic forms in Sumatra are now prefaced by Arabic prayers. Modernization and globalization have also affected these and hundreds of other genres. Forms that used to be "functional" (ritually transformative or educational) are now "aesthetic" (placed on a formal stage for appreciation) and compete with television for an audience, or are repackaged for tourism. The Cambodian Reamker shadow theater, for example, once performed as a part of various complex rituals over several nights, now is staged only as a one-hour presentation at universities. Younger generations of Southeast Asians have not generally been interested in retaining ritual music traditions different from orthodox or modernized forms.

ORTHODOXY, TRADITIONALISM, AND POPULAR MOVEMENTS. Some tension exists between orthodox and local practices in most of Southeast Asia, not only in the Muslim regions but also among Christians, Buddhists, and Hindus. For centuries, people throughout much of Southeast Asia believed that the landscape was populated by ancestral or natural spirits, who were the original owners of the land, water, and trees; these notions have been fundamental in creating and systematizing rice culture and associated ritual practices featuring music. External religions have acculturated to the context and contributed new inspiration and meaning to the arts. In some areas, indigenous and external beliefs were constructed into a complementary duality of female and male; local faiths (female) functioned in fertility and healing and often involved female officials, while imported ones operated in royal houses and formal places of worship and were dominated by men.

Even today, many mainland Southeast Asians perceive no contradiction in honoring Buddha [Siddhārtha Gautama (c. 563–c. 483 BCE)] in addition to a supreme being and a pantheon of deities; similarly, some Catholics in Vietnam, Muslims in Java, and Hindus in Bali include altars for spirits or deities. In this model of acculturation, earlier music practices are often incorporated into syncretic rites. For example, traditional gong ensembles have become part of animistic funeral practices in upland Christianized Vietnam; the sacred gamelan *Mawlid* is performed during the ceremony of the same name to honor Muḥammad in north Lombok in Indonesia, while a different sacred gamelan, *jerujeng*, is used for Buddhist festivals in the western part of the island. A free-reed mouth organ accompanies female spirit mediums who intervene in the curing rituals performed in the Buddhist areas of northeast Thailand and Laos; the *hsaìñwaìñ* ensemble accompanies possession trances held at Burmese temples; the *kulintang* ensemble accompanies Islamic rites in parts of Mindanau and the Sulu Archipelago in the Philippines, while a gong marks the hours during Ramaḍān in Datu Piang. In Indonesia, gamelans direct Muslim performers of hobbyhorse trance dancing in East Java, and Roman Catholic Torajans in Sulawesi dance in large circles as part of elaborate funerals to send the spirit of the deceased to the next world. Among those who practice the pure forms of world religions, indigenous music and ritual may be invited as a last resort. Orthodox Muslims in Sumbawa, Indonesia, have incorporated female performers, gong ensembles, and pre-Islamic ritual forms when Western medicines and Islamic prayers are not enough for their congregations. Similarly, Indonesians say that, although most of them are practicing Muslims, they all worship the volcano deities whenever a nearby volcano threatens to erupt.

Colonization by European powers profoundly affected every Southeast Asian country except Thailand, which has never been subject to Western rule. Europeans introduced Christianity, established missions, and imported and modified hymns; the new religion found favor in the Philippines and in parts of mainland Southeast Asia and Indonesia. Movements since the late twentieth century have aimed at developing "indigenous hymnody" (hymns based on scripture in local languages with local music elements) to maintain and multiply the faithful. Warfare and communism have exerted equal forces on the music of the region, despite the fact that many countries were not directly involved in either disruption. Buddhist and Christian music and services in the affected mainland countries (namely, Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam) were largely restricted, and sometimes allowed to be performed only in service to the state. In Cambodia, court music quickly disappeared in the 1970s; after the disastrous Khmer Rouge leadership, many other musical forms also vanished, along with thousands of musicians. Due to poverty, isolation, and political conservatism, sponsored music activities in Laos are similarly lacking.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, Islam in Southeast Asia, once tremendously varied, began to assume a recognizable shape. In Indonesia, Malaysia, and Brunei, a reformist movement took hold and began to enforce the pillars of Islam, establishing schools taught by Arab specialists or returning Ḥājji (pilgrims who had traveled to Mecca). A number of pan-Islamic musical forms soon developed, including *hadrah* (Ṣūfī-related music/ritual events), *burdah* (hymn singing), and *zikir*, *dabus,* or *dhikr* (Ṣūfī ritual music involving repetitive phrases), generally accompanied by frame drums and often stimulating trance. Many of the early Muslim evangelists were Ṣūfī and their legacies remain; perhaps this fact has contributed to a more permissive attitude toward music in the region. As the language of the Qurʾān, Arabic has a special status in all Muslim areas of Southeast Asia. Songs in Arabic, regardless their source or meaning, are generally considered proper and spiritually meritorious.

What Arabic has been for Islam, the language of Pali has been for Buddhism. Chant assemblies, convoked by signals played on bells, gongs, drums, and other percussion instruments, perform the Pali canon of liturgy. Music during services, however, varies by country. In Vietnam, monks often perform on a lute, and lay musicians may be asked to accompany funeral ceremonies; in Burma, tempo is marked by a bell and clappers, in Laos by bells and a drum; the Chinese diaspora communities use a diversity of ritual instruments in numerous Buddhist, neo-Confucian, or other ceremonies. Buddhist reform movements are not known, though some Thai communities are concerned about a Hindu layer (found throughout much of mainland Buddhism) underlying many rites and music. Furthermore, isolated Buddhist groups today often wish to be part of a larger community, and they may ultimately sacrifice local traditions for their identity and survival. The Boda of Lombok, for example, frequently invite Javanese and occasionally Japanese Buddhist monks to update their training, chants, and services as they coexist with a strong society of Muslims.

Popular religious music is widespread in Malaysia and island Southeast Asia. In Indonesia, *pop rohani* is Christian pop; *qasidah moderen* and some styles of *dangdut* (combining national, Western, Arabic, and Hindi film music elements) are Islamic. The performer Rhoma Irama pioneered *dangdut* in the 1970s. Commentators have credited or accused Irama of proselytizing for Islam; most artists, however, do not promote Islam. Singer and dancer Inul Daratista rose from poverty to become one of the most popular and controversial *dangdut* artists in twenty-first-century Indonesia. She became a superstar through music videos that showcased her erotic dance movements. She was soon censured by a conservative Muslim organization, the Indonesian Ulemas Council. The public rose to her defense, however, and created a backlash against the council, demonstrating the limited popularity of reformist Islam. In other areas, Balinese popular music frequently discusses issues of Hindu experience, and in Singapore and Malaysia, videos and video CDs of Buddhist songs in a karaoke format are produced for national and international markets.

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DAVID HARNISH (2005)

MUSIC: MUSIC AND RELIGION IN CHINA, KOREA, AND TIBET

The three main streams of religion in East Asia—Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism—all employ music to express beliefs and ideas. Ancient shamanic practices as well as Christianity and Islam also play a part in the musical histories of China, Korea, and Tibet.

CHINA. Popular religion in China has for centuries drawn from Confucianist, Daoist, Buddhist, and animist elements. Extremely diverse in their local practices, the various forms of popular religion serve as vehicles for intense spiritual expression. Music is an integral part of this local structure. Festivals of popular religion almost always include processions accompanied by outdoor bands, and lion or dragon dances. Performances of music drama dedicated to the gods also form a key part of these festivals.

Aside from the three major groups, numerous minor religious communities also exist in China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. Islam, for example, is practiced by about 3 percent of the population in China. No systematic report on Chinese Islamic practice is available to this author, but while conducting research on Chinese theater in China during the early 1980s, this author observed an evening service in a local mosque in Hangzhou celebrated by a small group of Chinese Sunnī Muslims. The service lasted about an hour and consisted of a cappella chanting of Qurʾanic texts in Arabic by the congregation, lead by a mullah with appropriate obeisances.

Christianity also has a small following in China. Chinese Christian liturgies, whether of the Catholic or the Protestant church, follow their Western models closely. Hymnals used in the Chinese Protestant churches contain primarily hymn tunes from the West with Chinese texts, but "acculturated" hymns by Chinese composers based on Western models are occasionally included in Chinese Protestant hymnals. Protestant hymn tunes became one of the important predecessors of the modern Chinese song genre known as *geming geju* ("revolutionary song").

Imperial ancestral cult rites. *Yayue* ("elegant music") was the music used in solemn state rites. The term may be used broadly to denote music used in court rituals and entertainments, as well as that performed in secular government ceremonies. Since the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE), however, the term has come to be used more narrowly to denote music used in solemn sacrificial rites with religious overtones, such as the imperial ancestral cult rites, Confucian rites, and rites dedicated to Heaven and Earth. It is in the latter, more restrictive, sense that the term *yayue* is used here.

Even though the repertory and musical styles of *yayue* changed from one dynasty to the next, it has always been performed by chorus and instrumental ensemble. The *yayue* chorus, called *dengge,* varied in size from one dynasty to the next. The *yayue* instrumental ensemble is sometimes called *bayin* ("eight sounds") because its instruments represent eight essential kinds of timbres: metal (bell), stone (chime), clay (ocarina), wood (pounded wooden box and wooden scraper), gourd (mouth organ whose base was made of gourd), silk (zither), bamboo (flute), and leather (drum). A partial list of *yayue* instruments, according to modern classification, includes, among the idiophones: the *zhong,* suspended clapperless bronze bells of varying sizes struck with a mallet; the *xing,* suspended stone chimes of varying sizes struck with a mallet; the *zhu,* a pounded wooden box; and the *yu,* a tiger-shaped wooden scraper scraped with a bamboo whisk; among the membranophones: the *gu,* suspended drums of varying sizes and shapes; the *bofu,* a two-headed barrel drum placed on a wooden stand, played with bare hands; among the aerophones: the *xun,* an ocarina; the *zhi* and the *di,* transverse bamboo flutes; the *dongxiao,* an end-blown notched bamboo flute; the *paixiao,* a panpipe; and the *sheng,* a mouth organ whose sound box was first made of gourd, now of wood; and among the chordophones: the *qin,* a bridgeless zither with seven strings; and the *se,* a twenty-five string zither with bridges. The number of individual instruments included in the yayue orchestra varied from period to period. Qin with one, two, three, five, and nine strings at various times have been included.

Dance was also an integral part of solemn state sacrificial rites. Two kinds of dances were performed: the *wenwu* (civil dance), and the *wuwu* (military dance). The number of dancers prescribed was thirty-six in six lines of six persons (*liuyi,* "six rows of six dancers") or in eight lines of eight persons (*bayi,* "eight rows of eight dancers"). *Liuyi* was prescribed for rites for emperors, and *bayi* for rites for lesser personages. Occasionally more than sixty-four dancers were used, but such an occurrence was rare and was usually viewed as an aberration. All dancers were male. The *wenwu* dancers, dressed in civilian clothes, held long pheasant feathers in their right hands and flutes in their left hands; the *wuwu* dancers, dressed in military clothes, bore swords in their right hands and shields in their left hands.

In addition to the use of music and dance in solemn state rites, other important ceremonial features included animal sacrifice and the offering of vegetarian food and wine to the personage being honored. Two kinds of animal sacrifice were defined: the *tailao,* or "great sacrifice," involving the sacrificial killing and offering of oxens, sheep, and pigs; and the *xiaolao,* or "lesser sacrifice," involving the sacrificial killing and offering of oxen and sheep only. *Tailao* represented the highest honor to be bestowed and was prescribed only for the rites for emperors and Confucius.

Confucian rites. Shidian, a state sacrificial ritual held in spring and autumn in honor of Confucius, was established by the first emperor of the Han dynasty, Gaozu (r. 206–193 BCE), who made Confucianism the state ideology. Ceremonial features of Shidian rites conducted by the emperor were similar to those of the imperial ancestral cult rites, and like them they underwent many changes over the centuries. Four components remained basic: *tailao,* the Great Sacrifice; three rounds of offering of food and wine to Confucius, known as *sanxian* ("three offerings"); *yayue* performance; and *wenwu.*

Prior to the middle of the Qing dynasty, two ensembles made up the *yayue* orchestra. One, called *tangshangyue* ("ensemble on the terrace"), sat on the terrace adjacent to the main shrine hall where the rite took place; the other, called *tangxiayue* ("ensemble on the ground"), was performed in the courtyard below. After the mid-Qing period (around 1766), however, only the *tangshangyue* was used.

In Shidian rites conducted by the emperor, the *wenwu* was always performed by thirty-six dancers (i.e., *liuyi*), except during the mid-Ming period, from about 1477 to 1531 CE, when the prescribed number of dancers increased first to sixty-four (i.e., *bayi*), then to seventy-two. After 1531 the number of prescribed dancers of Shidian was reduced once again to thirty-six.

Yayue compositions played at Shidian rites are referred to collectively as *dachengyue* ("music of completeness"), a term derived from the name customarily given to Confucian temples, *dachengmiao* ("temple of completeness"). The musical styles and repertoire of *dachengyue,* as well as its tunings and modes, changed frequently over the centuries. The most recent *dachengyue* was commissioned in 1742 by the emperor Qian Long of the Qing dynasty (r. 1736–1796). The Qing repertory consisted of six compositions and their transpositions. The original and the transposed versions were played in the spring and autumn rites respectively. All six compositions are for chorus with accompaniment by *yayue* orchestra. The chorus was made up of twelve male voices.

The texts of the six compositions are hymns of praise to Confucius uniformly composed in eight lines of four words each. Individual words are set syllabically to pitches of equal duration. Melodically, all the compositions are pentatonic with disjunct melodic movement; they were sung in unison in a slow, stately manner.

The vocal melodies were accompanied in unison by bell and stone chime sets and by the entire body of chordophones and aerophones. All the drums and single bells and stone chimes, as well as the *zhu* and the *yu,* perform colotomic, that is, structure-marking, functions. Three strokes on the *zhu* signaled the beginning of a piece; three strokes on the *yu* signaled the end. The melodic phrase setting of each four-word line was initiated by one stroke on the *bozhong* ("big bell"), and concluded with three strokes on the *jiangu* ("big drum") and three more on the *bofu;* these three-stroke *bofu* patterns consisted of a light first beat played by the left hand, an accented second beat played by the right hand, and a concluding beat by both hands. Preceding the singing of each word, the pitch was sounded on one bell of the bell set; afterward the same pitch was struck on a stone chime of the chime set. The dances were accompanied by chorus and orchestra.

Buddhist liturgical music. Traditional Buddhist services comprise four major categories: regular services; rites for the dead; rites for special services; and services commemorating birthdays of Buddhist deities. Regular services are conducted in two types of Buddhist institutions: monasteries and lay Buddhist organizations. In the monasteries, morning and evening services are held daily; in the lay institutions, regular services (modeled after those of the monasteries) are held once or twice weekly.

In all categories of Buddhist services, music, both vocal and instrumental, plays an integral part. Vocal and instrumental items follow one another without break in any given service. In general, Buddhist liturgical music can be characterized as simple, serene, and solemn. Liturgical texts used in Buddhist services are always chanted or sung, either solo or in chorus. *Fanbei* is the generic term for all vocal liturgical music. *Fanbei* is a distinctively Chinese style of liturgical song, though it may have been inspired by the Indian principle of syllabic, monotonic recitation.

Eight types of liturgical texts, some in verse format and some in prose, are used in Buddhist services:

(1) Sūtra (*jing*)—Buddhist scripture in Chinese verse translation with ten syllables to the line. This type contains discourses of the Buddha and the *bodhisattva*s.
(2) *Mantra* (*zhou*)—Central Asian, Pali, or Sanskrit devotional incantations in Chinese syllabic transliteration; *mantra* texts are meaningless to Chinese, though their general import may be known.
(3) Hymn (*zan*)—eulogy in verse having irregular meter.
(4) *Gātha* (*ji*)—verse exposition organized in eight-stanza structure, each stanza having four lines of equal length and each line containing either five or four syllables.
(5) *Nianfo*—chanting the names of the Buddha or *bodhisattva*s. The length of a line is determined by the number of syllables that make up a name.
(6) Prayer (*xuanshu* or *wen*)—prayers in verse to Buddhist deities.
(7) Invocation (*shangyin* or *zuofan*)—verse text calling the congregation to worship.
(8) Instruction (*shisong*)—priest's address to a deity; in verse.

Fanbei music is pentatonic. Some items, such as hymn and *gātha,* feature a wide melodic range and varying melodic contour; others, such as sūtra, *nianfo,* and prayer, have a narrower range and a somewhat static melodic contour. The *mantra* tends to be monotonal. A dominant feature of *fanbei* music is the consistent use of repetitive motifs or pairs of motifs. Variation of motifs is also frequent.

In regular services, each *fanbei* item is begun by the precentor (*weina*), who sings the first phrase and is then joined by the congregation of monks or laypeople. A vocal piece always begins slowly and gradually gets faster. Heterophony frequently results as some members of the congregation sing variants of the melody according to their different abilities. Instruments are always used to accompany singing in regular services. *Fanbei* are frequently chanted or sung by a solo voice in special services, but responsorial and antiphonal singing may also be used. Instrumental accompaniment may be absent in solo chanting in special services.

Three melodic styles of *fanbei* are distinguished by modern writers: syllabic, neumatic, and melismatic. *Fanbei* in syllabic style have one or two notes to each syllable of the text. To this type belong sūtra, *mantra,* prayer, and some *nianfo* chants. *Fanbei* in neumatic style feature three, four, or more notes to each syllable. *Gātha* and some *nianfo* used specifically to accompany the obligatory circumambulation in regular services belong to this type. *Fanbei* in melismatic style have ten or more notes set to one syllable. To this type belongs the hymn.

In traditional Buddhist services, nonpitched idiophones and membranophones are used to accompany *fanbei* singing. Instruments are also used to play the preludes, interludes, and postludes of services. In contemporary practice seven types of instruments are used: the *dagu,* a suspended two-headed barrel drum played with a mallet; the *dazhong,* a suspended bell played with a stick; the *daqing,* a large inverted metal bowl-shaped bell resting on a cushion and struck with a mallet; the *yinqing,* a small inverted bell fastened to a wooden handle and struck with a stick; the *muyu,* a wooden slit drum in the shape of a stylized fish head, struck with a wooden stick; the *danzi,* a small framed gong fastened to a handle and struck with a stick; and the *hazi,* a pair of cymbals. These instruments are made in various sizes to suit the demands of different ritual contexts. Those used in monasteries, for example, are usually larger than those used in lay institutions.

Buddhist worship manuals provide instrumental notation indicating the usage of musical instruments. Duration of notes and dynamics are not indicated in such manuals but are transmitted orally. Vocal melodies are transmitted entirely by oral means.

The arrangement of percussion patterns in a given vocal piece can be divided into three kinds: regular meter, in 4/4 or 3/4; composite meters, alternating between 4/4, 3/4, or 1/4; and unmeasured pieces, having no fixed temporal units. Some instruments use specific rhythmic patterns known by particular names. For example, the *muyu* (slit drum) pattern, known as "Eighty-eight Buddhas," is characterized by a series of accelerated strokes in diminishing volume. Another pattern, "Nine Bells and Fifteen Drums" (referring to the number of strokes on each), is used for the *bozhong* and *jiangu.* This pattern is made up of an initial slow section consisting of alternating drum and bell strokes, a fast central section consisting of simultaneous strokes on both instruments (with the drum being played twice as fast as the bell), and an accented drum stroke to conclude the pattern. During a regular service this pattern is played several times as an interlude and thereby performs a structural function for the entire service similar to that of the ritornello in Western compositions.

Music in Daoist rituals. The role of music in Daoist ritual practices has not been studied systematically by musicologists. Hence any discussion of music in Daoist rituals will necessarily be highly tentative. The following remarks are based primarily on the examination of a limited number of samples recorded in Taiwan, where monastic Daoism (such as it existed in China prior to the 1950s) does not exist. These examples are from rituals performed by different groups of ordained or lay priests belonging to a variety of orders. In addition, some of the description provided here is based on my observations in Hong Kong.

In contemporary Taiwan and Hong Kong, the most frequently performed Daoist rituals are funeral rites, exorcist rites, and the community rite of purification (Jiao). These rites are normally performed by a chief Daoist priest, the *daoshi,* with a small group of assistant priests and a few lay instrumentalists. Performances of rituals usually take place in the local Daoist temple or in the local temple of a popular religion, such as the Temple of Mazu (a goddess protector of seafarers) in Taiwan or the Temple of Tianhou ("heavenly mother") in Hong Kong. Funeral rites may be performed at the home of the bereaved family. Some rites are performed in full view of the public, while others (e.g., certain purification rites) are performed behind closed doors to shut out the profane in order that the ritual purpose of purification may be fulfilled.

Music and dance play a central role in Daoist rituals. Both vocal and instrumental music are used. Vocal music, with or without instrumental accompaniment, includes passages in heightened speech, monotonal incantation, chants, and hymn tunes. Texts, in Chinese or Sino-Sanskrit prose or verse, are set syllabically or melismatically to pentatonic or heptatonic melodies; both measured and unmeasured melodies are found. Structurally, most compositions are in strophic form, but some are through-composed. In chants and hymn tunes, repetition of a motif or a phrase appears to be a prominent feature.

Vocal pieces are recited or sung mainly by a solo voice; occasionally responsorial singing and ensemble singing in unison are also employed. Singing is commonly done in a relaxed manner; use of special vocal techniques such as shouts, groans, microtonal vocal inflection or glides, and falsetto are not uncommon. A characteristic opening glissando often precedes a vocal piece, and the insertion of vocable passages are by no means rare.

Instruments are used either singularly or in a group. These include, among the nonpitched idiophones: the *daqing,* an inverted bowl-shaped bell struck with a mallet; the *muyu,* a wooden slit drum struck by a stick; the hand bell; cymbals; and the gong; among the membranophones: the *fagu,* the ritual drum, which is a barrel drum played with two sticks; among the chordophones: the *sanxian,* a three-stringed, unfretted, plucked lute; and the *erhu,* a two-stringed, bowed fiddle; and among the aerophones: the *suona,* a shawm, and the buffalo horn.

Symbolically, the *daqing* represents heaven and the male principle, *yang,* while the *muyu* represents earth and the female principle, *yin.* When the ritual drum plays a certain pattern, it signals the beginning of a significant phase of a given ritual. Musically, all the idiophones beat time as well as mark off sections of music. Beats of the ritual drum also serve to regulate the tempo in passages where varying tempi occur. In addition to serving a colotomic (structure-marking) function, the cymbals are also used as a solo instrument playing various rhythmic patterns in a virtuosic manner as overtures, interludes, or postludes. One of the special cymbal playing techniques involves the manipulation of the dynamics of the sound after a clash by varying the degree of proximity between the two cymbal plates, resulting in a voicelike quality that can be quite eerie. This technique is used in funeral rites.

Instrumental melodies are played by the *suona*(s) and *erhu;* when serving as accompaniment to the vocal melodies, these instruments play a heterophonic version of the vocal melodies. The *sanxian* is used mainly as a colotomic instrument; it plays tremolo or chords to mark off vocal sections.

In ritual performances Daoist priests not only sing but also dance either alone or in groups. All dance gestures, as well as choreographic formations, have symbolic meanings.

To a believer, a Daoist priest is an indispensable intermediary between the human world and the spirit world. His presence is therefore necessary at a funeral in order to perform rites that ensure repose for the deceased. His presence is also required at exorcism or purification rites in order to perform rituals that will render evil ghosts harmless or to restore health, tranquillity, and purity to a community.

One of the most important community purification rites is the Jiao. Dividing into several phases, Jiao rituals may last three to five days or more, depending on the requests of the sponsors. The introductory part of Jiao is known as *qingsheng* ("inviting the spirits"). It is initiated with a liturgical item called *buxu* ("dancing in the void"), a generic term for an opening ceremony in which dance and hymn singing serve as preparation for ritual meditation. Both dance and hymns are accompanied by an instrumental ensemble of shawms, gong, drum, and *muyu.* The introductory part of Jiao also includes a liturgical item called "Flower Offering," accompanied by voices alone. In the middle part of Jiao the key ritual feature is a liturgy for the souls in purgatory, known as Pudu ("salvation"); it is a sung liturgy accompanied by an instrumental ensemble. The most colorful part of Jiao is an exorcist rite for the community called Dawanghang. To the accompaniment of shawms, gongs, and cymbals, the *daoshi* makes preparations to launch a paper boat, the vehicle that is to transport demons of infectious diseases away from the human world. When preparations are complete, the sounding of a series of water buffalo horn calls, accompanied by the ritual drum and gong strokes in accelerated speed, signals the actual launching of the paper boat. When the music stops, the *daoshi* calls upon the demons by name to board the boat and is answered by his assistant. Once this roll call is completed the *daoshi* plays the water buffalo horn, a signal to launch the boat by burning it.

The final phase of Jiao is a celebration of the restoration of health and purity to the community through the marriage of yin and yang. In heightened speech the *daoshi* offers incense to heavenly spirits. He then states the purpose of the Jiao and names the sponsors; both statements are chanted. A prayer whose text is written on a piece of paper is chanted next; it is a petition to the heavenly spirits on behalf of the community. When the prayer is finished, the written text is burned. Thereupon the sounding of drum rolls indicates that the climax of the ritual is to be unfolded. The *daoshi* calls out the name of Laozi three times, inviting him to visit the site of the altar; each call ends with an abrupt vocal leap encompassing the interval of an eleventh, followed by a long drum roll. Then eight drum beats are sounded three times. The number three symbolizes heaven, earth, and water, the three elements of the cosmos, and also the head, chest, and abdomen, the three essential parts of a person. These drum beats summon the spirit of the *daoshi* to offer tea and incense to Laozi. He first chants and then dances, using stylized and symbolic gestures simulating the acts of offering tea and incense to Laozi.

KOREA. Shamanism, the oldest of Korean religions, consists of a group of unorganized beliefs about the supernatural world. It still has some following today, particularly among the rural population. In modern times, the two major social and religious forces existing in the Republic of Korea (South Korea) are Confucianism and Christianity. Christianity was introduced into Korea as early as the late sixteenth century, but it was not until the late nineteenth century that missionaries from the West—both Protestant (mostly Methodist and Presbyterian) and Roman Catholic—began full-fledged missionary work. Korean Christian liturgies follow their Western models closely. Western hymn tunes with Korean texts are used in services. Occasionally, hymns composed by modern Korean composers are also included in the Korean hymnals. Some of these hymns are set in triple meter, a characteristic feature of indigenous Korean music.

Mahāyāna Buddhism was introduced to Korea from China during the late fourth century CE. Today Buddhist rituals, if performed at all, usually take place in a few temples staffed by a handful of married priests. Some of these priests conduct classes for the laity in Buddhist chanting and in so doing have become the sole perpetuators of the now fragile Buddhist ritual tradition in Korea. The survey given below of Buddhist ritual music is based on field reports conducted by Korean musicologists among married Buddhist priests.

Sacrifice to Confucius. Music used in the rite of sacrifice to Confucius is called *a-ak.* This term is the Korean pronunciation of the Chinese term *yayue* ("elegant music"). In contemporary usage the term *a-ak* denotes the whole repertory of court music, but in the Yi dynasty (during which *a-ak* was first codified) the term denoted music performed in a number of sacrificial rites observed by the royal court and in government ceremonies. It is in this latter, more restricted sense that the term *a-ak* is used here.

The Korean *a-ak* tradition began in 1116, when the Chinese emperor Huizong (r. 1101–1125) of the Song dynasty sent a large number of *yayue* instruments to the Korean emperor Yejong (r. 1105–1125) of the Koryo dynasty, as a political gesture. Subsequently, during the Yi dynasty, and particularly during the reign of Emperor Sejong (1455–1468), *a-ak* was codified and expanded. Its codification was directed by the music theorist Pak Yon (1378–1458), who undertook not only the theoretical clarification of *a-ak* based on Chinese sources but proceeded also to construct a large number of musical instruments based on Chinese models. In addition, Pak Yon reconstructed music for the *a-ak* ensemble based on a limited number of notated Chinese ritual melodies, adding to these melodies his own interpretation of Chinese musical concepts and tunings. The result was a body of music with a mixture of Chinese and Korean elements but essentially Confucian in spirit. *A-ak* has been performed continuously from the fifteenth century till the present, with no evidence of decline.

Reflecting the Confucian doctrine of universal harmony, the *a-ak* orchestra employs eight kinds of instruments representing the eight essential kinds of instrumental timbres: metal (bells), stone (chimes), silk (zithers), wood (pounded wooden box and wooden scraper), bamboo (flutes), clay (ocarina), leather (drum), and gourd (mouth organ). In the modern *a-ak* orchestra the gourd category is missing, and wooden clappers (*pak*) have been added; this latter instrument performs a very limited function.

According to present-day performance practices, *a-ak* played in the rite of sacrifice to Confucius is performed antiphonally by two orchestras, one placed on the terrace of the main shrine building and the other placed in the courtyard below the terrace. The terrace orchestra, called *tŭngga,* consists of seventeen players; the courtyard orchestra, called *hōn'ga,* consists of fifteen players. During Emperor Sejong's reign the number of players in both orchestras was much larger, and vocal items were included. But today *a-ak* is purely instrumental. Two ritual dances are performed in the sacrifice to Confucius, the *munmu* (civil dance) and the *mumu* (military dance). Sixty-four dancers are prescribed for this ritual.

The overall musical characteristics of *a-ak* are refinement, serenity, and simplicity. The repertory consists of two basic heptatonic compositions and their transpositions. Structurally, each composition has eight phrases of equal length, each phrase consisting of four notes of equal duration. The tempo is exceedingly slow. Melody instruments including flutes, panpipes, ocarinas, and stone chimes play in unison; the flute, however, ends each note with an upward slide of about a semitone from each pitch. The drums and bells perform purely a colotomic function by marking off sections of each composition.

Royal ancestral shrine music. The music repertory for this ritual contains a limited number of compositions said to be chosen by Emperor Sejong. In terms of musical style they reflect an acculturated mixture of Chinese and Korean music; native Korean music (*hyangak*) current in the fifteenth century is also represented. These compositions are vocal pieces in Chinese with orchestral accompaniment arranged in suite form. Two orchestras are used to perform this ritual. These orchestras are also called *tŭngga* and *hōn'ga,* as in the *a-ak* orchestra, but their instrumentation is different.

Buddhist rituals. Traditional Korean Buddhist rites consist of three components or performing genres: ritual chant with or without instrumental accompaniment, outdoor band music and ritual dance with vocal and instrumental accompaniment. Of the three, ritual chant is by far the most important.

Five categories of special Buddhist rites in which music plays a prominent role are distinguished: Kakpae-je, a rite in praise of ten Buddhist deities whose rituals call for the largest repertory of chants and dances; Saengjŏn yesu-je, a purification rite; Sangju kwōn'gong-je, a rite dedicated solely to Buddha; Surguk-che, a rite for the spirits of water and earth; and Yŏngsan-je, a tribute rite. In addition a number of small-scale rituals associated with rites for the dead also employ music and dance. Today large-scale special rites are held only at the demand of sponsors. A rite may last from one to several days depending upon the request of the sponsors.

Three categories of ritual chants are differentiated: sūtra (Buddhist invocation), *hwach'ŏng* (chant based on folk style), and *pŏmp'ae* (a long solemn chant). Sūtra chants, also called *yŏmbul* ("invocation"), are of two kinds, each having different texts and employing different instrumental accompaniment. Texts of the first type are Chinese transliterations of Sanskrit and hence are unintelligible to laypeople. Texts of the second type are Chinese translations from Sanskrit whose general import may be understood by the laity. In the following discussion the first type of chant will be called "Sanskrit sūtra" and the second type "Chinese sūtra."

The repertory of Sanskrit sūtra is small. The music is for unison chorus with instrumental accompaniment. The vocal part consists of the repetition of a few sets of syllabic phrases. The instrumental part, played by an ensemble of reeds, drums, large gong, and a wooden slit drum called *mok'tak*, consists of the repetition of a melody independent of the vocal one and played by the reeds, with isorhythmic patterns played by drum and gong and the constant beats of the *mok'tak*. There is a subtle relationship between the accentuation of the vocal melody and the instrumental rhythm. Chinese sūtra chants are also performed by unison chorus, which sings repeated sets of texts having a limited compass. The constant beats of the *mok'tak* accompany the voices, each beat coinciding with the utterance of a textual syllable. The repertoire of Chinese sūtra is relatively large. While Sanskrit sūtra chants are employed mostly in special rites, Chinese sūtra chants are employed in both regular and special rites.

Hwach'ŏng (lit., "humble request") are chants for solo voice with texts in vernacular Korean. The singer traditionally accompanies himself with strokes played on a small gong; another accompanying instrument used is a suspended barrel drum (*puk*) played by someone other than the singer. The drum player strikes the bottom of the drum with one bare hand while at the same time striking the wooden frame of the right side of the drum with two sticks. Triple meter, a common feature of Korean indigenous music, is usually found in *hwach'ŏng. Hwach'ŏng* texts, expounding the benefits of Buddhist enlightenment, are set in verse form.

The third category of Buddhist chants, the *pŏmp'ae*, is said to derive from the Chinese *fanbei. Pŏmp'ae* texts are in Chinese verse, but Chinese rhyming schemes and tonal patterns are not observed in these texts. *Pŏmp'ae* music is made up of repetition, variation, and structural rearrangement of a basic set of stereotyped motifs or phrases. As performed today, *pŏmp'ae* is always sung in free rhythm and in a low register. The meaning of the texts is frequently difficult to grasp because each syllable is set melismatically to notes of long duration. In addition, the practice of liberal insertion of passages of vocables further obscures the meaning of the texts.

Two types of compositions are found in the *pŏmp'ae* repertory: the *hossori* (short chant) and the *chissori* (long chant). Each type is characterized by a distinct melodic and textual organization, as well as by the employment of different styles of performance. *Hossori* consists of solo, choral, and responsorial chants, all of which are sung in a relaxed, open-throated manner to the accompaniment of a small hand bell. Structurally, *hossori* texts are organized in quatrain form with lines of equal length. These four lines are set to a pair of melodic phrases in repetition; thus musically the structure of *hossori* is in binary form: *a b a b. Hossori* are always sung slowly at first, then faster, and then slowly again to conclude. In the fast sections the motifs within each phrase undergo a process of rhythmic reduction.

For special rites *hossori* may be performed in conjunction with a ritual dance, accompanied by an outdoor band made up of one or two conical double-reed instruments (*t'aep'yongson*) and a large gong (*ching*). A barrel drum (*puk*), a pair of cymbals (*chegum*), a long trumpet *(nepal)*, and a conch shell (*nagak*) may also be added to the band. The band plays repetitions of a long melodic cycle that has only a tenuous correlation with the vocal melody.

The other type of *pŏmp'ae*, the *chissori,* is regarded as the most important and sophisticated of all Korean Buddhist chants. It is seldom performed today; when performed, *chissori* is always used in conjunction with large-scale special rites. Music for the *chissori* is drawn from a pool of stereotyped melodic phrases, each in turn built on a series of motifs. The way in which these motifs are organized into a piece defines the individuality of a *chissori* composition. The entire repertory of *chissori* contains seventy-two compositions.

Like that of *hossori,* the performance of *chissori* begins slowly and then speeds up; in the fast section the motifs undergo a process of rhythmic reduction; it then concludes slowly. Most *chissori* are performed primarily by an ensemble of voices in unison. But a few compositions may have one or two solo sections inserted either at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end. These solo interpolations (*hŏdŏlp'um*) are optional groups of fixed melodies independent of those of the ensemble and made up of stereotyped motifs. Depending on the time available, *chissori* may be sung either with measured rhythm, or with unmeasured rhythm in which the duration of each note is greatly prolonged. Consistent use of microtonal glides characterizes *chissori* performance. A special feature is the application of a microtonal upward glide prefixed to a given note; this note is then followed suddenly by a falling glide encompassing the interval of an octave. *Chissori* is sung in a tense-throated manner. For notes in the high register, falsetto technique is used.

TIBET. The indigenous religion of Tibet is Bon, which evolved from northern and Inner Asian shamanism. During the periods of the first kings (seventh–tenth century CE), North Indian Mahāyāna Tantric Buddhism was introduced to Tibet. Subsequently Bon and Tantric Buddhism merged and resulted in a highly syncretic form of Tibetan Buddhism.

Music in Bon ritual. Monastic forms of Bon have been largely assimilated by Tantric Buddhism. Many ritual practices of Bon have also been influenced by Buddhism. Bon ritual music employs chanting and instrumental music; the chief instruments are the indigenous *phyedrṅa* (single-headed drum) and the *gshaṅ* ("flute bell"). Flutes and trumpets made of animal bones are also used. In the instrumental part of the ritual the drum occupies a central place. According to legend, when a Bon priest plays a drum he is thought of as mounting a flying steed to heaven to communicate with the gods. Bon chants are organized in strophic form, and in performance a large variety of vocal techniques are used, such as gliding before and after a given note, whistling, shouting, or masking the voice. Some of these sounds are said to represent the voices of spirits heard through the singer as medium. As the ritual progresses, the tempo of chanting and instrumental music accelerate, and the volume also increases; great intensity is generated as a result.

Buddhist liturgy. Tibetan Buddhists hold that music prepares the mind for spiritual enlightenment. Accordingly, music (vocal as well as instrumental) is employed in the monastic routines that focus on five daily assemblies held in the monastery shrine hall between sunrise and sunset. The daily services consist predominantly of choral chants, with or without instrumental accompaniment, and antiphony between choral chant and instrumental interludes. All music is notated. Important liturgical items include the monks' "invitation" to the deities to visit the place of worship, the ritual of offering, thanksgiving hymns, and hymns of praise to the Buddha and the *bodhisattvas.*

Monks participating in the daily services sit cross-legged in paired rows facing one another. The music of the service proceeds under the direction of the *dbumdza* (chant leader). The choral chant is normally sung in unison in a quiet and restrained manner; heterophony occasionally occurs. Texts for choral chants are drawn mostly from the sacred scripture known as the Bka' 'gyur (Kanjur, doctrine attributed to Buddha) and from Bstan 'gyur (Tanjur, commentaries). Three main chant styles are distinguished: solo parlando recitation, *gdaṅ* (hymn), and *abyaṅs* (sustained chant).

Solo parlando recitation, in measured or unmeasured rhythm, is usually employed in short introductory passages. The *gdaṅ* is chanted in a series of meters (duple, triple, or asymmetrical meter such as 11/8), depending on the textual structure. Melodically, sections of *gdaṅ* are made up of repetitions of one or two pairs of phrases having a limited range in predominantly conjunct motion. The chant may also be monotonal. Words in *gdaṅ* are set either syllabically or melismatically. In performance a variety of ornaments, such as glissando and glides before and after a note, are used. *Gdaṅ* is accompanied by a cymbal and drum whose function is simply to beat time.

The *abyaṅs* is chanted in an extremely low register and essentially in a monotone. Words are set syllabically to notes of long duration prefixed or affixed by a variety of microtonal inflections or vocal glides. A special vocal technique has been cultivated by two monasteries of the Dge-lugs-pa order in which each chanter simultaneously sings two pitches, a deep fundamental and a clear harmonic (either the fifth or the sixth harmonic), resulting in a choral effect. The *abyaṅs* is chanted in a quiet manner.

In contrast to the quiet vocal chanting of *abyaṅs,* instrumental interludes of *abyaṅs* are played loudly. The aerophones are always played in pairs. One of the two *rgya gliṅs,* which are shawms, plays the main melody in an unadorned manner while the other plays the main melody with ornamentation. The other aerophones, the *duṅ*—a trumpet of varying sizes with a low tone quality, the *rkaṅ glin*—a trumpet made of animal femur or of metal, and the *duṅ dkar*—a conch, play long, sustained notes and repeat chords of two pitches, a two-note ostinato figure. The *domaru,* a rattle drum, and the *dril bu,* a handbell, are played by one person whose strokes serve mainly as signals marking sections of the chants. The cymbals (*gsil snyan* and *rol mo*) and the two *ruga* drums, untuned double-headed drums each struck with a crooked stick, play a variety of rhythmic figures as well as beating time. The resultant instrumental texture is complex and its timbre full of subtle nuances. In contrast to the rhythmic complexity and subtlety of the percussion part, the music for the shawms—the only melody instruments in the ensemble—is rather simple and straightforward; it is played in a rhythmically fixed manner with penetrating volume. Circular breathing is employed in shawm playing so that a continuous line is achieved.

Liturgical drama. The *'cham* is a quasi-liturgical ritual drama performed to exorcise evil spirits. The ritual is performed outdoors and involves the use of music (both vocal and instrumental), mime, and dance, as well as elaborate costumes and masks. The music ensemble consists of groups of chanters and an instrumental ensemble similar to that used in monastic liturgical services, with the addition of special sound effects not found in those services.

SEE ALSO Chanting; Drama, article on East Asian Dance and Theater; Mantra; Nianfo; Sūtra Literature.

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MUSIC: MUSIC AND RELIGION IN JAPAN

Traditionally, religious music in Japan consisted of songs and dances that were performed as offerings to various gods.

Songs and dances also served to work performers into trances in *kamiasobi* (singing songs and dancing for gods) in order to call a god or gods into attendance. During the Tumulus period (third to seventh century CE), songs and dances were performed by virgins consecrated to deities, continuing a tradition of shamanistic music from the Yayoi period (fourth century BCE to third century CE). Such performances were accompanied by koto (a long four- or eight-stringed zither) and *tsuzumi* (a hand-beaten drum). These instruments appear in clay figures of consecrated virgins and the songs and dances are described in several ancient texts, including *Kojiki* (712 CE), *Nihonshoki* (720 CE), and *Fudoki* (first half of the eighth century). The songs incorporated into these works were probably sung for feasts, funerals, and similar occasions.

Kagura (music of the gods) refers to the music and dance used in Shintō ceremonies. *Kagura*, called *kamiasobi* in old times, originated in the song and dance of ancient religious services. *Kagura* can be divided into the two forms: *mikagura* and *okagura* (*satokagura*). *Mikagura* is performed at the imperial palace, whereas *okagura* is performed at local shrines. *Mikagura* originated in *kinkashinen* (religious feasts), which were held in Seishodo Palace during the reign of Emperor Seiwa (r. 858–876) of the Heian era. Singers were accompanied by a type of koto (probably a *wagon*, a long six-stringed zither). In the reign of the Emperor Ichijyo (r. 986–1011), *mikagura* was performed in the Naishidokoro (Kashikodokoro) Palace to the accompaniment of *kagurabue* (a bamboo transverse flute), *hichiriki* (a double-reed pipe), and *wagon*.

Mikagura performers sang several types of songs, including: (1) *niwabiuta* (songs of the garden bonfire), consisting of chants of *niwabi* and *ajimesahō*; (2) *torimonouta* (songs of holding hands for dance), consisting of *sakaki*, *mitegura*, *tsue*, *sasa*, *yumi*, *tachi*, *hoko*, *hisago*, *kazura*, and *karakami*; (3) *saibaraburi* (songs of *saibara*), which are folk songs collected from various regions and which includes forms known as *ajime*, *oosaibari*, *kosaibari*, *senzai,* and *hayauta*; (4) *hoshiuta* (songs of stars); and (5) *zōka* (songs of various kinds), including *akaboshi*, *tokuzeniko*, *yuuzukuru*, *hirume*, *yutate*, *kamiage* and *asakura*, *sonokoma*, *hetsuiasobi*, and *sakadono*. The chant, sung in slow tempo, is rich in melismatic style. Singers were divided into two groups called *motokata*, which faced the shrine from the left, and *suekata*, which faced the shrine from the right. Each one of the principal singers, called *ondō*, beat a *shakubyōshi* (a wooden clapper). The *ninjyō* (a male dancer) performed in the evening at the small shrine in Kashikodokoro Palace with the emperor in attendance.

Okagura has been performed at shrines during folk ceremonies since the modern period. There are several forms of *okagura*: *mikokagura* (dance of a maiden in the service of a shrine); *izumokagura* (dances using mats, bells, sacred trees, swords, and other objects with mythical significance); *isekagura*, which consists of *yudateshinji* (sprinkling hot water of an iron pot) and dances illustrating various stories; and *shishikagura* (dances with lion's mask). In *ōmotokagura* (worship of ancestors called *Ōmoto*), which is performed in Shimane prefecture, a spiritualistic male medium works himself into a trance and reports the oracle of the god concerning that year's harvest.

Some shamanistic practices persist among shamans called *itako* (Aomori prefecture) and *yuta* (Amami Island and Okinawa). Here the spirit of the dead possesses a *miko* (female shaman) and speaks through her in simple chanting.

The authentic music of Chinese Confucian ceremonies was never performed in Japan, but the spirit of Confucianism can be found in the music of the *ch'in* (a long seven-stringed zither), an instrument favored by the intelligentsia interested in Chinese philosophy and literature during the Edo period (1603–1867).

When Buddhism was introduced from Kudara on the Korean peninsula by King Kinmē in the early sixth century, dances called *gigaku*, which originated in China, were performed in order to dedicate temples to the Buddha. The masked characters of *gigaku* performed to the accompaniment of a *yokobue* (a bamboo transverse flute), a *shōban* (a gong), and ten *yōko* (hand drums hung at waists).

Kenzuishi and Kentoshi, Japanese envoys to Sui and Tang dynasty China, introduced Buddhist chanting (*shōmyō*) and *gagaku* (court music and dance) to Japan. In 752, to celebrate the completion of a colossal bronze statue of Vairocana Buddha at Tōdaiji, the principal national temple in Nara, a magnificent Buddhist service was held. A thousand or more monks sang *shikahōyō*, composed of four Buddhist chants (*bonnon*, *shakujyō*, *bai*, and *sange*), and performances of *gagaku*, *gigaku*, and other types of music and dance were presented. Eighteen types of instruments, *gigaku* masks, and a number of the costumes that were used in this service have been preserved in the Shōsōin (the treasure house of Tōdaiji) in Nara. In 861, *mushataie* (another type of Buddhist service) was held in Tōdaiji to celebrate the completion of repair work on the head of the Vairocana Buddha, which had been damaged during an earthquake. On a stage in front of the Daibutsuden (the large building housing the statue of Vairocana Buddha) *gagaku* and *bonnbai* (a form of *shōmyō*) were performed, and Buddhist chanting called *narashōmyō* or *nantoshōmyō* was conducted in several Nara temples.

When in the early years of the ninth century the Tendai and Shingon sects were introduced by the monks Saichō, Ennin, and Kūkai from Tang dynasty China, *shōmyō* was newly reformulated as the *tendaishōmyō* and *shingonshōmyō*. The *goenembutsu*—repeating the *nembutsu* (chanting of the name of Amida/Amitabha Buddha) in five kinds of voice—that Ennin brought to Japan from China was performed as *inzēnembutsu* (drawing voice *nembutsu*) on Mount Hie, the headquarters of the Tendai sect. The *fudannembutsu* (*nembutsu* ceremony) was developed by the monk Sōō in the Mudōji temple and handed down by the monks Sengan and Genshin, who also developed a form of chant praising the Buddha called *wasan*. In addition, Shōrinin, which the monk Jakugen set up in Ōhara (Kyoto), and Raigoin, founded by the monk Ryōnin in Ōhara, served as *shōmyō* fundamental schools. Ryōnin contributed to the reunification of *tendaishōmyō*, which had split into branches after Ennin. *Gyozan shōmyō rokkanjyō*, a book expounding the theoretical and practical principles of the music, was edited by the monk Kekan, a pupil of Ryōnin. *Shōmyōfyojinshū*, a work edited by the monk Tanchi, established the basis of modern *shōmyō* by applying the musical theory of *gagaku*. The monk Kanchō established the basis for *shingonshōmyō*, although this style later developed into several schools, including *ninnajisōōinryū*, *nakanokawadaijyōshōninryū*, and *daigoryū*.

Various Buddhist sects that were opened to membership from the wider public were formed during the Kamakura period (1185–1333). Hōnen, the founder of the Jōdo sect, emphasized the importance of the *nembutsu*: "Namu Amida Butsu." Ippen, founder of the Ji sect (a branch of Jōdo), propagated *nembutsu* through the *odori-nembutsu* (dancing *nembutsu*). The forms of chanting practiced by the Jōdo, Jyōdo-shin (founded by Shinran, a pupil of Hōnen), and the Ji sects were influenced by Tendai Buddhism. On the other hand, the chants of the Rinzai and Sōtō Zen sects, newly transmitted from China by Ēsai and Dōgen respectively, were influenced by Chinese practices.

The general term for Buddhist chanting is *shōmyō*, or *bonbai*. *Shōmyō* texts can be classified into three types based on the language used: Sanskrit, Chinese, or Japanese. *Bongosan* are Sanskrit chants. Several types of chants are performed using classical Chinese (*kangosan*). Chinese-language chants include *bai* and *kada* (verse chants praising a blessing of Buddha); *nyoraibai* (a *tathagata* chant); *gobai* (a later chant); *sōrēkada* (all-praising chant); *ekōkada* (chant to hold a memorial service); *sange* (verse chant performed while scattering flowers); *bonnon* (verse chant for a memorial service before the principal image of Buddha); *shakujyō* (verse chant involving a priest's staff); and *sange* (chant to repent sins). Japanese-language chants include *wasan* (verse chant praising a blessing of Buddha); *saimon* (prose chant repaying Buddha or the founder of a sect); *hyōbyaku* (prose chant explaining the purpose of a Buddhist service); *kyōshaku* (prose chant explaining the content of a sūtra); *kōshiki* (prose chant praising the Buddha), and *rongi* (prose chant summarizing content of a sūtra).

Bongosan texts are written in Chinese characters that yield phonetic approximations of the Sanskrit. *Kangosan* is a system of chanting Chinese texts according to their *kan* reading (i.e., according to the Japanese equivalents of the sounds of the Chinese graphs). *Wasan* consists of Chinese texts translated into Japanese.

Shōmyō influenced various forms of chanting directly or indirectly. *Kōshiki* and *Rongi*, forms of narrative *shōmyō*, musically influenced *Heikyoku* (the recitation of the *Tale of the Heike*). Musical terms associated with *shōmyō* include *shojyū* (the lower set of notes), *sanjyū* (the upper set of notes), *chūon* (the middle set of notes), *sashigoe* (the chanting of syllables smoothly), *shiragoe* (chanting in conversational style), and *yōkyoku* (the chanting of Nō dramas). *Shōmyō* also includes *sashi* (chanting in rhythm as speech), *sanjyū* (the opening style), *yōkyoku* (the chanting of Nō dramas), and *jyōruri* (a dramatic narrative chant). *Jyōruri* was originally the recitation of the romance of Minamoto Yoshitsune (a military commander) and the princess Jyōrurihime, chanted to time kept by tapping a fan or by *biwa* (a four-stringed lute) accompaniment. *Jyōruri* was accompanied by the *shamisen* (a three-stringed plucked lute) after that instrument was introduced to Japan from the Ryukyu Islands in the sixteenth century. This style was later adapted to the puppet theater.

Another chant form called *fushidansekkyō* was developed from *sekkyō* (sermons or discourses). Such sermons were chanted in singsong tones in order to more easily educate the people. Iterant chanters and performers also recited *sekkyōbushi* (a parable or story of karmic destiny). These popular performers used *sasara* (a scraper), *kane* (a small gong), and *kakko* (a small horizontally-held drum). During the Edo period, itinerant troupes performed *sekkyōbushi* with puppets.

During the Heian period (794–1185), *gagaku* and *shōmyō* were adapted to Japanese styles. In the court, *saibara* (folk songs collected from various regions) were performed to the accompaniment of the instruments used in *gagaku*, including *ryūteki* (a bamboo transverse flute), *hichiriki* (a double-reed pipe), *shō* (an wind instrument with seventeen bamboo pipes), *sō* (a long thirteen-stringed zither), *biwa*, and *shakubyōshi* (wooden clappers). The court chant known as *rōei* (chanting a Chinese and Japanese poem) was accompanied by *ryūteki*, *hichiriki*, and *shō* in a free rhythm.

During the Heian period, *imayō* (modern chanting or songs of the present age) were performed by *asobime*. *Asobime* or *asobi* were itinerant female singers and dancers, sometimes associated with prostitution. *Kugutsume* were similar performers who used puppets beginning in the middle of the Heian era. The retired emperor Go Shirakawa (1127–1192) and his vassals were taught *imayō* by *asobime*. This is remarkable in that members of the highest elite apprenticed themselves to gypsy-like women. The *asobime* practice of singing *imayō* was held to be an efficacious means of achieving enlightenment. Go Shirakawa compiled *Ryōjinhishō*, an anthology of *zōgē* (various chants) and oral instructions on *imayō*. There were broadly several kinds of songs: *imayō* in the narrow sense; *hōmonka* (songs influenced by Buddhist chanting); *kamiuta* (songs of the *kami*), *chōka* (long chants), and *koyanagi* (free-form chants). These were sometimes performed to the accompaniment of a fan beat or a hand drum. According to the *Ryōjinhishō*, Go Shirakawa received twelve years of training in *imayō* from Otomae, an *asobime* from Aohaka in Mino province. *Imayō* chanted by monks to the accompaniment of *sō* (the zither used in *gagaku*) in temples were called *etenrakuimayō* or *etenrakuutaimono*.

In the late Muromachi era (mid-sixteenth century), the monk Kenjyun of Zendō temple in northern Kyushu developed *tsukushisō*, a solo chant performed while accompanying oneself on the *sō*. Yatsuhashi Kengyo (a high-ranking blind performer) reformed *tsukushisō* into *sōkyoku* (koto music). In the Edo period, *sōkyoku* consisted of *kumiuta* sung to the accompaniment of *sō*.

During the Kamakura period, the *fukeshakuhachi* (a vertical bamboo flute) was played as part of the training of monks called *komusō* of Fukeshū, one of the Chinese Zen sects. In the Edo period the Tokugawa shogunate authorized Fukeshū and made use of *komusō* as secret agents, who toured the country during their training.

Heikyoku was a narrative form of vocal music performed by *biwahōshi*, blind monks who performed with the *biwa*. They chanted the military epic *Heike monogatari*, describing the famous history of the Heike (one of two great political families of twelfth-century Japan). Another group of blind biwa-playing monks were *jijinmōsō* in Kyushu. *Jijinmōsō* performed *mōsōbiwa* (a genre of *biwa* music) as they visited individual houses to calm the violent *dokōjin* (gods of the earth) and pray for bountiful harvests.

Most songs were sung in unison, with occasional use of the intervals of the fourth or fifth separating two voice parts moving in parallel. The scale, consisting of twelve tones, varied according to the period and the genre. Generally, intervallic skips of the fourth and fifth characterize the melodic pattern. The singing could be either melismatic in free rhythm, or it could consist of one tone sung in metric rhythm. Noteworthy is the fact that the melodic structure of *shōmyō* influenced other forms of Japanese music. For example, both *Heikyoku* and the singing in Nō drama were influenced by chant forms.

The notation of Buddhist chants falls into three categories. The oldest is called *ko hakase* (old *hakase;* musical notation), which indicates the melody with marks representing the four Chinese tonal accents. The second system, called *go-on hakase* (five-tone *hakase*), is represented by short vertical and horizontal bars, one for each letter of the text, showing five tones. The newest category of chant notation, *meyasu hakase* (literally, "*hakase* for easy understanding"), presents the melodic line in more detail by drawing curved lines in addition to the marks for tone pitches. This system resembles the neumic system of medieval Europe. *Meyasu hakase* is preserved in a manuscript dated 1311 written by Ryōnin, the founder of this chant notation.

A comparison between Buddhist music in Japan and other Asian countries reveals both similarities and differences. A chanting style based on one tone and the use of percussion instruments is common to all, but the use of the double-reed pipe and trumpet is not found in Japan. Vocalization in deep voice is also common to many Asian Buddhist societies. The biggest difference is in regard to melody. Chinese chants, more popular in character than Japanese chants, tended to adapt the melodies of folk and popular music. By contrast, Japanese chant has preserved the older style of Buddhist music.

SEE ALSO Chanting.

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KISHIBE SHIGEO (1987)
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MUSIC: MUSIC AND RELIGION IN GREECE, ROME, AND BYZANTIUM

This survey of the interrelation of religion and music in Western antiquity from the Homeric age to the age of Justinian (c. 1000 BCE–500 CE) will examine the religious dimensions of the music of Greece and Rome, the music of the early church, and the liturgical music of Byzantium.

GREEK MUSIC. The word *music* (*mousikē*) originated in the Greek language. However, to the Greeks it meant more than the art of tones sung or played on instruments. It encompassed education, science, and proper behavior, as well as singing and the playing of instruments. To modern man this ancient music—the very little that has come down to us—sounds simple, unmelodious, and occasionally even dull, but in the broader conception of *mousikē* we may recognize the basis for the magical, ritual, and ethical dimensions that characterize Greek music and relate it to Greek religion. This discussion of Greek music during the period from the Homeric epics (eighth century BCE) to the age of the Roman emperor Augustus (first century BCE) will treat, together with religious function, its theory, and main styles and forms.

Pre-Christian Greek religions. Greek religions were polytheistic and based upon popular mythologies. Followers of Homeric religion adored and feared the Olympian gods, who frequently behaved like humans, possessed of very human virtues and vices. Their cult was sacrificial, and its liturgy proceeded by sacrificial action. Sacrifice served in rituals of atonement, imprecation, and thanksgiving, in ceremonies for the dead, and in the fearful adoration of the chthonic divinities of the netherworld. Its aims were gratification of the gods and apotropaic protection from adversary gods or demonic forces. In the seventh and sixth centuries BCE Orphism arose, a mystic movement taking as founder the fabled musician Orpheus. Closely related to Orphism, and also originating in Thrace, was the cult of Dionysos, which worshiped with wine and song in wild bacchanalia its god Dionysos-Bacchus. Beginning with the fifth century BCE and thereafter, a more philosophical, less ecstatic type of religion emerged under the impact of Pythagorean, Platonic, Aristotelian, and Stoic philosophies. Connection with ethical principles characterized this conception of religion. We may see it in the still polytheistic context of Sophocles' Oedipus trilogy in Antigone's defense of "the infallible, unwritten eternal laws of heaven, which no mortal can overrule." Socrates, who lived by this doctrine, like Sophocles' heroine, paid with his life. Yet Socrates' teachings were carried on by Plato, whose systematization of Socratic thought wholly reshaped Greek religion.

Musical principles. From earliest times the Greeks took interest in the theory of music, and subsequent to Pythagorean concern with the mathematico-philosophical aspects of music they occupied themselves with it continuously. Their most important achievements were their acoustic discoveries, which were basic to the development of Western music.

From the infinity of tones, sounds, and rhythms with which nature surrounds man, the Greeks selected a limited number of tones, which they ordered, identified, and categorized according to *harmoniai*, or species of scales. In Greek music theory the term *harmony* refers to the various divisions of the octave into scales. The Greeks knew Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, Mixolydian, and other scales, each of which consisted of two conjunct or disjunct tetrachords. Tetrachords composing the scales were divided into three distinct genera: the harmonic, the chromatic, and the enharmonic. (Greek tetrachords and scales progressed downward from a higher tonic rather than upward as in medieval and modern music.) Scales were precise, mathematically constructed systems. The scope of these *harmoniai*, however, was much greater than that of simple scales. The Doric "harmony" was the yardstick by which all melodies were judged. Its strict simplicity was understood as the ideal of moral straightforwardness, indeed, of Spartan fortitude and austerity. Within their various scales, the Greeks also knew certain tropes (*tropoi*), which characterized the mode of any given melody. The meaning of "mode" in Greek musical theory has been a matter of considerable scholarly debate; I take it to refer to complex melodic types or structures of melodic motives on the order of the Indian *rāgas* or Arabian *maqamat.*

The theory of tone-word relationship is basic to an understanding of Greek music. Poetry and music were closely bound, with the words of the text defining rhythmic structure through the quantities of metrical pattern. The role of stress or accent in relation to meter and music, controversial in late antiquity, remains problematic.

Magic power of music. The Greeks ascribed to music magic and therapeutic powers. It could heal wounds (Homer, *Odyssey* 19.437ff.), and it could move blocks of stone; the singing of Amphion, son of Zeus, was said to have enchanted stones to build of their own accord the walls of Thebes. The historical figure Thaletas of Gortyn (seventh century BCE) tried to drive the plague from Sparta by singing.

Ritual use of music. I have referred to the rituals of sacrifice in Homeric religion. The first canto of the *Iliad* gives a good description of priestly *thusia*, or sacrifice, made by the priest Chryses to his god Apollo (1.447–473). After Chryses has burned pieces of meat and fat and tasted them, a libation is spent accompanied by song. Only the chthonic deities were adored in strict silence. Several ancient inscriptions, as that from Dodona, speak of the ritual of praying, or more properly "vowing," and sacrificing; on such occasions music, at least a kind of hymnic chant, was obligatory. The dedication of a new temple was always a festivity during which vows and sacrifices were offered and hymns or other music heard. At marriages *thusia*, prayers, and hymns inaugurated a happy espousal, at least in the circles of the nobility, as we read in Apollonis of Rhodes (fl. 222–181 BCE).

The aforementioned tone-word relationship has special significance for the ritual use of music. Lamentations for the dead Hector show clearly certain ritualistic traits (*Iliad* 24.720ff.). The choric odes of Pindar (518–438 BCE) served in official worship. Special reverence was paid the Delphic hymns; according to Plutarch (c. 46–after 120 CE), several were so celebrated that they were repeated every year.

The musical *ēthos.* To the Greeks, *mousikē* meant more than mere music. Hence it was judged not only by its audible beauty but also by its moral effect upon the listener. This principle, which the Greeks shared with many great ancient civilizations, constituted the doctrine of *ēthos*; in Greek music theory this doctrine reached its highest expression.

There was extensive philosophical reflection upon musical *ēthos*, that is, the character, nature, or moral effect of a musical work. Every melody, in each of its aspects, was subject to the postulates of its *ēthos*; the *ēthos* was determined by all components of its respective melody. Each scale, rhythm, and trope, when performed at the "right" spot and at the "just" time, has a concrete, predictable influence on the listener's emotions, behavior, and character.

Plato gave the doctrine of *ēthos* its most radical formulation in his *Republic.* According to his thesis, certain scales turn men into cowards and make women unable to bear healthy children; other scales inspire courage, fear, piety, nobility, and so forth (376d, 398b ff.). In the *Laws*, it is really in terms of the doctrine of *ēthos* that he criticizes the professional music of his day (700a ff.). The *nomos*, literally the "law" or "set," had become the main form used by professional singer-composers in musical contests. Consisting of several movements without strophic repetition, and characterized by its *harmonia* and its specific rhythm as musical representation of meter, it might depict the exploits of some god, such as the famous Pythian *nomos*, which glorified Apollo's battle with the Pythian dragon. Plato decried the musical license that violated the laws (*nomoi*) dividing music into several distinct kinds. The hymn, the lament, the paean, the dithyramb, and the lyric song, each ought be true to its form. Their admixture could only bring disorder to the society in which such confused and irregular music was heard.

The philosophy of musical *ēthos* did not remain undisputed. Its sharpest opponents were Philodemus of Gadara (first century BCE) and an anonymous rhetorician, a sophist whose arguments have come down to us in the *Papyrus Hibbeh*. Even Plutarch, the historian of Greek music, and Aristoxenus (fourth century BCE), its main theorist, speak in rather cautious terms about the doctrine of *ēthos*. Despite these controversies, the *ēthos* doctrine was cultivated by the Neoplatonists and by the church fathers and was championed by as influential a philosopher as Boethius.

Tragedy as musical drama. Attic tragedy originated in ritual, especially in that of Dionysos. The term *tragedy* derives from *tragōidia*, or "song of the goat," in celebration of a totemistic element in the Dionysian cult. The link between tragedy and ritual is clearly discernible in the tragedies of Aeschylus and Sophocles; it is less intimate in those of Euripides, the poet of the Greek enlightenment.

The ritual origin of tragedy is well known. Less known are the philosophical treatises devoted to its meaning, parts, and effects, and to the music that best represented the *ēthos* of the drama and its protagonists. According to Aristotle's celebrated *Poetics*, an effective drama has six parts, among which the *melopoia*, or musical composition, was not the least important. In its heyday, the tragedy contained a number of musical forms: the entrance of the choir (*parodos*), the standing song (*stasimon*), the song of the choir's exit (*exodos*), a song with pantomime (*huporchēma*), a lament (*kommos*), and the chanted recitatives of the main actors. Certain *harmoniai* were preferred for the drama, for example, the Mixolydian, because of its sorrowful *ēthos*, and the Doric, because of its solemn character.

Musical instruments. The musical instruments most significant for Greek religious practice may be named briefly. The main instruments were the lyre and its variants, such as the *kithara*, *barbitos*, *phorminx*, *trigōnon*, and *psaltērion*. They were all stringed instruments, to be plucked with or without a plectrum. The harp was probably imported from Egypt. They served chiefly the highly regulated Apollonian rite or style, which eschewed all ecstatic or orgiastic expression. Their music was strict, even severe; they were used by priests and the nobility. The hymns of Pindar, composed for accompaniment by lyre, were sacred to Apollo.

More appropriate to the unrestrained Dionysian style were such wind instruments as the *aulos*, a shrill-sounding primitive clarinet that was usually played as a double instrument with two mouthpieces. Sacred to Dionysos, it engendered violent merriment, wild breast-beating, or hopeless mourning. The distinction between Apollonian and Dionysian thus marks contrasting currents both musical and religious.

Relics of Greek music. Fifteen pieces of Greek music are known, of which three were carved in stone (two of these were found in Delphi and one in Tralles, in Asia Minor). Most of these pieces are only fragments. Their transcription into modern notation is, in certain details, controversial. An example of one of those carved in stone is the *skolion*, or libation song, of Seikilos, originating in the first century BCE.

ROMAN MUSIC. No written musical document of the early days of Roman history has come down to us; we must depend upon archaeological evidence. Ancient Rome was built upon three civilizations: Etruscan, Greek, and, finally, Near Eastern. In general Greek music came to Rome as a study to be learned and exercised. Eventually the powerful influence of Hellenistic music began to recede as the influence of Egyptian, Syrian, and Hebrew music increased.

Pre-Christian Roman religions. Roman cultic and popular customs were invariably accompanied by chanted and played music. Thus, according to the first-century historian Livy, the sodalities of the Salian priesthood regularly used chants at their rites. Numa, the legendary second king of Rome, provided the Salii, or "leapers," with arms and decreed that they chant hymns and dance at the appointed festivals of the martial god Mars. Their heavy-footed dance of arms in triple time was sacred to the god of war. Vergil (70–19 BCE) indicates that the songs of the Salii were executed responsorially (Vergil, *Aeneid* 8.285). The precentor of the priests, the *vates* ("poet" or "seer"), was considered divinely inspired.

Under the leadership of Livius Andronicus, Roman poet of the third century BCE, rites of atonement and consecration sacred to the goddess Juno were celebrated by choirs of virgins. Many of their hymns appear to have had apotropaic functions: to banish death, illness, and danger, and to establish peace between gods and mortals. The poet Horace (first century BCE) refers to the function of the *vates* in such rites, asking, "Where would innocent boys and girls learn their prayers, had not the Muse granted them a poet?" The customarily noisy *nenies*, or lamentations, functioned according to the principle "The greater the noise, the greater the loss"; they were disliked by Horace and later Roman poets, who were inclined to prefer the refinement of Greek poetry.

Music and poetry. Statius, a poet of the first century CE, no less than the poet Catullus a generation before him, took for granted the chanted performance of his poems. The poet Horace was probably the best-trained musician of his day, for he was commissioned by the emperor Augustus to create the words and music of the *Carmen saeculare*. It appears that Horace also taught its melody to the choir. In the first century BCE Greek dominance was as yet unchallenged, as evidenced by the existence of a Roman association, the Societas Cantorum Graecorum, yet Horace took pride in "having introduced Aeolian verses" to the culture of Rome.

Musical instruments. Because it had an expansive and militaristic culture, Rome used musical instruments more for its army than for its sanctuaries, although the ancient festivals, the Parilia and the Saturnalia, were certainly not celebrated without chants and popular music. The *tibia*, a primitive oboe comparable to the *aulos*; the *tuba*, a kind of trumpet; the Greek *kithara* and lyre; and, later, Asiatic instruments such as the Phrygian *curva tibia*, were heard on many cultic occasions. Wind instrument players were organized into the union of *tibicines*, stringed instrument players into that of the *fidicines*. Noise-making rattles, cymbals, and so forth were played by corybants and priests at Bacchanalian revels and were also heard at funerals.

Musical importations. Mystery cults imported from Asia featured bloody rites of initiation accompanied by the wild sound of noisemaking instruments and the Phrygian *tibia*. From Persia, borne by the legionnaires, came the cult of Mithra, with its ceremony of blood-baptism. The rattling of sistrums and the tinkling of harps accompanied the more peaceful cult of Isis, imported from Egypt. This multitude of foreign sounds was, like the *nenies*, condemned by Horace and later writers.

EARLY CHRISTIAN MUSIC. Foreign musics and mythologies were a horror and an abomination to the early Christians, or, rather, Judeo-Christians of the first two centuries, as were any pagan practices. The question of influence by Roman popular songs upon the chants of the early church has been raised, but all too few facts in favor of such a hypothesis can be adduced. The first Latin Church Fathers were so strongly biased against anything that smacked of paganism that they may well have suppressed any real evidence. Further, the Romans did not invent a musical notation of their own, nor were they interested in musical theory, so that any question of influence is difficult to judge.

The last part of Augustine's philosophical work *De musica* is now lost; it may have contained important views about the music of his contemporaries. Nonetheless, we are in possession of many, often contradictory testimonies of Christian chant in the Roman Empire, as it originated in Greece, Palestine, Italy, and other parts of the empire. Among them is just one piece of notated music, the *Oxyrhynchus hymnus*, and a veritable host of descriptions, speculations, and comparisons, ancient and medieval. Possibly some oral traditions were preserved until the ninth century, during which time a musical notation was developed in Europe. Some insights have resulted from this—rarely authentic—material, mainly in modern studies. A few examples will illustrate the state of this research:

1. *Hosanna filio David*. This antiphon for Palm Sunday is of ancient origin. Amédée Gastoué ascribes its intonation to the resemblance of the word *hosanna* with *hoson zēs*, the beginning words of a libation song.
2. Tropos Spondeiakos. Clement of Alexandria, second-century Church Father, recommended in his work on Christian education, the *Pedagogue*, that Christians should sing psalms before retiring, as the Jews of Alexandria did, and mentioned the Tropos Spondeiakos, or mode of libation, as the most suitable one. Pseudo-Plutarch, a contemporary of Clement, described this Doric-spondaic mode in his book on music and thus made possible its reconstruction. Years ago, I demonstrated that this mode occurs in some of the oldest Christian chants (in Latin, Greek, and Syriac) and in ancient prayers of the Yemeni Jews (*The Sacred Bridge*, vol. 1, 1959).
3. The tune of the *Te Deum*. This tune belongs to the very same family of melodies as the Tropos Spondeiakos and is equally old.
4. *Oxyrhynchus hymnus*. Written in the third century, this work is a praise of Christ that paraphrases a passage from Psalm 93. It represents a perfect mixture of Greek syllabic chant and Hebrew melismatic elements. This interpenetration of Greek and Hebrew elements was characteristic of most chants before the fourth century, when the Council of Laodicea set certain theological standards, which determined the split between Eastern and Roman Catholic liturgies.

Early Christian music thus preserved Greek and Hebrew sources of influence. Emphasis on the Greek elements in this music was made mainly by Boethius in his *De institutione musica*. Peter Wagner, the great expert on Gregorian chant, submitted a number of explanations for the role of Judeo-Christians as transmitters of Hebrew musical tradition to early Christian chants. The epitaphs of Deusdedit (Jonathan) and Redemptus (Yigael), singers whom Pope Damasus brought to Rome from Jerusalem, contain such remarks as "he sounded his ancient prophet [David] in sweet songs."

BYZANTINE MUSIC. While the Byzantine Empire was a well-defined entity both historically and geographically, its music belongs to its specific liturgy and so must be more closely circumscribed. The music of Byzantium will be sketched here as it developed in its first stage, from its origin in the fourth century during the reign of Constantine the Great until 565, the year of the death of Justinian I, who disbanded the Academy of Athens. The date is significant, for it marks the gradual separation of Byzantine culture from its Greek patrimony.

Music and Byzantine Christianity. We have no traces of early Byzantine secular music aside from reports of the great festivities held in honor of the emperor and his court, and about these noisy occasions we know most details from the tenth-century book of ceremonies by Constantine VII. No Byzantine music antedating the ninth century has come down to us. The term *Byzantine music* is, moreover, limited to liturgical chants. Although Syriac and Hebrew elements were probably integrated, definite evidence of these influences is not available, as the scholarship in this field is barely a hundred years old.

Musical notation. The Byzantine liturgy used two kinds of rhetorical notation. The first, the ancient ekphonetic notation, served the priests in reciting the sacred scriptures in a prescribed system of cantillation. Its connection with Syriac and Hebrew accents is quite obvious, as Egon Wellesz and I have shown. This kind of symbolism did not represent real musical pitches or intervals; instead, it punctuated the sentences and indicated pauses and the rise and fall of the voice. The second kind of notation was not established before the ninth century and so stands outside the scope of this description. This musical notation grew out of ekphonetic and rhetoric beginnings, and came to be applied to the chanted parts of the liturgy, especially to the *troparia*, centos of psalm verses and new poetry; the *heirmologia*, containing the models of traditional melodies; and the *kanones*, poetic paraphrases of nine biblical canticles: two songs of Moses, the prayer of Hannah, the prayer of Habakkuk, the hymn of Isaiah, the hymn of Jonah, the prayer of the three youths in the furnace, the apocryphal continuation of this prayer, and the Magnificat. The second ode was usually omitted in order to make a number equal to the eight modes, or *ēchoi* (Octoechos). From each of the original biblical texts, only a number of verses were chanted, and these were interwoven with poems by Byzantine authors.

The Octoechos. The Octoechos is a system of eight modes (originally not scales), whose names were erroneously borrowed from the classic Greek *harmoniai*. The concept of the Octoechos is very ancient; its origin has been linked to the Babylonian-Akkadian calendar. As a musical term, *ʿal-ha-sheminit* occurs in the superscriptions to two Hebrew psalms (sixth and twelfth) and, in the Greek literature, in Yohanan Rufos's sixth-century *Plerophoriai*. Under the name "Octoechos" many hymns of the Byzantine and Syrian churches were collected and ordered according to the eight modes and the seven-plus-one Sundays between Easter and Pentecost. Their texts were first published in about 540 by Severus, patriarch of Antioch. This work became the exemplar for many ritual books of the Byzantine Church. These books became repositories of an enormous number of liturgical melodies, whose influence enriched many of the chants of the Near East, even after the collapse of the empire in 1453.

SEE ALSO Aristotle; Chanting; Dionysos; Orpheus; Plato; Pythagoras; Socrates.

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MUSIC: RELIGIOUS MUSIC IN THE WEST

The religious music that is commonly considered Western had its beginnings in the Middle East and the Mediterranean, as did Western religions themselves. As that music developed over the centuries, it shaped and was shaped by a variety of musical cultures, most notably those of Europe and North America. Primarily Jewish or Christian in character, Western religious music has also been influenced at times by Islamic practices.

Different groups of Jews and Christians have been identified in the West partly by the kinds of music they have cultivated or prohibited. Much music, however, has crossed denominational and religious lines. Furthermore secular and sacred styles have been mutually influential, even if sometimes controversially so. Since the late eighteenth century Western music of a religious or spiritual nature has often appeared in a relatively secular guise.

FROM TEMPLE TO SYNAGOGUE AND CHURCH. Given the importance of the *Book of Psalms* to both Jewish and Christian worship and in view of references in *Psalms* to a variety of musical instruments, laments, and songs of praise, one might suppose that in later times Jews and Christians alike would have felt free to make music with virtually every means imaginable. But in the first few centuries of the common era dramatic changes in the context of worship for both groups made that kind of musical license virtually unthinkable.

In 70 CE the Roman army under Titus destroyed the Second Temple in Jerusalem; shortly thereafter Jews were deprived of their homeland. Accordingly the center of Jewish worship shifted from the Temple (originally the primary locus of *Psalms*) to the synagogue and the home.

Having started out as a Jewish sect, Christians likewise experienced in their first few centuries major, if less traumatic, shifts in the context and content of worship. With the missionary efforts of Paul and others, an ever-increasing percentage of the followers of Jesus were Gentiles. In addition Christians were often, albeit intermittently, targets of Roman persecution and were consequently constrained in their worship. Then in 313 CE the social situation of Christianity changed dramatically with the conversion of Constantine. Christianity became a legal and then privileged religion of the Roman Empire itself.

For both Jews and Christians there was considerable contrast between temple psalmody and their own liturgical practices. It is uncertain when synagogues originated; they may have begun in some form as far back as the exilic period or earlier. In any case, when worship took place in the synagogue, it never entailed sacrifice, as temple worship did. Nor did it make use of priests or a choir or any musical instruments except (later) the shofar, which had always had a limited ritual role—mainly on Roʾsh ha-Shanah. Some scholars believe that, until 70 CE, psalmody itself had no part at all in the synagogue and that psalm singing may not, in fact, have reappeared until around the fourth century CE In any case, the synagogue service was essentially a service of the word, with prayers and readings from Scripture.

Consistent with the principles of rabbinic Judaism, which were to remain normative until the eighteenth century, the musical simplicity of the synagogue apparently derived from three sources: rules (*halakhah*) for observing the Sabbath, which would be violated by the tuning and carrying of instruments; mourning over the Temple's destruction, which meant a ban on instrumental music until the coming of the messiah; and concern over the ostensibly sensual qualities of women's voices, with the result that only men were permitted to sing.

None of this is to imply that synagogue worship in its formative stages was unmusical. By the latter part of the first millennium if not before, the synagogue service employed three genres of chant: psalmody (responsorial or antiphonal), cantillation of Scripture, and liturgical chant for prayers. The liturgy in that way was musical through and through.

For their part, Christians during the apostolic age (first century CE) sang "psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs," as stated in *Ephesians* 5:19 and *Colossians* 3:16. While those terms are vague, many scholars believe that the sung texts included the biblical psalms (though that has been disputed), canticles such as those in *Exodus* 15 and *Habakkuk* 3, and hymns written by poets and composers who have not been identified. That the terms for the genres are left imprecise is not surprising; the New Testament spells out few details regarding either music or worship. One is told that Jesus and his disciples sang a hymn at the conclusion of the last supper, but scholars are left to speculate that the supper may have been a Passover seder and that the hymn may have been the Hallel.

It seems to have been a foregone conclusion among early Christians that instruments had no place in public worship. For their service of the word, Christians were still accustomed to the pattern of the synagogue, the music of which was strictly vocal. Whereas it is no longer assumed that there was an extended period of continuity with synagogue practice, Christians must have continued intoning prayers and chanting Scriptures. How and what Christians sang during the Eucharist (Communion) or at common meals is uncertain. The service of the Eucharist was probably indebted to Jewish and pagan traditions surrounding domestic meals and ritual banquets. None of the music survives, however—nor any other music from late antiquity.

Scholars formerly thought that Christians initially approached matters of music in a puritanical spirit that only gradually relaxed over the next several centuries as Christians became more sophisticated. Closer inspection of texts and dates has shown, however, that, whereas concerns over musical propriety and practice were a minor matter at first, they actually increased in the patristic period (roughly the second through the fifth centuries).

It was in response to pagan ritual and entertainment practices, which often combined song, drama, and dance, that church fathers raised objections to licentious singing and the use of instruments—the "senseless sounds" of drums and cymbals and the "clamor" of the trumpets. Clement of Alexandria summoned Christians to struggle against the "music of idols," especially instrumental music. He admitted that God permitted the Jews to use instruments in former times but insisted that this indulgence was a temporary concession to their weakness. John Chrysostom and others interpreted the instruments of the psalms allegorically, as symbolic of how harmony is produced in the soul. Tertullian, Augustine, and Chrysostom all said that Christian psalmody should serve as an antidote to sensuous excitement and a positive cure. When done moderately and with understanding, singing was said to lay the passions to rest, to still the body, and to calm and order the soul.

In making those claims about music, Christian pastoral theologians during the patristic era set the tone for the church for centuries to come. Yet doubtless aware of similar criticisms within the educated pagan world itself, they were not only recalling the ancient example of the harpist David playing for the fitful Saul. They were also mirroring and aligning themselves with the views of music held by esteemed pagan philosophers from Plato to Plotinus. According to such philosophy, whereas some instruments and modes of music making feed the passions, earthly music of the right kind reflects a divinely beautiful order. The highest music is intellectual and spiritual: inaudible. Hence the ambivalence of Augustine in a famous passage in Book 10 of the *Confessions.* There he admits having been moved to tears by psalms sung in church, and he acknowledges the "ardent piety" to which the singing can give rise. But he repents having in former years been moved more by the singing, the "delights of the ear," than by the truth of what was sung. And he wavers even as he consents to psalm singing in church.

When the church sang, the congregation as a whole participated, often responsively, guided by some sort of leader or "cantor." Clement of Alexandria emphasized the unity of many voices, all singing in unison. Women participated—and not in separate choirs, as in pagan rituals. But following a phase in which Christian women were indeed formed into choirs, a reaction set in. In the third and fourth centuries women's voices began to be silenced altogether in church—a practice that, despite the objections of Ambrose in particular, became prevalent.

MEDIEVAL DEVELOPMENTS. Already by the time of the destruction of the Second Temple, more Jews were living in the Diaspora than in Palestine, with especially large communities to be found in Babylonia and in Alexandria, Egypt. Subsequently the rapid conquests in the Middle East, North Africa, and the Iberian Peninsula by the armies of Islam (seventh to eighth centuries CE) created the framework for the basically uniform character of medieval Judaism. Regarded by Muslims as a "people of the Book" (as were the Christians), Jews in Muslim lands were permitted to have relative autonomy.

Singing, in the form of chant and cantillation, was vital to synagogue worship as it developed. Scripture, prayer, and words of praise were not merely read but variously intoned or chanted. In synagogues between approximately the seventh and ninth centuries CE, a system of signs (*teʾamim*) was created to aid proper accentuation, verse division, and appropriate melodic patterns in chanting the text of Scripture. This process culminated in the Tiberias Massoretic system, the interpretation of which eventually resulted in the eight regional traditions of cantillation that now exist.

As time passed the need for a more or less professional singer, or cantor (*hazzan*), became evident. Traveling from one community to another, cantors shaped melodic patterns of prayer that later were regarded as sacred. Those chants came to be known as *nusach.* Although a lay precentor, then as now, would have presented the chant strictly as preserved and transmitted, the professional cantor rendered the melodic prayer with a greater measure of improvisatory freedom. Thenceforth the singing of the cantor was one of the glories of worship, although also periodically subject to criticisms of excessive virtuosity.

As synagogue services became more standardized from the fifth through the ninth centuries CE, complex poetic additions to, and substitutes for, fixed prayers became popular. Known as *piyyutim,* these liturgical poems included short refrains for congregational singing as well as more intricate refrains that could be given to a choir. The best known *piyyut* of all comes from the sixteenth century: *Lecha Dodi,* "Come, my Beloved, to meet the Bride; let us welcome the Sabbath," by Solomon Alkabetz (1505–c. 1572).

Two major branches of Judaism developed in Europe: Ashkenazi and Sefardi. Ashkenazic Jews moved outward from Italy to German-speaking lands, Russia, France, and England. They made use of special tunes, thought to be ancient, which were sung on solemn occasions. Those tunes were called *misinai,* which means "from Sinai," the most famous being the *Alenu* and the *Kol Nidre.*

Sefardic communities thrived in medieval Spain, where, after a golden age under Muslim rulers, they were forced by Muslims and then Christians to retreat to parts of northern Europe or back to North Africa and Palestine. In the Sefardic tradition, cantors paid greater attention to diction than to embellishment. In Spain, Arabic poetry, which was lyrical and characteristically even in meter, influenced both the secular and sacred Hebrew poetry of Yehudah ha-Levi, among others. Sefardic song borrowed Arabic modes and musical phrases, encouraging congregational singing. One form of Andalusian suite called *nuba* became popular, typically employing instruments except on the Sabbath. During the gradual reconquest of Spain by Christians, leading up to the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, Christian and Jewish styles blended, using Ladino dialect. Popular, rhythmic songs were enjoyed at such informal Jewish functions as Sabbath meals. A number of *cantica* melodies were adapted to hymns such as *Adon Olam* and *Yigdal* and even to the Qaddish doxology.

Christian chants may have developed relatively independently from Jewish practices, after a period of contact. Chant was particularly important to daily prayer in monastic communities. Even before the fall of Rome in 476 CE, which by convention marks the beginning of the early medieval period, the Christian monastic movement provided an alternative to the more worldly forms of Christianity newly ascendant in the Roman world of the fourth century. The Divine Office made extensive use of chant for reciting psalms and other sacred texts, in accordance with the rule established by Benedict of Nursia (c. 480–c. 547). Musically the most important of the eight canonical hours were matins, lauds, and vespers, the last incorporating the *Magnificat* canticle from *Luke* 1:46–55.

Sunday Eucharist in churches everywhere gave rise to a variety of regional "rites," all of which involved plainchant settings both of the pertinent variable texts (the Proper) for the Mass and invariable, fixed texts (the Ordinary): the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Benedictus, Agnus Dei, and Ite, missa est (often omitted from musical settings). The responsive psalmody and liturgy from Milan, which took the name Ambrosian, persisted after other local variations such as Gallican and Mozarabic had given way to Rome. By the eighth century CE Rome had a *Schola cantorum* for training church musicians. Tradition has it that Pope Gregory I (c. 540–604 CE) regulated and standardized the various liturgical chants, but that was more likely carried out over the next two centuries. The form of chant that eventually prevailed, which came to be called Gregorian, was imported and codified by Charlemagne (742–814 CE) in Frankish lands, superceding a form of Roman chant known as Old Roman.

Because plainchant evolved orally, it made considerable use of melodic formulas and simple structures. With quiet beauty, it formed a kind of stream on which to float prayer and praise. It served the word but without dramatic gestures or conspicuous attempts to illustrate the meaning of the texts. Chants employed melodic formulas called psalm tones, one for each of eight church scales, called modes, plus a *tonus peregrinus*, or "wandering tone." The singing was often antiphonal. Long melodies that were given hymn texts in couplets were known as sequences, two of the most famous being the *Dies irae* (heard in the Requiem Mass), and *Veni Sancte Spiritus.* Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179) composed notable sequences in addition to antiphons and a musical morality play in plainchant, *Ordo virtutum* (The virtues).

Chant notation appeared for the first time in the ninth century CE, at which point it indicated only the rise and fall of pitches; in the eleventh century the use of staff lines finally specified pitch exactly. Probably the invention of notation contributed to the rise of multilinear singing, or polyphony, the earliest form of which was organum—initially a simple parallel motion between two or more vocal parts. In the twelfth century at Notre Dame Cathedral of Paris, Lenonin and Perotin composed rhythmically complex, multilayered forms of organum, which led shortly to motets that employed different sets of words simultaneously. In the fourteenth century there appears the first polyphonic setting of the entire Ordinary of the Mass by a single composer: the *Messe de Notre Dame* by the leading composer of the *Ars nova* in France, Guillaume de Machaut (c. 1300–1377).

If Gregorian chant by the High Middle Ages comprised the most extensive body of religious music in the West (and possibly anywhere on earth), polyphony was to become, over the next few centuries, one of the most intricately artistic achievements in all of sacred art. In the hands of such composers as John Dunstable (c.1390–1453), Guillaume Dufay (c. 1400–1474), Johannes Ockeghem (c. 1420–1497), and Josquin des Prez (c. 1450–1521), polyphonic music provided a vertically and horizontally ordered, well proportioned, and harmonious world of sound. Polyphony thus fulfilled venerable ideas of how human music could mirror or imitate the divine order of the cosmos—ideas that were adumbrated long before by Boethius (c. 480–524 CE) and still earlier by Augustine in his incomplete treatise *De musica* (c. 409 CE). Although music as studied in the medieval universities was essentially a theoretical branch of mathematics linked to astronomy, the making of polyphonic music itself could be regarded as both rational and theological.

In the meantime in Byzantium—the eastern part of the former Roman Empire that flourished long after the western part of the Empire fell—the plainchant of the liturgy had continued for centuries relatively unchanged. In Constantinople this music was characterized by ancient antiphonal psalmody and by a strophic form of hymnody known as the *kontakion*, a poetic elaboration on a biblical text. Yet in the last phase of the Byzantine Empire a new style of music emerged, the *kalophonic*, or "beautiful sounding." Whereas monophonic in the manner of plainchant, it was unusually florid. With the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, the Middle Ages came to a spectacular close.

RENAISSANCE AND BAROQUE. By the dawn of the European Renaissance (1453–1600), which was roughly concurrent in time with the Protestant Reformation, Jews had suffered massively from a wave of expulsions, forced conversions, and persecutions, climaxing in their fateful expulsion from Spain in 1492. Although the primary features of rabbinic Judaism remained relatively unchanged until the middle of the eighteenth century, messianic hopes intensified, along with mystical impulses and practices.

Qabbalistic mysticism, which had its roots in the Middle Ages, entered a new phase under the inspiration of Isaac Luria (1534–1572). He taught that the sparks of the godhead had fallen into captivity. Music was one of the spiritual means by which to liberate imprisoned elements of divinity and to contribute to the anticipated reparation, or *tikkun*, whereby creation could be restored to its intended harmony. An important aspect of *tikkun* was the practice of taking non-Jewish and secular tunes and transforming them into sacred songs.

In a related development over a century and a half later, eastern European Hasidism, under the leadership of Baʿal Shem Tov (c.1700–1760), emphasized the importance of joyful worship. Drawing on qabbalistic ideas, Hasidic music theory promoted the concept that even a melody without words, called a *niggun*, can contain divine sparks. The highest melodies, created by Hasidic saints, or *tsaddiqim*, were said to be like pure souls, their forms conveying mystical meaning and constituting an elevated form of prayer. The influence of Hasidic music was felt, eventually, in virtually all forms of Judaism. Hasidic-style music, mostly nonliturgical, remains popular in the twenty-first century, as in the central European style known as klezmer (from klezmorim, or "music makers").

Polyphonic art music did not find a home in the synagogue before around 1600. The polyphony introduced by Salomone Rossi (c. 1570–c. 1628) and published as *The Songs of Solomon* in Mantua, Italy, was remarkable but atypical. In Italian synagogues of the seventeenth century one could sometimes hear baroque cantatas on special occasions. In Amsterdam and Prague certain synagogues likewise introduced instrumental music, including the organ.

No such use of instruments was allowed to invade the more traditional synagogues—nor the churches of Eastern Orthodox Christianity. With the fall of Constantinople, Russian Orthodoxy became the main inheritor of the Byzantine tradition. The sung liturgy, while translated into Russian, continued to be exclusively vocal and remains so. While a wide-ranging, melismatic way of chanting arose in the sixteenth century, along with polyphony in two or three voices, the more decisive change came in the mid-1650s, when the patriarchy and the official Russian Church adopted polyphony on a broad scale. Although schismatic groups led by the Old Believers resisted that development as smacking of Roman Catholicism, the exclusive use of monophonic chant faded into a small minority tradition by the eighteenth century. At that time Dimitry Bortnyansky (1751–1825) set the dominant tone by composing elegant sacred choral concertos.

Within western Europe the Protestant Reformers of the sixteenth century differed considerably among themselves when it came to music. But for virtually all of them, music was a matter of consequence. It was part of what they thought they needed to reform. By their era the Ordinary of the Catholic Mass had been left to the choir and clergy, congregational response had been sharply curtailed, and morning and evening prayer had become choral as well. Because the choir itself was made up of clergy (often minor orders) and was exclusively male, there was little sense of the whole people's involvement in the liturgy and its music.

Martin Luther (1483–1546) emphasized vernacular, congregational hymnody not only as a way of retrieving the practice of the early church but also as a corollary to the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers. Luther himself wrote numerous metrical psalms and such hymns as the famous "Ein feste Burg" ("A Mighty Fortress"), for which he may also have composed the melody. Luther and his colleagues translated traditional Latin hymns, supplied sacred words for popular songs (as long as they had not been too intimately connected with brothels and inebriation), and took over popular vernacular hymns. Wanting to employ good and memorable tunes, Luther also took art songs of the day as a model. One of the main achievements of Lutheran music was the strophic, congregational hymn, or chorale, which in subsequent centuries became popular in four-part harmonizations. At the same time Luther had a great fondness for polyphony—especially that of Josquin—and envisioned a place for choral polyphony in the Mass, the liturgy of which he retained in modified form, both in Latin and in German. Convinced that, next to theology, music deserves the "highest honor," Luther considered music a great gift of God to be used as a vehicle of worship, as an aid to piety, and as a means of education.

In contrast to Luther, the Swiss reformer Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531), although an accomplished musician, banished even congregational singing from the church, arguing that the biblical principle of "making music in your hearts" excluded using the voice itself. In Geneva, John Calvin (1509–1564) oversaw the production of a complete metrical psalter, edited in large part by Louis Bourgeois. Highly influential, the *Genevan Psalter* set the pattern for unaccompanied unison singing of metrical psalms in many different lands and was soon arranged in instrumental and polyphonic versions for domestic use.

In sixteenth-century England the book of metrical psalms compiled by Thomas Sternhold, and subsequently edited and supplemented by John Hopkins, provided the official basis for Anglican hymnody until the early nineteenth century. In the seventeenth century it was supplemented by Anglican chant, which called for singing psalm tones in harmony. In America the New England Puritans used the Scottish *Psalms of David in Meter* (1650) and, to a lesser extent, the *Bay Psalm Book* (1640).

In the eighteenth century Dissenters in England established an alternative hymnody that, besides making use of paraphrases of Scripture, incorporated songs of "human composure." Isaac Watts (1674–1748) showed the way with hymns such as "When I Survey the Wondrous Cross," followed by the Charles Wesley (1707–1788), whose five thousand hymns, including "Love Divine, All Loves Excelling," not only were intended to be a musical practical theology but also an emotional inspiration. Soon those hymns were a beloved feature not only of Methodist hymnody but of Protestant and evangelical hymnody in general.

Whereas hymn singing could claim roots in New Testament practice (without anyone knowing exactly what that had sounded like), other forms of church music during the

Renaissance and baroque eras were far removed from anything early Christians would have recognized. In England choral music within a Catholic orbit often employed a rich texture of five or six voices. Thomas Tallis (c. 1505–1585) went so far as to compose an elaborate motet with forty independent parts, *Spem in alium.* Various European Catholic composers of polyphony, such as Tomas Luis de Victoria (c. 1548–1611) and Orlando di Lasso (1532–1594), treated texts in a highly expressive, even passionate, manner.

Whether polyphonic textures could render sacred texts in a sufficiently intelligible fashion had long been an issue, however, and became so again. Many centuries earlier church leaders such as Pope John XXII (1316–1334) and John of Salisbury (1120–1180) had already complained not only about ostentatious singing but also about the incomprehensibility of texts when sung in multiple, overlapping lines of music, "some taking high and others low parts, some singing in advance, some following in the rear, others with pauses and interludes," all sounding like a "concert of sirens." The Protestants of the Reformation era definitely gave priority to the word, both spoken and sung. Thus King Edward VI of England in 1548 prescribed music that, in setting a text, would provide a "playn and distincte note, for every sillable one." Partly in response to such Protestant attempts at directness and simplicity, the Catholic Counter-Reformation, promoted by the Council of Trent, likewise criticized complicated polyphony for obscuring sacred texts, although the main concern was to discourage everything "impure or lascivious." Legend has it that the Italian Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (c. 1525–1594) saved the future of polyphonic church music by composing his *Missa Papae Marcelli* in such a way as to demonstrate that restrained polyphony could indeed support the sacred word.

Nevertheless during the following era—commonly known as the baroque (roughly 1600–1750)—church music could be quite theatrical and exuberant. That is immediately apparent from the splendid variety of the *Vespers of the Blessed Virgin* (1610), composed by Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643), which opens with instrumental fanfares drawn from his opera *L'Orfeo.* Yet the baroque, which saw the beginnings of opera, had its own ways of honoring the text. According to Monteverdi, music in the predominant modern style was meant, in fact, to serve the text. That modern style employed expressive dissonances, angular melodic lines, and rhythmic drive and freedom to dramatize the meaning of the words. It thus appealed directly to the "affections." Indeed the baroque anticipated the emphasis on the expressive function of music that later pervaded romanticism in a more personal way. Music of the baroque also included new forms of counterpoint, anchored in dramatic and often fast-moving chord progressions.

Church music of the baroque era made much use of newly evolved instruments: strings, woodwinds, trumpets, timpani, and certainly the organ. The organ up until then had mostly been employed modestly. Between the ninth and the twelfth centuries small organs (portative and positive) had migrated into the church from secular settings, along with a few large and unwieldy ones. Organs during the Reformation period were used extensively to introduce hymns and to alternate with—and eventually to accompany—congregational song as well as to provide preludes and postludes or Communion music. In the baroque era organs became much more complex mechanically and far grander and more versatile, especially in German-speaking lands. By the time of J. S. Bach (1685–1750) organ music included toccatas and fantasies, lengthy preludes and fugues, and numerous other forms that appear to have been designed primarily for concerts or instruction, although influencing sacred style as well.

Musical settings of the Mass grew increasingly varied. In France especially the organ sometimes took for itself parts of the Mass that might otherwise have been sung, elaborating on the pertinent chant tunes. In the Venetian-Viennese tradition of the Mass, instrumental figurations and sectional contrasts became a prominent feature, along with passages for solo voice. Late in this same period the concerted Mass in the so-called Neapolitan style unfolded on a larger scale than ever before, each of the parts of the Ordinary being subdivided into separate movements. Such Masses reflected a strong influence from opera, both in their emotional character and in their musical forms, such as duets and arias. At the same time Palestrina's works were preserved and imitated as classic models.

New forms of sacred music were born during the baroque: the sacred concerto, which Heinrich Schütz (1585–1672) raised to a high level, and more importantly the oratorio, the cantata, and the passion. Oratorio began in a Catholic place of prayer—the Oratory of Philip Neri in late-sixteenth-century Rome. Soon it became a religious counterpart to opera, adopted widely by Catholics in Italy and by Protestants in Germany, allowing them to present biblical stories in concert form, rather than being staged. Oratorio was particularly popular during Lent, when opera houses were closed. George Frideric Handel (1685–1759) brought oratorio to England, where its combination of narratives (recitatives), solos, and choruses became immensely popular. In England, however, oratorio was usually kept out of church, due to puritanical opposition to anything smacking of the theater. Thus Handel's many oratorios, including *Samson*, *Jephtha*, and the atypical but extraordinarily popular *Messiah*, were presented mainly in theaters and concert halls.

Although many Protestant composers tried their hands at cantatas or passions, the spiritual depth, intellectual craft, and sheer artistry of the many settings by J. S. Bach were beyond compare. Such cantatas, which were sometimes criticized for sounding too secular, borrowed stylistic features from Italian opera as they offered a musical commentary on the Gospel lesson for a given Sunday. The passion music that Bach composed for Good Friday services was far more extended in scale, lasting between two and three hours compared with the typical twenty minutes of a cantata. The *Saint Matthew Passion* together with Bach's lengthy *Mass in B Minor*—a kind of summa of the genre—can be counted among the greatest classics of Western religious music.

ENLIGHTENMENT ERA TO THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY. For Jewish composers since the European Enlightenment period of the late seventeenth century and eighteenth century (overlapping the artistic baroque), the most salient feature of modernity was the struggle for emancipation and the concomitant question of assimilation—first in German-speaking countries of central Europe and then, a century later, in eastern Europe. In Westphalia, Berlin, and Hamburg in the early nineteenth century the aesthetic norms that guided Reform synagogue worship as it attempted to conform to a predominantly Christian culture were derived from Protestant Christianity: the reading of the Bible, rather than chanting, and the use of organs and Gentile-style hymns. In Vienna the cantor Salomon Sulzer (1804–1890) took a less-extreme approach. He purified the chant of the excess operatic embellishments that had accrued, and he made use of a choir of a dozen voices of men and boys, to the acclaim of visitors such as Franz Liszt and the critic Eduard Hanslick. Sulzer's contemporary Louis Lewandowski (1823–1894) composed and arranged simpler music for congregational singing in smaller synagogues. Choirs were also introduced in eastern Europe but only rarely included mixed voices at a time when men and women in the synagogue were still almost always seated separately. Organs remained controversial, yet many were installed in synagogues by midcentury, sometimes with the stipulation that they could be played only by Gentiles.

In the United States, Reform synagogues made decisive changes in liturgy and music, minimizing the role of the cantor and of chant. The music of the *Union Hymnal* of 1897 was more Protestant in style than identifiably Jewish—albeit intended for use by a professional choir and rabbi rather than the congregation. The 1932 edition, by contrast, reflected a desire to recover a distinctly Jewish sound, as Reform Jews had become more comfortable with their Jewish identity in the American context. By 1950s the Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox movements had all established schools of sacred music to train cantors. Yet the following decades, in which Sefardic Hebrew replaced Ashkenazic as the dominant dialect in liturgy, also saw a more populist and eclectic approach to liturgical music, tapping into the idioms of folk music and dance. Subsequently, within Reform Judaism itself, there has been a call for greater attention to traditional forms as well.

During the modern era numerous "classical" composers produced works of distinctly Jewish provenance whose primary context was intended to be the concert hall. These include such figures as Arnold Schoenberg (1874–1951), Ernest Bloch (1880–1959), Samuel Adler (b. 1928), Alexander Goehr (b. 1932), Leonard Bernstein (1918–1990), and Aaron Jay Kernis (b. 1960).

Russian Orthodox composers in the previous century were similarly active in the secular music world. Some of them, such as Mikhail Glinka (1804–1857), also wrote liturgical music, but there they faced the added challenge that the Russian Church repertoire remained exclusively vocal. Glinka himself, for instance, turned to modal harmonies and simple chordal structures when writing for the liturgy. Pieter Ilyich Tchaikovsky (1840–1893) and Sergei Rachmaninov (1873–1943) made more distinctive contributions, the latter with his choral *Vespers* (properly an "All Night Vigil"), which disturbed traditional church leaders at the time but is often regarded as the apogee of modern Russian liturgical music.

The center of musical life in the modern era clearly moved from liturgical settings (of whatever sort) to secular venues. Accordingly much of the development in Roman Catholic and Protestant music also became a story of interaction with, or reaction to, secular styles. The operatic influence that had been audible even in the case of Bach's cantatas became unmistakable, for example, in the Masses of Franz Joseph Haydn (1732–1809) and of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791). Haydn's oratorios *The Creation* and *The Seasons*, while incorporating scriptural and religious themes, had a largely genial and buoyant manner, wearing their religious garb lightly. The high seriousness of Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827) in his *Missa Solemnis* could not be doubted. But that long and involving work was liturgically impractical, and the music became a virtual Mass in itself.

The trend continued with the gigantic Requiem Masses of Hector Berlioz (1803–1869) and Giuseppe Verdi (1813–1901), two composers who were by no means known as devout Catholics. The works themselves used theatrical means to convey powerful visions of eschatological hopes and fears. Richard Wagner (1813–1883) mined Christian myth in his opera *Parsifal* but without embracing Christian doctrine. Similarly Gustav Mahler (1860–1911) in his *Resurrection Symphony* (Second Symphony) and *Symphony of a Thousand* (Eighth Symphony) evidently found it spiritually empowering not to be restricted, textually, to any one specific religion. The same could be said earlier of the more conservative Johannes Brahms (1833–1897), whose *German Requiem* was essentially a concert work that avoided specifically Christian language while using biblical texts compiled by Brahms himself.

Certain classical composers nonetheless worked for the renewal of church music as such and of music related directly to the church. These included Franz Liszt (1811–1886), whose poetic oratorio *Christus* remains an unduly neglected masterpiece, and Felix Mendelssohn (1809–1847), who revived Bach's music and gathered a popular following with his own oratorios *Saint Paul* and *Elijah*. Anton Bruckner (1824–1896) wrote Masses and motets in addition to his monumental symphonies.

It was also in the nineteenth century, in a movement centered in Germany, that Catholic clergy and musicians promoted a new Cecilian Society, which was dedicated to reviving Gregorian chant and polyphony in the style of Palestrina. Other Catholics, led by the Benedictines at Solesmes, France, made efforts to restore the truer and more ancient forms of Gregorian chant. In England the Oxford Movement (1833–1845), emphasizing the broadly Catholic origins of the Church of England, recovered patristic hymnody and revived the medium of chant, usually in the English language.

Such endeavors anticipated the wider liturgical movement of the next century, in which various Roman Catholics and Protestants alike sought to renew worship by attending to its early paradigms as well as by emphasizing greater lay participation. The Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) ratified many of those themes, with the result that much of the music for the Ordinary of the Mass was returned to the congregation, Catholic hymnody came to life, and soon virtually everything was sung in the vernacular. The ensuing outburst of liturgical music in a wide array of popular guises brought both excitement and dismay. The music of the church became diverse and inclusive, yet the quality was uneven. Meanwhile much of the vast treasury of historical sacred music was orphaned, at least for the time being.

Congregational song had already expanded considerably in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, even as mixed choirs and paid quartets became popular. The Church of England was enriched by two hymnals in particular, *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1861) and *The English Hymnal* (1906), both of which have contemporary successors. Protestants in nineteenth-century America not only produced indigenous hymnbooks, such as the *Sacred Harp* and *Southern Harmony*, they later thrived on popular urban gospel songs, such as the hymns of Fanny Crosby (1820–1915), and on revival music that entered the evangelical mainstream.

African Americans at first adopted the hymns of the European-American churches. But by the middle of the nineteenth century, after emancipation, they produced their own hymnals. Long before then they had created their own tradition of shouts, spirituals, and "sorrow songs," often employing call-and-response patterns hearkening back to African idioms. Blending those traditions with many others, black gospel songs later in the century could be either jubilant or prayerfully protracted—as in "Precious Lord, Take My Hand" by Thomas A. Dorsey (1899–1993). The music of African American worshippers has since exhibited, by and large, great improvisatory freedom and rhythmic vitality. Inspired in part by Pentecostal movements, many African American churches have welcomed a variety of instruments, including percussion, and have made special use of the expressive possibilities of the Hammond organ. Whereas African American church music has often existed in tension with the more "worldly" styles of jazz and blues, the interaction between church and secular styles has been conspicuous. Duke Ellington (1899–1974) and John Coltrane (1926–1967) were able to infuse jazz with religious meaning. And contemporary gospel styles have absorbed elements of rock and rap.

In the last decades of the twentieth century Christian denominations produced an unprecedented number of new hymnals, drawing on music in a wide array of styles and from the worldwide Christian community. Some committees were guided specifically by concerns for social justice and inclusive language. Other groups, exploring alternative worship patterns, abandoned hymnals altogether in favor of projecting onto a screen the words of praise and worship choruses and contemporary Christian music. In the Catholic tradition the Saint Louis Jesuits led the way in the 1970s by providing scripturally based and accessible worship music. Ecumenically the music of the Taizé community in France, composed by Jacques Berthier (1923–1994), spread abroad a more meditative spirituality.

In relation specifically to modern classical music, churches utilized the works of a small number of recognized composers such as Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872–1958), Randall Thompson (1899–1984), and John Rutter (b. 1945). Unbeknownst to most churchgoers, many other modern composers—including Igor Stravinsky (1882–1971), Francis Poulenc (1899–1963), Frank Martin (1890–1974), Benjamin Britten (1913–1976), and Olivier Messiaen (1908–1992)—continued to produce major religious works. Such music typically made exceptional demands on both listener and performer, however. A large gap widened between modernist works, which often bristled with difficulties, and the sensibilities of most churchgoers. That gap only increased as churches turned more and more to the idioms of popular culture and began mixing styles in "blended worship." With spiritually attuned listeners also being drawn to New Age and world music, the classical establishment often seemed remote.

It is thus noteworthy from a religious perspective that, in the present era, or postmodernity, the differences between Eastern and Western music and between "elite" and "popular" have begun to erode, even in the concert hall. Some of the finest recordings of Bach cantatas have been originating in Japan. And among the latest classical styles are a spiritually centered minimalism and a tonally based (and often multicultural) eclecticism that have both shown considerable "crossover" potential. Works by composers such as Arvo Pärt (b. 1935), John Tavener (b. 1944), James MacMillan (b. 1959), John Adams (b. 1947), Tan Dun (b. 1957), and Osvoldo Golijov (b. 1960) appear to hold out promise for new kinds of artfully wrought religious music that might grow alongside, and interact with, the burgeoning indigenous and popular traditions.

See Also Chanting; Christianity, overview article; Islam, overview article; Judaism, overview article.

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FRANK BURCH BROWN (2005)

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD.

Founded in 1928 by Ḥasan al-Bannāʾ (1906–1949), the Society of Muslim Brothers (al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn) was created to bring Egyptian Muslims back to an awareness of the objectives of religion within a society that had, in the view of al-Bannāʾ, been corrupted by alien ideologies and a materialist philosophy imported from the West.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND. The British occupation of Egypt in 1882 had fueled a nationalist movement seeking independence from British rule; these aspirations culminated in the revolt of 1919 under the leadership of the aging politician Saʿd Zaghlūl and the newly formed Wafd ("delegation") party. The decade of the 1920s offered the Egyptians constitutional government and hopes of an impending settlement between Britain and Egypt through a negotiated treaty. When Zaghlūl died in 1927, these hopes were eroded, and a number of movements appeared as alternatives to the liberal notions of government that had not been successful, partly through interference on the part of the king and the British authorities in Egypt and partly through ineptness on the part of the parliamentarians. In addition to the fascists and the communists, these movements included the Society of Muslim Brothers, who believed that the path of reforming the country's social and political problems lay in the islamization of institutions.

Ḥasan al-Bannāʾ, a primary school teacher who was the son of a small-town religious teacher, was early attracted to Sufism, which, along with classical Islamic studies, formed his major intellectual foundations and became the linchpins of his group. He described the Muslim Brotherhood as a "Salafīyah movement [espousing return to the early principles of Islam], a Sunnī [orthodox] way, a Ṣūfī [mystical] truth, a political organization, an athletic group, a cultural and educational union, an economic company, and a social idea." The movement spread rapidly, representing every segment of society from newly urbanized rural immigrants to high government officials. In its heyday in the 1940s, the Muslim Brotherhood claimed to represent one million members; later estimates are difficult to establish.

The structure of the organization was spelled out in the Fundamental Law of the Organization of the Muslim Brothers, promulgated in 1945 and later amended. Leading the organization was the general guide, who chaired the General Guidance Council (the policy-making body) and the Consultative or General Assembly, both of which were elective bodies. A secretary general was in charge of a secretariat linking the council and the rest of the organization. Two further subdivisions dealt with various committees (press, peasants, students, etc.) and with an administrative body supervising branches outside the capital. A chain of command was thus established over the entire membership.

SPREAD OF THE MOVEMENT. Weekly lectures, preaching in mosques, and periodic conferences allowed for popular participation, and the establishment of a press soon spread the message of the Society of Muslim Brothers further. Unconcerned with doctrinal differences, the participants concentrated on growth, action, and organization, and by 1939 they were ready for political activity. The war years were to provide them with a forum.

Nationalist agitation against the British continued with labor strikes and student demonstrations until, in 1942, the British threatened King Fārūq (Farouk) with deposition and forced him to appoint a Wafd government under Muṣṭafā al-Naḥḥās. This incident generated further support for the Muslim Brotherhood, by then the only other grouping with a mass base to rival the Wafd. Even among the Wafd leadership there were many who approved of the society as a bulwark against the spread of communism among the working class. For the next few years the society established links with disaffected officers within the army (who were later to carry out the revolution of 1952), and, unknown to even his closest colleagues, al-Bannāʾ stockpiled weapons and created a secret apparatus trained in the use of armed violence for tactical operations.

With the end of the war, agitation for the evacuation of British forces from Egypt started once again, with frequent student demonstrations and acts of violence until the British garrison was finally withdrawn to the Canal Zone. The situation in Palestine and the war against Israel in 1948 provided the Muslim Brotherhood with an opportunity to collect more arms as members volunteered during the war and remained in the forefront of the fighting until their organization was dissolved in December 1948. The immediate cause for the government's action against the society was the death of the Egyptian chief of police, Salīm Zakī, who was killed by a bomb thrown at him during student demonstrations protesting the armistice with Israel. Mass arrests followed as the government, fearing the society's growing influence, sought to proscribe it. Three weeks later, the prime minister, Maḥūmud Fahmī al-Nuqrāshī, was assassinated by a Muslim Brother. In February 1949 Ḥasan al-Bannāʾ was himself assassinated, probably with the complicity, if not the actual participation, of the government of the day.

After the Muslim Brotherhood was proscribed, its property confiscated, and its members put on trial, many of its remaining members fled to other Arab countries, where they founded autonomous branches of the society. In 1951 a Wafd government, seeking a buffer against rising leftist movements, allowed the society to reconvene. A judge with palace connections, Ḥasan Ismāʿil al-Huḍaybī, was chosen as new leader. That same year the Wafd government unilaterally abrogated the treaty of 1936 with England, and Egyptian youth, including the Muslim Brothers, were encouraged to harass British camps in the Canal Zone. In January 1952 British forces attacked the Ismailia police station, and forty Egyptian policemen were killed. On the following day Cairo was set on fire in a monstrous riot that gutted the heart of the city. The Muslim Brothers were suspected of planning the riot, which they had not, although some of them were among the many participants. From then on the country was virtually without effective government until July 23, 1952, when the Free Officers movement, which included future Egyptian presidents Jamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir (Gamal Abdel Nasser) and Anwar al-Sādāt, seized power and three days later sent the king into exile.

There had been strong links between the Muslim Brotherhood and the Free Officers—Nasser and Sadat had both been members of the society. Once all political parties had been disbanded, the only focus for mass support lay with the society. Nasser knew that it represented the lone challenge to his authority and that its leaders expected to share power with the officers; a power struggle was inevitable. In 1954 a member of the Muslim Brotherhood allegedly attempted to shoot Nasser during a public rally, and once again the society was proscribed and its members arrested.

The society remained underground throughout the Nasser era. When Sadat came to power in 1970 all prisoners were released, including the Muslim Brothers, and, to combat the Nasserite current, Sadat allowed the society to reestablish itself under the leadership of an *ʿālim* (religious scholar), Shaykh al-Tilimsānī, and to publish its own newspapers. Meanwhile newer associations patterned after the society, the Islamic *jamāʿāt* ("groups"), had appeared. Some of these were extensions of the Muslim Brotherhood; others regarded the society as retrograde and beholden to the government. It was a member of one of the latter, more extremist groups who assassinated Sadat in 1981.

DOCTRINES AND IMPACT. According to the program of al-Bannāʾ, the Society of Muslim Brothers was given a mission to restore the rule of the *sharīʿah* (Islamic law) to Egypt, and to all other Muslim countries where their missionary activities had set up affiliates. Rule of the *sharīʿah* rendered inadmissible the separation of church and state, for the state, they believed, existed in order to serve religion and to facilitate the fulfillment of Islamic religious duties. The Islamic state had the Qurʾān as its constitution; its government operated through *shūrā*, or consultation, and the executive branch, guided by the will of the people, ruled through Islamic principles. The ruler, chosen by the people, was responsible to them and not above the law, with no special privileges. Should he fail in his duties he was to be ousted. Freedom of thought, of worship, and of expression were vital, as was freedom of education. Finally, freedom of possessions was to be maintained within the limits set by Islamic law, which frowns upon the excessive accumulation of wealth and enjoins *zākāt* ("alms") as a basic religious duty. Social justice was to be the guiding principle of government.

The significance of the Society of Muslim Brothers and of its modern offshoots, the *jamāʿāt*, is that they represent a protest movement couched in a traditional Islamic idiom that expresses the ethos of a people. The society arose in protest against a foreign occupation that threatened the identity of a people and the dissolution of its culture and religion. It spoke to people in the language they understood and appreciated, that of Islam and its historical past, and it did not posit newfangled notions derived from a Western idiom, although the society did use Western techniques of mass communications and of assembly, even ideas of government, which were garbed in Muslim idiom. As such it was comprehensible to the masses who suffered political discrimination and economic exploitation by a government that was largely indifferent to their welfare, especially during periods of economic recession. Those who were disillusioned with Western ideologies and their ability to solve Egypt's problems, or indeed the problems of any Muslim country, turned to the precepts of the society, or to similar movements that they identified with their roots and cultural authenticity (*aṣā-lah*), for guidance and spiritual consolation. The same phenomenon was reproduced during the Sadat regime (1970–1981) when the "Open Door" (*infitāḥ*) policy disrupted society and led to rampant consumerism, which, exacerbated by the influx of oil money, raised fears of becoming engulfed by westernization.

Organizations such as the Muslim Brotherhood or the *jamāʿāt* are regarded by some Muslim regimes as dangerous foci of opposition and have thus met with violent repression. In 1982, under the regime of president Ḥāfiẓ al-Asad, the Syrian army shelled the city of Hama, a Muslim Brotherhood stronghold; portions of the city were leveled and casualties were variously estimated at ten thousand to twenty thousand. Similar attacks were repeated in Aleppo, Homs, and Latakia. In Iraq the regime of Ṣadām Ḥusayn waged a relentless campaign against the Shīʿī group al-Daʿwah al-Islāmīyah. In Saudi Arabia Muslim militants seized the Grand Mosque in Mecca for several days in 1979. In Sudan the Muslim Brotherhood forced the regime of Muḥammad Jaʿfar al-Numayrī (Numeiri) to adopt Islamic policies in 1977. Comparable militant groups have spread to most Muslim countries irrespective of their forms of government.

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AFAF LUTFI AL-SAYYUD MARSOT (1987)

MUSŌ SŌSEKI (1275–1351), a monk of the Rinzai school of Zen Buddhism in medieval Japan. Born into an aristocratic family, he entered the religious life at an early age, rose to become head of some of Japan's most influential Zen monasteries, and left his stamp on Rinzai Zen and medieval culture.

Musō's earliest Buddhist training was not in Zen, but in esoteric Tendai and Shingon Buddhism. He was drawn to Zen at about the age of twenty and went to study under the Chinese Zen master Yishan Yining at the monastery of Engakuji in Kamakura. Although an able pupil, Musō was unable to convince Yishan that he had attained a valid enlightenment experience. Finally, he left Engakuji to seek his understanding of the buddha-nature in a life of solitary wandering and meditation, and to test his Zen with other masters. He attained his enlightenment one night, deep in a forest, watching the embers of his campfire. This enlightenment experience was formally recognized *(inka)* by the Japanese Zen master Kōhō Kennichi, with whom Musō studied for several years.

After Kōhō's death in 1314, Musō returned to his solitary wanderings, deepening his insight through meditation in mountain hermitages. His spiritual reputation eventually reached Kyoto and Kamakura. In 1325, at the age of fifty-one, he was invited by the emperor Go-Daigo to head the important Kyoto monastery of Nanzenji. Musō also came to the attention of the Hōjō regents in Kamakura and the early Ashikaga shoguns, all of whom were eager to patronize the monk and study Zen under his guidance. After Nanzenji, Musō went on to head several other important Rinzai *gozan* monasteries. By the close of his life, he was regarded as the most eminent monk in Japan, had become the leader of a rapidly growing band of disciples, and had seven times been the recipient of the prestigious title of *kokushi,* or National Master.

Musō's considerable contributions to medieval Zen and Japanese culture were made in several areas. As a Zen master, with a large following of monks and laymen, Musō advocated a kind of Zen practice that was readily accessible to the Japanese of his day. Although he studied under Chinese Zen masters, Musō himself never visited China. His Zen incorporated the traditional Rinzai practices of seated meditation and *kōan* study, but its Chinese character was tempered by his own early religious training, his continued devotion to Japanese Esoteric Buddhism, and his strong interest in Japanese poetry and culture. In his book *Muchu mondo* (Dialogues in a dream), Musō tried to explain Zen in straightforward, everyday language as he responded to the questions raised by the warrior Ashikaga Tadayoshi.

Musō also played an important role as a monastic leader and regulator who shaped the character of Rinzai Zen monastic life in medieval Japan. Although his Zen was easily accessible to monks and laymen, he set high standards for his monks. He divided them into three categories: those few who singlemindedly pursued enlightenment, those whose Zen practice was diluted by a taste for scholarship, and those who merely read about Zen and never threw themselves into a search for self-understanding. To help and discipline the practice of all his followers, Musō laid down strict rules for his communities in codes such as the *Rinsen kakun,* a set of regulations for Rinsenji. In this, Musō was setting himself in the tradition of such famous Chinese and Japanese monastic leaders as Baizhang and Dōgen Kigen, both of whom had devoted considerable attention to the proper practice of Zen community life.

Musō was also an intellectual and a man of culture. Schooled in Chinese, he wrote poetry in both Chinese and Japanese. He is also renowned as a garden designer. In addition, Musō was a major political figure in his day. He served as confidant and go-between for the emperor Go-Daigo, the Hōjō, and the Ashikaga, encouraged the sending of trading missions to China and the building of new Zen monasteries, and raised Rinzai Zen to a position of political prominence in medieval Japanese society.

SEE ALSO Gozan Zen.

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MARTIN COLLCUTT (1987)

MUʿTAZILAH.

A religious movement in early Islam, the Muʿtazilah turned into a theological school that become dominant in the third and fourth centuries AH (ninth to tenth century CE) and persisted in certain areas until the Mongol invasion at the beginning of the thirteenth century CE. The history of the movement is comprised of three different phases: (1) an incubation period that lasted roughly through the eighth century; (2) a short period of less than half a century (c. 815–850) when the Muʿtazilī school, after having defined its identity, developed an astonishing variety of individual, sometimes contradictory ideas and permeated the intellectual life at the Abbasid court; and finally (3) several centuries of scholastic systematization channeled into two branches or schools that were named after the towns of Basra and Baghdad respectively.

Each of these phases presents its own problems for the researcher: the first is badly documented and can only be reconstructed on the basis of later reports, which are frequently distorted and tendentious; the second is better attested but needs detailed monographical treatment; and the third has only recently begun to attract scholarly attention. On the whole, knowledge of this movement is still rudimentary. Detailed research is hampered by the lack of original texts. This is due to the fact that, after the middle of the ninth century, the Muʿtazilī movement was gradually driven into the position of a heresy; in the areas where it was considered "unorthodox" its books were no longer copied. Therefore we have to rely, at least up to the third phase, mainly on heresiographical reports. For the later centuries we possess a few texts, some of which reach the size of a *summa theologica*, but they belong to a rather restricted period; outside of this limit, many of the thinkers still remain mere names to us.

HISTORY.

The Muʿtazilī movement is usually traced back to the end of the Umayyad period, the years between 740 and 750. But during the first century of its existence the movement was far from the most important factor in the development of Islamic theology.

Origins. The Muʿtazilah began in Iraq, but there the Shīʿah (in Kufa) and the Ibāḍīyah (in Basra and Kufa) initially had the better thinkers, while the school of Abū Hanīfah, which combined juridical competence with an "ecumenical" outlook in theology, enjoyed greater missionary success. We are not even sure whether we can assume—as all of our sources do—that a real continuity existed between the first and second phases: there seems to be almost no doubt that the great thinkers of the second phase did not have any precise knowledge about their spiritual ancestors. When they moved from the old intellectual centers, Basra and Kufa, to the Abbasid court in Baghdad they felt the urge to preserve the memory of their past, but they evidently could not rely on any established historical tradition of the "school." The gap was widened by the fact that they disagreed with certain opinions held in the preceding generation and therefore tried to keep their immediate predecessors out of the picture. Under these circumstances we must reckon with the possibility that they constructed a past which never belonged to them or was only partially true. We should also not forget that the historical reports that were transmitted at that time were not collected and written down until some time later, from the middle of the second half of the ninth century onward.

The lack of historical recollection is amply demonstrated by the discovery that no Muʿtazilī author had any precise information about the original meaning of the name *Muʿtazilah*. Our sources offer a number of explanations, but all of them are secondary guesses and beside the point; some are blatantly tendentious. Modern scholarship has contributed a few more suggestions, but the question still remains open. All that we can prove is that the movement bore this name when it became involved in an insurrection against the caliph al-Manṣūr in 762. But the name does not seem to have been invented at that time, for it does not fit the situation. It means "those who dissociate themselves" or "those who keep themselves apart" and thus calls for political neutrality rather than revolutionary activism. The name already existed in the first century AH (seventh century CE), with this connotation, as a term designating some renowned companions of the Prophet who abstained from any participation in the first civil war (the Battle of the Camel in 656 and the Battle of Ṣiffīn in 657). It was then probably applied to the first Muʿtazilī thinkers since they, too, did not side with any political party of their time.

This attitude was distinctive insofar as it was adopted in a period when almost everybody had to make personal alignments clear, namely during the last years of the Umayyad caliphate, which saw the breakdown of the political order in Iraq and elsewhere. The founder of the movement, a cloth merchant from Basra by the name of Wāṣil ibn ʿAṭāʾ, intended to create a missionary organization working inside Islam; he sent his disciples, as "propagandists," to the most remote regions of the Islamic empire—the Arabian Peninsula, Armenia, Iran, India (the Punjab), and the Maghreb—so that they could interpret the Muslim creed and win people over to his own cause. Unfortunately, we do not know what this "cause" really implied. We cannot exclude the possibility that it was originally political, for Wāṣil copied a model that clearly had a political character, that is, the network of agents built up by the Ibāḍīyah, with whom he lived closely in Basra. Most of our information, however, contradicts this hypothesis: Wāṣil wanted reform, not revolution. Islam, was, after all, still the religion of a minority; outside the great centers, the knowledge of what Islam really meant was rather limited, and its definition differed from area to area. It any case, Wāṣil did not live to see the fruit of his efforts; he died in 749, one year before the triumph of the Abbasids.

Wāṣil's "propagandists" were mostly merchants like himself, and when they traveled, they combined business with missionary zeal. This pattern explains how the movement financed itself but does not say much about its spiritual impetus. The inner motivation of Wāṣil's circle seems to have derived from a certain feeling of inferiority: all of the participants were non-Arabs, that is, they did not enjoy the natural prestige of the aristocracy but came, as "clients," from Iranian or Aramaean families who had been converted to Islam one or two generations before. They possessed considerable wealth and were, as a matter of fact, recognized in their society, but they had to rely on Islam as the basis of their identity. They knew something about Islamic law, for Wāṣil advised them to win the favor of their audience by delivering *fatwā*s ("legal opinions") to demonstrate their juridical expertise. But they also deliberately distinguished themselves from normal, "worldly" people: they clipped their mustaches and wore turbans (which, at that time, were characteristic of certain nomadic tribes but not of the urban population); they also wore special sandals and wide sleeves. This was the attire of ascetics; it gave them a certain "alternative" touch.

The organization was taken over by Wāṣil's colleague ʿAmr ibn ʿUbayd (d. 761), a prominent disciple of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, the great figure of religious life in Basra during the preceding generation. ʿAmr had to cope with the new situation created by the Abbasid seizure of power. He seems to have given up all relations with the cells outside Iraq and in Basra, where he controlled a considerable number of adherents (who possibly formed youth groups), he kept quiet. This position became increasingly precarious at the end of his life as discontent with the Abbasid government mounted in Iraq. After his death the activists among the Muʿtazilah followed the call of the Shīʿī pretender Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Nafs al-Zakīyah (or rather, that of his brother Ibrāhīm) and took part in the revolt of 762. When the attempt failed, the Muʿtazilah were persecuted and went into hiding; those who had compromised themselves mostly fled to Morocco.

This event seems to be a decisive turning point. We hear that afterward the Muʿtazilah still possessed a mosque of their own in Basra, but we do not know of any leading personality for at least thirty years. Above all, there is no hint of any specific theological activity. Then, toward the end of the eighth century, two figures emerged: al-Aṣamm in Basra and Ḍirār ibn ʿAmr in Kufa. But neither of them was a typical Muʿtazilī; as a matter of fact, the later school kept a certain distance from them. Al-Aṣamm was obviously an Ibāḍī, whereas Ḍirār, a judge by profession and one of the most original thinkers of this period, differed from the *communis opinio* of the following generation in his ideas concerning free will and therefore fell victim to a *damnatio memoriae*. The original concept of the Muʿtazilah as a popular missionary movement seems to have survived best in Baghdad where, during the same period, Bishr ibn al-Muʿtamir, a slave merchant by profession, exhorted the masses by expressing his theological ideas in simple poetry. That was appropriate for the social climate in the newly founded capital; the town had attracted many people who came to make their fortune and ended up by being uprooted.

The period of success. The Muʿtazilah were propelled from provinciality to prime importance by the theological interest which emerged at the Abbasid court. The change came in two shifts, first through the influence of the Barmakids, the viziers of Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 786–802), and then, after a short setback caused by their downfall, thanks to the initiative of the caliph al-Maʾmūn (813–833). Both the Barmakids and al-Maʾmūn were not so much interested in theology itself as in listening to disputations: they liked to have representatives of different religions and confessions argue against each other. This predilection may have been stimulated by a non-Iraqi environment: the Barmakids originally came from Balkh, and al-Maʾmūn first resided in Merv; in Transoxiana, where both towns were situated, Islam coexisted with Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Christianity, and Judaism.

However, the main stimulus came from the intellectual atmosphere of the capital itself. Islam was no longer the religion of a minority, as in the time of Wāṣil, but a creed which had rapidly expanded at the expense of other religions. The conversions to Islam had been prompted mostly by social considerations, but theology had to furnish an *a posteriori* justification: thus the outlook of the new theology was strongly apologetic and its style predominantly dialectical. The Muslims were not entirely unprepared; they had experienced enough internal strife between different "sects" in order to know what methods to use in disputes. Therefore, the Muʿtazilah were not the only ones to sharpen these weapons for the fight with their pagan adversaries. But besides being skillful dialecticians (*mutakallimūn*) they offered a concept of Islam which, by its rationality, transcended the divisions among the old theologico-political factions (Shīʿah, Murjiʿah, and others) and therefore had broad appeal, at least among the intellectuals. The Muʿtazilah thus became the first overall, "orthodox" school of theology.

Their path to success can still be traced. Ḍirār ibn ʿAmr took part in the sessions arranged by the Barmakids, but there he was only one among many. In Merv, one generation later, the situation was different; the Muʿtazilī Thumāmah ibn Ashras acted as a kind of counselor to al-Maʾmūn, and Bishr ibn al-Muʿtamir was among those who put their signature as witnesses to the document in which the caliph nominated the Shīʿī imam ʿAlī al-Riḍā as his successor. The real breakthrough came when, in 820, al-Maʾmūn moved the court back to Baghdad. Two figures dominated the scene there: the Basran theologian Abū al-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf, who was already about seventy (he died a centenarian in about 840), and his nephew al-Naẓẓām. The latter showed all the features of a courtier: he mocked at asceticism and excelled in light and imaginative poems which celebrated wine and the beauty of youths. He therefore acquired the reputation of being a drunkard and a homosexual. He was not necessarily either, since poetry is not reality, but these characterizations demonstrate that, with their success, the Muʿtazilah also came under scrutiny. Al-Naẓẓām's open identification with the ideals of high society did not tally with Bishr ibn al-Muʿtamir's earlier attempt to convert the masses. The split deepened when those who still understood the Muʿtazilah as a popular movement and kept to the old ascetic tradition started adopting Ṣūfī tendencies: they dressed in wool and asserted that the Muslim community should abstain from electing a caliph (a merely symbolic viewpoint, for the community did not have any influence in this respect anyway). In their view, however, court life was a scandal and the entire Muslim world corrupt, full of injustice and violence.

For the moment, the court party had the upper hand. But enjoying the favor of the caliph also meant supporting his policies. When al-Maʾmūn, in a decree sent throughout the empire in 833, asked his governors to enforce the doctrine of the createdness of the Qurʾān as a kind of state dogma, the Muʿtazilah were immediately identified with this measure. This evaluation was only partly justified. The caliph had certainly made the decision by himself, as a demonstration of his spiritual leadership of the community, and his main adviser had been a theologian by the name of Bishr al-Marīsī, who, through his belief in determinism, stood apart from the Muʿtazilah. But the Muʿtazilah subsequently had to lend their intellectual support to the measure. When the policy of the caliphs led to a persecution (the so-called *miḥnah*, or "inquisition") the chief judge was a Muʿtazilī: Ibn Abī Duwād. The *miḥnah* lasted for fifteen years, and the government succeeded in purging the ranks of the state officials of any opposition. Resistance remained strong, however, among the population of Baghdad who, with a clear anti-intellectual bias, rejected rational theology in favor of the prophetic tradition (*ḥadīth*). Therefore the caliph al-Mutawakkil, the third successor of al-Maʾmūn, decided to steer another course. In 848 he ordered some traditionists to preach about (spurious) sayings in which the Prophet allegedly condemned the Muʿtazilah and similar groupings; a few years later, any occupation with dialectical theology was prohibited. The Muʿtazilah were removed from the court.

But the movement was still very strong. Measures taken in Baghdad did not always have consequences outside the capital, and the Muʿtazilah had established themselves in almost all parts of the Islamic world: in Upper Mesopotamia and in the Syrian Desert (among the Kalb); in several suburbs of Damascus and in Lebanon (for instance in Baalbek); in Bahrein and even in the Maghreb (again among certain tribes in what is today Morocco and Algeria); in Armenia; above all in western Iran, in the provinces of Kerman, Fārs (for instance in Arradjān and in Sirāf), and Khuzistan (for instance in Shūshtar, Susa, ʿAskar Mukram, and Gundē-shāpūr, at that time the seat of a famous medical academy directed by the Nestorians); and finally in India, in the area along the shore of the Indian Ocean to the west of the Indus Delta. In these centers the trend toward individualistic thinking and dialectical pyrotechnics had certainly not been as predominant as in Baghdad. Many of the Iranian towns mentioned are situated on the main trade routes: it seems that the common theological outlook created an atmosphere of confidence essential for better business.

This extended geographical base helped the Muʿtazilah to survive. However, it also fostered misunderstandings and tensions which came about through separate regional developments. In Baghdad, the caliph al-Mutawakkil had not only acted against the Muʿtazilah but also—and even more violently—against the Shīʿah. Consequently al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 869), a prominent Muʿtazilī author who had maintained close relations with Ibn Abī Duwād and other high state officials, wrote a book in which he praised the Muʿtazilah and at the same time attacked the Shīʿah. This opportunistic turn irritated a colleague of his by the name of Ibn al-Rāwandī (d. about 910), who had just come from the East, where he had acquired a sound reputation within and outside of his school. Iran was governed by the dynasty of the Tahirids, who did not follow al-Mutawakkil's anti-Shiʿah policy. Ibn al-Rāwandī therefore joined the Shīʿah in Baghdad and refuted al-Jāḥiẓ's book. But he did more than that: in a series of treatises he showed that some of the axioms accepted by the Muʿtazilah, such as the createdness of the world or the justice of God, that is, theodicy, were not based on solid premises and that the Qurʾān was full of contradictions. His enemies within the school called him a freethinker for those views, but he apparently wanted only to point out that, with respect to certain positions, the dialectical method allowed for arguments pro and con which simply neutralized each other. Thus the Muʿtazilah, shortly after being deprived of political power, were also faced with the inadequacy of their intellectual instruments.

The scholastic phase. Ibn al-Rāwandī's pinpricks produced a shock. His books were refuted by several authors, in Baghdad as well as in Basra. Although these two towns were far from the only strongholds of Muʿtazilī theology, their names served as labels for the two different schools that took up Ibn al-Rāwandī's challenge and, going beyond mere refutation, began systematizing the material accumulated in the past. At the beginning of the tenth century their main representatives were Abū al-Qāsim al-Kaʿbī (d. 931), who was identified with Baghdad although he only studied there and then taught in his hometown of Balkh in eastern Iran, and for Basra, al-Jubbāʾī (d. 915) with his son Abū Hāshim (d. 933). In their efforts to build up a coherent theological framework they had to care more than their predecessors about epistemological and terminological problems; this accounts for their growing interest in precise definitions and questions of logic.

The range of the Basran school, which, like the school of Baghdad, gradually shifted to Iran, is well attested by the work of the *qāḍī* ʿAbd al-Jabbār (d. 1024/5), chief judge at Rayy (near modern Tehran). His *Mughnī* (*[The Book] That Makes [Other Books] Superfluous*), a twenty-volume *summa theologiae*, has recently been edited as far as it is preserved and also subjected to some research. Besides this valuable source, further texts written by his pupils and other theologians who followed his views are also available. For Muʿtazilī hermeneutics our best source is Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 1044), with his *Kitāb al-muʿtamad* (The Reliable Book), although this book is concerned with the criteria of jurisprudence, not those of theology.

For the school of Baghdad, on the contrary, we lack extensive original documentation. But its ideas are relatively clear to us thanks to a development that deeply influenced the later history of the Muʿtazilah: the winning over of the Shīʿah. This process took place within two of the three main branches of Shīʿī theology; the Zaydīyah and the Twelver Shīʿah. Only the Ismāʿīlīyah preferred to seek support in Neoplatonic philosophy instead. Among the Zaydīyah the door had already been opened to Muʿtazilī thought by the imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm (d. 860), though he did not intend to be a Muʿtazilī himself. The final decision was taken somewhat later and in two different regions: first by his grandson al-Hādī ilā al-Ḥaqq (d. 911), who founded a Zaydī principality, an imamate, in Yemen; second, though with certain setbacks, by the Zaydī pretenders in northern Iran, in the area near the Caspian Sea. Among the Twelvers, Muʿtazilī theology was introduced by two members of the Banū Nawbakht, a famous family of state officials and scholars: Abū Sahl Ismāʿīl al-Nawbakhtī (d. 924) and his nephew Ḥasan ibn Mūsā (d. between 912 and 922). The trend originally met strong resistance there, especially from the traditionist theologian Ibn Bābawayhī (d. 991), but then it prevailed because of the influence of Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 1022).

The motives for these dogmatic shifts are not altogether clear. The Muʿtazilah still retained, among their theological principles, the obligation to spread the right belief; this may explain their usefulness for the Zaydī pretenders. The Twelvers had lost their spiritual leader through the disappearance (*ghaybah*) of the twelfth imam in 874 and may have clung to rational theology for new reliable guidance. In Baghdad, Muʿtazilī theologians had always had moderate Shīʿī leanings, although they did not normally side with the Rawāfiḍ (i.e., the Twelvers). At the end of the ninth century, even a Basran like al-Jubbāʾī recognized ʿAlī's son Ḥusayn as a righteous ruler. Abū al-Qāsim al-Kaʿbī was the secretary of an early Zaydī pretender in Iran. Later on, the crisis of the caliphate revived the hopes for political support. The Muʿtazilah in Baghdad entertained relations with Sayf al-Dawlah (r. 944–967), the Hamdanid ruler of Aleppo, and then with the Buyids; both dynasties had Shīʿī leanings. A Buyid vizier, al-Ṣāḥib ibn ʿAbbaād (d. 995), promoted the *qāḍī* ʿAbd al-Jabbār in Rayy.

The Baghdad school exerted its strongest influence among the Zaydīyah, though only in its Yemeni wing. The Caspian imams were under Basran influence, but their principality did not survive. However, theological works of the Iranian wing were taken over into the Yemen, for instance the great Qurʾān commentary written by al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī (d. 1101). Among the Twelvers, al-Mufīd followed the Baghdad school, but in the generation after him a pupil of the *qāḍī* ʿAbd al-Jabbār, Sharīf al-Murtaḍā

(d. 1044), turned to Basran ideas and determined the Twelver outlook for the centuries to come. On the whole, the Zaydīyah adopted Muʿtazilī doctrine more fully than the Twelvers.

Outside of the Shīʿī areas, the Muʿtazilah were in retreat. But their impact persisted in at least two places. I have mentioned the Berber tribes in the Maghreb; some of them remained Muʿtazilī even after the Fatimid invasion, at least up to the second half of the eleventh century. They called themselves Wāṣilīyah, with reference to Wāṣil ibn ʿAṭāʾ. In fact, they seem to have lost contact with the Iraqi Muʿtazilah very early and did not participate in the move toward intellectualism instigated by the Abbasid court. We find scarcely any traces of theological activity; the claim to be Wasiliyah merely constituted a symbol of identity, the implications of which we do not know. In addition, Muʿtazilī theology continued to exert a certain attraction in Baghdad and in Iran, among jurists belonging to the school of Abū Hanīfah. In Baghdad, this combination became precarious after the weakening of Buyid power. In 1017, the caliph al-Qadīr forced the Ḥanafī judges and witnesses to make a public disavowal; pressure from traditionist, especially Hanbali, circles increased steadily. Eastern Iran, with its fragmented political landscape, offered better conditions. Muʿtazilī thought flourished under the Khwārizm-shāhs up to the beginning of the thirteenth century. We even know about a Muʿtazilī in the environment of Timur Lenk (Tamerlane, d. 1405). He, however, seems to have been an exception; generally speaking, the end of Muʿtazilī influence on Sunnī circles in Iran came earlier, with the Mongol invasion in the first half of the thirteenth century.

In the contemporary Muslim world, Muʿtazilī ideas are evaluated in different ways. In Iran, they still permeate theological thinking, especially after the revival of Shiism. In Yemen, they belong to the Zaydī heritage, but have lost all reproductive vigor. In certain Sunnī countries undergoing the impact of modernist movements, they have been thought of as giving witness to the essentially rational character of Islam; this has led, especially in Egypt during the last two generations, to a certain scholarly interest which was sometimes hailed as a "renaissance." Modern fundamentalism, however, has proved that view premature. Muʿtazilī ideas are again pushed back into the corner of heresy.

DOCTRINE. That Muʿtazilī doctrine changed over the centuries should go without saying. What is perhaps more important is the fact that its function also changed. During the incubation phase doctrine was less important than group solidarity; at the Abbasid court, Muʿtazilī theology represented the first attempt at a rational and universal description of Sunnī Islam; and in the later centuries certain basic positions, especially the doctrine of free will, served as a label which indicated that a person belonged to the Muʿtazilī "school."

The "five principles." The decisive step toward creating a reliable "dogmatic" framework was apparently taken rather late, by Abū al-Hudhayl, who defined five principles that he considered indispensable to Muʿtazilī identity. These have determined the structure of Muʿtazilī theological works for centuries, in spite of the fact that two or even three of these principles did not retain much importance in later discussion. One of them was already dated when Abū al-Hudhayl took it up: the princple of "enjoining what is good and forbidding what is evil" (*al-amr bi-al-maʿrūf wa-al-nahy ʿan al-munkar*), that is, active admonition to follow the right path and resist impiety. This had been the device of the revolution against al-Manṣūr in 762 and was probably the justification for Wāṣil's missionary projects, but it was rather out of place at the Abassid court.

The second principle, concerned with the intermediate state of the Muslim sinner, was still valid at that time, but derived its importance from an earlier debate that had its roots in the period before Wāṣil. It was a compromise between two attitudes that had arisen in the seventh century, on the one hand the rigorist belief that every Muslim who commits a grave sin excludes himself or herself from the community, and on the other, an "ecumenical," communitarian position which understood the revelation of the *kerygma* as the decisive event by which every Muslim, whether sinner or not, was ultimately saved. Wāṣil was rigorist enough to abhor any laxity or minimalism, but he lived late enough to realize that the exclusiveness practiced by the rigorists could not serve as the basis of the world religion that Islam had meanwhile become. He wanted the grave sinner to remain a member of the Muslim community, with all the rights that involved (safety of life and property, inheritance from other Muslims, etc.), but he insisted that the sinner would be condemned to eternal punishment in Hell like the pagans if that person did not repent. Thus, the grave sinner is to be treated neither as an unbeliever nor as a true believer. This doctrinal position was apparently not far from that taken by Wāṣil's teacher, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, but it was Wāṣil who brought it into focus and sharpened it by changing the terminology. Ḥasan had called the Muslim sinner a *munāfiq* ("hypocrite"), using a word taken from the Qurʾān, where it referred to enemies of Muḥammad who had not openly sided with the unbelievers. This led to exegetical problems; the Qurʾanic context was not always appropriate for the theological definition wanted. Therefore Wāṣil used the term *fāsiq* ("transgressor") instead. This term was equally Qurʾanic but had merely moral and no historical connotations.

The eternal punishment of the "transgressor" was Abū al-Hudhayl's third principle. It turned out to be somewhat flexible. The school sometimes tolerated members who only believed in a kind of prolonged purgatory; the dogma was also mitigated among the Twelvers. This tolerance derived from the fact that the discussion shifted to a related issue that had been Abū al-Hudhayl's fourth (or, according to his own counting, second) principle: God's justice. God does not do wrong: he punishes the sinner and rewards the good. He has the right to do so because he has put human beings under an obligation; he has revealed the law, and men and women have the choice to obey or to disobey. This choice presupposes two things: freedom of decision and an instrument to grasp this possibility of decision, that is, reason. However, the fact that man is an intelligent being then implies that the obligation already existed before revelation; the prophets are sent to confirm what reason knows, or should have known, beforehand. To a certain extent, revelation is merely a sign of God's mercy or favoring help which makes insight easier for man. It may, however, add new commandments; there are rational laws (e.g., the interdiction of lying) and revealed laws (e.g., the prohibition of the eating of pork).

Abū al-Hudhayl's last principle was the unity of God. This had always been an indispensable postulate for Islam, as opposed to the Christian trinitarian beliefs and the dualism of Iranian religions such as Zoroastrianism or Manichaeism. But this unity had been understood in different ways. Early anthropomorphists such as the Qurʾān commentator Muqātil ibn Sulaymān (d. 767 or later) had found it sufficient to assert that God is one and not two or three, which did not exclude his having human shape. They merely held that God's body is compact, not hollow, for he neither eats nor drinks. He is thus one in number and consistence but he is not one in form, for he has limbs like man. The Muʿtazilah, on the contrary, understood unity as incorporeity, unity in essence: God is beyond time and place, he is unchangeable. They did not even agree when some Shīʿī anthropomorphists in Kufa, Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam among others, refined their position so far as to conceive of God as a body of light that radiates like an ingot of silver. For the Muʿtazilah, God is not a body at all but only "something," a being that cannot be perceived by the senses but is exclusively known to us through revelation or through reason, by the effect of his creative will in nature. God will therefore not even be seen in Paradise: he is unlike all other beings.

Divine attributes. Unity then also means that the attributes ascribed to God in the Qurʾān are identical with him and not different entities or hypostases. This is true at least for "essential attributes" such as knowledge, power, or life; they are eternal and unchangeable like God himself and merely tell us something about certain aspects of his nature. "When one states that the Creator is knowing," said Abū al-Hudhayl, "he has asserted the reality of an act of knowing that is God and has denied ignorance in God and has indicated [that there is] some object known [to God] that has been or will be." However, in addition to "essential attributes" there are also "attributes of action" such as willing, hearing, seeing, or speaking, which describe God's temporal relationship with his creation; they are other than God and subject to change, for they come into being when God acts and cease when his action ceases. They do not subsist in him. This is why the caliph al-Maʾmūn declared the Qurʾān to be created: the Qurʾān is God's "speech" or "discourse" and came into being at a certain historical moment.

This theory presented certain problems. The attributes were inferred from Qurʾanic statements, where they normally took the form of predicates or "names," in sentences like "God is knowing," "God is (all) mighty," and so on. These sentences then had to be reformulated as, for example, "God has knowledge" and "God has power." How could this be done without reifying the attributes and transforming them into independent entities? And if knowledge really was God, as Abū al-Hudhayl seemed to say, how could it be differentiated from his power and other attributes? Finally, the question of whether there are attributes beyond revelation that have to be deduced rationally must be asked; predicates like "eternal" or "existent" were absent from the Qurʾān.

Since these questions referred to statements contained in the holy text, they were answered by linguistic analysis. The doctrine of attributes is based not on metaphysics but on grammar. Our understanding must therefore proceed from the Arabic language and medieval grammatical theory. The first differentiation can already be found in the translation of Abū al-Hudhayl's statement mentioned above: instead of "God has knowledge" we have to say "There is an act of knowing belonging to God"; Arabic linguistic feeling and Muʿtazilī theology insisted that "knowledge" is "knowing," that is, an infinitive rather than a noun, and as such not necessarily permanent or independent. This was not, however, a definitive solution. One could still, as did certain opponents of the Muʿtazilah such as Ibn Kullāb (d. 855?), conclude that this formulation referred to a separate entity that subsists in God. Al-Jubbāʾī therefore rephrased Abū al-Hudhayl's doctrine in the following way: "The meaning of one's describing God as knowing is (1) the assertion of [God's] reality, (2) that [God] is contrary to whatever cannot know, (3) that he who says that [God] is ignorant states a false proposition, and (4) an indication that there are things that [God] knows." Here, the act of knowing is completely excluded: what is asserted is only God's reality. This was enough to protect God against any plurality, but there was some reason for doubting whether it was enough to affirm his knowledge.

Al-Jubbāʾī's son Abū Hāshim then established a compromise by going back to the original Qurʾanic statements and inserting a copula into them (which is normally absent from nontemporal statements in Arabic): *Allahu ʿālimun* thus became *kāna Allāhu ʿāliman*, "God is knowing." The copula was then understood as a "complete verb," that is, it gained existential meaning: "God is"; the assertion of God's reality had been made explicit. The participle for "knowing," however, now put into the accusative instead of the nominative, was no longer interpreted as a predicate but as a *ḥāl*, a "state" of the subject instead of an attribute. In the words of Abū Hāshim himself: "Since it is true that [God] has a state in his being knowing, the knowledge that he is knowing is a knowledge of the thing itself [that is, the subject as] in this state rather than a knowledge of the act of knowing or of the thing itself." This theory allowed the above statements to be understood univocally of all knowers; a theological problem had been put into the general frame of grammatical analysis.

However, since the purpose of this description was ontological we find the later authors unfolding a whole range of different ways of predication and attribution. There are, for example, besides the "essential attributes" also "attributes of the essence," that is, attributes which not only make some statement about the essence but denote the essence itself and thus are not shared by anything else (in the case of God, a word like *eternal)*. Then there are attributes grounded in the presence of an accident. They were subdivided by the *qāḍī* ʿAbd al-Jabbār into several categories: for example, those that specifically qualify the substrate (or object) and necessitate a state in it as a whole, like motion or rest; and those which specifically qualify the substrate but do not necessitate a state of it as a whole, as, for example, colors (which may inhere in a few single atoms of the substrate, but not the whole of it). From them we may distinguish attributes determined by the agent who causes the existence of the thing, like "well ordered" or "skillfully wrought" (with respect to the creation, for instance); attributes directly derived from his action, like "speaking," "commanding," and so on; and finally attributes that are grounded neither in the essence nor in an accident, like "self-sufficient" said with respect to God (since this word which, in Arabic, originally means "rich" is positive only in its form of expression whereas "its strict sense is the denial of need on the part of one who is specifically characterized by a state having which need and self-sufficiency are actually possible").

The Muʿtazilī worldview. The way in which the theory of the divine attributes developed shows that the achievement of Muʿtazilī theology consisted not only in defining basic tenets by which it distinguished itself from other schools but also in the conceptual and systematic framework through which these tenets were expressed. Another case in point is the atomistic model by which the relationship between God and his creation was explained. This model had been conceived as early as the eighth century by Ḍirār ibn ʿAmr, but the theologian who gave it its final form was again apparently Abū al-Hudhayl. He thought of atoms as mathematical points that do not have any spatial extension until they touch each other. Atoms therefore are not three-dimensional; only bodies are. Normally it is only in spatial existence, that is, in combination with each other, that atoms take on accidents: color, for instance, and consequently visibility. Only a few accidents are connected with atoms when they are still isolated, namely those that, in the form of an alternative, make combination possible: composition versus separation and, as the medium through which composition and separation take place, motion versus rest. Motion then means that the atoms join each other and receive extension, or that they part and thus lose their corporeity again; rest means that they retain their status of being isolated and therefore cannot be perceived, or of being composite and therefore remain spatial.

What is decisive, however, is that the atoms do not join by themselves, for their composition is an "accident," and accidents, by definition, are created by God. A body exists therefore only as long as God allows this accident of composition to endure. This is Greek atomism turned upside down. Democritus and Epicurus intended to explain nature by the principle of chance (therefore the church fathers abhorred their philosophy). For the Muʿtazilah, on the contrary, atomism served as an accomplice of divine omnipotence. As mere conglomerates, things do not possess any essence of their own; this demonstrates their dependence on God. However, although objects are reduced to purely material composites, this was not a materialistic theory. The Greek atomists were searching for the monad: they wanted to explain nature. The Muʿtazilī atomists were searching for the pivot of God's will and power: they wanted to explain creation.

That is why, in contrast to the Greeks, the Muʿtazilah extended atomism to the realm of human action. The freedom of choice that is necessary for human responsibility is based upon a capacity which the individual receives from God. This capacity is not a permanent quality, an inborn power of acting, but a momentary capability to do one specific act. The Muʿtazilah shared this basic assumption with their determinist or predestinarian opponents. What made the difference was merely the fact that they did not think that this capacity was given simultaneously with the act, as the determinists did, but one moment before, leaving an interval of one time atom so that people have the chance to make their decisions, to choose whether to perform the action, to leave it, or to do something else. There were Muʿtazilah, especially in the Baghdad school, who believed that the capacity for action was not merely momentary since it was identical with health and the intact functioning of the body, but even they understood this continuum as a mere accumulation of single isolated moments.

Continuity was a factor that never came first in this model. With respect to the physical world, consequences had to be taken into account especially regarding the explanation of movement, for in the context of atomism movement meant only that the atoms of a moving body were, at different moments, opposite to the subsequent atoms of the surface on which this body was moving. Consequently, one had to discuss the problem of when movement takes place at all, whether during the first moment, when it begins, or during the second, when it has already ceased to exist. Movement, it could be said, is only a convention of language; in reality, bodies are always at rest, though at subsequently different places. Continuity is then only an illusion of our senses, as in a film.

With respect to human existence, this lack of continuity comes to the fore in the Muʿtazilī concept of person. For Abū al-Hudhayl the human being was first a mere complex of atoms and "accidents." It is true that he or she is alive whereas other bodies are not, but life is again only an "accident," a quality added to the conglomerate of atoms which form the body. There is something like a soul, but it is conceived of merely as a kind of breath that permeates the body as long as that body is alive. The soul may leave the body during sleep; this explains the phenomenon of dreaming. But the soul is not immortal: it guarantees life and it disappears together with it. What Abū al-Hudhayl and his colleagues wanted to explain was not the continuity or uniqueness of the human person, but God's power to create human beings anew in the hereafter. God adds the "accident" of life to the atoms that form them when God creates them; God withdraws this accident when he makes them die; and adds it again when he resurrects them.

This concept of a fundamentally disjointed world seems to exclude causality. But the Muʿtazilah usually did not go so far as to deny causality completely. To begin with, they gave it a different name: "production," which they defined as the dependence of one act on another. The examples they adduced show, however, that they thought in terms of human actions alone. They did not want to formulate a law of nature but to bind the human being to the consequences of his or her own behavior. They were mainly interested in man and his responsibility; their approach was juridical rather than metaphysical, for they started from man's obligation toward God. Later on, they recognized that they could not neglect the universe completely and would have to give an explanation for the phenomenon of a world that functions in an orderly and foreseeable way in spite of its being dependent on God's will at each moment. Abū al-Qāsim al-Kaʿbī spoke of God's "habit" in this respect, the *coutume de Dieu* that changes only in the case of a miracle.

Abū al-Hudhayl's worldview that I have described so far mainly influenced the Basran school, through al-Jubbāʾī. But during his lifetime he was already contradicted by his nephew al-Naẓẓām, who did not believe in atomism but proceeded from the infinite divisibility of bodies. Al-Naẓẓām also reduced God's immediate omnipotence. According to him, inanimate things now have a nature of their own that is independent in its activity, although ultimately created by God. They are still composites of different elements; however, these elements do not simply agglomerate like atoms but mix and grow into organic units. Nor do they depend on God's will at each moment of their existence; they are rather created all at once and then behave according to their own character. The human being, too, is no longer merely unique because of outward form but possesses a soul which, though still material, persists beyond death; al-Naẓẓām was the first Islamic theologian to take over the Platonic proofs for the immortality of the soul. This soul, a "subtle body," permeates all the limbs and keeps them alive. It can mix with other "bodies" that come to it from outside, such as sounds; this explains sense perception.

For some time, al-Naẓẓām's alternative approach had enormous success. But there were certain excesses that discredited it. Ultimately it did not supplant atomism. Nevertheless, it was not without influence on the Baghdad school. The Baghdadis continued to believe in atomism, but they held that the atoms have extension and endure by themselves, as do their basic accidents. Characteristically enough, it was a Baghdadi like Kaʿbī who relied on the concept of the *coutume de Dieu;* like al-Naẓẓām, he believed in the existence of natural qualities that determine the functioning of bodies and guarantee the preservation of the species. However, his natural philosophy was closer to Greek concepts than was al-Naẓẓām's; he followed the classical doctrine of the elements. In most of these points he was attacked by the followers of al-Jubbāʾī, who stuck to the Basran system.

Epistemology. Arguments for the existence of God were used within the circle of the Muʿtazilah at least from the time of Abū al-Hudhayl. The cosmological proof was known from Christian sources. But the Muʿtazilah preferred by far the argument *e novitate mundi;* deriving the existence of God from the "accidental" character of creation corresponded to their atomistic worldview. Originally, the notion of God had been considered as *a priori*, "necessary," as one said. Abū al-Hudhayl even believed that the "proof" for God's existence, namely the createdness of the world, was also immediately evident. This insight then implied, as he thought, the obligation to speculate further about God's nature and to look out for his commandments; it had juridical consequences. When later theologians, in an attempt to create an overall rational system, gave up the *a priori* character of the notion of God, they were confronted, just because of the juridical aspect mentioned, with a very typical problem: how can man be obliged to know God if he does not already know him, that is, is it not that the obligation to recognize God's existence presupposes that man already possesses a notion of God? Al-Jubbāʾī then answered this question by assuming that man necessarily feel the obligation to know God because when he reaches intellectual maturity he becomes aware of being constantly exposed to the merciful assistance of an unknown reality and then realizes that in order to be grateful for this anonymous help he should know where it comes from; otherwise his benefactor might become angry at being unduly ignored. Man, as it were, awakens with an existential feeling of fear that only ceases when he has recognized that there is a God who will be just and merciful if his commandments are fulfilled. This cognition then grants that "tranquillity of the soul" that always results from knowing the truth.

Influence and originality. Muʿtazilī theology certainly participated in the process of the hellenization of Arabo-Islamic thought that started in the eighth century. But we should not forget that Abū al-Hudhayl and even al-Naẓẓām developed their ideas when most Greek texts were not yet available in Arabic or were just being translated. Obviously neither Aristotle nor the Neoplatonists exerted any impact on their thought. Al-Naz-zam's system reminds us in some places of the Stoics (especially their theory of *krāsis di holōn*, "total mixture"), but that influence was filtered through Iranian intermediaries and reached him not in the form of a written translation but through his contacts with followers of Bardesanes or Manichaeans who lived in Iraq.

It will not be possible to judge the overall situation adequately until we have further studies of individual Muʿtazilī thinkers and the "dark period" between the great Hellenistic philosophers, up to the time of Proclus (410?–485 CE) and Iamblichus, and the arrival of Islam. What cannot be doubted, however, is the originality of the Muʿtazilī approach: Ḍirār's and Abū al-Hudhayl's atomistic theory is a case in point. They took Greek *spolia* but used them for an edifice that was entirely theirs, a theological system that was juridical in its outlook rather than metaphysical. They rarely quoted the Qurʾān because they wanted to rely on reason, but nevertheless they always took the Qurʾān as their guide. They offered a coherent worldview that was different from that of the later Muslim philosophers. These therefore reacted with reticence and, finally, contempt. Al-Kindī still tried to adjust his thinking to Muʿtazilī axioms in certain points, but al-Fārābi treated the Muʿtazilī theologians as "dialecticians" who used the wrong method. The Muʿtazilah, on the other hand, never changed their approach. A few of them, like Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, became interested in Aristotelian philosophy, but ultimately they did not adopt Aristotle's basic categories in either logic or metaphysics.

SEE ALSO Attributes of God, article on Islamic Concepts; Free Will and Predestination, article on Islamic Concept; God, article on God in Islam; Kalām; Occasionalism.

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For the rest, one has to resort to monographs, of which there are not many. Abū al-Hudhayl's system has been analyzed in a perceptive way by R. M. Frank in his study *The Metaphysics of Created Being according to abû l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllâf* (Istanbul, 1966) and in an article in *Le Muséon* 82 (1969): 451–506, "The Divine Attributes according to the Teaching of Abû l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllâf." Hans Daiber's *Das theologisch-philosophische System des Muʿammar ibn ʿAbbād as-Sulamī* (Beirut, 1975) treats another early thinker but also presents much material about his contemporaries. The *qāḍī* ʿAbd al-Jabbār has been dealt with most extensively in J. R. T. M. Peters's *God's Created Speech* (Leiden, 1976). For the Muʿtazilī influence on the Zaydīyah, see Wilferd Madelung's *Der Imām al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen* (Berlin, 1965). The relationship with the Twelvers is analyzed in detail, at least as far as the beginnings are concerned, by Martin J. McDermott in *The Theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufid* (Beirut, 1978). Much information on individual thinkers is hidden in the relevant articles in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed. (Leiden, 1960–), and in the *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (Leiden, 1982–), but it is not easy for the nonspecialist to find this.

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JOSEF VAN ESS (1987)

MUTILATION SEE BODILY MARKS

MYCENAEAN RELIGION SEE AEGEAN RELIGIONS

MYERHOFF, BARBARA G. (1935–1985), American anthropologist and scholar of religion, myth, ritual, and symbolism. Born in Cleveland, Ohio, and raised there and in Los Angeles, Myerhoff received her bachelor's degree in sociology and her doctorate in anthropology from the University of California at Los Angeles; her master's degree in human development was awarded by the University of Chicago. Her entire professional career was spent as a member of the University of Southern California's department of anthropology. Writing and conducting research since the sixties, Myerhoff studied a variety of types of social groups. She distinguished herself through her contributions to the development and application of symbolic anthropology.

Myerhoff's scholarly writings analyze those morphological features of ritual that allow it to be effective in secular as well as sacred settings and in pre- and post-colonial societies, as well as modern and post modern ones. She understood ritual and its constituent symbols to be capable of formulating experience for its participants and of allowing them to transform their daily roles and statuses by encountering alternate social relations and versions of reality. She eventually ascribed the efficacy of ritual to its feature of repetitive action and to its sensory components, which create certainty through performance. Rituals are the medium for enacting the system of meanings—primarily ideological—that constitutes a religion. These ideas found their earliest expression in her doctoral research on the shamanic religion of the Huichol Indians of Mexico's Sierra Madre Occidental, whose results were published as *The Peyote Hunt of the Huichol Indians* (1975).

Following this work, Myerhoff turned to the study of ritual in modern society. She explored the commonalities and differences between rituals in complex and primitive societies, indicating that ritual continues even in modern societies to provide messages of order and predictability as well as to set the stage on which cultures and individuals can create and present themselves to themselves. These themes are explored in *Secular Ritual: Forms and Meanings* (1977), which Myerhoff coedited with Sally Falk Moore (see especially their introduction, "Ritual Work and the Problem of Meaning," pp. 3–24).

Her subsequent ethnographic research on the place of religion in complex society led her to claim that, although most men and women continue to require what religion had traditionally provided them, this cultural system is now lacking and hence they are on their own to seek out such experiences where they may. Thus, she analyzed ritual-like expressive and reflexive genres in contemporary society: journal keeping, storytelling, and autobiography. All are areas in which the religious function of self-presentation and the creation of meaning occur.

Myerhoff's study of elderly California Jews, *Number Our Days* (1979), focused on improvised or "nonce" (i. e., nonrecurring) rituals that wed traditional and secular, and open and closed, features (see also her paper "We Don't Wrap Herring in a Printed Page: Fusions, Fictions and Continuity," in *Secular Ritual,* pp. 199–226). She demonstrated that such rituals provide meaning for people by their evocation of childhood and domesticity, creating an orderly sense of personal as well as cultural continuity in their lives. Myerhoff's work on elderly Jews was the subject of an Academy Award-winning film by Lynn Littman (with whom Myerhoff collaborated), also called *Number Our Days* (1977). Their second collaboration, *In Her Own Time* (1985), concerned her final fieldwork with Orthodox Jews in the Fairfax community of Los Angeles and focused on her relationship with the community during the last months of her life.

Myerhoff's symbolic anthropology, while always culturally specific, paid an unusual amount of attention to universal problems of meaning in human life. She saw these problems—including the need for self-reflection and the urge to create an orderly world—as the substance of religion across cultures, and along with anthropologist Victor Turner and others, she formulated a dynamic view of religion as a symbolic process in society.

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RIV-ELLEN PRELL (1987 AND 2005)

MYSTERY PLAYS SEE DRAMA, *ARTICLE ON* EUROPEAN RELIGIOUS DRAMA

MYSTERY RELIGIONS.

Like many other terms that represent concepts in the history of religions, *mysteries,* or *mystery religions,* serves as an umbrella term covering a wide variety of referents. Since the word had its own origin and history, its use needs to be analyzed carefully, especially in the context of comparative studies.

DEFINITION OF TERMS. The Greek word *mustēria* refers initially only to the "mysteries" of Eleusis and signifies a secret celebration or secret worship that is accessible only to initiates (*mustai*), who have had themselves initiated (*muein* or *telein*) into it. Other terms used for the celebration are *teletē* and *orgia;* Latin writers either use the Greek word or translate it as *initia.* Originally, then, *mysteries* denotes a specific religious manifestation that is essentially different in character from other, official cultic functions; the mysteries are not open to everyone but require a special initiation. But in Greek, *mustēria* is already applied to comparable rituals of initiation (see below) and thus acquires a general meaning. When taken over by philosophy (especially Neoplatonism and Neo-Pythagoreanism) and Christianity, the term increasingly loses its original concrete religious referent and acquires instead the sense of a revealed or mysterious divine wisdom ("mysteriosophy") that is only available to or attainable by adepts.

The term *mysteries* was familiar, of course, to classical philologists, who knew it from the ancient tradition, but it was not until the nineteenth century that it again became a technical term in the history of religions for secret cults or ceremonies of initiation (owing especially to James G. Frazer). In particular it was much used by the history of religions school, most often by Richard Reitzenstein and Wilhelm Bousset, in their attempt to render comprehensible the multiplicity that marked the history of religions in the Hellenistic period and late antiquity, as well as to demonstrate the connections between that world and early Christianity. In the view of the history of religions school, the mysteries were an expression of popular piety that drew sustenance especially from the so-called Oriental mystery religions of the Roman imperial age; in the long run, it was claimed, even the early church could not escape the influence of those religions. Discussion of the beginnings of Christianity was carried on for a long time under the sign of the mysteries, which were regarded as one of Christianity's roots; this approach can still be found today.

There can be no objection to a general use of the term *mysteries* provided that its original meaning continues to resonate even as its application is extended. The problem here is the same as with *gnosis* or *gnosticism.* These technical terms have been given a broader meaning, but scholars have not on that account ceased to use them in a restricted regional sense: *gnōsis* as a Greek word meaning "esoteric knowledge" and referring to religious groups of late antiquity. My own inclination is not to detach these terms from the historical context in which they exercised historical influence but to continue to use them primarily in their restricted sense, without, however, forgetting that the history of religions needs such umbrella terms—especially in comparative studies. The danger otherwise is that the terminology will become blurred and cease to be of help in describing original religious phenomena and will serve only for a religious typology that lacks historical depth.

Thus, for example, Buddhism has been explained by Paul Lévy (1957) as a "mystery religion," simply because of certain ritual factors that play a part in the consecration of Buddhist monks and resemble to some extent ritual elements in the Greek and Oriental mysteries. This demonstration I regard as an unsuccessful venture into dangerous territory. Certainly, Buddhism (especially Tibetan Mahāyāna or Vajrayāna Buddhism) has its "mysteries" in the sense of esoteric rituals, just as do most of the other great religions (especially Hinduism). But such instances occur during later historical stages that presuppose a developed hierarchy and represent a kind of ritualization of esoteric teachings that can in turn be traced back in part to older foundations. It is possible in the same way to give the name *mysteries* to various disputed early Mesopotamian and early Egyptian rituals.

We really have no choice but to understand the term *mysteries* as a historical category that registers a specific historico-religious content and that relates in particular to the Greco-Roman age. The general, typological use of the word must be measured against that standard. Mysteries, then, are special initiation ceremonies that are esoteric in character and often connected with the yearly agricultural cycle. Usually they involve the destiny of the divine powers being venerated and the communication of religious wisdom that enables the initiates to conquer death. The mysteries are part of the general religious life, but they are to a special degree separated from the public cult that is accessible to all, and on this account they are also called "secret cults."

THE "PHENOMENOLOGY" OF THE MYSTERIES. *Mysteries,* then, refers primarily to the content as found in the history of Greco-Roman and Near Eastern religions. At the cultic-ritual level, which is the dominant level, the discipline of the *arcanum* (the obligation of strict secrecy) means that we know very little more about the mysteries than the ancient sources—including ancient Roman literature—occasionally pass on as supposedly reliable information. Our historical knowledge is limited because Christian writers (such as Clement of Alexandria and Firmicus Maternus) who reported on the mysteries allowed their own polemical or apologetic interpretations to color their accounts.

We are relatively well informed about the general structure of the ceremonies (Eleusis, Samothrace, Isis, Mithras). Processions and public functions (sacrifices, dances, music) framed the actual celebration, which was held in closed rooms (*telestērion, spelunca,* temple) and usually comprised two or three acts: the dramatic action (*drōmenon*) with the "producing and showing" of certain symbols (*deiknumena*) and the interpretation (exegesis), through a communication of the myth (*legomena*) and its attendant formulas, of what had been experienced. The sacred action (*drōmenon*) and the sacred narrative (*legomenon, muthos, logos*) were closely connected. We are still rather ignorant regarding the central ceremony, that is, the initiation proper. Any interpretation of it can be hypothetical only, never certain. In my opinion, the heart of the celebration was the linking of the initiate with the destiny of the divinity or divinities, as expressed in performance and word, and the resultant bestowal of hope for some kind of survival after death. This interpretation is also suggested by burial gifts for the deceased (e.g., the "Orphic" gold plate from southern Italy). The ancient human problems of suffering, death, and guilt undoubtedly played an important part in the efficacy of the mysteries. The idea of rebirth can be documented only in later Hellenism. In any case, there is no evidence of a unitary theology of the mysteries that was common to all the mysteries; the origins and historical course of the several mysteries were too discrepant for that. Even the later philosophical explanation of the *logos* of the mysteries was not everywhere the same.

A word must be said here about the connection often made between the mysteries and the idea of "dying and rising divinities," who are linked to the vegetation cycle. James G. Frazer, who accepted the ideas of Wilhelm Mannhardt on nature myths and folk myths, was the leader and main influence in this area. In addition to an uninhibited use of terminology (e.g., *resurrection* is usually understood in the biblical and Christian sense), the chief defect of this theory is its utter neglect of source criticism. Strictly speaking, the "vegetation theory" is a theory at two removes that, as Carsten Colpe has shown, simply takes a theory at one remove, namely, the ancient *interpretatio Graeca*, and prolongs it in the spirit of nineteenth-century Romanticism. The nineteenth-century scholars did not further analyze the ancient use of symbols and metaphors in which the vegetative processes of withering and blooming (in the myth of Adonis) were already described (especially from the second century on) by such terms as *dying*, *declining*, *disappearing*, and *being renewed*, *reappearing*, *rising*. I say nothing of the fact that these same scholars made no distinction between primary, cult-related myth and secondary, literary mythology. A whole series of so-called vegetation divinities, such as Adonis, Attis, and Osiris, or Tammuz, were interpreted according to the same pattern, namely, as dying and rising gods; their cults, with their "mystery" character, supposedly served to communicate to the "initiates" the powers associated with the "fruitfulness" of nature.

As we know today, there is no evidence at all that any of these gods was thought of as "rising" in any proper sense of the term. In actual fact, there were great differences in mythology and ritual; only secondarily (often as early as late antiquity) were the divinities assimilated to one another (e.g., Osiris to Adonis and Attis). The often only fragmentary mythology centering on these divinities told of the disappearance or stay of the god in the lower world, where he lived on (as lord of the lower world or, in the case of Osiris, as judge of the dead) or from which in one or another manner he returned to the light of day (on earth, in the air, or in heaven) and resumed his role as a god (which he had never abandoned). The connection with rituals was also quite diverse; there was by no means always a question of mysteries in the sense of secret cults (see below). We must also allow for the possibility that some of the so-called Oriental mysteries acquired their mystery character only secondarily, under the influence of Greek and especially the Eleusinian mysteries (this was certainly the case with Osiris in relation to Adonis). The interpretation of the mysteries as being, without distinction, ancient vegetation cults should therefore no longer be used as a magic hermeneutical key.

In view of this critique, the historical and phenomenological problem of the origin of the mysteries remains unresolved. Repeated attempts have been made to move beyond the now-outdated nature-myth theory. Ethnologists in particular have repeatedly focused on the mysteries and interpreted them as survivals of ancient "rites of passage" (Arnold van Gennep); in our day this theory has been maintained especially by Mircea Eliade. There is much that is correct in it. The ethnological contributions that play a role in it come in part from the morphology of culture school (Frobenius), in part from the history of culture school of Vienna. The latter, represented by Wilhelm Schmidt and Wilhelm Koppers, sees the initiation of young men or boys and the whole organization of adult male society as one of the important roots of the mysteries. In cultural and historical terminology the mysteries reflect the agrarian, matriarchal stage, in which for the first time the male sector of society, as distinct from the female sector, developed secret societies and initiation ceremonies (as a protest against matriarchal tyranny, according to Koppers). That stage would be located chronologically in the Mesolithic period. The Greek mysteries are not directly linked to that stage and its events, but they are pre-Indo-Germanic and ultimately have their roots in it.

The history of culture theory as developed by Wilhelm Schmidt has been largely abandoned today. It has left behind only the idea—itself not new—that the origin of the mysteries is to be sought in some stage of primitive agricultural development. Even this, however, does not apply to Osiris, who from the beginning was associated with pastoral symbols, thus reflecting a nomadic culture, and had close ties with the Egyptian ideology of kingship; the later Corn Osiris has been assimilated to Adonis, and the Hellenistic mysteries of Osiris, which focus primarily on Isis, have in turn been influenced by the Eleusinian mysteries of Demeter and Persephone (Kore). The role played by female divinities need not be linked to a hypothetical matriarchy; these goddesses are phenomena belonging to an agrarian culture (Mother Earth). Among modern philologists Walter Burkert is the chief proponent of the view that the root of the mysteries is to be looked for in agrarian culture and specifically in secret society ceremonies (with their tests of courage and their sexual, orgiastic traits) and that they originated in the Neolithic age; the dawning Greek individualism of the seventh and sixth centuries BCE took over these ancient cults and turned them into a deliberately adopted religion centered on the conquest of death.

Adolf E. Jensen has suggested a different ethnological approach. He sees behind the Greek mysteries (especially those of Eleusis) a conception of the world proper to the culture of early food growers; this conception centered on the death or possibly the sacrifice of a female prototypical being (or divinity) who was the source of the life-sustaining cultivated vegetation, and thus it thematized for the first time the mystery of death and life ("the slain god"). There has since been occasional criticism of the interpretation of the Melanesian starting point (the myth of Hainuwele; see Jonathan Z. Smith's "A Pearl of Great Price and a Cargo of Yams: A Study in Situational Incongruity" in *History of Religions* 16, 1976, pp. 1–19, and his *Imagining Religion*, Chicago, 1982, pp. 90–101); nonetheless it is a legitimate question whether earlier food-cultivation stages are to be glimpsed behind the mysteries. The answer can be found only through cooperative study by ethnologists, prehistorians, philologists, and historians of religion. In any case an answer is not directly required for understanding our historical and philological material, which comes to us primarily from Greek sources. All our ancient informants confirm the view that the mysteries in general took their character primarily from the Greek mysteries and became widespread only as a result of hellenization.

THE HISTORICAL MULTIPLICITY OF MYSTERIES. Within the confines of this article it is necessary to start with the ancient Greek mysteries and move on to related Oriental mysteries.

The Greek mysteries. The Greek mysteries were from the outset cults of clan or tribe. They can in many cases be traced back to the pre-Greek Mycenaean period and were probably ancient rituals of initiation into a clan or an "association." The most important were the mysteries of Eleusis, which in fact provided the pattern for the idea of mysteries. The independent town of Eleusis (there is evidence of a prehistoric settlement there in the third millennium BCE) became an Athenian dependency in the seventh century BCE and thereby acquired, especially from the sixth century on, a pan-Hellenic role that in the Roman imperial age attracted the attention of Rome. Augustus, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, and Gallienus had themselves initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. An attempt under Claudius (r. 41–54) to move the celebration to Rome failed. The destruction of the sanctuary came under Alaric's Christian Goths in 395 CE. The mythological background for the Eleusinian mysteries was provided by the story of the goddesses Demeter and Kore, preserved in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*. The pair were presented as mother and daughter. Their relationship developed in a gripping manner the theme of loss (death), grief, search, and (re)discovery (life). The interpretation of the story as purely a nature myth and specifically a vegetation myth is actually an old one and can appeal to ancient witnesses for support; nonetheless it is oversimplified precisely because it loses sight of the human and social content of the myth.

The public ceremonies of the annual Eleusinian ritual are well known to us and confirmed from archaeological findings. The director was the hierophant, who from time immemorial had been a member of the Eumolpides, a noble family that had held the kingship of old. The Kerukes family filled the other offices. All classes, including slaves, were admitted to the cult. According to degree of participation, a distinction was made between the *mustēs* ("initiate") and the *epoptēs* ("viewer"); only the latter was regarded as fully initiated. But this distinction was not original and came in when the Eleusinian mysteries were combined with the mysteries of Agrai on the Ilissos (near Athens) in the seventh century BCE. The Lesser Mysteries at Agrai took place annually in February (the month Anthesterion) and were regarded as a preliminary stage leading to the Greater Mysteries held at Eleusis in September (16–20 Boe-dromion). Sacrifices, libations, baths, ablutions, fasts, processions (especially bringing the "holy things," the cult symbols, to Eleusis), and torches all played an important role in both feasts. The center of all activity was the ceremony that was not open to the public. It was held in the "place of consecration" known as the *telestērion*, which is not to be confused with the temple of Demeter at the same location.

We know that at the ceremonies at Agrai the initiate knelt down with a ram's skin draped around him and held an unlit torch in his hand. The priestess shook a winnowing fan (*liknon*) over him, and he handled a serpent (sacred to Demeter and Kore). Finally water was poured over him. In the Eleusinian ceremony, of which we know less, the initiation took place at night. It included the handling of an object, not identified with certainty, which was taken from a "coffer" (perhaps the instrument—mortar and pestle—used in preparing the sacred potion; other interpretations see the coffer as an image of the womb). In addition, there was a "viewing" (*epopteia*) of the (rescued?) Kore, probably in dramatic form (*drōmenon*). The cry that the hierophant uttered at this point suggests as much: "The Lady bore a holy boy-child: Brimo bore Brimos" (Hippolytus, *Refutations* 5.8.40). The reference is probably to the birth of Ploutos, the personification of wealth, from Demeter; yet it is questionable whether this was intended as a symbol of the new birth of the initiate and not as a symbol of the limited power of the lower world or death. The latter meaning seems to be suggested by the concluding rite: the showing of an ear of grain by the priest (Hippolytus, ibid.). This must have signified that life is "Mother" Demeter's gift to human beings. A fragment of Pindar (Bowra 121) says of the initiates: "Happy they who see it and then descend beneath the earth. They know life's end but also a new beginning from the gods." To them alone is life given in the underworld; all others encounter evil (see Sophocles, frag. 837, Pearson).

In addition to the mysteries of Eleusis, there was a series of others about which there is unsatisfactory information. Almost all of them were very ancient. They include the mysteries at Phenas in Arcadia (also mysteries of Demeter); those at Andania in Messenia, in which Demeter and Hermes were venerated as great gods; those at Phyle, dedicated to "Earth, the great mother"; and those on Paros and Thasos, which were again mysteries of Demeter. More important were the mysteries of the great gods, or Kabeiroi, on the island of Samo-thrace, where there was an ancient place of worship until the fourth century CEthat attracted many, especially in the second century BCE. The gods in question were probably a pair of Phrygian divinities, father and son (*kabeiros* is a Semitic word). The ceremonies had a pronounced orgiastic and burlesque character and were probably connected with what had originally been associations of smiths (iron rings played a role). Later, however, the Kabeiroi were regarded as helpers in distress at sea. Practically nothing is known of these mysteries; there are hints of links with Demeter and Orpheus.

More important were the Dionysian mysteries, information on which has come down to us from as early as the fifth century BCE (see Euripides, *The Bacchae*). As is well known, Dionysos was an unusual god who represented a side of Greek life long regarded as un-Greek—a view that has caused interpreters many difficulties. His *thiasos* ("company") was probably originally an association of women that spread throughout Greece, especially the islands, and carried on a real proselytizing activity by means of itinerant priestesses. There was no one central sanctuary, but there were centers in southern Italy (Cumae), Asia Minor, and Egypt. Ecstatic and orgiastic activity remained characteristic of this cult as late as the second century BCE and only then assumed more strictly regulated, esoteric forms, as can be seen from the laws of the Iobacchant community at Athens, where the cult of Dionysos (Bacchus) had become a kind of club. The myth of Dionysos had for its focus the divine forces hidden in nature and human beings; these forces were thematized and applied chiefly by women. The ecstatic nocturnal celebrations showed traits of promiscuity (Maenads and satyrs) and took place in the open air. It is uncertain to what extent the paintings in the Villa Item at Pompeii and in the Casa Omerica reproduce the later ritual of the Dionysian mysteries. These paintings are more likely a mysteriosophic interpretation within the framework of a bridal mysticism in which the soul (the immortal element as part of the god Dionysos) presents the pattern of a cycle of purifications. The myth of Dionysos was at an early stage combined with the Orphic mysteries. The hope of another world that was promised and confirmed in the rites is well attested by burial gifts (gold plates) from Greece and southern Italy. Even after death, the initiate remained under the protection of the god.

The Orphic mysteries are a difficult phenomenon to deal with. Often they are not easily distinguished from the Dionysian mysteries. Also, it is not certain whether they were actually mysteries and, if they were, where we should look for their origin. Testimonies do not go back beyond the sixth century BCE and vary widely. It is certain that at an early date Orpheus was turned into the founder of the Eleusinian, Dionysian, and Samo-thracian mysteries. Orphism therefore had no central sanctuary. It seems to have been more of a missionary religion that, unlike the official cults, devoted itself to the theme of the immortal soul *(psuchē)* and its deliverance from the present world. It had an ethical view of the relation between initiation and behavior. A way of life that was shaped by certain rules served to liberate the soul or the divine in human beings. The anthropogonic and cosmogonic myth that provided an explanation of the hybrid human condition also showed the way to redemption; cosmology and soteriology were thus already closely connected. As a result, Orphism broke away from the religion of the *polis*, not only because it possessed holy books that contained its teachings, but also because the idea of the immortality of the soul made the official cult superfluous. Greek philosophy, beginning with Socrates and Plato, gave a theoretical justification for all this.

The Oriental mysteries. Narrowly understood, the Oriental mysteries comprised only the mysteries of Isis and of Mithras. But since the ancient Alexandrian reporters applied the technical terms *mustēria* and *teletai* in their proper sense to any orgiastic cult or ritual, and especially to the numerous and often quite exotic Oriental cults of the imperial period, a whole series of these religions came to be classified as mysteries; this usage has prevailed down to our own time.

Mysteries of Cybele are attested on the Greek mainland and islands from the third century BCE. Oddly, no mention is made of Attis. Pausanias, in the second century CE, is the first witness to the connection; the mythological relation is attested by Catullus in his "Poem 63" (first century BCE). We know nothing about the structure and content of these mysteries; perhaps they were an imitation of the Eleusinian mysteries. In any case, the Roman cult of Cybele, who was worshiped on the Palatine from 204 BCE on, was not a mystery religion. Beginning in the second century CE and down to the fifth century, the literature speaks of the mysteries of Mater Magna (Mētēr Megalē) but tells us no more about them. On the supposition that we are not dealing simply with a misleading terminology, these mysteries may have focused on the ritual castration of novices (Galli) and its deeper meaning. With regard to Attis, inscriptions in Asia Minor dating from the first century CEspeak of the "initiates of Attis" (Attabokaoi). Some formulas, preserved by Clement of Alexandria and Firmicus Maternus, show that the reference is to a participation in the destiny of the divinity whereby the faithful are promised deliverance: "Be consoled, O initiates, for the god is delivered; therefore we too shall have deliverance from our troubles" (Firmicus Maternus, *De erroribus profanarum religionum* 22.1–3).

The initiation involved an anointing; there is also reference to a kind of sacred meal (eating from a tambourine, drinking from a cymbal). The meaning of an accompanying formula is uncertain in the version given by Clement of Alexandria (*Protrepticus* 15): "I have entered the *aduton* [bridal chamber?]." Firmicus Maternus has a simpler version: "I have become an initiate of Attis." At the end of the fourth century CE, the cult of Cybele and Attis also included baptism in bull's blood (*taurobolium*). This ceremony had developed out of an older sacrifice of a bull, attested from the middle of the second century on. It was supposed to bring renewal to the initiates; only a single inscription interprets the renewal as a "new birth." The baptism was a onetime rite and perhaps was intended to compete with Christian baptism.

The Hellenistic cult of Isis in late antiquity undoubtedly involved secret initiatory celebrations. We learn something about them from Apuleius's famous novel, *Metamorphoses*, or *The Golden Ass* (second century CE). Greek influence is especially clear here: it was only through the identification of Isis with Demeter (attested in Herodotus, 2.59) and the hellenization of the cult of Isis that the latter came to include mysteries (first attested c. 220 BCE on Delos). In this form it spread, despite occasional opposition, throughout the whole civilized world of the time, reaching Rome in the first century BCE. It became one of the most widely disseminated Oriental religions of late antiquity, especially from the second century BCE on. Isis became the great thousand-named, universal goddess (*panthea*) who had conquered destiny and was invoked in numerous hymns and aretalogies that display a remarkable Greco-Egyptian atmosphere and tone.

This successful hellenization was probably due to the introduction of the cult of Sarapis under Ptolemy I, son of Lagus (305–283 BCE), when this novel Greco-Egyptian cult (*Sarapis* combines *Osiris* and *Apis*) was celebrated with both an Eleusinian priest (Timothy, a Eumolpid) and an Egyptian priest (Manetho) participating. Isis, Thoth, and Anubis were naturally linked with Sarapis (Osiris). The well-known story of Isis, Osiris, and Horus (Harpocrates) acquired its complete form only in Greek and in this version was probably a product of Hellenism (Osiris being assimilated to Adonis). The ancient Egyptian cult of Osiris was originally connected with the monarchy and displayed the character of a mystery religion only to the extent that the dead pharaoh was looked upon as Osiris and brought to Abydos not simply to be buried but also to be greeted by the people as one restored to life in the form of a new statue in the temple. The hope of survival *as* or *with* or *like* Osiris was the predominant form that the hope of another world took in ancient Egypt, and it continued uninterrupted in the Greco-Roman period; it provided a point of attachment for the mysteries of Isis.

The cult of Isis had its official place in the Roman festal calendar (beginning in the second century CE) and comprised two principal feasts: the Iseia, which was celebrated from October 26 to November 3 and included the *dromenon* of the myth, with the "finding" (*heuresis*, *inventio*) of Osiris as its climax; and the sea-journey feast (Navigium Isidis, Ploiaphesia) on March 5, the beginning of the season for seafaring, of which Isis had become the patron deity. According to Apuleius (*Metamorphoses* 11) the actual mysteries began with preliminary rites such as baptism (sprinkling), a ten-day fast, and being clothed in a linen robe. At sunset the initiates entered the *aduton* for further ceremonies to which only allusions are made: a journey through the lower world and the upper world (the twelve houses of the zodiac, which represented the power of destiny) and a vesting of the initiate as the sun god (*instar solis*); the initiate was *renatus* ("reborn") and became *sol* ("the sun"), or in other words experienced a deification (*theomorphōsis*). He thereby became a "servant" of Isis and "triumphed over his destiny [*fortuna*]." In addition to a consecration to Isis, there was evidently also a consecration to Osiris, but we know even less about this ceremony.

The cult of Mithras (Mithra) in the Roman imperial age, like that of Isis, was not originally Oriental but was a creation of Hellenistic syncretism. It is true that the name of the god Mithras is Indo-Iranian in origin and originally meant "contract" (*mithra*, *mitra*) and that some Iranian-Zoroastrian elements are recognizable in the iconographic and epigraphic sources; these facts, however, do not point to a Persian origin of the cult. No testimonies to the existence of Mithraea in Iran have as yet been discovered. On the other hand, the vast majority of these sanctuaries have been found in the Roman military provinces of central and eastern Europe, especially in Dalmatia and the Danube Valley. The Mithraeum at Dura-Europos on the Euphrates is the most eastern. It was built by Roman soldiers from Syria in 168 CE, rebuilt in 209 CE, and expanded in 240 CE. It was thus not the creation of a native community. The "Parthian" style is simply a matter of adaptation to local tradition and no proof of an Iranian origin of the mysteries. There is as yet no evidence of Mithraea in Babylonia (Mesopotamia); three Mithraea have been found in Asia Minor, one in Syria. The oldest Mithraea are from the middle of the second century CE; most are from the third and fourth centuries. Thus an Eastern origin for the Mithraic mysteries is most uncertain.

According to Plutarch (*Life of Pompey* 24) they were introduced into the West by Syrian pirates in the first century BCE. This report may have a historical basis because the veneration of Mithras in Syria, Pontus, and Commagene is well attested, though no reference is made to any mysteries of Mithras. It is likely that soldiers from this area, where Greeks and Orientals came in contact, brought the cult of Mithras to the West in the first century CE. In the second century CE, however, the cult was transformed into mysteries in the proper sense and widely disseminated as a soldiers' religion, until finally Mithras was elevated to the position of Sol Invictus, the god of the empire, under Diocletian (r. 284–305). As in the case of the cult of Isis, the Hellenistic worshipers of Mithras transformed the foreign god and his cult along lines inspired by the awakening individualism of the time with its rejection of the traditional official cult and its longing for liberation from death and fate—a longing especially understandable in soldiers. In addition, the exotic elements (Egyptian, Persian) are to be attributed to the contemporary tendency to emphasize and cultivate such traits as being especially efficacious.

We are, once again, poorly informed about the myth and rites of the Mithraic mysteries. We have no account by an Apuleius as we do for the mysteries of Isis. Instead we have a large mass of archaeological documents that are not always easy to interpret. The so-called *Mithraic Liturgy* is a magical text concerned only marginally with the mysteries of Mithras. What Porphyry has to say about these mysteries in his *Cave of the Nymph* is philosophical exegesis in the Neoplatonic vein.

The Mithraic mysteries took place in small cavelike rooms that were usually decorated with the characteristic relief or cult statue of Mithras Tauroctonus ("bull-slayer" or "bull-sacrificer"). In form, this representation and its accompanying astrological symbols is Greco-Roman; its content has some relation to cosmology and soteriology, that is, the sacrifice of a bull is thought of as life-giving. Other iconographic evidence indicates that the god was a model for the faithful and wanted them to share his destiny: birth from a rock, combats like those of Herakles, ascent to the sun, dominion over time and the cosmos. Acceptance into the community of initiates (*consecranei*) or brothers (*fratres*) was achieved through consecratory rites in which baptisms or ablutions, purifications (with honey), meals (bread, water, wine, meat), crownings with garlands, costumes, tests of valor, and blessings played a part. There were seven degrees of initiation (Corax, Nymphus, Miles, Leo, Perses, Heliodromus, Pater), which were connected with the planetary deities and certain symbols or insignia. Surviving inscriptions attest the profound seriousness of the mysteries. Mithras is addressed: "You have rescued us, too, by shedding the blood that makes us immortal." Since these groups accepted only men (mostly soldiers), they can be considered true religious associations of males. Also worth noting is the close link between Mithras and Saturn (Kronos) as god of the universe and of time (Aion, Saeculum, Aevum); Saturn is the father of Mithras and the one who commissions him, while Mithras is in turn connected with the sun god (Sol, Apollo). (There is still a good deal of obscurity in this area.) Christian apologists (Justin, Tertullian, Jerome, Firmicus Maternus) regarded the mysteries of Mithras as a serious rival of early Christianity; several Christian churches were built over Mithraea.

IMPACT OF THE MYSTERIES. Because the Greek mysteries, especially the Eleusinian and the Dionysian, exerted a growing attraction and influence, Hellenistic literature accepted and developed in varying ways the ideas and representations proper to the mysteries. An effort has been made (Kerényi, 1927; Merkelbach, 1984) to extend our knowledge of the mysteries, and especially of the ritual concealed from us by the discipline of the secret (*arcanum*), by examining the novels of late antiquity. Such fictional themes as loss, search, and recovery, (apparent) death and return to life, the passing of tests, transformations (metamorphoses), hints of "mysteries," and so on may very well have been reflections of the mysteries. Ambiguity, allegory, and symbolism served as codes that could be broken only by initiates (and in our day by scholars). Reinhold Merkelbach speaks in this context of an "Isis novel" (in Apuleius, Xenophon of Ephesus, Achilles Tatius, the *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, and parts of the pseudo-Clementine literature as reworked by Christian gnostics); a "Mithras novel" (Syrian Iamblichus, *Babylonica*); a Dionysos novel (Longus, *Daphne and Chloe*); and, in the *Aethiopiaca* of Heliodorus, a "syncretistic Helios novel" that combines the mysteries of Isis, Mithras, and Dionysos.

The philosophical and religious literature of the Hellenistic age was also affected by the mysteries. The *Corpus Hermeticum*, for example, is filled with reminiscences of the terminology of the mysteries, and we are quite justified in assuming that the circles responsible for the corpus had "mysteries" that were given ritual expression. The same holds for some of the gnostic writings, which not only frequently discuss the concept of *musterion/mysterium* but also adopt in their rituals various aspects of the mysteries and especially the notion of a *disciplina arcani* (see below). Even Hellenistic Judaism, especially in the person of Philo Judaeus (first century CE), underwent the same influence. A work like *Joseph and Aseneth* is unintelligible without a knowledge of the mysteries. Even the Greek translation (the Septuagint) of the Hebrew Bible does not escape their influence, any more than the subsequent writings of the Christian community. The language of Christ's apostle Paul (especially in *1 Corinthians* and *2 Corinthians*) and of his disciples (in *Ephesians* and *Colossians*) betrays this environment, as does, no doubt, the *First Letter of Peter*.

The impact of the mysteries became more concrete beginning in the second century CE, as the Christian church found itself increasingly in competition with these forms of worship. The cultic area of the church's life, especially baptism and eucharist, underwent a profound transformation as the sacraments became "mysteries" to which not everyone had immediate access. Preparation (initiation) was now required in the form of fasts, instructions, purifications. The unbaptized and those on the way to baptism (catechumens) were not admitted to the sacred Christian cultic meal, which was regarded as the "remedy bringing immortality" and acquired its efficacy through the epiclesis (invocation) of the priest; in other words, the cultic meal was placed under a kind of discipline of secrecy. As the church became hierarchically organized (especially from the third century on) and as it became an established church under Constantine in the fourth century, it not only won greater publicity to the detriment of the old established religion but at the same time acquired an aspect of mystery whereby it sought to give a Christian direction to a new phenomenon, the religiosity of the masses. *Mystery* now became not only a cultic term but also, following a path blazed by ancient philosophy, made its way into Christian theology, where *mysticism* came to mean a kind of knowledge of God that is not available to everyone.

"MYSTERIOSOPHY." A typically Hellenic spiritualization of the language of the mysteries had been going on in Greek philosophy since Plato; in the ensuing period, as the mysteries spread, *mysterium* and *sophia* became more and more closely associated, and in late antiquity the distinction between religion and philosophy became ever more tenuous. The parallelism of the two was due to the fact that, according to Greek philosophy, knowledge of God was attainable only by a path resembling the one followed in the mysteries at the ritual and religious level: that is, there was need of preparations, instructions, and even a kind of authorization (*katharsis*). For Plato, knowledge of God is identical with the vision of supreme and utterly pure being; the vision brings a participation in that being and even bestows immortality. For this reason, terms taken from the mysteries were often used in philosophy: *epopteia*, *teletē*, *mustēria*. Platonic and Stoic philosophers began to impose their own meaning on the available myths connected with the mysteries; they began to "mythologize" them, that is, to link *muthos* and *logos*. Preliminary steps in this direction, or at least parallel manifestations, were already to be found in Orphism, which posited a "hidden" (mystic) link between the cosmos and human beings and made use in addition of the doctrine of the soul (a divine element located in the body). This paraphilosophical explanation has been called "mysteriosophy" (Bianchi, 1979); we met it earlier in the traditions concerned with Eleusis, where it already bore a strong Orphic impress.

Insofar as the philosophy of the Hellenistic age and late antiquity was interested in the mysteries, it took the often bizarre mythical traditions associated with them and sought to extract their rational (logical) nucleus by interpreting them as pieces of natural philosophy or as nature myths (this was especially the case with the Stoics). Unfortunately, we possess only fragmentary examples of such interpretations of the mysteries. Thus Cybele (Magna Mater) was interpreted as Mother Earth (Lucretius, Varro) and as the origin of being, and Attis as the instrument of creation (i.e., of becoming) or as Logos and Savior (Emperor Julian). Isis, understood as mother of the gods and universal goddess (*panthea*), was identified with Demeter (Plutarch). Mithras (the Sun) became principle ("Creator and Father") of the universe (Porphyry); his identification with Aion ("eternal time") probably also goes back to a philosophical interpretation.

The influence of this kind of philosophical interpretation on the later theology of the mysteries cannot simply be rejected out of hand. Traditions such as Hermetism, a Greco-Egyptian revelatory religion, show the path followed in this alignment of philosophy and religion, which the Neo-Phythagoreanism and late Platonism (Plotinus) led to philosophy being turned into religion, philosophical knowledge into the vision of God, and the life of the philosopher into a religious *bios* ("life"). At work in this process was the conviction that behind both religion (the mysteries) and philosophy was the "ineffable," the "mystery," or "being," as opposed to everything transient or to "becoming," and that this ultimate reality was to be approached not simply through thought (*theōria*) but also through one's way of life (*praxis*); only the two together could lead one to vision, enlightenment, and immortality (see especially Iamblichus, *De mysteriis*).

This current of thought provided the matrix for gnosticism, a movement that not only continued to some extent the ritual practices of the mysteries, such as cultic meals, baptisms, purifications, anointings, and *drōmena* and was organized as a mystery-association (*thiasos*) but also borrowed from the mysteries at the level of ideology (mythology). The so-called Naassene sermon "On Man" (Hippolytus, *Refutatious* 5.6, 4–10, 2) is an instructive example of this borrowing and, at the same time, one of the few sources that preserve authentic citations from the Eleusinian mysteries. Among other things, Attis is here interpreted as the gnostic Primal Man (Anthropos); his castration by Cybele becomes a deliverance from what is earthly. Osiris, Adonis, and Adam are likewise variants of the perfect human being or of the immortal soul. According to this gnostic sermon, the mysteries of Isis are the root of all nongnostic cults, and Persephone-Kore, in the form of Aphrodite, represents transient becoming. For this reason, all these mysteries are looked upon as the "lesser mysteries," while the mysteries of gnosticism become the "greater mysteries" or the "heavenly mysteries." This synoptic view of all mysteries in the service of a mysteriosophic and gnostic interpretation was a path by which the traditions embodied in the ancient mysteries made their way into late antiquity. Thus transformed and preserved, they became part of the heritage left by heathen and Christian antiquity and, to that extent, remained alive even after the cessation of the cultic practices that had once been their true reality.

SEE ALSO Dionysos; Dying and Rising Gods; Eleusinian Mysteries; Isis; Mithra; Mithraism; Orpheus.

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MYSTICAL UNION IN JUDAISM, CHRISTIANITY, AND ISLAM.

To describe the nature of mystical union in the three monotheistic faiths is a task fraught with difficulties and ambiguities both conceptual and real. First, the term *unio mystica* is primarily a modern expression; though the phrase does occur in Christian mysticism, its appearance is relatively rare. Various words for and descriptions of union or uniting with God, however, are important in the history of Christian mysticism, and accounts of union with God are also prominent in Judaism and Islam. Second, even the term *mysticism* itself, another modern creation, has come under attack. To what extent, for example, does the use of a term created in the modern Christian West distort the meaning of key figures, movements, and texts from the traditions of Judaism and Islam? The question is a real one, but the position adopted here is that, if mysticism is understood broadly as the preparation for, the consciousness of, and the effect engendered by what mystics describe as a direct and immediate transformative contact with the divine presence, then it is useful to speak of a strong mystical element in each of the three faiths. Third, if one allows that mysticism is a helpful term in the study of religion, is mystical union to be conceived of as its essence? Though some investigators have so claimed, the study of mystical traditions indicates that the language of union is only one of the linguistic strategies used by mystics to try to describe, or at least to point to, what they contend is the ultimately ineffable nature of their contact with God. Unitive mysticism is one of a group of interactive and nonexclusive semantic fields found in the traditions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. There are mystics in each tradition who either explicitly avoid union language (e.g., Augustine of Hippo) or else who tend to relegate such language to the margin in favor of other modes of mystical expression, such as those related to the vision of God or to theurgical action in the divine realm.

CHARACTERISTICS OF UNITIVE MYSTICISM. Treatments of mystical union have often employed the terms *pantheism* and *monism* to characterize unitive expressions, but pantheism and monism are not adequate categories for discerning the import of unitive language. God is certainly all things in the monotheistic faiths, in the sense that the world is a manifestation of God; but God is also transcendentally more than the world, so the simple identification between God and world implied in pantheism is not an accurate term. Monism, understood as the belief that there is one basic principle underlying all reality, is true of most forms of mysticism of the monotheistic religions (though not of Qabbalah). But monism tells little more than this and hence is an empty category for serious investigation of mysticism.

Previous scholarship on mysticism often employed oppositional terminology, such as impersonal versus personal union, absorptive versus nonabsorptive union, habitual versus ecstatic union, essential union versus intentional union, and the like. Such typologizing, however, should not be applied in any crude way, as if mystics could easily be pigeonholed into one or the other category. The comparative dimensions of mystical union emerge from attention to some of the profound issues at work in unitive texts. The persistence across traditions of particular doctrinal and ethical issues concerning union and the employment of certain distinctive forms of language to describe unitive states points to a fruitful realm of comparative dynamics.

Among these issues is the question of what kinds of language are used to present union. Rather than being easily classifiable by opposed types, most mystical texts feature an oscillation and interaction between two poles that need not be seen as expressing opposition. On the one hand, there is what can be called *mystical uniting*, that is, an intentional union of God and human that emphasizes the ongoing distinction of the two; on the other hand, there is a deeper union understood as *mystical identity*, expressing indistinction between God and human, at least at some level of reality. The pole of mystical uniting is more common and doctrinally more acceptable; the pole of mystical identity is daring and debatable, yet many noted mystics in all three faiths have insisted that indistinction is the ultimate goal of the journey to God. Whereas some mystics tend to use only one of these forms of language, many use formulations that reflect subtle variations in the range of expressions between both ways of presenting the divine-human conjunction.

Mystics make use of a variety of images and symbols, as well as distinctive expressions and forms of technical discourse, in their attempts to suggest through language what lies beyond language. Images of erotic love—the kiss, the embrace, the memory of encounter, even sexual intercourse—are favored ways of expressing mystical union. Three images for mixing substances that originated in ancient philosophical writings are also popular among the mystics: the drop of water in a vat of wine, the bar of iron in fire, and air illuminated by the sun. Some images lend themselves more aptly to symbolizing the absorption that leads to mystical identity, such as the ocean, the desert, the mirror, the abyss, cloud and darkness, and the identical eye (Meister Eckhart: "The eye with which I see God is the same eye with which God sees me"). Another powerful image for absorption is eating and being eaten. There are also distinctive linguistic expressions and strategies found across the three traditions: ecstatic identity pronouncements (especially in Islam); forms of dialectical language expressing fusion and indistinction; the language of the return to the pre-creational state; and reduplication discourses, often involving referential ambiguity, especially in dealing with pronouns signifying God and the human.

Intimately allied with the difference between mystical uniting and mystical identity is the issue of annihilation. Many mystics have insisted that union-identity can only be found through annihilation of the self, but the meaning of annihilation is complex and open to a host of questions. What self is being annihilated: the created self or also a deeper, pre-creational self found in God? Is the ego annihilation total and final or only in certain respects and for particular times and circumstances? Finally, is the annihilation in some way a mutual one in which both God and human lose themselves in some deeper reality? Annihilation is not a simple or univocal category but is, rather, analogical, dialogical, and paradoxical. Furthermore when annihilation language is used in texts that stress mystical identity, it is often accompanied by strategies of qualification that must be taken into account to get the full measure of the meaning of annihilation. Some of these strategies are dialectical in the sense that they insist on the coexistence of indistinction and distinction in the relation between God and human—from one perspective union is total identity; from another, it coexists with an ongoing real difference between the two. Other qualifications are more perspectival, claiming that annihilation is essentially a matter of the consciousness of the mystic and not the structures of reality themselves.

In the monotheistic faiths the God of creation, revelation, and redemption is not a static and indifferent First Principle but a loving and all-knowing God, who creates humans whose likeness to him consists precisely in their ability to know and to love. The various ways of expressing mystical union are intimately connected with the relation between knowing and loving, both in the path to union and in its realization. Here too important comparative issues arise. Most mystics claim that both knowing and loving are necessary in the way to God, but many mystics stress the superiority of love, often expressed in highly erotic ways, whereas others conceive of union as attaining mental identity with the Divine Intellect. In unitive states some mystics contend that one reaches a higher divine way of knowing (*gnōsis*); other mystics see all loving and knowing, at least as most people conceive them, as abrogated when union or identity is attained. The variations found in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam on this essential problematic are too multiple to be easily characterized, but it is difficult to appreciate the dynamics of union unless one addresses the relation between unitive expressions and the roles of love and knowledge.

Among the other persistent issues concerning the comparative dimensions of mystical union is that of the ethical implications of claims of having attained union-identity with God. If mystics think they have become in some sense one with God, what does this mean for their behavior and their relation to the wider community of faith? Does this indicate, for instance, that the ordinary religious practices, and perhaps even the moral code, no longer are binding on mystics? In both Christianity and Islam mystics, especially those who claimed identity with God, have been suspected of holding such views. These mystics were at times subject to persecution, imprisonment, and even death, as shown by the examples of al-Ḥallāj and ʿAyn al-Quḍāt al-Hamadhānī in Islam and Marguerite Porete, Meister Eckhart, and Miguel de Molinos in Christianity. Do these incidents prove that there is always an inherent challenge to institutional and dogmatic religion in the mystical impetus to become one with God? Some have argued this case, but a careful study of even the strongest claims for mystical identity with God across the three traditions demonstrates that few mystics have consciously adopted an antinomian stance or broken with the common religious practices and institutional claims of their tradition, however much they may have come to see these as secondary. There seems to be no inherent conflict between unitive claims and common religious and ethical practice as long as the mystic sees both faith and union as coming from the same divine source.

In a brief essay it is not possible to pursue these issues across the three monotheistic faiths. What follows is a sketch of some of the major unitive mystics in Christianity, Islam, and Judaism, designed to provide a road map for those who wish to investigate unitive mysticism further. Because the language of mysticism and mystical union arose in Christianity, this article looks at Christian expressions first. Strong forms of unitive mysticism appeared as early as the second century of Islam (eighth century CE). Although Judaism was deeply influential on the origins of both Christianity and Islam, because unitive language emerged in Jewish mysticism relatively late, it will be treated last.

UNION IN CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM.

The Greek qualifier *mustikos* is derived from the verb *muein*, meaning "to close the mouth or eyes." Ancient writers used the term in the sense of something hidden, as in the case of the mystery cults, but from the second century CE Christians adopted *mustikos* to signify the inner realities of their beliefs and practices. The word was most often used to describe the hidden spiritual meaning of the Bible, but it was also employed in speaking of the Sacraments and of the vision of God (*thēoria mustikē*). Around the year 500 CE Pseudo-Dionysius coined the term *theologia mustikē* to indicate the knowledge (or better, superknowledge) by which mystics attain God. The earliest uses of the term *mystical union* (*sunousia mustikē*, *koinōnia mustikē*) are found in the *Spiritual Homilies* ascribed to the Egyptian monk Macarius but actually written in Messalian circles in Syria in the late fourth century CE (see *Hom.* 10.2, 15.2, and 47.17). Pseudo-Dionysius was the first to use the term *henōsis mustikē* (*Divine Names* 2.9). The Latin translators of the Dionysian corpus employed various terms for Dionysius's *henōsis*, but use of *unio mystica* was rare, despite the many discussions of union found in the medieval and early modern periods. The term did emerge in some of the textbooks on mysticism of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (e.g., L. Blosius and M. Sandaeus).

Mystical union in Christianity to 1200.

If the term mystical union is rare, the reality of union with God is old in Christianity. The earliest Christian mystical system, that found in the Alexandrian exegete Origen (d. 254 CE), already displays a rich teaching on the union between the loving soul and the Incarnate Logos, especially as found in the spiritual reading of the *Song of Songs*. Commenting on *Song of Songs* 2:10–13, Origen says, "For the Word of God would not otherwise say that the soul was his neighbor, did he not join himself to her and become one spirit with her." Here Origen is referencing a text from Paul (*1 Cor.* 6:17: "Whoever is joined to the Lord becomes one spirit with him"), a passage that became the leitmotif for those forms of Christian mysticism that emphasize mystical uniting. For Origen and others, the soul burning with love for Christ is divinized by grace to enjoy a union of loving conformity with the Logos that introduces it to the delights of "mystical and ineffable contemplation."

Origen's younger contemporary, the pagan philosopher and creator of Neoplatonism Plotinus (d. 270 CE), had a powerful effect on later mysticism in all three traditions. Many of the characteristic ways in which mystics sought to present identity with God are already found in the passages where Plotinus talks about the soul attaining *henōsis*, first with the Supreme Intellect (nous), where some duality still remains, and finally with the ultimate and unknowable One (*to hen*). Throughout his *Enneads*, but especially in *Ennead* 6.9, Plotinus explores with unrivaled subtlety and deep personal concern how the soul must lose or annihilate its present identity to find a transcendent self in the One. "When it [the soul] is not anything else, it is nothing but itself. Yet, when it is itself alone and not in a being, it is in That [the One]" (*Ennead* 6.9.11). Plotinus's view of mystical union is fundamentally dialectical. The One always is the soul in a transcendental sense, but because the One is also always more than the soul, the two can never be totally identified in an absolute way. Plotinus's apophatic treatment of the First Principle and his dialectical notion of union were developed by later Neoplatonists, such as Proclus (d. 485 CE), whose philosophy also had an impact on Christian and Islamic mysticism.

Forms of language that explore the possibility of attaining identity with God, especially God conceived of as one and three in the dynamic relationship of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, begin to appear in Christianity in the late fourth century CE in the writings of Evagrius (d. 399 CE), a learned Origenist who became a desert monk. With Evagrius one finds a variety of forms of language, images, and metaphors, both for loving union with God and for merging into identity with the Trinity. Evagrius appears to be the first Christian to use one of the favored metaphors for mystical identity, that of rivers returning to the sea. In speaking of how created minds return to the Trinity to attain their pre-creational state, he says: "When minds flow back to him like torrents into the sea, he changes them all completely into his own nature, color, and taste. They will no longer be many but one in his unending and inseparable unity, because they are united and joined with him" (*Letter to Melania* 6). About a century later the anagogic mysticism of Pseudo-Dionysius also uses diverse images and linguistic strategies to present a mysticism of identity that lies beyond all knowing and loving. Describing the ascent of Moses, an archetypal mystic for Jews, Christians, and Muslims, Dionysius says: "Renouncing all that the mind may conceive, wrapped entirely in the intangible and invisible, he belongs completely to Him who is beyond everything. Here, being neither oneself nor someone else, one is united to the wholly Unknown by an inactivity of all knowledge, for the best, knowing beyond the mind in knowing nothing" (*Mystical Theology* 1.3).

The twelfth century was the golden age of speculation on oneness of spirit (*unitas spiritus*), following the Pauline-Origenist tradition. Intense discussion of the modalities of union and the role of love and knowledge in unitive states was carried on by Cistercian authors, such as William of Saint Thierry (d. 1148) and Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153), as well as the early scholastic systematizers of mysticism of the school of Saint Victor, such as Hugh (d. 1141) and Richard (d. 1173). Bernard is unrivaled in his subtle expositions of how the love between the soul and the Incarnate Word leads to a complete conformity of wills imaged in spousal union. Nevertheless Bernard insisted that oneness in loving (*unus*) is different from the oneness of essence (*unum*) enjoyed by the three persons of the Trinity (*Sermons on the Song of Songs* 71.6–9). Bernard's friend William of Saint Thierry did not abandon the Pauline language of union of spirit, but his profound treatment of how the Holy Spirit, transcendent Love itself, becomes the love by which one loves God moves in the direction of mystical identity. William was also significant for the ways in which he explored the transformation of the love-knowledge relation in the path to union. Love is more powerful than knowing on the way to God, but the height of love found in mystical union includes a transformed knowledge, what William called the *intelligentia amoris*.

Mystical union in Christianity, 1200–1700. In the thirteenth century new forms of mysticism burst upon the scene in Western Christendom. Attaining God in mystical uniting continued to be widely discussed (e.g., Bonaventure), but what is striking about the new mysticism of the later Middle Ages is the way in which many of its practitioners turned to the language of mystical identity to express their oneness with God. The move is first evident in some of the women mystics of the thirteenth century, especially the beguines Hadewijch, Mechthild of Magdeburg, and Marguerite Porete. Porete's *Mirror of Simple Annihilated Souls*, one of the most striking presentations of mystical identity in the history of Christianity, employs an impressive range of forms of discourse to suggest how God, the "Farnear," takes the place of the soul that has perfectly annihilated itself: "Now he possesses the will without a why in the same way that he possessed it before she [the soul] was made a lady by it. There is nothing except him. No one loves except him, for nothing is except him, and thus he alone completely loves, and sees himself alone completely, and praises alone completely by his being itself" (*Mirror*, chap. 91).

Whereas the women mystics continued to employ both the language of mystical uniting and that of mystical identity, Meister Eckhart (d. 1327/8) was the foremost spokesperson for a pure mysticism of indistinct, or identical, union in the history of Christianity. Eckhart used the dialectical language of Neoplatonic philosophy to explore the distinct-indistinction of the ground of identity where "God's ground is the soul's ground and the soul's ground is God's ground" (*German Sermon* 6). Some passages even suggest attaining indistinction with the God-beyond-God, as in *German Sermon* 48, which says that the soul is not content with the Trinity of persons or the divine essence, "but it wants to know the source of this essence, it wants to go into the simple ground, into the quiet desert where distinction never gazed, not the Father, nor the Son, nor the Holy Spirit." The teachings of Porete and Eckhart were too daring for the institutional church of the time. Porete was executed for heresy in 1310, and Eckhart was posthumously condemned in 1329.

Eckhart's language of indistinction was always qualified by his dialectical insistence on the continued distinction between God and creature. His followers Henry Suso and John Tauler continued to use the dialectic of distinction-indistinction, but they also introduced qualifications not found in Eckhart. Suso, for example, echoing what can be found in many Ṣūfī mystics, carefully distinguished between the ongoing ontological difference between God and human and the perception of this difference. One can lose the latter in moments of mystical rapture but never the former, according to Suso. A particularly intricate solution to the problem of mystical union is found in the Dutch mystic Jan van Ruusbroec (d. 1381). According to his *Little Book of Enlightenment*, union with God exists on three interpenetrating levels: union with an intermediary achieved through grace and the ordinary means of salvation; union without an intermediary achieved through the excess of love, the level of *unitas spiritus*; and finally, union without difference or distinction, "where the three Persons [of the Trinity] give way to the essential unity . . . . There all the elevated spirits in their superessence are one enjoyment and one beatitude with God without difference." These levels always coexist, here and hereafter.

The debate over mystical union continued. In the fifteenth century Jean Gerson attacked false views of mystical union, not only of the Eckhartian variety but also those found in the writings of Ruusbroec and even some of the formulations of Bernard of Clairvaux. In the sixteenth century some of the radical reformers employed the language of mystical identity taken over from late medieval figures. The great

Spanish mystics Teresa of Avila (d. 1582) and John of the Cross (d. 1591) display a rich teaching on mystical union that cannot be explored here. Though each makes use of expressions that taken out of context might suggest some form of mystical identity, viewed synoptically they insist that the loving union that can be found in this life involves only conformity of the transformed self with God, not indistinction or identity. As John put it in his *Spiritual Canticle* 31.1: "This thread of love binds the two . . . with such firmness and so unites and transforms them and makes them one in love, that, although they differ in substance, yet in glory and appearance the soul seems to be God and God the soul." In the mysticism of the seventeenth century that led to the condemnations of quietism (1687 and 1699), it was not so much the doctrine of union itself, as the teaching on annihilation and the supposed indifference to sin that resulted from this that was the focus of objections to mystical teaching.

MYSTICAL UNION IN ISLAM. What is striking about Islam is the way in which strong forms of mystical identity emerged quite early in the development of the Ṣūfī tradition. In part this reflects the impact of the noted union ḥadīth (an extra-Qurʾanic divine statement): "I became the hearing with which he hears, the seeing with which he sees, the hand with which he grasps, and the foot with which he walks." The emphasis on identity coexists along with highly developed forms of erotic union language. Through the absorption and transposition of themes from pre-Qurʾanic Arabian love poetry, the Ṣūfī mystics, in both prose and verse, stand out among the most fervent proponents of the role of absolute, single-minded love in the pursuit of God, as such figures as Rābiʾah al-ʾAdawīyah (d. 810 CE), Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273), and Fakhr al-Dīn ʿIrāqī (d. 1289) demonstrate. The Ṣūfīs also explored the special characteristics of mystical knowing (*maʾrifa*) with subtlety equal to that found in any tradition.

Tawḥīd, "to declare that God is one," is the central duty of all Muslims. The recognition that God alone is, that he is the sole agent, and that he alone can truly say "I" emphasizes that the absolute unity and simplicity of the transcendent creator also constitutes the immanent reality of all things, as the union ḥadīth indicates. The eleventh-century Iranian mystic Ibn Hawāzin al-Qushayrī, whose *Treatise on Sufism* is among the most popular explanations of Ṣūfī terms, put it thus: "For the appearance of the real, Most Praised, is the disappearance of the creature" (Sells, 1996, p. 132). Annihilation and identity are central to Islamic belief and the mysticism based upon it.

A variety of special terms with subtle connotations express various aspects of this identity mysticism. Among the most important are the twin terms *fanāʾ* and *baqāʾ*, conceived of as two crucial stages (*maqāmat*) in the Ṣūfī path. *Fanāʾ*, or passing away, is the annihilation of the ego consciousness, absolute nullification in the presence of the divine. (It has been compared to the Middle High German verb *entwerden*, "unbecoming," used by Eckhart [Schimmel, 1975, p. 142].) But *fanāʾ* is inseparable from *baqāʾ*, or subsisting, because when the human ceases to be, what remains is only the divine reality in which all things subsist. It is in this state that some Ṣūfī mystics made ecstatic statements that belong properly to God, such as al-Ḥallāj's "I am the Truth" and al-Bisṭāmī's "Glory be to Me."

Closely related to *fanāʾ* and *baqāʾ* are two other sets of terms. The Arabic root *w-j-d* gives rise to a series of words expressing various forms of ecstasy in the sense of being found, or drawn out, by God (*tawājud*, *wajd*, *wujūd*; Sells, 1996, pp. 110–116). These can be described as states of intensification of existence achieved through passing away into pure divine existence. Another set of terms denotes different ways of speaking of union, or oneness (*jamʾ*). According to Qushayrī's *Treatise*, both union in the sense of God's action in humans and separation, what the human does through acts of worship, are necessary. Beyond this duality lies what he and other Ṣūfīs call the "union of union" (*jamʾ al-jamʾ*), which Qushayrī says is "the utter perishing and passing away of all perception of any other-than-God, Most Glorious and Sublime, through the onslaughts of reality" (Sells, 1996, p. 118). The Ṣūfīs denied that such expressions of mystical identity were to be thought of as forms of unification (*ittiḥād*), as if God and human were two things mixed together. They also abjured *ḥulūl*, that is, indwelling or incarnationalism, by which God is conceived of as inside the human spirit, coexisting with it. However, in Islam, as in Christianity, some community leaders, and even some moderate Ṣūfīs, accused other Ṣūfīs of incarnationalism and improper expressions of union as well as of the antinomianism (*ibahah*) some Christian mystics were said to have propounded. Such Ṣūfīs as al-Sarrāj (d. 933 CE) and Rūzbihān Baqlī (d. 1209) worked out detailed defenses of the ecstatic statements of identity with God (*shathiyat*) made by mystics like al-Ḥallāj and al-Bisṭāmī (see Ernst, 1985). Significant to this defense was the distinction between pronouncements made in the state of mystical intoxication (*sukr*) and what could be legitimately said in ordinary consciousness, or the state of sobriety (*ṣaḥw*).

Important Ṣūfī mystics. Of the host of names of Ṣūfī mystics it is possible only to mention a few here. Jaʿfar as-Ṣādiq (d. 765 CE), the sixth imam of the Shiite tradition, is among the earliest commentators on the Qurʾān. His treatment of the story of Moses (Mūsā) as told in *Surā* 7 treats the patriarch's experience of God on Sinai as an intimate conversation (*munājāt*) that led to annihilation of the ego and divine self-proclamation: "Mūsā heard words coming forth from his humanity and attributed the words to him [the deity] and he spoke to him from the selfhood of Mūsā and his servanthood. Mūsā was hidden from himself and passed away from his attributes" (Sells, 1996, p. 80). Another early figure is the greatest female mystic of the Islamic tradition, Rābiʿah. The stories and sayings attributed to her in Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār's *Memorial of the Friends of God* testify not only to the power of her longing for God but also to her desire to worship God without intermediary.

The third and fourth centuries of Islam (ninth and tenth centuries CE) witnessed some of the strongest proponents of mystical identity in the history of monotheistic religion. The most famous figure is doubtless Ibn Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj, whose martyrdom in 922 CE made him a paradigmatic figure in Islam for debates over mysticism. But from the point of view of the comparative study of mystical union, no less important are two somewhat older contemporaries of Ḥallāj. Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī (Bāyazīd in the Persian tradition) expressed identity with God in ways that were no less challenging than those of Ḥallāj. His writings contain remarkable forms of reduplicated expressions of total annihilation, the "passing away of passing away" (*fanāʾ al-fanāʾ*). Like Muḥammad, who was credited with a celestial journey (*Miʿrāj;* see *Surā* 17), al-Bisṭāmī dreamed he underwent an ascent through all the heavenly spheres to attain a vision of God in which he "melted away like lead" into indescribable union. Many of al-Bisṭāmī's sayings express the broken forms of discourse that often characterize mystical identity: "My I am is not I am. Because I am he, and I am he is he" (Ernst, 1985, p. 26).

No less daring, and perhaps more theoretically rich in his discussions of union, is the Baghdad Ṣūfī, Abū al-Qāsim al-Junayd (d. 910 CE). In his writings one finds not only a mind of great originality but also a moving personal witness. In discussing *tawḥīd*, for example, he says: "Fear grips me. Hope unfolds me. Reality draws me together. The real sets me apart. When he seizes me with fear, he annihilates me from myself through my existence, then preserves me from myself. . . . From the reality of my annihilation, he annihilated me from both my abiding and my annihilation" (Sells, 1996, p. 254).

In the twelfth century the most famous of Muslim teachers, Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, a convert to the Ṣūfī path, helped integrate the mystical impetus into the broad stream of tradition through such works as his treatise *The Niche of Lights*, which emphasized the distinction between mystical speech and ordinary discourse. The limits were tested again in the thirteenth century with the writings of three classic mystics, Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 1235), Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1240), and Rūmī (d. 1273). Al-Fāriḍ and Rūmī, supreme mystical poets, were more easily incorporated into the tradition than Ibn al-ʿArabī. This Spanish Ṣūfī was a philosopher, mystic, and poet who not only synthesized earlier mystical traditions but also raised them to a new level of profundity through his mystical philosophy of the unity of existence (*wahdat al-wujūd*) in such works as his *Bezels of Wisdom* and the vast *Meccan Revelations.* Although Ibn al-ʿArabī was suspicious of divine identity statements made in ecstasy, his use of dialectical language in which references to God and human are inextricably fused was attacked both in his time and in later Islamic history. Each of these three figures, as well as a number of their successors in the later history of Sufism, would deserve extended treatment in a more ample account of the story of mystical union in Islam.

JEWISH CONCEPTIONS OF MYSTICAL UNION. The significance of unitive language in Jewish mystical traditions has been the subject of contention. Scholarly study of Judaism, born in the Enlightenment, relegated mysticism to the margins, seeking to demonstrate that Judaism was a rational form of moral monotheism. Even Gershom Scholem (1941 and 1971), who resurrected mysticism as central to Jewish history, sought to distinguish Jewish mysticism from Christian and Islamic forms, because its strict sense of the gulf between God and human made claims for mystical union, and especially mystical identity, suspect and secondary. Since the 1980s, however, new research by Moshe Idel (1988a, 1988b), Idel and Bernard McGinn (1996), and Rachel Elior (1993) has shown that unitive language, even expressions of mystical identity, is not at all foreign to Jewish mysticism, though it is late.

The earliest stages of Jewish mysticism represented by the Merkavah literature (c. second to tenth centuries CE) do not feature the language of union but concentrate on heavenly ascensions to a vision of the throne of God. Unitive language first appears in the mid-twelfth century in the early stages of Qabbalah. Though Jewish forms of unitive mysticism show important analogies to Christian and Muslim forms, the distinctive practices and linguistic character of Jewish mysticism, both in the various types of Qabbalah and in the later Hasidic mysticism, have their own hermeneutics.

Deuteronomy 4:4 states, "You who cleave to the Lord God are all alive this day" (cf. *Dt.* 10:20 and 13:5). The notion of "cleaving" (*devekut*) provided a biblical warrant for later unitive forms of Jewish mysticism, not only those of mystical uniting but also stronger connotations of mystical identity. Moshe Idel (Idel and McGinn, 1996) has suggested that unitive understandings of *devekut* and related terms, such as *hitahed* (uniting) and *yiḥud* (union), express two models of mystical union: a universalizing type in which the soul of the mystic becomes all-embracing by cleaving to the Universal Object; and an annihilative-integrative model in which the mystic's ego is annihilated (as in Ṣūfī *fanāʾ*) in order to be perfectly integrated into the divine realm. The qabbalistic and Hasidic mystics who used strong forms of mystical identity, like their Christian and Muslim counterparts, usually qualified their statements by insisting that identity with God was not total; the ego remains or returns, at least in some way. Similarly even the most powerful proponents of identity language never broke with Jewish *halakhic* practice or lapsed into an antinomian posture. The only real heresy in the past eight centuries of Jewish history, that of Shabbetai Tsevi, was messianic in origin, not mystical.

Jewish unitive mystics. Among the earliest Jewish thinkers who spoke of mystical union was the mid-twelfth-century philosopher Abraham ibn Ezra, who saw Moses' cleaving to God as a model for the soul's return to its primordial state of universality. This theme continued on in Qabbalah, for example in ʾEzra of Gerona (c. 1250), who held that the soul of a prophet ascends until it is united to the "supernal soul in a complete union" (Idel, 1988a, p. 42), a formulation that seems to be influenced by Neoplatonic views. The most impressive work of Spanish Qabbalah, the *Zohar*, produced by mystical groups centered around Mosheh de Léon in the late thirteenth century, did not use extensive language of union, though the appearance of some unitive expressions (e.g., *Zohar* III.288a) became a proof text for later mystics. Other theosophical qabbalists, however, did employ considerable unitive language. For example, Isaac of Acre (active c. 1300) understood cleaving as the means for attaining the gift of prophecy in the soul's ascent to union with the hidden godhead of Qabbalah, the Ein Sof. Commenting on *Leviticus* 19:24, he says that the years of the maturation of fruit trees mentioned in the text are to be understood as the advance of the soul through mystical stages until, "'And in the fifth year,' which refers to the *ʾEiyn Sof* which surrounds everything, this soul will cleave to the *ʾEiyn Sof* and will become total and universal, after she had been individual, due to her palace, while she was yet imprisoned in it, and she will become universal, because of her source" (Idel, 1988a, p. 48). This reference to attaining a pre-creational state echoes a theme found in contemporary Christianity and Islam.

The most extreme formulations of identity mysticism in Qabbalah occur in the writing of Abraham Abulafia in the late thirteenth century. Abulafia's ecstatic form of Qabbalah, based upon practices of meditation and number manipulations, was fundamentally intellectualist. Like Plotinus, he envisaged an ascent to union with the Agent Intellect and finally to the Hidden God. Abulafia expresses this last stage in reduplicating language of fused pronouns comparable to some of the most extreme Muslim mystics: "For now he is no longer separated from his Master, and behold he is his Master and his Master is he; for he is so intimately united with him, that he cannot by any means be separated from him, for he is he" (Idel, 1988b, p. 10).

The Safedian qabbalism of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also employed unitive language, as the examples of Mosheh Cordovero and Eliyyahu de Vidas indicate. Nevertheless it is fair to say that unitive mysticism was at its strongest in some of the forms of Hasidic mysticism that began in eastern Europe in the eighteenth century and that continue to flourish in the twenty-first century. The Hasidic mystics were deeply influenced by Qabbalah, but the qabbalists were generally more concerned with repairing the structures of the divine world, whereas the Hasidic masters stressed personal experiences of union.

Amid a wealth of unitive statements found in Hasidic mysticism, the materials from the Habad movement, founded by Dov Ber, the maggid of Mezhirich (d. 1772), stand out. In a disciple of the maggid, Shneʾur Zalman of Liadi (d. 1813), one finds extreme statements of annihilation and identity with the divine. In explaining the meaning of mystical interpenetration (*hitkalelut*), Shneʾur says: "When man cleaves to God, it is very delightful for Him, and savorous for Him, so much so that He will swallow it into his heart, . . . as the corporeal throat swallows. And this is the true cleaving, as he becomes one substance with God in whom he was swallowed, without being separate [from God] to be considered as a distinct entity at all" (Idel and McGinn, 1996, p. 43). Dov Ber of Lubavitch, Shneʾur's son, wrote *Tract on Ecstasy*, which carefully discriminated five levels of ecstatic progression in which the fourth level, one of annihilation, leads to the fifth form of ecstasy, "actual essential *yeḥidah*," which is "called 'ecstasy of the whole essence,' that is to say his whole being is so absorbed that nothing remains and he has no self-consciousness whatsoever" (Jacobs, 1963, pp. 136–139). Other Habad mystics, such as Aharon Halevi Horowitz of Staroselye (d. 1828), were even more daring in their claims for attaining mystical identity, but this is not the place to pursue mystical union in Habad, or among other Hasidic leaders, such as the famous Naḥman of Bratslav (d. 1810).

CONCLUSION. Union, whether conceived of as the uniting of God and human or in a deeper way as some form of identity with God, has been a key feature of the mystical traditions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Although direct links between the mysticisms of the three faiths have been relatively rare, the common dynamics of monotheistic attempts to express their consciousness of becoming one with God display analogies that invite further investigation and promise important contributions to ecumenical understanding.

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MYSTICISM [FIRST EDITION].

No definition could be both meaningful and sufficiently comprehensive to include all experiences that, at some point or other, have been described as "mystical." In 1899 Dean W. R. Inge listed twenty-five definitions. Since then the study of world religions has considerably expanded, and new, allegedly mystical cults have sprung up everywhere. The etymological lineage of the term provides little assistance in formulating an unambiguous definition. In the Greek mystery cults, *muein* ("to remain silent") probably referred to the secrecy of the initiation rites. But later, especially in Neoplatonic theory, the "mystical" silence came to mean wordless contemplation. Even this "contemplation" does not coincide with our own usage of that term, since *theōria* denotes speculative knowledge as well as what we call contemplation.

Nor does the early Christian term *mustikos* correspond to our present understanding, since it referred to the spiritual meaning that Christians, in the light of revelation, detected under the original, literal meaning of the scriptures. Eventually the idea of a meaning hidden underneath surface appearances was extended to all spiritual reality (the sacraments, especially the Eucharist, even nature itself as expressive of God's majesty). Yet the strictly private character that we so readily associate with the term *mystical* was never part of it.

Sometime between the fourth and the fifth centuries, the Christian meaning began to absorb the Greek connotations of silence and secrecy. For Dionysius the Areopagite, the influential Syrian (?) theologian, mystical theory consisted of the spiritual awareness of the ineffable Absolute beyond the theology of divine names. Still, even for him, mystical insight belonged essentially to the Christian community, not to private speculation or subjective experience. Contrary to this objective, communal meaning, Western Christianity, mostly under Augustine's impact, eventually came to understand the mystical as related to a subjective state of mind. Thus Jean de Gerson, the fifteenth-century chancellor of the Sorbonne, described mystical theology as "experimental knowledge of God through the embrace of unitive love." Here we witness the formulation of the modern usage of a state of consciousness that surpasses ordinary experience through the union with a transcendent reality.

CHARACTERISTICS. With such a wide range of meanings, it is not surprising that commentators disagree about the characteristics of the mystical experience. Those mentioned in William James's *The Varieties of Religious Experience* rank among the most commonly accepted. *Ineffability* emphasizes the private, or at least incommunicable, quality of the experience. Mystics have, of course, written quite openly and often abundantly about their experience. But, by their own testimony, words can never capture their full meaning. This raises a delicate problem of interpretation to which we shall return. Secondly, James mentions the *noetic* quality of the experience. To be sure, mystical insight hardly ever augments theoretical knowledge. Nevertheless its insight suffuses a person's knowledge with a unique, all-encompassing sense of integration that definitely belongs to the noetic order. This point deserves emphasis against those who assert that mysticism is the same everywhere and that only the postmystical interpretation accounts for the difference. Distinctions begin with the noetic qualities of the experiences themselves. The *pasivity* of the mystical experience may well be its most distinctive characteristic. Its gratuitous, undeserved nature stands out, however much the privileged subject may have applied himself to ascetic exercises or meditative techniques. Once the higher power takes possession, all voluntary preparation appears to lose its efficacy. *Transiency,* a more controversial characteristic, has, I think justifiably, been challenged, for great mystics have remained for prolonged periods in enhanced states of consciousness. Intermittent intensive experiences figured therein as moments of a more comprehensive surpassing awareness. Perhaps we should speak of the *rhythmic*, rather than the transient, quality of mystical life.

To James's four characteristics we may add a fifth: *integration.* Expanded beyond its ordinary limits, the mystical consciousness somehow succeeds in overcoming previously existing opposition in its integration with a higher reality. This, however, should not be interpreted to mean that all restrictions cease to exist. Some of them clearly maintain a sense of transcendence within the union. This is precisely what gives them their distinctly religious character.

IDENTITY AND DIFFERENCE. That a "common factor" underlies the most diverse spiritual theologies has been asserted with great emphasis by such writers as René Guénon, Aldous Huxley, Frithjof Schuon, and Alan Watts. Some assumption of identity also seems to direct the thought of several Indian philosophers. In the West at least, the theory rests on the general principle that only subsequent interpretations distinguish one mysticism from another. Each mystic unquestionably tends to interpret his experience in the light of the theological or philosophical universe to which be belongs. Moreover, the nature of his spiritual quest usually shapes the experience. But to conclude therefrom that the interpretation remains extrinsic is to deny the experience a specific, ideal content of its own and to reduce it to mere sensation. Experience itself is distinctly cognitive and intentionally unique. As Gershom Scholem once pointed out, there is no mysticism-in-general; there are only particular mystical systems and individuals, Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim, Jewish, Christian, and so forth.

The specific quality of the experience in mystical individuals or schools does not, of course, exclude a kind of family resemblance in this variety. A denial of similarity has induced traditional interpretations to study mystical schools exclusively from the perspective of their own theological principles. Thus, for example, R. C. Zaehner's controversial *Mysticism* (1957) ranks mystical schools according to their proximity to orthodox Christian love mysticism. Alternatively, the assumption of a genuine similarity of experiences enables us to consider a variety of phenomena under some general categories without reducing them to simple identity. Such a general discussion would include nonreligious as well as religious mysticism, even though basic differences separate them. The present essay focuses only on religious mysticism. But a few words must be said about so-called nature mysticism, a term unrelated to the distinction, current in Roman Catholic theology, between "natural" (or acquired) and "supernatural" (or infused) mysticism. Nature mysticism refers to the kind of intense experience whereby the subject feels himself merging with the cosmic totality. Now, a mystical experience of the cosmos may also be religious. But in the religious experience a sense of transcendence persists throughout the experience of cosmic union either with regard to nature as a whole or to its underlying principle. Some descriptions of romantic writers (John F. Cooper, William Wordsworth, Jean Paul) seem to express such a mystical awareness of nature. We also find traces of it in Turner and in the nineteenth-century painters of the Hudson River school. The artist most remembered for his mystical descriptions of nature may well be Richard Jeffries. In his case the distinction between the religious and the nonreligious is particularly hard to maintain. In other cases any religious equation of cosmic-mystical experiences with what John of the Cross or the *Bhagavadgītā* expressed would be clearly inappropriate. Nevertheless, to deny any resemblance between the intense, unifying experience of nature and that of a transcendent presence would be absurd.

At this point the problem of narcotically induced states presents itself. Must we dismiss them as not mystical or at least as not religiously mystical because of their chemical origin? Such a simplistic categorization would be a blatant instance of the "genetic" fallacy. Instead of describing the phenomenon itself, we would then be satisfied to evaluate it according to its presumed origin. Of course, any mental state introduced without spiritual preparation is unlikely to foster spiritual development, and, if habitual, the reliance on chemical means may permanently obstruct growth. But however beneficial or detrimental this eventual impact upon personality may be, there can be no doubt that in a religious context chemicals may induce states of undeniably religious-mystical character. Thus the ritual consumption of peyote cactus buttons, dating back to pre-Columbian times, has undoubtedly played a significant role in the religious awareness of native Americans and has since the end of the nineteenth century been instrumental in remythologizing the cult.

Similarly, experiences resulting from pathological psychic conditions (e.g., manic depression, hysteria) should not per se be excluded from the mystical. Nor should these or drug-induced states be considered separately from "nature" or religious mysticism. On the latter alone we shall concentrate. The typology here presented considers only the mystical aspect of various religions: it claims neither adequacy in the general area of religion nor completeness in the classification of mystical religion.

MYSTICISM OF THE SELF. Mysticism belongs to the core of all religion. Those religions that had a historical founder all started with a powerful personal experience of immediate contact. But all religions, regardless of their origin, retain their vitality only as long as their members continue to believe in a transcendent reality with which they can in some way communicate by direct experience. The significance of such an experience, though present in all religion, varies in importance. Christianity, especially in its reformed churches, attaches less significance to the element of experience than other faiths do. In Vedantic and Sāṃkhya Hinduism, on the contrary, religion itself coincides with the kind of insight that can come only from mystical experience. Their particular concept of redemption consists in a liberation from change and from the vicissitudes of birth and death. Their craving for a state of changeless permanence aims not at some sort of unending protraction of the present life but rather at the extinction of all desire in this life. Hindu spirituality in all its forms displays an uncommonly strong awareness of the sorrowful quality of the human condition. Apart from this common temper and an acceptance of the authority of the Vedas, Hinduism presents such a variety of religious doctrines and practices that a single name hardly applies. Still, a similar, inward-directed mystical tendency warrants discussion under a single title.

The original Vedic religion with its emphasis on sacrifice and rite appears rather remote from what we usually associate with the term *mysticism.* Yet two elements in its development strongly influenced the later, more obviously mystical direction. First, forms of meditation became at some point acceptable substitutes for the performance of the actual sacrifice and were held to yield equally desirable benefits. Though such forms of concentration had little in common with what we understand today by contemplation, they nevertheless initiated an interiorization that Hinduism would pursue further than any other religion (Dasgupta, 1972, p. 19). Second, the term *brahman,* which originally referred to the sacred power present in ritual and sacrifice, gradually came to mean a single, abstractly conceived Absolute. The search for a primal unity is already obvious in some Vedic texts (e.g., the Creation Song, which speaks of "that one thing, breathless, breathed by its own nature"). The subordinate status of the gods ("The gods are later than this world's production," *Ṛgveda* 10.129) may have favored the drive toward unity. Polytheism, though abundantly present, had remained spiritually so undeveloped that it did not obstruct the road toward spiritual unity.

In the Upaniṣads (eighth to fifth century BCE) the unifying and the spiritualizing tendencies eventually merged in the idea of an inner soul (*ātman*), the Absolute at the heart of all reality to which only the mind has access.

> The inner Soul of all things, the One Controller, Who makes his one form manifold— The wise who perceive Him as standing in oneself, They, and no others, have eternal happiness! (*Kaṭha Upaniṣad* 5.12)

This is not a metaphysical theory, but a mystical path to liberation. It requires ascetical training and mental discipline to overcome the desires, oppositions, and limitations of individual selfhood. "As a man, when in the embrace of a beloved wife, knows nothing within or without, so this person, when in the embrace of the intelligent Soul, knows nothing within or without" (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 4,3.22). Here lies the origin of the *advaita* (nondualist monism that would become dominant in classical Hinduism). The *Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad* anticipates the later, radical expressions in its description of the highest state of consciousness as one beyond dreamless sleep. Above all, it equated the deeper self (*ātman*) thus discovered with *brahman* itself. This deeper self tolerates no subject-object opposition. If taken literally, this state would eliminate consciousness itself and with it the very possibility of a "mystical" state. Yet such a total elimination of personal consciousness remains an asymptotic ideal never to be reached but to be approached ever more closely. The three aspects of *brahman* (*sat-cit-ānanda*) that even extreme monists distinguish include two that are clearly conscious. Even if any distinction beyond the One were to be a mere illusion, as in the extreme interpretation of *māyā* (originally, the created world itself) given by Śaṅkara (eighth century CE), it still remains an opposition to indiscriminate Unity. Metaphysical speculation in classical Hinduism may occasionally have surpassed its mystical tendency. But that there *was* a religious experience at the basis of this extreme monism cannot be doubted.

> The starting-point of Śaṅkara and the Sāṃkhya-Yoga is the *experience* of the immortality of the soul; and immortality in this case does not mean the infinite prolongation of human life in time: that is *Samsāra* which the Hindus regard rather as a living death; it is death-in-life, not life-in-death. It means rather an unconditioned and absolutely static condition which knows nothing of time and space and upon which death has no hold; and because it is not only pure Being, but also pure consciousness and pure bliss, it must be analogous to life. (Zaehner, 1962, p. 74)

Of course, not all the Upaniṣads were radically monist in their expression (*Śvetāśvatara* is clearly not), nor was the Vedantic theology the only mysticism of the self in India. The Sāṃkhya-Yoga mentioned in the above passage advocates a radical dualism. It recognizes two irreducible principles of reality: *prakṛti,* the material principle and source of energy, cause of both the material world and psychic experience, and *puruṣa,* discrete units of pure consciousness similar to the *ātman* of the Upaniṣads. In contrast to cosmic intellect (*mahat*), ego-consciousness (*ahaṁkāra*), and mind (*manas*) as the source of perception and action, the multiplicity of individual *puruṣa*s exists independently of the cosmic forces altogether. Yet *puruṣa* must be liberated from a confusion with *prakrti* by means of concentrated effort. Sāṃkhya thought, although it has no place for deity and is specifically atheistic, was assimilated into the age-old tradition of yoga, providing the practice with a soteriological and cosmological framework. This mystical self-isolation recognizes no absolute One (*brahman*/*ātman*) beyond the individual spirit. Liberation here means the opposite of merging with a transcendent Self. In its pure form, Sāṃkhya-Yoga, far from leaning toward pantheist monism (as Vedantic spirituality does), results in the most extreme individualism. If the idea of God appears at all, it is as that of one *puruṣa* next to all others, their model insofar as God is entirely free of cosmic contamination. But we must avoid tying the Yoga techniques to the later Sāṃkhya theology: they were practiced also in non-dualist or in the so-called qualified-dualistic (Viśistādvaita) systems.

What are these qualified-dualistic systems that make up the third school of Hindu mysticism? It seems hazardous to ground them in theological theories. To be sure, each mystical system contains an interpretation as an essential part of the experience, but these interpretations cannot be simply transferred into the kind of logically coherent systems for which we usually reserve the name *theology.* A mystical theology is less concerned about logical consistency and sharply defined concepts than about adequate translations of the actual experience. This is particularly the case in a tradition wherein the mystical element constitutes most of the core of the religion itself. Hence in describing such later writers as Rāmānuja (eleventh century CE) as "qualified dualists," we should be aware that we are referring more to a practical-devotional than a speculative-metaphysical attitude. Rāmānuja may never have abandoned the metaphysical assumptions of the monist tradition in which he grew up. But finding absolute monism inadequate for the practice of spiritual life, he reaffirmed the traditional concept of a God endowed with personal attributes (*saguṇa brahman*), instead of the attributeless absolute substance (*nirguṇa brahman*). God thereby is not merely a model but also a redeemer who assists the soul on its path to liberation.

In thus qualifying the monist doctrine, Rāmānuja was inspired by what the *Bhagavadgītā* (c. second century BCE) had assumed throughout. This mystical poem, perhaps the finest spiritual work to come from the East, is hard to classify by Western canons. The narrative assumes a clearly theistic position: the god Viṣṇu incarnated in Kṛṣṇa exhorts the hero Arjuna on the eve of battle with his stepbrother to take heart and fight. But the message he delivers ranges from traditional piety and observance of the ancient rites to the monism of the Vedānta, combined with the dualistic cosmology of Sāṃkhya-Yoga. The work is a synthesis in all respects. Not only does it unite the monist and theistic strands, but it also presents a method of combining the active with the contemplative life. It advises a mental discipline that enables a person to act with total detachment from the fruits of his deed. By itself, the active life (*karman*) weaves its own web of causes and effects, entailing an endless cycle of birth and death—the very essence of what a person seeks to be liberated from. Yet various kinds of yoga detach the mind from this natural determination, while still allowing a person to fulfill the obligations of his station in life. Through equanimity of emotions, holy indifference, and purity of heart, even the active person will come to detect the one presence of *brahman* in all things. The *Gītā* is not a manual of yogic practice. It is a mystical work that culminates in a vision of God. A most powerful theophany completes Kṛṣṇa's description of God's presence in the world (chap. 11). Still the poem concludes with the sobering advice to seek God in the ordinary way of piety rather than through self-concentration. The advice was taken up by the *bhakti* movement, which produced some of the finest flowers of Hindu spirituality and which continues to nourish much of Indian piety today.

THE MYSTICISM OF EMPTINESS: BUDDHISM. It seems difficult to conceive of two religious doctrines more different from one another than Hinduism, especially Sāṃkhya, and Buddhism. In one, we find a quest for an absolute self (*ātman, puruṣa*); in the other, the obliteration of the self (anatman/anatta—no soul). Yet upon closer inspection the two appear to have a great deal in common. Both are systems of salvation, rooted in a profoundly pessimistic attitude about the changing world of everyday existence, and they aim at a condition of changelessness that surpasses that existence. Moreover, their adherents mostly hope to attain this salvation through enlightenment prepared by moral discipline and mental concentration. In the more radical schools the quest for a unified state of mind leads to some form of practical monism and, in Indian Mahayana Buddhism no less than in "classical" Hinduism, a theoretical monism. Any kind of "grace"—which would introduce a new dualism—is thereby excluded. Even those parts of the tradition that deviate from these rigorous principles appear to have some common features. Amida Buddhism advocates a faith in the "saving Buddha" that strongly resembles *bhakti* Hinduism.

Meanwhile, the goal of enlightenment is conceived in very different ways. The Buddhist description both of the experience and of the path that leads to it is characterized by a spare simplicity as well as by a persistent reluctance to use any but negative predicates. For our purposes it is not necessary to enter into the basic tenets of the theory. Their development varies from the Hīnayāna to the Mahāyāna doctrines. But even in the Theravada tradition, the Eightfold Path of virtue concludes with "right concentration," which, in turn, must be obtained in eight successive forms of mental discipline (the *dhyānas*). Once again we are confronted with a faith that from its origins is headed in a mystical direction. The three negative terms—nonattainment, nonassertion, nonreliance—define a state of utmost emptiness by which Nāgārjuna's Mādhyamika school (150 CE) described enlightenment. Emptiness appears, of course, also in Hīnayāna schools, as the principal quality of *nirvāṇa*, the supreme enlightenment. But with the Mahāyāna schools the emphasis on emptiness, even in the preparatory stages, becomes particularly strong. *Nirvāṇa* itself thereby ceases to be an independent realm of being: it becomes a particular vision of the phenomenal world. Nonattainment consists in emptying the self of all personal qualities, desires, and thoughts, indeed of all that might be considered to comprise a "self." For ultimate reality is unconditioned and void of all defining distinctions. If this concept is understood ontologically, there is no substantial soul; if understood epistemologically, there is no way of knowing reality as long as the notion of subject remains; if understood ethically, there is no expression of ultimate reality as long as one's desires condition one's existence. As the late Mahāyāna poet Śāntideva wrote:

> The Stillness (*Nirvāṇa*) lies in surrender of all things, and my spirit longs for the Stillness; if I must surrender all, it is best to give it for fellow-creatures. I yield myself to all living creatures to deal with me as they choose; they may smite or revile me for ever, cover me with dust, play with my body, laugh and wanton; I have given them my body, why shall I care. Let them make me do whatever works bring them pleasure; but may mishap never befall any of them by reason of me. (quoted in Ananda Coomaraswamy's *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism*, New York, 1964, p. 321)

Beyond wisdom, then, the Buddhist ideal requires compassion, an attitude rooted in the deep awareness that all beings are interconnected. It is this compassion that inspired the *bodhisattva* vocation in Mahāyāna Buddhism.

As Nāgārjuna defined it, nonassertion became the logical counterpart of the emptiness doctrine. The Madhya-mika paradoxes reveal an intense awareness of the ineffable quality of ultimate truth. No expression is definitive, not even the Four Noble Truths on which Buddhism is founded. The entire Dharma itself, the doctrine, is no more than a dream, a vague echo. To be sure, the conception of an ineffable absolute is also present in Hīnayāna Buddhism, as the following *Udāna* statement clearly asserts: "There is, monks, an unborn, not become, not made, uncompounded; and were it not, monks, for this unborn, not become, not made, uncompounded, no escape could be shown here for what is born, has become, is made, is compounded" (*Buddhist Texts through the Ages*, ed. Edward Conze, Oxford, 1954, p. 95).

Yet the Mahāyāna schools drew more radical conclusions. For the Mādhyamika *nirvāṇa* consists mostly of sets of contradictories, both of which are negated. To Nāgārjuna, *nirvāṇa* is logical "nonsense" to which the principle of contradiction does not apply. One may read this as a program of extreme skeptical philosophy. It is, in fact, a powerful assertion of transcendence in which all distinctions vanish. For the Mādhyamika masters, *nirvāṇa* lies beyond the total peace experience: it has become the Absolute *in itself*, the undivided Oneness of the ultimate reality. No longer separated from conditioned existence, the Mahāyāna *nirvāṇa* becomes indistinguishable from the samsaric realm of phenomenal (and therefore illusory) reality. The Buddhist negation, far more radical than a mere declaration of absence, leaves no common space wherein the Absolute could be compared with any positive qualities. It attempts the logically impossible, namely, to overcome the very interconnectedness of all dependent being and, since all that exists is dependent, of existence itself. Nothing remains here but the road to total silence. Salvation comes through wisdom, but clearly the wisdom here is the opposite of cognitive—it consists in mystical silence.

The ways to emptiness vary. Mental training by the confrontation of paradoxes has been mentioned. Other ways, especially Yogācāra Buddhism, emphasize the attainment of "pure thought." This consists not in thinking *about* something but rather in the insight that thought is not in any object but in a subject free of all objects. Yogācāra pursues the basic truth of emptiness in a practical rather than a logicometaphysical way.

Of particular importance here is Chan (Jpn., Zen) Buddhism, a doctrine imported into China by the Indian Bodhidharma that later spread to Japan. Most consistent of all in its pursuit of emptiness, it rejected all dependence (nonreliance), including the one based on the Buddha's own words. Indeed, the very desire for enlightenment must be abandoned, according to the famous Zen master Dōgen. The name Chan, or Zen, derived from dhyāna (Pali *jhāna*), indicates the importance of mental concentration. But Zen also requires a systematic surpassing of reason. At an early stage in his training the disciple is given a *kōan*, a paradoxical statement that baffles reason and for which he must find a "higher" sense. Once the mind has become cleared of the ordinary apparatus of conscious thought, unconscious elements emerge from its subliminal depths. Zen masters refer to this stage of hallucinations as makyō—the demonic universe—and advise the student not to dwell on any extraordinary experiences. Their advice agrees with the attitude recommended by Christian spiritual directors to mystics passing through the so-called "illumination" stage with regard to visions and voices. All this prepares a state of unification in which the mind gradually sheds the patterns of oppositional consciousness present in desire, fear, prejudice, or even objective conceptualization. C. G. Jung once suggestively described it as "a breakthrough by a consciousness limited to the ego-form, into the non-ego-like self." In the experience of total unity the self becomes reduced to a state of pure perceptiveness. This occurs in the final stage, *satori*, enlightenment itself, often referred to as *kenshō*, the ability to see the essence of things. We might perhaps translate it as "suchness" or "ultimate reality" (the Sanskrit term *tathatā*, used for the one reality that constitutes the entire universe, coincides in Mahāyāna Buddhism with *nirvāṇa* itself).

Most typical of that final state of emptiness as Zen Buddhists conceive of it is that it results not in a withdrawal from the real but in an enhanced ability to see the real as it is and to act in it unhampered by passion and attachment. Thus emptiness creates a new worldliness. Can such a state be called mystical? Not if one reserves the term for a direct contact with an Absolute that can be described by positive attributes. But such a restriction is not warranted. Any form of religious mysticism claims a direct contact with the Absolute. How it defines this Absolute depends on its particular outlook. Judaism and Christianity are religions of the word; Buddhism is a religion of silence that renounces all ways of naming the Absolute. Even to demand the presence of grace as a specific expression of a divine benevolence is to deny Buddhism the right to conceive of the Absolute as lying beyond any form of expression. Meanwhile, the function of what Christians call "grace" does not remain unfulfilled, as appears in the attitude of thanksgiving that shapes the Buddhist monk's life as much as that of his Western counterpart. In thanking the nameless source of all goodness, the Buddhist professes the presence of a benevolent Absolute.

Of course, here as in other cases the outsider is unable to decide to what extent religion blossoms into actual mystical experience. What counts is the possibility it presents of an intense, direct contact with the Absolute, and the methodic way that a particular religion offers for realizing this encounter. Not every form of Zen may be called mystical or even religious, any more than the practice of yoga in Hindu culture or, for that matter, the study of Neoplatonic theory.

MYSTICISM OF THE IMAGE: EASTERN AND EARLY WESTERN CHRISTIANITY. Unlike some other religions, Christianity has never equated its ideal of holiness with the attainment of mystical states. Nor did it encourage seeking such states for their own sake. Nevertheless, a mystical impulse undeniably propelled it in its origin and determined much of its later development. The synoptic Gospels present Jesus as dwelling in the continuous, intimate presence of God. His public life begins with a prayer and a vision: "While Jesus after his baptism was at prayer, heaven opened and the Holy Spirit descended on him in bodily shape like a dove" (*Lk.* 3:21–22). It ends with a prayer of total abandonment: "Father, into your hands I commend my spirit" (*Lk.* 23:46). Jesus initiates all important public acts with a prayer. He often withdraws from the crowd for long periods of solitary prayer. He interprets his entire existence through its reference to God, whom he calls Father. To himself he applies Isaiah's messianic words: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me." The same Spirit he promises to those who pray in his name.

The mystical quality of Jesus' life is most clearly stated in the Fourth Gospel. Some of the words attributed to him may have originated in theological reflection rather than in his own expression. But they thereby witness all the more powerfully to the mystical impulse he was able to transmit to his followers. Biblical speculations on the Word of God are reinterpreted as expressions of God's personal revelation in an incarnated divine Logos. The intimate union between the Father and the Word is, through the Holy Spirit, granted to all true believers. Indeed, the presence of the Spirit entitles them to the same love with which God loves his Son. In John's gospel the two principal currents of Christian mysticism have their source: the theology of the divine image that calls the Christian to conformity, and the theology that presents the intimacy with God as a relation of universal love.

The letters of Paul develop the idea of life in the Spirit. "We all reflect as in a mirror the splendor of the Lord; thus we are transfigured into his likeness, from splendor to splendor: such is the influence of the Lord who is Spirit" (*2 Cor.* 3:18). The Spirit's principal gift, in the understanding of Paul, consists in *gnōsis,* that insight into the "mystery of Christ" that enables the believer to understand the scriptures in a deeper, "revealed" sense. This insight into the hidden meaning of the scriptures led to the Alexandrian interpretation of the term *mystical* discussed earlier. Yet the practice long preceded the term. The entire *Letter to the Hebrews* consists of an allegorical reading of the Yom Kippur sacrifice as foreshadowing Christ's definitive sacrifice on the cross.

The tenor of early Christian mysticism was determined by the New Testament and by trends in Hellenistic Judaism (especially Philo Judaeus's scriptural theology and the late Judaic meaning of *gnōsis*). A third factor, usually referred to as Neoplatonism, must be added. Yet that movement, though influential in the development of Christian spirituality, may be too restricted an account of its beginnings; Origen (and, to some extent, even Clement) had already developed a mystical theology of the image before Plotinus. It might be more accurate, then, to look to the entire philosophically Platonic, religiously syncretic, and generally Gnostic culture of Alexandria at the end of the second century. In that climate Ammonius Saccas himself, Origen's and Plotinus's common master, grew up and taught. But soon Plotinus's philosophy was to provide much of the ideological apparatus for a Christian theology of the image. Though Plotinus's thought leaves no doubts about its Platonic origins, it was profoundly affected by such religious influences as the mystery religions, Gnosticism, Philo's Judaism, and that syncretism of Hellenistic currents and older Egyptian traditions that is usually referred to as Hermetism. Plotinus's philosophy as exposed in his nine treatises (the *Enneads*) is often presented as an emanational process that originates in an undetermined Absolute (the One), becomes intelligible in a realm of mind (the *nous*), and arrives at its final hypostasis in a world soul (the *psuchē*) shared by all individual souls. Such a presentation misses Plotinus's central insight and the source of its mystical fertility, namely, the immanence of the One in all the lower hypostases. The mystical-intellectual process for him consists in a return to that ever-present One, beyond the vision of the intelligible forms. A crucial role in this process is played by the notion of image, so important in early Christian mysticism. For Plotinus each emanation reflects the previous one as an image. Even the world, though steeped in opaque matter that allows no further emanations, reflects the soul and the mind. Clearly, in this context being an image is more than being an external copy. It implies that each sphere of reality refers in its very essence to a higher one. As such, the image presents, rather than represents. Man alone is able to read his world and his own soul as an appeal to turn inward to mind and, beyond mind, to the One. By a process of asceticism and contemplation, he may overcome the dispersion of time and of all that separates him from the total simplicity (the One) of his inner core. The Plotinian union with the One has been called *ecstatic,* but the term *instatic* might be more appropriate for describing a movement of inwardization and simplification. Plotinus's spiritual theology strikes us as decidedly cool: no sensuous feeling, no "visions," and no emotion. Yet more than any other master (outside the scriptures) did this last of the great pagan philosophers influence subsequent Christian mysticism.

The first attempt at a systematic theology of the mystical life in Christ was written by Plotinus's fellow Alexandrian and codisciple, Origen. In his *Twenty-seventh Homily on Numbers* Origen compares spiritual life to the Jews' exodus through the desert of Egypt. Having withdrawn from the pagan idols of vice, the soul crosses the Red Sea in a new baptism of conversion. She passes next through the bitter waters of temptation and the distorted visions of utopia until, fully purged and illuminated, she reaches Terah, the place of union with God. In his commentary on the *Song of Songs,* Origen initiated a long tradition of mystical interpretations that see in the erotic biblical poem just such a divine union. His commentary also presents the first developed theology of the image: the soul is an image of God because she houses the primal image of God that is the divine Word. Even as that word is an image of the Father through its presence to him, the soul is an image through the word's presence in her, that is, through her (at least partial) identity with it. The entire mystical process thus comes to consist in a conversion to the image, that is, to ever greater identity with the indwelling Word. The emphasis on the ontological character of the image of God in man (as opposed to the external copy) persists throughout the entire Christian tradition and holds the secret of its amazing mystical power.

The privileged place of love distinguishes Origen's theology from Neoplatonic philosophy. This emphasis on love becomes even more pronounced in the writings of Gregory of Nyssa, the fourth-century Cappadocian bishop. Under Neoplatonic influence Gregory describes the mystical life as a process of *gnōsis* initiated by a divine eros, which results in the fulfillment of the soul's natural desire for union with the God of whom she bears the image. Though akin to God from the beginning, the soul's mystical ascent is a slow and painful process that ends in a dark unknowing—the mystical night of love.

This theology of darkness, or "negative theology," would be developed to its extreme limits by a mysterious, Greek-writing Syrian of the sixth century who presented himself as the Dionysius whom Paul converted on the Areopagus. His enormous (though in the West not immediate) impact steered the theology of the image in a wholly new direction. Neoplatonic as no Christian theologian had ever dared to be, he identified God with the nameless One. Even the divine relations of the Trinity were ultimate only in the order of manifestation. Beyond all names and even beyond being itself lies the dark reality of a divine superessence. The mystical ascent moves toward that nameless unity. Throughout this thoroughgoing negation, Dionysius preserves the core of the image theology, for precisely the primordial union of the soul with God serves as the moving principle of the mystical ascent. Through constant negation the soul overcomes the created world, which prevents the mind from reaching its ultimate destiny. Yet Dionysius's *Mystical Theology* is ecstatic rather than introspective in its concept: the soul can achieve her vocation of union with God only by losing herself in the recesses of the divine superessence. In this respect it differs from the Western mysticism that it so deeply influenced.

Augustine (354–430), the towering figure who stands at the beginning of all Western theology (also, and especially, spiritual theology), described the divine image rather in psychological terms. God remains present to the soul as both origin and supreme goal. She is attracted by him and bears his image. But, unlike its definition by the Greek Fathers, that image remains for Augustine mostly the external effect of a divine cause. Augustine's treatise *On the Trinity* abounds with speculations on the soul's similarity to the Trinity, such as her constituting one mind out of the three faculties of intellect, will, and memory. They would amount to no more than superficial analogies were it not that God's presence in that same inner realm invites the soul to turn inward and convert the static resemblance into an ecstatic union. "Now this Trinity of the mind is God's image, not because the mind resembles, understands and loves itself [the superficial analogy], but because it has the power also to remember, understand and love its Maker" (*On the Trinity* 14.12.15). In actualizing the divine potential of its external resemblance, in allowing it to be directed to its archetype, the soul is gradually united with God. While the Greeks assert the initial identity, Augustine starts from a creator-creature analogy, which the divine attraction and man's following of it transform into an identity.

Unfortunately, this rich theology of identity remained largely unexplored by Augustine's spiritual followers until, in the twelfth century, the Cistercians and the Benedictines of Saint Victor Abbey combined it with the mystical theology of the Greeks. This fertile synthesis of Augustinian psychology with Greek spiritual ontology culminated in the two movements of Rhineland mysticism and Flemish spirituality. We shall here consider only their chief representatives: Eckhart and Ruusbroec.

Johannes Eckhart, possibly the most powerful mystical theologian of the Christian Middle Ages, synthesized the Greek and Augustinian theories of the image with a daring negative theology in one grandiose system. His mystical vision became the basis of an entire theology and, indeed, of a metaphysics of being. He was a subtle dialectician in his systematic Latin works and a paradoxical preacher in his vernacular sermons, so that his spiritual identity remains even today a subject of controversy. Few have succeeded in harmonizing the two parts of his prodigious output. Yet they do belong together. For Eckhart's endeavor was precisely to present the mystical union not as a privilege of the few but as the very vocation and ultimate realization of humanity. The mystical theory of the divine image holds the key to his theological ontology.

God is Being, and being in the strict sense is only God. With this bold principle, Eckhart reinterprets a Thomist tradition that "analogously" attributed being to God and finite existence. For Eckhart, the creature *qua* creature does not exist. Whatever being it possesses is not its own, but remains God's property. Both its limited essence (what determines it as this being rather than that) and its contingent existence (that it happens to be) are no more than the negative limits of its capacity to receive God's own being. "Every creature," Eckhart wrote, "radically and positively possesses Being, life and wisdom from and in God, and not in itself." Hence, God is totally immanent in the creature as its very being, while totally transcending it as the *only* being. By this presence God is totally like the creature; yet, lacking any of its determinations, he is totally unlike it. On these productive antinomies Eckhart builds his densely rich concept of image. The entire content of the creaturely image of God consists in the divine presence, while the fact that the creature's limitation reduces this identity to a likeness (hence including difference) accounts for the image's total directedness toward the divine exemplar: "Every image has two properties. One is that it takes its Being immediately from that of which it is the image. . . . The second property of the image is to be observed in the image's likeness. And here especially note two things; an image is, firstly, not *of* itself and (secondly) not *for* itself" (*Meister Eckhart*, trans. Maurice O. Walshe, London, 1979, vol. 1, pp. 124–125).

Since the finite subject conveys nothing positive to the image but rather obscures it by its limitations, only God's unlimited self-expression in his eternal Word (the Son) is his perfect image. The quality of the creature's image depends on the presence of that divine image in it, or, more correctly, on the degree of its own immanence in that archetype. The mind—specifically the spiritual mind—fully actualizes that immanence. Eckhart appears to join earlier (Greek) theologians who had defined the image through the presence of God's Word in the soul. But he gives it a more radical turn by declaring that divine Word the soul's very being. Rather than presence, Eckhart speaks of identity. Of course, as a creature the soul totally differs from the divine image. But its created nature contains God's own, uncreated being. In that being the soul coincides with God. "There is something in the soul that is so near akin to God that it is one and not united [to him]. . . . If man were wholly thus, he would be wholly uncreated and uncreatable" (ibid., vol. 2, p. 85).

The soul's being is generated in an eternal now with (indeed, within) the divine Word: "The Father bears his Son in eternity like himself. 'The Word was with God, and God was the Word' (*Jn* 1:1): the same in the same nature. I say more: He has borne him in my soul. Not only is she with him and he equally with her, but he is in her: the Father in eternity, and no differently" (ibid., p. 135). The mystical process then consists in a person's becoming conscious of his divine being. But this is far more than a cognitive process. It demands that utmost poverty and total detachment whereby he gives up his entire created existence "as he was when he was not [that is, before his birth]" (ibid., p. 271). Indeed, the spiritual soul no longer prepares a "place" for God, for "God is himself the place where He works." Only through that ultimate detachment, that waylessness in which there are neither names nor methods, does the soul come to resemble the image that she was in God "and between which and God there was no distinction before God created."

Farther than Eckhart the mysticism of the image could not go. Yet the identity that he so powerfully affirmed excluded any positive consideration of difference. Must the creature's difference remain without any spiritual significance? Was this no more than the circle of nothingness drawn around God's own being? Were even the trinitarian distinctions in God destined to be surpassed in a permanent rest in nameless unity? These were the questions that confronted later mystics of the Rhineland and the Low Countries. No one answered them with more balance and deeper insight than Jan van Ruusbroec (1293–1381), a Brussels parish priest and later a hermit in the wooded solitude of Groenendaal. Unlike Eckhart's theology, Ruusbroec's majestic summa of Christian life in the spirit did not conclude in a darkness beyond distinction. For Ruusbroec also the soul must move into God's nameless unity. But this divine desert is not a terminal resting ground. God's own being, as the mystery of the Trinity discloses, is dynamic, never at rest nor permanently withdrawn into its own darkness. Its silence is pregnant with God's revelatory Word. And so the contemplative, after having reached the divine silence, moves into God's self-revelation in the image of the Son and, with the Son, out into the otherness of creation. For Ruusbroec also, God dwells in darkness. But "in this darkness there shines and is born an incomprehensible light, which is the Son of God, in whom we behold eternal life; and in this light one becomes seeing" (*Spiritual Espousals* 3.1). Ruusbroec postulated no unity beyond the Trinity. The One is the Father—that is, a fertile unity, a silence that must speak, a darkness that yields light. Through its union with God the soul partakes in the movements within God. Once arrived in the empty desert of the Godhead, she is carried by the divine dynamism and moves with the Father into his divine image and into the multiplicity of creation. At that point the creatures appear both in their divine foundation within the image and also in their divinely constituted otherness. Not only their divine core but also their limited creaturehood are to be respected and cherished. Unlike Eckhart, Ruusbroec included in his mysticism of the image a mysticism of creation. Finitude itself, however different, is never separate from the divine image. Thus his theory of contemplation culminates in the ideal of the "common life," a rhythmic balance between withdrawing into interior life and flowing out into charitable practice.

Toward the end of the Middle Ages the mysticism of the image receded in favor of the more personal but also more private mysticism of love. Yet the theology of the image never died. It survived in the theological theories of uncreated grace (e.g., Lessius, De la Taille, Rahner), in patristic studies (Petavius, de Regnon), and in Cistercian spirituality. Today it enjoys a genuine revival, as the success of Thomas Merton's work witnesses.

MYSTICISM OF LOVE: MODERN CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM AND SUFISM. All Western religions have produced mystics of love. Judaism, Christianity, and Islam have known each its own kind of spiritual eros. In singling out love as characteristic of some movements in particular, I restrict the term to those in which personal love of God dominated—namely, Sufism and the spiritual movements that gradually came to prevail in Western Christendom since the late Middle Ages. Chronologically, Sufism precedes Christian love mysticism. Yet I shall discuss the latter first in order to maintain the continuity with the earlier type of Christian spirituality.

Christianity. Some time during the twelfth century, Christian piety underwent a basic change: its approach to

God became more human and affective. Love had, of course, always been an essential ingredient. But now it became the whole thing. At first it appeared in conjunction with the newly recovered trinitarian mysticism. The same Cistercians who reintroduced the Greek theology of the image to the West also initiated love mysticism. Thus in William of Saint-Thierry's influential works, the two currents of contemplation and affection, of image-identity and love-likeness appear simultaneously, occasionally in the same sentence. "When the object of thought is God and the will reaches the stage at which it becomes love, the Holy Spirit at once infuses Himself by way of love. . . . The understanding of the one thinking becomes the contemplation of one loving" (*Golden Epistle* 249–250). The duality persisted for centuries. Ruusbroec brought both trends to a powerful synthesis in his *Spiritual Marriage*, a work that incorporates Greek trinitarian mysticism in the scheme of a treatise on spiritual love by subordinating the more extrinsic assimilation through love to the more intrinsic inhabitation of God in the soul.

The emphasis on love is part of a more general tendency to involve the entire personality in the religious act. The new spiritual humanism (partly influenced by the Spanish Islamic culture) would revive interest in the psychological theory of Augustine and pay an unprecedented spiritual attention to the created world. The first great name to emerge was Bernard of Clairvaux. No Christian mystic has ever surpassed "the mellifluous doctor," as he is called, in the eloquent praise of spiritual love. Still, in many ways he remained a transitional figure: his Christocentric love is directed at the divine person of the Word, rather than at the human nature of the Christ, focus of later medieval spirituality. But the tradition he established clearly differs from that of image mysticism. In a famous sermon on the *Song of Songs,* he defines the unity of the spirit with God as resulting rather "from a concurrence of wills than from a union of essences." Here likeness firmly replaces image-identity. Does it mean that Bernard accepts only an external union with God? Not really, for in his treatise *On Loving God* he describes the highest degree of love as the condition of a drop of water disappearing in a quantity of wine. Experience itself becomes transformed. "To love yourself as if you no longer existed, to cease completely to experience yourself, to reduce yourself to nothing, is not a human sentiment but a divine experience" (10.27). Nevertheless, the transient quality of ecstatic love, its submission to the psychic rhythm of the soul, its affinity with human eros, all herald the advent of a different type of spirituality.

The humanization of man's relation to God transforms man's attitude toward a creation in which God now comes to be more intimately present. An interpersonal, and hence more creaturely, relation to God is ready to accept each creature on its own terms and for its own sake. In this respect its attitude differs essentially from the image mysticism that holds the creature worthy of spiritual love only in its divine core, where it remains rooted in God. The love mystic also cherishes its finite, imperfect being, which, resulting from a divine act of creation, is endowed with a sacred quality of its own. The mystery of the divine incarnation here attains a more universal level of meaning, as if Christians suddenly understood how much the creation must matter to a God who himself has become flesh. The new awareness gave rise to the powerful humanism that since the thirteenth century has characterized Western Christendom. Francis of Assisi taught his contemporaries to regard nature with a different eye and to love the deformed and the sick as much as the hale and the sound. His attitude found a uniquely poetic expression in the *Canticle of Brother Sun* and in Jacopone da Todi's lyricism. But the discovery of God's presence in creation was capable of systematic treatment, as one of Francis's followers, Bonaventure, demonstrated in *The Journey of the Mind to God.* By now the Christocentric orientation of the new spirituality had moved to Christ's humanity—the perfect creature so intimately united to God that loving could never detract the soul from loving God himself. Soon that humanity came to fulfill an essential mediating function in spiritual life. Teresa of Ávila would accuse herself of having neglected this link with the divine in her early years.

As the incarnational consciousness spread to all creation, divine transcendence ceased to imply a negation of the created world. Thenceforth God's presence has been found *within* rather than *beyond* creation. Precisely this immanentization of the divine accounts for the earthly quality of Christian love mysticism and for its followers' deep involvement with human cares and worldly concerns. Catherine of Siena, Ignatius of Loyola, and Teresa of Ávila, among many others, led extremely active lives and deeply influenced the culture of their age. This orientation toward the creature created new spiritual problems. For it requires uncommon virtue not to become attached to a creature one loves for its own sake. By no coincidence did most love mystics become "saints," that is, persons who, by heroic virtue, learned to love without possessiveness. All mysticism demands mental purity. But for those whose love of God passes through creation, the purifying process proves especially exacting. Besides renouncing the superfluous, an essential condition of spiritual growth, mystics so deeply involved with creation have to move against the grain of their natural inclination in order to establish the precarious balance of love and detachment. What al-Ghazālī writes about Ṣūfī mortification is a task for all love mystics: "The uprooting from the soul of all violent passions, the extirpation from it of vicious desires and evil qualities so that the heart may become detached from all that is not God." But when the mystical state proper begins, spiritual men and women tend to stop or reduce this active mortification.

Significantly, John of the Cross, one of the most articulate mystics of love, describes the entire spiritual process as an increasing purification, a "night" that starts with the senses, spreads to the understanding, and concludes in the total darkness of union with God. Most mystics would, perhaps more appropriately, refer to the second and third stages as illumination and union. But they equally emphasize the increased need for detachment. Followers of this tradition tend to equate the beginning of the mystical life with a state of passive prayer that excludes the ability to meditate. John of the Cross distinguishes the night of the senses, common to all who enter the mystical life, from the "horrible and awful" passive purgation of the spirit in the advanced. Not all agree with this description, but all stress the need for total passivity with respect to the divine operation. An entire school has taken what Teresa of Ávila calls the prayer of "quiet" to be the goal of spiritual life itself. As practiced by Miguel de Molinos (1628–1696) and Jeanne Guyon (1648–1717), this controversial concept drew upon itself a number of official condemnations. The debate began with the question whether the spiritual person should remain passive with regard to temptations, especially carnal temptations. The quietist attitude, the adversaries claimed, led to gross immorality—as in the case of Molinos. But the discussion then moved toward the more central issue of whether quiet is acquired or infused. The quietists failed to make adequate distinctions and thereby appeared to present mystical graces available to all, while allowing the pious to neglect the pursuit of common virtue and the practice of good works. Finally, with the French bishop Fénelon, both pupil and director of Jeanne Guyon, the dispute turned to the problem of "pure love": only the love that loves God exclusively because of himself is worthy of a spiritual person. Once the mystic has attained this state of pure love, he or she abandons the methodic pursuit of virtue and, eventually, all control over the spiritual process. None of the charges against the quietists was ever fully substantiated. Yet the entire controversy reveals how sensitive the issue of active or passive quiet had become. The question whether the "higher states of prayer" are available to all could hardly have been raised in an earlier, less psychological age.

The "illumination" that normally follows the period of purgation should not be thought of as a succession of new insights. John of the Cross refers to it as a darkness of the understanding caused by the excessive light of faith (*Ascent of Mount Carmel* 3.3.1). Still, the light is often reflected in unusual cognitive states—hallucinatory perceptions, intensively imagined visions or voices, nonrepresentational intuitions—which in unpredictable ways testify to the profound transformation the mind undergoes in the higher stages of mysticism. They are often hard to interpret, and spiritual masters have traditionally adopted a cautious attitude toward them. Yet we should not place them all on an equal footing. John of the Cross distinguishes concrete visions (either sensational or imaginary) from so-called spiritual apprehensions. While he dismisses the former as a breeding ground of moral illusions, among the latter he finds the most direct expressions of God's experienced presence. John equates such "intellectual" (nonrepresentational) visions (ibid., 2.24) with revelations of God's being "in the naked understanding" of the soul that has attained the state of union—"for they are themselves that union" (ibid., 2.26)—and with the spiritual "feelings" that emerge "in the substance of the soul" (ibid., 2.32). In such states illumination has in fact turned into union.

It is in terms of union that Teresa of Ávila discusses the matter in her *Interior Mansions* (Fifth and Sixth Mansions). What characterizes this final stage of love mysticism—whether defined in cognitive or in affective terms—is its permanence. Hence Teresa refers to it as a "marriage." Here the distinction between the "likeness" of love mysticism and the "identity" of image mysticism ceases to exist—even in the terminology. In the highest love union, intentional intermediacy yields to substantial presence. The trend from likeness to unity appears even more clearly in Ṣūfī mysticism.

Sufism. With its stern emphasis on law and orthodoxy, Islam hardly seems to present a fertile soil for intensive personal experience of the love of God. Yet Islam assumes the entire social system, *sharīʿah* (the way), into a privileged communal relation with God. Moreover, the Qurʾān states that, next to the ordinary believers who serve their creator according to the precepts of the law, there are some to whom God communicates his essential mystery inwardly in peace of the soul and friendship with God (Qurʾān 17:27). Here the Prophet allows for the possibility of a realm of personal religion. The possibility was soon actualized and eventually flowered into unparalleled mystical beauty. Even the unique authority of the Qurʾān has in an indirect way contributed to Islam's mystical wealth, for precisely because it remains the supreme norm of its interpretation, pious readers may find in it whatever meaning divinely inspired insight (*istinbāṭ*) privately reveals to them. Only when personal interpretation openly clashes with established doctrine (especially its rigorous monotheism) could religious authorities interfere. Thus, paradoxically, Islam, the "religion of the book," allows greater freedom of interpretation than religions that place less emphasis on the written word. Though early Muslim mysticism stayed in close connection with the Islamic community, conflicts arose. Already at the time of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 728), the patriarch of Islamic mysticism, Sunnī traditionalists objected to his attempt to go beyond the letter of law and doctrine. Thus began the opposition between "internal" and "external" religion that, from the tenth century on, led to increasingly severe confrontations. Nevertheless, a deep personal piety remained an essential element of the Islam that substantially contributed to rendering it a world religion.

Most Islamic mysticism could be characterized as love mysticism. Many texts show an amazing similarity in spirit and even expression with later Christian mysticism. Certain passages in the poetry of Rābiʿah al-ʿAdawīyah (d. 801) appear to throw a bridge across the centuries to Teresa of Ávila, while John of the Cross's *Dark Night* echoes some of Shaykh al-Junayd's poems. The similarity becomes somewhat intelligible through the established influence of Syrian monasticism (especially the hesychastic movement) upon the early

Ṣūfīs, and the strong Muslim impact upon Spanish culture as a whole and upon its mystics in particular. The resemblance has often tempted Western scholars to interpret Ṣūfī writings by means of Christian concepts. Yet the difference is substantial and appears with increasing clarity in some later Ṣūfī developments toward monism. Here love no longer represents the highest union with God but is merely a way station on the road to a more total identity. Still, early Ṣūfīs adopted models of asceticism that had closer ties with the spirituality of the Desert Fathers than with the worldly luxury of the expanding Muslim empire. Even the wool dress (*ṣūf*) from which they probably derived their name may well have had a Christian symbolic meaning. At any rate, the passive asceticism of the early Ṣūfīs stood in sharp contrast with the outgoing, active attitude of the Prophet's early followers. Not until the eighth century, however, did the emphasis shift from an asceticism inspired by a fear of judgment to a mysticism of love for which fasting and poverty served as means to a higher end.

The most attractive figure in this early love mysticism is certainly the former slave Rābiʿah. To her we owe some of the purest mystical love poetry of all time, such as her famous prayer at night: "Oh, my Lord, the stars are shining and the eyes of men are closed, and kings have shut their doors, and every lover is alone with his beloved, and here am I alone with Thee" (Margaret Smith, *Rābiʿa the Mystic*, Cambridge, 1928, p. 22). Her "pure" love, even as the love of later mystics possessing that quality, refuses to act or pray out of self-interest, "If I worship Thee from fear of hell, burn me in hell; and if I worship Thee in hope of paradise, exclude me from paradise; but if I worship Thee for Thine own sake, then do not withhold from me Thine eternal loveliness." Only repentance inspired by sorrow for having offended the Beloved is worthy of the spiritual person. For all its erotic exuberance, this and similar love mysticism remained doctrinally "sober." It developed elaborate schemes of the stages (*maqāmāt*) of the love of God. Eventually it used Neoplatonic categories, which strengthened it theoretically but may have favored its later development toward monism.

In Shaykh al-Junayd (d. 910), Ṣūfī mystical theology reached full maturity as well as a systematic unity. Though this religious leader went far in adopting Plotinus's theory, his orthodoxy was never questioned. Louis Massignon, the famous student of Islamic mysticism, describes al-Junayd as "clever, prudent and timid, conscious of the danger of heterodoxy which is peculiar to mysticism," and as a wise spiritual director "who suspends his judgment and defers the question so long as experience does not seem to him decisive and crucial" (Massignon, 1954, p. 275). Still, his theory of emanation from a preexistence in God to a separate existence in time daringly reinterpreted the creation doctrine. In *Kitāb al-Fanāʾ* he writes, "He annihilated me [in my divine preexistence] in creating me even as, in the beginning, He created me [in my separate existence in time] when I was not," and "He was the source of their existence, encompassing them, calling them to witness when still their eternal life was utterly negated, a state in which they were from all pre-eternity" (Zaehner, 1957, pp. 165–166).

By following this principle of emanation to its ultimate consequences al-Junayd's disciple, al-Ḥallāj, ended up with the allegedly monist theory for which he was executed in the year 922. With al-Ḥallāj begins a wholly new phase in Ṣūfī mysticism that continued to use the language of love, but frequently in a more symbolic sense than had the earlier Ṣūfīs. Meanwhile it remains very doubtful whether al-Ḥallāj, despite his strong expressions, ever considered himself fully identical with God. His claim of divinization refers to a passive, transient state—not to a permanent self-deification. Such ecstatic exclamations as "I am the Truth," by no means unique to him, express a temporary, divinely granted awareness of identity with God. He probably remained a love mystic always longing for a union that was only occasionally attained, as in the following oft-quoted verses: "Between me and Thee lingers an 'it is I' that torments me. Ah, of Thy grace, take this 'I' from between us." Even the supreme expression of union still indicates a remnant of duality. "I am He whom I love, and He whom I love is I. We are two Spirits dwelling in one body" (Nicholson, 1939, p. 218). Elsewhere al-Ḥallāj firmly upholds God's transcendence with respect to his creation, as in the words quoted by al-Qushayrī: "He has bound the whole to contingency, for transcendence is His own. . . . He remains far from the states of his creation, in Him there is no mingling with His creation, His act permits of no amendment, He is withdrawn from them by His transcendence as they are withdrawn from Him in their contingency" (Louis Massignon, *La passion d'al Hossayn-ibn-Mansoûr al Hallaj*, Paris, 1922, p. 638).

After al-Ḥallāj, Ṣūfī piety reached a temporary truce with orthodox learning in al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), the greatest of the theologians. A learned teacher of law and doctrine, he abandoned his chair to spend eleven years as a wandering Ṣūfī, and at the end of his life retired to a Ṣūfī monastery. Bypassing the antinomian trends that emerged after al-Ḥallāj, he returned to a more traditional attempt to emphasize experience over the letter of the law. With Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1240) the dependence on Neoplatonism (especially the so-called *Theology of Aristotle*) and, with it, the movement toward monism became more pronounced than ever. He provided the link between Western classical culture and Eastern Islamic mysticism that culminated in Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. Ṣūfī mysticism, however much inclined toward monism, never abandoned the language and imagery of love. Ibn al-ʿArabī, with al-Ghazālī the most philosophical of all Muslim mystics, never ceases to integrate his Neoplatonic vision with the Qurʾān's dualistic doctrine of man's relation to God. Still one may doubt whether he did more than adapt the terminology of traditional Ṣūfī love mysticism to his own kind of monism. The Absolute for him is an indistinct One that, overcome by the desire to be known, projects itself through creative imagination into apparent otherness. In this projection the relation of the One to the created world, specifically to man, determines that of the Absolute to the differentiated idea of God, the intellectual pole as opposed to the cosmic pole of finite being. All that the creature is, is divine, yet God always exceeds creation. Through man's mediation the dependent, created world returns to its primordial unity. As the image of God, man imposes that image upon the cosmos and reflects it back to its original. In fulfilling this mediating task he approaches the (Gnostic?) archetype of the Perfect Man, the ideal link that restores the broken oneness. Only the Muslim saint realizes the model in its fullness.

All of this appears far removed from Islamic love mysticism and even from monotheism. But the same Ibn al-ʿArabī also wrote a collection of sensual love poetry to which he later added a mystical interpretation. Even his "monist" *Bezels of Wisdom* concludes with a dithyramb on spiritualized sexual love as providing access to the perfect love of God. It states that in woman, man most perfectly contemplates God. "The greatest union is that between man and woman, corresponding as it does to the turning of God toward the one He has created in His own image, to make him His vice regent, so that He might behold Himself in him. . . . If he [man] knew the truth, he would know Whom it is he is enjoying and Who it is Who is the enjoyer; then he would be perfected" (*The Bezels of Wisdom*, in *The Classics of Western Spirituality*, ed. John Farina, New York, 1980, pp. 275–276). However thorough Ibn al-ʿArabī doctrinal monism may have been, it never prevented him from attributing to love a primary role in the practical process of reunification with God. His readers, both inside and outside Islam, have always emphasized this dualism of mystical praxis. This explains his impact both on Spanish Catholic (Ramon Lull, John of the Cross) and on Persian Ṣūfī mystics.

In the refined mystical poetry that constitutes the glory of Persian Sufism, the same drift toward monism is frequently expressed in erotic language. Here the undisputed master is Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273). He himself was influenced by others (such as ʿAṭṭār, and Ibn al-ʿArabī's disciple in Konya, al-Qunawī, and especially his strange mentor, al-Tabrīzī), yet sang, with a voice uniquely his own, of the longing for the Beloved.

> I am not the kingdom of ʿIraquain, nor of the country of Khorasan, I am not of this world, nor of the next, nor of Paradise, nor of hell. My place is the Placeless, my trace is the Traceless; 'Tis neither body nor soul, for I belong to the soul of the Beloved. I have put duality away, I have seen that the two worlds are one: One I seek, One I know, One I see, One I call. He is the first, He is the last, He is the outward, He is the inward. (*Dīvānī Shamsi Tabrīz*,trans. R. A. Nicholson, Cambridge, 1898, p. 125)

Persian poets after Rūmī expressed a similar synthesis of monist reality and erotic longing, none with more force and evocative power than ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 1492):

> Beware! Say not, "He is All Beautiful, And we His lovers? Thou art but the glass, And He the face confronting it, which casts Its image on the mirror. He alone Is manifest, and thou in truth art hid, Pure Love, like Beauty, coming but from Him, Reveals itself in thee." (E. G. Brown, *A Year amongst the Persians*, Cambridge, 1926, p. 138)

Yet most important for the later mystical life of Islam in Iran were the flourishing Ṣūfī orders of dervishes (one of them founded by Rūmī himself). As they spread, mystical life reached all layers of the population, and the search for mystical trance reached unprecedented proportions. After the fifteenth century, Persian mysticism produced no more great writers. Generally speaking, the trend of the past three centuries in Islam has been more toward communal piety and law than toward personal devotion. Yet in our own day we witness a revival of Ṣūfī movements.

ESCHATOLOGICAL MYSTICISM: JEWISH MYSTICS. The section headings in this article do not capture the full meaning of the content. At best they approximate a definition of a dominant trend in a particular, more or less unified mystical school. In the case of Jewish mysticism the description may not even serve this minimal purpose: Judaism has produced forms of mysticism so unlike any other and so variant among themselves that no common characteristic marks them all. At most we can say that they "commune" with one another, not that they share an identical spirit. Gershom Scholem wisely embedded this irreducible diversity, reflective of a spiritual Diaspora, in the very title of his authoritative work *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (1941). The closest he comes to a general characteristic is the point at which he draws attention to the persistent presence of eschatological traits in Jewish mysticism: "This eschatological nature of mystical knowledge becomes of paramount importance in the writings of many Jewish mystics, from the anonymous authors of the early He-khaloth tracts to Rabbi Naham of Brazlav" (p. 20). The eschatological element most clearly appears in the earliest trend: the often Gnostically influenced mythical speculation on Ezekiel's vision of the throne-chariot, the *merkavah*. Mysticism around this theme began in the first centuries of the common era. It consisted of an attempt to ascend to the divine throne beyond the various intermediate spheres (the *heikhalot*). Except for its biblical starting point (first developed in the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Enoch*), the impact of Gnostic *plērōma* mythology dominates this spiritual "throne world." But also the typically Hellenistic connection of mysticism and magic appears to have been strong. *Merkavah* mysticism declined after the seventh century, but enjoyed a steady revival in Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries, which, in turn, may have influenced medieval German Hasidism.

Whereas *merkavah* mysticism had been esoteric, Hasidism (from *ḥasid*, "pious one") began in the twelfth century as a popular movement closely connected with the *halakhah* (law). The early development has been fixed in the *Sefer Ḥasidim* (Book of the Pious), which contains the spiritual testaments of the prolific Yehudah the Pious and of two other early writers. The eschatological element, present from the beginning, gradually became more pronounced. Yet various other elements appear as well, among them an almost monastic emphasis on the religious virtues of simplicity, humility, and indifference. While *merkavah* mysticism attained its goal by contemplation, Hasidism did so primarily by prayer and spiritual practice. To pure transcendence it opposes the intensive awareness of an omnipresent creator accessible to the *Ḥasid* even in his daily activities. Finally, while *merkavah* mysticism displays Gnostic traits, Hasidic "theology" shows a resemblance to Neoplatonism even in its Greek Christian development. God's glory *(kavod)* is distinct from God's being as a first manifestation of his presence (*shekhinah*), which mediates between this hidden essence and the fully manifest creation. The Hasidim indulged in elaborate speculation about the inner and outer glory of God, and about the kingdom of his created yet hidden presence.

These daring speculations seldom developed into a coherent theology. In that respect they differed from the spiritual movement that, from the fourteenth century on, would largely replace it—Qabbalah. It originated in thirteenth-century Spain as a highly esoteric doctrine, one that its followers were reluctant to divulge. After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain (1492), however, it developed into a theology of exile that spread to large segments of the Jewish world. More speculative than ecstatic (though methods for ecstasy were not absent), it was deeply influenced by Gnostic theologies. Its masterwork, the *Zohar*, by its daring adoption of Gnostic cosmogonies surpassed in this respect even *merkavah* mysticism. In addition, it absorbed the Neoplatonic currents that had swept through the Arabic and Jewish culture of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Spain. Considering the hazardous nature of its thought, its relation to normative tradition and official authority remained, on the whole, remarkably peaceful, if not always amiable. Indeed, the branch that produced the most daring speculation found its expression mostly in traditional rabbinical commentaries on the sacred text. Another trend of Qabbalah, culminating in Avraham ben Shemu'el Abulafia (1240–after 1291), is more prophetic. It combines in a highly original way philosophical theory—much of it derived from Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon, 1135/8–1204)—with mystical speculations on the divine names. Abulafia left his native Saragossa early in life to travel all over the Near East and to settle down in Sicily, where he wrote most of his many works. They all aim at assisting the soul to untie the "knots" that bind it to this world of multiplicity and to allow it to return to its original unity (surprisingly named after Aristotle's Agent Intellect). This union may be attained through contemplation of a sufficiently abstract object, such as the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. Any combination of letters results in word figures that in some way refer to the sacred tetragrammaton of the divine name, *YHVH*. In meditating upon them—somewhat as the yogin uses a *mantra*—consciousness moves to a higher state of unity that releases man's prophetic faculty.

Wholly different is the theophysical mysticism that resulted in that unsurpassed masterpiece of mystical speculation, the *Zohar* (Book of Splendor). Its origin remains mysterious, because the anonymous author has carefully covered his tracks (even to the point of writing in Aramaic rather than Hebrew) and attributed his work to earlier authorities. Yet internal criticism suggests that it was written in Spain in the last third of the thirteenth century, probably by one author. The writer, familiar with the philosophies of Maimonides and of Neoplatonism, has, above all, undergone the influence of unknown Gnostic sources. Synthesizing all qabbalistic writings of the century, he attempts to stem the rationalist trend by giving traditional Judaism a hidden mystical interpretation. Thus this highly esoteric work was, in fact, written for the enlightened Jewish intelligentsia of late-fourteenth-century Spain. Central in the *Zohar* doctrine is the theology of the *sefirot*, the ten "regions" into which the divine emanation extends itself. Importantly, the divine *plērōma* of these *sefirot* does not emanate *from* God: it remains *within* God as his manifest being, in contrast to the "hidden God." Gershom Scholem writes: "The point to keep in mind is that the *sefirot* are not secondary or intermediary spheres which interpose between God and the universe . . . not steps of a ladder between God and the world, but various planes in the manifestation of the Divinity which proceed from and succeed each other" (Scholem, 1961, pp. 208–209). Here also language fulfills a crucial function: the *sefirot*, the creative names God gives himself, anticipate the faculty of speech in man. The ultimate manifestation consists of God's simple, immanent presence in the entire creation, the *shekhinah*. In becoming aware of this divine presence, man comes to understand his own deeper self.

Creation takes place *within* God as a transition from the divine *Nothing*, the mathematical point frequently identified with God's Wisdom (the *ḥokhmah* of *Proverbs*). Even evil proceeds from a negative principle in God himself that has become isolated from the rest of the divine organism. Man's reaction consists in restoring creation to its original union within God.

The idea of an immanent creation was taken one step further by some sixteenth-century mystics of Safad in Palestine, exiled from Spain after the expulsion decree. The new Diaspora gave Qabbalah a distinctly messianic, eschatological aspect that had been less prominent in the *Zohar*. Thus the mystical return to the aboriginal creation now came to be seen as anticipating the messianic era. According to Isaac Luria (1534–1572), the most important mystic of the school, creation originates through a process of self-emptying whereby God withdraws from a mystical space within himself in order to establish the possibility for a reality other than his own omnipresent being. The concept of *tsimtsum* (withdrawal) allows Luria to distinguish the world of creation from the emanations that occur *within* God's own being and to prevent creation from collapsing into a pantheistic oneness.

The Gnostic idea of the primordial man, *adam qadmon*, which models God's manifest being on the human organism, provides a transition between the sphere of the *sefirot* and the created world, while, at the same time, explaining the origin of evil. The light of the divine being is refracted through this supreme emanation. The first six *sefirot* receive and reflect the divine light radiated by *adam qadmon*. But the lower six are not powerful enough to retain the light, and it "shatters the vessels" (*shevirat ha-kalim*). Here evil begins to exist as a separate entity. Through the breaking of the vessels, the forces of evil that were mixed with the divine light become segregated from the good. This purgative event, good in itself, would have allowed the total elimination of evil in the final reintegration of the last sefirah. But Adam's fall, once again, reintroduced chaos into the cosmos. The Diaspora symbolizes this general disarray in which the *shekhinah* itself is sent into exile.

Luria's mystical theory culminates in his idea of redemption, a redemption, mystically conceived, that coincides with the messianic era. Through prayer, spiritual man plays an active role in restoring the original order of the universe. Mystical piety will recall the *shekhinah* back to the spiritual *plērōma* and prepare the world for the messianic coming. The powerful concept of *tikkun* (reintegration) conveyed meaning to the bitter experience of the exile. Yet, combined with messianic expectations, it also created a tense and potentially explosive sense of anticipation. Luria's mystical theology therefore prepared the terrain for the pseudomessiahs and the antinomian movements of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Thus the unstable Shabbetai Tsevi (1625–1676) was able (largely through the efforts of his "prophet," Natan of Gaza) to render himself accepted as the Messiah and even to retain many of his followers when he himself apostasized to Islam. Was this not part of the Messiah's vocation in a world that had exiled him to the realm of darkness? Large groups of Shabbateans apostasized publicly while secretly preserving their messianic faith—thus repeating voluntarily what Marrano Jews had been compelled to do involuntarily. The exile among the infidels initiated the condition for the final separation of good and evil of the messianic era. At the same time, antinomian behavior inaugurated a reign in which the restrictions of the Law would be abolished and the primordial state of freedom restored.

Qabbalah was not to end in this state of general disintegration. A new Hasidism on the rise in eighteenth-century Poland incorporated much of its mystical piety while rejecting its messianic excesses. It was neither esoteric nor elitist. More emotional than intellectual, it appears more as a revivalist movement than as a theological school. Yet its nonsystematic character has not prevented it from occasionally attaining speculative peaks. It honored the charismatic leader more than the learned rabbi, even though most of its leaders were rabbis and all endeavored to remain within rabbinical orthodoxy. The new Hasidism began with two inspired men: the Besht (Yisra'el ben Eli'ezer, 1700–1760) and his disciple, Dov Baer, the Maggid of Mezhirich. They, like all their major followers, distinguished themselves more by the striking gesture, the memorable story, than by interpretation of the Torah. It is hard to evaluate the precise "mystical" significance of so popular a movement. Yet the intensive religious experience of its greatest writers leaves no doubt. Here particularly we should restrain ourselves from imposing too narrow limits on the term *mystical*. Hasidism may be more practical and certainly more social than earlier spiritual movements, but its emphasis upon a joyful spirit and moral living derives from a mystical source.

Jewish mysticism shows an unparalleled variety of forms ranging from deep speculation to purely emotional experience. It consistently appeals to scriptural authority, yet no mystical movement ever strayed further from theological orthodoxy than late messianic Qabbalah. And still for all the variety of its forms and of the external influences to which it was exposed, Jewish mysticism unquestionably possesses a powerful unity of its own. In it the word dominates, and the often tragic experience of the present lives in constant expectation of the future.

SEE ALSO Aesthetics, article on Philosophical Aesthetics; Attention; Consciousness, States of; Esotericism; Psychedelic Drugs; Religious Experience.

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LOUIS DUPRÉ (1987)

MYSTICISM [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS].

The term *mysticism,* like the term *religion* itself, is a problematic but indispensable one. Identifying a broad spectrum of ideas, experiences, and practices across a diversity of cultures and traditions, it is a generic term rather than the name for any particular doctrine or mode of life. The application of appropriate epithets yields terminology for specific categories of mysticism (theistic mysticism, nature mysticism, and eschatological mysticism) and for distinct cultural or doctrinal traditions (e.g., Hindu mysticism, bhakti mysticism, Jewish mysticism, merkavah mysticism). The term mysticism is also a modern one, serving the purpose of comparative study and theoretical analysis, drawing into a single arena ideas and practices otherwise isolated within their own local names and histories.

Inevitably, however, the term remains colored if not hampered by the complexity of its own history: by its original Greek etymology (meaning "silence, secrecy, initiation, ineffability"), by the early Christian use of the word *mystical* to describe the deeper significance of Scripture and liturgy, by the later Christian definition of *mystical theology* as loving union with God by grace, and by popular uses of mysticism as a label for anything nebulous, esoteric, occult, or supernatural. Although mysticism is now firmly entrenched within the vocabulary of the modern study of religions, its usage overlaps and to some extent competes with its employment in specifically theological contexts. Christian or at least theistic mysticism continues to be given prominence even in studies treating the subject at a more generic or theoretical level (e.g., in much philosophy of religion). Given its persistently Christian associations and the fact that the term has no real counterpart in other traditions, it is not surprising that the suitability of mysticism as a neutral, global term has been questioned by some scholars. Others, more radically, have challenged the authenticity of the concept itself, viewing it as a product of post-Enlightenment universalism.

SCOPE AND DEFINITION OF THE TERM MYSTICISM. Louis Dupré, in his survey of mysticism in world religions in this encyclopedia, acknowledges the difficulty of any overall definition of mysticism, but some sort of definition must be possible if one is to accept the category of the mystical as coherent and illuminating. By way of a broad definition, one can say that the term mysticism relates to traditions affirming direct knowledge of or communion with the source or ground of ultimate reality, as variously experienced in visionary, ecstatic, contemplative, or unitive states of consciousness and as diversely embodied in doctrines and practices expressing a unitary and compassionate view of the cosmos and human existence. The profound transcendental experiences that empower mystics and inform their ideas and actions are typically characterized by paradox: they are personal yet self-transcending, noetic while in some sense ineffable, striven after but also recognized as independent of human effort.

To move from a general to a more specific definition is either to defer to this or that doctrinal interpretation or historical tradition or to engage creatively in some religiously or metaphysically inspired synthesis or syncretism. The former move tends to obscure cross-cultural insights in the interests of protecting the coherence of a particular cultural or theological tradition; the latter tends to overlook the concrete embodiment within a given culture characteristic of even the most universalistic mysticism. Both moves, though legitimate, lie beyond the agenda of a strictly scientific study of religion. Alternatively, one might allow a definition to become so qualified or all-embracing that mysticism becomes virtually synonymous with *spirituality* (a much vaguer term than mysticism) or even with a selective history of religion in general.

There is no advantage in conflating mysticism, even in its broadest definition, with other types of or currents within religion, such as prophecy, theurgy, divination, mediumship, shamanism, spirit possession, occultism, spiritualism, or charismatic enthusiasm. It is possible to affirm mysticism as a distinctive strand within religion while not denying its multiple connections with other forms of practice and experience. Nor does the distinctive nature of mystical states mean that their investigation should be segregated from that of other traditions of extraordinary experience. In this connection the category of "altered states of consciousness" is a useful one within which to locate mystical states, whether for the sake of making connections or for drawing contrasts. The continuities of the mystical with such varied categories as the aesthetic, the psychic, or the pathological are certainly closer than has been acknowledged in the past. Two areas where mysticism has both illuminated and been illuminated by juxtaposition with other phenomena are shamanism and the near-death experience.

Any modern treatment of mysticism must satisfy two negative and two positive criteria. First, it must avoid reifying mysticism into some kind of uniform system or tradition standing outside the historical traditions of religion. Second, it must avoid making the forms or truths of the mysticism of any one tradition a touchstone for the evaluation of mysticism more generally. Third, it must take into account the global diversity of mysticism; it must embrace Nagarjuna as well as Teresa of Ávila, Isaac Luria as well as Shankara, Mirabai as well as Plotinus. Finally, it must take into account what may be called the four "dimensions" of mysticism: the experiential, the theoretical, the practical, and the social. That is, the varieties of mystical experience are intimately linked with a body of disciplines and techniques, which in turn are informed by a body of ideas expressed in doctrine and philosophy, symbolism and speculation, all of which have social embodiment within particular historical communities and traditions. To these a fifth dimension could be added—even where "bracketed out"—the ontological dimension, covering the transcendental causes or realities implicit in mystical experience. To acknowledge these dimensions and the multiple connections between them enriches but also complicates the study of mysticism, particularly in the case of comparative studies. How can one consider Buddhist enlightenment without reference to Buddhist meditation, the language of Christian mysticism without knowledge of the Bible or liturgy, or Hindu yoga without adverting to Vedic sacrifice and cosmology? Again, how is one to structure a comparison between the stages of contemplative prayer in Spanish Carmelite mysticism and the stages of transic concentration in Theravāda Buddhism or between the language of negation in Meister Eckhart and the language of emptiness in Nagarjuna?

MYSTICAL EXPERIENCE. It is generally accepted that "mystical experience" is a subcategory of the broader category of "religious experience." But whereas all mystical experience may be "religious," it is not necessarily religious in the explicit sense of being closely associated with some established doctrine, practice, or tradition. Since Dupré's survey limits itself to mysticism in religious traditions, it is important to acknowledge the prevalence of what might be termed "natural" mysticism: the fact that mystical experience is often reported as supervening quite suddenly and unexpectedly in the lives of secular individuals not committed to any doctrine or discipline. These "unattached" mystics do not necessarily interpret their experiences in conventional religious terms or indeed possess the language for any systematic interpretation. But the imperative to interpretation is strong, and some individuals make their own experiences (or the experiences of others) the starting point for some new system of belief or practice.

Although it is generally agreed that central to mysticism is some sort of profound religious experience, there are striking differences in how scholars characterize and evaluate such experience. There are broadly three positions here. To begin with there is the view that mysticism involves states of consciousness that while extraordinary are different only in degree from other states of consciousness. Then there is the view that mystical states are not only extraordinary but also completely different from any other kind of human experience. In both views mystical experience lends itself to appropriate scrutiny from the various scholarly disciplines, allowing theologians and metaphysicians to focus on its doctrinal implications, phenomenologists and philosophers on its structure and cognitive significance, psychologists and sociologists on its emotional and behavioral features, scientists on its physiological conditions and correlates, and so on.

A third and more radical view to have emerged in recent years is that it is fundamentally misconceived to think of the mystical life as based upon the cultivation and interpretation of special episodes or states of consciousness, whether or not different in kind from other types of experience. In this view mysticism is not about having extraordinary kinds of experience that, having been reported by mystics, can be studied at one remove by theologians and other scholars in order for their real meaning to be understood. Rather, mysticism is about a transformed and transforming way of experiencing the world as a whole through a life shaped by the intellectual, liturgical, and communal structures of a particular tradition. Mystical states of consciousness do not offer the mystic, let alone the observer, privileged shortcuts to ultimate truth independently of these structures.

The view that one can learn something important about mysticism through a detailed scrutiny of mystical states on the basis of their literary expression goes back to the persistently influential work *The Varieties of Religious Experience* by William James (1902). This view led directly to the work of R. C. Zaehner (*Mysticism Sacred and Profane*, 1957) and W. T. Stace (*Mysticism and Philosophy*, 1960), which fueled debates about the variety or uniformity of mystical experience throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Where Zaehner insisted on a hierarchy of substantially distinct types of mystical experience, Stace emphasized a phenomenological and indeed ontological common core of experience underlying what for him was a relatively superficial doctrinal and literary diversity. With far more mystical texts now available and a wealth of contributions from a wide range of scholarly disciplines, the weaknesses both of the empirical basis and of the methodology of this earlier debate are all too apparent. The complexity of the distinction between the content of an experience and the forms of its interpretation is now approached in a much more sophisticated way, and the diversity of mystical experience is no longer ignored even by those who argue for an underlying unity.

Through the 1980s and 1990s, however, a new debate emerged. In one camp are those who argue that the distinctions between different types of mysticism and mystical experience are largely if not wholly constructed through the ideas, symbols, and practices defining the traditions mystics inhabit. This "constructivist" analysis of mysticism is associated above all with a series of highly influential collections of essays edited by Steven Katz. Milder versions of constructivism allow for an unconstructed core of experience (not necessarily Stace's "universal core") as a necessary basis around which the cultural construction of those more accessible features of mystical experience takes place; stronger versions hold, reductionistically, that mystical experience is a construction per se. In the other camp are those who insist that mysticism, beneath its cultural forms, is based on an unmediated experience, a "pure consciousness event" or "zero experience" immune to cultural determination and representing an "innate capacity." This view, to some extent a development of Stace's position, could be called the "purist" view. Leading the way here are the writings of Robert Forman. Where the constructivist emphasis tends to see mystical experience as just another form of human experience, albeit an intense and influential one, the purist view stretches the ordinary notion of human experience to the breaking point, raising the question whether an experience of transcendence is not in effect a transcendence of experience.

Constructivism as a theory of mysticism should not be confused with "contextualism," which usefully names an approach to mysticism (common to most contemporary scholars) that takes full account of the intellectual, practical, and institutional contexts within which mystical experience arises. As a general approach, contextualism is compatible with either a constructivist or a purist reading of mystical traditions. But it is also made the basis for a critique of the emphasis on "mystical experience" that characterizes so much writing on mysticism—an emphasis commonly denigrated as "experientialism." The idea of a "private" or "inner" experience that can somehow become the "object" of scholarly study is, according to antiexperientialist scholars, both conceptually confused and untrue to the mystical traditions themselves—though it is also conceded that some mystical traditions have themselves become "experientialist." The antiexperientialist critique (especially prominent among Christian theologians) has been a useful corrective to an approach to the study of mysticism long dominated by psychological and phenomenological analysis—an approach that frequently relies upon trawling through world religions for insights and experiences thought to be too good to be left imprisoned within alien rituals, doctrines, and institutions. Thus harvested, these insights and experiences are then served up as the "essence" of mysticism.

Antiexperientialism also harmonizes with the warnings given in most mystical traditions that mystics should not crave or become attached to experiences qua psychological states and feelings. Even so, it is impossible to deny that great importance has been attached to the cultivation and interpretation of mystical states of consciousness in the world's religious traditions, albeit within the protective and hermeneutic framework of the beliefs and disciplines of these traditions. One only has to think of the Buddhist techniques of mindfulness, transic concentration, intuitive insight, and visualization, all of which can be traced back to the practices and enlightenment experience of the Buddha himself. Or again, one might think of the ecstatic and visionary experiences that play a key role within the mysticism of the Qabbalah.

MYSTICAL DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE. The contextualist emphasis of modern scholarship focuses attention on the subtle relationships between experience, doctrine, and text in the life of mystical traditions and above all on language as the key to these relationships. Mystical texts are no longer seen merely as vehicles for the expression of ideas but as integral parts of the experiential process—of its initiation, assimilation, and exegesis. An important element in this renewed understanding of the instrumental and performative as distinct from purely descriptive function of mystical texts is a new appreciation of the apophatic, or "unsaying," function of mystical language. Apophatic language is a cross-cultural feature of mysticism. Similarities in the nature and use of mystical language may well turn out to be at least as significant for the comparative study of mysticism as similarities in the phenomenology of mystical states of consciousness.

Mystics, contrary to what is often assumed, have been nourished rather than restricted by the doctrines and disciplines of their traditions. This is not to say that some mystics have not aroused suspicion or hostility as a result of their sayings, speculations, or activities. But many of the world's greatest religious leaders, thinkers, and defenders of tradition have also been mystics. Mysticism has the potential to manifest either a conservative or a revolutionary character.

The varieties of mystical practice tend to receive less scholarly attention than the varieties of experience or doctrine, partly through persistent stereotypes of mysticism as "otherworldly" and indifferent to the body and to the "externals" of religion. Mystical practices cover anything pertaining to the training of body and mind, whether as elements of a mystic's general way of life or as part of the more immediate conditions of the mystical experience; they include prayer and worship, solitude and wandering, chanting and reading, bodily postures and breathing techniques, diet and fasting, ritual dance or disciplined movement, and the use of intoxicants. But of particular interest because of their intimate connection with the cultivation (or at least supervention) of mystical states are the specialized techniques often lumped together as meditation but better differentiated as meditation and contemplation. These terms, notwithstanding their Greek and Christian associations, correspond to a distinction found within many mystical traditions. Meditative techniques are those that engage intellect, emotion, and imagination in the systematic exploration of a doctrinal theme or devotional focus. Contemplative techniques, though often arising out of meditation, involve suspending or transcending all normal mental operations in the development of one-pointed consciousness or intuitive absorption. The term *contemplation* is appropriate even in its ambiguity, connoting as it does both an activity and an experience. Arguably, the varieties of mystical technique offer a better point of entry to the comparative study of mysticism than abstract ontologies or phenomenologies (monistic, dualistic).

THE SOCIAL DIMENSION OF MYSTICISM. The social dimension of mysticism covers both the institutional embodiment of mysticism in groups and movements and the influence of mysticism upon the wider society and vice versa. Moreover, there are not just social but also political aspects to mysticism. Mystics have played prominent roles in the doctrinal development of their traditions, in reform, in renewal and protest, and sometimes in sectarian, messianic, and millenarian movements.

Issues of gender have become prominent in the study of mysticism since the 1980s. This is only partly a reflection of the attention to such issues within the study of religion as a whole. More significantly it is because, within many mystical traditions, women are better represented and have made more distinctive contributions than in other religious contexts. Leaving aside the unbidden nature of mystical experience, environments and ways of life associated with mysticism (such as asceticism, monasticism, and writing) have also favored women, even in patriarchal societies, because these contexts have been less subject to the restrictive customs of ordinary society. Acknowledging the presence and contributions of women mystics is only part of the story, however. There are also specifically feminist critiques of how the lives, writings, and influence of women mystics continue to be evaluated in ways that fail to do justice to their distinctive contributions. A number of French women thinkers have taken particular interest in how some women mystics have been able to work beyond the restricting oppositions dogging so much of Western culture (male-female, body-soul, reason-emotion).

MYSTICISM IN THE STUDY OF RELIGION. The study of mysticism both benefits and suffers from the specialist nature of modern scholarship. The subject is well represented across the whole range of the humanities and social sciences and also in much scientific and medical literature. But academic specialism, and the theoretical agenda inhabiting it, have encouraged scholars to focus on one dimension of mysticism to the neglect of other dimensions. Thus sociologists not only emphasize the social aspects of mysticism but are also liable to produce sociological explanations of mysticism, and likewise in the case of other disciplines, including those of theology or metaphysics, where theories of mysticism may underestimate social, psychological, and cultural aspects.

Yet because mysticism by its very nature looks toward what is universal or transcendental, it tends to elicit these elements in those who engage with it. Scholars as well as practitioners have recognized mysticism not just as a constant motif within religions but as a key to what is most important in religion. It is at least as common for mysticism to be identified as the heart of religion as for ethics or worship or ritual to be so regarded. As such, mysticism tends to figure prominently in revisionist global theologies, metaphysical system building, New Age thought, debates about the relationship between world religions, and interdisciplinary approaches to art, language, and human consciousness.

SEE ALSO Breath and Breathing; Consciousness, States of; Feminism, article on French Feminists on Religion; Meditation; Monasticism, overview article; Religious Experience; Shamanism, overview article.

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PETER MOORE (2005)

MYTH

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
MYTH AND HISTORY

MYTH: AN OVERVIEW

The English word *myth* comes from the Greek *muthos,* meaning "word" or "speech." It owes its significance to its contrast with *logos,* which can also be translated as "word," but is used especially in the sense of a word that elicits discussion or an argument. The reference to Jesus Christ as the Logos (Word) of God is well known from the Gospel of John; this is a necessary reminder that the lines separating *logos* and *muthos* are not rigid. *Muthos* in its meaning of "myth" describes a story about gods and superhuman beings. A myth is an expression of the sacred in words: it reports realities and events from the origin of the world that remain valid as the basis and purpose of all there is. Consequently, a myth functions as a model for human activity, society, wisdom, and knowledge. The word *mythology* is used for the entire body of myths found in a given tradition. It is also used as a term for the study of myths.

The definition given here contains elements on which not all specialists would agree or place the same emphasis. The use of the word *sacred* might impress some as defining the subject of myth with a word that lacks more clarity than the term being defined. For the historian of religions, however, no confusion occurs. The distinction between the sacred and the profane emphasized by the philosophically inclined French sociologist Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) is based on a sober observation: all human traditions and societies heed the sacred and mark it in one way or another. Its ultimate or metaphysical reality is not the issue.

The most general characteristic of the sacred is not that it is exalted, although in many instances that may be the case, but that it is distinct from ordinary, profane, everyday worldly things. In communicating the sacred, a myth makes available in words what is available by no other means, and its words are different from other words: the words of myth have an extraordinary authority and are in that perceivable manner distinct from common speech. The language of myth does not induce discussion; it does not argue, but presents. The most familiar example in the West, the opening words of Genesis, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth," is very different from the words in any theological chapter on the doctrine of creation, precisely because the latter are meant to analyze, to systematize, or to discuss God's creative acts, not to present them. The words have to make a case for their validity, while the myth is its validity. A myth, whether its subject is the acts of deities or other extraordinary events, always takes us back to the beginnings of all things; hence cosmogony, the birth of the world, is a principal theme. In each case, the age to which the myth transports us is very different from our own; it is in fact a time beyond any human being's ken, and hence the events and realities dealt with are literally altogether different from the facts people are concerned with in their everyday human lives. The authority of myth is more than an analogy to authorities on earth.

Myth relies on one of the three forms of religious expression: sacred speech, sacred acts, and sacred places. As such, it occurs side by side in most traditions with sacred places or objects (symbols) and sacred acts (that is, cult, rituals, sacrifices, and ceremonial acts and performances). The chief reason myths attract scholarly attention is their medium: words. They can be expected to elucidate the entire religious life of a community, shedding light especially on the ritual acts and sacred objects that by themselves do not speak at all, or certainly not often, and not as clearly. For instance, a central temple or a sacred pole may be of paramount significance in the religious life of a community, yet it is the recorded myth that is most likely to explain its pivotal role in the community's religious life.

MYTH, SYMBOL, AND RITUAL. The fact that the mode of a mythical expression is words may account, to quite an extent, for the problems the subject has caused for intellectuals from antiquity to the present age. Myths have been looked upon as conscious efforts to veil rational propositions, as allegories for historical events, as poetic imageries, as unconscious verbalizations of inner desires, as mental classificatory schemes, and as social structures. Many scholarly attempts have been helpful in highlighting such relationships, yet each of these attempts has failed to arrive at an overall explanation. Admittedly, none may be possible.

To understand myth, we must do more than accumulate the results of specialized approaches and fragmentary methodological views. Rather, a determined inquiry, and any true science of mythology, should take into serious consideration also the whole of religious expressiveness within which myths function. Of course, myths are language and speech and literature. Of course, myths may reveal something of the society in which they were formulated. Of course, myths may manifest deeper human drives than those displayed in civilized life. Nevertheless, human religious expressiveness in its threefold form of sacred speech, sacred acts, and sacred places remains essentially one, and the three forms we distinguish had best be considered as merely the aspects visible to us; our differentiation of the three forms is external, conceptual, formal. The three always occur together, in any culture. We can only observe that, as a rule, one of the three has a dominant role; some civilizations have a wealth of myths, some of rituals, and some of sacred places.

A sociological, psychological, or other special scholarly view may provide illumination, yet the coherency of a religious tradition should not be allowed to fall between the cracks. As in the case of the computer, where output depends structurally upon the questions asked, each of our sciences and scholarly disciplines can only provide answers in accordance with its own definition of problems. For instance, the semantic problem facing historians of religions is not a mere extension of linguistics. Whatever the definition of religion may be, it must have something to do with the totality of human orientation, hence with the underlying certainties or assumptions concerning each particular activity or creation. The history of religions deals with such totality not in the manner of philosophy, by reflecting on premises for coherent and defensible thought and action, but by studying the evidence of religious documents in human tradition. The principal question is not "What is true?" but "What have societies, civilizations, and communities found necessary to point to and preserve as true?" Here the study of myths becomes the obvious source out of the entire store of religious documentation.

THE UNITY OF MYTH AND THE VARIABILITY OF CULTURE. The variety of cultures, of their languages, means of production, and evaluation of what is essential, is overwhelming. This variety invites us to look for an explanation of myths in the specificity of each society, and certainly many an answer to many a question can be obtained in this manner. Ignoring the specificity of a tradition would be the worst methodological error. Given this, however, it is essential to remember that by our definition myth emphasizes realities and events from the origin and foundation of the world. This presents a certain difficulty that lies hidden just below the surface. "The world" suggests a oneness, but the myths from the world's myriad cultures and ages are manifold. It would be easy to conclude that the oneness of the world depicted by myths is in each case at most a collective fiction peculiar to an isolated tribe, and yet such a conclusion would be questionable. For one thing, there is too much contact, exchange, and mutual understanding between different tribes and nations to permit such a conclusion.

Resolving the issue of the origin of the world, and what it is that remains fundamental to the world, does not call for one immutable formula. The question does not demand an answer that prohibits variety but rather one that includes it. Not only do myths vary from culture to culture; each one is itself open to transformation. Staple foods, basic provisions, and tools are among the topics that occur in cosmogonic myths, but these fundamental elements in human existence vary from the hunting and gathering communities and the early peasant and pastoral societies to the most complex urban centers. How essential are these elements to the cosmogonic myth? The answer is that they are at the same time essential and completely insufficient, because the issue goes far beyond nutrition and tool-making and all the other culturally specific human concerns. Just the same, myths take account of these absolute necessities and can even assign them a direct role in the origin of the world. The multiplicity of mythologies has immediate and important methodological consequences from the outset of any inquiry: the multiplicity is observed from the beginning and is not merely a methodologically inconsequential by-product of our final conclusions. It concerns the very nature of the primary documents of the object of our discipline. Hence, for instance, the history of religions must take the variety in the very first items of nutrition in origin myths seriously; we cannot disregard the choices made by the narrator.

A most important consequence of the multiplicity of mythologies is that by necessity, the investigator has a particular position vis-à-vis a given mythological tradition; and indeed this orientation is necessary in order to gain any perspective on any myth. There is no such thing as objectivity that amounts to neutrality; there is no understanding where the subject has eliminated herself or himself. This absolutely necessary subjectivity is not a whimsical individual stance or solipsism but the recognition of the only ground from which a religious phenomenon can be traced.

One may also state that the world of religions, spawning its myths, is not as remote from the natural sciences as has been supposed in the humanities and the social studies that developed in the wake of the German philosopher Wilhelm Dilthey's work; furthermore, the world of science may be affected by mythology in spite of the intentions of scientists.

It is noteworthy for the historian of religions that the ancient problem of the unity of nature is eliciting new interest among scientists. There is no reason to jump to conclusions and equate that interest with the expression of age-old myths, yet the revival by itself is fascinating and promises to overcome unnecessary barriers between the humanities and the sciences. Students of subatomic particles theorize on a possible "supersymmetry" in nature. These theoretical considerations are hard to separate altogether from the ancient and universal mythological interest in the mystery of oneness (whether of the world or God or the Ultimate). Still a reservation is in order here. What distinguishes modern scientists is that they search for mathematical formulation, a direction that cannot be applied to the mythical narration and poetry available to us. To scientists, a serious object of study is principally an invitation to a precise, calculable demonstration of relationships.

The topic of symmetry has received much attention in aesthetics, and has deeper roots there than in physics. Here also ties to mythology are visible, even if difficult to define. For the church father Augustine, symmetry was a rational entity, because it does not occur in nature but does occurs in human creations. It exists in human reason itself; through it God created humans in his own image. Whether one speaks about Augustine's reasoning as philosophy, science, or mythology will depend on one's intellectual frame of reference.

Myth and politics. In the study of politics, power is a necessary concept. It is, of course, an abstraction. Wielders of power are not sterile laboratory tubes filled with that element. Religion and hence mythological elements play a great part in the exertion of political control over others; and since the nineteenth century there has been a steady growth of ideological theories affiliated with as well as opposed to religious factors. Religion and myth, like power, never occur in pristine purity, but always in admixtures. The fact that people are religious (as well as political, philosophizing, and knowledge-gathering) beings is not necessarily a pleasant or attractive fact. To say that humans are *Homo religiosus* is not a compliment. The unity of myth in various cultures and human inquiries is accordingly the statement of a problem, rather than of a supposed mysterious, pure, dialogic core of all human existence.

In recent times, serious scholars have turned to political power as to some extent explanatory of myth (as well as sacrifice). Even if some of their reasoning may be open to criticism, it certainly cannot be denied that notions of justice—as well as revenge—not infrequently are rooted in myth. Until this very day, Justice is depicted as a blindfolded goddess, wielding scales. In texts, as in speech, justice and myth are frequently inseparable. The expulsion of the first humans from paradise and Cain's punishment for the first murder as depicted in the book of Genesis are well-known models. True justice seems everywhere most concisely embedded in myth. In Hinduism, Dharma ("justice," and in this context in particular, "the right tradition"), is also a god, and Pāṇḍavas Yudhiṣṭira, who is entitled to the throne in the epic *Mahābhārata,* is said to be Dharma's son. When Buddhism spread through Asia from India to Korea, it was accepted and propagated by the elite, who reformed the juridical system in accordance with the new Buddhist teachings. In ancient Greece, Themis, a consort of Zeus, is called on as the goddess of Justice.

Cosmogonic imagery. Another point should be noted: each society, culture, or historical epoch has nothing but its own vocabulary to tell even its most basic myths. This point is so obvious as to run the risk of being overlooked. A comparison with modern science is illuminating. Twentieth- and twenty-first-century astronomers and physicists have discussed a theory of the origin of the universe they have labeled the big bang, as distinct from the steady state theory. Irrespective of mathematical calculations, the discussion could not very well be carried on without labels taken from the common speech of our age: in the final analysis, these are poetic similes that have taken on a life of their own; they have a pregnant metaphorical significance like the imageries in traditional cosmogonic myths.

One of the many accomplishments of Raffaele Pettazzoni, the great Italian historian of religions, is his huge collection of myths and legends from all continents. Included are many cosmogonic myths. Mircea Eliade occupied himself with the supreme significance of cosmogonic myths. That significance is evident in most traditions. Whatever other myths are told—about the origin of animals, plants, institutions, or anything else—they take for granted the basis provided in some myth of the creation of the universe. Even eschatological myths, seemingly positing the end of the world as if in contrast to the beginnings of the world, do not abandon their relationship to the cosmogony. This abiding relation is not paradoxical. All thoroughgoing eschatologies express themselves as renewals of the real, truly intended origin. The reference to Jesus Christ as the new Adam is a well-known example. In the history of Christianity, the Protestant movement saw itself as engaged in reestablishing the pure, original form of the religion. In Marxism (and in the ideas of the young Marx himself) even the most typical eschatological myth of the classless society is expressly concerned with the restoration of the human race as it was originally—without private property.

CHARACTER AND CONTENT OF MYTH. At first sight, myths may seem to have much in common with other forms of folk literature. They deal with supernatural events, as fairy tales do; they deal with extraordinary figures comparable to those in legends and sagas. The authority of myths, however, distinguishes them clearly from other sorts of narratives. Typically, the myth tells of a time altogether different from the time of our experience ("in the beginning . . ." or "before heaven and earth were created . . ."), whereas the typical fairy tale, no matter how wonderful its events, begins "Once upon a time . . . ," which is to say, a time like ours. The saga's hero and the legend's sacred protagonist are no doubt superior to all normal human beings, yet their time resembles the historical time of our experience.

Epics present a special case, for they are often a prime source for our knowledge of myths: the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer are celebrated instances in the Western tradition. Nevertheless, epics as such do not have the authority of myths, no matter how they function as educational tools held in the highest esteem by a society. The myths they narrate in the body of their texts and the mythological references they make can be seen as part of an educational pattern: this is how people should understand the basic, authoritative models in the religious tradition. Moreover, in addition to instruction, epics provide entertainment for their audience. One cannot say this of myths, even though there are good reasons to speak of the narrative style of myths, which can be truly arresting and spellbinding. Raffaele Pettazzoni went so far as to see in epics the first clear signs of a process of secularization.

The themes of myths are innumerable. Often the characters are gods and goddesses, sometimes animals, plants, mountains, rivers. . . . In each case, the myth directly or by implication links its striking presentation of events to an altogether different time and thereby posits its authority. Nevertheless, the astounding variety of myths can best be discussed not in terms of their protagonists or the events they describe, but rather in terms of their various structures and their cultures of origin.

THE FUNCTION OF MYTH IN THE TRADITION OF CITIES AND CIVILIZATIONS. Many a modern city-dwellers makes the mistake of thinking that myths belong only to a dim, unsophisticated past. Yet not only is there no religious tradition on earth today without its identifiable myths, but the history of cities and urban life itself, which began thousands of years ago, is steeped in myths and rituals. Ancient temples everywhere are spoken of in terms of the mythical traditions with which they are imbued. To understand this properly we have to divest ourselves of the modern habit of viewing religion as something distinct, separate from the "ordinary" things of life. The duties of elected officials in ancient Athens always involved functions they were expected to perform in rituals. Even earlier, in Mesopotamian civilization, temples served purposes we would immediately identify as religious, such as sacrifice, and for administrative matters we would look upon as by nature secular or bureaucratic.

Additional and abundant evidence comes from civilizations in the New World: the Aztecs in Central America and the Incas in South America. The mythologies at the heart of these civilizations generally support a pronounced class structure and a powerful central ruling elite. Adding to the complexity and fascination of mythological development in Central America and South America is the socio-mythological complexity of the Spanish invaders, who themselves emerged from turbulent centuries of Christian, Muslim, and various ancient local traditions. An example of the new, fascinating mythological interweaving appears in the cult of Our Lady of Guadalupe. The emphasis on the religious roots of authority is most striking in the intertwined myths of the New World, with their roots on both sides of the Atlantic. We should add that in spite of great religious upheavals and reforms, remnants of the ancient traditions still remain.

The function of myth is particularly striking in periods when large-scale religious change occurred. One such case has been studied in an exemplary manner. It occurred with the new retelling of local tribal myths in Central Asia and was instrumental in the area's conversion to Islam. The retelling by Muslim missionaries was so effective that Islam became fully accepted, indeed rooted in a large part of Central Asia. History makes it clear that myths, whether or not they are clearly cosmogonic, do not merely relate to explanations of the world's beginnings. They reveal their force and function when history shows their role in renewing life, in a city, a society, a civilization. In each religious tradition such a force of renewal is the most striking manifestation of a myth's function.

STRUCTURE AND STYLE. What characterizes mythical recitations, and what is their purpose? Contrary to the assumption of much traditional scholarship, myths are not essentially etiological (from Greek *aitia,* "cause") in the sense of explaining origins or causes. It is true that the word *etiology* could be used, with some caution, but only if one adheres to the sense the Greeks themselves sometimes gave to the term *aitia:* a primeval condition. Hence the term could also refer to primary states or first principles. This meaning of the term, however, was not usually in the minds of the scholars who thought of myth in terms of etiology. Until recently many students saw in myths a prescientific endeavor to establish causes for the universe, natural phenomena, and everything else that preoccupies modern science, thereby overlooking the fact that this scientific preoccupation with causality is a very precisely determined feature of modern history, as much as the attendant confidence in technological progress. For instance, it is certainly no coincidence that the very influential folklorist and classicist James G. Frazer launched his idea of fertility as the principal explanation for most of the world's myths and rituals shortly after artificial fertilizer was marketed for the first time in the nineteenth century.

The supposed prescientific nature of myths was incongruous with another view sometimes held at the same time by the same theorists, namely that myths contained the texts necessary to accompany rituals, after the manner of a libretto to an opera. Since the latter theory generally entailed the idea that rituals were only magical acts, all these theories, incongruous or not, were really variations on the theoretical theme of a prelogical mentality, one of the most enduring products of cultural evolutionism and best known through its articulation by the French philosopher Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (1857–1939).

Yet myths are not attempts at causality foreshadowing nineteenth-century scientific discussion. Their notion of an origin and basis of all things should be taken quite seriously. If indeed the isolated and desiccated notion of first causes was the central issue in myths—if the myth's only concern was epistemology—one could not very well imagine any need for ritual related to myth. Instead, an academic-style presentation would suffice. Obviously, no myths in that style exist. And that is precisely the issue. A myth does something else, and something more encompassing than presenting a reasonable (or even pre-reasonable) explanation of things. This is the reason Eliade has rightly emphasized cosmogony as the fundamental myth. In whatever cultural or religious tradition a creation myth is recited, it is paradigmatic in a special, one might even say pregnant manner, because of the many things to which its sheer force as a model is able to give birth.

In many instances, creation myths are recited in a special, archaic language, different from the vernacular. One such case is a creation myth in the Ngaju-Dayak tradition (South Kalimantan, Borneo). Its unusual language is not meant to keep it secret but rather serves to underline its significance, preserved by experts in the community. The narrative itself establishes the land, orienting the villages and their mirror-image counterparts in the heavenly realms; it creates the social divisions and their functions, as well as the principles of the legal system. The myth is couched in lyrical poetry, as are many myths in Southeast Asia, including those expressed in the vernacular. Sometimes, a cosmogonic myth is recited on special occasions, as in the ancient Near East on the enthronement of a king or for the renewal of life and kingship together in the New Year festival. Elsewhere instances occur where the cosmogony functions to cure the sick or renew a poet's inspiration. In all these examples the creation of the world is invoked for its fundamental and founding power.

In simple terms, how does human speech succeed in expressing the underlying reality of existence; how can something so ungraspable be expressed at all? All myths can be seen as coming to terms in their own way, within their culture, within their necessities of life, with this question. The special features of myth, in spite of great cultural diversity, result from the unusual task it sets for speech itself to go beyond the ordinary limits of knowledge and perception.

An archaic language for myth is a feature found throughout the world. The phenomenon occurs in very different civilizations and circumstances: the use of Latin in the liturgy of the Roman Catholic church; the importance of the Church Slavonic liturgical language in the history of the Orthodox church, the use and cultivation of Sanskrit in Hinduism, and the attention given to the study and use of Sumerian in ancient Babylon many centuries after that language had ceased to be spoken. Although far from universal, such eccentricities of language are a feature of myth that indicate an awareness of a tradition deserving special protection.

Another feature in many traditions is the special care taken that myths shall be recited only at specific times and places. This points out clearly that myths are not like other stories. This awareness of the special nature of myths is illustrated in a folk tale of the North American Wichita Indians concerning a contest between Coyote and an opponent. The two contestants tell stories, and the winner will be the one who knows the most stories. Coyote wins because his store of stories is inexhaustible: he can make them up at will. His opponent restricts himself to stories that have not been made up. He tells only true stories, and those are limited in number. True stories, are, of course, what in our study are called myths.

Humor in myth. One feature of myths that is indeed universal can best be indicated by the word *humor.* This does not refer to jokes or quick-wittedness, and least of all is it a spur to uproarious laughter. It is closer perhaps to what the German Romantics, who were intrigued by the experience of humor, seemed to think of as a smile that liberates us from anxieties, and especially from the doldrums, of our existence. If successful, myths, setting out to do what ordinary speech cannot reach, have to break through a barrier that is set for our normal understanding, and hence *liberation* is an apt word for what is envisaged.

An alternative to seeing the humor of myths is to view myth as a primitive form of doctrinal system in the general evolution of the world of thought, as evidence that the primitive ancients could not think like modern people do, or in some other way to force myth into some scheme of logic that satisfies our contemporary sense of what reason and empirical reality are really all about. In all cases, these distortions neglect the actuality and the immediate presentation of the myths themselves.

A myth of the Brazilian Ge begins by stating that in former times the Indians had neither corn nor fire. It describes how one member of the tribe takes his wife to a distant place in the forest, where they set up a plantation and plant corn and other staple foods. The wife's lover visits her secretly, and later returns with another man from the village. The husband turns into a man-eating snake, and devours the visitor. Thereupon the villagers kill the snake and bring to their village corn and the other cultivated plants, as well as fire. In the course of the story, the wife gives birth twice to a number of snakes, first in the forest, later in the village, and finally goes back into the forest, where she orders her offspring to bite people forevermore.

Whatever one may want to say about the origins of the enmity between humans and snakes, or about hidden logical systems, or about the frequently attested relation between the acquiring of a civilized life and violence, the myth conforms to other myths in that it contains events that strike the listener as strange or contradictory, beginning with the juxtaposition of the people without corn or fire and the departure of one couple to a forest where they run a plantation and suddenly master fire. Not all etiology is discarded, not all logic made superfluous; no less attention should be paid to cultural patterns and conditioning. Nevertheless, something that liberates, something that shakes listeners loose from their customary habits of mind, is given form in myth.

One need not look far to find other examples. In the familiar story in *Genesis,* God creates light on the first day of creation, yet the sun, the moon, and the other heavenly bodies do not come into being until the fourth day. By the end of the chapter, on the sixth day, God gives to the wild animals, to the birds of heaven, the reptiles, to every living creature, all of the green plants for food. Obviously, this is at odds with the knowledge possessed by every listener who is familiar with the eating habits of such animals as lions. One may argue that the narrative is not really a creation story but rather a paradise story. Whether we are convinced by this argument or by the realization that, according to the story, the creator god is something other than a prime mover, we are more shocked than persuaded into that novel idea. The accepted lines of thought are ruptured and replaced by new ones.

Of course, adherents of a tradition develop their own explanations, and it is characteristic that for instance the rabbinical commentaries embroider on puzzling texts not merely by analyzing them logically, but by participating in the same mythical vein in which the texts tell their stories. Thus the ancient rabbis tell us that the light created on the first day was not the ordinary light of the sun that we see. Instead, it was light by which one would have been able to see the entire world in a glance from one end to the other. God, in his wisdom, foreseeing human wickedness, hid that extraordinary light—and will not reveal it until the new world to come.

The German writer Jean Paul (pseudonym of Johann Paul Friedrich Richter, 1763–1825), known for his literary essays, was thoroughly aware that humor does not deal with trifling matters but, on the contrary, with matters of ultimate importance. The four forms of humor he defined do not need much modification to be applied to mythical literature. All of them are characterized by their defiance of the wooden habits of human minds.

The first, the Dimming of Opposites, is probably present in most myths. Imageries abound such as that of a time before creation when heaven and earth were not yet separated, or of a beginning in which the two were so close that people could not stand up straight, or as in *Genesis,* when it was necessary to separate the waters below from the waters above.

The second variety of humor depicts an Inverse Effect. Somehow, a disastrous event leads to infinite bliss that could not have been anticipated by the listener. Consider the Hindu cosmogonic story of the churning of the ocean. Before all ordinary time, in fact before the creation of the world, the gods and the demons exist in some apparent harmony. Then the gods raise the question of how they may attain immortality. Together with the demons they begin their quest for it by churning the ocean. Completely unexpectedly, instead of immortality a most deadly poison turns up. All variants of the myth state that the great god Śiva rescues the world (which, curiously, has not been born yet) from the poison by swallowing it. The *Rāmāyaṇa* version has the interesting detail that it is the god Viṣṇu who suggests that Śiva drink the poison on the grounds that the first offering is duly his. The accounts and their interpretations vary, but Śiva does drink the poison, and the world is established. The seriousness of the humor involved is evident, as is also the case with the crucifixion of Jesus Christ at the origin of Christianity, followed—without anyone among the human actors and witnesses involved anticipating it—by the resurrection.

A third category of humor, Subjective Reservedness, may be the best formula to denote the awareness in mythic narration of the curious union of the human voice that narrates and the sacred, more-than-human reality narrated. This awareness is expressed in many ways, sometimes elaborately, sometimes matter-of-factly. The standard beginning of a Buddhist sutra, which tells of the wonderful teachings and miracles of the Buddha that make freedom, or *nirvāṇa,* accessible, is the following: "Thus have I heard. . . ." Many myths are interspersed with phrases such as "it is said that," or "they say." Part of the tradition of many a Hindu is that he reveres his spiritual teacher, who in turn has his teacher, and so on, until the line finally reaches God. Tradition requires that the entire list of names be recited regularly. Thus, the mere individual quite consciously elaborates on his relationship to the absolute divine ruler.

A fourth category of humor is Grotesque, a term not generally associated with sacred tradition. Yet it describes the most striking form of humor—in any tradition other than one's own. Some myths speak of worlds that were created before the present one, and that were failures. For instance, in the tradition of the Hill Saora in India, the first world was a world made of a resinous substance; in that world some brothers set up a still and made liquor. The liquor was not merely excellent, it was too excellent; when it flowed it burst into flames, and as a result the entire world burned up and sank back into the primordial ocean. We may also recall the snakes of the Ge in Brazil and the Hindu story of the churning of the ocean. Often, the grotesque is a matter of exaggerated attention to detail or measurement. Grotesqueness helps to emphasize the complete otherness of that time at the beginning of the world or that time on which all liberation, salvation, or bliss hinges.

Change and disappearance of mythical traditions? There is no doubt that myths change in the course of time. In addition, the spread of the great missionary religions, mainly Islam and Christianity, has no doubt contributed to the neglect and disappearance of many a mythological heritage. We are however far from a dependable assessment of the entire globe's mythological state at the present moment. We do know that the role of myths has been important in many periods in which large-scale religious change occurred, as it was in the conversion of Central Asia to Islam. The revision of the old myths by Muslim missionaries was not destructive but fruitful, and led to full acceptance of Islam.

HISTORY OF STUDY. Questions about religion, including the subject of myth, are undoubtedly older than recorded history, and hence a full history of the study of myths would have to begin a very long time ago, in that undatable period hidden from us in which religion originated. Explicit intellectual discussions on the subject are closer to us and have an important beginning with the ancient Greeks. Some of the standard methods of explaining myths owe their first formulation to the Greeks, so a rapid survey of mythology, in the sense of the study of myths, ought to commence with them. The concentrated intellectual discipline of a religio-historical study is, however, much more recent, not coming into its own until the early nineteenth century.

The classical world. Greek thinkers developed three modes of accounting for myth, each of which can be distinguished clearly. Each continued in the scholarship of later centuries. Hence, in Western civilization the Greek ideas on the subject of myth do not merely represent a start but form the roots that nourished systems devised by later scholars.

In the first place, allegorical explanations served to extract the meaning of myths for many thinkers in classical civilization. The text of myths was explained not by what it said literally but as depicting or concealing in poetic images a reality behind the text, if the text could only be properly understood. A good example may be found in the widely accepted interpretation in classical Greece of Homer's *Iliad* as intending not the physical involvement of the gods in the war that the epic describes but instead the inner human struggle between good and evil.

The allegorizing of myth has occurred all over the world and in many periods, often when texts or customs that could not be summarily dismissed are no longer understood or perhaps have taken on an offensive quality in a new age. Many of the well-known classical thinkers, beginning with Theagenes (seventh century BCE), Heracleitus (c. 540–480 BCE), Parmenides (born c. 515 BCE), Empedocles (c. 490–430 BCE), and including Plato (c. 429–347 BCE), employed allegorical explanations of myths. An interesting feature, not only surviving since the classical period but expanded into an elaborate system in nineteenth-century nature mythology, was the assumption that many myths could be read as allegorical accounts for natural phenomena.

Rational explanations of various sorts also occur throughout the classical texts. One of these which often strikes the modern reader as far ahead of its time is found in a famous fragment from Xenophanes (c. 560–478 BCE):

> Mortals suppose that the gods are born, and that they wear men's clothing and have human voice and body, . . . but if cattle or lions had hands, so as to paint with their hands and produce works of art as men do, they would paint their gods and give them bodies in form like their own, horses like horses, cattle like cattle.

We should see this passage in a proper perspective. Xenophanes, though we know him only from some fragments, must have had in common with the majority of classical thinkers the desire not merely to destroy prevalent assumptions by means of some rational analysis but to make room for a philosophy worthy of the name; in the case of Xenophanes this philosophical concern was to create a proper understanding of the idea of transcendence. There were some classical thinkers, nevertheless, who spent great effort to demonstrate the worthlessness of traditional myths. The eclectic Latin writer Cicero (106–43 BCE) is quite critical in this regard; and the Latin didactic poet Lucretius (c. 99–55 BCE) is very sharp in his rational criticism.

A manner of explaining myths called euhemerism is named for the Greek writer Euhemerus (c. 340–260 BCE). Euhemerus was not a philosopher or a scholar, but the author of an imaginative story in which the narrator tells of a voyage to an island in the east whose kings bestowed gifts of lasting cultural value (such as the calendar, granted by Ouranos in the tale) and were elevated to the status of gods by their grateful subjects. Hence *euhemerism* depicts divinities as mortals who came to be venerated because of their contributions to the human race. This interpretation was to have a life which no one could have foreseen, in the classical world and long thereafter.

The Christian world. With regard to mythology, the intellectual world of Christianity was in most respects an immediate continuation of the Greek. Allegorical and rational explanations as well as euhemeristic reasoning abounded for centuries. Nevertheless, especially in euhemerism, the apologists and church fathers introduced a change. Where the classical world told admiringly of men whose great exploits caused them to be worshipped as deities, the Christian world speaks of the gods of classical myth as mere men remembered because of their excessively evil deeds and vices. This change came about as result of a larger shift in orientation—one that Plato, Aristotle, or any of the ancient thinkers could never have foreseen. The new Christian world makes much of the distinction between true and false religion. For Christian thinkers, true and false religion was not simply a topic for discussion, as it had been for the ancients. The Christians believed that theirs was the true knowledge of God, and other traditions were seen as false and pagan. Thus pagan gods were not gods at all, but demonic beings.

This twist in euhemerism filled an intellectual need and was generally accepted. Nevertheless, during the Middle Ages a narrative tradition of many streams, akin to the euhemerism of the classics, also continued. Thus the Norse gods could be categorized by tracing them through stories of kinship from the heroes in the *Iliad* and ultimately linking them by the same procedure to the creation story in the book of Genesis.

The eighteenth century. The eighteenth century is the prelude to the modern study of myth. For the first time serious efforts were made to assess the discoveries by voyagers of the Renaissance. One very important assemblage of myth was collected by Jesuit missionaries in North America. Questions of revelation and of falsehood and truth raised in the Christian tradition were revived and given new, complex forms. In the work of Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle (1657–1757), old and new ideas intermingle. Like other authors of the period, he begins by assuming the factual reality of God's revelation in the Old Testament and speculating on the intellectual inability of other nations to accept that original knowledge. The new age is visible in his effort to show the similarity between myths found among American Indians and those of the ancient Greeks and in his view that the inability of those peoples to accept true religion reflected an intellectual childishness. The childishness of the ancient and so-called savage races becomes a standard image in many of the explanations that follow in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Fontenelle's most original idea, next to his insistence on comparing different pagans, is his inference that all peoples have the same mental disposition and that, as a result, comparable developments occur in different parts of the world. More clearly than Fontenelle, Charles de Brosses (1709–1777) makes a case for comparative studies and shows an interest in questions of origins that would characterize much of the scholarship of the next century. His studies led him to the conclusion that elements of West African religion in his time could explain Greek mythological conceptions. Hence, in his view, the study of later "savages" can reveal much about earlier traditions.

Besides an expanding knowledge of the world, an even more significant factor marked the eighteenth century and made it a watershed: the rationalism of the Enlightenment. This change within the history of philosophy made it possible to narrow down the narrative euhemeristic expositions into a principle of explanation. For the study of myths this new intellectual direction was of course a mixed blessing. The new mood demanded laws of causation rather than seeking the coherencies present in myths. Although the greatest legacy of the philosopher David Hume (1711–1776) is his critique of overconfidence in reason, his *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* (1779) contains many passages that typify the eighteenth-century obsession with definitions. De Brosses, who was certainly a man of the Enlightenment, made extensive use of Hume's ideas in his own work.

The Romantics. The Romantic movement that swept Europe and America had its strongest exponents in Germany, and the movement's influence on the study of myths, historical linguistics, and other related comparative studies such as art, law, and culture, was profound. Indeed, many of these disciplines were initiated under the Romantic influence. While the Enlightenment had sharpened the tools of the intellect in its resistance to the ancien régime politically and to the church religiously, the Romantic movement, without rejecting the Enlightenment's accomplishments, created a very different center of attention that can be captured by such words as *emotion, vision,* and *genius.* Emotion came to be seen as at least of equal importance to the rationalism of the previous age.

The theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834), who left his mark on all areas in the study of religion in the nineteenth century and beyond, was of the opinion that the divine, in itself ungraspable, was represented mythically; the mythical he explained as "a historical representation of the supra-historical." As was typical in the Romantic outlook, the emphasis fell on a vision of something eternal, not subject to the vicissitudes of history, yet expressed in history. The age that saw the Faustian creativity of Beethoven, the fully Romantic works of Mendelssohn, Chopin, Schubert, and Schumann, the writings of the young Goethe, Blake, and the German poets Friedrich Hölderlin and Novalis, as well as the paintings of Delacroix, Turner, and Théodore Géricault, saw also the philosophical creations of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831).

Hegel's thought was the first since late antiquity (most especially, that of the non-Christian Roman thinker Plotinus, 205–270 CE) to develop a system free from the Christian philosophical opposition between true and false religion. Another idealistic, Romantic philosopher, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling (1775–1854), wrote a philosophy of mythology centered on a totality of human vision. Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803) was an important early Romantic, especially for his essays on poetry and mythology. During the Romantic period, many works of scholarly intent were written on symbolism and mythology. A few of these made a lasting mark, among them the writings of Karl Otfried Müller (1797–1840) and the brothers Jacob (1785–1863) and Wilhelm (1786–1859) Grimm.

Nineteenth-century evolutionism. Without the Romantic impulse, the astounding nineteenth-century scholarly achievements in mythology and religion would be inconceivable. In the nineteenth century much new data became available, through ethnology, archaeology, and the study of ancient and distant civilizations and their languages. Compiling dictionaries, constructing grammars, and investigating Indo-European linguistics all demanded an extraordinary effort, and this effort, whether among government administrators in the colonies acquired by Western powers, in the expansion of newly established missionary societies, in the laboratories of science, or in historians' scrutiny and classification of documents, owed its principal inspiration to the Romantic thinkers. The idea of evolution—of development from low to high, simple to complex—that became so enormously influential in nineteenth-century thought is inseparable from the Romantic movement, predating the influence of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* (1859) in the work of Hegel, and also the much more positivistic works of the English social theorist Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) and the French philosopher Auguste Comte (1798–1857).

The cumbersome examination of facts and their compilation united with a Romantic attitude is perhaps nowhere as clearly to be seen as in the person of the Vedic scholar F. Max Müller (1823–1900). In his theories on the origin and development of language and myth, Müller posits as a beginning a pure awe in human experience before nature—especially in viewing the dawn—which he thought he had documented in the Vedic hymns. He marshaled all his knowledge of ancient Indo-European languages and literatures as a basis for a theory that a "disease of language" accounts for the formation of misunderstandings, which are deposited in myths such as those of the Hindu Purāṇas. The finishing touch is provided by the general idea of evolution, according to which religions evolve to ever higher and purer forms.

Modern studies. The nineteenth century saw greater and greater complexity in materials available for study and the methods that could be employed. The achievements in the area of mythology by anthropologists, folklorists, psychologists, philologists, sociologists, and historians of religions were innumerable. Nevertheless, for a general intellectual orientation, it is possible and helpful to speak of variations on the theme which was set with the opposition and complementarity of rationalism and romanticism. And certainly in the study of myths the rationalists and the Romantics gave such a wide view of things that all later labors can sometimes seem like mere embellishments to their discussions. We can definitely speak about a constitutional or structural contrast between scholarly concerns for the problems and scholarly concerns for unity in the study of myths.

The earliest Romantics, in the 1770s, known in German literary history by their association with Sturm und Drang (storm and stress), can be understood in their opposition to the rationalism ushered in by the French philosophers. Even the influential ideas of Johann Gottfried von Herder concerning the origin of language and myths, composed in his ecstatic writings about nature, can be read for their reaction against an intellectualist attitude which prevailed in Herder's day. The growing Romantic movement, however, was not engaged in combating the progress the Enlightenment had brought about and so frequently invoked. The new expressions we find among such Romantics as Schleiermacher point more to a transformation than an opposition, allowing subjects such as myth and history to be approached in fruitful ways.

More extreme Romantic scholarly work, such as that by Georg Friedrich Creuzer (1771–1858), elicited stern criticism from Christian A. Lobeck (1781–1860) because of its speculative features, its lack of evidence. In F. Max Müller's work and, as we must infer, in his personal make-up, the rational and the Romantic existed harmoniously.

Since the late nineteenth century the non-Romantic side has predominated. Scholars such as the classicist Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903), Franz Cumont (1886–1949), and Martin P. Nilsson (1874–1967), who have contributed greatly to our knowledge of mythology, are splendid examples of this type. Fewer in number, scholars with an avowed Romantic outlook have included the German classicist Walter F. Otto (1874–1958) and the Dutch historian and phenomenologist of religion Gerardus van der Leeuw (1890–1950).

Sometimes the two attitudes are openly discussed, yet more often they are not. Whatever names are given to the two sides may not be accepted by one or the other party involved. Mircea Eliade preferred the term *morphology of religion* to *phenomenology,* which was employed by Van der Leeuw. Whichever term one likes, it is easy to see that in Eliade as well as Van der Leeuw the emphasis is on the sacred, and the study of its manifestations. This interest goes back to Rudolf Otto (1869–1937) and to Friedrich Schleiermacher. The reaction to this keen interest in the sacred itself is not difficult to detect, though it is multifarious. Many historians (such as Raffaele Pettazzoni) have been more concerned with a proper understanding of the variety of myths than with what seemed speculation on a unity behind the variety; such scholars have been suspicious of theologically inspired apologetic tendencies as well. Many an anthropologist, especially in the school of Franz Boas (1858–1942), has been too preoccupied with the puzzling coherencies of specific cultures in all their creations to pay much attention to an underlying ultimate significance of myths.

A generalization that can be made, with caution, is that the beginning of the third millennium seems characterized by a longing for unspeculative, concrete results.

An increasing number of studies have come to focus on the social and political aspects of religion and storytelling rather than on ultimate meanings of myths. Together with this focus goes a decreased interest in philosophical aspects of religion. This tendency might make the study of myth in days to come different from what characterized previous eras in mythology and the history of religions.

The occurrence of problems and disagreements in the study of myth and religion is of course nothing to be unduly worried about. What we have referred to as an opposition/complementarity is a natural feature in any discipline concerned with people and their cultures and societies. Next to structural anthropology, historical anthropology makes its voice heard. Whereas the former, if not concerned with an ultimate unity, is at the very least concerned with coherencies in myths and other human creations, the latter spends more time on the specificities and changes in any culture. An issue that has received no profound discussion is the difference, or rather, lack of contact, between the search for unity pursued by phenomenologists (or morphologists) and by structuralist anthropologists. That both are searching for coherencies in myths is clear, yet the nature of a unifying goal is assumed in two very different manners. The choice of rationalism and romanticism as labels may be helpful in this case, yet they are not telling us the whole story.

It is striking, however, that Eliade's conception of the sacred is missing in the work of the field's foremost anthropological structuralist, Claude Lévi-Strauss (born 1908); instead, Lévi-Strauss shows an obvious interest in the very visible yet long overlooked, typically human, ceaseless drive to reconcile empirical knowledge with the equally human drive for control over the world. Translators like to leave the term *bricolage* untranslated; it is the term Lévi-Strauss uses to describe the widespread process at work all over the world in tribal traditions to build up knowledge; the closest equivalent in English is *tinkering.* Lévi-Strauss is a gifted author and wrote several books that present not only his theories, but the living context in which his theories developed. No doubt his early philosophical interest accounts for the fact that his theories on structuralism are so well thought-out. A voracious reader, he was also well aware of the use of the term *structuralism* in other fields of study before he himself adopted it. Its use was common in anthropology, and Lévi-Strauss repeatedly makes reference to the work of the Dutch structuralist anthropologist J. P. B. Josselin de Jong, and contributed to a book in his honor. In his perhaps most autobiographical and certainly most eminently readable book, *Tristes Tropiques: An Anthropological Study of Primitive Societies in Brazil,* he writes most directly about his impatience with the disorder in the still rather recent study of anthropology. In *The Savage Mind* he writes with fervor and with obvious delight about the knowledge fostered in "primitive" societies.

The knowledge that the then-traditional practice in anthropology, with its emphasis on the supposedly primitive or even savage elements it perceived among the natives was in fact the science of the concrete. It seems likely that Lévi-Strauss sees in the science of the concrete, built up through a tinkering process, something that is not all that far away from the good French scientific, sober, rationalist tradition, not only of Descartes, but also with a taste of Auguste Comte.

The absence of any notion of the sacred in Claude Lévi-Strauss's work cannot be ignored. In *Tristes Tropiques* Lévi-Strauss writes about his youthful experiences during World War I in the house of his grandfather, who was the rabbi in Versailles. The corridor leading from the house to the synagogue had to be negotiated in absolute silence. It seems obvious that for him "the sacred" retained a tone he had difficulty with. At the time, he says, "I was already an unbeliever." An unbeliever at the age of nine or ten? He relates this to the experience of amazement he would have later in Buddhist temples where monks slept in the same room where services were held and did not mind caressing their pupils between lessons in the alphabet. In the same work he refers disdainfully to the philosophy as taught in France in his student years as "mental gymnastics."

Dutch anthropologist J. van Baal, who served as the last governor of Dutch New Guinea, learned much from J. P. B. Josselin de Jong, who was one of his teachers, and was himself a splendid observer of various societies in Southeast Asia and their ceremonial interactions. As an administrator, he was less given to theoretical expositions than Claude Lévi-Strauss. At the same time, like other structuralists, he was hesitant to attribute "reality" to religion, yet was not averse to dealing with great problems in society. In 1972 he published a small, very interesting book, *De boodschap der drie illusies* (The message of the three illusions). The illusions are respectively religion, art, and the element of play in all human culture. No human society exists without these three, van Baal suggests, yet they do not have the reality of a concept like physics.

MYTHS AND THE MODERN WORLD. Myths and mythmaking have certainly not disappeared from the modern world. That notion, still rather popular, was fostered by nineteenth-century evolutionists who posited a decline of religion as part of some general world-wide progression. The process of history does not give up its most basic constituents, including its mythological creativity, because prevailing ideas change. The fact that in common parlance the word *myth* has a derogatory meaning has no bearing on the issue. Antiquity was already familiar with that same use of the term. The apostle Paul is among those on record as despisers of mere myths. Two religions of India, Buddhism and Jainism, have expressed strong misgivings about prevailing religious ideas, and these misgivings are another kind of depreciation of myths. Myths have continued to flourish, however, and the misgivings of any given religion, religious grouping, or age do not change that fact today any more than in the past.

In entering upon the study of myths, we should quickly reject the illusion that we are entitled to speak of the mythology, in the sense of the entire body of myths, of any group, whether they be ancient Mesopotamians or an African people or the citizens of the United States of America. In none of these cases are we ever looking objectively at a total belief system. We are never in a position to do so. All we have before us are at best good selections by a scholar or a good sampling by a field worker. The availability of a collection in print between two covers does not make our position that of an objective observer readying himself for complete understanding. We look only at a fragment in time and place. The nature, structure, and style of myths points not merely to the existence of bodies of material, but to living traditions. The humor in myths changes in time, together with everything else in history, but it also indicates a universal human propensity. The erroneous idea that our own world is largely devoid of myths or is rapidly purified of such things rests largely on the assumption that our world, in whatever way that term is defined, is real and does not depend on fiction. Every age, however, and every civilization, rests on a foundation of mythic fictions. The philosopher Alphonse de Waelhens, in Castelli, *Mythe et Foi,* has rightly pointed out that we are able to see quite clearly the outline of a myth only after that myth has ceased to function unassailed and unquestioned, that is to say, as an expression of supposed reality.

In our own world, we lack the distance necessary for clear views of our own myths, and the question of which ones will stand out as central can be discussed seriously only by later generations. These future scholars also will have to make up their minds on the basis of fragmentary information, just as our scholarship must always remain conscious of the inadequacy of our information about mythology in ancient Mesopotamia or present-day Iran, or the nineteenth-century myths of evolutionism, materialism, missionary optimism, colonialism, or Marxism. Our own world with respect to its mythology is completed by the manner in which we orient ourselves not only within our transcendencies, but also vis-à-vis other people in our endeavors to define and interpret their myths. This, one might say, concludes our circle of interpretation.

The Danish thinker Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855) once conjured up the image of a man with his mouth so full of food that he could not swallow. Kierkegaard raised the question of whether one might better help that man by stuffing more food into his mouth or by taking some out. Obviously, only the latter could be a solution. In the same way, Kierkegaard argued, a man can be so filled with information, which he mistakes for useful knowledge, that even in the face of his own protests and his insistence on adding even more to his store of learning, the only cure is to take some of that knowledge away. This is the task Kierkegaard assigned himself in using the comical to make the overburdened man see the uselessness of what he knew. Kierkegaard's parable is a perfect illustration of the unceasing propensity toward myth-making in modern times and, at the same time, of the need for the mature intellect to occupy itself with the issue of mythology.

Endeavors to explain religion (or explain it away) have been a by-product of culture since antiquity, if not earlier. In the nineteenth century such endeavors were part of Marxism, and they became part of the educational curriculum in the twentieth-century Soviet Union and People's Republic of China. The trend in this direction is actually part of life in all industrial nations. Claude Lévi-Strauss dismisses religion, and yet he also makes efforts to understand myths scientifically, that is to say, in a way that as objectively as possible makes sense out of them. Several scholars have objected to the dismissal of religion, among them anthropologists such as Adam Kuper and Clifford Geertz. Nevertheless, the modern aversion to scholars like Rudolf Otto, who emphasized the religious experience as the key element in religion, is much more general, and certainly affects notable historians of religions as well.

An adequate assessment of the present-day situation in the study of myths would require extraordinary talent. It is, however, not easy to avoid one impression: the study of religion and religions has not been flourishing in recent times, and—with notable exceptions—no longer has a strong basis in linguistics and philology, the traditional basis of the history of religions.

SEE ALSO African Religions, article on Mythic Themes; Australian Indigenous Religions, article on Mythic Themes; Cargo Cults; Chinese Religion: Mythic Themes; Cosmogony; Euhemerus and Euhemerism; Humor and Religion; Indian Religions, article on Mythic Themes; Intuition; Japanese Religions, article on The Study of Myths; Logos; Mesoamerican Religions, article on Mythic Themes; Millenarianism, overview article; Myth and Ritual School; North American Indian Religions, article on Mythic Themes; South American Indian Religions, article on Mythic Themes; Structuralism.

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MYTH: MYTH AND HISTORY

At first glance, myth and history appear to be complete opposites. To be sure, they are both narratives, that is to say, arrangements of events into unified stories, which can then be recounted. But myth is a narrative of origins, taking place in a primordial time, a time other than that of everyday reality; history is a narrative of recent events, extending progressively to include events that are further in the past but that are, nonetheless, situated in human time.

This initial definition, however, calls for a series of qualifying remarks that reveal a network of more complex relations in the place of this stark opposition. Let us first consider the fact that our very model of myth has come down to us from the stories of the gods in ancient Greece. Furthermore, a transition from myth to history can be seen in the

Greek myths themselves, as they extend to include the history of heroes and the histories of ancestors. These are more properly termed legendary narratives, unfolding in a time lying between the time of origins and that of recent events. History will encroach on this legendary time, extending its grasp to include an ever more distant past.

An even more significant intersection between myth and history has been brought to light through the extension, familiar from contemporary anthropology, of the notion of myth to types of narrative that are extremely widespread in contemporary archaic societies. These narratives are characterized by being anonymous, and so without any determinant origin. They are received through tradition and accepted as credible by all the members of the group, with no guarantee of authenticity other than the belief of those who transmit them. History will mark an "epistemological break" with this mode of transmission and reception, but only after an evolution involving many intermediate stages, as we shall see later.

A source of even more serious conflict between myth and history, and therefore also an occasion for more complex forms of transition or compromise, has to do with the object of myth itself, which we temporarily designated as a narrative of origins. The concern with origins extends far beyond the history of gods, heroes, and ancestors. The questions pertaining to the origins of things extend to all the entities of individual and social life. Thus myths can reply to any of the following types of question. How did a particular society come to exist? What is the sense of this institution? Why does this event or that rite exist? Why are certain things forbidden? What legitimizes a particular authority? Why is the human condition so miserable; why do we suffer and die? Myth replies to these questions by recounting how these things began. It recounts the creation of the world and the appearance of humans in their present physical, moral, and social condition. With myth therefore we are dealing with a very particular type of explanation, which will maintain a complex relation to history. This type of explanation essentially consists in myth's foundational function: the myth recounts founding events. Its tie and subsequent conflict with history result from this function. On the one hand, myth exists only when the founding event has no place in history but is situated in a time before all history: *in illo tempore*, to borrow Mircea Eliade's now classic expression. On the other hand, what is at stake in any such foundation is to relate our own time to this other time, whether this be in the form of participation, imitation, decadence, or abandonment. It is precisely this relation between our time and the time of the myth that is the essential factor constituting the myth, rather than the types of things founded by it, whether the latter include the whole of reality—the world—or a fragment of reality—an ethical rule, a political institution, or even the existence of man in a particular condition, fallen or innocent.

In the light of this brief phenomenology of myth, it appears that the relation of myth to history can be situated on three different levels. In a limited, narrow sense, myth and history are two different kinds of narrative. Myth is a narrative concerning the origin of everything that can worry, frighten, or surprise us. History, on the other hand, is a precise literary genre, namely the writing of history or historiography. Taken in this strict sense, history can enter into a variety of relations with myth; history's own origin from myth is not the only such relation. The genetic point of view must not blind us to other possible viewpoints. If, as we shall see, history does not necessarily take the place of myth but may exist alongside it within the same culture, together with other types of narrative, then the question of the relation between myth and historiography must be approached from the perspective of a classification of the various kinds of narratives that are produced by a particular society at a particular moment. The genetic and taxonomical perspectives must each be allowed both to complement and to limit the exclusive claims of the other.

As a backdrop to this well-defined problem a vaster one arises, related to a second meaning of the term *history*. History is not only a literary product; it is also what men do or suffer. Many languages preserve these two meanings of their word for "history": history (or story) as the narrative of the events of the past, and history as the whole of these events themselves, as human beings make them or are affected by them. Beyond the question of the writing of history is the question of how a given culture interprets its historical mode of existence. A number of problems arise in this connection. How, for instance, is the stability or change affecting a culture's mores or institutions perceived? What value is attributed to it? Does change itself have meaning? That is to say, is change at once meaningful and directed toward an end, or is it incoherent, given to disorder, chance, and meaninglessness? And, if there is a sense to it, is it an improvement, a form of progress, or a degeneration, a decadence?

To move from the first sense of *history* to the second is not difficult. The writing of history as an essentially literary activity is after all one of the ways a society accounts for its own past. It inevitably leads to the more general question of the sense that that society ascribes to its own historical development. This interrelationship between history as literary activity and history as lived experience gives a new meaning to the question of the relation between history and myth. Myth, to the extent that it is defined by its foundational role, can function to ascribe a positive or negative value to history in general, to the extent that the latter is understood as a mode of human existence.

When dealing with myth and history at this level, we must avoid the temptation to engage in simplistic oppositions between types of civilizations or to employ genetic interpretations that are overly linear. A single society may in fact have both myths of decadence and myths of progress, whether in different epochs or in the same period. This competition of myths may express the uncertainty that a society experiences concerning the meaning of the changes that it undergoes. Furthermore, in a given culture, historiography may be intended to provide only partial explanations that make no claim to be comprehensive, while the broader question of the meaning of history is left to legends and myths. As a result, two cultures may differ as to their most fundamental myths and yet present striking similarities in both the techniques and goals of their historiography. This was true of the Greeks and Hebrews, as will be shown below.

Finally, in the background of the question of the meaning of history, we find the question of a society's interpretation of the time in which its history—and all history—unfolds. This third question is implicit in the two preceding ones. In the first place, historiography can be defined as the narrative of human actions in the past. Since this interest in the past is inseparable from an interest in the present and from expectations about the future, historiography necessarily includes in its definition a reference to time. It is knowledge of societies and people in time.

This reference to time cannot help but affect the first and second senses of *history:* both the meaning that a class of literati gives to the act of writing history and the meaning that a particular society gives to its history through narrative activity imply a specific perception of time. The evaluation of time may even become the object of reflection, or it may remain implicit, in much the same way that change may be evaluated positively or negatively. It is at this level that the so-called cyclical and linear conceptions of time oppose one another.

The question of the supposed opposition between cyclical and linear conceptions of time is a thorny one. To begin with, it is not certain that the notion of cyclical time has but one meaning. In addition to the paradigmatic case of the periodical regeneration of time by specific rites, there are many other ways of conceiving the periodical return of the same situations and the same events; a number of periodicities are to be distinguished here. Nor is it certain that the notion of linear time was clearly perceived as a global alternative to that of cyclical time before modern astronomy and cosmology or the even more recent ideologies of progress. Last but not least, a single culture can give rise to contrary myths concerning the cyclical or linear character of time. This is part of the uncertainty that a particular society may foster concerning its own historical condition and that of the human race as a whole. Then too, the culture that produces myths of cyclical time or of linear time may also produce a historiography that is deliberately developed outside of this framework, limiting its scope to restricted temporal segments that can be inserted in either of those versions of time. For these reasons, the problem of the apparent split between cyclical and linear time should not be tackled head-on. Instead, this debate should be carried on within the horizon of the two preceding investigations.

ANCIENT GREECE. To guide us in this problem, it will be helpful to take as our reference the relations between myth and history in ancient Greece. In the cultural sphere of the ancient Near East and the Mediterranean, they alone—along with ancient Israel—produced a historiography worthy of the name. In addition, the variety of the relations that this production maintained with myth (a Greek term if ever there was one!) permits us to verify the extreme complexity of the problem and the validity of the three-stage model that we have just suggested.

If we adhere to the definition of history as historiography, then history's relation to myth is determined in its essential features by the birth of a type of knowledge and a type of discourse (prose narrative) that make a series of decisive breaks with the mythical mode of thought and with its privileged mode of literary expression, versified poetry. The earliest witness that we have to history's break with myth was provided by Herodotos in the middle of the fifth century BCE, whose work stands as a literary landmark. Its title—*Historiē* in the Ionian dialect—has ever since determined not only the name of the discipline that he inaugurated but also the principal meaning of this term, namely investigation. These "histories" are in fact investigations into the causes of the wars fought between the Greeks and the Persians. Unlike myths of origin and heroic tales situated in distant times, the histories of Herodotos are concerned with recent events. Herodotos was interested in the causal role of antecedent events and in the role of responsible agents in the events that he investigated. His writings are thus far more than mere descriptions. They are expressions of a mode of thinking that characterizes what has been called the Ionic Enlightenment and so take their place within a vaster ensemble of investigations into cosmology, geography, and ethnography. They find their speculative equivalent in philosophy as such, where *phusis*, a term we translate as "nature," constitutes at once the field of exploration and the key word. In Ionian philosophy the notion of *archē* in the sense of "principle" decisively splits off from *arche* in the sense of "beginning." This bifurcation of the notion of origin is of great importance for the understanding of the separation of history from myth.

The epistemological break with myth that marks the emergence of history, geography, ethnology, cosmology, and the philosophy of nature does not entitle us to represent the process as simply genetic and linear, however. This would be to overlook the intermediate stages that exist in the transition from myth to history, as well as the continued dependence of the new mode of thought on the earlier mythical mode. In addition, we would thereby overlook the simultaneous existence of several different types of narrative within the same culture.

In contrast to a simplistic representation of the "Greek miracle," we should be attentive instead to this phenomenon of transition, which preserves a sense of the different elements that went to make up the "event" of the Ionic Enlightenment. Herodotos was in fact preceded by an entire series of prose writers who paved the way for him. The most important of these was certainly Hecataeus of Miletus, whom we know only through a few surviving quotations. Already in the second half of the sixth century, this prose writer was the author of a *periēgēsis*, a realistic account of a voyage around the world that relates history to geography, cartography, and ethnology, and of the *Genealogies*, which constructed the great family tree of the heroic age. The break between myth and history did not, therefore, take place all at once, but only gradually. Herodotos's *Histories* themselves did not cut every tie with the stories of the heroic age, as can be seen from his attempts at a general chronology dating back to the Trojan War. And if Herodotos was concerned so specifically with the Persian Wars, this was because, in his opinion, they deserved to be reported as much as had the Trojan War. Finally, the epic dimension of Herodotos's work, which allows him to preserve the chronological and analogical ties between heroic and historical times, must be attributed to the influence of the versified epic of Homer.

The twofold relation of break and filiation between myth and history on the level of narrative form becomes clearer when we consider the end or goal assigned to this new kind of literature. Here we move from the first to the second senses of *history.* The end that Herodotos assigned to his investigations can be found in the prologue of the *Histories:* "Here are set forth the researches (*historiē*) of Herodotos of Halicarnassus, that men's actions may not be forgotten, nor things great and wonderful, whether accomplished by Greeks or barbarians, go without report, nor especially the causes (*aītiē*) of the wars between one and another."

Three features of this prefatory remark deserve emphasis. The struggle against forgetfulness is cited first; later we shall discuss the conception of time that is implied here. It is then to the great deeds of the Greeks and the barbarians that this exercise of memory is applied. The very notion of great deeds marks a tie with the epic of the age of heroes, even though it is being applied here to recent times. But, in particular, this cult of memory binds history to the self-understanding that a people acquires by giving an account of its past. The memory that history cultivates is therefore that of a people taken as a single body. In this way, history takes its place within the body of traditions that together constitute what could be called the narrative identity of a culture. To be sure, it does this within a critical mode that is entirely different from mythical traditions, since the latter draw their authority from the very act of transmitting the immemorial. But the opposition between the critical mode of historiography introduced here by Herodotos and the authoritative mode of the reception of myth in Homer occurs within the larger phenomenon of tradition: the poet and the man of letters are united within the single great melting pot of culture.

The third feature of Herodotos's project points in the same direction: the object of his research is to discover the cause of an essentially conflictual event, namely the Persian Wars. These wars not only served to oppose Greek and barbarian but fundamentally threatened a whole configuration of peoples, just as the Trojan War had done in heroic times. This is the major crisis for which history now seeks a cause. By attributing this cause to a responsible agent, the *Histories* give an ethical coloration to the entire course of events, which at the same time attests to a striking kinship between history and tragedy. It was the *hubris* of Cresus that endangered the harmony of a people, and even the victory of the Greeks appears as a retribution (*tisis*) that reestablishes this lost harmony. In this way, a certain divine justice is effected by the course of events. One cannot help thinking here of a fragment from Anaximander: "for (existing things) pay penalty and retribution to each other for their injustice according to the assessment of Time." This fragment displays a manner of thinking halfway between myth and what, with the Sophists, Socrates, and Plato, will be termed *sophia* ("wisdom").

From this threefold analysis we can see that the passage from myth to history cannot be reduced to the mere substitution of the latter for the former. In competition with this linear evolution, we must make room for an accumulation of literary genres and the modes of thinking related to them: theogonic myths written in the style of scholarly and literary mythology, myths of the heroic age cast in the literary mode of the epic and of tragedy, and, finally, history. So little did history replace myth that Plato still wages war against myths in his dialogues, though not without including here and there some *palaios logos* received from the Orphic tradition or from alleged Egyptian wisdom. What is more, he invents certain myths himself, in the form of philosophical tales.

A third problem now remains. This is the problem of the representation of time that underlies history, a problem that forms the backdrop to the debate between history and myth. If Greek historiography holds some importance in this area, it is less in relation to the so-called opposition between cyclical time and linear time than to the dividing line between the time of the gods and the time of men.

With respect to the debate concerning the Greeks' supposed opposition of cyclical and linear conceptions of time, opened by Thorleif Boman in *Hebrew Thought Compared with Greek* (1960), it is clear that historiography not only does not provide any confirmation of the thesis that holds Hellenism to be massively in favor of a cyclical conception of time but in fact refuses to take either side. As Arnaldo Momigliano stresses, to the extent that Herodotos concentrates his attention on a limited segment of history, he is entirely unaware of an historical cycle, much less an eternal return. Of course, he believes that there are forces operating in history, forces that are ordinarily tied to the intervention of the gods in human life, which become visible only at the end of a long chain of events. Such was the *hubris* against which Solon warned. Nothing, however, indicates that these interventions attest to a cyclical time. Herodotos "attributed to the Persian War a unique, non-cyclical significance, chiefly as a conflict between free men and slaves" (Momigliano, 1977, p. 187).

It is instead to the second problem, that of the split between the time of the gods and the time of men, that the earliest Greek historiography makes the most decisive contribution. The comparison with Homer, Hesiod, and the tragedians is instructive here. In Homer, the little substance that human time takes on is due still to the family tie that unites most of the heroes to the gods. In order to evoke these heroic times ordinary memory is not enough: it is not a mere literary convention when in book 2 of the *Iliad* (lines 484–487), the poet asks the Muses, the daughters of Memory (Mnemosyne), to guide him through the confusion of human time and space. "And now, tell me, Muses, dwelling on Olympus, for you are indeed goddesses: present everywhere, you know all things; we hear only noises, we ourselves know nothing. Tell me who were the guides, the leaders of the Danaans?" It is because time is utter confusion for the human observer that the poet calls upon a Muse to unite him with the higher vision of the gods. In Hesiodic myth, the ages and the races that live in them are inserted between the time of the gods and human time, serving as much to separate them as to connect them. This is a history of decadence, interrupted only by the fourth race, that of heroes. The fate of the race of the last age, the iron age, is to suffer fatigue and hardships and hence to live painfully in time. The only remedy for this is the monotonous repetition of work in the fields. Nevertheless, the cycle of time is already that of a human time.

In the works of the tragedians, man is defined as "ephemeral." This is not because man's life is short but because his condition is tied to the accidents of time. The "sovereign time" sung by the chorus can at the same time be the "avenging time" that will reestablish justice. Historiography, on the other hand, by virtue of the task that it sets for itself, introduces a certain consistency into the time of men, relating it to the human time of the "first inventor" (*protos euretēs*). On the one hand, Herodotos recognizes these first inventors in those who first gave offense to the Greeks and thereby brought on the Persian Wars. On the other hand, the historian himself, by naming himself, by giving the reasons he has for recalling the past, and by seeking the sense of past events, establishes himself as a first inventor. It is in this double manner that he gives human time its consistency. Despite its linear framework, however, this human time still leaves room for analogies and correspondences that elevate the characters above and beyond time.

It is only with Thucydides that a logical time will govern the disorder of historical time that stems from the repetition of the same dissensions between cities, which make innumerable and terrible evils "occur and recur unendingly." The second great Greek historian is then able to define his work as a means of "seeing clearly into events of the past and those yet to come by reason of the human character they possess, offering similarities or analogies" (*History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.22). This is the sense of the famous expression *ktēma eis aei* ("acquisition for all times"): human time will take on consistency in the face of the time of the gods only when the narrative is anchored to a sort of logic of action.

ANCIENT ISRAEL. Following the majority of exegetes and cultural historians, we have adopted the working hypothesis that only the Greeks and the Hebrews developed a historiography comparable to that of the moderns. It is therefore in reference to the birth of history in Greece that we shall discuss the similar phenomenon in ancient Israel. Obstacles to this sort of comparative undertaking are by no means lacking, however.

The first source of difficulty lies in a difference of literary genre. Literary genres such as epic, tragedy, lyric poetry, and history, which are represented in Greece by distinct works and authors, are found grouped together and often interwoven in the Hebrew Bible, a book that is itself actually a collection of books. Therefore, if we are to find in the Hebrew scriptures a collection of texts comparable to Herodotos's *Histories*, we will have to ignore the important question of context at the risk of serious distortions. This is the case, for instance, with the story of David's rise (*1 Sm.* 16:14–*2 Sm.* 5:25) and the succession story (*2 Sm.* 7, 9–20; *1 Kgs.* 1–2).

A second difficulty lies in the complexity of narrative as a genre. The narrative genre is represented by such a wide variety of forms that we cannot restrict our classification merely to an opposition between history and myth. It is necessary to work out a typology of narrative forms, however rudimentary and merely provisional, before we can inquire into the possible filiations between one form and another.

There is still another difficulty. In addition to the variety of literary genres surrounding the narrative core and the diversity of narrative forms themselves, the Hebrew scriptures present a hierarchy of different texts. First-order units that represent the entire range of narrative forms are incorporated into larger ensembles such as the compositions of the Yahvist, which present narrative features that differ from those of the first-order units. In order to account for the difference of level and structure between these larger narratives and their smaller, properly historiographic segments, it is advisable to refer to the former as "history-like *narratives*."

Finally, concerning the specific problem of myth and history, we must be prepared to confront the paradoxical situation that, in contrast to the evolution that led from myth to history in Greece, in Israel the quasi myths or myth fragments borrowed from neighboring cultures were incorporated into the great narrative ensembles mentioned above in the form of historicized myths, as is the case in *Genesis* 1–11. This reinterpretation of myth on the basis of history appears quite specific to the literary sphere of ancient Israel.

We can navigate our investigation through the reefs of these difficulties by proceeding along the lines of the three levels of inquiry outlined in the first paragraph: namely, a typology of narrative forms, an analysis of the historical mode of understanding of the community that produces these narratives, and, finally, a brief look at the conception of time that may be implicit either in the literary forms or in the self-understanding revealed in ancient Israel.

With respect to the typology of narrative forms, in which history and myth take their place at the two opposite poles of the spectrum, it is important to note that genetic investigations, stemming principally from the work of Hermann Gunkel and Hugo Gressmann, have employed structural analysis to establish criteria for the identification of narrative forms and then gone on to work out their filiation. Gunkel (1928) himself argued that the historiography illustrated by the two narratives concerning David mentioned above stemmed from legends (*Sagen*), rather than from the myths of the ancient Middle East or from the lists, annals, and chronicles that were widespread among Israel's neighbors. In order to establish this thesis, Gunkel had to work out a brief typology that allowed him to distinguish legends from other types of stories. He first distinguished legends (*Sagen*), which refer to characters in the real world but living in times gone by, both from myths, which are origin narratives, taking place in a time different from that of ordinary experience, and tales (*Märchen*), which are pure fictions intended for amusement. Then, within the *Sagen* themselves, he distinguished between father legends (*Vatersagen*) and hero legends (*Heldensagen*). Father legends are tied to family leaders who are representative of their social group. They are sometimes related in a series, like the stories of Joseph; Gunkel calls these "novellas" (*Novellen*). Hero legends (*Heldensagen*), to the extent that they concern public figures like Moses, Joshua, Saul, and David, can contain a genuinely historical element. According to Gunkel, it is within this subgroup that we can follow the evolution from the pure heroic legend, illustrated by the story of Gideon, to history in a sense similar to that of Herodotus, as in the two narratives of David referred to above. Gressmann (1910) then carried this approach further by calling attention to the prophetic legends, whose purpose is devotional and edifying.

Gressmann's major contribution, however, was his tripartite division of history. First there is the history that concerns recent events (it is assumed that the narratives relating to David were written shortly after the events recounted). Then come legends, concerning distant events, and, finally, myths, relating to primordial times. The advantage of this threefold division is that it brackets the question of the presumed degree of veracity, as measured by our modern notion of documentary proof. Nevertheless, in Gunkel and Gressmann the concern for typology is immediately swallowed up by the interest in genesis: their major interest is in determining how historiography as a scholarly genre arose out of legend.

The same question is considered by Gerhard von Rad (1962), but on the basis of different preoccupations. He too asks about the preconditions for the emergence of historiography, but whereas Gunkel stresses the decisive role of the emergence of a monarchic state, von Rad focuses on the demand for explanation present in the etiological function of legends, on the formation of a prose literature, and especially on the organizing role played by a theological vision of history. It is under the influence of this third and decisive factor that the narrative organization prevails over the parataxic presentation of the heroic legends. By the same token, the relation of filiation between the legend and the myth appears even weaker. And it is an enlightenment similar to that in Ionia that permits the passage from the novella, which itself is already relatively complex, to even larger ensembles, such as the stories of David and the Yahvist document, which are thus placed on the same level as the historiographical core, at least as far as their organization is concerned.

Armed with these sketchy typological criteria for distinguishing between genres, Hebrew exegesis set out to examine the question of their filiation, a question held to be fundamental. It is within this framework that Gunkel's continuist hypothesis has been tested by his successors (Gerhard von Rad, Martin Noth, William F. Albright, Umberto Cassuto, Claus Westermann, and John van Seters). This hypothesis can include a number of different emphases. Emphasis can be placed on the political factor, on the enlightened spirit of the age assumed to be close to the reported events, or on the degree of organization in the legends themselves prior to their literary phase. One can emphasize the possible existence of early Israelite epics influenced by Mesopotamian and Canaanite epics, the constitution of court archives, lists, annals, and other documents similar to those found among Israel's neighbors, and finally and most especially the organizing power exerted by the theological motif. In fact, however, these rival genetic hypotheses have shown themselves to be practically unverifiable in the absence of Israelite sources distinct from the canonical texts of the Hebrew scriptures. It is not even certain that the texts that appear closest to Greek historiography were actually written at a period close to that of the events reported, or even that there was an Israelite literature prior to the writing of *Deuteronomy.*

The responses of scholars to these doubts have taken three forms. Some have sought a renewal of genetic investigations on the basis of new hypotheses. Others have accorded a privilege to a more detailed structural analysis of narrative forms, and still others have undertaken a properly literary study of the narrative art, which is found in all narrative forms.

The first orientation is illustrated in particular by the works of John Van Seters and Hans H. Schmid, who date the first Israelite writings five or six centuries later than previous scholarship did and thereby overthrow all the earlier hypotheses concerning filiation.

The second orientation is illustrated by the taxonomical concern that presides over the works of George W. Coats on *Genesis.* Coats divides the main narrative genres into the saga, the tale, the novella, legends, histories, reports, fables, etiological narratives, and, finally, myths. The term *saga* (not to be confused with the German *Sage*, "legend") here refers to the Icelandic and Nordic sagas of the Middle Ages, which are long, traditional narratives in prose, subdivided into family sagas and heroic sagas. The tale is characterized by the fact that it has few characters, a single setting, and a simple plot. The novella, in turn, is a complex tale with a plot involving tension and its resolution. Legends are static narratives with no plot in praise of the virtues of a hero. A history is intended to report events that actually took place; a report describes an isolated event. Fables depict a fictional world, while etiological narratives purport to explain a situation, to name a place or a character. Finally, myths are reduced to the sphere that remains, namely the imaginative domain relating to the activity of the gods in the divine world (hence *Genesis* 6:1–4).

A noteworthy example of the third orientation is given by Robert Alter and Adele Berlin. These authors, unhampered by typological concerns, have studied the art of narrative composition, basing their studies on the poetic model applied to the modern novel. So-called primitive and naive narratives suddenly appear to be works of consummate refinement in the use of dialogue and in the handling of events with reticence and understatement. At the same time, the literary analysis enhances the theological import of these texts and suggests that the conflict between the inevitability of the divine plan and human recalcitrance is in itself the source of narrative developments.

The development of structural analysis has tended to obscure the problem of the relations between myth and history behind its more detailed typologies. Nevertheless, the problem reemerges at another level as the problem of the self-understanding of a culture as this is expressed through its traditions. This new line of questioning is called for by the typology itself, to the extent that the aim of any narrative form is to contribute to self-understanding. Here, then, in the context of the Hebrew scriptures, we confront the second sense of *history:* history as it refers to the historical mind of ancient Israel, its manner of conducting itself historically. In this regard, most exegetes agree in characterizing the self-understanding of ancient Israel as globally historical, something that cannot be said of the Greeks. If the latter did indeed produce a historiography that is more clearly set out on the level of its works and more deliberately critical with respect to received traditions, they nevertheless sought their identity—without perhaps ever actually finding it—more in the political sphere of their existence. At the same time, their philosophers developed a cosmological and nonhistorical philosophy of reality as a whole. Israel alone understood itself principally through the traditions of which it was at once the author and recipient. This is essentially what von Rad wanted to stress in his *The Theology of Israel's Historical Traditions* (1962), the first volume of his *Old Testament Theology.* With Israel, the act of narrating had from the outset a theological value, and the theological intention was instilled in the collection of traditions, which the theologian could not help but retell.

This second level of investigation must not be confused with the first; the "historical" understanding of a people through its literature is not exclusively, nor even principally, expressed in historiographic writings. It may instead be expressed through an entire range of narrative forms and even, little by little, by all the other literary genres inasmuch as they are historicized or, better, "narrativized." This expansion of the historical mind beyond the narrative form characteristic of historiography finds its expression in the internal hierarchy characteristic of the narrative literature of the Hebrew scriptures, through which the narrative units distinguished by the typology are subordinated to larger ensembles, of which the Yahvist document is a good model. Not only does this vast composition reach back before the monarchy, before the settlement, before the patriarchs, to the very creation of the world; it also encompasses units that represent the entire range of narrative forms distinguished above, as well as vast nonnarrative texts, such as laws, sapiential segments, praises, curses, and blessings—in short, a wide variety of literary forms and "language games." As noted above, in order to preserve this internal variety and difference of level, it is advisable to reserve the term *history* for those units that display a structural and thematic kinship with early Greek historiography and to refer to other narratives as "history-like," following Hans W. Frei in his *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative* (1974).

It is on the level of this vast history-like narrative, and on that of the different narratives superimposed on the great Yahvist narrative, that the theological design of narrative literature itself is revealed. In this regard, there has been noticeable evolution in interpretation since Gunkel sought to save the ancient historiography that he considered to be contemporary with the epoch of Solomon from the regretted influence of the prophets. Von Rad considerably reworked the problem by seeing in the great Yahvist construction the expansion of the confessional recital that can be read in *Deuteronomy* 24:5–9 and *Joshua* 24:2–13. According to von Rad, this "historical credo," with its own distinctive liturgical roots, governed the history of the settlement, leading the people from Egypt to the Promised Land. It then incorporated into itself the Sinai tradition, which, as a distinct cult-legend with its revealed commandments and its theology of the covenant, had heretofore had a separate existence. Around this core was clustered the history of the patriarchs, prefaced by the majestic history of the creation of the world and the origin of humanity. The Yahvist would then be the writer of genius who, due to the shifting of the myths from their original matrix, used the theological motif inherent in the tradition of the settlement to give coherence to this collection of heterogeneous narratives. With the Yahvist, we are no longer dealing with a storyteller but with a theologian-narrator who expresses his vision of the relations between God and his people by means of a continuous history, in which the history of the chosen people is bound up with the universal history of humankind and with the history of the world itself.

Starting from the historiographic pole, von Rad's successors have asked how the historical recital of the settlement relates to the narratives of the succession and to those of David's rise to power. What exchanges took place between the sacred and political vision of God's sovereignty over history and the idea of a divine guidance operating throughout the migration and the settlement? Did the former serve as a structural model for the latter, and the latter as a theological model for the former? It is in this connection that Robert Alter's suggestion takes on its full importance: he asks whether the paradox of the inevitability of the divine plan and human recalcitrance is not revealed in even the smallest narrative units when these are examined in the light of the art of biblical narrative. The most significant narratives turn out to be those in which the divine intention is realized, not through divine intervention, but through the very play of human passions, after the fashion of a *nemesis* inherent in human conduct.

We move from the historiographic pole back to the mythical by inquiring into the theology of history that is evinced in the large narrative units, or even in the smaller ones. Actually, we should speak of theologies of history, for it is not certain that what has been called salvation history (*Heilsgeschichte*) covers all the intentions of the biblical writers. We must be careful not to project the biblical theology of today onto the Hebrew scriptures. The interweaving of a number of different theological themes must be respected: the covenant, the promise and its fulfillment, ethical instruction through the narrative, and so forth. Aside from this plurality of the theologies of history, there is the question of the function of the theological plan as a whole. As a kind of counterpart to the historicizing of the origin myths, could it not itself function as a myth, in the sense of the transcendent founding of present history on the basis of a more fundamental history? More precisely, it seems that the theology of traditions has been assimilated into an etiological myth of the settlement in a foreign land, hence of the gift of the soil. After the catastrophe of the exile, this myth was itself capable of being transformed into an etiological myth of the loss of the land. This second etiological use of the myth results in a new theology of history, centered around the theme of retribution—in short, a theodicy. In the Deuteronomic narrative, this new theodicy finds an expression that may be weak historiographically but is strong in its moral resources. Nevertheless, we must admit that by calling salvation history itself a myth, we are stretching the notion of myth beyond its strict sense of a history of origins *in illo tempore*. Salvation history unfolds in the time of men rather than in the time of the gods. This fundamental difference must make us more careful in using the term *myth* to characterize theological interpretations like those of salvation history.

We must reserve for a third level of analysis the controversial question of whether the conception of time in ancient Israel was explicit or merely implicit. James Barr, in *Biblical Words for Time* (2d rev. ed., 1969), warns us of the temptation to seek information on the Hebrew conception of time at the level of the language itself, in its vocabulary and semantics, or in the etymology of individual words. The meaning of words, Barr observes, results from their use in determined contexts. Thus in our attempt to discover a Hebraic conception of time we are led back to the contexts provided by the narrative forms considered above and to the historical mentality discussed earlier.

An initial question arises: is a specific conception of time implicit in the narrative forms used in the Hebrew Bible? The reply would seem to be negative. The various types of narrative taken separately include very different temporal implications. No general view of time can be extracted from the historiography of *Samuel* and *Kings;* it concerns a given segment of time that permits no extrapolation. To be sure, we can admit that the historiography of the Hebrew Bible, like that of the Greeks, assumes a certain familiarity with temporal succession and chronology. But this relation to time is purely pragmatic. In addition, and this is the most important point, other narrative forms, such as the saga and the legend, on the one hand, and the origin myth, on the other, take place in qualitatively different times, which can be usefully described as "recent," "distant," or "primordial." Thus the "days" of creation are incommensurable with the years in which the monarchs reign; the same is true concerning the patriarchs, who are situated, so to speak, "between" primordial times and historical time. It is therefore advisable to respect the specific temporal qualities belonging to the various classes of narrative.

If we now consider the great narrative compositions, like that of the Yahvist, in which the historical mind of ancient Israel is expressed, it cannot be denied that the various traditions with their heterogeneous durations are submitted to a single temporal order that we should probably represent as a rectilinear and irreversible time underlying a universal history that stretches from creation to the end of the monarchy and to the period of the return from the Babylonian exile. However, besides the fact that this representation is never made explicit by the brilliant composer of the Yahvist document, it would be sorely inadequate for the narrative style of this quasi-historical narrative even if it had been made explicit. This is so for several reasons.

First of all, the time unfolded by the great narrative remains a creation of the narrative art itself. The time immanent in the great narrative configuration by no means abolishes the differences between the heterogeneous time-spans that it encompasses. Thus we cannot say that the election of Abraham occurs after the seven days of creation. The mere succession of narratives does not allow us to project along a single time scale the time of origins, that of the patriarchs, that of the settlement in Canaan, and that of the monarchical period. The idea of a single narrative scale common to all the time-spans is a modern idea foreign to the thinking of ancient Israel and even to that of ancient Greece.

In addition, a series of correspondences and analogies are added to the temporal succession in which one event follows another, as for instance between the various covenants and the various laws, and even the various theophanies. In this regard one could speak of a cumulative aspect of time in the Hebrew Bible rather than of a purely successive one.

Finally, and what is most important, the relation between God's faithfulness and man's recalcitrance, which is illustrated in so many different ways by the special narrative art of the Hebrew storytellers, narrators, and historians, does not lend itself to interpretation in terms of the categories inherited from Platonism and Neoplatonism, where divine immutability is diametrically opposed to the mutability of all things human. God's faithfulness, which marks the history of men, suggests the idea of an omnitemporality rather than that of a supratemporality. This omnitemporality, moreover, is in perfect agreement with the sort of cumulative history we have just mentioned. In order to be able to speak of a biblical time, we would have to take all of the literary genres into account and not only the genre of narrative. There is an immemorial time of the laws, a proleptic time of prophecy, an everyday time of wisdom, a "nowness" of hymnic complaint and praise. Biblical time—if this expression has any meaning—is made up of the interweaving of all the temporal values that are added onto the numerous temporal qualities preserved by the variety of narrative forms. The representation of a linear and irreversible time is wholly inadequate for this chorus of voices.

Would we then be justified in speaking of a return to mythical time by way of a history-like narrative, on the basis of the theologies presiding over the narrative composition itself, as, for example, in the conception of history as salvation history? This could be done only by ascribing to the term *myth* the extremely broad sense of a founding narrative that is related to everyday existence. In fact, it is just as important to stress the historicization of myth as it is to emphasize the mythologization of history. The position of the origin myth in *Genesis* 1–11 attests to this decisive subordination of myth to history. It is only as a broken myth that the archaic myth is reasserted within the gravitational space displayed by the historiography of the monarchic period and by the narrative of the conquest and settlement.

Perhaps it is in this that the hidden kinship between Greek thought and Hebrew thought resides. Each of them in its own way breaks with myth. Each, too, reinvents myth, one as a philosophical tale, as we saw in Plato, and the other as a broken and historicized myth, as in the Yahvist account of creation.

SEE ALSO Cosmogony; Historiography; Sacred Time.

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MYTH AND RITUAL SCHOOL.

The term *Myth and Ritual school* refers to two movements, one in Great Britain in the second quarter of the twentieth century, connected with the name of S. H. Hooke of the University of London, and the other, less clearly identifiable, appearing at about the same time in Scandinavia. The "school" or movement arose in reaction against an evolutionary approach to the study of ancient religions, although it depended upon data collected by scholars holding to the evolutionary outlook. It arose also as a result of a growing recognition in many circles of the central importance of ritual acts for ancient peoples and of the accompanying texts—the myths. The movement thus was rightly designated the "Myth and Ritual school," for it sought to show how pervasive were the central ritual acts of ancient societies and how inseparable from these acts were the accompanying words. The school gave great prominence to the religions of the ancient Near East; the most weighty applications of the school's findings were made to the study of the Hebrew scriptures and the New Testament.

The pattern of religious activity identified by the school was focused upon the celebration of New Year's Day and upon the place of the king in that celebration. The community was enabled to participate in the actual renewal of the cosmos as the various elements of the ritual were observed. The Myth and Ritual school thus stressed the enormous cultural significance of right observance of the ritual; ritual and its accompanying words were, according to the Myth and Ritual theorists, at the heart of an ancient society's self-understanding.

BACKGROUND. Many elements contributed to the appearance of the Myth and Ritual school. The gathering of data on religious practices by ethnologists and anthropologists such as was carried out, for example, by James G. Frazer and reported in his multivolume work, *The Golden Bough,* 12 vols. (1911–1915), provided vast comparative materials for the school's use. Specialized studies of the social and psychological aspects of the life of ancient Israel, in particular the work of the Danish scholar Johannes Pedersen (*Israel, Its Life and Culture,* 2 vols., 1926–1940), proved influential in Great Britain and in Scandinavia. And the studies of the great Danish historian of religion and specialist in Germanic religion Vilhelm Grönbech were a highly influential factor in shaping the school's appreciation of the dynamism and power of cultic life, with its many-faceted ritual acts. Also influential were the studies of the German scholar Wilhelm Mannhardt on cultic practices related to agriculture and the agricultural year (see especially his *Wald- und Feldkulte,* 2 vols., 1874–1876, 2d ed., 1904–1905).

BEGINNINGS. Both branches of the school originate in association with the work of the great Hermann Gunkel, founder of the method of form criticism. An Old Testament specialist whose work firmly rooted the study of the Old Testament in the cultic practices of the ancient Near East, Gunkel also saw the connection between ritual and myth, especially in his studies of the myths and legends of *Genesis* (*Genesis,* 1901; 2d ed., 1922). But it was the Norwegian scholar Sigmund Mowinckel who first applied the insights and approach of Gunkel to the cultic materials of the Hebrew Psalter in a series of studies (*Psalmen-Studien,* 4 vols., 1921–1925).

For Mowinckel the early Israelite cult was a living reality, marked by the existence of wonder-workers and mischief makers who had to be dealt with by means of ritual acts and formulas. The New Year's Day celebrations saw the Israelite God Yahveh enthroned afresh as lord of the universe, with whom the earthly king was cultically associated. Details of this celebration would later be worked out by the Myth and Ritual school, but Mowinckel gave the basic structure of the celebration in this early study of the Israelite cult. Mowinckel gave examples from the surrounding religious practices to show that this cult of Yahveh in Israel had very close similarities with those of its neighbors. Many other scholars would join in the search for parallels and for further evidence of the influence of ancient Near Eastern myth and ritual upon the religion and cult of early Israel.

THE BRITISH SCHOOL. The Myth and Ritual school in Great Britain was a remarkable instance of scholarly collaboration in an age in which individual scholars tended to work in relative independence of one another. The moving force within the school was S. H. Hooke, longtime professor of Old Testament studies in the University of London. He edited a series of studies during a twenty-five-year period in which he and his colleagues sought to identify the connection between ritual acts and the words that accompanied them—that is, the myths, the "libretto" of the ritual score. The first study appeared in 1933 under the title *Myth and Ritual.* The second, *The Labyrinth,* was published two years later. These two works covered the rites of the peoples of ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, Anatolia, and Canaan, and dealt at length with the myth and ritual of ancient Israel and of early Christianity. The third of the volumes came out in 1958: *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship.* It included an essay by H. H. Rowley, "Ritual and the Hebrew Prophets," in which

Rowley indicated reservations about aspects of the school. It also included an important critical assessment of the school by S. G. F. Brandon, which called attention to certain critics of the school and included several points of sharp disagreement by Brandon himself. This chapter in the book is addressed by Hooke in his introductory essay. It was a salutary thing that this open debate on the school's view was furthered by publications in which the school's central positions were espoused.

For the British school, the central undertaking seemed to be to show how many of the cultic practices and the motifs of ancient Near Eastern myths and sagas had their counterpart in texts of the Hebrew scriptures. The reconstruction of the annual festival in ancient Israel produced an amazing richness: recitation of the story of creation; humiliation and ritual murder of the king; descent of the king into the underworld; resurrection from death and restoration to the throne; the sacred marriage of the king and his consort, representing the divine pair; the reestablishment of the cosmos and the historical order; and the recitation of the divine law. The pattern was derived from the New Year ritual text preserved in the Akkadian language and dating to Seleucid times, augmented by many texts from other times and societies.

Critics pointed out that these elements were actually drawn from many places in the Hebrew scriptures, never appearing together, if indeed some of the elements actually appeared at all. Critics also made the point that Israel's earthly king is a latecomer in Israel to the historical scene and is often under the most severe challenge and indictment by the prophets. But for about three decades the British Myth and Ritual school pressed its viewpoint, enlisted scholars of great learning and influence into its ranks, and sought to refine its position.

THE SCANDINAVIAN SCHOOL. Less formally associated with one another than were those of the British group, the Scandinavian specialists dealing with myth and ritual also gained much of their initial perspective from the work of Hermann Gunkel and from the early writings of Sigmund Mowinckel. Other works of special importance for the Scandinavian school included a study of *Exodus* 1–15 by Johannes Pedersen in which the author saw these chapters to be a text that accompanied the celebration of the Passover festival in early Israel. The whole drama of the call of Moses, the move to Egypt to effect deliverance, the plagues, the last dreadful night as the Passover was observed, closing with the legend of the crossing at the Red Sea, the defeat of Egypt's forces, and the triumph song of the Israelites, would have been recited as the libretto of the Exodus celebration. Early stages of the text that accompanied the ritual could to some degree be distinguished from the later stages of the tradition; but the character of *Exodus* 1–15, said Pedersen, was better explained as the Passover ritual text than on the basis of separate literary sources or traditions. Pedersen recognized Passover to be a nature festival of pastoralists that, by means of the annual celebration with its accompanying legend, rooted the natural festivity in Israel's historical consciousness.

The work of the Swedish scholar H. S. Nyberg on the *Book of Hosea* also greatly influenced the Scandinavian school. In *Studien zum Hoseabuche* (1935) Nyberg argued that the text of *Hosea* was probably preserved orally until the time of the Babylonian exile, but he also argued, on the basis of analogies from the ancient Near East, that oral tradition is very reliable indeed. Thus Nyberg spoke for the value of the cultic community of ancient Israel in the preservation of the words of its leaders and for their reuse in the cult, thereby (like Pedersen) expressing mistrust of the "bookish" approach of western European and North American scholars. In addition, the comparisons drawn by Nyberg to early Arabic practices would prove useful in the later work of the Scandinavian Myth and Ritual school.

Other studies followed. Alfred Haldar examined the relations of ancient prophets to the cult and came to the conclusion that although prophets were often critical of the cult, they were themselves usually the product of the cult as well, functionaries who had their regular place in the ceremonies and rituals by means of which the society's life was renewed. Aage Bentzen of Denmark, in one of his very influential writings (*King and Messiah,* 1955), dealt with later eschatological writings, showing that the kingship ritual of early times continued to exercise influence in postexilic times, as Israelite messianism developed. Richard Reitzenstein (1978) did the same for Hellenistic religious rites and practices, bringing to the study and evaluation of the New Testament a wealth of history-of-religions materials reflecting cultic practices believed to illuminate the world of the New Testament. A lengthy commentary on the *First Letter of Peter* by Frank Leslie Cross (1954) presented this New Testament book as the text to accompany the celebration of the Christian "Passover," Easter.

Ivan Engnell and Sigmund Mowinckel, in quite different ways, brought the work of the Myth and Ritual school in Scandinavia to a new level. Engnell was a vigorous exponent of the king's central position in the cult. He probably overstated the case for the accuracy of oral tradition and related too many biblical texts to the royal cult, thus producing a reaction against the entire position of the school. An essay by Martin Noth was considered by many scholars to have offered the definitive refutation of the Scandinavian approach to the place of the king in the Israelite cult ("God, King, and Nation," in *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Essays,* 1966). Noth pointed out how late kingship appears on the scene. Israel's very identity as a people is formed in the Israelite traditions long before there is a king. The kings are held under constant surveillance by the ancient prophets, according to the biblical record. And the eschatological pictures of the king of the time of consummation offer such a picture of this "last" king that further judgment is expressed against all incumbents. Mowinckel, in his major work on Israelite messianism and eschatology, *He That Cometh* (1955), provided a seasoned and thoughtful critical assessment of the work of the Myth and Ritual school in both its British and its Scandinavian forms. At the same time, Geo Widengren continued his specialized studies dealing with the relation of myth and ritual, refining the outlook of the Myth and Ritual school and making it evident that in most particulars the school's outlook had stood the test of time.

CONTINUING INFLUENCE. Despite the weaknesses of the school, as pointed out by Henri Frankfort (*Kingship and the Gods,* 1948), Martin Noth, and many others, the result of the work of these scholars has been on the whole very positive. The Myth and Ritual school presented a forceful critique of evolutionistic schemes employed in the study of religion. It kept critical scholarship continuingly alerted to the need to take the actual practices of a religion at least as seriously as it took that religion's ideas and its literary heritage. It underscored the significance of the king for the entire life of ancient societies. Moreover, the comparative approach of the school has endured and become characteristic of the study of religion. Historical, comparative, structural, and systematic studies of religion all have their place in the study of religion, and the Myth and Ritual school contributed much to the enlargement of the vision of scholars engaged in the study of religion.

The school was able to bring together specialists from many backgrounds, linguistic interests, skills, and schools of interpretation, forging a working team (as in Great Britain) or furthering collaboration on several interlocking problems (as in Scandinavia), offering creative and comprehensive interpretations of central features of religion, especially the religions of the eastern Mediterranean area and Mesopotamia.

The school claimed too much for the pervasiveness of the pattern of ritual observance in the societies studied. It did not sufficiently allow for the differences in the understanding of kingship in the different lands. It seems also to have reconstructed patterns that turned out to be not nearly so widespread as its members thought, such as ritual marriage and the death and resurrection motif. But the school also brought to prominence several features of religious understanding and cultic practice that are unmistakable as the study of religion and religions continues.

Some of the critics of the Myth and Ritual school also went too far in their contentions. The differences between the historical consciousness of ancient Israel and that of Israel's neighbors were exaggerated by Martin Noth and others. And if the chief festival in the life of ancient Israel was centered upon the covenant rite or upon Jerusalem, rather than upon the king as representative of the deity, even so the role of the king in the cult of ancient Israel was very prominent indeed.

Two aspects of scholarship characterize the study of myth and ritual in the early twenty-first century. The first is the extent of collaborative work on myth and ritual by scholars in many fields: philologists, historians, anthropologists, ethnologists, sociologists, philosophers, archaeologists, along with specialists in religion. Indeed, the study of religion today is unthinkable without such collaborative work. It is important to remember, however, that the Myth and Ritual school did much to further this collaboration and to display its fruitfulness.

The second aspect is the comparison of texts in religious studies. Not only does the comparison of texts help to clarify the varied meanings of ritual acts; it also helps scholars to see the strength and meaning of the texts as literature. Here the interest of the Myth and Ritual school was too narrow. The story of creation does belong in association with ritual acts, but it also has a life outside its ritual use. The great prayers and hymns of the ancient world and of Israel are cultic texts to be used as the community participates in the recreation and reestablishment of its world and of the cosmos, but they too have a life of their own. These cultic texts offer perspectives, a worldview, an understanding of certain fundamental realities upon which the social existence of the peoples depended. Nevertheless, the school's insistence that these cultic texts were to be seen as actual parts of the ritual life of the people was an invaluable recognition.

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WALTER HARRELSON (1987 AND 2005)

MYTHIC ANCESTORS SEE ANCESTORS, *ARTICLE ON* MYTHIC ANCESTORS

N

NABATEAN RELIGION. The scholarly consensus is that the Nabateans, whose kingdom flourished from about 400 BCE to 106 CE and whose capital was Petra in Jordan, were in part the descendants of the earlier inhabitants of southern Jordan, though apparently ruled by a dynasty of north Arabian background. At its most extensive, the Nabatean kingdom also incorporated other populations, including many of Aramean descent in southern Syria. In discussing Nabatean religion, therefore, one needs to take account of the fact that some peoples under Nabatean rule may only have adopted the traditions of Petra superficially, while basically retaining their own traditional cults. A "new" deity could be assimilated into or merged with a well-established local deity. Also, distinct Nabatean regions can be detected in which the deities worshiped vary along with other cultural markers (such as language and personal names).

NABATEAN HISTORY. The history of the Nabatean kingdom can only be traced in part, the sources being principally epigraphic, literary, and numismatic. Archaeology and iconography provide some evidence in relation to religion but add little to Nabatean history.

The epigraphic corpus consists of thousands of inscriptions and a few papyri written in the Nabatean version of the Aramaic language (widely used from the Achaemenid era) and in a distinctive local variety of the Achaemenid Aramaic script. Although the number of Nabatean inscriptions is large (over five thousand), many come from regions well outside the Nabatean heartland and were probably written by people who had only a tenuous connection with the Nabatean state (and its religion). Also, many were written after the fall of the Nabatean kingdom in 106 CE and thus provide only secondary evidence for the period of the kingdom itself.

Although the prestigious literary language, Aramaic, was used for inscriptions, it is generally agreed that the Petran élite, and probably large swathes of the populations of the southern and eastern parts of the kingdom, used some early form of Arabic as a vernacular. The evidence for this is provided by Arabic loanwords in Nabatean Aramaic and by the fact that many of the peoples in eastern Jordan used a form of early Arabic (Safaitic).

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT CORNER. Thai bronze Buddha in meditation under a *nāga.* *[©Michael Freeman/Corbis]*; A lion-headed Imdugud bird above two stags in a twenty-fifth-century BCE Mesopotamian relief from the temple of Ninhursaga. British Museum, London. *[©Erich Lessing/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Detail of an Apache "Kan" god painted on a warrior's cloak. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. *[©Werner Forman/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Stonehenge. Wiltshire County, England. *[©Roger Ressmeyer/Corbis]*; Double-headed Neolithic idol, 5000–2000 BCE. Historical Museum, Targoviste, Romania. *[©Erich Lessing/Art Resource, N.Y.]* .

Literary evidence for Nabatean history is entirely nonnative and mostly in Greek. Still, little historical detail is recorded, though Diodorus Siculus includes important anecdotes on the Nabatean contact with the Seleucids, and Josephus makes passing comment on Judaean dealings with the Nabateans. Other authors, writing in Greek (Strabo) and Latin (Pliny), confine themselves largely to describing aspects of Nabatean society (including religious aspects). These various sources make it clear that the basis of Nabatean prosperity was control of the overland routes of the Arabian incense trade: the trade was heavily taxed.

The Nabateans first appear in a historical context in 312 BCE in conflict with the Seleucids (Diodorus). Thereafter their independent kingdom is mentioned in the books of Maccabees, mostly in conflict with, though sometimes in alliance with, the Judaeans. From c. 100 BCE we have a tolerably clear king list, reconstructed in part on the basis of Nabatean inscriptions and coins and in part on the basis of authors like Josephus, who detailed ongoing relations with the Judaeans. On the wider stage, the involvement of the Nabatean Syllaeus (later pretender to the Nabatean throne) in Aelius Gallus's largely abortive campaign in 24 BCE against southern Arabia is recorded by Strabo (blaming Syllaeus). After a dispute over the throne, Aretas IV ruled from 9 BCE to 40 CE, and it was under this king that Petra and Nabataea enjoyed a period of evident success, with most of the great buildings of Petra being built at this time. Aretas appears to have had a nationalistic policy, and he took the title "lover of his own people." Rabel II (from 70 CE) is the last of the kings. Nabatean control over the trade routes was in decline and there was a (peaceful?) Roman takeover in 106 CE, at which point Nabataea was incorportated into the Province of Arabia with its center at Boṣrā.

NABATEAN SITES. The main Nabatean sites have yielded evidence of religious architecture that throws some light on practice. Petra and Madā'in Ṣāliḥ in Saudi Arabia (ancient Ḥegra) are also notable for their visible monuments that did not require excavation, being carved into rock faces. For reasons of space, the concentration here is on the main sites: there is a full gazetteer in Wenning (1987) and a survey in Healey (2001).

At Petra, even the rock defile, the so-called Sīq, which is the most usual access point to the city, was at least in part religious, as is suggested by religious carvings in it, some with inscriptions, and it may have been used for processions connecting Petra itself with Gaya (later named al-Jī, Wādī Mūsā), which is known to have had at least one important temple.

At the other end of the Sīq, the narrow defile opens out in front of the Khazneh, a monumental façade carved out of the rock. There has long been ambiguity about the original purpose of the Khazneh, but it is most likely a tomb of a king, though no inscription exists to confirm its function. The Khazneh's baroque decoration is the result of Alexandrian influence.

After the Khazneh, the space in which Petra itself is located opens out and the city is dominated by two principal features: monumental tombs (some probably royal) carved out of the steep rock faces, and a main street that terminates at the gateway of a major temple, passing other religious and nonreligious monuments on its way. The only inscribed tomb in the central area, Qabr al-Turkmān, does not name the person for whom it was carved. Some have seen the absence of inscribed tombs at Petra (by contrast with Ḥegra) as arising from a taboo against names on tombs at Petra. A more likely explanation is that some impermanent material like wood was used for the inscriptions on Petran tombs (and a tomb outside the Sīq does have a name).

The temple at the end of the main street is surrounded by a *temenos*. The sanctuary itself, to the left of the axis of the main street, is square and has an inner sanctum in which the object of worship was placed on a podium against the rear wall. The front was open, and directly opposite the entrance stood an altar surrounded by a large enclosure suitable for the gathering of crowds.

Only fragmentary inscriptions from the immediate area give any clue to the deity to whom the temple was dedicated. There are two hypotheses. As the probable main temple of the city, it is often assumed to be dedicated to the main god, Dushara (below), and in support of this we may note a fragmentary post-Nabatean inscription with a dedication to Zeus: Dushara came to be identified with Zeus. The other hypothesis notes that the traditional Arabic name of the temple, Qaṣr al-Bint, "castle of the girl," might be an echo of the temple of Aphrodite, which existed later at Petra (as we know from one of the documents in the "Babatha" archive found to the west of the Dead Sea [papyrus Yadin 12]) and suggests the temple was dedicated to a Nabatean goddess (on Allāt/al-ʿUzzā, see below).

Just outside the *temenos* gate, to the north, lies the Temple of the Winged Lions (so named because of decorative features discovered there). This is a complex structure at the center of which is a *cella* of a very different type than that of the Qaṣr al-Bint, one that allowed movement *around* the podium on which the cult object stood. Hammond suggested that this central podium was surrounded by curtains and elaborated this suggestion in terms of a "mystery" cult similar to that of Isis (as described in Apuleius's *Golden Ass*). In support of the Isis link is a beautiful votive figure with Isiac iconography. The inscription on the figure does not, however, name the goddess, only the dedicator of the offering involved, and while we know that Isis *was* worshiped at Petra, this cult seems to have been practiced in remote rock sanctuaries around the city. In any case, all the goddesses of the Roman world and adjacent areas were susceptible to Isis influences because of her extreme popularity. It seems most likely, therefore, that the Temple of the Winged Lions was dedicated to Allāt/al-ʿUzzā in Isis mode. Unfortunately, the one extensive inscription from the temple deals with tithes for priests but throws no light on the identity of the goddess.

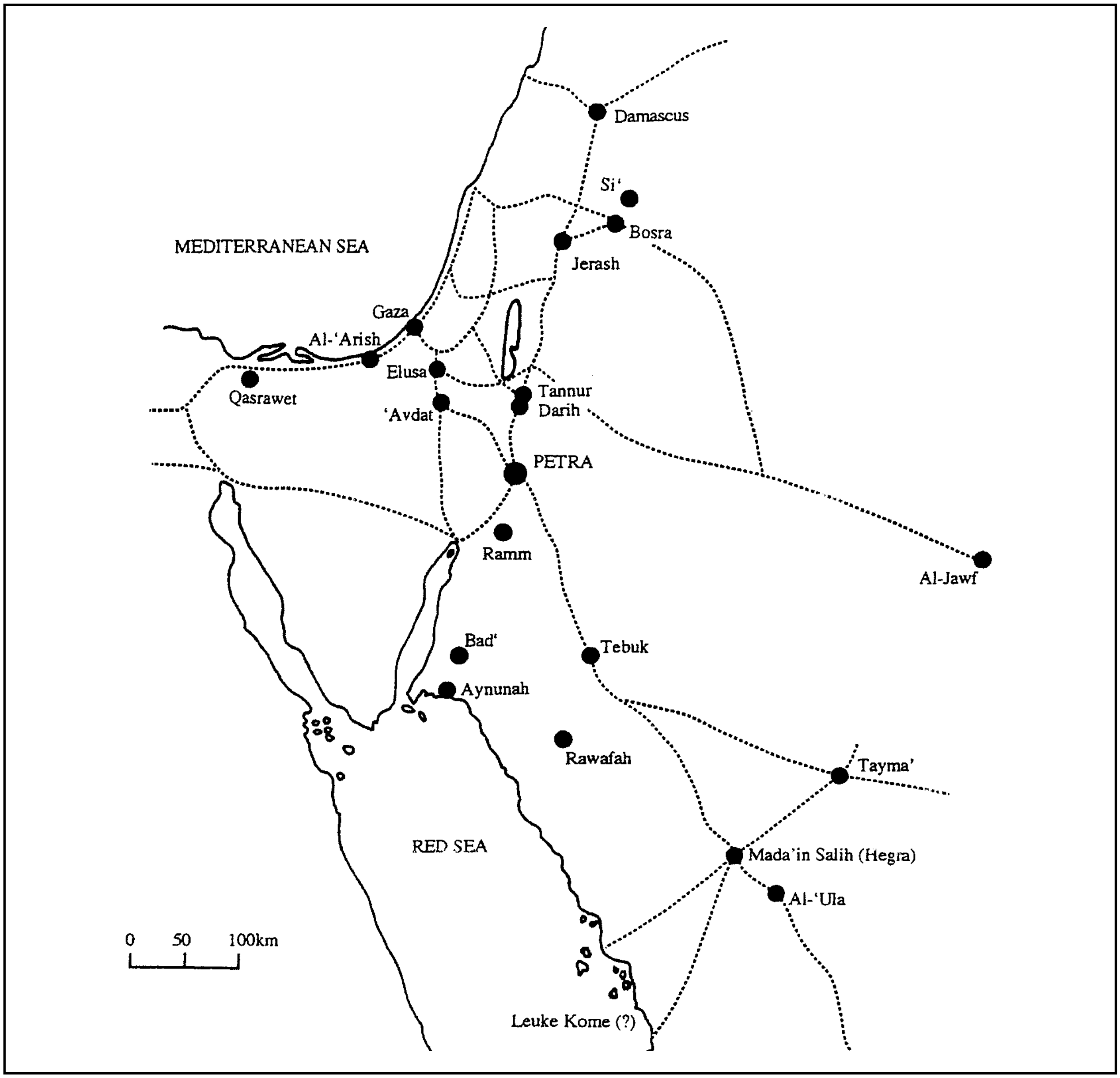
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Al-Jawf
Bad'
Tebuk
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Mada'in Salih (Hegra)
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Leuke Kome (?)

Figure 1. Nabatean Sites. *Illustration courtesy of the author.*

The third building to note here is the so-called "Great Temple" or "Large Temple" to the south. Again we have an elaborate building that *may* have been a temple, but the presence in its midst of a theater suggests it was used for some other purpose.

Religious Installations. Temples ascribed to the Nabateans are found at a number of neighboring sites, the most important of which are Dhariḥ and Tannūr to the north and in Wādī Ramm to the south. It is not easy to be sure that others, for example, in southern Syria, are Nabatean in design: the Nabatean colonization of southern Syria was culturally superficial. Of the Nabatean temples proper there are two types. One (Qaṣr al-Bint) has a podium against the rear wall. The other type has a pillared gallery around the podium (Winged Lions, Dhariḥ, Ramm). The suggestion has been made that this latter arrangement would have allowed circumambulation, but there is no direct evidence of such a ritual, and the space available would not allow for more that a few cult officials.

Apart from built temples, the Nabateans were also fond of open-air sanctuaries on the tops of mountains. The most striking of these is the so-called High Place on the Madḇaḥ outcrop at Petra. Here we find an elaborate installation involving podia, steps, reservoirs, and drainage channels. Arabic *madḇaḥ* means "altar" or "place of sacrifice," and the installation, which overlooks the center of the city, is usually

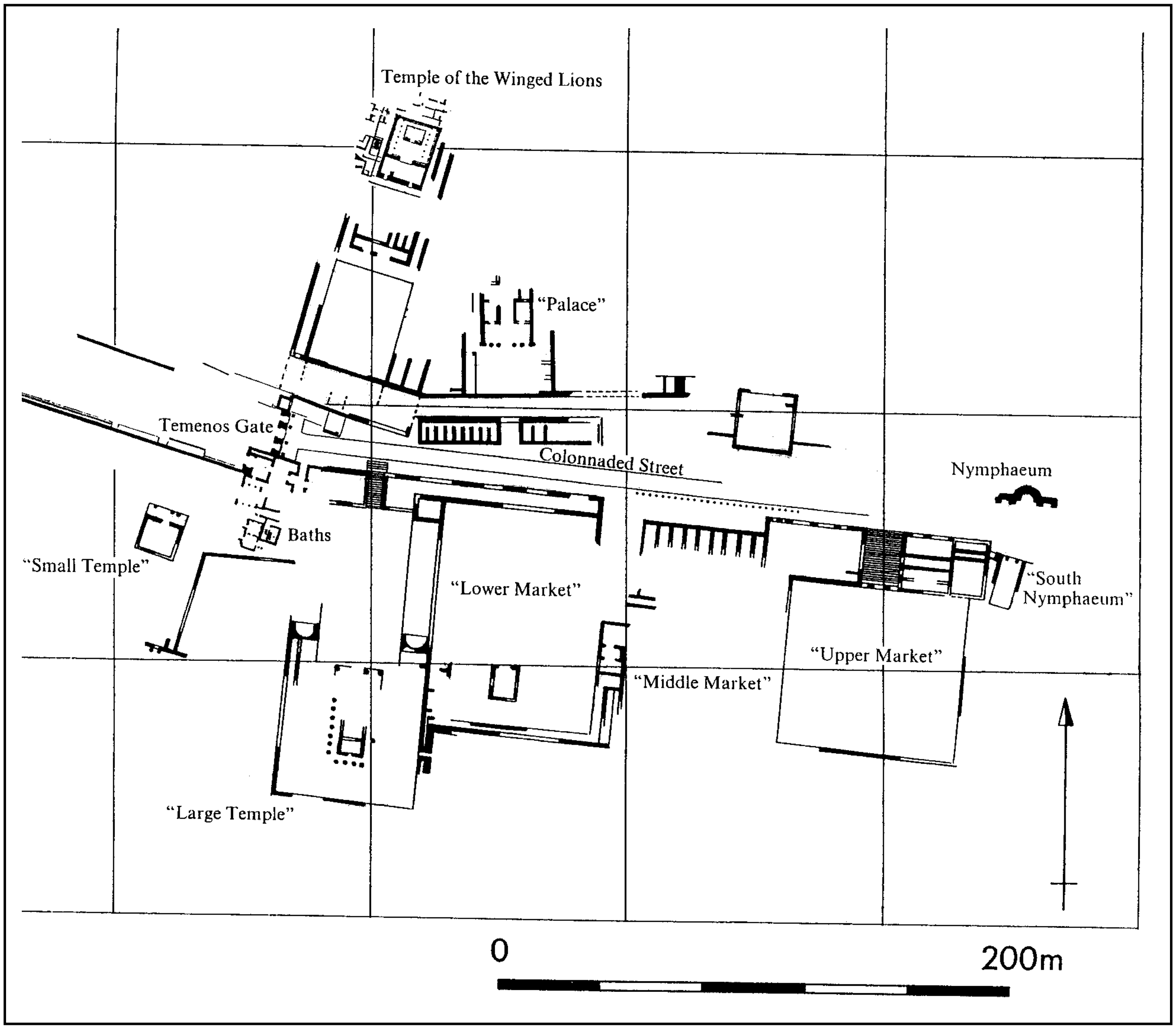

FIGURE 2. Plan of Petra. *(from J. McKenzie, The Architecture of Petra).*

interpreted in this light. Its religious significance is confirmed by the monumental stairway that leads to it and by the religious niches, some with inscriptions and distinctive religious iconography, that surround it. One niche carved nearby has crescent moons and was probably dedicated to a moon deity, while another, farther away, has a remarkable dual representation (probably) of Dushara both as a bearded "classical" god and as a plain *betyl* or stone pillar.

Cult niches are a common religious artifact of the Nabatean tradition. They were often podia for *betyls* (cult-stones). The latter are usually plain and unmarked, but some have minimalist representations of a face. Some were movable, while others were carved *in situ* out of the rock face, with up to three *betyls* of different sizes, apparently representing a "divine family."

That the Nabateans believed in an afterlife is suggested by hundreds of monumental tombs. In some cases these are provided with *triclinia,* ritual banqueting rooms, suggestive of a commemorative ceremony. Some *triclinia* are not related to the dead but were the locus of special cults *(mrzḥy')* adhered to by guilds or sodalities.

THE DEITIES. Dushara appears to be the main Nabatean god, his primacy being evident in the phrase "Dushara and all the gods" in several inscriptions and in the fact that wherever gods are listed he appears first. His name *(dwšr')* is in origin an epithet meaning "the One of (Mount) Shara" (located in southern Jordan). The same analysis of the name appears in Islamic sources, which call him *D̲ū al-Šarā(t).* The name's structure is paralleled in northern and southern Arabia. Dushara's close link with the Petra area is clear from his epithet "god of Gaya," this being an old name of the village at the entrance to Petra.

Of the few indications of specific characteristics of Dushara, we may note the title "the one who separates night from day" in an inscription, which suggests an astral character. Scholars have favored the planet Venus (male in southern Arabia), Mercury (the Arabian god Ruḍā) or the sun (Strabo hints at such a cult in Nabataea, and a solstice aspect of Dushara is suggested later by Epiphanius). Roman identifications of Dushara, for example, with Zeus and Dionysos, are secondary.

Names of other male deities occur, such as Baalshamin (an import from Nabatean Syria), Qōs (Edomite and worshiped at Tannūr) and Hubal (only in northern Arabia), but there is such a concentration on Dushara that it can be argued that he was, in practice, the supreme Nabatean deity. Certainly he was the dynastic deity of the royal house, "the god of our lord (the king)," and because of this his cult spread wherever Nabatean rule extended. In the different localities he was connected with established local gods, such as Baalshamin in Syria.

On the female side, there is evidence of worship of a number of goddesses: Allāt, al-ʿUzzā, and Isis and Atargatis (these last two being foreign). There are also some goddesses who appear only in particular localities within the Nabatean realm (for example, Manōtu only in Ḥegra; specific manifestations of Allāt localized in Boṣrā, the Ḥawrān and Ramm).

The two principal female divine names that occur (though never together) are Allāt and al-ʿUzzā. The distribution of these in the inscriptions suggests that they were never worshiped side by side. There is no explicit evidence of Allāt at Petra and little of al-ʿUzzā at Ramm and in southern Syria. When account is taken, therefore, of the fact that al-ʿUzzā is in fact an epithet, not a personal name, meaning in Arabic "the Mighty One," it is possible to conclude tentatively that al-ʿUzzā was for the Nabateans an epithet of Allāt. The latter enjoyed much wider popularity in Syria and Jordan, while the title al-ʿUzzā is more restricted in use and of Arabian background. The two were, however, distinguished in later tradition in northern Arabia. A final resolution of this may be provided in the future by further epigraphic evidence identifying or distinguishing the two.

Little can be said of characteristics of Allāt and al-ʿUzzā. The former is described in inscriptions as "mother of the gods" (reading uncertain) and "the great goddess." Herodotos identified her with Aphrodite, though in the Ḥawrān she was identified with Athena. al-ʿUzzā is the northern Arabian goddess of the planet Venus and is identified with Aphrodite in a Nabatean inscription from the island of Cos.

Of the various other deities who have some degree of prominence, note may be made of: (1) al-Kutbā, a deity in the Thoth/Nabu tradition, but apparently worshiped in both male and female forms; (2) other deities with north Arabian affiliations such as Shayʿal-Qawm and Hubal; and (3) the god ʿObodat, apparently the divinization of one of the kings of Petra, whose tomb was reportedly located at ʿAvdat in the Negev (Uranius).

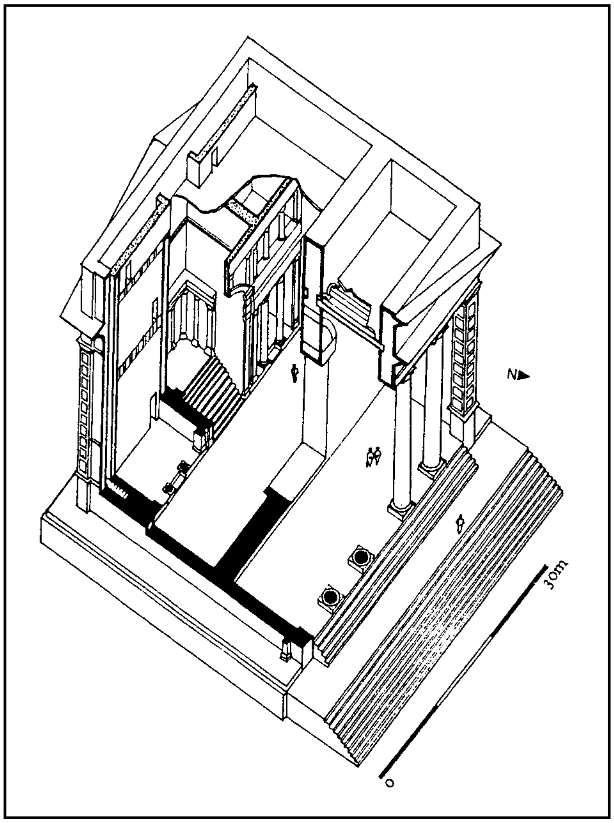

FIGURE 3. The Qasr al-Bint Temple, Petra. *(from J. McKenzie, The Architecture of Petra [after Gibson]).*

ANICONISM AND ARABIA. Reference has already been made to a Nabatean (and wider northern Arabian) tradition of representing deities not as human beings but as *betyls*. This is part of the Nabateans' northern Arabian heritage, but it was not in itself a matter of rigid religious principle, as can be see from the fact that under Greek and Roman influence the Nabateans soon got used to making statues. Reference has been made earlier to the combined representation of Dushara both as a plain *betyl* and as a bearded male figure.

Aniconism (reluctance about or rejection of images) constitutes one of the cultural links between the Nabateans and their contemporary Judaean neighbors on the one hand and the later Muslims on the other, though in the case of Judaism and Islam, aniconism became a central part of religious ideology. There are other points of contact with Jewish practice (such as the probable use of secondary burial), but the northern Arabian coloring of Nabatean religion is much stronger. Apart from the use of *betyls*, major deities such as Dushara and al-ʿUzzā /Allāt, as well as the minor deities such as Hubal and Manōtu (= Manāt), have a clear north Arabian background and they re-emerge later as the pre-Islamic idols destroyed by order of Muḥammad. The most likely explanation of this phenomenon of Arabianism is that at least the higher strata of Nabatean society were of northern Arabian origin: this would also explain the probable use of a form of Arabic as a vernacular and the predominance of Arabian-type personal names.

Because of the sparsity of the evidence, there are few aspects of Nabatean religiosity on a personal level that can be teased out in any detail. A certain fondness among a minority for devotional cults associated with particular gods (Isis and others) may reflect personal religion. The repeated use in graffiti of the religious formula "Remembered be . . ." envisages a pious passer-by bringing blessing on himself by mentioning the name of the inscriber "before the god."

Nabatean religious tradition was heavily influenced by northern Arabian religion, both in the particular gods venerated and in some of the forms that veneration took: the reluctance to depict deities in human form is a good example.

Historically more important, perhaps, is the distinct tendency to restrict attention and worship to the main deities, Dushara and Allāt/al-ʿUzzā (if the latter is a single deity, as argued above). Other gods were worshiped by specialist groups (special ethnically, geographically, socially), but Dushara and Allāt formed a divine pair par excellence, and the cult of these two appears to be the official cult of the state. This is a modified form of monotheism, though involving a pair of deities rather than just one. This type of "dyotheism" was not new—even the Old Testament Yahweh was regarded by many Israelites as having a spouse.

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JOHN F. HEALEY (2005)

NABU was a god, possibly of West Semitic origin, who became a major divine figure in Babylonia and Assyria of the first millennium BCE. He is first mentioned in official Babylonian documents of the time of Hammurabi (c. 1760 BCE) and may have been brought to Babylonia by the West Semites, who migrated there in large numbers in 2000–1800 BCE. Nabu was closely aligned with Marduk, whose minister, scribe, and ultimately son he was considered to be. The cult of Nabu began to spread in the Old Babylonian period. He grew in importance, becoming the god of the Ezida temple and the city of Borsippa by the beginning of the first millennium BCE. Nabu and Marduk are frequently mentioned together as the major pair of gods in Babylonia. *Nabu* appears in many personal names, including *Nabu-Kudurri-usur* (the biblical Nebuchadrezzar), which means "Nabu protect our boundaries." In Assyria, Nabu was revered as one of the most important gods, and his popularity was still increasing at the end of the Assyrian empire.

Nabu appeared in several important cultic festivals of the first millennium BCE. The most important was the Akitu, the spring New Year festival, which began when Nabu came in solemn procession from Borsippa to Babylon. The festival celebrated the reign of Marduk, but Nabu's participation was important enough that the absence of the festival during a period of political disturbance was referred to as "when Nabu did not come from Borsippa." He also appeared in the Babylonian celebration of his marriage to Nana and the Assyrian celebration of his marriage to Tashmetum.

Nabu is best known as the god of writing. He was the patron of scribes, displacing Nisaba, who played this role until the Old Babylonian period (1800–1590 BCE). As Marduk's scribe, Nabu was the writer of the tablets of destiny. He was associated with Marduk and Ea and consequently was considered a god of wisdom. By the end of Assyrian history Nabu was also assuming some of the characteristics of the hero figure Ninurta.

SEE ALSO Akitu; Marduk; Ninurta.

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Revised Bibliography

NĀGĀRJUNA, best known as the first Mahāyāna philosopher in India, is a highly complex figure whose philosophical works, iconic image, and esoteric meditations are studied, honored, and practiced in many Mahāyāna traditions to this day. He developed his systematic philosophy of "emptiness" *(śūnyatā)* some time during the second century CE. According to most hagiographic traditions, however, he attained the alchemical ability to extend his life, and the esoteric texts that some traditions attribute to him were apparently composed several generations after his philosophical works. In Tibet, where his philosophical texts were widely studied, these esoteric writings also became revered and widespread. Whatever the historical reality of Nāgārjuna's life and authorship may be, the great span of his life and the great breadth of his alleged corpus stand as metaphors for his prominence within Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Many of Nāgārjuna's hagiographies, all of which come from China and Tibet, recount an episode that illustrates Nāgārjuna's importance for the Mahāyāna. Probably the earliest texts of the Mahāyāna were in a style that came to be known as Perfection of Wisdom *(prajñāpāramitā)*. These texts teach a challenging theory: addressing much of what early Buddhists held to be ultimately true and real, Perfection of Wisdom claims that such things actually are not ultimately true or real at all. According to Mahāyāna accounts, these texts were taught by the Buddha himself, but they were so challenging that they were kept secret for several centuries after the Buddha's passing; otherwise, their radical doctrines might have led some disciples astray. For their safekeeping, the Perfection of Wisdom texts were conveyed to the land of the *nāga*s, usually depicted as serpent-spirits, who secretly guarded the texts until the world was ready to receive the Perfection of Wisdom. Eventually, Nāgārjuna's fame became known to the *nāga* king, and he invited Nāgārjuna to come teach his philosophy to his subjects. Having traveled magically to the *nāga* kingdom, Nāgārjuna taught the king and his subjects the philosophy of emptiness, and his hosts were so delighted that they conferred on him the long hidden texts. With Nāgārjuna on hand to explain the text's meaning, it was clear that the world was ready to receive these difficult teachings.

While Nāgārjuna's journey to the *nāga* world may be difficult to confirm, there is no doubt that he did indeed champion the Perfection of Wisdom by explaining and defending the notion of emptiness *(śūnyatā)*, the central theme of those texts. His philosophy of emptiness is one of Nāgārjuna's main contributions to the Mahāyāna, and to understand that philosophy, one must see how it is rooted in the previous Buddhist theories that emptiness challenges.

PHILOSOPHY OF EMPTINESS (ŚŪNYATĀ). From its earliest period, Buddhist thought rested on the notion that humans seek above all to eliminate suffering, and that the only way to eliminate suffering is to eliminate its causes. According to the strand of Buddhist thought that most concerns Nāgārjuna, suffering is caused by "ignorance" *(avidyā)*, a way of seeing the world that distorts all of one's cognitions. Centered on an erroneous view of one's personal identity as fixed and absolute, ignorance is said to afflict all of the mental states of all ordinary persons. And since one's actions are therefore guided by erroneous and distorted mental states, they cannot fully succeed; hence, all attempts to eliminate suffering end in frustration.

To resolve this problem, one must eliminate ignorance, that is, the pervasive error about one's personal identity that distorts one's experiences. In conceptual terms, this error is the belief that, in some fashion or another, one has an essentially real and immutable identity, a personal "self" or *ātman*. One way to eliminate that belief is to demonstrate convincingly that its object, the alleged self, does not truly exist. And to negate the self, early Buddhist thinkers used a type of reductive analysis: one exhaustively categorizes all of the constituents of mind and body so as to leave no item unexamined, and one then carefully examines those constituents or "elements" (*dharma*s) in order to determine whether any—singly or in combination—could be the self. Using various contemplative techniques, one's thorough search demonstrates that no such self is to be found anywhere in body and mind, and knowing that nothing other than the constituents of mind and body could be a self, one is convinced that no such self exists. One proceeds to deepen this realization of "no-self" (*anātman*) in meditation, and eventually, ignorance is completely overcome. One thus attains *nirvāṇa*, utter freedom from suffering.

Nāgārjuna accepts this model, and he is also familiar with the early Buddhist style of reductive analysis. To put it simply, one analyzes an entity by attempting to break it into its component parts, and if it cannot be broken down further, the entity is ultimately real. The traditional example, a water-jug, is not ultimately real because it can be broken down into more fundamental parts existing at discrete moments of time. Eventually, the analytical process reaches its conclusion: one discovers the irreducible elements that are the stuff of the mental and physical universe. Only these elements are ultimately or truly real.

It is important to note that, while a reductive analysis of this kind leads to the conclusion that entities such as water-jugs are not ultimately real, it does not totally deny the reality of such entities. That is, in ultimate terms a water-jug is actually just irreducible bits of matter; only those irreducible elements are *ultimately* real (*paramārthasat*); the water-jug is not. Nevertheless, in practical and linguistic terms, one can still use the term *water-jug* successfully. Hence, a water-jug is *conventionally* real (*saṃvṛtisat*).

This notion of the two realities—the ultimate and the conventional—is crucial for Nāgārjuna's thought, and he readily accepts it as well. He is not satisfied, however, with simple reduction as a way to discover what is ultimately real. His main critique focuses on the notion of "essence" (*svabhāva*) that the aforementioned reductive analysis assumes. Essence is implicated in the reductive analysis because, in order to truly know that there is no self in mind and body, one must be able to say what mind and body truly are. Since mind and body are just a bundle of elements, this comes down to knowing what the elements truly are. And in order to know what each element truly is, one must know what kind of thing it is—that is, one must recognize its true nature or essence (s*vabhāva*).

Nāgārjuna responds to this emphasis on essence by redefining the notion of ultimate reality. He appears to draw on an intuition about parts and wholes in the reductive approach. In order for that analysis to succeed, one must call into question the relation between, for example, the water-jug as a whole and the irreducible particles of matter that are its parts. The analysis concludes that such a whole-part relation cannot be rationally defended; hence, since wholes clearly cannot exist without parts, they must be unreal. The intuition here is that, rather than directly critiquing the notion of a whole such as a water-jug, the analysis attacks the reality of the relation that allegedly ties the whole to its parts. Whether or not this intuition directly inspires Nāgārjuna, it is clear that he supplants the reductive approach with a relational analysis that, moving beyond just the whole-part relation, critiques all forms of relationality and ends in the denial of all essences.

Nāgārjuna's relational analysis begins by admitting that, if an entity were ultimately real, it would indeed need to have an essence or *svabhāva*, but he argues that for an entity to have an essence, it is not sufficient that it be irreducible. Instead, when one says that an entity has an essence, one actually means that the entity's identity is utterly devoid of any dependence on other entities. Thus, to have an essence, the entity must have an utterly independent or nonrelational identity. Since only an entity with such an essence can be ultimately real, to know whether an entity ultimately exists, one need only determine whether its identity is in any way dependent; in other words, can one know what this thing truly is without referring to something other than that thing? If one can know that entity's identity without referring to other entities, then that entity is indeed utterly independent and, hence, ultimately real. But if the entity's identity is inextricably linked to other entities, then that entity is dependent, and as such, the entity has no essence. Hence, that entity is not ultimately real; it can only be conventionally real, at best.

Nāgārjuna applies this relational analysis especially to all those allegedly elemental things that are the mental and physical stuff of the universe according to most early Buddhist thinkers. And he finds that all those things, even the most cherished elements of the Buddhist path, are utterly lacking in essence because none exist independently. Even *nirvāṇa* itself lacks any essential, nonrelational identity, for it depends upon its opposition to *saṃsāra*, the world of suffering. And since *nirvāṇa*, as with all things, lacks essence, it is not ultimately true or real.

For Nāgārjuna, the realization that all things lack essence is the cure for ignorance, which he construes as any "grasping" (*grāha*) to essential, fixed identities, whether of persons or things. The realization that counteracts ignorance comes in the meditation on "emptiness," the metaphor that he uses to evoke this utter lack of essence. His detailed arguments for emptiness examine many forms of relationality. His best known text, for example, begins with an analysis of causality which demonstrates that any entity produced by causes cannot be ultimately real because its existence depends on its causes. These arguments, however, are not themselves sufficient to eliminate ignorance because, as a deeply ingrained cognitive state, ignorance requires more than just argumentation for its elimination. Instead, the conclusion of the arguments—namely, that all entities are utterly empty of any essence—must be cultivated in a contemplative experience through which one becomes fully absorbed in that emptiness.

Nāgārjuna never clearly specifies the way in which one must meditate on emptiness; this and other thorny details are left to later Mahāyāna thinkers. One issue, however, is clear: whether in meditation or in argument, emptiness itself must not be essentialized, for in that case, one would fall into an incurable nihilism. In other words, emptiness is the conclusion to the question, "What is this entity really or truly?" It is the discovery that there is no ultimately real or true identity to be discovered. But if that discovery (i.e., the emptiness of essence) is itself thought to be ultimately or essentially real, then one will have interpreted it as a kind of absolute nothingness at the core of all things. To do so would be to contradict Nāgārjuna; he specifies that no entity has any essence, but if emptiness is interpreted as an absolute nothingness, then one has made emptiness into every entity's essence, albeit in an utterly nihilistic way. Nāgārjuna sees the danger of such an interpretation, and he therefore speaks of emptiness itself as not really being emptiness. In other words, just as a person, being empty of any essence, is not really or ultimately a person, so too emptiness, lacking any essence, is not truly or ultimately emptiness. In this way, Nāgārjuna avoids the nihilism that would ensue from construing emptiness as an absolute nothingness that is the essence of all things.

Using his relational analysis, Nāgārjuna argues that all entities are empty of essence and, thus, that no entity (not even emptiness) is ultimately real. Following, however, the paradigm of the two realities mentioned above, Nāgārjuna does accept that we can speak intelligibly of many things as *conventionally* real. Thus, even though the stuff of the universe does not ultimately exist, it most certainly does exist conventionally in terms of our practical actions and our use of language. A key issue for Nāgārjuna is seeing that the *way* in which entities exist conventionally is deeply linked to his notion of emptiness. In short, emptiness describes things' ultimate mode of existence: they are not ultimately real because they are empty of any fixed, nonrelational identity. Things' conventional mode of existence must be the inverse: they *are* conventionally real because they are filled with fluid, relational identities. Speaking of this fluid relationality that characterizes conventional reality, Nāgārjuna calls it "interdependence" or *pratītya-samutpāda*.

The relationship between emptiness and interdependence is central to Nāgārjuna's thought, as is exemplified by an exchange in Nāgārjuna's best known text, the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* (Fundamental wisdom of the Middle Way). Raising an objection to the philosophy of emptiness, an opponent asks, if everything is empty of essence, then how is reality possible? That is, if no entity is ultimately real because every entity is empty of essence, then how can a seed produce a sprout? Or, more significantly, how can the practice of the Buddhist path lead to *nirvāṇa*? According to Nāgārjuna, seeds are not truly real, but how then could they produce anything? And if the Buddhist path is also not truly real, how could it lead one to spiritual freedom?

Nāgārjuna's response is to turn the question on its head: if everything were *not* empty of essence, then how could reality be possible? If a cause had an essence, then being ultimately real, it would have an utterly nonrelational identity: what it is in and of itself could in no way be dependent on anything else. But an entity is a cause only in relation to an effect; if the effect were irrelevant to the cause's identity, then clearly anything would be a cause for anything. In short, identities such as "seed" or "path" are clearly relational, and as such, they cannot be ultimate. If they were ultimate, then they would be nonrelational, and a nonrelational world is an utterly inert, unchanging world. Seeds would never produce sprouts, and the path would never lead to *nirvāṇa.*

***NIRVĀṆA* AND COMPASSION.** Nāgārjuna's philosophy of emptiness correlates with a significant change in the conception of *nirvāṇa* as it becomes articulated in Mahāyāna Buddhism. In early Buddhism, *nirvāṇa* stands in strict opposition to *saṃsāra*, the world of suffering. As Mahāyāna develops, however, this duality is called into question, such that Perfection of Wisdom texts include episodes in which *saṃsāra* itself is transformed into *nirvāṇa.* Thus, as Nāgārjuna puts it, in ultimate terms there is no distinction between *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa.*

Two prerequisites for this shift in the alterity of *nirvāṇa* are found in Nāgārjuna's work. The first is the combination of emptiness and interdependence discussed above. If *saṃsāra* itself is to be the locus of *nirvāṇa*, then *saṃsāra* cannot be composed of irreducible elements that are immutable in their fixed and ultimate essences. They must instead be capable of radical transformation, and this possibility is expressed in philosophical terms through Nāgārjuna's notions of emptiness and interdependence: being empty, things are not fixed in any particular essence, and being interdependent, they can assume new identities in accord with the new, interdependent context in which they are located. The second prerequisite is that there must be some means to achieve that transformation, or to put it more accurately, there must be some principle that guides the transformative process such that it ends in *nirvāṇa.* For Nāgārjuna, that principle is great compassion (*mahākaruṇā*).

Nāgārjuna does not treat compassion as a philosophical concept for which one must argue; instead, it is an indispensable ethical principle that, on his view, distinguishes Mahāyāna Buddhism. Although he never provides a precise definition, later commentators specify that great compassion is an overwhelming need to eliminate the suffering of all beings. Nāgārjuna maintains that, for the Mahāyāna path to be effective, it must combine the philosophy of emptiness with that type of powerful motivation, in part because without such an intense driving force, one could not attain the final goal of the Mahāyāna, namely, the state of buddhahood itself.

In stressing the cultivation of compassion, Nāgārjuna carefully links it with early Buddhist ethical practices, such as adherence to monastic discipline. In this way, Nāgārjuna's radical denial of the ultimate reality of Buddhist notions is accompanied by a consistent, even vigorous defense of Buddhist ethical norms. If one were to examine only Nāgārjuna's best known philosophical texts, one might not get this impression, and it is therefore important to recall that, even if one examines only the works of Nāgārjuna the philosopher (and not the esoteric adept), one still encounters a wide range of writings.

LITERARY CONTRIBUTIONS AND ESOTERIC WRITINGS. Putting aside the question of Nāgārjuna's Tantric esoterica, the philosopher Nāgārjuna, who was active during the second century CE, wrote a large number of texts, some philosophical, some ethical and prescriptive, and others poetic. These texts are all composed in Sanskrit, and this itself is unusual. Prior to Nāgārjuna, Buddhist thinkers wrote in languages such as Pāli that were most likely rooted in earlier, regional dialects. Nāgārjuna may have been the first Buddhist thinker to compose a philosophical text in Sanskrit, and all Mahāyāna thinkers follow his example.

Stylistically, Nāgārjuna's works were also original, in that he composed nearly all of his works in verse and chapter. Buddhists prior to Nāgārjuna certainly employed verse to compose philosophical texts, but Nāgārjuna generally divided his texts into chapters, each of which generally contains a sustained argument in verse. This style, which Nāgārjuna may have borrowed from non-Buddhist authors, also becomes the norm for later Mahāyāna philosophers.

Although neither ornate nor metrically sophisticated, Nāgārjuna's poems are also influential for later thinkers. Cast as "praises" (*stotra*) to the Buddha, his poetical works convey his philosophy in a manner that is not possible through systematic argument. Using various tropes, such as antithesis and paradox, Nāgārjuna's praises become a model for Mahāyāna philosophers, many of whom follow his lead in writing both systematic philosophy and poetical praises.

In later Indian Buddhism and especially in Tibet, the image of Nāgārjuna as poet-philosopher expands to include Nāgārjuna the Tantric adept. From an historical standpoint, it is difficult to accept that the author of Nāgārjuna's philosophical texts is also the author of the much later Tantric texts. Nevertheless, the Tibetan Buddhist traditions do see the authors as identical, and as a result, Nāgārjuna becomes an awesome figure whose philosophical prowess is easily matched by his magical powers. The esoteric texts in question are especially important for the forms of Tibetan Tantra that developed after the eleventh century CE. In detailed but highly abstruse language, Nāgārjuna the adept recounts the means to reproduce the death process so as to enter into the subtlest state of mind, namely, the form of mind that transfers from one life to the next. While in that subtle state, one is to realize the emptiness of even this most basic form of consciousness, thus greatly accelerating the process of eliminating ignorance. In this way, the image of Nāgārjuna combines for Tibetans the most advanced meditative practices with the most sublime form of Buddhist thought.

SEE ALSO Mādhyamika; Nirvāṇa; Pratītya-samutpāda; Śūnyam and Śūnyata.

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JOHN D. DUNNE (2005)

NĀGAS AND YAKṢAS and their female counterparts, *nāgī*s and *yakṣī*s, are pre-Aryan fertility deities of the Indian subcontinent whose fundamental relationship with agricultural pursuits has led to their incorporation into the Hindu and Buddhist pantheons as low-level *deva*s (gods), or as a separate category of deities between *deva*s and demons and ghosts. In addition, *nāgas* and *yakṣas*, often likened to the guardian *nat*s of Thailand and *phi* of Burma, are intimately related with kingship symbolism and play a significant role in the myths and rituals of the Buddhists of South and Southeast Asia.

Early Hindu and Buddhist texts state that *nāgas* and *yakṣas* reside in *caitya*s, ancient places of worship marked by a tree, stone altar, pool, or stream, and a railing to designate sacred territory. From these sacred sites, *nāgas* and *yakṣas* are believed to determine the fertility and wealth of a bounded territory as small as a paddy field or as large as a state. If properly worshiped, these deities can guarantee abundance and health to a region through their control over water and its essences, such as semen and sap. They can also bestow gems and the wealth of the underworld, which they are believed to protect. If, however, these territorial fertility deities are slighted, they can withdraw their gifts, bringing famine and spreading disease. This ambivalent power over life and death is revealed in many sculptures in which a *nāga* or *yakṣa* in human form wields in the right hand a sword to protect or chastise and in the left a jar of fertilizing liquids.

In myths and art, *nāgas* are represented as living among the roots of trees or on anthills—entrances to the underworld. They appear as cobras with one or many hoods or can metamorphose into humanlike creatures with dilated cobra hoods springing from the neck and spreading over the head. *Yakṣas*, who are said to live in tree trunks, can also take human forms that may disguise a demonic side. The female *yaksi*s are often portrayed as voluptuous maidens, with large breasts and hips, clinging to trees in full bloom—an important fertility motif in India.

As guardians of a region's abundance, *nāgas* and *yakṣas* have come to be intimately associated with kingship in South Asia. In ancient India the *caitya* altar was used as a place of coronation, a practice suggesting that the king's authority was guaranteed or enhanced by deities such as *nāgas* and *yakṣas.* This thesis is supported by *Jātaka* tales and many dynastic myths in which kings are granted rule over a region by forming an agreement with a *nāgarāja* (*nāga* king) or a liaison with a *nāgī* or *yakṣī.* If the king fails in his duties, these deities withdraw their fertilizing powers and bring an end to the king's reign.

The portrayal of *nāgas* and *yakṣas* in the Theravada canon and in the Buddhist myths and rituals of Southeast Asia suggests the incorporation of the symbolism of kingship into the figure of the Buddha and the taming of the powers of nature through the Buddha's *dharma.* These themes reveal an interesting relationship between the otherworldly thrust of Buddhism and the importance of Buddhism for this-worldly existence. In widespread myths the Buddha confronts evil *nāgas* and *yakṣas* who are ravishing a region, reveals his greater command of the forces of nature in combat with these deities, converts the deities with the force of his virtues, and leaves behind a relic as a symbol of the contract that guarantees the good behavior of the deities. These myths, which parallel the Buddha's confrontation with the *yaksa*-like Māra, seem to emphasize the chaotic powers of *nāgas* and *yakṣas* in order to reveal the Buddha's virtues and assert his continuing rule over a region. It appears that very early in Buddhism worshipers honored the Buddha's relics placed in stupas and then went to nearby shrines of *nāgas* and *yakṣas,* to remind these deities of their obligations. Such contracts are recalled in Sri Lankan exorcism rituals in the early twenty-first century, to assure that *yakṣas* leave the person they are possessing. In this manner the Buddha, while withdrawn, remains a lord or ruler of this existence through the power of his *dharma.*

The incorporation of kingship symbolism by the figure of the Buddha can also be seen in his association with the *nāgarāja* Mucilinda. In myth and art, after the Buddha attains *nirvāṇa* he is protected from the weather by the coils and hoods of Mucilinda. Such protection designates kingship in South Asia. These myths help to explain why *nāgas* and *yakṣas* become guardians of the Buddha's relics. They are offering not only their protection but their powers over nature to the Buddha and his followers.

The relationship of the this-worldly powers of the *nāga* and the world-denying view of Buddhism is also revealed in the fascinating figure of Upagupta and in the ordination ceremony. In Burma and Thailand, the monk Upagupta is said to have been born of a *nāgī* maiden. This association allows the fertility powers of the *nāga* to be controlled by the rigorous meditative discipline of the monk, and Upagupta is called upon in rituals to tame the forces of nature. It also can be speculated that the reason a candidate for ordination into the monkhood is called a *nāg* is that he is about to tame his physical desires for the good of society and for the higher goal of Buddhism.

SEE ALSO Nats.

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NAG HAMMADI.

Unearthed in 1945 by a group of Egyptians digging for fertilizer, the so-called Nag Hammadi codices were one of the most important manuscript discoveries of the twentieth century for the study of religion in the late ancient Mediterranean world, particularly formative Christianity and Judaism. The forty-six different tractates that the codices contain have provided scholars with a wealth of new data for understanding the development of early Christian traditions about Jesus; Gnostic, Valentinian, and other streams of Christian thought later considered to be heretical; and Coptic grammar, orthography, and codicology. For the most part, however, these sources have not resulted in settled opinions or certain knowledge, but in sharpened debate and new avenues of investigation. Many questions about the codices and their contents remain unanswered.

THE DISCOVERY AND PUBLICATION OF THE CODICES. A group of Egyptian peasants discovered a jar containing the codices in December 1945 at the base of the Jabal al-Tarīf on the east bank of the Nile, across the river from the town of Nag Hammadi. One of the group, Muhammad ʿAlī, broke the jar and found within it thirteen leather-bound codices, which he brought home. There his mother used some of the leaves as fuel for an oven. The codices then passed into the hands of different antiquities dealers. Most famously, Codex I ended up at the Jung Institute in Zurich; also known as the Jung Codex, it was one of the first codices whose tractates were published. Eventually all the codices (except for a fragment) were deposited in the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo, where they are now preserved. Although ʿAlī reports that he found thirteen codices in the jar, the present "Codex XIII" consists actually of leaves that had been removed from a codex in antiquity and placed into the cover of Codex VI. The fate of the thirteenth codex seen by ʿAlī remains unknown.

Especially in comparison to the fate of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the publication of the Nag Hammadi codices was efficient and a model of international cooperation. The political circumstances of Egypt in the 1950s delayed some early publication efforts, but during the 1950s and 1960s some of the texts, especially from Codex I, were published, among which was the *Gospel of Thomas* from Codex II. With the support of UNESCO, a complete facsimile edition was published over the course of the 1970s and completed with an introduction in 1984. James M. Robinson, the American New Testament scholar, organized an international team of scholars to produce an English-language edition and translation. The first English translation appeared in 1977, and volumes of editions of the Coptic texts, with extensive introductions and notes appeared gradually, until the so-called Coptic Gnostic Library was complete; the entire set was reissued in five large paperback volumes in 2000.

As they did their work, most of the editors generously circulated photocopied transcriptions of the texts, so that interested scholars could read them even before the official edition appeared. Meanwhile, two other publishing projects have contributed significantly to the study of the codices. The Berliner Arbeitskreis für koptische-gnostische Schriften, founded and directed by the late Hans-Martin Schenke, has produced a series of important translations, monographs, and commentaries in German. The Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi, based at the University of Laval in Québec and directed by Louis Painchaud, continues to issue high-quality editions of the Coptic texts with translations and commentary in French. Other scholars have published editions and translations independently. Today many of the

Nag Hammadi works can be studied in multiple critical editions and modern translations. In 1971 David Scholer published a comprehensive bibliography of scholarship on Nag Hammadi and Gnosticism, which he updates annually in the journal *Novum Testamentum.*

The Codices and their Origins. Although the hoard of manuscripts is often referred to as a "library," scholars have no definitive evidence for the context of the manuscripts' creation and collection. The scripts, writing materials, and dialects of the manuscripts are diverse. It has been estimated that the handwriting of as many as fourteen different scribes can be detected in the codices. Although all the texts are in Coptic, some are in the Sahidic dialect and others in Subakhmimic, with great variation even within these two broad categories. It seems likely, therefore, that the manuscripts were copied at different locations and subsequently collected by a person or group. In addition to their importance for the history of religions, the codices have contributed to a revival in the study of Coptic philology and codicology. Several of the leather covers contain *cartonnage,* scraps of discarded papyrus glued together to make the cover firm: the latest of the scraps can be dated to 348 CE, and thus it is believed that the codices were constructed around 350 CE and buried sometime in the following decades.

Scholars continue to debate who might have ordered the copying of the manuscripts, collected them, and buried them. Most have suggested Christian monks. The discovery was made near the site of ancient Pbou, the location of a major Pachomian monastery during the fourth century; the cartonnage of Codex VII contains scraps of letters written by solitary (not Pachomian) monks; some of the manuscripts contain scribal notes with Christian prayers or blessings; and at least some of the tractates can be understood to support an ascetic lifestyle. Some scholars have suggested that the order of the tractates in individual codices reflects interests in liturgy, eschatology, and contemplative ascent that are characteristic of Egyptian monks. On the other hand, monks were not the only religiously interested persons in fourth-century Egypt with the wherewithal to finance the production and collection of such books: literate and well-off persons, Christians and not, clerical and lay, could be found in many of the cities and towns along the Nile. Since cartonnage could have been simply gathered from a local trash heap by the makers of the covers, it provides no evidence for the identity of the person or persons who paid for their creation. It is not clear that the original owner(s), the collector(s), and the burier(s) of the codices were identical. Some scholars have speculated that the codices were buried in the wake of Bishop Athanasius of Alexandria's declaration of an official canon of the Bible for the Egyptian church in a letter of 367 CE. Despite these theories, the social context of the codices and the circumstances of their burial remain unknown.

The Contents of the Codices. The forty-six different tractates contained in the Nag Hammadi codices vary widely in their genres and theologies. Although most can be considered Jewish or Christian in the sense that they draw on the Hebrew Bible, the New Testament, and other Jewish and Christian literature, others, such as a fragment of Plato's *Republic,* certainly did not derive from a Jewish or Christian milieu. All of the texts were originally composed in Greek and subsequently translated into Coptic; thus, they could have originated in locations throughout the eastern Mediterranean or among Greek-speaking communities in the West. Many of the tractates are apocalypses or revelations, in which a divine figure (e.g., Jesus) or authoritative human being (e.g., Adam) reveals future events, cosmological secrets, or theological doctrines to an elect person or group. In the *Apocryphon of James,* for example, Jesus appears after his resurrection and teaches a small group of disciples, and in the *Apocalypse of Adam,* Adam reveals to his son Seth the true story of his origin and predicts future events. Other works are or include theological treatises (e.g., *Tripartite Tractate*), sermons (e.g., *Gospel of Truth*), prayers *(Prayer of the Apostle Paul),* hymns (e.g., *The Three Tablets of Seth*), wisdom books (e.g., *Teachings of Silvanus*), a philosophical epistle (*Treatise on Resurrection*), and an anthology of excerpts from theological works (*Gospel of Philip*). Several tractates call themselves "gospels," but none resemble the Gospels of the New Testament, which present a narrative of Jesus' ministry emphasizing his passion and death. The *Gospel of Thomas,* for example, presents a collection of Jesus' sayings, in the manner of the biblical book of *Proverbs,* without any narrative.

Like other manuscripts from antiquity, the codices contain works that appealed to the collector(s), but that also represent diverse theologies and original social and religious contexts. Scholars have only begun the task of categorizing the tractates and attempting to reconstruct their original milieus, and certainty in these areas is probably impossible. Nonetheless, a scholarly consensus appears to have emerged that at least four corpora of literature can be identified. First, scholars call a set of approximately twelve Nag Hammadi tractates "Sethian Gnostic." Although the precise contents of this grouping is debated, it usually includes *The Apocryphon of John, The Hypostasis of the Archons, The Egyptian Gospel, The Apocalypse of Adam, The Three Steles of Seth, Zostrianos, Allogenes, Melchizedek, The Thought of Norea, Marsanes, Trimorphic Protennoia,* and sometimes *Thunder—Perfect Intellect.* Although these treatises differ from one another in genre and some mythic and theological details, they share an underlying myth of origins, in which Adam's son Seth, four divine caregivers called luminaries, and the (according to the myth) ignorant and foolish God of *Genesis* (sometimes called Ialdabaoth) play prominent roles. In his anti-heretical work *Detection and Overthrow of Gnosis, Falsely So-Called* (*Haer.,* c. 180 CE), Bishop Irenaeus of Lyons attributes this same myth to "the gnostic school of thought" and to "the gnostics" (*Haer.* 1.11, 29). For this reason, some scholars believe that these works originated in the only ancient religious group that should be called "Gnostic."

Related to the (Sethian) Gnostic text group is another set of treatises that scholars assign to the Valentinian school of thought, an important Christian theological tradition of the second through fourth centuries. According to Irenaeus, the Christian teacher Valentinus, who died around 175, adapted the Gnostic myth in creating his own system of thought. In the decades following Valentinus's death, Christian theologians teaching in his tradition formed study circles of interested Christians alongside and sometimes in competition with Christian churches. Like its (Sethian) Gnostic counterpart, the Valentinian myth was open to creative revision and elaboration, but it generally took a less negative attitude toward the God of *Genesis* and emphasized themes of integration and recovery of original cosmic and psychic unity; Valentinian theologians devoted considerable attention to such traditional Christian topics as sin and salvation, the resurrection of the dead, and the sacraments. Valentinian works found at Nag Hammadi include *Prayer of the Apostle Paul, The Gospel of Truth, Treatise on Resurrection, Tripartite Tractate,* and *The Gospel of Philip,* among others. Some argue that Valentinus himself is the author of *The Gospel of Truth.*

Two tractates, *The Gospel of Thomas* and *The Book of Thomas the Contender,* grant special authority to the apostle Didymus Judas Thomas, whom Christian tradition credits with bringing Christianity to Mesopotamia and India and sometimes identifies as Jesus' twin brother. Since these works share literary connections and theological affinities with each other and with *The Acts of Thomas,* a text that survives in Greek and Syriac and was not found in the Nag Hammadi cache, some scholars consider them evidence for a "Thomas Christianity," similar to the Pauline Christianity and Johannine Christianity associated with other sets of early Christian literature. Thomas Christianity is believed to have been centered in Edessa, a city in northern Mesopotamia, and to have run from the first century down to the third and perhaps fourth. Thomas theology was highly ascetic, emphasizing the divine origin of the soul, its fall into matter and the body, and its return to its origin and reunion with its true self. Other scholars, however, doubt this reconstruction of an organized Thomas branch of Christianity. Although it is often referred to as the most prominent of the "Gnostic gospels," *The Gospel of Thomas* lacks evidence of the kind of elaborate myth found in the (Sethian) Gnostic works, and thus scholars are increasingly reluctant to refer to it as "Gnostic."

In three tractates from Codex VI—*The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth, The Prayer of Thanksgiving,* and *Asclepius*—the divine revealer is "thrice great Hermes" or Hermes Trismegistus, a composite of the native Egyptian god Thoth and the Greek god Hermes. These tractates belong, therefore, to a body of pseudepigraphic literature composed in Greek centered around Hermes, now called the Corpus Hermeticum, which may have originated in religious and philosophical circles active in Greco-Roman and late ancient Egypt. Both *The Prayer of Thanksgiving* and *Asclepius* were known before the Nag Hammadi discovery, while *The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth* is a new addition to the corpus.

Most of the remaining Nag Hammadi tractates are simply miscellaneous Christian literature, the precise doctrinal, sectarian, or theological affiliations of which are unclear or debated. To be sure, some are not Christian in their origin at all (e.g., the fragment of Plato's *Republic* in Codex VI), and some scholars question the "Christian" character of others (e.g., *Authoritative Teaching*). But most are Christian works of an astonishing variety, underlining the impressive diversity of early Christianity in the centuries before Constantine.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DISCOVERY. The Nag Hammadi discovery has made an enormous impact on several areas of the religious history of the ancient Mediterranean world, even if the results of the impact are not entirely clear. After decades of editing and translating the tractates, scholars are still engaged in sorting out the implications of the new data for such fields as Gnosticism, Jesus traditions and the New Testament, early church history, and late ancient Platonism.

Certainly the codices have contributed the most to the study of Gnosticism. Before the discovery, except for a handful of other recently published texts in Coptic, scholars' knowledge of "Gnosticism" was limited to the statements made by Christian heresiologists, such as Irenaeus. The parallel between *The Apocryphon of John* and Irenaeus's description of the myth of "the gnostics" (*Haer.* 1.29) showed that this work (which is found also in a previously known Coptic manuscript) and the texts closely related to it came from a circle that was known as Gnostic. At last scholars could read (in Coptic translation) works composed by the presumed Gnostics themselves, rather than depend solely on the reports of their "orthodox" opponents, and thus several clichéd charges against the Gnostics (e.g., their lack of interest in ethics) could be evaluated more fully. On the other hand, scholars have found few other correspondences between the Nag Hammadi tractates and the myths and sects described by such anti-Gnostic authors as Irenaeus, Hippolytus of Rome, and Epiphanius of Salamis, and so they have increasingly questioned the value of the heresiological reports, which still provide the only evidence for the social history of such groups.

The tractates have not resolved the protracted debate over the definition of *Gnostic* and *Gnosticism.* Impressed by the variety of the texts and their mismatch with the heresiologists, some scholars argue that these terms should be abandoned altogether and the surviving texts analyzed individually and on their own terms, apart from these categories. Others point to the correspondence between the myth found in *The Apocryphon of John* and that in Irenaeus's account of "the gnostics" (*Haer.* 1.29) and suggest that the term *Gnostic* be applied only to the group responsible for the texts belonging to the "Sethian Gnostic" group; perhaps the Valentinians can be called "Gnostic," but only in a derivative sense, because they adapted the myth of the Gnostics. Still other scholars believe that, despite their variety on several points, many (if not most) of the Nag Hammadi tractates exhibit a set of characteristics that are usefully gathered under the category "Gnosticism." In this case, the Nag Hammadi tractates have not led to a scholarly consensus, but the terms of the debate are perhaps clearer than they were before.

Debate also surrounds the significance of Nag Hammadi works that include sayings attributed to Jesus or that parallel writings of the New Testament. One question is whether such works as *The Gospel of Thomas, The Dialogue of the Savior,* and *The Apocryphon of James* preserve oral or written traditions of Jesus' sayings that are independent of the New Testament Gospels, and thus provide additional information about the historical Jesus and the development of early Christian gospels. Of the relevant tractates, *The Gospel of Thomas* has received the most attention and seems most likely to contain traditions independent of the canonical Gospels, and perhaps even sayings that can be attributed to the historical Jesus. Passages in *Trimorphic Protennoia* and *The Apocryphon of John* parallel sections of the *Gospel of John,* especially the prologue, and some scholars have suggested that they can be used to reconstruct earlier written sources that were available to the author of the Fourth Gospel. The Nag Hammadi texts also have provided new material for the discussion of whether Gnosticism, however it is defined, existed during the first century CE and thus may stand behind the opponents criticized by New Testament authors like Paul. Most scholars now reject the identification of Paul's opponents as Gnostics.

The codices have raised or affected numerous other issues in the study of early church history. These include the development of a Christian canon of scripture. What status did these writings have for the Christians who produced and read them? Were they considered scriptural, equivalent in authority to the texts that were emerging in some churches as "the New Testament"? The tractates' extensive use and revision of the Hebrew Bible (in the form of its Greek translation, the Septuagint) have provided new insights into conflicts among early Christians over the interpretation of the Bible and have suggested links between early Christian and Jewish exegeses of the same biblical texts. Scholars have discovered connections also between certain Nag Hammadi works—especially some Valentinian writings and "wisdom texts" like *The Teachings of Silvanus*—and the literature of early Egyptian monasticism, particularly those letters attributed to Antony the Great and Paul of Tamma.

It appears that Plotinus, the great Neoplatonist philosopher (d. 269/270), knew *Zostrianos* and *Allogenes* or at least persons in the circles in which these works circulated. These two tractates, along with *Marsanes* and others, show contact with the issues and terminology that characterized Platonist philosophical discussions in the second and third centuries. Scholars have now been able to construct a fuller and more detailed narrative of the development of Platonism in this period, one that more extensively documents the interchanges between "Christian" and "pagan" circles and the centrality of "mystical" or "esoteric" themes that scholars once saw as marginal.

The study of the Nag Hammadi codices is still an emerging and relatively new field in comparison to the study of most other sources for ancient Mediterranean religions. In the sixty years since their discovery, scholars have edited and translated the texts, making them available to a wide range of interested readers. Although many questions remain open, especially about the authors of the tractates and the collector(s) of the codices, the thirteen books found by Muhammad ʿAlī and his friends have already creatively unsettled traditional ways of understanding the religious history of the first four centuries after Jesus Christ.

SEE ALSO Gnosticism.

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NAHMANIDES, MOSES (c. 1194–c. 1270), also known by the acronym RaMBaN (Rabbi Mosheh ben Naḥman); Spanish name, Bonastrug da Porta; Talmudist, biblical exegete, mystic, and polemicist. Born in Gerona, Catalonia, in a period of cultural transition and controversy, Nahmanides confronted the traditions and attitudes of Spanish, Provençal, and northern Ashkenazic Jewry in a wide range of intellectual pursuits.

His Talmudic education with Yehudah ben Yaqar in Barcelona and with Meʾir ben Yitsḥaq of Trinquetaille exposed him to the dialectical methodology of the Tosafists of northern France, which had penetrated into Languedoc and was revolutionizing the study of the Babylonian Talmud, the central text in the Jewish curriculum. Nahmanides adopted this methodology, which he enriched with the Talmudic studies of Provençal scholars and the textual traditions of Spanish Jewry, to produce *novellae* and legal monographs that would establish the dominant school of rabbinics in Spain until the expulsion of 1492. Aside from his *novellae*, Talmudic commentaries that served as standard texts in medieval Spain, Nahmanides' works in this field include *Milḥamot ha-Shem*, a defense of Yitsḥaq Alfasi's code against the strictures of Zeraḥiah ha-Levi, in which Nahmanides presented what is essentially a complex commentary on selected portions of the Talmud; a critique of Maimonides' *Book of the Commandments* which was also a defense of the Geonic *Halakhot gedolot; Torat ha-adam*, a lengthy monograph on the laws of mourning; a series of studies on other aspects of Talmudic law such as vows, menstrual impurity, and indirect causation of damages, some of which were modeled after Alfasi's code; and, of course, *responsa.*

Although Nahmanides is a towering figure in the history of Talmudic study, his greatest direct impact on the masses of Jews probably came through his wide-ranging and enormously influential commentary on the Pentateuch, which was to become one of the first printed Hebrew books. Nahmanides was persuaded that all knowledge could be found in the Torah, and his efforts to explicate the text touched upon all the areas of his intellectual interest. He was, first of all, deeply concerned with the plain meaning of the text. This concern went beyond questions of philology and syntax; Nahmanides was extraordinarily interested in the structure and order of biblical narrative, which he perceived, despite an apparent rabbinic statement to the contrary, as carefully chronological. The commentary contains nuanced and richly textured observations about the morality, motivations, and personalities of biblical characters; Nahmanides did not hesitate, for example, to question the moral legitimacy of Abraham's apologia to Abimelech that Sarah was indeed his half sister (*Gn.* 20:12). Though he provided an ongoing critique of the commentary of Avraham ibn ʿEzra,ʾ often accusing him of insufficient respect for rabbinic exegesis, Nahmanides allowed himself considerable independence in areas that do not touch upon legal norms, and his frequent deviations from Rashi's interpretations can involve a rejection of their rabbinic sources as well.

Nevertheless, for Nahmanides, the straightforward meaning of the Bible, however complex, does not begin to plumb its depths. He stressed the typological understanding of scripture, which, despite Midrashic precedent, was rather unusual among medieval Jews. Thus, the patriarchal settlement of the Land of Israel is taken to foreshadow the later conquest and remains a source of assurance that Jewish rule will be restored at the end of days.

The profoundest level of meaning in scripture, however, is not typological but mystical. This layer of meaning is the one that Nahmanides discusses at the very beginning of his commentary, where he asserts that the Torah consists entirely of esoteric names of God. Nevertheless, neither this extreme esotericism nor his conviction that mystical doctrines could be known only through tradition prevented him from finding these doctrines in the "plain" meaning of scripture as well, so that straightforward exegesis and what Nahmanides called "hidden wisdom" intersected in a fashion that legitimated the teachings of the Gerona qabbalists by an appeal to the biblical text itself. Although Nahmanides' allusions to esoteric lore remained brief, elusive, and inaccessible to the uninitiated, these doctrines move toward center stage in his commentary to *Job*, where belief in transmigration of souls emerges as the only satisfactory resolution of the problem of evil. This problem and its qabbalistic solution are also at the heart of the theological monograph *Shaʿar ha-gemul*, which Nahmanides appended to *Torat ha-adam* and which treats theodicy both exoterically and esoterically.

In the final analysis, Nahmanides' crucial role in the history of Qabbalah does not lie primarily in the content of these passages and similar, sometimes more elaborate discussions in his sermons (*The Law of the Lord Is Perfect, Sermon for a Wedding, Sermon on Ecclesiastes, Sermon for Roʾsh ha-Shanah*), nor is it to be sought in his partially preserved commentary on *Sefer yetsirah* (Book of creation). His key contribution was the legitimation of Qabbalah by the very fact that he advocated it; the problems raised by this system for Jewish theology could not readily be pressed if the critic would thereby be raising questions about the orthodoxy of so unimpeachable a figure as Nahmanides. Consequently, the mere fact that Nahmanides was a mystic was a significant factor in the triumphant progress of Qabbalah in late medieval and Renaissance Jewish history.

Aside from his mystical, exegetical, and homiletical writings, Nahmanides produced two other influential works on non-halakhic topics. *Sefer ha-geʾullah* (Book of the redemption) was prompted by some signs of messianic skepticism among Spanish Jews. Although Nahmanides did not consider the redemption to be in the first rank of Jewish dogmas—one could, after all, expect greater heavenly rewards for observing the Torah under James I of Aragon than under the much more benevolent messianic king—defense of the belief in redemption was important theologically and crucial for the collective psyche of medieval Jewry. Nahmanides insisted on the continuing relevance of eschatological passages in the Bible, which, he said, are both unfulfilled and unconditional. Finally, he joined the ranks of messianic calculators, arguing eloquently that a straightforward reading of the end of *Daniel* points to the arrival of the ultimate redeemer in 1403, a date sufficiently close to buttress Jewish morale yet sufficiently removed to discourage messianic hysteria.

Any discussion of exile and redemption inevitably had polemical implications for Jews in Christian Europe, but Nahmanides' major polemical work was thrust upon him late in life under extraordinary circumstances. A Jewish convert to Christianity began to engage in vigorous missionary activity utilizing the relatively new argument that Talmudic passages demonstrate the truth of Christianity. In 1263 in Barcelona, Nahmanides was forced to defend the Jewish position in a disputation witnessed by James I. Despite the reservations of some scholars, there is every reason to believe that Nahmanides, who received an award from the king after the debate, acquitted himself with distinction; he later recorded his version of the proceedings in a work that lifted Jewish spirits and influenced subsequent polemicists through the medieval period and beyond.

His boldest and most controversial argument, which was probably sincere, maintained that rabbinic *midrash* was not dogmatically binding; hence, the Jewish polemicist was free to reject some uncongenial statements of the rabbis. The reaction of later Jews to this approach was profoundly ambivalent, and they wondered both about Nahmanides' sincerity and about the ultimate utility of an approach that undercut Christian arguments and respect for the rabbis at the same time. Nahmanides' own reverence for the rabbis even while differing from them is illustrated in his one other foray into Jewish-Christian polemic—a brief commentary on *Isaiah* 53 in which he asserted his conviction that the suffering servant is the Jewish people, but devoted the work to explaining how the Talmud could have understood the figure messianically without drawing Christian conclusions.

The disputation at Barcelona was not Nahmanides' first encounter with controversy of significant historical dimensions. In 1232, he had played a major role in the dispute over the writings of Maimonides and the legitimacy of philosophical inquiry. Some rabbis in northern France, responding to complaints by Provençal antirationalists, had proclaimed a ban against the study of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* and the first section of his code, while Maimonists had reacted by placing the Provençal anti-Maimonists under the ban. Nahmanides, who admired Maimonides but had deep reservations about the standard form of philosophical study, proposed a compromise to the rabbis of northern France that may well have persuaded them to withdraw from further involvement in this dispute. The code, including its first section, should be studied with enthusiasm; public study of the *Guide* should be banned; private study of both the *Guide* and philosophy in general should gently be discouraged.

Modern scholarly views of Nahmanides' position in this controversy as well as of his overall philosophical posture reflect considerable disagreement. Many scholars perceive him as a thoroughgoing antirationalist who despised philosophy and saw a world of omnipresent miracles in which no natural order existed; others, with greater justice, see a far more complex figure who absorbed much of the medieval philosophical legacy, made his living as a physician, saw a naturalistic world punctuated by miracles, and espoused disciplined theological inquiry within carefully delineated limits.

The Land of Israel had always played a particularly significant role in Nahmanides' thought, and when he found himself under pressure in the wake of the Barcelona disputation, he went there to spend his remaining years. This was no placid retirement. Nahmanides revived the Jewish community of Jerusalem, which had been decimated by the invasion of the Khwarazan Turks in 1244. He became the head of the Jewish community in Acre, and it was in Israel that he put the finishing touches on his *magnum opus* on the Pentateuch.

SEE ALSO Tosafot.

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NAḤMAN OF BRATSLAV (1772–1810), Hasidic master and founder of the Bratslav sect, born in Medzhibozh, Ukraine. A great-grandson of Yisraʾel ben Eliʿezer (1700–1760), the BeSHT, the first central figure of Hasidism, Naḥman proclaimed a path that stood in direct opposition to that of his esteemed forebear. Naḥman's complex and tortuous struggle for faith stood in sharp contrast to the BeSHT's ideal of simplicity and wholeness: theologically, Hasidism's earlier enthusiastic proclamation of the all-pervasive presence of God is replaced in Bratslav Hasidism by a painful awareness of his absence. The relative "neutralization" of messianic energies, characteristic especially of the Mezhirich school, is also reversed in Bratslav, where Naḥman, whom Bratslavers consider the only true *tsaddiq* ("righteous man"), is clearly depicted at least as a proto-messianic figure.

Given the family into which he was born, it was probably expected of Naḥman that he lead a Hasidic following in a movement that was becoming firmly entrenched in a pattern of dynastic succession. In his early years he refused this role, feeling himself inadequate to it and perhaps disdaining Hasidism as it was popularly practiced in his surroundings.

In 1798 Naḥman undertook a pilgrimage from the Ukraine to the Holy Land. Arriving in the Galilee right in the midst of Napoleon's battle with the Turks, he suffered numerous hardships and was at times close to death. He saw this journey as a private rite of passage, and later in life often looked back on it as a source of inspiration. Only on his return from the Land of Israel was he ready to assume the mantle of leadership, and this he did in a highly selective manner. Gathering around himself an elite cadre of disciples dedicated to a revitalization of the Hasidic movement, Naḥman issued an open challenge to such popular figures as Aryeh Leib of Shpola and his own uncle, Baruch of Medzhibozh. He saw Hasidism as having grown self-satisfied, compromised by the shallow assurances of blessing such self-proclaimed *tsaddiqim* would offer in exchange for the rather considerable gifts they were receiving. In Naḥman's community poverty was the ideal, miracles were disdained, and the master was not to be bothered with such small matters as material blessings. The disciples were to devote themselves to an intense regimen of private devotion and penitence. In the early years of his leadership, Naḥman insisted that each new disciple confess all of his sins to him. Sin was taken quite seriously in Bratslav, where earlier Hasidic warnings against excessive guilt were set aside.

The essential practice that Naḥman demanded of his disciples was *hitbodedut,* which in Bratslav meant a daily "conversation" that each Hasid was to have with God. *Hitbodedut* had to be practiced for an hour each day, spoken aloud in one's native tongue, and performed by each Ḥasid in private, preferably outdoors. During this hour the disciple was instructed to "break his heart" and confess before God his most secret thoughts. While the Bratslav sect remained fully within Jewish orthodoxy, including full observance of the law and recital of daily liturgy, it was this new practice of *hitbodedut* that was the true focus of its spiritual attention.

Naḥman was filled with ambivalence about his role as leader. Some of his statements exude an exaggerated sense of self-importance, a claim that he is the only true *tsaddiq* of his generation, and an air of megalomania. Others reflect just the opposite: an acute sense of unworthiness, a feeling of personal emptiness, and a regret at having allowed himself to accept a mantle of which he was unworthy. These alternating attitudes fit in with Naḥman's well-documented alternating states of elation and melancholy, a pattern that would today probably be diagnosed as manic-depression. It was in the course of his recurrent bouts with depression and guilt that Naḥman came to articulate his distinctive theological position.

The absence of God from human life is a reality that must be treated seriously. The religious person must come to terms with the fact that he lives in a world from which God has absented himself. Moments of doubt, inevitable in such a situation, must be treated as recording a valid aspect of human experience, and the notion of faith must be so expanded as to dialectically encompass doubt and denial within it. The seeker must struggle constantly with the eternal questions; one who does so will ascend through a constant spiral of doubt, denial, longing, faith, renewed challenge, doubt and denial, a higher rung of faith, and so forth. The great danger to such a quest is complacency; its highest ideal, that of constant growth. The nature of faith becomes ever more complex as it seeks to contain within itself ever more serious questions and conflicts.

Faith, a term more prevalent in Bratslav than in any other premodern Jewish ideology, is defined as a constant longing for God, an outcry of the broken heart aware of his distance. Such faith can only be cultivated, Naḥman taught, in a world where God's absence is real and where no easy answers are available to fill the painful void. Thus the absence of God is paradoxically God's greatest gift, allowing people the psychological room in which to build up the reservoir of faith that is the most important human asset. The awareness that this self-absenting (*tsimtsum,* as the older qabbalistic term is read in Bratslav) is itself a divine gift allows one to suffer life in the void, but does not alter its reality.

The sharp inner tensions that drove Naḥman to seek a path of redemption for himself, his disciples, and the Hasidic movement as a whole culminated in a brief messianic attempt in the year 1806. Once that attempt had failed (Naḥman saw the death of his infant son as a sure sign from heaven), a new and more subtle way to deliver the message of redemption was sought. This led Naḥman to the telling of his tales, now collected, symbolic fantasies that give fresh and vital expression to the mythic themes of qabbalistic thought. Redemption is the central underlying motif in most of these tales, the purpose of which seems to have been the preparing of his hearers' minds for the great events to come. Published in 1815, the tales take their place alongside Naḥman's collected teachings, *Liqquṭei Moharan* (1809, 1811), as unique classics in the Hasidic corpus.

Naḥman died tragically of tuberculosis at the age of thirty-eight, leaving no male heir. His faithful disciple, Natan of Nemirov, led the community after him but always acted as the master's surrogate rather than his successor. Bratslav is unique in surviving as a Hasidic community that has no living master; in later times, when they were much persecuted within the Hasidic world, they were referred to by others as the "dead Ḥasidim." The small but hardy band of Bratslavers treated this as a badge of honor, however, as they remained true to the memory of the one master who had been theirs and who, according to some Bratslav sources, was yet to come again.

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NAHUATL RELIGION. The speakers of Nahuatl dialects compose the largest group of indigenous people in Mexico. Numbering about 800,000, they live primarily in the Federal District and the states of México, Morelos, Puebla, Tlaxcala, Guerrero, Veracruz, and San Luis Potosí. Smaller populations can be found in Jalisco, Nayarit, Oaxaca, and Tabasco. The proportion of Nahuatl speakers in central Mexico is declining, but their absolute number is fairly stable and is augmented by millions of Spanish-speaking villagers who preserve elements of Nahuatl heritage. Among both these groups, remnants of pre-Hispanic Nahuatl religion persist in combination with a Catholicism that retains much of the character of its sixteenth-century Hispanic origins.

Folk Catholicism in most Nahuatl villages is more than a superficial veneer on a pre-Hispanic substratum; it constitutes the very meaning of village life. Social solidarity is expressed in terms of spiritual kinship, that is, as godparenthood and ritual commensality. Godparenthood is associated not only with the sacraments of baptism, first communion, confirmation, and marriage but also with many nonsacramental events ranging from the blessing of dwellings, stores, tractors, and trucks to curing ceremonies and graduation from sixth grade. Baptism, the other sacraments, and blessings sanctify persons and objects and so recruit them into the spiritual family (i.e., the village or neighborhood conceptualized as a sacred community).

Life within the spiritual family is symbolized by the fiesta, which bears an obvious similarity to the Eucharist and the agape (love feast) of early Christians. The fiesta, or ritual meal, consists of three courses—rice, turkey in mole sauce, and beans—accompanied by alcoholic beverages. Fiestas honor the patron saints of neighborhoods and villages and mark the sacramental rites of passage. The festivities occasion momentary conviviality, and their preparation promotes enduring amity by requiring villagers to give generously of their time and resources for the benefit of others. The familial symbolism and sentiments associated with the fiesta system come into sharp focus during the Christmas-Candlemas season, at which time festivities center on the Holy Family—the Christ Child, Mary, and Joseph.

On or about the third of May, fiestas are held to honor mountainside crosses that protect communities and neighborhoods during the rainy season. In a weather-working cult in northern Morelos, crosses are associated with San Miguel Arcángel, four lightning-hurling saints, and groups of "rain dwarfs" (*awaque*). The weather-working shamans hold their own ceremonies at mountainside shrines at the beginning of May and again in early November, or roughly at the start and the end of the rainy season.

In contrast to the saints and members of the Holy Family are many evil and Adamic beings who threaten the villagers. Some of these beings are satirized by dancers at carnivals and fairs, where the Devil may be represented by a figure in a red suit with horns. In apparitions, the Devil may appear as a Spanish gentleman, or *hacendado*, mounted on horseback. Other sinister beings include Death; goblins (the spirits of unbaptized children) who offer women bribes for sexual favors; were-animals called *naguales*, who molest drunkards and women on unlit paths after nightfall; La Llorona, also known as La Malinche, a sirenlike apparition who aborted or murdered her children after being abandoned by a lover who is sometimes identified as the Spanish conqueror Cortés; witches who cause illness and poverty, and who suck blood from children's necks; Water Snake and Little Bull, two supernatural animals that bring forth crop-damaging winds and rain; and harmful spirits called *ehecame* ("winds") or *los aires*. *Ehecame* cause paralysis, tics and twitches, neuralgia, loss of sensation, skin disorders, and other afflictions. Witches use a technique called *aire echado* ("thrown air") in which dirt from a grave containing a *tonalli*, or shadow-soul, is mixed with other ingredients and hurled against the victim's house.

Ehecame can also cause *susto* ("fright"), an emotional reaction that affects the shadow-soul of a living person and results in depression, insomnia, and loss of appetite. The parts of the shadow-soul are dispersed throughout the bloodstream, but in response to fright they retreat toward the heart or leave the body. In some communities the shadow-soul fragments are likened to animals or are said to take animal form when outside the body. Persons with weak natures are more vulnerable than others to fright-illness.

Fright-illness and various other beliefs indicate that persons having strong—even tainted—natures enjoy more protection against evil than do persons with weak or sensitive natures. Indeed, nature as well as spirit is seen as a necessary and inevitable part of a person's total makeup. Thus Nahuatl rituals repeatedly express the place of evil and nature in the overall scheme of things. Ritual impersonations of La Malinche, Cortés, Huehuenches ("old ones"), Tenanchis (the grandmothers of the Christ Child), and the figures of the bull and the deer testify to the importance of the Adamic. In mock bull slayings and deer hunts, the killer/hunter assumes a role analogous to that of the serpent who tempts Adam and Eve. The Tenanchis appear during the Christmas-Candlemas season as enticing, tempting figures suggestive of Eve. Huehuenches dance during Carnival, also evoking the Adamic, but in more sinister fashion: as Herod's agents they are enemies of the Christ Child. In some communities the struggle between the forces of good and evil is dramatized during local fairs by mock battles between "Christians" and "Moors."

The Nahuatl ritual complex thus includes various vestiges of the pre-Hispanic pantheon, but its basic armature is nonetheless recognizably Catholic: Eve and, through her, Adam are deceived by the serpent and so denied immortality, but they generate natural life; by contrast, Christ is killed by the agents of the devil, yet his death offers spiritual immortality. The appeal of these conceptual polarities for Nahuatl villagers may be grounded in the realities and contradictions of peasant existence. The villagers subscribe to spiritual values, but the exigencies of daily life continually remind them of the importance of nature and the ever-present problem of evil.

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NAKAE TŌJU (1608–1648), Japanese Neo-Confucian thinker. Tōju, often called the Sage of Ōmi, was born in Ogawa in Ōmi Province on Lake Biwa in central Japan. With the exception of sixteen years spent in Ōzu on the island of Shikoku, he passed his life in Omi engaged in studying, teaching, and writing. His grandfather, who had adopted him at the age of nine, took him to Shikoku and encouraged his early education. After his grandfather's death, when Tōju was fifteen, he attended lectures on the *Analects* by a visiting Zen priest. After this he began serious study of the Four Books (*Analects*, *Great Learning*, *Doctrine of the Mean*, *Mencius*) and of Zhu Xi's commentaries on them. In 1634, citing as motives his own ill health and his desire to be with his widowed mother, he returned to Ōmi. Although some sources indicate that another motive may have been the desire to escape political entanglements, most accounts mark this as the beginning of his focus on the virtue of filial piety.

In 1636 he set up a school called the Tōju Shoin and accepted pupils of all classes and backgrounds. The Four Books and Zhu Xi's commentaries were the core of the curriculum, but Tōju wished to avoid the behavioral formalism sometimes associated with the transmission of Zhu Xi's thought. Instead, he stressed the need to adapt Neo-Confucianism to time, place, and rank. It was during this period that he studied the Five Classics (*History*, *Odes*, *Rites*, *Changes*, *Spring and Autumn Annals*). Inspired by them, he wrote two works on moral cultivation, both in 1638: *Jikei zusetsu* (The diagram of holding fast to reverence, explained) and *Genjin* (Inquiry into man). In the following year he wrote *Rongo kyotō keimō iden* (Resolving obscurities concerning the Hsiang-tang chapter of the *Analects*), in which he discussed the reverential attitude displayed by Confucius in daily activities and in religious rituals.

Tōju had been moved by this aspect of Confucius's character and wished to return to the religious spirit he saw in Confucius and in the Five Classics. He began to recite each morning the *Hsiao ching* (Classic of filial piety), and he subsequently became increasingly convinced of its profound implications. In 1641 he wrote *Kōkyō keimō* (The true meaning of the classic of filial piety). His other major work, written a year earlier and continually revised until his death, was *Okina mondō* (Dialogues with an old man). Here, in addition to discussing filiality, Tōju noted how Confucian morality was essential for the samurai class.

Tōju has been considered the founder of the Wang Yang-ming school in Japan, but it was not until three years before his death that he acquired Wang's complete works. Although deeply affected by them, he had already been exposed to the writings of late Ming thinkers such as Wangji, who some scholars feel may have had an even stronger influence on him. It is clear that his doubts about Zhu Xi's thought arose from his aversion to its formalistic interpreters. The appeal of the Ming Confucians was their emphasis on interiority, innate knowledge, universal sagehood, and a religious sense of reverence.

Tōju's principal religious ideas can be summarized as a profound reverence for the Supreme Being (*jōten*), manifested in an optimistic doctrine of moral self-cultivation based on the innate knowledge of the good. Tōju taught that the heart of self-cultivation was filiality, for it was the "root of the human" and an intricate part of the transformative processes of nature itself. As the dynamic reciprocity between all created things, he saw filiality as the basis of social relations and as a nurturing principle in the natural order. Thus Tōju's distinctive religiosity drew on various strains of Confucian and Neo-Confucian thought, and combined a reverent theism, interior cultivation, and filial devotion.

SEE ALSO Confucianism in Japan.

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NAKAYAMA MIKI (1798–1887) was the founder of Tenrikyō ("The Teaching of Divine Wisdom"), which is one of Japan's best known "new religions" (*shin shūkyō*), with over two million members at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Miki's story is important not only for understanding Tenrikyō, but also for understanding what is novel about the many new religious movements that arose and flourished in Japan since the end of the nineteenth century.

The church's sacred biographies present a sanctified image of Miki as a shrine of God who was also a divine model for all who sought salvation. She was born into a wealthy farming family in the small village of Sanmaiden in what is now Nara prefecture on April 18, 1798. As a child she showed a remarkable generosity of spirit as well as unusual devotion to the *nembutsu* faith of Pure Land (Jôdo) Buddhism. Miki was a spiritual seeker whose quest for the truth almost led her to become a Buddhist nun.

In 1810, however, her family forced her to marry Zenbei Nakayama (1788–1853), the eldest son of the prosperous village chief of Shoyashiki village, now known as Tenri City near Nara, Tenrikyō's headquarters. According to Miki's revelations, Shoyashiki was also the sacred center where humanity was first created (*jiba*) by God. She was put in charge of Nakayama family affairs at the age of sixteen. She became a paragon of virtue through obedience and hard work—the "good wife and wise mother" according to the contemporary Confucian feminine ideal.

Nevertheless, Miki endured intense personal suffering. Her mother-in-law constantly bullied her, while her husband Zenbei led a dissolute life that almost led to her death when his lover Okano, the family maid, tried to poison her. In 1828 yet another tragedy occurred when a neighbor's child she was caring for became ill with smallpox. Miki vowed to the gods that she would sacrifice her own life as well as her children's to save him. Indeed, two of her own children died after the neighbor's child miraculously recovered.

Miki's turning point occurred on October 23, 1838, when she was forty years old. Life was uncertain after one of the worst famines to affect Japan in the nineteenth century, followed by an unsuccessful political revolt by the samurai Ōshio Heihachirō. Miki, who was physically and emotionally drained after the birth of her last child, Kokan, faced further misery when her eldest son Shūji (1821–1881) was afflicted with unbearable pain in his left leg. His condition gradually worsened in spite of consultations with physicians. As a last resort, a mountain ascetic *(yamabushi)* was called to perform an exorcism *(yosekaji)* on Shūji. The normal procedure for an exorcism required the ascetic to recite incantations that forced the evil spirit to enter a female medium. There it would announce its identity and its reasons for afflicting the child. In Shūji's case, however, something extraordinary happened. Because the ascetic's normal medium was not available, he asked Miki to serve in her stead. When Miki went into a trance, however, instead of an evil spirit, an august voice spoke through her, saying, "I am the general of heaven. I am the true and original God. . . . I have descended from heaven to save all human beings, and I want Miki to be the shrine of God." Despite initial opposition, Miki's family acceded to the god's demand, and Miki embarked on her career as a living *kami (ikigami)*, or deity. In 1841 her god, whom she addressed as Tenri-Ô-no-Mikoto, commanded her to live a life of poverty as the first stage of her mission to relieve human suffering. She gave the family treasures to those in need, even going so far as to tear down the Nakayama mansion. After Zenbei died in 1853, she began to proclaim her new faith by reciting the simple prayer *Namu Tenri-Ō-no-Mikoto* ("Honor to the Lord of Divine Wisdom") on the street corners of Osaka. She also began to attract many converts because of her miraculous healing powers, especially her ability to grant a painless passage through childbirth *(obiya yurushi).* In 1863 she met Izō Iburi, a master carpenter who became her most devoted disciple and built the first worship hall on the Nakayama estate. Following the roof raising, however, an incident at a local shrine led to Miki's disciples being arrested for disturbing the peace. This episode began a long period of persecution by the Shintō priests, Buddhist authorities, and local police who feared the new religion.

From 1866 to 1882, Miki wrote down the two major scriptures of Tenrikyō containing the revelations of God, the *Ofudesaki* (The tip of the divine writing brush), and the *Mikagura Uta* (The songs of the *Tsutome* service), followed by a third scripture known as *Osashizu* (Divine instructions). *Osashizu* was written down by Izō as Miki's spiritual intermediary after her death. Miki also taught a ritual dance called *Teodori,* which is still performed as a regular part of Tenrikyō services.

Miki's revelations and her sacred dance were intended to convey the central doctrines of Tenrikyō. Miki believed that voluntary poverty is necessary to achieve salvation, and that true happiness is found only through consecrated labor when a devotee acts with no thought of reward. Unhappiness is caused by dust settling on the heart from past evil *karma.* A joyful life *(yōki gurashi)* can be attained by having true faith in God the parent *(oyagami)*, who has the power to sweep away the evil dust. The laughter, songs, and *Teodori* dance are concrete realizations of this joy in ritual form. Miki ardently believed that the entire world could be renewed *(yo naoshi)* by following her method of salvation. Although her son Shūji won official recognition from the Shintō authorities in 1867, government persecution of Tenrikyō continued throughout the Meiji period (1868–1912). The Meiji authorities tried to stamp out "evil religions" in order to promote "enlightenment and progress" (*bunmei kaika*) through modern rational principles. They also saw Tenrikyō, which was popular among the peasantry, as a direct threat to Shintō and its nationalistic faith in the emperor. Miki was arrested over eighteen times for her heretical beliefs until her death in 1887 at the age of eighty-nine.

Miki's biography is significant to contemporary students of religion for three reasons. First, it shows the typical features associated with the rise of Japanese new religions. Tenrikyō arose outside the priestly establishment in a time of social unrest. It is also a syncretic mix of Shintō, Buddhist and folk religious elements that reflects the religious dynamism of Japanese religions. Moreover, Miki's belief system is typical in its claim to reveal a previously hidden truth from a hitherto unknown god for the spiritual benefit of humankind and the renewal of the world *(yo naoshi).*

Second, Tenrikyō, like many other new religions, was founded by a charismatic woman who fit the ancient Japanese pattern of the female shamanic medium (*miko*). Shimazono Susumu has noted, however, that Nakayama Miki and other charismatic founders like her displayed a new trait. Rather than simply filling the traditional role of a spirit medium as an assistant to a Buddhist ascetic, Miki acted on her own behalf throughout her life. After her death, she still continued to serve as a mouthpiece for God through her male assistant Izō. Moreover, the *kami* who possessed Miki was not an ordinary malevolent fox or snake spirit but an all-powerful and benevolent parent god. Tenri-Ō-no-Mikoto not only created the world and humanity but was also a caring deity promising universal salvation. Miki also differed from the traditional spirit medium in another respect, according to Shimazono. As a "shrine of God," Miki was a vehicle for the divine in every aspect of her life, not only when she was in a trance state. She thus became a model of human fellowship with the divine for the faithful to emulate. Founders who were living *kami* like Miki played an important role in emerging nineteenth-century Japanese religious movements.

Third, several scholars have called attention to Miki's special role as a savior of poor and oppressed women. Traditional Buddhist teachings denigrated women as polluted and spiritually inferior beings. Tenri-Ō-no-Mikoto, however, taught that men and women are spiritual equals. Indeed, the god's other names, "parent god" *(oyagami)* and Sun-Moon *(tsuki-hi)*, convey Miki's revelation that the sacred is both male and female. Miki also taught women that childbirth is not polluting, but rather a joyful experience protected by God's power—a controversial teaching given the old restrictive Japanese customs surrounding childbirth.

SEE ALSO Japanese Religions, article on Popular Religion; New Religious Movements, article on New Religious Movements and Women; Tenrikyō.

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NAMĀZ SEE ṢALĀT

NAMES AND NAMING

NAMES AND NAMING activities are central to human symbolic and communicative processes. To be human is to name, and be named, and thereby to possess full being and the ability to relate to the world in meaningful ways. In the Bible, God is said to have brought all the newly created animals to the first human, "to see what he would call them" (*Gn.* 2:19). In all human communities there is thought to be a close relationship between the name of a person or other phenomenon and its character, status, and very being.

Names often have a mysterious quality, whether they refer to sacred beings of a transcendent nature or to humans and other concrete entities. There is power in names, because they both participate in the reality named and give definition and identity to that reality. That is, name and named exist in a mutual relationship in which the power of the former is shared with the being of the latter. Being without name has a very marginal status in the world of phenomena. For example, traditional Christian teaching holds that unbaptized children who die go to limbo. They have no clearly defined status because they have been given no name by the proper ceremonial means. The act of christening during baptism renders a new life human in the religio-cultural sense, which is more significant than mere biological humanness. Similarly, among the Netsilik, in a traditional Inuit (Eskimo) context, once a female infant had received a name it was absolutely forbidden to kill her, though female children were often considered superfluous.

Persons have often been thought to persist after death through the remembrance of their names. In ancient Egypt, children had the solemn duty to preserve the names of their parents through ritual means. The Old Kingdom Pyramid Text of Pharaoh Pepi I refers to his continued existence by means of the repetition of his name: "Thy name which is on earth lives; thy name which is on earth lasts; thou wilt not disappear; thou wilt not be destroyed in all eternity" (cited by Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, Chicago, 1948, p. 113).

Not only humans, whether of high or low degree, but also gods exist and express their power, presence, and will by means of their names. In ancient Israel, God was believed to dwell in his Temple through his name (*shem*), while he himself dwelt in heaven. That is, by his name, *YHVH* (probably then pronounced as *Yahveh*), God resided in revealed form among his creatures. In this case, Yahveh's inner being was not coterminous with his name; but his power, will, and presence were made manifest in his sanctuary through it. Islamic belief holds that Allāh likes to be called upon by his names, which provide vehicles for communication and even union between Allāh and his human servants. In Hinduism, the mention of a god's name has soteriological value. One view even holds that the name of God is greater than its referent, because sound (*sphoṭa*) is absolute. But not all traditions have a name for God, nor is it always considered proper, because of their holiness, to utter those names that are associated with divinity.

NAMES OF GODS AND OTHER SACRED ENTITIES. It is common to nearly all religious practices that in order to communicate with a deity one must know its name. Knowledge of a divine name gives the knower both power and an avenue of communication with its source. This intimate relationship between knowing a name and participating in its power has both religious and magical aspects.

Ancient Israel and Judaism. Moses asked the voice from the burning bush, identified as "the god of your fathers," what his name was, and was answered "I am" (*ehyeh*), which, in a different Hebrew grammatical form, is rendered *Yahveh* (approximately, "He causes to be"; *Ex.* 3:13–14). In keeping with this most mysterious and potent of God's names in the Hebrew tradition is the conviction that God's names are, generally speaking, according to his acts. Causing to be is the greatest of acts and thus the name *Yahveh* is the most sublime name. Yahveh, as name and as theological concept, affirms both God's eternal reality and his reliable presence with his covenant people, Israel.

There are many names for God in the Hebrew scriptures; some of them appear to be very archaic, and some were shared by other Semitic peoples in antiquity. Other names came into being during the long covenant history of Israel, both through contact with neighboring peoples and through the deepening insights of Hebrew prophets and poets. *Baal* ("lord"), a term common to Canaanite religion and Hebrew faith, came to be associated with Yahveh for a time, only to be repudiated later. *Adon*, which also means "lord," did not earn the opprobrium of *Baal* and continues to the present to be an honorific substitution for *Yahveh*, the name that postexilic Jews considered too holy to utter. *Adonai* ("my lord") came to be a potent religious term because of its referent, whose real name was different. Here sacred names can be seen operating on different levels, with one gracious name serving as a protective shield for another, more sacred name. Certain other divine titles and names emerged from Israel's cumulative experiences and convictions: political ones meaning "king," "judge," "shepherd"; kinship terms meaning "father," "brother," "kinsman"; and metaphors from nature with such meanings as "rock."

Christianity. The New Testament community inherited most of the Israelite names and convictions associated with God but never developed the strong sense of taboo connected with the holiest name, *Yahveh*. Jesus took the Hebrew name of God as "father" but rendered it in the familiar form *Abba* ("daddy"), which astonished people because it is ordinarily used only between an actual begotten child and its father. *Father* has remained the most characteristic Christian appellation for God, used especially when the speaker draws near to him in prayer, worship, and praise. All other names for God, whether inherited from the biblical tradition of the Jews or generated within the Christian movement, have been tempered by the intimate personal dimension that Jesus emphasized.

The Christians accepted the older Hebraic custom of speaking or acting "in the name of" someone, whether God or a human, as a representative or witness. The New Testament sometimes uses the names of God and Jesus almost interchangeably as the ultimate divine authority, while never suggesting directly that Jesus is other than the mediator between God and humankind, and not to be worshiped himself. The identification between Father and Son, however, becomes almost total in later christological developments, when Christians came increasingly to conceive of God in terms of Jesus' incarnation. "At the name of Jesus, every knee should bow" (*Phil.* 2:10) is one way in which the New Testament expresses the exalted nature of Christ, whose name is holy.

Islam. In characteristic Abrahamic fashion, the religion of Muḥammad and the Qurʾān places heavy emphasis on the name of God. All utterances, written or spoken, should be prefaced by the phrase "In the name of Allāh, the merciful, the compassionate" (Arab., "Bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm"). The word *Allāh* is probably an archaic contraction of the Arabic definite article *al-* and *ʿilāh*, "deity" (cf. Heb. *el*, *eloh*, "god"). Allāh, "the god," or God, was central in the pre-Islamic pantheon but as the highest and not the sole divinity. The ancient Arabs believed that Allāh had three daughters, but this as well as other views of Allāh's relatedness and contingency were swept away by the prophetic activity of Muḥammad and the message of the Qurʾān. The Islamic scripture emphasizes Allāh's incomparable uniqueness. It also provides many names and titles of Allāh, sometimes outright but often in the sense of derivations of divine attributes and activities (e.g., *Knower*, *Provider*, *Relenting*). Later Islam developed out of the Qurʾān a list of the "most beautiful names of Allāh " (*al-asmaʾ*, *al-ḥusnā*), which are traditionally believed to number ninety-nine. The names are recited by Muslims, often with the aid of a string of beads called a *subḥa*. Each name has a particular power and should be recited according to the spiritual station of the seeker.

In addition to *Allāh*, two other names figure prominently in the Qurʾān. The first is *Rabb* ("lord"), a term that occurs most frequently in passages containing material about Jews and Christians. The message of Allāh's uniqueness and sovereignty is often declared with the use of *Rabb*, beginning with what is commonly considered to be the first passage to have been revealed: "Recite: In the name of thy Lord *[rabbika]*, who created man of a blood clot" (surah 96:1–2). The second frequent Qurʾanic name besides *Allāh* is *al-Raḥmān* ("the merciful"), which is the same as the old South Arabian Jewish name for God. The Qurʾān commands the believers to "call upon Allāh, or call upon al-Raḥmān; whichsoever you call upon, to him belong the names most beautiful" (17:110).

Muslims have never observed a taboo respecting the name of God. Instead, they have preferred to utter their praises with as many divine names and attributes as possible, following the Qurʾanic command: "O believers, remember God oft [by means of *dhikr*, "mentioning" his names], and give him glory at the dawn and in the evening" (33:41).

Sikhism. The Indian combination of devotional Hindu and Ṣūfī Islamic doctrines founded by Gurū Nānak (d. 1539) emphasizes the magnification of God by his name in a special form of devotion known as *nām mārga* ("the path of the name"). A variety of names for God are recognized and uttered by Sikhs, including both Muslim and Hindu ones, but the most common is *Sat Nām* ("the true name"). Although Sikhs believe that it is beyond humankind's capacity to describe and define God, people can become purified and free of their egos by means of the veneration of his names, with intelligent awareness and detachment from the world.

Hinduism. There is a persistent conviction within the rich and complex Hindu worldview that the mysterious, unknowable ultimate reality, *brahman* (which literally means "expansion, swelling, growth"), transcends and undergirds all. *Brahman* is the holiest of beings, the most real being, and the source and goal of all being. Hindus have developed highly abstract pantheistic and theistic philosophical doctrines of *brahman.* At bottom, the name *brahman* means "prayer," in the sense of sacred utterance, so that by speaking the word one participates in its reality as power and speech. The believer is able to meditate on divine themes by means of *mantra*s, special patterns and techniques of oral utterance that center on the name of a deity, or on a sacred syllable or sound. A *mantra* is not limited to divine names as words only but may be rooted in the whole realm of sound and breath. *Mantra*s are recited under the guidance of a guru, or preceptor, who knows the correct pronunciation of the formulas and other aspects of ritual performance, such as posture and breath control.

It is of the utmost importance in Hinduism that the correct name for a deity be used, depending on the purpose and status of the worshiper. The many named divinities of Hinduism, although never universally regarded as belonging to a single system, nevertheless can be identified as components of a comprehensive and balanced worldview, with prominent social and cultural dimensions.

The invocation of names of gods is especially prominent in devotional (*bhakti*) Hinduism. Singing and recitation of the divine names, especially that of Kṛṣṇa, is believed to bring release (*mokṣa*) from the round of rebirth (*saṃsāra*). Some Hindus meet regularly to perform *nāma vali*, a "necklace of names" in which an emotionally charged congregation and its leader sing the name of a deity, beginning slowly, and building up to a spirited climax. The Purāṇas contain much on name praise, such as the following passage: "Hari's Name, Hari's Name, and Hari's Name alone is my vocation. In the Kali age there is no other, no other, indeed no other course [for *mokṣa*]" (cited in Singer, 1966, pp. 143–144).

Mahāyāna Buddhism. Mahāyāna Buddhism places considerable emphasis upon the soteriological efficacy of invoking the Buddha's name. The Pure Land schools of East Asia stress faith in Amitābha (called Amida in Japan), focusing on the simple ritual of reciting the name of the Buddha in order to be saved and enter paradise.

Nembutsu. The devout repetition of the phrase "Namu Amida Butsu" ("Homage to Amida Buddha") is believed to deliver one from sins and, if uttered on the threshold of death, will effect one's rebirth in the Pure Land of Amida. There are different schools of the ritual remembrance of the Buddha's name, called *nembutsu* in Japanese and *nien-fo* in Chinese. The Japanese monk Hōnen (1133–1212) taught that one should repeat the name of Amida with faith, a practice open to practically anyone, not requiring long apprenticeship in meditation. Hōnen and some of his disciples insisted that the *nembutsu* formula should be repeated continuously, as many as seventy thousand times in one day. Shinran (1173–1262), who followed his master Hōnen in *nembutsu*, considered a single recitation of the ritual invocation, "with faith," as sufficient for salvation. In Japan, the name is a key dimension, whereas in China and India, invoking the name of Amitābha Buddha has been associated with the less central contemplation of the gigantic features of the Buddha's cosmic body.

The Lotus Sūtra. Another ritual naming practice in Mahāyāna Buddhism is the invocation of the *Lotus Sūtra*, a major book in the Buddhist canon that became a central scripture of Tendai Buddhism in China and Japan. Nichiren (1232–1282), a Japanese seeker who studied Tendai, Zen, and Pure Land Buddhism, concluded his spiritual training with the discovery that enlightenment could be achieved by anyone who has sincere faith in the teaching of the *Lotus Sūtra.* This faith was then to be expressed in the formula "Namu Myōhōrengekyō" ("Homage to the *Sūtra of the Lotus of the Wonderful Law*"). Implicit in this Japanese statement of affirmation is the sense of humble submission to the power of what is named, which is also somehow the name itself. Nichiren chanted the name of the *Lotus Sūtra* to the accompaniment of a drum.

China. The Chinese have traditionally stressed the importance of names, whether in the Confucian doctrine of the "rectification of names," a philosophy of balance, propriety, and equity in the universe, or at the practical level of naming gods, humans, and other beings. Confucianism has always emphasized the veneration of ancestors, but the Way of Heaven (*tʿien-dao*) has traditionally been ultimate. *Tʿien* ("heaven") is sometimes a name for the impersonal sky that overarches all things; at other times *tʿien* has taken on a somewhat more personal meaning, as the divine ruler of events on earth. A variant is *shang-ti* ("supreme ruler," or God). But *tʿien*, even when it means "deity," is subordinate to *dao*, the universally acknowledged ultimate reality in Chinese religious thought. *Dao* cannot be named, nor can it be translated. To characterize the term as the impersonal, creative, and regulating power of the universe is to approach its essence, which in any case is mysterious and transcendent. But, paradoxically, *dao* is also immanent and natural. Lao-tzu's classic treatise, *Dao-te ching*, opens: "The way *[dao]* that can be spoken of is not the constant way; the name that can be named is not the constant name. The nameless was the beginning of heaven and earth; the named was the mother of the myriad creatures" (trans. D. C. Lau, Baltimore, 1963).

Nonliterate and archaic traditions. The appellations for divinity and humankind alike among nonliterate peoples are often extremely varied and complex. Names and naming are frequently surrounded by taboos and employed only with specified ritual procedures, including considerations of status, relationship, season, age, place, and power.

Australia. Among the Aborigines of southeastern Australia, before Europeans arrived, there was a fully developed belief in a "high god," as scholars have named the category of supreme being in archaic religion. In Australia, the high god's names, myths, activities, and associated rituals were closely guarded secrets, known only to the initiated males of high status. *Baiame* is one of the names for the Australian high god, who is believed to have created the world, given moral laws, and established the initiation rites by means of which humans attain their full being and come into contact with ultimate reality. The Australian high god is a sky divinity who performed his greatest labors at the beginning of things, but who nevertheless continues to live and have influence. *Baiame*, *Daramulun*, *Nurunderi*, *Bunjil*, and *Biral* are some of the names for the "sky-hero," as A. P. Elkin (1954) calls the Australian high god. The secret name of this deity was divulged during initiation rites, when his voice was heard in the sound of the bull-roarer.

Africa. Celestial supreme beings are also known in traditional African religions. Some are distant and uninvolved in human affairs, as in Australia. But others are active and engaged in the world, especially on the moral plane. The Yoruba believe in a high god called Ọlọrun ("lord of the sky"). Ọlọrun is not directly involved in historical existence, but rules through intermediaries. Among the Dinka, on the other hand, Nhialac, whose name means "above," is honored as both creator and sustainer of the world. The Dinka tend to identify all other gods and sacred forces with Nhialac, who thus becomes a sort of only god, in the monotheistic sense, as well as supreme being. The Nuer have no special name for God, but simply use the term *kwoth* ("spirit"), together with appropriate qualifying words or clauses.

Ancient Egypt. The celestial type of deity is clearly discernible in ancient Egyptian religion, where the pharaoh was believed to be the divine embodiment of Horus, the falcon god, and Re, the sun god. Celestial names and attributes are always reserved for royalty in such traditions as that of Egypt, in which the close relationship, even identification, of the divine and human realms is bound up with rule and cosmic order. Ancient Egyptian sources indicate a great concern for names and their power. The most powerful name for a god was his or her unknown name, as is evident in the famous story of how Isis tricked the supreme god Re into revealing his secret name, which resulted in the goddess's appropriation of his power. Name magic became highly developed in ancient Egypt, especially with respect to deities, who exercised direct power over humans for good or ill.

Ancient Rome. The naming of deities in Roman times was a highly complex and carefully regulated affair. The Romans kept long lists of divinities, both known and unknown; and they also preserved secret lists of divine names. Hermann Usener wrote a celebrated book called *Götternamen* (Names of Gods; 1896) in which he argued that the Romans distinguished both "momentary" and "functional" deities, who received names according to their times and kinds of activities. Every time, place, thing, and event had its own deity, according to this theory, and the myriad deities that inevitably resulted from such a view were arranged hierarchically. Usener's thesis that momentary and functional gods gave rise to more pervasive, overarching gods, and finally to God, has not fared well in recent times, although his researches still provide a detailed review of the naming systems employed by the ancient Romans.

HUMAN NAMES AND NAMING PROCESSES. Human names and naming practices are often as important ritually and symbolically as those connected with deities. For example, in ancient Egypt, the name of a god, person, or object was equivalent to its inner being; without *ren*, "name," there was no existence. In the case of humans, *ren* came to be equal in importance to the *ka*, the individual's "spirit" or "vital force." Likewise, in traditional China the name and its owner were identical. In Confucian ancestral rites, the deceased had a "spirit tablet" or a gravestone engraved with his or her name. If the name were omitted or effaced, then there was thought to be no spirit in the grave, and the person utterly ceased to exist. Similar ideas, with different specific rites and behavior patterns, can be found in other traditions (e.g., in Africa, Oceania, and the Americas).

Judaism. Jews have traditionally employed biblical names, which in turn were derived from many sources: kinship (e.g., *Yehoshuʿa ben Nun*, "Joshua the son of Nun"), animals (e.g., *Raḥel* or *Rachel*, "ewe"), plants (e.g., *Tamar*, "palm"), personal characteristics (e.g., *Esav* or *Esau*, "hairy"), circumstances of birth (e.g., *Yaʿaqov* or *Jacob*, "he who takes by the heel"), and relationship to God (e.g., *ʿOvadyah* or *Obadiah*, "servant of Yahveh"). In biblical times, the Hebrews practiced name changing because of status changes or special circumstances and experiences. Yaʿaqov's (Jacob's) name was changed to *Yisraʿel* (*Israel*, "let God contend" or "he who strives with God") after his struggle with the angel (*Gn.* 32:29). Avram's (Abram's) name was changed to *Avraham* (*Abraham*) and Sarai's to *Sarah* when they were commissioned with their auspicious roles as parents of multitudes (*Gn.* 17:5, 17:15). Jews have also adopted foreign names in certain periods. In medieval Europe, they adopted both sacred and secular names, a practice that endures.

Christianity. Christians have sometimes insisted on specifically Christian names for their children, but they have often also adopted names current in the countries where they have lived. Where Christians have constituted a minority, for example in Islamic regions, "Christian" names (like *Peter*, *George*, *Paul*, *Mark*, and *Thomas*) have been important factors in preserving religious and social identity. Although it has rarely been required that children take biblical names, it has often been done. More common has been the practice of giving a child the name of a saint. Persons entering holy orders or elevated to high ecclesiastical office have also taken saints' names. During the Reformation, Protestants began using Old Testament names for their children, to distinguish themselves from Roman Catholics. The Council of Trent decreed that all baptized infants must be given a saint's name.

Islam. The conversion to Islam is accompanied by a change of name. Muslim names are partly based on ancient

Arabic or other (Persian, Turkish, or Indian) usages, partly upon the sayings of Muḥammad reported in the body of traditions known as *ḥadīth*. Muḥammad taught that the best names are *ʿAbd Allāh* (“God’s servant”) and *ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān* (“servant of the merciful”). From this basis, the use of *ʿabd* with any of the ninety-nine “most beautiful names” of God became very common. The name *Muḥammad* and its parallels are widely used for males, for according to tradition every man with the name of Muḥammad will go to paradise. The Muslims developed a list of ninety-nine names of the Prophet *(asmāʾ sharīfah)* to parallel the ninety-nine names of God. Among them are *Aḥmad* (“most praised”), *Tāhā* (the first word of surah 20), *Mudaththir* (“wrapped,” the opening word of surah 74), *Munīr* (“radiant,” surah 33:45), and so forth. Also popular are the names of the Prophet’s family and his companions, although in Shīʿī circles one will never find the names of the first three caliphs or of ʿĀʾishah but will very frequently find those of Fāṭimah and the imams, from ʿAlī to Taqī or Riḍā. Names of the Qurʾanic prophets are widely used, including those of Mūsā (Moses) and ʿĪsā (Jesus).

Traditionally, a Muslim name has several different parts, among them the *ism*, the *nisbah*, and the *kun-yah*. The *ism* is the religious name, like those mentioned above. The *nisbah* shows the relation to one’s birthplace, tribe, or line of thought; in Arabic, it ends in *ī*, as in *Makkī* (“from Mecca”), *Thaqafī* (“from the Thaqīf tribe”), and *Ḥanafī* (“belonging to the Ḥanafī school of law”). The *kunyah* indicates the relation of a parent to a child; either *Abū* (“father of”) or *Umm* (“mother of”) is given to a firstborn child, as in *Abū ʿAlī*, or is used in a more general sense, as in *Abū al-Fawāris* (“father of the riders”). The *kunyah* is the name of honor by which one ought to be addressed.

A Muslim name is often complemented by a *laqab*, a nickname pointing to some special quality, as in *al-Aʿraj* (“the lame one”). Often, composites with *al-dīn* (“of the religion”) are added to the *ism*, as in *Jalal al-Dīn* (“majesty of religion”). To people in political positions compounds with *al-dawlah* (“of the state”) may be given as honorific titles, as in *Sayf al-Dawlah* (“sword of the state”). Rulers surrounded themselves with long chains of honorific names, the central one pointing to their relation with God, as in *al-Mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh* (“who trusts in God”). Male children were sometimes given repellent names to avert the evil eye, but slaves were often given such delightful names as *Marjān* (“coral”) and *Kāfūr* (“camphor”).

Non-Arab Muslims traditionally continued using their inherited names, complemented by Muslim names; in countries under Persian cultural influence, such as Turkey and India, Persian names were often used among the upper classes. Indo-Pakistan has produced unusually colorful names, which are often incompatible with Arabic grammar.

Names are often given by an elder member of the family or a venerated master. If a child is born on an auspicious day or in a sacred month, he or she may be named accordingly: by *Ramaḍān*, for instance, or *Mawlidīyah* (for a girl born on the birthday, *mawlid*, of the Prophet). If the child is the result of a special prayer he may be given the name *Nabi-Bakhsh* (“gift of the Prophet”), *Dād-ʿAlī* (“Ali’s gift”), or *Ghauth-Bakhsh* (“given by Ghauth,” i.e., *ʿAbd al-Qādir Jīlānā*). Often, especially in India, the Qurʾān is opened and the first meaningful word found is taken for a name. Family names were long unknown in some parts of the Muslim world, or have only recently been introduced, as in Turkey; in such cases the *nisbah* or the *laqab* may develop into a family name.

Hinduism. Hindu names are extremely varied and numerous. They often include the names of deities, as in *Devadatta* (“given by God”). A Hindu name should reflect the bearer’s place within the caste hierarchy. Sometimes a secret name is given to a boy and will remain as part of what survives of him after his death. A close relationship exists between name and personality, and so one’s name must be guarded and respected. A traditional Hindu wife never calls out the name of her husband or utters it to others, nor will her husband use her name aloud. The more names a person has, the more secure he or she is from evil and harm. A change of name occurs when status is altered, as when a person becomes a ruler or is recognized as a great spiritual leader.

The ritual of name giving is an important family event, requiring new clothes, an auspicious spatial orientation for the ceremony, the bestowing of a consecrated gold object on the child, and anointing. The name is selected by a family priest or astrologer. Careful attention is given to the number of syllables in the selected name (an even number for boys, odd for girls), its source, and other similar matters.

China. There is an intimate relationship in Chinese tradition between a person’s name and his essential being. After a person’s death, if no spirit tablet is attached to the grave, there is no continuing inhabitant of the grave in the sense of a distinct personality. The spirit tablet, or “soul silk,” is inscribed with the taboo name of the deceased and receives the prayers and veneration of his family. Although names are maintained for generations, the real name of the deceased is never uttered aloud; rather, another name or title is used. This applies also to living persons, who are commonly referred to by inferior names, which are often apotropaic, considered capable of warding off evil because of their unattractive associations. A demon is unlikely to take an interest in a child with a name meaning “stupid dog” or “sweet potato.” Inferior names are known in other cultures, too, such as those of Africa and of ancient Greece. Paired with the inferior name is a “fate name” *(ta ming)*, which bears an auspicious meaning (prosperity, happiness, success). The fate name is also never uttered. In traditional China, each name was thought to require an adequate portion of each of the five elements of the universe, which were symbolized by certain Chinese characters. The precise determination of a new name was made by consulting the horoscope.

The naming of persons, especially males, has been a complex matter in China. The “milk name,” given a month after birth, remains with the person for life. It is used by relatives and others close to the person. Additional names include a "book name," bestowed upon starting school; a "great name," received at marriage; a name to be used by friends outside the family circle; a "studio name," for scholars; and a posthumous, or taboo, name, inscribed on the spirit tablet. Females receive fewer names than males, but they, too, have a milk name, a surname, a marriage name, and nicknames.

Chinese emperors had many names, some connected with their years of rule and any favorable factors connected with them. A ruler's personal name was taboo during his lifetime. At the domestic level, a child was forbidden to utter the name of his father, and wives avoided using their husbands' names, as in India.

Nonliterate traditions. The use of secret names has been widespread among otherwise very distinct and dispersed cultures. In Aboriginal Australia, name taboos were associated with secret rituals featuring the names of sacred and totemic beings. A person's secret name was never uttered beyond the ritual setting, when the *tjurunga* was being examined, and it was not known beyond the circle of initiated males of his local totem group. Even when the secret name was spoken, it was whispered, lest an enemy learn it and work evil magic by it. The secret name among Aboriginals represented the real self, linked with the past, present, and future in the timeless Dreaming.

Among the Inuit (Eskimo) of North America, the Netsilik distinguished between a personal soul and a name soul. The former was the source of health and energy but was vulnerable to attacks by evil spirits and wicked shamans. A name soul was an actual name, with life and power of its own, and it could protect the person who bore it. Therefore, people acquired as many names as possible, because they served as guardians. Males and females bore names without regard to sex, and the names often came from nonhuman categories such as animals, natural objects, and activities. Hunters liked to have additional names for greater strength, and women obtained them in order to have healthier children. When giving birth, a mother would often call out various names; if the birth was made easier after the mention of a particular name, then it was believed that a name soul had already entered the baby's body, and that would be its name.

In Native American cultures, names were thought to shape and influence the personalities and characters of individuals. Names might serve as an ideal or goal if they were auspicious or represented some virtue. Or names were given that reflected failings and character flaws. It was common for a person to earn a series of names during his lifetime. Among the Blackfeet, a man normally had at least three names: he received the first at birth and used it until he went to war for the first time. The second was a nickname given to him in boyhood by his playmates. It was often unflattering and would sometimes remain attached to its bearer for life. The third was the tribal name, bestowed after the young man had fought his first enemy. The tribal name was based on the outcome of that fateful experience and he bore it for life, whether it reflected honor or dishonor. If a person earned an unflattering name because of his first battle, he could possibly redeem himself through later exploits and then be awarded a meritorious name by the tribe. An individual might earn as many as a dozen names during his lifetime, all of which were his exclusive possessions, forbidden to others. It has also been traditional among Native Americans not to divulge their own names when asked. Someone else must utter the name, because it would be boastful as well as inauspicious to speak one's own name aloud. In many Native American cultures, names were drawn from the totemic and animal worlds, as well as from incidents in life. Names of deities were rarely used in connection with human names.

SEE ALSO Attributes of God; Dhikr; God; Nianfo; Supreme Beings.

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NĀNAK,

NĀNAK, Gurū (1469–1539), was the founder of the Sikh religion and the first of a succession of ten gurūs or spiritual prophets.

LIFE. Born in 1469, in Talwandi, a small village in northern India (now in Pakistan), Nānak grew up in a religiously diverse atmosphere. A plurality of Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist, and Jain philosophies and practices circulated in the Punjab of his time. During Nānak's lifetime Babur defeated the Lodi dynasty in the Battle of Panipat (1526) and established the Mughal Empire. Nānak was born into a Bedi family of *kṣatriya* Hindus. His father, Kalyan Chand, worked as an accountant for the local Muslim landlord. His mother, Tripta, was a pious woman. The parents named him after their older daughter Nānaki. The love and understanding Nānak received from his sister during his formative years were vital to his consciousness. Later he went to live with Nānaki and her husband Jairam in Sultanpur and worked at the local grocery shop. He married Sulakhni, and they had two sons, Sri Chand (b. 1494) and Lakhmi Das (b. 1497).

In Sultanpur, Nānak had a revelation of the oneness of reality. With his proclamation, "There is no Hindu; there is no Musalman," Nānak began his religious mission. Thereafter for twenty-four years he traveled throughout India and beyond spreading his message of divine unity. During most of his travels, his Muslim companion Mardana played on the rebec, while Gurū Nānak sang songs of intense love addressing the ultimate One in everyday Punjabi. The direct and simple style of Gurū Nānak's teaching drew people from different religious and social backgrounds. Those who accepted him as their "gurū" and followed his teachings came to be known as Sikhs, a Punjabi word that means "disciple" or "seeker" (Sanskrit, *śiṣya*; Pali, *sikha*).

At the end of his travels, Gurū Nānak settled in Kartarpur, a village he founded by the river Ravi. A community of disciples grew around him here. Engaged in ordinary occupations of life, they denied monastic practices and affirmed a new sense of family. Their pattern of *sevā* (voluntary service), *langar* (cooking and eating irrespective of caste, religion, or sex), and *sangat* (congregation) created the blueprint for Sikh doctrine and practice. In his own lifetime Nānak appointed his disciple Lahina as his successor, renaming him Angad (my limb). Gurū Nānak died in Kartarpur in 1539.

Though there is little historical documentation dating from Nānak's lifetime, his own hymns in the *Gurū Granth* have survived. He is vividly remembered in the *janamsākhīs* and the ballads of Bhai Gurdas.

Janamsākhīs. These "birth stories" are short narratives depicting the birth and life of Gurū Nānak. Combining myth, legend, and history, they portray the divine dispensation of Nānak, his concern for kindness and social cohesiveness, and his stress on divine unity and the consequent unity of humanity. The *janamsākhīs* disclose the illustrious advent of Nānak's birth. In their central concern and luminous descriptions, the accounts of Nānak's birth have a great deal in common with those of Christ, Buddha, and Kṛṣṇa. Just as baby Jesus' stable was lit up by the bright Star of Bethlehem, the humble mud hut in which Nānak was born was flooded with light at the moment of his birth. But Mata Tripta goes through a normal pregnancy, and her Muslim midwife, Daultan, is struck by the extraordinary qualities of the child she delivers.

The *janamsākhīs* continue to provide fabulous details of Gurū Nānak's entire life. They depict scenes in which dreadful and dangerous elements of nature either protect him (like the cobra offering his shade to a sleeping Nānak) or are controlled by him (with his outstretched palm Nānak stops a huge rock hurled at him). They depict Nānak's divine configuration. At his death, the shroud is left without the body and flowers are found in its place; both Hindus and Muslims carry away the fragrant flowers to cremate or bury according to their respective customs. The quick and vigorous style of the *janamsākhīs* lent itself easily to oral circulation, and they became popular. The *janamsākhīs* have also been painted and brightly illustrated. The *janamsākhīs* provide Sikhs with their first literary and visual introduction to their heritage, and the stories continue to nurture them for the rest of their lives.

Bhai Gurdas. The ballads of Bhai Gurdas celebrate Gurū Nānak as the axial point between the human and the divine and as the founder of a unique ethical and spiritual legacy. Bhai Gurdas (1551–1636), born twelve years after the death of Nānak, is the first theologian of the Sikh religion. His depiction of Nānak's advent holds special significance in the communal memory of the Sikhs. As Gurū Nānak made his appearance, mist lifted, "light filling the world / Like the stars vanish and darkness recedes as the sun rises." Bhai Gurdas powerfully portrays Nānak as the medium of divine revelation whose inspired utterances *(bani)* radically changed the world. He focuses on the transcendent aspect of Nānak's personality and his liberating message for his stratified society. Nānak's critique of asceticism, macho behavior, and superstitious observances comes out effectively through Bhai Gurdas's wit and lively meters.

The *Gurū Granth.* The Sikh scripture compiled in 1604 contains 974 hymns by Nānak on a wide range of themes. The opening hymn is Nānak's *Japu*, which is the quintessence of Sikh philosophy. Nānak's metaphysical vision of the divine, his ethical stress on social equality, and his aesthetic approach form the basis for the entire Sikh scripture.

Metaphysics. The *Gurū Granth* begins with Nānak's formulation, *"Ik Oaṅkār"* (literally, "1 Being Is"). Without using any terms, Nānak designates the divine as the numeral 1. *Oan* is the primal syllable of Indian thought. Nānak's character for the word *oan* has an arc flying off, as though it were a geometric symbol for the infinity of the numeral 1. In a milieu seething with Hindu-Muslim conflict, the realization of the divine One was critical for Nānak. But his view differed from Hinduism in which the singular reality can be incarnated in myriad ways. Nānak explicitly qualifies that the One cannot be installed (*thapia na jae*), cannot be made (*kita na hoe*). Nānak's "Oneness" did not correspond with the Islamic notion of one God either, because his vision of the One includes a plurality of approaches to the divine. In his Baburvani hymns, Nānak specifically criticizes the narrow religious worldview that was imposed by Babur's Mughal regime on the people of India.

Ethics. More than a theological belief, "Oneness" is an active and dynamic awareness of the infinite within the human self. Such a consciousness gets rid of dualities (*dubida*) and petty selfishness *(huamai).* The One pervades each being, says Nānak: "there is a light in all and that Light is That One." How then could there be hegemonies of caste, race, religion, or gender? Nānak's metaphysical insight aimed to reproduce an egalitarian ethical system. He rejected the fourfold caste system in which a *śūdra* was below the *brahman.* He rejected notions and practices that relegated women below men. He spoke against beliefs concerning the pollution associated with menstruation and childbirth and against the sexist practices of sati and purdah. Nānak's fivefold spiritual journey (in the finale of his *Japu*) urges men and women to:

1. live morally in this diverse and variegated planet earth—*dharam*;
2. expand their knowledge—*gian*;
3. refine psychological and intellectual faculties—*saram*;
4. work vigorously—*karam*;
5. bring into their daily activities the truth (*sach*) that is present in all the continents and constellations alike.

Nānak boldly affirms life on earth and makes personal, economic, social, and political concerns a part of his religious worldview.

Aesthetics. Nānak provides no proofs, arguments, rules, theories, or prescriptions. In order to bring about a real change in his divisive society, he wanted to reach into the very consciousness of his people. Inspired poetry *(bani* or *shabad)* was his means. Aesthetics was his approach. "Only the relisher of fragrance can recognize the flower," he claimed (*Gurū Granth* 725). His passionate utterances celebrate the singular creator and exult in wonder at the beauty and vastness of the cosmos. Through his aesthetic discourse, Nānak tried to awaken his followers and revitalize their senses, psyche, imagination, and spirit.

Legacy. For the twenty million Sikhs living around the globe, Nānak is a continuing reality. Their day begins by reciting his sublime poetry. Sikh homes, places of business, and sacred spots display his images. Wearing an outfit combining Hindu and Muslim styles, his eyes rapt in divine contemplation, and his right palm imprinted with the symbol of the singular reality, Gurū Nānak inspires his viewers to discover "That One" for themselves.

SEE ALSO Ādi Granth; Sikhism.

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NIKKY-GUNINDER KAUR SINGH (2005)

NANJŌ BUNYŪ (1849–1927), also transliterated Nanjio Bunyiu; Japanese Buddhist scholar who first introduced Sanskrit into Japan from Europe and laid the foundation for Western-style Sanskrit and Buddhist studies in Japan. Nanjō was born in Gifu prefecture on May 12, 1849, and was educated in a school run by the Higashi-Honganji. In 1876 he was selected by the abbot Gennyo to study Sanskrit and Sanskrit Buddhist texts in England. F. Max Müller, whom he visited at Oxford in 1879, advised him to study Sanskrit there under A. A. Macdonell, one of Müller's students. Nanjō returned to Japan with an M.A. degree in 1884, and the following year he began to teach Sanskrit at the University of Tokyo.

During his stay in England Nanjō helped Müller to publish Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts that had been preserved in such Japanese temples as the Hōryūji and the Kōkiji. Their collaboration resulted in the publication of *Buddhist Texts from Japan* (Oxford, 1881), published under Müller's name, and the two other volumes published jointly by Müller and Nanjō: *Sukhâvatî-vyûha, Description of Sukhâvatî, the Land of Bliss* (Oxford, 1883) and *The Ancient Palm-Leaves Containing the Pragñâpâramitâ-hridaya-sûtra and the Ushnîsha-vigaya-dhâranî* (Oxford, 1884). These were the first contributions Japanese scholars had made to the international field of Sanskrit studies.

Nanjō's most significant contribution to Sanskrit and Buddhist studies was *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka, the Sacred Canon of the Buddhists in China and Japan* (Oxford, 1883), which has long served as the only guide to the Chinese version of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka for European and American scholars who do not read Asian languages. Nanjō also rendered valuable service to the study of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. His work here includes publication, with H. Kern, of the text of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* (Saint Petersburg, 1908–1912), the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* (Kyoto, 1923), and the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra* (Kyoto, 1931), with Izumi Hokei.

In 1888 Nanjō received the D.Litt. degree from the University of Tokyo; he was appointed a member of the Imperial Academy of Japan in 1906. In 1914 he became president of Ōtani University and in 1923 professor emeritus at the same university. He devoted himself to research, education, and administrative duties and the propagation of Jōdo Shinshū until he passed away at the age of seventy-eight on November 9, 1927.

SEE ALSO Müller, F. Max.

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MAYEDA SENGAKU (1987)

NANNA is the Sumerian name of the Mesopotamian moon god; his Akkadian name is Sin. Depending on different theologies, he was considered either the son of An (Anu), the nominal head of the pantheon, or of Enlil, the pantheon's real head. In cuneiform, Nanna's name was commonly represented by his sacred number, thirty, corresponding to the number of days in the lunar month. The Sumerian myth *Enlil and Ninlil* explains how the moon god came to have his dwelling in the sky. Originally he was to be born in the netherworld, but Enlil worked out an ingenious scheme whereby three other gods would be substituted in Nanna's place. Hence he was free to inhabit the sky.

Nanna's consort was Ningal ("great queen"), called Nikkal in Aramaic and Phoenician. Their children were the two other great astral deities, Inanna (Ishtar) and the sun god, Utu (Shamash). In southern Babylonia Nanna's principal cultic place of worship was Ur, while in northwestern Mesopotamia his center was Haran. It is curious that both these cities are associated with traditions about the patriarch Abraham before he entered Canaan (*Gn.* 11:27–32).

Although the moon cult rose with the political fortunes of Ur, particularly during its third dynasty, founded by Naram Sin ("beloved of Sin") circa 2000 BCE, Nanna maintained his popularity throughout the entire history of Mesopotamian civilization. The great diffusion of the moon religion in Mesopotamia is attested by the frequent occurrence of Nanna's name in theophoric personal names in all periods and by the numerous hymns and prayers praising him as a friendly and beloved god. Notwithstanding Nanna's popularity, the attempt of the last Neo-Babylonian king, Nabonidus, to place Nanna at the head of the pantheon in place of Marduk did not gain acceptance and indeed met with strong opposition.

Nanna's cosmic function intimately concerned mankind. The moon god lit up the night and measured time. Hence he was viewed as the controller of the night, the month, and the entire lunar calendar. Similarly, observations of the moon and, in particular, reports of the moon's appearances and disappearances constituted the basis for many omens that directly affected the land, the king, and the people. The enigmatic phenomenon of the constant rising and setting of the moon found its echo in the Akkadian epithet of the moon god as "a fruit that arises from itself and produces itself."

A cause for considerable anxiety was the occasional occurrence of an eclipse, which was considered a bad prognosis and spelled nothing but trouble. In the so-called eclipse myth, the phenomenon is explained as resulting from an attack on the moon by seven evil demons. The moon's capture by these demons causes its light to become cloudy. Prayers and sacrifices are therefore necessary to strengthen the moon and keep it free from future attack (i.e., from another eclipse).

In the hymns and prayers there is a tendency to ascribe to Nanna nearly all the qualities attributed to the other celestial deities. He is unfathomably wise, the organizer of life, guardian and leader of mankind, judge of heaven and earth, master of destinies, helper of the destitute and the lonely, and so forth. He is also associated with royalty. Nanna has the ability to confer royalty on kings by means of a divine halo, the same luminous halo that was observed to surround the moon. Furthermore, kings often expressed the wish that the great gods would confer on them a life renewable every month like the moon.

In the moon god's honor a special month of the year, Siwan (the summer solstice month), was dedicated to him. During the third dynasty of Ur, festivals called *eshesh* ("all-temple" or "general" festivals) were celebrated on the first, seventh, and fifteenth days of the month, corresponding to the phases of the moon.

The symbol of Nanna on cylinder seals and boundary stones was the crescent moon. Because the crescent moon appeared in Mesopotamia with its convexity at the bottom, the idea arose that the crescent was a boat carrying the moon god across the skies. This idea was furthered by the fact that the crescent shape was similar to the shape of the long, graceful boats which were—and are today—the chief means of transportation in the Mesopotamian (modern-day Iraqi) marshes (Jacobsen, 1976). Not surprisingly, then, another of Nanna's common epithets was "the shining boat of heaven."

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NAOMI SEE RUTH AND NAOMI

NARCOTICS SEE PSYCHEDELIC DRUGS

NĀ RO PA (1016–1100), also known as Nāḍapāda and Nāroṭapa; one of the eighty-four Indian Vajrayāna *mahāsiddha*s ("completely perfected ones"). Nā ro pa was the chief disciple of the *siddha* Ti lo pa (988–1069) and the second human member of the Vajrayāna lineage. This lineage runs from the celestial Buddha Vajradhāra to Ti lo pa, thence to Nā ro pa and his Tibetan disciple Mar pa (1012–1096), and then to the Tibetan Mi la ras pa (1040–1123), with whom the Bka' brgyud pa, one of the four major schools of Tibetan Buddhism, properly begins. Although the Bka' brgyud pa lays special claim to Nā ro pa, he is highly regarded throughout Tibet; in fact, most of the major Tibetan schools have over the course of time integrated his major transmissions and teachings into their own doctrinal formulations.

The earliest and one of the most important biographies of Nā ro pa (approximately twelfth century) outlines the major movements of his life. This biography is a typical example of Vajrayāna hagiography in its intermingling of the ordinary and tangible with the cosmic, magical, and supernatural. Within the genre, however, this biography of Nā ro pa emphasizes the spiritual development of its subject, concentrating on the earlier phases of his career where he is presented as an ordinary, struggling human being seeking spiritual awakening. Only toward the end of his biography do we find Nā ro pa emerging as a fully enlightened *siddha*, majestic in demeanor and surrounded by miracles.

According to his biography Nā ro pa was born in Bengal of the *kṣatriya*, or royal caste. At the age of eleven he went to Kashmir for three years of formal study of Buddhism, a study that continued with tutors upon his return to Bengal. His Buddhist education was cut short when, at the age of sixteen, he was forced by his father to marry a brahman girl named Ni gu ma. The marriage lasted eight years, and was then dissolved by mutual agreement so that Nā ro pa could further his religious training. Ni gu ma was also spiritually inclined, took up Buddhist training herself, and in due course became the founder of an important Vajrayāna and Tibetan lineage.

After the divorce, Nā ro pa returned to his Buddhist training, taking ordination and continuing his study for nine more years, becoming accomplished in the various major areas of Buddhist learning. In 1049 Nā ro pa went to the famous Buddhist monastic university of Nālandā in northeast India and successfully participated in a religio-philosophical debate. As a result, he was elected to the powerful and prestigious position of abbot or gate-keeper, thus fulfilling the ideals of conventional monastic Buddhism and receiving his recognition within that world.

Eight years later a shift occurred in Nā ro pa's spiritual development, from satisfaction with a predominantly intellectual understanding of Buddhism to the search for greater depth of comprehension, and from the monastic life of conventional Buddhism to the nonmonastic form of the Tantric yogin. Such a shift is described in the lives of several other of the eighty-four *siddha*s and we may suppose that it was not entirely uncommon in those days. Nā ro pa's biography tells us that one day while studying a Buddhist philosophical text he suddenly had a vision of an ugly old hag. She made it clear to him that while he understood the text he was reading on a conceptual level, he had no inner understanding of it at all. She further revealed that if he wanted to attain genuine understanding, Nā ro pa should seek one Ti lo pa, who alone could help him.

Nā ro pa was devastated by the vision, and was unable to discount the truth it revealed. His response to the hag's revelation was to give up his position at Nālandā and to abandon the monastic life, wandering forth in search of the *siddha* Ti lo pa. He experienced eleven further visions, which he dismissed as worthless because they contradicted his preconceptions about spirituality, but which in retrospect were revealed to him to have been manifestations of Ti lo pa himself. In despair over his failure to find his teacher, Nā ro pa came to the brink of suicide; at just this moment, he met Ti lo pa.

As depicted in Nā ro pa's biography, Ti lo pa is a strange, enigmatic figure, anonymous in his context and unnoticed by others, but recognized by Nā ro pa as a powerful and uncompromising teacher and, most important, as his authentic *guru*. However, as Guenther rightly comments, Ti lo pa "is more than the individual who happened to become Nā ro pa's Guru. In a certain sense, Tilopa is Nā ro pa's total self which summons him to find himself" (Guenther, 1963, p. iv). Nā ro pa committed himself unreservedly to serve Ti lo pa, and attended him for twelve years, until the latter's death in 1069. During this time Nā ro pa underwent a rigorous training marked by much hardship and ordeal, and was put through twelve major trials by his teacher. These trials, depicted as external, literal events, no doubt epitomize moments in Nā ro pa's inner spiritual journey: at Ti lo pa's behest, he hurls himself from the top of a three-story temple roof; he leaps into a blazing fire; he is beaten senseless on several occasions by people he deliberately provokes at his master's command; he offers his body to leeches; and so on. Finally, he cuts off his own head and limbs and offers them as a fit offering to his master. At each offering Ti lo pa restores his disciple and instructs him in the next stage of his Tantric training.

By the time of Ti lo pa's death, Nā ro pa had purified his being and achieved realization, possessing a rich array of Tantric teachings to pass to his disciples. These teachings included the "six *yoga*s of Nā ro pa" (*Nā ro chos drug*), practices particularly associated with the Bka' brgyud pa lineage but which subsequently became known and practiced among the other Tibetan schools. Nā ro pa had seven chief disciples among the many he trained, including Maitri pa, Ḍombhi pa, and Mar pa. His chief legacy is his consolidation of the teachings received from Ti lo pa, which he then passed on to his chief disciple, the Tibetan Mar pa, thus enabling their flowering within Tibet in the Bka' brgyud lineage and other Tibetan traditions. Nineteen works in the Tibetan Bstan 'gyur (Tanjur) are attributed to Nā ro pa, including several Tantric *sādhana*s (liturgical meditations) on the Vajrayāna deities Vajrayoginī, Hevajra, and others particularly important to the Bka' brgyud tradition, two collections of Tantric realization songs (*vajragīti*), and a number of commentaries on Vajrayāna topics.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Tibet; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism; Mahāsiddhas; Mar-pa.

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NASIʾ SEE PATRIARCHATE

NĀṢIR-I KHUSRAW

NĀṢIR-I KHUSRAW is best known as a Persian poet, philosopher, and traveler, as well as for his efforts in spreading the Ismāʿīlī form of Islam in Central Asia. Born in 1004 in Qubadiyan in present-day Tajikistan, he is buried in the Yumgan Valley of Afghan Badakhshan, where he spent the most creative period of his life in exile.

Educated in the major sciences of the day, Khusraw served as an official in the Ghaznawid Court. In his autobiography he describes a life of indulgence and social rounds. In 1045 he dramatically resigned from his post and set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He describes his travels along the Silk Road, the performance of his pilgrimage, and his journey to Cairo, the capital of the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī empire, after leaving Mecca. He writes admiringly of the civic, administrative, and cultural achievements of Egypt, and during his stay he became immersed in the study of Ismāʿīlī philosophy.

Khusraw benefited from the presence of many of the scholars who studied and taught at the institutions of learning, such as Al-Azhar and *Dār* al Hikmah, and joined the da'wa, the organization responsible for the spread and preaching of Islam among the Fāṭimids. After more travels, including two pilgrimages, he was appointed to be in charge of the da'wa in Khurāsān. Successful in his mission, Khusraw nonetheless became the target of intense hostility and was forced to find refuge in the Pamir mountains, where he spent the rest of his life.

Khusraw's writings reflect the broad range of his intellectual interests and abilities. His *Dīwān* contains his best poems, which draw on the imagery of the place and the encompassing themes of quest, ethics, the foibles of daily life, and even the anguish of exile. The poems are coloured by a strong sense of devotion to the cause of the Prophet and his heirs, the Imams. There are other, more philosophical, writings that reflect Khusraw's primary interests: intellectual exposition of Islamic thought, esoteric hermeneutic of the Qurʾān, and the inner quest for spirituality and personal enlightenment. His *Safer nama*, an account of his travels, is a classic of detailed and trenchant observations of places, persons, and society.

Perhaps Khusraw's most important contribution was the commitment to developing and sustaining the use of the Persian language. He ranks among the foremost writers of his generation in preserving writing in Persian prose and poetry, and his writings have had a significant impact on Persian-speaking peoples across the region.

Khusraw's teaching and works have been preserved by the Ismāʿīlīs of the region who remember and commemorate him in their literature, music, and practices as the founder of their community. More recently his works have become widely available through new editions and translations.

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NĀTARĀJI SEE ICONOGRAPHY, *ARTICLE ON* HINDU ICONOGRAPHY; ŚIVA

NATHAN

NATHAN (tenth century BCE), or, in Hebrew, Natan; a prophet in the court of King David. Nathan is presented in the Hebrew scriptures as a prophet and intimate of David's court, appearing in three different scenes. In the first scene (*2 Sm.* 7:1–17), Nathan is consulted by David about the king's plans to build a temple for Yahveh. Nathan approves of the plan, which will be carried out by David's son, and also promises David by divine oracle the establishment of a perpetual dynasty. This scene constitutes the climax of the Deuteronomist's account of David's reign, in which Nathan acts as the spokesman for the historian's royal ideology.

In the second scene (*2 Sm.* 12:1–15), Nathan presents to David the divine reprimand for his adultery with Bathsheba and his murder of Uriah. By means of a parable about an unjust rich man who robbed a poor man of his only lamb he is able to get David to condemn himself. He also predicts future troubles for David's household.

In the third story (*1 Kgs.* 1), Nathan is part of a court conspiracy in which he advises Bathsheba of a plan to persuade the senile David to make Solomon king instead of his older brother Adonijah. The plan is successful, and Nathan and Zadok anoint Solomon even before David's death. Here divine guidance plays no part in the events, only human ambition.

These last two scenes are part of a literary work known to modern scholars as the succession story, which some would date to the time of Solomon and thus have it reflect a historical memory of these events. But there are reasons to believe that the succession story is a late fiction and tells nothing about the nature of prophecy in the time of David. Also suspect is the Chronicler's attribution to Nathan of historical chronicles that he suggests are his sources for the reigns of David and Solomon (*1 Chr.* 29:29, *2 Chr.* 9:29).

SEE ALSO David.

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NATIONALISM SEE CIVIL RELIGION

NATION OF ISLAM.

The first several decades of the twentieth century marked a continuing challenge for African Americans. Attempting to carve out a viable socioeconomic, political, and cultural space was difficult in light of disenfranchisement, mob violence, and the scarcity of good jobs. Hearing rumors of increased opportunities, many African Americans participated in the "Great Migration" that marked the movement of African Americans into northern and southern cities in search of better life options. However, in places like Chicago and Detroit, African Americans quickly came to realize that racial discrimination could not be escaped through migration.

MASTER FARD AND THE BEGINNING OF A MOVEMENT. W. D. Fard (Master Fard Muhammad; 1891?–1934?) appeared in Detroit in 1930, selling scarves and other goods, and engaging eager listeners in conversations that involved a history lesson concerning their true status as Asiatics, originally from Mecca. His teachings perplexed and intrigued listeners and, while his theories seemed fantastic, his audience grew as blacks in Detroit gained from his teachings a new sense of self-worth and a way to critique oppression encountered during the course of daily existence.

To secure the greatness blacks were meant to exhibit, it was necessary to reject the teachings, or "tricknology," of whites, and embrace Islam—the black community's true religion. Black Americans were lost within the wilderness of the United States, but Master Fard had been sent to restore them to their former glory through his teachings and written materials—the Supreme Lessons—a blending of basic educational skills and metaphysics.

This, of course, was not the first time an articulation of Islamic teachings was expressed within the context of African American communities. Scholars have recently recognized an early Muslim presence in North America that might represent roughly 10 percent of the African population in North America during slavery. Diary accounts, autobiographies, and Works Progress Administration (WPA) documents all attest to such Islamic practices as prayer while facing east, dietary restrictions, and Islamic names given to children in early African American communities. This early Islamic presence serves as a cultural memory upon which more recent practices developed. For example, the Moorish Science Temple, developed roughly a decade before the Nation of Islam, espoused doctrines that combined Islamic teachings with other theological orientations. Members of the Moorish Science Temple believe Noble Drew Ali (1886–1929), the organization's founder, is reincarnated in subsequent leaders. Some suggest that Master Fard was Noble Drew Ali reincarnated, an argument rejected by the Nation of Islam. Master Fard maintained a degree of mystery by suggesting that he was from the East, sent on a special mission, with more information to be revealed in time.

Some estimates suggest that Master Fard's temple grew to roughly eight thousand members, one of the most important being Elijah Muhammad (born Elijah Poole; 1897–1975). As part of the Great Migration, Poole came to Detroit from the South. But with a limited education, Poole found it difficult to secure employment that met the needs of his growing family. This economic situation, combined with his unfulfilled interest in church ministry, left him frustrated but open to the inspiring teachings of Master Fard. Upon first hearing Master Fard, there was a quick connection between the two that culminated in Poole's name change to Elijah Muhammad and his being called to minister in Fard's movement. With the mysterious disappearance of Master Fard in 1934, a power struggle emerged, centered on Elijah Muhammad. Forced to leave Detroit for a period, he traveled to cities such as Chicago, presenting the teachings of Master Fard.

ELIJAH MUHAMMAD'S TEACHINGS. The conversion of new members did not involve an emotional response as happened in so many black churches. It entailed an intellectual and psychologically deliberate acceptance of the teachings of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. The completion of this transformation, this acceptance of the black person's true nature and destiny, was presented by the convert in a letter to Elijah Muhammad's headquarters in Chicago. In this letter, the person seeking membership indicated participation in several meetings and a firm belief in the doctrines. The letter included a request for full participation in the life of the Nation and asked the Honorable Elijah Muhammad to provide the writer with the person's original name. Until a new name was given, members made use of *X*, which represented the unknown. The old name represented the white race and the damaging effects of slavery (and a slave mentality) on the identity of black Americans. The *X* involved a rejection of the former self and the embrace of a new identity associated with a new relationship with Allah and his messenger, Elijah Muhammad.

Self-sufficiency was one of the Nation of Islam's mantras, and it was expressed practically through the organization's various business ventures, which included restaurants, bakeries, and a farm. This attention to economic self-determination as a step toward complete knowledge of self is in keeping with the organization's push for separation from whites through the development of an independent black nation comprised of several states with rich farming land. In order to finance this new nation, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad called for the U. S. government to provide enough funds to sustain the black nation for twenty to twenty-five years. From the Nation's perspective this was neither a loan nor a handout. It was overdue wages for centuries of uncompensated slave labor. According to the Nation of Islam, it was a small price to pay when one considered the institutions and accumulated wealth that resulted from centuries of chattel slavery.

In lectures Elijah Muhammad proclaimed that Fard was God (Allah) incarnate and that he, Elijah Muhammad, was the messenger of God commissioned to teach black Americans about their true nature as the original people of the earth, godlike and destined to rule the universe. The most troubling dimension of this teaching was the reference to white people as devils who were made by a wise, yet mad, scientist named Mr. Yakub as a predestined part of the 25,000-year cycle of history in which we currently live. This actual and historical devil race, the story goes, will rule blacks for a set number of years. Such a period of domination and destruction, the Nation taught, serves as a pedagogical tool by which blacks, who strayed from their original religion of Islam, are corrected and prepared for their future glory. The Nation of Islam would ultimately soften the more harsh dimensions of its theology, arguing that the devil doctrine entailed a metaphorical attack on white supremacy and discrimination as opposed to an attack on white Americans. While remaining controversial, this rethinking of the Nation of Islam's more charged view is most notable as of the 1990s.

The Nation of Islam's task entailed enlightenment, the presentation of the true nature of blacks and whites, and the tools necessary for blacks to transform themselves. Once blacks in America—the Lost/Found Nation—gained knowledge of self and accepted the teachings of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad as the "Spiritual Head of the Muslims in the West," judgment would occur through which whites would be punished and the earth purged by fire, and blacks would then regain control over the universe. The faithful of God (i.e., the Nation's members) would construct a new civilization guided by principles of truth, freedom, justice, and equality.

Nation of Islam doctrine fluctuates between the complete destruction of whites and a measure of hope for the redemption of whites. The Nation's concern with issues of justice begs the question concerning an inherent contradiction: Should a community be punished for fulfilling its destiny, even when this involves the oppression of other groups? Is it proper, as a matter of justice, to condemn a community for its actions when it has no choice but to behave in a certain way because it has no free will?

Inconsistencies in the Nation's theology and rhetoric did not prevent growth and the alteration of the organizational framework to accommodate new members of various economic classes. For example, each local temple contained a minister who spread the Honorable Elijah Muhammad's teachings. To facilitate increased work and opportunities, the local minister was assisted by the captains of the Fruit of Islam (the collective of men who handed down discipline and provided security) and the Muslim Girl's Training and General Civilization Class, and so on. In addition, Elijah Muhammad expanded his network of ministers to maximize national exposure made available through television, including documentaries such as *The Hate That Hate Produced* (broadcast in 1959), and also the Nation's radio broadcasts and newspaper.

Aggressively seeking out members of the black community and the prison system, a process called "fishing," provided the Nation with its greatest source of growth and visibility. Through personal contact with black prisoners, the Nation gained one of its best-known leaders—Malcolm X (1925–1965)—whose charisma and media appeal benefited the Nation of Islam as both its national and international profile increased in importance and prominence within popular imagination. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad's personal moral failures, combined with the Nation of Islam's lack of participation in the civil rights movement, resulted in Malcolm's break with the Nation and his conversion to Sunnī Islam in 1964. Malcolm X embraced racial equality as a basic element of Islam in light of his encounter with Muslims from various ethnic and racial groups during his pilgrimage to Mecca. This perspective would result in new strategies for the obtainment of social justice as a dimension of human rights discourse. He established the Organization of Afro-American Unity and Muslim Mosque Incorporated shortly before his death in 1965.

THE NATION OF ISLAM TRANSFORMED. After the Honorable Elijah Muhammad's death in 1975, his son, Wallace Deen Muhammad (Imam Warith Deen Muhammad, b. 1933), was named head of the Nation of Islam. Attempting to bring the Nation into line with the larger, worldwide Islamic community, he rethought the aesthetics of the temples. He removed the Christian church trappings, such as pews (or chairs), and he replaced framed sayings by Elijah Muhammad with more Islamic ornamentation. Of more significance, the organization's practices were altered radically through a quick effort to enforce the five pillars of Islamic faith, the practices and attitudes embraced by all orthodox Muslims. In keeping with this shift, the presentation of Master Fard as Allah and Elijah Muhammad as the final Messenger was removed because of conflict with the orthodox understanding of Allah and the role of the prophet Muḥammad as the final prophet. In place of his more exalted role, Elijah Muhammad was presented as someone who, although misguided at points, sought to help black Americans achieve better life options. As a symbol of theological and aesthetic change, the name of the organization was changed to the World Community of Islam in the West, and changed again in 1982 to the American Muslim Mission. Imam Warith Deen Muhammad ultimately established a council of religious leaders, known as imams, to assist with religious and organizational questions, and members were told to consider themselves as simply members of the world community of Islam.

The Nation of Islam had been prone to schism. Notable among these various organizations is the Five Percent Nation (also known as the Nation of Gods and Earths), founded by Clarence 13X (1928–1969) in 1964 among young New Yorkers and based on a radical interpretation of the Nation's theology that presented blacks as gods with special knowledge based upon divine wisdom, often revealed through mathematics. However, the most visible and perhaps important of these splinter groups developed in 1978, when Minister Louis Farrakhan (b. 1933) formed a new organization named the Nation of Islam. Farrakhan affirmed the doctrines presented by Elijah Muhammad, including the teaching that Fard was Allah, and that the Honorable Elijah Muhammad was the messiah, with one significant addition. Farrakhan argued, based on a vision, that he himself was the prophet carrying on the work until the return of the messiah and judgment.

With time, the theology of the Nation of Islam under Minister Farrakhan would again change to include the institution of fasting during the month of Ramaḍān, as opposed to the more limited restriction instituted by the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. Furthermore, members of the Nation are currently encouraged to play a role in politics. Farrakhan modeled this through his participation in the Reverend Jesse Jackson's first run for the U.S. presidency in 1988, as well as his encouragement of Nation of Islam members to run for political office. This is clearly a break with the Honorable Elijah Muhammad's rejections of political involvement in a society that is marked for destruction.

While relations with the Jewish community remain tense at best, Farrakhan has worked to improve connections to the larger Islamic world. For example, his participation in the *ḥājj* (the pilgrimage to Mecca made by all financial and able-bodied Muslims) in 1985, as well as the availability of membership in the Nation without regard to race and ethnicity, speak to important shifts that make possible a repositioning of the Nation of Islam within the religious and political landscape of the United States and the world. However, this repositioning is not without significant tensions, as expressed, for example, through the Nation of Islam's sympathetic relationship with Libya's Muammar Qadhafi and the Libyan leader's efforts to provide the Nation with financial assistance.

Periods of tension and questionable allegiances have been mixed with more productive moments. Minister Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam, for instance, have sought to maintain a high level of viability through efforts such as the Million Man March in 1995. This was a gathering in Washington, D.C., of black men from various religious, social, and economic backgrounds. The purpose behind the gathering was repentance for misdeeds that have damaged the unity and vitality of black America, and a commitment to restoring themselves to their proper role as black men within the black community. While this event was successful, with participation estimated by some to have reached well over one million, the Nation of Islam has not been able to sustain positive attention. To some extent it remains a marginal religious tradition with a membership that is difficult to state with accuracy. Membership estimates typically range between thirty thousand and seventy thousand. By contrast, there are roughly four million African American Sunnī Muslims in the United States.

SEE ALSO Elijah Muhammad; Islam, article on Islam in the Americas; Malcolm X.

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ANTHONY B. PINN (2005)

NATIVE AMERICAN CHRISTIANITIES.

Heretofore scholars have not fully appreciated the rich variety and complex textures of Christian beliefs and practices among Native Americans. Specialists of indigenous religions largely have left the study of Native Christianity to missions historians. Historians of missions, in turn, lacking the linguistic and ethnographic training to otherwise interpret the subtleties, have understood Native Christianity largely as the straightforward outcome of missionary intentions and efforts. But a broader examination of the range of ways that different Native communities have variously engaged the missionaries' message and a more focused examination of how Native people have improvised locally on the missionary tradition suggest that the Christian tradition thus engaged bears consideration not simply as a subset of missiology or church history but as a Native American religious tradition among other Native American religions. The attempt here will be to briefly remark on the circumstances of the missions if only to underscore the ironic nature of the outcome: the transformations and improvisations through which various Native peoples have made the beliefs and practices of the tradition their own. A range of contemporary concerns facing Native Christians will also be surveyed.

The variousness of Native Christianities is due, in part, to the great diversity of aboriginal Native religions. The United States has recognized within its borders more than five hundred distinct Native tribes, speaking more than two hundred different first languages. Generalizations across the diversity of these traditions are often more facile than they are helpful, for each tribal religion has been tied to a variety of traditional lifeways on a variety of landscapes and invokes a variety of symbols of the sacred, each with a complexity and sophistication of its own.

That said, one can be sure of one commonality: along with the shared experience of colonization and Christian missionization, each Native community has shared the consequent burden of balancing continuity of tradition with the cultural and religious changes necessary to adapt to those colonizing realities. Whether such religious changes are best encapsulated as conversion, consolidated resistance, revitalization, or hybridity, they were all shaped by social, political, economic, and environmental realities even as they were formed by internal factors, such as visions, beliefs, and a need for meaning making.

Even these colonial realities, however, are diverse in themselves. Native communities in what became the United States have operated under nearly three hundred different treaties and have been missionized by nearly every institutional branch of Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox Christianity. The meeting of a diverse group of aboriginal religions with a diverse group of Christian missionaries produced a bewildering range of idiosyncratic Native Christianities, but as Bonnie Sue Lewis has observed, this is not simply due to the diverse missionary encounters that missions historians have long noted; it also results from what indigenous Americans variously did with the Christian beliefs and practices exchanged in missionary encounters. And here one finds the key pattern that gives shape to the range of idiosyncratic Native Christianities. To varying degrees, depending on relative levels of autonomy, all Native Christians have been active agents in their religious histories. In paying attention to how they made the Christian tradition their own, one finds that these communities often have drawn resourcefully on their indigenous traditions and idioms not so much to translate Christianity but to transpose the narratives and practices of the Christian tradition into distinctive idioms and structures of Native religions, oftentimes in ironic relation to the intentions of European American missionaries. For this reason, consideration of the fuller diversity and texture of Native Christianities cannot content itself with the history of missions proper, though of course it must begin there.

ROOTS IN MISSIONARY CONTACT. From the sixteenth century on, European economic, geopolitical, and colonial designs on North America were often conjoined with missionary designs. Missionaries were often in full complicity with other colonizing interests; sometimes they were in considerable tension. Similarly some missionaries were more invested than others in yoking cultural revolution to adherence to Christian practices, beliefs, and communities. Still, as George Tinker has importantly observed, whatever their intentions, missionaries of all denominations were "partners" in cultural "genocide," complicit in, if not directly responsible for, "the effective destruction of a people by systematically or systemically (intentionally or unintentionally in order to achieve other goals) destroying, eroding, or undermining the integrity of the culture and system of values that defines a people and gives them life" (Tinker, 1993, pp. 4, 6). Several examples, though by no means exhaustive, will perhaps be suggestive of the range of possibilities.

In the high Valley of Mexico claimed as New Spain in the 1520s, while some Spaniards questioned to what degree Indians were human, Dominican friars with millennial expectations imagined the promise of ideal Christian communities among peoples they took to be innocent noble savages as yet untainted by Europe's vices. By the early seventeenth century, Franciscan friars associated with explorers in what would become the American Southwest had established a network of mission stations in and around Santa Fe on the upper Rio Grande and later along the California coast, baptizing many and making often-divisive inroads in Native communities, even as European disease and compulsory labor were fragmenting them. In 1680 a movement known as the Pueblo Revolt gathered people of various eastern Pueblos under the direction of Popé, a visionary prophet, killed many of the missionaries and drove the Spaniards from the region for a time. Diminishing attention to the North by Spanish authorities and later those of Mexico, from the mid–eighteenth century to its absorption into the United States in 1848, meant that Christians in the various Pueblos were left relatively free of clerical control and thus could articulate Christian practices and beliefs in their own idiom.

In the fur-trading region claimed as New France, Catholic missionaries worked among communities speaking Algonkian and Iroquoian languages from the 1630s on. Jesuits certainly carried European assumptions about savagery and civilization, but they also studied Native languages and ceremonial customs assiduously and accommodated many Native practices in their effort to extend the Sacraments. In important respects, celibate priests identified themselves, and were so identified, with the healers and shamanic ritual specialists in Native communities with whom they consciously competed in ceremonial displays. With time, Jesuits came to view such aboriginal traditions more as obstacles than as conduits to the Christian faith. After the expulsion of Jesuits from North America in 1763, however, these Native communities, like the Native peoples of New Spain, were largely free of clerical control and enjoyed considerable autonomy in the shaping of their faith (Vecsey, 1997, pp. 23–26).

In the Pacific fur-trading region claimed as New Russia, from the late eighteenth century on, Orthodox priests with even more pronounced liturgical proclivities promoted the faith among Tlingit and other coastal peoples, less concerned with fomenting a complete cultural revolution than with incorporating Native peoples into the sacramental community.

In New England missionaries took a more Protestant view—and one more consistent with settler colonies—that the process of becoming Christian necessitated a demonstrable inner conversion that would be manifested not only in professed Christian belief but also in demonstrable radical cultural conversion. To be sure, even Protestant missionaries took a variety of positions on the precise relationship between Christianity and culture and did not uniformly preach the "gospel of soap." Moravians, Mennonites, and Quakers could point to considerable continuities between Native communal commitments and the Christian life. Still, with the Protestant insistence on a rigorous inner religious life, becoming Christian for some bespoke radical change away from aboriginal custom.

NATIVE TRANSFORMATIONS OF BELIEF AND PRACTICE. If the degree to which Native Christians could shape missionary Christianity varied, depending on missionaries' commitments to other colonizing interests, to wedding the faith with cultural change, and to developing a Native clergy, amid varying circumstances of dispossession and disease, Native Christianities as a whole developed at a considerable, often ironic, distance from the missionaries' intentions. Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox missionaries alike were left to scrutinize the sincerity of professed conversions; although prone to welcome any signs that their efforts were bearing fruit, they remained conspicuously uneasy with hybrid practices, which they often considered to be evidence of backsliding.

In any case, one ought to question, following Kenneth Morrison, the worth of "conversion" as an analytical term in any discussion of Native Christianities. In the seventeenth century, for example, Montagnais/Naskapi, Micmac, and Huron/Wendat peoples were surely changed by their encounters with Jesuits in New France, and Native Americans affiliated with the missions stood in no small tension with fellow tribes people. But the Sacraments, especially baptism and extreme unction, that Jesuits proffered and the notion of God that Jesuits preached were transformed in Native religious idioms that focused on the cosmological centrality of sacred power, where the workings of power mattered more than the orthodoxies of abstract theology. Here "religious change" rather than conversion better describes the way the power accessed through Christianity was embraced by those left with "religious uncertainty" in light of disease and concomitant social chaos (Morrison, 2002, pp. 131, 145).

Having developed largely outside the discipline of Euro-American clergy, Catholicism in the upper Rio Grande Pueblos has brought traditional seasonal corn dances and ceremonials into hybrid forms intermingled with devotion to Christian saints. In Cochiti Pueblo, for example, on the feast day of its patron saint, deer heads and conifer boughs adorn an arbor at one end of the Pueblo's plaza housing an image of the saint along with the Franciscan brother and village elders, as the brother and the elders preside over drummers, dancers, Kiva society members, and "sacred clowns" performing ancient indigenous dances of thanksgiving for corn.

Among Native people missionized by Protestants, such transformations are typically subtler, sprouting between the cracks of missionary discipline concerning the congruence of the Christian gospel and Euro-American culture. Still, they are significant for their indication that even here Native Christians could assert some degree of agency in the creation of their own traditions. Given the intentions of Baptist and Methodist missionaries among the Mississippi Choctaw, the historian Clara Sue Kidwell finds it ironic that mission churches and schools became havens for the sustained public practice of distinctive Choctaw traditions and core values. "Choctaws took advantage of mission churches," she writes, "as places where they could congregate and be themselves, where they could speak their own language and visit and play stickball, with its attendant gambling and drinking" (Kidwell, 2001, p. 183).

Among the Ojibwas (known to some scholars as Ojibwe), missionaries of various Protestant persuasions in the western Great Lakes began in the 1830s to vigorously promote the singing of hymns translated into the Native tongue. The Ojibwas, they learned, were more interested in the singing of songs than in the reading of translated Scripture or listening to unwieldy sermons through a translator. But pedagogical theory of the era understood hymnody to be a particularly useful tool in the moral education of children, and missionaries, having construed their Ojibwa charges to be like children, promoted and disciplined Native hymnody as a tool for eradicating Ojibwa culture and planting the seeds of Christian civilization. For their part, Ojibwas who affiliated with the Episcopalian mission—or more precisely with the Native clergy and lay sodalities (religious associations) nurtured in part by the mission itself—sang hymns in ways that betokened an indigenized Christianity shaped but not determined by the mission.

While there are occasional references in the missionary record to hymnody in worship, the ritualized singing of which missionaries frequently wrote belonged far from the mission church in the semiautonomous spaces of Ojibwa homes, in all-night prayer meetings and funeral wakes. Missionaries hastened to applaud this development, but they also noted that the ritualized nature of this singing placed it, along with other funerary practices, quite outside their discipline. Hymn singing was ritualized, the province of sodalities of men and women respectively, led by elders, in deathbed scenes or in all-night funeral wakes. By the late twentieth century, on certain Minnesota reservations, such ritualized hymn singing by groups of elders was considered by many—even many non-Christian Ojibwas—as a "traditional" rite of mourning, fully Christian but also fully Ojibwa (McNally).

The Tlingit communities of Southeast Alaska also sing Native-language hymns associated with Presbyterian missionaries of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. But before the Presbyterians came, most Tlingits had become incorporated into the Christian faith by Russian Orthodox priests whose liturgical tradition, especially after the U.S. purchase of Alaska from Russia, paid far less attention to repressing any continuities of Tlingit culture within Tlingit Christian practice, particularly elements of the elaborate funerary ritual complex known commonly as the potlatch. Indeed as Sergei Kan finds in *Memory Eternal,* the Orthodox emphasis on the ongoing relations between the living and the dead and the elaborate ritualizing around death and mourning allowed Tlingits to assign "their own meanings to Orthodox symbols" and to make Orthodoxy "meaningful to them without deviating in any major way . . . [from] Orthodox ritual practice" (Kan, 1999, p. 419). By the late twentieth century, even non-Orthodox Tlingits would categorize the elaborate Orthodox ceremonies of the forty-day funerary feast as "traditional" Tlingit activities.

One should also note a wide range of important religious transformations that drew on and improvised on Christian practices and beliefs (especially those concerning heaven and hell) in light of indigenous traditions but distinctively through the authority of visionary prophets—such as Handsome Lake (1735–1815) among the Seneca or Smohalla (c. 1815–1895) among the peoples of the Plateau in Washington Territory, whose Indian Shaker religion continues to the early twenty-first century—and the peyotist traditions of the Native American Church. These movements ought to be classified as new religious movements rather than as Native Christianity, given that their center of gravity lay not in Christian narratives and institutions but in the charismatic authority of prophets or in the transformative power of ritual as in the Native American Church.

Surely one can find many examples of more straightforward conversions among Native people that represent an utter discontinuity between traditional and Christian beliefs and practices, but the previous examples suggest that a consideration of Native Christianity cannot content itself with the history of missionaries and their intentions.

ISSUES OF INTERPRETATION. Scholarly reappraisals of Native Christianity in the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century have focused on what Native peoples did with the beliefs and practices that missionaries introduced. But they interpret the nature of those transformations in a variety of ways. Perhaps the idiosyncrasies of various Native Christianities themselves account for the range of interpretive frameworks. But by 2004 older models based on the concept of acculturation, through which Native culture systems, static and unified prior to contact, were seen to collide with Euro-American Christian ones and gradually to erode and acculturate, had yielded to more fluid models based on processual notions of culture. Interpretations based on the notion of acculturation could effectively account for the frequent violence and dispossession associated with culture change generally and Christianization in particular. But they could not account for the puzzling ways traditional practices and beliefs became woven tightly into the fabric of Native Christianity. At best these were seen as evidence of "syncretism," cultural aggregates pressed together by external circumstances but lacking stability or a logic of their own. Or alternatively they were seen as only nominally Christian, evidence really of disingenuous Native uses of Christian forms to promote an indigenous agenda.

By 2000 the literature had come to appreciate cultural change as something other than an oxymoron and had begun to attend seriously to the hybridity of Native Christianities. More importantly, this literature also may have begun to appreciate how at least some Native Christians remarkably have made their own a tradition whose missionary legacy had meant "continued bondage to a culture that is both alien and alienating, and even genocidal" (Tinker, 1993, p. 5). Building on Victor Turner's notion of the multivocality of religious symbols (see Kan) or Pierre Bourdieu's concept of the logic of practice as distinct from the logic of discursive thought (see McNally), some observers have noted that the indigenization of Christianity happens less through the more conventional discursive media of theology and creed and more in and through ritual practices that can more deftly address the potential contradictions of embracing a tradition associated with a colonizing history. For affirming an identity at once "Native" and "Christian" has posed considerable problems, social and existential, to Native Christians (see Treat).

CONTEMPORARY NATIVE CHRISTIANITIES. Even if, as the Cherokee theologian William Baldridge has put it, "doing theology, thinking theologically, is a decidedly non-Indian thing to do," Native thinkers have begun in earnest to develop a Christian theology that incorporates distinctively Native religious idioms, just as indigenized Christian liturgical practices have incorporated traditional Native religious elements (Treat, 1996, p. 12). But these efforts often did not resemble formal theology; they were often local, collaborative endeavors, found in dialogues between Christian and "traditional" spiritual leaders or rooted in indigenous theological institutions (Vecsey, 1999). In 2001, however, Clara Sue Kidwell, Homer Noley, and George Tinker published *A Native American Theology,* revisiting the themes of systematic theology, such as creation, Christology, sin, and eschatology, and proposing new ones, like "land" and "trickster," in order to "create a dialogue in which Indian people can speak as equals to Christians," encouraging them to "recognize the uniqueness of their practices with regard to Christianity" and to challenge "Indian people to examine their beliefs" whereby "some may reaffirm their faith" and "others may decide to abandon churches in order to maintain their national ceremonial traditions in lieu of participation even in Indian Christianity" (Kidwell, Noley, and Tinker, 2001, pp. 3–4).

Implicit here is an observation that many Native Christians have not squared their Christianity with their traditional "Native" identities. To be sure, some Christian denominations, perhaps especially Evangelical and Pentecostal traditions growing quickly among Natives as among Americans as a whole, do not emphasize continuity between indigenous traditions and the Christian faith. Other denominations with missionary legacies, and notably the Roman Catholic Church since the theological and liturgical sea changes of the Second Vatican Council in the 1960s, have emphasized the "inculturation" of the gospel into the theological and ceremonial vernaculars of various Native traditions, have staged interreligious dialogues with non-Christian spiritual leaders, and have promoted indigenous leadership (see Vecsey; Peelman; Treat). Still, since the broad rekindling of traditional Native American religions from the 1970s on, many Native people, even the baptized, have imagined the terms *Native* and *Christian* to be mutually exclusive and have decidedly chosen not to affiliate with the beliefs, practices, and institutions of Native Christianity. Thus just as it was in the missionary heyday of the nineteenth century but even more fully as a result of Native peoples' improvisation on and transformation of the missionary tradition, a wide range of Native Christianities obtains in the early twenty-first century.

SEE ALSO Black Elk; Wovoka.

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NATIVE AMERICAN SCIENCE.

A comprehensive understanding of Native American science presents a challenge because it is difficult to draw meaningful conclusions from the ideas, practices, and observations of hundreds of separate societies. Adding to the challenge is that Native American traditions were oral.

THE VALIDITY OF ORAL TRADITIONS. The oral histories of American Indians are knowledge systems about the natural environment and how they sustain a social structure of mutual dependence that ensures the survival of future generations. These oral narratives lay out a background on which further descriptions weave a picture that originated in the minds of the ancients. The ability to visualize the narrative provides a sturdy framework on which to build an age-old lesson of ideologies and conceptual understanding. In this way Native Americans passed on a culture that sustained life for thousands of years. These narratives were not passed on by rote. Rather, they provided knowledge that was experienced and became embedded in the conscience. Often, skillfully articulated Native American knowledge was associated in complex ways with ritual or ceremony. The inhabitants of the Americas before European contact, in hundreds of distinct societies, maintained knowledge banks of such sophistication that modern scholars who study human antiquity are mystified as to the origin of such a keen understanding of nature.

Confidence in the historical authenticity of ancient narratives is seen to be weak because of a lack of written evidence, sanctioned genocide, and removal of children to missionary and government boarding schools thereby distorting American Indian cultural traditions. Yet faulting oral traditions because they are not set in stone is applying too high a standard. Even in contemporary interpretations of translated ancient texts there are frequent conceptual misunderstandings. Misconceptions arise from struggles with foreign vernaculars expressing foreign worldviews and are compounded by provincial colloquialisms lacking modern equivalents.

TWO WAYS OF UNDERSTANDING THE NATURAL WORLD. The scientific method provides its practitioners with the authority to validate knowledge as objective truth. Objectivity, based on the absence of personal bias, is the foundation for the integrity of Western science. Some would argue, however, that objectivity is not a strength of the scientific enterprise; rather, it is its greatest weakness because it allows the experimenter to do "science for the sake of science," unencumbered by a subjective personal bias consisting of ethical and moral considerations. Advocates of science use the preemptive disclaimer that benefits outweigh risks to justify profit-driven research even where there are negative outcomes. As long as "objectivity" is equated with integrity, one can justify anything with equal impartiality, even making a nuclear bomb to destroy evil. The western scientific mind, in just a few hundred years, leaves behind the most imposing legacy of all time, a world full of side effects that generations to come will be forced to cope with, not the least of which is environmental degradation on a global scale.

Native Americans for thousands of years maintained a completely different worldview of ancient systems of subjective knowledge, orally transmitted. In these traditions, respect for life and caring for the land was and is a cultural imperative to insure the survival of future generations. Despite bloody conflicts and the loss of land, integral to the survival of a society and its customs, many groups maintained some semblance of their ancient knowledge systems by means of their traditions of oral history. Skilled orators have preserved ancient knowledge to the present. Now Native American scholars convey knowledge in images using the written word, despite the difficulty of precisely illustrating a concept. The orator, who has many visual props at hand, can be sure of precisely illustrating a concept for an audience, whereas the writer most likely will never know this about the reader.

In the spirit of the scientific method, the following hypothesis offers a tangible approach to begin piecing together an understanding of how oral history might work at the physiological level. Modern cognitive neuroscientists, using functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI), map brain activities associated with the movement of limbs, the five major senses, thought, perception, and memory. Ancient wisdom endures as thoughts and perceptions of the mind, not as squiggles of a pen. The physical manifestations of thought and even perception remain elusive (we cannot put either in a petri dish), but fMRI at least reveals the location in the brain of the activity of mental imagery or visualization. One might intuitively associate such activity with the visual cortex, but this is not the case. The fMRI data indicate that mental imagery and visualization are more closely associated with the seat of memory in the brain.

It is tempting to conclude that using imagery and visualization enhances the memory of details. The evidence seems to confirm that the mental image relays specific knowledge in the telling of a story. By letting an image do the talking rather than a narrative memorized by rote, orators, when called upon to relay the knowledge, are free to pass on the tradition in their own words. The Western scientific mind is uncomfortable with this practice because the orator has freedom of expression to embellish or omit key features of the knowledge. However, the trained orator knows that if the person on the receiving end has not grasped the idea to the fullest, if an exact copy of the image has not transferred from one mind to the next, it could compromise the very survival of the tribe. Even if the information that the orator learned in one day took several days to paint for the mind's eye of the receiver, the transfer was precise.

Humans within a community are drawn down different life paths. As an example, one person might be an excellent astronomer and will hone that skill, while another might have a talent to heal and will pursue that career path. Celebration of each milestone in life, from the time of birth, through childhood, adolescence, adulthood, and old age, is ceremonially guided, thus maintaining the continuity of knowledge and a sense of community. Ultimately, community members serve the needs of the community not solely for purposes of that day or season but rather because they operate within a framework designed to insure the survival of generations into the future.

ANCIENT WISDOM AND THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION. Education in the Western tradition convinces its audience that it is risky to commit a story to memory, say nothing of the workings of a whole society, because it will inevitably suffer corruption. So memory cannot be trusted to represent the truth, whole and entire. Yet Native Americans have devised and orally transmitted superior innovations and inventions that persist to the present day.

Emory Keoke and Kay Porterfield (2002) document hundreds of Native American innovations and inventions demonstrating the superiority of the American Indian intellect at the time of European contact. Old World explorers reaped many inventions and innovations from the highly intelligent inhabitants of the New World. The gifts fostered a greed that, within twenty years, set the stage of a betrayal that spanned five centuries, remnants of which persist today. The dehumanizing stereotype of "savage wild heathens" rationalized European expropriation from the New World of intellectual property in the form of inventions, processes, philosophies, and political or religious social systems. Europeans returned to the Old World and often claimed that innovations were accidental discoveries, thus relieving themselves of the burden of crediting ancient intellectual property as a source. There is evidence of appropriated knowledge in the areas of agriculture, medicine, transportation, architecture, psychology, military strategy, government, and language.

Keoke and Poterfield claim, "A case can be made that contact with American Indians actually served as one of the catalysts for the Scientific Revolution in Europe [during the sixteenth century]" (2002, p. xi). In view of this historical relationship between the Scientific Revolution and ancient Native American knowledge, the modern Western mind is naturally tempted to locate ancient knowledge of natural phenomena squarely in the domain of modern science. Were it otherwise, our tradition would have to teach that the Scientific Revolution is an outgrowth of ancient knowledge—a concept that the contemporary scientific community is not likely to embrace. Regardless, at the point of European contact, American Natives had in place meaningful understandings of the function and utility of the natural environment.

TRANSFERRING BETWEEN THE SYSTEMS. It is intriguing how ancient minds conceived of the innovations. People everywhere, throughout time, have desired to understand the complexities, beauty, and utility of the natural world within a spiritual domain. Intellectual maneuvers within a spiritual domain limit knowledge acquisition to a realm bound by subjectivity. It is in this realm that the ancients as well as moderns operated in the quest for the knowledge of how to sustain both the people and the life-giving environment. However, the objective mind finds it impossible to rationalize the mechanism that reveals knowledge.

Modern anthropologists and archaeologists have put forth several hypotheses of how the ancients acquired knowledge. The two most popular ideas reflect easy-to-recognize attitudes: Perhaps Native Americans stumbled upon their knowledge by accident, since there is no record of their using the European scientific method. Or perhaps Native Americans used a variation of the scientific method over a long period, since it provides a logical way to gain knowledge. Both ideas impose preconceived ideas on American Indians that presume methods foreign to the ancient cultural experience. Neither is adequate to define an entire continent of people. The first idea is a stereotypical assumption that American Indians are intellectually inferior. The second educated guess assumes that ancient ancestors were no more intelligent than the Ken Keyes's hundredth monkey, who learned simply by observing.

But consider this: Einstein himself said that one of the keys to his intelligence lay in his ability to visualize the problems he was working on and then to translate those visual images into the abstract language of mathematics. One of the most famous examples of this is the story that he developed his special theory of relativity out of daydreams visualizing what it would be like to ride through the universe on a beam of light (Cardoso).

With this in mind, an important question arises. Why does the human brain occupy more space than it needs, since by some estimates, the average person uses only ten percent of its potential? If the theory of evolution is true, why has natural selection not phased out the excess folds of our gray matter? Contrary to expectations, the excess gray matter is used for visualization, and visualization, as described by many Native American elders, is a vehicle that reveals knowledge of the natural world, as illustrated by Einstein's daydreams. If the concept of Einstein's daydreams brings forth in the mind of the reader a mental image of a gaze beyond the windowpane, then the reader has acquired knowledge based on mental imagery. This is the whole point of oral history, a tradition rooted in mental imagery and visualization.

Sons and daughters of Manifest Destiny whittle away at a terrible legacy left by their ancestors, as strength returns slowly to the sons and daughters whose ancestors survived. Together, a vision of the future that reveals to the world the inalienable right of full recognition is possible. The right of self-determination and the implicit right to self-govern and unite as a sovereign nation is on the horizon. Native Americans all over the continent are embracing sovereignty on a path leading to the unity of their nations, with the ultimate goal of picking up the chards of a broken vessel and replenishing a parched dream.

SEE ALSO Aesthetics, article on Visual Aesthetics; North American Indian Religions, overview article; Oral Tradition; Poetry, article on Native American Poetry and Religion; Politics and Religion, article on Politics and Native American Religious Traditions; Rites of Passage, article on North American Indian Rites; Shamanism, article on North American Shamanism; Study of Religion, article on The Academic Study of Religion in North America; Visual Culture and Religion, overview article.

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NATS. The *nats* of Burma make up a structured system of animistic spirits, predating the advent of Theravāda Buddhism but coexisting with it and with other systems of divination and prediction such as astronomy and alchemy. The *nat* cult is oriented to handling immediate and personal crises and avoiding evil, whereas Buddhism, the dominant higher religious ideology in Burma, is concerned chiefly with rebirth and eventually with salvation. Most students of Burmese religion agree that the term *nat* refers to any one of a host of animistic spirits, including human beings who have died violent deaths; former royal figures; spirits in fields, trees, and rivers; and regional, territorial overlords. The *nats* that are propitiated in Burma are the *auk nats*, the lower active spirits. The *devas* of Hinduism are also called *nats*, but they are not a ritual entity in Burma. In the time of King Anawratha (c. 1044 CE), an official list of *nats* was compiled. Since then, the members of the list have changed, but the number, thirty-seven, remains constant. The thirty-seven official *nats* share with the remaining *nats* the capacity to cause harm and, sometimes, to offer protection. They need to be respected and propitiated if evil is to be warded off.

Anthropological studies of Burmese religion have discovered the surprising fact that the *nats* of Burma form a structured system. This is in contrast to similar systems of animistic spirits in other Theravāda Buddhist countries, Thailand, Sri Lanka, Laos, and Cambodia. The Thai *phī* and the Sinhala *yakā* spirits, which play the same role as the *nats*, do not form a structure as they do in the Burmese system. Here, the *nats* are differentiated on four levels: the territorial *nats* reign over a region; the village *nats* guard a human settlement; the *mizaing* and *hpazaing* are *nats* at the family level inherited from the mother and father, respectively; and finally there are *nats* connected with special activities such as travel, domestic protection, and other frequent and mundane activities.

Nats are often represented in carved figures or other symbolic modes such as the coconut and red cloth of the house-protecting nat, Min Maha Giri, found on a house pole in every Burmese home. There are also festivals held to honor certain *nats*. The most important *nat* festival, of national prominence, is the celebration consecrated to the Taungbyon brothers, a pair of *nats*. At some *nat* festivals, and at other occasions where many people are gathered, there is often dancing by *natgadaws*. These *nat* wives are said to be possessed by their *nat* spouses, and in the trance of possession they offer prognostications for onlookers who feed them strong drink and tobacco. The *natgadaws* do not take actual husbands, since the *nats* are said to fill that particular role.

See Also Burmese Religion.

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NATURALISM.

In the broadest sense, *naturalism* can denote any philosophy in which "nature" or "the natural" functions as the most general explanatory or normative concept. What counts as naturalism in a particular context depends upon how the term *nature* and its cognates are used. Given the long and varied history of such terms in Western thought, it should not be surprising that any two doctrines named "naturalism" may have little more than etymological connections in common.

History and Definitions. Even in ancient Greece, "naturalism" designated several distinct positions. For the Cynics, naturalism consisted in severe condemnation of conventional values and artificial virtues. The virtuous man is one who lives naturally, but living naturally requires a rigorously ascetic practice in which all conventional and artificial goods are shunned. Stoic naturalism also sought detachment from the conventional and the artificial, and agreed that the virtuous man is one who lives naturally, but its conception of nature was articulated in an elaborate cosmology. Human nature, for the Stoics, is part of cosmic nature, and virtue is identified with conformity to natural law. Both Cynicism and Stoicism take us a great distance from Aristotle (384–322 BCE), who resisted any attempt to abstract the virtuous life from the *polis* but who nonetheless looked with favor upon something called "naturalism." Man, according to Aristotle, is by nature political, and this conviction leaves no room for the contrasts Cynics and Stoics need to define their positions. His naturalism, unlike theirs, was directed mainly against Eleatic skepticism about change and against the denial of "nature" and "natural motion" by Democritus (460–363? BCE) and others. Aristotle aimed to develop and defend natural science as knowledge of what exists "by nature." The nature of a thing, for him, is its power of acting in a particular determinate way, as defined by its end. The study of man is thus continuous with physics, for to study man is to study a specific kind of natural body by seeking out its nature. Man stands within nature, which is an intelligible, teleological order of motions. If Aristotle's philosophy is definitive of classical naturalism, then Democritus would surely qualify as an antinaturalist, despite his materialism, though both are routinely referred to as naturalists by modern writers. "Naturalism" later acquires specifically pejorative connotations in some Platonic, gnostic, and Christian writings, where the natural is contrasted with the spiritual in a way foreign to Aristotle and Democritus alike.

These ancient usages have had some impact on recent discussions of naturalism, mainly via Christianity, which transmitted an unstable amalgam of Hebraic, Stoic, Platonic, and Aristotelian conceptions of nature to the modern world. Nor can the rediscovery and dissemination of ancient writings since the late medieval period be entirely discounted as an influence. Still, modern debates over naturalism are best viewed as responses to the rise of modern science. The central point at issue is the scope of scientific inquiry as it is now practiced, and the basic terms of debate are set by the development of the sciences since 1600, not by conceptions of nature inherited from antiquity.

"Naturalism," when used as the name of a general philosophical outlook in contemporary discussion, usually signifies the view that all objects, truths, and facts fall within the scope of scientific inquiry, that nothing is in principle insusceptible to scientific explanation. This view may usefully be termed unrestricted naturalism. It differs from restricted forms of naturalism in that its thesis is not confined to a specific domain of inquiry, such as ethics. An ethical naturalist holds that ethical truths, facts, or values fall within the scope of scientific inquiry. As a form of restricted naturalism, ethical naturalism can be defended without committing oneself to the unrestricted position. Furthermore, one can accept a form of unrestricted naturalism without committing oneself to, say, ethical naturalism, provided one is prepared to deny that there are ethical truths, facts, or values in the relevant sense. To adopt a naturalistic attitude toward something is to maintain that it falls within the scope of scientific inquiry. Unrestricted naturalists sometimes argue, however, that failure to bring a domain of putative truths or facts within the scope of scientific inquiry shows only that there are no truths or facts to be found there, thus calling that domain, rather than the scope of science, into question. Such arguments can bring unrestricted naturalists into conflict with those defending naturalistic approaches in a specific area, a fact responsible for much terminological confusion, not least of all in debates over religion.

Many different conceptions of scientific inquiry and its findings have flourished in the modern period, and the content of both restricted and unrestricted forms of naturalism has varied accordingly. Where materialism has reigned as a philosophy of science, "naturalism" and "materialism" have tended to be used interchangeably, and Democritus has made his way onto lists of early naturalists. Materialist versions of naturalism define themselves polemically over against supernaturalism and idealism, neither of which is compatible with an ontology designed to reduce everything that exists and happens to matter in motion. That is, both supernaturalism and idealism postulate entities and occurrences that fall outside the scope of scientific inquiry as materialists conceive it. But it is important to see that scientific inquiry can be conceived in other ways and associated with other sorts of ontological assumptions.

A group of twentieth-century American philosophers known as critical naturalists has consistently gone out of its way to deny materialist methodological and ontological principles. Critical naturalists often cite Aristotle and Barukh Spinoza (1632–1677) as the great representatives of the naturalistic tradition. Some, like Frederick Woodbridge (1867–1940), have made extensive use of ideas from such figures in their own constructive projects. Many have tried to make room, within a naturalistic outlook, for the human phenomena—such as mind, intention, and culture—formerly claimed as the special province of the idealists. Some have argued that, because naturalistic methods place no *a priori* constraints on the types of hypotheses one may consider in science, acceptance of naturalism involves no bias against supernaturalist ontologies as such. Hence, in recent philosophy, as in the remainder of this article, "naturalism" is not tied to a particular ontology, though a naturalist in this sense remains bound to embrace whatever ontological scruples and commitments the course of scientific inquiry, rightly understood, entails.

DEBATES OVER NATURALISM. The most common general charge leveled in the literature of the middle and late twentieth century against versions of unrestricted naturalism is that they cannot successfully account for themselves. Can naturalism account for itself without either falling into contradiction or arguing in a circle? Does naturalism in fact presuppose something that cannot be brought within the scope of scientific inquiry as naturalists construe it?

Taking these questions as their point of departure, some antinaturalists argue as follows. Naturalism is, in its unrestricted forms, a philosophical thesis about the validity and scope of scientific inquiry. How, then, is naturalism to be justified as a philosophical thesis? By appealing to scientific inquiry? That would be consistent with the naturalistic thesis, but it also seems circular. How can the validity and limitless scope of scientific inquiry be established by appealing to scientific inquiry itself without begging the question? It seems that it cannot, and what this shows is that any attempt to vindicate the naturalist's thesis without arguing in a circle necessarily makes an appeal to standards of judgment that do not belong to scientific inquiry per se. Hence, naturalism cannot be justified; the only noncircular means one could use in trying to justify it obviously contradicts it.

This line of argument may seem compelling, but it hardly forces naturalists to abandon their position. Does not the same problem arise for any standards or principles anyone might propose as valid and ultimate? If so, then naturalists are at least no worse off than their critics. The real question, naturalists will argue, is how critics intend to stop the regress of standards short of infinity without themselves arguing in a circle.

The antinaturalist can stop the regress, it would seem, only by invoking a set of standards that are self-justified, intuitively known, or demonstrably indispensable to rational thought as such. What, then, prevents naturalists from claiming similar status for the principles implicit in scientific practice? Once this question has been raised, naturalist and critic seem on equal footing: each seems to require arguments capable of certifying some set of principles as fundamental in the relevant sense. Furthermore, the debate can easily degenerate into a merely verbal dispute at this point, for it is not necessarily clear why the antinaturalist's principles cannot be said to be part of scientific method—namely, the foundational part.

Increasingly, however, naturalists have expressed skepticism about such notions as self-justification and intuitive knowledge, whether defended by other naturalists or by their critics. So they have sought a more radical response to the problem, arguing that scientific inquiry is just the honorific title given to the continuing process of rational criticism and revision of inherited theory and practice. This process, while perhaps best exemplified in the natural sciences, is not confined to them and is essentially continuous from field to field. It derives its justification not from foundational principles on which it rests but rather from the way it helps adaption to the environment through progressive self-correction. Justification is a dialectical affair directed toward the pragmatic resolution of problems. In this view, humankind is saved from infinite regress in justificatory arguments not by foundational principles but by the settling of real doubts, and if the process as a whole is circular, it is not viciously so. Naturalistic philosophy is simply scientific inquiry gone self-conscious, reflecting on itself. The great pragmatist, John Dewey (1859–1952), offered something like this defense and reformulation of naturalism, restated eloquently by W. V. O. Quine (1908–2000).

When some critics have charged naturalism with an inability to account for itself, they have argued somewhat differently from the way considered thus far. Their point is that defending naturalism and practicing science are human activities involving thought and purposeful behavior in the pursuit of values, and that naturalism is unequipped to account for any such activity. This argument challenges naturalists to show that they can explain thought, intention, and value without violating naturalistic scruples. But then unrestricted naturalism, to be vindicated, must ultimately be prepared to either explain or explain away every domain of putative objects, truths, or facts in naturalistic terms. So the appraisal of unrestricted naturalism must sooner or later take up each member in a long series of analyses of restricted topics, one of which is religion.

NATURALISM AND RELIGION. What can naturalists make of traditional religious utterances, such as the theist's discourse about God? Assume for the moment that some of what the theist says is to be interpreted as asserting the existence of a supernatural being who created the universe. If the theist is right in making this assertion, presumably, the naturalist will be obliged to show that God can be brought within the scope of scientific inquiry. The naturalist will, in other words, have to construct a "natural theology." Some naturalists, such as the eighteenth-century Deists, have adopted this strategy, but most have deemed it unsuccessful, concluding instead that no supernatural being exists. If no such being exists, naturalists need not be held responsible to account for its existence scientifically. The task, in that event, would be to explain God's existence away while still making sense of religious behavior, including the theist's utterances about God, reports of religious experience, and so on.

If, however, the theist's utterances about God are not to be taken as true assertions about a supernatural being, how shall they be taken? One alternative is to say that they are true but elliptical assertions about something else, something that does fall within the scope of science. Some followers of the French sociologist Émile Durkheim (1859–1917) argue, along these lines, that religious utterances are best interpreted as symbolic assertions about society, that the actual object of religious worship is the social group, and that religious behavior can be fully explained in a systematic science of society. Similar proposals have been developed by other theorists who take economics or psychology, not sociology, as the appropriate idiom of reduction.

A second alternative is to claim that the problematic religious utterances are not properly viewed as assertions in the strict sense at all. Instead, they are to be assimilated to some other class of speech-acts, such as expressions of emotions, wishes, or moral prescriptions. An example of this approach would be the emotivist theory of religious language popular among logical positivists.

Third, a naturalist may take the apparent assertions in religious discourse at face value while ascribing false beliefs to those who utter them, a strategy much simpler than the others but also one that raises the additional question of how these allegedly false beliefs came to be accepted. Here again at least two options suggest themselves. It may be argued, on the one hand, that religious assertions—while not to be construed as nonpropositional expressions of emotions or desires—are nonetheless determined by essentially nonrational forces in the human personality, society, or history. On the other hand, one could argue that religious beliefs, though now known to be false, arose under circumstances that tended to make them seem reasonable to reasonable people.

Those committed to defending traditional religious claims as true are not the only people interested in opposing the naturalist's attempts to explain religion. The other major source of antinaturalism in the study of religion is the claim, often made by thinkers in the hermeneutical tradition of Wilhelm Dilthey (1833–1911), that the objective procedures of scientific inquiry are insufficient for use in the study of human beings, least of all their religious and artistic self-expression. Human beings are, of course, objects within nature, and the naturalist's methods can teach a great deal about humankind as a natural species. But human beings are also spiritual, self-creating subjects. Understanding them involves determining the meaning that their behavior, verbal and nonverbal, has for them, and therefore calls for an interpretive approach distinct from the naturalist's explanatory methods.

Naturalists have responded to the hermeneutical tradition's antinaturalism in several ways. The most common sort of response can be seen in various attempts to reduce much of what hermeneutical theorists want to say about meaning and understanding to the languages of natural science. Critical and pragmatic naturalists move in another direction, accusing Dilthey and his followers of uncritically taking over unduly narrow conceptions of scientific inquiry from the materialists and positivists they otherwise oppose. Broaden the conception of scientific inquiry enough, and the line hermeneutical theorists have drawn between the natural sciences and humanistic studies (*Naturwissenschaften* and *Geisteswissenschaften*) will disappear—as will the rationale for viewing hermeneutical philosophy and naturalism as exclusive alternatives.

Finally, it should be noted that some naturalists have been as interested in reconstructing religion as they have been in criticizing or explaining it. Dissatisfied with traditional religion on naturalistic grounds, they have attempted to devise religious systems capable of fulfilling the essential personal or social functions they assign to religion without departing from naturalism as a creed. The most ambitious such attempt was that of Auguste Comte (1798–1857), the French positivist, who took the rituals of Roman Catholicism as models for his own conception of the sacraments and identified humanity as the proper object of religious devotion and service. Dewey's proposals, in contrast, were much less ambitious and involved no attempt to found an organized religion. According to Dewey, any ultimate end that serves to unify one's life and actions takes on a religious quality. Dewey's aim was to portray this-worldly concern with "the problems of men" as the optimal religious ideal. There have been other recent attempts to reconstruct religion in naturalistic terms, but none has won much of a following.

See Also Analytic Philosophy; Deism; Hermeneutics; Logical Positivism; Materialism; Nature, article on Religious and Philosophical Speculations; Positivism; Science and Religion; Sociology; Supernatural, The.

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NATURE

This entry consists of the following articles:

RELIGIOUS AND PHILOSOPHICAL SPECULATIONS
WORSHIP OF NATURE

NATURE: RELIGIOUS AND PHILOSOPHICAL SPECULATIONS

In the West, "natural philosophy" and "philosophy of nature" have developed side-by-side and at times have been confused. The first has been defined by Galileo, Auguste Comte, and Charles Darwin as the pursuit of a total but essentially objective knowledge of phenomena, whereas the second has oriented such thinkers as Gottfried W. Leibniz, Georg W. F. Hegel, and Henri Bergson toward an intuitive approach that nevertheless strives to be rigorous regarding the reality that underlies data derived from observation. Among the thinkers of this second category, those who have come more and more to be labeled *Naturphilosophen*, or "philosophers of nature," since the time of German Romanticism occupy a special place.

Since antiquity, the representatives of that tendency are generally committed to grasping the concrete character of nonmechanical, nonphysical reality or, as F. J. W. Schelling put it, the "productivity" concealed behind sensible appearances, without, as a rule, neglecting the study of appearances themselves. They are not satisfied with a natural philosophy based on empiricism alone. Their ideas indisputably bear the mark of the religious, indeed of Gnosticism—not in the dualistic sense this word evokes when it is applied to the Gnostics of the beginning of our own era, but in the sense of a frame of mind fixed on defining the nature of the relationships linking God, human beings, and the universe by means not relevant solely to the experimental method.

Pre-Socratics, Stoicism, Hermetism, and the Early Middle Ages. The pre-Socratics hardly opposed matter to mind, soul to body, or subject to object, but they had a tendency to approach nature with a nondualistic, noncategorical attitude. In such a view, all being is concrete. Yet their thinking contained dynamic and creative contradictions. Cosmologies and anthropologies rested on pairs of opposites. The pre-Socratics had a sense of analogy and homology insofar as they did not think in purely Aristotelian categories. Their imaginary world was grounded in concrete nature, interpreting and molding it into living structures. Hence the importance of the elements (whose rich symbolism would later be taken up again by the alchemists): water for Thales, air for Anaximenes, fire for Heraclitus. For these physicist-metaphysicians, especially Heraclitus, the logic of antagonism was primordial. "Night and day," he said, "they are one." Hence the pre-Socratics' labyrinthine style, which seems obscure because it is made of paradoxes. Parmenides was already moving away from such categories of nature with his linear thought, his *doxa*, which tended to annul these contradictions. Thus, too, Anaxagoras, who saw in nature a thinking principle that is copresent in the ordering of the world, but that also separates the human being from the rest of the cosmos. But later, Empedocles affirmed six principles—reassemblage and dispersion, plus the four elements—and presented the history of the world as the reconstitution of a dislocated unity.

Stoicism, over almost six centuries, paved the way for Neoplatonism and certain Gnostic and Hermetic currents. Indeed, it placed emphasis on the need to know the concrete universe, harmoniously blending wisdom and technique, and taught the necessity of a savoir-faire that rejects pure speculation and must lead to the knowledge of an organic whole, thus assuring the accord between things heavenly and terrestrial. That trait appeared again and again in a more systematic manner as one of the important aspects of Alexandrine Hermetism, whose teachings often affirm that God is known through the contemplation of the world. Hence the preference of the *Hermetica* texts for the particular, the *mirabilia*, over the abstract and the general; science is not "disinterested" but aims to rediscover the general by means of an enriching detour through the concrete and through individual objects

This focus on the concrete hardly occurs in Neoplatonism, where the intelligible reality, the realm of the mind to which one strives to gain access, has no purpose in explaining the world of the senses. Instead, it aids us in quitting this world in order to help us to enter the pure region where knowledge and happiness are possible. The essential thing is to go beyond the sensual, up to the world of ideas. Within diverse branches of early Gnosticism, the belief prevailed that the world is the work of an evil entity.

The ninth-century theologian John Scotus Eriugena, who was born in Ireland and lived at the court of Charles the Bald, authored *De divisione naturae* (or *Periphyseon*), which was to nourish much of subsequent Theosophical speculation up to the age of German idealism in the nineteenth century. The two kinds of nature he distinguished, namely *natura naturans* and *natura naturata* (i.e., creative nature and created nature), were later to inspire Jewish qaballistic literature.

In the same century, the Arabs translated many ancient texts and, inspired by Aristotle, wrote commentaries on them. But together with the rationalistic empiricism of Aristotle, and in the margins of a form of positivism, we see Arab thought also expressing a highly mythicized vision of a world ruled by spiritual forces that only intuition can aspire to grasp. The medieval West received this teaching by way of the Latin translations of Arabic texts that were often concerned with the theory and practice of medicine and magic.

The twelfth century saw a return to the cosmological themes of Greco-Roman antiquity, in other words, to a universe conceived and represented as an organic whole, subject to laws that must be sought in the light of analogy. But the "discovery" of laws would entail twofold consequences: on the one hand, a powerful process of secularization was set in motion, at the expense of a sense of the sacred. On the other hand, and conversely, a lasting renewal of what might be called the feeling of cosmic participation took place. This latter corresponded to the systematic and poetic elaboration of a network of relations between the visible and invisible realms of creation. The universe was approached by form of philosophical speculation that was committed to deciphering living, concrete meanings. According to Jean de Meung, nature became the "chamberlain," or vicar, of God—a God who, as it turned out, incarnated in stone in this age that saw the emergence of a great sacred art of the West.

Nature, its unity and its laws, is what interested the Platonism of the school of Chartres as it appeared in the works of William of Conches, who was much concerned with physics, propagated the teachings of Eriugena on the world soul, and undertook, like Bernard Silvester of Tours (*De Mundi universitate,* 1147), to integrate a Platonic philosophy of nature within Christianity. The Platonic doctrine of ideas, and the reflection on numbers, were of a nature to incite the intellect to remove from the sensible world any form of reality judged to be absolute, and to place it in the realm of the archetypes or *exempla.* But the school of Chartres did not succumb to this temptation inherent in classical Platonism. It rather tended to integrate the intellect with the material world and the natural sciences. Its debt to Arabic science in this respect is quite evident—especially in medical science, which had only recently been made accessible to the West.

In the thirteenth century two opposing tendencies divided philosophical and religious reflection. The Franciscan orientation, represented mainly by Bonaventure, showed renewed interest in all things in nature. This was followed by the Dominican orientation, derived from Aristotle and represented by Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, who elaborated a philosophy based mainly on concepts rather than on living, inter-related symbolic images. From another source came a third tendency, that of the school of Oxford, which shared with the spirit of Chartres a desire for universal intuition. Nature holds the largest place in the thought of Bonaventure, along with his mystical leanings. The "Seraphic Doctor" considered nature equal to the Bible and as a book to be deciphered. The spirit of Oxford blossomed further in the work of the early thirteenth-century bishop Robert Grosseteste. Neoplatonism and an interest in the sciences, two traits characteristic of both these English masters, appeared clearly in Grosseteste. His preferred subject, speculations on the nature of light, was to enjoy a long posterity. The nature of light as the "first corporeal form" *(lux)* accounts for the presence of all of the bodies of the universe and the constitution of the world by its expansion, its condensation, or its rarefaction. Grosseteste imagined that a point of light created by God was diffused in such a manner that a sphere of a finite radius was formed, which was to become the universe (a hypothesis that has been, duly or not, paralleled to the Big Bang theory). The limit of its power of diffusion determined the firmament, which in turn sent back a light *(lumen),* which in turn engendered the celestial spheres and the spheres of the elements. Adam Pulchrae Mulieris, another theologian of the light, prefigured several of Grosseteste's intuitions with his *Liber de intelligentiis.*

Roger Bacon, a thirteenth-century Franciscan of Paris and Oxford, has been often presented as a rationalist precursor of the experimental method of modern science. Nevertheless, what Bacon called "experience" *(experimentum)* should be taken not in its current, modern sense, but in the sense of "the work of an expert." In this understanding, the practices of the alchemist and the astrologer as well fall under the heading of *experimentumi.* Paracelsus would later go along similar paths when dealing with "experience" in medicine, by which he understood the study and knowledge of concealed natural forces. For Bacon, experimental science meant secret and traditional science, with the condition that concrete science not be separated from the Holy Scriptures but that the two be complementarily linked together.

To these works must be added what became a well-known genre in the thirteenth century, that of the *summae* ("sums") and *specula* ("mirrors"), of which Alexander Neckam's *De naturis rerum* is the first example. To this genre belong such works as the *Speculum majus* of Vincent of Beauvais, an exposé of natural history in the form of a commentary on the first chapters of *Genesis.* Aside from this, other works of the same sort worthy of note include *De natura rerum* by Thomas of Cantimpré, and Bartholomew the Englishman's *De proprietatibus rerum.* Only occasionally do these works offer a philosophy of nature in the full sense of the term, but since they are replete with lots of histories and observations on the powers of plants, animals, and minerals, as well as on the heavenly signs, they prepared the way for the occult philosophy of the Renaissance.

FROM THE LATE MIDDLE AGES TO THE RENAISSANCE. The problem of nominalism versus realism, which was posed sharply in the fourteenth century, entailed a debate with high stakes for the construction of a philosophy of nature. Nominalism (contrary to realism) is loath to see in the laws and the realities of the sensible world a collection of analogous/homologous replicas of realities on high, or *exempla.* Nominalism emerged victorious from the debate, clearing the field for the development of modern science, beginning with physics. Thus the continuity between a spiritually structured universe and self-sufficient, purely physical laws, which had been sustained by "traditional" philosophies, was broken. At the same time, the influence of nominalism joined with that of Averroism and, in bringing about the downfall of the Avicennian concept of the universe, paved the way for an ongoing secularization of the cosmos.

The *Ars magna* of Ramón Lull, written in 1308 and inspired by Qabbalah, was an instrument of knowledge that claimed to be applicable at all possible and imaginable levels, from God himself down to the lowest orders of nature, by way of the angels, the stars, and the four elements. Lull's *Ars* played the role of a channel through which a part of the medieval Neoplatonism revived by Eriugena passed, in other words, a dynamic Platonism close to the Jewish mysticism that was to flourish in Florence and Spain. It was interpreted, along with other writings falsely attributed to him, as a form of Qabbalah, although it was hardly so. A grandiose conception of nature is also found in the contemporary writings of Peter of Abano. Astrological Hermetism makes up half of his encyclopedic work, of which the *Conciliator* is the most important volume. Here, nature is seen as controlled by the stars, and objects are filled with spirits.

In addition, alchemy played a big role. It had begun to regain currency in the West in the twelfth century. It assumed three forms, which may have been complementary in the minds of many alchemists, but which it is convenient to distinguish. These were, first, research into procedures of metallic transmutation (for example, the production of gold); second, a "spiritual" alchemy, in which the chemical metaphors served as an aid to meditation, with a conscious or unconscious transformation of the experimenter himself as the goal; and third, an alchemy presented as a philosophy of nature, as in Petrus Bonus's *Pretiosa margarita novella.* In the middle of the fourteenth century, the Franciscan Jean De Rupescissa (or Jean de Roquetaillade) developed at length the idea that a "quintessence" is at work in each object, and he proposed theories on the four elements and the "three principles." All such speculations herald Paracelsus's work, but before him another great name emerged in the thought of the fifteenth-century: Nicholas of Cusa, the apostle of a total science in which the *ars coincidentiarum* is clearly distinguished from the *ars conjecturarum* of common science. The first corresponds to the principle of the intellectual knowledge of objects, the second to the principle of a purely rational knowledge. What he called the *docta ignorantia* is a form of superior knowledge, a gnosis of the coincidence of opposites, or state of the unity of all things.

The Renaissance promoted the revival of a philosophy of nature, primarily in Germanic countries, which were thenceforth the preserver of holistic worldviews; that is, embracing the fullness of the world. In the seventeenth century, the term *pansophy* was often bestowed on them, in order to emphasize their universalizing character. As early as the sixteenth century, Paracelsus, the famous physician of Einsiedeln, Basel, and Salzburg, played a decisive role, with his immense oeuvre and his abundant posterity. While preserving the Neoplatonic idea of intermediaries between humankind and the divine, he did so less as a spiritualist meditating on the nature of intermediary intellects than as a practitioner seeking to discover the analogical relationships between a concrete, living, dynamic heaven and the human being studied in all his constituent parts.

In opposition to Neoplatonism, nature for Paracelsus emerged directly from divine power. He distinguished two orders of suprasensible realities, or "lights." There is the "light of grace," of a uniquely spiritual order, a divine world to which human beings are related through their immortal spirit. This is the domain of mysticism proper; he hardly ventured to occupy himself with it, except in order to stress its ontological preeminence and existence. His domain of research was the other "light," that of nature, or *philosophia sagax*, which he described as an autonomous power of revelation. Between these two lights he placed astronomy or astrology as a third area or term. Everything that concerns these three realms, as well as biology, human psychology, and even the arts, emerges from nature's light and obeys the laws of analogy. Hence the focus on deciphering correspondences among metals, planets, parts of the human body, and so forth, with a view to improving, through observation and experimentation, our understanding of the complexity of nature's divinely created unity. Chemistry and medicine are emphasized in the search for such a comprehension. One must, as Paracelsus himself said, "acquire the wonders of God through the mediation of Nature."

Paracelsism spread through Germany and the rest of Europe at the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, at least two generations after the death of its initiator, whose work was not well known nor widely published until then. Among his successors and disciples, Gerhard Dorn, Alexander von Suchten, and Oswald Croll occupy an important place. Their philosophy, like their master's, is not autonomous but is set within a theology; it has a dynamic character bearing on all levels, up to the level of God himself, by no means a *deus otiosus.* The manner in which they conceive the organic unity of the world with its multiple hypostases always results in a kind of "sacred physics" far from the dryness that characterizes many cosmologies of the Middle Ages. Paracelsism corresponds to a new and influential irruption of a "physiological" cosmology—or cosmosophy, rather—in the West, and in the seventeenth century was to lead to developments operating in several directions: notably, a "chemical philosophy," more or less influenced by alchemy, and which the new scientific paradigms struggled to get rid of throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

These pansophic outlooks fueled the inspiration of the Rosicrucian movement, whose first manifestations were the *Fama Fraternitatis* (1614) and the *Confessio Fraternitatis* (1615)—which were almost simultaneous with those of thinkers like Robert Fludd and Jakob Boehme. With Boehme, a new esoteric current appeared, namely the so-called Theosophical one (see below).

THE ROOTS OF ROMANTIC *NATURPHILOSOPHIE*. Among the precursors of Romantic *Naturphilosophie* are, in particular, Christian Theosophy, "mosaic physics," "physico-theology," the so-called "theology of electricity," the first experiments in animal magnetism, and also three new orientations that appeared toward the end of the eighteenth century on the stage of philosophy in general, and will be further explained below.

To begin with Christian Theosophy, an esoteric current that flourished from the beginning of the seventeenth century onward (notably with Boehme), one of its prevailing aspects is the search for dynamic correspondences between nature, human beings, and God (or divine entities) through an ongoing "illuminative" speculation bearing on the complex and dramatic relationships between these three, envisaged as *dramatis personae.* In the eighteenth century, Theosophical discourses dealt more and more with the notion of "higher physics," or "sacred physics," as opposed to a merely rational variety. Such sacred physics set itself up against the desacralization of the universe. It was a matter of resacralizing both science and the world. Theosophy *stricto sensu* starts from a speculation that bears on the divine, whereas *Naturphilosophie* proper begins with an observation of natural phenomena, which it then tries to integrate into a holistic and spiritual worldview. But since Theosophers often transferred to the spirit or the divine itself the proprieties of physics, it is scarcely surprising that in some authors the distinction between *Naturphilosophie* and Theosophy tends to get blurred.

Mosaic physics also flourished in the seventeenth century. The term *physica sacra*, often linked to it, served to designate a reading of the Bible considered as the key to understanding another book, that of nature. The contents of both books were supposed to coincide. Jan Amos Comenius, for instance, represents this tendency. In the pre-Enlightenment era, at the end of the seventeenth century, first in England, then in other European countries, there arose a so-called physico-theology, which endeavored to reconcile scientific discoveries with faith (not necessarily with the Bible) as a reaction to mechanistic worldviews and Cartesian rationalism. Physico-theologians (for example, Friedrich Christian Lesser, *Lithotheologie*, 1735) were lavish in descriptions of animals (bees, mollusks, spiders, birds, etc.), plants, and natural phenomena (lightning, storms), to which they attributed symbolic and spiritual, albeit generally static, meanings.

In the context of the later widespread craze for experimentation with electricity and galvanism (1789, experiments of Galvani; 1800, Voltaic pile), the pre-Romantic period witnessed the success of Franz Anton Mesmer's theories, and the development of animal magnetism by Armand Marie de Puységur and his followers. Another result of the belief in a magnetic fluid pervading human beings and the whole universe was the so-called "theology of electricity." The latter was marked by a kind of spiritual realism represented by the Theosopher Friedrich Christoph Oetinger and other figures like Prokop Divisch, Johann Ludwig Fricker, Gottlieb Friedrich Rösler (e.g., their book *Theorie der meteorologischen Elektrizität*, 1765). This "theology" may be considered, at least with regard to Oetinger, as a kind of proto-*Naturphilosophie.*

Besides these three precursors, three further factors pertaining to the history of philosophy proper, are also relevant to the appearance of *Naturphilosophie.*

The influence of French naturalism. With Georges-Louis de Buffon's theoretical works and Denis Diderot's *Le rêve de d'Alembert* (1769), a new way of considering physics had begun to emerge. It began as a kind of literary exercise rather than a strictly scientific discourse, but as it became more popular it pervaded the culture of the time. Buffon, in particular, fostered a taste for synthesis (a typical trait of Romantic thought, along with the painful experience of human limits) and promoted the theme of the soul of the world *(anima mundi).*

The philosophies of Immanuel Kant and Johann Gottlieb Fichte. In *Metaphysische Anfangsgründe der Naturwissenschaft* (Metaphysical foundations of natural science, 1786), which discussed the necessity of discovering the a priori principles at work behind empirical data, Kant presented as a constitutive characteristic of nature the two forces of Newtonian physics, attraction and repulsion, at a time when the notion of polarity was already spreading outside esoteric circles and flowing into various domains, including medicine. Leaning on some of Kant's ideas, which he extended to the utmost, Fichte proceeded to spread the idea that the world is a product of imagination (notably in *Grundlage der gesamten Wissenschaftslehre* [Foundations of the entire doctrine of science, 1794–1795]). Imagination was understood as resulting from a synthetic and spontaneous activity of the spirit (i.e., the thing in itself and our representation of it are identical).

Spinozan philosophy. Having been considered an atheist during most of the eighteenth century, Spinoza's religious ideas returned to center stage at the turn of the century, but were now interpreted as those of a man intoxicated with God. His "*Deus sive natura*" was no longer read as a disguised profession of materialistic faith, but as the affirmation that nature is something divine. At this time, there was a prevailing tendency to conceive of God as not identical with things but as the primordial center of energy from which the development of organic forms and the entire finite world proceeded. Indeed, *Naturphilosophie* generally avoids pantheism in favor of this panentheism (i.e., God is everywhere in nature, but outside also).

The Essentials of Romantic *Naturphilosophie*. *Naturphilosophie* proper appeared during the last years of the eighteenth century, heralded by two groundbreaking works, published almost simultaneously in 1798: F. J. W. Schelling's *Von der Weltseele* (On the soul of the world) and Franz von Baader's *Über das pythagoräische Quadrat in der Natur* (About the Pythagorean square in nature). Besides these two, mention must be made of the first writings of the theoretician in animal magnetism, Carl August von Eschenmayer (e.g., *Sätze aus der Naturmetaphysik auf chemiche und medicinische Gegenstände angewandt* [Elements of the metaphysics of nature, applied to chemical and medical objects], 1797). Along with Baader, and even more than Schelling, Eschenmayer combined the data of the pansophic-esoteric legacy with the new spirit of Kantian philosophy. Among the further representatives of *Naturphilosophie*, the following authors and their representative works stand out: Karl Friedrich Burdach (*Blicke ins Leben* [Glimpses into life], 1842–1848); Wilhelm Butte (*Arithmetik des menschlichen Lebens* [Arithmetic of human life], 1811); Carl Gustav Carus (*Natur und Idee*, 1862); Joseph Ennemoser (*Der Magnetismus im Verhältnis zur Natur und Religion* [Magnetism as related to nature and religion], 1842); Gustav Theodor Fechner (*Zend-Avesta*, 1851), Joseph Görres (*Aphorismen über Kunst, als Einleitung zu künftigen Aphorismen über Organonomie, Physik, Psychologie und Anthropologie* [Aphorisms on art, as an introduction to future aphorisms on organonomy, physics, psychology, and anthropology], 1802); Justinus Kerner (*Eine Erscheinung aus dem Nachtgebiete der Natur* [A manifestation from the night-side of nature], 1836); Dietrich Georg Kieser (in particular his contributions in the 1820s to the journal *Archiv für den Thierischen Magnetismus*); Giovanni Malfatti (*Studien über Anarchie und Hierarchie des Wissens* [Studies about anarchy and hierarchy of knowledge], 1843); Johann Friedrich von Meyer (in particular his contributions in the 1820s and 1830s to *Blätter für höhere Wahrheit* [Journal for higher truth]); Adam Müller (*Lehre vom Gegensatz* [The contradiction theory], 1804); Novalis (pseudonym of Friedrich von Hardenberg, *Das allgemeine Brouillon: Materialien zur Enzyklopädistik* [The general draft: Materials for my encyclopedic project], 1798–1799); Hans Christian Oersted (*Der Geist der Natur* [The spirit of nature], 1850–1851); Lorenz Oken (*Lehrbuch der Naturphilosophie* [Coursebook on *Naturphilosophie*], 1809); Johann Wilhelm Ritter (*Fragmente aus der Nachlasse eines jungen Physikers* [Fragments from the legacy of a young physicist], 1810); the painter Philipp Otto Runge (*Farbenkugel* [Ball of colors], 1810); Gotthilf Heinrich von Schubert (*Ansichten über die Nachtseite der Naturwissenschaft* [Views on the night sides of the science of nature], 1808); Henrik Steffens (*Grundzüge der philosophischen Naturwissenschaften* [The main traits of the philosophical science of nature], 1806); Gottfried Reinhold Trevisarus (*Die Erscheinungen und Gesetze des organischenn Lebens* [The manifestations and laws of organic life], 1831–1833); Ignaz Troxler (*Über das Leben und sein Problem* [On life and its problem], 1806); Johann Jakob Wagner (*Organon der menschlichen Erkenntniss* [Organon of human knowledge], 1830). One should also mention, with respect to other cultural fields, such names as Louis-Claude de Saint-Martin (*L'Esprit des choses* [The spirit of things], 1802), William Paley (*Natural Theology*, 1802), and Sir Humphrey Davy (*Consolations in Travel*, 1830).

The Theosophical orientation proper is far from being the rule amongst these figures. It is conspicuous in Baader, Meyer, and Schubert, for example, but almost absent from the works of such authors as Burdach, Oken, and Wagner. However, most *Naturphilosophen* share three common tenets, which are explicitly or implicitly present in their discourse, and account for their proximity to esotericism in general, and to Theosophy in particular:

First, nature has a history of a mythical order. This ontological postulate functions as a poetic mainspring for research and speculation. The world is not made of eternal, immutable things but is, like the spirit, engaged in a process of a highly dramatic character. A quadruple polar structure underlies most of these speculations. The first pole is the undifferentiated chaos, or primordial light. From that, two opposite poles emerge, which are both opposed and complementary to one another and assume various forms, like fire and water, fire and light, masculine and feminine, attraction and repulsion. A fourth term then manifests, which reflects the first one and is the common product within which the two opposing terms combine. Such a quaternary is the basic structure, in fact a mythical narrative, identified by Schelling as "the repressed mystery of Christianity." It is the story of the "Redeemed Redeemer," that is, the metahistory of a captive light awakened by another light that had remained free. Hence the frequent use of the two notions of light and gravity (rather than darkness), the latter being understood as something by which the primitive energies have been engulfed, but from which they are still likely to reemerge. In a similar vein, Jakob Boehme had described nature as a fire whose embers human beings should rekindle and which in turn would redeem them.

The second tenet concerns the identity of spirit and nature, first expressed by Schelling. "Spirit" is understood as the universal, even divine one, in its relation to nature and to the human beings. Ontologically, this identity rests on a mythical conception of the history of nature, based on an epistemological plane where the negative or destructive opposition of the two is surmounted: Spirit becomes nature, nature becomes spiritualized. Oersted wrote: "The more you advance toward [the] agreement between Nature and Spirit. . .the more perfect you will find it and [the more you will see that] these two Natures are the seeds of one common root" (*Betrachtungen über die Geschichte der Chemie* [Considerations on the history of chemistry], 1807). This "philosophy of identity" (viz., Schelling) has remained the most suggestive idea of *Naturphilosophie*, because it bears on the perennial metaphysical question of the relationship between nature and spirit. By the same token, self-knowledge and knowledge of the world go hand in hand. Both are an initiatory journey and immersion into "the becoming" *(das Werden)*. But this *Werden* is dramatic because it implies both order and disorder. The world that surrounds us, and we ourselves, bear witness to an ancient order that has been disrupted. The idea is conspicuous also in Romantic art and literature, which lavishly depict natural landscapes resulting from cataclysmic events, thus reflecting one of the essential themes developed by Theosophy, namely the belief in an original fall of human beings and nature. The interdependence of human being and nature, including the entire cosmos and the soul of the world, is the central idea underlying the research of such *Naturphilosophen* as Baader, Schubert, and Kerner in mesmerism, animal magnetism, and dreams.

Third, nature as a whole is a living net of correspondences to be deciphered and integrated into a holistic worldview. Nature is to be read as a text replete with symbolic implications, whose meaning lies beyond itself. A spirit speaks through it. As a consequence, rigorous experimental science is never more than an obligatory first step toward a comprehensive, holistic knowledge encompassing both *natura naturans* and *natura naturata* (i.e., the invisible as well as the visible processes at work within nature and the whole cosmos). Things always present themselves as symbols, which bring back to both the warp and woof of a universal web. Living structures are detected in crystals, celestial constellations, and electric phenomena. Mechanistic imaginary and the compartmentalization of science into sectors cut off from one another are replaced by an organic merging of all disciplines. Thus concrete science and metaphysics, or experimentation and meditation, are two sides of the same coin. Almost all representatives of this current were scholars with at least one scientific specialty, like chemistry, physics, geology, mine engineering, or medicine. The fragments of empirical reality require a "second reading." Once reality has been subjected to scientific analysis, it needs to be deciphered symbolically in order to yield clusters of meaning. Consequently, a scientific fact is perceived as a sign, and signs respond to each other. Concepts borrowed from chemistry are transferred to astronomy or human psychology; notions pertaining to botany are used to describe inorganic processes or vice versa. It is not surprising that the Romantic image of the wise physician, characteristic of period literature, enjoyed a great success, based as it was on the analogy between medicine and poetry. In literature, such transfers from one domain to another often took the form of aphorisms (e.g., Novalis), a genre generally praised by German Romanticism. The Romantic writer Friedrich Schlegel claimed that "the combinatorial mind is truly prophetic," and Schelling advocated a form of nondogmatic polytheism: "Monotheism of the mind and of the heart, and polytheism of the imagination and of art, this is what we need" (1962, vol. 1, p. 70).

Goethe's philosophy of nature is somewhat distinct from the current of *Naturphilosophie.* Admittedly, throughout his life he certainly maintained the notion of a vital universe, and his scientific works, especially those on the metamorphosis of plants and on colors, place him close to some leanings of the *Naturphilosophen.* But he was more interested in trying to grasp eternity in an instant, or infinity in an object (William Blake), than in discovering commonalities or correspondences between things, or in what the latter symbolize of the invisible. More generally, he remained aloof from Romanticism. Apart from brilliant exceptions like Ritter and Oersted, the *Naturphilosophen* did not make significant discoveries themselves, but they were keen to find and express truths of a different order, that of the absolute.

IN THE WAKE OF ROMANTIC *NATURPHILOSOPHIE*. After about sixty years, the current of *Naturphilosophie* faded away in the 1850s. It was probably the last period in which people—or, at least, the savants—had felt at home on earth. Gradually, an estrangement from nature had made headway: the view had begun to prevail that nature is hostile, and not a place where they could feel at home. Nature came to represent either "the other," linked to a feeling of no longer being "at home in the world," or conversely to a reflexive response against the increasing disenchantment of the world (a kind of last-ditch attempt at exorcizing the specter of disenchantment). This process had already been smoldering for quite a few decades, as exemplified by Arthur Schopenhauer's *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* (The world as will and representation, 1819), in which nature is considered as being outside the categories of understanding. In the second half of the nineteenth century, *Naturphilosophie* was definitely superseded by the advent of scientistic, materialistic worldviews. However, it left numerous legacies. A number of celebrated philosophers in the twentieth century, like Ludwig Klages, Hermann Keyerling, and Max Scheler, have reclaimed some of its heritage, but in an essentially speculative manner, since very few of them were chemists, astrophysicists, or physicians.

Originally inspired by Goethe, Rudolf Steiner followed an orientation more akin to *Naturphilosophie* proper, which has consequently left its imprint upon the teachings and literature of the Anthroposophical Society until the present. Less directly but more importantly, the most obvious survival of *Naturphilosophie* is to be found in the theories of the unconscious. In this respect, works like Schubert's *Die Symbolik des Traums* (Symbolism of dreams, 1814), and perhaps even more Carus's *Psyche: Entwicklungsgeschichte der Seele* (Psyche: The historical development of the soul, 1846), certainly influenced the ideas of late nineteenth-century thinkers like Eduard von Hartmann (*Philosophie des Unbewussten* [Philosophy of the unconscious], 1869). Even more importantly, these theorists of the unconscious represent the historical roots of psychoanalysis, leading to the theories of Sigmund Freud (for whom the unconscious is rather monolithic, as it had been for Arthur Schopenhauer) and those of Carl Gustav Jung, who described the unconscious as a dynamically functioning quaternary. Jung may be considered the latest major representative of *Naturphilosophie*, given his views of alchemy (namely, that what alchemists saw in their crucible was a constellation of their own unconscious), and his theories on synchronicity as well.

Over the last decades, members of several scientific communities have adopted some conceptions pertaining to *Naturphilosophie*, whether they were aware of this tradition or not. For example, the idea of intelligent matter has been addressed by scientists like Valdemar Axel Firsoff (*Life, Mind, and Galaxies*, 1967) and Jean Charon (*L'Homme et l'Univers* [Man and the universe], 1974). The hypothesis that matter is modeled on the spirit has been developed in Arthur Koestler's *The Roots of Coincidence* (1972). Authors like David Bohm (*Wholeness and the Implicate Order*, 1980) and Fritjof Capra (*The Tao of Physics*, 1975) have developed "holistic" interpretations of modern physics, thus fostering a sort of visionary physics that has gained entrance into the literature of the New Age (see Hanegraaff) in the form of various speculations on the relationship between "science" and "conscience," "science" and "tradition," and so on.

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ANTOINE FAIVRE (1987 AND 2005)

NATURE: WORSHIP OF NATURE

What is ordinarily spoken of as "nature"—the physical world, including all living beings beyond the control of human culture—often appears to the religious consciousness as a manifestation of the sacred. Through nature, modes of being quite different from the specifically human reveal themselves to the religious imagination. The sun, the moon, and the earth, for example, can symbolize realities that transcend human experience. Throughout the history of religions, "nature" frequently is perceived as initiating a relationship with humankind, a relationship that is the foundation of human existence and well-being. In large part, this relationship is expressed in forms of adoration, a response of the total personality, or of an entire religious community, to the phenomena of nature.

The worship of nature underscores the fact that the sacred can appear in any guise. The religious person is confronted by the paradox that the sacred can manifest itself in material form without losing its essential character. In the worship of nature, radically different levels of existence are felt to interpenetrate and coexist. The possibilities of the human spirit become coextensive with the sacred capacities of the rest of the physical universe. The worship of nature thus highlights both the freedom of the sacred to appear in any form, and the capacity of the human being to recognize it for what it is in any expression. It also underlines the capacity of profane reality itself to become a transparent symbol of something other than itself, even while remaining what it is. In such a religious perception of the universe, nature transcends its brute physicality. It becomes a cipher, a symbol of something beyond itself. From this point of view, nature's existence is like the human situation in the world. Its modes of being as a manifestation of the sacred become resources for understanding the human religious condition. In many traditions, in fact, the belief in the shared destiny of nature and humanity is highly elaborated, so that the objects of nature are held to possess the same essential qualities as human beings: emotions, life cycles, personalities, volition, and so on.

The value and function of nature thus goes beyond the concrete sphere to the mystery of the sacred as it appears in the fuller reaches of religious experience. Only by keeping this in mind will people understand the forms in which communities respond to powers revealed in the physical universe. The following provide a series of suggestive illustrations of worship of nature.

The sky is often revered as a manifestation of divinity or venerated as the locus of the gods. The Konde of east-central Africa adored Mbamba (also named Kiara or Kyala), a divinity who dwelt with his family in the heights above the sky. The Konde offer prayer and sacrifice to the god who dwells in the sky, especially at times when rain is called for. Many divinities of the sky originally lived on earth or with the first human beings. Eventually, they withdrew on high. Not much is recounted about them in myth. The Samoyed peoples adored Num, a god who lived in the seventh heaven and whose name means "sky." Num overspreads the entire universe and is identified not only with the sky but with the sea and the earth. Tengri (Sky) is the supreme being among Mongols (Tengeri among the Buriats).

Baiame is the supreme god among tribes of southeastern Australia (Kamilaroi, Euahlayi, and Wiradjuri). He welcomes the souls of the dead into his dwelling place beside the flowing waters of the Milky Way. His voice is thunder; he is omniscient. Although supreme beings of the sky like Baiame reveal important mysteries to the first ancestors before they withdraw on high, and although they play a major part in initiation ceremonies, they do not usually dominate liturgical life.

Objects fallen from the sky come from the sacred locus of the heavens and often become the objects of religious cults. For example, the Numana of the Niger River valley in West Africa, who accord an important place to the divinity of the sky, vernerate small pebbles, which they believe have fallen from the sky. They install these sacred pebbles on top of cones of beaten earth some three feet high and offer sacrifices to them. Since the pebbles have fallen from the sky, they are believed to be fragments of the sky god. Actual meteorites are frequently the center of a cult associated with sky gods. In the same way, flints and other species of "thunder stones" or "rain stones" fallen from the sky are treated as sacred, for they are believed to be the arrowpoints shot by the god of lightning or by other celestial divinities.

Worship of the sun is widespread, especially at the times of the solstices. The Chukchi of northern Asia, for example, offer sacrifices to the light of the sun. Among the Chagga of Mount Kilimanjaro in Tanzania, Ruwa (Sun) is the supreme being, who receives sacrificial offerings in times of crisis. In societies engaged in intensive agriculture, the sun is worshiped in connection with the fertility of the crops and regenerative life of the cosmos. Such is the case with Inti in the Inca pantheon. The sun's power in such cases is not limited to the fertility of foodstuffs but extends also to human progeny. Privileged groups of human beings reckon their descent from the sun as did the Inca nobles, the Egyptian pharaoh, and important chiefly families on the island of Timor that reckon they are the "children of the sun." In many cultures the sun is believed to traverse the underworld at night. Therefore the sun becomes a sacred guide for the soul's journey through the land of the dead. In the Harvey Islands, the dead cluster in groups to await the biannual postmortem trek. During the solstices the sun leads these groups through the netherworld. Veneration of the sun takes the form of following his tracks when he sets. The sun carries into heaven the warriors who have fallen in battle.

Frequently the sun is worshiped because of its heroic achievements, including the creation of human beings. The sun and the moon created human beings from gourds, according to the tradition of the Apinagé people of South America. In the tradition of the Desána, a Tucano-speaking group of southern Colombia, the sun inseminated his daughter with light (through her eye) and caused the creation of the universe.

The moon is one of the most fascinating and rich religious characters. It has long been an object of worship in many cultures. The moon's shifting shape and changing disposition in the sky at various times of the night, day, and month makes it the focus of a wide range of associations that have led to its veneration. Sin, the Babylonian god of the moon, had important connections with the waters of the earth. Their ebb and flow were connected with the rhythmic capacities and periodic nature of Sin. Sin also created the grasses of the world.

The moon is frequently a lascivious being associated with the wanton powers of fertility. Often the moon is venerated as the source of sexual life and originator of reproductive processes such as menstruation and intercourse. The Canelos Quichua of eastern Ecuador, for example, treat Quilla, the moon, as a central supernatural being. When the new moon is immature, it is called *llullu Quilla*, the "green" or "unripe" moon. During these phases it is a prepubescent girl unable to conceive offspring or fashion pottery or prepare beer. The adult moon, *pucushca Quilla*, however, is a lascivious male whose incestuous exploits are recounted in myth. The moon's illicit exploits with his sister, the bird Jilucu, engendered the stars. When they discovered their origins, the stars wept and flooded the earth (Norman Whitten, *Sacha Runa: Ethnicity and Adaptation of Ecuadorian Jungle Quichua*, Urbana, Ill., 1976, p. 45).

Among the Siriono of eastern Bolivia, Yasi (Moon) is the most important supernatural being. He once lived on earth as a chief, but after creating the first human beings and teaching them the fundamentals of culture, he ascended into heaven. The waxing of the moon occurs as Yasi washes his face clean by degrees after returning from the hunt. The Siriono build lean-tos made of leaves in order to protect sleepers from exposure to the dangerous rays of the moon. These would cause blindness. Yasi provokes thunder and lightning by throwing jaguars and peccaries down to earth (Holmberg, 1960).

Mountains are a ubiquitous object of cult. In the Kunisaki Peninsula of Japan, for example, a tradition that dates back to the Heian period establishes a systematic, metaphorical relationship between the image of the mountain and the salvific power of the *Lotus Sūtra* (Grapard, 1986, pp. 21–50). The sacred mountain of this peninsula represents the nine regions of the Pure Land and is an important pilgrimage center. Its eight valleys are the eight petals of the lotus blossom that represents the Diamond Mandala and the Womb Mandala. These structures become the basis for the architecture of temples, the divisions of the text of the *Lotus Sūtra of the Wondrous Law,* and the program for the spiritual lives and geographic travels of pilgrims. All of these isomorphic structures represent the Pure Land of the Dainichi Nyorai. "This mountain is the permanent residence of the heart-mind of the Marvelous Law. It is the Lotus Pedestal on which the Buddha rests" (verses attributed to Enchin and quoted in Grapard, 1986, p. 50). The sacred mountain embodies the six realms *(rokudō)* of existence: that of the gods, human beings, titans, animals, hungry ghosts, and hells. Within these realms, arranged in a vertical hierarchy, all beings and all forms of rebirth have their place. Mount Haguro, another sacred mountain on the northern part of the Japanese island of Honshu, serves as the center of worship during four seasonal feasts. The New Year celebration is one of the most important and dramatic of these, for at that time the sacred combat between the old and the new year determines the outcome of the future year (Earhart, 1970; Blacker, 1975, chap. 2).

In South America, offerings are made to the mountains of the Andes throughout the year to sustain and stimulate the life of the community. The mountain is a divine body in whose life all beings participate and from whose abundance and well-being all benefit. The community cultivates food from the body of the mountain. It gives forth fluids (water, semen, milk, and blood) that sustain life. Sacrifices and offerings placed in specific holy sites on the mountain replenish the fat, the power source, of the mountain body (Bastien, 1985, pp. 595–611).

Waters are frequently presented as supernatural beings worthy of worship. Water, according to mythic accounts, is often the source of primal life. Such is the case in the Babylonian creation story recorded in the *Enuma elish*, wherein Apsu and Tiamat (fresh water and sea water, aspects of the primordial ocean) mingle chaotically to give rise to all subsequent forms of life. Springs, rivers, and irrigation waters are the centers of religious attention throughout the world. They are celebrated not only during the episodes of the agricultural cycle but also at moments of rebirth into initiatory societies and at moments of initiation into culture itself. Immersion water, standing in a stream or under a waterfall, or other forms of extended exposure to water serve as ordeals commonly associated with initiation. For the Akwē and Chavante peoples of Brazil, for example, the lengthy exposure of initiands to water recalls the time when mythical heroes created the world's contents at the time of the flood.

In Scandinavian mythology Ægir (the Sea) is the boundless ocean. His wife, Ran, casts her net through the ocean and drags human beings into its depths as sacrificial offerings. The nine daughters of Ægir and Ran represent the various modes and moments of the sea. All of these divine beings dwell in the magnificent castle at the bottom of the ocean where the gods occasionally gather around a miraculous caldron. Apparently the cult of disposing of caldrons at the bottom of seas or lakes is associated with this mythology.

Water monsters are also the object of cultic action. They are placated or combated to stave off a repetition of the cosmic deluge. Aquatic dragons embody the fertile principles manifest in moisture. They must be slain or tamed to release their fecund powers and to prevent drought. Thus the Chinese dragon Yin gathers together all the waters of the world and controls the rain. Images of Yin were fashioned at times of drought and at the onset of the rains (Granet, 1926, vol. 1, pp. 353–356).

The earth is sacred in many traditions and is the object of devotion and affection. As the source of life, Pachamama (Mother Earth) of the Andes is worshiped on various occasions throughout the year. The agricultural cycle is coordinated with her menstrual periods, the times when she is open for conception. The earth is frequently a partner of the sky or of some other celestial fertilizing divinity. Among the Kumana of southern Africa, for example, the marriage of the sky and the earth makes the cosmos fertile. Liturgical life is directed toward the fruitful accomplishment of this union. Among North American Indian peoples such as the Pawnee, the Lakota, the Huron, the Zuni, and the Hopi, the earth is the fertile partner of the sky and the source of abundant life. The care extended to the earth takes involved forms of worship. The earth is also frequently the locus of burial. As such the earth becomes an ambivalent source of regenerative life, for it is a regeneration accomplished through devouring. All that is buried in the earth and rises to new life must undergo the decomposition of the seed. Rituals associated with the earth, such as agricultural orgies, frequently reenact this furious and destructive episode of degeneration in imitation of the experience of the seed in the earth.

Plants, trees, and vegetation also have their place in worship. The tree of life or the cosmic tree expresses the sacredness of the entire world. Scandinavian myth offers the example of Yggdrasill, the cosmic tree. Yggdrasill sinks its roots into the earth and into the netherworld where giants dwell. Divinities meet daily near the tree to pass judgment on the world's affairs. The Fountain of Wisdom flows from a spot near the tree as does the Fountain of Memory. Yggdrasill miraculously renews itself in spite of the fact that an enormous serpent named Níðhoggr (Nidhogg) gnaws at its roots. The universe will continue to exist because Yggdrasill perdures. An enormous eagle defends it from its enemies and the god Óðinn (Odin) tethers his horse to its branches.

Other kinds of vegetation also manifest sacred powers and divinities. Thus the Vedic and Puranic creation accounts identify the lotus floating upon the water as a manifestation of the divinity and of the universe. Miraculous trees, flowers, and fruits reveal the presence of divine powers. Rites of spring frequently center on plants, boughs, or trees that are treated as sacred. The fertility of the cosmos is symbolized by the union of male and female plants or by the blossoming of a bough from a specific species of plants. Around the world, the agricultural cycle is hedged around with religious acts directed toward the furthering of the powers of fertility manifest in various crops. In particular, the moments of sowing and reaping are marked by sacrifices. The seeds themselves undergo a form of sacrificial death as do the harvested stalks at the end of the growing season. The picking of first fruits and the gathering of the last sheaf of the fields is frequently the occasion for religious festival and ceremony.

Animals have also stimulated the religious imagination in such a way as to warrant devotion. Animals, birds, fish, snakes, and even insects have all become the focus of adoration in one culture or another. Often their bodies represent the transformed expression of supernatural beings that underwent metamorphosis at the beginning of time (Goldman, 1979).

Examples of the worship of nature could be multiplied endlessly. There is hardly any object in the natural cosmos that has not become the center of cult somewhere at one time or in one place or another. How this should be interpreted is a matter of extreme delicacy. In general modern interpreters have failed to settle on a satisfactory explanation. Even the term *nature* carries a range of connotations that obscure the meaning of sacred objects of cult in many cultures. Each generation of scholars in the last century spawned a number of interpretive theories in which the worship of nature figured as a large element in the assessment of religion in general. In fact, the effort to desacralize nature in the Western perception and to identify the perception of nature as sacred with "primitive" peoples played a large role in the foundation of the social sciences and in the self-understanding of the modern West (Cocchiara, 1948). Offering a nuanced interpretation of the worship of nature would require a detailed deconstruction of the cultural sciences as well as a subtle appreciation of the religious terminology of each culture in question. James G. Frazer contended that the worship of nature and the worship of the dead were the two most fundamental forms of natural religion (1926, pp. 16–17). F. Max Müller founded his school of comparative religious studies on the principle that myths spoke about nature. E. B. Tylor also established his influential theory of animism, a still-lingering interpretation of religion on the notion that human beings projected onto nature certain animate qualities of their own character, visible especially in dream and in the rational explanations of death. Claude Lévi-Strauss pushes this intellectualized perception of nature in the formation of religion even further, contending that religion involved the humanization of the laws of nature (Lévi-Strauss, 1966, p. 221). A politico-economic interpretation of religion points to the intricate unity between nature and human beings, bound together by common origins and by reciprocities visible in ritual. According to Michael Taussig (1980), it is ritual action that aligns human beings with the helping spirits of nature. These rituals are extended in the modern rites of labor, such as those associated with miners and farmhands. The rituals dedicated to nature are aimed at enlisting nature's power in the cause of liberation of human being in the cosmos. The worship of nature, in this view, is an example of cosmological principles and the rituals dedicated to nature are also the arenas where these principles are created, renewed, and reformed (Taussig, 1980). The worship of nature has also become an important object of scholarly study in order to study nature as a category in the conceptual schemes of different cultures (Ortner, 1974; MacCormack and Strathern, 1980).

SEE ALSO Animals; Center of the World; Deus Otiosus; Earth; Ecology and Religion; Hierophany; Moon; Sky; Sun; Supreme Beings; Vegetation; Water.

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Revised Bibliography

NAVĀʾĪ, ʿALĪ SHĪR See ʿALĪ SHĪR NAVĀʾĪ

NAVAJO RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS. Because of it colonial origin, the designation *Navajo* is in the process of being replaced by the term *Diné,* a word derived from the phrase *Diyin Dine'é* (people with supernatural powers). For this reason, *Diné* will be used throughout this article. The Diné, whose population in the 2000s has been estimated at 180,462, now live primarily on the Diné Nation (a land reserve approximately 270,000 square miles in size) located within the four corners of northeastern Arizona, northwestern New Mexico, southeastern Utah, and southwestern Colorado. Archaeological and linguistic evidence suggests that the Diné were latecomers to the American Southwest, arriving between 1000 and 1525 CE. Through contact with the Spanish and Pueblo peoples they acquired horses, sheep, goats, and agriculture. Anthropologists generally attribute similarities between Diné and Pueblo cosmologies and practices to the fact that many Pueblo refugees began to live among the Diné following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Many Diné elders describe this period as one of mutual exchange, rather than of unilateral influence.

COSMOLOGY AND WORLDVIEW. The path of walking in beauty and harmony, known as *Hózhóójí,* is the basic philosophy of the Diné Nation and is the foundation for their culture, beliefs, and traditions. The path of *K'e* is based on a reciprocal relationship of kinship with the surrounding environment and the universe. The Diné *bá'ólta'í* (teacher, messenger) Wilson Aronilth Jr. explains: "According to our great forefathers' teaching, our clan system is the foundation of how we learn about our self image and self identity. . . . A wise Diné can look back into the values of his clan and see his true self" (Aronilth, 1991, p. 76). The Diné were instructed by the Diyin Dine'é to live within the boundaries of the four mountains located in New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado. Instruction were given by the Diyin Dine'é to build a *hooghan* (round house). The primary function of the *hooghan* was as a place for ceremonies and prayers.

The Diné origin myth recounts the Diné *hajíínáí* (emergence) from a series of underworlds onto *Nahasdzáán* (the Earth's surface). Using a medicine bundle brought from the underworlds, in an all-night ceremony at the place of emergence, First Man, First Woman, and other Diyin Dine'é set in place the "inner forms" of natural phenomena (earth, sky, the sacred mountains, plants, and animals), creating the present world (the fourth world). The Diné creation story recounts that it is in the fourth world that 'Asdzáá Náleehé (Changing Woman) was born; she was impregnated by

Jónaa'éí (Sun) and gave birth to twin sons, who killed various monsters that had been endangering the Diyin Dine'é. Using the medicine bundle First Man had given her, 'Asdzáá Náleehé created maize. She also created the Diné (Earth-Surface People), from epidermal waste rubbed from her skin.

The Diné creation myth indicates that there is no dichotomy between the natural and supernatural in Diné religion. Furthermore, humans (the Earth-Surface People) and the Diyin Dine'é are conceived of in terms of the same set of motivating forces: the notion of *nílch'i* (wind), the concept of *bii'gistiin* (inner form) or *bii'siziinii* (in-lying one), and the opposing notions of *hózhó* (harmony, balance) and *hóchó* (disharmony, disorder).

Wind is a unitary phenomenon that is the source of all life, movement, and behavior. However, wind has various aspects that have different functions and, hence, different names. Before the Emergence, winds are said to have given the means of life (i.e., breath) to the inhabitants of the underworlds. After the Emergence, mists of lights were placed along each of the cardinal directions and four sacred mountains were created in each direction. Each direction is said to have an "inner form" *(bii'gistiin)* as well as a closely associated wind. From the four directions these winds give the means of life, movement, thought, and communication to the natural phenomena, the Diyin Dine'é, and the Diné. Wind's Child is sent to guide and advise the Earth-Surface People. Finally, each Diné also has a "wind within one" *(nílch'i biisíinii)* that enters at birth and guides the individual.

Thus both natural phenomena and humans have inner forms or "in-lying ones" animated by wind. As Gary Witherspoon has written, "In most cases the Holy People of the fifth world are those who are the inner forms of various natural phenomena and forces, including animals. These in-lying ones are the controlling and animating powers of nature. Diné ritual is designed to control the Holy People who are the inner forms and controlling agents of natural phenomena" (Witherspoon, 1983, p. 575).

The Diyin Dine'é are immune to danger, destruction, and death. They are not holy in the sense that they are virtuous, but rather in the sense that they are powerful. It is the responsibility of each Diné to maintain harmonious relations with the Diyin Dine'é, though the Diyin Dine'é may be persuaded to aid in the restoration of a person who has become ill through improper contact with them.

In Diné belief the term *hózhó* refers to a positive or ideal environment. As Witherspoon puts it, "The goal of Diné life in this world is to live to maturity in the condition described as *hózhó,* and to die of old age, the end result of which incorporates one into the universal beauty, harmony, and happiness described as *'Sa'áh naaghái, Bik'eh hózhó'* " (Witherspoon, 1983, p. 573). The phrase *"Sa'áh naaghái, bik'eh hózhó"* (long life, filled with happiness and harmony) occurs in most ritual songs and prayers and clearly exemplifies the Diné ideal. The foundation of the philosophy is the reciprocal relationship between the Diné and all of the entities in the universe, including animals, plants, the cosmos, and the earth that sustains all living things.

Illness is thought to be a state of *hóchó* that has resulted from the patient's contact with something "dangerous." Leland C. Wyman and Clyde Kluckhohn (1938, pp. 13–14) list four groups of "etiological factors" that can produce sickness:

1. Natural phenomena such as lightning, wind, and thunder.
2. Some kinds of animals, including bears, deer, coyotes, porcupines, snakes, eagles, and fish.
3. Coming into contact with ceremonial paraphernalia at inappropriate times.
4. Diné ghosts, aliens, witches, or werewolves.

Following such an encounter, a ceremony is required to restore the individual to the state of *hózhóójí.*

Chants and Ceremonies. Anthropologists have identified twenty-four chant complexes; only about eight were well known and frequently performed in the 1970s, while six were extinct and four were obsolete. There has been little agreement among either Diné consultants or anthropologists as to how these chants might be ordered into a system. (See Wyman and Kluckhohn, 1938; Haile, 1938; Reichard, 1950; Wyman, 1983; Witherspoon, 1983; and Werner et al., 1983, for various possibilities.)

Chants are associated with a number of rituals, the most important of which are the Hózhóójí and Enemyway ceremonies. The Hózhóójí (Blessingway) ceremony is of central importance for the Diné, and is intended to preserve a beautiful, peaceful, harmonious state of balance *(hózhó).* It is the foundation of the Kinaaldá ceremony, a puberty ritual for young girls. The Enemyway ceremony *('anna'jí),* in contrast, is designed to counteract the evil effects of contact with non-Diné people killed in battle and is used to exorcise their spirits (ghosts). According to Wyman (1983, p. 541), it is one of a mostly obsolete group of ancient war ceremonials and is now classed together with other ceremonies collectively labeled Evilway *(hóchó'ojí).*

The Diné model of the cosmos is expressed in the setting of the ceremony itself. The chant takes place in the *hooghan,* which is circular like the horizon. Movement during a ritual is always clockwise or "in the direction of the sun." Men sit on the south side of the *hooghan;* women on the north side. The singer sits on the southwest side and the patient, when resting, sits on the northwest side. The east (where the door is located) is associated with the Hayoołkááł Hastiin Diyin (Dawn Spirit Talking).

Comparisons. Although Diné elders do not make cross-cultural comparisons between Diné traditions and the traditions of other Native American Indians, some scholars, such as Louise Lamphere, note striking similarities between Diné ceremonialism and that of both the Apache and the Pueblo. Both the Diné and the Apache place great emphasis on the goal of achieving long life, and both center their ceremonies on the individual—that is, on changing his or her state through prestation, the removal of evil objects, and identification with supernatural power. Like Pueblo religion, Diné religion entails a view of a cosmos that is structured as a bounded universe in which the present world is at the top of several layered worlds through which the ancestors emerged. While Diné ritual replicates the cosmos differently than Apache ritual, its use of color, sex, and directional symbolism find many parallels in Pueblo ritual and in the Pueblo worldview (see Heib, 1979; Tedlock, 1979; and Ortiz, 1969).

The similarities between the ceremonies of the Diné, the Apache, and the Pueblo suggest that there are unifying features to ceremonialism in native Southwest cultures. Southwest religion, like that of other Native American cultures; is closely tied to the natural environment. Native cosmologies are rooted in conceptions of time and space that imbue the local terrain with supernatural meaning. Natural objects are made into ritual objects and are used to attract positive supernatural power, to remove dangerous power, and to represent sacred presence. A ceremonial specialist using these objects and ritual actions communicates with the supernatural in order to ensure that natural and cultivated plant and animal life will continue to be abundant and that individual and communal health and prosperity are maintained.

Although many books are available with specific descriptions of ceremonies, rituals, chants, and prayers, the Diné emphasis on orality and holistic understanding suggests that long-term fieldwork and language acquisition are the most reliable and responsible methods of research.

SEE ALSO Athapaskan Religious Traditions.

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NAVARĀTRI ("nine nights"), also known as Durgotsava ("festival of the goddess Durgā"), is a festival celebrated in India and Nepal at the time of the vernal and autumnal equinoxes. The nine nights are followed by a festival known both as Daśarā (or Daśaharā, "destroying the ten [sins]") and as Vijayādaśamī ("victory on the tenth [day]"). Although the festival of the vernal equinox is not celebrated in all regions of India, it appears in modified form in local festivals dedicated to the Goddess. The great autumnal Navarātri, which takes place during the nine nights following the new moon in the lunar month of October-November, is pan-Indian and is regarded as an important rite performed to benefit a variety of aspects of Hindu life (see Kane, 1958, vol. 5, pt. 5, pp. 156–157).

The theology and function of the Goddess, particularly of Durgā and of all popular female deities, find expression in the Navarātri (Biardeau, 1981, pp. 142–156). Its main textual source is the *Devīmāhātmya* (Glorification of the Goddess), which is a section of the *Mar-kaṇḍeya Purāṇa* often extracted and regarded as a text in its own right. According to that text, the demons (*asuras*) at one time overcame the gods, and Mahiṣāsura, the Buffalo Demon, took the place of the king of the gods. From the palpable anger of the gods was formed the body of the Goddess, known variously as Mahāmāyā ("great illusion"), Caṇḍī ("the cruel"), Durgā ("unattainable"), and by other names. The Goddess, incarnate at the energy (*śakti*) of the gods, obtained weapons from the gods and in her various forms fought against the multifarious *asuras*, whose archetype is Mahiṣa.

When she is regarded as a virgin, as distinct from any male consorts, or as the supreme deity, the Goddess in India is depicted as a fearsome and terrible deity who demands blood sacrifices. From the defeated Buffalo Demon springs a *puruṣa*, a "man" who when sacrificed becomes a devotee of the Goddess. Navarātri is thus closely associated with sacrificial themes, although in most regions vegetable substitutes now take the place of sacrificial animals in the ritual. The many forms and aspects of the Goddess and of the *asuras* correspond with the various interests and evils of this earth, for the continuation of which she manifests herself. What is more precisely at stake in the story of the *Devīmāhātmya*, however, is Mahiṣāsura's usurpation of the gods' power over the world. Hence it follows that the Goddess's close relationship with the king is a crucial element for the preservation of the Hindu cosmo-social order and for the prosperity of the kingdom as well.

The Navarātri is more complex in some regions of India than in others. In some areas it is primarily a festival marking the growing season. In others, it centers mostly around the worship of a local goddess, who may be thought of as the spouse of an untouchable. It may also be a highly ceremonialized and intricate festival, as in the former princely states, where the king was required to perform the Buffalo Sacrifice.

The main Navarātri ritual consists of installing the Goddess in the home and in the temple throughout the nine nights of the ceremony. In Tamil Nadu the Goddess is seated among many other images in a royal audience and is visited daily by women singing devotional songs; there, the ninth night is consecrated to the worship of Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, and to *āyudhapūjā*, the worship of weapons and tools. In other regions young girls are worshiped as embodiments of the virgin Goddess. In Mysore (modern-day Karnataka) and Bastar the nine nights were a time of ascetic practices for the king.

In Bengal, the installation of the Goddess in a royal temple is an elaborate life-giving rite (see Östör, 1980, pp. 71ff.). The night between the eighth and ninth days serves as the climax to the ceremony as a whole. Nava-ratri is also an important popular festival in which the Bengalis build huge, richly decorated images of the Goddess. These icons of Devī are destroyed during the Vijayādaśamī rites. Large and excited crowds of people (who at times transgress the norms of conduct) parade the many images of the Goddess to bodies of water, where they are immersed.

Vijayādaśamī concerns primarily the *kṣatriya* caste. In royal states and in Nepal the king performs *āyudhapūjā*, officiates at parades of soldiers astride horses and elephants, and symbolically conquers the world by throwing arrows to the four directions. Ritually crossing the boundaries, the king goes toward the northeast to perform *śamīpūjā*, the worship of the *śamī* tree, traditionally associated with the sacred fire. This appears to be a ritual restatement of an event recounted in the *Mahābhārata* in which the heroes of the epic retrieve the weapons they had hidden in that tree. Seated in a royal audience, the king receives the renewed allegiance of his subjects. In some regions there are dramatic enactments of the victory of Viṣṇu's incarnation as Rāma over Rāvaṇa, the demon-king of Sri Lanka. In former times, the end of Navarātri, which coincides with the end of the monsoon, marked the time for kings to return to their wars. Moreover, the close association between the *asura*-slayer, Devī, and the kingdom, which is under her protection, symbolically restores prosperity to everyone in the domain.

SEE ALSO Durgā Hinduism; Hindu Religious Year.

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NAẒẒĀM, AL-. Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Sayyār al-Naẓẓām (c. AH 165–221/c. 782–836 CE) was an early Muslim theologian of the rationalist Muʿtazilī school.

Born in poverty in the city of Basra, al-Naẓẓām rose to literary prominence through his keen wit and rhetorical skills, and eventually moved to Baghdad where he was granted a large salary by the state. His most notable poetry employed abstract theological terms and metaphors in praise of wine and the beauties of youths, but he was remembered (and criticized) especially for his theological views. He studied theology under his uncle, Abū al-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf (d. c. 841 CE), the founder of the Basra school of speculative Muʿtazilī theology. He is also said to have applied his prodigious memory to the study of traditions (*ḥadīth*), Jewish and Christian scriptures and commentaries, Greek philosophy, and Iranian dualistic traditions. In Baghdad he caused a stir with his "new philosophy," a non-atomistic system in which infinitely divisible bodies move by discrete instantaneous leaps. He attracted a proverbially large number of disciples, who perpetuated aspects of his teaching for a century or so; but although the Baghdad school of the Muʿtazilah drew on some of his ideas, his physical theory soon lost out to Abū al-Hudhayl's atomism, and his thought was largely rejected by the Basra school. His own books are lost, but Josef van Ess has pieced together a broad, if still partly tentative, sketch of his thought from citations by later writers, including most notably his famous pupil, the celebrated litterateur and theologian, al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 869 CE).

Seeking common ground from which to debate dualists such as the Manichaeans, al-Naẓẓām adopted an ontology akin to their view of the world as a mixture of opposites. He rejected Abū al-Hudhayl's view that the world consists of indivisible atoms in which qualities inhere as accidents, proposing instead that objects are combinations of perceptible, corporeal qualities that pervade one another and become hidden or manifest as things change. For example, coldness is among the normally manifest qualities of wood, but when it is set ablaze the previously latent quality of fire, itself composed of warmth and brightness, becomes manifest. Human beings cannot create or destroy such qualities, but the human spirit is capable of initiating changes in their arrangements (i.e., movements or actions, which are the only accidents recognized by al-Naẓẓām). The spirit, a subtle body, by nature wills only what is good, but because it is trapped in a perceptible body permeated by conflicting motivations, it can choose evil. The body implements the actions willed by the spirit, and God creates the effects of those actions in their objects, in accordance with the qualities he gave each object at creation.

Although al-Naẓẓām's ontology had many points in common with Stoic philosophy and Iranian dualistic traditions, he employed it in the defense of Islamic doctrines, citing the intermingling of opposite qualities, for example, as proof of a creator who brings them together. He proposed radical formulations of several cardinal Muʿtazilī principles: God's justice, God's oneness, and the createdness of the Qurʾān. Prompted by debates with dualists over the problem of evil, al-Naẓẓām went beyond the disputed Muʿtazilī thesis that God always does what is best (*aṣlaḥ*), to claim that God is not even capable of injustice, or indeed of anything less than what is most salutary for his creatures (including animals). God does not will or create either good or bad human actions, except in the sense that he commands certain acts, and creates their effects in their objects. Against Christians, dualists, and even some Muslims who seemed to vitiate God's oneness by ascribing to him eternal partners, al-Naẓẓām adopted an extreme form of the Muʿtazilī teaching that God does not have real attributes coeternal with himself. He argued that to affirm one of God's attributes is not to ascribe a positive quality to God's essence, but merely to affirm that essence and to deny that it has the opposite quality. Only God's actions upon the created world can be described positively. One such action is his speech, the Qurʾān, which the Muʿtazilah claimed is created rather than eternal. Al-Naẓẓām agreed, but whereas he considered human speech an attribute of the speaker (an accident and a movement by which the speaker breaks up and articulates a previously existent but formless sound), he claimed that God's speech is itself sound created in articulated form. Thus he could not describe God as speaking, or say that human recitation of the Qurʾān is itself the Qurʾān. Although he formalized the doctrine that the Qurʾān is a miraculous proof of Muḥammad's prophethood, he did not claim, as would later theologians, that its rhetorical style is intrinsically inimitable; instead he argued that Muḥammad's opponents had failed to match the Qurʾān's eloquence only because God had temporarily rendered them unable to do so. What he considered probative was the Qurʾān's content—its revelation of things that a human being could not otherwise know.

In theology al-Naẓẓām insisted that knowledge of God be arrived at through doubt and reason, but on rationally inscrutable points of law he insisted on following the letter of the Qurʾān. He blamed the prevailing chaos of conflicting legal opinions on those prominent companions of the prophet Muḥammad who had followed their own opinions in their rulings. His older contemporary, the famous jurist al-Shāfiʿī (d. 820 CE), had sought to bring Islamic law into full harmony with the Qurʾān by interpreting the Qurʾān almost exclusively in light of reports from the Prophet himself, by extending the reach of its provisions through reasoning by analogy, and by exploiting its linguistic ambiguities to resolve contradictions. Al-Naẓẓām took a diametrically opposite approach. He rejected the independent legal authority of reports (*ḥadīth*)—even those that the Muslim community accepted by consensus (*ijmāʿ*)—arguing that reports give certainty only when corroborated by rational or perceptual evidence, regardless of how many people transmit them. He also rejected most, if not all, analogical reasoning (*qiyās*), and insisted that the language of the Qurʾān be applied absolutely literally in the absence of specific qualifying evidence (which may, however, include reports or consensus). Some aspects of this approach were soon taken up by the Ẓāhirī school of law (now institutionally defunct), and he was much quoted by Shīʿī legal theorists, who shared his rejection of analogy and consensus and his antipathy for certain companions of the Prophet. Mainstream Sunnī legal theory, however, followed al-Shāfiʿī's lead.

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NDEMBU RELIGION.

The Ndembu, also called the Lunda, number about sixty thousand and inhabit small villages in the district of Mwinilunga in the northwestern province of Zambia. Although their descent system is matrilineal, women leave home to marry into their husbands' villages, a system that sets up social tensions and, before the advent of Christianity, used to result in a high divorce rate. In this conflict-torn society, cult associations formerly had a great unifying power, calling together members from many different kinship groups to cooperate in rituals that gave moments of spiritual revelation, which in turn resolved conflicts and healed illness.

CULTS OF AFFLICTION. Among the Ndembu, affliction was seen as having a spiritual cause: the spirit of a dead matrilineal relative *(mukishi)* afflicted a living descendant, "coming out" in a range of different modes of spirit visitation. Thus the spirit might "come out in Nkula," the mode of menstrual troubles; Wubwangʾu, the mode of twins; Isoma, the miscarriage mode; Ihamba, a spirit tooth wandering in the patient's body, needing ritual extraction; Wuyangʾa, the mode for hunters; Tukuka, the mode of Western diseases; or Chihamba, the mode of the demigod of thunder. Wu-bwangʾu and Ihamba afflictions still exist today.

The spirit "caught" a living relative in the first place because he or she had not honored the spirit's memory. When afflicted, an individual required a complex ritual, the mode of which was determined by the consideration of symptoms and by divination. The ritual (*nʿgoma,* "drum") was performed by a cult association consisting of those who had already been afflicted in that mode. The aim was to bring the spirit up out of the ground (the place where the spirits dwell) so that by recognizing its existence and giving it a concrete form—as a figure, effigy, tooth, or voice—it could be revealed. *Ku-solola,* "to reveal," was a basic element of Ndembu religion and curative ritual. The religion taught: "what hurts you, when discovered and propitiated, helps you." Through the use of medicines, drumming and singing, and distinctive rites appropriate to each mode, the spirit was brought once more into the social milieu and would, at a switch point in the ritual, begin to do good instead of harm to the patient. Often what triggered the change was a sacrifice, which might be the beheading of a fowl or a blow on an effigy, signifying killing; while the victim embodied the spirit, the act gave a sense of innocence and *communitas.* Ndembu sacrifice was the point where the visible and invisible components of the cosmic order interpenetrated and exchanged qualities. When the spirit world and the world of the living were at one, the patient was healed.

LIFE-CRISIS RITUALS. A young girl or boy could not become a full member of the Ndembu people without an initiation ritual. The matrilineal character of the descent system emphasized the bond of breast feeding; thus, a forest shrub called *mudyi,* which has milky sap, was a dominant symbol for both girls' and boys' initiations. *Mudyi* represented the matrilineage itself and the virtues of good family living; its "milk" was the sensory pole of the symbol's meaning, hinting at the satisfactions associated with mother's milk—a pole that gave power to the ideological pole of goodness.

Both girls' and boys' initiations were rites of passage, and they are still performed in a truncated form. The novice passes ritually from childhood into a liminal time of seclusion when she or he is neither child nor adult. Finally the initiate is reincorporated into society as a full member.

Girls are initiated singly, at puberty; the initiate used to be laid down under a blanket at the foot of a milk tree for an entire day, while the women danced around her. At evening she was carried into a seclusion hut, where she received training for three months. At the end she performed a public dance and might then be married.

Boys from five to fifteen years of age are still circumcised in groups in a sacred enclosure away from the village. They are secluded there during healing, and in former times used to be visited by an *ikishi* dancer, a spirit from ancient times (not an ancestor spirit). Finally the boys would rejoin society in a public celebration that used to include a triumphal dance before the chief. In both rituals the place of ordeal and humiliation used to be called "the place of death"; symbolic death and rebirth were basic features of these and many of the curative rites.

Death itself was celebrated by a masked dancer (*kadangʿu*) who was both mourner and clown. Among the funerary symbols were three trenches filled with white-, red-, and black-colored water, representing goodness, blood and ambivalence, and death; these trenches were known as "rivers" proceeding from Nzambi, the creator god. Formerly, a stilt walker, the head of the funerary society, would come to beat and initiate the small boys of the mourning camp. Medicines and rituals are still used to keep the ghost of the dead person quiet.

Thus Ndembu religion was directly concerned with human events, whether sickness, bad luck in hunting, conflict in the village, or phases in the maturation of an individual. It was mainly through sickness that an individual began to sense the presence of an ancestor spirit; thus it was the very irregularities of life, its negative events, that created the positive sense of the supernatural, especially when the spirit possessed a patient and she swayed, her body physically released by its presence. The palpable existence of spirits developed in the course of the experience of misfortune. This is not to be explained as a compensation mechanism; misfortune did more than arouse fantasies, for it triggered well-recognized faculties (*wanga*) that needed the stimulus of trouble, and then of social cooperation, in order to flower. Senior doctors still train their apprentices in those faculties and teach the appropriate material accompaniments of medicine, drumming, confession, and trance in order to exorcise evil spirits. In spite of the growth of Christianity, traditional healers are increasing in numbers. Owing to the suppression of ancestor cults, they do not appeal to the ancestor spirits of the patients, but instead are helped by tutelary spirits from among their own ancestors or from some strong departed personality. Formerly a doctor entered his vocation after being sick himself. In the case of an incipient diviner he might be troubled in his breathing until he gave in to the demands of his spirit and underwent the Kayong'u initiation.

SPIRITS. In the past, Ndembu religion centered upon ancestor spirits who communicated with humans frequently but unpredictably. Like the people's own lives, their domain was process, not the absolute. Continually involved in human life, they could heal their descendants and make them sexually potent. Such spirits could also be reborn in their patrilateral descendants. They were often whimsical, difficult, and easily offended when forgotten, but beneficent when treated with respect. Thus all of humanity, past, present, and future, was strongly knit together. *Mukishi* ancestor spirits and the ancient *ikishi* spirits, however, are no longer recognized as necessary agents of healing or change in rites of passage.

The Ndembu also believed in the *mwevulu,* the spirit shadow that was thought to leave a person and wander about when he or she was asleep and dreaming. It was this "shadow" that left a person when he or she died. Certain evil spirits are still feared, principally the *mufu,* the dangerous ghost that arises when funerary rites have not been properly fulfilled, and the harmful *andumba* (sg., *ndumba*), familiars sent by witches in the shape of little men with their feet reversed, or in the form of hyenas, jackals, owls, or small rodents. Two other types of beings are also feared: the leader of the *andumba,* the *kahwehu,* often the ghost of the witch's murdered husband, who is said to have continued intercourse with her, and the *musalu,* or zombie, which can be raised from a corpse by a witch and sent out to kill.

GOD. The pre-Christian Ndembu recognized a creator god who was known as Nzambi. Having once created the world Nzambi never intervened in the lives of humans, and his role in religion was exiguous except in a negative sense. The Ndembu girl during her sacralization and seclusion was carefully shielded from his sight—as represented by the sun. This male god, the sun, and men and boys, must be absent from her scenes of rebirth. Nzambi's place was far away above the world. He was thought to be connected with rain, animals, and fertility, and also with the moral order, which decreed piety to the dead and compassion to the living. Christians have appropriated the name *Nzambi* to translate the term *God;* and now even traditional healers pray to Nzambi, just as Ndembu Christians have been doing for decades.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED IN THIS WORK

abbr. abbreviated; abbreviation
abr. abridged; abridgment
AD *anno Domini,* in the year of the (our) Lord
Afrik. Afrikaans
AH *anno Hegirae,* in the year of the Hijrah
Akk. Akkadian
Ala. Alabama
Alb. Albanian
Am. *Amos*
AM *ante meridiem,* before noon
amend. amended; amendment
annot. annotated; annotation
Ap. *Apocalypse*
Apn. *Apocryphon*
app. appendix
Arab. Arabic
ʿArakh. *ʿArakhin*
Aram. Aramaic
Ariz. Arizona
Ark. Arkansas
Arm. Armenian
art. article (pl., arts.)
AS Anglo-Saxon
Asm. Mos. *Assumption of Moses*
Assyr. Assyrian
A.S.S.R. Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
Av. Avestan
ʿA.Z. *ʿAvodah zarah*
b. born
Bab. Babylonian
Ban. Bantu
1 Bar. *1 Baruch*
2 Bar. *2 Baruch*
3 Bar. *3 Baruch*
4 Bar. *4 Baruch*
B.B. *Bavaʾ batraʾ*
BBC British Broadcasting Corporation
BC before Christ
BCE before the common era
B.D. Bachelor of Divinity
Beits. *Beitsah*
Bekh. *Bekhorot*
Beng. Bengali
Ber. *Berakhot*
Berb. Berber
Bik. *Bikkurim*
bk. book (pl., bks.)
B.M. *Bavaʾ metsiʿaʾ*
BP before the present
B.Q. *Bavaʾ qammaʾ*
Brāh. *Brāhmaṇa*
Bret. Breton
B.T. Babylonian Talmud
Bulg. Bulgarian
Burm. Burmese
c. *circa,* about, approximately
Calif. California
Can. Canaanite
Catal. Catalan
CE of the common era
Celt. Celtic
cf. *confer,* compare
Chald. Chaldean
chap. chapter (pl., chaps.)
Chin. Chinese
C.H.M. Community of the Holy Myrrhbearers
1 Chr. *1 Chronicles*
2 Chr. *2 Chronicles*
Ch. Slav. Church Slavic
cm centimeters
col. column (pl., cols.)
Col. *Colossians*
Colo. Colorado
comp. compiler (pl., comps.)
Conn. Connecticut
cont. continued
Copt. Coptic
1 Cor. *1 Corinthians*
2 Cor. *2 Corinthians*
corr. corrected
C.S.P. Congregatio Sancti Pauli, Congregation of Saint Paul (Paulists)
d. died
D Deuteronomic (source of the Pentateuch)
Dan. Danish
D.B. Divinitatis Baccalaureus, Bachelor of Divinity
D.C. District of Columbia
D.D. Divinitatis Doctor, Doctor of Divinity
Del. Delaware
Dem. *Demaʾi*
dim. diminutive
diss. dissertation
Dn. *Daniel*
D.Phil. Doctor of Philosophy
Dt. *Deuteronomy*
Du. Dutch
E Elohist (source of the Pentateuch)
Eccl. *Ecclesiastes*
ed. editor (pl., eds.); edition; edited by

ʿEduy. *ʿEduyyot*
e.g. *exempli gratia,* for example
Egyp. Egyptian
1 En. *1 Enoch*
2 En. *2 Enoch*
3 En. *3 Enoch*
Eng. English
enl. enlarged
Eph. *Ephesians*
ʿEruv. *ʿEruvin*
1 Esd. *1 Esdras*
2 Esd. *2 Esdras*
3 Esd. *3 Esdras*
4 Esd. *4 Esdras*
esp. especially
Est. Estonian
Est. *Esther*
et al. *et alii,* and others
etc. *et cetera,* and so forth
Eth. Ethiopic
EV English version
Ex. *Exodus*
exp. expanded
Ez. *Ezekiel*
Ezr. *Ezra*
2 Ezr. *2 Ezra*
4 Ezr. *4 Ezra*
f. feminine; and following (pl., ff.)
fasc. fascicle (pl., fascs.)
fig. figure (pl., figs.)
Finn. Finnish
fl. *floruit,* flourished
Fla. Florida
Fr. French
frag. fragment
ft. feet
Ga. Georgia
Gal. *Galatians*
Gaul. Gaulish
Ger. German
Giṭ. *Giṭṭin*
Gn. *Genesis*
Gr. Greek
Ḥag. *Ḥagigah*
Ḥal. *Ḥallah*
Hau. Hausa
Hb. *Habakkuk*
Heb. Hebrew
Heb. *Hebrews*
Hg. *Haggai*
Hitt. Hittite
Hor. *Horayot*
Hos. *Hosea*
Ḥul. *Ḥullin*
Hung. Hungarian
ibid. *ibidem,* in the same place (as the one immediately preceding)
Icel. Icelandic
i.e. *id est,* that is
IE Indo-European
Ill. Illinois
Ind. Indiana
intro. introduction
Ir. Gael. Irish Gaelic
Iran. Iranian
Is. *Isaiah*
Ital. Italian
J Yahvist (source of the Pentateuch)
Jas. *James*
Jav. Javanese
Jb. *Job*
Jdt. *Judith*
Jer. *Jeremiah*
Jgs. *Judges*
Jl. *Joel*
Jn. *John*
1 Jn. *1 John*
2 Jn. *2 John*
3 Jn. *3 John*
Jon. *Jonah*
Jos. *Joshua*
Jpn. Japanese
JPS Jewish Publication Society translation (1985) of the Hebrew Bible
J.T. Jerusalem Talmud
Jub. *Jubilees*
Kans. Kansas
Kel. *Kelim*
Ker. *Keritot*
Ket. *Ketubbot*
1 Kgs. *1 Kings*
2 Kgs. *2 Kings*
Khois. Khoisan
Kil. *Kilʾayim*
km kilometers
Kor. Korean
Ky. Kentucky
l. line (pl., ll.)
La. Louisiana
Lam. *Lamentations*
Lat. Latin
Latv. Latvian
L. en Th. Licencié en Théologie, Licentiate in Theology
L. ès L. Licencié ès Lettres, Licentiate in Literature
Let. Jer. *Letter of Jeremiah*
lit. literally
Lith. Lithuanian
Lk. *Luke*
LL Late Latin
LL.D. Legum Doctor, Doctor of Laws
Lv. *Leviticus*
m meters
m. masculine
M.A. Master of Arts
Ma ʿas. *Maʿaserot*
Ma ʿas. Sh. *Maʿ aser sheni*
Mak. *Makkot*
Makh. *Makhshirin*
Mal. *Malachi*
Mar. Marathi
Mass. Massachusetts
1 Mc. *1 Maccabees*
2 Mc. *2 Maccabees*
3 Mc. *3 Maccabees*
4 Mc. *4 Maccabees*
Md. Maryland
M.D. Medicinae Doctor, Doctor of Medicine
ME Middle English
Meg. *Megillah*
Me ʿil. *Meʿilah*
Men. *Menaḥot*
MHG Middle High German
mi. miles
Mi. *Micah*
Mich. Michigan
Mid. *Middot*
Minn. Minnesota
Miq. *Miqvaʾot*
MIran. Middle Iranian
Miss. Mississippi
Mk. *Mark*
Mo. Missouri
Moʿed Q. *Moʿed qaṭan*
Mont. Montana
MPers. Middle Persian
MS. *manuscriptum,* manuscript (pl., MSS)
Mt. *Matthew*
MT Masoretic text
n. note
Na. *Nahum*
Nah. Nahuatl
Naz. *Nazir*
N.B. *nota bene,* take careful note
N.C. North Carolina
n.d. no date
N.Dak. North Dakota
NEB New English Bible
Nebr. Nebraska

Ned. *Nedarim*
Neg. *Negaʿim*
Neh. *Nehemiah*
Nev. Nevada
N.H. New Hampshire
Nid. *Niddah*
N.J. New Jersey
Nm. *Numbers*
N.Mex. New Mexico
no. number (pl., nos.)
Nor. Norwegian
n.p. no place
n.s. new series
N.Y. New York
Ob. *Obadiah*
O.Cist. Ordo Cisterciencium, Order of Cîteaux (Cistercians)
OCS Old Church Slavonic
OE Old English
O.F.M. Ordo Fratrum Minorum, Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)
OFr. Old French
Ohal. *Ohalot*
OHG Old High German
OIr. Old Irish
OIran. Old Iranian
Okla. Oklahoma
ON Old Norse
O.P. Ordo Praedicatorum, Order of Preachers (Dominicans)
OPers. Old Persian
op. cit. *opere citato,* in the work cited
OPrus. Old Prussian
Oreg. Oregon
ʿOrl. *ʿOrlah*
O.S.B. Ordo Sancti Benedicti, Order of Saint Benedict (Benedictines)
p. page (pl., pp.)
P Priestly (source of the Pentateuch)
Pa. Pennsylvania
Pahl. Pahlavi
Par. *Parah*
para. paragraph (pl., paras.)
Pers. Persian
Pes. *Pesahim*
Ph.D. Philosophiae Doctor, Doctor of Philosophy
Phil. *Philippians*
Phlm. *Philemon*
Phoen. Phoenician
pl. plural; plate (pl., pls.)
PM *post meridiem,* after noon
Pol. Polish
pop. population
Port. Portuguese
Prv. *Proverbs*
Ps. *Psalms*
Ps. 151 *Psalm 151*
Ps. Sol. *Psalms of Solomon*
pt. part (pl., pts.)
1Pt. *1 Peter*
2 Pt. *2 Peter*
Pth. Parthian
Q hypothetical source of the synoptic Gospels
Qid. *Qiddushin*
Qin. *Qinnim*
r. reigned; ruled
Rab. *Rabbah*
rev. revised
R. ha-Sh. *Roʾsh ha-shanah*
R.I. Rhode Island
Rom. Romanian
Rom. *Romans*
R.S.C.J. Societas Sacratissimi Cordis Jesu, Religious of the Sacred Heart
RSV Revised Standard Version of the Bible
Ru. *Ruth*
Rus. Russian
Rv. *Revelation*
Rv. Ezr. *Revelation of Ezra*
San. *Sanhedrin*
S.C. South Carolina
Scot. Gael. Scottish Gaelic
S.Dak. South Dakota
sec. section (pl., secs.)
Sem. Semitic
ser. series
sg. singular
Sg. *Song of Songs*
Sg. of 3 *Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men*
Shab. *Shabbat*
Shav. *Shavuʿot*
Sheq. *Sheqalim*
Sib. Or. *Sibylline Oracles*
Sind. Sindhi
Sinh. Sinhala
Sir. *Ben Sira*
S.J. Societas Jesu, Society of Jesus (Jesuits)
Skt. Sanskrit
1 Sm. *1 Samuel*
2 Sm. *2 Samuel*
Sogd. Sogdian
Soṭ. *Soṭah*
sp. species (pl., spp.)
Span. Spanish
sq. square
S.S.R. Soviet Socialist Republic
st. stanza (pl., ss.)
S.T.M. Sacrae Theologiae Magister, Master of Sacred Theology
Suk. *Sukkah*
Sum. Sumerian
supp. supplement; supplementary
Sus. *Susanna*
s.v. *sub verbo,* under the word (pl., s.v.v.)
Swed. Swedish
Syr. Syriac
Syr. Men. *Syriac Menander*
Taʿ an. *Taʿanit*
Tam. Tamil
Tam. *Tamid*
Tb. *Tobit*
T.D. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō,* edited by Takakusu Junjirō et al. (Tokyo,1922–1934)
Tem. *Temurah*
Tenn. Tennessee
Ter. Terumot
Ṭev. Y. *Ṭevul yom*
Tex. Texas
Th.D. Theologicae Doctor, Doctor of Theology
1 Thes. *1 Thessalonians*
2 Thes. *2 Thessalonians*
Thrac. Thracian
Ti. *Titus*
Tib. Tibetan
1 Tm. *1 Timothy*
2 Tm. *2 Timothy*
T. of 12 *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*
Ṭoh. *ṭohorot*
Tong. Tongan
trans. translator, translators; translated by; translation
Turk. Turkish
Ukr. Ukrainian
Upan. *Upaniṣad*
U.S. United States
U.S.S.R. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Uqts. *Uqtsin*
v. verse (pl., vv.)
Va. Virginia
var. variant; variation
Viet. Vietnamese

viz. *videlicet,* namely
vol. volume (pl., vols.)
Vt. Vermont
Wash. Washington
Wel. Welsh
Wis. Wisconsin
Wis. *Wisdom of Solomon*
W.Va. West Virginia
Wyo. Wyoming
Yad. *Yadayim*
Yev. *Yevamot*
Yi. Yiddish
Yor. Yoruba
Zav. *Zavim*
Zec. *Zechariah*
Zep. *Zephaniah*
Zev. *Zevaḥim*
* hypothetical
? uncertain; possibly; perhaps
° degrees
+ plus
– minus
= equals; is equivalent to
× by; multiplied by
→ yields

portraits

PORTRAITS

Portraits have the singular advantage of presenting to the votive eye the person whose personality, office, stature, or authority shape a relationship that often goes to the heart of religious belief. Ancestors, teachers, saints, heroes, and deities are made available in their portraits for veneration and petition. The devotional relation that portraiture enables with these venerable figures is perhaps most observable in icons, which are a visual device found in many religious traditions. The term is most closely associated with Orthodox Christianity, which makes extensive liturgical use of icons in its formal worship and devotion. The power of icons consists in their ability to act as apertures or windows through which the devout gaze. Rather than opaque surfaces, icons are experienced as openings in the fabric of the present that enable access to sacred realities such as persons and events. These avenues or conduits conduct devotion and petition from the believer to the venerated person and often act as the route of return to deliver blessing, guidance, or comfort. Although the idea of the Christian icon should not be applied normatively to forms of portraiture in other religions, the icon is a visual category that is not exclusive to Christianity. Fundamental to the sacred portrait is the presumption that faces are the signature of personality, the most reliable and communicative register of the human soul. To see the face is to see the person, to remember him as he actually was, or to see her as she is now in the next world as saint or ancestor. Faces are relics, the enduring countenance of spiritual power, the place to which the devout go to see the sacred looking back at them in the cherished guise of someone they know and trust.

The link between faces and relics is tangible in masks as diverse as Melanesian ritual imagery (**a** and **b**) and the death masks made in

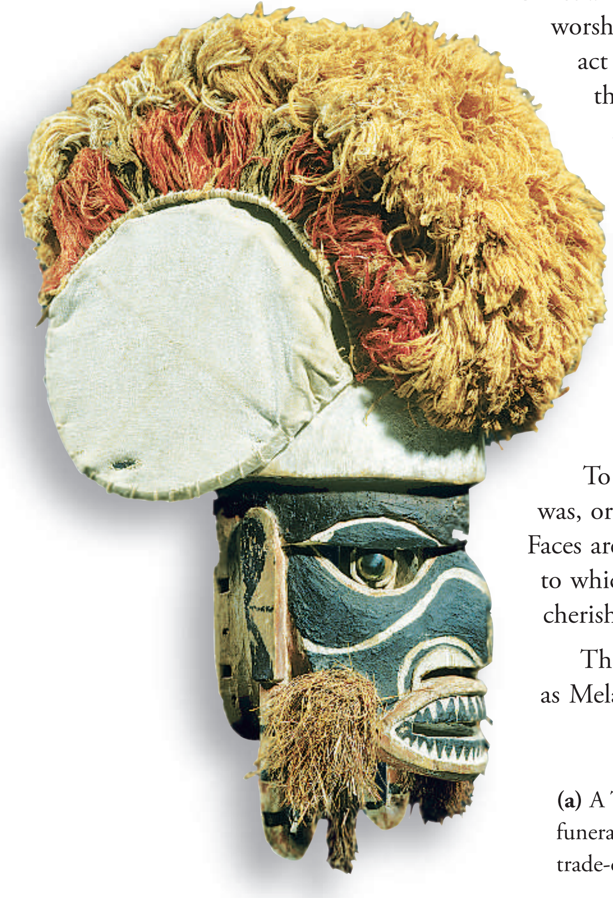

(a) A Tatanua mask for inhabitation by the soul of the deceased in Malagan funerary rites. New Ireland, Papua New Guinea, wood, fiber, shell, lime, and trade-cloth. *[©Galerle Meyer-Oceanic Art, Paris; photograph by M. Gurfinkel, Paris]*

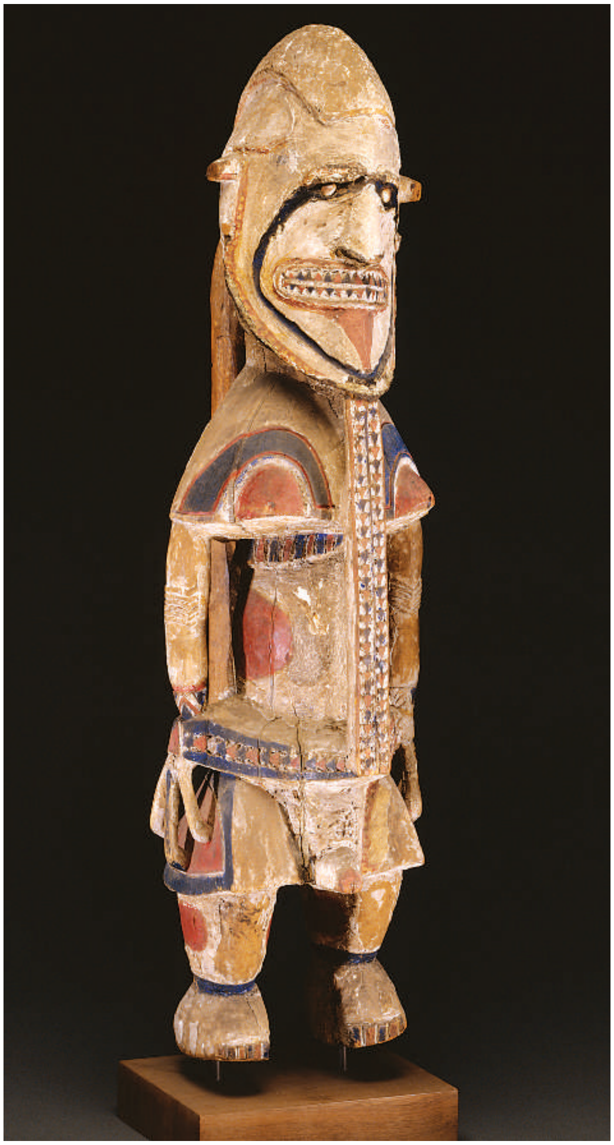

(b) **ABOVE.** A memorial ceremony figure (*uli*) of a deceased leader, made of wood, shell, fiber, and pigment, collected in the early twentieth century in New Ireland, Papua New Guinea. *[©Christie's Images/Corbis]* **(c)** **RIGHT.** *Togato Barbarini*, a life-sized marble sculpture of the Roman patrician, with busts of his ancestors, late first century BCE or early first century CE. *[©Araldo de Luca/Corbis]*

Europe **(c)**. In the case of Melanesian ceremonies, masks were sometimes made from the skulls and hair of the recently deceased, serving to establish their presence as ancestors in nocturnal dances of secret medicine societies on the island of New Britain. Although the mask is not an imitative portrait (its sculpted and painted features are similar to other masks), its actual constituents create its link to the ancestor. So it is a "portrait" in an ontological sense. Yet another manner of "portrait" is the New Ireland *uli* figure **(b)**, which serves as the residence of an ancestor spirit. After a village leader died, an *uli* was invested with the spirit of the leader by a shaman. The image was then able to provide assistance to the new chief and village. Although the figure bore no visual similarity to the deceased leader, it contained his spirit and therefore acted as the means of access to him and his blessing.

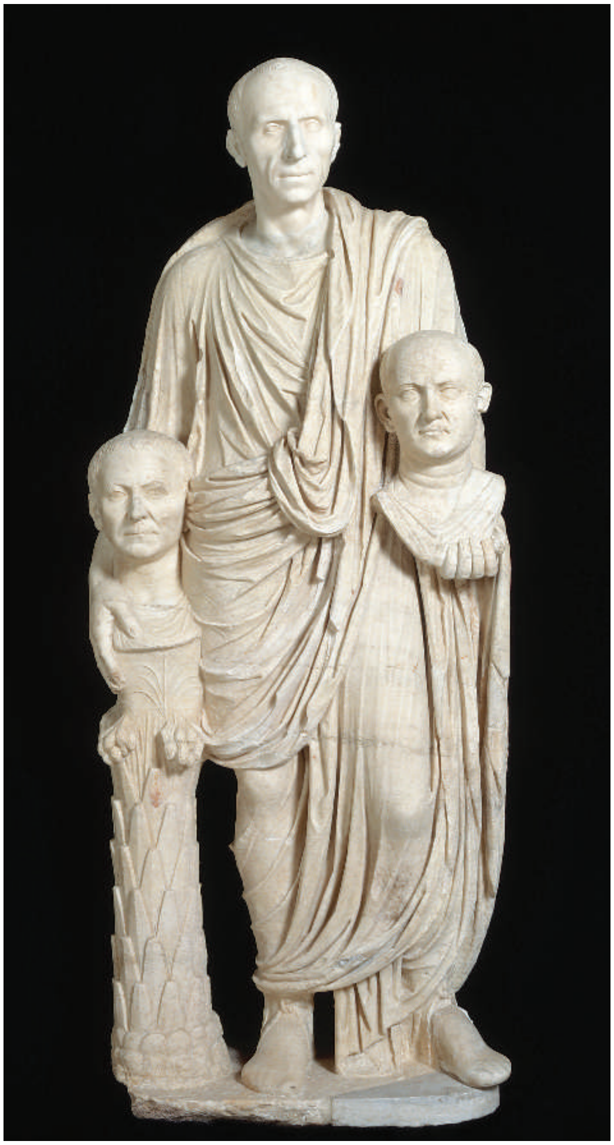

The marble sculpture of a Roman patrician with the busts of his ancestors **(c)** recalls the importance of portrait relics among later Europeans. Patricians in ancient Republican and Imperial Rome installed their ancestors in a practice of veneration that focused on wax effigies made from the face of a patriarch at death. These images were carried in funeral processions and kept by the family for some time. The marble figure transposes two masks, as well as the proud display of them by a living head of a family. The masks vouched for the pedigree of aristocratic Roman families. The right to use them was guaranteed by law for aristocrats alone. Wax masks of ancestors were kept in the atriums of patrician families and were worn by actors during funerals to perform the parts of ancestors. As Romans established aristocratic practices of collecting and displaying works of art in their homes near the end of the Republican period, the wax masks were replaced by marble sculptures like the image reproduced here.

The use of death masks was common in modern Europe as a way of remembering the appearance of writers and leaders, and the masks were commonly consulted by artists who wished to produce "authentic" portrait paintings or sculptures of the famous person. In the twentieth century the American revivalist preacher Billy Sunday had photographs of himself posed in dramatic preaching gestures made into postcards **(d)**, which were distributed at his massive urban revival meetings across the United States. But carefully rendered, faithful portraits of teachers, philosophers, and religious figures are hardly modern or Western in origin. Naturalistic techniques were used by Chinese and Japanese artists to depict Daoist and

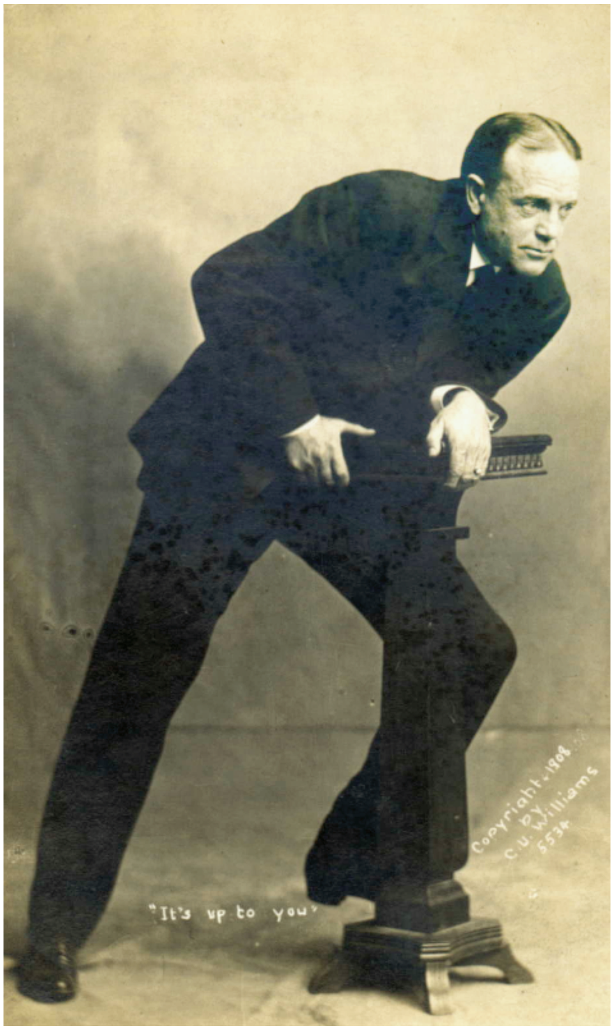

(d) A 1908 postcard of American revivalist preacher Billy Sunday. *[Courtesy of the Billy Graham Center Museum, Wheaton, Ill.]*

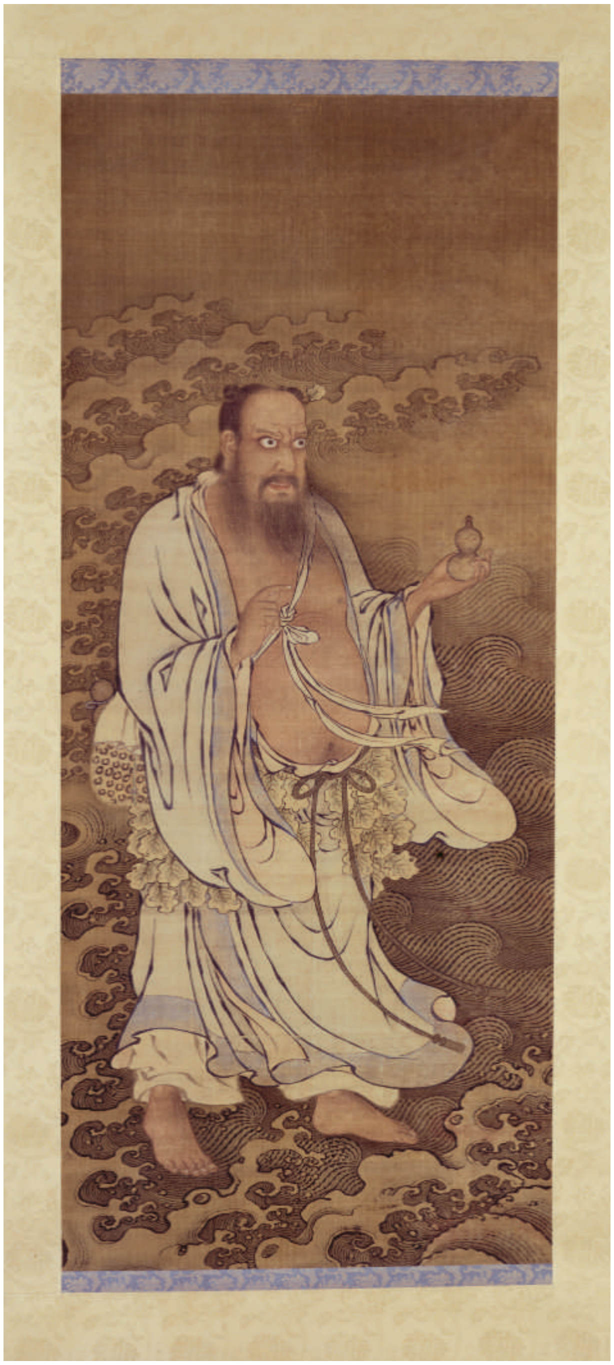

Buddhist historical figures, though in each case naturalistic technique served a larger purpose. In the case of the Daoist immortal, Zhongli Quan **(e)**, the painter infused the portrait with an intensity that conveyed the spiritual attainments of this figure who had been a general during the Han dynasty, but abandoned his military career when he encountered a Daoist sage and then a zhenren, or perfected being, who disclosed to him the great secrets of Daoism. He appears here walking over the ocean. When the Buddhist Chan master, Wuzhun, from Szechwan province was invited to the imperial court of the Song dynasty to present a discourse to the emperor, he was named abbot of a monastery and given an official title. The occasion was marked by an official portrait that shows Wuzhun invested with imperial recognition that

(e) Late-fifteenth-century hanging scroll of *The Immortal Zhongli Quan*, attributed to Zhao Qi. ***[The Cleveland Museum of Art; purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund, 1976.13]***

extended to Chan Buddhism an official recognition and status, which was identified with the person of Wuzhun. The cultural work of portraits can have much to do with the presentation of the person as more than individual. The dress and gesture in Wuzhun's portrait signal the office of the sitter and construct a likeness suitable to his official function and stature.

Portraits often present sitters performing their official deeds and exercising characteristic duties for which they are remembered or sought out by those who venerate their images. Portraits of a Mouride caliph and of a scholar **(f1** and **f2)** depict each man with the accoutrements of piety, ethnicity, and authority, including prayer beads, text, and costume. Many portraits seek to authorize the religious legitimacy of those they portray. The Egyptian relief carving **(g)** of the pharaoh Akhenaton and his queen, Nefertiti, displays the two controversial promoters of a new monotheistic cult in ancient polytheistic Egypt receiving divine approbation in the form of solar rays descending from Aton and delivering the virtues and powers of authority. Similarly, a German Protestant painter vindicated the cause of the Reformation in an altar painting of the crucifixion (not pictured) by placing Martin Luther at the foot of the cross, pointing to scripture in a gesture that corresponds to John the Baptist's pointing to the savior on the cross.

In another use of portraiture to establish lineage and authority, African American clergy of the African Methodist Episcopal Church **(h)** were celebrated in 1876, the national centennial, in a commemorative print that links them to the cultural achievements of the church in its sixty years of existence (it was founded in Philadelphia in 1816). Their portraits are surrounded by the church's

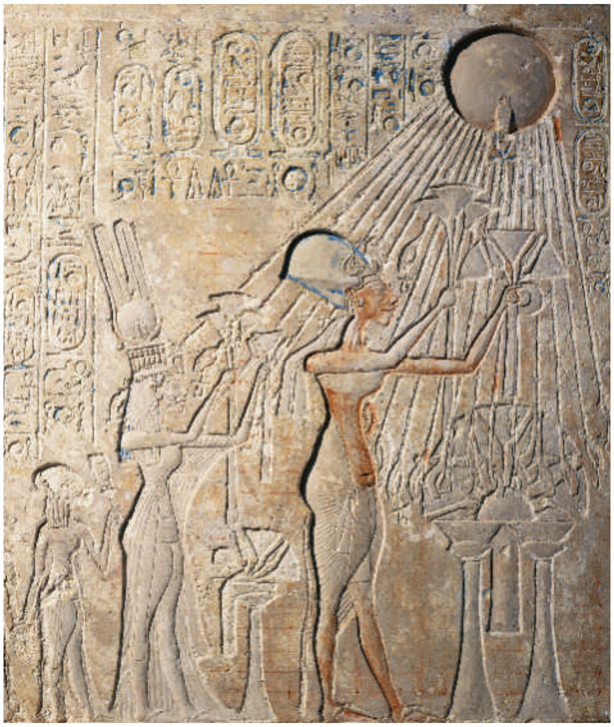

(g) Lᴇꜰᴛ. Stone relief of the Egyptian god Aton offering life and gifts to the pharaoh Akhenaton and his queen Nefertiti, c. 1353–1335 ʙᴄᴇ, Tell el-'Amarna, Egypt. *[©Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis]* **(h)** Bᴇʟᴏᴡ. A commemorative print depicting bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, 1876. *[Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society]*

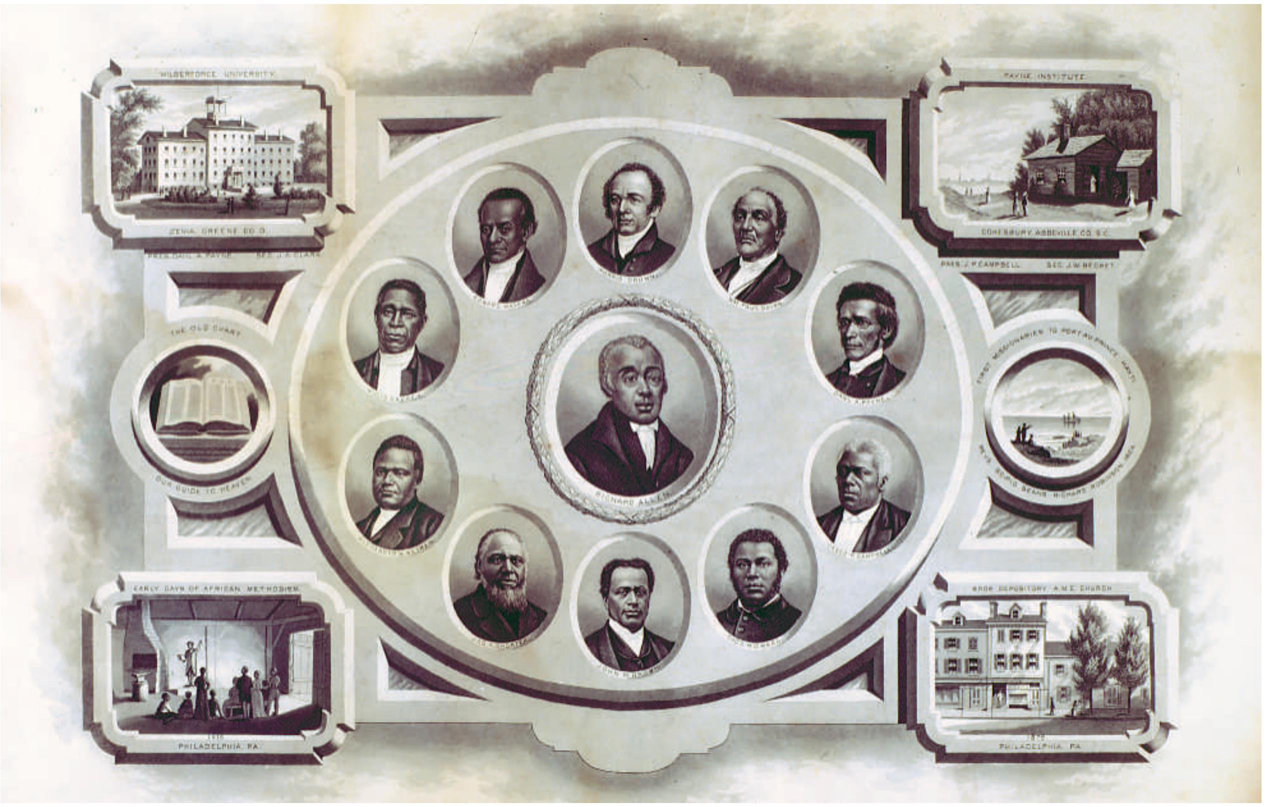
WILBERFORCE UNIVERSITY
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MORRIS BROWN
THE OLD CHART
OUR GUIDE TO HEAVEN
RICHARD ALLEN
FIRST MISSIONARIES TO PORT AU PRINCE HAYTI
EARLY DAYS OF AFRICAN METHODISM
1816
PHILADELPHIA, PA.
BOOK DEPOSITORY A.M.E. CHURCH
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

cultural institutions and projects, which were established and undertaken by many of the clergy pictured in the image. A print manufactured in India inverts this motif by gathering ten Sikh *gurūs* in commemorative portraits around a scriptural collection of poems and hymns **(i)**. The text, cradled in a throne, is itself known as the *Gurū Granth Sāhib* (Great Reverend Teacher) and is regarded by Sikhs as the sacred embodiment of the *gurūs'* wisdom and spiritual authority. The *gurū* portraits and the holy text are presented by the print as versions of one another.

The Sangye Yarjon, the abbot of an important Tibetan monastery not far from Lhasa, is shown in a painting **(j)** that visually presents his lineage extending back all the way to the historical Buddha himself (seen in the upper left in his easily recognizable pose). Several important Indian and Tibetan teachers and *bodhisattvas* appear as part of the descent to the main figure of the abbot, who occupies the center of the image. Sangye Yarjon shares the

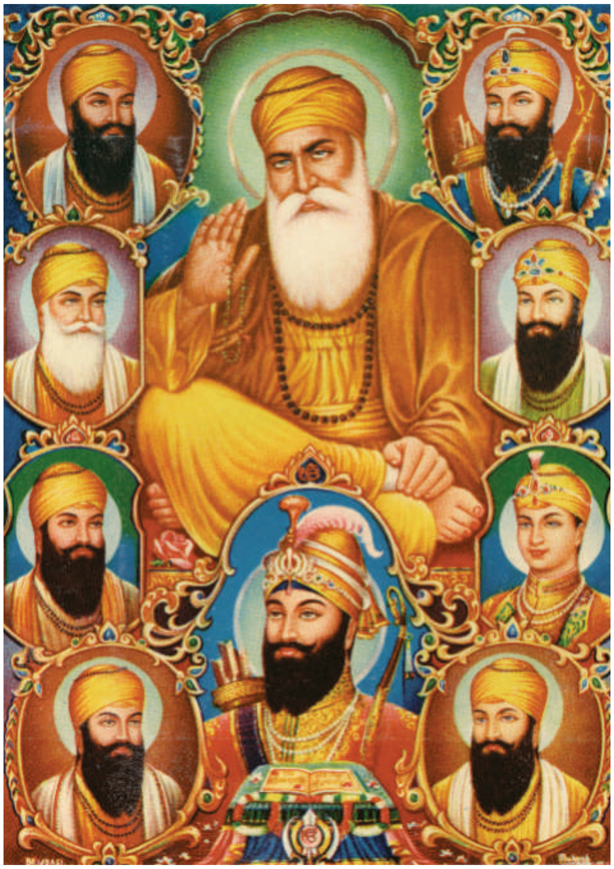

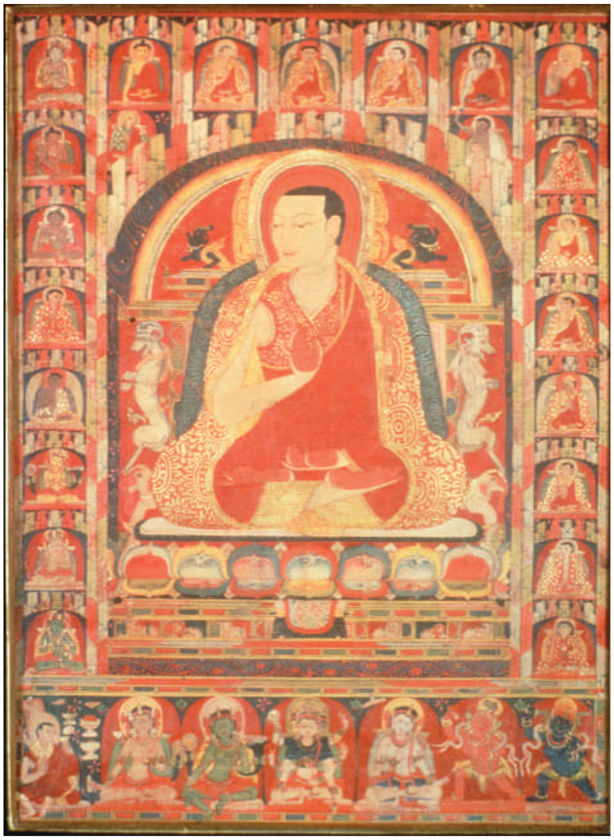

(i) **ABOVE.** *The Ten Gurūs*, a print by an unknown artist purchased at a Punjabi bazaar in 1965 by W. H. McLeod. ***[Reproduced by permission of Oxford University Press India, New Delhi; W. H. Mcleod, Popular Sikh Art (1991)]*** **(j)** **LEFT.** Thirteenth-century lineage painting of Sangye Yarjon, the abbot of Taklung Monastery in Central Tibet, pigment and gold on cotton. ***[The Walters Art Museum, promised gift of John and Berthe Ford]***

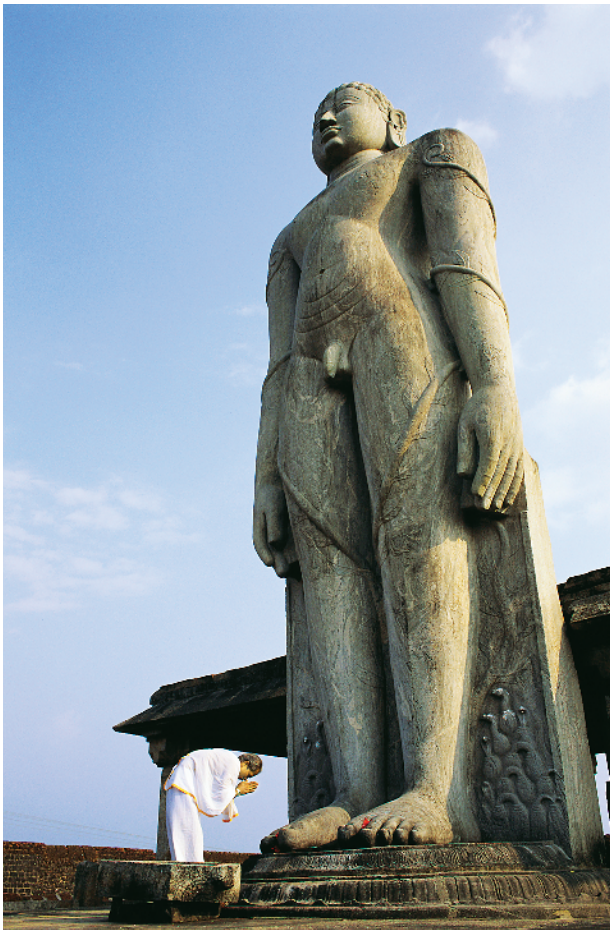

(k) A Jain worshiper prays before a monumental stone sculpture of Lord Bāhubali in Karkal, India. *[©Chris Lisle/Corbis]*

gesture and established iconography of Buddhism, as well as the markings of the enlightened teacher, suggesting that this is as much a portrayal of the individual in his particularity as the office of a revered teacher and abbot. An even greater reliance on stylization occurs in the Jain statue of Lord Bāhubali **(k)**, one of the twenty-four Jina, located at the most holy of Jain shrines in southern India. This colossal sculpture clearly recalls the Buddhist portrayal of the Buddha and Hindu depictions of Viṣṇu, but the nudity is unmistakably Jain, indicating that the Jina has moved beyond all desire and the stain of karmic bondage and is therefore free of rebirth.

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DAVID MORGAN (2005)

N

CONTINUED

NECROMANCY, the art or practice of magically conjuring up the souls of the dead, is primarily a form of divination. The principal purpose of seeking such communication with the dead is to obtain information from them, generally regarding the revelation of unknown causes or the future course of events. The cause of the death of the deceased who is questioned may be among the facts sought.

More generally, necromancy is often considered synonymous with black magic, sorcery, or witchcraft, perhaps because the calling up of the dead may occur for purposes other than information seeking, or because the separation of divination from its consequences is not always clear. There is also a linguistic basis for the expanded use of the word: the term *black art* for magic appears to be based on a corruption of *necromancy* (from Greek *necros,* "dead") to *nigromancy* (from Latin *niger,* "black").

Limited to the practice of magical conjuration of the dead, necromancy does not include communication employing mediums, as in spiritualism or spiritism. Nor does it include encounters with the souls of the departed during the spirit journeys of shamans, apparitions of ghosts, or communications in dreams, with the possible exception of those in dreams resulting from incubation.

Divination is undoubtedly a universal phenomenon found in all cultures. In the form of necromancy, however, it is relatively infrequent, though widespread. Only limited descriptions and documentation of the phenomenon are available, and only for certain periods and regions. Necromancy presupposes belief in both a form of life after death and the continued interest of the dead in the affairs of the living. As such it may well be associated with complex funerary and postfunerary customs and with ancestor worship.

TECHNIQUES OF NECROMANCY. Necromancy is a theme often found in myths, legends, and literary works. Such texts may describe communications with the dead or state their messages, but they seldom provide information on actual techniques that might have been employed in a given community. With regard to classical antiquity, Greek and Roman accounts deal with cases described in myth and legend, but there is no evidence of actual

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CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT CORNER. Thai bronze Buddha in meditation under a *nāga.* *[©Michael Freeman/Corbis]*; A lion-headed Imdugud bird above two stags in a twenty-fifth-century BCE Mesopotamian relief from the temple of Ninhursaga. British Museum, London. *[©Erich Lessing/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Detail of an Apache "Kan" god painted on a warrior's cloak. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. *[©Werner Forman/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Stonehenge. Wiltshire County, England. *[©Roger Ressmeyer/Corbis]*; Double-headed Neolithic idol, 5000–2000 BCE. Historical Museum, Targoviste, Romania. *[©Erich Lessing/Art Resource, N.Y.]* .

necromantic practices, whether in inscriptions or in documentation of specific historic events. More generally, where actual descriptions exist of rites in other societies rather than fabulous accounts or rumors and accusations, inquiries are connected with burial and burial preparation. Here the questioning of the corpse may concern the cause of death and the identification of a murderer. Other necromantic practices involve rites at the grave site with the use of the name or some part of the deceased, often his or her skull. The response may be in the form of an utterance produced by the diviner, either in a trance state or through ventriloquism. It may also be revealed in the form of a sign; this may involve the interpretation of an omen or the drawing of lots.

The concept of necromancy is of limited utility for at least two reasons. First, it is linked to its history in the Western tradition and therefore difficult to employ in analyzing beliefs and practices of other cultures with different traditions. Second, necromancy is also only one of several types of divinatory practices, and these tend to shade into each other. For both of these reasons the term is of limited value in cross-cultural research, and it is not generally utilized in modern ethnographic studies.

NECROMANCY IN ANTIQUITY. The ancient Greeks believed that the dead had great prophetic powers and that it was possible to consult them by performing sacrifices or pouring libations at their tombs. Such offerings were also part of the funerary and postfunerary ceremonies. The legendary visit of Odysseus to Hades to consult the seer Tiresias, as described in Book 11 of the *Odyssey,* has also been classified as an instance of necromancy. Various other classical texts include references to formal oracles of the dead; however, these generally speak of practices not among Greeks but in remote locations or among barbarians. They cannot be considered reliable reports of actual practices.

Most information on necromancy among Nordic and Germanic peoples comes from the sagas. A number of references appear, for example, in the Eddas. Odin (Óðinn) is, among other things, god of the dead, and in one account he awakens a dead prophetess in order to consult her. It is not known whether or not such conjurations took place. Interpretation of the movement of rune-inscribed sticks appears to have been practiced. Necromancy was only one of numerous techniques of divination and one considered to be particularly dangerous, especially when the dead were not family members. It appears to have been prohibited even prior to the conversion of these peoples to Christianity.

Necromancy appears to have been unknown, or at least unreported, among the Etruscans and in the earlier periods of Roman history. It may have been introduced with other Hellenistic and Oriental divinatory and magic practices, all of which were prohibited by Augustus (63 BCE–14 CE). Like other forms of divination and magic, which might include the use of poisons, necromancy was perceived as a potential political tool, dangerous in a world of personal power and ambition. The emperors, however, surrounded themselves with diviners of all sorts. The concerns of medieval Christianity with necromancy and magic have their roots in this period as well as in biblical prohibitions.

Numerous divinatory techniques are mentioned in the Bible. The account of the so-called Witch of Endor (*1 Sm.* 28) is frequently cited as an example of necromancy and of the prohibitions attached to it (cf. *Deuteronomy, Leviticus,* and *Isaiah*). Necromancy is mentioned in the Talmud among other divinatory practices. Although it is severely condemned, several examples are cited. The practice appears to have been rare, but it left its trace in rabbinic sources and medieval Jewish magical beliefs, perhaps reinforced by the beliefs of the Christians among whom the Jews lived. Magical beliefs, many of pre-Christian origins, continued throughout the Middle Ages.

LATE MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE NECROMANCY. The primary use of the term refers to the period between the late Middle Ages and the early Renaissance. This was a time of great social and political instability and change. It was also the time when fear of and persecution of witches took hold in Europe. In England the several shifts between Catholicism and Protestantism were linked to fears of resistance and repression.

One of the crimes of which witches were accused was necromancy, conjuring up the dead as well as (or with the help of) the devil. It was in this context that the term *necromancy* came to be used as synonymous with *demonic magic;* that is, magic performed with the devil's assistance. It no longer referred exclusively or even principally to magic using bodies of the dead or conjuring up the spirits of the dead. There are two major sources of information about these beliefs and practices. These are the instructions used by witch-hunters and exorcists, on the one hand, and the surviving manuals and books of magic, on the other. Possession of such books itself was a basis for prosecution. The introduction of printing and the resulting availability of books to a larger number of people were in part responsible for the wider diffusion of such texts.

Manuals such as the *Munich Book of Necromancy,* which dates from the fifteenth century, are rich sources of information on the general subject of the magic of the period. The *Munich Book* contains detailed information of what magicians claimed to be able to do and said they actually did. Interestingly, this concerns not only specifics on how to gain magical powers through conjurations, and about the spirits that could be conjured up, but also provides information on various forms of stage magic, particularly illusionist experiments that could be performed for entertainment, such as producing the appearance of banquets, horses, and castles. Some aspects of modern illusionist stage magic seem to have a long tradition behind them.

Reading and owning books in themselves gave rise to suspicions, and the possession of such books of magic was often sufficient for a person to be accused and prosecuted for necromancy. Suspect books were confiscated and burned. Lower-level clergy (men with some literacy) were frequently accused of practicing necromancy by the use of books. Women, who were less likely to be literate, seem generally not to have been suspected of manual-based necromantic practices. Rather, they were accused of using spells, of making pacts with the devil, and of having animal familiars. The fear of black magic and legislation against it often reflected anxiety over its possible use for political purposes. An example is King James's 1604 decree of death for anyone using the body of a dead person or any of its parts for purposes of magic. This fear is also seen in writings of the period. Shakespeare's *Macbeth* shows witches conspiring to practice necromancy: they collect body parts on a battlefield, and in Act IV they use the dead to prophecy.

NECROMANCY IN ARCHAIC CULTURES. Spanish chronicles, composed shortly after the conquest of Peru, record that the Inca had two special classes of diviners who consulted the dead, one group specializing in dealing with mummies of the dead and another consulting various spirit beings and their representations, which the Spaniards referred to as idols. The reports are written from the perspective of sixteenth-century Spaniards at a time when, in their own country, the Inquisition searched out necromancers and others considered sorcerers and heretics.

In the Huon Gulf region of New Guinea, throughout the nineteenth century and prior to the arrival of missionaries, all deaths were attributed to magic. The identification of the sorcerer who had caused the death was carried out by a diviner, who conjured the spirit of the deceased into one of several types of objects. It was then questioned, and "yes" or "no" responses were obtained from the motion of the object. The most common object used was a stunned eel, whose convulsions were interpreted as "yes" responses. Other objects might be an upturned shell or a piece of bamboo held in the hand. The movements of these objects were subject to some manipulations, and the answers were often used to confirm suspicions held by popular opinion.

In Haiti a tradition exists that is derived from both European influences of the colonial period and West African traditions. As part of postfunerary rites of Vodou initiates, one of the two souls with which every person is endowed is removed from a temporary sojourn underwater and settled in a family shrine. During this ceremony the soul is questioned on various matters of interest. At a later time it may be called into a jar for purposes of consultation. Like conversations with the dead in parts of Africa, as, for instance, among the Zulu, this process appears to involve ventriloquism by the performing ritual specialist. It is also believed that sorcerers can send the spirit of one or more dead persons into the body of a victim to cause illness and eventual death if appropriate counter-rites are not performed. These involve the identification of both the dead and the sender. The diagnostic process may involve the direct questioning of the dead using the patient as a medium or by scrying (water gazing) or using other divinatory techniques. The Haitian example suggests the difficulty in drawing clear lines between sorcery, divination, diagnosis, and healing—that is, between rituals with positive or negative intent, or even among the various divinatory techniques. As a result it is doubtful that the term *necromancy* is used appropriately for any of these practices.

From the perspective of research methods, it is important to distinguish between studies based on written sources, often of a fragmentary nature, and ethnographic studies of living people, their beliefs, and their customs. In contrast to written sources, living people can be observed and questioned, so a larger context for their understandings can be discerned.

The term *necromancy* has changed meaning in the course of time. The practices described as necromantic were seen as the very essence of evil in the period of the Renaissance. Calling up the dead to question them, as described in Greek literature and myth, was not necessarily evil but might be concerned with decision making about the future and practical matters. How the dead are understood as potentially active in the world of the living has varied not only from culture to culture but also from period to period. Distinctions are often made between those who died a natural death and those who did not. In modern times, faith healing by means of calling on the help of the dead has been referred to as necromancy in the United States. This gives the term a different meaning, unrelated to black magic. As interest in various aspects of the occult has seen a revival in the United States, curiosity about necromancy has also grown.

SEE ALSO Divination.

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ERIKA BOURGUIGNON (1987 AND 2005)

NEGRITO RELIGIONS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
NEGRITOS OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
NEGRITOS OF THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS
NEGRITOS OF THE MALAY PENINSULA

NEGRITO RELIGIONS: AN OVERVIEW

The term *Negrito* (Spanish for "little Negro") has been used by some Western scholars to indicate those inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula, the Philippine Islands, and the Andaman Islands (off the coast of Myanmar) who are characterized by small stature, dark skin, curly hair, and generally "negroid" facial features. Scholars disagree regarding a possible genetic connection between these small and widely separated populations. The traditional view is that they are all remnants of a single ancient race that was once widespread in Southeast Asia but has now been largely exterminated or absorbed by more powerful and populous immigrant groups. A second view, put forward by some biological anthropologists, is that the distinctive features of the Negritos are examples of "parallel evolution," similar physical changes among unrelated local populations resulting from their common adaptation to the tropical rain forest. Although plausible hypotheses have been advanced as to why that environment might favor "negritoid" characteristics, it is still not clear why such features have not arisen in similar environments elsewhere, such as the Amazon Basin of South America. The genetic relationship between the Asiatic Negritos, then, remains an open question.

The cultures of the various Negrito groups have many similarities, but whether these are due to a common ancestral culture, to contact between the different groups, or to parallel adaptations to similar environments is often unclear. Before 1900 almost all Negritos lived by hunting and gathering, supplemented in some places by small-scale trade in forest products. Their hunting-gathering economy produced such social consequences as small living groups, a lack of wealth accumulation, and informal leadership. Most groups were also nomadic, although the rich environment of the Andaman coast permitted its inhabitants to become partially sedentary.

The religions of the Andamanese, the Semang (Malayan Negritos), and the Philippine Negritos have many features in common, some very general but others highly specific and undoubtedly due to contact or common origin. The similarities are most striking with respect to deity conceptions and the corresponding prohibitions and rituals. The most personified and individualized deities are those associated with weather, especially destructive storms. Most groups have deities responsible for making thunder, and even some of the names given them are similar: Karei in the Malay Peninsula, Kayai and Kadai in the Philippines, and Tarai in the Andamans. These beings are thought to bring thunderstorms as punishment for breaking prohibitions against such diverse acts as incest and burning leeches. The Semang and some of the Philippine groups attempt to avert the storms by offering their own blood to the thunder god. Such common features are striking, but they form only part of each group's religion. In other respects their beliefs and rituals diverge, sometimes so radically as to place even the common features in different lights. For this reason it is best to treat the religions of the Andamanese, Semang, and Philippine Negritos as separate entities, although certain similarities will be apparent.

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KIRK ENDICOTT (1987 AND 2005)

NEGRITO RELIGIONS: NEGRITOS OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

The Negritos of the Philippines comprise approximately twenty-five widely scattered ethnolinguistic groups totaling an estimated fifteen thousand people. They are assumed to be the aboriginal inhabitants of the archipelago. Many of these Negrito groups still live by hunting and gathering, trading wild meat and forest products to the Filipino farmers around them in exchange for rice or corn. They also practice some marginal cultivation.

The traditional religion of all Philippine Negritos is animism. Today, most of them remain animists, although some of their beliefs have been modified by Roman Catholic Christianity.

One salient feature of Negrito religion is its noticeable lack of systematization. Consequently, it has a secondary place in Negrito ideology. Because the animistic beliefs and practices of Philippine Negritos are individualistic and sporadic, they exert less control over the people's daily lives than do the religious systems of other, non-Negrito animistic societies in the Philippines. Likewise, the minor function of religion in most Philippine Negrito cultures contrasts markedly with the important role of religion among the Negritos of Malaysia, which is reported by Kirk Endicott in *Batek Negrito Religion* (Oxford, 1979).

Nevertheless, there is a universal belief among Philippine Negritos in a spirit world, containing many classes of supernatural beings. These beings are seen to have some influence over processes of nature, as well as over the health and economic success of humans. Negritos especially have a preoccupation with malignant ghosts of deceased humans. Most Negritos also hold to a belief in a supreme deity. Scholars have debated the question of whether this "monotheism" is of pre-Hispanic origin or is merely the result of Christian influences.

AGTA RELIGION. The Agta, or Dumagat, of northeastern Luzon are typical of the least acculturated Philippine Negrito societies. They show little inclination to adapt to the dominant Roman Catholic religion of their peasant Filipino neighbors. The Agta believe in a single high god and in a large number of supernatural spirit beings that inhabit their surrounding natural environment. Depending on the class of spirit, these various beings live in trees, underground, on rocky headlands, or in caves.

There are two general classes of spirit beings in the Agta worldview: *hayup* ("creature") and *bélet* or *anito* ("ghost"). The latter are always malignant. Ghosts are wandering disembodied souls of deceased humans. The ghosts of recently deceased adult relatives are especially feared, as they are prone to return to the abode of their family during the night, causing sickness and death.

There are several varieties of *hayup* creatures. Although these are nonhuman, they are bipedal and may appear in human form. Most varieties of *hayup* beings are malignant; others are neutral, and a few can be called upon for help in curing disease.

AGTA SHAMANS. In Aurora province, 8 percent of Agta adults are shamans, of whom two out of ten are women. They practice only white magic. A shaman (*bunogen*) is defined by the Agta as an individual who has a familiar spirit "friend" (*bunog*) who aids him or her in diagnosing and treating disease. The primary role of shamans is curing. They do not practice black magic. (Agta do not practice sorcery, although they are aware of the custom among other Filipino societies.) Shamans may treat their patients with herbal medicines and simple prayers to their spirit "friends." For difficult cases, they may conduct a séance. In such cases, shamans will enter into a trance state, chanting prayers over the patient until they are possessed by their familiar spirits. These chants are not in the normal Agta language but are sung in a form of glossolalia.

It would be incorrect to say that Agta worship the spirits in their environment. Rather, they fear them, and placate them. The Agta do not have a sacrifical system as do other Philippine tribal groups, but they do occasionally offer small gifts to the *hayup* spirits if they are taking something from the forest. These gifts may consist of a few grains of rice, a few ounces of honey, or just a piece of thread from a man's G-string. In some areas, when a new garden is cleared a shaman may set up a small table with spirit offerings of betel quid or food.

Agta religious practices are done haphazardly, when it is convenient, and usually on an individual basis. Most such practices revolve around the prevention or treatment of illness. Agta have only a vague interest in the afterlife, the realm of the dead, creation of the world, immortality, or the future. They do not seek religious experiences. Rather, it is the chronic fear of sickness and death that activates Agta religious behavior. While it would be wrong to say that religion is unimportant to the Agta, it does play a lesser role in their culture than it does in other animistic groups.

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THOMAS N. HEADLAND (1987)
Revised Bibliography

NEGRITO RELIGIONS: NEGRITOS OF THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS

The Andaman Negritos are extremely primitive hunter-gatherers representing a prelithic stage of cultural development. They fall into two separate divisions, the Great Andamanese and the Onge-Jarawa-Sentinelese. As a result of colonization and the introduction of syphilis and other diseases, the Great Andamanese tribes have already become extinct; only a hybrid group of some twenty-eight individuals survives on a tiny islet called Strait Island. The Jarawa and the Sentinelese live in complete isolation and eschew all external contacts. Consequently, nothing is known about their religion. The remaining tribe, the Onge, lives on Little Andaman Island.

The universe as conceived by the Onge is a multilayered structure with Little Andaman at its center. There are six layers above Little Andaman and six layers below, and each is inhabited by a different class of spirit. These spirits are neither divine nor immaterial. They eat, drink, marry, multiply, and die just like human beings. The most important among them are the *onkoboykwe*, a class of benevolent spirit inhabiting the first layer above Little Andaman, and the *eaka*, a class of harmful spirit living immediately beneath the island. Above the Onge universe there is a limitless void and below there is Kwatannange, the primary sea, which is full of turtles.

The sun, moon, stars, and clouds are believed to be the creation of the *onkoboykwe*. The Onge do not personify and worship the heavenly bodies. There are two monsoons in the Andamans, the southwest and the northeast; spirits living in distant islands across the sea send the monsoonal winds.

The Onge believe that one's life after death depends on how a person has met his death. If he dies of illness, he becomes an *eaka* and goes below the earth. If an Onge is killed by a wild boar, by snakebite, or by a fall from a tree, he becomes an *onkoboykwe* and lives above the sky. If drowned, he becomes a sea spirit.

The Onge hold that all non-Negrito people are the spirits of dead Onges. The term *inene* is collectively applied to them. In the event of death from illness, one day before the emergence of *eaka* from the dead body, another miniature human form called *embekete* comes out from the corpse and swims across the sea to the land of *inene* where he soon transforms himself into another *inene*. Thus, according to the Onge, we the outsiders were Onge in our previous birth. The belief in the existence of two spirits, *embekete* and *eaka*, in one individual probably emanated from their attempts to rationalize the origin of non-Negritos and find a place for them in their scheme of the universe.

From the fragmentary data that are available on the religion of the Great Andamanese, it appears that they, like the Onge, believed in different classes of spirit living above the sky, below the earth, and in the sea. There is, however, an important difference between the Great Andamanese and the Onge. The former believed that the sun was the wife of the moon and that the stars were their children, whereas the Onge hold that the sun and the moon are flat, disc-shaped, inanimate things created by the *onkoboykwe*. Concepts of a superior spirit or high god, heaven and hell, virtue and sin, are conspicuously absent among the Andaman Negritos.

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Revised Bibliography

NEGRITO RELIGIONS: NEGRITOS OF THE MALAY PENINSULA

The Negritos of the Malay Peninsula, who are generally called the Semang in the literature, numbered about two thousand in 1974. They live in small groups scattered about the foothills in the northern half of the peninsula (4°N–6°30'N; 100°E–103°E). They speak a number of related languages in the Mon-Khmer language family. Until about 1950 most of the Semang were nomadic hunter-gatherers. The staple of their diet was wild yams, and their main source of meat was arboreal animals—monkeys, gibbons, squirrels, and birds, which they hunted with blowpipes and poisoned darts. They also carried on some trade with neighboring Malay farmers, exchanging such forest produce as rattan and resins for iron tools, salt, cloth, and cultivated foods. They lived in camps of five to fifteen related nuclear families, moving every week or two when the local resources were exhausted. Each family was politically independent, the only leadership in a group being the informal influence of a particularly wise or persuasive person. Since 1950 well over half the Semang have settled down, often under the direction of government agencies, and adopted shifting agriculture. Yet even in these changed conditions, they have clung to their traditional religion, which has served as an important symbol of their ethnic identity.

In the cosmology of the Semang, the land forms a disk that is surrounded and underlaid by sea. It rests on the back of a giant snake, called Naga', which by shifting position can cause eruptions of water from underground. The firmament is a solid dome or series of layers, on top of which live the benevolent superhuman beings, called *chinoi* in the west and *hala'* in the east, who bring the seasonal fruit blossoms to earth. After death the shadow-souls of the Semang are believed to join these beings, on top of the firmament or on an island in the western sea. A stone pillar rises at the center of the world and reaches the firmament. Near its top is a cave, the home of the thunder god. The thunder god, whom most Semang groups call Karei, is generally regarded as male—sometimes a single being and sometimes a pair of brothers. The Semang believe that Karei causes thunderstorms to punish persons who have broken prohibitions against disruptive or disrespectful behavior. Karei is aided by a female earth deity, sometimes pictured as a pair of sisters, who is occasionally identified with the earth-supporting snake.

The rituals of the Semang are few and simple. The best-known rite is the blood sacrifice—throwing blood from the leg to the thunder god and earth deity—which is used to avert thunderstorms. Most groups also have singing and dancing sessions in which they thank the superhuman beings for the fruit and request their general support. These sessions may culminate in trancing and journeys of the shadow-soul to the haunts of the superhumans. Among the western Semang, a shaman may perform a séance in a special hut called a *panoh*, in which he calls down the *chinoi.* Semang rituals are intended to promote the fecundity of nature and to avert the dangers of their forest world.

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NEHEMIAH

NEHEMIAH (mid-fifth century BCE), or, in Hebrew, Neḥemyah; a governor of Judah in the Persian period, known for rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem. In the twentieth year of the reign of Artaxerxes I (445 BCE), Nehemiah received a commission from the Persian king to return to Judah and take on the task of rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem. The *Book of Nehemiah* gives an account of his activity in the first-person style of memoirs. It begins with his reception of distressing news from the homeland while he is in the royal service in Susa. This leads to his petitioning the king for support in repairing the walls and gates of Jerusalem and to his appointment as governor to carry out the task. In spite of opposition from Sanballat, governor of Samaria, and other local authorities of the region, the work is successfully completed. With the walls rebuilt, the city was repopulated with settlers from the countryside.

Nehemiah is credited also with social and religious reforms. He is presented as showing concern for the poor while maintaining a modest administration. In his second term as governor, which is not precisely dated, Nehemiah carried out a series of religious reforms having to do with Temple regulations and provisions for the priests, observance of the Sabbath, and the dissolution of mixed marriages. These reforms emphasize a tradition of religious conservatism and concern for ethnic purity that eventually leads to the Samaritan schism.

Nehemiah 8–9, having to do with the mission of Ezra, does not properly belong to the "memoirs" source and has seriously confused the historical relationship between Ezra and Nehemiah. It seems preferable to view Ezra's activity as subsequent to that of Nehemiah, building on the latter's work of restoration.

Nehemiah is recognized by tradition (*Sir.* 49:13) and by modern scholarship as largely responsible for restoring Jerusalem to a place of political prominence and semiautonomy with a chance to grow into a city of destiny.

SEE ALSO Ezra.

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NEMBUTSU SEE NIANFO

NEO-HASIDISM See JEWISH RENEWAL MOVEMENT

NEOLIN, known as the Delaware Prophet; a religious leader active among the Ohio Delaware Indians in the 1760s. Neolin (whose name means "the enlightened") was one of several Delaware prophets who arose in the latter part of the eighteenth century along the Susquehanna and Allegheny rivers in Pennsylvania and the Cuyahoga and Muskingum rivers in Ohio. The teachings of the prophet were widely known throughout the tribes of the frontier. Pontiac, the famed Ottawa chief, saw in the prophet's message divine authority for his own attempts to unite the frontier tribes. Through Pontiac, Neolin affected the policies of nearly twenty tribes from Lake Ontario to the Mississippi, including among them the Ojibwa, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Seneca, Huron, Miami, Shawnee, and Delaware. Pontiac may have tempered Neolin's message somewhat by affirming the rights of the French and opposing the British. Nevertheless, whatever setbacks the British suffered during the 1760s west of the Alleghenies were the result not only of Pontiac's leadership but also of the appeal of the Delaware Prophet's message.

This message came from a great dream-vision journey of the prophet to the mountain home of the Master of Life, or Great Spirit. The Master instructed him to tell the people that they must give up their drunkenness, sexual promiscuity, internecine fighting, witchcraft, and medicine songs dedicated to the evil spirit. In addition, they were to cast off all of the influences of the whites and return to hunting with bow and arrow. Ritually, they were to purify themselves through sexual abstinence and the use of emetics, and they were to reinstitute sacrifices. These reforms would result in a revitalization of their power that would enable them to drive the whites from the continent.

The Master of Life also gave the prophet a stick on which was written a prayer, in native hieroglyphs, to be recited by all of his followers every morning and evening. John Heckewelder, a Moravian missionary who lived with the Delaware at this time, reported seeing a map used by the prophet in his preaching. In the center of the map was a square that represented the dwelling place of the Great Spirit. This land, full of game and forests, had been the goal of the soul's journey after death. Now, however, it was all but inaccessible because of the barriers set by the whites, and only a very few souls could reach that land. Most fell into the hands of the evil one when attempting to overcome these barriers and were taken to his land of emaciated game animals and parched soil.

East of the inner square the prophet had drawn a map of the lands formerly occupied by the Delaware but now in the control of the British. Once the Delaware had dwelt beside the ocean and in the coastal areas, where they hunted, farmed, and fished with great delight. Then they allowed the Europeans to settle, gave away or sold their land, and became dependent on the white people's goods. The result of their own follies and English acquisitiveness was migration, fragmentation, and deterioration. If they followed the instructions of the prophet, however, they could have their land and their old ways back again.

Neolin played an essential role in helping his people interpret their situation. In Neolin's image of heaven, the Delaware saw their own recently lost state. In his image of the evil spirit's land, the Delaware perceived the despoiled land of the white settlements. The entry into paradise was not only a difficult eschatological event, it necessitated a historical expulsion of the whites. A further dimension of Neolin's message was not always grasped by Pontiac, that is, that the Great Spirit had allowed the whites to control the land and had taken away game animals as a punishment for the immorality of the Indians. Neolin's map depicted not only the barriers on earth and in heaven but also within the hearts of the people. They had corrupted themselves by their dependence on the whites. More importantly, the increasing dependence on the whites eroded the Indians' previous dependence on the spirit-forces of forest, field, stream, and sky. Only a spiritual purification and moral reform could give them the inner strength to cut loose from the whites and supply them with the capacity to enter again into the paradisal state they had abandoned. The prophet interpreted the social and historical situation using the religious symbolism of death and rebirth. His paradigm allowed for no compromise. This rite of passage from a state of degeneration and chaos to one of rebirth and a new order could not be entered halfheartedly. Nor could it be successful if halted before completion. The recovery of lost innocence and the regaining of lost land were intimately linked.

The prophet had faced squarely the problem that confronted his people, a problem that would continue to confront Native Americans: how does a people recover its identity and pride in the face of social, cultural and economic deterioration and a calculatingly aggressive foe? Yet, Neolin's answer was not necessarily wrong; it came, however, too late. Nevertheless, it was a course that others would follow, even when they knew it was too late, for it seemed to them the only honorable course to take.

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NEOLITHIC RELIGION comprises the religious concepts, cults, and rituals of the early farming communities that sprang up throughout the world in the Early Holocene period (8000–3000 BCE). Unlike the Paleolithic and Mesolithic periods of prehistory, the Neolithic period was characterized by climatic conditions, very similar to those of the present, that directed human activity chiefly to the soil and its fruits. Attention that previously had been focused on stone now shifted to earth, which became not only the basic raw material but a multivalent symbol. These preoccupations gave rise to a specific ideology, to sedentary ways of life and the construction of permanent settlements, to the domestication of plants and animals, and to important technological inventions such as pottery making—developments identified as the basic achievements of the "Neolithic Revolution."

The association of complex ideas and numerous activities with earth was not, however, a process completed rapidly. It took Neolithic communities centuries to learn to use earth as a new material and to find it more necessary, more valuable, and more meaningful than stone. Since, in the Paleolithic and Mesolithic periods, not only everyday activities but complex religious beliefs, cults, rituals, and probably myths were also associated with stone, this "Neolithic Revolution" may be defined, from the point of view of the history of religions, as a gradual process of the desacralization of stone and the sacralization of earth.

Because the basic achievements of the Neolithic period were attained neither simultaneously nor in a particular area only, the chronological and territorial boundaries of the Neolithic world are very flexible. Its beginnings date from the eighth millennium BCE at the earliest, but only in a few comparatively limited and mutually distant territories (in Asia: Palestine, northern Mesopotamia, Thailand, and Japan; in Europe: Crete, Thessaly, and the central Danubian region). It was only in the period between 6500 and 5000 BCE that the Neolithic cultures established themselves and began to expand and influence one another (in the Near East, northern China, southeastern Europe, and the western Mediterranean). The period between 5000 and 3000 BCE was a particularly dynamic one; while Neolithic cultures in the Near East and southeastern Europe began to disintegrate, others began to emerge and take root in northern Africa, southwestern Europe, India, Mesoamerica, and Peru.

Neolithic cultures differed not only in their chronology but, much more important for the study of religion, in their basic content: their methods of production, technological skills, social relations, and achievements in art. The earliest ware was produced in Japan by the Jomon culture during the eighth millennium BCE, long before communities of that region had mastered the cultivation of plants and the domestication of animals. Finds from the Spirit Cave in northern Thailand, however, suggest that the beginnings of the Neolithic period in southeastern Asia (the Hoa Binh culture of the ninth and eighth millennia BCE) was characterized by the cultivation of leguminous plants; pottery was made only from the end of the seventh millennium, and general farming was practiced beginning in the fourth millennium. In northern Mesopotamia, the beginnings of the Neolithic period were marked by the domestication of sheep (as evident at Zawi Chemi during the Shanidar phase, c. 8000 BCE), and in Palestine (Jericho, eighth millennium BCE) and Anatolia (Hacilar, seventh millennium BCE), by the cultivation of grain. In the Iron Gate region of Europe (the Lepenski Vir culture), dogs and pigs were domesticated and grain was cultivated as early as the seventh millennium BCE. These two basic achievements of the "Neolithic Revolution" were fully utilized only in the middle of the sixth millennium BCE.

The Neolithic world was not uniform but, as these diverse developments indicate, varied and very dynamic. It is therefore necessary to modify the general assessment of the period as one in which the economy was limited to farming, social relations were limited to tribal organization and the matriarchate, and religion was confined to a fertility cult and the worship of a supreme female deity (Magna Mater, Mother Earth, and the like). One cannot really speak of a Neolithic religion, but only of Neolithic religions. Lack of evidence that might enable people to define each of these religions does not justify generalization or neglect.

Archaeological artifacts, which constitute the main sources for the study of Neolithic religions, for the most part still lie buried; those that are known are usually fragmented and ambiguous. The material at our disposal documents chiefly the places and objects used for cult and ritual purposes within these religions, rather than the words and gestures that were their most essential and explicit expressions. Two other major obstacles preclude a fuller reconstruction of Neolithic religions: large areas of the world (parts of Australia, South America, and the Pacific islands) are still archaeologically unexplored, and evidence concerning the other spheres of Neolithic life with which religion was closely associated, such as the economy, social relations, and art, is fragmentary.

Attempts have been made to compensate for these limitations and to use, as clues to the meaning of Neolithic religious concepts, cults, and rituals, ethnographic materials related to the psychology and behavior of farmers, the mythology of ancient civilizations, and the scientific reconstruction of the earliest known Indo-European and Semitic languages. Although the usefulness of these approaches should not be denied, the most reliable method is to study the religion of Neolithic communities on the basis of what has been discovered in their settlements and graves. The most relevant of these finds are cultic places and objects, ritual instruments, remains of sacrifices, and various symbols. However, these material expressions of the religious consciousness of Neolithic communities have not been discovered in all Neolithic cultures; in some, they have been documented only sporadically. Accordingly, this narrows down even more the chronological and territorial boundaries within which it is possible to study the origin, distinctive traits, and evolution of Neolithic religious conceptions.

The fullest evidence for the study of Neolithic religion comes from Asia Minor and Europe, the two regions that have been best explored. Within this large territory, which extends from the Persian Gulf and the Caspian Sea to Denmark and the British Isles, three religious spheres can be distinguished: the Near East, southeastern Europe, and the western Mediterranean with northwestern Europe. The remaining regions of Europe either were under the direct influence of these spheres or, as in northeastern Europe, were inhabited by hunting-gathering communities that held on to the traditional religious concepts of the Paleolithic and Mesolithic periods. The latter was also true of communities inhabiting the forest zone of northern Asia, primarily Siberia.

In spite of the scarcity of relevant archaeological finds, three religious spheres can also be distinguished in southern and eastern Asia: the Malay archipelago, northern China and Manchuria, and the Japanese islands with Korea. The inhabited regions of central Asia probably did not constitute a separate religious zone. In Africa, only two Neolithic religious spheres can be distinguished, one in northern Africa and the other in the Nile Valley. Nothing is known of developments south of the Sahara. The situation is similar in the New World, where only one sphere of Neolithic religion, comprising Middle America and the coastal zone of Peru, is known.

Of the nine religious spheres that may be distinguished on the map of the Neolithic world, those in Asia Minor and southeastern Europe were the earliest, the most long-lived, and the most influential. Future investigations will probably show that Neolithic religions in southeastern and eastern Asia were much more specific and influential than present evidence suggests. In the western Mediterranean area and in northwestern Europe, religion acquired specific traits at an early date but began to radiate far and wide only in the Late Neolithic. The other Neolithic religions appeared comparatively late and were mainly of brief duration and local importance.

THE NEAR EAST. The Neolithic religion of the Near East originated between 8300 and 6500 BCE in the zone of the so-called Fertile Crescent (Palestine, Syria, northern Iraq, and Iran). It flourished between 6500 and 5000 BCE in Anatolia, and disintegrated between 5000 and 3000 BCE in the lowlands of Mesopotamia.

Evidence of a sedentary way of life, a basic trait of the Neolithic period, is clearly discerned in the Natufian culture, which developed in Palestine and Syria between 10,000 and 8300 BCE. Excavations of Natufian settlements have yielded indirect evidence of the use and cultivation of grain (for example, stone mortars, pestles, and sickles). Such evidence, together with the remains of dogs, marks the Natufian as the dawn of Neolithic culture in the Near East (the so-called Proto-Neolithic). Although no objects of an undoubtedly sacred character have been discovered at Natufian sites, it is nevertheless possible to form some idea, on the basis of surviving houses, graves, and art objects, of the religious concepts, cults, and rituals extant in this period.

No cult places have been found in Natufian settlements, with the possible exception of the remains of a large oval structure discovered in Jericho. Its isolated location on virgin soil beside a spring indicates that this may have been a cult site visited at certain times of the year.

That all of the figural representations belonging to this culture were carved from pebbles suggests beliefs associated with water and its creative potential. These representations include schematized human heads from Ain Mallaha and Al-Oued and an "erotic" statuette from Ain Sakhri showing an embracing couple, perhaps illustrating the concept of the "holy marriage." Sexual attributes are not marked on any of the figures, and the relationship of the sexes is expressed in an allusive way: the large stone mortars with circular recipients in their middles probably represent the female principle, as the phallus-shaped stone pestles probably represent the male principle.

These mortars, used for the grinding of grain, were sometimes sunk into the floor of circular houses, next to the hearth (as at Ain Mallaha). They were also frequently associated with burials and used either as grave markers (Wadi Fallah) or as altars around which graves were arranged in a semicircle (Al-Oued). Frequent burial of the dead in pits used for the storage of grain, and the occasional building of hearths above graves (Ain Mallaha) or in cemeteries (Nahal Oren), emphasizes a close connection between the dead and the processes of providing, keeping, and preparing grain food. There is also evidence to suggest some link between certain animals, the dead, and the underworld: for example, a grave in Ain Mallaha contained a human skull framed with the horns of a gazelle; another grave at the same site contained the skeleton of a dog; and seven human skulls, each accompanied by an equid's tooth, were found in Erq el-Ahmar. These finds may indicate that the Natufians believed that ancestors provided all the basic sources of food, that they looked after plants and animals and caused them to multiply.

Evidence of a cult of ancestors is also found in the complex funeral customs of the Natufians, especially in their burial of detached skulls, sometimes grouped in fives or nines. At Ain Mallaha, two graves lay beneath a circle of stone with a diameter of two and one-half meters; upon it a quadrangular hearth was built. A skull and two uppermost vertebrae lay on the hearth, an indication perhaps of human sacrifice. This structure and a hearth in the cemetery at Nahal Oren, with a deposit of ashes one-half meter thick, present reliable evidence of a chthonic cult. Here were altars on which sacrifices were offered to the heroic dead or to the forces governing the underworld. There is, however, no evidence of a transition from the chthonic to an agrarian cult in the Proto-Neolithic period.

Throughout the entire zone of the Fertile Crescent, the period between 8300 and 6500 BCE saw the appearance of villages in which cereals were cultivated and animals domesticated, as is now known through the discovery of remains of barley, wheat, sheep, goats, and pigs at scattered sites. Pottery was very rare, and therefore this period has been termed the Pre-Pottery Neolithic. The number of finds associated with religion is comparatively large, but they were discovered chiefly in Palestine, Syria, and northern Mesopotamia.

The traditional cult of ancestors, manifested primarily in the detachment and special treatment of skulls, developed further, culminating between 7500 and 6500 BCE. Complete burials or detached skulls, sometimes placed in special structures, were discovered beneath the floors of houses in almost all sites from this period. In Mureybet, skulls were placed on clay benches along the walls of the houses, so that they were always within reach. In Jericho, a skull might be covered with a kind of plaster, and then a face, sometimes with individualized features, was modeled upon it. Evidence of the same practice exists at Beisamoun and Tell Ramad (both in Syria), where each plastered skull was placed on a clay support in the form of a seated human figure.

Cult centers discovered in Palestine (Jericho and Beida), in the upper Euphrates Valley (Mureybet), and in western Iran (Ganjadareh) provide more detailed evidence for the religion of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic. In Jericho, two rooms and a structure are supposed to have served cult purposes, primarily because of their unusual shapes: a room with a niche in which a block of volcanic rock stood on a stone support was discovered in a house; a pit filled with ashes was found in the middle of another house, which suggests that some ritual was performed in that place; finally, figurines representing oxen, goats, and, perhaps, pigs were found in a large structure with wooden posts placed in an unusual arrangement. In Beida, a group of three enigmatic oval structures, located some fifty meters distant from the settlement and approached by a paved path, were explored. In the middle of the central structure, a large block of sandstone was set upright; a large slab with a parapet built around the edge lay against the southern wall, and a triangular basin, made of a large slab and partly filled with ashes, soot, and charred animal bones (probably the remains of a sacrifice or a ritual feast), was found outside the wall. In Ganjadareh a room with a niche containing fixed, superimposed rams' skulls was found in the middle of the Neolithic village, and in Mureybet rooms were discovered in which horns of wild oxen, perhaps bucrania (sometimes flanked by the shoulder blades of oxen or asses), were embedded in the walls.

These rooms were mostly house shrines, for they were directly linked with dwelling rooms. Only the group of three oval structures in Beida and the building with wooden posts in Jericho might have been communal shrines. The cult objects from these shrines suggest that the powers venerated in them had not yet acquired an anthropomorphic shape and that their presence was expressed by aniconic forms, mostly by upright stones or the heads of bulls or rams. Two finds only, dating from the very end of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic, might be associated with anthropomorphic deities. These are the remains of three plastered human statues from Jericho and the deposit of at least ten human statues, 80 to 90 centimeters high, and twelve busts, 30 to 45 centimeters high, found in Ain Ghazal (Palestine). The Jericho statues make up a group representing a man, a woman, and a child, possibly a divine triad. The Ain Ghazal statues have stylized bodies but individualized heads; one of them represents a man, and the others have female breasts.

The meaning of these statues, and of the busts that were found surrounding them, is difficult to decipher. Since miniature clay figurines of pregnant women, often deliberately damaged, were also found in Ain Ghazal, we may surmise that the small anthropomorphic figurines were used in fertility rites or in some chthonic-agrarian cult; the larger statues may have been representations of particular deities and therefore objects of the greatest veneration.

The cults performed in individual households became clearly distinct from those in the care of the broader community or of persons specially chosen by the community (priests and priestesses) only in the period of the full consolidation of the Neolithic culture, between 6500 and 5000 BCE. A gap between the sacred and the profane opened during this time, as is evidenced by the very limited number of sacred objects, mainly fragmented anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines, found in villages from this period, in conjunction with their high concentration in some settlements; this causes people to speak of religious centers.

The best example of such a center is Çatal Hüyük in Anatolia, where fourteen building horizons, dating from 6300 to 5400 BCE, were discovered. Each of these levels consists of dwelling rooms linked with storage spaces and shrines, of varying size, that contain sacred representations (reliefs and frescoes), stone and clay figurines, and graves of privileged members of the community, possibly priests and priestesses. A certain consistency in the arrangement of representations on walls suggests the existence of a coherent religious concept or myth in which the character and mutual relationship of superior powers were clearly defined. We may assume that the reliefs depicted the divine powers, the frescoes described the sacred activities (religious ceremonies, sacrifices, and ritual scenes), and the statuettes represented the chief actors in the myth. Scenes associated with the world of the dead were always shown on the northern and eastern walls of the shrines, scenes related to the giving of birth were depicted on the western walls, and representations of the goddess and the bull appeared on all of the walls. The most common motifs used in the reliefs were bulls heads and the so-called "twin goddesses," whereas most of the frescoes depicted bulls and vultures. In addition, there were various other symbols, such as representations of the human head, the boar's head, and the female breast. Viewed as a whole, these complex motifs represent the confrontation between the creative powers (the bulls, the twin goddesses) and the destructive forces (the boars, the vultures), and the opposition of birth and death or light and darkness. The statuettes express a similar opposition: they are representations of the great female deity (sometimes in her positive and sometimes in her negative aspect) and of the goddess's son or male consort.

Representations of the same female deity were discovered in the Neolithic settlement of Hacilar (southwestern Anatolia), dating from around 5500 BCE. Statuettes, modeled in a naturalistic way and frequently colored, represent a young or mature woman, naked or clothed, in a standing, seated, or reclining position, sometimes with a child or an animal in her lap or arms. Plastered bulls' heads, as well as stone amulets in the shape of bulls' heads, were also found, but there were no shrines. Some houses, however, had niches with stone slabs, a type of which had a human face with large eyes incised on it. These may have been figures of ancestors, household spirits, the guardians of the family. The later settlements of Hacilar, dating from 5400 to 5000 BCE, yielded two shrines associated with the cult of the dead, standardized feminine statuettes, almost violin-shaped masculine figurines, and anthropomorphic and zoomorphic ritual vessels. Over the following two millennia, the number of figurines decreased, but painted pottery became very common, and its decoration frequently incorporated basic religious concepts.

At the beginning of the fifth millennium BCE, Anatolia lost its importance, and the centers of culture and spiritual life were transferred to Mesopotamia, Khuzestan, and the Transcaspian lowlands. The intensive migratory movements, exploitation of new materials (copper and gold), and increased exchange of goods transformed the traditional religion in almost all of the regions of the Near East and led, at the end of the fourth millennium BCE, to the disintegration of all Neolithic cultures. Although a number of distinct and frequently unrelated cultures emerged in the period between 5000 and 3000 BCE, the religion of this period was characterized by three general features: the separation of the world of the living from the world of the dead, as manifested in the increasing practice of burying the dead in special cemeteries outside the settlements; the separation of cult centers from dwellings and the establishment of communal shrines; and the abandonment of figural representations of deities and the tendency to suggest their potency and activity by means of abstract symbols, signs, and ornaments.

All these traits already are evidenced clearly in the cultures from the first half of the fifth millennium BCE. In northern Mesopotamia (the Halaf-Hassuna-Samarra cultures), the dead were buried mainly outside the settlements, and only children were interred beneath the floors of houses or shrines. Anthropomorphic figurines either disappeared or underwent a change in significance. The number of feminine figurines was comparatively large in the Samarra and Halaf cultures, and costly materials (for example, alabaster) were frequently used for their manufacture, but they were usually placed in graves. Shrines from this period can be identified by their special position in the settlement rather than by their decoration or by the objects found in them. In Eridu (southern Mesopotamia), the shrine formed the nucleus around which the settlement was built; in Pessejik and Dashliji (Transcaspian lowlands), shrines were distinguished not only by their size and rich decoration but also by their position.

In the cultures of the second half of the fifth and the fourth millennium BCE, the processes manifested earlier developed further. In the Al-Ubayyid culture, there is evidence of monumental temples on platforms and of cult places separated from settlements. Some temples (for example, the temple from Layer VIII in Eridu) already resembled ziggurats. No statues or figurines of deities were found in these temples, but there were altars around which rites, probably similar to those shown on the seals of the Gawra type (processions, ritual dances, the adorning of altars, and the like), were performed. Burials were made in cemeteries separated from settlements (Tell Arpachiya, Eridu, Al-Ubayyid), and grave goods included both feminine and masculine figurines as well as a type of figurine representing a woman with a child in her arms. These figurines did not represent deities; rather, they were instruments used in funerary rites. It is obvious that deities became remote and abstract toward the end of the Neolithic period. The religion of the Al-Ubayyid culture, as well as that of other contemporaneous cultures of the Near East, was basically transcendental. In this respect, it anticipates the religion of the early urban civilization of Mesopotamia.

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE. The Neolithic religion of southeastern Europe was based on local traditions and the religion of the Epi-Paleolithic hunting-gathering communities, the presence of which is attested on numerous sites from Peloponnese to the northern fringe of the Pannonian plain, and from the western shores of the Black Sea to the Alps and the eastern coast of the Adriatic. As early as the twelfth millennium BCE, this extensive territory was incorporated into the sphere of the Mediterranean Gravettian culture, in whose religion the most important artifacts were pebbles colored with red ocher and engraved objects of bone and antler. When the climate became gradually warmer at the end of the ninth millennium BCE, the Tardi-Gravettian culture began to disintegrate. This disintegration had different consequences in different regions: in the southwestern part of the Balkan Peninsula, the traditional culture was impoverished and gradually became extinct; in the Aegean and, particularly, in the Danubian region, it became richer, developing, between 7000 and 6500 BCE, into the culture of the first farming communities.

As in the Near East, the beginning of the Neolithic culture in the Danubian region and the Aegean was marked by a sedentary way of life. The first permanent open-space settlements appeared at the beginning of the eighth millennium BCE, in the central part of the Danubian valley, on low river terraces near large whirlpools abounding in fish. The local Epi-Paleolithic culture began to change rapidly and, at the end of the same millennium, evolved into the Proto-Neolithic Lepenski Vir culture. The shrines of this culture were associated not only with the earliest monumental sculptures in Europe but also with the first achievements in the domestication of plants and animals.

The earliest settlements of the Lepenski Vir culture were small. No places used for cult purposes were discovered in them, but finds did include ritual instruments and pebbles colored with red ocher. Later settlements, dating from the beginning of the seventh millennium BCE, yielded varied material. Some contained a number of specialized implements and a great quantity of bones of fish and game animals, whereas others (for example, Lepenski Vir and Hajdučka Vodenica) had shrines, sculptures made of very large boulders, and graves containing evidence of complex funerary rites. This turning of human faculties toward different goals led, on the one hand, to the transition from a gathering economy to a food-producing one, and, on the other hand, to the appearance of monumental sculptures and the cults and myths associated with them.

A total of 147 dwelling places were discovered at Lepenski Vir, the religious center for the entire central Danubian region between 7000 and 6500 BCE. About fifty of them had small shrines, each consisting of a rectangular hearth surrounded by large stone slabs embedded in a floor made of limestone mortar, an altar with a circular or ellipsoid recipient, and anywhere from one to five sculptures made of large boulders. Directly against the stones surrounding the hearth, one to fifteen triangular openings were sunk into the floor, framed with small slabs of red stone and, sometimes, with human mandibles.

All of these dwelling places with shrines had a uniform ground plan in the form of a truncated sector of a circle, with an angle of about sixty degrees. Skeletons of infants (from one to five) were found beneath the floors, and secondary or partial burials (consisting mainly of skulls) were made within the shrines. In each shrine, the hearth structure and the altar lay on an axis extending from east to west, whereas the dead and the sculptures had a north-south orientation. This fixed orientation implies a clear division of the world. The shrines probably reproduced the world's structure, and the sculptures, both abstract and figural, probably illustrated the myth of its creation. Abstract sculptures were more numerous, and the intertwining on their surfaces of rounded, "female" signs with open, "male" ones suggests the idea of continuous fertilization. The figural sculptures probably represent only what was born out of that intertwining: hybrid, fishlike beings, water spirits, lords of the great river, and primeval ancestors. Regardless of how we interpret these stone figures, their close association with the hearth (on which food was prepared for the living and where sacrifices were offered to the dead) shows that the religion of the Lepenski Vir culture was based on the cult of the domestic hearth.

In the period when religion and art in this region reached their apogee, two major advances were made in the sphere of economy: the cultivation of some sorts of grain and the domestication or selection of some animals (dogs, pigs, deer) were mastered, so that the Lepenski Vir culture assumed the traits of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic. The uniform character of its shrines and sculptures shows that all ancestral knowledge was combined into an integral system and incorporated into cult, myth, and ritual.

In the middle of the seventh millennium BCE, in the period when the cultivation of plants and the keeping of animals were taken out of the ritual context, the Lepenski Vir culture lost its specific traits and developed into the culture of the earliest Danubian farmers, the so-called Starčevo-Körös-Cris culture. Concurrently or a few centuries later, Early Neolithic cultures appeared, either autonomously or as a result of acculturation, in other regions of southeastern Europe as well. However they came into being, an almost uniform sacred world, centered again on the domestic hearth, established itself throughout the whole of southeastern Europe as early as around 6000 BCE.

The sixth millennium was a period of stabilization for Neolithic cultures in southeastern Europe. The most creative regions were Thessaly-Macedonia (the Proto-Sesklo and Sesklo cultures), the Danubian region (the Starčevo culture) and the Maritsa Valley (the Karanovo culture). No shrines have been discovered in any of these regions; the only possible exception is a building in Nea Nikomedeia (Aegean Macedonia), which, because of its large dimensions, was probably a shrine. Some houses in northwestern Macedonia (in Porodin, Madzare, and Zelenikovo) had stoves next to which stood richly decorated clay tables (perhaps altars) and sometimes also clay models of houses with head-shaped chimneys or breast-shaped roofs. These finds, as well as the considerably more modest models of houses from Thessaly and the Danubian region, suggest that the entire house was considered to be under the protection of a household deity.

Anthropomorphic figurines, mostly representing pregnant women, were common only in Thessaly, Macedonia, and the Danubian region, usually at places where utensils for everyday use were also found. Feminine figurines were the more numerous, but they are not earlier than masculine ones. Zoomorphic figurines (mostly representations of oxen and deer) were produced in great numbers, as were amulets, each in the shape of a stylized bull's head. Types of sacrifices can be deduced on the basis of several finds in Crete and Thessaly, where narrow, deep pits filled with ashes, animal bones, and occasional anthropomorphic figurines have been found. These were probably places where sacrifices were offered to chthonic deities, and the figurines were probably placed there as substitutes for human sacrifice, indications of which are evident only in the hilly and marginal areas of southeastern Europe. The cult of the dead was not particularly important. The deceased were buried in contracted position in various places—in the settlements, outside them, or in caves. They were buried without rich gifts and without any fixed orientation. The idea of death apparently did not play an important role in the life of the Neolithic communities of southeastern Europe.

The fifth millennium BCE was the period of the flowering of Neolithic cultures in southeastern Europe, especially in the inland regions of the Balkan Peninsula and in the Pannonian plain, where the Vinča culture was dominant. There were no essential innovations in the religious sphere, but the traditional elements of religious life became more clearly defined and more numerous. There is no evidence of shrines; cultic life was still associated with households, especially with the rooms for the storage and grinding of grain or for the preparation of food. Rooms with bucrania on the walls and an abundance of cult objects have been found on several sites of the Vinča culture. The geographical distribution of these sites shows that in the entire territory of the Vinča culture, covering some 120,000 square kilometers, there were only five or six large settlements that were major religious centers. Vinča itself was certainly one of them, for each change in the sacred objects produced in it was reflected in the surrounding territory up to about one hundred kilometers in diameter. Several thousand anthropomorphic figurines and hundreds of ritual vases, amulets, and various cult instruments have been found at Vinča.

The anthropomorphic figurines were very varied and included naked and clothed human figures, figures in flexed, kneeling, or seated positions, two-headed figures, figures of musicians, and masked figures. Some scholars have seen in them representations of particular deities, such as the Great Goddess, the Bird and Snake Goddess, the Pregnant Vegetation Goddess, and the Year God. But these figurines were not found in ritual contexts, and the differences in their appearances probably resulted from aesthetic rather than religious considerations. Only about five percent of them are clearly defined as feminine or masculine. All examples whose place of discovery is known have been associated with various elements of the household (for instance, the stove, the hearth, the guern, the weaving loom, and the storage pit) or with particular domestic activities. A number of figurines have been found in graves but these are exceptions confined to some local cultures (for example, the Hamangia culture in Dobruja). The fact that they were commonly found together with objects of everyday use, and that they had frequently been fragmented and discarded, suggests that they lost their value once the ritual had been performed and the desired end achieved. These figurines were probably held to incorporate the powers presiding over the household, granary, flocks, or farmed land. The relationship between these powers and the community seems to have been direct, so that the religion of this period was, in fact, a popular one. It was manifested in the performance of rites associated with rain, sowing, reaping, the seasons of the year, birth, sickness, and death, rather than with the veneration of particular deities.

The discovery of copper and gold in the Carpathian Mountains at the end of the fifth millennium BCE, and the later inroads of nomads from the southern Russian steppes, caused a crisis in the old values and goals; as a result, traditional shrines lost some of their importance. In the fourth millennium BCE, the centers of sacred life were transferred to the eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula (the Boian-Gumelnita culture) and to Moldavia and the southwestern Ukraine (the Cucuteni-Tripol'e culture). It was only in this period of crisis that special attention was devoted to the dead—separation of cemeteries from settlements, fixed orientation of burials, exceptionally rich funerary gifts—and that special rooms in the houses were set apart for cult purposes. The cult of the bull continued to be practiced (shrines with bucrania, amulets in the form of bulls' heads) as did the cult of the household hearth (concentration of sacred objects, especially of anthropomorphic figurines, around a stove used for baking bread).

At Căscuiareke (Romania), however, a shrine was found that contained evidence of the cult of the sacred pillar and, possibly, of the sun. A group of miniature clay objects (altars, stools, figurines in positions of adoration, and ritual vessels) with painted decoration (concentric circles, triangles, and spirals) representing the sun and other celestial bodies was discovered at Ovcharevo (Bulgaria). Similar ornaments found on painted ware suggest that religious thought was primarily directed to the sky and was concerned with cosmogony. These ornaments consist of ideograms for the sun, moon, four sides of the world, heavenly spheres, earth, air, fire, and the like. Later they came to include human, animal, and fantastic figures (giants with two pairs of arms, winged dogs, and so on); one may thus surmise that a special mythology was being evolved in southeastern Europe during the fourth millennium BCE. This mythology could not be fully developed: in the middle of the fourth millennium BCE, southeastern Europe was overrun by nomadic horsemen who destroyed the shrines of local farming communities and paralyzed their creativity.

OTHER REGIONS. The separate religious spheres of the Neolithic world were the western Mediterranean with northwestern Europe; the Sahara; the Nile Valley; China; Japan; and Middle America. The hunting-gathering communities of Italy, the Iberian Peninsula, and the adjacent islands became acquainted with the main achievements of the "Neolithic Revolution" at the end of the seventh millennium BCE, but they mostly continued to live in caves and rock shelters and to hold on to ancient customs. In coastal districts and the adjacent hinterlands the preoccupation with earth was first established through pottery making rather than farming. Something of the spiritual life of these communities is reflected in the ornaments on their pottery, which includes such motifs as wavy lines, flamelike patterns, and crescents. These motifs may have symbolized objects of the greatest veneration—the moon, sun, and sea—and may be taken as evidence of the cult of waters and celestial bodies.

In the fifth millennium BCE, influences from the Aegean began to modify the culture of the Apennine Peninsula, while the Iberian peninsula saw the beginning of processes that in time led to the emergence, throughout western and northwestern Europe, of cultures characterized by megalithic tombs for collective burial (such as dolmens, passage graves, and gallery graves) and by sacred architecture consisting of large stone uprights (menhirs) set in parallel alignments or in circles (cromlechs). These were the basic forms, but some other types of sacred stone structures were built in other regions, for example, shrines with a U-shaped plan in Denmark and temples with niches and a central courtyard in Malta. The dominant cult was that of ancestors. Highly stylized idols with large eyes in the form of rosettes (the "all-seeing goddess") have been found in megalithic graves in Spain and Portugal. Special places for sacrificial offerings have also been discovered at certain sites, such as the cemetery in Los Millares, Spain. Gravestones were frequently decorated with abstract engravings and reliefs, more rarely, with representations of snakes, oxen, or double-edged axes. At the end of the Neolithic period, some upright gravestones were modeled in the form of human figures (statue menhirs).

All these megalithic shrines were surrounded by the graves of ancestors; since they were placed far apart, it is certain that they marked sites at which large groups of farming communities gathered on special occasions. The gigantic cromlech Stonehenge (southern England), as well as the alignment of stone monuments in Carnac (Brittany, France), must have attracted thousands of believers who gathered to establish contact with ancestral or divine powers. Malta, with its numerous temples, was probably a holy island (*isola sacra*) to which believers came from all parts of the world to be initiated into the mysteries of the Great Goddess, whose colossal fragmented statue has been discovered under one of the temples. Each Maltese temple has a ground plan in the form of a uterus or the silhouette of the Great Goddess. Figurines with deformed bodies and representations of the so-called sleeping ladies found in these temples suggest that they were also healing places and oracles where believers could, through a period of sojourn (incubation), obtain cures for the body or soul. The very act of walking through these uterus-shaped temples, between alignments, or through the circles of cromlechs had the significance of an initiation.

The religion of the Neolithic populations of Africa was based on quite different concepts and cults. The predominantly pastoral communities of the Sahara left rock paintings and drawings that usually represent oxen or human figures in the position of adoration. Farther east, in Egypt, the first farming communities paid greatest attention to their dead and to the Nile. The earliest Neolithic graves (middle of the fifth millennium BCE) already had a fixed orientation. The dead were buried facing east, with grains of wheat in their mouths (the Merimde culture). In some cases, models of boats and anthropomorphic figurines made of clay or ivory were placed in graves (the Badari culture). Vases from the second half of the fourth millennium BCE (the Naqada II culture) show processions of decorated boats, probably depicting the rite of offering sacrifice to the Nile.

The Neolithic religion in the countries of the Far East also had distinct features. The Yang-shao culture of China seems to have fostered the cult of ancestors and fertility. Judging from motifs on painted ware, an important role was also accorded to the cult of evergreen trees (fir and cypress) and, perhaps, mountaintops. A significant role was accorded as well to the dynamic forces of the universe and cosmic radiation, which influence nature and the destiny of man. The Neolithic population of Japan, which had long remained in complete isolation, also left some traces of its religion. They include enigmatic stone circles—the so-called sundials, with a radius of up to forty-five meters—and figurines with large protruding eyes and stone phalli, sometimes of large dimensions. These represent mere fragments of a Neolithic religion based on the worship of stone, the sun, and the phallus.

The Neolithic religions of the Malay archipelago and of Mesoamerica must have been equally specific, since the development of a Neolithic culture in these regions was specific and autonomous. The archaeological evidence is, however, so slender that it does not permit poeple to form any definite conclusions about the religious ideas of Neolithic communities in these areas.

SEE ALSO Agriculture; Ancestors; Earth; Goddess Worship; Hieros Gamos; Megalithic Religion; Metals and Metallurgy; Prehistoric Religions.

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NEOORTHODOXY.

Neoorthodoxy is the term used mainly in the English-speaking world to designate a theological movement within Protestantism that began after World War I as a reaction to liberal theology and broadened into diverse attempts to formulate afresh a theology of the Word of God grounded in the witness of holy scripture and informed by the great themes of the Protestant Reformation. Since its leaders had no interest in producing a new orthodoxy along the lines either of seventeenth-century Protestant scholasticism or of twentieth-century fundamentalism, the neoorthodox movement could more accurately be called neo-Reformation theology, but the former term has prevailed in common usage.

In its broadest sense *neoorthodoxy* is an umbrella term that includes a number of diverse but related theologies and theologians. Among them are dialectical theology, or "theology of crisis" in Switzerland and Germany (Karl Barth, Emil Brunner, Friedrich Gogarten, Rudolf Bultmann); motif research at Lund, Sweden (Gustaf Aulén, Anders Nygren); reconstructionist theology in Scotland (John Baillie, Donald M. Baillie, Thomas F. Torrance); and realistic theology, or Christian realism, in the United States (Reinhold Niebuhr, H. Richard Niebuhr, Paul Tillich). Related to these are a multitude of others who, from the 1920s to the 1950s, joined in the tasks of overcoming the weaknesses perceived in liberalism and of finding a more adequate way of expressing the gospel of Jesus Christ in the social setting of the twentieth century.

Because of its emphasis on the Bible as the written witness to God's self-revelation and on the church as the locus of God's continuing revelation, neoorthodoxy provided stimulus and support for two significant parallel developments: the biblical theology movement, which strove to express the unity of scripture, and the ecumenical movement, which was established to foster church unity.

The characteristic themes of neoorthodoxy, as well as its divergent emphases, are found in two prophetic books that shocked theological communities in Europe and America and sparked the neoorthodox movement. The first was the publication in 1919 of *Der Römerbrief (The Epistle to the Romans)* by Karl Barth (1886–1968); the second was the appearance in 1932 of *Moral Man and Immoral Society*, by Reinhold Niebuhr (1892–1971). Both men had had extensive experience in the parish ministry (Barth in the Swiss village of Safenwil, Niebuhr in the American industrial city of Detroit), direct encounter with movements advocating the social responsibility of the churches (Barth with Swiss religious socialism, Niebuhr with the American Social Gospel), education in the liberal tradition (Barth at Berlin and Marburg, Niebuhr at Eden and Yale), probing intellects, and powerful personalities. Barth's commentary on Romans was written with the problem of the preacher in mind; he discovered the message of God's sovereign grace that declares divine judgment upon all human pretension, especially that of bourgeois society and its religion of human perfectibility. Niebuhr's book was written with the problem of the ethicist in mind; he probed the difference between the social behavior of individuals and that of social groups, in light of the Reformation doctrines of sin and justification by faith. Barth's theology tended to move from God to humanity, Niebuhr's from humanity to God; they found their common ground in the centrality of Jesus Christ.

Neoorthodoxy erupted as a fresh theological movement during the period of social upheaval caused by World War I and the Great Depression. Liberal assumptions about human goodness and historical progress were shaken, if not destroyed, by the sudden outbreak of evil in the midst of a modern civilization that had considered itself enlightened and humane. Liberal theology was closely allied with German idealistic philosophy, and therefore assumed a basic continuity between the human and the divine. God was to be found in human consciousness, in the human sense of morality, and in the progressive evolution of human society toward the kingdom of God. Belief in the immanence of the divine within the human self and in world history led to an optimistic view of human progress and a focusing of theological attention upon the religious experience of individual Christians and the historical experience of the religious community. The result was a blending of Christian perspectives with those of so-called modern, scientific society. Liberalism tried to hold on to the Christian tradition while adjusting it to the changing worldview; modernism, a more radical option, accepted the worldview of science and then attempted to reclaim as much of Christianity as possible. As Karl Barth and his colleagues discovered in the midst of a culture in crisis, both liberalism and modernism inevitably distorted biblical faith and the theology of the Protestant reformers.

Barth began to study Paul's *Letter to the Romans* because of his disillusionment with the theology and ethics of his liberal theological professors in Germany, especially after one "black day" in August 1914 when he learned that they, together with other intellectuals, had declared their support for Kaiser Wilhelm's war policy. In Paul's letter to the Romans Barth discovered what he later referred to as "the strange new world within the Bible," a world concerned not with the right human thoughts about God but with the right divine thoughts about humans, not with what people should say about God but with what God says to people, not with how people can find God but with the way God has taken to find people. The Bible speaks not of human religious experience but of God—God's sovereignty, God's glory, God's incomprehensible love, God's covenant with humankind, sealed once and for all in Jesus Christ.

Barth likened the 1919 edition of his commentary on *Romans* to the unexpected ringing of a church bell at night. It awakened the theological world, especially in postwar Germany, and won Barth an invitation to teach theology at the university at Göttingen. He accepted the position in 1922; the same year he published a completely rewritten, more radical second edition of *The Epistle to the Romans.*

Other theologians had come to similar conclusions about the inadequacy of liberal theology. In 1923 another Swiss Reformed pastor, Eduard Thurneysen (1888–1974), and a German Lutheran pastor, Friedrich Gogarten (1887–1967), joined Barth in publishing the journal *Zwischen den Zeiten* (Between the times) as the organ of their movement. Soon another Swiss pastor, Emil Brunner (1889–1966), and a German Lutheran New Testament professor, Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976), began contributing articles to the journal. All of these prominent collaborators eventually attained professorships, so that the neoorthodox movement, which had begun in the pastorate, gradually reached the universities. From there its influence spread abroad, especially to Scandinavia and Scotland, and then to the United States. Between the two world wars, neoorthodoxy was the dominant force in Protestant theology and was influential in Roman Catholic and Orthodox circles as well. Despite serious theological divisions that caused them to cease publishing *Zwischen den Zeiten* in 1933, the originators of the movement and their followers remained united in their opposition to certain elements of liberalism and in their commitment to a theology of the Word of God.

Since neoorthodoxy began as a reaction within liberal theology and at first intended to provide a mere corrective, it is not surprising that the movement retained some of its liberal heritage: respect for the scientific method of investigating the natural world, acceptance of historical-critical research on the Bible, and aversion to metaphysics and natural theology. Nevertheless, the following characteristic emphases of neoorthodoxy were all formulated in opposition to positions common in liberal theology:

1. the transcendence and otherness of God instead of God's immanence in nature and history, and thus a fundamental discontinuity between the divine and the human that can be overcome by God alone;
2. divine revelation rather than human religious experience as the source of the knowledge of God, and thus the Word of God—incarnate in Jesus Christ, attested in scripture, and proclaimed in the church—as the seat of authority for Christian thought and action;
3. the Christ of faith rather than the Jesus of history as the basis and/or object of Christian faith, and thus the acceptance of the conclusion of the eschatological interpretation of the New Testament that the quest for "the historical Jesus" is fruitless and unnecessary;
4. the meaning of history as hidden and thus not to be viewed as a progressive movement in which humans cooperate in the building of the kingdom of God; rather, Christ provides the only clue to history's ultimate meaning, and the kingdom of God is an eschatological event that depends solely upon the action of God;
5. sin as a rebellion against God caused by the abuse of human freedom rather than a result of human ignorance or failure to curb natural impulses; thus, the self-centeredness and alienation resulting from sin cannot be overcome by education but only by an act of divine forgiveness that calls forth repentance and new life.

Behind the rise of neoorthodoxy lay a number of factors. First was the general cultural crisis of Western bourgeois society that was reflected in two world wars. The nineteenth century's optimistic view of the future, based on scientific advances, evolutionary theory, and idealistic philosophy, was seriously undermined by historical events. There were other important factors as well: scholarly investigations of the New Testament that established apocalyptic eschatology as the framework for interpreting Jesus and his message of the kingdom of God and viewed the Gospels as products of the early church for preaching and worship rather than as biographies of Jesus; the thesis of Martin Kähler (1835–1912) that church and faith are dependent not on the results of historical inquiry into the life of the so-called historical Jesus but on the preaching of the early church's kerygma of the risen Christ, who is known in faith; the renaissance of interest in the study of the theology of the Protestant reformers, especially of Luther; the writings and preaching of Christian socialists (on the continent, Christoph Blumhardt, Leonhard Ragaz, Hermann Kutter; in America, Walter Rauschenbusch); the literary explorers of the ambiguity of human existence, such as Fyodor Dostoevsky (1821–1881) and, above all, Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855), the Danish "father of existentialism," whose writings were first translated during the early decades of the twentieth century; and the personalistic philosophy of Ferdinand Ebner (1882–1931) and Martin Buber (1878–1965), who insisted that God always remains a subject with whom humans can have an I-Thou, but never an I-It, relationship.

All these factors supported the neoorthodox attack on the nineteenth century's legacy of anthropocentric religion and helped to turn the church's attention to the God of the Bible, who is "wholly other" than the world and whose word enters the world "from outside" and never comes under the control of humans—not even in the sphere of religion. Inspired by his biblical studies, by the religious socialists' critique of present-day society in the light of God's coming kingdom, and by Kierkegaard's message of the infinite qualitative difference between the eternal God and finite, sinful humanity, Barth led the attack on the pious religiosity and cultural captivity of the church. He emphasized the "Godness" of God (God is not "man writ large"), the difference between the Word of God and the word of humans, and the judgment (*Krisis*) that God's word pronounces on human pretension and hypocrisy, whether in civil or religious affairs. Barth stressed that God pronounces a No to human sinfulness, but in and through that No comes the unexpected and incomparable Yes of God's mercy and forgiveness. This word of judgment and grace, which breaks into the world "from above," he insisted, can be understood by humankind in history only in a dialectical manner, and this in two senses: first, as the dialectical relation between eternity and time, and, second, as the dialectical movement from God's No to God's Yes.

Barth's appeal to revelation and his attack on the psychologism and historicism of liberal theology generated early support from Gogarten, Brunner, Bultmann, and even Tillich (1886–1965), but it soon became evident that they disagreed with Barth's stringent opposition to natural theology and with what some considered to be an unwarranted supernaturalism. Each in his own way declared the dialectic to be not between two separate worlds (God's and ours) but within human existence (unfaith and faith, the "old man" and the new). Thus each affirmed the necessity of incorporating into theology an analysis of human existence prior to faith, whether it be based on a personalist philosophy of I-Thou relationships (Gogarten), on the phenomenon of human "respondability" as the formal image of God that remains even in sinful humanity (Brunner), or on a human "preunderstanding" derived from existentialist philosophy (Bultmann and Tillich). In response, Barth, who in his early work had agreed that God's self-revelation was "the answer to human existence," determined henceforth to free his theology from any dependence on an analysis of the "existential question of man" and to base it solely on God's self-revelation in *one* man: Jesus Christ.

Subsequent events in Germany tended to confirm Barth's suspicion of any theology that appealed to a revelation of God "outside Christ," in the natural order or in history. With the rise of Nazism, the so-called German Christians hailed the advent of Hitler and his policies as a new revelation of God. Their attempt to blend Nazism with Christianity was decisively repudiated at a meeting of the representatives of the Lutheran and Reformed traditions at Barmen in 1934, when it was declared that the Christian church must listen to Jesus Christ as the one Word of God, and to him alone.

Barth's split with Gogarten over the latter's initial support of the German Christians led to the cessation of publication of *Zwischen den Zeiten* in 1933, and the following year Barth repudiated Brunner's call for the development of a Christian natural theology. Thenceforth this group of "dialectical theologians," who had found their closest unity in what they opposed, followed their own paths toward mature theological positions that in many respects differed markedly and yet in the broad perspective of theological history still shared the basic characteristics of neoorthodoxy.

Barth's *Kirchliche Dogmatik* (Church dogmatics), consisting of thirteen volumes originally published between 1932 and 1967, represents the premier intellectual expression of neoorthodoxy. In it Barth conducted a critical examination of the church's present teaching in the light of the scriptural attestation to God's self-revealing Word become flesh in the man Jesus of Nazareth. While not relinquishing his earlier stress on the deity of God, Barth more and more centered his focus on the "humanity of God," that is, on the triune God's covenental relationship with humankind that is fulfilled in Jesus Christ, in whose person one encounters both the true God as humanity's loyal partner and the true human being as God's loyal partner. God and humankind are thus reconciled in Christ, and those who respond to God's word of free, self-giving love become participants in Christ's earthly, historical body—the church—and witnesses of the Word to the world. Barth's biblical, Christ-centered theology reinterprets for today all of the doctrinal themes of classic Protestantism: God's sovereign grace, the lostness of humankind, Christ's reconciling deed, and renewed life under the rule of God.

Brunner, whose apologetic, or "eristic," interest on behalf of the church's mission was expressed in a number of theological and ethical monographs, ultimately summarized his theology in a three-volume *Dogmatik* (1946–1960), which is representative of neoorthodox thinking. He emphasized that for sinners who are living in contradiction to their true being, truth comes in the personal encounter with the Word of God that evokes the response of faith and new life in the church, which he considered to be a spiritual community rather than an institution.

Unlike Barth and Brunner, both of whom were in the Swiss Reformed tradition, Bultmann and Gogarten were German Lutherans who, ostensibly guided in their thinking by Luther and the apostle Paul, emphasized the nonobjective character of the revelatory event of faith. For Bultmann, whose *Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (1948–1953) sets forth a demythologized, or existentialist, interpretation of the New Testament, the event of faith produces a new self-understanding that enables the believer to live authentically in the present. Gogarten, who after World War II produced a number of significant books on the relation of Christian faith to secularism, proposed in his magnum opus, *Der Mensch zwischen Gott und Welt* (1952), that the Christian gospel itself leads to a secularizing of the world insofar as it depopulates the world of its "principalities and powers" and calls humans to assume the responsibility of ordering and caring for the world as mature sons and daughters of God.

Echoes of continental neoorthodoxy in Great Britain were strongest in Scotland, where John Baillie (1886–1960) entered into the debate between Barth and Brunner over natural theology in his book *Our Knowledge of God* (1939); his brother Donald M. Baillie (1887–1954) wrote a profound essay on incarnation and atonement, entitled *God Was in Christ* (1948), in which these doctrines were interpreted as "paradoxes of faith." In Swedish Lutheranism, neoorthodoxy is represented by two studies: the seminal treatise of Anders Nygren (1890–1978), *Eros och Agape* (1930, 1936), in which Nygren stressed the radical difference between *agapē* as God's self-giving love and eros as human love fueled by desire; and the monograph of Gustaf Aulén (1879–1977), *Den kristna försoningstanken* (1930), translated as *Christus Victor*, which argued for the superiority of the classic view of the atonement held by Irenaeus and Luther over Latin and moral-influence theories.

Reinhold Niebuhr and his brother H. Richard Niebuhr (1894–1962), both Christian ethicists, led the neoorthodox battle against liberalism in the United States. Influenced by the Augustinian-Lutheran understanding of the profundity of sin, Reinhold Niebuhr probed the Christian understanding of humankind in his two volumes, *The Nature and Destiny of Man* (1941, 1943). His realism regarding sin, especially as it is manifested in the structures of society, plus his keen sense of God's action in history, made his writings significant for both church and political constituencies. H. Richard Niebuhr in his best-known book, *Christ and Culture* (1951), applied his knowledge of sociology and theology to illuminate the relationship between faith and culture. The thought of both Niebuhrs was enriched by their association with Tillich, who emigrated to America in 1933. In his three-volume *Systematic Theology* (1951–1963), Tillich attempted to correlate the questions raised in modern culture with the answers provided in the Christian tradition.

By the end of the 1950s the influence of neoorthodoxy had begun to wane. Critics questioned its sharp separation of sacred history from world history, its pronounced discontinuity between Christianity and humanity's secular experience, its seeming lack of interest in the historical Jesus, its tendency to collapse eschatology into Christology, its failure to address sufficiently the challenge of world religions, and the inadequacy of its answers to the ethical problems of a nuclear age. In spite of these questions, however, all subsequent theology has acknowledged its enormous indebtedness to neoorthodoxy, realizing that it can ignore the neoorthodox legacy only at its own peril.

SEE ALSO Barth, Karl; Brunner, Emil; Bultmann, Rudolf; Modernism, article on Christian Modernism; Niebuhr, Reinhold; Protestantism; Tillich, Paul Johannes.

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NEOPAGANISM. The term *Neopagan* covers a wide variety of traditions that include re-creations of ancient Celtic Druidism (a British organization of sun worshippers who gathered in sacred groves), Wicca or Witchcraft, ceremonial magic, and neoshamanism (revivals of ecstatic journeys into the spirit world in indigenous and pre-Christian cultures). Neopaganism's historical origins lie in nineteenth-century religious movements such as Theosophy, folk practices such as tarot and astrology, studies in folklore and anthropology, the theatrical rituals of an Edwardian occult group called the Order of the Golden Dawn, and the countercultural milieu of North America in the 1960s. Neopagans' images of god and goddess emerged from nineteenth-century British folklore and literature and were influenced by the armchair anthropology of scholars like Sir James Frazer (1854–1941), author of the sweeping *Golden Bough* (1890), and the mythology of Robert Graves (1895–1985), author of *The White Goddess* (1948). In Europe, contemporary pagan organizations usually claim a lineage that is ancient and unbroken, often tied to nationalism and ethnic pride. American, Canadian, British, and Australian "Neopagan" communities differ in that they have been influenced by feminist and environmentalist movements and are self-conscious revivals created to be egalitarian and individualistic.

HERITAGE. Neopagans tend to emphasize newness, creativity, imagination, and invention over tradition, creed, established doctrine, and institutionalized religion, but they also claim ancient traditions as their heritage. Neopaganism did not emerge directly from ancient pagan cultures, even though a few Neopagans would argue that their religion descended through the centuries from a pre-Christian goddess religion. According to scholarly consensus, there is no direct lineage from ancient goddess cultures to Neopaganism. Contemporary Pagans (*pagan* was originally a term that referred to non-Christians or country dwellers) are "neo" in the sense that they are revising and updating what they can learn from ancient traditions to meet the needs of modern people. They believe that, in some aspects of life, ancient cultures have much to teach contemporary people, such as respect for the earth and maintaining a balance between humans and nature. They search for alternatives to the gods they were raised with by looking to Asian and Native American religions, and they claim that spiritual beings from other cultures are more accessible to humans than the Western monotheistic god.

The various forms of Neopaganism share a desire to revive ancient pre-Christian nature religions. In the process of creating new religions in the cast of old ones, Neopagans borrow from Native American and other available religious cultures. They tend to be tolerant of eclectic uses of other cultures' myths and traditions, but borrowing from Native American religions has been more controversial. Some Neopagans, for instance, argue that "white people" should only borrow myths and deities from their "own" cultural heritage, such as Witchcraft or ancient Druidism of the British Isles. Druids, for instance, often learn ancient Celtic languages and focus on their roles as caretakers of the woods. Neopagans who are intrigued by specific ancient cultures look to Tibetan, Greek, West African, Roman, and Egyptian pantheons. They find ritual texts, usually in translation, and fashion their rituals after mythological stories, such as the descent of the goddess Persephone into the underworld. Neopagans dressed as Aphrodite and Dionysos put in appearances at

Neopagan festivals, and festival rituals encourage participants to explore divine archetypes from ancient pantheons of deities.

Witches, or "Wiccans," form the largest religious culture under the Neopagan umbrella and include, at one extreme, separatist feminist Witches who worship a great goddess in women-only covens, and at the other, traditional Gardnerian Witches who worship a god and a goddess together, claim to have the oldest lineage, and pass down their rituals from teachers to students who are instructed to perform them in exactly the same way. Gardnerian rituals emphasize the dual nature of divinity in the form of a paired god and goddess. An increasingly common kind of Witch is the man or woman who is an "eclectic Witch" or "Wiccan" and borrows from British traditional Witchcraft as well as from a variety of other religious cultures. Witches are sometimes trained and initiated through covens, but they are also self-taught or guided by correspondence courses and books, like Raymond Buckland's (1934–) *Complete Book of Witchcraft* (1986), which includes lists of ritual tools, directions for how to make ritual robes, simple explanations of Witchcraft's moral principles, and guidelines for basic rituals. Do-it-yourself Witchcraft has to some extent replaced traditional covens that included several levels of initiation. Another popular Neopagan title derived from traditional Wiccan teachings is the feminist Witch Starhawk's *The Spiral Dance* (1979), which encourages individuals to tailor their rituals to suit personal needs and preferences and includes sections on herbal charms, chants, blessings, spells, and myths.

Witches have only a few beliefs that almost all of them adhere to, and these include "The Witches Rede: An it harm none, do what you will" and "The Law of Threefold Effect," the belief that any action a person commits will return to that person threefold. These beliefs, or similar versions of them, are also held by other Neopagans, such as ceremonial magicians and Druids, who share Witchcraft's or Wicca's origins in early twentieth-century British magical groups.

Ceremonial magicians, another important community of Neopagans, are more likely to turn to late-nineteenth- and early twentieth-century occultists for inspiration, especially the writings of the British occultist Aleister Crowley (1875–1947) and the Order of the Golden Dawn (started in 1888), which included the Irish writer William Butler Yeats (1865–1939) among its members. Ceremonial magic also draws heavily on Qabbalah, a Jewish mystical tradition. Ceremonial magicians may blend these traditions with their own interests in religious cultures as diverse as Haitian vodou and Tibetan Buddhism, while others stay within the bounds of organizations like the Ordo Templi Orientis (OTO), which Crowley joined in 1912 and which involves lengthy study and specific rites of initiation. Where ceremonial magicians emphasize their Golden Dawn heritage, Witches identify with the work of the English civil servant Gerald Gardner (1884–1964), whose novel, *High Magic's Aid* (1949), and pseudo-anthropological study of a coven, *Witchcraft Today* (1954), are founding documents for contemporary Witchcraft that have influenced many other Neopagans as well.

Although organizations like the OTO and Gardnerian Witchcraft offer structured guidelines for their members and levels of initiation based on the secret societies of the Freemasons, many Neopagans choose to create their own spiritual practice by drawing on information from a rich array of teachers and traditions. Hierarchical structures were common in the earliest Neopagan groups and still characterize some contemporary Neopagan communities, but by the twenty-first century many ritual groups had become more loosely structured and egalitarian. Elders are still acknowledged for their wisdom and experience but not viewed as all-powerful. One of the ways in which American Neopagans adapt religious traditions of the past and other cultures is to make them more democratic and inclusive, and this is particularly evident in the new rituals they create.

RITUALS. Ritual is the touchstone of Neopagan religious identity and community. Neopagans honor the cycles of nature with rituals at new and full moons and on eight seasonal festivals, including the solstices and equinoxes. Regular rituals are often held in small groups for any number of purposes, including healing and personal spiritual growth. Rituals are usually held in circles and are facilitated by ritual leaders, who explain the purpose of the ritual, invite deities or spirits to be present, monitor the group's energy, and end the ritual in such a way that everyone returns to a normal state of consciousness. Ritual spaces are generally oriented in relation to the four cardinal directions and feature altars that hold statues of deities and symbols of water, air, fire, and earth. Neopagans also periodically hold rituals to mark life passages, including death rites, baby blessings, and marriage vows. Rituals and festivals held as seasonal celebrations include retellings of ancient myths, theater, ritual performances, music, feasting, and storytelling.

Because of their interest in bringing back the past, Neopagans perform Egyptian rites based on ancient texts, dress like Renaissance mages, and engage in Yoruba divination, replicating the original as best they can. In 1993 large numbers of Neopagans attended a festival in Nashville, Tennessee, to honor the goddess Athena, whose statue there is the largest indoor statue in the Western world (according to a report in the Neopagan magazine *Green Egg).* The reconstructed ancient Greek games included a ritual to pay tribute to Athena. Rites of Spring, a Neopagan gathering that is held annually in western Massachusetts, hosts a "Medieval Feast," during which medieval music is played and festivalgoers are served by "wenches" dressed in period costumes. Some men and women have become Neopagans as a result of their interest in historical reenactment and are involved with the Society for Creative Anachronism (SCA), a medieval reenactment society. Historical re-creation and science fiction, especially Robert Heinlein's (1907–1988) *Stranger in a Strange Land* (1961), contribute to the colorful aesthetics of Neopagan rituals and gatherings.

CONNECTION TO NATURE. Because of their close identification of deity with nature, Neopagans often travel from cities and towns to worship in the woods and to establish nature sanctuaries to honor their gods. Several Neopagan organizations have established retreats and sanctuaries, where stone altars and ritual circles are constructed in the woods to facilitate interactions between Neopagans and the natural world. Circle Sanctuary in southwestern Wisconsin is a prominent Neopagan organization that in the 1980s bought land specifically set aside for the enjoyment of the Neopagan community as a retreat and sanctuary from the outside world. Gatherings and other ritual events held at the sanctuary include caring for the land, planting flowers, and learning about local edible plants and the healing properties of herbs. Lothlorien in southern Indiana was also established as a Neopagan retreat and, like Circle, is open to people of all faiths as long as they are tolerant of others. Named after the novelist J. R. R. Tolkien's land of the elves, the Neopagan Lothlorien is envisioned as a magical place, where spiritual beings are free to roam, and it is accessible to humans who treat the land properly. Nature sanctuaries are one way that Neopagans put their religious ideas into practice, because these sites are set up to facilitate ongoing relationships among humans, spiritual beings, and nature.

BELIEFS. Neopagans create rituals and establish nature sanctuaries to provide what they see as much-needed alternatives to other available religious options. They believe their special role is not to maintain tradition, though there may be some who try to do this, but rather to change self and society. They practice "magic" with the understanding that it means changing consciousness in accordance with will, thus taking charge of their lives instead of relying on institutional religions. Because they begin with the assumption that the self is sacred or divine, Neopagans place the responsibility for change with each individual. Even when social and political structures are seen to need changing, the self and not the institution is the agent and locus of change.

Many Neopagans see the self as flawed and the world in which they live as desperately in need of transformation, but their approaches to cultural change vary. According to some Neopagan authors, destructive ways of relating to each other, ongoing interpersonal and global violence, and environmental devastation are some of the ills that need to be addressed as personal healing takes place. That said, it is important to point out that such beliefs do not necessarily lead to social and political activism in Neopagan communities. Neopagans participate in a range of activist activities. On one end of the spectrum is the entirely private pursuit of transformation, in which one consults information in books and on the Internet for guidance. At the other end is involvement with public protest actions, such as the Neopagans who marched as a "living river" at the World Bank meeting protests in Ottawa in 2001 and a group of Witches that gave an "earth-based blessing" when they joined other religious groups at the School of Americas Protest in Columbus, Georgia, that same month. Some Neopagans publicly challenge the American status quo, while others focus inward on personal changes. In contrast, some Neopagans are not pacifists or countercultural activists but instead feel comfortable serving in the military.

Regardless of their political preferences, Neopagans generally have a tendency to privilege internal over external authority and experience over belief. They focus on self-exploration as the best route to truth and knowledge. The explosion of information available on the Internet and in bookstores makes it seem unnecessary to rely on religious elders, though they are still sought out for their ritual experience, charismatic presence, and detailed knowledge of specific traditions. The process of self-exploration through techniques that shift one's consciousness, such as meditation and visualization, is similar across the diverse forms of Neopaganism. Neopagan religious practices are flexible and can be personalized to fit individual needs. This is in part because of how Neopagans understand the relationship between human and divine. Starhawk, for example, teaches that the goddess who guides human beings dwells in the earth and in the world all around. According to her view, the goddess looks at "each of us unique and natural as a snowflake, each of us her own star, her Child, her lover, her beloved, her Self" (Starhawk, 1979, p. 29). This belief, commonly echoed by other Neopagans, is that the self has all the necessary resources for spiritual advancement and that the divine is within as well as without. It is this view that, in part, accounts for the diversity of religious identities among Neopagans.

Neopagan beliefs and practices highlight the centrality of the relationship between humans and nature. An important element of Neopagan theology is the belief in immanence, the idea that divinity permeates the world and runs through other humans, the earth, and all living beings. For some Neopagans, divine power is personified by a great goddess or the planet Gaia, and for others divinity is polytheistic—assorted deities are available to help and teach humans. They may be seen as spirits or gods and goddesses representing the forces of nature or anthropomorphized into archetypes that represent particular aspects of human personality, such as the "wild man" or the "trickster." Neopagans are likely to reject monotheistic understandings of deity, except for those who worship one great goddess or remain nominally Christian or Jewish and believe in one god. Deities are typically identified with forces of nature—the earth goddess Gaia is one example—and the four elements—earth, air, water, and fire—are almost always invoked in Neopagan rituals. Another popular Neopagan deity is the god Pan, who emerged as an archetype in mid-twentieth-century Britain and was incorporated into the magical subculture in the form of a "horned god," paired with a goddess derived from Artemis and other Greek deities. Many Neopagans continue to interact with the god and goddess, while others have returned to Pan in his Greek form. Morning Glory Zell, a Neopagan elder and representative of the Church of All Worlds, explains in her article "Pan" that "our word *panthe-*

ism is derived from that idea, that all Nature is God and that God is all Nature" (Zell, 1994, p. 13).

Neopagans enjoy intimate and highly personalized relationships with spiritual beings. They frequently make contact with the spirit world or another level of reality and communicate with deities through home altars and group rituals. Spiritual beings are approached for help with everyday concerns, like finding jobs and lovers, as well as more generally for spiritual growth and global healing. Neopagans assert that their spirituality is based on experience and a direct relationship with deities. Images of deities are gateways to an experience of other realities, and meditating on them is meant to transport the meditator into another state of consciousness or onto the "astral" plane, an unseen dimension of reality. Because Neopaganism is decentralized and has no founding text or teacher, participants vary greatly in how they understand their interactions with the gods and spirits. Spiritual beings can be images that "take you someplace" or friendly guides leading seekers on spiritual journeys, but what they have in common is being accessible to humans rather than distant.

The Internet has played an important role in popularizing Neopagan traditions and making them accessible to seekers everywhere. Websites for Neopagan organizations abound and are designed to guide the uninitiated to information on the strange religion they heard about in the news. The website of the Covenant of the Goddess, a national ecumenical Neopagan organization, includes resources for teenagers, families, and solitary practitioners as well as schedules of events taking place throughout the country. Websites for Neopagan communities like Circle Sanctuary and the Church of All Worlds have similar content, with the addition of resources on religious freedom and religious persecution, such as Circle's Lady Liberty League. Neopagan Internet discussions have been in existence since the early 1990s, a reflection of the disproportionate technoliteracy among Neopagans. Such groups remain one of the important ways that Neopagans, especially young Neopagans, stay in contact with others who share their spiritual concerns.

Most Neopagans believe in reincarnation (rebirth—the continuity of the soul through many lives) and karma (derived from the Hindu belief that the condition to which each soul is reborn is the result of good or bad actions performed in previous lives), and they look to past lives to help them understand the present. In order to heal wounds from the past and past lives and to live more fully in the present, some Neopagans engage in holistic healing practices, such as herbal therapies, aura cleansing, psychic healing, and massage and other types of body work. Healing practices tend to be focused on cleansing and purifying the self and healing old and new physical and emotional wounds. The goal of these practices is to usher in a more peaceful, tolerant, healthy, and spiritually enlightened society. They consult astrologers and tarot cards, the *I ching* (a type of Chinese divination), and other divinatory techniques for guidance in life choices and to further self-knowledge. They appropriate the spiritual riches of other religious cultures, including Tibetan, Hindu, Taoist, Buddhist, Egyptian, Native-American, and even some Christian beliefs and practices. They put statuettes of the Buddha or Hindu and Egyptian deities on their home altars alongside pentacles, candles, crystals, and goddess figurines. In these ways Neopagans attempt to synthesize new religious identities from the old and the new, drawing from tradition as well as the imagination.

SEE ALSO Wicca.

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SARAH M. PIKE (2005)

NEOPLATONISM is the Platonic philosophy interpreted by Plotinus (205–270 CE), systematized in his *Enneads* and further developed by others through the sixth century. From the first century BCE, the "divine Plato" had been revived as the supreme religious and theological guide by pagan Middle Platonists; simultaneously Neo-Pythagorean philosophers were active. Plotinus was receptive to both these theistic and apophatic (negative) schools. He liked the Middle Platonist teaching of the transcendence of a Supreme Mind and Being called *theos* (God) possessing the Platonic Forms as divine Ideas. These Ideas became the basis for kataphatic (positive) theology and a doctrine of divine providence for a later period, not for Plotinus.

Realizing that unity must always precede plurality, however, Plotinus taught that the First Principle of reality, the One, or Good, transcends being and thought and is ineffable, indefinable, thereby contradicting Middle Platonism. This theory, original with Plotinus, was repeated by his pagan successors, especially Iamblichus and Proclus, but not by Porphyry.

Conflict between Christians and pagan philosophers began in the second century with an anti-Christian treatise of the Platonist Celsus, to which the Christian theologian Origen responded in the third century; the opposition continued with Porphyry's fourth-century treatise *Against the Christians.* Yet Origen considered philosophy and Plato as natural defenders of some Christian doctrines. By openness to Greek culture but not to Classical Greek religion, the Cappadocian fathers who succeeded Origen fruitfully related Hellenism to Christianity, with increased ability to discuss Christianity with educated pagans.

The Neoplatonic One, or Good, was the object of religious aspiration. It was described as transcendent, infinite, overflowing goodness and spiritual freedom, and reachable through mystical experience. The One pours love (*eros*) into all souls, a love leading each soul, aided by intellectual and moral effort, to mystical union with their Source. The One is present everywhere, and whenever one turns within to identify with one's higher, true self, there is opportunity for a mystical union. Plotinus had frequent mystical experiences (IV.8.1). Neoplatonists separated their pagan philosophy from pagan worship, allowing intellectual Christians to be philosophically educated and yet remain orthodox believers. Nevertheless, one cannot assume that all borrowing between Christians and pagans came from the Christian side. Plotinus's teacher, Ammonius, was reputed to have once been a Christian. In the third century CE the goal of philosophy became more explicitly religious, but according to human reason. The philosopher's role was to guide his followers, without using religious myths and oracles as premises, to the experience of the divine. Christians thereby found in Neoplatonism a purer notion of God than was available in Classical Greek religion.

The *Enneads* present an ordered structure of living reality eternally proceeding from the One and descending in continuous stages from the Divine Intellect, with its living forms, intelligences, through Soul, ruling through World Soul to the forms of bodies, made from formless matter. No dualism here.

DEVELOPMENT OF NEOPLATONIC THEORIES. Post-Plotinian Neoplatonism developed in four stages, largely through modifying the Plotinian structure.

1. The first stage is the teaching of the disciples, Porphyry, Amelius, and Eustochius. Most influential was Porphyry (c. 234–c. 305), who taught a more monistic philosophy than that of Plotinus by conflating the hypostases into a unity of being, life, intelligence, thus departing from Plotinian subordinationism.
2. The fourth-century Syrian and Pergamene schools were influenced by the teaching of Iamblichus (d. 326) that theurgy (ritual magic), invoking demons rather than philosophizing, was the way to God. Iamblichus and followers rejected Plotinus's doctrine of the undescended part of the soul and stressed a need for divine help to reach the Intelligible World. Julian the Apostate (332–363) sought to downgrade Christianity when as a two-year sole Roman emperor he declared Iamblichus's version of Neoplatonism to be the State religion.
3. During the predominance of the fifth and sixth century Athenian school, Neoplatonism became the official teaching of Plato's Academy, the chief member being Proclus (410?–485), who continued pagan worship against imperial policy. For Proclus, theurgy, rather than philosophy, brought salvation to souls. The last head of the Academy when Justinian closed it in 529 was Damascius.
4. The Neoplatonism of the Athenian school was influential over the Alexandrian school (fifth and sixth centuries) of commentators on Plato's and Aristotle's psychology and logic. Both schools depended on Iamblichus. The Alexandrians, however, preferred philosophical scholarship to theurgy.

EARLY CHRISTIAN THOUGHT. Plotinus and the Christian Origen, who studied under Ammonius (Saccas), influenced the Cappadocian fathers—Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa—who saw Christianity and its mission as the fulfillment of Classical Greek education (*paideia*). Reading the Bible rather than classical Greek literature, they believed, would mold humankind into the form of Christ. Like Neoplatonists, the Eastern Church valued the material world as a theophany, or manifestation of the divine.

Proclus influenced the fifth-century thinker known under the name of the apostle Paul's first Athenian convert, Dionysius the Areopagite, as well as Michael Psellus (1018–1078?), who stimulated the eleventh-century Byzantine renaissance. At the Council of Florence (1438), called to unite Eastern and Western churches, George Plethon (1360–1450), from the Platonic school at Mistra, inspired Cosimo de' Medici to open a Platonic academy in Florence. Its head, Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), translated Platonic dialogues and the *Enneads* into Latin and wrote commentaries to harmonize Platonic and Chaldean traditions with Christianity. Some scholars consider the Renaissance to have been more Neoplatonic than Platonic, with Aristotle also influential. After the fall of Constantinople (1453), the literary tradition of the Byzantine East was brought to Italy by Greek scholars. The Christian humanism of Erasmus is rooted in the theology of the Greek fathers.

ISLAMIC NEOPLATONISM. The Alexandrian School, moving to Antioch in 720 CE and to Baghdad in 900, was active with commentaries on Plato and Aristotle. The Arabic interpretation of these two thinkers was affected by two works, purported to be by Aristotle but actually based on the writings of Plotinus and Proclus. The so-called *Theology of Aristotle* was mainly composed of extracts of *Enneads* IV–VI; the *Liber de causis,* attributed to Aristotle, reproduced parts of Proclus's *Elements of Theology.* Accepting the two pseudo works of Aristotle as authentic led the Arabic philosophers to interpret Neoplatonically the actual texts of Aristotle. They interpreted Aristotle's First Principle as an efficient as well as final cause of the world. This helped Muslims to harmonize philosophy with the Qurʾān. Later, under the influence of Ibn Rushd (Averroës), some Muslim philosophers separated philosophy from religion, holding that one could contradict the other. This is the so-called double-truth theory.

NEOPLATONISM IN THE MIDDLE AGES. Marius Victorinus (fourth century) in his work on the Trinity against the Arian heresy conflated the Porphyrian triad of Being, Life, Intelligence into Absolute Being at rest and in motion, expressed infinitively as *to einai* (Esse) (To Be), a triad discoverable in the *Sentences* of Porphyry and in the anonymous *Commentary on the Parmenides,* considered by Pierre Hadot (*Porphyre et Victorinus,* 1968) to be authored by Porphyry. Both the *Sentences* and the Parmenides *Commentary* were influenced by the *Chaldaean Oracles* as well as by Middle Platonism. Through Victorinus's translation of some Neoplatonic works (Plotinus/Porphyry) into Latin, Augustine became aware of the spirituality of human souls and of God, thus freeing him from Manichaean materialism. Some Porphyrian positions on the divine triad and on the body-soul union impressed Augustine. In the *City of God* Augustine seems to take Porphyry's version of Neoplatonism as the empire's main pagan philosophy. Boethius was familiar with texts of both Victorinus and of Proclus.

Until Plato's dialogues *Meno* and *Phaedo* were translated into Latin in the twelth century, the western medieval world had a Middle Platonic view of Platonism, their awareness of Platonism coming only from Chalcidius's fourth-century commentary on the *Timaeus,* greatly influenced by Numenius. An indirect influence of Neoplatonism upon medieval thought came through Augustine, Dionysius the Areopagite, and Boethius.

In medieval Jewish thought, Neoplatonism is evident in the Qabbalah and in the teachings of Shelomoh ibn Gebirol (Avicebron) (1021–1058), who developed Plotinus's views on intelligible matter. Maimonides (1135/8–1204) accepted Neoplatonic negative theology while remaining predominantly Aristotelian.

Only in the twelth century also did the West recover the complete Aristotle through translations of the Arabic texts into Latin. But among these texts was the *Theology of Aristotle* (*Enneads*) and *Liber de causis* (Proclus's), attributed by the Arabs to Aristotle. In translating Aristotle's texts, these translators would assume a harmony between them and these two pseudo-texts. Therefore, in the thirteenth century William of Moerbeke translated from the original Greek Aristotle's works. But he also translated Proclus's *Elements of Theology* and his commentaries on the *Parmenides* and *Timaeus.* These translations enabled Thomas Aquinas to identify the *Liber de causis* as non-Aristotelian. This freed Aristotle from the Neoplatonic additions and interpretations of the Muslims. Neoplatonism reached Thomas Aquinas chiefly through Augustine, Dionysius, Boethius, and Proclus. Meister Eckhart (c.1260–1327) embraced Neoplatonism, as indicated by his distinction between God and the unknowable godhead as well as by his doctrine of the uncreated element in the soul. Also influenced by Neoplatonism and Dionysius were the other Rhineland mystics, Tauler (c. l300–1361) and Suso (1295–1366), as were Nicholas of Cusa and Giordano Bruno.

NEOPLATONISM IN MODERN THOUGHT. Neoplatonism may be lurking in the background of Descartes's philosophy of consciousness, although Plotinus made room for a subconscious and superconscious activity as more significant than ordinary consciousness. Neoplatonism is present in the Cambridge Platonists, Henry More (1614–1687) and Ralph Cudworth (1617–1688), as well as in Berkeley's *Siris.* It is detectable in Spenser, Coleridge, Blake, and Yeats. It is evident in Spinoza's monism and in Leibniz's monadism. In the nineteenth century Schelling learned from Plotinus, and Hegel from Proclus. In the twentieth century Bergson attempted the reconciliation of Plotinus's philosophy of soul with modern science.

Only in the nineteenth century was Plato recognized for his authentic thought and clearly distinguished from Plotinus and his followers who were henceforth called Neoplatonists. Neoplatonism was the first philosophical theology based on religious experience. Although it gave mixed messages regarding the value of the body and the material world, its cosmic religion—the veneration of star-gods—entailed respect for the sensible world. Neoplatonism benefited religion by adocating interiority, negative theology, and both God's transcendence and immanence as ground for mystical experience. Christians and Jews freely borrowed Neoplatonic principles to express revealed truths, those accessible to reason. This made possible dialogue with educated nonbelievers. The presence of an intellectual Greek culture in the empire gave to Christian teaching, expressed in contemporary philosophical concepts, some universality. Christians saw human wisdom as God's own natural revelation before divine Revelation through the Law and the prophets and the teachings of Christ.

Christianity was not Hellenized, but with divine Revelation guiding the choice of Greek concepts, Christianity, at first a Jewish sect, became a world religion. Christians respected the Greek classical tradition, as did the Romans. Through the Christian classicists of the fourth century, such as Augustine in the West and the Cappadocians in the East, classical culture and literature survived and was made available to the future. Philosophy was enriched by Neoplatonic reasoning, but philosophy as a human activity was without saving power. Neither does it even claim to give positive knowledge of an ineffable God. But since "faith seeks understanding," philosophy, and especially Neoplatonic philosophy, contributes greatly to that understanding.

SEE ALSO Plotinus.

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MARY T. CLARK (1987 AND 2005)

NERGAL was a Mesopotamian god of the underworld. *Nergal* (properly, *Nerigal)* is a phonetic rendering of the Sumerian *Enirigal(a)* ("lord of the big city [i.e., the underworld]"). Nergal was also called Meslamtaea ("one who comes out of the Meslam [temple]"). His consort was Ereshkigal ("queen of the big place [i.e., the underworld]"). How he came to be king of the underworld is described in the Akkadian myth *Nergal and Ereshkigal.* His cultic center was Cuthah, in central Babylonia, where his consort was Laz (Akk., *la asu,* "no exit [i.e., the underworld]"), also called Mamma, Mammi, and Mammitum. Because of the complete identity of Nergal with Cuthah, that city's name became synonymous with the underworld.

The myth of *Nergal and Ereshkigal* is preserved in three versions, the first coming from Tell El-Amarna, with two later versions from Sultantepe and Uruk. The story of how Nergal became the husband of Ereshkigal begins with the decision of the heavenly gods to hold a banquet and to send their messenger Kaka to the underworld, so that Ereshkigal (for whom it is impossible to go up to heaven, just as it is impossible for the heavenly gods to descend to the underworld) can receive her due portion of the banquet foods. Kaka makes the journey, presents himself to the gatekeeper, and asks him to open the gate. The latter welcomes him, lets him pass through the seven gates of the underworld, and takes him to see Ereshkigal. Kaka bows before the queen of the underworld and passes on the message he has been given.

Ereshkigal is given greetings from the heavenly gods, and Kaka tells her that the gods of the heavenly pantheon are well. After these conventional greetings the queen of the underworld appoints Namtar to go to heaven to retrieve her portion of the food. After a lacuna in the text, the god Ea severely chastises Nergal for being disrespectful to the messenger from the underworld by not bowing down before him like all the other gods. After another lacuna, we are told Nergal's reply, which is unfortunately fragmentary, but which seems to concern a plan by which Nergal must descend to the underworld, where he would "split his divine character in two." Ea agrees that Nergal should go to the kingdom of Ereshkigal, and advises Nergal not to enter the underworld with hostile intent, but to go to the forest beforehand and cut down various kinds of wood to make a throne to offer to the gods Anu, Ningizzida, and Ea himself. Nergal carries out the orders, builds a throne, and decorates it green, gold, and yellow. Not satisfied with this, Ea further advises Nergal to accept nothing that is offered to him in the underworld, no throne, no food, and no drink, but above all not to look lustfully upon Ereshkigal.

After a gap in the text, there is a description of Nergal's journey to the underworld, which is portrayed as a dark, terrifying place. When he arrives, the gatekeeper makes Nergal wait while he gets instructions. Despite the fragmentary state of the text it is clear that Ereshkigal directs Namtar to identify the newcomer; Namtar looks at the god and recognizes that it is the same one who had offended him. For the first time, Namtar calls the newcomer *Erra* rather than *Nergal*, and speaks about him not in the singular but the plural. Expressing unease, Ereshkigal orders Namtar to let "the gods Erra" enter. Erra passes through the seven gates of the underworld, then comes into the presence of Ereshkigal, immediately bowing down before her. Following his greeting, she offers him a throne, as well as food and drink, and finally, after taking a bath, she shows him her beautiful body. Mindful of Ea's advice, Erra refuses the various offers and does not allow himself to be seduced by the beauty of the goddess.

The next passage is fragmentary and difficult to reconstruct. When the text becomes readable again, the situation is completely reversed: Nergal/Erra gives in to the seductions of Ereshkigal and lies with her for six days. On the seventh day the god tells his lover that he wants to return to heaven for a short time, much to her disappointment. After he has decided upon this course of action, Nergal/Erra goes to the gates of the underworld and gains his freedom through trickery. He returns to heaven, where the gods ask Ea to give him a deformed body, so that Ereshkigal, who will certainly look for him, will be unable to recognize him.

Meanwhile Ereshkigal, unaware that her lover has fled, orders that her house be cleaned in preparation for the wedding, by which the "imprisoned" god will be given a specific role in the underworld. Namtar informs her that all these preparations are pointless because the god from heaven left her realm at dawn. Ereshkigal is in complete despair and laments at length for the love she has lost and the outrage she has suffered. She then orders Namtar to go to heaven and bring back her lover, and furthermore to convey to the gods of heaven the threat that, if this does not happen, she will open the gates of the underworld and let the dead emerge and overrun the earth.

When Namtar enters heaven for the second time, he is welcomed by Ea and the gods bow down before him, but he is unable to identify the sacrilegious god from those present. Namtar returns to the queen and tells her of a strange, bald, cross-eyed, deformed god amongst the divine assembly. Ereshkigal realizes that this is a trick by Ea and sends her herald to seize and bring back the deformed god. The previous scene is repeated: Namtar looks at the gods, one by one, but without success. Meanwhile, Nergal/Erra tries to persuade Ea to have Namtar drink divine water and clean his body, obviously intending to make him one of the heavenly gods.

After another lacuna the text resumes with a conversation between Nergal/Erra and Namtar, from which we learn that the fate of the heavenly god is sealed and he must return to the underworld. Ea apparently chooses the talismans that the god should take with him. Nergal/Erra descends the long stairway of heaven and requests entrance to the underworld, but at each gate the gatekeeper takes a talisman from the visitor. As soon as the god arrives in the presence of Ereshkigal, he smiles at her, then he pulls her from the throne and lies with her again for six days, just as he did during the first visit. On the seventh day, the heavenly gods realize that Nergal/Erra is inextricably bound to the underworld, and An summons his envoy and sends him to Ereshkigal with a message that seems to confirm the new arrangement for the future.

Based upon careful study of two versions of the story, Silvia Maria Chiodi (1998) draws the conclusion that Nergal never actually enters the underworld, but rather his twin brother Erra does so. When the god from heaven goes back to the underworld for the second time, Namtar carefully examines the newcomer, and at this point the scribe inserts a very important piece of information. The god whom Namtar is looking at is not called Nergal, as might be expected, but Erra: "Namtar went and from behind the gate he looked at Erra." Namtar becomes as pale as a tamarisk cutting when he sees Erra, the god who had offended him and had not bowed down before him when he visited heaven. Namtar then rushes to Ereshkigal and reveals the newcomer's identity with these words: "The gods who offended me, now went down to the land of no return."

The use of the plural in reference to Erra in the Uruk version is problematic. This is not an error, however, but probably a device to allow the audience to understand that a god, who is in fact a double, is crossing the threshold of the underworld. In other words, Nergal, in order to try and escape the laws of the underworld, was split in two and became "the Erra," even if he apparently remains a single being. Furthermore, the name that the writer chooses for the god is interesting. He could easily have said that the "gods Nergal" were crossing the threshold of the underworld, but instead prefers, at this precise point in the story, to change the name, as if he wanted to indicate further the change in the status of the god. Besides, if Erra were simply a synonym for Nergal, it would be hard to understand why the person responsible for the myth should swap the two names at this critical moment of the narrative. The Uruk editor uses the plural at this point as well, which fits what was stated previously when he described "the gods" who turned up in the underworld: "now *they* went down to the land of no return."

SEE ALSO Heaven and Hell; Mesopotamian Religions, overview article; Underworld.

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Translated from Italian by Paul Ellis

NERSĒS OF CLA

NERSĒS OF CLA (1101–1173), also known as Nersēs Clayatsi and Shnorhali; theologian, catholicos, and saint of the Armenian church. Born in the province of Tlouk‘ in Cilician Armenia (the central part of southern Turkey), Nersēs lost his father at an early age. Together with his elder brother Grigor, he was entrusted to the guardianship of his maternal granduncle, the catholicos Grigor II Vekayaser who commended them to the Monastery of Shoughri. Grigor's successor then placed them under the tutelage of the monk Stepanos Manouk, a renowned scholar and theologian.

Ordained a celibate priest when he was seventeen years old, Nersēs was consecrated a bishop at the age of thirty-five. He then served his church and nation in numerous capacities, including contributing to the establishment of peace in Cilician Armenia. Endowed with a keen mind and a Christian spirit, he became the architect in developing intercommunion and reconciliation between the Armenian and the Greek churches. Following the death of his brother, the catholicos Grigor, Nersēs was consecrated catholicos of the Armenian church in 1166. He died in 1173 and was buried in Hromcla.

Nersēs is considered one of the great literary figures in the ecclesiastical history of the Armenian church. He composed prayers, liturgical songs, and chants, sometimes written acrostically (consisting of thirty-six verses after the order of the Armenian alphabet or according to the alphabetical arrangement that spells his name). Uniquely impressive is Nersēs's prayer, Havatov Khosdovaneem (I Confess with Faith), currently available in thirty-six languages. Chief among his literary achievements is *Vipasanoutyoun,* a novel in poetic form; *Voghb Yedesyo* (Lamentation of Edessa); and commentaries on the first five chapters of the *Gospel of Matthew,* Gregory of Nyssa's discourse *On Evil,* and the discourse of the Neoplatonist Armenian philosopher David the Invincible. Also renowned is *Toukht Enthanrakan,* an exhortation on Christian behavior and a treatise on pastoral theology. It also supplies information concerning the hierarchy of the Armenian church, the stratification of society, and the manner of life in twelfth-century Cilician Armenia.

Nersēs always struggled to maintain the autocephalicity of the Armenian church, defining the important issues facing church unity in eight letters to the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Comnenus (c. 1122–1180). Nersēs remarked that unity cannot come by imposing royal force but through love, tolerance, and humility, thus indirectly warning the Byzantines not to impose their Chalcedonian faith on other churches. He saw the truths of Christianity in the unity of its parts, since no single church may consider the Christian faith its sole possession. His approach regarding unity was slowly finding adherents when his death halted the progress of further negotiations.

Nersēs dominated the thought and orientation of the Armenian church in twelfth-century Cilician Armenia, thus crowning its silver age in literary achievements. In due time, Nersēs received the appellation Shnorhali ("grace-filled") in recognition of his deep Christian faith and accomplishments.

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NERSĒS THE GREAT,

a saint of the Armenian church and chief bishop of Armenia from circa 353 to 373. During his youth Nersēs was brought up and educated in Caesarea Mazaca (modern-day Kayseri, Turkey). He was married and served as a chamberlain in the court of King Arshak II of Armenia. Because the office of bishop of Armenia was the patrimony of the family of Gregory the Illuminator, Nersēs's great-great-grandfather, Nersēs was chosen chief bishop and returned to Caesarea to receive episcopal ordination from the metropolitan bishop of that city. He called a council of bishops at Ashtishat, where his see was located. The council established general discipline in the Armenian church and set rules and regulations. At Nersēs's urging, provisions were made to found hospices for the sick, to open schools, to build hospitals, and to establish other benevolent institutions.

The fifth-century sagas of P'awstos Buzand refer to a rift between Nersēs and King Arshak that brought about the downfall of the bishop. The reason for the conflict is said to have been the immoral conduct of the king, who had his Greek wife poisoned and his nephew killed, and then married the latter's wife. The actual reason for the rift, however, was probably political. Nersēs represented the pro-Byzantine faction in Armenia. He had headed a delegation to Constantinople in the mid-fourth century and had reinforced the alliance between the Byzantine empire and his sovereign, who remained faithful to the empire until the treaty of 363, when the emperor Jovian agreed not to interfere in the internal affairs of Armenia and left the country exposed to the Persians. Nersēs was forced to abdicate from his office and was immediately replaced by another bishop, who was probably the candidate of the pro-Persian faction in Armenia. Nersēs reappeared as chief bishop circa 370, when the Byzantines succeeded in restoring the kingdom of Armenia and placed Pap, son of Arshak II, on the throne. During his second tenure of office, Nersēs participated in a council of bishops held at Caesarea in 372. He came into conflict with King Pap, presumably because of the latter's Arian leanings. The king is said to have poisoned Nersēs. This detail, however, is not supported by most sources. Nersēs probably died from natural causes.

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NESTORIAN CHURCH.

The proper name of the church that is called Nestorian or Assyrian is the Ancient Church of the East. *Nestorian* is an appellation dating from the fifth century and *Assyrian* from the nineteenth. By *East* is meant those ancient territories lying east of the former Byzantine empire comprising modern-day Iraq, Persia, and the southeastern part of Turkey. These territories had their religious center at Edessa (Orhoi in Syriac), known as Urfa in present-day Turkey. Edessa was the capital of a small Syriac-Aramaic principality ruled by Syriac toparchs (rulers or princes), known also as Abgarites. According to the *Doctrine of Addai*, a late fourth-century church document attributed to Thaddaeus (known in Aramaic as Addai, one of the seventy evangelists and the twin of the apostle Thomas), Thaddaeus, following the Resurrection and at the behest of Christ, went to Edessa and healed its toparch, Abgar V (d. 50 CE). Thaddaeus stayed to preach the gospel, made converts, and ordained his disciple, ʿAggai, a bishop. He then journeyed to and preached the gospel in Mesopotamia, southern Turkey, Iraq, and southwestern Persia.

By the second century, Christianity had spread throughout the East, from Najran in southwestern Arabia, through southern Turkey and Iraq, to southwestern Persia. In the third century, Christianity also spread to the island of Socotra in the Indian Ocean and to Riyordashīr, the capital of Fars in extreme southern Persia, as well as to the Sasanid capital of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, where the bishopric was founded under Phafa. By the latter part of the fifth century, the bishops of Seleucia-Ctesiphon (by that time followers of Nestorius) were claiming that the see had been established by Thaddaeus and his disciple Mari.

The bishop (metropolitan) of Seleucia-Ctesiphon was recognized as being under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Antioch. At a synod convened in 410 by Marutha of Miya-farqin, who was sent by the emperor and the patriarch, the metropolitan of Seleucia-Ctesiphon was made a catholicos (a church position higher than a metropolitan and lower than a patriarch). Given the authority to ordain bishops in the name of the patriarch of Antioch, and using his new powers to advantage, the catholicos was able to bring under his jurisdiction all the dioceses in the East except the metropolitan see of Riyordashīr. This see remained independent until the ninth century when Catholicos Timothy I (d. 823) brought it under his aegis after offering its metropolitan some special privileges.

Meanwhile, under the Sasanid kings Shāpūr II (309–379) and his brother Ardashīr II (379–383) the Ancient Church of the East suffered persecution and martyrdom because of its ties to the Byzantines whom the Persians considered enemies. Persecution continued sporadically until the conquest of Persia by the Arabs in the first part of the seventh century.

In the first half of the fifth century the Church of the East was rocked by a theological controversy so serious that it resulted in schism. This was the so-called Nestorian controversy. Nestorius, a Syrian by origin, became patriarch of Constantinople in 428. Fully developing the theological implications of the school of Antioch, he taught that Jesus Christ had two distinct natures: divine and human. Nestorius was condemned at the Council of Ephesus in 431 but his teaching spread, and by 451 most of the eastern part of the Church of the East had become "Nestorian," rejecting the Council of Ephesus. By 451 the Nestorians were almost completely cut off from the rest of the patriarchate of Antioch, and Nestorians controlled the see of Seleucia-Ctesiphon.

Between 484 and 486 Bishop Bar Sauma convened several councils that issued new canons for the foundation of the new Nestorian church. Those bishops in the East who did not accept Nestorian teachings met in 487 and ordained Accacius as their catholicos. However, through threats and coercion by Bar Sauma and his group, Accacius yielded to the Nestorians. What gave added strength to the Nestorians in the East is that many students of the celebrated school of Edessa became Nestorian partisans. When the emperor Zeno, in retaliation, closed it in 489, many of these Nestorian students left for Persia, where they spread their beliefs under the protection of the Persian state. Thus, the Church of the East came also to be known as the Persian church. By 498, at the Council of Seleucia, the Nestorians severed forever their ties with the patriarchate of Antioch.

After the Arab conquest of Iraq in the beginning of the seventh century, the Nestorians, like other Christians, became *dhimmīs* under the protection of the Muslims. Under the Abbasid caliphs (750–1258) the Nestorians enjoyed relative peace, and in 762 their catholicoi moved their see to Baghdad, the Abbasid capital. In Baghdad, the Nestorians were the first to promote Greek science and philosophy by translating Greek texts into Syriac and then into Arabic. They were highly favored by the caliphs and were the first to introduce Greek medicine into Baghdad.

Although the Nestorians were generally favored, there were times when they, like other Christians, were persecuted or humiliated by the caliphs. The Nestorian church generally prospered until the fall of Baghdad to the Mongols in 1258, when the widespread disruption in the Middle East drained its vitality. The Nestorian catholicoi left Baghdad and settled in northern Iraq (Kurdistan) in the vicinity of Mosul and Alqosh.

The most detrimental effect of the Muslim conquest on the Nestorian church in the countries lying between Persia and China was that its missionary activity, begun among the Mongols, Turks, and Chinese, was cut off. Eventually the early blossom of Christianity in China died. The inscriptions in both Syriac and Chinese on the stone at Chou-chih, fifty miles southwest of Sian Prefecture, China, containing a long list of Nestorian clergymen, is evidence of the expansion of the Nestorian church in China. Nestorianism also reached the coast of Malabar in South India and made converts among the Christians there. The new converts used the Syriac liturgy and honored the memory of Nestorius and Theodore of Mopsuestia. From 1599 to 1663 they were reconverted to Roman Catholicism through the efforts of Jesuit missionaries. Many however returned to Nestorianism when the power and influence of the Portuguese empire began to fade.

In the fifteenth century the small Nestorian community on the island of Cyprus joined the church of Rome. Power struggles within the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the mother Nestorian church also caused large segments of it to join Rome. The struggle in the East began in 1450 when the catholicos, Shimon Baṣīdi, restricted the election of future catholicoi to men of his own family. This interdiction continued for the next hundred years. After the death of the catholicos in 1551, a group of Nestorians who opposed his successor met in Mosul and chose a monk, Yūḥanna (John) Sūlāqa, to send to Rome to be ordained. Arriving in Rome, Sūlāqa professed the Roman Catholic faith before Pope Julius III, who ordained him a bishop and then a catholicos in April 1553. It is most likely that it was Julius who gave the name *Chaldean* (in reference to ancient Chaldea) to Sūlāqa and his followers; thus was born the "Chaldean" church. Sūlāqa returned to Diyarbakır, Turkey, where he made few converts. He was assassinated by the Kurdish chief of ʿAmadiyya, allegedly at the instigation of his rival, Shimon Bār Māma. Several catholicoi served at Diyarbakır, not all of whom were ordained by popes and whose loyalty to Rome was dubious.

About this time, a Nestorian bishop, Shimon Dinbah, united his congregation with Rome, and the Chaldeans made him their catholicos. He moved his seat from Diyarbakır to Urmia in northern Persia where many Nestorians lived. In 1670 one of his successors renounced the church of Rome, returned to Nestorianism, and was accepted as catholicos by the Nestorian catholicoi, one in Urmia and the other in Alqosh.

In the middle of the eighteenth century a Nestorian bishop, Mar Yūsuf (Joseph) of Diyarbakır, joined the church of Rome and was ordained by the pope as a successor to the line of Sūlāqa as catholicos of the Chaldeans in Diyarbakır. In 1778 a Nestorian bishop, Yūḥanna (John) Hormizd, embraced Roman Catholicism and began to contend for the office of catholicos with his cousin, Mar Eliyya XI of Alqosh. Rome could not ordain Hormizd catholicos of the Chaldean community because Mar Yūsuf was already catholicos in Diyarbakır. When Yūsuf died in 1779, Rome entrusted the Chaldean church to his nephew, Augustine Hindi. Finally, after long waiting and through the machinations of Roman Catholic missionaries, Hormizd was confirmed by Pope Pius VIII as the catholicos of the Chaldean community. By then most of the Nestorians of the plains of Mosul had become Roman Catholics. Since then, the Nestorian community has retreated into the mountains of Kurdistan.

Since 1820 the Protestant churches in the West have taken a rather special interest in the Nestorian communities of the East. The American Presbyterian church became the first to organize missions among them when, in 1830, the Presbyterian Board of Missions sent the first missionaries. The mission headquarters were located in Urmia, where there were doctors as well as a printing press.

The Church of England became involved with the Nestorians when in 1842, George P. Badger, chaplain of the East India Company, was sent to Iraq. He wrote two volumes (published in 1852) on the Nestorians and their church. The interest of the Church of England continued until after World War I and the establishment of the national government of Iraq (1921).

For more than a hundred years (1830–1933), the Nestorian community in Kurdistan and Iraq suffered continuous tragedies. Being Christians they were always prey to Kurdish chieftains, who plundered their villages. The activity and existence of Western missionaries among the Nestorians most probably motivated the Kurds and their patrons, the Ottomans, to agitate against them.

The outbreak of World War I saw the Nestorians hopeful of an eventual Allied victory. This happy consequence would certainly alleviate the persecution aimed at them by both Kurds and Ottomans. Encouraged by the Russian advance into eastern Turkey in 1915, the Nestorians revolted against the Turks and assisted the Russians. But when the Bolshevik revolution erupted and Russia withdrew from the war in 1917, they were in great danger. Consequently, about twenty thousand Nestorians struggled to reach the British lines in Iraq to avoid reprisal by Kurds and Ottomans. With fear of reprisal haunting the rest of the Nestorians of Urmia, in the summer of 1918 some hundred thousand of them attempted to reach the Kermānshāh-Qazvīn region, which was then under British occupation. Less than half made it through; the rest were rounded up and settled by the British authorities in the mountains of northern Iraq.

As a result of their association with the British, the Nestorians ("Assyrians") developed nationalistic feelings. They asserted that the northern part of Iraq, the ancient land of Athur, was their ancestral and rightful home. They fostered the hope of an independent Assyrian state in Iraq. This dream was probably encouraged by minor British army officers, and, in 1919, a group of Assyrians, including many from the United States, submitted a petition to the peace conference in Paris outlining their nationalistic aspirations. There was no response.

After the establishment of national rule in Iraq in 1921, the Iraqi government granted autonomy in internal and religious affairs to the Nestorian community (in northern Iraq) led by their catholicos, Mar Ishā Shimon XXI. But Mar Shimon, barely thirteen years old, was ill advised by members of his household and demanded complete independence from Iraq on the premise that northern Iraq was the ancestral land of the Assyrians. This demand was not acceptable to either Iraq or Britain. The Iraqi government tried to dissuade Mar Shimon from acting as if he were head of a state within a state but failed. Finally, in 1933 it notified the Assyrians either to behave as Iraqi citizens or leave. About a thousand Assyrians decided to leave and crossed the Euphrates into Syria, which was occupied by the French. The French authorities turned them back, where they faced an Iraqi army force. A stray shot was fired, and the Iraqi army used the occasion to massacre most of the Nestorian contingent. Subsequently, Mar Shimon was stripped of his Iraqi nationality and deported to Cyprus. From Cyprus he went to England, and then to the United States, where he became an American citizen.

In 1973 Mar Shimon resigned because of a conflict with his community over his violation of some church rules. After his death in 1975, he was succeeded by Mar Ḥānania Dinkha IV, who was installed in London in 1976 as catholicos patriarch of the Assyrian Church of the East. The Assyrian community, which numbered about 500,000 in 1980, still has many members living in Iraq and Iran, but their greatest concentration is in the United States, especially in Chicago, Illinois. This latter group is mostly composed of immigrants who left Iraq after 1933 and their descendants.

The Nestorian church in the latter part of the twentieth century forms the extreme eastern branch of the Syriac-speaking church of Antioch. Its liturgical language is Syriac-Aramaic with a distinct dialect and script. It recognizes only the first two ecumenical councils and rejects the Council of Ephesus, which condemned Nestorius. Its rite is the Old Eastern Syriac rite, and it has three main liturgies: those of the evangelist Thaddaeus and his disciple Mari, of Nestorius, and of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Other liturgies, such as those of Bar Sauma, Narsai, and Diodore of Tarsus, are presumed lost. The liturgy begins with the practical making and baking of the bread for communion but does not contain the words of institution. The communion is given in both elements, bread and wine. The hierarchy consists of the catholicos, also called patriarch, who always takes the name Mar Shimon. Under him come the metropolitans, bishops, priests, and deacons. The church is essentially iconoclastic, although the Cross is revered. Through the vicissitudes of time, schism, persecution, and apostasy, this once grand church of the East has been reduced to a tiny community, living for the most part in a Western diaspora. It has become a member of the World Council of Churches.

SEE ALSO Christianity, article on Christianity in Asia; Nestorianism; Nestorius; Theodore of Mopsuestia.

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NESTORIANISM

NESTORIANISM is a doctrinal position on the nature of Jesus Christ. In its extreme form the doctrine has been condemned by Christian councils, but the ideas associated with Nestorianism have come to represent one of the two main traditions of Christological thought in Christianity and have been ably defended and articulated by successive generations of Christian thinkers. The name goes back to Nestorius, a patriarch of Constantinople in the early fifth century who was deposed at the Council of Ephesus in 431 and exiled to Egypt in 436. Nestorius was not, however, an original thinker, and the theological views that came to be associated with his name had arisen late in the fourth century among Christian thinkers in eastern Asia Minor and Syria (in the vicinity of ancient Antioch), notably Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia. The distinctive features of Nestorianism can be made clear by contrasting it with another tradition of thought associated with the city of Alexandria in Egypt.

After the councils of Nicaea (325) and Constantinople (381), the majority of Christians affirmed that Christ was fully God and was one with God the Father, creator of the world. The question then arose of the relation between this divine Son of God, the eternal Logos, and the human person Jesus of Nazareth who lived in the first century and is portrayed in the Gospels of the New Testament. The Alexandrian theologians, led by Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444), taught that Jesus Christ was the eternal Logos under the conditions of humanity. All the actions predicated of Jesus (e.g., human birth, growth in wisdom, suffering, and death) were predicated of the divine Logos as well. The Antiochene theologians (the forerunners of Nestorianism) believed that Jesus Christ was the result of a union between the divine Son of God and the man Jesus. They explained this union by analogy with the Jewish prophets, outstanding men on whom the spirit of God descended, except that in the case of Christ, God indwelt as in a Son, and the union between God and the Son was inseparable and perfect.

In the early fifth century these two ways of thinking, Alexandrian and Antiochene, clashed over the issue of whether Mary was *theotokos,* the one who gave birth to God, or *christotokos,* the bearer of Christ. After Nestorius became bishop of Constantinople, one of his priests, without Nestorius's objection, criticized the concept of *theotokos* as theologically erroneous. He urged the use of the term *christotokos*, which conformed to the Antiochene way of thinking of Mary as having given birth to the man Jesus, not to the eternal son of God. The term *theotokos*, however, had begun to be used by Christians and had the sanction of recent tradition. To Cyril of Alexandria, as well as to the bishop of Rome, denial of the concept of *theotokos* implied that Mary was not the Mother of God, and hence that God had not become human in the birth of Jesus Christ and that Mary was simply the mother of an exceptional man. Nestorius appeared to teach that there were two persons in Christ, the man Jesus and the divine Son of God. A flurry of theological polemics and political maneuvering ensued. In 430 Celestine, bishop of Rome, condemned Nestorius, and a year later Cyril presided over the Council of Ephesus, which also anathematized him. Emperor Theodosius supported the decision.

Nestorius's writings survive only in fragments, except for an obscure work, *Bazaar of Heracleides*, discovered in 1895 in a Syriac translation from the original Greek. Nestorius wrote the *Bazaar* some years after the controversy as a defense against the charges of his opponents.

Nestorianism, however, is not to be identified with the teaching of Nestorius, though he is venerated by the Nestorian church (i.e., the church of eastern Syria and Persia). Nestorius's supporters thought that their views were vindicated by the Council of Chalcedon in 451. During the course of the fifth century, they constituted themselves as an independent Christian body, with a school in Edessa under the leadership of Ibas, bishop of Edessa (435–457) and an ecclesiastical center and see of the patriarch (who is called *catholicos*) at Seleucia-Ctesiphon on the Tigris River. A small body of Nestorians has survived into modern times.

Under the leadership of distinguished theologians such as Babai the Great (d. 628), the Nestorians forged an alternative to the way of thinking about Christ that had become normative for most Christians in the East and West. They believed that the dominance of the Alexandrian tradition, with its stress on Christ's unity with God, jeopardized the integrity of his human nature. One of their favorite biblical texts was *Luke* 2:52, "Jesus increased in wisdom and in stature, and in favor with God and man," a passage that is extremely difficult to interpret if one does not allow genuine human growth in Jesus. Other texts came from passages in *Hebrews* (2:10, 3:1–2) that suggest that Jesus had become perfect by what he had accomplished as a human being. Long after the ancient disputes a systematic presentation of Nestorian theology was written by Abdisa (d. 1318), metropolitan of Nisibis, in *The Book of the Pearl.*

SEE ALSO Nestorian Church; Nestorius.

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ROBERT L. WILKEN (1987)

NESTORIUS (381?–451?), Christian bishop after whom was named one of the major heresies concerning the doctrine of Christ. The figure of Nestorius is much less significant than the teachings associated with his name and the theological developments after his deposition. He was born in Germanicia in Cilicia, a Roman province in southeastern Asia Minor (modern-day Turkey). In the Syrian city of Antioch, he distinguished himself by his asceticism and skill in preaching. When the clergy of the capital city of Constantinople could not agree on a replacement for the patriarch Sisinnius, the emperor invited Nestorius to accept the post. As bishop he was zealous in stamping out heresy, particularly Arianism and Novatianism. He soon became embroiled in controversy, however, initially because of the preaching of his assistant Anastasius, a presbyter he had brought with him from Syria, but later through his own lack of judgment.

Nestorius criticized the term *theotokos* ("God bearer"), a slogan for the idea that Mary, in giving birth to Jesus Christ, had given birth to God. He preferred *christotokos* ("bearer of Christ," i.e., the human being Jesus Christ). Since the term *theotokos* had become a sign of orthodox teaching, Nestorius's imprudence made him vulnerable to the charge of heresy, as his opponents swiftly recognized. Cyril of Alexandria, the ambitious patriarch of a rival see and the exponent of the theological ideas behind the concept of *theotokos*, obtained copies of Nestorius's sermons and initiated proceedings against him.

Nestorius was deposed, and in 436, after spending several years in a monastery in Constantinople, he was exiled to Egypt, where he remained for the rest of his life. He lived until the Council of Chalcedon (451), which he and others saw as a vindication of his views and a repudiation of Cyril. Nestorius was not, however, rehabilitated. His name has been associated with the view that there are two separate persons in Christ, the one divine and the other human (orthodox teaching is that there were two "natures"), but his theological contribution is insignificant. Of his writings a few sermons remain, as well as some fragments from theological works and an amorphous and difficult book, *Bazaar of Heracleides*, a defense of his views written long after the controversy and discovered in 1895 in a Syriac translation from the original Greek. He is revered by the Nestorian church, and his tomb in Egypt was venerated by his followers for centuries.

SEE ALSO Nestorian Church; Nestorianism.

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NETHERWORLD See UNDERWORLD

NETS See WEBS AND NETS

NEUMANN, ERICH (1905–1960), German-Israeli analytical psychologist and writer. Neumann's upbringing in Berlin was Jewish but not orthodox; he was influenced, nevertheless, by Hasidism, in response perhaps to his strong mystical leaning. Long before the rise of Hitler, Neumann was drawn to the Zionist ideal of the renewal of Jewish life in Palestine. At the University of Erlangen, he earned his Ph.D. degree with a dissertation on J. A. Kanne, a mystical philosopher of the time of the Enlightenment who, although a Christian, had been deeply influenced by Jewish esoteric thought. In his youth Neumann wrote a novel, *Der Anfang* (The Beginning), a story of self-fulfillment, which was partially published in 1932. He also wrote poetry and literary essays, notably on Franz Kafka and biblical themes.

Neumann's growing interest in psychology led to his choice of profession; he started medical training and completed his studies in 1933, but Nazi restrictions blocked his qualifying as a physician. In 1958, however, the University of Hamburg awarded Neumann an M.D. degree *in absentia*, having accepted his book *Die Ursprungsgeschichte des Bewussteins* (1949, translated as *The Origins and History of Consciousness*, 1954) as his thesis. Neumann opted for immigration to Palestine in 1934, pausing on the way in Zurich for a period of analysis and study with C. G. Jung. Gerhard Adler has written: "Here, in Jung's approach, he found the dynamic focus of his various interests and gifts. Analytical psychology provided the instrument that helped him to translate his creative insight into practical work with other people, and for them" (preface to Neumann's *Creative Man: Five Essays*, 1979, p. xiii).

In Palestine, Neumann devoted himself to building a practice and to pursuing studies that, after the enforced isolation of World War II, brought forth an enormous burst of creative work. He revisited Europe only in 1947, for a family holiday in Ascona, Switzerland, where he had two crucial encounters—with Olga Froebe-Kapteyn, the director of the Eranos Conferences, and with John D. Barrett, the editor of the Bollingen Series. Neumann lectured the following year at Eranos on "mystical man" and at each of the conferences thereafter as keynote speaker. His last lecture there was delivered in 1960, shortly before his death. In 1948 he was awarded a Bollingen Foundation fellowship, which continued for twelve years and supported his copious literary activity.

The Origins and History of Consciousness aims to illustrate archetypal stages in the development of human consciousness by interpreting basic mythologems drawn from several religious traditions. Neumann argues that individual consciousness passes through the same developmental stages that mark the history of human consciousness. Published in the same year, *Tiefenpsychologie und neue Ethik* (1949, translated as *Depth Psychology and a New Ethic*, 1969) demonstrates the impact that the idea of psychological wholeness had made on Neumann, on whom self-realization seemed to impose a new ethical outlook and an obligation beyond conventional ethical concepts. The book aroused controversy; Jung commented, "If Neumann recommends the 'inner voice' as the criterion of ethical behavior instead of the Christian conscience . . . [he] stands on the best footing with very many Christian mystics" (*Letters*, vol. 1, 1973, p. 519). *The Great Mother* (1955), a study of the archetypal feminine, is based on images from numerous cultures that were collected in Froebe-Kapteyn's Eranos Archive. Feminine psychology here becomes a focus of Neumann's interest, vying for priority with the psychology of creative art. Both concerns are effectively blended in *The Archetypal World of Henry Moore* (1959). In his later years, essays, lectures, seminars, and analytical training preoccupied Neumann, and he produced no more longer works.

When an illness he had was diagnosed as terminal in October 1960, Neumann returned from London to Israel, where he died a month later, leaving many projects unfinished. In Gerhard Adler's words, "Neumann was the one truly creative spirit among the second generation of Jung's pupils, the only one who seemed destined to build on Jung's work and to continue it" (preface to Neumann's *Creative Man: Five Essays*, 1979, p. xv).

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WILLIAM MCGUIRE (1987)
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NEUROSCIENCE AND RELIGION

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
NEUROEPISTEMOLOGY
NEUROTHEOLOGY

NEUROSCIENCE AND RELIGION: AN OVERVIEW

Neuroscience is the study of the nervous system, including the brain, spinal cord, and peripheral systems. As a discipline, it reached maturity only in the twentieth century. Developments in brain-scanning technologies, in particular, have revolutionized neuroscience, and it can only be expected that the existing and growing body of literature will continue to expand. As neuroscience develops, its findings are increasingly seen to have implications for religious worldviews and the study of religion.

HISTORY. Awareness of the nervous system and its role in the human body dates back at least to the Roman physician Galen (third century BCE), who understood movement to be controlled by the nerve cords extending through the body. By the end of the eighteenth century, the major anatomical features of the brain were known, as well as the central relationship of mind and brain. This knowledge was most famously reflected in the work of René Descartes (1596–1650), who understood the motions of the body to be controlled by mechanistic animal spirits originating from the brain, connected to the nonmaterial mind through the pineal gland.

It was not until the mid- to late nineteenth century that neuroscience began to emerge as a separate discipline, thanks to new experimental techniques and the increasing refinement of the microscope. It came to be realized that the central building block of the brain and nervous system was the neuron, a kind of cell that appeared designed to communicate by electrical impulses. In addition, studies in functional neuroanatomy had begun to associate specific forms of brain damage with specific kinds of mental deficits. Paul Broca (1824–1880), for instance, showed that damage to a region in the left hemisphere of the brain (now known as Broca's area) resulted in the inability to produce speech. Findings of this kind were capitalized on for dubious purposes, most notably the pseudo-science of phrenology, but the work of Broca and his colleagues has since been well substantiated.

Despite these advances, neuroscience did not truly become established until after World War II. This progress was made possible, in part, by the large number of war casualties, who made ideal test subjects for neuroscientists studying the relationship between brain and thought. The period of the 1950s through the 1970s was one of tremendous growth, particularly in the area of functional neuroanatomy and in the understanding of the basic functioning of the neuron. By the 1980s these findings began to come together to make a coherent whole. This process was abetted by the use of computational models for understanding the brain and mind and by the use of new scanning technologies (most notably magnetic resonance imaging, or MRI) that allowed images of living brains and, eventually, imaging of the brain in action, enabling neuroscientists to see what areas of the brain become active during specified tasks.

For most of this history, religion has rarely been the subject of theorizing by neuroscientists, but this is not to say that there were no interactions between neuroscience and religion. Descartes's mechanistic understanding of the brain and body can be understood to fall within the context of a larger, religious worldview. The important discoveries about the nervous system made by Hermann von Helmholtz (1821–1894)—showing, among other things, that it takes time for nerve signals to communicate over distances—were driven by his materialistic convictions. Furthermore, two of the twentieth century's most famous psychologists of religion, Sigmund Freud and William James, both had significant exposure to the advances in neuroscience in their day. Religious beliefs (or the lack of them) thus played an important background role in shaping the field of neuroscience, while the findings of neuroscience (real or putative) were sometimes used to justify positions about religion.

CURRENT CHARACTER OF NEUROSCIENCE. Knowledge of the brain and how it works grew enormously in the second half of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, so much so that the U.S. Congress designated the 1990s as the "decade of the brain" to commemorate and further brain research. It is now estimated that the brain is composed of approximately 100 billion nerve cells. In turn, each nerve cell is typically connected to 3,000 to 10,000 other nerve cells, and it has been suggested that there are on the order of 100 trillion such connections. It is important to note the staggering complexity that this implies: that there are more neuron connections than there are stars in the Milky Way Galaxy. Neurons communicate by sending electronic impulses facilitated by chemical reactions that are still not fully understood. Chemicals known as neurotransmitters play an essential role in this communication. Imbalances in neurotransmitter production and uptake play important roles in some forms of mental illness (such as schizophrenia, Parkinson's disease, and depression) and altered states of consciousness (due, for instance, to drug use).

Much of the functional organization of the brain has been mapped out. It is now known that, for most individuals, the majority of language processing occurs in the left hemisphere of the brain. Visual processing occurs in the occipital lobe in the rear, motor control is centered along the midline of the brain, and complex rational thought seems to be concentrated in the frontal and prefrontal cortexes immediately behind the forehead. Emotional responses seem to be controlled by a collection of brain structures known as the limbic system. In many cases the correspondence between a specific behavioral ability and the specific area of the brain responsible for it has been mapped out in considerable detail. When damage to an area of the brain occurs, the corresponding ability is lost, sometimes permanently and sometimes with counterintuitive results. Prosopognosia (the inability to recognize faces) is the result of one such instance of brain damage. People with this condition are unable to tell one face from another, even though they may recognize people by other means (e.g., by the sound of their voice or the clothes that they are wearing).

It has become common among some scientists to compare the mind and brain to a computer. Though this metaphor has proven useful in some ways, it is also exceedingly misleading in others. Individual neurons function somewhat analogously to the individual logic gates of a computer chip, but there is no central processor as is typical on modern desktop computers. A closer analogy has been computers that utilize decentralized parallel distributed processing (PDP) or neural networks, and it has been shown that individual neuronal groups are capable of such processing. However, the analogy between brains and computers has been a contentious one, with some neuroscientists utilizing computational metaphors and others strongly denying any such link.

Among recent areas of development, three may be seen as particularly important. First, a growing body of research has helped to reveal the centrality of emotion in brain processing and cognition. Research by Antonio Damasio (1994) has shown that rational thought and emotion are not completely distinct from one another, and to think rationally one must have a proper repertoire of emotional responses as well. This has contributed to a move away from thinking of the brain as simply a computer-like thinking machine. Second, research in brain development is helping to show how the brain comes to organize itself in relation to its environment. The brain goes through dramatic changes in the early periods of childhood, and there is good evidence that the brain continues to change in subtle ways throughout a person's life. The prefrontal cortex (responsible for reasoning) continues in its development through late adolescence. Increasing knowledge of genetics is also beginning to illuminate the ways in which specific genes influence brain development, suggesting the potential for providing links between assemblies of genes and specific human behaviors. Furthermore, individual neurons have been shown to be exceedingly plastic, changing their receptivity to communication from and to other neurons throughout one's life. Third, some research has indicated the possibility of brain-machine interfaces in the not-so-distant future. Magnetic fields, for instance, can be used to stimulate specific areas of the brain, either for research or therapeutic purposes (to alleviate depression, for instance). Work with rhesus monkeys has shown that a machine interface can be used to control a mechanical device by a thought command alone, suggesting help for individuals with physical disabilities but also raising questions about the relationship of human beings and machines.

NEUROSCIENCE, THE MIND-BODY RELATION, AND PERSONHOOD. There are a number of ways in which neuroscience might be said to relate to or have an impact on religious traditions and religious thinking. The most obvious concerns the relationship of mind to body. Religious beliefs about the nature and relation of the mind and the body have been varied and complex. In the earliest forms of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, the tendency was to think of persons as wholes, distinguishing between body and spirit but maintaining their essential unity. As a result, these traditions looked forward to a resurrection of the dead that united (or reunited) spirit and body. Later thought, especially in the Christian tradition, was profoundly influenced by Platonism, with the result that emphasis was placed on the survival of an immortal soul separate from the body. This distinction was accentuated by later Christian philosophers and theologians, most notably Réne Descartes. Other religious traditions have subscribed to quite variant understandings of the human person and mind-body relationship. Hinduism speaks of the *ātman*, or self, but sometimes in quite different ways than the monotheistic traditions (as is most obviously reflected in the Upanishads and the Advaita Vedanta tradition). Buddhism has historically subscribed to a doctrine of *anātman*, or no-self, and so has traditionally denied the existence of a soul in any straightforward sense.

As a science, neuroscience does not address the broader question of mind and body, although its findings can be said to have consequences for particular religious views. Neuroscience does seem to rule out any straightforward account of mind-body dualism. Damage to the brain leads to loss of cognitive function, often in fairly predictable ways. Such potential damage is not limited to motor functions, but can also affect higher-order thinking and emotional response. Brain damage or alteration of brain chemistry can lead sometimes to rather profound alterations of personality. It should be noted that this damage affects not simply the behavior of the individual but one's subjective experience as well. Someone who suffers a stroke and is afflicted with temporary aphasia (the inability to speak) because of brain damage is not simply prevented from speaking the words. When recovered, they will testify they were unable to even think of the words (or think in words) while having the disability. With a few, early, and prominent exceptions (most notably Wilder Penfield and John Eccles, two of the more famous neuroscientists of the twentieth century), few neuroscientists now count themselves dualists, and most would argue that mind and body are intimately linked.

It is important to note, however, that neuroscientists remain perplexed by the phenomenon of consciousness. Beginning in the late 1980s, neuroscientists began to consider consciousness as a legitimate subject of inquiry. Most efforts at explanation have been devoted to the function of consciousness rather than its very nature. Philosopher David Chalmers (1997) has usefully distinguished between the "easy problems" of consciousness and the "hard problem." The easy problems deals with cognitive functions associated with consciousness (such as attention, bodily representation, and the ability to think about one's thoughts and so be self-conscious), but they do not tell us why there is a subjective quality to consciousness at all. This latter question, to date, remains better suited to philosophy than science, and it may be permanently so.

Beyond the mind-body relationship, neuroscience may be seen to have repercussions for more general understandings of personhood. Research into the physical factors linked to specific behaviors and personality, particularly when tied to advances in developmental biology and behavioral genetics, stand to have fairly profound implications for doctrines of free will and the meaning and nature of personal transformation. The advent of subtle, personality-altering drugs such as Prozac and the increasing trend toward diagnosing and using drugs to treat personality variants such as attention deficit disorder (ADD) reveals the complex relationship of person, biology, and environment in ways that have implications for religious doctrines of health and happiness. Such implications have, to date, led to little in the way of religious reflection, but will become increasingly important in the coming decades.

NEUROSCIENCE AND RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE. A recent area of neuroscientific exploration has been the nature of religious experience itself and its possible roots in the brain. There has been a long tradition of scientific speculation on the nature of religious experience. For much of its history, when neuroscience has on rare occasion turned its attention to the topic of religious experience, the tendency has been to associate it with one or another form of mental illness. William James, for instance, chided medical materialists (as he called them) for attempting to reduce religious experience to mental illness. One early favorite candidate has been temporal lobe epilepsy, which has been known to produce in some individuals profound religious experiences prior to the onset of seizures. The Russian novelist Fyodor Dostoevsky is probably the most famous example of this phenomenon. Knowledge of such instances has been used by some neuroscientists (Robert Persinger in 1987, for example) as a general explanation for religious experience. Research by V. S. Ramachandran (Ramachandran and Blakeslee, 1998) has shown this to be unlikely, however, as religious individuals with no epilepsy seem to respond differently in tests using religious imagery than individuals with temporal lobe epilepsy.

Beginning in the 1990s, some neuroscientists turned their attention to Buddhist meditation as a subject of research. Meditation has proven to be a congenial subject of research because it is largely stationary, predictable, and has a base of willing test subjects. The primary concern of this research has been to link meditational states with heightened or lowered activity in specific regions of the brain. Research done by Eugene D'Aquili and Andrew Newberg (1999) has shown that such meditation consistently correlates with heightened activity in some areas of the brain (the prefrontal cortex, for instance) and lowered activity in others (most specifically areas in the parietal lobes associated with spatial orientation). D'Aquili and Newberg theorize that it is the alteration of these brain states that leads to the particular experiences (e.g., a sense of unity and a loss of distinction between self and other) that meditation is traditionally said to give rise to.

There are deep divides as to how to interpret such research. Some argue that studies that correlate brain states with religious experiences show that these religious experiences are not real, i.e., religious experiences are nothing but a form of brain dysfunction or even mental illness with no basis in any kind of higher reality. On this account, religious experience is necessarily illusory in character, and such research can be taken as evidence for a more general reductive account of religion. D'Aquili and Newberg, however, have argued that their research shows that religious experience is part of the normal functioning of the brain and should not be characterized as a form of mental illness, as has often been the case in psychology. They also argue that the implications of such research are not reductive. Rather, they claim, it should be admitted that the realities such brain states reveal are just as real as those of ordinary experience, and so one should not be privileged over the other.

Some important limitations of these studies should be noted. To date, the studies done have been small, involving few subjects, thus raising the probability of error or variant results in further trials. In addition, it is important to note that meditational practices vary from tradition to tradition, and what holds true for one form of meditational practice may not hold true for all. Furthermore, it would be a mistake to suppose that religious experiences arising from meditation can simply and straightforwardly be used as a model for explaining all religious experiences. Religious experience is diverse and complex, and there are likely multiple factors involved.

NEUROSCIENCE, UNIQUENESS, AND DIGNITY. Issues of uniqueness and human dignity may also be raised by neuroscience and its related fields. Evidence reveals that human beings evolved from ape-like ancestors approximately six million years ago. There is now a significant amount of fossil data with which to construct key aspects of this evolutionary history, although the details remain contentious and ongoing discoveries have revealed the complexity of the evolutionary links. The evidence does show, however, a gradual rise in cranial size from very old fossils like *Australopithecus afarensis* (about five million years ago with brain size equivalent to that of a modern chimpanzee) to *Homo erectus* to *Homo sapiens.* Because the brains themselves are not preserved, brain development can only be inferred from the size and shape of the brain case and other physiological clues. One important issue has been determining when the brain reached its current state of development, with some suggesting that changes were still taking place as recently as 40,000 years ago (about the time that we see some of the first cave art).

Greater understanding of the minds and brains of other animals may also provoke religious reflection. Research with dolphins and apes (particularly chimpanzees and bonobos) in particular has shown sometimes surprising intellectual abilities. A dolphin brain is about the size of a human brain, although its different organization suggests that it would be a mistake to assume this to mean equivalent intellectual ability. Although their brains are smaller than ours, chimpanzees are capable of some symbolic communication and are capable of recognizing themselves in a mirror (an ability comparatively rare among animals), which has been taken to suggest some level of self-consciousness. Moreover, genetic studies indicate that chimpanzees share up to 98 percent or more of their genes with human beings.

The extent to which these findings will be important for religious belief will clearly vary from tradition to tradition. Monotheistic traditions have been much more inclined to insist on an absolute division between human beings and animals than, for instance, Hinduism and Buddhism. Distinctions are observed, however, even in these latter traditions. From a neuroscientific perspective, any claim of an absolute divide between human beings and animals would be difficult to support, especially when evolutionary histories are taken into account. Rather, it seems much more likely that a continuum exists, albeit one with important leaps along the way.

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NEUROSCIENCE AND RELIGION: NEUROEPISTEMOLOGY

Neuroepistemology is a relatively new discipline that considers questions of the theory of knowledge in terms of the structure and function of the brain. In order to consider neuroepistemology, it is necessary to review how the human brain organizes sensory input and how it "constructs" the subjective representation of reality that is called knowledge. The process by which the brain enables a perception of reality lies at the heart of neuroepistemology and provides a unique perspective for the scientific, philosophical, and theological evaluation of reality.

PRIMARY EPISTEMIC STATES. The various perceptions of reality can be grouped into several primary *epistemic states.* A primary epistemic state may be defined as the state in which a person has an experience and interpretation of reality. Such primary epistemic states can be considered along three neurocognitive dimensions: (1) sensory perceptions of objects or things that can be manifested as either multiple discrete things or a holistic union of all things; (2) cognitive relationships between objects or things that are either regular or irregular; and (3) emotional responses to the objects or things that are either positive, negative, or neutral. The emotional responses do not refer to the usual feelings of happiness, sadness, and so on, but to the overall emotional approach of a person to his or her reality. It is likely that one's overall affective response to reality is to a large degree set by the brain's limbic system, which includes such structures as the amygdala, hippocampus, and hypothalamus. Furthermore, scholars such as Antonio Damasio (1999) have suggested that emotional responses, even in relation to the body's perceptions, play a critical role in the human experience of reality. It is also important to mention that each of these parameters is set along a continuum. In other words, one's reality may be based primarily on multiple discrete objects, but it may also include some holistic attributes.

Based upon the dimensions described above, nine possible primary epistemic states that are internally consistent can be considered. These nine states should actually be considered a continuum of states with those mentioned below as nodal points along the continuum.

1. Multiple discrete reality—regular relationships—neutral affect
2. Multiple discrete reality—regular relationships—positive affect
3. Multiple discrete reality—regular relationships—negative affect
4. Multiple discrete reality—irregular relationships—neutral affect

5. Multiple discrete reality—irregular relationships—positive affect
6. Multiple discrete reality—irregular relationships—negative affect
7. Unitary being—neutral affect
8. Unitary being—positive affect
9. Unitary being—negative affect

Unitary being cannot be perceived as having either regular or irregular relationships since relationships can only be considered to exist between discrete independent things, and in unitary being there are no discrete independent things that can be related to each other. Furthermore, it might be argued that unitary being cannot be associated with affect until after an individual actually has the experience of unitary being. Thus, the final three states might ultimately be considered one; for the purposes of this entry, however, it will be helpful to maintain the symmetry of these states.

The first six primary epistemic states could all be considered to represent the experience of a reality with multiple discrete objects. In other words, a person in one of these states perceives individual and independent objects in that reality. These objects can be related to other objects in terms of time, space, causality, or many other possible relationships.

Neurophysiologically, there are specific brain structures that appear to underlie the ability to order reality along these different relationships. In particular, the parietal lobe, in conjunction with the temporal and frontal lobes, appears to play a critical role in the perception of spatial and temporal orientation, as well as the establishing of causal relationships between objects and events. The first three primary epistemic states refer to realities in which there are regular relationships between things. Thus, these relationships are logical and have a logical ordering. It may be said that these regular relationships are predictable and allow for a consistent understanding of reality.

Baseline reality. This regularity helps scientists understand what is typically called *reality* or *baseline reality.* Baseline reality generally carries a neutral affect and refers to that state in which there are discrete objects with regular relationships. This is the primary epistemic state that most people are in most of the time. Furthermore, few individuals would question the fundamental reality (or the sense of that reality) of the state that they are usually living within. It is precisely because this state appears certain while an individual is in it that it can be called a primary epistemic state. In fact, most people would consider this state to be the true reality, with nothing beyond this reality.

Cosmic consciousness. The second primary epistemic state is one in which there are discrete objects with regular relationships between objects, but an overwhelmingly positive affect. It is a state associated with an elated sense of being and joy, in which the universe is perceived to be fundamentally good. There is a sense of purposefulness to all things and to humankind's place within the universe. This purposefulness is not derived logically, it is simply intuited because of the positive emotional state. The onset of this state is usually sudden and is often described as a conversion experience, especially in religious thought. In psychiatric literature, Richard Bucke called this state "Cosmic Consciousness"; it is characterized by overwhelming happiness, comprehension, universal understanding, and love. Although this state may have a sudden onset, it can last for many years and even for the person's entire life. This state of Cosmic Consciousness is a primary epistemic state because the person perceives this understanding of the universe as fundamentally real (it is not an illusion) and sometimes will look with a sense of pity at those who have only the baseline perception of reality. People in this state are not psychotic, nor do they have any emotional or mental disorder. They perceive objects and relationships between objects in the universe in the same way as those in baseline reality. They simply have a different emotional understanding of this perception.

Negative reality. The third primary epistemic state is comprised of discrete objects with regular relationships, but it is associated with a profoundly negative affect. It is a state of exquisite sadness and futility, as well as the sense of the incredible smallness of humankind within the universe and the suffering inherent in the human condition. In this state, the universe may be understood as one vast pointless machine without purpose or meaning. In the full-blown state, people often seek psychiatric help because of the extreme depression associated with this state, even though they perceive this state to be fundamentally real. Essentially, they are asking to be taught to think in an "illusory" way so that they can survive. They are not asking to be restored to reality. As with Cosmic Consciousness, this overly negative state can last many years. However, people do revert back to baseline reality and anecdotal evidence suggests that reversion occurs more frequently from the negative state than from the positive state, perhaps because the negative state is in many ways incompatible with survival from a psychological perspective.

Irregular relationships. The next three states are associated with discrete objects and beings, but contain irregular relationships between the objects in that reality. Thus, the time, space, and causal relationships between various objects are distorted, bizarre, and unpredictable. Examples of this type of state include dreams, drug-induced states, and schizophrenia. Further, the state of irregular relationships can be associated with negative, positive, or neutral affect. For example, the experience of using LSD or other hallucinogenic drugs can either be incredibly elating or profoundly disturbing. Quite literally, these states can be described as either heaven or hell. Schizophrenia is similar in that the bizarre patterns of relationships between objects can be associated with negative, positive, or neutral emotion, and patients can suffer from both a mood disorder and psychotic symptoms. In these cases, the patient may be extraordinarily depressed while also experiencing delusions or hallucinations.

All of these states involving discrete being are perceived as real while the person is in them. Of course, once an individual lapses into another primary epistemic state, he or she recognizes the original state as an illusion, delusion, or hallucination. This judgment is consistent with the nature of primary epistemic states, for once a person has entered into a different primary state, they perceive the new state as real. It is the nature of a primary epistemic state to perceive that state as reality. A person would therefore necessarily understand what they remember from a drug experience or from a dream as an illusion or a distortion.

Unitary states. The final three states involve the experience of a totally unitary reality. There is no point in referring to regular or irregular relationships regarding the primary epistemic states of unitary being, since there are no discrete objects that can be related to each other. In unitary being there is no sense of individual objects, there is no self–other dichotomy, and everything is perceived as undifferentiated, unified oneness. Thus, the state of unitary being can be divided into three possible states that include positive, negative, or neutral affect. However, even these emotional perspectives can be considered only after the fact, since while an individual is actually in a unitary state, there theoretically can be no distinction between objects, including even emotions.

This unitary state has been studied to some degree using neuroimaging of individuals in meditation or prayer. The results of early studies appear to support the original neurophysiological model suggested by Eugene d'Aquili and Andrew Newberg (1993), in which the experience of unitary states may be associated with the deafferentation, or blocking of sensory input, into the areas of the brain typically responsible for the perception and ordering of reality. However, more studies will need to be performed to better differentiate the neurophysiological correlates of the primary epistemic states, including that of unitary being.

GOD AND THE WHOLE. The experience of reality associated with unitary being yields the subjective perception of absolute and total unity of being without a temporal dimension. Reality is perceived as "ultimate wholeness" without any admixture of fragmentation. When absolute unitary and atemporal being is perceived as suffused with positive affect after the fact, it is generally perceived as personal (d'Aquili, 1982). This perceived experience of unitary atemporal being is interpreted in most world religions as either a direct perception of God or as the *unio mystica* of the Christian tradition, which, though a manifestation of God, is not considered a revelation of God's innermost nature. The experience transcends any perception of multiple, discrete being, and the awareness of the subject-object difference is obliterated. The unitary experience is ineffable, but it is frequently interpreted (when experienced with strong positive affect) in terms that express a union with, or a direct experience of, God.

The experience of ultimate wholeness does not have to be theistically labeled. It can be understood philosophically (usually with neutral affective valence) as an experience of the absolute, the ultimate, or the transcendent. In the Buddhist tradition the experience (also with neutral affective valence) is interpreted as the "void," or *nirvāṇa*, and is generally expressed as impersonal. It is also theoretically possible to enter into a state of unitary being associated with negative affect. However, there are no references to this type of experience in any religious, philosophical, or psychological literature. It may be that such a state is not neurophysiologically possible. Perhaps it cannot come about because the experience of all things as an undifferentiated oneness is so powerfully positive and integrative that it cannot be perceived in negative terms. At worst (so to speak) unitary being can be perceived neutrally. It may be argued that such a state of unitary being with negative affect is incompatible with life, the brain, or the mind. Thus, until actual evidence can be brought forward to demonstrate the existence of this theoretical state, it must be assumed that it is just that, theoretical.

It is also interesting that the perception of the logical opposite of ultimate wholeness—that is, ultimate fragmentation—does not seem to be possible. For anything to be known at all, however chaotic it may be, some sense of wholeness or form must be perceived or imposed. The post hoc description of ultimate wholeness may be of an experience of a personal God or of a completely nonpersonal experience of total being, but in any case the experience is always interpreted as absolutely transcendent, or ultimate, or in some sense beyond ordinary experience.

Whether or not the phenomenon is interpreted as the experience of God or as the experience of a philosophical absolute tends to depend on the a priori conceptual frame of the individual having the experience. But there can be no doubt as to the reality of the unitary experience for those few who have had it; furthermore, these people are absolutely certain of the experience's objective reality. This experience, for those individuals, contains at least the same subjective conviction of reality as does the subjective conviction of the reality of the external world. Although it is true philosophically that we cannot prove the existence of the external world as perceived (or even of the external world at all) based upon a completely neuropsychological perspective, nonetheless each of us carries a subjective and pragmatic certainty of its existence. The experience of absolute unity carries to the subject the same, or perhaps even a greater, degree of certainty of its objective reality. Research indicates that this is true even in people whose orientation is materialist, reductionist, or atheistic prior to the experience of absolute unitary being.

As noted above, it seems likely from recent research that the experience of unitary being arises from the integrated functioning of several brain structures resulting in the deafferentation of orienting areas such as the parietal lobe. These parts of the brain may have evolved to yield such transcendent experiences, or perhaps such experiences are merely a byproduct of cortical machinery that evolved for other purposes. In any case, the experience of absolute unity can be described in terms of the evolution of the present structure and function of the central nervous system. An important point is that such an explanation, while legitimate from a scientific perspective, in no way alters the subjective sensation of the objective reality of the experience. So strong is this feeling of objective reality that, for most people, even a detailed neuroepistemological analysis does not alter the conviction that something objectively real has been experienced. For those few who have experienced both realities—the reality of the day-to-day world (and objective science) on one hand and the reality of transcendent unitary states on the other—the problem is not one of trying to decide which reality is real. These people feel that they know both are real. Rather, the problem is one of reconciling the two drastically different and seemingly contradictory perceptions of reality.

Several important neuroepistemological issues can now be considered: the meaning of what it is to know at all; the nature and consequence of the certainty of reality, however reality is perceived; and the neurophysiological limitations and constraints on knowing anything whatsoever. To consider the meaning of knowing is to be forced into the heart of subjective experience, of which objective reality is but a subset (and science but a subset of this subset). It is probably impossible to resolve the conflict between the two realities as experienced. Given the phenomenology of the experience, it is clearly impossible to undercut the certainty of the "absolute" in those people who have experienced it. Research indicates that they cannot be dissuaded from their conviction of the objective reality of absolute unity no matter how often the adaptive value of the transcendence-generating parts of the brain is pointed out to them. Science is a product of the everyday world, but the experience of an absolute unitary state is an experience of another world, and this world is essentially cut off from the world of discrete reality (unlike hallucinations and delusions, which are epistemically part of the world of discrete, transient being). It would seem, therefore, that the absolute unitary state, whatever its significance may be in post hoc religious description, has in itself an epistemological status equivalent to baseline everyday reality and, at least from a neuroepistemological perspective, must be dealt with accordingly.

UNITARY STATE VERSUS BASELINE REALITY. To simplify the issue somewhat, it is helpful to contrast the unitary state with baseline reality. In such an exercise there is no question that the unitary state wins out as being experienced as "more real." People who have experienced unitary being, and this includes some very learned and previously materialistically oriented scientists, regard such a state as being more fundamentally real than baseline reality. Even the memory of it is, for them, more fundamentally real. When individuals who have had this experience are interviewed, there is no doubt that it, and even the memory of it, carries a greater sense of fundamental reality than that generated by their experiences of day-to-day living.

To further clarify this point, compare four characteristics of baseline reality (coherent lucid consciousness) with the hyperlucid consciousness of unitary being (called *hyperlucid* here since it is perceived as more clear and more real than other primary epistemic states of reality). Baseline reality demonstrates the following four fundamental properties:

1. A strong sense of the reality of what is experienced.
2. Endurance of that reality through very long periods of time, usually only interrupted by sleeping.
3. The sense that when elements in baseline reality disappear from all forms of sensory detection, they have ceased to be.
4. High cross-subjective validation both for details of perception and core meaning (in other words, other people corroborate one's perceptions of the world—reality is a collective hunch).

The essential characteristics of hyperlucid unitary being are the following:

1. An extremely strong sense of reality, to the point of its being absolutely compelling under almost all circumstances.
2. Endurance for short periods of time relative to the sense of time of baseline reality.
3. A sense of its underlying persistence and continued existence even when the perception of the overall state has ended.
4. High cross-subjective validation for core perceptions; moderate to low cross-subjective validation for perceptual detail in those hyperlucid states where discrete being is perceived (as in near-death experiences).

It is probably impossible to determine whether the hyperlucid unitary state or baseline reality is more "real" (i.e., which state represents the ultimate objective reality without making gratuitous and unsubstantiated assumptions). Clearly, baseline reality has some significant claim to being ultimate reality. However, unitary being is so compelling that it is difficult to write off assertions of its reality. Actually, for individuals having experienced unitary being, it seems virtually impossible to negate that experience, no matter what level of education or sophistication such individuals may have. This being the case, it is a misguided reductionism to state that because hyperlucid unitary consciousness can be understood in terms of neuropsychological processes, it is therefore derivative from baseline reality. Indeed the reverse argument might just as well be made. Neuropsychology can give no answer as to which state is more real, baseline reality or hyperlucid unitary consciousness (often experienced as God). It may be most accurate to state that each is real in its own way and for its own adaptive ends.

The essential characteristic of different states of reality are eventually reducible only to the strength of the sense of reality, the *phantasia catalyptica* of the Stoics or the *Anwesenheit* (compelling presence) of certain modern German philosophers. A vivid sense of reality may be the only thing that can be used to help determine what is really real until someone discovers a method for going beyond the brain's perception of reality. This conclusion may not be epistemologically satisfying, but at this time all alternatives seem untenable.

Therefore, the brain can be conceived of as a machine that operates upon whatever it is that fundamental reality may be, and the brain produces, at the very least, two basic versions. One version is a world of discrete beings, usually baseline reality, and the other version is the perception of unitary being, usually experienced as God. Both perceptions are accompanied by a profound subjective certainty of their objective reality. Whatever is prior to the experience of either unitary being or the baseline reality of everyday life is in principal unknowable, since that which is in any way known must be translated, and in this sense transformed by the brain.

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NEUROSCIENCE AND RELIGION: NEUROTHEOLOGY

Neurotheology is an emerging field of study that seeks to integrate in some manner cognitive neuroscience with religion and theology. Its development as a field is attested to by significant interest in both the academic and lay population. Neurotheology is multidisciplinary in nature and includes the fields of theology, religious studies, religious experience, philosophy, cognitive science, neuroscience, psychology, and anthropology. Each may contribute to neurotheology, and conversely, neurotheology may ultimately contribute to each of these fields.

Individuals engaged in neurotheology can help develop theoretical models of the neurophysiological mechanisms of brain activity during religious and spiritual practices, such as meditation, prayer, or ritual. This analysis also includes the spiritual or religious experiences associated with such practices, as well as those that arise spontaneously, such as near-death experiences. The overall purpose of this area of neurotheology is to generate a substantial theoretical base from which to explore the other aspects of religious and spiritual phenomena. Models typically build upon both the known neuropsychological and neuroscientific literature to determine exactly how various brain structures function both individually and as an integrated whole. Models typically include not only general brain function but changes in a variety of neurotransmitter and hormonal systems. An analysis of various types of neuropsychiatric disorders, such as schizophrenia or temporal lobe epilepsy, as they relate to religious and spiritual phenomena, must also be considered as a way of helping to understand various aspects of religious experience. The work of Andrew Newberg and Eugene d'Aquili, for example, demonstrates one method for developing a complex integrated model in which various aspects of brain function are correlated with religious experiences. The brain structures that have already been shown to be involved in religious practices such as meditation or prayer include the frontal lobes (involved in attention focusing and emotional processing), the limbic system (part of the temporal lobes and involved in emotional responses), the parietal lobe (involved in spatial and body orientation), the thalamus (a main sensory relay), and the hypothalamus (regulating basic body functions, hormones, and the immune system).

EMPIRICAL TESTING OF RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE. Once theoretical models of religious and spiritual experiences are developed, they provide a hypothetical framework from which significant empirical testing can be performed. Much of the theoretical and empirical work depends upon a strong neuroscientific background with regard to how the brain functions in general, and then how such functioning can be applied to religion and theology. The brain must handle tremendous amounts of sensory, cognitive, and emotional information to provide human beings with a reasonable representation of the "external world." It may be helpful to simplify the understanding of how the brain abstracts elements of meaning from various input by considering basic approaches to organizing this information. Such basic brain functions have sometimes been called *cognitive modules* or *cognitive operators.* Cognitive modules refer to brain structures with specific functions for manipulating input into the brain. Cognitive operators typically refer to more generalized brain functions that operate on input with the understanding that there are underlying brain structures or groups of structures that subserve such functions. A partial list of the cognitive operators initially developed by d'Aquili that are relevant to neurotheology are given below. It should be noted that a number of brain-imaging studies, including studies of positron emission tomography (PET), single photon emission computed tomography (SPECT), and functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI), have demonstrated more specifically how the brain processes input along a variety of different functions.

(1) The causal operator permits reality to be viewed in terms of causal sequences of abstract elements.

(2) The abstractive operator permits the formation of a general concept from the perception of empirical individuals.

(3) The binary operator permits the extraction of meaning by ordering abstract elements into dyads involving varying degrees of polarity so each pole of the dyad derives meaning from contrast with the other pole.

(4) The formal quantitative operator permits the abstraction of quantity per se from the perception of empirical individuals, generating arithmetic and mathematics.

(5) The emotional value operator permits an affective valence to be assigned to various elements of perception and cognition.

(6) The holistic operator permits reality to be viewed as a whole or as a gestalt. It is responsible for the generation of absolute unitary being discussed in the second part of this article.

The causal operator has much scientific support and likely resides at the junction of the superior temporal and inferior parietal lobes (Pribram and Luria, 1973; Mills and Rollman, 1980). The abstractive operator likely resides in the region of the left inferior parietal lobe, most likely near the angular gyrus, and forms an important part of the language axis (Luria, 1966; Joseph, 1996). The binary operator may arise near the region of the inferior parietal lobe in close proximity to the area that underlies the ability to formally quantitate objects (Dahaene, 2000). However, with regard to quantitation, evidence suggests that the left hemisphere is more associated with specific mathematical functions, whereas the right appears better equipped for comparing numbers. In terms of the emotional value operator, much evidence for the importance of emotions in human behavior and reason has come from the research of Antonio Damasio (1994, 1999). His somatic marker hypothesis suggests that emotions are critical in helping human beings make decisions and think rationally. Furthermore, emotions appear necessary to assign relative value to all of the other products of the cognitive operators. Evidence for the holistic operator derives from studies that have explored the functions of the right hemisphere, demonstrating more holistic applications to perceptions and problem solving (Nebes and Sperry, 1971; Gazzaniga and Hillyard, 1971; Gazzaniga, 2000). Other physiological information relevant to the study of religious experiences may be provided by measuring parameters, including blood pressure, heart rate, and reaction times. Future studies will likely measure the effects of various hormones and neurotransmitters as they relate to the religious practices and experiences.

RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE AND HEALTH. Another area within neurotheology is the study of the health-related effects of religiousness and religious experiences. A number of studies have shown positive (and sometimes negative) effects of religion on physical and mental health (Koenig, 1998, 2001). In general, studies have linked religiousness with an overall lower mortality rate and specific decreases in the incidence of cardiac disease, liver disease, and some types of cancer. Studies of mental health have shown that religion is a primary source of coping for many individuals, and practices such as meditation and prayer may have beneficial effects on depression and anxiety. On the other hand, some studies have indicated that, when an individual has a conflicted perspective of religion or perceives God as punishing them, there can be negative outcomes. Furthermore there are many examples of religious-type behaviors associated with cults and other groups in which there is a negative worldview often ending in mass suicides. While many more clinical studies need to be performed, an understanding of the associated physiological and neurophysiological effects of religiousness and religious experience may help provide a clearer link to health. This area of neurotheology can help clarify why religion is sometimes a positive force and sometimes a negative force in an individual or community's life.

THE SCOPE OF NEUROTHEOLOGY. One of the criticisms of neurotheology is that the field focuses too much on individual religious experiences, particularly the mystical ones, people have and that it does not take into account the other aspects of religions. For neurotheology to achieve its full potential as a field of study, it is important for any investigator to understand the complexity and diversity of experiences that are religious or spiritual. In other words, religion is much more than just the experiences that individuals can have, especially the strong mystical experiences that are not common. Religions typically have many different rituals, holidays, and cognitive, emotional, and behavioral components that all can be evaluated from a neuropsychological perspective. Even issues such as forgiveness, love, or altruism can be considered from a neuropsychological perspective to gain better insight into how and when such feelings and behaviors take place. It is this ability to explore the neuropsychological basis of such concepts that can ultimately be a strength of neurotheology.

Finally, neurotheology must be able to address theological concepts. The cognitive operators mentioned above, as well as other aspects of brain function, can be utilized to consider a wide variety of theological concepts (d'Aquili and Newberg, 1999). In neurotheology this analysis is based somewhat on an interpretation of religious myth and ritual and how these elements affect or are affected by the human brain. For example, the causal operator described above may play a prominent role in the conception of God as the fundamental cause of all things. The binary operator is crucial to developing concepts such as good and evil, justice and injustice, and even humankind and God. These opposites are a focal point of many myth structures and are of fundamental importance in religion and theology. The quantitative abilities of the brain may help explain why numbers have had such important meaning in the human understanding of most religions, with specific numbers having a special status. Thus certain quantities and numbers have special religious meaning depending on the particular tradition. The holistic operator is likely to be deeply tied to the notion of God as infinite and inclusive of all things. Furthermore, the holistic functions of the brain appear particularly tied to the mystical experiences in which an individual perceives a union with God or ultimate reality.

It is important to state that these brain functions do not necessarily constrain the reality of a particular concept but may have an important impact on the human understanding of these issues. As an example, one might consider the notion of God as the fundamental cause of all things. It can be asked whether or not such a conception is related to the human brain's ability to perceive causality. If an individual had damage to the areas of the brain responsible for perceiving causality, he or she may no longer perceive God from a causal perspective. God might be perceived as the fundamental love in the universe rather than the cause. Again, such a perception would not alter what God's actual nature is, only the human perception of this nature.

The emotional elements of religion are also an important aspect of neurotheological analysis because a variety of emotions are fundamental to religions and religious experience. The autonomic nervous system (in conjunction with the hypothalamus) that regulates basic body functions, such as heart rate, blood pressure, and hormones, and the limbic system that regulates basic emotional responses can produce a wide variety of complex feelings. Religious concepts pertaining to love, joy, envy, or awe are likely associated with concomitant changes in these components of the nervous system. Neurotheology seeks to study the relationship between the nervous-system structures and such elements of religions and religious experiences.

Neurotheology may also have a special status because neurology is universal in the sense that all human beings have brains that function in a similar manner. The challenge for future neurotheological development is to evaluate the similarities and differences among individual brain functions, as well as the phenomenological differences both within and across religious traditions. Neurotheology has the opportunity to explore religion and theology on a broad scale and on an individual level. It has also been argued that neurotheology may provide a basis for a metatheology and even a megatheology. A metatheology comprises both the general principles describing, and implicitly the rules for constructing, any concrete theological system. In and of itself, a metatheology is devoid of theological content, because it consists of rules and descriptions about how any and all specific theologies are structured. A metatheology must evaluate how and why foundational, creation, and soteriological myths are formed; how and why such myths are elaborated into complex theological systems; and how and why the basic myths and certain aspects of their theological elaborations are objectified in the motor behavior of ceremonial ritual. A megatheology, on the other hand, should contain content of such a universal nature that it could be adopted by most, if not all, of the world's great religions as a basic element without any serious violation of their essential doctrines. Since brain function is universal and necessarily has an impact on how human beings understand and practice religion, a fully developed neurotheology may provide a basis for a megatheology.

Overall, neurotheology seeks to facilitate a dialogue between religion and science with the eventual goal of helping to integrate these perspectives around the nexus of neuropsychology. That neuropsychology provides some universal perspective on human behavior and thought that can also be utilized in an approach to the study of religions and theology lies at the heart of neurotheology. Furthermore neurotheology seeks to integrate theoretical development, empirical studies, and philosophical and theological interpretation. Neurotheology as a field of study thus holds many opportunities for expansion and may play a critical role in future theological and religious study.

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NEW AGE JUDAISM SEE JEWISH RENEWAL MOVEMENT

NEW AGE MOVEMENT.

"New Age" was originally a buzzword that achieved widespread popularity in Europe and the United States during the 1980s. It referred to a wide array of spiritual practices and beliefs perceived as "alternative" from the perspective of mainstream Western society. To many observers, the increasing visibility of "things New Age" in the media and popular culture conveyed the impression of something radically new: the birth of a grassroots movement of social and spiritual innovation, prophesying a profound transformation of Western society that some claimed would culminate in a vastly superior culture—the "Age of Aquarius."

The phenomenon that came to be known as the New Age movement during the last two decades of the twentieth century actually had its immediate roots in the counterculture of the 1960s and some of its immediate predecessors, while its fundamental ideas had much more ancient origins. New Age religion is neither something completely new nor just a revival—or survival—of something ancient. While its fundamental ideas have origins that can be traced far back in history, these ideas are interpreted and put to use in a manner that makes New Age a manifestation par excellence of postmodern consumer society. In order to gain a balanced view of the New Age movement, we therefore need to consider both dimensions: its historical foundations as well as its specific modernity.

THE NEW AGE MOVEMENT IN A STRICT SENSE (1950S–1970S). The immediate roots of the New Age movement may seem surprising at first. Shortly after World War II, popular curiosity was attracted by unexplained phenomena in the sky referred to as unidentified flying objects (UFOs). In various places in Western Europe and the United States, study groups were formed by people who wanted to investigate these phenomena, and some of those groups rapidly proceeded to take on cultic characteristics. Typically, such groups believed that UFOs were in fact spaceships inhabited by intelligent beings from other planets or other dimensions of outer space. Representing a superior level of cultural, technological, and spiritual evolution, they now made their appearance to herald the coming of a New Age. The Earth was entering a new evolutionary cycle that would be accompanied by a new and superior kind of spiritual consciousness. However, since the present cultures of humanity were thoroughly corrupted by materialism, they would resist this change. As a result, the transition to a new cycle of evolution would necessitate the destruction of the old civilization by violent causes such as earthquakes, floods, diseases, and the like, resulting in global economic, political, and social collapse. Those individuals whose consciousness was already in tune with the qualities of the new culture would be protected in various ways and would survive the period of cataclysms. In due time they would become the vanguard of the New Age, or Age of Aquarius: an age of abundance, bliss, and spiritual enlightenment when humanity would once again live in accordance with universal cosmic laws.

These beliefs were inspired by occultist teachings of various provenance, but especially by the writings of the Christian Theosophist Alice Bailey (1880–1949) and, in some respects, the anthroposophical metaphysics of the German visionary Rudolf Steiner (1861–1925). In 1937, Alice Bailey "channeled" a spiritual prayer known as "The Great Invocation," which is still used by some New Age adherents to invoke the New Age and which reflects the pronounced Christian elements that still informed the occultist millenarianism of the early New Age movement. These elements would remain prominent during the second, countercultural stage of its development. During the 1960s, the basic belief system and millenarian expectations of the UFO groups were adopted by various utopian communities, the most famous of which is the Findhorn community in Scotland. The members of these communities were trying to live in a new way, in tune with the laws of nature and the universe. They were trying, in the spirit of "The Great Invocation," to be "Centers of Light," or focal points in a network from which spiritual illumination would eventually spread out and encompass the globe.

In the attitude of these early New Agers, represented by popular spokespeople such as David Spangler (b. 1945) or George Trevelyan (1906–1996), there can be seen an important change from the perspectives of the 1950s UFO groups. Whereas the pronounced apocalypticism of the latter entailed an essentially passive attitude of "waiting for the great events" that would destroy the old civilization and usher in a New Age, utopian communities of the 1960s, such as Findhorn, increasingly emphasized the importance of an activist, constructive attitude: Spangler noted in *The Rebirth of the Sacred:* "Instead of spreading warnings of apocalypse, let Findhorn proclaim that the new age is already here, in spirit if not in form, and that anyone can now cocreate with that spirit so that the form will become manifest" (London, 1984, pp. 34–35). This became the perspective typical of the New Age movement of the 1960s and its sympathizers in later decades.

THE CULTIC MILIEU. This early New Age movement, born in the context of the postwar UFO cults and flowering in the spiritual utopianism of the 1960s and 1970s, was only one manifestation of the countercultural ferment of the times. More generally, this ferment found expression in a widespread "cultic milieu" (Campbell, 1972) in Western society: a diffuse phenomenon consisting of individuals who feel dissatisfied with mainstream Western culture and religion and are looking for alternatives. This cultic milieu proved to be fertile soil for a plethora of new religious movements of various provenance. Some of these movements took the form of relatively stable social entities, including an internal hierarchy of power and authority, definite doctrines and rules of conduct, clearly defined boundaries between members and nonmembers, claims of exclusive truth, and so on. Other movements were more ephemeral and fluid, with relatively few demands on members and an inclusive and tolerant attitude. The latter type of cultic groups may come into existence quickly and vanish as quickly again, and their membership may sometimes be very small. Members may participate in several such groups at the same time—displaying an activity known as "spiritual shopping"—without feeling committed to making a choice in favor of one at the expense of the other. This type of spiritual activity is most characteristic of the development of the "cultic milieu" that spawned and supported the New Age movement of the 1980s.

It is helpful to distinguish the latter movement from the original New Age movement described above. The spiritual perspectives associated with the UFO cults of the 1950s and the utopian communities of the 1960s and 1970s may collectively be referred to as the New Age movement in a strict sense (Hanegraaff, 1996/1998, pp. 94–103). This movement is characterized by a broadly occultist metaphysics (with special prominence of the forms of Theosophy founded by Alice Bailey and, to some extent, Rudolf Steiner), a relatively strong emphasis on community values and a traditional morality emphasizing altruistic love and service to humanity, and a very strong millenarian emphasis focused on the expectation of the New Age. This New Age movement "in a strict sense" still exists, but its membership is rather strongly dominated by the baby-boomer generation and tends to be perceived as somewhat old-fashioned by new-generation New Agers. By the end of the 1970s this New Age movement in a strict sense came to be assimilated as merely one aspect within the much more complex and widespread phenomenon that may be referred to, by way of contrast, as the New Age movement in a general sense.

THE NEW AGE MOVEMENT IN A GENERAL SENSE (1980S–1990S). This New Age movement in a general sense may be defined as the cultic milieu having become conscious of itself, by the end of the 1970s, as constituting a more or less unified movement (although not a New Religious Movement in the normal sense of the word; Hanegraaff, 1996/1998, p. 17). In other words, people who participated in various "alternative" activities and pursuits began to consider themselves as part of an international invisible community of like-minded individuals, the collective efforts of whom were destined to change the world into a better and more spiritual place. American sociologist Marilyn Ferguson referred to this phenomenon as the Aquarian Conspiracy: a "leaderless but powerful network" working to bring about radical change (Ferguson, 1980, p. 23). Physicist Fritjof Capra saw it as the "rising culture" destined to replace the declining culture of the modern West (Capra, 1982, p. 419). But eventually what they were referring to came to be known as the New Age movement: by the late 1970s and early 1980s the term *New Age* was adopted from the specific occultist-millenarian movement known under that name and came to be applied as a catchall term for the much more extensive and complex cultic milieu of the 1980s and beyond. This is how the New Age movement in a strict sense was absorbed into the New Age movement in a general sense.

This development has been a cause of concern for some representatives of the original movement, who perceived in it a cheapening of the idea of a New Age. While the original New Age movement had been carried by high-minded idealism and an ethic of service to humanity, the movement of the 1980s quickly developed into an increasingly commercialized "spiritual marketplace" catering to the tastes and whims of an individualistic clientele. While the original movement had espoused a reasonably coherent theosophical metaphysics and philosophy of history, the movement of the 1980s seemed to present a hodgepodge of ideas and speculations without a clear focus and direction. While the excited expectation of a radical New Age dominated the earlier movement, this expectation ceased to be central to the movement of the 1980s, which, in spite of its name, tends to concentrate on the spiritual development of the individual rather than of society. The development might also be described in terms of cultural geographics: while the original movement was England-based and relied upon occultist traditions that had long been influential there, the new movement was dominated by the so-called metaphysical and New Thought traditions typical of American alternative culture. The move from community-oriented values to individual-centered ones is a reflection of that development.

Indeed, the New Age movement in a general sense has been dominated by American cultural and spiritual ideas and values, and the most important spokespersons have been Americans. While many names could be mentioned, two stand out as symbolic of the 1980s and the 1990s, respectively. During the 1980s the most vocal representative of the New Age idea may have been the movie actress Shirley MacLaine. Her autobiographies, published between 1983 and 1989, in which she describes her spiritual quest, and the television miniseries *Out on a Limb* based upon the first of these books, encapsulate the essential perspective of the New Age movement of the 1980s. For the 1990s the same thing may be said of the best-sellers of James Redfield: *The Celestine Prophecy,* with its accompanying *Celestine Workbook,* and a succession of follow-up volumes capitalizing on the success of the first one. While MacLaine's autobiographies were certainly easy to read, Redfield's books carried the New Age perspective to a new level of simplicity, thereby broadening the potential market for New Age beyond the audiences already reached by earlier authors.

These developments contributed to the fact that by the beginning of the 1990s more and more people attracted to alternative spirituality began to distance themselves from the label New Age, which they perceived as loaded with unwanted associations. During the 1980s it was still possible to investigate the New Age movement (in a general sense) simply by questioning people who identified themselves as involved in New Age; during the 1990s participants increasingly refused to identify themselves as such, preferring vague and noncommittal terms such as "spirituality." It is a mistake to conclude from this, as has sometimes been done, that the New Age movement is declining or vanishing. Rather, the movement has been moving away from its traditional status as a "counterculture" that proclaims the New Age in a gesture of rejecting the values of the "old culture." Attempts to replace the term *New Age* by a term such as *spirituality* fit within a new strategy of adaptation and assimilation instead of rejection and confrontation, as a result of which the New Age movement is now securing its place as an increasingly professionalized spiritual wing *within* the cultural mainstream.

SECULARIZED ESOTERICISM. From the perspective of intellectual history, the basic ideas of New Age religion have their origins in the traditions referred to as modern Western Esotericism, which took shape since the early Renaissance. The foundational worldviews of Western esoteric religiosity were thoroughly transformed, however, under the impact of various processes of modernization since the eighteenth century, resulting in a new phenomenon that may be referred to as secularized Esotericism and that comprises "all attempts by esotericists to come to terms with a disenchanted world or, alternatively, by people in general to make sense of Esotericism from the perspective of a disenchanted secular world" (Hanegraaff, 1996/1998, p. 422). Although there is a risk of terminological confusion, the term *occultism* will be used below as a synonym for secularized Esotericism.

The first signs of a secularization of Western Esotericism may be perceived in the perspectives of Swedish visionary Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772) and German physician Franz Anton Mesmer (1734–1815), both of whom exerted an incalculable influence on the history of Esotericism during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Theurgical practices, spiritual manifestations, and psychic phenomena of a type already present in some esoteric societies of the later eighteenth century as well as in the popular practice of magnetic healing achieved mass popularity in the second half of the nineteenth century in the movement known as Spiritualism. Spiritualism provided a context within which a plethora of more or less sophisticated occultist movements came into existence. Among these manifestations of alternative religiosity, the Theosophical Society founded in 1875 by Helena P. Blavatsky (1831–1891) and Henry Steel Olcott (1832–1907) is certainly the most important in terms of its influence, and the basic metaphysical system of modern theosophy may be considered the archetypal manifestation of occultist spirituality at least until far into the 1970s. In addition, popular practices of magnetic healing, also referred to as mesmerism, reached the United States as early as 1836 and spread widely in the following decades, eventually providing a popular basis for the emergence of the so-called New Thought movement of the later nineteenth century. Each one of these various currents—Spiritualism, modern theosophy, and the American New Thought movement—has taken on a multitude of forms, and their representatives have mingled and exchanged ideas and practices in various way. The result of all this alternative religious activity was the emergence, during the nineteenth century, of an international "cultic milieu" with its own social networks and literature; relying on an essentially nineteenth-century framework of ideas and beliefs, this cultic milieu has continued and further developed during the twentieth century, eventually to provide the foundation after World War II for the emergence of the New Age movement.

The occultist or secularized esoteric milieu of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries differs from traditional Western Esotericism in at least four respects, which are crucial for understanding New Age religion. First, Esotericism was originally grounded in a worldview where all parts of the universe were linked by invisible networks of noncausal correspondences and a divine power of life was considered to permeate the whole of nature. Although esotericists have continued to defend such holistic view of the world as permeated by invisible forces, their actual statements demonstrate that they came to compromise in various ways with the mechanical and disenchanted world models that achieved cultural dominance under the impact of scientific materialism and nineteenth-century positivism. Accordingly, secularized Esotericism is characterized by hybrid mixtures of traditional esoteric and modern scientistic-materialist worldviews: while originally the religious belief in a universe brought forth by a personal God was axiomatic for Esotericism, eventually this belief succumbed partly or completely to popular scientific visions of a universe answering to impersonal laws of causality. Even though the laws in question may be referred to as spiritual, nonetheless they tend to be described according to models taken from science rather than religion.

Second, the traditional Christian presuppositions of modern Western Esotericism were increasingly questioned and relativized because of new translations of Asian religious texts and the emergence of a "comparative study of the religions of the world." Asian religions began to display missionary activities in Western countries, and their representatives typically sought to convince their audience by using Western terms and concepts to present the spirituality of religions such as Hinduism and Buddhism. Conversely, since esotericists had always believed that the essential truths of esoteric spirituality were universal in nature and could be discovered at the heart of all great religious traditions East and West, it was natural for them during the nineteenth century to incorporate Asian concepts and terminology into already-existing Western esoteric frameworks. One excellent example is the concept of *karma* that Blavatsky adopted from Hinduism as a welcome alternative to Christian concepts of divine providence, whereas Blavatsky's essential understanding of reincarnation depended on Western esoteric rather than Asian sources (see discussion in Hanegraaff, 1996/1998, pp. 479–482).

Third, the well-known debate between Christian creationism and the new theories of evolution became highly relevant to esotericists as well, and in this battle they generally took the side of science. But although popular evolutionism became a crucial aspect of Esotericism as it developed from the nineteenth into the twentieth century, and although this evolutionism was generally used as part of a strategy of presenting occultism as scientifically legitimate, the actual types of evolutionism found in this context depended less on Darwinian theory than on philosophical models originating in German Idealism and Romanticism. The idea of a universal process of spiritual evolution and progress, involving human souls as well as the universe in its entirety, is not to be found in traditional Western Esotericism but became fundamental to almost all forms of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Esotericism.

Finally, the emergence of modern psychology (itself dependent partly on mesmerism and the Romantic fascination with the "night-side of nature") has had an enormous impact on the development of Esotericism from the second half of the nineteenth century on. While psychology could be used as an argument against Christianity and against religion generally by arguing that God or the gods are merely projections of the human psyche, it also proved possible to present Western esoteric worldviews in terms of a new psychological terminology. Most influential in this respect was Swiss psychiatrist Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961), whose spiritual perspective was deeply rooted in the esoteric and occult currents of German Romantic *Naturphilosophie* but whose theories could be used to present that spirituality as a scientific psychology. Apart from Jung, the pop psychology of the American New Thought movement has been a major influence on the mixtures of occultism and psychology typical of New Age spirituality (Hanegraaff, 1996/1998, pp. 482–513).

POSTMODERN SPIRITUALITY: THE RELIGION OF THE SELF. To the four main aspects of the secularization of Western Esotericism, perhaps a fifth one may be added that became dominant only after World War II and is fully characteristic of the New Age movement of the 1980s and 1990s: the impact of the capitalist market economy on the domain of spirituality. Increasingly, the New Age movement has taken the shape of a spiritual supermarket where religious consumers pick and choose the spiritual commodities they fancy and use them to create their own spiritual syntheses, fine-tuned to their strictly personal needs. The phenomenon of a spiritual supermarket is not limited to the New Age movement only but is a general characteristic of religion in (post)modern Western democracies. Various forms of New Age spirituality are competing with more traditional forms of religion (including the Christian churches as well as other great religious traditions such as Islam or Buddhism) and with a great number of so-called new religious movements. However, in this universal battle for the attention of the consumer, the New Age movement enjoys certain advantages over most of its competitors, which seem to make it the representative par excellence of the contemporary spirituality of the market. Whereas most other spiritual currents that compete for the attention of the consumer in modern society take the form of (at least rudimentary) organizations, enabling their members to see themselves as part of a religious community, New Age spirituality is strictly focused on the individual and his or her personal development. In fact, this individualism functions as an in-built defense mechanism against social organization and institutionalization: as soon as any group of people involved with New Age ideas begins to take up "cultic" characteristics, this very fact already distances them from the basic individualism of New Age spirituality. The more strongly they begin to function as a cult, or even as a sect, the more other New Agers will suspect that they are becoming a church (that is, that they are relapsing into what are considered old-fashioned patterns of dogmatism, intolerance, and exclusivism), and the less they will be acceptable to the general cultic milieu of New Age spirituality. Within the present social context of a democratic free market of ideas and practices, the New Age's strict emphasis on the self and on individual experience as the only reliable source of spiritual truth, the authority of which can never be overruled by any religious dogma or considerations of solidarity with communal values, functions as an effective mechanism against institutionalization of New Age religion into a religion. This essential individualism makes the New Ager into the ideal spiritual consumer. Except for the very focus on the self and its spiritual evolution, there are no constraints a priori on a New Ager's potential spiritual interests; the fact that every New Ager continually creates and re-creates his or her own private system of symbolic meaning and values means that spiritual suppliers on the New Age market enjoy maximum opportunities for presenting him or her with ever-new commodities.

As indicated above, that New Age as a spiritual supermarket caters to an individualistic clientele primarily interested in personal growth and development is not only a fact of social observation but also reflects beliefs that are basic to the movement. At the symbolic center of New Age worldviews, one typically finds not a concept of God but, rather, the concept of the (higher) Self, so that New Age spirituality has indeed sometimes been dubbed Self Religion (Heelas). The symbolism of the self is linked to a basic mythology, which narrates the growth and development of the individual soul through many incarnations and existences in the direction of ever-increasing knowledge and spiritual insight. Strict concentration on personal spiritual development rather than on communal values is therefore not considered a reflection of egoism but, rather, of a legitimate spiritual practice based on listening to your own inner guidance: only by following one's inner voice may one find one's way through the chaos of voices that clamor for attention on the spiritual supermarket and find one's personal way to enlightenment.

A final remark is in order about the question of a globalization of New Age religion beyond the confines of Western democracies. From what has been said, it will be clear that New Age religion is a product of specific historical developments in Western culture and that its present manifestations are impossible to separate from the internal dynamics of (post)modern consumer societies. Furthermore, as a movement that owes its identity to a consistent pattern of criticism directed against certain dominant aspects of mainstream Western culture, it is difficult even to imagine New Age religion existing in non-Western societies. It has often been claimed that New Age is spreading to continents other than North America and Europe (such as Africa, South America, or Asia); but on closer scrutiny one discovers that scholars who describe such processes of alleged acculturation tend to use the term *New Age* in a too vague and intuitive sense, and that they are usually speaking of the spread, not of New Age religion, but of various Western new religious movements to non-Western societies (Hanegraaff, 2001). To the extent that non-Western cultures and societies resist socioeconomic pressures tending toward a global Americanization, there is no particular reason to refer to new forms of spiritual syncretisms that may emerge on their soil as New Age religion; this is true regardless of whether or not these syncretisms happen to owe something to the influence of Western New Age ideas. Rather, such local new spiritualities must be considered as products of the specific culture and society in question, and one should not prejudge the question of whether—and if so, to what extent—they can be compared to the Western phenomenon of New Age religion.

WHITHER THE NEW AGE? For quite some time now, it has been claimed by scholars and critics that the days of the New Age movement are numbered, that the New Age is over, or that the movement has already yielded to a follow-up phenomenon sometimes referred to as the Next Age. Whether this is true depends very much on one's definition. There are indeed clear signs that New Age religion is losing its status as a countercultural movement and is now increasingly assimilated by the mainstream of society. Such a development is anything but surprising: rather, it may be seen as the predicable result of commercial success. From one perspective, the fact that New Age is developing from a distinct counterculture to merely a dimension of mainstream culture may indeed be interpreted as the end of the New Age movement as we have known it; but from another one, it may be seen as reflecting the commonsense fact that New Age is developing and changing, just like any other religious movement known to history. The idea of a decline of New Age is largely the result of optical illusion. There are some indications that the phenomenon of specialized New Age bookstores is declining, but at the same time one notices a substantial increase of spiritual literature on the shelves of bookstores. Likewise, specialized New Age centers for healing and personal growth predictably become less necessary to the extent that at least a part of their therapeutic services are becoming more acceptable in mainstream medical and psychological contexts. One might well interpret such developments as reflecting not the decline of the New Age movement but, precisely, its development from a countercultural movement set apart from the mainstream to a significant dimension of the spiritual landscape of contemporary Western society in general.

Whether or not the label New Age will eventually survive, there is no evidence that the basic spiritual perspectives, beliefs, and practices characteristic of the movement of the 1980s and 1990s are losing popular credibility. Quite the contrary: all the evidence indicates that they are becoming more acceptable to great numbers of people in contemporary Western societies, whether or not the latter identify themselves as "New Agers." Again, the phenomenon is anything but surprising, for the highly individualized approach to spirituality traditionally referred to as New Age simply accords too well with the demands of the contemporary consumer culture in a democratic society where citizens insist on their personal autonomy in matter of religion.

That the social dynamics of postmodern consumer society happen to favor a particular type of religion (referred to above as secularized Esotericism) is a fact of recent history, but once again it is not a surprising one. That traditional forms of religion—the Christian churches and their theologies—are in decline at least in the contemporary Western European context is a generally known fact. The vogue of postmodern relativism indicates that the grand narratives of progress by science and rationality are shaken as well. If more and more people feel that traditional Christianity, rationality, and science are no longer able to give sense and meaning to human existence, it is to be expected that a spiritual perspective based on personal revelations by means of *gnosis* or personal religious experience will profit from the circumstances (Van den Broek and Hanegraaff, 1996/1998, pp. vii–x). As long as the grand narratives of the past fail to regain their hold over the population while no new ones are forthcoming, and as long as Western democratic societies continue to emphasize the supreme virtue of individual freedom, the "self religion" traditionally known as New Age will remain a force to be reckoned with.

SEE ALSO Blavatsky, H. P.; Esotericism; Jung, C. G.; New Religious Movements, article on New Religious Movements and Millennialism; New Thought Movement; Occultism; Olcott, Henry Steel; Spiritualism; Swedenborg, Emanuel; Swedenborgianism; Theosophical Society; UFO Religions.

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NEW CALEDONIA RELIGION is best known from the work of Maurice Leenhardt, a former Protestant missionary (Société des Missions Évangéliques Pratique de Paris), who was Marcel Mauss's successor as professor of comparative religions at the École Pratique des Hautes Études.

Because each local group (*mwaro*) in New Caledonia is linked with an animal or plant or other natural phenomenon, Western observers have described the religion of the island as "totemism." Though this term is now less fashionable than it was in the period from 1880 to 1940, it can still, for convenience' sake, be applied to the New Caledonia religious system. The local groups have divided among themselves all the aspects of nature that either can be utilized or need to be feared, with each group becoming the master of a particular aspect. Within each group, one of the members of the most junior line, referred to as the group's "master," is in charge of performing the ritual that will protect or benefit all the *mwaro.* Thus, the master of the yam ensures a good crop over the whole of the valley. Along the sea one finds masters of the trade winds, the shark, the whale, or the mosquito, while masters of the thunder are to be found nearer the mountain range.

Each master not only ensures prosperity and wards off natural disasters, but also controls the specific sickness thought to be linked with the totemic entity assigned to him. If someone is ailing, word is sent to a seer, who divines the cause of the sickness. A messenger is then sent to the master in charge of the force responsible for the sickness. The master prays and gives the necessary herbal remedies to the patient; many of these medications are quite effective in treating at least those illnesses that were not brought by Europeans.

The natures of the New Caledonia gods are complex, and Leenhardt spent considerable time attempting to understand them. R. H. Codrington, in *The Melanesians* (1891), distinguished two principal types of gods: those who were once human and those who have never been human. The New Caledonians, however, make no linguistical distinction, both types of gods being referred to either as *bao* or *due.* The two kinds of deities are linked in the figure of Teê Pijopac, a god who has himself never been human but who controls the subterranean or submarine land of the dead, where all must go. According to local belief, the dead reach the entrances to this land by following ridges that lead down to the sea. At one of these entrances, known as Pucangge (near Bourail), the goddess Nyôwau examines all those who wish to enter to make sure that their left earlobe is pierced. She pierces any unpierced lobe with the mussel-shell knife that she also uses to peel yams.

There is constant communication between the living and the dead. The dead can be seen and spoken with when needed. They can be called upon to help in a crisis such as sickness or war, or to favor the results of family labors. Myths speak of the living going to the land of the dead and of the dead acting in the land of the living. There are, for example, various versions of a myth in which a loving husband attempts to bring his young wife back from the land of the dead. He either succeeds in his quest through the help of a bird (a common link for communication with the dead), or he fails. Among the stories about people from the underworld acting among the living there are those that describe an unsuspecting husband who might find, for example, that his new wife snores at night, or that she is double-jointed, both of which are characteristics of people from the underworld. There are also numerous versions of a myth about a goddess, usually Toririhnan, who, after drowning the pregnant wife of a chief, disguises herself as the wife by filling her belly with pots. The true wife, however, is saved by a miracle and taken away to a distant island. Later, this woman returns with her grown sons; their identity is revealed, and the usurper is killed.

Other gods preside over agriculture, such as Kapwangwa Kapwicalo, who protects irrigated taro terraces in the Gomen area, or Toririhnan, who causes it to rain each time she blows her nose at the top of the Hienghène Valley. There are also a great number of gods whose function is the protection of a given clan, protection that is often traced back to the clan's mythical origin. Gods can have sexual relations with humans, an event that either can have terrifying consequences—such as the death of the mortal or the turning backward of his head—or can resemble normal human sexual acts. Myths in which families trace their origins to instances of intercourse between gods and humans record both types of occurrences.

Indeed in Melanesia, as in Polynesia, all genealogies have divine origins, and although the religion of New Caledonia is totemistic in appearance there is no available evidence that any of the kinship groups believe that they are descended from the animal species or natural phenomenon with which they are spiritually associated. These totem entities—called *rhë re* (sg., *rhë e*)—represent the "spiritual belonging" of the group and are passed along through the male line. When a woman marries outside of her totem group, her *rhë e* is sometimes said to follow her. This does not mean, however, that the *rhë e* has left its original abode; because mythical beings are understood to be ubiquitous they are thought to be able to dwell in the two places at once.

There are occasions on which the *rhë re* and the *bao* (who were formerly human) meet. Such a meeting will take place in part of the landscape that is outside of human control, such as the bush, the forest, or the mountain range. The dead, those *bao* who were formerly human, can merge with the *rhë e* that is linked with their clan. Thus, for example, if thunder is associated with a particular group, the rumbling of the thunder is also the voice of the dead of that clan. Also in accordance with this pattern, no ancestor of the octopus group, for example, will appear in the form of a shark, unless they have what early authors referred to as "linked totems," that is, clusters of symbols all of which are linked to a certain *mwaro*. In some cases a group's *rhë e* will manifest itself in various forms depending on the setting: thus, for some chiefly families of the so-called Naacuwe-Cidopwaan group the *rhë e* takes the form of a lizard if seen inland, but becomes a water-snake on the beach, or a shark in the sea, and is also thought of as a masked male dancer said to emerge from the sea.

Missionaries who worked among the New Caledonians attempted to find the natives' idols in order to destroy them; they discovered objects resembling idols that had been carefully preserved by clan leaders over the course of centuries. Pierre Lambert (1900) has published illustrations of some of these items. They are stones of various shapes about which little is actually known except that they turn up from time to time in yam gardens, are linked with the clan's totem entity, and are in some way connected with success in farming, fishing, weather control, and so forth, as were the thunderstones (meteorites) of the Europeans of old. It has been observed that when these artifacts are used as repositories of the divine presence for sacramental purposes—and not as representations of gods—they can be replaced if lost or confiscated. This provision allows for the indefinite preservation of this type of link with the divine.

It is important to recognize that the mythical systems of the hundreds of different clans are highly diversified, a diversity that appears most clearly in the origin myths of the various groups. Some clans believe their spiritual origin to be the mountain that is called Souma (in the Ajië language) or Caumyë (in the Paici language). The vernacular texts obtained by Leenhardt demonstrated that the mountain had a connection with the creation of mankind and that its importance stems from the gods who live in the various principal mountains. For instance, Ka To Souma, the god associated with Souma, guards one of the possible entrances to the subterranean land of the dead. So great is the respect for, and fear of, this god that his proper name (Gomawe or Kavere) is never uttered. Other clans, usually those living near the watershed, claim a spiritual link with one or another of the forms of thunder. These different forms are grouped in distinctive ways according to the local theology, thereby giving each clan a powerful mythical protector. Clans can thus be classified according to their myths; conversely, mythical beings in charge of protecting the various clans may be classified according to the patrilineal marriage moieties with which they are associated in the Paici area or, in the north, according to the political phratries to which they belong.

The nearby Loyalty Islands (Uvéa, Lifou, and Maré) present a different set of problems. Although the inhabitants have been Christians for a century and a half (twice as long as the natives of New Caledonia proper) sacred groves still exist there, the old deities are remembered, and the cult of the dead continues to surface from time to time. However, the distribution of mythical beings among the families of the islands is significantly different from what prevails in New Caledonia. One essential aspect of the religion of the Loyalty Islands is that direct relations with the invisible world are the prerogative of the oldest established clans. These privileged clans, called *ten adro* (on Lifou), *wäi* (on Uvéa), or *èlè-tok* (on Maré), act as hosts to visiting gods. It is this status as host to the gods that provides legitimacy to the chiefly lines of today. The senior clans are also, however, the wardens of the invisible road along which the dead travel, eventually diving into the sea and reaching the island of Heo (Beautemps-Beaupré), where the entrance to the world of the dead is located. At the court of each of the paramount chiefs, a special person (called Atesi on Lifou and, on Maré, Acania) has the role of being the representative of these clans. He acts as their intermediary, for neither they nor their yams can enter a chief's house since their presence would endanger his life. On these islands there is thus a formalized distinction between families having the privilege of communicating with the divine world—each *ten adro* has its own god, to which only it can pray—and those who must be satisfied with praying to their own dead. The latter use diviners to discover whom they must negotiate with in order to ward off any invisible power which is causing injury to the clan.

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NEW GUINEA RELIGIONS [FIRST EDITION].

Any summary of traditional religions in New Guinea must address itself to two issues: the people's subjective view of the phenomena, and outside observers' arbitrary definitions of them, which are often at odds with each other. Melanesians as a whole appear to have no collective term for religion as a separate cultural category in their own languages, so that it is difficult to specify the limits of inquiry. In their eyes, however important to them, "religion" is merely one facet of their generalized sociocultural system. The foreign observer has to select and concentrate on those features that most closely resemble religion in his own society. It must also be asked what the foreign observer's most appropriate approach to the study of religion would be. During the last hundred-odd years anthropology has been rich in definitions of religion, three of which—the intellectualist, the economic or technological, and the social—dominated field inquiry. Before I survey New Guinea religions, I will consider the theoretical relevance of these three approaches, especially with regard to their one common tenet: the strict dichotomy between religion and magic.

For E. B. Tylor and James G. Frazer, writing in the last third of the nineteenth century, religion was man's belief in superior spirit-beings (such as gods and ghosts), whom he had to placate by means of prayer and sacrifice, whereas magic was his belief that he himself, ideally without the aid of spirit-beings, could use sympathetic techniques to control nonpersonalized occult forces. Although this approach is consistent with the great intellectual importance New Guineans attach to religion and magic, the dichotomy it posits between religion and magic often cannot be substantiated. Many New Guinea rituals are designed not to placate spirit-beings but to place them in morally binding relationships which leave them no option but to comply with human wishes. Indeed, some sympathetic techniques are believed to derive their power from spirit-beings, who gave them to mankind. Clearly, this definition would continually produce unsatisfactory hybrid forms.

Bronislaw Malinowski, whose approach derived from fieldwork in the Trobriand Islands (now part of Papua New Guinea) during World War I, distinguished religion from magic on the basis of the ends sought by those engaged in a ritual. A religious rite, on Malinowski's view, is an end in itself with no obviously pragmatic objective, while the aim of magic, vitally important for economic production, is "always clear, straightforward, and definite." Although its stress on economic affairs is quite correct, this approach pays too little attention to a people's intellectual life. Again, Malinowski's dichotomy between religion and magic is not supported by later research in New Guinea: virtually every ritual observed and described has a specific end in view, which those performing it can explain without difficulty.

Finally, Émile Durkheim, in the early twentieth century, differentiated religion from magic on the grounds of the human personnel holding particular beliefs and performing particular rites. Religion was seen as social and cohesive: its beliefs symbolize and validate, and its rituals reinforce, the social order. Magic is individual and isolative: its beliefs and rituals do not symbolize or reinforce any social collective. Once again, this approach has two weaknesses. Although its reference to society is justified, it tends to reduce religion to an oblique and almost secular replica of the social order at the expense of human economic and cognitive interests. As will appear, most New Guineans would reject this. Furthermore, Durkheim's dichotomy between religion and magic also cannot be sustained. In virtually every New Guinea society, even if they are not privy to all its secrets, all its members share and more or less endorse its beliefs, and the personnel involved in any ritual depends on the number of people necessary to carry it out efficiently. This varies according to each situation.

Although none of these approaches on its own offers a comprehensive answer to the problem or a convincing distinction between religion and magic, with due modification each makes a contribution. It is possible to select from them and combine those features that make sense in New Guinea. At the outset it is wise to dismiss the idea of a dichotomy between religion and magic and retain a single concept, religion, of which magic forms a part. Thus from Tylor and Frazer, I adopt the principle of intellectualism, which stresses religion's contribution to a people's mental life by helping them interpret the world around them. With Malinowski, I emphasize religion's role in the economic system. With Durkheim, I examine religion's relation to society.

Broadly I define traditional religion as man's beliefs about and putative interaction with what Westerners call "the supernatural" or "the transcendental," although, as I shall argue, these terms have little relevance to New Guinea. To explain this I shall outline the total cosmic order that the people conceive to exist: its general structure, the types and location of spirit-beings within it, and its dynamics, especially the methods by which humans believe that they communicate with spirit-beings to consolidate their own interests.

THE GENERAL STRUCTURE OF THE COSMOS. New Guineans' conceived cosmic order has two parts: the empirical—the natural environment, its economic resources (including animals), and its human inhabitants; and the nonempirical—spirit-beings, nonpersonalized occult forces, and, sometimes, totems. Theoretically it has three analytically separate systems: men in relation to the natural environment and its resources, or the economic system; relationships among human beings themselves, or the sociopolitical system; and men in relation to spirit-beings, occult forces, and totems, or religion. In fact, these systems interdepend, so that it is essential to understand how religion impinges on economic and social life and, in so doing, how it contributes to intellectual life and leadership.

The traditional economic and sociopolitical systems of New Guinea must be summarized, insofar as religion directly relates to them. The whole of New Guinea (Papua New Guinea and Irian Jaya) has about a thousand distinct language groups, each one virtually a separate society. The economic system is generalized: most of the people are settled agriculturalists with few specialized skills apart from religious ritual, which a limited number of adult males (the leaders) monopolize. Without specialized occupational groups, social structure has to be based on kinship, marriage, and descent, although even within this broad framework there is much variation. Some groups are congeries of relatively large phratries or tribes, while others consist of small clans or even lineages. Some have over 100,000 members and others as few as 150.

Diversity of social structures is paralleled in religions, which, although based on common principles, show a degree of heterogeneity. In general terms, most New Guineans recognize the following kinds of spirit-beings: autonomous creative or regulative spirit-beings (deities or culture heroes); autonomous noncreative or malevolent spirit-beings (demons, tricksters, and pucks); and spirits of the dead. Many also recognize clan totems and practice sympathetic magic. Variations of belief are most marked with respect to deities and spirits of the dead. Some peoples, such as the Huli and the Kainantu of the Highlands, claim relatively few gods, to each of whom they attribute multiple creative or regulative functions. Others, such as the inhabitants of the southern Madang Province littoral and Karkar Island, have a few major deities and a large number of minor ones with limited powers. Yet others, such as the Mae Enga of the Highlands and the peoples inland from Madang, believe in many deities, no one of whom has primacy and each of whom has only one creative or regulative function. Again, although belief in ghosts is ubiquitous, some peoples (especially Highlanders) distinguish between the recent and remote dead, while others (especially those on the coast) do not. One group inland from Madang, the Garia, assert that after three generations ghosts turn into fruit bats or pigeons and cease to have any religious significance.

Yet despite this heterogeneity, New Guineans appear to hold one concept in common, that the cosmos is essentially a finite physical realm with, as hinted, almost no supernatural or transcendental attributes. Gods, ghosts, demons, and totems are superhuman but terrestrial. They are more powerful than humans but still corporeal, taking human or animal form with normal physical attributes. They normally live on the earth in special sanctuaries near human habitations. There are a few exceptions, such as the Mae Enga sky people, who live in the clouds but who are in easy contact with the earth. This stress on earthliness gives New Guinea religions a quality of nearness and immediacy lacking in some of the higher religions, as is especially apparent in ritual. The significance of this will emerge later.

THE FUNCTION OF RELIGION. As the criticism of Tylor and Frazer's approach indicates, it is inadequate to concentrate on the form of New Guinea religions, as if they were purely philosophical systems; it is necessary to consider also their functions. Melanesians believe that they have inherited a generally predictable cosmic order, which is anthropocentric and materialistic. It exists for man's benefit, and its material resources (crops, livestock, and artifacts) are concomitants of his existence. Hence religion has two principal functions. First, myths (regarded as the source of ultimate truth) explain and thereby validate the cosmic order. Second, just as the fulfillment of obligations between human beings maintains the secular social structure, the observance of ritual duties assures men that superhuman beings will guarantee the success of their major undertakings and protect the cosmic order from unforeseeable dangers.

Religion, therefore, is a technology, and, more particularly, ritual is man's means of contacting superhuman beings so as to exploit it. Ritual techniques, which I describe later on, again tend to vary. For deities they may involve placation, bargaining, coercion, or striking moral relationships through invocation or esoteric spells. Sympathetic magic, sometimes used on its own, is said to be more effective if taught to men by gods. For demons ritual is based on placation and bargaining, although some say it is futile and will never use it. Ritual directed at spirits of the dead is usually an expression of honor, often involving mourning, feasting, and music. For totems there is no specific ritual but only avoidance behavior: taboos against harming, killing, and eating. As indicated, ritual knowledge is the prerogative mainly of leaders or big men. Women have limited access to it, and then principally to contraceptive and abortifacient techniques. Yet although Melanesians use ritual to approach superhuman beings, there are grounds for believing that they regard it as a substitute for face-to-face interaction. Many of them have assumed that their first European visitors were either deities or ghosts appearing in their midst, but there is no evidence that they performed ritual in their honor. Rather, they engaged in ordinary social behavior, offering food, and trying to create beneficial exchange relationships.

Throughout New Guinea the use of myth and ritual to explain and maintain the cosmic order is uneven. The people tend to ignore the aspects of it that they can take for granted and concentrate on those that involve risk and cause anxiety. I shall examine this in the context of the economic and sociopolitical systems and then discuss religion's role in the intellectual system.

The natural environment and economic resources. Not many New Guinea religions are greatly concerned with the natural environment as a whole. Except for occasional volcanic eruptions and droughts it is never seriously threatened, so that the people do not fear for its continuance. Hence elaborate accounts of its origin and rituals to preserve it are rare. In most cases there are only short, albeit sometimes explicit, statements to the effect that the earth always existed or suddenly came into being in some miraculous way.

Mythology and ritual are generally more detailed and complex for the economic system, which, for reasons given below, is more uncertain and thus needs to be buttressed. Whether the people attribute creation to few or many deities is irrelevant. Except in the few societies that do not acknowledge deities, there is normally a myth cycle or set of discursive myths telling how specific gods and goddesses invented economic resources —staple crops, pigs, dogs, wild animals, and important artifacts—and gave them to human beings.

Yet, as is implicit in the foregoing argument, explanation and validation on their own, however necessary, are not enough. People also want knowledge that they can use to their advantage, knowledge that will make sure that economic resources do not fail. Crops may wither, livestock remain barren, and newly made artifacts prove faulty. Ritual should eliminate these risks. It is performed for both the relevant deities and spirits of the dead.

The performance for economic ends of ritual in honor of the dead is very common in New Guinea. Specifically, it consists of formal keening at funerals, food offerings, dancing, and the celebration of the male cult (which I shall discuss later). In response, ghosts are said to help their living descendants by protecting gardens from wild pigs and landslides, helping hunters find game, bringing presents, and, especially in dreams, by giving messages about impending events. These ceremonies are particularly important among peoples who either do not acknowledge deities, or have no elaborate ritual for propitiating them. Yet there are two differences in this context. First, as noted, Highlanders tend to distinguish between the recent and remote dead. They regard the recent dead as minatory—interested mainly in punishing transgressors—and expect economic benefits from the remote dead, to whom, with the exception of mortuary ceremonies, they address their rituals. Most seaboard peoples, who do not hold this belief, honor the recent dead, many of whom they remember as living persons. Second, there are different interpretations of the likely responses of the dead to the rituals performed in their honor. Some Highlanders, noted for their general aggressiveness, are said to apply to ghosts the same techniques they apply to the living: bargaining and bribery, in which the aim is to manipulate and curb pugnacious egalitarian rivals. Ghosts are said to respond in kind. Seaboard peoples are less assertive. Their view is that ritual should create strong ties between men and ghosts; as long as men fulfill their obligations, ghosts should automatically reciprocate.

The sociopolitical order. Likewise, total sociopolitical systems receive irregular treatment in religion. Some groups (for example, the Mae Enga, the Kainantu people, and the inhabitants of Wogeo Island) have myths that attribute society's existence and forms to their deities. Others, like the Ngaing, do not. They see no need to validate the social order in its entirety: they are unaware that any other kind of social order exists, and theirs is not threatened by conquest from outside or revolution from within. Nevertheless such peoples are by no means unconcerned about society; they implicitly realize that it has sensitive areas—key institutions, groups, and relationships that must be buttressed at all costs. Thus the Ngaing have war gods, who protect their bush groups, their main political units, and a myth of origin for the male cult, which binds together the inhabitants of a whole locality, as described below.

In this context, spirits of the dead are most important. They validate the social order in a number of ways. Among the Garia, the life of the dead replicates that of human beings. Ghosts build and live in ordinary settlements with their kin; they plant gardens and celebrate exchanges. Again, throughout New Guinea, ghosts are the ultimate custodians of their living descendants' land rights, a vital component of the social system, and they punish trespass. Yet it is above all the ceremonies of the male cult—exchanges of pigs, food, and valuables coupled with feasting and dancing to solemnize birth, initiation, marriage, and death—that induce ghosts to preserve and strengthen the sociopolitical order.

The primary function of the male cult is the initiation of boys into manhood. After they are about ten years old, boys in adjacent settlements are assembled, segregated from women, placed under the supervision of adult males (especially leaders) in a cult house, and given special instruction. They are taught the rudiments of myths and ritual. They observe stringent taboos and are subjected to a physical ordeal that may include beating, scarification, penile incision, or forced nose bleeding. Thereafter they are returned to village life. The severity of initiation appears to correlate with society's pattern of male-female relations. In general, men are dominant in both secular and ritual affairs. Where this is particularly marked, as in the eastern Highlands and among the Ilahita Arapesh (in the East Sepik Province) and the Garia, initiation is either traumatic or protracted over many years and stresses sexual antagonism. Where women are less subordinate, male initiation rites are less exacting and less shrouded in secrecy and may be paralleled, as on Manam and Wogeo islands and among the Ngaing, by special puberty rites for girls. Nevertheless, despite these differences of emphasis, in most of New Guinea boys during their initiation are said to be under special protection of the spirits of the dead, who guarantee their safety, health, physical maturity, and ability to attract wives and thereby perpetuate society. The male cult has also a latent function: it promotes the solidarity of the clans or other local units that must assemble all the wealth going out in exchange and reaffirms the kinship or marriage relationships, which link these groups and provide the network for its distribution.

The last two important aspects of religion in the context of the sociopolitical order are (1) religion's impingement on moral obligation, and (2) the role of sorcery. Once again, the relationship between religion and moral obligation has no standard pattern: for some groups it is an important issue, but for others it is not. Thus the Huli insist that their primary god Datagaliwabe enjoined moral precepts on them, while the Kai-nantu people have a secondary mythology devoted to the inculcation of ethics, and the Manus of the Admiralty Islands believe themselves to be under the continual surveillance of the dead, who punish the infringement of any rule. In other societies, such as the Wogeo and the Ngaing, good conduct is said to be enforced only by secular sanctions.

Belief in sorcery is virtually universal. The art has many forms: contagious magic (theft and destruction of personal leavings such as cast-off clothing, hairclippings, or excrement); projection of missiles into a victim; figurative removal and replacement of a victim's head or entrails; and actual immobilization of a victim by inserting slivers of bamboo (or, nowadays, lengths of wire) into vital parts of his body. With possible exception of the last example, which is in fact physical murder, the efficacy of sorcery is guaranteed by the performance of ritual, often to harness the power of a deity or familiar spirit.

It is difficult to state precisely the reasons for belief in sorcery. The degree to which a religion does or does not uphold the moral code and to which it is or is not intellectually elaborated seems to be irrelevant. Sorcery is found in societies whose religions either stress or ignore ethics and are either closely or loosely articulated. Hence it is wiser to consider two issues: the forces that promote belief in sorcery and the intellectual climate that allows it to flourish.

Belief in sorcery is motivated by personal anxiety. This is immediately intelligible in societies that have weak group structures and unstable, ever-changing patterns of local organization—for example, the Dobu (of Papua), Huli, Tangu, and Garia. As individuals continually move in and out, settlement and neighborhood populations are never permanent. A person can never be sure where his friends and foes are. Unless he can attribute illness or bad luck to an angry god, ghost, or demon, he will search for a human enemy lurking in his locality. Yet, by way of contrast, belief in sorcery is found also in societies with territorial organizations based on stable, permanently localized descent groups. Possibly sorcery has come to be regarded as more important than it was since modern centralized government banned traditional warfare, leaving it as the only way to relieve feelings of aggression.

There appear to be two prerequisites for an intellectual climate in which the belief in sorcery will thrive. First, the belief must be integrated with other aspects of religion, taking a normal place in both myth and ritual. Thus the Garia believe that the god Yeyaguliba invented it and taught men his secret names as spells to make it effective. From a technical point of view, sorcery is no different from agricultural ritual. Second, the belief helps solve the perpetual emotional and cognitive problem of death. Thus, although the Garia claim that the goddess who first gave birth to human beings was responsible also for human mortality, they regard this as a sufficient explanation only in the case of old people. The young should not die. Sorcery, by offering the solution of the hidden enemy, at least removes the agony of an impenetrable riddle.

Leadership and the intellectual system. Myth and ritual are for many New Guineans the principal means of understanding the cosmic order and maintaining their central position in it. Everyday experience largely endorses their certitude of the truth of religion. Normally crops do mature, livestock and human beings reproduce their kind, and artifacts meet their owners' expectations. The rituals used are obviously effective, so that their acquisition is an essential prerequisite of leadership. Big men are those who "know": they are experts in mythology and, particularly, in harnessing the power of gods and spirits of the dead that will ensure the success of their followers' purely secular activities. Secular skills are "knowledge" but at a low level: they are something anybody can acquire by imitation. It takes a special kind of man, however, to master "true knowledge," the religious secrets that are the core of the instruction given boys during initiation. Thereafter, those who aspire to leadership must undergo a long and exacting apprenticeship under acknowledged experts until they are accepted as qualified practitioners. Yet it would be false to conclude from this that the people's thought is mystical. Rather, it is pragmatic, even mundane, because of their conviction that the cosmos is a purely terrestrial realm. Gods and ghosts live on the earth, and their interaction with men and women in response to ritual is not illusory but as real as cooperation among human beings themselves.

Inevitably, the intensity of intellectual commitment to religion is not found to be consistent throughout New Guinea. The peoples of the northeastern seaboard and hinterland from Lae to Bogia typify the paradigm I have sketched. Traditionally they have always been theologians, and it is significant that they have provided many of the leaders of the Christian churches since Papua New Guinea's independence in 1975. Others, such as the Ilahita Arapesh, are perhaps more skeptical. Yet about one area there has been particular controversy. The first anthropologists in the Highlands after World War II depicted its peoples as if they had relatively little interest in religion—that is, the Highlanders were portrayed as hard-working and secular-minded with leaders who relied for their positions more on tough negotiation and military prowess than on ritual expertise. The early absence of cargoism, so prevalent on the seaboard, seemed to confirm their argument. Recently, however, we have been forced to reconsider it. There are now more numerous outbreaks of the cargo cult as well as Pentecostalism and other eccentric quasi-Christian movements. This suggests that, even allowing for random differences of degree, the dominantly secular image of all the peoples in the Highlands is unjustified and may have been the result of uncritical addiction to the Durkheimian social approach to the study of religion at the time the field research was carried out. Certainly the issue is unresolved. Yet it is still justifiable to conclude that for the great majority of New Guineans religion has been not merely an important part but the very quintessence of their sociocultural systems. It represents the final rationale of their cosmic experience.

SEE ALSO Cargo Cults.

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PETER LAWRENCE (1987)

NEW GUINEA RELIGIONS [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS].

Since Peter Lawrence wrote on the indigenous religions of New Guinea—the area encompassing Papua New Guinea and Papua (formerly Irian Jaya)—for the first edition of the *Encyclopedia of Religion* (1987), further studies have been undertaken providing an even greater wealth of material concerning myth, ritual, knowledge, morality, and religious innovation in New Guinea. More attention has been given to personal experiences such as dreams, trance, and spirit possession. Moreover, the religious landscape has continued to change as a result of political and economic innovations and through interaction with Christianity. New religious movements, many emphasizing relationship to the Holy Spirit, have emerged. At the same time, changing approaches and emphases in anthropology and religious studies have influenced the ways that scholars understand religion. For instance, feminism has occasioned a new look at rituals for the making of men and women, while transcultural studies have suggested that the movements earlier labeled *cargo cults* may have been misnamed.

Lawrence outlined three approaches to the study of New Guinea religions, which he called the intellectualist, the economic or technological, and the social. He stressed intellectualist approaches and defined traditional religion as "beliefs about and putative interaction with what Westerners call the 'supernatural' or the 'transcendental'." He outlined the general structure of the cosmos in New Guinean societies as three interrelating systems: people in relation to the natural environment and its resources (the economic system), relationships among human beings themselves (the sociopolitical system), and people in relation to spirit beings, occult forces, and totems (religion). He saw myth and ritual as means of explaining and maintaining the cosmic order. Most scholars accept this framework. However, more recent works have emphasized the significance of place (Munn, Rumsey and Weiner), religion as an ecological process (Rappaport), and fertility as focus of both practical and symbolic work (Meigs). Scholars have attended to the construction of gender (Gillison, Herdt, Lutkehaus and Roscoe, Tuzin) and to personal experience, consciousness, and sentiment (Herdt and Stephen, Feld, Schieffelin, Lohmann). Some have looked on religion as a process of exchange (MacDonald) or reciprocity (Trompf). A number of scholars have explored Christianity in New Guinean contexts (Barker, Robbins) and given attention to new religious movements.

INSIDERS AND OUTSIDERS.

Most studies of New Guinea religions that reach publication are the work of outsiders. However, indigenous religions and local forms of Christianity have also been studied by insiders, mainly by those with theological, pastoral, and social commitments. Some of their research and reflections have been published as journal articles within New Guinea and have found their way into sermons, workshops, and speeches. A number of B.D. and M.A. theses and Ph.D. dissertations written by New Guineans explore the relationship of indigenous religion and Christianity and the value of land. For example, in 1995 Benny Giay, a Papuan pastor who has been active in opposition to the Freeport-McMoran mine, submitted his Ph.D. dissertation for Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam on the topic "Zakheus Pakage and his Communities: Indigenous Religious Discourse, Sociopolitical Resistance, and Ethnohistory of the Me of Irian Jaya." He dwelt on the passionate hopes of Pakage (1920–1970) of establishing a reciprocity between indigenous wisdom and Christian wisdom and of integrating Dutch development plans with the work of local Me communities, hopes that were thwarted both by the mission agency and Dutch authorities.

Religious studies has been taught in the History Department at the University of Papua New Guinea since 1972, first by lecturers from overseas and then by Papua New Guineans. It is also taught at the University of Goroka and Divine Word University in Madang. Moreover, the theological seminaries in both Papua New Guinea and Papua give attention to the study of indigenous religions in relation to Christianity. The mainline churches tend to look on indigenous religions as a preparation for the Christian gospel, while fundamentalist groups have a more negative evaluation of indigenous religions. The outsiders who study New Guinea religions include social scientists (mainly anthropologists), historians of religion, and theologians. Some missionary scholars (e.g., Mantovani, Gesch, Zöllner, Gibbs) are trained in social sciences or religious studies as well as in theology.

ECOLOGY AND PLACE.

Roy Rappaport's fieldwork among the Tsembaga Maring in the highlands of Papua New Guinea in the 1960s led him to develop an ecological theory of religion. In the first edition of *Pigs for the Ancestors* in 1968 he argued that the ritual cycle that culminates in large scale pig kills is a homeostatic mechanism regulating the relationship of pig populations to other environmental factors such as human energy, land use, and warfare. He maintained that when pig herds reach a size at which pigs become a hindrance, invading gardens and requiring large amounts of food and human attention, then people decide to kill them, conceptualizing their action as killing pigs for the ancestors. A second edition of the book, in 1984, placed more stress on the reciprocity of ecological order and ritual order, allowing that culture may drive ecological processes, which in turn may sustain culture. In *Ecology, Meaning, and Religion*, published in 1979, Rappaport elaborated his theory of religion as an ecological process. Shortly before his death, in 1997, he completed *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity*, in which he explores the significance of ritual for relating human beings to nature.

Several anthropologists, including Roy Wagner, have given attention to the religious importance of land. The intrusion of mining companies in both Papua New Guinea and Papua has led local communities to reassert claims to land in terms of ancestral cosmologies. Confrontations over land have provided occasion for researchers to consider the impact of mining on local ecosystems and to give attention to the narratives in which peoples tell of the journeys of culture heroes and ancestors who shaped their place and their way of life. The edited volume *Emplaced Myth* (Rumsey and Weiner, 2001) provides several case studies from Papua New Guinea and others from Aboriginal Australia that reflect on space and place in local and regional domains and on environmental ethics in times of change. Papua New Guineans Simeon Namunu and Bernard Narokobi assert that the relationship to land is a religious issue with which Christians should concern themselves. Pamela Stewart and Andrew Strathern's *Remaking the World: Myth, Mining, and Ritual Change among the Duna of Papua New Guinea* (2002) considers the ways in which a community reconstructs its place and way of life.

FERTILITY AND GENDER. While there are no universally acceptable definitions of gender and marriage, all cultures have ideas about sexual difference, female/male complementarity, and fertility, which they take as models for thinking about human and cosmic relationships. Early work by Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson pointed to the social and cosmological significance of gender in the Pacific. In New Guinea the relationship of woman and man is often seen as homologous to the work of gardening, to the arrangement of village space, and to roles in traditional exchanges. Early anthropologists in the highlands recorded antagonism between the sexes in many societies, and later studies that described the "making of men" elaborated on notions of masculinity and the ritual means of achieving it (Barth, Herdt, Tuzin). The "making of women," which is a matter for ritual in some societies (Lutkehaus and Roscoe) has received less attention.

In her work on the Hua, Anna Meigs focuses on the concept of *nu* or "vital essence" of a person or thing and the ways it can be increased or depleted, leading her to explore ideas about food and sexual activity. In New Guinea, fertility—of crops, of sea creatures, of forest animals and domestic animals, and of people—is a desired outcome of personal and group rituals. The juxtaposition of male and female elements in ritual is part of the management of a gendered world.

RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE. Michele Stephen and Gilbert Herdt have taken a lead in the study of personal religious experience in New Guinea. In their introduction to *The Religious Imagination in New Guinea* (1989) they say that they see the "inner world of religious experience as emerging from an interaction between individual experience and culture, mediated by autonomous imagination" (p. 4). The contributors to their volume explore altered states of consciousness in dreams, trances, possession, spirit mediumship, sorcery, witchcraft, prophetism, and shamanism. While recognizing cultural variation the editors point to psychological universals underlying it and assert that each person must "create his or her own cultural world through the process of imagination" (p. 235). They urge that altered states of consciousness be taken seriously as modes of cognition.

Another important contribution to the study of subjective experience is *Dream Travelers* (2003), edited by Roger Ivar Lohmann, which brings together case studies from New Guinea, aboriginal Australia, and Indonesia to make a case that dreams are, in some not well-understood sense, ways to knowledge.

RECIPROCITY. Peter Lawrence understood the indigenous religions of New Guinea to consist of beliefs about, and putative interaction with, the supernatural. The understanding of religion as an extension of social interaction beyond the human community to include gods, ghosts, and a variety of nonhuman beings works well for New Guinea and for traditions that posit the presence of such beings. It accords with Marcel Mauss's ideas on gift exchange. Human beings make gifts to the gods; the gods respond with benefits for human beings. Or human beings neglect the ancestral ghosts, and they respond by afflicting their living kin.

Garry Trompf, who taught at the University of Papua New Guinea in the 1970s and served as professor of history there from 1983 to 1985, developed an approach to religion that he called a logic of retribution. He was concerned not only with positive reciprocity but also with revenge and with the explanation of events in terms of praise and blame or in terms of reward and punishment. This logic may be seen in indigenous traditions, and it is also possible to see it in the moral reflections of Christian communities in New Guinea.

CHRISTIANITY AND NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS. From the latter part of the nineteenth century, when the Netherlands, Germany, and Great Britain divided the large island of New Guinea among themselves, missionaries arrived, first in the coastal areas and much later in the highland regions, to preach the Christian message. As a result, at the beginning of the twenty-first century some 90 percent of the population of Papua New Guinea claimed to be Christian, and in Papua the large majority of the indigenous people were also Christian. Since Indonesia took over Papua from the Dutch in 1962, the presence of government officials and the resettlement of landless people from other parts of Indonesia, especially from Java, have brought Islam to the region. However, Islam has remained more the religion of government officers and new settlers than of the indigenous peoples.

The study of New Guinea's forms of Christianity was first of all the concern of missiologists and other theologians who were concerned with whether, and how, God might speak through indigenous religions. As more and more New Guineans became Christians, Christianity in a variety of denominational forms became part of the cultures that anthropologists came to New Guinea to study. In tracing the transition from indigenous religion to Christianity, some see the new religion being incorporated into the indigenous cosmos, but indigenous religion and Christianity may also appear as competing moral discourses. For example, Joel Robbins, in his study of the Urapmin of the West Sepik, says he observed "the interplay between two cultures that are operative in the same place at the same time" (2004, p. 6). In considering the changes experienced by the Urapmin, who had never been directly missionized, Robbins tells how they first experienced the law introduced in the colonial period by Australian patrol officers and found themselves deficient in relation to it, how they decided in the 1960s to send young men to study with Baptist missionaries in neighboring communities, and how they underwent a charismatic renewal, and adopted a Christianity focused on human sinfulness and millennial expectation. The Urapmin, he concludes, have opted for a hybrid culture that leaves them with a sense of moral failure but also with an openness to change.

Peter Lawrence's *Road Belong Cargo* (1964), a study of cargo cults in the Madang area of Papua New Guinea, became a classic for the study of social and religious change. Hundreds of religious movements, some resembling the "cargo cult" documented by Lawrence and others appealing to the Holy Spirit for empowerment, have emerged in New Guinea. In writing of the God Triwan movement in the Enga province of Papua New Guinea, a movement that has remained within the Catholic Church, Philip Gibbs regards it as part of a process of inculturation of the gospel.

It seems likely that future studies will grapple not only with what is referred to within New Guinea as "traditional" religion—religion that is practiced to some extent, yet in many places is more a tale that is told about the ways of the ancestors—but also with the Christianities that occupy a powerful position in personal and communal life.

SEE ALSO Cargo Cults; Christianity, article on Christianity in the Pacific Islands; Melanesian Religions; Oceanic Religions; Rappaport, Roy A.

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MARY N. MACDONALD (2005)

NEWMAN, JOHN HENRY (1801–1890), Anglican and Roman Catholic controversialist and cardinal.

LIFE AND WORKS. Newman was born in London. He was raised an Anglican, but in 1816, under evangelical influence, he underwent a profound religious experience that transformed his understanding of his faith. The same year he entered Trinity College, Oxford, and in 1822 was elected a fellow of Oriel College. There, formative contacts with the so-called Noetics Edward Hawkins and Richard Whately, who freely applied logic to traditional Christian doctrines, introduced him to rationalist analysis of religious concerns. After 1828 illness, bereavement, and personal friendships with Richard Hurrell Froude, John Keble, and Edward Bouverie Pusey drew him toward the high church tradition. At this time he began to read the documents of the patristic church; this interest led to the publication of *The Arians of the Fourth Century, Their Doctrine, Temper and Conduct as Exhibited in the Councils of the Church* (1833) and *The Church of the Fathers* (1833–1836).

Newman was ordained an Anglican priest in 1825 and was appointed vicar of the university church Saint Mary the Virgin, where he gained fame as a preacher. His sermons there were collected in *Parochial and Plain Sermons* (8 vols., 1834–1843), *Sermons Preached before the University of Oxford on Faith and Reason, 1826–1843* (1843), and *Sermons Bearing on Subjects of the Day* (1843).

In 1833 Newman traveled to the Mediterranean. He fell ill in Sicily, and there experienced a special vocation, which he expressed in the words "I have a work to do in England."

In September 1833, with publication of the first *Tract for the Times*, Newman launched the Oxford Movement, a high church movement within Anglicanism that emphasized Catholic elements in the Church of England and continuity with the early church. Editor of the series, he contributed twenty-nine tracts. During this period, he also wrote two important works: *Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church Viewed Relatively to Romanism and Popular Protestantism* (1837), which argued for the via media, or foundational position, of the Church of England as true representative of the unbroken tradition of the Fathers; and a theological masterpiece, *Lectures on Justification* (1838). In 1841 his *Tract 90*, in which he tried to give a Catholic interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles, touched off national alarm and was censured by the university and condemned by twenty-four Anglican bishops.

Research in patristics, together with his philosophy of development, at last led Newman to conclude that his *via media* existed only on paper and that the Anglican church was in fact schismatic. In 1841 he retired to Littlemore, near Oxford; he resigned the care of Saint Mary's in 1843 and his Oriel fellowship in 1845. That year he confirmed his position in *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine.* In the same year he converted to Roman Catholicism. After study at the College of Propaganda Fide in Rome, Newman was ordained a Catholic priest and entered the Congregation of the Oratory. Upon his return to England he founded an oratory at London and another at Birmingham, which in 1852 was transferred to nearby Edgbaston. There Newman remained until his death.

As a Catholic preacher and controversialist Newman wrote a novel, *Loss and Gain, the Story of a Convert* (1848); two collections of talks, *Discourses Addressed to Mixed Congregations* (1848) and *Lectures on Certain Difficulties Felt by Anglicans in Submitting to the Catholic Church* (1850); and a masterpiece of defensive controversy, *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England* (1851), which occasioned the Achilli trial in which Newman was prosecuted for libel. In 1851 he accepted the rectorship of the Catholic University of Dublin, but he resigned in 1859, believing that he had been unsuccessful in attaining his goals. His university publications, however, are among the best achievements of English prose: *Discourses on the Scope and Nature of University Education* (1852) and *Lectures and Essays on University Subjects* (1859), later published as *Idea of a University and Office and Work of Universities. Callista, a Sketch of the Third Century* (1855) reflects his own path from conscience to steadfast Christian faith.

In 1859 Newman founded the Oratory School and accepted the editorship of *The Rambler*, a magazine opposed by the Catholic bishops, in which Catholic laity and converts independently judged ecclesiastical affairs. Newman, who sympathized with the cause of lay emancipation and education, contributed to the magazine his famous article "On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine." This article was delated to Rome and, at the request of his bishop, Newman resigned the editorship in October 1859. He lived under the cloud of suspicion until his *Apologia pro vita sua* (1864), written in response to attacks by Charles Kingsley, at once won over public opinion. Henceforth Newman actually became the main authority in Catholic public affairs. Roman mistrust, manipulated by Cardinal Henry Manning, defeated his last attempt to found a Catholic college at Oxford in 1865, but Ambrose St. John, an Oratorian and his dearest friend, in 1867 cleared him of suspicion in Rome. Newman answered E. B. Pusey's criticism of the Roman Catholic cult of Mary in his *Letter to Rev. E. B. Pusey on his Recent Eirenicon* (1866).

Although invited, Newman refused to assist at the First Vatican Council. He believed in the pope's infallibility but strongly opposed its definition as unripe and inopportune. But when former prime minister William Gladstone attacked Catholics for being unable to remain loyal British subjects, Newman countered by giving, on solid theological grounds, the now generally accepted minimizing interpretation of papal infallibility in his *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk on Occasion of Mr. Gladstone's Recent Expostulation* (1875).

Newman revealed his deepest Catholic feelings in his longest poem, *The Dream of Gerontius* (1865), and presented his basic philosophical ideas on the working of the human mind in his *Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent* (1870). His last important publication was the "Preface to the Via Media" (1877), the introduction to a new edition of his main Anglican controversial writings. In 1877 he was elected the first honorary fellow of Trinity College. Pope Leo XIII created him cardinal deacon of San Giorgio in Velabro in 1879. He died on August 11, 1890, and was buried at Rednal.

THOUGHT. Newman's thought reflects the nature and development of his individual personality. An introverted and self-conscious man, he engaged in constant self-analysis, assimilating scholarship and personal experience to germinate the religious and philosophical insights that characterize his work. Hence his writings manifest those opposing forces and tendencies that made his mind "from opposition grow"—reason versus imagination, love of detail versus comprehensiveness, doubt versus certitude, faith versus sight, reserve versus frankness, emotionalism versus self-control, strategy versus honesty. These conflicting tendencies gave rise to a false image of Newman as sentimental, resentful, paradoxical, mysterious, and even deceitful, but in their integration they yield a thinker of greater complexity and genius, whose worldview combines the consistency of a logical system with the organic wholeness and beauty proper to a work of poetic imagination. This view was grounded in two basic religious experiences: that of conscience as the inner witness of God, and that of the material world's merely relative reality, which directs the soul to communication with an invisible world.

Conscience. For Newman, conscience is an original and irreducible "moral sense"; by it, without logical medium, people instinctively discriminate the morally good and bad in concrete situations. Its essential characteristic, through which it differs from all other inner spiritual senses (such as the sense of beauty), is an adjoined yet distinct "sense of duty" grasping the unconditional demand of doing the good and avoiding the evil. As such, conscience bears witness to the inner presence of an omniscient and almighty master. But it must develop from an implicit and confused feeling to an explicit and distinct apprehension and assent. Conscience may be silenced, although never extinguished, through infidelity and thoughtlessness. It grows in clarity and scope through faithfulness and attention, so that the inner voice of nature becomes recognized beyond doubt as an echo of the voice of God.

Sacramentality. At first doubting the reality of the exterior material world, Newman came to recognize its genuine reality as an instrumental one. The material world is the medium of communication between the soul and the invisible world of God and his heavenly court. Hence, Newman believed that God revealed himself in and through the visible historical world and that people communicate with him through sacramental actions.

First principles. Three principles derive from the experience of conscience and of world as sacramental medium. These ruled Newman's thought and judgment in all matters.

The principle of providence. All things and events—visible and invisible, natural and historical—are part of an almighty creator's universal providence. All are directed to one end: the manifestation of the creator's justice (reflected in the painful experiences of a bad conscience) and of his goodness (reflected in the joyful experiences of a good conscience). Newman's concept of God, stressing providence, has as counterpart his concept of the universe as a process of constant development. To be, to live, is to develop.

The principle of nature. God governs all things in conformity with their nature. Hence the supreme universal rule and method in the attempts to know the truth and to act rightly and adequately is to consider "the nature of the things" and to submit to what is required by "the nature of the case."

The principle of analogy. The universe as governed by God is a unity of extreme diversity. Unity implies conformity of part to part; diversity implies degrees of similarity. Hence Newman generally justifies a judicious use of argument from analogy and fittingness.

Epistemology. In accordance with the principle of nature, Newman's epistemology rests on a descriptive analysis of the nature of the mind and its actual operational patterns. The logic of the human mind cannot be established *a priori*; rather, mind must be scrutinized in all its complexity; one must ask how the mind generally proceeds in its quest for truth, and how it actually attains to certitude. The mind is spontaneously, instinctively, aware of an objective world of particular things, persons, and events. It apprehends the meaning of propositions about them and assents to these propositions if it feels them to rest upon convincing grounds. Inference is this movement of mind from premise to conclusion.

Assent is real (termed also "imaginative") when the meaning grasped strikes the imagination as a concrete reality, rousing the individual's powers of affection and action. Assent is notional when the meaning grasped conveys to the intellect alone combinations of general concepts. These two aspects may and should go together, giving the mind depth and holding power combined with breadth and clarity of view. Inference differs from assent in that inference is by its nature conditional and admits of degrees, whereas assent is by its nature unconditional and does not admit of degrees.

Inference is either formal or informal. Formal inference is deduction from general principles and can neither prove its first principles nor reach conclusions regarding concrete states of affairs. This gap must be bridged by informal inference, at its most spontaneous and implicit termed "natural" inference. An individual mind, at the convergence of independent probabilities, indications, and clues—often too numerous and too subtle to be exhaustively analyzable—grasps the concrete pattern of evidence and its conclusion *per modum unius*, by an act of intuitive comprehensive imagination. Newman calls this mental power the "illative sense." It is a power of judgment, in part a gift of nature, in part the result of experience and exercise. As a power of concrete, and not merely notional, judgment, it may depend upon mastery in a specific field of endeavor.

Newman's account of inference stresses its status as mental attitude; it is an attitude toward the conclusion as following from its premises. Likewise, Newman contrasts certitude with certainty. Certainty pertains to propositions in their formal interrelation; certitude pertains to the living mind in exercise of the illative sense.

Theology and the sciences. Reality is one, but complex. The conceptual knowledge of reality is one in its ultimate aim, but by virtue of its abstractive nature, knowledge necessarily divides into an increasing number of sciences treating various parts and aspects of the whole. The intellect can neither take in the whole nor adequately reconstruct it by addition and composition of all the available sciences. Each science has its own principles and methods imposed by the nature of the subject matter. Hence a certain amount of disagreement between scientific views is inevitable. The clash between the exact sciences and theological science may be expected. Scientists will easily imagine that their conclusions are irreconcilable with faith, for the experiences with which theology starts are rather elusive, whereas the data of the exact sciences are clearer and more compelling; moreover, the prevailing methods of the exact sciences are inductive, whereas those of theology are deductive.

As truth is one, the very evolution of scientific investigation may be expected to solve the difficulties that it raises. Hence, total freedom, tolerance, dialogue, mutual esteem, and understanding should govern the relationship between all the sciences in their living coexistence.

Faith. For Newman, faith is both objective and subjective. As objective, faith is a doctrinal system of revealed truths, articulated in plain human language, inadequate yet true. This is the principle of dogma, which Newman sternly opposed to all forms of religious or theological liberalism. It is contained in scripture, gradually clarified in the life of the church under the guidance of divine providence (the Holy Spirit), in the course of history confirmed, at least in its essentials, by its magisterium, and proposed as a condition of ecclesiastical membership by its present authority. In the end, Newman saw this Catholic position as being in the nature of a church called to survive substantially in the flux of historical experience.

As subjective, faith is acceptance of dogma combined with a personal surrender to the realities signified by dogma, that is, real apprehension and assent. It is a gift of God's "illuminating grace," yet justified by reason.

Influence. During his years in the Anglican church, Newman was the most influential leader of the Oxford Movement, defining the position of Anglo-Catholicism in the Church of England and deepening the life of devotion through his sermons. In the Roman Catholic church his controversial writings, especially his *Apologia*, fostered among the British people a better knowledge of and higher esteem for his religion and his coreligionists. Moreover, his minimizing theological attitude in matters of faith and his critical open-mindedness with regard to difficulties and disagreements prepared that spirit of dialogue and conciliation in the Roman Catholic church that characterizes so much of contemporary theological thought and is believed to have strongly influenced the spirit of the Second Vatican Council.

Perhaps Newman's most important influence is that which his ideas increasingly exercise on contemporary thought, especially through his pioneering investigations into the nature and workings of the human mind in the individual (*Grammar of Assent*) and in society (*Development of Christian Doctrine*). Further, his *Idea of a University* has become a classic in intellectual education and the philosophy of the sciences. In this last regard it is widely known that Newman influenced Alfred North Whitehead.

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NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

This entry consists of the following articles:

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HISTORY OF STUDY
SCRIPTURES OF NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS
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NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS: AN OVERVIEW

Scholars adopted the term *new religious movements* (NRMs) in order to avoid the pejorative connotations of the popularly used term *cult.* Although the word *cult* originally referred to an organized system of worship (and is still used in that sense by scholars in several disciplines), *cult* began to take on negative connotations in popular discourse in the 1960s and 1970s, when a variety of unconventional religions appeared in North America. The word conveyed a stereotype that prevented objective research into these religions; moreover, NRMs were so different from one another that it was impossible to generalize about them. Instead, NRM scholars preferred to investigate each new religion separately without imposing the filter of a stereotype. Beginning in the 1970s, people called "deprogrammers" began illegally kidnapping NRM members and attempting to undo their alleged "brainwashing," curtailing their civil liberties in the process. As a result, many NRM scholars began to advocate freedom of religion for NRMs. While scholars admit that some members of NRMs have committed abusive and illegal acts (as have members of mainstream religions and people who have no religious commitments), they advise that law enforcement agencies exercise discipline when investigating claims of wrongdoing, rather than overreacting.

New religious movements emerge from humans' creativity and capacity for religious expression, providing spiritual meaning and social connection for their members, just as mainstream religious groups do. Contemporary NRMs manifest the increasing pluralism associated with greater ease of global travel and communications.

NRMs provide arenas for theological and social experimentation. Some of these experiments are successful and result in lasting religious organizations that exert broad cultural and theological influences. Some experiments are less successful, resulting in small groups that are not influential or lasting. A few produce groups whose beliefs and practices are deemed utterly abhorrent by the wider society.

NRMs exist in varying degrees of tension within their respective religious and cultural contexts. To survive for the long-term, however, this tension must not become too great, and may indeed be mitigated over time. On the other hand, some degree of tension with society can attract converts who are dissatisfied with the spirituality and practices of mainstream religious institutions.

NRMs may be alternative in terms of theology, leadership, authority structures, gender roles, family and sexual relationships, and religious practices.

DIVERSITY OF NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS. The term *new religious movements* covers many types of religious movements and groups: religions that were introduced into a culture by missionary representatives from world religions abroad, such as the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) or other Asian-based religions with converts in the West, as well as Christian groups in China and Japan; religious groups that were brought into new cultural contexts by recent immigrants, such as Muslims in the West; groups that evolved out of a more established tradition, such as the Branch Davidians, which emerged from Seventh-day Adventism; reconfigurations of religious themes in traditional religions, such as Kurozumikyō, Tenrikyō, and other new religions in Japan; revivals of suppressed religious traditions, such as contemporary Pagan movements in eastern Europe; creative mergings of diverse religious traditions, such as the African Independent Churches (AICs; often called African Initiated Churches), which combined Christianity with African beliefs and modes of worship, or the New Age movement's blend of different religions and spiritualities; imaginative and syncretistic re-creations of preexisting religious traditions, such as Neopaganism in North America; organizations that coalesced around new formulations of teachings found in alternative religious traditions, such as the Theosophical Society, which grew out of the Western Esoteric tradition and borrowed from virtually all the world's religions; or millennial movements that formed in response to new cultural conditions or oppression (such as the Ghost Dance movement among Plains Native Americans in the nineteenth century) or innovations (such as the UFO movement known as the Raelians). However innovative they may be, NRMs always utilize elements of earlier religious traditions as building blocks to construct their new theologies, practices, and organizations.

NRMs are diverse in terms of their authority, organizational structures, and levels of commitment required of their members. For example, ISKCON in the 1960s and 1970s demanded much from its participants and had a communal structure; on the other hand, the Theosophical Society has organizational structures on the local, national, and international levels, is not communal for the most part, and does not require prospective members to pledge a large commitment of resources. Falun Gong is a network of like-minded people, and the New Age movement is an alternative milieu in which people move from one group or teacher to another, appropriating what works for them as individuals. Some NRM members may make significant investments of time, money, identities, marriages, families, and careers to a group, only to find out later that leaving the group involves very high "exit costs." These exit costs may make it difficult for them to leave the group, even if they would like to. Many other NRM members, however, attend their alternative group and imbibe its worldview only sporadically, enjoying the socializing once or twice a week, much the way members of mainstream religions attend their churches, synagogues, and mosques.

NRMs also vary in terms of their size and influence. Many NRMs have remained small, localized groups, while others have become large denominations, such as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons) and Church of Christ, Scientist (Christian Science). A few NRMs have become world religions, such as Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam. Many others remain diffuse milieus containing many individuals and groups, such as Western Esotericism. Often, a NRM gives birth to its own movement, as additional groups and teachers continue the process of splitting off to form separate organizations, while continuing to contribute to an environment of shared ideas and practices, such as the Theosophical and the New Thought movements.

New religious movements also have different modes of origination. Many NRMs have been founded by prophets with new revelations, or messiahs who claim to have the superhuman power to create a millennial collective salvation; many others consist of movements of people who have contributed to an alternative worldview, such as Christian Identity.

New religions provide social spaces for experimentation in alternative theologies, gender roles, sexual relations, leadership structures, and group organization. Some of these experiments, such as free love and polygamy, have not been successful in the West because the wider society condemned and opposed them. Other experiments have succeeded and influenced mainstream society, such as theologies that emphasize the divine feminine, or imagine God to be both male and female, or view the ultimate reality as a neuter and impersonal force, counteracting the patriarchal conception of God. These alternative theological conceptions, such as the Christian Science Father-Mother God, the Wiccan Great Goddess, or the Theosophical impersonal ultimate, have influenced—directly or indirectly—mainstream Christian theologies; they have prefigured theological innovations in mainstream denominations. NRMs have experimented with women's religious leadership and feminist gender roles; consequently, many mainstream religious institutions have promoted women's equality and leadership. Yet many NRMs have opted to institutionalize patriarchal gender roles and traditional conceptions of God, often in reaction to changes in society and religion.

New religions scholars will continue to observe a particular new religious movement and the changes that occur as the new group matures, as long as the worldview, practices, and organization remain alternative, unconventional, somewhat marginal, and in some degree of tension with the mainstream cultural context. Thus, some NRMs will continue to be studied by NRM scholars well past the time they are no longer "new." The tension with the mainstream society may arise due to alternative theology or worldview, practices, organization, leadership, gender roles, sexual practices, or other factors.

NEW RELIGIONS STUDIES. New religions studies became an emerging field in the late 1960s and 1970s, when numerous unconventional religions attracted attention from the general public. In the early twenty-first century, this maturing field has produced scholarly analysis and many insights important to the study of religions.

Investigation into new religions is an extension of the comparative and interdisciplinary study of religions. The study of new religions is the study of *religions* in all their diversity and creativity. Many NRM studies have focused on Western cultural contexts, but the field is increasingly becoming international in scope, examining numerous religious movements emerging from, and finding themselves in tension with, different cultures.

New religions studies is interdisciplinary. Most contributors to the field have been historians of religions and sociologists. Scholars who contribute to NRM studies also belong to the fields of psychology, anthropology, folklore, and linguistics.

CONTEXTS CONDUCIVE TO PRODUCING NRMS. Any context may produce NRMs, because nonconformists and innovators exist in any culture. Certain contexts, however, involving cultural disruption, change, and a high degree of exchange of ideas and people, seem particularly conducive to producing NRMs.

New religions have arisen in various times and places as a result of the migration of peoples and the exchange of ideas. This process has been accelerated in today's world due to the relative ease of travel and worldwide communication by electronic means, including the Internet. The United States, and Japan from the nineteenth century on, have been particularly fertile grounds for the creation of new religions, as people in both countries have confronted the changes affecting work, family, technology, values, and the mobility of peoples throughout the world associated with modernity and postmodernity. Growth in the number of new religions is one characteristic of the world's increasing pluralism.

Oppressive contexts, in which an invading colonial power possessing advanced technology and military advantage seizes the land and wealth of an indigenous people, disrupts their traditional way of life, and causes loss of life, are ripe for spawning new religious movements. A colonial power will import its own religion into the new context, where it will be adapted to the values, concepts, and practices of the indigenous culture, giving rise to new religious movements such as the numerous African Independent Churches or the Latin American folk Catholic movements and Pentecostal churches. Millennial movements with new prophets and messiahs are likely to emerge among indigenous peoples desperate for liberation from their oppressors and difficult conditions. Some of these movements may be revolutionary, such as Cuscat's War (1867–1870) in Mexico, led by the Mayan prophet Pedro Díaz Cuscat, while others may promote the expectation of salvation by divine intervention, such as the Ghost Dance movement among Plains Native Americans in the late nineteenth century. Many millennial movements reacting to poverty and oppression have set up separate communities, such as Joaseiro do Norte in Brazil or Nueva Jerusalén in Mexico.

Newly opened or liberating contexts can also give rise to a proliferation of NRMs. For instance, the demise of the

Soviet Union at the end of the 1980s created contexts in Russia, the former Soviet states, and eastern Europe that were very receptive to the importation of NRMs, the resurgence of indigenous Pagan religious expressions, and the creation of new religions. The fall of communism as a dominant worldview and state structure in these areas left a vacuum of meaning that people quickly filled.

CHARISMATIC LADERS AND THE BRAINWASHING DEBATE. Members of the general public, attempting to explain why people join strange religious groups with unusual beliefs and behaviors, have often resorted to what James T. Richardson has called "the myth of the omnipotent leader" and the corresponding "myth of the passive, brainwashed follower" (cited in Wessinger, *How the Millennium Comes Violently,* 2000, 273–274). In subscribing to these perspectives, however, citizens forget that the beliefs and practices of any religion appear to be bizarre from the outsider's vantage point. Instead, people in the mainstream assume that the so-called "charismatic leader" wields an invisible and irresistible power over his or her brainwashed followers.

Charisma. *Charisma,* in the popular sense, refers to the characteristics of an attractive individual gifted with excellent communications skills, but historians of religions and sociologists use the term to designate a different quality often found in religious leaders. In a religious studies and sociological sense, *charisma* refers to an attribute possessed by an individual whom people believe has access to an unseen source of authority, such as revelation from God, angels, spirits, ancestors, or even extraterrestrials. The source of the authority is unseen, so people either believe or reject the claim. Charisma is socially constructed. If no one believes the individual's claim, then he or she does not have charisma in this sense. No one can become a charismatic leader without the support and allegiance of believers, and the followers can withdraw their faith in the leader at any time.

Not all NRMs are founded or led by charismatic leaders, but this type of leadership is common in the first generation of a movement. Thereafter, authority usually becomes "routinized" (Weber, 1946) into offices that people may obtain by an institutionalized credentialing process.

Given that followers can withdraw allegiance, Thomas Robbins and Dick Anthony (1995), following Max Weber, have pointed to the inherent instability of charismatic leadership. The leader may go to great lengths to continue to win the faith of followers. If such faith is forthcoming, the charismatic leader may be emboldened to demand even greater actions demonstrating commitment, involving sacrifices in relation to family, sexuality, property, and even acts of violence. If followers carry out acts of coercion and violence in support of the leader and the leader's vision, he or she can then exert totalitarian control, making it very difficult for people to leave the group. Examples of leaders possessing charisma whose followers carried out coercive actions with varying degrees and scopes of influence include Jim Jones (1931–1978) of the Peoples Temple and Jonestown, Asahara Shōkō (b. 1955) of Aum Shinrikyō, and Adolf Hitler (1889–1945). Although Adolf Hitler may appear to have been solely a political leader, he was also the messiah of a revolutionary millennial movement (see below), and he claimed to be destined by "Nature" to lead the Germans into a collective salvation called the "Third Reich."

Many NRMs, such as the Theosophical Society, have democratic structures of authority. These democracies often develop after the death of a charismatic founder. Also, it is important to note that many, probably most, charismatic leaders *do not* become totalitarian and do not lead their believers into disaster.

Brainwashing Debate. Most social scientists studying NRMs have concluded that indoctrination practices in NRMs are not inherently different from those practiced in mainstream institutions, such as families, schools, churches, the military, and prisons. They reject the concept that anyone's will can be overcome by a mysterious power of "mind control" or "brainwashing." This is not to say that social and interpersonal influence techniques are not present, as they are in all social situations. Although most NRMs do not use coercive practices to retain members, a few have. An NRM cannot become coercive, however, without the willing complicity of at least some of its members.

An example of an NRM that actively attempted to practice brainwashing is Aum Shinrikyō, the criminal Japanese new religion active in the late 1980s through the mid-1990s. Aum devotees kidnapped, imprisoned, starved, drugged, subjected to electric shocks, and abused people in attempts to convert them. None of these people became believers, although many of them were severely injured or killed. On the other hand, Aum members who willingly went through socialization processes, such as listening to the guru's lectures, working long hours for the organization, listening to audiotaped affirmations, and enduring immersions in cold water and hot water as ascetic practices, were committed believers. The contrast between these two types of people illustrates that socialization processes are most effective when the individual willingly participates in them.

People join new religions for numerous reasons: the worldview makes sense to them; they find benefits in the religious practices; they have preexisting affective bonds with family members and friends who are members; they like the people and the alternative community and "family" they have found; the group offers a sense of belonging and social support; they enjoy the adventure offered in terms of travel and new lifestyles; the new religion enables them to live out their commitments to values and beliefs that were inculcated by their upbringing; they like the roles of men and women; they become emotionally attracted to the leader for various reasons; membership offers therapeutic benefits in dealing with personal problems and life transitions.

The rapid turnover of membership that is common to most NRMs disproves the brainwashing theory, which claims that people are unable to resist the mesmerizing influence exerted by a charismatic leader. For instance, The Family (formerly the Children of God) had about fifty-seven thousand people join during its first twenty-five years, but only about three thousand adult members remained at the end of that time (See statistics on NRMs summarized in Richardson 2003 and Palmer 2003). People leave a new religion when they lose faith or become disenchanted with the group and its lifestyle and leadership.

NEW RELIGIONS AND SCRIPTURES. New religions offer new interpretations of traditional scriptures, such as the Bible and the Qurʾān, and often produce their own scriptures.

The scriptures of established religious traditions are so internally diverse that, for centuries, leaders, prophets, messiahs, and ordinary people have offered new interpretations of them; these new readings have often led to the formation of new movements.

The founders of new religions claiming divine revelation often produce new scriptures themselves, while sometimes people's written memories of these individuals become new scriptures. For example, Joseph Smith, Jr. claimed to have translated a text engraved on golden tablets, which became known as the Book of Mormon, a scripture important to Mormons (along with the Bible).

New interpretations of established scriptures and the production of new scriptures is an important part of the creativity of religion-making. In the twenty-first century, additional scriptures may be found in nonwritten media, such as movies, videos, audiotapes, CDs, and websites. Whatever the medium, scriptures address the meaning and purpose of life and provide advice on proper living. Scriptures convey a worldview in which meaningful human life is possible.

WOMEN AND GENDER ROLES IN NRMS. Many NRMs experiment with gender roles and sexuality. Some NRMs enforce conservative patriarchal gender roles (such as the Unification Church and the Twelve Tribes), many are attractive primarily to heterosexuals, others welcome people of all sexual orientations (such as the Raelians), some encourage free love within the group (such as The Family, Raelians, and the followers of Rajneesh in the 1970s), while others promote celibacy (such as the Shakers and the Brahma Kumaris).

A conservative NRM that follows the Bible or the Qurʾān (such as the Twelve Tribes and the Nation of Islam, respectively) may encourage traditional heterosexual marriages and male headship of the family. Some NRMs have experimented with polygamy, such as the nineteenth-century Latter-day Saints (Mormons) and contemporary Mormon splinter groups. The Branch Davidians practiced celibacy for ordinary members, but their leader, David Koresh (1959–1993), took numerous wives, with whom he had children to fulfill his interpretations of biblical prophecies.

Other NRMs promote equality for women and do not restrict women to the roles of wife and mother. Often, these religions welcome people of all sexual orientations, such as the Raelian group. Neopaganism has been particularly woman-affirming in its emphasis on a Great Goddess, multiple goddesses, and the sacredness of Earth.

When patriarchal religious institutions are dominant in the mainstream, women's religious leadership is necessarily exercised on the margins of society in unconventional religions. Women have founded new religions, and women in NRMs have been acknowledged as being prophets, messiahs, theologians, and philosophers. For instance, Mother Ann Lee (1736–1784), who in the late eighteenth century founded the Shakers—which promoted women's liberation through men and women living together in celibate communities—was regarded by the Shakers as the "Second Appearing of Christ in female form." Helena P. Blavatsky (1831–1891), an unconventional Russian world traveler, articulated the philosophical basis for Theosophy and claimed to be in touch with enlightened masters via psychic means. Mary Baker Eddy (1821–1910) received a healing and revelation that led her to write her magnum opus, *Science and Health, With Key to the Scriptures* (1875) and found the Church of Christ, Scientist.

Scholar Mary Farrell Bednarowski (1980) has pointed out that NRMs founded by women or that have women as leaders often develop a view of God that either promotes a divine feminine, perhaps balanced with a divine masculine aspect of God, or sees the ultimate reality as impersonal.

CHILDREN IN NEW RELIGIONS. Children are a highly sensitive topic with respect to NRMs, and the scholarly study of children in NRMs is just beginning. Children in NRMs are often the subjects of custody battles between the parent who is a member and the parent who is not a member or who has left the group. People in mainstream society often fear for the welfare of children in NRMs because of their unorthodox practices and beliefs. Under these circumstances, exaggerated allegations are often made about the treatment of children in NRMs. Sometimes there is a real basis for these concerns, but often there is not. For instance, authorities have seized children from two alternative Christian groups, the Twelve Tribes and The Family, only to have to return them later when no evidence of abuse could be produced. On the other hand, the leader of the Nuwaubian Nation of Moors was convicted in 2004 for sexually abusing children, and the International Society for Krishna Consciousness in the late 1990s and early 2000s had to confront the damage caused by abuse of children placed in ISKCON boarding schools. The highly publicized pedophilia scandal in the Roman Catholic Church in the early 2000s reminds us that abuse of children can occur in mainstream religions and not only in the unconventional ones.

Fears about children in NRMs can lead to overreactions from law enforcement officials. The two assaults against the Branch Davidians in 1993 by federal agents purportedly were motivated by concerns about the safety of the children, but their actions resulted in the deaths of twenty-three children under the age of fifteen (including two who were born in the fire when their pregnant mothers died and then died themselves), five teenagers over fifteen, eighteen people in their twenties, and their parents. A number of the young women who died in the fire were the mothers of the eighteen children who were eight years old or younger who died with them. In the Branch Davidian case, the matter of child abuse did not fall under federal jurisdiction. The Branch Davidians had been investigated for child abuse by Texas authorities and the case was closed for lack of evidence. While the allegations of severe corporal punishment remain unsubstantiated, David Koresh was, in fact, having sex with underage girls with the permission of their parents, and the girls were bearing his children.

Religiously committed parents want their children to be raised in the lifestyle they deem best according to their deeply held beliefs. This is the case for parents who belong to mainstream, as well as marginal, religions. Difficulties arise when the values of parents in unconventional religions diverge radically from the values of mainstream society.

Sometimes parents in a new religion hold to a faith so strongly that they permit their daughters to be married at early ages, as with the Branch Davidians and contemporary polygamous Mormons. On rare occasions, strongly committed parents may kill their children to achieve an ultimate goal by collective suicide, which occurred at Jonestown in 1978 and with the Solar Temple in 1994 and 1995.

The vast majority of parents in NRMs do not go to these extremes, however. Scholars recognize the need for additional research into the benign situations of children in NRMs, as well as in the cases where harm was done. Close scholarly examinations of children in NRMs will likely reveal complex situations possessing both positive and negative features.

MILLENNIALISM. The religious patterns that scholars term *millennialism*—belief in an imminent transition to a collective salvation (either earthly or heavenly) effected by a supernatural or superhuman agent—are ideal for promoting new religious movements. Persuading people that a catastrophic destruction of the world is imminent, and that salvation can be found only among the "elect" who join the new religion and have faith in its prophet or messiah and his or her message, is a powerful factor in motivating people to convert. Likewise, an anticipation of an imminent, nonviolent, progressive transformation into a new age in accordance with a divine plan can motivate people to join the movement to facilitate the collective salvation. Millennial beliefs are often, but not always, found in new religious movements.

NEW RELIGIONS AND VIOLENCE. It is well known that members of dominant religious traditions often commit violence or become caught up in violence While the vast majority of NRMs do not become involved in violence, some have been involved in spectacular cases of violence. Excluding the inevitable isolated incidents caused by deranged individuals, religious violence is typically *interactive* in nature. The quality of the interactions of people in mainstream society—law enforcement agents and other government officials, reporters, psychologists and social workers, citizens, concerned relatives, and anticultists—with members of a new religion helps determine whether or not tragic violence occurs. It is seldom only the believers who contribute to a situation that culminates in violence, although their actions and the content of their faith certainly do affect the overall scenario.

Assaulted NRMs. Members of NRMs do not always initiate the violence; sometimes, they are attacked by others. When members of a new religious movement are assaulted, they may or may not fight back. The early Christians did not fight back when they were assaulted. Some of the early Christians, as well as some Falun Gong practitioners in the early twenty-first century, may have deliberately put themselves in danger of being harmed by the state. Conversely, the Branch Davidians tried to defend themselves in 1993.

Fragile NRMs. A few new religions become fragile in reaction to internal weaknesses and experiences of opposition from society. Members of a fragile NRM initiate violence to preserve their endangered religious goal. Their violence may be directed outwardly against perceived enemies, inwardly against members, or both. Jonestown in Guyana (1978); the Solar Temple in Switzerland, Quebec, and France (1994, 1995, 1997); Aum Shinrikyō in Japan (1995); and Heaven's Gate in the United States (1997) are examples of fragile groups. The Movement for the Restoration of the Ten Commandments of God (MRTCG) (2000), a Catholic Marian apparition group in Uganda involved in the deaths of about 780 people, also may have been a fragile millennial group.

Revolutionary NRMs. The most dangerous NRMs are the ones that are revolutionary. These are usually revolutionary millennial movements seeking to achieve a collective salvation on Earth. They use violence to try to overthrow what they see as the corrupt order to create a new one. The Taiping Revolution in China from 1850 to 1864 and the German Nazis in the twentieth century can be seen as revolutionary NRMs. Al-Qāʿidah is a contemporary example of a revolutionary NRM. Even in the cases of revolutionary NRMs, however, the quality of interactions of people in mainstream society with nonbelievers is crucial for stimulating the believers' sense of being persecuted, thus confirming their convictions that revolutionary violence is needed to achieve a collective salvation for those who are identified as worthy of being included in the "elect."

Dualism. A dualistic outlook usually contributes to episodes of violence involving new religious movements. An extreme dualism entails a rigid perspective of good versus evil, or of us versus them. But dualism is not restricted to religious believers. In these interactive conflicts, dualism can usually be discerned in the worldviews of reporters, anticult activists, law enforcement agents, politicians, and government officials. Among the religious believers, the dualism is often associated with a millennial outlook that expects catastrophic destruction before salvation is achieved for the elect.

GOVERNMENTAL OPPOSITION TO NRMS: FREEDOM OF RELIGION ISSUES. It is a serious matter when a religion is called a "cult" or "sect" by a government and the general public. Labeling a group with the pejorative term *cult* or an equivalent term promotes opposition, discrimination, and even persecution of the believers, with possible disastrous consequences. The believers become dehumanized by the pejorative label, and outsiders may believe it is morally right to exterminate them.

Scholarship on the Branch Davidian conflict in 1993 indicates that federal agents were motivated in great part by the "cult" stereotype to carry out two assaults against the community. The media depicted the Branch Davidians as "cultists" during the fifty-one-day siege; as a result, much of the American public approved of the gas-and-tank assault carried out by the Federal Bureau of Investigation that resulted in the deaths of seventy-four Branch Davidians. In all, eighty Branch Davidians and four law enforcement agents died in what was later determined to be an unnecessary conflict. David Koresh had consistently expressed his willingness to cooperate with authorities, from the initial investigations to the fiery end, provided the Branch Davidians were permitted to remain faithful to their biblical concerns.

During 1999 and the early 2000s, Falun Gong was the most visible among many persecuted religious groups in the People's Republic of China. Falun Gong adherents, who practiced a form of *qigong* (exercises designed to enhance *qi,* or life force), surprised officials in the Chinese Communist Party in 1999 by coordinating a protest gathering of more than ten thousand people near the Beijing residence of the highest party leaders. Despite being labeled an "evil cult" and outlawed, Falun Gong practitioners continued to assert their right to freedom of religion by practicing their *qigong* exercises in public places, such as Tiananmen Square, where they were arrested. Reportedly, hundreds of Falun Gong practitioners died in custody. All of the official forces of the People's Republic of China, including the media, were mobilized in the repression of Falun Gong practitioners.

In the mid- to late 1990s, France and Belgium issued reports and passed laws against *sectes,* the pejorative term equivalent to *cults.* Minority religions of all types unfortunate enough to be included on the lists of *sectes* were subjected to harassment and surveillance by law enforcement agents, and members lost jobs and suffered other civil disabilities.

Russia and former Soviet republics in the late 1990s and early 2000s took steps to curtail the legal rights of minority religious groups and to favor traditional historical churches, such as the Russian Orthodox Church in Russia and the Armenian Apostolic Church in Armenia. In 2004, the city of Moscow banned the religious activities of Jehovah's Witnesses, including holding meetings and services in private homes. In Turkmenistan, all religions other than approved Islam and Russian Orthodoxy were banned; members of all other religions were treated harshly.

The ideologies of the American anticult and countercult (evangelical Christian) movements have been exported to other countries, where the anticult/countercult perspective is utilized to curtail religious freedoms and justify state-sponsored repression and violence against unconventional religious groups. Phillip Charles Lucas (2004) points out that the right to freedom of religion needs to be balanced with the concern that some religious groups may be engaged in illegal and harmful activities. The "cult" stereotype promoted by the anticult and countercult movements has promoted religious bigotry and has led to extreme actions on the part of authorities in various countries.

When authorities suspect illegal activities on the part of NRM members, they should conduct a careful investigation and ensure that the actions of law enforcement agents conform to reasonable and moderate procedures to avoid causing unnecessary harm. Furthermore, law enforcement agents should consult with credentialed scholars of religions.

NRMs are religions. They represent the creativity of the human spirit. They are novel, alternative, and unconventional in their cultural contexts, and thus they live in some degree of tension with society. At the same time, they express the universal human yearning for contact with the sacred, and in this regard they are neither novel nor unusual. Because they are religions-in-formation, the study of them sheds light on all religions, as well as on the perpetual human quest for meaning.

New religions studies is focused on emergent, alternative, and unconventional religions in any given cultural context, thus it is interdisciplinary in approach and multicultural in scope. Because of the cultural opposition that often confronts NRMs, scholars in the field also study social control efforts directed against NRMs. The field represents an important extension of the study of religions in all their diversity.

SEE ALSO African Religions, article on New Religious Movements; Anticult Movements; Aum Shinrikyō; Blavatsky, H. P.; Brainwashing (Debate); Branch Davidians; Charisma; Christian Identity Movement; Christian Science; Cults and Sects; Eddy, Mary Baker; Esotericism; Falun Gong; Family, The; Ghost Dance; Heaven's Gate; International Society for Krishna Consciousness; Jehovah's Witnesses; Jones, Jim; Jonestown and Peoples Temple; Koresh, David; Law and Religion, article on Law and New Religious Movements; Lee, Ann; Mormonism; Movement for the Restoration of the Ten Commandments of God; Nation of Islam; Neopaganism; New Age Movement; New Thought Movement; Raëlians; Shakers; Smith, Joseph; Sōka Gakkai; Taiping; Theosophical Society; Twelve Tribes; UFO Religions; Unification Church; Wicca.

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CATHERINE WESSINGER (2005)

NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS: HISTORY OF STUDY

In the 1970s a new subfield in academia developed around the study of what was termed *new religions.* Though minority religions had regularly populated the fringes of Western culture throughout history, a host of new religious movements had appeared in North America at the end of the 1960s and incited public controversy. Parents of the young adults who had joined many of these groups mounted fierce battles against what they termed *cults.* In order to present a more balanced view, early research efforts began, initially in the San Francisco Bay metropolitan area, to explore these groups from an academic perspective. At the time, it was assumed by some that the sudden burst of new religions was merely a passing phenomenon, particularly related to the social unrest of the 1960s. The long-term role of the many diverse movements was more fully understood only after their growth continued over several decades. Still in its relative infancy, the study of new religions was dramatically affected by the murder/suicides that occurred at Jonestown, Guyana, in November 1978.

NEW RELIGIONS STUDIES. The contemporary study of new religions grew from two roots: the study of cults (or in Europe, sects) through the early twentieth century, and the burst of new religious life in Japan following World War II. Through the late nineteenth century, observers of the trends in American religion realized that pluralism was altering the Christian community and that a number of "heretical" expressions were demanding a place on the spiritual landscape. By the end of the century, the first book had appeared that labeled some of these diverse religions "cults." Then, through the first half of the twentieth century, scholars and church leaders tried to discover why people would forsake traditional religions for these obviously false new religious expressions. Among these movements in question were Spiritualism, Mormonism, Theosophy, Christian Science, and New Thought. At the same time a variety of Christian literature denouncing the different groups would begin to circulate as part of an effort to stop their growth and keep Christians from straying toward them.

Simultaneously, with the growth of religious pluralism, both the psychology and sociology of religion developed as distinctive areas of concentration within the emerging social sciences. Pioneering scholars would attempt overviews of the different new religions. Favored targets were commonly independent African American groups such as Father Divine's Peace Mission and the Church of God and Saints of Christ; proselytizing Christian sectarian groups including Jehovah's Witnesses and Seventh-day Adventists; and alternative religions with distinctive practices, among them Spiritualism and Christian Science. The new Pentecostal movement with its unfamiliar practice of speaking in tongues spread across America just as observers were trying to make sense of Spiritualist séances, metaphysical healing, and occult fortunetelling.

The first generation of scholarly comment on new religions range from the rather empathetic remarks of William James in his classic, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902), to the caustic ridicule heaped on the Pentecostals by

James' Harvard College colleague, George B. Cutten, in his *Speaking with Tongues: Historically and Psychologically Considered* (1927).

Prior to the 1950s, the study of "cults" was a fringe topic. Only a few scholars showed any long-term interest in the subject, and only a handful of Christian scholars wrote more than a single book on the topic. Among the few titles that attempted to go beyond a negative reductionist approach to the various groups and adopt, with relative success, an understanding of them as valid religious expressions that needed to be understood in their own right were Elmer T. Clark's *The Psychology of Religious Awakening* (1929); Louis R. Binder's *Modern Religious Cults and Society* (1933); and Arthur Huff Fauset's *Black Gods of the Metropolis: Negro Religious Cults of the Urban North* (1944). Among those who denounced the heretical teachings of the groups was Reformed Church minister Jan Karel Van Baalen, whose *Chaos of the Cults* first appeared in 1938. His somewhat careful study of the teachings of the "cults" was motivated by a desire to show how untenable they were in the light of Protestant orthodoxy.

The largely negative approach to the alternative religious groups was firmly established in the 1930s. The search for a rationale to explain why religious groups, outside of the limited pluralism marked by the major American denominations, could attract a following—albeit a minority one—dominated scholarly writing of the era. Attraction to the new religions was seen as a product of economic, social, and educational deprivation, if not actually linked to ill-defined psychological disturbances.

TRANSITION. A transition from the earlier, more negative approach to new religions occurred in the two decades following World War II. In England, sociologist Bryan Wilson (1926–2004) began to look at what he termed sectarian religion. Following a format already applied to the more familiar churches, both state-sponsored and free, Wilson began to explore the different behavior and theologies proposed by individual sects and ask questions about the social organization of those groups then visible in England, North America, and Africa. His work, published in several books through the 1960s, led to a system of classifying sects according to the variant paths to salvation they outlined for their members:

conversionist,
revolutionist,
introversionist,
manipulationist,
thamaturgical,
reformist,
and utopian.

In a similar vein, church historian Elmer Clark, surveying American groups, classified them according to their dominant organizational thrust, thus finding sects that were:

pessimistic (or adventist),
perfectionist (or subjectivist),
charismatic (or pentecostal),
communistic,
legalistic (or objectivists),
egocentric (the New Thought groups),
and esoteric (or mystical).

It is to be noted that both Wilson and Clark developed their classification schema apart from the emerging distinction between sect and cult, and both included in their discussion some groups that would later be seen as sects (Salvation Army, Christadelphians) and those thought of as "new religions" (Christian Science, Jehovah's Witnesses) under the single rubric of sects. This approach had the benefit of allowing consideration of some otherwise orthodox Christian groups that evidenced out-of-the-ordinary behavior, such as speaking in tongues, contemporary revelations, communalism, and apocalypticism.

Joining Wilson and Clark was Marcus Bach, one of the first faculty members of the University of Iowa's pioneering religious-studies department. Bach was the first to teach a class on new religions and to invite members of the groups under discussion to come into his class and speak to students. He would go on to author a number of books with catchy titles, such as *Strange Sects and Curious Cults* (1906), that nevertheless offered the general public a factual and empathetic entrance into the life of groups such as the Amish, the Doukhobors, the Hutterites, and Father Divine's Peace Mission.

Whereas Clark's and Bach's influence was largely through their books, Wilson emerged as the teacher of a new generation of British scholars, mostly sociologists, who began in the 1970s to make the study of new religions their primary research field. His students, including Roy Wallis, and others inspired by his example, such as Eileen Barker and James Beckford, would arrive on the scene just as interest turned to emerging studies about Japan and its religious sects.

As a new generation of scholars in North America and Europe were absorbing Clark and Wilson, the Japanese religious community was in some turmoil. Nearly a century of suppression of Japan's diverse religions ended decisively with the introduction of American-style religious freedom in 1945. Over the next decade, a number of religious groups appeared seemingly out of nowhere. Attempting to make some sense of the phenomena, scholars soon discovered three different types of groups: some that had assumed a low profile during the Meiji era; others that had disbanded but were reconstituted after 1945; and a few that were entirely new. Scholars also saw that new groups were emerging at a steady pace. During the 1960s, Western scholars of Japanese religion like Harry Thomsen and H. Neill McFarland produced the first English-language texts about the *shin shūkyō,* or "new religions" of Japan.

THE EMERGENCE OF NEW RELIGIONS STUDY. The books from Japan offered Western scholars a much-needed tool: a new language with which to discuss the numerous, outside-the-mainstream alternative religions that had become their focus in the 1970s. At this time, some older, unfamiliar religious groups joined a number of recently introduced movements to create a new alternative religious milieu, and many found the term borrowed from the Japanese, "new religions," appropriate to describe these recently visible movements elsewhere. Scholars sought distance from the older terms of "sect"—which in Europe had been used to describe so many groups that it hindered analysis—and "cult," which had in America taken on a decidedly negative connotation. While not altogether fitting terms, "new religion" and "new religious movement" (NRM) nevertheless gradually replaced the previous terminology, especially the term *cult.*

Leading the way in the appropriation of Japanese religious studies in the English-speaking world was Robert S. Ellwood, who emerged in the 1970s as one of the leading new religions scholars. He drew upon his own training in Eastern religions to produce a set of early theoretical texts including *Religious and Spiritual Groups in Modern America* (1973), *The Eagle and the Rising Sun: Americans and the New Religions of Japan* (1974), and *Alternative Altars: Unconventional and Eastern Spirituality in America* (1979), and an early study of Tenrikyo (a Japanese new religion) in 1982.

A secondary origin for the term *New Religion* has also been suggested. In 1970, San Francisco Bay Area scholar Jacob Needleman authored a book titled *The New Religions,* which his colleagues began to use to describe the emergence of so many unfamiliar alternative religions within the counterculture at the end of the 1960s. Needleman found special significance in Zen Buddhism, the followers of Meher Baba, Subud, Transcendental Meditation, Krishnamurti, Tibetan Buddhism, and G. I. Gurdjieff. He also went beyond the largely descriptive work from Japan, and invited readers to consider the philosophical/theological questions about the nature of genuine spirituality.

In the mid-1970s, a group of scholars in the Bay Area became the center for the initial studies of new religions, and a number of books flowed from a well-funded project they initiated. The works most closely associated with the study are *The New Religious Consciousness* (1977), edited by Charles T. Glock and Robert N. Bellah; Robert Wuthnow's *Experimentation in American Religion* (1978); and Steven Tipton's *Getting Saved from the Sixties* (1982). In 1977, the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley, California, received a Rockefeller Grant that allowed the school to host a large conference on new religious movements, the papers of which appeared in 1978 as *Understanding the New Religions,* edited by Jacob Needleman and George Baker. *Understanding the New Religions* summarized the consensus prior to the deaths at Jonestown that would set a whole new agenda for scholars.

As scholars in both England and the United States pursued their initial studies of the new religions, a second important social phenomenon was also emerging: the cult awareness movement. This movement was fueled by in part by the large number of college-age youths who had joined various new religions, and the subsequent concern of parents that their sons and daughters were too deeply involved in what were viewed as cult-like movements. Parents found some early support from various psychological counselors, lawyers, and law-enforcement officials. Through the 1970s, scholars followed the development of the cult awareness movement with some concern relative to its effects on issues of religious freedom, concerns that were heightened by the introduction of coercive deprogramming. Members of a spectrum of new religions were being taken into custody, held against their will, and placed under rather strong psychological pressure to renounce and withdraw from the group they had joined.

The leadership of the cult awareness movement sought justification for the necessity of kidnapping and deprogramming the offspring of concerned parents. Such a rationale appeared during the trial of millionaire heiress Patty Hearst in 1976. Hearst's lawyer, F. Lee Bailey (1933–), argued that Hearst, who had participated in a bank robbery some months after being captured and held by the Symbionese Liberation Army, had been brainwashed. Though unable to prevent her conviction, two of the psychologists that had worked with Bailey, Louis J. West (1925–1999) from the University of California-Los Angeles and Margaret Singer (1921–2003), a psychologist in private practice in Berkeley, began to apply the same argument to members of the new religions—that they were being brainwashed and, in effect, held against their will. They found additional support from Massachusetts psychiatrist John Clark (1926–1999).

The reality of the Jonestown deaths in 1978, and the introduction of the brainwashing hypothesis into the conversations would dominate new religions studies for the next decade. The debate would go on largely without the participation of the primary exponents of brainwashing, for West, Singer, and Clark rarely appeared at scholarly gatherings to defend their ideas, and they did not respond directly to their scholarly critics. In fact, discussion of the issues was substantially hindered because the primary statements concerning the reputed brainwashing in the new religions were made in hard-to-retrieve court depositions and testimony. Despite the obstacles, by the mid-1980s a consensus had been reached in the major relevant academic associations that brainwashing, as articulated primarily in court by Margaret Singer, had no basis in fact. That position was argued by the likes of psychologists Dick Anthony and Newton Maloney, sociologists Eileen Barker, Tom Robbins, and James T. Richardson, and others.

The brainwashing issue would lead to the establishment of a Task Force within the American Psychological Association to prepare a statement concerning the new approach to brainwashing. That Task Force's 1987 report was unanimously rejected by the reviewers. The publicizing of the rejection letter largely ended the debate over brainwashing in academia and several years later, with supportive documents by Dick Anthony and Rutgers psychiatrist Perry London, the idea and its exponents failed to make their case convincingly before the court, most notably in the case of *United States v. Fishman* (1990), in which a former Scientologist claimed his "brainwashing" in Scientology as a factor leading to his embezzling bank funds. Though the idea of brainwashing still appears in the occasional court case, new religions in North America no longer fear accusations of brainwashing as a major concern and the practice of coercive deprogramming was largely replaced with non-coercive exit counseling. (Brainwashing ideas remain alive in some European countries like France and Spain and deprogramming still occurs in Japan.)

The brainwashing controversy, though a diversion from the agenda set in the 1970s for studying new religions, had several important effects. Firstly, it brought a number of people to the field, and during the 1980s the Association for the Sociology of Religion, the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, and the American Academy of Religion developed tracks for papers on new religions. At the same time, as a significant percentage of research on new religions was devoted to dealing with the controversy, a relatively small number of new religions became the focus of numerous studies. These groups, less than two dozen in number, had been threatened with legal action due to accusations of brainwashing. As a result, the majority of the new religions were looked at only cursorily. The early neglect of the hundreds of new religions also meant that the development of overall understandings of the field initially lagged.

The decisive rejection of brainwashing as a theory by the scholarly associations and the courts had its most dramatic impact on the cult awareness community. Unable to call upon its stable of experts to defend its actions, a court rendered a $1 million judgment against the Cult Awareness Network following a deprogramming incident in Seattle in 1995, forcing it into bankruptcy and dissolution. By this time, the majority of new religious movements scholars had moved on to other concerns. Professionals who supported the brainwashing theory subsequently launched personal attacks against major new religions scholars whom they labeled "cult apologists." Attempts to revive the brainwashing theory in the late 1990s by several sociologists have found little positive response from the majority of scholars who study new religions.

PICKING UP THE STUDY. While the brainwashing controversy in the 1980s diverted significant energy, new religions studies did continue, and through the 1970s and 1980s considerable progress was made. Among the most important trends was the gradual dismantling of the definition of "cult/new religion" which scholars had been using since the 1950s. Sociologists such as J. Milton Yinger had suggested back then that cults were small, ephemeral groups, led by a charismatic leader to whom a cosmic status and/or various supernatural abilities had been assigned, and which operated in a different theological world than that of the dominant mainstream religions.

As early as 1969, Geoffrey Nelson's work on British Spiritualism pointed out that new religions were not ephemeral, one-generation phenomena. A variety of subsequent work pointed out that the role of charismatic leaders had been overestimated (Miller, 1991). In this regard, scholars undercut one of the most persistent ideas about new religions: that the death of a founder was a major trauma that tended to cause his or her group to fragment or dissolve entirely. This notion was further dispelled as many new religions passed through their first generation, were seen to splinter over a variety of reasons, but managed the death of their founder with relative ease. In like measure, the other elements of the old definition did not fit many of the prominent new religions of the 1970s and 1980s.

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, scholars such as David G. Bromley, Eileen Barker, and J. Gordon Melton have turned their attention to reconstructing definitions of the new religions. Bromley has emphasized their nature as breaking with the dominant religious culture of the society and their alienation from its power structures. Barker has emphasized the special characteristics that first-generation religious groups tend to share. Melton has emphasized the manner in which new religions, in spite of their obvious innovations, tend to perpetuate the life of older religious traditions out of which they had emerged. Thus contemporary definitions of new religions see them as groups that operate both socially and culturally outside the mainstream of society while seeking to continue or revitalize an older tradition. During their first generation they tend to share certain characteristics relative to leadership, membership profiles, and a response to basic organizational imperatives, though operating out of different theologies and advocating different practices.

ADDITIONAL DEVELOPMENTS. While much energy was placed on discussing brainwashing, the field of new religions studies matured along several contemporaneous parallel tracks in the latter half of the twentieth century. One of the first manifestations of this maturity was the publication of significant reference books in the 1970s, which were needed to support the emerging new field of study. The regularly updated *Encyclopedia of American Religions,* which includes an entry on all of the new religions known to be operating in North America, was first published in 1979 and was in its seventh edition just a quarter-century later. Through the 1980s, Garland Publishing issued a set of bibliographies on new religions, culminating in two outstanding volumes by John Saliba which covered research in the social and psychological sciences (1987, 1990). Meanwhile, in Japan scholars associated with the Association for the Study of Religion and Society produced an expansive dictionary of Japanese new religions, *Shinshûkyô jiten* (1990).

Specialized reference works on new religions appeared as well. These include works by Peter Clark (*A Bibliography of Japanese New Religious Movements,* 1999); James R. Lewis (*The Encyclopedia of Cults and New Religions,* 2002); and

Christopher Partridge (*New Religions: A Guide,* 2004). Massimo Introvigne and his colleagues at the Center for Studies on New Religions in Turin, Italy, compiled a large volume on religions that, like its American counterpart, covered all the new religions operating in Italy (*Encyclopedia delle Religioni in Italia,* 2001). In a singularly important volume, in 1993 David Bromley and Jeffrey Hadden compiled a set of papers from a broadly representative set of new religions scholars surveying the field, *The Handbook on Cults and Sects in America.*

Parallel to the development of reference works in the scholarly study of new religions was the rise in the number of academic conferences in the field. In the 1980s, several such conferences were sponsored by the Unification Church, though later abandoned by the Church in favor of other programs. Through the rest of that decade, the various academic societies concerned with religion, especially the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion and the American Academy of Religion, created space on their annual programs for papers on new religions. In 1989, the Center for Studies on New Religions began to sponsor annual international conferences that alternated between Europe and the Americas. Within a decade these conferences were attracting between one and two hundred attendees.

The Institute for the Study of American Religion (ISAR), founded in 1968, was the first research facility founded to focus upon what would later be called new religions. In the 1980s, however, similar institutes would also emerge, most noticeably the Center for the Study of New Religions (1982), headed by Peter Clarke at Kings College, London; the Information Network Focus on Religious Movements (INFORM, 1988), headed by Eileen Barker and headquartered at the London School of Economics; and the aforementioned Center for Studies of New Religions (CESNUR, 1988) in Turin, Italy. These centers would, through the 1990s, give birth to a spectrum of institutes and study centers across Europe. Several research centers emerged in Japan as well.

The work of these centers includes the archiving of materials produced by and about the new religions. The largest such archive is included in the American Religions Collection that began in 1985 with the deposit of ISAR's library and files at the Davidson Library at the University of California's Santa Barbara campus. CESNUR houses a similar collection in Turin. Other equally valuable collections, many with local emphases, were under development in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Of particular interest are the specialized collections housed by organizations such as the Jonestown Institute, founded by Rebecca Moore and Fielding McGehee III, in San Diego, which has gathered an extensive collection related to the Peoples Temple.

FIELDS WITHIN FIELDS. New religions studies emerged and continues to exist in contested space. It examines religions that challenge society's dominant religious institutions. Along with questions about the legitimacy of many new religions have been questions about the legitimacy of academic study of some controversial groups. Several well-known groups advocate ideas and practices that the general public perceives to be beyond merely "different"; they are strange in the extreme and even threatening to the social order and individual well-being. A few groups have been involved in violent incidents involving multiple homicides and/or suicides. A number have engaged in illegal activities, from fraud to smuggling to confidence schemes. At the same time, groups in different countries have been subjected to government regulation and even suppression despite their lack of direct association with harmful or illegal activity. Above and beyond their being targeted by cult awareness groups, because of their fringe-like status NRMs have occasionally been caught up in waves of social panic and become victims of guilt by association.

Through the last decades of twentieth century, the study of new religions proceeded within the context of a steady stream of public controversy, and the lines between research and the response to such controversy was often blurred. In the mid-1980s, for example, new religions scholars were called upon to deal with a wave of interest in Satanism. Prompted by the rise of the Church of Satan in San Francisco in the 1960s, the study of Satanism had been part of the first phase of NRM studies in the 1970s. In the 1980s, however, hundreds of claims emerged that a widespread, secretive Satanic movement characterized by the ritual abuse of children existed. The primary evidence for this movement proved to be a set of reports by people undergoing psychological counseling. In the course of such counseling, they began to "remember" events from their childhood and teen years that they had forgotten. At the same time, similar reports were emerging among UFO investigators of alien abductions and medical examinations. Both appeared in the context of widespread attention to the problem of child abuse and new legislative initiatives aimed at its prevention.

Given the inability of law-enforcement officials and investigative reporters to find corroborative evidence of widespread Satanism, new religions scholars, with their own knowledge of the world of religious Satanism, rather quickly reached a consensus on the falsity of such reports, at least relative to their satanic content. Their findings, published in books by Jean La Fontaine in the United Kingdom and Jeffrey S. Victor, James T. Richardson, Joel Best, and David Bromley in the United States, contributed significantly to ending the public controversy.

The late 1990s saw a rising level of attention to millennialism, a perennial subject within new religions, and the possible role that the arrival of the twenty-first century would have on different religious groups. Millennial beliefs have often been associated with intense confrontations between new religions and society; two oft-quoted precedents were the sixteenth-century Anabaptists at Münster, Germany, and the Fifth Monarchy Men in England. New considerations of millennialism were provided by a group within the American

Academy of Religions and several other research projects, such as the Boston-based Center for Millennial Studies. Initial speculation on the confluence of millennialism and violence was followed by closer analysis of the more widespread and peaceful millennial movements, especially in the wake of the non-event of the end of the millennium in 1999.

Interest in Satanism and millennialism closely paralleled the subject that became the major focus of NRM studies after the end of the brainwashing controversy: violence. The incident involving Jim Jones's Peoples Temple at Jonestown, Guyana, in 1978 had generated some interest in violence, but was seen as a singular incident with little reference to the larger world of new religions. The Peoples Temple, however interesting otherwise, had been a congregation in a large Christian denomination, the Disciples of Christ, and its membership was predominantly older African Americans. In contrast, many new religions, especially the more controversial ones, consisted largely of Caucasian young adults.

The issue of violence and new religions, however, changed considerably after the deaths of the majority of the members of the Branch Davidians at Mount Carmel, their church center near Waco, Texas, in 1993. In 1994, an all-day symposium on violence and new religions was held in conjunction with the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion's annual fall meeting. As facts about the role played by associates of the Cult Awareness Network in both the initiation of the raid on Mount Carmel and the conduct during the subsequent fifty-one-day siege, new religions scholars became more vocal in attempting to communicate with law-enforcement officials, especially those within the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), in hopes of averting any future reoccurrence. Eventually, a series of meetings were held, the FBI began to send observers to the annual meetings of the American Academy of Religion, and numerous individual contacts between FBI agents and individual scholars took place.

The changes that flowed from the Branch Davidian incident occurred in the context of a set of subsequent episodes of violence involving groups such as the Solar Temple in Switzerland, France, and Quebec (1994, 1995, 1997), Aum Shinrikyō in Japan (1995), Heaven's Gate in the United States (1997), and the Movement for the Restoration of the Ten Commandments of God in Uganda (2000). Each of these occurrences, unique in their own right, generated significant reconsideration of the possible connection between life within new religions and these large-scale violent events. Taking the lead in such reconsideration was Catherine Wessinger, who proposed new ways of looking at the role of millennialism and called attention to the fragility and instability within some groups that pushed them toward violent confrontations. Wessinger's *How the Millennium Comes Violently* (2000) set the stage for a second round of discussions brought together by David G. Bromley and J. Gordon Melton and published in 2002 as *Cults, Religion & Violence.* Between the appearance of the two books, a heretofore little known radical Islamist group, al-Qāʿidah, in its attack on the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., and New York City's World Trade Center towers on September 11, 2001, provided the foundation for future ongoing discussions. Contributing to the Bromley-Melton volume was John R. Hall, who continued his seminal discussion of the close association of religion in general to violence as also developed in two books, *Gone from the Promised Land: Jonestown in American Cultural History* (1987), one of the more perceptive volumes on Jonestown, and *Apocalypse Observed: Religious Movements and Violence in North America and Europe and Japan* (2000), a book he co-authored with Philip D. Schuyler and Sylvaine Trinh.

LEGAL PERSPECTIVES. Through the 1970s and 1980s, scholars assumed that new religions were an American concern, a peculiar product of the social unrest of the 1960s, especially in California. Such attitudes began to change by the end of the 1980s as the widespread presence of new religions in Europe and other parts of the world was recognized, and as the history of the gradual rise of religious pluralism throughout the world in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was more fully documented. And as the spread of a more radical religious pluralism was recognized, new religions became the target of numerous legal actions.

In the 1970s, questions about the legitimacy of the new religions were raised by associations of parents in the United States whose members were angry at their sons and daughters who had been swept into an alternative religious life, often at the cost of hoped-for careers in business or the professions. Their search for a solution to their dilemma provided the context for the emergence of deprogramming and the brainwashing ideas that supported it. Proponents of brainwashing charged that the new religions took away the ability of recruits to make informed choices about joining. Some went so far as to suggest that new religions were not religions (in any legal sense) at all, but were merely con games in which leaders brainwashed and exploited members for personal financial gain.

Legal cases between new religions and their detractors began in the 1970s, and by the end of the decade it was determined that civil court provided the best venue for litigating parental concerns. Then, during the 1980s, a number of multimillion-dollar lawsuits were filed against new religions by former group members who had been deprogrammed; they sought redress and damages as a result of having undergone brainwashing. While almost all the judgments were reversed on appeal, juries seemed eager to deliver a series of decisions against unpopular new religions such as the Church of Scientology, the Church Universal and Triumphant, the International Society for Krishna Consciousness, and the Unification Church.

Deprogramming, brainwashing, and the court cases of the 1980s provided an abundance of material for legal speculation. James T. Richardson, a professor at the University of Nevada with degrees and appointments in both sociology and law, emerged in the early 1980s as the leading scholar offering legal reflections on new religions. His 1983 book, *The Brainwashing/Deprogramming Controversy: Sociological, Psychological, Legal, and Historical Perspectives,* co-edited with David G. Bromley, is an important document of the era. Subsequently Richardson has remained at the forefront of writing about and focusing dialogue on the legal status of new religions globally.

During the 1990s, with the new legal era brought on by the Fishman decision in the United States, much of the legal news on new religions shifted to Europe, where, as James Beckford so ably noted in his 1985 text, *Cult Controversies,* intense debates (minus the brainwashing element) paralleled those in the United States. But then, following the Solar Temple deaths in 1994, the French government moved first to establish a parliamentary commission that in 1996 issued a report condemning a number of new religions, and some 172 groups were placed on a list of "sects." The primary accusation was their practicing "mental manipulation," a term that signaled the introduction of brainwashing theory into Europe from the United States. A year later the Canton of Geneva, in French-speaking Switzerland, issued a similar decree, followed by a 600-page report from Belgium, which singled out some 189 groups. The Belgian document included, somewhat surprisingly for American scholars, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Assemblies of God, and the Quakers.

These first reports were then followed by a second wave of reports from, among others, the General Direction of the Police with the Italian Ministry of Internal Affairs, the commission established by the German parliament, and the government of Sweden. The more reflective tone of these documents backed away in part from the brainwashing theory and found little that was sinister in new religions overall. Meanwhile in France, Belgium, and several other countries, steps were taken to stop the progress of new religions by the establishment of official cult observatories, and in the case of France the passing of a series of anticult laws.

The dialogues within the government of Western Europe were followed by discussions and an array of actions in the lands of the former Soviet bloc of nations, where in the wake of the fall of the Soviet Union, new religions had quickly and visibly proliferated. Governments found themselves caught between the still-dominant voices of religious secularists, leaders of older churches asking for the return of pre-Communist privileges, and demands for the implementation of Western-style religious freedoms. The different governments made an array of accommodations to these voices that found common ground in their dislike of the missionaries of the new religions. Meanwhile, new religions studies have emerged as a prominent focus of post-Soviet countries in Eastern and Central Europe.

The changes in Europe continue to provide fertile ground for scholars of new religions who, sharing a bias toward religious freedom as the foundational issue, have written extensively about the prospects and promises in the post-Soviet era. Many of these insights have been drawn together in two edited volumes: Phillip Charles Lucas and Thomas Robbins' *The Future of New Religions in the 21st Century* (2004), and James T. Richardson's *Regulating Religion: Case Studies from Around the Globe* (2004).

FAMILY LIFE. As first-generation new religions, whose membership consisted almost totally of young adult converts, evolved into second-generation new religions, concern was expressed about children born and raised in such settings. Critics suggested a range of potential problems, including their alienation from culture and society to their being physically and psychologically harmed by growing up in a cult milieu. Concern was punctuated by occasional reports of child abuse, usually the beating of a minor by a group leader who was not the child's parent. On a rare occasion, a child died as a result of such beatings.

However, the situation of children in new religions gained a new level of attention in the early 1990s when widespread charges of sexual abuse emerged around The Family, a group that had earlier called itself the Children of God. In the early 1990s, Family homes in several countries, most notably France, Spain, Argentina, and Australia, were raided and the minors taken into custody by child-welfare officials while legal charges were prepared against the adults. A series of lengthy court proceedings followed, culminating in a child-custody case in England. Though the defendants in each of the cases stemming from the raids were found not guilty, and the Family-member mother in the child-custody case retained legal custody, it emerged that in the 1980s a number of young people—overwhelmingly teenage women—had been molested while in Family homes. The Family, however, between the time the molestations had occurred and the court cases, had taken steps to change the environment that permitted such abuse and, as it happened, those taken into custody in the raids were not the individuals accused of molesting the minors. The revelations of the Family's problems were followed by similar disclosures coming out of the International Society of Krishna Consciousness, which in the 1970s had operated a school in Texas that included pedophiles on its staff.

The British custody dispute, which became the lengthiest legal case in the history of Britain's family court system, called attention to the variant roles assumed by women and children in some new religions with strong male hierarchical organizations. However, even prior to this time, scholars had noticed that new religions had become an arena for women who were shut out of traditional leadership roles in older Christian and Jewish groups to exercise their leadership skills. One such study is Catherine Wessinger's *Women's Leadership in Marginal Religions: Explorations outside the Mainstream* (1993).

It would be Canadian new religions scholar Susan J. Palmer, however, an expert witness in the Family's British court case, who would in the mid-1990s seize the issue of women's and children's diverse life within new religions and launch a collaborative effort with other concerned scholars to pursue study of the issue. Turning first to the role of women, she wrote *Moon Sisters, Krishna Mothers, Rajneesh Lovers: Women's Roles in New Religions* (1994) and then several years later, with co-editor Charlotte E. Hardeman, issued *Children in the New Religions* (1999).

WESTERN ESOTERICISM. As the twenty-first century began, a new issue has been placed on the agenda of new religions scholars by Sorbonne professor Antoine Faivre: Western Esotericism. Esoteric/metaphysical/occult groups have been considered in new religions studies from the beginning. One of the earliest popular essays in new religions, Colin Campbell's "The Cult, the Cultic Milieu and Secularization" (1972), grew out of his observation of the British occult community, and a large number of writings appeared in the 1990s which attempted to understand the New Age movement. The problem in writing about such groups, in spite of early works such as J. Stillson Judah's *The History and Philosophy of the Metaphysical Movements in America* (1967) and additional works on the common history of such movements, has been their tendency to treat esoteric bodies as isolated organizations without a history prior to their particular founding.

Faivre, and those who gathered around him such as Joscelyn Godwin and Wouter Hanegraaff, have compiled a picture of an alternative religious impulse in the West that has had a near-continuous presence at least since the second century CE and has grown steadily over the last four centuries. In fact, the largest percentage of the new religions—including Theosophical Society, Scientology, Wicca, New Age (1970s and 1980s) and Post-New Age (1990s to the present) groups—are generally contemporary manifestations of the Esoteric tradition.

Of the world's major religious movements, the Western Esoteric tradition has remained the least known, in large part due to its role as a losing competitor to Christianity, resulting in its dismissal as serious religion in recent centuries. The modern revival of Esotericism can be traced to the beginning of the sixteenth century and the development of a Christian Qabbalah by Johann Rauchlin (1455–1522). Its subsequent history can be traced through Rosicrucianism, Speculative Freemasonry, the Swedenborgian movement, the Mesmerist and Magnetist movements, neo-Templarism, Spiritualism, Ceremonial Magic, Theosophy and its many offshoots (Alice Bailey, I AM), Wicca, and most recently the New Age Movement.

In the mid-1980s Faivre founded the Association pour la Recherche et l'Information sur l'Esotericisme and its journal *ARIES.* In the late 1990s, with Faivre nearing retirement, the association's work was transferred to Amsterdam, where Hanegraaff headed a new department of esoteric studies. By this time, the field had grown exponentially, and early in the new century, two new structures arose to perpetuate esoteric studies both in England (Alternative Spiritualities and New Age Studies, or ASANAS) and North America (Association for the Study of Esotericism).

Western Esoteric studies now exists as a subfield its own right. When it concentrates on Esoteric history, it resonates the least with new religions studies. Yet because all contemporary esoteric groups would fall under the rubric of "new religion," when Western esoteric studies turns its attention to the twentieth century, the two fields are almost indistinguishable.

CONCLUSION. In the first four decades of its existence, the academic field of new religions grew from a handful of scholars who in the 1960s decided that these interesting groups then proliferating on the fringes of Japanese, North American, and European societies were important enough to enjoy more than sporadic cursory glances. At the onset of the twenty-first century there were several hundred scholars around the world who were devoting the majority of their research time to this field of inquiry. To a certain extent, the progress since the 1960s can be traced in the series of new religions text books produced over the decades by Robert Ellwood (1973), David Bromley and Anson Shupe (1981), Gordon Melton and Robert Moore (1982), Melton (1986, 1992), Timothy Miller (1995), Eileen Barker (1989), John Saliba (1995, 2003), William Sims Bainbridge (1998), James R. Lewis (1998), Lorne Dawson (1998), and most recently, Stephen J. Hunt (2003).

The study of new religions has been a bulwark in countering the more extreme conclusions of secularization theory, offered new approaches for governments in dealing with controversial groups that have disturbed the social quiet of some societies, and has begun to see the naturalness of the emergence of innovative religious experiments as societies grow and change. Born in part in the times of social turmoil in postwar Japan and the generation of Baby Boomers coming of age in America, new religions studies has expended considerable energy to map the presence of NRMs through time and space, indicating their steady emergence through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the process, more than a thousand new religions operating in the West have been documented and several dozen examined in considerable depth.

In the process, some consensus has been reached concerning issues such as brainwashing, Satanism, and the fact of religious pluralism as part of the long-term future of contemporary society, though, as a young field of inquiry, far more questions have been posed and remain to be posed than have been answered.

SEE ALSO Anticult Movements; Brainwashing (Debate); Branch Davidians; Cults and Sects; Esotericism; Heaven's Gate; Jonestown and Peoples Temple; Millenarianism, overview article; Secularization; Unification Church.

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J. GORDON MELTON (2005)

NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS: SCRIPTURES OF NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

Because new religious movements often generate suspicious or hostile reactions from representatives of the status quo, substantial scholarly attention has been devoted to their processes of leadership, recruitment, and conversion, as well as to other forms of interaction between new groups and their social environments. While such encounters do shape both the public images and self-understandings of new religious movements, they are not their only religious activities.

Many new religious movements have produced substantial bodies of literature that amplify their self-definitions, establish ritual practices and moral codes, elaborate their mythic visions of humanity and the cosmos, and reconstruct history. That literature is read, heard, studied, preached, debated, interpreted, enacted, and implemented in the daily lives of members. The texts derive their authority both from the claimed experiences of founders or other influential figures within the group and from members' acceptance of the texts as particularly revelatory. When people within a group treat a religious text as central for their understandings of themselves and the world in which they live, they elevate it above other quotidian forms of communication and accord it, at least implicitly, the status of scripture. In new religious movements, as in other religious groups, texts are made into "scriptures" by the claims that are made for them, the recognition of those claims, and the uses to which the texts are put. The scriptural status of texts is always in the process of construction. Oral teaching and informal written communications may be viewed as authoritative, and through their repeated use they may move towards a more formalized status as scripture. Even texts definitively asserted to be authoritative are subject to successive re-interpretations. Since scriptures are texts that are deemed authoritative and revelatory by a specific religious community, the process of scriptural formation in new religious movements is no different than it is in more established ones. Although individual writings frequently contain assertions about their own authority, they only function as scripture when those claims are acknowledged and acted upon by those who receive and use them.

MAKING NEW SCRIPTURES. As new religious movements strive to secure their legitimacy, defend themselves against their cultural opponents, and attract the interest of potential members, they address what they see as the religious inadequacies of their particular social environments. Because the Western concept of scripture, as embodied by the Christian Bible, has been so widely diffused throughout the world, new religious movements frequently identify the errors or limitations that they perceive in the dominant interpretations of the Bible. In their own writings they propose the necessary corrections, supplements, or replacements. Accordingly, interpretation of the Bible is often the vehicle by which new religious movements assert both their novelty and their continuity with a hallowed past. Their novelty is what makes new religious movements worth attention, but their continuity with the past is what guarantees their gravity. Similar dynamics are at work when new religious movements confront other scriptures or collections of religiously authoritative texts, such as the Qurʾān or widely revered Hindu texts like the *Bhagavadgītā*. Reinterpretations of familiar scriptural texts transform their meanings for new religious communities even as they leave their scriptural status intact. The specific procedures by which new interpretations are constructed, including spiritual or allegorical readings, historical contextualization, and philological commentary, are often no different than those employed by more mainstream interpreters of scriptural texts, but the meanings that they produce reinforce new groups' status as dramatic departures from parent bodies or as distinctive, freestanding innovations.

The production of scriptural texts within new religious movements takes two distinctive but overlapping forms. One is new readings of familiar texts. Those readings are expressed in a variety of forms, including detailed commentaries, meandering meditations, loose glosses, and direct appropriations of specific scriptural models, such as creation stories, law codes, ethical admonitions, or prayers. The second form is the production of new scriptures. Movements that directly address a scriptural heritage can produce books that aspire to the status of "new Bibles" either by supplementing or replacing the older scriptures. Other movements strive to establish the utterances or writings of a founder as supremely authoritative. In either case, the new scriptural texts codify a novel vision of what it means to be human, how to establish proper relations with other humans and the divine, and how to achieve the goals of human life.

Whatever form the writings take, they are grounded on specific claims to authority. Ever conscious of their own novelty, new religious movements take great care to lay out the experiences and insights that sanction their innovations. Founders and influential exegetes articulate the experiences that authorize their distinctive messages and establish them as trustworthy and true. Their new ways of seeing are frequently stimulated by intimate encounters with the divine but also can result from the consistent application of rational intelligence to familiar problems.

NEW VISIONS: DIVINE ENCOUNTERS. The founders of many new religions describe dramatic, unbidden encounters with the divine. For example, on December 13, 1973, Claude Vorhilon (b. 1946), a French journalist and racecar driver, came upon what he took to be a UFO. One of its occupants soon informed Vorhilon that he had been chosen to bring to humankind the message of the extraterrestrial "Elohim," the true creators of life on earth. Vorhilon was given the name "Raël" and was charged with preparing the earth to receive emissaries from the Elohim, who would then share their incredibly advanced technology. As the name *Elohim* suggests, Vorhilon's encounter with the extraterrestrials led him to a dramatic rereading of the creation story in *Genesis*. That reinterpretation of scripture plays a crucial role in the books that have become the guiding texts of the Raëlian movement.

Similarly, on Easter morning 1936, Sun Myung Moon (1920–) experienced a vision of Jesus that led him to a thoroughgoing revision of history. *Divine Principle*, first published in English in 1973, and the central scriptural text of the Unificationist movement that grew out of Moon's Easter experience, provides a new account of biblical history from the creation and fall through the career of Jesus to the imminent arrival of a new messiah who will gather humanity into a single loving family in accordance with God's original wishes. More than a century earlier, in 1820 in upper New York state, a series of visions sparked the founding of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the promulgation of a new holy book, the *Book of Mormon* (1830). That new Bible, it was claimed, would dispel confusion about which of the many competing Christian sects held the truth by communicating God's message with unprecedented clarity. Also, in the 1980s Elizabeth Clare Prophet (b. 1939), who succeeded her husband Mark Prophet (1918–1973) as leader of the Church Universal and Triumphant, published four volumes of *The Lost Teachings of Jesus* (1986), which are based on over thirty years of communications from Jesus directly to both of the Prophets. The texts build on the Prophets' claim that Jesus spent substantial time in India and surrounding areas during his so-called lost years, and they align his recovered teachings with those of the Prophets' Church Universal and Triumphant.

In each of these instances a prophetic figure's direct encounter with the divine led to both the formation of a new religious movement and to the publication of new authoritative texts. The books written by Claude Vorhilon and Mark and Elizabeth Prophet correct misreadings of the biblical tradition and supplement the tradition with new material. In a fuller fashion, the texts produced by Sun Myung Moon and Joseph Smith stand on their own as authoritative documents that incorporate, repair, and advance the message of the Christian scriptures. In each instance the new texts derive their authority from their authors' extraordinary experiences. The founder and the book confirm each other's status with reference to the same divine source.

A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada's (1896–1977) claim to authority for his *Bhagavad-Gita As It Is* (1968) displays an interesting variation. Although he contends that the *Bhagavadgītā* summarizes all of Vedic literature and that it should be the one common scripture for the entire world, Prabhupada denies that he is offering any interpretation of it. His claim to present the text without any distorting interpretation is founded on his conviction that Lord Kṛṣṇa himself speaks in the text and that a line of thirty-two teachers that culminates with Prabhupada himself has accurately preserved the true meaning of the text. Although Prabhupada's contact with the divine is thus mediated by a "disciplic succession," its authorizing power is maintained.

NEW VISIONS: RATIONAL SYSTEMS. Texts can achieve scriptural status without appeal to such divine encounters, however. The Church of Scientology, for example, accepts the writings of its founder, L. Ron Hubbard (1911–1986), as scripture even though he claimed no privileged intimacy with the divine. Hubbard attributed his insights instead to a deep immersion in the problems of human psychology. His first major work on the human mind, *Dianetics: The Modern Science of Mental Health* (1950), relies on what Hubbard saw as rigorous, scientific study rather than any special religious inspiration. As Hubbard's system of Dianetics developed into Scientology and came to be identified explicitly as a religion, he still claimed that the processes of his "technology" for achieving mental health were universally accessible and not restricted to religious adepts. Insight, rather than inspiration, yielded the principles of Scientology.

Anton LaVey (1930–1997), founder of the Church of Satan and author of *The Satanic Bible* (1969), made a similar claim for the principles of his counter-religion. While avowing that the time had definitely come for a new religion that would unmask the hypocrisies of Christianity, LaVey staked no claim to a personal religious vision. Like Hubbard, LaVey credited the discovery of his system simply to the rigorous application of rational thought. With a clear-eyed appreciation of true human nature, a love of ritual and pageantry, and a flair for mockery, LaVey's *Satanic Bible* promulgated a gospel of self-indulgence that, he argued, anyone who dispassionately considered the facts would embrace. Although contemporary Satanism remains an amorphous conglomeration of practices, beliefs, and attitudes, LaVey's new Bible remains a touchstone for many in the broad movement. That *The Satanic Bible* and Hubbard's writings could still achieve scriptural status without dependence upon divine revelation emphasizes that members of a group elevate books to scriptural status by adopting them as lenses through which they view themselves, their group, and the cosmos.

NEW READINGS: CREATION. Although they cover a wide range of topics, new readings of familiar scriptural texts often focus on both the creation of human life and its ultimate end. In *The Message Given to Me by Extraterrestrials* (1975) and *Let's Welcome Our Fathers from Space* (1979), Raël asserts that the term *Elohim*, which has long been understood as one of the names of God, really means "those who came from the sky," a race of superior beings with advanced knowledge of genetics. The Raëlians' story of the origins of humankind transforms any previous understandings of human nature and destiny based on *Genesis*, replaces the Bible's linear sense of time with a perpetual cycle of creations, and lends a newfound urgency and authority to scientific activity. The Raëlians' new reading of *Genesis* both remakes the past and charts a new future in which Raël's prophecy will determine the fate of the planet.

In the *Divine Principle* of the Unificationist movement, the focus shifts from the creation of human beings to the subsequent fall. In its presentation, Adam and Eve failed to observe God's commandments to be fruitful, to multiply and fill the earth, and to subdue the earth and have dominion over it (*Gn.* 1:28). In a singular assertion, the *Divine Principle* traces that failure to Eve's adulterous relations with Satan. Eve's and Adam's failings kept them from reaching the state of perfection that God had intended for them. Subsequently, God's desire for men and women to form loving families by uniting with each other and with God has been continually undermined by the aftershocks of the Fall. God's attempts to restore the original state of humankind by raising up prophets and potential messiahs, particularly Jesus of Nazareth, has met with only limited success. The *Divine Principle*'s new vision of human history sets the stage for the mission of Reverend Moon, who in the last days brings a revelation that offers humankind the chance to return to an Edenic state. Indispensable both for an understanding of the course of history and the transformative mission of Reverend Moon, the *Divine Principle* functions as a scriptural text that provides fundamental orientation and direction for Unificationist thought and action.

Like Claude Vorhilon and Sun Myung Moon, Mary Baker Eddy (1821–1910) drew new meaning out of the traditional *Genesis* story. For Vorhilon and Moon, extraordinary interactions with superior beings inspired their new visions of the creation story, while Eddy owed her new comprehension of the meaning of *Genesis* to a transforming experience of spiritual healing that led her to assert the unreality of matter and the primacy of the spiritual. For Eddy, like the Raëlians, the traditional interpretations of *Genesis* produce only a false picture of God. Eddy views the first creation story in *Genesis* 1:1–2:3 as an authoritative description of how a wholly incorporeal God created, through mind alone, a universe of ideas, including immortal humans, all without the slightest taint of materiality. Correspondingly, she concludes that the material creation of Adam out of dust and the breath of God in *Genesis* 2:7 must be a lie. Through her interpretation, which is included in *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures* (1875), Eddy makes *Genesis* address the distinctive theological concerns of Christian Science. Other readings of the text then become part of the history of human error. Read through the lenses supplied by Eddy the Bible speaks in a new voice and proclaims an unanticipated and surprising message for a new audience. *Science and Health* takes its place alongside, if not above, the Bible as an authoritative text for the Christian Science community.

In the later days of the People's Temple, the Reverend Jim Jones (1931–1978) offered one of the most dramatic rereadings of *Genesis* in a new religious movement. As he departed further from his Protestant roots and edged closer to addiction and madness, Jones began to see the Bible as a problem to overcome. He indicted the King James Version as a Bible of slaveholders and a source of oppression rather than liberation. To counteract its influence Jones proposed a contemporary Gnostic redeemer myth in which the God of the Bible was seen to be merely a just God, with limited powers and unsavory human characteristics. Acting as a Gnostic redeemer, Jones brought his followers news of a God beyond the Bible who would teach them their true identities. In Jones's treatment, the authority of the Bible was thoroughly overturned and his own pronouncements, given in speeches and sermons but never codified in writing, took the Bible's place and functioned as scripture for the members of the People's Temple.

NEW READINGS: THE END OF THE WORLD. Leaders of new religious movements have applied similar ingenuity to imagining the end of the world. For example, after experiencing an ascent into the heavens in 1985, David Koresh (1959–1993) claimed that he himself was the Lamb of God mentioned in *Revelation* 4 and 5 as the only one able to open a scroll sealed with seven seals. Koresh argued, like many Christian millennialists, that every book of the Bible found its fruition in *Revelation* and that its apocalyptic message could only be comprehended through the agency of the Lamb of God. As a result, Koresh's oral teachings, along with their distillation in his unfinished written commentary on the seven seals, became essential for his students who sought the apocalyptic meaning of scripture; Koresh's teachings had the authority, if not the form, of scripture.

Like Koresh, Asahara Shōkō (b. 1955), the founder of Aum Shinrikyō, came to identify himself as a character from the Bible, the promised "comforter" of John's gospel. As he experienced mounting opposition to his movement and as he viewed the end of the world as growing ever nearer, Asahara devoted progressively more attention to the apocalyptic visions of the book of *Revelation* and to his own role in the unfolding apocalypse. In his teachings, speeches, and published materials, Asahara assimilated the New Testament to the teachings of what he identified as "original Buddhism," and he constructed a synthetic scenario of the imminent end. As with Koresh, Asahara's readings of *Revelation* set the biblical text in a radically new interpretive frame—Asahara simultaneously appropriated *Revelation* as a scriptural text for his own movement and certified his own teaching as being of equal authority.

The legal responses to Aum's murderous release of sarin gas in the Tokyo subway in 1995 ended Asahara's public career as a teacher and transformed the movement that he founded; the legal responses also truncated the processes of textual interpretation and production that marked Aum's brief lifespan. As with Koresh's teaching, Asahara's production of texts was limited to a relatively short period. Because new religious movements are particularly malleable in their early days, and because many quickly dissolve or fade away, the procedures by which texts achieve authoritative status for their communities are not often fully played out. When new religions achieve some institutional stability, it is easier to chart the fluctuating prestige of particular texts and interpretive strategies and to identify which texts consistently maintain authoritative or even canonical status.

NEW SCRIPTURES. Some texts produced by new religious movements explicitly claim for themselves the status of scripture. One of the most provocative examples is LaVey's *Satanic Bible*. By presenting as a Bible his hodgepodge of historical research, dogmatic pronouncements, obscure invocations, and both playful and serious critiques of Christianity, LaVey suggests a religious dynamic that virtually any other title would not. By naming his book a "bible," LaVey identifies a target that he intends to supplant and a status to which he aspires. Although LaVey never developed supporting structures in the Church of Satan to reinforce the status of *The Satanic Bible*, this text remains a primary gateway into the diffuse world of contemporary Satanism.

The Holy Piby (1924), one of the texts that inspired the development of Rastafarianism in Jamaica in the early 1930s, also insists on its scriptural status. It claims to be a holy book given to the prophet Athlyi by an angel named Douglas. Following closely the model of the Christian scriptures, *The Holy Piby* begins with an account of a seven-day creation, moves to the divine commissioning of a prophet and lawgiver, provides historical accounts of the doings of God's chosen people, records prayers and creedal statements, and even devotes a section to recounting "the facts of the apostles." A later reprint of the text hails it as the black man's Bible. *The Holy Piby* was designed to be the scriptural text of the short-lived Afro Athlican Constructive Church, but it also helped foster the pervasive biblical consciousness of the Rastafarian movement.

The amorphous contemporary New Age movement and its various precursors also offer a rich trove of texts claiming scriptural authority. In the late nineteenth century, John Ballou Newbrough published a first (1882) and then a revised (1891) version of the *Oahspe: A New Bible in the Words of Jehovih and His Angel Embassadors*, which he claimed to have produced by angelically directed automatic typing. *Oahspe* offers an elaborate cosmology with descriptions of myriad gods and heavens, a history of the planet earth, revised versions of many biblical stories, ethical guidelines, and predictions about the future. The book serves as the scripture for the Faithist movement, which still claims adherents. Comparable in scope is *The Urantia Book*, attributed to an array of superhuman personalities and first published in 1955. Other similar works include *A Course in Miracles* (1975), the result of Helen Shucman's automatic writing under the reputed direction of Jesus, and the material communicated through human "channels" by various disincarnate entities, such as the teachings of Ramtha spoken by J. Z. Knight or those of Lazaris voiced by Jach Pursel.

These texts join Eddy's *Science and Health*, the voluminous writings of Hubbard, and the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints' *Book of Mormon* (1830), *Doctrine and Covenants* (1835), and *Pearl of Great Price* (1851) as substantial bodies of scripture that have been composed over the past two hundred years. The drive towards articulating a clear and compelling self-definition, defining an appropriate way of life, and situating individuals in historical and cosmic contexts that animates the production of texts in any religious tradition is fully shared by new religious movements. Their founders eagerly express the new visions of human life that they have achieved either through their own diligent labors or through their privileged contact with supernatural beings. The followers attracted by those new messages see in the founder's words precious insights that must be preserved, studied, and communicated to others. Through multiple discrete interactions, both founders and followers sift through their common cache of wisdom and distill from it the statements and stories that matter most; they make (and remake) scripture from both oral and written materials that, they earnestly believe, will stand the test of time. Once made, their scriptures are then continually probed by various forms of exegesis for the inexhaustible wisdom that they are held to contain.

SEE ALSO Aum Shinrikyō; Branch Davidians; Christian Science; Church Universal and Triumphant; Eddy, Mary Baker; Hubbard, L. Ron; International Society for Krishna Consciousness; Jones, Jim; Jonestown and Peoples Temple; Koresh, David; Mormonism; New Age Movement; Prabhupada, A. C. Bhaktivedanta; Raëlians; Rastafarianism; Satanism; Scientology; Smith, Joseph; Unification Church.

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EUGENE V. GALLAGHER (2005)

NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS: NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS AND WOMEN

Whether they arise from within a given culture or find their way into it by multiple means of importation, new religions take many different forms and play a variety of social, spiritual, economic, and political roles. They provide arenas of resistance to prevailing cultural and religious beliefs, practices, and values. They sometimes foster restoration, as members see it, of earlier, more authentic expressions of religious piety or offer visions of as-yet-unrealized possibilities for the future. New religions offer their members support, often communal, for developing and living out alternatives to established theological worldviews, dominant economic systems, and monogamous marriage. They are pivotal sites for the adjudication of cultural and religious tensions with the capacity to respond more quickly to those tensions than is often the case with long-established religious traditions. They hold together sometimes-conflicting manifestations of innovation and conservation, critique and construction, protest against some cultural norms and compliance with others. Given these functions, it is not surprising that new religions are often subjects of conflict, anger, and suspicion.

These multifaceted dynamics are particularly evident in the area of gender and gender relationships and with significant consequences for the roles of women. New religions formulate questions and convictions about femaleness and its bearing upon how women might achieve spiritual fulfillment, salvation, or enlightenment; about the relative spiritual significance of female and male bodies for the proper operating of the universe and the prospering of the human community; and about whether women and men are helpmates, hindrances, or of no ultimate consequence to each other on the spiritual path, however defined.

Since the last third of the twentieth century, scholars of religion have become increasingly aware of the extent to which new religions provide insights into larger questions about women and religion. Are there beliefs, practices, and organizational structures along with historical and cultural factors that tend either to promote or stand in the way of women's leadership and full participation, not only in new religions but also in religion in general? Are there discernible patterns to explain why, historically, women have achieved more public prominence in new religions than in the established traditions? When given the opportunity, do women exercise religious authority in distinctively different ways from men? Are women more drawn to one kind of religious worldview than another? Do female, androgynous, or nonpersonal images of the sacred necessarily ensure equal access of women to authority or, as Catherine Wessinger suggests in *Women's Leadership in Marginal Religions*, do these have to be under girded by institutional structures and demands from the broader culture for women's equality?

Scholarly works about women and new religions have increasingly revealed that there are no all-encompassing answers to these questions. In some new religions, gender as an essential aspect of being human is de-emphasized, thereby taking down traditional gender-related bars to women's leadership and opening up new possibilities for women to exercise publicly acknowledged positions of authority. In others, femaleness and maleness are intensified, understood in cosmically significant ways that require a new religion to foster women leaders as a way of reflecting the female nature of the divine or the importance of the feminine principle in the workings of universe. There are yet other new religions that insist upon traditional gender roles to the extent that they would ordinarily circumscribe women's access to public prominence. Nonetheless, there may be demonstrations of charismatic power by women in these groups sufficient in the power and respect they generate to override the community's reluctance to grant women public authority if they are also willing to satisfy traditional expectations for marriage and motherhood. There are, by contrast, new religions that discourage women from living out traditional female roles in a physical sense and instead offer romantic and maternal fulfillment with opportunities for "spiritual" wifehood or motherhood.

Both the complexity and the variety of new religions and the roles of women within them require reference to a multiplicity of examples and a resistance to the temptation to over-generalize. Studies of women in new religions have been emerging since the 1980s; they work to avoid ultimately unsupportable conclusions about cause-and-effect relationships between beliefs and particular forms of religious organization and practice and their consequences for the participation or exclusion of women. To see any new religion as either a paradise of freedoms and possibilities for women or a sinkhole of restrictions and degradations is to miss the nuances of the realities women live out in new religions. An exploration of selected new religions from the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries demonstrates, nonetheless, at least some general patterns. This essay focuses on historical context and inter-relationships between religious ideas and institutional forms and practices as they affect women. Ambiguities, ironies, and paradoxes are often in evidence as new religions negotiate combinations of resistance to and compliance with social and religious expectations concerning women's nature, women's bodies, and women's roles.

QUAKERS IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES. The Quakers demonstrate a compelling example of a new religious movement that emerged in protest against Puritanism and Anglicanism in England and America, and whose theology and minimalist system of governance were conducive to the public leadership of women. The title of a 1666 tract, "Women's Speaking Justified, Proved, and Allowed by the Scriptures, all such as speak by the Spirit and Power of the Lord Jesus," suggests that Quaker approval of women preachers and teachers found legitimation through two primary means. One was a rejection of biblical passages that admonished women to keep silent in church and to submit to the familial, governmental, and religious authority of men. The other emerged from the theological claim of an inner light, a sacred presence, dwelling within every person and upon whose authority anyone could speak. Quakers rejected a doctrine of the fall that rendered women morally unequal to men for the sin of Eve. They opposed what they called exterior religion and priestly authority, and emphasized lay ministry. Taken together, these characteristics removed traditional scriptural and theological bars to women's public leadership. They foreshadow strategies for empowering women that women would use again in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to argue for women's ordination in the mainline denominations.

WOMEN PREACHERS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. Two eighteenth-century women founders of new religions offer instances not only of women's leadership, but also of the significance of alternative interpretations of "body" and sexuality. Influenced by the evangelical preaching of George Whitefield (1714–1770) and her own Quaker upbringing, Jemima Wilkinson (1752–1819) rose from a near-death vision in 1776 to acclaim herself the genderless "Publick Universal Friend," commissioned by God to preach and to redeem the world. Wilkinson is a good example of the lone, charismatic woman who achieves a singular fame as the founder of a short-lived new religion. Wilkinson advocated celibacy and de-emphasized her female body by dressing in clergymen's robes. Both reviled and praised as a woman in the pulpit, Wilkinson's fame seems to have come at the cost of her "femaleness," a trade-off that is in evidence in numerous other new religions of later centuries.

Ann Lee (1736–1784), an Englishwoman who emigrated to the United States in 1774, extended the practice of celibacy and the separation of women and men to form the foundation for the communal religion she established, the United Society of Brethren, or Shakers, a new religion that reached its apex in the years before the American Civil War. Mother Ann's theological claims about the male and female nature of the godhead and original sin as the result of sexual intercourse fostered the eventual construction of nineteen Shaker communities across New York, New England, and into Ohio and Kentucky after Lee's death, and the further development of her ideas about the Shakers as a saved community. There are gender conflicts and ironies evident in Shakerism as it grew after Mother Ann's death. There were a number of major attractions for women: a female founder; a deity imaged as both female and male; economic security and a form of family life free from the dangers of childbirth; and the opportunity to participate in a theoretically egalitarian, male/female leadership that was required to serve the spiritual and material needs of celibate men and women who lived separately within their communities. Shaker women had the opportunity to express themselves in ecstatic visions, teaching, domestic arts, and aesthetic/religious outpourings of dancing and painting. At the same time, Shaker work roles were gender-based with women having responsibility for domestic chores. There were also gender-based leadership tensions and conflict over control of ecstatic, female-related religious experiences in contrast to more orderly male expressions. In addition, males primarily articulated Shaker theology.

WOMEN IN FIVE NINETEENTH-CENTURY NEW RELIGIONS. A survey of five new religions with their origins in the nineteenth century, two of them communal, reveals the variety of circumstances, theological ideas, and religious forms and practices that, at one level, afforded women radically countercultural ways of participating in religious life and, at another level, paradoxically, circumscribed and interpreted their activities, self-understandings, and religious experiences in gender-traditional ways that reflected values in the larger culture. In effect, these examples function to offer a dialogue about an array of roles available for women in new religions, as well as the theological and structural foundations and eschatologically oriented community goals that supported them. They suggest how new religions participate in the always-in-process cultural project of working out women's roles and, by implication, men's. They also demonstrate the extent to which new religions see the bringing about of the kingdom of God on Earth, however defined, as predicated on bringing about right relations between the sexes.

Mormon women found themselves participating in a religious community that began to practice polygamy, a policy instituted almost twenty years after founder Joseph Smith's (1805–1844) visions in the 1820s led to the founding of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the publication of the *Book of Mormon* in 1830. Polygamy, based according to Smith on the model of biblical patriarchs, stirred up animosity among some of Smith's followers, and more intensely among outsiders, but it functioned to expand and solidify kinship ties and therefore group loyalty in Mormonism. The practice of polygamy, which was prosecuted by the U.S. government and outlawed by the Mormon Church in 1890, is by no means the only distinctive aspect of nineteenth-century Mormonism, but debate persists in contemporary scholarship and within the Mormon community about the relative benefits and restrictions of polygamy for women. As an alternative to monogamous marriage, did polygamy offer women more or less autonomy and opportunity for self-fulfillment, greater or fewer options for significant authority within Mormon communities? There is general agreement that Mormon women experienced more freedom in general in the early frontier-based years of the movement during the time that polygamy was practiced, and that Mormon assimilation into the American mainstream has brought with it a restriction of women's authority to the roles of wife and mother. At the same time, contemporary Mormon feminists are reclaiming earlier forms of authority, healing among them. They have reinstituted an influential nineteenth and early twentieth-century women's newspaper, now called *Exponent II*, and they are engaged in theological reconstructions of women-oriented images of divinity through the vehicle of "Heavenly Mother."

The Oneida Perfectionists, an upstate New York community founded by John Humphrey Noyes (1811–1886) that existed between 1848 and 1880, engaged in another alternative to monogamous marriage. "Complex marriage" was designed to foster the solidarity of the group and to eliminate what Noyes considered the divisiveness of exclusive sexual relationships in order to bring about the kingdom of God on Earth. Noyes's patriarchal stance dominated the authority structure of Oneida. The privilege of participation in community governance, of choice in the matter of sexual partners, and permission to bear children were meted out according to a hierarchical criterion called "ascending and descending fellowship." Ambiguities, ironies, and contradictions abounded for Oneida women. Noyes was scornful of nineteenth-century women's rights advocates and articulated views about male superiority. He was just as convinced that social disorder could be eliminated and right relationships restored between God and humankind and between the sexes by doing away with the excesses of female bondage to domesticity and male enslavement to isolating capitalist endeavors. Women at Oneida enjoyed greater freedom of dress and access to education than women in the mainstream culture. Because childrearing was turned over to the community after the first year, women experienced both liberation and deprivation in this respect, according to documents left by community members. Contemporary scholarship is divided on whether Oneida offered women liberation or repression, greater or lesser status. There is evidence to support both interpretations, and, as Lawrence Foster suggests in *Women, Family, and Utopia*, the most compelling evidence will take both interpretations into account.

Spiritualism emerged as a cultural movement with minimal organization in 1848, not founded by a particular person but in response to doubts fostered by the growing prestige of science as the primary arbiter of ultimate truth in combination with reactions against Calvinist theology among Protestants. The catalyzing events were the rappings heard and interpreted by two young girls, Kate and Margaret Fox, as evidence that the spirits of the dead were attempting to contact the living with physical evidence that life survived the death of the body. There followed a burgeoning of possibilities for women without prescribed credentials to assume careers as Spiritualist mediums and to preach and teach publicly. In combination with the development of an optimistic, progressive, anti-clerical theology derived from sources as varied as Swedenborgianism and Transcendentalism, Spiritualists fostered a progressive politics that engaged issues like abolition, divorce reform, and women's rights. In addition, mediumship proved to be good training for public work on behalf of women's suffrage later in the nineteenth century. Scholars have also pointed to the fact that female mediums, unlike most male mediums, frequently spoke in trance under spirit guidance rather than directly as a conscious or unconscious means to fend off claims that they were challenging propriety by speaking publicly. Male protectors often managed them and both exploited and were exploited by stereotypes of women as passive, sensitive agents of higher spiritual forces.

Theosophy, founded in 1875 by Helena P. Blavatsky (1831–1891), a Russian emigree, and Colonel Henry Steel Olcott (1832–1907), both one-time Spiritualists, embraced an eclectic worldview, the "Ancient Wisdom," that combined Eastern and occult thought, and rejected both Christian orthodoxy and scientific materialism, and understood itself as gathering together the essential truths of all the world's religions. Theosophy offered an immanental doctrine of the sacred—a spark of the divine in every atom of the universe—that gave women as well as men direct access to spiritual authority. It promoted hopeful doctrines of human nature, among them a theosophical form of *karma* that held that human souls could be born into either female or male bodies, depending upon the lessons needed in a particular lifetime. Theosophy offered women models of strong female leadership in addition to Madame Blavatsky, including Annie Besant (1847–1933), Katherine Tingley (1847–1929), and Alice Bailey (1880–1949). Twenty-first-century scholarship such as that of Joy Dixon has begun to demonstrate the extent to which British Theosophical women were involved in progressive politics and rejected a privatized occult spirituality that excluded participation in political culture. Generally speaking, Theosophy attracted educated middle- and upper-class women whose spiritual needs were not being met by prevailing Christian orthodoxies and who found outlets for their spiritual gifts, religious experiences, and psychic needs in Theosophy.

Mary Baker Eddy (1821–1910), founder of the Church of Christ Scientist, better known as Christian Science, provided yet another option for women as both participants and leaders in a new religious movement. Christian Science was grounded in an absolutist metaphysical claim based on Eddy's own healing experience in 1866—that there is no ultimate reality in matter—and upon which she based not only a new theology, but a healing system and a church structure. Eddy published the first of many versions of *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures* in 1866. Christian Science offered women positions as teachers and practitioners and promulgated a theology that denied the reality of the physical body and its ultimate relevance, whether female or male. It understood sin, sickness, suffering, and evil as illusions based in the mistaken conviction that matter is real. For Christian Science, the site of struggle for achieving health and social transformation was "mind," an arena obviously open to women who had little opportunity for active, public involvement in institutional religion, politics, or the marketplace.

BRIDGING THE NINETEENTH AND THE TWENTIETH CENTURIES. The direct and indirect influence of Christian Science and Theosophy, along with different kinds of spiritual healing and esotericism, proliferated during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as there emerged a constellation of new religions categorized variously as "harmonial" religion, the "metaphysical" traditions, and, more pejoratively, the positive thinking religions. Typically, these religions integrated philosophical idealism with distinctive, often called "spiritual," interpretations of Christianity. Among the most famous names associated with these movements are Ursula Gestefeld and Emma Curtis Hopkins of New Thought, Myrtle Fillmore, who, along with her husband Charles, founded the Unity School of Christianity, and Alice Bailey of the Arcane School. These movements were not reluctant to institutionalize leadership positions for women, and they drew large numbers of women members. Their theological worldviews promulgated ideas that women have been drawn to historically. They revolted against what they saw as rigid forms of creedal Christianity, de-emphasized the doctrine of original sin, and held to hopeful understandings of human nature such as a belief in the divinity of the inner self. These religions often combined elements of both Eastern and Western religious thought and were characterized by an emphasis on healing, both spiritual and physical. They typically held to the power of thought or mind to changes one's consciousness, often by tapping into other levels of reality, and thereby to change one's circumstances as well. There are many examples, however, of these traditions giving over institutional power to men as they moved into the second and third generations of existence and became more assimilated to patterns in mainstream American and British culture.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY NEW RELIGIONS. The twentieth century continued to offer a great variety of possibilities for women in new religions. Charismatic, pentecostal preaching and healing women in the earlier part of the century, among them Aimee Semple McPherson (1890–1944), founder of the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, Alma B. White (1862–1946), a Methodist preacher and founder of the Pillar of Fire Church, and Mother Leafy Anderson (c. 1887–1927), founder of the Black Spiritualist churches, continued to overcome disapproval of women preachers by force of their personal power. Growing numbers of Eastern religions began to find their way into Western culture in greater numbers beginning in the 1960s and provided new communities, practices, and forms of leadership for women. Feminist/goddess spirituality, an outgrowth of the women's movement and based in the authority of women's distinctive bodily and religious experiences and rituals, came into prominence as well, beginning in the 1960s. The constellation of ideas and practices that came to be called the New Age movement, many of whose themes overlap with Theosophy and feminist spirituality, also attracted large numbers of women and women leaders. Like their nineteenth-century forerunners, these religions offered women ways to experiment with new religious ideas, practices and images, often female, of the sacred and with alternative models of family and community and expressions of sexuality.

BUDDHISM AS A NEW RELIGION IN AMERICA. An ancient religion in the East, but relatively new to the West, Buddhism offered Western women new spiritual opportunities and has itself been changed by the process of responding to calls for a feminist Buddhism, a Buddhism "beyond patriarchy," as Buddhist scholar and practitioner Rita Gross (1943 –) puts it. Highly cognizant of anti-female assumptions in traditional Buddhism about women's bodies and women's nature, an increasing number of Buddhist feminists who have become teachers and leaders—Gross, Charlotte Joko Beck, Joanna Macy, Jan Willis, Anne Klein, Sandy Boucher, Lekshe Tsomo—have found in Buddhism itself sources to combat its own anti-woman entrenchments. Buddhism's nontheism, its emphasis on impermanence, its various female images of power, its teachings that insist on the ultimate irrelevance of gender, and its focus on the primacy of experience are all resources from which women Buddhists draw to foster female leadership, a more Earth-centered practice of Buddhism, and innovations in the teaching of Buddhism.

THREE TWENTIETH-CENTURY RELIGIONS OF EASTERN ORIGIN. Other, newer forms of Eastern religions have also attracted Western women, three in particular that have emerged since the middle of the twentieth century. Looked at comparatively, they offer women very different possibilities for both traditional relational roles and alternatives to Western marriage traditions that illustrate what can appear to the cultural mainstream as paradoxical, unappealing, and even dangerous combinations of freedom and restriction.

The Unification Church, better known as the Moonies, was founded in 1954 by Korea's Reverend Sun Myung Moon (1920–). Unificationism's complex theology of restoration assumes that Jesus Christ accomplished a spiritual, but not a physical, redemption. It is in living out the tightly structured, family based, husband-wife sexuality modeled by Moon and his wife that the edenic pre-fall condition of the world will be restored. Unification women have access to a wide range of roles, mostly ordered sequentially: careers often involving work for the church, arranged marriages followed by several years of celibate sisterhood to their husbands, and, eventually, children who may be left in the care of others while the parents work elsewhere for the church. The domestic sphere is valued as one of ultimate spiritual significance and the value of the marriage relationship in bringing about the salvation of the world cannot be overestimated. One of the early leaders and theologians of the movement was Oon Young Kim (1915–1990), a female professor at Ewha University in Seoul and the first Unification missionary to the West.

The International Society for Krishna Consciousness, known also as ISKCON and Hare Krishna, came to America from India in 1965. The society and its male founder, Swami Prabhupada (1896–1977), attracted young counterculture members. Unlike the male/female sexual complementarity assumed by Unificationists, ISKCON espouses a radical body/spirit split that holds bodies to be illusion but nonetheless assumes male spiritual superiority. At the same time, the security of a highly ordered sexual life and the comfort and support of the women's ashram is appealing to the women of ISKCON, and there is evidence to suggest that women exercise significant power indirectly, a pattern common in traditionally male-dominated religions.

Another new religion of Indian origin, the Rajneesh movement, now known as Osho, originated with Bhagwan

Shree Rajneesh (1931–1990) in an ashram in Poona, India, in the 1970s. Its most famous site in the West was Rajneeshpuram in Oregon, disbanded in 1985 in the midst of scandals and church/state tensions. In contrast with marriage-based movements, Rajneesh encouraged women to have nonexclusive sexual relationships with men. These were regarded as gateways to spiritual experiences and gave women both the freedom and the responsibility to avoid traditional roles of wife and mother, develop identities as "lovers," and assume positions of leadership. This movement offers an excellent forum for exploration of issues dealing with women's relationships to male gurus and of the question of what distinctions need to be drawn between sexual freedom and exploitation in religions that make connections between overtly physical rather than metaphorical sexual expression related to the sacred.

FEMINIST SPIRITUALITY. Unlike highly structured family and communally oriented new religions, feminist spirituality has been developing since the second wave of feminism emerged in the 1960s as a loosely organized, very widespread cultural movement movement. However many varieties exist within the movement, there is a discernible woman-oriented worldview often grounded in female images of God or devotion to the Goddess or goddesses. However imaged, the divine is understood as radically immanent in every aspect of reality. Earth- and nature-related rituals affirm both the spiritual relevance and the physical reality of the world and celebrate women's bodies and bodily rhythms, in contrast with some nineteenth-century groups that denied the ultimate reality of the body. Feminist spirituality is broad enough to encompass manifestations as wide-ranging as Neopaganism and Wicca and groups that identify themselves with Judaism and Christianity. The movement as a whole places great emphasis on spiritual healing from what members describe as the scars of male-dominated religion and culture. Feminist spirituality continues to develop ethical stances related particularly to environmentalism and peace.

CONCLUSION. Scholarly and popular speculations abound about women's motivations for joining new religious movements. No one explanation suffices, since women offer many, many reasons for their attractiveness, even if, as sociological data indicate, women who join new religions do not necessarily stay in them forever. Those reasons almost always include the appeal of theological claims and ways of living that are more coherent with women's own experiences, religious and otherwise, than those offered by the established religious traditions or the secular culture. They encompass, as well, possibilities for expression of women's charismatic gifts and leadership abilities along with the freedom to explore individual psychological strengths or deficits that find outlets and compensations in new religions. There is also the draw of economic security and community, along with opportunities for sexual relationships outside monogamous marriage, or, communally validated celibacy, or communal suppot for traditional monogamous marriages. All of these may figure in one combination or another in women's joining—or founding—new religious movements.

SEE ALSO Besant, Annie; Blavatsky, H. P.; Buddhism, article on Buddhism in the West; Christian Science; Eddy, Mary Baker; Feminist Theology; Fillmore, Charles and Myrtle; Gender and Religion; Hopkins, Emma Curtis; International Society for Krishna Consciousness; Lee, Ann; Mormonism; Neopaganism; New Thought Movement; Noyes, John Humphrey; Olcott, Henry Steel; Prabhupada, A. C. Bhaktivedanta; Quakers; Rajneesh; Shakers; Smith, Joseph; Spiritualism; Swedenborgianism; Theosophical Society; Tingley, Katherine; Unification Church; Wicca.

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MARY FARRELL BEDNAROWSKI (2005)

NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS: NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS AND CHILDREN

In the 1960s and 1970s the religions classified as "cults" or "new religious movements" (NRMs) were largely populated with people in their late teens and early twenties. Often characterized as rebellious youth, disenchanted "dropouts" who had rejected the values of mainstream religion and culture to create their own counterculture and protest movements, few of them had children or other responsibilities. Their enthusiasm for Asian mysticism, new forms of psychotherapy, or new fervent expressions of evangelical Christianity led them to join exciting new religions in the hope of experiencing the numinous, finding the authentic self, or transforming the world and themselves. This religious resurgence occurred in both America and Europe. By the 1980s and 1990s the demographic picture worldwide had changed dramatically. The young seekers had matured into middle age, and children had become a significant feature of most NRMs.

Children and their views about the religions they belong to have been neglected by academics in the study of religion generally but especially in studies looking at NRMs. Their significance is, however, without question. Their impact has been noted by various sociologists of religion; their involvement in drawing sectarian religious groups away from isolation and toward assimilation was described by Richard Niebuhr in *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* in 1929. More recently, in his article "Why Religions Movements Succeed or Fail" (1996), Rodney Stark commented that the second generation is key to the success or failure of new religious movements. Without doubt, the arrival of a second generation, often in large numbers, is key to understanding how many of these new movements undergo organizational transformations and changes to their practices. Retaining the second generation is crucial to many of these groups. In some new religions, such as The Family (previously known as Children of God), second-generation members now outnumber the first generation, and they are highly active in participating and developing the future of the movement. The success coming to groups retaining their second generation can be seen in some of the older sects, such as the Mormons and Hutterites, who solved the problem of increasing membership by breeding new members. Whereas in the 1980s there were about four hundred Hutterites in North America, now there are nearer thirty thousand, and the claim is they still retain 98 percent of their offspring. In contrast, some new religions are struggling; not managing to increase membership by proselytizing, they clearly need to retain their second generation. For example, the Unification Church (better known as "the Moonies") and the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) had fewer adult members at the end of the twentieth century than they did in the 1970s. For new movements like Neopaganism, retaining the second generation is not an issue; the ideal is for the spiritual path to be one of individual choice.

The wave of children born into the new religious movements has created new challenges. The responses to the problems of raising this new generation have taken a rich variety of forms; not surprisingly, given the radical nature of these parents, not all of their parenting solutions have been conventional. For the insiders—the adult members of NRMs—the main issues have been child raising, education, and how best to incorporate the second generation in their active religious lives. How far should their religion remain a religion of converts, and how far should they adapt to accommodate the new generation? For those watching from the outside, particularly those who felt they had little access to inside information, children added a new dimension and a focus of concern, which was easily fueled by the negative stereotyping of NRMs as "dangerous cults" by the anticult movement and the media. The three issues that have preoccupied the public, the media, and concerned outsiders are, firstly, child abuse (including mental and sexual abuse and neglect); secondly, child custody cases and the difficult issue of the "best interests of the child"; and thirdly, child socialization and education. The article will deal with each of these in turn.

CHILD ABUSE. One crucial significance of children in NRMs is the role they play in the fight against cults. As James T. Richardson points out in "Social Control of New Religions: From 'Brainwashing' Claims to Child Sex Abuse Allegations," children have become the new weapon for anticultists in the battle against NRMs now that the brainwashing weapon has lost its potency (Richardson, 1999, p. 172). Accusations about child abuse in new religious movements have become the "ultimate weapon" used in attempts to control new religious movements. After the Jonestown murders-suicides in 1978, there was an explosion of negative media stories about "cults," and accusations of child abuse increased. The reason for this was that so-called cultic groups, according to anticultists, are disposed to abuse children. In their view all cult parents are extremists, obsessed with personal salvation or creating a heaven on earth, dependent on a leader and now unable to think critically and independently.

Moreover, because they are portrayed as working in exploitative conditions, they must have little time for family. Kaj Moos in *Save Our Children* describes cult children as simply "an imposition upon their emotionally fragile, dependent parents," which tends to "lead toward a path of child abuse, for the cultist parent is regressed and unable to cope with the parenting demands and need of children" (Moos, 1993, p. 12). According to Moos, "cult children" are raised in organizations predisposed toward abusive practices. Michael Langone, editor of the *Cultic Studies Journal,* is more cautious in his writing and as such has been influential in arguing that cults have a particular capacity to harm children physically and psychologically. In *Recovery from Cults: Help for Victims of Psychological and Physical Abuse* (1993), Langone argues that it is their absolutist ideology that provides a rationalization for child abuse and makes them different from Catholics, Baptists, or Episcopalians. Their ideology, he argues, compels harsh physical discipline and the rejection of medical intervention and supports physical isolation and resistance to investigations of child abuse, the members using religious beliefs to justify their ideology and isolation (Langone, 1993, pp. 327–329). Langone makes this case while at the same time admitting it is hard to draw conclusions specifically linking cultic groups and child abuse because of the lack of evidence.

At the close of the twentieth century, scholars cited a lack of evidence to support anticult groups' claims of child abuse, and research had not demonstrated a causal link between NRMs and victims of child abuse. To give one example, the theosophically inspired group the Church Universal and Triumphant (CUT) received particularly hostile media and anticult attention after the Branch Davidian tragedy, calling it one of America's "top cults." Concern was raised about the well-being of children in this group, perceived as socially and religiously deviant. From their research described in *Church Universal and Triumphant in Scholarly Perspective* (1994), Lawrence Lilliston and Gary Shepherd were able to identify certain problem areas in the relationship between adults and youth: some small-scale delinquent acts by a few young people such as "joyriding, shoplifiting"; some "off the Ranch" pregnancies after associating with outsider boys; more generally a resistance to strict church prohibition against music with a heavy beat (especially rock and roll); and some teen dissatisfaction, characterized by feeling ignored and ridiculed by outsiders, particularly when preparation was made in the 1990s for nuclear war. The church made some changes in the 1990s, however, to address parenting problems. Realizing that intense commitment to organizational jobs in the church was affecting parent-child relationships, the church gave staff with children more time; parenting skills were encouraged and parenting workshops introduced; youth antidrug programs and ties to national youth programs were established. Researchers were impressed by the openness of the parents to exposing children to a diversity of religious views and by their respect for free choice. They described CUT children as having high but realistic standards, as self-reliant, and as having appropriate dependency attitudes and strong feelings of competence and confidence in their ability. Reporting that the parents were resigned to the fact that most of the children would become religious defectors, they in fact concluded that the church may have introduced new structures that could increase the loyalty of the second generation. Though previously charged with isolation, lack of parenting skills, and other concerns expressed by Langone and Moos, the Church Universal and Triumphant introduced changes that led observers to view the organization more favorably.

The notion put forward by Langone and others seeking to control "cults"—that NRMs, unlike other religions such as Catholicism, are predisposed to child abuse—is not supported by the evidence. Anson Shupe, editor of *Wolves within the Fold: Religious Leadership and Abuses of Power,* points out that Catholic priests "have preyed upon literally hundreds of young victims" (Shupe, 1998, p. 5). A survey by the National Review Board (February 2004) revealed that from 1950 to 2002 in the United States, 4,450 Catholic priests were accused of sexual abuse of minors. With such evidence it is no longer appropriate to suspect new religions as being any more or less likely to breed sexual abuse. Children raised in NRMs are not more likely to be abused than those raised in any other religion, but in the case of NRMs, the religious group and its ideology or structure are usually blamed rather than individuals. The Catholic Church has tried to separate individual abuse from any connection with the social structure or practices of the church. There is research, described by contributors to Shupe's volume, to suggest that, in fact, there may be problems when the total economic structure and power of a group rests on male, unmarried clergy.

Careful scrutiny of the child abuse accusations against NRMs reveals that many of the allegations have been concerned with harsh discipline and corporal punishment. This is a highly controversial area, the rights and wrongs of "smacking" being hotly debated. The new tide of opinion against any form of physical punishment of children makes the adoption of the more disciplinarian view more controversial. Over the years theories of socially and politically acceptable discipline have varied greatly. The quotation from *Proverbs* (13:24), "he who spares the rod hates his child," is central to one theory, advocated, for example, by James Dobson in his book *Dare to Discipline* (1970). According to this theory, children need to be taught strong self-discipline and self-control, which are best encouraged by strong disciplining of the child, including the use of corporal punishment. This is still the theory favored by some mainstream evangelical Christians worldwide and by some Christian NRMs, such as The Family.

The more liberal attitudes of later child-care experts, such as Dr. Spock or the "modern" Penelope Leach, are supported by liberal, secular, and New Age parents. In the past two decades countries have in general become more liberal. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted in 1989 and ratified by every country in the world except the United States and Somalia, makes it clear that children should be protected from all forms of physical and mental violence, injury, or abuse (Article 19.1). It states that any form of discipline should take into account the child's human dignity. Nevertheless, in the United Kingdom there still exists a Victorian law allowing a defense in terms of reasonable chastisement allowing parents to hit children when they can claim the punishment was justified. Laws were passed to abolish spanking in British state schools in 1986 and in privately funded schools in 1998; it is still permitted in some states in the United States. Nowhere is it allowed in Scandinavia; Sweden banned smacking thirty years ago. The question of whether parents should be restricted from hitting their children will become increasingly an issue between religious conservatives and liberals. It is not an issue that is limited to new religious movements.

One of the better-known cases involving accusations about severe corporal punishment involved the Northeast Kingdom Community Church, a fundamentalist Christian sect that was the object of much controversy in the 1980s and that was described by George Robertson in "Island Pond Raid Begins New Pattern" (1994) and by Vanessa Malcarne and John Burchard in "Investigations of Child Abuse/Neglect Allegations in Religious Cults: A Case Study in Vermont" (1992). The Messianic Communities, also known as the Twelve Tribes, continue to have problems in France and Germany on issues of homeschooling and discipline. These and other groups advocating strict discipline and openly supporting corporal punishment believe it is in the children's best interests, sometimes even to "break the will" of the child. The Community in Island Pond in Vermont is a strongly fundamentalist community, homeschooling their children and disciplining them with a stick for minor disobediences and adult strikes for more serious offenses. In 1984 the community was raided, and more than a hundred adults and 112 children were taken into custody. Although all the children were returned to their parents, the techniques for the allegations of abuse, as George Robertson (1994) points out, worked for the anticult movement—the raids made headline news, highlighting the allegations of abuse, but the children's return was hardly mentioned. What is striking is that in 2004 the Vermont community continued its strict fundamentalist lifestyle and lived without conflict with its neighbors.

Some children have suffered from severe corporal punishment. The famous American case is that of the twelve-year-old boy in the House of Judah who died as the result of beatings at a camp. Children raised in belief systems that advocate severe physical punishment in some cases are defenseless against the group if they live within a closed community. However, no evidence has as yet been produced to show that children in new religious movements are more likely to be harmed than children in other institutions or mainstream society. The Institute for the Study of American Religion carried out a survey in 1986 exploring reports of child abuse in cults and concluded that beliefs about corporal punishment and strict discipline could lead to violent tendencies in children. But the survey also concluded that such behavior "did not come from the major non-conventional religions (that is, those identified as cults in the public mind) but from conservative evangelical Christian groups" (Melton, 1986, pp. 255, 258).

It could be argued that many of the accusations of child abuse by anticultists have in themselves led to abuse of children. Accusations about child abuse were made against the Family in Argentina, France, Spain, Australia, Peru, Norway, and the United Kingdom. Worldwide raids on the Family homes made front-page news as the allegedly abused children were dragged from their parents in the night, with scarcely a mention of their return after no abuse could be found in any of the children in any of the countries. Some of the officials' treatment of the children of the Family might on the other hand be seen to constitute abuse. In Australia social services took more than 190 children away from parents who were members of the Family in 1992, but within a few days all were returned. Based on similarly false information, children in France and Spain were kept in custody and separated from their mothers for weeks or months. In all cases courts dismissed the charges. A few of the key anticult figures who instigated some of these raids (Rick Ross, for example) also used child abuse allegations against David Koresh and the Branch Davidians.

It should be noted in terms of child abuse that there is a particularly complex relationship between gender, age, power, and spirituality. Particularly difficult is the relationship of guru and disciple, or priest and child, with the enormous potential for religious exploitation. For example, Elizabeth Puttick has commented that the master-disciple relationship was a profound experience for many Rajneesh followers with "little evidence of sexual exploitation of female disciples by Osho" (Puttick, 1999, p. 102). But problems of authority and misuse of power did arise in the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON). There were cases of child abuse and instances of second-class child care. In June 2000 children of ISKCON filed a federal complaint naming ISKCON and its governing body as defendants. In *Betrayal of the Spirit* (2001) Nori Muster describes how the worst abuses took place between 1971 and 1986 in the Dallas boarding school, the West Virginia boarding school in New Vrindavan, and in the Vrindavana (India) boarding school. The scandals about child abuse in ISKCON, with the leaders' focus on attaining spiritual objectives rather than looking after their children in schools and child-care facilities, have played a large part in destroying the second generation's trust in this movement. Many of the second generation, who now mostly attend non-ISKCON schools, are critical of some of the fanaticism of the first generation, as Burke Rochford describes in "Reactions of Hare Krishna Devotees to Scandals of Leaders' Misconduct" (1998). Another article by Rochford, "Education and Collective Identity" (1999), analyzes how the second-generation members hold on to their identity as Krishna devotees but have a less-strong collective ISKCON identity. Incidents of underage sex in the early years of The Family have also been documented by James Chancellor in *Life in the Family: An Oral History of the Children of God* (2000). David Koresh, the leader of the Branch Davidians, is cited as having sexual relations with underage girls to create a new spiritual lineage. There are concerns about children in Christian Science, which has been criticized for promoting faith healing and neglecting children in need of medical attention. In the United States adults can either seek medical attention to deal with a physical disorder, or they can use faith healing or alternative medicine. If a child dies from not receiving medical attention, however, parents can face criminal charges. In "Christian Science Spiritual Healing, the Law, and Public Opinion" (1992), James Richardson and John Dewitt argue that concern about the welfare of children has at times overridden concern about parental rights and freedom of religion.

What is dangerous about an approach that accepts that certain organizations like NRMs are predisposed toward abusive practices is that there is then little need to explore in depth any particular NRM to see the reality of whether child abuse is occurring. Anticultists see unchecked information from ex-members about the totalitarian nature and lifestyle of the organization as sufficient. If a group can be defined as a "destructive cult" or an "extreme cult," detailed evaluations of the religious group are not needed to make allegations of child abuse. In France, where there is a governmental preference for listening to the "victims" of sects and to the anticultists who deal with the practical problems of these victims rather than taking an academic viewpoint, very little scholarly work is being undertaken, and an anticult scare continues. In 1996 the French National Assembly declared a list of 172 groups, including Jehovah's Witnesses, Mormons, Catholic charismatics, evangelicals, and Quakers, as potentially dangerous. In Belgium a similar parliamentary report produced in 1997 declared 189 sects potentially dangerous. Sweden has been critical of the attitudes expressed in these reports, and the report of the Swedish Government's Commission on New Religious Movements (1998), "In Good Faith: Society and the New Religious Movements," gives a far more balanced view of the needs of children in unconventional religions and calls for more research:

> The right of parents to bring up their children in accordance with their faith and convictions is above dispute, but it has to be balanced against the knowledge that there are children who suffer harm in new religious movements. . . . The Commission considers it essential that children living in closed groups should have the same form of support, protection and rights as other children. At the same time it is important that children growing up in these movements should not be stigmatized.

Unfortunately not all governments have been as open-minded. A new law introduced by the French parliament in June 2000 was Europe's toughest antisect legislation to date. It allows judges to order the dissolution of a sect if members are convicted of a criminal offence. It bans sects from advertising. It has also made "mental manipulation" a crime. Targeting youth, such as touting for new members near schools or offering children's Sunday school by any church, is now illegal in France.

Allegations of child abuse over the last two decades have been used very effectively against particular NRMs. In those countries in Europe where brainwashing and mind-control claims are still accepted and experts are sought among anticultists (e.g., France, Belgium), it seems likely that those who want to hinder the activities of any NRM will in the last resort use child abuse accusations to persuade the local authorities to act.

FREEDOM OF RELIGION AND THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE CHILD. It is a standard principle of child welfare law and policy that the "best interests" of a child should be promoted. Article 13.1 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) states that "in all actions concerning children . . . the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration." Key articles of the convention also stress the need to respect both "the right of the child to freedom of thought, conscience and religion" (Article 14.1) and "the rights and duties of parents in providing religious and moral guidance to their children in a manner consistent with the evolving capacities of the child" (Article 14.2). These principles have been welcomed by religious groups of all kinds, mainstream and minority religions, because they indicate that the United Nations has no interest in preventing parents from bringing up their children within a religious tradition and endorses freedom of religion.

The main difficulty for courts in Europe or the United States lies in the precarious balance between these two notions: freedom of religion and the best interests of the child. From research on court cases dealing with the custody of a child with one parent in a so-called cult or minority religion, Anthony Bradney, in "Children of a Newer God," says there is no doubt that because courts rely on evidence and arguments given by the parties involved, some judgments have been swayed by incomplete evidence and anticult "experts" (Bradney, 1999, p. 215). How this balance is achieved in the United States and in Europe is well documented in the articles by Bradney, Richardson, and Michael Homer in *Children in New Religions* (1999), although much research is still to be undertaken on the European interpretation of these principles in custody cases. It is already clear, however, that how a particular country views NRMs, cults, or sects has an impact on the legal process and on child custody cases. Custody cases may not actually assess the quality of parenting in any new religious group because very often the judges are as ignorant about NRMs as are members of the public. As Bradney has discussed *in Religions, Rights, and Laws*, although courts in the United Kingdom are supposed to be neutral about religious matters, some parents have lost custody of their child or children "precisely because of their religion" (Bradney, 1993, p. 49). As yet it is not clear how the French or Belgian reports advocating anticult laws or indeed any of those commissioned by European governments will affect the courts and the custody of children in NRMs.

SOCIALIZATION AND EDUCATION IN NRMS: FROM DETACHMENT TO AFFIRMATION. All societies and all new religious movements attach considerable importance to the upbringing of their children, but what practices are perceived as being most conducive to the general good (including the welfare of the children themselves) are often strikingly different. The alternative childhoods to be found in NRMs can be usefully understood according to the Weberian perspective offered by Roy Wallis in *The Elementary Forms of the New Religious Life* (1984), from the "world-rejecting" to the "world-affirming." These "ideal types" focus on "how a movement orients itself toward the social world into which it emerges" (Wallis, 1984, p. 4).

At one end of the spectrum, children are raised in movements rejecting the world, emphasizing the polluting, permissive, evil, contaminating aspects of the mainstream, which could harm their own children, seen as sinless and vulnerable. Examples can be found in Sahaja Yoga, the Family, the Unification Church, and ISKCON. Boundaries are maintained between the movement and the outside. For example, separate sets of clothes are kept by Family members; purification rituals like foot soaking and meditation are carried out by Sahaja Yoga children after school to negate any negative vibrations picked up at school. Practices and lifestyles are emphasized to help children participate in building the new kingdom or to become spiritually pure. As one Family/Children of God publication commented, "If the millennium is that close, it's all the more reason to get these kids trained in a hurry" (*Teen Rev.,* no. 7, 1986), hence the importance of teaching the very young to be toilet trained and to read and write and the importance of learning Scriptures. These world-rejecting groups create alternative childhoods that emphasize the importance of growing up within a saved community, and therefore the emphasis is on detachment from worldly life. If they are not living in communes, members of these groups emphasize socialization into their values and practices in weekend gatherings, camps, or ashrams. World-rejecting movements often create their own forms of homeschooling, particularly for preteens, not wanting their children to be exposed to the vice-ridden, secular schools of the outside world. CUT and the Family homeschool using the Montessori approach and education philosophies that stress precocious acquisition of reading skills (such as those of Glenn Doman). The more conservative of these groups attempt to revive paternal authoritarianism and strong discipline. These children, like adults, have a prescribed role to play; toys and books are carefully supervised because children can be led astray by the devil, who may try to tempt them through the wrong kind of music or unsupervised TV or try to tempt them into losing their innocence.

At the other end of the spectrum are those NRMs emphasizing the importance of affirming the individual ("self" religions, such as the Human Potential Movement, Damanhur, Scientology, Transcendental Meditation, Rajneesh). The emphasis in raising children must be to help them fill their potential, especially their inner spirituality, and find ways to cope with the world and its stresses. Many of these groups are less obviously "religious," have less dogmatic ideas, and are more highly individualized, emphasizing children's empowerment and affirming individual children's goals and values. Child socialization and education in the mainstream is criticized for being an outdated conventional institution. Children need to be emancipated from the narrow bondage of an educational system that focuses solely on the intellect and a future accepting the materialistic values associated with capitalism. For these more countercultural movements, schooling should emphasize creativity, intuition, and natural intelligence. One must maintain faith in the goodness of children and their potential. Strong discipline and punishment, far from being advocated, are seen as creating fear and a distance between the generations, preventing emotional growth, self-actualization, personal responsibility, and maturity. Children in many of the Eastern-influenced groups, such as Transcendental Meditation, Sathya Sai Baba, Ananda Marga, School of Economic Science, and Western Buddhist Order, learn early on to meditate, and in response their parents may face condemnation and accusations of indoctrination or exploitation.

As Wallis noted, empirical examples will only approximate to these ideal types and may well combine elements of both (Wallis, 1984, p. 5). Although in terms of beliefs and organization a group may be world-rejecting, in terms of the ideal childhood envisaged it may have elements of both detachment from the world and the importance of developing potential power and self-actualization. For example, the international movements of Rajneesh (now Osho), Sahaja Yoga, or Damanhur in Italy, all world-rejecting movements, see the outside world as contaminating, its mainstream schools and patriarchal nuclear-family structures as the root of Western bad habits and neurosis; the alternative is to be found in communal living, detached from the rest of the world. At the same time, there are strong world-affirming elements; correct child-rearing practices are seen as crucial in helping Rajneesh children attain their full potential (Puttick, 1999), and the New Age Damanhurians involve their children in "harmonization," a form of yoga to restore human beings to their original and authentic condition (Introvigne, 1999).

CONCLUSIONS. The significance of studying children in NRMs began to be taken seriously when they were consistently used by anticultists to bolster their attacks on movements. Since then, however, much of the debate has focused on countering these attacks, and the literature on children is heavily weighted with discussions on child abuse, child custody cases, and the indoctrination of children. Although the debates have furthered the understanding of children in new religious movements, the focus on these areas to the exclusion of others has led to a distorted picture of children in NRMs.

In the academic research there is general agreement that although children in NRMs may have unusual childhoods, which in itself can produce difficulties for children, the majority are not worse off in NRMs than children whose parents belong to mainstream religions. Yet the literature focusing on scandals leaves an impression of deviancy. For research on children to progress there needs to be less focus on the scandals and more attention on understanding the impact of children on any religious movement. Wider research is needed on how children develop spiritually, how they gain meaning and order from the religious and cultural patterns in which they live, and what children think about religion and spirituality whether they grow up in new religious movements or the mainstream. There is need for a great deal more research to confront the stereotypical negative attitude to these children's lives by actually looking at what goes on. Children do change religions, but exactly how they change both organizational patterns and religious practices is still little explored. It is important to emphasize the diversity of the systems of meaning in terms of which children give form, order, and direction to their lives within new religions. It will be seen here, however, that the key issues that have influenced the popular view of children in NRMs are ones that are not fundamentally different from the issues involved in raising children in mainstream religions: issues of child abuse, child custody, and the precarious balance of religious freedom, parental rights, and the "best interests of the child" with the extent to which children are "indoctrinated" or "freely choose" the views of their parents. One sad consequence of imposing restrictions on NRMs, on reducing freedom of religion, is a reduced tolerance of diversity.

SEE ALSO Anticult Movements; Brainwashing (Debate); Branch Davidians; Christian Science; Church Universal and Triumphant; Cults and Sects; Family, The; Hutterian Brethren; International Society for Krishna Consciousness; Jehovah's Witnesses; Jonestown and Peoples Temple; Koresh, David; Mormonism; Neopaganism; Quakers; Sai Baba Movement; Scientology; Transcendental Meditation; Twelve Tribes; Unification Church.

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CHARLOTTE E. HARDMAN (2005)

NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS: NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS AND MILLENNIALISM

The religious patterns that scholars term *millennialism* or *millenarianism* are noteworthy among new religious movements (NRMs). While many NRMs are not oriented toward a millennial outlook, millennialism is often found in the early stages of a religion. A millennial worldview is well suited to motivating people to convert to completely new religions, accept the spiritual guidance of new teachers, and build new communities. The millennial expectation of an imminent transition to a new order of existence represents a rejection of the status quo, thereby putting millennialists in tension with mainstream society; tension with society also characterizes new religious movements in general. Millennialists are often not involved in violence, but in some significant cases millennialists become caught up in dynamics leading to violence: they may initiate violent acts or be assaulted by opponents in the dominant society. While the term *millennialism* is derived from Christianity, millennial religious patterns can be found in diverse religious traditions in many times and places.

DEFINING MILLENNIALISM. The terms *millennialism* or *millenarianism* come from *millennium,* meaning one thousand years. These terms originate in Christianity with the statement in the New Testament *Book of Revelation* (Apocalypse) that the rule of Christ on earth will last one thousand years (*Rev.* 20:1–4). Scholars now apply the terms to several common religious patterns found in many religions.

Based on his study of medieval Christian revolutionary millennial movements, Norman Cohn defined *millennialism* as expecting a salvation that is:

> (a) collective, in the sense that it is to be enjoyed by the faithful as a collectivity; (b) terrestrial, in the sense that it is to be realized on this earth and not in some otherworldly heaven; (c) imminent, in the sense that it is to come both soon and suddenly; (d) total, in the sense that it is utterly to transform life on earth, so that the new dispensation will be no mere improvement on the present but perfect itself; (e) miraculous, in the sense that it is to be accomplished by, or with the help of, supernatural agencies. (Cohn, 1970, Introduction)

The study of new religious movements reveals the need to modify this definition of millennialism in several ways to make it more accurately descriptive. Many millennialists expect a heavenly collective salvation, and many believe in agencies that should more accurately be called "superhuman," which includes the supernatural.

While many millennialists are expecting an earthly collective salvation, many others are expecting a heavenly collective salvation, or both. If the earthly collective salvation is utterly disproved, then it is easy for millennialists to shift to pinning their hopes on a heavenly salvation. This was the case with the Solar Temple, which committed group murders and suicides in Switzerland, Quebec, and France in 1994, 1995, and 1997. When their hope for a transition to an earthly New Age was disproved, they undertook to make a "transit" to a heavenly salvation on another planet.

Heaven's Gate, which committed a group suicide near San Diego, California, in 1997, never expected an earthly salvation. The Heaven's Gate "class" members saw earthly human existence as irredeemable, they believed there would be imminent apocalyptic violence "to spade under" the human "plants" growing in this earthly "garden," and their goal was to "exit" their physical "vehicles" to attain a type of heavenly salvation on the "mother ship." They believed they would attain eternal, neuter extraterrestrial bodies, travel among the galaxies on flying saucers, and guide evolution on other planets.

Contemporary NRMs also demonstrate that many believers may no longer understand as being supernatural or miraculous the agencies causing the transition to the collective salvation. Increasingly in NRMs, extraterrestrials, space aliens, and UFOs are taking on the roles formerly attributed to God, Satan, angels, and devils. The similarity is that these are all superhuman beings who are normally unseen but are believed to contact certain people. For UFO millennialists, the transition to the collective salvation will take place according to natural laws and be influenced by superhuman agents.

Reflecting the results of NRM studies, millennialism is here defined as involving belief in an imminent transition to a collective salvation, either earthly or heavenly, accomplished by superhuman agencies. The collective salvation is understood as eliminating the unpleasant limitations of the human condition.

Millennial patterns can be called either *catastrophic millennialism* or *progressive millennialism.* Catastrophic millennialism expects a violent transition to the collective salvation. Progressive millennialism is characterized by a strong belief in progress, a confidence that things are getting better. These two patterns are not mutually exclusive; believers can shift from one to the other. Catastrophic millennialism seems most prevalent among people who feel persecuted, although the teachings of a religious tradition also promote these beliefs. Progressive millennialism reflects optimism about the future. The Holy Order of MANS, originating among 1960s hippies in California, is an example of an NRM that was initially oriented toward a progressive New Age millennialism but whose catastrophic millennial expectations increased when it experienced opposition from the anticult movement and as it adopted Eastern Orthodox Christianity. Conversely, an NRM that has catastrophic millennial ideas and is in opposition to society can put these ideas on the back burner and begin to highlight progressive millennial ideas as its members and organization feel more comfortable in society.

Catastrophic Millennialism. The majority of scholarly writings on millennialism are actually studies of catastrophic millennialism, or *apocalypticism*, because this type of millennialism is prone to dramatic episodes of failure: a predicted salvation event fails to occur, or sometimes the believers become involved in horrifying episodes of violence. Catastrophic millennialism, the belief in an imminent catastrophic transition to the collective salvation orchestrated by superhuman agencies, is very common in NRMs. Catastrophic millennialism has a pessimistic view of society and human beings; humans are so evil and corrupt that the old order must be destroyed so the new order can be created. A rigid dualistic outlook may be associated with catastrophic millennialism: things are seen in terms of good versus evil, which often translates into a sense of us versus them. Catastrophic millennialism expects, and may provoke, conflict. In the history of Christianity, this type of millennialism has been called "pre-millennialism" because the belief is that Christ will return *first*, destroy evil, resurrect the dead, judge everyone, and then create the millennial kingdom, either earthly or heavenly.

Catastrophic millennialism has the power to motivate people to convert to entirely new religions, even when there is social and familial opposition. Belief that the world will be destroyed very soon and that the only access to salvation is through this new religion provides a great incentive to disregard the stigma of joining the new group.

Religions that start out as catastrophic millennial movements may remain small, such as the Branch Davidians; they may achieve notable success in becoming international movements with millions of members, such as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons); and a few may become diverse world religions, such as Christianity and Islam. A religious tradition that did not begin as a millennial movement may develop millennial movements within it later, such as the Buddhist hope for the coming of the Maitreya Buddha. Messianism may be added later if it was missing in the early versions of the millennial expectations, as in subsequent expectations in Islam of a coming savior figure called the *mahdī.*

The gospels in the New Testament depict Jesus (c. 4 BCE–c. 30 CE) as an apocalyptic prophet and messiah, who predicted imminent catastrophic destruction and the descent of the Son of man from heaven before that generation died out (Matthew 24). The earliest revelations given to Muhammad (570–632) predicted an imminent "Day of Clamor" in which the sun, moon, and stars would fall from the sky, the earth would shake, graves would open, the dead would be resurrected, and everyone would be judged, some going to heaven and others going to hell (Qurʾān 101:11; see also *sūrah* 56:1–74; 77; 81:1–14; 82:1–19; 84:1–12; 99:1–8).

Progressive millennialism. Progressive millennialism is an optimistic view of human nature and the possibility of society to improve. Progressive millennialism is the belief that the imminent transition to the collective salvation will occur through human effort in harmony with a divine or superhuman plan. The guiding agent may be divine, such as God or angels, but is often superhuman, as in extraterrestrials, ascended masters, or earthly masters with superhuman powers, as in the Theosophical and New Age movements. The progressive millennial belief is that humans can create the collective salvation if they cooperate with the guidance of the divine or superhuman agencies. In Christianity this pattern has been called "post-millennialism" because the belief is that Christians must work according to God's plan to create God's kingdom on Earth, and then Christ will return. Christian progressive millennialism has been manifested in the Protestant Social Gospel movement and in the post–Vatican II Roman Catholic orientation toward having a "special option for the poor" and working for social justice.

A RANGE OF BEHAVIORS. A range of behaviors is associated with both catastrophic millennialism and progressive millennialism. At one end of the spectrum, millennial movements are benign: catastrophic millennialists await divine intervention to destroy the world and, at the most, engage in intense proselytizing and may separate themselves from sinful society; progressive millennialists perform social work to improve society and may also attempt to build communities as forerunners of the ideal society. Katherine Tingley's (1847–1929) Point Loma Theosophical community in California from 1900 to 1942 is an example of the latter.

Further in on the belief and behavior spectrum are millennialists who arm themselves for protection. Catastrophic millennialists, such as Christian Identity believers and the Branch Davidians, may arm themselves for protection during the anticipated tribulation period; if they are attacked they will fight back. Progressive millennialists who arm themselves for protection are a logical possibility, but examples of this pattern have not yet been identified and studied.

Interestingly, at the extreme end of the spectrum, both catastrophic millennialists and progressive millennialists are violent revolutionaries whose goal is to overthrow the old order and create the new. The connection between catastrophic millennialism and a revolutionary outlook is apparent; the old order is seen as being so corrupt that people feel called to participate in violent events to destroy it. The numerous medieval Christian revolutionary millennial movements studied by Cohn exemplify this perspective. David Cook (2002) has suggested that early Islamic military expansion was, in part, a way to extend the Muslim faith to more people before the anticipated end of the world one hundred years after the establishment of the Muslim community. Robert Ellwood (2000), Richard Salter (2000), and Scott Lowe (2000) have suggested that there have been revolutionary progressive millennial movements, as represented by the Nazis, the Khmer Rouge, and Mao Ze-dong's movement. These Nazis and Communists believed in progress so fervently that they stopped at nothing to speed progress up "to an apocalyptic rate" (Ellwood, 2000, p. 253) to create their collective salvation.

When catastrophic millennialists and progressive millennialists become revolutionary, they have more in common with each other than with catastrophic and progressive millennialists on the benign end of the spectrum. Revolutionary millennialists of both types possess rigid dualistic perspectives, seeing things in terms of good versus evil, of us versus them, and they do not hesitate to kill many people to achieve their ends.

CHARISMA, LEADERS, AND FOLLOWERS. From the perspective of religious studies, individuals who are believed to have access to revelation from an unseen source of authority (God, angels, saints, ancestors, masters, extraterrestrials) are said to have "charisma." Charisma is socially constructed. If no one believes a person's claimed access to revelation, he or she does not have charisma. The person has charisma only if others believe the claim.

Both prophets and messiahs have charisma. Catastrophic and progressive millennial movements may or may not have prophets and/or messiahs. Some millennial movements, such as Christian Identity, may arise out of a widely shared millennial expectation without one exceptional person taking on the prophetic or messianic role for the whole movement, although there may be numerous people predicting the imminent transition to the collective salvation.

An inner circle of believers around a prophet or messiah become "secondary leaders." They help empower the prophet or messiah to positions of authority in their movement. The secondary leaders and the rank-and-file members can withdraw their faith in the charismatic leader at any time. Thus, the charismatic leader is under constant pressure to maintain his or her position by avoiding disconfirmation of prophecies and authority in the eyes of the believers.

Prophet. A prophet is someone who is believed to receive revelation from an unseen source of authority. Prophets often predict the imminent coming of the millennial kingdom, or they may predict the imminent appearance of a messiah. Muhammad was an apocalyptic prophet warning of the imminent Day of Sorting Out (Qurʾān 77). According to the gospels, Jesus also served as one who warned of God's imminent destruction and judgment (*Matt.* 25). John the Baptist was a prophet of the imminent appearance of the messiah. Joseph Smith Jr. (d. 1844) was the founding prophet of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Annie Besant (1847–1933) of the Theosophical Society was a progressive millennial prophet of the imminent coming of the "New Civilization" and the "World-Teacher" who would accomplish it.

Messiah. A messiah (Hebrew, "anointed") is a prophet, because he or she is believed to receive revelation, but the messiah is more than a prophet, because he or she is believed to have the superhuman power to create the collective salvation. Jesus is regarded as the messiah (christ) by Christians. Mother Ann Lee (1736–1784) was seen by the Shakers as the "Second Appearing of Christ in female form"; the Heavenly Father and Holy Mother Wisdom had a son and daughter, Jesus and Ann Lee. The Branch Davidians see David Koresh (1959–1993) as the messiah who will destroy evil in the catastrophic endtime events; like the earliest Christians, the most committed Branch Davidians are expecting Koresh's imminent return. Asahara Shōkō (b. 1955) of Aum Shinrikyō was seen as an enlightened Buddha and the suffering Lamb of Christianity—as the messiah who would create a Buddhist millennial kingdom called Shambhala. The young J. Krishnamurti (1895–1986) was groomed to function as the messiah in Annie Besant's progressive millennial movement in the early twentieth century; she taught that he would be the World-Teacher who would present a teaching that would raise humanity to an awareness of universal unity and move the world into the New Civilization.

A millennial movement does not necessarily have to have a messiah. The passages in the Qurʾān about the Day of Clamor do not mention a messiah; Allah will bring about the endtime events all by himself.

Secondary leaders. Secondary leaders, the inner circle, are crucial for validating the authority of the prophet or messiah. They may even receive some revelation themselves, but usually the prophet or messiah will attempt to restrict claims of charisma to himself or herself. The decisions made by secondary leaders can help determine the trajectory of the movement, whether it will be benign or become totalitarian and violent.

The inner circle of young white leaders around Jim Jones (1931–1978) of Peoples Temple colluded with him to fabricate healings and other miracles, and they helped facilitate the group murders and suicides on November 18, 1978, in Jonestown, Guyana. The inner circle of scientists, doctors, and others around Asahara Shōkō made Aum Shinrikyō into an organization that committed numerous murders and developed a variety of weapons of mass destruction before committing the sarin gas attack on the Tokyo subways in 1995. The inner circle of men around Adolf Hitler helped create a totalitarian, aggressive state that killed millions in its quest to create a millennial kingdom, the Third Reich, for the pure German *völk* (folk).

Secondary leaders can also help direct a millennial group into a direction to lessen conflict with society and become more democratic. In the 1990s the inner circle around Elizabeth Clare Prophet (b. 1939) of the Church Universal and Triumphant helped steer the church away from authoritarianism and catastrophic prophecies to create a denominational structure with shared authority. Apostle Elbert Spriggs (b. 1937), founder of the Twelve Tribes in the 1970s attracting countercultural Christians, takes a low-key approach to leadership, which is shared among elders and other community leaders.

Followers. The followers have crucial roles to play in determining the direction of a millennial movement. They have autonomy and choose whether or not to think critically about their leaders' teachings and projects. Followers choose whether to cooperate in authoritarian schemes leading to totalitarian organization and coercion, or whether they insist on accountability from their leaders. They can choose to withdraw their faith in the leader's charisma at any time. However, once a group has gone so far down the path of attempting to exercise totalitarian control over followers, it can be very difficult to leave. Additionally, if the believer has committed a great deal to the group in terms of lifestyle, sexuality, relationships, family attachments, livelihood, identity, and even crimes, then the very high "exit costs" can discourage a person from choosing to leave.

NATIVIST MILLENNIAL MOVEMENTS. A distinctive form of millennialism has been called "nativist movements" or sometimes "revitalization" movements. These movements consist of people who feel they are being oppressed by a foreign colonizing government that is destroying their traditional way of life and is removing them from their land. They long for a return to an idealized past, which they remember as having been perfect. Numerous nativists who have been exposed to the Christian Bible identify with the story in the Old Testament of the Israelites' liberation from bondage, and may even call themselves Israelites, such as the *Israelitas* (the Israelites of the New Universal Covenant) of Peru whose messiah is Ezequiel Ataucusi Gamonal. Nativists may be either catastrophic millennialists or progressive millennialists, or they may shift between catastrophic and progressive expectations.

Nativists have the same range of behaviors discussed above. They may await divine intervention to remove their oppressors and bring prosperity. They may believe that certain purifying and magical acts will stimulate the divine intervention, as in the Xhosa Cattle-Killing movement in 1856 in South Africa, or the Ghost Dance movement among nineteenth-century Native Americans. Nativists may engage in active rebellion, such as the rebellion in Java against the Dutch in 1825–1830 led by Prince Dipanagara, who was believed to be the *Ratu Adil*, the awaited "Just King," and the rebellion of Burmese against the British in 1930–1932, led by Saya San, who was believed to be the Buddhist righteous king or even the Maitreya Buddha. Both Dipanagara and Saya San were believed to be destined to establish perfect reigns of happiness after the oppressors were removed. The diverse Pai Marire movement among the Maori in New Zealand in the nineteenth century had several prophets and demonstrated different approaches. Some people attempted to build their perfect society apart from their oppressors; others carried out revolution.

AVERTIVE APOCALYPTICISM. A distinctive form of catastrophic millennialism may be termed avertive apocalypticism. A prophet will make predictions of imminent destruction but also say that the catastrophe may be averted if people convert, live moral lives, and practice certain spiritual techniques.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, avertive apocalypticism was the major theme of Elizabeth Clare Prophet of the Church Universal and Triumphant, who stressed that nuclear Armageddon could be averted through vigorous practice of verbal "decrees" calling on the protective powers of the ascended masters.

Avertive apocalypticism is an important theme in many Marian apparitions, such as the Bayside apparitions in New York City given to Veronica Leuken beginning in 1968 until her death in 1995. According to the Bayside apparitions, God's imminent chastisement by World War III, nuclear war, and a great fireball can be averted if people return to God's ways and believe and practice as good Catholics. The faithful can protect themselves from the catastrophic events by means of talismans such as crucifixes, scapulars, rosaries, religious medals, saints' statues, and praying the Hail Mary.

TENSIONS BETWEEN MILLENNIALISTS AND SOCIETY. The millennial vision represents a challenge to the current order. Society may be rejected as sinful, or millennialists may direct their energies toward transforming it, or they may become revolutionaries to overthrow the status quo. The values and lifestyles of millennialists are often very different from those of the dominant society. People in mainstream society may find millennialists' lifestyles and new religious commitments to be offensive and take punitive actions. The two characteristics found to be most offensive are the claim of a new revelation by a new prophet or messiah and unconventional sexual lifestyles.

Americans in the late eighteenth century found the new revelation of Mother Ann Lee and the celibate, separate lifestyle and unusual worship of the Shakers to be offensive. Ann Lee and her followers were subjected to repeated beatings and harassment. On one occasion Ann Lee and two secondary leaders were physically expelled from Massachusetts by a mob.

In the nineteenth century both the claim that Joseph Smith Jr. had received a new revelation and scripture and the polygamy practiced by Smith and other Mormons were offensive to the American public. Smith and his brother died at the hands of a mob in Carthage, Illinois, in 1844, and there were numerous acts of violence against Mormons even after most of them relocated to Utah. (In 2004 the state of Illinois apologized to Mormons for the violence against their ancestors.) The church officially ended the practice of polygamy in 1890, but pockets of fundamentalist Mormons still live in marginal communities.

A group called the Children of God, now known as the Family, was formed in the late 1960s. Its members practice free love among their communities, which in the past sometimes included children. By the late 1980s members of the Family reformed their sexual activities to exclude children while maintaining their free-love ethic between consenting adults. They stopped a controversial practice initiated in the 1970s called "flirty fishing," in which women became "fishers of men" by using sexual relations as a recruiting tool. Nevertheless, the Family homes in various countries continue to be subjected to raids by authorities suspecting child abuse, but the children are typically returned to their parents when the charges are found to be baseless.

David Koresh's claim to be the apocalyptic Christ, his polygamy, which included sexual relations with underage girls with the permission of their parents, and his weapons stockpiling put the Branch Davidians in great tension with authorities and citizens, a situation that ended with disastrous results in 1993. Koresh's activities were based on his interpretation of prophecies in the Bible. Koresh taught that the Branch Davidians would be called upon to fight and die in Armageddon predicted to occur in Israel in 1995. He also taught that he was a messiah destined to have children who would be the twenty-four Elders (*Rev.* 4:4 ff.) who would help rule God's kingdom. Fourteen of Koresh's children and their mothers were among the twenty-three children who died in the fire that resulted from the tank and CS (tear) gas assault on April 19, 1993, carried out by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

MILLENNIALISM AND VIOLENCE. Most millennialists are peaceful. Some become caught up in dynamics leading to violence. Millennialists are not necessarily the ones who initiate the violence. Millennial groups that become involved in violence may be assaulted millennial groups, fragile millennial groups, or revolutionary millennial movements. These categories are not mutually exclusive; they indicate the primary characteristics of a group at the time the violence occurred. A group may shift from one category to another according to circumstances and may possess aspects of multiple categories at the time of the violence.

Assaulted millennial groups. Millennial groups have been assaulted in many times and places because of their tension with the dominant society. They are assaulted because people in the wider society perceive them as being dangerous. Examples of assaulted millennial groups include: a band of Lakota Sioux massacred at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1890 by U.S. soldiers who were frightened by the Ghost Dance movement; a group of black South Africans calling themselves "Israelites," who refused to move from crown land, fired upon by white South African police in 1921; the Branch Davidians, who were assaulted twice in 1993 by American federal agents, first by agents of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms in an unnecessary "dynamic entry," and then by FBI agents with tanks and CS gas, who first waged psychological warfare against them during a fifty-one-day siege; the Mormons in the nineteenth century who were repeatedly attacked by civilians and authorities across the United States and had an extermination order issued against them by the governor of Missouri in 1838; Rastafari (called Dreads) in Dominica who in 1974 were subjected to a shoot-on-sight order; and in the new temporal millennium, Falun Gong practitioners in the People's Republic of China, who were repeatedly arrested, with many of them dying in custody, for asserting their right to freedom of religion and practicing their *qigong* exercises in public. The early Christians may also be regarded as members of an assaulted millennial movement. It is not unusual for leaders of millennial movements to be executed by the state—for example, Jesus and the Bab (d. 1850), one of the foundational prophets of Bahāʾī from Iran—or imprisoned like Bahá'u'lláh (1817–1892), the other Bahāʾī prophet-founder.

Fragile millennial groups. A fragile millennial movement initiates violence as a final effort to preserve the ultimate concern, the millennial goal on which believers are focused. Jonestown in Guyana in 1978, Solar Temple in Switzerland in 1994, Aum Shinrikyō in Japan in 1995, Heaven's Gate in the United States in 1997, and probably the Movement for the Restoration of the Ten Commandments of God in Uganda in 2000 were fragile millennial groups.

A fragile millennial group is suffering from an accumulation of stresses, some internal to the group, such as dissent, money problems, illness of the leader, threats to the leader's credibility, failure to accomplish goals set by the leader, combined with stresses coming from outside the group, such as vocal apostates, investigations by authorities, lawsuits, hostile neighbors, concerned family members, negative press, and pressures from anticult groups. In some cases the stresses may be primarily internal to the group; in other cases the stresses may come primarily from outside the group. Usually there is a combination of endogenous and exogenous factors that threaten the millennial goal. Instead of giving up their ultimate concern, members of fragile millennial groups opt to commit violence to preserve it. They may choose to attack and kill perceived enemies. They may choose to commit group suicide to preserve the cohesiveness of the group (if that was their ultimate concern, as with the Jonestown residents) or to go to a type of heavenly salvation (Solar Temple, Heaven's Gate). They often direct the violence both outwardly and inwardly.

Revolutionary millennial movements. Revolutionary millennial movements carry out violence to overthrow the old order to create the new. If they become socially dominant, they cause massive violence, such as the Nazis, the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, and the Taiping Rebellion in China in 1850–1864, which caused 20 million deaths and for a time established the Taiping capital at Nanjing. If the revolutionary movement is not socially dominant, some participants will undertake terrorist acts. Examples are to be found in the diffuse Euro-American nativist (white supremacist) movement in the United States, which includes Identity Christians, racist Neopagans, secular survivalists, and disaffected former military men, such as Timothy McVeigh, who committed the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995. With September 11, 2001, al-Qāʿidah became the most visible portion of a diffuse revolutionary Islamist movement aimed at creating the true Islamic state as its millennial goal.

CONCLUSION. Millennial movements express the human longing for the elimination of suffering for a group of people, the collective salvation. The millennial longing has sparked new religions since the time of Zoroaster, dating perhaps as early as 1000 BCE, through Jesus, Muhammad, and many other prophets and founders of new religious movements.

As a millennial movement becomes more accommodated to society, its millennial expectation may move to the background and the sense of imminence diminish. This is what Jacqueline Stone (2000) calls "managed millennialism." But the millennial prophecies will be preserved in scriptures to be utilized by subsequent prophets, messiahs, and believers searching for meaning and hope, who will initiate even more new religious movements.

SEE ALSO Anticult Movements; Aum Shinrikyō; Besant, Annie; Branch Davidians; Christian Identity Movement; Church Universal and Triumphant; Falun Gong; Family, The; Heaven's Gate; Holy Order of MANS; Jones, Jim; Jonestown and Peoples Temple; Koresh, David; Krishnamurti, Jiddu; Lee, Ann; Mormonism; Nation of Islam; New Age Movement; Point Loma Theosophical Community; Prophet, Mark and Elizabeth Clare; Shakers; Smith, Joseph; Temple Solaire; Theosophical Society; Tingley, Katherine; Transcendental Meditation; Twelve Tribes; UFO Religions; Unarius Academy of Science; Zoroastrianism.

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CATHERINE WESSINGER (2005)

NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS: NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS AND VIOLENCE

The study of religion and violence has largely centered on established traditions, given the long history of religiously inspired wars, crusades, witch-hunts, and persecutions around the world. Contemporary cases include, for example, Protestant-Catholic violence in Northern Ireland, Israeli-Palestinian violence in the Middle East, and Hindu-Muslim violence in India. The appearance of a cohort of new religious movements, popularly called *cults*, in the early 1970s triggered renewed scholarly and public policy concern with the religion-violence connection. There were ongoing, largely unfounded allegations of impending violence by new religious groups during the early 1970s. However, it was the 1978 conflict between the Peoples Temple and its opponents, resulting in the deaths of 914 individuals in Jonestown, Guyana, that raised scholarly and public policy concerns about potential violent episodes involving new religions.

The Peoples Temple episode was followed by four incidents during the 1990s: the death of eighty people during the conflict between federal agents and the Branch Davidians at their residence outside of Waco, Texas, in 1993; the murders-suicides of seventy-five members of the Solar Temple in Switzerland and Quebec in 1994, 1996, and 1997; the murders by members of Aum Shinrikyō of thirty-one members and opponents, as well as a dozen other innocent subway passengers in Tokyo in 1995; and the collective suicide of thirty-nine members of Heaven's Gate in California in 1997. There was also a major episode in Uganda in 2000 in which approximately 780 members of the Movement for the Restoration of the Ten Commandments of God were murdered or committed suicide. Relatively little is known about this incident, however, because of its remote location and a lack of systematic investigation. This entry will focus on the three cases of collective violence that have occurred since the 1970s in North America and Europe.

THE VIOLENCE AND NEW RELIGIONS CONNECTION. New religious movements have encountered intense opposition from some established religions (the countercult movement) and family based organizations (the anticult movement). Referred to as *cults* by both sets of oppositional groups, new religions have often been characterized as dangerously unstable and predisposed to violence. This global assertion of a proclivity of new religions for violence, however, has not stood the test of close scrutiny.

One problem in linking new religions to violence is that distinguishing new religious movements from established religions is more complex than it first appears. Most new religions are not entirely novel. Rather, most have borrowed both cultural and organizational elements from established traditions, and many different traditions are represented. For example, the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (Hare Krishnas) is a sectarian Hindu movement; Aum Shinrikyō draws on the Buddhist tradition; the Branch Davidians are one of a myriad of schismatic offshoots of Seventh-day Adventism; the Family (Children of God) grew out of the Jesus People movement; and Heaven's Gate blended the Christian and UFO traditions. This means that far from being a homogeneous set of movements that can be contrasted to established traditions, as conveyed by the term *cults*, new religious movements are diverse in doctrines, practices, and organization.

There have been a few historical cases of violence by religious movements in North America, such as the nineteenth-century attacks by Mormons on pioneers passing through Mountain Meadows, Utah. Contemporary instances would include the 1970s murders during a power struggle by Ervil Le Baron's polygamist Church of the Lamb of God, and the Nation of Islam's murders of leaders of rival Muslim organizations, also in the 1970s. However, these incidents have been rare. The more common occurrence has been violence *against* minority religious groups. The public hanging of Quakers in New England during the 1660s and the 1890 assault on a Lakota Sioux band at Wounded Knee by federal troops are well-documented incidents.

Violence by contemporary new religions also appears to be rare. There are currently over two thousand religious groups now functioning in the United States, and half of these were established since 1960. If all groups that incorporate religious qualities are included, such as many New Age groups, then the numbers are far higher. However, since the 1970s fewer than two dozen groups have been involved in incidents of homicide or suicide resulting in multiple deaths. By contrast, there have been numerous cases in which members of new religious groups have been the targets of abduction, armed attacks, and provocative police actions. In virtually all of these cases, movements have responded by initiating civil and criminal judicial proceedings rather than physical reprisal.

Finally, incidents of violence involving new religions have appeared to be more numerous than they actually are. When individuals affiliated with new religions are involved in violent acts, as either perpetrators or victims, these acts are much more newsworthy and more likely to be connected to their religious tradition than is the case for members of conventional faiths. Further, unsubstantiated rumors of impending violence by new religions receive widespread press coverage, while disconfirmation is rarely reported. Allegations of imminent mass suicide in 1988 by Chen Tao, a Taiwanese millennial group located in Texas at the time, and the Colorado-based Concerned Christians, who were expelled from Israel in 1999, were cases of this kind. The aggregation of all types of violence involving members of new religions, attributions of acts to "cultic" qualities, and the high-profile publicizing of rumors and incidents has created the impression of pervasive violence. It certainly is true that, by contrast, mainline denominations in Western societies currently are not in active resistance to established social institutions. However, many denominations have relatively stormy histories, and fringe elements of these traditions have countenanced or perpetrated violence over such issues as racial integration, abortion, and centralized governmental authority.

EXPLANATIONS OF VIOLENCE INVOLVING NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS. Given assertions of a proclivity to violence by new religions, the five major episodes of collective violence that occurred between 1993 and 2000 produced an impetus to investigate the relationship between new religions and violence. The result has been theoretical explorations of specific factors thought to be linked to violence, as well as general models that propose sets of factors that, in combination, yield violent outcomes. A central concern in both types of explanation has been the extent to which violent episodes are the product of the internal organization of the religious movements involved, external pressures, and interaction between movements and societal control agencies. There is vigorous ongoing debate over this issue.

Single-factor explanations. Three potentially causal factors have been identified in violent episodes involving new religious groups: ideology, leadership, and organizational structure. It has been hypothesized that groups with millennial/apocalyptic belief systems might be more violence prone because they reject established social institutions, have limited commitment to institutional normative proscriptions, and have dualistic worldviews that expect conflict. However, numerous conservative Christian denominations, such as the Seventh-day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses, hold millennial/apocalyptic beliefs, and there is no evidence that such denominations are predisposed to violence. Although millennialism and apocalypticism probably do not predict violence, there is continuing exploration of the possible connection of specific forms of millennialism and violence. Millennial belief systems in which humans are depicted as playing a major role in setting the stage for divine intervention tend to have a gradualist orientation, with decisive events set some time in the future. The result may be less group volatility and a less confrontational stance. By contrast, belief systems that define the existing social order as morally unredeemable and predict its imminent, catastrophic destruction are more likely to produce a polarized relationship between movement and society. Under these conditions, societal control initiatives may be taken as confirmation of societal intractability and a sign of the impending apocalypse.

Two elements of movement organization have been postulated as predictive of violence, charismatic leadership and totalistic organization. Many new movements begin with a charismatic leader and a few dozen followers. (A charismatic leader is one who is believed to have access to an unseen source of authority, such as revelation.) Charismatic leadership has been characterized as problematic because it is a less stable, noninstitutionalized form in which the personal volatility of the prophet or messiah can have a substantial impact on a group. When leaders claim or are granted extraordinary spiritual status, they are likely to have enormous influence over a movement's functioning and development. Therefore, there has been speculation that charismatic leadership predisposes those groups to violence. However, there are numerous highly charismatic religious leaders (e.g., Billy Graham, Martin Luther King, Oral Roberts) who have shown no proclivity to violence.

A more useful approach may be to examine how charismatic leadership is organized. Certain attributes of charismatic leadership may contribute to movement volatility. Many movement leaders withdraw from followers at some point to preserve an aura of mystery that is critical to their power. This can result in isolation and an inability to obtain appropriate feedback from both inside and outside the movement, which can lead to extreme decisions. The overidentification of followers with a leader can lead to a sense of threat throughout the movement if the leader is denounced by outsiders or former members. In such instances, there may well be an escalation of tension. Charismatic leaders may resist the development of more institutionalized forms of movement governance in order to preserve personal power. They may employ a variety of tactics—changing doctrines, increasing demands for personal sacrifice and loyalty, creating crises, suppressing dissent—in order to render followers more dependent on their personal authority. Such tactics can increase instability in movements and create the potential for extreme actions.

While such factors as specific forms of organization and leadership are useful in explaining violence, it is likely that combinations of factors will be more predictive of violent episodes. For that reason, several general models have been developed that attempt to specify sets of factors, and interactions among, them that are associated with the outbreak of violence.

General models of movement-society violence. Three general explanatory models have been proposed to account for violence involving new religious movements. All three are concerned with the combination of factors that produces violent episodes, and with the issue of whether these factors constitute movement or external-control agency precipitation of violence. Marc Galanter's model, developed in *Cults: Faith, Healing, and Coercion* (1999), stresses internal factors; the

John Hall, Philip Schuyler, and Silvaine Trinh model detailed in *Apocalypse Observed: Religious Movements, the Social Order, and Violence in North America, Europe, and Japan* (2000) emphasizes external factors; and David Bromley's model, outlined in *Cults, Religion, and Violence* (2002), allows for a preponderance of either internal or external factors.

Galanter analyzes the Peoples Temple, Branch Davidian, Aum Shinrikyō, and Heaven's Gate cases. He concludes that these episodes contain four conditions in common: group isolation, leader grandiosity and paranoia, absolute dominion, and governmental mismanagement. Isolation can lead to extreme actions because groups reduce the possibility of external feedback to their actions and operate solely on the basis of internally constructed definitions of events. Movements can isolate themselves from conventional society either through geographic separation or constant mobility. Galanter argues that another dynamic in violent episodes is the need of the leader or leaders to maintain absolute control, which can produce paranoid fears that others inside or outside the movement will usurp their power. In order to protect their positions, leaders create a siege mentality within the group in order to maintain solidarity and loyalty. Movements may also exercise centripetal control mechanisms that closely regulate members' lives, leading to absolute domination of the thoughts and behavior of individuals. Finally, governmental mismanagement refers to the failure of government agencies to immediately control illicit activity and to prevent young adults from being enticed into these movements. In the Galanter model, then, all of the factors except governmental mismanagement refer to attributes of movements, and the one external factor specifies government inaction rather than overreaction.

Hall, Schuyler, and Trinh base their analysis on the Peoples Temple, Branch Davidian, Aum Shinrikyō, Solar Temple, and Heaven's Gate cases. They identify a number of movement characteristics that may create a proclivity toward violence: an apocalyptic worldview, charismatic leadership, a high level of internal control, and high internal solidarity or isolation from conventional society. However, it is not these characteristics in themselves that result in conflict, but rather the interaction between the movement and society. According to Hall, Schuyler, and Trinh, conflict is likely to move in one of two directions. A "warring apocalypse of religious conflict" describes a situation in which conflict escalates between a movement and a coalition of movement opponents, governmental agencies, and media representatives. The second type—a "mystical apocalypse of deathly transcendence"—involves flight from external opposition. In this case, the group elects collective suicide and, from the groups' perspective, moves to another realm of existence. The Hall, Schuyler, and Trinh model thus emphasizes movement-societal conflict in which movements respond to external opposition.

In his analysis of the Peoples Temple, Branch Davidian, Aum Shinrikyō, Solar Temple, and Heaven's Gate episodes, Bromley argues that movement-society conflicts develop through three stages: latent tension, nascent conflict, and intensified conflict. Most conflicts do not reach an intensified level because all parties have the option of contestation, accommodation, or retreat. In most cases conflict is resolved at a lower level. At the intensified level, the movement and its opponents engage in heightened mobilization and radicalization; coalitions of allies and opponents form, and parties mutually begin to define one another as dangerous rather than merely troublesome. When conflict reaches the intensified stage, what Bromley terms "dramatic denouements" occur.

Dramatic denouements are climactic moments when the movement, society, or both conclude that the requisite conditions for their existence are being subverted. The parties to the conflict polarize as they engage in threatening actions, symbolic degradation of opponents, and internal radicalization. The conflict relationship destabilizes as a result of secrecy of actions, elimination of mediating third parties, and organizational consolidation or fragmentation. With polarization and conflict destabilization, one or both parties embark on a project of final reckoning that is intended to reestablish appropriate moral order. The most likely projects are either "exodus" (collective withdrawal from the realm in which the conflict is taking place) or "battle," in which the initiating party rejects the prospect of mutual existence and seeks to restore appropriate moral order through coercion. Each of these two responses is thus premised on a position of moral superiority and on a repudiation of continued mutual existence in the same social space. In the Bromley model, violent episodes are clearly interactional, and either the religious movement or societal units may precipitate a dramatic denouement.

CASE STUDIES OF VIOLENT EPISODES. One of the central issues in the study of violent episodes involving new religious movements has been whether these episodes are the product of movement characteristics, external provocation, or the nature of interaction between the movement and control agencies. While there is debate over this issue, there is broad agreement that cases vary on this dimension. Of the major episodes of violence during the 1990s that have been studied in depth, the Branch Davidian case is the most likely to be attributed to external provocation, the Solar Temple case to mixed internal and external factors, and the Heaven's Gate incident to primarily internal dynamics.

The Branch Davidian episode. The Branch Davidians began in 1929 as a schismatic offshoot of Seventh-day Adventism and existed for more than fifty years in relative obscurity before the arrival of David Koresh (1959–1993). The community was in disarray when Koresh assumed leadership; he rebuilt the group's economic and membership bases and enhanced his spiritual authority by pronouncing himself an heir to the biblical King David. His divinely ordained errand was to interpret the seven seals contained in the New Testament *Book of Revelation* and to reveal the sequence of imminent endtime events. Under Koresh's leadership the Branch Davidian community became more tightly organized, communal, and hierarchical (earlier Davidians lived in a community but not communally). There were heightened expectations of an imminent apocalypse, which the Branch Davidians believed would begin with an attack on their group.

While the Branch Davidians were characterized by a high level of charismatic authority, communal organization, and apocalyptic expectation, it was Koresh's "new light" doctrine, proclaimed in 1989, that was pivotal in mobilizing opposition. Koresh taught that he must father children with women in the community to create a new spiritual lineage; the children born of these unions would erect the House of David and ultimately rule the world. Some of the members Koresh selected for his House of David were wives and daughters of members, and some of the daughters were legally minors. The result was a number of defections, as well as legal grounds for external intervention by Texas Child Protective Services. Beginning in 1989 a coalition of Koresh opponents formed, including family members concerned about the children's welfare, some of Koresh's past sexual partners who were hostile to the House of David, and apostate members. This coalition appealed to the media and a number of state and federal agencies, most notably the Texas Child Protective Services, the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF), and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

There were two sources of tension that escalated the conflict. Koresh's sexual relationships with teenage girls constituted a direct challenge to the child-abuse protection mandate of the Texas Child Protective Services. The agency's frustration mounted when it was unable to document abuse through inspections and investigations. The ATF suspected the Branch Davidians were involved in weapons violations and placed an undercover agent in the group, whose identity was soon discovered. Several factors contributed to the ATF's decision to conduct a raid on the Branch Davidian community at Mount Carmel, near Waco. The bureau was concerned about weapons violations, but it was also seeking high-profile interventions to fend off efforts to reduce its budget and reorganize its structure. Furthermore, the oppositional coalition fed the ATF false information about drug manufacturing at the residence, widespread child abuse, and potential mass suicide.

After the initial AFT raid on February 28, 1993, in which there were both Branch Davidian and AFT casualties, the FBI assumed control of the situation. The conflict was now highly polarized because law enforcement officers had been killed, and because the Branch Davidians interpreted the ATF raid as the beginning of the apocalypse. As the standoff between the Branch Davidians and the FBI continued, tactical units of the FBI gained the upper hand over the negotiating teams and initiated psychological warfare, which included cutting off utilities, surrounding the residence with armored vehicles, and flooding the residence with noise and light around the clock. During the standoff, Koresh led the Branch Davidians in seeking divine instruction on the proper course to follow. Ultimately, federal agents perceived, probably incorrectly, that neither conciliation nor duress would succeed and that continued flouting of legitimate authority could not be tolerated. A CS (tear) gas assault on the residence was launched on April 19; seventy-four residents, including twenty-three children, died in ensuing the fire.

The Solar Temple episode. The Order of the Solar Temple (abbreviated OTS from the French form of the name, Ordre du Temple Solaire) is one of a number of religious movements drawing on Western esotericism, including Rosicrucianism (a mythical, ancient brotherhood) and the Knights Templar movements (groups claiming an association with the Catholic religious order suppressed in the fourteenth century). The Order of the Solar Temple was founded by Joseph Di Mambro (1924–1994), a Swiss jeweler. Di Mambro had previously been involved in a variety of contemporary esoteric groups, such as the Golden Way Foundation, before establishing the Solar Temple in 1981 with Dr. Luc Jouret (1947–1994). The charismatic Jouret added to Di Mambro's esoteric teachings a mix of homeopathic medicine, New Age spirituality, and environmental apocalypticism. His personal charm also attracted large audiences of well-educated and prosperous individuals to his public lectures in Europe, the Caribbean, and Canada. The OTS was a highly secretive organization. Di Mambro and Jouret established two public groups, the Amenta Club and Arcadia Club that served as recruiting organizations for the OTS. Members of the Solar Temple engaged in secret initiations, vows of secrecy, and encounters in hidden ritual chambers with the spiritual manifestations of a mysterious group of ascended "Masters."

Based on its apocalyptic expectations, the OTS began expanding into North America in the mid-1980s. The group established its headquarters and a commune in Quebec, a location deemed to be relatively safe against impending environmental catastrophes. By 1989, OTS had about five hundred members in Europe and North America. In the early 1990s, due to opposition, the group's outlook became increasingly bleak and apocalyptic, and group leaders began discussing a mystical "transit" to another realm of existence. Leadership authority and member commitment were both heightened. For example, leaders assumed authority for arranging "cosmic marriages" that restructured members' existing marital relationships.

The movement's public troubles began early in the 1990s when two members were arrested for purchasing illegal weapons for unknown reasons, a rift developed between Jouret and Di Mambro, and the movement's ability to recruit members plummeted as its apocalyptic message was publicly revealed. Even more threatening were a series of defections by members who threatened to expose financial irregularities by leaders. The technician who orchestrated the electronic special effects used to create the appearances of the Masters left the movement, and revelations that the Masters' appearances had been carefully orchestrated illusions undermined the commitment of members. A wife who had lost her spouse to a cosmic marriage took her complaints to the media and anticult groups. In addition, the police mistakenly connected the OTS to anonymous threats made to the life of the Quebec minister of public security and several parliamentary deputies, resulting in an intensive investigation of the movement. As a result of these developments, the loyalty of members was eroded, the authority of the OTS leaders was undermined, and the financial base was endangered. OTS leaders concluded that the movement was the object of a vast conspiracy and faced the prospect of public disgrace. The group was, therefore, confronting both internal and external sources of destabilization.

Late in 1993 and early in 1994 the final events appear to have begun coalescing. OTS leaders began planning an interstellar "transit" that they believed would be supported and protected by transcendent powers. In early October, many current and past members of the group were invited to meet in Switzerland. Some were aware that the meeting was to be a time of reckoning and initiation of a transit, others were not. On October 4, 1994, police began receiving reports of fires in Cheiry and Granges-sur-Salvan in Switzerland and Morin Heights in Canada. Ultimately, fifty-three members and former members of the OTS were found dead from stabbing, gunshots, poisoning, or suffocation. Opponents and former members who were viewed as traitors appear to have been executed. Some OTS members and leaders took their own lives to initiate the transit, and other members who lacked the courage to take their own lives apparently were "helped" to undertake the transit. The group left messages intended to condemn its critics and defend its own vision of its mission. More than one year later sixteen OTS members decided to join their comrades and ritualistically took their own lives in France; five more did the same in Quebec in 1997.

The Heaven's Gate episode. The movement that came to be known as Heaven's Gate began as a spiritual quest by Marshall Herff Applewhite (1931–1997) and Bonnie Lu Nettles (1924–1985) in 1973. Over the next two years a loosely organized movement emerged. Applewhite and Nettles first began referring to themselves as the "two witnesses" in the *Book of Revelation* who would be martyred and then ascend to heaven in a cloud, which they believed would actually be a space ship. They taught their small group of followers that members of the "Next Level" had created earth as an experiment in evolution. Jesus' mission had been to gather the faithful on earth to ascend to the Next Level, but humans were not yet prepared. However, humans would soon be transported by spacecraft to the kingdom of heaven and live eternally as androgynous beings. Through vigorous proselytizing, the group gradually grew to more than two hundred members by the mid-1970s. Recruitment successes resulted in opposition to the conversions and unflattering media coverage. In response, the group went underground in 1976 and lived a migratory communal existence with a much smaller number of members. Members prepared for life at the Next Level by relinquishing all earthly habits and relationships and acquiring appropriate Next Level attributes.

Because the group lived a secretive lifestyle, it largely escaped conflict with control agencies. Members were apprehensive about their own fate following the conflagration that destroyed the Branch Davidians, and they harbored unsubstantiated suspicions that they were under police surveillance. However, the only reaction by Heaven's Gate to suspected opposition was a largely ineffectual campaign to challenge what it regarded as misinformation and misconceptions about the movement. The developments that moved Heaven's Gate toward a "transit" to the Next Level were primarily internal in nature. In 1985 Nettles died of cancer. Her death brought into question the movement's belief that entry to the Next Level would be achieved with a corporeal body. The group then came to regard the human "vehicle" as simply a "container" that could be jettisoned, a development that made it possible to think about abandoning earthly bodies. The movement's ideology also became more apocalyptic as members proposed the existence of evil space aliens who used religion and sexuality to keep humans in bondage. Indeed, when the group was unsuccessful in eliminating sexual desire, some members arranged their own castrations to resolve the problem. Finally, members progressively replaced earthly social forms with those they understood to be appropriate to the Next Level. They lived their day-to-day lives as an "Away Team" in a replica of the spacecraft environment through which they would be transported to the Next Level. Much of their time was spent attempting to connect with the Next Level and learn the timing of their impending transit.

As the process of distancing from conventional society continued, the movement gradually was left with a small number of long-term members with little connection to outsiders. Applewhite, who was the source of the group's revelations, believed he was suffering from progressively declining health. Increasingly disillusioned with conventional society, the movement initiated one final effort to publicize its message and warn outsiders of the apocalypse that awaited them. When this campaign was met with indifference and ridicule, the group concluded that their preparation for the exit was over. The appearance of the Hale Bopp comet in 1997 was viewed as a sign that the moment for departure had arrived, and members quickly prepared for the exit. Those who made the exit on March 22 to 24, 1997, regarded their act as a demonstration of the power of Heaven's Gate to transcend the apocalypse that awaited those who had chosen not to join them. The members consumed a deadly combination of alcohol and barbiturates, lay down dressed in their Away Team uniforms covered by purple shrouds, and tied plastic bags over their heads. Two more Heaven's Gate members attempted an exit on May 7, 1997; one succeeded and the other was revived. This member, Chuck Humphrey, after distributing informational materials about Heaven's Gate, made his exit in February 1998.

CONCLUSIONS. The series of unrelated violent episodes involving new religious movements during the 1990s propelled violence onto the scholarly and public policy agendas. Widely accepted assertions about a proclivity for violence by new religions have not been supported, however, and the historical evidence indicates that instances of movement-precipitated violence have been rare. Specific characteristics of religious movements—apocalyptic ideology, charismatic leadership, and totalistic organization—are significant in understanding the likelihood of violence, but general models that incorporate an interrelated set of factors are more promising. A major debate continues over what balance of internal and external factors is most useful in understanding violent incidents. There is general agreement that cases vary in their internal-external causation, and that useful models must allow for this diversity. There is also agreement that future episodes will be difficult to anticipate because they tend to involve small, relatively unknown groups rather than more visible groups that are in open conflict with conventional society.

SEE ALSO Anticult Movements; Aum Shinrikyō; Branch Davidians; Deprogramming; Heaven's Gate; Jonestown and Peoples Temple; Koresh, David; Movement for the Restoration of the Ten Commandments of God; Temple Solaire; Violence.

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DAVID G. BROMLEY (2005)

NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS: NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Shortly after the adoption of the U.S. Constitution in 1788, the new nation ratified a Bill of Rights whose first order of business was freedom of religion. The First Amendment laid down what was then a bold precept: the United States would have no established, or officially endorsed, religion, and it would permit the free exercise of religion. More than two centuries later more religions are being freely exercised than the nation's founders could possibly have anticipated. Every substantial religion in the world has an American manifestation, and many homegrown startups have appeared in the United States. It is safe to say that no place in the world has greater religious diversity than the United States at the dawn of the twenty-first century.

TERMINOLOGY. One small but vital part of that diversity consists of what are variously known by dozens of labels—

sects, cults, new religious movements, alternative religions, marginal religions, and many more. Among scholars specializing in the study of such groups, the prevailing label is *new religious movements* (NRMs), although not all are happy with this term. It has one notable flaw: most of the groups included in the category are not new. Some, in fact, are thousands of years old. But new religious movements has been used more widely than any other nonpejorative term, and it does a good job of conveying the subject to most people.

Sect and *cult* are terms that were once used with a fair degree of academic precision. Classically a sect is a splinter group, a movement that has split from an existing religious body for some reason. Often such groups see themselves as revitalization movements that seek to return to a pristine purity from which, it is believed, the parent group has departed. The Holiness movement, for example, began when some Methodists came to believe that their church had undergone a degree of liberalization that took it unacceptably far from its Wesleyan roots, and the dissenters set up new churches that they saw as restoring pure Methodist doctrine. A cult, on the other hand, is classically a more distinct group—one that does not have clear roots in an existing, well-established tradition. A cult may be a newly created religion, usually one formulated by a founding prophet of some kind, or it may be a religion that is simply unfamiliar (and in that sense "new") in the American context. Some Hindu movements that have come to the United States, for example, have been widely regarded as cults because they are not familiar to Americans, even though they would be part of the religious mainstream in India.

These once-precise terms, however, became pejoratives in the last decades of the twentieth century. The word *cult,* especially in popular usage, is decidedly negative in tone. A cult is regarded as somehow evil or at least misguided. At all costs one should avoid cults, which are popularly understood to be grasping and deceiving, trying to catch newcomers in their webs. The neutral descriptive term of earlier times has changed, just as the word *gay* has evolved, for the most part, from meaning "happy" to meaning "homosexual." The case is less severe with the word sect, at least in the United States, but it too tends to have a pejorative edge. In Europe sect is the equivalent of the American cult—a term that carries strong derogatory implications.

Academic scholars of new religions therefore generally shy away from using both sect and cult. Lacking consensus support for any other term, they generally speak of new religious movements. *Alternative religions* is also used by some, and other terms, such as the adjective *nonmainstream,* have their advocates as well. Although those terms have the advantage of not containing the word *new,* new religious movements is the generally accepted nonpejorative term.

What constitutes a new religious movement? Matters of definition are exceedingly thorny, but this entry seeks to survey a wide range of nonmainstream religions and will cast its net broadly. This entry will presume that there is an American religious mainstream that consists of the major, culturally well-established branches of Christianity and Judaism, including Roman Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy, mainline Protestantism, most evangelical Protestantism, and the three major branches of Judaism (Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform). New religious movements are groups outside that mainstream. Admittedly there are many shades of gray in such a definition, but living with ambiguity is essential to any study of religion.

One might argue that groups derived from great world religions, all of which are present in the United States, should not be regarded as NRMs. The point of their inclusion in that category is simply that in the United States they do not have the long histories, cultural dominance, and (usually) large numbers of adherents that the mainstream groups do. These NRMs may be growing substantially and may be in the process of moving into the mainstream, but in the eyes of most Americans they are not yet fully mainstream.

NRMs in American History. NRMs have always been a part of the American religious scene, and controversy has always surrounded them. Some of the earliest European settlers came to what is now the United States precisely because their dissenting forms of religion were not well accepted in their home cultures. These settlers may not have been devoted to religious freedom, however; in many cases they tried to make their own forms of Christianity dominant in their new provinces (the Puritans of New England are a dramatic example). Nevertheless religious dissent cropped up almost as soon as the pioneering settlers stepped off their ships. As early as 1627, when Thomas Morton (c. 1575–1647) erected a maypole for a May Day celebration, he was deported to England for recognizing a pagan holiday. A few years later the Puritan authorities of Boston attacked Samuel Gorton (c. 1592–1677) for "all manner of blasphemies," eventually forcing him from the colony. By the 1650s a new threat confronted the orthodox rulers of Massachusetts with the arrival of the Quakers. Adopting a series of ever more stringent laws, Massachusetts in 1658 made Quakerism a capital crime. Four Quakers were subsequently executed for their faith. The first Mennonites arrived later in the century; they were refugees from Europe, where they were persecuted for such distinctive beliefs as adult baptism, pacifism, and separation of church and state. Throughout the Mennonites' long history in the United States they have attracted controversy; in wartime especially they have been derided, and in some cases assaulted, for their refusal to perform military service.

By the eighteenth century adherents of dissenting religions were arriving on American shores with some regularity, and just as regularly they experienced persecution in a country whose devotion to religious liberty was less than perfect. In 1774 a small group of Shakers arrived under the leadership of Ann Lee (1736–1784), and eventually they opened a communal settlement in upstate New York. A 1780 convert, Valentine Rathbun, soon dropped out of the movement and accused the Shakers of deception and even, perhaps, what some would now call brainwashing. The Shakers received visitors joyfully, Rathbun wrote, feeding and lodging them readily. But after his departure from the group, he claimed it was all a ruse designed to create "absolute dependence" among members. Some years later the Shakers found themselves challenged by an even more formidable opponent, Mary Marshall Dyer (1780–1867), whose opposition to the group she had joined and then left became her life's work. Dyer's anti-Shaker polemics sounded like many anticult diatribes of the late twentieth century; among other things, she accused the movement of using mind control of a sort that amounted to hypnotism. In the twenty-first century the Shakers are best known for their classic furniture and exquisite villages, and the few surviving Shakers in Maine enjoy great admiration and support. Only with time—and perhaps with their steep decline in numbers—has their unusual religion become acceptable.

A similar situation obtained with the arrival of groups of radical German Pietists in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Pietists' dissent was founded in their critique of the state churches in their homeland, which they considered formal and cold. The dissenters became entangled in disputes with various German authorities and in several cases decided to depart for the New World, where, they thought, they could pursue their chosen way of life in peace. Levels of controversy surrounding them varied. Some Pietists, such as the group that became known as the Amana Society in Iowa, managed to live in relative isolation and to avoid endlessly antagonistic relationships with their neighbors. But others were not so lucky. The Harmony Society, for example, was caught up in the same kinds of disputes that had afflicted the Shakers. Arriving in the United States in 1804, the Harmonists founded communal villages in Pennsylvania and Indiana, where they experienced conflict repeatedly. Their practices of celibacy and community ownership of goods were suspect to the American majority. When a large group of members defected in 1832, they accused the Harmonist leader George Rapp (1757–1847) of being power mad and voraciously greedy. The lawsuits that dogged the Harmonists throughout their history typically made the kinds of charges that "cult" opponents have made more recently—mind control, coercive leadership, and misuse of funds. Although the Harmonist movement withstood the conflicts, it gradually declined after Rapp's death and died quietly in the early twentieth century, leaving behind, as did the Shakers, several charming museum villages.

Another religious movement that arose while the Shakers and Harmonists were flourishing had the dubious distinction of being arguably the most controversial religious group in American history. Founded in 1830, the Latter-day Saints, or Mormons, based their distinctive version of Christianity, which featured an unorthodox account of American history before Christopher Columbus, on revelations that the founder Joseph Smith Jr. (1805–1844) claimed to have received. No religious group in American history has suffered more persecution than the Mormons; for nearly a century they were widely derided as devious outlaws and sexual miscreants. Conflicts with neighbors drove the early Mormons from New York State to Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, and finally to Utah after the lynching of the founder Smith in 1844. Ex-Mormons fanned the flames with stories of dictatorial theocracy, violence, and corruption among the Latter-day Saints. Although their practice of polygamy was not announced publicly until after the migration to Utah, it had been practiced for years. Such early Mormon leaders as Smith and his successor Brigham Young (1801–1877) each had dozens of plural wives. Word about the practice that leaked out provided sensational fuel for the anti-Mormon flames. Only with the passage of time did anti-Mormon agitation diminish. The Mormons, for their part, helped deprive their opponents of rhetorical ammunition by retreating from their most controversial ideas and practices. Polygamy was phased out in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, and a teaching that suggested that African Americans were inferior to whites was abandoned in 1978.

The Mormons were not the only religious believers to be attacked for their unconventional marital and sexual practices. The nineteenth century saw a proliferation of movements addressing all kinds of social reforms, and some of the more radical reformers promoted decidedly unconventional sexual arrangements. No group was more famous for its unorthodox marital philosophy than the Oneida Community, a body of Christian Perfectionists who created a long-lasting group marriage involving hundreds of men and women. Prosperous from businesses producing such commodities as animal traps and silverware, the Oneidans flourished from the early 1850s through the 1870s. Although internal tensions contributed to their eventual dissolution, it was vehement persecution by a variety of opponents that finally proved overwhelming. Perhaps the most striking part of the story is that a community publicly engaging in such wildly unconventional sexual arrangements managed to survive as long as it did in the Victorian-era United States.

In the 1830s and 1840s millennial excitement swept the country, especially with the rise of the Adventist movement of William Miller (1782–1849), who predicted that the world would come to an end soon, finally settling on October 22, 1844, as the apocalyptic date. Miller's movement was controversial, and in the wake of the failure of the world-ending events to happen on schedule (October 22, 1844, has ever since been known to the faithful as the "Great Disappointment"), several subsequent millennial groups coalesced. The Seventh-day Adventists began to take shape in the 1850s under Ellen White (1827–1915), who was regarded as a prophet and who had thousands of visionary experiences in her lifetime. The Adventists were distinctive not only for their ongoing anticipation of an imminent millennium but for observing the Jewish Sabbath and for a strong focus on diet and health.

In the 1870s another millennial group, eventually known as Jehovah's Witnesses, developed under the leadership of Charles Taze Russell (1852–1916), who, like Miller, undertook an extensive analysis of the Bible and concluded that he could predict the year of the final culmination—1914. Although Russell's chronology was obviously imprecise, his movement continued to grow long after the appointed date, eventually embracing millions worldwide. Controversy grew apace. The Witnesses' tireless door-to-door evangelism always had its detractors, and their refusal to salute the American flag (on the grounds that the flag salute was tantamount to idolatry) spawned legal cases that twice reached the U.S. Supreme Court (where their right not to salute the flag was upheld). Jehovah's Witnesses have consistently refused military service on grounds that their service must be to God, not to any earthly government. And much controversy has surrounded their refusal to accept blood transfusions, which they regard as a violation of the biblical injunction not to consume blood.

In 1848 two sisters, Kate Fox (c. 1839–1892) and Margaret Fox (c. 1833–1893), began hearing rapping noises that they said conveyed intelligible messages from a mysterious spirit being. Their apparent ability to exchange messages with an otherworldly being quickly attracted a wide following, and soon Spiritualism, as the movement became known, was a nationwide phenomenon with such manifestations as automatic writing, clairvoyance, and trance speaking. Eventually it became clear that many of the spiritual phenomena associated with devotees of the movement were fraudulent, and Spiritualism declined. It has remained a small but steady part of the alternative religious world, however, and new versions of it have emerged and found followings from time to time, as in the case of the *Urantia Book*, a huge tome purportedly dictated by spirit beings to an anonymous scribe in the 1930s. Many forms of Spiritualism are active at the beginning of the twenty-first century, and they remain as controversial as ever.

One form of Spiritualism went on to become a separate cluster of NRMs. Founded in 1875 and based on the teachings of Helena P. Blavatsky (1831–1891), Theosophy combined a belief in psychic communications from "masters" (spiritual adepts living in remote places) with what it called "ancient wisdom," teachings from various alternative Western traditions (such as Neoplatonism) as well as from Asian religions. Like its precursor Spiritualism, Theosophy had its detractors; especially heated were assertions that Blavatsky fabricated her supposed communications from the "masters of the wisdom," notably those that took the form of letters written on paper and appeared mysteriously in certain places. Although the movement splintered after the death of Blavatsky, many branches have survived, and Theosophy has become a well-established fixture in the firmament of NRMs.

At the end of the nineteenth century Hinduism and Buddhism got a boost in public visibility when both were represented by delegates to the World's Parliament of Religions at the Chicago World's Fair of 1893. Vivekananda (1863–1902), a bright young swami from the Ramakrishna order of India, stole the show at the parliament, demolishing stereotypes about Hinduism and offering a religion that was peaceful, tolerant, and charitable. He stayed in the United States for a time after the parliament and laid the groundwork for Vedanta Societies in major cities. It was the first Asian religious movement to have a substantial appeal to a non-Asian constituency in the United States. A few years later another swami, Yogananda (1893–1952), arrived with similarly expansive teachings and started the Self-Realization Fellowship, which became one of the largest Asian-based religions in the country. Several Buddhist teachers, like their Hindu counterparts, also began to attract non-Asian followers. The Asian teachers were decidedly out of the American mainstream, and for that, if nothing else, they had their critics, but their work formed a base for an ongoing Asian religious presence in the United States.

This list of NRMs in American history could be extended almost indefinitely. Inescapably new religions have been a part of the American landscape for hundreds of years. These groups have never been large, but they have constituted a steady minority presence within the realm of American religion, and they have always attracted critics.

AFTER 1965. Changes in the immigration laws that allowed spiritual teachers to enter the United States in much greater numbers than previously are frequently credited with the great surge in NRMs that erupted after 1965. Still the cultural upheaval that shook Western society during the same period had as much to do with the expansion of alternative religiosity as did the arrival of spiritual teachers from abroad. The cultural ferment of the 1960s era (actually the late 1960s and early 1970s) brought to prominence certain NRMs that had previously operated in relative obscurity, and the decade saw many more NRMs start up. New religions since 1965 have been enormously diverse, consisting of groups based in Asian religious traditions, new and unconventional versions of Christianity, movements claiming to restore ancient but forgotten traditions, and a few groups that seem largely unrelated to anything that has come before.

Scientology was on the scene as early as the 1950s, but its main growth took place in the last years of the twentieth century. Founded by the science fiction writer L. Ron Hubbard (1911–1986), Scientology promoted a kind of psychological therapy program in an unconventional religious context. The psychological analysis of practitioners was facilitated using a device known as the e-meter, a type of lie detector. The promises made to practitioners were nothing short of spectacular: one could, with enough work, become an optimal and enormously powerful human being. Whatever the truth of those claims, Scientology has received a great deal of criticism. It has operated largely on a fee-for-services basis (rather than by free-will offerings), and critics have accused the leaders of raking in enormous amounts of money. The authoritarian leadership style of Scientology and its overly vigorous response to its critics have also come under attack. Nevertheless the movement has attracted large numbers of followers, including entertainment and sports celebrities, and Scientology represents a major force among contemporary NRMs.

Another movement active in the United States before 1965, but only coming into prominence after that date, is the Unification Church. Sun Myung Moon (1920–) of Korea started this new religion, which blended elements of Christianity with various Asian religions, including traditional Korean shamanism, in 1954; five years later Moon's followers began to spread the Unification message in the United States. Central to Unification teachings is the precept of the restoration of the true church and of fallen humanity to their proper godliness. Moon himself is understood to play a messianic role in the process of restoration. The early American growth of the Unification Church was slow, but it reached prominence with a series of speaking tours that Moon undertook in the 1970s. As his visibility grew, so did controversy about his movement, which was accused of deceptive recruiting practices and exploitation of its young members. Deprogramming, the practice of forcibly removing an NRM member to a remote location and putting him or her through a deconversion process, was perhaps aimed at "Moonies" more than adherents of any other religious group. Controversy has lingered, although it has become muted as Moon has established ties to American political conservatives and has focused his work increasingly on other parts of the world, especially South America.

A quintessential new religion of the late 1960s counterculture was the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON), commonly referred to as the Hare Krishna movement after its mantra (devotional chant). ISKCON's founder, Swami A. C. Bhaktivedanta (1896–1977), known to his followers as Prabhupada, undertook a mission to spread his form of Hinduism in the West and to that end arrived in the United States in 1965. Setting up headquarters in New York, Bhaktivedanta began to draw a variety of spiritual seekers to his work. Soon there were ISKCON temples in several American cities as well as farm communes and businesses supporting the movement and its members. To the public the ISKCON devotees were best known for *sankirtan* (public chanting and dancing in praise of Kṛṣṇa) and for selling books in public places, especially airports. Like Unificationists, they inspired spirited criticism, and some ISKCON members were subjected to deprogramming. After the death of Bhaktivedanta, the movement experienced tumultuous internal upheavals and scandals over problems ranging from venal leadership to child abuse. In the early twenty-first century small numbers of devotees continue to live the disciplined spiritual life that has long been the ISKCON hallmark.

One important component of the 1960s countercultural search for spiritual fulfillment was the rise of the Jesus Movement. The Jesus freaks, as the movement's adherents were popularly known, were young people who espoused evangelical Protestantism but retained the outer trappings (clothing and hairstyles, for example) of hippies. Although some of them were eventually absorbed into relatively conventional churches, others came together in new movements that reflected their cultural style and values. One of the most visible of the new groups, and certainly the most controversial, was the Children of God. Founded in 1967 as a coffeehouse ministry in Los Angeles by David Berg (1919–1994), a former Christian and Missionary Alliance pastor, the Children of God soon developed a distinctive evangelistic style that included wearing biblical robes and carrying signs warning of impending doom. By about 1970 members of the Children of God began to withdraw from contact with the outside world; most left the United States. The group's evangelization continued, however, and one new development was especially controversial—"flirty fishing," or the use of sex to attract new (usually male) converts. In the late 1980s members began to return to the United States and to reestablish a public presence there. Although accusations of misbehavior, including child abuse and sexual misconduct, have continued to be aimed at the Children of God (now known as the Family), over time they have dropped some of their most controversial practices and have moved closer to orthodox evangelical Protestantism. Their relatively liberal sexual attitudes, however, continue to be a major point of controversy.

Another NRM with roots in the Jesus Movement is the federation of Christian communities known as the Twelve Tribes. From enthusiastic beginnings in Chattanooga, Tennessee, in 1972 under the leadership of Elbert Eugene Spriggs (1937–), the movement in the early twenty-first century consisted of nearly three dozen communities, including several in South America, Europe, and Australia. Although spawned in the freewheeling environment of the American 1960s era, the Twelve Tribes has become a strongly disciplined movement with patriarchal leadership and strict child-rearing practices. Twelve Tribes communities are controversial in some locations, but they are becoming well established on the American religious scene.

Another spiritual path that has garnered wide appeal during and since the 1970s is earth-centered religiosity, most frequently known as Neopaganism or simply paganism. Much of the contemporary pagan movement—if it can be called a movement, given its diversity and lack of dominating organization—sees itself as re-creating the pre-Christian religions of Europe, especially northern Europe. Wiccans, or Witches, the best-known of the Neopagans, fall into that category. Other Neopagans look to ancient Egyptian or classical Roman and Greek religions for models. Whatever their specific orientations, most Neopagans incorporate into their beliefs and rituals a strong connection to the earth, fertility, and nature; not incidentally many Neopagans are also environmental activists. In addition they typically emphasize a recovery of feminine power and authority, which they believe was suppressed as male-dominated Christianity spread over most of the Western world. Leadership in Neopagan groups is to a large degree female, and the deities invoked are as likely to be feminine as masculine. Because of popular prejudices against witchcraft and paganism, many practitioners keep their allegiances hidden, but persons who consider themselves at least to some degree pagan are found throughout the United States in greater numbers than many would expect.

Although the 1960s era was a time of great ferment for American religion, other new religions emerged (and became subject to controversy) after that period. One controversial religious movement that rose to prominence is the International Church of Christ, also known as the Boston Movement. The Boston Movement arose from the Churches of Christ, a branch of the Restoration movement of nineteenth-century America whose most prominent descendant in the twenty-first century is the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). Kip McKean (1954–) became pastor of the local Church of Christ in Lexington, Massachusetts, in 1979 and soon moved it into Boston, renaming it the Boston Church of Christ. By the early 1980s satellite churches were being founded in other American cities, and the movement experienced great growth, all of it accompanied by increasing controversy. The heaviest criticism was aimed at "discipling," a practice in which each member is assigned a spiritual supervisor who oversees much of the member's day-to-day life. Although the strictness of life in the Boston Movement has contributed to a high attrition rate, a steady stream of new converts has assured continued growth.

CONTROVERSY AND CRITICISM. Unconventional religions have always been socially controversial, and the last decades of the twentieth century witnessed seemingly endless contention over what some saw as a growing and threatening presence of dangerous religions in the United States. Those conflicts became particularly prominent in the wake of several spectacular and, in some cases, fatal events. In the United States three such events stand out.

In November 1978 more than nine hundred mostly American members of the Peoples Temple died in a mass murder-suicide at Jonestown, Guyana. The Peoples Temple, led by Jim Jones (1931–1978), was a California-based local congregation of the mainstream Disciples of Christ denomination. The Peoples Temple first received wide attention for its high level of racial integration and extensive social service programs. In 1974 the church established a communal "agricultural mission" in Guyana, South America, and eventually many church members migrated there, in part to escape the increasing conflicts, both internal and external, that plagued the church in California. The murder-suicide took place in the context of a visit by a U.S. congressman seeking to investigate conditions at the colony.

In April 1993 approximately eighty members of the Branch Davidian movement died in a federal raid and subsequent fire that swept their communal center outside Waco, Texas. The original Davidian movement emerged as a Seventh-day Adventist splinter group in 1929; it divided into factions after the death of the founder Victor Houteff (1885–1955). One of the factions, headed by Benjamin Roden, came to be known as the Branch, or Branch Davidians. Vernon Howell (1959–1993) joined that group in 1981 and a few years later became its leader, changing his name to David Koresh. In February 1993 agents of the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms conducted a raid on the Branch Davidian headquarters in Waco. The raid led to a fifty-one-day siege by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and ended with a fire that killed most of the Branch Davidians present, including Koresh.

In March 1997 thirty-nine members of the Heaven's Gate movement committed suicide at Rancho Santa Fe, California. Heaven's Gate took shape in the 1970s as the founders Marshall Herff Applewhite (1931–1997) and Bonnie Lu Nettles (1924–1985) began to develop an evolutionary theology in which a few selected humans would advance to a level above human; a spacecraft would be the vehicle that would take them to the next realm. The appearance of the comet Hale-Bopp was taken as the signal that it was time for believers to abandon their human bodies—hence the suicides.

The Peoples Temple, the Branch Davidians, and Heaven's Gate were dissimilar movements, and the circumstances of their dramatic and fatal ends differed enormously. Nevertheless the massive media coverage that followed the demise of each group tended to cause the three to merge in the public mind, and activism against NRMs was stimulated as a result.

Opposition to new religious movements tends to be of two types, commonly referred to as anticult and countercult. Anticult activists believe that "cults" pose a threat to their members and to society and thus need to be denounced, perhaps abolished, in the interest of the common welfare. Countercult activism, on the other hand, is based in relatively orthodox (usually evangelical Protestant) churches and opposes NRMs as heresies, or false religions, that must be challenged theologically and socially. The two strands have combined to produce wide agreement in American culture that "cults" do exist and the public needs to be aware of their danger. The general image that has developed is that dangerous "cults" are widespread and growing, that they are led by evil or at least power-hungry leaders, that they are highly skilled at accumulating money, and that they pose a threat not only to the individuals who join them but to the larger society as well. Moreover because "cults" tend to appeal to young adults who are sometimes still living with their parents and siblings, such religious groups are destructive of traditional family life.

Perhaps the most contentious debate about the influence of NRMs involves the allegation that they engage in what is often called brainwashing or mind control. Opponents of new and unconventional religiosity contend that "cult" leaders use mental, and sometimes physical, coercion to induce members to do things they would not normally do. Sometimes, it is argued, members operate in trance-like states or behave in previously unthinkable ways. Most scholars who study NRMs hold the opinion that nothing that merits the label of brainwashing or mind control has been shown to have occurred by critics of NRMs. These scholars argue that some people can be influenced to join and become devoted to a particular movement, but the social phenomena of religious conversion and commitment found in NRMs are not essentially different from those seen in mainstream religions.

A related charge is that of totalism, the allegation that movements demand not merely casual participation, such as Sunday churchgoing, but absolute and total involvement on the part of an adherent. However, although some NRMs do ask for high levels of commitment and involvement, no one has shown that such commitment is involuntary or otherwise contrary to the standards of a society that generally allows its members to make their own decisions concerning their lives.

During the 1970s and 1980s, when promoters of the brainwashing and mind control hypothesis enjoyed their highest visibility, some opponents of NRMs (often the parents of young adults who had joined various movements) concluded that coercion had to be met with coercion, and they began to engage in what became known as deprogramming. In the typical scenario an NRM member was abducted forcibly, taken to isolated surroundings, and subjected to intensive argumentation and psychological pressure (and occasionally physical abuse) in an effort to convince the adherent to leave the group in question. Professional deprogrammers charged steep fees for their services, which were not always successful. Eventually the practice fell out of fashion, especially after some deprogrammers were convicted of kidnapping and illegal restraint. Thereafter a less-coercive strategy known as exit counseling was developed by those who sought to convince adherents to leave NRMs.

Closely related to the controversy over brainwashing, mind control, and deprogramming is the issue of leadership in NRMs. Opponents of NRMs often charge that movements are dominated by powerful, charismatic leaders who typically manipulate members for their own ends. Although most religions are indeed founded and led by strong personalities (religions are rarely created by committees), most NRM founders have not proved to be deviant or pathological. It is inevitably true that some leaders of religious movements are greedy and amass substantial assets. Some have also engaged in physical, psychological, or sexual abuse of their followers, and a few (probably very few) have been outright charlatans, fleecing the unwary. However, those patterns clearly do not typify NRM leaders any more than they typify religious or social leaders generally. There is no evidence, for example, that NRM leaders have abused their followers in proportionately larger numbers than some Catholic priests have abused young church members. As for greed, one could argue that the abuses of a small number of NRM leaders pale beside the excesses of some corporate executives. It seems to be inescapable in all areas of life that a few persons will behave unethically, and no one has demonstrated that NRM leadership has a greater propensity for such behavior than leadership in any other phase of human endeavor.

Similarly most religious movements do not end up amassing great wealth. If anything the opposite is true; religions of all kinds typically struggle to make ends meet. The financial circumstances of American religions are difficult to investigate, however, because the U.S. government does not require religious organizations to provide financial disclosure; even when such information is voluntarily provided, it is not usually audited and thus may not accurately reflect the true financial situation of the organization and its leaders. A few NRMs, in particular the Church of Scientology, do appear to have substantial resources. However, it is likely that NRMs in general do not possess greater per capita wealth than do other religious organizations.

Critics of NRMs often say that they are destructive of families. New members are presumed to be typically young adults just setting out in life and moving away from their parents. NRMs, as the conventional picture has it, provide members with highly controlled environments and isolate them from social influences that might undermine their newfound commitments. NRM leaders thus regard contact with parents and siblings as especially dangerous and therefore to be avoided.

This stereotype, like others, has some truth to it, but it can hardly be accurate in every case. Religious conversion does sometimes entail a changing of one's personal frame of reference, and more than a few religions think of themselves as families—spiritual families that may displace members' birth families, partially or entirely. Cutting oneself off from old friends and family members is one long-accepted way to promote one's chosen new spiritual path. Jesus is reported in the Gospels to have demanded that his disciples renounce their parents and siblings (*Lk.* 14:26), and historically persons who have joined monastic orders have sharply reduced their family contacts. Many Shakers broke relations with their families, and some of their movement's spiritual songs denounce family ties, as does one called "Gospel Relation."

> Of all the relation that ever I see
> My old Fleshly kindred are furthest from me,
> So bad and so ugly, so hateful they feel
> To see them and hate them increases my zeal.
> O how ugly they look! How ugly they look! How nasty
>   they feel!

Nevertheless it is not the case that complete separation from one's family is a necessary adjunct of religious conversion. Most religious movements permit members to have as much contact with their families as they like. Various movements have tried to shield members from their families when members are threatened with deprogramming or other overtly hostile activity, and some NRM members have chosen to minimize contact with their families, especially when they perceive family members as hostile to their new faith. However, in most cases contact with one's birth family is permitted.

WOMEN IN NEW RELIGIONS. New religious movements, like other religions, have tended to be defined and dominated by males, but that pattern is not universal. Some movements, especially those rooted in religious traditions that mandate specific gender roles, have restricted the participation of women in various ways. The International Society for Krishna Consciousness, for example, which is rooted in traditional Indian Hindu culture, has always maintained a male-only top leadership and has carefully circumscribed male-female interaction. Many Christian-based NRMs, like the majority of Christian churches historically, have barred women from playing leading roles, especially participation in the clergy. Other movements offer gender equality in theory but not in practice, a tendency that reflects the pattern of many mainstream contemporary religious and social institutions.

However, although NRMs have not as a whole been bastions of egalitarianism, they have offered women opportunities for leadership and participation that have rarely been available in more traditional religions. Many founders and leaders of American new religions have been female. Ann Lee led the early Shakers to the United States, and she presided over their formation as one of America's longest-lived communal religious groups. Mary Baker Eddy (1821–1910) founded and led Christian Science, one of the most influential of America's new religions. Emma Curtis Hopkins (1849–1925) was the most influential of the founders of New Thought, a nineteenth-century movement that espoused human health and happiness, and Myrtle Fillmore (1845–1931) was the visionary leader of Unity, the largest of the many New Thought organizations. Helena P. Blavatsky created and led the Theosophical Society. Spiritualism was the creation of the Fox sisters of upstate New York. The list is a long one; clearly NRMs have provided an opening for the exercise of spiritual and organizational gifts that some extraordinary women have manifested—gifts that might have been stifled in more traditional religions.

Most women and men are not founders or leaders of religions; they are day-to-day adherents. Here the pattern in NRMs is mixed; in some cases women cook, clean, and raise children, whereas men have a wider range of options available to them, but in other NRMs women are freed from limited and subservient roles. In the Oneida Community, the nineteenth-century Perfectionist commune in upstate New York, women worked alongside men in construction and other traditionally male work. Oneida women also modified their clothing and hair for practical reasons, wearing pants (with short skirts over them) and cutting their hair short. Both women and men were allowed, indeed encouraged, to have multiple sexual partners in the Oneida Community's system of "complex marriage." In the Holy Order of MANS, an esoteric Christian group founded in 1968 that emphasized monasticism and human services, women could become priests (until the movement merged into Eastern Orthodoxy in 1988).

ETHNICITY AND NRMS. The ethnic makeup of NRMs varies widely from group to group. Some movements with roots in Asia have appealed heavily to Americans of Asian extraction and thus have ethnic Asian majorities. The International Society for Krishna Consciousness, for example, originally made converts among non-Asian Americans but later found more and more ethnic Indians participating, and in the early twenty-first century the active members of many temples are overwhelmingly Indian. Most NRMs, however, have constituencies that are not ethnically related to the movement's foreign land of origin. Most American Ṣūfīs, for example, are not from the Islamic lands that gave birth to Sufism.

It is a fair guess that African American membership in NRMs is low, but some movements, usually those with black leadership, have developed strong African American followings. One of the most prominent of the predominantly black NRMs was the Peace Mission Movement of Father Divine (1879–1965), which reached its peak in the 1930s. Father Divine was regarded as God in the flesh by his followers, and he addressed his members' material as well as spiritual needs, providing food, housing, and jobs to a predominantly poor membership. Other African American religious movements, such as the United House of Prayer for All People, led by Charles "Sweet Daddy" Grace (1881–1960), followed similar patterns.

Some African American religious leaders have rejected Christianity as a slave religion and have sought freedom in other traditions, notably Judaism and Islam. The first black Jews appeared in the 1890s with the founding of the improbably named Church of God and Saints of Christ by William S. Crowdy (1847–1908). Other similar organizations appeared over the next several decades, drawing on growing currents of black nationalism in the northern cities of the United States. In 1913 the religious focus of such groups began to shift from Judaism to Islam with the founding of the Moorish Science Temple of America by Timothy Drew, known as Noble Drew Ali (1886–1929). Then in 1930 a mysterious peddler commonly referred to as W. D. Fard began to preach a new racialistic version of Islam that grew into the Nation of Islam. Fard disappeared in 1934, but under his successor, Elijah Muhammad (1897–1975), the movement spread nationwide. Muhammad's son and successor, Wallace Muhammad, later known as W. Deen Mohammed (1933–), steered the movement away from black supremacy toward conventional Islam. Traditionalists led by Louis Farrakhan (1933–) subsequently built a reconstituted version of the former Nation of Islam. In the meantime several other African American Muslim groups appeared in the United States.

MILLENNIALISM AND VIOLENCE IN NRMS. Many new religions are characterized by an urgency that is driven by millennial expectations—a sense that the world is headed toward apocalyptic upheaval, or at least a major transformation, in the near future. In addition many NRMs are associated in the public mind with violence, or the potential for violence, although historically NRM members have more frequently been victims than perpetrators of violence.

Some NRMs have optimistic expectations for the millennial future; others are profoundly pessimistic. The expected changes may be violent or peaceful; the world may be destroyed or it may be transformed into something far better than humans have ever seen. Supernatural intervention may cause the dramatic events to happen, or good faith and works by devoted humans may suffice. NRMs embrace the wide range of millennialism found in the religions of the world.

The two principal categories of millennialism may be labeled progressive and catastrophic. The catastrophic variety, which is associated with conservative Protestantism as well as with some NRMs, is the more vivid of the two; it sees the world becoming increasingly degraded, increasingly distant from the divine will and purpose, and headed inevitably toward such events as an ultimate war between the forces of good and the forces of evil, rule of the world by unspeakably evil agents, and a final judgment in which the vast legions of the unfaithful will be cast into eternal torment. Many Christian-based NRMs espouse this kind of scenario. Progressive millennialism, on the other hand, sees the coming transformations in a positive light. Through the efforts of dedicated souls the world will become a better and better place; long-standing evils such as poverty, war, and injustice will gradually disappear, and a perfect human society will be established at last. Some Theosophical and New Thought groups, as well as many mainline Christian denominations, see millennialism in such a fashion.

Although violence is linked to NRMs in the public mind, NRMs have only rarely been notable perpetrators of violence. Perhaps the most vivid image of NRM–related violence is the deadly conflagration that ended the siege of the Branch Davidians at Waco. That siege, however, was initiated by an agency of the federal government, and the FBI's subsequent tank and CS gas assault culminated in a fire, although the actual cause of the fire that killed the group's members remains disputed.

Some NRMs have used violent rhetoric, but their words have rarely led to deeds. The Nation of Islam as it developed under Elijah Muhammad envisioned a millennial race war in which the dominant white race would finally be overthrown. In practice, however, Muhammad's followers were remarkably restrained. A number of groups associated with the Christian Identity movement have been involved in militaristic activities that have sometimes threatened violence against African Americans as well as Jews and other non-Christians, but as with the Black Muslims, Christian Identity rhetoric has been much stronger than the actions of members. The few acts of racial violence that have occurred, including some attacks on Jews and on mixed-race couples, have been perpetrated by loners not acting as sanctioned representatives of any organized Christian Identity group. Satanic groups have been portrayed as purveyors of violence (they have been accused, for example, of the ritual killing of infants), but actual Satanists are few in number, and evidence of murders for ritual purposes has been virtually impossible to locate. Some members of NRMs do own weapons, but no research has shown that NRM members are more likely to own or use them than are other Americans.

Some Christian-based (and occasionally other) movements have espoused strict discipline and corporal punishment of children, and physical abuse of children has taken place in a number of instances. In addition some would regard the withholding of medical treatment, which is practiced by certain NRMs, as child abuse. Most cases of NRM–related violence, however, are perpetrated by individuals who may invoke religious precepts (such as holy war or divine retribution) to justify their aberrant acts. Moreover American NRMs operate in a broader culture that encourages ownership of deadly weapons and generally tolerates a high level of violence. Specific incidents of NRM–related violence tend to arise from the convergence of specific expectations and characteristics of a given group and some kind of external situational trigger, perhaps the response the group has evoked from its neighbors and antagonists or from public authorities. There is nothing inherent to NRMs that makes them more violent than other social institutions, nor is there any reason to suspect that NRMs attract unusually violent persons as members.

MATURATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF NRMS. As recently as the 1960s scholars generally assumed that religions of the "cult" type were heavily centered on strong founder-leaders and that such a group would not long survive the leader's departure. Additional decades of observation of NRMs, however, demonstrate clearly that most do not vanish soon after the deaths of their founders. Although charismatic leadership is frequently key to the early development and spread of an NRM, over time many groups develop more enduring and institutionalized types of management that enable them to survive the deaths of their founders. Such movements as Spiritualism, Theosophy, New Thought, and Mormonism are prospering in their second centuries of existence, long after the passing of their founders.

When a charismatic founder lives a long and full life, he or she typically begins to look toward the future and to set up structures that will carry the movement forward under second-generation leadership. Normally the transition involves a movement toward increased bureaucratization; leadership becomes less concentrated in one person, and the organization comes to be administered through regulations and committees. For example, the leadership of Christian Science became vested in committees operating under rules that Mary Baker Eddy laid down before her death.

In other cases, especially when the founding leader dies or is deposed unexpectedly, a new authoritative figure may step forward to lead a movement that otherwise would suffer from lack of firm guidance. That happened with the Mormons after the founder Joseph Smith Jr. was murdered when he was only thirty-eight years old. Several potential new leaders claimed Smith's mantle, and some of them started their own Mormon-based movements, but the largest group of Mormons fell into line behind Brigham Young, who provided another three decades of charismatic leadership in his own style. Young also oversaw the development of bureaucratic structures that have enabled the church to function effectively ever since.

It is probably impossible for strongly charismatic leadership to continue indefinitely, generation after generation. Charismatic leadership involves a unique interaction between a given leader and his or her followers that has the "chemistry" to sustain deep commitment. No matter how great the ability or attractiveness of a next-generation leader, he or she will differ from the predecessor leader, and the former chemistry will not be present. Although commitment to a common cause may enable the new leader and group members to push ahead for a time, the development of a more-bureaucratic and less-spontaneous leadership style seems inevitable. A later-generation charismatic leader may develop his or her own chemistry with a group of believers; in that case a splinter group typically develops, whereas the main movement continues under bureaucratic leadership.

The move from charismatic leadership to collective administration engenders the development of a leadership cohort whose expertise is certified by appropriate training rather than force of personality. In the United States expertise is typically certified by the completion of academic courses of study. Thus the development of an intelligentsia is a typical step in the maturation of a religious movement. That pattern tends to take shape even in movements that originally disavow formal leadership training in favor of charismatically based qualifications. The Unification Church offers an excellent example of the process: less than two decades after its arrival in the United States, the movement opened a theological seminary that began to train church leaders and ministers, and it sent its best intellectuals to some of the nation's leading graduate schools for advanced study. Ranking Unificationists now have doctorates from such institutions as Harvard, Yale, and Vanderbilt.

Furthermore the spreading of an NRM's message is often conducted through mass media, and expertise in writing and speaking, video production, and Web site development has become a critical tool for the propagation of a group's message. Here again the growth of a class of specialized professionals is essential to a religious movement's growth and prosperity.

THE ACADEMIC STUDY OF NEW RELIGIONS. Scholarly study of NRMs has expanded and changed with the increased visibility of movements after 1965. Before 1900 scholars paid little attention to dissenting religious movements except in judgmental terms: they were considered heresies, departures from the true faith. After 1900 a few pioneers began to take a less-jaundiced view of new religions. The German sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920) remains influential, especially for his observations about the pivotal role of charismatic leadership in the development of new religions. The theologian Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923), also a German, wrote at length about the differences between church-type and sect-type religions, showing that sectarianism was a social phenomenon that deserved study in and of itself and not merely in terms of its deviation from received truth. H. Richard Niebuhr (1894–1962) provided a distinctly American focus for the scholarly conversation in his examination of sectarian social dynamics.

Several propositions that emerged from early-twentieth-century scholarship have proved less than reliable. Troeltsch and Niebuhr were convinced that sectarianism was a phenomenon that emerged from the lower social classes. Another generally accepted analysis maintained that a group founded by a charismatic leader could not long survive the death of that leader. What is now clear is that generalizations about NRMs can be hazardous. It is now known that people from all levels of society can be attracted to NRMs and that many movements have had their greatest success long after the lifetime of the founder, without, as Niebuhr posited, evolving into completely conventional denominations.

Other scholars studied new religions later in the twentieth century. J. Milton Yinger wrote important sociological analyses of NRMs in the 1950s. During the 1940s and 1950s such observers as Marcus Bach, Elmer T. Clark, and Charles S. Braden surveyed the nonmainstream religious scene and discovered many previously little-noticed religious movements, describing them in terms that did not dismiss them as heretical or diabolical.

The greatly increased visibility of NRMs in American culture after 1965 spawned a new generation of scholarly NRM researchers. One drawing card for many of them was the opportunity to study a religion in its formative stages, as it develops its beliefs and practices, rather than as a fully evolved social institution. In the 1970s and 1980s several major academic organizations, including the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion and the American Academy of Religion, began to provide venues for research in the field, and publishers disseminated new findings.

By and large the new research on NRMs looked at the movements descriptively, tracking their social evolution, their beliefs, and the processes through which new converts joined. Most researchers found that NRMs were not more virtuous or more pathological than other American religions. Many also argued that hostility toward NRMs manifested a fear of the different and a belief that the different is dangerous, a pair of pervasive themes in American society. The scholars' conclusion of benignity, however, ran sharply counter to the public's perception that "evil cults" were proliferating in the land, brainwashing impressionable young people and turning them into subservient lackeys, amassing huge assets (sometimes through deceptive means), and threatening American peace and tranquility. That public perception was fueled by a number of organizations founded specifically to combat what they saw as the menace of "cults" (the Cult Awareness Network became the best-known of them), supported by a minority of scholars. For several years the fulcrum of the dispute was the hotly debated phenomenon of deprogramming, regarded by its advocates as a radical strategy necessitated by the enormity of the misconduct of the "cults" but seen by its opponents as nothing more than kidnapping, assault, and battery. Deprogramming eventually faded as a popular anticult strategy, but the deep division between scholarly consensus and prevailing public perception endures.

A majority of scholars eventually coalesced around what might be called a "freedom of religion" position, an agreement that there was no basis for sweeping condemnation of "cults" as a category but rather that a principle of innocent until proven guilty should apply to NRMs. A minority of scholars demurred, contending that something that could be called brainwashing or mind control did in fact occur and that many NRMs posed real threats to society. These scholars, aligned with the larger anticult and countercult movement, criticized the scholarly majority as naive about the groups they studied and as unwitting accomplices to aberrant "cult" activities. Relations between the two schools of thought continue to be troubled.

Despite the controversies, stereotypes, and allegations of misbehavior directed at NRMs, these new religious groups do, like other religions, reflect the society from which they arise. Their members are not unlike other people who search for meaning and value in ways that suit them best.

SEE ALSO Anticult Movements; Blavatsky, H. P.; Brainwashing (Debate); Branch Davidians; Christian Identity Movement; Christian Science; Cults and Sects; Daddy Grace; Deprogramming; Disciples of Christ; Eddy, Mary Baker; Elijah Muhammad; Family, The; Father Divine; Fillmore, Charles and Myrtle; Heaven's Gate; Holiness Movement; Holy Order of MANS; Hopkins, Emma Curtis; Hubbard, L. Ron; International Society for Krishna Consciousness; Jehovah's Witnesses; Jesus Movement; Jones, Jim; Jonestown and Peoples Temple; Koresh, David; Law and Religion; Lee, Ann; Mennonites; Mormonism; Nation of Islam; Neopaganism; New Thought Movement; Pietism; Prabhupada, A. C. Bhaktivedanta; Puritanism; Quakers; Satanism; Scientology; Seventh-day Adventism; Shakers; Smith, Joseph; Spiritualism; Sufism; Theosophical Society; Twelve Tribes; Unification Church; Unity; White, Ellen Gould; Wicca; Witchcraft, article on Concepts of Witchcraft; World's Parliament of Religions; Yogananda; Young, Brigham.

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TIMOTHY MILLER (2005)

NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS: NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN EUROPE

The new religious movements (NRMs) with which this article is mainly concerned are those that first appeared, or became noticeable, in Europe during the second half of the twentieth century. Many, indeed most, have their roots in one or more religious tradition, but they are termed *new* because they arose in a new form, with a new facet to their beliefs, or with a new organization or leadership that renounced more orthodox beliefs and/or ways of life. They are, moreover, distinguishable from those religions that are new merely to Europe, having been brought by immigrants, in that the NRMs have consisted, at least initially, of a predominantly first-generation membership of converts. Some of the movements have been denounced by other movements, or have themselves rejected the label "religious." No attempt will be made here to argue what a "real" religion should or should not consist of, beyond stating that the movement/group makes some attempt to address questions of ultimate concern. The term *NRM* is, thus, employed as a general concept that refers to a multitude of groups that others might call cults, sects, spiritual groups, or alternative belief systems.

Already it will be apparent that, faced with such a wide classification, NRMs will differ greatly from each other, and indeed the first generalization that must be made about them is that one cannot generalize. One could in fact say that the only attribute which all the movements have in common is that they have been referred to as new religions. That said, however, some trends and some characteristics are shared by some NRMs.

MILLENNIA-LONG BACKGROUND OF RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY. From the *brochs* of the Shetland Isles in the north to Cape Sounion's Temple of Poseidon in the south, and in literature still taught in some schools, there is abundant evidence of a rich European history of pagan beliefs and practices associated with Greek, Roman, Norse, Celtic, and other indigenous gods. Christianity entered Europe immediately after the death of Jesus, eventually spreading throughout the entire continent—although it was not until the mid-twelfth century that it succeeded in supplanting Paganism in Sweden. In Western Europe, the mushrooming of assorted varieties of Protestants from the fifteenth century to the present day followed the Reformation. Islam has also played an important role in European history: Islamic Spain contained a mostly harmonious multicultural mixture of Muslims, Jews, and Christians for more than six centuries. Under the Ottoman Empire, diversity was controlled through the millet system, in which relatively autonomous religious communities were ruled by their own religious leaders.

While there have always been new religions emerging throughout Europe, there have been periods when these became particularly visible and gave rise to persecution. Early Christian heretics such as the Aryans or Manichaeans were dealt with on an ad hoc basis, but during the Middle Ages more institutionalized methods evolved. For example, Cathars were systematically burned at the stake by the Papal Inquisition. Later sectarian communities (including Hutterians, Mennonites, Doukhobors, and Separatists) emigrated to the New World to escape the persecution they suffered in different parts of Europe.

While the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw the emergence of various Christian-based groups such as the Salvation Army, there also surfaced several esoteric groups and/or groups of Eastern origin (including Theosophy, Anthroposophy, Subud, and the Martinus Institute). These spread their gnoses to North America and, when American immigration law was liberalized in 1965, several gurus departed from Europe to find new disciples on the other side of the Atlantic.

IMMEDIATE HISTORICAL SETTING. During the late 1940s and early 1950s, there was a widespread concern to "pick up the pieces" in the aftermath of World War II, which had itself followed a period of economic depression and high unemployment throughout most of the West. By the late 1950s, Western Europe had, generally speaking, made a remarkable recovery. Future prospects seemed hopeful. By the middle 1960s, however, there had grown up a new generation with a new set of hopes and values. The immediate relief of peace and the relative political and economic stability were forgotten as it became increasingly obvious that the rosy expectations of continuing tranquility and prosperity were not being entirely fulfilled. A vociferous group of students in universities throughout Europe, but especially in England, Germany, France, the Netherlands, and Italy, joined the protesters of North America in attacking the Vietnam War, Western imperialism, and bourgeois capitalism. By the end of the 1960s, however, this section of middle-class youth seemed to be giving up hope of changing the structure of society through mobilizing political pressure and organizing demonstrations. They turned instead to an outright rejection of structures and standards, replacing these with the celebration of free love. Although the "flower children" were never as visible in Europe as they were in California, they certainly existed, being most obviously evident among segments of English, Scandinavian, Dutch, and German culture; however, the sunny Mediterranean coasts of Greece, France, and Spain were attracting seekers who intermingled with those who had discovered, often with the help of hallucinogenic drugs, their paths to a new truth or spiritual enlightenment in California and/or along the hippie trails of India, Nepal, and Afghanistan.

Then, during the 1970s, this wave of alternative movements was augmented by a conservative backlash and the establishment of more organized and authoritarian NRMs, which imposed strict rules, order, and offered clear answers in place of the antinomian laxity of the hippies. At the same time, there was the spread of neo-Pentecostal revivalism and charismatic renewal. The search for order and certainty was also apparent in conservative reactions within many traditional churches in opposition to the liberalization of theology and general worldview evidenced, in part, by Vatican II (1962–1965). By the early 1980s, there existed many hundreds of groups competing for souls and, frequently, the total commitment and financial resources of the young, and, in some cases the not so young, throughout most of Western Europe.

There had been a handful of representatives of various NRMs in at least some parts of Eastern Europe during the 1980s and even earlier. These had frequently operated underground (some slipping into Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia from bases in Vienna). When discovered, members might be deported or imprisoned; some, including four members of the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON), died in jail in the Soviet Union. But with the arrival of *glasnost* and *perestroika* and the eventual removal of state-imposed secularism, missionaries from NRMs and several older religions swarmed into Eastern Europe. Apart from providing a context within which (and concepts with which) the religiously starved could explore religious ideas and practice spiritual rituals and techniques, the movements brought all manner of secular hand-outs: Unificationists offered visits to the West and English language lessons; Scientologists offered communication and purification courses; posters were pasted on walls and lampposts throughout the region, advertising classes leading to health and wealth and a wide variety of yogic, meditation, and other Eastern practices.

THE RANGE OF MOVEMENTS. Most European countries have produced at least some of their own NRMs. Among these, the Aetherius Society, Emin Foundation, Exegesis, Findhorn, the Jesus Army, the Process, the School of Economic Science, TOPY, and various esoteric orders associated with Aleister Crowley (1875–1947) and Gerald Gardener (1884–1964) originated in Britain. The Raelians, Aumism, and Roux's L'Église Chrétienne Universelle were founded in France; the Ananda Ashram in Denmark; Damanhur in Italy; Dragon Rouge and Livets Ord in Sweden; the Lou Movement in the Netherlands; and Al-Murabitun in Spain. In Eastern Europe, Vissarion's Church of the Last Testament in Russia, the New Jerusalem in Romania, and Mariya Devi Khristos' White Brotherhood in Ukraine emerged, or, as in the case of Duenov's Brotherhood of Light in Bulgaria, reemerged. Several Neopagan groups and Wicca covens have professed their allegiance to local European gods and goddesses in, for instance, the Caucuses, the Baltic, Volga, Norse, and Celtic regions. Moreover, several movements considered to exhibit sectarian characteristics have arisen within the Roman Catholic Church (Focolare, Communion and Liberation, Neocatechumenate, Poland's Radio Maryja, and, although it was founded in 1928, some would include Opus Dei).

The majority of NRMs are, however, not indigenous to Europe. Many can be traced to the United States (frequently to California), including offshoots of the Jesus Movement (such as the Children of God, later known as the Family); the Way International; International Churches of Christ; the Church Universal and Triumphant (known as Summit Lighthouse in England); and much of the human potential movement (such as *est,* which gave rise to the Landmark Forum, and various practices developed through the Esalen Institute). Several of the movements came from Asia, mainly India (Rajneesh; ISKCON; Brahma Kumaris; Divine Light Mission [later called Élan Vital]; Sathya Sai Baba, Transcendental Meditation; Sahaja Yoga; Ananda Marga; and various practices associated with Tantra, *kuṇḍalinī,* and other types of yoga), but also from Japan (Sōka Gakkai; Risshō Kosei Kai; Agon Shu; Mahikari; Tenrikyō); Korea (the Unification Church); and other parts of Asia (Caodaism from Vietnam; Fo Guang from Taiwan; Falun Gong from China). There are also groups from the Caribbean (Rastafarianism) and Africa (Cherubim and Seraphim; the Brotherhood of the Cross and Star), most of these finding their home among the black populations residing in Europe. Another development has been the growth of a number of Islamic groups (Hizb ut-Tahrir; the Nation of Islam; Al-Muhajiroun; Murabitun).

Not infrequently, movements with roots in the East (such as ISKCON) have been introduced to Europe indirectly, via the United States. It is, however, noteworthy that several of the Eastern religions show the influence of Europeans who had traveled to Asia, carrying with them either the Christian message or, more recently, the language and perspectives of various forms of humanistic psychology and the human potential movement—a movement that has itself been traced both to the East and to seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries pietism in the West. Thus it is that, although many NRMs may appear alien and/or exotic to Europeans, it is possible to identify a not inconsiderable contribution from Europe that could have "prepared the way" or made the novelties more acceptable to Westerners. There is, moreover, a further twist to this growth of cultural exchange and syncretism: it is sometimes the accretions of American culture, such as a "happy-clappy" enthusiasm, that the new movements bring across the Atlantic that are most strongly objected to by their European critics.

Mention should also be made of what has come to be known by Troeltsch's term, popularized by Colin Campbell (1972): "cultic milieu." Many Europeans who would not consider themselves to have any connection with an NRM do, nonetheless, draw on concepts that owe their origin to Eastern philosophies, often transported through NRMs and the media—concepts such as reincarnation, for example, are accepted (often with the concept of resurrection) by roughly one-quarter of Europeans, and many Christians can be found attending yoga and meditation classes that are based on religious precepts at variance with traditional interpretations of the New Testament.

THE SPREAD OF THE MOVEMENTS. All European countries play host to some new religions, with a number of geographical centers such as Glastonbury, Lyons, Turin, St. Petersburg, and Amsterdam attracting particular genres. Rodney Stark (1985) has argued that much of Europe, having experienced more secularization than the United States, is more receptive to NRMs than had been generally assumed, and that the more northern, Protestant countries, in which traditional churches are weakest, are the most receptive to alien religions (cults), whereas the more southern, Catholic countries, in which conventional religion is stronger, are more likely to be receptive to sectarian (revivalist) activity.

Calculating precise statistics for NRMs and their membership is difficult because definitions as to what is and is not an NRM vary; many movements do not advertise their existence and may not be recognized for some time; several movements are secretive about, or grossly exaggerate, their membership numbers; and most NRMs, like traditional religions, have different levels of membership ranging from an inner core to associate members, and each group is liable to use a different criterion for what comprises membership. Moreover, NRMs frequently gloss over their high turnover rates, counting only converts, not defectors.

It is, however, likely that the number of NRMs in Europe is in excess of two thousand, but that most have a relatively small membership (occasionally less than a score, with only a handful having more than a thousand members in any one country at any one time). Britain is certainly not representative of Europe as a whole, but INFORM had collected details about more than 800 different NRMs that were active in the United Kingdom at some point between 1984 and 2004. This number might be doubled if, for example, they included all New Age and pagan groups as separate entities, nineteenth-century religions (such as the Jehovah's Witnesses and Mormons), and Buddhist and Hindu groups considered traditional in their countries of origin. Just under half (373) of the 806 NRMs were recognizably of Christian origin, and by far the largest number of these (171) could most easily be classified as some form of Protestantism, with twenty-seven being related to Catholicism, and twenty to African Independent Churches. There were, unambiguously, sixty-six Buddhist, thirty-eight Hindu, forty Muslim, and twelve Jewish NRMs, and a motley assortment of syncretistic, Shintō, yoga, esoteric, Gnostic, New Age, pagan, shaman, human potential, Satanic, Spiritualist, UFO, and other groups. Altogether INFORM has a record of more than three thousand different organizations, including several that are active elsewhere in Europe. And there are undoubtedly many other groups about which INFORM (and most other people) are ignorant.

REACTIONS TO NRMS. As elsewhere throughout the world, NRMs in Europe have been greeted with suspicion and hostility. Almost without exception, media coverage has been of a sensational and negative nature. Headlines have told of mass suicides and murders; bizarre sexual practices; blasphemous beliefs; brainwashing techniques; kidnapping; deception; broken-hearted parents; political intrigue; exploitation of members; and the vast wealth amassed by leaders.

The intensity and focus of responses to NRMs have varied both between and within the different countries of Europe at different times, each of which started from a different position—while religious freedom was virtually unchallenged in Britain, Scandinavia, and the Netherlands, it was not until 1970 that non-Catholic religions could operate legally in Spain, and there was state-imposed secularism in Eastern Europe until the collapse of communism. In the 1970s, the movement that received the most attention was the Unification Church, its members being popularly referred to as "Moonies." The French displayed concern particularly about the movement's political and financial concerns; the Norwegians about its theological status; the English worried about brainwashing and the break-up of families; the Germans about social security payments and the possible emergence of a new Hitler Youth movement; while the Finns appeared remarkably unaware of the Unificationists in their midst. Another group to be singled out at a relatively early stage was Scientology, which has continued to be met with considerable opposition, especially in Germany and Belgium. Other NRMs that have frequently hit the headlines include ISKCON, the Children of God (later known as the Family), the followers of Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh, and the International Churches of Christ.

Whatever the movement in the news, after 1978 almost all media reports referred to the horrific events in Jonestown; but it was not until after the 1994/5 murders and suicides of members of the Solar Temple in French-speaking Canada and Switzerland and, later, in France itself that "cult-associated atrocities" became widely recognized in the European political scene. Then, in 1995, the release of sarin gas in the Tokyo subway by members of Aum Shinrikyō alerted European governments to dangers not merely to those associated with NRMs, but also to the public at large—a fear that was confirmed and magnified beyond any previously imagined expectation when al-Qāʿidah hijackers flew airplanes into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, with the fear of "sectarian terrorism" in Europe becoming firmly established in 2004 with the railway bombings in Madrid.

By the end of the 1970s, a loose network of groups, whose avowed goal was to expose and curtail the activities of NRMs, had been established throughout most of the continent. Anticult groups were particularly prominent in France, Germany, and Britain, but there were also individuals or small groups actively opposing NRMs in Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Italy, and elsewhere. Some of these, founded in the mid-1970s, such as FAIR (Family Action Information and Rescue—the R being changed to Resource in 1994) in Britain and ADFI (Association de Défense de la Famille et de l'Individu) in France, organized a number of forcible deprogrammings, but by the end of the century these illegal abductions were almost completely stopped in Europe, non-forcible exit counseling having become the preferred option. Nonetheless, the number of cult-watching groups expanded and these were joined by some in Eastern Europe in the 1990s, one of the most active and influential, St. Irinaeus of Lyon Information-Consultation Center, operating under the patronage of the Moscow Patriarchy. In 1994, a network of European anticult groups, FECRIS (Fédération Européene des Centres de Recherche et d'Information sur le Sectarisme), was formed. This network includes among its members AGPF (Aktion für Geistige und Psychische Freiheit) in Germany; FRI (Förening Rädda Individen) in Sweden; the Polish Family Association; GSK (Gesellschaft Gegen Sekten und Kult Gefahren) in Austria; AIS (Asesoramiento e Información sobre Sectas) in Spain; SADK (Schweizerische Arbeitgemeinschaft Destruktive Kulte) in Switzerland; and the Ukrainian National Center of Religious Safety and Help to Victims of Destructive Cults.

There also emerged a number of centers run on more academic lines that were largely the result of scholars reacting to the selective and sometimes inaccurate information being disseminated in the media and elsewhere by both the NRMs and their opponents. Among these were CESNUR in Italy, which has a useful Web site (http://www.cesnur.com); FINYAIR in Sweden; VIK (Center for Information on Religion) in Hungary; RENNER (Research Network on New Religions) in Denmark, REMID (Religionswissenschaftlicher Medien- und Informationsdienst) in Germany; NRTIC (New Religions Research and Information Center) in Lithuania; and INFORM (Information Network Focus on Religious Movements), an information network based at the London School of Economics and supported by the British government and mainstream churches. In Eastern Europe, there had been very little opportunity to study new religions before 1990, but some scholars who had been interested in the subject have been meeting (with one or two Westerners) since 1991, and by 1995 they had founded ISORECEA (International Association for the Study of Religion in Eastern and Central Europe), which holds regular conferences and has published, mainly through the Polish publishing house Nomos, a number of volumes containing papers about NRMs in post-communist Europe.

Official government interest in NRMs in Europe has, unsurprisingly, varied from country to country. There was not much concern until after the Jonestown incident, and even then it was minimal. A number of reports were commissioned: both the Germans (1980 and 1998) and the Dutch (1984) concluded that there was little to worry about that could not be dealt with by the law as it stood; a French report (1985) expressed more anxiety and included the recommendation that judges be allowed to give parents the power to extract their adult children from religious organizations, but little action was taken at the time. In England, the Unification Church lost a six-month libel action against the *Daily Mail* (1981) and pressure was put on the Charity Commissioners to remove the charitable status of two Unification-related organizations, but by 1988 the case had been dropped due to insufficient evidence.

In May 1984, the European Parliament adopted a resolution calling for "a common approach by the Member States of the European Community towards various infringements of the law by new organizations operating under the protection afforded to religious bodies" (PE 90.562:49). The resolution expressed concern about some of the practices of the new religions, and listed a number of "criteria [that should] be applied in investigating, reviewing and assessing the activity of the . . . organizations" (PE 90.562:51). The supporters of the resolution were in favor of instituting a voluntary code of practices to be followed by the movements; several of the movements responded that not only did they follow most of the code's rules anyway, but that any such code ought to apply to all religions, not just to the "new" ones (which were, furthermore, notoriously difficult to define). Further reports for the Council of Europe (1999) and two commissioned by the European Parliament (1992 and 1998) again warned of the need to be alert to the dangers NRMs might pose, but no action was taken.

One of the reasons for government reluctance to introduce special legislation to control NRMs has been a concern to observe Article 9 of the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1950): "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief, in worship, teaching, practice and observance." After the Solar Temple and Aum Shinrikyō episodes, the Article's second clause, which stated "subject only to such limitations as . . . are necessary . . . for the protection of public order, health or morals, or for the protection of the rights and freedoms of others," has formed a more persuasive basis for advocating control in one form or another in some European countries.

In 1995, a second government-sponsored report was published in France. This contained a list of 173 *sectes* (including Anthroposophy, which later (2000) successfully sued the Rapporteur for defamation). This report resulted in 1998 in the establishment of MILS (Interministerial Mission to Fight the Sects), which was replaced in 2002 by MIVILUDES (Interministerial Mission of Vigilance and Fight against Sectarian Deviances). In 1997, a report commissioned by the Belgian government included a list of 189 movements (including the Quakers and the YWCA, though not the YMCA). This resulted in a law establishing CIAOSN (Information and Advice Centre Concerning Harmful Sectarian Organizations), which has offered its services, including access to a now-substantial library, to the public since 2000. Although neither the French nor the Belgian governments officially incorporated their lists into law, several NRMs have been discriminated against merely because they were on one of the lists. When the Swedish government published a report in 1998, its list included all known religions in Sweden, including both Satanism and the (then-established) Lutheran Church of Sweden.

Other West European governments, including Austria (1998) and the Swiss Canton of Geneva (1997 and 1999), have produced reports and/or passed laws that result directly or indirectly in NRMs either being denied privileges (such as registration) that are available to older traditions, or treated in some way that distinguishes them from more socially acceptable religions.

Appealing to the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) is a final option available to NRMs that believe their rights have been violated. There are numerous cases in which Jehovah's Witnesses have, on the basis of Article 9, won decisions in their favor from the court on issues such as child custody, conscientious objection to military service, the right to proselytize, the right to gather for worship, and the right to refuse to participate in ceremonies or activities (such as bearing arms) that would violate their conscience. One of the best-known cases is that of Minos Kokkinakis, who had been arrested for proselytism on more than 60 occasions. In 1993, the ECHR ruled in his favor and Greece was ordered to pay both damages and costs. Greece remains, however, the only European Union country that bans proselytism under its constitution, and the police can prosecute religious communities that operate or build places of worship without the permission of both the government and the Greek Orthodox Church. Another case concerned an Austrian court's decision that a mother was "unfit" as a parent because she was one of Jehovah's Witnesses. The ECHR determined that "a distinction based essentially on a difference in religion alone is not acceptable," and custody was returned to the mother.

Despite the euphoria of celebrating religious freedom after the collapse of communism, by the end of the century the majority of Eastern European countries were introducing laws that curbed the activities of NRMs. These laws have frequently been related to registration, which often entails having a minimum number of members and a minimum number of years of residency in the country. In 1997, Russia passed its Law on Freedom of Conscience and Religious Associations, in which one of the requirements for registration is documental proof that the organization "has existed over the course of no less than fifteen years on the relevant territory" (Article 11.5). Those religions that do not succeed in getting registered may be "liquidated." In March 2004, the Moscow Golovinsky District Court issued an order that the local Jehovah's Witness society be closed down, and numerous landlords throughout the country immediately canceled rental agreements with local congregations.

THE AGING OF NRMS. While stressing the importance of not generalizing about NRMs, there might, nonetheless, be certain characteristics that some of them tend to share at all times and all places merely because they are new and religious. One universal fact is that NRMs do not remain new forever. With the passage of time, many disappear; a few, such as the Worldwide Church of God, start to grow then shatter into literally hundreds of schisms. Those that survive exhibit a tendency towards "denominationalization." Enthusiastic young converts mature and have to devote time and money to children who need to be socialized and are quite likely to question the movement's beliefs and practices. Founders die, and their charismatic authority becomes routinized, making the movement more predictable. Dichotomous worldviews with sharp distinctions (godly/satanic, true/false, right/wrong, them/us) become modified and, rather than insisting on how different they are from the rest of society, members begin to stress how normal they are. The host society may become less fearful of the movements, even accepting them as part of the religious scene. In Britain, for example, dropouts and former drug addicts from the hippie scene who decided to become Krishna devotees can be heard representing the Hindu community on the BBC. In most of Eastern Europe, however, ISKCON continues to be treated as a dangerous cult. Some NRMs, whose techniques, such as yoga and meditation, appeal to a wide range of Europeans and have gained sufficient respectability to organize classes under the auspices of local authorities, or to provide courses for large corporations and even government departments.

LONG-TERM SIGNIFICANCE. It is difficult to assess the long-term significance of NRMs in Europe. New new religions continue to emerge, but it must be stressed that only a tiny proportion of those that abandon their commitment to traditional religions avail themselves of the new options. Far more common in Europe is a "soft secularism," which turns to religious institutions only at times of crisis or for formal rites of passage. Others may claim that they enjoy some kind of spirituality in their lives but that this has little or nothing to do with any formal religiosity.

By the start of the third millennium, few, if any, NRMs had succeeded in becoming a major player in the European religious scene. It is, indeed, arguable that reactions to NRMs are more significant than the movements themselves. Taken as a group, new religions have certainly contributed to the growing multiculturalism that is most evidenced in the effects of mass media, migration, and globalization. They are also playing a significant role in testing limits of tolerance and control of minority religions through the legal activities of several countries and the ECHR. What remains to be seen is the role they may yet have to play in a constantly changing Europe, with its expanding economic and political interactions through the pan-European structures that are seen by many to undermine individual identity and the cultural and religious heritage of the 47 or so countries of Europe.

SEE ALSO Anthroposophy; Anticult Movement; Aum Shinrikyō; Church Universal and Triumphant; Crowley, Aleister; Cults and Sects; Falun Gong; Family, The; International Society for Krishna Consciousness; Jehovah's Witnesses; Jonestown and Peoples Temple; Mormonism; Nation of Islam; Neopaganism; New Age Movement; Raëlians; Rajneesh; Rastafarianism; Satanism; Scientology; Sōka Gakkai; Temple Solaire; Tenrikyō; Theosophical Society; Transcendental Meditation; Unification Church; Wicca.

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EILEEN BARKER (1987 AND 2005)

NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS: NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN JAPAN

The modern era has been a prolific period for new religious movements in Japan. In Japan, scholars define a new religion as having most or all of the following attributes:

1. Establishment within the last two centuries, usually characterized by features that suggest a religious response to the crises of modernity;
2. A definite moment of establishment and usually a founder possessing special charisma;
3. An important new, distinctive revelation or realization, expressed through some novel doctrine and usually attributed to supernatural sources;
4. A separate institutional structure;
5. Distinctive rites or practices.

In Japan, "old" new religions, which appeared before the restoration of the Meiji emperor in 1868, are distinguished from "new" new religions, which originated after 1970. Some Japanese new religions since the 1960s have become international religions with converts in other countries, while new religions originating in other countries have made converts in Japan. Japans's new religions are significant in the history of religions in Japan and are an important part of global pluralism.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND. Japanese new religions generally fall into one of the following categories: (1) early new religions, basically Shintō in style of worship but focusing on one central deity and incorporating various Buddhist ideas, and originating before the Meiji restoration of 1868; (2) Ōmoto, whose founders were influenced by the syncretistic, eschatological, and spiritualistic movement of that name dating from the 1890s and its offspring; and (3) the Nichiren group, a category representing revitalizations of Nichiren Buddhism. But there are all sorts of new religions whose religious sources are diverse, including Buddhism, Shintō, Confucianism, Christianity, and others.

The roots of such movements in Japan lie in the rising popular discontent that marked the Tokugawa shogunate (1600–1868) as it drew to a close. During the entire period mass pilgrimages to the shrine of the sun goddess, Amaterasu, at Ise, countryside shamanism, and religious dance rituals were aspects of popular religion, as were the more decorous movements associated with moral philosophers, such as Ishida Baigan (1685–1744), founder of Shingaku (heart learning), and the "peasant sage" Ninomiya Sontoku (1787–1856). The moralists reinforced the Confucian values of work and obligation that made society function, whereas the syncretic "enthusiasts" gave vent to diverse spiritual impulses within a nominally regimented Confucian order. Both tasks became more urgent as the Tokugawa regime went into decline in the early nineteenth century. In those decades the early new religions, synthesizing elements of both popular exuberance and conventional morality, crystallized out of the spiritual ferment.

Many of the new religions offered stability by making pivotal a single example of each type of religious expression in popular religion. Each featured one god out of the many *kami* and buddhas; one divine teacher and one revelation out of the numerous shamans and visions of the era; one preeminent rite; one religious center and magnet for pilgrimage; one scripture; one institution. At the same time, they interpreted rapid change by explaining it in familiar eschatological language: God is hastening the coming of a new divine age. They helped ordinary people adjust to the ways of the new civilization through their own adaptations of its schools, bureaucracies, and mass media. At the same time by expecting a definite personal commitment of faith (unlike the traditional community Shintō shrines and Buddhist temples), they aided people in meeting the most profound challenge imposed by modernization: taking responsibility for one's own life in a changing and pluralistic world. The influence of the idea of the holy empire gradually dominated the millennialistic imagination during the first half of the twentieth century. Many groups suffered from the strict control of the government because of their deviance from the state system of emperor worship.

After 1945, with the coming of full religious freedom and the discrediting of prewar Shintō and Buddhism in the eyes of many, the new religions grew mightily for several decades. Most were direct or indirect continuations of prewar movements. But they took advantage of the new liberal atmosphere to purify their teaching and practice and drew on Japan's burgeoning affluence to build great temples and even spiritual cities. In the 1970s and 1980s their rate of growth tended to level off, but the new religions remain important aspects of Japanese society; their total membership was estimated somewhere between 10 to 20 percent of the Japanese population in the early twenty-first century.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS. Common characteristics of the Japanese new religions include the following:

1. Founding by a charismatic figure whose career often recalls the shamanistic model; that is, supernatural calling, initiatory ordeal, wandering, and oracular deliverances from the spiritual world. As in Japanese shamanism generally, the founder is often female.
2. Tendency toward monotheism or a single, monistic source of spiritual power and value. Against the background of the spiritual pluralism of popular Shintō and Buddhism, the new movements set one deity, one founder, and one revelation as definitive.
3. Syncretism, drawing from several strands of religion and culture. The new religions typically embrace Buddhist doctrine (at least to the extent of inculcating doctrines of *karma* and reincarnation), extol a basically Confucian morality (as well as what is really a neo-Confucian idea of God as supreme principle or unity), and incorporate Shintō styles of worship. At the same time, notions may be borrowed from Western Spiritualism, New Thought (a nineteenth-century movement stressing the power of thought to heal and bring success), or evolutionism. There is also a strong desire to harmonize the religion with "modern science."
4. The centrality of this world, human beings, and body; a definite, this-worldly eschatology or millennialism. The new religions usually teach that rapid change is afoot and a divine new age imminent, and they place an emphasis on healing. Indeed most of the new religions began as spiritual healing movements, only gradually developing a full spectrum of doctrine and practice. Personal experiences by ordinary people are regarded as important, and accounts of religious experiences play central roles in their practices.

THE EARLY NEW RELIGIONS. The "old" new religions, which appeared before the Meiji restoration, served as prototypes and often training grounds for later new religions. They are characterized by a rural background, making an originally Shintō or folk deity into a monotheistic supreme being and, compared to later movements, show little real evidence of Western influence.

Kurozumikyō. The saintly Kurozumi Munetada (1780–1850) founded this movement after a revelation in 1814. Kurozumi believed himself possessed by the Shintō sun goddess Amaterasu, whom he identified as the infinite deity. This small but influential movement emphasizes healthy living, healing, the cultivation of joy, and worship of the indwelling divine spirit.

Tenrikyō. Tenrikyō (religion of heavenly wisdom) originated in 1838, when a farmer's wife, Nakayama Miki (1798–1887), was possessed during a shamanistic rite by a deity who identified himself to her as the true and original God. Subsequently, this deity, now known to followers as God the Parent, imparted through Miki healing gifts and revealed scripture. Tenrikyō features an account of the Creation and the performance of a dance ritual that recalls it.

Konkōkyō. In 1859 a peasant, Kawate Bunjirō (1868–1912), felt himself called by the high god Tenchi Kane no Kami to a ministry of mediation between the divine and humankind. This he did through the Konkōkyō (religion of golden light), a faith that teaches that God is benevolent and that offers a practice called *toritsugi,* in which supplicants receive spiritual counsel from a priest.

THE ŌMOTO GROUP. The prolific Ōmoto (great source) new religions, stemming from the late-nineteenth-century Ōmoto faith itself, are characterized by a monotheism combined with a rich vision of a complex spiritual world from which souls descend into matter, a picture somewhat reminiscent of Western Neoplatonism and Gnosticism. They also have a strong affirmation of immediate and continuing divine revelation and an eschatological bent emphasizing an imminent paradisical new age. The influence of Western Spiritualism, Swedenborgianism, and New Thought is apparent.

Ōmoto. In 1892 Deguchi Nao (1837–1918), a peasant woman and member of Konkōkyō who had experienced many personal troubles, began to deliver divine oracles. Although the messages were initially from the Konkōkyō deity, Nao left that faith in 1897 and soon thereafter met Ueda Kisaburō (1871–1948, later Deguchi Onisaburō), a mystic and spiritualist whom she believed to be the great teacher her revelations had predicted would be sent from God. Under him Ōmoto became a well-organized and rapidly expanding religion that emphasized the oneness of God, the existence of a formative spiritual world behind the material, the temporary descent of souls from the spirit realm into the world of matter, the expression of the divine through art, and the coming of a new age heralded by a great teacher. Onisaburō also devised rites of healing, as had Nao in the early years of the movement. The increasingly totalitarian government forced it to disband in 1935. Although it was reorganized in 1946, it has never regained its former strength.

Seichō no Ie. The founder of Seichō no Ie (literally, house of growth), Taniguchi Masaharu (1893–1985), was an avid reader of Western and Eastern philosophy as a young man and participated in Ōmoto for four years. In 1928, by chance, he discovered a book by the American New Thought teacher Fenwicke Holmes. This book helped him crystallize a system of thought that was officially launched as Seichō no Ie in 1930, when Taniguchi began publishing a magazine of that name. Seichō no Ie affirms the perfection and spiritual nature of all things and denies the reality of matter, suffering, or evil—one may escape from them through the affirmative power of mind. It teaches a distinctive form of meditation called *shinsokan* and certain chants.

World Messianity. The founder of World Messianity, Okada Mokichi (1882–1955), was an active worker in the Ōmoto faith until 1934, when he felt called to form his own organization. The present name was adopted in 1950. Emphasizing the coming of a paradise on earth through an accelerating inpouring of divine light, World Messianity seeks to prepare the way through a practice called *jorei,* channeling divine light through a cupped, upraised hand to a body or other object to cleanse it of evil. World Messianity also regards art and beauty, including gardens, as precursors of the earthly paradise.

THE NICHIREN GROUP. The medieval Buddhist prophet Nichiren (1222–1282) started a movement from which most important sectarian developments in Japanese Buddhism have stemmed. Nichiren Buddhism's fundamental conviction is that the *Lotus Sūtra* is the supreme and full doctrine; it is worshiped in the form of a *maṇḍala,* the Gohonzon, by means of a chant called the Daimoku. Nichiren Buddhism claims to be the one true Buddhism. It emphasizes the coming of a spiritual new age and the power of the faith to bring benefits here and now.

Sōka Gakkai. Sōka Gakkai was established in 1937 by Makiguchi Tsunesaburō (1871–1944), an educator and convert to Nichiren Shōshū. He shared the belief of pragmatism that human benefit is of greater importance than truth regarded as an abstract ideal, and he saw a compatible view in Nichiren's emphasis on present attainment of the benefits of practice. Sōka Gakkai was reconstructed after World War II under the dynamic leadership of Toda Jōsei (1900–1958) and became a highly organized promotional arm of Nichiren Shōshū. Whereas its tactics were often criticized, in this period it was hailed as the "fastest growing religion in the world," claiming by 1960 some 750,000 households. After Toda's death, leadership passed to Ikeda Daisaku (b. 1928). Emphasizing the movement's cultural and social significance, Ikeda founded a related political party, the Kōmeitō (Clean Government Party) and otherwise sought to advance the coming of the Third Civilization, when true faith would spread over the world, ushering in an era of peace and plenty.

Reiyūkai. The oldest major modern Nichiren sect, Reiyūkai (spiritual friends association) was founded in 1925 by Kubo Kakutarō (1892–1944) and his sister-in-law Kotani Kimi (1901–1971), both of humble backgrounds. Essentially a lay organization, it depends on informal groups and volunteer teachers. In addition to the usual Nichiren emphases, Reiyūkai stresses the importance of ancestor worship, features quasi-shamanistic faith-healing practices, and has developed an influential kind of group counseling called *hoza* (*dharma* circle). Reiyūkai suffered many difficulties after World War II, but by the 1970s the movement was again an established part of Japanese spiritual life, inculcating conservative social values.

Risshō Kōseikai. Many new Nichiren movements arose out of the decentralized, charismatic matrix of Reiyūkai. By far the most successful was Risshō Kōseikai (society establishing righteousness and harmony), founded in 1938 by Niwano Nikkyō (b. 1906) and a housewife, Naganuma Myōkō (1889–1957), both former members of Reiyūkai. Risshō Kōseikai includes healing and divination practices and *hoza* group counseling; it presents an eclectic form of Nichiren Buddhism. After World War II, Niwano attained international recognition for his activity in worldwide peace and interreligious organizations.

JAPANESE NEW RELIGIONS AROUND THE WORLD. New religions in Japan were eager to propagate themselves among the Japanese immigrants, but they were rarely successful in recruiting foreigners until the 1950s. Exceptions were Tenrikyō in colonial Korea and Ōmoto in Brazil. But after the 1960s many new religions started systematically to influence foreigners and experienced some success. In Brazil and Korea many groups attracted substantial numbers of followers. Seichō no Ie, in particular, claims to have millions of followers in Brazil, most of them non-Japanese. In 2003, Sōka Gakkai claimed more than 1.5 million followers in 186 countries all over the world.

NEW NEW RELIGIONS. After around 1970, most of the existing new religions fell into stagnation. On the other hand, some newly organizing new religions, sometimes called "new new religions," gained recognition. Among the fastest growing were Agonshū, Sūkyō Mahikari, and GLA (God Light Association). Also, other groups, including the Unification Church and Jehovah's Witnesses, that were established in other countries started to grow rapidly in Japan after around 1970.

Although most of the older new religions were stagnant after the 1970s, Shin'nyoen, established in 1936 by Ito Shinjo and his wife Ito Tomoji, was an exception. Their spiritual resources are derived from shamanistic folk religions, modern spiritualism, and Esoteric Buddhism of the older Buddhist sect in Japan. They have their own system of shamanistic or spiritualistic mediumship combined with counseling and the Esoteric Buddhist system. In the 1960s they were already a fairly big organization. They continued to grow in the later decades and became one of the largest new religions in the 1980s.

The 1980s produced a new wave of aggressive movements, including Kofuku no Kagaku, Aum Shinrikyō, and Worldmate. The founders of these new religions were young and sometimes well educated. In the case of Kofuku no Kagaku, the founder graduated from the prestigious University of Tokyo. In the case of Aum Shinrikyō, although the founder, Asahara Shōkō, did not attend any university, the movement attracted many converts who had studied in well-known universities and graduate schools. While most active members of the older new religions were middle-aged housewives, young people are active participants in some new new religions.

One important feature of new new religions is that they are less this-world affirming than older new religions. They tend to emphasize the reality of the other dimensions of the world, and sometimes they segregate themselves from the outer society. The life after death and the eternal existence of the human soul is emphasized. In contrast, ancestors and family are cherished less. The emphasis is on individuality, and ritual settings tend to be less interactive and more theatrical.

Aum Shinrikyō has committed many crimes, including the sarin gas attack in the Tokyo subways in 1995, which injured over five thousand people and killed twelve. The founder, Asahara Shōkō, was sentenced to death in 2004. Asahara, born in 1955, was a member of Agonshū around 1980, but, influenced by Tibetan Buddhism, he practiced Yoga meditation much more intensely. Gradually he became an independent religious leader and claimed to have achieved the last stage of spiritual emancipation. In the late 1980s he started to kill members who wanted to defect and those whom he assumed to be enemies. Then, in the 1990s, he emphasized that Armageddon was coming soon and that to survive Japan and the whole world had to change. After the subway sarin gas attack in 1995, not only Aum Shinrikyō but other new religions were viewed critically as "cults."

New religions in early twenty-first-century Japan are less powerful compared with the latter half of the twentieth century, which is characterized as the period that started with the amazingly rapid growth of new religions and ended with catastrophic trauma for new religions as a whole.

SEE ALSO Aum Shinrikyō; Konkōkyō; Kurozumikyō; Nichirenshū; Ōmotokyō; Reiyūkai Kyōdan; Risshō Kōseikai; Sōka Gakkai; Tenrikyō.

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ROBERT S. ELLWOOD (1987)
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NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS: NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN LATIN AMERICA

Latin American societies have fostered an abundance of religious revitalization movements since the early colonial period. Ongoing religious ferment and innovation in Iberoamerican contexts has often been interpreted as an adaptive response to such conditions as land dispossession, widespread poverty, racialized social systems, acculturative processes, political instability, and the demands of nation-building. Explanations of these movements must also consider the fact that religious systems have long played central roles in constructing and critiquing the social order in Latin America. Since remote antiquity, the indigenous peoples of the Americas have fashioned highly adaptive cultures centered on mystical cosmologies that encompass all aspects of life and natural relationships. The Spanish and Portuguese colonizers, and the later independent states, espoused forms of governance and culture rooted in an almost hermetically Catholic conception of social life. The encounters of these religious influences, in the context of severe social circumstances and frequently shifting political orders, create fertile conditions for symbolic change and religious mobilization.

In his seminal 1956 work on revitalization movements, Anthony Wallace proposed that the process of religious revitalization involves an effort by a segment of a society to resolve incommensurability between existing religious formulations and changing perceived realities. From this perspective, prophets function as diagnosticians who resynthesize religious knowledge and address sociocultural stresses. This article surveys the nature of Latin American revitalization movements through four empirical varieties of movement activity:

(1) Indigenous nativisms and utopias;

(2) Folk-saint movements;

(3) Spiritist cults;

(4) Protestant-related religious movements.

Burgeoning Protestant recruitment since the 1970s accounts for the fastest rate of religious change that Iberoamerica has experienced since the introduction of Catholicism.

INDIGENOUS RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS. From the Amazon to the deserts of northern Mexico, the impact of European contact and modern state–minority relations have precipitated dramatic religious responses among indigenous peoples. The most common variety of indigenous religious movement is nativism, a belief in the return of an idealized native culture or age, as exemplified in the nineteenth-century Ghost Dance of the Plains Indians. However, the imagined past usually reflects some blending of symbolic elements that results from acculturative processes. Historically, armed rebellions have frequently followed nativistic prophecies and rituals. As one might expect, native movements that involved uprisings produced the richest archival evidence. Such movements generally represent attempts to intensify and defend ethnic boundaries and to symbolically mediate (often through syncretism) between the religion and social-status system of a minority group and those of dominant society. Mexican indigenous societies have produced some of the most famed examples of nativistic movements. Prominent among these are the Chiapanec Mayan cults and rebellions of Cancuc (1712) and Chamula (1867–1870), the Yucatec Mayan Caste War movement of the Talking Cross of the mid-1800s, Yaqui and Mayo millenarian movements of the late nineteenth century, and the Great God Engineer cult of the Oaxacan Chinantec of the 1970s. The Chinantec cult arose in response to the Mexican government's proposal to relocate peasants in order to build a dam for commercial agriculture.

The movement centered on the town of Chamula, in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas, resulted in a revolt known as Cuscat's War, or the War of Saint Rose. It exemplifies the themes of resistance and religious blending of many nativistic movements. The cult was a response to 350 years of domination by regional elites and rising pressures within Mayan communities resulting from Mexico's recently promulgated liberal laws, which aimed at breaking up all land corporations. A Chamulan prophet, Pedro Díaz Cuscat, declared himself to be an Indian priest, and he donned a Catholic priest's garb after three obsidian oracle stones began to speak through his niece. Cuscat established an altar with a deity's image, declaring his niece to be the mother of the god. The movement attracted throngs of Maya, and the cult center became an important marketplace. Cuscat revealed that the Maya should reject worship before any *ladino* (Euro-Mexican) sacred images. He presided over the crucifixion of a Mayan boy on Good Friday of 1868. *Ladino* authorities, worried about a possible Mayan revolt, imprisoned Cuscat for a brief period. The following year, a *mestizo* militarized cult followers and was executed for leading a failed assault on San Cristóbal, the region's seniorial city. Cuscat raided *ladino* properties up until 1870, when he died and the movement faded. Some features of modern-day Chamulan ritual still show the influence of the Cuscat cult. The nativistic search for an ideal age through the creation of an indigenous saint, the indigenous Christ, and an Indian mother of God, sprang from Mayan yearnings for cultural and economic self-determination. Oracular flint cults have ancient roots in Mayan religions. But, as with similar movements, the symbolic solution proposed by the prophet incorporated non-indigenous elements in an effort to exercise control over the Indians' acculturative realities.

Amazonian nativistic movements tend to exhibit definite millenarian traits. Tukanoan, Arawakan, and Tupí-Guaraní peoples of the Amazonian lowlands have an extensive record of nativistic activity. Some movements have led to insurgency under messianic leadership, occasionally by an outsider, as in the Chamulan revolt. Perhaps the best-known millenarian cases from this region are the so-called "Land Without Evil" movements of colonial Brazil. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Tupí-Guaraní believers migrated great distances across South America, following the revelations of marginal shaman-prophets (*caraís*), men sometimes identified with Catholic supernaturals. The pilgrims' goal was to reach a utopian land where they would find peace, immortality, and safety from the mass die-offs of native peoples caused by European diseases plaguing the Portuguese-dominated coastal regions. Michael Brown's 1991 ethnohistorical study of Amazonian millenarian movements suggests that cultural blending and hierarchical shifts within these movements point to an internal cultural critique, as well as a reaction against external forces. Movement adepts may view their cultural systems as lacking in certain adaptive powers and may attempt, through religious means, to adopt certain aspects of the majority cultural tradition that they regard as more efficacious.

Andean indigenous cosmologies possess a millenarian strain expressed in the notion of the *pachacuti*, a divinely caused upheaval or change in era. Since colonial times, members of Kechwa (Inca) nativistic movements have awaited the return of Inkarri, a mythical Inca ruler executed by the Spanish. Though decaptitated, Inkarri's body continued to grow inside the earth. Andean messianic tradition holds that he will liberate Peru's indigenous peoples by reestablishing the pre-Conquest Inca state and civilization. Perhaps the most renowned movement based on this tradition was that led in 1780 to 1781 by José Gabriel Condorcanqui, or Túpac Amaru II, a descendant of the Inca emperor Huayna Cápac. He led more than 20,000 Kechwa peasants into armed rebellion against Spanish abuses in the Andes. Followers regarded him as a legitimate Inca ruler with a corresponding semi-divine nature. Túpac Amaru rebels were unable to take the ancient Incan capital of Cusco, and the movement waned. The colonial administration executed Túpac Amaru II and members of his family in 1781.

Even when nativistic groups were not engaging in military activities, as in some Amazonian cases, governments often regarded them as politically threatening. A prophet might urge followers to alter their economic behavior or to criticize governmental legitimacy. For instance, in the Venancio Christo movement of the northwest Amazon, from 1857 to 1858, the prophet revealed that his tribal followers should not perform any labor for whites. He also prophesied that whites who did not heed his message would be obliterated. Missionaries were excluded by Venancio's creation of a ministerial corps bearing saints' names to confer the sacraments. Consequently, the Brazilian government vigorously persecuted the movement. Violent state suppression of various kinds of prophetic groups has been common in many Latin American countries.

FOLK-SAINT MOVEMENTS. Since the 1870s, Latin American peasantries have produced several messianic movements and prophetic holy cities based upon a folk-Catholic worldview, folk-saint cults, apocalypticism, and oppositional ideologies. Folk Catholicism is a religious worldview associated primarily with the poor. It focuses on practical solutions and thaumaturgy over other-worldly salvational issues. Folk saints are individuals whom folk-Catholic practitioners, rather than the hegemonic Roman Catholic Church, regard as charged with saintliness in both life and death. The holiness of the folk saint is judged by his or her willingness to suffer vicariously, and by his or her readiness to use divine gifts for miraculous healing, giving counsel, and interpreting mystical signs in order to aid the believer. Folk-saint cults using doctrinal revelation through a medium have shown considerable potential to evolve into sectarian organizations.

The holy city of Joaseiro do Norte, today a large city in the northeast Brazilian state of Ceará, began as a secular hamlet of the same name. In 1889 Father Cícero Romão Batista was distributing Ash Wednesday communion in the town when a host shed blood on the tongue of a young laundress, Maria de Araújo. Thousands of impoverished northeastern Brazilians poured into the town, drawn by the miraculous sign and the saintly reputations of Father Cícero and Maria. Maria revealed that Joaseiro would be the ark of salvation to protect humanity from the punishing hand of God. Father Cícero was suspended by his bishop for preaching his millenarian notion that the shedding of Christ's blood in the latter days at Joaseiro represented a second redemption. The colony's population reached 15,000 by 1910. Even in death, Father Cícero continues to enjoy a reputation as a thaumaturge and national hero.

Joaseiro was preceded by the colony of Império do Belo Monte (Canudos) of the folk saint and prophet Antonio Conselheiro. In the1880s, Conselheiro (or Good Jesus, as his followers called him) preached the condemnation of the new Republican government of Brazil and led revivalistic folk-Catholic services in the impoverished backlands of northeast Brazil. A holy city of perhaps 5,000 followers sprang up in the region. The colony's professed belief that the republic was ungodly and that the monarchy should return prompted a military siege of the city. Conselheiro died during the attacks, most of the male defenders were massacred, and government militias captured a large number of prisoners. Similarly, a millenarian thaumaturge in the mountains of the Dominican Republic, Olivorio Mateo, died leading hundreds of his chiliastic rural followers in their defense against government attacks on their camps around 1916.

Recruitment to the Brazilian colonies was promoted by a long-standing fervent millenarian brand of folk-Catholic belief common among the Sertão region's peasants. The republic at the turn of the century began to encourage the breakdown of patron-client ties between landholders and peasants through the sale of land and contractual labor policies. Severe droughts produced widespread destitution and hunger, along with loss of access to cultivable land and food redistribution. Peasants believed that their protective patron-client ties were divinely ordained. Thus, the sacred order appeared to be in upheaval, requiring an apocalyptic restoration under a new, saintly patron. Historical evidence points to peasant seekers' desire to join the colonies in order to escape banditry, to acquire a livelihood and food, and to find personal religious reform.

A contemporary millenarian colony has existed in Michoacán State, Mexico, since 1973. Nueva Jerusalén originated in a movement centered on millenarian apparitions of the Virgin of the Rosary to a peasant seer, Gabina Romero (d. 1981). The Virgin announced that the world would end before the year 2000, and that the Catholic hierarchy had lost its legitimacy. She requested a special community where she could live in body and soul and save the world. Gabina took the Virgin's message to Father Nabor Cárdenas, a local parish priest whom the Virgin had designated as her "chosen son." Father Nabor, also called "Papá," founded the colony, became a charismatic leader, and renounced the post–Vatican II church. The Virgin gave ongoing messages to Gabina and her successor medium, building up the colony's doctrine and highly stratified social structure. Residents and pilgrims spun miracle stories about seer and prophet over the years. Gabina became the Virgin's chosen handservant, the holiest woman on earth. The Virgin made Father Nabor the acting head of the church and declared that he is incapable of intentionally offending God.

Nueva Jerusalén's population of mostly peasants reached nearly 5,000 in the early 1980s, and currently stands at about 3,100 members. The sect's beliefs are rooted in Father Nabor's interpretation of apocalyptic varieties of the Catholic Traditionalist movement, combined with elements of Mexican folk Catholicism. Traditionalists hold that the post–Vatican II church is in apostasy. As Nueva Jerusalén is believed to be the remnant Catholic Church in the latter days, its bureaucracy replicates various religious orders for priests, monks, and a convent of about 400 nuns. Lay residents are ranked in quasi-monastic groups with an ascetic lifestyle. Ritual participation, penance, and work life are intensive and tightly regulated.

Recruits joined the colony with many of the same motivations as the Brazilian followers. Mexican peasants in the 1970s were under rising pressure due to increasing production costs, poor and inadequate land, and government efforts to connect rural producers to agribusiness. These factors promoted many peasants' availability to migrate to the colony. In addition, ethnographic research on the colony shows a strong pattern of interest in personal reform among men, with women acting as key agents in their sons' and husbands' recruitments. The folk-saint colony functions as a total institution where personal problems are formulated entirely in mythological and ritual terms. The highly structured, world-rejecting lifestyle of the colony's elect strongly supports personal change and discourages recidivism after conversion. Nueva Jerusalén's millenarian teachings do not appear to have played a significant role in most peasants' recruitments, although they do underwrite the colony lifestyle that many recruits found attractive.

El Niño Fidencio is perhaps the most successful folk-saint healer in Latin American history. José Fidencio de Jesús Síntora Constantino, a ranch worker in northern Mexico, received visions of Christ and God the Father instructing him to cure the sick. Between 1925 and his death in 1938, his healing ministry attracted tens of thousands of pilgrims to the desert site of Espinazo, Nuevo León. Fidencio combined spiritualist techniques and beliefs with those of folk-Catholic *curanderismo* (the Mexican folk health-care system). A line of trained mediums, mostly women, have ensured that he could continue to work after his death through spirit possession. Networks of El Niño's devotees are spread throughout Mexico and U.S.-Mexican communities. In July 1993 the Mexican government registered an independent religious association derived from the cult, the Iglesia Fidencista Cristiana. The new church is an unusual example of an institutionalized, officially recognized folk-saint movement, for most of these cults remain diffuse and noncorporate in character. The Fidencista Church employs its own adaptation of the Novus Ordo Catholic mass, containing references to spiritualist beliefs and the supremacy of Fidencio in the spirit world. More than 600 mediums are said to be registered with the church in both Mexico and the United States. Unaffiliated mediums and devotees still constitute the overwhelming majority of followers. Like Fidencio himself, they consider their identity to be simply Catholic.

Another large Mexican folk-saint movement was that of Teresa Urrea, known as the Saint of Cabora, who was active between 1889 and 1906 in the Arizona-Mexico border region. Teresa was famed for her ability to heal miraculously with mixes of dirt, oil, and saliva. "Long live the Saint of Cabora" became a rallying cry in nativistic, millenarian revolts among the Rarámuri and the Mayo in 1891 and 1892. Fearful of her reputation, the regime of Porfirio Díaz banished her to Arizona, where she continued to heal until her death in 1906.

SPIRITIST CULTS. Latin American movements oriented around the mystical provision of health and advice often show strong roots in Kardecist spiritualism. (Kardecist beliefs and practices stem from the teachings of the nineteenth-century French educator, Allan Kardec, regarding human contact with the spirit world.) These therapeutic new religious movements (NRMs) are usually diffuse, have no folk saints, and draw upon folk-Catholic traditions. Spiritualist healing, centered on temples and mediums, witnessed an upswing in popularity in Latin American societies during the early twentieth century. Theosophical spirituality has contributed to the rise of a number of healing movements, such as the Mexican Espiritualismo Trinitario Mariano (Marian Trinitarian Spiritualism). Umbanda is among the most studied of the spiritist movements.

Umbanda (an invented term) is essentially an eclectic audience cult. Men of the business and upper classes in Brazil started the movement in the 1920s by melding Kardecism, aspects of Catholic teaching, and Afro-Brazilian Candomblé, a creolized spirit-possession tradition centered on the worship of Yoruban deities, called *orixás* (orishas). The syncretization became part of an effort to forge a distinctively Brazilian spiritual tradition that could sidestep allegedly backward black ethnic religion and Catholic dogma, both of which were considered inappropriate for modernizing whites and mulattos. Umbanda temples, or *terreiros*, now exist by the thousands in major Brazilian cities. It has been estimated that at least 60 percent of adult Brazilians, most of whom identify as Catholics, consult with Umbanda mediums. The movement has indeed become a national religious tradition.

Umbanda takes a variety of forms that may be arranged along a continuum, from the most Candomblé-like appearance to the most Kardecist. All Umbanda varieties focus on spiritualist notions of charity and spirit consultation as a means of aiding the living. The most Kardecist form is sometimes referred to as Umbanda Pura or Umbanda Branca. Mediums wear white spiritist robes, and African *orishas*, or deities, are shunned. However, the term *orixás* is used generally in Umbanda to denote the spirits. Umbanda's creators introduced spirits of Brazilian political and other historical luminaries, masculine Amazonian Indians (*caboclos*), and wise black slaves (*pretos velhos*). A panoply of spirits has grown over the decades to include people from many walks of life, each with his or her own personal history, known specialties, and favorite ritual offerings. The *terreiro* is headed by a master medium, called a mother of the saint (*mãe de santo*) or a father of the saint (*pãe de santo*). A believer identifies a spirit with whom she or he wishes to consult for a remedy, then approaches a medium in trance. The spirit will often prescribe a ritual involving such features as number symbolism or food offerings to keep trickster spirits (*exús*) at bay. An offering is left for the temple. Head mediums compete for clients in Brazil's libertarian religious environment, making the *terreiro* an unstable enterprise.

The spirit possession cult of María Lionza in Venezuela strongly resembles Umbanda. María Lionza also originated in the early twentieth century as part of an effort to invent a national image rooted partly in imagery of an indigenous past. The principal spirit being, María Lionza, is symbolized under two representations: as a nude Indian girl, Yara, who straddles a tapir, and as María, a girl dressed in the style of the Virgin Mary. Other spirits include Simón Bolívar, the spirit-doctor and folk hero José Gregorio Hernández (now in the process of canonization), and other prominent Venezuelans. Mount Sorte in María Lionza National Park, near Caracas, serves as the focal point for pilgrimages and is believed to be an ancient indigenous sacred site. Clearly, Umbanda and María Lionza originated as symbolic resources for shaping and celebrating emerging national identities.

PROTESTANT RELIGIOUS CHANGE. The spectacular growth of Protestant-related faiths in Latin America is now the subject of a large body of scholarly publications. In the twentieth century such groups as the Jehovah's Witnesses, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Baptists, and Presbyterians have become firmly established in every Latin American country, and over half of all Protestant members practice some type of Pentecostal worship. In most cases, U.S. Protestant missionaries helped to establish these groups early on. Later, new churches developed authochtonous leadership and adapted their worship to local cultures. For instance, two Swedish Americans founded the first Pentecostal church in Brazil in 1910, Assambléias de Deus. The church has long since become totally Brazilian in its hierarchy and operation. Migrants to the United States often have imported Pentecostal or other Protestant models for building native churches. In 1914 Romana Valenzuela established the first Mexican Pentecostal church in Chihuahua State, following her contact with William Seymour's Azusa Street Mission. Her Iglesia Apostólica de la Fe en Cristo Jesús had grown to 130 congregations by 1944. Mexico's largest Protestant church is Iglesia de La Luz del Mundo (Light of the World), founded by a prophet from Guadalajara in the 1920s. The church has charismatic leadership and a sectarian colony organizational model, with colonies in various parts of central and eastern Mexico. La Luz del Mundo has expanded into the United States, carried by missionaries and Mexican immigrants.

Pentecostal churches have several features that substantially enhance their appeal among masses of folk Catholics. Pastors require little or no formal education in the ministry, and most possess class and cultural backgrounds similar to those of their working-class congregants. Pentecostal worship is ecstatic, involving a heightened emotional style through the use of *glossolalia* (speaking in tongues), lively music, liturgical dancing, and testimonials. Pentecostal churches are mostly local, independent congregations rooted in oral tradition. Pentecostals see the causes of illness largely in the folk-Catholic terms of negative spiritual forces, such as witchcraft, which only the Holy Spirit can banish. Most Pentecostal converts are attracted by promises of miraculous cures, something of great importance in an impoverished environment. They often remain because they either witness or receive a miraculous healing. Brazil's largest Pentecostal (or neo-Pentecostal) church, Edir Maçedo's Universal Church of the Kingdom of God, specializes in exorcising Umbanda *orishas*. The spirits are believed to cause mental confusion that prevents the nonbeliever from making prudent lifestyle decisions and becoming a prosperous wage-earner or entrepreneur.

The growth of evangelical Protestantism, Mormonism, and the Jehovah's Witnesses as a whole is supported by an ascetic ethic that rejects the male prestige complex of heavy alcohol consumption and sexual conquests, along with secular entertainments in general. Women's interests in domesticating their husbands and sons thus drive much of the expansion. Pentecostal congregations in Brazil and elsewhere draw strong distinctions between the folk-Catholic male domain of the street and the household. Male Pentecostal converts in Brazil are said to change from being "kings of the street" to "masters of the house." Protestant emphases on work, frugality, marital fidelity, and financial security of the family helps converts to maintain personal health and to accumulate assets. Although women do not usually acquire ministerial status within these churches, neither do they escape a patriarchal social system, but they do welcome the investments that a man makes in his household as a result of his conversion. Women also receive treatment as spiritual equals in the churches, because they have the gift of the Spirit, give testimonials, and serve in congregational ministries. In Mesoamerican and Andean indigenous communities, evangelical or Mormon frugality and the rejection of Catholicism enable converts to abandon systems of ritual obligation, such as the fiesta system, that hinder the accumulation of capital. Thus, studies of non-Catholic conversion are contributing ethnographic perspectives towards the critique of Max Weber's thesis linking the the capitalist ethic to the rise of Protestant values.

An interesting counterpoint to Pentecostal recruitment rates is the fact that Pentecostal churches tend to have the highest apostasy rates of all Latin American Protestant churches. The drop-out rate results partly from tension with the broader society and stringent behavioral and commitment norms. Congregants may be expected to attend long, ecstatic evening worship services twice a week, producing burn-out and lack of moral compliance, particularly for males. Thus, most Pentecostal groups rely on constant proselytization for replacement and sustained growth.

Latin American Pentecostalism may be understood as a largely endogenous movement, generated out of a folk-Catholic milieu. Since folk Catholicism is a practical religious variety that places high value on thaumaturgy, Pentecostal claims do not fundamentally break from the dominant religious worldview of the poor. Latin American Pentecostalism entails a redirecting of folk-Catholic belief. Nonetheless, Pentecostal and other non-Catholic groups significantly differ from surrounding society in the formation of corporate structures. Corporateness is marked and reinforced by a sense of spiritual election, signalled by glossolalia and baptism of the Spirit in Pentecostalism. Evangelicals often refer to themselves as *creyentes* or *crentes* (believers), distinguishing themselves from the dominant Catholic milieu. Church structures exert needed social pressure for healing the social illnesses associated with the male prestige complex and maintaining separation from worldliness. Dense internal networks of believers and tithing provide members with security, the faith that their investment in the church will mystically give them a return of health and prosperity. Such features are largely absent in spirit cults and folk Catholicism, whose practitioners do not profess a clear break with worldly behaviors.

Political adaptations of Protestant groups are far from uniform in Latin America. Major denominations have formed political associations at the national level to defend their interests. Unlike the mainline Protestant churches, the majority of Pentecostal congregations are small and marginal and have no bureaucracies to represent them before the state. In Mexico and other countries with histories of hostility towards Protestants, Pentecostals are often vulnerable to persecutions and discrimination by government and the general populace. In Chiapas State, Mexico, Maya traditionalists and folk Catholics have forcibly expelled large numbers of Protestants from Chamula. In recent years, the Mexican government considered a measure, backed by the country's Catholic bishops, that would have excluded any church having less than 1.5 percent of the national population from being recognized officially as a religious association. Obviously, this would rule out most Mexican Pentecostal groups.

In Brazil and Mexico, Pentecostal pastors may seek to forge patron-client ties with powerful political figures, exchanging votes for "God's candidate" for material improvements for their congregants. Bargaining of this sort often leads to public controversy. La Luz del Mundo has courted the Mexican official party, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI), bringing party officials to their mother colony in Guadalajara. Pentecostal members are likely to hold that divine blessings accrue to the church from working within a system of political patronage. By contrast, progressive Catholic groups, such as the Base Ecclesial Communities, attempt to improve conditions for the poor through direct confrontation and political activism. Pentecostal ideology deemphasizes political activism in part because of a fundamentalist scriptural orientation, supporting the notion that secular authorities are divinely sanctioned. Their viewpoint derives in large measure from their reading of *Romans* 14:1–2.

Pentecostal orientation towards political participation with other Protestants is changing somewhat in response to economic hardship and political crises. In Chiapas, the winner of the gubernatorial election of 2000 was the independent candidate, Pablo Salazar Mendicuchia, a lawyer with a Presbyterian and Nazarene family background. He ran on a platform critical of governmental neglect of indigenous rights and failure to resolve the guerrilla conflict in the state. Salazar was backed by Presbyterians, Nazarenes, Baptists, and the Assemblies of God, as well as the liberal and influential Catholic bishop, Samuel Ruiz. The first Protestant Mexican governor, Salazar has created effective ecumenical committees to resolve long-standing religious conflicts in his state, which has the largest non-Catholic population in Mexico. In recent years, Mexican Pentecostals have begun to discuss the formation of local evangelical political parties.

Protestant ideology and organization are highly adaptive in both rural and urban environments. The Protestant work ethic and its associated asceticism enable followers to gain some upward mobility and to foster a sense of well-being and cooperation. Latin American societies will continue to engender a wide range of spiritual traditions in response to the rapid socioeconomic and cultural changes sweeping the region.

For five centuries, movements of religious change in Latin America have generated remarkably wide-ranging blends of native and exogenous religious influences. The revitalization process has served as a potent means of defending indigenous cultures, advancing political ideologies, restoring health, and bringing hope to the marginalized in the region. Thus, new religious activities among Latin American peoples richly illustrate the dynamic nature of their cultures and identities.

SEE ALSO Afro-Brazilian Religions; Kardecism; Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity; Spiritualism; Yoruba Religion.

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MIGUEL C. LEATHAM (2005)

NEW TESTAMENT SEE BIBLICAL LITERATURE

NEW THOUGHT MOVEMENT. The New Thought movement is a diverse and loosely affiliated collection of religious communities that share an idealistic theology, an optimistic worldview, and an emphasis on religious rituals that focus on personal well-being, health, and material success. The movement emerged in the United States in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and was well established by the first decade of the twentieth. It is the largest movement in what is often broadly referred to as the "metaphysical" tradition, which also includes Christian Science, Theosophy, and Spiritualism. In theory and practice, New Thought, like Christian Science, is a popular expression of religious idealism, and idealism is the unifying foundation of all forms of New Thought. Emma Curtis Hopkins (1849–1925) is properly cited as the founder of the movement, with its immediate precursors including Mary Baker Eddy (1821–1910) and her Church of Christ, Scientist; Phineas Parkhurst Quimby (1802–1866) and his students; the New England "Mind Cure" movement; and various independent groups and individuals practicing mental healing. Other less significant but notable formative influences can be attributed to Swedenborgianism, spiritualism, New England Transcendentalism, the Hegelian Societies of the late nineteenth century, imported forms of Hinduism (especially Vedānta), and secularization. New Thought is still centered in the United States, although the movement is well represented throughout the world.

The New Thought movement has revealed sustained growth throughout the twentieth century, and since the 1950s it has supplied institutional legitimation and theological support to the alternative healing movement and various beliefs and practices associated with the New Age movement. The impact of New Thought on American culture is revealed in its role as a precursor to and possible precipitating influence on popular psychology and the self-help movement, the ordination of women as ministers in mainstream Protestantism, best-selling popularizations of idealism such as Napoleon Hill's *Think and Grow Rich* (1937) and Norman Vincent Peale's *Power of Positive Thinking* (1952), and the development of prosperity and success teachings in secular culture and mainstream Protestantism.

Despite its longevity and impact on American culture, New Thought and its various subgroups have received little scholarly attention, although publications by Gail M. Harley, Beryl Satter, John K. Simmons, and J. Gordon Melton have offered good insights into certain aspects of its formative period. Encyclopedias and general texts on new religions often have brief sections on New Thought or representative groups (especially Unity), as do textbooks on religion in America. As often as not, however, New Thought is absent in general dictionaries of religion and textbooks on world religions. There are no critical histories of the movement and no significant scholarly treatments of its theology. In this regard, Charles S. Braden's now dated *Spirits in Rebellion* (1963) still offers the only general history of New Thought, and J. Stillson Judah's equally dated *History and Philosophy of the Metaphysical Movements in America* (1967) is the best overview of the movement's theology.

WORLDVIEW, PRACTICES, AND AIMS. As a contemporary manifestation of popular religious idealism, the deepest historical roots of New Thought can be traced to Plato (428–348 BCE), the father of the idealist tradition in philosophy. Other distant forebears include ancient Gnosticism, Neoplatonism, and pre-Nicean forms of Christianity associated with the Alexandrian school and typified by Origen (185–254). Philosophical precursors in the modern period are Rationalists such as René Descartes (1596–1650) and Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677), and Idealists such as Johann Fichte (1763–1814) and G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831).

New Thought's brand of idealism holds that the ultimate basis of existence is mental (God as Mind) and all material/physical conditions are secondary to and products of human mental states and conditions. What this means for New Thought is that consciousness, ideas, and thoughts are the basis of reality and function as the casual forces behind all material/physical phenomena—from objects, including human bodies, to the events and circumstances of an individual's life. A formal statement of New Thought's foundational idealism is offered in the "Declaration of Principles" of the International New Thought Alliance (INTA), which declares (among other claims): "We affirm God as Mind, Infinite Being, Spirit, Ultimate Reality. . . . [and] that our mental states are carried forward into manifestation and become our experience in daily living" ("Declaration of Principles," 2001, p. 19). In principle, New Thought's idealism is similar to that of Christian Science, yet unlike the earlier movement, New Thought generally interprets matter and physical experiences in a positive light, viewing them as limited (but perfectible) manifestations of Spirit (Divine Mind). In this regard, New Thought groups tend to be world-affirming, harmonial (with respect to ultimate reality and humans), and proponents of human spiritual evolution.

In New Thought the ultimate power (e.g., God, Mind, Divine Mind, Principle, Truth, Intelligence) is understood as supremely good (the Good) and the ground of perfection. The omnipotence of the Good is expressed succinctly in INTA's Declaration of Principles as follows: "We affirm that God, the Good, is supreme, universal and eternal" ("Declaration of Principles," 2001, p. 19). The essence of humanity is divine, and humans are seen as spiritual beings that are linked with Divine Mind through their highest consciousness (e.g., Christ Mind, superconsciousness, Christ within). This relationship of unity is analogous to the relationship of *brahman* (the manifestation of ultimate reality) and *ātman* (the self) in Hinduism, as well as understandings of the human essence found in the Western Esoteric tradition, influenced by Neoplatonism and Gnosticism.

The failure of humans to fully demonstrate their innate spiritual perfection is the result of ignorance and wrong thinking (e.g., "error thought" and "mortal consciousness"). New Thought believes that because human consciousness is causative it is the source for all the experiences and conditions in a person's life—both positive and negative. Negative experiences and conditions (illness, poverty, theft, death, etc.) are the result of negative states in consciousness, and positive experiences and conditions are the result of positive states. The key to eliminating specific negative conditions and creating a tendency to ever more positive experiences is based in the belief that all persons are in essence spiritual beings, and that Divine Mind is accessible to human minds. When Divine Mind is properly engaged by human consciousness, the Good is brought into material/physical manifestation, thus eliminating negative experiences and conditions and replacing them with positive ones. This engagement is believed to occur "scientifically" through precise and systematic religious exercises, such as prayer, "spiritual treatment," "visualization," "affirmations," and, in some cases, "denials."

Through continued practice of these exercises (which are typically quite specific and individualized but may be general and collective) an individual's consciousness becomes increasingly attuned to the "Truth" so that the reality of Divine Mind is more frequently brought into manifestation. As a result, adherents may report improvement in general and specific conditions of their lives. This thoroughgoing idealism forms the basis of New Thought's theology and the foundation for its optimistic worldview. It is the premise upon which the movement's primary myths and rituals are predicated.

In practice, most New Thought rituals are individualistic in focus and aim to bring about improvements in precise areas of a special concern to individuals. The most common areas are the following: physical and emotional health, material prosperity, and personal relationships. Corporate religious activities are less common than individual religious practices, although New Thought congregations routinely engage in group prayer and treatment rituals. The movement as a whole affirms a positive expectancy for humanity and a belief in spiritual evolution, but individual groups are seldom socially active and tend to be silent on political, economic, and legal issues.

Early in its history, New Thought produced two notable theorists, Warren Felt Evans (1817–1889) and Horatio Dresser (1866–1954), but the movement as a whole rejected their scholarly explications of religious idealism in favor of the popular approaches utilized by Emma Curtis Hopkins and her students. As a result, the New Thought movement has never articulated its idealistic cosmology in a formal philosophical context. Rather, it has restricted academic horizons, it lacks a systematic theology, and it has developed no schools of higher learning. Nonetheless, in an era that has seen the devaluation of idealism in the academic community, especially among professional philosophers, it is significant that New Thought has remained firmly committed to its idealistic theology. Equally significant is the sustained growth of the movement in light of the decline of America's other major version of popular religious idealism, Christian Science.

ORIGINS, DEVELOPMENT, LEADERS. As a unique expression of human religiosity, New Thought is a decidedly American religious phenomenon. From its birth in the 1880s in the Chicago ministry of Emma Curtis Hopkins, New Thought emerged in the context of (and was enriched by) the secularization process. Although the roots of New Thought can be traced to Christian Science, Mind Cure, and the mental healing movement, from its earliest days New Thought offered a unique and comprehensive interpretation of individual existence and humanity as a whole. Mental healing has continued to be a major component in New Thought systems, but as the movement grew the implications of mental healing expanded beyond bodily healing to include all areas of life. This is especially to be noted in the movement's "prosperity" teachings, which began to develop in the late 1880s.

The decisive origin of the movement, per se, can be traced to the writing, teaching, and evangelical ministry of Hopkins, a former student and professional associate of the founder of Christian Science, Mary Baker Eddy. Strong arguments are sometimes advanced for ascribing its origin to Phineas Parkhurst Quimby, a mental healer and former mesmerist who shared his technique with a small circle of his clients. Another reasonable source for New Thought is Christian Science and Eddy herself. Eddy had been a client and student of Quimby and later a teacher of Hopkins. Hopkins's dissatisfaction with Eddy's religion, and possibly a professional misunderstanding between the two women, led to Hopkins's separation from Eddy's work and her development of an independent form of Christian Science in Chicago in the mid-1880s.

Hopkins's Chicago work led to the establishment of a seminary and, beginning in 1889, the ordination of ministers. On the basis of her encouragement, Hopkins's students took the New Thought message to all parts of the United States, chiefly the emerging urban centers of the Midwest and West, in particular San Francisco, Denver, Kansas City, and Saint Louis. Included among the major New Thought leaders who studied with Hopkins were Kate (Mrs. Frank) Bingham, the teacher of Nona Brooks (1861–1945) and a founder of Divine Science; Malinda Cramer (1844–1906), also a founder of Divine Science; Charles Fillmore (1854–1948) and Myrtle Fillmore (1845–1931), co-founders of Unity; Annie Rix Militz (1856–1924), a prominent author in Unity's early years, founder of Homes of Truth, and publisher of *Master Mind* (1911–1931) magazine; Helen Wilmans (1835–1907), the founder of Mental Science; Frances Lord, who carried New Thought to England; H. Emilie Cady (1848–1941), author of New Thought's most widely disseminated text, Unity's *Lessons In Truth*; Ella Wheeler Wilcox (1850–1919), poet and syndicated columnist; and Elizabeth Towne (1865–1960), INTA president (1924–1925) and the publisher of the major New Thought periodical, *The Nautilus* (1898–1954). After her retirement from public teaching and administrative work, Hopkins tutored Ernest S. Holmes (1887–1960), founder of Religious Science. All told, by the time Hopkins left active ministry in 1895, she had ordained more than one hundred persons, and these, together with numerous others who had been exposed to her work, formed the first generation of New Thought leaders. For this reason, Hopkins was referred to as "the teacher of teachers" in the movement.

As Hopkins's version of Christian Science transformed itself into New Thought, the younger movement became clearly distinguished from Eddy's work. Aside from abandoning the term *Christian Science* in its self-references, the three most prominent distinctions pertain to the status of doctrine, the material world, and medicine. In contrast to Christian Science, New Thought and its representative groups have no authoritative doctrines, and even in denominations with distinct and venerated founders (e.g., Unity and Religious Science) the authority of the founder's teachings is minimal at best. New Thought also differs from Christian Science in its generally positive evaluation of the material world. In distinction to Christian Science beliefs, in New Thought, matter is not illusionary and the material world is not antithetical to Spirit (Divine Mind). Instead, New Thought tends to view the material world (including humankind) as an extension or expression of Spirit, which is growing toward perfection. Finally, New Thought is not opposed to the medical resolution of physical illness. In conformity with its generally optimistic and harmonial worldview, New Thought embraces all forms of healing, including traditional Western medicine.

Entering the twentieth century, New Thought's idealistic theology and optimistic worldview allowed it to assume a congenial stance relative to the new realities of American life: secularization, urbanization, industrialization, pluralism, and consumerism. Called "the religion of healthy mindedness" by William James in *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902), the movement affirmed a positive vision of humanity and sacralized critical aspects of what was coming to be the American dream: health, wealth, and peace of mind. Its message of happiness and prosperity had particular resonance with members of the expanding urban middle class, which was then reaching majority status and sociocultural self-consciousness. It was this class that first embraced New Thought, and it has remained the primary source for membership in the movement.

From a practical standpoint, and in addition to its idealistic principles and "scientific" optimism, New Thought's early and enduring success is owed to five major factors, probably in this order: (1) confidence of its leaders and movement-building; (2) professional empowerment of women; (3) prosperity teachings; (4) skillful use of mass media; and (5) a general ease with and adaptability to secularization.

The confidence of the early New Thought leaders was intense. Zealous missionaries, they believed in the truth of their message with the evangelical ardor frequently expressed by members of young and dynamic religions. The writings and addresses of Hopkins's and her students reveal the confidence typical of early New Thought leaders, with Hopkins's "Baccalaureate Address" (1891) and *High Mysticism* (1920) serving as representative texts. Following Hopkins's model, many of her students developed distinct movements of their own, establishing ministerial schools, ordaining ministers, and sending them forth to establish religious communities (churches, societies, centers, and temples), then networking these communities together into distinct, though loosely structured, denominations. Examples of this developmental strategy include Hopkins's own movement, Wilmans's Mental Science Association, Militz's Homes of Truth, the Fillmore's Unity School of Christianity, and Cramer's and Brooks's Divine Science. Although many of the early denominations were short-lived, Unity and Divine Science, both founded in the 1880s, have endured, ranking first and third, respectively, in size at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

The majority of Hopkins's students and ministers were women, and the early movement had a distinctly feminist character and public profile. Hopkins appears to have been the first woman in modern times to ordain women as Christian ministers. As a consequence, New Thought had particular appeal to women with professional aspirations who were otherwise often excluded from public life. The professional empowerment of women contributed to the early success of New Thought by not only attracting talented women to the movement, but also reform-minded men and persons of both genders with progressive social visions. The movement has maintained its commitment to female leadership, with women forming the majority of New Thought ministers.

New Thought's growth was also fueled by its promotion of prosperity teachings, whose deepest cultural influences can be traced to the Calvinist notion of the "visible signs" of one's predestination for salvation. Other contributing influences were Benjamin Franklin and Ralph Waldo Emerson, both of whom proposed methods of general self-improvement, which they believed would also lead to economic success. An even more direct influence was the expansion of economic opportunity for members of the middle class in the late nineteenth century, as well as the growing acceptance that material affluence was a cultural ideal if not a moral imperative. New Thought offered the promise that affluence could be achieved; in fact, New Thought affirmed that God wanted all people to be prosperous. Through its prosperity techniques, which were essentially extensions of its mental-healing methods, New Thought introduced itself to America's middle class as a religion that proclaimed the spiritual virtue of affluence and financial success. In this regard, New Thought's prosperity teachings have affinities with Andrew Carnegie's *Gospel of Wealth* (1900) and later Napoleon Hill's *Think and Grow Rich* (1937). Prosperity continues to be a major theme of New Thought literature, with Charles Fillmore's *Prosperity* (1936) and Catherine Ponder's *The Dynamic Laws of Prosperity* (1962) being classics of the genre.

From its earliest days, New Thought leaders were quick to recognize the potential of the mass media. By the early twentieth century, periodicals with a national reach were widely used to disseminate the New Thought message to the general public. They also served to maintain the networks of the developing denominations. Later (and this is especially true of Unity), New Thought leaders made extensive use of radio. Only with the dawning of television did New Thought's aggressive use of advanced media technology begin to decline. In the twenty-first century, New Thought denominations and many individual churches have websites, and worship services of larger churches are aired on radio and cable television in most metropolitan areas. Although both the number and circulation of New Thought publications have been declining since the mid-twentieth century, major New Thought groups continue to publish periodicals, including Unity's *Daily Word*, the United Church of Religious Science's *Science of Mind*, and INTA's *New Thought*. *Daily Word* is the largest of these publications, with over a million subscribers.

Unlike many traditional forms of American religion, New Thought was not and is not antagonistic to the astonishing transformation of culture and society wrought by secularization. Rather than decrying the sins of secularization, New Thought either ignored or actively embraced the widespread cultural change that characterized Western culture in the twentieth century. In doing so, New Thought has proven itself remarkably adaptable to and implicitly (if not explicitly) supportive of pluralism, individualism, racial and gender equality, modifications in traditional gender roles and family structures, globalization, and consumerism. Nonetheless, in harmony with its general apolitical character, the movement has seldom taken public positions advocating social change.

MAJOR COMMUNITIES. The twenty-first-century New Thought movement is comprised of numerous religious communities, most of which are small independent churches, although several can be rightly classified as denominations.

Divine Science. Among these major groups, the oldest is Divine Science. The roots of Divine Science can be traced to the ministry of Malinda E. Cramer in San Francisco in 1888 and, more significantly, to the work of three sisters (Fannie Brooks James, Alethea Brooks, and especially Nona Brooks) in Denver in the 1890s. Cramer's International Divine Science Association (founded in 1892) was the first national organization of New Thought religious communities and arguably the predecessor of INTA. Of the major forms of New Thought, Divine Science has been the least evangelistic and least institutionalized.

In the late 1990s a small number of churches separated from the original Divine Science Federation, forming the United Divine Science Ministries. Central texts of Divine Science are Cramer's *Divine Science and Healing* (1902) and a compilation from the works of Cramer and Fannie Brooks James, *Divine Science: Its Principle and Practice* (1957). The movement's most recognized leader was Emmet Fox (1886–1951), the author of numerous widely popular texts, including *The Sermon on the Mount* (1934) and *Power Through Constructive Thinking* (1940). His pamphlet *The Golden Key* (1937) offers an abbreviated outline of spiritual healing treatment as it is practiced in New Thought, and his idealistic maxim, "life is consciousness," is among the most well-known aphorisms in the movement. Divine Science is the smallest of New Thought's denominations, with a total membership of less than five thousand as of 2004.

Unity is second oldest and most clearly Christian denomination in New Thought. It is the largest and most culturally prominent New Thought group. Unity was cofounded in Kansas City in 1889 by Charles and Myrtle Fillmore, a married couple. From its inception as a prayer and publication ministry, it has experienced relatively sustained growth. Since 1966 it has been represented by two loosely affiliated organizations: Unity School of Christianity and the Association of Unity Churches. Unity School, located at Unity Village in Kansas City, Missouri, is the largest material complex in New Thought. It is the successor of the Fillmores' original organization and directs the denomination's publishing, prayer, and education ministries. The Association manages Unity's ecclesiastical operations, ordains ministers, supervises churches, and directs expansion.

Two other small independent Unity groups emerged in the 1990s: the Unity-Progressive Council and the World Federation for Practical Christianity (formerly the World Federation of Independent Unity Churches [name changed in 2003]). Unity's primary textbook ("together with the Bible") is Cady's *Lessons in Truth*, which was first published as a series of articles in *Unity* magazine beginning in 1894. Unity is New Thought's largest book publisher, and, among its sizable collection of texts, two of the more distinctive are Charles Fillmore's *Christian Healing* (1909) and *The Twelve Powers of Man* (1930). His *Metaphysical Bible Dictionary* (1931) is New Thought's only comprehensive lexicon offering a "metaphysical" (allegorical) interpretation of the names of persons and places found in the Bible. Outside of New Thought, Unity is perhaps best known for its prayer ministry, Silent Unity, which receives about one million contacts annually—a number far in excess of the total number of active Unity participants. There are nearly one thousand ministries and study groups worldwide, with membership probably in the 150,000 range.

Religious Science. The second largest New Thought denomination is Religious Science, founded in Los Angeles in 1927 by Ernest Holmes. Originally established as the Institute of Religious Science and Philosophy, churches were being established by the 1940s, and the movement began to develop a more traditional religious appearance. In 1954, tensions over ecclesiastical structure led to a schism, with a small number of churches separating from what became the United Church of Religious Science and forming what became Religious Science International. Over the years, the two groups have maintained a relatively cordial relationship, with the major differences being organizational rather than doctrinal. In the early 1990s a third Religious Science organization was formed: Global Religious Science Ministries.

Religious Science is notable for its rejection of identification with Christianity. The United Church remains the largest branch of the denomination. All branches of Religious Science recognize Holmes's *Science of Mind* (1926) as their foundational text. Other notable works by Holmes are *This Thing Called Life* (1943) and *What Religious Science Teaches* (1944). Total membership in all branches of Religious Science is around sixty thousand worldwide.

Universal Foundation for Better Living. The youngest New Thought denomination is the Universal Foundation for Better Living (UFBL), founded in Chicago in 1974 by Johnnie Colemon (Johnnie May Colemon Nedd). UFBL is the most successful Unity-derived movement, although there are no formal ties between UFBL and Unity's historical institutions. Prior to the founding of UFBL, Colemon had been a successful minister in the Unity movement, developing a large congregation in Chicago, expanding the reach of New Thought teachings to the African American community, and serving as the President of the Association of Unity Churches (1970). Institutional disagreements led to the founding of UFBL, which was originally founded as Unity Foundation for Better Living but changed by Colemon when authorities in the Unity movement challenged the use of the name "Unity." The current President is Mary Ann Tumpkin, who replaced Johnnie Colemon in 1996.

UFBL bases its beliefs on the traditional teachings of the Unity movement, especially as promulgated in the works of Unity's founders, Myrtle and Charles Fillmore, and H. Emilie Cady's *Lessons In Truth.* The movement is strongly committed to higher learning in the New Thought tradition and has developed a number of unique educational initiatives, most notably a project to establish an accredited New Thought seminary.

The movement is the third largest New Thought denomination, with 27 affiliated religious communities and an estimated 20,000 members. In addition to the USA, UFBL has affiliated groups in Canada, the Bahamas, Jamaica, and Guyana. It publishes a monthly devotional magazine, *Daily Inspiration for Better Living.*

INTA. Properly speaking, the International New Thought Alliance (INTA) is not a denomination but rather an umbrella organization comprised of religious groups, individual churches, and individuals. INTA is the most democratically structured of all the major New Thought groups, with full membership rights extended to laypersons. Its general aims are to promote the New Thought movement as a whole, disseminate New Thought teachings internationally, and facilitate solidarity among all New Thought participants. INTA was founded in 1914, although its roots can be traced to predecessor groups dating to the 1890s. Throughout its history, the success of INTA has largely been contingent on the support of the major New Thought denominations and prominent leaders in the movement. Since the early 1990s the significance of INTA appears to have decreased as individual denominations have grown in size and institutional self-identity. In addition, a leadership struggle in 1996 resulted in a number of influential leaders leaving INTA to form the Association for Global New Thought. The president of INTA in 2004 was Blaine C. Mays, who became president in 1974 and held the office longer than any other INTA president. The Alliance publishes *New Thought*, a quarterly magazine, and its creedlike "Declaration of Principles" embodies the general beliefs of most New Thought adherents.

Seicho-no-Ie. The global scope of New Thought is reflected in its presence on all continents and in more than sixty countries, with a particularly strong presence in sub-Saharan Africa. A related movement, Seicho-no-Ie (Home of Infinite Life, or House of Blessing), was founded by Masaharu Taniguchi (1893–1985) in Japan in 1930. Taniguchi was inspired in part by Religious Science, and the movement's foundational idealism and optimistic worldview suggests a close affinity with traditional New Thought beliefs. Seicho-no-Ie is, however, more broadly syncretistic than other New Thought groups and includes elements of Buddhism and Shintō otherwise not found in the movement. Seicho-no-Ie is also more socially conservative and politically active than traditional New Thought denominations. If included within the movement, Seicho-no-Ie would be by far New Thought's largest denomination, with a worldwide membership of over 1.25 million, including 400,000 to 500,000 members in Brazil.

SEE ALSO Hopkins, Emma Curtis; Unity.

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DELL DECHANT (2005)

NEWTON, ISAAC (1642–1727), widely regarded as the greatest scientist of all time. Born prematurely (at Woolsthorpe, Lincolnshire, England), Newton developed into a physically weak, lonely, unhappy child; he was also an indifferent student until an encounter with a school bully roused him to excel. In 1661, he entered Trinity College at Cambridge University, where he showed no distinction until he came under the influence of Isaac Barrow, a professor of mathematics. A man of great insight, Barrow was the first to recognize Newton's genius; in fact, he resigned his professorship so that Newton, at age twenty-six, could be appointed to it.

Shortly after Newton graduated in 1665, the university was closed because of plague, and he had to return to Woolsthorpe. There he spent eighteen months in studies that laid the foundation for much of his later work. He discovered the binomial theorem, differential and integral calculus, the theory of color, several other important theorems in mathematics, and the celebrated law of gravitation—which for nearly 250 years was regarded as the epitome and exemplar of scientific laws of nature.

Newton's interests were both mathematical and experimental. He invented a reflecting telescope to free telescopes from the chromatic aberration of refracting lenses. He presented a small version of his telescope to the Royal Society, which honored him by electing him a fellow when he was only thirty. In 1672, when Newton published his new theory of light and color—including the experiments showing that white light can be separated into its component colors by a prism—the society was bombarded with letters disputing his conclusions. Some of the correspondents were scientists of note, among them Robert Hooke and Christiaan Huygens. The controversy affected Newton greatly and, thereafter, he tended to withdraw from the public eye. Though he had vowed after the controversy not to publish any further discoveries, he did, in fact, continue to publish.

Newton conceived a proprietary interest in every subject he investigated; there was hardly any achievement of his creative scientific life that was unaccompanied by acrimony and quarreling. This was largely owing to a great deal of paranoia and self-doubt in Newton's personality. His ego needed to be continually bolstered by the praise and admiration of others, a trait that may have had its cause in Newton's humble origins—his father was a yeoman, a fact that always made Newton uneasy and that he tried to obscure by inventing grandiose genealogies for himself.

In 1684, Newton received a visit from the astronomer Edmond Halley, who consulted him about some mathematical points concerning gravitational attraction (Halley and Hooke had been working on this problem for some time). To Halley's great surprise, Newton replied that he had already made these calculations many years earlier, but that he could not find the appropriate papers. Halley urged Newton to recalculate, using his original theorems, and to prepare a manuscript for the Royal Society. Halley showed enormous tact and good judgment in not letting Hooke's claim to the inverse-square law of gravitation and the attendant acrimony between Hooke and Newton vitiate the whole project. Financed by moneys from Halley's personal funds, Newton's work was finally published in 1687 under the title *Philosophia naturalis principia mathematica*.

Newton's *Principia*, as it has come to be known, is justifiably regarded as the greatest scientific work ever produced. It integrated into one coherent whole diverse data and mathematical principles concerning the motion of material particles and gravitation. As the publication of Copernicus's *De revolutionibus* in 1543 marked the beginning of the great scientific revolution, the publication of the *Principia* marked its completion and the beginning of the modern scientific age.

Indeed, Newton is often described as the inaugurator of the "age of reason." Alexander Pope hailed him thus:

> Nature and Nature's laws lay hid in night: God said, let Newton be! and all was light.

And many were other accolades from philosophers, theologians, and poets, although few of them ever read the *Principia* or had the mathematical ability to comprehend it, as the philosopher John Locke confessed about himself. For his own and the immediately succeeding generation, Newton epitomized reason, sound judgment, and even saintly goodness. But by the beginning of the nineteenth century, poets like Blake, Wordsworth, Shelley, and Keats had vilified Newton, identifying him—and the science that he had helped create—with the forces of mechanization that were despiritualizing the cosmos. Blake, for example, regarded Newton, along with Locke and Francis Bacon, as a member of an "infernal trinity" that had a satanic influence on "Albion," by which Blake meant unspoiled England, or archetypal man.

In 1693, Newton suffered a sort of nervous breakdown. He had represented the university as a member of Parliament since 1689, and he had devotedly attended to his mother during her final illness, and these responsibilities must have weighed on him. After his recovery, he resumed his life in London, where he became warden and later master of the Royal Mint. In 1703 he became president of the Royal Society, a post he used, often unscrupulously, in his various and many feuds, including one with G. W. Leibniz over the question as to which of them had first discovered differential calculus. He published his *Opticks*, written in a very different style from the *Principia*, in 1704; it was actually read not only by his scientific colleagues but also by other intellectuals. He was knighted in 1705. Shortly before his death, he removed to the country air of the village of Kensington. He died there in 1727, without having requested last rites. He was buried alongside kings and princes in Westminster Abbey.

Throughout his life—and by no means only during his nervous breakdown, as some have maintained—Newton was highly interested in theological, chronological, and alchemical studies. It is estimated that he wrote some two million words on these subjects, a total far surpassing that of his writings in mathematics and physics. Much of this material, particularly that on alchemy, consists of the writings of others that Newton copied for his own use, but he also wrote books of his own on these subjects. It may even be true, as Newton himself seems to have hinted, that his real interest lay in a wide and comprehensive knowledge that he hoped to acquire through alchemy and theology, and that he viewed his scientific studies only as amusing diversions. Since he could not, in general, be accused of excessive humility, we may have to understand in another light a well-known remark he made toward the end of his life: "I do not know what I may appear to the world; but to myself I seem to have been only like a boy, playing on the seashore, and diverting myself in now and then finding a smoother pebble or a prettier shell than ordinary, while the great ocean of Truth lay all undiscovered before me."

Newton certainly believed in the *prisca sapienta*, an ancient wisdom that had existed among priest-scientists such as the Chaldeans in Babylonia, the brahmans in India, and Moses and Pythagoras among the Hebrews and the Greeks. He believed that this wisdom was now largely lost, that he, Newton, was one of an esoteric brotherhood extending back to ancient times, and that he was redisclosing this knowledge in a new form, more mathematical than metaphysical or mythological. "Newton was not the first of the age of reason," the economist John Maynard Keynes concluded after examining Newton's alchemical papers. "He was the last of the magicians, the last of the Babylonians and Sumerians, the last great mind which looked out on the visible and the intellectual world with the same eyes as those who began to build our intellectual inheritance rather less than 10,000 years ago."

Newton was a staunch monotheist and strongly antitrinitarian. Perhaps owing to this, he never took holy orders and could not become the master of Trinity College. His antitrinitarian sentiment, however, was a dreadful secret that Newton tried desperately all his life to conceal. He himself often maintained the philosophical autonomy of nature and revelation, but for himself he certainly regarded his work in natural philosophy to be a gloria and a study of God's works. Future generations, in denigrating religion and exiling God from natural philosophy, were more influenced by the science and its mechanistic implications, a science of which he was the supreme representative and symbol, than by Newton's own example or beliefs. This trend would have horrified Newton, who felt an emotional, personal relationship with God. In fact, Newton himself would have wished to be regarded as a prophet of God.

See Also Alchemy, article on Renaissance Alchemy; Rosicrucians.

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NEW YEAR FESTIVALS.

The concept of year, which is found in all higher cultures (as solar year or lunar year or some combination of the two), is not known in all archaic cultures. Some cultures reckon only in periods of approximately six months; this is especially the case in tropical lands where seedtime and harvest come twice in the course of a single year. Even when the year is regarded as a basic division of time, the calculation is often based not (or not exclusively) on the sun and the moon but on the visibility of certain constellations; in tropical and subtropical areas, it is based with special frequency on the heliacal early rising of the Pleiades. The beginning of the year, or the "New Year," is often not a precise and fixed date that is astronomically determined (e.g., by equinoxes or solstices). Rather, it is a period that is determined by the annual vegetation cycle or, more generally, by climatic processes (passage from the dark period of the year to the bright, from the cold to the warm, from the stormy to the calm, from the dry to the rainy). Such periods are often accompanied by festivities, and when the interval between such festivities is approximately as long as a solar year, one is justified in speaking of New Year festivals.

Even where the year is known as a unit of time, it does not necessarily follow that the years are counted and that a chronology exists. "It is true indeed of most primitive peoples . . . that they are well acquainted with . . . the concrete phenomenon of the year . . . as a single period of the seasonal variation, but do not reckon in years in this sense. That is to say, the year is by them empirically given but not limited in the abstract: above all it is not a calendrical and numerical quantity" (Nilsson, 1920, p. 90). Thus in archaic cultures and in early high cultures the importance of New Year festivals is not, or is only in small measure, found in the fact that they are measures of time; the principal function of such ceremonies is to ensure, during a critical transitional period, a renewal of life and the life force. In fact in many instances they even assume the form of a symbolic new creation out of chaos.

Whereas New Year ceremonies vary widely from culture to culture, their meaning is essentially concerned with the phenomenon of transition or passage in its two aspects of "elimination" and "inauguration." What is old, exhausted, weakened, inferior, and harmful is to be eliminated, and what is new, fresh, powerful, good, and healthy is to be introduced and ensured. The first aspect finds expression in ceremonies of dissociation, purification, destruction, and so on. These involve washing, fasting, putting off or destroying old clothing, and quenching fires as well as the expulsion of sicknesses and evil powers (demons) through cries, noisemaking, and blows or through the dispatch of an animal or human being on which are loaded the sins of the previous period of time. The ceremonies may also reintroduce chaos through the dissolution of the social order and the suspension of taboos in force at other times and, in some cases, through the election of a temporary pseudo-king. The conflict between the old and the new time is also symbolized by ceremonial battles and by masquerades (in which the demons to be expelled or the creative ancestors of the primordial time may be represented). In addition there is often a temporary suspension of the division between the world of the living and the world of the dead, with a return of the latter to the houses of the living, where they receive sacrifices and food but from which they are ceremoniously dismissed at the end of the festal period.

The second and positive aspect of the passage from old to new is seen in the donning of new clothes, the lighting of a new fire, and the drawing of freshwater as well as in green branches and other symbols of life, in initiations (reception of young people into the cult community), and in orgiastic festive joy that leads to many kinds of excesses: immoderate eating, drinking, and dancing and, often, sexual orgies (these are to be regarded not only as a reintroduction of chaotic conditions but also as an attempt at the forcible augmentation of the life forces). In agrarian cultures there is often a suspension of taboos at the new harvest and the renewal of food reserves. Only rarely, however, are all these elements found conjoined. In any case, a purely phenomenological approach is inadequate and can even be misleading, because it presumes a fictitious universality. A phenomenological consideration of the traits common to New Year festivals must therefore be supplemented by a detailed examination of the form they have taken in the context of particular cultures. This kind of detailed analysis is extensively provided in works by Vittorio Lanternari (1959, 1976).

ARCHAIC CULTURES. In most archaic cultures New Year ceremonies are a dramatic representation of occurrences in the primordial time and, more specifically, of the *fondazione degli alimenti* or the establishment of the manner of obtaining food, which is recorded in myths about the primordial time. To this symbolic re-creation of the established order is added the concern with the expulsion of the unfavorable period of the year and the inauguration of the favorable period.

Hunting and food-gathering cultures. In most hunting and food-gathering cultures New Year ceremonies take place at a time when food is beginning to be scarce. In Australia this is usually toward the end of the dry period (in many parts of Australia the rainy season begins in October, in other parts in December). The San of the Kalahari Desert in southern Africa also conduct their New Year ceremonies at the beginning of the rainy season. Among the Selkʾnam (in the Tierra del Fuego archipelago) and the Andaman Islanders, the ceremonies focus chiefly on banishing the bad (cold or stormy) season of the year; elsewhere the emphasis is on inaugurating the good season with its abundant food (as in the ceremonies of the Australian Aborigines, which aim at an increase in certain species of animals). In the arctic climate of the Inuit (Eskimo) hunting (which consists chiefly of the slaying of marine mammals) is impossible during the winter months; these months are instead a time of intense ritual activity that reaches its climax at the winter solstice. Among the Inuit, religious exaltation finds expression in shamanistic activity and especially, as with hunters and food collectors generally, in dancing. These dances represent in dramatic form the events of the primordial time, that is, the deeds of the ancestors and culture heroes.

Unrestrained eating and drinking are not found at these feasts of hunters and gatherers, and sexual orgies are rare. Such orgies do occur among some Western Inuit tribes, but their New Year festivals clearly show the influence of the fishing cultures of the American Indians of the Northwest Coast. Among Australian Aborigines, sexual orgies are connected with initiations, but these are not part of New Year festivals. The belief in collective return of the dead from the sea is usually not found except among some few Inuit tribes, and in this case the form of the belief is connected with their manner of life as hunters of marine mammals, a connection found also in the belief systems of the fishing cultures. Finally, among hunting and food-gathering cultures, the sacrifice of firstlings is not part of New Year celebrations (as it is among nomadic herdsmen and cultivators). Where sacrifices of firstlings are customary, they are offered immediately after a successful hunt.

Fishing cultures. The term *fishing cultures* is here used in a broad sense to include those peoples who hunt chiefly marine mammals or even other sea animals, such as tortoises. Because the peoples in question are sedentary inhabitants of islands and coasts, they are also often agriculturalists, where climatic conditions allow. But where the character of experience is determined primarily by the group's relation to the sea, this relation manifests itself in the New Year festival. Thus even the time for the New Year festival is determined by the condition of the sea; the festival may occur at the solemn inauguration of the fishing period (when, for example, certain fish or other marine animals appear in great numbers) or at the close of this period (when fishing becomes impossible for a long time because of storms or excessive cold). Among the American Indians of the Northwest Coast (the Kwakiutl, Tsimshian, and others), the ceremonies take place when the salmon enter the rivers in great schools and the salmon catch begins; during the ceremonies certain parts of the catch are thrown back into the water (the same is done among some Inuit tribes of the Northwest Coast). Similar ceremonies are conducted by the coastal Koriak and coastal Chukchi, Siberian peoples who live chiefly by hunting whales and seals, but these ceremonies are conducted at the end of the hunting season.

An important element in the New Year festivals of fishing cultures is the belief in a collective return of the dead, especially of those drowned at sea; this idea is particularly important among peoples of the Northern Hemisphere, and it has left its mark on European folklore. Where sacrifices of the animals caught are offered (these are to be regarded in part as sacrifices of firstlings), they are addressed either to the sea as such or to the dead; in the former case a belief in a return of the animals to life is also of some importance at times.

Nomadic herding cultures. The special characteristics of New Year festivals among cattle-breeding nomads are most clearly seen in northern Eurasia, where the distinction between the cold and warm seasons of the year is pronounced. These peoples, whether breeders of reindeer (Saami, Samoyeds, Tunguz, Koriak, Chukchi) or breeders of horses, sheep, and cattle (Altai Tatars, Abakan Tatars, Yakuts, Mongols), celebrate their New Year festivals in the spring, when the vegetation revives, the animals produce their young, and milk and milk products are abundant. At this time sacrifices of firstlings are offered to the higher powers and especially to the supreme heavenly being in gratitude for the increase of the flocks; these offerings consist both of young animals and of bloodless victims (milk and milk products, such as koumiss, an alcoholic drink made of mare's milk); often too the rite of bloodless dedication of animals is practiced. Festive joy finds expression also in abundant meals and in sporting competitions that represent in symbolic form the victory of summer over winter.

In tropical regions the shift of seasons often occurs in a less striking way, and animals often produce young throughout the entire year. For this reason New Year festivals of the type found in northern Eurasia are rarely found among the herding peoples of Africa, except for certain festivals that occur before the beginning of the rainy season. But in subtropical regions, for example, in Southwest Asia, springtime festivals are found, or at least traces of them can be seen, as among the Arabs and in the Israelite Pesaḥ.

It can be said of all nomadic herding cultures that they do not have a belief in the regular collective return of the dead. Sexual orgies too are almost unknown among them.

Primitive cultivation cultures. According to Lanternari (1976), three types of agrarian cultures are to be distinguished: (1) primitive cultivators (tuber cultivators) without social stratification; (2) advanced cultivators with improved methods of tilling and a social stratification; and (3) grain growers, who already represent a transition to the high cultures. A vivid example of the New Year festivals of primitive tuber cultivators is the Milamala festival of the Trobriand Islanders of Melanesia, which Bronislaw Malinowski, in particular, described in great detail. It has its foundation in mythology and is celebrated for an entire lunar month, that is, in August–September, when the harvest of yams, which are the principal food, has been completed and there is thus an abundance of food. During the entire month work in the produce gardens is strictly forbidden; the time is spent in singing, dancing, eating copious meals, and engaging in sexual orgies. During this period the spirits of the dead enter the village and are offered food; at the end of the festive period they are ceremonially expelled.

Festivals of a similar character are widespread among the tribal peoples of Melanesia (Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Fiji, New Britain, New Ireland, New Guinea, New Caledonia), where the cultivation of tuberous plants everywhere provides the staple foods. Typical elements in these festivals are reverence for the earth (as agent of fruitfulness and dwelling place of the dead); the collective return of the dead, to whom sacrifices of firstfruits from the new harvests are offered; and the orgy in its various forms (copious meals, dances, sexual abandon). The collective return of the spirits of the dead and the sacrifice of firstfruits from the harvest are also documented outside Melanesia (in Africa, Indonesia, and elsewhere). In some parts of Melanesia cultic societies (of a more or less secret character) play a role in the New Year festivals. Other Melanesian tribes have special ceremonies not found in the Milamala festival, including, for example, initiatory celebrations, the appearance of masked dancers in dramatic presentations, and the slaying of large numbers of pigs. Moreover the Festival of Pigs frequently takes a form in which the enhancement of social prestige plays a special role. Whereas this particular festival is celebrated not annually but at longer intervals, there are nonetheless many indications that it was originally connected with the New Year festivals.

Sexual orgies are regarded as a means of intensifying the life force and promoting the fertility of plant life. Such celebrations are also found as part of the New Year celebrations among more highly developed agrarian cultures.

Advanced cultivation cultures. The culture of the Polynesians may be taken as a typical example of advanced cultivation cultures. Polynesian culture is based chiefly on the cultivation of the breadfruit tree; on some islands this is supplemented by taro or sweet potatoes, for which irrigation is used. Because of the climate, there is no sharp contrast between the seasons of the years and between periods of abundance and dearth. Surplus agricultural production has made possible the development of a hierarchic social order, often with a sacral or even divinized king at its apex. The upper classes are not directly involved in agricultural production but exercise other functions, particularly ritual ones. For this reason the purpose of the New Year ceremonies (which do not occur at the same time on all the islands) is less to ensure the food needed for life and much more to validate the social order: the first fruits of the harvest are not offered to the returning dead as a whole but to the kings and the chiefs (who then often make a further distribution of them) as well as to the royal ancestors and the gods; the latter are often of an agrarian-solar type. Ceremonial battles take place and at times a symbolic deposition or slaying of the king, followed by his reenthronement. Unrestrained dancing and sexual orgies are often part of the fertility cult, as they are among primitive cultivators. The New Year festival shows comparable forms with a similar content in various cultures that combine cultivation of the soil and cattle breeding and that also have a hierarchic social structure, such as among southeastern Bantu peoples, in West Africa, and in Madagascar.

Grain-growing cultures. The New Year festival in grain-growing cultures has much in common with the festival found in other agrarian cultures; there are, however, distinguishing features that can be seen among rice farmers (ancient Japan, ancient China) and maize growers (North America and Mesoamerica). The contrast between the cold, dark, and unfruitful and the warm, bright, and fertile periods of the year is marked (this opposition accounts, for example, for the great importance of new fire as a symbol of light in the New Year ceremonies—something also found among nonagrarian peoples of the north, such as the Inuit and northern Asiatics). In grain-growing cultures the sun, the influence of which on the growth of cereals is directly visible, is of paramount importance; not so among tuber cultivators, who ascribe fertility directly to the earth and the dead. (The great importance of the solar complex among the Polynesians can be traced back to Asian elements in their culture; a further significant similarity with East Asia is the importance of the sacral ruler for the general prosperity.) A dominant theme in the myths of grain growers is the marriage of heaven (the sun) and earth. In some grain-growing cultures the New Year festivals are connected with the solstices, in others with the revival of the vegetation in the spring or with the conclusion of the harvest.

CULTURES OF THE ANCIENT MIDDLE EAST AND OF THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD. The influence of the mythical ideas and corresponding rituals of the grain-growing cultures reaches into the agrarian and urban cultures of the ancient Middle East and of the Mediterranean region. In these cultures, however, the ceremonies are enriched with numerous new elements. First, the vegetative cycle and its accompanying round of agricultural labors determine the demarcations of the year; however, there is also a more refined astronomical observation. Thus the beginning of the year is determined partly by climate and vegetation (therefore the year begins either in the spring or in the autumn), partly by the equinoxes, and more rarely by the solstices (as in Phoenicia and Syria). In Ugarit there seems to have been a cultic year that began in the autumn and a "civic" year that began in the spring. In Mesopotamia the Akitu festival among the Sumerians was originally an autumn festival marking the resumption of fieldwork after the summer drought. The Babylonian New Year festival (Sumerian, Zagmuk; Akkadian, Zagmukku), also called Akitu, which was celebrated in the spring at the beginning of the month Nisan, represented the fusion of two originally distinct festivals, one in the spring, the other in the fall. The Iranian New Year festival (Nowrūz), celebrated at the time of the spring equinox, also replaced an older custom of starting the year in the fall. In pre-Islamic Arabia the year began in the fall; in only a few northern frontier areas was there a shift to a year beginning in the spring. It is not known when the year began in the ancient cultures of southern Arabia; in modern times the year begins sometimes in the spring, sometimes in the fall.

As for the ceremonies of the New Year festivals in the Middle Eastern and Mediterranean cultures, members of the "cult history" school (known also as the "myth and ritual" school) delineated a "pattern" for the urban New Year festival that includes the following elements: "The dramatic representation of the death and resurrection of the god; the recitation or symbolic representation of the myth of the creation; the ritual combat, in which the triumph of the god over his enemies was depicted; the sacred marriage; the triumphal procession, in which the king played the part of the god, followed by a train of lesser gods or visiting deities" (A. M. Johnson in Hooke, 1958, p. 226). Judah B. Segal brings together what is known about New Year ceremonies in ancient Egypt, Greece, Rome, and Babylonia, among the Hittites, and in Syria, Phoenicia, and Arabia to derive components of a general pattern:

> The New Year is fixed by the calendar. In all communities we find a ritual going-forth from the city to the open country. In all are rites of purification, which include fasting and the wearing of new clothes, processions, the exchange of gifts, sacrifices, and feasting. In some communities there is a solemn recital of a myth

> of Creation, in several the sacred marriage is enacted. Most include the temporal removal of conventional social restrictions. The New Year appears to be an appropriate time for the dedication of a temple. (Segal, 1963, pp. 125–126)

The Israelite New Year festival is not derived from this urban type, which supposedly split into a spring festival and an autumn festival. One must suppose rather that the Israelite festivals contained independent elements derived from the nomadic period and that in part they were remodeled Canaanite festivals (through which Mesopotamian influences were indirectly at work) that were taken over after the settlement. The Canaanite influence is especially apparent in the New Year festival in the autumn; nomadic traditions, on the other hand, are reflected in the spring festival (Pesaḥ) at the beginning of the year. The very details that give the Pesaḥ ritual its specific character are the ones that do not fit into the general pattern that has been presented by Segal. In Arabia the pre-Islamic (nomadic) spring festival lives on in changed form in the *ʿumrah* of Mecca, whereas the pre-Islamic (agrarian) autumn festival can be seen in the *ḥājj.*

Spring and autumn festivals that mark the beginning of the year (or at least critical turning points during the year) are also to be regarded, in the folklore of North Africa and the southern European countries, as survivals of a common ancient Mediterranean agrarian culture. Among the common features are sexual rituals as a means of promoting fertility (although these have for the most part been reduced to symbolic actions or purely verbal manifestations), masks as representations of the returning dead, and the role played by a temporary sacral "agrarian king."

The Christian feast of Easter is connected with the Israelite Pesaḥ and, as the feast of the resurrection of Christ, has its own specific salvation-historical content. In addition, however, it contains (partly in the official rites of the Roman Catholic and Eastern Churches, partly in popular customs) numerous details that derive from archaic cultures and the cultures of the ancient Middle East; these details symbolize a transition and a new beginning and to this extent make it possible to regard Easter as the real Christian New Year festival.

CONTEMPORARY SOCIETIES. The New Year is usually celebrated at the beginning of the secular year on January 1, though other New Year celebrations are also practiced. These include secular celebrations, such as the beginning of the school or university year, and religious celebrations, including the Jewish, Christian, Islamic, Hindu, and Buddhist New Year celebrations.

Secularized Western Christian celebrations. Many regional and local traditions mark the secular New Year. In Germany firecrackers at midnight (between December 31 and January 1) indicate the end of the old and the beginning of the new year. According to Germanic traditions, loud noise helps hinder bad spirits from entering the new year. In Italy men used to wear red pieces of cloth with their underwear because it was believed that this would bring good luck. In addition special dishes, such as carp and sweetbreads in Germany, are served on New Year's Day. Some Germans smelt lead on New Year's Eve in order to predict the future on the basis of the forms the lead takes after it has warmed up. Chimney sweeps are believed to bring good luck on New Year's Day. Good wishes are often exchanged, orally or in letters and postcards. A specific German New Year's wish is that of a good *Rutsch*, which is a slight deformation of the Yiddish-Hebrew word *Roʾsh*, an abbreviation of Roʾsh ha-Shanah.

Jewish celebrations. Roʾsh ha-Shanah is the Hebrew name for the Jewish New Year in autumn. It is celebrated on the first of the month of Tishri, the seventh month of the Jewish calendar year. The name was unknown in biblical times, where, with reference to *Leviticus* 23:24–25, the sacred day was called the Day of Remembrance (Yom ha-Zikkaron) or Day of Sounding the Shofar (Yom Teruah). It marks the beginning of a ten-day period of spiritual self-examination and repentance that culminates with Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement. This period of celebration is clearly not mirthful compared with the New Year celebrations that are held at the beginning of the secular year. Rather, Roʾsh ha-Shanah carries strong religious implications of remembering the sins of the past year. The holiday finds its expression when people walk, according to an old tradition, to a source of flowing water, such as a creek or a river, on the afternoon of the first day and empty their pockets into the water, symbolically casting off their sins.

Many Jews, in particular American Jews, use the New Year as a time to plan a better life, making "resolutions" for the year to come. It is in this spirit of renewal that white clothes are recommended and white skullcaps are suggested as symbols of purity. Intensive house cleaning is on the agenda, debts are paid back, and reconciliation is sought in cases of discord. The sounding of the shofar, the ram's horn, is the most characteristic sign marking the New Year. "During the course of the Rosh Hashana service, a total of 100 notes are sounded. Ancient tradition has handed down three distinct shofar notes: a long drawn-out sound (*tekiah*), a broken, plaintive sound (*shevarim*), a series of sharp, staccato sounds (*teruah*)" (Donin, 1972, p. 245). If the New Year falls on a Sabbath, the shofar is not blown. No work is permitted on Roʾsh ha-Shanah. Much of the day is spent in the synagogue. Eating apples dipped in honey is popular on this day, as is sending postcards to wish a happy New Year to relatives and friends.

Christian observances. In all Christian churches and denominations the secular New Year is the designated date for New Year observances, be it the reformed Gregorian calendar date of January 1 or, as in some Orthodox areas, the original Julian date of mid-January. Thus the beginning of the religious year (in Western Christianity the first Sunday of Advent, four weeks before Christmas) has no importance as a Christian New Year. However, many Western Christian churches welcome the secular New Year by ringing the church bells at midnight on New Year's Eve.

Muslim observances. In the Muslim world there are two types of New Year: the lunar Islamic New Year on the first day of Muḥarram, the first month of the lunar calendar, and the solar Nowrūz in March. The lunar calendar is the official Muslim calendar and reminds Muslims of the foundation of the *ummah* in Medina after the prophet Muḥammad's migration from Mecca to Medina in 622 CE. Because the lunar year is eleven days shorter than the solar year, the lunar Islamic New Year moves backward over the seasons and thus can occur in any season. Remembrance of the prophet Muḥammad's migration is central, and this story is recounted in private ceremonies, publicly in mosques, and in the modern Muslim world on radio and television. Some Muslims have also started sending postcards to wish friends and relatives a happy New Year.

There is no official religious service associated with the Muslim lunar New Year. In some areas, in particular those under Persian cultural influence, a fixed date, namely the spring equinox, marks the New Year, which is recognized with a celebration that dates back more than three thousand years. This holiday is celebrated by all Iranians regardless of religious affiliation, including both Zoroastrians and Muslims. People generally clean their houses and themselves before the New Year starts. New clothes mark the event. Rural Iranians construct and light piles of thorn and brushwood, and people jump over the fire on the last Tuesday of the year. It is believed that this act will purify the jumper and help rid him or her of illnesses and misfortunes. Every day of this thirteen-day celebration is marked by a special action, including visiting relatives and friends and exchanging gifts and good wishes. New Year's Day is set aside for the preparation of seven items (*haft sīn*), the names of which all begin with the letter *sīn*: *sīb* (apple), *sīr* (garlic), *sumāḳ* (sumac), *sindjīd* (jujube), *samanū* (a kind of sweetmeat), *sirka* (vinegar), and *sabzī* (greens).

Hindu observances. In Hindu communities the beginning of the New Year is celebrated by the Dīvālī (Diwali) Festival of Lights in November. It is celebrated all over India, although different regions celebrate Dīvālī in different ways. What is common is the lighting of many small earthenware oil lamps, which set homes and gardens aglow with twinkling lights. The origin of the feast is the return of Rāma to his northern kingdom after having been sent away by his mother Bhārat to hinder him from becoming king. Rāma finally returns successfully, thus symbolizing the victory of good over evil. People exchange good wishes and give gifts during the Dīvālī festival; they also buy and wear new clothes, hold family meetings, serve special holiday meals, and decorate doorways and homes with small red and white footprints to symbolize Rāma's happy return. Fireworks and firecrackers are also an important part of the celebration.

Buddhist observances. In Buddhist countries several dates are used to mark the New Year. In Theravāda countries (Thailand, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Cambodia, and Laos) the New Year is celebrated three days from the first full moon day in April. In Mahāyāna countries the first full moon day in January is considered the New Year. The date of the Buddhist New Year also depends on the country of origin or ethnic background of the people who are celebrating it. For example, Chinese, Koreans, and Vietnamese celebrate the New Year in late January or early February, according to the lunar calendar, whereas Tibetans usually do so about one month later. Water plays an important role in Buddhist New Year celebrations, where it is used for purification of temples, homes, and individuals.

Chinese observances. The Chinese New Year starts with the new moon on the first day of the new secular year and ends on the full moon fifteen days later. The fifteenth day is called the Lantern Festival, which is celebrated at night with lantern displays and children carrying lanterns in parades. New Year's Eve and New Year's Day are celebrated as a family affair. Heaven and earth are honored, as well as the gods of the household and the family ancestors. Rules govern what to eat and what to do on each of the fifteen days. Many families use special New Year's recipes for the holiday foods. It is common to abstain from eating meat on the first day of the new year because this will ensure a long and happy life. People also visit temples to pray for good fortune and health.

Japanese observances. The Japanese New Year (Oshogatsu) lasts for a week, starting on December 28 and running through January 6. Cleaning and cooking are important activities in preparation for the Oshogatsu. Shortly before midnight on New Year's Eve, *toshi-koshi* soba, a type of noodle soup, is served. People then listen to 108 midnight gongs rung at local temples and broadcast throughout Japan. The 108 gongs symbolize each of the 108 desires, listed in Buddhist texts, which hinder people from reaching salvation. On New Year's Day specific traditional meals are served, good wishes cards are delivered, and people gather with their families and visit temples.

SEE ALSO Akitu; Dīvālī; Dragons; Hieros Gamos; Light and Darkness; Nowrūz; Seasonal Ceremonies.

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NEZ PERCE (NIIMÍIPUU) RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS.

The Nez Perce people are one of two Sahaptian-speaking groups—the Nez Perce and the Sahaptin—to inhabit the southern Columbia Plateau region of western North America. Aboriginally, the Nez Perce–speaking peoples are ancient occupants of the southern Columbia Plateau whose ancestral lands extend along middle Snake River in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. The Nez Perce, as well as other Sahaptin groups, report no migration tradition placing them outside their current ancestral homelands; instead, their oral traditions contain imagery of mammoths, ice-age phenomena, and ancient volcanic activity. At the time of contact, the Nez Perce were composed of an estimated forty independent bands and were dispersed along three major tributaries of the Snake River: the Grande Ronde River (Oregon), the Clearwater River (Idaho), and the Salmon River (Idaho). Two dialect variants differentiated the Nez Perce speech community: the Lower River dialect and the Upper River dialect. Like other neighboring Sahaptin groups, the Nez Perce were known principally as a hunting and gathering culture, centered on the annual food quest of fishing, hunting, and gathering roots. As a consequence, the Nez Perce territory covers a diverse geography, each part of which has its own biodiversity. Culturally, the Nez Perce people identify themselves as *Niimíipuu* the Real People; however, it is also quite common for tribal members to use their ancestral band designation as an identity marker. In the historic period, the name *Nez Percé,* a French term meaning pierced nose, was applied to the *Niimíipuu* by French fur traders and through later historic usage the name has come to identify both the *Niimíipuu* language and its people. Today, the majority of the Nez Perce people (a population estimated at 3,000) reside on the Nez Perce Reservation in central Idaho, with several smaller communities of Nez Perce in Oregon and Washington. The Nez Perce language, like many indigenous languages of North America, is endangered and is spoken by sixty to seventy fluent elders, the majority of whom speak the Upper River dialect. Only a handful of elders still speak the Lower River dialect.

The religious traditions of the *Niimíipuu,* the Nez Perce people, trace their origin to the mythic emergence of the *Netíitelwit,* the first human beings to inhabit the earth. The emergence of the *Netíitelwit* brought to an end the existence of powerful mythic beings and signaled the beginning of a world inhabited by ordinary humans. A principal myth celebrates this transformation and is known among the Nez Perce as the climactic episode in a long series of encounters in which *'Itseyéeye* (Coyote) slays a mythic being too powerful and dangerous for the emerging *Netíitelwit.* The dismembered remains of this slain being embody the cultural landscape as *Tim'néepe* (Heart Place), *Sit'éexspe* (Liver Place), and *Qaháspa* (Breast Place) and locate the mythic emergence of the *Netíitelwit* on the Clearwater River of north-central Idaho.

Through the mythic emergence of the *Netíitelwit,* a core Nez Perce cosmology is conceived. The universe is distinctly defined as including the realm of humans and a former world inhabited by supernatural entities. Its structure is mediated by a deep time separation whereby the mythic past remotely precedes the human present. Though rare, this time separation is sometimes breached by accounts of supernatural entities coexisting with and coming into contact with ordinary humans. Nez Perce oral traditions, known as *titwatitnáawit,* reinforce this notion of mythic time as an enduring continuum between two possible worlds. The more immediate social value of *titwatitnáawit,* however, is to impart fundamental knowledge about the world and its living inhabitants in addition to basic human values and beliefs.

THE *WÉEYEKIN* SYSTEM. The Nez Perce, like many cultures throughout the Columbia Plateau, base their belief system upon the *wéeyekin* (spirit guardian), also called the spirit-guardian tradition. The *wéeyekin* system consists of a core set of religious beliefs centering on the existence of transcendent power as well as a set of unifying cultural practices that integrate such beliefs into Nez Perce society. A fundamental notion informing the *wéeyekin* system is the existence of an innate power or force in the universe. Elements of this power can become manifest as superhuman agents or spirit beings who become attached to individual human beings. Once acquired, a *wéeyekin* acts as a lifelong tutelary to its human recipient.

A *wéeyekin* is obtained through a childhood spirit-guardian quest, inheritance, dreams, life crises, or incidental contact. While an individual may acquire a *wéeyekin* at any stage in life, it was more common in aboriginal times to acquire one during a childhood spirit-guardian quest called a *wáay’atin.* The *wáay’atin* involved isolation in a remote geographic location, most often a sacred area where spirit powers were known to be especially potent. For many Nez Perce children, the *wáay’atin* was the culmination of a more general regimen of training that started early in life and extended independently through adulthood.

Individual narrative accounts reveal that the vision experience unfolds as a dialogic encounter. The experience consists of (1) the direct apprehension of a *wéeyekin,* which typically occurs in an altered state of consciousness or dream state; (2) a set of directives in which the *wéeyekin* vocally transmits information about its identity, attributes, and powers; and (3) the transfer of powers from the *wéeyekin* to the human participant. The outcome of such an encounter is characterized as *wéeyexnin’* (to be blessed by a *wéeyekin*). In addition, the human participant is later endowed with a personal spiritual name that identifies the *wéeyekin,* a set of prescriptive ritual behaviors to maintain spiritual empowerment, and a personal spirit song. The full extent of these endowments was usually not realized until the human participant had matured and entered into adult life. Ultimately, however, they provided the key ingredients for individual and group success in the overall survival of the Nez Perce.

The spiritual attainment of *wéeyexnin’* was understood to be a foundational element in the formation of a true autonomous self. Intensified forms of personal awareness were known to emerge over the life of an individual as a consequence of the originating vision experiences. This awareness often culminated in *cúukwenin’* (the supernatural ability to “know spiritually”), and was believed to contribute to a coherent understanding of human experience, life forces, and the basic structure of the world. The alternative was to be *weyexnéey’*—without a *wéeyekin*—and attempts at attaining anything more than a common, mediocre life would be a long and arduous undertaking.

The core beliefs informing the *wéeyekin* system find their greatest elaboration in the annual winter ritual performance known as the *wéeyekweecet* (spirit-guardian dance). The *wéeyekweecet* is primarily structured around the enactment and display of *wéeyekin* powers. It includes the public performance of one’s *weeyekwe’nípt* (spirit-guardian song) as well as power exhibitions by mature shamans. The *wéeyekweecet* constitutes a collective communicative process in which information pertaining to one’s inner experience is externalized through ritual performance.

The *wéeyekin* tradition is a belief system of great antiquity and the empowering, transformative vision experience upon which it is based is a core feature in recent Nez Perce religious traditions. The visionary realm continues to retain its inherent potency; narrative accounts show, however, that the visionary content upon which the new religious traditions are based appears to be much more universal in orientation. It includes (1) the direct apprehension of the universe, which typically occurs in a death-like altered state of consciousness or dream state; (2) the receipt of a set of directives or laws that transmits information about the existence of an omniscient creator and human life potential; and (3) the transfer of prophetic powers, songs, and rituals to the human participant. The variation and development of these modern religious traditions are not so much about the embodiment of spiritual power as they are a means to bring about changes in the world through collective ritual action.

THE *TUULÍIM* CULT. The earliest documented religious development to emerge among the Nez Perce was the *tuulíim* cult. In contrast to the *wéeyekin* system, the *tuulíim* cult was characterized by the formalization of religious ritual centering on prophecy and revelation. Its most salient feature was the ritual transmission of sacred knowledge that was obtained during a death-like transitory state or vision experience. The revelatory and prophetic structure of this knowledge was derived, in part, from the visionary perception of the cosmos and human existence. Its content and form were later integrated into the everyday world as communicative ritual acts known as *talapóosa* (worship), *we’nípt* (singing), and *waa’láasat* (a sacred form of dancing). Among its most central beliefs were concepts of a hereafter, an omniscient creator (*haniyaw’áat*), human moral conduct, and world renewal.

Based on archaeological and ethnographic evidence, the *tuulíim* cult arose during the protohistoric period (1600–1750) in response to the widespread introduction of non-aboriginal influences into the Columbia Plateau. Their cumulative impact had the unprecedented effect of transforming the physical realms (via material resources and technology), the social realms (in interpersonal and tribal relationships), and the cognitive realms (through psychology and religion) of everyday Nez Perce life. But by far the single most important event to shape the lives of Columbia Plateau peoples was a series of smallpox epidemics that swept through the ancient villages of the Columbia and Snake River areas. As an intellectual and spiritual force, the *tuulíim* cult and its progenitor the Prophet Dance provided a means of mediating the weakened, liminal state of existence by offering to restore vitality in a crisis-ridden world.

THE *’IPNÚUCILILPT* RITUAL. By the post-contact era, the fundamental elements of the *tuulíim* cult were so fully integrated into Nez Perce life that it reemerged as a revitalized form of worship called *’ipnúucililpt* (making oneself turn). In its most basic form, the *’ipnúucililpt* ritual is a modern adaptation of its protohistoric progenitor. Significantly, it continues to be grounded in the transformative power of prophecy and revelation precisely because many of its original prophetic predictions, such as the arrival of whites, the appearance of instruments of writing, and other wondrous technologies, had come to pass. Drawing on the symbolic structure of its predecessor, *’lipnúucililpt* philosophy is distinguished by an adherence to natural laws, ethical codes of respect, religious authority, and ritual order. World renewal rituals such as the First Foods ceremony and children’s rites of passage receive greater emphasis, as does the adoption and use of ancient symbolic imagery centering on primal sources of light such as the sun, moon, and stars.

This process of reinterpretation provided the various traditional bands of Nez Perce with a sense of social solidarity and continuity in the face of rapid change. However, the increase in opportunities for religious affiliation also had the effect of reducing the internal diversity of the *’ipnúucililpt* adherents until they became collectively identified as followers of the Wanapam prophet Smohalla, a key historical figure in the native struggle to retain ancestral lands. In the political sphere, adherents of the *’ipnúucililpt* faith eventually became unified to fight U.S. government attempts to extinguish aboriginal title to lands held sacred by the Nez Perce. Ultimately, however, the deep fundamental differences in religion and worldview were too great to prevent the Nez Perce War of 1877 and the division of the Nez Perce people. Today, remnants of the *’ipnúucililpt* religious practices and *wéeyekin* tradition continue in isolation in the life of a small group of traditional Nez Perce.

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NGARINYIN RELIGION SEE UNGARINYIN RELIGION

NGUKURR RELIGION.

The Aboriginal township of Ngukurr is located on the remote Roper River in southeastern Arnhem Land in Australia’s Northern Territory. Its population, which in the 1970s fluctuated between 350 and 500, consists of the descendants of the Aboriginal tribes of the lower and middle Roper River and the adjacent coast, mainly the Alawa, Mara, Ngalagan, Ngandi, Nunggabuyu, and Wandarang. The people of Ngukurr still retain close spiritual and physical ties to their tribal land.

THE SETTING. The Arnhem Land region has an area of about ninety-five thousand square kilometers. It was set aside in 1931 by the Australian government as a reserve for the Aborigines and remained as such until 1977. Following the passage of the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act of 1976, the ownership of Arnhem Land was transferred from the Australian government to various Aboriginal bodies.

Arnhem Land, and in particular southeastern Arnhem Land, is physically remote and economically underdeveloped. The only productive enterprises in the area around Ngukurr are beef-cattle raising and fishing. The country to the south and west of Ngukurr is occupied by large cattle stations (ranches), varying in size from one thousand to seven thousand square kilometers.

Prior to 1969 Ngukurr was known as Roper River Mission and was administered by the Church Missionary Society, an evangelical missionary body within the Anglican Church of Australia. The Aborigines were residents of the mission settlement and lived under the control and direction of the mission staff.

The administrative structure and political control of Ngukurr has undergone sweeping changes beginning late in 1968, when Ngukurr became a government settlement run by the Welfare Division of the Northern Territory Administration. The administration of the town of Ngukurr was transferred to a locally elected council in 1975. Government grants finance the town’s budget and the major part of the people’s incomes with employment and social service payments. Ngukurr has few productive activities and a very high rate of chronic unemployment.

RELIGION AND THE MISSION. The Aboriginal community at Ngukurr operates within two religious universes. One derives from the indigenous traditions of the Aboriginal people who make up the present-day community, and the other from the people’s subjugation by Europeans, in particular the Christian missionaries.

Christianity and indigenous religion today have an uneasy relationship within the community. Each tolerates the existence of the other, but they are considered as separate. There is no intellectual cross-fertilization, though to an extent they share practitioners and believers.

The structure of Christianity at Ngukurr in the early 1970s reflects its mission origin. From 1908 until 1968, the Church Missionary Society integrated Christianity and social control: Aboriginal residents were able to gain social preference through participation in church activities and nonparticipation provoked negative sanctions. Participation in the church declined dramatically following the transfer of secular control to the Australian government. By 1970 the active Aboriginal congregation was reduced to less than twenty adults, mostly older men and women who had a long history of residence at the mission.

The main point of contact between the local church and the indigenous religion in 1970 was through the composition of the church's lay council. The adult male members were all active participants in the indigenous religious realm. Some, including two of the lay preachers, were leaders in the organization of indigenous cult performances. These men wore their dual positions lightly. As councillors they participated in the church's decision-making process and occasionally attended services at the church, but they fulfilled their main religious role within the indigenous religion. However, their political positions were maintained through participation in both realms.

THE INDIGENOUS REALM. The people of Ngukurr, as Aborigines, see themselves and are seen by others as culturally distinct from the mainstream of Australian society, and this distinctiveness is considered a positive value that encapsulates a traditional conception of society.

The conduct of religious cults is the main arena of social life that appears fully contained by this traditional worldview. The social strictures found in the cults, together with the Ngukurr kinship system, provide the framework for social relations in those areas not yet entirely subordinated to the non-Aboriginal world. Today these manifold relations have two main foci: (1) the right to make decisions about and to participate in the religious cults and (2) the distribution of rights and access to the land.

Aboriginal religion is articulated around the relations between groups of people and the land that their forebears occupied and exploited (and that the Aborigines are again seeking to occupy). The foci of the Aboriginal religious systems are supernatural, totemic beings that may or may not be representations of natural species. The more important totemic powers in the Ngukurr pantheon are the *nagaran* (a supernatural spirit usually represented as a male giant), the plain kangaroo, various species of monitor lizard (goannas), rain and lightning, the *gilyiring-gilyiring* (which takes various forms, though it is most commonly glossed as a woman or a mermaid), and various species of snakes and fish.

At their most innovative, they are world-creative forces that transform an unfeatured landscape into its known social forms. They pass through the country creating places, leaving their paths, establishing ceremonies, and meeting and establishing structured relations with other powers. Different parts of the country are associated with different powers or ensembles of powers.

The totemic powers organize religious life by bonding particular groups of people with particular sites, paths, or tracts of land. They also articulate the relations between groups that are linked to different sites and tracts of land made by a particular totemic power or constellation of powers. This is made more complex by the fact that people are also related through the interconnections between their different totemic powers. There is in Aboriginal religion, therefore, an intricate interweaving of interests that structures and spreads sociality. Ideally this balances the contradictory tendencies of parochial and universalizing interests.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NGUKURR RELIGIOUS PRACTICE. In their traditional habitat and across their own countries, people held ceremonies at the sites being celebrated, but when colonists appropriated the land ceremonies had to be held away from these places.

Mission authorities actively discouraged ceremonies within the mission area, though they continued to be held with difficulty. The mission's attitude prevented ceremonies at Ngukurr until mission policy changed in the mid-1950s. Up to the 1950s Ngukurr was only one of a number of population centers (the others being cattle stations) that shared the cult life of the Roper area. This cult life, richer than that now performed at Ngukurr, included four secret male cults, the Yabuduruwa, Gunabibi (called Kunapipi elsewhere), Balgin, and Maddaiin. An elaborate circumcision ritual and secret women's cults were also part of this religious practice.

All the ceremonies organized by Ngukurr men after 1957 were held in the vicinity of Ngukurr. This occurred alongside the decline in the attendance of Ngukurr men at ceremonies elsewhere in the region, the dropping of the Maddaiin and the Balgin cults from the men's repertoire, and the abbreviation of the circumcision rites. Performance of the women's cults had ceased before this time. Between the mid-1950s and the mid-1970s about eight Yabuduruwa ceremonies and six Gunabibi ceremonies were held at Ngukurr. Each was associated with one or two of the nine "estate-group territories" (for an explanation of the term *estate*, see below). It has been described elsewhere (Bern, 1979) the changes that brought about the establishment of a specific Ngukurr society. The changes during the 1950s resulted in the appearance of a ritual life specific to Ngukurr and of a distinct set of Ngukurr religious properties.

THE CULTS. Indigenous religious practice at Ngukurr centers on the conduct of the two cults of the Yabuduruwa and the Gunabibi. These cults celebrate, with great complexity, the relations between people, between people and the totemic powers, between people and the land, and between the land, people, and the totemic powers. Intergroup relations are specified through the identification of particular kinship-based groups with particular territories. Such groups are called *estate groups*. Relations between people are also specified through sociocentric categories. Thus patrilineal moiety and semi-moiety affiliations are ritualized.

Moieties and semimoieties. At the most inclusive level the organization of the Yabuduruwa and Gunabibi cults is based on the division of society into two patrilineal moieties, within which context people's positions and actions are defined. People who are related through their fathers to the totemic powers represented in a cult are called *mingeringgi*, and they have a certain set of rights and obligations. The people of the opposite moiety, who are related to the powers through their mothers and fathers' mothers, are called *junggaiyi*, and they have a set of rights and obligations complementary to those of the *mingeringgi*.

The *mingeringgi* are the celebrants and the human representation of a cult. They bear the responsibility for any errors or damage to the cult's artifacts or integrity. The *junggaiyi* care for and organize the emblems, paraphernalia, and performances of the cults. The Yabuduruwa cult celebrates the estates and totemic powers of the people of the Yiridja moiety and they are its *mingeringgi.* The Gunabibi cult celebrates the estates and totemic powers of the people of the Dua moiety and they are its *mingeringgi.*

The Yabuduruwa and the Gunabibi are also semimoiety cults. At Ngukurr the semimoieties belonging to the Yiridja moiety are called Budal and Guyal. Those belonging to the Dua moiety are called Mambali and Murungun. The semimoiety division is utilized in a number of ways in the two cults.

The totemic powers and the sites represented in the cults are identified with one or another of the semi-moieties as well as with a particular moiety. The *nagaran* estate-group territories are celebrated in the Yabuduruwa cult. This power is associated with the Yiridja moiety and the Guyal semimoiety. Another Yabuduruwa-cult estate-group territory is the Plain Kangaroo territory, which is also identified with the Yiridja moiety, but which is further identified with the Budal and not the Guyal semimoiety. Similarly, the *gilyiring-gilyiring*, which is celebrated in the Gunabibi cult, is associated with the Dua moiety and the Mambali semimoiety at Ngukurr, while the king brown snake is identified with the Dua moiety and the Murungun semimoiety.

At the moiety level both semimoieties of Dua are *mingeringgi* for the Gunabibi. However, there are times when the semimoieties are structurally separated and only one qualifies as *mingeringgi.* The other semimoiety of the Dua moiety then occupies a position called *dalnyin* (lit., "mother's mother"). The same applies for the Yiridja moiety in the context of the Yabuduruwa. The *dalnyin* have a largely supplementary role and can in certain circumstances act as both *mingeringgi* and *junggaiyi.*

In each of the cults there are important rites in which the two semimoieties of the *mingeringgi* moiety are separated and perform distinct segments. A striking example of this separation occurs in the Yabuduruwa ceremony; in parts of this ceremony, those in the opposite semimoiety (but the same moiety) to that of the ceremony initiators can assume the role of *junggaiyi* in the absence of appropriate senior *junggaiyi.*

The same separation of semimoieties does not occur within the *junggaiyi* category. Two of the most important reasons for this are the composition of the estate group, which includes *junggaiyi* from both semi-moieties, and the importance of individual kinship ties. Ego-centered kinship relations are activated in the organization and conduct of the cults. For example, in the preparation of individual male performers particular tasks can be performed only by cross-cousins and others only by a mother's brother. One's cross-cousins and mother's brothers would normally be found in different semimoieties of the opposite moiety.

The estates. The cults also have a narrower perspective in the celebration and reinforcement of social relations. The social features of the landscape are established by the movements of the totemic powers and the sites that they created. Particular groups have special attachment to and responsibility for parts of the landscape associated with a particular power or ensemble of powers. These are the ritual "estates." The groups associated with each estate have a complex structure.

The core of the "estate group" is composed of people who are related to the estate through their fathers. Individual members of the core group have names that are taken from the names of features in the estate, and collectively the core is known by the name of the estate. Other members of the estate group are people who trace their relationship to the estate through their mothers, their fathers' mothers, or their mothers' mothers. In the context of the estate, the ones who trace their relationship through their fathers are the estate's *mingeringgi;* those whose relationship is through their mothers or fathers' mothers are the *junggaiyi;* and those people related through their mothers' mothers are the *dalnyin.*

A major emphasis in both the Yabuduruwa and the Gunabibi cults is the celebration of particular estates and their totemic powers, in ceremonies initiated by the senior men. The occasion is often to commemorate a recently deceased senior core-member (no less than two years and preferably no more than ten years deceased). However, the reason may simply be that this group has not had a ceremony for its own estate for a long time. Their ownership is acknowledged by the initiated core members, who take the lead in most of the performances of the ceremony, and by the organizers of the ceremony, who are the estate's senior *junggaiyi.* The main dance ground and associated structures are built to dimensions that are specific to the estate.

Estates are specifically celebrated in certain rites held in both cults. Within these rites *mingeringgi* perform individual dances, wearing designs that represent a totemic power and site from their estate. The dances, designs, and paraphernalia worn by the performers, as well as songs and myths that particularly concern the estate, are part of the estate's *gulinga*, a Ngukurr term which encompasses all aspects of an estate's religious property. A group without a *gulinga* has no ceremony, though they may still have an estate.

Control and participation. Both the Yabuduruwa and the Gunabibi are cults of initiated men; the most important parts of a Yabuduruwa or Gunabibi ceremony's performance, its paraphernalia, and the knowledge it conveys are kept secret from the women, novices, and children of the community (as well as all other uninitiated people). The men also control the organization and most aspects of the conduct of the ceremonies, and perform most of the cult's rites.

Women, however, play an indispensable, though subordinate, part in both the organization and the conduct of the cults. They prepare food on behalf of the male participants, and they have responsibility for the public part of the ceremonial precinct, which is a cleared area within the total ceremonial precinct and which is located about half a kilometer from the main ceremonial ground. In the Yabuduruwa cult they also have the care of the novices, who remain at the public precinct before they are taken to the main performing ground to observe the men's performance. Women also participate as actors in some of the central rites in both ceremonies.

While the two cults together impart symmetry to Ngukurr's religious practice, there are significant differences between them. Unlike the Yabuduruwa, the Gunabibi includes song cycles in its performance. The training of novices is more thoroughly pursued in the Gunabibi than it is in the Yabuduruwa. In the former, dogma prescribes that novices are withdrawn from the community for the duration of the ceremony and put in the charge of initiated young men. However, at Ngukurr, this is usually modified to the extent that novices remain within the male area of the ceremonial precinct for the duration of a session, which usually covers a weekend of performances. In the Yabuduruwa cult, by contrast, the novices remain within the community and are only obliged to attend the ceremony for the duration of each performance. Even then they are kept at the women's area during the period of preparation for a performance.

The Gunabibi cult emphasizes social control of the emerging generation of males through the separation of novices from the secular world and their subjection to adult male discipline, while the Yabuduruwa cult lays less emphasis on such a *rite de passage.* The Yabuduruwa's central concern is with the dramatization of exclusion and of the hierarchical order of society. The former has its highlight in the Goanna Tail rite, in which women, the main actors, are led to the men's secret dance ground at night. They keep their heads bowed. They approach a fire on the ground and light rolls of paperbark and then return to the women's precinct. (The rolls of paperbark symbolize the tails of goannas, which are a central motif of the Yabuduruwa. The goanna tails are an important phallic representation and are also the most desired part of the goanna for eating.) If they were to raise their heads during their trip to the men's secret dance ground, the women could see the sacralia of the men. Kenneth Maddock offers a convincing interpretation of this rite as a dramatization of the exclusion of women from the cult's innermost secrets (1982, pp. 133–134).

The issue of hierarchy is encapsulated in the final rite of the Ngukurr Yabuduruwa cult, performed after the ceremony has been officially concluded. The senior men return to the main ceremony ground, taking with them some specially chosen younger initiated men. They give as the reason for their return the need to clean up the ceremony ground. However, a rite is performed there by the two most senior *mingeringgi*, which is witnessed only by this select group. During the preparation for this rite the men discuss any infractions that have occurred during the course of the ceremony and decide what, if anything, they will do about such infractions.

RELIGION AND THE COMMUNITY. The continuity of Ngukurr religion, in the form outlined here, is not certain. The influences at work have contradictory effects. The rapid changes of recent years have not yet been fully worked out and externally imposed changes are still taking place. One hope, that European authority would be replaced by one based on traditional values, has not eventuated. For a while the Gunabibi cult was seen as a possible vehicle of social control, especially of the teenage males. This hope has not been realized and even the rhetoric of this movement had disappeared by the mid-1970s.

People continue to believe in the bond between themselves and their land, and the myth and structures represented in the cults still mediate these beliefs. The legislation on land rights has given this recent material support, and this, at least, can be seen as supportive of the indigenous religion.

SEE ALSO Australian Indigenous Religions; Dreaming, The.

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JOHN BERN (1987)

NIANFO. The Chinese term *nianfo* (Jpn., *nembutsu*) is a translation of the Sanskrit word *buddhānusmṛti. Anusmṛti* is a feminine noun derived from *smṛ-*, a verbal root, with the prefix *anu-* meaning following, toward, or along. English translations of *anusmṛti* include holding in one's mind, remembering, thinking of [upon], contemplating, and reciting. Most of the definitions refer to aspects of meditation, whereas the last definition, reciting, means the repeated oral recitation (of a particular formulaic utterance), or the mental recitation of this same formula. This usage gave rise to the recitative *nianfo* that became an important practice in East Asian Buddhism from about the fifth century CE.

PRIMITIVE *NIANFO*. In its earliest form, *nianfo* referred to *buddhānusmṛti*, a simple remembrance or thinking about Śākyamuni Buddha, as in reverence to a teacher. First mention of *nianfo* is found in the initiation ceremony of the Buddhist order held while Śākyamuni Buddha was still alive. This simple profession of faith in the Three Treasures—the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha (the Buddhist order)—encouraged members of the order to put trust in, worship, and adore Śākyamuni Buddha as a teacher. This type of *nianfo* gradually became practiced by believers even far removed from Śākyamuni in time or place as a means of asking for his protection in times of crisis. From this, the ten titles of Śākyamuni, the ten faculties of the Buddha, and the thirty-two features of the Buddha came to be regarded as the object of remembrance. By the constant and incessant *anusmṛti* the early disciples of Śākyamuni Buddha thus kept alive the memory of their master.

MEDITATIVE *NIANFO*. The simple practice of remembrance, adoration, and trust in Śākyamuni Buddha gradually developed into an actual visualization of his features and virtues. Such meditation was directed not only toward Śākyamuni but also toward such Buddhas as Amitābha (Jpn., Amida), Bhaiṣajyaguru, and Mahāvairocana, and such *bodhisattva*s as Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya. One of the earliest sūtras to advocate such a practice was the *Pratyutpannasamādhi Sūtra* (Chin., *Banzhou sanmei jing*). In this sūtra (as well as in many other scriptures) the subject of *nianfo* came to be Amitābha and other Buddhas rather than Śākyamuni, and birth in Amitābha's Pure Land rather than in the various Buddhist heavens. The practice of *nianfo* directed toward Amitābha Buddha is also emphasized in the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra* (Chin., *Wuliangshou jing;* Sūtra on the Buddha of infinite Life), the *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra* (Chin., *Guan wuliangshou jing*, or Meditation sūtra on the Buddha of immeasurable life), and the *Smaller Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra* (Chin., *Emituo jing*; Sūtra on the Buddha Amitābha). These three scriptures are known in Japan as the Triple Sūtra of the Pure Land.

The *Pratyutpannasamādhi Sūtra* preaches the practice of *nianfo* for the laity and the doctrine of emptiness (*sūnyatā*) for monks. It teaches that one can see the Buddhas of the ten directions by attaining the meditational consciousness of emptiness. This is accomplished by keeping the precepts and meditating on the Buddha Amitābha for a period of from one to seven days and nights. The sūtra also declares that it is possible to be born in the Pure Land of the Buddha Amitābha by wholeheartedly meditating on his name for a period of from one to seven days.

Within the Pure Land tradition, a number of different types of meditative *nianfo* were introduced. These included *nianfo* with a concentrated mind for those of advanced capacities, *nianfo* with a distracted mind for people of lower spiritual capacities, *nianfo* of formless principle, *nianfo* of a Buddha's form, single-hearted *nianfo* on Amitābha alone, *nianfo* on other Buddhas, *nianfo* through self-power, and *nianfo* through other-power.

The *Smaller Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra* states that a person who single-heartedly bears the name of Amitābha in mind from one to seven days will see Amitābha at his deathbed and obtain birth in his Pure Land. This thought is presumed to derive from the *nianfo* of the *Pratyutpannasamādhi Sūtra.* The characteristic point of the *Smaller Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra* is that birth in the Pure Land takes place at the moment of death, not while visualizing the Buddha in one's daily life. Moreover, what is borne in mind here is the Buddha's name, not his figure or characteristics as was the case in meditative *nianfo* of the *Pratyutpannasamādhi Sūtra.*

Traditionally, the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra* has been considered the basic *text* of Pure Land teachings. The most important section of the sūtra is the description of Amitābha's vows, in which Amitābha sets forth the conditions that he shall fulfill before achieving final enlightenment. In the Wei dynasty translation of this sūtra (252 CE), the all-important eighteenth of Amitābha's forty-eight vows states: "If, when I shall attain Buddhahood, sentient beings in the ten quarters who have sincere mind, serene faith, and desire to be born in my country should not be born there even after (directing) ten thoughts (to me), may I not attain Perfect Enlightenment." Various interpretations of the precise meaning of the term *ten thoughts* have been given. Basically, the words may be taken to refer to the continuity, for a certain period of time, of sincere mind, serene faith, and desire for birth in the Pure Land.

The *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra* teaches thirteen methods of meditation on the features of Amitābha and his Pure Land.

Through the successful accomplishment of this meditative *nianfo* the aspirant may be born in the Pure Land and see all the Buddhas of the ten directions. In addition to these thirteen meditations, in the latter portion of the text another way of birth into the Pure Land is expounded for those with distracted minds. This section of the sūtra teaches that even the lowliest beings, those who have committed such misdeeds as the Five Grave Sins or slander of the Dharma, can be born in the Pure Land by uttering the Buddha's name ten times at the last moment of life. For Pure Land Buddhists, the importance of this sūtra lies in the teaching that birth in the Pure Land by means of ten recitations of the name is assured even to beings of diminished spiritual capacities. This concept is pivotal in the historical development of *nianfo* thought. Thus, all three Pure Land sūtras played a decisive role in the transformation of the concept of *nianfo* from meditation to simple recitation of the name of Amitābha.

RECITATIVE *NIANFO*. Although early *nianfo* practice was primarily meditative, oral recitation of the Buddha's name was often used concurrently as an aid to concentration. Thus, two types of *nianfo*, meditative and recitative, began to be used in all schools. It was generally believed that recitative *nianfo* was easier, though inferior, to meditative *nianfo*: the former was regarded as a mere accommodation to those not qualified to practice meditation or other forms of mental cultivation. The practice of recitative *nianfo* as an independent and self-sufficient discipline, however, was developed later, in the thought of several important Buddhist thinkers: Nāgārjuna (c. 150–250) and Vasubandhu (c. 320–400) in India; Tanluan (476–542?), Daochuo (562–644), and Shandao (613–681) in China, and Genshin (942–1017), Hōnen (1133–1212), and Shinran (1173–1262) in Japan.

Nāgārjuna divided the Buddha's teachings into difficult and easy practices for the attainment of enlightenment. This latter path, better suited to beings born in an age of the five corruptions, requires only that one hear the name of Amitābha and utter it with sincerity in order for the devotee to achieve a state of spiritual nonretrogression in the Pure Land and thereafter attain enlightenment. Vasubandhu taught that the practice of the *wunian men* (five devotional gates: worship, praise, aspiration, perception, and the transfer of merit) would bring about birth in the Pure Land. The disciplines set forth under the Five Devotional Gates, however, were intended more for the sake of sages (i.e., the spiritually advanced) than for the ordinary person, as they were difficult to accomplish in the proper manner.

Tanluan interpreted Vasubandhu's teachings to mean that even the most sinful person could practice the Five Devotional Gates insofar as the power to perform these practices originates in Amitābha's sacred vow to save all sentient beings, not in the devotee himself. Tanluan asserted that birth in the Pure Land is ensured by means of ten utterances of the name.

A major concept contributing to the transformation of *nianfo* practice from that of meditation to recitation was consciousness of the historical degeneration of the Buddha's teachings. Traditionally, Buddhism has postulated three periods of the Buddha's Law. These are known in Chinese as *chengfa* (the era of the righteous law), *xiangfa* (the era of the counterfeit law), and *mofa* (Jpn., *mappō*; the latter days of the law). It was held that the Era of the Righteous Law was a five-hundred-year period following the decease of Śākyamuni during which the Buddha's teaching, the aspirants' religious discipline, and their enlightenment all flourished. The Era of the Counterfeit Law is a period in which the teaching and practice remain, but none actually attains enlightenment. During the third period, the Latter Days of the Law, there is neither practice nor enlightenment. Only the Buddha's teachings remain.

Concerning the duration of the three periods, Daochuo writes in his *Anluo ji* (A collection of lines concerning the country of peace and happiness) that the Righteous Law taught during Śākyamuni's lifetime had lasted for five hundred years, the Counterfeit Law would prevail for one thousand years, and the Latter Days of the Law for ten thousand years. Daochuo lived during a period in which people were highly conscious of how the religious climate of their own age differed from the one in which the influence and the personality of Śākyamuni were directly felt by the *saṃgha*. In particular, the Chinese of the seventh century were vexed by the perceived depravity of the Buddhist world, the episodic oppression of Buddhism by the secular authorities, and the inferior capacity of contemporary members of the Buddhist order with regard to the practice of monastic discipline.

Daochuo complemented Tanluan's teachings by emphasizing that a lifelong sinner could be born in the Pure Land by means of the infinite compassion of Amitābha. This concept took into account the fact that people of the latter two stages of the Law's degeneration were less capable of undertaking strict meditative practice than those living in the Era of the Righteous Law. Shandao, the third Chinese Pure Land patriarch, emphasized a further point, that an ordinary person could be born in Amitābha's true Pure Land rather than a provisional Pure Land where additional practice would be necessary before supreme enlightenment is attained. He also stressed that the recitation of the name itself is the true cause of entering *nirvāṇa*. But this overall concept of the primacy of the recitative *nianfo* did not take permanent root in China, as evidenced by the fact that after the middle of the Tang dynasty the Pure Land tradition gradually embraced a combined regiment of meditation, discipline, and recitation of the name.

In Japan, however, the doctrine of recitative *nembutsu* flowered through the teachings of Genshin and Hōnen. Genshin stressed the belief that of all the teachings of Śākyamuni, the most important for people of the Latter Days of the Law, was recitation of the name. He taught that the ordinary person, eyes blinded by passion, was constantly enveloped by the infinite compassion of Amida Buddha, thereby assuring his or her salvation, Hōnen reemphasized the point that for the defiled person the only way to attain enlightenment was to recite the name. At the same time, he insisted that mere recitation of the name would not assure birth in the Pure Land unless supported by sincere faith in Amida. Shinran took Hōnen's teachings a step further by maintaining that more important than recitation of the Buddha's name was the true and real faith underlying the recitation. He taught that true faith could only be an endowment from Amida Buddha.

In the history of the recitative *nianfo* many special forms of practice emerged. For example, the *wuhui nianfo* (Jpn., *goe*, five-toned, *nembutsu*) was introduced into Japan from China by the Tiantai monk Ennin (749–864). This form of *nianfo* later developed in Japan into *fudan nembutsu* (incessant recitation of the name) and *inzei nembutsu* (chanting of the name with a prolonged voice). There also appeared such *nembutsu* forms as *yūzū nembutsu* (*nembutsu* of the interpenetration of all beings), *kan nembutsu* (midwinter *nembutsu*), *uta nembutsu* (chanting the name in song), and *odori nembutsu* (dancing *nembutsu*).

Today, Pure Land devotees comprise the largest single Japanese Buddhist group. Daily worship of Amida Buddha before the family altar, including recitation of his name and the chanting of Pure Land scriptures, is a widespread practice. Recitation of the name is heard during funerals and worship services and on radio and television programs. The same recitation is heard coming from the lips of devout believers when they are walking, working, and resting. Through the recitative *nianfo*, Amida Buddha is as close to the believer as the movement of the lips.

SEE ALSO Amitābha; Jingtu; Jōdo Shinshū; Jōdoshu; Mappō; Pure and Impure Lands.

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NICHIREN (1222–1282) was a Japanese Buddhist monk of the Kamakura period (1192–1282) and eponymous founder of the Nichirenshu (Nichiren sect). In his radical insistence on the priority of the *Lotus Sūtra* (Skt., *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra; Jpn., Myōhōrengekyō;* also known by its abbreviated title, *Hokekyō*) over all other teachings and forms of Buddhism, Nichiren established himself as one of the major figures in the history of Japanese Buddhism. His influence persists to this day through the various schools and movements that look to Nichiren as their founder.

LIFE. Nichiren was born in the village of Kominato in Awa Province (Chibaken), the son of a fisherman and minor manorial functionary. His talents as a youth brought him to the attention of the lord of the manor, who had him enter the Tendai monastery Kiyosumidera (Seichōji) in 1233 in order to begin his formal education. In 1237 he became a monk and adopted the religious name Renchō. Later, Nichiren left the Kiyosumidera for Kamakura, the seat of the military government, where he studied Pure Land Buddhism and Zen. The year 1242 found Nichiren on Mount Hiei, the center of the flourishing Tendai sect, and thereafter he studied on Mount Kōya, the center of the Shingon (Esoteric) school, and in the ancient capital of Nara. Convinced of the inadequacy of the Buddhism of his times, Nichiren returned to the Kiyosumidera in 1253 and began his self-appointed mission to bring what he believed to be true Buddhism to the Japanese. On April 28 of that year he publicly denounced all other forms of Buddhism as incomplete and ultimately false, and advocated a wholehearted faith in the teachings of the *Lotus.* It was at this time that he adopted the name Nichiren.

The remainder of Nichiren's life was marked by his conflicts with the government and the leaders of the established Buddhist sects. The year 1253 found Nichiren expelled from Kiyosumidera and disseminating his teachings in Kamakura, where he became deeply concerned about the social and political disorder of the times. In 1260 he presented his treatise *Risshō ankokuron* (Establish the right law and save our country) to the government. In it he ascribed the increase in floods, pestilence, famines, political strife, and conspiracies to the government's refusal to accept the Buddha's true teachings as found in the Lotus and their tolerance of the false doctrines of "heterodox" schools. He admonished the Hōjō rulers (military regents from 1213 to 1333) to abandon these expedient teachings and warned of the inevitability of rebellions and foreign invasions that would result from failure to embrace the true Buddhism. His criticism of the Hōjō family provoked the eldest member, Hōjō Shigetoki, a fervent Nembutsu (i.e., Pure Land) practitioner and a patron of Ryokan, the chief priest of the Shingon-Ritsu temple in Kamakura and one of Nichiren's foremost rivals. It is highly probable that Nichiren's hermitage in Kamakura was destroyed in 1260 by outlaws hired by Shigetoki. In 1261 the government exiled Nichiren to the province of Izu (Shizuoka-ken), only to pardon him in 1263. While visiting his home province in 1264, his old enemy Tōjō Kagenobu, a Nembutsu follower, planned an ambush from which Nichiren narrowly escaped.

In 1268 a Korean envoy arrived in Japan demanding the payment of tribute to the Mongolian ruler, Khubilai Khan. Nichiren submitted a proposal to the government reminding the Hōjō rulers that he had foretold such foreign invasions in his *Risshō ankokuron* and claiming that only he and, of course, faith in the *Lotus,* could save the country. Although the government ignored both the request of the envoy and Nichiren's warning, the masses, fearing the threat of invasion by Mongolian troops, turned in greater numbers to Nichiren's school. Concerned over Nichiren's growing popularity, the monks of several established Buddhist sects in Kamakura brought formal charges against Nichiren. These resulted in his arrest and, in 1271, his exile to Sado Island. After more than two years, in 1274, he was pardoned and returned to Kamakura. Soon after, Nichiren retired from public life and secluded himself in a mountain retreat in Minobu (Yamanashi-ken). There he became ill; in 1276 he moved to Ikegami in Musahi Province (Tokyo), where he died in 1282.

THOUGHT AND WORKS. Although Nichiren remained fundamentally within the Tendai tradition, he is known as a reformer, if not a radical, who departed from many of the teachings of Saichō, the founder of that sect. Indeed, he virtually reduced Tendai doctrines to the sole practice of chanting the Daimoku ("sacred title") of the *Lotus Sūtra,* that is, the recitation of the formula "Namu *Myōhōrengekyō*" ("Adoration be to the Lotus of Perfect Law"). The Daimoku, according to Nichiren, contains the entire universe and symbolizes absolute truth or, in other words, Śākyamuni Buddha. In his *Kanjin honzonshō* (The object of worship revealed by the introspection of our minds), written while exiled on Sado Island, Nichiren established Śākyamuni as the true object of worship and the Daimoku as the practice for revealing the absolute truth.

An integral aspect of his method of conversion (*shakubuku*) was the condemnation of the popular sects of Buddhism. Nichiren held that by deliberately provoking people and raising their anger he would cause them to evaluate their beliefs. Anger and hatred, in Nichiren's system, were productive and creative emotional states. While at Kiyosumidera Nichiren's denunciations were focused primarily on the proponents of Nembutsu and Zen practices. He criticized Pure Land for engaging in expedient practices that would lead (he claimed) to rebirth in the lowest of hells and for emphasizing the notion of a Western Paradise, a belief, Nichiren held, that discourages people from establishing peace in their present lives. He criticized Zen for stressing a transmission outside scripture and for their belief in the efficacy of "no-words." Nichiren argued that without *sūtra*s and words the teachings of the Buddha could not be transmitted at all. Later, Nichiren added Ritsu (Vinaya), Shingon, and the esoteric subsects of Tendai to his list of heterodox schools.

Nichiren's exile on Sado Island proved to be a period of great creativity. Among the essays and treatises he wrote during this period was the *Kaimokushō* (Liberation from blindness). Here he departs from traditional Tendai notions of spiritual filiation by claiming that he is the successor to and reincarnation of the Viśiṣṭacāritra Bodhisattva (Jpn., Jōgyō Bosatsu), to whom Śākyamuni is said to have entrusted the *Lotus Sūtra* and whose reappearance is prophesied in that text. Another work, the *Daimandara* (Great maṇḍala) reiterates this theme. The *maṇḍala* itself, inspirationally revealed to Nichiren, represents all living beings in the Buddha world expressed in the *Lotus Sūtra.* It depicts the Daimoku surrounded by the names of Śākyamuni, various *bodhisattva*s led by Viśiṣṭacāritra, *śrāvakas,* Japanese gods (*kami*), and Tendai masters arranged on levels in descending order. The image of Śākyamuni and the Daimandara became the chief objects of worship in Nichiren's thought. Other of Nichiren's writings include 434 essays and epistles and a commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra.* The original of this commentary, which is still extant, is written on the back pages of a copy of the *Triple Lotus Sūtra,* a set of three *sūtra*s including the *Myōhōrengekyo* (*Lotus Sūtra*); the *Muryōgikyō,* regarded as an introduction to the *Lotus;* and the *Kan Fugen bosatsu gyōhōkyō,* an epilogue to the *Lotus.* Aside from the *Risshō an-*

kokuron, the most significant of Nichiren's essays include *Kaimokushō, Kanjin honzonshō, Senjishō* (Selection of the Proper Time), and *Hōonshō* (Requitment of Favors).

SEE ALSO Nichirenshū.

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NICHIRENSHŪ broadly refers to all religious bodies claiming derivation from the Japanese Buddhist teacher Nichiren (1222–1282), including traditional temple denominations as well as lay associations and new religious movements. While *Nichirenshū* is also the official name of a specific Nichiren Buddhist denomination, this entry will address the larger Nichiren tradition. Nichiren Buddhism is based on faith in the *Lotus Sūtra* (in Japanese, *Myōhō-renge-kyō*; sometimes shortened to *Hōkekyō),* a Mahāyāna scripture revered throughout East Asia for its promise that all shall attain buddhahood. The central practice of Nichiren Buddhism is chanting the *daimoku* or title of the *Lotus* in the formula *Namu Myōhō-renge-kyō* (literally, "Homage to the sūtra of the lotus blossom of the wonderful *dharma*"), said to embody all the Buddha's practices and resulting virtues as well as the essence of all Buddhist teachings.

THE FOUNDER NICHIREN. Nichiren is regarded as one of the founders of the new Buddhist movements of the Kamakura period (1185–1333) and numbers among Japan's most compelling religious figures. Ordained at age sixteen at the temple Kiyosumidera (or Seichōji) in Awa province (modern Chiba prefecture), as a young man he traveled extensively for study. He was versed especially in Tendai Buddhist teachings and also in Esoteric Buddhism. Eventually he based himself in Kamakura, center of the recently established shogunate or military government, where he won followers among the warriors of the eastern provinces. Nichiren is known for his teaching of exclusive devotion to the *Lotus Sūtra*, regarded especially in the Tendai tradition as embodying the Buddha's ultimate teaching. Like many of his contemporaries, Nichiren believed his own time to be that of the Final *Dharma* age *(mappō)*; in this degenerate era, he asserted that only faith in the *Lotus Sūtra* leads to liberation, and he advocated chanting its *daimoku* as a universal practice. In chanting the *daimoku* with faith, Nichiren taught, the practitioner becomes one with the eternal, original Buddha revealed in the *Lotus Sūtra.* He also devised a calligraphic *maṇḍala* written chiefly in Chinese characters with the *daimoku* inscribed down the center, surrounded by the buddhas, *bodhisattvas*, deities, and other members of the *Lotus Sūtra* assembly. Nichiren made numerous individual copies of this *maṇḍala* as a personal object of worship for his followers.

Drawing on Tendai teachings concerning the unity of mind and all phenomena, and of individuals and their objective world, Nichiren attributed the disasters of his day—including famine, epidemics, natural disasters, and the threat of Mongol invasion—to widespread rejection of the *Lotus Sūtra* in favor of "inferior" teachings, such as those of Pure Land Buddhism and Zen. Conversely, he held that the spread of exclusive faith in the *Lotus* would transform the present world into a buddha land. Nichiren maintained this conviction throughout his life, but its most famous statement occurs in his admonitory treatise *Risshō ankoku ron* (On establishing the true *dharma* and bringing peace to the land), submitted in 1260 to Hōjō Tokiyori, the most powerful figure in the Kamakura government.

Nichiren's growing conviction that only faith in the *Lotus Sūtra* could save the country from disaster led him to adopt *shakubuku*, a confrontational method of teaching the *dharma* by directly rebuking attachment to mistaken views. His criticisms of other forms of Buddhism, and of high officials for supporting them, provoked the anger of the authorities. He himself was arrested and exiled twice, while a number of his followers were imprisoned, stripped of their land holdings, and in a few cases executed. For Nichiren, however, loyalty to the *Lotus Sūtra* superseded obedience to worldly rule. His writings assert the need to admonish "slander of the *dharma*" as an act of compassion, even at the risk of one's life, and express confidence that enduring harsh trials for the sake of the *Lotus Sūtra* will eradicate the practitioner's past sins and guarantee his or her future buddhahood. Nichiren's ideal of realizing the buddha land in the present world, and his example in defying worldly authority for the sake of his faith, have inspired followers and sympathizers down to the present. At the same time, his exclusive truth claim has generated considerable controversy.

THE MEDIEVAL HOKKESHŪ. Shortly before his death, Nichiren designated six senior disciples to assume leadership of his community: Renge Ajari Nichiji (1250–?), Iyokō Nitchō (1252–1317), Sadokō Nikō (1253–1314), Byakuren Ajari Nikkō (1246–1333), Daikoku Ajari Nichirō (1245–1320), and Ben Ajari Nisshō (1221–1323). Nichiji is said to have embarked in 1295 on a journey to northern China to spread Nichiren's teachings abroad; the others proselytized chiefly in eastern Japan. Congregations formed around them and their successors, giving rise to the first lineages of the Hokkeshū (Hokke or Lotus sect), as Nichiren's followers would be known in medieval times. Mount Minobu in Kai province (Yamanashi prefecture), where Nichiren had spent his last years, held special significance for the sect as a whole; in addition, each lineage established its own major temple or temples, which served as centers of propagation and monastic education. Branch temple networks formed as new temples were built or converted. Within a half century of his death, Nichiren's teachings had spread throughout Japan.

Early on, Nikkō's Fuji lineage broke away from the others. Nikkō's successors would claim retrospectively that he alone had been Nichiren's true *dharma* heir. This first schism was a decisive one; to this day, Nichiren Shōshū—the chief modern successor of the Fuji school—maintains its own distinctive interpretations. Further schisms and new lineage formation would occur during the fourteenth through sixteen centuries due to geographic separation, institutional rivalry, and differences of interpretation.

After 1333, when the Kamakura shogunate was overthrown and the locus of political power shifted back to the imperial capital in Kyoto, Hokke monks began to proselytize there. Nichirō's disciples took the lead in this endeavor: Nichizō (1269–1342) established the Shijō lineage, and Nichijō (1298–1369) the Rokujō lineage, followed by representatives of other Hokkeshū branches. In the predominantly rural east, Hokke temples were supported chiefly by the patronage of provincial warriors or other local landholders. In the western cities of Kyoto and Sakai, however, while attracting some warrior and even aristocratic followers, the Hokkeshū drew its major support from the emerging urban mercantile class (*machishū*), whose wealth enabled the sect to prosper. By the mid-fifteenth century, there were twenty-one Hokke temples in Kyoto, and about half the city's population, it is said, were Nichiren followers.

Despite institutional friction and differences of interpretation, the Hokkeshū shared doctrinal foundations with Tendai, and Hokke monks often studied at major Tendai centers, such as Enryakuji on Mount Hiei near Kyoto or Tendai seminaries in the east. Nonetheless, they upheld a strong sense of independent Hokkeshū identity and actively practiced *shakubuku* by preaching, writing, and debate. From time to time, temple abbots and lineage heads followed Nichiren's example of "admonishing the state" by submitting letters of remonstration to local or shogunal officials or occasionally, to the shogun or emperor himself, urging a policy of exclusive devotion to the *Lotus Sūtra* for the country's peace and prosperity. Repeated remonstrations sometimes provoked official wrath, and the sect's hagiographical tradition celebrates those monks who, like Nichiren, endured persecution from the authorities in the course of their proselytizing efforts.

TENSIONS AND CONTROVERSIES. Like other medieval Japanese Buddhist traditions, the Hokkeshū was characterized by the development of rival lineages, each stressing the authority of its own interpretations in both doctrinal and ritual matters. Often these interpretations took the form of "secret transmissions" said to derive from Nichiren himself or from his immediate disciples. One focus of ongoing doctrinal dispute involved the two parts into which traditional Tendai exegesis divides the *Lotus Sūtra*—the "trace teaching" (*shakumon*), or first fourteen chapters, which present Śākyamuni Buddha as a "trace" or historical manifestation, and the "origin teaching" (*honmon*), or latter fourteen chapters, which identify him as the eternal, original Buddha. Nichiren had based his thought on the origin teaching, but his successors debated the precise relationship between trace and origin teachings. The so-called *itchi* (unity) faction held them to be ultimately one and inseparable, while the *shōretsu* (superior-inferior) faction held the origin teaching to be distinct and superior. Both positions were variously elaborated. While this debate probably held little relevance for most lay believers, it afforded scholar-monks a vehicle to display their erudition and was central to the self-definition of their particular Hokke lineages.

Other controversies involved matters of practice, such as whether Nichiren had ultimately intended the "Buddha" or the "*dharma*" as the true object of worship, along with the related issue of whether or not the icon employed in actual practice should be an image of the eternal Śākyamuni Buddha or Nichiren's calligraphic *maṇḍala.* Differences concerning the object of worship continue to this day. Still other controversies involved the ongoing issue of how rigorously Nichiren's *Lotus* exclusivism should be maintained, and what concessions might legitimately be made to the larger religious culture. An example was the propriety of venerating the *kami*, or local Japanese deities. Since shrines to the *kami* were often affiliated with other Buddhist schools, some Hokke monks argued that making offerings at such shrines was tantamount to supporting "*dharma* slanderers." In the fourteenth century, many Hokke temples began to incorporate their own mode of *kami* veneration in the form of a cult of thirty protector deities (*sanjūbanjin*), one for each day of the month, and scholars of the sect produced distinctive theories of Hokke Shintō, a subset of a larger medieval discourse incorporating *kami* into a Buddhist framework. Nonetheless, a minority opinion within the Hokkeshū opposed venerating *kami* altogether.

ASCENDANCY, SUPPRESSION, AND ACCOMMODATION. As shogunal power declined following the Ōnin War (1467–1477), townspeople in Kyoto had to mount their own defenses against incursions from provincial warlords and armed peasant leagues. In an era when religious institutions were also economic, political, and even military powers in their own right, the townspeople's district organizations for self-government and self-protection were closely tied to their Hokke temples. The sect's exclusivist orientation served as a basis for *machishū* solidarity vis-à-vis traditional overlords, who included not only aristocrats and warriors but also powerful shrines and temples. In 1532, having united with warrior allies to repel peasant forces organized by the Jōdo Shin, or True Pure Land sect, the Hokke-based *machishū* set up a virtually autonomous government in Kyoto, carrying out police and judicial functions and refusing to pay various taxes and rents. The reign of the Lotus League (*Hokke ikki*) lasted until 1536, when monks of Mount Hiei, joined by other traditional elites who resented the erosion of their authority in the capital, attacked and burned every Hokke temple in Kyoto.

While eventually able to rebuild, the Hokkeshū never regained its original strength in the capital. It was further weakened by the religious policies of successive warlords—Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu—who suppressed the power of Buddhist sects and temples in their efforts to extend their rule. In 1595, when Hideyoshi demanded the participation of a hundred monks from each sect in monthly memorial services for his deceased relatives, most Hokke leaders saw no choice but to comply, although joining in intersectarian rites and receiving offerings from Hideyoshi, a nonbeliever, violated strict *Lotus* exclusivism. However, the monk Busshōin Nichiō (1565–1630) initiated a dissident movement known as *fuju fuse* (neither receiving nor giving), meaning a refusal to accept offerings from those who do not embrace the *Lotus Sūtra* or to provide them with ritual services. Nichiō insisted that believers should defy even the ruler to uphold the purity of Nichiren's teaching, even at the cost of their lives. His position eventually gained support, dividing the Hokkeshū between *fuju fuse* proponents and those favoring a more accommodating stance. The new Tokugawa shogunate, established in Edo (modern Tokyo) in 1603, saw in the *fuju fuse* movement a threat to its authority and policy of religious control and suppressed it repeatedly, sometimes with the cooperation of conciliatory factions within the Hokkeshū itself. *Fuju fuse* leaders were killed or exiled and their followers driven underground. Like the Japanese Christianity of the same period, which was similarly persecuted, the *fuju fuse* movement stands as a striking example of religiously based defiance of ruling power.

Under the new government, Buddhist temples of all sects were integrated into the state apparatus of census taking and social control; temple registration became mandatory for all families, and changing sectarian affiliation was forbidden. Traditional *shakubuku* and intersectarian debates were no longer possible. Like other sects, the Hokkeshū (or Nichirenshū, as the sect was by now alternatively called) turned its energies toward doctrinal study, an effort that flourished in the context of an emergent print culture. New Nichiren Buddhist seminaries were established throughout the country; compilations of Nichiren's writings were edited and published; and sectarian doctrine was codified. Accounts of Nichiren's life were also published, sometimes with illustrations and in vernacular Japanese. These hagiographies both reflected and encouraged a trend toward founder veneration, expressed in pilgrimages to sacred sites, festivals marking events in Nichiren's life, and the traveling display of statues, *maṇḍalas,* or other sacred objects held by noted temples. Such activities were supported by the many associations of lay followers (*kō* or *kōchū*) that flourished especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, often under lay leadership. Images of Nichiren as a religious hero also circulated in the wider society, events in his life being dramatized in kabuki performances, the puppet theater, and also popular storytelling.

MODERN DEVELOPMENTS AND INTERPRETATIONS. After the fall of the Tokugawa shogunate and the Meiji restoration (1868), the Nichiren Hokkeshū was reorganized. In 1876 the *itchi* lineages united as one denomination under the name Nichirenshū, while the major *shōretsu* lineages each took independent names; the *fuju fuse* faction also resurfaced and gained legal recognition. The most striking feature of modern Nichiren Buddhism, however, is its vigorous lay movements, often independent of traditional temples—a phenomenon unparalleled in other Japanese Buddhist sects. Some lay Nichiren Buddhist organizations have roots in early modern lay associations such as the Butsuryūkō, founded in 1857. Others emerged after the Meiji restoration. The influential Kokuchūkai (Pillar of the nation society), founded by Tanaka Chigaku (1861–1939), promoted what he called *Nichiren-shugi* (Nichirenism), a lay-oriented reading of Nichiren Buddhism welded to concerns of nationalism and modernization. (This term, *Nichiren-shugi*, has also come to be used in a broader sense to encompass all forms of Nichiren-Buddhist influenced thought.) Other Nichiren- or *Lotus Sūtra*-based lay groups have often been categorized as "new religions" and include Reiyūkai, Risshō Kōseikai, and Sōka Gakkai. Such groups frequently engage in active proselytizing and stress personal benefits, character development, and social transformation through faith. Nichiren himself has continued to be celebrated as a Japanese cultural figure; in the twentieth century alone, more than a hundred literary works about him appeared, including novels, plays, and biographies.

During Japan's modern imperial period (1895–1945), Nichiren's mandate to spread faith in the *Lotus Sūtra* was widely interpreted in terms of Japanese national destiny and the armed expansion of empire. Tanaka Chigaku and Honda Nisshō (1867–1931), head of the Nichiren denomination Kenpon Hokkeshū, were especially influential in promulgating nationalistic Nichirenist ideology and won support from military officers, government officials, and intellectuals. Tanaka's Japan-centered reading of Nichiren doctrine, which equated the *Lotus Sūtra* with the Japanese national polity (*kokutai*), inspired such figures as the right-wing nationalist author Kita Ikki (1883–1937) and army officer Ishiwara Kanji (1889–1949), who was instrumental in Japan's 1931 armed takeover of Manchuria. Among Nichirenshū clerics as well, some extremist ideologues aligned themselves with state Shintō and asserted the emperor to be the object of worship.

Nonetheless, one finds significant exceptions to these imperialistic readings. The Christian leader Uchimura Kanzō (1861–1930) admired Nichiren for his devotion to scripture and the courage of his religious commitment. The leftist writer Seno'o Girō (1890–1961), imprisoned for his socialist activities, looked to Nichiren as a figure of resistance. Some writers originally drawn to Tanaka's *Nichiren-shugi* also came to reject his nationalistic interpretation: The literary critic and novelist Takayama Chōgyū (1871–1902) saw Nichiren as a heroic "Nietzschian" individual who valued truth above nation, while the poet Miyazawa Kenji (1896–1933) depicted the plight of impoverished farmers from the perspective of his *Lotus Sūtra* faith.

During the Fifteen Years' War (1931–1945), under a government religious policy dominated by state Shintō, some Nichiren believers met persecution for their beliefs. In the 1930s and 1940s, government ministries repeatedly demanded that sectarian officials delete from Nichiren's works passages deemed disrespectful to Japanese deities or emperors. Sōka Gakkai founder Makiguchi Tsunesaburō (1871–1944) refused to have his followers accept the talismans of the imperial Ise Shrine and was imprisoned with other leaders of his society on charges of violating the Peace Preservation Law; leaders within the denomination Hokke Honmonshū were also indicted for asserting doctrinal positions contrary to the imperial cult.

Since Japan's defeat in 1945, Nichiren Buddhist followers have widely adopted the causes of peace and opposition to nuclear weapons. The small monastic order Nipponzan Myōhōji has embraced a stance of absolute nonviolence and practices peaceful civil disobedience on the Gandhian model, while lay organizations such as Sōka Gakkai and Risshō Kōseikai are NGO members of the United Nations and support various forms of relief work, peace education, and other humanitarian causes. The assimilation of Nichiren's ideal of establishing the buddha land in the present world to a range of social and political agendas—from militant nationalism to postwar pacifism—is a noteworthy development within modern Nichiren Buddhism.

ORGANIZATION AND OBSERVANCES. At the turn of the twenty-first century, there are some forty legally recognized Nichiren Buddhist religious bodies. Despite a forced merger of some of the smaller Nichiren sects under the wartime government's policy of religious control, most of the denominational divisions established in the 1870s were reasserted after the war ended. The largest Nichiren Buddhist temple denomination takes Nichirenshū as its legal name and has Kuonji at Mount Minobu in Yamanashi prefecture as its head temple. Risshō University, which is affiliated with Nichirenshū, is home to Japan's leading research institute for the study of Nichiren Buddhist doctrine and history. The other major Nichiren Buddhist denominations include Hokkeshū Honmon-ryū, Hokkeshū Jinmon-ryū, Hokkeshū Shinmon-ryū, Honmon Butsuryūshū, Honmon Hokkeshū, Kenpon Hokkeshū, Nichiren Honshū, Nichiren Kōmonshū, Nichiren Shōshū, and Nichirenshū Fuju Fuseha. The numerical strength of contemporary Nichiren Buddhism, however, lies in its lay movements. Sōka Gakkai and Risshō Kōseikai in particular claim membership figures in the millions, including substantial followings outside Japan.

Despite considerable differences of interpretation and ritual observance among Nichiren Buddhist groups, one also finds points of commonality. Reciting portions of the *Lotus Sūtra* and chanting the *daimoku* constitute the basic daily practice of both clergy and laity and are also performed at formal ceremonies. In addition to annual rites conducted by temples of all Japanese Buddhist sects, such as New Year's observances and memorial services for the dead at the equinoxes and during the summer Obon festival, Nichiren Buddhist temples and lay organizations hold festivals and ritual observances on dates sacred to their tradition, usually transposed from the lunar to the Western calendar. These include Nichiren's birthday (celebrated February 16); his first sermon, said to mark the founding of the Nichiren sect (April 28); commemorations of various persecutions that Nichiren encountered in spreading his teachings; and the Oeshiki observances commemorating the anniversary of his death (October 13).

SEE ALSO New Religious Movements, article on New Religious Movements in Japan; Nichiren; Nikkō; Reiyūkai Kyōdan; Risshō Kōseikai; Sōka Gakkai.

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JACQUELINE I. STONE (2005)

NICHOLAS OF CUSA (1401–1464), German canonist, Christian theologian, and philosopher. Nicholas was born at Kues (present-day Bernkastel-Kues) on the Moselle, and studied at Heidelberg, Padua, and Cologne. At the Council of Basel, with his treatise *De concordantia catholica* (1434), he defended conciliar authority over the pope and proposed extensive reforms consistent with this position. He later converted to the cause of the papacy. As papal legate he traveled to Constantinople to promote Christian reunification (1437), and as cardinal and bishop of Brixen, he worked throughout Germany and Bohemia on behalf of papal authority and ecclesiastical reform. During his last years in Rome, Nicholas lived simply, having used much of his income to establish the Saint Nikolas Hospital in Kues, which still contains his large personal library.

Amid this active life Nicholas wrote numerous speculative works, beginning with *De docta ignorantia* (Learned Ignorance; 1440). He accords intellect a central role in the religious life, and emphasizes the desire to know God. All inquiry requires a "proportion" between the known and the as yet unknown, but there is no proportion between the infinity of God and the finite human intellect. Knowledge of God therefore becomes "learned ignorance," that is, the knowledge that one cannot know God precisely in the divine nature, but only symbolically through God's self-revelation in the universe and in Christ, who unites finite humanity and divine infinity. Nicholas correlates learned ignorance with "conjecture" (*De coniecturis,* 1442–1443). More than mere guesswork, conjecture approximates truth in limited, indirect ways. Nicholas's conjectures include many metaphors, mathematical symbols, and attempts to name God (e.g., as Absolute Maximum; as *Possest,* or the union of possibility and actual being; and as Not-other). Nicholas uses a distinctive logic, the "coincidence of opposites," which points beyond the contrasts of finite reason toward the infinite unity of God. The ability to formulate this logic indicates that the mind, while finite, nevertheless conceives of divine infinity and approaches it without limit. In *Idiota de mente* (The Layman: About Mind; 1450) Nicholas claims that the mind is a living image of God that "has the power of corresponding more and more without limit to its unreachable original." Participating in God's creative activity, humanity also creates a cultural world. This human world provides examples for Nicholas's art of conjecture, for example in his *De ludo globi* (1463), in which a ball game becomes the focus for theological speculation.

Nicholas's tolerance of religious diversity emerges in two works written in response to the Turkish conquest of Constantinople. *De pace fidei* (The Peace of Faith; 1453) recognizes the conjectural truth of all religions, yet sees their fulfillment in Christianity. *Cribratio Alcoran* (Sifting the Qurʾān; 1461) is perhaps the most tolerant examination of Islam in the late medieval West.

In controversies over conciliarism, theology, and Islam, Nicholas of Cusa is an original, even idiosyncratic, thinker. The roots of his thought run deep in the medieval world, particularly in the Christian Neoplatonic tradition. His works were widely circulated in four early printed editions. He influenced Giordano Bruno, through whom Leibniz and other German thinkers encountered Nicholas's ideas. Commentators like Ernst Cassirer have viewed Nicholas as the first modern philosopher because of his novel epistemology and cosmology. While claims for Nicholas's modernity should be tempered, his learned ignorance, conjectural theology, and religious tolerance do address persistent problems of religious knowledge and practice.

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DONALD F. DUCLOW (1987 AND 2005)

NIEBUHR, REINHOLD (1892–1971), American theologian, ethicist, and political philosopher. Niebuhr was born in Wright City, Missouri, on January 21, 1892. His mother was a second-generation German-American; his father, a German immigrant, was a pastor in the Evangelical Synod of North America, the offspring of the Prussian Union Church, which was predominantly Lutheran with a strain of Calvinism. At the age of ten Niebuhr declared that he wanted to become a minister because his father was the most interesting man in town.

After studies at the denominational schools Elmhurst College and Eden Theological Seminary, Niebuhr entered Yale Divinity School, where he earned B.D. (1914) and M.A. (1915) degrees. He later enjoyed recalling that he was admitted to the M.A. program on probation because he had received his earlier education at unaccredited schools. Rather than embark on a program of doctoral studies, he accepted assignment to a pastorate in Detroit, partly for family financial reasons (his father had died in 1913), partly out of obligation to his denomination, and partly because he "desired relevance rather than scholarship."

During the thirteen years that Niebuhr served as pastor of Bethel Church, its membership grew from 65 to 650. The congregation reflected a broad spectrum of the American population, from automobile workers to two millionaires; during his pastorate Niebuhr drew a few black families into some activities of the church. The Detroit ministry plunged the young pastor into the problems of urban, industrial America. Niebuhr vociferously objected to the inhumanity of the automotive assembly lines, the forced unemployment during retooling, and the abject dependence of workers upon corporations that resisted unions. After a period of racial conflict, he chaired the mayor's Race Committee. Meanwhile he won a reputation as a lecturer and preacher, especially in colleges, and as a contributor to periodicals.

Niebuhr supported World War I with mixed feelings, opposing the mixture of German loyalty and quasi-pacifism common in his denomination. A visit to Germany in 1923 added to his increasing disillusionment with war and confirmed his growing pacifism.

In 1928 Niebuhr joined the faculty of Union Theological Seminary in New York. Although in point of fact there was no faculty opening, President Henry Sloane Coffin was interested in Niebuhr, and Sherwood Eddy, a leader in many Christian causes, located funds to support the appointment initially. The move enabled Niebuhr to expand his scholarly and organizational activities. Later he also joined the graduate faculty of Columbia University. He continued to preach almost every weekend in pulpits within and outside the city. He founded the Fellowship of Socialist Christians (1930) and its quarterly, *Radical Religion* (1935), later renamed *Christianity and Society.* He ran as a Socialist for the New York State Senate (1930) and for Congress (1932), but assured Coffin that he had no chance of winning and would continue his teaching without interruption.

In 1931 Niebuhr married Ursula Keppel-Compton, an English fellow at Union. They were a devoted pair and soon became parents. For many years students and friends, some famous and some unknown, crowded the Niebuhrs' apartment at their frequent "at-homes."

Niebuhr was active in countless organizations involving labor unions, tenant farmers, and liberal or left-wing causes. In a period of great political tensions, he struggled with conflicts between pacifists and those concerned about the menace of Hitlerism, as well as conflicts between conservatives, liberals, and communists. In 1933 he resigned from the executive committee of the pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation, of which he had been national chairman since 1931. In 1940 he resigned from the Socialist Party, and the next year he founded the biweekly *Christianity and Crisis* as an organ for relating theology to liberal anti-Nazi political policies. In 1941 he was a chief organizer, and then national chairman, of the liberal anticommunist Union for Democratic Action. In 1944 he helped found the Liberal Party in New York and became a state party vice-chairman.

Meanwhile, Niebuhr's eminence as a theologian was increasing. *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (New York, 1932) was an epoch-making contribution to social ethics. Niebuhr's international reputation flourished with his participation in the Oxford Conference on Life and Work (1937) and his delivery of the Gifford Lectures at the University of Edinburgh (1939).

When World War II broke out, Niebuhr advocated American support of Britain and France, short of armed intervention. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, he supported the war but criticized mass bombings of German and Japanese cities. After the war, Niebuhr became an adviser to the State Department's Policy and Planning staff, headed by George Kennan. Although a strenuous critic of Soviet power, he emphasized the necessity, in a nuclear age, of international policies that would build "mutual trust and tissues of community." He was a frequent visitor to Europe on religious, scholarly, and governmental missions, and served as a major speaker at the first assembly of the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam in 1948. In 1949 he cochaired the founding conference of Americans for Democratic Action, an organization of the liberal left. The postwar years saw a stream of major lectureships and books.

In 1952, Niebuhr suffered the first of a series of strokes that sapped his strength for the rest of his life; from this point on, periods of severe illness alternated with periods of active life. In 1955 he became vice president of Union Theological Seminary; in 1958 he was a visiting fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton. After retirement from Union in 1960 he spent one year at Harvard. He made his home in New York, but later moved to Stockbridge, Massachusetts. In 1964 he was awarded the President's Medal for Freedom by Lyndon Johnson. In his final years he suffered great pain and disability, but a steady stream of visitors and correspondents helped him maintain ties with theological scholarship and public affairs. Death came on June 1, 1971.

DEVELOPMENT OF NIEBUHR'S THOUGHT. Niebuhr was a man in motion, often (as he liked to say) tilting at windmills he himself had built earlier. His thought was an ongoing dialectical process: usually the new idea was both a criticism and a transformation of the old.

His earliest writings—posthumously published in *Young Reinhold Niebuhr,* edited by William G. Chrystal (Saint Louis, 1977)—reveal a seminarian in the pietistic evangelical tradition, objecting to the politicization of religion and urging that the way to improve the world is "to make more men Christians and all Christians truer" (p. 42). At Yale Divinity School he imbibed liberal theology. The Detroit pastorate moved him to the left wing of the Social Gospel movement while intensifying his pastoral concern in ministry to the sick and the dying. His adoption of socialism was a pragmatic one, and indeed was initially almost innocent of Marxism.

Moral Man and Immoral Society (New York, 1932) established Niebuhr's reputation as a major thinker. The title, which Niebuhr admitted was an exaggeration for pedagogic reasons, expressed the book's theme: the gap between the behavior of individuals in their personal relations and in their human collectivities (nations, classes, corporations, and so on). The book was an assault on liberal hopes for the effecting of social improvement through rationality and religion. Rationality and religion, said Niebuhr, are more often instruments of power than correctives of it.

Two years later, Niebuhr described himself as moving to the left politically and to the right theologically. As he sometimes said, he was trying to relate Christian religion (which was politically deficient) to Marxist political realism (which was religiously false). The theological movement was guided above all by Augustine's conceptions of human nature and history. In the Gifford Lectures, published as *The Nature and Destiny of Man* (New York, 1941 and 1943), he added Kierkegaard's insights to those of Augustine, and he became more critical of Marx.

For his attacks on "liberalism," Niebuhr was often called "neoorthodox," a term that he disliked. He offended the orthodox by treating their fondest beliefs as "myths," and he offended liberals by taking those myths "seriously, but not literally." He provided fresh interpretations of Christian beliefs about the creation of humankind in God's image, the Fall, original sin, justification by faith, and the coming kingdom of God. Whereas he criticized liberalism for its optimism, its inattention to conflicts of power, and its utopianism, he was liberal in his acceptance of critical scholarship and his eagerness to relate Christian faith to the whole range of human knowledge. If university faculties saw Niebuhr as a critic of liberalism, average Americans regarded him as plainly liberal—as he discovered when a flood of "hate mail" poured in after his public criticism of Billy Graham.

Although the Gifford Lectures stand as Niebuhr's greatest intellectual monument, they do not record his final position. In the years following the lectures, his pragmatic tendencies, significant from his Yale days onward, became more conspicuous as he criticized doctrinaire theology and political thought, including his own. The concept of grace, always important to his thought but often subordinated in discussions to the doctrine of sin, now became a major theme. Partly under the influence of his friend Erik Erikson, the psychologist, Niebuhr became more appreciative of self-affirmation. From the works of the eighteenth-century English statesman Edmund Burke he learned to consider the continuities and the organic characteristics of history as well as the historical conflicts and cataclysms that had always impressed him. But to the end the polemical fires still flared, particularly against idolatries of race, wealth, and political power.

PRINCIPAL IDEAS. Niebuhr frequently denied that he was a theologian. He sometimes described himself as a circuit-riding preacher with an interest in ethics. He had little interest in the niceties of doctrine. However, his chief insights have reverberated through the whole of theology.

To find definitive statements of his main positions is difficult. Niebuhr often wrote in polemical situations. If some extravagant statement he had made was quoted back to him later, he was likely to reply with a laugh, "That's one of the many foolish things I've said." He was too impatient to revise his own writings. Yet on many themes he was scholarly, subtle, and persistent. For the truest account of his opinions on a subject, one must look at his extended statements on it, then dig out the scattered self-corrections made over subsequent years.

Echoing Pascal, Niebuhr loved to speak of the grandeur and frailty of the human being. He saw the essence of selfhood as freedom, which included qualities of imagination, rationality, and foresight—all captured in the biblical phrase "the image of God." Freedom brings anxiety: the awareness of insecurity and of the inevitability of death. Faith, in turn, can channel anxiety into creativity; without faith the creature strains for false security (the classical sin of pride) or tries to avoid risk in a less-than-human existence (sloth). Of these two, Niebuhr wrote far more about pride—perhaps, as it is often said, because sloth was no temptation for him. Pride overcomes individuals as well as groups; in the latter it may appear as nationalism, economic domination, racism, or claims of gender superiority. Attempts to subdue pride by moral accomplishments usually reinforce it instead; the only answer is the intervention of divine grace, both the common grace known in many human experiences and the special grace known in Christ.

Niebuhr's doctrine of history began with the Old Testament prophetic faith in history as showing marks of divine judgment and grace. He qualified this with the New Testament belief that history finds its fulfillment only in the kingdom of God that is yet to come. Any effort to find the meaning of history within history—say, in the triumph of a nation or a religion or a social class or even the best of projected societies—is error and idolatry.

Niebuhr affirmed the biblical idea of a linear, rather than cyclical, history. But he rejected the "heresy," nourished in the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, that transmutes the directedness of history into faith in progress. There are obvious evidences in history of progress in technique, in some kinds of rationality, and in social organization, but history as a whole is not a progressive story, and its achievements never eliminate the lurking threat and presence of sin. Thus Niebuhr became a constant critic of utopianism. Despite his excoriation of nationalistic idolatries, he objected to proposals for world government. World government represented to him either a "soft" utopia (relying on reason and goodwill, without attention to the painful realities of power) or a "hard" utopia (imperialistic conquest resulting in one power's hegemony over the world). Instead, he advocated the difficult effort to negotiate limited agreements among nations with attention to both morality and power.

Niebuhr's critics charge that anti-utopianism cuts the nerve of action. In fact, Niebuhr himself said the same in his earlier writings, but later he renounced that position. He affirmed that there are "indeterminate" possibilities for social improvement, but he held that those who neglect the persistent power of sin are most likely to misconstrue its workings in themselves and in history.

For Niebuhr the ultimate ethical possibility is love, which in mutuality enhances life and society, but which sometimes requires sacrifice, as represented in the cross of Christ. However, love is sentimental unless it finds realization in justice. Justice is the attempt to embody something of the responsibility of love in human institutions. Yet justice, with its legal and juridical forms, is at best an incomplete embodiment of love. And because justice requires enforcement, it readily becomes a contradiction to the free and voluntary nature of love. Whereas love gives freely, justice imposes and enforces obligations.

Thus love and justice interact in a continuous dialectic. They need each other: love that does not seek justice is unreal love, and justice without love is a graceless legalism that is not really just. Yet the two live together in tension, and no formula can relate them perfectly.

Faith and political activity meet in a comparable dialectical relation. Serious faith has implications for political life. Pretenses to the contrary, especially in a modern democratic society, are an evasion of responsibility and usually a tacit support of an unjust status quo. But faith (or religious beliefs) can never be embodied fully in politics. And the ultimate loyalties of faith relate only uneasily to the negotiations, the maneuverings, and the exercises of power that characterize politics. Niebuhr criticized those who try to keep faith uncontaminated by politics as well as those who give their political opinions divine sanction. As with love and justice, there is no easy way to combine faith with politics.

INFLUENCE. During Niebuhr's lifetime he was a powerful figure, an intimidating force in polemics, yet a friendly person known to many as "Reinie" (except to his wife, who called him Reinhold). The South African novelist Alan Paton in his autobiography, *Towards the Mountain* (New York, 1980), described Niebuhr as "the most enthralling speaker" he had ever heard. Niebuhr's style, despite many awkward sentences, was impetuous, biting, witty, reverent, and serene, often in the course of a single speech or sermon. His writings have been translated into many European and Asian languages. During his lifetime he set so many agendas that his critics, no less than his supporters, often acted on issues he enunciated.

Niebuhr advocated an ethical "realism" that searched out the moral issues in every controversy yet never imposed moral answers without giving due attention to the realities of power. The famous political scientist Hans Morgenthau in 1961 called Niebuhr "the greatest living political philosopher of America" (Landon, 1962, p. 109). Through friendships with Eleanor Roosevelt, George Kennan, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and Hubert Humphrey, as well as with several labor leaders and journalists, he exercised some influence on public policy—although he rebuked Vice President Humphrey for supporting the war in Vietnam.

Who continues Niebuhr's heritage? The question is a controversial one. In 1981 a bemused Senate committee heard tedious arguments on just this issue. Neoconservatives, pointing to his Burkean strain and his anti-utopianism, sometimes claim him as part of their heritage. On the other hand, he always regarded himself as left of center; and his final writings, produced in the years of pain and illness, were furious attacks against abuses of presidential power.

Niebuhr's influence is least among those who isolate their religious faith from political action and those who maintain any dogmatic religious and political position, whether reactionary or revolutionary. But where people struggle to relate faith to justice in a perplexing world, Niebuhr remains an important figure in the conversation.

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all is impossible, because some were unsigned editorials. A diligent listing in 268 pages, including some publications about Neibuhr, is that of D. B. Robertson, *Reinhold Niebuhr's Works: A Bibliography* (Lanham, Md., 1983). What follows is a selective list of books that provide sustained expositions of his major ideas.

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ROGER LINCOLN SHINN (1987 AND 2005)

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NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH

NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH (1844–1900), German philosopher and social, cultural, and religious critic. Friedrich Nietzsche is one of the most remarkable, controversial, original, and important figures in modern philosophical and intellectual history. In his short productive life (which ended with his collapse in 1889, although he lived on until 1900), he published an astonishing number and variety of works, and wrote a great deal more. His writings attracted relatively little attention prior to his collapse; but the subsequent impact of his thought was and continues to be both great and diverse.

LIFE AND WORK. Nietzsche was born on October 15, 1844, in Röcken, Saxony (in Prussia). The son of a Lutheran pastor (who died when he was six), he entered a boarding school in Pforta in 1858, excelling in his studies of religion and classical and German literature. In 1864 he entered the University of Bonn, intending to study theology and classical philosophy; but after only one year he transferred to the University of Leipzig, where he concentrated on philosophy. While there he discovered Arthur Schopenhauer's *The World as Will and Representation*, which profoundly influenced him. It was as a classical philologist, however, that he received a call from the University of Basel at the astonishingly early age of twenty-four.

Nietzsche taught at Basel from 1869 until 1879, when he retired owing to the deterioration of his health (which resulted from illnesses he contracted in 1870 as a volunteer medical orderly in the Franco-Prussian War). During this period he formed a close association with Richard Wagner, his early fascination with whom is reflected in his first book, *The Birth of Tragedy* (1872). His later break with Wagner, culminating in his polemic *The Case of Wagner* (1888), was both profound and painful to him. At first regarding Wagner as showing the way to a cultural and spiritual renewal, Nietzsche came to see him as epitomizing and fostering decadent and dangerous tendencies.

These concerns with the direction and health of contemporary cultural and intellectual life were the real focus of most of Nietzsche's early writings. As he developed his own quite distinctive philosophical idiom and method, he drew strongly upon the idea and practice of interpretation associated with his discipline of classical philology. He departed increasingly from the conventional limits and norms of that discipline, however, and the unorthodox character of his published work during his tenure at Basel—beginning with *The Birth of Tragedy* and becoming more pronounced in his

Untimely Meditations (1873–1876) and *Human, All-Too-Human* (1878)—effectively divorced him from it. This rendered his retirement in 1879 merely the ratification of an accomplished fact.

The following decade, most of which Nietzsche spent alternating between residences in Switzerland and northern Italy, was phenomenally productive. *The Dawn* (1881) and the first four books of *The Gay Science* (1882) were followed by the four-part *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* (1883–1885). The next four years saw the appearance of *Beyond Good and Evil* (1886), the fifth book of *The Gay Science* and *The Genealogy of Morals* (1887), *The Case of Wagner* (1888), and *Twilight of the Idols* (1889) as well as the completion of several other works that were published some years later: *The Antichrist* (1895) and *Ecce Homo* (1908). During this period he also amassed a great deal of material in notebooks. (A substantial selection of this material, the significance of which is a matter of considerable controversy, was arranged and published posthumously under the title *The Will to Power*.)

Having written the last four of these works in the single year of 1888, Nietzsche suffered a complete mental and physical breakdown in early January of 1889, in Turin. His illness probably was the consequence of his having contracted syphilis many years earlier. He remained a partially paralyzed invalid, never regaining his health and sanity. During the remaining years of his life he was cared for by his sister, Elizabeth Förster-Nietzsche. She obtained control of his writings, sought to enhance and exploit his reputation, and was partly responsible for the misrepresentation of his thought that culminated in the travesty of his work being presented as the philosophical inspiration of National Socialism. This seriously damaged his reputation and long obstructed a just assessment of his work.

Nietzsche's style and manner of writing have affected his reception as well. Unlike most philosophers, he generally did not set out his views systematically, in clearly discernible lines of argument cast in dry and measured prose. His works, for the most part, consist of series of short paragraphs and sets of aphorisms, often only loosely (if at all) connected. Many deal with philosophical topics, but in very unconventional ways. His language, moreover, is by turns coolly analytical, heatedly polemical, and highly metaphorical. It is not surprising, therefore, that many philosophers have found it difficult to know what to make of him or whether to take him seriously, and that they have interpreted his work in many different ways.

THOUGHT. The early Nietzsche was greatly concerned with basic problems he discerned in contemporary Western culture and society, for which he considered it imperative to seek new solutions. He was further convinced that Schopenhauer's bleak picture of the world and the human condition was fundamentally sound, and yet he was determined to discover some way of avoiding Schopenhauer's pessimistic conclusions. In *The Birth of Tragedy* he looked to the ancient Greeks for clues and to Wagner for inspiration, believing that their art held the key to human flourishing in a Schopenhauerian world. In his subsequent series of four essays collectively titled *Untimely Meditations*, he expanded upon the need to reorient human thought and endeavor in a manner more conducive to the creativity and vitality of human life.

These essays were followed by a number of aphoristic books in which Nietzsche refined and extended his assessment of various human tendencies and social and cultural phenomena. During this period his thinking became much more sophisticated, and he developed the philosophical style and outlook that found mature expression in his writings of the 1880s. He prophesied the advent of a period of nihilism as traditional modes of interpretation and valuation collapsed in conjunction with the "death of God," the demise of metaphysics, and the discovery of science's inability to yield anything like absolute knowledge. However, the prospect of this forthcoming crisis deeply disturbed him. He took the basic challenge of philosophy to be that of overcoming not only traditional metaphysics and scientific rationalism but also the nihilism resulting from their abandonment. In the early 1880s, when he conceived and wrote *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, he arrived at a conception of human life and possibility—and with it, of value and meaning—that he believed could serve to fill the void left by the bankruptcy of traditional philosophy and religion and the poverty of science.

What Nietzsche called the "death of God" was both a cultural event—the waning of the "Christian-moral" interpretation of life and the world—and a philosophical development: the dismissal of the idea of God as a concept deserving serious philosophical attention. As a cultural event it was a phenomenon to be reckoned with, and a source of profound concern. As a philosophical development, on the other hand, it was his point of departure, demanding a radical reconsideration of the nature of life and the world, human existence, knowledge, value, and morality. Thus the "de-deification of nature," the "translation of man back into nature," the development of a "naturalistic" value-theory and its application to a "revaluation of values," and the tracing of the "genealogy of morals" and their critique were among the main tasks he set for himself.

Nietzsche emphatically rejected not only the "God-hypothesis" but also any metaphysical postulation of a "true world of 'being'" transcending the world of life and experience, and likewise deemed the "soul" and "things-in-themselves" to be ontological fictions. He conceived of all existence in terms of an interplay of forces without any inherent structure or final end; these forces ceaselessly refigure themselves as the fundamental disposition he called "will to power" gives rise to successive arrays of power relationships among them. His idea of the "eternal recurrence" underscores this conception of the world, in which things ever happen in this same manner. He thus construed human nature and existence naturalistically: "The soul is only a word for something about the body," he wrote; and the body is fundamentally an arrangement of natural forces and processes manifesting the "will to power." At the same time, however, he stressed the importance of social institutions and interactions in human development. He also insisted upon the possibility of the emergence of exceptional human beings ("higher men") capable of an independence and creativity elevating them above the general human level ("the herd"), and he proclaimed the "overman" (*Übermensch*) to be "the meaning of the earth," representing the overcoming of the "all-too-human" and the attainment of the fullest possible "enhancement of life."

Thus, far from seeking to diminish one's humanity by stressing animality, Nietzsche sought to direct one's attention and efforts to the emergence of a "higher humanity" capable of endowing existence with a redemptive human justification. He espoused a "Dionysian value-standard" based upon an affirmation of the "will to power" as the creative transformation of existence; and he accordingly made the "enhancement of life" and creativity the central themes of his "revaluation of values" and value-theory.

Insisting that moralities ought to be understood and assessed "in the perspective of life," Nietzsche argued that most of them were obstructive rather than conducive to the enhancement of life, reflecting all-too-human needs, weaknesses, and fears. Distinguishing between "master" and "slave" moralities, he found the latter to have eclipsed the former, issuing in a dominant "herd-animal morality" well-suited to the mediocre who are the human rule but stultifying and detrimental to potential exceptions. Therefore he advocated a "higher morality" for the latter, one that would be "beyond good and evil" and better attuned to their attainment of an enhanced, creative form of life. This reflects the linkage of his notions of such a "higher humanity" and the associated "higher morality" to his conception of art. Art, involving the creative transformation, in restricted contexts, of the world as humans find it, anticipates the kind of life that might be lived more fully in this manner and constitutes a step toward its emergence.

INFLUENCE. In the decades following Nietzsche's collapse, a veritable Nietzsche cult developed in central Europe, as self-styled followers produced a variety of influential but simplistic and distorted interpretations of his thought. Thus he was depicted by turns as a latter-day Romantic, an iconoclastic nihilist, a social Darwinist, and a racist and protofascist. He also attracted a substantial following in artistic and literary circles beyond as well as within central Europe. It was only slowly, however, that he began to be taken seriously by philosophers, and even then he was, and continues to be, interpreted in ways lending themselves to diverse philosophical purposes that often stand in a rather problematical relation to his own.

The common association of Nietzsche with existential philosophy, for example, is owing to his appropriation (in different ways) first by such German existential philosophers as Heidegger and Jaspers and then by French existentialists, notably Sartre and Camus. For others, he was a leading representative of *Lebensphilosophie;* as such he influenced the philosophical-anthropological movement that developed out of this school in central Europe. He was also one of the sources upon which members of the Frankfurt School drew in their attempts to develop a critical theory of society and culture. More recently still, he has been warmly embraced by post-structuralist French philosophers, who derive much of their inspiration from their reading of him. Certain recent Anglo-American analytical philosophers have discovered in him a kindred spirit as well.

NIETZSCHE AND RELIGION. Unlike most philosophers of importance before him, Nietzsche was openly and profoundly hostile to most forms of religious thought (with the notable exception of that of the early Greeks). He declared "war" upon the major world religions and their theologies, contending not only that they perpetuate superstitions and errors for which there is no longer any excuse but also that they are deeply objectionable owing to their detrimental impact upon human life. It was above all their purported "crimes against life" for which he attacked them, arguing that they have fed upon and fostered weakness, sickliness, life-weariness, and *ressentiment*, and that they have poisoned the wellsprings of human health, strength, and vitality by "devaluing" all "naturalistic values."

Thus Nietzsche undertook to "revalue" religious values, to expose the "all-too-human" origins and motivations of religious ways of thinking, and to undermine all otherworldly theologies, seeking to deprive them of any appearance of legitimacy they might still retain. He intended both to make their emergence and continuing acceptance understandable as human phenomena and at the same time to render them unacceptable to those capable of doing without them and of thinking clearly and honestly. He had some respect for a religion like Christianity as a form of life answering to a certain (interesting but flawed) configuration of human traits, and associated Jesus with this human possibility, but he contended that historical Christianity represented a perversion of it, fostering life-endangering attitudes and seducing potentially healthier human types into stunted or self-destructive forms of existence.

Although Nietzsche may have done religion in general and Christianity in particular a considerable injustice, he compelled their advocates to consider whether and how various forms of religion could be exonerated of his charges against them. He also gave strong impetus to attempts to develop new theologies that dispensed with traditional conceptions of God and the soul in favor of alternative ways of conceiving of the divine and the spiritual nature of mankind. In other quarters, his attack upon traditional religious ways of thinking prompted their defiant defense, thereby contributing indirectly to the resurgence of neo-orthodoxy in opposition to the liberal-theological and naturalistic secular currents of modern thought. Finally, Nietzsche helped to stimulate a reconsideration of the relation between religion and theology. The idea that the most important thing about a religion is the difference it makes in the lives of those who embrace it, rather than the belief system it elaborates, owes much to him, even though most religious thinkers who have followed him in this have tended to assess the effects of religion on the lives of believers very differently than he did.

Nietzsche may not have subverted religion as decisively as he desired and claimed to have done, for his criticisms do not leave all its forms without any means of defense. His critique cannot be lightly dismissed, however, and if it is accorded the serious consideration by religious thinkers it deserves, then the religious issue of this confrontation will be arguably more deserving of respect than most of religion as he knew and conceived it. In any case, anyone well disposed toward religion would do well to make the experiment of attempting to view it through Nietzsche's eyes. This may not lead one to abandon religion, but it is almost certain to alter one's view of it to good effect.

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RICHARD SCHACHT (1987)

NIGHTINGALE, FLORENCE

NIGHTINGALE, FLORENCE (1820–1910), is remembered as a nurse, yet she wrote in her seventies that, when planning her future as a young woman, her one idea was not to organize a hospital but to organize a religion. Nursing researchers, sociologists, and scholars of religion, who are now examining Nightingale's voluminous but previously unpublished ideological and religious writings, are discovering the truth of these words.

NIGHTINGALE'S LIFE. Nightingale was born on May 12, 1820, the second daughter of William and Frances Nightingale, members of the upper class from Derbyshire, England. Although Florence Nightingale was raised in the Church of England, her Cambridge-educated father instilled in her his Unitarian heritage while tutoring her in many languages, history, science, and philosophy. The young Nightingale disdained her privileged life, preferring to help the village poor. At age seventeen she received a call to serve God. Encountering family resistance, she bided her time, studying hospital reports and documents on social reform. Trips to Europe exposed her to emerging political, religious, and social thought. She visited convents, observed their work, and adopted their spiritual exercises even though her religious ideas prevented her from joining a Catholic religious order. While in Egypt at age thirty, Nightingale received a second call to serve the poor and made a private vow to God. She visited a Protestant deaconess order serving the poor in Kaiserswerth, Germany, in 1850 and 1851, but further plans were sabotaged by her family. Nightingale channeled her rage into *Cassandra* (1852), an autobiographical fiction about powerless Victorian women that foreshadowed later feminist arguments. After receiving another call to serve England's poor, she began a theological treatise, *Suggestions for Thought to the Searchers after Truth among the Artizans of England* (1852).

Leaving home in 1853, Nightingale became superintendent of a home for destitute governesses. The following year Lord Sidney Herbert, the secretary of war, sent her to the Crimea to care for wounded British soldiers. After sixteen months Nightingale returned a heroine but refused to start a nursing school with the Nightingale Fund established in her honor, focusing instead on reform of the army and its medical services. She wrote a lengthy report on army health; helped launch royal commissions on Britain's army in England and India; analyzed her Crimean medical statistics; wrote *Notes on Hospitals* (1859) and *Notes on Nursing* (1860), and declared herself an invalid. She retired to her home, where prominent politicians came to consult with her. The Nightingale Training School for Nurses was established at Saint Thomas's Hospital in London in 1860. While Nightingale submitted proposals, her first visit to the school did not occur until many years later. Nightingale lived for many years as an invalid in seclusion while pursuing her many reforms. She died on August 13, 1910, and is buried in East Wellow, Hampshire, England.

THEOLOGICAL IDEAS AND ACTIVITIES. Nightingale's religious vocation was central to her life, and her work lies within this vocation. Each year she reviewed her spiritual progress, and later she celebrated the jubilee of her first call. She read and translated medieval mystics in preparation for writing a book. Her invalidism has been attributed to chronic illness, post-traumatic stress, and a desire to escape from family demands, yet it also created a monastic existence in lieu of a religious or secular order. In 1860 Nightingale expanded *Suggestions for Thought*, sending drafts to six scholars, including Benjamin Jowett of Balliol College, Oxford, and the reformer John Stuart Mill. The manuscript addressed the same issues as *Essays and Reviews* (1860), a Church of England Broad Church Movement publication that resulted in heresy trials. While *Essays and Reviews* critiqued the church, Nightingale's *Suggestions for Thought* offered the working class a reasonable religion that rejected the prevailing teaching that poverty was God's will. Nightingale's topics included God, universal law, God's will, human will, sin, evil, family life, women, spirituality, and life after death. Mill quoted her in his parliamentary speech on women's rights, and Jowett acknowledged the qualities of her mind, beginning a thirty-year intimate friendship with Nightingale.

Nightingale's theology prefigured twentieth-century liberation theology, which begins not with traditional doctrines and ancient texts but with the experience of the oppressed, as does feminist theology. Nightingale suggested that oppressive social systems were human constructions held in place by the powerful, whether government or church, not God's will. A liberating religion should not ask people to passively believe and accept their lot but make rational sense to everyone. Since God's spirit was in all people, rich or poor, all could participate in God's new society by learning, through observation, education, and statistical analysis, God's will written in the universe. Nightingale called statistics a "sacred science" because it transcended individual experiences to uncover God's larger thoughts, as her Crimean statistics demonstrated.

Prefiguring another contemporary debate, Nightingale argued that the concept of God evolved through history and was still evolving. While primal people propitiated an all-powerful God with sacrifice, worship, and prayer, believing suffering reflected divine displeasure, an arbitrary God intervening at will was not viable for a scientific age. A moratorium on God language was necessary until divine metaphors were reshaped. For Nightingale, God was embodied (incarnated) in the universe. Humans, as part of the universe, participated in this divinity, being drawn into mystic union with God through learning divine universal laws more reliable than claims of special revelation delivered in culturally bound language through selected interpreters. Good health and social conditions did not come by divine intervention but through human observation and application of divine laws.

Incarnation, Trinity, and theories localizing God in one incarnation and one day of suffering, while ignoring God's suffering, work, and passion through eternity, needed rethinking. Medieval atonement ideas of God's Son sacrificed because of divine offense at human sin were culturally bound explanations from an era demanding judgment and punishment, not reform. Instead, Nightingale's Trinity comprised: (1) God as thought, purpose, and will-engendering development; (2) Son as divine manifestation in all humanity developing according to God's will, Jesus being the perfect example and greatest teacher; and (3) Spirit as the divine in each, through which God as thought communicates. Life was about progressive learning from errors with the Spirit's help, as well as help from many human saviors, like Nightingale, to lead to truth, both in this world and other reincarnations.

WOMEN'S ISSUES. Nightingale challenged a divine order of creation automatically placing men over women; she believed that women were also called to serve God as handmaids of the Lord. She advocated a secular order of trained, salaried single women across all classes to serve the poor while also gaining economic independence—her nursing model. Her parliamentary efforts changed laws restricting women's rights to children, property, and divorce. She did not work for women's suffrage in the 1860s because she was busy with army reform and knew that, because not all men could vote, any women's votes would go to a privileged few. The Adam and Eve story justifying male headship was tightly woven into Britain's religion, class, and family systems and needed challenging before women could vote.

When Nightingale died at age ninety, she left a formidable literary legacy. Her writings in the British Library form one of its largest single collections. Since women of her era could not obtain university degrees, her scholarly writings remained largely unpublished and unheeded until the late twentieth century, yet her religious ideas parallel contemporary process and relational theology and prefigure by one hundred years liberation and feminist theology.

SEE ALSO Feminist Theology, article on Christian Feminist Theology; God, article on God in Postbiblical Christianity; Liberation Theology.

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VAL WEBB (2005)

NIHILISM SEE DOUBT AND BELIEF; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH

NIITSITAPPI RELIGION SEE BLACKFEET RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS

NIKEPHOROS (758–828), patriarch of Constantinople. Nikephoros lived during the Iconoclastic Controversy (726–843), a crisis that involved all levels of Byzantine society in a desperate struggle. The reality of Christ became the theological justification for the veneration of icons, which was tested and fought for in the arenas of imperial and ecclesiastical authority. The iconophiles, who supported the use of icons in the church, perceived the challenge of their iconoclast rulers as an attack against the person of Jesus Christ.

Nikephoros's birth in Constantinople coincided with a brewing storm of persecution initiated by Emperor Constantine V (741–775), which was also directed against Nikephoros's father. Attached to the service of the empire as secretary and director of the largest poorhouse in the capital, Nikephoros also served as the imperial spokesman at the Second Council of Nicaea (787). This experience was to serve him well during his tenure as patriarch (806–815), during which he witnessed the political vicissitudes of three imperial masters.

Like his predecessors Germanos and Tarasios, the patriarch was an advocate of a moderate policy through which concessions were made to extremists of both the imperial and ecclesiastical factions. Nikephoros remained resolute when the orthodox faith was at stake, as is proved by his long exile under Leo V from 815 until his death.

Scholars have increasingly recognized that Nikephoros's role in the controversy was more important during this period of exile, when he turned to a literary refutation of the heterodoxy of Constantine V and the iconoclastic Synod of Hagia Sophia (815), than it was during the preceding period, when he was a hierarch actively in office.

Dogmatically sophisticated, Nikephoros displayed extraordinary skill as he worked within the larger context of theological concerns, which he presented in such a way as to support the veneration of icons. Moreover, as a direct descendant of the apostolic tradition and Cappadocian synthesis, he worked out the problems faced by both John of Damascus and Theodore of Studios by elucidating the dogmatic and philosophical relation between an image and its archetype, the difference between art and circumscription, and the continuity of tradition as exemplified in the church's kerygma and witness concerning the icons. His subtle argumentation is a unique addition to the iconophiles' arsenal supporting Christ's iconographic depiction. Nikephoros's singular achievement was to sever the teaching on icons from an iconoclastic theology—traceable back to monophysitism with its Origenistic, Neoplatonic spiritualism—and to identify this teaching as an uninterrupted continuation of Chalcedonian Christology, with its reaffirmation of the historical facts of the New Testament.

As the last well-known iconophile theologian, Nikephoros may have wanted to be remembered primarily as the author whose work could have served as the basis for a future orthodox synod. But his generation overlooked, perhaps not intentionally, his theological efforts and praised the sanctity of his life. The patriarch in exile became the symbol of unity for both clergy in the world and monastics and a reconciler between iconophiles and iconoclasts in the strife that lasted for two more decades. Not until the restoration of the icons (March 11, 843) could his followers transfer his holy relics back to Constantinople and honor their prelate as a saint-confessor of Orthodox Christianity.

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JOHN TRAVIS (1987)

NIKEPHOROS KALLISTOS (c. 1256–1335), more fully Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos; Byzantine theologian and church historian. Most probably Nikephoros was a native of Constantinople and had served as a priest on the staff of the Hagia Sophia cathedral. Of the very little that we know about his life, it seems certain that, during the reign of Emperor Andronikos the Elder (r. 1282–1328), Nikephoros was active in ecclesiastical affairs and sided with those who opposed union with Rome.

Nikephoros wrote several works. His eighteen-book *Ecclesiastical History* covers the period from the birth of Christ to 610 and is important because it provides information on hagiology and on the theological and Christological controversies of the early centuries. A summary of five more books at the end of his introduction to the *History* has been accepted as an indication that he intended to continue the narrative to 912. There is no evidence that Nikephoros intended to write a general ecclesiastical history from the church's inception to his own time. Though the earliest books depend heavily on the church historians of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, such as Eusebius of Caesarea, Socrates, Sozomenos, Theodoretos, Evagrios Scholastikos, and Theodore the Lector, Krumbacher (1897) has rightly observed that "in matters and topics dear to him, [Nikephoros] was an original and worthy author."

Of his other writings, Nikephoros's didactic poems became very popular and have survived in many manuscripts. He also wrote several liturgical, exegetical, and hagiographical works, including a synopsis of the holy scripture in iambics, the *Siege of Jerusalem*, the life and miracles of Nicholas of Myra, seven hymns to the *theotokos*, and several short hymns for the Akathistos Hymn. He wrote homilies on and commentaries to *Psalms* and homilies on Gregory of Nazianzus.

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DEMETRIOS J. CONSTANTELOS (1987)

NIKKŌ (1246–1333), Japanese Buddhist priest and one of the chief disciples of Nichiren (d. 1282). Although Nichiren did not designate a particular successor, on his deathbed he selected six of his senior disciples, Nisshō (1221–1323), Nichirō (1245–1320), Nikō (1253–1341), Nitchō (1252–1317), Nichiji (1250–?), and Nikkō, to carry on his work. Following the death of Nichiren, these six decided among themselves to assume care on a rotating basis of the temple named Kuonji that had been founded at Mount Minobu by Nichiren in 1281. Under this agreement, the priests, assisted by disciples living in the area, resolved to take up residence at the temple in one-month shifts. Political circumstances, however, intervened to frustrate their plans. Nikkō and Nichiji, who were living near Minobusan, faced little difficulty in fulfilling their obligations, but the other priests came under considerable pressure from Nagasaki Yoritsuna, minister of war and a powerful foe of the Nichiren group, and thus were unable to leave the capital city of Kamakura. In 1285, Nikkō agreed to a request by Nambu Sanenaga, a patron of the temple, and the other five senior disciples that he take up permanent residence on Minobusan. By 1288, Nikō was able to join Nikkō there following the relaxation of Yoritsuna's efforts to suppress the order.

Later, Nambu Sanenaga made an image of Śākyamuni Buddha and worshiped it. Nikkō contended that the image of the Buddha should be accompanied by companion images of the four disciples of the "original" Śākyamuni in order to distinguish it from that of the "historical" Śākyamuni. Nikō, on the other hand, was inclined to permit worship of the icon unflanked by images of the four disciples. When Nambu Sanenaga sided with Nikō, Nikkō left Minobusan and in 1288 founded the Kōmon-ha subsect. In 1290 he established his own temple, the Taisekiji, at Ōishi-ga-hara in Suruga province (Shizuoka-ken), and the following year moved to a new hermitage at Kitayama, two miles north of the Taisekiji. In 1298 the hermitage was remodeled into a full-fledged temple and renamed the Honmonji. Nikkō served as abbot of both temples until his death in 1333.

Although Nikkō is not responsible for the formulation of any independent doctrine, he is historically significant for his role in creating the first split in the Nichiren school. Later generations of Kōmon-ha adherents, notably Nichiu (1409–

1482), the ninth abbot of the Taisekiji, advocated an identification of Nichiren with the "original" Buddha and prohibited the worship of images, but these doctrines cannot be traced back to the influence of Nikkō.

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MURANO SENCHU (1987)

NIKODIMOS OF THE HOLY MOUNTAIN

(c. 1749–1809), known also as the Hagiorite, Greek Orthodox spiritual father and writer. Nikodimos was born on the Greek island of Naxos and studied in Smyrna, where he was taught Latin, Italian, and French. His teacher was the famous monk Chrysanthos Aitolos (d. 1785). Nikodimos was influenced by the hesychast tradition, which stressed mental prayer, and by the Kollyvades movement, which emphasized strict adherence to the doctrinal and liturgical traditions of the church. At the age of twenty-six Nikodimos went to Mount Athos. Two years later, in 1777, Makarios of Corinth arrived there, and a fruitful collaboration between him and Nikodimos began. Together, they published the *Philokalia*, a collection of the writings and sayings of the great ascetic Fathers of the church. Nikodimos also published *Concerning Continual Communion*, in which he made the unusual recommendation to the Orthodox that they receive Holy Communion frequently, in accordance with the ancient Christian practice. In his *Handbook of Counsel* Nikodimos developed the practice of mental prayer. In the *Pedalion* (The Rudder) he collected and paraphrased the canons of the church. Finally, in addition to editing hymns and publishing exegetical works and lives of the saints, Nikodimos translated into Greek an Italian work by the Jesuit Giovanni P. Pinamonti (1632–1703) that was probably based on the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola. He also translated *Spiritual Combat* by Lorenzo Scupoli (c. 1530–1610) into Greek, calling it *Unseen Warfare*.

In 1955 the ecumenical patriarchate of Constantinople officially proclaimed Nikodimos a saint of the church, and his memory is commemorated on July 14. As a prolific writer, splendid theologian, and practitioner of the prayer of the heart, Nikodimos contributed greatly to the awakening of the Greek Orthodox people during the difficult years of the Ottoman conquest.

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GEORGE S. BEBIS (1987)

NIKON

(1605–1681), patriarch of Moscow, Russian Orthodox church reformer. Nikon briefly dominated the Russian political and ecclesiastical scene in the mid-seventeenth century. Not least of his achievements was that he rose from utter obscurity to do so. He served a Moscow parish for ten years but turned his back on the capital in the early 1630s when his three children all died suddenly. Both he and his wife decided to become monastics. Much of the time Nikon lived as a solitary (1634–1643). He was, however, elected abbot of the Kozheezero hermitage and by 1646 was abbot of an important monastery in Moscow. There he was befriended by the tsar. Hardly three years later he was appointed metropolitan (archbishop) of Novgorod and by 1652 was in line for election to the patriarchal throne itself.

By this time Nikon was clearly aligned with the reformers of the Russian church, the "God-seekers." They had encouraged a notable revival in the moral and liturgical life of the Russian people. At the time of his election Nikon had elicited an unusual promise of obedience from the tsar and boyars of the realm. He was now to implement it in an unprecedented fashion. He proceeded at an accelerated pace—and at his own initiative—with new liturgical reforms. The principle on which he based these reforms was that Orthodoxy was universal rather than merely Muscovite; that Russia gained its Orthodoxy from the Greeks; and that Greek models should be followed wherever any discrepancy could be detected between Greek and Russian practice. Nikon did not pause to consider that such discrepancies could well be legitimate and that seventeenth-century Greek practice might not be any more "authentic" than Russian.

Popular piety was outraged by some of Nikon's earliest reforms, not least because they involved the use of three fingers instead of two for the frequently used sign of the cross. In any case, Russians had long been used to thinking of Muscovite faith and practice as normative. Within a few years a schism developed. Whereas Nikon's own commitment to his reforms seems to have wavered within a few years, Old Ritualists (otherwise known as Old Believers) consistently accepted persecution rather than tolerate the new ways.

Paradoxically, the Russian church councils of 1666 and 1667, which accepted the Nikonian reforms and excommunicated the conservative Old Ritualists, also sat in judgment on Nikon himself. Their hidden agenda was the question of authority. Nikon was seen by the councils as having too readily accepted papal standards of authority. For example, he had published in Russian the spurious *Donation of Constantine* (a ninth-century document fabricated to strengthen the power of the Roman see), and he advocated the medieval formulation of the "two swords," which was held to justify the pope's authority over church and state alike. He insisted that the priesthood possessed primacy vis-à-vis the ruler and resisted any secular challenge to church prerogatives or ownership of land. All this caused resentment among the boyars and eventually also in the tsar. It was Tsar Aleksei himself who saw to it in 1666 that the church council depose his former friend Nikon. He thus paved the way for the 1720 reforms of Peter the Great, which involved the absolute (administrative) subjugation of church to state.

Nikon was subsequently exiled to the north and his status reduced to that of a simple monk. When the new tsar, Fedor, permitted him to return to Moscow (1681) it was already too late: Nikon died on the journey south at Yaroslavl. Nonetheless, his burial was that of a patriarch.

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SERGEI HACKEL (1987)

NILSSON, MARTIN P. (1874–1967), Swedish classicist. Martin Persson Nilsson enrolled as a student in classical studies at the University of Lund in 1892, where in 1900 he earned his Ph.D. degree with a dissertation on the Attic festivals of Dionysos. He became instructor of Greek language and literature at the same university, and also taught archaeology; under the university's auspices he participated in the Danish excavations at Lindos, Rhodes, between 1905 and 1907. In 1909 he was appointed to the new chair of classical archaeology and ancient history at Lund, which he occupied until his retirement in 1939. Among the numerous recognitions he received were his appointment as member to the Society of Letters (in Lund), membership in the Royal Academy of Letters, History, and Antiquities (in Stockholm), and membership in the Royal Danish Academy. In 1939–1940 he taught at the University of California at Berkeley and lectured at various places in the United States under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Norton Lectureship of the Archaeological Institute of America.

In his early years, Nilsson was greatly interested in primitive religion and in anthropology, interests that resulted in publications on primitive culture and religion. Although he himself dated the beginnings of his extensive work on Greek religion to the early 1920s, James G. Frazer wrote as early as 1924 that Nilsson had "long been known to scholars as one of the most learned and sagacious exponents of ancient Greek life and thought," in his introduction to Nilsson's *A History of Greek Religion* (1925). Among Nilsson's other studies on Greek and Roman religions in general, the most widely known are "Die Griechen," a chapter in P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye's edition of *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* (1925), and especially his major work, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (1941–1950). He dealt specifically with Greek folk religion and piety in *Greek Popular Religion* (1940) and *Grekisk religiostet* (1946). By his careful analysis of the impact and influence of the Minoan-Mycenaean religion and culture upon ancient Greek religion, Nilsson has undoubtedly made his most widely recognized contribution to the field. In all his major studies on Greek religion Nilsson discussed this subject, and a number of his publications specifically deal with it, especially *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and Its Survival in Greek Religion* (1927).

Among his numerous other publications, several deal with festivals, calendars, and time reckoning, primarily (but not exclusively) using data from the Greek world. Bordering the field of New Testament studies is his *The Historical Hellenistic Background of the New Testament* (1941), while some of his other essays treat the wider fields of religious studies in general and the history and comparative study of religions. At points, his work touches on some methodological issues. In his writings Nilsson often offers valuable surveys and critical assessments of existing literature. For example, he rejects Erwin Rohde's thesis of the Thracian-Dionysian origin of the belief in immortality; he objects strongly to all antievolutionists and to every approach that he brands "ahistorical" (including that of Walter F. Otto); and he speaks sarcastically about Geo Widengren and other "adherents of the High God Belief." For the context of this last criticism, see his article "Letter to Professor Arthur D. Nock on Some Fundamental Concepts in the Science of Religion" (*Harvard Theological Review* 42, 1949, p. 105).

Nilsson's own understanding of primitive religion included a modified notion of *mana*, or sacred power. He opted, with Gerardus van der Leeuw, for the term *dynamism* to describe the religions of primitive peoples, but he stressed that "power appears to consciousness only in separate phenomena or cases" and that "one cannot speak of a concept of power" (ibid., p. 91). This integral aspect of Nilsson's work, along with his self-confessed evolutionism (not in the sense of historical development but as a conceptual, logical series) are some of the points on which Nilsson has been most severely criticized. Specifically, the impact of his idea of *mana* on his interpretation of the Greek concept of the *daimon* as "impersonal power" has been sharply attacked.

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Revised Bibliography

NIMBĀRKA

NIMBĀRKA (fl. mid-fourteenth century?), a Telugu brahman, also called Mimbāditya or Niyamānanda. It is believed that Nimbārka came from Nimba or Nimbapura in the Bellary district (Mysore state), but tradition associates him mostly with Mathurā, the center of the Vaiṣṇava faith in North India. His date has been a matter of controversy among scholars. Since he refers to Rāmānuja's view in his commentary on the *Brahma Sūtra*, he must have lived shortly after Rāmānuja (R. G. Bhandarkar's conjecture). But Surendranath Dasgupta (1940) dates him roughly around the middle of the fourteenth century CE. Dasgupta's argument seems convincing, for this date fits well with the tentative chronology of the four Vaiṣṇava Vedānta schools—those that opposed the Advaita Vedānta school of Śaṅkara. Nimbārka was the founder of one of the four traditionally recognized Vaiṣṇava sects or *sampradāya*s. These sects are known as Śrī Sampradāya (followers of Rāmānuja), Brahma Sampradāya (followers of Madhva), Rudra Sampradāya (followers of Vallabhacarya), and Sanakādi Sampradāya (followers of Nimbārka).

Of the approximately nine works attributed to Nimbārka, the most notable are his commentaries on the *Brahma Sūtra* and on the *Vedāntapārijātasaurabha*, and an independent work, the *Daśaślokī*. Some of the others are neither available in print nor completely preserved, even in their manuscript forms.

Nimbārka's philosophy is usually called *dvaitādvaita-vāda*, "the theory of dualism and nondualism." This description is based upon the main question raised by all the Vedāntins: what is the relation between *brahman* and the world, or between *brahman* and man? Is this an absolute nondifference (Śaṅkara) or absolute difference, or both? Unlike Śaṅkara, all the Vaiṣṇava Vedān tins argued that the world is real. Rāmānuja was the first to take the lead in attacking Advaita. But while Rāmānuja called his view "qualified nondualism" Nimbārka called it "both dualism and nondualism." Madh-va asserted the view of "dualism" while Vallabha leaned toward "nondualism." For Nimbārka, *brahman* was not an impersonal entity, but was identified as a personal, omnipotent God. Unlike Śaṅkara, all of the Vaiṣṇavas talked about a personal god (=*brahman* =Kṛṣṇa=Hariisnu=Viṣṇu) and supported the cultivation of *bhakti* ("devotional attachment") toward such a godhead. Nimbārka's Vedānta is very similar to Rāmānuja's in this regard.

According to Nimbārka, the *brahman* is Śrī Kṛṣṇa, who is omniscient, omnipotent, and the ultimate cause. He is all-pervading. He has transformed himself into the material constituents of the world and *jīva*s ("sentient beings"). Two analogies are cited to emphasize that in spite of this essential nondifference (one interpretation of "transformation") between cause and effects, *brahman* maintains his independence or difference. Just as the *prāṅa* ("life force") manifests itself into various activities of the senses and the mind, but still retains its independence and individuality, and just as a spider spins out of its own body the web and yet remains independent, *brahman* creates sentient beings and the material world out of himself but still remains pure and full and undiminished in his glory and power.

Nimbārka used his dialectical skill in refuting the views of Śaṅkara and other rivals. In spite of the fact that his theory was very similar to that of Rāmānuja, his skill in argumentation and his novelty in presentation earned him a permanent and independent place in the Vaiṣṇava Vedānta tradition. His explanation of the *līlā* theory (that creation is only a spontaneous sport of the ever-perfect, ever-blissful Hari) had a freshness that captured the imagination of many *bhakta*s or devotees. His immediate pupil, Śrīnivāsa, wrote a commentary called *Vedānta-kaustubha* on his *Vedānta-pārijāta-sau-rabha*. Many other scholars followed Śrīnivāsa. Among them were Keśava Kāśmīrī Bhaṭṭa, Puruṣottama Prasāda, Mukunda, and Vanamāli Miśra, who kept alive the Nimbārka substream of Vaiṣṇava Vedānta.

SEE ALSO Madhva; Rāmānuja; Śaṅkara; Vallabha.

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NIMBUS.

NIMBUS. The nimbus, or halo, usually pictured as a luminous figure around the head of a god or holy person, is clearly related in some instances to the sun and solar divinities. Among the native civilizations of Central America, agrarian gods are often pictured with golden crowns or nimbuses. The Inca deity Viracocha wears a tiara that is also the sun. Combining the natures of a sun god and a storm god, Viracocha participates in the character of the highest universal beings, such as Yahveh/El, Zeus, and the Buddha, who in some representations both wields a thunderbolt and wears a nimbus. The nimbus can also be traced, however, to the idea of an external expression of an internal supernatural force, and hence partakes of the full range of light symbolism from both Western and Eastern traditions; in particular, its light signifies intellect or mystical knowledge.

The Iranians pictured what the Avesta terms the *khvarenah* as a sort of supernatural fire, a nimbus, or an aureole, which is like the nimbus but encircles the whole person. It belonged primarily to the gods but could be given to royalty by the grace of the chief divinity, Ahura Mazdā. In Vajrayāna Buddhism in Tibet, the Vidyārajas represent the wrathful side of the absolute wisdom of Vairocana as the *bodhisattvas* represent the calm side. Encircling the supreme being, they wear aureoles of blazing flames and direct them against the darkness of *avidyā* (ignorance), which prevents aspirants from gaining emancipation.

More commonly, the nimbus expresses holiness or sacred character rather than action: two early texts of Mahāyāna Buddhism describe the *bodhisattva* as having a halo studded with five hundred Buddhas, each of which is, in turn, attended by numberless gods. As a way of picturing the wholly transcendent nature of the Buddha, some portraits show his head and halo as a wheel.

In Greece and Rome, the nimbus was often shown around the heads of gods and those in special relationships with them. It acquired fine distinctions in Christian art: the rectangular nimbus, for example, belonged to someone still living at the time the picture was made, whereas a nimbus with three rays or groups of rays was one of several forms that could be given only to the members of the Trinity, usually to the Son.

Between the sixth and twelfth centuries CE, the nimbus was depicted as luminous and transparent. Later representations were more stylized. Sometimes it was opaque, and between 1300 and 1500 the name or initials of a saint were often decoratively inscribed on the nimbus itself. During this same period, the nimbus sometimes appeared around animals when they symbolized divinities or holy persons. In depictions of Jesus Christ or the Virgin Mary with the child Jesus, the aureole was sometimes used.

Another, possibly related, version of the aureole occurs in Islamic representations of a person inside a pearl: here the pearl represents Paradise, where those who are blessed go after death.

See Also Iconography.

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The nimbus as a Christian symbol has been described in detail in many books on Christian symbolism in art. Typical of these is George W. Ferguson's *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (Oxford, 1954). Most of the time these discussions are general and have little or no explanation of deeper meanings. The Mahāyāna texts in which the nimbus of the *bodhisattva* is described are the *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra* and the *Vajracchedika Sūtra*.

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NINHURSAGA

NINHURSAGA ("lady of the mountain") was the name given by Ninurta after his victory over the Kur to his mother Ninlil, who gave birth to him from his father Enlil, the powerful god of Nippur. Under the name Ninhursaga, she created the "black heads" (as the Sumerians called themselves) along with An and Enlil. She also took part in the council of the major gods—An, Enlil, Enki, and Ninhursaga—when they decided to inflict the universal flood upon the earth. In the myth of Enki and Ninhursaga she instead appears as the wife of Enki, here with the name Nintu. After intercourse with Enki she gives birth to Ninsar, "the lady of vegetation." In the underworld myths Ninhursaga receives gifts from Gilgamesh.

Under the name Ninhursaga, she plays an important part in Sumerian texts of the pre-Sargonic period. She is directly linked to the institution of the divine kingship: she "breastfeeds with delicious milk" the future sovereign at the moment of his birth (Eannatum of Lagash and Lugalzaggesi of Uruk), while Mesalim styles himself the "beloved son of Ninhursaga." Ninhursaga also appears with the great gods who guarantee the treaty between Lagash and Umma in the list of curses on the Vulture Stele, where she is given the second rank in the company of Enlil, Enki, Utu, and Ninki. The pre-Sargonic royal texts of Lagash record that their sovereigns erected the Gigunu of Tirku for her, whereas in texts from Ur one learns that A'annepada of Ur built her a temple.

The text of the Barton cylinder, which Jan van Dijk says is a copy of a much older story predating the neo-Sumerian period, mentions Ninhursaga by her epithet "mighty sister of Enlil." The text may be subdivided into two sections: the first is an etiological description of the outbreak of the mythical storm, which takes place in "a day, a night, a year," near the sanctuary of Nippur, the historical abode of the poliad god Enlil, and which causes the sky and the earth to touch. The second part describes a sacred marriage between An and Ninhursaga, the mighty sister of Enlil. The appearance of a dragon, with whom the earth talks, introduces the mythical serpent into the story.

The myth of "Enki and Ninhursaga," as recognized by Thorkild Jacobsen, is actually a conflation of two stories that must have been transmitted separately. This can be clearly seen from the name of Enki's wife, who is called Ninsikil in the first story and Nintu-Ninhursaga in the second. There are various perplexing difficulties with the text, so that, for example, Ninsikil is first the wife of Enki, whereas later Ninhursaga gives birth to her.

With this caveat in mind, here is the structure of the myth as it survives. It starts with a description setting the scene where events take place—Dilmun, which is still in pristine condition but needs to be provided with water. When Ninsikil complains about the lack of this essential commodity; Enki promises that the god Utu will not only provide Dilmun with water but will grant it a host of good things from other countries. This is virtually the entire first story.

The theme of the second story consists of accounts of sexual intercourse between Enki and his wife, then with successive daughters, who are in turn produced incestuously: Enki and Nintu beget Ninsar, who begets Ninkurra, who begets Ninimma, who begets Uttu. After Enki has tricked Uttu into having intercourse with him, Ninhursaga intervenes and makes eight plants grow to protect Uttu's daughter, but these are eaten by Enki, who as a result becomes afflicted with eight illnesses. At this point Ninhursaga curses Enki and goes off to hide so she will not see her hated husband any longer. However, the death of Enki, the god of wisdom, would have broken the balance of the universe, so Enlil (with the help of a fox) manages to bring Ninhursaga back to Nippur, where she is finally ready to forgive her husband. Ninhursaga now gives birth to eight gods who will cure Enki of the eight illnesses that have attacked and weakened his body, and she gives these gods eternal life.

Jacobsen suggested that the goddess Nintu, whose name means "lady of childbirth," may be simply a secondary name for Ninhursaga, a theory upon which Marcos Such-Gutierrez (2003) has cast doubt. In favor of Jacobsen's theory is the fact that the sign *TU* in the name *Nintu* ends with the consonant *r*, though it should end with the consonant *d*. Furthermore it has been demonstrated that during the second dynasty of Lagash and the third dynasty of Ur, Ninhursaga is considered the wife of Enlil and is therefore synonymous with Ninlil. This last assertion is confirmed by the myth an-gim-dím-ma, in which Ninurta has Enlil as his father and Nintu as his mother.

Along with the identification of Ninlil with Ninhursaga, documented in the myth of "Ninurta from Lugal-e," the mythological texts suggest other interesting identifications. In the document "Ninurta, Enki, and the Turtle" one finds that Ninurta's mother is Ninmena, "lady of the tiara," whereas in the Akkadian myth "Ninurta and Anzu" the hero's mother is Mami, which suggests that the term had a generic value and meant "mother-goddess." In almost all the myths analyzed, the role of "mother" of the heavenly gods is played by Ninhursaga, who is mentioned under various names, including Mami, as in the last myth, and Nintu, as in the story of "Enki and Ninhursaga," as well as Dingirmah and Ninmah.

Ninhursaga also had the epithets Ninzizna (mistress of the embryo), Nindim (mistress fashioner), and Nagarshaga (carpenter of the womb). She is a very early goddess, with roots in European and Anatolian Neolithic cultures. A plaque dating from Old Babylonian times pictures her nursing an infant and with babies' heads protruding from her shoulders. On either side of her hangs on pegs her omega-shaped symbol, a representation of the uterus of a cow, and on the ground squat two emaciated figures supporting their chins in their hands. They represent embryos, possibly prematurely born fetuses, for which a Sumerian term was *shusagaduga* ([with] the hands put to the head). Such figures have been found with images of a birth goddess in Romania and Moldavia dating from the fifth millennium BCE.

It is certainly surprising that Ninhursaga is mentioned in the myth "Death of Gilgamesh," where she is listed among the gods of the underworld who receive Gilgamesh, who has just arrived in the Land of No Return. The goddess Ninhursaga is mainly active in heaven or on earth in the role of a nurse for those destined to be king, as in the case of Eannatum and others.

Ninhursaga has been connected with the theory of primitive matriarchy by some scholars. However, most contemporary historians of religion accept the anthropological view that a stage of matriarchy never existed, although a few eminent scholars continue to support the idea of an age of "mother right" that preceded patriarchy. They insist that this has been confirmed by archaeological evidence. Although most feminist scholars of the early twenty-first century agree with the anthropological position, there remain a few articulate feminist authors who continue to perpetuate the idea of an original matriarchal stage.

SEE ALSO Goddess Worship, overview article; Mesopotamian Religions, overview articles; Patriarchy and Matriarchy.

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NINURTA. A divinity of Nippur, Ninurta was the son of Enlil and Ninlil. Ninurta's epithets include Utaʾulu, "Sun of the South," as well as "conqueror of the Kur" and "upright diadem of Ashnan." He is said to have "sprung from Ekur," the main temple of Nippur and home of the divine couple Enlil and Ninlil. In Sumerian mythology his greatest feat is the epic war against the Kur, specifically against Asag, the fiendish monster begotten by An and given birth to by Earth, who wanted to oppose his supremacy. Ninurta not only kills him but lays the foundations of agriculture, the life-giving, essential activity of the land.

THE NINURTA STORY. The myth begins with a hymn to the god Ninurta and the background of the story. While he is sitting with all the other gods, Ninurta orders his weapon Sharur to keep watch on the Kur. The response he receives is far from reassuring. The Kur are in revolt, on this occasion provoked by an alliance formed between Asag and the coalition of stones, and what is more the rebels have actually triumphed. Ninurta wants to suppress the revolt immediately and rushes against the Kur, armed with all his divine weapons, unleashing a fiery tempest. But the weapon Sharur says that the attitude of the Kur is not completely hostile. Sharur, believing that the monster is no less powerful than the god, is afraid of a straight fight between Ninurta and Asag and advises Ninurta not to attack. Ninurta is not inclined to listen to reason, however, and wants the fight to take place in the open. So the two heroic figures fight a duel, and Ninurta indeed comes off the worse. All the gods get wind of the hero's difficulties, and the mood of the assembly of the gods is not pleased. Sharur returns to Enlil, Ninurta's father, asking him to intervene on behalf of his son, who is in difficulty. Enlil agrees and rallies his son, who launches a new, deadly onslaught and manages to defeat and kill the monster. The first part of the myth concludes with the cursing of Asag and the blessing of the weapon Sharur.

The second part of the story begins with a description of the organizing influence of the god. Up to this point the work has been undertaken entirely by the gods, and the mountain full of ice has required an enormous effort. Ninurta now melts the snows, channels the water along the bed of the Tigris, and creates dikes and canals for irrigation of the fields. In effect he invents agriculture.

After an interlude in which Ninurta's mother Ninlil is given the new title "lady of the mountain" to commemorate Ninurta's victory, this part of the myth is wholly concerned with the fate of the stones that had taken part in the war. The hostile stones are cursed, whereas the stones that surrendered meet with a more favorable fate.

OTHER DOCUMENTS. The myth *an-gim dím-ma* is directly linked to the preceding tale and describes the triumphant return of Ninurta from his victorious campaign against the Kur. On this occasion the writers, just in case some doubt still remains, emphasize the extraordinary feat the hero achieved. The mere list of the trophies brought back from the Kur makes one realize that Ninurta engaged in combat with truly superhuman creatures.

This story begins with a hymn to the hero, who resumes his position in the Sumerian pantheon, and his exploits in the Kur. It tells how he plundered the six-headed wild ram, the warrior dragon, the Magilum of the deep sea, the buffalo Kulianna, the chalk, the strong copper, the eagle Anzu, and the seven-headed serpent. The son of Enlil loads these goods aboard his boat, lays them all out decoratively, and sets sail for Nippur. But the voyage is described as fraught with problems. A messenger from Enlil rushes to Ninurta and asks him not to frighten the gods with his powerful splendor. The hero understands the reluctance of the gods, because he has seen the fear of the divine world regarding the Kur already. After a detailed list of the wonderful weapons that helped him in his fight, he asks humbly to reenter the city of his birth. There follows a eulogy of self-praise, so Ninkarnunna, on behalf of Enlil, accepts his good intentions and invites Ninurta to enter the temple dedicated to him and his wife Ninnibru. The myth concludes with a hymn of praise for the hero, who has indeed shown his heroism.

Ninurta goes to Eridu to the house of Enki twice, once with hostile intent—that is, to steal the powers of Kur and the tablets of destiny from the god Enki. One journey finishes disastrously, but the second has a positive outcome as the hero pays a polite visit to the king of the underworld.

The first story begins with a meeting between Ninurta and the eagle Anzu, which the hero had caused to lose the "divine powers." After the defeat these powers returned to

Eridu, to the house of the god Enki, the keeper and guardian of these symbols. Anzu bemoans the loss of the divine powers and tells Ninurta to go to Eridu to recover them. Ninurta goes to Eridu and is welcomed joyfully by Enki. But the visitor remains cold in the face of the happiness displayed by his host because he is not really coming for a polite visit but to carry out a theft. The god of wisdom knows the secret thoughts of the hero and considers his response. He creates a turtle that begins to dig a pit in the underworld. When Ninurta, unaware of the trap, finally leaves Enki's house and follows the turtle, the turtle grabs Ninurta by the ankles and drags him into the pit, from which the hero cannot escape. When Ninurta expresses surprise, Enki answers that he had been goaded into doing this by the arrogance of the conqueror of Kur. The myth concludes with an invocation by Ninurta's mother, Ninmenna, who, weeping, wonders what she can do to save her son.

In the above myth, Ninurta disgraces himself with Enki specifically because he is dishonest when he meets with his host, who punishes him by mocking him. On this second journey, which is to sanction the cosmic supremacy of Ninurta, matters turn out differently, in particular because everything happens with the complete consent of his father Enlil, who has now appointed him as his successor. After the introduction of the god, in which it is emphasized that he originates from Ekur, the reason behind the journey to Eridu is given, namely to ensure blessings and justice for the land of Sumer. Ninurta reaches the underworld of Enki, who greets him joyfully and agrees to his proper requests. The next part deals with the glorification of Ninurta, the rightful heir of Enlil. The epithets given to him rival those of the greatest gods in the pantheon. Following his war with the Kur, Ninurta has been duly awarded a preeminent place in the divine world. This document can be considered as the second part of the deeds of the god Ninurta, which are recorded in the myth *Lugal-e*.

Ninurta, the hero of the myth "Ninurta and Anzu," already paralleled in Sumerian mythology, also exists in Assyro-Babylonian mythology in the same "Ninurta and Anzu" but always as the savior of the cosmic order. In the Sumerian cosmos he actively suppresses the revolt of the Kur, the cosmic mountain, killing the monster Asag and showing complete mastery of the stones that rushed to help Asag. In the Assyro-Babylonian myth, Ninurta has to fight the lion-headed eagle Anzu, and he is responsible for a serious theft when he meets with his father Enlil.

It is a great pity that the Old Babylonian version is not complete, because the final outcome of the myth preserved in that version remains unclear. In contrast to the Sumerian myths, in the Old Babylonian version Ninurta is portrayed as disrespectful and rebellious. Instead of giving back the symbols stolen from Anzu, he refuses to return them to their rightful owner, thus causing disorder in the cosmos.

This myth is set down in three tablets. It unfolds with a hymn to the god Ninurta, called Ningirsu in the earliest version, in which his wonderful qualities are elaborated. After recalling the original drought, it continues with the story of the birth of Anzu, news of which is brought to Enlil. The god Ea advises his brother to take on the new being as his bodyguard, and Enlil does so. Anzu thus receives the task of helping the god in his private chambers. In this role he sees the god washing and getting dressed every day and also at times remaining completely naked. At this point he conceives of an evil plan to steal the symbols of power. Once he has stolen them, Anzu flees to the mountain, leaving the divine world in a state of near-complete despair. Champions are chosen to kill Anzu and bring back the stolen property. First Adad is sent, but his attempt is unsuccessful. Then Girru and Shara are chosen, with the same results. The god Ea next suggests calling upon Mami to ask her to send her son Ninurta. The mother goddess agrees to the request, calls her son, and instructs him regarding the battle. Ninurta, in full armor, goes to fight Anzu. The battle is bloody, but the divine hero does not prevail and is thus obliged to send his powerful weapon Sharur to Ea to ask for help. The god Ea understands the reason for the initial failure and suggests wearing out Anzu until he can no longer flap his wings. Sharur returns with Ea's advice, and by putting it into action Ninurta manages to kill Anzu and take from him the divine symbols of his father and the tablets of destiny.

Enlil, who is called Dagan at this point, learns of his son's victory and announces it to all the gods, who invite Ninurta to return. Ea suggests sending a messenger to his son to bring back the tablet of destiny, and Enlil sends Birdu. But Ninurta refuses to hand over the symbols of power, reacting as Anzu had previously. When the surviving text resumes, it deals with a long votive offering to the gods and a hymn of praise for Ninurta. The fragmentary nature of the final part of the third tablet prevents a full understanding of the significance of the long list of titles attributed to Ninurta and in particular syncretism with the other polyadic gods of the numerous cities of Mesopotamia and the surrounding region, which suggests an attempted and unfinished religious revolution.

As the god of war, Ninurta achieved special prominence in the militaristic Middle Assyrian and neo-Assyrian periods. Ninurta was also god of the hunt. Tiglath-pileser I (ruled c. 1115–1077 BCE) recorded that at Ninurta's command, during a certain hunt, he slew numerous "extraordinary wild virile bulls," ten strong bull elephants, hundreds of lions, and every kind of wild beast and winged bird of the heavens.

SEE ALSO Herakles; Mesopotamian Religions, overview article.

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GIOVANNI PETTINATO (2005)
Translated from Italian by Paul Ellis

NIRVĀṆA. About twenty-five centuries ago in northern India, Siddhārtha Gautama achieved *nirvāṇa.* That event ultimately changed the spiritual character of much of Asia and, more recently, some of the West. That something indeed happened is an indisputable fact. Exactly what happened has been an object of speculation, analysis, and debate up to the present day.

Nirvāṇa is both a term and an ideal. As a Sanskrit word (*nibbāna* in Pali), it has been used by various religious groups in India, but it primarily refers to the spiritual goal in the Buddhist way of life. In the broadest sense, the word *nirvāṇa* is used in much the same way as the now standard English word *enlightenment,* a generic word literally translating no particular Asian technical term but used to designate any Buddhist notion of the highest spiritual experience. Of course, Buddhism comprehends a diverse set of religious phenomena, a tradition with sacred texts in four principal canonical languages (Pali, Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese), and a spiritual following throughout the world. Not surprisingly, then, when referring to the ultimate spiritual ideal many Buddhist groups prefer to emphasize their own distinctive terms instead of *nirvāṇa.*

NIRVĀṆA IN THE EARLY BUDDHIST AND ABHIDHARMA TRADITIONS. In the Pali *nikāyas* and Chinese *āgamas,* works first written down or composed two or three centuries after the death of the Buddha, there is little philosophical discussion about the nature of *nirvāṇa.* Indeed, on technical points such as the enlightened person's status after death, the sūtras admonish that such metaphysical speculation is only an obstacle to achieving the ultimate goal. In a famous story found in the *Majjhima Nikāya,* for example, Māluṅkyāputta asked the Buddha several metaphysical questions, including whether the Buddha continues to exist after death. The Buddha responded that such questioning is beside the point; it would be comparable to a man struck by a poison arrow who worried about the origin and nature of the arrow rather than pulling it out.

> Whether there is the view that the Tathāgata both is and is not after dying, or whether, Māluṅkyāputta, there is the view that the Tathāgata neither is nor is not after dying, there *is* birth, there is ageing, there is dying, there are grief, sorrow, suffering, lamentation and despair, the suppression of which I lay down here and now. (Horner, 1954–1959, vol. 2, pp. 100–101)

In short, the early Buddhist texts primarily approached *nirvāṇa* as a practical solution to the existential problem of human anguish. Specifically, they maintained that by undertaking a disciplined praxis the Buddhist practitioner can achieve a nondiscursive awakening *(bodhi)* to the interdependent nonsubstantiality of reality, especially of the self. With that insight, it was believed, one could be released from the grips of insatiable craving and its resultant suffering.

In most cases *nirvāṇa* is described in negative terms such as "cessation" (*nirodha*), "the absence of craving" (*tṛṣṇākṣaya*), "detachment," "the absence of delusion," and "the unconditioned" (*asaṃskṛta*). Although in the *nikāyas* and subsequent Abhidharma school commentaries there are scattered positive references to, for instance, "happiness" (*sukha*), "peace," and "bliss," and to such metaphors of transcendence as "the farther shore," the negative images predominate. Indeed, the word *nirvāṇa* itself means "extinction," and other words used synonymously with it, such as *mokṣa* and *mukti,* refer to emancipation. One difficulty with the early texts, however, is that they were not always clear or unequivocal about *what* was extinguished and *from what* one was emancipated. One prominent tendency was to understand *nirvāṇa* as a release from *saṃsāra,* the painful world of birth and death powered by passion, hatred, and ignorance. According to the early texts, the Eightfold Path leading to *nirvāṇa* is the only way to break free of this cycle and to eliminate the insatiable craving at its root. The Path is not merely a set of moral exhortations, but rather, a program of spiritual reconditioning that liberates one from the pain of *saṃsāra.*

The Buddhist view of *saṃsāra* developed as the notion of rebirth was taking root in ancient India. So enlightenment came to be understood as the extinction (*nirvāṇa*) of what can be reborn, that is, as the dissolution of any continuing personal identity after death. This led to the need to distinguish between (1) the enlightenment of the person who has transcended in this world the suffering caused by craving, and (2) the perfect *nirvāṇa* achieved only when that person dies and is fully released from *saṃsāra,* the cycle of birth, death, and rebirth. The Pali texts, therefore, distinguished "*nirvāṇa* with remainder" (*saupādisesa nibbāna*) from "*nirvāṇa* without remainder" (*anupādisesa nibbāna*), or even more simply, enlightenment (*nibbāna*) from *complete* enlightenment (*parinibbāna;* Skt., *parinirvāṇa*).

The Abhidharma traditions interpreted the distinction in the following way. After many lifetimes of effort and an overall improvement in the circumstances of rebirth, the person undertaking the Path finally reaches the stage at which craving and its attendant negative effects are no longer generated. This is the state of "*nirvāṇa* with remainder" because the residue of negative karmic effects from previous actions continues. The enlightened person still experiences physical pain, for example, as a consequence of the mere fact of corporeality, itself a karmic "fruit." Once these residues are burned off, as it were, the person will die and achieve the perfect "*nirvāṇa* without remainder."

An ambiguity in the distinction between *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* is whether the contrasted terms refer to psychological or ontological states. That is, are *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* states of mind or kinds of existence? If *saṃsāra* refers to the psychological worldview conducive to suffering, then the transition from *saṃsāra* to *nirvāṇa* is simply a profound change in attitude, perspective, and motivation. If, on the other hand, *saṃsāra* refers to this pain-stricken world itself, then *nirvāṇa* must be somewhere else. Here the ancient metaphor of *nirvāṇa* as "the farther shore" could assume a metaphysical status. In effect, *nirvāṇa* could be understood as a permanent state of bliss beyond the world of birth, death, and rebirth. The reaction against such an interpretation influenced the Mahāyāna Buddhist views of enlightenment.

NIRVĀṆA IN THE INDIAN MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHIST TRADITIONS. Indian Mahāyāna Buddhists minimized the opposition between *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra,* renouncing the suggestion that *nirvāṇa* was an escape from the world of suffering. Instead, they thought of enlightenment as a wise and compassionate way of living in that world. The adherents of the two major Indian branches of Mahāyāna philosophy, Mādhyamika and Yogācāra, each developed their own way of rejecting the escapism to which, it was thought, the Abhidharma interpretation led.

The Perfection of Wisdom and Mādhyamika traditions. One Mahāyāna strategy was to undercut the epistemological and logical bases for the sharp distinction between the concepts of *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra.* Without *nirvāṇa* there is no *saṃsāra,* and vice versa. How then could one be absolute and the other relative? This question was most clearly raised by the Perfection of Wisdom (Prajñāpāramitā) literature and philosophically analyzed in the Mādhyamika school founded by Nāgārjuna (c. 150–250 CE).

In effect, Mādhyamika thought radicalized the Buddha's original silence on this critical issue by trying to demonstrate that any philosophical attempt to characterize reality is limited by the logical interdependence of words or concepts. Assuming an isomorphic relationship between words and nonlinguistic referents, Nāgārjuna reasoned that the interdependent character of words precludes their referring to any absolute, nondependent realities. To the very extent one can talk or reason about *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra,* therefore, they must depend on each other. Neither can be absolute in itself.

For the Mādhyamikas, the real cause of human turmoil is that through naming and analyzing one tries to grasp and hold onto what exists only through the distinctions imposed by the conventions of language. From this perspective, Buddhist practice frees one from this attachment to concepts by cultivating *prajñā,* a nondiscursive, direct insight into the way things are. Once one recognizes that the substantialized sense of ego is based on a linguistic distinction having no ultimate basis, an enlightened attitude develops in which one actively shares in the suffering of all other sentient beings. In this way, the wisdom of *prajñā* can also be considered a universal form of compassion, *karuna.* This *prajñā-karuna* ideal eventually became a major paradigm of enlightenment within the entire Mahāyāna tradition in India, Tibet, and East Asia.

***Nirvāṇa* in the idealistic and yogācāra traditions.** The typical approach of such idealistic texts as the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* and of its related philosophical school, Yogācāra, was to assert that *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra* had a common ground, namely, the activity of the mind. The terminology varied from text to text and thinker to thinker, but the thrust of this branch of Mahāyāna Buddhism was that the mind was the basis of both delusion (understood as *saṃsāra*) and enlightenment (understood as *nirvāṇa*). For many in this tradition, this implied that there is in each person an inherent core of Buddhahood covered over with a shell of delusional fixations. Sometimes this core was called the *tathāgata-garbha* ("Buddha womb, Buddha embryo," or "Buddha matrix"); in other cases it was considered to be part of a store-consciousness (*ālaya-vijñāna*) containing seeds (*bīja*) that could sprout either delusional or enlightened experience. In either case, Buddhist practice was seen as a technique for clarifying or making manifest the Buddha mind or Buddha nature within the individual. This notion of mind and its relation to Buddhist practice influenced the later development of Mahāyāna Buddhism, even the schools that first flourished in East Asia, such as Tiantai, Huayan, and Chan (Zen).

A problem raised by this more psychological approach to enlightenment was the issue of universality. Is the inherent core of enlightenment in one person the same as in another? Is it equally present in everyone? With such questions, the difficulty of the ontological status of enlightenment once again emerged. That is, if both *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra* are dependent on the mind in some sense, the problem for the Yogācāra philosophers was to explain the objective ground for *nirvāṇa.* Otherwise, truth would be merely subjective. Yogācāra thinkers such as Asaṅga (fourth century CE) and his brother, Vasubandhu, approached this problem by asserting a transindividual, mental ground for all experience called *ālaya-vijñāna.* Other Yogācāra thinkers such as Dignāga, however, rejected the existence of such a store-consciousness and tried to establish the necessary ground for objectivity within mental cognition itself, while denying the substantial reality of any object outside cognition. In general, the former approach persevered in the transmission of Yogācāra's philosophy into East Asia, where the idea of the ground of enlightenment or of the Buddha nature would become a major theme.

Buddhahood in devotional Mahāyāna Buddhism. *Nirvāṇa*'s ontological or metaphysical nature was also a theme in Mahāyāna religious practices quite outside the formal considerations of the philosophers. This development was associated with the rise of the notion that the historical Buddha who had died in the fifth century BCE was actually only an earthly manifestation of an eternal Buddha or of Buddhahood itself. This line of thought developed into the construction of a rich pantheon of Buddhas and *bodhisattvas* living in various heavenly realms and interacting with human beings in supportive ways. These heavenly figures became the objects of meditation, emulation, reverence, and supplication.

The evolution of the Buddhist pantheon was consistent with the general Mahāyāna principle that a necessary component of enlightenment is compassion. The Buddha, it was believed, would not desert those who had not yet achieved *nirvāṇa* and were still in a state of anguish. Whereas the physical person of the Buddha was extinguished, the compassion of his Buddhahood would seem to endure. Following this line of reasoning, the historical Buddha was taken to be only a physical manifestation of enlightened being itself. This interpretation made moot the question of *nirvāṇa* as the release from the cycle of birth, death, and rebirth. If Buddhahood continues even after the physical disappearance of the enlightened person, enlightenment must be more *manifested* than achieved. This way of thinking was conducive to Mahāyāna Buddhism's transmission into East Asia.

***NIRVĀṆA* IN EAST ASIAN BUDDHIST TRADITIONS.** The Mahāyānists were generally more interested in the truth to which enlightenment was an awakening than the pain from which it was a release. This emphasis on the positive aspect of enlightenment also caused to be diminished the importance of *nirvāṇa* as the release from rebirth. This perspective was well suited to Chinese thought. Because the Chinese had no indigenous idea of the cycle of rebirth, release from that cycle was not the existential issue in China it had been in India.

A second Mahāyānist idea readily accepted by the Chinese was that enlightenment is available to anyone in this very lifetime. The Abhidharma traditions generally assumed the path to enlightenment would take eons, and that the last rebirth in this progression of lifetimes would be that of a monk blessed with the circumstances most conducive to concentrating on the final stages of the Path. This view led to a distinction between the spiritual development of monastics and laypersons: Laypersons were to support monastics in their religious quest; such support would, in return, give the laypersons meritorious *karman* leading to successively better rebirths until they too were born into circumstances allowing them to reach the final stages of the Path.

The Mahāyāna ideal, on the other hand, was that of the *bodhisattva,* the enlightened (or, more technically, almost enlightened) being who chooses to be actively involved in alleviating the suffering of others by leading them to enlightenment. In other words, the *bodhisattva* subordinates personal enlightenment to that of others. Both Abhidharma and Mahāyāna Buddhism aim for the enlightenment of everyone, but whereas in the Abhidharma view enlightenment is achieved by one person at a time and the group as a whole pushes upward in a pyramid effect, supporting most the spiritual progress of those at the top, in Mahāyāna Buddhism the *bodhisattvas* at the top turn back to pull up those behind them until everyone is ready to achieve enlightenment simultaneously. Ultimately, the Mahāyāna model dominated in East Asia, partly because the collectivist viewpoint was more consistent with indigenous Chinese ideas predating the introduction of Buddhism.

When Buddhism entered China around the beginning of the common era, Confucianism and Daoism were already well established. Confucianism placed its primary emphasis on the cultivation of virtuous human relationships for the harmonious functioning of society. This emphasis on social responsibility and collective virtue blended well with the Mahāyāna vision of enlightenment.

Compared to Confucianism, Daoism was relatively ascetic, mystical, and otherworldly. Yet its mysticism was strongly naturalistic in that the Daoist sage sought unity with the Dao by being in harmony with nature. In Daoism, as in Mahāyāna Buddhism, the absolute principle was completely immanent in this world, accessible to all who attune themselves to it by undertaking the proper form of meditation and self-discipline. Because one of the root meanings of the term *dao* is "path," the Chinese found parallels between the Buddhist sense of the Path and the Daoist understanding of achieving oneness with the Dao.

***Nirvāṇa* in the Tiantai and Huayan schools.** Eventually there arose new forms of Mahāyāna Buddhism distinctive to East Asia, schools either unknown or only incipient in India. The term *nirvāṇa,* possibly because it carried connotations of a foreign worldview replete with such ideas as rebirth and the inherent unsatisfactoriness (*duḥkha*) of existence, tended to lose its privileged status in favor of such terms as "awakening" (*chüeh*) and "realization" (*wu*).

The Chinese Tiantai and Huayan traditions formulated their own sophisticated philosophical worldviews out of ideas suggested by Indian sūtras. Both schools emphasized the interpenetration of all things. In Tiantai terminology as developed by such philosophers as Zhiyi (538–597), all the "three thousand worlds" are reflected in a single instant of thought. Reality's underlying, unifying factor was understood to be mind. For Tiantai followers the fundamental mind is itself always pure and does not contain, as most Indian Yogācārins held, both delusional and enlightened seeds.

The Tiantai assumption of an underlying, inherently pure, mind had two important consequences. First, the goal of its primary contemplative practice, known as "cessation and discernment" (*zhiguan*), was explained as immersion into, rather than the purification of, mind. By ceasing to focus on the surface flow of ordinary phenomena, one can discern the underlying single mind at the source of all things. Second, because the underlying mind is pure or enlightened, it follows that all things, even inanimate ones, are endowed with Buddha nature. This corollary was first proposed by the ninth patriarch of the tradition, Zhanran (711–782), who clearly articulated the view that the entire world, as it is, is already somehow enlightened. The goal, then, is to realize, awaken to, or manifest that enlightenment in one's own life. The relationship between inherent and acquired enlightenment became a central problematic in the Tiantai tradition and a major theme behind the development of the various schools of Japanese Buddhism in the Kamakura period (1185–1333) as well.

Chinese Huayan Buddhism also affirmed the interdependence among, and harmony within, all things. Unlike the adherents of Tiantai, however, the Huayan philosophers did not think of mind as the underlying, unifying entity. Fazang (643–712), for example, preferred to deny any single unifying factor and used the phrase "the nonobstruction between thing and thing" *(shishi wuʿai).* In other words, each phenomenon itself was thought to reflect every other phenomenon. Zongmi (780–841), on the other hand, favored the phrase "the nonobstruction between absolute principle and thing" *(lishi wuʿai).* Thus, he regarded principle *(li)* as the fundamental unifying substrate, even the creative source, of reality.

In all these Tiantai and Huayan theories is found a recurrent, distinctively East Asian, interpretation of *nirvāṇa.* Just as the Confucians sought harmony within the social order and the Daoists harmony within the natural order, the Tiantai and Huayan Buddhists understood enlightenment in terms of harmony. Rather than emphasizing the painful aspect of the world and the means to emancipation from it, the Tiantai and Huayan Buddhists focused on recognizing the intrinsic harmony of the universe and feeling intimately a part of it.

***Nirvāṇa* in the Chan (Zen) school.** Chan (Kor., Son; Jpn., Zen) is another school with roots in India, but it developed into a full-fledged tradition only in East Asia. It is distinctive in its de-emphasis of the role of formal doctrine and religious texts in favor of a direct "transmission of mind" from master to disciple. Chan focused most on the interpersonal aspect of the enlightenment experience. Enlightenment was considered a stamp embodied in a particular lineage of enlightened people going back to the historical Buddha, and the personal encounters of great masters and disciples were recorded in order to serve as the object of meditation for future generations.

One topic of debate about enlightenment in the Chan school concerned the issue of whether enlightenment was "sudden" or "gradual." The Northern school emphasized the inherent purity of the mind and, therefore, advocated a practice intended to remove delusional thoughts covering over that intrinsically undefiled core. Then, it was assumed, the inherent enlightenment of the mind could shine forth ever more brilliantly. According to the *Platform Sūtra,* a text of the Southern school, this position was expressed in a poem by Shenxiu (606–706) as follows:

> The body is the Bodhi tree,
> The mind is like a clear mirror.
> At all times we must strive to polish it,
> And must not let the dust collect. (Yampolsky, 1967, p. 130)

The members of the Southern school, on the other hand, accused their Northern school counterparts of reifying enlightenment into an independently existing thing. In the expression of Huineng (638–713) also recorded in the *Platform Sūtra*:

> Bodhi originally has no tree,
> The mirror also has no stand.
> Buddha nature is always clear and pure;
> Where is there room for dust? (ibid., p. 132)

In other words, enlightenment should be manifest at all times in all one's activities. It is not a separate state or seed to be nurtured or cared for. The goal for the Southern school, therefore, was to make enlightenment manifest while going about one's daily affairs. This viewpoint eventually led some Southern masters, especially those in the lineage of Mazu (709–788), to de-emphasize simple meditation in favor of the shock tactics of shouting, striking, and using the *gongan* (Jpn., *kōan*). These special techniques were all ways of making the disciple realize and manifest Buddha nature in a sudden manner.

Another approach to the sudden/gradual issue was originally taken by the previously mentioned Huayan (and Chan) master Zongmi, and later developed extensively by the great Korean Sŏn master, Chinul (1158–1210). Their view was that the Southern school (which eventually dominated for political as much as religious or philosophical reasons) was correct in maintaining that enlightenment, the awakening to one's own Buddha nature, had to be a sudden realization. Yet Zongmi and Chinul also maintained that realization had to be gradually integrated into one's life through a continuously deepening practice of spiritual cultivation. Thus, their position is known as "sudden awakening/gradual cultivation," rather than "sudden awakening/ sudden cultivation." This distinction exemplifies the importance Chan philosophers accorded the need to define as precisely as possible the relationship between practice and enlightenment. Dōgen

(1200–1253), the founder of the Japanese Sōtō Zen tradition, addressed the problem of how enlightenment could be inherent and yet practice still necessary. That is, if people are already primordially enlightened why should anyone bother to sit in meditation? Dōgen understood practice to be enlightened activity itself: one does not sit in meditation in order to achieve enlightenment, but rather, one's enlightenment is expressed as one's sitting in meditation.

For virtually all the Chan (and Sŏn and Zen) traditions, enlightenment is more than an insight or even a sense of harmony. It is also a mode of *behavior* to be continuously enacted and tested in everyday life. Much of the interpersonal dynamics between master and disciple is designed to challenge the person to make *nirvāṇa* manifest in such ordinary activities as talking, working, eating, and washing, as well as meditating.

***Nirvāṇa* in the Pure Land traditions.** All forms of Buddhism discussed up to now have assumed that one can only achieve *nirvāṇa* through years (or even lifetimes) of concentrated practice. The Pure Land tradition, especially as developed by Shinran (1173–1262) in Japan, radically reinterpreted the notion of Buddhist practice, however.

Pure Land Buddhism is another Mahāyāna tradition that had its basis in Indian sūtras but that only fully blossomed in East Asia. It began with a rather otherworldly orientation: The present period of history was considered so degenerate that it was thought to be no longer possible for human beings to practice genuine Buddhism and to achieve *nirvāṇa.* A *bodhisattva* named Dharmākara (Hōzō in Japanese), however, vowed not to allow himself to achieve full Buddhahood if people who called on his name with faith were not reborn in a Pure Land, a place ideally suited for Buddhist practice. In that Pure Land, people could attain enlightenment and even come back into the world as *bodhisattvas* to aid in the spiritual progress of others. The Pure Land sūtras go on to explain that Dharmākara became the Buddha Amitābha/Amitāyus (Jpn., Amida). Therefore, he must have fulfilled his vow, and thus if people can call on that Buddha's name with complete faith in his compassion and power to help they will be guaranteed rebirth in the Pure Land.

The major lesson in this account for Pure Land Buddhists like Shinran was that human beings today cannot achieve *nirvāṇa* by their "own power" (*jiriki*). Rather than help themselves through the practice of calculated, self-conscious actions (*hakarai*), people should simply resign themselves completely to the "power of another" (*tariki*), that is, the power of Amida's compassionate vow. Even this act of the "entrusting heart and mind" (*shinjin*) must itself be an expression of Amida's vow and not an effort on one's own part. In this way, Shinran maintained that enlightenment could ultimately only be achieved by first releasing oneself to the spontaneousness "naturalness" (*jinen hōni*), the active grace of Amida's compassion as this world itself. "Amida Buddha is the medium through which we are made to realize *jinen*" (Ueda, 1978, pp. 29–30). By subordinating even Amida and his vow to the principle of spontaneous naturalness in this way, Shinran removed the otherworldly traces in Pure Land teaching, making it more suitable to its East Asian, particularly Japanese, context.

***Nirvāṇa* in the Esoteric traditions.** The Esoteric, Vajrayāna, or Tantric forms of Buddhism can be generally viewed as extensions of Mahāyāna. In general, however, Esoteric Buddhism was most permanently influential in Tibet (including the Mongolian extensions of Tibetan Buddhism) and in Japan. In both cases, Esotericism merged its practices and doctrines with the indigenous shamanistic, archaic religions of, respectively, Bon and Shintō.

In terms of their understanding of *nirvāṇa* the Esoteric traditions added an important dimension to their otherwise generally Mahāyānistic outlook, namely, that enlightenment should be understood as participation in the enlightenment of the Buddha-as-reality (the *dharmakāya*). From this viewpoint, sacred speech (mantras), sacred gestures (*mudrā*s), and sacred envisioning (*maṇḍala*s) constitute a Buddhist ritualistic practice having an almost sacramental character. That is, in performing the rituals outlined in the Tantras, the Esoteric Buddhist believes that one's own speech, action, and thought become the concrete expression of the cosmic Buddha's own enlightenment.

This notion found a particularly clear formulation in the Japanese Shingon Buddhism established by Kūkai (774–835). According to Kūkai, the fundamental principle of Shingon practice and philosophy is that of *hosshin seppō,* "the Buddha-as-reality [*dharmakāya*] preaches the true teaching [*dharma*]." In making this claim, Kūkai rejected the exoteric Buddhist notion that only a historical Buddha (*nirmāṇakāya*) or a heavenly Buddha (*saṃbhogakāya*) can preach. All of reality in itself, according to Kūkai, is the symbolic expression of the *dharmakāya* Buddha's enlightened activity and, as such, is the direct manifestation of truth. The way to grasp this symbolic expression is not to be an audience to it, but rather to take part in it directly through Esoteric rituals. The individual's own enlightenment was considered an aspect of the cosmic Buddha's enlightened activity. Kūkai identified the Buddha-as-reality or the cosmic Buddha as the Great Sun Buddha, Dainichi Nyorai (Skt., Mahāvairocana).

Kūkai's view of enlightenment was, therefore, summarized in the phrase "attaining Buddha in and through this very body" (*sokushin jōbutsu*). Through the ritualized, physical participation in the world, the person could become a concrete expression of Dainichi Buddha's enlightened action. Kūkai expressed this intimacy between the individual and Dainichi Buddha as "the Buddha enters the self and the self enters the Buddha" (*nyūga ganyū*). In effect, the Mahāyāna Buddhist's identification of *nirvāṇa* with the world was taken to its most radical conclusion. That is, from the Shingon perspective, this very world *is* the Buddha Dainichi. This means that enlightenment is not inherent in the world, but rather, the world itself is the experience of enlightenment.

CONCLUSION. As this article has shown, there is no single Buddhist view of *nirvāṇa.* The Buddhist ideal varies with the culture, the historical period, the language, the school, and even the individual. Still, one does find in the Buddhist notions of *nirvāṇa* what Ludwig Wittgenstein would have called a "family resemblance," that is, a group of characteristics that no single family member entirely possesses but that all members share to such an extent that the members of one family are distinguishable from the members of another. In this case, the Buddhist conceptions of *nirvāṇa* share a set of qualities that can be summarized as follows.

1. *Nirvāṇa* is the release from ignorance about the way the world is. Because one does not understand the nature of human existence and the laws affecting human life, one lives in either a state of outright suffering or in a state of disharmony. *Nirvāṇa* is ultimately acknowledging and living by the truths of the world. In that respect, its orientation is this-worldly.

2. The knowledge achieved by *nirvāṇa* is not merely intellectual or spiritual. *Nirvāṇa* is achieved through a process of psychological and physical conditioning aimed at reorienting and reversing ego-centered forms of thinking and behaving. *Nirvāṇa* is achieved through and with the body, not despite the body.

3. One is not alone on the Path. There is support from texts, philosophical teachings, religious practices, the Buddhist community, the examples of masters, and even the rocks and trees. Most of all, there is the power of compassion that one receives from others and that grows stronger the more it is offered to others.

4. *Nirvāṇa* is achieved by penetrating and dissolving the slashes or virgules separating humanity/nature, self/other, subject/object, and even *nirvāṇa/saṃsāra.* The particular pairs of opposition vary from place to place and time to time as Buddhism attacks the special dichotomies most destructive in a given culture during a specific period. *Nirvāṇa* entails a recognition of the inherent harmony and equality of all things.

5. *Nirvāṇa* has an intrinsically moral aspect. By eliminating all egocentric ideas, emotions, and actions, the enlightened person approaches others with either complete equanimity (wherein self and others are treated exactly the same) or with a compassionate involvement in alleviating the suffering of others (wherein self is subordinated to the needs of those less fortunate). Morality can be considered the alpha and omega of *nirvāṇa.* That is, the Path begins with accepting various rules and precepts of behavior, whereas *nirvāṇa* culminates in the open, moral treatment of other people and things.

6. Although in any given context, one viewpoint is emphasized over the other, generally speaking, *nirvāṇa* can be understood from either a psychological or ontological perspective. Psychologically viewed, *nirvāṇa* is a radical change in attitude such that one no longer experiences the negative influence of egocentric thinking. If this perspective is misunderstood and overemphasized, however, it leads to a psychologism that holds that truth is simply in the mind without any connection to an external reality. The remedy for this distortion is to assert the ontological aspect of *nirvāṇa.*

Ontologically speaking, *nirvāṇa* is the affirmation of the inherent goodness of the world and even of human nature. In this sense, *nirvāṇa* is not merely a kind of experience (as depicted by the psychological view) but is also the content or even *ground* of an experience. If this ontological viewpoint is overemphasized, on the other hand, it can lead to the distorted idea that diligence and practice are arbitrary or even unnecessary. The remedy is, conversely, to neutralize that distortion with more emphasis on the psychological side of *nirvāṇa.*

In short, both the psychological and ontological views contain truths about the nature of *nirvāṇa,* but if either position is developed in such a way as to exclude the other, the result is a distortion of the Buddhist Path. For this reason, the two views coexist throughout Buddhist history, one view always complementing the other and checking any distortions that might arise out of a one-sided perspective.

SEE ALSO Ālaya-vijñāna; Amitābha; Asaṅga; Bodhisattva Path; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Esoteric Buddhism; Buddhist Ethics; Buddhist Books and Texts, article on Exegesis and Hermeneutics; Buddhist Philosophy; Celestial Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; Chan; Chinul; Confucianism; Daoism, overview article; Dignāga; Dōgen; Eightfold Path; Fazang; Huayan; Huineng; Karuṇā; Language, article on Buddhist Views of Language; Mādhyamika; Mahāvairocana; Nāgārjuna; Prajñā; Shingonshū; Shinran; Soteriology; Tathāgatha-garbha; Tiantai; Vasubandhu; Yogācāra; Zen; Zhenyan; Zhiyi; Zongmi.

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As the fundamental ideal of Buddhism, *nirvāṇa* is discussed in a wide variety of works: sūtras, commentaries, and secondary critical works by scholars of various traditions. Any bibliography must be, therefore, incomplete and, at best, highly selective. The following works have been chosen for their particular relevance to the issues discussed in the foregoing article.

Nirvāṇa in the Indian Buddhist Traditions

Of the many references to *nirvāṇa* in the early Indian texts, certain passages have traditionally received the most attention. For example, in the Pali scriptures, the status of the Buddha after death (*parinibbāna*) is handled in various ways. Most prominent, undoubtedly, is the traditional account of the Buddha's passing away described in chapter 6 of the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta.* A translation of this text by T. W. Rhys Davids is readily available as *Buddhist Suttas,* volume 11 of "The Sacred Books of the East," edited by F. Max Müller (1881; reprint, New York, 1969). An interesting feature of this account is its clear distinction between the Buddha's *nirvāṇa* and his meditative capacity to cause the complete cessation (*nirodha*) of perceptions, thoughts, and feelings. This passage is often quoted, therefore, against any claim that the early Buddhist view was simply nihilistic and world-renouncing.

Notably absent in this text, however, is any detailed treatment of the classic distinction between *nirvāṇa* with remainder and *nirvāṇa* without remainder. That distinction is more clearly presented in *Itivuttaka,* edited by Ernst Windisch (London, 1889), esp. pp. 38–39. An English translation by F. L. Woodward is in the second volume of *Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon,* edited by C. A. F. Rhys Davids (London, 1935).

Another commonly analyzed theme is the Buddha's own reticence to describe the status of the enlightened person after death. On this point, there are two particularly provocative textual references. One is the above-mentioned story about Māluṅkyāputta in *Majjhima-Nikāya,* 4 vols., edited by Vilhelm Trenckner, Robert Chalmers, and C. A. F. Rhys Davids (London, 1887–1925), *sutta*s 63–64; the other is in *The Saṃyutta-Nikāya of the Sutta Pitaka,* 6 vols., edited by Léon Freer (London, 1884–1904), vol. 3, p. 118. English translations of these two complete collections are, respectively, *The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings,* 3 vols., translated by I. B. Horner (London, 1954–1959), and *The Book of Kindred Sayings,* 5 vols., translated by C. A. F. Rhys Davids and F. L. Woodward (London, 1917–1930).

As already mentioned, descriptions of *nirvāṇa* are for the most part posed in negative terms; the interested reader can find a multitude of examples by consulting, for example, the excellent indexes in the collections of early Pali texts cited above. One particularly striking exception to this rule, however, is found in *The Saṃyutta-Nikāya,* vol. 4, p. 373. This passage gives a rather lengthy string of mostly positive equivalents to *nirvāṇa,* including terms that mean "truth," "the farther shore," "the stable," "peace," "security," "purity," and so forth. Such positive characterizations of *nirvāṇa* are found elsewhere, but never in quite so concentrated a list.

On the issue of the transcendent, mystical, or metaphysical aspect of *nirvāṇa* in the early Buddhist tradition, a pivotal textual reference is in *Udāna,* edited by Paul Steinthal (London, 1948). An English translation also occurs in volume 2 of Woodward's *Minor Anthologies,* cited above. On pages 80–81 of *Udāna,* there is found an indubitable reference to a state of mind or a place beyond birth and death, beyond all discrimination and ordinary perceptions. Controversy still continues over the proper interpretation of the passage. In Rune E. A. Johansson's *Psychology of Nirvāṇa* (London, 1969), for example, there is a sustained discussion of the enlightened state of mind as being a mystical, transempirical, nondifferentiated state of consciousness. The passage from *Udāna* naturally figures prominently in Johansson's argument. On the other hand, this viewpoint is severely criticized in David J. Kalupahana's *Buddhist Philosophy: A Historical Analysis* (Honolulu, 1976), chap. 7. By interpreting this passage as referring to the state of cessation (*nirodha*) just prior to the Buddha's death but not to ordinary *nirvāṇa* in this world, Kalupahana argues that early Buddhism consistently maintained that the achievement of *nirvāṇa* does not require, or entail, any transempirical form of perception. In this regard, Kalupahana is expanding on the theory that early Buddhism was primarily empirical in outlook, an interpretation first fully developed in Kulitassa Nanda Jayatilleke's *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge* (London, 1963).

Another controversial issue among modern scholars is the relationship between early Buddhism and the contemporary form of Hinduism. Whereas Kalupahana's approach sharply distinguishes the early Buddhist view of *nirvāṇa* from the contemporary Hindu ideal of the unity of *ātman* with *brahman,* Johansson tends to see a common mystical element in the two. A generally more balanced and convincing position on this point can be found in the thorough discussion of Kashi Nath Upadhyaya's *Early Buddhism and the Bhagavadgītā* (Delhi, 1971).

A good introduction to the modern view of *nirvāṇa* from the standpoint of the only living tradition of Abhidharma, the Theravāda, is Walpola Rahula's *What the Buddha Taught,* rev. ed. (Bedford, U.K., 1967), chap. 4. This small work is highly regarded for its ability to explain the gist of centuries of Abhidharmic analysis in a straightforward, accurate, and yet nontechnical manner. On the way *nirvāṇa* actually functions today as an ethical ideal in Theravāda daily life, see Winston L. King's *In the Hope of Nibbana: An Essay of Theravada Buddhist Ethics* (La Salle, Ill., 1964). For a more historical and specialized approach to the development of the early Abhidharma views of *nirvāṇa,* see Edward Conze's *Buddhist Thought in India* (1962; reprint, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1970), esp. sections 1.5 and 2.3. Although this book is poorly written and organized, it still contains some information not readily available in English elsewhere.

For Nāgārjuna and the Mādhyamika school, the *locus classicus* is Nāgārjuna's discussion in chapter 25 of his *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā.* The complete Sanskrit original and English translation of this work with extensive commentary is found in David J. Kalupahana's *Nagarjuna: The Philosophy of the Middle Way* (Albany, N.Y., 1985). A good discussion of Nāgārjuna's basic position with respect to *nirvāṇa* also appears in Frederick J. Streng's *Emptiness: A Study in Religious Meaning* (New York, 1967), pp. 69–81.

For studying the Yogācāra and idealist position, the reader may wish to consult *The Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra,* translated by D. T. Suzuki (1932; reprint, Boulder, Colo., 1978). The identifications of *nirvāṇa* with the pure *ālaya-vijñāna* or the *tathāgata-garbha,* as well as with the mind released from delusional discriminations are particularly discussed in sections 18, 38, 63, 74, 77, and 82. For the more systematically philosophical developments of the Yogācāra tradition, the reader may refer to the following works. Asaṅga's *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* has been translated and edited by Étienne Lamotte in *La somme du Grand Véhicule d'Asaṅga,* vol. 2 (Louvain, 1939). Translations of Vasubandhu's *Viṃśatikā* and *Triṃśikā* by Clarence H. Hamilton and Wing-tsit Chan, respectively, can be found in *A Source Book in Indian Philosophy,* edited by Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan and Charles A. Moore (Princeton, N. J., 1957). Sylvain Lévi's *Matériaux pour l'étude du système Vijñaptimātra* (Paris, 1932) remains the definitive discussion on Vasubandhu's writings. For an analysis of Dignāga's thought, see Hattori Masaaki's *Dignāga, on Perception* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968).

For a straightforward and detailed discussion of Indian Buddhist theories of *nirvāṇa,* see Nalinaksha Dutt's *Mahāyāna Buddhism* (rev. ed., Delhi, 1978), chap. 7. Although sometimes biased against the Abhidharma traditions, his account of the differences among the Indian Buddhist schools is very good. For a thorough and fascinating discussion of the attempts of Western scholars to interpret the idea of *nirvāṇa* as found primarily in the Pali texts, see Guy R. Welbon's *The Buddhist Nirvāṇa and Its Western Interpreters* (Chicago, 1968). Welbon includes a good bibliography of works in Western languages. His book culminates in the famous debate between Louis de La Vallée Poussin (1869–1938) and Theodore Stcherbatsky (Fedor Shcherbatskii, 1866–1942). Both were noted as first-rate commentators on Mahāyāna Buddhism, but their own personalities and temperaments led them to take distinctively different views of Buddhism and its intent. Thus, in examining the same early Buddhist texts, the former emphasized the yogic and religious aspects whereas the latter favored the philosophical. Despite their limitations, however, La Vallée Poussin's *Nirvāṇa* (Paris, 1925) and Stcherbatsky's *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa* (Leningrad, 1927) remain classic works on this subject.

East Asian Traditions

For the reasons given in the essay, the idea of *nirvāṇa* is not discussed as explicitly in the East Asian as the South Asian traditions. When *nirvāṇa* is analyzed by East Asian Buddhists, the sharply etched distinctions among the various Indian Mahāyāna schools are softened. A clear example of this is D. T. Suzuki's *Outlines of Mahayana Buddhism* (New York, 1963), chap. 13. In this chapter, and indeed throughout the book, Suzuki approaches the ideas of Mahāyāna Buddhists as coming from discrete traditions but involving an underlying common spirit.

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Like Tiantai, the Huayan tradition has not yet been comprehensively studied in Western works. One of the better philosophical overviews of Huayan theory in relation to enlightenment is the discussion about Fazang in Fung Youlan's *A History of Chinese Philosophy,* translated by Derk Bodde (Princeton, N. J., 1953), vol. 2, chap. 8. Fazang is also central to the analysis in Francis D. Cook's *Huayan Buddhism: The Jewel Net of Indra* (University Park, Pa., 1977). Essays on the history of Huayan practice are included in *Studies in Chan and Huayan,* edited by Robert M. Gimello and Peter N. Gregory (Honolulu, 1984).

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THOMAS P. KASULIS (1987)
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NISHIDA KITARŌ (1870–1945) is generally considered the most original modern Japanese philosopher and the galvanizing force behind the creation of the Kyoto school of philosophy. Nishida, who incorporated Mahāyāna Buddhist spirituality and its worldview into his philosophical system, made his debut in Japanese philosophical circles in 1907, while he was a professor of psychology and logic at the Fourth Higher School in Kanazawa. After a year of teaching at Gakushūin, the Peers School, in Tokyo, he became, in 1910, a professor at the Imperial University of Kyoto, where his career flourished. Nishida's personal life during this period, however, was plagued by a series of illnesses and the deaths of several members of his family, causing him to call the source of philosophy the "pathos of life" rather than the "wonder." His retirement from the university in 1928 marked the beginning of a productive period of philosophizing. He died on June 7, 1945, two months before the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. During his lifetime, Nishida was widely recognized in Japan as a leading intellectual and a voice of conscience. His writings, lectures, and correspondence are compiled in nineteen volumes titled *Nishida Kitarō Zenshū* (*Collected Works of Nishida Kitarō*, 4th edition, 1987–1989).

Beginning in his midtwenties, Nishida underwent Rinzai Zen Buddhist practice for a decade, and this imparted a unique flavor to his philosophical thinking. *Zazen*, or the practice of seated meditation, requires the full engagement of the mind and body. The questions, or *kōan*, given by the master, carry the practitioner beyond the ordinary mental habits characterized by the subject-object dichotomy. Zen practice was a personally self-transforming experience for Nishida, and it opened up the vital reality that preceded mental analysis. Nishida incorporated epistemological principles of unity (of mind and body, of subject and object) into his philosophical vocabulary, and he advanced such ideas as pure experience, absolute nothingness, and action-intuition. The Zen tenet that each individual possesses the Buddha nature also underscored Nishida's philosophical vision.

NISHIDA'S THOUGHT. In 1939 Nishida reflected on his philosophical path and noted that his aim had been "to approach things from the most immediate and most fundamental standpoint from which everything emerges and to which everything returns" (*Collected Works* 9, p. 3). Indeed, while he was still a higher school student, he was convinced that reality (*jitsuzai*), as it is, is absolute (*genjitsu sono mama*) (*Collected Works* 1, p. 7). In his first book, *Zen no kenkyū* (An inquiry into the good, 1911), he unfolded his view of the ontological primacy of experience over an individual self—experiences make up a person rather than a person "having" experiences. By taking pure experience (*junsui keiken*)—the primary mode of experience before its bifurcation into subject and object—as the unifying principle, Nishida attempted to analyze the objective world. In this study he was indebted to the philosophical language of William James (1842–1910) and Henri Bergson (1859–1941). Dissatisfied with the psychological aspects of this approach, however, Nishida proceeded to question the nature of intuition and logical reasoning. He put these under scrutiny by engaging in a dialogue with modern mathematical theories, as well as with German neo-Kantianism and Husserlian phenomenology.

This series of philosophical investigations resulted in Nishida's second book, *Jikaku ni okeru chokkan to hansei* (Intuition and reflection in self-consciousness, 1917). Therein he made a detailed analysis of self-consciousness (*jikaku*); that is, consciousness that gives rise to self-awareness as the all-encompassing system of which intuition and cognition are two aspects. Through this investigation, he arrived at the primacy of free will, which transcends cognition and on account of which experiences are repeatable. Furthermore, he saw at the ground of free will ("that which acts") a field of consciousness ("that which sees"), which he developed in his essay, "*Basho*" ("Topos" or "Field," 1926). *Basho* is the matrix wherein all things come into being and from which they disappear. Nishida called *basho* "absolute nothingness" (*zettai mu*) because in itself it is an unobjectifiable reality transcending both being (*u*) and nonbeing (*mu*). His reflections on the nature of time explain "absolute nothingness" as a moment that comes into being at one "present" and disappears in the next. If the present moment were some kind of being that could be grasped, there would be no time; if the present were simply nonbeing, there would also be no time. Time, then, should be considered the coincidence of absolutely nothing and being. The present moment (i.e., absolute nothingness) is where being and nonbeing come together (*Collected Works* 14, pp. 140–141). Furthermore, Nishida saw time as the continuation of discrete or discontinuous moments, and as such time has a spatial extension, inasmuch as space has a temporal direction. Nishida came to call these contradictory features inherent in the very mode of reality "dialectical."

Nishida's basic assertion was that cognition is a phenomenon of consciousness. Taking a hint from Aristotle's definition of *hypokeimenon* (substance), Nishida proposed a "logic of *basho*" (*basho no ronri*) that includes the very act of judgment within itself. If Aristotle's logic is a logic that focuses on the subject-term of the proposition, as the observer studies and classifies the subject under discussion, Nishida attempted to account for how such an observer is actually included in making logical pronouncements. Nishida considered predicates to be already contained in the field of consciousness in which the observer is embedded. The one who judges emerges from the field of consciousness at the moment of intellectual reflection and submerges back into it at the moment of volition and experience.

Nishida sometimes developed his thought in response to specific challenges and issues of his day. By the end of the 1920s, Marxism had become an intellectual fashion among Japanese thinkers. Although Nishida did not personally embrace it, Marxism challenged him to add social and historical dimensions to his thought. The rise to power of the Nazis in Germany in the 1930s drew his attention to world affairs and led him to reflect on the meaning of history and race, and on the nature and role of the state.

As Nishida's perspective grew progressively global and more concrete, he moved away from the language of self-consciousness, and in its stead he developed his dialectics. In his *"Benshōhōteki ippansha to shite no sekai"* (The world as the dialectical universal, 1934), he described the individual self as "none other than an individual determination of the self-determining world" (*Collected Works* 7, p. 203). This is not to belittle the significance of the individual self but rather to emphasize the universal dimension of each individual. Human existence, obtained as the self-determination of the world, is by definition rife with self-contradictions. Precisely by knowing the profound contradictions that lie at the base of our self-existence, Nishida suggested that we undergo absolute negation and arrive at absolute affirmation, which is a step beyond the philosophy of anxiety or *Angst*, the trend that dominated the European philosophical scene.

In his 1935 essay, "*Kōiteki chokkan no tachiba*" (The standpoint of action-intuition), Nishida elaborated on the idea of action-intuition (*kōiteki chokkan*) and the role of "things" (*mono*). A thing is not just an item over there, it exists in vital relation to us and incites our action: "We see things by our action, and things determine us, just as we determine them" (*Collected Works* 8, p. 131). Further, he came to describe the authentic mode of action in terms of our "becoming a thing," that is, for us to embody the full objective reality of our physical existence. Nishida wrote the following: "Just as the body of an artist is the organ of art, so the body of a scholar is an organ of scholarship; the life of an artist lies in beauty and that of a scholar in truth. The operation of our cognition does not exist separate from our body" (*Collected Works* 8, p. 174). Our body is established as the self-determination of the historical world, and as such is a "historical body" (*Collected Works* 8, p. 180).

For Nishida, the essence of the self lies in one's creativity and expressive operations. This emphasis on creativity (*poiesis*, artistic and otherwise) is central to his definition of the person. We are born into this world as "that which is created" (*tsukurareta mono*), but we in turn become "that which creates" (*tsukuru mono*). Accordingly, a society that does not allow individual freedom to be creative is doomed—this was his bone of contention with totalitarian societies.

In "*Ronri to seimei*" (Logic and life, 1936), Nishida examined his thesis that logic is closely tied with the expressive self-formation of historical life. In "*Shu no seisei hatten no mondai*" (The problem of generation and development of species, 1937), he emphasized the radical irreducibility of the individual—"An individual is an individual only in standing against another individual" (*Collected Works* 8, p. 523)—as he meditated on "freedom" and "necessity" for individuals who exist in the historical world. In his 1939 essay "*Zettai mujunteki jiko dōitsu*" (Absolutely contradictory self-identity), he fully developed his dialectical logic, in which the individual, like a monad, assumes a double structure: that which reflects the world and that which is simultaneously a focal point of the world. Differing from Leibnizian monads, however, Nishida considered individuals as "self-fashioning," creative, and dynamic; each individual is a living history in that each, being creative, contributes to the formation of history (*Collected Works* 9, p. 155 and pp. 169–173).

For the rest of his life, Nishida continued to develop his dialectics in terms of the contradictory self-identity of the self and the world as two vantage points, and the one and the many as the modality. His final essay, "*Bashoteki ronri to shūkyōteki sekaikan*" (The logic of *basho* and the religious worldview), completed two months before his death, dealt with the religious consciousness of the person explained in terms of the "logic of *basho*."

NISHIDA'S POLITICAL LIFE. Born in 1870, the third year of the Meiji era, Nishida witnessed the dynamic period when Japan began to interact with the wider world after two centuries of self-imposed isolation. There was a prevailing sense of freedom and optimism among the young generation of that time, and Nishida was no exception. He supported the idea of a constitution and felt personal respect for Emperor Meiji as the head of the modern state. But he was against any ultranationalistic movements that deified the emperor to justify Japan's colonial aggression as staged by the military. Nishida took no part in promoting the cult of Shintō as a national rite, and he was critical of the government's indoctrination of youth.

Through his connection with the Peers School, Nishida came to know Konoe Ayamaro (or Fumimaro) and Kido Kōichi, who were prominent members of the "court group" that closely assisted Emperor Hirohito through 1945. But Nishida's opinions concerning politics and education were deemed overly idealistic to those engulfed in politics.

Nishida's political life came under criticism by Western scholars from the 1980s through the mid-1990s, partly in association with the German philosopher Martin Heidegger (1889–1976). The argument was made that if Heidegger was connected with Nazism, Nishida could have been similarly connected with Japanese fascism. Remarks by Nishida were taken out of context and used to depict him as an ultranationalist, and his philosophy as "intrinsically nationalistic" by implication. A clear distinction between regionalism and nationalism could have clarified the confusion: celebration of one's cultural heritage (regionalism) does not necessarily make a person nationalistic. The perspective of cultural pluralism can shed light on what Nishida was attempting to achieve by ideas such as "Oriental nothingness." Nishida was depicted as a nationalist by Western scholars who relied on the views of a small number of ideological Japanese scholars. The debate began to subside as scholars recognized the need for returning to and reevaluating Nishida's philosophical texts, essays, and letters.

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MICHIKO YUSA (2005)

NIẒĀM AL-DĪN AWLIYĀʾ (AH 636–725/1238–1325 CE) was a major Ṣūfī saint of the Chishtī order. Under his leadership, the order expanded into a mass movement across India. Great men of letters from Amīr Khusraw (d. 1325) to Muḥammad Iqbāl (d. 1938) have eulogized his religious charisma and sought solace in prayers at his grave. Muḥammad Tughluq (r. 1324–1351) was a pallbearer at his funeral and built the mausoleum over his grave. It is a measure of Niẓām al-Dīn's authority with the people that Bābur (r. 1526–1530), founder of the Mughal dynasty, felt it necessary, during his conquest of Delhi, to pay his respects at the shrine. It remains a major site of pilgrimage for non-Muslims as well as Muslims.

Niẓām al-Dīn's paternal and maternal grandparents were refugees from Bukhara, two of many distinguished families who fled the depredations of the Mongols in Central Asia. They eventually settled in Badaon, a city to the east of Delhi, where Niẓām al-Dīn was born. When he was perhaps five, his father died. His religious temperament was forged during the years of privation that followed. His mother, Zulaykhah, faced extreme hardship with a serene reliance on the compassion of God that proved a decisive, lasting influence. She recognized in her son an instinct for learning and devotion and encouraged it. His intellectual talents recommended him to the best of Badaon's teachers, and he excelled in all branches of the Islamic sciences.

At sixteen, knowing he could get no further as a scholar in Badaon, he asked permission to go to Delhi. His mother consented, and the family moved to even deeper penury in the capital. In later life, Niẓām al-Dīn recollected with pleasure how often his mother would say, as if announcing an honor, "Today we are the guests of God," meaning that there was no food in the house. He soon established a reputation as a devout scholar with formidable debating skills. He considered a career as a *qāḍī*, intending to help the people by dispensing justice. But instinctive asceticism and mystical yearning, deepened by the example of his teachers (in Badaon, Shādī Muqrī and ʿAlāʾal-Dīn Uṣūlī, and in Delhi, Khawājah Shams al-Dīn and Kamāl al-Dīn Zāhid), had marked him for a different vocation. Accounts he heard of the sanctity of Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i Shakar, then head of the Chishtī order, stirred his heart. He visited the venerable *shaykh* in Ajodhan (now Pak Pattan) in northwest Punjab, and there enrolled as his disciple.

According to traditional accounts of Niẓām al-Dīn's life, Bābā Farīd perfected his moral character, erasing from it traces of pride in academic reputation. When Niẓām al-Dīn was only twenty-three, Bābā Farīd appointed him as his successor, ordering him to found a *khānqāh* (lodge) in

Delhi and to "take the spiritual kingdom of Hindustan." Niẓām al-Dīn settled in Ghiyathpur, a village beside the river Jumna, a little way outside the capital. Originally a straw hut, the *khānqāh* of Niẓām al-Dīn became the largest of its kind in India. His reputation grew, as did the *futūḥ* or unsolicited gifts upon which the *khānqāh* depended. People from all classes, including the social and political elite, sought his counsel; many submitted to the rigors of *khānqāh* life to become disciples. His famous disciples included Nāṣir al-Dīn Chirāgh in Delhi, Quṭb al-Dīn Munawwar in the Punjab, Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb in the Deccan, the famous poet Amīr Khusraw, the historian Ẓiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī, and the noted scholar Fakhr al-Dīn Zarrādī.

Niẓām al-Dīn never turned anyone away, whatever their initial motives for calling on him, and he did his utmost to satisfy them. He is said to have had achieved such self-transcendence that he lived the problems of others as his own and attended to them with unfailing compassion. He taught through parables (typically presented as anecdotes from the life of holy men) with implicit relevance for the questioner's situation. The latter then had to engage his own resources to work out the course of action appropriate for him, and was thereby relieved of the psychological burden of having felt helpless.

The people's trust in Niẓām al-Dīn also rested on the moral reputation of the *khānqāh*. Following the traditions of the order, any association with political power was rejected; government employment was forbidden to senior disciples; gifts with conditions attached or gifts (like grants of property or land) offering a regular income were refused. Poverty was allowed to alternate with plenty in the resources of the *khānqāh*. Income from *futūḥ* was distributed to the poor as soon as received, or expended in the form of food prepared and served in the *khānqāh*. All who entered the discipline of the *khānqāh*, whatever their eminence outside, were expected to and did serve the poor at table. Such service was essential training for, and the primary expression of, service of God. Niẓām al-Dīn encouraged Islamic scholarship and insisted on the normal rites and other demands of the *sharīʿah*. The goal of his efforts was a deeper relationship with God, and his Islam was vigorously tolerant and inclusive. Non-Muslims as well as Muslims were drawn to the *khānqāh* as a haven of gentleness and spiritual serenity.

The formative years of the Delhi *khānqāh* coincided with the expansion and consolidation of the Delhi sultanate during the reign of ʿAlaʾ al-Dīn Khaljī (r. 1296–1316). The sultan's invitations to the saint were always refused, but the sultan neither resented nor feared the other's popularity: ambitious himself, he recognized the absence of worldly ambition in the saint, and exempted his *khānqāh* from the intrusive control he favored for all aspects of political and economic life in his dominions. Later Niẓām al-Dīn again became the object of court intrigue focused on his sanctioning of music as an aid to religious rapture, which the court scholars disapproved. But these machinations, though a nuisance, did not impede Niẓām al-Dīn in his calling: the order continued to expand, and people still flocked to him for guidance and blessing.

A lifetime of vigils and fasting weakened the health of Niẓām al-Dīn. He continually suffered ailments of the stomach and bowels. He died on April 3, 1325, and was buried in the garden of the *khānqāh*. He left no written works. Niẓām al-Dīn's legacy was a lived example, cherished and relived through the centuries by his followers. They remember his example of spiritual wakefulness expressed as service to humanity and his teachings that emphasized that divine compassion was ever present, without discrimination of class or creed: the role of those who loved God was, accordingly, to mirror his compassion and relieve the human distress that arises from physical and spiritual poverty.

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NIẒĀM AL-MULK (AH 408–485/1018–1092 CE) was a celebrated Persian vizier. Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Isḥāq al-Ṭūsī was born in Nawqān, a village near Ṭus in Khurāsān. He served two Saljūq sultans, Ālp Arsalān (r. 1063–1073) and his son Malikshāh ibn Ālp Arsalān (r. 1073–1092), and held the honorifics Niẓām al-Mulk (administrator of the realm), Qawām al-Dīn (upholder of religion), and Ghiyâth al-Dawla (mainstay of government). Niẓām al-Mulk was a Shāfiʿī in law and an Ashʿarī in theology. He befriended Ṣūfīs and built numerous educational institutions, known as *madrasahs*. He was assassinated in 1092 in a small village outside of Iṣfahān. In his seventy-four years, Niẓām al-Mulk rose from being a member of the bureaucracy of the provincial governor of Balkh (in present-day Afghanistan) to the de facto ruler of a vast empire, with a final apotheosis as the archetypal good vizier in the world of Islam.

Modern appraisals of Niẓām al-Mulk, often based on an uncritical distillation of medieval sources, tend to cast him in the mold of later reformist but absolutist rulers, who promoted religious orthodoxy, particularly through the founding of religious institutions, to counter latent forces of anarchy inherent in a world of steadily disintegrating spiritual authority and ever increasing tribal incursions and political conflicts. But a reading of the same sources, shorn of these underlying assumptions, reveals other traits and priorities. The ideal medieval statesman emerging from the scattered references to Niẓām al-Mulk in chronicles, biographies of viziers, manuals of conduct, panegyrics of court poets, and other sources is not the homogenized single icon of a bureaucratic state-builder, but the emblematic site where seemingly discordant civic and personal virtues can be fused together in a concatenated bio/hagiographical account of a life depicted in distinct stages. Thus, as in the biographies of many an outstanding spiritual figure before and after him (including, for example, the Prophet himself or the great poet and mystic Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī), his precocious gifts are at once spotted and remarked upon, and so in a sense authenticated, by an outstanding contemporary luminary, in his case the great Ṣūfī master Shaykh Abū al-Saʿīd Abū al-Khayr (d. 1049). Later we see Niẓām al-Mulk climb up rapidly on the slippery bureaucratic ladder, stepping on his rivals' toes whenever necessary.

Although biographical information in the medieval Islamic sources on Niẓām al-Mulk is sketchy and the sources often contradict each other, almost all concur on his arduous early years, fraught with financial and political difficulties, before he became a vizier. Although born to a *dihqān* (landed aristocracy dating back to pre-Islamic Iran) family, Niẓām al-Mulk (or his father, for here sources vary) witnessed several injustices in his youth, and the family possessions were confiscated several times when he (or his father) served Ghaznavid (r. 977–1186) officials in Khurāsān. But Niẓām al-Mulk's fortune changed when the Saljūqs entered Khurāsān in 1038. He was recommended to the new sultan either by the provincial governor of Balkh or by the *imām* al-Muwaffaq (d. 1048), the respected leader of the Shāfiʿī faction of Nīshāpūr, again depending on the source one uses. In so doing, al-Muwaffaq bypassed another student of his, the ʿamīd al-Mulk al-Kundurī. Although al-Muwaffaq recommended Niẓām al-Mulk, al-Kundurī also entered into Saljūq service, serving the governor of Khurāsān, who was the brother of the reigning sultan.

In 1063, when Ālp Arsalān succeeded his father and uncle as the sole ruler of the Saljūq Empire, he kept al-Kundurī in office, as recommended by his father. Although initially a Shāfiʿī and Ashʿarī himself, al-Kundurī initiated the public cursing of Shīʿah and Ashāʿirah from the pulpits in Khurāsān in 1062, in retaliation for the *imām* al-Muwaffaq's support of his rival. Several eminent Ashʿarī/Shāfiʿī figures, among them the *imām* al-Ḥaramayn al-Juwaynī (d. 1085) and the Ṣūfī master Abū Qāsim al-Qushayrī (d. 1072), left for Mecca in protest. They did not return until Niẓām al-Mulk reversed these divisive policies and brought the downfall of his rival. Even in the most sympathetic accounts of the life of Niẓām al-Mulk, he is held responsible for the execution of al-Kundurī in 1064, whose office he inherited. The dramatic aspect of the episode is enhanced in a number of sources by inserting al-Kundurī's oracular last words, addressed to Niẓām al-Mulk: "You have taught these Turks the practice of killing their viziers."

The long years of Niẓām al-Mulk's administrative reign are regarded as the halcyon days of the dynasty he served, with his own personal retinue reflecting the opulence of the realm he managed. Al-Subkī's (d. 1369/70) entry on Niẓām al-Mulk in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah al-kubrá* suggests that he had a personal army of Turkic slaves numbering over eighty thousand men, that he was one of the richest men in the Islamic lands, and that he conducted the affairs of the vast empire with effortless ease. But worldly riches are nicely balanced in the sources by unworldly concerns, and many anecdotes depict him identifying himself with Ṣūfīs and their spiritual interests and taking an active part in religious debates of his time. In his *Ghiyāth al-'umam fī iltiyāth al-ẓulam,* written between 1072 and 1085, the *imām* al-Ḥaramayn al-Juwaynī alludes to Niẓām al-Mulk as the most qualified and capable administrator of his time, clearly surpassing the reigning Abbasid caliph in both real power and spiritual legitimacy, a significant compliment, coming as it does from one of the leading jurists of the eleventh century.

Niẓām al-Mulk's downfall also bears the teleological stamp of the didactic and polemical reading of history inherent in the sources. In spite of his long years in power, Niẓām al-Mulk finally fell victim to the arbitrary nature of medieval kingship, like so many of his predecessors and successors. Spearheaded by the sultan Malikshāh's favorite wife, Turkān Khātūn (d. 1094), and exploiting a succession dispute, his enemies at the Saljūq court succeeded in convincing the sultan that the old vizier harbored ambitions to rule the empire. The history of the demise of Niẓām al-Mulk is cast in the familiar medieval mold of heresy, the stealthy intervention of women in politics, and conspiracy at court. Turkān Khātūn, allied with the Ismāʿīlīs and others accused of being enemies of Islam, persuaded Malikshāh to charge Niẓām al-Mulk with nepotism and treachery. The vizier wrote back, reminding the sultan that his fate was intertwined with Niẓām al-Mulk's fate, and that God, who had given one the turban, had given the other the crown. Malikshāh replaced him with one of his wife's allies, the Shīʿī Tāj al-Mulk (d. 1093), a person of unsound religious views, according to the sources. A year later, Niẓām al-Mulk was assassinated, allegedly by adherents of another unorthodox creed, the Ismāʿīlīs. On that oft-evoked complicity, too, there is much disagreement in the sources, as some hold Malikshāh responsible for his vizier's death and some even claim that Malikshāh himself had, at the instigation of his wife, converted to Ismāʿīlism and was thus manipulated into arranging for the murder of his own vizier, the upholder of orthodox religion. Perhaps the only flicker of truth in this fog of conspiracy was the charge of nepotism, for the Vizier did, after all, secure the continuation of his policies by installing a number of his relatives in prominent positions. Five of his sons, two of his grandsons, and one great-grandson held the office of vizier to one or another of the rulers after him, though none could reach his eminence, as recounted succinctly in Ibn Funduq's (d. 1170) *Tāʾrīkh-i Bayhaq*, a rich source on the rise and lingering influence of Niẓām al-Mulk's family in the Saljūq empire.

The more general attribution that he lived and died a stalwart of orthodoxy, tacitly accepted by many modern scholars of medieval Islam, should be reconsidered. Nearly contemporary Shīʿī sources, such as ʿAbd al-Jalīl al-Qazvīnī (d. after 1189) in his *Kitāb al-naqd* (1164/65), and the poet Ibn al-Habbārīyah (d. 1115) in his anthology, have praised Niẓām al-Mulk for his evenhandedness, and it should be borne in mind that one of the vizier's daughters was married to the son of the prominent Shīʿī leader, Sayyid Murtaḍā al-Qummī. There is praise for his tolerance from opposing sides. In the annals of the year 1077 in his *Al-Muntaẓam*, the Ḥanbalī historian Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1200) has preserved a letter from Niẓām al-Mulk to Shaykh Abū Isḥāq al-Shīrāzī (d. 1083), whom he had appointed to teach at the Niẓāmīyah in Baghdad. It concerns a series of riots by the Ḥanbalīs of Baghdad following fiery sermons by the Shāfiʿī professor at the Niẓāmīyah. Niẓām al-Mulk advises the professor to be prudent in his sermons, especially as many Ḥanbalīs lived in Baghdad, and the *imām* Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 855), the founder of the legal and theological school that bore Niẓām al-Mulk's name, was among the most venerated figures of Islam. Niẓām al-Mulk also informed the shaykh that the Niẓāmīyah, in line with his overall policy, was conceived to facilitate learning, to protect the learned, and to discourage sectarian strife. Should the *madrasahs* fall short of this objective, he would have no alternative but to shut them down. This last cautionary statement is significant in the context of the persisting misapprehension that clouds modern scholarship on the *madrasah*s sponsored by Niẓām al-Mulk. The Niẓāmīyah were not generally perceived as instruments of government policy by medieval Muslim historians, nor did they succeed in transforming the highly personal structure of Islamic education. In fact, medieval histories preserve little to document a long-lasting effect of the Niẓāmīyahs, beyond their founder's lifetime, on the educational infrastructure of Islamic society.

Similarly, and contrary to the tone of most modern studies on Niẓām al-Mulk, his authorship of a treatise on political and courtly decorum, the *Siyar al-Mulūk*, does not loom large in the medieval accounts. The *Siyar al-Mulūk*, rather than a treatise on political thought in the modern sense of the term, is essentially an ethical treatise, which bears more of a resemblance to the ninth-century pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum Secretorum* than to Machiavelli's *The Prince.*

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Neguin Yavari (2005)

NJǪRÐR (Njord) is the most outstanding of the group of Germanic gods known as the Vanir. Their war with the Æsir (the primary group of gods) and the move of Njǫrðr, his son Freyr, and his daughter Freyja to the Æsir's citadel, Ásgarðr, as hostages has been seen as a reflection of an actual religious war or the replacement of one cult with another, but it has also been taken as a symbolic explanation of the existence of different aspects of divinity. According to Snorri Sturluson (1179–1241), Njǫrðr is extremely wealthy and prosperous and can grant land and movables to those who call on him. The protector of seafarers and fishermen, he sends favorable winds and calm seas. His dwelling in Ásgarðr is called Nóatún (Harbor), a name that points to his association with sailing. But Njǫrðr does not stay with the Æsir forever; according to the eddic poem *Vafþrúðnismál* (st. 39), after their last battle against the giants and monsters at Ragnarǫk, Njǫrðr will return to the land of the Vanir.

The mythology about Njǫrðr is dominated by his move to Ásgarðr. The incestuous relations allowed among the Vanir were alien to the Æsir, and in the eddic poem *Lokasenna* (st. 36), Loki reproaches Njǫrðr with having begotten his children with his own sister. Njǫrðr enters into a marriage that serves the Æsir but turns out to be a disaster of temperamental incompatibility for both spouses. The legitimacy of Freyr and Freyja was evidently a problem for Snorri, who implies they were the offspring of Njǫrðr and his new wife. The story of this marriage is an intertwining of *Märchenmotive* (folktale motifs) and fertility rites. Through Loki's deceit, the giant Þjazi was killed by the Æsir, and when his daughter Skaði came to Ásgarðr to claim compensation, she was offered her choice of a husband from among the Æsir, provided that she look only at their feet. She expected her choice to be the handsome Baldr, but she had picked Njǫrðr, whose feet were evidently washed clean by his watery domain. Skaði had accepted this arrangement only on condition that the gods would make her laugh; Loki was able to do so by tying one end of a string to his scrotum and the other to a goat's beard; when both pulled, there was a lot of shouting and howling until Loki fell on his knees in front of Skaði, who burst out laughing. Unfortunately, Skaði and Njǫrðr turned out to be incompatible; they alternated living at Nóatún and at Þrymheimr, but she hated living by the sea, and he hated living in the mountains. Snorri mentions that she left her husband, so there was probably a myth recounting her return to her father's estate.

Despite the scanty information about Njǫrðr in Old Norse literature, his cult was important in Germanic antiquity. This is confirmed by the considerable number of cult place-names, which occur particularly in eastern Sweden and western Norway, but in Denmark and Iceland as well. Whereas the Norwegian and Icelandic place-names are always found near the coast, as would be expected for a seafaring god, the Swedish place-names are always found in inland agricultural areas, suggesting that Njǫrðr was worshiped as a fertility god in those areas. A number of the Swedish place-names go back to an original *Njarðarvé* (Njǫrðr's temple) and show that he was publically worshiped at an early period. Worship at a later period is implied by the place-names in southeastern Norway going back to *Njarðarhof*, where *hof* is a newer word that also means temple. Another indication of his importance in the pagan religion is found in the extant remnant of the pagan law code of Iceland, where it is laid down that a person performing legal business should swear an oath on the holy ring, saying "so help me Freyr and Njǫrðr and the all-powerful god."

A major problem in discussing Njǫrðr is his relation to the mother goddess of the Inguaeonic tribes, Nerthus, whom the first-century CE Tacitus (*Germania*, ch. 40) says was worshiped on an island in the Baltic; he equates her with *Terra mater* (Mother Earth). *Njǫrðr* and the Latino-Germanic *Nerthus* reflect the proto-Germanic **nerþuz*, but why is the earlier deity a goddess and the later one a god? The change has been ascribed to the "masculinization" of agriculture that occurred between Roman times and the Viking Age, for according to Tacitus, the early Germanic tribes left the cultivation of the land to women, the elderly, and the weaker members of the extended family (*Germania*, ch. 14), whereas farming in the Viking period was carried out by men. According to Jan de Vries in *Altgermanische Religiongeschichte* (1967), such an explanation is not wholly convincing, as it does not account for the shift of the deity's main domain from fertility to the sea and navigation. Modern research tends to emphasize the fact that Njǫrðr has always been a "man of the sea," and the change of sex is explained by postulating a hermaphroditic deity or supposing that Njǫrðr and Nerthus were brother and sister.

The significance of Njǫrðr is also reflected in his role in medieval euhemeristic tales describing the legendary early history of Scandinavia, in which he is said to have assumed the throne of Sweden after "King Óðinn" passed away. Such peace and plenteous harvests followed that the Swedes believed he controlled the crops and the well-being of humankind.

SEE ALSO Germanic Religion; Loki; Óðinn.

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NOAH, son of Lamech and father of Shem, Ham, and Japheth, according to the Hebrew scriptures (*Gn.* 5:29–30, 6:10); chosen by God to be saved from the universal flood that destroyed the earth. Plausibly, this story has ancient Mesopotamian roots, as do many other features of the biblical flood traditions. But while ancient Sumerian tradition and its reflexes refer to a hero who attained immortality after the flood, biblical tradition speaks of the mortality of Noah.

As one born in the tenth generation after Adam, Noah is clearly linked to Adam. Indeed, his position as an Adam *redivivus* is more expressly indicated in the popular etymology of his name in *Genesis* 5:29, which regards him as the one who "will comfort us from our labor and the travail of our hands, out of the earth which Yahveh has cursed," a thematic and verbal allusion (and, indeed, a hoped-for end) to the divine curses announced in *Genesis* 3:17. Moreover, after the flood Noah and his sons are given the same blessing and earthly stewardship as was Adam, with the singular exception that now flesh is permitted as food, whereas Adam was a vegetarian (*Gn.* 9:1–7, 1:28–30). In the postdiluvian world, Noah also goes beyond his ancestor Adam insofar as he is considered a man of domesticated labor—a vintner (*Gn.* 9:19). Later biblical tradition remembered Noah as the hero of the flood (*Is.* 54:9) and as one of the three most "righteous" men of antiquity (*Ez.* 14:14, 14:20). In this latter attribution, there is an obvious link to the statement in *Genesis* 6:9 that "Noah was a righteous man; perfect in his generation."

In the Midrash and *aggadah*, rabbis developed the traditions of Noah's righteousness, emphasizing, on the one hand, both his fellow feelings and his concern that his generation repent of their sins (a tradition also found in the church fathers) and, on the other hand, his concern for all animals and species of life. A more jaundiced note is sounded by both the rabbinic view that Noah merely excelled in his own generation, which was very evil, but was not himself of exemplary righteousness (*Gn. Rab.* 30.9) and the later Hasidic comment of Yaʿaqov Yosef of Polonnoye that Noah was a self-centered *tsaddiq*, or righteous leader, since he did not seek the spiritual-social transformation of the entire people.

In Christianity, Noah served as one of the most important typological figures insofar as he symbolized the just person who, in a sinful world, submitted in faith to God (cf. *Heb.* 11:7, *Lk.* 17:26, *1 Pt.* 3:20, *2 Pt.* 2:5). The flood, ark, and dove prominent in the biblical story also serve as Christian prefigurations, for just as Noah rises above death by water, so Jesus and the Christians defeat Satan and death by the waters of baptism (*1 Pt.* 3:18–21). In other traditions, Noah prefigures Jesus as one who announces judgment and saves humanity from complete destruction, and his ark symbolizes the church. The dove sent forth by Noah comes to symbolize the Holy Spirit of peace and divine reconciliation moving over the baptismal waters. In Muslim tradition, Noah (Arab., Nuh) also plays a strong role: an entire *sūrah* of the Qurʾān (17) is devoted to him, and Muḥammed considered Noah's life as prototypical of his own.

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NOCK, ARTHUR DARBY

NOCK, ARTHUR DARBY (1902–1963), Anglo-American historian of religions. Nock, who was born in Portsmouth, England, and died in Cambridge, Massachusetts, showed early promise of becoming what Martin P. Nilsson was to call him: "the world's leading authority on the religion of later antiquity." His *Sallus-tius: Concerning the Gods and the Universe* (Cambridge, England, 1926), a model edition of an allegorical treatise from late antiquity, is notable for its essay on the treatise in its fourth-century setting.

A fellow of Clare College, Cambridge, Nock shared some of the interests, if not all the beliefs, of a group of learned Anglo-Catholics who were producing a set of essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation. He maintained his independence and objectivity while preparing an enduringly valuable essay entitled "Early Gentile Christianity and Its Hellenistic Background," in which he anticipated much of his later work on both subjects. Quite soon Nock was invited to Harvard University, where he became Frothingham Professor of the History of Religion in 1930. His Lowell Lectures were published as *Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* (Oxford, 1933).

Nock's scholarly range was immense, his depth and intensity remarkable. His shorter papers reflect great energy governed by a strong mind. Legend has it that he had spent his earlier years reading all the Teubner texts before going on to all the secondary literature. For many years he worked with A.-J. Festugière, O.P., on an edition of the theosophical *Corpus Hermeticum* (Paris, 1945), freeing the text from needless emendations and setting the whole in its Middle Platonic environment. To clarify historical context was always his goal. As he wrote in the preface to *Conversion*, "We shall seek to see as a pagan might the Christian Church and the Christian creed. The evidence at our disposal does not admit of complete success in this quest; we can but hope to have a reasonable approximation to the truth and, in the Swedish proverb, 'to put the church in the middle of the village.'"

Publication of Nock's Gifford Lectures, delivered in 1939 and 1946, was delayed by World War II and was finally nullified by his perfectionism. He was too busy to look back. He had already produced a masterly chapter on late Roman religion, "The Development of Paganism in the Roman Empire," making full use of the coins, for the *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 12 (Cambridge, 1939), and he was responsible for editing the *Harvard Theological Review*—which he continued to do for thirty-three years—as a journal for ancient religion, chiefly Greek and Roman.

Nock was opposed to the proliferation of hypotheses and to the building of theory upon theory. Reluctant to generalize, he spoke of the sacredness of fact, although he valued facts not for their own sake but as the foundation stones of knowledge. Revered by his students and colleagues for his knowledge and judgment, he helped many to resist speculation, thus pointing the way to a truly collaborative study of religion.

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Particularly notable, along with the works mentioned above, is Nock's *Early Gentile Christianity and Its Hellenistic Background* (New York, 1964), which includes the essay by that title as well as two other papers. Among Nock's many articles, it is difficult to select the most important, although certainly his "Sarcophagi and Symbolism," "Hellenistic Mysteries and Christian Sacraments," and "The Roman Army and the Religious Year" deserve attention. Nock's 415 publications are listed—and 59 of them are reprinted—in his *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, 2 vols., edited by Zeph Stewart (Oxford, 1972).

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NOISE See PERCUSSION AND NOISE

NOMINALISM. The philosophical view of nominalists is based on the conviction that in human discourse only names (*nomina*), nouns, or words are "universal," not things, common natures, or ideas, as claimed by the realists. The problem of universals, first raised in logic, concerned the status of terms that are predicable of many subject-terms. The problem raised other questions that had to be answered in psychology or epistemology, with serious ramifications in theology. The logical problem of universals was heatedly debated in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in response to Abelard; the larger problem was debated even more heatedly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in response to Ockham and his followers.

In the early Middle Ages logicians encountered the problem of universals in teaching Aristotle's *Categories* and Porphyry's *Isagoge* (Introduction). In the *Categories* Aristotle listed ten classes of terms that are predicable of subject-terms in discourse (substance and the nine accidental characteristics). Porphyry grouped these into five types of univocal predicability called "universals" (*uni-versus-alia*), namely, genus, species, difference, property, and accident. Concerning their status Porphyry raised three questions: namely, whether they exist substantially or only in the mind; if the former, whether they are corporeal or incorporeal; and, third, whether they exist separately from objects of sense or only in them. Porphyry gave no answer but implied a Platonic solution. Boethius (c. 475–c. 525), in his commentary, further asks whether these universals are "things," as the Platonists hold, or only "names" as Aristotle seems to hold.

Early teachers such as John Scottus Eriugena (fl. 847–877), Anselm (c. 1033–1109), and William of Champeaux (c. 1070–1121), largely influenced by the Platonic realism of the early church fathers, maintained that predicable terms immediately reflect common natures in creatures and mediately reflect ideas in the mind of God. The earliest opponent of such realism was the French teacher Roscelin (fl. 1080–1125), who taught Peter Abelard (1079–1142). Arguing that things as such exist only as individuals and cannot be predicated universally, Roscelin attributed universality solely to vocal utterances. Modifying the extreme view of Roscelin, Abelard held that in predication it is simply names that are predicated of subject-terms, and the main function of names is to signify whatever is agreed upon by men. The meaning of the term *rose* being agreed upon, the name of the rose and its signification remain even when there are no more roses. Signification, for Abelard, exists only in the mind, not in individual things existing outside the mind. Abelard, however, did not raise the more serious questions of psychology or epistemology, since he did not know the rest of Aristotle's philosophy.

Logicians after Abelard distinguished between the meaning (*significatio*) of names and their intended use (*suppositio*) in sentences. Three kinds of supposition were noted: "simple," as in the simple meaning of a name; "material," as in the sounds or letters with which it is composed; and "personal," as in the proper subject possessing the attribute. In the thirteenth century wider issues were also discussed, such as the psychology of knowledge and the epistemological foundations of all knowledge. Moderate realists explained universal concepts in terms of "abstraction" by the human intellect from sense knowledge directly perceiving existing individuals.

Early in the fourteenth century William of Ockham (c. 1285–1349) rejected every shade of universality in things outside the mind, even fundamentally and potentially: "All those whom I have seen agree that there is really in the individual a nature that is in some way universal, at least potentially and incompletely" (*Sentences* 1.2.7). Ockham's unique nominalism rests on three crucial positions. First, in logic he substituted a new meaning for "simple" supposition: namely, when a term used stands for a mental intuition (*intentio animae*), but without that meaning, that is, without signifying something mental. As a consequence "personal" supposition became the concrete individual indicated by the name (*Sum of Logic* 1.64). Second, in psychology Ockham eliminated all distinctions between the soul and its faculties, among the faculties themselves, and between intellectual and sense knowledge. For Ockham, the intellect directly perceives the concrete individual by "intuitive" knowledge. Third, as for existing realities, only "absolute things" (*res absolutae*) can exist, namely, individual substances (matter or form) and sensible qualities: "Apart from absolute things, viz. substances and qualities, nothing can be imagined [to exist] either actually or potentially" (ibid., 1.49). Thus the other Aristotelian categories, such as quantity, relation, and the like, were reduced to mental intuitions (*intentiones animae*) that referred to individual "absolute things" variously perceived.

Ockham's nominalism eliminated much of what was traditionally considered "real" in philosophy and theology. Thus the name "motion" in any variation did not refer to a reality other than the body itself in motion; it signified a body (personal supposition) considered as being in one place after another without interruption (in simple supposition). Since "without interruption" is a negation, it cannot exist outside the mind in order to be distinct from the body in motion. Similarly, "grace" signifies a sinner acceptable to God as pleasing to him, not a reality in man distinct from the sinner. This simplification of names appealed to many philosophers and theologians after Ockham.

Many of the leading theologians in the fifteenth century—Gabriel Biel, Pierre d'Ailly, and Peter of Candia (the antipope Alexander V), for example—were nominalists. Moreover, most universities of Europe in the sixteenth century considered nominalism a mark of Catholic orthodoxy.

SEE ALSO William of Ockham.

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NONVIOLENCE.

Virtually every religious tradition contains some sort of injunction against taking human life. The biblical instruction "Thou shalt not kill" (*Ex.* 20:13, *Dt.* 5:17), considered normative for both Jewish and Christian traditions, is echoed in the New Testament (*Mt.* 5:21) and also in the Qurʾān: "Slay not the life that God has made sacred" (6:152). In the Buddhist tradition, the first of the Five Precepts mandated as part of the Eightfold Path of righteous living is the requirement not to kill. A Jain text claims that "if someone kills living things . . . his sin increases" (*Sūtrakṛtāṅga* 1.1), a sentiment that is also found in Hinduism: "The killing of living beings is not conducive to heaven" (*Manusmṛti* 5.48).

Despite the general agreement over the immorality of killing, however, there is a great deal of disagreement within and among religious traditions over such crucial matters as (1) how the rule against killing is justified; (2) when the rule may be abrogated; (3) whether it applies to all animate life; (4) whether it includes a prohibition against forms of harm other than physical; and (5) how central it is to each tradition.

A comparative survey of the concept of nonviolence is also complicated by the fact that the terms used for nonviolent acts and attitudes differ widely from culture to culture and from one century to the next. The words *pacifism* and *nonviolence*, for instance, are relatively new inventions in the English language. *Nonviolence*, a translation of the Sanskrit term *ahiṃsā* (lit., "no harm"), came into common English usage only in the twentieth century through its association with Mohandas Gandhi and his approach to conflict. While the term has parallels in religious traditions throughout the world, the idea is central primarily in the religious traditions found in India.

In the following survey of nonviolence in the world religious traditions, the concept can be seen as conceived in three basic ways:

1. *As an inner state or attitude of nondestructiveness and reverence for life.* This idea is expressed primarily in the Jain, Buddhist, and Hindu traditions through the notion of *ahiṃsā*. It is also found in certain African and Native American tribal societies and in some Christian communities, including the Quakers.
2. *As an ideal of social harmony and peaceful living.* This concept, associated with the Hebrew term *shalom* and the Islamic term *salām*, is also found in ancient Greek religion, where gods such as Demeter and Apollo incarnated the virtues of peace. It is linked with visions of a perfect future found in Christianity and in various tribal religions.
3. *As a response to conflict.* A nonviolent approach to confrontation, even in oppressive situations, has been the hallmark of the Christian notion of sacrificial love, the Jewish concept of martyrdom, and the Gandhian strategy of nonviolent conflict.

ANCIENT INDIA. During the Vedic period (c. 1500–500 BCE), the concept of nonviolence was virtually unknown. The culture of the time was permeated with the values of a military society, and animals were widely used for food and sacrifice. The mythological accounts of Vedic gods are filled with acts of violence, vengeance, and warfare—activities in which the gods of the great epics also participated.

The first mention of nonviolence as a moral virtue is found in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (3.17.4), where the word *ahiṃsā* implies self-sacrifice and restraint. The *Yoga Sūtra* later requires it as a vow for those undertaking yogic practices. The further evolution of the concept, however, is linked with another notion that arises in the Upaniṣads, the belief in *karman*, that is, that one's attitudes and deeds in this life will influence one's status in the next. Acts and attitudes destructive to life are considered to have an especially bad influence. The concept of *ahiṃsā*, thus elevated, came into a central position in the teachings of the heterodox masters of the sixth century BCE, notably Mahāvīra, the prominent figure in the Jain tradition, and Siddhārtha Gautama, the Buddha.

JAIN TEACHINGS. The importance of nonviolence in Jainism is due to the tradition's stark view of the law of *karman*: any association with killing, even an accidental one, is a serious obstacle on the path of karmic purity. For that reason, pious Jains wear masks over their faces to avoid breathing in (and thereby destroying) tiny insects, and they sweep the ground before them in order to avoid stepping on anything living as they walk. In addition, all Jains adhere to a vegetarian diet. Vegetables are also living things, of course, but certain vegetables are thought to carry a greater karmic weight, and these the Jains try to avoid. Jain monks, whose code is even stricter than that of the laity, hold as an ideal the logical conclusion of an extreme form of *ahiṃsā*: the completion of one's life by starving to death.

BUDDHISM. The Buddhist ideal of *ahiṃsā*, even as practiced by Buddhist monks, is not as strict as that of the Jains. Buddhists emphasize motivation as well as action, and traditional Buddhist teachings require five conditions, all of which must be present before one can be considered culpable of an act of killing: (1) something must first have been living; (2) the killer must have known that it was alive; (3) he or she must have intended to kill it; (4) there must have been an act of killing; and (5) it must, in fact, have died.

It is the absence of the third of these conditions that typically allows for some mitigation of the rule of total nonviolence in the Buddhist case. For instance, many Buddhists will eat meat as long as they have not themselves intended that the animal be slaughtered or been involved in the act of slaughtering. Armed defense—even warfare—has been justified on the grounds that such violence has been in the nature of response, not intent. To use violence nondefensively, however, for the purpose of political expansion, appears to be prohibited under the Buddhist rule.

Perhaps for this reason, the great Buddhist emperor Aśoka came to accept the principle of nonviolence only after his bloody wars of expansion. From his headquarters in what is now the North Indian state of Bihar, Asoka conquered a goodly portion of the South Asian subcontinent in the third century BCE. Once in power, however, he instituted the rule of nonviolence as state policy.

Even in modern Buddhist societies such as Thailand, where kingship is a religious as well as a political role, there is a tension between the obligations of political authority and the adherence to the rule of nonviolence. In countries such as China and Japan, where Buddhism is intertwined with other religious traditions, the stringent Buddhist standards are maintained only by monks, while those in political authority rely on other religious traditions, such as Confucianism and Shinto, to justify political force.

Chinese culture has been receptive to Buddhist ideas on nonviolence, however, due to the existence of similar notions in traditional Chinese thought. The Daoist concept of *wuwei* ("nonstriving") connotes an ideal of peaceful living and the absence of aggression much like that conveyed by the concept of *ahiṃsā.*

MEDIEVAL AND MODERN HINDU ATTITUDES. Sometime after the rise of Buddhism, and perhaps because of its influence, the idea of nonviolence gained popularity throughout India and became linked with two other notions, vegetarianism and respect for the cow. Some scholars regard cow worship as a vestige of an earlier nature-goddess religion in India, but in its later, Hindu interpretation, veneration of the cow became a symbol of respect for all living beings, and by extension, a symbol of nonviolence. Despite the popularity of the concept, however, the political history of India has been dominated by military rulers, often members of the warrior caste (*kṣatriya*) whose moral obligation (*dharma*) includes leadership in battle.

It was Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948) who brought the concept of nonviolence into the political sphere. By combining the notion of nonviolence with a traditional means of protest—*dharṇā* (a general strike)—Gandhi made movements of nonviolent noncooperation into instruments of significant political power. By employing nonviolence as an essential element of the consensus style of decision making traditionally practiced by India's village councils (*pañchāyat*), Gandhi developed a novel method of conflict resolution he called *satyāgraha* ("truth force"). He applied this term both to his campaigns for India's independence and to his way of dealing with differences of opinion in everyday life.

Although Gandhi insisted on nonviolence as a general rule, he allowed for several significant exceptions. He condoned the violence required to stop snipers or rapists as they attacked, and permitted the killing of pests and wild animals that threatened his rural commune. He claimed that he preferred violence over cowardice, and he placed the battle for truth on a higher plane than the strict observance of nonviolence. Yet Gandhi also regarded nonviolence as the litmus test that would reveal where truth was to be found. In Gandhi's view, any form of coercion or intimidation was violent and to be abhorred.

HINDU AND SIKH MILITANTS. The persistence of violence in India's public life is ample testimony that Gandhi's approach was not unanimously accepted even in his own land. The movement for national independence that Gandhi led was marred by violence, including that perpetrated by Bengali nationalists inspired by Durga, a goddess to whom great destructive powers were ascribed. At the time of independence, Hindu militants led violent assaults against their old Muslim foes and, in 1948, one of them led the fatal assault on Gandhi's life as well.

The assassination in 1984 of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India was also motivated by religious concerns. Mrs. Gandhi was killed by a member of the Sikh community in retaliation for her part in ordering a military assault on the Sikh Golden Temple. The fundamental teachings of the Sikhs are not, however, violent: the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century spiritual masters who are regarded as founders of the faith are portrayed as such gentle souls that Gandhi himself claimed to have been inspired by them. But over the years the ranks of the Sikh movement swelled with members of a militant tribal group, the Jats, and Sikhs were involved in violent clashes with the Mughals, the British, and other Indian rulers. The core of the Sikh community is known as "the army of the faithful," and their symbol is a double-edged sword.

BIBLICAL JUDAISM. Western religious traditions are no less inclined than their Eastern counterparts to combine violent and peaceful images of the divine. And, as in the Hindu tradition, some of the earliest images are the most violent. "The Lord is a warrior," proclaims *Exodus* 15:3. The utter desolation with which God destroyed his enemies indicated just how fierce a warrior he could be.

Later sections of the Hebrew scriptures temper this image with an attitude of compassion, and some even show a disdain of things military (see *Ps.* 20, 30, 33, 147; *Is.* 30). David, for instance, was not allowed to build the Temple because he had shed blood (*1 Chr.* 28:2–3), and the prophetic vision that nations will "beat their swords into plowshares" and "never again be trained for war" (*Is.* 2:4, *Mi.* 4:3) is one of the most vivid images of pacifism in any religious scripture.

An even more positive approach is indicated by the growing prominence of the biblical term for "peace," *shalom*, which appears often in the prophetic books of the Hebrew scriptures, especially *Jeremiah* and *Isaiah*. The term signifies not only an absence of warfare, but the presence of a spirit of well-being and harmony. In this respect, *shalom* is the Hebrew equivalent for the positive aspects of *ahiṃsā*, especially the absence of the desire to harm.

RABBINIC AND MODERN JUDAISM. Writings in the Babylonian Talmud continue this Jewish emphasis on *shalom* and further elaborate a series of ethical restrictions on using violence. On an interpersonal level, the absence of violence is applauded even in the face of provocation. If one is attacked, a fourth-century rabbi advised, "let him kill you; do you commit no murder" (*Pes.* 25b). At the level of statecraft, the rabbis did sanction warfare, but they distinguished between "religious" war and "optional" war. The former they required as a moral or spiritual obligation—to protect the faith or defeat enemies of the Lord. These contrasted with wars that are waged for reasons of political expansion and power; such optional wars are justified only if they are initiated for virtuous reasons.

During the rabbinic period, the Jewish community was also beginning to develop nonviolent forms of self-defense and resistance, both as individual and as communal actions. The confrontations with the occupying Roman government included not only militant clashes, such as the Maccabean Revolt (166–164 BCE), but also nonviolent encounters, as when the Jewish community resisted Caligula's attempt to establish a statue of himself as Zeus in the Temple at Jerusalem in 40 CE. The revolt at Masada in 73 CE, although violent, involved a show of religious solidarity that culminated in mass suicide, and the rebellion led by Bar Kokhba (c. 132–135 CE) involved a kind of passive resistance that resulted in martyrdom.

The concept of martyrdom, *kiddush ha-Shem* ("sanctification of the divine name"), is central to the Jewish tradition of nonviolent resistance. The term implies that those who revere the divine order must be unflagging in their witness to it, even at the cost of their lives. A rabbinical council in the second century CE narrowed to three the number of offenses that one should refuse to commit even under the threat of death: idolatry, unchastity, and murder. By extension, however, martyrdom was expected in any situation where one was forced to deny the basic tenets of the faith.

In times of political oppression, the ideal of *kiddush ha-Shem* has served to inspire Jewish resisters to acts of courage and faithfulness even at the risk of their lives. This ideal was tested in the fifteenth century when, during the Spanish Inquisition, many Jews were persecuted for adopting a technique that amounted to passive resistance: they claimed to be Christian converts when in fact they were secretly observing the Jewish faith. In the twentieth century, faced with massive Nazi attempts at genocide, the European Jewish community adopted both violent and nonviolent forms of resistance. One of the most common responses to the Nazis, especially among the Orthodox, was based on the traditional notion of *kiddush ha-Shem*: they faced their opponents with dignity and faithfulness, rather than adopting any aspect of the enemy's behavior, even if it meant risking death.

EARLY CHRISTIANITY. Martyrdom was an important feature of early Christianity as well, partly because it seemed an imitation of the sacrifice of Jesus, but there has been disagreement among Christians from that time to the present over whether Jesus' example of selfless love (agape) was meant to be followed to similar extremes by other members of the Christian community. Those who thought so expected that the peaceable kingdom of God that is often depicted in the Gospels would be realized in this world, and they took literally Jesus' advocacy of a nonviolent approach to conflict: "Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you" (*Mt.* 5:44).

The early church fathers, including Tertullian and Origen, affirmed that Christians were constrained from taking human life, a principle that prevented them from participating in the Roman army. The fact that soldiers in the army were required to swear allegiance to the emperor's god was also a deterrent, since it would have forced Christians into what they regarded as idolatry.

The adoption of Christianity as the state religion by Constantine in the fourth century CE brought about a major reversal in Christian attitudes toward pacifism and led to the formulation of the doctrine of just war. This idea, based on a concept stated by Cicero and developed by Ambrose and Augustine, has had a significant influence on Christian social thought. The abuse of the concept in justifying military adventures and violent persecutions of heretical and minority groups led Thomas Aquinas, in the thirteenth century, to reaffirm that war is always sinful, even if it is occasionally waged for a just cause.

PACIFIST CHRISTIAN MOVEMENTS. The late medieval period witnessed the rise of a series of movements dedicated to pacifism and the ethic of love that Jesus had advocated in his Sermon on the Mount. One of the first of such groups was the Waldensian community based in France and North Italy; this was founded by Pierre Valdès, who in 1170 had committed himself to a life of poverty and simplicity, and who refused to bear arms. Although Valdès was excommunicated from the church, he is said to have influenced the young Francis of Assisi, whose religious order later adopted many of Valdès's principles. Similar pacifist teachings were advocated by John Wyclif and his Lollard followers in fourteenth-century England, and in the same century the Hussite and Taborite movements in Czechoslovakia rejected all forms of violence, as did their successors, the Moravians.

The Protestant Reformation provided a new stimulus for groups that rejected the church's compromise with what it often regarded as the political necessity of military force. In the first decades of the sixteenth century, the Anabaptists broke away from Ulrich Zwingli's branch of the Swiss Reformation over the issues of voluntary baptism and absolute pacifism—teachings the Anabaptists affirmed and that, later in the same century, were adopted by Menno Simons and his Mennonite followers in Holland. In a tragic and ironic twist of fate, many of these pacifists were persecuted by fellow Protestants as heretics, and were burned at the stake.

Perhaps the best-known Protestant pacifist movement is the Society of Friends, commonly known as the Quakers, which was established by George Fox in England in 1649. The nonviolent ethic of this radical Puritan movement was based on the notion that a spark of the divine exists in every person, making every life sacred. With this in mind, the Quaker colonialist William Penn refused to bear arms in his conflict with the American Indians, with whom he eventually negotiated a peace settlement.

Many pacifist Christian movements in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, such as the Jehovah's Witnesses, owe a substantial debt to Christian predecessors such as those mentioned above. Others have been influenced by Western humanist and Asian pacifist thought, especially, in the twentieth century, by the ideas of Mohandas Gandhi. Gandhi, in turn, was influenced by Christian pacifists, including the Russian novelist and visionary Lev Tolstoi and the American Christian social activists Kirby Page, Clarence Marsh Case, and A. J. Muste. The largest Christian pacifist organization of modern times, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, was founded in England in 1914; and a number of statements urging nonviolence have been issued from the Vatican and from the World Council of Churches in response to the two world wars of this century. In the United States during the mid-twentieth century, Christian pacifist ideas played a significant role in Martin Luther King, Jr.'s nonviolent movement for racial justice, the movement against the American involvement in the Vietnam War, and in movements against the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Some Christian "nuclear pacifists," however, restrict their advocacy of nonviolence to nuclear arms, whose massively destructive power, they feel, vitiates the traditional Christian defense of weaponry in a "just war."

ISLAM. The concept of nonviolence is not so thoroughly developed in Islam as it is in many other religious traditions, but certain parallels do exist. The Islamic concept of peace, for instance—*salām*—is as central to Islam as *shalom* is to Judaism, and plays a similar role in providing a vision of social harmony. To that end, Islamic communities have placed great emphasis on arbitration and mediation so that intracommunal conflicts will not erupt into violent confrontations.

Yet there are times when recourse to violence is permitted in Islamic law: inside Islam, it is justified as a means of punishment, and beyond Islam, as a tool to subdue an enemy of the faith. The latter situation is known as *jihād*, a word that literally means "striving" and is often translated as "holy war." This concept has been used to justify the expansion of territorial control by Muslim leaders into non-Islamic areas. But Muslim law does not allow it to be used to justify forcible conversion to Islam; the only conversions regarded as valid are those that come about nonviolently, through rational persuasion and change of heart. For that reason, non-Islamic groups have traditionally been tolerated in Islamic societies, and the Jews in Moorish Spain are often said to have been treated less harshly under their Muslim rulers than under subsequent Christian ones.

Muslim mystics, known as Ṣūfīs, have on occasion rejected the common notion of *jihād* by redefining it so that it refers primarily to an inner struggle, which they consider "the greater *jihād":* the conflict of truth and evil within every person. In addition, there have been overtly pacifist sects in Islam, such as the Māziyārīyah and Aḥmadīyah movements. The twentieth-century Muslim Pathans in North India, influenced by Gandhi and led by Abdul Ghaffir Khan, conducted an extensive nonviolent campaign for independence from the British. In other cases, Muslims have responded to oppressive regimes by noncooperation and witnessing to the faith even at peril of death—a form of martyrdom much like that found in the Jewish and Christian traditions.

SEE ALSO Ahiṃsā; Gandhi, Mohandas; Peace.

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NORITO are religious statements addressed to the deities (*kami*) in Shintō rituals. They usually follow upon a one- to three-day purification rite, at the conclusion of which the *kami* are invited by the Shintō priests to be present at the ceremony. A *norito* generally contains the following elements: (1) words of praise to the *kami*, (2) an explanation of the origin of, or reasons for, this particular ritual or festival, (3) entertainment for the *kami*, (4) expressions of gratitude for protection and favor given, and (5) prayers for the successful completion of the matter at hand. *Norito* are composed in the classical language, and contain expressions of great beauty; they are usually written exclusively in Chinese characters, some of which have merely a phonetic function. The rhythm produced by the peculiar word arrangement, which involves many pairs of expressions and sets of words to modify the same object, is intended to pacify both the *kami* and the participants and instill in them a feeling of unity.

Although there are many etymological theories regarding *norito*, examples drawn from the classics and Shintō history suggest that they were words of blessing spoken to all the *kami* and to the people by the emperor, the descendant of the sun goddess Amaterasu and the "great life-giving" *kami* Takamimusubi. *Norito*, therefore, were originally regarded as able to produce a beneficial response from heavenly *kami*. Later, however, two families, the Nakatomi and the Imbe, were given the exclusive right to recite *norito* on prescribed occasions to all enshrined *kami*.

The oldest known *norito* are a collection of twenty-four such documents edited in 820 CE, during the reign of Emperor Saga, as part of detailed legal regulations that were eventually compiled in the *Engishiki* in 927. The most important *norito* are entitled "Grain-Petitioning Festival," "Festival of the Sixth Month," "Festival of the First-Fruits Banquet," and "Great Exorcism of the Last Day of the Sixth Month." All of these begin with the expression "By the command of the sovereign ancestral male *kami* and the female *kami* who remain in the High Celestial Plain." The first three are concerned with ensuring a bountiful rice harvest so that the country may be stable and prosperous. The last is a purification ritual for the land and people, and is especially valuable for its precise description of both heavenly and earthly sin, in the Shintō sense.

A second group of six important *norito* in the *Engishiki* collection is dedicated to the personal safety and repose of the emperor. Among them, the "Ritual for the Tranquillity of the Imperial Spirit" is recited to lay to rest the emperor's spirit in the Office of Rites sanctuary. The next three, "Blessing of the Great Palace," "Festival of the Gates," and "Fire-Pacifying Festival," are dedicated to the protection of the emperor from external danger. Although the remaining two are not regular or seasonal, they too have the same basic function, protecting the emperor from evil spirits. It should also be mentioned that the formula "the heavenly ritual, the solemn ritual words" is used only in *norito* connected with pacification of evil spirits. This unusual phrase is believed to refer to a special magic formula that was transmitted to the Nakatomi family from the deities but that has been lost over time.

Most of the remaining *norito* are for rituals observed at the Grand Shrine at Ise. Of special significance is the *norito* called "Divine Congratulatory Words of the Kuni no Miyatsuko of Izumo," which indicates through its title that in ancient times the chief priest of Izumo Shrine, who was also the ruler of that area, represented other local leaders in the ritual presentation of local land-spirits to the emperor.

With the decline of imperial power in the late twelfth century, a new type of *norito* emerged, a type deeply influenced by Buddhism and concerned especially with ritual purification. After the eighteenth century a movement to revive Shintō arose, but no attempt was made to standardize *norito* until the beginning of the Meiji era (1868–1912). In 1875, and later in 1914, the government ordered that the shrine rites and rituals as well as official *norito* be standardized, but today there is a tendency to use contemporary expressions in order to adjust to the demands of a changing society.

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NORSE RELIGION SEE GERMANIC RELIGION

NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN RELIGIONS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
MYTHIC THEMES
NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS
HISTORY OF STUDY

NORTH AMERICAN [INDIAN] RELIGIONS: AN OVERVIEW

Because of the isolation of the New World from the high civilizations of Europe, Asia, and Africa and from the communicative network between them, North America had preserved, until the end of the last century, cultures and religions of archaic types. Local historical traditions, intertribal diffusion, social structure and environmental pressure combined to form among the North American Indian tribes a series of religions that were only secondarily influenced by elements from outside the continent. North American religions have become known as varied, colorful, and spiritual. In the religio-scientific debate among anthropologists and historians of religion, such concepts as power and supreme being, guardian spirits and totems, fasting visions and shamanism, myth telling and ritualism, have drawn on North American ideas and religious experiences.

Soon after the arrival of the white man in the 1500s the first information concerning Indian religious worship reached the Europeans. Through Jesuit documents and other reports the religious development of the Iroquoian and eastern Algonquian groups can be followed continuously from 1613 onward. Spanish sources from the same time illuminate at least some aspects of Southwest Indian religious history. In the eighteenth century travel records and other documents throw light on the Indians of the Southeast Woodlands, of the mid-Atlantic region, and of the Prairies and on their religions. It was, however, only at the end of the eighteenth century and in the course of the nineteenth century that knowledge spread of the Plains, Basin, California, Plateau, Northwest Coast, western Canadian, and Alaskan Indian religions.

MAIN RELIGIOUS FEATURES. North America is a continent with many diverse cultures, and it is therefore meaningless to speak about North American religion as a unified aggregate of beliefs, myths, and rituals. Still, there are several religious traits that are basically common to all the Indians but variously formalized and interpreted among different peoples. These traits are also found in the religions of other continents and areas, particularly among the so-called primitive or primal peoples. Two characteristics are, however, typically Amerindian: the dependence on visions and dreams, which can modify old traditional rituals, and an intricate and time-consuming ceremonialism that sometimes almost conceals the cognitive message of rituals.

Spirit World. To these common elements belongs the idea of another dimension of existence that permeates life and yet is different from normal, everyday existence. Concepts such as the Lakota *wakan* and the Algonquian *manitou* refer to this consciousness of another world, the world of spirits, gods, and wonders. This supernatural or supranormal world is sometimes manifest in nature, which then receives a sacred import. Often the campsite or the village is arranged in a pattern that establishes a ritual identity with the supernatural world. In twentieth-century pan-Indian religion the connection between terrestrial phenomena and the other world is extremely important.

Supreme being. The supernatural world is primarily expressed through the spiritual powers residing in a host of gods, spirits, and ghosts. In many American tribes prayers are directed to a collectivity of divine or spiritual beings, as in the pipe ceremony. Foremost among these divinities is, in most tribes, a sky god who represents all other supernatural beings or stands as their superior and the ruler of the universe. The Pawnee Indians in Nebraska, for instance, know a hierarchy of star gods and spirits, all of them subservient to the high god in the sky, Tirawa. It could be argued that their idea of a high god is formed after Mexican conceptual patterns, since the Caddoan-speaking peoples to whom the Pawnee belong were much inspired by the Mexican-derived prehistoric Mississippian culture. However, there are clear examples of a supreme being among many North American peoples, and scholarly attempts to trace these figures to Christian influence have so far failed. In most cases the supreme being is vaguely conceived as the ulterior religious force in situations of need and frustration.

The supreme being is closely associated with the *axis mundi*, or world pillar. The Delaware Indians say that he grasps the pole that holds up the sky and is the center of the world. In ceremonial life the world pole, or world tree, is the central cultic symbol in the great annual rites of peoples of the Eastern Woodlands, the Plains, the Basin, and the Plateau. At this annual celebration the Indians thank the supreme being for the year that has been (the ceremony takes place in the spring in most cases) and dance in order to secure the support of the Great Spirit and all the powers for the year to come: the Plains Sun Dance is a good example.

In California, a region of frequent earthquakes, similar world renewal rituals have as their main aim the stabilizing of the universe. In the east, the Delaware Big House ceremony is an adaptation of the hunters' annual ceremony to the cultural world of more settled maize-growing peoples: the sacred pillar is here built into a ceremonial house. In many places throughout North America myths testify that the annual ceremony is a repetition or commemoration of the cosmic creation at the beginning of time. This connection is, however, not present everywhere, and many Sun Dance rituals have origin myths of quite a different character.

The culture hero. The connection of the supreme being with creation is often concealed by the fact that in mythology another supernatural being, the culture hero, is invested with creative powers. His true mission is to deliver cultural institutions, including religious ceremonies, to the first human beings, but he is sometimes an assistant creator as well. In this quality he competes with the Great Spirit and appears as a ludicrous figure, a trickster, or an antagonist of the Great Spirit, an emergent "devil." (It should be observed that all this takes place only on a mythological level, for the culture hero disappears after his work has been completed and in many quarters becomes a star.)

Trickster tales occupy a major part of American Indian mythologies and have attracted all kinds of comic folktale motifs. The tales usually portray the culture hero/trickster as a zoomorphic being: a white hare in the Northeast; a coyote on the western Plains, in the Basin, the Plateau, and California; and a raven in the Northwest.

Spirits and ghosts. The other beings of the supernatural world—and they are innumerable, varying from tribe to tribe—may be partly distinguished according to their physical location:

1. *Sky beings*, including star gods, Sun (usually a manifestation of the supreme being), and Moon (who sometimes represents the vegetation goddess). The Milky Way is thought of as the road of the dead in some places, and the northern lights as the dead at play.
2. *Atmospheric spirits*, which usually comprise the Four Winds (they emanate from caves situated in the four cardinal directions), Whirlwind (often thought of as a ghost), the rain spirits, and Thunderbird. This last spirit, of which a parallel conception is also found in Siberia, is a giant eaglelike bird; according to many informants his blinking eyes make the lightning, while his flapping wings cause the thunder.
3. *Spirits of the biosphere*, many of them rulers, or owners, of animal species or plant species (Buffalo Spirit, Caribou Spirit, Maize Spirit), others connected with natural places like mountains, stones, deserts, swamps, waters, and so on. Human beings (medicine-men, for example) may also manifest supernatural powers.
4. *Powers of the underworld*, such as Mother Earth, underwater monsters (snakes or panthers), and the ruler of the underground dead, who is usually identical with the first ancestor or is a brother of the culture hero.

However, there are powers that do not fit into this scheme. Such powers are the dead, who operate in different places in different types of cultures. Hunters believe the dead are in the sky or somewhere beyond the horizon—beyond the western mountains, beyond the sea where the sun sets. Horticulturists may believe that the dead are in the ground, returning to Our Mother's bosom, or at the place of emergence of mankind; and in stratified agricultural societies like those of the Mississippian culture there are different abodes for different social categories of dead. At the same time there is everywhere a belief in ghosts on earth, who are often heard whistling in the night. Independent of these beliefs is a ubiquitous idea of reincarnation or transmigration into animals.

Guardian spirits and vision quests. Other spirits are the guardian spirits acquired in fasting visions by youths of the Plateau and the Northeast Woodlands and by both boys and men of the Plains and the Basin. These spirits are mostly zoomorphic. They may be animal spirits or spirits that show themselves in animal disguise. Everywhere except among the pueblo-dwelling peoples of the Southwest it has been the individual hunter's ambition to acquire one or several of these guardian spirits. They usually appear to the person after a vision quest during which he has spent several days and nights in fasting and isolation at some lonely spot in the wilderness. The spirit endows his client with a particular "medicine," that is, supernatural power (to hunt, to run, to make love, to cure), gives him a sacred song, and instructs him to make a pouch or medicine bag in which he is to keep the sacred paraphernalia associated with his vision. The vision quest is basic to most American Indian hunting religions.

In some places special societies were established for young spirit seekers who expected to meet the same spirit. This was, for instance, the case among the Kwa-kiutl of Vancouver Island and vicinity. The vision itself was no longer central here, the neophyte being abducted by masked men to the woods and told there the secrets of his patron, Cannibal Spirit, whose frenzied behavior he imitates in a ceremony on his return.

There seems to be a direct relationship between the individual's guardian spirit and the complex of totemism. If totemism is defined as the mysterious relationship between a segment of a tribe, usually a clan or other unilineal kinship group, and a particular animal species that is its congener and patron, then totemism exists in many places where unilineal societies exist. Several American cases suggest that the totem is the original guardian spirit of an individual that has then been inherited by this person's descendants as their common supernatural partner.

In some more complex societies the medicine bags, or sacred bundles, have become inherited treasures within the vision seekers' families; in other societies they can even be purchased. Where a powerful object has been handed down in a family it is often made a symbol for a larger community, and its uncovering is surrounded by rituals and recitations of its origin myth. A typical example is the sacred bundle of the Arapaho, which contains a flatpipe.

Medicine men and medicine societies. The medicine man is a visionary who has succeeded in receiving power to cure people. However, visionaries with other extraordinary powers, such as the capacity to find lost things or divine the future, have also been labeled "medicine men." In very many cases a bear spirit is the medicine man's patron, so he dresses in a bearskin and mimics a bear's movements and sounds when doctoring people. Diseases may be ascribed to any of several causes, such as witchcraft or the breaking of a taboo. They manifest themselves mainly in two ways: a spirit or disease object is supposed to have intruded into the body (or even, on the Northwest Coast, to possess the person in a psychological sense); or the sick man's soul—in some cases, his power—has been stolen. In the former case it is the medicine man's task to frighten the spirit away or to remove it from the body by sucking, fanning, or drawing it out; in the latter case he has to catch the lost soul, which can be done in an imitative séance. Alternatively, the medicine man may sink into a trance, release his own soul, and send it out after the runaway or stolen soul. The medicine man who becomes entranced in this way may be characterized as a shaman.

In cultures with more complicated social organizations, medicine men may join together, exchanging experiences and working out a common, secret ideology, or they may form medicine societies into which persons are accepted after passing through a series of ritual events. An example of this is the Midewiwin, or Great Medicine society, of the Ojibwa, which is organized like a secret order society and has four or eight hierarchical grades.

In some cultures in the Southwest where collectivism is part of the cultural pattern—as, for instance, among the agricultural Pueblo—the medicine man is replaced by an organization of professional healers, and rituals are performed to aid individuals. Among the Navajo, the old medicine man lives on as a diagnostician ("hand trembler") whereas the curing itself is performed by a ritually skilled singer. The regaining of the patient's health means that harmony has been restored between man and the world of the gods and spirits.

Ritual acts. Harmony or spiritual balance is what North American Indians want to achieve in their relations with the supernatural powers. A harmonious balance can be reached through prayers and offerings or through imitative representation of supernatural events.

Prayers and offerings. Prayers range from a few words at meal offerings to detailed ritual prayers, from casual petitions of blessing to deeply emotional cries for help and sustenance. Indeed, Navajo prayer has been characterized by one researcher as "compulsive words," by another as "creative words." There is often beauty in Indian prayers, the usual eloquence of the Indians giving moving expression to their religious experience.

There are many kinds of offerings. A simple form is throwing tobacco or food into the fire or onto the ground at mealtimes. Another example is the placing of tobacco pouches on the ground at the beginning of dangerous passages, such as crossing a lake or walking over a mountain ridge.

Tobacco has been intimately related to American Indian religious practice. Even today no Indian conventions or powwows are undertaken without a preliminary pipe ceremony, an invocation of the powers that grant harmony between men and between gods or spirits and men.

When hunters killed game they usually performed rites over the body. For instance, after the animal was eaten, the bones might be given a ritual burial; they were reassembled in anatomical order, and the skull of the animal was elevated on a pole or a tree. These rituals were especially important in the case of the bear. This so-called animal ceremonialism was often intended to appease a particular spirit, the master of the game, but the primary purpose of such burials was to ensure the return of the game by showing proper respect for the animals. True sacrifices were not common, but did occur in the Northeast Woodlands, where white dogs were sacrificed to the powers. In many places the skins of animals (and, later, pieces of cloth as well) served as offerings. There was religious cannibalism in the East, even endocannibalism (the eating of one's family dead) in ancient times. Mutilations of fingers and other cases of self-mutilation as offerings occurred in the Sun Dance of the Lakota and in the closely related Mandan Okipa ceremony.

Ritual representations. Harmonious relations with the supernatural world could be restored by the dramatic imitation of the creation, often in an annual rite, as, for instance, the Sun Dance. The performance of such rituals often had the character of dancing, and most observers have therefore described American Indian ceremonies as dances. In the enactment of mythical drama, performers assumed the roles of supernatural beings, as in the representation of the kachina, cloud and rain spirits, and spirits of the dead in the Pueblo Indian Kachina Dances. In the Pawnee sacrifice to Morning Star, a young captive girl was tied to a frame and shot with arrows; she was supposed to represent Evening Star, a personification of the vegetation whose death promotes the growth of plants. Even today a Navajo patient is cured through a process of ritual identification with the universe and its powers: the patient sits in the middle of a sand painting symbolizing the cosmos and its powers while the practitioner pours colored sand over him.

HISTORICAL SURVEY. Most North American religions express the worldview typical of hunters and gatherers. This is natural, since the first immigrants who arrived perhaps forty to sixty thousands years ago were Paleolithic hunters who came by way of the Bering Strait. At that time the sound between Asia and North America was dry, due to the absorption of oceanic waters into the glaciers of the Great Ice Age. A narrow corridor stretched between the ice fields, allowing the migration of North Asiatic proto-Mongoloid groups into Alaska. The migration probably involved small groups who traveled independently, perhaps at a rate of four miles a year. Since ecological conditions were similar on both sides of the Bering Sea, the migration did not entail any break in historical and cultural traditions.

The Arctic substratum. This origin in northern Asia explains why so much of American Indian religion bears an Arctic or sub-Arctic stamp, and why so many features even in more temperate areas seem to be derived from northern cultures. Of course, particularly in the extreme north, we find native religions that are direct counterparts to the circumpolar religions of northern Eurasia. Both ecological and historical factors account for this uniformity. We may pinpoint such common religious elements as belief in a high god, Thunderbird, and Mother Earth; practices such as the bear ritual, hunting taboos, the sweat bath for ritual cleaning, and shamanic rituals; and a good many myths and tales. All these circumpolar traits represent Arctic or sub-Arctic forms of the ancient Paleolithic hunting culture in Eurasia.

There are some problems in establishing American connections with the Old World circumpolar culture, however. The weaker cultural links in eastern Siberia may be correlated with the influx into this area of Tunguz and Turkic tribes from the south during the last millennia. Perhaps under the influence of Lamaism and other forms of Buddhism, there evolved in Siberia an intense form of shamanism, with emphasis on deep ecstasy and possession by spirits. This specialized form of shamanism, so typical of parts of Siberia, finally spread to North America, where it influenced the Northwest Coast Indians and the Inuit (Eskimo). Other shamanic rituals in North America, such as the so-called Shaking Tent (the tent is shaking when spirits enter at the request of the shaman, who is fettered in the dark), found among Inuit groups, and Algonquian- and Salish-speaking tribes of the Plateau, also have their close counterparts in Siberia. But these other rituals derive from a more general form of shamanism that is also present in South America and Southeast Asia and is certainly a heritage from very ancient times.

The languages of the North American Indians are enormously diverse, and with the exception of the relatively lately arrived Athapascan groups none seem related to known Old World languages. The common factor joining them all is their polysynthetic structure, whereby many sentence elements are included in a single word by compounding and adding prefixes and suffixes. Paul Radin suggested many years ago that there may be a genetic relationship between most of these languages, except those of the Aleut and Inuit, who differ from the mainstream of American aborigines in race, culture, and religion.

Development of hunting religions. The early hunters brought with them a legacy of ideas and rituals developed in the Old World. These were adapted to the changing habitats in the New World. We can follow the major trends in cultural differentiation after about 10,000 BCE, and we can draw some conclusions also about probable religious orientations.

Thus, the Paleo-Indians of eastern North America were big-game hunters, concentrating on animals like the mammoth, the giant bison, the three-toed horse, and the camel. In all likelihood the inherited concepts of animal ceremonialism and the master of the animals were applied to these animals. The big game died out, because of climatic changes or human overkilling, during the period from 8000 to 4000 BCE. Only one big animal—the bear—survived and continued to be the focus of special rites. The ritual around the slaying of the bear, distributed from the Saami (Lapps) of Scandinavia to the Ainu of northern Japan, and, in North America, from the Inuit and Athapascans in the north and west to the Delaware in the east and the Pueblo Indians in the south, seem to be a leftover from these Paleolithic and Mesolithic days.

It is difficult to say whether Asian ideas still streamed into North America at this time, but it seems probable. We know that many myths disseminated from Asia are mostly found south of the sub-Arctic area in North America. To this category belongs the myth of the earth diver, a primeval divine hero who fetches mud from the bottom of the sea, thereby creating the ground on which men live. It is important because it includes not only the flood myth, or the myth of the primeval sea, but also the idea of twin creators, one good and one less good or even bad, or one the main creator and the other his assistant (the culture hero). Another important myth that scholars have traced to Asia is the Orpheus myth, but proofs of its dissemination are inconclusive. Several mythic motifs have, however, definitely spread from the Old World, such as the magical flight and the Symplegades (clashing rocks), or the motif of the celestial vault that moves up and down.

The old hunting culture slowly disintegrated into a series of more specialized regional cultures about 7000–5000 BCE, and there are reasons to presume that the religious structures changed accordingly. In fact, it seems that the native hunting, fishing, and gathering cultures and religions that persisted into the historical period began to take form at this time, the changes stimulated to a major extent by ecological and climatic shifts.

An exceptional development took place in the south. In the increasingly arid regions of the Great Basin, the Southwest, and parts of California a so-called desert tradition was established, with heavy dependence on wild plants, seeds, and nuts. The corresponding religious system survived in late Great Basin religions, and part of it was also preserved in many Californian Indian religions. In the Southwest, the Basket Making culture, while an example of the desert tradition, also served as a link to horticultural development.

There is some evidence that psychotropic or hallucinogenic drugs were used primarily in plant-collecting areas. Within the region covered by the desert tradition jimsonweed, peyote (in northern Mexico), pulque, and, of course, tobacco were all employed.

Growth of agricultural religions. It seems fairly certain that the cultivation of tobacco spread from Mexico into North America with maize, for maize and tobacco cultivation share the same general distribution within the eastern regions of North America. In the Southwest, however, while maize was cultivated, tobacco was gathered wild.

The introduction of maize, or Indian corn, had basic consequences for aboriginal religions, for it changed the whole outlook on life, the religious pattern, and the character of supernatural powers. There were many incentives for this change: the concentration of the population in more or less settled villages; the preoccupation with sowing, planting, and harvesting; the enhanced position of women (from that of seed collectors to that of seed producers); and the new forms of social organization (matrilineage, or, among the Iroquois, even some sort of matriarchy). Typical of these agricultural religions were concern for crops and fertility, the rise of priestly organizations, the creation of temples and shrines, and the appearance of deities, often of the female sex (or even androgynes), who impersonate the plants or lend fertility. Rituals, in turn, grew more complex, incorporating greater numbers of discrete actions, and sacrifices of a bloody kind (including human sacrifice) became more widespread. Nowhere, however, did agriculture entirely supplant hunting, particularly not in the east, where the rituals for encouraging the growth of maize, beans, and squash are basically the same as the rituals for slain animals. Of course, the death-and-revival pattern is fundamental to both animal and vegetational ceremonialism.

Appearance of maize religion in the Southwest. The introduction of maize into North America occurred in two places, the Southwest and the Southeast. From all appearances it was known earlier in the Southwest, where it is recorded from 3000 to 2000 BCE in the wooded highland valleys of New Mexico. Village agriculture was firmly established at the beginning of the Common Era and was effective after 500 CE.

Some of the religious innovations surrounding the maize complex and accompanying it on its diffusion from Mexico have been revealed through archaeology. The best illustrations are provided by the so-called Hohokam culture in southern Arizona. It was deeply influenced by Mesoamerica from about 500 to 1200 CE, when it suddenly declined, probably as a consequence of the fall of its model, the Toltec empire in Mexico. The most important evidence of the cultural influence from the south is the architectural planning of the towns: irrigation canals, oval ball courts for ritual games, and platform mounds of earth or adobe serving as substructures for temples with hearths and altars.

The Mexican influence on religion can also be seen in the neighboring Anasazi or Pueblo cultures down to our own time. Mesoamerican symbols appear in the bird designs that decorate Hopi pottery. Some of the religious fraternities that meet in the semisubterranean ceremonial chambers probably have Mexican prototypes, for instance, the kachina societies that are reminiscent of the cult organizations that surrounded the Mexican rain god Tlaloc.

Appearance of maize religion in the Southeast. The maize complex entered the Southeast slightly later than the Southwest, perhaps sometime after 1000 BCE; there is, however, no certain proof of agriculture there until the birth of Christ. It seems that influences from Mesoamerica were responsible for the so-called Burial Mound cultures, 1000 BCE to 700 CE, with their earthworks, including mortuary mounds, and for their ceramic figurines. At least the latest of these cultures, the Hopewell, was acquainted with maize ceremonialism.

A major change took place with the introduction of the so-called Mississippian tradition about 700 CE. Large rectangular and flat-topped mounds of unprecedented size were arranged around rectangular plazas. The mounds served as foundations of temples, whence the name Temple Mound, also used to designate these cultures. Intensive agriculture belonged to this new tradition, which flourished in the lower and middle Mississippi Valley but was particularly anchored in the Southeast. Its last representatives were the historical Natchez Indians of the lower Mississippi, known for their hierarchical class system with a sacred king, called the Great Sun, at its apex, for their sacred center, including temple and burial mounds, and for an elaborate ceremonial complex.

The agricultural religions rarely reached such an advanced stage of development in eastern North America, but they spread from the Southeastern hearth in different directions. Mississippian traits mingled with older Woodland traits in the Iroquois culture in the north and, after 1000 CE, with Plains hunting religions in the river valleys to the west.

A REGIONAL SURVEY. The religions of the indigenous peoples in North America have developed on the foundations that have just been described. However, factors other than historical have contributed to the differentiation in religious profiles that occurs in every region, and especially in the Pacific Northwest, the Southwest, and the Plains. Such factors include local geographic conditions and the ecological adaptations of individual cultures. Religious differentiation is closely related to cultural diversity, for geographical and ecological factors act first of all on a group's cultural and social structure, and then through these structures on religion.

Roughly speaking, North America can be divided geographically into two main parts, the mountainous regions in the west, or the Rocky Mountains system, and the large plain and woodland country to the east. We find a relatively greater number of tribes and tribelets, often in great isolation from each other, in the mountainous West. The cultural variation there is therefore considerable. The vast eastern country, on the other hand, is populated by widely dispersed, large tribes in close contact with each other. Culturally, it can be seen as one large, relatively uniform area, in which the regional variants are relatively undifferentiated.

As Clark Wissler and others have noted, the geographic regions and the cultural areas correspond closely to each other. Since geographical and ecological factors have influenced religious forms, each region reveals unique features.

Arctic. The barren country around the Arctic coasts is sparsely inhabited by the Inuit and, on the Aleutian Islands, their kinsmen the Aleut. Inuit religion carries all marks of a hunting religion, concentrating on beliefs and rituals related to animals and on shamanism. The hunting rituals are rather intricate, in particular in Alaska where they focus on the whale (whale feasts are also found among the Nootka of the Northwest Coast and the Chukchi and Koriak of Siberia). A great role is played by the mistress of the sea animals, called Sedna among the Central Inuit. She figures in shamanic rites: when taboos have been transgressed her hair gets filthy, and in rage she holds back the animals; it is the shaman's task in a séance to descend to her home at the bottom of the sea and clean her hair so that she will free the animals again.

Sub-Arctic. A vast region of the coniferous forests, lakes, and swamps in interior Alaska and Canada, the sub-Arctic is sparsely inhabited by Athapascan-speaking Indians in its western half and Algonquian-speaking Indians in its eastern half. The Athapascans are latecomers from Siberia, arriving perhaps around 9000 BCE; their linguistic affiliations are with the Sino-Tibetan tongues. The Algonquian tribes conserve religious traits that associate them closely with the circumpolar culture.

The region is inhabited by hunting cultures, with inland game, in particular the caribou and the moose, as food resources. People are organized in loose bands or, since the introduction by Europeans of the hunting of fur-bearing animals, in family groups who have hunting grounds reserved for their exclusive use.

Religion is dominated by hunting ceremonialism and, to a certain extent, by shamanism. Bear ceremonialism is widespread, and hunting taboos are very common. Sweat baths grant their practitioners ritual purity before hunting or important ceremonies. The vision and guardian-spirit quest is fairly common. Shamanism is characterized by shaking tent ceremonies, usually performed for divination, and by scapulimancy (foretelling the future by inspecting the shoulder blades of animals). Athapascan and Algonquian groups show separate development: the former hold girls' puberty rites and fear their dead; the latter are known for a strong high-god belief, a consistent system of masters of the animals (in which each species has its own master), and an intense dread of cannibal monsters, which are called *windigo.*

Northeast woodlands. Formerly covered by mixed coniferous and deciduous trees, the Northeast woodlands held a large population of Algonquian-, Iroquoian-, and Siouan-speaking tribes. In historical and protohistorical times both agriculture and hunting were practiced, particularly by the Iroquoian groups; the Algonquian tribes were hunters with only limited horticulture. The social systems of these groups were often complicated, with unilineal kinship groups, clan organization, and chieftaincy.

The double economic heritage is to some extent mirrored in the religious pattern. The hunters concentrate on hunting rituals and vision quests, the planters on rituals and beliefs surrounding the crops. The Iroquois, for instance, have a series of calendar rites celebrating the planting, ripening, and harvesting of the "three sisters": maize, squash, and beans. The midwinter ceremony, formerly a new year ceremony with the kindling of new fire and the sacrifice of a white dog, is the main ritual event. As in many other rituals of agricultural peoples, great attention is paid to the dead, in whose honor feasts are arranged.

Southeast woodlands. In the southern deciduous forests, with their savannas and swamps, the tribes of Muskogean stock, interspersed with Siouan groups and the Iroquoian-speaking Cherokee, kept up a peripheral high culture, the last vestiges of the prehistoric Mississippian culture. The Southeastern Indians were, at least at the beginning of the historical era, predominantly engaged in agriculture, and their sociopolitical organization was adjusted to this fact. Thus, the Creek had a maternal clan system, with clans subordinated to both phratries and moieties. The latter had ceremonial functions, often carried out in ball games.

Characteristic of Creek religion is the emphasis laid on ceremonialism and priestly functions. The priests, who were instructed in secrecy in the woods, along lines reminiscent of the vision quest, were divided into several classes: one was in charge of the sacred cult objects, another divined hidden things (such as the causes of diseases), and still another cured people from diseases. Even today, a major part of the curing ceremonies is the recitation of sacred formulas.

The main religious ceremony is the maize harvest ceremony, called the Busk. It is also a New Year ritual, in which old fires are extinguished and a new fire is kindled and people ritually cleanse themselves through washing and the drinking of an emetic.

Prairies and plains. The tall-grass area (with some parkland and river-bottom woodland) between the woodlands in the east and the high Plains in the west is known as the Prairies. The Plains are the short-grass steppe country, too dry for agriculture, that stretches toward the mountains and semideserts in the far West. (In Canada, the Great Plains are sometimes referred to as the Prairies.)

The historical cultures were formed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the acquisition of horses made the wide-open spaces easily accessible to surrounding tribes and white expansion forced woodland Indians to leave their home country for the dry, treeless areas. Algonquian and Siouan tribes immigrated from the east and northeast, Caddoan tribes from the south. Several groups ceased practicing horticulture (the Crow and Cheyenne) and turned into buffalo hunters, but they kept parts of their old social and political organization. In the west, Shoshonean groups held the ground they had traditionally occupied, and groups of Athapascans—for example, the Apache—forced their way to the southern parts of the region.

Whereas the Prairies could be regarded as a periphery of the Eastern Woodlands, the Plains region offers a late cultural and religious complex of its own. The religion is a mixture of derived agricultural ceremonialism and hunters' belief systems. The major New Year ceremony is the Sun Dance, during which asceticism, dancing, praying, and curing take place. Other forms of ritualism center around tribal and clan bundles, and the sacred ritual known as the Calumet Dance, or Pipe Dance. There is much cosmological speculation and an advanced concept of the godhead. The vision and guardian spirit complex is well developed. The Plains religious pattern has become among modern Indians the model for a pan-Indian religion, transcending old tribal and cultural boundaries.

Northwest Coast. The broken coastline, high mountains, and deep fjords of the Northwest Coast were the home of the Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, and Wakashan tribes and some Coast Salish and Chinookan groups in the south. With their totem poles, their plank houses and canoes, and their headgear reminiscent of East Asian conic hats, these Indians make an un-American impression, an impression that is strengthened by their social organization with its give-away feasts (pot-latches) intended to "shame" invited guests and thus increase the host's prestige. There have apparently been contacts with both northern and eastern Asian cultures, although the nature of this exchange is little understood. The basic substratum seems to be a fishing culture that developed on both sides of the North Pacific and gave rise to both Inuit and Northwest Coast cultures. The abundant animal and fish life along the coast, together with the rich herbal and animal life of the dense woods, provided a living standard that sometimes excelled that of the agriculturists. It is perhaps not surprising that rank differentiation, based partly on wealth, and slavery appeared here.

The religion is characterized partly by its association with the activities of hunters and fishermen, partly by its secret societies adapted to the complicated social structure. The animal ceremonialism is focused on the sea fauna, and there are many sea spirits in animal forms. The dead have their realm, or one of their realms, at the bottom of the sea. The secret societies recruited individuals who had an inherited right to make contact with a certain kind of guardian spirit. Famous societies are the Wolf society of the Nootka and the Cannibal society of the Kwakiutl. Possession by spirits also occurred in shamanism, which here reached a high point of development in America.

Plateau. The Intermountain area, which includes both the Columbia and the Fraser river drainages, is known as the Plateau; it was inhabited by Salish and Shahaptin tribes that lived on fish and, secondarily, on land animals and roots. The area is partly wooded, partly a bunchgrass steppe. The culture area is an offshoot of the sub-Arctic hunting culture, tempered by influences from the Northwest Coast and the Plains. The sociopolitical group consisted of the village, under the formal control of a hereditary chief.

In their religion the Plateau Indians stressed the visionary complex and food ceremonies. The vision quests were undertaken at puberty by both sexes. The relation between the guardian spirit and his client was displayed in the Winter Dance, or Spirit Dance, a ceremony, under the supervision of a medicine man, in which the spirit was impersonated. Important celebrations were firstling rites, first-fruits rites, and the First-Salmon rite. In this last rite, which was guided by a so-called salmon chief (who had the salmon as one of his guardian spirits), the first salmon was greeted and its "leader" hailed with special ceremonies.

Great Basin. A dry region of sands and semideserts, the Great Basin was inhabited by Shoshonean (Numic) groups, some of them, like the Gosiute, the most impoverished of North American groups. Seeds, nuts, and rodents provided the principal food. The social organization was often atomistic. The cultural profile represented a remnant of the old desert tradition.

The religious pattern was closely adapted to a lifestyle based on the bare necessities. Hunters had to be blessed by spirits in visions in order to be successful, but there was little elaboration of guardian-spirit beliefs. Medicine men had specialized powers; for instance, the antelope medicine man attracted the antelopes by singing. Harvest ceremonies were round dances at which thanks were given to the supreme being.

California. Whereas the northern, eastern, and southern parts of California were peripheral to the Northwest Coast, Great Basin, and Southwest cultural areas, respectively, the central valleys and coastland constituted a separate cultural area, known as the California region, densely populated by Penutian, Hokan, and Numic groups. These natives, living in a mild climate, dedicated themselves to collecting, hunting, and fishing. Their staple food consisted of wild plants and their fruits, in particular acorns, all of which were found in abundance. The political unit was usually the village (under the leadership of a headman), but was sometimes a lineage.

In this diversified culture area religious expressions were most varied. North-central California is known for its lofty concept of a supreme being and for its initiation of youths into religious societies, such as the Kuksu, Ghost, and Hesi societies. Guardian spirit quests were rare, and medicine men received unsought visions. In the southern part of the area, initiation ceremonies were accompanied by the drinking of drugs prepared from jimsonweed and by various symbolic acts referring to death and rebirth. In some places there were great commemorative ceremonies for the dead.

The Southwest. A magnificent desert country with some oases, particularly along the Rio Grande, the Southwest was populated by hunting and farming groups of Piman and Yuman descent, by former hunters like the Athapascan Apache and Navajo—who did not arrive here until about 1500 CE—and by the Pueblo peoples, intensive agriculturists mostly belonging to the Tanoan and Keresan linguistic families. I shall here concentrate on the Pueblo groups, the descendants of the prehistoric Anasazi culture. Their culture is famous for its big community houses on the mesas, its intensive horticulture (with irrigation in the Rio Grande region), and its complex and beautiful ceremonialism. Each Pueblo town is an independent unit governed by the heads of the religious societies.

Religion penetrates all aspects of Pueblo life. A rich set of ceremonies that mark the divisions of the year are conducted by different religious societies. Their overall aim is to create harmony with the powers of rain and fertility, symbolized by the ancestors, the rain and cloud spirits, and the Sun. Each society has its priesthood, its attendants, its sacred bundles, and its ceremonial cycle. There are also medicine societies for the curing of diseases—the inspired, visionary medicine man has no place in this collectivistic, priestly culture.

No other American Indian societies lay so much stress on ceremonialism as do the Pueblo. Their supernatural beings are almost unthinkable without the rituals through which they are manifested.

SEE ALSO Cosmogony; Inuit Religious Traditions; Sedna; Tobacco.

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NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN RELIGIONS: MYTHIC THEMES

The very broad subject of mythology among traditional peoples is often juxtaposed with "history" in the modern, Western sense. However, this confluence presents problems for both traditional indigenous communities and Western modernity. There is a dichotomy between these subjects that generally rests on the issue of veracity, so that the broad class of narrative known as myth, along with such subgenera as legend, folktale, fable, and the like, is easily subsumed into one broad "false but relevant" classification with semiotic significance to the narrative's home culture.

However, it is also possible to view aspects of "historic" events and their retelling from one generation to the next through the same lens with which we view myth. In this approach, the mythic narratives of a culture have many levels of significance, both for their culture of origin and for those who analyze them. It is assumed here that both of these positions are valid. However, the Western terms *myth, tale,* and *legend* will be employed at times as this designates the esoteric nature of certain aspects of these sacred histories.

In the case of American Indian sacred narrative, those communities for whom the stories are culturally relevant view these tales in ways which cross, and often transcend, the Western category of history. These "sacred histories" serve to orient their communities in time and space in ways that operate within the logic of the universe they inhabit, and in turn provide outsiders with insight into the ethos and worldview of their home cultures.

Western historical narratives tend to rely upon a linear pattern in which one event transpires after, and sometimes due to, the one preceding it, which also makes specific dates and actors the key issues in these tales. American Indian sacred narratives operate in a different way, developing within the specifics of the producing culture based on the logic of their universe. This logic is often cyclical, or rhythmic, in nature, and the focus is not on linearity but on the maintenance of ongoing natural rhythms.

There usually exists, in each Native American community, various categories of story, each with a specific purpose and appropriate use. The Hopi, for example, distinguish between four types of narrative: *navoiti,* or knowledge to which the speaker has a direct link, even if that link is from a very distant past; *tutavo,* or stories about the Sacred; *wuknavoti,* which is usually translated as "prophesy" but includes all sorts of prognosticative stories; and *tuuwutisi,* the term most often translated as "myth" but also considered a historic accounting of events that occurred in sacred time. This is distinguished from *navoiti* in that the connections to the events and actors in the story are secondhand or happened in the esoteric realm of the before-time.

There is a Chumash term, *timoloquinas,* often translated as "stories generally thought to be true," that also describes this category of tale, where "truth" is a very slippery concept and relative to the overall meaning of the tale to its intended audience. It is via these orally transmitted tales that the entirety of a people's history is conveyed—spiritual, economic, and political. These tales represent a body of knowledge the continuity of which is only recently beginning to become apparent to non-Indian minds.

This knowledge is passed from generation to generation through oral narratives that encode both pertinent and proper behaviors for the edification of future generations. In the telling of these tales, both the narrator and the audience have active roles: the teller of the tale is expected to maintain the story's integrity from telling to telling, and the audience holds the storyteller to task with their own memories of the stories. These tales are told at events bound by communal dictates, which must be supported by the audience. The young people learn the importance of these events and come to give them the kind of attention and respect that facilitates those dictates. The telling of stories, then, provides opportunities for the truths contained in them to be practiced as well as learned.

Stories about the community's sacred history also allow the people to examine specific ideas that the community considers important. Some narratives relay information about the origins of a particular Native American people, as well as their indelible links to their sacred past. Others revolve around pertinent political, economic, and social issues or explore themes of community membership and identity.

Prior to the devastating effects of colonialism, these stories were the key link between members of particular tribal groups, as well as that group's link to their land. Elders serve as repositories of the knowledge and wisdom that makes the people a people, transferring moral precepts and appropriate community parameters to the next generation. When the U.S. government attempted to assimilate Indian children, they did so by taking them away from their families and placing them in boarding schools, in hopes that separating them from their elders and storytellers would destroy their cultural identity.

Fortunately, much of the imagery, humor, pathos, and personality of the tales was nevertheless passed along to the boarding-school generation, and the translation of the stories into English, especially due to the rising discipline of ethnography around the turn of the last century, guaranteed that most of these tales, and the cultures that they encode, would not be lost. Though these are properly oral traditions, many tales have been transcribed by non–Native Americans and, more recently, written down by American Indians themselves. The shift to written form should, however, be seen as archival in nature, as the pressures of modernity make the regular telling of these tales difficult for some Native American communities. This is not, therefore, a shift away from the oral tradition, but a response to the challenges presented by current conditions.

Given the cultural continuity and thematic integrity that these tales have displayed, it is somewhat counterintuitive to say that they remain dynamic tales for which there is rarely a definitive version. However, the changes in the narrative flow or differences in details are often due to the shifting needs of the audience, rather than omissions or transformations designed by the narrator. For example, in the Ojibwe tales of Nanabush, the trickster/creator and cultural hero reacts to European invasion by moving west, and sleeps as a large promontory at Thunder Bay. Nanabush sleeps there still, waiting for the time when the Ojibwe can bring about a resurgence of Ojibwe culture and religion. Some contemporary Ojibwe speak of a recent stirring in Nanabush, as his people are working to realize this resurgence.

There are also smaller, subtler changes in the tales, such as when Nanabush gets tangled up in telephone wires, in contrast to the ropes found in older versions. This dynamic quality reinforces the ability of Native American myth to remain relevant and meaningful throughout the whole of the community's experience. And it illustrates the fact that American Indians, while they remember the sacred stories from many generations past, are not themselves mythic figures trapped in antiquity.

For the American Indian communities, the world is populated not only by humans, but by other beings as well. These beings include the natural world and all that is in it, as well as spiritual or other-worldly beings who have the ability to communicate with, to do harm and good to, and generally act within the human realm. The most important aspect of this arrangement is the other-than-human beings' ability to form relationships, with each other as well as with the people. It is important to stress that these beings are not simply natural forces or unknown events that have become personified, but fellow inhabitants of the world—neighbors and relatives—who require respectful attention of one kind or another. The other-than-human realm interacts with its human cousins and neighbors in Native American sacred histories in many different ways, sometimes benevolently, sometimes malevolently, all due to the fact that they are nearly always more powerful and erudite than humans.

This system of sacred narrative and the actors, events, and lessons contained therein can be divided into tales of creation, theories about the natural world, and stories that place the people within their tribal sacred history. The following sections will look at some examples of these myths.

CREATION. Creation stories not only tell the people how the universe came to be, but also set in motion the logic within which it operates. Origin myths, those that draw upon the creation of all things (as opposed to the post-creation establishment of a feature of the landscape or a ritual complex), effectively frame the ways in which all that comes after is possible. Like the origin myth found in the first part of the book of Genesis, the world subsequently responds in ways that are in keeping with its initial creation, such as the dynamics of male–female or human–animal relationships or the hierarchical theme found in subsequent Hebrew and Christian mythologies.

The Navajo origin myth. The Dinée (Navajo) origin story is an example of a creation story from Native America. In this tale, the present world of the Dinée comes about only after three preceding worlds have emerged, one from another, on the surface of the earth. First Man ('Altsé Hastiin) and First Woman ('Altsé 'Asdzáá) were two of the beings from the First, or Black, World. First Man was made in the east from the meeting of the white and black clouds. First Woman was made in the west from the joining of the yellow and blue clouds. Spider Woman (Na ashje'ii 'Asdzáá), who taught Navajo women how to weave, was also from the First World, as was Begochiddy, a creator figure who made and ordered all that was in the First World. The Black World produced many creatures, and it became a crowded place of quarrelling and strife, necessitating the move into the Second, or Blue, World. In some variations of the tale, this movement was facilitated by a reed which allowed some of the First People to climb into the Blue World, bringing with them all that Begochiddy had made.

There were creatures already inhabiting the Second World, and as Begochiddy continued the task of creation, those beings hampered the process, and strife, fighting, and killing made the Second World an undesirable place. So some of the inhabitants climbed upward into the Third World. The Third, or Yellow, World was where sexual desire was created. The essences of maleness and femaleness had been part of the creative endeavor, and Begochiddy created a class of people, not yet the Dinée, who were male and female. Tensions arose between them that were ultimately resolved by bringing about an inexorable connection between them. Problems within the Yellow World, of different types and origins depending upon the telling, necessitated the move into this, the Fourth, or Glittering, World. This is when the Dinée were created, along with the original Hogan. The Hogan, the archetypal house and sacred space for the Dinée, held the first Beauty Way, the girls' puberty ceremony. This first Beauty Way was for Changing Woman, the ultimate creatrix of the Dinée and scion of feminine creativity. Young Dinée women undergo a ritual transformation into Changing Woman in the course of their initiation, and it is during this ceremony that the Dinée creation story is told in its entirety, culminating in the ritual reenactment of the first Beauty Way.

The Dinée origin narrative contains the deeply held existential truths of Dinée culture. Changing Woman creates the Dinée using elements found in the Glittering World along with flakes of her own skin; thus their very bodies are made up of the place the Dinée call home. Nothing in the logic of Dinée culture derives from outside the place of their emergence.

The balance that in all three subsequent worlds was upset by human foibles must be maintained in this world, lest the Dinée bring about their own destruction. The creation story, then, also serves as a cautionary tale, and with it is passed along the traditional wisdom that, when dutifully employed, helps the Dinée maintain that balance. This includes the elements of the story that speak of the importance of corn, which, in addition to being an important food staple, is also a symbol for what is truly important for the universe and how one is to behave in it.

Pueblo cultures. The Hopi, Zuni, Tewa, Keres, Tiwa, and Jemes, have a similar creation epic in which the world known to the Pueblos is created after they have migrated upward through a succession of worlds, usually three, before arriving in the fourth world, which is the world of today. As in the Dinée tale, the people in each of the worlds were typically compelled to move on because various transgressions against the order of things led to imbalance and conflict. In the Pueblo tales, however, individuals often caused the conflict by directly violating the sacred order, and were subsequently left behind for their behavior. The rest of the people would be assisted in their journey to the next world by sacred beings, often in the form of animals.

The animals who lend their support not only play a logistical role in the people's migration, but also teach the people valuable lessons about how the world works and what their responsibilities are in it. These responsibilities include both an understanding of the world and gaining knowledge of important rituals and ceremonies. Among the Hopi and Zuni, for example, the people acquire the knowledge necessary for summoning the rain. Among the Hopi, the tale begins in Tokpela (Endless Space). Tokpela was shapeless until Taiowa, the Sun and Creator, made his nephew, Sótuknang, the god of the universe and creator of all ceremonies. On this world was placed a helper, Spider Woman, who also possessed creative power and used her abilities to make the world ready for human habitation. In addition to creating the necessary elements of the world such as plants and animals, Spider Woman made a pair of hero twins who would protect the people from harm. While they were in Tokpela, however, the people's numbers increased and they began to drift apart, and illness came to be.

The people then moved on to the next world, Tokpa (Dark Midnight), where they built villages, stored food, and traded among themselves. Consequently, the people became greedy for material possessions, and strife again ensued. Next the people emerged into the Third World, Kuskurza, a name whose meaning remains unknown. Again the people increased, expanding into larger and more complex villages. Again corruption, greed and infighting led to imbalance, and Kuskurza was flooded. Only a few emerged into the Fourth World, Túwaqachi (World Complete), via a hollow reed. Like the Dinée, it is up to them to maintain the balance of this world.

The Zuni creation is very similar, but the Sun brings about the movement from one world to the next after the people fail to adequately make prayer offerings. In the Third World, hero twins come to bring the Zuni into this, the Fourth World. In both Zuni and Hopi creation tales, the emergence into the Fourth World requires that each clan find its place, and the tales describe the Pueblo people's divisions and establishe the territories assigned to each.

What finally emerges out of this epic narrative is a worldview characterized by six directions, which are inhabited by a pantheon of sacred beings. For the Zuni, each of the four cardinal directions contains an ocean, and in these four oceans are four mountains, each symbolized by a different color. For the Dinée, both the orientation to the landscape and the ethos of the people derive from the creation story. Therefore, Pueblo mythology is locatable in the surrounding landscape, and pertinent to everyday life.

Orientation. Elements of a culture's sense of itself and what it is supposed to be about in the world often have their roots in the creation narrative. For hunting and wild-horticulture groups, animals and plants play heavily in the creation story. The Ojibwe, for whom the Great Lakes region is home, are among the cultures with earth-diver elements to their tale. The earth-diver is a familiar animal—Muskrat, in the case of the Ojibwe—who dives to the bottom of a vast body of water to retrieve a small bit of earth that becomes the world.

Many Native American communities in the Eastern Woodlands and Great Lakes area share the Pueblo and Navajo idea that the present earth has been remade from a world salvaged after the destruction of a previous one. The earth-diver in these tales must dive to the bottom of the waters that have flooded the old world to retrieve earth with which a new world can be made. In the Ojibwe versions, characters sometimes shift, and regional variations may occur, but the core narrative line always includes a friendship or kinship between Nanabush, the Ojibwe trickster and creator, and a wolf. The wolf, usually because he is capricious or unwary, falls through thin ice into a lake and is killed by underwater spirits, the manitous, led by their chief, Mishebeshu. Mishebeshu is a very powerful manitou who owns the water world and appears as a horned serpent or dragon. Mishebeshu means "Great Lynx," and he is so powerful that his name is only to be mentioned in winter when he is safely under the ice. Mishebeshu is not evil, but neither is he a friend to humans.

It is always best in Ojibwe culture to treat the other-than-human realm with enormous amounts of respect, which the wolf fails to do when he ignores the melting spring ice. Devastated by the loss of Wolf, Nanabush exacts revenge by traveling to Mishebeshu's home and killing him. Since Mishebeshu is a powerful manitou, he either regenerates himself or his many other selves multiply to flood the world. Nanabush takes refuge on a turtle's back and calls the diving animals to him to ask them to retrieve a bit of earth from below the waters. It is usually the least among these, Muskrat, who succeeds, and the earth is regenerated. Nanabush, or in some variations Kitche, or Great Manitou, creates humans and readies the earth for them with the help of the plant and animal people.

This, like most creation tales, is replete with lessons about the fragility of the earth, the need to respect the boundaries set out by the manitous, and the ultimate cost of revenge.

The people. Another key feature of many creation tales is the role that the animal and plant kingdoms play in human life. They are seen as elder siblings, here before the people and wiser because of that. Often plants, animals, water beings, wind, and rocks play an important role in the creation of the people.

The Chumash of the central California coast tell of their creation by a committee of animals that includes Coyote, Lizard, Hawk, and others, who debate the various features that the humans will possess. Coyote and Lizard enter into a debate about what kind of hands the new creatures will have, and the other animal beings take sides. In the end Coyote wins out, and he prepares to press his hand into the surface of a fine-grained stone and create the model for human hands. But, at the last second, Lizard sneaks up and places his hand into the stone, deciding the form of the human hand.

In addition, the group debates human mortality. The Jerusalem Cricket argues that human beings should eventually die, while Coyote argues for immortality in the form of a lake where humans can immerse their dead and bring them back to life. Cricket wins the debate, sealing his fate as an omen of bad luck for the Chumash people. In both stories, the roles of animals, the vicissitudes of life, and the need for proper behavior are all established along with the creation of human beings, forging a strong link between the way the world works and how the people are to behave in it. In creation tales, the universe, created with a working logic in place that represents balance and attention to the rhythms of nature, is established for all creatures. And all creatures have some responsibility for and to that creation in order that it continue on in balance.

NATURE. The operation of the universe can be seen as a sort of dependent variable, in that things must be done by those who have been created in order to keep creation balanced, but creation itself effects the possible choices of those creatures. Therefore, many American Indian narratives contain explanatory elements as well as evidence of what happens when the creatures do or do not complete the tasks for which they are responsible.

In these stories, the way in which creation looks and acts is explained, but in a multilayered way that allows these stories to remain relevant throughout the life of the listener. Children delight in the stories while gaining important information about the world, and adults perceive nuanced aspects appropriate to their lives as well. For example, the Seneca tell of Old Man Winter and his companion North Wind being defeated by Spring, which gives children imagery with which they can envision the changing seasons, but the story can also be told in a way that allows adults to ponder the need to allow old feelings to melt away like Old Man Winter does in the tale, to make room for a renewal in their hearts and minds that mirrors the coming of Spring.

The Cherokee explain the origin of the deer's curly tail in a story about Wild Boy and his brother, who make a game of allowing all of the animals to escape, thus causing the need for hunting. In this story, we discover not only why the deer's tail is curly and why people must hunt game to eat, but also that there is potential harm in not attending to one's duties, and that there can be no doubt as to what a good person must do when faced with opportunities for impetuous and facetious behavior.

Trickster tales. Another type of story that falls into this category is the so-called trickster tale, an extensive and largely misunderstood genre of traditional storytelling. It is the trickster—usually in the form of an animal known to the people, such as Raven, Coyote, or Hare, and almost always a male—who tends to represent both the best and the worst that a person can be. At times, the trickster is a creator, bringing about aspects of the world, such as fire, that make life much more pleasant. At other times, the trickster behaves badly, usually in the realms of gluttony or lust, bringing about negative aspects of the world or merely providing an entertaining way to point out the consequences of bad behavior.

One fine example of the latter is the tale told by the Yokuts of California about Coyote tricking Cricket into believing that she is the most beautiful of all insects. He uses her to demand tribute from the rest of the animals as their chief. Eventually, the Animal People grow tired of Coyote and Cricket and their demands, and Coyote impersonates the Creator in order to exact tribute. For this he is punished and sent to live in the North Star, and Cricket, for her vanity, must forever visit her lover Coyote during the day only, returning to Earth at night to play her sad song.

Another California tale, from the Karuk, shows the trickster in his creator aspect, as Coyote obtains fire from the stingy yellow jackets. Through a sort of relay race that sends the burning ember from animal to animal until it eventually falls into a softwood tree, Coyote shows the animals, and thus the people, how to extract fire from the wood, bringing the warmth and utility of fire to the world. A similar tale from around the Indian communities of the Pacific Northwest has Raven, their trickster, retrieving the sun from a selfish chief and placing it in the sky for the benefit of all.

The key issue with regard to these trickster tales is that the term *trickster* cannot adequately convey all of the nuances in the tales to which it is assigned. This glossing over of an important theme in American Indian sacred narrative, therefore, must be used with caution. The negative connotations usually associated with the word *trick* creates a view of these tales that is somewhat skewed. In the sense that it denotes clown-like and regrettable behavior, the term *trickster* places this important Native American cultural theme into roughly the same category as Brer Rabbit, Wile E. Coyote, and the Three Stooges. When this term is applied to characters who may be heroes, creative deities, and powerful advocates of humans, these cultural icons are denigrated. American Indian thinkers such as Gerald Vizenor stress that *trickster,* as a term, should not be understood as an anthropological or folkloric category, but rather as a metaphorical idea or a consciousness within the stories that explains to the people who they are, where they are from, and how it is that they should live.

SACRED HISTORY. All of the above tales can be considered aspects of sacred history, and important mythic themes connect Native American people to their traditions through their direct relationships with the actors in the tales. While characters like Coyote or the animal and plant beings may not qualify as relatives in the sense that Western biological or historic realities dictate, the realities of Native American communities render a much different accounting of the family tree.

For the Lakota of the Great Plains, the story of White Buffalo Woman's visit to the people to bring them their seven central ceremonies and the sacred pipe affirms the already established, but perhaps neglected, familial relationship between the Lakota and the bison. The story tells of a time when the Lakota were experiencing famine, due in part to the reluctance of the Buffalo Nation to appear and be hunted. The people had forgotten the way to behave, and became more angry and confused as the consequences visited themselves upon them.

Then it happened that two young men were travelling in search of game when they spied a white mist, from which a beautiful young woman emerged. As she neared them, the men could see that she was naked. One young man averted his eyes and maintained decent thoughts, while the other approached her with evil intentions. The latter was swallowed up by a mist which left him nothing more than a skeleton. The other young man humbled himself, still covering his eyes, and the woman told him to go back to his people and have them make ready for her arrival, preparing a lodge where the women would attend her while the men averted their gazes until the appropriate time.

It came to pass as she instructed, and the woman made her way into the camp carrying a bundle. After she was bathed and dressed, she called all of the people together and taught them the ceremonies that would keep their minds and hearts attentive to their responsibilities to the world. She taught them to pray with the pipe, presenting a pipe to them and instructing them as to how subsequent pipes were to be made. As she left them, she rolled in the dust four times, each time turning into a buffalo of a different color. The last was a white buffalo, and then she was gone.

This tale is seen as a history of the religious use of the pipe among the Lakota, and the pipe that White Buffalo Woman gave to the people is still in existence, in the care of descendants of the first recipient. The tale, along with the ceremonies the people learn in the course of it, reoriented fallen ones to their sacred responsibilities to the world, especially to their relatives, the Buffalo Nation. In the Lakota creation narrative, the people and the buffalo emerge together from the Black Hills with common ancestors who can now be traced as easily as one traces their biological family tree. In addition to these important aspects of Lakota life, the story teaches humility and the proper treatment of women, as well as providing an inexorable link between the Lakota, their ritual cycle, and the land that produced them both.

In a similar way, the Chumash tell of their movement to the mainland of what is now California from the Channel Islands via a rainbow bridge placed by Hutash, the earth and fertility goddess. Hutash wanted to move some of her people from the islands to the mainland, so she provided a bridge. There was only one caveat: do not look down as you cross. Some of the people did look down, and fell into the ocean below. Several of the beings from Chumash mythology asked Hutash to do something for the people, as they would surely die as a result of the mishap. So Hutash turned them into dolphins as they fell, and they safely lived out their lives in that form. Thus the Chumash see themselves as related to the dolphins that inhabit the waters off the coast, and also remember to heed the lesson learned and remain mindful of the rules set out by Hutash.

In a Haida tale (one with many variations), a child discovers a bit of mold on the fish he is about to eat and complains about it, ultimately refusing the fish entirely. The people warn him that if he continues to speak disrespectfully, the Fish People will see to it that he learns a difficult lesson. Sure enough, as the child is playing by the shore he is taken into the sea by the Salmon, who change him into one of their own. The story contains many vignettes about the boy's travels as a salmon, and he eventually returns to the shore from which he was abducted. His mother catches him and starts to prepare him for drying when she notices that the salmon has a small charm around his neck. The village priest is called, and he sees that the fish is her long-lost son. The woman is to lay the salmon on the roof of her house, and when it rains, the fish will be transformed back into her son. This does indeed come to pass, and the boy grows to become a powerful priest and healer in his own right. This multilayered tale contains lessons about respect and propriety, and also establishes traceable links between the human world and the other-than-human world. The boy who becomes a priest is invariably referred to by people as a relative, and this relative was himself a salmon, if only for a while.

The Ojibwe have a series of tales about the Thunderers, sometimes called the Thunder Birds or Thunder Beings, who continue to interact with the people. There are tales in historic times of the Thunderers coming to people's aid in dire circumstances. The Thunderers provide a connection between the people and their sacred history, as these powerful beings appear in stories of long, long ago as well. The Thunderers are seen by the Ojibwe as grandparents, powerful manitous who assist those humans who know enough to respect them. They bring rain, they signal changes in the seasons, and they speak to humans and protect them from the threats of Mishebeshu and his kin.

In one story, Nanabush creates the Thunderers in order to keep the people, whom he has made, from disappearing. The Thunderers are instructed to watch over the humans and to strike against Mishebeshu. To continue to interact with these beings in contemporary circumstances brings the Ojibwe mythic cycle deeper relevance. The stories are taken as a nexus of events, and when one person evokes the sacred narrative through a personal experience of an other-than-human nature, it validates the entire corpus. Such hero figures, often the focus of ethnographic or folkloric analyses of American Indian mythic narratives, also fall into the category of sacred history in that they are often the originators of specific families or clans. Many Native American communities are organized along clan lines, with the clans originating in mythic times.

Another common theme in the hero tales is that of human heroes who provide edification or resolve via their behavior, as in the Coeur d'Alene accounts of a boy who, in the face of intimidation by a camp bully or certain defeat at the hands of an enemy, uses his courage and tenacity to overcome his adversary. Such a tale is that of Four Smokes, which tells of a group of men who are surrounded by enemies while hunting in Crow country. A young boy is asked to divert the warriors away from the camp while the rest of his family escapes. Out of concern for his family, the young boy reluctantly agrees. At each of four enemy charges the young boy gives a war cry and, with bullets flying about him, runs to a nearby bush. On each occasion he makes it to safety, and the Crow warriors, convinced that the boy has special powers, retreat. That evening the elders give the young boy the name Four Smokes in honor of the four times the Crow rifles discharged gun smoke but failed to hit the boy. The modern weaponry of the Crow party proves that Four Smokes is a historic character; one who can be seen as a close relative of the contemporary Coeur d'Alene and an exemplar of familial fidelity and courage in the face of adversity.

Themes that make up American Indian sacred narrative are governed by several key factors. First is the logical working of the universe as each specific tribal culture sees it. The creation stories set the parameters of the possible and the necessary, giving the people a guide by which decisions can be made, relationships understood, and success measured. Second, the narratives emphasize the way the actual day-to-day world works, which is similar to the first concept, but different in scope.

Whereas each tribal tradition can be seen as a philosophical system, the stories about the earth and how it operates can be seen as a science of sorts, a method for working within the rules set out in the creation narratives that will bring about expected results while avoiding the pitfalls that occur when one does things incorrectly. Often, tribal traditions make it clear that things must be done in a good way, which generally translates into a protocol within which propriety can be maintained, needs met, and problems assuaged. Finally, these are histories, stories of the people—where they came from and where they are going. Actors in these tales are often beings that one could encounter at any time, and one does encounter them, thus providing the impetus to maintain these traditions in perpetuity.

Modernity, in many ways, is anti-traditional, favoring the new, the innovative, and the topical. Sacred histories allow traditional cultures to exist in the modern world and yet maintain their link to the past, keeping their stories of the before-time, powerful other-than-human beings, and plant, animal, and elemental relatives because they are old. Wisdom comes with age, and American Indian stories have the power to bring ancient wisdom to bear on current topics. Contemporary indigenous communities the world over remain faithful to their own stories and legacy, rather than the sometimes more popular myths of modernity.

SEE ALSO Fiction, article on Native American Fiction and Religion; Lakota Religious Traditions; Poetry, article on Native American Poetry and Religion; Sedna; Tricksters, overview article and article on North American Tricksters.

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DENNIS F. KELLEY (2005)

NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN RELIGIONS: NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

From the time of their earliest contact with European settlers and explorers, Native Americans have defended their lands, cultures, religions, and political rights. Often, Native American efforts to preserve their communities and cultures take the form of religious, military, political, and cultural movements. The ways that Native nations have sought to preserve their cultures and territories have varied considerably throughout colonial history and in the contemporary world. There were wars, battles, and strategic political alliances during the colonial period before and after the establishment of the United States. Religious movements, or revitalization movements, characterize Native responses to colonialism as American Indian peoples sought cultural solutions to drastically changing economic, political, and cultural situations.

Many Native American traditions, religions, and revitalized cultures continue into the present day as living communities. During the last quarter of the twentieth century, Native peoples openly practiced, reclaimed, and maintained their religious beliefs and understandings. If there is one generalization about Native American communities over the past five hundred years of colonial contact, it might be that Native nations have sought to preserve their cultures, communities, political rights, and territories. Social and religious movements have been among the ways in which Native people have sought to preserve core aspects of their cultures while accommodating changing political, economic, and cultural relations in an increasingly globalized world.

MILITARY AND DIPLOMATIC MOVEMENTS. Eastern North America was colonized by an assortment of colonial powers, including the English, French, Spanish, Dutch, and Swedes. As the competitive and warring nation states of Europe transferred their disputes to the colonies, diplomatic and economic rivalries were played out as part of the policies of the mother countries. The hunt for gold was an early motivating factor for the colonizers, but they soon turned their attention to the export of furs and skins. Native people were willing to trade furs for European manufactured goods such as ironware, rifles, traps, cloth, and pots and pans. Native trappers and hunters became sources of labor in complex intercontinental markets extending back to the European capitals.

Native communities soon became dependent on trade with Europeans for manufactured products they could not produce themselves. Economic dependence required a European trading partner, and the eastern Native nations soon found themselves forced to ally with one or another European colony for trade and military protection. Trade allies became military allies during times of war, and the Native nations were soon swept into a series of conflicts that were often initiated to serve European interests far away from North America. Warfare became more frequent, involved more combatants, marshaled greater firepower, and was far more deadly than traditional Native American conflicts.

Working according to the dictates of the European market, European traders demanded more and more furs from Native American hunters and trappers, coercing them to trap more by reducing the value of furs relative to trade items; thus more furs were required to trade for necessities. Traders used alcohol as an inducement to bring in more furs or a distraction leading to poor trades, requiring additional hunting. Market demands for furs led to Native hunters overhunting local animal resources, and often forced tribes like the Delaware and Munsee to fall back into the interior to follow the disappearing hunting grounds. Movement into the interior, however, often led to conflict with other nations who had already claimed the hunting grounds.

By the 1640s the Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) saw their local beaver and deer supplies shrink to levels that could not sustain trade with the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam. Consequently, the Iroquois sought trade agreements with the Native nations of the interior, but were rebuffed because the interior nations had their trade and diplomatic alliances with the French. With Dutch support, the Iroquois initiated a series of battles and wars in the middle 1640s that lasted until about 1700, known as the Beaver Wars. From the 1640s until 1820 in eastern North America there was nearly continuos warfare and economic and diplomatic competition that ended only with the emergence of the United States and the extension of its control over the region.

The trade and diplomatic ties of the Native nations to European colonies not only involved them in the European wars but intensified military and economic interactions among the Native nations. The Iroquois, supported by Dutch and later English alliances and weapons, pushed out or dispersed many of the Native nations of the lower Great Lakes, and forced the Ojibwa, Potawatomi, Odawa, Sac and Fox, Wyandot, and others farther west. In turn, the migrating Native nations, often better supplied with weapons, pushed others like the Lakota, Dakota, Nakota, Gros Ventre, and Cheyenne farther to the west and onto the plains.

The intensification of diplomatic, military, and trade relations greatly affected the ability of many Native nations to maintain their territorial and economic integrity. Most nations in eastern North America were forced into a trade, military, or diplomatic alliance with one or another European colony. Many coastal nations were quickly subjugated by the English colonies. The Pamunkey Algonquins under Powhatan (c. 1550–1618) were early subject to English land encroachments, taxes, and pressures to convert to Christianity that resulted in several conflicts, ending with the social, political, and cultural marginalization of the Virginia nations by 1675.

At about the same time, the Native nations of New England were increasingly forced to cede land and political autonomy to the English. The Wampanoags did not believe they could live under English rule, and the economic and cultural changes were corrupting their way of life. The defeat of the Wampanoags and allied New England nations in King Philip's War (1675–1676) led to their relegation to small tracts of land and communities often called Indian Praying Towns. The New England nations adopted town-government democracy and Christian Protestant religions, although they have maintained a sense of Native identity to the present day.

While most Native nations in the thirteen original U.S. colonies were eventually brought under colonial control, the nations farther to the west continued to engage in trade, diplomatic, and military relations with the rival European colonial powers. By 1700 some of them began to realize that the expansionist goals of the English colonists were a threat to their sovereignty and traditional territories. The Iroquois and Creek confederacies began to form alliances of Native nations in order to manage relations with the Europeans more effectively. During the early 1700s the Iroquois often boasted that they had a military alliance with fifty Native nations, although most likely this claim was a bargaining ploy for negotiating with the Europeans.

The Iroquois Confederacy held together an alliance of Native nations based on economic treaties that allowed the Iroquois access to western hunting grounds, and in exchange they gave the western nations access to British trade goods at Albany in the New York colony. The Iroquois managed this alliance for their own and English trade and diplomatic interests, but it unraveled after the 1750s as trade moved farther west and Pennsylvania traders moved into the Ohio region. The alliance was increasingly taken over by Shawnee and Delaware leadership.

During the early 1760s, Pontiac (c. 1720–1769) assembled many groups from the northern confederacy to attack British forts in the Great Lakes region. This same confederacy was united to oppose U.S. expansion during Little Turtle's War in the 1790s, and in 1812 Tecumseh (1768–1813) was appointed warrior head of the confederacy that fought with the British against the United States in the War of 1812. After the War of 1812 the northern alliance was left depleted and in disarray.

The Creek nation also tried to strengthen its trade and diplomatic position by inviting coastal groups and other nations or villages to join the Creek Confederacy. The Creek leadership tried to manage relations among the English, French, and Spanish colonies of the south in order to gain diplomatic and trade advantages. The Creek were relatively successful with these methods during the second half of the 1700s. During the early 1760s the southern tribes, including the Creek, rejected overtures by the Shawnee and Delaware to join with the northern confederacy against the British. And in 1811 the southern Native nations generally declined to ally with the northern confederacy by refusing to join Tecumseh to oppose the expansion of the United States into Native lands.

Many Native nations during the late 1700s and 1800s engaged the U. S. government in warfare. Most were defending territory and their way of life, or moving to preserve an economic resource like the buffalo. Native military alliances were usually loose coalitions of friendship, and often seasonally deployed. In general, they were hard to sustain in the field, could not manufacture their own rifles and ammunition, and depended on the backing of a strong European colonial ally who was willing to provide military supplies and, hopefully, armed forces. After the War of 1812 and the sale of Florida and West Florida (present-day Alabama and Mississippi) by Spain to the United States, the eastern Native nations were left without effective allies and were forced to recognize U.S. authority in the region.

MOVEMENTS OF RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM AND REFORM. As eastern North America became increasingly engaged in trade, diplomacy, and the economic markets, the encroachments of colonial power led to the dispersion and social and economic degradation of Native life and culture. Native communities were forced to migrate farther west, game disappeared, colonists took over land and made farms, disease greatly reduced the numbers and life expectancy of Native peoples, and economic and political dependencies required interaction and compliance with colonial authorities and traders. European trade goods, access to alcohol, overspecialization in the fur-trade economy, and new Christian religious ideas and concepts were changing and modifying everyday life. Native social and living conditions deteriorated noticeably, and the colonial expansion westward was increasing.

Under these conditions many Native American leaders and spiritual guides began to lament the declining conditions of the Native nations and sought answers. While military action was one option, many leaders hoped to understand the spiritual and religious significance of the changes that were occurring and sought remedies through spiritual means. There are reports of spiritual preaching among the Iroquois as early as the 1720s, but not to the extent of becoming a full-fledged movement. There may have been many spiritual leaders who discussed the issues of the day in spiritual terms but did not lead recognizable movements, or who have been lost in history.

Among the Delaware in the 1740s, there appears to have been much distress because of migrations and declining conditions, and there are hints of spiritual unrest. Several prophets appeared among the Delaware in the late 1750s and early 1760s. The British had just won the French and Indian War, and many tribes in the northern alliance, including the Delaware and Odawa, who were both allied with the French, were highly suspicious of British motivations. The British now controlled trade and gained control of the military forts in the Great Lakes region. The Native nations in the region expected British retaliation and were unhappy under British administration. Under these conditions two religious movements emerged among the Delaware. One led to the unified national Delaware Big House religion, and the other to the militant teachings that the Odawa Pontiac endorsed and used to collect a military coalition to try to force the British out the Great Lakes region.

The militant prophet's teachings combined elements of Christianity with selected Native teachings. The prophet Neolin (the Delaware Prophet) had a near death experience and dreamed he went to heaven and received instruction directly from god. In general, his teachings suggested that the Native people had abandoned the religious teachings and lifeways of their forebears and had adopted too many European ways, including their clothing, trade, alcohol, and Christianity. These changes had corrupted Native life, and the solution was to return to the beliefs and life of their ancestors, which would help restore the Native American nations to their former health and prosperity. The Europeans would have to be pushed off the continent through warfare, and no warrior could reach the next world if he did not believe in the prophet's teachings and do his bidding. Pontiac and the militant Delaware prophet used these teachings to organize the northern confederacy against the British, but after losing a brief war, called Pontiac's War, the teachings were lost or went underground. This movement, which emphasizes spiritual solutions to colonial situations and a return to the culture and religion of the ancestors, we can call fundamentalist.

The second Delaware religious movement during the early 1760s led to the political, social, and religious reform of Delaware society. This prophet synthesized elements of traditional Delaware religious views, brought them together into a common ceremonial structure, the Big House, unified three phratries of a dozen clans each into a common religious-kinship structure, and established unified chief and leadership positions for all three phratries. The phratries are known to us as the Wolf, Turkey, and Turtle divisions, or perhaps more generally as four-leggeds, two-leggeds, and those that walk on land and water.

The newly established chief of the Turtle division was the first leader of the newly reformed Delaware nation. The reformed Delaware religion-society helped centralize and unify Delaware political and religious relations, and helped the Delaware more effectively manage relations with other tribes and Europeans. The Delaware Big House religion was practiced until at least the 1920s. This movement can be called a reform movement because it led to long term and durable institutional change in Delaware society. Its purpose was religious, moral, social, and political reform.

The fundamentalist movements. The Native religious landscape had numerous fundamentalist and reform movements. The fundamentalist movements have generally been more historically colorful and often gained considerable attention. They include the Pueblo Revolt (1680s), the Shawnee Prophet movement (1805–1811), the Cherokee Prophet movement (1811–1813), the Red Stick War (1813–1814), White Path's Rebellion (1826), the Winnebago Prophet movement (1830–1832), the first Ghost Dance (1869–1870) and the second Ghost Dance (1889–1890), and the Snake movements among the Cherokee, Choctaw, and Creek during the 1890s. These generally fundamentalist movements favored a return to traditional ways and rejected the social, cultural, and economic changes brought by the colonies or the United States.

Many of these movements adopted elements of Christianity, such as the idea of a second coming or the concepts of heaven and a single anthropomorphic God, but their solution to the economic, demographic, and political decline of the Native communities was to seek a solution through spiritual intervention and a restoration of the way of life that existed before the Europeans arrived. The second Ghost Dance asked the faithful to dance at regular intervals in a circle to induce dreams and communication with the ancestors in order to learn about the ancestors' immanent return and restoration of the Native way of life. The Cherokee Prophet, in 1811–1813, taught that the changes in Cherokee society were corrosive and that the community would be destroyed in a hailstorm of fiery rocks. Only those who went to Lookout Mountain would be saved. The first Ghost Dance taught that the people would be saved by trainloads of manufactured goods that would arrive only for the Native people. This movement is reminiscent of the cargo cults in the Pacific.

The Winnebago Prophet taught that by resisting the Americans militarily, the Winnebago and Sac and Fox would regain their traditional lands when a group of spiritual warriors appeared to defeat the U.S. Army. The Creek Red Sticks opposed economic and political change introduced by U.S. Indian agents, and they started a civil war for cultural reasons, which later developed into the Creek War (1812–1813). The Pueblo Revolt was strongly influenced by a rejection of Christianity and Spanish political domination, and it earned the Pueblo the right to practice their own religion, although most Pueblo people were returned to Spanish control in the 1690s. The Cherokee, Choctaw, and Creek Snake movements were ways to mobilize a political organization to oppose the abolishment of the tribal governments and force their inclusion in the state of Oklahoma. The members of the Snake movements were the most culturally conservative members of the Cherokee, Choctaw, and Creek nations.

The fundamentalist movements, generally, have been strongly resistant to cultural and political change, favoring military or spiritual solutions to the degradation of life under colonial domination. Some of the movements have relied on a cataclysmic spiritual event to intervene and restore the old order and tradition. If the significant spiritual event does not occur, however, then most people lose faith in the movement and the movement disintegrates, though sometimes small groups of adherents remain and carry on the beliefs, often in secret.

The reform movements. Reform religious movements are aimed at changing or supporting community social and cultural values to accommodate fluctuating political, cultural, and political conditions. Native American reform movements include the Yaqui religion (1500–present), the Handsome Lake movement (1797–present), the Munsee Prophetess movement (1804–1805), the Kickapoo Prophet movement (1815–present), the Cherokee Keetoowah Society (1858–present), the Washat Dreamers religion (1850–present), the Indian Shakers (1881–present), the Native American Church (1800s–present), the Shoshoni Sun Dance (1890–present), and perhaps the New Tidings religion of the Canadian Sioux (1900–present) and Ojibwe Drummer movement (contemporary). Most of these religions adopt some concepts from Christianity but have a predominantly Native cultural and philosophical focus that would not be generally recognized as Christian.

The most characteristic of the religious reform movements is the Handsome Lake movement among the Seneca and Iroquois. Handsome Lake, after having a near-death experience, brought back a message of reform to the Seneca from god. Elements of Catholicism and Quakerism are integrated with selected features of traditional religion and ceremony to create a reform message. Handsome Lake's movement emerged as the Iroquois were relegated to small reservations. He advocated no gambling or drinking and legitimized the role of men in farming, which previously was women's work, by suggesting that males take up the horse and plow while women focused on horticulture using hand implements. The prophet advocated social and culture reform as a means of helping the community adapt to life on small reservations. Strong emphasis is given to moral issues and individual responsibility, and Christian concepts of heaven and hell and punishment in the afterlife are emphasized for those who would break the new moral code. Handsome Lake is given credit for introducing significant social reform into Iroquois society. His followers established a church about fifteen years after his death.

The Kickapoo Prophet, Native American Church, and Indian Shaker movements follow analogous patterns of moral and community reform and continue as contemporary religious movements. The Yaqui religion is an example of the formation of a reformed religion, borrowing significantly from Christian Catholic teachings but recreated and relocated within Yaqui tradition and history. Some movements are less influenced by social or cultural change and instead emphasize and support the continuity of community and tradition. Such movements are the Munsee Prophetess movement, the New Tidings religion, and the Ojibwa Drummer movement.

The religious reform movements are generally responses to radically changing social, cultural, political, and economic conditions experienced by many Native communities over the past two centuries. Traditional religions seemed ill equipped to interpret and give guidance under radically changing colonial conditions, and some people have looked for new ways to understand the world and make accommodations to it. Some Native Americans have adopted Christianity, but often continue to engage with the Native community and beliefs. Native American Christian churches, such as the Cherokee, Seminole, Choctaw, and Creek, are based on Native languages and social and cultural organizations. Native religious reform movements often provide syncretic religious solutions to a community undergoing rapid change, as well as provide a new set of moral values, beliefs, ceremonies, and sometimes community organization to help people endure and live under the new conditions. The reform movements usually retain many central Native concepts and philosophies.

CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL MOVEMENTS. Current Native American social movements take many forms. Native peoples are actively engaged in many activities in the area of land claims, education, Native rights, international rights, and many others. The focus here will be on the movements that are related to religious issues.

During the 1970s the Red Power movement's activities ranged from the occupation of Alcatraz Island to the second Long Walk in 1978. Contemporary Red Power activities have been less visible, but have taken the form of occasional protests, especially over nuclear waste sites on or near reservation land, as well as sacred walks or sacred runs. American Indian Movement (AIM) chapters are still active, meet in national meetings, and are engaged in community issues and cultural events. Native American students at colleges and universities are engaged in Native American issues, recruitment, cultural events, and community activities.

One major outgrowth of the Red Power movement was the open revival of Native traditions in many Native American communities. Activism in the 1970s started in urban areas but soon moved to the reservation communities, where young Native Americans sought greater knowledge and understanding of traditional culture. These events encouraged many spiritual leaders and traditionalists to bring Native ceremonies, dances, and stories out into public view, when they had been hidden away for many years. Elders and traditionalists gained more respect, and they became more active and visible in Native American communities. Tribal community colleges and universities started teaching Native languages and culture.

Native religious freedom issues were defended in the courts to preserve the right to smoke sacred peyote in ceremonies. Twice Congressional bills were written to preserve Native American religious rights through the American Indian Religious Freedom Acts. Native Americans moved to protect sacred sites and places of worship, both on and off the reservations. Native religion and traditional knowledge became more highly regarded within Native American communities. Contemporary Native peoples are actively engaged in the world through a variety of social, religious, political, educational, and cultural movements aimed at preserving their communities, identities, religions, and political autonomy.

SEE ALSO Ghost Dance; Handsome Lake; Neolin; North American Indians, article on Indians of the Plains; Sun Dance; Tecumseh; Wovoka.

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DUANE CHAMPAGNE (2005)

NORTH AMERICAN [INDIAN] RELIGIONS: HISTORY OF STUDY

The religions of North American Indians manifest considerable complexity and diversity. In 1492 several hundred cultural groups practiced distinctive forms of religion. While we customarily begin the documentary record at the time of initial European contact, discoveries in archaeology have extended religious perspectives far back into prehistory. Burial mounds in the Midwest, Southeastern ceremonial sites, abandoned *kivas* in the Southwest, stone medicine wheels on the Plains, California petroglyphs, and other remains all evoke the antiquity of North American religions.

Despite its intrinsic value for comparative religion, the field of indigenous North American religions has been undercultivated by religious scholars. Too often dismissed as "primitive," these religions have been generally relegated to an undifferentiated residual category shared with other religions of primal peoples around the world. Interest in these religions has been limited to their supposed evolutionary position as stages logically antecedent to what are commonly called the "great religions," which command the allegiance of the majority of the world's population. Rarely, until recently, have North American Indian religions been studied as valid subjects in their own right. Nevertheless, research has revealed intricately structured rituals and ceremonies, myths densely packed with symbolic meanings, cosmologies that embrace subtle relations with nature, and highly elaborated varieties of individual religious experience.

One difficulty in studying native North American religions is that their institutions tend to be much less obviously compartmentalized than those of the so-called great religions. Their religious beliefs and practices pervade many spheres of practical activity; for example, among the Nootka constructing a canoe is considered a religious act, as is Hopi horticulture, the rabbit drive of the Rappahanock, the Paiute piñon gathering, and so on.

A second problem confronting students of North American Indian religions is the absence of literacy in traditional native societies. Lacking bodies of orthodox written doctrine, they have depended on oral and visual transmission of religious tradition. Such modes place a premium on mnemonic devices, rhetorical skills, and tacit understandings gained through participation. The absence of written texts has in the past allowed considerable flexibility in adapting to change and permitted considerable latitude for idiosyncratic interpretation.

A third difficulty is that the religions of North American Indians are typically dynamic. Efforts to depict or reconstruct these religions as timeless, fully integrated systems of belief and action are usually doomed to failure. Religious movements are recurrent features in North American history and prehistory. These movements, usually inspired by prophecy, originated within particular tribes but often spread beyond tribal boundaries. Deeply embedded in many of these religions are many reintegrated traits that ultimately derive from early contacts with Christianity.

EARLY OBSERVERS. The study of North American religions begins with the early European explorers. Many explorers carried with them strong Christian theocentric biases that denied the existence of religion in aboriginal societies. People who went naked and lived communally, who practiced polygamy, anthropophagy, and human sacrifice were sometimes judged as less than human. What served as religion to the Indian was disdainfully dismissed by the European newcomer as devil worship, idolatry, or irrational superstition. However, since part of the European mission to explore and settle the New World was religiously motivated, earnest efforts were made to convert the heathens to the "true faith" through both coercion and persuasion.

Later explorers of the interior regions were scarcely more perspicacious than their predecessors concerning native religions. Older stereotypes persisted: Indians were said to be haunted by demons, their religious practitioners were derided as conjurors, jugglers, and imposters, and their rites were regarded as ridiculous and absurd. On matters of religion, the accounts of the explorers replay their presuppositions with monotonous regularity.

Nevertheless, in the performance of their evangelical tasks, missionaries sometimes mastered native languages and were able to penetrate the belief structures of their potential converts. The Recollet and Jesuit fathers bequeathed an unprecedented record of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century religious customs among Algonquian- and Iroquoian-speaking groups in the Northeast. Not only does the seventy-three-volume *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (compiled 1610–1791; first published in 1896–1901; reprint in 39 vols., New York, 1959) contain accurate first-hand observations, but the scholarly training of these priests enabled them to engage in speculative comparative ethnology. The high point of Jesuit anthropology was reached by the priest Joseph François Lafitau in his two-volume *Moeurs des sauvages ameriquains comparées aux moeurs des premiers* (1724; translated by William N. Fenton and Elizabeth L. Moore as *Customs of the American Savages, compared with the Customs of Primitive Times*, Toronto, 1977). Lafitau offered a detailed overview of religious customs based on the works of his Jesuit predecessors and supplemented by his own inquiries. He systematically compared Indian religious practices with those of classical antiquity. Convinced that the Indians had emigrated from Asia, Lafitau argued for the unity of the human race, all of whom had in the remote past, he believed, shared a common God-given religion. Lafitau maintained that through migrations, local adaptations, and forgetfulness, primal beliefs and practices degenerated; yet vestiges of this original condition could still be discerned in the customs of contemporary savages, which presented clues for unraveling unwritten history. Lafitau's ideas were not unique, but the reliability of his documentation and his attempts at systematic comparison place him in advance of his times.

Spanish and English missionaries, with rare exceptions, fell far short of the high standards set by the French. The rigid religious orthodoxy of the Spanish and the notorious ethnocentrism of the English seemed to conspire in precluding sympathetic tolerance for native beliefs. Only in the late eighteenth century do missionary accounts of native religions begin to possess substantive worth.

Along with the records of enlightened missionaries, the reports of early travelers and traders offer valuable material on North American Indians. Travelers, by virtue of their experiences with a series of different groups, frequently were sensitive to religious variations. Lack of sustained observation tended to diminish the reliability of these reports, but this deficiency was overcome by exceptional traders and administrators who resided for long periods in Indian communities, learned Indian languages, and often married Indian women. For example, the trader John Long in his account of the Ojibwa (*Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader*, 1791) is the first to refer to the concept of totem, which he describes as an association established with a guardian spirit during a vision quest. Later scholars misappropriated and universalized the term to denote names for descent groups and elementary forms of religion.

Much knowledge about traditional religion among Indians of the Southeast Woodlands derives from James Adair's *The History of the American Indian* (1775). Adair, who lived for forty years among the Cherokee and Chickasaw, believed that the Indians were descended from the lost tribes of Israel. To sustain his argument, he established twenty-three points of specific convergence between Indian and Israelite customs. Despite his erroneous thesis, Adair's mode of analysis forced him to ask questions and record important religious information that might otherwise have been ignored.

EMERGENCE OF A FIELD OF STUDY. Early theories about the indigenous people of North America revolved around questions of origin. Who were they? Whence did they come? Few theorists subscribed to an autochthonous origin; some, influenced by the foreshortened biblical chronology, attempted to link them with historically known Old World peoples. Such speculations encouraged the collection and analysis of ethnological materials, among which religious information was considered critical. Simple connections proved untenable, and the origins of North American Indians were pushed farther into the past. Many European and colonial philosophers and universal historians equated indigenous peoples with early stages of human development, as epitomized in Locke's famous phrase, "in the beginning all the World was America." Themes of native degeneracy and inherent inferiority were countered by the philosophical and literary image of the "Noble Savage," a convention that attained popularity in the mid-eighteenth century more as a critique of Western morality than as a serious effort accurately to portray Native Americans.

The post-Revolutionary consolidation of a national identity on the part of Americans provided another stimulus to the study of North American Indians. Intellectuals of the new republic sought to advance evidence proving that their continent was not inferior to the Old World and could support civilization. Under the influence of such leaders as Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Barton, Peter DuPonceau, Lewis Cass, and Albert Gallatin, coordinated efforts were undertaken not only to "civilize" the Indians but also to preserve for posterity a record of their traditional cultures.

The career of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft (1793–1864) exemplifies the transition from amateur observer to professional ethnologist. Schoolcraft's younger years were spent on the frontier as a geological explorer and Indian trader. After taking up residence among the Chippewa of Sault Sainte Marie, he married an Indian woman, learned Chippewa, and became a governmental agent. In 1839 he published his influential *Algic Researches*, (New York, 1839) in which he sought to reveal the deeper levels of Indian mentality through the collection of myths and folklore and the analysis of subtleties in Algonquian linguistics. His scholarly reputation thus established, Schoolcraft deserted the frontier to promote the fledgling science of ethnology. He secured federal support and was responsible for compiling the mammoth, six-volume *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1851–1860). This work is laced with important data from missionaries and Indian agents, but its cumbersome and disorganized format limits its utility.

ADVANCES UNDER THE BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY. The founding of the Bureau of Ethnology in 1879 auspiciously launched formal government anthropology in the United States. The bureau's mission was primarily salvage ethnology and scientific systematization of knowledge about America's original inhabitants. Under the inspired directorship of John Wesley Powell, a dedicated group of scholars was assembled who left enduring contributions to the understanding of Indian religions.

The Southwest became an important area of investigation, since Apachean-speaking and Pueblo groups retained viable neoaboriginal religious systems. Such bureau-sponsored researchers as James Stevenson and Matilda Stevenson, J. W. Fewkes, Washington Matthews, J. G. Bourke, and Frank Hamilton Cushing produced papers and monographs on Southwestern ceremonialism that attracted international attention.

Other areas as well were attended to by the bureau. Clay MacCauley, James Mooney, and, later, John R. Swanton studied Southeast Woodlands religions. Research on Iroquois religion persisted through the works of Lewis Henry Morgan and Horatio Hale, whose *The Iroquois Book of Rites* (Philadelphia, 1883) represents the first modern monographic treatment of North American Indian ceremonialism. Such bureau scholars as Erminnie Smith and J. N. B. Hewitt contributed significant studies on Iroquoian myths and cosmology. Other aspects of Eastern Woodlands religion were documented by W. J. Hoffman's works on the Ojibwa and Menomini and later by Truman Michaelson's impressive corpus on the Fox.

The heyday of Plains culture still survived within living memory when bureau ethnologists entered the field. J. Owen Dorsey collected valuable information on Siouan religions; James Mooney reported on the Kiowa and Cheyenne; Alice Fletcher, in collaboration with native intellectuals Francis La Flesche and James Murie, produced classic monographs on Omaha and Pawnee religion. Mooney's brilliant description and analysis of the contemporary Ghost Dance remains a recognized masterpiece of religious ethnology. Very little bureau work was undertaken among tribes west of the Rocky Mountains until the twentieth century.

RISE OF UNIVERSITY SPECIALIZATIONS. By 1900 the center of American anthropology began to shift from museums and government agencies to universities. As gifted and resourceful as the early researchers of the Bureau of Ethnology were, none had received formal academic training in anthropology. The central figure in the movement toward professionalization was Franz Boas, a European-trained scholar, who exerted a dominant influence on American anthropology for the next half century. Boas developed the modern concept of culture, set new standards for fieldwork, and trained several generations of students destined to make decisive contributions to the study of Indian religions. Boas's own works on the Northwest Coast demonstrated a meticulous concern for ethnographic particularism aimed toward problems of cultural-historical reconstruction. Later he moved from an emphasis on trait analysis and diffusion toward interpretation of the dynamics of cultural integration. Reluctant to generalize and distrustful of grand theory, Boas assiduously collected native-language texts, many of which involve religious topics. Some have argued that Boas's strong positivistic empiricism inhibited theoretical development in North American anthropology; however, his insistence on obtaining the native viewpoint through texts provides a tangible legacy for modern anthropology.

Regardless of how one evaluates Boas's direct contributions to religious ethnology, his students and collaborators succeeded in filling out in fine descriptive detail the major lineaments of indigenous North American religions. Substantive works by such field-workers as Ruth Benedict, Ruth L. Bunzel, Roland B. Dixon, Alexander A. Goldenweiser, Esther Goldfrank, Erna Gunther, Herman Haeberlin, George L. Hunt, Melville Jacobs, A. L. Kroeber, Robert H. Lowie, Elsie Clews Parsons, Paul Radin, Gladys A. Reichard, Edward Sapir, Frank G. Speck, Leslie Spier, John R. Swanton, James A. Teit, Ruth M. Underhill, and Clark Wissler cannot be reviewed here. However, some brief comments on emergent trends can be mentioned. Increasingly, one finds concern with the nature of religious experience and religious meaning for the individual. Stylistic and literary features of myths and tales are given serious attention. Interest in culturally constituted worldviews becomes more apparent. Finally, there emerges an implicitly functional approach that relates religion to other aspects of culture, society, and the individual. Many of these scholars reached beyond ethnographic particularities to address problems of general theory and to impart the facts of native North American religions to a wider audience.

From the beginning, religious materials from North American Indian sources served as ammunition for the heavy artillery of European "armchair" theorists. These materials were employed in hit-or-miss fashion to support the global theories of such commanding figures as E. B. Tylor, James G. Frazer, Andrew Lang, R. R. Marett, W. J. Perry, Émile Durkheim, Marcel Mauss, Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, Wilhelm Schmidt, and Adolf E. Jensen. American reaction to these theories has typically been defensive and critical. It must be admitted that, with few exceptions, these theorists and subsequent European ethnologists, comparativists, and religious historians lacked direct American field experience. Yet they have contributed significantly by viewing the American data from the broader perspective of world religions, by constructing typologies with which the American evidence can be analyzed and compared, and by probing deeply into the philosophical implications of these materials. Recent European scholars whose work deserves greater recognition by their American colleagues include Kaj Birket-Smith, Josef Haekel, Rolf Krusche, Werner Müller, Raffaele Pettazzoni, and Anna Burgitta Rooth. The prolific and more accessible works of Åke Hultkrantz, a Swedish scholar, deserve special comment. Hultkrantz conducted field research among the Shoshoni and Arapaho, but his principal eminence derives from his unparalleled grasp of the published literature on native North American religions, displayed in several comprehensive comparative monographs and in numerous topical essays.

RECENT TOPICS OF STUDY. The post-Boasian period from World War II to the present has witnessed an accelerating interest in the indigenous religions of North America, and many profitable approaches have been taken. Psychological anthropology, for example, has brought new insights into the nature of religious experience through the study of alternate states of consciousness induced through ritual use of hallucinogens and other means. Weston La Barre's *The Ghost Dance* (Garden City, N. Y., 1970) is particularly notable for its profound psychological interpretation of Native American religions.

Another approach is through environmental issues, which have stimulated considerations of the effects of religious ideology on ecological adaptation. Calvin Martin's *Keepers of the Game* (Berkeley, 1978), a historical account of Indian participation in the fur trade, has evoked a wide variety of responses on the role of religious motivation in hunting activities. Probably the most solidly crafted study to address this problem is Adrian Tanner's monograph on the Cree, *Bringing Home Animals* (New York, 1979).

The study of religious movements, too, commands much attention. Anthony F. C. Wallace's *The Death and Rebirth of Seneca* (New York, 1969), an eloquent account of the Handsome Lake religion, is a modern classic. Considerable study has been devoted to variations of the peyote religion. La Barre's enlarged edition of *The Peyote Cult* (New York, 1969) offers the best general overview of the subject, while David F. Aberle's *The Peyote Religion among the Navaho* (Chicago, 1982) and J. S. Slotkin's several publications on Menomini peyotism provide excellent accounts of specific manifestations. Homer Barnett's monograph *Indian Shakers* (Carbondale, Ill., 1957) stands as a definitive treatment of its subject.

The structuralism of Claude Lévi-Strauss has opened new vistas for the reinterpretation of North American totemism, art, myths, rituals, and the witchcraft-sorcery complex. Lévi-Strauss himself has utilized North American materials extensively in his provocative publications. Structuralism has inspired a whole generation of primarily younger scholars to think about previously collected data in interesting new ways.

Several noteworthy reworkings of important manuscript collections have recently appeared. Irving Goldman, synthesizing Boas's notes and scattered publications, has accomplished what Boas was never able to do—produce a coherent, theoretically informed account of Kwakiutl religion. Goldman's *The Mouth of Heaven* (New York, 1975) is complemented by Stanley Walens's symbolic analysis of Kwakiutl art and ritual, *Feasting with Cannibals* (Princeton, 1981). Raymond J. DeMallie and Elaine A. Jahner have made available the rich previously unpublished Lakota materials that were collected early in the century by James R. Walker (*Lakota Belief and Ritual*, Lincoln, Nebr., 1980; *Lakota Society*, Lincoln, Nebr., 1982; and *Lakota Myths*, Lincoln, Nebr., 1983). DeMallie has also assembled primary materials relating to the renowned Lakota medicine man Black Elk (*The Sixth Grandfather: Black Elk's Teachings Given to John G. Neihardt*, Lincoln, Nebr., 1984). William Power's *Oglala Religion* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1977) and his excellent descriptions of an Oglala curing ritual in *Yuwipi* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1982) amplify our understanding of Lakota religion. James R. Murie's account of Pawnee ceremonialism has been edited by Douglas Parks and published as *Ceremonies of the Pawnee* (Washington, D.C., 1981). Another important contribution to Plains research is Peter J. Powell's masterful, two-volume opus on Cheyenne religion, *Sweet Medicine* (Norman, Okla., 1969). Elisabeth Tooker has combed *The Jesuit Relations* to reconstruct Huron religion in her *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians, 1615–1649* (Washington, D.C., 1964), and she has also published a useful study entitled *The Iroquois Ceremonial of Midwinter* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1970). William N. Fenton has contributed mightily to Iroquois studies with his superb monograph on the Eagle Dance (*The Iroquois Eagle Dance*, Washington, D.C., 1953) and a continuing stream of research on Longhouse rituals. Information on several extinct Californian religions have been resurrected from the field notes of the remarkable J. P. Harrington and published in various books and articles.

The Ojibwa and the Winnebago remain two of the best-documented American religious traditions. The works of Alanson Skinner, John Cooper, A. Irving Hallowell, and Paul Radin have provided sturdy scaffolding for subsequent research. Ruth Landes's *Ojibwa Religion and the Midewiwin* (Madison, Wis., 1968) and recent historically oriented works on the Ojibwa by Christopher Vecsey (*Traditional Ojibwa Religion and its Historical Changes*, Philadelphia, 1983) and John A. Grim (*The Shaman: Patterns of Siberian and Ojibwa Healing*, Norman, Okla., 1983) illustrate this continuity. Landes's monograph on *The Prairie Potawatomi* (Madison, Wis., 1970) and James H. Howard's summary of Shawnee ceremonialism (*Shawnee: The Ceremonialism of a Native Indian Tribe and Its Cultural Background*, Athens, Ohio, 1981) enlarge our picture of Algonquian religions.

The Southwest continues as a focus of important research on religion. The complexities of Navajo religion, in particular, have been elucidated in the ethnographic and textual works of David F. Aberle, Leland C. Wyman, Berard Haile, David P. McAllester, Charlotte J. Frisbie, Louise Lamphere, and Gary Witherspoon, as well as in useful work by Sam D. Gill and Karl W. Luckert, both skilled historians of religion. Elsewhere in the Southwest, Alfonso Ortiz, a leading Tewa anthropologist, has written a sensitively informed account of Pueblo religion (*The Tewa World: Space, Time, Being and Becoming in a Pueblo Society*, Chicago, 1969), and Carobeth Laird, an affinal Chemehuevi, has recorded religious materials based on a lifetime of observation in her richly textured *The Chemehuevis* (Banning, Calif., 1976).

Knowledge of Southeast Woodlands Indian religion has been enriched by studies of religious continuities in modern Oklahoma (to which many Southeast Woodlands tribes were forcibly removed in the mid-nineteenth century); William L. Ballard's elegant analysis, entitled *The Yuchi Green Corn Ceremonial* (Los Angeles, 1978), and James G. Howard's *Oklahoma Seminoles: Medicine, Magic, and Religion* (Norman, Okla., 1984) are notable in this regard. Howard also provocatively analyzed the ceremonial complex of the prehistoric Southeast Woodlands Indians in *The Southeastern Ceremonial Complex* (Columbia, Mo., 1968), in which he gains insights from surviving beliefs and practices. A collection of papers edited by Charles M. Hudson, *The Black Drink* (Athens, Ga., 1979), represents another effort to link prehistoric and ethnographic horizons.

The present surge in attention to native religions of North America derives from many sources. Most important is the growing recognition by Indians and non-Indians alike that religion constitutes a viable aspect of past, present, and future North American Indian societies, a point made in Vine Deloria's vigorous manifesto *God is Red* (New York, 1973). Not only have areas such as the Southwest enjoyed unbroken religious continuity, but elsewhere, once-moribund ceremonies—such as the potlatch in the Northwest, the Spirit Dance among the Salish, and the Sun Dance in the Plains—have been revivified. Syncretic and ecumenical native religions are achieving legitimacy, and in many areas Christianity has assumed a distinctively native flavor. These trends reflect changes in the political atmosphere toward native self-determination. Among other developments, passage of the Religious Freedom Act in 1978 has had far-reaching consequences in preserving sacred sites.

Academic concern with indigenous North American religions has grown dramatically in recent years. The establishment of special programs of study in many universities, the increased number of religion scholars of Native American descent, and the seriousness with which indigenous religions are now treated in many theological centers all testify to a new enlightenment. Yet despite the enhanced academic and popular visibility of Native American religions and the proliferation of publications in the field, much groundbreaking work remains. Only the surface has been scratched.

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NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

This entry consists of the following articles:

INDIANS OF THE FAR NORTH
INDIANS OF THE NORTHEAST WOODLANDS
INDIANS OF THE SOUTHEAST WOODLANDS
INDIANS OF THE PLAINS
INDIANS OF THE NORTHWEST COAST [FIRST EDITION]
INDIANS OF THE NORTHWEST COAST [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]
INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA AND THE INTERMOUNTAIN REGION
INDIANS OF THE SOUTHWEST

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS: INDIANS OF THE FAR NORTH

The North American sub-Arctic, home to the indigenous cultures of the far north and the largest region in North America, stretches from Labrador to Alaska and features several ecological zones. Wide swathes of upland and lowland tundra in the coastal areas reflect the former weight of the Laurentide Ice Sheet from the late Pleistocene era. Throughout these sub-Artic tundra areas in both Alaska and Canada, drumlins, glacial moraines, swamps, and post-glacial hummocks provide continuous variation in landforms. In some cases the treeless taiga reaches hundreds of miles longitudinally and latitudinally, into the interior of both Canada and northern and western Alaska. The low-growing sedges, mosses, and lichens provide food and shelter for a plethora of small mammals, indigenous and migratory waterfowl, many species of flies and mosquitoes, and occasional large mammals. The octagonal shapes of post-glacial flora seem flat from a distance, but in actuality are dense with vegetation and hillocks just tall enough to hide the approach of predators for long distances. According to oral traditions, native North Americans have long harvested tundra berries and many species of plants for nutritional and medicinal purposes.

The tundra regions give way to taller shrubs and sedges, and in the interior areas boreal forests provide wood for housing, transportation, and other forms of hunting around the Great Slave Lake, Lake Athabasca in Canada, and the Yukon Flats region in Alaska. Both coniferous and deciduous trees (spruce, cottonwood, alder, birch, tamarack, and poplar) cover this region. In both the eastern and western regions of the southern extension of the sub-Arctic, the boreal forests surround prairies and the northern rain forests of the Pacific.

ADAPTATION TO CLIMATE. The harsh extremes of the climates in the region, including six to eight months of severe winters and correspondingly short summers, set some of the cultural limits of the indigenous peoples. One common feature crossing all cultural boundaries and surviving the passage of time has been the small size of communities. In the past, most sub-Arctic communities were comprised of two or more nuclear families ranging in population from twenty to fifty individuals. The small group sizes reflected the nature of continuous travel with children, and the need to keep noise to a minimum for safety and hunting success. In the present day sub-Arctic communities are inhabited year-round and range in population from a few dozen people to several thousand.

Another dominating feature of pre-colonial social life in the sub-Arctic was reliance on partners. Men and women usually had "same gender" partners among neighboring communities. Partners of this sort depended on each other for protection while in the partner's territory, for temporary housing, and for lifelong friendship. They vouched for each other's credibility and found marriage partners for each other's children. Within their own communities, men and women formed lifelong partnerships among those with whom they hunted, sharing household tasks, family responsibilities, medical and other emergency needs, and company.

Although contemporary societies make desultory attempts at agriculture, none of the indigenous sub-Artic inhabitants appeared to make consistent use of horticulture. Humans depended on hunting and fishing and moss, frond and berry picking. Most of them engaged in seasonal travel between camps, depending on hunting resources such as muskrats in early spring, followed in some areas by caribou and moose hunting in late spring; fishing in lakes and streams during the summer; and early fall hunts for large deer such as caribou and moose. Mid-winter often kept people captive in their dwellings during blizzards, long freezing spells, or heavy snow. They relied during winter on stored food such as dried or smoked meat, fish, berries, and plants. Sometimes their attempts to harvest and successfully prepare food for winter were inadequate. Themes of starvation figure prominently in oral traditions of most of the sub-Arctic nations. Hunting tools included the bola, spears, bows with arrows, and snares designed for most land species from mink to caribou. Weirs, nets, spears, and occasionally hooks served most regions for fishing.

Housing designs varied depending on region, materials available, and traditions. In most areas, dome-shaped structures were made from elaborately woven willows covered with deer hide in the more northerly regions, and bark or straw served as convenient winter structures in the south. The willow housing structure was often made in such a way that it could be transported by sled or boat to the next seasonal camp and covered anew in little time. In Alaska, the Athabascans near the coastal Yup'ik and Inupiat peoples made use of semi-subterranean sod houses for winter. Summer shelters varied significantly by region and culture. Today these structures have given way to year-round framed wooden houses, often subsidized by governmental funding.

Cool, rainy summers in the sub-Arctic can pose a challenge, preventing the collection of adequate dry tinder and wood for smudge fires by which meat and fish can be prepared for winter usage. Additionally, the sub-Arctic is frequently visited by random spring and summer snowfalls, yet another environmental calamity that can prevent families from processing their seasonal catches in time or at all. Hordes of mosquitoes, bot flies, horse flies, and numerous other flying insects often prevent humans (and other animals) from accomplishing planned harvests in a timely manner. The final impact of such disasters occurs in midwinter when supplies dwindle and travel to the nearest human community to get help may prove difficult due to inclement weather.

INDIANS OF THE SUB-ARTIC. European and Asian explorers from the east and west encountered sub-Arctic nations belonging to three linguistic families: the Eskimo-Aleut along the Arctic Ocean; the more than twenty-five Athabascan nations in Alaska and northern Canada; and the fourteen Algonquian nations in eastern Canada, including the Naskapis, Ojibways, Innu (formerly known as Montagnais), and Crees. Among the Algonquian are also included the Abnaki of New Brunswick and Maine (Mi'kmaq, Maleseet, Passamaquoddy, Penobscot, and Abnaki), who have preserved vestiges of their sub-Arctic way of life up to the present. The non-Indian Inuit will not be treated here, as they are the subject of a separate article.

The Algonkians. The three largest Algonkian nations are the Crees, the Naskapis, and the Innus. The Innus of eastern and northern Quebec refer to themselves as Innuat, or human beings. The French explorers early on named them for their mountainous environment, hence Montagnais. Like many First Nations peoples in Canada and the United States, they have reclaimed their indigenous name for themselves. The Innu dwell among heavily forested mountains and river drainages. Like most people of the pre-colonial and colonial sub-Arctic, the Innus spent their time making seasonal trips in quest of subsistence game animals and fish. Among the animals they sought were beaver, about which there are numerous stories that match the large technology that attends hunting and processing both fur and meat from the catch. Besides beaver, the Innu are known for their skill in hunting birds with arrows and darts. Innu fishing technology is similar to that of their Algonkian neighbors as well as most Athabascans to the north. The Innus also used stone fences to guide fish into weirs.

Besides fish, caribou and other large deer used to dominate the Algonkian landscape. Like the Athabascans in Alaska and northern Canada, Algonkian hunters developed skills in organizing annual caribou hunts in which corrals made of stone, willow, sinew, and natural formations of cliff sides, rivers, and lakes formed boundaries to trap caribou. Some of the corrals were open-ended but with a tightened funnel shape through which many deer were expected to escape. The purpose of such corrals was to cull specifically sized deer from the rest of the herd for limited harvests. In such a corral, the hunters, including women as well as men, would fashion snares of varying sizes and set them at appropriate heights for the desired size, gender, and rank of the deer taken. Stone mannikins or inuksuks, found throughout Canada nowadays as decorations or roadside sculptures, were used, in the way farmers use scarecrows, to deceive the caribou into thinking the stones were humans, thus leading them away from freedom toward the corrals.

As might be expected when winter temperatures can reach fifty degrees below zero Celsius (eighty degrees below zero Fahrenheit), survival is a constant theme of human existence in the sub-Arctic. Surprisingly, the freezing temperatures and strong winds pose less of a threat in the sub-Arctic than does starvation. Each of the cultural areas developed and have shared with each other their techniques for clothing construction and the best materials to use for each environmental challenge. Where the appropriate fur-bearing creature cannot be trapped or hunted, trading provides a welcome reason for travel to trade in late winter (February through March), when the still-frozen rivers provide convenient sled or snowshoeing avenues for the entire family.

The Athabascans. Occupying the greatest portion of the sub-Arctic are the Athabascan-speaking nations, of which eleven inhabit Alaska and fourteen or more occupy Canada. Linguistically, the Athabascans speak languages that are closely related to Apache, Navajo, and a number of Pacific coast peoples in northern California and southern Oregon. Culturally there are many aspects of material culture held in common between the Athabascans and the Algonkians. One of the most well known and used by men, women, and children alike are snowshoes. Archeologists conjecture that Athabascans began dog sledding around fifteen hundred years ago in Alaska. Davidson (1937) considers that open-frame snowshoes may have originated with Athabascans. In Davidson's view, the style of snowshoe featuring two pieces of willow or alder bound at toe and heel with babiche and held together with layouts based on a mesh of nested triangles, a distinctively Athabacan design, may be the oldest style of snowshoe. A frequent character appearing in Athabascan narratives is He-Who-Faces-Ahead-and-Behind. Often a villain, He-Who-Faces-Ahead-and-Behind provides mystery and tension, much as the tracks of Athabascan snowshoes, pointed at both ends, bewilder the person who happens upon them as to the direction the snowshoer may have taken.

Athabascan values are centered on self-sufficiency, hard work, and family. In-born in Athabascan cultures is the tension between individual autonomy and expectations that one's extended family is more important that any given individual. All Athabascan stories and ritual activities engage in explorations of this core area of trouble and offer three modes of resolution: humor, generosity, and respect. Stories reflect the terrors befalling people who fail to meet any of those standards, and life cycle potlatches, particularly memorial potlatches, provide ritualized opportunities for elders and others who have established their authority in the community to remind the others of their obligations to share with each other, cooperate with each other, and to follow relatively informal rules of protocol in social areas. The most rigidly enforced rule of behavior is silence and waiting before speaking. Long pauses, by American or European standards, between the end of one person's speech and the next fill every notion of respect for reciprocal relations between humans, the spirit world, and the rest of the natural world.

The sub-Arctic methodologies for survival reflect ingenious adaptation to their inland environments, and therefore make a strong contrast with the material cultures of the Inuit along the Arctic coast, who have a complex toolkit specialized for maritime hunting and weather. Another distinctive contrast between Inuit peoples and their interior counterparts is the abundance of subsistence resources. Cold and ice-jammed as the coastlines in the Arctic may be, they provide larger game animals in greater frequency than can be found in the sub-Arctic. The Algonkian and Athabascan peoples have designed a wide array of tools and methods of processing food to meet the ever-constant threat of uneven harvests throughout the year. Algonkian and Athabascan religious traditions all reflect the domination of the climate, the need for reliable means of providing food to growing families on a daily basis, and the dangers represented by animals that are larger, more aggressive, and better suited biologically to hunt, survive, and defend themselves from their enemies. Constant awareness of the need to survive these elements of life in the sub-Arctic serves as a common denominator of the human experience, which is awareness of human vulnerability in a world that treats human beings as subsistence resources rather than as predators and dominators of the world.

MYTHOLOGY. As Nelson (1983) observed about the Koyukon of the Yukon and Koyukuk Rivers in Alaska, the Athabascan world is alive and always watching its human inhabitants. Even thoughts become apparent to the animals, plants, and other environmental factors such as wind, mountains, rivers, and air that pass judgment on the struggling sub-Arctic hunters. Epistemological tenets in the sub-Arctic religious traditions inform humans that their hierarchical position in the combined worlds is low, that all other creatures in the natural and spiritual worlds have powers that can harm human beings and interfere with human efforts. Failure to be respectful, generous, loving, or loyal to one's human companions as well as all creatures in the environment can result in the "withholding" of hunting success or good food processing conditions from people whose central theme is survival. Mythological figures fit imagery complying with the omniscience of the physical and spiritual worlds.

Four genres of myth are common in Algonkian and Athabascan oral traditions. The first genre consists of ontological stories designed to enculturate youth about the key forces in the natural, social, and spiritual worlds. The second involves voyager stories in which one and sometimes two characters travel to new places, either populating the world as the first of any given species or performing key actions or behaviors for the first time. Petitot (1886) argued that these stories make up a large pantheon of tales that fit into a large opus of narrative similar to the Iroquoian creation stories. The third genre is made up of morality stories featuring a frightening being of indeterminate ontology who lurks in the forests causing trouble, abducting children, or simply frightening people.

The Gwich'in Athabascans of both Alaska and Canada refer to such entities as *nain*, and in Koyukon they are called *nicolina*. Algonkian stories are rife with a similar entity known as Windigo, varying from story to story as a tall man or as a tree. The fourth genre consists of raven stories in Alaska and parts of Canada that serve to explain family relations, in which the raven plays the part of the relation one must regard with simultaneous suspicion and respect.

As nineteenth-century writers like Petitot discovered, Canadian mythologies reveal a chronological, environmental, and social order that complies with social norms of both Athabascan and Algonkian cultures. Mythological tradition is structured by epochal events beginning with a time in which all beings spoke the same language and understood each other's social needs. Petitot wrote of two Dene (Athabascan) first people, a mythological woman who wore dentallium shells and her husband, Ko'ehdan (The Man without Fire), who named her Ch'atthan Vee (Dentallium Shell Woman) in eastern Gwich'in and Latpatsandia (Prize

Woman) in western Gwich'in after he rescued her from her Inuit abductors. The term *Ch'atthan* calls to mind the White Shell Woman in the Apache and Navajo (southern Athabascan language speakers) creation stories, although in fact it carries a direct reference to the Tlingit traders of the Pacific Coast, as dentallium shells were once highly prized trade goods the Athabascans sought from the Northwest Coast. Ko'ehdan by turns reveals his shamanic powers in many adventures, including his blindness and subsequent recovery of his vision. The couple had two sons: the younger is mischievous and the elder is heroic. The brothers engage in adventures that give rise to the voyager or traveler stories known throughout the sub-Arctic. Among the Gwich'in Athabascans, the older brother is known as Vasaagihdzak. The pair of brothers figure together and separately in a number of stories.

EPOCHS OF THE WORLD. Generally speaking, the sub-Arctic oral traditions fall into three eras or stages (see Jetté, 1907; Osgood, 1932; and Goddard, 1917). In the earliest period there were no divisions between living creatures; each could assume any animal's form and discard it again at will. All moving creatures spoke a single language; no barriers stood in the way of understanding. A second period began with the birth of a culture hero (woman or man) whose identity changes by region, language and culture. The culture hero is a great teacher and leader. Material and spiritual knowledge derived from the culture hero. The house, tent, snowshoe, sled, bark canoe, bow, arrow, lance, and knife—in short, all material cultural objects—stem from the culture hero, as does knowledge of the land of the dead, the stars and constellations, the sun, the moon, and the calendar months. In an Algonkian version, a male culture hero ordered the muskrat to dive into the water to begin creation of the world from the mud that was brought up. This story is patterned along lines similar to Iroquoian, Mayan, Aztecan, and other more southern Native American mythologies. The third epoch is the present time, and genealogy plays an important role in explaining one's role in society. Culture heroes are shamans who continue to mediate between the spirit world and the physical world. Oral traditions in the third era are located in the family and the region, and reveal historical specificity.

Cultural differences prevail, emphasizing differing ontological realities. For example, among the Koyukon, the northwestern-most Athabascan nation in Alaska, oral traditions address five world periods: the hazy time before there was light on the earth; the epoch when man could change into animals and animals could change into men; the time when the traveler created the present state; the past time of legends; and the present as far back as memory reaches (Clark, 1981, p. 595).

UNITY BETWEEN REALMS. The mythologies of each region in the sub-Arctic represent worldviews, ontologies, and epistemologies that organized the unity of life for each human being within the province of the tale. Such worldviews persist today in traditional beliefs and customs recalling events or conditions revealed in each epoch. Especially important are the earliest periods in which boundaries between human, natural, and spiritual worlds are permeated, inhabited, and fully understandable as such. An important theme contained in the mediation between realms is unity, harmony, and peace throughout the known world of each nation occupying the sub-Arctic. By the ontological rules represented in their oral traditions, the Gwich'in (formerly known as Kutchin), a northern Athabascan nation inhabiting the region between the Mackenzie River delta and the upper Yukon in both Alaska and Canada, possess a special relationship with the caribou. Ontologically, every Gwich'in human being carries a small piece of caribou heart, and likewise, every caribou holds a portion of human heart. Hence, each of these partners knows what the other feels and thinks (Slobodin, 1981, p. 526). The Sekani of British Columbia believe that a mystical bond links human beings and other animals (Denniston, 1981, p. 439). The Koyukon call the bear "Grandfather" and the wolf "Brother" (Clark, 1981, p. 593). The Chipewyan, an Athabascan nation west of Hudson Bay, identify with the wolf (Smith, 1981, p. 279). The names of certain Athabascan nations—Dunne-Za (formerly known as Beaver), Dogrib, Hare—point to familial ties with certain animals. In all of these examples we hear an echo of the earliest epoch, when a common language prevailed and all creatures had the ability to transform themselves and thus to overcome every barrier between them.

THE CULTURE HERO. Legends about culture heroes continue to be popular in the sub-Arctic literary canon. Athabascans nickname their sons Ko'ehdan after The Man without Fire, and many eastern Athabascan storytellers recount episodes of his mythic life. The figure of the hero is well developed by Algonquians of the Atlantic coast. The Mi'kmaq of Cape Breton Island, for example, call the teacher of mankind Kuloscap ("liar" or "deceiver") because he always does the opposite of what he says he will do. Oral traditions of the Maliseet of New Brunswick hold forth Gluscap, a culture hero whose adventures are remarkably akin to those of the Mi'kmaq and the Passamaquody. The settings and events of Kuloscap's life still can be seen in the natural features of the maritime sea and landscapes. Cape Breton Island abounds in references to the hero. Every large rock, every river, every waterfall, testifies to his deeds.

All the sub-Arctic Indians have a similar mythical geography. West of the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet, other names for the culture hero emerge. In Labrador the Montagnais-Naskapi call their culture hero *Little Man* or *Perfect Man.* The Cree on either side of James Bay refer to the *One Set in Flames* or the *Burning One.* Among the Chipewyan Athabascans, he is called *Raised by His Grandmother.* Among the Dunne-Za Athabascans, he is called *He Goes along the Shore.*

Northern Athabascan mythological names exploit their various culture heroes' wanderlust. In the Canadian northern lake regions, the Gwich'in, Koyukon, and Kolchan names for their traveler have been translated as the Wanderer, Ferryman, Celestial Traveler, He Paddled the Wrong Way, He Who Went Off Visiting by Canoe, or One Who Is Paddling Around, designations that refer to a particular task of the hero. He is said to labor continuously to combat giants, cannibals, and monsters for the benefit of mankind. The mass of fantasy figures in whose deeds the mythologies abound—such minor heroes as Moon Boy, Moon Dweller, Shrew, Moss Child, Wonder Child, White Horizon, the Hero with the Magic Wand—follow the same path as the tireless figure of the Wanderer. The designation *First Brother* reveals that pairs of brothers also appear among these parallels to the great culture hero.

Robin Ridington's 1978 account of the religious culture of the Dunne-Za Athabascans of Alberta is the most vivid report we have about an Athabascan people. The emergence of a genuinely sub-Arctic world genesis is remarkable in itself, but of equal importance is the picture of the culture hero, Saya (Swan), that Ridington brings to light. The Dunne-Za view this figure as a paradigm of their most important cultural values. Saya illustrates the means by which young men acquire spirit guides and a song bearing his medicine power. In the myths, Saya eliminates the hostile monsters and teaches humans (both male and female) to hunt and to avoid being caught unprepared for unexpected danger. Daily life mirrors the epistemological expectations presented in Athabascan oral traditions about their culture heroes.

In winter, people of the sub-Arctic abide in their winter dwellings rather than attempt to hunt for animals that are either emaciated themselves or hidden in hibernation. During this time of year, people tell stories to while away long periods of inactivity. Rituals, such as the Athabascan funeral and memorial potlatches, occur irregularly, but some activities have become routinely attached to a time of year. For example, many Athabascan nations in Alaska and Canada engage in riddling contests. Such contests, like the Messenger Feasts of the Inuit, are planned events in which one community invites another community to feast with them. Gifts are mandatory, but the decision about which community provides the gifts depends on which is unsuccessful in solving a riddle posed by the other group. Riddling feasts usually happen in winter.

In spring, the return of specific species and the emergence of new plant life are celebrated in ritual. The national holiday of the Mi'kmaq, Saint Anne's Day (26 July), is a blend of Christian and Indian traditions and celebrated with games, dances, singing and feasting. The Koyukon, for example, celebrate the winter solstice, a time at which they also honor their dead. It is the time "when the long and short days meet" (Clark, 1981, p. 593). Implicit in that phrase is precise knowledge of the movements of the sun, moon, and stars, all part of the hunters' knowledge base for finding his or her way to and from homesites.

SUB-ARTIC INDIANS AND A SUPREME BEING. Early explorers sought terms among indigenous peoples of the sub-Arctic regarding a supreme being, but instead they encountered numerous terms for indeterminate powers dominating the lives of all creatures. The Gwich'in Athabascans of Canada and Alaska refer to them by two terms, K'eegwaadhat and Vit'eegw__hchy'aa. K'eegwaadhat means both *heat* and *that which gives orders.* Vit'eegw__hchy'aa means *that upon which we depend.* Both terms refer to something powerful and ubiquitous with no identifiable physical construction. In common with other cultures of the sub-Arctic, Gwich'in leaders had to demonstrate prowess in communication with the sacred for hunting, war, trading, and healing to gain the respect of their communities. Much of this activity was related to dreams that contained prophetic data. Leadership in the sub-Arctic reflects standards of life in an unmerciful environment as well as continental attitudes toward the nature of power. In the sub-Arctic, a crucial aspect of the ineffable quality of the numinous has been its lack of interest in any being, humans included.

Life in the harsh sub-Arctic environment has led to religious and social theories that expect no special treatment from either the natural or spiritual realms, but expect punishment for egocentric behavior. Leaders are thus faced with a dilemma, which is to remain self-effacing while giving orders, making hard decisions, and pulling together human resources to perform community efforts together. Motivational factors stem from demonstrations of shamanic power, thus displacing cause from the personal motives of the leader to the numinous. Like ordinary hunters (both women and men), who act upon dreams or other signals from the numinous, leaders are expected to receive ideas or corroboration for their decisions directly from the unseen forces of the universe. The disparity between these two opposing issues finds resolution through the union of two concepts of strength: vat'aii (personal strength) and dat'aii (public strength). In this sense, the Gwich'in are metaphorically reminded that these two realms of behavior are supposed to co-exist harmoniously. The net effect is that Gwich'in leaders come and go, but individual projects succeed through communal action and need.

SHAMANISM. Central to all hunting, medical, and life cycle events is the development of shamanic skills. Every hunter is expected to develop his or her shamanic skills to the greatest extent possible. While both men and women are viewed as equally capable of such power, shamanic power is generally thought of as weaker than the power of women to create life. As a consequence, most sub-Arctic cultures include numerous prohibitions against contact between men or men's hunting tools and women engaged in their creative powers, meaning menses, pregnancy, or nursing.

Common to all Arctic and sub-Arctic peoples are principles of mutual interdependence and individual autonomy in the face of imminent danger and starvation. Thus, adherence to such cultural norms follows lines of cultural logic that are substantiated time and again through oral traditions. Sub-Arctic shamans are reputed to engage in a number of feats, including healing through surgery and herbs, levitation and transportation. All such abilities reflect cultural epistemologies about reciprocal relationships between humans, animals, plants, and entities of the spirit world. The most common ability, Dreaming, makes prophecies about the specific location and markings of wildlife. The many who have researched sub-Arctic dreaming customs include Hugh Brody (1981) in northeastern British Columbia and Jean-Guy A. Goulet (1994) among the Dénés Tha (formerly known as Slavey Athabascans). Marie-Françoise Guédon (1994), in a comparison of the Ahtna of Alaska and the Nabesna of British Columbia, describes a revitalization of shamanic dreaming in both regions. In addition, Ronald Niezen (1998) describes a similar investment in reciprocal relationships between humans, nature, and the spiritual world among the James Bay Cree.

The word *shaman* derives from Tunguz and is thus a foreign term in Indian languages. Indigenous names, equivalents of *clairvoyant, dream doctor, singer, and dreamer* (DeLaguna and McClellan, 1981, pp. 660 ff.), or *shadow man, arrogant one, and head full of songs* (Petitot, 1876, p. 224), are translations of concepts far removed from European comparables such as *medicine man, sorcerer,* and *magician.*

The shaman's important and essential characteristics are attained through dreams. The visions befall selected candidates. The chosen must have a "peculiar aptitude" (Snow, 1981, p. 607), but family inheritance can also play a role. The strength of a shaman depends on spirit helpers that are either acquired through dreams or inherited from his father or his maternal uncle. Every hunter has one such helper, acquired in the years of childhood through *dream-fasting,* but the shaman has at least half a dozen. The spirits manifest themselves in the form of animals, in natural phenomena such as the sun and the moon, or in the souls of deceased shamans (Lane, 1981, p. 409).

CONCLUSION. The sub-Arctic is a large region with relatively few human occupants. Life for humans in pre-colonial eras was fraught with constant fear of unpredictable catastrophic events; tension arising from requirements to be self-sufficient while supporting the rest of one's family and self-effacing while demonstrating amazing shamanic gifts; and emotional upheaval when family members died or became disabled. Religious traditions in the sub-Arctic reflect cultural efforts to resolve these frequent situations and constant fears through development of ritual behaviors to express pain, grief, anger, and fear. Mythologies of this region also educate the young about matters of great technological and environmental importance, and likewise offer a means to communicate personal and cultural histories through one of the few methods of community entertainment, storytelling. Oral traditions also enculturate youth into awareness of moral behaviors, such as the need for men to avoid sexual feelings toward their mothers and sisters, and women in menses and pregnancy to avoid contact with men and their equipment. Each of these prohibitions fits into a holistic union of social and spiritual harmony that honors two forms of spiritual power: the power to predict weather, warfare and subsistence resources and the power to create new life. Men and women of the sub-Arctic are expected to be equals in terms of providing food and shelter for each other, but different in terms of life cycle events and usage of spiritual powers.

SEE ALSO Dreaming, The; Inuit Religious Traditions; Sun Dance.

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NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS: INDIANS OF THE NORTHEAST WOODLANDS

The Northeast Woodlands peoples occupy an area within 90° to 70° west longitude and 35° to 47° north latitude. The region can be divided into three smaller geographical areas: (1) the upper Great Lakes and Ohio River Valley region, (2) the lower Great Lakes, and (3) the coastal region. Their settlement patterns varied from the northern nomadic hunting groups of extended families through combined bands in semisedentary villages to relatively permanent agricultural settlements. The organization of lineage descent was matrilineal among the Iroquoian-speaking peoples, matrilineal or bilateral among the coastal Algonquian-speaking peoples, patrilineal or bilateral among the upper Great Lakes and Ohio River Algonquian- and Siouan-speaking peoples. Population density in the Northeast varied. At the time of first contact with Europeans the number of persons per hundred square kilometers was ten to twenty-five in the upper Great Lakes and Ohio River areas; twenty-five to sixty in the lower Great Lakes region; and among the coastal Algonquian from three hundred in the Virginia-North Carolina area and decreasing northerly to fewer than twenty-five in the more northern regions of New England (Driver, 1969). These conservative estimates have been extensively challenged causing revisions that suggest significantly higher populations in these areas (Dobyns, 1983 and Thornton, 1987).

The most prominent tribes, divided according to language group, are (1) Algonquian-speaking (Southern Ojibwa, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Menomini, Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, Miami, Illinois, Shawnee, Narraganset, Mohican, Delaware, Nanticoke, and Powhatan), (2) Iroquoian-speaking (Huron, Erie, Neutral, Petun, Seneca, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Mohawk, and Tuscarora), and (3) Siouan-speaking (Winnebago, Tutelo).

The oldest ethnographic material that scholars now rely on deals with these people as they were originally situated. However, significant materials have been gathered subsequently as different tribes either migrated or reorganized on reservations.

These Indian peoples began a period of intense movement in the seventeenth century or earlier, which has continued for many tribes into the present century. Although discussion of these movements will not be undertaken here, no treatment of the religious life of these people can be attempted without acknowledging the intensely disruptive experiences of the past four centuries. The severing of cultural and religious ties to specific geographical locations has been seen by some Native American religious leaders not simply as a loss of natural resources but as a sacrificial or holocaust event with profound consequences for the survival of individual tribes and their religious practices. In particular, the loss of ancient ancestral sites has disrupted the linkage between the North American Indian peoples and the land through which the insights, power and meaning of their religious culture manifested itself.

COSMOLOGICAL BELIEFS. The cosmological beliefs of the Northeast Woodlands peoples involve the concept of power as manifested in the land, in the dialectic of the sacred and the profane, and in patterns of space and time. According to the mythic thought of these peoples, power is that transformative presence most clearly seen in the cycles of the day and the seasons, in the fecund earth, and in the visions and deeds of spirits, ancestors, and living people. This numinous power is so manifestly present that no verbal explanation of it is adequate; rather it is itself the explanation of all transformations in life. While generally regarded as neutral, power may be used for good or ill by individuals.

Power. This all-pervasive power is expressed among Algonquian-speaking tribes by the word *manitou* or one of its linguistic variants. *Manitou* is a personal revelatory experience usually manifested in dreams or in visions of a spirit who is capable of transformation into a specific human or animal form. The efficacy of power is symbolized as "medicine," either as a tangible object reverently kept in a bundle or as an intangible "charm" possessed internally. The term *manitou* is used here to indicate both the singular form of power as the binding concept throughout the highly individual Algonquian belief systems and as the plural form of tutelary spirits who embody such binding force. *Manitou*, in its various contexts, has both noun forms that indicate entities that empower and verb forms that indicate a moral responsibility to cultivate power. While individually experienced, these plural forms of power manifestation reached their highest religious expresion in actions undertaken for the benefit of the community as a whole.

The belief in *manitou* can be found among the coastal Algonquians from New England to North Carolina. Similarities may be seen in the name for the Great Manitou: for the Narraganset he was Kautantowwit and for the Penobscot, Ktahandowit. The Delaware worshiped as Great Manitou a spirit called Keetan'to-wit, who had eleven assistants (*manitowuks*), each having control over one of eleven hierarchically organized "heavens." The most ancient of the *manitou* was Our Grandfather, the great tortoise who carries the earth on his back. The Virginia Algonquians called those *manitou* who were benevolent *quiyoughcosuck*; this was also the name given to their priests. The evil *manitou* were called *tagkanysough*. Southeast Woodlands influences led to the depiction of *manitou* in carvings and statues, usually found in the sacred architecture of the North Carolina and Virginia Algonquians.

The Huron concept of *oki* referred both to a superabundance of power or ability and to spirit-forces of the cosmos, or guardian spirits. An *oki* could be either benevolent or malevolent. The supreme *oki*, Iouskeha, dwelt in the sky, watched over the seasons and the affairs of humans, witnessed to vows, made crops grow, and owned the animals. He had an evil brother, Tawiskaron.

The Iroquois *orenda*, a magico-religious force, was exercised by spirit-forces called Otkon and Oyaron; it was present in humans, animals, or objects that displayed excessive power, great ability, or large size. The Iroquois had a dualistic system whereby all of the spirit-forces deemed good were associated with the Good Twin and all of those deemed evil with his brother the Evil Twin.

The land. In many of the mythologies of the peoples of the Northeast Woodlands this cosmic power was intimately connected with the land. In their origin myth, the Menomini relate that they came into existence near the mouth of the Menominee River in Wisconsin; here two bears emerged from the earth and became the first man and woman. Near Fond du Lac, where a prominent rock ledge projects into Lake Winnebago, three thunderbirds descended and also became humans. Thus the Menomini use sacred stories associated with the local landscape to mark their origin as well as to relate the division of the tribe into earth and sky clans. The interweaving of tribal myth and sacred geography serves to integrate the community into both personal and cosmic levels of meaning. The intimate relationship of these Algonquian speakers with the land was reflected in their image of the land as Nokomis ("grandmother earth"), who nurtured her grandchildren.

A Seneca myth derives the presence and power of the land from twin sources: the mud brought up by Muskrat, the earth-diver, from the deep waters and deposited onto the back of Great Turtle; and the soil and seeds grasped from the sky world by Mature Flowers as she fell through a hole in the sky and was lowered by fowl onto the back of Great Turtle.

This intimacy of kinship with the earth was also part of an elaborate hierarchical perspective that located the earth within a vast schema of layers of power in the cosmos. These plural expressions have been labeled pantheism but this term stresses an abstract and conceptual sense of divinity rather than the place-based, ecological, and communitarian ideals evident in Algonkian religious thought. Both the Algonquian speakers and the Siouan-speaking Winnebago developed cosmologies in which the heavens above and the earth regions below were seen as layered in hierarchies of beneficial and harmful spirits. The highest power was the supreme being called Great Spirit by the Potawatomi, Ottawa, Miami, and Ojibwa; Master of Life by the Menomini, Sauk, and Fox; Finisher by the Shawnee and Kickapoo; and Earthmaker by the Winnebago. Among the Iroqouian peoples, the highest power was known by several names: the Master of Life, Sky-Holder, the Good-Minded Twin and Creator. This "great mysterious" presence maintained a unique relationship with the last and weakest members of creation, namely, human beings.

Spirit-forces. Power and guidance entered human existence from the cosmic spirit-forces, from the guardian spirits of individuals and medicine societies, and from spirits of charms, bundles, and masks. Dreams, in particular, were a vehicle for contacting power and thus gaining guidance for political and military decisions. New songs, dances, and customs were often received by the dreamer and were used to energize and reorder cultural life; dreams channeled power as consolation and hope during times of crisis, and often initiated contact between visionary power and the shamans. One means of describing the human experience of this cosmic power is through the dialectic of the sacred and the profane.

This dialectic is useful even though the Northeast Woodlands peoples did not draw a sharp distinction between the sacred and profane. The dialectic refers to the inner logic of the manifestation of numinous power through certain symbols. Profane objects, events, or persons might become embodiments of the sacred in moments of hierophany. This manifestation of the sacred in and through the profane frequently became the inspiration for sacred stories and mythologies that narrated the tribal lore. Among the Winnebago and other Northeast Woodlands peoples, narrative stories were distinguished as *worak* ("what is recounted") and *waika* ("what is sacred"). Telling the *worak* stories of heroes, human tragedy, and memorable events was a profane event, whereas narrating the *waika* stories evoked the spirits and was therefore a sacred ritual. Thus the ordinary act of speaking could become the hierophany that manifests power. Not only narrative but also the interweaving of sacred space and time gave real dimensions to cosmic power.

Sacred space. A place of orientation that provides individuals or groups with a sense of both an integrating center and a cosmic boundary is called "sacred space." This concept is exemplified by the Medicine society's rite, which originated among the Ojibwa and was transmitted throughout the eighteenth century to the other tribes of the upper Great Lakes. For this Medicine rite a special lodge was constructed of arched trees, covering an earthen floor with a rock and an elaborate pole in the center. These items varied slightly throughout the area of the ritual's diffusion, but in every instance they were used to delineate sacred space and to symbolize the cosmos. For the Winnebago, the arched trees of the lodge symbolized the water spirits (snakes who occupied the four cardinal directions). For the Potawatomi the earthen floor was Nokomis ("grandmother earth"). Among the Sauk the central stone in the lodge indicated the abiding presence of power. For the Ojibwa, originators of this ceremony, which they called Midewiwin ("mystic doings"), the pole symbolized the cosmic tree that penetrated the multilayered universe and united all the assembled *manitou.*

Iroquoian and coastal Algonquian peoples lived in rectangular "longhouses" or "big houses," in groups comprised of several matrilineally connected families. That the longhouses and big houses were seen as microcosms is most clearly reflected in the symbolism of the Delaware big house. The floor and ceiling represented the earth and sky, respectively. There was a door where the sun rose and a door where the sun set, and these doors were connected by the ceremonial Good White Path, symbolizing the journey human beings make from birth toward death. The fact that there was a door, an opening toward the west, and the fact that the dances eventually circled back, point to the Delaware hope in an afterlife and, for some, a rebirth. Ritual movement in relation to the sacred architecture suggests a concern for the flow of relational meaning and identity rather than fixed or hieratic devotional presences. In the center of the big house stood a post with a carved face that was made from a tree and that symbolized the *axis mundi*; from its base the post was believed to run upward through the twelve cosmic levels, the last being the place of the Great Manitou. This post was the staff of the Great Manitou, whose power filled all creation. Power manifested in the spirits was symbolized by the faces carved into low posts situated around the inside of the big house.

Sacred time. The period of contact with sustaining power is "sacred time." Such contact was believed to occur in the movement of the seasons, the fecundity of nature, and the personal life cycle. Among the native peoples of the upper Great Lakes, time was also sacralized in the narratives and rituals that reconstituted the mythic time of *manitou* revelation. During the Menomini Mitawin, or Medicine rite, while the origin myth of the ceremony itself was narrated, the society members imagistically participated in the original assembly of the *manitou* who began the ceremony in mythic time. Such an evocation of relationship with cosmic powers and identification with them in the oral narratives structured an experience of sacred time.

The Delaware Big House ceremony evoked powers that made possible the transition from the old year of chaos to the new year of cosmos. The origin myth narrated during that ceremony set the context for a renewal of the earth and of the tribe's binding relationships with the spirit-forces. The myth related that long ago the very foundation of life itself, the earth, was split open by a devastating quake. The forces of evil and chaos erupted from the underworld in the form of dust, smoke, and a black liquid: all creatures were struck with fear at these events. The humans then met in council and concluded that the disruptions had occurred because they had neglected their proper relationship with the Great Manitou. They prayed for power and guidance. The *manitou* spoke to them in dreams, telling them how to build a house that would recreate the cosmos and how to conduct a ceremony that would evoke the power to sustain it. This ceremony would establish their moral relationship with the *manitou*, and by the carvings of their *mesingw* ("faces") on the posts an identification with each of these cosmic forces would occur as one moved ritually along the Good White Path.

Furthermore, the recitation of puberty dream-visions would renew and revivify the individual's relationship with his or her personal *manitou.* The old time was one of impurity, symbolized by dirt and smoke. To make the transition into sacred time everyone and everything had to be purified, including attendants, reciters of dreams, and the big house itself. Purifying fires burned on either side of the center post. Power objects or persons from different religious contexts such as menstruating women were considered inappropriate to enter the Big House at this time.

The Iroquois Midwinter ceremony renews life at the turning of the year. Ashes are stirred, prior dreams and cures renewed, stories are told and ceremonies performed. At the center is the Tobacco Invocation which begs all the spirit-powers of the universe to perform their duties as assigned by the Creator in the coming year. And as the seasons and subsistence activities unfold during the year, the Thanksgiving Address, which opens each of a sequence of celebratory ceremonies, gives thanks to the Creator and all spirit-powers for responding to the Midwinter prayers of the people.

CEREMONIAL PRACTICES. Some understanding of the rich and complex ritual life of the Northeast Woodlands peoples can be obtained by considering selected ceremonies concerned with subsistence, life cycles, and personal, clan, and society visions.

Subsistence. Through subsistence rituals, tribes contacted power to ensure the success of hunting, fishing, or trapping; gathering of herbs, fruits, or root crops; and agricultural endeavors. Among the Sauk and Menomini there were both private and public ceremonials for hunting that focused on sacred objects now generically labeled "medicine" in English. The large public medicine-bundles of three types were believed to have been obtained by the trickster-culture hero Manabus from the Grandfathers, or *manitou* spirits. The first hunting bundle, called Misasakiwis, helped to defeat the malicious medicine people who tried to foil the hunter's success. Both the second bundle, Kitagasa Muskiki (made of a fawn's skin), and the third (a bundle with deer, wolf, and owl skins), fostered hunting success. Each bundle might contain a variety of power objects such as animal skins, miniature hunting implements, wooden figures, herbal preparations, and often an actual scent to lure animals. The bundle's owner obtained the right to assemble or purchase such a bundle from a personal vision. Songs, especially, evoked the powers of the bundle; these songs often recalled the agreement between the visionary and the *manitou* as well as the prohibitions and obligations that impinged upon the owner of a bundle. In this way the bundle owner, and the hunters he aided, thwarted the evil ones and contacted the *manitou* masters of the hunted animals. Thus power objects from the environment, along with the empowered hunters, chanting, and the ritually imaged *manitou*-spirits, functioned together to bring sustenance to the people.

Although the growing season varied within the Northeast, most of these peoples practiced some form of agriculture. With the introduction of agriculture new symbol complexes developed, giving meaning and power to this new subsistence activity and integrating it into the larger cosmic order. The northern Iroquois, for example, linked together woman, earth, moon, and the cycles of birth and death.

According to northern Iroquois mythology, agricultural products first emerged from the dead body of the Creator's mother. Out of her breasts grew two corn- stalks, and from her arms and body came beans and squash. Her death had been caused by the Creator's evil-minded brother, who was frequently associated with winter and ice. In giving birth to winter the Earth Mother "dies," but she brings forth life in the spring. The gathering of plants and the planting of crops were also the practical tasks of Iroquois women. Consequently, these women played a key role in scheduling and celebrating the ceremonies marking the yearly cycle of life: the Our-Life-Supporters Dances, the Bush Dance, and the Maple, Seed Planting, Strawberry, Raspberry, Green Bean, Little Corn, Green Corn, and Harvest rituals.

The spirit of the Earth Mother was also made into the Moon by her son, the Creator (or Master) of Life. Grandmother Moon was connected with life, as it was her duty to watch over all living things during the night. The monthly cycle of the moon and the yearly cycle of vegetation were associated with the mystery of life, death, and rebirth; women and the earth were seen as connected because they both have the power to bring forth and nourish life.

The domestic ceremony of apology for taking life is also found among all these Northeast Woodlands people. This profound yet often simple ceremony illustrates the moral character of the force that was believed to bind the cosmos together. The ceremony consisted of a spoken apology and a gift of sacred tobacco for the disturbance caused to the web of life by taking animal life, cutting trees, gathering plants, or taking minerals. For example, William Jones, in his *Ethnography of the Fox Indians* (1939), quotes a Fox tribesman as saying: "We do not like to harm trees. Whenever we can, we always make an offering of tobacco to the trees before we cut them down. If we did not think of their feelings . . . before cutting them down, all the other trees in the forest would weep, and that would make our hearts sad, too" (p. 21). This ceremony is both a thanksgiving for the blessing of a material boon and an acknowledgment of the environmental ethics that binds the human and natural worlds.

Life cycles. Life-cycle rites of passage are illuminating examples of these peoples' recognition that the passage through life's stages required a structured encounter with power. These ceremonies included private actions that invoked power at liminal moments such as menstruation, marriage, and birth. For example, menstruating women withdrew to specially constructed lodges, and the marriage ceremony was generally validated by an extensive exchange of gifts between families. Similarly, conception was ensured by protective fetal spirits, and new birth required a period of seclusion for purification of the mother and cradle-amulets for the child. Although there were taboos surrounding pregnancy and delivery, there were no elaborate birth rituals among the northern Iroquois or coastal Algonquians. Other life-cycle ceremonials, however, were marked by elaborate ritual activities, such as naming, puberty, and death ceremonies.

Birth and early childhood. Naming ceremonies arise both from the belief that humans are born weak and require power for growth and survival as well as a belief that new life should be introduced into the cosmos. Generally, two types of naming ceremonies have been found. Among the Southeast Woodlands tribes a child was given an ancestral clan name. This situated that child in the clan lineage and empowered the child by directly connecting him or her to the ancestral vision embodied in the clan medicine bundles. Another ceremony associated with the Menomini, Potawatomi, Ojibwa, and Ottawa, but occasionally practiced by the other groups, involved naming by virtue of a dream vision. In this ritual a person was chosen by the parents to undergo a fast or a sweat lodge purification so that they might receive a name for the child from the *manitou.*

Among the Iroquois and Delaware the naming ceremony, which was conducted in the longhouse, was the most significant ritual of early childhood. Delaware parents were attentive to their dreams for a revelation of the name. They would give their child to an elder in the big house who would announce the child's name and offer prayers of blessing for it. A similar ceremony would be conducted for an adult who decided to change his or her name due to a significant deed or because the first name no longer seemed appropriate. The Huron pierced the ears of the child and named it shortly after birth; the child's name then belonged to the clan and could not be used by another member of the tribe. The Iroquois named their children either at the Green Corn ceremony in the summer or before the Midwinter ceremonies. A child who resembled a dead ancestor might be given his or her name since it was believed that the name might have some of the ancestor's personality. The name remained the child's exclusive privilege and the focus of his or her early spiritual formation until the puberty ceremonials.

Puberty. It is uncertain whether the puberty rites of the Algonquians of Virginia and North Carolina involved a vision quest. However, the vision quest was part of the puberty rites of all of the upper Great Lakes peoples with variations according to the tribe. Some southern Ohio River groups such as the Shawnee emphasized less ecstatic experiences such as a boy's first kill. Among the Potawatomi, however, on specially designated mornings the parents or grandparents would offer a youth in his or her early teens a choice of food or charcoal. Encouraged to choose the charcoal and to blacken their faces, the youngsters were taken to an isolated place, often to perch in the limbs of a tree. There, alone, they fasted for dream visions. Although boys and girls might undertake vision quests, many tribes in this area had special ceremonies for girls.

The northern Iroquois, the Delaware, and the coastal Algonquians secluded girls in huts during their first menstruation. Among the Delaware the girls observed strict rules regarding food, drink, and bodily care; while in seclusion they wore blankets over their heads, and they were not permitted to leave the huts until their second menstrual period. This rite signified a girl's eligibility for marriage. There is evidence that some northern Iroquoians did not seclude their women during menstruation, although certain taboos had to be observed.

Among the Kickapoo a young girl was isolated from the village in a small hut during her first menses. Tended by her female kin, the girl followed strict prohibitions. Her dreams, like those of the isolated youth in the forest, were of special importance. Accounts of these momentous visions and dreams speak of encounters with tutelary *manitou* who bestowed blessings. Visions of such entities as wind, trees, fire, or birds, were all considered symbolic indications of the young person's future life. A successful dreamer might narrate part or all of his or her dream to an elderly family member or a shaman empowered to interpret dreams. This dream-vision was a means of acquiring psychic integration and spiritual strength so as to meet the challenges of life and death.

One of the most striking puberty rites was the Huskanawe of the Algonquians of Virginia. This rite was undergone by boys selected to be future chiefs and priests, positions of great importance in a highly stratified society. The ceremony began with the ritual tearing away of the children from their mothers and fathers, who had to accept them thenceforth as "dead." The boys were taken into the forest and were sequestered together in a small hut. For months they were given little to eat and were made to drink intoxicating potions and take emetics. At the end of this period of mental and emotional disorientation, they completely forgot who they were, and they were unable to understand or speak the language they had known. When the initiators were sure that the boys had been deconditioned, they took them back to the village. Under close supervision from their guides, the boys formed a new identity; they relearned how to speak and were taught what to wear and the intricacies of the new roles now assigned to them. As rulers or priests they had to be free from all attachments to family and friends. Their minds had been cleansed and reshaped so that they might see clearly and act wisely. Their claim to authority and their power to lead others rested on their successful ritual transition to a sacred condition.

Death. The form of death rites varied widely among the Northeast Woodlands peoples. In the tribes of the upper Great Lakes area, bodies were usually disposed of according to the individual's wishes or clan prerogatives for scaffold exposure, ground burial, or cremation. Among the Fox, death was a highly ritualized event announced to the village by a crier. The members of the deceased's clan gathered for a night of mourning. The clan leader addressed the corpse, advising it not to look back with envy on those still alive but to persevere in its journey to the ancestors in the west. After burial there were the rituals of building a grave shed and installing a clan post as a marker. A six-month period of mourning then followed, during which time a tribesperson was ceremoniously adopted to substitute for the deceased person, especially at memorial feasts.

Burial practices differed among the peoples of the lower Great Lakes and coastal region. The Algonquians of Carolina buried common people individually in shallow graves. The Algonquians of Virginia wrapped the bodies of common people in skins and placed them on scaffolds; after the decay of the flesh was complete, the bones were buried. The rulers of both peoples, however, were treated differently. After death their bodies were disemboweled and the flesh was removed, but the sinews were left attached to the bones. The skin was then sewn back on to the skeleton, after being packed with white sand or occasionally ornaments. Oil kept the body's oils from drying. The corpses were placed on a platform at the western end of the temple and attended by priests.

The Nanticoke and other tribes of the southern Maryland and Delaware peninsula area practiced a second ossuary interment, in some cases preceded by an inhumation and in others by scaffold burials. The rulers of most of these tribes were treated like those of the Algonquians of Virginia and North Carolina. Some of the southern Delaware also had a second ossuary burial, but the main tribal group had one inhumation only; no special treatment for chiefs was noted.

The Huron and some Algonquian groups had two inhumations, the second one in an ossuary. Their Feast of the Dead was conducted at periodic intervals of ten to twelve years. At that time all of the bodies buried during the preceding decade were disinterred, their remaining flesh was removed, and after a ten-day ceremony the skeletons were reburied. Village bands solidified alliances in these ceremonies in which the bones were deliberately mixed. This was a symbol of the unity that should exist among the living. The Petun followed the Huron, while the Neutral and Wenro had a scaffold burial followed later by burial in an ossuary. The Wyandot and Iroquois had only one inhumation but had an annual or semiannual feast for the dead. Eastern New York State, including Long Island, may mark the northern coastal border of secondary burials.

These life-cycle ceremonials were an integral part of every tribesperson's passage through life. Indeed, in the Winnebago Medicine rite the image of human aging in four steps is presented as a paradigm of all life. However, such ceremonial rites of passage can be distinguished from certain personal, clan, and group rituals.

Individual, clan, and group. Power objects given by the *manitou*, such as medicine bundles, charms, and face-paintings, became the focus of personal rituals, songs, and dances. An individual evoked his or her spirit and identified with it by means of rhythmic singing, drumming, rattling, or chanting; one would then channel the power brought by the spirit to a specific need such as hunting, the healing of sick people, or, in some cases, toward more selfish ends.

The Huron owned power charms (*aaskouandy*). Many of these were found in the entrails of game animals, especially those who were difficult to kill. Charms could be small stones, tufts of hair, and so on. One of the abilities of a power charm was to change its own shape, so that a stone, for example, might become a bean or a bird's beak. *Aaskouandy* were of two types: (1) those that brought general good luck and (2) those that were good for one particular task. The particular use of a charm would be revealed to its owner in a dream.

An individual or family might collect a number of charms and keep them in a bundle consisting of, for example, tufts of hair, bones or claws of animals, stones, and miniature masks. The owner was periodically obliged to offer a feast to his charms, during which he and his friends would sing to the charms and show them honor. The owner usually established a relationship to the charm spirit, similar to that between an individual and a guardian spirit, although charm spirits were known to be more unpredictable and dangerous than guardian spirits. An individual or family who wished to get rid of a charm had to conduct a ritual and bury it; even then uneasiness surrounded the event.

Among the Huron and Iroquois, there were masks that had to be cared for in addition to a charm or bundle. A person acquired a mask through dreaming of it or having it prescribed by a shaman. A carver would go into the forest and search for a living tree; basswood, cucumber, and willow were the preferred woods. While burning tobacco, he recited prayers to the tree spirit and the False Face spirits. The mask was carved into the tree and then removed in one piece. The finishing touches, including the eye-holes (which were surrounded with metal) and the mouth hole, were added later. If the tree had been found in the morning, the mask would be painted red; if in the afternoon, black. The hair attached to the mask was horsetail.

Because the mask was considered sacred and full of power the owner had to treat it correctly. He would keep it in a cloth carrier with a turtle rattle placed in the hollow side. If a mask was hung on a wall, it had to face the wall, lest some unsuspecting person be possessed by it. Periodically the mask would be fed mush and anointed with sunflower oil. If a mask fell or if a person dreamed of his mask, he would burn tobacco to it. One or two small bundles of tobacco were also hung inside the mask. The owner of a mask belonged to the False Face society and engaged in its curing rituals. The mask not only brought the owner power and protection but also the ability to heal the sick.

Personal power could overwhelm individuals, causing them to seek only self-aggrandizement. The Shawnee have myths that relate the origin of witchcraft to that mythic time when a crocodile's heart, which was the embodiment of evil, was cut out and carried home to the village by unwitting tribespeople. While the tribes of the Northeast fostered belief in contact with power, they also condemned the misuse of such power in sorcery. They tried to control their exceptional personalities by threatening the return of all evil machinations to the perpetrator. Nonetheless, witch societies have been prominent in Menomini history. Even though these destructive medicine practices may at times have been widespread among the Northeast Woodlands tribes, their many religious societies never completely abandoned the constructive use of power.

These religious societies could be either temporary or permanent. Participants were usually selected according to criteria based on clan membership, on blessing from the same tutelary spirit, or on personal conduct and achievement. Their ceremonial activities, including narrative rituals, feasts, dances, and games, all had sacred meaning because they were performed to honor clan ancestors, guardian spirits, or departed society members. The Miami and Winnebago each had religious societies formed around clan warbundles. The Kickapoo still have clan societies that hold spring renewals centered on their ancestral bundles. Vision societies also developed among individual Winnebago, Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, Illinois, Miami, and Shawnee people who had received vision revelations from the same *manitou* spirit. Throughout this region societies also formed around those warriors or braves whose heroic acts in battle were seen as special signs of personal power. So also the Potawatomi Southern Dance temporarily brought together tribespeople who still grieved for deceased relatives. The medicine societies and other groups, such as the Dream Dance (or Drum Dance) and the Native American Church (Peyote), admitted tribespeople who felt called to these societies and were willing to submit to the societies' ethics.

At present the primary medicine society among the Iroquois is the Society of Medicine Men (also known as Shake the Pumpkin) to which most members of other societies belong. This society is dedicated to the medicine animals who long ago promised to heal humans in exchange for ceremonies and feasts.

The Society of Mystic Animals includes the Bear, Buffalo, Otter, and Eagle societies; members of each group take its tutelary spirit as their own when they are healed by it. The Little Water Medicine society guards and cures with the most potent of Iroquois medicines, which come from parts of animals, birds, and plants. Rituals to renew the power of this medicine are held several times a year. The Little People society (also known as Dark Dance) receives power from its relationship with the "little people" who live in stream banks, forests, and underground.

The False Face society is one of the most popular Iroquois societies. As described above, the wooden faces represent spirits of the forest who appear to people in dreams. The society has its own curing ceremonies, but it also participates in the Midwinter ceremony. The Husk Faces are agricultural correlates of the False Faces; they are dedicated to the spirits of maize, beans, and squash. Besides having private curing ceremonies, members of the Husk Face society are doorkeepers at the longhouse when the False Faces perform and also function as police during Longhouse ceremonies.

RELIGIOUS PERSONALITIES. The shaman is the most important religious figure among the upper Great Lakes and Ohio River native peoples. Primarily a healer and diviner, the shaman contacts power by means of a trance and channels that power to specific needs. Shamans are known by a variety of names derived from the calls to their vocation they have received by way of visions, as well as from their particular healing functions. Generally, four shamanic vocations are found among the northeastern Algonquian peoples. There are also a number of shamanic techniques. Both the shamanic vocations and techniques are documented from the seventeenth century.

The most celebrated shamanic figure among the Algonquian peoples is the shaking-tent diviner and healer, whom the Ojibwa call *tcisaki*, the Menomini *tcisakos* and the Potawatomi *tcisakked*. Among the Ojibwa, this shamanic figure received the vocation after a dream "call" from the *manitou* called Mistabeo had occurred four times. The *tcisaki*'s technique was to enter a special lodge that swayed when the *manitou* arrived. The *tcisaki* then mediated between the spirits and the audience during a question-and-answer session in which the location of a lost object or the cause of an illness was sought. In the case of illness, the diviner might determine the cause of the sickness while inside the shaking tent and then come out to perform a sucking cure.

Another ancient shamanic profession is that of the tube-sucking curer whom the Ojibwa called *nanandawi*. Several *manitou* could give this healing vocation, but the Thunderer was especially favored. The sucking curer often used the bones of raptorial birds to suck the affected area and to remove objects believed to have been shot into a person by malicious witches. The curer would partially swallow as many as seven bones down his esophagus; he would apply the bones, which projected out of his mouth, to the area of the patient's body that was being treated.

The manipulation of fire for healing purposes is also an ancient shamanic vocation; the Ojibwa call this healer *wabeno*, the Menomini called him *wapanows*, and the Potawatomi, *wapno*. The traditional call to this vocation came from Morning Star, who was imaged as a *manitou* with horns. The *wabeno*, working individually or in a group, healed by using the heat of burning embers to massage and fascinate his patients.

An initiated shamanic personality resulted from membership in one of the medicine societies. For example, the Ojibwa Mide, or Medicine society, is composed of the tribe's recognized shamans and candidates initiated into the society as well as healed patients. Thus the healing shamans and ritually initiated members perform together with the healed patients during the ritual. There is a basic difference in technique between the members of these shamanic societies and the individual shamanic healers previously discussed. Among individual healers, healing through spontaneous trance is central, whereas within shamanic societies, transmission of sacred knowledge is primary and trance states are more formally structured and ritually transmitted. Thus the role of the religious leader in the medicine societies may be more accurately described as that of a shaman-priest.

Shamanism among the Huron and the Iroquois of the seventeenth century was primarily an individual enterprise, although societies did exist. In subsequent centuries the Iroquois channeled shamanistic powers and skills into the growing number of medicine societies. The central concern of the Huron shamans was the curing of illness. Illness was caused by either (1) natural events, (2) witchcraft, or (3) desires of the soul. The first could be handled by an herbalist or other practitioner. The second and third required the diagnostic and healing abilities of a shaman (*arendiwane*), including divining, interpreting dreams, sucking, blowing ashes, and juggling hot coals.

The *ocata* was a shaman skilled in diagnosis. In the case of a hidden desire of the soul whose frustration was causing illness he would seek to have a vision of what was desired. To do this he might gaze into a basin of water until the object appeared or enter into a trancelike state to see the object or lie down in a small dark tent to contact his spiritual allies to assist him.

A personal spirit relationship (*oki*) was won after a long fast and isolation in the forest; it could take the form of a human, an animal, or a bird such as a raven or eagle. Sometimes the power and skill needed to cure would come through a dream. There were shamanic specialists who handled hot coals or plunged their arms into boiling water without injury; frequently a power song, which allowed the person to accomplish this, was sung. Other shamans cured by blowing hot ashes over a person or by rubbing the person's skin with ashes.

Witchcraft was combatted by the *aretsan*; usually the *aretsan* would suck out the evil spell that the witch had magically injected into his victim. Divining shamans could see things at a distance, cause rain, persuade animal guardian spirits to release game, or give advice on military or political matters.

Outside of these established vocations, certain shamanic techniques were available to all lay people among the tribes of the Northeast. These included tattooing, naming, divining, bloodletting, induced vomiting as a cure, weather control, and herbal healing. However, at times individual shamans or shamanic societies were so strong that they absorbed these and other curing practices as their exclusive prerogative.

Other outstanding religious personalities included the war chiefs, who led war bundle ceremonies and war parties, and the peace chiefs, who did not go to fight but who acted as mediators, working for peace within the tribe as well as between separate tribes. The Menomini chose hereditary war chiefs from the Bear clan and peace chiefs from the Thunderer clan. All Northeast Woodlands tribes used a war and peace chief system, but the clan totems from which these leaders were selected often differed from band to band.

Occasionally singular religious figures appear in the ethnohistory of the Northeast Woodlands peoples. The Winnebago have had sacred clowns and "contraries" who performed ritual actions backward or in a humorous manner to accentuate the ambiguity of life. Transvestite visionaries such as the Miami "whitefaces" wore women's clothes and did women's work; occasionally they gained reputations as healers or diviners because of their unusual call and personal abilities. Among other exceptional personalities were the ecstatic visionaries often called "prophets." The Delaware prophet Neolin called for a rejection of white influences and a return to the old ways and inspired many to join Pontiac's uprising in the 1760s. The famous Shawnee prophet, Tenkswatawa, brother to Tecumseh initiated a nativistic movement uniting many woodland peoples against American expansion in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Handsome Lake, of the Seneca, inspired a reformed way of life for the Iroquois in the early nineteenth century. During the same period the Kickapoo prophet Kenekuk led a religious movement that fostered his people's accomodation to some American cultural influences. The Winnebago prophet Wabokieshiek began a short-lived revitalization of traditional values during Black Hawk's War in the 1830s. These and other minor prophets received revelations concerning the need to transform specific historical situations. They represented a shift in religious thought among these native peoples from the predominantly individual concern and responsibility for harmony with cosmic powers in nature to a more structured ethics based on an interior religious imperative.

Northeast Woodlands peoples have struggled to maintain their traditions into the present period. Not only have they endured the cultural inroads of a variety of Christian missionaries, but these native traditions have also persisted in the face of tribal fragmentation and degradation. This struggle was reflected in the life of the Seneca leader Handsome Lake; he was able to give focus to his people's plight by drawing on the spiritual power of dreams that came to him during an illness brought on by drunkenness and despair in the face of the pervasive oppression of his cultural way of life. The traditional sanction of dreams and visions in native Northeast Woodlands religions continues into the present revitalization of the sweat lodge, the vision quest, and medicine-wheel gatherings. The relevance of these traditional ceremonies to contemporary needs is highlighted by the growing participation of non-Indians in these meditative rituals. In summary it is evident that the spiritual life of the Indians of the Northeast Woodlands resists any attempt to simply objectify and list representative paractices or beliefs. Even the term religion may not be as helpful for understanding these complex lifeways that activate visionary experiences, the sovereignty of the community of life, ecological affectivity, and cosmological centeredness.

SEE ALSO Handsome Lake; Iroquois Religious Traditions; Neolin; Shamanism, article on North American Shamanism; Tecumseh.

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NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS: INDIANS OF THE SOUTHEAST WOODLANDS

Culturally and linguistically diverse Native American communities of various sizes recognize the area now known as the southeastern region of the United States as their ancestral homeland. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, several are federally recognized groups, while other communities continue to press for state and federal recognition. While those that have governmental recognition are officially identified as "American Indian tribes" or "bands," members of these groups self-identify in a number of ways, but most often by means of group names, which are either indigenous or commonly accepted English terms. Depending on personal preference, individuals also may employ such terms as First Nations, First Peoples, Indigenous Nations, Native Americans, or Indians. Certain of these First Peoples of the Southeast count as many as tens of thousands of members, while many more individuals living in the region claim some measure of Native American heritage.

Historically, the Native American religious traditions of this region included a variety of ritual practices, beliefs, and narrative traditions, and this is still the case today. Individual communities each have distinct religious systems, and there continues to be diversity within communities as well. A variety of Christian denominations flourish, in addition to contingents of people who maintain indigenous religious systems. There also are people who draw comfortably from both types of systems throughout their lives.

Research suggests that there are some elements of religious systems that are, and have been, common to most southeastern groups. Certain ritual activities, cultural narratives ("myths"), and beliefs that reflect recurrent themes are discernable, and oral transmission of knowledge continues in many communities. However, what the anthropologist John R. Swanton observed in the 1940s is still the case today: while "the background of the religious beliefs of these tribes and their medical practices. . .[are] similar, . . . the religious attitude seems to . . . [vary] considerably from one tribe to another and the ceremonial patterns . . . [are] often markedly distinct" (Swanton, 1946, p. 805).

THE "SOUTHEAST WOODLANDS" AND FIRST PEOPLES. It is difficult to speak about groups and precise land area when discussing First Peoples of the region, past and present, and benchmark surveys do not always agree. Generally speaking, scholars have identified the Southeast as that sector of North America bounded by the Atlantic Ocean and Gulf of Mexico at the east and south, by the longitude 95° west, and by a latitude between 35° and 40° north. Historically as many as 170 tribes are thought to have made the Southeast their home, with the following language families represented: Algonquian, Caddoan, Iroquoian, Muskogean, Siouan, Tunican, and Yuchean. Today, depending on criteria, estimates of communities in this large area range from the mid-twenties to fifty.

The process of colonization had manifold effects on the First Peoples of this region. In certain cases, distinct indigenous linguistic and cultural social units joined together as nations to meet the challenges posed by European colonists. Other politically and ceremonially autonomous groups linked by such factors as language and geography coalesced in a like manner. Most groups were organized by means of matrilineal clans, which provided a ready-made organizational structure for such amalgamations as the Cherokee, Creek, Chickasaw, Seminole, and Choctaw. For example, the Cherokee, or *Tsa:la:gi* nation was formed from many towns or villages of people who referred to themselves as *An-i:Yunwiya* (the Principal People) and spoke three dialects of what is now called the Cherokee language. The term *Cherokee* is of uncertain origin, and all three terms are still in use today, though *Cherokee* and its Cherokee translation, *Tsalag* or *Anitsalagi,* predominate.

A different model is presented by the towns, or *talwa (tvlwv)* of distinct peoples who, in order to repel outside threats, formed what became known as the Creek Confederacy. These included communities speaking the Muskogean linguistic family languages—Mvskoke (Muskogee), Alabama, Koasati, Apalachee, Hitchitee, and Mikasuki, in addition to, at some point in time, members of Yuchi, Shawnee, Natchez, Guale, Yamasee, Cusabo, and Tawaso groups (Lewis and Jordan, 2002, p. 5). The terms *Mvskoke, Muskogee,* and *Creek* can refer to the people, the language, or both.

Some of these amalgamations were decimated by warfare and disease, as were many autonomous communities before them. Others were torn asunder by the U.S. government policy of forced removal during the 1830s. Consequently, until that time the contemporary South was populated by groups that for the most part now have larger populations in Oklahoma. Because indigenous peoples that now have communities in the Southeast as well as in Oklahoma once belonged to the same cultural units, they have shared common elements of religious systems, although time and place have created differences. In Oklahoma, close proximity to other groups from the Southeast created further augmentations of belief and ritual. During the twentieth century, particularly the second half of the century, many eastern and western communities increased efforts to strengthen their ties.

Despite adversity, contingents of certain nations were able to maintain a presence on some portion of their ancestral lands, and over time solidify this presence. Currently, many indigenous religious systems are undergoing revivals as part of wider cultural revitalizations. The Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians (North Carolina), the Poarch Band of Creeks (Alabama), the Seminole Tribe and Miccosuke Tribe (both in Florida), the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, and the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe of Texas, as well as the Coushatta, Chitimacha, and Tunica-Biloxi Tribes (all in Louisiana), are testaments to the resolve of indigenous southeastern nations to retain their religious, social, and political identities while undergoing cultural change.

Lengthy legal or legislative actions often were required to guarantee and insure the rights associated with such group identity, and circumstances could and did change. To give one example, the Catawba people of South Carolina banded together for survival with several North and South Carolina peoples in the first half of the eighteenth century. The Catawba Indian Nation was terminated as a federally recognized tribe in 1962, recognized by the federal government again in 1993, and received a monetary settlement to resolve a land dispute that began in 1840.

Other communities have worked for full recognition of their collective identities as well. At the start of the twenty-first century, North Carolina groups such as the Lumbee (who list approximately fifty thousand members), Haliwa-Saponi, Waccamaw, and Coharie, as well as the Pamunkey and Mattaponi of Virginia, are recognized by their respective states even as they continue to seek federal recognition. The fact that they are not always supported in their efforts by federally recognized Native American communities speaks to the complexity of identity issues in the United States; the ongoing efforts of such groups also highlight the complex and often contradictory systems of classification by which federal and state agencies determine Native American identity.

Overview of Archaeological and Historical Data: Contact, Colonization, and Cultural Negotiation. Standard archaeological timelines, often constructed with a strong teleological component assuming Western civilization as the goal, have traced the history of religious traditions in the Southeast by means of a developmental societal pattern, with the religious systems reflecting changes in other social spheres as societies "progress" toward "civilization" in terms of complexity and technology. Typically, five periods of human occupation are delineated in the region: Paleo-Indian (c. 9000–7000 BCE), Archaic (c. 7000–1000 BCE), Woodland (c. 1000 BCE–700 CE), Mississippian (c. 700–1500 CE), and Historic (c.1500 CE–present). Generally speaking, scholars have linked the religious behavior of communities in the region to subsistence activities in each of these periods.

Because of the archaeological evidence that led to such a timeline, the concept of a "Southeastern Ceremonial Complex" or "Southern Cult" was popular in the field of archaeology for many years. As originally conceived, the theory—based on archaeological evidence from "late prehistoric sites"—was that during the Mississippian and early historic periods the societies in what is now the southeastern United States shared many similar material characteristics, suggesting broader religious and political affinities (Muller, 1989, pp. 11, 19). Common religious features included the development of a chiefly/priestly social class, veneration of and tribute to a sun deity tied to corn production, and ritualized burial techniques. In addition, shell gorgets and other items from these periods bear common artistic motifs such as spirals, circles, and spiders, which scholars speculate have spiritual significance. The theory still has its adherents, but contemporary scholarship has greatly abridged its explanatory capacity. While there were iconographic similarities across the region during the Mississippian period, it remains unclear to what extent ritual activities and beliefs can be interpolated from archaeological data.

Although Spanish political influence was temporary in most areas of the present-day Southeast other than Florida, the travels of the Spanish explorer Hernando de Soto throughout the region in the 1540s would prove to have more lasting consequences. As other expeditions followed in his wake, the ensuing combination of warfare and epidemics devastated numerous groups. In the seventeenth century certain southeastern peoples were decimated (Yamasee, Timicua) while others were forced to emigrate and reside with confederacies of nations or emerging nation-states (Tuscarora, Yuchi). Within societies that avoided these two fates, in addition to the obvious effects of such upheaval and depopulation, in some cases the transmission of religious knowledge to younger generations was interrupted.

Religious-studies scholar Joel W. Martin argued in the late 1990s that such factors led to the fourth in a series of religious revolutions, the first three of which coincided with the transitions from the Archaic period to the historic period. According to Martin this resulted in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century "postholocaust, village-based religions" of such groups as the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Muskogee (1997, p. 156). This theory is suggestive and situates postcolonial history in the much longer time span of human occupation of the region; further questions remain, however, as to the extent of regional homogeneity (as discussed above).

British, French, and Spanish forces arriving in the Southeast encountered diverse sociopolitical entities with longstanding ties to the land. Yet the peoples of the region were not passive observers; among indigenous groups, there was a gradual shift in power relations that initially favored those groups able to manipulate European governments and pit them against each other. Indigenous communities also had longstanding alliances or disputes in the region, which colonists were able to exploit to their advantage. This was the case especially once the British gained control of the region in 1760s after the war against the French and their Native American allies. All the while, people were on the move and new alliances were being formed. For example, Muskogee people immigrated to Florida in the eighteenth century, incorporated (in some cases forcibly) people from Yamasee, Apalachee, and other communities, including Africans, and became known as *Seminoles.*

In the early nineteenth century, increasingly encroaching colonial settlements and government designs on natural resources such as farmland and gold resulted in land loss for many groups who had survived earlier hardships. This period coincided with sustained Christian missionary efforts among groups throughout the Southeast. The prevalent ideology of the times inextricably linked Christianization and "civilization," and students in missionary schools were taught all aspects of "civilized" social behavior. European American observers dubbed the Cherokee, Choctaw, Muskogee, Chickasaw, and Seminole nations the "Five Civilized Tribes," because they felt that these groups best approached the appropriate level of cultural development.

Even these nations eventually were targets for forced removal. Although many missionaries saw this as the only solution, a small number were actively involved in the efforts of nations to retain their homelands. In the 1830s the majority of the Cherokee, Choctaw, Muskogee, and Chickasaw nations, who had for the most part preserved their homelands and remained relatively autonomous until that time, were forcibly marched to territories in Oklahoma. These involuntary emigrations resulted in great loss of life, and each has become known as a Trail of Tears, though frequently history texts focus only on the Cherokee Removal. The Seminole nation resisted such efforts, and the U.S. military ultimately succeeded only partially in removing them.

The cultural impacts of Christianity upon southeastern communities have been complicated and multiple. The focus on acculturation created conflicts, and in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early to mid-twentieth centuries, the result in sectors of many communities was a de-emphasis on traditional beliefs and practices in favor of Christianity. However, there were individuals and contingents throughout the Southeast who steadfastly maintained indigenous religious systems, though they often did so away from the gaze of observers, scholarly and otherwise. On the other hand, in some cases (as with the Choctaw and Cherokee) Christian churches actually have worked to preserve cultural and group identity by incorporating local languages into services or by being a focal point for communities (see, for example, Pesantubbee, 1999).

CONTEMPORARY LANDSCAPE. The Mississippi Choctaw reservation is about seventy miles northeast of Jackson, mostly in Neshoba County. Of the approximately 9,000 Choctaw people living there, the majority identify themselves as Christian. While there is a range of denominations, Baptist, Catholic, and Pentecostal denominations dominate. However, people in certain communities, such as the Bogue Chitto, have steadfastly maintained their traditions, and refused to accept Christianity (Mould, 2003, p. xxiv). Additionally, since the 1970s there has been a resurgence of interest in "distinctly Choctaw" culture in Mississippi, where in addition to all-night sings at churches and other community-based events, an annual Choctaw Labor Day Festival features social dancing, traditional crafts, food, and stickball alongside country music and other standard attractions (Lambert, 2001, p. 317). Other activities such as sweat lodges also are gaining in popularity, though opinions are mixed as to whether or not this affects the uniqueness of Choctaw traditions (Mould, 2003, p. 204).

Similar events also take place on the Qualla Boundary in western North Carolina, in Swain and Jackson counties (about sixty miles west of Asheville), where approximately 7,000 members of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians (of a total membership of 13,000) support at least twenty-two churches. Baptist churches are the most numerous, and there are several different Holiness tradition churches, as well as those of other denominations. Since the late twentieth century, certain townships (though members of all townships are involved) have been at the forefront of efforts to revive or preserve particular cultural elements such as traditional dancing, the Green Corn Ceremony, and the Cherokee language. As they have for centuries, religio-medicinal specialists continue to work and pass on traditions to younger generations; in a like manner traditions such as *anetso*, the Cherokee ball game, and its associated ceremonial cycle continue to be maintained in some townships.

In Alabama, approximately 1,500 Mvskoke people (of approximately 2,200 members) predominantly associate with Protestant denominations, including Baptist, Holiness, and Episcopal churches. They reside near Poarch, Alabama, in Escambia County, fifty-seven miles east of Mobile. In recent decades specialists from Oklahoma have been retained to revive various cultural activities, including the Mvskoke language and sweat bath activities. Religio-medicinal specialists have continued to work in this community as well (see below).

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, approximately 1,200 to 1,500 Seminole and Miccosukee (Mikasuki) people live in Florida, many on three reservations: Brighton (northwest of Lake Okeechobee), Big Cypress (the northeast edge of Big Cypress Swamp), and Dania, or Hollywood (outside Hollywood, Fla.). Perhaps between 15 and 20 percent do not officially affiliate with either tribal entity; according to one source, approximately 60 percent of the Seminole people in Florida are non-Christian (Beck et. al, 1996, p. 245). Today, they are known as the Seminole Tribe. Though initially considered by the federal government as just a splinter Seminole group, the Miccosuke Tribe of Florida gained a corporate charter and drafted a constitution in 1961, and they established separately in 1965 along the Tamiami Trail highway. The Miccosuke people distinguish themselves from Seminoles culturally; their Hitchiti language, *ilaponki,* is spoken by about two thirds of the larger group, with the rest speaking Mvskoke.

SUPERNATURAL OR “OTHER-THAN-HUMAN” BEINGS. Many First Peoples of the Southeast reference a “supreme being,” but often the term connotes a more abstracted power, force, or perpetuity. These beings or entities can be beseeched for assistance and are considered important forces in many peoples’ lives. Though different terms can be used to refer to them, a select few are the Cherokee term *une:hlanv´:hi* (translated as “Provider,” from the verb “to provide”; also translated “Creator”) and the Mvskoke terms *Hesaketvmesē* (translated as “Breath Holder,” “Master of Breath,” or “Breath”) and *Ibofanga* (translated as “the existence of all things and energy within all things,” or “the one above us” (Kilpatrick, 1991, p. 58; Fixico, 2003, p. 3; Swanton, [1928] 2000, p. 481).

The Choctaw term for this entity most often cited is *hvshtahli* [*hvsh-táh-li*] and is translated as “Great Spirit,” with the caveat that this term was a pre-Christian concept (Haag and Willis, 2001, p. 334). According to one source, it also can be translated as “governor of the world, whose eye is the sun”; both this term and the term for sun—*nanapisa* (the one who sees)—express the distinction that the sun was an aspect of a more abstract force and not in and of itself a deity or focus of worship (O’Brien, 2002, p. 3). Similarly, the Chickasaw term for this supernatural being, Luak Ishto Holo Åba, is translated as “the great holy fire above,” and the Natchez term, *Uwa’shīł,* as “Big fire” (Swanton, [1928] 2000, p. 482).

Cultural narratives often are populated by a variety of other beings that may be more regularly involved with humans or beseeched for assistance. They are not worshipped, but are respected for their power and abilities, both positive and negative. Defying characterization as “good” or “evil,” they have the capacity to help as well as harm humans, especially if they are not treated with proper respect.

These can be natural elements, “archetypal forms” of animals or human-like beings such as Corn Woman (see below). Depending on the religious system, natural phenomena including the sun, thunders, and running bodies of water such as rivers and streams are considered sentient beings (Cherokee, Choctaw, Natchez, Mvskoke). All of these beings can be understood as “other-than-human persons,” to use A. Irving Hallowell’s term from his seminal article on Ojibwe traditions ([1960] 1975, p. 145).

NARRATIVE TRADITIONS AND COSMOLOGY. Southeastern communities traditionally have transmitted a variety of historical accounts, cultural narratives, and items of religious knowledge orally. Though the proliferation of scholarship has made written accounts readily available over the last century and a half, in many cases the preferred mode of transmission continues to be oral. The term “cultural narratives” is used in the context of this article to refer to what are commonly called “myths”; this term implies cultural significance without assigning a truth-value. While there are a variety of such cultural narratives, several southeastern communities share certain narratives in common, though individual details differ.

Certain of these narratives are of a sacred character, and are equal in significance to narratives contained in the holy books of other cultures. As is the case in any religious community, individuals in southeastern groups interpret these narratives in a variety of ways, both literally and metaphorically, and incorporate other information in their assessments. These narratives can be used to explain current circumstances, for instance how a people came to live where they do, and why they perform certain activities, be they subsistence-related or ceremonial. Other narratives, which sometimes are humorous, allegorically highlight human foibles or are etiological.

Both Cherokee and Mvskoke cultural narratives present cosmologies that recognize different worlds, or planes, including the world humans now inhabit, an underworld, and a world above the sky. The middle world is conceived as being a flat surface surrounded by water, over which a stone sky vault arches and tilts daily to allow beings and forces to pass between worlds. Other groups of human-like beings also inhabit the middle world, including the Little People (Cherokee, *Yun:wi Tsun:sdi´*), recognized by many groups. Mostly keeping to themselves, they are sometimes mischievous; on occasion their presence is more dangerous.

Cherokee cosmology posits a tiered series of planes culminating in the seventh height, or *galv’:ladí* (*galunlati*), which translates as “above” or “above everything,” located above the sky vault; this is home to various forces such as thunder and the sun, as well as for archetypal animals (Kilpatrick, 1991, p. 58; Irwin, 1992, p. 240). Typically, the underworld does not have a negative moral value. Certain beings such as large horned snakes and panthers make their home in the underworld, accessed through rivers, streams, and waterfalls. However, even such dangerous beings possess ambiguous attributes; the large horned snake (Cherokee, *uk:tena*), for example, has a jewel-like crest on its forehead that is prized for its powers. The Mvskoke narrative tradition speaks of the tie snake as another such being.

CREATION OF THE WORLD AND THE APPEARANCE OF HUMANS. According to one Cherokee cultural narrative, the world of human habitation was created when animals living in *galv':ladí* felt crowded and sent a water beetle to search for a place to live below the sky vault, where all was water. The water beetle retrieved mud from the bottom of the water, and this mud was fastened to the sky vault with four cords, one at each cardinal direction. Individual Mvskoke narratives differ somewhat in describing the creation of the world, but several examples revolve around an animal or bird (e.g., crawfish, dove, pigeons) procuring the dirt or blade of grass that would be used to create the earth. The Seminole oral tradition describes the creation of the earth from the back of the Great Turtle, who emerged from the sea. His shell cracked and four giant ant brothers put it back together; though the turtle perished, he decreed that Earth Children should walk over it. They emerged from beneath an earth mound that had formed on this surface. There are Alabama, Chitimacha, Natchez, and Yuchi versions of this "earth diver" narrative form as well.

Cultural narratives also locate inhabitants in the southeastern region. While some narratives describe migration from elsewhere at a distant time in the past (Mvskoke, Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw), others state that present-day southeastern locales are in fact ancestral homelands (Mvskoke, Cherokee, Choctaw). Thus, in several cases, emergence from the earth is either stated (Mvskoke, Choctaw) or implied (Cherokee). The existence of different narratives about single events within religious systems should not be misconstrued as problematic, nor considered as logical flaws in the system. For example, the presence of two different creation stories as well as two flood narratives woven together in the *Book of Genesis* does not typically result in such conclusions about Judaism and Christianity; nor does the existence of Four Gospels do so for the latter.

In these southeastern narrative traditions, animals existed on the earth before humans, and engaged in a variety of activities that humans would as well, including conducting councils, staging dances, and engaging in athletic contests. Humans arrived on the earth soon after, and quickly began to wear out their welcome by killing animals, competing with them for resources, and driving them from their homes. Many of the animals played a role in alterations to both the landscape and the way of life in the world of human inhabitation.

According to a Cherokee narrative, the animals, meeting in emergency council, determined to thin out the human population by devising individual diseases. Hearing of the animals' plans, the plants decided to come to the aid of the humans by providing themselves as medicines to cure the various diseases. Thus humans gained a valuable ally. At least one Mvskoke cultural narrative relates how plants made a pact with a "Holy Man," or *Mēkko-hoyvnēcv* (King passing through) to cure people together (Lewis and Jordan, 2000, pp. 74–76).

NARRATIVES CONCERNING THE CORN WOMAN. In most southeastern traditions, a significant narrative recounts the selfless, ultimately sacrificial act of a Corn Woman who in life provided food from her body and in her death the plants for cultivation to sustain her people (Cherokee, Mvskoke, Natchez). Though it varies somewhat within and between communities, the basic storyline is that one or two sons (in one Natchez version it is twin girls, in another it is a single boy) spied on their mother or grandmother as she privately rubbed her body to produce corn (and sometimes beans as well). They were shocked as they saw the food emanate from between her legs (in at least one Cherokee version it is said to have come from her vagina; in Mvskoke versions it came from either between her legs as she scratched her thighs, or from her feet; and in a Natchez version it issued from her anus). Fearing this trusted woman was a witch, they refused to eat the food, and then either she offered herself to them as a sacrifice (Natchez, Mvskoke, Cherokee), she did so after they resolved to kill her (Cherokee), or she sent them off to live elsewhere for a time (Mvskoke).

One further version of the narrative, from the Koasati people (of present-day Alabama), tells of an old woman who provided food for orphans, though she had been shunned because of sores and uncleanliness. Choctaw narratives attribute the origin of corn to the daughter of a Choctaw sacred being who, after being fed by two hunters, instructed them to return to their meeting place at the next midsummer moon. When they did they discovered a corn plant, which they cultivated.

In Cherokee and Mvskoke versions of the Corn Woman narrative, there appears to be a link between the production of corn and menstruation. Interestingly, both Cherokee and Shawnee narratives feature menstruating women defeating malevolent beings (such as a stone-covered cannibal or great horned serpent). It seems clear that these are expressions of women's power—although scholars continue to debate the narratives' perspectives on this power (i.e., whether or not it is portrayed positively or negatively). Either way, women play key roles in these foundational narratives; in the former cases the women provide a staple crop for the benefit of future generations, and in the latter they defeat enemies threatening their communities.

MEDICO-RELIGIOUS SPECIALISTS AND MEDICINAL TRADITIONS. Generally speaking, ritual specialists seek the intercession of supernatural beings in the affairs of humans; they can offer prayers, divine information, and administer medicinal substances. Such specialists can be either male or female. These activities and the forces and beings they involve are part of religious systems that encompass both positive and negative elements. Due in part to the common English translation of these activities as "conjuring," and an unfortunate focus upon its negative aspects, many observers have mislabeled the activity "witchcraft." Such beliefs are still strong among some circles in southeastern communities, though they are rejected as superstition by others in the same communities. Many people find traditional and Christian activities complementary, and certain contemporary practitioners report that Christian beliefs power their abilities.

Such Cherokee practitioners often are known in English as "conjurers" or those who "doctor"; they are identified by terms that designate their particular abilities and specialties. For example, religious studies scholar Lee Irwin culled terms from several works, including *ada'nunwisgi* (healers or curers); *amayi didadzun:stisgi* (the one who "takes them to water"—interpreted as "priest"); and *didaʾnunwiski* (sing., well-known and mature healer) (Irwin, 1992, pp. 244–245). This final term was translated by Cherokee studies scholar Alan Kilpatrick as "knowledgeable shaman" (1991, p. 50). Some specialists focus primarily on divination, which can include locating lost objects, diagnosing disease, or predicting the date of an individual's death.

Formulaic utterances, or *idi:gawé:sdi* (often called "songs" or "formulas"), are integral to any healing activity, as well as to other pursuits such as hunting or warfare. They are standardized speech acts that incorporate elements of prayer, entreaty, and instruction on producing desired effects, as well as directions for preparation and usage of medicines. Through the use of formulas, ritual specialists can seek the intercession of supernatural beings and effect circumstances in the course of human events. With the creation of the Cherokee syllabary by Sequoyah in 1821, many specialists began writing these formulas in notebooks.

In Mvskoke culture, *Heleswv* (medicine) is utilized in individual cases of illness, as well as for activities such as ball games. Tools include specially prepared sticks, crystals *(sabiā),* and horns made from pieces of a special horned snake—the latter are used to extract negative substances from ill patients. These crystals were once in use among several groups in the region, including the Cherokee, Mvskoke, Alabama, and Natchez.

For Mvskoke people, the ideal of *hecvs,* or "seeing," involves the simultaneous recognition of the presence of a variety of beings and forces, both physical and metaphysical, and of the "totality of *Ibofanga* ['the one above us']" (Fixico, 2003, pp. 7, 11). Religio-medicinal specialists are divided into three categories, though the first, the *heles-hayv* (medicine maker), can possess the abilities of all three. The other two specialists are the "*owalv* (prophet or seer)" and the "*kerrv* (one who knows)," or *Kerrata* (key-tha) (Lewis and Jordan, 2002, p. 39; Fixico, 2003, p. 3). These individuals can be male or female. Unlike the Cherokee tradition, written books with songs and words ("formulas") are considered a sign of weakness.

Choctaw terms applied to human beings, such as *ishtahullo* ("being endowed with occult power"; see also *stahullo,* "witch," below), also refer to the power of natural forces such as thunder, or to the power provided by dreams. The word *ishtahullo* can be applied to all women generally, as well as to particular men and women of distinction, including at least one Jesuit missionary (O'Brien, 2002, pp. 3, 4, 7, 8). Its roots refer to generative principles and the genitalia associated with them (*hullo,* menstruation, and *hasi,* penis or vagina) (O'Brien, 2002, p. 5). At one time a number of medicinal and ritual specialists were active in Choctaw society; though the designations have differed, many sources agree on three groups rendered in Choctaw and English by one scholar as "*alikchi* (physician), *apoluma* (conjurer), and *stahullo* (witch)" (Noley, in Mould, 2003, p. 121). According to one Choctaw source, contact produced a kind of assimilation of all three functions into single individuals, though today most such individuals are gone (Denson in Mould, pp. 121, 122). Some medicine men and women do continue to practice, however; and at present according to one scholar, the term *hopaii,* which once meant "prophet," now means "witch," someone who harms others by means of supernatural powers (Mould, 2003, pp. 121, 126).

In all southeastern communities where such individuals are still active, their presence often goes unnoticed by researchers and other visitors, because most of these specialists do not seek publicity. While some do publicize themselves, often the most powerful and respected individuals go out of their way not to draw attention to themselves. This unobtrusiveness in many cases shields them from the nuisance of curious visitors and allows them to concentrate all their energy on the important tasks they are called upon to perform. Those entrusted with transmission of cultural narratives also may adopt this strategy, in part out of a sense of propriety. Historically, incorrect conclusions about the survival of cultural traditions have resulted from long-standing precepts regarding appropriate times and places to discuss such information as well as people with whom it should be shared. These attitudes continue to impact both ethnographic and missionary enterprises in indigenous communities.

RITUAL ACTIVITIES. There are several activities that southeastern communities practice in common. One key activity is ritual immersion or laving in naturally running water (Cherokee, *amó:hi atsv':sdi,* "going to water"), which can be performed daily by solitary individuals in order to maintain health and well-being. People also can enjoin ritual specialists to accompany them in order to diagnose conditions, administer medicinal treatments, and beseech other-than-human persons for assistance. On ceremonial occasions such as green corn ceremonies, entire families might join together in this activity, as would groups on the occasions of births, marriages, and deaths. In the past, on particular occasions people took sweat baths in special structures before the ritual immersion (Cherokee, *osi*), and this latter practice has been revived lately among some groups, but, as discussed above, not without controversy.

For a range of conditions, psychological as well as physical, medicines prepared from plant substances are either ingested or applied externally to those in need by ritual specialists, and this practice almost always is accompanied by the recitation of formulas. Scarification or scratching is another activity that has been used in medicinal and religious contexts to aid in general healing or in specific treatment routines. It is usually performed with comb-like instruments and accompanied by the application of medicine on the scratches. Community dances, once weekly events lasting through the night, typically have incorporated expressions of thanksgiving, celebrations of human achievement, and ribald social commentaries, in addition to specific dances of a social nature in which dancers imitate particular animal movements. Finally, though there is a paucity of research in this area, scholarship suggests that women in most southeastern groups made use of menstrual huts, and that these structures were places of instruction and communion.

GREEN CORN CEREMONIALISM. Ceremonial activities tied to the first harvest and consumption of green corn once were widespread religious events throughout the Southeast, although as noted above by Swanton, particularities of meaning and performance often have differed. Dances and several other activities marked the yearly occasions. These harvest thanksgiving ceremonies, such as the Mvskoke *posketv,* are commonly known as "green corn ceremonies" or just "green corn"; in some communities these events also initiate the new year. These names refer to the central activity of the celebration, the preparation and consumption of boiled or roasted green corn, symbolic of the first fruits of the harvest.

A key ceremony was the kindling of new fires from a central, consecrated fire, after all old fires had been extinguished. Other activities have included dancing, singing, and ritual cleaning of homes. An emetic (often containing *Ilex vomitoria*) was at one time utilized to cleanse male individuals, both physically and spiritually, during this ceremony. Interestingly, one Oklahoma Mvskoke individual has suggested that at least in cases with which he was familiar, the substance was not an emetic and the vomiting was "a *cultural,* not a *biological* act" (Howard and Lena, 1984, p. 43). In addition, drinking a green corn medicine was at one time a common requirement before tasting the corn.

The *posketv* (mistransliterated as "Busk" by some observers) or Green Corn Ceremony is the most visible of the Mvskoke stomp dances, and is held in July. Still actively observed in many Mvskoke dance grounds in Oklahoma, and increasingly in Alabama communities of the Poarch Creek band, the ceremony includes activities such as dancing, fasting, stickball, and the ingestion of the *vsse* medicine. This substance, mistakenly referred to by many observers as the "black drink," is made from a red root and is more the color and consistency of a brackish tea; it is actually commonly known within communities as the "the white drink" (Swan, in Swanton, [1928] 2000, p. 548). While several observers have attributed this name to the substance's properties of "purification," it might be more accurate to think of it in terms of the regulation of interpersonal and therefore societal harmony (Martin, 2000, p. 95)

For Seminole and Miccosuke people in Florida, the Green Corn Dance continues as a time for renewal of both humans and certain medico-religious tools. These ceremonies have continued to be public occasions in Florida. Over the course of four days (including the weekend) at the time of the new moon either in late June or early July, elders meet in council, and men fast, participate in sweat baths, and ingest an emetic. Both adults and children are "scratched" or undergo scarification, to revitalize the blood, though in more recent times women and girls have not participated. Boys and girls are honored for growing into new phases of their lives, and two kinds of ball games are played during the weekends: a more lighthearted single-pole game between men and women, and a rougher game between teams of men who compete to score goals at either end of a playing field.

As one source noted, each stomp ground does things a bit differently, and these variations can be likened to those between denominations (Beck et. al, [1977] 1996, p. 254). At the end of the Dance, a medicinal specialist gives a summation of the proceedings as he offers prayers of thanks to the corn and the "The Mighty One" (Beck et. al, [1977] 1996, p. 256). The medicine bundle—containing all substances necessary for success in a wide range of endeavors and for the general health of all community members—also is renewed with blessings before sunrise on the final day of the Dance. The same source reported that only two medicine men were still knowledgeable about the medicine bundles and their renewal during the Green Corn Dance (Beck et. al, [1977] 1996, pp. 250, 245).

CURRENT SCHOLARSHIP ON RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS OF THE SOUTHEAST WOODLANDS. Though elements of several religious systems are isolated and categorized above in this article, each community combines them into internally logical systems that provide meaning as well as help to define individuals, groups, and the relationships of existence. Providing important counter-perspective to existing and ongoing scholarship, many of the significant recent works on the religious systems of southeastern groups have been authored or coauthored by indigenous scholars or elders who write about their own cultures and who elucidate indigenous epistemologies. In addition, a lively debate has developed regarding the 1976 book *The Southeastern Indians,* by the historian Charles M. Hudson. As the historian James T. Carson noted of this text, "Hudson crafted what has become the orthodox interpretation of not just Creek religion but southeastern cosmology as a whole by combining Swanton's work on Creek religion with his colleague James Mooney's observations of the faith of Eastern Cherokees" (Carson in Swanton, [1928] 2000, p. vi).

Hudson, it should be noted, made no such claims about his book. He did rely heavily on Cherokee materials, and less so on Mvskoke materials, in the chapters "The Belief System" and "Ceremony"; elsewhere in the book he provided ample individual examples from many southeastern nations (see Hudson, 1976, pp. 120–183; 317–375). Mary Churchill, a religious studies and women's studies scholar, published an interesting 1996 article critiquing Hudson's work, focusing upon notions of "purity" and "pollution" in the Cherokee universe, to which Hudson responded with an article of his own (see bibliography). The increase in area scholarship that began in the 1980s continues to produce more varied studies and highlight additional perspectives, ensuring continued scholarly interest and theoretical development while complementing the large body of valuable existing work.

SEE ALSO Cherokee Religious Traditions; North American [Indian] Religions, article on History of Study.

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NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS: INDIANS OF THE PLAINS

The Plains region, an area delineated by the Rocky Mountains on the west; the Canadian provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba on the north; the Mississippi River on the east; and the Gulf of Mexico on the south, is home to philosophies, traditions, and ways of life that are some of the most varied and complex in the United States. The Great Plains measure 1,125,000 square miles, roughly equal to one-third the landmass of the United States, and serves as home for more than fifty American Indian nations, sometimes referred to as bands, tribes, and confederacies, representing significant linguistic, cultural, and traditional diversity. This complexity also is reflected in the extensive geo-ecological diversity and biodiversity of the region.

Some American Indian groups who currently occupy areas of the Plains do not consider this region their ancestral homeland as bestowed by the Creator. Over thirty American Indian groups were removed to the Oklahoma Territory as part of the Indian Removal Act of 1830, signed into law by Andrew Jackson. Removal was enforced first for Indian communities east of the Mississippi in the southeastern portion of the United States, including Creek, Choctaw, Cherokee, and Chickasaw. Later, groups in the Plains region also were subject to removal, including the Pawnee, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Comanche. Between 1830 and 1843 more than 100,000 Native Americans were relocated to the Oklahoma Territory. During the long march to Oklahoma, which was enforced by the U.S. military, many thousands died, including over a third of the Cherokee people who were removed. This horrific event is often referred to as the Cherokee "Trail of Tears," but all of the Native Nations removed remember this time with great sadness.

LANGUAGE DIVERSITY. Today, the Plains region is one of the most linguistically diverse areas in the United States as far as American Indian languages are concerned. It is the ancestral homeland of linguistic groups that include speakers of Algonquian, Athapascan, Caddoan, Kiowa-Tanoan, Salish, Siouan, and Uto-Aztecan languages, whose languages reflect cultures and traditions associated with the natural world. Because of forced removal, some American Indian languages are represented in Oklahoma that historically were not found in the Plains region, such as Muskogean and Euchee. In all communities, stories and narratives in the language of the Peoples, often referred to as "Heritage Language," provides the context for cultural and traditional knowledge.

The American Indian Languages Act of 1994 was intended to provide Native students with the opportunity to study and learn their heritage language. Elders who speak these languages have much information to impart, not only about vocabulary and grammar, but also about kinds of knowledge, worldviews, and the ways in which utterances construct their lives. Intensive efforts to document conversations among fluent speakers are underway in many tribal communities, at tribal colleges, and at four-year institutions in an effort to preserve the heritage languages. In most cases, the urgency of these linguistic efforts is pressing because many heritage language speakers are elderly, and with each successive generation fewer people are learning the languages. This is one of the devastating results of forced schooling, missionization, and assimilation measures. Although language education is working to increase the number of fluent speakers, currently the number of heritage language speakers in all groups remains small. Of twenty-seven Native American languages spoken in Oklahoma today, only four are learned from childhood.

Linguists identify more than ten different language families and language isolates in the Plains region. These include:

1. *Algonquian,* largely spoken by groups along the Atlantic Coast, but also spoken by woodlands and northern Plains groups such as Cree, Ojibwe (or Ojibwa), Anishinaabeg, Chippewa, and Ottowa in Wisconsin, Michigan, and the northern Great Lakes region. Algonquian-language-speaking groups include Northern Arapaho of Wyoming and Southern Arapaho of Oklahoma; Atsina or Gros Ventre of the Prairies; the Blackfeet Confederacy, comprising Siksika, Kainah (Blood), and Piegan; Northern Cheyenne (in Montana) and Southern Cheyenne (in Oklahoma); Menominee (in Michigan and Wisconsin); Potawatami and Sauk and Fox (originally from Michigan, now also in Wisconsin, Iowa, Oklahoma, and Kansas); and Blackfoot (in the northern Plains and Alberta).
2. The *Athapascan-Apachean* branch, represented by Lipan Apache (whose original homeland is part of what is now southwestern Texas); Kiowa Apache in Oklahoma; and Mescalero, Chiricahua, and Jicarillo Apache in Arizona and New Mexico.
3. *Caddoan,* represented by Arikara (in North and South Dakota); Caddo (originally in Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas, but removed to Oklahoma); Pawnee (originally in Nebraska, but removed to Oklahoma); and Wichitas (in Kansas and Oklahoma).
4. *Kiowa-Tanoan,* represented on the Plains by only one tribe, the Kiowa, who now live in Oklahoma. This language family is also represented in New Mexico and Arizona by Pueblo peoples who are speakers of the Tewa, Tiwa, and Towa languages.
5. *Muskogean,* represented by Choctaw and Chickasaw peoples (originally in Mississippi, Louisiana, Kentucky,

and Tennessee; after forced removal also in Oklahoma); Creek (Muskogee), including Seminole (originally in Alabama, Georgia, and Florida; after forced removal also in Oklahoma).

6. *Salish,* represented in the northwestern Plains region by Salish-Kootenai, Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead, and Coeur d'Alene, whose ancestral homeland includes Idaho, Montana, and Washington, as well as parts of what is now southern Canada.
7. *Siouan,* by far the largest group on the Plains, represented by Assiniboine, also known in Canada as Stoney; Crow (Absaroka) in Montana; a subdivision of the Siouan family known as Deghiha, comprising Kansa (Kaw), Omaha, Osage, Ponca, and Quapaw, all of whom live in Oklahoma; Hidatsa (Gros Ventre); Iowa, Oto, and Missouri, who form a linguistic subdivision called Chiwere and who reside in Oklahoma; Mandan, who share a reservation with Arikara and Hidatsa in North Dakota; Hochunk (Winnebago); Dakota (Santee) in Minnesota, Nebraska, and parts of the Dakotas; Lakota, primarily in the western Dakotas; and Nakota or Yankton, primarily in the eastern Dakotas. The Mandan, Arikara, and Hidatsa are referred to as the Three Affiliated Tribes. The Dakota, Lakota, and Nakota are conventionally know as the "Sioux," a pejorative term loosely translated as "snakes in the grass," continues to be employed in the literature and in everyday speech.
8. *Tonkawan,* represented exclusively by Tonkawa in Oklahoma.
9. *Uto-Aztecan,* the speakers of which are found in a wide area of western North America and northwest Mexico. Currently represented in the Plains by Comanche originally from the southern Plains and now in Oklahoma; Shoshoni (in Idaho, Wyoming, Nevada, and Utah); and Ute-Southern Paiute (in Utah, Colorado, California, and Nevada).
10. *Euchee* (*Yuchi),* a language isolate, spoken by only a few remaining elders. Euchee people were moved from their homeland in Georgia to Oklahoma during the period of forced removal.

In addition to these spoken languages, Plains tribes used sign language, which facilitated trade by permitting people speaking diverse languages to communicate with each other.

CULTURAL DIVERSITY. Plains Indian nations present cultural diversity and complexity as well as linguistic diversity, and display significant cultural variation and resiliency—yet similarities exist. Philosophy and values acknowledge a holistic view of life that is cyclic in nature, representing unity and equality for all members. Concepts are interconnected and unified throughout all aspects of life including art, literature, music, language, social organization, religious traditions, law, and the environment. This integrated approach is thought to make life more satisfying and fulfilling.

Plains Indian communities document continuous habitation of the region for thousands of years through their histories and "stories of the people," and archaeologists as well have found evidence that supports human habitation for more than twelve thousand years. With the introduction and diffusion of the horse in the seventeenth century, the number of equestrian groups whose economy was based on buffalo hunting increased. Those most recognized as nomadic include, among northern peoples, the Absaroka, Assiniboine, Cheyenne, Gros Ventre, and Lakota; and, among southern peoples, the Arapaho, Comanche, and Kiowa. Some river valley and northern woodlands peoples maintain aspects of their traditional horticultural way of life. For example, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara on the northern high Plains, and Pawnee, Cree, Iowa, and Deghiha speakers on the southern Plains, as well as Shoshone and Ute in the western mountains, established traditions and worldviews significantly different from those of the more nomadic peoples. In the past, river valley and woodlands peoples lived in earth lodges, tilled the soil near their homes, and maintained agriculturalist and agrarian lifestyles. The more nomadic peoples lived most of the year in more portable housing, such as tipis, and transportation was by horse and dog travois over land and by round-shaped bullboats over water.

The most common forms of burial on the Plains were scaffold and tree burials. The deceased were dressed in fine clothing and wrapped in a buffalo hide, then placed on a scaffold or tree and secured tightly. During the burial, close relatives prepared foods for the spirit's journey to the hereafter and placed necessary implements and objects for the spirit near the burial site. The Cree and Ojibwa, unlike some of the other Plains peoples, buried their dead in the ground and conducted an annual Feast of the Dead. As in times past, most Native peoples today are respectful of the spirit of the deceased, so burial grounds are considered sacred. Although some of the above-ground burial practices have changed, the traditional respect for the spirit and the practice of helping the spirit prepare for its journey remain.

Extensive contact, trading, sharing of resources, and competition among and between groups took place prior to white encroachment, and sharing and crossover of traditions likely occurred. This blending of traditions was accelerated, paradoxically, by various U.S. government measures, such as the Removal Act of 1830, which through forced relocation put previously separated groups into contact with one another. For many groups and contributed to a crossover of traditions. Even more destructive to the survival of Native cultures was a series of U.S. government measures aimed at assimilation and acculturation, or the outright theft of their land, most notably the Dawes Act (1887), the Curtis Act (1989), the Indian Reorganization Act (1934), the Relocation Program (1952), the Termination Act (1953), and the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (1975). However, with the civil rights and Red Power movements of the 1960s and 1970s, many American Indian nations increased cultural preservation efforts and began reviving and recovering their languages, traditions, and ceremonies, each culturally unique and significant.

Religious Diversity. Christian missionaries who proselytized throughout the Plains region were particularly Eurocentric in their response to Native religious beliefs, holding that Christianity provided a more bona fide religion than Native traditions and that conversion to Christianity was necessary to help the peoples become assimilated and acculturated. Many actively sought government sanctions and laws against the practice of Native traditions, and worked assiduously to eradicate Native beliefs. They also believed that Native religious practices were primitive and that the self-mortification practiced by some of the tribes was immoral. The U.S. government banned most religious traditions and ceremonies, including the Sun Dance, during the 1880s and specifically in 1894 through an act of Congress. On the northern Plains, however, the Sun Dance went underground and was maintained by medicine men and holy interpreters. This ceremony cautiously emerged into public view again only in 1934. Many Indian religious practices, however, remained underground or were lost during this time period until the Native American Religious Freedom Act of 1978. Although missionaries and Christian religions in general became more accepting of Native beliefs over time, many of the attitudes of the past persist, as evidenced by continuing missionary proselytizing and conversion efforts.

For most Indian nations, the terminology and constructs used to describe religion, religious practices, and ideas of the sacred do not translate from the Native language with the same meanings and connotations as in English and Western religious thought. For example, spirituality and a relationship to the sacred permeate daily life, and most Indian languages do not have specific terms for the word *religion;* likewise, the English word *religion* does not accurately encompass Native ways of life, beliefs, traditions, and ceremonies. Furthermore, the term *sacred* encompasses both individual and collective revitalization, as well as the knowledge gained through visionary experiences. Therefore, the descriptions of various aspects of Native religion presented below should serve only as illustrations of general concepts, and should not be understood as exact replications in English of Native meanings.

Prevalent Traditions. This category encompasses beliefs, practices, and roles that are characteristic of a number of Plains peoples, yet have elements that are particular to each group. It includes symbols such as the pipe, tobacco, the eagle, and a spirit known as the trickster; the role of spiritual leaders or interpreters, who often consider themselves "common men" with a gift, but not holy (referred to as medicine men, shamans, or ritual practitioners in anthropological literature); and primary religious practices and ceremonies such as the Sun Dance, the vision quest, and the sweat lodge.

The pipe or calumet. A symbol of Plains Indian communities, the long-stemmed pipe or calumet, is a medium for prayer. When people pray with the pipe, the smoke rising from the pipe carries their message to the Creator. In many communities, smoking the pipe is also a prelude to various other ceremonies and activities. The pipe is smoked as a means of communicating with the spirits, as preparation for making a good decision, for thoughtfully considering one's actions, and while deliberating on important topics of concern. Pipes can be made from a number of substances. Those made with a bowl fashioned from catlinite, a red stone found in Pipestone, Minnesota, are valued and distributed throughout the Plains. Because the pipe is a gift from the spirits and considered sacred and powerful, it is treated with respect. The bowl is made separately from the pipe stem, which is wood or, in some cases, pipestone. Some tribes consider it disrespectful to store the pipe with the bowl attached to the stem; consequently the two parts are separated when not in use. People are careful of the language they use around the pipe, and individuals who act as "pipe carriers" assume a great responsibility for acting on behalf of the community. Children are taught respect for the pipe from an early age. Showing disrespect to the pipe by stepping over it or dropping it is avoided. If such an incident occurs, prayers and cleansing ceremonies directed by someone identified as knowledgeable in this area are employed.

Tobacco. Several types of Indian tobacco are smoked in the pipe. Tobacco is considered sacred and is spoken to as a spirit that is alive. It is sometimes wrapped in small pieces of cloth, called "prayer or tobacco ties," and used as offerings for honoring the spirits. Among the Crow (Absaroka), various types of tobacco historically were cultivated and traded with both European and Indians alike. Crow people consider tobacco important to their welfare and developed "tobacco societies" inspired by the visions and dreams of individuals. Members are given the task of overseeing the planting and harvesting of the crops. In times past, both men and women belonged. Specific songs, dances, and ceremonies are associated with tobacco societies, most of which are known only to members. For the Crow as well as other Plains nations, tobacco is viewed as medicine, bestowed by the spirits that brings the gift of power.

The eagle. The eagle is regarded as the most significant of all birds because of its great strength, prowess, hunting ability, and capacity to see. This bird is believed to be a messenger to and from the Creator or Great Spirit, and it assists humans in communicating with the spirits. Through the smoke that is emitted from the pipe, the eagle carries the smoke—that is, the prayers and supplications of humans—to the Great Spirit. Eagle feathers are prized for ceremonial purposes because of the bird's qualities and powers. They are bestowed on individuals deemed worthy on the basis of some act or supplication, or as a marker when an individual is moving through a life transition.

The Hidatsa are known for their ability to trap eagles. Eagle trapping is regarded as both a sacred and a dangerous event. In the past, late in the fall, eagle trappers would build a camp a mile or so from the village. High atop the hills each trapper dug a pit about three feet deep and covered it with grass and twigs to form a blind. Using a rabbit or small fox for bait, the trapper climbs into the pit and waits for an eagle to soar overhead and spot the bait. When the eagle lands on top of the pit, the trapper thrusts his hands upward and grabs the eagle by its legs, pulling it down into the pit and strangling it. After the feathers are secured, there is a ceremony in which the eagle's body is buried and offerings are made in thanks to its spirit.

The trickster. The trickster image figures prominently in Plains oral traditions as a humorous comic spirit, mediator between the spirits and humankind, and significant part of cultural identity. The trickster is admired for taking risks, and for transforming and breaking rules, yet also is held up as an example of what not to do. The trickster goes by a number of names, such as *Iktomi* (spider) among the Lakota; *Manabozho* (the compassionate trickster) among the Anishinaabeg; Great White Hare among the Algonquian speakers; Rabbit among the Seminole; and Old Man or Coyote among the Crow. In creation stories, the trickster teaches humans about culture after the establishment of the earth. He also is the principal character in a cycle of morality stories in which positive values are taught through negative example—that is, the hero always makes mistakes and demonstrates poor judgment. Children are told the stories to ensure that they grow up to be good people and do not behave like the trickster.

Spiritual leaders or interpreters. Most Plains traditions include community members who are spiritual leaders or interpreters for the spirits. Each leader or interpreter is well known in the community for his or her specialization in healing, prayer, or communication with the spirits, and this role is considered a gift from the spirits that is demanding, requiring many hours of service. Acceptance of responsibility for using the gift to the best of their ability is critical to the lives of spiritual leaders and to the lives of people in the community. For many Plains groups, the spiritual leader may be someone who the spirits have given the power to act as an interpreter. Sometimes, they are given the power to cure illness with the help of spirits or by ritual means, such as singing, dancing, or praying. Other times, they act as specialists in herbal curing.

Spiritual leaders differ according to the specific type of knowledge they have gained from the spirits and through visions. Although *shaman* and *medicine man* are general terms applied by scholars and others to a range of spiritual leaders, in each Native language specific and discrete terms are used to identify these individuals. For example, in Lakota, some of these leaders are known as *wocekiya wicasa* or *wapiya wicasa,* men of prayer, intercessors to the spirits, or "one who fixes." Public and private ceremonies directed by spiritual leaders take many forms, since they are conducted and performed according to the instructions received by the interpreter. The spiritual leader is usually paid for his services in food, money, or other necessities, although most indicate that payment is not required.

Spiritual leaders and interpreters are consulted in a variety of circumstances and involved in a range of activities, such as healing the sick, advising in family matters, naming children, conducting ceremonies, praying for an individual's welfare, and interpreting visions. In formal ceremonies such as the Sun Dance, the interpreter serves as an intermediary between the people and the spirits, and as someone who provides exclusive and extensive knowledge of the cosmological mysteries. Often, this knowledge is reflected in the use of a sacred language, one that is only understood by the spirits and other interpreters or medicine men.

The Plains Cree and Ojibwe brought a number of ceremonies from their Great Lakes homeland. One ceremony, probably related to the ceremonies of the Midewiwin or "Great Medicine society" in the Great Lakes, includes a practitioner (or leader) who is bound hand and foot and placed in a tipi. During the ceremony, spirits enter the tipi, untie the practitioner, and teach him how to cure the sick and find lost articles. Sometimes the tipi shakes while the practitioner is being untied. On the northern Plains among the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Lakota, and others a similar tradition exits. For Lakota, *Yuwipi* is the term for a curing ceremony held in a darkened room with a *yuwipi* man who is completely wrapped in a blanket and securely tied with ropes. At the end of the ceremony, the spirits have healed the individual and untied the *yuwipi* man.

The Sun Dance. An important religious ceremony of the Plains is the Sun Dance, often participated in to offer one's suffering as sacrifice so that others may not suffer. Each participant makes a commitment that necessitates humility, respect, and supplication. The ceremony is usually performed during the summer months. Men and women make vows to participate in the ceremony throughout the year (or during previous years; commitments can be for four consecutive years). They dance for several days (the number of which varies according to the tradition) gazing at the sun, or more precisely, in the direction of the sun. It is useful to note that the Sun Dance is held also in cloudy and even rainy weather, and may be performed at night during the time of a full moon. In fact, in Lakota there is no distinction between the words for sun and moon; both are called *wi,* and the only way to differentiate between them is by the use of a qualifier: the sun is known as "day *wi*" and the moon as "night *wi.*" Thus a phrase translated as "to gaze at the sun" cannot necessarily be linguistically differentiated from "to gaze at the moon," although conventionally the current translation always refers to the sun.

The Mandan Sun Dance, called *Okipa,* traditionally was held indoors in the tribe's medicine lodge, and typically lasted four days. During this time, the dancers are suspended from the lodge rafters. In other tribes, the Sun Dance is held outdoors within a defined sacred space at the center of a large circular arena that is surrounded by a shade arbor. The medicine man uses skewers or eagle claws to pierce the chest or back muscles of the male dancers who are prepared and in "the right frame of mind" for participation. Then, the skewers are attached to rawhide thong ropes that are tied to a sacred center pole. The dancers pull backward until they break free, thus releasing themselves from the thongs. According to Lakota philosophy, the only thing that one can offer to the Great Spirit is one's own body, because it is the only thing that a human being really owns. The Sun Dance allows such an offering to be made, and its ritual of suffering and release from suffering is offered as a service to the people.

The Blackfeet Sun Dance differs inasmuch as a woman, known for her industry, leads the dancers and bears the title "medicine woman." Although she does not go through the physical practices that her male counterparts do, she participates in a number of ceremonies that precede the actual dance. She presides over two important ceremonies: the Buffalo Tongues ceremony and the sweat lodge ceremony. Before the Sun Dance, people are asked to bring buffalo tongues to a certain lodge erected for this purpose. The tongues are ceremoniously skinned, cleaned, boiled, and then distributed. A sweat lodge is constructed from one hundred willow saplings that are placed in the ground and tied together at the top. The dancers fast and join in the sweat lodge before dancing.

The vision quest. The vision quest, or "dream seeking," is an essential part of Plains Indian conceptual and linguistic worldview, which is very much focused on dreaming and dream experiences. The ideas behind the vision quest are based in experiential processes that are broadly similar for many Native peoples, but that vary in specific detail depending on the tradition. Dream seeking is considered a mythic discourse incorporated into an intentional structure and regarded as a primary source of knowledge and power. The context of the vision, the knowledge that is gained, and the type of vision are unique to each individual. Some have described the experience as a merging of the dreaming and waking state that provides the seeker with knowledge and awareness. It is an intentional act, a search for power and explicit contact with the sacred.

During the vision quest, a person, usually male, seeks to find their purpose within their community. The dreamer embarks upon an ordeal in isolation from the community. Under the direction of a medicine man, each dreamer is led to a hill or other secluded spot, where they stay for an agreed-upon number of days in constant prayer and fasting in an effort to receive a vision that will be useful for their life and the lives of community members. The Lakota notion of *wacinksapa* or "respectful attention" characterizes the dreamer's attitude, concentration, and state of mind before, during, and after the ceremony. If a vision occurs, the dreamer may receive knowledge presented in experiential and imagistic forms; visions can be a vivid communication visualized as an animate form, an inanimate object, an idea, or a sensory experience. These communications from the spirits are treated with great care. The seeker may be instructed on how to maintain a connection to or awareness of the vision in order to remain cognizant of the gift that has been given. These manifestations of the spirits and the sacred may be used in times of need as important knowledge given to the seeker for a specific purpose. Sometimes these manifestations are evidenced in the creation of a painting, with attention given to specific colors and shapes that signify the vision. Power and knowledge gained through a vision also can be recalled through an object used in a medicine bundle, or through prayers and songs acquired and learned during the vision. The seeker also might acquire a new name, receive a calling to act in service to the people or be given a task to perform or goal to be pursued. Guardians, helpers, or spirits may present themselves and provide the seeker with guidance. Interpretation of the vision may come soon after the experience in conversation with the medicine man or may not become available to the seeker until some time after the experience. In all cases, the purpose of the quest is to receive instructions about important actions, events, or opportunities that will affect the seeker's life and, often, the life of the community.

The sweat lodge. The sweat lodge is regarded as a means of purifying individuals both physically and spiritually. Participation provides an opportunity to contemplate, pray for those in need, and enter into a sacred space. A small number of participants join together with a medicine man in a dome-shaped lodge constructed of saplings and covered with hides and blankets to make it airtight and dark. Some preparations are necessary prior to the ceremony. The lodge must be maintained, kept clean and ready for use, with rocks and wood collected. A fire for heating the stones is started and tended for a number of hours prior to the ceremony, and individuals who know the songs and can participate in the singing must be on hand. In the center of the lodge floor, a hole is dug into which the heated stones are ladled by the fire tender. The hides are secured firmly over the lodge and, closing the door flap, the medicine man sprinkles water over the heated stones, causing steam to fill the lodge. The participants perspire as they sing and pray together, asking for help from the spirits who come into the lodge and praying for the welfare of the people. Frequently, a sweat lodge is conducted as a prefatory or cleansing ritual, or before undertaking a vision quest or other religious ceremony. Sometimes the focus of prayers is for the healing of specific individuals who suffer from mental, physical, or spiritual illness.

INTERTRIBAL AND DIFFUSED TRADITIONS. The Ghost Dance and the Native American Church provide examples of beliefs and rituals that are acknowledged as intertribal and diffused traditions, and that are not limited specifically to Plains peoples.

The Ghost Dance. Between 1869 and the 1890 massacre at Wounded Knee, a pacifistic movement called the Ghost Dance spread throughout the Plains. Participants in the dance sought to fight against white domination and sing the spirits of the ancestors back to life. It is often associated with the Earth Lodge Cult, begun around the same time, which called for the destruction of whites in a cataclysmic event. The Ghost Dance began when Wovoka, a Paiute prophet, had a vision in which he was instructed that if Native peoples retained their ways, danced, and prayed for a further vision, then the whites would disappear and all the relatives who had died, including the four-legged ones such as the buffalo, would return. In his vision, Wovoka said he visited with the spirits of the deceased, and they taught him a dance that would bring about these events. Talk of the vision spread across the Plains and prompted people to participate in an effort to restore lost relatives and the traditional way of life. The dancers performed for long periods of time until they fell to the ground. When they awoke, they talked and sang of meetings with their dead relatives and of how happy they were that the old way of life would soon return.

The prophet's vision and the Ghost Dance emerged out of a time of desperation, intense suffering, starvation, death, and loss of a way of life for Native peoples. The return of relatives did not come during Wovoka's time or at the height of the movement. Instead, the federal government, fearing that the dance would serve to engender hostilities, ordered all dancing stopped. On December 29, 1890, a band of peaceful peoples fleeing persecution were surrounded at Wounded Knee Creek on the Pine Ridge Reservation. For allegedly participating in the dance, and out of fear of Indian community revitalization, over three hundred disarmed Lakota men, women, and children from Chief Big Foot's Mnicoujou band were massacred. This event has served as a marker for the end of the Ghost Dance movement and the Plains Indian wars. However, Native American scholars acknowledge that the principles behind the Ghost Dance movement continue to be evidenced today in Native communities through the recognition of the importance of the past, assessments of current conditions in Indian communities, personal commitments to taking action against existing conditions, and visions of a better life in the future. Furthermore, some Native scholars believe that the prayers of the Ghost Dancers are coming true today because the white man is leaving the Great Plains and the buffalo are coming back. In this, the buffalo are considered to be an agent in the restoration of their way of life.

The Native American Church. An intertribal religion established well over 7,000 years ago that spread across the Plains at the turn of the twentieth century is the Native American Church, also known as the "Peyote Road." Long before Columbus arrived in the New World, the Native peoples of Mexico were using a plant from the cactus family in their religious ceremonies. The Aztecs called it *peyotl,* a term that refers to a number of plants with elements that produce hallucinatory sensations when ingested in a green or dry state or in a tea. The Huichols of Mexico established a complex cultural life in relation to the use of peyote that includes a long history, dating back to before 200 CE, of pilgrimages to gather peyote and care for the peyote fields. They believe peyote to be the heart, soul, and memory of the Creator, given to them so that they could learn about relationships and respect. Likewise, peyote *(Lophophora williamsii LeMaire)* is regarded by members of the Native American Church as a sacred plant, a sacrament, and a gift from the Great Spirit that may be consumed for the welfare of the people during prayer meetings.

The peyote plant, whose "buttons" contain the hallucinogen mescaline, is found in Mexico and Texas on both banks of the Rio Grande. From the tribes of Mexico, the plant itself and certain ceremonies associated with it diffused northward to the Comanche, Apache, Tonkawa, Kiowa, Cheyenne, and Arapaho, and ultimately to other surrounding tribes. Some credit Quanah Parker, a Comanche leader, with bringing Half Moon–style peyote meetings to the southern Plains. After being injured while traveling south, he was cured by a Lipan Apache *curandera* who practiced the sacred use of peyote.

The Peyote Road or Road of Life has been influenced by Christianity as well as individual tribal beliefs; thus there are minor differences in the ceremonies from one church meeting to another. There are two major divisions, analogous to denominations: the Half Moon, by far the most popular and freer of Christian influences, and the Big Moon (also known as Cross Fire). The rituals of the two divisions differ somewhat, the greatest ideological difference being that Big Moon uses the Bible in its ceremonies and does not always employ tobacco as a catalyst for prayer. Members of both divisions pray to Jesus Christ, equate the consumption of the peyote button with the sacrament of Holy Communion, and espouse basic tenets of Christian churches in their prayers and songs. If all members attending a meeting are from the same tribe, it is likely that one Native language will be used. If members from several tribes gather together, often English is used, and the songs are sung in a variety of Native languages, many in Diné (Navajo) and Lakota. The content and form of meetings are decided by "the peyote roadman," and despite variations, there are some features, customs, and practices that are common to all.

Peyote meetings are held on Saturday nights, usually from sundown to sunup on Sunday. They take place in traditionally shaped tipis made from canvas, which are conscientiously erected for the occasion and dismantled after a meeting is concluded. To insure the proper attitude of respect, great care and attention is paid to all details including beadwork, paintings, and the creation of the altar. The doorway of the tipi faces east, and in the center of the tipi a fireplace is built, behind which is a crescent-shaped earthen altar. On top of the altar is placed a large peyote button called Father, or Chief, Peyote. Between the fire and the altar is another crescent made from ashes. Between the fireplace and the doorway of the tipi are placed food and water that later will be ceremonially consumed.

The principal leaders of the meeting are assigned special seats inside the tipi. The peyote "roadman," or "road chief," sits directly opposite the doorway, in what is for most Plains tribes the traditional seat of honor. To his left sits the cedar chief, and next to the doorway sits the fire boy. To the right of the roadman sits the drum chief, the keeper of the special drum used in the ceremony. The drum chief is entrusted with keeping a commercially made three-legged brass kettle over which he stretches a hide. The kettle is partially filled with water to regulate the tone, and the hide is tied to the kettle by a rope in such a manner that when the tying is complete the rope forms an outline of a six-pointed star, called the "morning star," on the underside of the drum. Each person has his own drumstick, usually carved out of the same wood as the staff and gourd handle also used in the ceremony. The rest of the congregation is interspersed between the ritual leaders around the perimeter of the tipi. If a Bible is used it is placed between the earth altar and the roadman.

Each member has their own ritual belongings that are stored in a "feather box," typically rectangular and made of wood and often decorated with inlaid silver or with painted designs, including representations of the crescent moon, the tipi, a stylized version of a water turkey *(Anhinga anhinga),* a star, and utensils used in the ceremony. The box usually contains a "loose fan," so called because the feathers are not set rigidly into the handle; a large Father Peyote; a staff—constructed in three sections from a rare wood such as ebony (in Christian-influenced meetings this is often called the "staff of life")—and sometimes a gourd rattle; and an arrow with a blunt head; all (except for the peyote itself) are symbols of peace. Most peyotists wear a blanket made of red and blue material, usually a copy of old-time wool cloth received from traders. The red is symbolic of day, the blue of night.

Peyote meetings are generally held to pray for the welfare of the people. They also may be conducted for special purposes such as curing ceremonies, birthday celebrations, funerals, or memorial services, or when people leave the community to travel great distances or return from the armed services. Someone wishing to initiate and participate in the ceremony formally asks for a meeting to be conducted and offers tobacco to a roadman. When a meeting is scheduled, participants arrive at the home of the sponsor, who provides all the peyote buttons for consumption during the meeting, as well as the food that will be shared by the participants at the conclusion of the ceremony. At dusk the roadman asks all who wish to pray for a good life for their families and others to follow him into the tipi. The roadman places Father Peyote upon the altar and the cedar chief sprinkles needles on the fire. Often, cigarettes made from cornhusks and tobacco are rolled and passed around the circle of participants. When the ritual smoking has ended, the ashes of the cigarettes are collected and placed near the altar. Sage is passed around and each member rubs sage on his hands, arms, and face, or chews pieces of it. Next the peyote buttons are passed around and each member takes four of them. At this point the singing begins.

The peyote chief takes some sage, the staff, and the gourd rattle and tells the drum chief to begin. As the drum resounds, the peyote chief sings the opening song of the ceremony. This is sung four times, and when he finishes, each member in turn eats some of the peyote buttons and sings four songs. The man to the right of the singer plays the drum while the singer shakes the gourd rattle. In this manner the ritual of eating and singing progresses around the tipi clockwise. Concurrent with the visionary experience, during meetings there is a feeling of closeness with God. The praying, eating of peyote, and singing continue until midnight, when the fire boy informs the peyote roadman of the time and leaves the tipi to get a bucket of water. He returns with the water for the roadman, who dips a feather into the bucket and splashes water on the people. After smoking and praying, the water is passed around to the members so that each may drink. During this part of the meeting another standard song is sung. After the water drinking, the bucket is removed and the singing and drumming continue.

Before each major segment of the meeting, the cedar chief burns incense and the members purify themselves and their belongings in the smoke. The ceremony lasts until dawn, when the morning-water woman is called into the lodge bearing another bucket of water. She is usually a relative of the peyote chief, who now sings the dawn song. The roadman smokes and prays and may doctor those who are ill or pray for the welfare of the people. After the ceremonial water drinking, the woman retrieves the bucket and leaves the tipi. The peyote chief then sings the "quittin' song" while the morning-water woman prepares the traditional breakfast consisting of water, corn, fruit, and meat.

Many missionaries frown on participation and membership in the Native American Church, despite its Christian aspects. Yet, it has become increasingly popular among many tribes, currently having approximately 300,000 members. In 1965 the Federal Drug Administration classified peyote as a controlled substance, and there has been a great deal of controversy over Indians' use of the plant in their religious meetings. Yet neither the legal issues nor the implication of immorality on the part of whites has prevented the Native American Church from becoming an important religious movement in the United States and Canada. The American Indian Religious Freedom Act (1978) guaranteed protection of religious rights for Native Americans, including the right to use peyote. However, church members were still liable to prosecution for possession. It was not until the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (1993) and, a U.S. Supreme Court ruling regarding the transportatin of peyote in 1994 (see Smith and Snake) that members of the Native American Church were guaranteed the right to both use peyote during ceremonies and transport it from the gathering fields across state lines.

ADDITIONAL PHILOSOPHY. Ideas of the sacred, as well as proscriptions against what is forbidden or profane, are unique to each nation and community. Many Native peoples describe their histories and the contexts of their ceremonies as particular to time and place and originating from specific events or through the mentorship of a prophet or holy person, someone who brings the ceremonies to the people for their continued well-being. Both states, the sacred and profane, may be changed through the intercession of the spirits and the mediation of prayer, song, and dance to strengthen the community by contact with the spirits. Aspects of the sacred and profane can be changed through this intercession. The idea of the holy is often expressed in Native terms such as *Wakan* (Lakota), Algonquian variants of *Manitu, Xube* (Ponca), *Wakonda* (Omaha), and *Puha* (Comanche). All animate and inanimate objects serve as evidence of the sacred. The rituals employed to transform persons or objects from a profane state to a sacred one have frequently, but erroneously, been called "medicine," or "making medicine"; likewise, the source of a medicine man's personal power is kept in a "medicine bundle." Medicine, however, is a term encompassing sacred power in all its revelations.

The supernatural. In each Native language, power and sacredness are distinguished from each other. Certain English-language renderings of Native terms, such as *Great Mystery* and *Great Spirit,* seem to refer to a single creator or prime mover, and this led Christians to falsely ascribe to Native Americans a belief in a monotheistic god prior to European contact. However, there is no empirical evidence for this belief, and today terms such as *Supreme Being* or *Mysterious Being* are usually acknowledged as designating the totality of all supernatural beings and powers, as well as "a Power" greater than the individual. Various terms in Native languages reference the idea of the "great holy," including *Behä'tixtch,* "the Leader of All" (Gros Ventre); *Wakantanka,* most often translated as "Great Mystery" or "Great Spirit" (Lakota); and *Mahópini,* "inexplicable power" (Mandan). Often symbols are used to designate important spirits associated with star phenomena, and the Great Mystery may be addressed as the Sun or Morning Star, or as a terrestrial counterpart, Mother Earth. These references are significant since Plains peoples are avid and accurate astronomers and geographers who carefully note the cyclic nature of the stars and planets.

Often, prohibitions associated with intercourse, menstruation, and food—prominent on the Plains as in a number of traditions and cultures—have been misinterpreted and misconstrued. For example, previously in the anthropological literature, restrictions on menstruating women were interpreted as degrading toward women. It is more accurate, however, to see women's isolation and separation as related to issues of power and access to power. Women are seen as powerful particularly during times of fertility because of their ability to create life. (From the time a woman begins to menstruate she is seen as having the power to create life, regardless of the time of her specific cycle.) Men protect their power by not associating with women during this time in a woman's cycle, and rather than originating in a view of menstruation as "taboo," the proscriptions associated with avoidance of menstruating women reflect reverence for power inherent in women and the sacred nature of life.

The hereafter. A belief that each person has more than one "spirit," often equated with the Christian notion of "soul"—one that inheres in the living until death, another that corresponds to the notion of a ghost, as well as to other concepts—is common among Plains peoples. When someone dies, they travel along the path of the dead, associated with the Milky Way, toward their final destination located in the Southern Hemisphere. Death is respected as part of the path of life, and throughout one's life there is meaning, purpose, and responsibility. Mourners may stay near a relative's body for several days after death, and during funeral proceedings the deceased as well as the mourners are addressed. Women and men may show respect for those who have died by cutting their hair short or by acts of physical sacrifice that may include an attitude of mourning for a period of time. It also is customary for relatives to give away all of the deceased's belongings. The Lakota mourn their dead for one year, sometimes through a special ceremony called Ghost Keeping in which a close relative keeps a lock of the deceased's hair in a special bundle for one year. Each day during the year, the ghost (that is, the deceased's spirit) is fed by the relative keeping the ghost. At the end of the year a farewell ceremony is held on the ghost's behalf, relatives assemble for the last time, and the spirit is freed.

Belief in spirits is common among Plains Indians, and it is accepted that spirits are capable of advising humans about the welfare of the tribe. Medicine men may ask the advice of spirits on how to cure people, and spirits may predict certain events in the lives of the living. Spirits also are capable of finding lost or stolen articles, and in some cases of taking another life. It is commonly believed that when a person dies, the spirit may attempt to entice a close relative to join it in death. Spirits herald their presence in numerous ways, and some believe that the sound of a baby crying outside in the night, or of a wolf howling or rooster crowing, means a spirit is calling someone to die. Family members may fire guns to frighten away the spirit, or medicine men may burn incense with an aroma that is displeasing to spirits.

Creation stories. Plains peoples have developed comprehensive philosophies, religious systems, and sacred ways based on oral tradition and knowledge. Their origin or creation stories express complex truths about the histories of Native peoples, and the stories are used to educate children and to document the history of each nation.

Among Plains nations, the Pawnee provide an example of religious innovation, having established a comprehensive religious philosophy. Pawnee creation stories describe the creation of the world; the origin of animals, humans, and all other living things; and the power of the spirits. The Pawnee creation story tells of Tirawa, the Supreme Being, who was married to the "Vault of Heaven." Purely spiritual beings with no physical shape, these two reigned somewhere in the heavens beyond the clouds. Tirawa sent his commands to humans through a number of spirits and messengers who manifested themselves to the Pawnees. Tcuperika (Evening

Star) is personified as a young maiden and is keeper of a garden in the West, the source of all food. She has four assistants, Wind, Cloud, Lightning, and Thunder, and is married to Oprikata (Morning Star), a strong warrior. From Tcuperika and Oprikata, the first human on earth was born. Other spirits include the four directions, the northeast, southeast, southwest, and northwest, and the three spirits of the north: "North Star," chief of all stars; "North Wind," who gave the buffalo to humans; and Hikus (Breath), who gave life itself to the People. "Sun" and "Moon" were married and produced the second person on earth, whose marriage to the offspring of "Morning Star" and "Evening Star" gave rise to the human race. At the southern end of the Milky Way stood "Star of the South," and the campfires of the departed that received the spirits of the dead. Another star named Skiritiuhuts (Fool Wolf) became offended at one of the councils of star people and in revenge introduced death to the world of humans.

The Hako. Pawnee ceremonies include those dedicated to "Thunder," to "Morning Star," and to "Evening Star," practiced in connection to the planting and harvesting of Mother Corn as well as for the general welfare of the people. The Hako is performed to acknowledge relationships and a sense of responsibility between community members, and to ensure that community members enjoy long life, happiness, and peace. The *Ku'rahus* (elder, or "Man of Years"), who is venerated for his knowledge and experience, conducts the Hako. To him is entrusted the supervision of the songs and prayers, which must be performed precisely in the same order each time. The Hako is usually performed in the spring when birds are nesting or in the fall when they are flocking. Performers pray for the life, strength, and growth of the people.

Those taking part in the ceremony are divided into two groups: the fathers who sponsor the ceremony and the children who receive the focused intentions, prayers, and gifts from the fathers. The head of the fathers' group, called Father, is responsible for employing the *Ku'rahus.* The head of the children's group, called Son, acts on behalf of the other children. The most important objects used in the Hako are the sacred feathered wands resembling pipe stems without the bowls attached. In the past the ceremony took three days and three nights, during which time twenty-seven rituals were performed, each ritual and song unveiling sacred history and stories and cementing the relationships of fathers and children. At the end of the ceremony the wands are waved over the children, sealing the bond between fathers and children. Most of the ritual objects are discarded, with the exception of the feathered wands, which are given to one of the children for keeping. At a later date the children assume the fathers' role and offer prayers to another group of children, thus perpetuating the tradition and solidarity of the Pawnee. The children may also take the wands to other tribes as an offering of peace.

Sacred Arrow Renewal. The Sacred Arrow Renewal ceremony is an important one for the "People Like Us," referred to in English as the Cheyenne. The Cheyenne are closely related to "Our Own Kind of People," known as the Arapaho, and the creation story of both groups is closely guarded and considered sacred. The Cheyenne believe that long ago Maiyun, the Supreme Being, gave four sacred (medicine) arrows to their prophet, Sweet Medicine, in a cave located in the Black Hills of South Dakota. When Sweet Medicine gave the arrows to the People, one person was appointed Keeper of the Sacred Arrows. In 1833, according to Cheyenne histories, the Pawnee captured the Sacred Arrows and, as a result, difficulties befell the People. Although two of the arrows were returned, two substitutes remain in place of two other arrows that are still missing.

Maiyun instructed Sweet Medicine in the proper care of the arrows and the sacred ceremonies associated with them. Sweet Medicine was given the responsibility of teaching the Cheyenne about the powers of the arrows and their importance for the survival of the People. Sweet Medicine lived with the People for 446 years and provided them with instructions on ways to live; among other things he counseled them to form a representative government in which spiritual and medicine people are vested with the highest authority. He prophesized the coming of the white people, and of the misfortune, illness, death, and devastation that would befall the People with their arrival. Another prophecy described a prophet the People would meet named *So'taaeo'o* (Erect Horns), who later taught them the Sun Dance and other sacred traditions distinctive to the Cheyenne.

The Sacred Arrow Renewal ceremony traditionally takes four days to perform and occurs every other year. After the site has been chosen by a group of individuals (usually men held in high esteem), a special lodge is prepared on the first day. New poles are cut and the lodge covering is borrowed from families of good reputation. Inside the lodge the medicine people of the tribe sit on beds of sage. As part of the preparations, each Cheyenne family provides a special counting stick to the leader of the ceremony that symbolically represents each member of the tribe. An individual pledges to sponsor a Sacred Arrow Renewal ceremony, and the arrows are unwrapped and displayed. The man making the pledge does so to fulfill a vow. Although only one person makes the pledge, the ceremony is given on behalf of all Cheyenne, to protect against famine and annihilation and to ensure a long and prosperous life for all.

On the second day the sacred arrows are obtained from the keeper and the bundle is opened and examined. If the flight feathers of the arrows are in any way damaged, a man known for his bravery is chosen to replace the feathers. On the third day the arrows are renewed and each of the counting sticks is blessed on behalf of all the families in the tribe. On the last day the arrows are exhibited to the male members of the tribe. The Cheyenne say that it is difficult to look directly at the arrows because they give off a blinding light. To conclude the ceremony, the medicine people make predictions about the future of the People. With the conclusion of a sweat lodge ceremony, the Sacred Arrow Renewal ritual is officially over, and the Cheyenne symbolically began life anew.

SEE ALSO Blackfeet Religious Traditions; Ghost Dance; Lakota Religious Traditions; Sun Dance; Tobacco; Wovoka.

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WILLIAM K. POWERS (1987)
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NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS: INDIANS OF THE NORTHWEST COAST [FIRST EDITION]

The peoples of the Pacific Northwest Coast of North America live along a narrow strip of land that extends from the mouth of the Columbia River north to Yakutat Bay in Alaska. Cut off, for the most part, from the tribes around them by the rugged, impenetrably forested mountains that rise from the sea, and relatively isolated from one another by the scarcity of habitable beach sites, they developed a variety of distinct but intertwined local traditions.

For the sake of convenience, the Northwest Coast culture area has been divided into three subareas: the northern area is inhabited by the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian peoples; the central by the Bella Coola, Nootka, and Kwakiutl groups; and the southern by the Coast Salish and Chinookan tribes of the Washington and Oregon coasts. While the cultures within each sub-area share some basic traits that distinguished them from one another, the bewildering variety of linguistic, social, political, and ideological variations within each area implied numerous migrations, acculutrations, and cultural borrowings that make any retrospective synthesis of Northwest Coast culture a formidable task.

Adding complexity are the effects of contact with white culture, which did not begin until the late eighteenth century. The vast wealth introduced into the area by the sea-otter fur trade altered the balance of wealth and power that had existed in the aboriginal period. During the nineteenth century (usually referred to as the "historical" period, and the time frame for this essay) the peoples of the Northwest Coast underwent dramatic social change, including cultural efflorescence, drastic population decline, wholesale abandonment of ancestral villages, the formation of new composite villages, increased trade, and intermarriage between all of which contributed to the tribes, diffussion of religious traditions at a vastly accelerated rate. The indigenous peoples eventually, came under heavy governmental and missionary pressure to abandon all native customs.

MATERIAL CULTURE. The lives of the Northwest Coast Indians were entirely oriented toward the sea, on whose bounty they depended. The staple food of the area was salmon; varieties of salmon were smoked and stockpiled in immense quantities. However, many other types of fish, sea mammals, large land mammals, water birds, shellfish, and varieties of wild plants were also collected. Though food was plentiful, the rugged topography of the land limited access to food-collecting sites. Access to these sites was also controlled by an oligarchy of hereditary nobles (called "chiefs") who maintained their power primarily through ritual performances that legitimized their claims.

Northwest Coast technology was based on a complex of wood and animal products. Wood and tree bark, especially from cedars, were the fundamental materials and were used ubiquitously. Humans lived in houses, traveled in canoes, caught fish with hooks, trapped salmon in weirs, stored their belongings and were themselves interred in boxes, and wore clothing and ceremonial costumes all made from wood products. A system of symbolic correspondences between objects underlay the entire ceremonial system. Skins, flesh, and bones from animals were also used and played a critical symbolic role in religious activities.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. The basic principles of Northwest Coast social organization have been the object of much theoretical controversy. Traditional tribal appellations may lump together groups with similar languages but very different customs, and vice versa. Essentially the basic unit of social and political organization was the independent extended local family, defined by some degree of lineal descent and by coresidence in a single communal household in a single winter ceremonial village. (Winter was the season in which virtually all ceremonies were held.) Group membership was defined less by kinship than by concerted economic and ceremonial activity, though in the northern subarea suprafamilial kin groups played a role in setting the boundaries of a group. The head of each household was its political and spiritual leader, the inheritor and custodian of the house's aristocratic titles, and its ambassador to both human and supernatural worlds. All aristocratic titles in each area were ranked hierarchically for all ceremonial activities. Whether or not the hierarchical system created a class structure as well as a rank structure is a controversial theoretical question. While there was some social mobility, social position was primarily ascribed and inherited. However, all succession to rank had to be validated by the giving of a potlatch at which the heir recounted or reenacted in dance drama the family myths that proved the legitimacy of his claim; the potlatch also proved his personal power and spiritual worthiness by the heir's distribution of wealth to other chiefs. The potlatch was a major mechanism for promoting group solidarity, organizing labor, and maintaining the structure of the hierarchical system. As one goes north within the area, hierarchical systems seem to increase in importance and are firmly embedded in a religious matrix. The peoples of the southern subarea seemed to put little emphasis on hierarchy and exhibited a social structure and religious ideology with more similarities to peoples of the Plateau and California areas than to the coastal peoples to their north.

BELIEF AND RITUAL. There was little synthesis of religious ideas and institutions on the Northwest Coast. Rituals and myths developed into a multiplicity of local traditions that directly integrated local history and geographical features with the more universal elements of creation. Different families and different individuals within families might have conflicting accounts of family history and its mythic events, giving the religious traditions an atomistic quality that permitted a continual restructuring of ceremonies and renegotiating of meanings. However, much of the cognitive conflict that might arise from such discrepancies was mitigated by the fact that although there was an extraordinary amount of public ceremony most rituals were performed in secret and were known only to the rankholder and his heir.

Like the religious traditions of other native North American peoples, the beliefs of the Northwest Coast Indians focused on the critical relationship of hunter to prey and on the set of moral principles that permitted that relationship to continue. Humans were thought to be essentially inferior to the rest of the world's inhabitants and were dependent on other creatures' good will for survival. Humans were important as mediators between different spirit realms because supernatural beings had granted them gifts of knowledge and insight about how the world operates and how they fit into the world. The features unique to Northwest Coast religion centered on the private possession and inherited control of the religious institutions by titled aristocrats. Access to the supernatural beings (called "spirits" by anthropologists because of their essential rather than corporeal nature) and their power was strictly under the control of chiefs, as was access to food.

Spirits. The origin of all power—both the power to control and, more importantly, the power to become aware—was in the spirit world, and the actions of spirit power, which gave form and purpose to everything, were visible everywhere. All objects, ideas, forces, and beings were believed to have inherent power that could be released and directed into human affairs, if correctly integrated into ritual action. The world was seen as filled with spirit power that could be reified in human rituals. Spirits, the personified categories of power, were less characters than ineffable forces. As a salmon could be brought into the human world when caught in a properly constructed net, so could spirit power be brought into the human world when caught in a net of properly constructed ritual action. Humans could never perceive the true nature of spirits, but they could see that the costumes—created as coverings for the spirits—became animated when the spirits covered themselves with them and danced.

An example may better explicate the idea of spirits as essences: the *sisiutl*, visible to humans in its manifestation as a huge double-headed serpent, was one of the most powerful spirits in Kwakiutl ceremony. It was the reification of all the inherent qualities and power of that which is wet and fluid—ocean, rain, blood, tears, and so on—and by extension all that is uncontainable and transitory and all that is insignificant in small quantities, life-sustaining in proper amounts, and dangerous in excess. The *sisiutl* thus provides a metaphor for a key ideological tenet of Kwakiutl thought: that the world is in motion and can be stopped (and thus perceived as a material entity) only temporarily; that human life, ritual, understanding, wealth, and power will come to pass but will flow away like water. The *sisiutl* was only one among hundreds of creatures depicted in Northwest Coast myth and ritual—each a vision, a realization, of the processual nature of the universe, and each a metaphorical statement of a fundamental philosophical idea.

The peoples of the Northwest Coast saw their world as one in which myriad personified forces were at work, competing for a limited supply of food and souls. Every human, every group, every species, and every spirit-being had its own needs, its own specialized niche in the food chain. All of their conflicting demands and needs had to be balanced against one another, and this could be achieved only through ritual, which was seen as a method of mediation between the various creatures of the universe. The world was filled with a seemingly endless variety of raptorial creatures who feed on human flesh and souls just as humans feed on salmon flesh. Man-eating birds and other animals, ogres, dwarves, giants, and monsters were believed to prey upon humans as raptorial birds prey upon mice (a frequent image in Northwest Coast myths).

Animals, which were seen as the material representations of spiritual beings, sacrificed themselves for the benefit of human survival because humans had agreed to sacrifice themselves for the benefit of the spirits. The metaphors of Northwest Coast ritual continually repeat the image of the responsibility of humans to support the spirit world. Humans and spirits, living off each other's dead, were intertwined in a reincarnational web. By eating the substance of each other's bodies, they freed the souls and permitted their reincarnation. If any link in the ritual chain was lost, the entire system of reincarnation broke down.

Food. Food was thus a sacramental substance, and meals were inherently ceremonial occasions. Northwest Coast religosity placed a heavy emphasis on the control of food-related behavior, on the denial of hunger (which was thought to be a polluting desire), and on the ritual distribution of food and other material substances. The rules, taboos, and rituals associated with food are ubiquitous and enormous in number.

Of all the ceremonies directed toward the propitiation of the animals on which humans feed, those known collectively as the first-salmon ceremonies were the most widespread. These were sets of rituals performed every year in each area over the first part of the salmon catch of each species. Similar ceremonies existed for other species as well. The fish were addressed as if they were chiefs of high rank and were killed, prepared, and served in a ceremonious manner. Their released souls returned to the land of their compatriots to inform them of the proper treatment that they had been accorded. Like most other Northwest Coast rituals, these ceremonies were the property of individual chiefs, who performed them for the benefit of all of the people. All hunting was imbued with ceremony, since success in the hunt was strictly a matter of the proper ritual relationship to the hunted animal. The ceremonies associated with hunting were an important part of a family's inheritance.

Guardian spirits. In theory, a person could obtain a guardian spirit by dedication to a regimen of self-mortification, abstinence, fasting, prayer, and ritual bathing. However, the most powerful contracts with the spirits were obtained in mythic times through the group's ancestors, and these contracts formed the basis of the rank system. Every ranked position was actually an embodiment of a spiritual contract—a covenant between the rankholder and the spirit world. The relationship between the ancestor and the spirit was the primary element of a family's patrimony and was constantly reaffirmed in ritual. As the living representative of the ancestor, the rankholder acted as an intermediary to the spirits on secular occasions and as an impersonator or embodiment of a spirit on sacred occasions.

The relationships between particular aristocrats and particular spirits were manifested in a system of "crests," which were images of spirits that have become allied with individual families. The right to depict the image of a spirit, or in some cases even to pronounce its name in public, was a fiercely guarded possession. All objects of spiritual importance were decorated with images of a person's guardian spirits. This gave the objects a name, an identity, and the ability to act as a conduit through which spirit power could be directed. While crest images acted on one level as emblems of a group's status, they were more than mere coats of arms—they were ritual objects of causal power. Most crest images presented representations of transformation, a key idea in Northwest Coast thought, which expressed the interlocked identities and destinies of humans and spirits. Through the crest, the identity of the aristocrat was connected to that of the spirit being, and through this connection the aristocrat's self expanded to a more cosmic identity. The widespread use of crest objects was graphic proof of the extent to which religious ideas permeated the entire fabric of Northwest Coast culture.

In addition to having shared destinies, humans and spirits were interrelated in that all creatures were considered to be human and to possess human souls. Each lived in its own place in one of the levels of the universe, where it inhabited a house, performed ceremonies, and otherwise acted like a human being. At the proper season, the spirits donned costumes and visited the world of humans, where they appeared in their transformed identity. Similarly, humans who appeared to themselves as humans put on costumes and appeared to the spirits as spirits.

With the exception of Frederica De Laguna's account of Tlingit culture (1972), Northwest Coast Indian ideas of the self, its components, and its relationship to the spirits are not well documented. It is clear that the soul was believed to have several material manifestations as well as several incorporeal components. A person was viewed as a combination of life forces and parts from different planes of existence, and therefore as having spiritual connections in many directions. Whatever their component parts, souls were thought to exist in only limited numbers, to undergo metempsychosis, to be transferred from one species to another, and to be reincarnated alternately in first a human and then either a spirit or animal being. A human death freed a soul for an animal or spirit, and vice versa, linking humans, animals, and spirits in a cycle of mutual dependency. Ideas about the soul and its nature seem to have been better codified among the Northern peoples, though this impression may be an artifact of the high quality of De Laguna's ethnography.

Shamanism. Connections to the spirit world could be made through inheritance or by acquiring, through a vision, the power to cure disease. All illnesses and death were considered a sickness of the spirit that was caused either by the magical intrusion of a foreign substance into the body or by the wandering or the loss of the soul. When methods for reestablishing one's spiritual purity failed to alleviate the symptoms, a curer (or "shaman") was called in. A shaman cured an illness by going into a trance during which his guardian spirits would fight with the soul of the disease or of the witch who had sent the disease. When the shaman came out of his trance, he was able to display a small object that symbolically represented the empty husk of the diseased spirit body. Shamanic paraphernalia, like other ritual objects, were formed and moved so as to direct the spirit power in the proper ways to effect a cure. Shamanic performances were dramatic events, with much stage illusion as well as singing, dancing, and praying.

Shamans acted as intermediaries between humans and the forces of nature and the supernatural, and were thought to be able to foretell the future, control the weather, bring success in war or in hunting, communicate with other shamans at a distance, and, most importantly, cure illnesses and restore souls stolen by witches or maleficent spirits. The shaman was believed both to control and to be inspired by the spirits with whom he was connected. Among the Tlingit, shamanic rituals were usually inherited, but among the central tribes they were obtained through visions. Shamans had to undergo strict regimens if they were to retain their powers; shamanism was a route to prestige but not to title, nor was it a lucrative profession. It was believed that the shaman received his calling involuntarily, but that, having been chosen, it was his responsibility to accept wholeheartedly the burdens of his profession.

Witches. Northwest Coast Indian beliefs about shamans were complemented by their beliefs about witchcraft, an introduced concept. Witches were thought to be motivated by envy and jealousy, either conscious or unconscious, and there was no act, no matter how terrible, of which they were thought incapable. Patterns of witchcraft among the Northwest Coast Indians were parallel to those of other North American groups: it seems likely that few if any people practiced witchcraft, but accusations of witchcraft were an important means of articulating rivalry and competition. Among the central tribes, witches were generally thought to be shamans from enemy tribes; among the northern groups, where fear of witches was more prevalent, witches were thought to belong to the same kin group as their victims. Witches were thought to be under the compulsion of a possessive spirit, from whose influence the witch could be freed by torture. Occasionally witches died under torture or were executed despite their confession. The best protection against witches was to maintain spiritual purity through fasting and the correct performance of ceremonies. As long as the ceremonies were performed, the world existed in the proper balance, and witches could not do harm.

The causal principle underlying the ideas of the Northwest Coast Indians on the effectiveness of ritual lay in the idea that under the proper analogical conditions, the patterned motions or words of human beings have an inherent ability to coerce the spirits into parallel actions. Thus a human action could be magnified and intensified into a power that alters the state of the world. Human beings were conduits for supernatural power: although they possess no powers themselves, humans could become the vehicles of supernatural power if they observed the proper ritual actions. In creating analogies between themselves and the spirits, humans gained the ability to influence the actions of those more powerful than themselves.

Creation. Supporting the social and ritual systems was an extensive and varied body of myths and tales (which, except in the work of Claude Lévi-Strauss, have been little analyzed). There were few myths about the creation of the world as such, since the world was seen as a place of innumerable eternal forces and essences. Like other North American groups, the Indians of the Northwest Coast were less interested in how the world was created as material substance than in how it was made moral or how the inherent powers of the universe could be controlled for the benefit of its inhabitants. The creation of material phenomena—the sun and moon, human beings, animal species—is always secondary to the moral dilemmas presented in the myths and the resolution (or lack thereof) of those dilemmas. For example, though there are no myths about the sun being created out of nothing, there are many myths about the sun being placed in the sky, in order to fulfill its proper role by enabling people to see—reminding them of the continual motion and flux of the world and of the balance of light and darkness.

Transformers. Although there are few myths about a creator spirit (and those possibly developed after contact with whites), there are cycles of myths about a transformer or trickster figure who through his actions places the forces of the world in balance. The most detailed and integral of these is the Raven cycle found among the Tlingit (though each tribe had some form of trickster or transformer cycle, not always associated with Raven). Raven is a creature of uncontrollable desires and excesses, and in the act of trying to satisfy his desires, he inadvertently creates moral order and constraint. Incidental to each act of moral creation is the creation of some physical attribute of the world—a mountain or other geographical feature, or the color of a mallard's head or an ermine's tail—that serves to remind people of the myth and its moral import. Thus the world is made up of signs and images of mythic significance for those who know the stories behind them.

In general, the trickster cycles of the Northwest Coast parallel those of other areas in their nature and social function, although imagistically the Northwest Coast trickster stories more strongly emphasize the maintenance of the flow of wealth as representation of the correct motion of the universe. This image of flow—the release of wealth from its temporary container, whether it be the material wealth of a chief or the spiritual soul that is released from the body of a dead person when ravens begin to tear it apart—runs throughout the Northwest Coast mythology. However, not all Northwest Coast transformers are trickster figures: the Kwakiutl culture hero is one of a set of rather solemn mythic beings.

Myths of origin. Every feature of the geographic, social, and ceremonial world had an origin myth that encapsulated it into the basic structure of power and ideology, and these myths formed the basic material for Northwest Coast religion and ceremony. No public ceremony occurred without the retelling—either in recital or a dance reenactment—of the origin myths of the people involved, which is to say that no ceremony took place without the reenergizing of the connection between humans and spirits. Clan and family myths were integrated individually into the larger corpus of hero mythology, so that every family and person of title was in some specific way linked to the events and forces of the universe. Myth is a depiction of the interaction of universal forces, and the retelling of the myth reactivates and redirects those forces.

Northwest Coast rituals, like myths, developed into a multiplicity of local traditions, resulting in the direct linking of local history to the more cosmic elements of creation. Ceremonies were always changing as new rituals were acquired through war, marriage, new visions, or the emigration of families. There was a constant renegotiation of the meanings and structure of all rituals and stories, as traditions coalesced, melded, or broke apart; conflicting versions of stories were constantly being reworked.

Winter ceremonials. Spirit power was an essential part of the success of any task; thus there was ceremony in all human endeavor. Even so, there was a clear division of the year into secular (summer) and sacred (winter) seasons. Large-scale ceremonial performances were given in the winter. These were most important among the Kwakiutl and Nootka. Among the southern tribes there was a ceremony of spirit-possession and occasional rituals of world renewal similar to those of the peoples of northern California. Some scholars feel that the spirit-possession ceremony was more widespread until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when cultural change promoted the rapid efflorescence and diffusion of northern and central ceremonial forms, but the evidence for such a historical change is contradictory.

The narrative structure of the Kwakiutl winter ceremonials, like that of the family origin myths, was based on a simple set of images that were endlessly elaborated: a hero cuts himself off from the material world of humans, seeks or is kidnapped by spirits who take him to their home, learns the rituals of the spirits, obtains some of the spirits' power, and then brings the rituals back to the human world. He becomes frenzied as his frail human form attempts to contain the potency of the spirit power. During the ceremony the hero's fellow humans gradually came to control the power that threatened to destroy them, and it was they who "tamed" him. These rituals were performed in the most sensationalistic fashion, with elaborate stage effects and illusions, masked performances, complicated props, and stunning displays of strength and athletic agility.

The winter ceremonials were complex and changing ceremonies. All performances were carefully integrated into a larger dramatic structure with important ritual implications, depending on the number and type of dances being given, the guests' status, the time of the season, and a number of other factors. Each type of dance, of which there were hundreds, was a metaphorical connection to the spiritual universe. Just as the world is made up of people separate but interdependent, so were Northwest Coast rituals structured so as to place individuals in a web of mutual reinforcement. The agenda of dances was ordered so that each individual dance would contribute to their combined effect. One dance would act as contrast or catalyst for the next, giving added power to their combined performance. Feasts were carefully interspersed so as to distribute, in the form of food and wealth, the powers that had been brought into the human world through the preceding dances.

The rituals of the winter ceremonials were under the jurisdiction of groups called "dance societies" or "secret societies." Membership in these groups was inherited and strictly limited. A new member could be invested only upon the retirement of his predecessor, but there were many stages of initiation and many years of preparation before complete initiation. Most of the ceremonies of the dance societies were performed away from public scrutiny, to maintain private ownership of the rituals and to prevent the uninitiated from being harmed by the presence of immense spirit power. A small proportion of the ceremonies were performed only for members of the dance society or for a small group of aristocrats, and a very few were performed for the entire village. Yet even this small proportion of rituals went on for hours every day over a period of four or five months. In essence, then, the entire winter period was given over to ceremony—a fact that belies the usual claim by anthropologists that the peoples of the Northwest Coast were primarily interested in status.

Of all the winter-ceremonial performances, the most famous and widely discussed is the Hamatsa dance, which the Kwakiutl considered to be their most powerful ceremony. The Hamatsa dance seems to best encapsulate the ethos of Northwest Coast religious ideology. The *hamatsa* was a human who had been carried away by those supernatural creatures who preyed on the flesh and substance of human beings; while living with these supernatural creatures in their ceremonial house, the *hamatsa* took on their spiritual qualities (especially their affinity with death and killing); and when he returned to the land of human beings, he was possessed with the wild desire to eat human flesh. In a long series of rites, the members of the tribe gradually tamed his wildness through a series of pledges to sacrifice their wealth and (when they eventually died) their souls, to feed the spirits so that the world would remain in equilibrium. The violence and energy with which the *hamatsa* acted was a potent representation of the intensity of the struggle or task that humans had to accept if the world were to be kept moral. The burden of spiritual power demanded not a quiet acceptance but energetic activity, a ferocity for right action.

CONCLUSION. Although founded on the same basic philosophical principles as that of other native North American religious traditions, Northwest Coast religion developed those ideas into a distinct set of social and religious institutions that were adaptable to the changing fortunes and histories of each village and its individual members. It was a system in which atomistic elements could be separated from their original relationships with each other and reformed in new combinations dealing in a powerful, cohesive, creative, and poetic way with the purposes and dilemmas of human existence.

Unfortunately, much of Northwest Coast culture was irrevocably altered or destroyed in the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. All Northwest Coast religion was illegal in Canada from 1876 to 1951, though enforcement of applicable laws was uneven, and some ceremonial life persisted. In the last several decades, there has been a new emphasis on the traditional rituals, but how much they retain of their original character and the place they hold in the lives of the people today are questions that remain to be answered. As North American Indians and concerned scholars both reexamine the historical record to determine the significance of the Northwest Coast for the present, it can only be hoped that there will be new interpretations and understandings of what is unquestionably one of the most vibrant and fascinating of the world's tribal ceremonial complex.

SEE ALSO Potlatch.

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STANLEY WALENS (1987)

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS: INDIANS OF THE NORTHWEST COAST [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

The principal legislative developments in the United States are the passing of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA) of 1978 and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990. Taken together the two pieces of legislation were intended to redress past wrongs relative to the systematic eradication of Native American religious practices. Despite their intention the two acts led to unexpected complexities and dilemmas. Canada has also responded to repatriation requests and is negotiating with Aboriginal First Nations to determine the terms of self-governance. The significance of these developments is in the diverse ways that the varied Northwest Coast peoples have approached the repatriation of their material and cultural property. Underlying these efforts is the repatriation of the sacred, be it objects and burial remains or intangible properties such as religious practices and sacred or esoteric knowledge.

The main body of this article succinctly sketches out the complexity of the Northwest Coast cultural phenomenon. To do so, it divides its topics by linking them to themes such as kinship, social organization, ceremonies, and so on. The process of repatriation does the opposite. Through the various repatriation claims the objects that are being repatriated are not merely returning to their respective communities. They are also being reintegrated into their particular worldviews. For example, the Kwakiutls were forced to relinquish their potlatch regalia when their potlatch was raided by Canadian authorities in December of 1921. In the intervening years the Kwakiutl communities have endured the loss of their cultural property as well continual challenges to their lifeways. When they were able to repatriate the potlatch regalia, not only was the material returned, but prestige was returned to the community as well. This is clearly expressed in their new Kwakwaka'wakw First Nation museum. Similarly, the Haidas have been repatriating sacred objects and burial remains. When smallpox epidemics decimated the Haida population in the early nineteenth century, collectors "acquired" much treasured material from the Haida communities. Today, the Haidas are actively pursuing the repatriation of those objects. As in the Kwakwaka'wakw case, the Haidas are also celebrating through traditional ceremonies the return of not only the objects but also the honor, prestige, and spirituality inherent in the objects. In both cases, as happened with many other Northwest Coast peoples, the collected objects had become objects of curiosity and national treasures bereft of their sacred and social significance. Their successful repatriation is also the successful repatriation and revitalization—better yet, the re-vindication—of Northwest Coast cultural beliefs and practices.

As stated above the U.S. government has made attempts to recognize the integrity of Native American religious practices through the passage of AIRFA and NAGPRA. Taken together these two pieces of legislation not only began to address the return of burial remains and sacred objects to Native American communities but also the protection of those communities' religious practices. However, as Native American communities sought to claim their rights to religious practices and the return of burial remains and sacred objects, it became apparent that they faced much resistance. For example, the right to use sacred landscapes for religious practice and observance was constantly challenged by logging or recreational interests. The lower courts frequently recognized that specific Native American religious practice were protected by AIRFA, but all too often the higher courts would overturn the lower courts' rulings. Similarly, Native claims to burial remains and sacred objects would often require mediation over the definition of "sacred" and discussion of whether particular objects did or did not fit the definition. In the case of the Northwest, the Kennewick Man controversy in Washington State has fueled contentious debate, most notably revolving around tensions between Native American religious practices and the physical anthropological sciences. On the northwest coast of Washington, an archaeological excavation begun in 1970 and completed in 1981 produced yet another controversy regarding repatriation efforts. The Makah site of Ozette has revealed a well-preserved Makah village dated to around the 1490s. Archaeologists have been collaborating with the Makahs in the excavation project. But when the Makahs attempted to repatriate objects in museum holdings the process became more difficult. NAGPRA did not recognize individual ownership of sacred objects, whereas the Makahs traditionally regarded many of the sacred objects as individually owned. As NAGPRA was being negotiated, no one had thought to consult the Makah Nation. Despite this oversight, the Makah people are repatriating many sacred objects. Through traditional ceremonies these objects have been reintegrated into personal and social Makah networks.

Farther to the north in Alaska, the Tlingits are engaged in their own repatriation projects. As with the above examples, the properties being repatriated are not only tangible properties (material objects) but also intangible properties, such as language, clan totems, stories, and law. One such project involves the recognition of the sacred aspects of the landscape of the Tlingit region. This landscape is not only a resource to be exploited for subsistence but is also a sacred place. It is through the sacred that the resources are there for the peoples' benefit. But the resources must be honored and protected. The landscape is a sacred map, to which Tlingit clan names, histories, and stories are tied. Taken together the landscape is a cosmological reminder of Tlingit connection to place. This kind of project is a repatriation of intangible properties like cosmology, kinship, history, and language but most important of all, it is the repatriation of Tlingit identity.

All the above repatriation projects could be viewed as various forms of retrieval or revitalization of cultural lifeways—but that would only belittle the process. Rather, repatriation is on ongoing form of a process that Northwest Coast peoples have practiced all along. It is their attempt to continue to live as Tlingits, Haidas, Kwakwaka'wakws, Makahs, or any other Northwest Coast peoples, and to live on their own terms. Repatriation is merely a formal process for returning items that were wrongfully taken from the Northwest Coast peoples. In effect, repatriation is the Canadian and United States Governments' belated show of respect for the integrity and the vitality of the Northwest Coast peoples.

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NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS: INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA AND THE INTERMOUNTAIN REGION

The Intermountain Region of North America is framed on the east by the Rocky Mountains of Canada and the United States and on the west by the Cascade and the Sierra Nevada ranges. Ethnographers customarily divide this region into two indigenous "culture areas," the Plateau and the Great Basin. The Plateau is bounded on the north by the boreal forests beyond the Fraser Plateau of British Columbia and on the south by the Bitterroot Mountains of Idaho and the arid highlands of southern Oregon and northwestern Montana. It includes the Columbia River's plateau and drainage in Washington, Oregon, and a small portion of northern California. The Great Basin is the area of steppe-desert lying primarily in Nevada and Utah but including parts of southern Idaho, western Wyoming, and western Colorado. It runs south from the Salmon and Snake rivers of Idaho to the Colorado Plateau, is bounded by the Colorado River on the south, and includes the interior deserts of southwestern California. "California," as an indigenous culture area, thus comprises the lands west of the Sierra Nevada crest to the Pacific Ocean, most of southern California and northern Baja California, and most lands north from there to the present Oregon border.

California and the Plateau have supported large and varied native populations. The Great Basin, with its exceedingly restrictive ecology, has always been less heavily populated and more culturally uniform than either California or the Plateau. Nonetheless, even in the Basin, sweeping areal generalizations can serve only as starting points in investigating both intra- and inter-areal diversity among native peoples, for the three areas are foci of cultural adaptation, expression, and influence, rather than impermeably bounded cultural or historical isolates.

Although the indigenous peoples of the Basin were all speakers of closely related Numic languages, the languages of the Plateau were more varied, and those of California had a truly extraordinary diversity. Broadly speaking, cultural and linguistic diversity were correlated in the three areas. In terms of religious practice, the greatest diversity was in California and the least in the Basin, with the Plateau falling somewhere between.

GENERAL THEMES. The pervasiveness of religious concerns and behavior in the daily lives of all of these peoples is suggested by the range of religious themes that are common to the three areas, despite the diverse, area-specific expressions given them.

Power. Significant contacts with European influences occurred in the three areas beginning in the eighteenth century and had achieved devastating impact by the mid-nineteenth century. As will be seen, European influence tended to elevate concepts of anthropomorphic creator figures to new eminence. Before contact, however, a widespread perception of a diffuse, generalized, and impersonal cosmic force, often referred to today as "power," was far more significant. This energic field of all potentials is a neutral, amoral, and generative presence that produces all things.

Mythology. In some cases, power was first manifested by a world creator who, through it, brought the world into its present form. Such creators might be culture heroes and transformers, such as Komokums among the Modoc, a people interstitial between California and the Plateau. Komokums and many others like him acted in conjunction with earth divers to form the earth from a bit of soil raised from the depths of a primordial sea. In other cases, especially in north-central California, world creators are likely to be true creator gods, thinking the world into existence or bringing it forth with a word. In southern California we find creation myths of great metaphysical complexity and subtlety, such as those of the Luiseño, for whom creation arose by steps, out of an absolute void. Even here, however, we find a transformer, Wiyot, shaping the present world from an earth that preceded his existence, and this seems the more typical pattern. Such gods and heroes tend to become otiose after their work is accomplished, rather than lingering on as moral overseers.

Unlike the Californians, neither the peoples of the Basin nor those of the Plateau seem to have been much concerned with world origins. Yet they shared with Californians a profound concern for a variety of prehuman spirits—usually animals, but also celestial beings, monsters, and others—who aided in bringing the world to its present shape and in establishing culture. Thus, throughout the region one finds arrays of such prehuman beings, each exercising power for good or ill according to its innate proclivities. The actions of each are recounted in a broad spectrum of myths and stories. Commonly, one or more of these beings, most often Coyote but others as well, emerge as a trickster, undoing the good works of the heroes and creators through a peculiar blend of innocence, greed, and stupidity. Such tricksters may be creatively helpful as well as negatively influential, and sometimes creators and tricksters are one and the same, which accounts for the multivocality of existence. Often the trickster is the sibling of a culture hero, as Coyote ("little wolf") is of Wolf among the Shoshoni, Short-tailed Weasel is of Long-tailed Weasel among the Washo of the eastern Sierras, and Frog Woman is of Wiyot among the Luiseño.

Spirits and personal power. Many animal spirits, including tricksters, remained in the world as sources of specialized powers for human beings. Other unique power potentials might reside in celestial and landscape features and in common, manufactured objects. People might encounter such spirits, usually in their anthropomorphic forms, in visions or in dreams. Through such encounters individuals gained spirit-helpers, enhancing the power innate in themselves and gaining particular powers that, through volitional control, brought success in specific endeavors. Vision quests in many different forms are found throughout the three areas.

Seeking increased, specialized power and protection through intentional encounters with spirit-beings was a primary concern of the religions of the Plateau. In the Basin, visions and personal powers tended to come to individuals spontaneously, at the spirits' will, and were not often sought through formal quests. In California, spirit encounters sometimes resulted from stringent austerities and Plateau-style questing, as among the Achomawi and Atsugewi in the northeast. Often they were sought through participation in initiatory "schools" of pubescent boys seeking power collectively under the tutelage of older initiates. Such schools were central to the visionary religions of the south and the elaborate dance and healing societies of northern California.

In many such California initiation schools, sodalities—secret, mythically chartered societies—were at the forefront. Membership in such sodalities was often restricted; males alone were accepted, and sometimes only those representative of elite kin groups. In parts of the Plateau, especially among the Nez Perce and the Tenino, specific guardian spirits might be transmitted through inheritance. In the notably egalitarian Plateau, however, this did not have the effect of centralizing both spiritual and social ascendency in elites, as did sodality membership in the more stratified of California groups.

More generally, both males and females had access to the spirits and, thus, to personal power. In the Plateau, young boys and girls alike often sought visions, although boys did so more frequently than girls. In the Basin, both males and females could receive spirit powers at any time during their lives, although it appears that men were more often so favored. The situation in California was more complex. In each of three major subareas, women were initiated into some groups but not into others and, among these groups, there were often varying, ranked degrees of male and female spirit acquisition and initiation.

Throughout the three culture areas, the specific spirits that one might encounter and the powers that they enabled were varied. Hunting or fishing skill, the ability to cure and to injure, success in courting and in fighting, finesse in crafts and in song making, gambling luck, wealth, wisdom, and many other potentials might be realized.

Although increased and specialized powers could be acquired and maximized through contacts with spirits, they could also be lost by offending those spirits through failure to adhere to taboos imposed in vision or dream; through misuse of songs, rituals, or power objects; through more general breach of custom, or simply through baffling happenstance. Every increase in an individual's power had its price.

Shamans. The shamans were the most powerful of people, the most respected for their spirit contacts, and the most feared. It was they who paid the highest price for their acumen. (*Shaman* here means a healer who obtains and exercises his powers through direct contact with spiritual beings.) In the Plateau, special effort was not usually exerted to obtain the guardian spirits that brought shamanic powers. Here, as in the Basin, both men and women could receive shamanic powers, although male shamans predominated. The same was largely true of Californians, although shamans among Shoshoni, Salinan, and some Yokuts groups were exclusively male, whereas in northwestern California female shamans vastly predominated, those who were the daughters and granddaughters of shamans having the greatest proclivity toward acquiring such powers.

Throughout the three areas, initial encounters with spirits capable of bestowing shamanic powers (sometimes volitionally sought in California and, to a lesser extent, in the Basin) were followed by intensive and often longterm training in the control of the spirit-power and an apprenticeship in its use under a recognized shaman. Such training might include initiation in the secrets of legerdemain, fire handling, and ventriloquism, on which shamanic performances often depended for their dramatic impact. Yet although shamans everywhere were expected to display their powers in such feats, and occasionally to best other shamans in public power contests, their primary function was as curative specialists, and the tricks of the trade were subordinate to success in this important function.

Theories of disease were fairly uniform. Illness came through magical objects projected into the sufferer's body by human sorcery or witchcraft. Again, ghosts or spirits whose rules for conduct had been ignored or whose special places had been defiled might make people ill. The spiritual essence of the patient could be called away by unseen beings or injured by a sorcerer or witch. Finally, one could be poisoned by a witch, either psychically or physically. In the Plateau all such power-related disease was distinguished from natural, physical illness; shamans treated only the former, whereas the latter were treated through exoteric remedies, often by lay specialists. Among the Washo of the Basin, however, all death was attributed to sorcerers.

As theories of spiritually induced disease were quite uniform, so were therapeutic measures. Shamans diagnosed the illness and then entered a trance through singing, dancing, and, occasionally, the ingestion of powerful substances. The shaman then sucked out the introjected objects and disposed of them or used his breath to blow off the "shadows" of offended spirits that had lodged in the patient's body. He might also heal through various forms of massage. Many shamans specialized in one or another approach to particular sorts of illnesses. Some, especially in the Plateau, traveled out of their bodies to find and retrieve the lost souls of patients or to regain these in other ways. Illnesses might be caused by the misdeeds of members of the community other than the patient himself, and both public confessions and the identification of sorcerers were common features of performances.

Shamans in most groups acquired other, noncurative powers and specialties as well. In the Great Basin, in southern California, and north through the central California subarea, rattlesnake handling was practiced by shamans specially related to this powerful creature and capable of curing its bites. Weather shamans who both caused and stopped rains were found in these areas as well. In the Basin, shamans served as hunt leaders, dreaming of quarry such as antelope, leading drives, and charming the game into enclosures. Other specialties abounded. Paiute shamans in the Basin and many in central and northern California became "bear doctors," imitating these animals and using their powers for both benign and malign ends. Others might gain the power to find lost objects, to predict the future, or to conjure, as among the Colville and the Kutenai of the Plateau, whose rites were similar to the shaking tent rites more common far to the east. Virtually everywhere, even among the Plateau and Basin groups whose shamans first obtained their powers without special questing, such practitioners often sought to augment their acumen through gaining additional spirit helpers, often seeking these in special places.

Power itself is neutral, its potential for good and ill being manifested at the discretion (or indiscretion) of those spirits, ghosts, or human beings who have more than usual control of it. Thus shamans were universally feared for their potential to use power in malign ways, as sorcerers. In the Basin and in much of California shamans were viewed with great suspicion; they were thought to induce or prolong illness in order to collect higher fees and to kill outright for a fee from an aggrieved party. Among the Mohave and other River Yuman groups in southeastern California, the killing of a shaman, on whatever grounds, was not considered reprehensible. Elsewhere shamans were killed only in the event of their patient's death. In northwestern California, shamans simply returned their fee should the patient die, greed being more commonly attributed to them than sorcery. The shaman's position was not always enviable, and, particularly in the Great Basin and Plateau, people tended to become shamans only at the behest of a spirit who could not be refused, or they refused to accept shamanic powers when opportunities to acquire them arose.

First-fruits rites. First-fruits rites, celebrated for a variety of resources throughout the region, were often conducted by shamans. This was true, for example, of the small, local first-salmon rites that were common along many of the rivers and streams of the Plateau, along the northern California coast south to San Francisco Bay, and among the Pyramid Lake Paviosto, the Lemhi Shoshoni, and some other groups in the northern Great Basin. In some cases, however, first-salmon and other first-fruits rites were incorporated into larger-scale renewal ceremonies, as in northwestern California, and were directed by specialized priests—intermediaries between the human and nonhuman worlds who, as holders of inherited and appointed offices, recited codified liturgies.

Girls' puberty and menstrual seclusion. The ritual initiation of females into adulthood at menarche and, often, the public celebration of this event constitute a second widespread ritual element in the religions of the three culture areas. In general, throughout the region women were isolated at menarche and placed under a variety of restrictions, their conduct during the time being thought to presage their future. Emphasis on girls' puberty tended to be greater among peoples more dependent on hunting than on gathering. Thus, periods of training might be as short as five days, as among the peoples of the western Basin, or extended as long as four years, as among the Carrier Indians of the northern Plateau. In coastal southern California, puberty was a community concern, and all young women reaching menarche during a given year were secluded and instructed together, sometimes being "cooked" in heated pits in a way reminiscent of the training of novice shamans to the north in California. Indeed, it can be argued that puberty rites in many groups represent a female equivalent of male spirit quests and sodality initiations. Such "cooking" of pubescent girls is found elsewhere, as among the Gosiute of the Basin. Communal rites are paralleled in the Plateau, where the Chilcotin, the Southern Okanogen, the Tenino, and the Nez Perce utilized communal seclusion huts for the initiation of young girls.

There were, however, no elaborate public female puberty celebrations in the southern Plateau, where girls' puberty was marked by simple elaborations of more general menstrual customs. Public ceremonies did occur, usually at the discretion of the girl's family, in the Great Basin—as among the Washo and others. Here, girls' puberty might be celebrated in conjunction with a Big Time, an intergroup gathering for shared subsistence enterprises, ritual, feasting, trading, dancing, gambling, and games. In California, girls' puberty dances were held by many northern groups as the year's ritual highlight—again, often in conjunction with Big Times. Occasionally, and especially among the Athapascan-speaking groups of the northwest, such dances were the prerogative of elite Californian families.

The prevalence of concern for female puberty in the three areas is clearly related to a concern for menstruation in general. Menstrual blood was viewed as among the most powerful of substances, highly dangerous if not properly controlled and, although often of positive virture to the woman herself, inimical to the welfare of others, especially males. The isolation and restriction of girls at menarche was thus widely repeated—although with far less elaboration—at each menses. Communal menstrual shelters were found in some Plateau communities and perhaps in parts of California. Elsewhere, a small hut for the individual menstruant was constructed, as in much of the Basin, or her movements were restricted to the family's dwelling, as among the River Yuman groups. Menstrual seclusion and dietary and other restrictions varied in duration from the time of the flow up to ten or twelve days, as in northwestern California.

Sudatories. Male concern for menstrual pollution and for other pollutants that might hinder the exercise or acquisition of power, or "luck," was certainly related to the prevalence of male sweating, carried out in a variety of sudatories in all three areas. Such sudatories might be small and temporary or large and permanent structures. In northwestern California, for example, "sweat houses" were sizeable, semisubterranean houses, men's clubs where all adult males slept, worked, and practiced rituals, as well as sweated. Among the Nomlaki substantial men's sweat houses were the domain of a male sodality, the *huta.* The religious nature of purification through regular sweating is evident in the veneration with which the sudatory was regarded. Among certain Plateau groups, such as the Sanpoil, the sweat house itself was the mundane manifestation of a powerful sweat-house god.

MAJOR RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS. In each area, and often in specifiable subareas, the general themes outlined above were manifested within the context of—and were given particular ideological inflections by—area-specific religious systems.

Among the peoples of the Great Basin, environmental conditions demanded small populations divided into highly mobile bands, reduced at times to the extended nuclear family, and expanding at more abundant times to small bands of such families. There was little need for social or political organization on a wider scale that would ensure the privileges of more complex kin groups or the territorial autonomy of a large political unit. By the same token, dispersed resources could not be collected in sufficient quantities to provide for the needs of frequent, large gatherings. Complex ritual systems depending on cyclic collective action did not develop in the Basin as they did in both California and the Plateau. By contrast, in these latter areas more sedentary peoples, enjoying richer resource bases and enacting more complex and farther-reaching kinship and political organizations, created religious systems through which large numbers of people were regularly assembled for collective ritual experience.

The Great Basin. Basin religion was largely an individual or small-band concern, and shamans provided spiritual leadership sufficient to the needs of most bands. Rituals, such as girls' puberty celebrations, that in other areas served as foci for large gatherings here tended to be small, family affairs. The healing performances of shamans might provide occasions for shared ritual participation, but such gatherings, too, were small, limited to band members, and not held according to a fixed schedule.

Large-scale Big Times did occur with some regularity among the Washo and Paiute of the western Great Basin, several bands gathering together for harvest of the more abundant wild crops (such as piñon nuts) for ritual, and for recreation. The Paiute reciprocated such Big Times with the Mono and Miwok of California. Interband antelope drives, sometimes in conjunction with Big Times, were ritually prepared and imbued with religious significance, as suggested by the many Basin rocks displaying petroglyphs and pictographs that date from the remote past through the nineteenth century.

The Big Times of the western Great Basin and California were supplanted in the eastern portion of the Basin area by other sorts of events. Ute and Shoshoni bands convened several times a year for "round dances." Among the Ute, a more ritually focused Bear Dance, marking the return of bears from hibernation and thus the renewal of the world in spring, was performed annually in late winter.

The Plateau. In the Plateau the common western theme of personal spirit-power was honed to its greatest refinement and served as the basis for an areal religious system keynoted by collective "winter spirit-dances." Although there were a great many variations in the specifics of individual guardian-spirit quests and of winter dances among Plateau tribes, a generalized account may be offered as an introduction.

Among the Sanpoil-Nespelem and most other Salish groups, boys and many young girls began spirit questing at or before puberty, often when they were as young as six or eight. (Sahaptin groups placed less emphasis on spirit quests, and others, such as the Carrier, restricted them to certain males.) The child was sent out to fast, scour himself with rough foliage, bathe in cold pools, and keep vigils in isolated places. In dreams, as among the Carrier, or in visions, the supplicant was visited by an animal spirit or the spirit of an object or place. The spirit instructed the person in a song that often had an associated dance step, and sometimes revealed power objects. In many groups, the supplicant, on returning from a successful quest, "forgot" both encounter and song. (The Kutenai, whose youths sought only a single, immediately effective spirit, present an exception.) Among the Salish, when the individual reached full adulthood, usually about age twenty-five for men, the spirit returned, often causing illness. With the aid of a shaman, the individual "remembered" the song and spirit. Once fully accepted, one's spirit became an intrinsic aspect of one's being, like a soul, a "partner" whose loss was life-threatening. Throughout their lives, people might seek different, additional spirits with associated powers and specialties.

During a two-month period in the winter, anyone who had a guardian spirit—a shaman or a layman—might sponsor a spirit dance. The dances, held in a winter lodge, lasted two or three nights and were scheduled so that people of a given locale might attend several in a winter. Under the supervision of shamans, dancers imitated their own guardian spirits, singing their songs and performing their dance steps. New initiates to whom spirits had recently returned used the occasion to legitimize their relationships with their spirits. Other components of the dances included feasting and the giving of gifts to visitors, the offering of gifts to spirits at a center pole, and shamans' displays and contests. The conduct of the audience was rigidly controlled during the dances, and in some groups their behavior was policed by officiants.

Among the Sanpoil, Colville, Kutenai, Kalispel, Spokan, Coeur d'Alene, and Flathead, a society of men possessing Bluejay as guardian spirit served this policing function. These "Bluejay shamans" identified entirely with Bluejay during the winter dance period, painting their faces black, keeping to themselves, and scavenging food. The Bluejay shamans perched in the rafters of dance houses during performances, swooping down on those who broke the rules of conduct. They also performed services as finders of lost objects and as curers, and were ritually returned to a normal state at the end of the dance period. Although the Bluejay shamans suggest an at least latent sodality structure in the southeastern Plateau, such sodalities were fully developed only in California.

California. There were four major subareal ritual complexes in aboriginal California. Beyond serving as vehicles for religious expression, such complexes served important functions in social, economic, and ecological regulation, in ethnic maintenance, and, through creating unifying networks, in political organization.

Toloache. From the Yuman tribes of the south, north through the Yokuts and, in diminished forms, to the Miwok, the use of *Datura stramonium*—jimsonweed, or *toloache* (from the Nahuatl and Spanish)—was a common and central feature of religious practice. A psychotropic decoction was made from the root of this highly toxic plant and carefully administered to initiates by shamans or by specialized priests. After a period of unconsciousness the initiates awoke to a trancelike state of long duration during which, guided by adepts, they acquired animal or celestial spirit-helpers. Such collective, drug-induced vision questing was often undertaken by males at puberty and in the context of an extended "school," as among the Luiseño-Juaneño, the Cahuilla, the Ipai-Tipai, the Cupeño, and the Gabrielino. Schooling included severe physical ordeals, instruction in mythic cosmology carried out through dry painting, and in some cases the creation of rock art. In such groups as the Chumash and the Serrano, training was restricted to the sons of an elite. In all cases, the group of initiated men, and—among the Monache and the Yokuts—women, formed a sodality that bore defined religious, economic, and political responsibilities. Among the Chumash, such an organization provided the basis for a highly complex, elite socioreligious guild, *Iantap*, led by priest-astronomers. Throughout the subarea, shamans made use of *toloache* in achieving curing trances.

In the extreme southeast, among the Mohave, the role of *toloache* was secondary to that of dreaming. Men learned clan myths through intentional dreaming and chanted these in long, collective "sings." Kin group solidarity was important to religious practice among other southern California groups as well, many keeping sib medicine bundles that were revealed only to *toloache* adepts.

Mourning anniversaries. With their stress on ritual death and rebirth, the *toloache* religions of southern and central California reflected an overriding concern with personal and cosmic death and renewal. A second feature, the "mourning anniversary," accompanied the *toloache* complex. In broad outline, mourning anniversaries were large public gatherings in which effigies of the year's dead, together with large quantities of property, were burned on poles erected in circular brush shelters, the assembled audience mourning its collective losses. The occasion often served as a vehicle for girls' puberty celebrations, for the giving of new names, for honoring chiefs, and for expressing reciprocity between kin groups. Often an Eagle (or Condor) Dance, in which shamans displayed their power by slowly killing a sacrificial bird, formed an important part of the event.

The mourning anniversary, with many local variations, was practiced by the Basin peoples of the southern portion of contemporary California—the Cheme-huevi, the Panamint, the Kawaiisu, and the Tubatulabal —as well as by virtually all groups in the southern California culture area. The practice extended northward through the *toloache*-using groups and beyond, being performed by the Maidu and Nisenan of northern California in conjunction with another religious complex, the Kuksu cult.

Kuksu. In northern California the *toloache* complex gave way to a second great ritual system, the Kuksu cult. The term *Kuksu* derives from the Pomo name for a creator-hero who is impersonated by masked dancers in the periodic performances that are the focus of the religious system. A parallel figure, Hesi, was prominent in the performances of groups in the Sacramento Valley and the Sierra Nevada foothills. The Hill Maidu expression of the complex featured a third such figure, Aki, who is found together with Hesi among the Northwestern Maidu. Kuksu and Hesi are sometimes found together among other groups.

Masked and costumed dancers impersonated these and other spirits and mythic figures in elaborate ceremonials performed in dance houses before large audiences during gatherings that lasted several days. Dances at various ceremonial centers were reciprocally supported. As with *toloache* religions, the various Kuksu religions provided collective "schools" for pubescent initiates who were, through cultic indoctrination and participation, conducted into secret, often ranked sodalities. Such sodalities could exercise great political and economic influence, as well as spiritual power. The Kuksu dances themselves returned the world to its pristine, mythic condition and often included first-fruits and curing elements in their scope. Intergroup trading, gambling, shamans' contests, and recreation were features of the Big Times that usually followed Kuksu performances.

Among groups that had both Kuksu and Hesi sodalities, as well as some others, participation was open to young men and also to some young women, as among the Cahto and the Yuki. More commonly, membership in such sodalities was restricted to males. In some groups, membership was further restricted to elite cadres who worked their way up through the sodality's ranked levels, as among the Pomo-speaking groups. In such groups a second sodality, the Ghost society, was open to all young men, as among the Patwin, and sometimes to women as well, as among the Eastern Pomo. These less prestigious sodalities presented masked dances that paralleled those of the Kuksu type and emphasized the honoring of the departed, the curing of ghostdisease, and the continuity of generations. Such themes were present in the mourning anniversaries prevalent to the south. Thus, the Ghost society was not found among groups in the Kuksu subarea (such as the Maidu and the Nisenan) that practiced mourning anniversaries.

World renewal. Mythic reenactment, collective mourning, generational continuity, and world renewal are all motives present in the Kuksu religion that found other expressions in northwestern California, where a fourth areal ritual complex, the World Renewal cult, flourished. This complex featured cyclic ten-day ceremonials within more extended periods of ritual activity performed by specialized officiants. The various dances were given reciprocally at two- to three-year intervals at perhaps thirteen ceremonial centers in Yurok, Karok, and Hupa territories. Close equivalents of these World Renewal dances were held by Tolowa-Tututni, Wiyot, Chilula, and Shasta groups as well. The focal occasions were religious festivals, extended periods of public and private ritual, dancing, feasting, and communality that at times attracted several thousand participants. World Renewal festivals thus replaced both Big Times and mourning anniversaries in the northwestern subarea. However, the primary purpose of these large gatherings was the prevention of world disorder and the reaffirmation of interdependency. The world, potentially imbalanced by the weight of human misconduct, was "fixed" or "balanced" through the Jump Dance, the interdependence and abundance of all life reaffirmed and ensured through the Deerskin Dance. In both, teams of dancers displayed finery and power objects emblematic of the spiritual ascendency of their sponsors, and it was in this sense that such costumes and objects were considered "wealth."

The World Renewal religion was given different inflections by the different participating groups: the Yurok incorporated first-salmon rites and collective fishing as well as the rebuilding of a sacred structure; the Karok included "new fire" (new year) elements, as well as a first-salmon rite; and the Hupa celebrated a first-acorn rite, the rebuilding of a cosmographic structure, and so on. All stressed the reenactment, by priests, of the origins of the dances and their attendant rituals. The recitation of long, codified mythic scenarios was a central feature. School-like organizations of "helpers" were instructed by the priests. These organizations were similar to the initiatory sodalities of south and central California and included both men and women. Neither priests and their assistants nor dancers impersonated spirit beings, however, as was done in Kuksu performances or the spirit dances of the Plateau.

The sketches given here do not exhaust the aboriginal ritual inventories in any of the areas and subareas dealt with. There were many less prominent but no less meaningful ritual activities, both private and public. Throughout these areas religious knowledge and practice were fully integrated with social action. The European invasion of the American West, in disrupting ecological, social, and political systems, also disrupted religious systems.

POSTCONTACT RELIGIOUS CHANGE. The religions of California, the Great Basin, and the Plateau have undergone thousands of years of slow change and development. They were probably changed most suddenly and drastically by the direct and indirect influences of Europeans and Euro-Americans that began in the eighteenth century.

The Roman Catholic missionization of California, beginning in 1769, had largely disastrous effects on the native populations of the area. Voluntary conversions took place, but forced baptism and forced residence in mission communities were more common. Ultimately, the successes of Catholic missionization north to San Francisco Bay were negated by the fearsome toll exacted by the diseases fostered by overcrowded missions and forced labor under the Spanish *encomienda* system. Success measured in lasting conversions was modest, and negative in terms of human welfare, but the missionaries contributed to native religious revitalization. For example, Catholicism seems to have provided the basis for a new high god, Chingichngish, in the *toloache* religions of the south. This moralistic, omniscient creator, which originated among the Gabrielino, also supplemented the mythic pantheons of the Luiseño-Juaneño, the Ipai-Tipai, the Chumash, and the Yokuts.

Other missionaries, primarily Protestant and Mormon, also made extended efforts in the nineteenth century in California, the Basin, and the Plateau. Yet the effects of later missionization were broadly similar: rather than supplanting native religions, Christianity provided symbolic means through which native religions found new forms to cope with the radically changing circumstances of life.

However, the effects of conquest were not limited to innovations informed by Christian ideology. The introduction of the horse onto the Plains and thence into the Plateau and the northwestern Basin in the early eighteenth century had an important impact on the peoples of these areas. Together with the horse came other Plains influences. Military sodalities were integrated into the religions of the Kutenai and the Flathead, as was the Sun Dance. The Sun Dance also spread to the Great Basin, where it was taken up by the Wind River Shoshoni and the Bannock and was introduced to the Utes by the Kiowa as late as 1890.

The preponderant contact phenomena evidenced in the religious life of all three areas, however, were the millenarian crisis cults inspired by a variety of "prophets" whose visions had been shaped by Christian influences. Typically, such visions occurred in deathlike states in which prophets met God or his emissary and received word of the coming millennium and the practices and moral codes that would ensure Indians' survival of it. Perhaps the best known of such crisis cults are the Paiute Ghost Dances of 1870 and 1890.

The first of these, initiated by the prophet Wodziwob in 1870, moved through the Basin and into central California. It was taken up by a number of California groups and moved north to the Shasta. The Ghost Dance doctrine stressed the destruction of the whites by the Creator, the return of the Indian dead, and the restoration of the earth to its pristine, precontact condition. It inspired a number of variants in the years following 1870. Most of these represented fusions of Kuksu-type and Ghost society dances with the new millenarianism. Such cults included the Earth Lodge religion practiced by many central and northern California peoples. Adherents awaited the millennium in large, semisubterranean dance houses. Other cults inspired by the 1870 Ghost Dance included the Big Head and Bole-Maru cults of the Hill Patwin, the Maidu, and the Pomo-speaking groups, and a succession of other local cults led by various "dreamers."

The 1890 Ghost Dance, initiated in 1889 by the Paiute prophet Wovoka, again spread through the Basin, this time moving east onto the Plains. It directly affected neither California nor the Plateau.

The two Ghost Dances are but the better known of a large number of similar efforts toward religious revitalization that flourished, particularly in the Plateau area, in the nineteenth century. In the 1830s, many prophets, not acting in concert, spread the Prophet Dance through the central and southern Plateau. This round dance, always performed on Sundays and reflecting belief in a high god, showed Christian influence, although some have argued that it had aboriginal precedents as well. The dance took many forms under the guidance of many prophets and dreamers, of whom the best known is perhaps Smohalla, a Sahaptin dreamer who revived the Prophet Dance in the 1870s in a form that spread widely.

In 1881 a Salish Indian from Puget Sound named John Slocum underwent what was by that time the established visionary experience of a prophet. Together with his wife Mary he inaugurated the Indian Shaker church, a Christian church in which the presence of God's power, signified by physical trembling ("the shake"), was used by congregants to cure the sick. This mixture of Christian and native shamanistic elements proved highly appealing, and the Indian Shaker church spread into the Plateau, where it was accepted by Yakima, Umatilla, Wasco-Tenino, Klamath, and, to a lesser extent, Nez Perce Indians. In northwestern California in 1926, churches were built by Yurok, Tolowa, and Hupa congregations. The Shakers' popularity in California began to wane in the 1950s, the result of internal schism, competition with evangelical Christian churches, and increasing stress on "Indianness" and the accompanying return to old ways.

These two apparently conflicting ideologies, based on the salvific powers of Jesus Christ, on the one hand, and on an Indian identity perceived as traditional, on the other, seem to have reached mutual accommodation in peyotism and its institutionalized expression, the Native American Church. The Peyote Way has been accepted by a large number of Basin Indians, spreading among the Ute, Paiute, Gosiute, and Shoshoni in the early twentieth century, its acceptance perhaps facilitated by the collapse of the 1890 Ghost Dance. The Washo received peyote from Ute believers in 1936.

Peyotism spread through the Basin despite the resistance of many traditionalists, becoming itself the basis for a new traditionalism. It was not, however, established in California, although Indians from such cities as San Francisco make frequent trips to take part in peyote meetings sponsored by the Washo and others in Nevada.

Many other postcontact religious systems, including the Sun Dance, continue to be enacted. Chingichngish remains central to religious life on the Rincon and Pauma reservations in southern California; Smohalla's Prophet Dance is still practiced as the basis of the Pom Pom religion of the Yakima and Warm Springs Indians; and Bole-Maru and other postcontact transformations of Kuksu religions are viable among Pomo and other central Californian groups. The Indian Shaker church survives in many communities.

Since the 1960s Indians of all three culture areas have made concerted efforts to reassert religious, as well as political, autonomy; indeed, the two realms continue to be closely intertwined. Traditional religious specialists and, in many cases, collective ritual activities have survived both conquest and christianization. Younger Indians are increasingly turning to elderly specialists and investing themselves in old ritual practices. Annual mourning ceremonies are still prominent in parts of southern California; northwestern Californians continue to dance in World Renewal rituals; and shamanism survives in the Basin, as does spirit questing on the Plateau. A myriad of other native ritual events and private practices continue throughout the region. Such state agencies as California's Native American Heritage Commission, as well as federal legislation such as the 1978 American Indian Religious Freedom Act, support these efforts to a degree. Withal, one can see the durability of the ancient ways, their persistence, and their ability to continue through modern transformations.

SEE ALSO Ghost Dance; Psychedelic Drugs; Sun Dance.

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THOMAS BUCKLEY (1987)

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS: INDIANS OF THE SOUTHWEST

From the southern end of the Rocky Mountains in Colorado, the Southwest culture area extends southward through the mountains, high sandstone mesas, and deep canyons of northern New Mexico and Arizona, and dips over the Mogollon Rim—the southern edge of the Colorado Plateau—into the arid, flat, and sparsely vegetated, low-lying deserts of southern New Mexico and Arizona and northwestern Mexico, to the warm shores of the Gulf of California. It is interspersed throughout with mountain ranges, some bearing dense forests and large game animals. Major rivers are few: the Colorado, its tributaries, and the Rio Grande are the primary sources of water for large sectors of the southwestern ecosystem.

Given the variegation in topography, vegetation, and climate, it is not surprising that the Southwest should contain an equal cultural variety. Four major language families (Uto-Aztecan, Hokan, Athapascan, Tanoan) are represented by a large number of peoples, and two other languages (Zuni and Keres) comprise language isolates. But it should not be thought that language boundaries are a guide to cultural boundaries. The thirty-one pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona include speakers of six mutually unintelligible languages from four language groups. Yet they share numerous cultural, and specifically religious, features. On the other hand, among the groups speaking Uto-Aztecan languages are found sociocultural forms as disparate as the hunter-gatherer bands of Shoshoneans in the north and the great Aztec state to the south of the Southwest culture area.

ECONOMIC PATTERNS. General typologies of Southwest cultures inevitably simplify such diversity. Despite such shortcomings, they may provide a framework within which to make some systematic generalizations. Edward Spicer (1962) has suggested four major divisions according to distinctive economic types at the time of European contact: rancheria peoples, village peoples, band peoples, and nonagricultural bands. The rancheria peoples all traditionally practiced agriculture based on the North American crop triumvirate of maize, beans, and squash. They lived in scattered settlements with households, or "small ranches," separated by some distance from each other. This general economic pattern was followed by groups as disparate as the Tarahumara and Concho in the Sierra Madre of Chihuahua, the Pima and Papago of southern Arizona, the Yaqui and the Mayo concentrated in the river deltas along the Sonoran coast of the Gulf of California, and the riverine and upland Yuman groups. Considerable differences of settlement pattern, including greater population concentrations among Pimans and seasonal movements from ridges into valleys for the Tarahumara and Concho, obtain from people to people. Still, the designation *rancheria* is helpful as a general characterization of Southwest agricultural economies that do not support densely populated, permanently sedentary communities.

The village peoples of Spicer's classification are, by contrast, sedentary communities with tightly integrated populations in permanent villages of stone and adobe construction. These are the Pueblo peoples, who have come to be regarded as the archetypical indigenous agriculturalists of the Southwest. The Tanoan Pueblos include the Tiwa, Tewa, and Towa, whose villages stretch up and down the upper portion of the Rio Grande in New Mexico. Also living for the most part along the Rio Grande or its tributaries are several Keresan Pueblos, with linguistically close Laguna and Acoma a little farther west, on the San Jose River. Moving west across the Continental Divide lies the pueblo of Zuni on a tributary of the Little Colorado River. At the western edge of Pueblo country, on the fingerlike mesas that extend southwestward from Black Mesa of the Colorado Plateau, are the eleven Hopi villages, whose inhabitants speak Hopi, a Uto-Aztecan language. Also located in this vicinity is one Tewa village, Hano, settled by refugees from the Rio Grande valley after the Great Pueblo Revolt of 1680.

The Pueblos are intensive agriculturalists. Among the Eastern Pueblos (those occupying the Rio Grande area) and in Acoma, Laguna, and Zuni (which with the Hopi constitute the Western Pueblos), agriculture is based on a variety of irrigation techniques. Hopi country has no permanent watercourses, and agriculture there is practiced by dry farming. Their sedentariness is a striking feature of the village peoples: Acoma and the Hopi village of Oraibi vie for the status of oldest continuously inhabited community in North America, with ceramic and tree-ring dates suggesting occupation from at least as far back as the twelfth century CE.

Spicer's third subtype is that of the band peoples, all Athapascan speakers. These consist of the Navajo and the several Apache peoples. These Athapascans migrated into the Southwest, probably via the Plains, from northwestern Canada not long before the arrival of Spanish colonists at the turn of the sixteenth century. They variously modified a traditional hunting and gathering economy with the addition of agriculture from the Pueblos (Navajo and Western Apache) and of sheep (Navajo) and horses (all groups) from the Spanish. The means of acquisition of these economic increments—through raiding of the pueblos and Spanish settlements—points up another important feature of Apache economies.

The fourth economic subtype Spicer refers to as nonagricultural bands. The Seri of the northwestern coastline of the Mexican State of Sonora are the primary representatives of this subtype. Traditionally, they hunted small game, fished and caught sea turtles, and gathered wild plant resources along the desert coast of the Gulf of California.

Variations in economy do not, of course, suggest variations in religious structure and orientation *tout court.* Still, modes of environmental adaptation do, within certain bounds, constrain the possibilities of social complexity. Southwest Indian religious patterns frequently do reflect forms of environmental adaptation because of a prevailing notion of social rootedness within a local environmental setting. Since many of the religious concerns of Southwest peoples pertain to man's relationship with environmental forces, the interplay between economic and religious spheres is fundamental.

RELIGIOUS PATTERNS. Among the panoply of indigenous Southwestern cultures, two general patterns of religious action are evident: that focusing on the curing of sickness and that celebrating, reaffirming, and sanctifying man's relationship with the cyclical forces of nature. Religious actions of the former type are usually shamanic performances whose participants include an individual patient and an individual ritual specialist (or a small group of specialists). The latter type includes communal rituals involving large groups of participants under the direction of cadres of hereditary priests. These two general forms are present in the Southwest in a variety of combinations and permutations. Among the Yumans, the Tarahumara, and the Apache, shamanistic curing is the prevalent religious form, and little emphasis is placed on communal agricultural rituals. (The Havasupai, who until the turn of the century held masked ceremonial performances at stages of the agricultural cycle—a practice probably borrowed from their near neighbors, the Hopi—provide a partial exception.) Historically the Pima and Papago peoples held communal agricultural rituals as well as shamanic performances, but with sociocultural change the former have passed from existence while the latter, by themselves, have come to represent traditional religion. At the other end of the continuum, the Pueblos devote most religious attention to the calendrical cycle and have even communalized their curing ceremonies by creating medicine societies to fill the role played in less communally oriented societies by the individual shaman. (The Hopi are an exception, in that they still recognize individual medicine men and women.)

In general, the religious activities oriented around shamanic curing and the acquisition of personal power through individual control over supernatural resources occur in those societies with less (or no) emphasis on agriculture and without concentrated settlement patterns. Communal ceremonies interwoven with the seasonal cycle predominate in agriculture-dependent societies, which have developed highly elaborate and complex ritual systems; as Åke Hultkranz states, "No other Amerindian societies lay so much stress on ceremonialism" as do the Pueblos.

SEVERAL CAVEATS TO STUDENTS OF SOUTHWEST RELIGIONS. A key problem facing the student of Southwest Indian religions is sociocultural change. The Spanish conquest and colonization of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries affected all Southwest cultures, though individual peoples were treated differently. Our knowledge of indigenous religious beliefs and practices is in some cases (for example, the Seri) severely limited by the wholesale abandonment of indigenous beliefs and their replacement with Christian concepts. Syncretism of traditional and introduced forms is, as among the Yaqui and Mayo, so historically entrenched that it is impossible to isolate the threads of precontact religious life. The traditional Yaqui and Mayo system of three religious sodalities fused in the seventeenth century with Jesuit beliefs and came to embody largely Christian notions, but these peoples' version of Christian ceremonies, such as the rituals recapitulating the Passion of Christ, incorporate traditional figures with clear similarities to the *kachinas* and clowns of the Pueblos. Since such syncretic processes began long before careful ethnographic records were made of indigenous belief and practice, the "pure forms" are simply irretrievable.

The Pueblos, the Navajo, and the Apache have maintained more of their traditional religious systems intact than other Southwest peoples. Of these groups, the Pueblos have the most complex religious systems, which in many instances preserve indigenous forms intact and distinct from religious elements introduced by Europeans. Hence I shall focus upon the Pueblos in this essay. The persistence of Pueblo religious patterns, despite almost four hundred years of colonial domination, is remarkable. The presence of Puebloan peoples in the Southwest, and of the earlier so-called Basket Makers, with whom there is a clear cultural continuity in the archaeological record, reaches far back into antiquity. The remains found in New Mexico's Chaco Canyon and Colorado's Mesa Verde of the civilization of the Anasazi are simply the better-known evidences of this socially complex and culturally sophisticated people, the direct ancestors of the historical Pueblos. The height of Anasazi culture (twelfth and thirteenth centuries CE) is represented by monumental architecture and elaborately constellated settlement patterns that suggest extensive social networks over large regions. For reasons we can only guess at—perhaps drought, war, disease, population pressure, internal social strife, or all of these in concert—the larger Anasazi pueblos had given way to the smaller pueblos by the time of the earliest historical records (c. 1540).

How much change and persistence have occurred in religion is an unfathomable problem. Nevertheless, the religious conservatism of the modern Pueblos, as well as archaeological indications (such as certain petroglyphs) suggest that more than a few Pueblo religious practices have persisted for a very long time. These two factors—the conservatism and antiquity of Pueblo religious practices—reflect another prominent characteristic: that the more important Pueblo beliefs and ritual practices are deliberately and rigorously preserved by an all-encompassing cloak of secrecy. The Pueblos have been and remain today extremely reluctant to reveal anything beyond the superficial aspects of their religious life. No anthropologists, apart from native Pueblo individuals, have been allowed to conduct extended resident field research by any of the Eastern Pueblos. Questions about religion meet with evasion or a purposive silence. Often information obtained by outsiders has been gathered in unusual ways, such as by interviewing individuals in hotel rooms distant from their pueblos. Only limited aspects of Pueblo religious performances are public; no non-Indian outsider has been permitted to witness a *kachina* performance in any of the Rio Grande pueblos since the seventeenth century.

Secrecy is pervasive not simply to preserve the integrity of traditional religion from the corrupting influences of the outside world, but also to protect the religious practices' integrity within the pueblos themselves. Initiates into religious societies are inculcated with the idea that their disclosure of secret, ritually imparted knowledge will have dire supernatural (their own or their relatives' deaths) and social (their ostracism from the pueblo) consequences. The result is that knowledge of Pueblo religion is fragmentary, flimsy, and in some cases inaccurate. We do know something of the surface contours of Pueblo religion, and these are discussed below. In deference to the Pueblos' rights to maintain their religions as they see fit, perhaps this surface level is as far as we may conscionably prosecute our inquiries.

THE PUEBLO COSMOS. In Pueblo thought generally, there is no absolute origin of life or of human beings. Although there have been a number of transformations since the earliest times, the earth and the people have always existed. Accordingly, there is less concern with primordial origins than with the process through which human beings were transformed into their present state of being from previous states.

Southwest peoples in general envision a multilayered cosmos whose structure is basically tripartite: "below," "this level," and "above." Each level has subdivisions, but the number and character of the subdivisions vary from culture to culture. All the Pueblos believe themselves to have originated beneath the present earth's surface. The layer below is characterized as a previous world, or as several previous worlds (or "wombs") stacked one atop another. The Zuni and the Keresans conceive of four previous worlds, the Hopi of three, and the Tewa only one. The last world "below" lies under a lake or under the earth's surface. At the beginning of the present age, the people were impelled—by supernatural signs in some versions of the Emergence story, by the need to flee evil in other versions—to seek a new life in the world above. By methods that vary from story to story (in some versions by climbing a tree, in others a giant reed), the people ascended to this level. The earth's condition was soft, and it required hardening. This was accomplished with the supernatural aid of the War Twins, who are found among all the Pueblo groups, or it was done by a human being with special powers—for example by the Winter Chief, who in the Tewa story hardened the ground with cold.

Accounts differ with regard to the creation of the Sun, Moon, and stars and to the origin of cultigens. For the Eastern Pueblos, the Sun was a beckoning force encouraging the people's ascent into this world. In Hopi tradition, by contrast, the ritual leaders had to create the Sun and Moon by flinging disks of buckskin or cotton into the sky. After the Emergence, the Hopi met with a quasi-anthropomorphous supernatural, Maasawu, who introduced them to maize, beans, and squash. The stars were formed, the Hopi recount, by Coyote's negligence. Coyote had been instructed to carry a sealed pot toward the eastern house of the Sun, but before he reached his destination he grew weary and decided, against instructions, to lift the lid off the pot. All the stars flew out and formed the Milky Way. In Zuni tradition, a supernatural slayer of monsters cut up one monster's body parts and threw them into the sky, where they became the stars.

The timing and methods of the creation of natural phenomena vary, but the trajectory of human progress is the same throughout the various Pueblo traditions. After their emergence onto the earth's surface through an opening referred to as an "earth navel," the people migrated over the earth, stopping at locations that are identified by oral tradition with the numerous ruins throughout the Southwest, before reaching their final destination in the present-day villages. Variant migration patterns reflect differing forms of social organization: the matrilineal clans of the Hopi migrated independently and arrived at the present Hopi towns as separate units, whereas the two moieties of the Tewa— Winter and Summer—migrated down opposite banks of the Rio Grande from their Emergence point in the north.

Hence Pueblo origin myths emphasize the process of becoming the Pueblo peoples of the present. Each pueblo is highly independent, and, but for exceptional occasions requiring dire responses (such as in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 or during severe famines), there is no political unity among pueblos whatsoever. Such independence is reflected in Pueblo worldview: each pueblo regards itself as the center of the bounded universe. Forces radiate both centripetally from the outer limits and centrifugally from a shrine at the pueblo's center, which is represented as the heart of the cosmos. Thus the Zuni are "the people of the middle place," the Hopi of Second Mesa live at the universe center, and each of the various Tewa villages lies about its "earth-mother earth-navel middle place" (Ortiz, 1969, p. 21). The outer limits of the world are marked variously. Among the Eastern Pueblos and the Acoma and Laguna, the world is a rectangular flat surface (although of course broken by topography) bounded by sacred mountains in the cardinal directions. For the Zuni, the surface is circular and is surrounded by oceans that are connected by underworld rivers. The Hopi world is more abstractly bounded, although sacred mountains and rivers act as circumscribing features.

All Pueblo worlds are rigorously aligned by six cardinal directions, four of which correspond to our north, west, south, and east (or, in the Hopi case, sunrise and sunset points on the horizon at the solstices—roughly northwest, southwest, southeast, and northeast) and the zenith and nadir. From the viewpoint of its inhabitants, each pueblo lies at the center formed by the intersection of the axes of opposed directions. The directions are symbolized by numerous devices: colors, mammals, birds, snakes, trees, shells, sacred lakes, deity houses, and so forth.

The Zuni and the Tewa seem to have elaborated the axial schema to the greatest extent. For the Zuni, the six directions serve as a multipurpose organizational model for society—in terms of matrilineal clan groupings, priesthood sodalities, *kiva* (ceremonial chamber) groupings—and for nature, in that the taxonomy of species is directionally framed. The fourfold plan (i.e., excluding the vertical axis) of the earth's surface is represented by the Tewa as a series of concentric tetrads, which are marked by four mountains at their extremities and by four flat-topped hills, four directional shrines, and four village plazas as the center is approached. Neither is this a static abstraction in Tewa belief: ritual dancers in the plazas must face the four directions; songs have four parts; and so forth. Each of the physical features marking the corners of the concentric boundaries (the four mountains, hills, shrines, and plazas) is a place of power. Each contains an "earth navel" that connects the three levels of the cosmos and that is presided over by particular supernaturals.

THE PUEBLO PANTHEON. Associated with the levels and sectors of the Pueblo world is a panoply of supernatural beings. Elsie C. Parsons (1939) divides these beings into collective and individualized categories.

Collective supernaturals. The collective category signally includes clouds, the dead, and the *kachina*s. Clouds and the dead have an explicit association: the specific destiny of the deceased person depends upon the role he played during life, but in general the dead become clouds. The cloud beings are classified according to the directions and, accordingly, associated with colors. *Kachina* is a fluid spiritual concept that refers both to supernatural beings and to their masked impersonators at Pueblo ceremonies. *Kachina*s appear in numerous guises and represent many features of the natural and supernatural worlds. They are dramatized in masked impersonation and in stories, where they appear in the forms of animals, plants, birds, the sun, and stars and as spirits such as the War Twins, sky deities, culture heroes, and so on. Some *kachina*s also represent game animals, and *kachina*s associated with the directions are also linked with hunting. *Kachina*s dwell in locations on the edges of the bounded world: in mountains, for instance, or in lakes or other sites associated with the powers of moisture. The three concepts of the dead, the clouds, and the *kachina*s overlap: the dead may become *kachina*s, and *kachina*s may manifest themselves as clouds. The interrelation among clouds, the dead, and *kachina*s points up a significant concern of Pueblo beliefs and ritual practices: the importance of rainfall in this largely arid environment is paramount, and the *kachina*s, as rain spirits, have the power to bring rain to nourish the crops—the central link in the Pueblo chain of being.

Individualized supernaturals. In some respects, individualized supernaturals reflect the arrangement of the cosmos into levels. Thus among the Hopi, Sootukw-nangw ("star-cumulus cloud"), the zenith deity, is associated with lightning and powerful rain; Muyingwu, an earth deity associated with the nadir, is the spirit of maize, germination, and vegetation; and Maasawu is the guardian of this level, the surface of the earth. But each of these figures has multiple aspects and cannot be neatly slotted into an abstract cosmic layer. Through his power to shoot lightning like arrows, Sootukw-nangw is also an important war deity, and Maasawu, especially, has a cluster of characteristics. He is associated with fire, war, death, and the night, and he looks and behaves in a more manlike fashion than do the deities of above and below. Supernaturals associated with cosmic features also embody moral principles (Maasawu represents humility, conservatism, lack of avarice, serious commitment to the duties of life, and the terrifying consequences of excessive individualism) and biological principles (Sootukwnangw's lightning arrows are associated with male fertilization). Further, there is a plethora of other supernaturals who are not arranged hierarchically but who crystallize a number of religious concerns. The Pueblo pantheon lacks systematization: supernaturals often overlap in meaning and function, and this is further evident in the pattern of religious organization. Discrete segments of Pueblo society often focus exclusively upon the sets of supernaturals under their control; individuals not in a particular social segment do not have rights of appeal to its set of deities, and they risk severe social repercussions for unauthorized attempts at intercourse with such deities.

The sun, regarded everywhere as male, is a powerful fertilizing force, the father in relation to the earth, who is the mother. Traditionally, every individual was expected to offer cornmeal and to say a prayer to the sun at dawn, when the sun leaves his house (or *kiva*) at the eastern edge of the world and begins his journey to his western house. Prayers to the sun refer to the desire for a long and untroubled path of life for each individual. After a period of seclusion in darkness, the newborn Pueblo infant is taken out and shown to the sun to request a long and happy life and the sun's beneficent attention. As Father, the sun is equated with the care and spiritual nurturance of his children. Songs are addressed to him to ask for his life-giving powers of light and warmth, kept in balance so as not to burn the crops or dry them out. Sun is also a deity of hunting and war; the Keresans, Tiwa, and Hopi seek his assistance in these endeavors.

Other celestial deities. Less significant by comparison, other celestial deities include, first, the moon, who is variously female (Zuni, where Moonlight-Giving Mother is the sun's wife) and male (Tewa, Towa, Tiwa). Moon is rarely addressed in prayer or song. In association with the sun and some constellations, however, the moon's movements and phases are utilized to plan the calendrical cycle of ceremonies. The antiquity of such practices is suggested by the numerous lunar and solar marking devices found in prehistoric Puebloan sites, such as the well-known Sun-Dagger petroglyphs in Chaco Canyon.

The morning star and the constellations Orion and the Pleiades have associations with war and with the timing of ceremonies. The movement of celestial phenomena is critically linked to the seasonal passage of the year. The ceremonial moiety division of the Tewa into Winter and Summer people, each of which has ritual and political charge of half the year, is an indication of the thoroughgoing nature of seasonal principles. The Hopi and Zuni divide their seasons by the solstices, the Tewa by the equinoxes, but the pattern of opposed dual principles is pervasive.

Dawn is deified in the form of Dawn Youths (Tewa), Dawn Mothers (Zuni), and Dawn Woman (Hopi). At Hopi, Dawn Woman is linked with another female deity, Huruingwuuti ("hard substances woman"), who has a formative role in the cosmogonic process. In the Keresan pueblos, she seems to have a counterpart in Thought Woman, whose every thought became manifest into substance. Thought Woman mythologically precedes Iyatiku, a chthonic being who is the mother of people, *kachina*s, game, and maize and who occupies the most prominent role in the Keresan pantheon. Iyatiku is in some respects parallel to Muyingwu, the Hopi maize and germination deity of the below. The principle of human and animal fertility is represented at Hopi by Tiikuywuuti ("child-water woman"), who is Muyin-gwu's sister.

Other common supernaturals. This group includes the War Twins, who are war gods, culture heroes, and patrons of gamblers; the maternal spirit animating the earth (whose body parts may be represented by vegetation, hills, and canyons); the Feathered and Horned Serpent, who lives in the water forms of the earth—springs, pools, rivers, the oceans—and who is a dangerous, powerful water deity responsible for floods and earthquakes; Spider Grandmother, a cosmogonic creator whom the Hopi consider grandmother of the War Twins; Salt Woman or Salt Man, deities of salt lakes and other salt sources; Fire Old Woman, Ash Man, and Ash Boy, with obvious associations; a giant eagle, or Knife Wing (Zuni), one of several war deities; Poseyemu, generally father of the curing societies, a miracle worker, and a possible syncretic counterpart of Christ; the master spirits of particular animals, such as Bear, Badger, Mountain Lion, Wolf, and Coyote, who are patrons of specific curing societies; the sun's children, patrons of the clown societies; and many others.

Each of these supernatural entities embodies a different form of power. They are, however, discrete forms and not subsumable under a concept of pervasive supernatural power such as *mana* or *orenda.* They may be harnessed by human beings and used to transform events and states in the world. Access to power is, however, strictly limited in these societies and is based upon initiation into a religious sodality and, especially, a priestly office. There is no vision quest whereby power (at least for males) is democratically accessible.

RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION AND RITUAL PRACTICE. The basic form of religious organization in the pueblos consists of ritual societies, which serve a variety of purposes. Pueblo religion focuses on a number of issues: agricultural fertility and productivity, human fertility, fertility and productivity of game animals, war, and curing. These major issues are further divisible into aspects. Thus agricultural concerns are trained on the attainment of adequate—but not excessive—moisture, adequate heat and light, and the effective prevention of many crop pests and of excessive wind and cold. Rituals concerning game animals and hunting may be divided according to the species pursued. War society rituals are prophylactic, ensuring strength and success, as well as being celebrations of victory and rituals of purifying and sacralizing scalps taken in battle. Curing societies are organized according to the types of sicknesses they cure. "Bear medicine," "Badger medicine," and so forth are sympathetically and contagiously associated with particular ailments and are used by societies of the same names to produce cures. Typically, societies are composed of small numbers of priests and some lay members, and each society follows an annual cycle of ritual undertakings. In their most spectacular forms, such undertakings climax in dramatic public performances at specified times of the calendrical cycle.

Hopi religious societies. An examination of Hopi religious societies provides insight into the structure of such societies in Pueblo cultures generally. In Hopi thought, the religious societies have different degrees of importance and confer different degrees of power on the initiated. A ranking of the societies into three orders of ascending importance may be constructed as follows (translations are given where Hopi names are translatable): *Kachina* and Powamuy are third-order societies; Blue Flute, Gray Flute, Snake, Antelope, Lakon, and Owaqöl are second-order societies; and Wuwtsim, One Horn, Two Horn, Singers, Soyalangw, and Maraw are first-order societies.

Each of these societies focuses upon a different set of supernatural beings and a different set of specific concerns. The ranking into three orders parallels the age requirements for initiation into particular societies. All children aged six to ten (male and female) are initiated into either (the choice is their parents') the *Kachina* or the Powamuy society. After this initiation, they are eligible to join second-order societies, although not all individuals will actually join. (Second-order societies are distinguished by sex: Lakon and Owaqöl are female; the rest male.) At about age sixteen, all males (traditionally) are initiated into one of the four manhood societies (Wuwtsim, One-Horn, Two-Horn, Singers) and females into the Maraw (womanhood) society. Initiation into one of the manhood societies, together with birthright, is prerequisite to participation in the Soyalangw society; since this society carries no formal initiation, it can be regarded as a more exclusive extension of the manhood societies.

The ceremonial cycle. The public dimension of each society's activities is concentrated at particular points in an annual liturgy. The beginning of the year, which is reckoned in lunar months, falls from late October to late November and is marked by the manhood society ceremonies. Following an eight-day retreat in the *kiva*s (semisubterranean ceremonial chambers), which involves private rituals, two of the societies (the Wuwtsim and the Singers) process slowly around the village in two facing columns. (Members of both societies are in each column.) The columns are "guarded" at both ends by some members of the Two-Horn society. The Wuwtsim and Singers sing songs composed for the occasion, some of which poke fun at the sexual proclivities of the Maraw society (the women's counterpart to the Wuwtsim society). The remaining members of the Two-Horn society and all the One-Horns are meanwhile continuing with private rituals in their respective *kiva*s. After the final circuit of the Wuwtsim and Singers, all the Two-Horn and One-Horn members, in two separate processions (which are dramatic although unaccompanied by song) visit a series of shrines around the village and deposit offerings. Each manhood society is regarded as complementary to the other three, and each is associated with a particular religious concern: the Wuwtsim and Singers with fertility, the Two-Horns with hunting and game animals, and the One-Horns with the dead and with supernatural protection of the village.

A month later, at the time of the winter solstice, the Soyalangw ceremony occurs. This is one of the most complex Hopi ceremonies and involves the participation of the most important priests in the village. They ritually plan the events of the coming year and perform a variety of ritual activities concerned with reversing the northward movement of the sun and with the regeneration of human, floral (both wild and cultivated), faunal (wild and domestic), and meteorological harmony. Several key themes of Hopi religious concern are sounded in this winter solstice ceremony, which renews and reorients the world and man's position within it. After Soyalangw, game animal dances are held (nowadays particularly Buffalo Dances). These are regarded as "social" dances, as are a group of dances performed in September, which include, among others, Butterfly Dances and "Navajo Dances." The distinction between social dances and sacred performances is not completely clear; songs sung at social dances frequently express desires for beneficial climatic conditions, and in general the social dances evince continuity with the religious concerns of the sacred performances. Clearly, however, the social dances are regarded with less solemnity, and there are only minor religious proscriptions on the performers.

The Soyalangw ceremony opens the *kachina* "season." *Kachina*s are impersonated in repeated public performances from January to July. As has been noted, the *kachina* concept is multiple. The *kachina* costume worn by impersonator-performers includes a mask (there are more than three hundred kinds) and specific garments and body paints. The Hopi regard the masked representations of *kachina*s to be fully efficacious manifestations of the *kachina* spirits; when speaking English, they avoid the term *mask* because of the implication that "masking" is somehow less than real. Many *kachina*s have distinct emblematic calls and stylized body movements. *Kachina* performers represent a great variety of spirits, including those of plant and animal species, deities, and mythological figures of both benign (e.g., the "mudheads") and severe (e.g., the cannibal ogres) countenance. Positive and negative social values are sometimes fused in the same *kachina*. Often a *kachina* represents many elements and practices simultaneously and contains a thick condensation of symbolic devices. Some *kachina*s ("chief *kachina*s") are more important than others and are "owned" by particular clans and regarded as significant clan deities. Usually from January through March *kachina*s appear in groups to dance at night in the *kiva*s; for the remainder of the *kachina* season, they appear during the day to dance in the village plaza. During daytime performances, the *kachina*s may be accompanied by a group of unmasked sacred clowns, who conduct a ceremony in parallel to the *kachina* performance. Clowns are given broad license and are social commentators *par excellence*. They expose numerous social aberrancies on the part of village members and poke fun at everything from sacred ceremonial actions to current events.

The two most important *kachina* ceremonies occur in February (Powamuy, "the bean dance") and in July (Niman, "the home dance"). At Powamuy, children may be initiated into either the *Kachina* or Powamuy society in an evening ceremony inside a *kiva*. During the day a large and multifarious assemblage of *kachina*s proceeds in ceremonial circuits around the village. This facinating and beautiful pageant features a series of minipageants occurring in different parts of the village simultaneously. Powamuy purifies the earth and also prefigures the planting season. Beans are germinated in soil boxes in the *kiva*s by the artificial warmth of constant fires. During the day of the public pageant, the bean plants are distributed by *kachina*s to each household, where they are cooked in a stew. At the same time the *kachina*s distribute painted wooden *kachina* dolls and basketry plaques to girls and painted bows and arrows to boys, ensuring their futures as fertile mothers and brave warrior-hunters.

The Niman ("homegoing") ceremony, marks the last *kachina* performance of the year. At the close of Niman, the *kachina*s are formally "sent" by several priests back to their mountainous homes in the San Francisco Peaks and elsewhere. They are requested to take the prayers of the people back with them and to present them to the community of *kachina* spirits.

The *kachina* season is followed by the season of "unmasked" ceremonies. In August occur the Snake-Antelope ceremonies or the Flute ceremonies, the performance of which alternates from year to year. In either case, the two societies from which the ceremonies take their names come together at this time to perform complex rituals that last nine days. The Snake-Antelope rites include a public performance in which the Snake men slowly dance in pairs around the plaza while the Antelope men form a horseshoe-shaped line around them and intone chants. The Snake-Antelope and the Flute ceremonies are densely expressive. Both include a magical attempt to bring clouds over the fields to give rain to the crops; both mark the sun's passage; and both dramatize the mythological entrance of particular clans into the village.

Following these ceremonies in the annual liturgy come the ceremonies of the women's societies. The Lakon and Owaqöl, both referred to in English as Basket Dances, feature a circular dance in the plaza. Selected society members run in and out of the circle throwing gifts to the men, who throng the edges of the circle and dispute over the gifts. Both Lakon and Owaqöl women hold basketry plaques in front of them while they sing. The Maraw society's ceremony features a similar circle in which women hold long prayer-sticks. A number of other rites occur during the nine-day Maraw, including burlesques of male ceremonial activities. Maraw rites relate to war and fertility; Lakon and Owaqöl rites stress fertility and the celebration of the harvest.

This bare outline of the Hopi ceremonial cycle reveals some basic concerns of Pueblo religion. The timing of ceremonies is intimately connected with the annual progress of nature. The *kachina* performances are especially related to the life cycle of cultivated plants, and they occur at critical points in this cycle. The first ceremonies of the year prefigure the planting and successful fruition of crops; they are designed to bring snow and rain to saturate the earth with moisture, which will remain there until planting occurs in April. The daytime *kachina* performances likewise seek rainfall to help the crops grow. Niman, the Homegoing, signals the end of the early phases of crop maturation; the *kachinas*' departure suggests that the spirits of the crops are sufficiently mature no longer to require the *kachinas*' nurturance. The Snake-Antelope and Flute ceremonies complete the course of metaphysical encouragement and nourishment of the crops. Coming at the hottest, driest time of the year, they invoke powerful forces to bring one last bout of rain to ensure the full maturing of the crops and to prevent the sun's fierce gaze from withering them. The women's society Basket Dances celebrate the success of the harvest by the joyful distribution of basketry plaques and household goods.

Private rituals. All ceremonies include private rituals in *kivas* prior to the public performance. Typically such private rituals include the construction of an altar, which consists of a rectangular sand painting in front of a vertical assemblage of painted and carved wooden pieces that incorporate symbolic designs of birds, animals, and supernaturals. The sand painting also incorporates many symbolic elements. Long songs are incanted over the altar, and tobacco is ceremonially smoked and blown to portray clouds. (Smoking binds together the hearts of the priests as they pass the pipe around a circle and gives them a collective power to express their prayers more forcefully.) The *kiva* itself is a multiplex symbol: it is axially oriented by the directions, and at its center is a hole representing the *sipapu*, the place of emergence from the world below. The *kiva*'s four levels, from the underfloor to the roof, are identified with the worlds through which man has ascended; the passage into this world is portrayed by the *sipapu* and the *kiva* ladder that leads to the roof.

MAIZE SYMBOLISM AND RITUAL. Maize is the dominant, pervasive symbol of Hopi religious life. Maize is regarded as the mother of people, since it is the primary sustainer of human life. "Corn *is* life," the Hopi say. Two perfect ears of white maize are given to a newborn child as its "mothers"; when a person dies, ears of blue maize similarly accompany him on his journey beyond life. Maize seeds, ears, tassels, milk, pollen, and meal all serve as sacramental elements in differing contexts. Moreover, other important symbols are related to the maize cycle. Clouds, rains, lightning, feathered serpents, and various species associated with water, such as frogs, ducks, reeds, and so forth, all underline a paramount interest in securing water for maize.

Two devices, above all others, serve as mechanisms for establishing holiness or for communicating with supernatural forces: cornmeal and prayer feathers. Corn-meal is an all-purpose sanctifying substance; it is sprinkled on *kachina* dancers, used to form spiritual paths for *kachinas* and the dead, offered to the sun and to one's own field of growing maize plants, and accompanies all forms of private and public prayer. The act of making a prayer to various supernatural forms with the sprinkled offering of cornmeal may be considered the most fundamental religious act for the Hopi as for all the Pueblos.

Feathers of many different bird species are used in innumerable ways in Hopi ritual; they are worn in the hair and around arms and ankles, and they decorate *kachina* masks, altars, and religious society emblems. Prayer sticks and prayer feathers are the two basic forms of feather offerings. Prayer sticks, carved in human or supernatural forms, are living manifestations of prayer and are simultaneously petitions for aid. Feathers are regarded as particularly effective vehicles for conveying messages to supernaturals: they "carry" the prayers of people with them.

COMPARISONS. It is evident from the Hopi situation that religious action is multiple. There is no single set of activities we can demarcate as "Hopi religion" as distinct from Hopi agriculture or even Hopi politics, since political activity goes on even within the context of private ceremonial gatherings. Also, the exclusiveness of religious societies above the third order suggests a socially fragmented pattern of religious belief and practice. Religious knowledge is highly valued and tightly guarded, and it serves as the primary means of making status distinctions in Hopi society. Hopi explanations of the diversity of their religious activities point to historical circumstances: each cult is identified with a particular clan that introduced it when the clan negotiated admission to the village in the distant past. Although lay cult members may be from any clan, the chief priests should always be of the clan which "owns" the ceremony. In part, then, ceremonial performances celebrate separate clan identities and mark off particular ritual activities as the exclusive prerogative of particular clans. This pattern of closed ceremonial societies with exclusive rights in certain forms of religious action is a fundamental characteristic of Pueblo religion.

The Zuni cult system. Other Pueblo groups depart significantly from the Hopi scheme yet still exhibit similarities that suggest some common patterns of belief and practice. Ethnologists have identified six major types of cults or societies among the Zuni.

1. *The Sun cult.* Responsibility for the important religiopolitical officer called the *pekwin* (Sun priest) belongs to the Sun cult. Membership is restricted to males, and the sodality conducts its ceremonies at the solstices.
2. *The Uwanami ("rainmakers") cult.* This cult is composed of twelve distinct priesthoods of from two to six members each. Membership is hereditary within certain matrilineal families. Each priesthood holds retreats (but no public ceremonies) during the summer months from July through September.
3. *The Kachina cult.* Unlike the Hopi *Kachina* society, membership in the Zuni *Kachina* society is not open to females. The cult has six divisions, which are associated with the six directions and are accordingly headquartered in six *kiva*s. Each *kiva* group dances at least three times per year: in summer, in winter following the solstice, and following the Shalako ceremony in late November or early December.
4. *The cult of the kachina priests.* Whereas the *Kachina* society is primarily concerned with rain and moisture, the cult of the *kachina* priests focuses on fecundity—of human beings and game animals. The *kachina* priests are responsible for the six Shalako *kachina*s, the ten-foot-tall, birdlike figures whose appearance marks the most spectacular of Zuni religious dramas, and for the koyemsi ("mudhead") *kachina*s, who are at once dangerously powerful beings and foolish clowns. Other *kachina*s under the charge of the *kachina* priests appear at solstice ceremonies, at the Shalako ceremonies, and every fourth year at the time when newcomers are initiated into the general *Kachina* cult.
5. *The War Gods cult.* The Bow priesthood, which is exclusively male, controls the War Gods cult. Traditionally, initiation required the taking of an enemy's scalp. The Bow priests are leaders in war and protectors of the village, and they serve as the executive arm of the religiopolitical hierarchy, in which role they prosecute witches. (The extinct Momtsit society may have been the Hopi counterpart of the Bow priests.)
6. *The Beast Gods cult.* The cult is overseen by twelve curing societies, and membership is open to both men and women. Each society focuses on a particular source of supernatural power, which is embodied in the bear, mountain lion, or another predatory animal. The individual societies practice general medicine, but each also specializes in healing specific afflictions. The collective ceremonies of the societies are held in the fall and winter.

The division of Zuni religious practice into cults is underpinned by an extremely complex ceremonial calendar that coordinates and interrelates ritual activities throughout the year. Each cult has a cycle that includes private and public ritual actions and that begins and ends with the winter solstice. As among the Hopi, the year is divided by the solstices. From winter to summer solstice, the main focuses of ceremonial action are medicine, war, and human and game-animal fertility. Throughout the summer, ceremonial emphasis is upon rain and the maturation of the crops. At the solstices, all major religious interests converge. Thus at Zuni, religious organization shows significant differences of emphasis, formally and functionally, though these appear as nuances rather than radical divergences. Overall, there appears to be greater emphasis on curing and less on agriculture than at Hopi, a difference of emphasis that intensifies as one moves on to Pueblo groups further east.

Keresan Pueblo religious practice. Among the Keresan Pueblos—Acoma and Laguna to the west, Santo Domingo, Cochiti, San Felipe, Santa Ana, and Zia to the east on the Rio Grande and its tributaries—the chief religious organizations are referred to as "medicine societies." With variations from pueblo to pueblo, the basic pattern consists of four major medicine societies—Flint, Cikame (an untranslatable Keresan word), Giant, and Fire—and a number of minor societies, including Ant, Bear, Eagle, and Lizard. The medicine societies conduct a communal curing ceremony in the spring, echoing a theme of the Hopi Bean Dance, and they hold performances throughout the year to effect the cure of individual patients. The societies also have rainmaking functions, which they fulfill at private ritual retreats during the summer months. Reportedly, these societies erect altars and construct sand paintings similar to those described for the Hopi and the Zuni. The same major sacramental elements—prayer sticks and cornmeal—are central vehicles for religious action, and extensive songs and prayers designed to make unseen power manifest in the world are a key part of ceremonial content. The medicine societies also have important roles in solstitial ceremonies aimed at reversing the course of the sun.

Other important Keresan societies include a paired group: the Koshare, which is a clown society parallel in many ways to Hopi clown societies, and the Kwirena, which is primarily associated with weather control. A Hunters society, with a permanently installed "hunt chief," and a Warriors society, composed of scalp-takers, are other important societies that traditionally held ceremonies during the winter. A village-wide *Kachina* society is divided into two ceremonial moieties, Turquoise and Squash, associated with the two *kiva*s in the village. *Kachina* performances by both moieties occur during fall and winter, but especially during the summer immediately following the rainmaking retreats of the medicine societies. These retreats include a supernatural journey to the *sipapu*, from which the *kachina*s are brought back to the village. As among other Pueblo groups, ritual activities among the Keresans are dominated by males; although both sexes may join medicine societies, women serve as secondary assistants, and only men may perform as *kachina*s.

The climatic and ecological situation of the Keresan Pueblos is of much greater reliability than that of the Hopi. The Keresans' religious concern with the agricultural cycle is evident, but, since the Keresans have irrigation and more plentiful precipitation, they put less emphasis on the agricultural and more on the curing functions of religious societies. A primary function of the more important medicine societies is to combat witchcraft by evil-hearted human beings and evil supernaturals, which is believed to be the cause of illness. Witchcraft is, and has been historically, a profound concern of Hopi and Zuni also, although at Hopi the concern receives less concerted attention from the major religious societies.

The theme of dualism, which appears at Hopi and Zuni in the form of the solstitial switching of ritual emphases, is manifested at the Keresan Pueblos with the division of the ceremonial organization into moieties centered in two *kiva*s.

Tewa, Tiwa, and Towa religious systems. The theme of dualism in Southwest religion achieves perhaps its maximum expression in the religious life of the six Tewa pueblos: San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Tesuque, Nambe, and Pojoaque. The division of people into Winter and Summer ceremonial moieties is part of a thoroughgoing dual scheme phrased in terms of seasonal opposition. The division of significance among the Tewa is by equinoxes; the seasonal transfer ceremony that is held (roughly) at each equinox places one or the other of the ceremonial moieties in charge of the village for the following season. Hence there are two overarching religious leaders, or caciques, each the head of a moiety. The calendar of religious activities is planned in accordance with the division into summer (agricultural activities) and winter (nonagricultural activities).

Typically, each Tewa pueblo has two *kiva*s in which the ceremonial moieties are headquartered. There are eight religious societies in all: the Winter and Summer moiety societies, each headed by a moiety priest; the Bear Medicine society; the Kwirena ("cold clowns") and Kossa ("warm clowns") societies; the Hunt society; the Scalp society; and the Women's society. The most intensive ritual activity occurs between the autumnal and vernal equinoxes. This contrasts with the Hopi model, in which the most active part of the cycle occurs from the winter to the summer solstice (and just thereafter). Parallel elements are otherwise clear: religious-society organization among the Tewa is reminiscent of the nearby Keresans. Religious concerns, too, are similar between the Tewa and Keresan Pueblos, though the Tewa Pueblos place less emphasis on curing. The main sacraments are the same; the *kachina* performance is a fundamental religious practice, though more restricted here than among the Hopi, Zuni, and western Keresans.

The traditional religious practices of the Tiwa pueblos—Taos and Picuris in the north and Sandia and Isleta in the south—are the least well known. Taos, in particular, has been most effective in protecting matters it regards as not appropriate for public consumption. At Taos, each of the six *kiva*s (which are divided into three on the "north side" and three on the "south side" of the pueblo) houses a religious society. *Kiva* society initiation involves a set of rituals prolonged over a number of years and is restricted by inheritance to a select group. The *kiva* organization at Taos seems to serve the same purpose as religious societies at other pueblos. At Taos, there is greater ritual emphasis upon game animals and hunting, in line with the pueblo's close cultural ties with Plains peoples, than there is upon the agricultural cycle. Taos may be the only pueblo in which *kachina*s are not represented in masked performances. Picuris seems traditionally to have done so, and it otherwise exhibits more religious similarity with the Tewa pueblos than it does with Taos, its close linguistic neighbor. *Kachina*s do occur, however, in Taos myths.

The southern Tiwa in Isleta pueblo have a system of ceremonial moieties divided into Winter (Black Eyes) and Summer (Red Eyes), each with its "moiety house" (which is equivalent to a *kiva*). In addition, Isleta Pueblo's five Corn groups, associated with directions and colors, seem to parallel *kiva* organizations at Taos. The moieties conduct seasonal transfer ceremonies similar to those at Tewa pueblos, and likewise each moiety controls the ritual activities for the season over which it presides. The ceremonial cycle is attenuated in comparison with that at other pueblos; there is a Land Turtle Dance in the spring and a Water Turtle Dance in the fall. Although unverified, it has been reported that *kachina* performances are conducted by a colony of Laguna Pueblo people who have lived in Isleta since the late nineteenth century.

Jemez, the only modern representative of the Towa Pueblos, exhibits an extraordinarily complex ceremonial organization, with twenty-three religious societies and two *kiva* moieties. Every Jemez male is initiated into either the Eagle society or the Arrow society; other societies are more exclusive. Societies can be classified according to function: curing, rainmaking and weather control, fertility, war and protection, and hunting. The Jemez ceremonial cycle includes a series of retreats by the different religious societies. In the summer, these celebrate agricultural growth; in the fall the ripening of crops; in the winter war, rain, ice, snow, and game animals; and in the spring the renewal of the forces of life. The two ceremonial *kiva* moieties are Turquoise and Squash, the same as among the eastern Keresans, and although the principle of dualism is in evidence it is not so pronounced as among the Tewa.

LIFE, DEATH, AND BEYOND. The Pueblos hold that an individual's life follows a path, or plan, that is present in his fate from birth. A long, good life and a peaceful death in old age are the main requests contained in prayers delivered at the birth of a new person. Through the course of maturation, the person becomes increasingly incorporated, in a ritual sense, into the world. So the Tewa, for example, perform a series of childhood baptismal rites—"name giving," "water giving," "water pouring," and "finishing"—that progressively fix and identify the individual in relation to the forces of society and the cosmos. Religious society initiations and marriage mark further passages in the individual's path of life.

Beliefs about and rituals surrounding death reveal some of the most essential features of Pueblo conceptions of the nature of existence. I have noted above the association between the dead, clouds, and *kachina* spirits. In general, Pueblos believe that when a person dies, the spirit, or breath, returns to the place of the Emergence and becomes transformed into cloud. Cloud spirits have myriad conceptual associations, and the dead (or certain of them) may likewise be given special associations. So, although clouds are generally regarded as the spirits of all the ancestral dead, distinctions are also made between different afterlife destinations, which vary according to the status the deceased person held while alive.

All the Pueblos distinguish between two kinds of people: those who hold important religious offices (or who are initiated members of religious societies) and everyone else. The former are regarded as supernaturally and socially powerful, ritually significant people; the latter are commoners. For the Tewa, the distinction is between "made," or "completed," people and "dry food" people; for the Zuni, the distinction is between valuable and ceremonially poor, or unvaluable, people; among the Keresans the term *sishti* ("commoners") denotes those without ceremonial affiliation; and for the Hopi, the distinction is between *pavansinom* ("powerful" or "completed" people) and *sukavungsinom* (common people).

The afterlife fate of these different categories may vary from one Pueblo group to another. Deceased members of the Hopi Two-Horn and One-Horn societies judge the newly dead at the house of the dead. Witches, suffering a different fate from that enjoyed by the righteous, may be transformed into stinkbugs! Zuni rain priests join the *uwanami* spirits who live in the waters, whereas Zuni Bow priests join their spiritual counterparts in the world above as makers of lightning. Other religious society members return to the place of the Emergence, but Zuni commoners go to "*kachina* village," the home of the *kachina*s, which is at a distance of two days' walk to the west of Zuni. In short, the social and religious organization in life is replicated in the organization of the dead.

SYNCRETISM AND CHANGE. The Pueblos were first exposed to Christian practices through the Franciscan friars who accompanied Francisco Vasquez de Coronado during his exploration of the Southwest (1540–1542). When the Province of New Mexico was made a colony of Spain in 1598, the Franciscan order was given special jurisdiction over the souls of the Indians. Missions were built in most of the pueblos; tributes were exacted; strenuous discipline was enforced; and extremely brutal punishments were levied for infractions of the total ban on indigenous religious practices. In reaction to this colonial domination, and especially to the religious oppression, all the pueblos united in an uprising in 1680, under the leadership of Popé, a Tewa priest. Many Spanish priests and colonists were killed, and the rest were forced to withdraw from New Mexico. Most of the pueblos immediately dismantled their missions. The Oraibi Hopi record that in the Great Pueblo Revolt the Roman Catholic priests were actually killed by warrior *kachina*s, symbolically demonstrating the spiritual rectitude of the action and the greater power of the indigenous religion.

Removed from the mainstream of Spanish settlements, the Hopi never allowed Spanish missions to be built among them again, and their religious practices remained free of Franciscan influence. The other Pueblos all suffered the reestablishment of missions after the Spanish reconquest of the 1690s. The influence of the missions depended upon the regularity and zeal with which they were staffed. At Zuni, a desultory missionary presence seems to have had little impact on traditional religious forms. The Rio Grande pueblos, on the other hand, came under a great deal of Franciscan influence. These pueblos are all nominally Catholic and observe many ceremonies of the Christian calendar. Each town has a patron saint and holds a large dance—called a Corn Dance or Tablita Dance—to celebrate the saint's day. The dance is thoroughly indigenous in character; however, a Christian shrine honoring the saint stands at one side of the plaza during the dance. At the conclusion of the dance, all the participants enter the church and offer prayers and thanks in a Christian fashion. Thus the two traditions coexist in a "compartmentalized" fashion. In some areas, such as rites of passage, Christian practices have supplanted indigenous Pueblo forms, especially in those pueblos that have become increasingly acculturated during the twentieth century (Pojoaque, Isleta, Picuris, and Laguna are examples). Many Eastern Pueblos have also taken over Spanish and Mexican religious dramas, such as the Matachine performances, which are also practiced among the Yaqui, Mayo, and Tarahumara.

Protestant churches have been attempting to proselytize the Pueblos since the latter nineteenth century, though in general without much success. Despite sustained longterm efforts by the Mennonites, Baptists, Methodists, Roman Catholics, Mormons, and Jehovah's Witnesses among the Hopi, their rate of conversion to Christianity has remained below 10 percent. On the other hand, major Christian holidays such as Christmas and Easter are popular occasions and may be having some impact on traditional religion. A *kachina* dance is regularly scheduled for Easter weekend nowadays, and among the array of presents they bring the *kachina*s include baskets of colored eggs. Regarding other nontraditional religions, only at Taos has peyotism to some extent been adopted, and even there its practice is evidently kept compartmentalized and apart from both indigenous religious practice and Catholicism.

CONCLUSION. The religious traditions of other Indians of the Southwest contain their own conceptual and historical complexities. I have chosen to focus upon the Pueblos here because of the richness of their extant religious practices and because of the separate treatment that the Apache and the Navajo receive in this encyclopedia. This does not imply that Pueblo religions are somehow representative of the religions of other native Southwest peoples, though certain Pueblo themes are echoed in different ways among non-Pueblo peoples. Sodalities and clown societies exist among the Yaqui and Mayo; sand painting is practiced by the Navajo, Pima, and Papago; and masked impersonators of supernatural beings perform rainmaking dances among the Havasupai, Yavapai, Pima, and Papago: but these common threads occur in cloths of quite different weaves. Let me emphasize at the last that the indigenous Southwest is enormously diverse. The sheer complexity of its religious practices belies any attempt to standardize these into a meaningful common pattern.

SEE ALSO Apache Religious Traditions; Clowns; Navajo Religious Traditions; Power.

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Beyond the Pueblos, and excluding the Navajo and the Apache, little of comparable depth exists. Ruth M. Underhill's *Papago Indian Religion* (New York, 1946) and *Singing for Power* (Berkeley, 1938) are notable exceptions, and her *Ceremonial Patterns in the Greater Southwest* (New York, 1948) is another historic synthesis. For sources on other Southwestern cultures, volume 10 of the *Handbook* is the best guide. Edward H. Spicer's *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533–1960* (Tucson, 1962), cited above, is a thorough historical study of all indigenous Southwestern peoples.

PETER M. WHITELEY (1987)

NOWRŪZ (lit., "new day"), the Iranian national festival that celebrates the arrival of spring. A festival of renewal, hope, and happiness, Nowrūz begins on the first day of Farvardīn, the first month of the Iranian solar calendar, at the spring equinox, and continues for twelve days. It is the most widely celebrated, the longest, and the most colorful of Iranian festivals, and though inherited from Zoroastrian Persia, it is the only festival that is not confined to a single religious group.

The origins of Nowrūz are obscure. In popular legend its institution is associated mostly with Jamshēd, the mythical Iranian king. In Firdawsi's epic, the *Shāh-nā mah* (completed about 1000 CE), it is said that the feast commemorates Jamshēd's ascent into the skies in a chariot built by the demons whom he had subdued and forced into the service of mortals. Nowrūz appears, however, to have been originally a pagan pastoral festival that marked the transition from winter to summer: rites of fertility and renovation can be easily recognized in some of its customs.

Zarathushtra (Zoroaster), the ancient prophet of Iran, probably reconsecrated Nowrūz to his religion. In any event, like Mihragan, the festival that marked the end of summer, Nowrūz continued to be observed in Zoroastrian Iran with full vigor; the two celebrations formed the festive poles of the Iranian calendar year. Nowrūz was immediately preceded by Hamaspathmaēdaya, a major religious feast that fell on the thirtieth day of the last month of the year (March 20) and was dedicated to the spirits of the departed, the *fravashis.* These spirits were thought to come down to the earth during this period to visit their abodes and to dwell with their families. In anticipation of the *fravashi*s's arrival, houses were cleaned, and food and drink were laid out for them. Nowrūz thus had a sober and commemorative prelude, informed by the remembrance of the departed family members, ancestors, and pious believers. Among the Zoroastrians the two festivals eventually merged, and the Farvardigan holidays came to comprise both.

In Zoroastrian Iran, Nowrūz proper began at dawn as the *fravashi*s withdrew and the old year faded away. For the Zorastrians the festival also celebrated the creation of fire and its celestial guardian, Artavahisht. On the first day of spring, prayers were offered to Rapithwan, a helper of the powerful deity Mehr (Avestan, Mithra). Rapithwan, who personified noon, the ideal time, would withdraw underground during the winter months to protect the roots of plants and springs of water from frost, a creation of the demons. At Nowrūz, he would appear above ground to usher in the summer season.

The Achaemenid kings (559–330 BCE) celebrated Nowrūz above all at Persepolis, their capital, and some scholars have hypothesized that the parade of gift-bearers from various nations depicted in the bas-reliefs of the palace walls represent Nowrūz ceremonies. Under the Sassanids (226–652 CE), Nowrūz, together with Mihragān, was to some extent secularized. People cleaned their houses, put on new clothes, visited relatives and friends, exchanged gifts, and engaged in merrymaking with wine, music, and songs, especially the melodies composed for the occasion. Newly enthroned kings celebrated their official coronation on Nowrūz, and monarchs in general held court and at times remitted taxes. It is even recorded that kings were obliged to hold public court and answer any complaint against or addressed to them. Contemporary accounts as well as reports in early Islamic sources attest to the Sassanid kings' lavish celebration of Nowrūz and its colorful ceremonies and customs. Some of these tended to observe the number seven: for instance, seven kinds of seeds were grown in small containers as part of the festival rites and decoration, a custom still observed in the few remaining Zoroastrian villages in Iran. Furthermore, it is said that at Nowrūz seven kinds of grain, twigs from seven different trees, and seven silver coins were placed before the king. In the early twenty-first century, an essential and cherished decoration of Nowrūz is a collection of seven items whose names begin with the letter *s* in Persian (*haft sīn*). Of ambiguous or obscure origin, these are most often apple, seeds of wild rue, samanu (a paste prepared by slowly cooking the sap of ground germinating wheat in water, oils, and flour), vinegar, sumac, garlic, silver coins, sorbapple, and fresh grass.

Stripped of its Zoroastrian connotations, Nowrūz survived the advent of Islam and continued as the Iranian national festival. The Abbasid caliphs celebrated with banquets of wine, song, music, and exhange of gifts. The Shīʿī Muslims of Iran, however, came to associate important religious events with Nowrūz. Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī quotes a number of traditions from the Shīʿī imams (in *Biḥar al-anwār,* volume 14, the section on *nayrīz*), who report that it was on Nowrūz that Adam was created, that God made a covenant with humankind, that Abraham destroyed the pagan idols, that the prophet Muḥammad took his young son-in-law ʿĀli on his shoulders to smash the idols in Mecca, and, most important of all, that he chose ʿĀli as his rightful successor. The Muslim rulers of Iran, continuing the Sassanid tradition, celebrated Nowrūz with pomp and circumstance. The ceremonies generally included the recitation of congratulatory panegyrics, feasting, the reception of dignitaries, music and dance, and the exchange of gifts. From about the middle of the sixteenth century, when Iran came into the possession of firearms, the onset of Nowrūz was announced in larger cities by the firing of cannon.

As a religious feast, Nowrūz apparently began as a one-day celebration, but calendar reforms, combined with the popular tendency of observing the festivals according to the old calendar, seem to have stretched it first to six days, with its division in Sassanid times into Lesser Nowrūz (the first day) and Greater Nowrūz (the sixth day), and eventually to its present length. In or about the year 1006, the first of Farvardīn fell on the first day of spring, and in 1079 a calendar reform, in which the poet ʿUmar (Omar) Khayyām participated, fixed the date of the feast on the first of Farvardīn and arranged for keeping it constant by intercalating one day before the New Year festival every four years.

Preparations for Nowrūz begin well in advance of the holiday. Although there are local variations, some practices are fairly general. A week or two before the New Year, grains of wheat or lentils are soaked in water and, after they germinate, are spread over a dish to grow. The resulting fresh mass of green blades (*sabzeh*) is an essential and symbolic decoration of the festival. In addition to the *sabzeh* and the *haft-sīn,* the Nowrūz table is adorned with a mirror, a copy of the holy book of the household's faith, a bowl of water in which green leaves or flower petals may float, and colored eggs, as well as fruits, fresh herbs, cakes, and candies. The "turn" of the year is awaited with eagerness and excitement, particularly by the young. A few moments before the solemn announcement of Nowrūz, the members of the family, by this time all bathed and clad in new or clean clothes, gather around the table, ready to embrace and exchange greetings and gifts. The visiting of relatives and friends is a common Nowrūz activity. In villages young men often engage in wrestling and other athletic games.

On the thirteenth day of Nowrūz, the ceremonies are brought to an end with a picnic in the countryside. The *sabzeh* must now be taken out and thrown into running water, which is thought to take away with it any bad luck of the previous year. Wishes are made, especially by young girls, for a happy future. The Parsis of India, who left Iran in the tenth century in order to preserve their Zoroastrian faith, also continue to celebrate Nowrūz (*jamshedī Navroz*) as a major feast.

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EHSAN YARSHATER (1987 AND 2005)

NOYES, JOHN HUMPHREY (1811–1886), American religious reformer and founder of the Oneida Community. Born to a prominent family in Brattleboro, Vermont, John Humphrey Noyes graduated from Dartmouth College and attended Andover and Yale theological seminaries, studying under Nathaniel W. Taylor. Because of his unorthodox "perfectionist" beliefs, Noyes soon lost his ministerial license and became the focus of opprobrium and ridicule. He argued that Christ's second coming and the end of the Jewish dispensation had occurred in 70 CE, when the Temple was destroyed in Jerusalem. Henceforth, "perfect holiness," a right attitude that would lead to right works, was literally possible on earth as part of the establishment of the kingdom of God.

These beliefs, which Noyes attempted to propagate throughout New York State and New England, attracted little support. In 1836 Noyes returned to his family estate in Putney, Vermont, and started a Bible school, which became the Putney Community. By 1845 the group had moved toward full communal ownership of property, inspired by the Christian communism of Acts 2:44–45. An effort in 1846 to introduce a form of group marriage led to expulsion from Putney in 1847 and the establishment of the Oneida Community in central New York State in 1848.

At Oneida, and at the smaller related community established in 1851 at Wallingford, Connecticut, the practices that had originated at Putney became fully institutionalized. Central to these was "complex marriage." Oneida Community members, who eventually numbered more than two hundred adults, all considered themselves married to each other in an "enlarged family." Men and women exchanged sexual partners frequently, and exclusive romantic attachments were broken up as threats to group stability. Members lived, ate, and worked together, had a system of communal child rearing, and held all but the most basic property in common. Government was achieved through a daily religious and business meeting, a method of group feedback and control called "mutual criticism," and an informal hierarchy known as "ascending and descending fellowship." A system of birth control called "male continence," technically *coitus reservatus,* was used exclusively until the final decade of the community's existence, when a "stirpiculture," or eugenics, experiment was inaugurated among some members. At Oneida there was far less sex-role stereotyping than in comparable American groups. Men and women worked alongside each other, and women served in positions of authority over men in certain jobs.

Complex marriage existed at Oneida from 1848 until 1879, when it was renounced because of internal dissatisfactions and external pressure. Noyes, with a few of his followers, had meanwhile fled to Canada, where he lived until his death in 1886. In 1881 the group also gave up its communistic system of economic organization, reorganized as a joint-stock corporation, and went on to become a successful business, best known for its silverware. Throughout his career, Noyes was primarily concerned with disseminating his religious ideas through the newspapers that he and his associates published. Subsequent scholars and popular writers, however, have been most fascinated by his unorthodox sexual ideas and practices, which sometimes have been held up as a prototype for the future.

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LAWRENCE FOSTER (1987 AND 2005)

NUBŪWAH, communicating with supernatural beings or realms, is a major element in religious life. It is usually accomplished by persons acting as direct or indirect intermediaries, be they human, divine, or part human and part divine. Shamans, mystics, and soothsayers are examples of direct intermediaries. Unlike them, indirect intermediaries do not communicate with the divine except through a text that they presume to interpret in order to uncover the sacred message embedded within it. Someone who deciphers entrails, casts horoscopes, reads magical numbers, or performs charismatic exegesis is an indirect intermediary. Some individuals can be direct as well as indirect intermediaries, and they may also intermediate on special occasions rather than regularly or predictably.

Important intermediaries are referred to in English by such terms as *prophet* and *apostle,* in Greek by *prophētēs* and *promantis,* in Hebrew by *navi',* in Arabic by *nabī* or *rasūl,* and in Persian and Turkish by *payghambar* or *peygamber.* Since each label has connotations associated with the religious outlook of a particular culture, generic terms are needed to facilitate comparative discussions. All of these terms refer to some kind of "commissioned communicator"—a human being who feels called upon to speak on behalf of a force perceived to be beyond his or her control. Within monotheistic communities, commissioned communication took on the form of messengership; it involved delivering intelligible messages to other human beings from the Unseen that reinterpreted, and often challenged, the status quo.

This minimal definition distinguishes messengers from such commissioned communicators as shamans or soothsayers—spirit helpers whose primary function is not to deliver intelligible messages but to invoke friendly spirits during trance. It also excludes a phenomenon sometimes called prophecy, one in which the "messages" take the unintelligible form of speaking in tongues. However, there have been prophets, such as the African Isaiah Shembe, who delivered intelligible and unintelligible messages alternately. Since the "mystery letters" that begin certain chapters in the Qurʾān have remained unintelligible, albeit subject to intense scrutiny and multiple interpretations, it can be said that messengers must deliver intelligible messages as a primary task but may also deliver unintelligible ones. In Islamic exegesis of the Qurʾān, this distinction is observed through two key words provided in *sūrah* 3:7: *muhkamat,* referring to passages that form a firm or categorical basis for gauging the divine will, and *mutashabihat,* referring to metaphoric or allegorical passages and also to the mystery letters at the outset of some Qurʾanic chapters.

Within these parameters, the social roles of commissioned communicators vary significantly. Some "publish" their message in response to the request of other human beings; others, only in response to an inner urging interpreted as having a supernatural source. Biblical prophets did both; the human channels for the Greek oracles, only the former; and Muḥammad, only the latter. Although the sense that they have been called usually precludes social and political passivity as a response, there is no mandate that such figures mobilize and lead others. Sometimes their messages are random and disorganized; they may also have only local significance. At other times, they are canonized into a book with decisive moral guidelines that are deemed to have universal applicability.

Beyond functional similarities, there are historical reasons to argue that messengers can be grouped for purposes of cross-cultural study; few roles have such strong diachronic commonalities as messengership. Monotheistic messengership grew out of an ancient tradition of direct mediation between the divine and the human, prevalent throughout the Mediterranean and the Nile-to-Oxus regions. After it emerged—first in Judaism, then in Christianity, Zoroastrianism, and Islam—the role was conveyed to various societies not only through scriptures but also through a shared folklore. To the present day, these common symbols, figures, and stories have continued to supply standards against which claimants to the role can be evaluated. Near-contemporary messenger figures, such as Tenskwatwa, Joseph Smith, Bahāʾ Allāh, and Isaiah Shembe, were culturally unconnected yet they shared the inheritance of messengership. Their temporal convergence underscores the extent to which messengership is a central religious phenomenon, at once diffuse and pervasive. Yet scholarly labor has remained narrowly focused on only a fraction of the relevant data, with Old Testament prophethood remaining the norm for most comparative generalizations. If few comparativists have paid attention to Islam, a religious tradition in which messengers and messengership are central, Islamicists, for their part, have continued to neglect the cross-creedal, comparative dimensions of *nubūwah.*

THE QURʾANIC MESSENGER FIGURE. The Qurʾān, the foundational text of Islam, uses two Arabic nouns for messenger figures: *nabī* and *rasūl.* The latter frequently appears in the phrase *rasūl Allāh* (messenger of God), which became the preferred term for Muḥammad and a key element in the *shahādah,* or profession of faith, as central to Islam as baptism is to Christianity. A common Persian equivalent, *payghambar,* literally means "messenger," as does *rasūl.* The noun for the role or office of *nabī* is *nubūwah,* just as *risālah* is sometimes used to denote the mission or message of a *rasūl.*

Much has been made of the Qurʾanic use of two terms for such figures. Both Muslim and non-Muslim scholars have tried to clarify the presumed distinctions between the two. Some have concluded that the words are interchangeable; others have identified *nabī* as a word for figures who are called to receive revelation, and reserved *rasūl* for those who not only receive revelation but also are sent on a mission to a particular community. Some have linked *nabī* to ordinary messengers, while marking as *rasūl* only seven prophets, those deemed to be the greatest: Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, Jesus and Muḥammad. A less common interpretation links *nabī* with messengers who were descended from Abraham and therefore specially gifted with *nubūwah,* while *rasūl* is said to connote a messenger sent to bring his own community to God. Further complicating the picture is that angels can be denoted as *rusūl* (*sūrah* 35:1), but never as *nabiyūn.*

While the full significance of this etymological complexity remains unclear, its very existence calls attention to the fact that in the Qurʾān *nubūwah* is a rich, vital and evocative topic. *Nubūwah* has been the primary vehicle by which the divine communicates with humankind. It involves a long and continuous chain of revelation-bearers who were related both functionally and genealogically. They were sent to help God communicate to humankind his desire for their surrender *(islām)* to his will. They were therefore all given the same message, except that certain ones were sent to fulfill very specific leadership missions within their own communities. The chain stretched from the very first human, Adam, to the deliverer of the Qurʾān, Muḥammad. It included figures considered prophets by Jews and Christians (Abraham, Jacob, Moses), along with others familiar to them but not classed by them as prophets (Joseph, David, Jesus). It included still others entirely unfamiliar to any but Arabs (Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Shu'ayb). Joseph is the subject of the longest Qurʾanic narrative (*sūrah* 12).

All these prophets share Abrahamic descent. Abraham was the patriarch of a single family whose lineages, for Israelites and Arabs respectively, stemmed from Isaac or Isḥāq and Ishmael or Ismāʾīl. In accepting *islām* or submission, in surrendering to God's absolute authority, and in putting themselves in the only right relationship with him, Arabs contemporaneous with Muḥammad not only acknowledged their own forefathers as divine messengers, they also saw themselves as returning to their original religion, and also to the original religion of all humankind. Mecca was the natural center of this reclaimed trust that now became the new religion of Islam. Before it became the birthplace of Muḥammad, Mecca had been the site of Abraham's house of God, at its center the Kaʿbah or sacred mosque, and within the Kaʿbah the Black Stone vouchsafed to Ismāʾīl as a divine bequest.

Muḥammad is Abraham's legatee and more. As *rasūl Allāh,* messenger of God, Muḥammad becomes the composite of all the major messengers who preceded him—a radical monotheist like Abraham, a lawgiver and warrior like Moses, and a friend of God like Jesus. What others received partially Muḥammad received in full. He is given a perfect form of the revealed truth that God has sent through every messenger since the beginning of humankind. Functionally Muḥammad resembles his predecessors and becomes who he is by comparison with them:

- He is chosen by God from among his own people, neither seeking to be chosen, nor showing enthusiasm for the task. He is guided by God, whose guidance is parceled out as needed. He is distinct from the angels, who are neither human nor divine. He is mortal and subject to death.
- He polarizes his audience: he is believed by some and opposed by many, including Satan, partly because he rejects polytheistic ancestral custom in favor of *tawḥīd,* that is, the declaration of God's unequivocal and unqualified oneness. Those who oppose him call him a liar. They harm his person and expel him from his hometown. Yet they are marked in turn by God through the term *kufr.* A *kafir* (unbeliever) exhibits *kufr:* one who is both unfaithful and ungrateful displays infidelity and ingratitude to the Almighty. *Kufr* becomes one of the strongest terms of opprobrium in the Qurʾān, and the status of *kafir* amounts to a sentence of spiritual and social exile for Muslims.
- He has two major functions related to the Day of Judgment: to bring good tidings of the possibility of salvation, and to warn of punishment for wrongdoers and naysayers (the *kuffar*, plural of *kafir*). Both functions are announced and supported in the noble book, the holy Qurʾān, which God reveals to humankind through the agency of Muḥammad.
- He possesses a constellation of exemplary personal characteristics: patience, unswerving devotion, compassion, trust in God, and a pure faith that is the absolute opposite of *shirk.* A *mushrik* performs *shirk:* one who professes loyalty to others along with God (an idolator or polytheist) denies God's oneness *(tawḥīd)* and replaces it with diluted loyalty *(shirk).*
- Obeying God extends to honoring his prophet and upholding his community. Obedience means belief in God's book, the angels, and the last day, but it also means esteeming the prophet and his companions, and then helping to establish an *ummah,* that is, a community based on God's revelation and committed to establishing the rules necessary for its survival and expansion.

The special significance of *nabī/rasūl* is further underscored by the Qurʾanic insistence on distinguishing this from other roles that presumed divine-human mediation in seventh-century Arabia. The major competitive roles were *kāhin* (diviner, shaman, seer) and *shāʿir* (poet). Both recur in the Qurʾān but with different valuations. Divination is never explicitly condemned; prophecy, in one sense, is a perfected form of divination. Poetry, however, is condemned, largely because the poet's inspiration is seen to be his own and not divine. Muḥammad's task was not unlike the biblical *neviʾim,* who had to distinguish themselves from figures claiming direct mediation with the divine while lacking the historical and moral significance reserved for prophets.

Notably absent from the Qurʾān's picture of *nubūwah* is the element of futurism, or prophecy as prediction, that dominates many Christian understandings of Old Testament prophetic action. Although many of Muḥammad's messages are future-oriented in an apocalyptic sense, prediction of specific historical events is virtually absent. (*Sūrah* 105 is an exception. It predicts the destruction of a Yemeni Christian army intent on invading Mecca. But even that is a prediction given after the fact, since the failed invasion took place in the year of Muḥammad's birth.) Miraculous acts are also absent; Muḥammad's message is seen as an encompassing and ongoing miracle. The giving of the Qurʾān validates Muḥammad as messenger without the need for ancillary proof from the redirection of nature. One future event is predicted, the end of time, also known as the Day of Judgment. Neither specified nor left open to debate, the Day of Judgment will be knowable from clear signs, vividly described in *sūrah* 82.

THE SEALING OF PROPHECY. Shortly after Muḥammad's death, the core of his supporters articulated and enforced a particular understanding of the Qurʾanic reference to Muḥammad as *khatm al-anbiyā,ʾ* or "seal of the *nabīs*" (*sūrah* 33:40). Muḥammad was said to be the culmination and termination of that long process of direct revelation that God had begun with Adam. The decision to view Muḥammad in this way was necessitated by competing claims to revelation of other Arab tribal leaders. Although it invalidated them and made Muḥammad unique, it did not demote previous messengers. Rather, accepting the finality of Muḥammad's messengership became an essential part of being a Muslim; it redefined Muslims as Abrahamic loyalists who embraced but also fulfilled prophecies given earlier to Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians. Although the decision did not entirely prevent later Muslims from using the labels *nabī* and *rasūl* or even claiming to bring a new Qurʾān, it did restrict such activity: claimants were compelled to make implicit rather than explicit claims to be "like" Muḥammad.

It is difficult to overestimate the historical impact of the concept of *nubūwah* as exemplified in Muḥammad's life and clarified after his death. It expanded previous Perso-Semitic notions of prophetic action, and stretched them to new limits. Not only did it direct the course of leadership patterns within Islamic societies, but it also affected almost all subsequent non-Muslim conceptualizations of prophecy and prophets.

LITERARY DEVELOPMENTS. Muslims enlarged previous notions of *nubūwah* simply by putting all messengers into a class that ended with Muḥammad. Just as Muḥammad had to be shown to be like them, they had to be shown to be like Muḥammad. This "leveling" is particularly evident in three literary genres, *ḥadīth, sīrah,* and *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā.ʾ*

The *ḥadīth* comprise an expansive and contested corpus of reports that convey Muḥammad's *sunnah*—his exemplary words, deeds, and silent approval. Their content varies enormously within Sunnī and Shīʿī branches of Islam, but common to all *ḥadīth* compilations is the notion that the *nabī* became a personal exemplar of unprecedented and unparalleled authority. The wide circulation of *ḥadīth* about other *nabīs,* especially Moses, Joseph, Abraham, and Jesus, made them exemplary as well. Later Muslim scholars explored the possibility of extrascriptural revelation to prophets, especially in a subclass of *ḥadīth* known as *ḥadīth qudsī,* which quote direct speech from God to Muḥammad that does not appear in Qurʾān but remains authoritative beyond "ordinary" *ḥadīth.*

The chain of Muslim messengers grew so large that by some counts it was said to number 124,000. It also included figures not considered prophets by non-Muslims, principal among them Jesus. Muslims viewed Jesus as a major *rasūl,* a completely human emissary whom God saved from dying by substituting another on the cross. Thus they preserved, in reworked form, an early Judeo-Christian view of Jesus that had fallen into disuse with the rise of Gentile Christianity and the conciliar decrees of the Roman church.

Using the *ḥadīth* as an important source, a genre known as *sīrah* presented the life of Muḥammad specifically as the life of a messenger of God. Most early *sīrahs* were written in the crosscultural, multicreedal environment of the empire's central cities; some, such as the *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh* of Ibn Isḥāq (d. 768), were produced by converts to Islam. They sought to establish Muḥammad's legitimacy with regard to previous messengers and, by extension, the right of Muslims to rule over Jewish and Christian subjects. They viewed Muḥammad's particular blend of social, military, and political leadership, as well as his revelatory utterances, spiritual guidance, and lawgiving, as a standard against which others could be measured. Perso-Semitic concepts of prophetic leadership became institutionalized and idealized for the first time in history: Muḥammad not only brought a book but also constructed, on the basis of that book, a lasting, divinely guided community. Gradually, a Muslim vision of world history crystallized: Muḥammad's creation of a divinely guided community culminated earlier epochs marked by divine-human mediation, at the same time that its own initial epoch, the so-called period of the first three generations, projected an ever present ideal for leading the good Muslim life. While Muḥammad was preeminent among messengers, a small number of others, most notably Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, were also held in high esteem as major messengers. Jews and Christians had been sent "Muslim" messengers but had misconstrued or diluted their messages. As a consequence, with the advent of Islam they had yet another option to become Muslim, but if they chose to remain as People of the Book, that is, scripturaries like Muslims but not fully Muslim in their outlook, they could remain protected minorities *(dhimmīs)* under Islamic rule.

The *sīrah* of Ibn Isḥāq also established a paradigm for the career of the messenger of God that many Muslim leaders tried to emulate, even when they were not claiming *nubūwah* for themselves. It described a birth and infancy filled with propitious occurrences and omens; a youth of involvement with conventional religious practices accompanied by spiritual searching and confusion; a sudden call at age forty, resisted three times; acceptance by a few and rejection by most; emigration (*hijrah*); and consolidation of power in an adopted home and a triumphal return to the original home. Gradually legists and theologians elaborated other *dalāʾil al-nubūwah* (signs of prophethood), such as a mark between the shoulders, innocence of youth, and paranormal experiences. They went on to develop, by the thirteenth century, the doctrine of *ʿiṣmah* (protection from sin and error), which was applied broadly to Muḥammad and selectively to previous messengers. Thereafter, insulting Muḥammad became a serious misdeed, and Mecca and Medina were closed to non-Muslims. Eventually the scholars added an eschatological role: Muḥammad would lead his community into Paradise, and there intercede for those whom God had excluded.

The comparability of Muḥammad with all previous messengers, and vice versa, came to be demonstrated in another literary form, *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* ("tales of the *nabīs*"). By the time al-Kisāʾī (fl. 1200) composed one of its most famous works, the genre had become comprehensive, dramatic, and influential. Because its authors believed in prophetic continuity, they could rework non-Muslim tales about the prophets into an Islamic vision of the religious history of the world. When the predictive, miracle-working facets of Jewish and Christian prophecy resurfaced here, they did so in "islamized" fashion. The preempting of pre-Islamic messengers and the exalting of Muḥammad assumed architectural form in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. A late seventh-century monument constructed by the Umayyad Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, it hallows the memory of the Prophet's night journey *(israʾ)* and his subsequent ascent *(Miʿrāj)* to the highest heaven, alluded to in the Qurʾān (*sūrah* 12) but more fully elaborated in *ḥadīth.*

Sufism and Philosophy. Another kind of reinterpretation, consolidation, and expansion of the concept of *nubūwah* occurred when Ṣūfī thinkers gave these stories an esoteric, interiorized meaning. Messengers became prototypes for individual spiritual development, illustrating the ability of human beings to receive divine inspiration. In well-known early modern examples of the genre, *Taʾwīl al-aḥādīth* and *al-Fauz al-Kabir* of the Indian Ṣūfī theologian Shāh Walī Allāh (d.1762), numerous messengers exhibit one or more aspects of the Ṣūfī search for truth, even as they exemplify humanity's complete dependence on God. They are quintessential servants and friends of God who serve as instruments in God's plan as they strive for human perfection in their devotion, self-control, and discipline. For example, Adam is a microcosm of all the realities of the universe, physical and spiritual. His fall was designed by God to ensure his becoming an earthly delegate: the prohibitions against eating from the tree were revealed in a dream; the violation of the prohibitions were brought about by satanic action. Noah is the first messenger to lead a community forcibly to God's will, bringing law in order to subordinate animal to spiritual impulses. Abraham exemplifies utter devotion to God and the unstinting pursuit of the true religion. Joseph triumphs over affliction by his constancy. For many Ṣūfīs, Muḥammad is *insān al-kāmil,* the perfect or universal human being who epitomizes union with God.

Muslim philosophers found it more difficult to appreciate Muḥammad's mission as messenger. At the least, they distinguished prophetic truth—which is communicated in easily comprehensible everyday language and expressed in stories and analogies that appeal to the common people in particular communities—from philosophical truth, which is universal, esoteric, abstract, and rational. Some, such as al-Kindī (d. after 870), saw prophetic and philosophical truth as two sides of the same coin, the former a parable for the latter. Others, however, publicly stated that the two truths should not contradict each other but privately thought of revelation as a vulgar form of higher truth. For example, al-Fārābī (c. 870–950) implied that prophetic knowledge was inferior to philosophical knowledge by demonstrating that the true knower—the philosopher-king—had to do what the prophets had done, and more. According to Ibn Ṭufayl (d. 1185), ultimate truth could be gained without recourse to divine revelation. It was available to reflective, reasoning human beings like the island-dwelling protagonist of his philosophical story *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* (Living, son of the wakeful), its very title a play on one of the 99 divine names (al-Ḥayy) attributed to God. Despite such condescension, many philosophers did value Muḥammad's lawgiving role since it fostered the ordering of society that they too cherished and pursued.

Leadership and Legitimacy. In the Islamic faith, as in other religious traditions, the death of the final messenger and the cessation of new revelation tended to enhance the importance of other forms of leadership based on divine guidance and inspiration. Simultaneously, the maintenance of the stability grounded in revelation had to coexist, as in other traditions, with the pursuit of the spontaneity that had characterized the faith in its origins. The growth of a multivalent conception of *nubūwah* provided numerous ways in which its legitimacy could be emulated without being imitated, in stability and spontaneity alike.

When *nubūwah* was sealed, its authority had to flow into other leadership roles if the ummah was to survive. However, because none of them could duplicate the legitimacy of *nubūwah,* each had to establish a particular identity that could never compete successfully with *nubūwah.* Out of this paradox was born one of the great problems of Islamic civilization—the inimitability of the ideal leader.

Among Sunnī Muslims, the ending of *nubūwah* eventuated in a relationship of mutual dependence between the *khalīfahs* (caliphs), whose temporal authority protected and defended the unity of the *ummah,* and the *ʿulamāʾ* (religious scholars), whose acquisition of authentic religious knowledge enabled them to define the proper Muslim life. These men, like rabbis, acted as indirect intermediaries, teasing out the legal and moral implications of God's direct revelations and shaping them into a system of rules: the *sharīʿah.* Thus were preserved the spiritual guidance and earthly power of the prophetic experience, if not its immediacy. Although neither *ʿulamāʾ* nor *khalīfahs* could claim Muḥammad's full authority, both derived their legitimacy from him, and jointly they possessed the two powers he had combined.

The leadership model preferred by Shīʿī Muslims, *imāmah,* overcame this bifurcation with paradoxical consequences: it both greatly extended and radically contained charismatic authority; its successful combination of spiritual and temporal power was bought at the price of never exercising the latter; and by virtue of its having to remain distinct from *nubūwah, imāmah* eventually became the superior of the two. The *imāms* of the major Shīʿah group (the Ithna *ʿasharīya* or Twelvers) were twelve descendants of Muḥammad believed to have inherited his blood and physical traits and were inspired by god to interpret the meaning of revealed truth without altering it, a belief also common to the Ismāʾīlīyyah, the other major group of Shīʿah. They were conceived in God's mind as the principle of absolute good, which was transmitted into the loins of the *nabīs* and the wombs of holy women as entities of light and made concrete after Muḥammad's death. Together with the messengers, the *imāms* are the proofs of God, and while the earth has been without a messenger since the death of Muḥammad, it is never without an *imām.* The *imāms* become the "speaking Qurʾān," guarding the true meaning of the "silent Qurʾān" and interpreting it as alive and fresh in their time.

In one Shīʿī view, these special qualities and esoteric knowledge are *wilāyat Allāh,* the custodianship of God. The wilayat Allāh was entrusted to the angel Gabriel from the creation of the world. Gabriel gave it to all the prophets and finally to Muḥammad, who passed it on to his cousin and son-in-law ʿAlī, who in turn passed it on to Muḥammad's grandsons and through them to the rest of the *imāms.* Thus the *imāms* became the only individuals capable of bringing divine guidance to the world after Muḥammad sealed *nubūwah.* Though they were the only rightful spiritual and temporal authorities after Muḥammad, a series of erroneous decisions by the Muslim majority postponed their actual exercise of temporal power until the return of their last member, the Mahdī (messiah).

Despite the overlap of *nubūwah* and *imāmah,* all but the very extremist Shīʿah refused to call the *imāms nabī,* insisting on one fundamental distinction: the *imāms,* unlike Muḥammad, did not bring a new revelation or a new law. However, since they possessed all the other qualities of the messenger as well as the distinct, inimitable, and infallible characteristics of the *imām,* it was easy for their devoted followers to view them as preeminent. Indeed, the very absence of new revelation further enhanced the authority of *imāms*: they and they alone knew the message of the Qurʾān due to their error-free *(maʿṣūm)* abilities in charismatic exegesis.

In Shiʿi popular devotion *nubūwah* and *imāmah* were inextricably conflated. All the messengers of God came to be thought of as having participated in the suffering of the holy family. The *ahl al-bayt,* or people of the household (of Muḥammad), included ʿAlī, Muḥammad's cousin, Alī's wife, who was also Muḥammad's daughter, Fāṭimah, and their sons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. They endured what earlier prophets had anticipated, themselves tasting a little of the fate of Muḥammad's family through their own persecution. Shiʿi devotional poetry expanded the tales of the prophets in new ways by likening them to the experiences of the holy family and the *imāms*; at the same time, their mournful verses elevated the *imāms* above all antecedent figures except Muḥammad. Thus *imāmah* completed *nubūwah* in such a perfect pattern of divine logic that the latter came to be, in the eyes of many of the Shiʿah, merely a precursor to the former.

Among both Sunnīs and the Shīʿah, other roles reflected the impact of the sealing of *nubūwah.* The Ṣūfī *shaykh* identified with the spiritual, if not genealogical, legacy of the *nabī* because he could receive individual divine inspiration and achieve intimacy with God. In so doing, such figures reclaimed the immediacy of the *nabī*'s experience; sometimes they also emulated his political and social activism, as did Sayyid Idrīs (1890–1983), the Libyan nationalist leader of the Sanusiyah.

Perhaps even more important are the myriad apocalyptic, millenarian, and reformist figures, Sunnī and Shīʿī alike, who have adopted labels such as *mujaddid* (centennial renewer), *mahdī* (divinely guided one, the messiah), or *mujāhid/jihādī* (leader of a *jihād).* Often these figures have emerged in circumstances perceived to be like those of Muḥammad, for example, in an area where Islam was imperfectly established or not established at all. Although a few, such as the Almohad *mahdī* Ibn Tūmart (c. 1082–1130), may have claimed to bring new revelation, most managed to emulate Muḥammad's activist, reformist leadership without making dangerously explicit claims to his most distinguishing characteristic. By reintroducing Muḥammad's spiritual spontaneity and social renewal, and by emulating aspects of his *sunnah* and *sīrah,* they have evoked *nubūwah* without claiming it. Such was the case with the Indian Ṣūfī reformer, Ahmad Sirhindi (d. 1624), who viewed his own time on the cusp of a new millennium in the Islamic calendar (AH 1000= 1592 CE) as a moment of degeneracy and decay not unlike that facing Muḥammad in his day. The Day of Judgment was imminent, the process of decay could only be reversed by a renewer, in this case, a millennial renewer *(mujaddid-i alf-i thani)*, on whom God entrusted prophetic perfections. Neither Sirhindi's claim nor that of later renewers, such as the Yemeni jurist Muḥammad al-Shawkani (d. 1834), has gone unchallenged, but their claims do expand the notion of prophetic charisma even while upholding the finality of Muḥammad as a law-giving prophet.

EXCHANGES WITH NON-MUSLIMS. The impact of the concept of *nubūwah* extended beyond the Muslim community, too. While developing it, Muslims were beginning to interact with their empire's subject population of Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians. In the course of the ensuing polemic, each group had to adjust its understanding of the history of messengership so as to remain distinct from the others. Post-Islamic Zoroastrian biographies of Zarathushtra viewed him as an Islamic-type *payghambar,* a messenger sent with a book to a particular community. Some went on to exalt him above all other messengers, just as Muslims exalted Muḥammad. Arab Christian reactions were diametrically opposite: they defined genuine prophets as everything they argued Muḥammad was not—devoid of earthly motives, noncommercial, nonmilitant, and miracle working. This familiar picture of prophethood, somewhat awkward from the point of view of the Old Testament, eventually found its way into Western Christian medieval polemic as well. Muslims accommodated themselves to Christian polemic by clarifying the doctrine of *iʿjāz al-Qurʾān* (the miracle of the Qurʾān): the inimitability of the Qurʾān, combined with Muḥammad's illiteracy, constituted the greatest miracle. It was God-given and it needed no lesser demonstrations of divine agency to confirm Muḥammad's unique status among messengers.

Miracle working also found other routes into Islamic views of Muḥammad. In popular literature, as well as in genres like *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā,'* the mountain began to come to him as his life story filled with a plethora of extracanonical prodigies. Such glorification appears, for example, in one of the most lastingly popular poems used to celebrate Muḥammad's birthday, or *mawlid.* Though a companion of the Prophet, Kaʾb ibn Zuhayr (d. c. 630), composed the earliest panegyric of Muḥammad, the *Burdah* or *Mantle Poem* of al-Būṣīrī (d. 1298), which was composed in Egypt during the Crusades, has become the most famous. It warns against succumbing to temptations of the flesh and then develops a depiction of Muḥammad as above all a high-minded helper from heaven attentive to all who call his name. In popular practice, Muḥammad's tomb became a place to seek his earthly intercession.

Modern Muslim thinkers have continued to enlarge the concept of *nubūwah* by emphasizing particular dimensions of Muḥammad's *sunnah;* because the *ḥadīth* document the *sunnah,* they have become more important than ever. In modernist thought, the messenger's mission is often likened to that of the modern social reformer; his ability to serve as a moral exemplar and rehabilitator in a time of decay is stressed. According to such interpretations, Muḥammad's teachings demonstrated the primacy of the social in humankind's goals and encouraged the use of consultation and cooperation, indeed flexibility. His ability to relate eternal truth to his own special circumstances was a model of and justification for applying Islamic principles according to circumstances.

Despite such updating, one aspect of *nubūwah,* its having come to an end with Muḥammad, remains non-negotiable. In the last century, a group of former Shīʿī Muslims accepted the possibility of new revelation and new messengers. The explicit claims of their messenger, Bahāʾ Allāh (1817–1892), led inevitably to the founding of a separate religious tradition, just as it did within Christianity for the Mormon followers of his American near-contemporary Joseph Smith (1805–1844). Even more explosive within the arc of Islamic cultural politics has been the attempt of Ahmadis to redefine prophecy after Muḥammad. The Ahmadis ascribed to their eponym, the South Asian reformer Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (d. 1908), the qualities of a renewer who is also the *mahdī* and the *masīḥ* (or messiah). They defined themselves in the tradition of Ṣūfī reformers like Ahmad Sirhindi and Shāh Walī Allāh, and enjoyed enormous success worldwide as a missionary movement within Islam. Yet their adversaries saw them as *kuffar,* those who denied the finality of Muḥammad's claim to *nubūwah* and were therefore outside the pale of Islam. The Ahmadi movement ignited a fierce controversy in British South Asia and then after 1948, in Pakistan. It did not subside even when the National Assembly of Pakistan amended the 1973 constitution to declare the Ahmadis a non-Muslim minority. A subsequent 1984 presidential decree attempted to criminalize the entire Ahmadi community. In South Asia and elsewhere *nubūwah* clearly remains as critical an issue today as it was at Islam's inception.

SEE ALSO Imamate; Prophecy; Walāyah.

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There is no single comprehensive study of *nubūwah,* but the issue has been addressed within a number of broader investigations. Tor Andrae's classic work, *Die person Muhammeds in lehre und glauben seiner gemeinde* (Stockholm, 1918), offers valuable insights into the process by which the figure of Muḥammad and his mission as messenger of God expanded and deepened through centuries of devotion. A thorough survey and synthesis of previous views on the Qurʾanic distinction between *nabī* and *rasūl* can be found in Willem A. Bijlefeld's "A Prophet and More Than a Prophet?" *Muslim World 59* (January 1969): 1–28, which also suggests a new and less dichotomous interpretation.

William A. Graham's *Divine Word and Prophetic Word in Early Islam* (The Hague, 1977), especially part 1, "Revelation in

Early Islam," provides an imaginative description of how two separate sacred messages, scripture and prophetic example, crystallized out of the unitary prophetic experience; the bibliography includes many major European works on Muḥammad. On the Shīʿī tradition in particular, Mahmoud M. Ayoub's *Redemptive Suffering in Islam: A Study of the Devotional Aspects of ʿAshurā' in Twelver Shīʿism* (The Hague, 1978) presents extensive materials on the history of the prophets as it was incorporated into the history of Shīʿī martyrdom, while Abdulaziz Abdulhussein Sachedina's *Islamic Messianism: The Idea of Mahdī in Twelver Shʿism* (Albany, 1981) offers a clear and effective historical account that includes an examination of the relationship between *imām* and *nabī* in Shīʿī thought. One unusual effort to explain the appearance and displacement of Muḥammad's competitors in the claim to divine messengership is Dale F. Eickelman's "Musaylima: An Approach to the Social Anthropology of Seventh Century Arabia," *Journal of the Social and Economic History of the Orient* 10 (1967): 17–52. The impact of early Muslim-Christian polemic on evolving notions of revelation and prophetic mission in both communities, a topic that has not garnered much attention, receives enlightening treatment in two articles by Sidney H. Griffith, "Comparative Religion in the Apologetics of the First Christian Arabian Theologians," in *Proceedings of the PMR Conference* (annual publication of the Patristic, Mediaeval and Renaissance Conference) 4 (1979), pp. 63–87, and "The Prophet Muḥammad: His Scripture and His Message according to the Christian Apologies in Arabic and Syriac from the First Abbasid Century," in *La vie du prophète Mahomet: Colloque de Strasbourg,* 1980 (Paris, 1983), pp. 99–146.

Another perspective can be gleaned from Sven S. Hartman's, "Secrets for Muslims in Parse Scriptures," in *Islam and Its Cultural Divergence,* edited by Girdhari L. Tikku (Urbana, Ill., 1971), pp. 67–75, which traces the impact of *nubūwah* on post-Islamic Zoroastrian conceptualizations of Zarathushtra. For a look at the impact of Muḥammad's biographical representation on the careers of nineteenth-century West African Muslim reformers and the complementary effect of the reformers' own lives on their representations of Muḥammad's career, see Marilyn R. Waldman, "The Popular Appeal of the Prophetic Paradigm in West Africa," *Contributions to Asian Studies* 17 (1982): 110–114. In the twentieth-century context, an Egyptian study of the Prophet's life is analyzed by Antoine Wessels in *A Modern Arabic Biography of Muḥammad: A Critical Study of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal's Ḥayat Muḥammad* (Leiden, 1972). Study of the controversial Ahmadi movement has been enhanced by Yohanan Friedmann's *Prophecy Continuous: Aspects of Ahmadi Religious Thought and Its Medieval Background* (Berkeley, 1989), while the status of renewal among Sunnī jurists has been highlighted through Bernard Haykel's *Revival and Reform in Islam: The Legacy of Muḥammad al-Shawkani* (Cambridge, 2003).

In addition to these critical studies, a number of primary sources, reflecting various genres and time periods, are available in English translation. *The Life of Muḥammad: A Translation of [Ibn] Isḥāq's Sīrat Rasūl Allāh,* translated by Alfred Guillaume (1955; reprint, Lahore, 1967), is the well-known eighth-century biography that sought to establish the Prophet's legitimacy in regard to Judeo-Christian messenger figures. It, along with other early sources, has now been subjected to critical review and speculative revaluation by a host of scholars drawn to the question of Islamic origins. For the most comprehensive overview of this debate, and also the variant stances of its protagonists, see Herbert Berg, ed. *Method and Theory in the Study of Islamic Origins* (Leiden, 2003). A tenth-century example of a philosophical middle position on the relationship between philosophical and revealed truth, and between the philosopher-king and the messenger of God, can be found in Alfarabi's *Philosophy of Plato and Aristotle,* translated by Muhsin Mahdī (New York, 1962), part 1, "The Attainment of Happiness," while Ibn Ṭufayl's *Hayy Ibn Yaqẓān* can be enjoyed, along with a spirited commentary, in Lenn Evan Goodman's book of the same title (Los Angeles, 1983). *The Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisā'ī,* translated by Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr. (Boston, 1978), reflects the important genre of *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* in which extracanonical Jewish and Christian tales are adduced in an Islamic context. "The Mantle Poem of al-Buṣīrī" also exists in translation, in *A Reader on Islam,* edited by Arthur Jeffery (The Hague, 1962), pp. 605–620; it presents another form of popular literature, the devotional poem that commemorates the Prophet's birthday and stresses the miraculous dimension of his life. *A Mystical Interpretation of Prophetic Tales by an Indian Muslim, Shāh Walī Allāh's Ta'wīl al-Aḥādīth,* has been translated by J. M. S. Baljon (Leiden, 1973), and despite some flaws, it offers an example of Ṣūfī esoteric interpretation by a major eighteenth-century Indian mystic and theologian, whose own legacy and stature as a renewer have become better known through the translation of his magnum opus, *The Conclusive Argument from God: Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi's Hujjat Allāh al-Baligha,* translated by Marcia K. Hermansen (Leiden, 1996).

Marilyn Robinson Waldman (1987)
Bruce B. Lawrence (2005)

NUDITY. People are nude in the most innocent moments as children and later at times of profound vulnerability—during sex and orgasm, while bathing, in sickness, and under the care of medical personnel. Much later, bodies may be exposed to adult children and other caregivers. And finally, one is exposed again in death, when one's body is prepared by morticians and other specialists in the ritual care of the dead. And yet it would be naive—too innocent of gender and sexuality and their capacity to mark human interactions with the signs of dominance and submission—to equate nudity only with innocent vulnerability. The man who wears a raincoat to the park and displays himself to hapless observers is not innocent in his vulnerability but is driven by the awareness that exposing one's sexual organs can strike fear in the beholder.

From the female figures exposing their labia to protect cathedrals built in the Christian West to the ithyphallic and sexually gymnastic figures decorating supporting struts and exterior walls of temples in South Asia (said to prevent damage caused by lightening strikes), examples of the naked body striking an aggressive, "keep your distance" pose abound in the history of religions. Apotropaic rituals often utilize nudity. Images of nude humans, animals, deities, demons, and monstrous hybrids can be found in (and on the borders of) many configurations of sacred space.

NUDITY AND SEXUALITY. To display one's naked body in an inappropriate context can certainly engender powerful emotions in those who observe the spectacle. Why are social conventions being flouted? Is this person crazy, or worse—a menace, a pervert, an evildoer? Religious discourses often provide contexts for making such judgments. Sociobiological theory pertaining to sex and the capacity of the human body to organize social life by means of sexuality provides a framework for exploring these religious discourses. Although feminists and queer theorists regard Desmond Morris's work warily, the patriarchal, hetero-normative assumptions behind the story of human evolution that Morris imaginatively reconstructs in his magnum opus, *The Naked Ape,* help link the patriarchal norms of many religious strictures around nudity to a sociobiological vision of how sexuality organizes human social life. Despite his ostensibly secular, agnostic stance, Morris tells a story of the human past that resonates nicely with patriarchal religious codes and the myths of origin in which many such codes are grounded.

Sociobiologists like Morris say that humans are naked apes: highly evolved animals who have found it evolutionarily adaptive to maintain stable monogamous pair-bonds through the constant receptivity to sexual arousal that humans, with relatively hairless bodies, enjoy. Humans are unique among mammals in the unprotected, furless condition. Humans have replaced shaggy coats of fur with clothing, keeping only vestigial fur patches around the scent organs that send aromatic messages to mates. Human females need not wait for their estrus cycles to connect them to the rewards of sexual intimacy with their mates; the female of the species is bound to her mate largely by the constant possibility of sexual pleasure.

According to Morris, the heterosexual pair-bond developed at the beginning of human evolution and provides the key to the survival and success of Homo sapiens. Humans are sapient because we form strong familial bonds that yield more brainpower in offspring. The sexual fidelity of the heterosexual couple allows human infants to develop slowly, cared for by a stable set of parents, which allows for maximal cognitive development and minimal instinctual "hardwiring." The young, swaddled in clothing, are still nursing when the offspring of other species are already engaging in acts of sexual reproduction and parenting their own young. That is surely innocence but of a special sort. Human young remain "in the nest" long after sexual awareness has dawned in them. Without constant restraint of sexual urges, the primal pair-bond between parents would be threatened by the intrusion of incestuous sexual activity in the family.

Obviously the disciplined observation of sexual impulses and the policing of sexual expression are spheres where religious discourse about purity and impurity, proper and improper, dignity and shame, right and wrong can be helpful, as the work of Georges Bataille and Michel Foucault makes abundantly clear. To be on the wrong side of these polarities moves one into the realm of sinister forces, of monstrosity and excess. Nudity in this context acts with the force of the *ganz anderer,* a terrifying absence of familiar contexts, an overwheling disruption of the familiar order.

With rare exceptions, public nudity is a category mistake. Aside from cases of social abjection (such as corporal punishment in which the criminal's transgression against society is publically inscribed through the savaging of the criminal's body), most of the contexts in which one undresses before another are private affairs, affairs in which one's body is under the gaze of selected others, invited and authorized to observe one's naked body. Even in climates where clothes can detract from comfort, primary (and often secondary) sexual characteristics are rarely displayed for all to see. Unless one has joined a colony of nudists, public nudity cannot help but engender powerful emotions. Hence the apotropaic function of public nudity: the naked flesh wards off harm by its manifest refusal to follow the rules, to know its place.

RITUALS OF PASSAGE. Indeed as a symbol of category violation and liminal moments in transition between categories, nudity figures prominently in any number of ritually conferred changes of state: in the initiation of children into adulthood, in mortuary rites that send off the dead, in mourning practices that reconfigure the social world of the living, and in fertility rites that annually renew nature's infancy and potency after the senescence of winter. The works of Mircea Eliade and Victor Turner amply illustrate the utility of the symbol of the naked body in mediating such transitions between states. Baptism (at least for Paul and Christians influenced by him) entails an *imitatio Christi* whereby the neophyte suffers a symbolic death and rises again, transformed. Conversion to Judaism originally involved nudity and played on a wide symbolic range of religious symbols of rebirth and purity. The *Brit Milah* or ceremony of circumcision that Jewish males undergo as a mark of the covenant entails a change of state inscribed in the alteration of the exposed sexual organ. In many Islamic countries, boys become men through the exposure of their genitals in rites of mass circumcision.

HOLY SHAMELESSNESS. For those ascetics whose social death frees them (at least in theory) from all social labels, nudity can signify the refusal to occupy a fixed social status, as among the Digambara ("sky clad") Jain mendicants of India. Narratives about the conversion of high-status Christian men such as Saint Anthony also suggest a divestiture of social privilege and status symbolized by public disrobing. But for a woman, sartorial divestiture can be a double-edged sword. What for a man clearly signals the opting out of the social world can sometimes for a woman suggest a promiscuous freedom within that world or at least within the demimonde where "loose" women circulate. Mahādevī of Karṇāṭaka, a twelfth-century South Indian poet-saint, reportedly left her Jain husband (who refused her the right to worship the

Hindu god Śiva) and wandered naked as a mendicant. Although in medieval India the practice of nudity as a sign of having renounced all possessions and all attachments to self-image was common in male monastic communities (as it still is in the early twenty-first century in both Jain and Hindu ascetic circles), it was highly unusual for a woman to go uncovered. The threat of rape, concerns about provoking sexual desire, and aversion to the sight of menstrual blood are cited in Jain texts translated by P. S. Jaini in *Gender and Salvation: Jaina Debates on the Spiritual Liberation of Women* as reasons why women should not attempt the practice of nudity. But in the community of Liṅgāyat Śaiva Hindu saints that Mahādevī joined after leaving her husband, she was not only supported in her practice of nudity but was encouraged to completely eradicate shame from her consciousness. It is said that when Mahādevī sought admission into the community of saints, she was asked to explain why, having abandoned her clothes, she arranged her hair so that it covered her breasts. Only after explaining that she did this as a concession to human weakness and not out of shame was she accepted as a member of the community.

But Mahādevī eventually left the community of saints and took up a life of solitary wandering. And her poems indicate that she attracted a great deal of unsolicited attention in her wanderings and was often accosted. Justifying her nakedness by reference to a monistic worldview that renders shame ludicrous, Mahādevī's recorded sayings suggest that she responded with an attitude of holy shamelessness:

> People, male and female, blush when a covering comes loose. When the lord of lives drowned without a face in the world, how can you be modest? When all the world is the eye of the lord, onlooking everywhere, what can you cover and conceal? (Ramanujan, 1973, p. 131)

When one recognizes Śiva as the unmanifest reality behind every phenomenal appearance, there is nothing of which one should be ashamed. It is all God, whether breasts or buttocks or eyes which behold them. Such responses to interlocutors suggest that this poet-saint challenged cultural expectations about proper female self-presentation without conceding any ideological ground to those who found her behavior shameful.

HOLY SHAME. In these cases of ascetic nudity, as in the ritualized passage from one social status to another, nudity can instantiate the innocence and vulnerability of the infant as well as the knowing stance of the exhibitionist. When God is omniscient, Mahādevī suggests, there's no point in covering one's genitals. To cover them only shows one's ignorance of divine omnipresence and omniscience; exposing oneself shamelessly displays one's understanding of the nature of reality. The naked neophyte also dispenses with shame in the knowledge that his or her ritualized state of nudity will lead to a properly exalted status in which propriety in dress will be observed.

In the narrative of the Garden of Eden and the first humans' transition from innocence to the knowledge of good and evil (told in the Hebrew Bible's second creation account), self-awareness leads the primordial human couple to cover their nakedness. Adam and Eve's awareness of their transgression against God's command is heralded by a sudden desire to cover themselves. The fruit that the serpent had promised would make them wise also opened their eyes to their own nakedness, and they sewed together fig leaves to cover their genitals. Here wisdom is not shameless. Indeed to have shame, to be modest in covering one's sexual organs, is to show an understanding of one's place in the divinely created order.

This order is reflected, if Elaine Scarry is correct, in the emphatic embodiment of inferiors and the relative disembodiment of superiors (such as deities, kings, patriarchs, and other powerful persons) in the ancient Near East that Scarry describes in *The Body in Pain.* Thus while Morris might regard the shame surrounding the patriarch Noah's nakedness (*Gn.* 9:20–27) as having to do with worries about incest, Scarry would suggest that it would demean a patriarch to be exposed involuntarily to the gaze of his children. Noah's sons must walk backward into his tent to cover the old man's naked body when the drunken patriarch involuntarily exposes himself. The lineage of the son who looked at Noah's nakedness (the Canaanites) is cursed, whereas the lines of those who cover his nakedness (Shem and Japeth) are blessed.

Social inferiors are not to see the genitals of their superiors on pain of death in many cases. In his introduction to *People of the Body: Jews and Judaism from an Embodied Perspective,* Howard Eilberg-Schwartz provides support for Scarry's linkage between the relative disembodiment of deities and that of powerful humans in the ancient Near East when he notes that the same author (the J source) who tells the story of Noah's nakedness also recounts that, when Moses asked to see God, God allowed Moses only to see his backside (*Ex.* 33:23). Eilberg-Schwartz suggests in his introduction that Israelite literary sources are "extremely reticent about describing the divine body" and that even those sources that insist that the body of God is visible to certain humans avoid describing that body above the feet (Eilberg-Schwartz, 1992, p. 31). When this God of the Hebrew Bible manifests himself, he is as likely to take the form of fire or light as to take the form of flesh. When God permits himself to be materialized in the tabernacle (as described at the end of *Exodus*), he provides instructions for multiple layers of curtains, skins, and bronze gratings. The result, Scarry asserts in *The Body in Pain,* is that God materializes in veiled form, coming before people as "the veil, the materialization of the refusal to be materialized, the incarnation of absence. It is a realm of exclusion, entered only by the priests (whose bodies are, like the altar that is the symbolic representation of the human body, themselves surrounded by layers and layers of woven garments)" (Scarry, 1985, p. 211).

Seen in this light, the modesty shown by Adam and Eve after eating the fruit seems to exalt them above the condition of animals and the lower orders of creation. The first humans showed wisdom in their refusal to be seen in the nude. Of course as punishment for their disobedience the primal couple suffered the wages of embodiment: death, pain in childbirth, and the sweat of labor. It took the profound embodiment of God enfleshing himself in Jesus and suffering the ultimate humiliation of corporal punishment to restore humans to their rightful place, according to Christians.

In the Hebrew Bible, the covenant between Yahweh and his people is marked on the exposed flesh of male Israelites. The incarnation of Jesus, Scarry suggests, changes that dynamic of a vocal but invisible God underscoring the embodiment of his people through the cutting of flesh. Now God not only shows himself but also turns the knife on himself, as it were, incarnating as a low-status human who would be exposed, humiliated, and tortured in a public execution. The willingness of Jesus (and through him God) to be mocked and exposed before the public is replicated again and again in the actions of Christian martyrs prior to the conversion of Constantine.

For women martyrs the stakes were especially high, as Margaret Miles, Virginia Burris, Elizabeth Castelli, and others have shown. In Christian accounts of women's martyrdom, the unclothed female body often stands out as a powerful symbol. One can find in many accounts a discrepancy between the prurient interest of the audience and the unashamed innocence of the martyr. Flying in the face of cultural expectations that their appearance is immodest and degrading, many women martyrs do not regard themselves as debased. In their visions, Perpetua, a twenty-two-year-old Carthaginian, and Febronia, the twenty-year-old Syrian martyr, regender themselves and see themselves as muscle-bound gladiators, stripped naked for athletic struggle with Satan's minions, as Margaret Miles recounts in *Carnal Knowing: Female Nakedness and Religious Meaning in the Christian West.* What could be a moment of acute humiliation becomes an opportunity for righteous aggression whereby opponents of Christianity are put to shame. The Syrian martyr Mahya tells the ruler who had ordered her stripped naked, "It is to your shame . . . that you have done this; I am not ashamed myself" (Miles, 1989, p. 58). Being stripped of clothing can thus serve to highlight a devout woman's subjectivity and agency in two ways. Nakedness can serve as a means of resistance against culturally determined understandings of the body for someone whose values are counter to those prevailing in the culture, and nakedness can also serve as a means of shaming those who look, turning passivity into agency and victimization into victory.

Nudity and the intended shame that it was meant to incite ricochets back on the oppressor in a much-anthologized modern retelling of the Hindu epic heroine Draupadī's story by the Bengali writer and activist Mahasveta Devi. In Devi's short story "Draupadi," known to English readers through Gayatri Spivak's 1990 translation, Draupadī is called Dopdi, a tribal version of the name Draupadī. The narrative is set in the time of the Naxalite peasant uprisings in twentieth-century Bengal. Dopdi is a communist revolutionary who is captured, stripped, and gang-raped. Although her captors believe that this form of torture will force her to name her comrades, Dopdi does not do so. In the morning the guards bring her a pot of water so she can clean the blood off her body and dress in preparation for a visit to the quarters of Senanayak, the commanding officer. At this point Dopdi causes a commotion that sends shock waves through the camp. She knocks the water pot to the ground, then tears the garment they have given her and walks out into the sunlight naked with her head held high. Gaining advantage from what might otherwise be a shameful situation, Dopdi uses her ravaged body to shame Senanayak. Spivak's translation of Mahasveta Devi's text is terse and powerful at this climactic point in the narrative:

> Draupadi stands before him, naked. Thigh and pubic hair matted with dried blood. Two breasts, two wounds. "What is this?" He is about to bark. Draupadi comes closer. Stands with her hand on her hip, laughs and says, "The object of your search, Dopdi Mejhen. You asked them to make me up; don't you want to see how they made me?" "Where are her clothes?" "Won't put them on, sir. Tearing them." Draupadi's black body comes even closer. Draupadi shakes with an indomitable laughter that Senanayak simply cannot understand. Her ravaged lips bleed as she begins laughing. Draupadi wipes the blood on her palm and says in a voice that is terrifying, sky-splitting, "What's the use of clothes? You can strip me, but how can you clothe me again? Are you a man?" She looks around and chooses the front of Senanayak's white shirt to spit a bloody gob at and says, "There isn't a man here that I should be ashamed. I will not let you put my cloth on me. What more can you do? Come on, counter me, counter me. . . ." Draupadi pushes Senanayak with her two mangled breasts and for the first time Senanayak is afraid to stand before an unarmed target, terribly afraid. (Devi, 1990, p. 104)

Refusing to cover herself, this heroine uses her ravaged body as a weapon by which to censure the man who has sanctioned the use of gang rape as a weapon against her.

For all her righteous shamelessness, however, Draupadi-Dopdi never challenges the presupposition that it is shameful for a woman's body to be exposed to the gaze of men as Mahādevī does. The way that Dopdi shames Senanayak is by saying, "There isn't a man here that I should be ashamed." This statement suggests that if he were a man by virtue of his just conduct and unquestionable virtue as an officer, she would cover her naked body out of deference to his position. But since he is not a man, she need not acknowledge that she is a woman. Thus she is able to shame him by treating him as a junior male, a male before whom a woman can expose more of her body than in the presence of other men without violating the rules of deferential distance.

Dopdi's stance echoes the situation of the epic heroine Draupadī, for the man who claims ownership over Draupadī and orders her stripped of her sari is a villain, a cheater who wins her in a crooked dice game. Draupadī uses her considerable intelligence and quick tongue to try to prevent exposure, telling the villain that she is menstruating. But in the end she is forced before the assembly of men and her sari rudely pulled away from her body. But the force of Draupadī's virtue counters that of Dushasana's wickedness. As the garment is pulled away, another one appears underneath it. And when that one is removed, another appears. Dushasana pulls yards and yards of fabric until finally he is overtaken by exhaustion. (According to some versions of the tale, it is the god Kṛṣṇa who causes Draupadī's garment to miraculously lengthen—a surprising turn of events, given that this same god is represented in other contexts as a practical joker who steals women's clothing while they are bathing.)

The phenomenological situation of nudity includes not only a naked body observed by other people but also the state of mind and self-concept of the subject who is exposed as the object of vision. Thus to understand any one instance in which public exposure of the naked body occurs in a religious context, the subjective as well as the objective dimensions of the disrobing must be understood. Who objectively dominates whom? What does nudity mean subjectively for the person exposed? What does it mean for the observers? Is there a moral victory to be won, perhaps separate from the scorecard of social dominance and submission? Who, in the end, is the victim and who the victor? If humans are indeed naked apes, the possibility of sexual interaction marks every human situation with the signs of sexual fidelity or infidelity, familial protection or abandonment, submission or dominance, shame or shamelessness. The sentience of these various possibilities and their subversion generates a wide range of meanings whenever a body is publicly exposed.

SEE ALSO Human Body, article on Human Bodies, Religion, and Art, and article on Myths and Symbolism.

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LIZ WILSON (2005)

NUER AND DINKA RELIGION.

The Nuer and Dinka peoples belong to the Nilotic group of the Nilo-Saharan language family and inhabit the savanna and sudd region of the upper Nile in the southern part of the Republic of the Sudan. The Nuer number some 300,000 and the Dinka about 1 million; the figures are approxiamte, partly because some sections of each group have intermingled. It has been argued that they should be considered a single people, but cultural and political differences are marked enough to distinguish them, and each considers itself to be distinct from the other. Their religious systems should also be differentiated, although perhaps as variants of a common system.

Both Nuer and Dinka are cattle herders on the vast savannas of the region. The Nuer are fully transhumant; the Dinka less so as their environment is less harsh and better watered, consisting of orchard savanna rather than the treeless plains of Nuerland. Relations between local groups based on patrilineal clans and lineages take place largely through exchanges of cattle at marriages and, in times of hostility, through cattle raiding; cattle also have a central religious importance, with a strong sense of spiritual identification between humans and cattle. The Nuer lack any form of traditional political authority other than the rudimentary (and essentially religious) authority of Leopard-skin priests and prophetic leaders. The Dinka leaders, the Masters of the Fishing Spear, exercise more consistent authority over more clearly defined groupings. The traditional patterns changed considerably due to colonial rule and, later, to political independence. Both peoples are characterized by their fierce sense of independence, seeing themselves alone in a world that is hostile to them both environmentally and politically. Observers have all stressed the importance of religion to them in their everyday affairs.

DIVINITIES AND SPIRITS. In both religions the world is said to have been created by a high god. The Nuer refer to this

God as Kwoth (a word that also means "spirit," or "breath"), or as Kwoth Nhial; among the Dinka the supreme being is known as Nhialic, which might be translated as "sky." Even though the two concepts may not be identical it is convenient to use the term *Deity* here for both. The source both of life and of its paradoxes, the Deity is omnipotent, ubiquitous, everlasting, and beyond the comprehension and the control of ordinary living people. Although now remote from human beings (in both religions there are myths of the separation of people from the sky), the Deity remains ultimately concerned with the world and liable to interfere in its everyday affairs at any time. Prayers and offerings are made continually and informally to the Deity, never far from the thoughts of the living.

In terms of everyday behavior the mystical or spiritual forces that are in most constant watch over people and in communication with them are the many kinds of spirits, or lesser deities, that are nearer to the mundane world. The natures, identities, and motives of these lesser deities are many. They represent, on a mystical plane, the countless and always changing aspects of the human experience of the world, of the acts of the Deity, and of themselves; any attempted classification of them except in general terms can only be uncertain and ever shifting. In both religions a somewhat similar pattern is discernible, but similarities should not be pushed too far.

The Nuer divide the lesser deities into spirits of the air (or of the above) and spirits of the below. The former are more powerful, more wide ranging, and more dangerous. Most are thought of as alien, originating from the Dinka. They are distinct from the Deity, even though both they and the Deity are known as *kwoth.* There is only one Deity, and it is original to the Nuer; the spirits of the above are many and may come from other peoples (although the *colwic,* spirits of people killed by lightning, appear to be older and not of alien origin). The Deity is seen as a benevolent father and friend, whereas the spirits are less benevolent and more immediately demanding. They possess people by sickness to signal that the latter have committed sins, and the relationship thus established between spirit and person may be inherited. Sacrifice is made to remove the sin from the possessed person, who is thereby cured, and the spirit is sent back to its proper place in the outside world. And it is the spirits of the above who possess certain people who thereby become prophets.

The spirits of the below are nearer to people. They include totemic spirits, attached to local groups; totemistic spirits, attached to individuals; and various nature and other spirits. They are all of less importance than the spirits of the above and not held in great esteem. But being more closely attached to individuals they may partake of ordinary human spite and hatred and so be demanding and unpleasant.

The Dinka distinguish what they call the sky divinities or free divinities, the more important, from the clan divinities that are attached to local groups, lesser divinities, and ancestors. The main distinction in everyday life is that a clan divinity, associated with an animal species or a class of objects, is the concern of all the members of a particular clan, whereas the sky divinities force themselves upon the living by possession and so create a permanent relationship with them individually and irrespective of clan affiliation. They are more difficult to understand and predict and thus more powerful and more dangerous. A divinity that possesses an individual is identified by divination so it can be separated from the possessed person by sacrifice. Sky divinities are regarded as external realities that represent inner psychological states and so are linked with situations of social and moral ambiguity, confusion, and sin.

PRIESTS AND SACRIFICE. Each society has ritual experts who are thought to cope with the spiritual powers and to protect ordinary people from them. Among the Nuer they are the Leopard-skin priests, members of particular lineages who possess powers, the principal of which is to purify those who have been placed, through their own or others' deeds, in a state of pollution and spiritual danger. Among the Dinka they are known as Masters of the Fishing Spear, the heads of priestly lineages. They are said to be "the lamps of the Dinka" as they "carry life" and guide their people through the darkened ways of the everyday world. They have a life-giving power given to them by the divinity Ring ("flesh"). Oral traditions state that the first Master of the Fishing Spear was Aiwel Longar, whose prayers were powerful and truthful enough to maintain the fertility of people, livestock, and land. Longar's spears were accurate and deadly when used to kill sacrificial oxen, and so are those of the present-day masters; the spiritual power resides in the spears, used for sacrificial killing and thereby also to preserve life. The invocation and the immolation of the victim is a repetition of Longar's original ritual action. The sacrificial animal is symbolically identified with the person on whose behalf the rite is performed. Guilt and sickness are placed "on the back" of the sacrificial victim and carried away at its death: its death expels sin and sickness from the group and releases the individual concerned from them.

Masters of the Fishing Spear bring and retain the "life" of their people. They may not die a normal death and so are buried alive at their own request. Since the master's life is not lost (it remains among the living to strengthen them), the people do not mourn him and feel only joy.

PROPHETS. The Nuer and Dinka have long had to face the radical (and seemingly both destructive and irrational) effects of outside interference and to make some satisfying response to them. Besides such natural disasters as famines and epidemics, the most serious cases in recent centuries have been Arab slavers, British colonial rule and "pacification," and then overrule under the Republic of the Sudan.

Little is known about their earliest responses, but during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries both the Nuer and Dinka produced religious movements led by prophets. Nuer prophets organized large groups of people to raid the Dinka, introduced new rites to stop new epidemics, and led the resistance against slavers. Toward the end of the last century there appeared a prophet called Ngundeng, a member of a Leopard-skin priest lineage and perhaps of foreign (Dinka) origin. He acquired a reputation for healing, announced that his powers came from a Dinka sky divinity called Deng and went into ritual seclusion and fasting, which marked his acquisition of a new and prophetic role. He had a wide following, and his supporters spent two years building a pyramid of earth and ashes, a "house of spirit" in honor of his sky divinity. After his death in 1906 his powers passed to his son Gwek. A deformed and ugly man known for his healing powers, Gwek appeared regularly at the top of the pyramid in a state of extreme possession, uttering prophecies. Like his father, he periodically fasted in solitude and wore long and unkempt hair, signs of being imbued with divine power. He headed the resistance to the British administration and was killed by government forces. Many other Nuer prophets have had generally similar attributes.

Dinka prophets were also important and numerous. The most famous was Arianhdit, who was at his height during World War I and lived until 1948. Dinka prophets were Masters of the Fishing Spear who, by acquiring additional powers directly from the Deity, also became Men of Divinity. They were thus more directly involved with traditional authority and social organization than were the Nuer prophets. They led many risings and movements of political significance in the early years of this century.

Christian missionaries have been active among both peoples. They have had little success among the Nuer and rather more among the Dinka, perhaps because the Dinka, as the largest group in the southern Sudan, give greater importance to Western forms of education and to their political ambitions in the modern world.

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JOHN MIDDLETON (1987)

NUM is the highest god of the Nentsy, a Samoyed people of western Siberia. He is the creator of the world but remains relatively remote from humans, both during life and after death (when humans descend to the underworld). Contact with Num is established only exceptionally, through spirits and through shamans and their assistant spirits. In the Nenets religion Num is the father of Nga, the god of evil and of death, and is therefore his antipode. (Among the Selkup, Nom is the highest god but does not participate in a polar opposition; in Selkup *nga* means simply "god.") The sacrifices offered to Num on specified occasions are in the form of animals, food, clothing, and money. In the terminology of syncretic Samoyed Christianity, "Num bread" refers to the eucharistic wafer, the Host.

Literally, *num* means not only "the highest god who resides in the heavens" but also "sky, firmament." The term is found in all Samoyed languages and can be reconstructed for proto-Samoyed religion with the meanings "heaven above" and "highest god." However, because the obviously cognate forms *nu-* and *num* with the meanings "up, above, top" and "sky" are also found in Khanty and Mansi (two Finno-Ugric languages related to Samoyed and spoken to the west and south of the Samoyed area), it is likely that *num* is a cultic word that in the course of time has migrated over western Siberia. Attempts to connect *num* with the root *jum(a)* found in the Finnish word for "god," *jumala* (*-la* is a local suffix), must be rejected on phonological grounds in favor of the assumption that *jumala* and related terms in some other Finno-Ugric languages are borrowed from Indic (cf. the Sanskrit *dyumān,* "bright, shining," which refers to an attribute of Indra).

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ROBERT AUSTERLITZ (1987)

NUMBERS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
BINARY SYMBOLISM

NUMBERS: AN OVERVIEW

Numbers, in which the power and sanctity of both time and space are experienced in visible form, have fascinated humankind since early days, although methods of counting and systems of expressing numerals have differed considerably from culture to culture. The highest achievements in this field are the Maya system and the "Arabic" (originally Indian) numbers that were introduced in the West in the twelfth century. The presence of zero in them facilitated mathematical operations.

THE MATHEMATICAL SPIRIT. Augustine found numbers in the scriptures to be both sacred and mysterious, and people today still react positively or negatively to numbers such as seven and thirteen, for the mathematical spirit is innate in humankind and manifests itself wherever human beings live, beginning with simple geometrical ornaments. Observation of the rhythm of days and nights and the phases of the moon seem to have led to early human occupation with numbers, and the Sumerian-Babylonian astral system lies behind much of the later development. Numbers have sometimes been given divine qualities: In India, the number is called "of the kind of Brahmā," and the name of Sāṃkhya philosophy alludes to the system's reliance on numbers, for it literally means "count."

But the first religio-philosophical interest in numbers appeared in Greece with the Pythagoreans, who regarded numbers as metaphysical potencies and the cosmos as isomorphic with pure mathematics (Bell, 1933, p. 140). They defined geometrical theorems, tried to develop objective standards of beauty (the Golden Section), and found the relations between numbers and music. (In the sixteenth century, Kepler's work was still permeated by the idea of the *harmonia mundi.*) Pythagorean thought remained basic for later numerology and arithmology, all of which lays particular stress on the first ten integers, in which, as it were, the fullness of the world is contained. The classification of odd numbers as masculine and lucky and even numbers as feminine and unlucky stems from the Pythagorean system. "Lucky" odd numbers have therefore been preferred for use in magic spells, in religious repetitive formulas, and in rites of healing.

Speculations on the properties of numbers were continued in the works of Iamblichus and Philo Judaeus, and arithmology as the philosophy of the powers and virtues of particular integers was further elaborated by Nikomachos of Gerasa, Capella, Boethius, and others. It played an important role in Augustine's hermeneutics, offering him and numerous medieval Christian authors (among them particularly Hugh of Saint-Victor) a clue to biblical allegories. In the early seventeenth century, Peter Bongo (Bungus), in *De numerorum mysteria* (1618), was still trying to prove that numerology alone enables an understanding of the world.

Similar numerical allegory is found, in its most developed form, in Jewish Qabbalah; it is also incorporated into Islamic mystical thought, as in the philosophy of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ and the Ḥurūfī tradition. In both Jewish and Islamic works (as in ancient Greek) the interchangeability of letters and numerals was central for the mystico-magical interpretation of texts (i.e., in *gematriah* and *jafr*). The qualities of numbers as they appear in the biblical tradition became significant for the Christian liturgy and visible in Christian architecture; they permeate the structure and imagery of medieval and Renaissance literature. Proverbial and folkloristic usage of certain numbers, such as three or seven, reveals the general feeling toward these integers, and both religious and popular literature use the device of ascending numbers, or descending numbers (as in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*), for counting purposes. The widespread use of magic squares is only one example of the faith in certain numbers.

INTERPRETATION OF NUMBERS. Although the numbers have been interpreted in various ways, it can be seen that these are generally rather similar.

1. One, according to the Pythagoreans, is both odd and even. Not a number in the normal meaning of the word, it points to the all-embracing unity that incorporates the possibility of multiplicity. "God is an odd number and loves odd numbers," says a Muslim tradition derived from classical antiquity (see Vergil's *Numero deus impare gaudet*). Geometrically, one is represented by the dot, out of which forms and figures are developed.

2. Unity breaks up into duality. Two is the number of duality, of contrast and tension: The German *zwei* ("two") in *Zwietracht* ("discord") expresses this relation, as do compounds formed with the prefix *dis.* Two signifies the tension between the positive and negative current, between systole and diastole, inhaling and exhaling, between male and female; in short, it signifies the tension that generates the continuous flow of life, for the world is composed of pairs of opposites.

"Whatever comes from the tree of knowledge has duality," says a qabbalistic text. This principle is well expressed in the Chinese figuration of *yang* and *yin.* Zoroastrian religion postulates the constant strife between the principle of darkness and that of light, which in gnostic religions develops into the strife between material evil and spiritual good. Islam sees the manifestation in time and space of the peerless, numinous One in two aspects: *jamāl* ("beauty") and *jalāl* ("majesty"). Two is further valorized in the creative word *kun* ("Be!"), which consists of the two letters *k* and *n*, and in the letter *b* (whose numerical value is two) of the Basmalah ("In the name of God . . .") at the beginning of the Qurʾān, similar to the *b* at the beginning of the Torah. In the biblical tradition, the two stone tablets of Old Testament law, like the two testaments themselves, the Old and the New, are complementary, as are the two types of life, the active and the contemplative, personified in Leah and Rachel and in Martha and Mary. Geometrically, two corresponds to the line. The presence of the dual in many languages shows how the I and Thou are juxtaposed against the multiplicity of beings.

3. Three "heals what two has split." As the first number that has a beginning, a middle, and an end, it is the first real number, "the eldest of odds, God's number properly," as Joshua Sylvester (after du Bartas) calls it. It is the first and basic synthesis, represented in the first geometrical figure, the triangle, and in the triadic rhythm of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. As the first number beyond I and Thou, it is the first to mean "multitude" and therefore implies the superlative.

Numerous are the divine triads that can be named, from the Sumerian An, Enlil, and Enki and the Babylonian Shamash, Sin, and Ishtar to the Hindu triad of Viṣṇu, Śiva, and Brahmā and to the Christian Trinity. Concerning the last-named group, it has been pointed out that

> the paramount doctrinal weakness of Christianity, as the Arian heresy testifies, was the duality of the God-head (Father and Son). . . . That the Father and Son were one was questionable on numerical as well as philosophical ground. But Father, Son and Holy Spirit were unquestionably One by very virtue of being Three. (Hopper, 1938, p. 73)

Lesser divine or semidivine beings also appear in groups of three: The Greek Moira, the Nordic Norns, and the Roman Maters, and tricephalic deities are found in many traditions, from the Celtic to the Hindu. Even Islamic monotheism knows groupings of three, such as, among the Shīʿah, Allāh, Muḥammad, and ʿAlī.

"All good things come in threes," it is said, and everything seems to fall in triparte units: heaven-earth-water, or, as in China, heaven-earth-humanity, hence the concept of three worlds. The *Ṛgveda* knows Viṣṇu's three strides (connected with the position of the sun during the day), and three is the number of the twice-born social classes in Vedic religious anthropology. Three is also an important liturgical number, as the tripartition of places of public worship shows. Threefold invocation of the deity is common to most traditions, be it the Trisagion of Christian liturgy, the threefold repetition of *śāntiḥ* ("peace") at the end of recitation of Hindu Scriptures, or the threefold blowing of the shofar on Jewish holy days.

Metaphysical concepts often occur in groups of three: *sat-cit-ānanda* ("being, knowledge, bliss") is a common triad in Indian thought; wisdom, reason, and gnosis were manifested, according to the *Zohar,* in Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Buddism conceives of *triloka* ("three worlds") and *trikāya* ("three bodies" of the Buddha), and Islam disginguishes between *islām* ("surrender"), *īmān* ("faith"), and *iḥsān* (acting perfectly beautifully). The spiritual path is usually divided into three, as, for example, *via purgativa, via illuminativa,* and *via unitiva* or as *sharīʿah* ("law"), *ṭarīqah* ("the path"), and *ḥaqīdah* ("truth"). Three plays a role in anthropological concepts, too: The spiritual powers can be divided into intellect, will, and mind, or, in Islam, into *nafs ammārah* ("inciting to evil"), *lawwāmah* ("blaming"), and *muṭmaʾinnah* ("at peace"). In indian thought, one finds the *triguṇa,* the "three strands" of matter: *tamas* ("heaviness, dullness"), *rajas* ("acitvity, change"), and *sattva* ("brilliance, perfect equanimity").

Time is commonly periodicized in three, as past, present, and future, and the Christian church knows the kindgom of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. The latter concept is important in millenarian prophecies such as that preached in the thirteenth century by Joachim of Fiore. In the more recent past, with the Third Reich (which was, historically speaking, at least the fourth German state), myth overcame history.

Three is cumulative; whatever happens thrice is law. It often simply denotes the plural, or "everything." Therefore it is used in folk tales and legends as a statistical number: Joseph was three days in the well, Jonah three days in the belly of the whale. The three Magi are as well known as groups of three brothers or sisters; three roses, three ravens, three wishes, and three guesses are frequent in folk songs, fairytales, and legends. One also finds the action triangle in practice (*ménage à trois*) and in drama, and the number of titles of fiction and nonfiction works that group persons or events into three is legion.

4. Four "brings order into the chaos." It is a material and cosmic number. The four phases of the moon and the four cardinal points of the earth (pre-formed in the name *Adam*) offer such ordering; so do the four elements and the four humors, and on the mythical plane, in Islam, the four rivers in Paradise and, in the Vedic tradition, the four milk streams that flow from the udder of the heavenly cow. The Pythagoreans considered four the number of justice, and their geometry discovered the four perfect solids. The term *square* still points to right, orderly, and ordering structure. As a number of cosmic order, four often divides the time: the four seasons, Hesiod's four ages of humanity, the Hindu concept of four world epochs (*yuga*s), and the Zoroastrian idea of four periods. Chinese religion and Islam know four sacred scriptures, as Christianity accepts only four gospels as authoritative. For the Christian, the cross, with its four right angles, is "the rightest figure of all," extending over the four corners of the world, while the Jewish tradition emphasizes the mystery of the tetragrammaton, *YHVH.* Quaternity as an ancient symbol of perfection was reevaluated by C. G. Jung as an antidote to the unstructured, "Wotanic" spirit of his time.

5. Five is the number of natural humanity, the first number mixed of even and odd. It does not constitute an ordering number in crystals, but it occurs frequently in botanical forms, in petals and leaves (see Sir Thomas Browne's *Garden of Cyrus,* 1658), and it has therefore been considered by some as a "revolutionary" number. In antiquity, five was the number of Ishtar and Venus and is thus connected with sexual life and marriage, as in the parable of the five foolish virgins and the five wise virgins in *Matthew* 25. The pentagram, which can be derived from the zodiacal stations of Venus, is endowed with apotropaic and magic powers, while in alchemy the *quinta essentia* contains the rejuvenating force of life.

In China, five has traditionally been a lucky number; in the Western tradition one usually thinks of the five senses. Manichaeism knows five archons and the five corresponding aeons of darkness, while Islam, it is said, is "founded on five," for there are no more than five unconnected letters at the beginning of any Qurʾanic surah, and there are five Pillars of Faith, five daily prayers, and five lawgiving prophets. In Shīʿī Islam the *panjtan* (Muḥammad, Fāṭimah, ʿAlī, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn) appears as a protective unit, popularly connected with the "hand of Fāṭimah." The human hand with its five fingers is a basis of some numeral systems, and its image has been frequently used in magic. The number of philosophical pentads ranges from the five Platonic bodies to Islamic Neoplatonic formulations.

6. Six is the macrocosmic number: The hexagon, consisting of two triangles, expresses the combination of the spiritual and the material world, hence the idea that "what is there is here." Six is a perfect number, formed from both the sum and the product of one, two, and three (1 + 2 + 3 and 1 × 2 × 3). Therefore, according to both Philo and Augustine, the world had to be created in six days. In Islam, six is used to symbolize the phenomenal world, which appears like a six-sided solid, that is, a cube.

7. Seven is a sacred number in many traditions. Because it is, according to Hippocrates of Chios, related to the lunar phases, seven influences all sublunar things. It appears in the periodicity of chemical elements and of music, and it has generally been connected with the phases of human development to a Grand Climacterium of sixty-three (7 × 9). Seven is the first prime number of symbolic meaning; it is "virgin," because it does not generate by multiplication any number under ten, and it is the only integer of the first decade that is not a divisor of 360. Consisting of the spiritual ternary and the practical quarternary (3 + 4), seven embraces everything created.

Whether the sanctitude of seven was derived by the Sumerians from the seven planets (the five visible planets plus sun and moon) or whether, conversely, they looked for seven planets to match their idea of the perfect number is a matter of dispute. The number of planets in turn determined the number of days in a week. (Niẓāmī's Persian epic *Haft paikar* expresses this belief poetically.) In Babylon every seventh day was considered dangerous, and it was thought that nothing should be undertaken; the seventh day was then sanctified in Judaism as Sabbath, the day on which God rested after creation.

The demonic qualities of seven are preserved in heptads of devils, witches, magic knots, and so on, but its sacred qualities are perhaps more numerous. Some traditions speak of seven worlds, or, in accordance with the "planets," seven spheres; therefore, the ascension of the soul usually leads through seven gates, steps, valleys, or veils (thus from the Mithraic mysteries to ʿAṭṭār, Ruusbroec, and Teresa of Ávila). In extension, Islam knows seventy thousand veils between the soul and God. Seven appears also in connection with deities of other religions; it is Apollo's number, and, in India, it is especially prominent in connection with Agni. In Iran, the heptad of the Amesha Spentas consists of six plus the all-embracing Ahura Mazdā.

But the number seven gained its greatest importance in the Judaic tradition, whence it extends into Christianity and Islam. From the seven days of creation to the seven pillars of wisdom, the Hebrew scriptures contain "unnumbered heptads." The *menorah* with its seven candles points to some of the secrets of seven. Numerous biblical stories use seven as a statistical number (Pharaoh's dream of seven fat cows and seven thin cows; Jacob's seven years of service, and then seven more). Blood should be avenged seven times, or seventy-seven times (*Gn.* 4:24), but seventy times seven should be the times of forgiving (*Mt.* 18:22). The *Book of Revelation* is filled with heptads, too, leading John of Salisbury in the twelfth century to write his treatise *De septem septenis.* Both the Lord's Prayer and the Qurʾanic Fātiḥa consist of seven sentences. Catholic churches speak of seven major sins and seven virtues, seven sacraments, and seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, and the Mass consists of seven parts.

The sevenfold repetition of religious acts is common in Islam; thus the sevenfold run between Ṣafah and Marwah and the three times seven stones cast at the devil during the pilgrimage. Sufism knows seven *laṭāʾif,* subtle centers of the body, connected in meditation with the seven essential attributes of God and the seven great prophets. A *ḥadīth* speaks of seven layers of Qurʾanic interpretation, which has been practiced especially by the Ismāʿīlīyah, whose basis is the seventh imam of the Shīʿah. They know seven cyclical periods with seven imams; the seven great prophets correspond to the seven spheres, the imams to the seven earths.

In folk tales and legends, seven is a round number: To do anything seven times is especially effective. Christian and Islamic legends know groups of seven feminine or masculine saints, most prominently the Seven Sleepers. The continuing preference for the number seven is reflected today even in the designation of airplanes as Boeing 707, 747, and so on.

8. Eight, the double four, is associated with good fortune. In Judaism the eighth day is singled out for circumcision. Christian tradition sees in the eighth day (the day after Sabbath) the resurrection of Christ; hence eight points to eternity. The eight paradises in Islam and the eight pillars of heaven in Chinese religion belong to the same concept; the eight blessings in the Sermon on the Mount as well as the Eightfold Path of the Buddha are equally connected with eternal bliss. Therefore, the traditional shape of a Christian baptistery is octagonal.

9. Nine, as three times three, is the number of completion. Only rarely in Christian theology is it considered incomplete, as ten minus one. Christianity speaks of the nine orders of angels, and Dante thus saw Beatrice as the embodiment of nine. But the number is more widely connected with Germanic, Celtic, and Inner Asian peoples. The traditions about King Arthur as well as the songs of the Nordic *Vǫluspá* show an abundance of nines, from the nine days that Óðinn (Odin) was hanging on the tree to the number of Valkyries, from ninefold sacrifices to rituals in which nine or a ninefold number of persons had to participate. This predilection for nine has been attributed to the nine months of winter in the northern areas of Eurasia, although nine occurs frequently in the more southerly lore of the ancient Greeks as well.

Such expressions as “to the nines,” meaning “perfect,” and “to be on cloud nine” show the old Germanic esteem for nine. The number frequently appears in Germanic popular tales, although it has often been replaced by seven under Christian influence. Its role in folklore among Germanic peoples is important, and it often occurs in connection with witchcraft (a cat, which has nine lives, can turn into a witch at the age of nine). Among the Chinese and Turco-Mongolian peoples, everything valuable has traditionally had to be ninefold: A prince has owned nine yak-tail standards; ninefold prostration has been required; and gifts have been offered in groups of nine, so that the word *tōqūz* (“nine”) often means simply “present.” In China a nine-storied pagoda represents the nine spheres, which are also known in the eastern Islamic tradition. The eight roads that lead to the central palace in Beijing reflect the ninefold structure of the universe.

10 . Ten, the number of human fingers, and thus a basis of the decimal system, is connected with completion. In the decade, multiplicity returns again to unity, and the system is closed. The Pythagoreans regarded ten as the perfect number, because it is the sum of the first four integers (1 + 2 + 3 + 4) and is represented in the perfect triangle seen in figure 1.

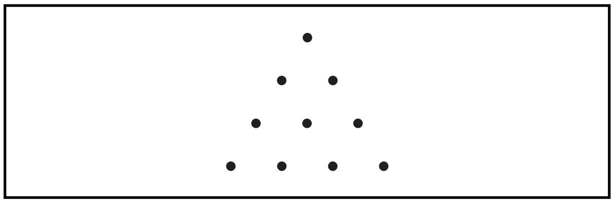

FIGURE 1.

Both the Hebrew and the Buddhist scriptures teach a decalogue, and sets of ten principles are known for the Ṣūfī novice. Likewise, Aristotle’s ten categories show “completeness.” In early Christianity, the three persons of the Trinity and the seven elements of created beings were thought to be represented by ten; but already the Torah had provided the ten words of creation that became the basis of “practical” (i.e., magical) Qabbalah, with its concept of *sefirot* (“numbers”). These ten *sefirot,* along with the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet, point to the thirty-two ways of salvation. Ten were the best companions of Muḥammad, and of several Ṣūfī masters, while the Ismāʿīlī system knows the ten higher orders of the *ḥudūd,* consisting of groups of three and seven.

11. Eleven is normally explained as a number of transgression, being beyond the perfect ten, or as incomplete, being beneath the equally perfect twelve; it is therefore an unfortunate, “mute” number.

12. Twelve (3 × 4; 5 + 7) is the great cosmic number. From Sumer and ancient China onward, it is the number of the signs of the zodiac and the basis of the sexagesimal system. In many cultures, day and night were divided into twelve hours, the year into twelve months, and gnostic religions speak of twelve aeons. The “great period” in Babylon was twelve times twelve thousand days, and multiples of twelve appear frequently in later mythology. The meaning of completion is as evident in the twelve tribes of Israel as in the twelve disciples of Christ and the twelve gates of the heavenly Jerusalem, where twelve times twelve blessed will adore the Lamb of God. The minor prophets of Israel, the Greek sibyls, and the imams of the Twelver Shīʿah number twelve. For medieval Christian exegetes, twelve meant faith in the Trinity that had to be diffused to the four corners of the earth. In popular traditions and sayings, it is, again, a round number, manifest in periods of twelve days or years, in twelve endangered heroes, and so forth.

13. Thirteen (12 + 1) disrupts the perfection of the duodecimal system and, being connected with the intercalary month, was considered unlucky in Babylon, a superstition that continues to the present day. In fairytale, Death becomes the godfather of a thirteenth child. But one can see thirteen also as a combination of one leader and twelve followers, of twelve members of a jury and a judge, of twelve open rooms and a closed one, of a father and twelve sons, and so on. Thirteen therefore sometimes alternates with twelve. In ancient Israel, thirteen was sacred, for thirteen items were necessary for the tabernacle. It also corresponds to the numerical value of *aḥad* (“one”); thus, thirteen rivers of balsam await the believer in paradise. The superstition that thirteen people should not sit at one table (based on the Last Supper) is comparatively recent.

14. Fourteen (2 × 7) is a lucky number, manifested in the fourteen helping saints (*Nothelfer*) of Christianity and the fourteen innocent martyrs of Shīʿah Islam. It is the number of the full moon and is, therefore, the ideal age of the moonlike beloved of which Persian poets sing. In Islam, it is further connected with the so-called sun- and moon-letters and with the unconnected letters at the beginning of certain surahs, both of which sum up to fourteen, half of the twenty-eight letters of the Arabic alphabet. The Ḥurūfīyah emphasize that the Arabic words *yad* (“hand”) and *wajh* (“face”) both have the numerical value of fourteen, twice the sacred seven.

15. Fifteen is the key number in the Daoist liturgical dance known as the Pace of Yu; the nine stations, or “gates,” of the dance follow the sequence of a magic square whose rows, columns, and diagonals all add to fifteen.

16. Sixteen (4 × 4), in the Indian tradition, expresses completeness, in ornaments, features, meters, and poetry.

17. Seventeen, nowadays barely popular, appears in antique music and poetry (9:8 = simple interval) and in the seventeen consonants of the Greek alphabet. In Christianity it signifies the Ten Commandments plus the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, and it figures in calculations of the number of the fishes mentioned in *John* 21:11 (9 × 17 = 153; 1 + [Product][Product][Product] + 17 = 153). Seventeen appears in Islamic alchemy (e.g., in the writings of Jābir ibn Ḥayyān), in the Shīʿah tradition, and in Turkish epics. There are seventeen *rakʿah*s (sequences of prostration) in the ritual prayers of one day, and God's Greatest Name is thought to consist of seventeen letters.

18. Eighteen (2 × 9; 3 (6) is sacred in Qabbalah, as it is the numerical value of the Hebrew word *ḥay* ("living"). In Islam, it is the number of the letters of the Basmalah, and it is highly respected among the Mevlevi order of dervishes, inasmuch as the introductory verses of Rūmī's *Mathnavī* number eighteen. By extension, the number of the worlds is eighteen thousand. The perfection of eighteen can also be understood from the fact that the Buddha had eighteen principal *arhat*s.

19. Nineteen, with the numerical value of *wāḥid* ("one"), is the sacred number of the Bahāʾīs, who count a year of nineteen months with nineteen days each.

20–29. Among the lower twenties, twenty-two is the number of letters of the Hebrew alphabet and the number of the great arcana of Tarot. Augustine divided *De civitate Dei* into twenty-two chapters, ten (2 × 5) devoted to refutation (ten negative commandments) and twelve (3 x 4) to positive teachings. Twenty-four can be numerically interpreted in several religiously significant ways (3 × 8; 4 × 6; 12 × 2), and medieval Christian interpreters used whichever combination fit with what they sought to prove. Among the higher twenties, twenty-five is the Jubilee number, and twenty-eight is the lunar number, central to the whole heptadic system.

30–39. Among the thirties, thirty-three means perfection, as a multiple of three, and as the years of Christ's earthly life. For Muslims as for Christians, it is also the age of the blessed in Paradise. Thirty-six, four times the perfect number nine, was in early China the number of the provinces and the foreign peoples beyond the borders.

40. The most important higher number is forty. As the number of days that the Pleiades disappeared (i.e., were not visible), in Babylon forty came to signify a fateful period, connected with expectation and patience. Human pregnancy lasts seven times forty days. Purifications and rites connected with death were measured according to forty in ancient Israel, as they are in Islam. The times of affliction of Israel were counted by forty: The Flood lasted forty days, the wandering in the desert forty years. Moses, Elijah, and Jesus each spent forty days in the wilderness, and Jesus remained forty hours in the grave. Forty is the span of days between the resurrection and ascension of Jesus, and it is the time of preparation for the dervish, who spends forty days in retirement (*chilla*), poetically interpreted in ʿAṭṭār's *Muṣībatnāma.* At forty years one becomes wise; the Prophet of Islam was called to preach at this age. In the Pythagorean system, forty is the perfected tetractys (4 × 10).

Forty often appears in Islamic lore as a coterminus with "very many," such as Ali Baba's forty thieves; groups of forty dervishes, forty saints, or forty Christian martyrs; and the customary selection of forty *ḥadīth,* representing the fullness of the tradition. In the Persian and Turkish tradition, women miraculously give birth to forty children. As forty in the Old Testament means "one generation," it is a temporal measure. In Turkey, where the number forty is extremely popular, great events and feasts last forty days and forty nights; to see someone "once in forty years" means "rarely." In many areas, weather predictions are made for forty days.

50. Fifty (7 × 7 + 1) is the number of the *jobel* year, a year of peace, the divine eternal rest. In connection with Psalm 50, it can point to repentance and forgiveness. A predilection for 50 and 150 is apparent in Irish folk tales.

60. Among the higher numbers, many are endowed with qualities similar to those of the bases in the first decade. Sixty is especially important as the basis for the Babylonian sexagesimal system, in which it forms the higher unit after ten; from these units, sixty and ten, result the multiples that are associated with cosmic time. According to Plato, the "cosmic day" and the "cosmic year" are reckoned by sixties. Because sixty can be easily divided, it still rules in the temporal system. The Chinese, who reckon time in cycles of sixty years, have traditionally considered that number as the full complement of a person's life. The Talmud knows fragments of sixtieths: Dream is one-sixtieth of prophecy, fire one-sixtieth of hell, and so on.

70–79. Seventy participates in the qualities of seven, and the numbers seventy to seventy-three are often interchanged in the Semitic tradition. Among them, seventy-two is most important; it is one-fifth of the circumference of the circle as well as the product of eight and nine. It usually designates great diversity: from the seventy-two disciples of Christ who were sent into the world to the seventy-two martyrs of Karbala and the seventy-two sects of Islam. Abulafia speaks of the seventy-two letters of the name of the Lord.

Higher numbers. Ninety-nine, the heightened angelic perfection of nine, is the number of the Most Beautiful Names of God in Islam, while one hundred as the new basis of the decimal system, is another complete number. Higher than that is 108 (12 × 9), the number of beads in the Buddhist rosary, the number of books of the Tibetan Kanjur, and the number of beautiful *gopī*s who danced with Lord Kṛṣṇa. Higher still are 360 and 365, which are connected with the annual cycle, and 666, the "number of the beast" (*Rv.* 13), which has been interpreted ever since antiquity as the name of a man particularly detested at various times, be it Nero, Pope Leo X, Luther, Napoleon, or some other. Symbolically, one thousand and ten thousand are both endless; 1,001 thus transgresses the largest imaginable number, while ten thousand means immortality in the Chinese tradition. The enormous numbers of Hindu and Buddhist cosmology form a theme in themselves.

CONCLUDING REMARK. The interest in numbers and their specifications continues in spite of the modern scientific worldview, especially among those who seek for a meaningful structure of the world. As Le Corbusier once wrote: "Behind the wall, the gods play; they play with numbers, of which the universe is made up."

See Also Dualism; Quaternity; Triads.

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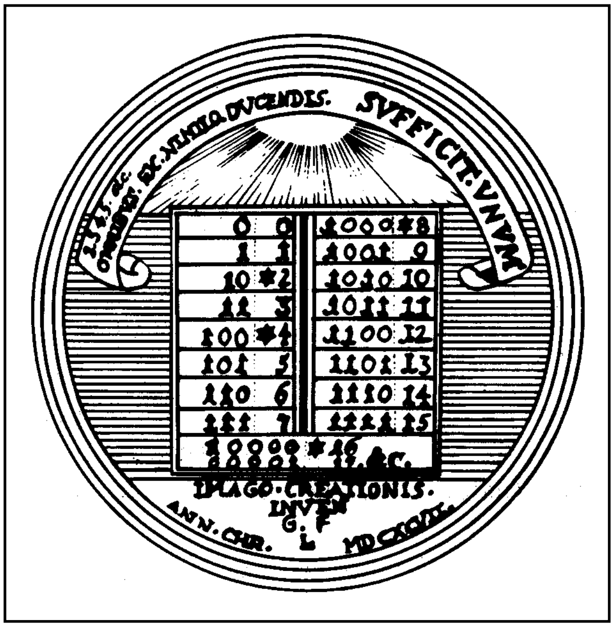

Figure 1. Leibniz's Symbol.

NUMBERS: BINARY SYMBOLISM

Binary numbers are a system of counting and computing using two digits, 1 and 0. This system is known today as the principle of the digital computer that represents numbers through the presence (1) and absence (0) of electrical current. The first electronic digital circuit was created in 1919. As early as 1932 binary numeration was used in electronic counting circuits. However, the first binary calculator was designed in 1679 by the great German mathematician and philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), who invented the binary number system. His plan called for using moving balls to represent binary digits. The first completed statement of the number system and its operations was made eighteen years later in a New Year's greeting Leibniz sent to Duke Rudolph Augustus of Brunswick on January 2, 1697. The letter provided a detailed description of a design that Leibniz hoped the duke would strike in the form of a silver medallion. The image reproduced here (see figure 1) was created in 1734 by Rudolph August Nolte following Leibniz's instructions.

The symbol contains three of the chief number systems: the Roman, the decimal (base 10), and the binary (base 2). Roman numerals provide the date (1697) of the greeting to the duke, no doubt to "copyright" the system for Leibniz. In the table in the center are the binary numbers up to 10001 and their decimal analogs up to 17. At the sides of the table are examples of binary addition and multiplication. The system was an *imago creationis* ("image of creation"), as Leibniz explained to the duke, because it showed how God, the Almighty One, created the world out of nothing, the zero. Thus the caption over the design reads: "2, 3, 4, 5, etc. / For everything to be drawn out of nothing, the one suffices."

Leibniz claimed that the binary system practically proved the Christian doctrine of creation *ex nihilo,* (the creation of the universe out of nothing, through God's omnipotence) by showing the origin of numbers through the use of one and zero. He decorated the symbol with imagery from the creation myth that appears at the beginning of the *Book of Genesis.* The rays at the top of the design represent the breath of God, the "almighty one," hovering over the waters, the "nothingness and void," in the moment before creation begins. The system also demonstrated the goodness of creation alluded to several times in *Genesis.* Binary numbers revealed the innate order of numerical relations hidden by decimal numbers. For example, the relation between 2, 4, 8, 16, (2, 2^2, 2^3, 2^4), is obviously the same as that between 10, 100, 1000, 10000; hence the asterisks.

Leibniz's cosmogonic symbol documents the great themes of science and religion in the seventeenth century and their secularizing and syncretistic aspects. The conviction that the universe was a mathematical artifact was almost unanimous among seventeenth-century scientists and philosophers. But this notion did not have a traditional source; scripture provides scant references to God creating with numbers. Instead, it represents the legacy of the Pythagoreans (sixth century BCE), which haunted the Western philosophic tradition for millennia. According to Pythagoras, numbers were the origins of things, proceeding from the relation of the one (limit) and the void (unlimited). The mathematical structure of physical phenomena had been so well realized in the seventeenth century that Leibniz took the equation of numbers and the universe for granted. It was the religious doctrine of creation *ex nihilo* that needed justification. In the letter Leibniz states that the doctrine was one of the main points of Christianity" that have met with the least acceptance on the part of the worldly wise and are not easily imparted to the heathen," taking a distinction Paul reserved for the doctrine of the son of God crucified (*1 Cor.* 1:24–25). But in the seventeenth century the Incarnation was no longer the primary manifestation of God. Instead people read of God's activities in the sacred book of nature. Science provided the means to read nature, mathematics, and with it demonstrated the power and wisdom of God in his creation. Leibniz was so convinced of his system's success in making God's creative act transparent that he sent his invention to the Jesuit mathematical tribunal in China. He wrote Duke Rudolph that the emperor of China might now see for himself the mystery of creation and the excellency of the Christian faith. It seems clear that mystery here means a logical conundrum and excellency, rationality. The secularizing of the tradition is confirmed by Leibniz's remark in the letter that he added the imagery from *Genesis,* the breath of God over the waters, "so that something more pleasing than number be on the design." The mythical imagery only ornamented the now reasonable doctrine of creation out of nothing.

Leibniz's symbol is more than a brilliant reflection of seventeenth-century science and religion. It also documents a historical process made possible by the nature of symbolism itself. By making relations between different realms of meaning and experience specific, transparent, and concrete, symbols can remain of continuing relevance beyond their original cultural manifestations, as the rich histories of the one and the zero demonstrate.

Leibniz's ease in combining the Pythagorean doctrine and the Jewish and Christian teaching on creation was made possible by the sacrality of the one. The paradigmatic command of the religion of Israel demanded: "Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God, the Lord is one" (*Dt.* 6:4). In the Hebrew and Arabic languages counting began with two, one being reserved for God alone. Likewise the Pythagoreans did not consider one a number because it generated all numbers—a consideration held by Aristotle and repeated up through the Middle Ages. Leibniz was certainly aware of some of these aspects of the symbolism of the one, but there is no evidence he was aware of the religious associations in the history of the zero. However, Leibniz's appropriation of the zero from the decimal system in his binary number system was just one development in a long process of religious and mathematical creativity.

Place value notation is often hailed as one of humanity's great inventions. In numerical place value the position a number symbol occupies determines its value. As a result a minimum of symbols can convey a maximum of numbers. The success of this mode of numbering depends upon the zero, the symbol of the empty place in a number that preserves the value of the position. As the uncounted counter it makes rapid calculation possible. Though possibly invented independently in several civilizations, the Babylonian and Indian inventions of place value notation were the ones that influenced Leibniz's system.

By 1600 BCE the Babylonian sexagesimal number system (base 60) employed a marker for the empty place. A functional place value symbol was employed in astronomical observations recorded in sexagesimal numbers by 300 BCE. These observations became available to the Greeks, who then used an empty circle for the place value. The sexagesimal number system is still employed in astronomy and in calculations involving circles (degrees, minutes, seconds). The earliest Indian translations of Greek astronomical texts (c. 150 CE) use the Sanskrit words *kha* ("sky") and *bindu* ("dot") for the sexagesimal place value. At the same time, the Indian decimal system was so well developed and widely known that a Buddhist text used place value, the marker of the empty position, to explain how *dharma*s ("elements") exist in time. This was at the time when Nāgārjuna, the founder of Mādhyamika Buddhism, described the reality of *dharma*s by *śūnyatā* ("emptiness"). *Śūnya,* from the Sanskrit root *śvi* (to "swell" and hence "hollow out"), had been used since Vedic times (c. 1000 BCE) as a synonym for words describing the sky or celestial vault, for example, *kha* and *ākāśa* ("ether"). But these words along with *bindu,* were used to name the place value symbol. The subsequent evidence suggests a gradual process of syncretic symbolization. By the third century CE the *bindu* had been used as the decimal place value notation in an Indian astronomical text. In the sixth century *śūnyabindu* was used to name the zero in a metaphor about the stars being ciphers scattered in the sky. *Śūnya* is thereafter found with increasing frequency as the name for the zero. The *bindu* (the dot) was incorporated into the typical Buddhist shrine, the *stūpa.* As the summit it symbolized the point where *śūnyatā* and *dharmadhātu* (the realm of element), were unified as *ākāśa,* the all-pervading ether. Emptiness and plenum were one. It was the realization of the idea of enlightenment.

It remains difficult to specify the exact relation between the religious symbolism of emptiness and the mathematical zero. The mathematical symbol of an emptiness that bears a value seemed an obvious representation of the Buddhist insight into phenomenal and conceptual reality. Interestingly enough, Leibniz's use of the zero in his binary number design gives to it a meaning not altogether different from the Buddhist value and thus helps to clarify what is centrally important. The place value suggested how conditioned or created being was absolutely distinguished from what is ultimately real, yet inseparable from it.

Leibniz took the zero from the decimal system brought to the West from India by the Muslims in the twelfth century. *Zero* and *cipher* both come from Latin transliterations of the Arabic *ṣifr* ("empty"), a straightforward translation of *śūnya.* Its symbols were the dot and the empty circle. Dots are still used today in the ellipsis, to indicate omission.

Knowingly or not, Leibniz drew upon ancient religious and mathematical expressions, the achievements of the cultures of Babylon, Greece, Israel, Arabia, and India, to fashion a number system of unforeseen usefulness. The history of the system manifests the processes of secularization, syncretism, and symbolization, as well as the processes of mathematical invention and discovery. It is a useful reminder of the global nature of the relations of the religions and the sciences. Few today may see the image of creation in their video display terminals, but the changes wrought by the technology employing the binary number system testify to the cosmogonic effectiveness of Leibniz's system.

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NUMEN. The word *numen* is a neuter form ending in *-men* and derived from **nuere* (found in the composite verbs *adnuere,* "agree with a nod of the head," and *abnuere,* "refuse with a nod of the head"). The formation is Latin, even though it is based on an Indo-European root, **neu-,* which produced a parallel word of the same meaning in Greek, *neuma. Numen* is semantically related to *nutus* ("nod of the head"), as correctly pointed out by Varro: "numen . . . dictum ab nutu" (*De lingua Latina* 7.85). It signifies the manifestation, will, or power of a divinity. Because this is its characteristic meaning until the end of the republic (including Cicero), *numen* never appears unless accompanied by the genitive form of the divinity's name. The most ancient example is in a text of Accius cited by Varro: "Alia hic sanctitudo est aliud nomen et numen Iouis" ("Here, the holiness of Jupiter is one thing, the name and power of Jupiter another"; *De lingua Latina* 7.85).

This usage is also reflected in the balanced definition of Festus: "The numen is, as it were, the nod or power of a god" (Festus, ed. Lindsay, 1913, p. 178 L.). Even when the poets of the Augustan period began to substitute at times *numina* for *dei,* by way of simplication and, often, metric accommodation, the ancient usage still made itself felt. Theodor Birt has shown that Vergil was able to maintain the original sense of the word in a phrase from the opening verses of the *Aeneid* (1.8), "quo numine laeso," which here refers to the queen of the gods and can only mean "in consequence of the violation of her [Juno's] will."

Certain scholars, in search of "primitive culture," have tried to give a completely different orientation to the Latin term by identifying *numen* with a Melanesian word, *mana.* In his book *The Melanesians,* R. H. Codrington in 1891 advanced the latter term, as meaning an "autonomous, impersonal force." This assimilation of *numen* to "an impersonal active power" led Hendrik Wagenvoort to pass over the constant usage of the republican period and to postulate a pre-deist world that in Rome would have preceded the advent of personal divinities. He reached the point of questioning the antiquity of the expression *di novensiles.* He preferred to shorten it simply to *novensiles.* Interpreted in his own way, novensiles would mean, with reference to *numen* (**nou-men*), "filled with motive power." This etymological lucubration would be no more than a venial fault if at the same time it did not betray a serious error of perspective. Indeed, the attempt to abolish every individual and personal divinity at the origins of Rome results in misunderstanding the universality of an Indo-European fact: the presence of the term **deiwos* for the idea of divinity, represented at the eastern and western extremes of the Indo-European domain. *Numen,* from the ancient times until Vergil, only expresses the manifestation of a **deiwos* become *deus* in Latin.

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NUMINOUS, THE See HOLY, IDEA OF THE; NUMEN; OTTO, RUDOLF; SACRED AND THE PROFANE, THE

NUM-TŪREM. The Khanty (Ostiaks) and the Mansi (Voguls) live in an area in northwestern Siberia bordered on the west by the Ural Mountains. For the most part, they are settled on the banks of the rivers there, with the Ob River flowing through the middle of their territory. As speakers of Ugric languages, they are thus known as the Ob-Ugrians. Fishing and hunting are their most important means of subsistence, although some of these peoples tend reindeer and others, especially in the southern part of the area, farm and keep livestock. Their widely differing languages belong to the Finno-Ugric family. Similar living conditions and a neighborly relationship have produced similarities in both material and spiritual culture, but the obvious variations that are nonetheless found lead scholars to distinguish between different cultural areas. The boundaries between these are fluid, however, so that certain phenomena—in this case the god of the heavens—may be treated as common to all of them.

The Ob-Ugrians, like other peoples of northern Siberia, consider that the universe consists of several worlds: earth, an upper world, and a netherworld. Popular tradition divides the upper world into a number of spheres—certain stories speak of three, others of seven—and each world is ruled by its own deity.

Prayers and the stereotyped formulae that accompany sacrificial rites address a god of the heavens as Num-Tūrem (Khanty) or Numi-Tārem (Mansi). *Tūrem* or *tārem* is interpreted as "up there" or "the high god." *Num* or *numi* denotes the visible sky, while *tūrem* or *tārem* expresses "weather, air, sky, heavens, world," "higher being, lord of the heavens," and "lord of the universe"; it may therefore be a general expression for "god." According to K. F. Karjalainen, the word also means "time" or "period of time"—for instance, "lifetime"—as well as "situation" or "state"—"state of dreaming," for example. There are different theories as to its etymology. Attempts have been made to link it to the Saami (Lapp) *Tiermes,* the name of a god of the air and heavens, or to the Turco-Tatar *tengri,* meaning "heavens."

However, the sky god has many other names in which the adjectival epithet indicates its nature; he is "great," "radiant," "bright," "lustrous as gold," and "white" as well as "Lord" and "Father." These epithets are important; some of them have become detached from their head-words to serve as proper names. Thus the name of the Khanty god of the heavens is Sängke-Tūrem, "the radiant or bright Tūrem," or quite simply Sängke, ("light"), which indicates the god's connection with the sun or the sky in daylight.

Num-Tūrem is a powerful being in folk poetry; he takes part in the creation of both the world and humankind, and as such he is also a god of fate worshiped in various ways by the two peoples. He is never portrayed in pictures, however, although in mythical accounts he is personified. In the Khanty myths he is enthroned as an anthropomorphic (male) deity in one of the upper worlds, where he lives with his family and a large retinue (like that of a prince). From there he supervises the entire creation: His ears "great as the Ob" hear everything, his eyes "large as lakes" see all, and he is all-powerful. Because nothing is hidden from him, he is also regarded as the guard of morals and justice. Many scholars, however, hold that this omnipotence bears traces of foreign influence from Islam, Orthodox Christianity, and Turco-Tatar myths concerning their major deities. It is known from historical sources that the Mansi heard Christian sermons as early as the fifteenth century and that the Tatars acquired a certain influence in the Khanty area, thus spreading both their own popular beliefs and Muslim doctrine.

Although Num-Tūrem is the Ob-Ugric god about whom the most numerous and most detailed stories have been told, he nevertheless does not seem to be worshiped by all the different groups with a special cult dedicated to him alone, nor does he have a specific field of activity. He is revered and asked to bring good health, prosperity, and good hunting, the same favors that are requested of other divinities such as the god of the forest, the Old Man of the Urals, the Great Goddess of Kazym, called Vut-imi, and Jalpus, the guardian spirit of the Khanty. Compared with other deities Num-Tūrem is more of an abstraction.

Although the narrative tradition centering on Num-Tūrem is richer among the Mansi, it is the Khanty of the southeast who perform the most elaborate sacrifices to him. These offerings, in which a white horse is the most important sacrificial animal, are addressed directly to him. This southeastern group of Khanty are small-scale farmers, and it is believed that they may have acquired these horse sacrifices from the nomadic Tatar horsemen and more generally from the large-scale stock breeders of Central Asia, because the horse does not belong to the biotope of this northern area. Extensive sacrifices to different deities were still being performed as recently as the 1930s. Similarly, the fact that the god of the heavens is ranked as the supreme being and father is ascribed to Muslim and Christian influence. In other areas, among the other Ob-Ugric hunters and reindeer breeders, sacrifices are much less prominent in the worship of the god, although he is the focus of an elaborate myth.

According to K. F. Karjalainen and others, the Ob-Ugric god of the heavens was regarded originally as a personal being "in the upper world nearest the earth," that is, in the visible sky. He was a *deus otiosus,* high above and far away from everyday human life, mostly responsible for such atmospheric phenomena as storms, the wind, thunder, rain, and so on. He was Num-Tūrem, the "god on high," but Islamic and Christian influences brought him nearer to humanity and the old sacrificial custom was invested with a new conceptual framework.

Judging from the fragments at scholars' disposal, the god of thunder known by the eastern Saami as Diermes or Tiermes also has uranian features. The etymology of the word is unknown, but *Tiermes* and *Tūrem* probably have a common origin. The name occurs very rarely in source materials, however. This and the fact that his function is only vaguely indicated make him a very elusive being.

See Also Khanty and Mansi Religion; Sky, article on The Heavens as Hierophany; Tengri.

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Louise Bäckman (1987)
Revised Bibliography

NUNS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
BUDDHIST NUNS
CHRISTIAN NUNS AND SISTERS

NUNS: AN OVERVIEW

Although the word *nun* carries a specific, historically circumscribed meaning, especially in Catholic Christianity, it is also widely used to refer more generally to women ascetics and monastics in different religious traditions. In this overview, nuns are mainly considered phenomenologically as a specific group of religious persons who share certain characteristics across different religious traditions, cultures, and historical periods.

MEANING OF THE WORD *NUN*. In its original Christian context, the term *nun* refers to a member of a religious order or a congregation of women living under the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. In Roman Catholic Canon Law, only those women living under so-called solemn vows are truly "nuns" (*moniales*) in a full sense, whereas those under "simple vows" are called "sisters" (*sorores*). However, this strict legal and linguistic distinction is little observed; the popular usage of the term *nun* has been widened to include both Christian women living in enclosed convents, as well as countless sisters devoted to charitable services, such as tending the sick, dying, poor, and imprisoned, in addition to providing education and helping others in many ways. From its more inclusive use in an originally Christian context, the meaning of *nun* has been further extended to religious traditions other than Christianity. The word is now loosely applied comparatively and cross-culturally to describe a wide range of diverse phenomena relating to women's pursuit of the religious life, indicating a path of renunciation and asceticism. The word *nun* can thus refer to different groups of religious women living under vows—either together in community—or as individual women ascetics and renunciates (*sādhvīs*), as for example in Hinduism and Jainism.

MONASTICISM AND GENDER. The story of women's asceticism and monasticism represents an important part of the global history of religions, and of the larger story of women in religion, replete with numerous examples of heroic female choices and spiritual attainments. Until the recent arrival of women's and gender history, this story has been largely neglected or silently subsumed under the general history of monasticism, and for the most part described without specific attention to gender differences. It has also been tied up with male concepts of female spirituality, often defined in relation to the traditionally dominant gender roles that women, through becoming nuns, chose to resist or considerably modify. A growing number of detailed historical, textual, and tradition-specific studies of particular religious women or whole female religious communities is slowly building up a cumulative record of women ascetics and nuns. More research is needed, however, to complete the rich and diverse picture of women's active involvement in—and experience of—asceticism and monasticism. The significant contribution of nuns to different religious communities, stretching over many centuries, has been minimally recovered so far. *Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns through Two Millennia*, by Jo Ann Kay McNamara (1996), is a comprehensive study of Christian nuns, but no comparable overview exists for Buddhist, Jaina, Hindu or Daoist nuns.

MOTIVATION, GOAL, AND SHARED CHARACTERISTICS OF NUNS. What is the attraction to the religious life of a nun or ascetic? In each religious tradition there exist maximalist and minimalist approaches to conform human life to a spiritual ideal and to put it into practice, both by the individual and by the community. Those who are attracted to ascetic ideals—whether women or men—follow a strict understanding of their religious teachings, rites, and observances. Through voluntary choice, they pursue the embodiment of this spiritual ideal with great seriousness, sometimes with such rigor that it can lead to extremes and incite tensions, criticism and resistance. Thus all followers of a religious tradition fall into different categories, from the merely lax to the utterly committed, from laypeople to institutionalized office bearers to inspiring charismatics, who in turn may become critics and reformers.

Through the centuries women, like men, have experienced a strong calling to follow single-mindedly a more dedicated religious path in search of liberation (or *moksha*), holiness, and perfection. They have also chosen selfless service to others through renunciation, meditation, prayer, fasting, and other ascetic practices. The purpose of following an ascetic life and becoming a nun is ultimately an other-worldly, transcendent goal, reachable only through profound personal transformation. The pursuit of such an arduous goal is difficult for all people, but it is doubly difficult for women because of their traditional family roles, the reproductive duties expected of them, and their subjection to male authority in patriarchal society. Because of the widely accepted division of gender roles and the assumed equation of mind and spirit with the male sphere—and that of body and sexuality with the female sphere—women often had a great struggle to free themselves from traditional gender assumptions in order to pursue a religious path. The history of nuns in Hinduism, Buddhism, and Christianity provides plenty of evidence for this.

The motivations for pursuing such an unconventional path—one that requires a struggle against much social resistance—might be mixed. One motivation could be a genuine attraction to a spiritual ideal; another could be the alternative of trying to escape from the burden of marriage and sexuality, child-bearing, and family bonds for a young woman. For an older woman—a widow, for example—it could be the choice of joining a like-minded religious community in order to complete her life in dedication to a religious ideal. Such mixed motivations are clearly evident from the study of women renunciates (Khandelwal, 2004), and nowhere are the mixed motives in the struggle for liberation more clearly expressed than in the famous songs of the Buddhist Therīgātha (Blackstone, 1998).

WOMEN AND ASCETICISM. A woman ascetic or nun—the terms are often used interchangeably—can be characterized as an ideal type of religious figure that exists in numerous variations and a wide variety of historical configurations. In terms of the shared characteristics of nuns, one can examine the similarity or dissimilarity of their vows across time and traditions, as well as whether such vows are the same in number and kind as those of men in the same religious tradition, or, on the contrary, whether they are considerably more numerous and different, as is the case in Buddhism. A person can look at the patterns and rhythms of the nuns' religious practices, their clothing, and and their food habits—especially in terms of the use and renunciation of food—all of which imply different degrees of self-denial and widely varying attitudes towards the human body.

In the first volume of the *Encyclopedia of Religion*, Walter Kaelber defined asceticism as "a voluntary, sustained, and at least partially systematic program of self-discipline and self-denial in which immediate, sensual, or profane gratifications are renounced in order to attain a higher spiritual state or a more thorough absorption in the sacred" (1987, p. 1:441). However, this definition does not articulate the multi-dimensional aspects of asceticism nor its gender variations. Many women ascetics, like men, practice what has been called a "heroic asceticism," a term which groups together several practices of physical deprivation, such as bodily injuries and laceration of the flesh, sleep deprivation, fasting, and starvation. These practices can lead, in certain cases, to altered states of consciousness, ecstatic, mystical, and possession experiences. In the discussion of asceticism, however, most attention has been given to sexual renunciation, chastity, and virginity, especially in studies of Christian asceticism (Brown, 1988; Castelli, 1986). A "virginal asceticism" developed in the early Christian church before the organization of a more specialized monasticism, but it was often tied to a marked misogynism (Ruether, 1974).

Because women's bodies are considered impure in many religions, the ascetic ideal of controlling sexual and other physical needs was particularly attractive to women who sought sainthood and perfection. In withdrawing from the world by renouncing property, marriage, family bonds, and household responsibilities, women could assert their autonomy by removing themselves—to some extent—from the patriarchal control of men (although most religious traditions rank monks above nuns who in status, attainment, and authority, usually remain subordinate to male renouncers). Through the renunciation of sexual activity, women also obtained control over their bodies and transcended traditional femaleness, becoming, so to speak, "honorary males." Because they were no longer valued for their reproductive sexuality and social function, these women gained a new, spiritual authority and power that was widely recognized among ascetics and mystics of different religious traditions.

In the Western tradition, the figure of the "virgin-ascetic" goes back to at least Roman antiquity (Brown, 1988; Cooper, 1996), whereas the Greek tradition is without a parallel notion of asceticism. The early Christian ascetics soon developed the monastic ideal. Originally intended as a solitary life pursued by the individual (*monos* = alone), this ideal soon took on a corporate character. Teachings, rules, leaders, and women's asceticism and monasticism developed along with, or even before, that of men. When the great monastic orders were later founded by men, a number of women's orders grew as well, maintaining a close connection with—and dependence upon—the male orders. This occurred because the nuns were affiliated to the same rules and monastic constitutions, without separate developments of their own.

Strictly speaking, nuns are the cloistered women monastics of these ancient orders. But in post-Reformation Europe, from the sixteenth century onwards, a great number of entirely new, unenclosed female religious congregations and sisterhoods developed that were entirely independent from any existing order of men. These congregations and sisterhoods owed their foundation to original ideas and unusual, strong women dedicated to new spiritual, social, and educational ideals. Today these Christian sisters, whose many congregations were largely founded during the nineteenth century, are also referred to as nuns.

NUNS IN DIFFERENT RELIGIONS. In terms of origin, the earliest groups of nuns are perhaps found in Jainism, which knows of women renouncers since about the time of Mahāvīra (c. 490–410 BCE) around the fifth century BCE, followed closely afterwards by Buddhist nuns. Although there seems to have been less reluctance among Jainas than on the Buddha's part to admit women on an equal basis from the start, Jaina nuns share with Buddhist nuns the requirement that they must follow additional and stricter rules than monks. The two major Jaina groups, the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras, as well as several subsects, all possess distinct groups of nuns; in fact, among the Śvetāmbaras, nuns far outnumber the monks. In spite of more detailed recent case studies (Vallely, 2002; Shanta, 1985), much further research is needed to make the nuns' contribution to Jainism better known and understood.

More information, though far from sufficient, is available on Buddhist nuns, where there exist a great variety of monastic groups across the Buddhist world. Usually, but not always, the number of nuns is less than that of Buddhist monks, although this varies from country to country. In Taiwan, for example, there are two-thirds more nuns than monks. Korea also knows a large number of nuns whose work, like that of other nuns, has been little recorded in Buddhist texts, nor has it been much investigated by scholars. This is changing, however, because Buddhist women have organized themselves into a global network in order to promote closer collaboration and study of their own history and activities.

In Hinduism, the ancient Vedas know of some solitary women seekers and ascetics, and the Sanskrit language possesses a female equivalent to the male renouncer: there is the *sādhvī* as well as the *sādhu,* the *saṃnyāsin* as well as the *saṃnyāsīs.* But due to the prohibition on women and non-Brahmans to study Vedic texts or perform Vedic rites, women were effectively barred from taking vows to pursue renunciation (*saṃnyāsa*), except as members of unorthodox sects. Thus there are no female Hindu monastic orders until the modern foundation of the Śrī Śāradā Maṭha in 1954 as a parallel to the Ramakrishna Order (Sinclair-Brull, 1997). In the past, individual male *saṃnyāsins* may occasionally have accepted female monastic disciples, and individual women ascetics may sometimes have become gurus, but these remained exceptions, whereas women gurus have grown much more prominent during the twentieth century. Past female ascetics usually did not take monastic vows but lived away from home, in holy cities such as Vārāṇasī, either alone or in groups, retaining lay status so that no organized order of Hindu women nuns existed in earlier times (Ohja, 1981, 1984). However, in spite of the growing interest in the comparative study of female ascetics and nuns, the phenomenon of women renouncers in the Hindu tradition remains too little researched; only a few studies of the varieties of contemporary Hindu female ascetics exist (Khandelwal, 2004; Denton, 1991).

Less information is available on Daoist nuns, whose study is also in its initial stages. Although women have had a notable presence in Daoism, it was originally not a monastic religion, and nuns only appeared during the seventh to ninth centuries CE, when some women from the Chinese court chose the path of renunciation. Women's religious establishments flourished during medieval times, whereas few women's monasteries exist in China today. In some cases, however, nuns are known to hold positions of authority (Levering, 1990; Cahill, 1993).

More is known about Christian nuns than nuns of any other religion. In the contemporary world, Christian nuns far outnumber monks and priests (some years ago the ratio was three to one). Although long neglected in historiographical accounts and studies of Christian monasticism, in the late twentieth century many sources about women ascetics, individual nuns, and whole communities of sisterhoods—whether in early Christianity, the medieval church, or the post-Reformation church—were discovered and closely studied. From what is known so far, earlier groups of Christian nuns possessed several characteristics not found elsewhere, and with few equivalents in contemporary Christianity. There existed the cultivation of a close spiritual companionship between male and female ascetics (known as *syneisactism*), which was not based on sexual or family ties. It was based, rather, on the common pursuit of a spiritual goal, the use of family language and familial metaphors for the monastic community of women and men (Krawiec, 2002), and, for many centuries, the presence of double monasteries where communities of nuns and monks lived together—though in separate groups—and where the overall authority for the entire monastery was sometimes given to a woman abbess.

CONCLUSION. The comparative phenomenological study of nuns remains relatively undeveloped. Yet it offers a large field for scholarly investigation that can yield exceptionally rich historical and empirical data for more nuanced theoretical reflections on questions of spiritual authority, autonomy, power, monastic lineage, hierarchy, equality, and community in the growing area of gender studies in religion. It is up to younger scholars to perceive this great research potential and seize the opportunity to obtain a more detailed picture about the global history of women ascetics and nuns.

SEE ALSO Asceticism; Gender and Religion, articles on Gender and Hinduism, Gender and Jainism; Guru; Human Body, article on Human Bodies, Religion, and Gender; Menstruation; Monasticism, articles on Buddhist Monasticism, Christian Monasticism; Mysticism; Prayer; Sādhus and Sādhvīs; Spirit Possession, article on Women and Possession; Virginity.

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URSULA KING (2005)

NUNS: BUDDHIST NUNS

Buddhism has evolved during more than 2,000 years in many different Asian countries (including India, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Myanmar, China, Korea, Japan, and Tibet). At times Buddhist nuns had a prominent and respected role and at other times they vanished into obscurity. This article will endeavor to explain why there exist such diverse types of Buddhist nuns with different status, robes, and cultures.

Two thousand five hundred years ago in India, Buddhist women shaved their heads, donned saffron robes, and became celibate nuns. They aspired to awakening, meditated, and taught lay followers. Their precepts forbade them to touch money, and thus they depended on alms for their support. The nuns' accomplishments and awakening experiences are recounted in the *Therīgāthā* (*Psalms of the Sisters*), seventy-three poems expressing the spiritual search and struggles of the first Buddhist nuns, which had been orally transmitted until they were written down six hundred years later, and the *Apadāna* (collection of moral biographies) composed in the second and first century BCE, which contains forty biographies of eminent early nuns.

The order of Buddhist nuns (*bhikṣuṇī*) began later than the monks' order (*bhikṣu*). As tradition has it, the Buddha at first seemed reluctant to give ordination to his female followers. His attendant, Ananda, pointed out that because the Buddha agreed that men and women were equal in their capacities for spiritual attainment, it seemed only equitable to let women enter his order of mendicants. Ananda was moved by the distress and spiritual aspiration of the Buddha's foster mother and aunt, Mahāpajāpatī, and of the many women in her entourage. They became the first Buddhist nuns.

Nonetheless, according to tradition, the Buddha gave eight extra rules to the nuns for entering the homeless life:

> A nun who has been ordained for a century must bow to a monk who has been ordained for a day.
>
> A nun must not spend the meditation season (*vassa*, i.e., the monsoon period) in a place where there are no monks.
>
> Every fifteen days, the nuns must ask the monks for the date of the observance day, and must ask them to give the nuns a teaching.

> After the meditation season a nun must tell her faults to both the order of monks and the order of nuns.
>
> If a nun commits a grave error she must submit herself to the scrutiny of both orders for fifteen days.
>
> A nun can obtain full ordination from both orders only after she has observed the six precepts during two years as a postulant.
>
> A nun must never scold a monk.
>
> The nuns cannot teach the monks, but the monks can teach the nuns.

As with the monks' order, a vinaya (rule of discipline) was developed for the Buddhist nuns' order in which their precepts were collected. After the death of the Buddha, different schools developed their own vinayas. Today, the Theravāda Vinaya, which contains 227 precepts for monks and 311 for nuns, is followed by the monastics in Southeast Asia (Thailand, Sri Lanka, and Burma [now Myanmar]); the Dharmagupta Vinaya, which contains 250 precepts for monks and 348 for nuns, by those in Northeast Asia (China, Korea, and Vietnam); and the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda Vinaya, with 253 precepts for monks and 364 for nuns, by those following the Tibetan tradition. Some scholars account for the greater number of precepts for nuns by the fact that the relevant monks' precepts were the starting point for the nuns' list. Specific rules relating to the nuns' situation were then added.

THERAVĀDA NUNS. At the time of the Buddha, women were required to observe six precepts for two years before receiving higher ordination. Over time this situation changed for Buddhist nuns as they encountered different historical and cultural conditions. As Buddhism spread in the Indian subcontinent after the death of the Buddha, the nuns' order reached Sri Lanka in the third century BCE, and many nunneries were established. But the female order died out in Sri Lanka in the tenth century CE and was never reconstituted. It did not seem to reach Thailand or survive in Myanmar, and died out totally in India.

At the end of the nineteenth century some Sri Lankan laywomen were attracted to the religious life and decided to take ten precepts. They shaved their heads and started to wear white and saffron clothes—white being the color for the Buddhist lay followers, and saffron the color of the monks' robes in most Theravāda countries. Eventually most of them started to wear saffron only. They were called *dasasil mātās* (ten-precept women). They created an in-between status role for Buddhist women. Some lived by themselves; others gathered in nunneries. Today most of them serve their communities by counseling, teaching, and performing religious ceremonies for laypeople; some devote themselves to meditation.

Until recently it was thought to be impossible to revive the higher ordination for nuns. Because the order had died out, the necessary quorum of ten nuns *(bhikṣuṇī)* to ordain others did not exist. In the mid-1980s, various attempts were made to restore the higher ordination in Sri Lanka, but there was great opposition from the conservative elements in the male hierarchy. Finally, thirty Sri Lankan nuns were fully ordained in February 1998 in Bodh Gayā, India, at an international ordination for both men and women, organized by Chinese monks and nuns from Taiwan. Several higher ordinations followed in Sri Lanka in the Dambullah Temple, whose monks are supportive of the nuns' movement. In 2004, there were about 400 fully ordained nuns *(bhikṣuṇī)* and 2,100 *dasasil mātās* in Sri Lanka.

There were about 30,000 nuns in Myanmar in 2004. They take eight or ten precepts but are not considered novices *(śrāmaṇerikā),* but *tila shin* (possessors of morality). The nuns wear pink robes, and the monks wear the original saffron. Many are great meditators and do in-depth study of Buddhism. They are less well-supported financially than the monks.

The lowest position for Buddhist nuns must be in Thailand, where it is forbidden by a Buddhist law promulgated by a supreme patriarch in 1928 that a Thai *bhikṣu* give any ordination to women. So women with a religious vocation take five or eight precepts and are called *maeji* (mother ascetic) and wear white. There were 10,000 *maejis* and 850 nunneries in 2004. Since creating the Thai Nuns' Institute in 1969, nuns have started to organize themselves and to develop opportunities for studies and meditation, which have led to greater respect and support from the Buddhist lay followers.

In 1956 Voramai Kabilsingh received her first ordination from Pra Prommuni, the deputy abbot of Wat Bavorn in Bangkok, and in 1971 she received full ordination in Taiwan. She started to wear light yellow robes and was criticized by the monastic hierarchy for doing so. Her daughter, Chatsumarn Kabilsingh, followed in her footsteps by receiving the lower ordination in Sri Lanka in 2001 and higher ordination in 2003 from the newly formed *bhikṣuṇī* order there. She wears brown robes. Her actions have stirred great debate at all levels of Thai society (government, Buddhist hierarchy, media). However, not all five-, eight-, or ten-precept nuns want to become *bhikṣuṇīi.* Some foresee difficulties in trying to maintain 348 precepts, some of which are outmoded and hard to follow. They are very aware that they would be scrutinized even more closely than the monks. Many nuns actually enjoy their freer status and also the fact that they are not controlled by the male hierarchy. In England, Western monks trained in the Thai tradition asked for a derogation and in 1994 were able to ordain Western nuns, who wear brown habits and follow ten precepts, in Amaravati Temple near London.

CHINESE, TAIWANESE, KOREAN, AND JAPANESE NUNS. In the fifth century CE, Sri Lankan nuns traveled to China by sea and founded an order of *bhikṣuṇī* that has been preserved to this day and that also spread to Korea and Vietnam. The lives of these early Chinese nuns are recorded in the *Biqiuni zhuan*, a collection of biographies of sixty-five eminent Chinese Buddhist nuns from the fourth to the sixth centuries.

These nuns were great scholars, teachers, meditators, and ascetics. On the basis of statistical research, some Western scholars have claimed that at the beginning of the twentieth century there were three million monks and nuns in China. Monks and nuns suffered greatly, but some survived the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), and at the beginning of the twenty-first century one could find a few Buddhist nunneries in mainland China. The nuns perform religious services, study, and meditate, but many of them are quite old, though a few younger ones are starting to enter the homeless life. Of the thousands of nuns living in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos before 1962, many died or had to disrobe because of wars and the Communist takeover. Since then, however, women in these countries have regained an interest in the ordained life.

After 1949, mainland Chinese Buddhist nuns went to Taiwan and Hong Kong and strengthened Buddhism there. In Taiwan in 2004, Buddhist nuns number about 7,000—two-thirds more than the number of monks—and half of them are young women, newly ordained. They receive a good Buddhist education and are very active and involved with society. Bhikṣuṇī Zhengyan (b. 1937, ordained in 1963, she has been called China's Mother Theresa) was able to develop the Ciji Foundation, which builds hospitals and medical schools in Taiwan and provides disaster relief all over the world by encouraging her followers to create financial surplus to help others. Bhikṣuṇī Hiu-wan created Hua Fan University near Taipei, founded a nun seminary, and is also a renowned scholar and painter.

Buddhism came to Korea in the fourth century CE and developed until the thirteenth century; thereafter, it was repressed until the turn of the twentieth century by the Confucian state. But the nuns' order managed to survive intact, and at the turn of the twenty-first century Korea was a vibrant place for nuns, who number about 8,000. Their status is fairly equal to that of the monks and they live separately from them. Over time in China and Korea, the eight extra rules given by the Buddha to his aunt diminished in importance. In modern Korea, there are many nunneries set far away from monasteries, the monks and the nuns bow equally to each other, and the nuns have total control of their own affairs. Following the devastation of the Korean War in the 1950s, nuns even rebuilt some monasteries and transformed them into nunneries. One such is Unmun Temple, a leading seminary with 300 young nuns under the direction of scholar and abbess, Bhikṣuṇī Myŏngsŏng.

Korean women can become nuns after high school graduation. They begin by being postulants for a year to learn about the celibate life and to decide if it is their vocation. After a year they become novices *(śrāmaṇerikā)* with ten precepts. After another three to five years they can then receive the full ordination of a *bhikṣuṇīi,* first given by a panel of ten nuns and secondly by a panel of ten monks. The novices study Buddhist texts for three years, then join a meditation hall for the biannual three-month meditation retreats. They will meditate for at least ten hours a day with ten to fifty other nuns. Upon reaching middle age, they might take a position such as a manager or abbess in their home nunnery, or a professor at a seminary or a university. Some have become artists. Others serve laypeople in towns or villages or create charitable organizations; Bhikṣuṇī Myohi, for example, built a retirement home for old nuns and women without support.

In Japan, the full ordination for monks and nuns lasted only briefly after the introduction of Buddhism in the sixth century CE. Over time, different sets of precepts were adopted, such as the fifty-eight or the sixteen *bodhisattva* precepts. At the end of the nineteenth century the Meiji government put an end to celibacy for all Buddhist monks and it became a matter of choice whether to be celibate or not. (It has been suggested that Japanese married monks should be called priests.) Most Japanese monks are married, and most Japanese nuns are celibate, though Western female priests from Japanese Buddhist traditions who teach in the United States and Europe are often married.

There were relatively few nuns in Japan in 2004: the number 2,000 nuns in 1,500 temples has been reported. There are three training centers for nuns in the Soto tradition and one in the Pure Land tradition. The biggest such center is Aichi Semmon Nisodo (Sōtō Zen) in Nagoya, founded in 1903, whose abbess, Aoyama Sensei (a celibate nun), is remarkable in her practice and her scholarship. Most Japanese nuns live on their own in small temples where they perform religious services for laypeople and support themselves by teaching arts such as tea ceremony and flower arrangement.

TIBETAN NUNS. When Buddhism came to Tibet in the seventh century CE the higher ordination for nuns was not transmitted: women were only able to receive ten precepts from fully ordained monks and become novices. Tibetan nuns still take ten precepts, which are subdivided into thirty-six. In 1959 there were 618 nunneries with 12,398 nuns in Tibet, but they suffered greatly during the Chinese Communist takeover and Cultural Revolution. A few nunneries can still be found in Tibet, and some nuns still practice as hermits in caves, but their circumstances are very difficult. There are nunneries in the border regions of Tibet (Ladakh, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan), but the social position of nuns is often quite low and sometimes they have to serve menially the monks or even their own families. To remedy this situation, training nunneries have been built in Dharamsala, the residence-in-exile of the Dalai Lama, and other places in northern India. For example, the English nun Tenzin Palmo, who was a hermit in the Himalayas for ten years, has started a nunnery for women from the Indian border regions to train, study, and practice like the monks. In the West there are an increasing number of Western nuns (more than 300) in the Tibetan tradition, but there are very few places where they can train together. One exception is Dhagpo Kundrel Ling, a Tibetan Buddhist training center in France, dedicated to three years' retreats and monastic life. In November

2004 ten of the fifty women who became nuns for the duration of the traditional three years' retreat joined thirty other nuns living in a hermitage for nuns with a life-long commitment. These nuns follow a rigorous training but also participate in the life of the center and teach worldwide.

INTERNATIONAL OUTREACH. The first International Conference on Buddhist Nuns took place in 1987 in Bodh Gayā, India. At the end of this conference, the international Buddhist women's association Sakyadhita (Daughters of the Buddha) was created. Its objectives were to create a network for Buddhist women around the world, to educate women as teachers of Buddhism, to conduct research on women and Buddhism, and to work for the establishment of the *bhikṣuṇī saṃgha* where it does not currently exist. Sakyadhita has been instrumental in the reestablishment of the higher ordination in Sri Lanka. Since 1991, Sakyadhita has organized international conferences on Buddhist women every two years in various Asian countries (Thailand, Sri Lanka, India, Cambodia, Nepal). There has also been one North American conference. Most of the conferences are situated in Asia to enable Asian women and nuns to participate in greater numbers and to support Buddhist nuns by bringing highly educated and respected *bhikṣuṇī* to countries where the position of nuns is low. Often these conferences have stimulated improvements for the nuns in the places visited. They have also helped nuns in isolated situations to make contact and gain support from nuns and women from all over the world. At the conference in Ladakh in 1995, 108 delegates came to this remote part of northern India and met with many Buddhist women from the Himalayan border regions for a conference titled "Women and the Power of Compassion: Survival in the Twenty-First Century."

There is no doubt that the topic of Buddhist nuns has been an underresearched area, but this is slowly changing as contemporary scholars begin to delve into historical and archival materials in Sanskrit, Chinese, and Korean to seek the traces left by Buddhist nuns. It is a search rendered difficult by a patriarchal cultural and religious bias, which have resulted in Buddhist nuns having nearly no place in the lineage, little authority, and no part in the formal hierarchy. Thus they have tended to be omitted in official records. Most of the inscriptions with reference to nuns show them as donors or sponsors of religious festivals.

Because Buddhism is a decentralized religion which has found diverse expressions throughout Asia, Buddhist nuns have been unable to speak in a single voice and with a formalized authority. With the founding of Sakyadhita, Buddhist nuns and women have been able for the first time to meet and support each other and to develop the basis for a nondogmatic authority where diversity is encouraged and Buddhist women and nuns are able to establish their own authority both as individuals and as part of a larger tradition.

SEE ALSO Gender and Religion, article on Gender and Buddhism, Jainism; Monasticism, article on Buddhist Monasticism.

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Martine Batchelor (2005)

NUNS: CHRISTIAN NUNS AND SISTERS

The earliest Christian women's communities date to the third and fourth centuries and emerged out of a movement of thousands of individuals who had fled to the desert regions of Egypt, Palestine, and Syria to lead lives of strict prayer and ascetic discipline. Surviving sources, all composed by men, suggest there were far fewer female than male desert dwellers. Many ascetics lived as solitaries, but others spontaneously adopted a communal lifestyle, a shift possibly spearheaded by women since community life offered them important protections.

Women associated with this movement include the desert mother Syncletica, who appears to be addressing a community of women in sayings attributed to her; Paula, who cofounded a monastery in 386 in Bethlehem with Jerome (c. 342–420); and the Roman patrician Melania the Elder, who led some fifty women in a monastery she established on the Mount of Olives. A pivotal figure outside the desert movement is the spiritual teacher Macrina the Younger (c. 327–380), known as the Mother of Eastern Monasticism, who cofounded a monastery with her mother on the family estate.

By the fifth century, monasteries in the West emerged as independent houses, following a variety of religious rules. The first known rule intended specifically for nuns was written by Caesarius of Arles (d. 542), who incorporated changes based on the nuns' own experience. The nuns daily recited the Divine Office, did manual labor such as weaving, and practiced a variety of austerities. They lived within a defined precinct of the monastery building or buildings known as an enclosure or cloister, and were allowed to leave it only under exceptional circumstances. In various times and places, enclosure was more or less rigorously enforced. The monastic lands surrounding the enclosure were in essence a feudal estate, worked by peasants for the support of the mostly upper-class nuns. Aristocratic families considered monastic life a socially acceptable state of life for unmarried women, widows, and wives released from their marital responsibilities, and were often the donors of monastic properties. Nuns' dowries and family connections could be quite influential in determining a monastery's success. Monastic life often allowed women access to education, power, and other opportunities unavailable even to other privileged women. Some abbesses were exceptionally erudite and powerful, exercising quasi-episcopal authority and settling political and religious disputes. Some ruled over women and men in linked female and male "double monasteries." Influential early medieval abbesses include Brigid of Kildare (c. 524/25) in Ireland; Hilda of Whitby, who hosted the English church's Synod of Whitby (663); and the Anglo-Saxon Lioba (d. 754), who, with Boniface, was a missionary to German lands, where she founded monasteries. By the ninth or tenth centuries, most monasteries followed some version of the *Rule of Benedict.*

Religious life responded to the increasing social complexity of the central Middle Ages through diversification. Often from the lower classes, female hermits, in contrast to nuns, existed throughout the medieval period and multiplied in the tenth century. New male monastic foundations, such as the eleventh-century Cistercians, who adopted a simpler liturgy, more manual labor, and greater corporate poverty, inspired similar female foundations. The twelfth-century Gilbertines of England, who began with female hermits organized by Gilbert of Sempringham, altered monastic life by admitting lay sisters from humble social strata who worked for the nuns, yet also took vows and participated in the liturgy. The monastery of Fontevrault in the Loire Valley, organized by Robert of Arbrissel (d. 1116), accepted social outcasts, although some, such as repentant prostitutes, were housed separately. Male religious, admitted to serve the nuns as priests or laborers, were entirely obedient to the abbess. By the twelfth century, women's monasteries existed in places such as Hungary, Bohemia, Norway, and Iceland.

Enclosure was often legislated vigorously for women, variously for reasons of safety, sexual decorum, and social control, but it was not always observed. Nuns served their societies not only through prayer, but also by copying and illuminating manuscripts, providing hospitality to travelers, making vestments, and educating children, especially girls. Some also cared for the poor and sick, as did the few women who joined military orders such as the Templars and Hospitallers, founded in the Holy Land during the Crusades.

In the eleventh century, people from many classes began to emulate the "life of the apostles" by living materially poor lives of active service, among people, especially in the new urban milieus. Men could join the new mendicant orders such as the Franciscans or Dominicans, but similar groups for women were never sanctioned. Thus an array of lay women's movements flourished, including the Sisters (and Brothers) of Penance, the Beguines, and female (and male) single and married tertiaries who were loosely associated with the mendicant orders.

Women in general lost authority in the later Middle Ages. Unregulated lay religious women, especially as their numbers grew, attracted suspicion and were gradually forced to accept clerical supervision. Many Beguines were pronounced heretical or pressured to live in communal beguinages, likening them more to nuns. Many tertiaries were similarly regulated. The church attempted to enforce strict enclosure on nuns, and men's orders limited or severed ties with them.

The sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation led to the suppression of monastic life in many countries. While the Catholic Church was rapidly sanctioning a host of new male "apostolic religious orders" dedicated to specific services in the world, such as the Jesuits, it was attempting to curtail the same impulse among women. It imposed strict cloister on nuns after the Council of Trent (1545–1563) and welcomed observant and cloistered reform orders such as the Discalced Carmelites, founded by Teresa of Ávila (d. 1582).

Women struggled throughout the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries to establish apostolic communities dedicated to specific works. Angela Merici's Company of St. Ursula (1535), committed to educating girls, escaped cloister by wearing secular clothes and living in their own homes. After Merici's death in 1540, however, the women were urged to accept episcopal control, common life, and distinctive garb. By the seventeenth century, virtually all Ursulines had become fully enclosed and educated girls only within the cloister walls. In England, Mary Ward modeled her Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary after the Jesuits, with the goal of educating young women. Derided as "Jesuitesses" and "galloping gals," the group was suppressed in 1631 after Ward had spent a year in prison as a "heretic." The women were reclassified as ecclesiastical persons and forced to modify their work. The Catholic Church sharply distinguished nuns, the "true religious," from pious secular people who remained in the world and took simple vows.

Others, including some bishops who valued women's ministries, devised strategies to satisfy church laws. Communities were cleverly termed congregations, societies, or institutes instead of religious orders. Some women gave up pronouncing the vows they lived by. Vincent de Paul and Louise de Marillac, founders of the Daughters of Charity (1633) in Paris, chose the lesser designation secular daughters over religious so the women could run soup kitchens and care for the poor and socially marginalized. De Paul famously remarked, "Your convent will be the house of the sick, your cell a hired room, your chapel the parish church, your cloister the city streets or the hospital wards, your enclosure obedience, your grille the fear of God, your veil modesty." Most people admired such women and increasingly viewed them as genuine religious. In France, they were called *congréganistes* instead of *religieuses,* the term for monastic women. Today, the words *sisters* and *nuns* are used to make the same distinction.

The French church, which had been the spiritual center of Europe in the seventeenth century, dramatically declined in the eighteenth century. Enlightenment ideas undermined belief, and the vast economic wealth and privileges of monasteries and the male hierarchy fueled disaffection. Between the 1740s and 1780s, recruitment into women's orders fell by about forty-five percent. Leaders of the French Revolution then ended monastic life and confiscated properties, but spared some lay sisters in apostolic communities since they served society.

The restoration of the Bourbon Dynasty in 1815 launched the "golden age" of women's religious life, centered in France. Between 1800 and 1880, almost four hundred new women's orders were founded, attracting some 200,000 women, mostly to apostolic congregations. Only one-fifth as numerous as monastic women on the eve of the French Revolution, they made up over four-fifths of women dedicated to religion some ninety years later in 1880. Women for the first time outnumbered male clergy and religious combined, a trend that has continued into the twenty-first century. Paralleling changes in social and political life, religious life throughout Europe was becoming more democratized, with women from middle and lower classes now outnumbering those from upper classes and assuming positions of leadership.

The papacy belatedly recognized a woman's apostolic congregation for the first time in 1841 when it approved the Sisters of Mercy, who eventually spread beyond Ireland to become the largest women's order in the English-speaking world. Apostolic congregations were finally recognized as "true religious life" in the 1917 Code of Canon Law, which also, however, sapped spontaneity and zeal from these orders by requiring them to accept many uniform requirements.

The dramatic rise in numbers of religious women allowed many congregations to become centralized, mobile, international organizations. The French Society of the Sacred Heart, founded in 1800 by Madeleine Sophie Barat and renowned for the education it offered upper-class girls in particular, spread quickly to other European countries, the Americas, and elsewhere by following invitations from bishops and lay people. Outside Europe, religious women worked among European immigrants and among native populations. By 1750, the Ursulines of New Orleans, who educated French, Amerindian, and enslaved African girls and women, had helped raise women's literacy rate to above seventy percent, which was higher than men's rate, and far better than that of women elsewhere in the colonies. Women missionaries, who had been few prior to the nineteenth century, established numerous schools, dispensaries, and other social services among native populations in the Americas, Asia, Africa, and Oceania, settling especially in places colonized by Europeans. Some orders were founded specifically as missionary orders.

Many women religious were kind to indigenous people and defended their rights, but they frequently evinced colonial and racist attitudes. For example, nuns and sisters who educated Amerindians, mestizos, black Africans, and mulattoes on the American frontier typically segregated them from children of European descent and taught them manual skills instead of more academic or refined subjects. Civilizing "savages" and other people of color often involved suppressing their own customs. White European orders and orders of European descent, whether male or female, were slow to accept vocations from people of color. The Oblate Sisters of Providence (1831) were exceptional in being founded specifically for African American and mulatto women who ministered to people of color. Only in the latter half of the twentieth century did most orders in Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Oceania cede significant authority to indigenous women and thereby cease to be "missionary" orders.

There were few Protestant religious women prior to the nineteenth-century. The Oxford movement, which attempted to renew the Church of England by reincorporating Catholic rituals and teachings, led to the foundation in Great Britain and Ireland after 1848 of over one hundred communities of women, most committed to teaching or works of charity. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, these orders had declined in Great Britain and Ireland, but grown elsewhere, with over 1550 women in communities around the world. Protestant women belong to a range of other foundations, including the Evangelical Marian Sisterhood of Germany, the ecumenical communities of Grandchamp, Switzerland, and the St. Brigid of Kildare Methodist Monastery of Minnesota founded in 2001.

The Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), which aimed to renew the Catholic Church in light of the exigencies of the modern world, was the great twentieth-century turning point for Christian nuns and sisters. The Council advocated greater collegiality and shared decision-making and directed all religious orders to revise their mission in light of the world's pressing needs. Women religious, who had made significant advances theologically and educationally just prior to the Council in places such as the United States and Europe, were generally well-prepared to embrace the radical changes inspired by the Council. Influenced also by the women's movement, nuns and sisters revamped outmoded authority structures within their own orders, and vigorously challenged them within the overwhelmingly male-dominated Catholic Church. Many religious, "to be in the world for the world," rejected cloister and semi-cloister, distinctive dress, institutional living, and the spiritual elitism these fostered, and adopted instead secular clothing and simple community life in small homes inserted among lay society. They refocused many of their charitable works—or in the case of monastic nuns, their prayer—toward dismantling the unjust structures that make charitable work necessary in the first place. A visible minority of sisters became involved in political activism. Sisters contributed importantly to many twentieth-century liberation movements in places such as Latin America.

These changes were accompanied by others just as dramatic, whose meaning is still debated. Between 1950 and 2000, numbers of religious women declined in Europe (31 percent) and North America (51 percent). After the Second Vatican Council, many women in the richer industrialized nations left religious life because they were disillusioned by the changes or dissatisfied with their pace. New membership slowed dramatically and by 2000 had virtually ceased in many orders. In the same period, however, religious women increased in Latin America (ninety-four percent), Asia (551 percent), and Africa (1503 percent). Religious women in the richer northern industrialized lands still comprise the majority of women religious, but they are generally elderly in contrast to the youthful and burgeoning group of religious women in the poorer developing and mostly Southern Hemisphere lands. Most of these women belong to apostolic congregations that staff schools, medical facilities, and provide other social services. Their greater numbers reflect the shift in the Catholic Church's center of gravity away from Europe and the industrialized world and toward the Southern Hemisphere, where Catholics are increasing even more rapidly than nuns and sisters. For example, Catholics in Africa, who grew by almost four thousand percent between 1950 and 2000, far outpaced the growth of religious women (1503 percent).

In 2000, when women religious around the world were counted with male Catholic Church personnel consisting of religious, diocesan priests, and deacons, they constituted almost two-thirds of the total. In the early years of the twenty-first century, nuns and sisters around the world continue to make major contributions to the Catholic Church and to the societies where they live and work.

SEE ALSO Benedict of Nursia; Feminist Theology, article on Christian Feminist Theology; Gender and Religion, article on Gender and Christianity; Monasticism, article on Christian Monasticism; Teresa of Ávila; Ward, Mary.

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NŪR MUḤAMMAD

NŪR MUḤAMMAD ("light of Muḥammad") or *Nūr Muḥammadi* ("Muḥammadan light") is a term central to later Ṣūfī and Shīʿī speculation. Although the Qurʾān repeatedly states that Muḥammad is only human, a messenger entrusted with the guidance of the people (see surahs 6:50, 25:8, 25:22), later currents in Islam transformed him increasingly into a spiritual, luminous being. The historical Muḥammad was thus metamorphosed into a transcendent light, like the sun, around which everything created revolves. This idea has colored later mystical Islam on both the elite and folk levels.

The basis for such speculations, however, was found in the Qurʾān, where Muḥammad is called "a shining lamp" (*sirāj munīr,* 33:45) and where it is said, "There came to you from God a light and a clear book" (5:15). Ḥāssan ibn Thābit, the Medinese poet who eulogized Muḥammad, reflects these ideas in his verse; he is the first in a long series of writers to compare the face of the Prophet to the full moon at night, a comparison that plays on the words *badr* ("full moon") and *Badr,* the name of the site of the Muslims' first victorious battle in 624.

Such poetical expressions, however, still lacked a theological basis. It was left to the theologian Muqātil (d. 767?) to interpret the famous "light verse" of the Qurʾān (24:35) as a reference to the Prophet:

> God is the light of the heavens and the earth; the likeness of his light is as a niche wherein there is a lamp, the lamp in a glass, the glass as it were a glittering star, kindled from a blessed tree, an olive tree neither of the East nor of the West, whose oil wellnigh would shine, even if no fire touched it. Light upon light. God guides to his light whom he will. And God strikes similitudes for man, and God has knowledge of everything.

It is the lamp, *miṣbāh,* that Muqatil sees as a fitting symbol for Muḥammad; through him the divine light shines upon the world, and through him humanity is guided to the origin of this light. The formula "neither of the East nor of the West" could then be taken as a reference to Muḥammad's comprehensive nature, which is not restricted to one specific people or race and which transcends the boundaries of time and space.

Up to the present day one of the most common epithets used for the Prophet is *nūr al-hudā* ("the light of right guidance"), and allusions to his luminous nature are found even in the titles of *ḥadīth* collections, such as *Mashāriq al-anwār* (The Rising Points of Lights), *Ma-ṣābīḥ al-sunnah* (The Lamps of the *Sunnah*), or *Mishkāt al-maṣābīḥ* (The Niche for Lamps). Likewise, through the centuries one of the most famous prayers attributed to Muḥammad is the prayer for light:

> O God, place light in my heart, light in my soul, light upon my tongue, light in my eyes, and light in my ears; place light at my right, light at my left, light behind me, and light before me, light above me, and light beneath me. Place light in my nerves, and light in my flesh, light in my blood, light in my hair and light in my skin. Give me light, increase my light, make me light.

Theories about Muḥammad's luminous nature began to develop, on the basis of Muqātil's exegesis, in the second half of the ninth century. The Iraqi Ṣūfī Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 896) was the first to express the whole *Heilsgeschichte* in the terminology of the light of Muḥammad as suggested in the light verse. The inaccessible divine mystery of light articulates itself in the pre-eternal manifestation of "the likeness of his light." The origin of the *nūr Muḥammad* in pre-eternity is depicted as "a luminous mass of primordial adoration in the presence of God, which takes the shape of a transparent column of divine light and constitutes Muḥammad as the primal creation of God" (Böwering, 1980). When this light reached "the veil of majesty," it prostrated itself before God, and from its prostration God formed a mighty column, one both outwardly and inwardly translucent. Sahl even interpreted surah 53:13, "And he saw [God] still another time," as pertaining to the beginning of time, when this luminous column was standing before God in worship "with the disposition of faith, and [to him] was unveiled the mystery of the mystery itself 'at the Lote-tree of the Boundary.'" Then, when the actual creation began, God created Adam, and finally all else that exists, from the light of Muḥammad. The light is thus seen as the primordial material out of which everything is formed; it becomes the ultimate source of existence, and through Muḥammad, the historical form of this light, beings become illuminated, thus participating in the divine light as embodied in the actual Prophet.

Sahl's high-soaring speculations were elaborated more poetically by his disciple al-Ḥallāj (d. 922), who devoted the first chapter of his *Kitāb al-ṭawāsīn* to Muḥammad, calling it *Ṭāsīn al-sirāj* (The *Ṭāsīn* of the Lamp, alluding to the Arabic letters *ṭā* and *sīn* found at the head of surah 27):

> He was a lamp from the light of the invisible . . . a moon radiating among the moons, whose mansion is in the sphere of mysteries. . . . The lights of prophethood—from his light did they spring forth, and their lights appeared from his light, and there is no light among the lights more luminous and more visible and previous to preexistence than the light of this noble one.

As preceding preexistence, Muḥammad is seen as absolutely eternal, mentioned "before the Before and after the After."

Al-Ḥallāj's rhyming prose was written less than three centuries after Muḥammad's death. During those years there appeared several *ḥadīth* pointing to the mystery of the *nūr Muḥammad:* "The first thing God created was my light," says the Prophet, and his remark, "My companions are like stars," fits well with his role as the central sun or the full moon of the world.

The Ṣūfīs lovingly interpreted this idea. Al-Thaʿlabī (d. 1038), in his *ʿAraʾis al-bayan,* written shortly after the year 1000, cites a colorful myth in which the light appears as a radiant pearl. Najm Dāyā Rāzī, in the early thirteenth century, offers an elaborate story of creation using similar imagery; the pearling drops of sweat that emerge from the primordial *Nūr Muḥammad* are the substance out of which the 124,000 prophets sent before Muḥammad were created. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī (d. 1408?) elaborates on this idea by comparing the *nūr Muḥammad*—also interpreted as the *ḥaqīqah muḥammadīyah,* the archetypal "Muḥammadan reality"—to a luminous pearl, or a white chrysolith, which grows embarrassed when God looks at it lovingly and thus begins to perspire, finally dissolving into waves and other watery substances out of which the created world emerges.

This image has inspired hundreds of poets in the Islamic world. In the sixteenth century, for example, a Turkish poet, Khaqani, speaks in his *ḥilyah* (the poetical description of the Prophet's noble features and qualities) of this event: "God loved this light and said 'My beloved friend!' and became enamored of this light." Overwhelmed by this divine love, the primordial Muḥammadan light produced drops of perspiration from bashfulness, and from them the world emerged in descending degrees. The same idea is found in Bengali mystical folk poetry of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, especially in the work of Shaykh Chānd.

Sahl's ideas of the column of light seem to have been quite well known in mystical circles even before their systematization by Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1240) in the first half of the thirteenth century. Few passages in medieval Persian poetry prior to Ibn al-ʿArabī reflect this idea more eloquently than those of Farid al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār (d. 1220). In the introduction of his epic *Manṭiq al-ṭayr* (The Conversation of the Birds), ʿAṭṭār speaks of how, from this Muḥammadan light, the divine Throne, Footstool, Pen, and Tablet appeared, and how the great light then prostrated itself before the Lord and remained for ages in prostration, genuflection, and standing, thus prefiguring the movements of Muslim ritual prayer. The Turkish mystical poet Yunus Emre (d. 1321) puts in God's mouth the words

> I created him from my own light
> And I love him yesterday and today.
> What would I do with the world without him?
> My Muḥammad, my Ahmad of light!

In the same period, a Ṣūfī in India claimed that the light of Muḥammad became embodied in the Prophet's person "just as the light of the moon is taken from the sun." For the faithful, the participation in the light of Muḥammad is the goal of life, for whosoever is surrounded by this uncreated light will not be touched by the created fire of Hell.

That the idea of the Muhammadan light was popular even before Ibn al-ʿArabī is clear from the very title of al-Ghazālī's (d. 1111) booklet *Mishkāt al-anwār* (The Niche for Lights), which contains his prophetology, in which Muḥammad appears as the *muṭāʿ* ("one who is obeyed"). This attribution also occurs quite frequently in poetry at later periods; there, however, it does not assume the mysterious role as a kind of demiurge, a being between the undifferentiated One and the phenomenal world, as described by al-Ghazālī. For him, this primordial "light of lights" illuminates the darkness, and, even more, it brings all things into manifestation out of "not-being."

These theories on the *nūr Muḥammad* were, like so many early trends in Sufism, elaborated and systematized by Ibn al-ʿArabī, who states in his probably spurious profession of faith that "the first light appears out of the veil of the Unseen and from knowledge to concrete existence and is the light of our prophet Muḥammad." He then goes on to compare Muḥammad, the *sirāj munīr,* to the sun and infers that the heavenly intelligences, the spirits, the intuitions, and the essences are nourished by the luminous essence of (Muḥammad) Muṣṭafā the Elect, "who is the sun of existence." In philosophical terms, with Muḥammad, the first self-determination of the Absolute, the Divine begins to manifest itself gradually to the world, and the primordial light, which has permeated all prophets from the beginning, reaches its full development in the Perfect Man, the historical prophet Muḥammad.

As such, Muḥammad is praised in ever new images. It is no accident that the literature dealing with his miraculous birth always points to the light that shone from his father's forehead and was carried in Amīnah's womb; following the Prophet's birth, this light illuminated the world to the castles of Bostra in Syria. Muḥammad is the *shamʿ-i maḥfil,* the "candle of the assembly," which illuminates the night of this world as medieval Persian poets wrote; and it is "the light of his name" by which the Muslims should bring light into the darkness of this time, as Muhammad Iqbal (d. 1938), the Indo-Pakistani modernist poet, says in his Urdu poem *Answer to [Man's] Complaint* (1912). The mystics and poets were happy to interpret the beginning of surah 93 ("By the morning light!") as pertaining to Muḥammad's radiant face, which represents at the same time the radiance of faith—an image probably coined by Sanāʾī of Ghaznah (d. 1131?) and lovingly repeated through the centuries by poets in all parts of the Muslim world.

One can say without exaggeration that, in eulogies composed for Muḥammad, his luminous character is among those features most frequently noted. One finds, for example, mention of the Prophet as "the light of all lights" and the beliefs that he did not cast a shadow and that his light was visible in the dark night. Following these ideas, calligraphers writing in Arabic found it logical that none of the Prophet's original names—Muḥammad, Aḥmad, Hāmīd, and Maḥmūd—nor his epithet—*rasūl Allāh* ("messenger of God")—was written with diacritical marks. One even finds attempts to write eulogies for him in which all diacritical marks are left out as a way of stressing his luminous purity.

The origin and early development of the theory of the light of Muḥammad are difficult to trace. One source of this mysticism of light might have been Hellenistic gnostic speculations. Shīʿī theories about the light of the imams also may have strongly contributed to the development of these ideas. Ibn al-ʿArabī associated this concept with the tradition (*ḥadīth qudsī*) in which God says, "I was a hidden treasure and wanted to be known; therefore I created the world." Following Ibn al-ʿArabi's lead, Jami (d. 1492) addressed the Prophet in this manner:

> From "I was a treasure" your true nature has become
> clear: Your person is the mirror of the unqualified light.

According to Ibn al-ʿArabī and his followers, the *nūr Muḥammad* appears in all prophets, each of them bearing a certain particle of this light, as well as those mystics who tried to reach union with the *ḥaqīqah muḥammadīyah.* These individuals sometimes claimed that they were in the heights with the light of Muḥammad long before Adam was created. The historical Muḥammad is thus endowed with the "totalizing nature" comprising all the divine names and forming the principle in which the divine light can reflect its glory in order to be known and loved. His relation to the inaccessible essence of light is like that of the sunlight in relation to the sun.

On the basis of these ideas later writers compared Muḥammad to the dawn that appears at the border between night and day, between human contingent existence and divine reality. The *nūr Muḥammad* thus becomes a central concept that appears in varied expressions in the Islamic world, and although the emphasis in prophetology has tended to shift from the mythical Muḥammad to the historical man Muḥammad, the "light of guidance" is still admired and praised in the verses of mystically minded poets.

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ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL (1987)

NUṢAYRĪYAH See ʿALAWĪYŪN

NUWAUBIANS. The term *Nuwaubian* refers to an African American religious communal group that has existed and continues to exist under a variety of names. Founded as the Ansaar Pure Sufi in 1967, it was subsequently known as the Nubian Islaamic Hebrew Mission, the Ansaaru Allah Community and more recently as the Ancient Mystic Order of Melchizedek, the Holy Tabernacle Ministries, the Yamassee Native American Tribe, and the Nuwaubian Nation of Moors. Founder Michael York (b. June 26, 1945) has also assumed different names over the years beginning in 1969, including Amunnubi Rooakhptah, and later, at various times, As Siddid Al Imaan Isa Al Haahi Al Madhi, Chief Black Eagle, Nayya Malachizodoq-El, and Malachi Z. York. The changing image of the group and the shifting persona of its leader has often been a source of confusion and an additional rationale for disparaging remarks by critics.

York emerged in the African American community in Brooklyn, New York at the late 1960s, a time during which Black Nationalism represented by the Moorish Science Temple of America and the Nation of Islam and its various splinter groups was enjoying a revival. As had many of his contemporaries, during the 1960s York had served time for a variety of minor offenses from assault to possession of a deadly weapon. However, in 1967, he decided that his career was as a teacher, and he assumed the religious name Amunnubi Roakhptah and established the Ansaar Pure Sufi organization out of his apartment. Those attracted to his teachings donned black tunics as a sign of their membership. The group changed several times over the next few years, each change accompanied by the members' assuming a new dress and York taking a new name.

An important step was taken in 1970 when York renamed his following the Nubian Islaamic Mission. At that time, the members agreed to live communally. They moved into a house in Brooklyn and opened a bookstore and meeting hall. Growth of the group, along with larger crowds being attracted to its meetings, necessitated several moves over the next two years.

In 1972 York traveled to Sudan where he developed an identification with the legendary Sudanese military and religious leader Muḥammad Ahmed Ibn Abdullāh (1845–1885), best remembered for organizing a revolt against British rule and defeating them at Khartoum in 1885. Following his return, York called himself As Siddid Al Imaan Isa Al Haahi Al Madhi, and claimed descent from Muḥammad Abdullāh. Abdullāh is commonly referred to as al-Madhi and York identified him as the True Madhi, the predicted successor to the Prophet Muḥammad.

Following his return from Sudan, York made a second important change in the group. He separated the more dedicated believers who wanted to build a new nation from the more nominal members who loosely identified with the Islamic and African themes York preached. He now centered his attention only on those committed to the program he was developing.

Through the 1980s, the group was primarily known as the Ansaaru Allah Community and became a visible presence in the many American cities along the East Coast. They also began centers in the Caribbean—Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Puerto Rico, and Guyana. The young adult members of the group, dressed in white, moved about the streets in the black community selling York's books and otherwise spreading his message. York has been a prolific writer, authoring over 400 books and booklets (many transcripts of his talks) covering a wide range of topics from UFOs to personal hygiene.

TEACHINGS. The teachings of the Nuwaubians were built around the development of a new understanding of African American people (a project not unlike that undertaken of the Moorish Science Temple and the Nation of Islam previously). York drew upon the Christian Bible and the Holy Qur'ān for an initial affirmation of Allah as Alone in His Power, the All, the Oneness. Jesus is seen as the Messiah. York taught that Muḥammad, the last of the prophets in the lineage of Adam, passed his lineage to his daughter Fatima (610–633 CE) and son-in-law Ali (599–661 CE).

Adam and Eve (or Hawwah) were Nubian (black people). Problems developed for Adam's descendents in Noah's (or Nuwh) time. One of Noah's sons, Ham, desired to commit sodomy after having come upon his father in an unclothed condition. For his sin, his fourth son, Canaan, was stricken with leprosy, thus acquiring a pale skin. The light-skinned races are descendants of Canaan. An additional important step in human development came with Noah's descendent Abraham. From his son, Isaac and grandson Jacob, came the Israelites. They were enslaved for 420 years in Egypt. From his son Ismael came the Ismaelites, or Nubians. The Nubians include the black people of the United States, the West Indies, and other parts of the globe. York asserted that it was predicted that they would be in slavery for about 400 years at some point. Because of their descent from Abraham, they are rightfully also called Hebrews, just as the modern Jews.

Defining the belief structure of the Nuwaubians in detail has been made all the more difficult by its fluid nature, the constant changes to which it has been subjected, and the seeming esoteric elements not available to outside scrutiny.

CONTINUED EVOLUTION. In 1993 the group began still another transition. York officially changed his name to Malachi York. The next year, approximately 400 members of the group, most from Brooklyn, purchased some 476 acres near Eatonton, Georgia. At this time they became known by their four current designations: The United Nuwaubian Nation of Moors, the Yamassee Native American Tribe, the Ancient Mystic Order of Melchizedek, and the Holy Tabernacle Ministries. It is as the leader of these four entities that York assumes his varied names: Chief Black Eagle, Nayya Malachizodoq-El, and Malachi Z. York.

As conceived by the group, the United Nuwaubian Nation of Moors identifies with its Middle Eastern Sudanese and Abrahamic past. As the Yamassee Native American Tribe, the group claims a relationship to a Native-American people, the Yamassee, who resided in Georgia. The Nuwaubians have asserted their belief that the Yamassee were the original residents of Georgia who came to North America from the Nile Valley prior to the separation of the continents via continental drift.

Through their identification with the Yamassee, who signed over their lands to the United States in 1829, the Nuwaubians have attempted to establish their claim to be a separate nation. They have asserted their claim as an indigenous people who should be seen as an indigenous nation (following United Nations definitions) in pursuit of autonomy. As such, they do not recognize the jurisdiction of the United States and its laws over them, and have created their own constitution and legal code. The Ancient Mystical Order of Melchizedek is a lodge in the Masonic tradition. People who are considered Nubians but who are not presently members of the United Nuwaubian Nation of Moors may join the lodge. The lodge dues are received as income by the Nuwaubians.

The Holy Tabernacle Ministries is an umbrella organization that holds the other three groups together, and through which the group interacts with the outside world. It also distributes the group's books and literature. The ministries manage a group of bookstores located in various cities which have been an additional source of income for the group.

Prior to its movement to Georgia in the early 1990s, the Ansaaru Allah Community was somewhat lost in the larger Islamic world and overshadowed by the better-known Nation of Islam. Occasionally a reporter learned of its existence and a few scholars began to monitor it.

However, once they moved to Georgia in the early 1990s, controversy placed the Nuwaubians on the front page. The initial issues raised by the group were relatively local and minor. Neighbors were disturbed by the influx of so many people to their Georgia center and their slowness to bring buildings up to legal codes. The controversy was heightened by the group's separatism. These problems likely would have been overcome in time had not the revelations of secret illicit behavior on the part of York and several close associates come to light.

The situation locally became focused on the group's erection of a set of highly decorated buildings and statues modeled on ancient Egypt. To the group, these buildings made their identification with the ancient Egyptians visible and immediately drew the attention of both African Americans and Native Americans. Local white residents found the buildings out of place, and legal authorities called attention to building-code violations in the construction and maintenance of them.

The various controversies surrounding the Nuwaubians were put aside, however, when in 2002 York was arrested on numerous charges of child molestation and a variety of additional associated charges stemming from his use of children for sexual purposes. The investigation by federal authorities had been going on for four years. Other members of the group were arrested for their roles in facilitating York's predatory activity. York was convicted in federal court in January 2004 on charges involving racketeering and transporting children across state lines for sexual purposes. He had previously confessed to a number of the child molestation charges. As of 2004, the appeals process in York's case continues. There is every reason to believe that the Nuwaubians may face a series of civil cases once the criminal issues are resolved.

The Nuwaubian Nation of Moors is one of a spectrum of religious groups that became involved in major illegal activity and faced the incarcerations of their founders. Amid public outrage over York's behavior, some members of the group have remained loyal to his teachings and the organizations he created. They have viewed York as a target of religious persecution, and in the years prior to his arrest, a variety of African American leaders came to the group's defense. In light of York's conviction and the revelation of the many charges against him, the continuance of the group has been called into question. However, other groups have survived during and after the incarcerations of their founders (e.g., Israelite House of David, Alamo Christian Foundation, Unification Movement). Given various scenarios that may or may not occur, the future of the Nuwaubians remains unpredictable.

SEE ALSO Nation of Islam.

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J. GORDON MELTON (2005)

NYAKYUSA RELIGION. The traditional religion of the Nyakyusa-speaking people and of the neighboring Ngonde (who speak a dialect of the same language) was closely observed from 1934 to 1938 and again in 1955. The Nyakyusa occupied the fertile Rungwe Valley of what is now Tanzania, 9° south longitude, 34° east latitude; the Ngonde occupied the adjoining plain in what is now Malawi. Together they numbered perhaps half a million. They were settled cultivators and herdsmen, rotating crops and sustaining banana groves with manure from the byres. Groups of thirty to fifty age mates, with their wives and young children, lived together in villages. The religion of this distinctive people was expressed in two cycles of rituals, one concerning families, the other chiefdoms and groups of chiefdoms. Celebration of these rituals involved acting out dramas that expressed the proper relationships among humans and between humanity and divinity; in essence, they were intended to both regulate human behavior and to mediate between human and divine realms.

There was little elaboration of dogma, though the family rituals were shaped by a conviction that kinsmen, living and dead, were inextricably bound together, by the definition of kinship and by marriage law. Communal rituals were shaped by a mythological charter concerning the coming of certain chiefly lineages which had brought fire, iron, and cattle to a people who had no chiefs, no iron, and no cattle, and who ate their food raw. Theological speculation was expressed through a general awareness of symbolism—a "common symbolic language" of which poets speak. Fire was recognized as representing "lordship" and authority; "eating food raw" was the mark both of a witch and of a person without culture. A detailed interpretation of symbolism was provided by specialists—priests and doctors (both men and women) and by elderly people in general. The associations given here are not the product of guesswork, but rest on the statements given by participants in the rituals. In a rapidly changing and diverse society much of ancient symbolism may become a forgotten language.

The occasions for celebration of family rituals were death and birth, especially abnormal birth; maturity and marriage; and misfortune. The essence of each ritual was a purification, the participants washing and shaving with medicines; a "speaking out," for any individuals who came to the ritual with "anger in the heart" must admit that anger openly and cease to nurse any grudge against those with whom they celebrated; and a communion feast in which living and dead kin shared beer, the staple foods (which varied with altitude), and, at a funeral, beef. Each ritual implied a change in status for the chief participants: spouse, parent, sibling, and child, at a funeral; parents if twins were born, or the mother alone at an ordinary birth; a girl at first menstruation; and her groom as she moved from the confinement at puberty to marriage. But kinsmen also celebrated and were obliged to do so, the range being further in the father's than in the mother's line and varying with the type of ritual. The explicit reason given for celebrating was that the chief mourners, parents of twins, or nubile girl would go mad should the ritual be neglected, and indeed the "actions of a madman" were mimed in the death ritual—mimed and rejected—for the ritual was directed at ensuring acceptance of a new life, a new place in society for a distraught widow, a girl who had grown up, a young mother, or a man bereaved, married, or fearful as the father of twins. In every ritual the chief participants symbolically died and were reborn, and while in the world of the dead they were "brooded over" by the shades. This was something terrible, for the shades, though kinsmen, were numinous, and the awfulness of divinity oppressed humans, who sought to separate themselves from it.

Celebrations for a chiefdom were of various sorts. The first was the coronation ritual during which two heirs (for a chiefdom should split each generation) were secluded with the commoners chosen by the older generation to be their village headmen, instructed in their future duties, and treated with medicines to make them respected—men of authority. At a given signal the young men burst out of the seclusion hut and rushed out to the pasturage, where each chief and his senior headman made fire by friction. All fires throughout the country had been extinguished, and each new fire had to be lit from that of the chief. Each of the heirs established authority in one half of the country and planted two trees and a stone commemorating his coronation and royal marriage. Land in the chiefdom was reallocated, with the older generation moving aside to make way for the younger. The old chief was expected to "die soon," for fertility in people, land, and cattle was believed to be dependent upon the vitality of the chief, and an old, ailing chief was unacceptable. He was smothered and buried beside the trees planted at his coronation.

The second sort of celebration for a chiefdom involved the slaughter of a cow and prayers offered to a former ruler in the sacred grove that had sprung up around his burial place. There no one might chop wood or cultivate, and, as a result, the vegetation in such a sacred place would eventually grow into a forest.

Third, a general purification was held at the break of the rains after the dry season or in national emergency. All the old ashes from homestead fires were thrown out, and grudges between people were openly admitted.

Regional celebrations concerning a group of chiefdoms were directed to a founding hero in his grove. Prayers for rain, fertility, and health for the whole region were then offered. The two greatest of the heroes, Lwembe and Kyungu, had living representatives who were thought to exercise power over rain and fertility, and they too were honored. Lwembe's grove contained a great python (a creature held to represent the hero) that was believed to lick Lwembe's priest, who spent a night alone in the grove, protected by a wicker cage.

The name of one founding hero, Kyala, to whom offerings were made in a cave, was used not only for the hero but also in the sense of "the lord," and it was used by the first missionaries (in 1891) to translate the Christian conception of God. As traditional Nyakyusa religion interacted with Christianity, the idea of a god wholly distinct from the heroes became more and more clear: In 1934 old men still spoke of Kyala "beneath" with the shades, but to most young men—traditional as well as Christian—he was "above" (*kumwanya*), and "above" implied then "in the sky" rather than "on earth" (as opposed to beneath the earth).

The celebrations for Lwembe crossed language as well as political boundaries. Priests brought iron hoes and salt, commodities from the mountains to the east, as gifts to the shrine. People in the rich Rungwe Valley traded grain, pulses, and bananas for these commodities. Kyungu was sent iron hoes and ivory from the mountains surrounding the Ngonde Plain, and unlike Lwembe, he gradually developed secular power and became a chief with subordinate chiefs under him.

Besides celebrations for the shades of a family, chiefdom, or region, Nyakyusa speakers had a lively belief in witchcraft, a mystical power thought to be exercised by certain persons (for selfish purposes) to injure others. Witches were spoken of as greedy, envious, and as consumed with jealousy and anger against their neighbors. They killed men and cattle and caused grain to diminish and cows to dry up by reason of a "python in the belly" that worked evil. So real was this python in imagination that it was sought in autopsies, which were performed both to discover the mystical cause of death and to prove whether the dead person had been a witch.

Witchcraft was wholly evil, but a power akin to it was thought to be properly exercised by village headmen and others to protect a village against the attacks of witches. People known as *abamanga* ("the strong ones") were said to fight witches in dreams. Commoners—the ordinary people—were thought to punish an inhospitable chief or one who had given an unjust judgment in court, or any member of their village who was mean, inhospitable, too conspicuously successful, or who committed some breach of customary obligation such as neglecting a ward or insulting a father. The "breath of men"—murmurs of outraged public opinion—was believed to fall on the miscreant and cause him or her to fall ill of a fever, pine away, or become paralyzed.

There were also "medicines" (*imiti*), chiefly vegetable substances thought to be used for both good and evil ends: to kill or cure, to destroy or promote crops, to murder or to maintain constituted authority.

The moral aspect of religion was constantly stressed: A man who was good was protected by his shades, and his family, stock, and crops increased; a chief who loved and cherished his subjects and ancestors attracted followers; if the founding hero and his living representative were duly honored, the region would be blessed with gentle rain. The good person gave no cause for offense and hoped never to arouse the anger of a neighbor who was a witch or sorcerer. Evil was personified in witchcraft, but any sort of power might be misused. A father who cursed his son or daughter so that the child became sterile should forgive and bless the child when he or she begged pardon with an appropriate gift, even if the anger was justified. The angered father might say, "I forgive you now" and spit on the ground, and all the anger that was in him would come out like spit. Rituals had to be celebrated, correct in every detail, but if participants nursed anger in the heart no ritual could be efficacious. Anger was the root of misfortune.

Like other societies, Nyakyusa society has never been static. The coronation rituals and offerings on behalf of chiefs and regions explicitly celebrated a change that had once occurred: the coming of heroes who brought fire, iron, cattle, and the institution of chieftainship. This was pictured as a single event that had occurred ten generations back. Archaeologists are now tracing the spread of iron and of cattle in Africa, and the first hearths are being sought. Chieftainship, including the secular power of the Kyungu, is known to have spread within historical times. The myths therefore recall real events, but they telescope time. Events such as the domestication of fire and first forging of iron, separated perhaps by a million years, are fused with the coming of cattle and the institution of chieftainship as symbols of the beginning of civilized life.

From 1891 onward, with the coming of Christian missions, trade, and colonial rule, the pace of change accelerated greatly. By 1938, 16 percent of the population in the Rungwe Valley and more on the Ngonde Plain were professing Christians and had largely abandoned traditional rituals; by 1955 even those who did not profess Christianity had curtailed or abandoned some of the rituals, notably that on the birth of twins; and after the independence of Tanganyika in 1961 the institution of chieftainship was abolished in Rungwe Valley and coronation rituals lapsed.

Two trends are clear: first, a growing importance to most people of the idea of God (Kyala) distinct from shades and heroes, and of prayer and worship directed to him; second, a lessening of fear of contamination in death and birth. A sense of the awfulness of divinity and of biological processes in which divinity was manifest have decreased.

Celebration of rituals may be observed and accounts of dogma and myth recorded, but evidence of religious experience is difficult to document. Many people spoke of a sense of presence of the shades in dreams and waking moments, and if a wife or child were ill a man might go to his banana grove with his calabash cup at dusk and blow out water, expressing himself in love and charity with all, living and dead, and calling upon his shades for blessing; but repeated dreams of the dead were feared as an omen of death, and the period of seclusion during a ritual, when the participant dwelt with the shades, was felt to be deeply distasteful. Christian converts, familiar with the traditional patterns, asserted that they valued a sense of presence and communion with God in a different manner from any traditional communion with divinity. All were aware of the destructive power of evil within humans and sought to purge themselves and others of it.

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MONICA WILSON (1987)

NYĀYA. Nyāya is an orthodox, classical Indian school of logic and epistemology established in the second century CE with the writing of the Nyāyasūtras by Gautama (Akṣapāda Gautama). It is described as concerned with the science of argumentation *(ānvīkśiki)* and as the measure of all other sciences *(pramāṇaśāstra).* Unlike modern Western logic, which is mainly formal and is complemented by an epistemology that presupposes the separateness of the study of epistemology, ethics, and metaphysics and religion, Nyāya defines its method as one of considering the science of argumentation as an instrument for the knowledge of reality that must lead to the attainment of the Highest Good—namely freedom from suffering. The very first aphorism of the Nyāyasūtras thus defines its purpose and content in the following manner:

> It is the knowledge of the real essence of the following sixteen categories that leads to the attainment of the Highest Good: 1. the means of right cognition, 2. the objects of right cognition, 3. doubt, 4. motive, 5. example, 6. theory, 7. factors of inference, 8. cogitation/ decision, 9. demonstrated truth, 10. discussion 11. disputation, 12. wrangling, 13. fallacious reasons, 14. casuistry, 15. futile rejoinders and 16. clinchers. (Gautama, *Nyāyasūtras,* tr. Ganganatha Jha, 1939, p. 3)

Nyāya is traditionally paired with the Vaiśeṣika school, because the two focus respectively on the subject and object of knowledge, with the former therefore being more dominantly epistemological and the latter ontological in nature.

Modern scholarship on Nyāya can largely be divided into two camps. The first provides an apologetic for its metaphysical orientation and prefers to emphasize the technical detail of logic in an attempt to relocate Nyāya within a positivist framework. The historian of Indian philosophy S. N. Dasgupta and more recently Bimal Krishna Matilal belong to this category. The second approach is represented by those like Dharmendra Nath Shastri, Jitendranath Mohanty, and Karl Potter, who argue that the relation to metaphysics is not "added on" but intrinsic to the discourse of Nyāya. This difference in approach has not, however, affected the selection of topics or emphases among authors from either group, as the focus in both cases remains mainly on exegesis with occasional critical analysis. A sustained, conscious, and systematic consideration of Nyāya's method, which consists in the nondualism of fact and value and theory and practice, presupposing a belief in the unity of epistemology (science), ethics, and metaphysics (or religion), has yet to be made. This is one of the major difficulties that hinders understanding of the exact nature of the orientation and development of thought within Nyāya, both internally and in relation to Buddhism and the Mīmāṃsā school and, more significantly, modern Western analytic thought.

Though empiricist and realist in orientation, Nyāya's definition and theory of perception and the object thereof reveals a consistent and systematic attempt to establish the conditions for the possibility of a nondualist science. Nyāya lists four instruments of cognition—perception, inference, analogy, and testimony. Perception is basic and necessary for the other three, and execution, that is, successful effort or action in acquiring or rejecting the object of cognition, is either the consequence of true cognition or its very nature. The object of cognition cannot be known merely through the perception of qualities such as shape, size, color, and weight; rather, it is truly known only when it is also possible to classify it as soul or not-soul, as that which is to be acquired or rejected in light of its being a source of pleasure or pain, in the quest for freedom. To this a caveat is of course added, pointing out that ultimately all pleasure and sources of pleasure are sources of pain from which one must attain detachment. Perception is defined as that cognition that arises from the contact of sense organ and object, which is not designated or expressed in speech, without error, and determinate. This definition includes within its range both sensation and direct experience of the "nameless" One (yogic perception).

Vātsāyana's early-fifth-century commentary on the Nyāyasūtras points out that "contact" with the mind and soul are not mentioned in perception's definition only because they are not unique to this instrument of cognition and are necessary to the other instruments as well. In fact it is the soul that makes it possible to see the object as pain or pleasure or as a source of the same. Finally, the scientific treatise is described as that which deals with the means of destroying pain. The cognizer is one who is stimulated to act in and through his or her calling, personal and professional, by the desire to reject pain and acquire pleasure, with the ultimate aim of renouncing all activity. Thus the co-ordinates of theory and practice, and of fact and value, establish true knowledge.

Nyāya argues that proof of the truth of unseen things spoken of in the Upaniṣads is established by the truth and efficacy of scientific treatises on things seen. The example then is of great importance in Nyāya. It is defined as that which can be directly perceived by both ordinary people and expert or trained investigators and is an essential factor both in establishing the truth of one's position and in disproving that of the opponent. Neither inference nor testimony can stand without the proof of such an example.

Nyāya's main disagreement over the nature of reality is with Buddhist idealism. The period from the fifth to eleventh centuries CE was one of great creative engagement between the two schools. The assumption of the reality of the external world comprising indivisible atomic reals is central to Nyāya. Knowledge of the true nature of an object enables one to attain detachment from it and overcome suffering in this world. Buddhists, on the other hand, characterize reality itself as suffering. Suffering arises from believing the external world to be real and permanent. In fact the reality and permanence of the external world is merely an illusion created when the mind projects unity and continuity onto the causal chain of momentary conceptions *(vikalpa)* that arise and are destroyed in succession, with each moment being the cause of the proceeding one. A realization of the momentariness of existence dissolves the object of desire, as it were, and suffering is overcome. Thus everything that the Naiyāyika (practitioner of Nyāya) depends on—the object, knowledge of the object, and proof through example and tradition—is untenable in Buddhism, which presupposes knowledge of the external world's impermanence, the path shown by the buddha or gurū, and membership of the congregation to overcome this impermanence, rather than the authority of Scripture.

Though an orthodox school, Nyāya presupposes a critical attitude even with respect to the Vedas. This becomes evident in its disagreement with Mīmāṃsā on the issue of *prāmāṇya* (the criterion of truth). Nyāya holds that the criterion of the truth of a statement rests in factors external to the statement itself, whereas for Mīmāṃsā the criterion of truth is intrinsic to the statement, which can only be falsified by external factors. The real issue here is the possibility of having a single theory of truth that will cover both Vedic and ordinary statements without on the one hand laying the truth of Scripture open to faithless doubt and on the other hand making Scripture so rigid that it becomes unavailable to usage and custom. Thus Nyāya advocates the use of *paratahaprāmāṇya* (extrinsic criterion of truth) but articulates clear criteria to identify and establish one who is witness to the truth *(āpta)*. Mīmāṃsā advocates *svatahaprāmāṇya* (intrinsic criterion of truth) but broadens the limits of interpretation through a theory of meaning that holds that the word does not refer to the individual/particular but to the universal *(jāti)*. Contemporary analyses have, however, confined themselves to a narrow interpretation of *prāmāṇya,* and some, like Mohanty, go further and argue that the problem relates to empirical *(vyavahārika)* statements only.

Among the orthodox schools, the Nyāya tradition has perhaps been most alive with original commentaries written by Udyoktara (635 CE) and Vācaspati Miśra (840 CE) and treatises by Jayanta Bhatta (880 CE) and Udayana (984 CE). Around 1200 CE, the Navya-Nyāya, or new school of Nyāya, began with the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* of Gaṅgeśa (Gaṅgeśa Upadhyaya). This new school is considered by most to represent a move away from metaphysics. There are difficulties with such a characterization, however, because despite a shift in emphasis toward epistemological issues, there is no philosophical attempt to reject metaphysics. Conversely, one could argue that Navya Nyāya responded to arguments that tended to dichotomize metaphysics and epistemology. For instance, Gadhādhara (fl. c. 1650) defines objecthood as a relation constituted by the very nature of its terms—the self /subject of cognition and the object. Thus, he argues against the view that objecthood is an independent entity and also against the view that it is determined by the nature of the object alone and the view that it is determined by the nature of the cognition/cognizing self. In doing so Gadhādhara is arguing for a definition of objecthood that establishes it as a sign of the relation between the object and the self and not as determined by one or the other. Knowledge of this sign can reveal as much about the self as about the object to which it refers.

Nyāya's presuppositions about the necessary relation between the knowledge of objects and the attainment of freedom, about the unity of ideal and ordinary languages, and about the importance of the example present a structure and method of analytic philosophy at odds with the modern positivist tradition. With Gadhādara's formulation of the issue of objecthood one is further compelled toward the position that Nyāya lays the foundation for a science of semiotics that includes within the purview of a single theory of logic, language, and epistemology, the study of sign, symptom, and symbol.

SEE ALSO Indian Philosophies; Vaiśeṣika.

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ANURADHA VEERAVALLI (2005)

NYBERG, H. S. (1889–1974), was a Swedish Orientalist and historian of religions. Born in Söderbärke in Dalecarlia, Henrik Samuel Nyberg received his early education at home and at the senior high school in Västeras. In 1908 he entered the university at Uppsala, and there he stayed, working in various positions, for the rest of his life. He earned his Ph.D. in 1919 and was professor of Semitic languages from 1931 to 1956. Concentrating from the beginning on comparative Semitic philology, Arabic, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Ethiopic, Nyberg became an inspiring teacher and one of the most brilliant representatives of the humanities Sweden has ever had, exerting a great influence on the cultural life of his country. His doctoral thesis, "Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-ʿArabī," already showed the admirable scope that was to characterize his later studies. It is an edition of three minor writings of the great mystic, with an introduction that investigates the origin of Islamic mysticism and attempts to understand the system of Ibn al-ʿArabī as a phenomenon of syncretism.

In 1924–1925 Nyberg sojourned in Egypt for practical studies of Arabic. The most remarkable result of the trip was his discovery of the manuscript of *Kitāb al-Intiṣār* by the Muʿtazilī al-Khayyāṭ (ninth century). Nyberg published the text in Cairo in 1925 with an important commentary in Arabic: *Le livre du triomphe et de la réfutation d'Ibn er-Rawendi/Ibn Mohammed/l'hérétique par Abou l-Hosein Abderrahim/Ibn Mohammed ibn Osman el-Khayyat.* His deep penetration into the earlier polemic literature of Islam later enabled him to write his famous article, "Muʿtazila," for *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1934).

Nyberg's interest in the dialectology of Aramaic led him to the investigation of some documents from Avroman in Kurdistan. The Aramaic script of the documents appeared to contain a Middle Iranian dialect, and in 1923 he published his pioneering study "The Pahlavi Documents from Avroman" (*Monde oriental* 17). Thenceforth he was to devote much of his time to the study of Pahlavi; he eventually created the first scientific handbook of this language and was responsible for introducing Iranian studies as an academic discipline in Uppsala.

Influenced by Nathan Söderblom (1866–1931) and by his friend Tor Andrae (1885–1946), Nyberg now began his investigations of the Avesta, especially the *Gāthās.* In this field he made his most important contribution to the study of Iranian religious history, collected in the monumental book *Irans forntida religioner* (1937). One of the most remarkable traits of this work is the revaluation of the historical impact of Zarathushtra (Zoroaster), considered by Nyberg as a conservative champion of the religion of his own tribe. The consciousness of Zarathushtra's vocation was, according to Nyberg, conditioned by a type of Central Asian shamanism. Highly contested on many points, Nyberg's view in this work has nevertheless exerted a strong influence on scientific discussion in this field.

Familiar with the world of the Bible, Nyberg also worked from time to time in Hebrew. In his much debated *Studien zum Hoseabuche* (1935), he strongly emphasizes the importance of the oral tradition for the historical understanding of the textual form of the Hebrew scriptures, deliberately practicing a conservative textual criticism and eschewing the predilection for emendations common among many Old Testament scholars.

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O

OATHS See VOWS AND OATHS

OBEDIENCE consists in the act of voluntary submission to an authority. Religious obedience, the subject of this article, is therefore the voluntary submission to a specifically religious authority, and its different forms correspond to differences in the types and levels of such authority. In many world religions, authority rests with a single principle, being, or god, and religious obedience is accordingly due to an all-embracing law or to the divine will. But even in these cases, where there is clearly a single and absolute source of authority, the obligation of obedience may be expressed on a variety of levels. Thus in Hinduism, for instance, obedience to the *Laws of Manu* is enjoined upon all, but at the individual level a disciple's obedience to his *guru*, or, at a corporate level, to the rules of his sect, religious establishment, or *maṭha* may be equally or even more important.

Obedience in Christianity can similarly be seen as extending from the general principles of the Decalogue, through the observance of the rules of the church or monastery, to the individual's obedience of his own immediate ecclesiastical superior. In Islam, obedience may extend from the observance of the *sharīʿah*, to the rules of one's *ṭarīqah*, and finally to obeying one's spiritual mentor or *pīr*. Likewise in Buddhism, apart from the moral precepts, the corporate rules of the *saṃgha* are to be observed by the monks and nuns, and even though Buddhism generally places less emphasis on the unique master-disciple relationship common in Hinduism, even here each novitiate is assigned initially to an individual elder.

Differences in the forms of religious association will also result in different forms of obedience. In religions that continue to be organized along the lines of natural kinship

Clockwise from top left corner. Osiris, the Egyptian god of death and resurrection, in a painting from the tomb of Sennutem in the cemetery of Deir el-Medina, Egypt. *[©Erich Lessing/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Orpheus playing the lyre among the Thracians on a red-figure krater from ancient Greece, 480–330 BCE. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. *[©Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Eighteenth-century wood sculpture of a Maori couple in an embrace that can be broken only by the intervention of Tane, god of the forests. Otago Museum, Dunedin. *[©Werner Forman/Art Resource, N.Y.]* ; Pre-Columbian Olmec stone head. Anthropology Museum, Veracruz, Mexico. *[©Werner Forman/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Detail from a marble relief of Dionysus discovering Ariadne, from the Greek island of Naxos. Musée du Louvre, Paris. *[The Art Archive/Musée du Louvre Paris/Dagli Orti]* .

groups, religious obedience will often be a simple extension of one's normal obligations to one's family. Thus in Confucianism the filial relationship becomes paradigmatic for obedience of all kinds. But even when natural forms of association are left behind, obedience may continue to be understood metaphorically in terms of spiritual parentage. In the mystical traditions of several religions, including Christianity, the spiritual mentor is often compared to a father. Each individual, or even the religious community as a whole, may be visualized as undergoing a period of religious tutelage that requires the unquestioning obedience of a child. In many cases, the rite of religious initiation closely parallels that of birth and is often considered a kind of rebirth. Just as children are not supposed to disobey, so the neophytes undergoing initiation or puberty rites must behave humbly, obeying their instructors and accepting arbitrary punishment without complaint. Here one thinks of the obedience that Zen monks owe to their *rōshi.*

With the spiritual coming-of-age of an individual or a community, as in the biological parallel of growth during adolescence, obedience becomes more problematic, and at times even self-defeating. One encounters both the problem of disobedience and the more subtle problem of the conflict between the "spirit" and the "letter." The latter problem is illustrated by the Christian attitude toward Jewish law and by the Buddhist rejection of the cumbersome Hindu codes of conduct. More enlightened approaches emerge at the individual level in which disobedience becomes a higher form of obedience. Thus the Hindu religious leader Rāmānuja (eleventh century CE) disobeyed his master by making public formerly esoteric doctrines of salvation in order that all might be saved. Such "disobedient" transcendence of the conventional letter of the law is will illustrated by a Zen master's response to his disciple, who one evening questioned the propriety of his master's carrying a lady across a flooded rivulet that morning because it infringed the Vinaya rule against touching women: "I left her on the bank in the morning," he replied, "and you are still carrying her!" Similarly the Chinese sage Mengzi (Mencius) held that a man who would not pull his drowning sister-in-law out of a river, for fear of disobeying the rule that she not be touched, is no better than a wolf.

The appropriateness of obedience, or indeed the very question of what constitutes obedience in a given situation, cannot always be mechanically ascertained. Nevertheless, the consequences of disobedience cannot simply be dismissed. According to the Tibetan tradition, Mi la ras pa (Milarepa) had to suffer the consequences of disobeying his master's orders to the full, which were designed to wear out his *karman.* Thus although theoretically and retrospectively one may speak of enlightened disobedience, it presents difficulties in practical terms.

Another important issue in relation to obedience pertains to the conflict of different laws or values within a single tradition. This conflict was clearly recognized by the Hindu tradition, which sought to deal with it by relegating such conflicting norms to different historical epochs. The *dharma* appropriate to one age, it was held, may not be appropriate to another. But even without introducing this historical dimension, such conflict may be recognized as part of the essential tension present within a tradition at any given time, the tension, once again, between the "spirit" and the "letter." The recognition of this tension is exemplified by Confucius's remark to the duke, who had praised the rectitude of a son in testifying against his father in a case of theft: "The honest men of my country are different from this. The father covers up for his son, the son covers up for his father—and there is honesty in that too." The case is similar with Islam, which requires unquestioning obedience to the Qurʾān, but at the same time provides for *ittiḥād.*

A closely related issue is that of law and freedom; how much freedom is to be allowed in the interpretation of the law? Is obedience to the law compatible with a relative freedom in its interpretation? Or does true obedience require a "rigorist" reading of the letter of the law, with the interpreter being allowed only the absolute minimum of freedom? This issue has been particularly important in the Christian tradition, where a broad range of positions has been defined.

The importance of obedience in religious life is undoubtedly due in part to its importance for the successful operation of family, society, and polity in general. However, obedience also functions as a specifically religious virtue. The triple vows of poverty, chastity, and cenobitic obedience in the context of Christian monasticism offer a possible example of such specifically religious obedience. However, all forms of cenobitic monasticism, as distinguished from the eremitic, involve rules necessary to the maintenance of a community and may therefore merely reflect the need for the maintenance of order. No such reductionistic explanation is possible, however, in the practice of spiritual and ascetic disciplines. Here obedience has an exclusively religious goal, as an essential precondition of spiritual knowledge. Thus when a Greek king wished to learn the wisdom of India from the gymnosophists, the first thing required of him was obedience: "No one coming in the drapery of European clothes—cavalry cloak and broad-brimmed hat and top-boots, such as Macedonians wore—could learn their wisdom. To do that he must strip naked and learn to sit on the hot stones beside them." Obedience may however play a role at the end of the path as well, if it is understood spiritually as surrender. In this sense it constitutes the annihilation of the individual ego which constitutes the last obstacle to the plenary experience. According to the modern Hindu mystic, Ramaṇa Maharshi (1879–1950): "The disciple surrenders himself to the master. That means there is no vestige of individuality retained by the discipline. If the surrender is complete all sense of individuality is lost and there is thus no cause for misery. The eternal being is only happiness, that is revealed" (*Talks with Sri Ramaṇa Maharshi,* 1984, p. 318). Thus while obedience is the necessary prerequisite for entry upon the spiritual path, it is also in a sense the goal. This is particularly clear in the case of Islam, which literally means "surrender." Here man is viewed as having his final end outside himself, in the transcendence of the divine. True peace is accordingly to be found only in surrender, in true and total obedience to the divine will.

SEE ALSO Authority; Casuistry; Monasticism; Spiritual Guide.

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OB-UGRIANS SEE FINNO-UGRIC RELIGIONS; KHANTY AND MANSI RELIGION

OCCAM, WILLIAM OF SEE WILLIAM OF OCKHAM

OCCASIONALISM. [*This entry deals specifically with Islamic occasionalism.*]

The adjective *occasional,* as applied to causes or events, is used by medieval European theologians such as Thomas Aquinas to mean an "indirect cause which determines any disposition to any effect" (*Summa theologiae* 1.114.3, 2.1.88.3, 2.1.98.1–2, 2.1.113.7, *et passim*). In modern philosophy, the term *occasional* and its derivatives are used by Cartesians such as Malebranche (d. 1715), Guelincks (d. 1669), and Cordemoy (d. 1685) to refer to the relations between the modifications of mind and those of body, as well as to natural occurrences in general. Malebranche in particular denies any necessary connection between those two classes of modifications and refers all natural occurrences, human actions, and other events to God's direct intervention, of which the manifest or natural causes are nothing but the "occasions" (*Entretien sur la métaphysique* 7.11, 7.13).

In the history of Islamic theology (*kalām*), an "occasionalist" tendency is clearly discernible from the eighth century on. The earliest writers on theological questions, such as al-Ashʿarīand his followers, were overwhelmed with the Qurʾanic concept of God "who is unlike anything else" (surah 42:11) and whose decrees are irreversible and inscrutable. Accordingly, they attempted to formulate a cosmological view that would justify the referral of all activity or development in the world to this God, whom they called the "Lord of the worlds" and the "Lord of the heavens and the earth."

By the eighth century the Muslim theologians (*mutakallimūn*) realized that Aristotelian physics, which presupposes a necessary connection between natural events or entities, is incompatible with the concept of God's lordship or sovereignty in the world. In its place they proposed a more theologically acceptable metaphysics of atoms and accidents in which every entity or event comes into being and passes away at the behest of God. According to this metaphysics, probably derived from Greek (Democritean) sources with certain Indian modifications, everything in the world is made up of substance and accident. The majority of the *mutakallimūn* define substance (*jawhar*) as that which bears the accidents, although some argue that this is the specific characteristic of body. Substance and accident, however, always exist in conjunction. Some accidents are more primary than others and include the "modes" or original properties of unity, motion, rest, composition, and location. A body can never be divested of these accidents, although it can be divested of the other "secondary" accidents, such as weight and shape. Most of the later *mutakallimūn* appear to have held that no substance can be divested of the accident of color, so that they define substance as "anything endowed with color."

The most characteristic feature of substance is its indivisibility; hence the majority of the *mutakallimun* identify substance with the atom (*juzʾ*) and dwell on its relation to the primary and secondary accidents. Thirty positive accidents, or their opposites, are said to inhere in each substance. When God wishes to create an entity, by "commanding" it to be (as the Qurʾān has put it), he first creates the atoms, then the accidents making up its physical or biological nature or character. But since accidents cannot endure for two moments of time, as a leading Ashʿarī theologian of the tenth century, al-Bāqillānī, put it, this entity will not continue to exist unless God constantly recreates the atoms and accidents it is made of. This theory of "continuous recreation" (Macdonald, 1927) constitutes the basis of Islamic cosmology and moral theology, especially in its Ashʿarī form. It presupposes, in addition to the duality of atom and accident, the atomic composition of time and that of the soul. Should God decide to put an end to the existence of a particular entity, the theory requires that he either cease to recreate the "accident of duration" in it (the Muʿtazilī view) or simply stop recreating the stream of atoms and accidents making it up (the Ashʿarī view), whereupon the particular entity would cease to exist at all.

This theory had its critics in subsequent centuries, the most important and vocal of whom was probably the great Aristotelian commentator, Ibn Rushd (Averroës) of Cordova

(d. 1198). In general it might be said that the theologians were sympathetic to the occasionalist view of the universe or some aspects of it, whereas the philosophers as a rule were either hostile or critical.

SEE ALSO Descartes, René; Scholasticism.

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MAJID FAKHRY (1987)

OCCULTISM.

Occult and occultism have taken on several meanings. Occultism has been the object of a variety of definitions, which for the most part are related to the notion of esotericism. In academic usage, occultism tends to refer to one modern Western esoteric current, that which flourished from the second half of the nineteenth to the first half of the twentieth centuries.

THE TERMS OCCULT AND OCCULTISM. A distinction must be made between the original adjective *occult* and the substantive *occultism* which first appeared in the nineteenth century. *Occult* has a long history. For example, in the Renaissance it was often used in the expression occult properties, as in Marsilio Ficino's *De Vita coelitus comparanda* (1486, III, ch. 12), when he described how certain stones can attract celestial influences. Likewise, Cornelius Agrippa, in *De Occulta Philosophia* (1533, I, 10), explains that they "are called occult properties because their causes lie hidden, so that man's intellect cannot in any way reach and find them out; wherefore philosophers have attained to the greatest part of them by long experience rather than by the search of reason."

Such a belief remained widespread at the time that saw the rise of experimental science (in the period following the Renaissance). The notion of occult forces, and ultimately of one occult force, was used at the time of the Enlightenment, particularly in mesmerism and animal magnetism, against the mechanistic and materialist positions of the new mainstream science. In the nineteenth century and beyond, notions such as ether and/or Od force (of Karl von Reichenbach) came to a head in Helena Petrovna Blavatsky's "Fohat," by which she meant a vital fluid permeating the universe. Alongside such notions, that of occult philosophy (later called occult science[s]) came into use in the Renaissance, meaning a synthesizing religious project of a philosophical and cosmological nature, on which occult practices proper were supposed to be founded. As for the substantive *occultism* (*l'occultisme*), it seems to have appeared for the first time in Jean-Baptiste Richard de Randonvilliers' *Enrichissement de la langue française-Dictionnaire des mots nouveaux.* Shortly after, Éliphas Lévi (1810–1875; pen name of Alphonse Louis Constant) used it in the "Discours préliminaire" of his *Dogme et rituel de la haute magie* (1856), and henceforth it was widely circulated. In English, it appeared probably for the first time in 1875, in Blavatsky's article "A Few Questions to 'Hiraf,'" published in *Spiritual Scientist.*

THE VARIOUS DEFINITIONS OF OCCULTISM. In some of his ground-breaking writings devoted to methodological issues, Marco Pasi has cogently submitted that, historically, the relationship between esotericism and occultism has been the object of five distinct approaches:

1. Occultism is a synonym of esotericism. This was the position of many occultists (i.e., of those who stood within the so-called occultist current). They considered occultism as a very ancient tradition (be it Western or universal) to which they took themselves to be the heirs. Some scholars also, like Pierre Riffard, occasionally use both terms indifferently and in a universal sense. Wouter J. Hanegraaff, who does not stand for this definition, has discussed the term *the occult,* used as a substantivized adjective. He mentioned in this respect Colin Wilson's 1971 bestseller *The Occult* as having exerted a major influence on the popular currency of this term which, in this context, is more or less used as the equivalent of esotericism, in particular among journalists and some sociologists. Indeed, occultism still serves as a catch-all word to designate a variety of currents (e.g., Oriental mysticism), practices (e.g., channeling, parapsychological experiments), and beliefs (e.g., fairies, spirits, UFO-abductions, vampire legends) which do not easily fall under the heading science and religion. Be that as it may, neither in that considerably extended meaning, which often tends to indiscriminately designate an overall form of rejected knowledge, nor in the aforementioned one generally adopted by the occultists should it be confused, as noted by Hanegraaff, with what the now-classical modern academic usage intends under Western esotericism. As remarked by Jean-Pierre Laurant, although born at approximately the same time, the terms *esotericism* and *occultism* are not identical twins, but rather fraternal ones.
2. Occultism is a drift from esotericism and/or a degeneration of it. This is, for example, the so-called traditionalist position as represented by René Guénon. He and his followers have opposed occultism (understood pejoratively) against their own concept of esoteric metaphys-

ics. This distinction was adopted by Serge Hutin in his famous article "Esotérisme."

3. Occultism is the practical dimension of esotericism. This definition often overlaps the second one. It may be due to the existence of the expression occult sciences, usually comprised mainly of magic, astrology, alchemy, and *magia naturalis* (natural magic), which are often interrelated. It can be traced already in *Le Christianisme césarien* of the Abbot Alta (pen name of Calixte Mélinge): "Occultism came later [than esotericism] in order to represent . . . material but dangerous things that wisdom forbade to display to everyone. Occultism was concerned with material things: natural forces, like electricity, magnetism [, whereas] the object of esotericism is the supernatural forces—those of higher Nature, that is, the invisible, spiritual, divine things" (as quoted by Laurant, 1992, p. 174). Much later, in the 1970s, a similar distinction can be traced in the so-called sociology of the occult, under the pen of scholars like Edward A. Tiryakian and Marcello Truzzi—the first to use the term. The former wrote: "By 'occult' I understand intentional practices, techniques, or procedures which (a) draw upon hidden or concealed forces . . . , and (b) which have as their desired or intended consequences empirical results . . . . By 'esoteric'; I refer to those religio-philosophic belief systems which underlie occult techniques and practices. . . . By way of analogy, esoteric knowledge is to occult practices as the corpus of theoretical physics is to engineering applications" (Tiryakian, 1972, pp. 498–499). Tiryakian's distinction was endorsed in the 1980s by a number of scholars, including Mircea Eliade (1907–1986) and Antoine Faivre. It has been more or less discarded since, although Bettina Gruber took it over again in 1980. Be that as it may, Pasi considers it—and rightly, so it seems—to be superfluous, and notes that it has been cogently criticized by other scholars like Robert Galbreath, whose position he endorses—"the notion of a purely abstract knowledge divorced from personal development and personal participation is alien to ['occultists' and 'esotericists' alike]. It is a nonexistent distinction" (Galbreath, 1983, p. 18).
4. Occultism is only one specific historical current among those of which modern Western esotericism is comprised. Indeed, since the 1970s, in academic parlance occultism has tended to be used mostly as referring specifically, and in a descriptive sense, to the esoteric current which began to flourish from the time of Lévi in the middle of the nineteenth century and well into the first half of the twentieth. This position has been the current one adopted by scholars since the beginning of the 1990s, including by Jean-Pierre Laurant, Antoine Faivre, and Joscelyn Godwin.
5. Occultism is a modification of esotericism under the impact of secularization. This fifth sense (in Pasi's list) of occultism has been introduced and defended by Hanegraaff and should not be confused with the fourth definition. Indeed, Hanegraaff prefers not to intend occultism as a historical current but rather as a category, among others, in the study of Western religions. Here it refers, in an analytic and typological sense, to the type of esotericism which characterizes various forms of esotericism from the second half of the nineteenth up to the first half of the twentieth centuries. Hanegraaff submits that it is comprised by "all attempts by esotericists to come to terms with a disenchanted world or, alternatively, by people in general to make sense of esotericism from the perspective of a disenchanted secular world" (Hanegraaff, 1996, p. 422; see also 1995, pp. 119–121). In other words, occultism is the form that traditional esotericism has taken on under the impact of secularization, in particular since the end of the eighteenth century. Hanegraaff speaks of a "transformation of esotericism into occultism" (Hanegraaff, 1996, p. 409), and uses this latter term to designate a range of various theories and practices: not only occultism as defined above in point four, but also such others as animal magnetism, spiritualism, up to some aspects of the New Age movement. Such an approach is congenial to the theoretical thesis which underlies his book *New Age Religion and Western Culture* (1996), according to which the process of secularization of Western esotericism has brought about considerable changes within the physiognomy of the Western esoteric landscape. By way of consequence, and in terms of vocabulary, he has found it appropriate to replace esotericism by occultism when dealing with the various forms of esotericism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

   While Hanegraaff was certainly right in stressing the importance of secularization (he was the first to do so in such a cogent and convincing manner), the problem is that endorsing his thesis does not necessarily entail accepting his terminological choice. As a matter of fact, the latter has been called into question not only by Pasi but also by a number of scholars, such as Olaf Hammer who prefers to speak of "post-Enlightenment esotericism." Indeed, the occultist current considered as one among other esoteric ones is endowed with a sufficiently precise specificity that it does not seem to be necessary to assimilate it with a range of other contemporary phenomena, like spiritualism.

CHARACTERISTICS AND HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE OCCULTIST CURRENT. The so-called occultist current which flourished from the second half of the nineteenth to the first half of the twentieth centuries seems to display five characteristics which mark its originality within the context of the other Western esoteric currents:

1. A new attempt at synthesizing the so-called esoteric tradition as the occultists of that time from the middle of the nineteenth up to the first half of the twentieth cen-

turies saw it. It was a matter of integrating—more than had been hitherto the case—a variety of new elements, like the tarot and Eastern (mostly Indian) forms of religious wisdom.

2. A strong emphasis on the importance and the practice of the so-called occult sciences, namely alchemy, astrology, Qabbalah, and in particular "magic" (understood mostly within the context of Western magical traditions).
3. An attempt at legitimizing its positions in establishing a dialectical relationship of acceptance and refusal with mainstream science and/or the positivistic culture of the time. Indeed, this current presented itself as an alternative to the triumph of scientism. Generally, occultists did not condemn scientific progress or modernity. Rather, they tried to integrate them within a global vision likely to make the vacuousness of materialism more apparent. In this an echo of the program of the *Naturphilosophie* of the end of the eighteenth and of the first half of the nineteenth centuries can be recognized but the new orientation differed, in particular because of its marked penchant for uncommon phenomena and scientific or pseudo-scientific experimentations.
4. An increasing emancipation from Christianity (contrary to the esoteric currents of the earlier periods, which for the most part were still very Christian in character).
5. A tendency to demarcate itself from a number of contemporary trends, like animal magnetism, spiritualism, and parapsychology, although this tendency became less and less marked in the latest decades of the period. Indeed, occultism forged its identity in confronting itself with them. (Similarly, Guenonian traditionalism has forged its own identity by way of a polemical confrontation with occultism.) Whereas spiritualism dealt with the spirits of the deceased, occultism was more interested in elementals (in the Paracelsian tradition), angels, and in particular in the so-called disincarnated Masters. These latter were supposed to dwell in exotic, far-off places (generally in Tibet), and to be able to communicate with their Western disciples. Furthermore, many occultists considered that the practices of spiritualism were not only passive in character, failing to stress the powers of the human will, but dangerous also, in view of the dubious nature of the entities conjured up in séances. They ascribed these shortcomings to the absence of an overall metaphysical worldview.

However useful these five characteristics may be, it still remains (as Pasi himself admits) that they are a mere academic construct. In reality, their borders are often blurred.

THE OCCULTIST CURRENT IN CONTEXT, AND SOME OF ITS MAIN REPRESENTATIVES. The industrial revolution had given rise to an increasingly marked interest in the "miracles" of science. It had promoted the invasion of daily life by utilitarian and socioeconomic preoccupations of all kinds. In the middle of the nineteenth century, along with smoking factory chimneys, both the fantastic as a new literary genre and the phenomenon of spiritualism (since the 1840s) came into existence. These two possess a common characteristic: each takes the real world in its most concrete form as its point of departure and then postulates the existence of another, supernatural world, separated from the first by a more or less impermeable partition. Fantastic literature then plays upon the effect of surprise that is provided by the irruption of the supernatural into the daily life, which it describes in a realistic fashion. Spiritualism, considered as both a quasi-religion and a practice, follows the inverse procedure, teaching how to pass from this world of the living to the world of the dead, through séances of spirit rappings and table tippings, the table playing a role analogous to that of the traditional magic circle. It is telling that the occultist current appeared at the same time as fantastic literature and spiritualism. Not unlike them, it displayed a marked interest in supernatural phenomena, that is to say, in the diverse modes of passage from one world to the other.

Almost at the same time as Lévi's first important publication, Jean-Marie Ragon's *Orthodoxie Maçonnique* and *Maçonnerie occulte* (1853), and Henri Delaage's *Le monde occculte* (1851) appeared. Though both men paved the way for the beginnings of the occultist current proper, Lévi may be considered the first main exponent of the latter, with his *Dogme et rituel de la haute magie* (1854–1856), *Histoire de la magie* (1860), and *La clef des grands mystères* (1861).

Some other strong personalities dominated a rather heteroclite crowd. Again in France, Papus (1865–1915; pen name of Dr. Gérard Encausse), nicknamed the "Balzac of occultism" because of his numerous and voluminous works, authored among other books a *Traité de science occulte,* which came out the same year (1888) as the first issue of his journal *L'Initiation.* Papus, with his friend from Lyons, L. N. A. Philippe, otherwise called Maître Philippe (1849–1905), went several times to St. Petersburg at the request of Nicholas II whom they initiated into the Martinist Order (created by Papus). Among these French occultists, other prominent individuals include Stanislas de Guaïta (1861–1898; *Au seuil du mystère,* 1886; *Le serpent de la Genèse,* 1891–1897), Joséphin Péladan (1858–1918), Albert de Rochas (1837–1914), François-Charles Barlet (pen name of Albert Faucheux, 1838–1921), and Albert Jounet (pen name of Dr. Emmanuel Lalande, 1868–1929). In Germany, Franz Hartmann (1838–1912) was a noted occultist, while at that time in Russia, P. D. Ouspensky (1878–1947) had already written almost all his work, including *Tertium Organon* (1911). Especially in Anglo-Saxon countries, occultist/esoteric erudition characterizes many noteworthy occultists. Among these, at least three names stand out prominently: G. R. S. Mead (1853–1933), William W. Westcott (1848–1925), and Arthur Edward Waite (1857–1942).

Not unlike the last decades of the eighteenth century, those of the nineteenth saw a proliferation of new initiatory societies which were instrumental in the development and dissemination of the occultist current, although they also contained elements pertaining to other, more generally esoteric ones. Many such societies belonged to the so-called fringe-Masonry, which for its most part is comprised of rites with higher degrees (i.e., above the three traditional degrees of freemasonry proper). Here are a few examples of those initiatory societies with a markedly occultist orientation: The Fraternitas Rosae Crucis was founded in 1868 by Paschal Beverly Randolph (1825–1875). Twenty years later in France, Guaïta and Péladan founded the Order of the Rose-Croix Kabbalistique, which was to go through many an explosion and fragmentation. In 1891, Papus established an Ordre Martiniste. In 1888, in England, Westcott established the Order of the Golden Dawn (OGD), whose founders were important members of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia (SRIA), created in London in 1867. The SRIA also was an occultist group, Christian in character and less oriented towards magical practices than the OGD. Between 1906 and 1912, Theodor Reuss (1855–1923) established a secret science research lodge, the Ordo Templi Orientis, whose program was similar to that of the OGD and in which the famous magician Aleister Crowley (1875–1947) held one of the leadership roles. Outside the pale of these fringe-Masonic orders, the Theosophical Society, which Blavatsky cofounded in New York in 1875, was to become the most influential and disseminated esoteric organization until the present time. It has some linkage to the occultist current, insofar as one of its official goals is to study the law of nature as well as the psychic and spiritual powers of the human being.

SEE ALSO Esotericism.

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OCEANIC RELIGIONS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
MISSIONARY MOVEMENTS
NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS
HISTORY OF STUDY [FIRST EDITION]
HISTORY OF STUDY [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

OCEANIC RELIGIONS: AN OVERVIEW

The Pacific Islands are dispersed over the widest expanse of sea in the world. They consist of semi-continents (such as New Guinea), strings of large mountainous islands (along the curve of the Melanesian chain), and groups of larger and smaller islands further east, which are arranged as isolated atolls, or, more rarely, organized into whole archipelagoes, such as the Tuamotus and the Carolines. The classic view is that one should distinguish between three large cultural areas: Micronesia in the northwest, Melanesia in the south, and Polynesia in the east. The reality is that whereas Micronesia is somewhat distinct in that its cultures display the influences of constant Asian contacts, Melanesia and Polynesia are artificial concepts created by Western powers. The Europeans overran and Christianized Tahiti and eastern Polynesia, using the peoples of these islands to contact and control islands further west—as soldiers, Christian teachers, and petty civil servants who were accorded a status slightly higher than that of the supposedly "cruel" Melanesian "savages." In Polynesia the islanders resisted European settlement by force, and land transfers to the newcomers were often obtained through marriages with local women of high rank: these practices provided support for the inaccurate conception that the islanders of the east were closer to their colonizers in terms of civilization, whereas those of the west were uncouth and dangerous.

The islands are in fact very similar, showing the same range of variations along their coasts. All the atolls are alike, with their peaceful lagoons ringed by white beaches crowned by endless rows of coconut trees and ironwood trees, their dazzling sun, their fragility in time of hurricane, their lack of fresh water, and the many hardships of life and the precarious food supply if no rain comes. Power and authority are exercised with a streak of what is called "bigmanship"—that is, the use of cajolery and intrigue, as well as good husbandry and economic sense, to further one's ambitions. Hereditary chieftainships exist, throughout Melanesia as well as in Polynesia, and chiefs are often surrounded by such formal behavior and etiquette that Westerners gave the title of "king" to all such titular heads of extended descent groups without checking to see if these "kings" in fact had kingdoms. The view that chieftainships are found only in Polynesia and that Melanesia only knows "big men" is not supported by facts. Complex systems of chieftainship exist in both cultural areas, as well as in the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, New Caledonia, the Loyalty Islands, and Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa.

The foundations of Oceanic religions are locality and the cult of the dead. (This article will avoid the commonly used word "spirits," as it is quite imprecise.)

THE CULT OF THE DEAD. Corpses in Oceania receive all sorts of ritual treatment. They may be laid in a grave or buried fetus-like in the ground, with the head sticking out; the head might later be removed for use in special mortuary rites. In southern Malekula the corpse is put on a platform and a small fire is kindled underneath to accelerate the putrefaction process. When this is accomplished, the villagers remove the head and place it in an ant's nest for thorough cleaning, after which the face is rebuilt with vegetable paste before being fixed to the top of a life-size puppet, the *rambaramb,* which bears marks indicating the dead man's rank. This puppet is present, six months after a man's death, at the deceased's last funerary ceremony and dance. After this the widow is allowed to remarry, usually with the dead man's younger brother, to whom she was in many cases forbidden to speak during her husband's lifetime. The skull is then put in a special place—in a rocky area, for example, or on the edge of a sacred grove, or on the flat stones at the back of the men's house—where it remains, and where it may be offered prayers. Mortuary techniques vary from place to place, and change according to fashion. For instance, the custom of rubbing newborn children with the dead person's fat and of eating parts of the dead body, particularly the brain—a practice that was the origin of the famed *kuru* sickness—was introduced into the Fore area of the New Guinea Highlands only six generations ago. Corpses kept whole can be burnt (North Solomon Islands and inland New Guinea); laid on the ground, with stones all round (South New Caledonia); left inside the deceased's house; put inside clefts of a raised cliff and laid on an old carving (central New Caledonia) or a piece of a broken canoe (Loyalty Islands); or thrown into the sea where a guardian shark will deal with it (Tanna and Efate in Vanuatu). The bones can be made into parcels and kept in a sacred grove or cave.

Throughout much of Oceania, a special rite often occurs ten days after death, during which the deceased person is reverentially asked to depart his lifelong place of residence and join the other dead in their abode, where he now belongs. One day each year, in Vanuatu and elsewhere, food is displayed for the benefit of the dead, who are invited, often through calls on conch shells, to come and partake of it. The next day, toward dusk, the dead are sent home by the same means. This practice does not prohibit the dead from being called for at any time in the year, as when the sickness of a close kinsman or one's own child warrants their help.

The dead who are prayed to are always those related to and from the locality of the descent group. Foreign ghosts are feared, the most so when the unwelcome visit is thought to be from the ghost of an unburied man, or *temes bal* (North Vanuatu), murdered on some path and craving revenge on anybody around. Such ghosts can enter the food produced ceremonially and make people sick—so doors may be shut to prevent this from happening. Any object pertaining to the white man may be put out of the house at this particular time for this very reason, its presence being thought of as introducing the *temes bal.* Food cooked inside the stone oven will be cut and shared with a bamboo knife, metal tools being left on the side for the same reason.

In some places, the dead are thought to have their own island (Bulotu in central Polynesia, Buloma at the eastern tip of New Guinea), which can fade into the skyline the more a canoeist strives to get there. Elsewhere, the land of the dead is aerial (Banks Islands), submarine, or under the face of the earth (New Caledonia). It can be inside a cave (North Malekula, Vanuatu) or inside the crater of a live volcano (East Malekula, Ambrym, and Tanna, Vanuatu).

The deceased traveling to the land of the dead follow a route—beginning along an open road, then continuing down subterranean paths—that links together neighboring districts (northern Viti Levu, Fiji) or neighboring islands (Lifou and Ouvea in the Loyalty Islands, East Malekula and Ambrym in Vanuatu). Members of specific lineages who live along the aboveground part of these routes hold the power to send back those among the deceased who are not yet ready to travel to the land of the dead. As they travel, the dead are armed with objects that have been placed in their graves, such as a rope—usually tied to a pig's foot, symbolizing the tusker pig that must be offered to the godly warden on the road to gain his permission to proceed further—or a model canoe, which allows the incorporeal dead to cross the sea.

Live humans have been known to follow these routes and survive, if they manage to keep looking only in front of them and resist the enticements of the fair-haired maidens (called *konghoc* in Ouvea, where they are believed to be the daughters of the godly pair Walewe and Hida) who appear on the side of he road. Eventually, they are confronted by a stem god or goddess, with arms ending in crab pincers, who will either ask a question; draw a design on the sand, then rub out half of it (the person is then expected to complete it); or closely examine the lobe of the person's ear and pierce it if it is lacking a hole.

Some men and women are said to be in the habit of going to the land of the dead to carry on an affair with a man or woman there; when they return, they bring back presents for their family: new knowledge, new songs, and new dance music. They might even bring back an invisible spouse, powerful in ritual matters pertaining to agriculture, thus bringing to the living part of the couple great crops of yams, or the techniques of making "sweet" dishes. But the goddesses who come back to live with a human male are made jealous and go back with the human's child if the husband starts an affair on the side with a living woman.

At the start of the twenty-first century, the cult of the dead is still flourishing in Oceania, though some elements have disappeared and beliefs tend to be intellectualized in towns, where the traditional spatial references are lacking. The cult's existence, however, is strongly hidden from Western onlookers.

GODS. The land of the dead is governed by gods and goddesses, who have always been in existence and, in the words of Robert H. Codrington, have never been either dead or alive as humans. Thus there is always a chief of this land, as well as a guardian of the entrance, a master of the dance of the dead, and a messenger—often a bird—who serves as a go-between, and is often seen fluttering near chiefly houses as well as flying away to join the other gods.

In many parts of Oceania one finds a belief in a sky world, which can be reached from the world of the living in various ways: via a path made of arrows, through the swinging of a club that, with the help of the South Wind, can break open the sky, or by means of a rope that the people in the sky let down.

Another link to the sky world is provided by winged maidens (the *tuarere* of central and northern Vanuatu) who meet at night on reefs to bathe and fish. Men can sneak up on them and hide one of their pairs of wings, then claim as a wife the young woman who is bereft of her wings, and thus powerless to go back to her people. It is said that one of these maidens taught the men how to make love in the right fashion, cutting a too-long penis with a shell knife until it was the right length. Another *tuarere,* having born two children to her human husband, was so incensed that he had talked badly of her to her children that, having found her well-hidden wings, she flew away, coming back ten days later with her sisters, who killed and ate the man bit by bit, only leaving the hairs and bones for the children to bury.

Another story tells of a man who, either in a canoe or carried by the *tuarere* over the seas, landed on an island (Merig of the Banks Islands) that was inhabited only by women, whose spouses were flying foxes that came to visit them at night, landing on the protruding bamboo roofs of each house. He laughed at the women and taught them about true love—and how to cook and eat their former husbands. This island is still peopled by women who are in effect the owners of the land, their brothers and sisters having all married elsewhere, and they themselves having married older men who had agreed to come and live on this small island, which is beautiful but very remote.

There are also stories that involve just-married men or women who have lost their spouse, either through an accident or because the spouse has been killed by a jealous local chief. The living spouse follows the road going to the land of the dead and negotiates with the warden at the entrance the way by which they can bring back to life their loved one. In some sadder versions of this story the return is deemed impossible and the couple must part; each tells the other how to know if they are close by, inside a rainbow or in the mist climbing down a mountain in the morning (Northwest New Caledonia).

Specific godly beings are the masters of a particular part of the universe: the sun, the moon (the woman in the moon is called Siva, or Hiva in Polynesia), the rain, each of the winds, the hurricane, fish in the high seas, forests and their inhabitants, the tilled land and its food crops. All these beings are said to be powerful, which means they each can bring to life what they control, or what they are said to be themselves, to work either for the benefit of man or against him.

POWER. Any power, mythical or magical, works both ways, for the good or for the bad. Prayers and offerings are used to summon both kinds of powers. Prayers can be spoken or silent and may be public or private depending on who the supplicant is: an ordinary individual, who may choose to speak out in the open if the matter is of interest to others, or a priest, who always acts alone in a secluded spot. Offerings are of all sorts: flowers, grasses, and leaves fastened to an ironwood pole; a yam tuber (or a white rooster with legs fastened) deposited on a stone in a sacred spot; great quantities of food that are shown to the dead and the gods, and then eaten by the men in their special club house (in the second half of November, after the rise of the *palolo* in Vanuatu, Fiji, West Polynesia, or after the flowering of the erythrina tree in New Caledonia); or shell money, which is either inserted inside holes in underwater rocks, in rivers or out at sea, or opened up on a sacred stone at a distance from any house, while an ancient chant in an archaic language is sung, asking for rain to come (New Caledonia) or for the crop to be abundant. Prayers are not complex poetical texts, being usually made up of a list of the gods and dead ancestors who are being called upon, to which is added only a very few sentences, some explaining the supplicant's wish in a precise and straightforward way, others offering a symbolic expression of the same wish.

Complex cosmogonies in Oceania are found only in East Polynesian cultures, and are the product of a caste of priests. Pacific Islands societies have tended to resist the formation of colleges of priests, which traditionally were only found in Tahiti and Hawai'i. Chiefs did not usually cherish the idea of sharing what power they had—it was *never* absolute—with a community of priests living by their own rules. Whereas in New Zealand a youth could be trained to become both *ariki* and *tohunga,* chief and priest, in Melanesia, Fiji, and West Polynesia power was shared through a system of linked social actors. One principal chief dealt with earthly matters, while another served as the orator, or talking chief *(matapule),* who was responsible for knowledge of the oral tradition and for protecting the principal chief from dangers originating in the outer world beyond the village. There are examples of this special dignitary being killed and buried with the principal chief, along with the latter's wives. His corpse was then placed just under the chief's head, the wives being laid out on the three other sides (South Central Vanuatu).

One specialized function of the *matapule* was to stand between two chiefs as they drank *kava,* so that the *mana* of one chief did not interfere with the *mana* of the other and so cause sickness. This precaution was general in Polynesia, but could be found also in Melanesia among *kava*-drinking peoples (North Malekula, Vanuatu).

This brings us to the concept of *mana* (or *men*), which is not strictly Polynesian, as thought by many modern scholars, but was first found by Codrington in the Banks Islands, among Melanesian language–speaking people. *Mana* is the power held by an individual through their particular relation with the world of the dead, that is, through the rank of the forebears protecting them. *Mana* can grow or diminish according to the way each person deals with the power they have inherited at birth. Losing a war and being taken prisoner diminishes one's *mana,* the more so if one is sent to the kitchen as a servant working with the women. Only blood spilt through a massacre can restore the former level of *mana* in such extreme cases. *Utu,* the necessity for revenge, or "payback," as they say in New Guinea, is justified by the need to reclaim lost *mana.* When this is not feasible, a suicide will do. In New Zealand, wives of high rank have been known to leave their lesser-ranked husband to stop their personal *mana* from being overcome by the renown earned in battle by their warrior spouse.

Mana is linked to *tapu* (*kap, kep,* etc.), which, from the perspective of a particular possessor of *mana,* is a power held by others that threatens *mana.* The back and back of the head are the most *tapu* parts of the body and are not to be touched. The gravity of this *tapu* depends on the rank of the person. Thus one will go a long way round so as not to pass close to the back not only of a chief, but also of his, or his wife's, relatives. A person's *tapu* grows or diminishes with the amount of their *mana.* The greatest *tapu* was that of several Hawaiian princesses who married their own brother; being older, they outranked their brother/husband and could only go out at night. Any person who saw their faces had to be killed on the spot. So the women stayed secluded in the day, and at night had special servants walking in front of them, warning people to look the other way.

Similar procedures involving *tapu* were played out on the battlefield. No real or classificatory kin of a warrior's wife could be hurt in any way—which explains why, as a rule, war in the islands led to few deaths. (It should be understood that marriage is regularly practiced between antagonistic descent lines, notwithstanding the fact that they are in a competition for prestige with one another.) The very strong *tapu* associated with eating, drinking, or smoking inside a communal Maori house still under construction can only be broken by a Maori first-born girl of high rank cooking and then eating a roast *kumara* (sweet potato) inside the house. Then only can other women and children enter the house, and can everybody eat inside. This *tapu* is still respected today, and horror stories are told of newly Christianized carvers and carpenters falling sick and dying after eating inside a house under construction.

Another system of multiple authorities, encompassing both opposition and complementary functions, involves the chief and the master of the land (*mata ni vanua* in Fiji). This situation displays a great number of variations. The masters of the land can have been chased away, in order that their former territories be taken over, and thus not be present at all. They can live next door to the chief, under new names forced upon them so as to cut their former privileged link to the land. They can be just there and occasionally honored ceremonially without being recognized for any specific function (the *üay* in Ouvéa). They can have retained a strong link to the non-human world, by being the only priests (*ten adro:* "who is on the land," or *alalu:* "who goes two by two") able to communicate with the different godly beings, and thus appear too dangerous to be accepted inside the chiefly court, where they are represented by special secondary chiefs (or *atresi,* for *atre sine haze,* "on the side of gods," in Lifou). These secondary chiefs are treated in ceremonial contexts as if they control the gods *(haze)* the *ten adro* serve. In fact the *atresi* have no power as such, but must go through the specific *ten adro* priest who can refuse to act as wished.

The island societies of Oceania revolve around interlocking systems of social status, which function as part of fragile balancing acts, by which individual heads of families, or lineages, strive constantly to protect as much as is feasible of their autonomy of action. They are not constantly consensus-seeking, as is so often said, but, to the contrary, use what consensus they can build, or help bring about, to further their real aim, which is to gain a modicum of prestige at the expense of others. In most cases, every man of some rank is embroiled in a prestige competition with another man of equivalent rank, as happened with both their fathers before them. Competition between chiefs is so extensive that the real institution appears to be the competition itself, rather than the competing chiefdoms. Each side appeals to its part of the outer world, which means that the invisible land of gods and ancestors is divided into the same competing camps found in the world of humans.

When soccer was introduced in the islands, young people consulted with the local traditional priests in order to win matches, feeling that the Christian god, being for everybody, could not be expected to help them in particular. Political decisions rested on the words of seers, or diviners, who could be either men or women. Would-be rebels against colonial authority had to have their plans approved through divination. As a result, colonial police had trouble predicting when and where problems would arise.

During the nineteenth century, a new belief developed about a kind of power—always deemed negative—associated with so-called witchcraft parcels. Carried from man to man and not inherited, these parcels had the power to kill the person who was in the direction they were pointed. Known as *doki, doghi,* or *narëk,* they appear to have first arrived in Oceania during the seventeenth century, aboard ships bringing missionaries and their families to Melanesia. They were in the possession of *lascar* sailors who brought them all the way from the Portuguese Congo, which they had fled following a campaign against witches initiated by Portuguese Jesuits.

The god hidden inside the parcels is said to have a sex organ made of fire, and to "eat" his successive owners if he is not given enough victims. This belief grew strongly as the Melanesian population began to dramatically decrease, due to the prevalence of gonorrhea. Belief in the power of witchcraft parcels faded, however, following two World Health Organization campaigns (in 1960 and 1962) that largely eradicated gonorrhea in Vanuatu. Today witchcraft is rarely discussed in Melanesia, except in towns, where it is a subject that fascinates many in white and half-caste communities. Aboriginal islanders expound upon it for the sake of white people, because they know Westerners love horror stories.

Missionary as well as lay European authors tend to believe that witchcraft is a fundamental aspect of Oceanic culture. This is nothing more than a case of attributing to the islanders what was part of our own culture. What can be found everywhere in the area are healers and seers, and an involved system of blessings and curses—but it would be a mistake to equate this with Western sorcery and witchcraft, as the belief systems underlying Oceanic practices are quite different.

MYTHOLOGY. Authentic textual records of Oceanic oral traditions are today, happily, replacing the older adaptations of European authors. The latter collections often shortened stories, or even mixed different versions together; their authors deleted parts of stories that were not of interest to them, and sometimes emphasized story elements artificially on the basis of a quite unscientific rule of thumb: the more a theme is manifested, the more authentic it is. This kind of majoritarian system overlooked the fact that each lineage insists on its own version of any particular story, and that each version is as authentic as the next. Authenticity is a concept introduced by Christian churches. It has no value within a tradition based on multiple perspectives.

Oceanic oral tradition consists of broad themes expressed in a poetical or literary way, with each variant conveying a wealth of information about particular traditions through the use of specific names: names of living creatures, or of the different heroes or godly beings, ancestors' names, and place names indicating the limits and details of the social group's territory.

No synthesis is sought of all these versions. Each one is made to order so as to add to the prestige of the myth-owning descent group. Contradictions between differing versions have no other meaning than as markers of difference and serve to establish each lineage's relative autonomy and prestige.

For the scholar, the methodological problem is to map every bit of information found in the textual record. One must first obtain a complete version of a story, in the vernacular. Through comparisons of different versions (dealing with the same geographical area), one may begin to see what part of the story is explicit, and what part is implicit—that is, accessible to any knowledgeable aboriginal listener, but not easy for a Westerner to grasp. These texts can thus be read on at least two different levels. Taking them at their face value is a currently common mistake. The problem is to learn the meaning of each word, the significance of a sequence of words, and the social symbolism of each name. Names can indicate to the knowledgeable listener that a particular location is a sacred place, an important or insignificant stretch of territory, a place where offerings should be brought (a piece of a brightly colored shrub or a stone put on a heap), a plot of land that is under a curse and cannot be tilled, a spot where a child or a woman with child should not go, and so on.

Paths are individually owned when they only lead to one person's field, but are controlled by a lineage if they penetrate inside its territory, and by the entire social group if they link villages together. The pairing of two names within a story delimits and defines a path or road, and in this way implies the descent group or individual associated with that path or road.

Principal gods are often unnamed except through oblique references, or a very general descriptive name (i.e., "the great god"), or, as in Polynesia, their names can be altered through additions, so that each social group employs a variant of the god's name, allowing them to put him at the start of their descent line without hurting the feelings of the neighboring descent group. There is in theory a single god of the sky and of the forest in Polynesia, known as Tane—but there may in fact be as many Tanes as there are descent groups on a given island, each different Tane being the first name cited in a particular group's genealogy.

The existence of all things present on earth (social, biological, or material) is attributed either to the actions of the dead (who are believed to hold, collectively or individually, enormous power), or to the actions of the so-called culture heroes of the cosmogonic or semi-cosmogonic myths. The origin of culture is often attributed to one of these heroes or to two brothers. In the Madang district of northern New Guinea, these brothers are Kilibob, the inventor of all useful arts, and Manup, the brother responsible for love, magic, sorcery, and warfare. It is believed that both brothers will return: Kilibob's return will be announced by the arrival on the sea of a wooden plate carved in the Siasi Islands, and Manup's by the arrival of a canoe from the north. The so-called cargo cults have integrated this myth into their own system. Often, white explorers were initially taken for the dead coming back to give their riches to their descendants. The extraordinary mobilizing power of such myths has been demonstrated by the messianic cults that have sprouted all over the Pacific, from the early Mamaia cult in Tahiti to the more recent cargo cults in New Guinea and Melanesia. It appears that such prophetic or messianic cults have existed in the area since ancient times: one case (the Roy Mata story, from central Vanuatu) has been archaeologically dated to around 1300 BCE. However, religious concepts are usually a means of justifying the way in which a society and culture function, and thus generally support institutionalization and not change. Autochthonous Oceanic beliefs are responsible, even now, for stability in the societies of this area. Experience over recent decades has shown that aboriginal religious beliefs and concepts are far from dead in the Pacific Islands, although the whole area is nominally Christian. Prayers are still offered to ancestors and to symbolic beings whose invisible presence is still felt.

One case in point is the continued existence, more or less everywhere, of a traditional belief in ogres or ogresses. This should not be understood as a reference to the former practice of cannibalism, as some authors have thought. Examining the range of types referred to by the same names, one finds ogres that are completely benevolent, and never eat anybody, and others that behave as ogres are generally expected to behave. Each is associated with a sacred place, where offerings are made at the time of the first-fruit ceremony. Ogres are distinguished between by referring to their sacred spot, and a mention of the name of a particular spot is by itself enough to indicate a specific ogre to a knowledgeable listener.

The same is valid for any godly being. Local gods or goddesses who send the rain, thunderstorms, and floods are recognized as benevolent or malevolent according to the place with which they are associated—in their case thought to be their home. Knowledgeable islanders thus learn to remember thousands of specific names, which, put together, crisscross the island, thus placing on the map all the descent groups with which such names are associated.

In Oceania, people's ambitions are realized through control of some power over the world around them. Every descent group has its own way of playing a role inside a symbolic representation of the universe. Edible plants, fish, octopuses, sharks, whales, birds, mammals, dangerous beasts, clouds, thunder, rain, hurricanes, volcanoes, the sun—each is owned by a "master" who, in the name of his descent group, assumes responsibility for the necessary ritual that causes the plants to grow, the sun to shine, and the rain to come when needed, or that prevent catastrophes (hurricanes, tidal waves, volcanic eruptions). Each "master" thus plays a role in a universal concert, and does their part for the survival of all. Those who master the sun and the rain are considered powerful people. This system was called totemism by early researchers, who linked it with systems found elsewhere, as they believed in the existence of a universal institution. The facts do not fit this hypothesis. Systems by which people control the universe around them are very varied, and should not artificially be made to fit one pattern. Closer study of the Oceanic system reveals that animals, plants, and meteorological phenomena are considered to be one of the forms the dead of a descent group can take. They assume these forms in order to appear before their descendants when these descendants are attempting to control the particular aspect of the world with which they are associated.

COSMOLOGIES. Pacific Islanders see the world they live in as a dynamic space, in which various forces (of *mana,* amongst other things) unfold along a path that is conceived of as a spiral—according to the politician and poet John Kasaipwalova, from Kiriwina (in the Trobriand Islands), the spiral path is the route any power must take in order to grow endlessly. This explains why dances on the islands making up the Melanesian arch go round, apparently in circles—they are in fact representing the launching of a spiral from a central point, which can be a pole, or only be implicit. Dancers usually move from right to left, but reverse directions if the dance is meant to mark a recent death. This explains also the ubiquitous presence of spirals and concentric circles engraved on rocks.

Another dancing tradition (seen in Tanna, among other places) involves hundreds of male dancers who go from one end to the other of the dancing ground, seemingly showing a preference for a longitudinal axis. But if one observes the dance all night long, one notices that the mass of dancers slightly change the angle of their dancing each time they traverse the dancing ground. Over time, they are slowly and powerfully swirling, and in this way they express the spiraling model.

The spiral is the means by which the land of the dead and the world of humans can be linked. When the living dance, the dead and ghosts are dancing the same dance at the same time, to the same tunes. Parallel worlds thus act in harmony during the nights when hundreds of people come and dance at the same time. These worlds become separate again in the daytime, when the dead and the gods retreat to look on from afar—though they are always present close by if needed.

Families can be brought together not only through intermarriage, but also by visitations from the dead. If a person sees a white ghostly figure coming towards them on the road, they know there has been a death on the other side of the island and set out through mountain passes to be present at the mourning ceremonies.

One must go to Eastern Polynesia—except Easter Island, where things are not exactly clear on this point—to find a view of the universe in which the dead and the gods are separate. Here, the general and, in a way, official gods—responsible for great swathes of the human world (the sea, the air, the forests, tilled land)—are in the skies, leading their own lives there after having started out on Earth, where they established the basis of human society as it was before the coming of the white man. The dead are thought to live inside an underground kingdom of their own. The gods and heroes of Eastern Polynesia were worshipped inside roofless temples. This cosmology has had great appeal for Western scholars, who have focused on what seemed familiar to them.

Many early Western observers were convinced that human sacrifices were a part of the religion of Eastern Polynesia. We know for sure that two levels of sanctions for religious and social transgressions were found on all the Pacific Islands. One obliged the culprit to go into exile, usually where they could find kin of their own; the other required that they be dispatched by an executioner under the orders of a chief. The condemned was killed by a surprise blow on the nape of the neck with a short, often curved, stone club. Parts of the body—the eyes or the heart—could then be offered to a god. But there is no proof of human sacrifices of the sort imagined by missionaries and the first European witnesses.

Outside of Eastern Polynesia most gods lived close by humans, looking after their crops, their fishing, or their hunting. All over Melanesia, certain gods were enshrined yearly inside stone figures placed in the ground. These gods did not live in the skies, and were not dealt with during the great ceremonial gatherings—which in any case had more to do with competition between chiefs than with strongly held beliefs.

Throughout Oceania a carved figure can be the repository of a godly presence, but the god has no obligation whatsoever to choose this particular abode. Gods can be incarnated at will in stones, trees, stone outcrops, whales, sharks, mats, and in carefully wrapped sennit bundles (which in Tahiti bear indications of facial features) or more deliberately constructed figures (which have an abundance of shell pendants). Or gods may take up residence in carved wooden human faces, called "heads of the shell money," which are linked in New Caledonia with Urupwe, one of the names of the god who reigns supreme over the land of the dead. Monumental carvings are rarely thought of as possible repositories for godly presences, with the exception of the Hawaiian wickerwork figures covered with parrot feathers that were carried into battle as representations of Ku-ka'ili-moku, the god of war—but which really represent a particular set of descent groups linked together by their allegiance to the same chieftainship. In the same part of Hawai'i, if the presence of a god was called for inside a dwelling, a large empty space would be shrouded all round with a tapa curtain.

SEE ALSO Cargo Cults; Mana; Melanesian Religions, overview article; Micronesian Religions, overview article; Polynesian Religions, overview article; Power; Taboo.

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JEAN GUIART (2005)

OCEANIC RELIGIONS: MISSIONARY MOVEMENTS

Although nearly all Pacific Islanders are Christians—with the exception of the inhabitants of inland New Guinea, where Christianity has made only some inroads—a few villages, families, and individuals maintain a "heathen" religious status. Although Christianity is deeply entrenched in the Pacific, it is only one of the several cosmological planes on which the islanders simultaneously exist without feeling a sense of contradiction. Families still decide which son will be trained to be a chief; which will receive a European education in order to become a civil servant, Protestant pastor, or Catholic priest or cathechist; and which will stay in the village to learn the traditional religious lore to keep open the old paths to the invisible world.

The Christianity of Pacific Islanders has a predominantly mythical quality. Maurice Leenhardt (1922) captured the essence of Pacific Islanders' understanding of Christianity in his account of Melanesian soldiers passing through the Suez Canal in 1915. These soldiers were astonished to learn that they were near the lands of the Bible. They wrote home to express their surprise: they had never thought that the places mentioned in the Bible actually existed. Even today many islanders do not recognize the historical and even geographical value of the biblical narrative; for them it is merely a story, and Jerusalem and other holy places have only a symbolic existence. However, they rarely say this to a white person. The testimony of the few islanders who have been to Israel carries little weight with the rest.

HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN THE PACIFIC. There are both Protestant and Catholic communities on most of the Pacific Islands, with adherents of Protestantism usually being in the majority. The most recent missions have been those of the Seventh-day Adventists, Assemblies of God, Jehovah's Witnesses, Latter-day Saints (Mormons), and Baha'i. Among these groups only the Seventh-day Adventists and the Mormons have had substantial success. In Hawai'i, Tahiti, and the Tuamotus, and more recently in Fiji, Mormon missionary activity has given rise to a breakaway church, the Kanito (or Sanito) movement.

In earlier times, Protestant churches carefully divided the Pacific area into regions in which the different missionary groups would carry out their activities. In 1795 the newly formed London Missionary Society chose Tahiti as its first field for missionary work. After many difficulties it expanded its operations to the Austral Islands, the Cook Islands, Samoa, the Loyalty Islands, western and eastern Papua (southeastern New Guinea), and the Torres Islands. The Wesleyan Missionary Society, which was founded in London in 1814, did its first work on Tonga, Fiji, the Solomon Islands, and New Zealand. The Anglican Church, represented by the Melanesian Mission based in Auckland, New Zealand, was active in northern Vanuatu (formerly the New Hebrides Islands and Banks Islands) and the eastern Solomon Islands. The South Seas Evangelical Mission, based in

Queensland, Australia, and theoretically nondenominational though predominantly Baptist, worked in the central Solomons. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, founded in Boston in 1820, was active in Hawai'i and the parts of Micronesia that had not been converted to Catholicism after the time of the explorer Ferdinand Magellan (the Gilbert Islands, now known as Kiribati). The Scottish Presbyterians converted the inhabitants of southern and central Vanuatu. New Zealand was shared among the Church Missionary Society (founded in London in 1799), the Wesleyan Mission, and the Anglican Church. In New Guinea the authorities tried to organize mission work by allocating specific areas to different groups, but before 1914 the northern part of the country had been under the control of Germany, which allowed the Lutheran Church and the Catholic orders to conduct missionary activities in that area. After about half a century the Methodist and Presbyterian churches of New Zealand and Australia took over responsibility in those islands from the churches in the mother countries; the Presbyterians would assign the west coast to Australian missions and the east coast to New Zealand missions.

Roman Catholic missions were rarely the first to arrive in any part of Oceania, and this explains why Catholics are in the minority on most of the islands. The Marist Fathers (Société de Marie) founded in Lyons in 1818, missionized the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Fiji, Tonga, Samoa, New Zealand, Bougainville, the Wallis and Futuna Islands, and New Caledonia; in the last three places Catholics today constitute a majority of the population. The Fathers of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, based in Paris, have been active in Hawai'i, Tahiti, and the Marquesas Islands. The Fathers of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, originally of Issoudun, France, worked first among the natives of Papua and later in New Britain, the Admiralty Islands, the Gilbert Islands, and Nauru. Other Catholic orders have been successful elsewhere in the area. Catholic Marists who became martyrs include Monseigneur Epalle in the Solomons in 1845 and Father (Saint) Pierre Chanel in Futuna in 1841. The murder of Brother Blaise Mamoiton in Balade, New Caledonia, in 1845 is explained by the people there as resulting from his assignment to look after the mission's food supplies with the assistance of a large dog he had trained to run after and bite the Kanak. There was a famine, and the Marist Fathers refused to share their provisions with the local people. The Kanak killed both the dog and the brother to take food in a time of need.

The history of Christianization shows some regularities, inasmuch as all the Protestant and Catholic missionary bodies used the same technique. Mass conversions were precipitated through the conversion of members of the local aristocracy. Before direct colonial administration was instituted, native leaders often became Christians to obtain official recognition from European powers. Thereafter, they asked for and were sold firearms, which they used to overcome local enemies and establish dominant dynasties. Rival chiefs adopted different faiths, and there were religious wars in Samoa, Tonga, the Wallis Island, Fiji, and Ouvéa and Maré in the Loyalty Islands between Catholic and Protestant converts. The Seventh-day Adventists, to the discomfort of the well-established churches, thrived by converting groups whose politics did not agree with those of the majority church. The Assemblies of God, the Jehovah's Witnesses, and to a lesser extent the Mormons have made gains in a similar fashion.

Christian missions in the Pacific have frequently become involved in local disputes over land and social status. Missionaries were often used by one party to thwart the ambitions of another. There were examples of this in western Tanna in Vanuatu, where the Presbyterian mission was involved in the city of Lenakel, and in Wagap in New Caledonia, where the Marist Fathers were used by a party in a land squabble. The Marists panicked when they were caught in a row with dancing armed Kanaks and called for military reinforcements. The officer in charge decided to shoot a group of chiefs who had been called in to negotitate. The Wagap mission had to be closed because of the bloodshed. Scottish missionary John G. Paton left Port Resolution in the night to save himself from would-be murderers, who actually had resorted to theatricals to end his interference in their daily lives. Paton came back with a British man-of-war and had the village shelled, with the loss of only a few pigs and coconut trees. That overreaction blocked the Christianization of the area for half a century. There have been a number of similar cases, the best documented having occurred on Samoa.

To consolidate the effects of sometimes hurried conversions, missionaries established programs to educate native youths as future leaders in the movement to spread the Christian faith. All the missions set up boarding schools, to which children were brought at an early age; these children were separated from their parents for many years and were taught by often untrained and sometimes self-appointed teachers. When the children grew up, the missionaries would arrange Christian marriages for them.

This system of conversion and indoctrination was employed first by the London Missionary Society, after initial difficulties in Tahiti, with a view toward using Christian couples from one island to establish the mission's influence on other islands. After this period Europeans were introduced as missionaries only in areas where their safety was assured. Thus, except for the Reverend John Williams, who was killed on Eromanga in Vanuatu in 1839, and the Reverend G. N. Gordon, who was killed in the same place in 1861, most of the Christian martyrs in New Caledonia and Vanuatu were Polynesians or, later, Melanesian teachers from the Loyalty Islands in New Caledonia proper; those teachers later worked in Papua and the Torrès Islands.

There were few martyrs. It was Polynesian evangelists who began the public burning of wooden "idols," and in general these native missionaries used highly militant and sometimes violent tactics to gain converts. The best-documented cases of violent conversion occurred in Tahiti, the Cook Islands, Fiji, and southern Vanuatu. However, these incidents occurred only because the missionaries who perpetrated them had wide popular support; rapid mass conversion was seen either as a means of obtaining recognition from European powers or as a way of discouraging European encroachments, which could be shown to be breaches of Christian ethics.

IMPACT OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS. Protestant missions tended to build village parishes around nuclei of adult communicant members, deacons, and native teachers or, much later, pastors. These teachers and their wives had been trained in centralized institutions, and they often replaced the European missionaries who had performed the initial conversions. The desire to have a resident white man who could provide protection against all others, and the prestige derived from that man's presence, resulted in a type of long-lasting collective sorrow when a white missionary left and was replaced by a native teacher, as occurred on the island of Futuna in South Vanuatu when Dr. Gunn departed, and on the island of Mota in the Banks Islands when the Anglican Theological College's staff and students were sent to the Solomon Islands. The London Missionary Society and the Anglican Church added strong Bible study groups and women's associations to this structure. Catholic missionaries usually were content with installing a catechist in each village to promote further conversions. The first Kanak priest, Robert Sarawia, was consecrated by the Melanesian Mission in 1874; other missions waited the better part of a century before following suit.

Missions eventually became involved in promoting trade between Europe and the islands. The impetus for that trade came in part from the newly converted natives, who from the outset wanted access to European money and goods. The London Missionary Society, the Anglicans, and the Church Missionary Society bought or leased ships to supply food to their widely dispersed converts and established chains of local trading stations. Those well-organized local mission stations prospered and also acted as a means of bringing native produce to European markets. Eventually, the missions also acquired plantations.

At first the missionaries claimed that this was done to prevent Europeans from staking claims to large tracts of land. Eventually, however, missions began to obtain lands for their commercial potential and to support their work, and the native inhabitants suffered economically. In some cases, disputes over land acquired by the missions still have not been resolved. Those missions became a source of controversy for the churches, and sometimes the land was taken back by the local inhabitants at the time of independence. Mission general stores were intended to provide native converts with access to European goods at a reasonable price. On islands that came under colonial rule, these stores were denounced by European settlers, most of whom wanted to garner quick profits from trade with the natives and establish themselves as agricultural barons. The resulting bad relations between the missions and the local Europeans continued until the time of independence.

Nuns and missionaries' wives trained women and girls in new ways of dressing, sewing, and cooking, as well as new methods of child care and general hygiene. This explains the early popularity of portable sewing machines among women over all the islands. They also taught the women to read and write in their own languages, while their husbands taught the same skills to the native men. The acquisition of literacy was welcomed by the islanders and helped them deal with the pressures introduced by the whites.

There were as many Catholic nuns involved in mission work as Catholic priests and brothers. The nuns attended to the daily needs of the priests, ran mission schools, and sometimes did medical work. Local orders, which recruited native women, were often founded on the islands.

It was in the area of intellectual life that missionaries had their greatest impact on Pacific Island societies. The London Missionary Society commissioned the German philologist F. Max Müller to design a system of writing for the Oceanic languages, and Protestant clergymen devoted much of their time to learning native languages and translating the Bible into them. Newly literate islanders were proud to acquire Bibles and other religious publications, such as John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress.* Since the content of the Bible was familiar to nineteenth-century Europeans, it could serve as common conceptual ground and a medium of communication between native inhabitants and Europeans.

The islanders adopted biblical patterns of speech and behavior to make themselves acceptable to Europeans. They also put forth the biblical kings David and Solomon as models of Christian statesmanship in an attempt to deter Europeans from establishing colonial control over the islands. However, the Kingdom of Tonga (which managed to evade any sort of colonial system) and Western Samoa have managed to maintain a rather carefully drawn line between European ideas and traditional patterns of political behavior.

The curricula of the missionary schools in the mid-nineteenth century were strikingly modern. In the lower grades, classes were taught exclusively in the vernacular. In the upper grades instruction in the native language was supplemented by education in English or French for the most promising students. Eventually parents demanded a thoroughly European education for their children. In the 1930s, the Seventh-day Adventists were the first to open schools with curricula modeled on the European system and taught completely in European languages; other Christian groups quickly followed suit. However, these schools have been returning (in some cases) to the original system of classes taught in the native tongues with English or French as a second language, particularly as islanders have begun to work for the preservation of their languages and cultures.

The medical work of the missions was difficult in the early years. Western medicine had few remedies for tropical diseases and was not much more successful at curing illnesses such as smallpox, measles, influenza, tuberculosis, and venereal diseases, all of which had been brought to the islands by Europeans. The natives died in large numbers while the missionaries preached. Gonorrhea was an enduring scourge that rendered women unable to bear children and kept the islands' populations low for two centuries. Syphilis was rare, however, because of its cross-immunity with yaws. Eventually missionary organizations added trained doctors to their staffs and set up the first modern hospitals in the islands.

Much has been written about the connections between the French and British governments and their national missionary bodies, and missionaries often called upon their nations' naval vessels to provide them with protection. However, those warships also proved to be an effective means of controlling the activities of unscrupulous traders, land hunters, and labor recruiters for Queensland plantations. Thus, conditions might have been worse for the natives without the French and British naval presence.

One aspect of nineteenth-century mission activity in this area that has received comparatively little attention is the churches' resistance to colonial annexation of the islands by European powers. Missionary organizations wanted their governments' sanction and protection against the encroachment of rival missions, but they only slowly became reconciled to the establishment of direct colonial rule. In this way missionaries protected the cultures of the island peoples. Overall, except in Hawai'i and Tahiti, the early arrival of missionaries helped preserve indigenous ways of life from destruction at the hands of the settlers who arrived later. Contemporary independent island nations owe much to the isolated and stubborn missionaries who refused to recognize any authority other than that of their god, and in some cases most of the islander politicians who control these newly independent countries were trained by the Christian missions. Much of what has been preserved of the native cultures was kept underground, without the missionaries knowing, and even the native staff maintained silence on the subject.

By the 1980s, missions in the Pacific had become a thing of the past, albeit of the very recent past. Most missionary stations disappeared as such, although schools and hospitals remained. European staff remained in technical positions under the authority of the local church. The more important missions gave birth to independent Presbyterian (French and Scottish), Methodist, and Anglican churches. Evangelical churches, mostly American, maintained their former missionary structure in New Guinea, centering on smallish mountain airports where their planes provided the only link with the outside world. Mostly in the towns they took over, they continued the fight against alcohol and tobacco that the majority churches had essentially abandoned. People wanting to relinquish drink flocked to these churches with their families. Local governments viewed this development with some anxiety in the case of millenarian churches such as Jehovah's Witnesses. The autonomous government of Tahiti, however, was much more tolerant of the presence of Mormons than the French colonial government had been.

Both Catholic and Protestant churches centered their theological studies in central schools established in Fiji that worked cooperatively with the University of the South Pacific in Suva. These schools produced many independence-minded native scholars. The criteria of academic success in these schools eventually reached international standards. Dropouts became more numerous, although with a higher intellectual level, and sometimes caused trouble when they returned to their churches of birth. Two of them, one Catholic and one Protestant, were implicated in the events in Ouvéa and the murder of Jean-Marie Tjibaou.

In Tahiti the activities of the Catholic charismatic movement, using the methods of the American evangelical churches, had an unforeseen consequence through an uncontrolled offshoot of the movement on the island of Fa'aite in the Tuamotu Islands, where fathers and mothers were burned at the stake by their own children, who believed that the Devil had gotten inside them.

The islanders' attachment to Christianity has remained strong. Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, the prime minister of Fiji, remarked in the 1970s that Pacific Islanders were the only ones to still take the Sermon on the Mount seriously. The islanders feel that Christianity, having been abandoned by the white men who brought it, now belongs to them.

METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS. In regard to the methodological problem of studying the growth of Christian churches in Oceania, much of what has been published deals with the history of missions and missionaries, missionary methods, and missionary influence. There have been few studies of indigenous evangelists. Usually, the foreign missionaries did not really know the people they converted. Even if they worked with islanders for years, the details of their status within their own society remained unknown to the missionaries. The missionaries' correspondence and memoirs list the Christian names of their helpers and little else. Most historians have not had the time or the means to find out who really was behind these Westernized designations.

The missionaries were taking charge of a society about which they knew very little. The islanders who were Christianized ended up knowing more about the missionaries than the missionaries knew about them. Documented cases in which the white clerical staff was manipulated by the converts, often for generation after generation, are appearing more often. The Pacific Islanders were never passive and often played tricks on their self-appointed white masters. The story of how Christianity gained ground on the islands has not been written from the viewpoint of the islanders, and the psychological and sociological complexities of conversion have seldom been examined. Maurice Leenhardt was one of the only missionaries to show an interest in this line of research.

Another issue is the rise of prophetic movements after World War II. The question here is not what type of missionary behavior led to these movements but why some groups, such as the Anglican Melanesian Mission, never had to deal with them. This points to the infrequently applied methodological technique of studying within a society not only the areas where a specific institution exists, but also the areas where it is absent.

SEE ALSO Christianity, article on Christianity in the Pacific Islands.

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OCEANIC RELIGIONS: NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

Oceania comprises a "sea of islands" within 181 million square kilometers of the Pacific Ocean (approximately one third of the earth's surface). At the beginning of the third millennium, the Pacific Islands, New Zealand, and Australia had a total population of thirty million people, which is only half of one percent of the world population. Yet there are almost one thousand distinct languages spoken in Oceania, or about a quarter of the world's languages. Language diversity is indicative of the cultural, social, and historical diversity of the region. Oceania is commonly divided into three main cultural groupings: Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia. New Zealand is included in Polynesia. While the Australian subcontinent geographically lies outside Oceania, indigenous Australians (1.5% of the Australian population), have cultural ties with Oceania. Formerly, traditional religions predominated; today, however, over 90 percent of the people of Oceania profess to be Christian.

The first inhabitants of Melanesia and Australia are thought to have arrived about 50,000 BCE during the Ice Age of the Pleistocene era. Some five thousand years ago Austronesian-speaking people began voyages to the islands of Oceania, finally reaching Aotearoa–New Zealand about one thousand years ago. Ferdinand Magellan from Portugal was the first European to sail into the Pacific by way of South America's southern tip, reaching Guam in Micronesia in 1521. European influence continued into the colonial period, accompanied by Christian missionary efforts. Many Pacific states achieved independence only in the later half of the twentieth century. New religious movements have emerged within this sociohistorical context.

RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS NEW AND OLD. Despite the term *new* applied to Oceanic religious movements, scholars claim that there were religious movements in the traditional culture prior to Western contact. Ronald Berndt (1952–1953) and Richard Salisbury (1958) have documented religious movements in New Guinea prior to European colonization or missionary evangelization. Garry Trompf (Swain and Trompf, 1995, p. 168) points out how the giant statues on Rapanui (Easter Island) reflect an extraordinary burst of cultic energy—this being followed by the "Birdman Cult," which was still active into the mid-1860s. Other scholars refer to traditions of ritual innovation in precontact culture. Chris Ballard (2003, p. 24) points out how in the Papua New Guinea highlands, the foreign was anticipated in a tradition of ritual innovation, so that when Westerners did appear, they were seen as having been prefigured in Melanesian cosmologies. What are often referred to as "cults" may well be examples of innovative indigenous tradition, rather than a response to contact with the West.

Whether new or old, religious movements have been documented throughout Oceania right from the time of early Western contact. These movements combine social, political, and religious elements. In New Zealand, for example, religious movements appeared among the Maori at a time when the population was in decline and the indigenous people were being alienated from the land. In 1863 most of the Taranaki region was proclaimed a confiscated area. In response, Maori prophet Te Whiti-o-Rongomai began teaching about the day of *takahanga*, or freedom from Pakeha (European) authority. He and the people of the Parihaka community tried to assert ownership over the land while at the same time avoiding armed warfare. He sent out men to plough and to build fences across the roads built by the colonial government. The ploughmen were arrested but considered martyrs by Te Whiti and his followers. They were empowered by a millennial vision of *aranga*, or day of reckoning, when the results of their struggle would be harvested in communal prosperity.

Cultural factors and the colonial and postcolonial experience of people in Oceania have continued to influence religious movements. Some movements are strongly influenced by indigenous cultural forms. Others manifest clear links with Judeo-Christianity. They have been labeled variously as movements, cults, and independent churches. While many individual movements have been studied and documented, the bewildering variety of these movements both fascinates and frustrates scholarly attempts to grasp their causes and to understand the phenomenon as a whole.

CONNECTION TO INDIGENOUS FORMS. Indigenous cultural forms, ranging from traditional religious elements to the influence of political and social structure, exert a strong influence on religious movements in Oceania. The Siovili movement appeared in Samoa in the 1830s. Siovili's prophetic activity was a mixture of the traditional *taula aitu* activity (spirit possession) and preaching influenced by Christianity. Religious experiences such as *taula aitu* were familiar to Samoans. Thus, many phenomena associated with the movement, such as being under the power of a spirit and speaking in tongues, were ritual activities familiar to the people.

Political and social influences on the Siovili movement become apparent if one compares it with the Mamaia movement that arose in Tahiti in 1826. In Samoa, traditional religious forms were closely associated with tutelary deities worshiped at the family level. By contrast, in Tahiti, religion was the basis for overall political authority. Thus, in Tahiti, when the Mamaia movement began, it spread quickly by means of traditional political alliances. As with Samoa, prophetic figures possessed by spirits were nothing new in the Society Islands. Thus it was not novel when Teau, the leader of the Mamaia movement, prophesied that he was inspired by the spirit of God to proclaim that the millennium had commenced and that he and his followers could communicate with God without the Tahitian Bible provided by the missionaries. However, the movement was also strongly influenced by local political forces. Mamaia found its greatest support in Taiarapu, where there had traditionally been an atmosphere of revolt against both the Pomare dynasty and the Europeans. According to Jukka Siikala (1982, pp. 248–249), the Mamaia movement can be interpreted as the attempt of the Taiarapu chiefs to manifest *mana* (respect deriving from authority and control) superior to that of Pomare and the chief judges supported by the missionaries.

Even in the 1990s, Christian Pentecostal and revival movements, though outwardly against traditional culture, often showed evidence of indigenous forms in healing, glossolalia, prophetic dreaming, possession, and the like. Franco Zocca (1995, p.181) points out how the millennial and magical components in many new religious movements and in Pentecostal churches fit into the pattern of traditional Melanesian religious experience.

INFLUENCE OF JUDEO-CHRISTIANITY ON NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS. Mission influence spread swiftly throughout Oceania, and today the majority of people in the region profess to be Christian. Some religious movements arose in opposition to Christianity. The so-called nativistic movements offered an alternative to the Christian denominations and even to the traditional religion. Later movements have tended to develop as offshoots of Christian churches.

Leaders in many movements see parallels between their situation and that of the Israelites in the Old Testament. Te

Ua, the leader of the Pai Marire movement in New Zealand in the 1850s, referred to New Zealand as Kenana, the "land of Canaan." Aotearoa-New Zealand was seen as an island in two halves that needed to be restored (as a new Israel). Just as God had promised the land of Canaan to Abraham, God would restore Aotearoa to the Maori. Thus, Te Ua created a myth-history that linked Maori followers to the Israelites, as well as to their Polynesian ancestors. Dancing around special poles and repeating Pai Marire prayers, people entered into a trance, uttered prophecies, and spoke in tongues.

More than a century later, in Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands, the Moro movement promotes traditional values and the chieftainship system against the incursion of the West. Members of the movement say that the Bible is for whites and that tradition contains the same truths for islanders. Moses and Jesus, for example, have parallel figures in Guadalcanal legend. During the violent political crisis in the Solomon Islands in 2001, many of the Guadalcanal fighters wore emblems from the Moro movement, which they believed would protect them against the superior firepower of the Malaita Eagle Force, a militant group that undertook armed action on Guadalcanal. Together with disaffected police officers the Malaita Eagle Force seized control of key installations in Honiara and took Prime Minister Ulufa'alu hostage and forced him to resign.

The Christian Fellowship Church, also in the Solomon Islands, broke away from the Methodist Church in 1960. The founder, Silas Eto (sometimes known as "Holy Mama") believed that the Holy Spirit had visited his people as manifested in the *taturu* phenomenon of mass enthusiasm involving drumming, crying out, and involuntary movements during church services. Their theology is basically Methodist, though Eto would read scripture in the light of the *taturu* phenomenon. Eto has since died, but he continues to influence the church by appearing to members in visions. The 1999 census in the Solomon Islands recorded almost ten thousand people claiming to be members of this charismatic independent church.

Scholars debate the degree to which Christian revival movements, common throughout the region in the latter years of the twentieth century, are indeed movements building on indigenous forms or the rejection of those forms. In the revival movements, people seek to purify their Christian lives by setting aside inherited traditions and earlier religious practices. Yet, at a deeper level, traditional understandings often continue to provide the structure by which a new syncretism of Christian beliefs is organized.

INFLUENCE OF THE COLONIAL EXPERIENCE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS. Having had to deal with a number of colonial powers—Spanish, American, Dutch, British, German, Australian, and New Zealand—many countries in the Pacific are now independent states. However, even today Niue and the Cook Islands are not fully independent, having free association with New Zealand. France continues to maintain territories in the Pacific with French Polynesia, Wallis and Futuna, and New Caledonia regarded as French overseas territories. In Micronesia the peoples of the Mariana Islands, the Carolines, the Marshalls, and Palau ratified constitutions in 1980 and chose either commonwealth status, free association, or republicanism, all of which guarantee a continued aid package from the United States. The Marianas became a commonwealth in political union with the United States in 1986 (with the exception of Guam, which is an unincorporated territory of the United States). The Caroline Islands divided into two separate entities: Palau and the Federated States of Micronesia. Palau became an independent nation with free association with the United States in 1994. With the termination of the Trust Territory of the Pacific in 1986, the Federated States of Micronesia and Marshall Islands gained independence and free-association status with the United States.

During the colonial experience, Pacific Islanders were adept at making their own adjustments, and religious movements were sometimes part of this. When competing for local resources the Europeans were resisted, but as a new resource they were utilized. Exploitation of European's fighting skills and equipment was a common phenomenon throughout Polynesia. Missionaries too often found themselves pawns in local power politics.

While most islanders (with the exception of Tonga) lost their political independence at some stage, there were other important issues, such as language, cultural integrity, the priority of local custom, and the persistence of practices of kinship and exchange. New religious movements offered alternative values to help the local people deal with such issues.

The Tuka movement appeared in the late nineteenth century in Fiji (*tuka* meaning life or immortality). It has been seen variously as an anticolonial resistance movement and a millenarian movement; however Martha Kaplan has sought to reinterpret it as a movement of "people of the land" (*itaukei*) trying to assert their ownership of the land through ritual and political means. Navosavakaua, the leader of the movement, and his people were opposing the encroachment of coastal chiefs and of Westerners with their Christian God and their colonial powers. He challenged the coastal chiefs and colonial authority, proclaiming that the world would shortly be turned upside down and that the existing state of affairs would be reversed so that whites would serve the Fijians and chiefs would become commoners. Kaplan rereads the Tuka movement as an elaborated version of an important Fijian invulnerability ritual known as *kalou rere* (Kaplan, 1990, p. 10).

Vailala Madness is the name given to an early millenarian movement beginning at Orokolo station in 1917 and spreading throughout the Toaripi region of the Papuan Gulf. During collective trance states people destroyed traditional ceremonial items. The leader, Evara, claimed to be contacting the dead through an artificial wireless antenna, with hopes that a ship crewed by the ancestors would come over the horizon. The body movement and curious sounds convinced government anthropologist Francis Williams that the situation was pathological. Later studies of the movement are less condemnatory, though many agree that the movement arose in response to the collision between traditional cultures and the colonial order (Trompf, 1991, p. 191). Movements of this type have been called *cargo cults* because of the people's expectation of the arrival of large quantities of European items, from food to firearms to refrigerators. The term *cargo cult* is unfortunate in that it tends to reduce a complex matter to just one exotic dimension.

There are many occurrences of anticolonial movements throughout the region, including the Modekngei movement, which appeared on Palau in 1906 in protest at German colonial government reforms. The movement continued into the 1960s and 1970s as a religio-political movement, affirming Palauan identity and independence.

In Malaita in the Solomon Islands following World War II, a movement known as the Maasina (Marching Rule) developed as an expression of both self-determination and spiritual independence. In the postwar period in nearby Vanuatu, on the island of Tanna, many people believed that a mythical figure named John Frum would come from the United States bringing gifts for his devotees. Also in Vanuatu, the Nagriamel Federation Independent United Royal Church appeared as an offshoot from a land reform association movement on the island of Espiritu Santu. The movement sought to reclaim indigenous land in the 1960s, sought national sovereignty in the 1970s, and proclaimed successionist independence in 1980. Nagriamel is decidedly political, but its cultural and religious dimensions are also important. One of the leaders of the movement, Jimmy Stephens, claimed to be Moses leading his people to the promised land. The movement has been in decline since Stephens was arrested by Papua New Guinean forces in 1980.

DEVELOPMENTS WITH POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF PACIFIC NATIONS. Church leaders have made a considerable contribution to political leadership in the region. In Vanuatu, Walter Lini, an Anglican priest, was the first and longest-serving prime minister, while the first leader of the opposition was a Catholic priest, Gerard Laymang. In Papua New Guinea, priests, former priests, seminarians, and Protestant ministers have held prominent political roles. Other church leaders, like Bishop Patelesio Finau of Tonga, have been politically active without taking a formal political post.

Associated with political independence, some established churches have become independent. For example, the Presbyterian Church in Vanuatu has been declared an independent New Hebridean church. In 1968 in Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, the Methodist, Wesleyan, and Papua Ecclesia churches joined to form the indigenous independent United Church. In 1975 the Anglican Diocese of Melanesia (encompassing Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands) was officially localized, separating from the New Zealand church to become a province of its own.

Recent writings on cults and movements in the Pacific have focused on the role these movements play in the interpretation of changing colonial and postcolonial relations. An intriguing example is that of Matias Yaliwan and the Peli Association in the Sepik region of Papua New Guinea. Through traditional religious means, such as dreams, Yaliwan came to perceive the survey marker on Mount Hurun as symbolic of European trespass and invasion of traditional lands and life. At Christmas 1969, he and his followers removed the survey marker from the top of the mountain. In the 1970s, as Papua New Guinea prepared for independence, the movement developed into a prosperity cult known as the Peli Association. After national independence in the late 1970s the movement combined with the New Apostolic Church, a millennial Christian group offering 144,000 "firstlings" an opportunity to become citizens of a "new heaven and new earth" (Rosco, 1993, p. 292). Paul Roscoe points out how people were following Yaliwan not just as a traditional leader or "bigman" who could manipulate tangible commodities such as pigs and shell wealth, but one who could produce and manipulate knowledge and ideas. The explanatory schemes with which the Peli Association leaders attracted followers were a series of eschatologically colorful scenarios involving military-style marching, the actual election of Yaliwan to the Provincial Assembly, and his rumored crucifixion and resurrection as the Black Jesus. Canadian missionaries of the New Apostolic Church helped provide legitimacy to this scenario.

Since the 1990s on the island of Bougainville in the North Solomons province of Papua New Guinea, successionist leader Francis Ona has been promoting his idea of *Mekamui* (sacred land)—a state independent of Papua New Guinea. *Mekamui* also has strong links with the Tomo cult, which is a mixture of Christianity and traditional forms. The term *tomo* refers to ashes, which have particular significance in a culture that practiced cremation of the dead.

In the post-independence period, politicians in the Pacific invoke the political support of churches. Responses vary, with leaders of established churches wary of political control, often taking a critical stance, and leaders of newer church groups, particularly those with a conservative fundamentalist theology, willing to cooperate in exchange for legitimacy and material benefits.

INDEPENDENT CHURCHES. Aside from the examples given above of established churches becoming independent, there are also "independent churches" that take a separatist stance towards the churches introduced by the missions. For example, in New Zealand there are several independent Maori churches, the best known being that started by Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana in 1928. Ratana's healing ministry and his warnings about some aspects of Maori ancestral beliefs were welcomed at first. However, when the Anglican Church condemned him as a false prophet, his followers convinced him to start his own church, which exists today. The independent Ratana Church has been influential in both ecclesial and secular politics, motivating the formation of a Maori bishopric in the Anglican Church of Aotearoa-New Zealand and promoting four Maori seats in the New Zealand parliament.

Since the 1970s, revival movements have flourished throughout Oceania. These movements tend to be Pentecostal in character and generally opposed to traditional religious systems (Tuzin, 1997; Robbins, 2001). Influenced by revival, people tend to condemn their traditional religion, destroying their former sacred places and the paraphernalia used in traditional rituals. They seek to purify their Christian lives by setting aside inherited traditions and what they perceive as forms of syncretism. Paradoxically, although the focus of these revival movements is the rejection of tradition, the parallels with tradition—legalism, fear, and a dualistic worldview labeling everything as belonging either to God or Satan—make it easier for people to accept their teaching. Revival often begins within an established church, but in many cases their beliefs and practices go beyond what is considered acceptable by the church leadership and the movement develops into an independent "local" church, as has happened in a number of cases in Papua New Guinea with groups breaking away from the Lutheran, United, and established Pentecostal churches to form indigenized local variants of Christianity.

In the 1990s and in the lead-up to 2000, many revival movements that had been characterized by such Pentecostal elements as shaking, possession, and glossolalia took a more apocalyptic turn, with frequent reference to the number 666 from the *Book of Revelation* (e.g., those possessing the 666 will have access to wealth), the sinister meaning of bar codes, spiritual warfare, and the antichrist. Besides addressing the question of what might happen at the end of the millennium, these apocalyptic-oriented movements provide an outlet for people struggling to deal with escalating violence and socioeconomic insecurity. Established churches are condemned along with traditional culture as being retrograde and idolatrous. There is often a global dimension to these local churches, for as Ernest Olson (2001, p. 24) notes, people in an all-night Pentecostal prayer vigil in Tonga would share more in common with Pentecostals in Mount Hagen, Papua New Guinea, than the Tongan all-night kava drinking sessions just down the street.

TYPOLOGY OF THE MOVEMENTS. Attempts to develop a typology of religious movements in Oceania tend to fall short in oversimplification, or to founder in the complexity of the phenomena under study. Anthony Wallace used the term *revitalisation movements*, by which he meant the "deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture" (Wallace, 1956, p. 265). He differentiated between "nativist," "millenarian," and "messianic" movements. Subsequently, many alternative interpretations have been offered. Harold Turner's spectrum from "primal revival," through "syncretist," to "church revival" (1978, pp. 7ff.) is one of the more promising attempts at classification.

Some scholars see the movements as examples of irrational human behavior (Williams, 1976). Others see them as the product of tensions arising from collisions between traditional culture and the colonial order (Worsley, 1968). Alternatively, they have been viewed as specific Melanesian expressions of indigenous spirituality and value systems (Burridge, 1960; Lawrence, 1964). The weakness of many such interpretations is their tendency to reduce these phenomena to just a few of their respective aspects, or to lump together ideas and practices that may have little in common. Attempted classifications may reveal more about Western rationalism than about the Melanesian ideas and practices to which the classification systems are meant to refer in the first place.

For example, the frequently used term *cult* denotes religious activity but carries with it negative overtones. Moreover, it does not reflect the fact that the sacred and secular are generally distinguished but not separated in Oceanic cultures. Kaplan argues that cults are often created and analyzed in Western terms, serving the purpose of colonizers responding to obstacles to their attempts at "development." Many movements are only truly irrational in the context of Western discourse.

Mircea Eliade (1954) detects a pervasive form of millennialism belonging to an ancient complex spread throughout the Pacific region during the migrations of Austronesian-speaking people. He identifies a theme involving the renewal of the cosmos through the destruction of all existing forms, a regression to chaos, followed by a new creation. Thus, millennial movements are not only a postcontact, post-Christian phenomenon. There were traditions that entailed expectation of a new era and the beginning of a time of well-being. However, for many people of the Pacific, confronted by the encroaching Western powers, their world was ending. Not only were people becoming alienated from their ancient traditions, but their leaders appeared impotent, and in some places their land was being divided and sold. The power of chiefs and ritual experts to mediate between the people and the gods declined. In this context Christian millennialism may have a special appeal for Pacific Islanders, because it has features in common with traditional myths of return.

CONCLUSION. Religious movements have been a constant part of the experience of people in Oceania. However, since the arrival of Europeans and colonial rule, new elements entered into that experience. These movements are a way indigenous people try to deal with change within a world that does not separate religion from the rest of life. In general, the new religious movements arise in the context of social and cultural conditions characterized by disharmonies of opportunity, status, and political and socioeconomic stress generated when a traditional culture is faced with modernization. Which factors are relatively more important is a mater of debate.

From a rational, secular viewpoint the movements appear to be examples of delusion and aberrant behavior. However, from the perspective of indigenous hermeneutics, they may be perceived as the work of visionaries trying to make sense of a changing world in religious terms.

Some new religious movements continue into the twenty-first century, often transformed into local churches and even political parties. In addition, millenarian beliefs continue to animate religious movements in the form of Holy Spirit and Christian revival and apocalyptic movements. Some even become tourist attractions, with cargo cult websites—including a John Frum homepage.

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PHILIP GIBBS (2005)

OCEANIC RELIGIONS: HISTORY OF STUDY [FIRST EDITION]

Oceania is conventionally defined in terms of the three major cultural divisions of the Pacific islanders: Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia. The earliest European knowledge of Oceanic peoples is contained in the journals of Magellan's chronicler, Antonio Pigafetta, who in 1521 provides an account of the initial encounter with the inhabitants of an island that he called Los Ladrones, now identified as Guam. As with most contact narratives, the tale dwells upon visible details and practical difficulties, but it offers little insight into local life. And, as Andrew Sharp writes in his *The Discovery of the Pacific Islands* (2d ed., Oxford, 1962), much the same may be said of the journals of subsequent explorers such as Alvaro de Mendaña de Neira, Francis Drake, William Dampier, and Louis-Antoine de Bougainville. It is only toward the end of the eighteenth century that fuller accounts of Oceanic cultures become available with James Cook's journals on Tahiti and Hawaii, published as *The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery* (3 vols., Cambridge, 1957–1967) and with the narratives of castaways and beachcombers in, for example, George Keate's *An Account of the Pelew Islands* (London, 1788), *The Marquesan Journal of Edward Robarts, 1797–1824*, edited by Greg Dening (Honolulu, 1974), and *The Journal of William Lockerby*, edited by Everard Im Thurn and Leonard C. Wharton (London, 1925). The best nineteenth-century sources are largely the works of administrators and other longterm residents, such as Abraham Fornander's *An Account of the Polynesian Race* (1878–1885; reprint, Rutland, Vt., 1969) and George Grey's *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the Maori as Told by Their Priests and Chiefs* (1855; reprint, New York, 1970).

Despite this growing wealth of information about Oceanic cultures, the systematic study of Oceanic religions remained largely undeveloped before the advent of anthropology in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Unlike the "high" religions such as Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, and so forth, the traditional religions of Oceania were not proselytizing creeds embodied in written texts but were instead embedded in the specifics of the societies in which they were found. Although priesthoods were characteristic of a number of Polynesian societies (e.g., Maori, Hawaiian, Samoan, etc.), these soon collapsed under European pressure. For the remainder of the region religious institutions tended to be diffused throughout the social structure, so that an understanding of them hinged upon an understanding of their social setting. Precisely because of relative hospitality to outsiders, European impact on traditional society was strongest in Polynesia and Micronesia, whereas Melanesia was largely left alone. For these reasons Melanesia has predominated in research on traditional religions in Oceania.

A major goal of early anthropology was the creation of typological schemes to lay the basis for the reconstruction of evolutionary stages from savagery to civilization. Given the nineteenth century's intoxication with progress, human history was viewed as the intellectual movement from magic and religion to the scientific rationalism held to epitomize civilization. For this reason religion played a central role in the theoretical frameworks of writers such as E. B. Tylor and James G. Frazer, whose perspective took exotic religions as indicative of modes of thought. In the process, they identified cultural forms with cognitive capacities in the invidious comparison of savagery with civilization.

Such schemes required generalized concepts to identify characteristic features of "savage" thought, and this was the context in which some of the earliest accounts of Oceanic religions entered into scholarly discussions. Two concepts of particular importance to early theories of religion are those of *mana* and of taboo, both of which arose from ethnographic studies in the Pacific. The notion of *mana* stems from the work of R. H. Codrington, a missionary anthropologist working in eastern Melanesia in the late nineteenth century. In *The Melanesians* (1891; reprint, New Haven, 1957) Codrington identified belief in *mana* as a central tenet of Melanesian religions and defined it as a supernatural power immanent in the cosmos and capable of influencing events for good or ill. *Mana* characterized outstanding success in all enterprises as both sign and source of efficacy, was intimately tied to personal prestige, and served to mark off the singular in experience. Codrington saw all Melanesian religion as an attempt to acquire *mana* for one's own uses. Understood on analogy with electricity, *mana* gave a name to what had long been postulated as a premise of magical thought, that is, the idea that unseen and impersonal powers in the world could be tapped, accumulated, and directed toward human ends. Subsequent work in Oceania found closely analogous concepts, and the notion of *mana* was soon generalized to cover a wide range of cases. More recent ethnographers have shown Codrington's original formulation to be based on a fundamental semantic misunderstanding (see, for example, Roger M. Keesing's "Rethinking Mana," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 40, 1984, pp. 137–156). Nevertheless, the concept gained wide currency in comparative studies as a key analytic category. In a similar vein, the concept of taboo became part of the vocabulary of the anthropology of religion through early analyses of the Polynesian notion of *tapu* (see, for example, E. S. Craighill Handy's *Polynesian Religion*, Honolulu, 1927).

Early treatments of Oceanic religions were attempts simply to record religious practices and beliefs in such a way that they became intelligible to European audiences, and to the extent that larger issues came into play the concern was to isolate particular features that meshed with current theories of social evolution and culture history. One consequence of this essentially typological orientation was that apparent commonalities tended to be stressed at the expense of the distinctive features of particular religious systems, fostering a spurious sense of uniformity. A second consequence was a tendency to view Oceanic religions in atomistic terms, as a series of intellectual categories divorced from the contexts of social life. A decisive shift awaited the emergence of new canons of ethnography associated with Bronislaw Malinowski's fieldwork among the Trobriand Islanders off the east coast of New Guinea.

Prior to World War I, fieldwork in Oceania was largely of two kinds. Often information was obtained by men whose familiarity with an area was grounded in missionary or administrative work. One advantage such workers had was a longterm involvement with local people, but their ethnographic work was secondary to their other duties, which were often at cross-purposes with research interests. Professional anthropologists, on the other hand, tended to pursue their researches by conducting surveys from government verandas or the decks of itinerant vessels calling in at various islands. Here systematic coverage was possible, but it came at the expense of detailed knowledge of life in any particular locale. Malinowski's contribution was the development of longterm fieldwork whose aim was to construct a comprehensive portrait of social life in immediate and concrete terms. Not surprisingly, this work produced very different results from that done by his predecessors.

Inspired by the theories of Émile Durkheim and steeped in the details of Trobriand life, Malinowski in his *Magic, Science and Religion* (New York, 1948), insisted that it was only possible to understand Trobriand religion as an aspect of Trobriand culture in general. Taking issue with those who saw religion as a thing in itself, his style of interpretation ("functionalism") stressed the social dimensions of religious beliefs and the uses to which they could be put: myths of ancestral emergence were charters for territorial claims; beliefs in ancestral spirits and reincarnation reinforced the ties of clanship fundamental to the structure of the society; garden magic coordinated the productive efforts of entire communities, while fishing magic lent the confidence necessary to perilous undertakings. For Malinowski, the interpretation of religion was less a matter of locating general categories or apprehending a particular mode of thought than discovering a pragmatic rationality in what people said and did in the context of a specific social system.

Malinowski's influence upon anthropology was enormous: his style of fieldwork became the hallmark of serious anthropology, while his version of functional analysis became basic to the anthropological tool kit. The period between the wars was marked by a number of fine-grained field studies, in which the works of Gregory Bateson, Reo F. Fortune, Maurice Leenhardt, and F. E. Williams stand out.

Fortune is best known for his *Sorcerers of Dobu* (1932; rev. ed., New York, 1963), but a far more significant work is his *Manus Religion* (Philadelphia, 1935) Enmeshed in a dense network of obligations, Manus Islanders depended on the ghosts of their fathers to punish moral breaches through illness, and when illness struck divination sought out the sufferer's lapses in confession and expiation. Fortune showed how such beliefs occasioned assessment and reparation of personal relationships while seeking to regain the sufferer's health. In the process ghost beliefs were rescued from the dead category of "ancestor worship" by examining their role in the dynamics of village life.

Bateson's *Naven* (1938; 2d ed., Stanford, Calif., 1958) was an ambitious attempt to interpret a central ritual of the Iatmul people of the Sepik River of New Guinea. In the Naven ritual, significant events in an individual's life were marked by a ceremonial inversion of sex roles, and Bateson took the problems posed by this rite as the foundation for a sophisticated development of the concept of structure in cultural analysis. In this way ritual became a lens for understanding the formal underpinnings of psychological attitudes, cosmological principles, intergroup relations, and social roles in Iatmul culture.

F. E. Williams, the Government Anthropologist for Papua until his death in World War II, conducted a number of field studies touching upon traditional religions, but his most significant contribution was his account of the so-called Vailala Madness among the peoples of the Papuan Gulf, published in his *The Vailala Madness and Other Essays* (London, 1976). An early instance of what were later to become familiar as cargo cults, the Vailala Madness was a dramatic cultural transformation in which traditional rites were abandoned wholesale as local people strove to embark on a new mode of life in the face of European contact. The movement was directed through tranced prophets, and key themes were the establishment of contact with ancestors (identified with Europeans), a transcendence of traditional divisions between the sexes, and access to European goods through ritual. Williams's reaction to the movement was ambivalent, but he drew attention to the creative dynamism latent in the interplay of skepticism and openness that marked religious belief for Papuan peoples. This observation was pregnant with implications for prevailing views postulating a relatively static integration of religion and culture.

A missionary anthropologist working in New Caledonia, Maurice Leenhardt, in his *Do Kamo: Person and Myth in the Melanesian World* (Chicago, 1979), developed a novel approach that grew out of his practical and intellectual concern with the relation between traditional religion and Christianity (see James Clifford's *Person and Myth: Maurice Leenhardt in the Melanesian World*, Berkeley, 1982). Seizing upon religious ideas (especially as embodied in myth and in linguistic categories) as a frame for experience, he analyzed New Caledonian concepts of identity in terms of time, space, and personal relationships. This phenomenological undertaking served to clarify the differences between New Caledonian and Western notions of the individual, and this analysis in turn helped to situate his understanding of the process of conversion to Christianity in terms of the transformation of the self.

Prior to World War II, most anthropological work followed Malinowski's program with general ethnographic coverage as the goal. The war itself brought about a total halt in fieldwork and it was not until the 1950s that Pacific anthropology once again became active. When it did so there were several noteworthy differences. Most significant of these was a reorientation influenced by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and his students. Within this perspective most aspects of culture were seen as epiphenomena to be accounted for in terms of their contribution to the maintenance of the social order as defined by systems of groups such as clans, lineages, and so on. Religious beliefs and practices were accorded a decidedly secondary role and entered into analysis only insofar as they could be shown to reinforce a system of social relations.

One result of these developments was that the study of traditional religions remained to all intents and purposes moribund as analyses of social structure dominated the field until the latter part of the 1960s. The major exception to this trend was afforded by the study of cargo cults. Though widespread throughout the Pacific, cargo cults were neglected before the publication of Kenelm Burridge's *Mambu, a Melanesian Millennium* (London, 1960), despite the availability of Williams's prewar work. Popularly associated with bizarre rites aimed at the acquisition of Western manufactured goods, cargo cults burgeoned in the wake of the massive military operations of World War II.

Burridge's work in the Madang region of New Guinea showed that the notion of "cargo" comprised not only European goods but the ensemble of moral dilemmas embodied in local relations with Europeans and the cash economy. Radically different from traditional forms of exchange, cash transactions entailed no reciprocal obligation and conferred no moral standing and thus called into question traditional measures of man. Through a dialectic of myth, dream, aspiration, and moral critique, cargo movements constituted attempts to formulate an image of a new life and a new morality, made concrete in the figure of the charismatic cargo prophet. An overall concern was to reestablish the moral equivalence basic to Melanesian societies in a Europeanized environment by transcending the limitations symbolized in the notion of cargo. Burridge's study was soon augmented by Peter Lawrence's historical account of Madang cargo movements, *Road Belong Cargo* (Manchester, England, 1964). Lawrence analyzed the career of Yali, a cargo prophet, in the context of native relations with Europeans. An important point made in both of these studies was the extent to which traditional epistemologies based upon mythology and revelatory experiences served to enable historical transformations in Madang societies. These analyses were complemented by Peter Worsley's comparative study, *The Trumpet Shall Sound* (London, 1957), which argued that cargo movements were nascent anticolonial political movements. Each of these works implied a critique of contemporary views of religion as the static appendage of social structure by underscoring the dynamic role of religion in cultural change.

In the mid-1960s, Lawrence and M. J. Meggitt edited *Gods, Ghosts, and Men in Melanesia* (Melbourne, 1965), which is a compilation of a number of detailed accounts of Melanesian religions. Yet with the noteworthy exception of Jan van Baal's *Dema* (The Hague, 1966), most other anthropological treatments of traditional religions remained fixated on social structure as the guiding interpretive frame. One innovative departure was Roy A. Rappaport's *Pigs for the Ancestors* (New Haven, 1968), which viewed the ritual cycle of pig sacrifices among the Maring as a homeostatic mechanism for maintaining ecological relationships between local populations and their environment. Even here, however, the emphasis remained upon the role of religious institutions in underwriting some form of status quo, whether sociological or ecological, portraying them as essentially parasitic upon other features of the social system.

A dramatic shift in the analysis of religious phenomena took place with the publication of Burridge's *Tangu Traditions* (Oxford, 1969) and Roy Wagner's *Habu: The Innovation of Meaning in Daribi Religion* (Chicago, 1972). In a painstaking analysis of Tangu narrative, Burridge extended the thesis adumbrated in his previous work by teasing out the ways in which, through recourse to myth, the Tangu apprehended the singular and numinous in experience. Finding more in myth than a Malinowskian charter for particular social arrangements, Burridge argued that it provided a tool for the exploration of unrealized possibilities, and he demonstrated how mythic content in turn became reformulated in the light of novel experience. In *Habu* Wagner pursued a different line of thought with similar implications. Focusing upon traditional Daribi religion, he developed a theory of innovation upon cultural ideologies that took the process of metaphorization as its key concept. Covering a range of material incuding naming, dream interpretation, the form of magical spells and the patterning of ritual, he argued for a view of cultural meaning stressing a dialectical tension between different realms of experience that afforded scope for creativity in the innovative extension of metaphors across conventional categories of signification. An essential part of Wagner's theory is that these processes be understood as normal properties of all cultural systems. Both of these works locate sources of cultural dynamism in the realm of religious phenomena and emphasize the reflective interplay of image and experience. They thus offer essentially open-ended accounts in which symbols are apprehended less as static structures than as participants in a dialectic that Williams might well have termed "culture on the move" (1976, p. 395).

Anthropology from the mid-1970s forward witnessed a growing interest in processes of symbolization, and this development, coupled with the impact of previous work, prompted a number of detailed studies placing religion once again at the heart of anthropology in the Pacific. Several provocative analyses of ritual emerged, addressing a wide range of theoretical problems.

Wagner extended the logic of his previous analysis in *Lethal Speech* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1978), a study of different genres of Daribi myth. Developing a line congenial to Wagner's work, Edward L. Schieffelin, in his *The Sorrow of the Lonely and the Burning of the Dancers* (New York, 1976), recounts the metaphorically rich *gisaro* ceremony and makes use of the concepts of opposition and reciprocity to situate an overall understanding of the Kaluli worldview. In his *Karavar: Masks and Power in Melanesian Ritual* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1974), Frederick K. Errington showed how rites involving masked dancers articulated a collective image of order against the backdrop of cultural assumptions postulating a chaotic human nature.

Male initiation rites became a focus of attention in, for example, Gilbert H. Herdt's *Guardians of the Flutes* (New York, 1981), a study of the psychological dimensions of sexual identity; Fredrik Barth's *Ritual and Knowledge among the Baktaman of New Guinea* (New Haven, 1975), an examination of the relation between ritual and knowledge; and Gilbert Lewis's *Day of Shining Red* (Cambridge, 1980), a study of hermeneutic problems. One of the most impressive contributions was Alfred Gell's *Metamorphosis of the Cassowaries* (London, 1975), in which a complex and refractory dialectic of succession and renewal became intelligible through a symbolic analysis utilizing structuralist techniques of interpretation. Structuralist principles also contributed strongly to F. Allan Hanson and Louise Hanson's *Counterpoint in Maori Culture* (London, 1983), a sophisticated analysis of complementarity and symmetry in Maori religion and culture, while Marshall D. Sahlin's account of transformations in Hawaiian culture in his *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities* (Ann Arbor, 1981) and *Islands of History* (Chicago, 1985) deployed similar techniques to show how metaphorical extensions of religious premises influenced the direction of historical change.

Two of the most significant recent trends in the study of Oceanic religions are the incorporation of a view that accords to symbols an active role in transforming experience and a concern to come to grips with the dynamism of religious life. These orientations grow out of general anthropological preoccupations and at the same time reflect the necessity of coming to terms with history. Pacific pagans are now few and far between, and the last century has seen the emergence of Christianity as the dominant religious form in Oceania. For examples of these trends at work, see *Mission, Church, and Sect in Oceania*, edited by James A. Boutilier et al. (Ann Arbor, 1978); Raymond Firth's *Rank and Religion in Tikopia* (London, 1970); and John Garrett's *To Live among the Stars* (Suva, Fiji Islands, 1982). If the study of Oceanic religions is to retain contemporary relevance it must take as its task an understanding of religious life harking back to Leenhardt's central problem: the retention of authenticity in the face of the christianization of the Pacific.

SEE ALSO Codrington, R. H.; Leenhardt, Maurice; Malinowski, Bronislaw.

DAN W. JORGENSEN (1987)

OCEANIC RELIGIONS: HISTORY OF STUDY [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

During the 1980s, general ethnologies of Pacific cultures had become a decidedly less popular enterprise, and *fin-de-siècle* crisis of identity among anthropologists (who were affected especially by critical theory and post-modernist trends) altered the profile of writings on Oceania's religious life. Doubts that the whole fabric of any society could ever be summarized reached an extreme, and it became almost a given methodologically that one ought to approach a culture through one or two "windows." For example, an unusual feature of Oceanian social life might call for an explanation, and meeting the challenge to explain this feature could thereby open a vista onto the cultural whole through a justifiable special point of entry. One of these entry points might be religion—or specific aspects thereof. An intriguing traditional cult could beckon an account—one involving homosexual rites, for example; or perhaps a cyclopean devouring spirit being occupying a dominant *haus tambaran* (spirit house) as exhibited by Donald Tuzin on the Ilhaita Arapesh in hinterland New Guinea; or cults in which mysterious disclosures of fauna marked various grades of initiation (see Fredrik Barth on the Baktaman, highland New Guinea, and Harvey Whitehouse on Melanesia more generally). Thus, specific features of traditional religion have been scrutinzed in depth, as in the following four key examples: sorcery, by Michele Stephen and Bruce Knauft on the Papuan Mekeo and Gebusi respectively; medical lore, by Stephen Frankel on the Southern Papua New Guinea Highlands Huli; the poetics of space, by Gillian Gillison and James Weiner on other highland cases; and sacrifice, by Valerio Valeri on Hawai'an kingship and sacrifice. Discrete traditional religions have also been described in separate studies, as with Roger Keesing's *Kwaio Religion* (1982, about a Malaitan people in the Solomon Islands), or Mary MacDonald's *Mararoko: A Study in Melanesian Religion* (1991, on the Southern Highland Kewa, Papua New Guinea), and Ward Goodenough's *Under Heaven's Brow: Pre-Christian Religious Tradition in Chuuk* (2002, on a Micronesian case). These shifts in approach have encouraged scholars to take one major topic and explore it across a regional board, whether in symposia or monographs, as in *The Religious Imagination in New Guinea*, edited by Herdt and Stephen (1989) on the imaginal, *Payback: The Logic of Retribution in Melanesian Cultures* by Garry Trompf (1994) on retributive logic in Melanesian religions, and *Handbook of Polynesian Mythology* by Robert Craig (2004) on recurring mythic themes. In a collection inspired by Henri Dumont's *Homo Hierarchicus* (1966) the French duo Daniel de Coppet and André Iteanu (1995) garnished an impressive range of contributions on the relation between cosmological ideas and social structure across the South Pacific. Continental anthropology, indeed, showed increasing sensitivity to the details of traditional religious insights and their relation to ritual organization. The region along and around the Sepik River has received much recent attention (thus Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin on the societal function and symbolism of cult houses; Jürg Wassmann on outer and esoteric knowledge among the Iatmul; and Bernard Juillerat—in a neo-Freudian vein—showing how Yafar myths express traditional views of sexual difference). The most intense feminist reappraisal of anthropological findings was Continental, the Melanesia-wide study of magic and sorcery by Susanne Schröter (1994) being noteworthy, with her worries about prior researchers' non-committal over violence against women in traditional cultures.

Whereas the huge number of traditional religions in Oceania continued to beckon investigation, religious change has come to be placed higher on the research agenda. Adjustment movements in the wake of the early mission impact in Polynesia were skillfully reconstructed by Jukka Siikala in his *Cult and Conflict in Central Polynesia* (1982), which explained, for instance, how the sacral kingship of present-day Tonga arose. Melanesian cargo cults also remain objects of concern, with the most detailed accounts of single cults being undertaken by Patrick Gesch (on the Peli Association in and around the Negrie-Yangoru culture complex, hinterland New Guinea), Elfriede Hermann on the aftermath of the Yali movement of the Madang area famously documented in Peter Lawrence's *Road Belong Cargo*, Andrew Lattas (on the "bush" Kaliai), and Dorothy Billings (on the pro-American Johnson movement, New Hanover). Both of these cases are from the New Guinea Islands.

Building on his research on Tanna Island, Vanuatu, Lamont Lindstrom produced the only general monograph on the subject in the last quarter of the twentieth century with *Cargo Cult: Strange Stories of Desire from Melanesia and Beyond* (1993). Trompf, while editing a collection on cargo cults and millenarian movements that included Pacific materials, also opened up the study of independent churches in Oceania by taking his cue from Bengt Sundkler's pioneering research in Africa. The presence of "spiritistic tendencies" in Melanesian responses to Christianity—altered states such as glossolalia, group experience of a spirit wind, ecstatic prayer, and prophesying—was spotted by John Barr and interpreted as culturally appropriate *rites de passage* into a new religious order. Manfred Ernst, in his *Winds of Change* (1994), went on to explain that the appeal of Christian Pentecostalism still burgeoning across the Pacific partly reflected cultural predispositions.

Religious change in itself increasingly dictated the anthropological agenda. Symptomatic was Ton Otto and Ad Borsboom's edited *Cultural Dynamics of Religious Change in Melanesia* (1997); but one also notes a spate of publications on women's movements and changing gender roles (by Lorraine Sexton, Deborah Gewertz, and Elizabeth Jolly) which introduced religious values being invoked by women to counter male maladjustments to modernity (alcoholism, promiscuity, domestic violence, and so on).

With over ninety percent of Pacific Islanders adopting Christianity it was inevitable that studies of mission would have to be complemented by assessments of indigenous Christianities. Friedegard Tomasetti was first to argue that the time had arrived when anthropologists would often have to begin research within Christian congregations and then work back to tradition. In her *Traditionen und Christentum* (1976), Tomasetti grasped how Melanesians carried with them two basic readings of the world—one applying to the Old Time and the other to the New—with highly varied attempts to integrate the dichotomy. At a later stage, John Barker championed the need for a special research area concerning Pacific Christianity, editing *Christianity in Oceania* (1990). Bronwyn Douglas later advised fieldworkers that they should no longer treat Christians as "invisible," let alone as some kind of "Gothic theater." Joel Robbins, already interested in grassroots eschatological expectations at the turn of the twenty-first century, was one anthropologist who had no trouble adjusting to the pressure, and in his work *Becoming Sinners* (2004) analyzed the moral torment among the New Guinea highland Urapmin and this people's difficulties in transferring from one moral system to another.

Meanwhile, the concern of the documentation and evaluation of the role of missions did not abate. Charles Forman studied the making of islander churches, as can be seen in *The Island Churches of the South Pacific* (1982). A trilogy of books by John Garrett on Pacific mission history from 1668 to the present (1982–1997) was published, and Francis Hezel's contact history of the Caroline and Marshall Islands, *The First Taint of Civilization* (1983) considered the difficulties for early mission work posed by misbehaving seafarers at favorite ports of call as well as the scattered nature of atoll existence.

In his recently republished part of the *Oxford History of the Christian Church*, Ian Breward's *History of the Churches in Australasia* (2004) deals ably with New Zealand and the Pacific Islands, not just the Australian scene. Missionary anthropology was always strong in Irian Jaya (West Papua) and explorations of acculturation and Christianization attained highpoints in Freek Kamma's two-volume *"Dit wonderlijke werk"* (1977 on northern areas) and Jan Boelaar's three-volume *Met Papoea's samen op Weg* (ch 1992-7, on the south). Eminent missiologists applied themselves especially to Melanesia, Theodor Ahrens following up various publications in German, such as *Unterwegs nach der verlorenen Heimat* (1986), with his important *Grace and Reciprocity* (2002) (on Christian reinforcement of the positive side of "payback" in Melanesian religions), and likewise John D'Arcy May adding to his *Christus Initiator* (1990, in German) a study of *Transcendence and Violence* (2003) (an attempt to sort out ambigious relationships between Christian monotheism and negative "payback," with the Melanesian situation to the fore). *Catalyst* and *Point*, issuing from the Melanesian Institute of Pastoral and Socio-Economic Service, have consolidated as the most prestigious serials in missiologically-oriented anthropology in the region, but *Irian* on Indonesia's side of the great New Guinea Island is hardly far behind. The *Micronesian Counselor*, founded by Hezel, favors applied research to solve socio-religious problems in the most isolated places on earth.

The tertiary study of religion and theology within Oceania itself provided better opportunities for broader overviews of regional religious life by expatriate scholars who were able to operate at length from institutions relatively close to their research areas, as well as for projects to be taken up by emergent indigenous intellectuals trained in those institutions. Among work with this wide compass was that of researchers with missiological interests, such as Ennio Mantovani (of the Melanesian Institute) and Theo Aerts (Bomana Regional Catholic Seminary; and Religious Studies, University of Papua New Guinea). Beginning as a foundation Lecturer in Religious Studies at the University of Papua New Guinea, Garry Trompf went on to treat Pacific religion in all its aspects (traditional, transitional, ecclesial, and theological) in *Melanesian Religion* (1991) and, with Tony Swain, on Aboriginal Australia in *The Religions of Oceania* (1995).

As for islander researchers, whereas a few of them studied traditional religions well away from their home islands—Tongan Epeli Hau'ofa, investigator of the Papuan Mekeo (1981) preeminent among them—most were diffident about "spying out" the habits and beliefs of other nearby peoples, even if some were willing to comment on their traditions. Some penetrating islander analyses of new religious movements have been made, with West Papuan/Irianese Benny Giay on Wissel Lakes prophet Zakheus Pakage (1995) and Solomonese Esau Tuza on the Christian Fellowship Church of New Georgia being the best known. In the mainstream scholarship, high indigenous achievements have been in the domain of contextual theology, relating the claims of the Christian Gospel to autochthonous values. An example of this is the recent impressive work by Sevati Tuwere, *Vanua: Towards a Fijian Theology of Place* (2002), on land, worship, and ruling authority in biblical and Fijian understandings. Most islander religious writing is in the Pacific region's theological journals, or in theological collections, or in the form of creative literature.

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GARRY W. TROMPF (2005)

OCEANS. It is natural to begin a survey of the mythology of oceans with their eponymous deity, the Greek god Okeanos (etymology unknown). All evidence testifies that Okeanos was originally conceived as a river god, rather than a god of the salt sea. This illustrates a characteristic difficulty: To treat rivers, springs, and fountains, or the symbolic and religious associations of water in general, exceeds the compass of this article, but such distinctions are not always rigorous in the mythological traditions.

In the pantheon defined by Hesiod's *Theogony,* Okeanos is the offspring of Ouranos (Sky) and Gaia (Earth), and thus of the race of Titans that included Kronos, the father of Zeus. With his sister Tethys as consort, Okeanos produced the vast brood of Okeanids, spirits of rivers and streams. Parallel to Okeanos is Pontos (Sea): Born of Gaia alone, he unites with her to engender Nereus, whence the Nereids, a species of sea nymphs corresponding to the Okeanids. While Pontos remains a bare abstraction, Okeanos is imagined as dwelling with Tethys at the edge of the world, which he encircles. In descriptions of the shields of Achilles (Homer) and Herakles (attributed to Hesiod), Okeanos occupies the rim.

References in Homer (*Iliad* 14.200f., 244ff., 301f.), as well as in Plato, Vergil, Orphic texts, and elsewhere, identify Okeanos and Tethys as the source (*genesis*) of gods or of the universe. Details of this cosmogony are obscure; according to one version, the primordial waters brought forth an egg that initiated the process of creation (Orphic fragments 54, 57). Okeanos was related to underworld rivers such as the Styx, which was his daughter, according to Hesiod (*Theogony* 361; cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 112e). The Isle of the Blessed, where souls of heroes dwelled, was in Okeanos's waters (*Odyssey* 4.562–568). The relationship between the cosmogonic role of Okeanos and water as the fundamental element in Thales's philosophy is moot.

Okeanos was occasionally represented in sculptures and sarcophagus reliefs, but does not appear to have had a specific cult. The sea was worshiped and appeased in the name of Poseidon, later identified with the Roman Neptune. The primitive evolution of Poseidon is obscure (he is conspicuously associated with the horse). In the Olympian scheme, Poseidon received the waters as his province from Zeus. He was responsible for maritime calm and turbulence, and for earthquakes. As consort of the Okeanid (or Nereid) Amphitrite, he was father of the gigantic Triton, whose torso terminated in a serpent's tail. Various pre-Olympian deities abided in the sea, notably Proteus, who shared with Nereus and with the Nereid Thetis (mother of Achilles) the power to metamorphose and to foretell the future.

The idea of encompassing waters survived into medieval geography, as in the map attached to Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddimah* (the name Ūqyānūs in one manuscript renders "Okeanos"). The earth is said by Islamic writers to float on the sea like a grape or an egg.

In the cultures of the ancient Near East, oceanic waters figured largely in cosmogonic myths. According to Sumerian tradition, in the beginning was Nammu (Sea), whence arose a mountain representing heaven and earth, later separated by the air god Enlil. In the Babylonian creation story, recited at the New Year, the primordial gods are two: the masculine Apsu, representing sweet waters, and the feminine Tiamat, the salt-water ocean, from whose union come the gods. Apsu is vanquished by younger gods, but Tiamat continues the battle with the help of Kingu and other monstrous offspring; she is defeated by the storm god Marduk and divided in two, one part of her being raised to contain the upper waters. From the *Epic of Gilgamesh,* it appears that the land of the dead was reached by crossing a body of water. The same narrative incorporates the Sumerian tradition of a great flood, perhaps representing a return to the primordial state.

In Canaanite myth, the senior deity El favors Yam (Sea) against his own son, Baal (associated with fertility and rain). Yam surrenders to Baal and is spared; also vanquished is the serpent Lotan, related to the Hebrew Leviathan (cf. also the defeats of Rahab and Tannin: *Ps.* 74:13, 89:11; *Is.* 51:9; etc.). The biblical sea waters seem to retain a threatening aspect, as though not entirely submissive to creation; certain passages indicate the sea as the site of God's throne (e.g., *Ps.* 104:3; *Ez.* 28:2).

In Egyptian sources, the waters of Nun, on which the earth rests, are sometimes identified as the origin of life. At the parting of the waters appears the primal hill. Nun was also conceived as surrounding the earth (like Okeanos), so that the sun emerged each day from his waters in the east. The route to the afterworld is the river Nile, host also to aquatic deities such as the crocodile, but because the Nile was believed to have its source in the netherworld (Pyramid Texts 1551a, 1557b), the distinction between river and primal waters is not absolute.

The *Ṛgveda* (10.121) alludes to a cosmic egg (Prajāpati) that emerged from water, an idea elaborated in later commentaries (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 11.1.6) that also record a flood. The identification of Varuṇa as god of the sea is post-Vedic. The ocean is the source of *amṛta,* the liquor of immortality (analogously, the Greek ambrosia is sometimes connected with the ocean). In Hindu mythology, the cobra-like sea demons called *nāga*s (feminine dragons are called *nāginis*) have their kingdom in the west or alternatively are imagined as dwelling in the underworld. In Cambodia, the first Khmer dynasty is said to have sprung from the union of the daughter of a *nāga* king with a Hindu prince.

In Chinese myth, where nature deities play a relatively unimportant part, the four seas that surround the earth are associated each with a dragon king. In one legend the king of all the dragons arose from the sea and prevented the first emperor of Qin from voyaging to the islands of the immortals. The antiquity of such stories is in doubt, as they appear to have been influenced by Hindu myth. Undeniably ancient (dating from the Zhou dynasty) is the story of the flood, which was dammed, channeled, and drained by the god Yu with the help of a dragon, Yu then became the founder of China's first dynasty.

The Ainu (the aborigines of Japan) tell of a small bird that dispersed the primal waters by the motion of its wings. In the *Kojiki,* the main compendium of ancient Japanese myth, the original chaos is compared to oily water, but the sea's major role appears in the tale of the sons of Ninigi, the divine ancestor of Japan's emperors. The younger son, Po-wori, a hunter, borrows and loses the fishhook of his brother Po-deri. A sea deity constructs a boat and advises Po-wori to sail to the palace of Watatsumi, god of the sea, and his daughter Tōyōtama. Po-wori marries Tōyōtama but later desires to return home. Watatsumi recovers the lost hook and gives his son-in-law two jewels to control the tides. Coming home on a crocodile, Po-wori subdues his elder brother. Tōyōtama, assuming the form of a crocodile, bears her husband a child and then returns to the sea, ashamed that he has observed her thus. Her younger sister tends and marries the son, and from this union is born the first Japanese emperor. Shrines are devoted to Watatsumi and other sea divinities.

Meander patterns on Paleolithic vessels of Europe, often in association with maternal figures, eggs, snakes, and waterfowl, suggest water as a fertility symbol. In the Finnish epic *Kalevala* (old version), which preserves Finno-Ugric traditions, the world is created out of eggs laid by an eagle on the knee that the hero Väinämöinen lifts from the sea (Väinä means "still water"). Väinämöinen subsequently sails to death's domain and escapes meshes laid to trap him by metamorphosing into various forms. The Saami (Lapp) god Cacce Olmai (Water Man), a deity of fishing, is said to assume various shapes; also reported is a mermaidlike creature called Akkruva, similar to the Inuit (Eskimo) Inue, a kind of merman.

In Celtic myths, there is a paradisiacal island called Brittia located in the ocean. This ancient account is transmitted by the Byzantine historian Procopius (cf. the Arthurian Avalon, the Irish Tir-na-nogue). Islands are the object of voyages by various heroes or demigods. Bran, a sea giant, encounters an isle of women, an isle of laughter and joy, and other fantastical places on his journey. Similarly, Brendan, in search of the Land of Promise, encounters enchanted islands and monsters; one island proves to be the back of a gigantic sea creature (cf. Sindbad's first voyage). The Roman general Sertorius is said by Plutarch to have attempted such a journey from Spain, which suggests a possible syncretism of Greek and Iberian traditions. The inspiration of Brendan's legend is evident in Dante's version of Odysseus's last voyage.

The province of the sea fell on the Celtic god or hero Ler, and more especially to his son, Manannán mac Lir, patron of sailors and merchants and the eponymous deity of the Isle of Man. Manannán rode the steed Enbarr, which could traverse water as easily as land (cf. the kelpie or sea horse in Scottish folklore).

In the Eddas, the god of the sea is Ægir (cognate with *aqua*), a member of the race of giants who is friendly to the gods. His wife is Ran, and a kenning (metaphorical phrase) speaks of the waves of Ægir's daughters. Ægir is the gods' ale-brewer and a giver of banquets. Norse myth tells of various sea monsters such as the huge fishlike creature called the kraken, as well as mermen and mermaids (see the thirteenth-century *King's Mirror*), the belief in which has persisted into modern times among fishermen of New England and elsewhere.

In the Americas, the creation myths of the Chorti, Maya Indians of Guatemala, mention four seas that are distinguished by color surrounding and beneath the world, with monstrous creatures (angels in Christianized versions) beyond the waters. Among the people of Santa Elena, there is a story of a race of giants who came from across the sea. There is a hint of a primal sea in the *Popol Vuh,* the sacred book of the Quiché Maya of Guatemala.

A widespread North American variant involves the creation of land upon the primordial ocean by means of a diver, whether divine, human, or animal, who brings mud or earth up from the sea bottom. In the Salinan version (California), a dove fetches the substance after a flood produced by the Old Woman of the Sea; a turtle is the agent in Maidu (California) and Blackfeet myth. In a Huron creation account, a toad is successful; in a Mandan (North Dakota) version, it is a duck, while other stories feature the muskrat (Assiniboine, Great Plains), the water beetle (Cherokee), and the crawfish (Yuchi). There are also versions in which the waters simply recede. The Navajo emergence myth, which like the Hopi myth describes four worlds associated with four directions and four colors, has four seas as well. The Winnebago Indians (Great Plains) distinguish two classes of water powers; streams are masculine, while the subterranean waters that uphold the earth are feminine.

Altaic myth (Siberia) also exhibits versions of the diver tale, with the diver as swallow, loon, goose, or other waterfowl. Elsewhere the diver is a man or devil, often in the guise of a bird; a Christian Romanian version casts Satan as the diver. In a Samoyed flood story, a bird discovers land in a manner reminiscent of the bird in the narrative of Noah's ark. The theme of the ark occurs also in Buriat myth. Mention may also be made of a Khanty (Yenisei River) creation story, according to which the earth rests on three great fish, the sinking of which generates floods.

In a Polynesian account, Māui or another deity brings land up from the sea bottom. A Maori tale tells of a conflict between Ta-whiri-ma-tea, the god of storms or winds, and his brother Tangaroa, here the father creator of the world. Ta-whiri-ma-tea attacks Tangaroa, who takes refuge in the ocean. One of Tangaroa's two children, representing fish, retreats to the water. The other child, representing reptiles, hides in the forest, whence the antagonism between the sea and humans, who are descended from the forest deity. The Polynesian practice of burying the dead in canoe-shaped dugouts may reflect a custom of setting bodies adrift to reach the ancestral home or land of the dead. It was believed that souls were carried to Bulotu, the Tongan land of the dead, in an invisible canoe presided over by Hikuleo, the Tongan god of the dead and half-brother of Tangaroa. Near his house, in one account, were the waters of life that could confer immortality. The land of the dead, usually located to the west, was the special destination of chiefs and other notables. Legends tell of parties sailing, usually by mistake, to Bulotu.

Marine myths are not widespread in Africa, but mention may be made of a Yao (Mozambique) story in which human beings are fished out of the sea by a chameleon.

From the foregoing survey, certain broad themes may be identified. The ocean is often conceived as the primordial element, from which land and sometimes living creatures emerge. It surrounds the earth and lies under it, and beyond its waters reside the departed or the blessed, who are sometimes visited by the intrepid voyager. Now and then flood waters challenge creation. The ocean is inhabited by various monsters, often serpentine and capable of metamorphosis. Marine deities are sometimes the ancestors of imperial dynasties. Finally, in some accounts the waters of the deep are life-giving, or the source of life-giving brews.

SEE ALSO Water.

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DAVID KONSTAN (1987)
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OCKHAM, WILLIAM SEE WILLIAM OF OCKHAM

ÓÐINN (Odin, Wōden, Wuotan) is the chief god of Germanic mythology. His name, meaning "inspired or intoxicated one," developed from the Proto-Germanic. **Wōþanaz,* which is related to IE **wātós*, the source of the Old Norse noun *óðr* (inspired mental activity, intelligence). Non-Germanic cognates are Latin *vātēs* and Old Irish *fàith*, both meaning "seer." Described as the best and the oldest of all the gods by Snorri Sturluson (1179–1241), Óðinn is a complex figure whose many names point to the diversity of his functions (Lorenz, 1984, pp. 91–95, 290–304). He is the father of the Æsir (the dominant group of gods), a great magician and seeker of wisdom, the master of runes, the patron of poets, the lord of battles, the god of the dead, and a betrayer of his human devotees.The brothers Óðinn, Vili, and Vé are the first Æsir, the sons of Borr and the giantess Bestla. They initiate the Æsir hostility against giants, killing their oldest maternal ancestor Ymir to create the world from his body and later repudiating three giantesses who seem to be hoping for husbands. Óðinn often appears in triads of gods and is even called Þriði (Third), leading some to compare Óðinn, Vili, and Vé with the Christian Trinity (Lorenz, p. 146). Like genealogies of Anglo-Saxon kings tracing their ancestry to Wōden, euhemeristic tales describing the legendary history of Scandinavia claim Óðinn as the father of the medieval royal dynasties. In addition, some of his names suggest that various peoples who originally had some other chief god had come to identify that god with Óðinn. For example, Óðinn's name *Gautr* originally may have been the name of the eponymous father of the people of Gautland. His name *Skilfingr* may have been the name of the founding ancestor of the Ynglings of Sweden, whom the Old English poem *Beowulf* instead calls the *Scylfingas.*

From his high seat in the citadel Ásgarðr, Óðinn can look over the nine worlds of the Norse cosmos. His ravens, Huginn (Thought) and Muninn (Memory), bring him news every morning. Óðinn lacks an eye, and he often wears a hat and a cloak. His weapon is the dwarf-made spear Gungnir, and his gold arm-ring Draupnir drips eight equally heavy arm-rings every nine days. His horse is the eight-legged Sleipnir. Despite his power, Óðinn cannot prevent the death of his son Baldr, which leads to the destruction of the Æsir at Ragnarǫk by giants and other monsters (who are also destroyed in this final battle between these forces). Each god has his own opponent in this final conflict, and Óðinn is killed by the wolf Fenrir.

Óðinn is called Alfaðir (All-father), perhaps under Christian influence, as he is not the father of all the gods. Þórr is the illegitimate child of Óðinn's giant mistress, Jörð, and Baldr is the legitimate son of Óðinn and his wife (the goddess Frigg), but the Vanir deities (the second group of gods) are unrelated. Óðinn embarks upon short-term sexual liaisons, usually as a means to some other end, and in a few cases children result. The eddic poem *Hárbarðsljóð* portrays Óðinn boasting about his affairs. In one Norse tradition, he is the creator of human beings: the eddic poem *Vǫluspá* says that Óðinn and two companions shaped the first man and woman from two logs.

WISDOM AND KNOWLEDGE. Most of Óðinn's activities involve his search for wisdom. He asks tidings of the dead and embarks upon journeys during which he gains knowledge through confrontation with supernatural beings. Óðinn's knowledge and the supernatural sharpness of his one eye are his reward for exchanging the other eye for a drink from wise Mímir's well. He also converses with Mímir's head, cut off by the Vanir but magically preserved by the Æsir. Several myths portray Óðinn proving his immense knowledge, as in the eddic poem *Grímnismál.* King Geirrǫðr mistakes Óðinn (traveling under the name Grímnir) for a malicious magician and chains him between two fires. After eight nights, Geirrǫðr's son brings the stranger a drink and is rewarded with a recitation of mythological lore, ending with fifty names for Óðinn that reveal Grímnir's true identity. Óðinn's torture and recitation have been interpreted as a shamanistic performance or the ritual education of a royal heir, but it is more likely an abstract reflection of Scandinavian concepts of sovereignty, for it is Óðinn's mastery of sacred knowledge that justifies his lordship. In the eddic poem *Vafþrúðnismál,* Óðinn challenges the giant Vafþrúðnir to a riddle contest to see who knows the most mythological lore. Defeat means death for the vanquished, and Óðinn is the victor. Paradoxically, Óðinn can demonstrate his superiority in lore over the giants, but some myths show that he needs knowledge about the fate of the world and the gods that they possess but he does not.

Snorri describes Óðinn as a great worker of magic, and Georges Dumézil considers Óðinn to be the Germanic representative of the Indo-European divine king-magician. He knows magic charms and songs, and in unmanly fashion he employs the women's sorcery he learned from Freyja. Although others are experts in the use of runes, Óðinn possesses the most extensive knowledge of their magic. The eddic poems *Hávamál* (sts. 138–139) and *Sigrdrífumál* (st. 3) call Óðinn the inventor of the runes, and the inscription on the Noleby Stone in Sweden (c. 600 CE) says that the runes come from the gods. *Hávamál* describes how Óðinn gained the secrets of runes by hanging from the World Tree for nine nights, wounded with a spear, a sacrifice of himself to himself. All the elements of this myth have parallels in Norse tradition, and it was probably not influenced by the Christian crucifixion. *Hávamál* also enumerates many of the spells Óðinn can cast, such as curing illness, stopping missiles in midair, dispelling witches, and inspiring irresistible love.

INSPIRER, INCITER, AND DECEIVER. Óðinn's patronage of poetry is implicit in his name. The meaning "inspired mental activity" for the Old Norse word *óðr* is confirmed by its use in court verse in the sense of the word *poetry*, the poet being "a smith of inspired thought" (*óðar smiðr*). Óðinn spoke in verse, and he granted his protégé Starkaðr the ability to compose poetry as fast as he could talk. Óðinn's most concrete link with poetry is his acquisition of the mead of poetry. Brewed by the dwarfs, who had to relinquish it to the giants, Óðinn obtains it by seducing its giantess guardian, swallowing it all, changing into an eagle, flying to Ásgarðr, and spewing it out into three crocks the Æsir had ready.

As the god of battle, Óðinn opened the hostilities between the Æsir and Vanir by hurling his spear into the enemy camp. This gesture became a ritual beginning for other battles; it consecrates the dead and captured foes to Óðinn, who houses the ever-growing host of dead warriors in Valhalla for eventual use as his army at Ragnarǫk. Indeed, in order to obtain enough fighters, Óðinn time and again instigates the argument that leads to war. As a protector of warriors, Óðinn teaches his chosen heroes tactics that ensure their victory in combat; for example, he instructs Harald Wartooth to deploy his forces in the field in the shape of a wedge to break the opponents' line (Turville-Petre, pp. 212, 215). Óðinn is also the patron of the turbulent and powerful *berserkir* (bear shirts) and *ulfheðnar* (wolf skins), fighters who attack with frenzied fury. Writing around 1070, Adam of Bremen comments: "Óðinn, that is, 'frenzy,' wages war and provides man with courage against foes" (*Gesta Hammaburgensis*, 4: 26: "woðan, id est furor, bella gerit hominique ministrat virtutem contra inimicos").

Óðinn has qualities that would be valued negatively if they belonged to a member of a subordinate group, but as a member of the dominant class, he can ignore such attributes as the unmanliness associated with Freyja's magic. In the eddic poem *Lokasenna* (st. 22), he is accused of unfairness in granting victory, but if he acknowledges that he let the less deserving win, he justifies himself elsewhere by claiming he needed heroes to help him face Fenrir at Ragnarǫk. However, he clearly relishes inciting conflicts, preventing peace, and deceiving those who serve him. For example, when Starkaðr pronounces the ominous formula "Now I give thee to Óðinn!" after tying a noose of calf gut around his lord's neck as he hits him with a reed, Óðinn changes the weak entrail into a sturdy rope and the reed into a spear, transforming the sham sacrifice into a regicide (*Gautreks saga*, ch. 7; see Turville-Petre, 1964, p. 45). Óðinn betrays his worshiper Harald Wartooth, battering him to death personally (*Gesta Danorum*, 8.220), and he does not hesitate to perjure himself (*Hávamál*, st. 108–109). No wonder that the human Dagr in the eddic poem *Helgakviða Hundingsbana* (II, st. 34), after observing that the god has stirred up strife between siblings, passionately declares that Óðinn is responsible for all evil.

THE ÓÐINN CULT. Óðinn is also called the God of the Hanged, and his cult apparently did involve human sacrifice, as suggested by the story of Starkaðr's unintended killing of Víkarr. Human sacrifice to Óðinn seems to be depicted on the Gotland picture stone of Stora Hammars, and Tacitus (*Germania*, ch. 9) says that Mercury (i.e., Óðinn) was the only god to whom the tribes sacrificed men. A number of shamanistic elements (intoxicants, self-sacrifice, torture, raven messengers, shape changing, passive receptivity to the spirit world of sorcery) are associated with Óðinn, but most though not all scholars see among the Germanic peoples no evidence of shamanistic practices such as drumming and dancing to induce a trance state.

Place-names commemorating Óðinn make up less than ten percent of theophorous place-names (those bearing the name of a deity) in mainland Scandinavia. They are most frequent in southern Sweden and Denmark, are infrequent in southern Norway, and are not found in Iceland at all. However, the place-names based on *-vin* (pasture-land) and *-akr* (acre, field) are ancient, and their existence contradicts the theory that his cult was a new one that displaced the older worship of Týr. Týr is the Germanic development of an Indo-European god, so he probably predates Óðinn in absolute terms, but evidently his religious importance diminished over time, whereas that of Óðinn did not.

Other evidence for the age of the cult of Óðinn comes from the weekday names in Germanic. The standard translation of the Latin *dies Mercurii* was "Wōdan's day" (e.g., Dan. *Onsdag*, Eng. *Wednesday*), and as the translation of the names of the days of the week took place in the fourth century CE, veneration of Óðinn must have been widespread in all of the western and, probably, northern Germanic regions at this time. Depictions of Óðinn may date back to the Bronze Age, if the large spear-bearing god figures on some southern Swedish rock carvings represent him. Fifth-century gold bracteates showing a god accompanied by birds may also represent Óðinn. (Bracteates are Germanic medallions, probably inspired by Roman coins, that depict figures and scenes that are still not fully understood.) The earliest definite representations of Óðinn are sixth- and seventh-century Swedish helmet decorations with Odinic cult scenes. Óðinn is repeatedly depicted on ninth-century picture stones, at times accompanied by birds, more commonly riding his eight-legged horse. In the next century, pagan Norwegian court poets honored their patrons by depicting them as warriors whom Óðinn welcomes to Valhalla, as in the eulogies for Eiríkr Blood-axe (d. 954) and Hákon the Good (d. c. 960). Adam of Bremen, who used eyewitness accounts, says that Óðinn was worshiped in the temple at Uppsala, which was still pagan then.

Theologically, Óðinn is related to the Indian god Varuṇa. Both have the knowledge of sorcery, the gift of changing shape, and control of the fortunes of battle. Both are the gods of rulers and poets, and both receive human sacrifice. Óðinn also has parallels with the Indian god Indra, who has an encounter with the monster Mada (Drunkenness) and who is also the recipient of *soma*, the intoxicating sacrificial liquor that gives poetic ability, immortality, and knowledge of the divine. As with the mead of poetic inspiration, *soma* was brought to the gods by an eagle, or possibly Indra in the form of an eagle.

SEE ALSO Berserkers; Eddas; Germanic Religion; Jötnar; Njǫrðr; Snorri Sturluson.

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OFFERINGS SEE ALMSGIVING; SACRIFICE; TITHES

OGYŪ SORAI

(1666–1728), Japanese Confucian of the Ancient Learning school (Kogaku). Sorai was born in Edo (modern-day Tokyo), the son of Ogyū Hōan (1626–1705), personal physician to Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (1646–1709), lord of the Tatebayashi domain and later the fifth Tokugawa shogun. As a child Sorai began studying classical Chinese and at the age of seven entered the academy headed by Hayashi Gahō (1618–1680), the son of the academy's founder, Hayashi Razan (1583–1657). He progressed quickly in his studies and by the age of nine was able to write simple compositions; he even kept a diary in classical Chinese.

Sorai's otherwise conventional education and upbringing were disturbed in 1679, when he was thirteen. For reasons that are not clear, in that year Tsunayoshi banished Sorai's father to the village of Honnō in Kazusa, sixty miles from Edo. The exile was understandably difficult, as the family was denied the amenities of urban life and the company of its social equals. While these unfavorable conditions forced the adolescent Sorai to study on his own, it also gave him firsthand knowledge of rural life. In 1690 his father was pardoned and the family returned to Edo, where Hōan once again served as Tsunayoshi's physician. Sorai established an academy in Shiba, near the Zōjōji, the imposing Pure Land temple. Here he attracted the attention of the temple's abbot, Ryōya, who helped him secure a position in the house of Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu (1658–1714), the shogun's chamberlain and confidante. Sorai served Yoshiyasu for fourteen years and performed a variety of tasks: he lectured on the Confucian classics, wrote formal Chinese-style histories, punctuated and annotated Chinese texts, and taught Yoshiyasu's retainers. In 1709 he resigned his position and in 1710 opened a school called the Ken'enjuku (Miscanthus Patch Academy) in Kayabachō, not far from Nihonbashi.

Sorai's personal life was rather tragic. In 1696 he married a woman named Kyūshi who bore him five children. She died in 1705, and in time all of their offspring died as well. In 1715 Sorai married the daughter of the Mito Confucian, Sasa Rikkei (1639–1698?), but she too died, sometime between 1717 and 1718, without bearing any children. The deaths of his wives and children, together with his own repeated bouts with tuberculosis, among other personal tragedies, made Sorai deeply religious. He came to believe that his survival was the work of an omniscient and omnipotent Heaven. He also attributed his scholarly successes to Heaven and believed that Heaven had chosen him to reveal to the world the long-obscured meaning of the Chinese classics. Although modern scholars have seen Sorai's belief in a sentient Heaven as a reaction to the neo-Confucians' more rationalistic view of Heaven, there seems little doubt that his beliefs had much to do with the unhappy circumstances of his personal life.

Sorai is best known for his dictum, "return to the past." The first manifestations of this neoclassicism in his work were literary. Inspired by the work of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) literary critics Li P'an-lung (1514–1570) and Wang Shih-chen (1526–1590), he distinguished "ancient" and "modern" Chinese literary styles and urged his contemporaries to model their poetic and prose compositions on the former.

After his retirement and the opening of his school in 1710, Sorai turned from literary matters to the more conventional Confucian issues of self-cultivation and statecraft. He became a staunch critic of neo-Confucianism: in *Bendō* (Distinguishing the way) and *Benmei* (Distinguishing names) Sorai recommended that his contemporaries abandon the commentaries written by Zhu Xi (1130–1200) and his followers and instead study classical literary styles, etiquette, ceremonial practices, and forms of dress.

In 1721, Sorai was asked to advise the shogun, Tokugawa Yoshimune (1684–1751), and in this capacity he proposed countless institutional reforms, most of which survive in his *Seidan* (A discourse on government) and *Taiheisaku* (A proposal for a great peace). His most ambitious recommendation was his plan for the rustication of the warrior population of the cities and castle towns, which was designed to liberate warriors from the urban commercial economy and thus from the cycle of consumption, indebtedness, and poverty. His aim here was not to return the country to a natural economy, as is often thought, but to make warriors self-sufficient. He believed that classical Chinese institutions could solve the problems of his day, and so he recommended the adoption of the well-field, rank-in-merit, Six Office, and Six Ministry systems. He also suggested the introduction of supplementary salaries to allow talented individuals of low rank to serve in high positions, and the use of copper cash as a standard for determining the value of gold and silver.

Although Sorai's ideas and proposals seem to be the product of his profound sinophilia, they had more complex and diverse sources: first, his deep, personal belief in Heaven and its agents, the sages and early kings; second, his confidence that the culture and institutions created by the sages and early kings of Chinese antiquity were sufficiently universal to occasion their adoption in his time; third, his belief that social and cultural conditioning would eventually counteract the strangeness of Chinese culture and institutions; and finally, his belief in the value, even superiority, of classical Chinese civilization.

SEE ALSO Confucianism in Japan.

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ŌHRMAZD SEE AHURA MAZDĀ AND ANGRA MAINYU

OJIBWE (OJIBWA, OJIBWAY) RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS SEE ANISHINAABE RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS

OKINAWAN RELIGION. Okinawa, one of the prefectures in Japan, was once an independent kingdom called Ryukyu. When it comes to Okinawan religion, it is usually assumed the whole religious tradition of the Ryukyu archipelago was governed by the Ryukyu dynasty. This archipelago is geographically a part of the subtropical islands extending from Kyushu to Taiwan. This area can be divided into four regions: Amami, Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama. While there are some regional differences, they share a common religious tradition formed during the age of the Ryukyu kingdom (1429–1879). Therefore, the description of Okinawan religion here will combine the greater Ryukyuan cultural area with Amami, notwithstanding Amami has belonged to the Kyushu prefecture since the Meiji era and sometimes is not included in Okinawa.

Okinawan history after the fifteenth century is rather well known from the information gleaned from historical documents of China and Japan as well as the chronicle compiled by the Ryukyuan dynasty; its pre-fourteenth-century history, however, is still wrapped in relative obscurity. Archeological researches, with their continuing new discoveries, report that a foraging culture in Okinawa continued until the eleventh century. Agrarian communities started to emerge in about the twelfth century, and based upon increased productivity with iron a local clan arose in each region. Clan chieftains came to establish polities centered around the fortress called the *gusuku.* By the early fourteenth century, three kingdoms—the Northern (Hokuzan), Central (Chūzan), and Southern (Nanzan)—were consolidated. In 1429 Chūzan unified the others and founded the Ryukyu kingdom with *Shuri gusuku,* which is now a World Heritage Site. Being a tributary state, Ryukyu conducted a flourishing trade with China, and many Chinese cultural and religious traditions were introduced: the annual cycle of festivals, the lunar calendar, ancestral ceremonies and rites, *feng-shui* (geomancy), and Confucian thought. While trading with China, Ryukyu came to be a tributary state of Japan as well. In 1609 the Satsuma clan of Kyushu conquered Okinawa and brought a great deal of Japanese culture to Okinawa. In 1879 Ryukyu was annexed to Japan as the Okinawa prefecture. After experiencing the war and being occupied by the United States from 1945 to 1972, Okinawa came to belong to Japan.

There is no doubt that Okinawan religious culture is deeply linked to Japanese culture in light of the archeological data and the fact that Ryukyuan and Japanese have the same linguistic origin and share similar folk beliefs and practices. And since many have assumed that Okinawan culture has archaic cultural patterns of Japan, some scholars tended to see Okinawan religion and culture as an archive or museum of the archaic age of Japan. Religion and culture in Okinawa, however, should be understood in their own right, for Okinawan people have created their own unique tradition under given geographical and historical circumstances, arranging outside cultural influences such as those from China and Japan. Today many Japanese recognize the uniqueness of Okinawan culture, and the Okinawan people maintain a strong sense of identity derived from this uniqueness.

One of the most salient features of Okinawan religion can be seen in the modality of the village space. It is commonly accepted that a prototype of Okinawa's traditional village form is found in villages settled around agricultural society in around the twelfth century. A village modeled after such a typical traditional form usually has a sacred place called *utaki* (the name differs regionally: *uganju, mui, wan*). The *utaki* is typically located in the sacred grove in a mountain that is behind or near the village, and the core of this sanctuary is the natural stones, rocks, or trees that constitute a primordial altar. It is an important place where a large number of ceremonies and rites are performed. This *utaki* as a ceremonial center provides an orientation for village space, in some cases with the help of the *feng-shui* technique. The *utaki* is a place for *kami* (divine beings) to descend from the sky or the channel to communicate with diverse *kami,* including the ancestral god of their community and the god of *nirai-kanai* (the paradise over the ocean). The *utaki* also has a historically important role. It functioned as a ceremonial center of the polities in the *gusuku* era. Furthermore, located in *Shuri gusuku* (castle), it had become the ceremonial center of the city-state of the Ryukyu dynasty. The *utaki* has been functioning as the center of the space that continuously expands in its historical process.

Another prominent feature of Okinawan religion is the religious primacy of females. The family of the village founder lives nearest to the *utaki,* and this household plays an important role in a clan's religious activity. A female of that household attends the *utaki* and become a priestess to perform ceremonies and rites. This priestess is called *nī-gan* (literally, root *kami*). A male of that household called *nī-chu* ("root person"), who is the brother of the priestess and deals with the community's political affairs. Along with other priestesses, constituted by females of the village, the *nī-gan* priestess performs rituals for fertility in crops, rice, and fish as well as for their thanksgiving. Generally in Okinawa the religious activities of the village community are led by females; males, on the other hand, help females, handle mainly secular things, and do not engage in the main activity of communicating with the divine. Males were once forbidden to enter the *utaki.*

As just described, the female has a primacy in Okinawa's religious context. This primacy is also represented in the *onari-gami* (sister-*kami*) belief that sisters as *kami* protect and help their brothers with spiritual power. *Onari-gami* belief is found in the relationship between brothers and sisters; in other words, a female is not a *kami* for everyone. This belief in the spiritual power of sisters was adapted by the Ryukyu kingdom for its unique hierarchical system in the sixteenth century. In this system the king governed in the political realm while the king's sister (sometimes a female relative of king) called *chifījin* (*kikoeōkimi*) administered the kingdom religiously as she dispatched the state priestesses called *nuru* (*noro*) to each region. Under *chifījin,* the *nuru* led the local priestesses such as *nī-gan* and performed rites to glorify and protect the king and prayed for the prosperity of the kingdom.

Rituals at *utaki,* the sacred space of the villages, are mainly conducted with sacred songs, which are known as *kami-uta,* and also with praying verses. The contents of these songs and verses are diverse, ranging from a cosmogonic myth and legends regarding the founding of villages to prospective ritual songs, that is, songs to illustrate various production processes including farming, weaving, and house building. The ritual songs for the various productions in the community tend to sacralize them, many of which are related to mythic events. Priestesses in this prayer are mediators between the divine and human beings, conveying the divine revelation as perfomative through the sacred songs and verses. The priestesses in the Ryukyu dynasty conducted the rituals with sacred songs that were compiled in Omoro-sōshi. Ritual songs of Omoro-sōshi were collected songs of regions around the Okinawa and Amami islands (not including the Miyako and Yaeyama regions) from about the seventeenth to twentieth century. The Miyako and Yaeyama regions have many of their own *kami-uta* that have been passed down to priestesses by oral tradition.

The veneration of ancestral spirits is also a notable feature of religious tradition of Okinawan. It is said that this belief plays an important role in constructing the self-identity of the people in a kinship and lineage. Almost all the households have altars to revere their ancestors. Traditionally there is a belief in Okinawa that ancestral spirits are the beings that protect the descendant but at the same time bring misfortune if the people fail to revere them. This belief can be seen in ceremonies at the altar of the ancestor. The altar generally consists of three shelves. The upper shelf holds the memorial tablet (*tōtōmē*) with the name of ancestors, the middle shelf holds a censer, and the lower shelf is for the offerings. The tablet is treated as the place in which ancestral spirits reside. The oldest female attends this altar and prays to the ancestor for her family's fortune. The succession of the tablet between generations in the family should be carefully conducted with some strict rules and taboos. For example, the successor has to be the eldest son; a daughter may not be the successor.

The ceremonial formation of Okinawan ancestral belief was to some extent influenced by Buddhism, which was introduced from Japan and was further affected by Confucian thought from China. It is said that from the late seventeenth century to the mid-eighteenth century, Confucian ethics had a great impact on Okinawa, establishing the class system, the accession system, the ancestor tablet, the clan tomb, and various ceremonies, all of which are based on the patrilineal principle. And soon these cultural influences permeated the lower class of society. Despite these influences, some scholars argue that ancestral belief is based on an indigenous pattern in which people revere ancestral spirits as divine beings.

There is yet another altar in the household in Okinawa. Usually this altar consists of three stones and a censor and sits next to the hearth in the kitchen. This is called *hinukan* (or *finukan,* literally, hearth deity) and is also handled by the female. It is said that the *hinukan* altar was originally the hearth itself. The woman in a house prays to the *hinukan* deity for fortune and protection of all its inhabitants. To protect them, the deity needs to know important changes in the household, including birth, marriage, and death. Therefore, such changes in the family are recited every time and on a regular basis. Scholars also point out that the *hinukan* is also a duplicated ceremonial center or a channel to communicate with other deities.

In Okinawa, there are shamanic individuals called *yuta* (or *kankaryā* in Miyako, *nigēbī* in Yaeyama). Most shamans are female and male shamans are very few. Priestesses such as *nuru, nīgan,* and other lower priestesses are in charge of meeting the religious needs of their community. *Yutas,* on the other hand, are concerned with individual problems, telling a client's fortune and praying to cure an individual or his or her family's chronic disease through divine revelation or auguring. A person who is able to become a *yuta* tends to have a strong, innate spiritual power (*siji* or *seji*). Physical and mental anguish as well as auditory hallucination is a part of the initiation (called *kamidārī*) to become a *yuta.* From the Ryukyu dynasty era to the Meiji era, *yutas* were vigorously suppressed; nonetheless, they did not fade away, and even now many *yutas* are meeting individuals' religious needs. There have been cases in which a *yuta* with believers forms a religious group or founds a new religion.

Non-native religions in Okinawa, outside of Confucianism, *feng-shui,* and Buddhism from China and Japan, in the Ryukyu dynasty era include Christianity and Japanese new religions. Christianity was introduced in the Meiji era and was promulgated by missionaries who entered Okinawa after World War II. It is noted that the number of Christians in Okinawa is twice that of mainland Japan. New religions of mainland Japan have also been introduced to Okinawa and are firmly in place.

There is no doubt that so-called traditional ceremonies of the village communities in Okinawa have increasingly declined because of the decrease of successors resulting from changes in ways of life and the modernization of society. Rites and ceremonies have been simplified and in some cases have vanished. This does not mean, however, that Okinawan religion will disappear in the future, for it is clear that there remains a strong tendency and intention for Okinawan people to identify themselves in their culture derived from religious traditions and to revitalize the festival of each community.

SEE ALSO Japanese Religions, overview article; Kami.

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CHARLES H. HAMBRICK (1987)
SUNAO TAIRA (2005)

ŌKUNINUSHI NO MIKOTO, also known as Ōkuni or Ōnamuchi, is one of the major deities, or *kami,* in Japanese mythology. The earliest chronicle of Japan, the *Kojiki* (712 CE), refers to him as "the *kami* of the Great Land." According to legend, Ōkuni came to the land of Inaba with his brothers to court a Yakami beauty. Because his brothers made him carry their heavy bundle, he reached the shore of Inaba long after they did. On the beach Ōkuni found a white hare crying, and he asked the reason for the animal's distress. The hare replied that he had been bitten by a shark and that Ōkuni's brothers had advised him to bathe his wounds in salt water, but the treatment had only aggravated his pain. Ōkuni told him to use fresh water and apply sedge pollen to the wound. The hare was cured and in gratitude promised that the beautiful maiden of Yakami would marry none but Ōkuni.

Rebuffed by the Yakami maiden, Ōkuni's brothers learned of the hare's promise, and tried to kill Ōkuni. Twice he was crushed to death, first by a rolling boulder and later by a falling tree, but on both occasions his mother, Kamimusubi, came to his rescue and restored him to life.

Ōkuni then decided to leave Inaba and go to Izumo, where he met Suseri, daughter of the Sun Goddess's brother Susano-o. Suseri fell in love with Ōkuni, but to gain her hand he had to submit to many tests. After successfully passing all the ordeals, he was admitted to Susano-o's house and waited there for a chance to steal away with Susano-o's possessions. An opportunity came when Susano-o was lulled to sleep as Ōkuni picked lice from his hair. Ōkuni stole Susano-o's weapons and his koto (a zitherlike musical instrument that was sometimes used for sorcery) and carried Suseri away on his back.

Ōkuni married Suseri, but he had a roving eye and courted beautiful maidens from lands as far away as Koshi and Yamato. Although Suseri was jealous, she could do nothing about his liaison with other women, many of whom helped him to attain power and wealth.

Ōkuni allied himself with Sukunahikona, a dwarf god who had crossed the sea to Izumo in a bean-pod boat. Shortly thereafter the forces of Amaterasu reached Izumo's frontiers, and a power struggle ensued. After long negotiations Ōkuni renounced his political power and retired to Kizuki Shrine (later known as Izumo Shrine). He did, however, retain spiritual power over Izumo.

Ever since these legends were incorporated into the *Kojiki,* the high priest (*kuni no miyatsuko*) of Izumo Shrine has enjoyed the privilege of presenting congratulatory prayers upon the accession of each sovereign. Legend has it that Ōkuni meets with other deities from all over Japan once per year in Izumo during the tenth lunar month, usually the season of the first crop-tasting festivals. He is revered as the guardian of good marriages and god of agricultural fertility, and is the principal deity of Izumo Taishakyo, a Shintō sect whose headquarters are located in the town of Kizuki, Shimane Prefecture.

SEE ALSO Japanese Religions, article on The Study of Myths.

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MICHIKO YAMAGUCHI AOKI (1987)

OLAF THE HOLY (r. 1015–1030), ruler of Norway and Scandinavia's first saint. A missionary king who strove to impose religious unity on Norway, Olaf had great influence on the practice of traditional religion in Norway and Iceland. Olaf (also called Olaf the Stout and Saint Olaf) was a descendant of Harald I (known as Fairhair). He became a Viking at a young age, harrying ships in the Baltic and then off the coast of England. Later he fought for the duke of Normandy. Spurred by a prophetic dream, Olaf began his return to Norway to become king, stopping on the way to spend the winter of 1013–1014 in Rouen, where he was baptized.

In 1028 Olaf was forced to flee Norway because of conflicts with powerful Norwegian chieftains who were allied with the Danish king, Knut. While in exile he had another dream: that it was God's will that he reconquer Norway. Accordingly, he returned—with Swedish help—only to meet defeat and lose his life at the Battle of Stiklastaðir in 1030. Soon after his death Olaf was sanctified. His former enemies in Norway rapidly became disenchanted with the new Danish rulers, ousting them and declaring Olaf's son Magnus king.

The question of why Olaf expended so much effort to bring Christianity to Norway is an interesting one, especially since his mission eventually destroyed him. Monarchy was vital for Christian ideology at that time. The throne represented justice and peace. In becoming a Christian, Olaf became joined to a more enlightened world—materially richer and with higher ideals—than Scandinavia then was. He sought to create peace, and for this he needed the support of the great leaders. Approaching his goal with missionary zeal, Olaf converted his countrymen ruthlessly and confiscated the property of those who refused to convert.

The key to Olaf's success lay in his effectiveness at destroying the old religion, which he accomplished in part by exposing it to ridicule. On one occasion, reports reached the king that during the winter the farmers of Hálogaland were holding great feasts to appease the Æsir, who had become angry because the farmers had let themselves be baptized by Olaf. In this feast of propitiation cattle and horses were slaughtered and their blood spread on pedestals for the purpose of improving harvests. When Olaf summoned the farmers to account for their acts, however, they would admit only to communal drinking.

In a similar incident, the farmers of Mærin denied having included sacrifices to the Germanic gods in their Yule feasts. Olaf continued forcing the inland Norwegians to convert until Dala-Gudbrand called up a large force of farmers to oppose the king and proposed this plan of action: "If we bear Thor [Þórr] out from our temple, where he stands here in this farm and has always helped us, and if he sees Olaf and his men, they will melt away, and he and his men become as nothing" (Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla* 8–11). This plan was accepted. And when Olaf arrived he learned that the farmers had a god who was visibly present, everyday, made up in the image of Þórr: "He has a hammer in his hand and is of great size and hollow inside, and he stands on a pedestal. . . . He receives four loaves of bread every day and also fresh meat" (*Heimskringla* 13–16). The following morning the farmers carried out the huge statue of Þórr, and Dala-Gudbrand challenged Olaf, asking him where his god was. Olaf instructed a follower to strike the idol with a club if the farmers were to look away. Then he instructed the farmers to look to the east if they wanted to see the Christian god—just as the sun came over the horizon. At this moment Olaf's follower struck the idol, and as it fell to pieces, out sprang adders and other snakes and mice as big as cats. When the frightened farmers tried to flee, Olaf offered two alternatives, do battle or accept Christianity, whereupon they all accepted the new faith.

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JOHN WEINSTOCK (1987)

OLCOTT, HENRY STEEL. Colonel Henry Steel Olcott (1832–1907) was the first American to formally convert to Buddhism and a major contributor to the Sinhalese Buddhist revival in nineteenth-century Ceylon (now Sri Lanka). He was also a founder and president of the Theosophical Society, the first American organization devoted to promoting Asian religions in the West.

Born into a Presbyterian household in Orange, New Jersey, in 1832, Olcott first made a name for himself in agriculture, establishing a farm school and delivering a series of agricultural lectures at Yale University. He then moved on to careers in journalism and law. During the American Civil War he investigated fraud in the military, then served on the three-person team investigating Abraham Lincoln's assassination.

The life of this self-described "radical anti-Tammany Republican" took a fateful turn when the *New York Sun* dispatched him to write about spirit communications that mediums were receiving in a farmhouse in Chittenden, Vermont. There he met the Russian-born occultist Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, who impressed him with her Bohemian bearing, boundless charisma, and alleged connections with occult "Masters," members of an esoteric brotherhood in the East.

Now devoted to spiritual matters, Olcott joined forces with Blavatsky in New York City in 1875 to establish the Theosophical Society. He was the organization's president and she its corresponding secretary, but more importantly Blavatsky was the charismatic force propelling the society forward, while Olcott's job was to prevent it from spinning out of control. Initially, the "Theosophical Twins," as they were known, focused on reforming Spiritualism. But guided by Blavatsky's "Masters," they quickly reset their sights, transforming their society into the first American organization devoted to spreading the ancient wisdom of the East.

Unfortunately for Olcott and Blavatsky, there was not much of an American audience for their eclectic theology. So in the winter of 1878 to 1879, they took their society to India, first to Bombay (now Mumbai) and later to Adyar, a suburb of Madras (Chennai), where the society is still located. There Olcott edited the *Theosophist,* which offered its readers a heady mix of comparative religion, anti-missionary agitation, free thought, and esotericism. He and Blavatsky also promulgated for the first time the "three objects" of their organization: (1) to form the nucleus of the Universal Brotherhood of Humanity, without distinction of race, creed, sex, caste or color; (2) to encourage the study of comparative religion, philosophy, and science; (3) and to investigate the unexplained laws of nature and the powers latent in man.

In 1880 Olcott sailed with Blavatsky to Ceylon, and in Galle they formally converted to Buddhism. The Buddhism they embraced, however, was confessedly idiosyncratic. "If Buddhism contained a single dogma that we were compelled to accept, we would not have. . .remained Buddhists ten minutes," Olcott explained in his six-volume *Old Diary Leaves* (1895–1935). "Our Buddhism was that of the Master-Adept Gautama Buddha, which was identically the Wisdom Religion of the Aryan Upanishads, and the soul of all the ancient world-faiths."

Given his status as a new convert, Olcott might have spent time sitting at the feet of Buddhist monks, correcting his misapprehensions. Instead he got about the business of converting the island's inhabitants to his understanding of what he called "pure, primitive Buddhism." Soon he was founding Buddhist schools, establishing Young Men's Buddhist Associations, and writing a popular *Buddhist Catechism* (1881), which was published in more than forty editions and at least twenty languages. In the process, he helped to spread, especially among the English-speaking middle-class, a form of Buddhism that borrowed heavily from the liberal Protestantism of his youth. Activistic, optimistic, didactic, progressive, and adaptive, this creole tradition is now widely described as "Protestant Buddhism."

While Olcott upset some monks, he was lionized by the populace, who thronged to hear "the White Buddhist" lecture on the vices of Christian missions and the virtues of Buddhist thought. In his lectures Olcott rejected stereotypes of Buddhism as "a grossly materialistic, nihilistic, a negative, a vile-breeding religion," describing the tradition instead as a philosophy (not a religion) rooted in the ancient teachings of the Buddha and confirmed by experience (rather than faith).

Olcott devoted his last years to intra-Buddhist ecumenism. In the late 1880s and early 1890s, he traveled to Burma and Japan in an effort to enlist all the world's Buddhists into one International Buddhist League. He also helped to design a six-colored Buddhist flag, which was adopted in 1950 as an international Buddhist symbol by the World Fellowship of Buddhists and now hangs in Buddhist centers worldwide.

Back in India, Olcott also made important contributions to the Indian Renaissance, founding schools for Dalits (formerly known as "untouchables"), promoting a Sanskrit revival, and establishing Hindu boys' associations. Olcott's work reverberated most powerfully, however, outside of his adopted homeland, especially in the United States, where his Theosophical activities helped to popularize Asian religions and New Age thought, and in Sri Lanka, where upon his death in 1907 over twenty thousand students were attending 183 grant-in-aid Buddhist schools.

Olcott died in India in 1907, and his cremated remains were scattered in the Ganges and the Indian Ocean. Though largely forgotten in the country of his birth (where the *New York Times* once denounced him as "a man bereft of reason"), Olcott is something of a folk hero in Sri Lanka, immortalized on a postage stamp and remembered each year on Olcott Day. Olcott is also admired in the Theosophical Society, which now maintains hundreds of branches on five continents and continues to preach the essential unity of all religions.

SEE ALSO Blavatsky, H. P.; Theosophical Society.

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STEPHEN PROTHERO (2005)

OLDENBERG, HERMANN (1854–1920), German Sanskritist, Buddhologist, and historian of religions. Born in Hamburg on October 31, 1854, the son of a Protestant clergyman, Hermann Oldenberg completed doctoral studies in classical and Indic philology in 1875 at the University of Berlin with a dissertation on the Arval Brothers, an ancient Roman cult fraternity. He submitted his habilitation thesis at Berlin in Sanskrit philology in 1878, going on to become professor at the University of Kiel in 1889, and then at Göttingen from 1908 until his death on March 18, 1920.

Publishing an edition and translation of the *Śāṅkhayana Gṛhyasūtra* in 1878, the young Oldenberg then turned his attention to the Pali Buddhist texts; and it is due to him as much as to any single scholar that serious inquiry into these materials was begun. Previous decades of nineteenth-century European Buddhist research had focused on Mahāyāna Sanskrit (and Tibetan) texts, through which the historical Buddha and the early history of Buddhism were only dimly apparent. Oldenberg edited and translated into English the important Pali chronicle, the *Dīpavaṁsa*, in 1879; he also edited the *Vinaya Piṭaka* ("discipline basket") of the Pali Tipiṭaka (1879–1883), then published English translations of these texts (1881–1885) with T. W. Rhys Davids, founder of the Pali Text Society. The signal publication of this period of intense research on Buddhism is his *Buddha: Sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde* (1881), written when he was only twenty-six, and "perhaps the most famous book ever written on Buddhism" (J. W. de Jong, *Indo-Iranian Journal* 12, 1970, p. 224).

While Oldenberg's active interest in Buddhist studies never flagged, Buddhism was for him one dimension of what was to be his Lebenswerk: nothing less than the systematic examination of India's earliest religious history. Indeed, his achievements in Vedic studies are—if this is possible—even more consequential than his contributions to Buddhist studies. Taken together, his *Die Hymnen des Rigveda* (1888), *Die Religion des Veda* (1894), and *Ṛgveda: Textkritische and exegetische Noten* (1909–1912) constitute a triptych of enormous and continuing importance for research on the form, meters, and textual history of the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā*. Further, his translations of several Vedic Gṛhyasūtras (*sutra*s on domestic religious ceremonies), his book-length studies on the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads, and his numerous articles on Vedic topics complete an imposing legacy of meticulous scholarship.

Through Hermann Oldenberg's efforts, the sustained historical and literary inquiry into Vedic and Buddhist religions attained maturity. His concern to penetrate to the historical foundations of Buddhism and Vedism, which was representative of contemporary trends of German historical scholarship in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, may seem somewhat naive to scholars today. Oldenberg died little more than a year before the first productive season of archaeological investigations in the Indus Valley, work destined to alter decisively many then-prevailing conceptions of the earliest stages of Indian civilization and religion. One can only conjecture how he would have responded to these discoveries. It seems altogether certain, however, that he would have dealt with them in that same clear-sighted, unsentimental, and critical fashion that characterized all his scholarly work. His persisting efforts to unveil the earliest stages of India's religious thought and history, his rigorous philological method, and the degree to which he integrated insights from other disciplines, stand as important monuments that will continue to inform and guide research.

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Unhappily, the direct impact of Oldenberg's scholarship on investigations in the English-speaking world has been limited by the paucity of translations. English editions of Oldenberg's works include William Hoey's translation of *Buddha: Sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde as The Buddha: His Life, His Doctrine, His Order* (London, 1882), which should be consulted alongside the thirteenth German edition, annotated by Helmuth von Glasenapp, as well as the following books, each of which is accompanied by a valuable introduction: *The Dīpavaṃsa* (London, 1879); *Vinaya Texts* (Oxford, 1881–1885); *The Gṛhyasūtras: Rules of Vedic Domestic Ceremonies*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1886–1892); and part 2 ("Hymns to Agni") of *Vedic Hymns* (Oxford, 1897). Also, three of his general essays have been published together as *Ancient India* (Chicago, 1898). Of inestimable value is Klaus Janert's careful two-volume edition of *Oldenberg's Kleine Schriften* (Wiesbaden, 1967), which includes not only full texts of more than one hundred articles but also an exhaustive bibliography.

G. R. WELBON (1987 AND 2005)

OLD TESTAMENT SEE BIBLICAL LITERATURE, *ARTICLE ON* HEBREW SCRIPTURES

OLMEC RELIGION.

The Olmec occupied southern Mexico's tropical lowlands in southeastern Veracruz and western Tabasco between 1200 and 600 BCE. Like other Mesoamerican peoples of the period, they lived in villages, practiced agriculture based on maize cultivation, and produced pottery. However, they differed from their contemporaries in their more complex social and political institutions, in the construction of large centers with temples and other specialized buildings, and in their development of a distinctive style of art expressed in monumental stone sculptures and exquisite small portable objects. If they had a writing system, none of their texts has survived; everything known about the Olmec is based upon archaeological excavations at San Lorenzo, La Venta, Laguna de los Cerros, Tres Zapotes, and other major centers. Although religion is a most difficult aspect of prehistoric life for archaeologists to reconstruct, Olmec architecture, sculpture, and artifacts provide many useful insights into their religious beliefs and practices.

STUDY OF OLMEC RELIGION. Archaeological, historical, and ethnographic information provides the basic data for reconstructing ancient Mesoamerican religions. Archaeological data on prehistoric cultures must be interpreted in light of information about later, better documented cultures or studies of modern groups on approximately similar levels of development. For the Olmec, the archaeological data consist of sculptures, architecture, and artifacts. Researchers interpret these in terms of Spanish accounts of Aztec and Maya religions dating from the sixteenth century CE and of contemporary ethnographic studies of religious practices among modern Mesoamerican Indians and tropical forest groups living elsewhere in Latin America. The basic assumption underlying this approach is summarized in the assertion that ". . . there is a basic religious system common to all Mesoamerican peoples. This system took shape long before it was given monumental expression in Olmec art and survived long after the Spanish conquered the New World's major political and religious centers" (Joralemon, 1976, pp. 58–59).

Studies of Olmec religion rely heavily on iconographic analyses of the Olmec art style as expressed in over two hundred known stone monuments and hundreds of small portable objects. These studies have particularly emphasized the identification of deities while neglecting ritual and many other topics. Scholars tend to accept Joralemon's premise of continuity despite legitimate criticisms. And while this historical-ethnographic approach has been quite productive, it does have some serious weaknesses. For example, it cannot automatically be assumed that symbols and motifs retained the same basic meanings over several millennia and over long geographical distances. Furthermore, the much later Aztec religion, which is the primary model for comparison, may be an inappropriate model for the Olmec. The Aztec numbered in the millions whereas Olmec polities contained only a few thousand people at most. The tremendous disparity in social complexity implied by these differences may also indicate fundamental differences in their religious institutions and beliefs. Nevertheless, until archaeologists find ways to replace historical and ethnographic analogy as their primary interpretive tool, researchers will be forced to depend on such comparisons, and must try to employ them as judiciously as possible.

CHARACTERISTICS OF OLMEC RELIGION. The fundamental pattern of Olmec belief seems to have centered on the worship of numerous high gods or supernatural forces that controlled the universe and sanctioned the human sociopolitical structure. Human interaction with them required complex rituals in temples and other sanctified places, and could be achieved only by religious specialists whose personal qualifications or social position qualified them for the task. The belief system they served included a pantheon, a cosmology that explained and structured the universe, and a set of ritual activities that expressed the cosmology.

The pantheon. The nature of the Olmec pantheon is a topic of some controversy. Some scholars argue that Olmec supernaturals were not gods in the Western sense of recognizably distinct personalities, while others accept the existence of deities but disagree on their identifications. For example, what in this article is called the Olmec Dragon has been variously identified as a were-jaguar combining human and feline traits, a caiman, a toad, or a manatee! The reason for the confusion is that researchers have difficulty comprehending the subject matter of Olmec art. The beings portrayed are frequently "creatures that are biologically impossible," things that "exist in the mind of man, not in the world of nature" (Joralemon, 1976, p. 33).

The most thorough research on the Olmec pantheon has been done by Peter D. Joralemon, who originally defined ten Olmec deities (Gods I–X) but later reduced these to six, conforming to three basic dyads (Joralemon, 1971, 1976). Olmec art portrays the deities as creatures combining an endless and bewildering array of human, reptilian, avian, and feline attributes. The most commonly depicted pair are the Olmec Dragon (God I) and the Olmec Bird Monster (God III). The Olmec Dragon, believed to be a crocodilian with eagle, jaguar, human, and serpent attributes, appears to signify earth, water, fire, and agricultural fertility, and may have served as the patron deity of the elite. The Olmec Bird Monster is a raptorial bird, tentatively identified as a harpy eagle, with mammalian and reptilian features. Joralemon associates it with maize, agricultural fertility, the heavens, and mind-altering psychotrophic substances.

Joralemon suggests that the Olmec Dragon was a predecessor of numerous later deities, specifically the Aztec gods Cipactli, Xiuhtecuhtli, Huehueteotl, Tonacatecuhtli, and Quetzalcoatl and the Maya god Itzamná. Some authorities dispute these proposed linkages with later deities, but unfortunately there is a lack of a coherent methodology for resolving the issues of continuity and change in deity concepts through time.

Gods II and IV form an agricultural-fertility complex. God II has maize cobs sprouting from a cleft in the top of its head, and may be an ancestor of later Aztec maize deities such as Centeotl. God IV is an infant or dwarf, probably associated with rain, whom Joralemon sees as an early form of later rain deities, such as the central Mexican *tlalocs* and Maya *chacs.*

The final Olmec dyad consists of Gods VI and VIII. God VI is a deity of springtime and renewal who symbolizes reborn vegetation, and is thought to be an analog to Xipe Totec, the Aztec god whose priests wore human skin, flayed from sacrificial victims, as a sign of rebirth. God VIII is the death god, called Mictlantecuhtli by the Aztec, and symbolized by a fleshless human jaw.

Although much remains to be learned about the Olmec pantheon, the importance of agricultural and fertility deities is evident. This is not surprising in view of the fact that farming was the most important subsistence activity among the Olmec, but it does mark the earliest clear formulation of such deity concepts in Mesoamerica and represents a major Olmec contribution to Mesoamerican culture.

Religious specialists. There is no evidence in Olmec society of an elaborate religious bureaucracy comparable to that reported for the Aztec. The small size of Olmec groups probably precluded this development. Some scholars have called Olmec society a theocracy, but there is no evidence to warrant such a conclusion, although priests were undoubtedly members of the elite. Peter T. Furst has persuasively argued that certain Olmec art objects portray the theme of a "jaguar-shaman transformation complex" in which human shamans assumed the guise of their jaguar alter egos (see Furst's article "The Olmec Were-Jaguar Motif in the Light of Ethnographic Reality," in *Dumbarton Oaks Conference on the Olmec,* edited by Elizabeth P. Benson, Washington, D.C., 1968, pp. 79–110). It is not clear whether Olmec shamans were also elite priests, but it does seem likely.

Cosmology. Although the lack of written accounts makes it difficult to reconstruct Olmec cosmology, the archaeological record contains some interesting clues. Two sculptured monuments from the San Lorenzo area form the basis of the so-called Stirling hypothesis, named after its formulator, Matthew W. Stirling. Stirling maintained that each monument shows a jaguar having sexual intercourse with a woman and that they portray the mythic origin of the were-jaguars so common in Olmec art. Unfortunately, both monuments were badly mutilated in antiquity, and their subject matter is not at all clear.

Another important insight into Olmec cosmology may be contained in depictions of caves. Sculptured scenes of people seated in caves or emerging from cavelike niches suggest an early occurrence of the pan-Mesoamerican belief that ethnic groups and deities emerged on to the surface world through caves, which served as doorways to and from the supernatural realm inside the earth. In some cases the Olmec depictions clearly represent the mouth of the Olmec Dragon. Well-preserved Olmec-style paintings deep within caves in the states of Guerrero and Morelos far from the Olmec Gulf Coast homeland reinforce this interpretation.

Ritual. One of the least understood aspects of Olmec religion is ritual. Research has yielded some knowledge about the architectural settings in which rituals were held and about the nonperishable objects that are assumed to have been used in ritual contexts, but Olmec dances, prayers, chants, feasts, and other behaviors are lost forever.

Pole-and-thatch temples on the summits of earth mounds are widely regarded as having been a focal point for elite rituals. These small structures most likely housed the most important cult images and served as sanctuaries where the priests and leaders gathered in seclusion to conduct the esoteric rites to which only they were privy. The open courtyards and plazas surrounding the mounds were well suited for more public celebrations attended by the general populace.

Archaeological excavations have revealed numerous unusual architectural features that were either used in ritual or had some specific sacred meaning. For example, the gigantic artificial ridges built onto the sides of the San Lorenzo plateau may represent an attempt to transform the entire community into a bird effigy similar to the much smaller effigy mounds constructed by later Indian cultures in what is now the midwestern United States. The twenty or so deep depressions in the surface of San Lorenzo probably originated as sources of soil for mound construction but were later converted into sacred water reservoirs by lining them with special materials. Flooding was prevented by elaborate drain systems constructed of hundreds of U-shaped stone troughs. These reservoirs may have provided water for domestic use, but the year-round availability of fresh water from nearby springs, the substantial labor invested in constructing the drain systems, and the water-deity symbolism on several associated monuments all suggest a ritual function. Two potential uses have been suggested: One is that they served as ritual bathing stations for priests, the other that they were holding tanks for sacred animals such as caimans or manatees.

The Olmec probably played a ritual ball game similar to those popular in later times, as evidenced by clay figurines depicting males dressed in ballplayer garb and who at times hold what appears to be a ball. A rectangular group of four mounds at San Lorenzo has been interpreted as a formal ball court; and although it lacks the rings and benches of later courts, residue of a rubber-like substance found at this site may be the remnants of a ball. Some authorities have suggested that the numerous colossal heads found at several Olmec sites depict ballplayers wearing helmets, but the most recent consensus is that these remarkable basalt human portraits represent individual Olmec rulers. The ball game played by later Mesoamericans did have secular aspects, but it is generally regarded as a primarily religious observance in which players represented supernaturals.

Evidence of a common yet perplexing aspect of Olmec ritual centered around the burial of precious objects in caches and offerings has been found at La Venta. Some caches contain only one or a few objects while others include enormous amounts of material. The small offerings include stone figurines and celts, pottery vessels, and a variety of personal ornaments, even though these are generally not associated with burials. Some offerings display ideologically significant patterns in the placement of objects, such as celts arranged in geometric patterns or stylized deity faces. One particularly interesting cache from La Venta contains jadeite human figurines placed to show a procession scene with four individuals filing past what appears to be an Olmec ruler and his retinue.

The most unusual buried features are the so-called Massive Offerings at La Venta. Huge steep-sided pits were dug into the subsoil and immediately filled with thousands of serpentine blocks laid in clay and topped with a mosaic of finely worked blocks forming a gigantic mask of the Olmec Dragon. Four Massive Offerings have been discovered at La Venta, and like many architectural features at the site they occur in bilaterally symmetrical positions vis-à-vis the site's centerline. It is possible that all the subsurface offerings at La Venta form a colossal pattern of unknown ritual significance, but enough pieces of the puzzle to be able to identify the pattern have not yet been found.

Just as Olmec constructions provide insights into the settings for ritual, their art objects and other artifacts alert scholars to the nature of some of the rituals. Museums and private collections contain hundreds of exotic objects to which can be reasonably assigned a ritual function even though their specific uses are not known. Anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines, masks, celts, "spoons," "stilettos," and a host of miscellaneous objects, frequently decorated with religious designs and symbols, indicate a well-developed set of ritual paraphernalia. The objects are often made from jadeite, serpentine, and other blue-green stones whose color obviously had some special significance. In most cases the functions of these objects are not known, but the stilettos may have served as bloodletters used in ritual autosacrifice and the "spoons" may have been used for the administration of hallucinogenic substances. Evidence for the use of mind-altering substances by the Olmecs is weak, but most scholars assume such practices were part of Olmec ritual.

Other ritual accoutrements include iron-ore mirrors, which are masterpieces of pre-Columbian lapidary work. Made from large rectangular pieces of magnetite, ilmenite, and hematite, the polished concave surfaces of these mirrors have such fine optical qualities that they can be used to ignite fires and project camera-lucida images on flat surfaces. An enigmatic grooved rectangular bar of magnetic hematite found at San Lorenzo has been shown to be a compass needle, probably used in geomantic ritual rather than as a utilitarian device.

SEE ALSO Caves; Iconography, article on Mesoamerican Iconography.

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OṂ, a contraction of the sounds /a/, /u/, and /m/, is considered in the Hindu tradition to be the most sacred of Sanskrit syllables. In a religious setting that reveres the intrinsic power of sound as a direct manifestation of the divine, a setting in which the hierarchy of scripture is headed by the *śruti* ("heard") texts and in which oral tradition has preserved the religious language unchanged over millennia, *oṃ* is the articulated syllable par excellence, the eternally creative divine word. Indeed, the Sanskrit word denoting "syllable" (*akṣara,* literally "the imperishable") commonly serves as an epithet for *oṃ.* Its other epithets include *ekakṣara* ("the one syllable" but also "the sole imperishable thing") and *pranava* (from *praṇu,* "to utter a droning"); the latter term refers to the practice of initiating any sacred recitation with a nasalized syllable. The syllable *oṃ* itself has been associated with the Sanskrit root *av* ("to drive, impel, animate"; *Uṇadi Sūtra* 1.141). It is represented graphically by a familiar mystical symbol combining the syllable's three components.

Articulated at the beginning and end of recitations and prayers, *oṃ* is a particle of auspicious salutation, expressing acknowledgment of the divine or solemn affirmation, in which latter sense it is compared with *amen* ("verily, this syllable is assent"; *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 1.1.8). Evidence of its use as an invocation occurs in the *Ṛgveda;* though it appears in a relatively late section (1.164.39), this note dates the practice to at least 1200 BCE.

From the sixth century BCE, the Upaniṣads make direct mention of *oṃ.* One of the oldest Upaniṣads, the *Chāndogya,* discusses the syllable at length in setting forth rules for the chanters of the *Sāmaveda* and states that "one has to know that *oṃ* is the imperishable" (1.3.4). By sounding *oṃ,* one intones the Udgītā, the essential canto of the Vedic sacrifice (1.1.5).

In the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad,* the figure Death defines *oṃ* as the goal propounded by the Vedas, and proclaims that anyone who meditates on the syllable *oṃ* can attain *brahman* (1.2.15–16). A later Upaniṣad, the *Taittirīya,* indicates that *oṃ* is both *brahman* and the cosmos (1.8.1–2): The sound symbol is identical to what it represents.

The first chapter of the *Māṇḍukya,* one of the latest of the Vedic Upaniṣads, is devoted to the elucidation of *oṃ.* The sacred syllable is divided into its four phonetic components, representing the four states of mind, or consciousness: /a/ is related to the awakened state, /u/ to the dream state, /m/ to dreamless sleep, and the syllable as a whole to the fourth state, *turīya,* which is beyond words and is itself the One, the Ultimate, the *brahman.* "One should know *oṃ* to be God seated in the hearts of all" (1.28).

The sixth chapter of the *Maitrāyaṇīya,* possibly the latest of the Vedic Upaniṣads, is devoted entirely to the discussion of the sacred syllable, referred to as the "primary sound" (6.22). The devotee is enjoined to meditate on the Self as *oṃ* (6.3). When *oṃ* is articulated, the sound "rises upward." The chapter closes with the invocation "Hail *oṃ*! Hail *brahman*!"

When the *Bhagavadgītā*—a fragment of the *Mahābhārata,* perhaps contemporary with the latest of the Vedic Upaniṣads—proclaims that "the imperishable is *brahman,*" it plays on the term *akṣara,* which may be read either as an adjective ("*brahman* is imperishable") or as a substantive ("*brahman* is the Imperishable [i.e., *oṃ*]").

Manu (*Manusmṛti* 2.74) echoes the assertion made in the *Chāndogya* regarding the articulation of *oṃ* preceding any sacred recitation, and prescribes that it be repeated not only at the beginning but also at the end of the daily recitation of the Veda, under penalty of losing the merit attached to such an exercise. He adds that Prakjāpati, the creator, extracted the milk of three cows (i.e., the three primary Vedas) in order to draw the three phonetic components that make up the syllable.

Through imagery borrowed from archery, the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* indicates how the articulation of *oṃ* was integrated into the practice of meditation according to Indian thought: The syllable *oṃ* is the bow, the *ātman* (the self) is the arrow, and *brahman* is the target (2.2.3–4). One must bend toward the target without diverting the mind; one must make oneself identical to the arrow. (The same image is found in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa.*) The *Yoga Sūtra* of Patañjali mentions that the various yoga systems all insist on the importance of *oṃ* as a symbol of the devotee's attempt to unite with the Absolute, a goal that is itself the prerequisite to any practice of meditation.

In later times *oṃ* stands for the union of the three gods of the Hindu triad, Brahmā (the creative force, or /a/), Viṣṇu (the sustaining force, or /u/), and Śiva (the dissolving force, or /m/).

As the primary sound symbol for an Indian tradition maintained continuously from the age of the Vedas into modern times, the syllable *oṃ* stands charged with an unquestionable religious energy. Its use as a mantra for profound meditation reflects the Vedic teaching that the devotee is one with the sacred sound and all it represents. Through its constant repetition in recitations, prayers, and even recently composed sacred texts it acts as a pitch that tunes the worshiper to the heart of the prayer.

SEE ALSO Music, article on Music and Religion in India.

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OMENS SEE PORTENTS AND PRODIGIES

OMOPHAGIA is an ancient Greek term (*ōmophagia,* "eating raw [flesh]") for a ritual in the ecstatic worship of Dionysos.

THE RAW AND THE COOKED. All human groups, including the so-called primitives, are aware of their cultural identity by contrast to other, "uncivilized" forms of life. That the opposition of civilization to nature, of human to animal, is most drastically experienced in the dietary code, in the use of cooked food as against "raw-eating" animals, has become popular knowledge in the wake of *The Raw and the Cooked* (1969), the seminal first volume of Claude Lévi-Strauss's *Mythologiques.* This presupposes the conquest of fire, which has been decisive in the evolution of humankind and which still looms large in mythology; knowledge of fire goes together with the special importance of the hunt in early and primitive societies. A constant point of reference in human and even prehuman experience are the big carnivores, especially the leopard and the wolf, that are abhorred as well as imitated. Model hunters, at the same time dreadfully dangerous and admirably powerful, the carnivores are the paradigmatic "raw-eaters." They are human-eaters, too: When the problems of civilization and dietary codes are articulated in ritual or myth, the motif of cannibalism usually makes its appearance.

The category of "raw-eating" most generally finds two applications. In mythology, it designates various demons who naturally take the traits of predators—enemies of the gods or even certain uncanny and dangerous gods. On a more realistic level, ethnocentrism and xenophobia combine to mark certain foreign tribes as "raw-eaters," be they neighbors or faraway people known from hearsay. In Western tradition, this cliché has remained attached to Huns and Tatars. As a variant or for reinforcement, the motif of cannibalism easily comes in. It is notable that the concept of "raw-eaters" goes back to Indo-European strata, that is, to the early third millennium BCE, as shown by the correspondence of the Sanskrit *āmād* with the Greek *ōmēs-tēs;* in the same vein, a Scythian tribe was known as Āmādokoi. Tribalism also admits of mythical transformations: For the Greeks, the centaurs, hybrids of man and horse, living in the woods but sometimes visiting humans to wreak havoc, were not only hunters but "raw-eaters."

In a more complex way the opposition of "raw-eating" to civilized may appear within one ethnic unity: One special group is set apart by this very characterization. The imitation of carnivores is most evident in secret societies of leopard men as attested in Africa, or the folklore of werewolves in Europe, including ancient Greece. They are expected to kill and eat in a beastlike fashion and especially to practice cannibalism. The oldest evidence for leopard men comes from wall paintings of Çatal Hüyük in Neolithic Anatolia about 6000 BCE; details about their function or practice cannot be known, except for their imitating predators through masquerade in the context of hunting.

In more modern times two groups, "raw-eaters" versus eaters of cooked meat, are attested among the Mansi, an Ugric tribe of Siberia, and Andreas Alföldi (1974) has used this attestation to illustrate a similar opposition between two groups of Luperci who performed the ancient festival of Lupercalia at Rome; in both cases it is the group of "raw-eaters" who enjoy the higher reputation as being the swifter, the more vigilant, the more powerful. It seems that in ancient civilizations the opposition of raw versus cooked has sometimes been replaced by that of roasted versus boiled meat, where roasting is more primitive, more hunterlike, more heroic. Thus in a non-Yahvistic ritual mentioned in the *First Book of Samuel* (2:11–17) the priests require raw flesh for roasting while the sacrificial community feasts on boiled meat.

A similar opposition may be enacted not through the institution of permanent groups but in the dimension of time: "raw-eating" as a transitional stage leading back to normal food, that is, to civilization reconfirmed through its opposite in the dietary code. Thus in initiations that involve a marginal status and make the initiates outcasts for a while, disuse of fire and raw-eating has a place. In Greek myth this is reflected in the figure of Achilles, who as a boy is taken from his parents to the "raw-eating" centaurs and gets his unique heroic strength by feeding on the entrails of the most savage beasts (Apollodorus, *Bibliothēkē* 3.13.6).

There are communal festivals too that bring about a temporary reversal, an atavistic return to ancient ways of life that sometimes includes the interdiction of fire and thus enforces a diet of uncooked food. In ancient Greece this is attested for a festival on the island of Lemnos and also for some forms of the Thesmophoria, the festival of Demeter. Accompanying myths tell stories about an insurrection of women against men that, however, had to give way to normality again. Of course, initiations, secret societies, and public festivals may be functionally interrelated in various ways; by themselves or in combination they keep alive the consciousness of alternatives to what is considered normal and thus in fact help to ensure continuity.

DIONYSIAN OMOPHAGIA. Dionysos, the ancient Greek god of wine and ecstasy, is experienced by his followers most deeply and directly in a state known simply as "madness" (*mania*). Hence his female adherents are called Maenads (*mainades*); Bacchants *(bakchoi)* and Bacchantes *(bakchai)*, masculine and feminine, respectively, are about equivalent. High points of bacchantic activity are tearing apart a victim and eating it raw. From a pragmatic perspective, the two activities of tearing apart (*sparagmos*) and eating raw (*ōmophagia*) need not entail each other, but in the Dionysian tradition both combine to form an image of what is both subhuman and superhuman, both beastlike and godlike, at the same time.

The most influential literary text to describe Dionysian phenomena is Euripides' tragedy *The Bacchae* (405 BCE). When the Maenads, who are celebrating their dances in the wilderness, are disturbed by herdsmen, they jump at the herds and tear calves and even bulls asunder "swifter than you could shut your eyes" (ll. 735–747); later on they murder Pentheus in a similar way. Eating is not dwelt upon in this context, except as a horrible prospect (l. 1184); but in the introductory song of the play the god himself, leader of the dances, is presented as "hunting for blood by killing a he-goat, the lust of raw-eating" (ll. 137–139), and the Bacchantes are ready to identify with their leader.

In the Dionysian circle, the imagery of carnivores is ready at hand. Preference is given to the leopard, partly through an overlap with the symbolism of the Anatolian mother goddess, whose distant avatar seems to be the goddess of Çatal Hüyük. *Bassarai* (Foxes) was the title of a lost play by Aeschylus; it was a name for the Maenads who destroyed Lykurgos, another enemy of the god. Classical vase paintings (fifth to fourth century BCE) show dancing Maenads holding parts of a torn animal—a fawn, a goat—in their hands; eating, though, is hardly depicted.

Such restraint is absent from the picture drawn by Christian writers of pagan cult. "You leave behind your breast's sanity, you crown yourselves with vipers, and in order to prove that you are filled with the power of god, with bloody mouths you tear asunder the entrails of goats crying out in protest"—thus said Arnobius in *Against the Pagans* (5.19), following in part Clement of Alexandria's *Protrepticus* (chap. 12). In this view omophagia is the extreme of the pagans' folly.

A most serious problem is to decide how much of the picture evoked by Hellenic poetry on the one side and Christian polemics on the other is to be regarded as cultic reality in the context of Greek civilization of the historical period. There are many convergent testimonies, but few to convince a skeptic. A very ancient epithet of the god is Dionysos Ōmēstēs ("eating raw"), attested by the poet Alcaeus about 600 BCE. Dionysos Ōmadios, mentioned a few times in connection with human sacrifice, is often considered equivalent; linguistically, though, this epithet should rather belong to *ōmadon* ("by the shoulder"), which still refers to "tearing apart" in *sparagmos.* Firmicus Maternus, writing Christian polemics but drawing on some Hellenistic source, asserts that in a Dionysian festival "the Cretans tear apart a living bull with their teeth" (*On the Error of Pagan Religions,* chap. 6; about 350 CE)—which doubtless includes elements of fantasy. In a poem titled *Bassarika,* a certain Dionysios has a human victim, clad in a deer's skin, torn to pieces and devoured by Indians on the command of Dionysos; the remains are to be assembled in baskets before sunrise. The mystic baskets are well known from ritual, but the story with its barbarian setting is a ghastly exaggeration. A more reliable witness is Plutarch, who combines the epithet *ōmēstēs* with another, *agriōnios,* and thus refers to a well-attested festival, Agriōnia. This in turn is connected with a group of myths that tell about the women of a city growing mad, leaving the town, kidnapping their own children in order to kill and even eat them; the Pentheus myth of Euripides' *Bacchae* is in fact one exemplar of the pattern. But to bring imagination back to facts of ritual, scholars have nothing but the too short statement of Plutarch that there are indeed in Greek cults "unlucky and dreary days in which omophagia and tearing-apart have their place" (*On the Decline of Oracles,* 417c).

Modern scholarship has often connected Dionysian omophagia with the apocryphal Orphic myth that tells how Dionysos himself when still a child was slain, cut to pieces, and tasted by the Titans—in consequence of which, the Titans were burned by the lightning of Zeus, and from their smoke humankind arose. This seemed to place the ritual in the context of a marginal Orphic sect. But it has long been seen that this myth explicitly contradicts a strict understanding of the meaning of *ōmophagia:* The Titans use a knife, and they both cook and roast the remains of their victim. This seems to mirror more complex divisions of marginal groups, Dionysian or Orphic, with differing dietary codes and ideology, as shown especially by Marcel Detienne (1977).

A most interesting text comes from a lost tragedy of Euripides, *The Cretans* (frag. 472 in August Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta,* Leipzig, 1889), preserved by Porphyry (*On Abstinence* 4.19): The chorus of Cretans introduce themselves as "initiates of Idaean Zeus"; they have achieved this status "by performing the thunder of night-swarming Zagreus and the raw-eating dinners, and by holding up the torches for the Mother of the mountains." This is a literary elaboration; one might surmise that the poet was not too well informed about the details of Idaean mysteries and liberally added colors from the Dionysian sphere. But he succeeds in giving a meaningful setting to the rite of raw-eating, as a transient phase in initiation to be followed by strict vegetarianism, as the initiates emerge in white clothes from a temple smeared with bull's blood; this is a grim and revolting antidote through which a status of purity is achieved. *Zagreus* is an epithet of Dionysos, especially in the context of *sparagmos.*

There remains one nonliterary, realistic testimony for cult practice, a sacred law from Miletus, dated 276/275 BCE, regulating the privileges of a priestess with regard to the city as well as to private Dionysian mysteries: "It shall not be allowed to anyone to throw in an *ōmophagion* before the priestess throws in one on behalf of the city, nor to bring together the group of revelers (*thiasoi*) before the public one." This clearly is to ensure some prerogative of the city as against private organizations. Unfortunately *ōmophagion,* "something related to raw-eating," is a term that occurs only here, and no agreement has been reached among interpreters as to what exactly it should mean in this context. Is a victim (e.g., a goat) being thrown down at a crowd of ecstatic Bacchants assembled in expectation? (This is the most vivid picture, drawn by, among others, E. R. Dodds, 1951.) Or is a victim being thrown down into a chasm, as attested in the Demeter festival Thesmophoria? Or is some kind of symbolic substitute (perhaps only a mere contribution in money) being "thrown into" some box? In the absence of further evidence there will be no final decision. One may still claim that in such a context ideology is more important than reality. One finds, in a major Greek city close to the classical age, the designation of "raw-eating" in a ritual that is meant to ensure the favor of Dionysos on behalf of the city and that takes precedence in the procession. There were points of reference in cult even to the more exuberant Dionysian mythology.

COMPARATIVE EVIDENCE. A vivid description of pre-Islamic bedouin is contained in a Christian novel from the fifth century CE, *The Story of Nilus,* now finally available in a critical edition: Nilus of Ancyra, *Narratio,* edited by Fabricius Conca (Leipzig, 1983). These barbarians, the text says, delight in sacrificing boys to the morning star; sometimes "they take a camel of white color and otherwise faultless, they bend it down upon its knees, and go circling round it three times"; the leader,

> after the third circuit, before the crowd has finished the song, while the last words of the refrain are still on their lips, draws his sword and forcefully smites the neck of the camel, and he is the first to taste eagerly of its blood. And thus the rest of them run up and with their knives some cut off a small bit of the hide with its hair upon it, others hack at any chance bit of flesh and snatch it away, others go on to the entrails and inwards, and they leave no scrap of the victim unwrought that might be seen by the sun at its rising. (3.3, pp. 12f.)

The importance of the text as a description of a very primitive form of sacrifice was seen by W. Robertson Smith (1889), and explicit comparison with Dionysian phenomena was made by Jane E. Harrison (1903); there is no mention of divine possession, but the narrator seems to consider the bedouin madmen anyhow. It is not to be forgotten, however, that this is a novel, and that horror stories belong to the genre; this fact seriously impairs the authenticity of the report.

A more striking parallel has been adduced from eyewitness reports of modern Morocco, collected especially by Raoul Brunel (1926). The Aissaoua form a kind of secret society consisting of several clans, each of which is named after an animal, and the members, in their initiation rites, are made to imitate their emblem. Clans of jackals, cats, dogs, leopards, and lions specialize in tearing apart animals and devouring them raw on the spot; in the words of an informant quoted by E. R. Dodds (1951), "after the usual beating of tom-toms, screaming of the pipes and monotonous dancing, a sheep is thrown into the middle of the square, upon which all the devotees come to life and tear the animal limb from limb and eat it raw." It is said that the flocks of those who voluntarily offer an animal to the sect will not suffer damage from real predators. Thus a marginal existence is provided with a charismatic status. This seems to be the closest analogy to Dionysian omophagia, though the social setting evidently is fundamentally different.

INTERPRETATIONS. The most common interpretation of ritual "raw-eating" has been based on what James G. Frazer called "the homeopathic effects of a flesh diet": taking in life and strength from a living being in the most direct way. In Hebrew, raw flesh is called "living" flesh. The hypothesis has been added that originally the victim was identical with the god, who is thus appropriated by the worshipers in sacramental communion. A central support of this construct is seen to collapse if omophagia is not directly related to the myth of Dionysos slain. Nor does the hypothesis explain the characteristics of the abnormal usually attached to omophagia, be it a state of madness or a realm of strangers and monsters. Thus it seems preferable to see the rituals in the more general context of precarious civilization struggling with the antinomies of nature, while accepting those antinomies and trying to interpret them within the pertinent cultural systems as a breakthrough to otherness that remains bound to its opposite.

SEE ALSO Cannibalism; Dionysos; Frenzy.

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WALTER BURKERT (1987)
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ŌMOTOKYŌ. Founded at Ayabe, Kyoto prefecture, in 1892, Ōmotokyō constitutes a typical Japanese new religion under the modern emperor system. Ōmotokyō, absorbing folk religious traditions, Kokugaku (National Studies) teachings, and ideas from various modern thoughts, created a distinctive syncretic Shintō doctrine.

The founder of Ōmotokyō, Deguchi Nao (1837–1918), was the widow of a poor carpenter. On the lunar New Year, 1892, at the age of fifty-six, she was by her own account possessed by the *kami* (deity) Konjin. In this early religious experience, Nao, influenced by the teachings of Konkōkyō (an earlier new religion), conceived a powerful faith in the benevolent nature of the *kami* Konjin, a belief that contrasted with established notions of that deity's malevolence. The following year, however, Nao was confined to a room as insane. There, under the command of the *kami,* she began writing her *Ofudesaki* (The tip of the divine writing brush), which became a scripture of Ōmotokyō. Thereafter, Nao's healing powers began to win converts to Konjin, and she eventually left Konkōkyō to promulgate her own teachings.

Nao criticized the new materialistic society that caused suffering for poorer people, calling for a utopian age of peace and compassion. In *Ofudesaki* she proclaimed an eschatological viewpoint of world renewal (*yonaoshi*), urging the realization of the ideal world of Miroku's (Bodhisattva Maitreya's) age and the salvation of the people.

Later, Nao's small following welcomed Ueda Kisaburō (later, Deguchi Onisaburō, 1871–1948), a religious practitioner, and together they created the Kimmei Reigakkai (Association of Konjin Believers and Spiritual Researchers).

Onisaburō was the son of a poor farmer in the suburbs of Kameoka in Kyoto prefecture. As a result of his many religious experiences, he was able to heal the sick and had mastered syncretistic Shintō teachings and shamanistic practices. Together, Nao and Onisaburō worked to systematize their religious insights.

Ōmotokyō proposed a myth of the withdrawal of the nation's founders. This myth emphasized faith in the two *kami* Kunitokodachi no Mikoto and Susano-o no Mikoto, holding that these founding *kami,* who were the original rulers of Japan, had been expelled by evil *kami,* causing chaos in the world. According to Ōmotokyō belief, however, the time will arrive when a legitimate government of the *kami* will be realized. This notion could be perceived as a challenge to the national myth that regards Amaterasu Ōmikami as the divine ancestor of the imperial line, thus denying the divine status of the emperor and the legitimacy of his reign.

In its early years, however, Ōmotokyō was beset by difficulties and dissention. The proselytizing activities of Ōmotokyō's leaders increasingly suffered from police interference and suppression, and by the beginning of the twentieth century the number of believers had dwindled. Internal strife broke out, and as a result of opposition to Nao and the old leaders, Onisaburō left Ayabe for Kyoto, where he became a Shintō priest.

In 1908, having broadened his viewpoint, Onisaburō returned to Ayabe with plans for the expansion of Ōmotokyō. Despite police oppression, the Kimmei Reigakkai grew into the Dainihon Shūsaikai (the Japanese Purification Society) and then the Kōdō Ōmoto (Great Foundation of the Imperial Way). With the beginning of World War I, Ōmotokyō leadership found the time ripe for a reorganization of the world and began intensive campaigns in the streets of Tokyo, Kyoto, and Osaka. The economic and social instability of the age made Ōmotokyō, with its opposition to capitalists, landlords, and the war, an attractive ideology to intellectuals, but prominent military and business figures also became followers.

Kōdō Ōmoto, in accordance with government policy, followed a Shintō-based doctrine that emphasized patriotism. Its members held strong eschatological views and preached rites of possession called *Chinkon Kishin.* The movement advocated a restoration of proper government by the *kami* during the Taishō era. This "Taishō restoration" would take place, the leaders prophesied, when Ayabe became the capital of the government they had envisioned.

Onisaburō was ambiguous about whether he should be the supreme leader, who is the Buddhist savior Miroku or the Japanese emperor (*Ten'no*) would be the savior. But he clearly advocated a wholesale restructuring of society and Japan's supreme leadership in the coming world. In 1921 the Kyoto prefectural police raided the Ōmotokyō headquarters in Ayabe, and the leaders of the movement were arrested on charges of *lèse majesté.* The central sanctuary, a Miroku hall built the previous year, was destroyed, and Nao's tomb was ordered reconstructed because it resembled that of an emperor. The charges against the religion were later dismissed in the amnesty at the time of the funeral of the Taishō emperor.

After surviving its first persecution, Ōmotokyō entered a new stage of development, expanding its activities both within and outside the country. Onisaburō dictated the large scripture *Reikai Monogatari* (Tale of the spirit world; 1922) and while out on bail secretly traveled to Mongolia, where he unsuccessfully attempted to create a separate state by calling himself a living buddha. Ōmotokyō, in consonance with post–World War I international humanist thought, urged the adoption of Esperanto and advanced the notions that all religions have the same origin and that all men are brothers. It cooperated in the Chinese charitable religious organization Dao-yüan (*Doin*), developing the Federated Association of World Religions at Beijing. Within Japan it formed the Jinrui Aizenkai (Association of Benevolence for Mankind).

In 1934 Ōmotokyō formed the Shōwa Shinseikai (Shōwa Sanctity Society), and under the leader Onisaburō it proceeded to the practical implementation of political reform. Taking right-wing politicians as advisers, they called for an end to parliamentary government and urged reconstruction of the state under the supremacy of the emperor. These political views were understandably alarming to the government, which was simultaneously confronted by a series of plots by rightists and young army officers. On December 8, 1935, armed special police made surprise attacks on Ōmotokyō's headquarters at Kameoka and Ayabe, arresting 210 administrators. A nationwide search also was conducted by the commander of the Police Bureau of the Home Affairs Ministry. In the following year sixty-two officials of Ōmotokyō were indicted for the crime of *lèse majesté* and for violation of the Peace Preservation Law; the Ministry of Home Affairs immediately proscribed Ōmotokyō. In the aftermath of this action the government ordered the destruction of Ōmotokyō facilities.

In 1942, after a long court battle and more than six years in jail, the officials were released on bail. Bitterly resentful of the violent oppression by the authorities and convinced of the inevitability of Japan's defeat, Onisaburō criticized the war and preached a faith to the believers who secretly visited him, revealing that his failure to participate in the war effort was a manifestation of divine will. Following the war, Ōmotokyō was reconstructed as Aizen'en and took as its historical mission the establishment of world peace. It was for the foundation of this new world, Onisaburō claimed, that the *kami* had allowed Ōmotokyō to survive the war. Onisaburō died in 1948, and the group returned to its former name Ōmoto in 1952.

In 1949 Ōmoto joined the World Federation movement, and the peace campaign became an important part of its activities. Ōmoto played a major role in the protest movement against the nuclear weapons experiments in the 1950s and the early 1960s. Ōmoto continues to be active in the World Federation movement, but its emphasis on peace has weakened. In the 1990s Ōmoto announced its official view on bioethics. It is critical of the notion of brain death and of research using human embryos. Ōmoto's importance in the religious history of modern Japan is emphasized by the fact that many new religions, including Seichō no Ie and World Messianity, were heavily influenced by Ōmoto. In 2002 Ōmoto's official membership within Japan was 172,000 persons.

SEE ALSO New Religious Movements, article on New Religious Movements in Japan.

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OMPHALOS See CENTER OF THE WORLD

ONA RELIGION See SELK'NAM RELIGION

ONGON. In all Mongolian languages, the term *ongon* is applied to the dwelling-place of a spirit or sacred being. In the traditional shamanistic context it refers to any spirit, together with the object in which that spirit resides. There is a great variety of such dwellings. Some are natural (e.g., lakes, trees, living animals, skinned animals), and hence certain scholars refer to the notion of *ongon* as totemism. Others are artificial (e.g., drawings on rock, wooden or felt figurines, drawings on cloth); for these the collective form *ongot* is reserved. Some are suspended and clearly visible either in or outside the yurt; others are locked away in sacks or caskets.

A ritual act, usually carried out by a shaman, is required for each of these natural or artificial mediums to become an *ongon.* For natural *ongon*s, this consists of establishing a relationship with the spirit that animates and is indistinguishable from the natural being; and for artificial ones, the rite is one that introduces the desired spirit into the created receptacle. A spirit must be fastened down so that humans can have contact with him and control him, for on the one hand a wandering spirit may be dangerous, and on the other an empty receptacle is in danger of being filled by an undesirable spirit.

The ritual treatment of all categories of *ongon*s is essentially the act of feeding them. Food is given to living animals; meat, butter, or cream is either set down beside the figurines, placed in their mouths, or rubbed on them. Tobacco offerings accompany the food, and the practitioner smokes a ritual pipe. The sanction for failure to feed the *ongon* is sickness or death, which has led certain writers to attribute a primarily medical function to the *ongon*s.

The *ongon* cult is based on the conception of a structural similarity between intrahuman relationships on the one hand and relationships that tie humans to nature for sources of the former's subsistence on the latter. Everything that happens in one domain inevitably has consequences in the other. Like humans, the animals are conceived as being organized in clans. Furthermore, relationships between humans and animals are modeled on intrahuman relationships. These relationships are both interclan (involving alliance and vengeance) and intraclan (involving filiation or descent). For humans and animals alike, being excluded from a clan creates frustration and therefore the desire to seek revenge, a cause of trouble for the whole community. Hence, in addition to clan *ongon*s, there are also *ongon*s representing isolated or unaffiliated spirits, which may receive the cult either from one family or from several clans.

The various modes of access to natural resources are what determine the most significant differences between *ongon*s. Situated within the confines of the forest and the steppe, the Mongolian peoples have all made their living by hunting. Only subsequently did they adopt pastoralism to a certain extent. When it is hunting that provides sustenance, the relationship between humans and nature is conceived of as based on the model of a marriage exchange, wherein the hunter is to the spirit dispenser of game, Bayan Khangay ("rich forest"), as a son-in-law is to his father-in-law. The hunter takes game from Bayan Khangay just as a man takes his wife from his father-in-law: He is a taker, proud of his catch, yet guilty for not having given anything in exchange. First, the ritual of the hunt aims to reduce the capture of game to a capture of food. The skeleton and the respiratory organs containing the vital breath of life are disposed of in such a way that the animal is allowed to be reborn. Next, the real compensation for the food (i.e., game taken from nature) is made by feeding *ongon*s either small tamed animals (eagles, cygnets, etc.) or figurines or drawings representing animals, skins of animals, or the like. Thus this system of food exchange is similar to the exchange of women in the marriage alliance system: a man accepts his wife from one family, and in return offers his sister or daughter in marriage to another. This feeding of *ongon*s is primarily intended to ensure that the hunt will not be hindered by the vengeance of decimated animal clans or the revenge of deceased unlucky hunters. In the event of an unsuccessful hunt, the *ongon* that is considered to have failed to carry out its part of the contract, although correctly fed, is reviled, beaten, destroyed, thrown out, and replaced by a new one.

Pastoralism, on the other hand, switches the nature of human-spirit relationships from one of alliance to one of filiation. The attitude of an exacting contracting party that prevails under the alliance model gives way to an attitude of veneration on the part of the filial descendent. This is because there is a patrimony (herds and grazing rights) to protect and hand down. In addition, sacrifices are made to one's ancestors in order to guarantee pastoral legitimacy. The compensation for the resources taken from the herd is the food given to the *ongon:* living consecrated animals (mature males that are raised within the herd, then slaughtered before growing old and replaced by younger males), zoomorphic representations (accompanied by a human silhouette fashioned in tin, representing a soul) or anthropomorphs (primarily representing women who died without experiencing childbirth, a check to filiation that results in the herd being stricken with epizootic diseases). As early as the thirteenth century Giovanni da Pian del Carpini noted felt dolls suspended from two sides of the yurt, made and honored by the women to protect the herds. In addition, the body of the shaman itself is a medium for spirits during the Buriat shamanic séance called *ongo oruulkha,* "introducing the spirits."

As a result of their primary function of linking the social, economic and religious worlds, the *ongon*s and the shamans themselves have been subjected to severe persecution from Lamaism. This persecution dates from the time when Lamaism penetrated into central Mongolia (seventeenth century) and the Buriat Republic (nineteenth century).

SEE ALSO Buriat Religion; Mongol Religions; Shamanism.

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Revised Bibliography

ONMYŌDŌ is the collective Japanese name for various methods of divination, originally based on the Chinese theories of yin and yang (Jpn., *onmyō, on'yō,* or *in'yō,* the complementary forces seen in all phenomena), the "five elements" (Chin., *wuxing;* Jpn. *gogyō;* i.e., fire, wood, earth, metal, and water), their cyclical interactions, and the influence thereof in the natural and human spheres. The art of advising individuals and governments in the planning of all manner of activities and projects according to the movements of the sun and moon (representing *yang* and *yin,* respectively) and the stars, and the predicting of auspicious and inauspicious conditions as determined by the shifting relationships of the five elements and the sexagenary cycle (Chin. *shigan shier zhi;* Jpn., *jikkan jūnishi*) were highly developed and extensively documented in China by the beginning of the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE). Some of the major texts, such as the *Yi jing* (Jpn., *Ekikyō*) date from much earlier.

From the time of the introduction of these texts and practices to Japan in the sixth century CE, *onmyōdō* encompassed not only *yinyang* and five-element divination per se but also the related fields of astronomy and astrology, geomancy, meteorology, calendar making (on Chinese models), and chrononomy (chiefly with Chinese water clocks). The word *onmyōdō,* meaning the "way (practice, art) of *yinyang,*" labels these various arts and sciences and the beliefs and practices based on them in a manner similar to the way in which the term *Butsudo* may refer to the whole range of Buddhist ideas and practices; likewise, the term *Shintō* refers broadly to the many organized forms of indigenous Japanese religious tradition (as well as its imported accretions, including some rites and festivals originally associated with *onmyōdō*). Similar nomenclature was also used for specific fields within *onmyōdō,* such as *tenmondō* for astronomy and *rekidō* for calendar studies. The word *uranai* ("augury") is another term used widely for the many forms of divination practiced by *onmyōdō* masters as well as by other types of seers and prognosticators. In early chronicles and works of literature, *onmyōdō* specifically identifies the divining arts as taught and performed in the official Bureau of Divination (Onmyōryō), which was established in the seventh century and which was responsible for providing the court with astronomical observations, astrological forecasts, calendars, accurate timekeeping, and the training of practitioners of these arts. However, *onmyōdō* skills were known and used by many persons outside the bureau, including scholars, physicians, and Buddhist priests, as well as by unschooled fortune-tellers and entertainers. Like many aspects of Japanese religion, *onmyōdō* has both an organized, institutional aspect and a popular, unsystematic aspect as well. Both are present in the history of *onmyōdō* from its beginnings, as is the tendency toward undifferentiated linkage with other religious traditions.

It is likely that some forms of *onmyōdō* thought and practice were known in Japan prior to what is recorded as their formal introduction. It has been observed, for instance, that the emphasis on duality in Japanese cosmogony (as narrated in the *Kojiki,* 712 CE) may reflect the influence of the *yinyang* concept. It would appear that *yinyang* and related elements of Chinese philosophy were fairly compatible with indigenous ideas of creation and causation, as well as with other beliefs. Although its origins were just as "alien," *onmyōdō* certainly did not meet with the kind of organized opposition that confronted the contemporaneous introduction of Buddhism.

According to the *Nihonshoki* (720), it was in 513 that Korean scholars introduced the "five texts"—a group of classic Chinese works, including the *Yi jing*—to the court of the (semihistorical) Emperor Keitai. In 554, Korean *Yi jing* professors (*Eki hakase*) and calendar masters who had been serving at the court of Emperor Kinmei were replaced by new ones. In 602, the Korean Buddhist monk Kanroku presented himself to the court of Empress Suiko, along with up-to-date almanacs and books of astrology, geography and magic. Prince Shōtoku (574–622), Suiko's nephew and regent, is said to have chosen the colors of the caps used in his civil rank system on the basis of *onmyōdō* symbolism. The "Seventeen Article Constitution" attributed to him (although perhaps a later work) has also been said to reflect *onmyōdō* concepts of social order. When the scholars Minabuchi Shōgen and Takamuko Genri returned in 640 from a long period of study in China they introduced the latest in Chinese divining texts and practices. But even at this early stage, Japanese *onmyōdō* was distinguished from its Chinese models by the extent to which it incorporated other arts of divination, natural science, and what were probably native forms of magic. Nor was *onmyōdō* thought of as a discipline entirely separate from Buddhism or the other religions, philosophies, and forms of learning imported at the same time; the *onmyōdō* teacher Kanroku, for example, was also a high-ranking Buddhist monk.

Among the Taika reforms instituted in 645 was the adoption of a system of era names (Chin., *nianhao;* Jpn., *nengō*) consisting of two (or occasionally four) auspicious Chinese ideographs with symbolic significance based on *onmyōdō* teachings. The first era name chosen was *Taika,* literally "great change (or reform)." Eras were renamed at irregular intervals, usually when some especially good omen was reported, such as the discovery of rare metals, albino animals (particularly turtles, the color white and the creature both being deemed auspicious), or the sighting of a very favorable cloud formation. Several of the *nengō* of the late seventh and most of the eighth centuries include ideographs for metals, colors (white and red), "turtle," "cloud," and other auspicious signs. In the Heian period, *nengō* were changed more frequently, often in response to such inauspicious phenomena as solar eclipses, typhoons, droughts, and earthquakes.

Emperor Temmu (r. 672–686) is said to have been adept at the *onmyōdō* arts. An astronomical observatory was built early in his reign, and he probably used its findings in the surveying and construction of his capital at Kiyomihara, in what was believed to be a favorable location in relation to the topography and the deserted capitals of his predecessors. Generally, the north was regarded as a seat of power, while the northeast was viewed as the source of malevolence; the North Star, Polaris (Daigoku) was closely watched. As in China, Japanese capitals, including the permanent capitals Heijō (Nara) and Heian (Kyoto), were all constructed on carefully surveyed north-south axes, and official buildings and residences were placed where they might best receive favorable influences or be protected from evil ones, according to *onmyōdō* geomancy.

The Onmyōryō was organized soon after Temmu took the throne, and its structure remained unchanged for centuries. The chief of the bureau (*onmyō no kami*) was a senior master responsible for reporting the observations of his subordinates to the emperor. The bureau employed six divination masters (*onmyōji*), who performed the real work of observing and forecasting, and one professor of divination (*onmyo hakase*), who supervised ten students (*onmyōshō*). There was also one professor in each of the fields of calendar-making and astrology, each with ten students, as well as two professors of chrononomy. *Onmyōji* were also assigned to various provincial administrative centers. Famous masters of the eighth century include Kibi Makibi (693–775) and Abe Nakamaro (698–770), both of whom studied at length in China. Because divination could easily be used either in the interest of or against the government, efforts were made to limit divination activities to officially trained practitioners. The laws governing the activities of Buddhist monks and nuns (Sōniryō), enacted in 757 as part of the Yōrō Code, included specific punishments for those who falsely reported omens of disaster that might cause the people to lose confidence in the authority of the state.

The chronicles, diaries, and literary works of the Heian period (794–1185) are rich with information on the role of *onmyōdō* at court and in society. It is clear that it was at this time that *onmyōdō* reached the height of its importance. About fifty different *onmyōdō* rites are mentioned as having been observed at court. Among them were the Taizenfukunsai, honoring a Chinese deity who oversees the spirits of the dead; the Dokōsai, for Dokujin, or Tsuchi no Kami, the mischievous earth deity whose seasonal movements were closely watched; the Tensochifusai, performed once in each reign to honor war dead and to ward off disease; and the Shikakushikyōsai, wherein the spirits that cause sickness were placated with offerings in each of the four corners of the ceremonial space and at each of the four borders of the state. The increase in the emphasis on these rites closely paralleled, and was sometimes linked to, the increase in the importance of Esoteric (Vajrayāna) ritual in Heian Buddhism. The monk Ennin (794–864), the third abbot of the Japanese Tendai school and the figure who introduced many Esoteric elements to it after his period of study in China, is also said to have introduced the worship of Taizenfukun.

Several works of the Heian period indicate that the *onmyōdō* masters stressed astronomical portents over other types of signs in their reports and forecasts. This may reflect the interest of two influential *onmyō no kami,* Shigeoka Kawahito (d. 874) and Yuge Koreo (bureau chief in the Kanpyō era, 889–898). Concern with overt astrological influences became obsessive, and plans for every type of public or private activity were first submitted to *onmyōji* for readings of the governing signs. Directional taboos (*kataimi*), dictated by the rising and falling of one's birth sign (i.e., the two signs of the sexagenary cycle that were in convergence at the time of one's birth) and their relationship to others' signs, or by the association of those signs or of certain deities with certain directions, were strictly observed. In 865, Emperor Seiwa was advised that traveling from the crown prince's residence to the palace by a northwest-to-southeast route could have fatal consequences, and he duly altered his course. Such directional changes (*katatagae*) were also made to avoid sectors favored at particular seasons by untrustworthy deities, especially Ten'ichijin, (usually called Nakagami), Dokujin, and Konjin, the "metal god." Nakagami's influences were particularly feared. He was believed to be active first in the northeast for six days, then for five days in the east, six in the southeast, five in the south and so on around the compass. The whole forty-four day period was termed a *futagari* ("obstacle"), because activity was blocked at almost every turn.

Travel to and from the dangerous northeast, called *kimon* ("demon's gateway") was also scrupulously avoided. This direction was believed to be favored by a deity called Daishogun, an active manifestation of the deity Taihakujin, identified in turn with the planet Venus. According to Venus's position, specific days in each sexagenary cycle, and certain hours on certain days, were judged especially unlucky. If an appointment required people to travel in a prohibited direction on a given day they might veer off in a safe direction on the day prior to it; after passing the night, they could proceed toward their destination without fear of adverse effect. Sei Shonagon, the author of *Makura no sōshi* (The pillow book), a journal and miscellany of court life, is among the Heian writers who describe this technique. Hikaru Genji, the hero of the great romance *Genji monogatari,* frequently cites directional taboos as a reason for absence from or neglect of one or another of his many lovers.

Within the Heian bureaucracy, the Onmyōryō became the virtually exclusive domain of the Abe and Kamo clans. For generations beginning in the mid-tenth century, *onmyōdō* practices were divided between the two clans, the Kamo being the masters of the art of the calendar and the Abe controlling astronomical studies. The twenty-fourth volume of *Konjaku monogatari shū* contains a series of stories about the exploits of illustrious members of these clans as well as those of their predecessors and of some anonymous practitioners, including Buddhist monks. The emphasis in these stories is on the use of special insights to perceive life-threatening dangers and the secret techniques used to outwit them. Abe Yasuchika, a particularly accomplished *onmyō no kami,* is said to have relied on three texts—*Konkikyō, Suikyō,* and *Jinsūryōkyō*—which he referred to as "the three *onmyōdō* classics." A Sui dynasty manual, *Wuxing taiyi* (Jpn., *Gogyō taigi*), attributed to Xiao Ji was also used by many masters. In 1210, the *onmyō hakase* Abe Takashige was asked by Retired Emperor Go-Toba to prepare a new manual based on classical texts. The result, a work known as *Onmyōdō hakase Abe Takashige kanjinki,* prescribes divination for the undertaking of construction projects and official excursions, with many examples from Heian practice.

After the twelfth century, as political power passed from the Heian court to a series of military dictators, the heyday of official *onmyōdō* came to an end. Calendar studies fell into decline, while interest shifted to numerology, *sukuyōdō,* a form of astrology strongly influenced by Esoteric Buddhism, and folk astrologies. When the Kamo line of *rekidō* masters died out in about 1400, the Abe clan reclaimed the calendar legacy and, as a reward for helpful predictions, were granted the surname Tsuchimikado and the hereditary *onmyōdō* monopoly by Emperor Gokomatsu. The Tsuchimikado name remains closely linked with the remainder of *onmyōdō* history. Tsuchimikado Shintō, also known as Abe Shintō, is a sect that combines *onmyōdō* elements with Shintō. It traces its origins to Tsuchimikado Yasutomi (1655–1717). When the shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune (1652–1751) wanted to adopt a Western calendar he was defied by Tsuchimikado Yasukuni, who asserted the right of his family—and of the Kyōto establishment over the Edo shogunate—to exercise control of the calendar. He prepared a new one, the Hōreki calendar, which was promulgated in 1754.

Meanwhile, a class of professional conjurers, the *shōmonji,* had appropriated many *onmyōdō* functions, which they combined with sūtra chanting, dancing and theatricals. Although licensed to perform such entertainments, the *shōmonji* were a despised class. The word *onmyōji,* which previously had denoted a learned master, came to refer to itinerant magicians who roamed the country selling charms, almanacs and advice. Eventually, in the Edo period (1603–1867), both *shōmonji* and *onmyōji* were labeled outcasts and were forced to reside in ghettos. In some of these, their descendants still practice the ancient arts of their ancestors. Many modern fortune-tellers and astrologers continue to rely on basic *onmyōdō* methods, while many Japanese still refuse to live in a house with northeastern exposure or to position their beds in a way that might invite the malignant effects that come from that quarter.

SEE ALSO Japanese Religions, article on Popular Religion; Yinyang Wuxing.

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ONTOLOGY. The word *ontology,* meaning "discourse about, or study of, being," was introduced into the philosophical vocabulary in the early seventeenth century. The term was originally used as an equivalent for "metaphysics," which Aristotle, in *Metaphysics* 4.1, had defined precisely as the science that treats "being insofar as it is being." Thus the enterprise of ontology had a long prehistory.

Plato had considered the question of "being" (*to on, ousia*), which for him meant the "what" of things as a stable object of certain knowledge. Hence he thought that the term *being* was properly employed only of the self-identical, changeless, and hence eternal, realm of Forms—that reality, grasped by intellect alone, which is imaged in, but at the same time contrasted with, the mutable realm of "becoming." It was Aristotle, critical of this outright identification of being with the immutable and transcendent Forms, who insisted that the verb "to be" is universally applicable and then proceeded to ask what it means to be (anything). Because, as he frequently observes, "'being' is said in many senses," he denies in effect that the term is used univocally or that it defines an all-inclusive genus. He nevertheless thinks that its primary or focal use is to denote the *subject,* whether of discourse or of change and action: To be is to be some concrete "thing" (*ousia*)—a changing, individual composite of two correlative principles, form and matter or (in more general terms) actuality and potentiality. The former of these is the active principle of the thing's growth and development (*phusis,* "nature"), the intelligible identity of it which the mind grasps in knowledge and expresses in judgment, while the latter is the substratum of possibility that allows for change.

This analysis of what "being" means was substantively taken over in the metaphysics of Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274). Thomas, however, broadened the application of Aristotle's distinction between actuality and potentiality. It included not merely the distinction between the form and the matter that determines the "what" (*id quod,* "essence") of a thing, but also, and more fundamentally, that between what a thing is and the fact that it is (*id quo,* "existence"). Essence for Thomas is a potentiality that is brought into "act" only through existing; hence the study of being, in considering the question what it means to be this or that (thing), must focus not merely on what gives a thing ("substance") its identity but also on what accounts for its "being there," its actual existence.

In his treatise *First Philosophy or Ontology* (1729), however, Christian Wolff (1679–1754), whose work established the normal modern use of the term, understood ontology as a subdivision of metaphysics: the study of being as a genus ("general metaphysics"), to be distinguished from the subjects of "special metaphysics," that is, theology, psychology, and cosmology. *Being,* then, was for Wolff a univocal term denoting "what is" in its most universal characteristics. Aristotle's (and Thomas's) insistence on the "many senses" in which "to be" is said recedes into the background: For Wolff, the fundamental principles of being are the laws of noncontradiction and of sufficient reason. Reality is composed of imperceptible simple substances each of whose essences is exhausted by a single clear and distinct idea, and whose existence is accounted for by appeal to the principle of sufficient reason.

This science of generic being, abstract and deductive in form, was rejected by Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), for whom *ontology*—a term he used very infrequently—came in effect to be identified with his own transcendental philosophy. This enterprise was concerned not with "things in themselves" but with the subjective preconditions of human knowledge—the forms of sense-perception and the categories of the understanding—through which the "objects" of the empirical world are constituted as such. The propaedeutic study of being thus became, for Kant, an investigation of the ways in which the subject of knowing "objectifies" the content of experience and so constitutes the "beings" of the phenomenal world. Like Kant, G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831) rejected Wolff's "dogmatic" ontology. For him, the study of being took the form of a logic, which explicated the movement—from simplicity to organic complexity, from "being" to "concept"—by which Mind (*Geist*) appropriates itself through self-objectification.

In more recent philosophy, the project of ontology, long neglected save in theological circles where traditional scholastic philosophy prevailed, reappeared in the work of Edmund Husserl (1859–1938). Husserl's search for a sure basis of human knowledge led him to elaborate a phenomenological method that sought to identify and describe "what is" as the world of the "transcendental ego" or "pure consciousness" (as distinct from the empirical self, which is a member of the object-world of scientific inquiry). It was Husserl's student and critic Martin Heidegger (1889–1976), however, who through his *Being and Time* most explicitly and influentially revived the project of ontology. For Heidegger, "being" ("to be") is radically distinguished from "beings" ("what there is"). The former is the subject of ontological, the latter of merely "ontic," discourse. The clue to the question of being is, for him, the existent human subject (*Dasein*), which *is* precisely in the act of asking what it means "to be." To grasp what it is "to be" is thus to grasp what is presupposed in the human existent's asking about its being. Ontology is thus again, as for Kant, a transcendental analysis—but not, in this case, of the preconditions of human knowing so much as of the preconditions of human "being-in-the-world."

SEE ALSO Metaphysics.

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ORACLES. The word *oracle* is derived from the Latin word *oraculum,* which referred both to a divine pronouncement or response concerning the future or the unknown as well as to the place where such pronouncements were given. (The Latin verb *orare* means "to speak" or "to request.") In English, *oracle* is also used to designate the human medium through whom such prophetic declarations or oracular sayings are given.

ORACLES AND PROPHECY. In Western civilization the connotations of the word *oracle* (variously rendered in European languages) have been largely determined by traditional perceptions of ancient Greek oracles, particularly the oracle of Apollo at Delphi. The term *prophecy,* on the other hand (from the Greek word *propheteia,* meaning "prophecy" or "oracular response"), has been more closely associated with traditions of divine revelation through human mediums in ancient Israel and early Christianity. One major cause of this state of affairs is that in the Septuagint (the Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures made during the third and second centuries BCE) Greek words from the *prophēt-* family were used to translate words derived from the biblical Hebrew root *nv'* ("prophet, to prophesy"). Because most oracles in the Greek world were given in response to inquiries, oracles are often regarded as verbal responses by a supernatural being, in contrast to prophecy, which is thought of as unsolicited verbal revelations given through human mediums and often directed toward instigating social change. In actuality, question-and-answer revelatory "séances" were common in ancient Israel, and it was only with the appearance in the eighth century BCE of free prophets such as Amos, Isaiah, and Hosea that unsolicited prophecy became common. Further, the preservation of the prophetic speeches of the classical Israelite prophets in the Hebrew scriptures has served to ensure the dominance of this particular image of Israelite prophets and prophecy. Therefore, modern distinctions between "oracles" and "prophecy" are largely based on the discrete conventions of classical and biblical tradition rather than upon a cross-cultural study of the subject, though the terms themselves are often used and interchanged indiscriminately in modern anthropological studies.

ORACLES AND DIVINATION. Oracles are but one of several types of divination, which is the art or science of interpreting symbols understood as messages from the gods. Such symbols often require the interpretive expertise of a trained specialist and are frequently based on phenomena of an unpredictable or even trivial nature. The more common types of divination in the Greco-Roman world included the casting of lots (sortilege), the flight and behavior of birds (ornithomancy), the behavior of sacrificial animals and the condition of their vital organs (e.g., hepatoscopy, or liver divination), various omens or sounds (cledonomancy), and dreams (oneiromancy). Chinese civilization made elaborate use of divination, partly as an expression of the Confucian belief in fate. Some of the more popular methods included the use of divining sticks and blocks (the latter called *yin-yang gua*), used together or separately; body divination to predict the character and future behavior of select individuals (palmistry, physiognomy); astrology; the determination of the proper location of buildings and graves in accordance with yin and yang factors and the five elements (geomancy); coin divination; planchette divination or spirit writing; and the use of the *Yi jing* (Book of changes) for divination based on the symbol *bagua,* that is, the eight trigrams constituting the sixty-four hexagrams that provide the basis for the book.

Oracles (or prophecies) themselves are messages from the gods in human language concerning the future or the unknown and are usually received in response to specific inquiries, often through the agency of inspired mediums. Oracles have, in other words, a basic linguistic character not found in other forms of divination. This linguistic character is evident in the sometimes elaborately articulated inquiries made of the deities in either spoken or written form. In addition, oracles themselves exhibit a linguistic character ranging from the symbolized "yes" or "no" response, or "auspicious" or "inauspicious" response, of many lot oracles, to the elaborately crafted replies spoken and/or written by mediums while experiencing possession trance or vision trance, or shortly thereafter. This linguistic character of oracles presupposes an anthropomorphic conception of the supernatural beings concerned.

In actuality, oracles are usually so closely associated with other forms of divination that it is difficult to insist on rigid distinctions. Some commentators have vainly attempted to distinguish between oracles and divination by claiming that *oracle* is used only in connection with a specific deity, one often connected with a particular place. Other forms of divination were in fact used in all the ancient Greek oracle sanctuaries, often as an alternate form of consultation. At the oracle of Delphi, for example, where Apollo was believed to be present only nine months each year, oracular consultations were held in ancient times on only one day each year, the seventh day of the seventh month (seven was Apollo's sacred number), though they became more frequent with the passing centuries. On other auspicious days it has been supposed that the god could be consulted by means of a lot oracle, the exact nature of which is disputed. Questions were formulated to receive a yes or no answer, and oracular personnel may have used some type of lot oracle to answer such inquiries. In China divination was employed in all except Confucian temples; even in temples specializing in spirit mediumship, divinatory techniques such as divining sticks and divining blocks were regularly used.

A distinction between oracles and divination was made by the Roman orator Cicero (106–43 BCE), following Plato (c. 429–347 BCE) and the philosopher Posidonius (c. 135–50 BCE). This distinction was between (1) "technical" or "inductive" divination (Lat., *artificiosa divinatio;* Gr., *technikē mantikē*), based on special training in the interpretation of signs, sacrifices, dreams, prodigies, and the like, and (2) "natural" or "intuitive" divination (Lat., *naturalis divinatio;* Gr., *atechnos* or *adi-daktos mantikē*), based on the direct inspiration of the practitioner through trance or vision (Cicero, *De divinatio* 1.6.12; cf. Plato, *Ion* 534c). The Greek term for all forms of divination is *mantikē,* which, on account of its etymological relation to the term *mania* ("madness, inspired frenzy"), might appear a more appropriate designation for intuitive divination, yet even in the most archaic Greek texts it was not so used. A third category can be added, "interpretive" divination, in which a combination of inspired insight and technical skill is required.

TYPES OF ORACLES.

Oracles are usually associated either with a sacred place where they are available in the setting of a public religious institution or with a specially endowed person who acts as a paid functionary or a freelance practitioner.

Oracular places.

In the ancient Mediterranean world certain places were thought to enjoy a special sanctity, particularly caves, springs, elevations, and places struck by lightning (especially oak trees). The emphasis on the oracular powers inherent in particular sites is due to the ancient Greek belief that the primal goddess Gaia ("earth") was the source of oracular inspiration. While oracle shrines were rare among the Romans (the lot oracle of Fortuna Primigenia, goddess of fertility, at Praeneste was the most popular), they were very common in the Greek world. Apollo, the primary oracular divinity among the Greeks, had oracles at Delphi, Claros, and Didyma. Zeus had oracles at Dodona, Olympia, and the Oasis of Siwa in Libya (as the Egyptian god Amun); the healing god Asklepios had them at Epidaurus and Rome; and the heroes Amphiaraos and Trophonios had oracular grottoes in Lebadea and Oropus respectively. Each of these oracle shrines required supplicants to fulfill a distinctive set of traditional procedures, and each site had a natural feature connected with its oracular potencies. Springs or pools were closely associated with the oracles of Apollo at Delphi, Claros, and Didyma and in Lycia, with the healing oracle of Demeter at Patrae, with the oracle of Glykon-Asklepios at Abonuteichos, and with the oracle of Amphilochos in Cilicia. Further, the Pythia prepared for oracular consultations by drinking water from the Kassotis spring, and the priest-prophets of Apollo at Colophon and Claros did the same (Iamblichus, *De mysteriis* 3.11; Tacitus, *Annals* 2.54). Caverns or grottoes were associated with the lot oracle of Herakles Buraikos in Achaea, with the oracles of Apollo at Delphi (where the presence of a cave—a widespread ancient opinion—has been disproved by modern archaeology) and at Claros, and with the oracle of Trophonios in Lebadea. An oak tree was a central feature of the cult of Zeus and Dione at Dodona.

In the ancient Mediterranean world three distinctive techniques were used at oracular shrines to secure three kinds of oracles: the lot oracle, the incubation (or dream) oracle, and the inspired oracle.

Lot oracles.

The process of random selection that is the basis of all lot oracles is based on the supposition that the result either expresses the will of the gods or occasions insight into the course of events by providing a clue to an aspect of that interrelated chain of events that constitutes the cosmic harmony. Lot oracles used a variety of random techniques to indicate either a positive or a negative response to prepared queries, or to select one of a more elaborate set of prepared responses. Both types of response had a basic linguistic character and for that reason must be regarded as oracular. Questions to the ancient Greek oracles were typically put in such forms as "Shall I, or shall I not, do such and such?" and "Is it better and more beneficial that we do such and such?" The oracle of Zeus at Dodona was primarily a lot oracle in which questions framed by supplicants were inscribed on lead strips and rolled up. Though the exact procedure is not known, cultic personnel probably deposited the inscribed questions in a container and simultaneously drew out a question and an object from another container signifying a positive or negative answer from Zeus. The lot oracle of Herakles Buraikos used a form of divination called astragalomancy, or knucklebone divination. Knucklebones with numbers on their four flat sides were cast; the resultant numbers indicated a prepared oracle engraved on the walls of the sanctuary. One such oracular inscription, with the number of each of five knucklebones on the left and their total in the center, is the following (from G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca,* Berlin, 1878, p. 455, no. 1038; translated by the author of this article):

> 66633 24 From Pythian Apollo
> Wait and do nothing, but obey the oracles of Phoebus.
> Watch for another opportunity; for the present, leave quietly.
> Shortly all your concerns will find fulfillment.

For centuries the Chinese have used divining sticks and divining blocks as a lot oracle similar in basic structure to the system of astragalomancy just described. Temples commonly have bamboo tubes containing a number of sticks, each marked with a number corresponding to a slip of paper containing written advice (i.e., an oracle) in verse. The kneeling worshiper shakes a stick out the of container, and the priest then reads and explains the response in relation to the inquirer's specific problem. Divining blocks may be thrown to determine whether the correct stick has been shaken out. Like the astragalomancy inscriptions, the advice is suitably vague, but usually it suffices. A typical example is the following:

> Food and clothing are present wherever there is life, and
> I advise you not to worry excessively; if you will only
> practice filial piety, brotherliness, loyalty and fidelity,
> then, when wealth and happiness come to you, no more
> evil will harm you.

Such oracular responses frequently express Confucian values that are received as expressions of the will of the spirit (*shen*) whose advice is being sought.

Incubation oracles. Incubation oracles in the ancient Mediterranean world were revelatory dreams sought in temples after completion of preliminary ritual requirements. Most incubation oracles were sought in connection with healing. The most popular healing god in antiquity was Asklepios, who had more than two hundred sanctuaries by the beginning of the Christian era. Typically, preparation for a revelatory dream or vision from Asklepios included a ritual bath and a sacrificial offering; fees were paid only if the healing was successful. After the lights in the temple or, in some cases, the incubation building (*abaton*) were extinguished, Asklepios was expected to appear in either a dream or a vision and to perform a medical procedure or surgical operation, to prescribe a particular regimen, or to make some kind of oracular pronouncement, usually of a predictive nature. Another type of incubation oracle in the ancient Greco-Roman world was the oracle of the dead (*psuchomanteion*), a shrine that facilitated consultations with the dead through dream or vision oracles.

One famous ancient oracle, that of Trophonios at Lebadea in Boeotia (central Greece), was described in some detail in the early second century CE by the traveler Pausanias (9.39.5–14). While this was not technically an incubation oracle, worshipers sought and received there a visionary experience of an oracular character. Both the protocol and the mythological features of the consultations strongly suggest that the worshiper was to visit the dead in the underworld so as to receive a revelatory experience. Isolated for several days, consultants abstained from hot baths, bathed only in the river Hercyna, made numerous sacrifices, and on the night before the consultation sacrificed a ram over a pit, following the sacrificial protocol appropriate for earth or chthonic divinities. Next, two young boys called Hermais (after Hermes Psychopompos, conductor of souls to the afterlife) led each supplicant to the river, washed him, and anointed him with oil, as in the preparation of a corpse. Priests then had the worshiper drink from the waters of forgetfulness and memory (in accordance with Greek underworld mythology), and finally they led him to the opening of a chasm, where he had to descend to meet Trophonios. Consultants emerged badly shaken and unable to laugh—a state associated by the Greeks with death.

Inspired oracles. In the Greco-Roman world many of the local oracles of Apollo employed a cult functionary who acted as an intermediary of the god and responded to questions with oracular responses pronounced in the god's name. Such mediums experience the cross-cultural phenomenon of an altered state of consciousness. Bourguignon (1973) has suggested that the two primary patterns of altered conscious states be designated "possession trance" (possession by spirits) and "vision trance" (visions, hallucinations, and out-of-body experiences). Of the more than six hundred Delphic oracles collected by Parke and Wormell (1956), only sixteen are not presented as the direct pronouncements of Apollo himself. Similarly, the *dangji* ("divining youth") of the Chinese spirit medium cults of Singapore and mainland China south of Fukien (the mainland origin of immigrants to Singapore) speaks in the first person of the *shen* who possesses him. Though the evidence is ambiguous, it appears that forms of divination other than oracular pronouncements through mediums were preferred at oracles of gods other than Apollo.

The oracle of Apollo at Delphi was in many ways a unique religious institution that exerted a strong influence on other ancient Greek oracles. At Delphi, Apollo's intermediary was always a woman called the Pythia, a priestess but also a *promantis* ("diviner") and *prophētis* ("spokeswoman"), who occupied a permanent position. There is no evidence to suggest that she was selected for her clairvoyant powers. The attendants at Delphi also included five male *hosioi* ("holy ones") and two male priests called *prophētai* ("spokesmen"). Prior to the sixth century BCE, Apollo could be consulted at Delphi only on the seventh day of the seventh month; thereafter consultations were held more frequently, on the seventh day of each of the nine months when Apollo was believed to be present at Delphi. (According to Delphic legend, he spent the three winter months far to the north among the Hyperboreans.)

On a day of consultation, a goat received a ritual bath in a spring; it was then sacrificed if, by trembling appropriately, it signaled the god's presence. Next, the Pythia took her seat within the *aduton* (inmost sanctuary) of the temple upon a tripod that represented the throne of Apollo. Though ancients believed that the tripod was situated over a fissure or chasm that emitted vapors causing divine inspiration, modern archaeology has disproved this notion. But the Pythia did drink water from the Kassotis spring, and later evidence reports that she chewed laurel leaves. Inquirers were assembled in an outer room and apparently spoke directly to the Pythia, who answered them. (No evidence suggests that their questions were submitted in written form.) The priest-prophets (*prophētai*) probably wrote out responses for inquirers who were represented by envoys.

The traditional view, now discredited, held that the Pythia spoke incomprehensibly and that her utterances were interpreted and reduced to written form (often in verse) by one of the priest-prophets. Ancient and modern beliefs that the Pythia was in a state of hysterical ecstasy manifested in bizarre behavior are belied both by ancient literary evidence and by her calm demeanor in ancient vase paintings. The possession trance experienced by the Pythia appears to have been, in the categories of I. M. Lewis (1971), a state of "controlled possession," in distinction to the uncontrolled possession experienced by those not yet fully adept in managing the onset of possession.

A similar phenomenon is found in Chinese spirit possession cults. The intermediaries (*dangjhi* or *jitong*) are not hereditary professionals; as a rule, they are young men or women, usually under twenty, who have an aptitude for experiencing altered states of consciousness, either involuntarily or through conscious cultivation. They are almost exclusively associated with temple worship where the *shen* who possesses the *dangji* is one that is customarily worshiped, and where the *dangjii* are subordinate to the owners of the temple (the promoters of its religious ceremonies), and usually to the *saigong* (Daoist priests). A consultation is usually planned at a temple for a particular time when the *shen* is called down by invocation. The *dangji* must fast beforehand and avoid sexual intercourse, and no pregnant or menstruating woman can be present at the oracular séance. The worshipers usually number about one dozen, though larger groups are possible. Outside the temple, a flag with the eight-trigram (*bagua*) design indicates the presence of a *dangji.* The *dangji* both begins and ends the possession trance on a ceremonial dragon throne, which probably represents the imperial dragon throne where generations of Chinese emperors sat, representing divine ancestors.

The session begins with drums, gongs, and chants. Gradually, the *dangji* starts to exhibit the characteristics of possession (swaying, rolling of the head, staggering, uttering strange sounds) and often at the same time commits acts of self-injury without experiencing pain (cutting the tongue, extinguishing incense sticks with the tongue, piercing the cheeks with sticks). Consultations follow in which the *dangji* gives advice to worshipers, cures their illnesses, and either speaks incomprehensibly with divine wisdom (requiring the interpretation of colleagues) or addresses his colleagues in a shrill, unnatural voice representing ancient Chinese. Clothing and household items are brought to be stamped with the *dangji's* blood for good luck. When no more business remains, the *dangji* signals that the *shen* is about to return; he then leaps into the air and is caught by assistants who lower him onto the dragon chair. Afterward, he does not remember what took place during the consultation.

Oracular persons. Professional diviners and intermediaries often have no permanent relationship to temples or shrines. They may practice their divinatory and oracular arts in their homes, in the marketplace, or in various places of employment such as army posts or governmental offices. These specialists often practice either possession trance or vision trance, but there are other possibilities as well.

Oracle diviners. During the late Shang dynasty in China (under the eight or nine kings from Wu Ding to Di Xin, c. 1200–1050 BCE), the *wu* (shamans) in the service of kings and nobles employed a type of oracle divination called pyroscapulimancy. More than 107,000 "oracle bones" have been excavated (47,000 inscriptions have now been published); about 80,000 were found during excavations from 1899 to 1928, and the remainder from 1928 to 1937 during excavations by the Academia Sinica. Besides being of great value for understanding Shang religion, they are of incalculable importance for Chinese linguistics. The bones themselves consist of bovid scapulae and turtle plastrons. At the moment of consultation heat was applied to a drilled hollow on the inside or back of the shell or bone, causing a crack shaped like the Chinese character *bu* (meaning "to divine, to foretell") to appear on the other side. Both question and answer were recorded on the bone or shell itself, which then became part of the royal archives. The inscriptions usually consist of several parts: (1) preface (cyclical day, name of diviner, and sometimes the place of divination), (2) injunction (usually put into a positive or negative mode), (3) crack number, (4) crack notation, (5) prognostication (e.g., "The king, reading the cracks, said: 'Auspicious'"), and rarely (6) verification. Though most of the oracle inscriptions focus on the nature and timing of sacrifices (a preoccupation of most oracle questions and responses at ancient Greek oracles), others include announcements made to spirits or concern arrivals and departures, hunting and fishing, wars and expeditions, crops, weather, and sickness and health. The oracle questions used in pyroscapulimancy were directed to the great ancestral spirit and the spirits of the deceased kings, who were expected to send down their advice and commands.

Oracular possession-trance. Two legendary figures of ancient Greece and Rome, the *sibulla* (sibyl) and the less popular *bakchis,* were paradigms of possession-trance. The number of sibyls multiplied in antiquity, and lists of them distinguished by epithets formed of place names are not uncommon (see Varro as quoted in Lactantius, *Divine Institutes* 1.6); by the end of antiquity more than forty sibyls had been distinguished. The sibyls (always female) and the *bakchides* (always male) were believed to belong to the remote past; though connected with specific regions, they were often thought of as having traveled extensively. Their oracles, which were preserved in widely circulated collections, were believed to have been uttered in hexameter without solicitation while in a state of divine inspiration or possession. The inspiring deity was invariably Apollo, with whose oracle shrines the various sibyls tended to be associated. However, the oracular utterances of the sibyls and *bakchides* were never formulated as the first-person speech of Apollo but always referred to him in the third person. The popularity of the sibyl among Jews resulted in the composition and circulation of oracles in Greek hexameter uttered in the person of Yahveh, the God of Israel.

The oracles that circulated in collections under the names of various sibyls and *bakchides* were regarded as enigmatic and in need of interpretation. One collection of sibylline oracles was kept in Rome under the supervision of the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis,* a college of fifteen priests, and was consulted only in time of national emergency, so as to obtain instructions for avoiding the peril. When this collection was accidentally destroyed by fire in 83 BCE, a new collection was made. The last consultation occurred in the fourth century CE. The fourteen books of sibylline oracles now preserved are a mixture of pagan and Jewish materials. The content of the sibylline oracles was originally dominated by matters relating to portents, prodigies, and ritual procedures, but they also came to express political and religious protest, particularly against Hellenistic Greek and then Roman hegemony in the eastern Mediterranean area.

In the Chinese tradition, female *wu* specifically called *wangyi* ("women who raise the spirits of the dead") dominate the practice of necromancy. They are frequently widows and over thirty years of age. In contrast to the *tongjii,* the *wangyi* operate almost exclusively in private company and may charge fees for consultations. When consulted, a *wangyi* requires the name of the deceased and the date of death. Using incense sticks and "good luck papers," the medium invokes a particular *shen* to lead her to the kingdom of the dead. The *shen* takes possession of the medium and describes a tour of the underworld. When the correct soul is located (and it has confirmed the identification by describing, for instance, the circumstances of death), its needs are determined for later offerings and sacrifices. Often the soul (who assumes its former kinship status for the duration) speaks to family members present through the medium, in order of seniority. Rarely are more than two or three souls consulted during a séance. When the consultations are concluded, the *shen* emerges chanting from the gates of the underworld; the medium then stands up and falls back on the chair.

Another type of possession trance found in Chinese tradition is *fu ji,* or spirit writing, in which the medium receives the pronouncements or responses of the possessing *shen* in writing. Consultations may be held in temples, but they occur more often in private homes. The writing stick, or planchette (*ji*), is in the shape of a Y, with the lower writing end often carved in the shape of a dragon's head. The top two handles of the stick are grasped by two bearers, one with mediumistic powers and the other a passive participant. A tray of sand is placed before the altar of the invoked *shen,* and the writing stick begins to move, often with initially violent motions, as if of its own accord. According to de Groot (1892–1910), the *shen* often identifies himself by saying "I am Kwan so-and-so of the Great Han dynasty; I have something to announce to you, people that are now seeking for medicines" (de Groot, vol. 6, 1910, p. 1303). An interpreter with pencil and paper stands ready to interpret the incomprehensible marks in the sand. Requests may be addressed to the inspiring *shen* silently, written on paper that is then burned, or read aloud. The answers or pronouncements are discussed by those present. When the session is to be concluded, the *shen* announces his decision to return. Often automatic writing is used, not to answer specific queries but to compile sacred writings consisting of poems, myths, and histories.

Oracular vision-trance. This altered state of consciousness presupposes Ernst Arbman's widely accepted dualistic distinction between the "free soul," which is passive during consciousness but active during unconsciousness (i.e., during a trance), and the "body soul," which endows the body with life and consciousness. This shamanistic experience, however, is only very rarely connected with oracles or prophecy. The ancient Greeks had legends about those whose souls wandered away during trances—for example, Aristeas of Proconnesus, a devotee of Apollo (Herodotos, 4.13–15), and Hermotimos of Clazomenae in western Asia Minor (Apollonius, *Mirabilia* 3; Pliny, *Natural History* 7.174). Two other Greek shamanistic figures shrouded in legend were Empedocles (c. 493–433 BCE) and his teacher Parmenides of Elea (late sixth to mid-fifth century BCE). A great deal of the revelatory literature from the Greco-Roman world and the ancient Near East uses the literary motif of the vision-trance to secure divine revelation in a literary genre known as the apocalypse.

The magical diviner, a common figure in the ancient Greco-Roman world, used vision-trance to secure oracular revelation for himself and his clients. Though the oracles themselves have not survived, many magical recipe books have been preserved on Egyptian papyri dating from the third through the fifth century CE. Along with love magic, revelatory magic constitutes one of the dominant concerns of the magical papyri. In addition to the many methods of divination attested in the papyri (e.g., lamp divination, saucer divination, dream divination), several types of oracular magic are also in evidence. These include procedures for obtaining such things as visions (*autopsia*), foreknowledge (*prognōsis*), a supernatural assistant (*paredros daimōn*), and oracular responses through a boy medium; there are also forms of bowl divination in which the summoned being would appear in a liquid. Several of these procedures seek to invoke the presence of a supernatural being (usually one of minor status) who will answer questions posed by the diviner regarding the future or the unknown, often on behalf of paying clients. In one example of a personal vision recipe, the diviner says "I am a prophet" and then continues with "Open my ears that you may grant oracles to me concerning the things about which I expect a response. Now, now! Quick, quick! Hurry, hurry! Tell me about those matters about which I asked you" (Karl Preisendanz and Albert Henrichs, *Papyri Graecae Magicae,* Stuttgart, 1974, vol. 2, papyrus 6, lines 323–331; translated by the author of this article).

CHARACTERISTICS OF ORACLES. The linguistic character of oracles does not necessarily render their meaning unambiguous. While lot oracles in a positive or negative mode and oracles dealing with sacrifice and expiation are usually clearly expressed, those dealing with other matters often require the skill of an interpreter. Outside the temple of Apollo at Delphi, freelance *exēgētai* ("expounders") would interpret the meaning of oracles for a fee. Similarly, interpreters are essential in the consultations of the *dangji* and in sessions involving automatic writing. In ancient Greek and Roman literature, the ambiguity of oracles that often find unexpected fulfillment became a common motif. Ambiguity also characterizes the prepared oracular responses in certain lot oracles, which must be phrased so as to apply to many situations. A similar ambiguity is found in the verses and commentaries accompanying each of the sixty-four hexagrams in the *Yi jing* (Book of changes).

The inherent ambiguity of oracles was an important factor leading to the formation of oracle collections. Because their original fulfillment remained in doubt, they could be subject to new interpretations. In the Greco-Roman world, professional oracle collectors and interpreters (*chrēsmologoi*) sold their skills in the marketplace. They possessed oracle collections attributed to various sibyls and *bakchides* as well as to other legendary figures such as Orpheus and Musaeus. The archives of oracle temples often contained such collections, and in the Hellenistic period certain individuals traveled to the more famous oracles and made their own collections, which they published with commentary. Though the origin of the Confucian classic *Yi jing* is shrouded in legend, it too functions as an oracle book.

FUNCTION OF ORACLES. Oracles, like other forms of divination, are means of acquiring critical information regarding the future or the unknown that is unavailable through more conventional or rational channels. The very act of consultation requires that what may have been a vague and amorphous concern or anxiety be articulated in a specific, defined, and delimiting manner. Oracles function in a variety of ways, some of which concern the audience (i.e., the inquirer or recipient of an oracle), while others concern the mediums or specialists who obtain oracles, as well as the institutions with which these persons may be associated. In some instances divinatory techniques are consciously monopolized by the state as a means of both maintaining and legitimating political power, as for instance by the Shang dynasty of China. In other instances respected oracles beyond the control of the state are consulted in an attempt to provide religious legitimation for particular decisions or plans inherently fraught with peril or uncertainty (e.g., the utilization of Delphi by the Greek city-states). Rulers and nobles of states are necessarily concerned above all with matters of corporate interest such as war and peace, colonization, expiation and sacrifice, plagues and drought, crops and weather, coronations and succession, and ratification of laws and constitutions. Private individuals, on the other hand, tend to focus on such matters as sickness and health, travel, business ventures, marriage and childbirth, happiness and wealth, good fortune, and recovery of lost or stolen property. Seeking oracular advice on these and other vital matters helps reduce the risks inherent in human experience.

SEE ALSO Asklepios; Delphi; Descent into the Underworld; Divination; Inspiration; Necromancy; Portents and Prodigies; Prophecy; Sibylline Oracles.

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Revised Bibliography

ORAL TORAH is the most common rendering of the Hebrew term *torah shebe'al peh*. Rabbinic teachings originating in Galilee between the third and fifth centuries CE, particularly works of scriptural exegesis (e.g., *Sifr'a* to *Lv.* 26:46 and *Sifre* to *Dn.* 33:10) and the Palestinian Talmud (e.g., *Pe'ah* 2:6), refer occasionally to religious teachings (*devarim*, "words") transmitted "orally" or "by memory" (*al peh*) and others transmitted "in writing" (*bikhtav*). The former references denote oral traditions preserved among ancient sages, whereas the latter denotes texts of scriptural revelation. The full expression *oral Torah* is rare in rabbinic tradition of late antiquity and only appears in rabbinic texts completed between the fifth and sixth centuries CE (e.g., *Avot Nat.* A:15/B:26 and the B.T., *Shab.* 31a, *Yom'a* 28b, and *Qid.* 66a). In these sources oral Torah refers to a body of unwritten oral tradition revealed to Moses on Sinai and transmitted in rabbinic communities as orally performed texts. This oral tradition originates simultaneously with the written revelations gathered in the Five Books of Moses and the remaining scriptural canon. This canon is referred to as the *written Torah* (*torah shebikhtav*). Together the written Torah and oral Torah constitute the entirety of the covenantal contract between Israel and the creator of the universe.

The rabbinic literature compiled prior to the eighth century CE does not systematically define a canon of literary works containing the oral Torah. It assumes that oral Torah is transmitted not in edited documents but rather as oral teachings. Indeed the word *mishnah* and its Aramaic cognate *matnyta* can refer either to general texts of memorized rabbinic tradition or to the early-third-century CE compilation of rabbinic law known as the Mishnah. Whereas some rabbinic passages do link the aspects of oral revelation specifically to the Mishnah (e.g., P.T., *Pe'ah* 2:6, B.T., *Ber.* 5a, *Tan.-Bub.*, to *Ex.* 34:27), it is not entirely certain whether the reference is to the document or to the more amorphous oral tradition of which the Mishnah represents merely one early form.

Since the Middle Ages it has become common to anthologize rabbinic tradition in written compilations. Thus the oral Torah has for at least a millennium been studied from written works such as the Mishnah, the Tosefta, various Midrashic compilations, and paradigmatically the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds. Commentaries to these works are likewise regarded as part of the oral Torah. In this sense the oral Torah remains an unclosed canon to which new works can in principle be added. Its "orality" lies more in the confidence in its oral origins rather than in the methods of its current preservation and elaboration.

ANCIENT JEWISH ORAL TRADITION AND RABBINIC ORAL TORAH. Oral Torah appears to be a term of exclusive rabbinic coinage. Ancient Judaism of course preserved a rich oral tradition of law, historical memory, biblical interpretation, and theology beyond its scriptural heritage. Yet there is no clear evidence that Jews of the Second Temple period (from roughly 520 BCE to 70 CE) commonly recognized this oral tradition as part of revelation or equivalent to the Torah in religious authority. Indeed whereas Second Temple Jews produced much literature claiming to be the written remnants of revelations given to biblical prophets, there is no record of Jews claiming the status of revelation for orally transmitted traditions.

Perhaps the most likely Second Temple source of the rabbinic concept of oral Torah emerges from a variety of ideas about religious tradition that have been ascribed in various ancient sources to the Pharisees. They were a prominent political-religious party from Hasmonaean and Roman times. Important first-century CE writings, such as the Gospels (e.g., *Mk.* 7:3: *paradosin ton presbuteron*) and the works of the Jewish historian Josephus (*Ant.* 12:290: *paradoseos ton pateron*), describe the Pharisees as great legal scholars and cultivators of "ancestral traditions" that are taken with great reverence in the conduct of life. But such discussions do not mention the key traits of rabbinic oral Torah—that the traditions are part of the revelation to Moses and that they are transmitted in essentially oral form as an authoritative application of the written Torah.

Only new evidence, not yet on the horizon, can determine the Second Temple genealogy of oral Torah. In the meantime it is important to point out that the rabbinic literature itself shows signs that the idea of oral Torah developed within the emerging rabbinic communities that consolidated themselves in the century or so after the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 CE. The earliest extant compilations of the emerging rabbinic literary tradition in fact are inconsistent in their appeal to and use of concepts equivalent to oral Torah. The most famous rabbinic source usually cited as an example of the rabbinic use of the term oral Torah is from the first chapter of Mishnah *Avot.* But this text claims only that "Moses received Torah from Sinai and transmitted it to Joshua" (M. *Avot* 1:1). It goes on to describe at length the chain of traditional authorities who "received Torah" from their masters and transmitted it to their disciples until it was received by such famous early rabbinic founders as Rabban Yoḥanan ben Zakkʾai (M. *Avot* 2:8). Moreover in a mid-third-century collection of biblical interpretation known as *Sifrʾa* the great rabbinic scholar of the second century CE, Rabbi ʿAqivaʾ, is represented as dismissing the idea that a reference in *Leviticus* 26:46 to "teachings" (*torot*) given by Moses implies that the prophet received two Torahs from Sinai. By contrast, the later expansion of Mishnah *Avot,* called *Avot d'Rabbi Nathan*, quite explicitly ascribes the use of the term oral Torah to Herodian figures such as Hillel the Elder. This suggests that the later text has imported its own concept of oral Torah into the Mishnah's conception of Torah from Sinai.

The development of the idea of oral Torah is intimately bound up with the consolidation of nascent rabbinic institutions of instruction and discipleship. As teachers of wisdom in the Greco-Roman world of late antiquity, the rabbinic sages had to reflect on a problem that was of great interest to other moral educators throughout the Mediterranean world, namely what is the relationship of written books to knowledge and what role does the living teacher play in applying the wisdom of books to the moral formation of disciples? This issue was of deep concern to various religious and philosophical communities—from Neoplatonic philosophers to the rhetoricians of the Second Sophistic and from Gnostic spiritual guides to proponents of Stoicism. Each of these communities came to some conventional agreements within their own institutions regarding the degree to which ultimate wisdom resided in the writing of a great sage or in the person of the teacher who expounded the writing. Similarly each community had to determine the role that memorization of great texts played in the moral formation of students. The development of the idea of oral Torah is the rabbinic refraction of this larger cultural concern. The essential idea is that rabbinic teaching derives its authority not from the person of the sage himself but rather from his assiduous cultivation of a chain of tradition that goes back to Moses. The oral character of this tradition—the fact that it was found not in books but in the living teaching of sages alone—ensured that the tradition could only be accessed through personal discipleship to a rabbinic sage. One could not, that is, become a sage by reading the written Torah in concert with texts of oral Torah. The concept of oral Torah, in this sense, insured that access to Jewish religious tradition would be entirely controlled by sages who alone could mediate covenantal knowledge.

This idea of the sage as the exclusive mediator of traditions that could not be learned entirely from books is expressed both through historical narratives and in the development of technical terms for tradition of various sorts. Representations of the idea of oral Torah in narrative include the famous passage of the Babylonian Talmud (*Eruv.* 54b) that describes Moses teaching the oral tradition to Aaron and other disciples by careful repetition and memorization. Another (B.T., *Tem.* 15b–16a) describes the use of the oral Torah's hermeneutical rules to reconstruct oral traditions forgotten by Israel in the despair following the death of Moses. Several rabbinic stories about events in Second Temple times, such as one about a Hasmonaean king who comes to persecute the Pharisees (B.T., *Qid.* 66a), assume that the oral Torah must have been known to sages at that early date. Others, most famously ascribed to the Second Temple figure Hillel, show Hillel teaching oral Torah to converts (*Avot Nat.* A:15/B:26, B.T., *Shab.* 31a).

The emerging technical language of rabbinic jurisprudence also testifies to the increasing significance of the conception that the tradition taught by rabbinic sages is both oral and part of the Sinaitic moment. The distinction between commandments "found in the Torah" (*mideʾorʾaitʾa*) and those "enacted by the Rabbis" (*miderabbanan*) originates in the earliest layers of rabbinic tradition (e.g., M. *Hag.* 1:8/T. *Hag.* 1:9 and M. *Orl.* 3:9) and is developed broadly in the Talmuds. Moreover a host of synonyms for rabbinic tradition, such as "traditional custom" (*halakhah*), "words of the scribes" (*divrei sofrim*), "tradition from Moses on Sinai" (*halakhah lemosheh misinai*), and "repeated tradition" (*mishnah* and *matnyta*), are increasingly interpreted in rabbinic compilations of the fourth and later centuries CE as references to elements of the oral Torah. Thus by the close of late antiquity the consolidating rabbinic communities of the Byzantine and Sassanian Empires had developed not only a rich oral tradition of jurisprudence, history, and theology but also a rich notion of this entire tradition as part of an oral heritage stemming from Sinai and preserved in the present by the emerging rabbinic elites.

ORAL TORAH IN THE HISTORY OF JEWISH THOUGHT. At least some sages—such as the third-century CE Galilean leader Rabbi Yoḥanan bar Nappaḥaʾ—held that written copies of texts of oral Torah should not be used in the training of disciples, just as the written Torah should not be cited from memory during the official synagogue liturgy (B.T., *Git.* 60b/*Tem.* 14b). But in the classical rabbinic literature the distinction between written and oral sources of Torah is more often assumed than explicitly discussed. The concept of oral Torah did not become a defining element of rabbinic ideology until the ninth century CE, when it began to play a key role in a polemic within Judaism known as the Karaite controversy. The Karaites (scripturalists) were a loosely affiliated collection of Jewish communities, from Iraq to North

Africa, who rejected rabbinic dominance over Jewish life in the expanding Abbasid Empire. Central to Karaite criticism of rabbinic authority was the claim that the oral Torah was a purely human construction, invented by rabbis to legitimate their political authority. According to the Karaite polemicists, the only source of textual authority for Jews was the Mosaic Scripture, what the rabbis called the written Torah.

The most articulate responses to the Karaite critiques were mounted by a series of rabbinic scholars who had been appointed by the Abbasid caliphate to the office of the Gaonate. The Gaonate was charged with promulgating and administering Jewish law among the Jewish communities of the Abbasid Empire. The Geonim traced their own intellectual and religious authority back to the Talmudic sages and from them back to Moses. Mining the classic rabbinic literature for references to the antiquity of oral Torah and buttressing these sources with arguments drawn from scriptural interpretation and philosophy, Geonic leaders from Rabbi Saʾadyah ben Yosef al-Fayyumī (882–942 CE) to Rabbi Sherira ben Hanina (906–1006) composed fierce responses to the Karaites. In these responses the entire corpus of rabbinic compilations from antiquity was defined as part of the canon of oral Torah and their authority in the construction of Jewish law and belief clearly explained. As the Karaite threat to rabbinic authority receded, these polemical writings, defending the centrality of oral Torah to rabbinic authority and linking its antiquity to Sinai, became foundational for Jewish historical thinking about rabbinic tradition.

Whereas the classic Geonic development of the idea of oral Torah originated in Islamic lands in polemics primarily with the anti-rabbinic Karaites, rabbinic Jews living in scattered communities in Latin Christendom were also inspired by contextual factors to develop an ideological self-consciousness about oral Torah. Most important among these, from the eleventh century and onward, were the polemical encounters of Jews with Christian theologians. In staged disputes sponsored by church authorities, held for the edification of Christians and a hoped-for conversion of Jews, rabbinic leaders were required to defend the truth of Judaism against the claims of Christianity. The primary focus of these disputes was the tradition of Christian interpretation of the Old Testament, which viewed the latter as a veiled set of parables foretelling the advent of Christ.

Some of the later rabbinic sources of the Byzantine era had proposed long ago that the Mishnah should be regarded as a "mystery" given by God to Israel to ensure Israel's knowledge of the meaning of Scripture against the claims of the emerging church (e.g., *Pes. Rab.* 14b). These and many other sources were retrieved by the pioneering eleventh-century French commentator Rabbi Shelomoh ben Yitsḥaq ("Rashi," 1040–1105) in his commentaries to both the Talmud and the Bible. He carefully glossed biblical verses with rabbinic passages from the oral Torah, arguing that the "simple" or "contextual" sense of the written Torah was found in the sources of the oral Torah. This method enabled Rashi to engage Christian readings of Scripture on two fronts. Where Christian tradition might see certain biblical verses as parabolic references to Christ, Rashi could point out that the "simple" sense (the *peshat*) was contained in the oral Torah. Similarly where Scripture referred repeatedly to various synonyms for *law* that had been given to Moses, Rashi could cite rabbinic materials that linked such verses to the written and oral Torah. Rashi's methods were employed, with variations and expansions, in the exegetical tradition founded by his students, known as the Tosafists ("supplements to Rashi"). They were influential as well in the thirteenth-century biblical commentaries of Rabbi Mosheh ben Naḥman ("Nahmanides," 1194–1270), who frequently cites Rashi only to disagree with him about details.

While rabbinic scholars of Latin Christendom were weaving the idea of oral Torah into their tapestry of exegesis, a work appeared in the Islamic world that would become crucial to Jews in both Islamic and Christian societies. The twelfth-century Spanish-born sage, Rabbi Mosheh ben Maimon ("Maimonides," 1135–1204), writing in Egypt, introduced his prestigious codification of Jewish law with a historical discussion of the origins and transmission history of the oral Torah. Elsewhere in his brilliant code Maimonides held that belief in the origins of the oral Torah in revelation was a fundamental article of Jewish belief, no less crucial than belief in the existence of God (*Hil. Mam.* 3:1). His views, shaped largely by the Geonic interpretations of Talmudic sources, influenced all Jewish thought—legal, historical, and theological—from the thirteenth century until the dawn of the nineteenth.

The mystical movement of Qabbalah, which spread with equal success in the Islamic and Christian areas of Jewish settlement, commonly linked its own conceptual innovations to the idea of oral Torah. Indeed the most important qabbalistic work, the thirteenth-century *Zohar*, was composed in imitation of the language and form of ancient rabbinic works of oral Torah. As late as the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, innovative movements of Jewish religious renewal, such as Hasidism, offered creative interpretations of the idea of oral Torah as part of their larger efforts to link themselves to authentic rabbinic lineage. With equal ingenuity, some rabbinic opponents of Jewish modernization demonstrated how the interpretive principles of the oral Torah proved that "the modern is prohibited by the Torah."

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, increasing sectors of world Jewry have come under the influence of the modernizing Western culture in which they have been immersed. Grounded in empiricist and historicist assumptions basic to the cultural revolution of the European Enlightenment, many modern Jewish thinkers have found the concept of "revelation" to be especially vulnerable to criticism on historical grounds. Classically understood as a miraculous event in which a personal God speaks in human language to a prophet, revelation has been commonly recast as a psychological, cultural, or moral event. Revelation, in other words, has left the realm of "objective historical fact" and been confined to the domain of "subjective, interpretive experience." Accordingly among most contemporary adherents of modern Judaism, the idea of oral Torah as a revelation coequal with that of the written Torah is hardly a compelling idea, for the very notion of an objective historical revelation is itself under question.

Not all sectors of contemporary Judaism, however, have been willing to give up the concept of oral Torah. Among Orthodox Jews, who are deeply skeptical of the authority of modern culture, there is also a tendency to insist upon the continued authority of oral Torah as part of the divine revelation that governs the concrete behavior of Jews. Paradoxically, in the last decades of the twentieth century certain Jewish thinkers of a postmodern style began to find new complexity in the concept of oral Torah. These thinkers are critical of modernity's often-facile distinction between "subjectivity" and "objectivity." Whereas they may not accept the absolute authority of the rabbis, they are intensely interested in retrieving the idea of oral Torah as a fundamental element of the overall Judaic response to texts and tradition. Thus even among Jewish thinkers who do not explicitly support exclusive rabbinic authority to define Judaism, the idea of oral Torah as the historical embodiment of Jewish forms of "textual reasoning"—living with, challenging, and transforming the meaning of powerful texts—continues to attract great interest.

SEE ALSO Mishnah and Tosefta; Torah.

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MARTIN S. JAFFEE (2005)

ORAL TRADITION, which operates in all religious institutions, tends to be viewed by literate Western scholars as a defective mechanism for perpetuating tradition. Theologians, secular historians, and sociologists of religion, sharing a dichotomous view of oral and literate intellectual systems, have contrasted the fixity of belief in an immutable truth found in literate religious traditions with the variety and mutability of knowledge typical of oral traditions relying exclusively on memory.

However, recent research on the institutionalization of oral and written communication in different societies tends to undermine the dichotomy between "oral" and "literate" societies. It becomes increasingly clear that in both religious and secular contexts literary and oral methods of learning and teaching coexist and interact. The relative stability of knowledge in a given society depends in large part upon how these different methods are institutionalized as well as upon the educational goals and concepts of knowledge that accompany them.

In general, it seems that knowledge based on memory is not as ephemeral as previously had been thought, nor is written knowledge immutable in the actual conditions of social practice. Thus comparative research into the ways in which written and spoken words are organized and used in different societies at present tends to complicate the picture of what oral tradition is, and of how it is related to the presumed stability of written traditions. Overly simplistic models are giving way to less elegant, but perhaps richer, comparative views, which also offer a more accurate picture of the varieties of religious experience that are embodied in written and spoken words.

The two great questions underlying most of the scholarship on oral tradition in religion are those of historical continuity and communicative effectiveness. Up to the present, these two issues have tended to be addressed by different scholars using different methods. The issue of historical continuity has been prominent in the Western comparative study of religion since the late eighteenth century, when the survival of preliterate belief systems in modern European settings was first recognized.

In the twentieth century, one of the most provocative historical comparativists has been Georges Dumézil. Dumézil has gone back to the early literary sources of Indo-European mythology, history, and legend to reconstruct an ideological complex that, he contends, predates the dispersion of the ancestors of the present Indo-European linguistic groups from an original home in Central Asia into the Indian subcontinent, Asia Minor, and Europe. Dumézil argues that his ideological complex was represented in both the social organization and the cosmology of the preliterate Proto-Indo-Europeans, positing a tripartite division of both human and divine spheres of activity into priest-kings, warriors, and agriculturalist-herdsmen. For Dumézil, it is not tripartism in general (a worldwide phenomenon), but these three particular categories that characterize cultural configurations derived from a Proto-Indo-European antecedent.

Followers of Dumézil have examined more recent folk traditions in Europe, such as folk tales, legends, and sagas. In these orally derived traditions they have found evidence of the pre-Christian Indo-European tripartism, which in some cases underlies such overtly Christian subjects as the lives of the saints. Of course, the awareness of pre-Christian content in European oral tradition and its possible impact on Christian orthodoxy was noticed by the earliest Christian missionaries. Several of the nineteenth-century folklorists were clergymen who identified pre-Christian beliefs and practices among their parishioners. Dumézil and his followers, however, unlike many of their predecessors, have detected not mere isolated remnants of tradition, but a conceptual system that, Dumézil argues, informed Indo-European ideas of social and cosmic organization at diverse levels, with varying degrees of explicitness, from the explicit *varna* theory of the Vedic caste system in India to the cryptic reflections that Dumézil has traced in the legendary history of the Roman republic.

Dumézil's historical-reconstructive approach to the oral heritage in written traditions shares some of the weaknesses of its predecessors. A major problem is the variety of relationships between cosmology and social organization. Dumézil and his followers found the Indo-European triad in some cultures at the cosmological level, in others in the configurations of secular history, in yet others in sacred biography. In some cultures (in India, for instance), Indo-European tripartism can be traced in many contexts on a sacred-secular continuum. But as becomes apparent in the study of living religious rituals and scriptures in their social context (and as is painfully obvious to believers who take their sacred models seriously), the sacred order is often not realized in everyday social interaction, and indeed may even be systematically inverted. Anthropologists of religion such as Victor Turner and Claude Lévi-Strauss have based approaches to the study of ritual and myth on the assumption that inversions between sacred and secular discourse are systematic, and even necessary. Dumézil's style of comparison is exciting more for the possibilities it reveals for discovering the manifestations of a belief system in both sacred and secular contexts than for the particular comparative conclusions it can yield.

Although Dumézil and his followers only implicitly address the problem of oral tradition, the identification of traces of an originally oral ideology in societies where that ideology is no longer overt raises the question of the relative importance of self-consciousness in oral and literate intellectual traditions. Literacy is widely regarded by the literate as a facilitator of analytic reasoning and self-conscious intellection. It is believed to enable one to manipulate series of propositions, to reorder them, compare their implications, and identify inconsistencies that would be obscured if one could only consider them in the serial order and social contexts of their immediate presentations.

In the religious context, the writing down of tenets of belief is held to facilitate the development of orthodoxy and of internally consistent bodies of belief, which in turn may contribute to the centralization of religious institutions and religious power. There are paradoxical aspects to this set of assumptions, however, as will be seen below. In any case, Dumézil's comparative studies imply among other things that the development of complex categorical systems of sacred and secular order is possible even in preliterate societies. The continued unselfconscious operation of such conceptual systems can be traced into the literate era, in both the literate and the oral domains of different communities.

A comparative approach to the diverse manifestations of such inherited patterns leads to the question of how these patterns are transmitted and institutionalized. A second major approach to the problem of oral tradition has focused directly on the forms and processes of oral transmission. This approach was initiated by the Amerian classicist Milman Parry, whose examination of the style and structure of Homeric verse led him and his student Albert B. Lord to the study of a European oral epic tradition that still survives in the sectarian poems of border warfare sung in the Balkans. Through this study, Parry and Lord sought to identify mechanisms of oral composition and remembrance that could generate and perpetuate poems of the scale of the Homeric epics.

Francis P. Magoun and other medievalists then applied the Parry-Lord theory of oral stylistics and compositional techniques to Anglo-Saxon poetry. Soon a debate developed among medievalists and biblical scholars concerning the influence on early literary style of an oral rhetoric that was believed to reflect in various ways the oral composition and transmission processes that had been described by Parry and Lord. Arguments ensued about such questions as the relative debt of the Christian poet Cædmon to either the pre-Christian oral poetics of Anglo-Saxon or to the literary tradition of Latin devotional poetry. The organization of the *Book of Psalms* and the Gospels, among other Old and New Testament writings, was examined for evidence of oral composition in both style and structure. The simultaneous existence of variants, along with the presence of formulaic language, was taken as a hallmark of oral tradition. Stylistic studies that saw in the synoptic Gospels (*Mark, Matthew,* and *Luke*), for instance, a series of variants of an original oral tradition of the life of Christ, raised once again the questions concerning the historical reliability of these texts.

In the case of Islam, by contrast, the oral substrate of the tradition was directly taken into account by the earliest Muslim theologians. The word *qurʾān* literally means "reading," and the sacred book of the Qurʾān was originally received through reading, despite the self-avowed illiteracy of the prophet Muḥammad. The first revelation came to the Prophet in the form of an angelic injunction, "Read!", to which the Prophet replied, "I cannot read." This altercation ended with the celestial voice dictating, "Read: And it is thy Lord the Most Bountiful / Who teacheth by pen, / Teacheth man that which he knew not." The Prophet, waking from a trance, remembered the words "as if inscribed upon his heart." Thus the authoritativeness of written scripture was established by explicit revelation.

The Prophet's oral recitations of subsequent revelations were transcribed by various followers. The great body of Muslim oral tradition supplementary to the Qurʾān itself, embodied in the *sunnah* ("practice, custom") and *ḥadīth* ("traditions, narration") of the Prophet, was codified by literate theologians in the century following the Prophet's death. A primary criterion for authenticity was the soundness of the chain of oral transmission by which each bit of information was preserved prior to being committed to writing. It was important to establish that the chain of oral transmitters (*isnād,* or "attribution") specified in each case was comprised of a series of individuals who were in fact contemporaries in direct communication with each other. Thus Islam, in its earliest period, confronted the issue of the reliability of oral transmission very directly. Spiritual authenticity in Islam has continued to be measured in part by the directness of verbal communication between living exponents of the faith, as for instance in the emphasis that the Ṣūfī orders place on the necessity of a sound spiritual genealogy and on direct communication with spiritual guides.

A serious limitation is imposed on researchers' ability to understand the workings of oral transmission in biblical and other traditions by the fact that the compositional history of existing texts is often undocumented, and information about the traditions upon which they were based is scarce. Arguments for the oral origin of parts of the Bible, like similar arguments concerning devotional and secular medieval literature, proceed mainly on stylistic grounds, whereas the reconstruction of the actual process of oral composition remains inferential. In societies where literacy is the skill of a minority, verbal compositions intended for a general audience must be organized to facilitate aural comprehension, whether or not they are composed orally. Furthermore, in societies where literacy is new, the indigenous verbal aesthetic is by definition oral, and early literature might be expected to emulate it to some degree.

The ethnographic evidence available from contemporary societies, together with the scanty indications of the compositional process gleaned from early literary documents, tends to enforce the idea that different societies distribute oral and literary processes in different ways, that there are a variety of techniques of oral composition and transmission just as there are a variety of techniques of literary composition and dissemination, and that these communicative mechanisms interact in complex ways.

Looking at religious traditions in oral and literate societies today, it becomes clear that virtually all societies develop special languages or communicative styles for religious contexts, and that these are distinguished from everyday written or spoken language. It is perhaps best to regard writing not as more authoritative or powerful per se, but as one of several possible strategies for marking off religious language as particularly powerful. Societies with prophetic traditions embodied in written scriptures may develop popular ideologies that venerate all writing, by extension from the veneration of sacred writ. In folk Islam, for instance, *taʿāwīdh* are written formulas believed to have protective power that are worn as charms on the body. Other written charms may be consumed in dissolved form or inhaled as smoke. Their texts, which are specific to the protective function desired, may be derived from holy scripture, from books of prayers compiled for the purpose of *taʿāwīdh* writing, or from a series of numbers or words arranged in geometric patterns that are considered to be powerful.

This use of written words in charms forms part of a larger continuum of protective magical practices that includes the manipulation of other physical objects (such as strings, bits of cloth, beads, foodstuffs, and fragrant herbs). Thus those who use literacy for protective magical purposes are using but one of several strategies for physically embodying sacred power and directing it to human ends. The sacred power of language is no less likely to be embodied in spoken words, even in highly literate traditions such as Islam and Christianity. The invocations, prayers, and injunctions spoken over a written *taʿāwīdh* at its creation are no less important to its efficacy than is its written text.

Much recent research by folklorists and ethnolinguists favors the view that the meaning and power of sacred language emerges from the actual enactment of words by the living, whether the "texts" that serve as the basis for such enactment are written or oral. The dynamism of such oral enactment can often triumph over the professed fixity of a scriptural tradition and become a source of diversity within the tradition. This can be seen in several examples taken from New World Christian traditions.

Some Pentecostal churches in the United States, for example, while preaching the literal truth of the Christian scriptures, seek personal experiences of possession by the Holy Spirit. One group of such churches puts particular emphasis upon the verses of *Mark* 16:17–18: "And these signs will accompany those that believe: in my name they will cast out demons; they will speak in new tongues; they will pick up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing, it will not hurt them; they will lay their hands on the sick, and they will recover." To this end, and as part of their devotional services, they handle venomous snakes and drink strychnine in trance states induced by very intense rhythmic vocalization, clapping and dancing during sermons, personal testimony, group prayer, and song. Other Pentecostal groups take no interest in snake handling, but preserve the importance of glossolalia and other forms of vocalization in worship. Glossolalia, or speaking in "new tongues" (*Mk.* 16:17), is accepted as an outward sign of the conversion experience and is considered to be the Holy Spirit speaking through the body of the believer. Such "baptism in the Spirit," with its outward vocal forms, is believed to be necessary for salvation.

A debate arises within some fundamentalist congregations concerning the types of vocalization proper to men and women. The apostle Paul's injunctions (*1 Tm.* 2:11, 2:12; *1 Cor.* 14:34–35) that women should be silent in church are interpreted by some to mean that women should not preach but only give personal testimony, sing, and speak in tongues as the spirit moves them. Women who feel called to preach may frame their sermons more in the style of a personal testimony (or their testimonies more in the style of sermons), or they may defend their right to preach by alluding to points in scripture (e.g., *Acts* and *Joel)* where it is said that women will prophesy in the "last days," which are presumed to be at hand. Thus silence for women receives widely divergent interpretations in different communities. The literalist interpretation of scripture typical of such communities in no way inhibits the development of diversity, especially in the dimension of oral practice.

Diversity is no less apparent in Roman Catholic communities, which were until the 1960s restricted to a uniform Latin liturgy and scripture. Among the Tarascan Indians of Tzintzuntzan, Mexico, an elaborate, nine-day communal ritual of religious processions, feasts, and dances has developed around the single verse of *Luke* 2:7: "And she brought forth her firstborn son, and laid him in a manger, because there was no room in the inn." The theme of no room in the inn has formed the basis for communal processions, called *posadas* ("lodgings"), developed with varying degrees of complexity in many Spanish-American communities. Images of the Virgin are carried through the streets during the last days of Advent, begging for lodging. Although the basis is scriptural, the design and execution of these ceremonies are a matter of emergent oral tradition. In Tzintzuntzan, the ritual has developed into a pancommunal ceremony that entails elaborate cooperation within neighborhoods, performances of songs and recitations, and a complicated cast of male and female actors who carry out the roles of holy pilgrims and inhospitable innkeepers. Stanley Brandes suggests that there are extrareligious reasons for this community's elaboration of this particular detail of sacred biography at this time. In Brandes's view, the ritual reflects changes in relations between members of the community.

A distinction introduced by Gregory Bateson can help to clarify the value of orality in many religious traditions. Bateson distinguished between communicative and "metacommunicative" functions of language. While the communicative dimensions convey information and content, the metacommunicative level conveys a relation between speaker and listener. Bateson further observed that, while the literary mode is conceived as primarily communicative, it is the oral mode that is the dimension of metacommunication. Because a primary goal of religious devotion is precisely to establish or reassert a personal relation between the worshiper and the worshiped, Bateson's distinction helps provide an understanding of why the oral dimension is often critically important in both the embodiment and the propagation of religious belief and experience.

Even within a strictly oral tradition, however, the religious value of orality may be differently assessed, and values normally associated with literacy affirmed. In different traditions, the authenticity of religious utterance may be measured by reference to either an ideal of immutability (whether written or oral), or to an ideal of spontaneity. Wallace L. Chafe, distinguishing stylistically between oral and written English, pointed out that in Seneca, a nonwritten American Indian language, the ritual language of religion and recitations of mythic history achieve many of the same effects of depersonalization and grammatical integration that Chafe identified as markers of literary as opposed to colloquial discourse in English. In Seneca oral tradition, the ideal of ritual recitation is a fixed text, and a highly standardized vocal style and physical mannerisms accompany the recited words. According to Chafe, distinctions between oral and written style in English are thus analogous to distinctions between ritual and colloquial style in exclusively oral Seneca.

By contrast with Seneca religious language, some Christian Pentecostal groups in the American Midwest locate spiritual authenticity in religious utterances that entail possession by the Holy Spirit. A preacher in this tradition would never use any sort of written notes or outline to organize his discourse in advance. And yet this ideal of oral spontaneity in devotional practice in no way alters the conviction that the written scriptures are the verbatim word of God. Furthermore, stylistic analysis reveals a highly consistent structure and high level of formulaic language in such inspired spontaneous utterances, both in sermons and in personal testimonies. Other fundamentalist groups may tolerate or even encourage the use of written outlines by the prayer leader, as well as the use of hymnals, but the spiritual authenticity of the prayer or hymn is measured by the degree to which it is "raised up" by the group from the skeletal, written prototype into an embellished improvisational oral performance.

Similar paradoxical relations between oral and written standards of authenticity can be found in other traditions. William F. Hanks describes a shamanic prayer among Yucatec-Maya of southern Mexico, where the local religion is a complex syncretism of Christianity and pre-Columbian beliefs, largely reliant on oral tradition. In this community, the proper form of prayers is so completely dependent upon the context of oral performance that a shaman is unable to recall or reproduce the text of a prayer outside the setting of the ritual. Hanks persuasively argues that the oral text does not exist in any coherent form outside of the immediate curing rituals, for, as the shaman explains, "[It's] a thing [that] passes by you in your thought." In such an oral tradition, the role of rote learning is minimized (shamans learn how to address spirits primarily through personal dreams and visions), to say nothing of fixed texts in the form of written scripts. Nevertheless, in this same cosmology, there is a guardian spirit whose function it is to record in writing, for divine reference, the individual rituals performed by shamans.

These examples illustrate the diversity of relations between oral and literary traditions in different religious settings, and also the continuing, central importance of the spoken word as religious act. Writing has no doubt provided a mechanism to measure the mutability of ostensibly eternal oral traditions, but when scriptural traditions are examined in particular social contexts, their own mutability is equally apparent, at the level of interpretative enactment. It is in the consciousness and acts (verbal and physical) of living believers that religions manifest their meaning, and in that sense, living tradition is always oral tradition.

SEE ALSO Folk Religion; Memorization; Tradition.

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ORDEAL is a divinatory practice that has a judiciary function. The word reached the English language from the medieval *ordalium,* the latinized form of the German word *Urteil* ("sentence, judgment"). Two kinds of judiciary ordeals may be distinguished: those prescribed by a judge or judicial body as a form of trial and those that also involve the sentencing and punishment of the accused. Ordeals of the first type are based mostly upon the drawing of lots and the identification of the guilty party among a group of suspects. Except for those that involve the simple drawing of lots, it could be said that every ordeal is designed to prove definitively the guilt or innocence of the accused. For example, a Shoshoni medicine man would take two hairs from the accused and place them in his own tent. If they had disappeared the day after, it was seen as a proof of innocence; if the hairs still remained, it indicated guilt. Ordeals of the second type are those that place the accused in mortal risk. If the accused escapes death, he or she is judged innocent; if he or she dies, the death is considered the due punishment of proven guilt. The most common ordeals of this sort are ordeal by poison, in which the accused is forced to ingest poisonous substances (if innocent, the substances will be vomited up); ordeal by water, in which the accused risks drowning; and ordeal by fire, in which the accused risks burning to death.

TYPES AND SOURCES OF JUDICIARY ORDEAL. The most ancient body of laws that includes judiciary ordeals is the Code of Hammurabi (Babylonia, 1792–1750 BCE), which prescribes the so-called ordeal of the river, in evidence during the Mesopotamian era as early as the twenty-fourth century BCE. In the ordeal of the river (which belongs to the second category of ordeal because it includes sentencing and punishment), a woman accused of witchcraft or adultery was thrown into the river. If she drowned, she was considered to have been guilty, and if she survived, she was absolved. It is interesting to note that those two crimes statistically outnumber all others in the comparative documentation of ordeal and that, in the case of witchcraft, the Code of Hammurabi (stele 5, lines 33–56) seems to have imposed the ordeal (or what today would be called "the burden of proof") on the accuser and not, as one would expect, on the accused. Another application of ordeal as a judiciary instrument dates back to the high Middle Ages. Unlike the Code of Hammurabi, which records the laws of the Mesopotamian civilization, ordeal in medieval times represents an aberrant episode in European legal history that has its foundations in Roman jurisprudence. The appearance of ordeal in European culture can be directly attributed to Roman and Christian adaptation of a Germanic custom. Ordeal was adopted because it had been included in the tribal laws of the various Germanic populations (*Lex Visigothorum, Lex Burgundiorum, Lex Salica,* etc.) and because it had also come to be regarded as a manifestation of divine justice, even to the point of being called "the judgment of God." For an example of the interaction of these two frames of reference, the one civic and the other religious, one can refer to the *Lex Frisonorum,* which prescribed the drawing of lots in the case of a crime for which more than one person was suspected. Three elements enjoined for this ordeal gave it a consecrated character: the prayer to God that he might reveal the guilty party; the request for a priest to officiate at the rite; and the obligation to execute the rite in a church or, at least, in the presence of a reliquary. The religious frame of reference was eliminated because of the negative attitude of the church, which on more than one occasion forbade the clergy to lend itself to the execution of ordeal; gradually, this led to the exclusion of ordeal by judicial institutes as well. Hence its presence in Western culture should be considered episodic and anything but characteristic. The *Lex Salica* called for ordeals in which the accused was tested for resistance to pain and for ordeals that involved the drawing of lots. This judiciary ordeal corresponds to the practice of inflicting torture on the accused to extort confessions. The most common use of torture in trial by pain involved boiling water, but a law of 803 CE speaks of trial by sword. In the form of dueling, trial by sword appears to be the most ancient and most easily verified trial of the Germanic tradition. Recourse to a duel between accuser and accused took place when the accused could not find enough witnesses willing to swear to his innocence (the graver the crime, the more witnesses he had to produce). A refusal to duel by the accuser in itself constituted proof of the innocence of the accused, but a refusal by the accused proved his guilt. According to the *Edictus Rotharii* (643), the accused could be represented by a substitute. He could also refuse to duel, if he submitted to a different kind of trial. One trial by sword that substituted for the duel, called *ad novem vomeres,* was practiced by the Thuringians. In an ordeal that could be called trial both by sword and by pain, the accused was made to walk barefoot over nine flaming plowshares. The symbolism of the plowshares in contrast to the sword is evident: This was more appropriate for farmers than was the duel, the typical ordeal for gentlemen. As an ordeal for gentlemen, the duel endured as a standard feature of chivalric codes and has survived even in modern times as a private solution to disputes, sometimes tolerated and at other times expressly forbidden by law.

BIBLICAL PRECEDENTS. The medieval concept of ordeal as "the judgment of God" probably found precedent in the Germanic tradition, but another of its precedents was most certainly found in the Bible. One reads there that judgment came from God through lots (*Prv.* 16:33) and that the drawing of lots resolved conflicts (*Prv.* 18:18). In *Joshua* 7:14–22, the judiciary drawing of lots to discover the violator of a divine interdiction was elaborated: First, the tribe of the guilty party was identified, then his family, then his house, and finally the individual himself. It should be noted, however, that the same procedure, from tribe to individual, was also used for the designation of Saul as the first king (*1 Sm.* 10:17–24), and that Saul himself used it as a judiciary method to discover the violator of a civic and not a divine law (*1 Sm.* 14:40–45). In view of his royal position, which detached him from tribal regulations, Saul put to one side all the tribes of Israel and to the other himself and his son Jonathan. The lots designated him and his son, and as the choice was between them alone, the son was named guilty by the lots. In this phase of the history of Israel, the same ordeal was thus used in identifying a guilty man, whether he had broken civic or divine laws, and in the selection of the first king. This would seem to signify not only that a royal prescription is equal to a divine one but also that the acquisition of royalty is itself tantamount to a violation of divine law. In effect, the Bible describes the arrival of monarchy in Israel as a sinful usurpation of divine authority (*1 Sm.* 8), so God himself is entrusted to designate the usurper as one who has violated divine law. In substance, it was a method that freed the community from the responsibility of decision.

ORDEAL AND POWER. It could be said that recourse to ordeal is always liberating, considering the risk of uncertainty that lies in decision making, though this understanding of ordeal depends on a typically Western concept of responsibility. Ordeal, in the biblical case, reflects a system of interdependence among the divine, the royal, and the judiciary. In abstract terms, this interdependence is seen in the formula of a king who, through divine grace, administers justice in the name of a god, or as if he were a god. But in concrete terms, the royal institution is supported by the heredity of the office, whereby a king becomes king by virtue of being the son of the preceding king. Nor can he substitute for a god as supreme judge, because he is not endowed with divine omniscience and also because he himself could become involved in a judgment as accuser or accused. As in the case of Saul, these contradictions can be resolved.

Ordeal and royalty. As one who has not inherited the throne, the first king is designated by the drawing of lots, or it is believed that he has been so designated. A well-known example of this recourse to ordeal as legendary justification of the title to the throne is that of Romulus, who became the first king of Rome because he saw twice the number of vultures as did his brother Remus. Thothmose III (1504–1450 BCE), one of the greatest of Egyptian pharaohs, prided himself on having been designated for the throne by the oracle of Amun. If a king is involved in a judiciary procedure, he is most likely to figure as the injured party or as the object of betrayal. This crime, treason, required a "judgment from God" in the Middle Ages. It should also be noted that the only ordeal known to have existed in the Inca Empire concerned betrayal: The party accused of treason was held for one day in a cell with dangerous beasts or serpents; if he came out alive, he was absolved. However, most instances of ordeal that involved interdependence between the judicial, the divine, and the royal occurred in Egypt, where this institution had its origin. In the classical model that Egypt presents, the pharaoh takes the place of a god or is a god on earth and, as the beneficiary of divine omniscience, exercises judicial power in concurrence with the divine oracles from whom sentences were often asked. There were moments in Egyptian history—for instance, in the twenty-first dynasty (1085–950 BCE)—when the justice exacted by a divine oracle seems to have prevailed over that administered by the king or his courts; but there are also instances of oracular sentences being challenged, with consequent recourse to the royal tribunal.

Ordeal and divinity. The biblical precedent of the medieval "judgment of God" must be considered not only to explain the adaptation of Roman Christian ethos to Germanic custom but also for the phenomenological problem presented by the relationship between ordeal and divinity. Ordeal is an autonomous and not a cultural ritual. Thus, in some historical contexts, that relationship is considered an accessory, almost a reinforcement of the effectiveness of ordeal as a judicial method. At any rate, numerous cases of ordeals imposed for their own sake, without invocations or evocations of divinity, have been documented. The Mesopotamian river ordeal provides for no divine intervention; in fact, the Code of Hammurabi allows two alternative courses of action—ordeal or divine intervention. For one charge, adultery, the woman accused can demonstrate her innocence either by swearing "to the god" (stele 21, lines 68–76) or by submitting herself to the river ordeal (stele 21, lines 77–82; stele 22, lines 1–6). The judiciary function of swearing "by God," which persists even in the judicial halls of the present time, results from the adaptation of the concept of ordeal to the logic of a polytheistic or monotheistic religion, in which a god who punishes perjurers takes the place of the punishment implicit in the trial by ordeal. The god by whom one swears is, in substance, evoked as the judge; historically, these are usually sun gods or gods of enlightenment and, as such, omniscient. Raffaele Pettazzoni (1955) has called this judiciary role the principal function of an omniscient god. The Mesopotamian sun god Shamash, by whom one swore as proof of one's innocence, was called "lord of judgment" (*bel dini*) and was regarded as the father of Kettu (Justice) and Mesharu (Rectitude). The Bible does not provide evidence of judiciary oaths, but biblical oaths have the quality of a pact, a vow, or a curse. The most severe Hebrew sects forbade even the taking or oaths, as did Christ, according to *Matthew* (5:33–37). Nevertheless, an ordeal was called for in cases of suspected adultery and was carried out as if it were an offering to God (*Nm.* 5:11–31). This is the so-called oblation of jealousy. The oblation to God served to evoke his presence; in front of God, the suspected woman swore to her innocence. The possibility of a lie did not require divine intervention: The punishment could be delegated to humans who administered a potion called "bitter water" that the woman had to ingest; if she was guilty, it would make her dropsical. Oaths were common, however, in Roman law, which never prescribed true ordeal as a judiciary process. The several cases in which the accused himself, outside of legal procedure, requested divine intervention to prove his innocence are considered exceptional. The most famous of such cases is that of Quinta Claudia, a Vestal Virgin accused or suspected of immorality, who submitted herself to the judgment of the Magna Mater (204 BCE). While oaths in a judiciary action may separate divine intervention from ordeal, there are cases in which the opposite is true. Sometimes the ordeal itself is divinized. Among the Sudanese of the interior (Azaude and neighboring peoples), for example, the poison used in an ordeal is personified and assigned divine attributes. Because evidence is scanty, it is not possible to ascertain how much this description of an indigenous custom depends on European interpretation (which tends to give priority to divine figures); but it is a fact that such a process has been found even among the descendants of Africans brought to the Americas as slaves. Ordeal by poison is still common among the so-called Maroons (or "Bush Negroes") of French Guiana and Surinam, the descendants of slaves who rebelled and took refuge in the forest in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This ordeal is, however, associated with an invocation to Odun, the god of justice. The name of this god goes back to the denomination (*odu*) used by the Sudanese of the western African coast (e.g., the Yorulas) to designate the signs of their geomantic prophetic system. This demonstrates the prophetic and autonomous character of ordeal more than it does its substitution for "God's judgment."

ORDEAL AS PROPHETIC BATTLE. This article has considered ordeal as a prophetic form with a judiciary purpose. In this sense it has defined the characteristics of dueling, starting with its Germanic, medieval formulation as trial by sword. In the Germanic tradition also, Tacitus (*Germania* 10) describes a functional inversion of the duel from, not as a prophetic form with a judiciary function, but as a battle with a prophetic function. Before battle, the Germans captured an enemy soldier and forced him to fight against one of their own warriors. The outcome of the fight was taken as an omen regarding the outcome of the upcoming battle. This context seems to broaden the definition of ordeal, but in reality it extends the concept to the point of rendering it meaningless, precisely because of its functional reversal of the judiciary practice. On the other hand, this sort of weakening due to reversals of perspective conveniently brings ordeal into the field of prophecy. Ordeal becomes a judicial process, in whatever form an oracular response is sought. The constant recourse to oath—interpretable as ordeal, as has been noted—seems to provide evidence for such a process. Nor is it necessarily true that, in the Germanic practice of the duel as an ordeal before battle, the prophetic function of the ordeal is predominant at the expense of the judiciary function. In fact, on the level of phenomenology, the battle itself can be regarded as judgment, as the solution to a dispute between two human groups (nations, tribes, clans, etc.). Battle, too, can be seen as an ordeal. The difference between reality and appearance lies not so much in facts as in interpretation. An example is the case of the battle between the Horatii and the Curiatii: It is not worthwhile to ask if it really took place or if it is only legend, because what matters for this article's purposes is the interpretive model it offers. This discussion will begin with the disputes involved in this battle: A routine case of Roman farmers trespassing on Alba Longa territory during the reign of Tullus Hostilius and of Alban farmers encroaching upon Roman territory. The conflict was to be decided by a war. Tullus Hostilius called the gods to witness before the war, meticulously following ritual. The Roman king took great care to characterize this war as "holy" (*pium bellum* is the Latin expression used by Livy), what would today be called a "judgment of God." The war, which one might call a figurative ordeal, was then replaced by a genuine ordeal: The Romans and Albans agreed to make three Roman champions (the Horatii) and three Alban champions (the Curiatii) battle each other, designating the outcome of this battle as the solution to the conflict. The model provided by this event can be used to interpret other situations in which war figures, whether in the search for a common structure in legendary wars such as the Trojan War, or for the purpose of classifying ethnological material pertinent to war. The Trojan War, for instance, was a conflict of which it could be said had a judiciary nature (Menelaus against Paris) and that turned into a war between Greeks and Trojans; it even contains evidence of recourse to a duel (Achilles against Hector). To examine this from the point of view of ordeal, one could speak of a dilatory process (from duel to war) and a reductive process (from war to duel). This pattern of dilation and reduction can be applied theoretically as if the subject of disagreement allowed the two modes indifferently. A purely quantitative distinction between war and duel is possible and in fact fully justified by ethnological documentation of cultures that do not have wars of conquest in the Western sense, but in which every conflict seems to assume the aspect of ordeal. Some of these cultures documented by ethnological research know no type of war but resolve every type of conflict by dueling, even between two groups or tribes. Among the Inuit (Eskimo), an ordeal-duel (by blows) between two champions of opposing sides took the place of war. Similarly, the Colombians resolved all hostilities between individuals, villages, and tribes with an ordeal-duel. This is also true of the natives of North America (e.g., the Tlingit), South America (the Botocudo), Africa (the Ashanti), and Australia. Even when one can speak of war, or an extended ordeal, reduction is always noticeable: It can influence the number of combatants, the arms used, the length of battle, and so forth. Among Northwest Coast Indians war between two villages ceased with the death in battle of one of the chiefs. The equivalence of war and dueling is obvious in these cases, and it is not at all exceptional that the death of the chief signals defeat almost everywhere. Although battle requires a great number of participants, only two people count as far as the ordeal is concerned. The outcome of the ordeal is always binary, because there is a choice between two eventual outcomes that are equally probable before the confrontation takes place, just as in the biblical ordeal, cited above, conducted by successive alternates. This duality is well expressed by the Latin term for war, *bellum,* which derives from *duellum.*

Fighting as ordeal, whether war or duel, reveals its ritual nature through the rules that govern it. On the other hand, ritual fighting is found in religious contexts of various kinds, but perhaps the reduction of fighting to ordeal, even though problematic, can be deduced through recourse to documentary material, as is the case with ritual fighting that precedes tribal initiation ceremonies. Initiation fighting is found in various forms and with various functions: between initiates, between initiates and initiators, between the newly initiated and the women, and so on. But to reach an interpretation that illuminates ordeal, each case should be viewed as proving the ability of the young to be admitted into the adult community. Naturally, there are other ways of testing the battle skills of the young; generally, one would speak of athletics rather than of ritual battle. All athletics, which for the most part have been connected with tribal initiations but which in ancient Greece assumed an independent development, can be looked at for their meaning as ordeal. (The custom of wagering on the winner still attests to the ordeal character of athletics.) A "judgment of God" was derived from the Greek athletic arenas, as from medieval ordeal. Athletic trials pertained to the divine; the verdict, or outcome of the competitions, lent a "divine" prestige to the victorious city. As for the connection with battle, it should be remembered that every competition derives from a form of fighting; it could be said that the athletic arena figuratively substitutes for the duel, just as dueling figuratively takes the place of war. According to the logic of these figurative substitutions, athletic contests and wars were incompatible, in the sense that if the former could figuratively substitute for the latter, it became illogical to hold both athletic events and wars at the same time. Every war between Greek cities was suspended during the celebration of the Olympics, as if the decision that had up to that point been delegated to the armies could be deferred to the games. This "as if" implies a theory that, although belied by the fact that real wars were only delayed and not entirely replaced by the games, permits a glimpse a quality in Greek athletics that is not compatible with today's concept of sports: It could be said that they were more "war" than "sport." Angelo Brelich (1961) has brought to light the initiation-athletic elements of certain traditional Greek wars (between Cretan cities, between Eretria and Chalcis, between the Athenians and the Boeotians, between Argos and Sparta, etc.). More "ordeal" than "game," one may say, remembering that, according to one tradition, the first Olympic competition, a race, was instituted in order to establish the succession to the throne of Elis. For its game-war-ordeal-prophecy connection, a Mexican tradition is emblematic. Moctezuma, the Aztec emperor, lost a Mexican ball game against the king of Texcoco, who had wagered his kingdom against three turkeys. The outcome of the game was to verify, with the defeat of Moctezuma, the truth of the prophecy of the arrival of the Spanish, who would conquer Mexico. On the other hand, every game, when the results are binding (as, for instance, in a game of chance), loses the quality of entertainment and assumes the dramatic aspect of ordeal. For such as interpretive orientation, consider the conclusion of Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, who notes how certain trials by ordeal—understood by him to be among the cleromantic practices—are not too far removed from the spirit of today's "games of chance" (*La mentalité primitive,* Paris, 1925, p. 256).

ORDEAL AS INITIATION RITUAL. To return to the probatory, and therefore ordeal-like, function of the ritual battle in tribal initiation contexts, it can be said that, in the abstract, not only these but all the trials to which initiates are subjected are more or less comparable to the various known forms of ordeal. It is not difficult to compare initiation trials of resistance to pain with certain trials by ordeal in which such resistance serves to demonstrate the innocence of the accused. Ordeal is represented also by torture in a judiciary function; among the initiation trials inventoried by ethnologists, genuine torture does indeed appear. Along the same line of interpretation, it is not difficult to move from tribal initiation to initiations into certain cults where trial by ordeal becomes the evidence of a superhuman reality in which the initiate takes part. From another point of view, one can speak of the demonstration of exceptional powers, acquired in the circle of a given religious form. The best known of these powers is the one that allows a person to walk unharmed over burning brands or red-hot stones. This may be called an ordeal by fire, very similar to the ordeal of the nine plowshares of the Thuringians. The diffusion of this trial by fire is remarkable. In ancient Latium Vetus the so-called Hirpi Sorani, cult followers of Apollo Soranus on Mount Soracte, practiced it. Walkers on burning brands or red-hot stones have been observed in ancient Cappadocia, India, China, Japan, the Fiji Islands, Tahiti, Yucatán, and elsewhere. But for edification on the religious level, Mazdaism is highly representative as a religion that simultaneously confers on ordeal, called *varah* in the Avestan tongue, the double value of the judiciary and the initiatory. In the *Denkard* (7.5.4–6), a ninth-century Pahlavi text, can be seen the work of Zarathushtra. The text indicates at least thirty-three ordeals to "determine who will be absolved, and who condemned." In the Avesta, there are constant allusions to the methods and functions of ordeal. From several passages (*Yashts* 12.3; *Afrinaqan* 3.9), it would seem necessary to extract a ritual acknowledgment (by ordeal) from the initiate whom the priest, acting as judge, submits to a trial by fire—perhaps immersion of the hand in boiling oil (more precisely, animal and vegetable fat). Elsewhere (*Vendidad* 4.46), trials of an ethical nature are found. However, for the purpose of religious edification, they are figuratively absorbed in trial by boiling liquid. There are also true judiciary ordeals: The accused "must drink water containing sulphur, water containing gold, which produce the proof of guilt, prove the lie with which he opposes the judge and deceives Mithra" (*Vendidad* 4.54). (This potion used for ordeal is spoken of in *Vendidad* 4.55 as well.) Finally, the judiciary function and initiatory function fuse in an eschatological perspective in which a supreme ordeal is the essential proof and brings about the ensuing sentence of reward or condemnation. In this regard, one reads in one of the five *Gathas* attributed to Zarathushtra that initiates will have to distinguish themselves from sinners (noninitiates) in order to have "the compensation that will be attributed to them by the ordeal of molten metal." In conclusion, ordeal is not an accessory element of Mazdaism; rather it produces, within the boundaries of a rite or ritual, the two main characteristics of this religion: dualism and attention to *asha,* a term that can be translated as both "youth" and "justice" (the "just order"). Mazdean dualism responds to the binary code with which ordeal is expressed. Attention to the *asha* corresponds to the judiciary function that, although not always in equal measure, is found in every ordeal in every context.

SEE ALSO Games.

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ORDEMA SEE POWER

ORDER OF THE PREACHERS SEE DOMINICANS

ORDERS, RELIGIOUS SEE RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES

ORDINATION here refers to the practice in many religions of publicly designating and setting apart certain persons for special religious service and leadership, granting them religious authority and power to be exercised for the welfare of the community. The way each religious community practices ordination depends on that community's worldview and religious beliefs. For example, in traditions that emphasize a direct relationship with the divine being or beings, the ordained person may be thought of primarily as a mediator or priest. Communities that consider human beings to be especially troubled by evil spirits or witchcraft look to shamans or exorcists to counteract the evil influences. In religions that present a goal of inner enlightenment and purified life, the ordained person will be a monk, nun, or spiritual master leading the way toward this goal of enlightenment. And religious communities that place much emphasis on living in accordance with the divinely given law set certain persons apart as religious scholars and judges.

Each religious tradition sets up qualifications that candidates must meet before they can be ordained. Sometimes ordination is based on heredity. In many religions the candidate must be male, although some roles are specified for women; other traditions allow both male and female candidates to be ordained. Since the late twentieth century, a major shift has taken place in some traditions that formerly had restricted ordination to men, such as Judaism, Christianity, and Shintō: A number of groups within these traditions have begun to accept women for ordination. While aptness for the religious role is always a requirement, in some traditions the person must already have demonstrated his or her suitability for that role before being chosen, while in others it is assumed that the office will be learned through a period of training. Every religion presupposes some kind of divine call or inner motivation on the part of the candidate.

An authority and power not possessed by the ordinary people of the community are conferred on the candidate through ordination. The source of that authority and power may be the divine powers, the consent of the community, or those who have already been ordained. Upon ordination, the person receives a new religious title. The English term *priest* can be used in many religious traditions to designate those who have been ordained or set apart, but a variety of other terms is sometimes preferred, such as *shaman, medicine man, monk* or *nun, rabbi, bishop, deacon, minister,* or *imam.*

ORDINATION IN ANCIENT AND TRADITIONAL SOCIETIES. Numerous ancient and traditional societies have beliefs and practices according to which they set apart certain persons as religious leaders, endowing them with special authority and power for the performance of essential religious services, such as serving the gods and spirits, sacrificing, communicating with spiritual powers, warding off evil powers, healing, and the like. Among the great diversity of roles dealing with spiritual power, some basic types are priests, shamans, and medicine men or women.

The term *priest* generally designates a person ordained with authority to practice the cult of certain divinities or spirits. Since these spiritual powers are believed to direct and influence human existence, they must be worshiped, prayed to, consulted, influenced by sacrifices, and the like, for the continuing welfare of the human community. The priesthood may be hereditary, or priests may be called or chosen by the divinity. After selection or calling, the aspiring priest undergoes a period of purification and training. Among the Ashanti of Africa, the novice trains in private with an older priest for three years, during which time the novice's hair is left uncut. He is taught rituals, rules of priestly life and conduct, how to communicate with the various spirits, and so forth. The final act of ordination takes place at a nighttime festival, with the new priest dressed in a palm-fiber kilt and decorated with all his charms. He kneels before his instructor-priest, who shaves off his hair; any "bad matter" that is found is put in a pot, which is then taken off to the bush. The new priest dances all night to the drums and the singing of the people, and he ends the ordination ritual in the morning by sacrificing a sheep to his god.

Ancient Israelite society had a designated priesthood that served Israel's god by prayer and sacrifice, acting as intermediaries for the people. The description of the investing of Aaron and his sons (*Lv.* 8) may be an idealized account, but it presents many important symbols of ordination. All the congregation assembled for the ceremony, and Moses announced to the assembly that God had commanded this ordination. Aaron and his sons were presented, washed with water, vested with special priestly garments, and anointed with oil. Aaron and his sons laid their hands on the "ram of ordination"; after it was sacrificed, its blood was placed on the tips of their right ears, on the thumbs of their right hands, and on the great toes of their right feet. They ate the sacrificial offerings, and then they stayed in the tent for the seven "days of ordination," after which they were authorized to act as priests on behalf of the people. In ancient Egypt, the king (and thus, the god) appointed the priests to act as ritual specialists for the king. After preparation by fasting and abstinence, shaving their hair, and circumcision, the induction ritual for new priests included purification by washing, anointing of their hands, donning of special linen garments, presentation before the gods in the temple, and reception of special divine knowledge.

While priests are holy persons who have power by virtue of their office, other religious roles in traditional societies are set apart for those who demonstrate the appropriate charisma, for example, shamans and medicine men and women, who are able to maintain communication with the spiritual powers and influence those powers for the benefit of humans.

Shamans (male and female) are commonly thought to be elected directly by tutelary spirits, who in a visionary experience initiate the future shaman. Among Siberian shamans, this initiatory experience involves being sick, being carried to the realm of the spirits, having the body dismembered and reconstituted, and receiving instruction in shamanizing from the god. After this visionary experience of death and resurrection, the future shaman is instructed by an elder shaman, and often there is a ceremony that confirms the initiation by the spirits. For example, the Buriat neophyte, after many years of training following his first ecstatic experiences with the spirits, is consecrated in a public ceremony. First a purification ritual is performed, in which his back is touched with a broom dipped in a goat's blood. In the ordination ceremony, the shamans consecrate the shamanic instruments that the novice will use, and the candidate is anointed with blood from a sacrificial animal on the head, eyes, and ears. The "father shaman" leads the neophyte and other shamans in the ritual of climbing birch trees that have been cut from the burial forest and set up on the sacred ground, after which all fall into ecstasy and shamanize. Finally, meat from the sacrificed animals is prepared, and everyone joins in a banquet celebrating the new shaman.

Although the Burmese are Buddhists, they still have beliefs in a variety of spirits, ghosts, and witches; in particular, the spirits called *nat*s are thought to be powerful and capable of affecting humans for good and evil, and these *nat*s are propitiated by shamans (most are women, though a small percentage are men) who play the important role of "nat wives." Typically, through a trance or dream, a young woman is possessed or "loved" by one of the *nat*s, and any resistance is punished by the *nat* until a "marriage" is arranged. The wedding is a costly affair, performed in a *nat* "palace" where there is a ceremonial chamber. As the *nat*'s dance is performed, the bride changes into the proper costume, pays the marriage fee, and enters the bridal chamber. Two shamans perform a ceremony of putting the bride's soul to sleep, and she does a dance to the music associated with the *nat* husband. The marriage has now been consummated, and she remains secluded for seven days with her *nat* husband, after which she is known as a *nat* wife and practices as a shaman.

Among Australian Aborigines, shamans play an important role in diagnosing and curing illnesses, holding séances with the spirit world and spirits of the dead. The profession can be inherited, the person may experience a call or election, or he may seek out the role—but in any case he must be "made" through an ecstatic experience involving a ritual of initiation. Typically the initiate is taken to the bush, and the ordaining medicine man places against his breast large quartz crystals, which are thought to vanish into his body. In other symbolic rituals, he is led into a hole in the ground to a grave, and snakes are also rubbed against him to give him wisdom. The initiation is completed with a symbolic ascent to heaven to communicate with the high god. Among the Azande of Africa, the ceremony of initiation for a medicine man (or woman) includes a ritual burial following a period of purification. The elders bury the upper part of the novice's body in a hole under a mat with dirt heaped on it, on which the other medicine men dance. After about a half hour he is taken out, and medicine is put in his eyes and nostrils. After swallowing powerful phlegm expectorated by a master doctor, the aspiring novice is taken to a stream source and shown the various herbs and shrubs from which the medicine is derived. After this he takes a new name and is authorized to practice as a medicine man.

ZOROASTRIAN AND HINDU ORDINATION. Among Indo-Europeans the priesthood was an important class, as evidenced in the priesthoods of the ancient Romans, Greeks, Celts, Persians, Aryans, and others. The Zoroastrians and the Hindus have continued this emphasis on a class of priests ordained to perform the important purifications, sacrifices, and other ceremonies for the maintenance of a healthy relationship between humans and the eternal divine order of the universe.

The religion of the ancient Persians, as transformed by the prophet Zarathushtra (Zoroaster) into Zoroastrianism, is practiced in the early twenty-first century by small communities in Iran and India (where they are called Parsis). In Zoroastrianism, the aspirant to the priesthood must be a son of a priestly family who has gone through the childhood religious initiation (Naojot), consisting of investiture with the sacred shirt and girdle or thread. A lengthy period of training in chanting the scriptures and performing the rituals qualifies him for ordination.

According to traditional practice, there are two levels of ordination, of which the first (*nāvar*) qualifies the aspirant as a priest who can perform benedictions, investiture of children, marriages, and the like. During the first level of ordination, the candidate must perform two *bareshnūms*, the highest form of purification ritual, lasting nine days each. Under the open sky a sacred liquid is applied to his whole body many times, and then the candidate makes a nine-day retreat in the fire temple. After the two rituals, the candidate bathes and puts on a new set of white clothes and a white turban. In the sacrifice chamber of the fire temple, he removes his upper garments, makes an ablution, and puts on a mouth veil. One of the priests brings him before the assembled priests and asks permission to initiate him. The silence of the assembly indicates their consent, and the candidate is taken back to the sacrificial chamber to perform the ceremony of chanting the Avestan scriptures and other liturgical rituals. These are repeated for four days, after which the candidate is declared to be qualified as a priest of the *hērbad* level.

In order to perform also the higher liturgical services, the priest must qualify himself by going through the second grade of ordination (*martab*). In this ceremony, the priest again goes through a period of purification, then he conducts the Yasna liturgy for ten days. Now finally the priest is ordained as a *mōbad* priest, and he can fully officiate as the directing priest at all religious ceremonies.

In Hinduism, brahman priests have always played an important role. In ancient Vedic times they were thought to uphold the whole social order through their mediation, by virtue of their mastery of the sacred rituals, sacrifices, and formulas. In the early twenty-first century, especially for people of the high castes, it is important to have a brahman household priest (*purohita*) perform the traditional rituals and chant the Vedic texts properly so that the cosmic order will continue with its health and goodness for each according to his or her place in the total order. Some brahmans prepare to be priests of temple worship, where rituals center on the ceremonial treatment of the images of the gods—although many functions of temple worship can be performed by the people without priestly help. And there is a variety of religious specialists from non-brahman castes that serve village gods and perform ritual functions in Hindu communities.

The traditional view in Hinduism is that a priest must be a male from the brahman caste who has gone through the initiation ceremony (*upanayana*) and received the sacred thread as a twice-born brahman. The brahman boy who aspires to become a household or temple priest studies for many years with a teacher at a Vedic training center and learns the correct way of reciting the Sanskrit Vedic scriptures.

After reaching technical proficiency in recitation of the Vedas and in performing the simpler ceremonies, the novice priest must spend a period of time as assistant to a senior priest. For those priests who are training to be domestic priests, this means accompanying the senior priest on his rounds and assisting him. The senior will formally introduce the junior priest to the assembly of professional priests, while the trainee formally announces his apprenticeship under the senior priest. In conducting the ceremonies, the junior first sits behind the senior priest, helping to recite some *mantras*; as he gains confidence, he is allowed to sit next to the teacher. Gradually the novice priest takes charge of rituals while the senior priest withdraws. In this way, eventually the new priest becomes established and recognized as a full-fledged member of the profession of domestic priesthood. For brahmans entering the public temple priesthood of one of the great gods, such as Viṣṇu or Śiva, the ritual consecration is performed in the temple by priests to admit the new priest to their ranks. In a Śiva temple, for example, the consecration ritual is attended by many priests as well as a large crowd of devotees. The officiating priest performs worship for the candidate in the same way as worshiping a Śiva image, bathing him in a variety of substances, dressing him in new clothes, offering food and waving lamps in front of him, demonstrating that the new priest is a form of Śiva and thus has authority to perform the temple rituals. One additional requirement must also be met for the ordination of domestic and temple priests: Because tradition prohibits an unmarried priest from performing public worship or participating in the rituals of the *saṃskāras*, or life passages, the novice priest must take a wife.

In recent years some groups both in India and in Hindu communities in places such as South Africa and Trinidad have begun ordaining women as priests after training them in reciting the Vedas and performing the various rituals. They argue that the Vedic scriptures support a priestly role for women, and that women priests can fill an important need especially as more men are drawn away from the priesthood to other careers in society.

ORDINATION AMONG JAINS AND BUDDHISTS. Two religions that grew up in India along with Hinduism are Jainism and Buddhism, and in these religious traditions spiritual power is understood to reside especially in the monastic communities, that is, among those monks and nuns who have left ordinary secular life to pursue spiritual perfection through ascetic practices. The monks and nuns are primarily devoted to their own spiritual perfection; yet because they possess great power they can perform religious service for the laypeople, such as chanting scripture, performing funeral rites, and teaching.

Among the Jains of India, the monks and nuns are set apart from the lay population by virtue of having embarked on the path of total renunciation. As *sādhus* and *sādhvīs* (male and female mendicants), they pursue their own goal of reaching the highest state of liberation of the soul from all traces of *karman.* For the laypeople who perform their own religious ceremonies, the mendicants function mainly as models and as teachers.

Prior to ordination, the candidate will have gone through a period of training under a qualified master, involving the formal declaration of intention, fasting, study of basic scriptures, and taking a new name. Ordination occurs through the formal assumption of the five Great Vows (*mahāvrata*) in a public ceremony called *dīkṣā.* The five Great Vows are the vows of nonviolence, abstaining from untruthfulness, abstaining from stealing, chastity, and renouncing all love for any thing or any person. The novice casts off all lay possessions and becomes a new person. Particulars of the ceremony differ somewhat among the different sects. A Digambara monk, fulfilling that order's ideal of nudity, will stand before his teacher and renounce every possession, even his loincloth; he is given a small whisk broom, with which he is to remove insects from his sitting or sleeping place. Among Śvetāmbaras, the aspirant is given three large pieces of cloth for a new wardrobe, and also a whisk broom, a begging bowl, a blanket, a staff, and some volumes of scripture. Monks and nuns of the Sthānakavāsi sect are also given a small strip of cloth to keep tied over the mouth at all times save mealtime, to protect organisms that might be injured by an unimpeded rush of warm air. One significant part of the ritual of ordination is the act of slowly and painfully pulling the hair from one's head in five handfuls, signifying the aspirant's determination to meet the severe demands of the ascetic life.

It is significant that nuns have always been more numerous than monks in Jainism, from the time of the founder Mahāvīra. Because Digambara nuns cannot enter a state of ascetic nudity (as required of monks), they are sometimes considered of lower rank. However, Śvetāmbara and Sthānakavāsi female mendicants take the same vows as do the male mendicants, and so they are considered to have equal ordination status.

The people of the community participate in the ordination ceremony. The *dīkṣā* ceremony is accompanied by great pomp and by the performance of various religious acts by the laypeople. On the next day, when the new mendicant goes out with the begging bowl to receive food for the first time, the householder who provides the food is considered to earn great merit.

Among Buddhists also, men and women ordained as monks and nuns (*bhikkhus* and *bhikkhunīs*) are set apart from the lay population by virtue of having embarked on the path toward extinguishing the sense of self and reaching nirvana. The monks and nuns contribute to the welfare of the general community, not as intermediaries between the people and the gods but as reservoirs of merit and models of spiritual perfection. Typically they perform a variety of services for the laity in chanting scripture for various occasions, performing merit-making rituals, praying for the dead, and teaching.

The Buddha established ordination for both the men's order and the women's order of mendicants, teaching that men and women equally can reach enlightenment. According to the scriptural texts, he prescribed several additional requirements for women's ordination, seemingly making nuns dependent on the order of monks and requiring that a nun be ordained both by an assembly of monks and by an assembly of nuns. Eventually the full ordination of nuns disappeared in Theravada Buddhist societies, and attempts to revive it in modern times have been unsuccessful, since there are no fully ordained Theravada nuns to perform the ordination. Dedicated women continue to become mendicants in Theravada societies such as Thailand, Burma, and Sri Lanka, but they receive only a novice ordination and thus are not considered to have the same spiritual status as monks. The full *bhikkhunī* ordination for women has been maintained in Mahāyāna societies, such as in China and Korea.

In Theravada cultures such as those of Burma and Thailand, it is traditional for boys to be ordained on a temporary basis and spend some time in the monastery as novice monks, as a kind of passage to adulthood. This initiation into monkhood *(pabbajjā)* is technically a monastic ordination; the young men have their heads shaved by the monks and recite the Ten Precepts of monastic life, after which they are given new Buddhist names. The Ten Precepts are the following: not to destroy life; not to steal; not to engage in sexual misconduct; not to lie; not to take alcoholic beverages; not to eat after noon; not to participate in dancing, music, and theater; not to wear garlands, perfumes, and ointments; not to use high or wide beds; and not to accept gold or silver.

Although most of the young men return to secular life after a period of time in the monastery, other men and some women take on the monastic ordination as a more permanent role and become members of the *saṅgha* (Skt., *saṃgha*), the monastic order. The ordination ritual that marks this separation from lay life is called *upasampadā,* or higher ordination, and presupposes some twelve years' experience as a novice after the lower ordination.

The monk or nun is to be essentially a homeless, celibate, ascetic mendicant. Being ordained means dying a civil death, so before the ceremony the candidate divests himself or herself of all possessions and gives up title to inheritable property. He or she brings to the ordination, as gifts from lay sponsors, the only property that a *bhikkhu* or *bhikkhunī* is to possess: the yellow robe, a begging bowl, a girdle, a small razor, a needle and some thread, a water strainer to strain insects from drinking water, and a palm-leaf fan. The laypeople—parents and friends—play an essential role in the ordination, in terms of financial support for the ritual and the postceremonial festivities, sponsorship of the novice's application, and the like. Gifts and support of the ordination bring merit to the donor.

The ordination ceremony takes place in an assembly of *bhikkhu*s (and an assembly of *bhikkhunī*s, for women candidates) in the special ordination chamber of the monastery, surrounded by boundary stones beyond which laypeople are not to enter. The candidate, dressed in yellow robes and with head and eyebrows shaven, kneels in front of the assembled monks and affirms in response to questions that he or she is a human being of sound body and mind, of legitimate birth, free of debts, a freeman, at least twenty years old, in possession of robes and a begging bowl, and having parental consent. The candidate formally requests admission to the *saṅgha,* and the presiding monk asks three times if any of his colleagues has any objection to the candidate. Silence is taken as consent, the candidate is pronounced a *bhikkhu* or *bhikkhunī,* and his or her new Buddhist name is conferred. The monastic rule from the Vinaya is read aloud, and the new monk or nun promises to comply with all its rules.

Mahāyāna Buddhist communities have the same basic ordination ceremony, with some special differences. In traditional China, for example, it was customary for the aspiring monk to "leave home" by taking a senior monk as his master and receiving tonsure from him, entering into a period of training as a novice within the tonsure family headed by the "father-master."

Ordination in Chinese Buddhism traditionally involves long and complicated rites with a large number of ordinands. Monks and nuns come to the large ordaining monastery and live there for a time of strict training. After a night of repentance and purification, the ordinands kneel before the masters and witnesses, reciting the Three Refuges and accepting the Ten Vows, receiving their robes and begging bowls. Training resumes for a period of time, and at a second ordination ceremony the ordinands accept the monastic rules and go up to the ordination platform in groups of three to be examined by the ordination masters and accepted as full-fledged monks and nuns. An important ceremony in Mahāyāna ordination rituals is the scarring of the scalp with burns; cones of moxa are placed on the shaven scalp and set afire, burning down into the skin and leaving permanent scars identifying the person as a monk or nun. The ordinands finally receive ordination certificates, and they join their family and friends for a celebration in honor of their new vocation.

ORDINATION OF PRIESTS IN DAOISM AND SHINTŌ. Priests in Chinese Daoism function as ritual and liturgical specialists, but they also act as exorcists and healers, expelling and pacifying demons. There are two main traditions of Daoist priests *(daoshi)* in the early twenty-first century, stemming from movements in the long history of Daoism. The Zhengyi (Orthodox Unity, also called Tianshi, Celestial Masters) sect is a diverse movement made up of male priests who are married and perform a whole range of rituals and liturgies for communities and families. The Quanzhen (Complete Perfection) sect is made up of both male and female priests who are celibate and practice monastic Daoist disciplines primarily for self-cultivation.

The ordination ritual in Daoism is basically the liturgical act of transmitting a canon of scriptures from a recognized master to a disciple. Daoist candidates for the priesthood are often designated on the basis of heredity. Since the ritual of Daoism is esoteric, that is, not directly to be understood and witnessed by the laypeople, usually the aspiring priest will join the entourage of a recognized master who knows the important formulas and hidden aspects of ritual Daoism.

The aspirant's expertise is judged by several criteria. First, it is important to have mastered the external performance of Daoist ritual: writing an artistic talisman to cure illness, exorcising evil spirits with sword and oxhorn trumpet, performing the ritual dance steps and acrobatic tumbling, climbing a blade-side-up sword ladder, and the like. But beyond the ability to perform the external rituals, what really determines the ordination rank given to the new priest is reception of particular scriptures and mastery of the esoteric secrets of the religion, including the meditations and breath-control techniques of internal alchemy. Most important is the ability to recite the registers (*lu*) of spirits who will obey the priest's commands and enable communication with the different spheres of the universe. The master also teaches the aspirant the oral explanation of the register, with the appropriate gestures, formulas, and meditation techniques used in summoning and controlling the spirits.

Traditional rituals of ordination include a time of isolation and purification together with a formal visit to the master to pay homage and request transmission of the scriptures. The ritual of ordination includes transcription of the scriptural texts. The master presides over a festival in honor of the many gods who reside in the temple and the whole Daoist pantheon, who are summoned to participate. The master commends the ordinand to the gods and administers oaths in which the ordinand pledges never to misuse the scriptures or reveal them to outsiders. Rituals of empowerment include the giving of official titles, authority to use the scriptures and perform the appropriate rituals, and the right to use the registers, talismans, and other sacred implements. Support from the local community is necessary for the ordination, partly to pay for the considerable expenses of the festival.

Daoist priests of the Zhengyi sect who serve in temples and perform rituals for the people are called "fire-dwellers," that is, they have a hearth and home, marry, and have families. Among Zhengyi priests in Taiwan, often a distinction is made between "Black-head" priests and "Red-head" priests, depending on the ranking of their ordination. Red-head priests tend to be more shamanistic and perform popular rituals, such as protection for homes, pregnancies, children, and exorcisms of various kinds. Black-head priests are authorized to work more with written liturgies, using formal vestments, performing funerals and requiem services, and conducting high rituals such as the Jiao festival of renewal.

Some Daoists in traditional China pursued the path of individual realization more exclusively by taking up residence in a Daoist monastery (*daoguan*) of the Quanzhen sect. In this case, first the aspirant has to be accepted by a master at a hereditary temple as a novice. After a period of study and practice, the master performs the "rites of crown and cloth," binding the hair into a topknot and crowning the novice. Then the novice enrolls in a public, ordaining monastery for several months to prepare for ordination vows. Monastic training particularly involves meditation in practice of "inner alchemy," breath control, and other exercises aimed at cultivating the vital force. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, monasteries such as the White Cloud Monastery (Baiyun guan) in Beijing provide scholarly training and ordination for both men and women seeking to become Quanzhen Daoist priests.

The main function of Japanese Shintō priests (*shinshoku*) of all ranks is to worship and serve the *kami,* the spiritual beings associated with the powerful forces of nature and the ancestors. The priests, generally referred to as *kannushi*, maintain good relations with the *kami* for the divine protection and welfare of the human community.

Priests often come from families with long and strong traditions of Shintō worship. In ancient times a few priestly families supplied most of the priests, although in modern times the priesthood is open to candidates from nonpriestly families also. Very often the right to be a priest at a particular shrine is passed from father to son or daughter. Though in the past priests were nearly all male, there are now significant numbers of women in the Shintō priesthood. The princess who is high priestess (*saishu*) at the shrine at Ise is the highest rank of all the priests, and in certain other shrines there have traditionally been women priests. Some women became priests as a result of war; when a priest was absent or killed in war, the parishioners would sometimes ask his wife to serve as priest. Priests customarily marry and raise families.

Aspiring priests study for a period of time either in the Kokugakuin University in Tokyo, Kogakkan University in Mie Prefecture, or a regional seminary; occasionally taking an examination can substitute for such study. They are expected to get an academic degree and certificate as *chokkai* (the beginning priestly ordination level), issued by the Association of Shintō Shrines (Jinja Honchō) according to the training and merit of the individual. Continuing training and examinations provide opportunity for priests to advance to higher ranks as structured by the Association of Shintō Shrines. The aspiring priest is appointed by the president of the Association of Shintō Shrines to a shrine responsibility appropriate to his rank. Within the priesthood of a particular shrine, the usual designations of rank, depending on the degree and experience, are those of chief priest *(gūji)* of a shrine, associate chief priest *(gongūji)*, priest *(negi)*, and junior priest *(gonnegi)*. When presiding over rituals, the priests wear colorful and elaborate vestments, depending on the age and rank of the priests as well as the season of the year.

ORDINATION IN JUDAISM. The religion of Judaism after the Babylonian exile and especially after the destruction of the

Temple in the Roman period moved away from a sacrificial temple cult and priesthood and, consequently, the most important religious leaders became those ordained as rabbis. They functioned as judges, scholars, teachers, and expounders of the Torah and Talmud; in modern times, rabbis also function as worship leaders, officiants at marriage and burial ceremonies, and spiritual heads of local communities of Jews.

According to the Hebrew scriptures, Moses ordained his successor Joshua by "placing his hands" (*samakh*) on him, transferring to him a part of his authority (*Nm.* 27:18–23; *Dt.* 34:9); and he also ordained seventy elders to assist him in governing the people (*Nm.* 11:16–25). Jewish tradition holds that there was an unbroken chain of ordination down to the time of the Second Temple. Traditionally the most important role of the rabbi was in giving judgments in both religious and secular matters, as covered by Jewish law. Ordination (*semikhah*) was required for membership in the Sanhedrin and the regular colleges of judges empowered to decide legal cases. The practice of laying on of hands was dropped in later times, and ordination took place simply by proclamation or with a written document. The special ordination formula included the words "Yoreh yoreh. Yadin yadin. Yattir yattir" ("May he give direction? He may give direction. May he judge? He may judge. May he permit? He may permit"). The ordinand wore a special garment, and after the ordination the new rabbi delivered a public discourse as a demonstration of his new role.

Changing times, especially the loss of religious autonomy in the Palestinian and Babylonian Jewish communities by the fourth century CE, led to the discontinuation of the original *semikhah* ordination with the early rabbinic idea of passing down divine authority for judicial powers. Eventually ordination as a rabbi became a matter of setting a person apart to function in a professional role as a rabbi, qualified by virtue of training in the Torah and the Talmud and sanctioned institutionally to render decisions for the community that engaged him. In more recent times, pressure developed in Europe for rabbis to be versed in the vernacular and in secular studies, so new rabbinical seminaries were organized that put less emphasis on the Talmud and Jewish law and more emphasis on studying Jewish history and philosophy, preaching, and pastoral work as spiritual leader of a synagogue. Consequently, in contemporary Judaism there is some difference in the conception of ordination to the rabbinate. Some groups have traditional schools (*yeshivot*) that give the traditional *semikhah* ordination with its emphasis on training in the Talmud and Jewish codes. Other groups have seminaries that see preparation for the rabbinate as including not only knowledge of the Talmud and codes but also professional training to function as a synagogue rabbi within modern society.

In the state of Israel in the early twenty-first century, traditional *yeshivot* predominate, although there are branches of American Reform and Conservative seminaries. The *yeshivot* ordain males only, and the role of the rabbi is generally that of judge and scholar, not that of spiritual leader of a local congregation. In the United States, as in Europe, ordination of rabbis differs somewhat among the main Jewish groups. For example, the Orthodox seminary of Yeshiva University ordains graduates in the traditional fashion after a course of study in the Talmud and codes, and women are excluded from such ordination. Jewish Theological Seminary of America (the center for the Conservative movement) graduates its candidates as rabbis and has begun to ordain women candidates for the Conservative rabbinate. Reform Judaism's Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion ordains its graduates as rabbis, and for some time women have been ordained into the Reform rabbinate. Women are also ordained as rabbis in Reconstructionist Judaism. In general, rabbis of all American Jewish groups function as spiritual leaders of local congregations of Jews, although their functions differ according to the needs of the community.

ORDINATION IN CHRISTIANITY. Christians hold that Jesus Christ is the great high priest, the real mediator between God and humans, and that all Christians as members of his body participate in his priesthood. While some Christians conclude that there is no need for specially ordained leaders, most Christian groups have recognized the need for ordained priests or ministers to lead the Christian community.

Although traditionally any male Christian could aspire to become a priest or minister, many Christian denominations have begun to ordain women clergy also, while some denominations, such as the Roman Catholic church and the Eastern Orthodox church, continue to ordain male candidates only while providing other non-priestly roles of religious service for women. Candidates are given a course of study and training in a theological seminary before being certified and presented to the church denominational authorities for ordination.

Those set apart for special service are given many different titles: priest, minister, pastor, deacon, and bishop are the most common among those designating the clergy. In addition, many nonclerical roles are entered into by ceremonies of initiation or consecration: the minor orders, orders of monks and nuns, deaconesses and deacons, special church workers, and the like. The traditional clerical ministry of the church, as it developed in the first centuries, consisted primarily of bishops, presbyters, and deacons. The bishop was the "overseer" of a specific community of Christians, with the full responsibility for the ministry of preaching the word and administering the sacraments of the church. Deacons were ordained to help the bishop by serving in an administrative capacity and by working for the welfare of the people. The presbyter (elder or priest) was ordained to help the bishop as a fellow minister in performing the rites and sacraments of the church.

Ordination in the ancient Christian church was a simple affair, consisting of prayer and the laying on of hands by those authorized to ordain (*Acts* 6:6, *1 Tm.* 4:14, *2 Tm.* 1:6). Texts of ordination manuals from the fourth and fifth centuries CE give sets of ordination prayers and emphasize the laying on of hands as a central ritual. The people, especially in the Greek communities, cried "Axios!" ("He is worthy!"), and the ordinand was given the kiss of peace, after which he preached and conducted the service, presiding over the Eucharist. In the medieval period other rituals were added to the ordination, such as vesting the candidate in the vestments of his order, holding a Bible over him, and giving him the implements and symbols of his new office: paten and chalice, Bible, and, in the case of a bishop, pectoral cross and pastoral staff. Bishops were anointed on the head with oil; both bishops and priests were anointed on the hands.

While ordination ceremonies differ in the various Christian communities, in more recent years the liturgical renewal movement has induced many communions to restore the simple, ancient tradition of ordination. Typically this includes most of the following elements for the ordination of a priest or minister by a bishop. Ordination is done in the presence of the congregation, in the company of other priests or ministers, in the context of a divine service. A priest or layperson presents the candidate to the bishop, with the people declaring that he or she is worthy for the ministry. Lessons from the Bible are read, followed by a homily and the saying of the creed. The bishop examines the ordinand, who vows to be faithful to his or her calling. The bishop says the prayer of ordination, laying both hands on the head of the candidate, while the other priests or ministers lay on their right hands. The new priest is vested and given a Bible, being greeted by the bishop and the other clergy. The newly ordained person then proceeds to function by leading the liturgy for the congregation. Afterward the people and the clergy join in a celebration.

APPOINTING SPIRITUAL LEADERS IN ISLAM. In Islam, every Muslim can perform the religious rites, so there is no class or profession of ordained clergy. Yet there are religious leaders who are recognized for their learning and their ability to lead communities of Muslims in prayer, study, and living according to the teaching of the Qur'ān and Muslim law. These religious leaders belong to the learned group of orthodox Muslim scholars and jurists known as the *ʿulamāʾ* (*ʿalim* in the singular). They have studied at recognized schools of Islamic learning and have secured appointments as mosque functionaries, teachers, jurisconsults, or judges.

The religious leader who is contracted by a local community of Muslims to lead the community in public worship, preach at the Friday mosque prayer, teach, and give advice on religious matters on the local level is called the imam, belonging to the broad group of *ʿulamāʾ*. It should be noted that the concept of the Shʿī Muslims that an inspired religious leader is necessary for the correct guidance of the community has placed the recognized religious scholars (*mujtahid* in Iran and Iraq) in a position of important power and authority, necessary for the welfare of the whole community. In certain Islamic communities, popular religious leaders possessing special divine power (*barakah*), known as Ṣūfīs or saints, provide leadership for their people in a variety of ways. Ṣūfī aspirants are trained under a master until they themselves have become recognized as masters.

Thus, despite its lack of an ordained institutional priesthood or clergy in the usual senses, Islam has produced a religious leadership that is recognizable and set apart from the ordinary people by a certain amount of religious authority.

SYMBOLISM OF ORDINATION RITUALS. From the cross-cultural survey above, it is possible to see a general structure of meaning in the typical ordination rituals. A recurrent theme is that of death with respect to one's former status and rebirth in the new office or status of religious leader or mediator. This general structure can be analyzed in more specific detail by noting five broad types or levels of rituals associated with ordination, denoting separation, training and testing, empowerment, display of power, and support by the laity.

The rituals first of all enact various dimensions of the separation from ordinary life. Very commonly ordination involves rituals of purification. There may be a period of time during which the candidate purifies himself or herself by abstaining from sexuality, by fasting, and by performing acts of penance; rituals of washing and confessing may be part of the ordination ceremony. The fact that the candidate has been called by the divine power to leave the ordinary life will be established. The physical appearance of the candidate will demonstrate separation from ordinary lay life through special clothing, shaved head, long hair bound up in a special way, or the scalp branded with indelible scars. Symbols of death abound: initiatory sickness, symbolic death and burial, mutilation of the body, or the identification of the candidate with the blood of a priest's sacrifice. The vows taken by the candidate often emphasize separation from the former way of life, such as the vows of celibacy, homelessness, chastity, casting off all lay possessions, and nudity.

Second, the rituals of ordination certify the qualifications of the candidate by emphasizing the training he or she has received and by testing and examining the candidate. The long period of training or apprenticeship itself is often set apart by rituals as a sacred period. Rituals of ordination may include imparting secret knowledge and understanding. The candidate may be tested by questions, and the persons already ordained have to give their approval to the novice. There may be ordeals to demonstrate the candidate's mastery of sacred power, such as climbing a sword ladder, pulling hair from one's own head, or enduring the branding of the scalp.

Third, the investing of the ordinand with new authority and power is the subject of important rituals of ordination. These rituals include laying on of hands on the candidate by those already possessing the spiritual power and authority, handshakes or kisses, vesting with special garments, and handing over symbols and implements of the special office. Anointing the candidate, ritually inserting quartz into the candidate's body, or symbolically replacing his or her organs with new organs shows the rebirth or investing that takes place. Prayers call down divine power on the candidate; rituals such as climbing toward the sky or being married to a divine being fill the ordinand with new power. The masters of the office may impart final, decisive knowledge to the ordinand, such as the source of the medicinal material. The public pronouncement of ordination and the ordination certificate or diploma being handed over, together with the granting of new titles and names, may be considered rituals of empowerment. There may also be a period of seclusion after ordination during which time the new ordinand grows in spiritual power.

Fourth, the ordination rituals often include the initial display of the new power and authority of the ordinand. He or she may officiate in leading worship or celebrating sacrifices or sacraments for the people at the completion of the ordination ritual. He or she may inaugurate the new sacred life by giving a spiritual lecture, going on a first begging tour, making a round of visits to the parishioners, and the like. Often there will be continued training or apprenticeship to provide further growth and empowerment.

Fifth, the ordination typically involves some expression of support and celebration of the new ordinand on the part of the laypeople. One of them may present the candidate, and financial support for the occasion will come from them. There may be points in the ritual of ordination when they show their support and acceptance of the ordinand. Typically the ordination will be followed by a celebration in which the people congratulate the new ordinand, give gifts, and join in a festive meal. These rituals symbolize the basic fact that, ultimately, the ordination is for the benefit of the people.

SEE ALSO Ministry; Monasticism, article on Buddhist Monasticism; Priesthood; Saṃgha.

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THEODORE M. LUDWIG (1987 AND 2005)

ORGY

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
ORGY IN THE ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN WORLD
ORGY IN MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPE
ORGY IN ASIA

ORGY: AN OVERVIEW

Work, progress, and convention are no longer essential requirements. Economists, philosophers, and sociologists all agree that, even within a linear view of history, these structures have had their day. Prometheus is under suspicion.

UNPRODUCTIVE PLAY. There is no point in going back to Prometheus except to find support for a description of what will replace the defunct god. The themes of liberation and energeticism have become questionable. They will doubtless reemerge—their birth and death occurs many times throughout human history—but for the present, as a result of saturation, there is a new dawn and other constants are now being proposed; their outlines remain unclear, but the observer of society cannot remain indifferent to them. Thus the return of what has been repressed: unproductive exertion, in other words orgy, is set to replace energetic progressionism.

It is in this sense that one may say that the body as a means of production or reproduction is giving way to the erotic body. Is this a rebellion in the classical sense of a release mechanism? Not necessarily. Instead, we are faced here with a positive power that is found beneath the surface of all social structures and sometimes asserts itself irresistibly, like an unstoppable groundswell. What was once the privilege of the avant-garde—of artists; of proud, solitary geniuses—flows through the entire body of society. Enjoyment of the present and the idea of carpe diem become colossal, unassailable values. Thus we can understand what Octavio Paz calls "the rapturous joy of orgiastic values," in which the feelings, passions, images and situations of the moment express themselves.

To emphasize the effectiveness of orgy, it is helpful to refer to the concept of ludism, which modern rationalism has demoted to the status of a secondary activity. A detailed analysis of the importance of play is unnecessary, since classical studies, including those of Johan Huizinga and Roger Callois, have already done so competently and comprehensively. Play is the irreducible kernel around which so many institutions are arranged. Economic struggle, financial competition, and political theater exist to remind us that nothing in the world is unaffected by games, that societies are molded by them, and that to take this into account is not aesthetic bias but rather the recognition of a constant that cuts across the whole of human reality.

The antithesis of utilitarianism, the orgy is the clearest possible sign of the will to live and of the persistence of sociality. Mystics, whose message is heeded or disregarded depending on the period, have seen this clearly. For Jacob Boehme, for example, there is a "joy of the eternal act of creation" which allows what exists to continue to do so. Following this route is not irrationalism but rather hyperrationalism as described by Charles Fourier (1772–1837), who includes previously excluded criteria in his social analysis. The imagination, the oneiric, and collective play are these neglected criteria.

LOSS AND LETTING GO. It is such clarity of vision that has returned orgy to its position and perceives in the various festive forms, whatever they may be, an expression of the erotic body, which knows how to escape from the imposition of productivity. Manifestations of this Dionysiac ludism cannot be classified under the rubrics *past* or *future*. With amazing consistency, they express the desire for loss in a world that has a constant tendency to be positive about everything. It is in this context that the unproductive and nonfunctional nature of orgy must be understood.

The rites whose religious—or more precisely, orgiastic—basis is understood consist of fantasy incarnate. The word *incarnate* here carries its full semantic force: it indeed refers to aggressive, caressing, colliding, loving bodies. And before they were sanitized in the familiar political and religious rituals, these rites were truly and intimately a violent or tender confrontation, involving fantasy, exertion, loss—in a word, the unproductive. There are many perfect examples of this process in contemporary society, including rave parties. Each involves losing oneself within the group, pushing to its ultimate conclusion the logic of unproductive exertion. The group expression, used repeatedly by young people, is illuminating in this respect: it is about letting go, getting out of oneself, even if this involves using various ad hoc substances, harking back to a kind of religious ecstasy. It is necessary to connect to the other, to the greater whole that is the group. It is not without significance that one of the products used is called ecstasy, a metaphor if ever there was one for the loss of self in the infinite of collective desire.

THE RATIONALIZATION OF EXISTENCE. What Max Weber called the "generalized rationalization of existence" has come to encompass every aspect of existence—consumption, sex, speech, leisure: everything is liable to be measured. In the name of ever greater security, areas of life that had hitherto avoided restriction have been dealt with by particularly efficient specialized institutions. Such a sterile arrangement of life has a tendency to place everything in an accountable and productive system. To play, to love, to enjoy the sun, to make the most of passing time—the entire existential experience, all this is recorded by a specific structure in a system of moderation, of economy. Yet can one be economical with the irrepressible social desire to live?

Counting and limiting results in denial. To allow no place for the forces of pleasure is to expose oneself to the fierce retort of what is repressed. Letting go is like violence: restraining it results in encouraging its exaggerated expression. The wisdom of the ancient world is of real worth in this regard; it allowed for a certain shadowy part, which it ritualized and thus mastered. The sole objective of the Greek Dionysia was to give free rein to wild passions. Plato, in the *Laws,* expresses this ancient realism clearly. Dealing with the Spartiate, a moralist and boring theoretician, the ancient equivalent of the contemporary technocrat, who is giving a management lecture on how to ensure a sober city, Plato recalls that such a policy is like playing with fire: "Spartan stranger, this is all laudable as long as one retains the strength to resist, but once this is relinquished, then this is disastrous." Repression is laudable in a heavenly city, but in our earthly city we should not forget everything that links us to the dark earth. In the last analysis, calculated moderation always entails an even greater immoderation. And like a sorcerer's apprentice, a society that does not know how to use the *coincidentia oppositorum* leaves itself open to a disastrous eruption of the very element that it denies and is unable to control. The fantasy of productivity, the absolute positivism of rationalism, and unidimensionality all are suits of armor that will cause explosions because they are so rigid.

This is, then, the problem. Faced with the hard-working Prometheus, one must demonstrate that the boisterous Dionysus is also an essential character in human society. The question is no longer how to control life but how to spend and enjoy it. As Max Stirner wrote, "It is no longer a matter of making my true self flourish within me, but of harvesting the vintage and consuming my life". This is an excellent way of looking at things, which provides a good summary of everything that contrasts mere productivity and exertion.

FERTILIZATION AND PRODUCTION. It could be said that postmodern values push the logic of consumption to its limits. Perhaps it would be better to use the term *consuming.* It becomes the point of living. Things are good; they provide the good life. This is not harmful to working life, but complements it, but its complementary nature is only of use if adults do not, for the sake of outdated moral principles, restrain the natural expression of youthful excess. This unproductive aspect of youth recalls the "creative joy" spoken of by the mystic Jacob Boehme.

It might be worthwhile to contrast production and fertilization to reach an understanding of the will to live and the persistence of sociality. If a principle of reality were to deny any pleasure principle, would it not be denying itself?

Orgy exists to demonstrate to us that erotic opportunities are not confined to (re)production. It is an endless interplay of contradictory elements, which as a result of their combination and construction allow us to understand how the fertilization of the world is carried on in a clandestine manner.

MYTHIC ROOTS. The play of the world and the world as play: There is the very heart of the return of mythical figures in the festive contemporary—a celebration of roots, a frantic search for symbols, the desire to join with otherness through prototypes that are not representative but are lived here and now.

There is a particular energy there, energy that is not being spread in the body politic, energy that seeps through the intense banality of everyday life. The collective imagination—one might call it the collective unconscious—draws its power from this orgiastic treasury. Objective reality ensures that, without knowing it, the publicity photo, the choreographed pose, even the obscenity of reality TV, show that which unites with that which cannot be portrayed. Hence the need for analogy, a non-causal link, a description like that of a painting, a mosaic construction, in the search for a way to understand this. These are all things that, linked together, cause a nonprojective, essentially present sense, or meaning, to reemerge.

One can interpret a television series as a production involving mythological figures from the Greek pantheon. Similarly, in techno gatherings or love parades, just as in fashion shows, ancient prototypes may be paroxystically rediscovered. Yet it is a repetition that makes them immanent. In Western transcendence, this is far from theological or political. With the figures under discussion, being is Being-in-the-world. Yet the energy exerted to do this, which is close to the Will of Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900), is most concentrated and crystallized.

Being-in-the-world would therefore be, if not an explanation, at least an avenue of approach, in a strict sense, to the modern orgy. There is no backdrop; everything is set at the front of the stage. Yet, that being the case, everything is factual and to the point. This *being* is immediate. It forces us to go beyond the concept of being, which we tend to use with a nominal sense: being a man, a woman, leftwing, rightwing, in short being something with an identity. Whereas the post- and premodern theatrical *being* is an infinitive much more encompassing, more part of a matrix, a form of being in which one shares in an almost magical way. This allows one to understand the feeling of belonging: belonging to a group, to a person, to a place, with particular sporting, religious, musical, or sexual tastes.

Encompassing being: that is, no longer being given legitimacy or rationalized by a supreme being, be that God, the State, the Institution, the Individual—a supreme being which offers meaning, but an encompassing being, which establishes that one is something or someone only to the extent that one shares with others an eponymous figure—a star, a guru, an animal, a place. Strictly speaking, this figure provides a name and thus leads to existence. This is the orgiastic revolution: existence is only in relation with, in communion with, others, and the renewed contribution of mythological figures, of archetypes, of fantastic forms (sorcerers, fairies, mythical heroes), makes this relationship apparent.

Such a dependence, at times shocking to modern thinking which is so used to individuality, is all in all simply another means of approach, which the East has used, stressing the similarities, the common features of all the elements, all the aspects of an undivided life.

TRANSFORMATION. In play involving orgiastic theatrical masks, a process of transformation, even transfiguration, occurs, in which the humble individual self is raised to a generic Self. There is a discursive search here, real rather than verbalized, which forms the basis for developing the large number of groups or tribes that make up the social body.

This should raise questions for the social observer, who all too often is satisfied with results drawn from modern philosophical systems that have epistemological individualism as their sole common denominator. In empirical terms, the individual and individuality are inclined to be lost within the longing for tribalism that becomes more and more delirious. Tribes come into being, they reinforce themselves, they express themselves through aggregative figures. Symbolic figures, which, as Emile Durkheim has shown, have a role in establishing "logical conformism."

By reconsidering the term *Einfühlung* as it is used in art history, one can demonstrate that the defining characteristic of our times is empathy. It is useful to observe and understand, as a phenomenon, the tendency to lose oneself in the other, to exist only commensurate with the other. Subjectivity becomes objective through its relationship with a counterpart, whether that counterpart is an object, an animal, a human being, or an element of nature. These are all characteristic of the pre- and postmodern orgy.

EMPATHY. Religious and political fanaticism, the huge number of fan groups, and in all these spheres the varied social hysteria—even in the possession of everyday objects that people think they own—is made clearer by means of empathy. We need only look at the relationship with the mobile phone or even with the laptop computer to understand that here we have a return to the magical object of premodern civilizations.

This recognition of self via the other is instructive in that it emphasizes a vital emission, a philosophy of life that is symptomatic of cultures at the moment of their birth, before rigid intellectual restrictions develop.

Empathy possesses, then, a certain resourcefulness and open-mindedness, which can be seen in the various forms of generosity, the acts of mutual assistance, the development of charity and benevolence, that run throughout the body social alongside economic dominance. The individual is engrossed in these alternative forms of behavior, arranged more or less wildly, which take shape around symbolic figures, whether political, religious, musical, sporting, or intellectual.

Thus in the orgy, the subject is above all transcendental, that is, collective, but subsequently focuses on individual changes. It is complementary, and not alternative to, transcendental reason, distinguishing the scientific advance that has characterized Western thinking. It is a transcendental fantasy, which is in action in the archetypal figures that are expressed in social life. Such *eros energumene* have their roots in the ancestral power of poetry. Not abstract, disconnected poetry, lived in isolation, but connected directly with the power of the orgiastic life.

MASKS. Without necessarily being aware of it, the figures that typify the daily carnivalesque—the masks the persona assumes in his or her professional or love life, the caricatures of various social fluctuations—demonstrate, in a somewhat exaggerated manner, the illusion of individualism that characterizes historical ideology. On the other hand, these phenomena remind us that what predominates is a virtual shared destiny. Postmodern masks are influenced by figures, by ancestral problems. They serve to translate that impersonal, underground force that comes from far away and sometimes emerges in broad daylight.

In various spheres of life, one pays more and more attention to what lies beneath—to cultural substrata, to the ghosts that stir collective dreams, to the persistence of legendary figures. All this has a long-term effect, but it is nothing if not personal. And this is the thing that is undergoing a revival, expressed in the totems around which the many postmodern tribes gather. These renew the link with premodern paganism, reminding civilized humanity of its archaic animism. Indeed, it is a fundamentally pagan reaction that can be found in phenomena as diverse as deep ecology; the growth of alternative medicine; the influence of clairvoyance, astrology, and the paranormal; and the many New Age systems, not to mention demonism and Goth and techno music.

The common denominator in these varied orgiastic phenomena is a new relationship with natural and social otherness, with an emphasis upon correspondence. Unknowingly, one is linked to the Other and thus shares in a common destiny. In this way, it is possible to understand the astonishing mimicry that is everywhere prevalent. It is no longer distinction but rather indistinction.

Orgy is indeed the union by which we are linked to the common spirit of the tribe, and to the common animal nature of our species.

SEE ALSO Agriculture; Earth; New Year Festivals; Sexuality.

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Translated from French by Paul Ellis

ORGY: ORGY IN THE ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

In ancient Greece and Rome the plural *orgia* was a sacral word that applied to any ceremonies practiced in the worship of various deities, with or without implication of extravagance. *Orgia* became, in addition, the technical term to designate mystery cults and rites connected with festivals in honor of Dionysos that were usually characterized by an ecstatic or frantic attitude and were celebrated with dancing, singing, and drinking. It is probably this latter meaning that gradually led to a derogatory usage (see, for example, Plato, *Laws* 910), which, however, is a modern one. From the eighteenth century onwards, in fact, the term *orgy* has been used to refer to wild or dissolute revels marked by license or debauchery; in this sense it is currently employed in religious studies to refer to collective behavior (comprehensive of indulging in excessive bodily activity by means of rave music, dancing, banquets, promiscuous sexual intercourse, and the infringement of normal order or rules) that sanctions a festive period in order to reinforce the vital energies of the cosmos and human communities.

The Greek word *orgia* is first attested in a Milesian inscription dating back to the fifth century BCE that shows a dedication by a dancers' brotherhood (*Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum* 57.4). Classical writers, including Plato and the tragedians, variously employed the term to designate sacred rituals (see, still in the first century CE, Plutarch, *Life of Alcibiades* 34, about a rite in honor of Athena). Byzantine lexicographers explain *orgia* as synonymous to "mysteries," with particular reference to Dionysos. The term is also employed by the anonymous author of the *Hymn to Demeter* (ll. 273 and 476), who relates it to the Eleusinian mysteries (see also Herodotos 5.61; Aristophanes, *Frogs* 386 and *Thesmophorians* 948). Sometimes *orgia* is applied to Orphism (Herodotos II.81) and the rites of the Cabeiri (Herodotos 2.51, which does not show orgiastic features, notwithstanding the veneration of a sacred phallus; see, however, Diodorus 5.49, which shows an intermingling with the cult of Cybele and the Corybants). There are other examples of frantic and orgiastic dances, probably of Oriental origin, practiced in honor of the Laconian Artemis (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 1312; Vergil, *Georgics* 2.487), where the female dancers are often associated with the maenads. In Latin language and literature the word *orgia* shares the same features as in Greek (mystery cults, Dionysiac rites), but it is interesting to note that the term is once employed by the Christian poet Prudentius in his *Peristephanon* (2.65) to understand Christian rites. A hostile usage of the term appears in Jerome, who wants to attack his Origenist adversaries (*Epist.* 84.3).

Despite the gradual development of such a meaning, the ancient etymology (attested by Clement of Alexandria in *Protrepticus* 2.13.1.2; and Servius, *Commentary on Virgil's Aeneid* 4.302), which relates the term to *orgē* ("anger, wrath, excessive passion"), is erroneous. According to modern scholars the word *orgia* must be connected to the verb *erdō* ("to offer a sacrifice"), whose perfect form is *eorga* (see Chantraine, 1968).

ORGY AND SEASONAL FEASTS. Mircea Eliade established the strict relationship between seasonal feasts (for example, New Year ceremonies) and orgiastic performing of rituals. Following hints enucleated by Wilhelm Mannhardt and James Frazer, Eliade considered how the orgy sets flowing the sacred energy of life, so that moments of crisis or abundance in nature are the privileged occasion for unleashing an orgy. It thus becomes simple to explain the orgies practiced by various ethnic groups, as well as the crystallization of some orgiastic relics in modern European farming ceremonies, in connection with the drama of vegetation and particularly with the ceremonials of agriculture in order that the reproductive powers in earth, animals, and humans can be stimulated by phallic dances followed by orgies, thus involving a sort of rebirth. As far as classical antiquity is concerned, certain feasts of vegetation are abundant in orgiastic elements and collective exaltation, such as the Floralia (celebrated in Rome at the end of April), the Lupercalia, or the festivals performed in honor of Caeres or Tellus.

Such an unbounded sexual frenzy can be likened to a divine hierogamy, because when sacred marriage is reenacted all the forces of the community are supposed to increase to their highest point. The earth is reawakened and the sky aroused so that the great cosmic marriage, symbolized by rain, will take place in the best possible conditions to ensure prosperity and new life (in this sense it is possible to explain also the links between orgies and initiation ceremonies).

Orgies can be found not only in the setting of agrarian ceremonies, although they always remained closely connected with rites of regeneration and fertility. A deeper metaphysical significance and psychological function of orgy clearly emerges when considering it as a way of expressing the life of the community as a whole. Humans lose their individuality in the orgy, combining into a single living unity; they perform a total fusion of emotions in which neither norm nor law is observed so that participants can enter a primal, pre-formal, chaotic state, using the power of imitative magic to assist the merging of the seeds into the one womb of the earth. Among the other functions, the orgy fulfils in the spiritual and psychological economy of a community. The orgy also symbolizes a renewal or regeneration of life. In fact, orgies make it possible for creation to be repeated because they bring back mythical states that existed in earlier times and to which humans hope to return, restored and regenerated.

A notion of a cosmos made up of cycles, which was born of chaos and returns to it through a catastrophe or a great dissolution, together with a thirst for regeneration and renewal, are implied in orgiastic ritual performances, whose aberrant forms represent a degradation of this idea of the rhythm of the universe. Since at a cosmological level the orgy represents chaos—that is, the disappearance of limits and boundaries and the fusion into a single unity—this wish for an abolition of time is particularly evident in orgies that take place, at various degrees, during New Year ceremonies, the seasonal dramas *par excellence*. Together with other patterns that characterize similar events, the symbolic return of primeval chaos indicates the abolition of profane time in order to effect the dissolution of the world and restore the mythical moment of the beginning and the end. This is why such festivals are constantly marked by an attempt at abolishing order and consuetudes; license is let loose, all rules are violated, norms are suspended, and there can be an overthrowing of social conditions or a converging of opposites.

ORGIASTIC PATTERNS IN REVERSAL RITUALS. Besides sexual promiscuousness, which is obviously a means to gain fertility or reinforce vegetation and ransom it from obscure and menacing evils, other elements or states of psychic exaltation can be related to orgiastic contexts. Among these are debauchery, revelry, dance, and especially laughter. Scholars have recorded cases that can be considered semi-orgiastic, including the Latin *fescennine*, which are naughty verses usually sung during wedding ceremonies; triumphal songs called *carmina*, in which the *iocatio* ("joke" or "jest", addressed by the troops to their victorious officers) represented an apotropaic device to cast off the idea of death and help the individual psyche escape from an oppressive realm; and the so-called "ritual of the sardonic laughter," recorded by the Greek historian Timaeus (*Fragmente Griechischer historiker* 566 F 64); according to his explanation, old people were sacrificed and pushed over a cliff by their sons, who made grimaces, probably under the effect of a bitter herb. In fact, orgies possess a ritual function connected with the cult of dead people, as can be inferred from persisting customs in ethnic or folkloric contexts where banquets and orgies occur after funerals. The same attitude was found in antiquity, and is testified by certain Church Fathers (Ambrose, *On the Death of His Brother* 2.12; Augustine, *Sermons* 311, *PL* 38.1415) and by many councils (e.g., Arles, 524; Auxerre, 590; London, 1342; York, 1367) that attempted to forbid these orgiastic practices, especially during the Middle Ages.

Mourning and its anomic features can be considered a liminal situation for the relatives of the deceased or for the entire community during periods of disease, epidemic, and famine; it is possible to show that these marginal situations are marked by a great variety of external patterning and reflect opposition to normal social features. The purpose inherent in such marginal situations is to temporarily remove individuals or groups from their normal social existence. Such typical patterns as role or status reversal in matters of clothing, food (e.g., novices consuming food and drinks that are usually forbidden), communication, and language add up to a sort of legal anarchy and have thus been linked to social instances of ransom or rebellion. Such reversals characterize a number of exceptional festivals, like Carnival or similar ancient equivalents.

Classical antiquity records various festivals during which what was normally forbidden was tolerated, including the Sacaea in Babylon (according to the third-century BCE historian Berossus, in *Fragmente Griechischer historiker* 680 no. 2) or in the Pontus region (according to Strabo 11.8), which were celebrated in the summer in honor of the goddess Ishtar or Anaitis and which involved a servant disguised as a king; Zagmuk, or feast of the lots, which took place in Mesopotamia at the beginning of the year and included sexual license and a symbolic king dethronement; Kronia in Greece; Saturnalia in Rome; and women's festivals such as the Thesmophoria, and the Roman celebration of Bona Dea, which gave women in seclusion an opportunity to indulge in excesses in their own way (some writers, for example the Latin satirist Juvenal, considered these feasts to be nothing more than lascivious orgies). As far as these are concerned, in breaking the fetters of social and marital codes women inevitably return to nature—that is, to the premarital status of the maiden. To control such excesses by limiting them to dedicated periods could have helped safeguard the disjunction of sex and maternity that is typical of many cultures, especially Greece and Rome, and that is evidently jeopardized in the fertility festivals.

Temporary liberation from chains and bondage was the central feature of Kronia and Saturnalia. Moreover, like certain other Roman "interstitial" ceremonies, the Saturnalia festivities also included official cessation of all public services, such as the *mundus patet*, and the Saturnalia can thus be paired with the *iustitium* (public mourning). Saturnalia is counted among the most ancient Roman festivals, since it was already mentioned in Numa's calendar and continued till the end of paganism (see Macrobius's *Saturnalia*). The festival began on December 17 and was celebrated by bareheaded people, according to Greek custom. It was an occasion for all Romans, citizens and slaves, to enjoy a holiday. Satire and derision were given free reign. Reversal patterns involved an interruption of normal political and business activities (not to mention the allowance of gambling and dice-playing, otherwise prohibited in everyday life), but the most important reversal was the exchange of roles between masters and slaves. The assimilation of this reversal to Carnival is, however, erroneous; this aspect of Carnival should be linked to New Year celebrations, Carnival being similar to other spring festivals, such as the Roman *Liberalia*.

DIONYSIAC CULT. In classical antiquity Dionysos was the ecstatic divinity most closely related to orgiastic cult. Among the numerous sources, the writer most responsible for consideration of Dionysiac ritual is the Greek tragedian Euripides. In his *Bacchae* (*Bacchant Women*, posthumously performed in 406 BCE) Euripides described the introduction into Hellas of a new religion with a peculiar attitude towards the sacred, different from anything implied in the cult of the traditional Olympian gods. Among modern exegetes, Friedrich Nietzsche, borrowing from tradition, as well as drawing on his own imagination, made the figure of Dionysos an emblem of disruptive power, whose external marker is the divine *mania* or possession in which the followers of Dionysos are caught. The majority of scholarly interpretations rely on Nietzsche when underlining the irrational and "intoxicated" aspects of the cult. His account of ecstatic rituals in their wildest, most unrestrained forms, was taken as a model by subsequent scholars, mostly because his friend Erwin Rohde made this perspective acceptable to scientific thinking by stressing, along with the eruptive character and psychological nature of the Dionysiac, an irruptive and supposedly historical factor, which led Rohde to set the origins of the new religion outside of Greece. Even though Rohde's perspective was sometimes questioned (especially concerning the Thracian origins of the cult or his theory that Orphism was a "reformed Dionysism" deprived of its wildest aspects), in all modern accounts of the Dionysiac, an explosive hint has remained dominant. It is reflected in many scholars, who bound the core of the Dionysian religion in orgiasm. Such an explanation, however, is not unanimously accepted and has been questioned (by, for example, Karl Kerényi) by noticing that this phenomenon was only marginal to the cult of Dionysos.

Dionysiac religion indeed unveiled a particular kind of religious experience, which allowed participants to attain communion with a god and transformed a human being into a *bacchos* or a *bacchē* (an inspired, frantic person). The *orgia* performed in the honor of Demeter and Dionysos represented, so to speak, an absolute form of sacrifice, which was able to grant an absolute form of salvation, as opposed to a relative one. All this meant a radical change in the human condition and implied going beyond human boundaries and limits, that is, taking part in divine realms. Moreover, for those who don't close their minds against Dionysiac experience (the demand for which is sometimes, at their peril, ignored by humans), such an experience can be a deep source of spiritual power and beatitude. It is possible to hint at a further effect, a merging of the individual consciousness within a group consciousness: the worshipper is at one not only with the god master of life, but with his or her fellow worshippers, as well as with the entirety of life on earth. Recent sociological approaches have employed the idea of Dionysiac orgiasm in order to stress, in contemporary daily life, the strong hedonistic ethic, which expresses only passing feelings, passion, and bonds of shared emotion, so typical of a "tribal" or mass society.

Drinking wine, which breaks inhibitions, acquired an important religious value because the wine permitted people to become *entheoi* (full of god). There were other means to reach this status: the strange *oreibasia* (mountain dancing) described in the *parodos* of the *Bacchae* reflects a ritual practiced by women's societies at Delphi (and also in other places) down to Plutarch's time. This took place in midwinter in alternate years (hence the name *trietēris*, "triennial festival") and has often been explained as a commemorative rite, in imitation of the maenads, who are said to have been associated with the god in the old days. Maenadism is supported by testimonies in epigraphic sources and therefore must not be considered a mere literary device. Some scholars have borrowed from medical language the term *collective hysteria* to designate such a phenomenon or have traced similar attitudes in other cultures: it was a compulsive and obsessive dance, characterized by a particular carriage of the head and tossing back of the hair, in which participants experienced a sense of being possessed by an alien personality. It has been suggested that in Greece the ritual *oreibasia* may have developed out of spontaneous attacks of hysteria and that by channeling this hysteria in an organized rite once every two years the Dionysiac cult kept it within bounds and gave it a relatively harmless outlet. Another obviously primitive feature of the *oreibasia* is snake-handling, for which numerous parallels can be traced in folkloric contexts.

The culminating act of the Dionysiac winter dance was the tearing to pieces (*sparagmos*) and eating raw (*ōmophagia*) of an animal body, an act that in all sources is described as a mixture of supreme exaltation and supreme repulsion. It is at once holy and horrible, fulfillment and uncleanness, sacrament and pollution—the same violent conflict of emotional attitudes that lies at the root of all religion of the Dionysiac type. Later writers explained the *ōmophagia* by supposing it to commemorate the day when the infant Dionysos was himself torn to pieces and devoured. Modern explanations, however, link this custom to psychological causes, because it seems likely that the warm and bleeding victim was felt to embody the vital powers of the god, which by this act were transferred to the worshippers. In this rite, therefore, the god was present in his bestial incarnation (bull, lion, snake) and in that shape was torn and eaten. The resulting effect was to liberate the instinctive life in human beings from the bondage imposed on them by reason and social custom: the worshippers became conscious of a strange, new vitality, which was attributed to the god's presence within them. Some scholars went so far as to surmise cases of human sacrifice, even though there are only scattered indications pointing in this direction. Human sacrifices are, however, sometimes linked to initiation rites, and in classical antiquity charges of ritual murders are often associated with orgiastic practice.

ORGIASTIC ELEMENTS IN MYSTERY RELIGIONS AND FOREIGN CULTS. Over the centuries the original features of Dionysiac cult were brought under state control and tamed, loosing much of their original character. Religion of the orgiastic type nevertheless began to emerge again under other names. At the end of the fifth century Athens was invaded by a multitude of foreign gods, as is clearly shown by many literary references to the eastern and northern "mystery" gods Cybele and Bendis, Attis, Adonis, and Sabazios.

The Phrygian god Sabazios is of special interest in relation to Dionysos because Sabazios was considered a sort of Oriental—or still un-Hellenized—counterpart of Dionysos, who promised his devotees identification with deity. Several of the old ritual elements mentioned in the *parodos* of the *Bacchae* are attested by Demosthenes for the Sabazios cult in a well-known passage from his oration *On the Crown*, delivered against Aeschines. Other ancient sources closely relate Dionysos and Sabazios, whose veneration is largely attested (see, for example Diodorus 4.4.1, and Iohannes Lydus, *de Mensibus* 4.51).

The potentially dangerous implications in Dionysiac cult are displayed in the famous scandal of the Bacchanalia, which took place in Rome in 186 BCE and led to the suppression of the cult. Besides the contemporary allusion in the Plautine comedy *Casina*, a detailed account is reported by the Augustan historian Livy (39.8–19). According to Livy, the rites of initiation, including feasting and drunkenness, were held at night so that darkness could conceal "promiscuous mating of free men and women," as well as occasional murders. It was a classical case of immorality under the guise of religion, and the Roman authorities felt bound to prosecute the worshippers of Bacchus by accusing them of *coniuratio* (conspiracy against the state). Bacchants were also persecuted outside the Roman Republic, as is shown in a famous inscription (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* I^2 2581) from southern Italy, which contains the prohibition decree promulgated by the Roman Senate.

In discussing the case of the Roman repression of the Bacchanalia, scholars have noticed how charges of promiscuous intercourse or, more generally, of immoral behavior were directed against foreign cults as a form of ban or marginalization. Of course many of these cults were genuinely characterized, totally or partially, by orgiastic attitudes. These attitudes gradually diminished, as happened with Dionysism, when those cults came to be considered part of public religion.

Some of the most famous and widespread mystery cults during the Hellenistic age and late antiquity are characterized by collective ecstasy and frantic behavior (even though without sexual licentiousness). Among them was Montanism, a Christian sect, strongly influenced by pagan local cults, that originated in Phrygia in the second century CE and counted among its features prophetism and ecstasy. Malicious slanders about Montanists are, however, recorded by Jerome, who mentions cannibalistic rites and children sacrifices (*Epist.* 41).

The annual rites that commemorated Osiris's death and dismemberment were performed with exaggerated lamentations and with a phallophory, that is, the carrying of a phallus in procession. This detail led Herodotos to pair Dionysos and Osiris, but there are too few elements to accept this perspective, except in the sense of a syncretism between these two gods because of their agrarian features.

The veneration of Cybele (originally an Anatolian and Phrygian mother goddess, who was soon interpreted as Demeter) was widespread throughout Greece, and at the very end of the third century BCE Cybele was introduced into Roman culture. By this time the veneration of Cybele had been deprived of its most barbaric features, including loud ululations, rousing music produced by cymbals, drums, and flutes, and wild dances that incited people to bloody self-flagellation, self-mutilation, and self-castration. Similar practices, which reached their apex in the spring festival commemorative of Attis, were reserved for noncitizen adherents. One of the most relevant literary documents, which presents ecstatic frenzy in its most shocking and bloody aspects, is the epyllium *Attis*, written in the first century BCE by the Latin poet Catullus. This poem shows how orgiastic patterns could seem striking and even repugnant to a civilized audience.

Dea Syria (the title of Atargatis-Derketo in the Greco-Roman world) resembles other mother goddesses and fertility goddesses of Asia Minor, such as Aphrodite-Astarte and Rhea-Cybele. Dea Syria shares much with the cult of both of these: procession to the sea, hydrophory (the act of carrying water), *lavatio* (ritual washing), ecstatic dancing, castration, and phallolatry (an account of her rites and her temple in Hierapolis is offered in a pamphlet written by Lucian). Bellona, who was identified with the Middle Eastern goddess Ma after the Roman general Sulla became acquainted with this goddess in 92 BCE during his campaigns in the East, and whose cult shared many patterns with that of the Magna Mater, belongs to the same sphere as Dea Syria. The Latin writer Apuleius (second century CE offers a totally negative account of the priests of the goddess in the eighth book of his *Metamorphoses* (chaps. 26–30) in order to stress a sharp contrast to the Isiac religion of which he was a worshipper. Apuleius describes the priests of the Syrian goddess as thieves and swindlers; indecent, lascivious, and dishonest, they perform wild dervish dances, engage in self-mutilation, and abandon themselves to aberrant and promiscuous sexual practices.

Orgiastic rituals are elsewhere described in classical novels because of a certain fondness for exotic and unusual details. It is disputed whether the mysteries of Priapus described by Petronius in his *Satyricon* (16–26, 6) really took place or must be considered a literary fiction because of the insistence on Priapic themes throughout the novel, along with a constant attitude of parody. These mysteries were intended as a sort of counterpart of the rites of Bona Dea, and are restricted to women. Organized and directed by a lustful matron, the ceremony turns into a long and far-fetched nocturnal orgy, which involves the male actors of the novel.

The *Phoinikika* (Phoenician Histories), a Greek fragmentary romance preserved in a badly damaged papyrus (*Pap. Col. Inv.* 3328), recently attributed to the Sophist Lollianus of Ephesus (late second century CE), describes the ritual murder of a child, followed by the eating of its heart and then promiscuous intercourse. These episodes were compared by Albert Henrichs, who first edited the papyrus, to the myth of Dionysos-Zagreus, dismembered by the Titans, and to the charges against Christian religion and some late accounts about libertine Gnostics. The text is, however, too fragmentary and corrupt to infer such details and to permit so complex a reading. Much more convincing is a reading provided by J. J. Winkler and S. A. Stephen, who dismantle Henrichs's theory and consider the whole scene analogous to the accounts of *scheintod* (apparent death) traceable in other classic novels.

CHRISTIANS AND GNOSTICS. Charges of immorality were imputed to Christian communities already at the end of the first century. They were also accused of *coniuratio* (conspiracy against the state), and many similarities have been noted between the suppression of the Bacchanalia and accusations against Christians. During the second century accusations of Thyestean banquets (anthropophagy) and Oedipodean intercourse (incestuous or orgiastic practices) increased and provoked rebuttals from a number of Christian apologists, including Justin (*Apology* I 26.7), Tertullian (*Apologeticum* 39), and Minucius Felix (*Octavius* 9), whose accurate accounts probably reflect a pagan source. According to F. J. Dölger, such accusations were often a pagan misunderstanding of the Christian Eucharist and lacked any factual basis. They show nevertheless an underlying ritual pattern, which linked the alleged crimes of the Christians to similar practices of pagan origin in order to construct a coherent ritual series that included, after an overturning of the lamp so that savageness could be concealed, the murder of a child, the partaking of the victim's blood and inner parts for initiatory purposes, the administering of an oath, and finally, sexual libertinism.

Certain Gnostic rites can be considered one constituent among others equally important that shaped the specific character of anti-Christian accusations in the second century. In fact, Gnostic sects, with their peculiar mythology and ethics, including their disdain for popular religion and morality, were natural targets for accusations of immoral behavior. Along with their predecessors at Corinth, which emerge from the reproaches of the apostle Paul (see *1 Cor.* 6.12 ff.), Justin's first apology is apparently aware of affinities between these or similar Gnostic rites and the crimes that were alleged against the Christians. The accounts of the so-called libertine Gnostics found in Clement's *Stromateis* and, later, in Epiphanius's *Panarion* (fourth century) are major sources for knowledge of such rites.

Clement mentions by name various Gnostic groups (Basilidians [3.1.1.1 ff.], Carpocratians [3.2.5.1 ff.], Antitaktai [3.4.34.3 ff.], and many other unnamed sects [3.4.27.1 ff.]) that held lavish banquets, after which they extinguished the lights and indulged in sexual promiscuity. Their practices are compared to the cult of Aphrodites Pandemos and her supposed "mysteries." Some groups of Gnostics in the second century and the beginning of the third (according to Clement) treated women as common property and in their *agapē* practiced what they preached, interpreting sexual intercourse as a "mystical communion." Already the followers of Simon, according to Hippolytus, advocated promiscuous intercourse, asserting that this was perfect love, which helped participants achieve reciprocal sanctification. The Sethians did the same. Irenaeus offers similar accounts of the Cainites, Sodomites, and Carpocratians. At the time of Epiphanius, the libertine sects had apparently multiplied in Egypt, since he mentions by name the Nicolaites, Stratiotici, Phibionites, Zaccheans, and Barbeliotes. What Epiphanius describes about the Gnostic banquet and the orgy that followed, claiming that he personally met some of these sectarians, is nearly identical to Irenaeus, except that the account of Epiphanius is much richer in piggish ritual details. For example, besides uniting themselves in promiscuous intercourse after rich dinners, they practiced *coitus interruptus* and gathered and ate menstrual blood and sperm. In addition, the sectarians could not beget children and if a woman were to conceive after such an orgy, the fetus would be aborted, pounded in a mortar, seasoned with spices, honey, and oil, and then eaten. This cannibalistic feast was, according to their doctrine, the perfect Passah (*Panarion* 26.5.5).

According to Epiphanius, such details also occupied a definite position in Gnostic theology. By examining heresiologists' accounts, it emerges that it is not possible to dismiss libertine Gnostics as mere sexual deviates, for their aim was to throw into confusion the entire present order of the world, insofar as it is the work of the creator. Libertine Gnostics considered the flesh as perishable because it is the archon's own; for the same reason they believed that procreation should be abolished because it only prolonged the time that the psyche had to spend in this world. Even the disgusted way in which Epiphanius describes their dinner fellowship displays certain liturgical characteristics, which parallel some common patterns, such as the idea of eating together or such liturgical formulas as the prayer of dedication after the act or the closing confession.

It is indeed possible that the communitarian dinner of these sects was considered a characteristic meal in which the basic element was the *unio mystica*, which Christians usually explain as a gathering of believers who become one body by partaking of one bread. In Gnostic conventicles such a union was achieved with the production and spreading of sperm, which is the life-giving, divine element of man, indeed a part of God himself. It was "perfect" love, too, in the sense that it was not directed toward procreation or any other selfish end, but was exclusively for the purpose of being led to God. There was also a sort of antiphrastic celebration of the Eucharist, since the object of the dedicated sacrifice is identified with the body of Christ in a physical sense, insofar as it is the life-substance of man, the sperm. According to modern scholars, such a rite represented a sublimation process of the divine spark wrapped in the human body, shaped on the soul's return to divine realms, after having been exiled on earth. This particular form of "libertinism" should be linked to a more generic anomie so peculiar to Gnostic systems, but much more can be related to similar practices attested in Tantrism or Daoism—a sort of sexual mysticism whose purpose is symbolizing cathartic transformation or allegorical elevation towards the divine.

SEE ALSO Dionysos; Mystery Religions.

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ORGY: ORGY IN MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPE

Leveling charges against various dissenting groups or heretical sects both of holding meetings at which babies were ritually slaughtered and of conducting orgies at which every form of intercourse, including incest, together with the worshiping of odd divinities in the form of animals, was almost a standard procedure in the history of religions. Cannibalism or sexual intercourse between close relatives, which are usually considered against human nature and as such forbidden in almost every society, were the natural imputation against persons who saw themselves as outside the normal customs or rules. Moreover, dissenting factions were labeled "conspiratorial organizations" and often faced charges of conducting ritual murder and cannibalistic feasts. In some cases it is possible to establish with certainty that these charges were no more than a stereotype, as in the case of such activities imputed to the early Christians. Besides allegations of cannibalism and sexual promiscuity, radical groups were sometimes accused also of sacrilegious acts, such as spitting and trampling on the crucifix or adoring Satan in corporeal form in some obscene fashion. Sometimes the nocturnal orgy was imagined as presided over and supervised by a demon.

MEDIEVAL CHRISTENDOM. Already in late antiquity some heterodox sects like the Priscillianists in Spain (fourth century) or, according to isolated testimonies, the Montanists in Africa were accused of unleashing orgies and ritual murders of children, but there is no real basis for such accusations. The same can be affirmed for a large number of Christian groups in the Middle Ages, which showed a polemical—and sometimes even schismatic, by the rejection of some dogmas—attitude toward the Catholic Church and sought a radical restoration of its conduct, which should have been more in conformance with Christ's example, for example, by totally abolishing richness and luxury. Among these the Waldensians (who originated at the end of the twelfth century) first and the Fraticelli (who developed from radical Franciscan spiritualism) can be also counted. In spite of their condemnation in 1184, the Waldensians spread throughout Europe, and it is probably against them that the attacks of the inquisitor Conrad of Marburg in Germany were directed. Also the papal bull *Vox in Rama*, issued in 1233 by Gregory IX, which for the first time gave official character to the trivial charges of nocturnal orgiastic and demonic covens, had the same sect in mind. Even though the archbishop of Mainz, in disagreement with Conrad, minimized the phenomenon (reducing the orgies to mere transgressions by individuals), the stereotype survived in the following centuries and periodically caused a repetition of the prosecutions, until the Waldensians were finally rehabilitated in 1509 and given back their confiscated properties.

A trial in 1466 was the end of the Fraticelli as an organized sect, albeit their renown as devil worshipers and cannibals lasted later. This sect, whose adherents were not indeed numerous and did not possess a unified organization, had originated from a radical wing of the thirteenth-century Franciscans, some of whom left the order and then the church (they were the so-called Spirituals, inspired also by the apocalyptic and prophetic writings by the Calabrian abbot Joachim of Fiore). They professed the opinion that Christ and the apostles lived in total poverty and therefore considered the Roman church as the whore of Babylon, a pattern that recurs elsewhere in millennial groups. The trial of 1466 was the final act of a series of minor proceedings that started at the beginning of the century. Many sources, such as Bernardino of Siena and the historian Flavio Biondo, attest the practice of a ritual infanticide (the practice is called *barilotto*, an Italian word that alludes to the little barrel of wine with the ashes of the dead child), followed by a promiscuous orgy.

Similar accusations were used by the French king Philip the Fair to achieve at the very beginning of the fourteenth century the destruction of the Order of the Knights Templar, whose power was more and more increasing: among the charges, often extorted under torture, there were, as usual, those of impiety, blasphemy, and sodomy. But in all cases modern research, by a reexamination of the evidence, has been able to clear these groups of charges, which to some extent have hung over them for five or six centuries.

There are, however, several perplexing testimonies that should discourage us from dismissing the accusations too summarily. This is the case, for example, of the so-called Brethren of the Free Spirit, another heretical sect that played a more important part than Catharism, since it extended over a vast area in Europe (from Germany to Holland and France, and also to Italy) and had an extraordinary capacity for survival, despite being constantly harassed by persecution. It is possible that some of its adherents from Picardy influenced also the Taborite revolution in Bohemia, and a brief but hectic revival of the "Free Spirit" (whose adherents were known as Ranters) took place in seventeenth-century England during its civil war. Its nature has been much debated by historians, also because of the almost total absence of written sources, including inquisitorial documents, not to mention the difficulty of making out the forerunners of the movement and its effective adherents. For example, it is indeed possible that the Beghards, officially condemned by the Council of Vienna in 1312, or the Beguines shared many patterns with the Brethren of the Free Spirit; so did the Amaurians, the followers of Gerardo Segarelli (d. 1300), Fra Dolcino (d. 1307), Wilhelm Cornelisz from Antwerp, and many other mystics of the thirteenth century, among whom many women can be mentioned too (Hadewych, Willemine of Bohemia, Bloemardine, Marguerite Porete). However, it is possible to affirm that this sect was a sort of gnosis intent upon individual salvation, a system of self-exaltation often amounting to self-deification, which concluded in an aberrant form of mysticism and anarchy. What distinguished the Free Spirit from other medieval sects is total amoralism. The core of the heresy of the Free Spirit (which did not form an organized church) lay in its adherents' attitude toward themselves: they stressed the desire to surpass the human condition and become godlike, and they believed they had attained so absolute a perfection that they were incapable of sin, a conviction that often could lead to antinomianism. It was thus permissible to do whatsoever was commonly regarded as forbidden, and, in particular, such antinomianism commonly took the form of sexual promiscuity. Eroticism, far from springing from a relaxed sensuality, possessed above all a mystic and symbolic value of spiritual emancipation. Adultery too was regarded as a transcendental means of affirmation or liberation. Moreover, for the elect, sexual intercourse could not under any circumstances be sinful, so that they were able to indulge in promiscuity without fear of God or qualms of conscience.

In this perspective the Adam cult, which frequently characterizes the sectarians of the Free Spirit, becomes comprehensible. In this form of worship can be outlined a blend of chiliasm and primitivism that became one of the commoner forms of modern romanticism: in fact, the Adam cult involved a sort of re-creation of the lost Paradise and at the same time an affirmation of the advent of the millennium. The most famous episode took place in Cologne in 1325. It ended in a scandal that led to the execution of the most prominent members of the sect, who were recognized as adherents of the Free Spirit. A suspicious husband, in fact, disguised as a Beghard, had followed his wife to a secret meeting that was held in a subterranean chamber, sumptuously decorated and called Paradise. This gathering was presided over by a man (probably an apostate priest identical with the celebrated heresiarch Walter the Dutchman) and a woman, who claimed to be respectively Christ and the Virgin Mary. After the celebration of some kind of Mass, a naked preacher then exhorted those present to remove their clothes in order to be like the innocent and restore the paradisiacal condition. A banquet followed, with much singing and rejoicing, and everything was concluded by the final orgy. It seems that the allegation of an orgy may have been something more than the standard cliché against dissidents, since the mention of ritual nudity is variously reported, as well as sexual promiscuity. Also, in later centuries the descendants of this heresy claimed to perform sexual acts in the same way as Adam and Eve.

The Free Spirit heresy can be partly compared to the case of the Cathars; their peculiar form of Christianity was largely influenced by some dualistic or Gnosticizing movements in Eastern Europe such as the Bulgarian Bogomils, who in turn derived from the Paulicians, recorded by some Byzantine heresiologists (for example, around 1050, Michael Psellos mentions the Thracian sect of the Messalians—probably identical to the Bogomils—and charges its adherents with the usual accusation of orgy and cannibalism). Scholars have long since outlined, for example, the affinity between the *Interrogatio Iohannis*—a Bogomil text—and Cathar sexual morals. This text emphasizes the view that sexual desire and sexual difference were a Satanic creation, imposed on angelic spirits that were originally bodiless, and it presents a dualist account of sexual difference. Scholars have also suggested that the Catholic redefinition of marriage at the end of the twelfth century, according to which it had to be understood in terms not of sexual consummation but of free choice, was an effort to vindicate marriage in response to the Cathar attack. Whereas some sources included the charge that the Cathars advocated sodomy and incest, other inquisitors, on the contrary, defended the "perfects" from the charge of sexual debauchery and insisted on their denying of marriage: when some preachers emphasized the attack on marriage and childbirth as heretical, they were creating the buds of a Catholic view of "normal" sexuality and marriage. Furthermore, some scholars have also suggested that Catharism influenced the troubadours and their poetic of courtly love, which craves for extraconjugal or adulterous relationships.

REFORMED CHRISTIANITY. The usual criticism brought against the church found, so to say, a land of election in Bohemia, not only because of the enormous wealth of the church but also because of a powerful national sentiment that gave impulse to the so-called Hussite revolution. After the execution of its charismatic leader Jan Hus (in 1415), the unrest increased and led the country into a restless struggle that soon took violent forms, in particular when considering the radical Hussites, known as Taborites, a sect lead by Martin Húska and Petrus Kániš and finally defeated in 1421. In fact, this revolutionary wing—characterized by anarcho-communistic features and thus compared to the late antique African circumcellions—was mainly formed by the harassed proletariat and peasantry, people encompassed by a social as well as religious animosity. Not only did they dismiss prayers and Masses for the dead as vain superstitions, neglect the veneration of the relics, and deny the dogma of purgatory, but they were utterly convinced that the earth had to be cleansed of sinners so Christ could descend from heaven in majesty; thus, it was the inescapable duty of the elect to kill in the name of the Lord. Thus, the usual millennial expectations degenerated into an unheard-of violence, massacre, and terror. The Taborites gathered in completely egalitarian communities, held together by brotherly love alone. The most important was near Usti, on a promontory that served as a natural fortress, and was renamed Tabor, after the mountain where Christ had foretold his Parousia. There were even extremer wings, partly influenced by the doctrine of the Free Spirit, which they practiced on a far larger scale. These people are known by the name Pikarti (which alludes to the refugee from Picardy who introduced the heresy in the Taborite community) or Bohemian Adamites. According to the accounts given by some members, after their defeat and imprisonment they lived in a state of community so unconditional that not only did nobody possess anything of his own but also marriage was regarded as an appalling sin and promiscuity seems to have been obligatory. Moreover, on the ground of Christ's remark about harlots and publicans, the Adamites argued that the chaste were unworthy to enter their messianic kingdom. The alleged ritual dances held by naked people around a fire and accompanied by much singing, together with the custom of spending much time nude, were considered a return to the state of innocence enjoyed by Adam and Eve before the fall. The Adamites have sometimes been paralleled to the libertine Gnostics of the third and fourth century, also because they pretended to have a divine nature even superior to Christ's, whose death was regarded as evidence of his mere human condition.

Also Lutheranism and, more generally, Reformed Christianity had to reckon with dissenting groups, which constituted the radical (or, as it has been labeled, "left") wing of the Reformation and to which some charges of immorality were similarly imputed. The same patterns that have already been sketched out for medieval Christian sectarians (millennial enthusiastic exaltation, agapic spirituality, militant evangelism, sometimes dualism), together with a sort of protocommunism, featured some Anabaptist movements too. As far as sexual promiscuity is concerned, originally the only permitted form was marriage between two Anabaptists, and they generally observed a stricter code of sexual morality than most of their contemporaries. A famous example is, however, provided by the Anabaptist "messianic reign" established in Münster (between 1533 and 1535) by Bernhard Rothmann, Jan Matthys, and Jan Bockelson, also known as Jan von Leyden. The latter, who became the absolute regent of the rebellious city, legalized polygamy in July 1534, an unpopular decision that hastened the end of this singular political experiment, also because refusal to comply with the new law was made a capital offence and some women were executed. In explaining how the biblical precept to "increase and multiply" had to be taken as a divine commandment, and how the polygamy already practiced by the patriarchs of Israel should be restored in the New Jerusalem, Bockelson undertook a path that resembles the one carried out by the Brethren of the Free Spirit and by the Adamites. Even allowing for the exaggeration of hostile accounts (which mention also sumptuous banquets and dissoluteness at Jan's court), it seems certain that sexual behavior in Münster turned from rigorous puritanism to sheer promiscuity, and that polygamy was changed into something not very different from free love. It is interesting to remember that the composer Jacques Meyerbeer echoed these events in his grand opera *Le Prophète* (1849).

Witchcraft. Orgiastic themes are a constant feature in the huge literature that flourished around witches and witchcraft because of the alleged nocturnal gatherings in which at regular intervals witches betook themselves to sacrilegious and orgiastic covens, usually known as "sabbats" (a term taken from the Jewish religion, traditionally considered the essence of anti-Christianity, or indeed a form of devil worship). They were usually held at the summit of some famous mountains, but also in churchyards or crossroads. Sabbats could generally involve only the witches of a neighborhood, but three or four times a year ecumenical sabbats were celebrated, attended by witches from everywhere. It is possible to draw a representative picture of the sabbat, since the various accounts—usually recorded from the Inquisition trials onwards—differ only in minor details. It was the devil, in the shape of a monstrous being, half man and half goat, who presided over the sabbat. The coven began with a reassertion of the devil's mastery over his servants, the witches (usually women, but sometimes also men or even children). They knelt down and adored the demon, also kissing him on his left foot or genitals. A parody of the Eucharist followed, and then a meal usually consisting of revolting substances was served. Finally, the participants took part in a hysterical dance, to the sound of trumpets, drums, and fifes, which would become a frantic and erotic orgy. All things, including sodomy and incest, were permitted, and at the height of the orgy the devil would copulate with every person present.

From the nineteenth century down to present times, the subject has been variously investigated. Whereas some historians have encouraged the belief that there were secret societies of witches—sometimes arguing that they were the most extreme of all heresies or the most nihilistic of all sects—and that the authorities who pursued them were in effect breaking the local organizations of that sect, others have suggested that the notion of an organized sect first developed as a byproduct of the campaign of the Inquisition against Catharism or other heresies. They have even dismissed the idea that witch hunting was directed against a real society or an effective cult, adducing psychological or sociological explanations, for example considering the sabbat a fantasy of men's hatred and fear of women, and the great witch hunt a bloody episode in the sex war. Furthermore, in his well-known pamphlet *La sorcière* (Paris, 1862), the French writer Jules Michelet argued that witchcraft was nothing more than a protest by medieval serfs against the oppressive social order, which later turned into a ritualized defiance of Christian religion. His romantic description of the Medea-like priestess of the cult who ritually mates with Satan partially involves the idea of a fertility cult that aimed at securing an abundance of crops. This thesis was largely developed in the 1920s and 1930s by folklorist Margaret Murray, who was deeply influenced by the Frazerian vogue of her age. According to Murray, down to the seventeenth century, there persisted in Europe the relics of a religion centered on the worship of the two-faced horned god Dianus, who represented the cycle of crops and seasons. This agrarian cult was easily confused with devil worshiping and, as such, prosecuted. Though mostly discredited, Murray's thesis has enjoyed a certain influence and was responsible also for the proliferation of modern witch covens. In more recent times, other scholars have reconsidered the linking between fertility magic and witchcraft, or centered their attention on the libidinous aspects of the sabbat, suggesting that ecstatic experiences or trances, often induced by drugs or hallucinogenic herbs, share many patterns with the ancient cult of Dionysus, which also was mainly performed by women. It is indeed possible that the stirrings of feminine discontent may have contributed to the orgiastic elements in witches' revels. Those who plausibly deny the existence of covens and organized sects underline how the spreading of such an idea was the product of a society that strongly insisted on religious conformity, repressed dissent, and did its best to enforce that conformity. Nevertheless, whatever might be the final interpretation, it is important to consider how witchcraft was thought of as a collective fact. Though witches performed spells individually, they were a society bound together by communal rites, and in every respect they were thought to represent a collective inversion of Christianity.

Orgiastic practices in heterodox Judaism. During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, qabbalistic doctrines were often given a shade of mystical eroticism. Such a development reached its apex in the controversial figure of the Smyrnean Sabbatai Sevi, the pretended messiah and founder (in the Ottoman Empire during the second half of the seventeenth century) of a Jewish sect inspired by qabbalistic teachings and pervaded by millennial expectations, who at the end of his life made an astonishing and unclear conversion to Islam in order to have spared his life from the sultan. Sabbatai's behavior presents a strange mixture of erotic mysticism and inhibitions, which increased as he became master over a large number of enthusiastic followers, culminating in an alternation of semierotic and semiascetic rituals (for example, the singing of psalms, clad in phylacteries and surrounded by women and wine). Accounts of his life include also charges of immorality, which cannot be lightly dismissed as an invention of hostile sources. However, there is little or no evidence of debauchery during the early period, as long as he was a Jewish rabbi, despite fits of manic enthusiasm; on the contrary, all allegations of moral excesses date after his apostasy. There may have been tendencies in Sabbatai that remained suppressed for a long time by his ascetic way of life but that erupted sooner or later, perhaps after his marriage with Sarah, through whom a licentious element entered in his life. According to some contemporary Armenian sources, Sabbatai had relations with women or favorites and was accused by his adversaries of lewdness and debauches. Among the disconcerting conduct he kept up, he was variously said to have taken with him for many days some virgins and then returned them, allegedly without having touched them. There are also documents that testify how Sabbatai prided himself on his ability to have intercourse with virgins without actually deflowering them. Also a favorable source, that is, his disciple Abraham Cuenque's idealized account of Sabbatai's residence (during his imprisonment) at the "Tower of Strength" in Abydos, says that the "messiah" and his wife Sarah were attended by beautiful virgins, the daughters of the most illustrious families, and also that several rabbis submitted to him their queries and difficulties in matters of rabbinic law, a description oddly reminiscent of similar and anything but legendary accounts of "Platonic" arrangements at the court of Jakob Frank.

This account, despite its exaggeration, shares many features with the complaints to the Turkish authorities concerning the unbearable abominations committed at Sabbatai's court. The same sources mention, in addition to this example of erotic perversity, instances of antinomianism, such as treading the phylacteries under foot or tearing up a Torah scroll and trampling upon it, or the ritual consumption of forbidden animal fats, preceded by his blasphemous benediction, "that hast permitted that which is forbidden." It is clear that this was essentially a symbolic expression of the abolition of sexual taboos and prohibitions, or, in other words, a demonstration of antinomian, revolutionary messianism. Sabbatai had planned to abolish the ritualistic Jewish observances and had raised a standard of rebellion against the hallowed traditions of the law, and abrogated its prohibitions, including, by implication, those against incest and fornication. The symbolic overtones of his breaking the alimentary taboos must have been obvious. It has also been supposed that his behavior was influenced by his wife (who, in turn, had led an irregular and eccentric life before marriage) and by his own ideas regarding the messianic liberation of women from the yoke of their husbands.

Sabbatai's influence became widespread in Central Europe too and lasted after his fall in disgrace. Messianic expectations could also offer a sort of viaticum to the prosecutions suffered by Jews during that period, or were meant as a way to improve the social condition of the Jews, also because of the decline of the rabbinical schools. However, having lost its political influence messianism assumed a mystical coloring and was transformed into a secret and sectarian cult; in Turkey a half-Jewish, half-Islamic sect was established, the so-called Dönmeh, while in the Polish region of Podolia numerous groups of Sabbatians were formed. Their adherents, in expectation of the messianic revolution, discarded many dogmas and religious customs; the cult thus included elements of both strict asceticism, including self-torture, and sensuality or licentiousness. Despite the attempt of the Polish rabbis at extirpating it, the Sabbatian heresy survived and was practiced in secret, Masonic-like, circles. The Frankist sect, which was very influential in the eighteenth century, originated from Sabbatian ambits. Its founder, Jakob Frank, came from a Sabbatian family and was himself a devoted adherent to the movement, intimate with the leaders. He began gathering sectarians around 1755 in his native Podolia, asserting that he had been directly instructed by Sabbatai's successors in Salonica. After having been excommunicated by a congress of rabbis because of the scandal stirred up by their assemblies, Frank and his followers tried to gain the support of the Catholic hierarchy by proclaiming their rejection of the Talmud. A huge number of them were also able to receive baptism in 1759, but the insincerity of the Frankists became more and more clear, and also a church tribunal judged Frank as a heretic. Though imprisoned, he was able to win a number of followers to his new religion, a strange mixture of Sabbatianism and Christianity. He was released in 1772 and traveled throughout Europe until his death in 1791.

An important role in the organization of the sect was played by Eve, Frank's beautiful daughter, to whom also a peculiar form of cultic veneration was directed (involving a sort of syncretism with the Virgin in Chentsochov); after the death of her father she became the holy mistress and leader of the sect. Frankism remained prominent also during the Romantic age and the nineteenth century, and in a certain way inspired the Polish nationalism, together with other mystical streams, which were more acceptable because of the lack of antinomianism and sexual scandals. In fact, Frankism consisted—more than Sabbatianism—in a total negation of the traditional bulk of Jewish religion and ethics, conforming to a sort of mythology of nihilism, in which the new messianic law entailed a complete reversal of values and the transformation of the prohibitions of the Torah, including sexual unions and incest, into licit acts. The adherents believed that the descent into evil is a condition of ascent toward good, and, in this way, orgiastic practices were turned into the *via mystica* of the new eon. Also the outward conversion to Christianity was intended as the holy sin that would liberate them from the repressions of Mosaic and Talmudic law.

Among the Jewish sects that derived from Sabbatianism and practiced sexual antinomianism, the Moravians in eighteenth-century London can be noted too. Their leader was Count Ludwig Zinzendorf, himself an amateur qabbalist. According to the theories followed by Zinzendorf, God and the universe are dynamic sexual potencies that interact together to generate orgasmic joy when in perfect equilibrium. Furthermore, contacts between Frankists and Zinzendorfians are well documented, as well as contacts with Masonic milieus. Some contemporaries described the Moravians as a subversive secret society, whose leaders aimed at progressively sapping the energy of civil government and establishing an empire within an empire. Their "clinging together" was a euphemism for communal sex, ritual orgies, and comparable "gnostic obscenities" reserved to the higher initiates. Also, Emanuel Swedenborg, who since youth was trained in heterodox Jewish mysticism and in Sabbatianism too, attended the Moravian lodge during his sojourn in London. His diaries testify to many of the shocking sexual ceremonies of the Moravians, in which he was initially concerned but that later repelled him. However, like the Moravians earlier, the Swedenborgians were vulnerable to becoming objects of public ridicule and scandal. This motley crew who populated the clandestine world of illuminist Freemasonry in pre-Victorian London found a sympathetic enthusiast in William Blake, who maintained a lifelong commitment to radical theories of sexuality, including polygamy.

The Khlysts. Even more puzzling are the accounts reported about the Russian orthodox sect of the so-called "people of God," or Khlysts, and it is difficult to distinguish the real significance of this mystical and totally irrational religious approach, since the concealment of their rites was almost total and the majority of our information derives from hostile sources (missionaries or police). The name Khlysts, as the members were called by detractors, derives either from a distortion of "Christ," because the adherents thought that Christ could become incarnate in every one of them, or (and this seems the most probable interpretation) from the Russian word for "whip," with an allusion to ritual practices of self-flagellation. It seems possible to affirm that this sect was an emanation of the various Russian schismatic movements that began their diffusion during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and that taught that Christian faith had been destroyed by an Antichrist, after a long period of splendor and decadence, and should be founded again. Whereas Danil Filippovič, a peasant from the Volga region and alleged founder of the sect, seems to be nothing more than a shadowy and legendary figure, the first important representative was Ivan Timofeevič Suslov. In the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries the sect spread out and reached also the high society in Saint Petersburg.

Both an emotional revelation and a multiplicity of the divine incarnations lay at the ground of the Khlyst spirituality. In order to allow the death of the old person and the mystical resurrection in Christ, which also meant the presence of a divine spark in the intimate self and possession by the Holy Spirit, fasting, chastity, prayer and self-flagellation were necessary. The culmination of their rites consisted in a nocturnal ceremony, which began with a fanatical dervishlike dance, after a dispersion of holy water: men and women concentrically rotated in opposite directions, until they became exhausted and proffered prophecies. Accounts of self-flagellation and a concluding orgy—after the ritual election of a woman, who was then adored as the Virgin Mary—are also reported; these practices, a sort of hybrid between the cult of the ancient Mother Goddess and the Christian veneration of Mary, were justified by asserting that the satisfaction of carnal desires is the straightest way to redemption and that humans can be saved only passing through a hyperbolic degree of depravation and sin. Sexual intercourse, however, was restrained to this singular rite, while usually a strict chastity was observed. The same kind of frantic, insistent attitude toward asceticism and purity led some members to refuse such transgressive behavior and to commit self-castration at the end of a frantic dance (like their pagan antecedents, the Galli, priests of Cybele who emasculated themselves). The new monastic order was founded in the second half of the eighteenth century by Kondratij Selivanov, who asserted in 1765 at the same time that he was the embodiment of God and of Tsar Peter III. The members took the name Skoptzi (literally "whitened"), alluding to their condition: they also proclaimed the intrinsic oneness of God and man and aimed at restoring the chiliastic reign of God on earth. The Khlysts enjoyed a special renown also because, according to many, the famous monk and political intriguer Rasputin (born c.1864–d. 1916) was a member of the sect, even though not all his biographers credit this information. It is true, however, that he exercised a sort of magnetic fascination over women, and he is reported to having seduced many, despite his strong ascetic outlook.

NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES. As it has been seen, sex, magic, and secrecy had long been associated in the Western religious imagination, especially as far as esoteric orders are concerned. It is possible to recall here also the radical illuminist sect of the *frères* ("brethren") at Avignon, who were in contact with Masonic and Swedenborgians circles. In their arcane observance they practiced ritual nudity, communal sex, and worship of the *Shekhinah* (the qabbalistic feminine counterpart of God). Accusations about erotic ceremonies at Avignon, as well as biographic details about their chief, Count Grabianka, suggest that these revolutionary sexual theories were not only preached but also performed.

Of course, different is the practice of polygamy or group marriage variously theorized during the nineteenth century by the proto-Marxian French philosopher Fourier and his well-known doctrine of the falansteries, or in the religious experiences of some North American communities, among which it is worth mentioning the Oneida Community, founded in 1844 by John Humphrey Noyes and some friends of his in New York. Regulated by a communist way of life, Noyes's community was deeply pervaded by millennial feelings and practiced so-called complex marriage, according to which every man and every woman were married to each other and could engage in sexual intercourse but could not be attached to each other as stated earlier. In addition, the male members also practiced a form of birth control where during and after sexual intercourse the man could not ejaculate.

However, the first well-developed system of sexual magic is due to Paschal Beverly Randolph (1825–1875), the foremost American exponent of magical eroticism or Affectional Alchemy. This was a sort of sexual magic to which he claimed to have been initiated by some *fakīrs* during a journey to Jerusalem, who were perhaps adherents to the mystical order of the Nuṣayrīs, a group long persecuted by orthodox Islam because of their alleged Gnostic sexual rituals. Randolph saw in sexual orgasm the critical moment in human consciousness and the key to magical power and personal fulfillment as well as social transformation and regeneration. His doctrines were developed mostly by the esoteric movement known as the *Ordo Templi Orientis* (OTO), inspired by Karl Kellner and Theodor Reuss. The OTO taught that it is the polarity of male and female energies that creates the universe, and it is sexual union that leads to the reunion of the divine ego and to angelhood; it also developed a system of nine initiation degrees, the last three of which focused upon the theory of sex magic and the techniques of auto- and heterosexual magic.

It is worth mentioning here also the enigmatic and controversial figure of Edward Alexander (Aleister) Crowley (1875–1947), himself a member and reformer of the OTO and founder in 1920 of the Abbey of Thelema (from the Greek word for "will") in Sicily, a utopian community in which every desire could be gratified and every impulse expressed through free experimentation in drugs, sex, and physical excess. His impact on the modern revival of paganism, magic, witchcraft, and occultist and esoteric practices has been extremely influential, albeit he has been neglected by academic scholarship until recent times. The reason for this neglect is perhaps to be found, besides his more generally outrageous behavior, in his strong insistence on the practice of "sexual magikc" (according to his spelling). During his life Crowley had been the object of intense media scandal and was apparently delighted in offending contemporary British society, not only by proclaiming himself the "Great Beast 666" but also by explicitly using the most "deviant" sexual acts, including masturbation and homosexuality, as central components in his magical practice (therefore, he expanded to eleven OTO's original nine degrees). Sex was believed to conceal some awesome, even sacred, power, the tremendous liberation of which Crowley tried to effect through his magical practices.

Rejecting the prudish hypocrisy of the Victorian Christian world in which he had grown up, Crowley identified sex as the most powerful force in life and the supreme source of magical power. He has been thus compared to other controversial figures of his day, such as D. H. Lawrence and Oscar Wilde, who aimed at bursting the oppressive values and constricting morality of their society. Yet Crowley took the ideal of transgression to its furthest possible extremes, since he deliberately overthrew every imaginable social, moral and sexual taboo in order to accomplish a radical superhuman freedom, self-affirmation, and even self-deification. With a certain fondness for ostentation and scandal, Crowley himself sensationalized his way of life, and his infamy as the wickedest man alive was due to the emphasis of the popular press, which described Crowley's sexual promiscuity in vivid and exaggerated detail and considered him and his followers as members of a blasphemous sect, whose proceedings contributed to immorality of the most revolting character.

Crowley was also one of the first Western authors interested in the Hatha Yoga, Raja Yoga and, most of all, the Hindu and Buddhist traditions of Tantra, even though he seems to have mediated his knowledge of Tantric doctrines by secondary and often highly distorted sources, which partly reflected the prejudicial bias of European Asian scholars. This complex exoteric body of spiritual teaching often involves explicit forms of ritual transgression, such as consumption of food or sexual intercourse in violation of class laws, in order to awake the tremendous power or *shakti* that flows through all things. However, according to recent scholarship, Tantra is in most cases a conservative tradition, which allows social relations and sexual taboos to be violated only in highly controlled ritual contexts so that the ritual authority and social status of male Brāhmans may be ultimately reasserted, that is, reinforced, outside the boundaries of esoteric ritual. Even though sexual union is a fairly minor part of a global spiritual practice, to a Western audience Tantra appeared nothing else than a popular form of spirituality whose core was healthy sexuality or even a perverse confusion of sexuality and religion (in the Victorian age Tantra doctrines were trivialized by Edward Sellon, himself a pornographic writer, who offered titillating descriptions of the licentious orgies among the votaries and of the disregard for every natural restraint). The Western redefinition of Tantra by its sexual element, its comparison to the orgasm theory of Reich, and the vague equation with "spiritual sex," the goal of which is only heightened orgasm and optimal physical pleasure, owes much to Crowley's interest in this doctrine and to his putting the sexual element, as well as perhaps the antinomian one, at the first place; although Crowley had only a superficial understanding of Tantrism, he became a seminal figure in this transformation and is still today widely cited as the modern pioneer of "Tantric Sex Magick."

It seems that some neo-Gnostic movements were permeated by libertine streams, just like their ancient predecessors; at the same time similar patterns are reported also for modern witchcraft, in the forms developed by Charles A. Lelend or Gerald Brosseau Gardner, although there is no real certainty of an effective practice. Orgies feature also the modern Satanic or Luciferian cults (for example, in organized movements like those inspired by Anton La Vey or Martin Lamers) from the eighteenth-century "Hells of Fires" onwards, even though it is very difficult to distinguish whether they have a religious significance or simply represent a way to vent one's own instincts, usually induced or propitiated also by drugs or hallucinogens.

CONTEMPORARY PHILOSOPHICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS OF THE ORGY. To sum up, some patterns common to all these religious movements can be outlined. Besides the risks involved in an overstatement of the orgiastic phenomenon, often due to the hostility of the sources (for example, as far as the majority of medieval sects is concerned), it is indeed true that in some cases the practice of sexual promiscuity, accompanied by lavish banquets and frantic dances, is well attested and draws on particular philosophical premises. A more general antinomianism—usually permeated by chiliastic instances and sometimes by dualistic conceptions and communism practices—lies at the foundation. Moving from the statement that the (often stereotypical) acts attributed to these outgroups represented a total inversion of the norms, totally forbidden and thus regarded with horror, psychoanalytic attempts at explaining this kind of phenomenon have also been made. While the charge of cannibalism or ritual murder of children can be explained either in terms of homicide fantasies experienced in infancy or early childhood and then deeply repressed, or—as seems more probable—anxiety for the untimely death of children, so frequent in the past centuries, the theme of erotic orgy is simpler to interpret as reflecting repressed desires, temptations, or even misogyny. Such a notion of unconstrained sexuality was combined with that of a systematic and total inversion of the ordinary cult.

Conversely, the sects that really practiced orgies or experienced sexual promiscuity during their (often secret) rituals show a characteristic blending of self-exaltation or rather self-deification and antinomianism, which took the form of an anarchic eroticism. A motif common to all these groups is the sinless condition of the elects (or, in other terms, "awakened," or "perfects"), which allows them to perform all the acts, including prohibited or impure ones. Such persons lose an experience of sin, understood as mortification or mystical death, deprived sexual intercourse of its impure character, and produced an effect of transformation, which helped to destroy one's own conceit. This was achieved also thanks to a sort of neutralization of the individuals who merged into a cosmic-pantheist unity, since orgies permit the individual constraint of eros to be overthrown.

Moreover, sex, particularly in its transgressive, nonreproductive forms, is intended as a way to unleash the supreme creative power, which can be deployed for a wide range of both spiritual and material ends. Recent interpretations (from Julius Evola onwards) consider orgasm as a means to attain a condition of exhaustion taken to the extreme limit, which can create "breakages of consciousness" and so open the mind to the "supersensual." It is thus possible to compare such practices to what Georges Bataille calls the power of transgression, which is a central aspect of eroticism, religious ritual (such as blood sacrifices, carnivals, etc.), and mystical experience alike. According to Bataille, the various acts of transgression imply deliberate violations and systematic inversions of the moral laws and sexual codes of the larger society, though they cannot be understood as mere hedonistic and unrestrained sexual license; their power lies in the dialectic between taboo and transgression, and the ultimate aim of them is to transgress the very boundaries of the self, that is, to smash the limits of finite human consciousness in order to experience the unlimited continuity of the infinite (in this sense eroticism is intimately linked to death itself). According to Bataille, who echoes some theories already outlined by the Marquis de Sade at the end of the eighteenth century, the prohibition is there to be violated, and the best way of enlarging one's desires is to try to limit them, because it is just this experience that brings the blissful sense of continuity and unity with the Other. Nor are there lacking sociological interpretations of the orgy, like those by Michel Maffesoli and Jean Baudrillard, who argue that the present is a "post-orgy world," after the great social and sexual revolutions have broken every conceivable taboo. The orgy, in fact, is the explosive moment of modernity, that of liberation in all domains, although, as a consequence of it, liberation has left everyone in an undefined and uncertain state, in which one's own definition is put into question.

SEE ALSO Sexuality, article on Sexual Rites in Europe.

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CHIARA OMBRETTA TOMMASI (2005)

ORGY: ORGY IN ASIA

Western scholarship in the history of religions has taken the orgiastic rituals of the eastern Mediterranean (Dionysos, Cybele) as the ideal type of religious behavior manifesting as reckless bodily movements contributing to states of emotional excess, sometimes with the assistance of intoxicants. In the context of large-scale festivities, the force of these excesses sets aside the normal psychological restraints such that religious exaltation is obtained en masse through all types of sensual pleasure. This view enabled scholars and others to link such pre-Christian rites with transgressive behavior in western European history, especially witchcraft and heresy. Theories of "pagan survivals" were advanced to explain both the presence of pre-Christian elements in festivals of the church year and the periodic outbreaks of heresy and sorcery. The weaknesses of these theories of subterranean survival of paganism require some attention in order to avoid applying errors of method to festival-located orgiastic rituals in Asian cultures.

There is little archeological evidence to support the claim that the orgiastic rites of Cybele, Dionysos, the Maenads, or Priapus were handed down, even in mitigated form, from classical antiquity to the customs of medieval Christian pilgrimage sites. At best the evidence from folklore supports a continuity in which the survival, healing, and fertility concerns of human societies were addressed in festival rites at locations that continued to be venerated across the centuries. Rural customs involving magic, cursing, exorcism, and folk medicine were for many centuries associated with Christian saints and their shrines.

At the shrine of Saints Cosmas and Damian in Isernia, Italy, a supposed "phallic cult" (or "cult of Priapus") was thought to have survived from pagan antiquity, when in reality the rites deemed pre-Christian could just as easily have arisen in the context of medieval popular Catholicism. If anything it was the continuity of the site and its geography that carried forward in time the pre-Christian meaning. Cultural anthropologists have come to similar conclusions about South and Southeast Asian shrine festivals, where the village tradition addresses itself to survival, healing, and fertility in its own ritual idiom, even within the matrix of "great tradition" religiosity.

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE DEFINITION. In such societies the orgiastic ritual is lived as a positive aspect and not primarily as a way to fulfill instinctual drives. Most cultures indulge forms of transgression and release, such as recreational alcoholic consumption, raucous music, banquets, and prostitution. Orgiastic rituals, however, are not primarily recreational activities; they occupy a precise niche in societal expressions of religious emotion.

Transgressive collective behavior should be understood in terms of forms of conduct that are not done openly or outside particular times and places. The counterpoint to the orgy as unbridled collective transgression may be seen in a text from the Pali canon of early Buddhism. This Buddhist "Genesis" myth asserts that sexual relations arise when human karmic propensities undergo embodiment, density, and passion. The sexual act provokes reactions of revulsion and shame, and so the first cabins are constructed in order to conceal the act of coitus. (*Aggañña Sutta* 27; iii; 88–89.16–17: "Accordingly those who indulged in such immoral practices began to build themselves dwellings so as to indulge under cover.") The sexual act performed in the presence of others, whether active participants or spectators, is understood to be "transgressive" on a deep level of human experience. Lived as part of a larger continuum of human activity, however, the orgy effectively reflects the variegated character of human life itself. Such rites enable humans to transcend moral categories under certain circumstances so as to become protagonists in a cosmic drama. Thus human community, and not the individual or couple alone, can become an intentionally sacred representation of larger cosmic energies that require periodic renewal.

To this end human societies sanction periods of festival. Within the matrix of festival, the orgy has an initiatic character, because those who participate for the first time have to be informed in some way about the boundary between the quotidian or profane and the sacred; even the orgy has a sacred confine that encloses its secrets from the uninitiated or the unprepared. The orgy is not merely a ritual to be enacted at the will of the participants. Because a transgression of conventional norms is involved, there has to be a link between the orgiastic rite and the correct time and place. Festivals are calculated to fall on specific conjunctions of the cosmic markers of time. Only under the circumstances in which the human protagonists in a ritual are joined with the cosmic cycle of time can a rite renew the world by reenacting the creative events of primordial time, at the threshold between timelessness and time. Orgy cannot sanction anything without reference to the rightness of time and place, when the vital energies of the cosmos can be renewed. As a conscious, organized human ritual art form enacted during the time of festival, the orgy makes possible a return to the time of origins in which chaos prevailed. This was the time before the ordering principles of the cosmos began to operate so as to establish the social order, with gender distinctions, hierarchy, caste, and rulership. Both the profane interactions of the social order and the agricultural cycles on which human life depends are subject to decay and disharmony. Therefore a cycle of festivals in the course of the year periodically renews environment and society. Some festivals, though not all, have elements of sexuality, violence, role reversal, use of intoxicants, and frenzy.

In effect the orgy is a rite not of stasis and interiorization but of intensely energetic renewal. Orgiastic practices work with the play of energy in forms associated with dancing and singing gods and goddesses to whom the human protagonists are assimilated. Environments and human communities are reconstituted with particular emphasis on the blessings of sex and fertility. Orgiastic spirituality is in stark contrast to those contemplative practices that emphasize stillness, centeredness, silence, renunciation, solitude, and ascetic discipline. In the orgy extreme excess, ritual sacrifice of human beings, cannibalism, mutilation, transgender mimicry, sexual promiscuity, and even warfare can become forms perceived as vehicles of communal and cosmic renewal. Typically these extreme forms undergo mitigation in substitutionary enactments.

Nevertheless the use of drumming, extremely rhythmic music, dance, raucous songs, intoxicants, banqueting, and sexuality continue to have a place in a large number of festivals around the world, however routinized and mitigated they may have become across the span of time. These festivals engage the human body in the ritual play of infracosmic impulses. Often these forces are linked to the presence of the powerful Mother who embodies the earth as a source of vitality, and are intimately bound up with the experience of community and tradition. A community's capacity to renew itself is measured precisely by its obedience to the demands of instinct, with the understanding that instinct, in both the human body and the social body, has its own set of rules. Times of festival open up an anamnetic channel to primeval chaos that allows for the temporary redress of grievances rooted in inequalities of gender, race, and class. The cosmic antinomianism of the orgiastic festival turns all social relations upside down, exposing and assailing patterns of abuse.

RELATIONSHIP TO THE "GREAT TRADITIONS." The dynamic structure of the festival continues to prevail in South and Southeast Asian societies, where the religious meaning of space and time still retains many elements of archaic sensibility. Significant places are typically associated with holy men and women or supernatural beings of the great traditions. Festivals may be linked to events from Buddhist, Hindu, or Muslim history, legend, and mythology. The social coherence of the festival is, however, local in nature and only tenuously linked to the myth and symbol systems of the "great" formal religious traditions. For the vast majority of the population, Hindu and Buddhist textual and philosophical understandings have only tangential relationships to the lived realities of space, time, and other more immediate matters. Among these in particular are the physical environment within which they live, spatially differentiated in terms of its uses for habitation and agriculture, and the ongoing cycle of the year, also closely tied to the agricultural cycle on which human life, with its own rhythms, depends.

India. It is likely that ideas and practices of an orgiastic type are rooted in archaic sex rites magically associating natural and human fertility. These sex rites contributed widely to the development of religious ideas and to the evolution of human thought. In India archaic elements survived and were given new forms and interpretations over time with the larger evolutionary tendencies of the great traditions.

In general the original Vedic rituals made use of an intoxicant (*soma*), sexuality, and obscenity, as in the ritualized copulation in the *Brhadaranyaka Upaniṣads* account of the horse sacrifice. *Maithuna*, sexual union, is suggestive of the doctrine of nonduality between the human and the divine. In myth and ritual even adulterous love (*parakiya*) in Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava theology came to symbolize the "illicit" and dangerous character of relations between the human soul (Rādhā) and the divine Lover (Kṛṣṇa). At times the valorization of adulterous and promiscuous union would have been enacted in the Bengali Sahajiya Tantric rituals. *Maithuna* is one of the "five m's" of left-hand path Tantra (*Vāmācāra*) in the Kaula Kapalika cults of Shaivism. Some Tantric groups may have advocated uncontrolled use of *maithuna* in ritual "orgies" as an extreme test of control and detachment. In these sectarian contexts the orgiastic festival is reconstructed along the lines of a transformative spiritual yoga or practice (*sādhana*).

Surviving orgiastic festivals in the village setting become a locus for the expression of feelings otherwise prohibited or formally repressed, above all by the caste system and by gender roles. These outbursts, occurring strictly during festival times, are sanctioned by gods such as Kālī or Kṛṣṇa. Their seasonal festivals, such as Holi, or the celebration of the goddess Bhadrakali's defeat of the demon Darika, allow transgressive behavior to become obligatory. There are strict and unpleasant "rules" involving danger, excess, sexuality, transvestism, use of intoxicants, and acts of violence.

The violent aspects of these manifestations might seem to correspond to the hormonal drives of adolescent males and to the sense of frustration and quotidian resentment on the part of married women. However, there is also a kind of ethical side to the violence: the oppressed and marginal categories of society identify and take a playful vengeance on those who normally have all the privileges and make use of them unjustly. In fact the attacks on ritual purity in these events is precisely a divinely sanctioned transgression meant to undermine, even if only for a day or so, the rules of caste, gender, and rituality, so that the true character of human relations might be revealed and vindicated.

Tibet. The ritual traditions of Tibet reflect an assimilation of Tantric deity cycles from India and China within the preexisting Bon worldview. After the first diffusion of the Indian Vajrayāna in Tibet in the eighth and ninth centuries, a period of experimentation ensued in which the orgiastic elements of the Sahajiyā cults were readily imported by a population eager to obtain the benefits of sorcery. A reaction set in during the early eleventh century, spreading as far as Central Tibet, with a consequent suppression not only of the sorcery cults but even of the strictly controlled sexual yogas of the "Path of Means" (*thabs lam*). Milarepa (c. 1052–1137) criticized these reforms, which had made the Tantric methods suspect. He recovered and taught the Path of Means, including the use of *karmamudra* (sexual yoga), as the best way to attain realization of Voidness. The yogin tradition in Tibet preserved many lineages that recognized in the figure of the *ḍākinī*s and other high-energy goddesses the same gendered transformational power that is encountered in shamanism and mediumism. The orgiastic elements were here, as elsewhere, mitigated in the form of festive ritual cycles or as yogic contemplative practices.

Thailand. The annual ritual cycle in Northeast Thai villages provides an obvious example of mitigated orgiastic rituality in the temporary ordination as Buddhist monks of a group of young men of the village each year during the rainy season retreat. The rite is part of a sequence that is related closely to the fertility of the rice fields on which the village depends. This rite also links closely to human fertility, as the explicitly phallic rockets of the rocket festival following the young men's ordination and the accompanying obscene songs make abundantly clear. In fact the period of temporary ordination is also explicitly seen as a preparation for marriage rather than as a commitment to the path of asceticism.

Central Asia. The typology described here corresponds to those elements of the ancient folk beliefs as they have survived in synthesis with Shīʿī Islamic spirituality. The typical practices of dervish Sufism, dancing (whirling) to produce a state of mind open to Divine Remembrance (*dhikr*) and singing "noisy" (*yahri*) mystical poetry, reflect this cultural synthesis. Dervish orders based on the Malamatiya tradition in Iran, in Kazakhistan, and along the Sino-Turkestan border disseminated the ideal of *qalandariya*, the classic wandering dervish, bearer of heterodox theology, whose nonconformist behavior not only repudiated conventional values but sought to subvert static models of spiritual attainment. The beloved Shams al-Tabrizi, who inspired the poetry of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (1207–1273), was the archetype of *qalandariya*.

The extent to which any of the antinomian forms of Sufism could be considered "orgiastic" is debatable. It is true that homosexual activity, reflecting a concretization of the love poetry that reached its heights in writings of Hafiz in the Persian-Turkish cultural world, came to characterize the excesses of courtly life in Central Asia. This Ṣūfī-related trend penetrated as far as North India, always being characterized as somehow a "decadent" form of the devotional pattern of the *qalandariya* brotherhoods. However, in the case of Hafiz there seems to have been an underlying message that the spectrum from mysticism to the bacchanal can be used by the poet to demand a redress of grievances from society and from history. Specifically this would refer to the Iranian cultural resistance to Arabic dominance: the poetry expresses a humanistic vision in opposition to religious rigorism. Thus to take on the appearance of immorality or even to commit illicit acts such as wine drinking or sexual indulgence is tantamount to warding off the sin of pride in oneself and the exposure of arrogance in the false piety of others.

The literary tradition linked to the festival settings of Shīʿī Islam continued to have a place for such figures as late as the nineteenth century. The well-educated, though marginalized poet who likes to make *mullās* look ridiculous became something of a folk hero. Typically he pays inordinate attention to women and young men. This stock character is found in the folk theater tradition, in which the rogue poet (*rend*) shows himself undaunted by authority figures. Social and political criticism could thus be channeled through such characters of satire, farce, and allegory.

China. Primordial rites and festivals are preserved in the perennial syncretism typical of Chinese religion and rituality. Young women's role as shamanesses is a feature of the recognition of the feminine as a bearer of mysterious power going back to prehistory. Closely associated with their shamanic healing rituals are the phenomena of mediumism and possession. Daoist systems sought to channel these primordial elements into systems of sexual hygiene bearing fruit in bodily immortality. The cult of energy in Daoist healing arts is related to breath and sexual energy sometimes cultivated by union with multiple partners but is not typically expressed orgiastically. The body, its instincts, and the rules of instinctual behavior are seen as part of a cosmic synergy of phenomena.

However, the inevitable lure of uncontrollable energy in a tightly knit society finds a time of festivity in which to surface. The Cheung Chau Festival (Festival of the Bun Hills) begins on the eighth day of the fourth moon and lasts for four days. It is an atypical and at times dangerous celebration. Four days of religious rites, Chinese operas, and the burning of paper clothing as gifts are conducted to placate the spirits. Cities are absorbed in a party atmosphere, with processions and celebrations at every turn. Huge structures, typical of fertility rites elsewhere, are built. These towering mounds are covered with baked buns. The signal is given, and young people scramble up the towers, picking off as many buns, which symbolize good luck, as they can hold.

Japan. The role of shamanism is a background for most Japanese rituality. Shintō ritual preserves the primordial spirituality of Japan typically concerned with fertility. The island nation was originally a peasants' country, and each agricultural community had its own local religious celebrations (*matsuri*). Each festival was organized around the Shintō shrine or the local Buddhist temple in order to honor the deities. Festivals still take place all over the country, especially in summer. These folk events are high-energy manifestations of social cohesion through veneration of natural forces (*kami*).

Typically large teams of male youths play the role of bearers of power in festival processions with deity-palanquins (*mikoshi*), even though in some places priestesses continue to preside over the temple rites. The youths, who are plied liberally with sake, wear *happi*, short kimonos that come down to their waists, usually worn with T-shirts underneath and shorts but sometimes just with white loincloths. With a towel or bandana wrapped around the forehead, this is the perfect outfit for a *mikoshi* bearer or *taiko* drummer sweating in the heat of a summer festival in this unique expression of powerful male bonding. The young men who carry the *mikoshi* are not supposed to provide the *kami* with a smooth, fast ride. Instead, they sway in all directions and push the *mikoshi* up and down, often violently to amuse the *kami*. The movement of a *mikoshi* is considered to be directed by the will of the *kami* beyond the control of those shouldering it. In some *matsuri* festivals *mikoshi* of several shrines are brought together. In some others the *mikoshi* is carried into a river or sea to be washed. In other festivals *mikoshis* are brought into contests of one kind or another, often causing blood to be shed. The *kenka matsuri*, or fighting festival, involves violent ramming between competing *mikoshi* until one or another is destroyed.

Although the ancient "orgiastic" elements have been transformed, it is evident that extreme violence, the use of intoxicants, and the hint of sexuality remain in the *matsuri* tradition. In addition the event can bring about the same kinds of role reversals that allow for the correction of faults seen elsewhere. The symbolism of an entire community being "wrapped" in the embrace of the *kami* and its undulating procession is still in evidence. Moreover there is a sense of breaking out of the reserve that characterizes Japanese social behavior most of the year, so that criticisms that would otherwise remain unspoken can be offered in an endurable manner.

THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN ABERRATION AND FESTIVAL. The notion of the orgiastic ritual in Western studies of the history of religions is a function of constructions of East Mediterranean polytheism going back to Roman times. The sexual rites of archaic cultures can be seen as reviving agricultural fertility through the apotropaic magic of festival—most often taking the form of dance, rhythmic song, mime, and sexually referent poetry or gesture. Obscene gestures, erotic dancing, and sexually colored lyrics are part of festival and wedding rites in many places, especially in village and archaic cultures, but it is extremely rare to find group, frenzied sexual intercourse as part of a fertility rite or festival. Most cultures of Central Asia, China, Japan, Southeast Asia, and India find the notion of having sex in front of others to be utterly repugnant—an antisocial aberration. Even in the left-handed practices, the initiatic rite in which the guru has intercourse with a female partner in order to produce the male and female sexual fluids used in the rite of initiation, the practice is restricted and highly controlled. This rite was mitigated throughout the Himalayan cultural zone such that symbolic substances and objects replaced the actual coital act. The sexual practices here are yogic, not frenzied. The sexual yoga *(karmamudra)* of the songs of the *mahāsiddhas* are practiced by the partners in secret.

Maenad-type orgies, themselves literary products of the ancient writers who constructed the women of Thrace as "wild and out of control," should not too easily be read into Tantric rites, village festivals, Shintō processions, Daoist erotic therapies, and shamanic healing rituals. Communities celebrate fertility with songs, dances, gestures, costumes, and symbolic objects rather than with the act of coitus itself in any form.

THE FAILURE OF THE ORGY. The risk of modern orgiastic conduct in the contemporary East Asian avant-garde is that it is transgression without festival in the full sense of the word and as such goes against the instinctual laws of the body. Even instincts have a certain discipline, as is evident in Tantric practice, in cannibalism, in sacrificial violence, and in warfare. Take away the necessary features of *communitas* and there is no festival at all. Take away the characteristics of festival and there is no sacredness. With the deconstruction of sacredness, all that remains is unbridled violence and malice. Libidinous excess brings on brutal dehumanization, not renewal of human and cosmic energies. In this way modern theatrical attempts at orgiastic ritual tend to be little more than a reflection of the soulless postmodern culture against which they purportedly rebel. The social matrix in which sacred time, space, and tradition could allow mitigated orgiastic rites to effect renewal is now being dismantled by the spread of ideological secularism. Invasive modernity constructs oppositions in the form of class, race, and gender conflict rather than complementarity. Deconstruction suppresses the prophetic voice that calls for redress and reconciliation, which was perhaps the most durable social value of the ancient rites.

SEE ALSO Tantrism.

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ORIENTALISM.

Once associated with the exotic "Eastern" themes and styles of Eugene Delacroix's, James McNeill Whistler's, and John Singer Sargent's paintings; Victor Hugo's *Les Orientales*; and Gustave Flaubert's *Salammbô* (though related representations also can be found in subjects ranging from world fairs to such Hollywood films as *The Thief of Baghdad* and *Lawrence of Arabia*), the term *Orientalism* has come to denote a broader complex of discursive assumptions and institutional (especially academic) practices that regulate the understanding, appreciation, and domination of the West's—more precisely, Europe's—supposed "Other." In the study of religion, both from confessional dogmatic and secular comparatist perspectives, *Orientalism* evokes the tendency to mystify, caricature, homogenize, and petrify Asian and North African cultural systems, whether via idealization or via demonization, viewing them as contrasting to and often opposing such "Western" concepts as privatized and rationalized belief or the separation of church and state. Indeed, the modern definition and application of the concept "religion" as a universal category seems a first large step in the direction of Orientalism, as scholars such as Wilfred Cantwell Smith and Talal Asad have argued.

The work of Edward W. Said (1935–2003), especially his path-breaking *Orientalism* (2003), first published in 1978, initiated this shift in the meaning of the term. His *Orientalism* offers trenchant criticism of "Orientalist" scholarship and calls for a theoretical and interdisciplinary rearrangement of knowledge in relation to questions of power and empire that would seek not a new field of research but more integrated and self-reflective approaches in the scholarly study of the global South and East. Subsequent postcolonial, subaltern, and, more broadly, cultural studies, all of which attempt to shed light on increasingly manifold forms of multicultural identities, have greatly benefited from his work. Said himself, however, retained an allegiance to his early literary training in close reading and philology (a training evident in his scrupulous and detailed analyses), and he was at times, as in *Humanism and Democratic Criticism* (2004), somewhat dismissive of "contemporary critics who prefer what is implicit to what the text actually says" (p. 88).

Said's definition of the term *Orientalism* has multiple facets. In his book *Orientalism* he seeks to present and interpret it "as a historical phenomenon, a way of thought, a contemporary problem, and a material reality" (p. 44). In part, this complexity results from his historical insight into the "Orient" as "that semi-mythical construct which since Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in the late eighteenth century has been made and re-made countless times by power acting through an expedient form of knowledge" (p. xiii); in part, it hinges on his conviction that the "sometimes sympathetic but always dominating scrutiny" (p. 57) directed toward things "oriental" entails, not just an economy and an anthropology, but an entire epistemology and ontology, whose axioms and protracted effects must be uncovered by a patient "genealogy."

Although European characterizations of the Orient date back to the Athenian plays of Aeschylus (*The Persians*) and Euripides (*The Bacchae*), and the exploration and exploitation of its central tropes can already be traced in Herodotus and Alexander the Great, Said dates the fateful, as it were official, beginnings of the hegemonic regulation and objectification of this geographical referent and its accompanying imagry much later. Greece and Rome had conceptions of the "primitive," as Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas document in their classic *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* (1935 [1997]), but only in the Christian Middle Ages did Orientalism find its first expression as "a field of learned study." In *Orientalism* Said writes: "In the Christian West, Orientalism is considered to have commenced its formal existence with the decision of the Church Council of Vienna in 1312 to establish a series of chairs in 'Arabic, Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac at Paris, Oxford, Bologna, Avignon, and Salamanca'" (pp. 49–50, quoting Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*). These chairs were not exactly disinterested, given that the suggestion came from Raymond Lull, who recommended the study of Arabic out of zeal to use it as a tool in converting Muslims and refuting Arabic philosophy. But such instrumentalization was always counterbalanced by an ambiguous fascination, so that "between the Middle Ages and the eighteenth century such major authors as Ariosto, Milton, Marlowe, Tasso, Shakespeare, Cervantes, and the authors of the Chanson de Roland and the Poema del Cid drew on the Orient's riches for their productions, in ways that sharpened the outlines of imagery, ideas, and figures populating it" (p. 63). Said cites "the Sphinx, Cleopatra, Eden, Troy, Sodom and Gomorrah, Astarte, Isis and Osiris, Sheba, Babylon, the Genii, the Magi" (p. 63), but other examples of the lure of the "exotic" are legion.

In the central pages of *Orientalism* Said traces the academic establishment of the field from the late eighteenth century onward, focusing especially on the insinuation of power into even the most recondite fields and its imbrication in their constitution. Key representatives in this development are Johann David Michaelis and Friedrich Schlegel in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Germany, Ernest Renan and Louis Massignon in nineteenth- and twentieth-century France, and C. Snouck Hurgronje in the twentieth-century Netherlands. In their very different approaches to the biblical text, the "wisdom of India," the figure of Jesus, and the mystical elements in Islam, these scholars all seemed to agree on "the linguistic importance of the Orient to Europe," as well as on the "unchanging, uniform, and radically peculiar" nature of the Orient as an "object" whose golden age was steadily projected into a bygone past and whose present was therefore historically tied to a "latent inferiority" (pp. 98, 209).

Preoccupation with the Orient led to the founding of many learned and trading societies, just as perceived interest in safeguarding a seemingly undivided Christian West motivated the establishment of explicitly missionary organizations such as the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (founded in 1698), the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (1701), the Baptist Missionary Society (1792), the Church Missionary Society (1799), the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804), and many others. The institutional embedding of "Orientalism" was thus also—if not first and foremost—religiously or theologically-politically inflected. The genealogy of "Orientalism" Said proposes needs to unravel this connection.

Said's analysis is based upon a certain conception of humanism and humanistic studies, however, and therefore on the opposition between "secular criticism" and "religious criticism," a distinction introduced in *Orientalism* and elaborated in his later *The Word, the Text, and the Critic* (1983) and *Humanism and Democratic Criticism* (2003). In the preface to the twenty-fifth-anniversary edition of *Orientalism,* he asserts that there is "a profound difference between the will to understand for purposes of coexistence and humanistic enlargement of horizons, and the will to dominate for the purposes of control and external dominion" (p. xix), a claim juxtaposed to his ambition to "use humanistic critique to open up the fields of struggle" (p. xxii). Can his appeal to "worldly secular discourse" and to the "secular world" as "the world of history as made by human beings" (p. xxix) admit a nuanced assessment of the role of religion in his narrative? An attempt to answer this question yields two conflicting elements.

On the one hand, Said's analysis undoes certain preconceptions in the study of Islam, especially concerning Islam's relation to modern notions of private faith, religious experience, violence, and democracy. Stressing the many communities of interpretation and the need to differentiate between historical periods, geographical locations, and individual thinkers, he insists on the importance of avoiding generalizations and stereotypes, including where "religion" is at issue.

On the other hand, Said's project remains based on an unapologetic "'residual' humanism" (p. 339), which sees in religion, even in its broadest and richest definition, stripped of its narrow Protestant and Enlightenment association with a privately held faith, a limited and far from perennial constituent in the psychic and social dimensions of power and knowledge. As Said notes in *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (1983), religion, in this view, is "an agent of closure, shutting off human investigation, criticism, and effort in deference to the authority of the more-than-human, the supernatural, the other-worldly" (p. 290). One can understand Said's reluctance to give in to the "contemporary Manichean theologizing of the 'Other'" (p. 291), but here, in fact, may lie the greatest weakness of his overall project: the suggestion in *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) that all "'returns' to culture and tradition" go hand in hand with intellectual and moral codes that undercut "such relatively liberal philosophies as multiculturalism" and in decolonized countries lead largely to "varieties of religious and nationalist fundamentalism" (p. xiii). Although he seems aware of the historical, geopolitical, and imaginative role of "public religion" (the expression is from José Casanova in *Public Religions in the Modern World* [1994]) in the transition from secular nationalism to different formations of political Islam, well beyond his general observations in *Orientalism* that "what appears in the West to be the emergence, return to, or resurgence of Islam is in fact a struggle in Islamic societies over the definition of Islam," and that no "one person, authority, or institution has total control over that definition" (p. 332), Said apparently does not count "religion"—or the theologico-political—as a potentially emancipatory or empowering, let alone democratizing and humanizing force per se. The remarkable "return to religion" reinforced and refracted by the complicated economic and cultural processes of globalization and driven by the newest technological media therefore poses an anomaly that his overall historical and cultural analysis has difficulty in assessing. In *Humanism and Democratic Criticism* (2003) he speaks of religion mostly in terms of "religious enthusiasm," which he considers "perhaps the most dangerous of threats to the humanistic enterprise, since it is patently antisecular and antidemocratic in nature, and, in its monotheistic forms as a kind of politics, is by definition about as intolerantly inhumane and downright unarguable as can be" (p. 51). In Said's account, Christian, Jewish, Islamic, and Hindu fundamentalism are not fundamentally different in this respect.

This being said, the premises and arguments of Said's project nonetheless provide a model for analyzing processes of religious conflict and dialogue, missionary expansion and ecumenical cooperation, proselytizing and conversion, apologetics and the self-explication of faith seeking understanding in confrontation with different epochs, locations, and cultures.

In *Orientalism* Said leaves no doubt that the critique of Orientalism should not be confused with "anti-Westernism" (pp. 330, 334). He distances himself from the claim, imputed to Orientalism, that the historical phenomenon of Orientalism is "a synecdoche, or miniature symbol, of the entire West, and indeed ought to be taken to represent the West as whole" (pp. 330–331). On the contrary, Said emphasizes repeatedly that he "has no 'real' Orient to argue for," which is a way of saying that "neither the term *Orient* nor the concept of the West has any ontological stability," each being "made up of human effort, partly affirmation, partly identification of the Other," and also that "words such as 'Orient' and 'Occident' correspond to no stable reality that exists as a natural fact," meaning that "all such geographical designations are an odd combination of the empirical and the imaginative" (p. 331). Ultimately, Orientalism and its related studies thus seek to effect a process of *unlearning* (a term from Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society*, 1780–1950 [New York, 1958]) in which—at least the dominant mode of interpreting—the "Orient" and the "Occident" will be eliminated altogether (p. 28). Yet Said leaves no doubt that in this and similar relationships of opposition, polarity, and mirroring, "the development and maintenance of every culture require the existence of another, different and competing alter ego. The construction of identity . . . involves the construction of opposites and 'others' whose actuality is always subject to the continuous interpretation and re-interpretation of their differences from 'us'" (p. 332).

Indeed, Said writes, "even the primitive community we belong to natally is not immune from the interpretive contest," and the constructed "others" upon which the construction of identity depends may be "outsiders and refugees, or apostates and infidels" (p. 332). All others are not created equal, however. Orientalism and Hellenism are crucially different, for example: "The former is an attempt to describe a whole region of the world as an accompaniment to that region's colonial conquest, the latter is not at all about the direct colonial conquest of Greece in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; in addition, Orientalism expresses antipathy to Islam, Hellenism sympathy for classical Greece" (p. 342).

Said points out in *Culture and Imperialism*, however, that the relationship between European expansion and the non-West was never merely unilateral: "there was always some form of active resistance [armed or cultural], and in the overwhelming majority of cases, the resistance finally won out" (p. xii). Such a conclusion defies the modern understanding of *identities* and requires, in the historiography of *Orientalism* and *empire*, an approach that is no longer "linear and subsuming," but "contrapuntal and often nomadic," not least because "all cultures are involved in one another; none is single and pure, all are hybrid, heterogenous, extraordinarily differentiated, and unmonolithic" (p. xxv).

Said's work has been taken to task by critics, notably Bernard Lewis in his *Islam and the West*, as lacking in nuance and attacking scholarship that can claim more disinterest than Said allows. Others have pointed out that some Orientalists were themselves active opponents of colonialism and imperialism (and not just in the name of an idealized "Orient"), and that non-Western nationalists were, in turn, inspired by Western "Orientalist" writings or adopted the caricatures of themselves as "Other." Still other critics have decried Said's political engagement, since 1967, in the Palestinian cause for national self-determination (as he himself notes in *Orientalism*, "with full attention paid to the reality of the Jewish people and what they suffered by way of persecution and genocide" [p. xxiii]).

Yet Said views the psychological, ideological, and social complex of "Orientalism" as the counterpart and "secret sharer of Western anti-Semitism" (p. 27). As in the writings of the early Frankfurt School, notably "Elements of Anti-Semitism" in Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno's classic *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, the analysis of "Orientalism" details a historically and culturally determined structure and comportment of prejudice ultimately based upon a mechanism of projection. Depictions of Islam that start from analogy to Christian premises—namely, that "Mohammed was to Islam as Christ was to Christianity" (p. 60)—then proceed to erroneous and pejorative characterizations of Islam as "Mohammedanism" and of Muḥammed as an "impostor" are just one example of how the imaginary geography of Orientalism transposes a never-ending list of qualifications onto a supposedly amorphous "Other" whose contours and meaning, let alone intentions and self-interpretations, seem all but irrelevant: "the Orient acquired representatives . . . and representations, each one more concrete, more internally congruent with some Western exigency, than the ones that preceded it. It is as if, having once settled on the Orient as a locale suitable for incarnating the infinite in a finite shape, Europe could not stop the practice; the Orient and the Oriental, Arab, Islamic, Indian, Chinese, or whatever, become repetitious pseudo-incarnations of some great original (Christ, Europe, the West), they were supposed to have been imitating" (p. 62).

Although in their accounts of primitive myth, magic, and shamanism the neo-Marxists of the Frankfurt School's first generation continued the Orientalist blind spots Said identifies in Marx's own 1848 *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* and 1853 articles on British rule in India (as did, after them, Jürgen Habermas in adopting Max Weber's acceptance of European exceptionalism vis-à-vis China into

Theory of Communicative Action), one of Horkheimer and Adorno's insights is important here. They knew well that where imitation fails (and it necessarily does), discriminatory judgment and ultimately persecution must result.

By contrast, Said offers a non-Marxist critique of power and knowledge based on the heterodox ideas of Antonio Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks*, notably his concept of "hegemony," and on the concept of "discursive formation" from Michel Foucault's *The Archeology of Knowledge* and *Discipline and Punish*. Although, as discursive formation, Orientalism could be seen as a "system for citing works and authors," Said in *Orientalism* corrects Foucault in order to recognize "the determining imprint of individual writers upon the otherwise collective body of texts" (p. 23), the way they count for something in the constitution of its power.

Since the publication of *Orientalism*, scholars have pursued its line of thought in many different geographical and imaginative contexts. Said's own *Culture and Imperialism* broadens his earlier perspective by including critical studies on "a more general pattern of relationships between the modern metropolitan West and its overseas territories" (p. xi), such as Africa, the Caribbean, and Australia, whereas other scholars have focused on the construction of identity in the Western approach to the "religions of the East," whether on the Indian subcontinent or in Southeast Asia, China, and Japan. Thus, the volume *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia* (1993), edited by Carol E. Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer, explores the ways in which colonial administrators constructed knowledge about the society and culture of India and the processes through which that knowledge has shaped past and current perceptions of Indian reality. These and other contributions to "modern cultural theory" would seem to confirm Said's view, expressed in his 1994 afterword to *Orientalism*, that "cultures are hybrid and heterogenous and . . . that cultures and civilizations are so interrelated and interdependent as to beggar any unitary or simply delineated description of their individuality" (p. 347).

More recently, the discussion around Orientalism has been shadowed by a parallel consideration of "Occidentalism," as if to challenge Said's claim that "no one is likely to imagine a field symmetrical to [Orientalism] called Occidentalism" (p. 50). In *Occidentalism* (2004) Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit describe Occidentalism as the "Orientalist view upside down" (p. 10) and hence as the "dehumanizing picture of the West painted by its enemies," directed at the scientific and secular worldview, global capitalism, sexual liberties, pop culture, and a "cluster of prejudices" whose "historical roots," they argue, lie in Europe and its Enlightenment (p. 5). This "hateful caricature" of Western modernity in terms of a mechanical or "machine civilization" is contrasted by Occidentalists to a (lost) ideal of organic and totalizing spirituality (pp. 6, 7).

In contrast to the hardening of opposites in Occidentalism, the true legacy of the Orientalism discussion will surely lie not only in a far more complex understanding of cultural interrelation but in unsettling the categories of Orient and Occident themselves. French phenomenologist Emmanuel Levinas has likewise come, via a different, philosophical route, to the conclusion that the categories of the West and the non-West should be demythologized, indeed, deontologized. He repeatedly claims that Western metaphysics, which he associates with Greece and especially Athens, has fallen prey to a disorientation (désorientation), a certain forgetfulness or faithlessness with respect to what one might term its *Oriental Other* (or at least one of them): the monotheistic tradition of the Bible and Jerusalem.

Setting Levinas alongside Said highlights a weakness in the former, namely, that an all too abstract conception of the Orient tends to elide precisely the Arab populations Said, in his writings and his life, worked tirelessly to advocate. Yet in Levinas's view Greek thought has rightly destroyed the idolatrous and primitivist yearning for participation in diffuse, irrational totalities (of nature, people, collective sentiment). Moreover, Levinas's recognition of an intrinsic instability in both the truths of philosophical reason and the revelation of religious tradition can give us a new perspective on the significance of Orientalism. In critical opposition to both Lévy-Bruhl's *Primitive Mentality* and Lévi-Strauss's *The Savage Mind*, Levinas insists that Europeanization—the philosophical project of Western modernity—and de-Europeanization, including decolonialization and the critique of imperialism, go hand-in-hand. The deconstruction of Europe's investment in knowing and dominating a constructed Other itself relies on eminently European notions of rational discourse, scriptural learning, and hermeneutic sensibility. But to say that all passes through "the West," Levinas knows, is not the same as to claim that everything originates—or ends—there.

Said's *Orientalism*, informed by its author's commitment to European humanism and his training in the field of comparative literature, with roots in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Germany and especially philology, is an excellent example of the de-Europeanization for which Levinas calls. Moreover, Europe's Orient, as Said points out in *Orientalism*, is a reminder that constructions and projections of the Other may not be so distant from the self after all: historically, "the Orient is not only adjacent to Europe," not only its "cultural contestant," but also "the source of its civilizations and languages" (p. 1)—and, we might add, of what historically have been its dominant religions.

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ORIENTATION.

Symbols of space and its order most clearly illustrate the religious act of orientation, that is, the fundamental process of situating human life in the world. Orientation is the conscious act of defining and assuming proper position in space. Fixing the human place in existence in a significant way is a religious act when it orients a human being toward the sacred. This fundamental disposition toward the sacred extends its significance from the points of orientation to all individual and social acts, as well as to all cosmic structures. In relation to the sacred, inhabited space and history become apprehensible. Various kinds of human living spaces define their order and meaning in relation to the sacred: the cosmos, the city, the village or residence space, the house, and the individual. They are described together with those manifestations of the sacred toward which they are oriented.

SYMBOLIC FORMS.

The technology of calculation and measurement used in orientation would make an interesting and controversial study in the history of science. It would include treatment of geomancy, astronomic calculation, use of the gnomon, the astrolabe, and the plumb line, canons of measure derived from human body measurements, and determinations of magnetic north, among other techniques. However, this article's purpose is limited to the religious meaning of the act of orientation and a description of the sacred nature of the points toward which the human situation is aligned. Because orientation involves relating an entity to a reality other than itself, it always entails a conjunction of beings and, in this sense, creates a center where all realities meet.

According to Latin historians, Romulus founded the city of Rome by drawing a circular furrow around the Palatine hill with a plow. The trench around which the furrow was cut, and toward which it was oriented, was called the *mundus* ("world"), the same name applied to the universe. The *mundus* was a pit, an opening between the earthly world and the underworld. For the living it provided a link not only with the sphere of the dead but also with the celestial sphere, for the outline plan (*limitatio*) of the city, especially its division into four quarters, was based on a model of heavenly origin. The *mundus* itself, being a detailed image of the cosmos, was divided into quadrants. Rome was habitable because the city was built in the image of the cosmos—according to a heavenly model of the universe—around a life-giving center, a navel of the world, which permitted contact with all realms of being.

The universe itself possesses a place where communication among all cosmic realms is possible. It is to this center of the world that all other meaningful structures in the cosmos are directed and from which they derive. For the religious life of Indians in the Qollahuaya region of the central Andes, Mount Kaata is the sacred center of all reality. Everything that is whole, whether it be the microcosm of the human body or the universe itself, may be identified with it. Indeed, all integrity derives from it. An individual's life cycle begins when a person's soul emerges from the highland springs; continues while it descends to its burial place at the mountain's foot; and prepares for recycling as it reascends the interior of the mountain along inner waterways, after death. This contemporary belief continues an older idea found in the Huarochiri manuscript, a sixteenth-century Quechua text that reports that Kuntur Qutu, the Mountain of the Condor, stands at the center of the world and at the center of *tahuantinsuyo,* the four quarters of the Inca world. All significant powers, both cosmic and divine, find their place and carry on their powerful processes on this mountain. The cosmic mountain, marking a center from which all creative life in the universe takes its bearings, is a widespread religious theme found throughout the histories of Europe, Asia, the Near East, Oceania, and the Americas.

For the Ngaju Dayak of southern Borneo the universe is centered on the tree of life, of which the inhabited world is only a small part; for the tree encompasses all existence, the totality of being, and the godhead itself. It also includes every possible period of time. As a result, all ceremonies of transition (birth, marriage, initiation, death) center on the tree of life. This allows the human being to return to the period of divine creativity, so that he or she may issue once again from the tree of life as a new creature.

The temple often extends the same symbolism of the sacred mountain toward which life is oriented. For instance, the Mesopotamian ziggurat was explicitly likened to the cosmic mountain. Its seven levels symbolized the number of heavens. The goddess Ningal promised the divinity Nanna that, when he had filled the rivers with waters and brought life to the fields, forests, and marshes, she would join him in his ziggurat in Ur: "In your house on high . . . in your cedar-perfumed mountain, I will come to live."

All of these images of the center toward which reality is oriented call attention, at one and the same time, to the vertical plane of the universe. In short, the world is oriented not only toward the center on a horizontal plane but to the heights of the heavens. This connecting point of heaven and earth may be envisaged as a sacred ladder, rope, liana, or bridge. In the Northern Hemisphere, the North Star becomes a crucial indicator of the center of heaven. Directly below it is oriented the sacred center of the world, where celestial and terrestrial powers join together. In the Southern Hemisphere, the Milky Way at its zenith often pinpoints the center of heaven. In Mismanay, near Cuzco in Peru, for example, the Milky Way is seen as an immense river of semen that, when it is in its zenith, runs through the center of the sky. Mismanay is sited directly below the center of the heavens. It is bisected by the Vilcanota River, the earthly counterpart of the fertilizing river of stars in the heavens. From the center one is able to determine the four points where the sun rises and sets during the solstices. Using the center of the sky marked by the Milky Way at its zenith, the people of Mismanay are able to situate themselves at the center of an organized space and ordered cycle of time. All spaces and life cycles (of humans, animals, rainbows, and supernatural beings) derive their creativity from and relate to one another through the center.

Two important ways of orienting oneself in space bear close relationship to the act of creation, as it is conceived by a culture to have taken place. In the first instance, the center has prestige as a key position for orientation because it is the first place, the place of origin of life. It is the *omphalos,* or navel, around which life takes shape. A second mode of orientation involves sacrifice to consecrate a sacred place. It draws attention to the fact that, at the beginning of time, a primordial being was sacrificed and dismembered. From its parts derives the ordered integrity of the cosmos. In this sacrificial cosmogony, orientation in the universe derives from the very structure of a primordial body, ritually positioned in space. The universe, then, has the same set of relations among its parts as does the human body when consciously shaped in the deliberate acts of ritual. In either case, the points of orientation draw their prestige from their association with creation.

Taking their cue from the structures of the universe as they were created, other entities are located in space and time with reference to the same manifestations of sacred power; that is, following the cosmic model. The village often becomes a small image of the ordered space of the universe, and the same is true even for a house. The Na-Khi, a Tibeto-Burman people living in the upper reaches of the Yangtze River valley of northwestern Yunnan Province in China, perform most of their important rituals at the center of the universe in their homes, which are purified and transformed into the image of Ngyu-na shi-lo ngyu, the cosmic mountain (Mount Kailāśa), by the installation of sacred ritual objects in the house (Jackson, 1979, pp. 113ff., 209). In order that the ritual objects be effective, they are empowered by means of lengthy chanting of their myths of origin.

Planners of cities aligned them to sacred forces, which filled them and made them habitable. In ancient China, at the moment when a sacred city was founded, the king was beseeched to come and "assume responsibility for the work of God on High and himself serve . . . at the center of the land . . . and from there govern as the central pivot" (Wheatley, 1971, p. 430).

The capital and the king became the points from which direction and sacrality emanated throughout the entire kingdom. The power of creation passed out through the city gates to the four quarters and the cycles of time.

Orientation is also a way in which the individual personality becomes aware of the objective in relation to the self. The Ñandeva, a Guaraní group of southern Brazil, picture the human soul as a carefully oriented spatial entity. The soul is composed of three shadows (*nane'a,* "our shadow") that are all oriented on a vertical plane toward the heavens, the source of light that brings them into existence. All the faculties of human intelligence and action are accounted for by the soul's orientation in space. *Ayvú-kué-poravé* ("the good word that we speak") is the shadow that falls directly in front of or directly behind the personality. This central shadow-soul is of divine origin and returns to its celestial source after death. The second shadow-soul is the *atsy-yguá,* the carnal essence of life, which humans share with animals. It is cast to the left of a person. To the right falls the shadow known as the *ayvú-kué* ("the word that sprouts"), which accompanies and obeys the central *ayvú-kué-poravé* (M. A. Bartolomé, 1979, pp. 111–112). The personality is oriented to the center of the celestial realm, the source of light that brings the shadow elements of the person into existence. It is this orientation to another realm of being that enables a truly human consciousness to come into proper existence.

ORIENTATION AND HUMAN CONSCIOUSNESS. All of the entities in the above illustrations are oriented to and, paradoxically, derive their meaning from modes of being other than their own. The various forms of orientation to sacred reality highlight the human desire to inhabit a sacred world, a world as it was created in the beginning, new and powerful.

The kind of orientation situates human living space in meaningful relation to the beings around it. It requires a grasp of the total human situation, a sense of the whole of existence at all its levels. This fundamental stance toward being constitutes a consciousness able to distinguish and evaluate supernatural modes of being for what they are. Orientation effects what it symbolizes: the proper relation of the human situation to the very ground of being within which human life finds itself. For this reason orientation—taking one's place in the world—is conceived of in many religious traditions as the first act of fully human beings living in habitable space. By symbolically assuming one's proper position in the world, one communicates with significant powers at work in the cosmos and gains a sense of one's unique significance in relation to all else.

SEE ALSO Center of the World; Cities; Geography; Geomancy; Home; Human Body, article on Myths and Symbolism; Mountains; Sacred Space; Trees.

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ORIGEN

ORIGEN (c. 185–c. 254), surnamed Adamantius (the man of steel or diamond), is considered the greatest Christian theologian of the Antenicene period.

LIFE. The main source for Origen's life is the sixth book of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Church History.* His teachings are also described in a panegyric delivered by one of his students, who (despite recent doubts) is still believed to be Gregory Thaumaturgus. Much information about Origen that was contained in Eusebius's lost writings is preserved in the writings of Jerome. It is difficult to date precisely the events of Origen's life, and recent attempts to do so are not completely satisfactory.

Origen was probably born in Alexandria in 185, the first of seven children in a Christian family. His father, Leonides, taught him Greek literature and the Bible. In 202, when he was seventeen, his father was martyred (by beheading) during the persecution of Septimius Severus. To support his family, Origen opened a school of rhetoric, and at the same time Bishop Demetrius of Alexandria assigned to him the task of training catechumens. Some years afterward he left the school in order to devote himself entirely to the teaching of Christian doctrine. He divided his students into two groups; the catechumens were taught by his disciple Heraclas, while Origen instructed the more advanced students. According to Eusebius, he castrated himself (taking literally *Matthew* 19:12), and he assisted some of his students in their martyrdom. He completed his own philosophical studies at the school of Ammonius Saccas, who later was the teacher of Plotinus. To deepen his knowledge of the Bible Origen studied Hebrew, although he never became proficient in the language.

Origen began to write between 215 and 220, encouraged by a wealthy man named Ambrose. Ambrose had been led by his intellectual zeal to adopt the Valentinian heresy, but Origen converted him from that heresy and in turn was provided with stenographers and copyists—virtually a whole publishing house.

During this first Alexandrian period of his life, Origen traveled to Rome, to the Roman province of Arabia (present-day Jordan) at the invitation of the governor, and to Antioch. In Antioch he met the dowager empress Mammaea, who wished to learn about Christian doctrines. Along with all teachers of philosophy in Alexandria, Origen was forced to leave the city in 215. Origen stayed for a short period at Caesarea, in Palestine. Here, because of his great knowledge of scripture, he was permitted by Bishop Theoctistus and his colleague Alexander of Jerusalem to preach, even though he was still a layman; but Bishop Demetrius protested against this innovation and called Origen back to Alexandria. About 231 Origen was invited by the bishops of Achaia (Greece) to debate with heretics in Athens. Passing through Palestine, he was ordained a priest at Caesarea by Theoctistus and Alexander. When he returned to Alexandria, Bishop Demetrius, angry at the ordination performed without his consent, summoned a synod of Egyptian bishops and priests that ordered Origen to leave Egypt, and another synod, composed only of bishops, defrocked him. This sentence, however, was not accepted by the bishops of Palestine and neighboring provinces.

Origen was welcomed to Caesarea by Theoctistus and Alexander, and he opened a school in the city. Among his first students were Gregory Thaumaturgus and Gregory's brother Athenodorus. Ambrose followed Origen to Caesarea, bringing his stenographers and copyists, and Origen continued to compose his great works. Many homilies survive, attesting to his extensive pastoral activity. He acquired a high reputation as a theologian, and he was frequently invited by bishops to defend the faith. He traveled extensively throughout the eastern part of the Roman empire, including the provinces of Achaia, Arabia, and Cappadocia, and the towns of Ephesus and Nicomedia.

During the Decian persecution, Origen was imprisoned and several times tortured in the hope that he would apostatize, but he maintained his faith firmly. Upon the death of Decius he was freed, but his health was broken and he died, probably in 254. Up to the thirteenth century his grave could be seen in the old cathedral of Tyre.

WORKS. A great part of Origen's immense production is now lost, and part of what is left survives only in Latin translations by Rufinus of Aquileia, Jerome, and an unknown translator. Most of Origen's works are directly exegetical. He explained the Bible in three kinds of works: scientific commentaries; homilies preached in the church; and scholia, or short texts in which the meaning of a passage was elucidated. Today it is impossible to distinguish the scholia from the multitude of surviving fragments of Origen's lost commentaries and homilies. It has been demonstrated recently that homilies on *Psalms* once attributed to Jerome are slightly adapted translations from Origen. In all, 279 of Origen's homilies are extant. Jerome's four commentaries on Paul's letters to the Galatians, the Ephesians, Titus, and Philemon are also in great part, as the author himself acknowledges, adaptations of Origen's corresponding commentaries.

While still in Alexandria, Origen began his great bible study, the Hexapla. In this work of six parallel columns, two columns contain the Hebrew text of the Old Testament (one in Hebraic and one in Greek characters), and four columns are devoted to four Greek translations: those by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, and the Septuagint. For some books of the Old Testament, three other Greek versions are also supplied, called "Quinta," "Sexta," and "Septima." Diacritical marks are used to show what had been added or suppressed in each version. Only numerous fragments of this work have been preserved.

Among the works not directly exegetical (although Origen also discusses scripture extensively in them), the most important is the treatise *On First Principles (Peri archon),* the first great attempt at speculative theology by a Christian. This work was the cause of Origen's posthumous misfortunes. The entire book is preserved only in a much-discussed Latin version by Rufinus, although there are two long Greek fragments from it in the *Philokalia of Origen* by the Cappadocian fathers Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus, and many short extracts are quoted by Jerome, Justinian, and other authors. Another major book still preserved in Greek is *Against Celsus,* the main apologetic work of the Antenicene period. This work is a refutation of the *True Discourse,* an attack on Christianity by the Middle Platonist philosopher Celsus. Other nonexegetical books that survive in the original Greek are the treatise *On Prayer,* which gives one of the first explanations of the Lord's Prayer; *Exhortation to Martyrdom,* written during the persecution of Maximinus the Thracian; and *Dialogue with Heraclides,* found during World War II in Egypt and consisting of a discussion in a local synod with a bishop suspected of modalism, a form of unorthodoxy that sees Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as only one person with these names. Greek fragments survive of the lost works *Stromateis* and *On the Resurrection.* Of Origen's important correspondence, two complete letters and fragments of others have been preserved.

Three groups of sources contain all the surviving fragments of Origen's work. First are the two collections of select pieces: Pamphilus of Caesarea's *Apology for Origen,* the first book of which is preserved only in Rufinus's Latin translation, and the *Philokalia.* Second are the exegetical *Catenae,* collections of exegeses from various chruch fathers, including Origen, in which a given book of scripture is explained verse by verse. Third are subsequent authors' quotations from Origen.

THE EXEGETE. Three aspects are mingled to varying degrees in Origen's entire corpus, as well as in each work: he is at once an exegete, a spiritual and mystical writer, and a speculative theologian. Exegesis and spirituality are always present in his main speculative work, *On First Principles.* Together with Jerome, Origen is one of the two main critical and literal exegetes of Christian antiquity.

For Origen, the literal sense of scripture is the foundation for the spiritual sense, and he explains scripture using philology and all the learning of his time. Spiritual exegesis, or allegorical exegesis (synonymous for Origen), begins with New Testament texts in which Old Testament images and prophesies have their fulfillment in Christ. This form of interpretation had been used by some earlier church fathers, but Origen was its first great exponent, particularly in his theory of the three senses of scriptural meaning—corporal, or literal; psychic, or moral; and spiritual, or mystical. Despite its great complexity (the result of later accretions), the heart of Origen's spiritual exegesis of the Old Testament is the manifestation of Christ as the key to the ancient scriptures. These scriptures are a prophecy of Christ, both in their entirety and in their details. In his spiritual exegesis of the New Testament, Origen applies what is said of Christ to the Christian, thus foreshadowing the things to come in the "last days." This exegesis can be understood only in the context of spiritual life, prayer, and preaching. When Origen suggests the meaning of a text whose spiritual sense is not found in the New Testament, he does not claim to give a definitive answer, but only to provide "occasions for contemplation." Often he invites his reader or hearer to follow a better interpretation if it can be found. Origen's spiritual exegesis does not have the same aim as his literal exegesis (which for modern exegetes, unlike for Origen, refers to the meaning intended by the author). Literal exegesis, for Origen, points out the materiality of an expression independently, if possible, of all interpretation. Spiritual exegesis places the passage in the history of salvation and draws spiritual food from it for the faithful. A pastoral purpose is always present in Origen's exegesis.

THE SPIRITUAL WRITER. Origen is, after Clement, one of the founders of Christian spirituality and mysticism. His trichotomic conception of man derives much more from Paul and the Bible than from Platonism. The spirit (*pneuma*) is a gift of God, something analogous with the *gratia sanctificans.* The incorporeal soul (*psuche*), the seat of free will and personality, is divided into an upper and a lower part; the upper part is the mind (*nous*), the faculty that receives the spirit, whereas the lower part, the "thought of the flesh" (*phronema tes sarkos*) draws the soul toward the body. The body—earthly for man, ethereal for angels and the risen—is the sign of the human "accidental," creaturely condition, in contrast to the "substantiality" of the Trinity, which alone exists without a body.

Humans were created according to the image of God, that is, according to his Son (*Gn.* 1:26–27). This means much more than the reception of "natural" gifts; it means that a seed and a desire for divinization have been planted in humanity, and this seed must with God's help be developed into the perfect "likeness" of the blessedness. Such is the framework of ascetic and spiritual life, which is further explained in terms of knowledge. But the Alexandrian defines knowledge according to *Genesis* 4:1: "Adam knew Eve, his wife." For Origen's synthetic mind, knowledge is identical with love and union. Knowledge begins with the realities of this world, which, in Platonic terms, are copies of "true" realities, that is, the divine mysteries, toward which knowledge must strive. In other words, the way of knowledge begins in the Old Testament and passes through the historical Jesus—the Incarnate Word that enters the soul and leads it, just as the apostles were led on the Mount of the Transfiguration to see the Word through the man Jesus and thus to hear the words of Wisdom spoken among the perfect. The Transfiguration symbolizes for Origen the highest knowledge humans can have of God upon this earth; it is the prelude to the beatific vision, in which humans will contemplate, face to face, the mysteries contained in the Son of God.

Origen was one of the great creators of the mystical language and spiritual themes employed in later centuries. Before his time, the bride in the *Song of Songs* had been interpreted collectively as the church. Origen added to this interpretation an individual meaning: the bride is the soul of the Christian. The imagery of the dart and the wound of love began with him. He often used the Pauline theme of the birth and growth of Jesus in the soul, as well as the theme of the ascent of the Mount of the Transfiguration to express spiritual ascension. Different aspects of grace and knowledge were represented by light, life, spiritual foods, spiritual wine, and the five spiritual senses. He had a doctrine of the discernment of spirits, and he often spoke of Christ in a highly affective manner that was rare in Christian antiquity. His far-reaching ascetic teachings included treatments of such themes as martyrdom, virginity, marriage, spiritual struggle, virtue, and sin.

THE SPECULATIVE THEOLOGIAN. It is difficult to evaluate Origen's theology justly, as is known from his history. His theology "in exercise," which was sensitive to the antithetical aspects of Christianity, lacked definitions and accurate terminology. This is understandable, since Origen wrote before the great trinitarian and christological heresies that in subsequent centuries made it necessary to develop more precise terms. To make a fair assessment, the historian therefore must study all that remains of his work: no single text alone suffices to reveal Origen's thought on any point. Because he was the pioneer of theology, Origen must be examined with a strict historical method, with knowledge of the rule of faith of his time—still lacking precision—and of the heresies he fought. The historian must understand his vocabulary and the persecuted church of the third century, so unlike the triumphant church of his later accusers, who were little interested in understanding him on his own terms. Similarly, the historian must avoid projecting on Origen the heresies of later times.

The fundamental concern of Origen's work, stimulated by the search of the convert Ambrose, was to give a Christian answer to problems (derived in part from Greek philosophy) that troubled his contemporaries. He had to ensure that they did not seek the answer in gnostic doctrines, and he had to supply searching Christians with the intellectual food they needed. His efforts in this direction, for which he had prepared himself by acquiring considerable philosophical erudition, were totally misunderstood by his fourth-century and fifth-century opponents, in spite of the fact that the success of Origen's efforts had played an important part in the conversion of the Roman empire.

The philosophical foundation of Origen's theology was the Middle Platonism of his teacher Ammonius Saccas—an eclectic philosophy based mainly on Platonism and Stoicism and to a lesser degree on Aristotelianism. Origen borrowed from this philosophy both terminology and doctrines, but he used it as a theologian, not as a philosopher, to explain and develop what he found in the Bible and in the rule of faith.

It is impossible to give a detailed account of his theology in a short space. Only one of the erroneous doctrines of which he was later accused can safely be attributed to him: his favorite hypothesis of the preexistence of souls. This idea was essentially Platonic, but Origen used it to a Christian end: to refute the Marcionites, who accused the Creator of wickedness, and to answer the great difficulties raised by the two contemporary Christian solutions to the problem of the origin of souls, traducianism and creationism. According to the rule of faith of his time, Origen's hypothesis could not be described as heretical. The other controverted points—the famous *apocatastasis* (the final restoration of all things), the trinitarian subordinationism, and so on—must be examined in the context of Origen's entire work and intentions. If this is done, these opinions lose most of the scandalous character that they have acquired in his accusers' formulations.

POSTHUMOUS HISTORY. Origen has always been a contradictory figure in the history of the church. In spite of some reservations from his followers, he was the teacher of all the great Christian writers of the fourth century: in the East, of Athanasius, Basil, the two Gregories, and Didymus the Blind; in the West, of Hilary of Poitiers, Ambrose, Rufinus, and Jerome. (Jerome owed much to Origen, both early and late in his career, although in his later years he became a strong opponent of Origen.) The first attacks on Origen were launched at the turn of the fourth century by Methodius of Olympus, Peter of Alexandria, and Eustathius of Antioch; Origen was defended by Pamphilus of Caesarea.

In the second half of the fourth century enthusiastic disciples among the monks of Palestine and Egypt turned the ocean of Origen's thought into a well-dammed river, thus making of him a heretic. This "Origenism" provoked the first Origenist controversy. Origen's opponents included Epiphanius of Salamis, Theophilus of Alexandria, and Jerome; his defenders were John of Jerusalem and Rufinus. In the first half of the sixth century, Origenism—or, more properly, "Evagrianism" (named for one of Origen's enthusiasts, Evagrios of Pontus)—agitated some monasteries of Palestine, and Emperor Justinian condemned Origen in a letter in 543. He referred the question of the Palestinian Origenists, rather than that of Origen himself, to the Second Council of Constantinople (553), but the anathemas against Origenism do not appear in the council's official acts. Whereas the Byzantine church found Origen suspect, he was much read in the medieval Latin West until the thirteenth century, and he held an especially important place in the Cistercian tradition. His influence was eclipsed by the rise of Scholasticism but revived during the Renaissance, particularly through the work of Pico della Mirandola and Erasmus. Today Origen, next to Augustine, is probably the most frequently studied church father.

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ORPHEUS.

In the sixth century BCE, a religious movement that modern historians call Orphism appeared in Greece around the figure of Orpheus, the Thracian enchanter. The features of this movement, and even its existence, have been subjects of debate since the nineteenth century.

A CONCISE SURVEY OF THE SCHOLARSHIP.

In 1829 Christian Augustus Lobeck (1781–1890) collected and commented on a huge amount of materials about Orphic literature and religion, in stark opposition to Georg F. Creuzer (1771–1858), whose monumental work *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker* (1810–1812) had produced a great deal of mystification. During the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, however, information about the activities of the Orphics in the classical and early Hellenistic periods was scarce. Some scholars tended to fill the information gap by elaborating a religious pattern for Orphism based on concepts that are characteristic of modern religions. Such authors as Jane Ellen Harrison and Albrecht Dieterich were convinced that the Orphics made up a true church and had a great influence over contemporary philosophy. Vittorio Macchioro and Robert Eisler even argued that Christianity was only a kind of derivation of Orphism. Against these excesses, Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff began, around 1930, a hypercritical reaction (followed by Ivan M. Linforth and E. R. Dodds, among others), which denied the existence of Orphism before the late Hellenistic period. This line of research was so dominant that until the 1970s it was believed that Orphism was nothing more than an artificial product of a series of interpretations advanced by Herodotus, as well as by Neoplatonic philosophers and modern historians enamored of pagan mysteries. Some scholars, however, including Erwin Rohde, Otto Kern, Arthur D. Nock, Martin P. Nilsson, W. K. C. Guthrie, Pierre Boyancé, and Ugo Bianchi, managed to maintain a more measured point of view.

During the 1970s Orphism became better known as a result of discoveries that definitely established its presence and importance in the earliest of times. In 1962 the remains of an "Orphic book," dating to approximately 330 BCE, were discovered in a tomb at Derveni near Thessaloniki. The text, written around 400 BCE and consequently independent of any Platonic influence, is a philosophical commentary on Orphic theogony and cosmogony. The poem that is discussed dates to about 500 BCE, and the author of the commentary also refers to certain rites performed by *magoi*.

In 1978, Soviet archaeologists announced that they had discovered three small bone tablets in Olbia, a Greek town on the Black Sea. The tablets attested the existence in the fifth century BCE of a group called the Orphics, who had an explicit interest in the god Dionysos.

Beginning in 1974 a series of Orphic gold leaves dating from between 400 and 300 BCE were found in Vibo Valentia in Calabria, in Entella in Sicily, in Pharsalos in Thessaly, and in Pelinna in modern-day Paleoyardíki. The leaves contain brief texts, mainly in hexameters, that describe how the deceased must behave and the words they must speak in the "Other World" in order to achieve perpetual happiness and divine status. Although other gold leaves from Petelia, Crete, and Thurii had been discovered earlier, those found in and after 1974 cast a new light on early Orphism and compelled a reconception of the movement. According to these texts, the religion of Persephone is related to that of the Dionysiac *mystai* (initiated) and *bacchoi* (those that have felt an ecstatic trance), and it seems likely that the gold leaves contain fragments of an Orphic *hieros logos* (sacred discourse) about the travel of the soul in the netherworld. As a result of these discoveries, many scholars came to hold the opinion that for many centuries there existed a religious movement of vague boundaries based on the authority of Orpheus. Its followers believed in the immortality of the soul and in the transmigration of the soul until it reached final liberation.

DIFFICULTIES IN MARKING THE BOUNDARIES OF ORPHISM.

Orphism occupies an intermediate position between diverse religious and philosophical movements, and it shares certain features with several of them. The Orphics basically believed in the same gods as followers of the Olympic religion that is reflected by such authors as Homer and Hesiod. But while human beings and gods appear categorically separated in the Olympic worldview, the Orphics believed that it is possible for human souls to reach a divine status. The Orphics were also followers of Dionysos, with whom they shared the *ecstasy* (a state of ecstatic trance, referred to by the verb *baccheuein*) that allowed men and gods to join together. However, the Orphics rejected the bloody rites that were characteristic of Bacchic religiosity. Orphism also received some features from Pythagoreanism; Orphics and Pythagoreans both believed in the dualism of the soul and the body, metempsychosis and puritanism, and the associated taboos. But the Orphic ecstasy is not characteristic of the Pythagoreans, and the Orphics had little interest in politics. In addition, Orphism shares with the Eleusinian religion the myth of Demeter and Persephone, the initiatic rites, and a belief in the salvation of the soul. Eleusis, however, was a stable cult, associated with a sanctuary and controlled by certain families, while Orphism lacked sanctuaries and a stable priesthood. Orphism also coincided with certain ideas about divinity developed by such authors as Aeschylos, Pindar, and Heraclitus; these include the proclamation of Zeus as the origin and end of everything. Finally, Orphic texts include features characteristic of oriental religions, such as statements in the gold leaves similar to statements found in the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*. In addition, the central role of time in Orphic theogonies is reminiscent of Iranian Zurvan. Orphism, however, is a typically Greek movement, and by no means an imported one.

Orphism is contradictory in that its traditional character resulted in the maintenance of its identity for centuries, but since it was a religion without stable communities or ecclesiastic hierarchy, it allowed from the very beginning a great degree of variation among its believers and transmitters. Although Orphism was without dogma or church, it was open to anybody and responded to the need for comfort and salvation, allowing each follower to find in it something different. On the other hand, Orpheus's prestige results in the attribution to him of beliefs that sometimes contradict those properly known as Orphic. It seems that from the beginning there were different ways of feeling and transmitting the Orphic message, including one branch of the movement that offered quick solutions to problems by means of a rite that assured a better destiny. In certain cases there were also practices that were clearly magical. From the days of Euripides until Athanasius's time, *magoi* traded with efficient enchantments, which were attributed to Orpheus for the sake of prestige. Another branch tried to refine the Orphic message by giving it a profound philosophical meaning. Between both branches there were, of course, simple believers who participated in rituals called *teletai,* which they considered effective as preparation for death and which offered them hope for the afterlife.

Orphism, thus, was a complex phenomenon. It embraced a long history, from the sixth century BCE to the Neoplatonic exegeses current in Alexandria at the time of Olympiodorus during the sixth century CE. Furthermore, Orphism involved three relatively autonomous types of religious phenomena. First, there were traditions concerning the birth, life, and descent of Orpheus into the underworld, his singing among the Thracians, and his tragic death (he was said to have been torn to pieces by a band of women). Next, there was a literature that included writings attributed to Orpheus, as well as several theogonic accounts. Finally, the Orphic movement included certain practices and rules of conduct, proscriptions, and requirements to be met by those who chose to live in an Orphic manner.

Despite the growing evidence for an Orphic religious movement, scholars such as Luc Brisson are still skeptical about the existence of a specific religious stream with charasteristic rites. Claude Calame has expressed a more moderate (though still skeptical) view. Many beliefs (e.g., the immortality of the soul, the antecedent sin, metempsychosis, the possibility that the soul recovers its divine status), ritual practices (e.g., *teletai*), and personal attitudes (e.g., vegetarianism, Puritanism) appear to have been intertwined. They are thus better understood as belonging to the same movement, rather than as separate entities or beliefs. While each feature attributed to Orphic religion may appear in other religious spheres, there is no other known religious movement in which they all coincide. For example, if the gold leaves are not Orphic, it would be necessary to reconstruct an unknown movement with all the features of Orphism.

WHO WAS ORPHEUS? A figure believed to be Orpheus, the citharist and enchanter, first appears around 570 BCE on a small black-figured vase. He is shown walking with a determined stride and surrounded by two sirens (great angry birds with the heads of women). A frail silhouette armed with a lyre, he clears a path for himself between these powers and their voice of death, between these hybrids whose sexual identity vacillates between the virginal, the androgynous, and the masculine. But the power of the voice and of song triumphs over the sirens and their fatal spells. Thus, before he becomes the founding hero of a new religion or even the founder of a way of life that will be named after him, Orpheus is a voice—a voice that is like no other. It begins before songs that recite and recount. It precedes the voice of the bards, the citharists who extol the great deeds of men or the privileges of the divine powers. It is a song that stands outside the closed circle of its hearers, a voice that precedes articulate speech. Around it, in abundance and joy, gather trees, rocks, birds, and fish. In this voice—before the song has become a theogony and at the same time an anthropogony—there is the great freedom to embrace all things without being lost in confusion, the freedom to accept each life and everything and to renounce a world inhabited by fragmentation and division.

When representatives of the human race first appear in the presence of Orpheus, they wear faces that are of war and savagery yet seem to be pacified, faces that seem to have turned aside from their outward fury. These humans are Thracian warriors, clad in animal skins and motley colored cloaks, and just as birds leave the sky and fish forsake the sea at the sound of Orpheus's song, so too do the warriors come out of the forests. In the midst of a wild audience, his head crowned with laurel, the enchanter is dressed in Greek fashion; he appears so Apollonian that only the clothing of his Thracian entourage distinguishes him from his father, Apollo the citharist. But it is in full Thracian or oriental dress that the vases of southern Italy depict Orpheus as he descends into the underworld, searches for Eurydice, or makes a daring journey to the heart of the realm of Hades.

Orpheus's followers share in his triumph over death. A large Apulian amphora, published in 1976, pictures Orpheus in the underworld, standing and playing the lyre in the presence of a heroized corpse. That corpse is seated in a pavilion, and in its left hand it clasps a papyrus scroll, without doubt an Orphic book similar to the one unearthed near a tomb at Derveni or to the texts of the gold leaves.

The Altamura amphora presents another powerful image. Orpheus the harpist stands before the Lord of the Underworld, while the daughters of Danaus, damned forever, ceaselessly pour water into a bottomless jar. Only the initiated gain victory over the death that others must suffer, and they alone enjoy the banquet and happiness of the blessed. As a result, they become heroes or even resemble the gods themselves.

THE WRITINGS OF ORPHEUS. In Olbia, at Derveni, and in southern Italy, writing was used to prolong Orpheus's voice: the song became a book. According to all sources, books were the main means of transmission of the texts. In Orphism, written literature took the place of oral communication. A container for scrolls formed a part of the Orphic landscape. On an Etruscan mirror (now in Boston) the container stands at Orpheus's feet, while silent beasts encircle the song. Thus, Orphic religion took on features of a "religion of the book."

There were two basic reasons for poets to attribute poems to Orpheus, denying themselves fame as authors. First, for the Greeks, the older an idea was, the more prestigious it was. Plato often refers to Orpheus's works as an "old discourse," which he considers worthy because it is old. Second, the advocates of this new religious doctrine invoked Orpheus's name because if he had returned from the underworld, he would be a reliable witness of what is revealed in the poems.

The oldest poems attributed to Orpheus (from the sixth century BCE until the Hellenistic age) focus on the origin and destiny of human life. Some of the Orphic writings are theogonies; others describe Orpheus's descent to Hades (*katabasis*) and reveal the fate that awaits souls in the Other World. Some books prescribe a dietary regimen and extend to their readers an invitation to attend unblemished sacrifices and sweet-smelling oblations. Some verses from a book of the latter type, in which a cereal diet is associated with justice, are quoted by Sextus Empiricus. Books of the latter type also include the lost *Thuepolikon* (How to make bloodless offerings), to which Plato alludes directly in the *Republic.* Plato also quotes many times a *hieros* or *palaios logos* (sacred or ancient discourse) as a source of doctrines about the soul.

Orpheus was also said to be the author of magical texts, which is not surprising, since Orpheus himself has features of a wizard. Later, in the Roman age, Orpheus became a prestigious name, and a diverse series of astrological, botanical, and medical poems were attributed to him, including a complete a poem about stones (*Lithica*). From the same period comes a version of *Argonautica*, told in first person by Orpheus himself. The religious content of these later poems was already far removed from ancient Orphism.

ORPHIC WAY OF LIFE. Plato summarized the strict rules of the Orphic way of life in the *Laws*: to abstain from all meat and to offer the gods only cakes or fruit soaked in honey, for it is impious and unclean to eat flesh and to stain with blood the altars of the gods. Since the bloody sacrifice was a basic rite of the state religion, these rules would have placed the Orphics outside of the polis.

Herodotus tells us that the Egyptian taboo prohibiting the wearing of wool parallels Orphic and Bacchic observances. In addition, the ecstasy (*baccheuein*) was an important aspect of the Orphic way of life. This way of life was not easy to follow and, according to Plato, many people failed: "Many are narthex-bearers, but the *bacchoi* are few."

THE *TELETE*, *ORPHEOTELESTAI*, AND *MYSTAI*. The transmission of the Orphic message as recorded in books was carried out through a rite called the *telete*. This rite was probably accompanied by a performance that dramatized the following myth. Zeus decided to appoint his son Dionysos as his successor when Dionysos was still a child. The Titans lured Dionysos away, killed him, and cut his body into pieces, which they boiled, roasted, and ate. In response, Zeus blasted the Titans with a thunderbolt, and human beings were born from the blood and soot of the Titans. Because of the circumstances of their origin, human beings have a divine and positive component, which comes from Dionysos, but their souls retain a "Titanic nature" and the evilness of their ancestors. Human souls can free themselves from their Titanic element by passing through several reincarnations, thus recovering their divine state. Various scholars have doubted the authenticity and questioned the age of this myth. Nonetheless, there are good arguments supporting its status as an ancient myth. Several sources indicate that it was told in the *teletai,* which would only make sense if this myth was related to the origin and salvation of human beings. (See Bernabé, 2002, for a full discussion of the topic.)

The Orphics believed that these rites, along with the ecstasy and a form of puritanism that consisted in avoiding bloodshed, favored their reintegration with divinity. People taking part in the *telete* acquired a mystic knowledge and became aware of their place in the world order. They thus learn how to save their souls and achieve a better destiny in the Other World once they have freed themselves from the antecedent (inherited) sin (they inherited their sin from their ancestors, the Titans; see Bianchi, 1966).

The *telete* was probably performed in various ways, with different types of people participating. Professional initiators (*orpheotelestai*), who are contemptuously described as poor and ragged and always carrying a stack of books, performed rites that supposedly freed people from sin and promised a better destiny in the Other World. Nobody ordained them, and they were patronized by superstitious and ignorant people. After the drastic measures announced in the *senatusconsultus de Bacchanalibus* (186 BCE) against those that took part in Bacchic rituals (see Livy 34, 8), the itinerant initiation priest seems to have totally disappeared from Bacchic mysteries. There were also many vagabonds and seers, who are quoted by Plato in the *Republic.* They were purifiers who claimed that they could heal epilepsy, and were thus reviled by Hippocrates. In addition, beginning in the fourth century, there were people like the commentator of the Derveni papyrus, who respected Orphic poems because they were old, but found some of their content, such as incest and castration, unacceptable. They solved the contradiction by resorting to allegorical interpretations of the texts. Plato refers to them in *Meno*, and he proposes in *Cratylus* his own allegorical interpretations of the old texts. This method of interpretation, which was continued by Plutarch and Plotinus, survived until the era of Neoplatonism. Finally, ordinary men and women participated in *teletai* as *mystai.* They looked to the rite for comfort and for the promise of a better future life.

The Orphics did not usually form stable communities. As a religion that promised individual salvation, Orphism could have been considered dangerous in Greek society, where religion was a means of social integration in the polis.

But the movement's lack of organization ensured that it would never become an alternative to the status quo. Relatively stable Orphic communities have been documented in only a few locations, including Olbia and perhaps Cumae. A fifth-century BCE inscription found in Cumae prevented those that had not felt an ecstatic trance from being buried in that place. Taking this inscription as a starting point, Turcan (1986) claims that a relatively stable Orphic Community may have existed in Cumae. This is disputed, however, by Pailler (1995, 109–126), though without convincing arguments. A second-century CE inscription from Torre Nova depicts a private Bacchic association organized in a hierarchy, which is more suitable for the Roman world.

But who were these people who were interred with a papyrus scroll in their hands, who abhorred blood, wrote cosmogonies, and dreamt strange tales about the birth of the gods? What did they want with Orpheus and his silent incantations? Actually, they sought one goal: health. They wished to heal themselves and sought to do so by fleeing from the world. The Orphics were renunciants who strove for saintliness. They devoted themselves to techniques of purification in order to separate themselves from others, to cut themselves off from the world and from all who are subject to death and defilement.

By returning to a golden age, to the time of the beginning, the Orphics renounced the blood on altars and rejected the eating of any flesh, and in doing so they rejected the values of the Greek state and that state's religious system, including its discrete divine powers, its differentiated gods, and the sharp distinction that it inevitably drew between the divine and the human. The Orphic way of life implied an uncompromising renunciation that is expressed by the condemnation both of sanguinary food and of the social bond that is established within the state when an animal is sacrificed on the altar and its flesh shared in a common feast.

In contrast with the way of life and patterns of thought associated with the followers of Pythagoras, a similar form of mysticism, the Orphics never attempted political reform or envisaged an alternative state with an alternative political cult. For the devotees of Orpheus, who chose writing and books as an effective symbol of their otherness, renouncing the worldliness of the state meant not only finding in vegetarianism a foretaste of life among the gods—that is, life among the gods who precede this world, with its bloody altars—it also meant recasting, with a great deal of effort, the genesis of the world, and rewriting the entire history of the gods. Like the sacrifice, the gods constituted a single structure in which politics, society, and religion were in perfect balance. When the Orphics renounced the gods of other Greeks, they called into question the whole fabric of social life, including polytheism, to the extent that polytheism pervaded society and played an integral role in politics.

But although Orphism distrusted the polytheism of others, it did not reject it entirely. If it had, it would have been in danger of cutting itself off from all communication with those who were at the point of being healed. The plurality of the gods was unavoidable. The Orphics therefore had to reconceive the divine, to transform the order of the divine forces, and to work out an alternative genealogy of powers.

ORPHIC COSMOGONIES AND THEOGONIES. The evolution of the gods is recounted in a series of poems whose refined styles become evident as they are deciphered from new palimpsests.

The Neoplatonic philosopher Damascius (fifth to sixth century CE) refers to the existence of several Orphic theogonies. These include (1) what he calls "current Orphic rhapsodies," which seems to be the only Orphic theogony directly known by the Neoplatonic school—it is also the longest and seems to be a conflation of several older poems; (2) a theogony transmitted by Hieronymus and Hellanicus; and (3) a theogony recorded in the Peripatetic Eudemus as being of Orpheus, which seems to be the same as, or similar to, that of Derveni. The parodic cosmogony in Aristophanes' play *Birds* (414 BCE) may also echo an ancient Orphic theogony.

The Orphic gods are bizarre. The firstborn (Greek, *protogonos*), the primal generator and generatrix described in the *Rhapsodies*, is called variously Protogonos, Phanes, Metis, and Erikepaios. Descriptions of this deity offer repeated affronts to the form of the human body: it has two pairs of eyes, golden wings, the voice of a lion and of a bull, and organs of both sexes, one of which adorns the upper part of the buttocks. There is also the Zeus who rules over the fifth generation of gods and who will transfer his power to his son. Instead of being assured of ruling over the gods forever, this Zeus, on the advice of Night, sends the Firstborn straight to the pit of his belly. Thus he becomes a womb, as it were, the shell of an egg whose dimensions are those of the All. In other tales this god cuts an even poorer figure. He marries his mother (Demeter), and as a result of this incestuous union a daughter (Persephone) is born. Zeus then impregnates Persephone, who is both his daughter and his half sister. The church fathers, who assiduously observed so many couplings, turned from crimson to green.

The Orphic cosmogony/theogony contains a virtual orgy of baroque deities and polymorphic monsters, but the profusion of these multifarious gods is neither gratuitous nor insignificant. It gives meaning to their development. In the beginning was the totality, the oneness of the All, the completeness of Phanes within the perfect sphere of primordial Night. In the course of five successive reigns, the ideal unity undergoes the trials of separation and division on its road to differentiation. The succession of rulers passes from Phanes—via Night, so close to Phanes—to Ouranos and Gaia, Kronos and Rhea, and finally to Zeus. Zeus, born of Rhea (Demeter or Deo), marries her, and later he becomes the husband of Kore (Persephone), his daughter, who will give birth to Dionysos. Dionysos, who was actually already present in the Firstborn, will institute the sixth and final generation of the gods.

What is the motivating force behind this genealogical descent? Differentiation takes place first through sexual activity, then through marriage, which works toward the separation of the divine powers. To be more specific, the first conjugal union in the world of the gods appears in the third generation: there is no *gamos* (marriage) before that of Ouranos and Gaia. Nevertheless, Phanes takes from Night—the second Night, said to be his daughter—the flower of her virginity. This act represents the first appearance of sexuality, but there is not yet any marriage. As Proclus, a good interpreter of Orpheus, writes: "For those who are most united there is no union in marriage."

Sexuality initiates difference; marriage establishes and grounds it by bringing to completion the separation that is in full force until the reign of Zeus in the fifth generation. The Zeus of the fifth generation (in contrast to the Zeus of the fourth) displays two faces; one is the face of degeneracy—his doubly incestuous marriage: the son with his mother, and the father with his daughter—the other is the face of regeneration. Hearkening to Night, he engulfs the Firstborn in his entrails and ushers in the second creation of the world. This Zeus is the pregnant god who realizes within himself both the unity of all things and the distinctiveness of each.

The commentator of the Derveni papyrus confirms this process of differentiation, now in the origin of words and of things, for it deals with the assignation of multiple names to a single god. The vocabulary is philosophical, the vocabulary of Anaxagoras, the vocabulary of separation (*diakrisis*). In particular, column twenty-one states that all things already existed in advance, but they received their names only when they were separated. Thus, naming replicates—on the level of words—the separation and distinctions brought about through sexual activity, in this case the activity of Aphrodite and her father, Zeus. The commentary in the Derveni papyrus attempts to display the truth of Orpheus's words: the linguistic discussion appears as an additional means of conceiving the unity that subsists within the interplay of the figures of separation, a means that is available as a result of the appropriateness of the names bestowed by Orpheus.

In recasting the gods of others, Orphism gives a special meaning to the complicity of two rival powers: Dionysos and Apollo, the two gods who sum up the whole of Greek polytheism. In the various theogonic accounts—the great dramas in which Dionysos is assuredly the protagonist—Apollo plays the role of a tutelary power. He embodies genuine oracular knowledge in the Delphic landscape that he shares with Night, the daughter of Phanes. He collects and pieces together the scattered limbs of Dionysos and then lays the remains of the executed god to rest in his sanctuary at the foot of Mount Parnassus. Finally, he is identified with another great god, the Sun, who inspires Orpheus to sing his theogonic song.

But Dionysos and Apollo also meet and confront each other in the tragic biography of Orpheus and, in particular, in the indirect manner in which Orpheus is slain. In his first tetralogy based on the legends of Dionysos, Aeschylus presented an Orpheus stricken with the devout love of one god greater than all the rest. Every day, at dawn, Orpheus scales the crags of Mount Pangaeus, the highest mountain in Thrace. He wishes to be the first to salute the Sun, who is for him "the greatest of the gods" and to whom he gives the name Apollo. Dionysos, it is said, is filled with resentment at this daily ritual. He sends to Orpheus women with a barbarian name, the Bassarai. They surround him, seize him, and dismember him, tearing him to pieces immediately. In fact, Dionysos takes an interest in Orpheus's activity because Pangaeus is Dionysos's own domain, an ambiguous region where Lykurgos, the king of the Edonians, is torn apart by wild horses. Pangaeus is also where Dionysos appears as an oracular deity whose prophetess recalls the Pythia in the temple of Apollo. Thus the Dionysos of Pangaeus has two faces, one of which is Apollonian. And the instruments of Orpheus's death are women, the fiercest and wildest representatives of the feminine gender (they appear armed with skewers, axes, stones, and hooks on Attic vases from between 480 and 430). These are women whom the voice of Orpheus is powerless to seduce, to tame, or to restrain. They would even have rejoiced in killing Orpheus—one of several details that show that they are outside the control of Dionysos, that they are not bacchanals but ferocious beasts who cause Orpheus to be destroyed by what he most deeply despises: the feminine, which brought to humans the disease of birth and death. In opposition to this feminine, Orpheus embodies the purely masculine, the *catharos* who is seen also in Apollo, the principle of unity, but Orpheus does so via the multiplicity of forms and by the roundabout path of Dionysian polymorphism.

TRACES OF ORPHISM IN NON-ORPHIC AUTHORS. Although Orphic literature was generally scorned in the classical age by writers closer to the religion of the state, some authors were interested in certain aspects of its message. Such philosophers as Parmenides and Empedocles, and above all the Pythagoreans and Plato, as well as lyric poets such as Pindar, seemed to know and accept certain features of the Orphic message. Plutarch claims to have been initiated into the mysteries and mentions several Orphic doctrines. The Orphic influence is present in Neoplatonism during the fifth and sixth centuries CE. There are also traces of Orphism in some Greek magical papyri and in Mithraism.

The so-called *Testament of Orpheus* reveals an Orphic influence on Hellenized Jews, and the early Christians exhibit two contradictory attitudes toward Orphism. Christians sometimes highlighted common features between Orphic and Christian beliefs in order to make their new message easier for pagans to adopt. Orpheus is represented in early Christian sarcophagi and is identified with the good shepherd in the catacombs. Early Christians also at times directly rejected the Orphic message, renouncing in particular the most reprehensible aspects of the Orphic myths, such as monsters, castration of gods, and incest.

See Also Apollo; Apotheosis; Baubo; Catharsis; Demeter and Persephone; Dionysos; Dualism; Eleusinian Mysteries; Eros; Hellenistic Religions; Magic, article on Magic in Greco-Roman Antiquity; Music, article on Music and Religion in Greece, Rome, and Byzantium; Mystery Religions; Neoplatonism; Plato; Platonism; Pythagoras; Soul, article on Greek and Hellenistic Concepts.

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The Myth of Dionysos and the Titans

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MARCEL DETIENNE (1987)
ALBERTO BERNABÉ (2005)

ORPHIC GOLD TABLETS. The Orphic Gold Tablets are thirty-five small pieces of gold foil that have been found in graves scattered throughout ancient Greece and Rome. The tablets are inscribed with texts in ancient Greek that vary in length from one word to sixteen lines of poetry. The longer texts provide instructions and information to guide the soul of the deceased as it makes its way through the underworld, and to ensure that it receives preferential treatment from the rulers there.

The tablets were labeled Orphic in the early twentieth century because scholars thought their statements reflected the tenets of a religious system the ancient Greeks and Romans believed was invented and promulgated by the legendary musician Orpheus. However, newer discoveries of tablets that refer to *bacchoi,* to the "Bacchic one," and to *thyrsoi* (staffs carried by worshippers of the god Bacchus) indicate that the tablets are associated with mystery cults in which Bacchus (also called Dionysos) and his mother Persephone were the most important deities. Calling the tablets Orphic is not completely erroneous, however, for verses engraved on the tablets probably were excerpted from a poem attributed to Orpheus. Some scholars now refer to the tablets as Orphic, some as Bacchic, and others simply as the Gold Tablets.

Most of the tablets have been found in southern Italy, northern Greece, or Crete, but one is from Sicily and another one from Rome. Most are from the fourth century BCE, although one from Hipponion (southern Italy) may be as early as the fifth century BCE and the tablet from Rome dates to the second or third century CE. Several were found on top of corpses, near a corpse's hand, or, in one case, in a corpse's mouth; another was found inside of an amulet case on a necklace. A list of all of the tablets, with notes and translations into Spanish, can be found in Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal.

Gunther Zuntz divided the longer tablets that had been discovered by his time into two groups: A and B. Subsequently discovered tablets display qualities of both groups (prompting Bernabé and San Cristóbal to eschew the use of categories completely), but Zuntz's division still has heuristic value. The A tablets are distinguished by the soul's declaration of its purity and its kinship to the gods, its escape from the "circle of grief" (probably a reference to reincarnation), and its expectation that Persephone, the Queen of the Dead, will bestow special honors and rights upon it due to its initiation into Bacchic mysteries. There is a mention of death by lightning in three A tablets and a cryptic reference to animals falling into milk in four; the meanings of these statements are much debated. The B tablets are marked by descriptions of the underworld landscape, instructions to avoid drinking the subterranean waters of forgetfulness, and statements that the soul must pronounce to the guardians at a lake of memory before it is allowed to drink there.

There is no certainty about the ritual contexts in which the tablets were inscribed and given to the individuals in whose graves they were found, although it is certain that initiation into Bacchic mysteries was a prerequisite. It is possible that tablets were sometimes bestowed on an initiate at the time of initiation and subsequently buried with him or her, and that sometimes tablets were bestowed only at the time of burial, perhaps by an anxious family member.

The myth that underlies the tablets and the rituals connected with them, which is alluded to by some of the tablets' hexameters, concerns the birth of Dionysos to Zeus and his daughter Persephone; the subsequent murder, dismemberment, and consumption of the young Dionysos by jealous gods called Titans; Zeus's incineration of the Titans with lightning bolts; the emergence of humanity from their sooty remains (thus, humanity is largely composed of defective, Titanic material, although a bit of the consumed Dionysos lightens its composition); and Dionysos's miraculous rebirth from the womb of Semele, a mortal woman, made possible by the fact that the goddess Athena had snatched Dionysos's heart away from the hungry Titans.

The myth helps to explain why humanity must atone to Persephone, the grieving mother, for the deeds of the Titans (humanity's ancestors), lest Persephone make humans suffer in her realm, the underworld. They are able to do so by celebrating the mysteries of Persephone's son. It was probably during the mysteries that adherents were first given the directions about how to behave and what to do in the underworld that are found, in abbreviated form, on the Gold Tablets. The complete myth, as narrated above, must be pieced together from a number of ancient sources that span ten centuries, a fact that has sometimes caused scholars to question the relationship of individual episodes to each other, or even the very existence of the myth itself in antiquity. The 1990s saw attempts to dismiss the myth as either an allegorical invention by late antique Neoplatonic authors who were interested in alchemy or a projection of the Christian concept of original sin onto ancient Greece by nineteenth-century scholars. Yet in 2002, Alberto Bernabé offered a thorough re-analysis of the sources, showing that the myth was present already in the fifth century BCE and was central to Bacchic mysteries from an early period.

Other materials enhance our understanding of the doctrines and practices that lay behind the Gold Tablets, including numerous passages in ancient literary texts and small bone tablets from sixth or fifth century BCE Olbia (a city on the Black Sea), which are inscribed with the words "life-death-life" and "Dio [nysoi(?)] Orphikoi." Also important is a mid-fourth-century BCE funerary vase from Apulia in southern Italy, discussed by Johnston and McNiven, which shows Dionysos shaking hands with Hades, Lord of the Dead, while Persephone and other mythological characters look on; this can be interpreted as illustrating the promises made to those buried with the Gold Tablets.

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SARAH ILES JOHNSTON (2005)

ORTHODOX JUDAISM [FIRST EDITION]

is the branch of Judaism that adheres most strictly to the tenets of the religious law (*halakhah*). Its forebears may be identified in the eighteenth century, by which time the *qehillah*, the Jewish communal organization in each locality, had lost much of its authority in central and western Europe and its prestige in eastern Europe. This, in turn, undermined religious authority, which had heretofore relied not only on the faith of each Jew but also on communal consensus and the formal authority and prestige of communal leaders. The breakdown of the traditional community, coupled with the hope and expectation of political emancipation, encouraged new interpretations of Jewish life and new conceptions of appropriate relationships between Jews and non-Jews. These began to emerge by the end of the eighteenth century in central and western Europe and somewhat later in eastern Europe. Orthodoxy was born as the ideological and organizational response to these new conceptions.

The major tenets of Orthodoxy, like those of traditional Judaism, include the dogma that the Torah was "given from Heaven," that the *halakhah* derives directly or indirectly from an act of revelation, and that Jews are obligated to live in accordance with the *halakhah* as interpreted by rabbinic authority. But unlike traditional Judaism, Orthodoxy is conscious of the spiritual and cultural challenges of the modern world and especially of rival formulations of the meaning and consequences of being Jewish. Orthodoxy, in all its various manifestations and expressions, has never recognized any alternative conception of Judaism as legitimate. But it is aware of itself as a party, generally a minority party, within the Jewish world.

Orthodox Judaism received its earliest formulation in Hungary (then part of the Austro-Hungarian empire) in the first quarter of the nineteenth century and in Germany in the middle of the century. In both countries it constituted a response to the efforts of reformers to adapt the *halakhah* in general and the synagogue service in particular to currents in nineteenth-century culture. The reformers maintained that this was a condition for Jewish emancipation and civil equality. Orthodoxy developed in France and England at about this same time but in far less explicit and rigorous a manner. A major reason, no doubt, was that the challenge of Reform Judaism was so much weaker. The weakness of Reform Judaism in France and England may be attributable to the fact that it developed after, rather than before, the Jews had more or less obtained civil equality in those countries.

Orthodoxy arose in eastern Europe at the end of the nineteenth century, primarily in response to secular interpretations of Jewish life rather than in opposition to religious reform. The most important centers of Orthodoxy today are in Israel and the United States.

HUNGARIAN ORTHODOXY. The ideological and programmatic outlines of Hungarian Orthodoxy were formulated by Rabbi Mosheh Sofer (1762-1839), better known as the Ḥatam Sofer, the title of his seven-volume *responsa* to halakhic questions. This earliest variety of Orthodoxy is best described by the term *neotraditionalism* because it rejects any attempt at change and adaptation of the tradition. According to the Ḥatam Sofer, "all that is new is forbidden by the Torah"; the phrase is a play on the words of an injunction prohibiting consumption of "new" grain from each year's harvest until a portion is offered in the Temple in Jerusalem. Unlike some of his followers, the Ḥatam Sofer did not oppose all forms of secular education. A knowledge of some secular subjects, for example, is helpful in resolving certain halakhic problems. But in characteristically neotraditional fashion, he legitimated secular education in utilitarian terms, not as an end in itself.

The basic strategy of neotraditionalism was the sanctification of the rabbinic tradition in its entirety. Whereas traditional Judaism recognized different levels of sanctity and degrees of importance of halakhic injunctions (for example, acts prohibited by the Torah were in a more stringent category than acts prohibited by rabbinic legislation), neotraditionalists blurred the differences insofar as obligations to observe the injunctions were concerned. The tradition was self-consciously projected as woven of a single cloth, all parts of which were equally binding and sanctified. The two major instruments that the neotraditionalists fashioned to socialize the community to their ideology and values were a greatly expanded rabbinic authority and a new type of *yeshivah* (pl., *yeshivot*), or academy for intensive Talmudic study. These new and larger *yeshivot* were designed to exist in economic and ideological independence from the increasingly fragile local Jewish communities in which they were located. The *yeshivah* of the Ḥatam Sofer in Pressburg, where he served as communal rabbi from 1806 until his death, was the most important *yeshivah* in central Europe. His students, in turn, served as community leaders throughout Hungary, Galicia, and Bohemia-Moravia and in the Land of Israel (Erets Yisra'el), strengthening neotraditional influences in all these places.

The Ḥatam Sofer favored immigration to the Land of Israel. Many who favored immigration in those days were reacting to the reformers' rejection of nationalist elements in Judaism. The Ḥatam Sofer's espousal of an early form of Jewish nationalism and his projection of the importance of the Land of Israel in the Jewish tradition may also have been related to his negative attitude toward political emancipation. He feared its threat to religious authority. His followers believed they could establish a pure Jewish society, insulated from secularist modernizing influences, in the Land of Israel. They established a Hungarian subcommunity in the Land of Israel that played a major role within the old *yishuv* (the nineteenth-century settlement of religiously observant Jews, as distinct from the new *yishuv* of late-nineteenth- and twentieth-century settlers motivated by secular Jewish nationalism).

The distinctive instrument of Hungarian Orthodoxy in furthering its neotraditional objectives was the independent communal organization. In 1868 the Hungarian government convened a General Jewish Congress in order to define the basis for the autonomous organization of the Jewish community. The majority of the delegates were sympathetic to religious reform (Neologs), and most of the Orthodox delegates withdrew from the Congress. In 1870 the Hungarian parliament permitted the Orthodox to organize themselves in separate communal frameworks, which might coexist in the same locality with a Neolog community or a Status Quo community (the latter was composed of those who refused to join either the Orthodox or the Neolog community). Orthodox communities provided their members with the full gamut of religious services (kosher food, schools, religious courts, and, of course, synagogues) and represented Orthodox political interests to the government. Orthodox leaders discouraged contacts with members of the rival communities and prohibited entering their synagogues, and many Orthodox rabbis even enjoined intermarriage with them.

Hungarian Orthodoxy included both Hasidic and non-Hasidic elements. Hasidism, which originated in the eighteenth century, was bitterly opposed by the traditional religious elite, who feared that its folkishness, pietism, and ambivalence toward the central importance of Talmudic study undermined the tradition itself. Orthodoxy might have been born in opposition to Hasidism if not for leaders like the Ḥatam Sofer who sought a *modus vivendi*, recognizing that Hasidic leaders were no less antagonistic to basic changes in tradition than were the traditional religious elite. In fact, by the end of the century, the centers of Hasidic influence in the smaller Jewish communities remained least compromising in their attitude toward modernity. In the larger, more urbanized communities, one found signs of the growing attraction of German Orthodoxy with its more accommodating attitude toward modernity.

Even in an earlier period, not all Hungarian Orthodox rabbis were neotraditional in orientation. A minority were attracted by aspects of modern culture and/or believed that a more moderate approach might prove more attractive to potential deviators. Outstanding among such rabbis was German-born Esriel Hildesheimer, who served as a rabbi in Hungary until 1869. Although Hildesheimer was no less opposed to reform than his Hungarian colleagues, he aroused their particular antagonism when he established in the Austro-Hungarian community of Eisenstadt a *yeshivah* whose curriculum included secular studies. After leaving Hungary, Hildesheimer accepted the post of rabbi in an independent Orthodox congregation in Berlin. In 1873 he established a new rabbinical seminary in the more hospitable climate of German Orthodoxy.

GERMAN ORTHODOXY. The year 1850 marks the emergence of German Orthodoxy, with the establishment of the Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft in Frankfurt am Main, a congregation led by Samson Raphael Hirsch from 1851 until his death. But the distinctive ideological formulation of German Orthodoxy (often known as Neo-Orthodoxy) dates, at least in embryo, from the publication of Hirsch's *Nineteen Letters on Judaism* in 1836. The publication a few years later of an Orthodox weekly by Yaʿaqov Ettlinger (1798–1871) is also of significance.

Hirsch was the foremost proponent of the idea that Torah-true Judaism (to borrow a popular phrase of German Orthodoxy) was compatible with modern culture and political emancipation. Hirsch envisaged a divine order revealed in nature in which Jews could and should participate. But the divine order was also revealed in the Torah, many of whose commands were specific to Jews. The effect of Hirsch's conception, though not his intent, was the compartmentalization of life for the Orthodox Jew. Modern culture, patriotism, civil law—all become legitimate spheres for Jewish involvement since they were perceived as falling outside the realm proscribed by *halakhah.*

Hirsch and his followers directed their antagonism not at the Gentile world or its culture, but rather at religious reform, and in this respect they shared the outlook of the most intransigent of the Hungarian Orthodox. Reform Judaism, as a self-conscious movement in Jewish life, began in Germany with the establishment of the Hamburg temple in 1818. In the first few decades of the century it seemed that Reform conceptions of Judaism would replace those of traditional Judaism in Germany. Indeed, the major intellectual battle lines seemed to be drawn between the moderate reformers who sought changes in Jewish practice through the reinterpretation of Jewish law and the generally younger second generation of reformers who would abrogate the authority of the law entirely. Hirsch made no distinctions between moderate and radical reformers. Although in his *Nineteen Letters on Judaism* he was critical of traditional as well as Reform Judaism and seemed to advocate a position equidistant from both, some of his early endorsement of change was mitigated with the passage of time. What Hirsch never forgot was that the attraction of reform was an outgrowth of Jewish desire for emancipation and acceptance, that traditional Judaism appeared to be an obstacle to this goal, and that unless it could be reformulated as compatible with emancipation and modern culture, it had no future in Germany.

In addition to its educational system—day schools, religious schools, and seminaries around which German Orthodoxy united—the distinctive instrument that traditional Judaism forged to socialize its adherents to its values and conceptions was the autonomous congregation, even though it was only effective in a small number of localities. The heart of the congregational activity was the synagogue service itself, where the weekly or biweekly sermons by the rabbi, in German, represented a dramatic innovation. The traditional rabbi preached only a few times a year and never in the language of the state. The German Orthodox rabbi was likely to possess a university degree, an acquisition that distinguished him from his Hungarian and, as we shall see, his eastern European and Israeli counterparts. German Orthodox Jews were most attentive to the form of the service. Many Reform innovations, influenced in turn by the Christian churches, were adopted. German Orthodox rabbis, to the dismay of their traditional colleagues in other countries, officiated in clerical gowns, encouraged the participation of choirs (all male), and paid careful attention to musical arrangements in the service. In fact, some of their innovations would have been enough to identify a synagogue in Hungary as Neolog.

In addition to the synagogue itself, the autonomous congregation might sponsor a school, assume responsibility for the supervision of kosher foods, and provide opportunity for study and semisocial activity. Only political activity and sometimes welfare services remained outside its sphere of Jewish responsibilities, remaining the prerogatives of the more inclusive *Gemeinde* (the local Jewish community).

After the passage of a Prussian law in 1876 permitting Jews to secede, Hirsch insisted, as a matter of *halakhah*, that members of his congregation resign from the Frankfurt *Gemeinde.* Most of his congregants and certainly most Orthodox Jews in Germany refused to separate themselves and establish their own *Austrittsgemeinde* (seceded community).

Hirsch's demand for secession met opposition from traditionalists such as Rabbi Seligmann Ber Bamberger of Würzburg (1807–1878), probably the greatest contemporary Talmudist of Germany. It has recently been suggested that Bamberger harbored animosity toward the "modernizing ways" of Hirsch and his followers. The secession issue may have been a convenient opportunity to rebuke him and challenge his mastery of textual sources. Hirsch himself, in his lengthy response to Bamberger's opinion against secession, noted that the latter had never accepted Hirsch's ideal of *Torah ʿim derekh erets* (Torah and worldliness), which was the slogan of German Orthodoxy. Hildesheimer also favored secession and was not less antagonistic to Reform Judaism. Nevertheless, he differed from Hirsch, to whom he was personally close, on other issues. He was more favorable than Hirsch to integrating secular and sacred study. He and his followers did participate with non-Orthodox Jews in organizations dedicated to defending Jews against anti-Semitism. He was an enthusiastic supporter of the settlement of Jews and the establishment of Jewish institutions in the Land of Israel. To the chagrin of neotraditionalists, he sought means to raise the educational and vocational standards of Jews in the old *yishuv* and fought with them over this issue.

By the end of the century, Orthodoxy in both Germany and Hungary was well established, albeit with minority status within the Jewish world. Its exclusionary form of organization, its emphasis on those forms of observance that distinguished it from Reform Judaism, and its insistence that the core component of the authentic Jew's faith was the belief that God dictated the Torah to Moses suggested, in fact, that Orthodoxy was content to survive as a minority party in Jewish life, more concerned with maintaining its purity than extending its boundaries. The Orthodox camp in each country was reasonably well integrated and possessed its own organizational structure, periodicals, and schools. Its acknowledged leaders commanded deference in the general as well as the Jewish community. In fact, conservative governments, wary of radicals in general and aware of the attraction of political radicalism to so many Jews, often favored Orthodoxy, which it associated with tradition, law, and stability, over Reform. In short, by the end of the century it appeared that Orthodoxy, in one way or another, had withstood the challenge of modernity and emancipation and the blandishments of Reform. Jews in Hungary and Germany were increasingly assimilating and intermarrying. But this was a matter of greater immediate threat to Reform than to Orthodoxy.

In retrospect, Orthodoxy's strength was its ability to create small, meaningful, integrated communities that provided its adherents with a sense of identity and stability and mediated their involvement with the infinite. But Orthodoxy built upon certain assumptions. It was organized in a milieu in which one anticipated continued political and social freedom and in which the major threat to the tradition stemmed from religious reform. Its insularity from non-Orthodox Jews ill equipped it for a role in the defense of Jewish rights against a rising tide of anti-Semitism. Second, it had not yet developed ideological defenses against secular conceptions of Judaism. These, unlike Reform, argued not for religious alternatives to the tradition but for a totally new conception of the meaning of Jewishness. The most influential of these conceptions was Zionism, the notion that the Jews are a nation like other nations whose *sancta* are language, territory, and people rather than God and Torah. It was this last threat more than any other that led to the emergence of an international Orthodox organization—Agudat Yisraʾel. Before such an organization could emerge, however, the level of Orthodox consciousness in eastern Europe had to undergo development.

ORTHODOXY IN EASTERN EUROPE. The vast majority of eastern European Jews continued to live in accordance with the religious tradition throughout the nineteenth century, although the institutions of traditional Judaism were severely undermined. Government law had destroyed many of the traditional privileges and responsibilities of the Jewish community. The charismatic authority of the *rebeyim* (Hasidic leaders) had further undermined the status of communal leaders. At the margins of society, the small party of radical *maskilim* (adherents of Jewish enlightenment) challenged traditional patterns of Jewish life. By the middle of the nineteenth century, changing economic conditions afforded new opportunities for a few, but further impoverished the masses and shook the moral consensus within the community. They also highlighted the importance of secular education, thereby undermining the alliance of the wealthy and the religious elite. They undermined the *battei midrash* ("houses of study"), once found in virtually every Jewish locality. There, small numbers of men had spent their day in study, supported, however meagerly, by the local housekeeper.

Traditional Judaism responded, however feebly and tentatively, to these developments, but the response cannot be labeled Orthodoxy, because it lacked one major distinguishing feature—self-awareness as one party among others in Jewish life. Traditional Jewish leaders who saw their authority questioned, Torah study abandoned, and new modes of behavior and belief increasingly legitimated differed among themselves as to how to meet the crisis. Their first concern tended to be the challenge to the primacy of textual study in the hierarchy of religious commandments. Hasidism had stressed the importance of religious experience and intention—adapting from earlier mystical Jewish conceptions the notion that in performing the commandments with true devotion and proper intent, the Jew was repairing the torn fabric of the cosmos. This stress on intention rather than behavior introduced a potential antinomianism and, no less seriously, suggested that the study of Talmud was of secondary importance in the hierarchy of religious injunctions.

The traditionalists' response was the establishment of central *yeshivot* supported by contributions solicited throughout the Jewish world. The first such *yeshivah* was established in 1802 in Volozhin (near Vilnius) by Rabbi Ḥayyim of Volozhin from his own funds. During the course of the century, *yeshivot* were founded throughout Lithuania and Belorussia (then still part of Russia). Leadership of a *yeshivah* rather than service as a communal rabbi marked one as a preeminent scholar automatically meriting deference and authority.

The *yeshivot* trained the Orthodox elite but generally failed to strengthen traditional Judaism among the masses. The Hasidic *rebeyim* filled a more important role in maintaining traditional norms, at least among their followers. But the decline of traditional patterns of observance until the last decades of the century must not be exaggerated. Rabbis such as Naftali Tsevi Yehudah Berlin (1817–1893), known as the Netsiv; Yisraʾel Meʾir ha-Kohen (1838–1933), known as the Ḥafets Ḥayyim; and Yitsḥaq Elḥanan Spektor (1817–1896) retained authority and enormous prestige among the masses.

One measure of the continuing strength of the tradition was the failure of Rabbi Yitsḥaq Yaʿaqov Reines (1839–1915), who later founded Mizraḥi, the Religious-Zionist movement, to establish a *yeshivah* in the 1880s. In 1881 Reines published a sharp critique of the method of study in traditional *yeshivot* and called for the reorganization of the institutions of eastern European Judaism. Jewish society, he maintained, was undergoing an ideological and institutional crisis. *Yeshivot* were crumbling, the rabbinate was weakened, and its authority was undermined because of its economic dependence on the wealthy. This, he argued, was a result of the loss of Jewish respect for the traditional leaders. His solution was the establishment of a new *yeshivah* to include secular studies in its curriculum and to produce graduates who would fill positions of Jewish leadership. Reines's view was supported by wealthy Russian Jews and Orthodox leaders from central Europe. But the opposition of the heads of the traditional *yeshivot* was enough to prevent the establishment of the new *yeshivah*.

A more successful effort at the reform of *yeshivot*, known as the Musar (ethical) movement, was initiated by Rabbi Yisra'el (Lipkin) Salanter (1810–1883). His call for ethical renewal was first addressed to the Jewish masses, businessmen and traders in particular, but failed to attract much enthusiasm. His doctrines were more influential in the *yeshivot*. While many of the heads of these academies initially resisted the introduction of the study of moral literature or discussions of moral issues at the expense of Talmudic study, the Musar movement was eventually co-opted. A limited amount of time was dedicated to the study of an ethical tract, and the custom of a weekly talk by the moral supervisor (a new position created in the *yeshivot* in response to the demands of the Musar movement) was introduced.

What traditional religious leaders did not do until the end of the century, either because they saw no need or because they did not know how to do it, was oppose the organization of rival parties with alternative conceptions of Judaism. But by the end of the nineteenth century this need was becoming apparent. In the 1870s an organization of Hasidic and non-Hasidic elements was formed to oppose the founding of a rabbinical seminary and the introduction of organizational changes in the community. In 1912 Agudat Yisra'el (Agudah for short) was established under the impetus of German Orthodox leaders, uniting the Orthodox leaders of central and eastern Europe in defense of the tradition.

Agudat Yisra'el never spoke for all religious Jews. Its greatest following was in Poland, the heartland of eastern European Jewry. Within Poland it functioned as a political party after World War I, rivaling the Zionists and the Bund (General Jewish Workers Union, a socialist Jewish party founded in 1897) for control of the Jewish street. Even within Poland it was opposed by the minority of religious Zionists and by the larger group of traditionalists, who remained indifferent to the needs that had led to its creation.

Agudah's primary strength came from the union of the Hasidic *rebe* of Ger (Avraham Mordekhai Alter, 1866–1948), whose followers numbered in the hundreds of thousands, with the leaders of the Lithuanian *yeshivot*, the most prominent of whom included Rabbi Ḥayyim ʿOzer Grodzinski of Vilnius (1863–1940). The latter carried enormous status in the world of religious Jewry. Nevertheless, in the Galician and Lithuanian regions, the masses remained aloof. The region around Warsaw and Lodz attracted Jews from the countryside. The struggle between religion and its opponents was most obvious and intense there, and Agudah prospered. In the older Jewish communities of Galicia, however, the Jewish tradition was less threatened, and religious Jews were content to leave political activity to non-Jews and secularists.

Agudah's own rabbinical authorities were, at best, tolerant of the necessity for political activity. Agudah was established to protect the traditional way of life, but political activity has an acculturating impact of its own. The Agudah press carried warnings from rabbis not to regard partisan politics as more than a temporary expedient.

Traditional religious leaders outside Agudah's ranks were impatient with the notion that some adaptation to modernity was necessary in the very defense of the tradition. Rabbi Yosef Yitsḥaq Schneersohn (1880–1950), leader of the Habad branch of Hasidism (better known as Lubavitcher Hasidism), attacked Agudah schools for including secular studies, accusing them of behaving no differently than the enemies of the tradition.

In addition to sponsoring schools whose curriculum included secular studies, Agudah established reading rooms where secular books were to be found, published a newspaper (though adherents were cautioned against reading it on the Sabbath), and organized a youth movement in which *yeshivah* students were warned not to spend too much time. Most damaging of all, Agudah's political survival required alliances with nonreligious parties, and when Agudah was the majority party in the local Jewish community, it bore at least indirect responsibility for nonreligious and even antireligious activity which the community funds supported.

Agudah, certainly in Poland, began as a neotraditionalist response to modernity. But its own efforts to defend the tradition through political instrumentalities and its own concern to control the environment within which the tradition had to function forced it into compromises that became particularly noticeable in the 1930s.

World War II brought the end to Agudah activity in eastern Europe. By the late 1930s it was apparent to many within Agudah itself that Jewish life in Poland was heading for catastrophe and that traditional responses were ineffective. Settlement in the Land of Israel became an increasingly attractive option, and Agudah muted its opposition to Zionism. Voices were increasingly heard, from within, for constructive efforts in the Land of Israel and for cooperation with the Zionists at the tactical level. Isaac Breuer (1883–1946), grandson of Samson Raphael Hirsch, a leading ideologue of German Orthodoxy, led the call for a reassessment of the Land of Israel in Agudah's program and ideology. The Balfour Declaration and the modern Zionist settlement of the land revealed, Breuer believed, the hand of providence. The Jews, he claimed, were a nation formed by

Torah, but as a nation they required their own land in order to renew themselves. In 1936 Breuer settled in Jerusalem. By the time other Agudah followers were prepared to reevaluate their position, the British had closed the gates of the land to world Jewry.

ORTHODOXY IN ISRAEL. Most Orthodox Jews today reside in Israel or the United States. Religiously observant Jews make up 15 to 20 percent of the Jewish population of Israel. The neotraditionalists, once quite marginal to Israeli society, play an increasingly important role. The most colorful and controversial group within their ranks is the successor to the old *yishuv*, the ʿEdah Ḥaredit (Community of the Pious), consisting of a few thousand families with thousands of sympathizers located primarily in Jerusalem and Benei Be-raq (on the outskirts of Tel Aviv). These are the most intransigent of the neotraditionalists. They relate to the state of Israel with varying degrees of hostility. They refuse to participate in its elections, the more extreme refuse to bear Israeli identification cards or utilize the state's services (their schools, for example, refuse government support), and the most extreme seek the imposition of Arab rule.

A more moderate neotraditionalism is found in Israeli Agudah circles. They are dominated by the heads of *yeshivot* and a number of Hasidic *rebeyim.* The most prominent continues to be the *rebe* of Ger. Agudat Yisraʾel generally obtains from 3 to 4 percent of the vote in Israeli elections. Although it has been a party to the ruling coalition, it continues to condemn ideological Zionism, that is, secular Jewish nationalism. It maintains that Israel's constitution must be based upon Torah and *halakhah* as interpreted by rabbinical authority. The leading rabbinical authorities, Agudah further claims, constitute its own Moʿetset Gedolei ha-Torah (Council of Torah Sages), to whom it turns for direction on basic policy issues.

Agudat Yisraʾel maintains its own network of elementary schools. Following graduation, boys continue their studies in *yeshivot qeṭannot* (minor *yeshivot*), whose curriculum consists almost exclusively of sacred text. They do not receive a high school degree. At the age of sixteen or seventeen they generally move on to advanced *yeshivot*, where study is devoted entirely to sacred writ, almost exclusively to Talmud. Girls pursue their high school studies in Beit Yaʿaqov, a network of girls' schools first established in Poland. The tendency is to prepare the girls to assume housewife-mother roles.

Beneficent government subsidy, largely for political reasons, has resulted in relative prosperity among Agudah-oriented institutions. Although the party itself is seriously troubled by personal and institutional conflicts and rivalries, and while it is the object of vociferous condemnation by more extreme neotraditionalists who charge it with selling out to the Zionists, the Agudah world appears relatively secure. It sponsors or supports a number of institutions for *baʿalei teshuvah*, Jews raised in nonreligious homes who have embraced Orthodoxy and are attracted by neotraditionalism rather than religious Zionism. Its *yeshivot* attract students from all over the world. Whereas a short time ago they were considered generally inferior to their counterparts in the United States, this is no longer true. The Agudah world is an international community with centers in New York, Montreal, London, Antwerp, and Zurich, to mention the major locations, but Jerusalem plays an increasingly important role. The young seem easily socialized to the values of the community, and their large families (seven and eight children are not at all uncommon) apparently assure continued communal growth. In fact, Israeli observers are rather surprised, given the size of Agudah families, that the party has not increased its proportion of the vote in recent elections—an indication that all may not be as well as it appears on the surface. One problem is Agudah's inability to integrate Sefardic Jews (Jews originating from Muslim countries) in their leadership groups. Sefardic Jews represent an important constituency of Agudah voters (some claim almost half), and in the summer of 1984 they bolted the party because they were excluded from its leadership. Another threat is economic. Agudah's educational institutions play a major role in the socialization of the Agudah community. The extended period of study for the men, often into their mid-twenties and beyond (they are exempted from Israeli army service as long as they remain in the *yeshivot*), requires public and/or private sources of support, which may not necessarily continue in the case of economic depression or a radical change in the Israeli political climate.

The Agudah world is in, but lives apart from, Israeli society. The religious Zionists are in a different category. They make up roughly 10 percent of the Jewish population but are in some sense the symbol of contemporary Israel. Israel's political culture, particularly since the 1970s, focuses on the Jewish people, the Jewish tradition, and the Land of Israel as objects of ultimate value. Symbols of traditional religion, though not traditional theology, pervade Israeli life. Religious Zionists are viewed by many of the nonreligious as most committed to and most comfortable with these values and symbols. The political elite, in particular, has been strongly influenced by the religious Zionists and their personal example of idealism and self-sacrifice. In fact, the success of religious Zionism makes the National Religious Party (their political organization) less attractive to voters, who no longer feel they need be as defensive about threats to religion from the secular parties.

In no other society do Orthodox Jews, religious Zionists in particular, feel quite so much at home. They are separated from the non-Orthodox population by their distinctive cultural and educational institutions (in the advanced religious Zionist *yeshivot*, students are required to fulfill their military obligations but generally do so in selected units) and their own friendship groups. There are political tensions between religious and non-religious Israelis over issues such as "Who is a Jew?," whether marriage and divorce law should be left to the rabbinate, Sabbath closing laws, and the sense of many secularists that they are subject to religious coercion. But most religious Zionists not only feel that they fully participate as equal members of the society but also sense a wholeness to their lives that they find missing outside of Israel. Nevertheless, they, too, confront the tension between tradition and modernity.

The founders of religious Zionism were influenced by modern currents of nationalism and the desire for political emancipation. Religious Zionists shared a concern for the physical as well as the spiritual welfare of Jews and an identification with nonreligious as well as religious Jews. Most of them believed that the modern settlement of the Land of Israel pointed to the beginning of divine redemption of the Jewish people. Unlike the neotraditionalists, they did not believe that Jews must patiently await the coming of the Messiah but rather that redemption was a process that Jews could initiate themselves. In other words, it was not only their espousal of Zionism that distinguished religious Zionists from the neotraditionalists, but also their acceptance of so many of the assumptions and values of modernity. Compartmentalization was an inadequate alternative. Although compartmentalization was and always will be a temptation for religious Jews who want to participate in worldly activity without compromising their religious principles, it is an inadequate ideology for religious Zionists. The establishment of the state of Israel and its public policies are to them matters of metaphysical significance intimately related to their religiously formed conceptions of reality. The reconciliation of tradition and modernity, therefore, requires other strategies.

One such strategy is adaptationism, sometimes labeled modern Orthodoxy. It affirms that the basic values of modernity are not also compatible with Judaism but partake of its essence. Freedom, the equality of man, rationalism, science, the rule of law, and nationalism are all found to be inherent in the Jewish tradition. Secular study is affirmed as a positive religious value—an instrument whereby man learns more about the divinely created world and therefore more about God. Adaptationism includes the effort to reinterpret the tradition, including those aspects of the *halakhah* that seem to stand in opposition to modern values. Adaptationism was a popular strategy among American Orthodox Jews. There are very few Israeli halakhic authorities whose rulings are adaptationist, and they lack the ideological self-consciousness or philosophical underpinning that is found among American Orthodox.

There are limits to the extent to which Orthodoxy can affirm every aspect of modernity, and there is an apologetic as well as an adaptive side to this strategy in practice. As in other religions, family law and relations between the sexes evoke the most conservative sentiments, though even here adaptationism has proved far more accommodating of modernity than other Orthodox strategies.

An alternative strategy for religious Zionism is expansionism. Expansionism affirms modernity by reinterpreting it through the prism of the Jewish tradition. It aspires, in theory, to bring all aspects of life under the rubric of its interpretation of Judaism. The program of religious Zionism, almost by definition, is expansionist. Since religious Zionism calls for a Jewish state in accordance with Jewish law, its adherents must believe, at least in theory, that Jewish law is a suitable instrument to guide a modern state. Meʾir Berlin (1880–1949), a major political leader of religious Zionism, claimed that the religious Zionist program was "not to content itself with a corner even if the Torah was there, but to capture Judaism, Jewish life, to impose the spirit of the Torah on the market, on the public, on the State." Anyone who reflects upon this statement must wonder whether, if this is indeed the task of religious Zionists, they would not have to reinterpret major motifs in the religious tradition and introduce rather radical changes in Jewish law. In other words, expansionism of this type bears within it the seeds of adaptationism. The leadership of the religious Zionist labor movement, the religious *kibbutsim* in particular, were prepared, at least in theory and sometimes in practice, for some halakhic adaptation. But they shied away from the final step that the realization of their goal would have required—the legitimation of religious changes through their adoption by the religious public rather than the assent of rabbinical authority. The ambivalent attitude toward adaptation by the leaders may help account for the permissive interpretation that many of their followers gave to *halakhah.* It may also help to account for the failure of this branch of expansionism to develop. It made no real effort to realize in practice its theoretical pretensions to adaptation, and it never legitimated the halakhic deviations that occurred under its roof.

Expansionism today is associated with the personality and philosophy of Rav Kook (Avraham Yitsḥaq Kook). This branch of expansionism, like neotraditionalism, is halakhically uncompromising. Unlike neotraditionalism, it abjures social and cultural isolation. Its goal is to sanctify all of life. The characteristic features of expansionism that support such a worldview and make its realization feasible, in addition to its commitment to Jewish nationalism, are a redefinition of secular-religious distinctions and a belief that divine redemption is imminent.

Expansionism is necessarily nationalistic since it argues that Jews must live a natural life in all its physical manifestations in order to invest all of life with the divine spirit. In the expansionist conception, as it has worked itself out in the last few years, the state itself assumes a special sanctity, its very creation being a sign of God's favor and a harbinger of the imminent redemption.

The religious conception of the state is challenged by three facts: that Israel was established by Jewish secularists, that the avowedly nonreligious constitute a majority of the population, and that the institutions of the state are controlled by secularists. The expansionists overcome this objection by their redefinition, following Rav Kook, of secularism. They blur distinctions not only between holy and profane but also between ostensibly religious and ostensibly secular

Jews. This enables the expansionists to break out of the traditional Orthodox perception, which viewed religious Jews as a beleaguered minority surrounded by hostile Jewish secularists with whom they might at best, and even then at their peril, cooperate at an instrumental level. The belief in imminent redemption that characterizes the expansionists' viewpoint reinforces their confidence in the eventual triumph of their position despite the apparent absence of support in the international arena. It also serves as a caution against any retreat or compromise that might interrupt and delay divine redemption. Finally, the belief in imminent redemption permits the evasion of troubling questions about the suitability of the *halakhah*, in its present state, to direct a modern society.

In addition to the neotraditionalists and religious Zionists, one still finds vestiges of pre-Orthodox traditionalism among some elderly Sefardic Jews of North African origin. They arrived in Israel before their own societies underwent modernization. They have no successors. Their descendants, in turn, tend to be deferential toward the tradition; they observe many of its customs and practices but are neither as punctilious or knowledgeable about the religion as are most Orthodox Jews. They categorize themselves and are categorized by others as "traditional," as distinct from the "religious" and "secular" segments of the population. They constitute a hinterland for Orthodox Jewry, though only time will tell whether they will continue to do so.

The state of Israel provides basic religious services such as religious schools, supervision over the *kashrut* of foods, religious courts, an established rabbinate with responsibility for marriage and divorce of Jews, ritual baths, and subsidies for synagogue construction and rabbis' salaries. The religious political parties act as intermediaries in the provision of welfare and educational services. Hence, the role of the synagogues proliferate in Israel, there is probably no country in the world where they play a less important role in the life of the Orthodox Jew.

ORTHODOXY IN THE UNITED STATES. American Orthodoxy bears the mark of two waves of immigrants and a native generation that combines characteristics of each. Many of the eastern European immigrants who came to the United States during the great wave of Jewish immigration between 1881 and 1924 were traditionalists. In the confrontation with American culture and the challenge of finding a livelihood, they abandoned many traditional patterns of religious observance. The dominant Orthodox strategy that emerged in the United States was adaptationism. In fact, in the first few decades of the twentieth century it appeared as though the difference between American Orthodox and Conservative Judaism was really the degree or pace of adaptation. The institutions and ideology of American Orthodoxy were severely challenged by neotraditionalist immigrants who arrived just prior to and immediately following World War II. They established their own *yeshivot*, Hasidic *rebeyim* among them reestablished their courts of followers, and they expressed disdain for the modern Orthodox rabbi. He was likely to be a graduate of Yeshiva University, the major institution for the training of Orthodox rabbis in the United States, where rabbinical students are required to have earned a college degree. The neotraditionalists were zealous and very supportive of their own institutions. In addition, they clustered in a few neighborhoods of the largest cities. Their concentration and discipline provided their leaders with political influence, which, in the heydays of the welfare programs of the 1960s and 1970s, was translated into various forms of government assistance.

The neotraditionalist challenge to modern Orthodoxy has had a decided impact on the native generation raised in modern Orthodox homes, and the American environment has left its mark on the generation raised in neotraditionalist homes. The American-born Orthodox Jew, regardless of the home in which he was raised, tends to be punctilious in religious observance, more so than his parents, and hostile to what he considers deviant forms of Judaism (i. e., Conservative or Reform). But he is sympathetic to many aspects of contemporary culture and accepting of secular education, if only for purposes of economic advancement. With the exception of pockets of neotraditional extremists who recall the ideology and attitudes of the ʿEdah Ḥaredit in Israel, the American Orthodox Jew, even the neotraditionalist, is familiar with, if not at home in, modern culture. Finally, there is a general willingness among most American Orthodox Jews to work with the non-Orthodox on behalf of general Jewish interests, those of Israel in particular.

Among the outstanding Orthodox figures in the United States is Rabbi Menahem Mendel Schneersohn (b. 1902), the present leader of Habad Hasidism. Habad is the Hasidic group with the largest number of sympathizers in the world. It is really a *sui generis* variety of Orthodoxy because it combines a neotraditional outlook with a conversionist impulse (toward other Jews, not non-Jews) and a unique belief system centering on the charismatic figure of the *rebe*.

Rabbi Moshe Feinstein (b. 1895), who came to the United States in 1937, is renowned in the Orthodox world as the outstanding *poseq* (adjudicator of religious law). Another significant Orthodox personality is Rabbi Joseph B. Soloveitchik (b. 1903), scion of a prominent rabbinical family and considered by many the greatest living Talmudic authority in the Orthodox world. Soloveitchik, who arrived in the United States in 1932, is particularly revered in modern Orthodox circles. He has a doctorate in philosophy and can communicate in the language of the world of ideas. His thought, which only began appearing in print in the last two decades of the twentieth century, is characterized by sensitivity to the tension between man, possessed of feelings and ideas connected to the divine within him, and the objective and demanding *halakhah* to which God also commands the Jew to subject himself.

The increasing importance of the neotraditional *yeshivot* has challenged the central role of the synagogue, but it is still the crucial mediator between most Orthodox Jews and their religious identity. Certainly, the synagogue plays a critical role in the lives of its members and recalls the importance of the autonomous congregations of German Orthodoxy. However, unlike the German congregations, the rabbi's role in the American Orthodox synagogue is more limited, though by no means negligible. The real strength of the Orthodox synagogue, which tends to be much smaller than the average Conservative or Reform synagogue, rarely exceeding 200 to 250 members, lies in the sense of community and mutual support that it offers rather than the network of services that it provides.

ORTHODOX JUDAISM TODAY. The dominant trend in Orthodoxy throughout the world, since the end of World War II, has been increased religious zealotry, punctiliousness in religious observance, and, with some exceptions, less explicit accommodation to modern values and contemporary culture. This is, at least in part, a result of the direction in which modern values and culture have moved. Increased permissiveness; challenges to authority, order, and tradition in general; and affirmation of self are inimical to all historical religions. But Orthodoxy has become far more skilled, after a century of experience, in developing institutions—such as schools, synagogues, political organizations, a press, and summer camps—to mute the threats of secularism and modernity. In some respects this means that Orthodoxy is more at ease with the world and tolerates certain forms of accommodation (advanced secular education is the outstanding example) that many Orthodox circles denounced in the past. But it also means an increased self-confidence and an absence of fear on the part of Orthodoxy to challenge and reject some of the basic behavioral and ideological assumptions upon which most of modern culture rests.

SEE ALSO Agudat Yisraʾel; Hirsch, Samson Raphael; Judaism, article on Judaism in Northern and Eastern Europe since 1500; Musar Movement; Yeshivah; Zionism.

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CHARLES S. LIEBMAN (1987)

ORTHODOX JUDAISM [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]. In a little more than fifty years, American Orthodox Judaism went from being a marginal phenomenon whose survival seemed to be in question to a religious option firmly established and at home in North America. There has, however, been a struggle among Orthodox Jews in the United States that has intensified since the early 1980s. The struggle concerns the definition of Jewish identity and the best way to assure its continuity. The traditionalist right wing of Orthodox Judaism, the so-called haredi movement, has not disappeared as many predicted it would but has instead been successful in building institutions, training rabbis, and asserting its place in the Orthodox world. This haredi approach appreciates American freedom of religion but wishes to remain separate from mainstream culture and values. This includes living in separate enclaves, dressing in demonstrably different ways (particularly noticeable among the men), downplaying the use of English, and eschewing a university education, while at the same time giving general secular cultural (which they consider toxic and defiling) a lower ontological meaning than the Jewish one. Instead, they value a life of Torah study above all else and scrupulous attention to ritual details, a life they sustain with many institutions that they have successfully built and sustained since the 1950s.

In contrast to the haredi, the so-called modern, or centrist, Orthodox have tried to stand with one foot in the world of strict observance and loyal faith and with the other foot in the outside world that they continue to view as valuable and essential for the survival of Orthodoxy into the future. At the same time, the people who once did little more than call themselves Orthodox because the synagogue they did *not* attend regularly was Orthodox, have stopped calling themselves Orthodox—in part because the demands of calling oneself Orthodox became much greater toward the end of the twentieth century.

As a result, Orthodox Jews who were once in the middle of the continuum found themselves on the outer edge, a place they were not used to inhabiting. They also faced an increasingly confident right wing, warning them that they were now more likely to fall prey to the defilements of the outside world to which they were powerfully drawn. Whereas in the past the modern or centrist Orthodox ignored these warnings and continued to participate in many different cultures at once, increasingly they were influenced by their haredi co-religionists and began to move back toward a more traditionalist position.

There are four major reasons that account for this change in the position of modern Orthodox Jews:

1. The perceived decline of American culture.
2. The complete handover by the family of the responsibility for education to Jewish day schools and yeshivas.
3. The lower proportion of modernists in the ranks of the Orthodox rabbinate and Jewish educators.
4. The emergence of study in Israeli *yeshivot* and women's seminaries, institutions that offer women an intensive course of religious study that excludes Talmud and that has a goal of socializing them into a haredi lifestyle and haredi values, which is seen as an essential part of Orthodox education.

To begin with the first reason, as long as American society and culture represented a positive model, the modern Orthodox ideal could be embraced without danger. The sexual revolution and the emergence of the university counterculture in the late 1960s, however, aroused doubts among many conservative elements in the population—including many who considered themselves Orthodox Jews. Consequently, the attraction of "making it in America" began to wear thin in some Orthodox circles. The growing secularization of public institutions, as well as the increasing moral relativism and tolerance of nontraditional lifestyles in mainstream society—from the cohabitation of unmarried heterosexuals to pressures for the legitimation of homosexual marriage—has only increased these doubts about the integrity of American culture.

However, Orthodox Jews in America were also becoming more self-confident in their ability to maintain their own standards of conduct and religious behavior without having to suffer persecution in America. As a result, a backlash developed not only against some of the cherished ideals of modern Orthodoxy but even against its very name. The quest for accommodation with modernity was increasingly regarded as a step down the slippery slope of compromise.

When the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey and the resulting debate within American Jewry about the continuity of tradition exposed the high rate of Jewish intermarriage and confirmed the continuing assimilation of American Jewry, modern Orthodox Jews became even more concerned about the cultural costs of modernity. The survey, and others like it, demonstrated that younger college graduates were among the most likely to marry non-Jews and become assimilated. This revelation of the unintended consequences of a college degree, which was so central to the ideological stance of modern Orthodox Jews, undermined their position.

The modern Orthodox then looked for more "Jewish insurance" that would protect them against the assimilationist tendency of American culture. This search led many of them to seek an "inoculation" against the diseases of assimilation and intermarriage. To many, that inoculation was to be found in a more intensively Jewish education. As a result, many of the modern Orthodox handed over the Jewish education of the young to those who had made it their vocation.

Increasingly, however, those educators were not modern Orthodox Jews. Even though the modern Orthodox were committed to full-time intensive Jewish education for their children, they had not obtained college degrees in order to become Jewish educators themselves. Day-school heads often admitted that harder than finding students to fill their classrooms was the critical quest for teachers who would provide instruction in Judaica and who shared the modern Orthodox ideological outlook. Those who had that outlook had pursued successful careers in the world outside Judaism. As a result, the Jewish educators to whom they handed over their children were the haredim who had remained in Jewish education. By one count, nearly two-thirds of the teachers of Judaica in the day schools of the early 2000s come from the haredi or fervently Orthodox world.

Moreover, once parents who were engaged in careers outside the Jewish world gave up a significant role in the education of their children in favor of placing them in schools where paid teachers provided the education, they became increasingly dependent upon those teachers. The teachers had control over the children throughout the entire day, from the earliest primary grades through the end of high school. Orthodox parents gave these teachers into whose hands they entrusted their children the right to supersede them. Even when the teachers pushed their students toward the haredi right wing of Orthodox Judaism and away from modernist values, the parents allowed this trend to grow because they had no alternative. In effect, these teachers inevitably undermined many modern Orthodox values related to acculturation. Yet the consumers of their teaching were given to understand, both by the heads of the schools and the larger Orthodox world, that these teachers were the guardians of the Jewish future. And the rabbi/teachers believed this no less—that was one of the reasons they were willing to step out of their enclaves into the defiled domains of the day school (although, to be sure, some did it because they needed the money).

A similar trend developed within the rabbinate. Few modernists chose to be rabbis, leaving the *yeshivot* that trained the rabbis to the haredi right wing. As a result, American Orthodox rabbis began to express haredi values and the worldview that underlay them. They entered the pulpits and the classrooms, serving as religious authorities to which all Orthodox Jews had no choice but to turn. They had a growing effect on the character of their congregations and students. These rabbis convinced their laity that their young people needed more powerful religious indoctrination in order to avoid the moral pitfalls of modern American culture.

The traditionalist rabbis believed that they would find the answer to their educational concerns in Israeli yeshivas and seminaries, and Orthodox Jewish parents accepted this line of reasoning. The Israeli institutions were, however, not simply educational; they were ideological training grounds engaged in fighting back against secular culture, and the instructors had their charges under continuous control for a year or longer. As a result, the Israeli teachers had a far greater influence than even haredi teachers on the faculties of Orthodox Jewish day schools in the United States. Moreover, the students who had spent more than one year in the Israeli schools tended to shun all those who remained outside their institutions. In time, as these young people matured and returned to America, they inserted their haredi values and behaviors into Orthodox Judaism in the United States, where increasingly right-wing younger rabbis were ready to serve them.

The long-term consequences of these trends remain an open question. While those who call themselves modern Orthodox may still be in the majority in North America, the center of gravity and confidence in the future appear to have moved toward the religious right.

Orthodox Judaism in the United States in the early twenty-first century finds most of its rabbinical leaders coming from its right wing. That right wing is defined both by those who embrace the values of the *yeshivot* and those whose political position favors a greater Israel. The latter group reflects the predominant role that the Orthodox, who constitute 22 percent of the Israeli population, have played in the settlement movement, the group that seeks to re-establish religious Jewish communities in the ancient biblical lands, many of which are in territories conquered in the 1967 war between Israel and the Arabs. This relationship has made the Orthodox in Israel an important part of the nationalist camp, while many of those in the Diaspora have become moral and financial supporters of Israel.

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ORTHODOXY AND HETERODOXY. The concepts of orthodoxy and heterodoxy are found within all the major religious traditions, expressed by a variety of terms. In relation to religious life, *orthodoxy* means correct or sound belief according to an authoritative norm; *heterodoxy* refers to belief in a doctrine differing from the norm. The two terms originated in the patristic period of Christian history, when emphasis on belief rather than practice distinguished the concerns of Christian theologians.

Each of the major religious traditions has its own modes of determining orthodoxy. The extent to which heterodoxy is considered a serious deviance varies across traditions, and also within traditions at different phases of their history. From the perspective of an overview of the history of each tradition, one can discern that differing beliefs and/or practices have been considered of vital significance over the course of time. Further, some traditions allow for a wide variety of different perspectives within a wider unity, whereas others tend to split up into smaller groups competing as to which shall be considered the bearer of the authentic message or teaching.

Every major religious tradition has had to establish criteria for the acceptance or rejection of its members. In some cases, the civil power has supported the religious authorities, whereas in other cases, it has remained neutral or disinterested. Sometimes a group has insisted on rigid criteria of purity and conformity, whereas at other times, a great diversity of opinion and practice has been acceptable. Diversity of attitudes on such matters has existed at different times within each of the major traditions.

The scriptures normally serve to delineate the characteristics of acceptable, as opposed to unacceptable, persons. Later theological or philosophical or legal schools often take the scriptural indications as a basis for outlining systems. Elaborating the fixed systems usually involves decisions as to the canon of scriptures and the modes of authority, as well as the establishment of training institutions for those who are to impart and uphold the particular orthodoxy. The self-conscious articulation of an orthodox perspective tends to occur several generations after the establishment of a new perspective, or the successful renewal of an older tradition that has been challenged. The usual process is to project the newly proclaimed orthodox position backward onto the beginnings of the community's life.

In the past century, two opposite tendencies have manifested across traditions: There is both an active fundamentalism in every tradition and a new interest in reconciling divergent streams of thought and practice. The spread of literacy has enabled lay people to evidence new forms of interest and participation in religious leadership.

Those who lean toward fundamentalism tend to think the identity for the members of the community requires one exclusive interpretation of the tradition, and that particular interpretation must be imposed. The more traditional thinkers and the modernists, however, see the traditional tolerance of diverse interpretations as a source of strength rather than weakness.

NONLITERATE PEOPLES. Nonliterate peoples commonly affirm their group identity through myths that legitimate social relations within the group and orient the group toward the wider universe. Shamans or equivalent figures serve as mediators with sacred powers. Knowledge of the sacred mythology may be shared in diverse ways by members of the group. Changes in the mythology may come about through visions or insight. Ritual practice serves to maintain coherent identity among members.

Deviance usually involves breaking codes of behavior, particularly with respect to sexual or family matters. Deviants can sometimes be readmitted into a normal relationship with the group through rituals of purification, but sometimes they leave and join another group. Deviants are generally understood to be offending the sacred powers, and are therefore required to undergo rituals to transform them into acceptable persons.

HINDUISM. Classical Hindu philosophy of religion divides religious schools of thought into two types, *āstika* (usually translated as "orthodox") and *nāstika* (usually translated as "heterodox"). Those characterized as *nāstika* are the Jains, the Buddhists, and the materialists. The word *āstika* indicates the affirmation of being, whereas *nāstika* suggests nihilism, or denial of being.

The *Maitri Upaniṣad* expresses the importance of avoiding teachers of false doctrines. The same Upaniṣad uses the term *nāstika*, translated here as "atheism," to designate one of the characteristics emanating from the dark aspects of the unenlightened self in every individual.

There are no available sources available from the materialist or atheist schools of thought of ancient India, therefore the views of these schools are only known from the writings of their adversaries. But in the case of the Jains and the Buddhists, the sources still exist. The classical Hindu view is that the *nāstika* schools of thought are to be condemned because of their failure to accept the authority of the Vedas—a refusal that in practice means the rejection of their hereditary function as preservers and teachers of the Vedas, as well as in their duties as the priests responsible for ritual performances.

In time a principle of interpretation of the scriptures was developed that allowed for diversity: The interpretations varied according to which affirmations were deemed central. Hence more or less emphasis might be laid on ritual or other forms of religious life. Acceptance of the scriptures was, however, a necessary precondition for acceptance within the community. In his *History of Hindu Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1963), Surendranath Dasgupta has written: "Thus an orthodox Brahmin can dispense with image-worship if he likes, but not so with his daily Vedic prayers or other obligatory ceremonies."

The coherence of Hinduism derives from the discipline of the *brahmans* as transmitters and preservers of Vedic ritual and wisdom. The classical view is that the ancient seers (*ṛṣis*) who received the primal wisdom set in motion the oral transmission of the Vedas that is passed on through the educational system of the *brahmans.* The primary revelation is thus oral, *śruti.* The secondary level of sacred literature, *smṛti,* comprises the commentaries that explain the primal wisdom and give instruction on moral conduct and related matters.

Deviance within Hindu life can take many forms. The usual procedure for readmitting offenders is purification through ritual administered by a *brahman.* Offense is perceived as impurity that must be removed through the restorative power of ritual.

By the tenth century CE, the Buddhists had gradually disappeared from India, although their teaching had taken root in other countries. The Jains remained as a distinctive group, sometimes supported by local rulers. When the Abbé Sean-Antoine Dubois, in his *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies* (Oxford, 1928), wrote about India as he observed it in the late eighteenth century, he formed the impression that the Jains had been on occasion dominant in certain parts of India. By the twentieth century this was no longer the case: The Jains formed a relatively small minority community. Before the Muslim conquests of India, the local rulers probably helped determine whether the people tended toward the Buddhist, Jain, or Hindu perspectives. The last-named seems to have won out and to have remained dominant during the period of Muslim rule.

Diverse processes are taking place as the Hindu tradition confronts modernity. In the early twentieth century, several effective religious personalities—not all *brahmans*—attempted to articulate interpretations of Hinduism that would be acceptable to the modern age. Such writers as Vivekananda, Radhakrishnan, Tagore, Aurobindo, and Gandhi have exercised a great influence over modern Hindus.

A number of groups advocating particular interpretations of Hinduism also have come into being, such as the Brāhmo Samāj and the Ārya Samāj. These groups advocated reform of Hindu social practices. A fundamentalist interpretation of Hinduism has appealed to certain segments of the Hindu population, as evidenced most dramatically by the assassination of Mohandas Gandhi. India is a secular state; in practice, therefore, no religious group receives favored status from the government.

BUDDHISM. Buddhism emerged as one of the protest movements against orthodox Hinduism around the sixth century BCE. The monks and nuns who followed the teachings of the Buddha took those teachings as the only guide necessary for enlightenment. Present historians acknowledge that Buddhists held councils to resolve disputes, but because the various groups have their own versions of what occurred at those councils, there is no consensus now as to what councils were held and what issues were decided. The teachings were transmitted orally for several centuries. It is impossible to say when the oral tradition was written down. The Buddha taught that missionaries were to speak in the language of those they addressed. As a result, Buddhist teaching has moved rapidly from one language to another, and many varieties of the teaching have been handed down.

Tradition says that a council was held immediately after the Buddha's death. This council was concerned with the composition of the monastic discipline, Vinaya. A second council, held at Vaiśālī, is said to have been concerned with disputes about the severity of the monastic rules. A third council was reportedly called by the emperor Aśoka about 250 BCE. Some versions of the tradition say that this council completed the ratification of the canon of Buddhist scriptures and sent missionaries to various countries.

As source material for understanding the relationship between Buddhism and the state, and also the issues of orthodoxy and heterodoxy within Buddhism, the chronicles of Sri Lanka, whose earliest written form dates from approximately the fourth century CE, are useful. The norm for the monastic practices was the Vinaya, the code for monastic life believed to have been transmitted directly from the Buddha.

With respect to sectarianism, the Vinaya provides that, when four or more monks within a monastery differ from the others, they may leave and found their own monastery. This has made possible the development of many perspectives within Buddhism. It is the discipline of the order that maintains the unity. In Sri Lanka in the early period two large monasteries tended to dominate Buddhist life and practice: the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagiri. In his *History of Buddhism in Ceylon* (Colombo, 1956) Walpola Rahula writes: “The Mahāvihāra . . . was faithful to the very letter of the orthodox teachings and traditions accepted by the Theravādins. The Abhayagiri monks, therefore, appeared in the eyes of the Mahāvihāra to be unorthodox and heretic” (p. 85).

At certain points in the history of Sri Lanka, one or the other of the major monasteries might be in favor, depending on the predilections of the ruler. These incidents indicate that in Buddhism, as in other traditions, the political leaders have exercised considerable control over what shall be deemed orthodox or acceptable. On the other hand, if the rulers unduly outrage the traditional values of the people, they can be in difficulty.

The sixth great Buddhist council was held in Rangoon, Burma, in 1954–1956. It reedited the Buddhist scripture and promoted movements of mutual understanding among Buddhists from different historical traditions. An ecumenical movement among Buddhists has developed, as indicated by the founding of the World Fellowship of Buddhists in 1950. Lay followers are more active in the modern period. Historically the monastic orders have dominated education and the transmission of the scriptures, but under modern conditions this is no longer the case.

Fundamentalism has been a prominent feature of the twentieth-century Sōka Gakkai. This group follows Nichiren’s teaching as to the importance of one scripture only and advocates political activism as a way of imposing Buddhist virtues.

CHINESE RELIGION. Religious life in China has been shaped since the earliest known dynasty (Shang, c. 1600 BCE) by cults of devotion to ancestors, and by a worldview that has affirmed the necessity of directing human activities toward harmony with the forces implicit in and beyond nature. Almost all schools of Chinese thought have assumed that an encompassing reality, the Dao, maintains balance and harmony among the divergent processes that constitute existence.

The emperor became a central legitimating figure, because he sanctioned the divine order and created or elevated new gods. Unlike in India, then, in China the legitimating power did not lie with priests.

The formative period of religious ferment was that of the Hundred Schools (sixth to third centuries BCE). The issues debated were generally concerned with how to develop individual character so as to overcome the divisive forces that led to social chaos. The two major schools of thought that emerged from these debates, the Confucian and the Daoist, shared the premise that the encompassing Dao existed, and that humans must learn to balance existence appropriately. They differed as to how the balance should be acquired, though neither perspective necessarily excluded the other.

The school that insisted on an exclusive orthodoxy of belief and practice was that of the Legalist, in power during the Qin dynasty (221–206 BCE). During this rigid regime, Confucian scholars were killed and books of traditional learning were burned. After this regime’s collapse, the succeeding dynasties encouraged Confucianism as the state doctrine—a role it retained until modern times. During the Han period, Confucianism provided the government with a standard code of ritual and moral norms that regulated behavior among persons. Books were preserved, and provided a perspective from ancient days different from the immediate needs of the state. Under the emperor Wu (140–87 BCE) efforts were made to institute a national system of schools and a civil service examination system. Textual orthodoxy was established. The curriculum of the schools consisted of the Confucian classics. The aim was to produce Confucian sages to serve the emperor and the society as civil servants and moral exemplars.

JUDAISM. Around the beginning of the fourth century BCE the religious leader Ezra, a priest and a scribe, returned from among the exiles in Babylon to Jerusalem, where he effected a religious reform that shaped subsequent Judaism. These events are recorded in the biblical books of Ezra and Nehemiah. The reconstitution of Judaism that occurred at this time made the scriptures available through the institution of schools and the use of public occasions as opportunities for adult education. The Bible says: “And Ezra the priest brought the law before the assembly, both men and women and all who could hear with understanding . . . and the ears of the people were attentive to the book of the law” (*Neh.* 8:2–3).

This reconstitution of Judaism gives a teaching function to the scribes (the scholars of the Law), but it also implies that the people are to appropriate the teachings by their capacity to hear with understanding. Ezra’s reforms are said to have reached a climax when the people engaged in solemn covenant to enter into no more mixed marriages, to refrain from work on the Sabbath, to support the Temple, and in general to comply with the demands of the Law. The school of scribes established by Ezra, or in his name, probably instituted a framework of orthodoxy that led eventually to the canonization of the Hebrew scriptures after the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE.

Subsequently, the locus of Judaism became a rabbinic program that stressed study of the scriptures, prayer, and works of piety. Under the leading rabbi, Yehudah ha-Nasiʾ (135–220?), an effort was made to standardize Jewish practice. The result was the collection of rabbinic lore titled the Mishnah, which became the primary source of reference and the basis around which the Talmud was later compiled.

Modern Hebrew uses the word *orthodox*, taken directly from the English, because no such term exists in earlier Hebrew. The word for *heterodox* is *min*, which tends to mean “individual deviant.” Procedures exist for readmission of deviants. The philosopher Spinoza was excommunicated by rabbinic authorities in Holland in 1656 because of his allegedly dangerous attitudes toward biblical authority. The idea that individuals or groups might have beliefs and practices that threaten the well-being of the tradition has existed in Judaism as far back as is known. In Ezra's times, individuals and groups were excluded from the Temple for various practices considered impure, such as mixed marriages. However, the extent to which exclusion was exercised varied considerably in different historical periods. After the destruction of the Temple, the rabbis rarely excommunicated anyone. In the modern period, exclusion is not considered a significant problem.

Reform Judaism developed in Germany in the 1840s and later appeared in the United States, where it spread widely. The Reform Jewish group first used the term *Orthodox Judaism* to characterize their more traditional conservative opponents. Reform Judaism stressed the individual observance of the moral law rather than strict observance of the traditional legal codes.

CHRISTIANITY. In the pastoral epistles of the New Testament, the members of the church are called upon to live "in all holy conversation and godliness, looking for and hasting unto the coming of the day of God" (*2 Pt.* 3:11–12). They are warned against "false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them" (*2 Pt.* 2:1).

These and similar passages indicate divisiveness within the early generations of Christians. During the first three centuries, factionalism resulted from conflicts as to purity of conduct, steadfastness under persecution, gnosis, Christology, and practical matters such as the date of Easter. When the emperor Constantine became Christian in the fourth century, he attempted to further unite his territories by promoting a unified perspective among Christians. Under his auspices the Council of Nicaea was summoned in 325, and agreement was reached on disputed matters. Dissident opinions were held to be anathema.

Eastern orthodoxy. A schism took place in 1054 between the Roman Catholic church and the churches of the Eastern Byzantine Empire. The Eastern churches see themselves as a fellowship of churches governed by their own head bishops. Today there are fifteen such churches. They claim to have preserved the original apostolic faith, which they believe to have been expressed through the common Christian tradition of the first centuries. They recognize seven ecumenical councils.

Roman Catholicism. The perspective that emerged as orthodox envisaged the bishop of Rome as the primary authority. The authority of the bishops was legitimated by apostolic succession. The importance of the priesthood was linked to the centrality of the ritual of the Eucharist. The historian Eusebius, a contemporary of the emperor Constantine, wrote a history of the church that for centuries legitimated the view that the structures and doctrines of the fourth-century church were equivalent to the original practices and beliefs.

Protestantism. Reformers in the sixteenth century claimed to replace the authority of the Roman Catholic hierarchy with the authority of the Bible. They denied the doctrine of transubstantiation and held ministers to be competent to interpret the scriptures. The teachings of the church councils were to be supported only insofar as they conformed to the scriptures.

With the passage of time, the relationship between the state and the churches in Protestant countries became one of increasing separation. Therefore the differences among Christians were not linked to the need of the state for unity. If Christians differed, they had the option of leaving to establish different forms of Christianity. In the tract *A Plain Account of the People Called Methodist* (1749), John Wesley describes the early Methodists' protest against hierarchical authority legitimated by doctrine: "The points we chiefly insisted upon were four; First, that orthodoxy, or right opinion is, at best, but a very slender part of religion, if it can be allowed to be any part of it at all." The chief business of religion, according to Wesley, was to effect the transformation of consciousness, so that the believer might come to have the mind of Christ.

The Council of Trent. At the Council of Trent (1545–1563) the positions of the Roman Catholic church were reaffirmed. Many of the abuses that had preceded the Reformation were done away with, but the authority of the church hierarchy, the role of the priesthood, and the doctrine of transubstantiation were reasserted. At the same time, anathemas were pronounced against the respective Protestant opinions.

The modern period. Efforts have been made toward further mutual understanding among diverse Christian churches. At the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), a number of studies reconsidered the roles of clergy and laity, and of biblical teaching with respect to the nature of the church. The forum for Protestant discussion of similar issues has been the World Council of Churches, which meets every six years since its establishment following World War II. It is attended by representatives of the majority of Protestant and Eastern Orthodox churches. Those who established the World Council held that mutual respect might better arise out of mutual knowledge and common action. They have envisaged a long-range process out of which a greater sense of mutuality may emerge, as a result of which historic conflicts may eventually be resolved.

Fundamentalism among Protestants usually affirms the inerrancy of the Bible and insists on one particular interpretation of scripture. Fundamentalist attitudes exist within all the major Protestant denominations.

ISLAM. One of the Arabic words used as an equivalent for orthodox is *mustaqīm.* It comes from the first *surāh* of the Qurʾān in which the believers are asked to follow the straight path, *al-sirāṭ al-mustaqīm.* In this respect, the straight path is primarily a way to live. Deviance would be a matter of rejecting the divine commands. From the Qurʾanic perspective, one who denies is called *kāfir* ("unbeliever," from *kufr,* "ingratitude; unbelief").

The first disputes among Muslims took place about thirty years after the death of the Prophet. These differences centered around the legitimate leadership of the community. After a brief civil war the members divided into two groups, Sunnīs and the Shīʿīs. The former acknowledged the actual leaders of the community to have been legitimate. The latter did not accept any leader apart from the caliph Ali, but rather waited for a divinely appointed leader to reappear and establish justice on the earth. A third group, the Khārijīs, attempted to enforce a strict puritanism as a criterion for membership in the community, but they failed to persuade the majority. With the passage of time, their perspective became insignificant.

Sunnī Islam and Shiism have each developed their own systems of religious law and theology, but neither explicitly excludes the other from Islam. Rather, each sees the other as misguided in its interpretations of particular aspects of Islam.

In one of the Sunnī theological statements commonly used as a basis for training scholar-jurists in the Middle Ages, and in traditional schools today—the *Commentary of al-Taftāzānī on the Creed of al-Nasafī* (trans. Edward Elder, New York, 1950)—heresy is characterized as *bāṭin* (esoteric interpretation of the Qurʾān). Such heresy is said to be equivalent to unbelief. The theologians commenting on the Qurʾān also equate unbelief with despair and with ridiculing the law. They are stating which attitudes they find unacceptable, rather than defining the characteristics that would lead to exclusion. Al-Taftāzānī deals with including great sinners in the community and affirms the Qurʾanic emphasis on the forgiveness of God. The community tended to leave final judgment of sinners to God's decision on Judgment Day.

The responsibility for guidance on matters respecting membership in the community lay with jurists rather than with theologians. On occasion, if the civil power was willing to support the opinions of particular scholar-jurists, persons were condemned for their views. More often, the condemnations of scholar-jurists with respect to dissenting opinions carried little force.

Deciding which practices and opinions were considered most adequate was a slow, informal process. There were no equivalents to the Buddhist or Christian councils. Only after the fact could it be determined that a particular perspective had gained widespread support. Even so, adherents of differing opinions were not normally excluded from participation in the community. Scholar-jurists often used abusive language about one another, but such rhetoric did not usually cause persons to be excluded from communal life.

The procedures by which the religious law, *sharīʿah*, was elaborated involved an appeal to chains of transmitters to legitimate the traditional narratives respecting the words and deeds of the prophet Muḥammad and his companions. This process of legitimation was similar to the Christian and Buddhist appeal to an unbroken line of trusted transmitters of the original teaching.

In the twentieth century Muslims threw off foreign domination in every major Muslim nation. The newly independent Muslim states varied in the ways by which they adapted the medieval religio-legal codes to modern conditions. A number of individuals wrote interpretations of Islam for modern times; two of the most influential were Syed Ameer Ali and Muḥammad Iqbal.

An active form of Muslim fundamentalism has developed in the Arab world, Iran, and the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. Such groups affirm the urgency of agreement on one interpretation of Islam, and of imposing this interpretation by means of a state controlled by morally upright persons.

SEE ALSO Canon; Expulsion; Heresy; Orthopraxy; Schism; Theology, article on Christian Theology; Truth.

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ORTHOPRAXY. Derived from the Greek *orthos* ("straight, right") and *praxis* ("doing, practice"), *orthopraxy* refers to "correctness of a practice or a body of practices accepted or recognized as correct," according to *Webster's Third International Dictionary of the English Language.* The term in English is rarely used, having been displaced by the related term *orthodoxy,* from the Greek *orthos* and *doxa* ("opinion, belief"). *Webster's Third* defines *orthodoxy* as "conformity to an official formulation or truth, esp. in religious belief or practice." Thus common English usage assumes that dogma governs practice.

The proclivity of English speakers to think in terms of orthodoxy rather than orthopraxy has historical roots. During the early centuries of the Christian church, the ecumenical councils defined and championed an orthodox creed to quell potentially divisive heresies. During the period of the Reformation, doctrinal interpretation became a battleground for orthodoxy as the various churches strove to reestablish stability in beliefs after a period of ferment and schism. In the modern world, traditional ideologies have their champions, who militantly defend orthodox views against maverick reinterpretations. As a result of this history, Westerners commonly assume that beliefs are the defining core of any religion.

Religions, however, do not begin and end with doctrine. They also entail liturgical, contemplative, or ethical practices as well as direct or mediated experiences of the sacred. If doctrines or beliefs remain the only yardstick by which a religious tradition is measured, other aspects of religious life and experience, which may in certain cases be far more important than belief, will be neglected or ignored.

Orthopraxy provides a nondoctrinal focus for analysis, an alternative model for understanding the functioning of religion in a given community. The concept of orthopraxy helps scholars to broaden their religious imaginations and enhance their religious "musicality," their sensitivity to the full scope and variety of the rhythms, patterns, and harmonies of religious life.

Orthopraxy is a particularly apt term for describing cases in which written codes of behavior for liturgy and daily life constitute the fundamental obligations of religion. Frederick Streng has called this religious modality "harmony with cosmic law," noting that the codes delineate not only the path of individual piety but also the hierarchical and complementary roles that build a harmonious society.

Judaism, Hinduism, Confucianism, and Islam exemplify Streng's "harmony with cosmic law." The primary religious obligation in these traditions is the observance of a code of ritual and social behavior minutely stipulated in religious texts and in scholarly commentaries as interpreted by the educated religious elite. The code has sacred authority because it was established in ancient times by a god or the revered founder or founders of the tradition. These religions have no creed, no officially sanctioned statement or dogma that holds a key place in liturgy or rites of passage. In these instances religiosity is not primarily a matter of holding correct opinions but of conforming to a set of behaviors.

Orthopraxy is central to the dynamics of religious life in Judaism, Hinduism, Confucianism, and Islam. For instance, in the first three traditions observance of the religious code (orthopraxy) establishes and reinforces the cultural or ethnic identity of the community. These religions do not claim to be universal; each is associated with a specific cultural group.

Cultural and ethnic groups perpetuate their communal identity through distinctive mores based on shared symbols and values that establish behavioral boundaries between themselves and other groups (Royce, 1982). In Judaism, Hinduism, and Confucianism, the practices mandated by the sacred law define the distinctive boundaries of the culture and the identity of the group within a larger world. In these cases religion defines and reaffirms one's cultural roots rather than one's beliefs; religious and cultural identity are inseparable. Observance of the written code also ensures a semblance of unity within each group despite considerable local variations caused by linguistic or regional differences.

At first glance, Islam does not appear to use orthopraxy to maintain an ethnic identity. Islam has not been bound to one ethnic or cultural group; like Christianity and Buddhism it has become a world religion, ranging extensively across the globe among a diversity of peoples. Originally, however, Islam was strongly tied to Arab culture and identity; to become a Muslim one had to join an Arab tribe if one were not favored by Arab birth. Perhaps the original cultural boundedness of Islam, its view of itself as the religion of a distinctive and chosen people, helps to account for the centrality of orthopraxy. To be a Muslim is to accept and observe the law of Allāh. Surrender to Allāh is not a matter of belief in a doctrine; it is a matter of obedience to his commands (Smith, 1963).

Although Qurʾanic law no longer maintains the original ethnic boundaries of Islam, it serves to create unity within the Islamic world, thus minimizing very real differences. Sunnī and Shīʿī interpretations of the law differ considerably, and there are local variations in the way in which the law is applied. Observance of the law, however, identifies each community as Muslim. A commitment to orthopraxy binds together all who surrender to Allāh.

In Judaism, Hinduism, Confucianism, and Islam, the sacred law also establishes a standard of religious purity that, along with knowledge of the law, defines a religious and social elite. All members of the culture traditionally were expected to observe the mores of the groups as encoded in the law, but meticulous observance was both the defining quality and the responsibility of the religious elite.

Gradations of ritual purity and observance define and perpetuate the hierarchical structure of Hindu society. Upper-caste Hindus have heavier ritual responsibilities and are expected to maintain an elevated standard of purity. Likewise, groups seeking recognition of increased social status in Hindu society must raise the level of their ritual purity. Thus in Hindu culture, the sacred law establishes a standard for both individuals and groups (Dumont, 1967).

Although Jewish, Confucian, and Islamic cultures were not characterized by the elaborately graduated ritual hierarchy of the Hindu caste system, scrupulous observance of the law and knowledge of tradition were the responsibility of the social and religious elite nonetheless. In China, the law or ritual code dealt primarily with social ethics, the standard of a humane and civilized society. However, it also prescribed ritual obligations in regard to the mourning and veneration of ancestors. The mandarin was to be the model of the civilized moral person, with a profound sense of obligation to family and community. In Judaism and Islam, the law defined a complete way of life: ritual observance, dietary code, ethics, familial and marriage practices. The rabbi in Judaism and the *ʿulamāʾ* in Islam were scholars and teachers who embodied and interpreted the law to their congregations.

In traditions in which the observance of the law is the central religious obligation, orthopraxy establishes and maintains ethnic or religious boundaries and gradations of social and religious purity. However, orthopraxy functions in a broad range of religious traditions and circumstances. An examination of selected examples will illustrate the variety of roles orthopraxy plays in the religions of the world.

In tribal cultures, orthopraxy defines not only religious obligations; it is also the law of the tribe. Its sacred and secular functions are barely distinguishable. The tribal rulers and the ritual specialists are usually two distinct groups; yet, because they share a common tradition and sense of orthopraxy, religion and government support each other. Religion and the state can cooperate in full harmony only in a religiously homogeneous community. When religious pluralism becomes the norm, secular law must develop along autonomous principles to apply equally to all citizens, whatever their religion.

Even in large-scale and complex societies, such as pre-Mughal India or traditional China, sacred law can have an intimate connection to sovereign authority and the secular law, if one religion is overwhelmingly dominant or has established an unassailable claim as the state ideology. The Indian and Chinese rulers were not themselves the religious elite, but their sovereignty and ruling effectiveness were shaped and supported by the sacred code.

In China, Confucianism remained the official state religion and ideology until 1911, and its values were enforced by law, although Buddhism, Daoism, Nestorianism, Islam, Judaism, and Christianity were present as well. The state accepted the existence of other religions as long as they made no claim to be the law of the land. When Daoists, Muslims, or Buddhists occasionally tried to supplant Confucian mores with their own, they were charged with rebellion and chastised by the full military power of the state.

The Chinese saw no threat in the coexistence of religions, even when two religions coexisted within the life of a single citizen. Most Chinese, in fact, combined Confucian values and practices with Buddhism, Daoism, or some other religion. Each religion, however, had its proper place in the hierarchy of the social order. As an old saying goes, “Daoism cures the body; Buddhism regulates the mind; Confucianism governs the state.” Thus the Chinese found a means to reconcile religious pluralism with the maintenance of a sacred code and orthopraxy, a reconciliation that served as the basis of the Chinese social order for two millennia.

Orthodoxy and orthopraxy are also factors in the process of communal religious renewal. The history of religions offers endless variations on the theme of renewal as communities struggle to recapture the freshness and power of their tradition. Belief and practice are subject to continual reinterpretation by the religious elite, who revise their understanding of tradition according to ongoing experience, and by ordinary people, who believe and practice their religion in ways that reflect their individual, social, and historical circumstances. What makes beliefs or practices correct (*orthos*) is the consensus of the living community in a particular social and historical circumstance. In every religious drama, from everyday worship to grand ceremony, the actors negotiate the meanings and practices according to their collective and personal experiences.

Orthopraxy and orthodoxy become issues because religion and its meanings are social and shared. Private belief and experience neither mediated through the symbols of tradition nor authenticated by the living religious community isolate the individual; private belief is socially meaningless, often perceived as fantasy, or even madness. The ongoing process of religious socialization is the mediation of belief, the negotiation of significance. Collective perceptions, however, are fluid; they evolve with time and circumstances, and thus religious traditions are constantly renewed and reinterpreted.

Pluralistic cultures are torn by competing claims of orthodoxy and orthopraxy. The issue of orthopraxy dominates religious competition in sectarian groups that seek to separate themselves from a corrupt, misguided, and tainted society. Their members retreat into communities marked by a strict and demanding religious life. The Amish and the Shakers, among other groups, rejected the larger Christian culture, considering its laws and religious life fallen and depraved. They sought to live out their vision of a pure Christian life, abjuring the taint of sinful society. Members of their community who did not follow the discipline were first reproved, then shunned, and finally expelled. Correct living was the measure of the religious life.

Similar in some ways to the Amish and the Shakers, although not sectarian in intent, are the religious orders of the Roman Catholic church or the *saṃgha* of Buddhism. These communities of individuals choose the religious life in response to a special vocation; they renounce the pleasures and ties of the material world, such as sex and property, in order to live a life of purity and contemplation. Their exemplary lives of sacrifice and discipline were traditionally believed to benefit the broader community and not just themselves.

Orthopraxy can support the secular arm of the state or the rebellion of a sectarian movement. It can be a force for change or for repression of change. At times, the powerful forces for change threaten traditional values, and religious communities may hold tightly to an orthopraxy in order to maintain traditional values. At other times, orthopraxy evolves along with community acceptance of new realities and values, as in the loosening of regulations on drinking and card playing among American Methodists in the mid-twentieth century or the changes in Catholicism following Vatican II. An earlier example of this is the acceptance of married clergy among Pure Land Buddhists in Japan since the thirteenth century. Orthopraxy may even serve the cause of progressive social change, as it does for many liberation theologians. This group sees praxis, action, and reflection on action as the core of the Christian life and they believe that correct practice (orthopraxy) is directed toward liberating the oppressed and reducing suffering in the world.

The concept of orthopraxy helps the student of religion to avoid excessive emphasis on the doctrinal model of religions, but a word of caution is in order. In most cases orthopraxy and orthodoxy are intimately connected and represent two interrelated aspects of religious life. Belief and practice at once entail and support each other.

While orthopraxy is more important than orthodoxy in tribal religions, the "ways of the gods or ancestors" are based on stories or beliefs about what the gods or ancestors did or said. These practices are not merely a random set of behaviors; they express a worldview, a coherent story of the community and its relationship to the world it knows. Likewise, there is no motivation for following a ritually correct or pure life in Judaism, Hinduism, Confucianism, or Islam without belief in and about the God or gods or sages who handed down the law. The law is rooted in and implies a particular view of the sacred, of human life, and of the world. There is no ritual behavior that is not also the expression of certain beliefs about the relationship of the human and the divine, the relationship of ordinary action and sacred command.

While belief and practice are intimately connected, it is not the case that one always dominates the other. Some religions under certain conditions stress that belief leads to practice. Other religions, such as Confucianism, stress that practice leads to and deepens belief and understanding. The student of religion must carefully observe how doctrine and practice complement and correct each other in each unique historical circumstance.

SEE ALSO Heresy; Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy.

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A number of anthropologists have explored the ways in which religious practices and mores serve to define the ethnic or cultural boundaries of a community. In *Ethnic Identity: Strategies of Diversity* (Bloomington, Ind., 1982), Anya P. Royce provides a review of the literature and offers an articulate analysis of strategies for maintaining ethnic identity. Barbara E. Ward demonstrates how local regions and communities within cultures unified by a standard of behavior consider their variations on the universal mores in the realm of orthopraxy; see her "Varieties of the Conscious Model: The Fishermen of South China," in *The Relevance of Models for Social Anthropology,* edited by Michael Banton (New York, 1965).

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JUDITH A. BERLING (1987)
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OSAGE RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS. The Osage people (*wazhazhe* or *ni u ko^{n}shka*) were the aboriginal occupants of a large territory in the center of the present-day United States located between the Missouri and Arkansas Rivers west of the Mississippi, with reservation lands located today in northeastern Oklahoma. The Osage people are a part of a larger family of American Indian communities including the Poncas, Omahas, Kansas, and Quapaws and related linguistically to the Lakotas and Dakotas.

The Osage were the focus of study by an American Indian ethnographer who was fluent in a closely related dialect. Francis La Flesche, himself an Omaha, published some two thousand pages of ethnographic descriptions of the Osage for the Bureau of American Ethnography, recording substantial parts of many ceremonies. His publications include ceremonial descriptions and extensive recitations in Osage collected from several older practitioners with whom he worked in the early 1900s. His compilation has been called the most complete record of North American Indian ceremonies. Although La Flesche had the advantage of language skills in his study of the Osage, even these extensive documents need to be read with a critical and discerning eye.

La Flesche published five lengthy treatises describing seven significant ceremonial rites, but these are only a partial sampling of the full array of Osage ceremonial life, as he himself clearly notes. He only alludes, for instance, to the ceremony performed before engaging in a community buffalo hunt, commenting that it was in "all respects" similar to the war ceremony (namely, taking a period of some days to complete); likewise, he barely mentions the ceremonial structures attending to the agricultural activities of planting and harvesting. There are other key factors for which he fails to give any deeper explanation or interpretation, such as the central role of the sacred pipe (*no^{n}nío^{n}ba wako^{n}dagi*) in all Osage proceedings.

OSAGE CEREMONIAL STRUCTURES. Like other indigenous nations in the Americas (and especially in North America), Osage people understood the world as an intricate and sophisticated, interconnected organic whole structured as a thoroughgoing dualism of reciprocity. They came to know the universe as a complementary pairing of above and below, sky and earth, the two great fructifying forces of the universe, and recognized a cosmic source of power that made itself manifest with the same dualistic reciprocity. As a result, they carefully modeled themselves—personally and socially—as a mirror-image reflection of this universe, dividing themselves and their clans between the two sociopolitical divisions of *tsízhu* (sky) and *hó^{n}ga* (earth).

The numerous ceremonial structures of the Osage peoples, along with their underlying cultural philosophy, were remarkably complex, like those of most American Indian nations. They required enormous physical preparation and intense ceremonial acts as well as extensive memorization, since the ceremonies were detailed, lengthy, and required considerable verbatim recitation. Their religious traditions were thoroughly interlaced with their cultural values and daily practices, but were especially characterized in these carefully structured and intricately detailed ceremonies involving a widely dispersed number of key participants and leaders, upon whose cooperation the success of each ceremony depended.

There were ceremonies engaged in by the tribal community as a whole that involved key participants from all or many of the clans, such as ceremonies preparing for war or hunting, certain initiation ceremonies, or marking the beginning of a new year. Other ceremonies were personal, family, or clan ceremonies and might still involve a significantly large number of participants. The smoking of a sacred pipe might take a short period of time—an hour or less. The war ceremony might typically have taken up to a dozen days, while the ceremony for initiating someone into the ranks of the Little Old Ones could stretch over several years before its completion.

The importance of these ceremonies is already evident in the personal spiritual practices of Osage people, noticed historically by many Western observers. Daily prayers were a constant among the Osage, beginning with the personal song each member of the community sang to greet the rising of the sun, a discipline practiced by other Indian communities as far away as the Ojibwa in Minnesota. These personal prayers were then repeated at noon and sundown each day.

OSAGE COSMOLOGY. Much of our knowledge of these ceremonies comes from La Flesche, who uses two translations that pose continuing problems for our understanding of Osage religious traditions. His use of certain convenient English language glosses as a device to connect with his readership of seventy or eighty years ago has biased understandings of Osage culture and religious traditions ever since. Each of these is a Western concept that is so loaded with connotative meaning as to render it less than helpful in talking about any non-Western culture. The first of these is his use of the word *god* to describe the Osage notion of the Sacred Other.

Spiritual concepts. *Wako^{n}da* was the spiritual force or energy that Osages saw permeating the whole of the world, and which they experienced in a great variety of manifestations at any given moment and especially in any given place. This was the insight that lent itself to the Osage conception of the interrelationship of all things on the earth and in the universe. *Wako^{n}da* was the Osage word used by the early missionaries to express their Christian concept of god, and indeed La Flesche most often translates *wako^{n}da* as *god.* Treated thus, however, the word, like *great spirit,* is simply used as a popular gloss and conveys misinformation rather than real knowledge. La Flesche's second entry in his *Osage Dictionary* begins to get at the real heart of the matter: *wako^{n}da* "is the name applied by the Osage to the mysterious, invisible, creative power which brings into existence all living things of whatever kind. They believe that this great power resides in the air, the blue sky, the clouds, the stars, the sun, the moon, and the earth, and keeps them in motion" (p. 193).

This *wako^{n}da* is ultimately an unknowable mystery that only becomes knowable in particular manifestations. It makes itself manifest first of all as Above and Below, as *wako^{n}da mo^{n}shita* and *wako^{n}da hiudseta,* corporealized as sky and earth, and called upon as Grandfather and Grandmother. *Wako^{n}da,* which has no inherent or ultimate gender, becomes visible as the necessary reciprocity of male and female.

It needs to be emphasized that these two are not different *wako^{n}da,* but rather manifestations of the one *wako^{n}da,* even though they have specific personality traits similar to those which traditional Christian trinitarian doctrine asserts. While they are manifestations of the same *wako^{n}da,* they represent power in different forms, both of which are necessary in order to have some balanced understanding of the Otherness that is the Sacred Mystery. Indeed, *wako^{n}da* has manifested itself in a great many other ways, all of which help the Osage people to better understand the Mystery, the world, themselves, and their place in the world. Since *wako^{n}da* permeates all life in the world, Osages readily conceived of themselves as kinfolk to the buffalo, eagles, spiders, rocks, and other manifestations of the cosmic energy that makes up the world. To assume that the simplistic gloss "god" somehow is adequate to translate and classify *wako^{n}da* in English immediately falsifies the internal cultural meaning of *wako^{n}da* for Osage peoples by imposing a historic Western category of cognition.

Leadership. The second problematic translation is La Flesche's use of the word *priest* to refer to a group of initiates who functioned as a village council. To get at this concern, we need to look at the structures of leadership in Osage civil and religious life, which was organized around a great diffusion of civil and religious leadership and authority. Osage cultural organization allowed for a variety of voices to be involved in each ceremony and any decision-making process and provided for the exercise of authority by different people in different community situations. While there were two appointed civil leaders (*gahiga,* called "chiefs" in English) in every village, one from each of the two principle divisions or moieties, they had only limited authority, which was exclusively focused on internal affairs and lacked any formal role in the external affairs of the tribe, such as military activities. The limitation of their authority can be seen implicitly in the practice of shared authority, with each taking leadership on alternate days during a tribal hunting expedition.

The most significant religious and political leadership (but not day-to-day governance) in an Osage village was exercised by a council called the Little Old Ones (*no^{n}ho^{n}zhi^{n}ga*), a group of mature adult men and always some women who coordinated the life of the community, conducted the ceremonies, and were the source and the keepers of the esoteric and abstract knowledge of the community. They held the greater decision-making power in key situations. Selected because of their character, intelligence, abilities, and spiritual gifts, members of this council had each gone through rigorous initiation rites into one or more of the different ranks of ceremonial responsibility and leadership. This council was, as a whole, the community's repository of wisdom and its members functioned as the principal ceremonial actors in every major ceremony. These council members are the public personalities that La Flesche calls priests.

In the course of a war-preparation ceremony and subsequent military expedition, more than a dozen different members of this council, each from different clans, would typically exercise leadership, either in the war ceremony itself or as tactical leaders in the actual engagement, with a sharp differentiation between the two. The one who is usually referred to as the war leader (*dodo^{n} ho^{n}ga*) was always a member of this council because of the religious function of the position, and was most critical to the success of the military endeavor. Most strikingly, this war leader was a noncombatant who had no responsibility or authority for determining actual battle strategy even though he (or occasionally she) accompanied the military detachment. The responsibility of this *dodo^{n} ho^{n}ga* was to be in constant prayer from the beginning of the war ceremony until the completion of the military engagement.

One of the most striking aspects of the Osage war ceremony was the commitment of this war leader to undertake a serious regimen of isolation, prayer, and dry-fasting (without food or water) for up to seven days in a ceremony called in English the Vision Quest or Rite of Vigil. His fast continued even while on the march until the excursion was fully completed and he returned home with the detachment. Then his role as war leader ended. The spiritual role of war leader could be filled by any one of a hundred or more *no^{n}ho^{n}zhi^{n}ga* who might potentially serve this function.

While the *no^{n}ho^{n}zhi^{n}ga* underwent significant rites of initiation into their formal eldership and held key roles in all the ceremonies, they were not priests, and the use of this word becomes terribly misleading. La Flesche reports the existence of two other categories of religious leadership, which seem to have had more day-to-day religious importance. These include those who were keepers of the Great Bundles and whose responsibilities extend to tattooing and certain kinds of healing. The other category is one that he only mentions, without interpretive description, but must have included those healers who are sometimes called "medicine" people by Western observers (whom James Dorsey calls "shaman," using the Tungusik word). Officially, La Flesche calls them the keepers of the "great medicine bundles." While these latter two categories might more logically fit the Western category of priest, neither of them had specific roles in the main public ceremonies of the tribe.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE. From all that can be pieced together of earlier Osage life, this was a diametric dualistic society, of the sort Lévi-Strauss contended did not exist, but which anthropologist Alfonso Ortiz demonstrated so thoroughly for his own Tewa community at San Juan (see *On Space, Time, Being, and Becoming in a Pueblo Society,* 1969). Every detail of social structure, even the geographic orientation of the old villages, reflected a reciprocal duality of all that is necessary for sustaining life. Like the Omahas, Poncas, Quapaws, and other related peoples, an Osage village was divided into two parts: the *tsízhu,* or sky moiety, and the *ho^{n}'ga,* or earth moiety.

An east-west roadway divided community architecture (both permanent towns and hunting camps), with the *tsízhu* constructing their lodges to the north and the *ho^{n}'ga* to the south. These two divisions represented female and male, matter and spirit, war and peace, but they functioned as a unified whole because they were always paired together as a reciprocal duality who together represented balance and completion. Spirit without matter is motion without substance; matter without spirit is motionless and meaningless. This spatial arrangement is carefully repeated in the seating of the *no^{n}ho^{n}zhi^{n}ga,* the council of elders, inside the lodge kept for their meetings and in all ceremonial observances.

Just as the Osage perceived the necessity of the two manifestations of *wako^{n}da* participating together to sustain life, so the two grand divisions sustained the life of the whole, so that what ethnographers would classify as "religion" pervaded marriage customs and even the habitual acts of sleeping and putting on clothing. To preserve the principles of spiritual and political unity in this duality, Osages were mandated to marry someone from the other grand division. To further enforce this religious sense of wholeness, the two grand divisions developed personal habits that helped each individual remember her or his part in this communal whole. Hence, those from the *ho^n'ga* grand division customarily slept on their right side and put on the right shoe first, while those from the *tsízhu* grand division functioned in the opposite manner, putting their left sleeve on first and sleeping on their left shoulder. As a result, even in sleep the two divisions performed a religious act that maintained their unity in division, as they lay facing each other asleep across the road that divided the whole community.

Much of the cosmological mythology of the tribe consists of accounts of the different origin of the two divisions and how they came to be together. The *tsízhu* division represents the tribe's origins in the sky itself, where the first Osages were created as incorporeal entities who needed to attain corporeality. In the course of this process they are eventually sent down to earth by *wako^{n}da,* "dropping like acorns from an oak tree." In their wanderings on the earth they soon discovered another community of *ho^n'ga* who called themselves the Isolated Earth People. After some negotiation these two decided to live together as one, bringing together the distinct qualities of each, and symbolically and functionally representing the whole of the Osage cosmology. To preserve the memory of their origins, the group maintained the division between sky and earth, and appointed two of three original divisions to live with the Isolated Earth People as the *ho^n'ga* moiety. Mandated intermarriage then functioned to hold the two divisions together. At the same time it symbolically held together the universe in microcosm and brought the opposites together both in the whole and in each individual. Thus it is that this dualism dominates even the material and ceremonial structures of Osage architectural geography and lends itself to the political and social cohesion and balance of every historic Osage community.

This symbiotic dualism, spatially configured, is not the oppositional dualism of good and evil that is typical in Judeo-Christian thought, but is, rather, a necessary reciprocity. It functions at a much more deeply spiritual level that still pertains for a great many American Indian people today, including Osages, even as they have abandoned the explicit structures of their historical past. While an Osage person may have been either *tsízhu* or *hon'ga,* she or he was always a child of parents who come from each of the divisions. Thus, each individual recognized herself or himself as a combination of qualities that reflected both sky and earth, spirit and matter, peace and war, male and female, and each struggled personally and communally to hold those qualities in balance with each other. These value structures begin with spatial designs of existence and are rooted in those spatial metaphors as fundamental mores of communal behavior and social organization.

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OSIRIS. Osiris is the Greek form of the name of the Egyptian god Wsjr, king of the afterworld. The Egyptian god Wsjr was often represented by a throne and an eye. He did not live with the other gods but among the dead, and therefore the Greeks identified him with Hades, as Plutarch (c. 46–after 199 CE) did in his *On Isis and Osiris.*

By the time of the Pyramid Texts (third millennium; fifth and sixth dynasties), the Egyptians believed that King Osiris once reigned in their land and was killed by his brother Seth. His corpse was saved and revified by his sister-wife Isis, his sister Nephthys, and other gods. Osiris's life continued in the next world, where he became king of the dead. The myth was the origin of rituals to preserve the deceased pharaohs. His was the prototypical death, and Osiris adopted the name Khentimentu (or Khentamenthes, Foremost of the Westerns).

According to the Greek version of the myth related by Plutarch in *On Isis and Osiris,* Typhon (the Greek name of

Seth) had a beautiful coffin made to Osiris's exact measurements and, with seventy-two conspirators at a banquet, promised it to the one who fit it. Each guest tried it for size, and of course Osiris fit exactly. Immediately Seth and the conspirators nailed the lid shut, sealed the coffin in lead, and threw it into the Nile. The coffin was eventually borne across the sea to Byblos, where Isis, who had been searching for her husband, finally located it. After some adventures of her own, Isis returned the body to Egypt, where Seth discovered it, cut it into pieces, and scattered the pieces throughout the country. Isis, however, found all the pieces (except the penis, which she replicated), reconstituted the body, performed the rituals to give Osiris eternal life, and founded his cult. The principal version of the story cited by Plutarch does not reveal how Isis gave birth to her son Horus, but according to the eighteenth-dynasty *Hymn to Osiris* and the iconography of several Egyptian monuments, she conceived Horus by the revivified corpse of her husband. The death of the god is often described by the Egyptian texts as a drowning at the end of a combat against Seth. Plutarch tells the story of the previous adultery of Osiris and Nephthys, Seth's sister and wife, the consequent birth of Anubis, and the wrath of Seth. The Pyramid Texts mention the "magic" acts performed by the gods to keep Osiris alive. Isis protected him with her wings, and Horus gave him an eye of his own to eat (Faulkner, 1969, nos. 579, 585).

Although Seth challenged the legitimacy of Isis's son, the gods decided in favor of Horus. The *Contendings of Horus and Seth*, preserved on a late New Kingdom papyrus and on a fragment of a Middle Kingdom one, indicates that Re, the chief god, favored Seth, but all the other great gods supported the cause of Horus. In the actual contest Horus proved himself the cleverer god. Horus succeeded and avenged his father without completely destroying Seth, toward whom Isis showed pity.

From the netherworld, Osiris granted the gifts of fertility and abundance to the earth and people. Droughts and the infertility of deserts were unavoidable as the god Seth was untamed, but the rituals in honor of Osiris assured the return of water and fertility.

CULT. Rituals of great political value included the balming, mummification, "opening of the mouth," and burial of the pharaohs to transform them into new beneficent gods following the Osirian pattern. The Pyramid Texts (e.g., nos. 219, 684) identify the dead pharaohs with Osiris and the living ones with Horus. The main purpose of the rituals was to keep the god alive, to preserve his vital might even in the realm of the dead. The condition of the god was sometimes described as asleep. In the Middle Kingdom period (2160–1580 BCE) the burial rituals of nobles identified them with Osiris, and during the New Kingdom period (1580–1090 BCE) the assimilation was widespread among the people. Relatively poor people could buy a cheap edition of the essential funerary texts in which their names were associated with Osiris. The name of the dead often included the name of Osiris before the personal name because he or she was like the god.

During the Middle Kingdom, Osiris's prevailing iconography was as a mummy bearing a wig, a crook, a flail, and sometimes a crown. Plutarch recorded in *On Isis and Osiris* that his body was dark. Later he was depicted lying on a lion-shaped bed flanked by Isis and Nephthys and backed by Anubis, the divine embalmer. In the *Book of the Dead,* Osiris is chairman at the soul's trial, when the heart of the dead is weighed.

One of the oldest centers of the Osirian cult was Abydos, where the kings of the earliest dynasties were buried and where many New Kingdom nobles were buried and represented face to face with Osiris. The Ramessides built many monuments in his honor. Here he was identified with the jackal god Khentimentu. His appellation "Lord of Busiris" witnesses an ancient cult location at Busiris, whose name signifies "house of Osiris." Osiris was identified with the funerary god Anedjti, but it is possible that Anedjti is simply the local name of Osiris. Memphis, Philae, and many other places pretended to keep a piece of the dismembered body of Osiris. His birth from Geb and Nut and his kinship to Isis, Seth, and Nephthys claim the ancient influence of the Heliopolite theology, in which he was one of the nine great gods of the Ennead.

Although each Egyptian district had its own specific cult, the rituals for Osiris were performed everywhere under pharaonic control. The most important one was the fall ritual in the month of Khoiak. At Dendera, twenty-three biers with various local forms of Osiris were venerated in the course of the local festival in Khoiak. People prepared mummiform figures molded from sand and barley that were later watered and allowed to germinate. Many mummiform figurines containing grains of corn or barley, most of them ithyphallic, have been discovered in excavations, and many images of Osiris show cornstalks sprouting from his corpse. In his honor the *djed* pillars, which were thought to represent the backbone of Osiris, were raised. In Abydos and Edfu the statue of the god was treated by the priests with secret substances, covered with a ram's skin, and kept in a special container. The idol of Osiris was also brought in the *Neshmet* ship. The papyrus Salt deals with those ceremonies. Plutarch, as evidenced in *On Isis and Osiris,* knew the Osirian Pamylia festival, which included a procession in which the phallus of the god was celebrated. That festival was celebrated in Alexandria in August to celebrate the birth of Osiris. Herodotos (c. 484–between 430 and 420 BCE) notes that at Sais, near a lake, some nocturnal performances called *mysteria* (mysteries) were organized. Diodorus (first century BCE) states that secrets surrounded the truth about Osiris's death. Noise was forbidden by him as a god of silence, and his burials were often surrounded by inaccessible precincts (Assmann, 2001, p. 254). Herodotos identifies Osiris with Dionysos, and his opinion that the phallic processions of Greek Dionysiac festivals could have been influenced by Egyptian Osirian ceremonies has found modern acceptance (Burkert, 2002). In the Hellenistic Age (c. 200 BCE), Osiris also became the god who taught viticulture (Diodorus 1,17–18).

The motif of Osiris's life among the dead was specified and expanded in the solar character assumed by Osiris before the Amarna period (c.1370–c.1325 BCE). He was in fact joined to Amun-Ra. The *Book of the Dead* mentions "Osiris of sun-disk"; the Abydos stela of Ramses IV (twelfth century BCE) knows Osiris and Ra as "joined souls in the *Dat* (the realm of dead)." The mixed iconography of the Osirian mummy with the ram's head of Amun represented the joint nature of the gods. Osiris was therefore thought of as the sun during the night, when it visited the realm of dead, and his role as savior was bound to the vicissitudes of the sun. In this evolution there is no precise opposition between the solar theology of Heliopolis and chthonic religion as it has been thought (Kees, 1941).

Osiris's connections with the creator god Atum were strong. The lion-shaped funerary bed and the ram-shaped tool by which the mouths of the dead were opened were symbols of Atum. From the twenty-first dynasty, Osiris could be substituted as king and judge of the dead.

According to Plutarch's *On Isis and Osiris,* the fall festivals occurred when the days became shorter, the nights grew longer, and the level of the Nile began to recede. The fertility of the Egyptian earth depended on the Nile's inundation, and the cyclic burial and revival of Osiris were connected with the Nile's yearly phases. The inscription on the Shabaka's Stone (end of the eighth century) connects Osiris with the inundation of the Nile and its fructifying waters. The first century CE Egyptian priest Chaeremon attributed the same meaning to Osiris (fr.17 D van der Horst = Eusebius, *Evangelic Preparation* 3.11). Several later theologists contended that Osiris was the element of water, as Plutarch recorded in *On Isis and Osiris.* The papyrus *Jumilhac* informs us that people believed Osiris's sweat produced the Nile's flood and thus enabled the cultivation of cereals (Vandier, 1962).

The famous interpretation by James Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* (1962), recognized in Osiris the spirit of the corn, and Osiris's mythology should be an interpretation of corn's annual cycle. The connection with agriculture is evident, but Osiris's actions covered a larger field in the social structure. An often adopted definition of Osiris is "suffering god" (or "dying and rising god"). The ancient (Diodorus's book 1) and modern (Sethe, 1930, pp. 94–95) euhemeristic explanations of Osiris as a deified ancient man are not suitable. The personality of this god goes back to the features of Neolithic religion, in which cults of the dead were strictly related to the agrarian rituals. A central feature of Osiris was his kingship over the dead, and this fact reproduced the structure of Egyptian society as a great monarchy (Griffiths, 1980). The dilemma of the dying god has worried many scholars, although Erik Hornung (1990) has stressed that death was the destiny of many Egyptian gods, whose beings were ever marked by cyclic death and life, as was the sun. A Greek god never looks older and never dies, whereas the eternity of Osiris consisted in a mysterious cycle of life and death. Nevertheless, in the coffin texts he was conceived as the immutable eternity.

HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN PERIODS. The Osirian mysteries acquired in imperial times a new philosophical dimension, and Osiris was thought of as the eternity. The priest-philosopher Heraiskos (fifth century CE) discovered that Aion of Alexandria was also Osiris and Adonis (Damascius, *Life of Isidorus*, p.174 Zintzen). Aion was the deity on perennial time, and the Alexandrian Aion was also the god of destiny. His image was that of a snake, and Osiris also was sometimes represented entwined with a snake. That image corresponds to the hieroglyph signifying eternity.

The Apis bull was thought of as the soul of Ptah and Osiris (Diodorus 1.85.4; Strabo 17.1.31; Plutarch, 1970, 20; 29), and the Greeks worshiped it at least from the beginning of the fifth century. The foundation of a Greek city at Alexandria and the creation of the Macedonian kingship in Egypt under Alexander (356–323 BCE) and later under the Ptolemies produced a restyling of the great god of the dead. The names of Osiris and Apis (Osor Apis) were joined and gave birth to the name of Sarapis (or Serapis). Perhaps Alexander knew this god, but the complete transformation of Osiris into Sarapis was conceived by Ptolemy I (367, 366, or 364–283 or 282 BCE), the Egyptian priest Manetho, and the Eleusinian priest Timotheos (fourth century BCE). The king saw in a dream a statue of Hades. His minister Sosibios discovered this statue at Sinope, and the Egyptians succeeded in taking it to Alexandria. That was the new image of Osiris identified with Hades, Dionysos, and Asklepios. Plutarch noted in *On Isis and Osiris* that he was seated on a throne and a snake stood on his hand and Cerberus by his feet. Over his head was the *kalathos* or *modius*, the measure of corn, to symbolize his attitude to produce fertility.

Sarapis's temple, the Serapeum, was built by Ptolemy III (d. 221 CE) and became the most famous one in Alexandria and one of the most important in the ancient world. Its destruction in 491 CE produced a pagan outburst. The Ptolemies attached a large library to the temple. The meter to measure the Nile's level (Nilometer) was kept by the Serapeum, and Aelius Aristides (129–c.189 CE) celebrated Sarapis as the one who "drives up the Nile in summertime, and calls him back in winter" (*Oration on Sarapis* 32).

The nature of Sarapis was that of an international god, and many Serapea were consecrated in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds with a major shift in the second century CE. The first phase (third to first centuries BCE) of his cult was marked by an evident Hellenization. During the first century BCE the Roman phase began, marked by a stronger Egyptian style. Because he was also the protector of the Ptolemaic dynasty, the spread of Sarapis's cult advanced in accord with the foreign policy of the Alexandrian royal house. Sarapis was a supreme god, whose cosmological place was over the top of the universe, which was conceived as a sphere. Many Jews and Christians venerated him as the image of their god (*Babylonian Talmud*, *Avodah Zarah;* Historia Augusta, *Life of Sa-*

turninus 8). The Greek translation of the Bible was kept in his temple (Iohannes Chrysostomus, *Patrologia Graeca* 48, 851), and he was often identified with the biblical Joseph (*Gn* 41:34–57) because this Jewish hero supplied the Egyptians with corn during the seven years of famine (Mussies, 1979). Sarapis often delivered oracles or performed miracles during dreams. The Roman Empire conceived of Sarapis as a solar god, the one god to whom the other divine entities owed their power (e.g., Iulian, *Hymn to Helios* 10; Macrobius 1.20.13). According to Erik Peterson (1926), he was often acclaimed, together with Zeus, as the only god.

Plutarch wrote that the cult of Osiris survived in the mysteries, and one can add that it was important in the doctrines and rituals of magic and that Sarapis was never substituted for him among Egyptian natives. The late mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman worlds are scarcely known because of their secrecy. They were practiced in the temples of Sarapis and Isis. The most important text describing the ceremonies outside the temples is the eleventh book of Apuleius's (c. 124–after 170 CE) *Metamorphses.* The procession of the initiates carried an Osirian image in the form of a precious vessel an image of Osiris Hydreios that often had Osiris's head on top (the "Canopic Osiris") and held the sacred water of the Nile during the ceremonies. The bald-headed priests clad in linen held secret objects, wands and ivy used also in the Dionysiac cult, and in the temples water basins were regulated in the proper time to imitate the Nile flood. According to Julius Firmicus Maternus (fourth century CE) in *On the Error of Profane Religions*, the crucial rituals of the Isiac mysteries were the burial of Osiris, the mourning, the search for and discovery of his corpse, followed by the joy of the congregation.

Egyptian gem cutters produced series of hematite amulets that supposedly gave health to the womb. On them Osiris was represented alongside other fertility gods,such as Isis, Chnumis, Bes, the child Horus, and the mummiform Anubis, all standing on a schematic womb. These gods favored pregnancy and birth. In the magic practices several magicians acted as if they were Seth, threatened Osiris, and forced him to do what they wanted (e.g., *Papyri Graecae Magicae* 4,179–189; 12,121–143).

SEE ALSO Iconography, article on Egyptian Iconography; Kingship, article on Kingship in the Ancient Mediterranean World; Mystery Religions.

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OSTIAK RELIGION See FINNO-UGRIC RELIGIONS; KHANTY AND MANSI RELIGION; SOUTHERN SIBERIAN RELIGIONS

OSTRACISM See EXPULSION

OTHERWORLD. The belief that human beings are in touch with several dimensions of reality is nearly universal. Indeed, for many cultural groups and most religious ones, the nonphysical world is far more real and important than the material one. In most cultures it is believed that those who have died move into another dimension of reality and that the living can experience the presence of the deceased as well as other aspects of the nonphysical realm. Sometimes this belief is clearly articulated; sometimes it can best be observed by witnessing the rituals that people perform. Often, what people believe is better evaluated by what they do than by what they say they believe.

The available material on the nature and quality of the otherworld has grown to voluminous proportions as anthropological studies have added to the data over the last hundred years. There are only a limited number of disparate points of view concerning its essential nature, yet there is an amazing wealth of difference in specific details. Nearly every large cultural or religious group, from archaic times to the present, has one or another of these points of view concerning the otherworld. The attitude of the religious expert differs from that of the well-informed member of the group, and the latter in turn differs from the basically unconscious attitudes of the large majority of participants in a belief system. Some of the greatest works of literature describe this otherworld in detail, among them the *Epic of Gilgamesh* of Babylon, the *Bhagavadgītā* of India, the Tibetan *Book of the Great Liberation*, several of Plato's dialogues, Vergil's *Aeneid*, Dante's *Commedia*, and Goethe's *Faust*. On the other hand, B. F. Skinner's popular *Walden Two* (New York, 1948) presents a view of a world with no otherworld as counterpart.

In order to cover this enormous wealth of material, I shall deal first of all with seven quite different understandings of the otherworld. Communion with this dimension of reality on the part of specific groups will then be examined. Nonreligious studies and evidence for the reality of this domain will be surveyed, along with a brief discussion of the worldviews underlying these different conceptions.

VARIETIES OF BELIEF. In many cultures the otherworld is viewed as a shadowy state, gray and dull. In some groups the soul, or shade, of the person is believed to continue to live near the site of the burial. Ancient Roman and popular Chinese beliefs and rituals suggest that the ghost of the person is envious of living human beings and needs to be placated with offerings of food and other gifts. Some groups believe that the departed spirit of a person lingers near the corpse and renders it unclean. The Navajo practice of abandoning the dwelling in which a death occurs shows the fear with which many view the denizens of the otherworld. Furthermore, the modern fear of haunted places and the interest in ghosts found in nearly all cultures lingers in many of us.

In still another stratum of belief, these unhappy shades are collected together in one place, usually an underworld, to which they pass directly down from the grave. It is a dull, colorless place of half-existence. The Babylonians viewed the place of the dead very much as the Hebrews viewed She'ol, a place of diminished existence where there is no contact with Yahveh. The Homeric Hymns portray the same kind of place. For Dante, this place is described as limbo, where the righteous pagans must remain.

Edgar Herzog's excellent study *Psyche and Death* (New York, 1967) traces the psychological development of the understanding of afterlife from fear of the dead to a more happy view of the deceased and the otherworld. The life of the deceased from this view point is seen as being much the same as a full life in this world. The otherworld contains the best of human pleasures and joys. There is also a belief that the next world will be much better than this one, with greener grass, more beautiful flowers, and a more positive relation with the divine reality. Raymond Moody's *Life after Life* (Atlanta, 1975) and Karlis Osis's *At the Hour of Death* (New York, 1977) describe dying and near-death experiences, report contacts with deceased, and give a largely optimistic picture of the otherworld. This view is found throughout the world—among some Bantu-speaking peoples and many Polynesian tribes, as well as among some American Indians; it is represented in modern times by nonreligious research into the otherworld.

The most common view of the otherworld gives a picture of several different realms: a highly desirable heaven or heavens, many varieties of fearful and horrible states, and intermediate states through which one passes to arrive at the final destination. The quality of the dying person determines the realm of the otherworld into which he or she will pass. In some cultures the status of the deceased determines the outcome: a warrior killed in battle, a king, or a chief has easy access to the realm of bliss. In later Greek religion some of the heroes were able to escape Hades and enter the realm of the gods, a blissful otherworld. This view implies a soul that is immortal or at least long-lasting; the body is seen as only the temporary carrier of the soul. Mircea Eliade has demonstrated in his monumental study of archaic techniques of ecstasy, *Shamanism* (Princeton, 1964), that this view of a permanent core of humanness and a realm into which it can pass is found all over the globe and reaches back into prehistoric times. The shaman can leave the body through ecstasy and trance and enter the otherworld. The shaman can, therefore, become the guide of the dying, who must make a perilous journey into the otherworld. The dying can also step into this other dimension to bring back souls lost there and so bring healing to those whose sickness has been caused by a disturbed relation with the otherworld.

One enters this otherworld by way of a journey, passing through difficulties and tests, often crossing a bridge that is razor-sharp. In Hinduism, Islam, some forms of Buddhism, ancient Iranian religion, and Christianity, this journey and the places visited are described using earthly symbols, but the otherworld is perceived as another dimension of reality. Less reflective thinkers in these traditions retain a geocentric point of view, picturing heaven as above and hell as below the earth. Others believe that the entrance into the otherworld is put off until the end of time, when the dead will rise and take their places in a reconstituted heavenly earth or in the abyss or will even be annihilated.

Coming to the place of bliss and avoiding the state of torment can be accomplished in numerous ways. A skilled shaman may help to effect the passage. In Islam, knowing the right formula for acknowledging God may be more significant than the quality of moral or religious practice. In Christianity, having the last rites properly performed and confessing one's sins before death are important factors. The ultimate nature of the otherworld and the powers within it determine one's place there.

In both Hinduism and Buddhism, there is another important aspect of belief in the otherworld. The nonphysical, spiritual dimension is the only reality; religious illumination consists in coming to realize this truth and then, on the basis of this realization, becoming detached from the illusion (*māyā*) of this physical world, which keeps one from fulfillment in the real world. This is achieved by spiritual and moral discipline, well exemplified in the life of Gandhi. Much the same point of view is found in Gnosticism, in which the physical world is not only unreal but evil. It is irredeemable and can only be escaped by a process of knowledge (*gnōsis*) and asceticism. By the same process one enters progressively higher levels of an eternal spiritual dimension.

Belief in reincarnation or the transmigration of souls is found associated with both these points of view. Those who do not escape from the bondage of evil or the illusory material world are reborn again and again into this world. They are reborn according to their *karman*, a moral and spiritual accounting of one's life. *Karman* automatically determines the fate of the individual in the next reincarnation; rebirth can bring one into a higher or lower human state or even into an animal existence. The goal of this process is to be released from this agonizing, continuing reimmersion in the illusory material world, thus passing into heaven as a godlike being or entering *nirvāṇa*. This view has filtered down into popular thought in many Eastern cultures, and, as difficult as it is for Westerners to believe, for many of these people the otherworld is more real and important than this one.

Heaven is pictured in a welter of vivid images in the literature and in the art and sculpture characteristic of Hinduism and Buddhism. Hindu and Buddhist temples portray the real world of the gods throughout East Asia. This exciting, richly colored world is worth the moral and spiritual discipline required to become emotionally uninvolved and detached from concern with outer physical illusion. At the end of the great Hindu epic called the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the hero leaves his beloved wife so that he can come to the detachment necessary for spiritual advancement in the otherworld.

The Buddhist conception of *nirvāṇa* is unique and important; it presents a conception diametrically opposed to the richly sensuous picture of heaven presented by Hinduism and most other world religions. *Nirvāṇa* is described mainly in negatives. If, indeed, the physical world is illusion, so is the human ego, which clearly differentiates the contents of that world. According to Zen and many other schools of Buddhism, the distinction between subject and object disappears in the enlightened person. The individual becomes one with reality and merges into it. It is therefore impossible to give any significant descriptions of this ultimate state.

Many statements about *nirvāṇa* sound as if the individual was annihilated, whereas others describe *nirvāṇa* as a state of ecstatic bliss. Illumination is a taste of *nirvāṇa* for the living. Images can be another form of illusion. Thus, the path toward enlightenment leads through imageless (apophatic) prayer to an imageless fulfillment that cannot be described except in saying what the earthly condition is not.

The major world religions (with the exception of Buddhism) perceive inner and outer images as revealing reality rather than hiding it. Various schools in each tradition describe heaven as a place of transformation, where people are gradually or suddenly changed into the quality and likeness of the god image, becoming more and more like Allāh, Kṛṣṇa, Yahveh, or Christ. In some versions this process goes on into eternity; while in certain forms of Hinduism, after a very long time the universe returns to its divided condition, and the whole cycle repeats itself. Heaven and hell are understood by some religious thinkers as a process and by others as a static condition. Important thinkers in most traditions emphasize the inadequacy of all human descriptions of the otherworld.

The last major view about the otherworld is simply that there is none. This very important conception has dominated the Western world for several centuries and has deeply influenced Christianity. The same point of view has been held by the realistic philosophical schools in China described by Arthur Waley in *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China* (New York, 1939). However, it is only in the cultures of Western Europe and those that derived from them that this worldview has been fully developed and has achieved wide acceptance. A few archaic cultures, including the people of Kiwai on the Fly River in New Guinea, the Fuegians, and some Bantu-speaking peoples, have little or no conception of any other world than this physical one.

The Western attitude is important because it is based on the philosophical premise that the only reality is physical or material. The only means of coming into contact with reality is through the five senses, which can be clearly differentiated, as described by Descartes in his *Discourse on the Meth-*

od of Rightly Conducting the Reason (1637). The major thrust of Western thought has been in this direction and is well exemplified in the writings of A. J. Ayer, B. F. Skinner, and Konrad Lorenz. Marxism denies the value of any world except the one created on this earth through revolution by the proleteriat. From this frame of reference, any concept of an otherworld is considered illusory, primitive (in the sense of infantile), premodern, and even dangerous. It is for this reason that the subject of otherworld is so largely ignored in modern Western culture and the modern evidence for the continued existence of the deceased is passed over and rejected.

If the materialistic worldview is accepted uncritically, it is quite natural to view all the data on the otherworld as of archaeological interest only. However, starting in about 1900, developments in scientific thought led to the questioning of rational materialism as a viable hypothesis. The materialist point of view is not able to account for the available data on many subjects and the evidence for otherworld in particular. In *Encounter with God* (Minneapolis, 1972) and *Afterlife* (New York, 1979), I have presented the development of this thought in detail.

COMMUNION WITH THE DEAD. The basic worldview of a person or culture will largely determine the way the otherworld is viewed. From the point of view of Eastern religion and philosophy, the physical world is illusory and the otherworld real, and heaven or *nirvāṇa* is the goal to be sought. According to Platonism (the philosophical base for early Christianity) and the modern view of C. G. Jung, human beings participate both in a material universe and in a nonmaterial one. Thus, both the otherworld and this world are important aspects of total reality. Human wholeness depends on dealing adequately with each domain. Both moral actions (as in, for instance, learning to love) and specifically religious practices are essential to human wholeness.

In both of these points of view, the human person is more than just a physical organism operating mechanically or through conditioning. The psyche (or soul) is a complex nonphysical reality sharing the reality of a multifaceted nonphysical otherworld. The psyche can be viewed as preexistent (which leads to the idea of reincarnation) or as created at conception or birth. In both Islamic and Christian thinking, the soul is viewed as having vegetative, appetitive, intellectual, and spiritual aspects. In the views of some thinkers, only the spiritual or intellectual aspects survive in the otherworld. The Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body maintains that most aspects of the personal nonphysical being are preserved and transformed.

In most cultures (not influenced by materialism), contact with the deceased is a part of religious practice. Eliade shows that one of the principal functions of living shamans is to pass over into the otherworld, return, and then help other people deal with both dimensions. Some shamans have mediumistic abilities and can bring back the dead, as the medium of Endor brought forth the ghost of Samuel at Saul's bidding (*1 Sm.* 28:6ff.). Once belief in an otherworld eroded in Christian cultures influenced by materialism, there was a spontaneous, popular resurgence of the practice of spiritualism, which brings the seeker into contact with the deceased through mediums and their controls.

The belief in ongoing contact with the spirits of the deceased is widespread in this and most countries. Sometimes these visitations are frightening, and at other times helpful or even numinous. J. B. Phillips, the British New Testament scholar, reports in *The Ring of Truth* (New York, 1967) that C. S. Lewis appeared to him and helped him translate a difficult passage of the Bible. The Christian doctrine of the communion of saints maintains that communion between the living and the dead is possible to those who are deeply rooted within the Christian fellowship. The same idea is found in Islam and Hinduism. These experiences of meeting the deceased, inhabitants of the otherworld, can occur either spontaneously, through religious rituals (particularly highly developed in China), through the trance condition, or through dreams and visions.

MODERN EVIDENCE. With the publication of Moody's *Life after Life* in 1975, a new surge of interest arose concerning reported experiences of an otherworld and of those who existed in it. Moody's study is a careful one; this well-trained philosopher and psychiatrist is cautious not to claim more than his evidence warrants. His work was followed by that of Karlis Osis and Elendur Haraldsson's *At the Hour of Death* (New York, 1977), Michael Sabom's *Recollections of Death* (New York, 1981), and Kenneth Ring's *Life at Death* (New York, 1980). This data has been collected by medical doctors and trained psychologists; Ring's work is a careful statistical study of the data.

Many different kinds of evidence can be studied once one is no longer bound by a materialistic worldview. Some people appear to die clinically and return to life, to report a series of experiences in which they go through a process of detachment from the body, experience an otherworld, sometimes meet deceased friends, relate to a being of light, and arrive at a boundary that they cannot cross if they are to return to life.

People who are at the point of death and who then die are occasionally observed to be participating in both this world and the other one simultaneously, and give reports similar to those who have had near-death experiences. Numerous reports have been studied of encounters with people from the other side. Supporting the possibility of these reports is the development of parapsychology, which suggests that we have faculties other than the five senses for obtaining information. In *Doors of Perception* (New York, 1970), Aldous Huxley suggests a theory of perception based on the thinking of Bergson, which states that we are in touch with many dimensions of reality but that the five senses block our contact with these dimensions, tying us to the physical world. Franz Riklin, a follower of C. G. Jung has stated that the dreams of the dying usually treat the physical death of the individual as of little significance. Within the framework of Einstein's theory of relativity, physical death loses its finality, because time appears to be relative and not absolute. Some who practice meditation maintain that they are in contact with an otherworld and experience much of what has been described here. Poetic imagination also seems to give access to some other dimension.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE AFTERLIFE. Little of the foregoing data has been discovered by those primarily interested in Christianity. Indeed, some of this evidence has been resisted by certain theologians who state that belief in the otherworld is based on faith and acceptance of dogma, rather than on experience. Some academic Christian thinkers maintain that profession of Christianity need not entail the belief in an afterlife or otherworld. Within the wide range of Christian belief and practice, one can find nearly all of the attitudes toward the otherworld that have been described above.

There is, first of all, an academic skepticism that either denies or ignores this aspect of reality. For some scholars, what is continuously ignored is usually of little value or concern. At the other extreme is the archaic belief in the dull, shadowy existence of the deceased and their ghostly presence at the place of death or burial. Many Christians have a view of the otherworld as a place only of bliss, which is unrelated to one's actions or beliefs. Others accept the traditional dichotomy between heaven and hell, while yet others believe in purgatory as a transitional state between the two. For some, the afterlife begins at the millennium, on a rejuvenated and transformed earth; others still imagine a heaven somewhere in the sky (although this image has become difficult to maintain, because of modern space travel). Others regard these different aspects of the otherworld as other dimensions of reality, seeing sensory images of it as purely symbolic. Still other Christians believe in reincarnation and all that it entails. Some see the otherworld as a place of continued growth and development in the presence of divine mind or divine love. This variety of beliefs is found in the other major world religions as well as Christianity.

There is almost total consensus among the religions and cultures of humankind that human beings are not totally extinguished at death and that there is continuing experience in an otherworld. Human beings are also given occasional experiences of this dimension and those continuing to exist in it. These varied views of the nature of an otherworld can be traced historically and cross-culturally; perhaps they may ultimately constitute different aspects of a reality too large for any one description.

SEE ALSO Afterlife; Heaven and Hell; Nirvāṇa; Supernatural, The; Underworld.

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MORTON KELSEY (1987)

OTOMÍ RELIGION.

The Otomí Indians of central Mexico, who speak a language of the Oto-Manguean phylum, number approximately 250,000. They occupy a vast territory located between 19° and 21° north latitude and 98° and 100° west longitude. This area, characterized by stark geographical contrasts, stretches from the steep mountain masses of the Sierra Gorda to the semiarid Mezquital plateaus, and from the Toluca Valley to the rolling hills of the Huastecan piedmont. In addition to the different sociocultural patterns that have emerged from this mosaic of environments, the blending of Indian culture with folk Catholicism from the colonial period to the present day has yielded a syncretic religion that is dominated by Christianity but includes specific forms of dualism that set the Otomí symbolic universe apart from its colonial influences.

There is little information on the origins of the Otomí, and their role in shaping the great Mesoamerican systems of thought remains unexplored. Subjects of the Aztec Empire from the fifteenth century to the conquest, the Otomí came under its sway everywhere except in the outlying eastern regions (Tutotepec, Huayacoctla). Since then, Otomí religious activities have been constrained to a clandestinity favored by the dispersal of their settlements. They have come to center primarily on local patrilineal cults (agrarian fertility rites and ancestor worship), while their ceremonial and liturgical calendar continues to reflect patterns of thought similar to those of the Aztecs on the eve of conquest.

Throughout the colonial period and down to the present, their particularly fluid social organization, built on a network of patrilineagical shrines, has allowed the Otomí to resist evangelization. Yet, devotions to Roman Catholic saints coexist with native rituals and sometimes, as in the Sierra Madre, serve to camouflage them. The focal points of this dual religious life are the home, the shrines, and the sacred mountain, on the one hand, and chapels and village churches, on the other. These different ritual spaces are arranged in a hierarchy that parallels a cosmic vision of different "skins" (*si*), or sacred places (from the uterine cavity to the celestial vault), symbolically enclosed within each other.

At each level of the cosmic hierarchy there are correspondences based on fundamental male-female polarity. Thus, at the uppermost level of space, the sun and the moon form a complementary and antagonistic pair. The moon (Zâna), however, presents a complex and disquieting image to the Otomí. While in her syncretistic form Zâna is feminine and is associated with the Virgin of Guadalupe, in the indigenous cosmological system the moon displays a complex of complementary characteristics, including dual gender: It represents feminine characteristics (childbirth, sensuality, weaving, computing of time, death) as well as masculine ones (erection, mastery of women and their fertility). While the moon is the antagonistic counterpart to the masculine sun, it also embodies within itself the complementary forces. Further, as the heavenly counterpart to the earth goddess Hmûhoi, Zâna helps govern both creation and destruction.

The conception of a nighttime creation continues to power the Otomí imagination. One of the oldest Mesoamerican deities, the Otomí fire god known in the Aztec pantheon as Otontecuhtli ("the Otomí lord") is believed to govern, as he did in times past, the order of things. He is Šihta Sipi ("the ancestor who devours excrement"), the purifying principle whose presence marks the emergence of culture (associated with cooked food). He is also the preeminent lord of nocturnal spaces and grottoes, the realm of an imaginary world that mirrors in miniature the world of humans.

To understand the logic of the oppositions that inform Otomí cosmology, it is helpful to understand the model on which they are based: the human body. As a receptacle for the field of forces animating the universe, the body reveals the difference between a diurnal, masculine, "warm" world and a feminine, nocturnal, "cold" one and the process by which energy flows between the two (in the transfer of "energy" from the man's body to the woman's).

Otomí ritual is, in essence, a manifestation of a process of fusion between polarities of which the sexual distinction is the prototype. This is seen in rituals from fertility rites (*costumbres*) to the Feast of the Dead, which is both a mourning of ancestors and a celebration of the life force contained in their bones. The interdependence of life and death is revealed most completely in Carnival. During this time the major gods are represented by an ancestral couple, such as Old Father (Šihta) and Old Mother (Pømbe), whose function is to reenact the primordial creation. From their broken bodies they kindle life and youth in a supernatural society governed by devils, demons of vegetation, and lascivious women. Paradoxically, in Mezquital, where the erosion of indigenous tradition has been most complete, Carnival remains, despite its European origins, one of the last areas of resistance to cultural hybridization. Indigenous elements are also plainly evident in a number of rituals in the Catholic liturgical cycle, such as the Feast of the Finding of the Cross (Sierra Gorda) and the Feast of the Three Magi (Rio Laja Valley).

The richest complex of rituals is found on the eastern periphery of the Otomí region, in the foothills of the Sierra Madre. A distinctive feature of the religious life here is the use of hammered bark figurines that are fashioned and given their power by shamans. These figurines, rare evidence of pre-Hispanic iconography, are a precious source for interpreting the indigenous cosmological system. They are part of the essential paraphernalia of the healing and fertility rituals organized by shamans. As adepts possessed of specialized knowledge, shamans manipulate unseen forces and are thus able to cure (by restoring the body's equilibrium) and to afflict (by casting spells at a distance).

The *cargo* system—that is, the system of ritually based obligations to participate in the functioning of the community's civil and religious life—varies significantly from one community to another. This system is a primary cohesive force binding villages (*pueblos*) and their dependent peripheries (hamlets). Such cohesion is also promoted by regional pilgrimages to sacred mountains or Catholic sanctuaries (San Agustín Mezquititlán, Chalma, Tepeaca in Mexico City).

Through their many variants, Otomí rituals reveal certain obscure aspects of Otomí cosmology that are hardly brought to light by the myths themselves. Though known in a version little changed since pre-Hispanic times, the story of the creation of the sun and moon, the foundation of the dualistic order of the universe, is not often told anymore, except in villages deeply rooted in the Indian tradition. Yet the symbolic structure of this text remains, dimly outlined, in a number of tales that pit Christ against the Devil. Similarly, the theme of the Flood, in its variations, reveals how Mesoamerican symbols combine with biblical ones according to the importance each community gives to the two traditions.

In Otomí mythology today, the Devil appears as a predominant figure everywhere. Through a process of adjustment and reinterpretation, the medieval European figure of Satan has merged with indigenous representations of evil, fertility, and impurity. The Devil now sits enthroned at the apex of the pantheon, holding sway over a band of nocturnal deities and merging with the enigmatic lunar figure of Zâna.

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JACQUES GALINIER (1987)
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Revised Bibliography

OTTO, RUDOLF.

Rudolf Otto (1869–1937) was a German systematic theologian who contributed especially to the philosophy and history of religion. As a liberal theologian or, more accurately, a *Vermittlungstheologe* (theologian of mediation), Otto conceived of systematic theology as a science of religion, whose components were the philosophy, psychology, and history of religions. In his view, philosophy identified the source of religion in a qualitatively unique experience for which he coined the term *numinous.* Descriptive psychology revealed the nonrational dimensions of this experience as a *mysterium tremendum et fascinans*, dimensions that, Otto said, were conjoined to rational or conceptual elements through a process that, loosely following Immanuel Kant, he called *schematization.* Otto's ideas became foundational for much twentieth-century work in the study of religion that claimed to be phenomenological or scientific rather than theological.

LIFE. Born on September 25, 1869, in Peine in the region of Hanover, Germany, Otto spent his childhood in Peine and Hildesheim, where his father owned malt factories. After graduating from the Gymnasium Adreanum in Hildesheim, he studied first at the University of Erlangen, a conservative neo-Lutheran institution, then at the University of Göttingen, where liberal theology and the historical-critical study of the Bible prevailed. He initially prepared for a ministerial career, but conservatives in the German church administration found him unsuitable. Instead of taking a German congregation in Paris, he opted for an academic career, where his prospects were only somewhat brighter. He became a *Privatdozent* at Göttingen in 1898 and something like a visiting associate professor there in 1906, but official opposition to his liberal views and popularizing activities plagued him for years.

In 1904 Otto adopted the philosophy of Jakob Friedrich Fries, helping to establish a neo-Friesian movement along with two Göttingen colleagues, the philosopher Leonard Nelson, who introduced him to Fries's thought, and the New Testament scholar Wilhelm Bousset, whom he recruited to the cause. In the same year, however, Otto fell into a deep depression and considered abandoning theology altogether. When his health finally recovered in 1907, Otto returned to teaching and writing, to ecclesiastical and liturgical activities with a group known as "The Friends of *Die Christliche Welt*" (*Die Christliche Welt* was a semipopular magazine for liberal theology), and to political activities, at that time in conjunction with a student-oriented group known as the Akademischer Freibund, the Göttingen chapter of which he, along with Nelson and Bousset, led. His most important publication from the period was *Kantisch-Fries'sche Religionsphilosophie und ihre Anwendung auf die Theologie* (The Philosophy of Religion Based on Kant and Fries, 1909).

In 1911 to 1912 Otto undertook a "world tour"—actually a journey from the Canary Islands to China and Japan—financed through the German government by the cosmopolitan French banker, Albert Kahn, for the purpose of preparing an introduction to the history of religions (never written). During a visit to a Moroccan synagogue on this trip he encountered in memorable fashion the *trisagion*—"Holy, holy, holy. . ." (*Is.* 6.3)—an encounter that he and his disciples later considered the moment when he discovered the Holy. Upon his return, Otto pursued the history of religions as part of a broader strategy of German cultural imperialism, commensurate with the ethical imperialism of the theologian and publicist Paul Rohrbach but in sharp contrast to the militaristic colonialism of organizations like the Naval and Pan-German Leagues. As part of this program he promoted the series *Quellen der Religionsgeschichte*, a German equivalent to the Sacred Books of the East. In 1913 he was elected to represent Göttingen in the Prussian state legislature, where in 1917 he led a faction of the National-Liberal Party in an attempt to abolish Prussia's notorious three-tier system of weighting votes. In 1915 he finally received a professoriate in systematic theology at the University of Breslau.

Otto wrote his most famous book, *Das Heilige* (The Idea of the Holy, 1917), during World War I. In part due to the attention this book received, he became professor of systematic theology at the University of Marburg in 1917, where he stayed until his death. During the 1920s he wrote two major comparisons of Indian religions and Christianity, *West-östliche Mystik* (Mysticism East and West, 1926), originally delivered as Haskell Lectures at Oberlin College in Ohio in 1924, and *Die Gnadenreligion Indiens und das Christentum* (India's Religion of Grace and Christianity, 1930), originally the Olaus Petri lectures in Uppsala, Sweden, in 1927. At Marburg Otto founded the *Religionskundliche Sammlung,* a museum of the world's religions, on behalf of which he made a second lengthy journey to South Asia in 1927 and 1928. He also attracted younger scholars as students and associates, including Heinrich Frick, Theodor Siegfried, Friedrich Heiler, Ernst Benz, and, more remotely, Gustav Mensching, Joachim Wach, and James Luther Adams. In the immediate aftermath of World War I he served on the commission to draft a new constitution, and in 1920 he organized a *Religiöser Menschheitsbund* (Religious league of humanity), an international nongovernmental organization that he saw as a necessary complement to the League of Nations. His time in Marburg was also marked by vehement antagonism to his thought from neoorthodox theologians, represented there by the New Testament scholar Rudolf Bultmann.

Although Otto retired early from teaching in 1929 for reasons of poor health, he continued to write and, after a brief hiatus, also to teach part time. In addition to pursuing interests in Indian religions, he discussed what he alleged were Persian roots of Christianity in *Reich Gottes und Menschensohn* (The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, 1934). He intended his final major work, which was also to have been his Gifford Lectures, to be a system of ethics, but his scattered essays on the subject were not collected until 1981. Ever an ardent nationalist, Otto seems in 1933 to have taken an interest in the German Christian position, although he found German Christian leaders distasteful. He did not actively oppose the Nazi regime.

In October 1936 Otto fell some twenty meters from a tower, a fall that persistent but unconfirmed rumors identify as a suicide attempt. Whatever the cause, he suffered severely from his injuries and died of pneumonia on March 6, 1937.

THOUGHT. Otto's intellectual project grew from a desire to defend religion in general and Christianity more specifically from the attacks of nineteenth-century historians and natural scientists. As a result, although he taught dogmatics and ethics, most of his writing in systematic theology fell within a domain traditionally known as apologetics, albeit focused upon a general apologetics of religion rather than a defense of the superiority of Christianity. By 1909, however, Otto had abandoned these categories and had come to conceive of modern theology as a science of religion, a term whose apologetic utility is evident.

In the tradition of German idealism and, more remotely, of Cartesian dualism, Otto distinguished two realms, the mental and the material, a distinction that he took over from his teacher Hermann Schultz and developed in his first major book, *Naturalistische und religiöse Weltansicht* (Naturalism and Religion, 1904). Nineteenth-century naturalism made a major error, he thought, when it devalued the mental in favor of the material. Human beings had immediate access to and direct knowledge of only mental events, and such events always mediated knowledge of the material world. Along with some noted biologists, such as Emil Dubois-Reymond, Otto maintained that consciousness was a primary datum that in principle could not be explained in terms of material processes, such as neurophysiological events. Furthermore, he reversed the relationship between rational certainty and intuition that René Descartes had postulated. For him, the mental was not so much a rational realm of eternal ideas or pure reason as it was a realm of conscious experience whose rational representations rested ultimately on nonrational feelings and intuitions.

Although originally attracted to the thought of Friedrich Schleiermacher—as a young instructor, he edited the one-hundredth anniversary edition of Schleiermacher's famous *Speeches on Religion*—Otto came to believe that the thought of Fries provided a philosophically more satisfactory account of religion. He summarized that thought in *Kantisch-Fries'sche Religionsphilosophie,* and in doing so provided a philosophic critique (in the Kantian sense) of the possibility of religious experience, taking "experience" as much in an empirical as in an emotive sense (*Erfahrung* as well as *Erlebnis*). Unlike Kant, Fries thought that cognition takes place in the realms of practical and aesthetic as well as of theoretical reason, raising the possibility of a peculiar sort of religious cognition, too. Furthermore, in Fries's thought all knowledge depends upon feeling. For example, a *Wahrheitsgefühl,* or feeling of truth, is said to be responsible for one's judgment that the results of one's rational processes are correct. Even in the realm of science and mathematics it is possible to be convinced of the truth of a proposition without being able to demonstrate it, as Otto once illustrated with Fermat's last theorem: mathematicians could sense that the theorem was true, even if they could not prove it. But unlike scientific cognition, Otto claimed, religious cognition involves experiences that are in principle not subject to correction, or even full formulation and elaboration, by theoretical reason.

In his most famous book, *Das Heilige,* Otto turned from a critical philosophical account of the possibility of religious experience to a descriptive psychology of the content of that experience and its relationship to the "rational," symbolic dimension of religion. To designate religious feelings at their most distinctive he coined the word *numinous,* which referred, he said, to the Holy or Sacred minus the moral dimension. But he soon encountered a methodological limitation. Conscious experience is only available to the person who has it; therefore, it is possible to formulate a descriptive account of religious feelings only on the basis of introspection, informed by apparent similarities in what others have said. In other words, in order to study the experience that is the ultimate source of religion, a scholar must have a *sensus numinis*, an ability to experience numinous feelings—just as the description of color in painting or pitch in music requires certain kinds of perceptual abilities. Those who have such abilities, Otto suggested, experience the numinous as a *mysterium tremendum et fascinans*. As a *mysterium*, it is completely other, beyond the realm of ordinary existence, apprehensible but not comprehensible, evoking in human beings the feeling of stupor and stunned silence. People find this *mysterium* both attractive (*fascinans*) and repulsive (*tremendum*). On the one hand, it arouses the sense of grace, love, and mercy. On the other, it arouses feelings of terror and awe and the conviction that human beings are in reality nothing—feelings to which Otto, countering tendencies to equate genuine religion with love, gave a great deal of attention. Furthermore, this Holy is a category a priori, and as such beyond empirical criticism. (Otto's Kantianism is muddled.) It is, however, a complex category, consisting not just of the nonrational numinous but also of rational symbolic and ethical elements that "schematize" the numinous and result in relatively persistent but culturally variable religious forms.

Within the framework provided by these basic convictions in philosophy and psychology, Otto worked extensively in the history of religions. After his journey of 1911 to 1912 he learned Sanskrit and translated several religious texts into German. His most ambitious venture was a three-volume study of the *Bhagavadgītā* (one volume in English), which sought to reconstruct the poem's textual history and thus to recover its original inspiration. His two major comparative works, *West-östliche Mystik* and *Die Gnadenreligion Indiens und das Christentum*, also reflect his interest in Indian religions, as well as a division of religiosity common at the time into the mystical and the devotional. The former book compares the positions of the Advaita philosopher Śaṅkarācārya with the German mystic Meister Eckhart; the latter makes a similar comparison of *bhakti* movements with Christianity of a Pietist bent. Both works ascribe the distinctiveness and superiority of Christianity to a dynamism that derives from its Jewish roots. Otto's last major work, *Reich Gottes und Menschensohn*, is genealogical rather than comparative in intent and bridges what in the two major comparative studies is a divide between the Christian and the Indo-Iranian or, as that cultural region was called, Aryan. It examines the alleged Iranian roots of Christianity, although it still attributes the highest Christian insights to its Jewish ancestry.

Otto's work in the history of religions was not all descriptive. Influenced in particular by biology, he made modest attempts to identify processes at work in religious history, such as his account of parallels and convergences; that is, of similarities that derive not from common ancestry but from adaptation to similar environmental circumstances. But Otto did not expect comparative study to reveal the universal conceptual or symbolic content of religion, a point he made as early as his critique of Wilhelm Wundt (1910). Indeed, the structure of Otto's thought, oriented to a universal feeling beyond thought and expression, relegates symbols and ideas to a culturally determined rational schematization and so is fundamentally incompatible with later attempts by scholars such as C. G. Jung and Mircea Eliade to identify universal elements of religious or mythic thought. In old age Otto declined an invitation to participate in the first Eranos conference.

Otto's ethics, left incomplete, has received relatively little attention, but like his work on religion it builds upon a descriptive psychology of moral feelings, such as the feelings of guilt and responsibility. One might also note that Otto's thinking was never isolated from the world but always explicitly engaged with it, especially with the church and state. In the church, Otto strove to improve worship and ministry by encouraging liberal theology and incorporating moments of numinous experience into the liturgy. He was also convinced that his insights into religion could further the interests of the German state, which came into existence during his infancy, but his assessment of those interests changed over time. In religion as he understood it, he found the source of both German colonial greatness (his cultural imperialism before the first World War) and of international justice and equality between nations (the *Religiöser Menschheitsbund* afterward). In the Nazi period he claimed that the study of religions revealed the struggle of the German soul at its most profound and that dialogue between Protestants and Catholics was necessary to unify the German nation.

IMPACT AND ASSESSMENT. When it appeared in late 1916 (dated 1917), Otto's account of the Holy created an immediate sensation, and it was quickly translated into English (1923), Swedish (1924), Spanish (1925), Italian (1926), Japanese (1927), Dutch (1928), and French (1929). The impact was especially pronounced in the English-speaking world, perhaps because of affinities between Otto's thought and English Romanticism (e.g., William Wordsworth's "Intimations of Immortality"). Otto's word *numinous*, his phrase *mysterium tremendum et fascinans* (occasionally cited as *fascinosum*, which means something different in Latin), and even the title of his book, "The Idea of the Holy," still enjoy a certain currency among English-speaking writers and artists, even apart from the details of Otto's thought.

Although himself a theologian, Otto's impact upon Protestant theology was muted, because his attempt to found religion on human experience went counter to the tenets of neoorthodoxy. Paul Tillich, however, made significant use of Otto's ideas, and recently some theologians interested in interreligious dialogue (e.g., Hans-Martin Barth) and feminism (e.g., Melissa Raphael) have engaged them, too. Otto's most significant impact was on the comparative study of religions, especially that form often known as phenomenology. Students and successors utilized Otto's analysis in far-reaching accounts that saw religion as the expression of an experience *sui generis.* Indeed, Otto's analysis became part of a standard rationale for founding independent academic units to study religion. With time, however, scholars have become suspicious that Otto's ideas improperly universalize structures that best fit Christianity. In addition, the widespread turn to culture and language that began in the 1960s tended to reject Otto's account of an experience that was autonomous, primary, and universal, and either to speak of experiences as shaped by particular cultural and symbolic environments or to ignore them altogether. Furthermore, a significant number of scholars have rejected Otto's insistence upon introspection and his prerequisite that in order to study the source of religion scholars possess a *sensus numinis* as a violation of scientific method. Among North American scholars, historical interest in Otto has been eclipsed by interest in William James.

The concurrence of neuropsychology, cognitive science, and the study of religion that took place in the 1990s returned in significant respects to themes that interested Otto, but in a way that reveals the difficulties of using Otto's thought today: For example, neuropsychologists such as Eugene d'Aquili and Andrew Newberg have studied religious experiences that are reminiscent of Otto's numinous experience, but unlike Otto they postulate a unitary mind-brain, and so seek to discover the basis for religious experiences in the structure and functioning of the physical brain. Some theologians have seen in such work a foundation and validation for human religiosity—a fulfillment of Otto's ultimate theological aim, if by a somewhat different route.

Cognitive scientists such as Pascal Boyer, Scott Atran, and Stewart Guthrie have had relatively little interest in religious experiences, even if they have on occasion mimicked Otto's phrases, perhaps unconsciously. Nevertheless, in significant respects their fundamental questions resemble Otto's. In a manner reminiscent of Kantianism they want both to identify the a priori, universal structures that shape intuitive, prerational cognition (folk physics, biology, and psychology) and to relate to those structures the cognitive processes that make religion possible. But they focus on mental representations rather than feelings and intuitions, and they embrace rather than reject evolutionary explanation. Like Otto they do postulate a plurality of distinct mental domains, but they define them in terms of content (inanimate object, living thing, animal, human) rather than varieties of rationality (theoretical, practical, aesthetic), and unlike Otto they do not consider religious cognition to constitute an independent, universal domain. Although they see religion as beyond adequate rational formulation, they attribute this to the symbolic rather than literal quality of religious representation and, unlike Otto, see it as a mark against the literal veracity of religious claims. Finally, they expect to test their claims not through introspection but through vigorous, cross-cultural experimentation. So long as presumptions such as these dominate, Otto's account of religious experience will remain data for the history of religious thought, but it will not be a live theoretical option within the study of religions.

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GREGORY D. ALLES (2005)

OTTO, WALTER F. Walter Friedrich Otto (1874–1958) was a German scholar of classical philology, mythology, and the history and philosophy of religions. The son of pharmacist Hermann Ernst Otto, Walter Otto was born in Hechingen, a small town below Mount Hohenzollern in Swabia. His family, marked by strong pietistic principles, soon moved to Stuttgart, where Otto attended secondary school at the humanistic Eberhard Ludwigs Gymnasium beginning in 1882. After winning the *Konkurs* in 1892, he was admitted to the Stift, an evangelical college in Tübingen that had been in earlier times the school of the poet Friedrich Hölderlin and the philosophers G. W. F. Hegel and Friedrich Schelling. The following year Otto switched to classical studies under Otto Crusius, Wilhelm Schmid, and Ludwig Schwabe. He continued these studies in 1894 in Bonn, where he was strongly influenced by Hermann Usener and Friedrich Bücheler. Under the supervision of the latter, he wrote his dissertation on the origin of Roman proper names, for which he was awarded a Ph.D. degree in 1897.

Following the *Staatsexamen* in the same year, he taught in a secondary school in Bonn for six months, and from 1898 onward he served as assistant of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* in Munich. As part of this project he became editor of the *Onomasticon Latinum* from 1905 to 1911, continuing his work in the field of Latin onomastics. In 1905 Otto completed his *Habilitationsschrift on Juno* at the University of Munich under his former teacher in Tübingen, Otto Crusius. Other major essays on Roman religion appeared in the years 1900 to 1916, most of them in the *Real-Encyclopädie*. At the University of Munich he became *Privatdozent* in 1905; he gave Latin style exercises from 1907 on, and was appointed *außerordentlicher Professor* in 1910. Besides the philological work at the *Thesaurus*, which led Otto to the acquaintance of Ernst Diehl and Alfred Klotz, he attended the psychodiagnostic lectures of the Bachofen-influenced scholar Ludwig Klages. In 1911 he gave lectures at the University of Vienna, where his friendship with Hans von Arnim started.

In 1913 Otto was appointed *ordentlicher Professor* for Latin literature in Basel, and the next year he moved, with the same function, to Frankfurt am Main, where he wrote his main works, *The Homeric Gods* (1929) and *Dionysus* (1933). Here he was the leader of a major school in ancient culture and religion to which adhered important scholars, such as the classicist Karl Reinhardt and the ethnologist Leo Frobenius (who were Otto's best friends for his whole life), the Sinologist Richard Wilhelm, the philosopher Kurt Riezler and, among the younger generation, the Germanist Max Kommerell (who became Otto's son-in-law in 1936), the historian Franz Altheim, the religious historians Carl Koch and Károly Kerényi, the Iranist Hermann Lommel, and the ethnologist Adolf Ellegard Jensen. Most of these scholars wrote important works within the sixteen-volume series *Frankfurter Studien zur Religion und Kultur der Antike*, edited by Otto between 1932 and 1938. In those years Otto played a key role in Frankfurt's cultural life, attending both Wilhelm's China-Institut and Frobenius's Forschungsinstitut für Kulturmorphologie (Otto helped to transfer the latter from Munich to Frankfurt). He went several times to the exile residence of Kaiser Wilhelm II in Doorn (Netherlands), where scholars of Frobenius's entourage were invited regularly to hold conferences on myth-related topics. In his last years in Frankfurt, Otto put great efforts into advising the scientific edition of the unpublished works of Max Scheler and Friedrich Nietzsche. Otto was an important member of the scientific committee of the Nietzsche-Archiv in Weimar: together with Karl Schlechta and Martin Heidegger, both appointed to the committee by his suggestion, Otto tried to save Nietzsche's legacy from a mere political use.

Because of his connections with Kurt Riezler and his "clique," the Nazis forced Otto to move to Königsberg in 1934. Here he succeeded the Greek classicist Paul Maas, who had to leave his chair because of his Jewish origins, and became a good friend of the younger scholar Willy Theiler. He was also close to the philosopher Hans Heyse, the art historian Wilhelm Worringer, the musicologist Hans Engel, the archaeologist Guido von Kaschnitz-Weinberg, and the Indologist Helmut von Glasenapp. Besides his academic relationships, Otto took part in Königsberg's cultural life, becoming a member of the Königsberger Gelehrte Gesellschaft and the Kant-Gesellschaft, and attending the aristocratic society of Eastern Prussia (through the families Dohna and Dönhoff he was introduced to anti-Nazi milieus). During this period Otto wrote about Goethe's and Hölderlin's relationship to Greek religion, lectured on Nietzsche and Socrates, and edited the *Jahrbücher für die geistige Überlieferung* together with Karl Reinhardt and Ernesto Grassi. The second volume of this series was forbidden by the Nazis, who therefore decided to cancel the award of the Kant-Preis to Otto in 1943. In 1944 he escaped the disaster of Königsberg, leaving behind his library and several manuscripts. This heavy loss was important for Otto's shift to a more philosophical—and less philological—approach to classical myth, which goes back to the 1920s but is particularly characteristic of his works after 1945. Having spent the last year of war in Elmau (Bavaria), he obtained two teaching assignments in Greek literature in Munich and Göttingen (1945 and 1946), was visiting professor in Tübingen in 1946, and became emeritus in that university in 1955. During this period he was one of the founders of the Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft and the Max-Scheler-Gesellschaft (the latter of which he directed), and lectured on various topics, including Apollo, Prometheus, the spirit of Greek religion, Greek tragedy, Socrates, and humanism.

Starting from studies in Latin onomastics strongly influenced by Usener's *Götternamen* (1896) and Bücheler's works on ancient Italic languages, Otto moved in his postdoctoral years to a comprehensive interpretation of Roman religion. As a challenge to Georg Wissowa's *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (1902), Otto concentrated on the autochthon (non-

Greek) aspects of the main Roman gods (Fatum, Faunus, Fides, Fortuna, Genius, Janus, and Juno), pointing out their chthonian, as well as their benign, character. In these years he also extended his cognition in the field of history of religions, on which he gave lectures at Munich University (thereby dwelling especially on Greek mystery cults). These interests directed his studies about soul-beliefs in ancient religions—a topic on which he lectured in Frankfurt and wrote his first book in 1923 (*Die Manen*).

In another book of the same year (*Der Geist der Antike und die christliche Welt*) Otto gave a strongly Nietzsche-influenced view of the Jewish and Christian religions in antithesis to the Greek Olympian world. Here, and in a series of articles leading to his main work, the *Homeric Gods* (1929; English translation, 1954), he supplied a philosophical interpretation of Greek religion, abandoning the philological method that had guided all his previous works. This methodological shift was due to Otto's classicistic conception of the uniqueness of Greek religion compared to any other. He maintained that the Homeric mode of seeing and thinking of the Olympian gods found continual expression within the Greek world "despite all temporal and individual variations, in the representative works of the Greek genius, whether in poetry, plastic art or philosophy" (Otto, 1929/1954, p. 20), being not only the very essence of Greek civilization, but indeed "the religious idea of the European spirit" and "one of humanity's greatest religious ideas" (p. 13). According to Otto, each Olympian god (he dwells on Athene, Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite, and Hermes, not taking into account Zeus) is an *Urgestalt des Seins*, capable of revealing from its peculiar point of view the totality of reality—worldliness and naturalness—in human shape. Such are, for example, Apollo, the anthropomorphic revelation of spiritual freedom and distance from the mortal's world, and his twin sister Artemis, who represents "freedom of another sort—the feminine," which is "free nature with its brilliance and wildness, with its guiltless purity and its mysterious uncanniness" (p. 102). As Goethe had pointed out, Greek religion should therefore be considered as "theomorphic" and not as "anthropomorphic," with the divine in its human appearance being the model for mankind—and not the opposite.

Otto deepened his idea of the Greek divine as a revelation of "being" in human form in his other major work, *Dionysus* (1933; English translation, 1965). Relying on this conception, Otto was one of the few scholars of his time maintaining the Greek provenience of Dionysos, long before Michael Ventris and John Chadwick discovered the god's Mycaenean evidence in 1952. Though not belonging to the Olympian deities, this god discloses "a whole world, whose spirit presents itself again and again in new forms, connecting in an eternal unity the sublime with the simple, the human with the animal, the vegetal with the elemental" (Otto, 1933/1965, p. 188). The very essence of Dionysos lies therefore in the opposition between these incompatible poles; hence his madness, visible in his symbols: the mask (incarnating the simultaneity of presence and absence), the music (embodying both noise and silence), and the wine (symbol of the paradoxical unity of pleasure and pain). This madness, in which brightness and obscurity, and joy and horror, coincide, unifies also life and death, concealing in itself the mystery of procreation. For this reason, the Dionysian world is a feminine one, closely connected to women, as is clearly shown by the god's followers, the Maenads, and his spouse Ariadne.

SEE ALSO Greek Religion; Kerényi, Károly.

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Otto's Ph.D. work was written in Latin and published in 1898 in the *Fleckeisens Jahrbücher* (*Nomina propria latina oriunda a participiis perfecti*; Leipzig, 1898), pp. 745–932. His most important essays on Roman religion, which made him a renowned philologist, have been collected posthumously in the *Aufsätze zur römischen Religionsgeschichte* (Meisenheim a. G., 1975). Other major contributions to this topic can be found in volumes 6, 7, and 8 of August Pauly and Georg Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1909–1913).

The shift to a comprehensive view of the history of religions is evident in Otto's editorial effort in the series *Religiöse Stimmen der Völker* (a German translation of the major religious texts of the world, published in Jena, 1915–1923), and in his monograph *Die Manen oder von den Urformen des Totenglaubens: Eine Untersuchung zur Religion der Griechen, Römer, und Semiten und zum Volksglauben überhaupt* (Berlin, 1923), which challenges Erwin Rohde's notion of psyche by showing the distinction between thymos, the life-spirit, and psyche—that is, the immaterial phantom of a person that remains when the life-spirit leaves the body at the moment of death (this distinction can be made in Roman and Jewish religions as well). In 1923 appeared also *Der Geist der Antike und die Christliche Welt* (Bonn; Italian trans., 1973), a book Otto didn't want republished, followed by his most widely known works, namely *Die Götter Griechenlands: Das Bild des Göttlichen im Spiegel des griechischen Geistes* (Bonn, 1929; English trans. by Moses Hadas: *The Homeric Gods: The Spiritual Significance of Greek Religion*, London, 1954; Italian trans.: Florence, 1941; Spanish trans: Buenos Aires, 1973; French trans. with a foreword by Marcel Détienne: Paris, 1981; Romanian trans.: Bucharest, 1995); and *Dionysos: Mythos und Kultus* (Frankfurt a. M., 1933; English trans. with an introduction by Robert B. Palmer: *Dionysus: Myth and Cult*, Bloomington, Ind., and London, 1965; French trans.: Paris, 1969; Italian trans.: Genoa, 1990; Greek trans.: Athens, 1991; Spanish trans.: Madrid, 1997).

Important writings to evaluate Otto's relationship to the Nazi regime are his booklet *Der junge Nietzsche* (Frankfurt a. M., 1936; reprinted in *Mythos und Welt*, Darmstadt and Stuttgart, 1963), and two volumes of the series *Geistige Überlieferung*, which he edited in Berlin in 1940 and 1942. Otto's literary bequest is evident in his books *Der Dichter und die alten Götter* (Frankfurt a. M., 1942; Italian trans.: Naples, 1991) and *Die Gestalt und das Sein: Gesammelte Abhandlungen über den Mythos und seine Bedeutung für die Menschheit* (Düsseldorf and Köln, 1954), where Hölderlin's topic of the

"flight of the Divine" is analyzed in relation to the absence of the Olympian gods in modern times. According to Otto, in our epoch only poetry can save humankind from decay, poetry being the only possible approach to the truth of reality, as pointed out in *Die Musen und der göttliche Ursprung des Singens und Sagens* (Darmstadt, 1954). The importance of Greek myth from a philosophical perspective is pointed out as well in *Gesetz, Urbild, und Mythos* (Stuttgart, 1951; reprinted in *Die Gestalt und das Sein* [Dusseldorf and Koln, 1954], pp. 25–90, and in New York, 1978; Italian trans.: Rome, 1996), and in *Theophania: Der Geist der altgriechischen Religion* (Hamburg, 1956), with a biographical sketch by Ernesto Grassi; reprinted with a foreword by Friedrich Georg Jünger and a biographical note by Bernhard Wyß (Frankfurt a. M., 1934; Japanese trans.: Tokyo, 1966; Spanish trans.: Buenos Aires, 1968; Italian trans.: Genoa, 1983; French trans.: Paris, 1995).

Otto dedicated his last efforts to two major figures of Greek philosophy: Socrates (about whom he wrote 1,800 pages from 1940 to 1955, still unpublished) and *Epikur*, edited posthumously in *Das Wort der Antike* (Darmstadt and Stuttgart, 1962), pp. 293–333; Italian trans.: Parma, 2001). Also published after Otto's death were *Das Wort der Antike* (Darmstadt and Stuttgart, 1962) and *Mythos und Welt* (Darmstadt and Stuttgart, 1963), edited by Kurt von Fritz with a critical commentary on Otto's work and a bibliography of his publications by Egidius Schmalzriedt; and *Die Wirklichkeit der Götter: Von der Unzerstörbarkeit griechischer Weltsicht* (Hamburg, 1963), containing a deep appreciation on Otto's oeuvre by Károly Kerényi. The unpublished work of Otto that survived the flames of Königsberg lies in the *Deutsches Literaturarchiv* in Marbach; it includes roughly 25,000 handwritten pages, mostly stemming from lectures and conferences, and about 1,250 letters from and to Otto dating from 1944 to 1958.

Major biographical sketches of Otto include Karl Reinhardt, "Walter F. Otto," in *Vermächtnis der Antike* (Göttingen, 1966), pp. 87–90; Otto Weinreich, "Walter F. Otto zum 75: Geburtstag" and "Walter F. Otto zum 80: Geburtstag," both collected in *Ausgewählte Schriften* 1937–1970, vol. 3 (Amsterdam, 1979), pp. 275–277 and 361–363; Willy Theiler, "Walter F. Otto +" in *Gnomon* 32 (1960): 87–90; Viktor Pöschl, "Walter F. Otto und Karl Reinhardt," in *Literatur und geschichtliche Wahrheit* (Heidelberg, 1983), pp. 247–273; Gerhard Perl, "Walter F. Otto (1874–1958) in Königsberg," in *Eikasmos* 4 (1993): 283–285; and Hubert Cancik, "Walter Friedrich Otto," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 19 (Berlin, 1999), pp. 713–714. A biographical picture including information on Otto's unpublished work is supplied by Alessandro Stavru, "Il lascito di Walter Friedrich Otto nel Deutsches Literaturarchiv di Marbach," in *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 64 (1998): 195–222. On Otto's gradual divergence from the ideas of his teacher Hermann Usener see the thorough study of Antje Wessels, *Ursprungszauber. Zur Rezeption von Hermann Useners Lehre von der religiösen Begriffsbildung*, New York- Berlin, 2003, pp. 185-225.

The only booklength work on Otto—Josef Donnenberg's dissertation *Die Götterlehre Walter Friedrich Ottos: Weg oder Irrweg moderner Religionsgeschichte?* (Innsbruck, 1961)—cannot be considered a comprehensive study, since it analyses only his writings on Greek religion and leaves out Otto's interpretation of Roman religion, which influenced profoundly his pupils Franz Altheim and Carl Koch, and was appreciated even by Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (*Der Glaube der Hellenen*, Berlin: vol. 1, 1931, pp. 11–12, 142, 313; vol. 2, 1932, pp. 328–329). In more recent times, following the reprint of Otto's main writings on Roman religion in 1975 by Reinhold Merkelbach, Wolfgang Fauth underlined their importance (*Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft* 32 [1979]: 105–109), whereas George Dumézil criticized them in, for example, *La religion romaine archaïque* (Paris, 1974).

In a similar way, due to its nonphilological nature, Otto's approach to Greek religion encountered on one hand indifference (or even resistance), and on the other appreciation. This is evident in the reactions of major scholars to *Die Götter Griechenlands*, which encountered unfavorable criticism in the reviews by Martin Persson Nilsson, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 28 (1929): 1334–1337; Louis Gernet, *Revue de philologie, de litterature et d'histoire anciennes* 5 (1931): 91–94; Herbert Jennings Rose, *The Classical Review* 6 (1956): 162; Hubert Cancik, *Der altsprachliche Unterricht* 27 (1984): 71–89. *Die Götter Griechenlands* was assessed positively by Mario Untersteiner, *Il mondo classico* 1 (1931): 15–23; Bruno Snell, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 3 (1955): 152–153; Arthur Hilary Armstrong, *The Hibbert Journal* 54 (1955–1956): 96–98; Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux, *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 200 (1983): 102–103. *Dionysus* was heavily attacked by Martin Persson Nilsson, *Gnomon* 11 (1935): 177–181, and Hubert Cancik in *Die Restauration der Götter*, edited by Richard Faber and Renate Schlesier (Würzburg, 1986), pp. 105–123; it was evaluated neutrally by Arthur William Hope Adkins, *The Classical Review* 21 (1971): 147–148; and was appreciated by Gustav van der Leeuw, *Nieuwe theologische Studien* 17 (1933): 87–94, and Mario Untersteiner, *Il mondo classico* 6 (1936): 297–305. Other interesting reviews on Otto's interpretation of Greek myth, extending beyond his main works, are those of Ludolf Malten, *Gnomon* 20 (1944): 113–126; Albin Lesky, *Gnomon* 24 (1952): 432–434; Walther Kraus, *Gnomon* 30 (1958): 561–566; Willy Theiler, *Gnomon* 35 (1963): 619–621, and Philip Merlan, *Gymnasium* 70 (1963): 424–429.

The influence of Otto's ideas is mostly evident in the oeuvre of Károly Kerényi, especially in his *Dionysos* (London, 1976), but it can also be noticed in such scholars as the philologists Bruno Snell (*Die Entdeckung des Geistes* [Hamburg, 1946], pp. 30–44) and Willy Theiler ("Der Mythos und die Götter Griechenlands" in *Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur* [Berlin, 1970], pp. 130–147), as well as in the archaeologists Karl Schefold (*Griechische Kunst als religiöses Phänomen* [Hamburg, 1959]) and Erika Simon (*Die Götter der Griechen*, [Munich, 1969]). A much more indirect reception of Otto's thought can be caught in some writings of Walter Burkert (via his teacher Carl Koch) and, in a structuralistic frame, in the later works of Jean-Pierre Vernant and Marcel Détienne.

The importance of Otto's view of Greek Olympian religion for studies in the history of religion has been pointed out by Albert Henrichs, "Die Götter Griechenlands: Ihr Bild im Wandel der Religionswissenschaft," in *Thyssen-Vorträge: Auseinandersetzungen mit der Antike*, edited by Hellmut Flashar (Bamberg, 1987), pp. 3–49. The latter scholar contributed also to the success of Otto's interpretation of Dionysian duality in "Loss of Self, Suffering, Violence: The Modern View of Dionysus from Nietzsche to Girard," in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 88 (1984): 205–240, making it become a popular hermeneutic paradigm (Anton Harald Bierl, *Dionysos und die griechische Tragödie* [Tübingen, 1991], pp. 1–20; Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux, *Le dieu-masque* [Paris and Rome, 1991], pp. 62–63; and Giovanni Casadio, *Il vino dell'anima* [Rome, 1999], pp. 79–81).

ALESSANDRO STAVRU (2005)

OUSPENSKY, P. D. Petyr Dem'ianovich Uspenskii (1878–1947) was a Russian philosopher, mathematician, teacher, and mystic. He is known as a conveyor and interpreter of the teachings of G. I. Gurdjieff (1866–1949), but was well established as an author even before he encountered Gurdjieff. Ouspensky has a lasting place in the early-twentieth-century Russian literary tradition, and as a writer of numerous books on human spiritual development.

Ouspensky was born in and grew up in Moscow. His mother was a painter, and his father a railroad surveyor who died when Ouspensky was a child. The precocious boy was dissatisfied with school. Even as a youth he discriminated between "ordinary knowledge" of worldly matters and "important knowledge" concerning questions about the nature of reality, human evolution and destiny, and the acquiring of higher consciousness. For this reason, he left the academic world and did not take any of the higher degrees for which he was qualified. These questions preoccupied him throughout his life. In 1905 he wrote a novel titled *Kinema-Drama*; it was not published until 1915 and was later was translated into English as *The Strange Life of Ivan Osokin*. The book, based on the idea of eternal recurrence popularized by Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900), dramatizes the notion that eternal recurrence, or living the same life again and again, can come to an end for a person who learns its secret. To escape "the trap called life," one must make sacrifices for many years, and even many lifetimes.

In 1907 Ouspensky's quest led him to Theosophy. After reading the works of Helena P. Blavatsky (1831–1891) and others, he joined the Theosophical Society in Saint Petersburg. However, Ouspensky became dissatisfied with Theosophy. Although invited to join the Inner Circle of initiates to study secret teachings, he declined and left the Theosophical Society in 1916. Ouspensky found that Theosophy was not a continuing path for him, but he acknowledged that it opened the door to esotericism and the study of higher dimensions.

In 1911 Ouspensky published a major work, the *Tertium Organum: The Third Canon of Thought, a Key to the Enigmas of the World.* This book, translated into English in 1920, argued that a new mode of thinking was needed in Western civilization. The classical mode had opened metaphysical inquiry. However, it also led to positivistic thought, which chose to suppress metaphysics in favor of empirical science. Aristotle (384–322 BCE) wrote the first *Organon*, a compendium of logic and a systematic means of communicating knowledge, exploring the principles of logic and discovery; Francis Bacon (1561–1626) wrote the *New Organum*, exposing the idols of the human intellect, which opened the way for further scientific exploration during the Renaissance. Ouspensky's *Tertium Organum* brought together theories of Eastern and Western mysticism, as well as sacred art and modern science, in a way that enlightened and moved the seeker toward a higher consciousness and a greater understanding of the principles of the universe.

Ouspensky's search for esoteric knowledge led him to travel to India and Ceylon in 1913. He was prevented from going to Persia and Central Asia because of the outbreak of World War I. He returned to Saint Petersburg via London, Norway, and Finland. Giving a lecture in Saint Petersburg in 1915, he met Sof'ia Grigor'evna Maksimenko, who became his wife. Ouspensky was told of another group engaged in the study of esoteric wisdom and occult phenomena; this was the circle around Gurdjieff. Ouspensky went to meet him in Moscow, and was accepted as a student of stature. Gurdjieff acknowledged that Ouspensky was a thinker and author in his own right. *In Search of the Miraculous: Fragments of an Unknown Teaching* (1949) contains an account of Ouspensky's conversations with Gurdjieff and a lucid systematic exposition of Gurdjieff's early ideas.

As early as 1918, Ouspensky began to become disillusioned with Gurdjieff's leadership. In a typescript for a meeting in 1937, Ouspensky explained that Gurdjieff had said years earlier, "First of all you must not believe anything, and second you must not do anything you do not understand." Ouspensky felt Gurdjieff was violating these principles, although the two men continued to work together. After immigrating to London to escape the Bolsheviks, Ouspensky developed his own circle of disciples. Gurdjieff joined him there in 1922 and acquired some of Ouspensky's pupils. In 1924 Ouspensky refused to stay at Gurdjieff's Institute at Prieuré des Basses Loges at Fontainebleau-Avon in France, and he announced the independent nature of his future work. The final break came in 1931 when Ouspensky was denied all access to Prieuré.

Undaunted, Ouspensky continued to teach and to write in London and founded the Historico-Psychological Society. However, World War II made life in London difficult. He also taught for a time in Lynn in Surrey, but decided to go to the United States, where he held large meetings in New York and New Jersey from 1941 to 1946. Although in failing health, he returned to England in 1947. Before his death in October of that year, he told his disciples that the work as they had known it could not continue without him. However, they were free to pursue the truth in their own way.

The Fourth Way (1957), consisting of records of Ouspensky's meetings from 1921 to 1947, was published under the supervision of Ouspensky's wife. The term "Fourth

Way" means bringing the life of the *fakir*, the monk, and the yogi into ordinary life, to experience eternity doing simple tasks. This fourth form of consciousness is the beginning of the transition to cosmic consciousness—the state of the spirit beyond time and the cycles of life and death.

Ouspensky's "Psychological Lectures," given from 1934 to 1940, were published posthumously as *The Psychology of Man's Possible Evolution* (1981). Here Ouspensky contends that living beings are progressing through levels of being from the one-dimensional (plants and lower animals), to the two-dimensional (higher animals), to the three-dimensional (ordinary humans). However, some humans who strive to do so can pass beyond the mere sensory consciousness of three dimensions in understanding time as the fourth dimension of space. There is a fifth dimension perpendicular to the line of time, which is the line of eternity, or an infinite number of finite points in time.

In a work published in 1931, *A New Model of the Universe: Principles of the Psychological Method in its Application to Problems of Science, Religion, and Art*, Ouspensky argues that to really understand non-Euclidian space, the seeker must expand his or her consciousness and experience directly the higher dimension. Ouspensky explained that the phenomenal universe is all most humans know. For example, a star is seen as a point of light, although astronomy contends it is a giant ball of gases. Ouspensky affirmed the idea of Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) that all phenomena have a noumenal substrate or real nature. Unlike Kant, Ouspensky's final message was that metageometrical laws could encompass noumena, the key to intuitive knowledge of the universe.

SEE ALSO Gurdjieff, G. I.

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OWLS. As a creature of two realms, the owl is a multivalent symbol admitting of both benevolent and malevolent interpretations. Like most birds, owls represent higher states of being (angels, spirits, supernatural aid, and wisdom), while their nocturnal nature and ominous hoot ally them with the instinctual world of matter, darkness, death, and blind ignorance. In a series of etchings he called *Los caprichos,* the Spanish painter Goya depicted owls as the dark forces of the irrational.

For many early peoples, owls were associated with the baleful, devouring nature of the Great Mother, and their sinister aspect as birds of ill omen prevailed over their benign connotations. In the Egyptian system of hieroglyphs, owls signify night, death, the sun that has sunk into darkness; in the Hindu tradition, they represent the soul and Yama, god of the dead; and in China, images of owls carved on funeral urns symbolize death. The owl was an attribute of the god of darkness for the Etruscans, a chthonic sign for the Celts, who called it the "corpse bird," and the taboo animal of early metallurgists. In the pagan religion of the Abyssinian Hamites, owls were sacred and were believed to embody the souls of those who had died unavenged.

Because of the owl's association with the otherworld and its mysteries, the bird was thought to be cognizant of future events and became an emblem of wisdom. Owls were regarded as auspicious in classical Greece, where they were sacred to Pallas Athena, the goddess of divine knowledge, human wisdom, and the arts; they were depicted on vases, coins, and monuments as her emblem and companion. A trace of totemism is detected in one of her epithets, Glaucopis ("owl"), which suggests that at one time the bird had been worshiped as a god and only later became an attribute of the goddess. The Romans allied the owl to Athena's counterpart Minerva, and also believed that it augured death. The funereal screech owl was anathema to the Romans, and its appearance at public auspices was deemed unpropitious. In Vergil's *Aeneid,* when Dido contemplates death upon learning that Aeneas is to abandon her, she hears the "deathly lamentations" of an owl. And Shakespeare has Lady Macbeth say "I heard the owl scream" when Duncan is murdered.

In Judaism the owl symbolizes blindness, and according to the Talmud it is an ill omen in dreams. The Hebrew scriptures classify owls among the unclean birds, and when God declares his vengeance against Zion, he condemns it to be "a habitation of dragons and a court for owls" (*Is.* 34:14). Job, in his despair, cries that he is "a companion to owls" (*Jb.* 30:29).

Throughout Christian Europe in the Middle Ages, owls were a sign of the darkness that prevailed before the advent of Christ and a symbol of those Jews who elected to dwell therein instead of in the light of the gospel. As a bird that shuns the light, the owl was equated with Satan, Prince of Darkness, who lures people into sin as the owl tricks birds into snares. A symbol of solitude when depicted with hermits at prayer, the owl denotes wisdom when it is shown at the side of Saint Jerome. Scenes of the crucifixion sometimes show the owl with Christ, whose sacrifice brought light to those in darkness.

Owls are considered the agents of magic among many peoples. Siberian and Inuit (Eskimo) shamans regard them as helping spirits, a source of powerful aid and guidance, and wear their feathers on caps and collars. Tatar shamans try to assume the bird's shape, and the Buriats keep an owl or hang up its skin to ward off evil spirits. The Ainu look on the owl as a deity. In one Samoan village the people believe that the owl incarnates their god. A malevolent pre-Columbian Aztec god is represented with a screech owl on his head.

Among certain American Indian tribes, it was believed that God's power was transmitted to the shaman through owls. The Kiowa thought that the medicine man became an owl after death, and Creek priests bore a stuffed owl as their insignia. Owl dances were performed as a magical rite, and in the Medicine Pipe Dance of the Crow tribes, the pipe stem was decorated with owl and woodpecker feathers to symbolize night and day. For some tribes the owl represented a psychopomp: The Ojibwa called the bridge over which the dead passed the "owl bridge," and the Pima believed that owl feathers facilitated the soul's flight to the world beyond.

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ANN DUNNIGAN (1987)
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P

PACHOMIUS (293?–346) was a Christian ascetic and founder of cenobitic monasticism. Information about Pachomius has been much confused in the many legends and biographies preserved in various versions and translations. Born of pagan parents in Upper Egypt, Pachomius encountered Christianity for the first time in the city of Latopolis (Copt., Esnen; modern-day Isna) while serving in the military. There he was impressed with the seemingly virtuous life of local Christians and by the love they showed for all people. After his conscription ended, Pachomius returned to his village, Chinoboskeia (Copt., Schneset), and was baptized. Because of his great love for God, he decided to become a monk and was placed under the spiritual guidance of the ascetic Palemon. In Egypt at the time the eremitic life as established by Antony of Egypt was dominant. After receiving divine exhortation, Pachomius decided to organize a monastic community.

In an abandoned village on the east bank of the Nile, near Dendera, Pachomius established a monastery surrounded by a wall and named it Tabennis (c. 318). The small number of ascetics there soon increased greatly, creating a need for other monasteries. Under his direction, nine monasteries for men and two for women were established. In order to administer the newly established monasteries more effectively, Pachomius moved the center from Tabennis to Pebu, where he was installed as general leader, or hegumen (Gr., *hēgoumenos*). His sister Mary became the first hegumen in one of the women's monasteries. A wealthy monk, Petronius, gave financial support to Pachomius to retain control of his institutions during a general meeting of the monks in Pebu at Easter. Pachomius died on May 9, 346, in an epidemic that took the lives of about a hundred monks.

In fourth-century Egypt three basic forms of monasticism appeared: (1) the severe eremitic form, which was based on Antony's life in the desert; (2) the anchoritic monasticism of Makarios, which employed Sunday worship as one of its common elements; and (3) cenobitic monasticism as developed and practiced by Pachomius. Cenobitic monasticism centered on life inside the walls of the monastery with all the hours of the day and night strictly regulated. Monastic rule governed all the needs and activities of the monks:

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT CORNER. Fifteenth-century woodcut depicting the burning of the Jews. *[©Bettmann/Corbis]*; Sixth-century BCE Laconian cup depicting Atlas and the punishment of Prometheus. Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Vatican Museums. *[©Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; The pyramids of Giza, Egypt: Menkaure (foreground), Khafre, and Khufu. *[©Yann Arthus-Bertrand/Corbis]*; The Temple of Poseidon in Sounion, Greece. *[©Jan Butchofsky-Houser/Corbis]*; Nineteenth-century carving of the Polynesian god Rongo, from the Gambier Islands. Museo Missionario Etnologico, Vatican Museums. *[©Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.]* .

common prayer, common table, common work, and common use of the products of labor. According to monastic legend and tradition, an angel dictated these rules to Pachomius. Regarded as equal to scripture, obedience to them was considered a great virtue.

The hegumen was the spiritual leader of the monks, also undertaking responsibility for the financial support of the monastery in order to relieve the monks of worldly cares. Thus the monks could turn their undivided attention to spiritual exercises and toward heaven. In fact, this was the most important difference between the monasticism of Pachomius and that of Makarios: the hegumen was not only responsible for the spiritual needs of the monks but also for all material needs (e.g., housing, clothing, food, health care). On the other hand, the eremitic, anchoritic, and cenobitic lives did have common elements—removal from the world, severe asceticism, work with the hands, prayers, and obedience to the hegumen and the canons.

Pachomius wrote his famous rules for monks in Coptic, but only Jerome's translation from Greek into Latin is extant. In Coptic and Greek, only fragments are preserved, but there are also Ethiopic and Arabic translations. The long version of his rules seems to be the original. Eleven letters of *Pachomius* are also preserved in translations by Jerome. *Admonitions* and a small section of *Catechetical Instructions* have also survived.

Pachomius was not a great theoretical teacher of asceticism, but he was a great organizer of its practice. His teachings were directed to the ordering of the monks' lives by strict canons. These canons were meant to insure the good operation of the cloister and to make the separation from the world pronounced, including regulating the travels of the monks and visits from the laity. The canons imposed uniformity on the monks' way of life, dress, and nourishment even when the monks were outside the monastery. Only the sick were exempt from the austere dietary rules. Pachomius's canons covered all hours of the day and night, which were strictly arranged and scheduled to cover work, prayer, and rest, as well as behavior in church and at the table.

The greatest influence Pachomius had on the history of monasticism was in the organizational thoroughness and effectiveness of his rules. He created a form of monasticism that was to extend beyond his own epoch: the development of monasticism in the East and West was largely based on his rules. He influenced such monastic leaders as Basil the Great, John Cassian, and Benedict of Nursia, either directly or indirectly, and his rules are still followed in the austere monastic life lived on Mount Athos.

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Translated from Greek by Philip M. McGhee

PACIFISM SEE NONVIOLENCE

PADMASAMBHAVA, an Indian Tantric adept of the eighth century who became a foremost Tibetan cultural hero, is the subject of greatly elaborated legends and serves as the eponymous source of much of the enormous corpus of revelatory textual "treasures" (*gter ma*). He remains, however, so obscure to historical research that it has even been proposed that he was an entirely mythical construction who in fact never lived. Though this extreme conclusion seems, in the light of the slim evidence that does exist, to be without merit, it does underscore that here, as with a great many founders of religious traditions, the religious view of the past cannot be readily reconciled with the demands of critical history.

THE LEGEND. According to traditional Tibetan accounts, the emperor Khri Srong lde btsan (Trhi Songdetsen, r. 755–c. 797), sometime after his adoption of Buddhism in 762, resolved to create the first monastic complex, Bsam yas (Samye), at which Tibetan aspirants could be ordained into the Buddhist *saṃgha.* To achieve this, he invited the renowned Indian monk and philosopher Śāntarakṣita to preside over the construction of Bsam yas, but whatever men built by day, the gods and demons of Tibet tore down by night. Śāntarakṣita then determined that such obstacles could be overcome only by great occult power, which he, as a monk who observed the Vinaya, could not deploy. He suggested therefore that the monarch extend an invitation to the great Indian master of esoteric Buddhism, Padmasambhava, who had been miraculously born in the land of Oḍḍiyāna and now practiced Tantric rites in Nepal. It is said that when

Khri Srong lde btsan's emissaries arrived at the frontier, Padmasambhava was already waiting for them and refused the gold that they offered, declaring that everything had been transformed into gold in his vision. When the progress of his journey was obstructed by Tibet's fierce local divinities, he waged miraculous competitions with them, converting them to become protectors of the Buddhist faith. In the most developed versions of the tale, these battles assume the character of an epic account of the taming of the land, converting it from a savage realm to a sphere of civilization.

On arriving in Central Tibet, Padmasambhava's charisma overwhelmed the ruler himself, so that he, together with the leading members of his court, became devoted disciples. A lady of the court, Ye shes mtsho rgyal (Yeshe Tsogyel), was taken as Padmasambhava's consort and in the developed legends she herself is divinized, becoming the spiritual mother of the Tibetan people. For his part, Padmasambhava worked wonders so as to turn deserts into rich, irrigated fields. By marking the outer wall of Bsam yas with his ritual dance he quelled the spirits that had obstructed the monastery's construction. The temple was built and consecrated, and soon became an outstanding center of Buddhist learning.

Padmasambhava, however, by gaining the favor of the king, became an object of jealousy among some factions of the aristocracy and these now plotted against him. The local divinities, too, although bound by oath to him, in some cases grew restive. With circumstances no longer propitious for his continued sojourn in Tibet, he departed, traveling to the southern island of Camara, where he will dwell as an immortal until the end of the present aeon. Prior to his departure from Tibet, however, accompanied by Ye shes mtsho rgyal, he traveled over every inch of the Tibetan plateau, everywhere concealing treasures specially intended for particular needs in the future. These treasures—images, ritual objects, and above all texts (for instance, the celebrated *Tibetan Book of the Dead*)—would be discovered by his own Tibetan disciples, perpetually reincarnating as "treasure-discoverers." Their continuing activity is a sign of the "Precious Guru" (*guru rinpoche*) Padmasambhava's special love for the Tibetan people, a love that may also be activated when the devotee summons him through prayer from his fortress on the isle of Camara.

The legend in history. The late-first-millennium Tibetan manuscripts discovered at Dunhuang contain only two mentions of Padmasambhava that have been noted so far. One of these is a mere annotation in a colophon, but the other provides a brief hagiography, in which certain of the elements that will inform the developed legend are already present. Here Padmasambhava is portrayed as a Tantric adept residing in Nepal who vanquishes demonic obstacles through his mastery of the occult rites of Vajrakīla (the "adamant spike"), one of the Tantric divinities with which he is indeed most closely associated in later tradition. His Tibetan disciples, instructed by him in accord with the progression of Tantric systems, realize a variety of miraculous abilities.

Considering this probably tenth-century account in the light of a second group of early traditions—those contained in the several redactions of the *Dba'* (or *Sba*) *bzhed,* dating to the early second millennium—we may conclude that these sources testify to the recollection of an eighth-century Tantric adept, a specialist in the Vajrakīla cycle of Tantric rites, who developed a following in Nepal and southern Tibet. He may have also met with the king, acted as an exorcist in connection with the construction of Bsam yas, and, because the control of rivers and irrigation figures prominently throughout the legends, it is not impossible that among the wonders he worked were elements of hydraulic engineering.

Given this, it becomes possible to imagine that the several lineages of lay Tantric practitioners that during the late tenth and early eleventh centuries traced their antecedents back to Padmasambhava, and that were devoted to the cult of Vajrakīla, would have laid great stress upon the royal meeting, whatever the real facts of the matter may have been, as this no doubt strengthened their sense of legitimacy and authority. Once these early Tibetan Tantric lineages started to come under attack by proponents of the newer lines of Tantrism being introduced from India from the late tenth century onwards, the tendency would have been to insist increasingly upon recollections of Padmasambhava's imperial connection, thereby reinforcing the ancient tradition against the upstart claims of the new teachings. Padmasambhava, perhaps a marginal *dharma*-master of the eighth century, in this way reemerged two centuries later as an emblem of Tibet's imperial greatness, the hero to a wide network of Tantric cults that had taken root and flourished during this time.

The tales of Padmasambhava's compassionate intercession in the Tibetan world were elaborated in epic narratives that were discovered as revealed treasures (*gter ma*). In the early development of this literature the treasure-finder Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer (Nyangrel Nyima Özer, 1124–1192) and his successor Guru Chos dbang (Guru Chöwang, 1212–1270) emerge as central figures in the formation of his cult. With the revelation by O rgyan gling pa (Orgyen Lingpa, fourteenth century) of the epic verse account of his life, the *Padma bka' thang shel brag ma,* as well as five supplementary works (*Bka' thang sde lnga*), all concerned with the conversion of the Tibetan empire to Buddhism, the legend of Padmasambhava arrives at its definitive form.

INFLUENCE ON DOCTRINE, RITUAL, AND ART. Throughout the second millennium Padmasambhava played an unusually significant role in the ongoing development of Tibetan Buddhism. Though it is impossible to securely assign any extant writings to his authorship, even after excluding the innumerable "treasures" as apocryphal works, a few texts do at least reflect beliefs regarding his teachings as formulated among the first generations of Tibetans owing allegiance to him. The most prestigious of these is the *Man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba* (Esoteric instruction: A garland of views), a survey of the nine vehicles of the Rnying ma (Nyingma) pa from the standpoint of the exegetical tradition of the *Guhyagarbha Tantra,* the fundamental Tantra of the Rnying ma pa esoteric system. This work has spawned a substantial commentarial literature and has much influenced the formulation of Rnying ma pa doctrine in general.

Besides being regarded as the source of the majority of treasure-texts, and hence of the ritual and contemplative systems they propound, Padmasambhava himself is frequently invoked as a principle figure in the liturgy, whether as the *guru* who is the object of devotion or as the central figure in the esoteric *maṇḍala* with whom the adept identifies. As such, Padmasambhava has inspired a tremendous body of liturgical poetry, iconic representation, and even sacred dance. To list the major Tibetan religious figures who have been among the leading contributors in this respect, as treasure-discoverers or authors, would require a virtual *Who's Who* of Tibetan religion. With the career of the fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682), a fervent devotee of the Precious Guru, the cult of Padmasambhava was, in effect, given the sanction of the highest authority. Nevertheless, some sectarian factions regarded the entire revelatory corpus of treasures to be spurious and so sought its suppression. It is safe to say, however, that most Tibetan Buddhists, whether Rnying ma pa or not, count themselves among Padmasambhava's faithful adherents.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Tibet; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism.

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MATTHEW T. KAPSTEIN (2005)

PAGANISM, ANGLO-SAXON.

The "Anglo-Saxon" history of England stretches from the fifth to the eleventh centuries. Even before then, however, in 98 CE, Tacitus cites the "Angli" as one of seven tribes on the north-eastern German seaboard who worshiped "Nerthus, i.e., Earth the Mother" (Robinson, 1935, p. 317), a Bronze Age goddess borne about in a wagon. A formal comparison here with *Njörðr,* the name of a Norse god, may indicate that Tacitus mistakenly identified Nerthus with the earth when his informant treated them as divine husband and wife (North, 1997, pp. 19–25). When the Angles, Saxons, and other Germanic invaders settled in Britain they stayed heathen until various moments in the seventh century. It is hard to know what their beliefs were before this time (Owen, 1981). There is a dearth of evidence, and our literary sources consist of scraps found here and there in place-names, royal genealogies, and passages derived from a number of mostly Latin works concerned with Christian history and doctrine (Page, 1995).

Our chief sources are Northumbrian. Bede (c. 675–735), in his *History of the English Church and People* (c. 732), records the Anglo-Saxon conversion and its aftermath from 597 to the 640s (Colgrave and Mynors, 1969). He relates three crucial moments of conversion: when King Æthelberht of Kent gave Augustine permission to preach in 597; when

King Rædwald of East Anglia put a Christian altar at the center of his temple in the 610s; and when King Edwin of Deira, though he held off for eight years, had himself and his people baptized by Paulinus in 627. In this episode Bede refers to a man named Coifi, "first among the high priests" of Deira, who burned down the enclosure at Goodmanham after riding there unlawfully on a stallion and casting a spear at the idols inside. The same period is covered without this tale, but with some interesting additions, in the anonymous *Life of Pope Gregory the Great*, which was written in Whitby probably around 713 (Colgrave, 1968). Bede, in two works on *computus*, the calculation of the liturgical year, also claims that his heathen ancestors held a festival in honor of a "goddess" named Eostre at about the time of the Passion (Wallis, 1999, p. 54). Although the Modern English word *Easter*, a term for a time of year, comes from *eostre*, there is no other reason to personify the name in this way, and it looks as if Bede deified *eostre* on analogy with Februus, an invented Roman god whom he knew to be associated with the month of February (Wallis, 1999, p. 48). An older contemporary of Bede was Bishop Aldhelm of Sherborne (640s?–709), one of whose letters hints at the existence of priapic cults in Wessex in the early seventh century (Lapidge and Herren, 1979, p. 479). Still further south, according to *Life of Saint Wilfrid*, which was written between 710 and 720, there is an account of a heathen sorcerer defeated perhaps in the 680s by Bishop Wilfrid on a beach in Sussex (Mayr-Harting, 1991, p. 24).

Other sources derive from place-names, epigraphy, and archaeology. The gods' names Woden, Tiw, Thunor, and perhaps once the feminine Freo survive in place-names only in the south and midlands (Meaney, 1995). There Woden's name is the most common, and it was also used in Anglian royal genealogies of the eighth century (Dumville, 1976). Pre-Christian inscriptions of the Anglo-Saxons were written in runes. Aside from coin-legends, about ninety runic inscriptions survive from England and the associated Frisian region in the fifth to seventh centuries (Page, 1999). Now and then new texts are found, but no runes have turned up that might throw light on Anglo-Saxon paganism, unless the gibberish of three inscriptions can be taken to represent magic rituals. The names for a couple of runes, however, Tiw and Ing, do appear to refer to heathen gods, although anything about them more than their names is a matter for interpretation (Page, 1999, pp. 76–77). Within the wider archaeology, it is often assumed that some of the first English churches were built over heathen sites of worship, which had themselves been converted from Romano-British shrines (Blair, 1995). In 601 Pope Gregory commanded that heathen shrines should be reconsecrated rather than torn down, so that converts might hasten more readily to their accustomed places (Colgrave and Mynors, 1969, p. 106). To start with, at least, Anglo-Saxon heathens probably had no priesthood, but Old English place-name elements such as *weoh* and *hearh* show that they had, respectively, wayside and public shrines (Meaney, 1995), even if it is hard to recognize these in excavated ground plans (Wilson, 1992, pp. 44–46). Grave finds, on the other hand, are easily identified, the most significant being Sutton Hoo, a ship burial, or cenotaph, discovered in 1939 and dated to about 625, and probably meant for Rædwald. This find includes a whetstone mounted with a stag emblem, both of which might be pagan (Wilson, 1992, pp. 168–169). Made known in 2004, the grave find of another newly Christian king in Prittlewell, Essex, possibly the East Saxon Sæberht (d. 619?), will become a further rich source of research. The evidence from fifth- and sixth-century cemeteries also gives a picture of an imagined heathen afterlife in which earthly goods such as treasures and garments, horses, weapons, and even foodstuffs could accompany the dead as if into another version of the living world (Wilson, 1992, pp. 97–123).

It is not easy to make sense of all this. Most attempts involve comparisons with the rich mythological poetry and prose of tenth- to thirteenth-century Iceland (e.g., Dronke, 1992; Harris, 1975). In one such case, it is argued that heathen kingship was "sacral" and based on a presumed *hieros gamos* between Woden and the earth (Chaney, 1970); in another, that the husband was rather Ingui or Ing, not only a counterpart of the Norse gods Baldr and (Ingunar- or Yngvi-) Freyr, but also a progenitor god with a wagon, of whom mention is made in *The Old English Rune Poem* (North, 1997). Some scholars try to examine Anglo-Saxon paganism without recourse to the cognate mythology of Óðinn, Þórr, Frigg, Baldr, Freyr, and Freyja (Wilson, 1992). Yet Norse paganism remains relevant in another way in that its first purveyors, the Vikings, settled the east of England in the late ninth century, the northwest in the tenth, and the southwest in the early eleventh. Their paganism was kin to the Anglo-Saxon variety, and it seems likely that until their own conversion moments they helped to turn English superstitions back into cults. Most of the later evidence must be seen in this light. It is unclear, for example, whether or not an invocation to "Erce, mother earth" in the eleventh-century *Charm for Unfruitful Land*, which presents her as a bride in the embrace of God, is an Anglo-Saxon relic entirely free of Norse influence. On the other hand, it can be argued that Balder, who replaces the unrelated Baldæg in a genealogy in Æthelweard's Latin version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (c. 975), is witness to a Norse myth imported into England (North, 1997, pp. 124–131). Abbot Ælfric of Eynsham (c. 950–c. 1010), in his *De falsis diis* (On the false gods), draws attention to Óðon, Þór, and Fricg (Johnson, 1995), where one might expect the native English names. Archbishop Wulfstan of York (d. 1023) rewrote this homily and also drafted laws for the Danish king Cnut in which he rendered some anti-pagan prohibitions of the sixth-century Bishop Martin of Braga into his own powerful West Saxon prose. This usage, above all, shows that heathen abuses were still rife in England as late as the eleventh century.

SEE ALSO Archaeology and Religion.

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RICHARD NORTH (2005)

PAIN.

Most religious traditions seek to minimize suffering and explain its causes. At the same time, many religions around the world promote painful behavior in specific ritual contexts and produce influential discourse that praises the value of pain or glorifies those who either endure pain or willfully hurt themselves. Although such positive evaluation of pain in religious contexts is diminishing, it is still widely normative. In 1984, Pope John Paul II stated that "Christianity is not a system into which we have to fit the awkward fact of pain. . . . In a sense, it creates, rather than solves the problem of pain."

DEFINITIONS OF PAIN. The International Association for the Study of Pain defines *pain* as "an unpleasant sensory and emotional experience associated with actual or potential tissue damage or described in terms of such damage." The vast majority of people know pain directly and vividly as a noxious feeling located somewhere in the body. Despite the fact that pain is notoriously difficult to express in a verbal way, most languages do provide tropes for speaking about the sensation. Over seventy words are used in the McGill Pain Questionnaire, which is administered to patients who complain of pain. These include physical, emotional, and evaluative terms, such as piercing, burning, drilling, punishing, nagging, and terrifying. Other languages are equally rich in *pain* terms. Biblical Hebrew (the books of *Job* and *Jeremiah*) describes pain as tearing its victim, penetrating like arrows, and crushing like a storm. Similarly, Sanskrit and other Asian languages use terms that refer to tools or weapons, such as lances, darts, spears, or fire, in order to communicate the nature of the hurt.

The vocabulary of pain strongly suggests that pain and suffering are inseparable. In fact, the word *pain* is often used as a synonym for *suffering:* C. S. Lewis's famous book, *The Problem of Pain* (1940) is about emotional suffering. However, it is important to make a conceptual distinction between *nociception* (the perception of "physical" pain) and suffering. A back injury may be accompanied by suffering, for instance, due to isolation and loss of productivity leading to depression or anxiety. Other pains, however, may be experienced more ambiguously or even as desirable and joyful. A runner may report pleasant or desirable pain, and some cancer patients describe the severe discomfort of chemotherapy as healing. Similarly, most forms of suffering—the loss of a child to illness, for instance, or the fear of death—are not accompanied by pain.

Another distinction must be made: pain is distinct from either violence or death. Religious literature and rituals around the world describe violent executions, sacrifices, and the slaughter of nonbelievers and heretics as meaningful theological phenomena. A substantial body of scholarship is devoted to interpreting or analyzing violence and the sacred: Rene Girard's *Violence and the Sacred* (1977) stands out in this respect. The phenomenon of pain occupies a distinct domain of religious discourse and practice. The swift beheading of a heretic does not communicate the same information on the role of the body, power, self, and eschatology as the gradually increased and slow torment of a martyr who is given the option of ending the torture by conversion. Moreover, the self-willed pain of pilgrims and ascetics is different from both. Similarly, violent displays accompanied by heroic insensitivity to pain—the Malaysian piercers during the Thaipusam festival, for instance—are only indirectly linked to the subject of pain. Here pain is regarded as a meaningful existential category, but only to be transcended and ignored. Ritual analgesia is not pain behavior, but it is based on a profound religious evaluation of pain.

DISTRIBUTION AND CONTEXTS. The use of pain, or the praise of it, in religious contexts has been extremely widespread and diverse. Virtually every known tradition describes pain in spiritual terms, praises its effects, or prescribes it to adherents. This can be seen anywhere from ancient Near East religions, the three Western monotheistic traditions, and Greek and mystery cults to the major South and East Asian traditions and the religions of the Americas, Africa, and Australia. Pain figures either as an important feature of ritual performances or as the subject of extremely diverse and elaborate discourse. The performative use of pain includes pilgrimages, initiations (including shamans, secret societies, rites of passage, and puberty rites), mourning and funerary rituals, judicial ordeals, rites of possession and exorcism, specialized mystical disciplines, monastic guidelines, and modern mind-altering practices such as body-piercing and tattooing.

The most commonly practiced rituals in which pain figures prominently are pilgrimages, initiations, and rites of mourning. Pilgrims are often encouraged to walk barefoot on rocky or hot terrain, crawl on hands and knees or prostrate on the hard ground, sleep under difficult conditions, expose themselves to the heat or cold of the elements, and avoid refreshment and nourishment. Such discomforts are practiced in such places as Sabarai Malai in South India, Mount Kailash in Nepal, Lourdes in France, Guadalupe in Mexico, Karbala in Iraq, Jerusalem in Israel, Mecca in Saudi Arabia, and numerous lesser known centers of pilgrimage. Pilgrimage discomforts and pain are not incidental to the goals of the pilgrims' journey, or merely contingent on being on the road. They are central to the goal of pilgrimage. In Sabarai Malai, for example, a pilgrim was recorded as saying: "At one moment everything is pain. But at the next moment everything is love (*anpu*). . .for the Lord" (Daniel, 1984, p. 269).

Initiatory rituals, especially rites of passage for boys and girls at puberty, have been extremely common and are still widely practiced—often in a painful manner. Methods of hurting, applied to both sexes, commonly center on the genitals, with various forms of incision, insertion of objects such as twigs, and scraping or stabbing. Other types of initiatory pain include scarification, piercing of various body parts (e.g., nose, ears, cheeks), knocking out of teeth, the practice of kneeling on hot coals, suspension from hooks, and whippings and beatings. Similar and additional tortures are used in initiations to religious and military societies, as well as academic and athletic fraternities; such tortures are also associated with shamanic practices in Asia and the Americas. For instance, the Sun Dance rituals of the Arapahos, Cheyennes, Crows, and other Native Americans are lengthy and elaborate series of painful rites culminating with the piercing and tearing of tissue in the chest. Although ritual participants articulate numerous reasons for participating in the Sun Dance, the pain discourse focuses on self-sacrifice for the sake of the community, love, and compassion (Jorgensen, 1972).

Mourning rituals in which self-mutilation is practiced range from the merely symbolic tearing of the button in contemporary Judaism (a remnant of painful biblical practices) to self-beatings and head slashing by Muslim followers of the murdered Imam Ḥusayn. Mourning rituals involving self-mutilation also extend through numerous tribal religions in which such practices as tearing out one's hair, slashing the thighs with a knife, cutting the body with various objects, or banging one's head against the ground are ritually enacted (Durkheim, 1965/1912).

PAIN DISCOURSE. The discursive contexts in which pain is described, prescribed, or praised include scriptural teachings, myths, and folk narratives; biographies and hagiographies of mystics, saints, or martyrs; religious poetry; sermons; and ethnographic evidence. Unlike ritual performance, pain discourse explicitly addresses the nature and function of self-inflicted or involuntary pain. The literary and oral sources invariably couch their discussions of pain in tropes or elaborate models. These included juridical, medical, military, athletic, magical, communal, and psychotropic ways of conceptualizing pain. The tropes reveal both implicitly and explicitly a dual evaluation of the effects of pain on the agent. Pain is either a destructive force—a punishment—that causes aversion, or it is a necessary evil or even blessing, like medicine. In either case, pain in religious literature is a meaningful aspect of human experience, which either strengthens something of value (e.g., identity with God, community), or destroys something of perhaps lesser value (e.g., ego, self). Despite the varying cultural contexts in which religious discourse takes place, pain models always reveal this dualistic evaluation.

The juridical model. Narratives and discourses about pain that describe it in terms taken from the world of jurisprudence are included in this model. The clearest is pain as punishment, an obvious feature considering the etymology of the word from the Greek *poena,* meaning "payment" or "penalty." But pain may also be described as a debt or as damages owed, and it may be related to laws of evidence when it is linked to methods of eliciting truth. This model accounts for a large percentage of the cases found in religious literature, and many pain patients still use it today.

Pain is often described as a punishment by some personal agency (e.g., God, Satan, demons) or by some impersonal mechanism, such as karma. The punishment may be perceived as just, as the confessional writings of sinners and penitents indicate, or it may be entirely unwarranted and tragic. Such is the case of Job, or the cry of Prometheus, who rightly calls Zeus a tyrant.

Juridical pain straddles the boundary between *lex tallionis* (the law of retaliation) and the law of debts in a variety of cultures, from Judaism and ancient Greece to Hindu versions of karma. The difference between pain as punishment and an exchange of debts involves the legal distinction between owing something to a private party and being accountable to society as a whole. The strongest Jewish instance of this distinction may be found in the Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement) liturgy with its notion of redemption as exchange (*pidyon*) or a debt. This mechanism, the restoration of a balance through the perhaps magical or sacrificial mediation of pain, is also seen in the South Asian *vrata*—the vow that utilizes self-sacrifice to bring about desired results.

Juridical pain evokes the laws of evidence: Pain serves as the instrument for obtaining the truth from reluctant witnesses or the accused. This principle operates not just in cases of ordeals or religious inquisitions, as one might expect, but also in cases of initiatory ordeal and asceticism. This pain is a test. In the New Testament the agony that Jesus suffered in Gethsemane is characterized as a test, a type of ordeal or trial that reveals a hidden truth: "Because he himself was tested by what he suffered, he is able to help those who are being tested" (*Heb.* 2:12). Buddhist and Hindu texts (e.g., *Warrior Zen: The Diamond-hard Wisdom of Suzuki Shosan,* the *Bhagavadgītā,* and Patañjali's *Yoga Sūtra*) urge the practitioner to treat pain and pleasure alike in order to unmask the truth about the self.

Pain as medicine. Even though modern medical authorities characterize pain as an aversive sensation, religious sources often describe it as medical, and in so doing, evaluate it as a beneficial experience. A dramatic example comes from Prudentius, a fourth-century Christian poet who attributes to the martyr Saint Romanus the following words: "You will shudder at the handiwork of the executioners, but are doctors' hands gentler, when Hippocrates' cruel butchery is going on? The living flesh is cut and fresh-drawn blood stains lancers when festering matter is being scraped away." The claim, made forcefully by Saint Basil (d. 379) and others, is not that pain is pleasant, but that it benefits the soul. One need not seek it like a martyr, but if afflicted naturally, the pain ought to be taken as a spiritual sign—not just a reason for running to the doctor.

Medicine is both preventive and curative. It either cures diseases that have already been contracted (sin), or prevents ills to follow (punishment). In either case a familiar feature of classical medicine—and attendant aspects of this way of conceptualizing pain—is that the remedy is as bitter as the disease. In its Christian version this model may owe a great deal to the classic dictum that "medicine is the philosophy of the body, and philosophy is the medicine of the soul." This ideology can also be seen in Islamic metaphors for religious pain. The Ṣūfī poet Rūmī (1207–1273 CE) referred to "love" (of God) as pain without cure. *The Sea of Precious Virtues* (twelfth century) warns the man who seeks worldly gain that just as he is willing to suffer with a physician for physical health, so he must heed the health of the soul to avoid hell. And Shāhʿ Abdul Laṭīf, an eighteenth-century Indian Ṣūfī, wrote that the true lover of God does not seek out the medicine of the physician. The South Asian Muslim mystic Mirzā Asaduʾllāh Ghālib exclaimed: "When pain transgresses the limits, it becomes medicine."

Additional models of pain. Pain can also be conceptualized as a weapon used to destroy self-love in a spiritual battle. This is evident in the writings of such Christian theologians as Augustine of Hippo (354–430), as well as John Calvin (1509–1564), who conceived of the spiritual life as a battle against "the old man." Simon the Stylite (d. 459) battled his own body, and Macarius (d. 390) wrestled against the "fiends" that occupied his body. Muslim ascetics such as Abū Bakr Wāsiṭī claimed to be practicing jihad or holy war against the individual soul that deluded itself into thinking that it was divine.

The athletic model of pain is evident in the word *asceticism,* which Plato and Aristotle took to mean "training." The attitude revealed in the athletic model toward the body is softer than the military. *Hebrews* 12 describes pain as God's training for his faithful, and both Tertullian (third century) and Prudentius (fourth century) identified martyrdom with an athletic contest against false religion. Still, the strong aversion toward the flesh or individual ego is relatively mute here.

Pain can also be conceived as an alchemical purifier that transforms ordinary humans into saved souls. It acts like the fire that melts impure gold, in the words of Gregory of Nyssa (fourth century), or in Rūmī's words: "I am the fire!" Magical metaphors extend beyond alchemy or the blacksmith's trade to agricultural tropes, or in the case of the *tapas* (heat) of Hindu mysticism, the metaphor extends to a tool that bestows supernatural powers. Similarly, the idea that pain can miraculously transform consciousness and identity in an implicit passage is indicated by the charter of the Midwives Alliance of North America: "Labor. . .is a rite of passage, a psychospiritual training ground for both mother and child."

Central to the Christian conception of pain is the model of vicarious or communal suffering. *Colossians* 1:24 states: "Now I rejoice in my suffering for your sake." Indeed the painful death of Christ is a vicarious force that extends in effect to the entire community. Such too is the ritual destruction of the scapegoat in numerous cultures; in the *Zohar*'s addition to the Yom Kippur liturgy, for example, the death of the righteous atones for the sins of others.

In contemporary Western discourse on self-hurting, describing for instance the performances of "modern primitives," brain processes are often invoked to explain the heightened states of consciousness achieved. Although excitement and euphoria are often reported as a result of the secretion of beta-endorphins, the language of transcendence—unity of spirit and body, for instance—prevails: "It's an ecstasy state where no matter what happens in the body, no matter how much more intense the physical sensations become, I feel no more. Sensations just 'are'" (Mufasar, 1995, p. 5).

MEANING AND FUNCTION OF PAIN. The methods of causing oneself or others pain in religious contexts, and the manner of articulating the nature of pain have been extremely diverse. Pain, itself a biological and psychological phenomenon, has been so deeply embedded in cultural expression that it has proven elusive and difficult to theorize. Few theorists have even attempted to focus on pain perception apart from its theoretical and ritual contexts. Four distinct approaches for understanding religious pain may be identified: cultural-symbolic, psychoanalytical, sociobiological-ethological, and psychodynamic. To simplify this range, one may say that religious pain has been reduced either to cultural interpretation or to biological analysis.

Mircea Eliade is preeminent among those theorists who refuse to "reduce" ritual performance or religious discourse to universal transcultural principles other than the sacred itself. Consequently, he argues that the pain inflicted on novices, for instance among Native Americans, is symbolic of specific cultural interpretations of the sacred, and the ritual hurt aims at "the spiritual transformation of the victim." The torture may represent a symbolic death and rebirth; the genital incisions symbolically de-sexualize the youngster to create an androgynous being for the state that precedes the new birth. In either case, the important religious phenomenon is not the sensation of pain itself but the symbolic value of its ritualized application.

Biological reductions, or ethological theories based on biology, address the question of aggression and dominance, access to females, or in some sophisticated versions, imposing ritual constraints on biological drives. For example, in *On Aggression* (1963) Konrad Lorenz regards the violent torture of initiates as an expression of such biological principles as the natural aggression of adults toward young sexual competitors. The highly respected theories of René Girard and Walther Burkhert ultimately resolve into such universal—"human nature"—principles. Freudian psychoanalytical theory explains the self-hurting of religious individuals, or the tortures of initiates, in broadly reductive terms. The former may represent masochistic pathology, or the ego's response to the anxiety of a profound sense of guilt. Sigmund Freud's *Civilization and Its Discontents* (1930) discusses how the torture of youngsters may be due to aggressive and erotic drives as they manifest in competition over sexual resources, or it may serve to curtail such potentially destructive drives.

While none of these approaches focuses exclusively on the perception of pain as a distinct area of interest, Elaine Scarry in *The Body in Pain* (1985) isolates pain as a unique phenomenon—an overwhelming "objectless," and therefore mute, experience that destroys the victim's ability to communicate and ultimately shatters his or her entire world, including even the self. Scarry's theory, which is based on the observation of torture victims, has had a significant influence on religious scholarship. Historians of religions, especially scholars of mysticism, including Maureen Flynn and Maureen A. Tilley, now believe that mortification of the flesh is designed to "unmake the world" and eradicate language and identity through the mute power of pain.

The most recent and extended analysis of pain in religious contexts is Ariel Glucklich's *Sacred Pain: Hurting the Body for the Sake of the Soul* (2001). This book argues, based on neuropsychological and cybernetic theories, that self-inflicted pain makes the agent transparent and thereby strengthens values, which are held in high regard. The voluntary mortifications and discomforts of such mystical practitioners as Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi and Henry Suso dissolve personal identity while fortifying a new telos or valued goal, such as God or community. Unwanted or natural pain (e.g., illness, accidents) can be transformed into "sacred" pain through the psychological mechanisms of self-sacrifice, or by subsuming one's personal identity within a broader and more highly valued center. The neuropsychological work of Ronald Melzack and Patrick D. Wall on phantom-limb pain offers a specific and sophisticated explanation of what may be taking place when the organism is over-stimulated with pain or irritation. A shutting down or diminution of output from the central nervous system results in phenomenal experiences, which diminishes the sense of self and reinforces the religious psychology that values other sources of identity: God, Christ, community, and others. Pain here is understood in terms of its phenomenal effects, not as a pathology or a political weapon.

SEE ALSO Healing and Medicine; Mortification; Ordeal; Suffering.

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PALEOLITHIC RELIGION. The term *Paleolithic* was coined more than a hundred years ago to distinguish the simple stone tools discovered in deep gravel pits or caves of the diluvial (or antediluvian) period from the polished stone tools of a later age, the Neolithic. Two incongruous criteria—geologic or climatological data and cultural or technological data—were used to distinguish the periods. Later the use of pottery became characteristic of the Neolithic age, and agriculture was seen as its chief distinguishing mark. Nowadays the term *Paleolithic* is understood in its strict sense, as the cultural equivalent of the geologic and climatological period known as the Ice Age (today usually called the Pleistocene), in which polished stones, pottery, and agriculture were still unknown. When it became clear that with few exceptions the characteristic traits of the Neolithic age appeared only some time after the end of the Pleistocene, phenomena dating from the postglacial (Holocene) period but prior to the Neolithic came to be known as Epipaleolithic or, rather unfortunately, as Mesolithic.

To be sure, the radical geologic and climatological changes that took place at this time of transition, more than ten thousand years ago, certainly affected the conditions of life and culture, but a truly epochal cultural transformation that indicates the beginning of the Upper Paleolithic period had occurred already about 35,000 years ago, that is, much earlier than the environmental change. In Europe, parts of Siberia, and southwestern Asia, and perhaps in some parts of Africa, the cultural transition is marked by the emergence of tools made of thin and slender stone blades and, in some areas, by the appearance of representational art. A more meaningful classification of periods would therefore merge the Lower and Middle Paleolithic into one period and distinguish it from the combined Upper Paleolithic and the Mesolithic. (Some scholars have proposed that terms *Protolithic* and *Miolithic* should be used, but the suggestion has not won acceptance.) Outside the context of Europe, and especially with reference to America, the term *Paleolithic* is, practically speaking, not used at all.

Although the end of the Paleolithic is usually identified by the beginning of the postglacial period (c. 8000 BCE), there were no highly significant distinctions between the two periods. As far as is known today, the Paleolithic was mainly a time during which food was acquired solely by hunting (including fishing) and gathering. But such methods of subsistence were used throughout broad areas of the world during the postglacial period, too, and continue to be used in a few restricted areas today. With certain reservations, then, it is possible to show continuity between the Paleolithic period and present-day "primitive" societies that follow a similar way of life.

In theory, the Paleolithic age begins with the first appearance of human beings. In practice, both occurrences are equally difficult to pinpoint. The beginning of the Stone Age—and therefore of all prehistory—is characterized by the appearance of artificial stone tools that could be used not only for immediate tasks but also to make additional tools (Henri Bergson's "tools for making tools"). The oldest tools discovered so far are from East Africa and are between two and two and one-half million years old. Whether East Africa is therefore the real cradle of civilization or whether accidents of preservation and of research and discovery only make this seem to be the case must for the present remain an open question.

In the course of time human beings appeared in other areas of Africa and, between one and one and one-half million years ago, in parts of southern and western Europe. Finds in southeastern and eastern Asia are probably as old or even older. As early as 300,000 years ago humans appeared in numerous other parts of Europe and Asia. Even in Australia there is evidence of human presence more than twenty thousand years ago, and it is likely that by that time human beings had already entered broad areas of America, although their presence becomes certain only about 10,000 BCE. Thereafter even the more northerly regions of Europe became increasingly populated.

Many developments and transformations occurred during this long stretch of time; very different cultures took shape in the various regions. It is questionable, therefore, whether *Paleolithic religion* is a meaningful concept at all. Rather, the point of departure for this article ought to be the existence of a variety of religions in the Paleolithic period. The nature and scarcity of the evidence (for the most part only fragmentary material remains) and its random character prevent researchers from convincingly distinguishing and defining any specific traits of these religions. The expression *Paleolithic religion* can really mean nothing more than the totality of ascertainable or inferred religious phenomena of the Paleolithic period. In addition, the term *religion* itself must be defined very broadly and be allowed to include everything that suggests dealings with a realm above and beyond natural phenomena.

SOURCES AND THEIR INTERPRETATION. Current knowledge of the Paleolithic period depends mainly on a functional interpretation of material remains, that is, a reconstruction of their use and cultural context in the life of prehistoric human beings. Such an interpretation relies, in turn, on a comparison of the available evidence with objects, facts, and processes that are directly known or have been transmitted in written, pictorial, or oral form from a relatively recent past. Since the situation in the prehistoric, and especially the Paleolithic, period is to be compared with that of present-day "primitive" societies rather than that of more "developed" ones, close attention must be given to conditions and modes of behavior examined in the studies of so-called primitive peoples. These studies can help in the interpretation of archaeological finds, but not infrequently they also show that similar material objects allow divergent functional interpretations.

These remarks about interpretation apply to a high degree to religion because it is primarily a spiritual phenomenon in which the sacred or supernatural word plays an important role. It is clear that manifestations of religion cannot be determined from archaeological research because material remains are silent. Only indirectly and in special circumstances do archaeological finds yield a religious meaning. Thus the first question that students of prehistoric religion must ask is "Which objects and findings can be regarded as signs of religious intentions, experiences, and activities?" Although religion is primarily a spiritual phenomenon, it nonetheless uses a wide range of material accessories: artifacts and places that have a cultic and ceremonial significance, images and symbols, sacrificial and votive offerings. In many cases religion makes use of art; to a certain extent inferences about religious conceptions can also be drawn from burial customs.

The interpretation of such sources by analogy with present-day religious practices implies that a more or less complete correspondence or at least a great similarity is inferred from an observed partial correspondence. But not infrequently particular findings can be interpreted in different ways. For example, it is often not clear to which religious category a find belongs; sacrifices and burials, cannibalism and human sacrifices, and animal sacrifices and animal cults are not clearly distinguishable by archaeological criteria. It is not enough, therefore, to select a few religious phenomena from contemporary primitive societies and apply them to the archaeological material. Instead, it is necessary to conduct comprehensive comparative studies in order to obtain a sufficiently wide range of correlations and establish a basic correspondence of meanings. Admittedly such studies make it possible to register only general characteristics and not concrete particularities. Even then it is still possible in many cases to give divergent interpretations, and it therefore becomes necessary to choose the one that is most likely.

The first rule, therefore, that must be observed in the interpretation of prehistoric finds is to compare them only with such recent phenomena as occur in a basically similar or corresponding context. For example, it is not possible to simply select a religious phenomenon connected with food cultivation (for example, feminine figurines of the Magna Mater type from Mediterranean and Eastern civilizations) and use it to explain one or another find connected with the culture of Paleolithic hunters and gatherers.

The vast stretch of time separating the Paleolithic period and today, the numerous opportunities for a shift in the meaning of things, and the modern dissemination and variety of phenomena all call for critical judgment in the use of ethnographic and historical analogies. One should be especially cautious in comparing prehistoric phenomena with contemporary primitive religions. On the other hand, as is clear from not a few cases, the very long interval of time that has passed does not necessarily mean that radical changes have occurred; often enough, strong tendencies toward stability are also observable. The lapse of time must be judged in relation to fundamental conditions; progressive development is accompanied by an acceleration. The first really epochal change took place only about 35,000 years ago, at the beginning of the Upper Paleolithic period. Thirty-five thousand years seems a short and insignificant span of time when compared with the hundreds of thousands of years' existence of the earliest human beings. It is therefore not as unimaginable as it might first appear that fundamental elements from a very early time should be preserved to the present day under comparable conditions. Furthermore, in comparison with the modern multiplicity and variety of phenomena, the number of possibilities realizable under simple conditions is limited.

A spiritual phenomenon such as religion does not develop in complete independence and isolation but depends to some degree on functional interrelations and limitations, including those of an economic and ecological kind. Careful account must be taken of duration and the interaction of tendencies toward stability or change, the multiplicity of possibilities and the limitation placed on them by general conditions, independent development, and functional interdependence. The divergent value judgments made of these criteria are the main reason for the debates among scholars about the significance and persuasiveness of the inferences they draw from comparisons.

SURVEY AND ASSESSMENT. Current understanding of Paleolithic religion is essentially based on objects whose form and attributes themselves indicate religious or magical use or whose manner of deposition (burial, for example) or other contextual peculiarities suggests such a use, as well as on works of art whose content or situation reflects religious or magical meaning. For most of the Paleolithic (spatially as well as temporally) there are no such objects or artworks. Traces of these increase in Europe and some neighboring regions in the last part of the Paleolithic period. Previously, and outside these areas, they are scarce. Only in the immediately preceding time—the Middle Paleolithic (back to about 100,000 years ago)—does one find oneself on somewhat reliable ground.

The Middle Paleolithic. This discussion begins with finds from the Middle Paleolithic and not with the oldest finds, for one can make some useful statements about this period, especially on the basis of burials. In this context are human beings known as the Neanderthals. Because of their external appearance, Neanderthals were initially regarded as incapable of religious ideas, unlike the more recent *Homo sapiens.* But the picture of these early human beings has since changed substantially.

Neanderthal skeletons often exhibit severe injuries, but for the most part researchers are not able to say with certainty whether they resulted from fights and battles. Some of the head injuries had healed; others were evidently fatal, and the hipbone of a man from a site on Mount Carmel (Israel) apparently has been pierced by some lancelike object. Not a few Neanderthals survived not only wounds but also numerous illnesses. This was apparent also from the skeleton of the original Neanderthal—the find that gave the Neanderthals their name—who despite numerous afflictions had reached the age of fifty or so, a very advanced age for his time. Evidence of illnesses is also observable in other finds, especially that of an elderly Neanderthal at Shanidar (Iraq) who was probably blind from childhood and whose right forearm had been amputated. He had survived a number of illnesses and injuries, something possible only if he enjoyed the protection and care of a community, although he was probably of little economic value to it. There is no way of knowing whether this man had other abilities and knowledge that might have made him a respected member of the group. In any case, this instance, as well as others, indicates that Neanderthals were by no means the crude savages they are sometimes made out to be but lived in a kind of community in which not only the law of the jungle and economic utility carried weight.

Burials also provide evidence of the same situation. The dead are typically found with their legs slightly flexed, usually in elongated pits; in some Near Eastern finds, however, the dead are in a tightly crouched position, as though they had been forced down into narrow holes. With some regularity they are laid on an east-west axis, usually with the head to the east and, in the majority of cases, the body lying on its right side. It is not always possible to say with certainty whether animal bones and tools found near the corpse were burial gifts.

Noteworthy, however, is the little cemetery at La Ferrassie (France) where three fine stone artifacts, suited for adults, were found in the grave of three children, including a newborn or stillborn infant. Tools of the same kind were also found with adults, and some sites have yielded pits containing animal bones and artifacts, as well as reddish fragments. For example, the head of an elderly man found at La Chapelle aux Saints (France) was covered with large plates made of bone; his body was surrounded by pieces of jasper and quartz and fragments of a red material.

There are other instances in which the dead—and especially their heads, which were often protected by stones—were partly surrounded by large bones. For example, the grave of an approximately eight-year-old boy at Teshik-Tash in the foothills of the Tian Shan (Kyrgyzstan) was surrounded by a circle of horns. The corpse of a man found in the cave of Shanidar was surrounded by blossoms of flowers that are almost all used as curatives in popular medicine today. (Although graves containing flowers may have been more numerous, only one example has been discovered, thanks to a fortunate combination of circumstances and to modern investigative techniques.)

In all these cases are found clear signs that Neanderthals took care of their fellow human beings. The burial gifts really leave no reasonable doubt that the dead were thought to continue to live in some manner. This belief explains why objects were buried along with the dead, to be used in the future; even children were provided with objects that they certainly could not have used during their lifetime. What particular shape these general ideas took one cannot say. It can at least asserted, however, that the Neanderthals had an understanding of death and had somehow come to grips with it.

In the cemetery at La Ferrassie, a skull of a child was found in a burial pit about a meter away from the skeleton. Isolated skulls were also found elsewhere. In a cave on Monte Circeo, about a hundred kilometers southeast of Rome (Italy), a Neanderthal skull was found on the surface of the cave floor, with the basal opening (which had evidently been widened artificially) facing upward; it was surrounded by a circle of stones, and nearby there were three heaps of auroch and deer bones. The basal openings of most of the numerous skulls found in isolation—some from an even earlier period—are believed to have been artificially enlarged, probably to facilitate removal of the brain. This practice was probably connected with the consciousness of death and may indicate a special relationship between the living and the dead; researchers are not in a position, however, to hypothesize about the particulars of these ideas and activities.

In the burial site at Regourdou near Montignac (France), the skull and some other bones of a brown bear were found under a large block of stone. There are also reports of finds, not associated with human burials, of individual skulls of bears, especially of the great cave bear, together with some long bones. Stone chests containing the vertebrae of the neck still attached to the skulls were reportedly found in a few caves in Switzerland, but these finds are poorly documented and uncertain. Nonetheless it would not be wise to completely doubt the validity of these finds, as many do.

The specific meaning of such finds is again unclear. Perhaps they represent simple sacrifices of the especially important parts of the prey; perhaps Neanderthal hunters, like those of a later period, buried the bones in order to ensure the survival of the animals and their species. Such a theory may explain why parts of the skull, backbone, and long bones of a bovine were placed under a great stone at the entrance of the above-mentioned cave at La Chapelle.

The Lower Paleolithic. All in all, researchers find clear indications that the people of the Middle Paleolithic were concerned with the phenomenon of death and with existence in another world. Some of their practices display no secular meaning but, like burial rites, show a commitment to certain binding customs.

Hominids from the Lower Paleolithic period, who date as far back as over a half million years ago, have skulls with primitive proportions and generally smaller brains than modern man. These characteristics led some researchers to doubt that these hominids were capable of achievements comparable with those of human beings from later periods. But objective findings show that the way of life of these hominids must on the whole have been the same as that of the Neanderthals. Occasionally researchers have found shelters from the Lower Paleolithic that are superior to those of the Middle Paleolithic, although they have assumed, probably with justification, that the lack of such dwellings in later times should be attributed to the unfavorable conditions of preservation.

The opposite argument has been used to explain the lack of some kinds of finds from the Lower Paleolithic, especially the absence of burials. In fact, however, even burials from the Middle Paleolithic are found only in restricted areas and in caves. Because Lower Paleolithic archaeological finds have rarely been unearthed in caves, it is not surprising that researchers should know of no burials in caves dating from that period. It is not known whether the hominids of the Lower Paleolithic may have buried their dead elsewhere; if they did, perhaps the evidence has simply vanished. The spiritual background and ideas that can be inferred from burials may well have existed even if they have not manifested themselves in burials.

Skulls from the Lower Paleolithic, like those from the Middle Paleolithic, are often found in isolation, as with Java men, for example. Some of these as well as some of the skulls found at the site of Peking man have a basal opening that seems to have been artificially widened. Far more skulls, and especially tops of skulls, were found than other parts of the skeleton, suggesting that the skulls were buried apart from the rest of the body. (The fact that in some strata the skulls were found in no particular order as well as mingled with animal bones has led some to hypothesize that cannibalism was practiced. If so, the cannibalism must have been carried out elsewhere and the skulls and a few other bones subsequently brought to the site. But the bones could have just as well been brought to the site without cannibalism entering the picture.) The only thing researchers can say is that the skulls probably received special treatment and were deposited apart. As no convincing secular explanation of the phenomenon has been offered, it should simply be assumed that there existed practices in which the skull played a special role that transcended the life of the individual in question.

There are no similar indications for the earliest Paleolithic, which began at least two million years ago, perhaps even earlier. Yet even sites from this time have yielded artificial stone tools that are at least as complex as those of Peking man, as well as smashed and, in various places, collected bones of animals. Some finds from this period also suggest the presence of huts or shelters from the wind. Were these finds from a later date, no one would doubt such an interpretation. But because the hominids of the earliest Paleolithic had a very small brain, some researchers think that the archaeological finds of the period are not to be interpreted as they would be if they belonged to later human beings. (Although biological factors and archaeological evidence points to the existence of communities made up of small groups of nuclear families, many scholars think they should not assume that such "human" characteristics existed during the earliest Paleolithic.) If other explanations of these early finds are sought (they are not very convincing), it is for two reasons: The finds are very old and doubtless simple, and the hominids of that period were physically "more primitive" than Peking man or the Neanderthals. Whether these are persuasive reasons may be left unanswered for the moment, but it will be important for a general assessment of these early hominids.

The Upper Paleolithic. The people of the Upper Paleolithic are equal to present-day humans in physical appearance, and they are therefore given the same name, *Homo sapiens.* People of this time were still living as hunters and gatherers. Only in the course of the later Upper Paleolithic are more definite signs of specialization, differentiation, and an accumulation of cultural possessions to be seen. As an example is mentioned only the pronounced presence of personal ornaments, which are also to be found in graves. This fact differentiates the people of the Upper Paleolithic from those of the Middle Paleolithic, but it does not necessarily indicate any substantial distinction between them. Only rarely do individual dead persons seem to have been given more special attention than others.

Of special interest is the grave of a powerfully built man found at Brno (Czechoslovakia) and dating from the beginning of the Upper Paleolithic. A great deal of red material was used for the burial; near the skull were over six hundred cut, tubelike fossil mollusks (*Dentalium badense*). A find of particular importance at this site, however, is the only certainly masculine figurine thus far known from the Upper Paleolithic; it is distinguished by other characteristics as well. In addition, the grave contained two stone rings of a kind previously known from only a very few examples; perhaps all of them were connected with graves. Furthermore, the grave at Brno is the only one in which a large number of round disks made of stone, bone, and ivory have been found. Thus there are a number of objects that are rarely found elsewhere or at least rarely or never appear in graves (the anthropomorphic figurine, for example). It is hard not to think that the interred man was involved in some capacity with cultic or magical things.

The most important sources of information about religion during the Upper Paleolithic are works of art. Although the well-known paintings and drawings on the walls and roofs of caves are expressive, they do not display a great wealth of motifs. They primarily depict animals and only rarely, and then most often crudely, represent human beings. In many instances, moreover, the humans are not presented simply as humans but with animal attributes or as hybrid human-animal forms. Only a small number of the animals are depicted as prey, as indicated by the projectiles being thrown at them. Many anthropomorphic figures with animal attributes are regarded as masked dancers or sorcerers, but a good number are better described as composite figures. In any case, masking cannot be seen in images of animals that combine the attributes of various animals without any anthropomorphic element. There are even strange pictures for which no models could have been found in the fauna of the time. In many cases certain species predominate, but for the most part they are not the ones also found in the correlative strata of cultural relics.

A good deal of emphasis has been put on the fact that two species of animals or two groups of species frequently predominate in the pictures of a cave, but this dualism is by no means as clearly marked as is sometimes claimed. (At least there is no convincing evidence of a contrast between male and female.) At least as important is the fact that the pictures are generally unrelated to one another and that one will often cover and ruin another so that it has been possible to speak exaggeratedly of pictures being "consumed." By and large, it is the animal or, more rarely, an anthropomorphic being that is the focus of the artist's interest. The pictures are often drawn in parts of the caves that are dark and far from the entrances and, less frequently, in more accessible places. In some cases the old entrance has been blocked by a kind of stone wall. Often it is possible to view the pictures only with difficulty. Everything militates against the view that this is *l'art pour l'art,* "art for art's sake."

The pictures represent, above all, the essential character of the animal, sometimes in relation to the hunt, sometimes in relation to human beings or to anthropomorphic figures, especially when the latter show a mergence of human and animal forms. Animals clearly played an extremely important part in the mental world of these hunters, insofar as this world is reflected in their art. One may probably assume that to a certain extent the artworks mirror the real role of animals; they probably point even more clearly, however, to the special evaluation of animals and of certain species in particular. Paintings in which humans and animal forms and attributes are depicted together and in which the forms and attributes of various animal species are portrayed show the close connection between the animal world and other spheres of life.

It is probable that researchers are dealing, at least in principle, with a manifestation similar to one that still characterizes the mental world of numerous more developed hunting cultures. Central to this "animalism" are close relations between animals and humans and a heightened importance of the animal world even outside and above the natural realms. The animalist outlook is fleshed out and developed in ways that often differ widely in their details. Thus one often finds the notion of the animal as tutelary spirit and *alter ego,* the idea that human and animal forms are easily and often interchanged, and the idea of a higher being who is thought to have an animal shape or to be capable of changing and combining shapes and who is regarded as a kind of lord of animals, hunters, and the hunting grounds, as well as of the spirits of game and of the bush. Such zoomorphic higher beings are often group progenitors and culture heroes and appear also as mediators and as hypostases and personifications of a supreme god. In short, animalism is a widely found and dominant manifestation and yet, by its very nature, it should be seen as a lower or marginal sphere of religion, one that is frequently interspersed with other motifs and attitudes, including those of a magical type.

Because paintings and objects can be put in the service of both religion and magic, it is difficult and often impossible to distinguish between these two purposes. There is, however, no reason to regard rock paintings solely as instruments of magic. (This assumption arose when the study of Paleolithic art was in its infancy. The paintings were then regarded primarily as evidence of totemism; totemism, in turn, was seen as a manifestation of the magical mentality.) Researchers have no way of knowing which of the many possible uses was actually intended for Paleolithic painting.

A number of paintings of bears show peculiarities of one kind or another and occur in an unusual context. They may well have played a part in bear ceremonialism. Here the slain or to-be-slain bear is at the center of various rituals in which it is treated as a guest to whom respect is due or as an ancestor or mythical forefather. The climax of a festive meal is often the consumption of the bear's brain; the skull and long bones or even the entire skeleton are buried. Perhaps the bones and skulls of bears found at Paleolithic sites are to be interpreted along similar lines. Contemporary hunting peoples frequently bury parts of their prey to ensure a resuscitation of the animal and the preservation of its species. The deeper meaning of this ritual, however, is that it probably mystically returns the bear to the lord of the animals.

Bones of other animals are also occasionally found in circumstances indicating an intentional deposition that cannot be explained in secular terms. At some sites parts of reindeer have been discovered: head, neck, and the front part of the trunk, including the forelegs. A small scratch-drawing found at one site might depict a similar ceremony using a bovine. A deposition containing these parts of the skeleton was also found at the earlier-mentioned cave of La Chapelle. Once again, there is no way of determining whether there was a real sacrifice.

The significance of a painting of a birdlike man in the cave of Lascaux (France) has been much debated. The correct interpretation is probably that the picture depicts a man in a trance. His birdlike head and the bird shown on a pole may represent a shaman and a helping spirit. Anthropomorphic figures with the heads of birds may be interpreted similarly. The figurines of birds that have been found at sites in eastern Europe and Siberia and that were apparently nailed or hung remind observers of parts of a shaman's clothing. Other pictures may likewise depict shamans—for example, the drawing of the so-called Sorcerer of Les Trois Frères—but here as in most cases other interpretations are also possible.

Whether small scratch-drawings from the early Upper Paleolithic can be interpreted as pubic triangles or vulvas is uncertain. Only later do the so-called Venus figures make their appearance. These are distinguished for the most part by their ample bodies and large breasts, which perhaps indicate pregnancy in some cases; there is no special emphasis on the primary sexual characteristics. Most of the figures do not have feet, and their arms, which are always very thin, often display decorative bracelets. Frequently, too, care has been taken to represent the style of hair or a head covering, whereas the face is not developed at all. The emphasis is clearly on the areas of the body connected with pregnancy, birth, and nursing. It is reasonable therefore to assume that these little figures are associated with the idea of fertility, but this need not be their only significance. The fact that the figures always appear in dwellings or camps may indicate that they were protectors of dwellings. Even today there is frequently found, among peoples of the Northern Hemisphere, the idea of a higher feminine being who is, among other things, a mother or mistress of the animals, a divinity of the underworld (to which a shaman travels on his journey), a helper in the hunt and a provider of prey, a mistress of the land, of other regions, and of the powers of nature. But here again researchers cannot tie themselves down to details and specific traits. In the figures and scratch-drawings of a later period it is usually possible to conclude only indirectly that women are intended. Sexual characteristics often no longer play any part in these figures, but there is a great deal of emphasis on the buttocks. Whether these figures have the same meaning as the Venus figures is an open question. But perhaps the feminine need not always be expressed in such an extreme way.

Many other questions about religion during the Paleolithic remain mysterious and unexplained. Current knowledge covers only a small part of what once existed. It is clear enough, however, that one must rule out any attempt to impose a single general explanation on everything. Nonetheless, it also seems clear that animals and shapes with animal attributes, on the one hand, and a female principle, on the other, often played a part in the mental and spiritual world of the Paleolithic and fit in with the peculiar character of a world of gatherers and specialized hunters.

THEORIES ABOUT PALEOLITHIC RELIGION. Finds from the Upper Paleolithic period, though relatively rich and potentially informative when compared with those of previous periods, surely reflect only a small part of the religious phenomena of the time. It is not even known whether the finds lead to the heart of the religion in question or simply represent marginal and secondary manifestations of it. Observations and conclusions about the Middle Paleolithic are much scantier; they are especially important, however, because here one leaves the world of human beings who are "modern" in their physical appearance and yet still finds clues pointing to ideas of a world beyond this one and to precise customs connected with such concepts. If one goes still farther back in time, the archaeological picture becomes more obscure. On the one hand, the conditions needed for the preservation and discovery of relics and traces of religious activities are much less favorable; on the other hand, one finds no break in the continuity of material remains that can be compared with the break between the Middle and the Upper Paleolithic in Europe. Any claim of division that separates later periods from an era in which religious ideas and activities were impossible is arbitrary. In this matter researchers are simply groping in the dark.

It may be asked whether early human beings possessed a religion, or it may even be asserted that a being, regardless of his appearance, who does not possess some form of religion cannot be regarded as truly human. (Humanity could also be determined by the development of language and other indicators.) The question becomes more pragmatic if one does not make religion the sole criterion for humanity but seek to discover whether there are other material manifestations pointing to a psyche, of a kind that allows researchers to infer some degree of what is specifically human and justifies their speaking of human beings in the true meaning of the word. In any event, the statement that early human beings did or did not possess a religion is an eminently anthropological one. But behind it, as behind all anthropological statements, lie fundamental anthropological assumptions.

The position researchers take on the question of early religion depends not least on their picture of early human beings. Some interpreters regard the earliest stone artifacts as evidence of low intelligence and a primitive mentality; nothing else, they claim, could be expected given the small brain of the hominids of that time. Others, however, will point out that stone artifacts indicate a mediated relation to nature, such as is characteristic of human beings, and reveal that these early hominids had human insight into the nature of things. This second group of researchers is therefore inclined to regard even the early hominids as fully human in principle, although they had not yet fully evolved in every respect and would undergo further developments. In any case, the earliest archaeological finds are such that they fit without difficulty into the picture of a group of hunters and gatherers of the *Homo sapiens* type. (The main argument to the contrary, whether or not it is expressed, is that early hominid toolmakers differed physically from modern man; in particular their brain was smaller and had different proportions from the brain of *Homo sapiens.* No one, however, is in a position to say what size and form a brain must have to develop religious ideas.)

These divergent points of view then become the basis on which other matters and questions are discussed and interpreted. For example, some researchers (who, in the final analysis, belong to the evolutionist tradition of the nineteenth century) think they must deny that early humans had permanent nuclear families, the basic form of human society. Scholars differ even more on whether beliefs in psychic phenomena and other forms of religion existed among early human beings.

In this type of discussion it is all too easy to forget that in dealing with other aspects of the early period, much is postulated that is not directly documented by finds. (For example, some scholars believe that at least half a million years ago human beings crossed parts of the Mediterranean where there was no land bridge and must therefore have had some kind of craft, although no remains of these have been found.) It is necessary in particular to avoid taking the simplicity of stone tools as the measure of everything else. For example, in the site at Huaca Prieta (Peru), equally primitive stone tools coexist later than 3000 BCE with cultivated plants and textiles. If one were to adopt that criterion, the presence of very simple stone tools in "more developed" cultures from later periods would almost certainly lead to erroneous judgments.

Two basic judgments on the nature of early human beings are thus possible; neither of them can be strictly demonstrated nor strictly refuted. So, too, are there two basic attitudes that can be adopted toward the question of early religion. One current view is that early human beings possessed no religion initially and only at a late date gradually moved beyond "low" conceptions of the supernatural and ascended to the level of "authentic" religion. Others, on the contrary, believe that the possession of some form of religion is a universal human trait. According to this position, if early hominids show human traits in the areas accessible through archaeological finds, they probably practiced some form of religion. No theory on the nature and development of the religion of early human beings can be based directly on these finds; all are hypotheses developed on the basis of later phenomena. The question in every case is whether the archaeological evidence from the Paleolithic can provide—and does provide—material grounds for these theories.

The nature and reciprocal relationship of religion and magic have played an important part in these discussions. Because the Upper Paleolithic was at one time widely regarded as a period in which belief in magic predominated, it was thought—and still is in many quarters—that researchers had a fixed point to which they could refer. To the extent that magic was considered to be an early form or a forerunner of authentic religion, the development of genuine religious forms could only have begun at a later time.

Another view, however, holds that belief in a personal god who creates and preserves the world and its order is the earliest and original form of religion; magic, according to this position, is a secondary form of religion and a product of decadence. To the extent that this view recognizes the special importance of magic in the Upper Paleolithic, it also sees authentic religion as having begun at a correspondingly earlier date. It is extremely unlikely, however, that magic occupied such a great role that it can be considered a stage in the development of religion, whether it is seen as a precursor to religion or as a degenerative form. However religion (in the strict sense) and magic are conceived and defined in detail, the two should be viewed as different types of attitudes toward the supernatural. Although these two attitudes are opposed, they are not always strictly distinguishable, with one capable of acquiring greater importance when the other regresses. When circumstances allow, both magic and religion use the same "artifacts," so that it is often impossible to distinguish between them at the archaeological level.

Even if one accepts that early human beings had a religion, a further question must be posed: Are there forms of religion that they could not have possibly had? It must be acknowledged that there is usually a close association between certain special manifestations of religion and the general conditions in which people live; the model on which society is actually based plays a part in determining it conceptions of the supernatural. Among simple hunters and gatherers who live in small and essentially egalitarian groups, there will hardly be a place for a proper hierarchy of divinities such as is found in hierarchically ordered civilizations.

These differences are in fact only differences of expression. This author does not see, however, why any of the fundamental religious categories cannot be ascribed to early humanity when one is trying to assess him as *homo religiosus.* In this area the criterion of early humanity's simplicity is sometimes invoked—but then one may ask: Is not the concrete and the personal more congenial to a simple mentality than abstractions of any kind? And if so, will not simple societies of hunters and gatherers, who are trying to achieve a basic understanding of things and processes for which they see no real explanation but on which they nonetheless depend, tend to think of personal supernatural beings (divinities) instead of more abstract powers and forces?

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PALI TEXT SOCIETY. In 1881 British scholar Thomas William Rhys Davids (1843–1922) founded the Pali Text Society (PTS) to facilitate the study of Theravāda Buddhism by producing editions in roman characters of the Theravāda texts written in the language called *Pali,* and translations of as many as possible of them into English. Pali literature includes the Pali canon, a collection of texts the Theravāda Buddhists claim preserves the "words of the Buddha," and the commentaries on those canonical texts, as well as the subcommentaries on the commentaries, independent works of history and poetry, and works about ritual practice and monastic discipline.

Rhys Davids had learned Pali from Theravāda Buddhist monks during his years in the Ceylon Civil Service (1866–1872). In Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) he came to regard Theravāda as the oldest form of Buddhism, and its Pali literature as the repository of the most authentic Buddhist teachings. Upon his return to England, Rhys Davids continued his study of Buddhism and contributed to some of the earliest efforts by European scholars to edit, translate, and interpret Pali texts. He founded the PTS to complete this task. By doing so, he sought to deepen international understanding of Buddhism, and thereby to advance the study of the history of religion, language, and human culture. From the outset, the work of the PTS interested scholars in Europe, America, and Asia. It also appealed to the members of the growing middle class in Britain whose recent access to higher education, increased income, and leisure time enabled them to explore foreign religions as alternatives to what they saw as the empty materialism of modern science and the mindless dogmatism of the dominant religions of their own culture.

Rhys Davids succeeded in enlisting European and Asian scholars to edit and translate Pali texts. Although these scholars donated their services and subsidized the work by purchasing subscriptions to the Society, Rhys Davids needed more funds to cover the costs of printing the projected tens of thousands of pages. He obtained early support from the king of Siam (now Thailand), who funded the first volume, from private friends whose subscriptions supported the second, and from "poor men and scholars" (including Buddhist monks in Ceylon) who each paid a guinea (£1.05) a year to receive one copy of each of the PTS publications. Rhys Davids frequently urged "anyone intelligent enough" to see the significance of the Society's work to donate funds.

At first the PTS undertook the apparently finite task of completing the publication of roman-character editions of the canonical Pali texts, and translating into English as many of those texts as possible. The scope of the Society's work soon expanded to include editing the Pali commentaries. In 1896, Rhys Davids reported that in just twelve years the PTS had accomplished about half its work, having published thirty-four volumes. By the time of Rhys Davids's death in 1922, the PTS had issued sixty-four texts in ninety-four volumes, and had begun to publish a new Pali-English dictionary. Two years later, his wife and the second president of the PTS, Caroline Rhys Davids, reported that the original task of the PTS was completed—unless the Society undertook the translation of more texts into English or the editing of the Pali subcommentaries. The PTS carried on with this expanded mission, under the leadership of Caroline Rhys Davids and, after her death, of W. H. D. Rouse (president 1942–1950), then W. Stede (president 1950–1958), and I. B. Horner (hon. secretary 1942–1959, president 1959–1981).

In 1954, Horner reported that the PTS founder's dream of making the Pali literature available in the West was "all but realised," with the publication of 123 volumes of Pali texts and commentaries, plus the shorter texts and commentaries included in the Society's journal, forty-eight volumes of translations, and the publication (1921–1925) of the PTS *Pali-English Dictionary.* She noted that the Society had also begun to produce a concordance of the Pali canonical literature, a project originally envisioned by Caroline Rhys Davids. According to Horner, the "only" remaining tasks were to complete the last few editions of the Pali commentaries, to produce editions of one or two subcommentaries, as well as editions of a few "other and later works," and to translate more texts. Horner also considered it advisable, given the advances in the study of Pali in the first half of the twentieth century, to begin to re-edit and retranslate some of the earlier volumes, as well as to reprint texts and translations to keep available as many volumes as possible.

From the 1950s on—first under Horner and then during the successive tenures of PTS presidents K. R. Norman (1981–1994), Richard Gombrich (1994–2002), L. S. Cousins (2002–2003), and Rupert Gethin (beginning in 2003)—the work of the PTS has proven to be ever-expanding, while remaining remarkably true to Rhys Davids's original vision. The PTS now publishes new and revised editions and reprints of Pali texts in roman characters, English translations of these texts, dictionaries (including the multi-volume *Dictionary of Pali* by Margaret Cone), a concordance, grammars and other books for students of Pali language, and a journal. The Society has also collaborated with the Dhammakaya Foundation of Thailand to publish the entire PTS edition of the Pali canon on CD-ROM. In addition the PTS offers grants to scholars for research expected to foster future publications of Pali texts.

The foundational work of the PTS, like the initial development of Buddhist Studies as a separate field of academic research, took place in the context of western Europe's colonial domination of large portions of Buddhist Asia. Western scholars, as well as western-educated Asian scholars, who studied Buddhist traditions during that period tended to reflect colonial attitudes in the methods and aims of their work. In the widely accepted interpretive framework of their time, the beliefs and practices of living Asian Buddhists were seen as degenerate manifestations of a pure philosophy taught long ago by the Buddha, which had been developed legitimately into its full "classical" form, and subsequently corrupted by many centuries of unenlightened folk practices. Scholars who sought to recover the authentic Buddhist teaching focused on gaining access to and interpreting the written texts, which they saw as the most promising sources of Buddhism's "classical" formulations of the Buddha's wisdom. Quickly shipping whatever such texts they found in Asia off to the libraries of Europe for safe-keeping and careful study, they edited, translated, analyzed, and interpreted them to determine the shape and content of the real Buddhism—one that existed over and above the particular cultural contexts in which it appears.

Not surprisingly, for many decades the publications of the PTS reflected this narrowly intellectualized, exclusive understanding of Asia's Buddhist traditions. More recently, as Europe has moved beyond colonialism, scholars of Buddhism have developed more nuanced and inclusive ways of discussing their subject matter. Although the work of the PTS, by necessity, remains focused on texts, its publications continue to incorporate the latest developments in philology and to reflect the changing assumptions and methodological approaches of Buddhist Studies. By producing substantially revised editions and translations of previously published texts and expanding the range of new texts it publishes, the PTS continues to foster and promote the study of Pali literature in service of greater understanding of the history of religion, language, and human culture.

SEE ALSO Buddhism; Horner, I. B.

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PAN is a Greek god whose name, of Indo-European derivation, means "shepherd" (cf. Latin *pastor*). In appearance, he has the hooves, tail, hair, and head of a goat and the erect posture, upper body, and hands of a man. He is frequently depicted holding either a *lagobolon,* a kind of shepherd's crook used for hunting rabbits and controlling small flocks, or a syrinx, a flutelike instrument otherwise known as a panpipe.

Pan has his origins in ancient Arcadia, a remote and mountainous area of central Peloponnesus where an Archaic dialect is still spoken. Lord of Arcadia and guardian of its sanctuaries (according to Pindar), the goat-god is very much at home in this primitive region, with its essentially pastoral economy, where the political system of Classical Greece was slow in being established. The enclosure dedicated to Pan on Mount Lycaeus (Aelianus, *De natura animalium* 11.6) functions as a sanctuary where animals pursued by the wolf seek protection. Pan thus appears as a master of animals, protecting wild and domestic creatures, while watching over the human activities of hunting and animal breeding. His actions, whether they brought sterility or fertility, were of interest primarily to shepherds and hunters, who were concerned with reproduction in the animal world.

Theocritus in his *Idylls* (7.103–114) alludes to a rite performed by the Arcadians for Pan during periods when the animals were not reproducing: young men whipped his statue in order to call the inactive god back to life. The Arcadians pictured Pan as reigning over his own flocks in the mountainous lands that constituted his domain and his sanctuaries. Thus the whole of Mount Lampeia, where the Erymanthe has its source, is a sanctuary of Pan. So is the Menale, where people believed they could hear, in the mysterious and fearful sounds of the wilderness (echoes in particular), the music of this wild shepherd.

In Arcadia Pan was considered a major god. He had a cult on Mount Lycaeus, alongside that of Zeus. There is, however, no known figurative representation of the god antedating the diffusion on his cult outside Arcadia, nor does there exist any literary testimony, with the exception of some dedications that retain only the name of the god. Not until the beginning of the fifth century BCE, and after the introduction of his cult in Athens, does the image of Pan take shape. Although the god now loses some of his theological importance, as he assumes a marginal position in regard to Olympus and joins the host of minor gods, he nevertheless gains in symbolic richness, and his rites are no longer confined to the pastoral world. His cult, his mythology, and his iconography spread rapidly throughout the Greek world and were adapted to the local character of Attica, Boeotia, and especially the regions of Delphi and Macedonia.

In an account by Herodotus (6.105ff.), Pan became an official deity at Athens following his appearance in Arcadia to the messenger Philippides, whom the Athenians had sent to Sparta shortly before the Battle of Marathon (490 BCE). Pan asked Philippides why the Athenians did not dedicate a cult to him, since he had already been so benevolent toward them and would be again. Remembering this epiphany after the battle, the Athenians consecrated to Pan a small grotto on the northwest slope of the Acropolis.

The rapid spread of Pan's cult, from this time on, brought with it certain readjustments. A thorough reworking of symbolism gave this god, who was unknown to Homer and Hesiod, a complex but coherent form. In the poetry of the fifth century, numerous allusions are made to Pan. There are allusions to his natural habitat, Arcadia, which becomes a metaphor for the pastoral in contrast to the urban, the wild in contrast to the cultivated. The coexistence of the divine and the animal in Pan explains the ambiguity of a being whose power oscillates unceasingly between fear and seduction, disorder and harmony. Represented as shepherd, hunter, musician, and dancer, as an untiring and often unlucky pursuer of nymphs, Pan also appeared as the agent of "panic" fear (that collective, animal-like disorder that seizes military camps at rest, especially at night) and of a form of individual possession (panolepsy). Finally, some accounts describe the birth of Pan, whose monstrous appearance causes the gods to rejoice but sends his human nurse fleeing (Homeric *Hymn to Pan* 19). Other stories describe his unfruitful love affairs with Echo, Syrinx, or Pithys (in Alexandrine and post-Alexandrine poetry).

The philosophical destiny of the god, especially among the Stoics, is remarkable. By virtue of a Platonic play on words—the identification of Pan with *pan,* "all," in Plato's *Cratylus* (408c–d)—the goat-god becomes the personification of the All, the cosmic totality represented by the coexistence, in a single figure, of the animal (the material nature below) and the human (the spiritual nature above). Outside the Hellenic world his destiny is multiple: in Egypt he is assimilated to the god Min of the region of Coptos, lord of the routes of the eastern desert. At Rome he becomes the Greek version of Faunus, or of Inuus, because of the influence of the legend about the Arcadian origins of the town.

Plutarch provides the account of the death of Pan, announced by a mysterious voice to the pilot of a ship on its way from Greece to Italy under the reign of Tiberius. Pan's death upset the emperor so much that he called a committee of philologists to find out who this god was. The third-century bishop Eusebius of Caesarea believed that the death of the great Pan meant the death of all the demons of paganism, which occurred after the passion of Christ under Tiberius. Subsequently the account has been of interest to folklorists analyzing popular legends concerning "messages of death," legends that spread through northern Europe beginning with the sixteenth century, that is, at the same time that the ancient figure of Pan reappeared in literature (especially in Rabelais, in chapter 27 of his *Quart livre*).

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Translated from French by Mary Lou Masey

PANATHENAIA. One of the great pan-Hellenic festivals of the city of Athens and its tutelary deity, Athena, the Panathenaia can be seen as a commemorative celebration of the city's foundation. The great festival was performed every four years from 570 BCE onward, though there were yearly "small" Panathenaias as well. The date was the twenty-eighth day of the month Hekatombaion (mid-July to mid-August). The ceremonial elements are the same for both forms of the cyclical feast, consisting of the following acts: first, the bringing of new fire to the temple of Athena Polias, protector of peasants and craftsmen; second, a procession (*pompe*) with a new garment (*peplos*), carried on a shiplike float, to clothe the seated olivewood statue of Athena (the *xoanon*); third, large sacrifices (of more than one hundred animals for small festivals) of sheep and cattle to be distributed among and eaten by the assembly; and fourth, an ancient form of racing (*agon*).

During the first day, fire was kindled after sunset on the Akademos (the district outside the sacred Dipylon, or double gate), accompanied by sacrifices to Athena and Eros amid songs and dances by the youths. The fire was then carried by torch race through the Agora to the altar of Athena, where the cotton wick was lit. The mythic legitimation of this act, which was understood as the mystical significance of the rites, refers to the birth of the founding king of the city, Erichthonios: When Athena was pursued in love by Hephaistos, she preserved her virginity by having his seed spilled on her thigh, then wiping it with a cotton ball that she threw on the earth. From this seed sprang Erichthonios, a creature half human, half snake.

On the second and main day, a large procession started from the Dipylon, where the road from Eleusis entered Athens; the procession consisted of old men with olive branches, young girls with sacrificial vessels and sacred baskets, and the sacrificial animals. The focus of the procession was the large *peplos,* woven during the previous nine months by the women of Athens under the guidance of the virginal attendants of the temple of Athena (the Arrephoroi). Weaving had started at the Chalkeia festival for Athena Ergane ("Athena, patroness of crafts and craftiness"). The *peplos* was draped around the wooden statue, which had been ritually washed at an earlier celebration (the festival Plynteria in the month Thargelion, mid-April to mid-May).

While the Panathenaia can be fully appreciated only in relation to all other festivals of the agricultural year, its importance is to mark the ancient founding of the city and the start of a fertile year: It is a New Year festival. The great chariot race, during which fully clad warriors had to jump from their wagons and race on, recalls its originator, Erichthonios. Many more references are made to Athena as founder, protector, and virgin deity with strong chthonic features: Central to the meaning are the multiple snake symbols. Both Erichthonios and the earlier autochthonous king Kekrops are depicted on vases as snakes winding around olive trees. Kekrops had three daughters, to whom Athena handed a closed basket in which she had secreted the snake-child Erichthonios. All three girls' names refer to fertility, containing the word for "dew," which also connotes "semen." One daughter, Pandrosos, also received sacrifices during the Panathenaia. The gist of the festival seems to be the symbolic association between fertility and autochthony, which accords well with the structural logic of the myths surrounding Athena: The goddess who was born without mother gives birth to progeny without her virginal status being violated.

SEE ALSO Athena.

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PAÑCATANTRA.

The *Pañcatantra* is a collection of animal stories, in Sanskrit, compiled by an unknown author some time prior to the sixth (possibly as early as the fourth) century CE. Many of the stories were doubtless drawn from the great mass of Indian oral tradition, and part at least are of Buddhist origin, as may be seen from their close affinities to the Jātakas, or stories of the prior births of the Buddha. The *Pañcatantra* belongs in part to a class of works known as *nītiśāstra* ("science of right conduct") and partly also to the closely allied *arthaśāstra* ("science of polity"), which involves the practical and shrewd knowledge needed by an Indian king to rule his kingdom and conduct its internal and extermal affairs efficiently. Because of their practical and worldly purpose, the *Pañcatantra* fables are often amoral in tone, in contrast to the fables of the Greek storyteller Aesop, the connection with which, though much discussed, seems most unlikely on a number of grounds.

The stories of the *Pañcatantra* are set in a frame story in which a learned brahman named Viṣṇuśarman undertakes to impart political and social propriety to the ignorant and dissolute sons of King Amaraśakti of Mahilaropya. The Pañcatantra consists of five (*pañca*) books (*tantra*) of varying length. Its characters are, for the most part, animals, birds, and fish whose behavior is like that of human beings. So contrived as to lead from one to the other in a continuous series, the stories are emboxed in one another, each being introduced by a character in the foregoing story who recites a verse of general wisdom or one about a situation similar to the matter at hand. This leads to a request by one of the other characters for an explanation, which then follows in the form of an illustrative story.

Typical of the fables of the *Pañcatantra* is that of the two geese and their friend the tortoise. Because there is a scarcity of water in the lake where the three have been living happily, the geese are about to leave for another lake. The tortoise begs them to take him along. They agree to transport him if he grasps with his mouth a stick they will hold in their beaks, and warn him not to say anything if he hears people below expressing wonder at the sight. In spite of his promise, the tortoise opens his mouth to reply to the comments of the people on the ground and falls to his death. The moral of this tale is that he who fails to heed the exhortation of his friends and well-wishers comes to grief.

Because of its widespread popularity the *Pañcatantra* has been endlessly recopied and recast over the centuries, leading to many recensions. Its fables were also variously abbreviated or condensed for incorporation into other works, as for example the *Kathasāritsāgara* of Somadeva and the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* of Kṣemendra, both of the eleventh century. One of the most famous abridgments is that contained in the *Hitopadeśa* (Instruction in What Is Salutary), whose author states that he drew his work "from the *Pañcatantra* and another book." Many of the fables are common parlance among Indians of all classes today, who are often unaware of a particular story's connection with the Sanskrit *Pañcatantra,* because one version or another will have been translated into almost every vernacular of India. The original *Pañcatantra* has, of course, long since perished, superseded by these countless variations and metamorphoses, whose mutual interrelations are often difficult, if not impossible, to establish with certitude.

At an early time fame of the *Pañcatantra* began to extend far beyond the borders of India, and scarcely a land can be named to which a translation of all or part of it has not come, whether centuries ago or in recent times. The oldest translation outside India is that into Pahlavi (c. 550) made, according to the traditional account, by a physician named Burzūye, who had been sent from Persia by the Sasanid king Khusrū Anūshīrvān for the purpose of translating the *Pañcatantra* and other works of Indian wisdom. Although this translation, like the original *Pañcatantra,* has long since disappeared, two translations from it have survived. By far the more important of the two is that made into Arabic around 750 by ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffaʿ; its title, *Kitāb Kalīlah wa-Dimnah* (The Book of Kalilah and Dimnah), contains the arabicized names of the two jackals called Karataka and

Damanaka in the *Pañcatantra.* The *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah* quickly became diffused everywhere in the Arab world from Spain to India through translations into its principal languages. Of all these translations the Hebrew by Rabbi Jōʿēl has an especially significant place in the westward migration of the fables, as it was from this Hebrew version that they were finally brought into Latin and so made accessible to Europeans. The Latin translation, by a converted Jew named John of Capua, entitled *Liber Kelile et Dimne, Directorium Vite Humane,* about two centuries later became one of the earliest books printed in Europe, for its first edition appeared in 1480, barely three decades after the invention of movable types by Gutenberg. An Italian translation of the Latin *Directorium* by Antonio Francesco Doni, *La moral Filosophia del Doni,* in turn was rendered into English in 1570 as *The Morall Philosophie of Doni* by Sir Thomas North. Thus did the *Pañcatantra* fables come into English more than a thousand years after their composition, in a version standing in the seventh degree from the original.

SEE ALSO Śāstra Literature.

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A translation that is antiquated in a number of respects yet remains of great intrinsic value to the student of the *Pañcatantra* and its diffusion is Theodor Benfey's *Pantschatantra: Fünf Bücher indischer Fabeln, Märchen und Erzählungen, aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen,* 2 vols. (1859; reprint, Hildesheim, 1966). A convenient and readable discussion of the fables and their progression from language to language outside India is contained in *Kalīlah and Dimnah, or the Fables of Bidpai: Being an Account of Their Literary History, with an English Translation of the Later Syriac Version of the Same, and Notes* by I. G. N. Keith-Falconer (Cambridge, 1885). Following the introduction there is a genealogical table of the principal translations that have descended from the Sanskrit original outside India. A much more detailed and accurate table, prepared by Franklin Edgerton, is to be found in *The Ocean of Story, Being C. H. Tauney's Translation of Somadeva's Kathā Sarit Sāgara,* edited by N. M. Penzer, vol. 5 (1926; reprint, Delhi, 1968), app. 2, pp. 232–242. Another general account of the migration of the fables, though much less detailed, is given by Joseph Jacobs in *The Earliest English Version of the Fables of Bidpai* (London, 1888), which reproduces Sir Thomas North's English translation, *The Morall Philosophie of Doni* (1570).

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PANTHEISM AND PANENTHEISM.

In Greek *pan* means "all," *theos* means "god," and *en* means "in." *Pantheism* means that all is God; *panentheism,* that all is in God. The two doctrines can be definitely distinguished. When considered together they may be called the pan-doctrines.

Although theism is often contrasted with pantheism and panentheism, the idea of all, or totality, is prominent in every form of theism as a doctrine of the high religions. Thus it occurs in the terms *all-knowing, all-powerful, creator of all,* and still others. Nevertheless, the most usual form of Western theology, sometimes called classical theism, holds or implies that the world of creatures is outside God. Yet it is also said by those in this tradition that in God is knowledge of all things. Can anything be outside knowledge-of-all-things? To many great minds this has seemed an unendurable paradox. To escape this apparent absurdity of a knowing that does not include the known and yet also to avoid including the world in the divine life, Aristotle denied knowledge of particular things to God, who, he held, was aware only of universal forms or ideas. Divine thought then knows only itself: it is pure thinking of thinking. Therewith Aristotle fell into other paradoxes, including that of exalting as divine a being ignorant of us and our world and hence, it seems, inferior to us. Yet classical theists accepted Aristotle's formula "unmoved mover" (meaning unchanged changer) as descriptive of God. This conception implies that there can be nothing changing in God. Was then Paul, who said, referring to God, "For in him we live and move, and have our being" (*Acts* 12:28), a pan-theologian?

When we human beings know things other than our own minds and bodies, the known things seem to be outside us. However, our knowledge of these outside things is extremely incomplete and uncertain. God must know everything at least as well and as certainly as we know our own pains and pleasures. Nothing can be so external to an all-knowing God as most things are to us. Accordingly, Plato, the first great philosophical theologian, believing in a divine Soul of the World (who knows us and whose body is the universe), made it clear that nothing was simply outside this deity: the universe as divine body is "in" the divine soul rather than the reverse. Plato was certainly a pan-theologian.

The essential difference between the two forms of pantheology is manifest in their answers to the question "Do the creatures have genuine freedom of decision making, or does God determine everything?" Classical pantheism was a form of theological determinism: God decides or determines everything, including our supposed decisions. Both the ancient Greek Stoics and Spinoza (1632–1677) held this view. Panentheists object that, if one power determines all, there is, causally speaking, only one agent in all action. The Stoic-Spinozistic doctrine is an extreme monism rather than a genuine pluralism. Or, at best, its pluralism is unclear or ambiguous, for reality is active agency or nothing. As Plato said, "being is power"; for him every soul is "self-moved." This agrees with panentheism, which admits a plurality of active agents within the reality of the supreme agent.

The medieval tradition, following Aristotle's wisdom in this, admitted that—at least in all cases apart from God—to know something is one thing; to determine or make it is quite another. If this applies to God, there is no absurdity in holding that God knows and in that sense includes all things but does not fully determine their actions. Panentheism avoids both extreme monism and extreme pluralism, and it does this, it claims, without obvious paradox. Indeed, it sees in extremes a chief source of philosophical paradox. Also, since God does not determine all, the problem of evil is less formidable for panentheism than for either classical theism or pantheism as usually formulated. For, as one can see in Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, and many others, classical theism was always tempted by—and, in the case of the early American theologian Jonathan Edwards, frankly adopted—theological determinism.

The possible ideas of God and the created world can be classified with a precision not customary in the past by using the "modal" concepts of necessity and contingency (see table 1). Classical theism contrasts the contingency of the world (meaning that it might not have existed as it actually does) with the necessary existence of God, who, it is held, could not have failed to exist. In table 1 it is assumed that both God and a world exist. Also assumed is that *God* is a religious term, in that it is appropriate to speak of worshiping, serving, and loving God with all one's mind, heart, soul, and strength.

Let *N* stand for necessity in God, *C* for contingency in God; let *n* and *c* stand for the same in creatures. Also let > mean that God includes the creatures and ≯ mean that God does not include the creatures. In views 4 and 6 the question mark instead of the inclusion symbol means that, so far as the table goes, it is indefinite what contingent things God, as a wholly contingent being, does or does not include.

View 1 has been long and widely held; view 9 has recently become important. View 1 consists of the view that God, who is wholly necessary, does not include the creatures, who are wholly contingent. View 9 refers to the belief that God (in different respects, otherwise there would be contradiction) is necessary and also contingent and that God includes the creatures, who, in different respects, are contingent and necessary.

Model Table of Views of God and the Creatures

I	II	III
(1) N≯c	(4) C?c	(7) NC>c
(2) N>n	(5) C>n	(8) NC>n
(3) N≯cn	(6)C?cn	(9) NC>cn

TABLE 1.

The reversal of the order of *NC* and *cn* (3, 6, 7, 8, 9) symbolizes the greater importance of necessity in God and of contingency in creatures. God, except according to views 4, 5, and 6, exists necessarily but may also (7, 8, 9) have some qualities that might have been otherwise. In contrast, a particular creature, according to six of the views (1, 3, 4, 6, 7, and 9), exists contingently. The *n* in *cn* (third row) is best taken to mean only that there must be some creatures or other. The *C* standing alone (column II) symbolizes that God might not have existed at all. The *c* alone (first row) means that there might have been no creatures at all, while *n* alone (second row) means that the creatures are entirely necessary.

The two definite noninclusions (1, 3) result from the law of modal logic according to which there can be nothing contingent in the wholly necessary. Three definite inclusions (2, 5, and 8) express the modal law that the necessary is in everything. The inclusions in views 7 and 9, although not required by modal logic, are permitted by it and, because of the paradox of putting the known outside the all-inclusive and infallible knowledge, are appropriate.

In column I are the three views that take God to be wholly necessary. Classical theism is expressed in view 1; classical pantheism in view 2. View 3 was held by Aristotle. The views that take God to be wholly contingent (column II) include what is usually meant by a "finite God," one entirely without any necessary, absolute, eternal, infinite, or self-sufficient aspect; this is the view held by Charles Renouvier, John Stuart Mill, William James, and others. (John Hick would be among these, except for his attempt to find a meaning for the divine preeminence that implies eternal existence and a necessary support for other existing things but is compatible with the possibility that God might not have existed.) Column III shows the modal possibilities for allowing in God a contrast between necessary and contingent qualities.

Classical pantheism, view 2, derives an advantage from the laws of modal logic, which do not allow a wholly necessary God to include the creatures if they are (even in part) contingent, but do require such a deity to include the creatures if they are wholly necessary. Thus classical pantheism has no problem on this score; but classical theism (in its usual *N*, *c* form) does, since it attributes omniscience to God. Precisely for this reason, Spinoza was scornful of classical theism. He was its first severe critic, although Aristotle would have preceded him had classical theism been known in his time.

The fact that the three views in column I were the chief forms of belief during the first two millennia after Plato may be explained in two ways. First, views 1 and 2 are the simplest of the nine views, except for 4 and 5, which reduce God to a mere accident of existence, a "fetish" according to Charles S. Peirce. Second, views 1 and 3 have an advantage over 2 and 4 in that they honor the principle of contrast (Wittgenstein), or polarity (Morris Cohen), which says that one pole of an ultimate contrast, such as necessary-contingent, has meaning only because the other does and that both must apply to reality if either does. Where all is necessary or all is contingent, both concepts lose their distinctive meanings. Hegel had a similar idea. Yet the paradox of an all-inclusive knowledge possessed by a non-all-inclusive being favors view 2, classical pantheism, as against view 1. Thus is explained the recurring opposition between first the Stoics, then Spinoza, and then the German theologian Schleiermacher on the one hand and the countless classical theists on the other. Although views 1 and 2 are perhaps the two simplest religious doctrines that can be made plausible, each has advantages and serious disadvantages when compared with the other. For several centuries, however, the determinism of early modern (Newtonian) science favored view 2.

The unpopularity of view 3 is readily accounted for. It lacks the simplicity of 1 and 2, and it either, with Aristotle and Gersonides (Levi ben Gershom, 1288–1344), denies concrete knowledge to God or shares, with view 1, the paradox of the wholly necessary God knowing something contingent—whether contingent in all or only some respects does not alter this difficulty. (Knowledge of a contingent aspect of something must itself have a contingent aspect. If proposition *p* is contingent, it could have been false, and then there would have been no such knowledge as knowledge-that-*p*.)

Aristotle, by clear implication, held view 3 but saw that he must pay the price of denying concrete worldly knowledge to God. The Scholastics and some of the Jewish and Islamic thinkers refused to pay this price yet insisted on the knowledge; but, as Spinoza saw, they failed to pay the equally obligatory logical price of *that* decision—either by admitting contingency in God as well as in the world (as the Italian Fausto Sozzini later did) or by affirming the sheer necessity of the world (as Spinoza and the Stoics did). Modal law excludes divine cognition from views 1 and 3; both the principle of modal contrast and the need to admit real freedom (therefore contingency) in God and the creatures render view 2 problematic; some would say impossible.

If we eliminate column II as dishonoring deity by making it wholly contingent, we have left column III. View 8 seems absurd—if there is any contingency at all, there must be some in the creatures. View 7 agrees with view 1, or classical theism, that God must be free not only to decide among different kinds of worlds but also to decide upon no world. Yet what good, one may ask, is this freedom to create nothing? Is not anything better than nothing? "Being as such is good" was a traditional doctrine, from Plato down. Why should one suppose it exalts divine power to think of it as capable of creating nothing as well as of creating something? This is another paradox of classical theism. So we are left with 9 as the view that retains the advantages of the others without their disadvantages. Clearly the five positive ideas of the table are all present in 9 and only in 9. Wilmon Sheldon, like Leibniz (both classical theists), held that the mistakes of philosophers were in what they denied, not in what they asserted. If so, it is view 9 that should be preferred. It symbolizes the modal structure of panentheism, or (as I call my version) neoclassical theism.

Besides the polarity of necessary-contingent, there are other ultimate contrasts that play similar roles: absolute-relative, infinite-finite, eternal-temporal, potential-actual, abstract-concrete, object-subject. Each of these yields a set of nine views subject to similar laws, except that while there are modal logics, there are no worked-out logics for the other polarities, although in my writings there are informal indications of what the logics would be like. The ninth combination, I hold, is logically favored for all pairs of universal contraries. If this is so, the American philosopher E. S. Brightman (1884–1952) did well to use the phrases "finite-infinite" and "temporal-eternal" of God.

If the *N* and the *C* in *NC*, or if infinite and finite, were to be applied to God in the same respect, column III would represent self-inconsistent views. But this is not the intention. Whitehead, for example, makes this clear by distinguishing the "primordial" and the "consequent" natures of God, describing the former as abstract, absolute, infinite, and strictly eternal and the latter as concrete, relative (dependent), finite, and "in a sense temporal." The two natures form one being by the "ontological," or "Aristotelian," principle that abstract entities are real only in the concrete. By no logical rule can view 9 be declared contradictory simply because the same being is assigned characters that would be contradictory if both were on the same level of abstractness or concreteness.

Historically, classical theism has been represented by Philo Judaeus (Jewish theologian of the first century CE), Augustine, Anselm, al-Ghazālī (Islamic theologian, 1058–1111), Thomas Aquinas, and countless other scholastics. More recently, Calvin, Luther, Descartes, Leibniz, Kant (in his *Ethics*), and the Americans Jonathan Edwards and Wilmon Sheldon—the list could be very long—have been in this tradition.

In this century classical pantheism has been losing ground. Its universal necessity is a doctrine of Brand Blanshard, but Blanshard is not a theist in any clear sense. F. H. Bradley, by one interpretation, was a pantheist (see W. L. Reese's article on Bradley in the *Dictionary of Religion and Philosophy*, 1980). Josiah Royce could also be so classified.

His deity is inclusive and all-knowing, and he says that relations are universally and exclusively internal or essential to their terms, which implies universal necessity; however, the implication is never clearly admitted in so many words, as it is by Blanshard, who was influenced by Royce. Royce's favorite pupil, W. E. Hocking, was a panentheist or a neoclassical theist, although he did not spell out the matter so clearly as some do.

Plato's theism has been rather poorly understood. Plato affirms self-determination ("self-motion") of those creatures that have souls and by implication also conceives the all-inclusive World Soul as self-moved. This implies some contingency in God and the world. As for necessity, Plato never suggests that not existing or not having a world was a possibility for God. In the *Timaeus* he speaks of two gods, the eternal God, the Demiurge or Creator, and "the God that was to be," the World Soul. There are hints that the Demiurge is a mythical figure, but the World Soul, with its cosmic body, seems intended more literally. The Plato scholar Francis M. Cornford suggests that the World Soul is the actual deity (Ronald Levinson says "Plato's real God") while the Demiurge is only an abstract aspect of the World Soul, its eternal envisagement of the form of the Good, according to which it acts creatively. In this interpretation, which might have somewhat surprised Plato, he can be considered the first panentheist. The Neoplatonists, however, including Plotinus, seem too unclear to be usefully classified. Their emanations from the One are apparently outside it and, as in classical theism, contribute nothing to it; and the World Soul is held less real than the One. Yet we are not told that the emanations might not have taken place or are contingent.

For two thousand years Plato's suggestion of a soul-and-body structure in God was ignored (or misunderstood), first by Aristotle and Plotinus and then by the Scholastics. More recently it was underestimated even by Whitehead. But about 1600 the heretical doctrine Socinianism, named for its founder, Socinus, proposed that God does not know or determine our decisions eternally (they are not eternally there to be known); rather, God knows them only as or after they occur. By making free decisions, we give divine knowledge new content and thus change God. Socinus may not have held that divine knowledge includes the things known, but he might as well have. At any rate his view conforms to *NC, cn.* A Socinian theologian defined the eternity of God in modal terms, "God is eternal in that he cannot not exist." This was a deliberate avoidance of the well-known medieval doctrine that God is immutable and impassable (meaning that no creature can influence God). This momentous event of three centuries ago—the rejection of a central doctrine of classical theism, a rejection made on behalf of the self-motion, or freedom, of souls—was passed over by historians and scholars until recently. It is still not to be found in encyclopedias and histories. Only a German book on Socinianism (by Otto Fock) tells the story.

The term *pantheism* goes back to the English writer John Toland (1670–1722), and the term *panentheism* to the German philosopher K. F. Krause (1781–1832), a student of Hegel and Fichte. Krause thought of the deity as a divine organism inclusive of all lesser organisms. He said that God is more than and includes nature and man. Consciously or not, he was to some extent returning to Plato's *Timaeus.* Toland coined the word *pantheist* and held that the universe is God. Similarly, Spinoza had spoken of "God or nature." There seems no evidence that either Toland or Krause had much influence on later doctrines, apart from funishing a label; they were minor figures in the history of thought. Oddly enough, Krause's chief influence was in Spain.

Hegel (1770–1831) must be regarded as a panentheist if he is any definite kind of theist. He holds that contraries must be united to express truth, and he uses both terms, necessity and contingency. Yet, what precisely he means by these is difficult to determine. He certainly holds that the unity of *necessary* and *contingent*, infinite and finite, universal and particular, is the truth of both. But how the unity is to be described is the problem. On this issue Hegel is, for me, unclear. Friedrich Schelling (1775–1854), Hegel's fellow student at Tübingen, in his later writings seems a panentheist in a clearer, more definite sense than Hegel, although he is still not notably clear. He did affirm change and freedom of both God and creatures and certainly did not regard either the creator or the existence of some created order as merely contingent.

After Schelling, the German physicist, psychologist, and philosopher G. T. Fechner (1801–1887) developed a rather neat system that easily fits *CN* > *cn*: both God and creatures have some freedom; both face an open future; and there is no suggestion that God exists contingently or could have lacked creatures. (Here is an unusually clear case of the ninth view.) As with Socinus, most scholars gave no heed. In France, however, Jules Lequier (1814–1862), aware of the Socinians, took freedom as his "first principle," addressing God thus: "Thou hast created me creator of myself." In this he anticipated Whitehead's "self-created creature." Of course Lequier had no such idea as that the divine existence was a mere logical accident, nor did he imply divine freedom to have no creatures at all. He also clearly affirmed that our decisions make a difference to God, that they "make a spot in the absolute." That the deity includes the creatures in knowing them is not clearly stated, but it seems to be implied.

In Italy Bernardino Varisco (1850–1933) affirmed some freedom of indeterminacy for every creature (which Plato, Socinus, Lequier, and, probably, Hegel had not done) and affirmed that God includes the creatures. Varisco also held that every creature is sentient: there is no dead, mindless matter. This only Fechner, of the previous European writers in this tradition, had proposed. In America Charles S. Peirce (1839–1914) also (after about 1880) asserted that every creature has some freedom and sentience, that chance, or piecemeal contingency, is pervasive in nature, and that the future is partly indeterminate, not simply for our knowledge but in reality. He accepted the characterization of God as the "necessary being" but was not satisfied with the unqualified description of God as eternal or immutable. He did not believe that our thoughts about God could be made very precise and hence left his theological ideas somewhat indefinite and not altogether consistent. But, if he had a definite position, it could only be the ninth view.

Alfred North Whitehead (1861–1947), an English mathematician, logician, physicist, and philosopher who moved to America in 1924, soon thereafter developed a comprehensive metaphysical system, clearly theistic, and, in most respects, clearly a panentheism. The polar principle, which in application to God may be called "dual transcendence," is, as already remarked, quite clear in his writing (apart from the label, which is an invention of mine). His "category of the ultimate," creativity, implies universal freedom, with an open future even for God. Sentience, or "feeling," is taken as universal (from atoms to people), and God is characterized as "the unification of all things" (in the divine "consequent nature"). Although the divine existence is not said to be necessary, still, since God as primordial is taken as the necessary seat of the "pure potentials" without which nothing would even be possible, what "the possibility of the divine nonexistence" could mean is not apparent.

Whitehead's remarkable saying "Every creature transcends God" I take to mean that the becoming of the creature is not divinely determined and that, until the becoming is accomplished, the creature is not yet prehended by, and thus taken into, the divine consciousness, thereby enriching the latter.

I have tried to draw out, clarify, and systematize the entire development as sketched above. Whitehead was somewhat aware of the partial Platonic precedent, but he may have had little or no knowledge of some of the others. Besides using Krause's panentheism for my view, I also call it neoclassical theism. I give many arguments for this form of theism, including six theistic proofs, arguments that are convincing for those who accept the premises on which they are based.

Paul Weiss (b. 1901) seems a panentheist of some kind, since he affirms human freedom and says that, in prayer, both God and the worshiper are transformed. He implies that deity is a unity somehow inclusive of all things so far as they are good. He does not say that God is wholly necessary or that the world is wholly contingent. John Findlay (b. 1903) is similarly heretical from the classical standpoint. W. P. Montague (1873–1963) and J. E. Boodin (1869–1950) are among the recent American nonclassical theists more or less close to panentheism.

The old issues have been partly left behind. The mere contrasts—necessary versus contingent, infinite versus finite, absolute versus relative, or even eternal versus temporal—no longer serve to define deity. Divine love must be sensitive to the weal and woe of the creatures and far from a purely independent, self-sufficient, unrelative, mere absolute. Paul Tillich (1886–1965) was no classical theist, and, in the third volume of his *Systematic Theology* (3 vols., 1951–1963), he admits that the creatures contribute to the divine life. This had already been said by Nikolai Berdiaev (1874–1948), who called himself a "mystical pantheist" but spoke of a "divine time" and of creaturely freedom undetermined by God. He was essentially a panentheist, except that, like Tillich, he thought that theological truth cannot be stated literally. Schubert Ogden (b. 1928), a theologian who defends panentheism, partly agrees with Tillich and Berdiaev about the irreducibly symbolic, or nonliteral, functioning of religious language.

Among living philosophers whom I know at all well, the nearest to a classical theist is the logician Richard M. Martin, who holds that all truth is timelessly known to God. Yet since Martin (together with the influential logician W. V. O. Quine, b. 1908) thinks that modal concepts are an affair of our language rather than of the nature of things, it is hard to classify his doctrine in modal terms.

The nine views in our modal table do not exhaust possible beliefs about God or the extraordinary, supreme reality. Various forms of atheism, for example, have been omitted. An important omitted view is that the supreme reality is the only reality: what may seem to us nonsupreme, ordinary realities are only appearances of the supreme reality, appearances that we in ignorance wrongly take as realities. To the questions "To whom do the appearances appear?" and "Who wrongly takes them as more than mere appearances?" the reply of some seems to be that the questions, too, are wrong or ignorant. Really, there are no wrongly thinking realities, only the one utterly good and real absolute, or *brahman.* This is the extreme version of Hinduistic monism, called Advaita Vedānta (*advaita* means "nondual"; Vedānta refers to the Vedas, ancient hymns and other sacred documents of Hinduism.) Its greatest formulator was Śaṅkara (788–820).

That the doctrine makes sense is more than most Westerners can see and also more than many Hindus—Rāmānuja (eleventh century) and Aurobindo Ghose (1872–1950), for example—can or could see. But it has had countless adherents. The *Bhagavadgītā* is indefinite or ambiguous on the relationship between *advaita* (also called "acosmism," implying the unreality of the cosmos) and pantheism or panentheism. Together with Robert Whittemore, a contemporary American philosopher who went to India to inquire into the matter, I consider that the *Bhagavadgītā* can equally well be interpreted panentheistically as acosmically.

Medieval Islam was classically theistic, with an even greater tendency to deny or belittle creaturely freedom. Yet a great poet in what is now Pakistan, Muhammad Iqbal (1877–1938), a disciple of Henri Bergson, accepted the ideas of a divine becoming and of creaturely freedom.

One branch of Hinduism, the Bengali school, may, according to some of its representatives, be close to the neoclassical view. For example, it has been reported that a disciple of the school's founder, Jiva Goswami, said, "God, although perfect in love, [yet] grows without ceasing." There seems to be no sharp contradiction between this Indian view and Whiteheadian or (in many respects, at least, the same) Hartshornean theology.

Buddhism appears superficially to be entirely nontheistic. It is certainly not classically theistic, with realities outside the supreme reality. In certain forms of Mahayana Buddhism in China, there is some movement toward classical pantheism (the Hua-yen tradition of Fa-tsang, 643–712). In Theravada Buddhism (in Burma, Sri Lanka, and Thailand), there is nothing like theism, although the tendency to deify the Buddha seems to haunt all Buddhism. Whitehead spoke of "the diffuse God of Buddhism," but the standard theism of the medieval or Renaissance West is simply not to be found in Buddhism.

Confucianism was vaguely theistic but hardly further classifiable in Western terms. To relate Taoism to pantheism or panentheism would be even more difficult.

A sharply formulated doctrine of determinism, theological or otherwise, is a largely Western affair. (The idea of *karman* suggests it, but vaguely.) So is a sharply formulated doctrine of timeless omniscience, as in classical theism. Plato and Aristotle did not have it. Classical theism (which many scholars say is not biblical) is a largely Western (or Near Eastern) invention of the first Christian centuries. Perhaps Madhva (1197–1276) in India most nearly resembles scholastic theology.

So far, almost nothing has been said about the saying "God is love." Whitehead says that God "prehends" the creatures; since he defines prehension (so far as the prehended entity is concrete) as "feeling of feeling" and also as "empathy," which can be taken as the universal kernel of love, he is saying that God (in "perfect" or unsurpassable fashion) feels the feelings of all. What is that but to say that God (in the best possible sense) loves all? Precisely this is the final meaning of neoclassical theism. The idea of divine love is biblical for Jews and Christians, is far from unknown to Muslims and Hindus, and is, perhaps, not so alien to Buddhists as some may think.

The long reign of classical theism and the considerable appeal (for shorter periods of time and to more limited groups) of classical pantheism have, perhaps, not been adequately explained in this essay. Many arguments for one or another of these views have been omitted, partly because of space limitations and partly, no doubt, from bias, as have some objections that partisans of other views could make to neoclassical theism, or, as it is called by some, "process theism." But then, many arguments for the neoclassical and against the classical views have also been omitted. For these deficiencies, further research by the reader is the only remedy.

SEE ALSO Attributes of God; Monism; Theism.

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PAPACY. The papacy is the central governing institution of the Roman Catholic church under the leadership of the pope, the bishop of Rome. The word *papacy* (Lat., *papatus*) is medieval in origin and derives from the Latin *papa*, an affectionate term for "father."

THE EARLY PERIOD. This era, extending from the biblical origins of Christianity to the fifth century, was marked by the ever-increasing power and prestige of the bishop of Rome within the universal church and the Roman empire.

Scriptural foundation. Traditional Roman Catholic teaching holds that Jesus Christ directly bestowed upon the apostle Peter the fullness of ruling and teaching authority. He made Peter the first holder of supreme power in the universal church, a power passed on to his successors, the bishops of Rome. (See table 1.) Two biblical texts are cited to substantiate this claim. In *Matthew* 16:18 there is the promise of Jesus: "You are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it." In *John* 21:15–16, this promise is fulfilled in the admonition of Jesus to Peter: "Feed my lambs. . . . Look after my sheep." Modern Roman Catholic biblical scholars affirm the genuine authority of Peter among the Twelve but make the following observations: there is no New Testament evidence that Peter was ever a bishop or local administrator of any church (including Rome and Antioch); there is no direct biblical proof that Jesus established the papacy as a permanent office within the church; but there is other cogent evidence that Peter arrived in Rome late in his life and was martyred and buried there.

Catholic scholars insist, however, that even though the idea of an abiding Petrine ministry is not explicitly found in scripture, it is not contrary to the biblical tradition and indeed is implicitly rooted in it. Peter had a preeminent role in the New Testament, where he is described as the most prominent apostolic witness and missionary among the Twelve. He is the model of the shepherd-pastor, the receiver of a special revelation, and the teacher of the true faith. Gradually Christians, through the providential direction of the Holy Spirit, recognized the papacy, the office of headship in the church, to be the continuation of that ministry given by Christ to Peter and exercised through the historic Roman episcopate. Although other Christian scholars would accept many of these conclusions, they would generally deny the Roman Catholic belief that the papacy is an absolutely essential element of the church.

First three centuries. The early Christian churches were not organized internationally. Yet Rome, almost from the beginning, was accorded a unique position, and understandably so: Rome was the only apostolic see in the West; it was the place where Peter and Paul were martyred; and it was the capital of the empire. Ignatius of Antioch, in his letter to the Romans (c. 110), called the Roman church the church "presiding in love" (4.3), and Irenaeus, in his *Against Heresies* (c. 180), referred to its "more imposing foundation" (3.3.2). Although these controverted texts may not be a proof of Roman primacy, they at least indicate the lofty stature of the see of Rome.

The exact structure of the very early Roman church is not known, but it seems that by the middle of the second century monepiscopacy (the rule of one bishop) was well established. The memory of Peter was kept alive in Rome, and its bishops were often involved in the affairs of churches outside their own area. Clement I (c. 90–c. 99), for example, sent a letter from the church of Rome to the church of Corinth to settle a dispute over the removal of several church officials. Victor I (c. 189–c. 198) sought, under threat of excommunication, to impose on the churches of Asia Minor the Roman custom for the celebration of Easter. Finally, Stephen I (254–257) reinstated two Spanish bishops who had been deposed by their colleagues and also decided, contrary to the custom in Syria and North Africa, that repentant heretics did not have to be rebaptized. Although Cyprian, bishop of Carthage (d. 258), objected to Stephen's decisions, he was able to call Rome the "principal church" (letter 59, addressed to Cornelius, bishop of Rome) and to insist that for bishops to be legitimate they must be in communion with Rome.

The bishops of Rome in the third century claimed a universal primacy, even though it would be another 150 years before this idea was doctrinally formulated. Rome attracted both orthodox and heterodox teachers—some to have their views heard, others to seek confirmation. More and more, the bishop of Rome, either on his own initiative or by request, settled doctrinal and disciplinary disputes in other churches. Roman influence was felt as far away as Spain, Gaul, North Africa, and Asia Minor. The see of Peter was looked upon as the guarantor of doctrinal purity even by those who found fault with its leadership.

Fourth and fifth centuries. With the Edict of Milan (313) the empire granted toleration of all religions and allowed Christians to worship freely. This policy ended the era of persecution, increased the number of Christians, and shaped the institutional development of the papacy. Once Emperor Constantine decided to move the seat of the empire to Constantinople in 324, the papacy began to play a larger role in the West. By the time Christianity became the official religion of the empire in 381, several popes were already affirming papal primatial authority. The critical period in the doctrinal systematization of Roman primacy took place in the years between Damasus I (366–384) and Leo I (440–461). In that period, the popes explicitly claimed that the bishop of Rome was the head of the entire church and that his authority derived from Peter.

Damasus I, the first pope to call Rome the apostolic see, made Latin the principal liturgical language in Rome and commissioned Jerome to revise the old Latin version of the New Testament. At the Council of Rome (382), he declared that the primacy of the bishop of Rome is based on continuity with Peter. He deposed several Arian bishops. His successor, Siricius (384–399), whose decretal letters are the earliest extant, promoted Rome's primatial position and imposed his decisions on many bishops outside Italy.

It was Leo I, the first of three popes to be called the Great, who laid the theoretical foundation of papal primacy. Leo took the title Pontifex Maximus, which the emperors no longer used, and claimed to possess the fullness of power *(plenitudo potestatis)*. Governing the church through a tumultuous period of barbarian invasions and internal disputes, he relentlessly defended the rights of the Roman see. He rejected Canon 28 of the Council of Chalcedon (451), which gave the bishop of New Rome (Constantinople) privileges equal to those of the bishop of Old Rome and a rank second only to that of the pope. A favorite theme for Leo was the relationship between Peter and the pope. This idea had been advanced by earlier popes, but Leo elaborated it, in his sermons calling himself "Peter in Peter's see" (2.2) and his "unworthy heir" (3.4). Thus, as he noted, a particular pope may be sinful, but the papacy as such still retains its Petrine character. The Leonine distinction between person and office has proved to be of immense value and has helped the papacy survive unsuitable popes. Leo believed that Peter's successors have "the care of all the churches" (*Sermons* 3.4), and he exercised his authority over Christian churches in Italy, Africa, and Gaul. The Western Roman empire ended in 476. The successors of Leo, especially Felix III (483–492) and Gelasius I (492–496), applied his principles, but the imperial government in Constantinople exerted continual pressure on the papacy.

For centuries the popes did not change their names. The first name change occurred when a Roman called Mercury, having been elected pope, chose the more suitable appellation of John II (533–535). From the time of Sergius IV (1009–1012)—his name had been Peter Buccaporca (Peter Pigmouth)—the taking of a new name has continued to the present, with two exceptions: Adrian VI (1522–1523) and Marcellus II (1555). The most popular papal names have been John, Gregory, Benedict, Clement, Innocent, Leo, and Pius. There has never been a Peter II or a John XX. John Paul I was the first pope to select a double name. The legend that a woman pope—Pope Joan—reigned between Leo IV (847–855) and Benedict III (855–858) has long been rejected by historians.

The accompanying list is based generally on the catalog of popes given in the *Annuario pontificio*, the official Vatican yearbook, with some changes dictated by recent scholarly research. It should be noted that the legitimacy of certain popes—for example, Dioscorus (530), Leo VIII (963–965), Benedict V (964), Gregory VI (1045–1046), and Clement II (1046–1047)—is still controverted. Although Stephen (752) is mentioned in the list, he died three days after his election without being consecrated a bishop.

THE MEDIEVAL PAPACY. The eventful period from the sixth to the fifteenth century demonstrated the unusual adaptability of the papal office. Successive popes opposed imperial control, attempted to reform the papacy and the church, and brought papal authority to its peak in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A severe decline followed.

The struggle for independence. The popes of the sixth and seventh centuries resisted excessive encroachments but were still subservient to the power of the emperor. The most notable pope at this time was Gregory I, the Great (590–604), a deeply spiritual man who called himself "the servant of the servants of God." A skilled negotiator, he was able to conclude a peace treaty with the Lombards, who threatened Rome; the people of Rome and the adjacent regions considered him their protector. Gregory was respectful of the rights of individual bishops, but he insisted, nevertheless, that all churches, including Constantinople, were subject to the apostolic see of Rome. He realized that direct confrontation with the emperor would be futile, and so he concentrated on developing the church in territories outside imperial jurisdiction. He established links with the Frankish monarchs that proved to be of great significance in the later Middle Ages; he also sent forty missionaries to Britain. The break with the East began when Gregory II (715–731) condemned the iconoclastic decrees of Emperor Leo I, who had prohibited the use of images in liturgical ceremonies. The gap widened when Stephen II (752–757), the first pope to cross the Alps, met with Pépin, king of the Franks. Pépin agreed to defend the pope against the invading Lombards and apparently promised him sovereignty over large areas in central Italy. The Donation of Pépin was an epoch-making event; it marked the beginning of the Papal States, in existence until 1870. Stephen became the first of a long line of popes to claim temporal rule. Through his alliance with the Frankish kingdom, Stephen was virtually able to free the papacy from the domination of Constantinople. The last step in the division of Rome from the Eastern Empire was when Pope Leo III (795–816) crowned Charlemagne emperor of the West at Saint Peter's Basilica in 800. As a result of their new status, the popes minted their own coins, and they no longer dated papal documents according to imperial years. The primatial prominence of Rome increased when the Muslim conquests destroyed the church in North Africa and ended the strong influence of Rome's great rivals: the patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. By the middle of the ninth century, Nicholas I, the Great (858–867), was able to act as the supreme judge and lawmaker for the entire church. He resisted Carolingian interference and dealt severely with recalcitrant archbishops, deposing several and overruling the decisions of others. In his relations with the Byzantine church he was less successful because he failed to resolve adequately the dispute with Photios, the patriarch of Constantinople. The assertion of primatial claims by John VIII (872–882) also met Byzantine opposition. The tenth century was a bleak one for the papacy. After the Carolingian rulers lost power, the papacy was scandalously dominated, first by the Roman nobility and then by the German emperors Otto I and his successors. The so-called Ottonian privilege restricted the freedom of papal electors and allowed the emperor the right of ratification. There were some two dozen popes and antipopes during this period, many of low moral caliber. Depositions and impositions of popes became commonplace. Clearly, then, by the beginning of the eleventh century, the need for radical reform was urgent.

The reform movement. Advocates of reform found a dedicated leader in Leo IX (1049–1054). He traveled extensively throughout Italy, France, and Germany, presiding over synods that issued strong decrees dealing with clerical marriage, simony, and episcopal elections. Only six months of his entire pontificate were spent in Rome. Further reforms

Name	Date
St. Peter	?-64/7
St. Linus	64/7-79?
St. Anacletus (Cletus)	79?-90/2
St. Clement I	90/2-99/101
St. Evaristus	99/101-107?
St. Alexander I	107?-116?
St. Sixtus I	116?-125?
St. Telesphorus	125?-136?
St. Hyginus	136?-140/2
St. Pius I	140/2-154/5
St. Anicetus	154/5-166?
St. Soter	166?-174?
St. Eleutherius	174?-189?
St. Victor I	189?-198?
St. Zephyrinus	198?-217?
St. Callistus I	217?-222
[St. Hippolytus]	[217?-235]
St. Urban	I 222-230
St. Pontian	21 Jul. 230-28 Sep. 235
St. Anterus	21 Nov. 235-3 Jan. 236
St. Fabian	10 Jan. 236-20 Jan. 250
St. Cornelius	Mar. 251-Jun. 253
[Novatian]	[251-258?]
St. Lucius I	25 Jun. 253-5 Mar. 254
St. Stephen I	12 May 254-2 Aug. 257
St. Sixtus II	30 Aug. 257-6 Aug. 258
St. Dionysius	22 Jul. 259-26 Dec. 268
St. Felix I	5 Jan. 269-30 Dec. 274
St. Eutychian	4 Jan. 275-7 Dec. 283
St. Gaius (Caius)	17 Dec. 283-22 Apr. 296
St. Marcellinus	30 Jun. 296-25 Oct. 304
St. Marcellus I	27 May 308-16 Jan. 309
St. Eusebius	18 Apr.-17 Aug. 309
St. Miltiades 2	Jul. 311-11 Jan. 314
St. Sylvester I	31 Jan. 314-31 Dec. 335
St. Mark	18 Jan.-7 Oct. 336
St. Julius I	6 Feb. 337-12 Apr. 352
Liberius	17 May 352-24 Sep. 366
[Felix II]	[355-22 Nov. 365]
St. Damasus I	1 Oct. 366-11 Dec. 384
[Ursinus]	[366-367]
St. Siricius	15 Dec. 384-26 Nov. 399
St. Anastasius I	27 Nov. 399-19 Dec. 401
St. Innocent I	22 Dec. 401-12 Mar. 417
St. Zosimus	18 Mar. 417-26 Dec. 418
St. Boniface I	28 Dec. 418-4 Sep. 422
[Eulalius]	[27 Dec. 418-419]
St. Celestine I	10 Sep. 422-27 Jul. 432
St. Sixtus III	31 Jul. 432-19 Aug. 440
St. Leo I, the Great	29 Sep. 440-10 Nov. 461
St. Hilary	19 Nov. 461-29 Feb. 468
St. Simplicius	3 Mar. 468-10 Mar. 483
St. Felix III (II)	13 Mar. 483-1 Mar. 492
St. Gelasius I	1 Mar. 492-21 Nov. 496
Anastasius II	24 Nov. 496-19 Nov. 498
St. Symmachus	22 Nov. 498-19 Jul. 514
[Lawrence]	[498; 501-505]
St. Hormisdas	20 Jul. 514-6 Aug. 523
St. John I	13 Aug. 523-18 May 526
St. Felix IV (III)	12 Jul. 526-22 Sep. 530
Boniface II	22 Sep. 530-17 Oct. 532
[Dioscorus]	[22 Sep.-14 Oct. 530]
John II	2 Jan. 533-8 May 535
St. Agapitus I	13 May 535-22 Apr. 536
St. Silverius	1 Jun. 536-11 Nov. 537
Vigilius	29 Mar. 537-7 Jun. 555
Pelagius I	16 Apt. 556-4 Mar. 561
John III	17 Jul. 561-13 Jul. 574
Benedict I	2 Jun. 575-30 Jul. 579
Pelagius II	26 Nov. 579-7 Feb. 590
St. Gregory I, the Great	3 Sep. 590-12 Mar. 604
Sabinian	13 Sep. 604-22 Feb. 606
Boniface III	19 Feb.-12 Nov. 607
St. Boniface IV	25 Aug. 608-8 May 615
St. Deusdedit (Adeodatus I)	19 Oct. 615-8 Nov. 618
Boniface V	23 Dec. 619-25 Oct. 625
Honorius I	27 Oct. 625-12 Oct. 638
Severinus	28 May-7 Aug. 640
John IV	24 Dec. 640-12 Oct. 642
Theodore I	24 Nov. 642-14 May 649
St. Martin I	July 649-16 Sep. 655
St. Eugene I	10 Aug. 654-2 Jun. 657
St. Vitalian	30 Jul. 657-27 Jan. 672
Adeodatus II	11 Apr. 672-17 Jun. 676
Donus	2 Nov. 676-11 Apr. 678
St. Agatho	27 Jun. 678-10 Jan. 681
St. Leo II	17 Aug. 682-3 Jul. 683
St. Benedict II	26 Jun. 684-8 May 685
John V	23 Jul. 685-2 Aug. 686
Conon	21 Oct. 686-21 Sep. 687
[Theodore]	[687]
[Paschal]	[687]
St. Sergius I	15 Dec. 687-8 Sep. 701
John VI	30 Oct. 701-11 Jan. 705
John VII	1 Mar. 705-18 Oct. 707
Sisinnius	15 Jan.-4 Feb. 708
Constantine	25 Mar. 708-9 Apr. 715
St. Gregory II	19 May 715-11 Feb. 731
St. Gregory III	18 Mar. 731-Nov. 741
St. Zachary	10 Dec. 741-22 Mar. 752
Stephen (II)	23-25 Mar. 752
Stephen II (III)	26 Mar. 752-26 Apt. 757
St. Paul I	29 May 757-28 Jun. 767
[Constantine II]	[28 Jun. 767-769]
[Philip]	[31 Jul. 768]
Stephen III	(IV) 7 Aug. 768-24 Jan. 772
Adrian I	1 Feb. 772-25 Dec. 795
St. Leo III	26 Dec. 795-12 Jun. 816
Stephen IV	(V) 22 Jun. 816-24 Jan. 817
St. Paschal I	25 Jan. 817-11 Feb. 824
Eugene II	Feb. 824-Aug. 827
Valentine	Aug.-Sep. 827
Gregory IV	827-Jan. 844
[John]	[Jan. 844]
Sergius II	Jan. 844-27 Jan. 847
St. Leo IV	Jan. 847-17 Jul. 855
Benedict III	Jul. 855-17 Apr. 858
[Anastasius]	[Aug.-Sep. 855]

(continued)

TABLE 1. *The Popes.* A Roman numeral in parentheses after a pope's name indicates differences in the historical sources. The names of the antipopes and their dates are given in brackets. The first date for each pope refers to his election; the second date refers to his death, deposition, or resignation. Dates for the first two hundred years are uncertain. Abbreviations: Bl. = Blessed; St. = Saint.

Name (continued)	Date
St. Nicholas I, the Great	24 Apt. 858-13 Nov. 867
Adrian II	14 Dec. 867-14 Dec. 872
John VIII	14 Dec. 872-16 Dec. 882
Marinus I	16 Dec. 882-15 May 884
St. Adrian III	17 May 884-Sep. 885
Stephen V (VI)	Sep. 885-14 Sep. 891
Formosus 6	Oct. 891-4 Apr. 896
Boniface VI	Apr. 896
Stephen VI (VII)	May 896-Aug. 897
Romanus	Aug.-Nov. 897
Theodore II	Dec. 897
John IX	Jan. 898-Jan. 900
Benedict IV	Jan. 900-Jul. 903
Leo V	Jul.-Sep. 903
[Christopher]	[Jul. 903-Jan. 904]
Sergius III	29 Jan. 904-14 Apr. 911
Anastasius III	Apt. 911-Jun. 913
Lando	Jul. 913-Feb. 914
John X	Mar. 914-May 928
Leo VI	May-Dec. 928
Stephen VII (VIII)	Dec. 928-Feb. 931
John XI	Feb. 931-Dec. 935
Leo VII 3	an. 936-13 Jul. 939
Stephen VIII (IX)	14 Jul. 939-Oct. 942
Marinus II	30 Oct. 942-May 946
Agapetus II	10 May 946-Dec. 955
John XII	16 Dec. 955-14 May 964
Leo VIII	4 Dec. 963-1 Mar. 965
Benedict V	22 May-23 Jun. 964
John XIII	1 Oct. 965-6 Sep. 972
Benedict VI	19 Jan. 973-Jun. 974
[Boniface VII]	[Jun.-Jul. 974; Aug. 984-Jul. 985]
Benedict VII	Oct. 974-10 Jul. 983
John XIV	Dec. 983-20 Aug.'984
John XV	Aug. 985-Mar. 996
Gregory V	3 May 996-18 Feb. 999
[John XVI]	[Apr. 997-Feb. 998]
Sylvester II	2 Apr. 999-12 May 1003
John XVII	Jun.-Dec. 1003
John XVIII	Jan. 1004-Jul. 1009
Sergius IV	31 Jul. 1009-12 May 1012
Benedict VIII	18 May 1012-9 Apr. 1024
[Gregory]	[1012]
John XIX	Apt. 1024-1032
Benedict IX	(first time) 1032-1044
Sylvester III	20 Jan.-10 Feb. 1045
Benedict IX	(second time) 10 Apt.-1 May 1045
Gregory VI	May 1045-20 Dec. 1046
Clement II	24 Dec. 1046-9 Oct. 1047
Benedict IX	(third time) 8 Nov. 1047-17 Jul. 1048
Damasus II	17 Jul.-9 Aug. 1048
St. Leo IX	12 Feb. 1049-19 Apr. 1054
Victor II	16 Apt. 1055-28 Jul. 1057
Stephen IX (X)	3 Aug. 1057-29 Mar. 1058
[Benedict X]	[5 Apt. 1058-24 Jan. 1059]
Nicholas II	24 Jan. 1059-27 Jul. 1061
Alexander II	1 Oct. 1061-21 Apr. 1073
[Honorius II]	[28 Oct. 1061-1072]
St. Gregory VII	22 Apt. 1073-25 May 1085
[Clement III]	[26 Jun. 1080-8 Sep. 1100]
Bl. Victor III	24 May 1086-16 Sep. 1087
Bl. Urban II	12 Mar. 1088-29 Jul. 1099
Paschal II	13 Aug. 1099-21 Jan. 1118
[Theodoric]	[1100]
[Albert]	[1102]
[Sylvester IV]	[18 Nov. 1105-1111]
Gelasius II	24 Jan. 1118-28 Jan. 1119
[Gregory VIII]	[8 Mar. 1118-1121]
Callistus II	2 Feb. 1119-13 Dec. 1124
Honorius II	5 Dec. 1124-13 Feb. 1130
[Celestine II]	[Dec. 1124]
Innocent II	14 Feb. 1130-24 Sep. 1143
[Anacletus II]	[14 Feb. 1130-25 Jan. 1138]
[Victor IV]	[Mar.-29 May 1138]
Celestine II	26 Sep. 1143-8 Mar. 1144
Lucius II	2 Mar. 1144-15 Feb. 1145
Bl. Eugene III	15 Feb. 1145-8 Jul. 1153
Anastasius IV	12 Jul. 1153-3 Dec. 1154
Adrian IV	4 Dec. 1154-1 Sep. 1159
Alexander III	7 Sep. 1159-30 Aug. 1181
[Victor IV]	[7 Sep. 1159-20 Apt. 1164]
[Paschal III]	[26 Apt. 1164-20 Sep. 1168]
[Callistus III]	[Sep. 1168-29 Aug. 1178]
[Innocent III]	[29 Sep. 1179-1180]
Lucius III	1 Sep. 1181-25 Sep. 1185
Urban III	25 Nov. 1185-20 Oct. 1187
Gregory VIII	21 Oct.-17 Dec. 1187
Clement III	19 Dec. 1187-Mar. 1191
Celestine III	30 Mar. 1191-8 Jan. 1198
Innocent III	8 Jan. 1198-16 Jul. 1216
Honorius III	18 Jul. 1216-18 Mar. 1227
Gregory IX	19 Mar. 1227-22 Aug. 1241
Celestine IV	25 Oct.-10 Nov. 1241
Innocent IV	25 Jun. 1243-7 Dec. 1254
Alexander IV	12 Dec. 1254-25 May 1261
Urban IV	29 Aug. 1261-2 Oct. 1264
Clement IV	5 Feb. 1265-29 Nov. 1268
Bl. Gregory X	1 Sep. 1271-10 Jan. 1276
Bl. Innocent V	21 Jan.-22 Jun. 1276
Adrian V	11 Jul.-18 Aug. 1276
John XXI	8 Sep. 1276-20 May 1277
Nicholas III	25 Nov. 1277-22 Aug. 1280
Martin IV	22 Feb. 1281-28 Mar. 1285
Honorius IV	2 Apt. 1285-3 Apt. 1287
Nicholas IV	22 Feb. 1288-4 Apt. 1292
St. Celestine V	5 Jul.-13 Dec. 1294
Boniface VIII	24 Dec. 1294-11 Oct. 1303
Bl. Benedict XI	22 Oct. 1303-7 Jul. 1304
Clement V	5 Jun. 1305-20 Apr. 1314
John XXII	7 Aug. 1316-4 Dec. 1334
[Nicholas V]	[12 May 1328-25 Aug. 1330]
Benedict XII	20 Dec. 1334-25 Apt. 1342
Clement VI	7 May 1342-6 Dec. 1352
Innocent VI	18 Dec. 1352-12 Sep. 1362
Bl. Urban V	28 Sep. 1362-19 Dec. 1370
Gregory XI	30 Dec. 1370-26 Mar. 1378
Urban VI	8 Apt. 1378-15 Oct. 1389

(continued)

Name (continued)	Date
Boniface IX	2 Nov. 1389- 1 Oct. 1404
Innocent VII	17 Oct. 1404-6 Nov. 1406
Gregory XII	30 Nov. 1406-4 Jul. 1415
[Clement VII, Avignon]	[20 Sep. 1378-16 Sep. 1394]
[Benedict XIII, Avignon]	[28 Sep. 1394-23 May 1423]
[Clement VIII, Avignon]	[10 Jun. 1423-26 Jul. 1429]
[Benedict XIV, Avignon]	[12 Nov. 1425-1430]
[Alexander V, Pisa]	[26 Jun. 1409-3 May 1410]
[John XXIII, Pisa]	[17 May 1410-29 May 1415]
Martin V	11 Nov. 1417-20 Feb. 1431
Eugene IV	3 Mar. 1431-23 Feb. 1447
[Felix V]	[5 Nov. 1439-7 Apr. 1449]
Nicholas V	6 Mar. 1447-24 Mar. 1455
Callistus III	8 Apt. 1455-6 Aug. 1458
Plus II	19 Aug. 1458-15 Aug. 1464
Paul II	30 Aug. 1464-26 Jul. 1471
Sixtus IV	9 Aug. 1471-12 Aug. 1484
Innocent VIII	29 Aug. 1484-25 Jul. 1492
Alexander VI	11 Aug. 1492-18 Aug. 1503
Pius III	22 Sep.-18 Oct. 1503
Julius II	31 Oct. 1503-21 Feb. 1513
Leo X	9 Mar. 1513-1 Dec. 1521
Adrian VI	9 Jan. 1522-14 Sep. 1523
Clement VII	19 Nov. 1523-25 Sep. 1534
Paul III	13 Oct. 1534-10 Nov. 1549
Julius III	7 Feb. 1550-23 Mar. 1555
Marcellus II	9 Apt.-1 May 1555
Paul IV	23 May 1555-18 Aug. 1559
Plus IV	25 Dec. 1559-9 Dec. 1565
St. Pius V	7 Jan. 1566-1 May 1572
Gregory XIII	13 May 1572-10 Apr. 1585
Sixtus V	24 Apr. 1585-27 Aug. 1590
Urban VII	15 Sep.-27 Sep. 1590
Gregory XIV	5 Dec. 1590-16 Oct. 1591
Innocent IX	29 Oct.-30 Dec. 1591

Name (continued)	Date
Clement VIII	30 Jan. 1592-3 Mar. 1605
Leo XI	1 Apt.-27 Apt. 1605
Paul V	16 May 1605-28 Jan. 1621
Gregory XV	9 Feb. 1621-8 Jul. 1623
Urban VIII	6 Aug. 1623-29 Jul. 1644
Innocent X	15 Sep. 1644-7 Jan. 1655
Alexander VII	7 Apt. 1655-22 May 1667
Clement IX	20 Jun. 1667-9 Dec. 1669
Clement X	29 Apt. 1670-22 Jul. 1676
Bl. Innocent XI	21 Sep. 1676-12 Aug. 1689
Alexander VIII	6 Oct. 1689-1 Feb. 1691
Innocent XII	12 Jul. 1691-27 Sep. 1700
Clement XI	23 Nov. 1700-19 Mar. 1721
Innocent XIII	8 May 1721-7 Mar. 1724
Benedict XIII	29 May 1724-21 Feb. 1730
Clement XII	12 Jul. 1730-6 Feb. 1740
Benedict XIV	17 Aug. 1740-3 May 1758
Clement XIII	6 Jul. 1758-2 Feb. 1769
Clement XIV	19 May 1769-22 Sep. 1774
Pius VI	15 Feb. 1775-29 Aug. 1799
Pius VII	14 Mar. 1800-20 Aug. 1823
Leo XII	28 Sep. 1823-10 Feb. 1829
Pius VIII	31 Mar. 1829-30 Nov. 1830
Gregory XVI	2 Feb. 1831-1 Jun. 1846
Pius IX	16 Jun. 1846-7 Feb. 1878
Leo XIII	20 Feb. 1878-20 Jul. 1903
St. Pius X	4 Aug. 1903-20 Aug. 1914
Benedict XV	3 Sep. 1914-22 Jan. 1922
Pius XI	6 Feb. 1922-10 Feb. 1939
Pius XII	2 Mar. 1939-9 Oct. 1958
John XXIII	28 Oct. 1958-3 Jun. 1963
Paul VI	21 Jun. 1963-6 Aug. 1978
John Paul I	26 Aug.-28 Sep. 1978
John Paul II	16 Oct. 1978-

were made under Nicholas II (1059–1061), whose coronation, perhaps the first ever, was rich in monarchical symbolism. His decree on papal elections (1059), which made cardinal bishops the sole electors, had a twofold purpose: to safeguard the reformed papacy through free and peaceful elections and to eliminate coercion by the empire or the aristocracy. By not granting the emperor the right of confirmation, he directly opposed the Ottonian privilege. Nicholas also introduced feudalism into the papacy when he enfeoffed the Normans; the papacy invested them with the lands they had conquered and received the oath of fealty. This feudal contract—actually made to the apostle Peter through the pope—was the first of many. By the twelfth century, the papacy had more feudal vassals than any other European power.

The most famous of the reform popes was Gregory VII (1073–1085), surnamed Hildebrand. Endowed with great gifts, he had learned much about the papacy from his years of service under Leo IX, Nicholas II, and Alexander II (1061–1073). His ambitious program of reform focused on three areas. The first task was to restore prestige to the papacy, to resurrect it from the sorry state to which it had descended in the previous two centuries. In his letters and especially in his *Dictates of the Pope,* Gregory, like Leo I before him, identified himself with Peter; claimed universal authority over bishops, clerics, and councils; and asserted his right to make law, to render judgments that allow no appeal, and even to depose emperors. The second area of reform was directed against clerical corruption, particularly simony and incontinence. The third area concerned lay investiture—a practice whereby feudal lords, princes, and emperors bestowed spiritual office through the selection of pastors, abbots, and bishops. Gregory's determination to root out this evil brought him into direct conflict with Emperor Henry IV, whom he consequently excommunicated (and later absolved in the famous winter scene at Canossa in 1077). The Gregorian reform movement met fierce resistance and achieved only limited success, but it was an important milestone in papal history. For the first time the extensive theoretical principles of papal power were tested in practice. Henceforth, the papacy exercised a new style of leadership:

The pope emerged not only as the undisputed head of the church but also as the unifying force in medieval western Europe.

The height of papal authority. The papacy reached its zenith in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Six general councils between 1123 and 1274 issued many doctrinal and disciplinary decrees aimed at reform and left no doubt that the popes were firmly in control of church policy. During the pontificate of Innocent III (1198–1216), one of the most brilliant of all the popes, the papacy reached the summit of its universal power and supervised the religious, social, and political life of the West. Some of the greatest popes at this time were canonists who proclaimed a pontifical world hegemony. Under Innocent III, the first official collection of canon law was published (1209), and the kingdoms of Bulgaria, Portugal, and England were made papal fiefs. Honorius III (1216–1227) further centralized papal administration and finances and approved the establishment of the Franciscan and Dominican orders. In theory, papal authority extended also to non-Christians. Innocent IV (1243–1254) believed that every creature is subject to the pope—even infidels, Christ's sheep by creation though not members of the church. This idea of a world theocracy under the popes was to be part of the theological and political justification for the Crusades.

The medieval popes took stringent action against such heretics as the Waldensians and the Cathari. Gregory IX (1227–1241) made the Inquisition a permanent tribunal to combat heresy, selecting Dominicans and Franciscans to serve as inquisitors, or judges. Heresy was considered not only a grave sin but also a crime against the state. Thus Innocent IV approved the use of torture by the state to force heretics to confess.

Two significant changes were made in the procedures for papal elections. At the Third Lateran Council (1179), Alexander III (1159–1181) decreed that all cardinals—not just cardinal bishops—could vote and that a two-thirds majority was required. The Second Council of Lyons (1274), under Gregory X (1271–1276), established the law of the conclave, whereby the cardinal electors had to assemble in the papal palace and remain in a locked room until the election was completed.

Decline of the papacy. The death of Boniface VIII (1294–1303) marked the end of the grandiose idea of a theocratic world order with all power, spiritual and temporal, emanating from the pope. Several factors contributed to the decline of the papacy: high taxation, the inappropriate conferral and control of benefices, corruption in the Roman bureaucracy, and, above all, the failure of the popes to foresee the effect of nationalism on church-state relations. The effort to construct a Christian commonwealth under papal leadership was unsuccessful, but it must be judged in context. The popes struggled to protect the independence of the church, but their temporal involvements complicated the situation. Europe at that time was a mosaic of feudal territories; nations, as they are known today, were only in the process of formation. It was a turbulent time. Yet in the Middle Ages, the papacy was the only institution in the West with the authority and stability to provide law and order. At times it went to excess, but medieval Europe owed it a considerable debt.

In 1308, Clement V (1305–1314) moved the papal residence to Avignon, which then belonged to the king of Naples, a vassal of the pope. Several factors prompted this decision: the upcoming general council of Vienne (1311–1312); the tension between the pope and the king of France; and the unsafe and chaotic political situation in Rome and Italy. The popes remained in Avignon for seventy years. During their so-called Babylonian Captivity, the popes were French, but the papacy was not a puppet of the French rulers. Centralization and administrative complexity increased, especially under John XXII (1316–1334). The cardinals assumed greater power that at times bordered on oligarchy. They introduced the practice of capitulation—an agreement made by electors of the pope to limit the authority of the person chosen to be pope—and thus tried to restrict papal primacy. The Avignon popes worked to reform the clergy and religious orders; they also promoted missionary activity in China, India, and Persia.

No sooner had Gregory XI (1370–1378) returned to Rome in 1377 than the papacy faced another crisis, the great Western schism. The election of Urban VI (1378–1389) was later disputed by some of the cardinals, who claimed coercion. Five months after Urban's election, they rejected him and elected Clement VII (1378–1394), who went back to Avignon. The two popes had their own cardinals, curial staffs, and adherents among the faithful. A council was held at Pisa in 1409 to resolve the problem, but instead still another pope was elected, Alexander V, who in less than a year was succeeded by John XXIII (1410–1415). The general council of Constance (1414–1418) confronted the scandal of three would-be popes and pledged to reform the church in head and members. Unity was restored with the election of Martin V (1417–1431). The council deposed both Benedict XIII (1394–1423) of Avignon and John XXIII of Pisa; Gregory XII (1406–1415) of the Roman line abdicated. What makes the Council of Constance important in the history of the papacy is the theological principle that dictated its actions, namely conciliarism, enunciated in the council's decree *Haec sancta*, the dogmatic validity of which is still debated. The theory of conciliarism, that a general council is the supreme organ of government in the church, was later condemned by several popes, but it did not die. It resurfaced again in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the form of Gallicanism and Febronianism.

FROM THE RENAISSANCE TO THE ENLIGHTENMENT. Papal authority was severely challenged between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. It had to face the massive religious and societal repercussions brought about by the Renaissance, the Protestant Reformation, and the Enlightenment.

The Renaissance. Martin V tried to fulfill the provisions of the decree *Frequens* (1417) that emanated from the Council of Constance, which mandated that a general council should be held in five years, another seven years later, and then one regularly every ten years. He convened a council at Siena that later moved to Pavia (1423–1424), but the plague forced its dissolution. Seven years later another council was held, meeting first at Basel and later at Ferrara and Florence (1431–1445), under Eugene IV (1431–1447). Greek and Latin prelates attended, and they were able to agree on several thorny doctrinal issues including the primacy of the pope. The decree *Laetentur caeli* (1439), the first dogmatic definition of papal primacy by a council, stated: "We define that the holy apostolic see and the Roman Pontiff have primacy over the whole world, and that the same Roman Pontiff is the successor of Saint Peter, prince of the Apostles, the true vicar of Christ, the head of the church." Unfortunately, the union between the Greeks and Rome was short-lived.

Nicholas V (1447–1455) and his successors made Rome a center of the arts and scholarship. Humanistic concerns and involvement in Italian politics dominated their pontificates. Pius II (1458–1464), one of the most notable examples of papal humanism, in the bull *Exsecrabilis* (1460) prohibited any appeals to future general councils, thus striking at conciliarism. The same oligarchic spirit of the earlier Avignon cardinals appeared again at the election of Paul II (1464–1471). The cardinals drew up a capitulation requiring consultation with them before any major papal appointment, but after his election Paul promptly rejected this limitation. Sixtus IV (1471–1484) concerned himself mostly with the restoration of Rome and the expansion of the Papal States; he is responsible for building the magnificent Sistine Chapel in the Vatican. The Borgian pope, Alexander VI (1492–1503), has gone down in history as one of the most notorious of the Renaissance popes although his exploits have been exaggerated. The papacy, moreover, was engaged in almost continual warfare. The most famous of the warrior popes was Julius II (1503–1513), known as Il Terribile. A capable and energetic leader, Julius became the patron of Michelangelo, Raphael, and Bramante; he commissioned the construction of the new basilica of Saint Peter's. Adrian VI (1522–1523) was an exception among the Renaissance popes; in his short pontificate he tried to introduce reform measures, but these met persistent opposition from both civil rulers and highly placed ecclesiastics. In sum, the Renaissance popes were generally more interested in politics, the arts, and the ostentatious display of wealth than in providing genuine religious leadership. Their artistic achievements were outstanding, their neglect of spiritual concerns tragic.

The Reformation and Counter-Reformation. By the beginning of the sixteenth century the papacy was severely weakened by internal decay and a loss of supernatural vision. The faithful throughout Europe were asked to contribute alms to the extravagant building projects in Rome. These factors, coupled with deep-seated religious, social, and economic unrest in Europe, set the stage for the Protestant Reformation. Martin Luther's challenge in 1517 caught the papacy unprepared. Leo X (1513–1521) and his successors badly underestimated the extent and intensity of antipapal sentiment in Europe. The popes neither adequately comprehended the religious intentions of Luther nor understood the appeal that the reformers' ideas had for many who were outraged at both the policies and the conduct of church leaders. What began in the Reformation as a movement to restore genuine apostolic integrity to the church of Rome ended with the creation of a separate church. Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli eventually repudiated all papal claims. By the time of Clement VII (1523–1534), millions of Catholics in Germany, Scandinavia, the Low Countries, Switzerland, and Britain had departed from the Roman communion. A new era in church history had dawned.

The rapid rise of Protestantism had a sobering effect on the papacy: It forced the popes to concentrate on church affairs. Paul III (1534–1549), for example, appointed competent cardinals to administrative posts, authorized the establishment of the Society of Jesus (1540), and reformed the Roman Inquisition (1542). The church's most wide-ranging answer to the Protestant Reformation was the Council of Trent (1545–1563), convoked by Paul III and concluded by Pius IV (1559–1565). In its twenty-five sessions, the council discussed the authority of scripture and of tradition, original sin and justification, the sacraments, and specific reform legislation. It did not, strangely enough, treat explicitly the theology of the church or the papacy. The council refused to accept demands for a married clergy, Communion under both species, and a vernacular liturgy. The principles of conciliarism did not affect the Council of Trent, at which the reigning popes were in control of the proceedings.

One of the effects of the Tridentine reform was a reorganization of the church's central administrative system. The Curia Romana, which had existed, at least functionally, since the first century, was plagued by nepotism, greed, and abuse of authority. Sixtus V (1585–1590), who was committed to a reform of the Curia, established fifteen congregations of cardinals to carry out church administration. The popes endeavored to consider moral character and ability in selecting cardinals, whose number was set at seventy in 1588. Under Gregory XIII (1572–1585), papal nuncios to Catholic countries proved most valuable in implementing the ideals of Trent and in supervising the activities of the local bishops. For forty years after Trent, zealous popes strengthened papal authority and prestige. They increased centralization, mandated uniformity in liturgical ritual, and renewed priestly life and seminary training. The bishops of dioceses, who now had to submit regular reports to Rome and visit it at specified intervals, became much less independent. The success of the Counter-Reformation resulted from sound papal governance and the extraordinary contributions of the Jesuits and other religious orders. Yet union with the Protestants was not accomplished; the Christian church in the West had a divided membership.

Seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The papacy had to face new problems caused by radical shifts in the political and intellectual climate of Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Skepticism, rationalism, and secularism became pervasive during the Enlightenment, and many intellectuals were violently opposed to the Catholic church and the papacy. As a result, the popes were often on the defensive. In actions reminiscent of the medieval papacy, Paul V (1605–1621) in 1605, in the wake of the Gunpowder Plot, forbade Catholics to take a loyalty oath to the king of England, and in 1607 he put Venice under interdict—a penalty largely ignored. The lengthy and often acrimonious debate between Dominicans and Jesuits over grace and free will, a question not settled at Trent, was terminated during Paul's reign. In 1597 Clement VIII (1592–1605) had established a special papal commission (the Congregatio de Auxiliis) to examine the orthodoxy of the two views. Paul received the final report, and in 1607 he declared that both orders could defend their positions, that neither side should censure the opposite opinion, and that all should await the final decision of the Holy See. This decision has not yet been made.

The Thirty Years War (1618–1648), a series of religious and dynastic wars that involved most of Europe, embroiled the papacy in conflict. Paul V and Gregory XV (1621–1623) had little influence on the conduct of Catholic rulers. Innocent X (1644–1655) protested, albeit futilely, against the Peace of Westphalia (1648), because he felt that Catholics were treated unjustly. This war and its aftermath showed how ineffective the papacy had become in European politics. The spirit of patriotism contributed to the problem. Furthermore, conciliarism revived in France in the form of Gallicanism, in Germany in the form of Febronianism, and in Austria in the form of Josephism. Although each of these movements had its own particular characteristics, all had two things in common: a strong nationalistic feeling and an antipapal bias. All reflected resentment of Roman centralism, urged greater autonomy for national churches, and advocated state control of ecclesiastical matters. The Holy See had also to contend with the absolutist ambitions of Louis XIV of France. Innocent XI (1676–1689) engaged in a protracted struggle with Louis over the king's claim to the right of revenues from vacant benefices (the *régale*) and over royal support of Gallicanism. Innocent's major achievement was his diplomatic role in preventing the fall of Vienna to the Turks in 1683, thus halting Muslim expansion into Europe.

During the following decades the popes were active in many areas. Innocent XII (1691–1700) forbade nepotism and Clement XII (1730–1740) condemned Freemasonry. Benedict XIV (1740–1758) finally ended the so-called Chinese and Malabar rites controversy, which had lasted nearly two centuries. Jesuit missionaries in China and South India had adapted certain indigenous customs and rites to Christianity. Benedict XIV condemned this practice and required the missionaries to take an oath rejecting the rites. The oath remained in force until the pontificate of Pius XII (1939–1958).

In the theological area, Innocent X repudiated five propositions on the theology of grace found in the writings of the Flemish bishop Cornelis Jansen; Alexander VII (1655–1667) rejected laxism as a moral system; and Alexander VIII (1689–1691) acted similarly against rigorism. The spiritual teaching of Quietism also received papal disapproval, when Innocent XII proscribed the views of Miguel de Molinos. The most dramatic papal action of the eighteenth century occurred when Clement XIV (1769–1774), bending to pressure from the Bourbon monarchies and fearing possible schism in France and Spain, suppressed the Society of Jesus in 1773.

THE MODERN PERIOD. Dramatic shifts in the prestige and authority of the papacy have occurred between the era of the French Revolution and the twentieth century. The popes of this period, faced with the demanding challenges of a new age, have attempted to restore their spiritual authority.

Revolution and restoration. The French Revolution, which began in 1789, and the subsequent actions of Napoleon created a new political order in Europe that adversely affected the Roman Catholic church. With nationalistic fervor, France's new revolutionary government became an instrument of dechristianization, secularization, and anticlericalism. Pius VI (1775–1799), who had little sympathy with the ideals of the revolution, was unable to deal effectively with such vehement defiance of the Holy See and such massive threats to the very existence of religion. At times it seemed as if the papacy itself would be destroyed. The octogenarian and infirm Pius was taken prisoner by Napoleon and died in exile on his way to Paris. Resistance to Napoleonic aggression continued during the pontificate of Pius VII (1800–1823). The Concordat of 1801 with Napoleon, which for over a century regulated the relationship between France and the church, revealed that Pius was willing to make concessions for the sake of peace. Yet in 1809 Napoleon captured Rome, annexed the Papal States, and arrested the pope and held him prisoner until 1814. The Catholic restoration began after the defeat of Napoleon: the Congress of Vienna (1814–1815) returned most of the papal territory to the church, and in 1814 Pius restored the Society of Jesus.

The fall of the monarchy in France and its impact on the rest of Europe weakened Gallicanism, Febronianism, and Josephism. Ultramontanism—a propapal movement that began early in the nineteenth century—advocated greater centralization of church government and a vigorous exercise of papal primacy. It gained strength under Gregory XVI (1831–1846), who opposed all revolutionary movements and defended papal primacy, infallibility, and the independence of the church from the state. A great missionary pope, Gregory fully controlled Catholic mission work.

The thirty-two-year pontificate of Pius IX (1846–1878), the longest in history, was significant. Initially hailed as a liberal, he soon showed his advocacy of ultramontanism. Pius believed that rationalism and secularism eroded both the faith and human society, and he considered a constitutional government for the Papal States to be a threat to the independence of the Holy See. Although many of his ideas isolated the church from the world, he gave the Roman Catholic faithful, with whom he was immensely popular, a new sense of spiritual identity. He restored the Catholic hierarchies of England (1850) and the Netherlands (1853), began a renewal of Marian devotion by his definition of the Immaculate Conception of Mary (1854), and supported extensive missionary activity. His greatest disappointment was the loss of the Papal States in 1870, which ended a millennium of temporal sovereignty. The popes became voluntary prisoners in the Vatican for the next sixty years. Pius's greatest triumph was the First Vatican Council (1869–1870), which ended abruptly when Italian troops occupied Rome. It produced two constitutions: *Dei filius*, a reaffirmation of the centrality of revelation, and *Pastor aeternus*, a definition of papal primacy and infallibility.

Vatican I and modernity. The most formal and detailed exposition of papal prerogatives is found in *Pastor aeternus*. In regard to primacy it taught that Jesus conferred upon Peter a primacy of both honor and jurisdiction; that by divine right Peter has perpetual successors in primacy over the universal church; that the Roman pontiff is the successor of Peter and has supreme, ordinary (not delegated), and immediate power and jurisdiction over the church and its members; and that the Roman pontiff is the supreme judge who is not subject to review by anyone. In regard to infallibility, Vatican I taught that by divine assistance the pope is immune from error when he speaks *ex cathedra*—that is, when "by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority he defines a doctrine concerning faith or morals to be held by the universal church." Such definitions are "irreformable of themselves and not from the consent of the church." This last phrase is directed against Gallicanism, even though by 1870 it was no longer a major problem. The formidable conception of the papacy at Vatican I was a victory for ultramontanism. Using juridical and monarchical language, it asserted the universal spiritual authority of the pope. The council, however, did not, because of its premature termination, present the papacy within the full context of the theology of the church, and it failed to discuss the relationship between the pope and the bishops.

The popes between Vatican I and Vatican II, individuals of superior quality, had much in common. First, they were all committed to the spiritual restoration of Catholicism, using their magisterial and jurisdictional authority to that end. A profusion of encyclical letters, addresses, and disciplinary decrees helped shape Catholic thought. Second, the popes continued to centralize church administration in Rome by increasing the power of the Roman Curia and the diplomatic corps. The movement toward uniformity in theology, liturgy, and law discouraged particularism. Third, the papal office actively promoted missionary endeavors; newly converted Catholics and immigrants to North America displayed great loyalty to the Holy See. Fourth, the popes, at times reluctantly and unsuccessfully, tried to respond to the demands of a changing world. They sought amicable relations with secular governments, especially through concordats, and worked devotedly for social justice and peace.

The popes of this period continued the ultramontanist policies of the nineteenth century, but with a difference. Leo XIII (1878–1903), for example, was more open to the positive aspects of modernity. Although he denied the validity of Anglican priestly orders in 1896, he was a pioneer in ecumenism. He supported the revival of Thomism (*Aeterni patris*, 1879), encouraged Catholic biblical studies (*Providentissimus Deus*, 1893), and presented the church's position on labor (*Rerum novarum*, 1891). His successor, Pius X (1903–1914), desired to renew the interior life of the church, as is shown by his teachings on the Eucharist, the liturgy, and seminary education. The most serious crisis he faced was modernism—a complex movement supported by Catholic thinkers in France, England, Germany, and Italy who sought to adapt Catholic doctrine to contemporary intellectual trends. Calling modernism "the synthesis of all heresies," Pius condemned it in *Pascendi* (1907). During World War I, the complete impartiality of Benedict XV (1914–1922) brought criticism from all sides. In 1917 he promulgated the first Code of Canon Law. The pope of the interwar years was Pius XI (1922–1939), noted for his encyclicals on marriage (*Casti connubii*, 1930) and social thought (*Quadragesimo anno*, 1931), for his promotion of missionary work, and most importantly, for concluding the Lateran Pacts (1929). Under these pacts Italy recognized the temporal sovereignty of the pope over Vatican City. Finally, Pius XII (1939–1958), a trained diplomat with broad interests, addressed almost every aspect of church life, and in a prodigious number of pronouncements applied Catholic doctrine to contemporary problems. In *Humani generis* (1950), Pius XII gave a wide-ranging critique of the theology that followed World War II. Although he encouraged theological speculation, he reaffirmed, for example, the traditional Catholic interpretation of creation, original sin, and transubstantiation and warned against the relativizing of dogma, the neglect of the teaching authority of the church *(magisterium),* and scriptural exegesis that ignored the tradition of the church. Under Pius, the modern papacy reached an unprecedented level of respect.

Vatican II and postconciliar developments. John XXIII (1958–1963), elected when he was nearly seventy-seven, began a new era for Roman Catholicism. His open style of papal leadership, enhanced by his appealing personality, was warmly welcomed by Catholics and non-Catholics alike. Although he is well known for his efforts in promoting ecumenism and world peace (*Pacem in terris*, 1963), the pope's greatest accomplishment was the unexpected convocation of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965). John designed the council to foster reform and reunion, believing that a contemporary reformulation of the Christian tradition would revitalize the Catholic church and ultimately benefit all humankind. Paul VI (1963–1978) skillfully maintained the council's pastoral orientation. To implement its program, he established the Synod of Bishops, internationalized and increased the number of cardinals, reformed the Curia, and promoted liturgical reform. He made nine trips outside Italy.

Vatican II supplied what was lacking in Vatican I. Its doctrine of collegiality described the relationship between the pope and the bishops. The Constitution on the Church (*Lumen gentium*) stated: "Together with its head, the Roman Pontiff, and never without this head, the episcopal order is the subject of supreme and full power in relation to the universal church. But this power can be exercised only with the consent of the Roman Pontiff" (Article 22). The college of bishops, then, exists only under the leadership of the pope, himself a bishop. The pope is not the executor of the bishops' wishes (Gallicanism), nor are the bishops vicars of the pope (papal absolutism). Both the papacy and the episcopacy have their own legitimate authority, and the purpose of collegiality is to unite the bishops with the pope. Yet there remains the difficult theological problem of reconciling papal primacy with episcopal authority. Many theologians argue that there is only one subject of supreme authority in the church—the college of bishops—and that it can operate in two ways: through a collegial action or through a personal act of the pope as head of the college. Thus every primatial action of the pope is always collegial. The council did not establish any legal norms that would require the pope to consult with the bishops, but nevertheless it posed the moral ideal of cooperation and collaboration that should govern the relationship between the pope and the bishops.

The theory of collegiality has altered the style of papal leadership, making it far less monarchical. The closer relationship between the pope and the bishops is best exemplified by the Synod of Bishops, a consultative body that meets once every three years. Collegiality has made the papacy less objectionable to other Christians since it fosters the idea of authority as service and not domination. This aspect has been noted in the fifth dialogue of the Lutheran-Roman Catholic discussions (1974) and in the Final Report of the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission (1982). Both groups recognized the value of a universal Petrine ministry of unity in the Christian church and foresaw the possibility of the bishop of Rome exercising that function for all Christians in the future.

Vatican II significantly changed the Catholic Church. Along with progressive reforms, however, there were also reactions that resulted in doctrinal and disciplinary confusion. Thousands of priests and nuns left the active ministry, and some misguided experiments occurred. Dissent over Paul VI's prohibition against artificial birth control in *Humanae vitae* (1968) caused acute pastoral problems and raised serious questions about the credibility of the papal office.

In 1978 two popes died and two were elected. The pontificate of John Paul I, the successor of Paul VI, lasted only thirty-three days. Breaking a tradition that had endured for more than nine hundred years, John Paul I was not installed by a rite of coronation or enthronement. He rejected the obvious symbols of temporal and monarchical authority and was inaugurated at a solemn mass. Instead of the tiara, he was given the pallium, a white woolen stole symbolizing his spiritual and pastoral ministry. His successor, John Paul II, became the first non-Italian pope in 456 years, the first Polish pope, and the first pope from a Communist country. The most-traveled pope in history, John Paul II earned huge popular appeal with his international pastoral visits. As of May 2003, he had made ninty-nine trips outside of Italy. He personalized the papal office to an extent never before attempted. He had also written fourteen encyclicals, three of which were devoted to social justice and peace, major themes in his teaching: *Laboren exercens* (1981); *Sollicitudo rei socialis* (1987), and *Centesimus annus* (1991). One of the main goals of his pontificate has been the restoration of traditional Roman Catholicism and the promotion of Christian unity. Uneasy with theological dissent (he has censured some theologians), moral laxity, and arbitraty innovations, John Paul II has taken forceful steps to invigorate the Catholic Church. In 1983 he promulgated the revised Code of Canon Law. In an effort to encourage collegiality, he has presided over twenty-one international Synods of Bishops. In October 2003 at the age of eighty-three he celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of his election to the papacy. He has survived two assasination attempts and has become severly affected by Parkinson's disease. John Paul II will undoubtably be judged as one of the most illustrious holders of the Chair of Peter.

The papacy has had a complex but intriguing history. For nearly two millennia, showing remarkable resiliency, it has continued through times of growth and decline, glory and shame, internal and external conflicts, and radical social upheavals. In an age of widespread unbelief and unsettling technological change, the papacy can work to rekindle the spiritual aspirations of humanity.

SEE ALSO Canon; Church; Councils, article on Christian Councils; Crusades, article on Christian Perspective; Ecumenical Movement; Gallicanism; Inquisition, The; Modernism, article on Christian Modernism; Reformation; Schism, article on Christian Schism; Trent, Council of; Ultramontanism; Vatican Councils.

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PATRICK GRANFIELD (1987 AND 2005)

PARABLES AND PROVERBS.

Proverbs are brief, memorable sayings that offer ethical direction in specific situations from generation to generation. They are a feature of almost all cultures, historically, as well as today. The proverb is tailor-made for primary oral cultures where, with no system of inscription, what cannot be remembered is lost, but even in contemporary literary cultures new sayings continue to be coined. A parable is a more expansive cousin to the proverb. It is a short narrative fiction that expresses a moral or religious lesson. Like the proverb, parables are memorable and inspire listener participation: applying the parable to situations in one's daily life.

KEY FEATURES OF PROVERBS. Proverbs arise out of the experience and observation of repeated patterns in daily life. A famous definition attributed to Miguel de Cervantes holds that "a proverb is a short sentence founded upon long experience." Proverbs are useful in contexts outside of their time and place of origin, most often serving to inculcate traditional values of self-control, hard work, and cautious speech. They are, however, also capable of subverting traditional wisdom. A proverb which, though of rather recent coinage, reflects traditional values, "Life is short, play hard," is subverted by "Life is short, pray hard."

A key quality of a proverb is that it is able to transcend the situation of its origins to illuminate situations in the lives of contemporary hearers. This ability is ascribable to several linguistic features. They include brevity, generalized syntax, and vivid imagery. Many proverbs employ metaphor and imagery: "A city set on a hill cannot be hid." Nonmetaphorical proverbs are often called maxims ("What can't be cured must be endured"), whereas widely known sayings whose author we know are called aphorisms.

Proverbs are context-transcending on account of their inclusion of several memorable features of oral communication. These include repetition ("All's well that ends well"), alliteration and rhyming ("Haste makes waste"), use of opposites, ("What goes up must come down"), and use of the present tense. From this context-transcending quality comes the eloquent anonymous definition of the proverb as "a winged word, outliving the fleeting moment."

Nonetheless, proverbs express only a partial truth appropriate for certain situations and not for others. As proverbs scholar Alan Dundes points out in *Folklore Matters* (1989), proverbs are a genre that expresses the worldviews of the social group from which they come. Paremiologist (collector and analyst of proverbs) Wolfgang Mieder, in his extensive research on American proverbs, has explored the ways in which sayings like "The grass is always greener on the other side," "Money talks," and "There's more where that came from" convey much about, respectively, American discontent, the tendency to reduce everything to its monetary value, and the belief in limitless abundance. In the United States, proverbs often express and inculcate the secular gospel that initiative and self-reliance lead to the good life, defined narrowly as financial prosperity: "Do unto others before they do unto you"; "It's no sin to be rich"; "If you need a helping hand, look on the end of your arm." In any culture, proverbs, though brief, are by no means innocuous. They both reflect and shape how we experience our world.

African Proverbs. More than a thousand languages are spoken in Africa, and proverbs have been found in every African language studied so far. African proverbs often employ animal metaphors and point out the foibles of human conduct: "The higher the ape climbs the more he shows his tail" (Yoruba proverb). Historically, proverbs have been the most important expression of human wisdom and knowledge of nature, psychology, and reality for the traditional cultures of Africa. They cover topics such as family relationships, luck, and survival by one's wits in a harsh environment. They are used for teaching and correcting the young and for consoling the suffering.

Jan Knappert, in *The A–Z of African Proverbs* (1989), points out that, even among the literate peoples of Africa, such as the Zulus, the Yorubas, the Swahili, and the North African Arabs, proverbs are a vital part of conversation in everyday life, conveying the condensed experience of past generations. The function of proverbs in some African societies is so fundamental that no negotiations can take place without them (Knappert, 1989, p. 6).

In his book *Swahili Proverbs* (1997), Knappert points out that religious proverbs are especially prevalent among the Swahili. Many of their proverbs refer to the rituals and philosophy of Islam: "God does not forget the hour" (meaning the hour of death, prayers, or other duties that people tend to forget); "Mortal man cannot erase what has been written," meaning that God has written down our fate and destiny in a secret Book in Heaven. The Swahili view this life as a preparation for the next: "Happiness is obeying God's will, for following His law will open the gates of Paradise." Many Swahili proverbs stress the importance of avoiding dangerous habits and the value of trusting in God (Knappert, 1997, p.21).

Religious proverbs are widely found among other African peoples as well. They emphasize the sovereignty of God: "There is no appeal against an act of God" (Kenya); "Planning is man's, doing is God's" (Yoruba); "God does not sleep" (Congo). Another theme is God's care for the helpless: "God will prevent flies from stinging the tailless cow" (Yoruba); "God does not put a brave man to shame" (Somali). Yet another is the need for human action and our accountability for what we do: "God gave us the seed of every plant, but we must sow it" (Zande); "God will not save the man who breaks the ties of brotherhood and friendship" (Guinea) (Knappert, 1989, pp. 52–53).

Henry H. Mitchell and Nicholas C. Cooper-Lewter, in their book *Soul Theology* (1986), point out that brief sayings and lines from scripture, hymns, and spirituals were used proverbially in the religion of the slave quarters among Africans transported to America during the fifteenth through nineteenth centuries. They expressed trust in God the Creator, who gives the people strength to cope with their suffering. Many of these sayings persist in African American communities today. For example, the goodness of God and creation is expressed in the proverb, "Well, I wouldn't take nothing for my journey now." The omnipotence of God is expressed in the saying, "My God is so high, you can't git over him; He's so low, you can't git under him; He's so wide, you can't git around him" (Mitchell and Cooper-Lewter, 1986, p. 44). Such proverbial wisdom informs the autobiographical reflections of contemporary poet and novelist Maya Angelou.

Native American Proverbs. Native American proverbs reflect reverence for the earth, concern the gifts and expectations of the Great Spirit, and outline the types of conduct that should be avoided or embraced: "It is easy to be brave from a distance" (Omaha); "We will be known forever by the tracks we leave" (Dakota); "Each person is his own judge" (Shawnee); "The Great Spirit is always angry with those who shed innocent blood" (Iowa); "Dreams count, the Spirits have pitied us and guided us" (Cree); "The Rainbow is a sign of Him who is in all things" (Hopi); "God gives us each a song" (Ute). The worldview constructed by Native American proverbs is one in which personal and communal harmony is achieved when individuals live in harmony with the Great Spirit. That plays itself out in words and actions that evince a respect for the sacredness of nature, animals, and other human beings. Such a manner of living is undergirded by the realization that one is responsible for one's actions in the present that form one's legacy for the future.

Proverbs and Parables in World Religions. Proverbial discourse characterizes the sacred writings of a broad spectrum of world religions, including Bahāʾī, Buddhism, Confucianism, Hinduism, Islam, Jainism, Judaism, Christianity, Shintoism, Sikhism, Sufism, and Daoism (see Griffin, 1991, for a broad sampling of religious proverbs). Major religious texts in which proverbs play an essential part include the *Analects* (Confucianism), the *Dhammapada* (Buddhism), the Qurʾān (Islam), the Upaniṣads (Hinduism), Ibn ʿAṭāʿ Allāh's *The Book of Wisdom* (Sufism), the Hebrew Scriptures and Talmud (Judaism), the *Dao de jing* (Daoism), the *Nihongi* (Shintoism), the *Gurū Granth Sāhib* and the songs of Kabīr (Sikhism), and the Old and New Testaments (Christianity).

The proverbs embedded in these sacred writings commend attitudes and actions that align one's life with the presence of the divine and lead to individual and communal harmony. On some topics, their advice sounds remarkably similar. For example, a compilation of proverbs from various world religions lists twenty-four versions of the Golden Rule ("Treat others as you would like to be treated") (Griffin, 1991, pp. 67–69).

Likewise parables are a form found across the board in various religions of the world. They are often reported as having been uttered by the religion's founder. Like proverbs, they express aspects of the worldview of that particular religion and offer guidance to individuals wishing to become disciples.

CONFUCIAN PROVERBS. Buddhism, both in India and Japan, featured proverbs that spark questions rather than provide answers: "When you reach the top, keep climbing"; "When you are ready to learn, a teacher will appear." However, no religion has given a more central role to proverbs than Confucianism. Confucius, born in China in 551 BCE, taught moral ideals through sayings and anecdotes in an attempt to redress the ill effects of the social anarchy that plagued his country: "Human beings are by nature good"; "What you do not wish done to yourself, do not do to others"; "Do not wish for quick results, nor look for small advantages." Confucius's sayings commend a mature respect for others: "Measure the feelings of others by one's own"; "Approach others not asking 'What can I get from you?' But 'How can I accommodate you?'." They also encourage the honorable fulfillment of one's social roles, moderation in personal habits ("nothing to excess"), and respecting others in familial relationships, especially the aged ("The duty of children to their parents is the fountain from which all virtues spring"). Confucius and his followers believed that a society could thrive peaceably if it abided by these guidelines. Their teachings developed an intellectual, philosophical, and spiritual foundation for familial and social dealings. Generations of Chinese school children have memorized his sayings and stories (see Smith, 1994, pp. 102–111). Half a century after Confucius's death, his disciples compiled dialogues between the Master and his disciples in the *Analects (Lunyu).*

PROVERBS AND PARABLES OF THE HEBREW PEOPLE. The Hebrew people were by no means the only Ancient Near Eastern people to cherish proverbs. In fact, scholars have long noted the evident debt *Proverbs* 22:17–24:22 owes to the *Instruction of Amenemope,* an Egyptian wisdom collection (Murphy, 1990, p. 23).

Proverbs occur most frequently in what is known as the wisdom literature of the Hebrew Bible, a genre whose focus is on practical strategies for daily living in the present. In the last quarter of the twentieth century, biblical scholars of both the Old and New Testaments began to pay more attention to wisdom genres.

Hebrew biblical wisdom literature is primarily identified with the books of *Job, Proverbs,* and *Ecclesiastes.* Proverbs and parables in the Hebrew Scriptures are a subset of a wisdom genre that comes under the heading of the Hebrew noun *mashal,* the root of which (*m-sh-l*) means "to be like" (Scott, 1989, p. 9). This term is used in the Hebrew Scriptures to refer to a number of literary forms that arise from the close observation of daily life and are characterized by vivid, evocative language. These forms include similitudes, popular sayings, literary aphorisms, taunt songs, bywords, riddles, allegories, and short narrative fictions or parables. The proverb, a wisdom sentence based on observation of experience, is the most common form of *mashal* in the Hebrew Bible. It is far more common there than the parable.

The *Book of Proverbs,* traditionally ascribed to Solomon, is a collection of wisdom sayings culled from hundreds of years of Jewish experience. Proverbs represents the wisdom passed down by the older and wiser to the young, and emphasize attitudes and behaviors that make for communal harmony and order. Such proverbs are often antithetical in their form—that is, they oppose wise and foolish behavior in the sharpest of terms: "A wise child makes a glad father, but the foolish despise their mothers" (*Prov.* 15:20). They may also express the superiority of wisdom to folly: "Better is a dry morsel with quiet, that a house full of feasting with strife" (*Prov.* 17:1). They may also come in the form of rhetorical questions that beg an obvious answer: "Can fire be carried in the bosom without burning one's clothes?" (*Prov.* 6:27). Yet another form is that of the beatitude, or statement of blessing. It affirms that wise activities bestow on the doer a condition of spiritual blessing: "Happy [or blessed] is the one who is never without fear, but one who is hard-hearted will fall into calamity" (*Prov.* 24:18).

Wise behavior includes measured speech, control of one's temper and appetites for food, drink, and sex, kindness to the poor, and avoidance of foolish companions: "A soft answer turns away wrath, but a harsh word stirs up anger" (*Prov.* 15:1); "Can one walk on hot coals without scorching the feet?" (*Prov.* 6:28); "One who is slow to anger is better than the mighty, and one whose temper is controlled than one who captures a city" (*Prov.* 16:32).

The parable is a narrative variation on the *mashal* theme, sharing the proverb's rootedness in daily life and its evocative language. No *mashal* in the Hebrew Bible, however, not even Ezekiel's tale of the eagle (*Ezek.* 17:3–10) or Nathan's warning to David (*2 Sam.* 12:1–6), offers an exact parallel, in terms of its narrative structure and purpose, to the parables of the New Testament Jesus.

RABBINIC PARABLES. In the literary work of the rabbis (second through fourth centuries CE), parables take center stage. They are narratives, usually told in the first person, that focus on the action of a main character and describe a general situation, not a specific past event. These vivid narratives were usually told to illuminate a particular verse in Scriptures. They do not normally include elements of paradox and hyperbole. The term *midrash* describes the body of exegesis of scriptural texts as well as the activity of interpretation as it was practiced during the third and fourth centuries CE.

Medieval Jewish philosophers employed the parable, most notably Moses Maimonides (1135/8–1204) in his "Parable of the Palace" (Stern, 1991, p. 226).

The literature of Qabbalah, Jewish mysticism as it developed in Spain in the thirteenth century, employed parables that mimicked earlier rabbinic parables in form, but were mystical and esoteric in content.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Eastern European rabbis continued the rabbinic parabolic tradition. Three names associated with this tradition are Eliyyahu ben

Shelomoh Zalman (Vilna Gaon; 1720–1797), Maggid of Dubno (1740/41–1804), and Rabbi Naḥman of Bratslav (1772–1810) (see Naveh, 2000, pp. 107ff).

THE PROVERBS AND PARABLES OF JESUS. Jesus as a teacher of proverbs and parables is particularly emphasized in the *Gospel of Matthew.* Together, the Synoptic Gospels *(Matthew, Mark,* and *Luke)* contain over 102 proverbial sayings and 40 parables (see Carlston, 1980, pp. 87–105).

The proverbs. Jesus' proverbs do not counsel moderation or advocate seeking security. They eschew negative assessments of women as sources of temptation and trouble in life, to be avoided by the wise man. Jesus' most distinctive use of proverbs seems to be the way in which he infuses the traditional proverbial form with paradox and hyperbole. Sometimes he points to a dramatic future reversal of human conditions: "Many are first that will be last, and the last will be first" (*Mark* 10:31; *Matt.* 19:30; 20:16; *Luke* 13:30); "Whoever would be great among you must be your servant, and whoever would be first among you must be slave of all" (*Mark* 19:43–44; *Luke* 22:26; *Matt.* 20:26–27).

Jesus' distinctive wisdom voice seems to come through most clearly when he takes an antithesis or oppositional saying and intensifies it to the point that it equates opposites. The result is a paradox, a form (interestingly, absent from *Proverbs*) that goes to extremes to make a point: "Those who want to save their life will lose, and those who lose their life will save it" (*Luke* 17:33; *Mark* 8:35; *John* 12:25); "To those who have will more be given, but to those who have not, even what they have will be taken away" (*Luke* 8; 18; 12:48b; *Matt.* 13:12; *Mark* 4:25); "What is prized by humans is an abomination in the sight of God" (*Luke* 16:15b).

Jesus' beatitudes (*Matt.* 5:1–11; *Luke* 6:20–26) continue the pattern of pairing what is viewed as negative by conventional wisdom (being poor, mourning, being persecuted, being hungry and thirsty) with a state of blessedness. Jesus' versions of Old Testament admonitions are extreme, vivid, and specific, portraying a specific scene and making a command relative to it. In *Matthew's* sermon on the mount (chapters 5–7) such admonitions concerns judging others (*Matt.* 7:3–5), inward motives and outward behavior (*Matt.* 5:21–26; 5:27–30), retaliation (*Matt.* 5:39–42), and private piety and public opinion (*Matt.* 6:1–7).

Jesus also employs what some scholars have called "impossible questions" as part of his proverbial repertoire: "Which of you by being anxious can add one cubit to his span of life?" (*Matt.* 6:27; *Luke* 12:25); "What does it profit a man to gain the whole world and forfeit his life?" (*Mark* 8:35; *Matt.* 16:26; *Luke* 9:25).

The parables. Jesus' parables, like his aphorisms, subvert traditional wisdom by the use of paradox and hyperbole and make metaphorical connections between everyday life and a new reality, the kingdom of God (Scott, 1989, p. 14).

While parables can be allegories, stories in which everything stands for something else, recent parables scholars agree that parables are better described as narratives with metaphorical qualities. In his *Parables of the Kingdom* (1935), biblical scholar C. H. Dodd defined a parable as " a metaphor or simile drawn from nature or common life, arresting the hearer by its vividness or strangeness, and leaving the mind in sufficient doubt about its precise application to tease it into active thought" ([1935] 1961, p. 5).

Dodd's definition expresses the force of the New Testament parables: they are realistic, yet strange, metaphorical, paradoxical, challenging, and open-ended. The paradox in Jesus' parables lies in their strange twists, often an equation of something we normally think of as odd or negative with something positive—something, in fact, that points to an aspect of God's presence and power in the world: someone looked down on and despised is the one who acts as the neighbor (*Luke* 10:30–35); a wily steward's dubious business practices are commended to those who would enter the kingdom of God (*Luke* 16:18a); workers who work for one hour are paid the same as those who have worked all day (*Matt.* 20:1–15).

PROVERBS AND PARABLES IN THE MODERN ERA. Philosopher and theologian Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855) considered parabolic communication an integral part of his philosophic method, which held that the truth is to be found in the process of reflection and appropriation of insights that arise from experience. His parables are intended to increase the reader's capacity for self-examination, leading in turn to increased moral sensitivity and intensified spirituality (Oden, 1978, p. xv). He ranks among the best of the great parabolists of the Western tradition.

Many poets, philosophers, and religious thinkers in modern Western culture have attached great importance to proverbial thinking. They include Blaise Pascal (1623–1662), Georg Christoph Lichtenberg (1742–1799), Jean Paul (Jean Paul Friedrich Richter; 1763–1825), Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900), Oscar Wilde (1854–1900), Franz Kafka (1883–1924), Karl Kraus (1874–1936), Paul Valéry (1871–1945), and Stanislaw Jerzy Lec (1909–1966). A deliberately proverbial style informs the work of Martin Buber (1878–1965), Abraham Joshua Heschel (1907–1972), and Norman O. Brown (1913–2002) (Williams, 1981, pp. 13–14).

Kahlil Gibran (1883–1931), the Lebanese philosopher, artist, and poet, expressed his insights in parables, most notably in the volume *The Madman: His Parables and Poems* (1918). Other recent parabolists include Argentinean novelist Jorge Luis Borges (1899–1986), Italian novelist and short story writer Italo Calvino (1923–1985), and Israeli novelist S. Y Agnon (1888–1970).

In the twentieth century Franz Kafka, through his parables, expressed the radical estrangement of human kind from the divine. One of his most famous parables is a story entitled "An Imperial Message," in which a message from a dying emperor symbolically represents his own impossible quest for knowledge (Naveh, 2000, p. 150).

Proverbs continue to be important bearers and shapers of meaning in more recent times. New proverbs, sometimes subversive versions of existing proverbs, are continually being coined. "A woman's place is in the home" has recently been subverted by "A woman's place is in the House and in the Senate!" The value of both proverbs and parables for the instruction of children and youth is appreciated across a spectrum of faiths and cultures. The continuing vitality of proverbs and parables in contemporary religions and cultures is a tribute to their pithy, poetic, participatory qualities.

SEE ALSO African Religions; Jesus; Kierkegaard, Søren; Literature, article on Literature and Religion; Rabbinic Judaism in Late Antiquity.

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PARACELSUS (1493?–1541) was a German alchemist, mystic, and physician. Philippus Aureolos Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim was one of the most bizarre characters in the history of science. Commonly known as Paracelsus because in his own estimation he was greater than the great Greek physician Celsus, he was a paranoid, uncouth, abusive, and usually drunken genius, whose reputation varied widely. While his supporters dubbed him the "Luther of science," his detractors denounced him as a heretic and condemned him as the disreputable black magician who provided the model for Faust. His considerable writings offer a strange blend of medicine, religion, philosophy, cosmology, alchemy, magic, and astrology, a synthesis of natural and mystical philosophy typical of other writers before the scientific revolution separated science from religious and philosophical speculation.

Neither modest in presenting his opinions nor restrained in his language, Paracelsus launched an acrimonious attack on the medical and scientific establishment of his day. He rejected the prevailing Galenic theory that attributed disease to an imbalance of the four humors and replaced it with his own dynamic theory of diseases as specific entities attacking specific organs.

Paracelsus was an idealist and a visionary who considered chemistry the key to the universe. In his view, God was the divine alchemist who created the world by calcinating, congealing, distilling, and sublimating the elements of chaos. The alchemist had only to read the reactions in his laboratory on a grand scale to fathom the mysteries of creation. By turning alchemy away from gold-making, Paracelsus and his followers transformed it into a universal science of matter concerned with every aspect of material change.

Paracelsus's thought was shaped by both the Renaissance and the Reformation. Although he rejected the aesthetics and classicism of Renaissance humanists, he shared their anthropocentric and individualistic outlook. As Walter Pagel (1958, p. 36) has pointed out, there was a decentralizing tendency throughout Paracelsus's work. An enormous variety of noncorporeal forces (vital spirits, demons, subhumans, superhumans) work below the surface of the Paracelsian universe. Paracelsus drew his vitalist and pantheist ideas from the occult philosophies and sciences revived by Renaissance scholars—Neoplatonism, Gnosticism, Qabbalah, magic, alchemy, and astrology. The analogy between the macrocosm and the microcosm characteristic of these philosophies shaped Paracelsus's theory of knowledge. He rejected scholastic rationalism in favor of a kind of psychological empiricism. Because humans are the microcosm they contain within themselves all the elements of the greater world, or macrocosm. Knowledge therefore consists in an intuitive act of recognition, in which the knower and the known become one.

Because Paracelsus's theory of knowledge approximates Luther's doctrine of the "inner light," the two men have been compared. Each attacked established ideologies and institutions, wrote in the vernacular, and was a master of scurrilous invective. Both enjoyed theatrics: Luther burned the papal bull excommunicating him; Paracelsus burned the works of Galen and Ibn Sina (Avicenna). The comparison between the two men is, however, superficial. Luther preached the bondage of the human will, while Paracelsus was an ardent advocate of free will; Luther made grace the prerequisite of salvation, while Paracelsus emphasized charitable acts; Luther sided with sovereigns, while Paracelsus's sympathies remained with the people. Although Paracelsus was in contact with many reformers, sharing their criticism of church abuses, he eventually became disillusioned and charged that the reformers were as autocratic as their Catholic counterparts. Paracelsus's religious ideas were more compatible with nondogmatic reformers such as Hans Denck (1495?–1527) and Sebastian Franck (1499?–1542?).

Religion and philosophy provided the sources for both the progressive and the obscurantist aspect of Paracelsus's thought. His repudiation of reason led him to embrace empiricism; it also made much of his writing incomprehensible. On the basis of his vitalist philosophy, he rejected mechanical explanations of biological processes in favor of an organic, holistic approach that allowed for psychological factors. The same vitalism taken to extremes, however, resulted in proliferation of the number of active, independent forces to the point that classification became impossible and causality meaningless.

With his penchant for oracular and aphoristic statements, Paracelsus was more a prophet than a scientist. His most vociferous critic, Thomas Lüber (Thomas Erastus), denounced him as a gnostic heretic. Paracelsus did believe he was divinely inspired. In this sense, he was the "spiritual man" or "knowing one" who had achieved *gnōsis.*

SEE ALSO Occultism; Rosicrucians.

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PARADISE. The word *paradise* originated from Old Persian *pairidaeza,* which meant "walled enclosure, pleasure park, garden." *Pairidaeza* came into Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek retaining its original meanings. It appears three times in the Hebrew scriptures (*Neh.* 2:8, *Eccl.* 2:5, *Sg.* 4:13) and also in later rabbinic literature. In the Septuagint, the Hebrew word for "garden" was usually translated by the Greek *paradeisos.* In *Genesis* 2–3 *paradeisos* refers to the original Garden of Eden (lit., "delight").

The earliest known description of a paradisial garden appears on a cuneiform tablet from protoliterate Sumer. It begins with a eulogy of Dilmun, a place that is pure, clean, and bright, a land of the living who do not know sickness, violence, or aging. It lacks one thing only: fresh water. This, however, is soon supplied by the sun god Utu at the command of the Sumerian water god Enki. Dilmun is thereby transformed into a garden with fruit trees, edible plants, and green meadows. Dilmun is a garden of the gods, not for humans, although one learns that Ziusudra, the Sumerian Noah, was exceptionally admitted to the divine paradise.

THE GARDEN OF EDEN. According to the mythical narrative in *Genesis* 2–3, God planted a garden in Eden and therein placed man to till and keep it. God also caused trees to grow in the garden. The Edenic paradise was mainly arboreal, thereby providing food for man. The original human diet seems to have been vegetarian. According to *Genesis* 9, it was only later—after the Flood—that the descendants of Adam (Noah and his family) were permitted to eat flesh. A dietary restriction remained, however, for flesh containing blood was not to be eaten (*Gn.* 9:4).

The garden was the source of the world's sweet waters. A river not only watered the garden but flowed out of it to become four rivers (Pishon, Gihon, Tigris, and Euphrates), apparently to water the four directions or quarters of the world (*Gn.* 2:10–14).

The myth recognizes a deficiency in man's life in Eden: He is alone. This solitariness is soon relieved, for God forms beasts and birds. These living creatures are brought to man to be named. The naming signifies his mastery of the animals. Still, it is said, man does not have a suitable companion. The account of the creation of woman (Eve) follows. She is said to have been created from the rib (bone) of Adam, perhaps reflecting an archaic religious identification of the essence of life with bone (rather than with blood, as in *Genesis* 9). Adam and Eve become "one flesh."

One of the creatures of God, the serpent, approaches Eve and inquires whether God has placed any limits on the trees from which the couple may eat. Earlier in the narrative (2:9), there is reference to the Tree of Life and the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, and the warning to humans that they will die if he eats of the latter (2:17). When Eve reveals the prohibition, the serpent denies that death will result and insists instead that eating the fruit will result in likeness to God in that humans will then know good and evil. Both Eve and Adam eat the forbidden fruit, popularly thought to have been an apple. The knowledge they obtain is of their own nakedness; in shame they fashion simple garments.

At the sound of God walking in the garden, the couple hide among the trees. When discovered and questioned, they reveal that they have violated the divine prohibition. Sentence is passed on them as well as the serpent. Henceforth, Eve will experience pain in childbirth and subordination to her husband. Adam is condemned to till the soil under difficult conditions and ultimately to return to the soil or dust from which he originally came, that is, to die.

The concluding verses of the narrative refer to the second of the trees—the Tree of Life—which is earlier said to be in the midst (center?) of the garden. The deity appears concerned that humans, if allowed to remain in the garden, will eat also of the Tree of Life and live forever. It may be that the myth intends to say that the Tree of Life was hidden among the many trees of the garden and that humans, having eaten of the Tree of Knowledge, might find it. At any rate, Adam and Eve are driven from the garden, and an angel and a flaming sword are placed at the entrance to guard the way to the Tree of Life.

The first human habitat was, according to the narrative of Eden, a fertile, well-watered garden or orchard that supplied all things required by its inhabitants for nutrition and ease. The garden was a veritable oasis, perhaps to be contrasted with the desert or the wilderness, as it was in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic thought (see, e.g., Williams, 1962). The taking of life was not necessary for human sustenance. The animals and birds of Eden, while under the mastery of humans, seem to have lived in more or less peaceful and harmonious relationship with them and one another. Similarly, the relationship between man and woman seems to have been harmonious. Sexual tension had not yet appeared. The original nudity of the pair and the lack of shame signified paradisial innocence. In general, the conditions of life were ideal.

The significance of the serpent is not clear. It has been suggested that the serpent hoped through Adam and Eve to discover the Tree of Life and thus secure immortality for himself. In many interpretations of the *Genesis* narrative the serpent is given a negative valuation as the tempter and deceiver of women. In some other religious traditions (e.g., Hinduism), the serpent is associated with the very things symbolized by the two special trees of paradise: wisdom and immortality.

The turning point of the narrative is the act of disobedience. It has serious consequences. That Adam and Eve should recognize their nakedness is indicative of their loss of innocence. Also, the divine-human communication possible when God walks in the garden and converses with humans becomes problematic. The consequences of disobedience are profound changes in the conditions of human life: Pain, toil, and mortality are specifically mentioned (*Gn.* 3:16–19). It is the loss of paradise that gives the narrative its poignancy. However one may interpret the details, the essential meaning of the myth of the Garden of Eden is that, in the beginning, life was paradisial but something happened that changed it into what it has been since that time.

The lost paradise of Eden has sometimes been thought actually to have existed somewhere on earth. Because the Bible nowhere indicates its destruction, some people have assumed that the garden, or traces of it, could be discovered. Thus it has been imagined to exist at the headwaters of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. It has also been "discovered" far from the Middle East. Christopher Columbus, for example, believed that the freshwater currents he detected in the Gulf of Paria between Trinidad and the South American coast had their source in the four rivers flowing out of the biblical Eden. The luxuriant vegetation and the mild climate as well as the scents of tropical flowers seemed proof enough to confirm his speculations. Paradise has also been "found" in the most improbable places, as, for example, the Arctic Pole (see William F. Warren, *Paradise Found: The Cradle of the Human Race at the North Pole,* 1885).

THE PRIMORDIALITY OF PARADISE. The Edenic paradise was primordial. Paradise is frequently thought to have been primordial, that is, to have existed in the fabulous time of beginnings.

Hermann Baumann (1936) has called attention to African myths concerning a primordial paradise. In these myths, human beings understand the language of animals and are at peace with them. They have no need to work, and food is plentiful at hand. Disease and death are unknown. However, an event occurs that terminates these paradisial conditions and makes human life what it is today.

Myths of primordial paradise, broadly conceived, include the large number of myths in which, in the beginning, Heaven and Earth are in close proximity and, also, myths according to which Heaven is easily accessible by a concrete means such as a tree, ladder, vine, or mountain that can be climbed. As the result of the separation of Heaven and Earth or the removal of the link between them, easy communication is lost. A rupture occurs. It signifies the end of paradise and entry into the ordinary human condition.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PRIMORDIAL PARADISE. Among the marks or characteristics of the primordial paradise are perfection, purity, plenitude, freedom, spontaneity, peace, pleasure, beatitude, and immortality. Each contrasts with the characteristics of ordinary, postparadisial human life. To this list could appropriately be added harmony and friendship with the animals, including knowledge of their language, and, as well, ease of communication with the gods and the world above.

Unlike a Darwinian view with its stress on rudimentary, imperfect beginnings, the myths of primordial paradise envision the perfection of beginnings. Moreover, the original purity of all things is preserved. Myths of primordial paradise affirm plenitude, often in terms of extraordinary abundance. Freedom and spontaneity are expressed by the absence or minimalization of constraints; there are few if any laws in paradise. As for peace, the typical scenario creates an atmosphere of ease, rest, tranquillity, the absence of tension and conflict. As noted above, human beings and animals live peaceably, sexual tension has not yet appeared, and labor is unnecessary. Indeed, things seem to be in easy equilibrium, perhaps even static. Pleasure abounds, whether described in sensual terms or as spiritual satisfactions. Beatitude, consummate bliss, is the happy lot of all the inhabitants of paradise. Paradise is outside ordinary, historical time. Hence there can be no aging or death. Humans are immortal, for death has not yet appeared. Nor has sickness or disease or sin or injustice or any of the ills that postparadisial man is heir to.

NOSTALGIA FOR PARADISE. Although the primordial paradise has been lost, it has not been forgotten. One finds expressions of the desire to recover the essential condition, the condition that would still obtain if all had gone as it should. The image of a place and time of perfect and endless peace and plenty has the power to make historical existence significant and bearable and its transitoriness acceptable. A Freudian interpretation would speak of wish fulfillment and the desire to return to the womb, but such an interpretation would be both limited and reductive. More significant than wishes, although they may be present, is the nostalgia, the haunting sense of loss and the powerful desire for recovery. The nostalgia for paradise is among the powerful nostalgias that seem to haunt human beings. It may be the most powerful and persistent of all. A certain longing for paradise is evidenced at every level of religious life.

An unusually well documented example of an actual quest for paradise is provided by the Guaraní Indians of Brazil. For more than four centuries, the Guaraní have engaged in a series of migrations in search of the "land without evil." It is thought actually to exist in this world but to be well hidden. Mircea Eliade has suggested that the paradisial images used by shamans in recounting their dreams and ecstasies have helped to keep alive the centuries-old quest (*The Quest,* 1969).

RECURRING PARADISES. Paradises are found in cosmically oriented as well as historically oriented religions, that is, in religions in which time is cyclical as well as in those in which it is linear and historical. In the former, paradise is not only lost but recurs, from time to time, in step with the ever-turning wheel of time.

The most impressive example in the history of religion is the Hindu doctrine of the world ages (*yuga*s). It is cast in mythical terms by relating the ages of the life of the god Brahmā. Briefly, each world cycle is subdivided into four world ages. They are comparable to the four ages of Greco-Roman tradition. That tradition used the names of metals—gold, silver, bronze, and iron—to designate the successive ages. Hinduism uses the four throws of the Indian game of dice: *kṛta* (4), *tretā* (3), *dvāpara* (2), and *kali* (1). Decline and deterioration proceed as age follows age.

Kṛtayuga is the perfect age, the age of four (the winning throw in the dice game). The number four is a frequent symbol of totality, plenitude, and perfection in Hinduism. The age is known also as the *satya* ("real, true, authentic") *yuga.* During the *kṛta* age *dharma* (the fundamental universal moral order) is observed totally and spontaneously. It is the golden age, the age of truth, justice, prosperity, and human fulfillment. In other words, it is equivalent to the primordial, paradisial age of other religious traditions.

Unfortunately, the *kṛtayuga* inevitably ends and is followed by the three ages of increasing decline, culminating in the *kaliyuga,* the dark age, in which only one-quarter of *dharma* remains. In the dice game *kali* is the losing throw. In the *kali* age the nadir is reached. The world and humans are at their worst. Also unfortunately, today's world is now in the *kaliyuga,* which, according to one reckoning, will last 432,000 human years. Even so, it will eventually come to an end and will be followed by the return of the *kṛtayuga,* the perfect, golden age. In other words, paradise will reappear. In the meanwhile, it exists as an image, a powerful image of perfection, plenitude, and prosperity.

Buddhism adopted essentially the Hindu cyclical view of ages, relating it to the Buddhas and *bodhisattvas.* Here, too, paradisial motifs appear, as in Mahāyāna texts describing the world at the time of the birth of the expected next Buddha, Maitreya, in this world system. In the *Maitreyavyākaraṇa* the world—more specifically, India—is described as remarkably different at the time of Maitreya's appearing. Its innumerable inhabitants will commit no crimes or evil deeds and will delight in doing good. People will be without blemishes. They will be strong, large, and joyful, and few will be the illnesses among them. The soil will be free of thorns, covered with green grass, and will produce rice without any work. Into this paradisial, or near-paradisial, world, Maitreya will come to proclaim the true Dharma.

Hesiod in the *Theogony* writes of five ages, inserting an age of heroes after the bronze age in the usual Greco-Roman sequence of gold, silver, bronze, and iron ages. He describes the golden age in paradisial terms. Men live like gods. They do not work or experience sorrow. Neither do they grow old. Though they are mortal, death comes as sleep. The fertile land is fruitful. Men are at peace and have every want supplied. They are succeeded, however, by a lesser, silver race of men.

Plato in the *Politicus* (269c ff.) speaks of cyclical return that includes times of regeneration. The time comes when ordinary processes are reversed. Thus human beings begin to grow younger rather than older, returning to infancy and finally ceasing to be. There appears then the age of Kronos in which a new race ("Sons of Earth") is born. Human beings rise out of the earth. Trees provide them with fruits in abundance. They sleep naked (in paradisial nudity) on the soil. The seasons are mild, and all animals are tame and peaceable.

PARADISE AS THE ABODE OF THE RIGHTEOUS.

The biblical conception of paradise is not limited to the primordial Garden of Eden. With the emergence of Jewish belief in the resurrection of the dead, perhaps around 200 BCE, paradise could be taken to refer not only to the original Garden of Eden but also to the eternal abode of the righteous. That is, the righteous dead could expect to have the Garden of Eden, or paradise, as their postresurrection abode (rather than Gehenna, the fiery place of punishment of the wicked). Thus Garden and Gehenna constituted a contrasting pair. Moreover, the garden of paradise could refer as well to the intermediate abode of the righteous until their resurrection.

The location of the paradisial abode of the righteous, whether before or after the resurrection, could still be taken as earthly, as it was by some, but the tendency was to locate it above, either in heaven or in one of the multiple heavens (e.g., the third heaven).

In the New Testament, the myth of the Garden of Eden is interpreted as the account of the "fall" of humans through willful disobedience, thus emphasizing the need for and appropriateness of a savior who effects the restoration of fallen humans. In this regard, characteristically Christian interpretations of the myth of Eden have differed from Jewish interpretations. The former have emphasized estrangement from the divine and "original sin." The latter have not.

The New Testament contains three specific references to paradise (*2 Cor.* 12:3, *Lk.* 23:43, *Rv.* 2:7). These indicate experiential and eschatological conceptions of paradise. In *2 Corinthians* 12:3 a man is said to have been caught up into paradise, which in the preceding verse is identified with the third heaven. Paradise appears to be thought of as a celestial or heavenly level entered through ecstasy. Paradise may also be entered by privileged persons (for example, martyrs and the "good thief" of *Luke* 23:43). The third reference to paradise is *Revelation* 2:7, addressed to the church in Ephesus. The promise is given that one who conquers will be granted to eat of the tree of life in God's paradise. It is said in the context of a call for patient endurance and appears to link an eschatological paradise with the primordial, earthly Eden.

In the Islamic religion the Arabic word for "garden"—*janna*—is used to refer to the Garden of Eden and, as well, to the heavenly Paradise in which the God-fearing will dwell. In the Qurʾān it more commonly refers to the latter. As in the Jewish religion, there is a contrasting pair of terms: garden (*janna*) and Gehenna (Jahannam). In *sūrah* 2:25 those who believe and do works of righteousness are promised gardens with flowing rivers and abundant fruit, therein to dwell forever. *Sūrah* 47:15 promises the God-fearing a garden not only with rivers of water but rivers of milk, wine, and honey as well as every kind of fruit. The garden is a luxuriant oasis, an appealing image to any desert-dwelling people such as the first hearers of the Qurʾān. "Gardens of delight" are promised in *sūrah* 56. The inhabitants will recline on couches where they will be served from a pure spring by immortal youths. They will eat as they desire of fruit and the flesh of fowl. With them will be the *ḥūrī*s, described (56:36f.) as chastely amorous virgins.

REPRESENTATIONS OF PARADISE.

Paradise is susceptible to a variety of specific representations. Something that belongs to the actual world is used to refer to an ideal world.

Garden.

The garden is the most common representation of paradise. This representation is not limited to religions originating in the Middle East. There is, for example, a Mahāyāna Buddhist paradise, Sukhāvatī, the "pure land" of the Buddha Amitābha. In the *Sukhāvativyūha,* the paradise of Amitābha is described as fertile, rich, comfortable, and delightful. It is filled with a great variety of flowers and fruits. Many deep, broad rivers flow through it. Birds sing pleasantly. Calm and peace pervade this garden paradise.

In Greek mythology one finds the garden, or orchard, of Hesperides, located in the far west, not far from the Isles of the Blessed. It is renowned for its golden apples. A guard stands at the entrance. There are, as well, the Elysian Fields, where, according to Homer's *Odyssey* (4.564ff.), the climate is wonderfully mild, as there is no winter. The ocean provides refreshing breezes for mortals. Their lives are said to be the easiest.

The association of garden with paradise has been persistent, as shown by Elizabeth Moynihan in *Paradise as a Gar-*

den: In Persia and Mughal India (1979). She demonstrates the continuity of the tradition and symbolic topography of the paradise garden. She points especially to the relationship between water, the central and most essential element in the Persian garden, and trees, symbolizing regeneration or immortality and the possibility of ascension. The blissful Paradise—the reward in the afterlife—was the model for the Persian garden. The latter, with its trees reaching symbolically upward and its rippling water and fragrant flowers, never became entirely secular.

A rather different kind of example is found in the symbolization of America as a garden paradise. Charles L. Sanford has studied the depth of the search for paradise in American civilization in *The Quest for Paradise* (1961). It is well known that the early explorers and settlers of the New World spoke of it in terms of Eden. Its virgin forests, fertile soil, abundant game, aboriginal inhabitants, and freedom from the restraints of the Old World encouraged this identification. Here humankind, having left behind the Old World of Europe, could make a new beginning, as R. W. B. Lewis makes clear in *The American Adam* (1955). Moreover, particular parts of America were identified with Eden, illustrating the possibility of a multiplicity of paradises. Thus George Alsop identified Maryland as the terrestrial paradise, saying that its trees, plants, flowers, fruits, and even its roots were signs of Adam's realm, special evidence of its innocence. John Smith believed he had discovered Eve in the Powhatan tribe and that he had chanced on a land that was as God made it, a place where heaven and earth best agreed as a land for human habitation. In a 1609 farewell sermon given for Virginia adventurers by Daniel Price, Virginia was described as the garden of the world, a land flowing with milk and honey. When the frontierspeople crossed the mountains through the Cumberland Gap into Kentucky, they saw it not only as "the dark and bloody ground" but, paradoxically, as a veritable Eden, rich in forests and game and fertile in soil. The same sort of thing was happening in Puritan New England, though often in terms of future expectations. Thus Edward Johnson considered Massachusetts a place where a new heaven and a new earth will be created by the Lord. Later, Jonathan Edwards could speak of the Great Awakening as a glorious work that would make New England a heaven on earth.

It is not difficult to understand why the garden has often provided the setting for the primordial paradise and, as well, the paradise of the dead. Whether cultivated (as it was after the discovery of agriculture) or provided by nature, a garden is a striking phenomenon. Typically, it is in evident contrast with the surrounding territory, sometimes dramatically. It seems to constitute another world, different from the ordinary one, a world in which seed, soil, and water combine in evident manifestation of fertility, vitality, and abundance. For humans it provides refreshment as well as nourishment, and signalizes an alluring mode of human existence.

Island. Gardens are not the sole representations of paradise. It is also represented in other ways, frequently as an island or a mountain. These several representations are sometimes combined, as in a gardenlike island paradise. Such is the case with the Pacific Ocean island paradises of novels and the lush, vividly colored island paradises of Gauguin's paintings.

The Isles of the Blessed in Greek mythology are well known. They are an insular counterpart to Olympus, the mountain of the gods. One finds parallels in Celtic mythology, where isle as well as garden is used as an image of paradise. Moreover, the myth of the submerged world, comparable to Plato's Atlantis, is also found. Here one has the motif of a more or less paradisial world in which something went wrong, resulting in its disappearance beneath the waves.

Perhaps even more effectively than the garden, the island symbolizes a world. Its limits and contours are in sharp relief in the midst of the sea, and its microcosmic nature is evident.

An island suggests isolation. It can readily symbolize the remoteness and difficulty of access of paradise. Often a river or an ocean has to be traversed. Paradise cannot easily be found, entered, recovered. In this context the motif of journey, especially of difficult or perilous journey, appears.

Mountain. The mountain is also sometimes associated with paradise, as, for example, in connection with Jerusalem (Mount Zion) in its paradisial dimensions, or with Mount Meru of Hindu mythology. John Milton in book 4 of *Paradise Lost* describes paradise as a mountain. In fact, Milton brings together several images, for in his description the paradisial mountain is also a garden and the origin of the four rivers that course down its sides.

The distinctive characteristic of the mountain is its height. It towers above the earth and therefore can readily symbolize transcendence. Thus when paradise is thought of as a transcendental realm, the mountain is an appropriate image.

ESCHATOLOGICAL PARADISES.

While paradise is usually thought of as in the past, it also figures in some eschatologies. In the *Book of Revelation* there is envisioned a new heaven and a new earth and, as well, a new Jerusalem, which will come down from God (*Rv.* 21:1ff.). God will then dwell among humans, and henceforth mourning, crying, pain, and death will be no more. In Jewish messianism the coming age is frequently described in terms strongly reminiscent of paradisial existence (e.g., *Is.* 11:6–8, *Ez.* 47:1–12). Norman Cohn in *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (1957) found paradisial elements in his study of revolutionary messianism in medieval and Reformation Europe.

In modern times "cargo cults" of Melanesia and Micronesia have been especially generative of paradisial motifs. Briefly, these cults are typically based on myths that prophesy that soon an ancestor-bearing ship will arrive with a wonderful cargo to be received by those who have expected and prepared for its arrival. The return of the ancestors and the arrival of cargo signal profound changes. Not only will poverty be abolished but all that belongs to the old world will be destroyed. A series of reversals will take place: Servants will become masters, the old will become young, yams will grow on trees, and coconuts will grow in the ground. After all that belongs to the old world has been changed or destroyed, a new world will appear. In this world there will be freedom from laws, traditions, work, poverty, disease, ageing, and death. In other words, this radical transformation or renewal of the world signifies paradise.

SECULAR PARADISES. Most of the paradises referred to have been explicitly religious. However, paradisial motifs and nostalgias for paradise have appeared, especially in the modern world, in other guises. Utopias, some of which, but not all, are explicitly religious, typically have some of the characteristics of paradise, often to a lesser degree and with some concessions to actuality. It could be said that utopias are efforts to actualize the image of paradise, under the conditions of this world.

The strong interest in communes in recent decades, especially among the young, may be understood as a quest for a secular paradise, as may the more pervasive and continuing interest in returning to the land, evidenced first by the creation of suburbia but extending subsequently to the truly rural countryside.

SEE ALSO Bones; Cargo Cults; Fall, The; Gardens, overview article; Heaven and Hell; Mountains; Utopia.

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PARADOX AND RIDDLES.

Although paradoxes can seem enigmatic and riddles paradoxical, they are fundamentally different realities. Riddles are mainly instrumental and performance-oriented, whether used in sacred or secular contexts, whereas paradoxes are rooted in the heart of being and language, touching on the crux of experience and expression. Riddles are to be solved; a paradox is to be transcended, or, rather, lived.

RIDDLES. A riddle was called *griphos* (lit., "fishing creel," or something intricate) or *ainigma* ("dark saying") in Greek and *aenigma* ("problem") in Latin. The modern meaning of enigma, "that which is unknown and remains obscure," reflects this ancestry. Riddles may or may not have solutions. As the English saying "It remains a riddle" indicates, what cannot be known remains a mystery. In Greek, *mustērion* meant something beyond the comprehension of human intelligence.

Riddles have been known since antiquity and throughout the world. The oldest recorded riddles are found in Babylonian school textbooks, in which one finds such riddles as: "Who becomes pregnant without conceiving, who gets fat without eating?" The answer, not given in the textbook, is probably a "rain cloud." (Taylor, 1948, pp. 12–13) The Greek poet Pindar called the Sphinx's question a riddle (*ainigma*); Plato alludes to the punning riddles common in his time (*Republic* 5.479). Riddles may be both playful and serious—playful as a humorous diversion or pastime, or serious as in the riddle of the Sphinx, failure to solve which would cost a person's life. German philologists referred to such a riddle as a *Halsrätsel* (capital riddle). By the same token, Yudhiṣṭhira in the Indian epic of *Mahābhārata* restored his brothers to life by successfully solving the riddles posed by a *yakṣa*, a demi-god (chapter 41, "The Enchanted Pool"). Although of modern creation, Bilbo Baggins's interaction with Gollum in *The Hobbit* by J. R. R. Tolkien preserves the life-staking seriousness of the riddles as a performing act (see ch. 5, "Riddles in the Dark").

In Vedic India, riddles were posed as part of such rituals as the *rājasūya* (coronation of a king) and the *aśvamedha* (horse sacrifice). The exchange of questions and answers between the sacrificial priests was highly formalized, as in this pair: "What is it that walketh singly?" "It is yonder sun, doubtless, that walks singly, and he is spiritual luster" (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 8.2.6.9ff.). Brahmans competed in *jātavidyā* (knowledge of the origins) and *brahmodya* (theological or philosophical discussion about brahman). Cosmological questions were often the topics of riddles, as in the *Ṛgveda*: "I ask you about the furthest limit of earth. Where, I ask, is the center of the world? I ask you about the Stallion's prolific seed; I ask you about high heaven where abides the Word" (1.164.34). This suggests that philosophical inquiry developed in the form of posing riddles (see *Ṛgveda* 1.164.46; 10.129; *Atharvaveda* 9.9–10; 10.7). A verse in the *Atharvaveda* asks: "How does the wind not cease to blow? How does the mind take no repose? Why do the waters, seeking to reach truth, never at any time cease to flow?" (10.7.37; cited in Bloomfield, 1969, pp. 210–218; Huizinga, 1949, pp. 105–107).

Dealing with the mystery of existence and the universe, riddles were often considered to have a special power. The possession of esoteric knowledge meant the possession of power (Huizinga, 1949, p. 108). Moreover, a magical power was associated with riddles: the idea that a spoken word has a direct influence on the world order is at the heart of the ritualistic use of riddles, such as those used at the time of rice planting and growing (but that were strictly forbidden between harvest and the laying out of new fields), and those used on certain occasions such as funerals.

To the authors of the Hebrew scriptures, riddles were closely connected with wisdom, which the Lord conferred as a blessing (see Samson's riddle in *Judges* 14:13–18; on the Lord's blessing, see *Judges* 13:24). Solomon's wisdom, which "God had put in his heart" (1 *Kgs.* 10:24), was challenged by the queen of Sheba with "hard questions" (1 *Kgs.* 10:1–13; 2 *Chr.* 9:1–12). The authors of medieval *midrashim* elaborated on such questions in detail, as for instance: "Who were the three that ate and drank on the earth, yet were not born of male and female?" "The three angels who revealed themselves to our father Abraham, peace be unto him," and so on (Schechter, 1891, pp. 354–356). Riddles were "most characteristic of Jewish table-amusements in the middle ages" that "great Hebrew poets of the middle ages composed acrostics and enigmas of considerable merit" (Abrahams, 1896, pp. 384–387, 133).

Riddles were actively employed in Christian missionary activities during the middle ages. It was in this context that the bishop Boniface (ca. 675–754) chose ten virtues and ten vices as a theme for riddles (Taylor, 1948, pp. 63–64). Biblical passages often provided allegorical riddles (*ibid.*, pp. 61–65).

KŌAN. *K'an* (Chin., *gong'an*, "public document, authoritative statute") are a series of questions that Zen masters give to their students as an aid to their meditation practice. *Kōan* are still actively utilized to train students in the Japanese Rinzai lineage of Zen tradition, which belongs to Mahāyāna Buddhism. The popularized version of *kōan*, such as "What is the sound of one hand clapping?" or "What was your original face before your parents were born?", may initially appear to be riddle-like, but they are actually not riddles and have a distinct function to free the mind from its conventional habits beset by the subject-object dichotomy.

The practice of *kōan* became widespread among the disciples of the Chinese Chan (Jpn., Zen) master Dahui Zonggao (Jpn., Daie Sōkō; 1089–1163). The *kōans* often consist of questions and answers (known as *mondō* in Japanese) exchanged between masters and students during the Tang and early Song periods in China, as well as questions put forward by teachers and anecdotes of famous masters.

The *kōan* traditionally given to the beginners is known as "Zhaozhu and the dog," which is a dialogue between a monk and the master Zhaozhu (Jpn., Jōshū). A monk asked Master Zhaozhu: "Does the dog have a Buddha nature?" The Master replied: "No." A variation of this *kōan* continues: on another occasion, another monk asked Master Zhaozhu: "Does the dog have a Buddha nature?" The Master replied: "Yes." Baffling it may be, this particular *kōan* is not about the concept of emptiness or nothingness, nor does it deal with the opposition of existence and non-existence (Izutsu, p. 176). *Kōan*s point beyond the discursive level of yes and no to the very reality of the world in which all beings are vitally interrelated.

D. T. Suzuki notes that *kōan*s are intended as themes for meditation, as "the means for opening one's mind to the truth of Zen"; and further: "*kōan* and *zazen* [seated meditation] are the two handmaids of Zen; the first is the eye and the second is the foot." Thus without thorough training in seated meditation, Zen students will not attain spiritual awakening (Suzuki, 1964, pp. 101–102).

Zen teaching may appear to deny discursive thinking, but it actually brings the practitioners face to face with the primordial reality that is prior to conceptualization. The following statement by a Chinese master Qingyuan (Jpn., Seigen) illustrates the inner dynamics of Zen/Chan training:

> Thirty years ago, before this aged monk got into Chan training, I used to see a mountain as a mountain and a river as a river. Thereafter I had the chance to meet enlightened masters and, under their guidance, I could attain enlightenment to some extent. At this stage, when I saw a mountain: lo! it was not a mountain. When I saw a river: lo! it was not a river. But in these days I have settled down to a position of final tranquility. As I used to do in my first years, now I see a mountain just as a mountain and a river just as a river. (Izutsu, p. 208)

The first stage is characteristic of the ordinary way of looking at the world: the knower (subject) and the known (object) are separated, and the mountain is perceived as a thing standing out there. The second stage is the experience of the oneness of the knower and the known. The third stage is the recognition of the world as is, based on the experience of the oneness (second stage) and overcoming the subject-object dichotomy (first stage) of the knower and the known (Izutsu, pp. 208–209). Riddle-like statements often found in Zen/Chan literature thus have an epistemological foundation.

PARADOX. The original Greek meaning of *para doxa*, "contrary to received opinion or expectation," cuts through various meanings of paradox. In classical Greek, *paradoxia* meant "marvelousness" and *paradoxologeō*, "to tell marvels." Thus, paradox was more than just a contradiction; *paradoxos* meant "incredible"—contrary to one's expectation or a generally held notion (*doxa*). This was the sense of the word retained in the New Testament passage about Jesus healing a palsied man: people were "all amazed, and they glorified God, and were filled with fear, saying, we have seen strange things [*paradoxa*] today" (*Lk.* 5:26). In this particular passage, *paradoxos* thus means "miraculous."

Definitions of paradox. The word *paradox* has been understood variously as a logical contradiction, absurdity, enigma, or seeming contradiction. Hamlet said, "This was sometime a paradox, but now the time gives it proof" (*Hamlet* 3.1.114–115). Some define paradox as a unique form of thinking, "a dynamic, bi-polar thought which bespeaks a vital tension involving both the opposition and reciprocation of ideas" (Slaatte, p. 132). Others see paradox, "playing with human understanding," as "primarily a figure of thought, in which the various suitable figures of speech are inextricably impacted" (Colie, pp. 7, 22). Kierkegaard, on the other hand, asserted that the paradox, arising from the "relation between an existing cognitive spirit and eternal truth . . . is not a concession but a category, an ontological definition" (ed. Bretall, p. 153).

Kinds of paradox. There are logical, visual, psychological, rhetorical, and other types of paradoxes, such as epistemological and existential. Logical paradox has preoccupied logicians and mathematicians since olden times. The paradoxes associated with Zeno of Elea go back to the fifth century BCE. Many logical paradoxes are considered solvable by applying different conceptual frameworks as for instance Russell's "barber paradox," which runs: in a certain town the barber shaves everyone who does not shave himself; does the barber shave himself? If the barber does not shave himself, he must shave himself, and if he does shave himself, he cannot shave himself. Some other logical paradoxes are considered antinomies, and still others are mind-twisters. Evaluations as to the kinds of paradoxes are by no means uniform. For instance, Quine considers the paradox by Eubulides of Epimenides the Cretan, who said "All Cretans are liars," untidy and therefore solvable, while Poundstone considers it to be a genuine paradox (Quine, p. 86; Poundstone, p. 18).

Visual paradoxes, such as the picture that presents a duck from one view and a rabbit from another, have come to be regarded more in relation to the psychology of representation (Gombrich, 1960). The rhetorical paradox as a literary genre was extremely popular during the Renaissance. *The Praise of Folly* (1509) by Erasmus set the tone; the genre was also practiced by the poet John Donne, the satirist Joseph Hall, among others.

Functions of paradox. Fundamentally connected with the problem of language and being, paradoxes function variously. Paradoxes in mathematics or physical science are puzzles to be solved by "putting the conceptual framework in a new perspective," so that "the limitations of the old concept are revealed" (Rapoport, p. 56). Challenging the limits of reason, paradoxes may function as gateways to a new and more comprehensive paradigm of reality. Indeed, "paradoxes have played a dramatic part in intellectual history, often foreshadowing revolutionary developments in science, mathematics and logic" (Rapoport, p. 50). In the field of logic and mathematics the confrontation with paradoxes—such as Russell's paradoxes—greatly stimulated studies of the foundations of mathematics (Quine, p. 84). Contradictions are regarded as a fertile soil for the development of theories in physical science. A. N. Whitehead holds that "in the formal logic, a contradiction is the signal of a defeat: but in the evolution of real knowledge it marks the first step in progress towards a victory" (p. 260).

Some consider paradox as a higher form of expression of truth that defies a logical or linear mode of description as it involves a contradictory juxtaposition of images rather than of logical ideas (Slater, p. 115). Just as metaphor and images point beyond words, so do paradoxes point beyond a logical linguistic construct, and open up the domain of experience itself. They make accessible religious experiences, poetic intuitions, artistic creativities, and much of everyday experience.

Paradox and religious discourse. Heraclitus described God as "day night, winter summer, war peace, satiety hunger" (frag. 67). And the Japanese Zen master Daitō described religious truth as "Separated by an eternity, yet not separated even an instant; face to face the whole day, yet not face to face even an instant." Paradoxical statements are often oxymoronic in style, combining contradictions. Descriptions of the religious reality and religious experience are frequently dressed in contradictory language such as *plenum*/*nihilum*, *personal/impersonal*, *immanent/transcendent*, *affirmation/negation*, *sin/redemption*. Out of the tension between these terms emerges a meaning that is characteristic of religious experiences. Rudolf Otto described the dimension of numinous as "*mysterium tremendum et fascinosum*," and considered that "these two qualities, the daunting and the fascinating, now combine in a strange harmony of contrasts, and the resultant dual character of the numinous consciousness, to which the entire religious development bears witness, at any rate from the level of the 'daemonic dread' onwards, is at once the strangest and most noteworthy phenomenon in the whole history of religion" (Otto, p. 31).

There is a correlation between types of experience and types of expression. "Between logical contradiction (or seeming contradiction) and certain forms of religious feeling there is a close relation," observes Arthur Lovejoy (p. 279). Some consider paradox to be a more suitable, if not essential, form of expression of religious experience (see Calhoun; Stace). To say God is immanent/transcendent is more than just a simple placing of these two qualities side by side; rather it describes the character of religious experience itself.

In the Christian mystical tradition or in the Zen tradition, linguistic expressions are regarded with suspicion, because of the basic assumption of the limitation of language—or at least of certain forms of statement—and the hierarchy of intelligibility, which is not confined to logical thinking. But all the same the need for affirming the reality beyond human thoughts and language remains strong.

Chinese Chan master Wumen (Jpn., Mumon), whose collection of *gong'an* (*kōan*) is known as *The Gateless Barrier* (Chin., *Wumenguan*, Jpn., *Mumonkan*, 1228), made full use of paradoxical language, as the title of his collection indicates. He wrote in his preface: "The Buddha Mind is the basis, and gateless is the Dharma Gate. If it is gateless, how can you pass through it?" And again: "to cling to words and phrases and thus try to achieve understanding is like trying to strike the moon with a stick, or scratching a shoe because there is an itchy spot on the foot" (Shibayama, p. 9).

Ninian Smart considers "paradoxical pronouncements" to "fulfill such a number of functions that by understanding the gist of them one can penetrate to the heart of the philosophy of religion" (Smart, 1958, p. 20). Citing a passage "It is far, and It is near. It is within all this, And It is outside of all this" (*Īśā Upaniṣad* 5) as a case in point, Smart notes that the objective, transcendent, numinous, far, brahman, and "wholly other" belong to the strand of worship, whereas the subjective, immanent, mystical, near, *ātman*, and "within" belong to the strand of mystical experience. Moreover, these two are woven together in a way characteristic of religious experience, as shown by the exhilarating yet self-effacing experience of the mystic (Smart, 1958; see also Austin). Paradoxical expressions may also be considered as rhetorical devices or "therapeutic paradoxes" (Ramsey and Smart, 1959, p. 220).

***Coincidentia oppositorum*, a paradoxical logic.** The expression *coincidentia oppositorum* or "coincidence of opposites" explains why paradoxical descriptions of themselves belong to the nature of ultimate reality. Although this idea of coincidence of opposites goes back to Proclus and even Heraclitus, it is today generally associated with Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464), the German churchman, scholar, philosopher, and astronomer. He observed in *De docta ignorantia* (On Learned Ignorance):

> For whatsoever things are apprehended by the senses, by reason, or by intellect both within themselves and in relation to one another—[differ] in such way that there is no precise equality among them. Therefore, Maximum Equality, which is neither other than nor different from anything, surpasses all understanding. Hence, since the absolute Maximum *is* all that which can be, it is *altogether* actual. And just as there cannot be a greater, so for the same reason there cannot be a lesser, since it is all that which can be. But the Minimum is that than which there cannot be a lesser. And since the Maximum is also such, it is evident that the Minimum coincides with the Maximum. (1.4; trans. Hopkins, p. 53)

The logic of *coincidentia oppositorum* presupposes a unifying ground of the many, that is, equality. "Therefore, opposing features belong only to those things which can be comparatively greater or lesser" (*ibid.*), that is, to the relative world of plurality of things.

Mahāyāna Buddhism also deals with *coincidentia oppositorum* and maintains the unity of the one and the many. In unity there is multiplicity, and in multiplicity there is unity. A favorite simile is that of the ocean water (the one) and innumerable waves (the many). Paradoxical is the character of the ultimate. The *Heart Sutra*, the summation of the Prajñāpāramitā corpus, proclaims "all the phenomenal world of experience is empty, and empty is the whole phenomenal world of experience." Suzuki, in discussing this kind of logic of simultaneous negation and affirmation, calls it *sokuhi no ronri*, or "the logic of *prajñā*" (Suzuki, 1951, p. 18). Contrasting *prajñā* ("intuition") with the workings of *vijñāna* ("reason"), he notes: "Paradoxical statements are characteristic of *prajñā*-intuition. As it transcends *vijñāna* or logic it does not mind contradicting itself; it knows that a contradiction is the outcome of differentiation, which is the work of *vijñāna*. *Prajñā* negates what it asserted before, and conversely; it has its own way of dealing with this world of dualities" (*ibid.*, p. 24). Such insight into the paradoxical character of reality marks the Japanese Kyoto School of philosophy, of which Nishida Kitarō (1870–1945) was the formative presence.

***Docta ignorantia:* The paradoxical knowledge of the ultimate.** The Socratic tradition of knowledge is a paradoxical mode of knowing: I know that I do not know. Again, "We desire to know that we do not know," wrote Nicholas of Cusa in *De docta ignorantia*. "If we can fully attain unto this [knowledge of our ignorance], we will attain unto learned ignorance" (1.1). By examining the mode of inquiry and observing that it proceeds by means of a comparative relation and "hence the infinite *qua* infinite is unknown, for it escapes all comparative relation" (1.1), he concluded that "reason cannot leap beyond contradictories." Moreover, "as regards the movement of reason, plurality or multiplicity is opposed to oneness" (1.24). To recognize reason in this way is to attain "learned ignorance" or "sacred ignorance," which knows that "the precise truth shines incomprehensibly within the darkness of our ignorance" (1.26). Learned ignorance takes people beyond the apprehension of plurality of things, and they also see in their self-knowledge "that there is precise truth which we cannot comprehend" (2, prologue). One also reads in the *Kena Upaniṣad*: "it is not understood by those who understand it. It is understood by those who understand it not" (11).

Christian mystics also fondly cherished this intuition. John of the Cross held that if it is not by way of reason, then it is by way of non-knowing that one may arrive at what one knows not (*The Ascent of Mount Carmel* 1.14). In his poem, "I Entered I Knew Not Where," the reader encounters such lines:

> I entered I knew not where
> and remained without knowing,
> transcending all knowledge . . .
>
> I did not know where I entered,
> but when I saw myself there,
> not knowing where I was
> I understood great things . . .
>
> The higher one rose,
> the less was understood,
> for it was the dark cloud
> that illuminated the night. . . .
> (Krabbenhoft, pp. 25–29)

The idea of learned ignorance or recognition of the inability of reason to comprehend the ultimate reality has not been foreign to many Western thinkers. Pascal said, "There is nothing so consistent with reason as this denial of reason" (*Pensées* 182), or, again, "Reason's last step is the recognition that there are an infinite number of things which are beyond it. It is merely feeble if it does not go as far as to realize that. If natural things are beyond it, what are we to say about supernatural things?" (*Pensées* 188). And Kierkegaard held that "it is the duty of the human understanding to understand that there are things which it cannot understand, and what those things are" (ed. Bretall, p. 153).

The paradox and the *via negativa.* Dionysius the Areopagite noted that the ultimate reality, the Deity, was beyond human thought and therefore could only be approximated by negative predication. The medieval German mystic Meister Eckhart, a faithful adherent of this method, wrote: "It is God's nature to be without a nature. To think of his goodness, or wisdom, or power is to hide the essence of him, to obscure it with thoughts about him. Even one single thought or consideration will cover it up" (frag. 30). The famous beginning of the *Dao de jing* echoes this tradition: "The Way that can be spoken of is not an eternal way." In the Upaniṣadic tradition, *ātman* is "not this, not that [*neti, neti*]. It is unseizable, for it is not seized. It is indestructible, for it is not destroyed. It is unattached, for it does not attach itself. It is unbound. It does not tremble. It is not injured" (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 3.9.26, 4.2.4, 4.4.22, 4.5.15).

The *via negativa*, or apophatic path, is in fact a paradoxical method of affirming the ultimate, which is considered a superlogical reality. Aquinas pointed out the contradiction inherent in this method: "The meaning of a negation always is found in an affirmation, as appears from the fact that every negative proposition is proved by an affirmative one; consequently, unless the human understanding knew something of God affirmatively, it could deny nothing of God; and such would be the case if nothing of what it says of God could be verified affirmatively" (*De potentia Dei* 7.5). The approach of mystical theology, however, has a paradoxical rather than a logical interest. Dionysius the Areopagite concluded his *Mystical Theology* thus: "We can neither affirm nor deny Him [God], inasmuch as the all-perfect and unique Cause of all things transcends all affirmation, and the simple preeminence of His absolute nature is outside of every negation—free from every limitation and beyond them all." One is thus left with the *docta ignorantia*—one knows that one does not know the divine reality.

The paradox of faith. Referring to the *Book of Job*, "the paradox of the best man in the worst fortune," G. K. Chesterton wrote that human beings are "most comforted by paradoxes" (p. 237). A. O. Lovejoy explored the psychological need for paradoxical expression in relation to religious salvation in his essay on *felix culpa*, "the fortunate fall." He argues that Adam's sin was fortunate and as such constitutes the *conditio sine qua non* of the Christian redemptive drama. This theme "had its own emotional appeal to many religious minds—partly, no doubt, because its very paradoxicality, its transcendence of the simple logic of common thought, gave it a kind of mystical sublimity" (p. 279). His study reveals that this theme in Milton's *Paradise Lost* actually goes back to du Bartas, Francis of Sales, Gregory the Great, Leo the Great, and Ambrose (pp. 294–295; see also Weisinger, 1953).

The paradox of sin and redemption deeply marks the thinking of religious figures. Luther held that "God conceals his eternal mercy and loving-kindness beneath eternal wrath, his righteousness beneath unrighteousness" (Althaus, p. 279). Again, "If sin is abolished, then Christ has also been done away with for there would no longer be any need for him" (*ibid.*, p. 258). Shinran, the founder of the Japanese True Pure Land school, said: "If the good are saved, how much more the wicked" (*Tannishō* 3). The paradox of redemption is sustained by faith. The Christian doctrine of the incarnation was for Kierkegaard the paradox *par excellence:* it is, he wrote, "the 'absolute Paradox,' the paradox of God in time. If one is to believe this paradox, God himself must give him the condition for doing so by giving him 'a new organ' of apprehension—that of Faith" (ed. Bretall, p. 154). The presence of paradox in religious writings can be understood as an integral part of the time-honored question of faith and reason.

Paradox, riddles, and enigma. Both paradox and riddles grapple with the enigma of the universe, of human existence. If something remains a riddle to human intelligence, it remains mysterious or else is understood only paradoxically.

The mystery of existence, the paradox of life, took a concrete expression in an ancient Chinese story. There was an old man living with his son and a very mangy horse near a fortress in a remote border region. One day this horse, the family's only possession, ran away. The villagers all sympathized with the old man for his loss, but he was not a bit perturbed, saying, "This could be a blessing in disguise." The following spring the horse came back with a mare, and they gave the old man many foals. The villagers now congratulated him, but he remained unperturbed. His son broke his leg while riding one of the horses. A war broke out, and nine out of ten men fighting the battle were killed, but his son was spared because he was lame. This Daoist story from the collection of *Huainanzi*, illustrates the inscrutability of what any event may lead to. This practical wisdom sees a complementary, dynamic interflow of the positive and the negative. It takes the enigma of existence and articulates it in a paradoxical way: It "conceptualizes" it in a "spherical" language. Paradox can be seen as one of the ways in which the human mind rationalizes the nonrational, the inscrutable, the unknown.

Paradoxes are baffling, striking, surprising, or nonsensical to linear thinking. But they are also free, creative, and playful, a form of expression conducive to a "spherical thinking" that expands and contracts freely "across terminal and categorical boundaries" (Colie, p. 7). A host of thinkers have directly or indirectly recognized paradox as an integral aspect of reality. From Heraclitus, Socrates, Plato, ancient sages, numerous mystics, to thinkers such as Pascal, Kierkegaard, Whitehead, Nishida, and Suzuki, the list encompasses seminal thinkers.

SEE ALSO Nishida Kitarō; Transcendence and Immanence; Via Negativa.

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MICHIKO YUSA (1987 AND 2005)

PARAMĀRTHA was the religious name of Kulanātha (499–569), an Indian monk and translator of Sanskrit texts. Paramārtha was a central figure in the introduction of the Buddhist Yogācāra, or Vijñānavāda (idealist), doctrines to China. Born in Ujjain, India, Paramārtha traveled widely as a Buddhist missionary and was probably living in Cambodia prior to arriving in Canton, baggage full of sūtras, in 546. Two years later he reached the Liang capital at Jiankang, present Nanjing, and was summoned to audience by Emperor Wu, a great patron of Buddhism. Impressed by both the knowledge and volume of sūtras Paramārtha possessed, the emperor had decided to appoint him director of an ambitious translation project when the Hou Jing rebellion forced him to abandon his plan.

Fleeing to the coastal provinces, Paramārtha wandered about translating and teaching and for a year or so enjoyed the patronage of Lu Yuanzhe, the governor of Fuchun in the Fuyang district of Zhejiang. In 552 he was recalled to the capital by a victorious Hou Jing. After only 120 days on the throne, Hou jing was overthrown by Xiao I (Emperor Yuan), during whose three-year reign Paramārtha enjoyed imperial support and resided at the Zhenguan temple in Nanking, translating the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra* (*Jinguangming jing*). After three years in Nanjing, Paramārtha was forced by the unsettled political situation to resume the life of a wanderer, which, however, did not inhibit his prodigious translation activities. Yet despite such apparent energy he was depressed by his unstable circumstances, was constantly nostalgic for India, and repeatedly attempted to return home, only to be dissuaded each time by disciples and friends.

One of the more fateful of these attempts occurred in 562, when he managed to board a ship and journey the open sea for two months before a storm blew the boat into Canton. Ouyang Wei, the governor there, and his son Ouyang Ho, old acquaintances from Paramārtha's previous days in Canton, came to his aid and soon became his disciples. Under their patronage he translated many texts, including the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* (Compendium of the Mahāyāna; Chin., *Shedasheng lun*), that were central to the development of uniquely Chinese traditions in Buddhism. The completion of these works brought him evident satisfaction, but nevertheless he lapsed into depression again, and his disciples had to thwart a suicide attempt in 568.

Hoping to brighten his outlook, his followers planned to return him to the capital, but the monks already entrenched there, fearing that Paramārtha might threaten their status, convinced the emperor of the newly founded Chen dynasty that his doctrines were a threat to the government. Paramārtha therefore stayed on in Canton until he succumbed to illness at the age of seventy.

A number of Paramārtha's translations proved influential in the development of indigenous Chinese Buddhist traditions during the Sui (581–618) and Tang (618–907) periods. These include the *Abhidharmakośa* (*Epidamozhushe lun,* Treasury of the Abhidharma), *Madhyāntavibhāga* (*Zhongbian fenbie lun,* On distinguishing the extremes from the middle), *Viṃśatikā,* and *Triṃśikā,* by Vasubandhu; the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha,* the *Saptadaśabhūmikaśāstra (Youjia shidi lun qishi lun)* portion of the *Yogācārabhūmi;* and Vasubandhu's treatise on Asaṅga's *Mahāyānasaṃgraha,* the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha-bhāṣya.* The last text provided the foundation for Paramārtha's own Shelun school, which came to be patronized during the Sui by Emperor Wen, and was championed and modified during the Tang by the monk Xuanzang. Paramārtha's work was the point of departure for Zhiyi (538–597) and Fazang (738?–838?), the principal masters of the Tiantai and Huayan schools, respectively. His thought was also important to the development of the Faxiang and Chan (Zen) schools of the Tang dynasty.

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PĀRAMITĀS. The term *pāramitā*, Sanskrit and Pali for "perfection," refers to the virtues that must be fully developed by anyone aspiring to become a Buddha, that is, by a *bodhisattva*. The practice of the *pāramitā*s makes the career of a *bodhisattva* exceedingly long, but their fulfillment transforms the enlightenment process from one that benefits only the individual to one that is, in the words of the *Visuddhimagga*, "for the welfare and benefit of the whole world."

The idea of the *pāramitā*s as a group is not found in the oldest Buddhist literature. Such a notion developed in the general expansion of Buddhist thought and practice before the beginning of the common era, which movement gave new recognition to types of religion other than renunciation. The *pāramitā*s provided an alternative scheme of religious practice more in tune with newly developed conceptions of the Buddha and the nature of a *bodhisattva* than were the older schemes of morality, meditation, and wisdom (*śīla*, *samādhi*, *prajñā*) and the Noble Eightfold Path.

When the *pāramitā*s appear as a group, their number varies; six and ten occur most often, but lists of five and seven are also found. It is sometimes suggested that six may have been the original number, because of an apparent progression in difficulty in such enumerations. The six are "giving" (*dāna*), "morality" (*śīla*), "patience" (*kṣānti*), "vigor" (*vīrya*), "contemplation" (*dhyāna*), and "wisdom" (*prajñā*). Such lists are found in early Mahāyāna texts (e.g., the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* and the Prajñāpāramitā literature) and in the *Mahāvastu* of the Mahāsaṃghika school. The lists of ten, which include the additional virtues of "skill-in-means" (*upāya* or *upāyakauśalya*), "resolution" (*praṇidhāna*), "strength" (*bala*), and "knowledge" (*jñāna*), occur in later texts, for example, the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* (fourth century). In such texts, the *pāramitā*s are correlated with the ten stages (*bhūmi*) of a *bodhisattva*'s career.

Other independent and relatively early enumerations of the perfections are found in the *Cariyāpiṭaka* and the *Buddhavaṃsa*, both written in Pali and considered canonical by the Theravāda school. While the *Cariyāpiṭaka* lists seven perfections, the *Buddhavaṃsa* gives ten. These have become standard in the Theravāda traditions: "giving" (*dāna*), "morality" (*śīla*), "renunciation" (*nekkhamma*), "wisdom" (*paññā*), "vigor" (*viriya*), "patience" (*khanti*), "truthfulness" (*sacca*), "determination" (*adhiṭṭhāna*), "loving kindness" (*mettā*), and "equanimity" (*upekkhā*).

The Sanskrit and Pali noun *pāramitā* is derived from the adjective *parama*, meaning "high, complete, perfect." The Thervāda has consistently understood the term in this way and has commonly used another derivative, *pāramī*, as a synonym. In contrast, the Mahāyāna tradition has analyzed the term as consisting of two words, *pāram ita*, meaning "gone to the beyond," indicating its character as a scheme of spiritual progress. The Chinese and Tibetan translations of the term *pāramitā* (*tu* and *pha rol tu phyin pa*, respectively) reflect this latter understanding of its meaning.

These interpretations may differ along sectarian lines, but the applications they suggest are found in each of the Buddhist schools. In the Theravāda, the perfections afford the practitioner one way of celebrating the significance and superiority of the Buddha, whose fulfillment of them is often said to be incomparable. Similarly, Mahāyāna devotees focus their reverence on the enormous toils of great *bodhisattva*s such as Avalokiteśvara, who are engaged in practicing the perfections.

The *pāramitā*s also provide a set of norms to structure the reading of the Jātakas, the collection of stories about the Buddha's previous lives. These tales, often non-Buddhist in origin and obscure in meaning, assume a Buddhist character when read with the *pāramitā*s as guidelines. The *Cariyāpiṭaka*, the *Buddhavaṃsa*, and later Theravāda works (e.g., the *Nidānakathā*, the fifth-century introduction to the Jātaka collection) group and order some of the stories according to the practice and attainment of each perfection. We also see this template for reading in Mahāyāna works such as the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Śāstra.*

The same pattern guides the illustrations of Jātakas as evidenced by such Buddhist art forms as the friezes on religious monuments of ancient India and the paintings decorating temples in modern Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia. In short, the *pāramitā*s transformed the Jātakas into effective and popular sources for didactic art and literature. As Richard Gombrich observed in his study of Buddhism in modern Sri Lanka, *Precept and Practice* (Oxford, 1971), "There is a general tendency for those *Jātakas* which are canonically associated with the Bodhisattva's acquisition of a particular perfection to be more widely known" (p. 93).

The superposition of the *pāramitā*s on the Jātakas, in turn, altered the perception of the perfections themselves. As gradations of the virtues became apparent, it proved practical to subdivide the ten perfections into thirty. Each *pāramitā* was divided into three degrees: an ordinary perfection (*pāramī*), an inferior perfection (*upapāramī*), and a superior perfection (*paramatthapāramī*). For example, in the Theravāda, the ordinary perfection of giving is "sacrifice of limbs," the inferior perfection is "sacrifice of external goods or property," and the superior perfection is "sacrifice of life."

The Jātakas also provide models for practicing the *pāramitā*s. Through these stories about the Bodhisattva's—and thus, the Buddha's—involvement in the world, the virtues represented by the perfections are inculcated and come to be highly valued as qualities in individuals.

As the Mahāyāna analysis of the term suggests, these virtues are not merely a random assortment but are an ordered group leading to a goal. When the Mahāyāna replaced the notion of the *arhat* with the idea of the *bodhisattva* as the religious ideal to which all should aspire, the *pāramitā*s provided a practical program that could be followed by new aspirants. This replacement altered some of the basic assumptions of spiritual progress. Under this new dispensation, as the *arhat* follows the Noble Eightfold Path he destroys the defilements that perpetuate rebirth but becomes enlightened only to the degree necessary to obtain release from rebirth. The *bodhisattva*, in contrast, renounces the enlightment of the *arhat* in order to pursue what is perceived as the higher and more complete enlightenment attained by Buddhas. The *bodhisattva* prepares himself for this attainment by practicing the perfections, which represent a program of positive moral development for the benefit of others. The Mahāyāna devotees negatively assess the practice of the *arhat*s, claiming that it is based on restraint and removal and is without overt altruism. The perfections project the attainment of the goal into an inconceivable future and displace the sense of urgency and immediacy that motivates the *arhat*'s quest. As a result, virtues such as patience, resolution, strength, and determination, which had a small place in early Buddhism, became prominent as *pāramitā*s. Vigor, for instance, which had complemented the urgency felt by the disciple following the Eightfold Path, became an antidote to fatigue and despair during the *bodhisattva*'s long career.

The idea of the perfections as a graduated soteriological path was developed and emphasized in the Mahāyāna, but it had a place in the Theravāda as well. This can be seen in a lengthy discussion in the *Cariyāpiṭaka* commentary by Dhammapāla, the sixth-century Pali commentator, where the perfections are treated as a spiritual path accessible to all. Some of the perfections (e.g., renunciation and equanimity) reinforce the basic assumptions of the *arhat* program, which the Theravāda never rejected.

To function as a progressive scheme leading to the final goal of enlightenment all of the perfections must be fulfilled. We can see, however, that certain perfections have assumed a greater importance. Doctrinally, wisdom (*prajñā*), the last of the six perfections, is often given pride of place in Mahāyāna writings. The *Bodhicaryāvatāra* says that "the Buddha taught that this multitude of virtues is all for the sake of wisdom"(Matics, 1970, p. 211). *Prajñā* is said to be greater than all the other virtues and to be that perfection that makes all others effective. Practically, the perfection of giving (*dāna*) has great importance. Emotive stories of the practice of this perfection (e.g., the Jātaka stories of King Śibi and Prince Viśvantara) are enormously popular throughout the Buddhist world and have been favorite subjects for Buddhist art and literature. As the first and easiest of the *pāramitā*s, *dāna* is accessible to the humblest Buddhist when he or she aspires to enter the path to enlightenment. Its importance as a preparation for enlightenment is amply attested by the *Viśvantara* (*Vessantara*) *Jātaka*, in which the future Buddha perfects *dāna* in his penultimate birth.

SEE ALSO Avalokiteśvara; Bodhisattva Path; Eightfold Path; Prajñā.

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PARENTALIA. The term *Parentalia* designates the period of nine days during which Roman families would visit the tombs of the dead to honor them. This novena, private in character, began on February13 and ended with the public feast of the Feralia on February 21. This cycle of days received its most extended comment from the Roman poet Ovid. He interchangeably calls them the *parentales dies* (*Fasti* 2.548) or the *ferales dies* (*Fasti* 2.34). The word *Feralia* gave the ancients occasion to coin etymological puns. The word could stem either "from the action of bringing food" *(a ferendis epulis)* or "from the action of sacrificing animals" (*a feriendis pecudibus;* Paulus-Festus, ed. Lindsay, 1913, p. 75 L.). The scholar M. Terentius (Varro, *De lingua Latina* 6.13) preferred to compare the term *Feralia* to both *inferi* and *ferre,* adding, "because the ones having the right to *parentare* bring then some food to the tomb" ("quod ferunt tum epulas ad sepulcrum quibus ius ibi parentare").

Parentare, "to celebrate the Parentalia," consisted in honoring the *di parentes,* or dead, with offerings. Ovid (*Fasti* 2.537–539) was glad to list such offerings: garlands, grains of wheat, salt, bread softened with wine, a few violets. These modest offerings were appropriate for the *manes,* the shades or spirits of the dead.

One may note the variations in vocabulary used by the various authors to refer to the dead: *inferi* (Varro, *De lingua Latina* 6.13); *dis manibus* (Festus, op. cit., p. 75 L.); *manes* (Ovid, *Fasti* 2.534). *Manes* or *di manes* is very likely explained as a euphemism: "the *inferi* are called *di manes,* that is, "good ones" with whom one should be reconciled out of fear of death" (Festus, op. cit., p. 132 L.). Use of the term corresponds to a later usage (first century BCE) that substituted for the ancient expression *di parentes* or *di parentum,* as had appeared already (specifically, in the form *divis parentum;* Festus, op. cit., p. 260 L.) in a "royal" law. A deceased person was regarded as having joined the collectivity of the *di parentes* (in the funerary inscriptions, it is written in the dative or the genitive along with the collective term). The formulation of Cornelia's letter to her son Gaius Sempronius Gracchus gives evidence of the link between the verb *parentare* and the corresponding noun: "Ubi mortua ero, parentabis mihi et invocabis deum parentem" ("When I am dead, you will honor me at the Parentalia and call on the parental shade"). By this *pietas*—the expression is Ovid's (*Fasti* 2.535)—toward the dead, the Parentalia were differentiated from the Lemuria of May 9, 11, and 13, which consisted of rites in which evil spirits were expelled (ibid., 5.429–444). On February 22, the day after the Feralia, which commemorated a family's dead, there followed the Caristia or Cara Cognatio, which united the living members of the family in a banquet (ibid., 2.677).

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PARMENIDES. A Greek philosopher who lived between the second half of the sixth century BCE and the first half of the fifth century BCE, Parmenides was born in and lived in Elea, an Ionic colony on the coast of Campania, in an area then inhabited by the Lucani, who called the city Velia. He was a pupil of Xenophanes as well as a Pythagorean. Charged with the governance of the city, he gave Elea a long-lasting constitution regarded as the principal reason for its power. He also founded a philosophical school, which was monist and has become known historically as the Eleatic school. His closest followers were Zeno and Melissus. Parmenides wrote a long poem in hexameters titled *On Nature,* a difficult text even for his contemporaries. The work was lost in the early Middle Ages, and about twenty fragments of around 150 to 160 verses survive. Thus modern interpretation of his work is even more controversial. Parmenidean doctrine denies the real existence of diversity and change and asserts the unity of being. This doctrine has been regarded from time to time as the foundation of metaphysics, of logic, and of the theory of predication and as the methodology of scientific research based upon the principle of correspondence, that is, of "invariance."

Whatever the intention, it is a passionate espousal of *l'esprit de géométrie,* a radical departure from the normal manner of ethical or political discourse, despite the significant political role played by Parmenides in his native city. It is particularly revealing that, all this notwithstanding, Parmenides's discourse is set out in clear theological and religious terms from various related perspectives.

The doctrine is presented in the proem as the "revelation" of a goddess, in fact of the Goddess, probably Persephone, the titular goddess of the celebrated mystery cult of Demeter at Elea. Parmenides tells of a fantastic journey in a horse-drawn chariot, guided by the Heliades, the daughters of Helios, the Sun, who guide it to the Gate of Night and Day. When they reach there, they ask the gatekeeper, Dike, Justice, to open up and allow their charge to pass through. The poet thus manages to enter into the presence of the

Goddess, who welcomes him and invites him to listen to her explain both "the unshakeable heart of well-rounded Truth" and "the opinions of mortals, in which there is no certainty at all"

In terms of the conventions particular to archaic Greece, the image of the chariot in the proem is a clear metaphor for poetry, often guided by the Muses, who steer the poet in the "right" direction. For Parmenides the chariot symbolizes poetic wisdom, *sophia,* encompassing as it does the tension regarding the Truth and the absolute poetic skill necessary to express this. The route here is "the way of the goddess," which takes the "wise man" in the direction of the "Ultimate Truth." The chariot is not guided by the Muses, the daughters of Memory, but by the Heliades, goddesses related to the light of the Sun, because Parmenides was not attempting to set out a mythical tale, like any other poet, but rather a scientific account. The motif of the gate is made still more complex because it is a specific gate that had always played a central part in the sphere of myth and cosmology, that is, the Gate of Day and Night, also called the Gate of the Sun, and is identified with the Gate of Hades. It towered in the extreme west, far from the region inhabited by humankind. Beyond this, just as in Parmenides, yawned the abyss, in Greek *berethron,* chaos, (*chasma*), in other words the world of the dead, the realm of Hades and Persephone, the god and goddess of the netherworld, but also, according to Hesiod, the cosmic location in which were gathered the first principles of everything, the "roots," the "sources," the "limits," that is, the elements of matter.

After the proem, throughout the poem every abstract concept, every natural entity is represented in divine terms. Physical law becomes Justice (Dike) or Themis, the goddess of justice regarded by the Greeks as older and with greater authority than Dike, or Necessity (Ananke), the goddess of Homer and Hesiod, who ruled over the most powerful gods, or Moira (Fate), the ancient goddess of birth, life, and death. The abstract luminance was Truth (Aletheia), the epic goddess of truthfulness. Being itself was represented in the likeness of an imprisoned god in shackles, a obvious allusion to Prometheus in chains. In Parmenides, in complete form, the unique union that was to be characteristic of subsequent Greek cultural development is evident, a synthesis of absolute intellectual rationalism and the religious symbolism of the polytheistic tradition.

The astronomical section of the poem, following in the footsteps of Anaximander, sets out a map of the heavens in the form of spherical concentric bands on which individual stars were set out. These, or at least some of these, were clearly divine in form. The outer surface, the farthest away, including all the bands in order nearest to the earth, which was located in the center, was called in lay terms *ouranos,* "heaven," but also theologically *Olympus eschatos,* "the final Olympus." This alludes to the mountain on the summit of which, myth said, was situated the abode of the gods. In the center band, perhaps the heaven of Hesperus-Lucifer, correctly identified by Parmenides as one and the same star, is "the goddess who controls all things," especially regarding sexual congress, the source of life, thus a supreme goddess, probably Aphrodite. Eros also plays an important role. It is clear that the doctrine of divine intelligence and astral influences has already made its appearance.

There is no doubt that the pantheon of Parmenides is predominantly feminine. In particular the two principal divinities, the inspired revelatrix of the proem and the omnipotent one in the center of the heavens, are goddesses. Being, in Greek, Eon, single unchanging matter, which has no space in which to move, is neuter gender. The masculine, theologically speaking, is of marginal importance. This causes a difficulty of interpretation that is impossible to resolve because of the scarcity of available information. Some see the survival or reemergence in Parmenides of an ancient pre-Greek Mediterranean religion with a matriarchal basis (Untersteiner, 1958).

SEE ALSO Empedocles; Metaphysics; Monism; Muses; Plato; Pythagoras; Xenophanes.

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PARSIS (Pārsis, also rendered as Parsees), "Persians," or Zoroastrians, from Iran who settled in the Indian subcontinent during the tenth century CE, and their descendents.

ORIGINS. Zoroastrians in Iran had contact with people in the Indian subcontinent from at least the fifth century BCE through overland and maritime trade. After the Arab Muslim conquest of Iran in the seventh century CE, there were many small, poorly documented migrations by Zoroastrians away from that country over both land and sea. The one relocation that gained a historiography probably occurred in the tenth century and produced the Parsi community in India. That particular migration is recorded as the Parsi community's founding legend, known as the *Qessa-e Sanjān* (Story of Sanjan), a New Persian narrative poem based upon an older oral tradition, composed in 1600 CE. It forms the basis—idealized and augmented—for much of the Parsis' early history. According to the text, during the reign of the Samanid kings (892–1005) many Zoroastrians from the northeastern Iranian province of Khorasan relocated overland via the mountains of Kuhestan to the Persian Gulf port of Hormuz, then by ship via the Persian Gulf and the Indian island of Diu to Gujarat in western India. Their date of arrival at Gujarat is assigned by tradition to 992 Vikram Samvat (an Indian calendar begun in 58 BCE equivalent to 936 CE). Owing to uncertainty resulting from parallels between the local script and Devanagari numbers, the date came to be read as 772 Vikram Samvat or 716 CE—an inaccuracy still accepted by some Parsis and scholars. Yet the maritime migration to Gujarat and relocation there along the coastal region does not explain adequately accounts by Muslim travelers during the tenth century CE of groups that they referred to as *gabr* (hollow or empty, hence "one lacking faith, infidel"), a derogatory designation by Muslims for Zoroastrians, living in the hinterland of north India. The number and size of such inland communities suggest strongly that other Zoroastrians must have entered India via land routes from the northwest and, in time, fallen under the rubric of Parsis.

The *Qessa-e Sanjān* goes on to claim that a local raja or ruler named Jādi Rānā (Vajjardevrai or Vajjadadeva) of the Silhara dynasty agreed to grant the Zoroastrians safe haven in Gujarat on the condition that the newcomers explain their beliefs to the Hindus, adopt the Gujarati language, refrain from bearing weapons, perform weddings only at night, and ensure that their women blend with Hindu counterparts by wearing the local garb, the sari. Gujarat, as a result, became the region in India where most Zoroastrians settled. A complementary folk tale claims that the raja had shown the newcomers a pitcher full of milk to signify that India was already heavily populated, with little room for new settlers, but that a magus who was present deposited something worthwhile into the milk—sugar, a coin, or a ring, depending on the version—to indicate that Zoroastrians would coexist harmoniously with Indians, become Indianized, and enhance Indian society. Interestingly, neither the *Qessa-e Sanjān* nor the early folk tales mention any agreement or understanding between the Zoroastrians and the Hindu barring the former from proselytizing their faith.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS. The Parsis founded the town of Sanjan. About five years after their arrival, the Parsis consecrated an *ātash bahrām*—a "victory fire," the highest level of ritual fire—named Irān Shāh (king of Iran), which remained their main flame for more than eight hundred years. Most religious rituals were performed using *dādgāh* (hearth) fires. During the first three hundred years after the arrival in Gujarat, as the community prospered and its population increased, some Parsis moved to Navsari on the banks of the Varoli River in 1142. They also spread to the towns of Surat, Anklesar, Cambay, and Broach. In each of those towns they worked as farmers, toddy brewers, carpenters, weavers, and merchants. Magi continued to dress in white robes and turbans as they had in Iran. Parsi laymen adopted Indian dress but wore white on ritual occasions. Parsi women wore the Indian sari, with minor variations in the manner of wrapping it around the body that became distinctive to Zoroastrians.

Clusters of families had their spiritual needs tended to by an individual magus, and those devotional clusters came to be known as the priest's *panthak*. In time, this association of particular lay or *behdin* families with a specific magian or *athōrnān* priest and his descendants as *panthaki* became hereditary. Around 1290 the Parsi magi divided Gujarat into five *panths* (ecclesiastic groups) based on location: the Sanjānas at Sanjan, the Bhagarias serving Navsari, the Godavras based at Anklesar, the Bharuchas controlling rites in Broach, and the Khambattas of Cambay. Each *panth* regulated its own clergy, laity, and religious matters through an *anjoman* (association). At many locales over the centuries, under the direction of priests and lay patrons, an *ateshgah* (fire precinct) was established for rituals by the living, as was a *dakhma* (funerary tower) for exposure of the dead.

DOCTRINES AND RITES IN MEDIEVAL TIMES. The *jizya* (poll tax) was imposed on non-Muslims in 1297 when the Delhi Muslim sultanate conquered Gujarat. Economic hardship created by payment of the *jizya,* plus the stigma of designation as a *dhimmī* (protected religious minority) resulted in conversion of portions of the Parsi population to Islam. Yet the community persisted in its beliefs and praxes, so that early European travelers in the region began to encounter them; in 1350, for example, the Dominican friar Jordanus commented on the exposure of Parsi corpses. In 1741, after a few previous relocations, the Irān Shāh *ātash bahrām* was brought to the city of Udwada, where it continued to burn at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The Bhagarias consecrated their own *ātash bahrām* at Navsari in 1765. Thereafter, six other fires of the *ātash bahrām* ritual level were established—two at Surat in 1823 and four at Bombay (later Mumbai) in 1783, 1830, 1845, and 1897.

As they assimilated into Indian society, pressure from Hindus compelled the Parsis to accept certain socioreligious transformations. For example, the ritual slaughter of cattle had to be discontinued gradually in accordance with Hindu veneration for that animal, although goats and sheep continued to be offered, with a portion of their bodies or fat being deposited in holy fires. As Parsis settled in parts of the Indian subcontinent where their numbers were insufficient to maintain funerary towers, they began adopting the custom of burial in an *āramgāh* (place of repose, cemetery, graveyard). Perhaps most important in terms of socioreligious change was that, over time, Parsis came to be regarded as a caste within Hindu society. So, despite accepting some converts from among Hindus who had close contact through friendship or work, the religion slowly became hereditary in an Indian context, with no converts being accepted. Parsis also had to mingle with members of other faiths in India and to explain their doctrines and praxes. For instance, in 1578 the emperor Akbar summoned a Bhagaria priest named Meherji Rāna to the Mogul court for a symposium. That contact proved beneficial to the Parsis, as the *jizya* on them was lifted a few years later.

In 1746 a disagreement relating to the calendar caused division of the community into Kadmīs, who accept the *qadīmī* (ancient) Iranian calendar, and the Shenshaīs, or Rasimīs (traditionalists), who maintain the original Parsi calendar. Since 1906 another group, the Fasalīs, or Faslīs, have formed, and its members utilize a *fasl* (seasonal) calendar for rituals. The majority of Parsis remain Shenshaī, but calendrical preferences have maintained those communal divisions and have produced minor variations in liturgies and rites.

Contact between Zoroastrians in India and Iran—the Parsis and the Iranis—gained momentum in the thirteenth century. Several religious texts were sent from Iran to India for safekeeping, and as a result, most of the oldest extant copies of Zoroastrian scripture and exegesis remained in India until the eighteenth century onward, when some of those documents were obtained by Western museums and universities. Just as important, Parsis began seeking religious advice from magi in Iran. A collection of treatises on religious observances, sent from Iran to India between 1478 and 1773 and known collectively as the *Persian Revāyats*, attests to the close ties that were developing as Parsi emissaries were welcomed, lived among, and educated by their Iranian coreligionists before returning to India.

TRANSFORMATION IN PREMODERN AND MODERN TIMES. Contact between the Parsis and Europeans grew with the establishment of trading posts in the seventeenth century. European eyewitness accounts note that at first the Parsis enforced their own customs, with violators being excommunicated or even, occasionally, executed. But as trade increased, so did the Parsi community's economic and social diversity. The port of Surat grew into a settlement of over 100,000 Parsi Zoroastrians between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Then, in 1661, the port of Bombay came under the British East India Company's administration and Parsis moved there to trade. Parsis flourished in Bombay, led by the commercial successes of individuals such as Lowji Nassarwanji Wadia (1702–1744) and Sir Jamsetji Jijibhai (1783–1859) in shipbuilding and the opium and cotton trades between India, England, and China. Parsis also established themselves quickly in textile manufacture and the bankingindustry. Steadily, Parsis became the mercantile arm of the British in India, serving in that capacity for over two hundred years. Members of the community then went on to play central roles in establishing the industrial base of modern India. Pioneers included Jamshedji N. Tata (1839–1904), who founded the iron and steel industries, early hydroelectric power plants in India, and the Indian Institute of Science, and Homi J. Bhabha (1909–1966), who pioneered research in atomic energy. Others, such as Lieutenant General Sam H. F. J. Manekshaw (1914–), led India's post-independence military during the late twentieth century.

Socioeconomic success would transform the community in many different ways. The Parsi Panchāyat, initially a council of elders, was established in 1728 to regulate community affairs. It did so not through law but through edicts and codes of conduct that were enforced by communal pressure. Since the question of religious freedom in Iran occupied the thoughts of Parsis, in 1854 they sent an emissary named Manekji Limji Hataria (1813–1890) to Iran. Hataria lived in Iran for four decades, married an Irani Zoroastrian woman, and even visited the Qajar court to intercede on behalf of Zoroastrians. Hataria's mission, coupled with pressure on the Qajar dynasty from the British Raj on behalf of prominent Parsis like Dadabhai Naoroji (1825–1917), succeeded in having the *jizya* abolished in Iran in 1882. Wealthy Parsis also began to look after the secular needs of their coreligionists in Iran by building schools, hospitals, orphanages, and retirement homes, in addition to renovating several *ātashkada* (fire temples) and *dakhma* and *āramgāh* funerary sites there.

Secular education, in particular, fundamentally reoriented the Parsis. In the nineteenth century, Parsis founded English-style schools, libraries, and educational trusts for their sons and daughters. Following mores that were emerging in Europe at the time, the Parsis began encouraging educated men and women to take up careers in public, multicommunal, workplaces. This development played a major role in fueling a demographic shift among Parsis—away from the coastal villages and orchards of Gujarat to large cities like Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta, Karachi, and Colombo. Rapid urbanization began in the 1900s, reaching 94 percent by 1961 among Parsis (compared to 27 percent for Muslims, 23 percent for Christians, and 16 percent for Hindus) on the Indian subcontinent. Parsi Zoroastrians, consequently, became a highly urbanized middle and upper class. As part of westernization and urbanization, the ritual slaughter of animals was slowly phased out by the late 1930s, as was the *ātash-zōhr* (offering to fire) of animal flesh, fat, and butter. Likewise, marriages arranged by relatives declined in frequency after the 1920s as women exercised their greater freedom to select their own spouses. At the same time, educated women in the community began to choose careers over marriage, family, and domesticity—close to 25 percent of Parsi women remained unmarried after the 1970s, and the community's birthrate declined drastically. Moreover, by the end of the twentieth century, women's expectations had begun to exceed the reality represented by potential male partners within the community—again reinforcing the trend in declining marital and reproductive rates.

Parsis began entering politics, with Naoroji, an architect of Indian independence, becoming the first president of the Indian National Congress in 1885. Other Parsis closely associated with the Indian nationalist movement were Sir Pherozeshah Mehta (1845–1915), Sir Dinshaw Wacha (1844–1936), and Madam Bhikaji Cama (1861–1936). In England, several Parsis have held elected office at various levels of government, starting with three members of the British Parliament—Naoroji of the Liberal Party mentioned previously, Sir Muncherji Bhownagree (1851–1933) of the Conservative Party, and Shapurji Saklatvala (1874–1936), who was a Communist. This trend in political involvement continues among Parsis globally. In Sri Lanka, Kairshasp Choksy (1932–) became minister of constitutional and state affairs and subsequently minister of finance. Jamsheed Marker (1922–) became a prominent diplomat, first for Pakistan and then for the United Nations. Loyalty and service to the countries and cultures in which they reside have emerged as important attitudes among Parsis.

INTERNATIONAL DISPERSAL AND ITS CONSEQUENCES. During the time of the British Empire, Parsis began traveling to England for commerce and education, especially after the mid-nineteenth century. By 1861 a Zoroastrian Association had been founded there. However, a major international dispersion of Parsis from India occurred for a variety of socioeconomic reasons only after the early 1950s. A few left India to join the descendants of relatives who had immigrated earlier to England. Some departed India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka to avoid rising nationalism and religious fundamentalism in those countries. Others went to Australia, Hong Kong, and countries in sub-Saharan Africa seeking economic opportunities. From the 1960s, migration has been for education and employment in the United States and Canada. Nonetheless, Parsis still dwell in most major cities of India, particularly Bombay (subsequently Mumbai), Delhi, and Calcutta.

Largely English-speaking, with many older Parsis still bilingual in English and Gujarati, Parsis number approximately 69,200 in India (in 2001), 10,000 in the United States (in 2000), 6,000 in Canada (in 2000), 4,000 in England and Scotland (in 2000), 3,000 in the European Union (in 2002), 2,200 in Pakistan (in 2003), 2,000 in Australia (in 2000), and 1,000 in the United Arab Emirates (in 2000). (Zoroastrian communities in each country consist of two broad groups: the Iranis, or Iranian Zoroastrians, and members of that group who have settled in many countries, and the Parsis, or Indian Zoroastrians, who are discussed in this entry. The demographic numbers refer to the Parsis only, not to overall Zoroastrian communities in each country.) Smaller communities live in New Zealand (200 in 2000), Hong Kong (190 in 2000), Singapore (150 in 2000), Bahrain (130 in 1996), Democratic Republic of the Congo (100 in 2000), South Africa (70 in 2000), and Sri Lanka (63 in 2001). The communities in Pakistan, Sri Lanka (then Ceylon), Singapore, and Hong Kong date from British colonial times as a legacy of trade. Even smaller groups are found in countries as diverse as Japan, China, Malaysia, Myanmar, Yemen, Seychelles, Bermuda, and Venezuela. In most of those countries, there are other Zoroastrians as well.

In most countries where Parsi diasporas exist, each community has at least one fire temple of the *dādgāh* ritual level, a community hall associated with the temple, and a graveyard to bury the dead (although cremation by electricity is becoming popular as a means of avoiding long-term ritual pollution of earth and fire), expect in India and in the Pakistani city of Karachi, where the funerary towers—now commonly called "towers of silence"—are still utilized amidst ongoing debate about how to ensure swift desiccation and decomposition of corpses placed therein. The communities have religious classes for children, and ceremonies of *navjote* (initiation) are conducted regularly for them. However, a low birthrate as individuals defer marriage in favor of professional careers, a widespread prohibition of the acceptance of converts, and a discouraging level of intermarriage with members of other sectarian groups have contributed to a gradual overall decline in numbers.

On the other hand, following a pattern common to many minorities, the international diasporas have been economically and socially successful in professions such as law, medicine, and academia, and in entrepreneurial endeavors from computer programming to watch manufacture. The arts, too, have caught the attention of a number of Parsis, including the American conductor Zubin Mehta (1936–), born in Bombay; the English rock musician Freddy Mercury (1946–1991), born in Zanzibar as Farrokh Bulsara; and the Canadian writer Rohinton Mistry (1952–), born in Bombay. As a direct result of westernization and secularization, educated women have come to wield leadership positions within Parsi diasporas, including editorial positions at widely read Zoroastrian newsletters, such as the *FEZANA Journal* in North America and *Parsiana* in South Asia, wherein issues of societal change are hotly debated.

OTHER MAJOR CONTEMPORARY ISSUES. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, European scholars concluded that the founder of the Parsis' religion, Zarathushtra, or Zoroaster, had preached a monotheistic faith that was debased by his followers. This viewpoint gained the acceptance of many Parsis, who sought to structure their religion into its allegedly pristine form based on the *Gāthās* (Devotional poems) ascribed to Zarathushtra. Zoroastrians who follow the teachings of Minocher Pundol (1908–1975) combine such trends with mysticism. The introduction of theosophy further attenuated doctrinal unity among the Parsis. Lack of doctrinal concord and a concomitant decline in theological education continue in the twenty-first century.

Poor wages, substandard living conditions, and the lure of secular professional careers have steadily sapped enrollment in the two *madrasahs* (seminaries)—the Athornan Boarding Madrasa at Dadar and the M. F. Cama Athornan Institute at Andheri—where Zoroastrian priests are trained in India. Thus, the number of priests available to perform rituals continues to decline. Therefore, rites in many instances have been abbreviated and in certain locales are restricted to the basic ones of passage—initiation, marriage, and death—and to *jashan* (thanksgiving) services. Likewise, the number of women who weave the *kustī* (holy cord) has also diminished as their priestly families take up secular occupations.

Other, interrelated topics of much debate worldwide within Parsi communities include the issues of who the Parsis are, whether intermarriage with non-Zoroastrians should be recognized, and whether converts can be accepted. As the Parsis became a de facto caste within Indian society, they diverged from their Iranian coreligionists by abjuring conversion to the faith. By the nineteenth century, magi who initiated as Zoroastrians the children of non-Parsi fathers or the adopted children (from non-Zoroastrian parents) of Parsis were subjected to censure by their clerical *anjomans.* Eventually, guidelines were set in India by that country's civil judiciary in 1909 and 1925 as the result of court cases seeking to exclude non-Parsi wives from fire temples and community institutions. Through those legal decisions, the civil courts upheld the community's restriction of its properties to the children of Parsi and Irani Zoroastrians plus duly initiated children of Parsi fathers by non-Zoroastrian wives. So in India and, as a result of colonial rule, in Pakistan and Sri Lanka, a Parsi Zoroastrian—male or female—is defined as a person whose father was or is a Parsi Zoroastrian. Converts are not accepted. The children of a Parsi woman who is married to a non-Zoroastrian are regarded as neither Parsis or Zoroastrians. They cannot enter fire temples, benefit from communal funds, or even have Zoroastrian last rites. Not all priests and laity accept that position, however, either in South Asia or elsewhere. For example, during the late twentieth in the United States (as previously in India), there were occasional instances when individuals who wished to join Zoroastrianism were initiated by Parsi priests. Moreover, enhanced contact between Zoroastrians and members of other faiths, especially in Europe, North America, and Australia, has led to an increase in the frequency of marriage across confessional boundaries. On this issue, the diaspora communities in the West have increasingly diverged from the Parsis on the Indian subcontinent by permitting non-Zoroastrian spouses to attend rituals at fire temples and cemeteries and to participate fully in community activities and governance. In so doing, Parsis living in the West have come closer to the long-standing position of Iranian Zoroastrians and Irani Zoroastrian immigrants to the West on those issues.

SEE ALSO Ateshgah; Gender and Religion, article on Gender and Zoroastrianism; Zoroastrianism.

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PARTHEV, SAHAK See SAHAK PARTHEV

PĀRVATĪ See GODDESS WORSHIP, *ARTICLE ON* THE HINDU GODDESS

PASCAL, BLAISE (1623–1662), French mathematician, religious thinker, and philosopher, was one of the greatest minds in modern intellectual history. He was educated at home by his father, Étienne, who, when living in Paris from 1631 to 1639, belonged to the society of scientists organized by Mersenne. A precocious genius, Pascal in 1639 wrote a mathematical work of which a part, *Essai sur les coniques,* has been preserved and published. From 1642 to 1644, when in Normandy with his father, he constructed a calculating machine. His mathematical and physical works include a treatise, based on experiments, disproving the theory of the impossibility of vacuum, as well as works on cycloids and on the theory of probability.

JANSENISM. In Normandy Pascal was in touch with priests who were disciples of the Abbé of Saint-Cyran, and in 1646 he went through a religious conversion, but he neither abandoned his scientific work nor renounced mundane life. However, in November 1654, he experienced a second conversion, a kind of violent shock about which he wrote a short and remarkable memoir; he kept this reminder of his experience on his person to the end of his days. For some years before his conversion Pascal had been under Jansenist influence, in particular in Port-Royal. There Pascal became acquainted with the main figures of Jansenism—Antoine Arnauld, Pierre Nicole, Le Maistre de Saci—and became himself one of the leading writers and polemicists of this political as well as religious movement.

Cornelius Jansen, also called Jansenius (1585–1638), in his posthumously published *Augustinus* (1640), elaborated a theory of grace that was antagonistic to the Jesuit soteriology known as Molinism, after the Jesuit theologian Luis de Molina (1535–1600), and which contributed to the reform of the church in the spirit of moral rigorism and theocentric piety. The Molinists were attacked for making the efficacy of divine grace dependent on human free choice and thus falling into Pelagian or semi-Pelagian heresy and for encouraging moral laxity, dangerous self-confidence, and "easy devotion." Jansenius, following Augustine, emphasized the deep corruption of human nature, its inability both to know God and to help us in obeying his commandments; he praised the omnipotence of divine grace, which is presented in his writings as the condition, not only necessary but sufficient as well, of salvation. In 1643, Arnauld published his treatise on the Eucharist, *De la fréquente communion,* which became a kind of Jansenist manifesto. The battle between the two camps was carried on with ferocity in the 1650s. As a result of pressure by the Jesuits, Innocent X, in his bull *Cum occasione* (1653), condemned five of Jansenius's statements in which the Molinists detected the Calvinist heresy; Jansenius was accused of saying that some divine commandments are for humans impracticable, that Jesus Christ sacrificed himself for the elect only and not for all people, and that divine grace works irresistibly. The Jansenists argued that the condemned statements could not be found in *Augustinus* and that the pope was not infallible in the matter-of-fact question of whether or not a given book included a certain theological doctrine. In 1656, Alexander VII renewed the condemnation in a separate constitution and asserted that the heretical statements were in fact in the book; earlier Arnauld had been condemned by the Sorbonne for theological and factual errors.

Pascal intervened in the battle by publishing pseudonymously, from January 1656 until March 1657, eighteen successive writings known collectively as the *Lettres provinciales,* a literary masterpiece which, notwithstanding its listing in the Index of Forbidden Books, was to become a classic of French literature. In this pamphlet Pascal attacked the Jesuits' moral doctrine, as it was taught in the works of known writers (Le Moine, Escobar, and Bauny, among others), as well as the theory of grace on which Jesuit "laxism" and moral permissiveness were supposedly based. The letters display to some extent the influence of Cartesianism, an influence not unusual among Jansenists, insofar as they imply the separation of faith from secular reason and assert the latter's autonomy; they denounce Jesuit casuistry and educational technique, claiming that through it all kinds of sins and vices could be exculpated easily or turned into virtues; they attack the Molinist teaching that sufficient grace has been given to all, and thus, by virtue of a free decision, anyone can make it efficient and perfectly fulfill the divine law.

PENSÉES. In the 1650s, apart from producing a number of short theological, philosophical, and scientific texts, all of them published posthumously *(Préface d'un traité du vide, Entretien avec M. de Saci, Comparaison des chrétiens des premiers temps avec ceux d'aujourd'hui, De l'esprit géométrique, De l'art de persuader, Écrits sur la grâce, Histoire de la roulette),* Pascal worked on *Apologie de la religion chrétienne.* This major apologetical work was to be addressed to libertines, probably of the kind he knew well personally: people who were religiously indifferent, skeptical, or incredulous, rather than committed atheists; the apology was to convince them of the truth of Christianity. He did not complete this work, and the first edition (1670) of the fragments he left was incomplete and arbitrarily ordered. In a number of subsequent printings, the editors of *Pensées,* as the work came to be known, arranged the text according to its logical order as they saw it. The edition of Brunschwig (1897) was used for several decades as a standard text, yet Louis Lafuma proved that the text left by Pascal was less chaotic and better arranged than had been previously assumed; since 1952 his edition has been considered superior to all others in existence.

Pensées is beyond doubt one of the major texts in the history of philosophical and religious ideas. This extremely rich and challenging work can be read as the depiction of the ambiguity of human destiny in the face of God, who is both hidden and manifest, and in the face of our own corruption and frailty. To Pascal, nature does not lead us to God unambiguously: "Why, do not you say yourself that the sky and the birds prove God?—No—Does your religion not say so?—No. For though it is true to some souls whom God has enlightened in this way, yet it is untrue for the majority." There are no "proofs" of faith, which is God's gift. "Our religion is wise and foolish: wise because it is the most learned and most strongly based on miracles, prophecies, etc., foolish, because it is not all this which makes people belong to it. This is a good enough reason for condemning those who do not belong, but not for making those who do belong believe. What makes them believe is the Cross."

Reason is not to be condemned—a person's entire dignity consists in thinking—but it ought to be looked upon with suspicion, and it is crucial that it knows its limitations. Pascal was the reader of Epictetus and Montaigne; the former stressed the strength of human nature, the latter its weakness and fragility. Both are right in part, but to take only one side amounts to falling either into hubris and dogmatic self-confidence or into despair. "We have an incapacity for proving anything which no amount of dogmatism can overcome. We have an idea of truth which no amount of skepticism can overcome." It is proper that God should be hidden in part and revealed in part, and it is proper that we should know both God and our misery. Therefore to know Jesus Christ is essential, as it is in him that we find both God and our misery. Indeed, our greatness consists in being aware of our misery. The position of man as a creature located between angels and animals by no means gives us, in Pascal's eyes, a quiet abode in our natural place; being "in the middle," we are torn between incompatible desires, and our natural state is the most opposed to our higher inclinations. It is the immobility of tension, rather than of satisfaction, that distinguishes us; we are incomprehensible to ourselves, our reason and our senses deceive us, no certainty is accessible to us. Christianity, with all its "foolishness," is the only way the human condition can become intelligible and meaningful. Indeed, the mystery of original sin, the core of the Christian worldview, according to Pascal, is an outrage to reason, and yet without this mystery we cannot understand ourselves. "Acknowledge then the truth of religion in its very obscurity, in the little light we can throw on it, in our indifference regarding knowledge of it."

Although, as Pascal argues both in *Pensées* and in *De l'esprit géométrique,* human reason cannot achieve any certitude, there is a separate power, the heart, which has "reasons of its own, unknown to reason" and which is a practical, rather than intellectual, faculty whereby a choice between equally valid arguments for and against Christianity can be made. In the famous passage on the wager (*pari*), Pascal appeals to a kind of practical reasoning in order to compel the libertine to admit that he cannot avoid the choice between religion and irreligion. It is impossible to suspend the question of immortality and of our eternal destiny: our happiness is at stake, and the search for happiness is an aspect of our nature. God being infinite and therefore inaccessible to our reason, one cannot rationally affirm or deny his existence, but neither can one suspend judgment. One has to bet, as in a game of chance: If one bets on God having even the slightest chance of existence, one may gain an eternal life of happiness, whereas only one's finite life on earth is at stake; betting against God one risks the loss of eternal life, and the possible gain is finite; it is therefore practically rational to opt for God.

It needs stressing that the wager is a way to persuade skeptics that they ought to bet on God, however uncertain of God's existence they might be; it is neither the expression of Pascal's own uncertainty nor another "proof" of a theological truth. It is practical advice, and Pascal is aware that by itself it cannot produce genuine faith. He wants to show libertines that they ought to behave as if God were real, and this means taming their passions and even "stultifying" themselves by complying, without real faith, with external Christian rules. The new way of life eventually will make them realize that they have lost nothing in abandoning their sinful habits, and they will be converted to a true Christian faith.

By the standards of human nature, religion is uncertain, and humanity cannot get rid of its nature. A tension between the attraction of the world and participation in the eternal is unavoidable. Human history and social life do not offer any solution; history is the prey of insignificant accidents ("Cleopatra's nose: if it had been shorter the whole face of the earth would have been different"); social reality has no intrinsic value and cannot be improved. Therefore Pascal, on the one hand, sneers at all titles and ranks, reduces laws and justice to pure conventions and property to a superstition, and, on the other hand, recommends a conservative acceptance of social hierarchy and external respect for monarchy, rank, and wealth. His worldview is essentially nonhistorical.

Pascal, not surprisingly, was attacked by the eighteenth-century *philosophes* Voltaire, Diderot, and Condorcet; his skeptical view of science, to which he (unlike his critics) made very serious contributions, his belief in the naturally incurable corruption of human nature, his pessimistic assessment of the human quest for happiness, were, of course, unacceptable to the prophets of the Enlightenment. He has remained one of the main figures in the history of conflict between Christianity and modernity, and his analyses sound astonishingly fresh in the present time.

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PASSOVER is the joyous Jewish festival of freedom that celebrates the Exodus of the Jews from their bondage in Egypt. Beginning on the fifteenth day of the spring month of Nisan, the festival lasts for seven days (eight days for Jews outside Israel). The Hebrew name for Passover, Pesaḥ, refers to the paschal lamb offered as a family sacrifice in Temple times (*Ex.* 12:1–28, 12:43–49; *Dt.* 16:1–8), and the festival is so called because God "passed over" (*pasaḥ*) the houses of the Israelites when he slew the Egyptian firstborn (*Ex.* 12:23). The annual event is called Ḥag ha-Pesaḥ, the Feast of the Passover, in the Bible (*Ex.* 34:25). Another biblical name for it is Ḥag ha-Matsot or the Feast of the Unleavened Bread, after the command to eat unleavened bread and to refrain from eating leaven (*Ex.* 23:15, *Lv.* 23:6, *Dt.* 16:16). The critical view is that the two names are for two originally separate festivals, which were later combined. Ḥag ha-Pesaḥ was a pastoral festival, whereas Ḥag ha-Matsot was an agricultural festival. In any event, the paschal lamb ceased to be offered when the Temple was destroyed in 70 CE, and although the name Passover is still used, the holiday is now chiefly marked by the laws concerning leaven and, especially, by the home celebration held on the first night—the Seder ("order, arrangement").

PROHIBITION ON LEAVENING. On the night before the festival the house is searched thoroughly for leavened bread. Any found is gathered together and removed from the house during the morning of 14 Nisan. This is based on the biblical injunction that not only is it forbidden to eat leaven, but no leaven may remain in the house (*Ex.* 12:15, 12:19). On Passover, observant Jews do not employ utensils used during the rest of the year for food that contains leaven. Either they have special Passover utensils or they remove the leaven in the walls of their regular utensils by firing or boiling them in hot water. Only food products completely free from even the smallest particle of leaven are eaten. In many communities, rabbis supervise the manufacture of packaged Passover foods to verify that they are completely free from leaven, after which they attach their seal of fitness to the product. There was at first considerable rabbinical opposition to machine-made *matsah* on the grounds that pieces of dough might be left in the machine and become leaven. Nowadays, with vastly improved methods of production, the majority of Jews see no objection to machine-made *matsah.*

The biblical reason given for eating unleavened bread (*matsah*) and refraining from eating leaven (*ḥamets*) is that during the Exodus the Israelites, having left Egypt in haste, were obliged to eat unleavened bread because their dough had had insufficient time to rise (*Ex.* 12:39). *Matsah* is therefore the symbol of freedom. A later idea is that leaven—bread that has risen and become fermented—represents pride and corruption, whereas unleavened bread represents humility and purity.

Great care is consequently taken when baking *matsah* for Passover. The process is speeded up so that no time is allowed for the dough to rise before it is baked. The resulting *matsah* is a flat bread with small perforations (an extra precaution against the dough's rising). Some Jews prefer to eat only round *matsah,* because a circle is unbounded, representing the unlimited need to strive for freedom.

SYNAGOGUE SERVICE. The synagogue liturgy for Passover contains additional prayers and hymns suffused with the themes of freedom and renewal. On the first day there is a prayer for dew; the rainy season now over, supplication is made for the more gentle dew to assist the growth of the produce in the fields. The scriptural readings are from passages dealing with Passover. On the seventh day, the anniversary of the parting of the sea (*Ex.* 14:17–15:26), the relevant passage is read; some Jews perform a symbolic reenactment to further dramatize the event. On the Sabbath in the middle of Passover, the Prophetic reading is Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones (*Ez.* 37:1–14). On this Sabbath, too, there is a reading of the *Song of Songs* (interpreted by the rabbis as a dialogue between God and his people), in which there is a reference to the spring (2:11–13) and to the Exodus (1:9).

THE SEDER AND THE HAGGADAH. The Seder, celebrated in the home on the first night of Passover (outside Israel, also on the second night), is a festive meal during which various rituals are carried out and the Haggadah is read or chanted. The Haggadah ("telling") is the traditional collection of hymns, stories, and poems recited in obedience to the command for parents to tell their children of God's mighty deeds in delivering the people from Egyptian bondage (*Ex.* 13:8). The main features of the Haggadah are already found in outline in the Mishnah (*Pes.* 10) with some of the material going back to Temple times. It assumed its present form in the Middle Ages, with a few more recent additions. The emphasis in the Haggadah is on God alone as the deliverer from bondage. It is he and no other, neither messenger nor angel, who brings his people out from Egypt. Even Moses is mentioned by name only once in the Haggadah, and then only incidentally, at the end of a verse quoted for other purposes.

A special dish is placed on the Seder table upon which rest the symbolic foods required for the rituals. These are three *matsot,* covered with a cloth; *maror,* bitter herbs that serve as a reminder of the way the Egyptian taskmasters embittered the lives of their slaves (*Ex.* 1:14); *ḥaroset,* a paste made of almonds, apples, and wine, symbolic of the mortar the slaves used as well as of the sweetness of redemption; a bowl of salt water, symbolic of the tears of the oppressed; parsley or other vegetables for a symbolic dipping in the salt water; a roasted bone as a reminder of the paschal lamb; and a roasted egg as a reminder of the animal sacrifice, the *ḥagigah* offered in Temple times on Passover, Shavuʿot, and Sukkot. During the Seder, four cups of wine are partaken of by all the celebrants, representing the four different expressions used for redemption in the narrative of the Exodus. Since in ancient times the aristocratic custom was to eat and drink while reclining, the food and drink are partaken of in this way as a symbol of the mode of eating of free people. Some medieval authorities held that since people no longer recline at meals, there is no longer any point in the symbolic gesture, but their view was not adopted.

The Seder begins with the Qiddush, the festival benediction over the first cup of wine. The middle *matsah* is then broken in two, one piece being set aside to be eaten as the *afiqoman* ("dessert"), the last thing eaten before the Grace after Meals, so that the taste of the *matsah* of freedom might linger in the mouth. It is customary for the grown-ups to hide the *afiqoman,* rewarding the lucky child who finds it with a present. The parsley is first dipped in the salt water and then eaten. The youngest child present asks the Four Questions, a standard formula beginning with "Why is this night different from all other nights?" The differences are noted in four instances, such as, "On all other nights we eat either leaven or unleaven, whereas on this night we eat only unleaven." The head of the house and the other adults then proceed to reply to the Four Questions by reading the Haggadah, in which the answers are provided in terms of God's deliverances. When they reach the section that tells of the ten plagues, a little wine from the second cup is poured out to denote that it is inappropriate to drink a full cup of joy at the delivery, since in the process the enemy was killed. This section of the Haggadah concludes with a benediction in which God is thanked for his mercies, and the second cup of wine is drunk while reclining.

The celebrants then partake of the meal proper. Grace before Meals is recited over two of the three *matsot* and a benediction is recited: "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, who has sanctified us with thy commandments and commanded us to eat *matsah.*" The bitter herbs (horseradish is generally used) are then dipped in the *ḥaroset* and eaten. There is a tradition that in Second Temple times the famous sage Hillel would eat *matsah,* bitter herbs, and the paschal lamb together. In honor of Hillel's practice, a sandwich is made of the third *matsah* and the bitter herbs. In many places the first course is a hard-boiled egg in salt water, a further symbol of the tears of the slaves in Egypt and their hard bondage.

At the end of the meal the *afiqoman* is eaten, and the Grace after Meals is recited over the third cup of wine. The Hallel (consisting of *Psalms* 113–118) and other hymns of thanksgiving are then recited over the fourth cup of wine. Before the recital of Hallel, a cup is filled for the prophet Elijah, the herald of the Messiah, who is said to visit every Jewish home on this night. The door of the house is opened to let Elijah in, and the children watch eagerly to see if they can notice any diminution in Elijah's cup as the prophet quickly sips the wine and speeds on his way to visit all the other homes. At this stage there is a custom dating from the Middle Ages of reciting a number of imprecations against those who oppressed the Jews and laid the Temple waste. Nowadays, many Jews either do not recite these verses or substitute prayers more relevant to the contemporary situation, such as prayers for freedom to be established for all people.

The Seder concludes with the cheerful singing of table hymns, most of them jingles for the delight of the children present, such as *Ḥad Gadyaʾ* (One kid), constructed on the same lines as *This Is the House That Jack Built,* the cat devouring the kid, the dog devouring the cat, and so on until the Angel of Death devours the final slaughterer and then God slays the Angel of Death. Commentators to the Haggadah have read into this theme various mystical ideas about the survival of Israel and the ultimate overcoming of death itself in eternal life. All join in singing these songs, for which there are many traditional melodies. This night is said to be one of God's special protection so that the usual night prayers on retiring to bed, supplicating God for his protection, are not recited since that protection is granted in any event.

SEE ALSO Leaven.

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PATAÑJALI THE GRAMMARIAN (fl. c. 140 BCE) was a Sanskrit grammarian and author of the *Mahābhāṣya,* the major commentary on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī.* Patañjali's *bhāṣya* ("commentary") focuses on Pāṇini's work both directly and indirectly, for it evaluates both Pāṇini's verses and those of Kātyāyana's *Vārttika,* the first notable commentary on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī.* Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali have often been grouped together in a kind of grammatical lineage; Pāṇini and Patañjali, however, remain by far the foremost authorities on the Sanskrit language.

Scholars vary in opinion as to Patañjali's purpose in composing his *Mahābhāṣya.* Most agree, however, that the very fact that Patañjali chose to fashion his observations not in an independent grammar but in a commentary on Pāṇini's work indicates great deference to the original grammarian; it was not Patañjali's purpose to attempt to surpass him or disprove his authority. In his work Patañjali mentions directly his indebtedness to the *mahācārya* ("great teacher").

Many social changes were occurring in India during Patañjali's time. There was an influx of different peoples from bordering lands; intellectual, commercial, and political contact with regions as far as Greece was common; and class structure was undergoing substantial transitions. Social change was reflected in language: The use of classical Sanskrit (i.e., the *saṃskṛta* or "perfected" language of Pāṇini) became restricted more and more to the social and literary elite, while the rest of the population spoke one of the many Prakrits (i.e., the *prakṛta,* or "natural, unpolished" languages and dialects) that were rapidly developing.

Even spoken Sanskrit was beginning to include *apaśabda,* "vulgar, imperfect speech." For example, social stratification had reduced women to a much lower status than that which they had enjoyed during the Vedic and early Upaniṣadic periods; this was reflected in speech by a growing irregularity of feminine forms and endings that all but eliminated the feminine honorific. Patañjali observed that the grammar of Pāṇini was by now being retained almost artificially; when he observed that even some of the most respected pandits, while meticulous in religious recitation, would resort to an occasional *apaśabda* term in their ordinary speech, he realized that certain modifications were in order. Patañjali thus became the first Indian grammarian to address the difference between *laukikabhāṣya* ("empirical language") and *śāstrīyabhāṣya* ("sacred language").

Patañjali's intent was not to reflect in grammar every form of imperfect speech, but rather to incorporate some of the changes that were occurring in spoken Sanskrit so that the language could thereby be preserved in a viable form. He chose to revalidate Pāṇini's dictums and expand them where necessary. If, for example, Pāṇini allowed that three classes of nouns conformed to a certain rule, Patañjali might revise the rule to incorporate an additional class. In Pāṇini's time the Vedic *ṛ* and *ḷ* were still commonly used vocalically. Within a few centuries the two letters had shifted, with very few exceptions, to the status of consonants; this was another type of change that Patañjali accommodated.

Patañjali believed that the grammarian should stay in touch with the contemporary language and provide for reasonable changes, adhering as closely as possible to the classical rules. In this way the populace would continue to turn to the grammarians for guidance in all matters of speech.

When Pāṇini composed his grammar he was more concerned with the forms of words (*pada*s) than with syntax and sentence meaning. By Patañjali's time, Mimāṃsā and other philosophical schools had introduced a shift in emphasis whereby speech (*vākya*) and the complete thought expressed in a sentence represented the true basis of language. Patañjali's contact with these other views influenced his expansion of Pāṇini's grammar, and he thus introduced the concept of *vākyasphota,* that is, the concept that the eternal element of sounds and words, and the true vehicle of an idea, flash on the mind when a sound is uttered. This indicates an inherent *nityatva* ("infinitude") in *śabda* ("correct grammatical speech"); even *apaśabda* ("incorrect speech") can partake of this in varying degrees.

By incorporating the notion of *nityatva* into *vyākaraṇa* ("grammar"), Patañjali helped to elevate the status of the science of grammar. Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī,* revered as it was for its insurmountable contributions to the preservation of the sacred Vedic speech and classical Sanskrit, did not belong to any particular category of Sanskrit literature before Patañjali's time. It was variously considered Dharmaśāstra, *smṛti,* Āgama, or, occasionally, Vedāṅga ("limb of the Veda"). Patañjali's observations and syntheses, in addition to his frequent reiteration that the study of *vyākaraṇa* is a religious duty, served to elevate Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* permanently to the sacred status of Vedāṅga.

SEE ALSO Vedāṅgas.

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PATRIARCHATE, or *Nesiʾut*, was the leading Jewish communal office in the Late Roman and Byzantine Empires, emerging soon after the destruction of the city and Temple of Jerusalem in 70 CE and disappearing in the first part of the fifth century. At its peak, the Patriarchate, a hereditary office passing from father to son, wielded authority throughout Roman-Byzantine Palestine as well as the Roman diaspora.

Our knowledge of the Patriarchate is relatively extensive. Rabbinic sources are especially rich in this regard, as the patriarch was an integral part of rabbinic circles from the late first century until the mid-third century. A number of archaeological sites from the third through the fifth centuries relate to this office: the Bet Sheʿarim necropolis; the Hammat Tiberias synagogue; and diaspora inscriptions from Stobi (Macedonia), Venosa, Sicily, and Argos. A number of Church Fathers take note of the Patriarchate as well, though usually in a negative vein; several, however, are quite informative. Finally, Roman sources—Julian, Libanius, and especially the Theodosian Code—are of cardinal importance for understanding the office during the fourth and early fifth centuries, and perhaps even earlier.

Although there is some dispute as to when this office first crystallized, with the minimalists claiming that it emerged as late as Rabbi Judah I at the turn of the third century and the maximalists as early as Hillel several centuries earlier, the general consensus dates its origin to the late first century and the figure of Rabban Gamaliel II. He appears to have maintained ongoing relations with Roman officials, as there are records of a number of trips he took to Rome and Antioch, and rabbinic sources refer on occasion to his relations with imperial authorities. However, Gamaliel's son, Rabbi Simeon, functioned after the Bar Kokhba revolt (132–135) and seems to have operated in a void. There is no evidence of any contact with Rome, and his authority and influence in Jewish society of his time appear severely limited.

The Patriarchate undoubtedly achieved new heights of prestige and authority in the days of Rabbi Judah I (often referred to as "the Prince," or simply "Rabbi"). Under the sympathetic Severan dynasty (193–235), he garnered a great deal of economic wealth and political influence that, when combined with his intellectual and religious stature, all but guaranteed him an undisputed position of leadership. His close relations with one Antoninus, possibly the emperor Caracalla (r. 211–217) himself, contributed to his accrued influence and means, and this in turn propelled the Patriarchate to an entirely new plane of power and responsibility. The testimony of Origen, who lived in Caesarea only a few years later, is rather dramatic; according to him, the Jewish ethnarch (another term for patriarch) functioned almost like a king, enjoying, inter alia, the power of capital punishment. Additional powers attributed to the third-century patriarchs in rabbinic literature include judicial appointments, some sort of control over educational institutions, and collecting taxes.

Given this enhanced status, and in line with the policy adopted by the Romans themselves throughout the East, the patriarch began to forge new alliances, the most important of which was with the wealthy Jewish urban aristocracies of Tiberias and Sepphoris. The need and desire of patriarchs to cultivate ties with those who were in a position to help them implement their policies were natural. These ties, however, often came at the expense of the sages. Time and again, the latter complained that the wealthy received judicial appointments in their stead and that the patriarchal taxation system affected them adversely.

The rabbis, for the most part, kept their distance from the patriarch as well, critiquing his policies, judgments, and decisions. The number of references to the patriarch drops precipitously in rabbinic sources after the early third century. Whereas Rabbi Judah I is mentioned some twelve hundred times, his grandson Judah II (c. 250 CE) is noted only fifty times, and the latter's grandson, Judah III (c. 300 CE), but twenty times. Fourth-century patriarchs are rarely mentioned in rabbinic sources.

The patriarch cultivated his own "rabbinic" circles, whose counsel he sought and on whom he relied to formulate and implement his policies. Those close to the patriarch were often buried in Bet Sheʿarim, a central necropolis famous for its association with this office, but practically no sages mentioned in rabbinic literature were interred there. As a result of this growing dichotomy, both the Patriarchate and sages became more and more peripheral to each other's agenda.

Fourth-century non-Jewish sources clearly indicate that the Patriarchate enjoyed extensive prestige and recognition. The Theodosian Code is particularly revealing in this regard. One decree, issued by the emperors Arcadius and Honorius in 397, stipulates that:

> those who are subject to the rule of the Illustrious Patriarchs, that is the archisynagogues, the patriarchs (*sic!*),

> the presbyters and the others who are occupied in the rite of that religion, shall persevere in keeping the same privileges that are reverently bestowed on the first clerics of the venerable Christian Law. For this was decreed in divine order also by the divine Emperors Constantine and Constantius, Valentinian and Valens. Let them therefore be exempt even from the curial liturgies, and obey their laws. (Theodosian Code 16, 8, 13, in Linder, *The Jews in Roman Imperial Legislation*, no. 27)

This decree clearly spells out the dominance of the patriarch in a wide range of synagogue affairs: he stood at the head of a network of officials, including archisynagogues, patriarchs, presbyters, and others who were in charge of the religious dimension of the synagogue, all of whom had privileges on a par with the Christian clergy. Moreover, this arrangement is said to date from the time of Constantine, over sixty years earlier. When added to other areas of authority noted in earlier rabbinic literature, such as calendrical decisions (determining the time of a new month and when to add an additional month to the year), declaring public fast days, and issuing bans, then the prominence of this office in Jewish communal and religious life becomes quite evident.

With the Patriarchate's demise around 425 CE (for reasons unknown), the last vestige of a unifying public office for Jews living under Roman domination disappeared. Local autonomy, which had always been an important factor in Jewish society, now reigned supreme for a number of centuries.

SEE ALSO Rabbinic Judaism in Late Antiquity; Sanhedrin; Talmud.

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LEE I. LEVINE (2005)

PATRIARCHY AND MATRIARCHY. Patriarchy may be defined as the "rule of the father" that extends beyond the confines of the family to include the governance of men and the dominance of male values in society as a whole. Patriarchal dominance, whether that of male heads of extended families or the *andrarchy* of senior men within a given political dispensation, gives men control over the familial and political economy; limits women's freedom of sexual expression and alliance; marginalizes or excludes them from political and religious leadership; and limits their education and sometimes their freedom of movement. Specific phenomena associated with the patriarchal privileging of the masculine include female economic disadvantage, the coerced genital mutilation experienced by an estimated two million girls a year, the sex selection practices and female infanticide in parts of India and China, and the preferential care of boys in developing or underdeveloped countries leading to a higher mortality rate for girls.

Since the mid-nineteenth century, first and then second wave feminisms have sharply challenged patriarchy as a primary injustice to be remedied by women's educational, professional, and political emancipation from the familial sphere. By the end of the 1970s patriarchy had been judged not only the primary and general cause of female suffering, but the appropriation, accumulation, and consumption of all bodily and natural territory and resources (often cast as female) by male elites in the consolidation and expansion of their own power. Second wave radical feminism launched the most uncompromising critique of patriarchy. Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics* (New York, 1970) argued that patriarchy, with "God on its side," ideologically exaggerates male and female difference in the interests of maintaining roles that produce male dominance and female subordination. Marilyn French, in *Beyond Power: On Women, Men, and Morals* (New York, 1985), also cast patriarchy as the paradigmatic social oppression that produces all others.

However, a postmodern unease with cumbersome "grand narratives" and absolute moral dualities (even when conceived by feminists) has seen a number of feminist theorists either relinquish the universalizing term *patriarchy,* or relativize it by using it in the plural to theorize the relation between different social, historical, geographic, economic, and ethnic hierarchies. It is now recognized that patriarchies vary and that they intersect with complex factors of class and race. It is clear that not all women suffer equally (if at all) under patriarchy since it can reward cooperative women closely associated with powerful men through marriage or birth. As black women have pointed out, not all women are powerless: black women have been oppressed not only by men but by white women as well. It is also clear that while political and religious structures traditionally serve male interests, not all men personally oppress women, and some men feel less than comfortable with the heterosexism and machismo pervasive in patriarchal cultures.

For these reasons, recent feminist scholarship has proposed a new terminology by which to account for the normativity and privileging of the masculine. In her book *But She Said* (1992) Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza coined the term *kyriarchy* to denote the rule of the emperor, lord, master, and husband over all their subordinates, including women, in order to demonstrate that not all men have the same sort of power over all women, and that elite men exercise power over nonelite men. Other commentators prefer the term *masculinist* to *patriarchal* since the former suggests that certain practices, categories, and values defer to the masculine but that men as such are not essentially culpable for all social ills. More typical of French feminist theory is the term *phallocentric.* Here, feminism rejects the Freudian phallocentrism in which power and agency is signified by the phallus, thereby casting the female as the merely receptive or as that which lacks the active procreative agency of the male. In opposition to the patriarchal preoccupation with mortality, Grace Jantzen borrows the term *natalist* from Hannah Arendt to describe how feminist values demonstrate an active commitment to the nurturing of life.

Despite the introduction of a more nuanced and contextualized terminology, most religious feminists would still want to claim that patriarchal religious traditions, that is almost the whole of the world's religious traditions, are founded, interpreted, represented, and mediated by men and from the perspective of the male subject. Religious feminist scholars have been unanimous in their view of the world's religions as the engines and regulators of patriarchal societies. It was the radical, post-Christian feminist Mary Daly who, in her early books *Beyond God the Father* (1985) and *Gyn/Ecology* (1991), was to insist that the male God's transcendent power was the source of all female disempowerment. The possibility of female authenticity, vitality, or "lust" was to be predicated on women's exodus from patriarchal religious practice and consciousness with its derogation of the natural and emphasis on "female" reproductivity. Christian feminists also argued that the patriarchal model of God as King, Lord, Father, and Husband of the Church and of the people of Israel founds and symbolizes a hierarchical sacred order whose political power sanctions the marginalization or exclusion of women and of the distinctively female experience, however socially and historically diverse that might be.

Patriarchy has been, and remains, a psychological, spiritual, and political impediment to emotional reciprocity and mutuality. Scripture, theology, and religious rituals not only often discriminate against women but can also sanction contempt for and violence against women. Patriarchal religion characteristically valorizes feminine spiritualities of self-sacrifice, submission, and silence; its ascetic dimension typically devalues or repudiates female sexuality as a locus and occasion of cultic and moral impurity or chaos and blames women for their subordination.

Feminist scholars of religion therefore interpret religious phenomena with a critical "hermeneutic of suspicion." This need not amount to a repudiation of religion: religious feminism stands in moral judgment on patriarchy as the definitive or "original" sin while also recognizing that religion can countermand its own patriarchy. By the early 1990s feminist scholarship had conceded that patriarchal religion can both protect and limit women's rights; it is both liberative and oppressive. Feminist literature, historiography, and ethics demonstrate that women may be the victims of patriarchy but can also be the agents of their own spiritual and practical resistance. In short, the term *patriarchy* remains central to the feminist interpretation and, more, to the feminist-prophetic criticism of religion, even though the latter's generalization of religion is no longer academically or intellectually entirely persuasive.

MATRIARCHY. Contemporary anthropologists agree that there is no known matriarchal society in which women were or are accorded political power or hierarchical dominance over men by virtue of being female. Admittedly, some cultures—especially those of South America—offer myths of prehistorical female dominance, and instances may be found of matrilinearity (where name, inheritance, and other statuses pass through the maternal line) and matrilocality (where men reside in their wives' or mothers' homes). This does not, however, amount to conclusive evidence for matriarchy. Belief in the replacement of matriarchy by patriarchy belongs rather to a nineteenth-century progressivist account of cultural evolution in which the instinctive "primitive" veneration of female generative power was gradually succeeded by the rational knowledge of the role of male paternity. Since Johann Jakob Bachofen published his *Das Mutterrecht* (Mother-right) in 1861, arguing that women enjoyed social power in prehistorical societies because only a woman is demonstrably the parent of her child, anthropologists and feminists have, for different political reasons, sought to demonstrate the possibility of an original or surviving society dominated or governed by women.

While matriarchal theory has since become profoundly unfashionable, some spiritual feminists persist in its promotion. The feminist archaeologist Marija Gimbutas is the best known of those who have presented (hotly contested) archaeological evidence that women enjoyed socioreligious preeminence in peaceable prehistoric Goddess-worshiping cultures prior to their destruction between the fifth and third centuries BCE by the military and agricultural technologies and patriarchal religious systems of invading warrior horsemen.

While it is evident that the worship of goddesses in various of the world's religions does not necessarily or usually entail the social ascendancy of feminine values, some contemporary post-Christian feminists, especially Wiccan feminists, associate matriarchy with the worship of the Great Goddess. Inspired by the existence of a very few small, women-led, primal religions (see Sered, 1994), these spiritual feminists have sought to recover the power of a female divine principle in the conviction that it is this which will underpin the possibility of female social power and the decline of patriarchy. Nonetheless, it should be noted that very few religious feminists have used the term *matriarchy* to denote a simple reversal of power from men to women. Some post-Christian feminists have preferred the less hierarchical term *matrifocal* to symbolize religious practice inspired by the practical authority of mothers as opposed to fathers, but not as a bid for social dominance.

SEE ALSO Androcentrism; Gender and Religion, overview article and article on History of Study; Gender Roles; Goddess Worship, overview article; Gynocentrism; Women's Studies.

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MELISSA RAPHAEL (2005)

PATRICK (c. 390–c. 460), called the "apostle of the Irish," was a Christian Briton sent by his church as a missionary bishop to Ireland. During thirty years of evangelistic and pastoral work, Patrick laid foundations for the Roman church in Ireland and for the wide influence it later came to have in Europe.

Apart from numerous traditions and legends about Patrick, historians are dependent on two documents, his *Confession* and *Letter to the Soldiers of Coroticus.* Scholars agree that these are authentic but have differed as to their implications. Patrick was evidently born and raised in Roman Britain. His father, Calpornius, a Roman citizen, a well-to-do landholder, and a member of a district council, was responsible for collecting taxes in his area. From childhood Patrick spoke two languages, British (a Celtic language) and a commercial, unscholarly form of Latin. Behind him were at least two generations of Christians: His paternal grandfather was a presbyter, or priest, and his father was a deacon. Yet, during his childhood, Patrick's own faith seems to have been only nominal.

During the fourth century the invading Anglo-Saxons had pushed the Britons into the western part of England and into Wales. For generations the Irish tribes had raided the west coast of Britain for slaves. With Roman protection growing weaker toward the end of the fourth century, these raids became more frequent. About 406, when Patrick was sixteen years old, the raiders descended on the estate of Patrick's father. Along with hundreds of others, Patrick was carried off to the west coast of Ireland to work as a herdsman. For one accustomed to the culture of Roman civilization and the privileges of rural aristocracy, the hardship of enslavement by an uncouth people was a traumatic experience. Yet it kindled Patrick's faith such that it grew into a warm piety with a vivid awareness of the presence and friendship of God. He wrote, "In a single day I would say as many as a hundred prayers, and almost as many at night." After six years of captivity, when he was about twenty-two, Patrick fled his captors and made his way back to his family in Britain. The next years were probably spent in one of the monasteries of Britain. Some scholars have held that these years, or part of them, were spent in France, but from his ideas and practices and the quality of his Latin, recent scholarship has concluded that Patrick was a thoroughgoing representative of British Christianity. If he spent any time in Gaul, it was probably brief.

Sometime in the 420s Patrick dreamed that his former Irish captors were calling him back: "We ask thee, boy, come and walk among us once more" (*Confession* 23). During his slave days he had learned the Irish language (a Celtic language akin to British) and now felt drawn by God to return. His monastic years had provided him neither higher education nor fluency in Latin, but there was much evidence of his Christian dedication and ability as a leader. The British church had already sent at least one mission to a neighboring territory (led by Ninian). So they concurred with Patrick's call, appointed him bishop, and around 431 sent him and some assistants to Ireland. He was then about forty years old. He traveled to the northeast of Ireland, was welcomed by the regional king, and probably made his headquarters at Armagh, near the king's estate.

Other Christians had preceded Patrick to Ireland. The slave raids, the Irish settlers returned from Britain, and commerce with Christian tribes had brought Christian influence to the country. But the Christian presence was scattered. A year or so before Patrick's trip, Rome had sent a bishop, Palladius, to southern Ireland. His work may have overlapped that of Patrick; in any event, it was cut short by his early death. Patrick was thus the pioneer missionary in the area.

Amid the traditional religion of the druids and among the unlettered Irish, Patrick's work was typical of a fifth-century missionary bishop. He made friends, preached, baptized, confirmed, celebrated the Eucharist, encouraged the formation of monasteries, and prepared and ordained clergy. This meant that he developed a written language and taught his ordinands to read and write. He excommunicated where he felt it necessary and assumed that a bishop's authority was paramount in the church (later influence on the Celtic church shifted authority to the monasteries and the abbots). Patrick distributed relief goods supplied by the British church. He was not an academic theologian but an activist bishop.

Inevitably opposition arose from the druids and at times from within the Irish and British churches. In later years Patrick wrote his *Confession* to explain his activities. Some of his personality and message are reflected in his two writings. One finds a disarming honesty and modesty, a deep pastoral concern, frequent quotations from the Bible, a sense of unworthiness, and gratitude toward a merciful and sovereign God, who cares for people and wants their responding faith and a behavior that is just and merciful. His theology was orthodox trinitarian and evangelical. He saw himself as an evangelist, a "fisher of men." He was a vigorous defender of his flock. He once wrote to "the Soldiers of Coroticus," a group of his own British people, Christians and Roman citizens, to rebuke them for raiding an Irish settlement and carrying away newly baptized youths. His ministry in Ireland seems to have lasted about thirty years, until his death, around 460. Details of Patrick's travels and work in Ireland are not available, but legends about him attest to the love and respect he must have received. Later the Irish church that he helped found contributed substantially to the evangelization of Scotland, northern England, and western Europe.

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H. McKENNIE GOODPASTURE (1987)

PAUCK, WILHELM (1901–1981), was a German-American historian and theologian. Born in Westphalia, Germany, on January 31, 1901, Pauck was reared in Berlin, where his father taught physics. He studied at the universities of Berlin and Göttingen, taking his licentiate in theology at Berlin in 1925 with a dissertation on Martin Bucer. The decisive influences on his intellectual development were two Berlin professors of renown, Ernst Troeltsch and Karl Holl. It was Troeltsch who first turned him to the study of theology and impressed upon him the nature of Christianity as a historical movement that must be interpreted by means of the historical method. From Holl he received magisterial instruction in Reformation history and theology, above all in studies of Martin Luther. He also heard lectures by two other giants of modern Protestant thought: Adolf von Harnack (at Berlin) and Karl Barth (at Göttingen).

Pauck came to the United States in 1925, was ordained to the ministry of the Congregational Church in 1928, and became an American citizen in 1937. His teaching career, which bore remarkable fruit, spanned fifty years: at the Chicago Theological Seminary and, chiefly, at the divinity school and history department of the University of Chicago (1926–1953); at Union Theological Seminary, New York City (1953–1967); at Vanderbilt University (until 1972); and as professor emeritus at Stanford University (until 1976). He died in Palo Alto, California, on September 3, 1981.

Pauck's thought has been aptly described as an ellipse with two foci, one in the Reformation interpretation of the

Christian gospel and the other in the modern historical understanding of reality. This dual commitment led him to reject two strategies that he considered equally ahistorical: either a simple "repristination" of Reformation theology (as attempted by Protestant neoorthodoxy) or a facile "accommodation" of the Christian tradition to modernity (as practiced by radical theological liberalism). His own approach to the Reformation was at once critical and conserving—the latter because Reformation religion was biblical and evangelical and thus foundational to authentic Protestantism; the former because the permanent truth of the Christian gospel cannot be identified with any of its temporary historical forms, all of which are necessarily relative to their immediate contexts and thus must be constantly refashioned in response to new historical situations. Hence Pauck maintained that the future of Protestantism lay with the historical-critical interpretation of Christianity articulated by such premier liberal theologians as Troeltsch and Harnack, rather than with the traditional "dogmatic" viewpoint espoused by the neoorthodox theologians, especially Barth.

Pauck's writings, distinguished by the vast learning and literary felicity evinced by them, moved with ease from the Reformation era through nineteenth-century liberal Protestantism to contemporary theology. Two collections of his seminal essays are of special importance: *The Heritage of the Reformation* (2d ed., rev. and enl., 1961) and *From Luther to Tillich: The Reformers and Their Heirs*, edited by Marion Pauck (1984). His preeminence as a Luther scholar is displayed in his new edition and translation of Luther's *Lectures on Romans* with a masterly general introduction (1961). Other representative publications are *Das Reich Gottes auf Erden: Utopie und Wirklichkeit* (The Kingdom of God on earth: utopia and reality, 1928), a still valuable study of Bucer; *Karl Barth: Prophet of a New Christianity?* (1931); *Harnack and Troeltsch: Two Historical Theologians* (1968); and, in collaboration with his wife Marion Pauck, *Paul Tillich: His Life and Thought* (1976).

Pauck's most important achievement and enduring legacy is that he transmitted to North America the great tradition of Reformation scholarship that had emerged in his native Germany during the first half of the twentieth century. Famed as a virtuoso lecturer and a wise director of graduate students, he trained, at Chicago and New York, two generations of the leading American historical theologians and Reformation scholars. Thus, through his writings and classroom teaching, Pauck exercised an extraordinary influence on American Protestantism, enabling it to recover its Reformation roots in a form suited to its contemporary situation.

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DAVID W. LOTZ (1987)
Revised Bibliography

PAUL VI (Giovanni Battista Montini, 1897–1978), was pope of the Roman Catholic Church during most of the Second Vatican Council and the years immediately after it. Born to influential and prosperous parents in Concesio, near Brescia, Italy, the sickly young Giovanni was nurtured in an encompassing church environment and groomed for leadership beginning with his seminary career. By the time he was ordained in 1920 he had already begun making friends and adopting styles that were to be conducive to a diplomatic career in the church.

Pius XII wanted to name Montini a cardinal in 1953, but he declined this honor until 1958, when John XXIII endowed him with the title. Pius had earlier appointed the scholarly, diplomatic-minded cleric archbishop of Milan, a key post. Yet it was his years in the Vatican Secretariat of State, to which he had been related through various positions for three decades, that best prepared Montini for the papal vocation to which his colleagues in the cardinalite named him on June 21, 1963.

The first and generally disappointing session of the Second Vatican Council, called by John XXIII to effect reform and renewal in the church, had occurred in autumn of 1962. It now fell to Paul VI to authorize its continuation and to preside over it through three more sessions. Montini's previous reputation would have seen him acting far more in continuity with the conservative, cautious ways of Pius XII than with the bold and disruptive styles of John XXIII. Yet, though he always remained conservative and cautious, he did help create a climate in which the bishops undertook actions that promoted *aggiornamento,* the creative shaking up and rearrangement that John had hoped for from the council.

Through the three remaining sessions, council decrees supported ecumenism, a more open attitude toward other religions (*Nostra aetate*), a collegiality of a sort that implied a sharing of papal power with the bishops, and many internal reforms. Paul seemed to sense more than did many of the reformers that it would not be easy to administer and lead a church in transition to the modern world. While Paul shared a passion to make the church at home in this world, he also felt distanced from secular life and warned against an easy embrace for contemporary value.

Though Paul VI was instinctively reluctant to be an iconoclast, his papacy did initiate many practices that assured continuance of conciliar styles. He worked continuously to reform the Curia, the network of Vatican congregations and offices that surrounds the pope. He changed the often repressive Congregation of the Holy Office to a somewhat more judicious Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith. He gave it more positive assignments than the old Holy Office, which had been associated chiefly with prohibiting suspicious books through the Index of Forbidden Books (*Index prohibitorum librorum*).

More important, Paul continued renewal by establishing a Synod of Bishops, whose second meeting in 1969 was as successful as its first one in 1967 had been fumbling and inauspicious. Subsequent meetings of this synod occurred in 1971, 1974, and 1977. At each of these the pope found means to exert pressure for more change and then to counterbalance it, by example and injunction, to hold to tradition where possible.

Reform of the Curia and promotion of synods, his most important works inside the Vatican, were less visible to the church or to the public than other activities for which Paul VI is remembered and through which he left an indelible stamp on the papacy. Most visible was his personal manner. The second regularly televised pope, he was the first to be televised throughout his entire papal career, and he was the first pope to ride in an airplane. He was the subject of extensive media coverage because of the way Vatican II had projected the papacy into the center of religious and political affairs. The pope's image was that of a studious academic, a sober and often mournful figure who bore the weight of many burdens, a leader who cautioned against reckless change.

Of change there was plenty. Priests by the thousands were leaving the priesthood to go into secular work and often to marry. Their move depleted the work force and symbolized decline in the older-style clerical church. Paul took these losses personally and warned remaining priests not to have romantic notions that the church could live without faithful priests or that those who left the priesthood—or the convent, for that matter, since many members of religious orders of women were also leaving them—could accomplish as much for Christ outside their office as in them. Yet he was not able to slow the exodus from the priesthood and the orders.

Paul compensated for some of these losses by giving the church a far more positive image in the eyes of those who had once regarded it, and especially its papal leadership, as alien and self-enclosed. He became the "pilgrim pope," who in a sequence of travels deftly displayed the best his church and he as pope had to offer. In 1964 Paul broke precedent by embracing Patriarch Athenagoras during a trip to Israel, a pilgrimage rich in symbolism for both Judaism and Orthodox Christianity. The papacy had long symbolized to Jews the focus of anti-Jewish thought and action. Paul VI made efforts to enlarge upon the Vatican Council's new spirit toward Jews. Meanwhile, Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy, having been severed from each other for nine hundred years, in symbol and in spirit came closer together through the papal and patriarchal embrace in Israel than they had at any previous time during those centuries.

Paul's early travels, during which he reached out to Judaism and, more, to Orthodoxy, showed the thrust of his papacy: For all his cautions, he is remembered as an ecumenical pioneer. First, he encouraged "secular ecumenism" by inaugurating a Vatican Secretariat for Nonbelievers and reached to other faiths in 1964 by appointing a Secretariat for Relations with Non-Christian Religions. He followed up his approach to Orthodoxy with a stop in Turkey in 1967, again to see Athenagoras. He also visited the headquarters of the Orthodox and Protestant World Council of Churches in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1969. His words and actions showed that he saw great differences between Roman Catholic and other Christians, yet he would not let these hinder his efforts to improve relations.

Second, the pilgrim pope's travels let him indicate other directions he would take the church. At the council he clearly wanted to be known as the pope of the poor and, after it, a pope of peace. To this end, in another trip without precedent, he traveled to New York to address the United Nations in 1965. Diplomats were constantly welcomed at the Vatican, always with an interest in seeing whether Paul VI's interventions might promote justice, distribution of resources, and peace. To anyone who observed, it was clear that the papacy henceforth would not be perceived as participating in world affairs only to advance its own ends. His letter *Populorum progressio* in 1967 revealed his lifelong interest in social justice and seemed to be such a departure from Vatican conservatism that in America the *Wall Street Journal* called it "warmed-over Marxism." Needless to say, Paul was radically removed from the religious or antireligious ideology of Marxism, against which he constantly cautioned.

Third, his travels allowed Paul to combine ecumenical and internationalist issues by showing his interest in church and society in developing nations. His trips were to take him to Asia in 1964, to Colombia in 1968, to Uganda in 1969, and to a number of nations (including the Philippines, where an assassin threatened him) in 1970. His efforts to deal with the poor in these nations and elsewhere were compromised in the eyes of his critics by his resistance to birth control and population planning as means of limiting hunger and misery.

Birth control was a controversial issue also within the church. In 1968 Paul went against the advice of the majority of his chosen counselors on the subject and in his letter *Hu-*

manae vitae upheld the tradition of his predecessors, who had condemned what they called "artificial" birth control. Theologians in many nations subsequently spoke out in open revolt. Many bishops and priests had difficulties administering the church in congruence with *Humanae vitae.* Polls showed that in several nations the large marjority of Roman Cathoic couples did practice such birth control—a sign, to the pope, of a disobedience that became as great a burden as did the defection of priests.

Humanae vitae symbolized the efforts of Paul VI to slow change in the church. In 1967 his *Sacerdotalis caelibatus* emphatically insisted on celibacy for Latin-rite priests and dashed the hopes of those who desired some change in this concept. It was clear through these letters that the pope wanted to balance his ecumenical and diplomatic image as a flexible leader with an internal or churchly posture that would resist many kinds of compromise with the modern world. In a disciplined way, however, he also set the church on a fresh course, making it impossible for his successors to return it to its sequestered and self-defensive pre–Vatican II styles.

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The collected writings and addresses of Paul VI to the midway point in his papacy are to be found in *The Teachings of Pope Paul VI,* 11 vols. (New York, 1968–1979), but a more condensed version of these is *The Mind of Paul VI on the Church and the World,* edited by James Walsh (Milwaukee, 1964), with emphasis on Montini's religious ideas prior to his election as pontiff. The most readable of the early biographies is Corrado Pallenberg's *The Making of a Pope* (New York, 1964), which avoids hagiographical tendencies if not uncritical enthusiasms; Michael Serafian's *The Pilgrim* (New York, 1964) avoids neither but provides ample detail for an understanding of Paul's 1964 embrace of Eastern Orthodoxy and the "third world" of developing nations. Insight into the pope's character, personality, and theological thought is provided by a series of interviews entitled *The Pope Speaks: Dialogues of Paul VI with Jean Guitton,* translated by Anne Fremantle and Christopher Fremantle (London, 1968). An interesting and informative study of the administrative aspect of Paul's papacy and its link with previous administrations is Peter Nichols's *The Politics of the Vatican* (London, 1968). The best English-language source compiling contemporary evaluations of Paul's major contributions and/or missteps is *Paul VI: Critical Appraisals,* edited by James F. Andrews (New York, 1970). After the pontiff's trip to New York and the United Nations, a number of pictorial essays and journalistic accounts of the event appeared. None is outstanding, but Bill Adler's *Pope Paul in the United States: His Mission for Peace on Earth, October 4, 1965* (New York, 1965) is as good as any.

MARTIN E. MARTY (1987)

PAUL THE APOSTLE (d. 62 CE), also called Paul of Tarsus, known to Jewish Christians as Saul, was a Christian apostle and saint. A controversial missionary, Paul provoked intense opposition both during his career and after. His letters, which make up a substantial portion of the New Testament canon, stimulated diverse reactions and attracted problematic adherents to his beliefs. Modern research has uncovered the efforts of the post-Pauline church to soften his legacy of theological radicalism.

Some of Paul's letters, such as *1 Corinthians* and *2 Corinthians,* were edited a generation after Paul's death in an effort to mold them in directions suitable for the conservative consolidation of Christianity. Other letters, for example, *1 Timothy, 2 Timothy,* and *Titus,* were composed in Paul's name to serve the same purposes. In addition, several interpolations, such as *1 Corinthians* 14:33b–36 and *Romans* 16:17–20, skew Paul's message in authoritarian and sexually chauvinistic directions. *Acts of the Apostles* also presents a conservative picture of Paul.

The result is that the indisputably genuine letters (*Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, Philemon, 1 Thessalonians,* and, with less unanimity, *2 Thessalonians*) have traditionally been interpreted in light of the later writings. This has resulted in serious confusions concerning Paul's theology, his relations with his churches and with other early Christian leaders, his outlook on major ethical issues, and the chronology of his life. Scholars have tended to be divided along ideological lines in resolving these issues, eliminating the possibility of consensus even on the most elemental facts about Paul's life.

Another problem is the tradition of theological abstraction in interpreting the Pauline letters. Because Christian theology has been shaped so largely by Pauline thought, the tendency has been to argue over every nuance, on the premise that Paul was a systematic theorist setting down doctrinal truth for all time. In fact, his letters are highly situational responses to complex congregational problems. The letters should be interpreted in light of those social realities, requiring the interpreter to reconstruct the situation largely on the basis of evidence within the letters themselves. This is rendered more difficult by traditional scholarly biases against the charismatic, sectarian, apocalyptic, and mystical experiences that animated Paul and his communities. Modern scholarship has detected the long-standing "fallacy of idealism," to use Bengt Holmberg's expression in *Paul and Power* (Philadelphia, 1978), by which Paul's theological response to problems arising from these sectarian communities has been wrongly interpreted as if it were the structuring principle of those communities.

The application of modern research techniques has allowed the apostle Paul to emerge from the mists of later orthodoxy and hagiography so that the fusion of his charismatic religious experience, his cooperative missionary activities, and his dialogical theology can be grasped. In contrast to traditional preferences that still persist among interpreters, Paul's view of salvation was cosmic rather than individualistic. His worldview was apocalyptic rather than bourgeois. He participated along with his churches in sectarian experiences of radical transformation, spiritual enthusiasm, and the expectation of future vindication. The preaching that evoked those experiences is accessible only by inferences from his letters, while his theology was the inspired but largely impromptu response to missional and congregational imperatives. The vitality and profundity of Paul's occasional remarks in the letters led to recognition of "the genius of Paul," which is the title of Samuel Sandmel's significant study (Philadelphia, 1979).

In order to break from the framework of *Acts* and the later writings of the Pauline school, it is necessary to reconstruct Paul's career primarily from the authentic letters.

From Pharisee to Christian missionary. The evidence in *Philippians* 3:3–4 and *Galatians* 1:13–24 indicates that Paul came from a Hellenistic-Jewish family in the Diaspora. His zeal for the law and his persecution of early Christians in Diaspora synagogues as heretics place him close to the school of Shammai in the Pharisee party. If he ever studied under Gamliʾel the Elder as reported in *Acts* 22:3, he rejected his teacher's tolerance. Because he was a complete stranger to residents of Judaea (*Gal.* 1:22), it is likely that Paul was educated in Tarsus rather than Jerusalem. His Roman citizenship and his mastery of Greek, including a sophisticated grasp of Greco-Roman rhetoric, indicate he came from a prominent family that had rendered loyal service to the empire and was in a position to offer him a classical as well as a Hebrew education. Paul's trade of tent making, probably learned in the family shop, allowed him thereafter a degree of independence as a journeyman leatherworker, according to Ronald F. Hock in *The Social Context of Paul's Ministry* (Philadelphia, 1980).

In the two laconic references to his conversion in 34 CE (*1 Cor.* 15:8, *Gal.* 1:15–17), Paul alludes to a theophanic experience of encountering the risen Christ on the road to Damascus. In the context of his persecution of diaspora Christians as violators of synagogal legalism, this encounter indicated that Jesus, who had been crucified for lawlessness and blasphemy, was indeed the promised Messiah. The correctness of Jesus' message and the sin of his persecutors were proven by his resurrection and appearance to Paul. Paul's robust and confident commitment to legal obedience as the path to the messianic kingdom, characteristic of Phariseeism, was therefore shattered and replaced by a mystical identification with the Messiah (*Phil.* 3:4–8).

Krister Stendahl is correct in insisting that Paul's references to the Damascus experience preclude any interpretation in terms of resolving guilt concerning Paul's previous performance as a Pharisee. "There is no indication that psychologically Paul had some problem of conscience," producing a conversion along the lines of Augustine or Luther, Stendahl writes in *Paul among Jews and Gentiles* (Philadelphia, 1976, p. 13). Paul speaks of being "called" rather than converted, impelled by the encounter with the risen Christ to become a missionary to lawless Gentiles (*Gal.* 1:15–16). Paul's zeal for the law changed into its opposite: a commitment to the inclusion of Gentiles in the messianic community without imposing the burden of the law. Paul's previous intolerant exclusion of "heretics" was transformed into a lifelong commitment to messianic pluralism so offensive to zealous legalists that from that moment on Paul became the target of reprisals (*1 Thes.* 2:2, 14–16).

In the seven to eight years after his Damascus experience, Paul was aligned with the Hellenistic Christians of Arabia, Syria, and Cilicia who had been driven out of Jerusalem after the martyrdom of Stephen (*1 Thes.* 1:15, *Acts* 8:1–4). Accepting their version of Christianity, which was critical of the Temple cult, legalistic obedience, and racial-religious zealotism, Paul became an artisan-missionary involved in creating charismatic communities of faith consisting of Jews and Gentiles (*Gal.* 1:23, 2:12–16). Troubles with political authorities, which began quite early in his career (cf. *2 Cor.* 11:32–33), were probably provoked by the highly charged, sectarian apocalypticism that marked these radical communities. For a brief period of fifteen days, he visited the apostle Peter in Jerusalem (*Gal.* 1:18–20), but in Paul's letters there is no evidence of theological influence from the more conservative branch of early Christianity. By the early 40s, Paul was working in cooperation with the dynamic center of Hellenistic Christianity in Antioch. Sharing their commitment to interracial, charismatic leadership (*Acts* 13:1), to intense community life of prayer and ecstatic worship (*Acts* 13:2–4), and to the eucharistic meal as an expression of unity (*Gal.* 2:12–16), Paul became one of the leaders in the first organized mission to Cyprus and southern Galatia around the years 43–45 (*Acts* 13–14).

Judging from Paul's earliest references to his missionary preaching (*1 Thes.* 1:9–10, 2:9–13), his message centered in the apocalyptic dawn of a new age that opened salvation to Gentiles. The "gospel of God" included an exposure of idolatry and a promise of escape "from the wrath to come." The resurrection of Jesus and the expectation of his return are given prominent expression. The invitation of Gentiles to "faith in God" (*1 Thes.* 1:8) without the imposition of the law implies a substantial break with Pharisaic Judaism as well as with conservative Jewish Christianity in Jerusalem. Yet at this early stage there is no indication of a systematic critique of the law; in fact, a positive assessment of legal holiness is visible as late as 50 CE in *1 Thessalonians* 4:1–8, a position consistent with the negative view of "lawlessness" in *2 Thessalonians* 2:3, 7, 8. The hostile reactions of Jewish zealots to Paul's early preaching (*1 Thes.* 2:15–16; *Acts* 13:45, 13:50, 14:2–5, 14:19) can be understood on the grounds of the inclusion of despised Gentiles, without assuming the abrasive rhetoric of Paul's later teaching about freedom from the law.

Beginning in approximately 46 CE, Paul entered a fully independent phase of missionizing. While two earlier colleagues traveled to Cyprus, apparently with the support of the Antioch church, Paul, Silas, and Timothy struck off for the west (*1 Thes.* 1:1, *Acts* 16:6–12). Revisiting the churches of Cilicia and southern Galatia, they spent as much as a year in the northern Galatia cities of Ancyra, Pessinus, and Germa founding several churches (*Gal.* 1:2) of purely Gentile members of Gallo-Grecian background (*Gal.* 3:1) despite an illness that Paul suffered at this time (*Gal.* 4:13–15). A period of shifting plans followed, in which Paul and his colleagues were dissuaded from traveling to the populous provinces of Asia and Bithynia. They ended up in Troas, where a church was founded (*Acts* 16:8–10, 20:6–12) and where they were joined by the author, traditionally identified as Luke, of the "we-source" material in the second half of *Acts.*

Sailing to Europe in the spring of 48 CE, they founded the important congregation in Philippi. Predominantly Gentile in background, this church entered into a formal arrangement with Paul, forming what Paul J. Sampley has called "a consensual partnership in Christ for preaching the gospel" (*Pauline Partnership in Christ,* Philadelphia, 1980, p. 51). Paul thereafter received financial support from Philippi for the extended activities of an increasing circle of missionary colleagues while continuing to work as a tent maker. Among the male and female co-workers whose names are known to us from this period are Timothy, Titus, Silas, Luke, Epaphroditus, Clement, Euodia, and Syntyche, along with local patrons and patronesses such as the Philippian jailor and Lydia. The charismatic, apocalyptic piety of this congregation contained some divisive tendencies (*Phil.* 4:2–3) and it experienced a traumatic expulsion of heretical libertinists during the founding mission (*Phil.* 3:17–20). The Philippian mission came to an end in the spring or summer of 49 with a humiliating episode of mob violence followed by judicial beating and imprisonment (*1 Thes.* 2:2, *Acts* 16:19–40).

Continuing in a westward direction after the expulsion from Philippi, Paul and his traveling companions arrived in Thessalonica, where a rapidly expanding ministry was cut short after several months by riotous opposition from the local synagogue (*Acts* 17:1–9; *1 Thes.* 2:14–17). A congregation marked by enthusiastic radicalism was formed out of Jewish and Gentile converts, including a house-church patron by the name of Jason and several prominent women. Because the Thessalonian letters were composed so quickly after Paul's departure, one gains a vivid picture of a freshly established congregation. It was troubled by conflicts over sexual irregularities (*1 Thes.* 4:1–8), the status and control of ecstatic forms of worship (*1 Thes.* 5:19–22), and tensions between leaders and followers (*1 Thes.* 5:12–13). A key factor in these troubles was the misunderstanding of Pauline apocalypticism (*1 Thes.* 5:1–11, *2 Thes.* 2:1–12), which ultimately led to the incredible announcement by a Thessalonian ecstatic that "the day of the Lord has already come" (*2 Thes.* 2:2). Apparently the radicals interpreted their experience of the spirit in a way that made them believe that history had come to an end. Some of these leaders had dropped out of their daily occupations to be supported by the congregation as full-time charismatics, free from restraint (*1 Thes.* 5:14, *2 Thes.* 3:6–15). This highly inflated enthusiasm was severely shaken by the unexpected violence that had forced Paul to leave Thessalonica and thereafter resulted in the harassment and death of congregational members. Having erroneously concluded that the age of the spirit had released them from the risks of history, these shock waves led to the crisis addressed by Paul's first congregational letters composed in the spring of 50 CE.

Paul's letters were written as a substitute for his personal presence, as emergency efforts to resolve congregational issues that neither he nor his traveling colleagues could deal with in person. The creativity and power of these letters are the result of his efforts to improvise responses to the unique and highly volatile situations that marked the sectarian congregations he had helped to found. In the case of *1 Thessalonians,* the innovations are immediately apparent. Building the argument into the most broadly extended thanksgiving in the annals of Greco-Roman or Hebrew letter-writing, Paul clarified the realistic potential of the charismatic faith, hope, and love that the congregation had experienced (*1 Thes.* 1:2–3:13). Rather than eliminating the "old" age of persecution and labor for daily bread, such ecstatic experiences provided the means to face life with courage and realism. But Paul's confident statements of hope and his effort to explain a traditional Judaic apocalyptic scheme to a Hellenistic audience led to the misunderstanding of the first letter, which was taken to support the view that the end of history had indeed occurred (*2 Thes.* 2:2). Paul's second letter to the Thessalonians was apparently composed shortly thereafter to summarize the message of the earlier letter and to squelch the ecstatic understanding of eschatology.

The Thessalonian crisis shows that Paul's missionary success was in part the cause of the troubles that marked his career (see *2 Cor.* 11:23–29, 6:3–10). The intense religious fervor evoked by his proclamation broke down traditional restraints to create interracial and multiclass congregations with strong but immediately divisive charismatic leadership. Sectarian congregations with this level of social innovation and a consciousness of having been redeemed from a corrupt environment naturally became the target of reprisals by synagogal and civil authorities as well as by neighbors and family members. This pattern of successful mission, provoking strong local opposition, repeated itself in the short Beroean ministry in the early fall of 49 CE (*Acts* 17:10–14). After a less successful effort to establish a congregation in Athens (*Acts* 17:33–34), Paul came in the winter to Corinth, where he began a ministry of eighteen months with the most formative and troubled congregation in his career.

The Corinthian ministry appears to have had a decisive influence on the evolution of Paul's theology. The scope of this evolution can be measured by comparing the Thessalonian letters, written at the beginning of the Corinthian ministry, with the Corinthian correspondence, which was composed five to six years later. The Corinthian correspondence deals in part with conflicts between forms of apostolic teaching. Many of Paul's most distinctive ideas appear to have arisen out of the interaction with the Corinthians: the church as the "body of Christ"; marriage as mutual submission "in the body"; respect for conscience even when it is ill-informed; the theology of the cross in dialectic with human wisdom on the one side and human weakness on the other; and the superiority of love over faith or hope.

The social context for Paul's Corinthian ministry was a series of house churches under the patronage of middle- or upper-class leaders such as Prisca and Aquila, Jason, Chloe, Stephanas, and Titius Justus. According to Gerd Theissen in *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1982), it is likely that these socially superior leaders practiced a kind of loving patriarchalism in their sponsorship of socially diverse churches. Competition between house churches came to focus on their different attachments to early Christian missionaries who functioned alongside Paul. This helps to explain the subsequent evolution of parties that boasted the superiority of their particular traditions: "'I belong to Paul' or 'I belong to Apollos' or 'I belong to Cephas' [i. e., Peter] or 'I belong to Christ'" (*1 Cor.* 1:12). The latter group, claiming to transcend human leaders, was most likely protognostic in outlook, providing radical challenges to Pauline teachings and ethics. The forces dividing the Corinthians also included racial and cultural diversity, as well as the lack of space for all the house churches to meet together regularly, as shown by the archaeological evidence of Jerome M. O'Connor (*St. Paul's Corinth,* Wilmington, Del., 1983, pp. 155–158). The strategic location of Corinth as a commercial and transit center and the large crowds drawn to the biennial Isthmian Games contributed to the recruitment of co-workers and the establishment of churches in satellite cities, for example, Cenchreae under the patronage of Phoebe (see *Rom.* 16:1–2). The Corinthian ministry ended with a judicial hearing of charges raised by influential members of the local synagogue. Paul was arraigned before Gallio, the proconsul of Achaea (*Acts* 18:12–17) whose tenure in Corinth provides one of the reliable dates in the reconstruction of Pauline chronology. Because Paul was free to return to Corinth, he must have been exonerated, but he left Corinth soon after the hearing to take part in the apostolic conference at Jerusalem, one of the crucial events in the history of first-century Christianity.

The Judaizer crisis and its aftermath. The background of the apostolic conference (51 CE) was a campaign to circumcise Gentile Christians and thus incorporate them into a Jewish-Christian mode of adherence to the Torah. *Acts* 15:1 provides a reliable account of the origin and content of this campaign: "But some men came down [to Antioch] from Judaea and were teaching the brethren, 'Unless you are circumcised according to the custom of Moses, you cannot be saved.'" Paul's account of the conference in *Galatians* 2:1–10 reflects the mortal threat this campaign posed against the "freedom" of Gentile Christians to live without the burden of the Torah and to enjoy an inclusive fellowship with Jewish Christians despite differences in lifestyle. Some of the motivations for the sudden interest of the Judean Christians in the affairs of the Antioch church are alluded to with considerable sarcasm in *Galatians* 6:12–13. Wishing to avoid persecution "for the cross of Christ," the Judeans wanted to "make a good showing" to some unnamed third party by getting the Gentiles circumcised. The most likely explanation for the Judaizer campaign was the Zealot pressure that was intensifying during the procuratorship of Ventidius Cumanus (48–52), enforcing conformity with the law and acceptance of circumcision along with noncommunication with the uncircumcised. That the Christian communities in Judaea had experienced such violent pressures is revealed in *2 Thessalonians* 1:14–16. The promotion of circumcision among Gentile Christians thus promised to relieve the threat of persecution. But Paul saw that this temporary expedient would shatter the hopes of a successful Gentile mission and destroy the inclusive quality of Christian fellowship between Jews and Gentiles. His key doctrine of justification by faith rather than by works such as circumcision emerged out of this crisis, providing a distinctive and radical cast to all of his later theology. While claiming in *Galatians* 2:15–16 that all Christians, including Jewish Christians, "know that a man is not justified by works of the law but through faith in Jesus Christ," Paul insists on the antithesis "not by works" as the essential premise of "freedom."

In Paul's version of the apostolic conference, he was supported by Barnabas, the key leader of the Antioch church, and Titus, an uncircumcised Gentile Christian, in providing an account of "the gospel which I preach among the gentiles" (*Gal.* 2:2). The leaders of the Judean churches—James, Peter, and John—acknowledged the truth of this message and the fact that its success among Gentiles provided divine confirmation (*Gal.* 2:8). They agreed on a practical division of the mission along cultural lines, "that we should go to the Gentiles and they to the circumcised" (*Gal.* 2:9), but that the Gentile churches would undertake a financial campaign to aid the impoverished Christians in Judaea. Despite the continued opposition of a Judaizer faction, which Paul castigates as "false brethren," the integrity of the Gentile mission was preserved.

The question of coexistence of Jews and Gentiles in the worship life of local churches was left unresolved. Herein lay the seeds of later controversies, because Paul understood the agreement in principle on the legitimacy of his gospel to mean the acceptance of equality and solidarity between Jewish and Gentile Christians. Shortly after the apostolic conference this issue came to a head when a delegation sent by James prevailed on Peter not to eat with Gentile Christians at Antioch. Paul accused Peter and the other Jewish Christians at Antioch of insincerity and inconsistency in forsaking the common meal that had been a crucial element of the inclusive form of the faith at Antioch. The repercussions of this conflict are visible throughout Paul's subsequent ministry in his attempts to defend the integrity of his gospel and his apostolicity against pressures ranging from political expediency to violent opposition against the doctrine of freedom from the law.

Paul's letter to the Galatians, written in 53 CE, reflects an intensification of the Judaizer crisis after the apostolic conference. A delegation of Judaizers was sent by the "false brethren" in Judaea to the exclusively Gentile churches in northern Galatia, arriving there shortly after Paul had revisited these congregations on his journey from Antioch to Ephesus. As reconstructed from his highly polemical defense in *Galatians,* the emissaries proposed circumcision as a means to gain perfection and enter into the mystical promise of being "sons of Abraham" (*Gal.* 3:6–18). They advocated conformity to Jewish festivals by sanctioning their role in appeasing the astrological powers (*Gal.* 4:9–10). They insinuated that Paul himself had previously preached such conformity to the law as derived from the Jerusalem apostles, but that he had trimmed the gospel to win quick converts (*Gal.* 1:10–14, 1:18–2:2, 5:11).

Paul angrily refuted these allegations and provided a systematic defense of the freedom of the gospel. He contended that the charismatic experience of the Galatians proved that salvation comes through faith in the gospel rather than by works of the law (*Gal.* 3:1–5). Scripture itself reveals the correctness of this message, because Abraham's faith "was reckoned to him as righteousness" (*Gen.* 15:6) and the principle from *Habakkuk* 2:4 is that the just shall live by faith (*Gal.* 3:6–14). Paul went on to show that the status of being "sons of God" was conferred by faith through baptism so that a new relationship of solidarity developed among racially, economically, and sexually distinct groups (*Gal.* 3:26–29). To accept the law as binding for salvation was therefore to repudiate Christ and to again become enslaved to the principalities and powers of paganism (*Gal.* 4:1–11).

An explosive allegory concerning the two sons of Abraham was developed to show that the slave Hagar corresponds to the Jerusalem of the Judaizers, bringing a flesh-bound oppression against the children of the free woman, Sarah (*Gal.* 4:21–31). Thus the antitheses of flesh versus spirit, slavery versus freedom, and law versus promise were related to an ongoing political and ideological struggle in the church, now seen as a conflict between "the present Jerusalem" and the "Jerusalem above." The crucial issue of freedom was then used as the leitmotiv of the moral exhortation of *Galatians* 5:1–6:10. According to Hans Dieter Betz, the thrust of this argument is that "'freedom in Christ' is a gift of God, but a delicate one. It is a gift, but it is not to be taken for granted. Freedom exists only insofar as people live in freedom. . . . Those who were liberated by the Spirit can protect their freedom only by 'walking by the Spirit'. . ." (*A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia,* Philadelphia, 1979, p. 32).

Whether Paul's powerful argument was convincing to the Galatians is an open question, in light of their nonparticipation in the Jerusalem offering and the lack of evidence about their later activities. The Judaizer movement continued to be a threat to Pauline congregations, as evidenced by the polemical warning in Paul's next letter, the letter to the Philippians (3:2–6), probably written from an Ephesian prison in the winter of 54–55. A modified form of the Galatian argument also appears in Paul's last extant letter, the letter to the Romans. The political pressures from the increasingly violent Zealot movement in the diaspora communities as well as in Judaea also directly affected Paul's mission. The results were riots, charges of subversion, and plots against his life (e.g., *Acts* 20:3, 23:12–22).

The ministry in Asia. From the latter part of 52 CE through the next several years, Paul's center of missionary activities was Ephesus, the administrative and commercial hub of the province of Asia. An intensification of the collegial mission during these years involved Prisca and Aquila, who had moved from Corinth to establish their business in the new location in support of the expanding activities. Other colleagues, such as Apollos, Archippus, Aristarchus, Demas, Epaenetus, Epaphras, Erastus, Jesus Justus, Luke, Mark, Silas, Timothy, Titus, Trophimus, and Tychichus, are mentioned in the writings deriving from this period. Their activities account for the establishment of satellite churches in such cities as Laodicea, Hierapolis, and Colossae.

Perhaps for the first time in his career Paul had access in Ephesus to a larger facility, the Hall of Tyrannus (*Acts* 19:9), but he appears to have maintained his regimen as a self-supporting artisan. The availability of rapid communications between Ephesus and the cities of the Aegean Sea as well as of the hinterland brought Paul into the vortex of competing leaders, church conflicts, and societal pressures that marked the first generation of Christianity. This vivid description pertains to the Asian years:

> danger from my own people, danger from gentiles, danger in the city, danger in the wilderness, danger at sea, danger from false brethren; in toil and hardship, through many a sleepless night, in hunger and thirst, often without food, in cold and exposure. And, apart from other things, there is the daily pressure upon me of my anxiety for all the churches. Who is weak, and I am not weak? Who is made to fall, and I am not indignant? (*2 Cor.* 11:26–29)

The controversies involving the "weak" and the "falling," as well as the threats from Jews and Gentiles, resulted in Paul's writing a number of letters during the Asian period, including those to the Galatians, the Philippians, the Colossians, Philemon, and the Corinthians. *Philippians* was drafted during an incarceration that apparently followed the riot described in *1 Corinthians* 15:32 and *Acts* 19:23–41. It reflects conflicts with heretical libertinists, roving Judaizers, and rival missionaries who took advantage of Paul's imprisonment by insinuating that his inflammatory gospel imperiled the future of the church. In the opening chapter, Paul gives thanks that the Philippians have shared in the suffering, conflicts, and growth of the gospel. Then on the basis of an early Christian hymn cited in *Philippians* 2:6–11, Paul develops a theology of self-emptying love and solidarity capable of resolving conflicts and enduring persecution. He requests cooperation with his emissary Epaphroditus, who is visiting Macedonia while Paul is detained.

After warning about the threat of Judaizers from outside the community (3:2–11) and from libertinists within Philippi itself (3:17–21), Paul urges local leaders Euodia and Syntyche to be reconciled. The theme of apocalyptic urgency and joy is expressed with the memorable lines "Rejoice in the Lord always; again I will say, Rejoice. Let all men know your forbearance. The Lord is at hand" (*Phil.* 4:4–5). The letter ends with thanks for the financial support the Philippians have provided for the activities of the Pauline mission. Resilient joy in the midst of tribulation is the note struck repeatedly in the letters of the Asian period.

The extensive Corinthian correspondence allows one to grasp the issues raised by that congregation as well as the evolving shape of Paul's theology. References in *1 Corinthians* 5:9 and *2 Corinthians* 2:3–9 make it likely that at least four and perhaps as many as seven separate letters are contained in the canonical *1 Corinthians* and *2 Corinthians.* Reconstructions of the interaction between Paul and the controversialists make it likely that the opening issues related to shifts in sexual roles, disturbances in the celebrations of the Lord's Supper, and the rise of sectarian divisiveness. In *1 Corinthians* 11:2–34 Paul argues the abandonment of sexual differentiation in the form of women adopting male hairstyles to express their powerful new sense of equality in the church. Paul argues that men and women should retain culturally determined indications of sexual differentiation even while leading Christian worship, but he does not question the right of women to play an equal part.

The problem of sacramental disorder was closely related to class differences that arose in connection with the common meal. In *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity,* Gerd Theissen has related this problem to the pattern of Greco-Roman banquets in which upper-class hosts treated guests "differently depending on their social status" (p. 58). Since poorer members of the congregation would be humiliated by such practices, Paul is indignant at the violation of the unity of the church. The peculiar warning that those eating and drinking without "discerning the body" would fall under divine judgment (*1 Cor.* 11:29) makes it likely that theological issues were mixed with sociological factors in this instance. Walter Schmithals has suggested that spiritualists critical of the bodily elements in the sacramental meal aimed "to sabotage the cultic observation and to transform it into . . . a profane feast" (*Gnosticism in Corinth,* Nashville, 1971, p. 255). This is rendered more likely by Paul's assertion that the disruptions were connected with theological factions in the congregation (see *1 Cor.* 11:18–19).

The next phase of the Corinthian controversy involved resistance against traditionally Judaic sexual ethics, a rejection of the doctrine of the bodily resurrection, and an interpretation of the sacrament as a kind of spiritual medicine of immortality. Paul responds to the report of these developments brought by Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus (*1 Cor.* 16:17) by developing a concept of the body as the basis of human identity and relationship. Against the gnostic tendency to downplay the significance of bodily relations, Paul insists that "the body is for the Lord and the Lord is for the body" (*1 Cor.* 6:13), which means that casual sexual liaisons are excluded. Bodily disciplines are therefore required by faith (*1 Cor.* 9:24–27). Sacramental experiences do not relieve persons from such responsibilities (*1 Cor.* 10:1–13) because "sharing in the body of Christ" creates a unity between believers and their Lord that excludes immoral relations with pagan prostitutes and temples (*1 Cor.* 10:14–22).

Gnostic skepticism about the Christian tradition of bodily resurrection is countered by reiterating the early Christian gospel, warranted by the firsthand witnesses of the resurrection of Christ (*1 Cor.* 15:1–19). A new concept of the "spiritual body" is developed to render the doctrine of resurrection less vulnerable to the charge of mindless crudity. The gnostic teaching about the original spiritual Adam of *Genesis* 1 degenerating into the bodily Adam of *Genesis* 2–3 is repudiated by insisting that Christ is the second Adam, the spiritual redeemer from heaven (*1 Cor.* 15:35–41). The hope of Christians is that "as we have borne the image of the man of dust, we shall also bear the image of the man from heaven," that is, Christ (*1 Cor.* 15:49).

Responding to reports from "Chloe's people" (*1 Cor.* 1:12) about divisions in the congregation and to a list of controversial questions they had brought, Paul wrote the so-called answer letter from Ephesus just prior to Pentecost in 54 CE. The prideful wisdom that lay behind the competition among house churches in Corinth was contrasted with the word of the cross and the experience of humble hearers transformed by it. "God chose what is low and despised in the world, even things that are not, to bring to nothing things that are, so that no human being might boast in the presence of God" (*1 Cor.* 1:28–29). The gospel of grace brought and nurtured by various apostles aimed at creating a new, unified community animated by the spirit rather than by pride (*1 Cor.* 2:1–4:7). As for the gnostic leader living in arrogant incest, rather than taking pride in his capacity to transcend moral compunctions, the congregation should ban him in the hope that he would see his error (*1 Cor.* 5:1–13).

Responding to questions from the Ephesian congregation about the preferability of platonic marriages, Paul defends marriage as a permanent and mutual covenant to fulfill bodily needs (*1 Cor.* 7:1–24). Paul's own gift of celibacy is well suited to the uncertain conditions of missionizing in the end time, but he insists that each Christian should discover the path of personal responsibility in such matters (*1 Cor.* 7:25–40).

The difficult question about whether Christians should eat food offered to idols is dealt with by a new doctrine of the autonomous conscience. Paul argues that while conscience is socially conditioned, it must be followed as the guarantor of personal integrity. Those whose conscience allows them to eat such food are cautioned not to use their freedom irresponsibly so that the weak are led into destructive violations of their integrity (*1 Cor.* 8:1–13, 10:23–11:1). On the issue of whether glossolalia is the supreme gift or whether it ought to be repressed, Paul develops a doctrine that "there are varieties of gifts, but the same spirit," so that members of the congregation should exercise their various gifts in love for the sake of the common good (*1 Cor.* 12:4–14:40).

After Paul's departure from Ephesus under conditions that made it impossible for him to return, he wrote the later portions of the Corinthian correspondence. In that correspondence he dealt with the revolt stimulated by the arrival of "super-apostles" with a success-oriented theology. The humiliating circumstances of an Ephesian riot and imprisonment, the latter reflected in *Philippians,* may have rendered Paul more vulnerable to the charge that his misfortunes showed the inadequacies of his gospel. Paul admits his limitations on the principle that the treasure of the gospel resides "in earthen vessels" (*2 Cor.* 4:7), but pleads for reconciliation (*2 Cor.* 5:18–6:13, 7:2–4). He then revisited Corinth at the height of the controversy and was summarily dismissed by the congregation, thereupon writing the so-called letter of tears (*2 Cor.* 10:1–13:13), which apparently caused a softening of heart. The plans for collecting the Jerusalem offering were reactivated (*2 Cor.* 9:1–15), and the final phase of the correspondence reflects the "comfort of Christ," which Paul experienced upon meeting Titus in Macedonia the following year with news that the revolt was over (*2 Cor.* 1:3–2:13, 7:5–8:24).

In the meantime Paul had suffered the "affliction in Asia" (*2 Cor.* 1:8), probably the imprisonment reflected in the letter to Philemon, a tactful plea for the freedom of the converted slave Onesimus. During this same imprisonment, Paul apparently helped to plan the letter to the Colossians, which dealt with the threat of gnostic syncretism in churches founded by Paul's missionary colleagues not far from Ephesus.

From Corinth to Rome as diplomat and prisoner. While wintering in Corinth and its neighboring city of Cenchreae in 56–57, Paul developed the plan to deliver the offering to Jerusalem and then to begin a mission westward to Rome and Spain. Working under the patronage of Phoebe (*Rom.* 16:1–2), Paul undertook extensive preparations to become informed about the fragmented and suspicious churches in Rome so as to make possible a cooperative mission in the thoroughly gentile and nonhellenized area of Spain. The letter to the Romans was written to elicit support for this mission, proclaiming the triumphant power of God manifested in the gospel, which reveals that all humans are equal in sin but also in unmerited grace (*Rom.* 1:16–3:31). Although it proved to be Paul's most influential theological statement, the letter to the Romans served the practical purpose of finding a common basis in faith to further cooperation between conservative and liberal factions in Rome.

In contrast to the Corinthian letters, which are a jumbled composite of correspondence over a lengthy period of time, *Romans* is a well-organized and brilliantly composed essay on the theme of the righteousness of God revealed through faith (*Rom.* 1:16–17). That divine righteousness is impartial (*Rom.* 2:11) is the premise on which the status of Jew and Gentile is shown to be equal, so that Abraham becomes the "father of all who have faith" (*Rom.* 4:11) rather than merely the progenitor of circumcised Jews. Since all humans are saved by faith rather than by works of self-justification, the baptism of Christians is described as the inauguration of a new life in which slavery to sin and the law has been broken (*Rom.* 6:1–23).

The problem Paul finds with the Jewish law is that it lures humans into aggressive self-righteousness that produces death in place of life (*Rom.* 7:1–25). True righteousness is the gift of God in Christ, inaugurating the new age of the spirit in which the good is accomplished not because it gains something but because it expresses the new status of belonging to "Abba, Father" (*Rom.* 8:1–16). Yet this new life occurs in the midst of a fallen world of decay, sin, and hostility, so faith is sustained by an eschatological hope in the triumph of righteousness by the ongoing experience of the love of God that death itself cannot thwart (*Rom.* 8:17–39). That the bulk of Paul's fellow Jews had not accepted this message does not negate the power of the gospel or the freedom of God over creation (*Rom.* 9:1–29). Despite the zealous resistance of legalists, the gospel will achieve its goal of converting first Gentiles and then Jews, unifying the human race under grace: "For God has consigned all men to disobedience, that he may have mercy upon all" (*Rom.* 11:32).

Paul's great letter then takes up the question of ethics, arguing for the principles of responsible love and charismatic equality derived from the shared experience of the "mercies of God" (*Rom.* 12:1–13:14). The special problems of intolerance among the Roman house churches are dealt with by the admonition to pass on the same welcome to each other that they had already experienced in Christ (*Rom.* 14:1–15:7). If that occurs, the world mission that Paul had already brought as far west as Illyricum would have a chance of succeeding in uniting Jews and Gentiles, Greeks and barbarians from Jerusalem to Spain, the end of the Mediterranean world (*Rom.* 15:8–33). Paul closes his letter by greeting a wide variety of Roman house churches, leaders, and missionaries, giving diplomatic expression to his lifelong commitment to messianic pluralism (*Rom.* 16:3–23).

Paul's final journey to Jerusalem, in the spring of 57 CE, was undertaken against dangerous opposition in order to deliver the offering and thereby seal the unity of the church, which had been fractured by tensions between Jewish and Gentile Christians of various persuasions. His plan was to sail from there to Rome. Paul construed the offering as a sign of mutual indebtedness between Jews and Gentiles (*Rom.* 15:27), which explains the hostile reactions of Jewish Zealots who plotted his assassination. A substantial delegation of

Gentile Christians sailed with Paul (*Acts* 20:4) in this diplomatic venture, but the Jerusalem church refused to accept the offering without a legalistic subterfuge (*Acts* 21:24). The Zealot pressure against collaboration with Gentiles expressed itself also in a Temple riot when Paul and his delegation arrived, and in a subsequent plot to assassinate him before he could reach the safety of the Roman garrison at Caesarea. Paul suffered an imprisonment of two years duration in Caesarea, at the end of which he appealed his case to the emperor in Rome. Thus he arrived at his desired destination in the spring of 60 CE, but in chains. Two years later, when Nero restored the treason law, Paul was summarily executed.

INFLUENCE OF PAUL. The riotous opposition that marked the end of Paul's life was a formative element in the final decades of the first century and in the shaping of the New Testament itself. Right-wing and left-wing factions vied for the legacy of Paul in a struggle that had many counterparts in later Christian history. The splits already visible within Paul's lifetime evolved into full-scale conflicts between gnostic and orthodox congregations, both of which called on Paul as their apostle.

Written in the latter decades of the first century, *Acts* devotes about half its length to a depiction of Paul as a successful missionary who warned against heretics who would later arise (*Acts* 20:28–30). The author of *Acts* includes no references to Paul's controversial letters, his radical doctrines, or his involvement in church conflicts at Corinth, Galatia, Ephesus, Philippi, or Thessalonica. The use of Paul's letters and ideas by left-wing factions was countered by the composition of *1 Timothy, 2 Timothy,* and *Titus* by the Pauline school toward the end of the first century. The Paul of these letters is authoritarian, sober, uncharismatic, and morally conformist, teaching faith as a set of beliefs to be learned rather than as a revolutionary relationship based on unmerited grace. Other epistles, such as *Jude, James,* and *2 Peter,* were drafted to counter libertinistic and gnostic interpretations of Pauline doctrine. The fact that about half the New Testament is directly related to Paul and his story or is written in the epistolary form that he popularized makes it clear that his theology and example provided the raw materials of later controversies. Down to the time of the Christian gnostic Marcion (d. 160?) and beyond, pro- and anti-Paulinists vied for the domination of the Christian mind.

The impact of Pauline thought on later theological revolutions is well known. Augustine, Luther, Calvin, and Wesley, as well as moderns like Barth, Brunner, Bonhoeffer, and Bultmann, were decisively shaped by rediscovering Paul's doctrine of grace, his analysis of the problem of the law, and his revolutionary grasp of the righteousness of God. Their opponents in many instances cited the same materials both within and outside the authentic Pauline corpus that traditionalists in the early church had used. These conflicts leave a permanent stamp on the interpretation of Pauline materials, as shown by Krister Stendahl in *Paul among Jews and Gentiles* (Philadelphia, 1976). Although it is a mistake to view Paul as the second founder of the Christian church, it is true that he remains at the center of its most vital controversies.

SEE ALSO Biblical Literature, article on New Testament; Biblical Temple; Israelite Law; Messianism; Persecution; Pharisees; Rabbinic Judaism in Late Antiquity.

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ROBERT JEWETT (1987)

PEACE. In a negative sense religious traditions speak of peace as freedom from war and unrest. Peace can also take a positive meaning of well-being and fulfillment as goals of religious and social life. In ancient Greece the word for peace, *eirēnē,* meant primarily the opposite of war, and even when personified as a goddess, Eirene had no mythology and little cult. The Roman Pax was also a vague goddess, scarcely heard of before the age of Augustus and then taken as the representation of quiet at home and abroad. The Pax Romana expressed the absence of internal strife, although Seneca remarked that whole tribes and peoples had been forced to change their habitats.

In ancient Hebrew thought, peace (*shālōm*) was not only the absence of war but well-being if not prosperity. A famous passage that appears twice in the Bible (*Is.* 2:2–4, *Mi.* 4:1–3) describes all nations going to Jerusalem to learn the divine law, beating their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks, abandoning their swords, and learning war no more. Micah adds that every man would sit under his vine and fig tree, an ideal picture of a small landholder in a tiny state between rival superpowers. In expectation of a better future the ideal Davidic king is called Prince of Peace, and his government is described as having boundless dominion and peace (*Is.* 9:6–7).

The Israelites used the Hebrew word *shālōm* to refer to material and spiritual conditions that were joined together. Psalm 85 envisages God speaking peace to his people, righteousness and peace united, and the land yielding its increase. It is not only war that destroys peace but also covetousness, false dealing, and priests and prophets who practice abominations and say "Peace, peace, when there is no peace" (*Jer.* 6:14). To the Israelites peace was a social concept; it was visible and produced a harmonious relationship in the family, in local society, and between nations. The salutation *shālōm* expressed the positive aim of encouraging friendly cooperation and living together for mutual benefit, and such a greeting, in use from the times of the judges and David, was later employed by both Jews and Christians.

The Arabic word *salām,* meaning "peace" or "health," has been in general use as a greeting or salutation since the time of the Qurʾān. One of its oldest chapters speaks of the coming down of the Qurʾān on "the Night of Power" and concludes that "it is peace until the rising of the dawn" (97:5). God calls people to the "abode of peace" (*dār al-salām*), both in this life and in the next (10:26).

It is as a salutation that the Qurʾān has most to say about *salām.* The prophet Muḥammad said "Peace be upon you" (*al-salām ʿalaykum*) at the beginning of a message, and this was reckoned to be the greeting given to the blessed when they entered Paradise. It became the common salutation in the Islamic world, and the Qurʾān recommends its use. The *salām* formula, thought to be used by angels, is uttered after the names of previous prophets—Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and the like.

In Islamic ritual, the prayer for the blessing of God and peace on the Prophet, the worshiper, those present, and pious servants of God precedes the confession of faith. At the end of formal prayer the worshiper turns to the right and to the left, invoking the peace and mercy of God. Liturgical use helped to make the peace formula characteristic of Islam, and it is recommended to return the greeting with an additional blessing, following the Qurʾanic verse "When you receive a greeting, respond with a better" (4:86–88).

Islamic eschatology, in popular tradition, has held to the hope of a future deliverer who would rule according to the example of the Prophet and give stability to Islam for a short millennium before the end of all earthly things: The Mahdi, "the guided one," would descend from heaven and fill the earth with equity and justice.

In the New Testament both the Gospels and the epistles use the Greek word *eirēnē* for "peace," although Jesus must have used the Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew *shālōm,* and *eirēnē* is given the positive sense of the Hebrew. When the apostles were sent out they were instructed to say "Peace be to this house," on entering any house, and, "If a son of peace is there, your peace shall rest upon him; but if not, it shall return to you again" (*Lk.* 10:6). The peacemaker was blessed, and the struggling early church was exhorted to "follow after things which make for peace, to edify one another" (*Rom.* 14:19).

The reconciliation of Jews and Gentiles was sought through Christ: "He is our peace, who made both one" (*Eph.* 2:14). For those under external pressures, peace was a spiritual calm as well as a social benefit, as promised by Christ in his parting words, according to John, "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give you, not as the world gives it" (*Jn.* 14.27). This led on to Paul's view of the peace of God that passes human understanding, and the "fruits of the Spirit" included peace among virtues such as patience, kindness, and forbearance.

In New Testament eschatology there is little detail of the future, except in the *Apocalypse of John* (*Revelation*). Instead there are general statements about the ultimate triumph of good, when "God shall be all in all." Meanwhile the kingdom of God is "righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit" (*Rom.* 14:17).

In the history of the church peace has been seen on the one hand as calm for the soul and on the other as social and political reconciliation and the establishment of a just order. This has led to doctrines of a just war or to judgments on social change, but more general statements speak of individual and communal well-being. Augustine of Hippo in his *City of God* (*De civitate Dei* 413–426) remarks that peace is the purpose of war between nations, for no one would seek war by peace, but as the peace of humankind is an orderly obedience to the eternal law of God, so the peace of God's city is "the perfect union of hearts, in the enjoyment of God and of one another in God" (19.13). Peace is our final good; eternity in peace, or peace in eternity, for the good of peace is the greatest wish of the world and the most welcome when it comes.

The salutation *Peace* is frequent in the New Testament, and it entered into the liturgy. In the traditional canon of the Latin Mass the priest said or chanted both "Dominus vobiscum" ("The Lord be with you") and "Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum" ("The Peace of the Lord be always with you"). In modern times there has been a revival of "the peace," or "giving the peace," in many churches. For example, the peace may be given throughout the congregation with the words "the peace of the Lord," and this is often accompanied by the shaking of hands or even kissing in peace.

Both social and personal ideals of peace have been important concerns of Chinese religious leaders and thinkers. The Daoist classic *Dao de jing* comments that one who seeks to help a ruler by the Dao will oppose all conquest by force of arms. Not only will the Daoist be against war and weapons, but will object to imposed rules and government, even to morality and wisdom, because the Daoist believes that in simplicity and fewness of desires evil would disappear.

The Daoist should adopt a peaceful or passive attitude, "actionless activity" *(wuwei),* and by such wordless teaching will control all creatures, and everything will be duly regulated. Colin A. Ronan (1978) has noted that Joseph Needham rejected the customary translation of *wuwei* as "inaction" (p. 98). The Daoist, he maintained, is not idle or passive, but is natural. He or she should refrain from acting against the grain, from trying to make things perform unsuitable functions, from exerting force when a perceptive person would see that force must fail. There is support for this view in *The Book of Huainan* (120 BCE), which criticizes those who claim that the person who acts with *wuwei* does not speak or move or will not be driven by force. No sages, it says, gave such an interpretation, but the proper view of such quiet activity is that no personal prejudice should check the Dao, and no desires lead the proper courses of techniques astray. Nonaction does not mean doing nothing; it means allowing everything to act according to its nature.

In popular Daoism the ideals of a past golden age of peace, and of one yet to come, were expressed in the Taiping Dao, the Way of great peace, which arose about 175 CE. Some of its doctrines had been stated in a lost scripture decades earlier, the *Taiping jing* (Classic of great peace). Its writer, Yu Ji, was a preacher and healer in Shantung province who was executed about 197, although his followers believed that he had become an immortal.

The new movement, the Way of Great Peace, was established by Zhang Jue, who founded in 175 CE an organization of which he was the "Heavenly General." He held vast public ceremonies at which the sick confessed their sins and were healed by faith. What is just as important, Zhang Jue sent missionaries to convert people in central and eastern China to the way of peace and healing. Crowds flocked to this movement, probably because the troubled times of warfare gave rise to the longing for a millenarian era reminiscent of the mythical golden age of peace. There was also dissatisfaction with the coldness of state Confucianism, and a yearning for a more personal religion and a more just society.

The Way of Great Peace became very popular, and eight provinces were converted by its missionaries. The central government was alarmed and prepared countermeasures. The Daoists were warned, and on the day that the governmental action began they decided to revolt. The rebels wore yellow kerchiefs on their heads, thus giving rise to the movement's other name, Yellow Turbans. Zhang Jue and his brothers were caught and executed, but it was many years before the rebellion was finally suppressed.

In the nineteenth century the Taiping Rebellion swept across China and almost destroyed the crumbling Manzhu dynasty. It raged from 1850 to 1865 and was put down only with the help of foreign powers, notably the British, and with a catastrophic loss of some twenty million lives. The leader of the rebellion, Hong Xiuquan, sought to establish the Taiping, the Great Peace, under a purely Chinese dynasty, but he was inspired by both Chinese and Christian ideas. The Taiping would come in the cycle of history but would resemble the kingdom of heaven, where all people would worship the heavenly father.

Hong proclaimed his regime the Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace and himself took the title Heavenly King. Nanjing was captured in 1853 and renamed Heavenly Capital, but internal divisions and external attacks led to its collapse. By 1864 Hong had despaired of his cause; he took poison and died, and his followers were overwhelmed. Later Chinese attempts at reform and peace through strength occurred, but not all were inspired by Daoist ideals.

Indian views of peace are both personal and social, positive and negative. Many sacred Hindu texts open with the sacred syllable *oṃ,* followed for invocation and meditation by a threefold repetition of the Sanskrit word for peace: *śāntiḥ, śāntiḥ, śāntiḥ.* (These three words appear at the end of T. S. Eliot's famous poem *The Waste Land,* 1922.) The peace invoked in the Sanskrit texts is one of tranquillity, quiet, calmness of mind, absence of passion, aversion of pain, and indifference to the objects of pleasure and pain.

In the *Bhagavadgītā* the despondency of the warrior Arjuna, with which the poem opens, comes from envisaging the destruction of human beings and order (*dharma*) that war would bring. Arjuna is moved by compassion, declares that he would rather be killed than kill other beings, and lays down his weapons. His charioteer, the god Kṛṣṇa, gives several answers to Arjuna's problems, the chief one of which is that a soldier may kill the body but cannot kill the soul, or self, which is indestructible and immortal, without beginning or end. This answer ignores the question of Arjuna's compassion. The true yogin, whether he be a warrior or not, should be detached; he should act but remain unmoved by the result of his actions. Thus he can "attain the peace that culminates in *nirvāṇa* and rests in me [i.e., God]" (6.15). Kindness to all beings is occasionally suggested in the *Gītā,* but the general picture is one of peace and tranquillity unmoved by the affairs of the world.

The Jains in India have been noted for their advocacy of nonviolence, or not killing (*ahiṃsā*), and some of their temples today bear the inscription (in English as well as in Sanskrit), "Nonviolence is the highest religion." They teach that *nirvāṇa* is an indescribable and passionless state beyond this world, at the ceiling of the universe. The Buddhists, contemporary with the Jains, have also taught *nirvāṇa* and have done so in negative terms. A Buddhist compendium of teachings, *The Questions of King Milinda,* agrees that *nirvāṇa* cannot be indicated in form or shape, in duration or size, by simile or argument. Yet it does exist: "There is *nirvāṇa*"; it is lofty and exalted, inaccessible to the passions and unshakable, bringing joy and shedding light.

Positive social efforts for peace were illustrated in the words and actions of the most famous Indian ruler, the Buddhist emperor Aśoka, in the third century BCE, as revealed by extant inscriptions on pillars and rocks. After thousands of people had been killed in his war against the Kalingas, Aśoka felt remorse, renounced war, sought reconciliation, and wished that "all beings should be unharmed, self-controlled, calm in mind, and gentle." Fighting was forbidden, as was all killing of animals for food or sacrifice. Medical services were provided for human beings and animals, useful herbs were planted, wells were dug, and trees were planted along roads to shelter people and animals. Local rulers were instructed to tour among their people and teach the *dharma* of obedience to parents, generosity to priests, prohibition of killing, ownership of "the minimum of property."

In modern times Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948) was noted for teaching *ahiṃsā,* but not just as a negative way to peace and justice. He coined the term *satyāgraha* (literally, "truth insistence"), defining it as "soul force" or "the force which is born of truth and love or nonviolence." Gandhi sought to follow the New Testament injunction to return good for evil as well as to follow the Jain command of nonviolence. He argued that soul force was the only method by which home rule could be regained for India and that it was "superior to the force of arms." Further, in a message to Hindus and Muslims on communal unity Gandhi insisted that politics should be approached in a religious spirit. He ended his speech with these words: "I ask all lovers of communal peace to pray that the God of truth and love may give us both the right spirit and the right word, and use us for the good of the dumb millions."

SEE ALSO Ahiṃsā; Nonviolence; Taiping; War and Warriors, overview article.

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GEOFFREY PARRINDER (1987)

PEARL. The making of the natural pearl commences when a grain of sand from the ocean or river floor works its way into the body of a pearl-bearing mollusk. To protect itself from this alien source of agitation, the mollusk secretes a substance (nacre, or mother-of-pearl) that slowly and cumulatively coats the foreign body until it loses its abrasive contours and becomes smooth and spherical in shape. On account of its singular origin, the pearl has been a symbol of sacred power since ancient times.

In many archaic cultures the marine shell, because of its appearance, is associated with the female genitalia, and the pearl is believed to be both the sacred product and the emblem of the feminine generative power. The pearl thus symbolizes both the life that is created and the mysterious force that begets life. One example of this reproductive symbolism is found in *Beiya,* a Chinese text of the eleventh century CE. The author of *Beiya* likens the pearl to a developing fetus and calls the oyster "the womb of the pearl." The anthropomorphic image for this sacred power is the goddess of love. In the ancient Mediterranean world, shells and pearls were often symbols for the great goddesses. In a manner analogous to the pearl's origin in an oyster, Aphrodite was born from a marine conch, and the Syrian goddess was known as the Lady of Pearls.

It is through this connection with feminine generative power that the pearl becomes a symbol for regeneration and rebirth as well. As a regenerative force, the pearl is often thought to have the power to heal or protect from harm. Throughout the Middle Ages and into the seventeenth century, a debate flourished among European physicians concerning the best way to prepare a pearl for healing purposes: Should it be ground or dissolved? In either case, an elixir containing a pearl was prescribed for numerous physical ailments. An Eastern example of the belief in the power of the pearl to protect life is found in the iconography of the *bodhisattva* Kṣitigarbha, who is especially venerated in Japanese Buddhism by pregnant women and young children as the protector of all weak and suffering humanity; statues and images depict Kṣitigarbha holding a pearl, his emblem, in his left hand. Because of their connection with rebirth and resurrection, pearls have been found in the tombs of rulers in lands as far apart as Egypt and the Americas. In Laos, a pearl is inserted into each orifice of a corpse to effect safe passage into the next world.

Finding and obtaining the natural pearl is both hard work and a hazardous undertaking. Pearl fishers are known to work in pairs: One dives deep into the sea while a partner stays above to hold the other end of the fisher's lifeline and, after a predetermined time, to haul both pearl fisher and catch to the surface. The difficulties of locating and harvesting the natural pearl give rise to a second level of symbolism: The pearl represents the hard-won goal of spiritual striving. For example, in the parable about the merchant who found a pearl of special value and so went to sell everything he owned in order to purchase it, Jesus compares the kingdom of God to a pearl. In medieval European alchemy, one of the many names for the philosophers' stone is *margarita pretiosa,* or "precious pearl." In *The Pearl,* a Middle English tale by an anonymous author, the hero laments the disappearance of his pearl in a grassy meadow. Seeking it, he falls into another world, where he experiences spiritual renewal and regains the balance of his own inner nature. Zhuangzi, the legendary Daoist mystic, reports how the Yellow Emperor lost his "night-pearl" during an excursion to the edge of the world. He sought for it by means of every resource at hand: by science, by analysis, by logic. But only when, in despair, the emperor turned to the "emptiness" (*xu*) that is the ground of all things was the pearl restored to him.

The search for the pearl is also the theme of the Gnostic *Hymn of the Pearl,* which relates how a prince leaves his heavenly home to recover a pearl that lies buried in Egypt in the possession of a giant serpent. The prince is sent forth by his father, mother, and brother, who watch over his journey in a way reminiscent of the second fisherman who holds the lifeline at the surface of the sea. The prince inevitably succumbs to the spell that governs all Egypt (a Gnostic symbol for the illusion of cosmic existence). He loses all memory of his origins and of the pearl (i. e., he becomes spiritually ignorant or unconscious). But his watchful parents send forth a message to awaken him and to remind him of his identity and his mission to recover the pearl.

Especially in the East, from India to Japan, the pearl is often depicted in the possession of a dragon or sea monster. These mythological beings, like the serpent in the *Hymn of the Pearl,* are common symbols for chaos, that admixture of forces both cosmic and spiritual that oppose the establishment of a meaningful and inhabitable order. Thus, the search for the pearl often entails a heroic confrontation with the demonic.

Wherever the cultivation or liberation of the soul is regarded as the goal of spiritual striving, the pearl may symbolize the soul itself. This belief may have historical roots in the mythological thinking of the Hellenistic world, from which has come the formula "Ho sōma, hē sarx" ("The body is the tomb"). In this view, the subject of spiritual and eternal life is the immortal soul that exists within an alien and perishable body. According to the Mandaeans, the pearl's temporary home within the oyster provides an allegory for the temporary dwelling of the soul within the body. A variation of this imagery is found in the Coptic *Kephalaia,* a Manichaean text that relates how the soul is like a raindrop that falls into the sea and enters the body of an oyster in order to develop into a pearl. So, too, the soul acquires permanent definition and individuality by enduring life in the body. The pearl as a symbol for the actualized soul found its way into the poetry of the Ṣūfī mystic Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār:

> Out of the ocean like rain clouds come and travel—
> For without traveling, you will never become a pearl!

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Revised Bibliography

PECHAM, JOHN (c. 1230–1292) was a Franciscan theologian, scientist, and educator; a provincial minister of the Franciscans and archbishop of Canterbury. Pecham was born in Sussex, in the vicinity of Lewes. Educated initially at the priory of Lewes and the University of Oxford, he joined the Franciscan order about 1250 and later in the decade was sent to the University of Paris for theological studies, earning the doctorate in 1269. Pecham was regent master in theology at Paris from 1269 to 1271, lecturer in theology for the Franciscan school in Oxford from about 1272 to 1275, provincial minister of the order from 1275 to 1277, master in theology to the papal Curia from 1277 to 1279, and archbishop of Canterbury from 1279 until his death in 1292.

Pecham's theology was typically Franciscan: conservative and centered on the teachings of Augustine. Indeed, Pecham became a leader in the opposition to the new—and in his opinion heterodox—Aristotelian and Averroist ideas circulating in the universities. For example, he took strong exception to Thomas Aquinas's views on the unity of substantial form. He defended such doctrines as the divine illumination of the intellect, complete hylomorphism (the idea that everything is a composite of form and matter), and plurality of forms. Pecham also became involved in the power struggle between secular and mendicant clergy, writing a series of pamphlets in defense of the mendicants. As an educator, Pecham followed Robert Grosseteste and Roger Bacon by incorporating mathematical science into the university curriculum (including the theological curriculum). He wrote two books on optics, one of which, *Perspectiva communis*, became the standard university textbook for several centuries. An energetic, reform-minded archbishop, Pecham fought for the preservation of ecclesiastical privileges against royal encroachment and campaigned against a variety of clerical abuses, such as nonresidence and the holding of multiple benefices.

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PELAGIANISM. The term *Pelagianism* designates both the teachings of Pelagius, a fourth-century Christian monk, and any teaching that minimizes the role of divine grace in salvation. Few of the ideas associated with Pelagianism in the latter sense can be directly traced to Pelagius, but because he was opposed by the great North African bishop Augustine, whose influence on Western Christian theology has been far-reaching, he has come to stand for an insufficient and erroneous doctrine of grace. Some have suggested that Pelagianism was the creation of Augustine and not Pelagius. But it was Pelagius's views on the Christian life, his moral rigorism, his high regard for the law, and his emphasis on discipline and the human will that laid the foundation for the controversy that gave birth to what has come to be known as Pelagianism.

Pelagius (d. 418), a monk from Britain, was living in Rome at the end of the fourth century when he came in contact with wealthy and aristocratic Romans who had lapsed into Christianity through marriage or political expedience. Adopting Christianity had done little to change their lives. Baptism, which had been thought to signify a clean break with one's past, was becoming a polite convention. Only the ascetics seemed to take seriously the radical demands of the gospel. Pelagius, however, believed that the law of the gospel should be imposed on all members of the church, not just on the monks. The word of Jesus, "Be ye perfect as your father in heaven is perfect," was addressed to all Christians; thus, according to Pelagius, "since perfection is possible for humans, it is obligatory."

As a moral reformer Pelagius met with success among a circle of supporters in Rome, but his notion of the church as a society of pure and authentic Christians had an old-fashioned ring to it at a time when the level of commitment among Christians was in decline because of a large influx into the church of merely nominal converts. He was offended when he read in Augustine's *Confessions* that humans must necessarily and inevitably sin even after baptism. Augustine's phrase "Give what you command and command what you will" seemed to him to undermine the moral law and the quest for perfection, because it placed responsibility for righteousness on God rather than on the human will.

Pelagius did not, as is often thought, deny the necessity of grace. Grace was to be understood as the revelation of God's purpose and will, the wisdom by which humans are stirred to seek a life of righteousness. It was God's way of helping humankind and was found in (1) the endowment of a rational will and the capacity to choose good or evil, (2) the law of Moses, (3) the forgiveness of sins in the redemptive death of Christ, (4) the teaching of Christ, and (5) the example of Christ. Pelagius saw no opposition between the laws of the old covenant and the gospel. He saw grace as precept and example, a view that led him to overestimate human capability and thus to invite criticism.

The controversy began in 412, at a council in Carthage, in North Africa, with the condemnation of Celestius, a supporter of Pelagius, for holding the views that (1) Adam was created mortal and would have died whether or not he was a sinner; (2) Adam's sin injured himself alone, and not the human race; (3) infants at birth are in that state in which Adam was before his sin; (4) the whole human race neither died on account of Adam nor rises on account of Christ; (5) the law as well as the gospel admits a person to the kingdom of heaven; (6) before the advent of Christ there were humans who did not sin; (7) a person can be without sin and keep the divine commands. This is not Pelagianism, but Pelagius would have agreed with some of these propositions—for example, that sinless human beings had lived before the coming of Christ. He pointed to "gospel men before the gospel" such as Noah, Melchizedek, Abraham, and Job.

As a result of the condemnation of Celestius, Pelagius, who had traveled to Palestine, was forced to defend himself in the East. His most vehement critics, however, were Westerners such as Jerome. Significantly, at two councils in Palestine in 415 he was acquitted by bishops from the East. In the meantime Augustine opened up a literary campaign against Pelagius, and this led Augustine to produce the theological works that would define Pelagianism for Western Christian theology and to formulate the objections that would lead to Pelagius's condemnation. Under Augustine's influence Pelagius was condemned by two African councils, and in 417 Pope Innocent I ratified the anathema.

After Pelagius's death in 418 (or shortly thereafter) his followers, often under much hardship, continued to defend his teachings. One of these, the gifted and articulate bishop Julian of Eclanum, a town in Apulia (southeastern Italy), though banished from his see, traveled and wrote extensively. He vigorously opposed the new ideas of Augustine, seeing in them the specter of Manichaean dualism. In a modified form Pelagius's teachings were embraced by John Cassian (360–435), a monastic writer from Marseilles (France) who is sometimes called the founder of semi-Pelagianism, though this term only came to be used in the sixteenth century. Other exponents were Vincent of Lerins (d. 450) and Faustus of Riez (408–490), both from southern France. The focus of discussion centered on the necessity of human cooperation with divine grace in salvation, and since then these questions have been central to the history of theology in the West. The dispute finally ended at the Council of Orange (429), which condemned the writings of Faustus and upheld most of the teachings of Augustine.

Only in recent years has there been a serious effort to understand the historical Pelagius and the circumstances surrounding his teaching. More often Pelagianism has been used as an epithet to vilify one's foes whenever there is a suggestion that human efforts displace the role of grace. In the Middle Ages Thomas Bradwardine (1290–1349), archbishop of Canterbury, wrote against the "Pelagians," meaning those of his contemporaries who subverted God's grace by stressing free will. Peter Abelard (1079–1142) has sometimes been called a Pelagian because of his view of the exemplary as distinct from the redemptive character of Christ's life and death. In the sixteenth century the Protestant reformers charged their opponents with Pelagianism because of their belief that one could prepare for grace by doing good works: Martin Luther called Erasmus a Pelagian. In Roman Catholicism Luis de Molina, a sixteenth-century Jesuit, was suspected of Pelagian convictions because he taught that God's foreknowledge of human cooperation is itself a sign of grace. The term *semi-Pelagian* arose from this controversy. Although Pelagianism has had little direct influence on Eastern Christian thought, which also never adopted Augustine's ideas, aspects of Orthodox Christian theology have been held to possess a Pelagian tinge from the perspective of Western Christian theology.

SEE ALSO Augustine of Hippo; Pelagius.

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PELAGIUS (d. 418) was a Christian monk whose name has become synonymous with doctrines of human cooperation in salvation at the expense of divine grace. The historical figure is more complex than the teachings associated with his name. Pelagius was born in Britain in the middle of the fourth century. Nothing is known of his background or upbringing, but he seems to have received an excellent education. He was highly regarded for his exemplary life, and even his great opponent, Augustine of Hippo, acknowledged that he was a "holy man who had made no small progress in the Christian life." He went to live in Rome sometime toward the end of the fourth century, perhaps as early as the 380s.

Pelagius was first and foremost a monk and an ascetic, a tutor to men and women seeking the life of perfection. His primary concern was moral and spiritual, not theological. He had been influenced by earlier Christian moral and ascetic literature, for example *Sentences of Sextus,* a collection of moral maxims from the second century, and the writings of Origen, the great third-century Christian teacher. From these works he learned the importance of freedom of the will, discipline, the quest for perfection, and righteousness through the doing of good deeds.

In the world of fifth-century Rome, however, moral rigorism, which had once marked the entire Christian community, was now practiced chiefly by the ascetics. Pelagius continued to believe that there should be no double standard and that the precepts of the gospel were applicable to all. For a time he was successful in urging these ideas in Rome, but as his writings became known outside of Rome, in Africa, where Augustine lived, and in Palestine, where Jerome lived, he came to be vigorously opposed.

Pelagius left Rome in 410 with his disciple Celestius to travel to Africa. Celestius was condemned by a council in Carthage in 412. In Palestine Pelagius was brought before councils in Jerusalem and Lydda in 415, but he ably defended himself and was acquitted. In the West, however, through the efforts of Augustine, he was condemned by a council in Carthage in 416 and again by Pope Innocent in 417. After being briefly vindicated by Zosimus, Innocent's successor, he was eventually condemned by a great council at Carthage in 418 and by the pope and was banished by the Roman emperors. He died in 418 or sometime thereafter.

He wrote widely, but few of his works are extant in their entirety. The most important is a commentary on the epistles of Paul, a close verse-by-verse exposition of the text of the letters with an eye to the Christian life. The influence of Origen, transmitted through Latin translations, is evident in the commentary. His major theological works, *De natura* and *De libero arbitrio,* written only after he had traveled to Palestine in 412 and come into contact with Jerome, are extant only in fragments in the writings of Augustine. Besides these works there are a number of shorter tractates and letters, some of which have only recently been shown to be genuine.

See Also Pelagianism.

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PENANCE See REPENTANCE; SACRAMENT, *ARTICLE ON* CHRISTIAN SACRAMENTS

PENATES.

In the Latin world *di penates* (always in the plural) were spirits protecting a house or a city. The etymological connection with *penus* in the sense of "storing-place of the household" raises problems. The cult of the *penates* was associated with that of Vesta; both were linked to the hearth. During family meals offers of food were made to them and burned on the fireplace. Plautus speaks in *Mercator* (1.834) of the *penates* as "gods of the parents" (*di penates meum parentum*) and distinguishes them from the *lar* (singular) of the household (*familia*).

The *penates* were originally aniconic. In the late republican period images of them were put on the table. By a further development the notion of *penates* came to include all the gods worshiped in the household, beginning with Vesta and the *lar familiaris* (later also lares in general). In the first century CE Pompeii and even Jupiter, Venus, Vulcanus, and Fortuna were counted among the *penates.* City *penates* are known also outside Rome.

The peculiarity of Rome was that the *penates* of the city were worshiped both within the city, in a temple on the Velia not far from the Forum (on the site of the later Church of Saints Cosma and Damianus) and in the Latial city of Lavinium. According to tradition, Aeneas had brought his own *penates* from Troy to Lavinium. The *penates* had refused to move to Alba Longa when it was founded by Aeneas's son Ascanius. Toward the end of the fourth century BCE, the Greek historian Timaeus was told that the *penates* of Lavinium were aniconic objects. As soon as they were elected, Roman consuls, dictators, and praetors went to Lavinium to make sacrifices to them. Respect was still paid by Roman emperors to the Lavinium *penates.*

The aniconic *penates* worshiped on the Velia acquired human features in the late republic and were often identified with the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux), an identification apparently repudiated by Varro (*De lingua Latina* 5.58). It is doubtful whether the *penates* preserved at Lavinium were at any time identified with the Dioscuri. According to Tacitus (*Annals* 15.41.1), *penates* of the Roman people were also preserved in the temple of Vesta on the Palatine, but this is an obscure piece of information. Equally problematic is the mention of a "priest of the *di penates*" (*sacerdos deum penatium*) in two inscriptions of Rome (*Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum,* Berlin, 1863, vol. 6, no. 7283).

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PENN, WILLIAM

(1644–1718), Quaker religious leader and theologian, was a proponent of religious and political rights, and founder of Pennsylvania. Educated at Oxford, the French Protestant academy at Saumur, and, briefly, at Lincoln's Inn, Penn came under Dissenter influence and renounced a life of social prominence for Quakerism in 1667. Intent on transforming England into a more truly Christian society, he wrote many of his more than 140 books, pamphlets, and broadsides from 1668 to 1680, when he spent virtually all of his time working to organize, spread, and protect the Quaker movement, also known as the Society of Friends. Having found England resistant to change, he secured a charter for a colony he envisioned as both a haven for persecuted Friends and a model consensual society that would demonstrate to a skeptical world the fruitfulness and practicality of Quaker principles. Pennsylvania received most of his time and energy from 1680 to 1685, and Penn's duties as proprietor were his major concern the rest of his life. He remained active as a Quaker leader in England and played a central role in the successful attempt to demonstrate that Quakers were sufficiently orthodox to be acceptable under the terms for toleration established after the Glorious Revolution of 1688.

Although a source of controversy at times within the Quaker movement, Penn was at the center of the network of Quaker leaders and was probably the most effective mediator between Friends and the rest of the world. He was a close friend and collaborator of George Fox, the founder of the movement; his wife Margaret Askew Fell Fox; and Robert Barclay, the movement's major theologian. Penn traveled extensively as a preacher and organizer throughout England and in Ireland, Germany, and Holland and from 1672 was active in the London Morning Meeting, the Quakers' informal executive body. In favor of the disciplinary practices and organizational structure espoused by Fox, he was active in upholding the authority of the central leadership against the individualistic conception of authority favored by schismatics. Penn's unique contribution as a leader of Friends was his injection of a prophetic activism into the movement at a time when many first-generation leaders were settling into a more quietist, sectarian posture. He helped organize the Meeting for Sufferings in 1675 as a committee for the legal and political defense of indicted Quakers and led it into political activity in support of sympathetic candidates in parliamentary elections. His toleration treatises of the 1670s and 1680s had wide influence in the battle for religious liberty for all English Christians and effectively stated his views of mixed constitutional government and fundamental English rights.

Penn was one of the most prolific and theologically knowledgeable exponents of Quaker thought, and he distilled the visions and experiences of Fox and the "First Publishers of Truth" into the theological language of the times. His works include exhortatory letters, ethical treatises, refutations of schismatics, historical accounts of the movement, expositions of Quaker thought, and defenses against the attacks of Anglicans, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and spiritualists. His distinctive approach to Quaker thought was his understanding of the "inner light" or "Christ within" as an epistemological principle making divine knowledge available in a manner that bypassed the indirect sense-knowledge emphasized in sacramental Roman Catholicism and scripture-based Protestantism. His Platonic rationalism, identification of Christ with the universal Logos, critique of scripture as a comprehensive source of revelation, and corresponding insistence on the metaphorical and symbolic nature of Christian theological formulas, such as those for the Trinity and atonement, linked him with such liberal Anglicans of his day as the Cambridge Platonists. These same ideas have had many echoes in subsequent theology.

SEE ALSO Quakers.

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PENTATEUCH SEE BIBLICAL LITERATURE, *ARTICLE ON* HEBREW SCRIPTURES; TORAH

PENTECOSTAL AND CHARISMATIC CHRISTIANITY.

This form of Christianity centers on the emotional, mystical, and supernatural: miracles, signs, wonders, and "the gifts of the Spirit" (charismata), especially "speaking in tongues" (glossolalia), faith healing, and "casting out demons" (exorcism). Supreme importance is attached to the subjective religious experience of being filled with or possessed by the Holy Spirit.

The name *Pentecostal* derives from the account of the day of Pentecost as described in chapters 1 and 2 of the *Acts of the Apostles,* when the Holy Spirit descended upon the first Christians: "And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance" (*Acts* 2:1–4). *Charismatic* derives from the Greek *charism,* meaning supernatural gifts of the Spirit, which are most often considered those listed in *1 Corinthians* 12–14.

BIBLICAL AND HISTORICAL BASES. Pentecostals trace the beginnings of their movement to the day of Pentecost described in *Acts.* They believe that the experience of Spirit Baptism and the practice of the gifts of the Spirit that occurred on that day were meant to be normative in the life of the church and of each believer. They maintain that although the charismata ceased in the main body of the church soon after the apostolic age, one can trace an intermittent history of charismatic practices among sectarians like the Montanists, Anabaptists, Camisards, Shakers, Irvingites, Mormons, and various nineteenth-century Holiness groups. The twentieth-century Pentecostal and charismatic movements, therefore, mark the restoration of the charismata to the church.

THE ORIGINS OF PENTECOSTALISM IN THE UNITED STATES. The Pentecostal movement developed within the radical, separatist wing of the late nineteenth-century Holiness movement in the United States. It represented an amalgam of extremist Wesleyan and Keswick views on premillennialism, dispensationalism, faith healing, and "the Baptism in the Spirit" as an enduement of miraculous powers. Charles Fox Parham, an independent Holiness preacher and former Methodist, is generally regarded as the founder of the modern Pentecostal movement. Speaking in tongues and other ecstatic behavior broke out in Parham's Bethel Bible "College" in Topeka, Kansas, in January 1901. Parham asserted that glossolalia was the evidence of "the true Baptism in the Spirit." On the basis of this teaching and faith healing, Parham's Apostolic Faith movement had some success in the lower Midwest. William Joseph Seymour, a black Holiness preacher converted by Parham, carried the movement to Los Angeles in 1906. Seymour's Azusa Street Apostolic Faith Mission became the center of a great revival, in which visitors to the Azusa mission spread the movement across the nation and around the world in only a few years.

The movement was condemned and ostracized by all other Christian churches, and it at first consisted of a few small schismatic offsprings of the Holiness sects and many independent congregations. The movement's center of strength lay in the region stretching from lower Appalachia to the Ozarks, and in the urban centers of the North and West. Adherents were drawn from vastly different religious, racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds. In time, these differences divided the movement into a bewildering array of small, hostile sects that were constantly splitting and resplitting. By 1916, the American Pentecostal movement had divided into three major doctrinal camps, and by the early 1930s, each of these had split along racial lines.

FINISHED WORK, OR BAPTISTIC, PENTECOSTALS. Originally, all Pentecostals believed in three acts of grace: conversion, sanctification, and Baptism in the Spirit. Beginning about 1908, William H. Durham introduced his "Finished Work of Calvary" doctrine, in which conversion and sanctification were declared a single act of grace. A majority of American Pentecostals accepted this doctrine; it was especially strong among those of Baptist and Keswick backgrounds. In 1914, a Finished Work denomination was organized: the Assemblies of God.

SECOND WORK, OR WESLEYAN, PENTECOSTALS. Those who held to the original three acts of grace were called "Second Work Pentecostals." They were predominantly from Wesleyan backgrounds and were concentrated in the South. The largest such denominations are the Church of God in Christ, the Church of God (Cleveland, Tenn.), and the Pentecostal Holiness Church.

ONENESS, OR "JESUS ONLY," PENTECOSTALS. From 1913 to 1916, the Finished Work group was torn asunder by a controversy over the proper water baptismal formula and the nature of the godhead. Advocates of the "Oneness" position rejected traditional Trinitarianism, maintaining that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are simply different titles or offices of the one God whose name is Jesus. A number of small Oneness denominations were organized, the most important of which was Garfield T. Haywood's interracial Pentecostal Assemblies of the World. The movement consisted mostly of the very poorest Pentecostals and was strongest in the urban centers of the upper Midwest. In 1945 most white Oneness Pentecostals were brought together in the United Pentecostal Church.

PENTECOSTAL REVIVAL GOES GLOBAL. Within a very few years, visitors to the Azusa Street revival carried the movement all around the world. Thomas Ball Barratt, an English-born Methodist minister and pastor of an independent free church in Oslo, Norway (then Kristiania), was converted to Pentecostalism in New York City in 1906. His church, Kristiania Bymission, became the center of a revival in 1907 from which Pentecostalism spread throughout Scandinavia. The movement's greatest appeal was to evangelical and Holiness believers of the poorer classes.

In the United Kingdom, the Anglican clergyman Alexander A. Boddy attended Thomas Barratt's meetings in 1907 and then established his All Saints Church in Sunderland, England, as a Pentecostal center from which the movement spread through the British Isles. Leadership of the movement soon passed to the Welsh miners W. J. and D. P. Williams and Stephen and George Jeffreys. Overall in the United Kingdom, Pentecostalism had only modest success until the 1950s, when many West Indian and other colonial immigrants were converted to it. A Pentecostal revival in Germany began in Kassel-Hesse under the preaching of female evangelists from Barratt's church in 1907. Luigi Francescon and other Italian-Americans from Chicago established Pentecostalism in Italy in 1908, primarily among poor peasants in the South and in the major cities. In 1910, the movement was established in Brazil by Francescon and the Swedish-American steelworkers Daniel Berg and Gunnar Vingren, from which it spread elsewhere in South America. In Chile in 1907, the American Willis C. Hoover's conversion to Pentecostalism led to his eviction from the pastorate of a Methodist church in Valparaíso. Hoover then founded the Pentecostal Methodist Church. Pentecostalism was brought to Bulgaria, Romania, and Russia in the early 1920s by Ivan E. Voronaev, founder in 1919 of the First Russian Pentecostal Church in New York City.

The Pentecostal message was brought to India in 1907 by American and European missionaries. The movement spread widely but had little impact before the 1940s, when the indigenous churches, founded in the 1920s and 1930s, began to grow rapidly. In Indonesia in the early 1920s, American missionaries established the Pentecostal movement on the island of Bali, and German missionaries introduced it at Bandung, Java. The Pentecostal movement was brought to China in 1908. The movement in Japan began in 1913 but had very little growth until the 1950s.

The American missionaries John G. Lake and Thomas Hezmalhalch, converts to Pentecostalism from John Alexander Dowie's Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion, Illinois, won most of Dowie's South African churches to the new movement following a revival in 1908 in Johannesburg. A former Dutch Reformed minister, Pieter Louis leRoux, emerged as the leader of the Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa. The segregationist policies of this and other Pentecostal mission churches led to the early loss of most of their black adherents. As a result, numerous schismatic "Zionist" churches arose—so-called because nearly all use the word Zion in their official names. In addition, many independent, indigenous Pentecostal churches were founded by prophets who have often been regarded as demi-gods by their followers. Missionaries from South Africa, Europe, and North America had established the movement throughout most of sub-Saharan Africa by the 1920s, but it was the evangelizing efforts of native preachers that account for Pentecostalism's great success. The distribution of American Pentecostal literature in Nigeria led to the indigenous *Aladura* (praying people) movement beginning in the early 1920s, which spread all through western Africa in the wake of a revival in 1928. The preaching of Simon Kimbangu in the lower Congo in 1921 led to his life imprisonment, but the church founded in his name by his followers grew throughout central Africa.

THE "DELIVERANCE," OR HEALING, REVIVAL. The institutionalization of the American Pentecostal movement, together with generational changes and the rise of many into the middle classes, brought a decline in the fervor of Pentecostal worship, especially in the larger, white denominations. This led to a renewal movement in the late 1940s. The New Order of the Latter Rain began with a revival in an independent church in North Battleford, Saskatchewan, in 1948, and soon spread throughout the world. The revival placed a new emphasis on the "laying on of hands" for the reception of Holy Spirit Baptism, healing, and other charismata. A group of faith-healing evangelists arose to deliver the faithful from formalism, sickness, and demon possession. The healers reintroduced tent revivals and attracted multitudes of non-Pentecostals.

William Branham, a Oneness Pentecostal from an impoverished Indiana family, was at first the most renowned leader of the revival. But Oral Roberts (1918–), a Pentecostal Holiness preacher from Oklahoma, soon overshadowed Branham and became the most prominent Pentecostal in the United States (he became a member of the Methodist Church in 1968). Many of the leaders of the Pentecostal denominations turned against the healers, who formed their own organizations and radio and television ministries.

THE CHARISMATIC REVIVAL. Many non-Pentecostals first became aware of Pentecostalism through the highly publicized Deliverance revival. In the 1960s, a Neo-Pentecostal, or charismatic, movement emerged in nearly all the Protestant denominations, the Roman Catholic Church, and in Eastern Orthodox communions.

In 1951, Oral Roberts encouraged Demos Shakarian, a wealthy Pentecostal dairyman from California, to found the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship, International (FGBMFI) for the purpose of providing lay support for the healers. Hundreds of FGBMFI luncheon and dinner meetings were held in fashionable hotels across the nation. Many converts to the charismatic movement were first brought into contact with Pentecostalism through FGBMFI, which served as a bridge from the Deliverance revival to the charismatic revival.

In 1961, Father Dennis Bennett, pastor of an Episcopal church in Van Nuys, California, announced that he had received the Baptism in the Spirit and had spoken in tongues. Widespread media coverage followed, and a charismatic revival in the Protestant denominations took off, actively promoted by the FGBMFI. Fears of denominational leaders diminished when the charismatics proved to be neither schismatic nor fanatical. Their meetings were marked by restraint, and they were careful not to challenge the established doctrines and practices of their communions.

In 1967, charismatic practices emerged among Roman Catholic students and faculty at Duquesne, Notre Dame, and Michigan State universities. The movement grew rapidly by means of prayer groups and local, national, and international conferences. It soon surpassed its Protestant counterpart, numbering among its adherents many religious and bishops and at least one cardinal, Leon Joseph Cardinal Suenens of Belgium.

Protestant charismatics regard Spirit Baptism as a distinct act of grace, as do all Pentecostals, but many Protestant and all Roman Catholic charismatics regard it as a renewal or actualization of the baptism in the Spirit, which all Christians receive in water baptism or on their conversion. Some Protestant charismatics hold the "initial evidence" view of glossolalia; other Protestant and all Roman Catholic charismatics reject this view.

THE GOSPEL OF HEALTH AND WEALTH. As the healing revival began to wane and many middle-class people were embracing the charismatic movement, a new movement began in the 1970s under the leadership of Kenneth Hagin and Kenneth Copeland. The "Word of Faith" teaching proclaimed that every true Christian believer could have health, happiness, and prosperity by simply claiming it. It was a gospel entirely congenial to upwardly mobile middle classes, not only in the United States, but those emerging middle classes in some parts of Asia and Africa as well. It coincided with the global expansion of capitalism and consumerism, and became a major trend in the Pentecostal/charismatic movement.

THE THIRD WAVE. This term refers to some new movements in the United States in the 1980s and 1990s, but also to indigenous movements in the Third World that had been developing for many decades. The unifying element is their rejection of Pentecostal/charismatic language and heritage while preserving the practice of the charismata.

In 1975, C. Peter Wagner and John Wimber, instructors at Fuller Theological Seminary, taught a course on "Signs and Wonders" in which they held that the key to evangelism was demonstrating the power of the gospel through performing signs and wonders. They minimized Spirit Baptism and glossolalia. Wimber organized the Association of Vineyard Churches in 1985. A revival in the Toronto Airport Vineyard Church began in 1994 under the leadership of John Arnott. Its extreme bodily manifestations like dancing, laughing, and bellowing like animals earned it the condemnation of many, and it was evicted from the Vineyard Association. A similar revival marked by jerking and twitching began the following year in a Brownsville church in Pensacola, Florida. Both revivals have attracted many thousands. Wagner founded the New Apostolic Church movement in 1996. It emphasizes the authority of apostles and prophets and the loose association of entirely independent congregations.

The Shepherding/Discipleship movement, led by a group of Pentecostal preachers in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, also began in the 1970s. It taught the submission of every believer to the authority of a shepherd who would direct all aspects of his or her life, including choice of spouse and management of finances. The movement was rejected by most and withered away by 1986.

By far the most dramatic aspect of the Third Wave is its explosive growth in Africa, Latin America, and Asia, especially since the 1970s. These movements have taken root among peoples whose traditional beliefs were animistic, and therefore quite compatible with those of Pentecostals and charismatics. But they are not fully accepted by many more traditional Pentecostals and charismatics because some of their beliefs and practices, like ancestor worship and polygyny, are considered heretical or non-Christian. Their forms of worship, however, are virtually indistinguishable from those of the Pentecostals and charismatics.

There are four types of Pentecostalism in Asia, Africa, and Latin America:

1. Mission churches established by missionaries from the Pentecostal denominations of North America and Europe.
2. charismatic movements in the mainstream non-Pentecostal denominations.
3. Independent schismatic offspring of the mission churches.
4. Wholly indigenous movements growing out of traditional religions.

The great expansion of Pentecostalism in Africa, Latin America, and Asia since the 1960s has coincided with the global evangelizing campaigns of American healers and preachers of the Prosperity Gospel. These have made many converts among the masses of people disoriented and socially disrupted by the process of decolonization, by the penetration of capitalist market relations, and by the breakdown of traditional religions, family relationships, and community ties.

WORSHIP. The heart of Pentecostalism is the worship service. In the early years of the Pentecostal movement, nearly every meeting was marked by speaking in tongues, prophesying, healings, exorcisms, hand-clapping, uncoordinated praying aloud, running, jumping, falling, dancing "in the Spirit," crying, and shouting with great exuberance. Very quickly these practices were subjected to unwritten but clearly understood conventions concerning what was appropriate and when; however, Pentecostal services still appeared chaotic to the uninitiated. In the larger, white Pentecostal denominations these practices have all but disappeared. Charismatics have always maintained a high degree of decorum. The original character of Pentecostal worship, however, is still much in evidence among racial and ethnic minorities in North America and Europe and throughout sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, and parts of Asia.

BELIEF AND PRACTICE. Experience, not doctrine, has been the principal concern of Pentecostals. There is no unanimity on doctrine, polity, or any matter whatsoever except Spirit Baptism and the practice of the charismata. The early Pentecostals were heirs to the evangelical faith of the late-nineteenth-century Holiness movement. Most American Pentecostals subscribe to the tenets of Fundamentalism. Their only distinctive doctrine is that of Baptism in the Spirit. Many American Pentecostal denominations believe that the "initial evidence" of Spirit Baptism is always glossolalia. Other Pentecostals believe that it may be evidenced by any one of the charismata. Speaking in tongues was originally believed to be miraculously speaking a language completely unknown to the speaker. Many Pentecostals continue to hold this view, even though linguistic analysis has refuted it. Some acknowledge its nonlinguistic character but continue to assert its divine signification.

The charismatics have rejected nearly all of the Holiness and fundamentalist heritage of the Pentecostal movement. They have concentrated on integrating the experience of Spirit Baptism and the practice of the charismata into the traditional beliefs and practices of their respective traditions. Despite differences in forms of expression, worship, for all Pentecostals, is the ritual reenactment of *Acts 2*—the recapturing of awe, wonder, and joy in the immediate experience of the Holy Spirit, and immersion in mystery and miracle. Worship provides the believer with an opportunity for individual expression, forges an emotional bond with the spiritual community, brings consolation and assurance, and lifts one into the sublime. The believer's objective is "to feel the moving of the Spirit," or, in psychological terms, to experience intense arousal and discharge of emotion. The goal is infilling, or possession, by the Holy Spirit.

The Third Wavers only connection with the Pentecostals and charismatics is in their style of worship: the emotional and physical expression of the charismata.

SOCIAL CHARACTER. The Pentecostal movement originated in the United States as a protest against the increasing formalism, "modernism," and middle-class character of the mainstream denominations. It was a movement of the poor, the uprooted, the socially and culturally deprived, recent immigrants, blacks, Hispanics, and other minorities in America. The movement's leaders were poor and lower-middle-class clergy and religious workers with little advanced education, generally from the outermost fringes of American Christendom. With few exceptions, the social character of the movement in all the countries to which it spread was analogous, and it is still overwhelmingly so in those indigenous movements that are most dynamic in Africa, Latin America, and Asia. Pentecostalism has played a role in easing the transit of some of those who have suffered most from the transformation of preindustrial societies into modern urbanizing, industrializing ones. Pentecostalism has shown an ability to incorporate elements of both traditional and modern modes of thought and behavior into a subculture that has served as a bridge between the two. Its pre-scientific outlook gives it an affinity with many non-Christian religions. Its emphasis on subjectivity, emotional expression, Spirit Baptism, healing, exorcism, and miracles makes it highly congenial to adherents of traditional religions that are characterized by animism, spirit possession, divination, shamanism, and prophetism. On the other hand, Pentecostalism has inculcated in its adherents an ethic of hard work, discipline, obedience to authority, sobriety, thrift, and self-denial—the qualities of the ideal proletarian in modernizing societies. These qualities have enabled some adherents to rise into the middle classes. It has also attracted new converts from those already moving into the middle classes, for whom the charismatic movement and the Prosperity Gospel serve as vehicles for upward mobility.

MORES. The early American Pentecostals were markedly ascetic, with prohibitions against tobacco, alcohol, dancing, gambling, movies, coffee, tea, Coca-Cola, cosmetics, and jewelry. Such prohibitions are no longer typical of white, middle-class American Pentecostals, but they are typical of other American Pentecostals. European Pentecostals have generally taken a more liberal position. Charismatics regard all such taboos as irrelevant. Nonwhite Pentecostals often tend more toward asceticism.

SOCIAL ETHICS. The dominance of millenarianism among the early Pentecostals and their identification of the Social Gospel with the mainstream churches led to wholesale rejection of social activism by the Pentecostal denominations. They have always approved of individual acts of charity but have avoided corporate church involvement in social or political action. Pentecostals tend strongly toward conservative and reactionary views. They believe that society can be improved by the conversion and Spirit Baptism of individuals within it, but only the Second Coming can bring the good society—and the signs of that Coming are an increase in immorality, conflict, and general social chaos. Such beliefs militate against any real social ethic.

A few Pentecostal academics have worked to develop a Pentecostal social ethic, a move which has been welcomed by some, especially nonwhite and Third World adherents, but frowned upon by most, who are still convinced of the futility of bettering the world before its imminent apocalyptic destruction and the Second Coming of Jesus.

POLITICAL ORIENTATION. Most American Pentecostals were hostile to any involvement in politics until the 1970s, when they were politicized around the New Right reaction against the social and cultural changes brought about by the 1960s and 1970s protest movements. They lent support to the candidacy of Jimmy Carter, a self-proclaimed "born again" Christian whose sister was a prominent charismatic, in 1976; to Ronald Reagan in 1980 and 1984; to the prominent Pentecostal television evangelist Pat Robertson in 1988; and to George W. Bush in 2000. After his failed bid for the Republican nomination, Robertson founded the Christian Coalition, which eventually settled into the right wing of the Republican Party.

Pentecostals and charismatics in other nations tend to support or at least accommodate any government—Left, Right, or Center—on the basis of the belief that "the powers that be are ordained of God" and should therefore not be resisted. Their only concern is that they be free to practice and proselytize their religion. However, they do tend to be more favorably disposed toward conservative, authoritarian governments. In Latin America, Pentecostalism has been favored by parties and governments who see their growth as a force to weaken the political power of the Roman Catholic Church.

POLITY AND INTERCHURCH RELATIONS. The early Pentecostals opposed all "man-made" organizations; they called only for spiritual unity based on Spirit Baptism. Soon, however, they created a multitude of tight denominational structures of widely differing polities. But whether episcopal, presbyterian, congregational, or mixed in form, in practice all Pentecostals have tended toward the authoritarianism of the national leader(s) in denominational matters and that of the pastor in congregational matters.

American Pentecostal denominations were at first strongly separatist in their relations with one another, as well as with non-Pentecostal churches. A break in the isolationism of American Pentecostals came in 1943, when several Pentecostal denominations joined the National Association of Evangelicals. In 1948, the largest white Pentecostal denominations organized the Pentecostal Fellowship of North America, a racially segregated organization of Finished Work and Second Work Pentecostals. In 1994 this was disbanded and reorganized as the racially integrated Pentecostal and charismatic Churches of North America.

European Pentecostals engaged in various regional and national cooperative efforts from an early point; they held the first All-Europe Pentecostal Conference in 1939 and the first Pentecostal World Conference in 1947, which soon included many Pentecostal churches from around the world. While fellowship with other Pentecostals and evangelicals has become common, attempts at theological agreement and organizational unity have been resisted.

Since 1961 several Pentecostal churches have joined the World Council of Churches, though none from the United States. However, some American Pentecostal clergy have attended meetings of this organization, often against the official positions of their churches. charismatics, in contrast to Pentecostals, are ardently ecumenical, being active in nearly all interchurch organizations at all levels. Adherents in Africa, Latin America, and Asia stand somewhere in between—separatism and independency are quite strong, but several denominations have joined ecumenical organizations, including the World Council of Churches. In 1972 the first General Conference on charismatic Renewal was held in Kansas City; subsequent ones have been held periodically. The North American Congress of the Holy Spirit and Evangelization has met annually since 1986.

GLOBAL DIMENSIONS. Because of the great number of Pentecostal organizations, the variety of names, and the amorphous character of many groups, it is impossible to accurately estimate the totals of Pentecostal/charismatic/"Third Wave" adherents. However, the *World Christian Encyclopedia* (2001), edited by David B. Barrett, estimates the global total of Pentecostals of all types at 535 million, including 65 million Pentecostals, 175 million charismatics, and 295 million Third Wavers (whom Barrett calls "Neo-charismatics"). Total adherents to these three groups (in the millions) are estimated at 79.6 in North America, 37.5 in Europe, 141.4 in Latin America, 126 in Africa, 134.8 in Asia, and 4.2 in Oceania.

SEE ALSO Charisma; Shavuʿot.

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ROBERT MAPES ANDERSON (1987 AND 2005)

PERCUSSION AND NOISE. The role of percussion and noise in the evolution of the human species remains the subject of ongoing debate and speculation. That manufactured sound commands inexhaustible fascination and enjoins relentless exploration seems patent from the historical record. *Homo sapiens* is also *homo* "per-soni-fication"—a creature summoned by and summoning "what sounds through." There is a dense intersection between percussion and ritual repetition that goes by the name of religion in the ceaseless quest of humanity to express, comprehend, control, free, fecundate, and otherwise elaborate its experience of meaning by way of rhythm. Examples of various uses of noise and sound ground speculative musing on the ritual fusing of myth, music, and dance—the body in contemplation and in motion—and the ascribed effects such sonic textures arouse in consciousness and community alike.

Percussive sound is here understood as a rhythmic patterning of noise, a precise structure and ordering of both pitch and timing, produced primarily by instruments of the idiophone and membranophone families, or indeed by the human body itself (in forms of clapping, stomping, or aspirating). Noise refers to sound that is unspecifiable in pitch and duration, from virtually any source, that nonetheless gains employment in ritual soundings of the cosmos. Firecrackers, vocal cries, grunts and growls and howls imitating nature, or even certain aspects of material culture, are examples. The line between noise and percussion depends, perhaps now more than ever, on cultural context and political purpose: any sound shortened enough in duration is noise; any noise given enough time and space for repetition can be comprehended as rhythm. In the last half of the twentieth century, the introduction of electronic media quickly revolutionized the human probe of the soundscape as aural symbol: hip-hop scratching of records, machinelike inflections of the human voice by means of synthesizer, and digitalized fracturing and suturing of sound into a surround of trancelike droning invaded world musics both secular and sacred. Postmodern literature and music together ask if spirit can be found inside the machine as well as in the mosque (or in mammal and mineral, in older belief), in the chip as well as in the chirp or church. Industrial noise may itself emerge in hindsight as a new kind of "god" (or "demon") and Adam Smith's "invisible hand" (guiding market choice), the animism of the modern hour.

PERCUSSION. Percussion appears across the worldscape as a primary modality of both experiencing and expressing ritual solemnity and religious intensity. Gong strikes, drumrolls, bell rings, palm beats, cymbal crashes, stick clicks, and stone clacks have served the religious interrogation of things invisible around the planet. Paleolithic culture divulges mammoth-jaw scrapers, reindeer-antler beaters, and bone and seashell wrist-rattles. Skin-covered drums and musical bows were common in cultures as ancient and divergent as Neolithic Bulgaria, Bronze Age China, Babylonia-on-the-rise, and Buddha's India. Bull-roarers (a bull-roarer is a piece of bone or wood attached to a long string) swung around the head to create "vortices of sonic monstrosity" effected initiation in Australia, Nigeria, Navajo Arizona, and Inuit Canada. Goat-hoof rattle-belts called *manjur* are combined with tin can rattles (*ashukhshaykhah*) in the Zar cults of Egypt, and springbok ears filled with pebbles and tied around the ankles serve the same the need to rattle in South Africa. There is perhaps no object found or manufactured that is not sooner or later annexed to the drive to syncopate, vibrate, resonate, or orchestrate matter into an aural augury of ultimate mystery. The land itself is drafted into the divination in some places: slit drums of the Lokele people of Zaire take advantage of the acoustical properties of natural formations to make river basins and valley passages speak an African tongue like a modern telegraph. Here the drum-as-spirit-mouth of a local place was the subject of ritual care, sheltered in a hut, offered sacred milk daily, warmed continuously by fire, replenished in power by cattle sacrifice and beer. Indeed, this effort at aural enchantment may even predate humanity, insofar as gorilla chest-pounds or beaver-tailed water-slaps of warning sought to use sharp sound to alter awareness. That human consciousness could be sonically shocked or "rocked" into perception of an "otherworld" is one of the primordial intuitions of religious practice in the memory of the species.

But there is little agreement about the exact nature of percussive triggers (e.g., drum rhythms) for this altered consciousness. Certainly the nearly universal congruence of ritual percussion and rites of transition (like those for birth, puberty, marriage, and death) is well established. But ethnomusicology has raised issue with any easy neurobiological explanation of trance behavior as drum-driven. The lab experiments conducted by neurobiologists too radically alter the performance context, too uncritically limit alpha brainwave effects to the trance music in question (nontrance music can also cause the same effect), and too abstractly ignore the cultural specificity of the psychological conditioning in evidence. At most, we can say religious experience of an "otherworld" sometimes seems to involve ritually mediated, drum-triggered "possession-states" that are communally embraced and culturally interpreted in quite particular ways.

What such an "otherworld" might consist of is a core riff of human cultures. Science today makes us aware of the primacy of the Big Bang, the first beat, the explosion of time and space in din and chaos that sets matter in motion as vibration. Hindus call the seed sound *Nada Brahma*; the *Tibetan Book of the Dead* speaks of the essence of reality as a "reverberating like a thousand distant thunders." Percussive exploration—whether as a mode of taming the terror of volcano and thunder, titillation accompanying the rhythmic "cracking" of stone tool-making, or merely observation of the undulations of natural phenomena (spiders drumming their webs, termites clicking the ground in march, waves on beaches)—finds careful and playful elaboration in the myths of origins of percussion instruments. The Buria people of Siberia trace the single-headed shaman's drum to a retaliatory lightning strike that split the two-headed drum ridden by their chief shaman, Morgon-Kara, after successfully raiding heaven to retrieve a soul stolen by the High God. The Dan people of Africa track the advent of the wooden drum to a dancing-versus-drumming battle to the death won by an orphan village boy avenging the death of his brother at the hands of the termite-mound genie who originally owned the drum. Among the Sioux, the powwow drum is thought to have been the contrivance of the Great Spirit, revealed to Tailfeather Woman, as an instrument to tease whites out of their wanton violence towards natives by entrancing them with the secret of the powwow dance. Whatever the explanation, power, both terrible and tantalizing, was obviously, early on in human history, found in sound. Mastery of the mystery of producing rhythmic patterns may be one of the defining capacities of human evolution.

But the history of the drum, in particular, also reveals the ambiguity of the religious valuing of sound. Based on artifactual evidence and artistic imagery dating back to at least 2200 BCE, the drum appears to have been widely embraced around the planet as a means of ritual concourse with the spirit-dimension—and its use, as often as not, a realm of women's work. In the cultural genealogy of the West, however, sacred drum use was increasingly replaced by new melodic instruments such as the trumpet, harp, lyre, and shawm beginning with the emergence of Sumerian civilizations in the third century BCE, and hitting a nadir with the early Roman Christian evaluation of percussion as "the devil's music." Whether this was an effect of an ideological shift accompanying the suppression of agricultural-based goddess religions by male-controlled transcendental orientations, or some deep psychosocial antipathy to lower frequency, the larger kettle and cylinder drums were gradually displaced from temple to battlefield, from magical power to martial. (In the breach, however, clappers, ratchets, castanets, whirring discs, and xylophones were all used percussively to chase away evil spirits and attract goods ones, and eventually bells were hung in church towers to gather believers or toll warnings.) Only in encounters with Muslim invaders in the Middle Ages, and later with indigenous cultures in the course of colonization, did the deep bass "boom" of big drum sounds slowly reinvest European sensibilities of the sacred. In the New World, beginning in the nineteenth century, West African modalities of spirit possession articulated by rhythmic aggression percolated up from freed-slave communities into the heart of American societies as a kind of return of the repressed—jazz, blues and gospel, samba, bomba, and mambo exercising white fascination despite (and indeed because of) widespread fear that rhythm leads to insurrection, or percussive beat to sexual heat. The thirst for trance evident in this rhythmic revelry in contemporary Western societies may well belie their self-naming as secular.

Elsewhere, percussion has been articulated in concert with quite varied cultural cues as to what constitutes acceptable clues of the sacred. Among the Mapuche of Chile and Argentina, the *kultrún* drum used by the *machi* medicine man or woman anchors a kind of cosmogram of the universe, with drawings on its sides that map good (east, south) and evil (west, north). It harbors within its resonant belly the earth products (coins, seeds of medicinal plants, animal hair, wheat, and corn) that augur fertility, and in its bay wood body it partakes of the sacred "world-tree" substance believed to project its shaman-player to the heavens (Grebe, 1973). Drumming instruments in many South American Indian cultures are medicine as well as tocsin and prayer: together with the singing voice of the shaman, they fight evil actively, aid in diagnosis, serve as prophylaxis, and reinforce cure. Spirits are thought to echo through the throbbing skins, and mythologies ascribe to the instruments an origin as pristine as creation itself (Béhague, 1993). Pre-Columbian high Indian cultures throughout Meso- and South America bear similar witness. Carvings on and codices about Aztec *teponaztles* (slit drums) and *huehuetls* (upright, cylindrical drums) reveal instruments that were "instrumental" in giving cosmic structure to the universe from its mythic genesis to its apocalyptic end in ancient Mexico. Maya murals at the eighth-century CE Bonampak temple in Chiapas evince the ritual import of drums and rattles. Incan *tinya*—small double-headed drums carrying ritually activated magical powers—are honored up to the present in successor Indian communities in Peru in Carnival parades and ceremonies of cattle branding. The magical sound properties of the *tinya* are produced by cloves of garlic and red peppers inserted in the drum body, activated by the zoomorphic mallet with which it is struck, and (in Puno at least) reinforced by accoutrements worn by drummers that are associated with the mythical condor (Béhague, 1993).

In India, the folk drum *dholak* (double-headed, barrel-shaped) underwrites birth and marriage ceremonies, stimulates devotion, and announces news of good omen from village to village. In the south of the country, the *mrdanga* drum (similar to the *dholak*) aids in ordinary religious instruction; North Indian *kīrtan* chanting (in praise of Kṛṣṇa), popularized by the Vaisnava Caitanya (1486–1533), is made accessible to everyone through use of the clay *khola* drum and the brass *karatala* cymbals that are affordable even by the poor. Aspiring Punjabi *tabla* players are encouraged to make three vision-quest-like *chilla* retreats of forty days each, sequestered in huts, fed little, drumming fifteen or more hours per day, until trance-images come and the drum "talks." In Chinese cultures, where preference for more subdued rhythms reflects a valuing of calmness and serenity, myth tells of a maid who sought to spare her father's life by fulfilling an augury that the bell he was struggling to cast for the Son of Heaven would only turn out right if mingled with the blood of a maid. She cast herself into the molten metal at the last minute, and the bell so produced ever after tolled a sad "Ko-ngai" sounding of her name. Fritz Kuttner, a scholar of Chinese music and explorer of secret metallophone production techniques, tells of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's testing of an ancient Chinese *tam-tam* gong, which when tapped only once issued a soft hum for ten seconds, followed by a gradual crescendo for thirty-five seconds, until a colossal triple fortissimo peak was reached after a full minute, terrifying all the museum bystanders who heard it.

In Korea, two-headed drums used in shamanist practice may sport the eight primary trigrams of the Yi jing, and in Sri Lanka *geiji* bells are strung onto leather knee pads to knock out rhythmic accompaniment in ritual dance. Huge *taiko* drums in Japan punctuate Zen meditation and Shintō reverence with a reverberance that reinforces the perception of silence. Tibetan *damaru* (double-headed drums, made from halved human skulls) are power instruments said to be capable of rousing the dead, and *gang-san* gongs with human jawbone handles are used among the Bontoc Igorot people of the Philippines as part of their grief rituals. *Tabl* drums in Qatar are not only sounded, but also touched in certain dances to solicit healing, and Dubai performances of Mawlid (the celebration of the birth and death of the prophet Muḥammad) commemorations invoke memory of a saint's death day by means of frame drums. Ṣūfī trance-seeking through dervish-dancing may involve entrainment with *dar* (frame) drumming and flute playing.

Africa holds a special place in the percussive praise song, as homeland of the species and motherland of the polyrhythmic paradigm writ large. African peoples across the globe invoke ancestral memory and communal vitality in the key of contrastive sound. San peoples of South Africa clap and stomp out an intricate rhythm to collectively "face the gods" and effect cure. The Minianka of Mali hoe their fields in time to accompanying drumbeats. Venda adults of South Africa syncopate every child's least banging of some object with a counterrhythm designed to inculcate sensitivity to the polyrhythmic proclivities of their communal cult. The talking drum called *dundun* by the Ewe of Togo and Ghana is used to tell proverbs as well as to crack jokes by emulating tonal qualities in the language through varying the pitch of the drumhead by squeezing its webbing as it is played. In Yorubaland, every major *orisha* (ancestral spirit-persona) has its own rhythm to which it responds when drummed and into which it plunges its human "horse" in possession-dance. Vodou, Santería, and Candomblé—in syncretic cooperation with Catholic ritual elements—reiterate and amplify the possession vocabularies of these spirit-dances in Haiti, Cuba, and Brazil, respectively.

Creative adaptation under the duress of slavery led to divergence in details of practice and belief. For instance, the *batá* (double-headed, horizontally played) drums of the Yoruba Shango cult in Nigeria morphed in Cuba into a trio (from largest to smallest, *iya, itótele,* and *okónkolo*) that must be harvested together from the same tree trunk and played together as the sound organs of the god Aña. In the Lucumi (Cuban) context, the threesome is animated by an *afôuobó*-secret, known to the priests of Ana alone, physically signified by sacred seeds, cowrie shells, and other objects placed in a small bag inside the largest drum body, and inspirited by *éggüe*-plants (and other objects determined by divination) deposited in the drum cavity during construction that crumble into a powder over time and consecrate the sound. Sacrificial foods and blood further reinforce the potency in an annual offering. Shared ideas of "drum baptism" among West African and Afro-Cuban and Afro-Brazilian traditions mandate animal sacrifice and sacred food offerings while baptizing the instruments into potency to call gods and provoke possession. But the actual associations in each tradition are quite culture specific. In the Americas in particular, historically, they shifted in reference under different plantation regimes and racist polities that force distinct African tribal groups to intermingle bodies, beliefs, and practices in order to survive.

West African idiophone use and understanding likewise bridge the Atlantic. For example, the Yoruban double bell *adjá,* shaken before any speech by the priests of *Ogún,* the god of war and iron, is thought to personify aspects of this god and indeed to "ventriloquize" his voice; in Bahia, Brazil, the same instrument, here called *xerê,* is shaken over initiates' heads to summon all the *orixá* (ancestral spirit-persona) and to facilitate response, through possession, to the varied voices of the gods, articulated in each one's particular drum rhythm. In Yoruba-Fon inspired Candomblé funeral rites in Brazil known as *axêxê* (in the Nagô cult) or *azeri* (in the Gege cult), stick-struck calabash drums or fan-struck pottery jars, respectively, drive the spirit of Iku (Death) away and ensure transformation of the dead initiate into the realm of ancestors. All artifacts of the ceremony are eventually broken to signify severance of all ties between cult center and dead member and become part of the *carrego* (load of death).

NOISE. By comparison, noise in ritual is often used to mark moments that call for special attention or abrupt transition. Firecrackers, for instance, are employed in Chinese Confucian commemorations of ancestral dead to exorcise evil influence around the gravesite. In Mexican performances of the pre-Columbian *danza de los voladores* (dance of the flyers), these same noisemakers signal the crossover from ascent of "shaman-flyers" up the sacred post (or "tree of life") to flight downwards as symbolic birds, bringing divine messages and fertility to earth (Béhague, 1993). Similarly, during the public ceremony of *Xirê* in Bahia, Brazil, the entry of the gods (in the form of possessed initiates) into the main dance hall of the cult center is announced with a mixture of happiness and awe by a sudden burst of firecrackers.

Somewhere between percussion and noise is the old practice of "tattooing" a wooden board or metal plate (called a *semantron* or *simandron* in Greek, or *klepalo* in Slavic contexts) with sharp pulsing sounds by means of a stick or mallet. The urgency and solemnity of the clatter assumes an aspect of holy summons to prayer or, sometimes, fearful alarm at the approach of some untoward event (e.g., fire, invasion). Common to both Eastern and Western Christian traditions before the seventh-century advent of the church bell in the West, today the practice remains enshrined in Orthodox and Eastern church practices, especially in monasteries such as those on Mount Athos or the island of Patmos.

Vocalized shouts and ritualized groans also can oscillate between noise and rhythm—punctuating the precise moment of possession in both Brazil and Yorubaland with the cry of the arriving god, or laying down something more like a pattern of hyperventilation in "trumping" circles associated with the Afro-Christian Pukkumina cults of Jamaica or the noisy inhaling and exhaling of (non-Christian) Afro-Cuban Ronconeo worship. In each of these latter two instances, the rhythmic breathing accompanied by trunk and arm motions establishes an alternating high (inspiration) and low (expiration) pitch level, functioning like a form of "opaque, bitonal drumming" (Béhague, 1984; Ortiz, 1952–1954). A somewhat similar use of breathing signals the "code-switch," according to Morton Marks (1974), when African American "gospel" preaching suddenly shifts from a European monotone beginning to a higher velocity, African possession-cadence known as "whooping." Indeed, the percussive breathing and body language is recognizable across religious communions—for example, a Pentecostal preacher gesturing (unconsciously) for a visiting Candomblé or Santería devotee a message of Shàngó or Oshun (spirits common to the two West African-derived religions) as well as articulating a word of Jesus.

Indian Kuṇḍalinī meditation traditions recognize a form of discipline called *shubda yoga* that works with percussive sound to open the knots of energy called *cakra* that run up the spinal column. Hard consonants in particular are vocalized to release "male" energies associated especially with the second "sexual" *cakra*—a practice that one Indian teacher recently likened to certain forms of rap rhyming that work the harder sounds explosively to achieve a particular kind of "manhood."

Handclapping is another action that works the edge between abrupt punctuation and patterned rhythm. In addition to reinforcing or embroidering upon musical instrumentation, handclaps in many cultures serve as a symbolic expression of collective emotion. In Central Africa, some peoples interpret rhythmic clapping as an exalted (and exalting) modality of direct contact between the gods and the human spirit. In Ifa divination practices common to West Africa and Brazil, readings of positive signs by the *babalawo* (diviner) provokes affirmation and rejoicing in the form of exuberant clapping.

Finally, in African American contexts, even the percussion agent *par excellence*, the drum itself, is sometimes shifted out of its role of time-keeping and rhythm-patterning to "drop bombs" (as jazz legend Max Roach used to say) of exclamation and fury.

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JAMES W. PERKINSON (2005)

PERFECTIBILITY. The etymology of the word *perfect* indicates the centrality of the idea of perfectibility in religion. Derived from the Latin *per facere*, the English word *perfect* implies completion or being thoroughly made. Also the Greek word *teleios* is translated as "perfect," and it lends to the concept the idea of attaining a goal or end (*telos*). Aristotle saw human perfectibility as the capacity to achieve the goal of fulfilling or realizing one's nature. Drawing on these definitions, we can say that perfection as the goal of actualizing the highest human potential plays an important role in religion.

Anders Nygren (1960) has described the dynamic of religion as fourfold. First, religion reveals the eternal, the ultimate reality, which represents perfection in the sense of wholeness, completeness, and integrity. Second, this revelation of a perfect ultimate reality throws into sharp relief the imperfect nature of humanity. The human predicament becomes visible in its separation from the eternally perfect. Third, religion seeks to provide a means of overcoming this separation. Having judged human nature to be radically imperfect when compared with ultimate perfection, religion nevertheless declares that human beings are perfectible. Ways of purification or atonement have been made known and can be followed by the members of the religion. This affirmation of human perfectibility and the provision of means to achieve it stand at the heart of religion. As Nygren writes, "A religion which did not claim to make possible the meeting between the eternal and man, a religion which did not claim to be the bridge over an otherwise impassable gulf, would be a monstrosity" (p. 44). Religious traditions provide for the bridging of this gulf to take place in two opposite directions: either from the human side, by human initiative, or from the divine side. The final characteristic of religion results from this mediation between the human and the divine: religion makes possible the union of the soul with the eternal. Variously phrased in different religious traditions, the perfectibility of human beings is realized by identification or union with the perfection of the ultimate reality. This dynamic of religion as a means to perfection inheres in all religions but may be seen clearly in the biblical traditions of the West and in the Hindu and Buddhist traditions of the East.

PERFECTIBILITY IN BIBLICAL RELIGIONS. For the biblical traditions, God represents perfection, the embodiment of all wisdom and virtue. God possesses transcendental and metaphysical perfection. In the Middle Ages Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury (1093–1109), declared God to be "that than which nothing greater can be conceived." By contrast, human beings are separated from and judged by this divine perfection. When Isaiah saw the Lord seated upon his throne, his response was to say, "Woe is me! For I am lost; I am a man of unclean lips" (*Is.* 6:5). The Hebrew scriptures depict this understanding of God's perfection and man's imperfection in terms of the covenant. God is righteous and desires to establish his covenant with humanity. But, as the primeval history (*Gn.* 1–11) indicates, humanity, beginning with Adam and Eve, was unrighteous and violated the covenantal relationship. Eternally righteous and loving, God reestablishes his covenant with Abraham and the patriarchs. But even the chosen people continually fall short of the demands for perfection, as the Pentateuch shows. Later, the Hebrew prophets declare that only God is holy, and all human beings have turned away from God.

The New Testament and Christianity inherited and developed this understanding of human nature as fallen, sinful, or imperfect. The apostle Paul set the stage for much of later Christian theology when he described human sin as having come "into the world through one man," Adam. Whether taken literally or figuratively, the fall depicts the human condition. And when this condition is compared with the perfection revealed in Christ, Christians perceive the imperfection that is the human predicament.

Both the Hebrew scriptures and the New Testament, however, proclaim that the human predicament can be resolved; the fallen state need not be permanent since human beings are perfectible. In the Torah, God's desire to restore the covenant with the Israelites indicates the possibility of rapprochement with the divine. This covenantal relationship is not something impossible for human beings; as *Deuteronomy* says, "This commandment is not too hard for you, neither is it far off. . . . But the word is near you, it is in your mouth and in your heart, so that you can do it" (30:11–14).

The New Testament attributes to Jesus the straightforward demand, "You, therefore, must be perfect *[te-leioi]* as your heavenly father is perfect" (*Mt.* 5:48). In its context, this demand follows Jesus' reformulation of the major commandments, in which he requires inner purity, radical obedience to the spirit of the Law over and above the letter of the Law. When Jesus summarized all the commandments with the two love commandments (*Mt.* 22:37–40), he also summed up the essence of this demand for perfection. He further described perfection in the same radical fashion in his dialogue with the young man who asked what he must do to gain eternal life (*Mt.* 19:16–21). When Jesus responded that he must keep the commandments, the young man, replying that he had kept them, asked what more he lacked. Jesus answered by placing before him the radical demand of love: "If you would be perfect, go and sell what you own and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven."

Although the New Testament seems clearly to demand perfection as the way out of the human predicament, the Christian tradition has debated at length the meaning of perfection and the question of human perfectibility. Augustine questioned the possibility of human perfection for two reasons. First, only God has perfection in an ontological sense; human beings are far lower in being and power. Second, because of original sin, human beings cannot now even will finite perfection. It is the human predicament that a person cannot on his own fulfill the demands stated in *Matthew* 5:48 (quoted above). The only way that progress can be made toward moral perfection and salvation is by God's grace. Without grace, people experience the situation that Paul described when he said, "I do not do the good I want, but the evil that I do not want" (*Rom.* 7:19). Thus, Augustine held that such perfectibility as humans have results from the prior action of God. God predetermines who shall receive salvation, but this predetermination does not obviate human free will. Salvation is possible for those who receive grace, but full perfection lies beyond this life even for the saints. This view, placing the initiative for perfection on God's side, has its parallel in the Hebrew scriptures and in Jewish tradition also. In his vision, Isaiah received purification from one of the seraphim who touched his mouth with a burning coal (*Is.* 6:6–7).

Pelagius, a fifth-century English lay monk, questioned Augustine's views, however, saying that God would not have commanded anything (i.e., perfection) that was impossible for man to achieve. He was much more sanguine about the human exercise of free will to achieve perfection. This commonsense approach has appealed to many Christians, and as R. N. Flew observes, the history of Christianity—and of the notion of perfectibility—can be told as the swing "between the extremes of Pelagianism and the extremes of dual predestination" (Flew, 1968, p. 99).

Thomas Aquinas agreed theologically with Augustine, although he held out much more hope for human perfectibility. Absolute perfection, he said, belongs to God alone and cannot be possessed by human beings, but a lower perfection is not only possible but incumbent upon them. This "evangelical perfection" involves removing all mortal sin and cultivating the love of God. It was with regard to this kind of perfection that the Catholic church interpreted Jesus' dialogue with the young man (cited above) to imply two standards of virtuous conduct. The first consists in following the commandments, as the young man said he had done. This is the standard for ordinary virtue and salvation. Jesus' response, "If you would be perfect . . . ," sets out a higher standard, a "counsel of perfection" for those who wish to ensure salvation by works of supererogation. The church traditionally interpreted these counsels of perfection to imply the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience.

Within Christianity, this distinction between spiritual foot soldiers and a spiritual elite provided the constitution for the anchorite and monastic movements. Mystics and ascetics of various kinds have flourished in the Christian tradition alongside mainstream Christianity. The quest of the mystics was the quest for perfection, both in the sense of freedom from sin and, even more important, in the sense of the contemplation of and union with God. Renouncing the body, they frequently employed severe asceticism to subdue the desires of the flesh. John of the Cross, for example, wore knotted ropes under his clothing in his quest for the vision of God.

The Reformation marked a swing of the Christian pendulum away from Pelagianism and back toward predestination. Martin Luther developed a radically theocentric theology in which human salvation as well as perfection depend on the grace of God. For Luther, free will could not be regarded as a means to perfection because human beings, in their fallen state, had only self-will, which was alienated from God. John Calvin also regarded humanity as totally alienated from God and unable to do anything on its own to achieve perfection. Calvin and the other reformers, however, still believed that humanity reflected the image of God and was thus perfectible by God's grace. In this world, however, even with grace, one can do no more than make progress toward perfection, for final perfection can come only in the afterlife or in the Kingdom. Modern Protestant theologians have tended to reaffirm these reformers' views of perfectibility. Reinhold Niebuhr, for example, wrote, "The ethical demands of Jesus are incapable of fulfillment in the present existence of man . . . their final fulfillment is possible only when God transmutes the present chaos of this world into its final unity" (*An Interpretation of Christian Ethics*, 1936, p. 56).

The most significant exception to the Protestant Reformation's reluctance to accept perfectibility was pronounced by John Wesley. Preaching in eighteenth-century England, Wesley placed perfection at the center of his theology. He based Methodism on the idea that all Christians should strive for perfection in this life. By perfection he seems to have meant primarily evangelical or ethical perfection, but, at times, he also described it as an absolute perfection that unites one with the love of God. Wesley was not a Pelagian, however: he believed that perfection came only by grace through faith. But he held that Christians must seek that grace and faith by following the commandments and "taking up the cross daily."

PERFECTIBILITY IN INDIAN RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS. Turning from the West to the East, we find that the great religious traditions of Asia that began in India have affirmed human perfectibility in similiar ways. The Hindu tradition has taught that absolute perfection represents the nature of the ultimate reality. The Hindus who composed the Upaniṣads (c. 800 BCE) reflected on *brahman*, the Absolute, the source of the universe. *Brahman* transcends the world and yet is also immanent in all things in the world. The Upanisadic thinkers described its perfection positively by saying that it is higher than the "great" and higher than even the "unmanifest." Mainly, however, the Upanisadic thinkers described *brahman* by negation, "*neti neti*," saying *brahman* is "not this, not this." Because it transcends the world, it cannot be described by any terms—even positive ones—appropriate to worldly things. Later theistic Hindus, for example the author of the *Bhagavadgītā*, adapted this language to describe deities such as Kṛṣṇa as "unborn, beginningless" and generally splendid to a degree that human beings could not comprehend.

The Buddhists, although they discarded the notion of a deity, took over the idea of a transcendent absolute. This absolute can be seen as either *nirvāṇa*, the blissful state of transcendent enlightenment, or as *dharma*, the truth that both underlies and transcends all existence.

In comparison with this perfect absolute, human beings, according to the Hindu and Buddhist traditions, lack perfection in three ways. First, they lack perfection in wisdom: they do not comprehend the absolute and their relation to it. For Hinduism, especially in the Vedanta tradition, this means that individuals do not know that they too are one with *brahman.* Second, human beings lack perfection in action: because they have a wrong perception of reality, people act in ways that are contrary to the absolute truth. The term *karman* denotes for both the Hindu and Buddhist traditions this idea of action. *Karman*, or action, whether positive or negative, is based on desire and generates a causal force that must come to fruition. Finally, because of *karman* and its consequences, human beings lack perfection in their existence: they are bound up in cycles of *saṃsāra*, or reincarnation. In these cycles they are separated from the absolute reality.

Despite humanity's threefold imperfection, the Indian traditions hold that perfectibility is possible. For the Hindus, human beings are perfectible because, although they may not be aware of it, ultimately they are sparks of the divine or drops of water from the infinite ocean. The human soul (*ātman*) is one with the Absolute (*brahman*). In the Buddhist tradition, human perfectibility stands as the basic presupposition for all of the Buddha's teachings. He told people to "be refuges for themselves" and to "work out your liberation with diligence" (*Dīgha Nikāya* 2.100, 2.120). Those who did so, he proclaimed, could reach their highest human potential just as the *arhat*s, or Perfected Ones, had.

To bridge the gulf to perfection, the Hindu and Buddhist traditions set out various paths, some requiring human initiative, others requiring divine action. In the Hindu tradition, human initiative is required to follow the two paths called *karma-mārga*, the path of action, and *jñāna-mārga,* the path of wisdom. *Karma-mārga*, expounded and popularized by the *Bhagavadgītā*, requires that people perform their actions in life without attachment. By so doing, they will free themselves from *karman* and desire. *Jñāna-mārga* represents the classic Hindu path of meditation to achieve the wisdom that overcomes separation from the Absolute. With its counsels of asceticism and solitary meditation, this path resembles the way of the mystics in the biblical traditions. The early Buddhists' path follows this model of meditation.

Buddhism, especially in its South Asian forms, divided the path to perfection or purification into three stages: *śīla*, ethical conduct; *samādhi*, concentration; and *prajñā* (Pali, *paññā*), wisdom. These constitute a gradual path to perfection that a person can pursue over many lifetimes. At the first stage, the Buddhists said, a person must develop his ethical conduct by refraining from killing, stealing, and lying, as well as by abstaining from wrong sexual conduct and from intoxicants. Further, Buddhist ethical conduct, as spelled out in elaborate lists of precepts incumbent upon monks, nuns, and the laity, required "right livelihood": following a way of life that brings no harm to oneself or others. The highest form of ethical conduct, Buddhists taught, consists in controlling not only one's outer actions but also one's inner desires.

The second aspect of the Buddhist path is *samādhi*, trance, or, more properly, concentration. At this stage, the Buddhist, having already controlled his conduct, seeks to control and calm his mind. The mind is focused on "one point" so that it may be trained to sever its attachments to the world. The culmination of *samādhi* comes in the development of the *dhyāna*s (Pali, *jhāna*s), or higher trance states. Finally, the advanced follower reaches the stage of the development of wisdom (*prajñā*) in meditation. Here, the Buddhist achieves perfection by overcoming ignorance and seeing the truth, *dharma*. The attainment of wisdom represents the highest human potential, and Buddhists proclaim that the Buddha and countless *arhat*s have achieved this state, called *nirvāṇa*. Buddhist descriptions of these perfected individuals declare that they overcame such imperfections as egocentricity, desire, sensuality, doubt, pride, and, finally, ignorance.

Despite an emphasis on individual initiative, the Buddhist and Hindu traditions also set forth ways to perfection comparable to the Christian notion of grace. Among the Hindus, the way of *bhakti*, or devotion to a deity, represents an important example of this path to perfection and salvation. In the *Bhagavadgītā*, Kṛṣṇa, the divine embodiment of perfection, declares that if a person will worship and love him, that person will be united with him. For millions of Hindus, devotion constitutes the most accessible and plausible path to perfection.

The Buddhist tradition also knows paths to perfection and liberation that depend on extra-human grace rather than human initiative. The most striking example of this kind of path is found in the Pure Land sect of Mahāyāna Buddhism, with its worship of the Buddha Amida. Buddhist teachers such as Hōnen and Shinran in Japan proclaimed that since in this age the meditative path to purification was too difficult for most people, people must rely on the grace of Amida Buddha. They taught people the *mantra "Namu Amida Butsu,"* which invokes the mercy of Amida, as the only requirement for salvation. As in Christianity, debates have raged within Pure Land Buddhism over the relationship between divine grace and human effort in the process of salvation.

To sum up: human perfectibility represents an ideal central to Asian and Western religious traditions. Perfectibility signifies the possibility of transcending the human predicament of separation from the perfection of the ultimate reality. In religious traditions, perfectibility involves ethical purification but goes beyond that to some degree of absolute perfection in harmony with the ultimate reality. Most Asian and biblical traditions maintain that human beings progress gradually toward the ideal of perfection although some have declared that more rapid or sudden progress is possible. Many Christian theologians have held that perfection can never be fully realized in this life, while Indian thinkers have viewed the process of reincarnation as the context for perfectibility.

SEE ALSO Arhat; Free Will and Predestination; ʿIṣmah; Mahāsiddhas; Pelagianism; Sainthood; Tathāgata; Walāyah; Zhenren.

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GEORGE D. BOND (1987 AND 2005)

PERFORMANCE AND RITUAL. Theater, dance, drama, dance drama, dance theater, and similar activities known by other terms that vary according to language and historical circumstance are universal. Unless otherwise specified, herein the term *ritual* refers to both secular and sacred rituals. *Performance* is an inclusive term meaning the activities of actors, dancers, musicians, and their spectators and audiences. *Theater*, *dance*, and *music* are equivalent terms, each referring to a specific genre of performance. Theater emphasizes narrative, dance emphasizes movement, and music emphasizes sound. Performance may also be understood as "restored behavior," the organized re-enactment of mythic or actual events as well as the role-playing of religious, political, professional, familial, and social life.

Performances have occurred among all the world's peoples from the dawn of human cultures. Dancing, singing, wearing masks and costumes; impersonating other people, animals, or supernaturals (or being possessed by these others); acting stories, retelling the hunt; re-presenting alternative histories; rehearsing and preparing special places and times for these presentations—these are all coexistent with the human condition. Concrete archaeological evidence of performances date at least from Paleolithic times. Whether to categorize these first performances as ritual or entertainment is an unanswerable problem. Most likely, these performances functioned as both ritual and entertainment. In fact, all known performances incorporate both ritual and entertainment. Throughout historical time, based on archaeological as well as anthropological evidence, both secular and sacred rituals have usually involved one or more of the performance genres of theater, dance, and music. These ritual performances are not only efficacious, but they are also often beautiful and pleasure-giving: Efficacy, pleasure, and aesthetics are tightly bound to each other in performances.

Furthermore, ritual performances have an economic aspect and impact on the communities enacting them. In premodern, as well as modern and postmodern societies, a sizable proportion of a community's wealth, time, and energy is dedicated to ritual performances. The performers and arrangers of rituals are paid for their services either directly or indirectly. Although some ritual performances take place in simple, even private spaces, many others are pointedly enacted in a grand manner in spectacular venues. Erecting and maintaining these venues is an expensive undertaking. Ritual centers are also frequently commercial centers—the market, the money-changers, and the church have long shared neighborhoods, each benefiting from the presence of the other. Many ritual sites are truly multipurpose locations and constructions, like traditional performing arts centers. One need think only of the uses of such world-renowned edifices and public spaces as the pyramids of Egypt or Mexico, the Borobudur temple complex of Cambodia, or the Mall of Washington, D.C.

PALEOLITHIC PERFORMANCES. Performance and ritual were conjoined at the very earliest periods of human cultures. Dancers, musicians, shamans, actors, painters, and sculptors used the caves of southwest Europe as long ago as thirty thousand years. Because paint and stone endure, whereas gestures, dance steps, and music disappear, the scholarly emphasis has been on the visual arts of these caves. But these places of such difficult access and long-term use were certainly not art museums or silent ceremonial centers. In some caves, footprints are found in a circular pattern indicating dancing. Also surviving are bone and ivory pieces that were probably percussive musical instruments. Caves and rock shelters in every habitable continent attest to the ancient, worldwide, and persistent presence of human ritual performing arts.

These performance spaces—simultaneously theaters, shrines, pilgrimage destinations, and temples, hidden in the earth and illuminated by torch—almost certainly were sites for rituals concerning hunting and fertility, which have long been closely associated. For example, among the hunters of the Kalahari Desert, traditionally when a large animal is taken, a brief ritual entreats the gods to replenish the game. As it is with animals, so it is also with humans. The erotic temple sculptures at Konarak (thirteenth century, located in Orissa, India) are but one example among many of the joining together of fertility/sexuality, dancing, and music. This ancient and abiding association of the performing arts with sexuality is one of the reasons churches and governments have tried to repress performers as the fine line between licit and illicit celebrations of fertility is often crossed. Perhaps the illicit suggests the dangerous, the concealed, the difficult of access. These kinds of performances would focus a group's material resources, employ the skills of its performance, artistic, and religious specialists while also transforming, educating, and entertaining the participants.

The difficulty of access to many of the Paleolithic performance sites indicates a secrecy surrounding the shows. This practice of rationing ritual performance knowledge continues in the twenty-first century. Many performance specialists guard not only what they do but how they do it. Secret techniques are passed on within a family as, for example, in Japanese Nō (an aesthetic form of theater with roots in farming rituals, Buddhism, and Shintō that reached its peak in the fourteenth century) or the lifelong pledges of adherence to the faith, guild, or tribe required before a neophyte is taught the techniques and tricks of the craft or the dances and songs of the community, often associated with initiation rites. This secrecy, which also guarantees a strong line of oral transmission, may partly explain the continuity of basic performance conventions from Paleolithic times to the twenty-first century. But along with this conservatism, ritual performances also bring about, as the anthropologist Victor Turner emphasized, individual and social change—what is conservative procedurally can be radical in terms of consciousness, individual behavior, and social process and structure.

THE EFFICACY–ENTERTAINMENT DYAD. Ritual emphasizes efficacy—getting something done (e.g., a prayer answered, a god propitiated). Entertainment emphasizes the pleasurable and aesthetic qualities of a performance. One can depict the distinction between efficacious (ritual) performances and entertainment (aesthetic) performances as a binary:

Efficacy–Ritual	Entertainment–Aesthetic
Human and nonhuman audience	Human audience
Audience participates	Audience observes
Audience believes	Audience appreciates
Serving the divine	Serving the market
Eternal present	Historical time
Revealed truths	Invented fictions
Transformation possible	Transformation unlikely
Trance possession	Self-awareness
Nonrepresentational roles	Character roles
Virtuosity downplayed	Virtuosity valued
Collective creativity	Individual creativity
Criticism discouraged	Criticism flourishes

However, efficacy and entertainment are not opposites, but rather they are dancing partners along a continuum connecting each of the above qualities. Ritual performances tend toward the efficacy end of the continuum, and aesthetic performances tend toward the entertainment end. But all ritual performances have some aesthetic qualities, and all aesthetic performances have some ritual qualities.

At any given point in time, in every part of the world, and in every culture, people were, and are, making dance, music, and theater. People use performances for a variety of purposes, including ritual, community building, healing, making money, and socializing. These functions operate as dynamic tensions and creative interactions between efficacy and entertainment.

VARIETIES OF PERFORMANCE. Performance and ritual interrelate in a myriad of combinations: in initiations and shamanic healings and exorcisms; in public sacred and secular ceremonies such as the Mass celebrated in St. Peter's Square (or in any number of humbler parishes), the inauguration of the American president or the installation of a judge, the Hindu temple service, the daily facing to Mecca of Muslims, and the raising and lowering of the national flag in Mexico City's Zocalo; in great cycle plays, parades, and public celebrations of power; and in the daily rituals that individuals perform to maintain the continuity of their individual, family, and professional roles. There are ritual performances, rituals in performances, the ritual frames separating performance reality from the ordinary, and the ritual process underlying how performances are made. There is also the conscious invention of new rituals, a postmodern attempt to sacralize ordinary experience.

The ways performance permeates religious ceremony is obvious. Ritual, as Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) noted in 1915, is a "doing," and therefore inherently performative. Universally, music, dance, storytelling, and dramatic enactment are at the core of observances. The acts of a religion's most important figures, both human and divine, are transformed into shared living deeds by means of performance. The Mass is not only a source of medieval and Renaissance European theater, but also is itself inherently theatrical. To make a pilgrimage, to light candles, to offer food, to sing or chant prayers, to "fall out" in a trance in the aisles of a church, or to be "ridden" by a Yoruba *orisha* are all performances, as are the nearly silent meditations of Buddhist monks seated on cushions in a Kyoto temple. The participatory gestures of different religions—circumambulating (walking around) the Kaʿbah at Mecca, making the sign of the cross, eating matzoh and bitter herb during Passover Seder—are each performances. Particularly among especially African and Asian religions, the performing arts are highly regarded and enthusiastically practiced. Through performance, superhuman beings and forces manifest themselves. In the western hemisphere, where African religions not only thrive on their own but have also fused with Christianity, a vital part of religious services consists of performing: vivid preaching infused with enacted storytelling, individual and choral singing, trance dancing, healing by means of laying on of hands, and individual testimony.

Frequently, worship, theater, dance, music, and healing overlap. Many secular performances include a sacral dimension, and almost all sacred activities involve performing. In India this connection is rooted in the fundamental religious–aesthetic belief that performing is an offering to the gods and that daily reality is itself a *līlā* (performance). While the Hindu god Śiva dances his *Tandava*, the present existence continues—the known world is Śiva's dance. In the Vaishnavite tradition, the incarnations of the god Viṣḥu (especially Rāma and Kṛṣṇa) manifest themselves in annual theatrical performances of the Rāma-līlās and Ras-līlā. From ancient times until the middle decades of the twentieth century, *devadāsī*s (servants of God) danced in the temples to entertain the deities. On special annual occasions, gods are carried through the streets where ordinary people admire and worship them. During Durgā Puja celebrating the goddess Durgā's victory over the the buffalo demon Mahiasura, millions of clay Durgās are created by artists and common people alike. After worshiping and parading these *mūrtis* (images of the divine), they are immersed in the sacred Ganges River or in the ocean where they dissolve.

In West Africa and in the African diaspora, the deities—*loas* and *òrìṣà* —possess, or "mount," adepts in the trance dances and dramatic performances of the Gẹlẹdẹ, vodou, Camdomblé, and Umbanda. In Native American cultures, performance and religion are also completely in harmony with each other. Many of these traditions also fuse indigenous and Christian practices. The Yaqui of the Sonoran Desert enact a yearly six-week passion play combining Native American and European ritual performance traditions. Annually in the Jewish tradition, Ḥasidim mask and take to the streets to perform Purim plays (*Purimshpil*), which tell the Bible story of Esther's triumph over Haman. Examples such as these can be drawn from all parts of the world, from every inhabited place. Obviously, ritual masking, dancing, music making, and storytelling by means of theater is a universal phenomenon. Throughout the world, rituals are made from all the varieties of aesthetic performance. Both practically and theoretically, it is not possible to think about ritual except as a category of performance.

Theater flourishes even among traditions that officially reject it. The popular theater of the Middle East (Turkey and Iran, in particular) is rich in a variety of both human and puppet forms. Indonesia, the world's most populous Islamic nation, abounds with masked, live, and puppet theater and dance—many of which are both rituals and entertainments. The *taʿziyah* of the Shīʿī Muslims is an intense religious ritual and passion play that reenacts in bloody detail the martyrdom at Karbala (in Iraq) of Ḥusayn, the grandson of the prophet Muḥammad. So involved are *taʿziyah* audiences that many spectators weep and flail themselves in sympathy with Ḥusayn's fate. Among Muslim mystics, the legendary dancing of the Mevlevis (known in the west as the "whirling dervishes") arose in Anatolia under the inspiration of the poetic-religious philosophy of the thirteenth-century Ṣūfī sage Jalāluddīn Rūmī (known also as Mawlana). The intentions and mood of Mevlevi dancing is something like that of the Shakers, a Christian religious sect of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, by no means are all performances in the Islamic world sacred. In Iran, alongside *taʿziyah* is *ru-huzi*, a slapstick folk theater with connections to both commedia dell'arte and the popular theater of north India. Paradoxically, *wayang kulit*, the leather shadow puppetry of Indonesia, enacts stories from the Sanskrit-Hindu epics *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* to delighted, devout Muslim audiences. The *dalang*, the puppeteer, is both an entertainer and a shaman, who is sometimes called on to perform for sheer pleasure and sometimes to accompany life-cycle rituals and important public events.

In India itself, the prejudice against theater voiced by the *Manusm¨ti* (second century CE) is more than overcome by the enormously influential *Nāṭya Śāstra* of Bhārata Muni (dates vary from second century BCE to second century CE). If anything, Hinduism is biased in favor of performance. The whole creation is in fact theorized as performance. Sometimes this is expressed in the metaphor of Śiva's *tandava* dance; sometimes it is worked out in the well-developed theory of *māyā-līlā* (terms meaning illusion and play). In *māyā-līlā*, the cosmos is a theatrical event, the play of the gods. In this theory, human performing arts are models of the reality of the cosmos—plays within the larger play of existence. Thus Hinduism enjoys a profusion of dance, music, and theater.

The anti-theatrical prejudice. The situation in the West and in Islam is full of irony. The reasons for this anti-theatrical prejudice are many, varying according to social circumstances and historical period. The codifiers and interpreters of Judaic, Christian, and Islamic traditions and laws often bitterly opposed—and in some instances, still oppose—the visual arts and theater. The theater is especially distrusted because it is mimetic whereas music and dance may not be. Judaism, Christianity, and Islam share a common root in the Old Testament in which it is written that no one should make a graven image of god. In the West, this injunction has been reinforced by a philosophical antipathy to the visual arts and theater that goes back to Plato's *Republic,* composed in Athens in the fifth century BCE at the close of the first great age of Western theater. The Greek philosopher wanted to chase all visual, poetic, and theatrical artists from his ideal republic. Plato's arguments were later elaborated and ingrained into church doctrine by Tertullian (North Africa writer, c. 200 CE) and Augustine of Hippo (354–430). Their ideas, in turn, have operated, sometimes strongly and sometimes more mildly, throughout Western history and, by means of colonialism and globalization, in all areas of the world. Despite their condemnation of the theater, both Plato and Augustine were passionately involved in it. Plato's dialogues are philosophical dramas, and Augustine the saint repented Augustine the avid theatergoer.

Plato argued that the arts are doubly removed from ultimate truth and are mere shadows cast on the wall of the cave of human ignorance. But underneath his philosophical argument, an authoritarian political and ideological program is operating. Plato felt that the arts of representation in general, and theater in particular, are dangerous because they enact alternative realities that may be in conflict with those of the established political and philosophical authorities. Thus, it is not only that the performing arts are dangerous, but also that (and perhaps more important) they are extremely powerful persuaders of opinion and arousers of feelings. The established authorities wish to control these powerful media and employ them for their own uses. What in tribal settings is the preservation of the secrecy of rites becomes in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—religions with historical and ideological similarities—a dedicated program of maintaining a monopoly of performance techniques.

Western and Islamic religious leaders have not treated the performing arts equally. They have been most uneasy about theater, ambivalent about dance, but friendly to music. Theater is censored because it can be subversive; dance, when not closely managed as among the Shakers, can be (sexually) immoral. Music, being abstract, can most easily suit the ceremony at hand and is generally accepted by Western and Islamic religious authorities.

Still, despite all suspicions and condemnations, Western churches and branches of Islam have used theater and dance. A somewhat parallel example to the *taʿziyah* are the great cycle plays of medieval Europe, which performed a complete history of humankind from the creation and the fall in the Garden of Eden to the flood, the coming of Christ and his crucifixion, on to the Last Judgment. Beginning at dawn and going until dusk, the performances took place in the streets, while richly detailed scenes mounted on wagons proceeded along fixed routes. The enactments were replete with angels, devils, hellmouth, and Eden. Various cycles consisted of a number of individual plays. For example, at York, England, in 1554, fifty-seven plays were put on at twelve to sixteen locations. These extraordinary cycles arose out of a confluence of the Mass, the *Quem quaeritis* trope (a tenth-century Easter drama), and popular entertainments that never died out from Roman times and whose shamanistic origins date back to prehistory. The cycles peaked in the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries. Although most were extinguished by the Renaissance, some remnants persisted, not only in the famed performances that take place every ten years in Oberammergau, Germany, but also among Native American and Hispanic peoples who have fused European traditions with indigenous performance practices.

THE YAQUI *WAEHMA*. The Yaqui of the Sierra Madre and Sonoran Desert of northwestern Mexico and the southwestern United States celebrate a six-week Lenten cycle play that fuses native American and European elements. The *Waehma* begins at Lent and intensifies week by week, climaxing on Good Friday and Holy Saturday. *Waehma* retells the story of Christ's passion in Yaqui terms. It incorporates indigenous performance techniques into the religious theater brought from Europe by the Jesuits in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Much of what the Yaqui of northwestern Mexico and the southwestern United States perform took shape during the century after 1767, when the Jesuits were withdrawn from the New World.

Waehma consists of many episodes and observances enacted over the six-week span from Lent to Easter. The story focuses on the actions of masked figures called *Chapayekam* who join the Soldiers of Rome—a group of up to fifty men dressed in black—in the pursuit and crucifixion of Jesus. The *Chapayekam* wear helmet masks similar to those of the Zuni and other tribal peoples of the Sonoran Desert and adjoining areas. Their ritual practices, which includes farce and parody, are similar to those of other Native American tribal nations. On Good Friday, a large group of wailing women, including the Marys, follow Jesus—represented by an eighteen-inch figure—around the stations of the cross, which the Yaqui call the *Konti Vo'o*. At the eleventh cross, the symbolic Christ is tied to a cross as nails are driven into the figure's "flesh." The Christ figure is then taken into the church, which is occupied by the *Chapayekam* and the Soldiers of Rome. Later that night, Jesus is resurrected and the church is liberated. The *Chapayekam* and the Soldiers of Rome are infuriated. They set out to recover Jesus and recapture the church. On Holy Saturday morning the climatic battle takes place that pits the *Chapayekam* and the Soldiers of Rome against the forces of good represented by sacred Deer and *Pascola* (ritual clowns) dancers, *Matachin* dancers (a dance society of men and boys), and "little angels" (i.e., Yaqui children armed with cottonwood switches). The Deer and *Pascolas* are unique to the Yaqui and allied native peoples; the *Matachins* derive from Europe.

Waehma takes place everywhere in a Yaqui town: in the church, in the plaza, in private households, and along the *Konti Vo'o*. Although the *Chapayekam* are successful in capturing and killing Jesus, they are unable to impose their rule permanently on the church or the people. On Holy Saturday morning, the *Chapayekam* and the Soldiers of Rome attempt to recapture Jesus, whose resurrected figure has been placed on the altar. Three times they storm the church. From inside the church the little angels rush forward to beat the attackers with their sticks. Close by the Deer and the *Matachins* dance while the *Pascolas* throw flower petals on the attackers. The flowers, which are sacred to the Yaqui, represent both the blood of Jesus and the sacred *huya aniya*, the desert "flower world" of the Yaqui. Each time the *Chapayekam* and the Soldiers of Rome are driven back they are further weakened by the power of the flowers, the dancing, and the vigorous clanging of the church bell. The defense of the Yaqui village is a complete cacophony-synthesis of Native American and European cultures. Finally defeated, the *Chapayekam* throw off their masks, and the *Chapayekam* and the Soldiers of Rome are transformed, liberated themselves from the awesome holy work they have dedicated themselves to perform annually. After casting their masks on the pyre, the Yaqui men rush back into the church to kneel in thanks before the altar. At this point, the year's greatest fiesta commences, continuing long into Saturday night. The Deer, *Pascolas*, and *Matachins* dance; other native dances and entertainments are also featured. The people eat their fill. Not until Easter Sunday morning Mass does an official representative of the Roman Catholic Church appear.

CARNIVALS. Like *Waehma*, carnivals mark the Easter season. But unlike *Waehma*, carnivals do not enact the passion or the resurrection directly. They collapse ritual time, as they simultaneously struggle against Lenten prohibitions and predict Easter's life-returning fertility. To some degree, carnivals may be classified as antireligious religious performances, because they could not exist without being in oppositional reference to religious and civil authorities. But, at the same time, there is much going on that is officially sanctioned, well-organized, and tourist-friendly.

Carnivals are characterized by an exuberant outburst of public and private masking, partying, dancing, parading, music making, and drinking. Taking over the streets during the days before Lent, carnivals are a tumultuous acting out of permitted festivity, inebriation, and lewdness that, traditionally, yield to a season of sorrow ultimately redeemed by the resurrection. Carnivals are celebrated primarily in Europe and the Western Hemisphere, but their performance practices in the New World and West Indian diasporic communities include elements from Africa, Asia, and Native America. Taken as a whole, the carnival complex is a ritual performance of great magnitude. Days or weeks are spent celebrating as the festivities take over entire cities. In Trinidad, after months of preparations in the neighborhoods, a large stadium is filled for several nights to witness fierce competitions that award prizes for the best masks, calypsos, and steel-drum bands.

Carnivals have multiple roots, depending on the specific carnival. European carnivals combine Roman, pagan, and Christian elements; Western Hemispheric carnivals such as those in Trinidad, Rio de Janeiro, and New Orleans (i.e., Mardi Gras) fuse African performance traditions with European and, to a lesser degree, Native American and Asian. The Trinidad carnival is also widely celebrated by members of the West Indian diaspora in New York, Toronto, London, and elsewhere. Because these diasporic carnivals are celebrated in the summer, detached from the church calendar, can they still be considered ritual performances? They do not signal the onset of Lent, but in every other quality they express the meanings of carnival. In fact, the diasporic carnivals prove the non- or pre-Christian core of this kind of celebration: a rebellion against authority resulting in a temporary triumph of excess.

The Trinidad Carnival emerged in the nineteenth century from the celebrations of liberated African slaves embodying African ways and values and the carnival traditions of Catholic Europe as carried to the Caribbean by Spanish and French planters and slave owners. Ironically, the Trinidad Carnival is a celebration of former slaves and former masters enjoying—and to some degree satirizing—each other's cultural heritages. As the Trinidad Carnival continues to develop in the twenty-first century, its cultural complexity multiplies to include—and rebroadcast to the world-at-large—musical and visual performance languages that are of an Afro-Caribbean, Euro-Caribbean, South Asian, and global nature.

THE *RĀMA-LĪLĀ* OF RAMNAGAR. A rich example of the fusion of ritual and theater is the *Rāma-līlā* of Ramnagar, Uttar Pradesh, India. Thousands of *Rāma-līlās* are performed annually throughout the Hindi language belt of north India. But the Ramnagar *Rāma-līlā*, sponsored and personally overseen by the Maharaja of Banaras, is recognized by Indians to be in a class by itself because of its scale, its deeply devotional qualities, and the theatrical detail of its staging, singing, and acting. *Rāma-līlās,* in some ways like the *Waehma*, are cycle plays dramatizing the life and acts of Rāma, the seventh incarnation of Viṣṇu, as related first in Valmiki's Sanskrit epic, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and in Tulasidas' sixteenth-century Hindi redaction, the *Ramcaritmanas.* Both the Valmiki and the Tulasidas poems are regarded as sacred. During the Ramnagar *Rāma-līlā* the entire *Ramcaritmanas* is chanted by a chorus of twelve Brahmin priests. This chanting alternates during the performance with *samvads*, spoken dialogue by a cast of more than fifty actors, all Brahmin men. The principal roles of Rāma, his queen Sītā, and his brothers Bharat, Lakshman, and Shatrughna are all played by boys whose voices have not yet changed. All five of these boys are regarded as *swarups*, the actual living form of the gods they enact. However, there is no doubt that Rāma and Sītā are the main gods being worshiped during *Rāma-līlā*. Often persons attending the *Rāma-līlā* press the feet of Rāma and Sītā and gratefully receive blessed lotus blossoms and tulasi leaves from them.

Most *Rāma-līlās* are performed over a span of six to twenty-one daily episodes, each called a *līlā* (the play or sport of the gods) staged in simple locations within a local neighborhood. The Ramnagar *Rāma-līlā* is unique because it extends for thirty-one episodes that are meticulously staged in full-scale environments deployed over many square miles and incorporating all the town of Ramnagar. On big days—such as when Rāma wins Sītā's hand in marriage by lifting and then breaking Śiva's bow, or when Rāma slays his principle antagonist (the ten-headed demon king Rāvaṇa)—the crowds at Ramnagar *Rāma-līlā* swell to eighty thousand. These spectators include a broad cross-section of the regional population ranging from farmers, urban laborers, storekeepers, and professionals to itinerant *sādhus* (holy men) devoted to Rāma and Sītā. The multitudes come for *darshan* of the *swarups*, a ritually beneficial view of the gods-on-earth. They also attend to watch a drama and enjoy the *mela* (fair) that arises next to the *Rāma-līlā* sites. At the *mela*, people enjoy the many snack stands, games, and a wide variety of items for sale.

The Ramnagar *Rāma-līlā*'s principal spectator is the Māharājā of Banaras, who oversees the ritual drama while atop his royal elephant, riding in a black carriage drawn by a pair of horses, or from his vintage Cadillac. The Māharājā attends all but three of the episodes. He does not watch the argument between King Dasaratha and Queen Kaikeyi that leads to Rāma's exile, the kidnapping of Sītā, or the climax of the story when Rāma slays the demon king Rāvaṇa. Of these absences, Māharājā Vibhuti Narain Singh (1927–2000) said, "It is only a rule, not a tradition, so I sometimes break the rule" (Schechner, 1985, 193). His son and successor, Ananda Narain Singh, has continued this tradition. Regarded by the people of Varanasi as an incarnation of Śiva, the Maharaja enacts one principle Hindu deity worshiping another. Although the Maharaja's role is found neither in the *Rāmāyaṇa* nor the *Ramcaritmanas*, during the final several episodes, he actively participates in the *Rāma-līlā* as a performer. He enters the drama as a king and god inviting Rāma, his queen Sītā, and his brothers Bharat, Lakshman, and Shatrughna to a feast in the inner courtyard of the Fort, an enormous, if somewhat rundown, palace constructed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries along the banks of the sacred Ganges (Gangā) River. The honor the Māharājā shows Rāma, Sītā, and the other deities is reciprocated by the presence of the gods in the Fort. Once the *Rāma-līlā* is over, the Maharaja receives the boys playing the *swarups* and pays them each a sum of rupees—thereby reestablishing the ordinary social relationship between king and subjects.

Particular *Rāma-līlā* environments are given special care. Ayodhya, Rāma's birthplace, is a large walled courtyard right next to the Fort. Janakpur, Sītā's birthplace, includes two temples sacred to the goddess and a splendid garden. The *kshir sagar*, the endless ocean of milk where Viṣṇu sleeps atop Sesha, the thousand-headed cobra, is a very large pool that is more than one-thousand feet on each side and faces a three-hundred-year-old Durga temple that predates Ramnagar *Rāma-līlā*. Chitrakut, Rāma, Sītā, and Lakshman's first stop during their twelve-year exile is an enormous butterfly tent erected next to the *kshir sagar*. A small hill marks Panchavati, where Sītā is kidnapped by Rāvaṇa. The bridge from Ramesvaram, on the south Indian coast, to Lanka, hundreds of miles away, is, paradoxically, a few planks across less than ten feet of shallow, murky water. Lanka itself is a huge field triangulated by Mount Meru (where Rāma's army, led by Hanuman, the monkey god, set up headquarters), the Ashoka Garden where Sītā is held prisoner, and Rāvaṇa's earthen fort. In short, the *Rāma-līlā* environments are a large-scale model of mythic India, from the Himalayan north to the Gangetic plains, on through the forests of central India and on to the south and what has become the country of Sri Lanka. Throughout the thirty-one days, spectators follow the action from place to place. For many, attending *Rāma-līlā* is to take part in a pilgrimage not only to the holy city of Kashi (Vārāṇasī) but also to all the places that *Rāma-līlā* represents. The logic is unassailable: If the *swarups* are the actual gods-on-earth for a month, then the ground they transverse is really that of India and Lanka.

Rāma-līlā of Ramnagar enacts a complexly interactive relationship among ritual, theater, religion, and politics. In the late eighteenth century, the seat of the Raja of Banaras (not made a Māharājā until after the Indian uprising of 1857) was moved by the British across the Ganges River out of the city to Ramnagar. The move was a militarily and politically strategic. The fort was built at a point where troops could prevent an attack from the south by Mughal forces. By the third decade of the nineteenth century, the Ramnagar *Rāma-līlā* was already a grand spectacle. As the century advanced, the annual enactment of the religious cycle drama was a concrete example of a growing Hindu nationalism and pride expressed directly against the Muslim Mughal potentates and, indirectly, against the Māharājā's British sponsors. During the struggle for Indian independence, Rāma was held up by Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948) as an example of an effective and just indigenous ruler—a king who would unite Hindus and Muslims against the British colonial force. Religion was brought into the struggle especially by Gandhi, who often framed his campaigns in religious terms. *Rāma-līlā* was a very powerful instance of the conflation of religion, politics, and theater.

Traditionally, in *Rāma-līlā* of Ramnagar, Muslims operate behind the scenes constructing all of the large effigies of gods and demons, managing the fireworks and the flares that illuminate the Hindu temple service that concludes each night's *līlā*, and caring for the elephants used by the Māharājā and his guests. Some Muslims attend the *Rāma-līlā*, but they do not make their presence publicly known. From the 1990s onward, *Rāma-līlā* of Ramnagar has been caught up in Hindu–Muslim tensions despite the Māharājā's wish to keep *Rāma-līlā* purely devotional-theatrical. These tensions flared in 1992 when Hindu militants destroyed the 1528 Babri Mosque in Ayodhya, Rāma's birthplace, vowing to erect a temple to Rāma in its place (archaeological evidence indicates that there once was a temple at this site). The destruction of the mosque ignited Hindu–Muslim hostilities that claimed more than two thousand lives—with deadly tensions remaining high into the twenty-first century. Many of the *sādhus* attending Ramnagar *Rāma-līlā* spend the rest of the year in Ayodhya. Their presence at *Rāma-līlā*—as well as increasing Hindutva activities (the call for a Hindu religious state in India)—injected a nationalist edge into the *Rāma-līlā*.

OTHER RELIGIOUS CYCLE PLAYS. The medieval European plays, the Yaqui *Waehma*, and Ramnagar *Rāma-līlā* are part of an historical and contemporary cluster of such works. In Irian Barat (Indonesian New Guinea) until the 1930s, the *Elema hevehe* cycle of dances, festivities, and ritual observances sometimes took more than thirty years to enact and complete. An extreme extension of time and space—a vast temporal and spatial encirclement—is characteristic of ritual cycles. In the late twentieth century, artists began to invent ritual cycles. Anna Halprin started making new rituals in the 1960s. Her *Planetary Dance*, first performed in 1981, is an annual ritual for global peace and healing, "moving in a wave around the globe, going west with the sun" (Halprin, 1995, 226). In 2004, hundreds of people in thirty-six countries on six continents performed the circle dance of walking, running, and standing still in relation to the four cardinal directions. Since the late 1950s the visual artist Christo has been wrapping buildings, trees, and small islands in cloth, erecting cloth gates, giant umbrellas, and miles-long fences in an ongoing project he calls "public art." Halprin and Christo are but two examples in a widespread practice outside of organized religion of ritualizing and sacralizing. Their works are contemporary versions of cathedrals and ritual dramas.

Such performances are not mimetic: They symbolize and actualize simultaneously. In doing so they mesh the ordinary lives of the performers with the extraordinary activities of culture heroes. Far from being a "leisure activity"—as much modern theater and dance is—the medieval Christian cycles, the *Waehma*, the *Rāma-līlā*, the *Hevehe* cycle, and Halprin's and Christo's work are obligatory as well as celebratory. They demand a big share of a community's attention, energy, and wealth. Such a price is paid because these performances are the dynamic constructions of reality by means of which a whole community knows itself.

RITUAL FRAMES. All performances, sacred and secular, are ritually framed. Frames mark and modulate transformations of time, space, and consciousness, signaling that a performance is about to begin or that a return to the ordinary is imminent. Sometimes frames are so conventional they are all but forgotten: the dimming of houselights, the lighting of candles, the final applause, the sprinkling of holy water. There is a continuum between religious frames and aesthetic ones, with many intermediate cases.

In the *Ẹ̀fẹ̀-Gẹ̀lẹ̀dẹ́* performances of the Yoruba, Ogbagba (The Divine Mediator) and Arabi Ajigbale (The Sweeper) always appear first, clearing the way for the dances and ceremonies that will follow. The closing dance brings forward a special mask and costume representing the community's deified ancestress. Her dancing brings blessings and concludes the festival. These opening and closing figures effect a transition from ordinary daily life to the intense spiritual world of the festival and back again to the ordinary.

In the *kathakali* of India, even when danced as a tourist entertainment, performances begin by the lighting of the *kalivilakku*, a bronze oil lamp identical to that used in Hindu temple services. The *kalivilakku* burns throughout the performance, reminding all that *kathakali* is an offering to the gods, who are the first and most important spectators. Every performance closes with the *dhanasi*, a short prayer-dance. *Kathakali* developed in the seventeenth century from antecedents reaching back to the Sanskrit theater of the fifth to tenth centuries. One form of Sanskrit theater, *kutiyattam*, is still performed in temples. *Kathakali*'s other roots are the martial art *kalarippayattu* and the *teyyam* masked folk ritual. Most of a *kathakali* performance, which can last from less than an hour at a tourist hotel to all night in a Kerala village, is made of stories taken from the Sanskrit-Hindu epics, *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, or from the Purāṇas, collections of stories and myths. During a *kathakali* performance in a village, as in *Rāma-līlā*, people commonly rise with hands clasped in front of them in the devotional pose, worshipfully honoring the performer playing a god as if the performer were the god incarnate. Thus, the theater and the temple meet.

The ritual frames of Japanese Nō are very strong, combining religious and aesthetic qualities. As Nō developed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it drew on shamanism, Shintō, Buddhism, and *sarugaku*, a popular entertainment featuring magic, songs, and dances. All these sources continue to operate in the twenty-first century. Every program alternates the solemn Nō plays with the comic *kyogen* plays. There are ritualized procedures for entering and leaving the stage. Ghosts and spirits are summoned by the sound of the performers' stamping feet, which is amplified by large earthen jugs placed beneath the polished wooden stage floor. The action of many Nō plays is an exorcism. Nō theater architecture retains many qualities of a Shinto shrine.

Entering the Nō stage is a two-part process. In the *kagami no ma* (mirror room) the *shite* (doer) gazes at himself in the mirror. He simultaneously merges with his mask and distances himself from it. The *shite* seeks an incomplete transformation, a dialectical tension between the power of the mask and his skills as an actor. But even when the *shite* achieves a proper state of mind, he cannot enter the stage directly. He must first cross the *hashigakari* (literally, suspension bridge) that links the mirror room to the stage. When the play is over, the *shite* returns to the mirror room via the *hashigakari*, removes his mask, and carefully studies it before putting it away. This double framing (in the mirror room and on the *hashigakari*) reminds performers and spectators alike of the aesthetic ritual quality of Nō.

How different are the ritual frames of *Ẹ̀fẹ̀-Gẹ̀lẹ̀dẹ́, kathakali*, Nō and other ritual theaters from what modern actors do? Konstantin Stanislavsky, the most influential of European actor trainers, instructed actors to prepare for their first entrance on the stage while still at home. A performance day ought to be uncluttered. When the actors arrive at the theater, there is to be no gossip but a quiet intensity combined with specific relaxation and concentration exercises. The actors put aside their ordinary lives and focus on the life they will call into existence on stage. As with the *shite* in the mirror room, the Stanislavsky-trained actor concentrates on the being into which he or she is transforming. These secular rituals help modern actors separate from ordinary life and successfully enact their roles.

SHAMANIC AND TRANCE PERFORMANCE. Shamans cure, prophesy, exorcise, and entertain by means of trance performance, storytelling, dancing, singing, magic, masks, and costumes. The word *shaman* is of Tungus (Siberian) origin, but shamanism is a phenomenon that occurs all over the world. The similarities of the shamanism of Eurasia, South Asia, Southeast Asia, and the Americas is not coincidental. The migrations from Siberia to the Western Hemisphere and the links between India, Southeast Asia, Tibet, China, Korea, and Japan are demonstrable by means of archaeology, historical records, and similarities in performance practices, and shamanic elements are visible in ancient Greek rituals. The exact work of any given shaman will vary from society to society, for shamans enact and retain a community's knowledge. They are able to separate their souls from their bodies and enlist animal or spirit helpers as they journey to nonhuman worlds in pursuit of demons or in search of cures. The shamanic rituals of the Kwakiutl, Bella Bella, and Haida, who live along the Gulf of Alaska were once complex dance theater performances employing transformation masks—at the climax of a performance, the outer mask sprang open revealing an interior mask. The recently revived *hamatsa* performance uses transformation masks, and participants and spectators are entertained as well as ritually cleansed.

Often, shamans perform in trance, and they may even induce trance in their patients and spectators. But what is trance? In trance, performers are possessed by nonhuman beings—gods, spirits, animals, or objects. Trance performers enact actions not of their own devising. These actions belong to specific cultural performance texts—specific gestures, dance steps, utterances, songs, and whole ritual patterns. Trance occurs not only in shamanism but in a variety of other performative circumstances such as "falling out" in African American churches, being possessed by the *loa* of Haitian vodou or the *orixa* of Brazilian Umbanda. Hypnotic trance has been used both medically and as entertainment. The experience of being in trance varies. In Bali, where people can be possessed by ordinary things such as brooms, pot lids, and potatoes as well as by gods and demons, trancers may remember what they do while in trance, whereas in other cultures the entranced have no idea of what they have done.

Neurologically, the experience of trance is how one feels when both hemispheres (frontal lobes) of the brain are simultaneously stimulated. In brief, the left lobe guides logical thought and speech; the right lobe guides spacial and tonal perceptions. Stimulating the right lobe loosens the ego, dissolving boundaries between the self and others; stimulating the left energizes a person. By various means, including repetitive rhythmic drumming and dancing, the ingestion of drugs, and sleep and food deprivation, both hemispheres are stimulated. Usually, one or the other hemisphere is dominant—a person cannot ordinarily be tranquil and excited at the same time. But when one side of the brain is fully in play, it "rebounds," bringing the other side into play also. When this occurs—as it can in trance, sexual orgasm, and Zen mediation—a person is both excited and released simultaneously. At the height of maximum bi-hemispheric arousal, people are weightless, egoless, outside their bodies, or "oceanic"—at one with the universe or with god. Extreme trance experience may be the specialty of shamans and other performance experts, but light trance is common, occurring during such activities as social dancing, marching, cheering at a sports match, or being taken over by the crowd. This experience is what Victor Turner termed "spontaneous *communitas*" (see Turner, 1969, pp. 96, 125–65).

ANIMAL RITUALS, HUMAN RITUALS. The evolutionary source of human ritual in animal behavior is demonstrable. This has become increasingly clear since 1914, when Julian Huxley noted that in the course of phylogeny certain animal movement patterns lose their specific function and become symbolic. To the ethologists who came after Huxley, a ritual is a behavior sequence genetically transformed over the course of evolutionary time. Behavior is rearranged, condensed, sped up or slowed down; functions change so that, for example, threat behavior becomes part of a "mating dance." In animal ritual, as in human ritual, movements are exaggerated or simplified, becoming rhythmical and repetitive, often freezing into postures. In animals, along with behavioral changes, conspicuous body structures develop, such as a peacock's feathers or a moose's antlers. Among humans, ornate costumes, masks, architectural structures, and other means are used to make ritual special. Despite these similarities and the clear evolutionary development of ritualized behavior, analogies between animal behavior and human rituals must be put forward cautiously. The "dances" of bees are not dances in the human sense. Where everything is genetically determined, there is no art.

Rituals in nonhuman animals do not occur haphazardly. They improve communication in situations that are contested and dangerous, such as issues of territory, hierarchy, mating, and access to food. Human ritual performances, which develop many of their particular details individually and socially rather than genetically, also cluster around troublesome life and social crises, such as birth, puberty, marriage, sickness, healing, and death; war; hierarchy; hunting, fertility, and food; the seasonal cycle of planting, harvest, and fallow; rain and drought; and the predictability or unpredictability of natural disasters and upheavals. Animal ritual is nonideological, operating through pure action. Human rituals, although also actions, are totally infused with thought and ideology. At the same time, human rituals share with animal rituals qualities of repetition, exaggeration, condensation, simplification, and spectacle. Human ritual performances enact the plea, explicit or implicit, for success in living and dying. Such universal practices as singing, dancing, marching, mass displays, flag waving, masking, cheering, clapping, stamping, sharing of sacred foods, offering sacrifices actually or symbolically, processions, incense burning, and bell ringing may be individually or socially constructed and inflected while also being ethologically based.

Ethological and neurological theories answer some very important questions. They help explain not only the extraordinary persistence of performance conventions and the need for ritual frames to manage such powerful forces, but also the apparently identical experiences of performer, audience, and participant down through many epochs and across cultures, genres, ideologies, and religious systems. The universality of trance—whether associated with dancing, singing, speaking in tongues, shamanizing, meditation, or hypnosis, and whether individual or collective—is at least partly explained by the neurological spillover theory.

What the ethological and neurological theories cannot explain are the unique, creative qualities of ritual performance. For ritual is not just a conservator of evolutionary behavior and thought, it is also a generator of new images, ideas, and practices. Victor Turner thought that if ritual had a biogenetic foundation, then while meaning is passed on culturally by means of learning, the creative processes that generate new cultural knowledge result from a coadaptation of genetic and cultural information.

RITUAL PROCESS AND LIMINALITY. Victor Turner was among the first to emphasize the generative, creative, and antistructural qualities of ritual by uncovering deep links among ritual, theatrical, and social processes. Developing the ideas put forward by Arnold van Gennep in *The Rites of Passage* (1909), Turner explored the three phases of the ritual process: separation, transition or liminal, and reincorporation. Turner was especially interested in the liminal phase in which people temporarily inhabit a realm "betwixt and between" personal and social categories (Turner, 1967, pp. 93–111; 1969, pp. 94–130) Liminal space-times are where and when known social structures are dissolved or put aside and new identities emerge that allow for the performance of new social structures and identities. During liminality, communities, artists, and even individuals liberate their thoughts, feelings, and creativity from ordinary social constraints. Van Gennep felt that rituals integrate individuals into a set social order, whereas Turner explored ritual as a motor for profound individual and community change.

Two seemingly contradictory results are achieved during the liminal phase of a ritual: individuals are liberated from prior constraints on creativity and socially deviant behaviors, and, when this period of license ends, new statuses or norms are established or older ones are reestablished. This describes perfectly the actions and importance of the *Chapayekam* among the Yaqui. Turner saw this process as channeling the living magma upwelling in all human societies: a periodic, temporary, molten creativity. It is also analogous to the training, workshop, and rehearsal process of many if not all performance genres. Through this process all the "givens" or "ready-mades"—such as accepted texts, accepted ways of using the body, and accepted feelings—are deconstructed or broken down into malleable bits of behavior, feeling, thought, and text. These bits are later reconstructed into a new order: the performance.

In traditional genres such as *kathakali*, Nō, or ballet, neophytes begin training early in life. Training involves learning new ways of speaking, gesturing, and moving, and maybe even new ways of thinking and feeling—new for the trainee, that is, but traditional for the genre. An important feature of *kathakali* training is the deep massage that actually reorients muscles and bones to the extreme turn-out and arched back necessary to perform *kathakali.* A no less radical reconstruction of the body is required for ballet. As in initiation rites, the mind and body are made ready to be written on in the language of the form being learned. Training enables the performer to "speak" Nō, *kathakali*, or ballet as he or she is incorporated into the tradition, no longer a neophyte but an initiated member.

Turner went far beyond van Gennep in suggesting that the rites of tribal, agrarian, and traditional societies are analogous to the artworks and leisure activities of industrial and postindustrial societies. These activities Turner called "liminoid" (Turner, 1982, 20–60). Liminal rites are collective and obligatory; liminoid activities are individualized and voluntary. Thus, the workshops of experimental theater and dance are liminoid means of psychophysical retraining. Whereas in liminal rites traditional behavior is inscribed, in liminoid arts new behaviors are created. But on close inspection of liminoid arts or leisure activities, most of what appears to be new or original consists of ready-mades and already-behaved behaviors, arranged in new combinations or presented in new contexts. Thus, although the avant-garde always appears to be advancing, it is in fact most often rearranging what already exists. Taking the view from 1875 to the twenty-first century, it is clear that elements of earlier avant-garde movements are recycled. And taking the very long view—from Paleolithic times to the twenty-first century—art does not advance at all in the ways science and technology do. Arts develop in cyclically, rather than linearly, progressive ways.

SOCIAL DRAMA. Victor Turner developed his theory of liminality into that of social drama, a four-phase sequence of breach, crisis, redress, and reintegration (or schism). A breach is an underlying fault in social life (e.g., the Montague–Capulet feud in *Romeo and Juliet*; the mix of hatred, fear, and envy that many in the world feel for the United States); a crisis is a precipitating event that must be dealt with (e.g., Romeo and Juliet falling in love; the September 11, 2001, attack on the United States); the redress is what is done to resolve the crisis (e.g., the lovers flight to Mantua; the American "War on Terrorism"); and the reintegration or schism are the two outcomes of a social drama (e.g., "O brother Montague, give me thy hand;" an unending war). The ritual process and liminality operate during the redress, the third phase of a social drama. Actions taken during the redress are often symbolic and performative—demonstrations or symbolic displays. They are what they are, but they are also more than what they are. As Turner noted, such actions are performed in the cultural subjunctive mood, in the "as if," the "might be," and the "ought to be." Even the bombing of a city is done to "show something" to the inhabitants and to the onlookers—both allies and enemies—who are watching. On a more peaceful level, crises are often explored and resolved by means of ritual performances of both religious and secular kinds.

If universality is the advantage of Turner's theories, reductivism is their weakness. Turner's social drama theory is tethered to Western aesthetics' appetite for conflict, crisis, and resolution. Birth, puberty, marriage, gaining power and losing it, familial strife, sickness, death, natural disasters, and the like, are all, of course, universal events. But the ritual performances used to cope with, mark, or celebrate these events vary widely from culture to culture. What in the West is often perceived of as a crisis (e.g., a sickness or death) may to a Buddhist sensibility be an expected part of the life process. The social drama and liminality models are valuable; but they are not universally applicable.

INVENTING RITUALS. Influenced by the earlier path-breaking writings of James G. Frazer, the twentieth-century Cambridge anthropologists Gilbert Murray, Jane Ellen Harrison, and Francis Cornford and allied scholars of the ancient Mediterranean and Middle East asserted that Greek theater and, by inference, all theater came from ritual. The line of the Cambridge theory was developed further by propounders of the theory of archetypes of C. G. Jung and Joseph Campbell. Susanne K. Langer and Northrop Frye took the Cambridge thesis in a parallel direction. The underlying idea is that tragedy and comedy show evidence of an earlier violent sacrificial ritual of struggle, sacrifice, dismemberment, reassembling of the body, and resurrection. In other words, Christ's Divine Comedy. This theory of an ur-ritual (i.e., the conquest of life over death) underlying tragedy and comedy is attractively comprehensive. But, if true at all, the Cambridge theory is regional rather than universal. Over time, the theory has never been proved, and no actual ur-ritual has been discovered.

The Cambridge theory marches on in the generally held belief that ritual (some ritual, any ritual) is the first genre of human performance, that from ritual all subsequent forms have evolved. However, demonstrably the opposite is also true. New rituals are continuously being invented, and the source of these new rituals can be theater, dance, or music—the aesthetic genres whose function is to entertain. Other new rituals are devised for political reasons. For centuries, rulers, judges, and governments have invented rituals such as saluting the flag, singing anthems, and swearing oaths to reinforce a given order of society. Associations such as the Masons, Kiwanis, Lions, Elks, and sororities and fraternities also employ invented rituals during initiations and ceremonies. Corporations display emblems, enunciate slogans, enforce uniform or other dress codes, and require workers to perform company rituals. Since at least the 1960s, many artists, mostly Western but also African and Asian, have invented rituals that are practiced by large numbers of people.

These artists work with both professional performers and with amateurs, and they offer both public performances and workshops. The venues for these events and encounters vary: rooms in which participants can work in seclusion, beaches, forests, city streets, department stores, theaters, art galleries, churches, synagogues, and many other places. Sometimes artists transform rituals from Asia, Europe, Native America, Australia, Micronesia, and Africa, drawing on ethological and anthropological research. Sometimes they compose new movements, songs, and spoken or sung texts. They try to forge links between the personal and the archetypal. Their work is linked to that of New Age shamanic and therapeutic practices. Frequently, their works and techniques are hybrids of new and traditional materials and techniques.

Jerzy Grotowski (1933–1999) was an enormously influential inventor of theatrical rituals. From 1959 to 1967 he propagated his ideas of the "holy actor"—a rigorously trained artist who offers his body as a symbolic public sacrifice, thereby performing "secular holiness." Grotowski's theatre productions of the 1950s and early 1960s—especially *The Constant Prince*, *Akropolis*, and *Apocalypsis cum Figuris*—were regarded both as artworks and as ritual performances. In his later work, Grotowski explored a direct relationship between performers and audiences. There was no play performed, just sheer ritualized interactions. Next, Grotowski tried to identify core "objective" gestures, movements, chants, and songs that were the distilled essence of ritual performance. He researched the rituals and spiritual practices of China, India, Latin America, the Caribbean, and ancient Egypt as well as western psychology, anthropology, and the history of religion. Grotowski and his small group of followers explored trance, vodou, the Baul singing of Bengal, Balinese dance, and tai chi. He was also influenced by the American human potential movement. Some of the actions Grotowski used included extended silent vigils, improvised chanting and movement, running in total darkness through the woods, and the passing of fire from person to person. Grotowski sought spontaneous *communitas* detached from any specific religious practice. In his final phase, during the 1990s, with a few adherents (primarily Thomas Richards), Grotowski developed a ritual performance work titled simply *Action,* which was performed mostly by one man, "Doer." This work, which serves as a living ritual and is always evolving, has continued to be presented by Richards and those he teaches into the twenty-first century.

Anna Halprin's example is different from Grotowski's but parallel in its basic direction. As noted earlier, Halprin has been inventing rituals since the 1960s. Her goal is initiatory transformation and healing—to change those who participate in her dances. Halprin believes that dance can be more than entertainment—it can be transformative ritual. The titles of some of Halprin's works from the 1960s and 1970s clearly show her intention: *Ceremony of Us*, *Animal Ritual*, *Trance Dances*, and *Initiations and Transformations*. Halprin explained that the "chief intention of these works was to understand how the process of creation and performance could be used to accomplish concrete results: social change, personal growth, physical alignment, and spiritual attunement" (Halprin, 1995, p. 228). She often works with large groups of fifty to one hundred persons moving in circles and spirals. These "archetypal movements trace out the forms and patterns of a larger organism, communicating with and being moved by a group body-mind or spirit" (Halprin, 1995, p. 229) In addition to her work in ritual, Halprin is recognized as a seminal figure of postmodern dance.

There are many others involved in similar work, blurring the distinctions between sacred and secular, ritual and art. A major theorist and practitioner is Allan Kaprow (b. 1927), who since the 1980s has practiced Zen-like actions such as walking in the desert and retracing one's footsteps. This kind of activity Kaprow terms "lifelike art." According to Kaprow, lifelike art weaves "meaning-making activity with any or all parts of our lives . . . embracing religious, philosophical, scientific, and social/personal exploration" (Kaprow, 1993, p. 216).

CONCLUSIONS. The varieties of ritual performances are uncountable, and ritual is part of the warp and woof of every kind of performance, whether religious or secular. There are no universal performative themes, actions, or patterns other than the ethological and neurological processes that shape the formal qualities and special experiences of the performer and spectator. All performances are ritually framed, but what these frames are and what they signify varies from culture to culture, even from one performance to another. Individual performances do not tell universal stories so much as provide observers with ways of understanding particular cultural and subcultural circumstances. Performers give participants a concrete, sensuous, and sometimes overwhelmingly powerful experience of cultural values. The similarity of the initiation and ritual process to the training, workshop, and rehearsal process makes it probable that not only will religious ritual be secularized but that aesthetic performances will be sacralized. It is a complicated but fruitful two-way system.

What is it that makes a person human? A nexus of circumstances: speech, bipedal locomotion, brain size and complexity, and social organization—but more as well. A performance of a nightmare, of yesterday's hunt or encounter with a strange band, of a sound heard in the forest—each are second actualities that when performed well rival the first in detail and presence. This second actuality has additional qualities that even make it superior to the first—it can be based on *what is not* as easily as on *what is* because the recalled or restored dream, hunt, encounter, or sound may actually be imaginary. Therefore, it can be elaborated on and improved through repetition. What counts is how well it is performed and how neatly it fits, or adds to, an existing or emerging worldview. Thus, three classes of performance events are possible: what was, what is imagined, and what falls between history and imagination. This third class of events, which shares both in the authority of recollection and the creativity of the imagination, is most powerful. Moreover, once such a realm of virtual actuality is given concrete existence in performance, it can lead to a third, a fourth, and so on.

In these ways performance has always and everywhere stood in relation to religion. Sometimes this relationship has been mutually supportive and other times it has been hostile. There is nothing in performance that is inherently pro-religious or anti-religious. Archaeological and anthropological evidence indicates a coexistence of performance and religion at least since Paleolithic times. And the ethological and neurological evidence suggests that, among humans, ritual and performance are close enough to be considered identical: they are repetitive, condensed, intense, and communicative displays and doings. Articulated religious beliefs, aesthetic enjoyment and theories, and political ideologies and manipulations are some of the uses people have found for ritual-performance behavior. As Victor Turner was fond of pointing out, to make believe is to make belief.

SEE ALSO Darwīsh; Ritual; Ritual Studies; Rūmī, Jalāl al-Dīn; Shakers; Taʿziyah.

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The first attempt in modern times to make a comparative survey of rituals, mythologies, and religions was James G. Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, 2 vols. (London, 1890), which he eventually expanded to twelve volumes and a supplement. Frazer's work influenced Jane Ellen Harrison's *Themis,* with contributions by Gilbert Murray and Francis Macdonald Cornford (Cambridge, UK, 1912) and *Ancient Art and Ritual* (London, 1913), Gilbert Murray's "Excursus on the Ritual Forms Preserved in Greek Tragedy," in *Themis* by Jane Ellen Harrison, pp. 341–363 (Cambridge, U.K., 1912), and Francis M. Cornford's *The Origin of Attic Comedy* (London, 1914). These scholars believed they had discovered a "primal ritual"—a seasonal death–rebirth drama common to the ancient Near East. However, the existence of the primal ritual cannot be proved, throwing into doubt any presumed relationship between it and succeeding Western theater (i.e., Greek, Elizabethan, modern). A convincing critique of the primal ritual theory is offered by Sir Arthur Wallace Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy*, 2d ed., rev. (Oxford, 1962). Despite this, the theory remains popular among those who believe ritual patterns underly tragedy and comedy. Among the most notable works of this kind are Susanne Langer's *Feeling and Form* (New York, 1953) and Northrop Frye's *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton, N.J., 1957). A similar, if not identical, trend in thinking is the theory of archetypes as propounded by Carl G. Jung and elaborated on by Joseph Campbell. See Jung's *Man and His Symbols* (Garden City, N.Y., 1964 and *The Portable Jung*, edited by Joseph Campbell (New York, 1971); and Campbell's *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (Princeton, N.J., 1949) and *The Masks of God* (4 vols.; New York, 1959–1968).

The relationship between ritual and performance has been fruitfully investigated by anthropologists and performance theorists doing fieldwork among existing societies. Under the anthropological aegis the discussion shifts to eyewitness and even participatory accounts of actual performances. These data form the basis for theories of ritual process. Basic ritual theory exploring the relationships among aesthetic, religious, and social performances can be found in a number of texts, including Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago, 1909; reprint, 1960); Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, (London, 1915; reprint, New York, 2001); Mircea Eliade, *Rites and Symbols of Initiation* (New York, 1958); Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1967), *The Ritual Process* (Chicago, 1969), *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1974), *From Ritual to Theater* (New York, 1982), and *On the Edge of the Bush* (Tucson, Ariz., 1985); Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Garden City, N.Y., 1959) and *Interaction Ritual* (Chicago, 1967); Edith Turner, *Experiencing Ritual* (Philadelphia, 1992); Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973); Richard Schechner, *Between Theater and Anthropology* (Philadelphia, 1985), *The Future of Ritual* (London, 1993), and *Performance Theory* (London, 2003); James Redmond, ed., *Drama and Religion* (Cambridge, U.K., 1983); Sally F. Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff, eds., *Secular Ritual* (Assen, Netherlands, 1977); Catherine Bell, *Rituals: Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York, 1997) and *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York, 1992); Roy A. Rappaport, *Ecology, Meaning, and Religion* (Berkeley, Calif., 1979); Robert P. Armstrong, *The Powers of Presence: Consciousness, Myth, and Affecting Presence* (Philadelphia, 1981); Ronald Grimes, ed., *Readings in Ritual Studies* (Upper Saddle River, N.J., 1996); and John Emigh, *Masked Performance: The Play of Self and Other in Ritual and Theatre* (Philadelphia, 1996).

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RICHARD SCHECHNER (1987 AND 2005)

PĒRKONS.

In Baltic languages, the proper noun *Pērkons* (Latv.) or *Perkūnas* (Lith.) corresponds exactly to the common noun meaning "thunder." There is no agreement among linguists about the word's original meaning. In earlier research the essence of the god who bears this name was determined purely through etymology. Consequently, three different schools of thought emerged, each claiming a different Indo-European root as the base.

The first school, using **perg-* as the root, regarded Pērkons as the sky god who controlled rain and storm. Typologically he was then likened to the Vedic Parjanya ("rain cloud"). The second school, deriving the god's name from **pergu*(*o*), asserted that *Pērkons* is linked with *perkuu-s,* or *ozols*, meaning "oak tree." Pērkons was then considered to be the god of trees, in particular the oak, which was his symbol of power. The third school claimed that *Pērkons* is related to the Hittite *peruaš,* from *pirua-* (*perua-*), meaning "cliff" or "mountain." As a result Pērkons was regarded as the god of mountains. These various hypotheses, based only on etymology, did not give a clear conception of the true nature of this god. From these hypotheses, however, emerged the definite conclusion that the name *Pērkons* is derived from Proto-Indo-European.

An examination of the Pērkons cult offers valuable insights. Peter von Dusburg, in a discussion of the history of Old Prussians in the Chronicle of 1326, notes that Pērkons was worshiped. That the Latvians also recognized him as their god is demonstrated by a reference in the statutes of the Church Synod of 1428: *"a tonitruo, quod deum suum appellant"* ("from the thunder, which they name their god"). These older sources, however, do not give more detailed information about the nature of the cult itself. They merely contain standard condemnations of pagan worship of natural phenomena, for which Innocent III had earlier criticized the Latvians in his papal bull of 1199. Not until the seventeenth century was a specific rite from the Pērkons cult described, by the pastor Dionysius Fabricius in his *Livonicae Historicae* Series (1611–1620):

> At times of great drought when there is no rain, neighbors gather in densely wooded hills. They slaughter a she-calf, a black goat, and a black rooster. In accordance with their sacrificial rite a great number of people gather together and hold a communal feast. They drink together and invoke Pērkons, i. e. the thunder god. After filling the first cup of beer, they ecstatically march around the bonfire three times. They then pour the beer

> into the fire and pray to Pērkons (Percuum) to send them rain. (Mannhardt, 1936, p. 458; author trans.)

It should be noted, as this description of the feast clearly shows, that this rite was openly performed long after these peoples had formally been christianized. The gathering of worshipers in the thick forests can be explained by the fear of reprisals from the ruling German colonial church against non-Christian traditions.

This seventeenth-century account can be supplemented with another description, written 250 years later by an eyewitness who took part in the autumn threshing celebrations:

> On beginning the threshing, a rooster was slain in a niche of the open oven and a cross was painted with the rooster's blood on the oven. The meat was cooked and eaten. On completing the threshing another rooster was slain in the same spot. A vessel containing meat, brandy, and bread was placed on the oven. . . . On Saturday evening relatives and friends were invited to a communal feast, which ended in singing and dancing.

This description shows significant differences from the seventeenth-century account in that it contains syncretistic elements; the cross, the bread, and the brandy. Nevertheless, the feast is the same, even though Pērkons is not mentioned by name in the description.

Folk songs from the same time, however, do mention the god: "What shall we give to Pērkons for last summer's thunder? A large quantity [laste] of rye, a large quantity [*laste*] of barley, and a large quantity [*birkava*] of hops." This text, like the previous one, refers to a sacrificial feast after the harvest. It is a feast of thanksgiving to Pērkons. His cult thus appears to have remained strong throughout the centuries.

A bloody animal sacrifice also has a central place in the cult. There is also mention of bread and the sacral drink of the Balts, beer, which is poured into the fire. Typologically the rite appears as a sacrificial feast shared by gods and men. On the one hand it is associated with a supplication, asking for assistance during hard times; on the other hand, it is a thanksgiving for a plentiful harvest. During the thanksgiving the peasant experiences ecstatic joy because he stands in a right relation with his god and because the god, in turn, provides for him. The singing and dancing associated with the feast, which lasts well into the night, even until morning, also shows this joy. The ecstatic joy may climax in the participation of the gods in the festivities, as expressed in the following folk song: "Dievs [the Baltic god of heaven] is dancing with Pērkons; I am dancing with my brother; Pērkons has the whole earth in his possession; I have nine brothers."

The function of Pērkons is clearly defined: he is a fertility god. Hence, all etymologically based guesswork is superfluous. So also are any attempts to explain his essence and character by referring to analogical divinities in other religions. It is in this connection that Pērkons has also been regarded as a war god (he has especially been likened to Jupiter Fulminans, one of the aspects of the Roman sky god) and as a guardian of justice. Such assertions lack evidence in Baltic sources. If these and similar aspects appear to be connected with his function, then this can be explained as a later modification of ancient religious tradition, or by the influence of Christianity, which may have led to the perception of Pērkons as a slayer of demons and a guardian of morality.

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HARALDS BIEZAIS (1987)
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PERSECUTION

This entry consists of the following articles:

JEWISH EXPERIENCE
CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE

PERSECUTION: JEWISH EXPERIENCE

The related terms *religious persecution* and *martyrdom* are difficult to define rigorously. The notion of religious persecution cannot be confined simply to assaults on religious ritual and belief; the intertwining of religion with every facet of premodern existence sometimes made attacks on religious life an outlet for economic, social, and political grievances and sometimes diverted religious antipathy into economic, social, and political channels. The ambiguity of religious animosity and violence complicates the definition of *martyrdom* as well, forcing religious communities to examine and reexamine specific claims on behalf of those reputed to have chosen death in response to religious persecution and in testimony to the truth of their faith.

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN THE HISTORY OF JUDAISM. Biblical literature shows some instances of religious persecution, usually set in a political context. Thus the Philistine capture of the Ark of the Covenant and the Babylonian razing of the Jerusalem Temple both represent, in essence, politically motivated attacks on religious institutions and symbols. The biblical *Book of Daniel* presents two purported incidents of more purely religious persecution. In chapter 3, King Nebuchadnezzar is alleged to have erected a golden statue and ordered all his officials to prostrate themselves before it. Three Jewish lads were reported to the king for having contravened his royal order. As punishment, they were thrown into a blazing furnace, from which they miraculously emerged alive. Impressed by both their steadfastness and their salvation, the king was supposed to have prohibited any blasphemy of the God of the three young men. In chapter 6 a similar incident is told of Daniel, with the same outcome.

During the period of Hellenistic hegemony in the Near East, there was considerable tension between Jews and their neighbors, and this expressed itself in both political and religious terms. Particularly striking is the story of the Seleucid king Antiochus IV and his prohibition of basic Jewish religious practices. A group powerfully devoted to the fulfillment of covenantal law rose in rebellion against the effort to limit Jewish religious practice and belief. Modern scholarship has raised serious questions concerning these alleged Antiochene injunctions, which it has found totally at variance with Hellenistic custom. As an alternative, some scholars have proposed an essentially political motive for the decrees, a parallel to the earlier Philistine and Babylonian assaults on Judaism. A similarly political attack on Judaism is reflected in the Roman burning of the Second Temple in 70 CE. By this time there was already a strong tradition of Greco-Roman animus toward Jews and Judaism. Nonetheless, the policy of the Roman authorities at the close of the Great War basically reflects a desire to suppress the political rebellion that had broken out in Palestine, not to deliver a death blow to the Jewish religious faith. Similar considerations motivated the Hadrianic decrees at the close of the Bar Kokhba Revolt of 132–135 CE. Disturbed by ongoing Jewish unrest in Palestine, the Romans decided to quell permanently the rebelliousness of these Jews by attacking its seeming wellspring, Judaism.

With the emergence of Christianity as the authoritative religion of the Roman Empire in the fourth century and Islam as the ruling faith of a vast state in the seventh century, persecution of the Jews and Judaism took a decidedly new turn. Both these religions ultimately negated in theory the legitimacy of all other faiths, although each carved out a theoretical and practical status of limited tolerance for the other monotheisms, including Judaism. In many ways the situation of the Jews in the Muslim world was somewhat better than in medieval Christendom. Critical factors accounting for this difference included the ethnic and religious heterogeneity of the Muslim world, the size and antiquity of the Jewish communities within the orbit of Islam, the absence of any unique role for the Jews in the development of Islam, and the absence of any potent anti-Jewish symbolism at the core of the religion. There was, to be sure, occasional persecution of the Jews; sometimes this occurred at the official level, as with the Almohad rulers of North Africa and Spain during the mid-twelfth century, and sometimes at the popular level, as with the uprising in Granada in 1066, triggered by popular resentment of the Ibn Nagrela family of Jewish viziers. As the Muslim world increasingly lost the impressive vitality it had exhibited during the early centuries of the Middle Ages, the situation of its Jewish minority deteriorated, and instances of governmental persecution and popular violence multiplied.

It was in the medieval Christian world, however, that persecution of the Jews and Judaism was especially notable. Two factors in particular account for this prominence: (1) the central place of Jews in the Christian drama of crucifixion and resurrection, and (2) the relative newness and smallness of the Jewish communities in most—although not all—areas of medieval Christendom. At the official level, Judaism was in theory a tolerated faith, although its practice was limited in order to ensure the well-being of the ruling religion. Occasionally, concern with the impact of Judaism upon the spiritual health of Christendom could lead to persecution of the Jews or could be used to justify such persecution. Thus, for example, Christian persecution of Jews emerged in the early eleventh century from anxiety over the appearance of purported heresy in northern Europe and at the end of the fifteenth century from dismay over the alleged backsliding of New Christians in Spain to their original Jewish faith. In both situations Jews were viewed as contributors to the perceived dangers and were forced into conversion or exile.

In medieval Christendom popular persecution was the more common form of anti-Jewish behavior. Anti-Jewish animosities often developed within large-scale socioeconomic upheavals. During the First Crusade spiritual exhilaration produced powerful anti-Jewish sentiment in certain fringe bands of the crusading masses. The result was a set of devastating attacks on a number of the main centers of nascent German Jewry. During the last decade of the thirteenth century and the first decade of the fourteenth, powerful social discontent in Germany unleashed wide-ranging assaults against a series of Jewish communities. The hysteria occasioned by the uncontrollable Black Death of the mid-fourteenth century once again produced massive anti-Jewish violence, as did social and religious ferment in Spain in 1391. During the mid-seventeenth century the popular uprising of Ukrainian peasants against their Polish overlords occasioned repeated massacres in the Jewish communities of the area. In all these instances, long-nurtured stereotypes of Jewish enmity and malevolence served as the backdrop for the explosion of popular violence. The imagery of Jewish malevolence, rooted in the New Testament account of the Crucifixion, was embellished during the Middle Ages with notions of ritual murder, Jewish use of Christian blood, Host desecration, and the poisoning of wells. At points of religious exhilaration or social unrest, such imagery served alternately as the spark or the rationale for popular persecution of the Jews.

With the breakdown of the corporate premodern society and with the increasing restriction of the role of religion in modern Western civilization, the older patterns of religious persecution have generally given way. To be sure, there has been little sign of diminishing anti-Jewish hostility or anti-Jewish violence, but its religious nature is even more difficult to identify than heretofore. New definitions of Jewishness have emerged, and with them anti-Jewish activity has taken on an enhanced political, economic, social, and ethnic cast. The late-nineteenth-century racial definition of Jewishness produced the new term *anti-Semitism* for anti-Jewish attitudes and behavior. Those inclined to see anti-Semitism as a new phenomenon and to remove traditional Christian thinking from association with this new phenomenon have coined the term *anti-Judaism* as a foil. Debate has raged as to the Christian roots of anti-Semitism.

The seeming ubiquity of anti-Jewish violence has led to the conceptualization of the Jewish past as one long sequence of persecution and suffering. This perception emerged in the medieval Jewish polemical confrontation with Christianity, as Jewish polemicists insisted that Isaiah's suffering servant figure prefigured the travails of the Jewish people, in the process negating Christian claims for Jesus as fulfillment of this pivotal prophesy. At the close of the Middle Ages a number of Jewish authors organized narrative portraits of the Jewish past in terms of suffering intended to lead to eventual redemption. These views were secularized by the distinguished nineteenth-century Jewish historian Heinrich Graetz (1817–1891), who conceptualized the Jewish past in terms of suffering and the capacity to rise above suffering through the life of the mind. Modern Zionist historiography accepted the notion of suffering as the leitmotif of the Jewish past but rejected the valorization of such suffering. The young Salo Baron (1895-1989), embarking in the 1920s on his career as a major historian of the Jewish people, attacked what he called the "lachrymose conception of Jewish history," arguing that the Jewish past constitutes a rich, variegated, and creative saga. The eruption of the Holocaust did much to rehabilitate the earlier sense of the Jewish past as a vale of tears.

MARTYRDOM IN THE HISTORY OF JUDAISM. In Jewish tradition the notion of martyrdom has been expressed in the commandment of *qiddush ha-shem,* the requirement to sanctify the divine name. This commandment has broad meaning, as seen in *Leviticus* 22:31–33: "You shall faithfully observe my commandments: I am the Lord. You shall not profane my holy name, that I might be sanctified in the midst of the Israelite people—I the Lord who sanctify you, I who brought you out of the land of Egypt to be your God, I the Lord." Sanctification of the divine name could be and has been interpreted as any noble action undertaken out of commitment to the divine will and thus reflecting glory upon the God of Israel. Not surprisingly, however, a more restricted meaning of *qiddush ha-shem* has developed as well: it has been applied in particular to those who give up their most precious possession—life itself—out of this sense of submission to God's will, and who thus serve as ringing testimony to the reality and truth of their deity.

The Hebrew Bible certainly features the importance of submission to the divine will, as seen in Abraham's response to the command that he sacrifice his beloved son Isaac, in Moses' acceptance of God's call, and in repeated prophetic acquiescence to divinely imposed missions. Generally, however, this steadfastness involves the suppression of internal psychological blocks to the divine will; only rarely does it require the overcoming of external pressures, most notably with the two incidents recounted in the *Book of Daniel.* The Antiochene persecution, whatever its motivations may have been, produced a Jewish response of martyrological resistance to the external threat and created a set of figures whose deeds were subsequently retold as paradigms of heroic human behavior. The war of 66 to 70 CE elicited a similar sense of martyrdom, a desire to reject uncompromisingly the reimposition of Roman rule. Perhaps out of an awareness of the heavily political motivations on both sides, subsequent Jewish sources by and large overlooked this group of militant resisters and relegated the heroism of Masada to a position of relative neglect.

Entirely different was the response to the resistance against the Hadrianic persecution of the late 130s CE. Here the essentials of Jewish religious life were at stake, and the resisters were at the center of the Jewish community. The martyrdom of ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef and his associates was accorded a major place in the Jewish liturgy and undoubtedly served to encourage succeeding generations of Jews to undertake, when required, the same commitment. Jewish law eventually codified the essentials of martyrdom by specifying key issues on which there could be no compromise.

> R[abbi] Yohanan said in the name of R[abbi] Shimʿon ben Yehotsadaq: "By a majority vote it was resolved in the upper chambers of the house of Nithza in Lydda that, for every [other] law of the Torah, if a man is commanded: 'Transgress and suffer not death,' he may transgress and not suffer death, excepting idolatry, incest, and murder." (Babylonian Talmud, *Tractate Sanhedrin* 74a)

This important statement limits the number of infringements upon Jewish law for which life is to be sacrificed. At the same time, it strongly reaffirms the basic principle of *qiddush ha-shem* when the infringement is major.

The persecutions cited here all reflect an assault on Judaism out of essentially political motivations. It is only with the development of Christianity and Islam and their rise to positions of political authority that the stage was set for direct confrontation between militant monotheistic faiths. In this regard the Jewish martyrdoms during the First Crusade assume special significance. The Crusader assaults of 1096 were couched in almost purely religious terms; there were no political aspects to this persecution, and socioeconomic issues were distinctly secondary. At their core the attacks on Rhineland Jewry were triggered by a radical desire to rid the world of all infidels. This was not, of course, the papal view of the crusade; it was, however, the yearning that animated the fringe bands of German Crusaders. The Jewish communities that suddenly found themselves under assault were spiritually as intense as their attackers. The result was a remarkable Jewish willingness to perish in defiance of Christian pressure and in testimony to the truth of the Jewish faith. The following utterance, imputed to the martyrs of Mainz on the verge of their deaths, captures the intensity of the period—the conviction of the absolute truth of Judaism; the sense that their actions represent *qiddush ha-shem,* a means of sanctifying the divine name in this world; and the resultant certainty of rich celestial reward:

> Ultimately one must not question the qualities of the Holy One, blessed be he, who gave us his Torah and commanded that we be put to death and be killed for the unity of his sacred name. Fortunate are we if we do his will and fortunate are all who are killed and slaughtered and die for the unity of his name. Not only do they merit the world to come and sit in the quarter of the righteous pillars of the world, but they exchange a world of darkness for a world of light, a world of pain for a world of joy, a transitory world for an eternal world. (Chazan, 1987, p. 237)

The martyrs of 1096 created a compelling set of symbols to sustain themselves in the face of the terrible test imposed upon them. These included a sense of identification with the great hero figures of the Jewish past, such as Abraham, Daniel and his companions, and ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef and his associates; recollection of the divinely ordained sacrificial system with the conviction that God had called upon these martyrs to offer themselves up as surrogate sacrifices on a new-style altar; introduction of rituals of purity to underscore the sanctity of the acts they were about to undertake; and lavish descriptions of the celestial glories awaiting those who died on behalf of the divine name.

As the medieval synthesis disintegrated, religious persecution seemingly declined, and with it the possibility of martyrdom. Whether animosity and persecution grounded in prior religious thinking has in fact disappeared is a matter of deep dispute. What is clear is that the victims of modern anti-Semitism have not often been in a position to exercise choice in rejecting or accepting death. While choice seems to have been a critical factor in earlier notions of martydom, the martyr's mantle has nonetheless been accorded to the victims of the Holocaust out of a sense that they too died as a result of their Jewish identity.

SEE ALSO Anti-Semitism; Holocaust, The, article on History; Marranos; Suffering.

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ROBERT CHAZAN (1987 AND 2005)

PERSECUTION: CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE

The atoning and vicarious nature of Jesus' sacrifice provides the main link between Jewish and Christian outlooks toward persecution and martyrdom. In *Mark* 10:45, a possible reminiscence from *Isaiah* 53:10–12, Jesus proclaims that he "came not to be served but to serve and to give his life as a ransom for many." It is, however, in the Johannine literature that the term *martyr* ("witness") moves quickest from its ordinary secular meaning to the Christian sense of "blood-witness." Numerous passages (e.g., *Jn.* 3:11, 5:30–33, 18:37, and 1 *Jn.* 5:10) present Jesus in terms of witness to the truth or to his Father, while others associate witness to Jesus with the Paraclete (*Jn.* 15:26, cf. also 14:26) standing in opposition to the world, convincing the world of sin and judgment. Witness to the Crucifixion was revealed in "blood and water," and had in addition the missionary purpose "that you also may believe" (*Jn.* 19:34–35).

The association of the Holy Spirit with suffering and persecution because of witness to Christ was emphasized in the synoptic Gospels (*Mk.* 13:11 and parallel *Mt.* 10:19). By the end of the first century CE, these ideas had become fused into a single idea of martyrdom. Martyrs conquered (Satan) "by the blood of the Lamb and by the word of their testimony [*martuias*], for they loved not their lives even unto death" (*Rev.* 12:11). Theirs was a personal witness to the truth of Christ's claim to be Messiah and a token of the closest possible identification with their Lord. In the early years of the second century, Ignatius of Antioch in his letter to the Christians in Rome said that he would be truly a disciple of Christ when he had been found "pure bread of Christ" (chap. 4). "It is better," he urged, "to die in Christ Jesus than to be king over the ends of the earth" (6.1).

The concept of martyrdom formulated in these years proved to be long lasting. In particular, its association with the spirit of prophecy, opposition to the world (not only to the Roman Empire), and its connection with the coming of the end of this world can be seen in the *Acta martyrum* of the second and early third centuries. Thus, in 177, the anonymous writer of the *Acta* of the martyrs of Lyon understood the persecution that assailed the congregation there as "foreshadowing the coming of Antichrist" (that would precede the end of this age). (See Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History,* hereafter cited as *H.E.,* 5.1.5 and following.) As for the martyrs, one was described in the anonymous letter as the "Paraclete of the Christians" (5.1.9). Their witness and confession placed them in direct contact with Jesus himself, and while not "perfected" until dead, they were able to "bind and loose" as partakers in Christ's sufferings. The martyrs of Lyon were not followers of Montanus, whose movement, which began in Phrygia in 172, illustrated the close connection between prophecy, eschatology, and martyrdom. Their recorded outlook, however, indicates the strong undercurrent in the same direction among orthodox communities during this period. At the end of the century, this can be illustrated from the church in North Africa. Around 197, Tertullian proclaimed in *Apologeticum* 50.16 that martyrdom, as the baptism of blood, wiped away all postbaptismal sin. A decade later (c. 207), as a Montanist, he asserted in *De fuga in persecutione,* chapter 9, that it was the only form of death worthy of a Christian, for in that event Christ, who had suffered for the Christians, might be glorified.

The idea of martyrdom developed against the background of occasional severe, if local, persecutions. Jesus had warned his followers to expect persecution (*Mt.* 10:17). Like that of the prophets of Israel, his blood would be poured out. Until the Gospels attained their final form with the passion narrative, the suffering servant of *Isaiah* 53:1–12 was the perfect type of Christ. The earliest enemies of the Christians were the Jews, who regarded them as belonging to a dangerous, subversive movement in their midst. The martyrdom of Stephen in about 35 was followed by the persecution under Herod Agrippa around 42. Although Agrippa died in 44, over the next fifteen years Jews did everything possible to impede the preaching of Christianity by Paul and his friends among the synagogues of the Diaspora. They portrayed Paul as "a mover of sedition among the Jews throughout the world" (*Acts* 24:5), and first in Corinth and then in Jerusalem attempted to have him executed by the Roman authorities.

Luke and *Acts* show that the authorities themselves were by no means hostile to Paul and his preaching but rather regarded Christianity as an internal Jewish matter that was not their concern. What then was the cause of the Neronian persecution in Rome in 64 CE?

PERSECUTION AND TOLERATION IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE. Little is known of the Christian community in Rome during Nero's reign, but three factors seem relevant. First, Nero was desperate to find a scapegoat for the conflagration that he was suspected of causing. Second, official and popular opinion in Rome reprobated any threat to the majesty of the Roman gods by foreign cults, including Judaism. Jews were also suspected of misanthropy and incendiarism. Finally, by 60 CE, Jewish hostility toward Christianity had spread to Rome.

Tacitus's account of the savage repression of Christianity (*Annales* 15.44), written some sixty years later, may have been influenced by Livy's detailed account of the suppression of the Bacchanal conspiracy of 186 BE (Livy, *History of Rome* 39.8–19). The Christian movement was also regarded as a conspiracy by adherents of a foreign "false religion" (*prava religio*), one of whose aims was to set fire to Rome. In both cases, self-confessed adherents were put to death; in particular, the Christians were executed in a cruel and theatrical way, their death designed as a human sacrifice to appease the wrath of the gods. A generation later, the writer of *1 Clement* appeared to blame this catastrophe on the "envy and jealousy" of the internal enemies of the church, namely, the Jews.

Although the Neronian persecution was not extended to Italy and the provinces, it put the Christians on the wrong side of the law. Tacitus believed that Pontius Pilate was justified in ordering Jesus' execution, and that the "deadly superstition" of Christianity deserved punishment. His contemporary, Suetonius, listed the repression of the Christians among Nero's police actions of which he approved (*Nero* 16.2). For him the Christians were guilty of practicing black magic as well as of introducing a "novel and dangerous religion." Suetonius did not, however, connect the persecution with the fire at Rome.

In the second century, Melito of Sardis and Tertullian named Domitian (r. 81–96) as the second persecuting emperor. Domitian's repressive measures, however, in 95 aimed at discouraging forcibly members of the Roman nobility from "lapsing into Jewish ways." By this time, however, the authorities were distinguishing between Jews and non-Jews "who were living like Jews," a group that must have included Christians, and Christianity was illegal. The *Book of Revelation* indicates savage persecutions by Jews, the local populace, and the authorities in the province of Asia (western Asia Minor). In 112, the correspondence between the emperor Trajan and his special commissioner (*legatus pro praetore*) in the Black Sea province of Bithynia shows that Christians were liable to summary execution if denounced to the authorities. Pliny reports that their obstinacy in the face of questioning was an aggravating circumstance. Faced with apostasies, Pliny asked the emperor what he was to do, giving his opinion that Christianity was nothing worse than a perverse superstition and suggesting that leniency would restore the situation. Trajan replied that while Christians were not to be sought out like common criminals they were to be punished if they persisted in their refusal "to worship our gods." If they recanted, however, they were to be freed.

Instructions (*rescripta*) issued in 124/5 by Trajan's successor, Hadrian (r. 117–138), directed the proconsul of Asia, C. Minicius Fundanus, to condemn Christians only if found guilty of criminal offenses in a court of law. They were not to be subjected to clamorous denunciations, and they had the right of turning against their accusers a charge that proved to be false. These two decisions established the policy of the imperial authorities for the remainder of the century. They had the effect of discouraging prosecutions, and Christians enjoyed relative tranquillity until the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161–180). By then, however, the official reluctance to pursue Christians had begun to yield to the force of popular suspicion of them, as reflected in charges of incest, cannibalism, and atheism. They were also held responsible for natural disasters that demonstrated, it was believed, the anger of the gods. The result was a series of severe local persecutions, such as the martyrdom of Polycarp of Smyrna in about 166 and the "pogrom" of Lyon in 177. In about 178 an informed Platonist writer, Celsus, without mentioning specific popular accusations directed against the Christians, mentions membership in an illegal organization, lack of civic sense, and subversion of traditional social structures through active proselytism as additional grounds for unpopularity and justification for oppression.

In the first decade of the third century, the increase in the number of Christians resulting from a more aggressive missionary policy resulted in persecutions in Carthage, Alexandria, Rome, Antioch, Corinth, and Cappadocia. In Carthage and Alexandria the rage of the mob seems to have been directed against converts. Eusebius associated these persecutions with the emperor Septimius Severus (r. 193–211), and it is possible that that emperor reacted against the rising tide of mob outbreaks in some of the main cities of the empire by prohibiting conversion either to Judaism or to Christianity.

Between 212 and 235 Christians enjoyed a further period of quasi toleration under the emperors of the Severan dynasty. The revolution that removed Alexander Severus on March 22, 235, saw the beginnings of a new policy. Severus's supplanter, Maximinus Thrax (235–238), liquidated the Christian servants and officeholders at his predecessor's court and struck at the Christian leadership, sending the pope, Pontian (235–236), and the antipope, Hippolytus, into exile in Sardinia, where they both died.

In 238 Maximinus fell to a revolution inspired by landowning interests in North Africa. The next dozen years saw a period of Christian expansion and prosperity that provoked growing antipathy on the part of the pagans. In 248 there was a massive popular assault on the Christians in Alexandria, but the change of emperor that took place in the autumn of 249 resulted in the first empire-wide persecution. C. Quintus Messius Decius, who took the surname *Trajan* (r. 249–251), was a good general and believed firmly in the traditional values of the Roman state. He was convinced that the Christians were responsible for the disasters that had befallen his predecessor. In January 250, he ordered that the yearly sacrifice made to the Roman gods on the Capitoline hill should be repeated throughout the empire, and almost simultaneously he had prominent Christians seized, whether clergy or laity. On January 21, Pope Fabian was tried before him and executed. A similar fate befell Bishop Babylas of Antioch; Cyprian of Carthage and Dionysius of Alexandria escaped only by going into hiding. This phase was followed by the establishment of commissions in the towns of each province to supervise sacrifices to the gods of the empire and the emperor's genius. The process extended from February and March in Asia Minor and North Africa to June and July in Egypt. Some forty-three *libelli* (certificates) given to those who sacrificed have survived on Egyptian papyri. Few Christians resisted. If Decius had been able to give his undivided attention to the repression, the church might have been in serious danger. The peril, however, was already over when the emperor met his death at the hands of the Goths in June 251.

Hostility was continued under the emperors Gallus and Volusian in 252 and 253, but in 257 their successor Valerian (253–260) made a massive effort to force Christians to acknowledge and respect the Roman gods. This was the object of Valerian's first edict (summer 257), although the contributory factors may have included a desire on the part of the authorities to lay hands on the wealth that the church was believed to have accumulated. The church's leaders were arrested, interrogated, and deported. The edict also forbade Christians to hold services and to frequent their cemeteries, but otherwise left them alone. A year later, however, the emperor decided on severer measures. An imperial order reached Rome early in August 258, ordering that clergy should be executed, that Christian senators should forfeit their status and property, that a similar fate should befall highborn women, and that civil servants should be reduced to slavery. On September 14, 258, Cyprian of Carthage was summoned from his relatively comfortable place of exile to confront the proconsul of Africa. After a brief trial he was condemned as the ringleader of "an unlawful association" and as "an open enemy of the gods and the religion of Rome" (*Acta proconsularia*).

Persecution continued through 259, but ended with Valerian's capture by the Persians near Edessa in June 260. His son and successor, Gallienus, sent instructions in 260 and 261 to provincial governors to restore the property of the church and free its members from further molestation. The church, though not technically *religio licita* ("lawful religion"), had at last achieved a recognized status.

For more than forty years this situation continued. Church and empire moved closer together. In Nicomedia, the capital of the emperor Diocletian (284–305), the cathedral stood in full view of the emperor's palace. Why Diocletian decided to force the issue with the Christians nearly twenty years after he had seized power is not known; but the connection with the anti-Christian sentiments of his caesar, Galerius, and with his own policy of bringing uniformity in every aspect of the life of the peoples of the empire through the establishment of a common currency, prices, taxation, and legal framework seems clear. The great nonconformists, the Christians, could not be allowed to opt out. The Great Persecution of 303–312 (303–305 in the West) was preceded by a number of repressive acts (298–302) designed to remove Christians from public positions. On February 23, 303, the emperor posted an edict at Nicodemia, ordering the surrender of all copies of the Christian scriptures for burning and the dismantlement of all churches. No meetings for Christian worship were to be held. Christians were also disbarred from being plaintiffs in lawsuits, and lost all honors and privileges, but there was no death penalty, for Diocletian wanted no more Christian martyrs. In the summer of 303 other edicts followed, first directing that Christian clergy should be arrested and imprisoned, and then that they should be forced to sacrifice and thereafter freed.

So far only the clergy had been seriously affected, but in the winter of 303–304 Diocletian became incapacitated by illness following a visit to Rome to celebrate his twenty years' rule. Galerius took over control of the government and in the spring of 304 issued an edict ordering everyone to sacrifice to the immortal gods. This phase of the persecution saw numerous martyrs in North Africa, especially in Numidia, and a hardening of attitudes between Christians and pagans. Diocletian recovered from his illness, but was persuaded to retire from the government, which he did on May 1, 305, to live another eleven years in a magnificent military palace at Spalatum (Split) on the Adriatic coast.

The new emperors, Constantius in the West and Galerius (with Maximinus as his caesar) in the East, pursued contrasting religious policies. Persecution ceased in the West, but was restarted in the East after Easter 306. Successive edicts were accompanied by efforts by Maximinus to reorganize the pagan cult on a hierarchical basis. However, enthusiasm among the pagans was waning, and Galerius, struck down in the spring of 311 by a mysterious, deadly illness, issued an edict of toleration on April 30, a week before he died. This "Palinode of Galerius" accepted the fact that the great majority of Christians could not be brought back to the worship of the Roman gods, considered it better for the empire that they should worship their own god than that they worship no god at all, and accorded them contemptuous toleration. "Christians may exist again, and may establish their meeting houses, provided they do nothing contrary to good order." They were also asked "to pray to their god for our good estate and their own, so that the commonwealth may endure on every side unharmed."

Meantime, in the West Constantius had died at York on July 25, 306, and his son Constantine had been acclaimed augustus by the soldiers. Though he had to be content with lesser honors for the time being, Constantine gradually increased his power, until in the spring of 312 he was ready to bid for the control of the whole of the West. He invaded Italy, defeated the usurper Maxentius at the battle of the Milvian Bridge, just north of Rome (October 28, 312), and was hailed "senior augustus" by the Senate the next day. He was already strongly influenced by Christianity and, whatever the vision he saw on the day before the decisive battle, he was determined to end the era of persecution. In February 313 he met his fellow augustus at Milan, and together they published the famous Edict of Milan. Christians received, together with all the other subjects of the empire, complete freedom of religion, but they and the *Summus Deus* were regarded as the positive force and contrasted with "all others." Insensibly the scales had tipped toward Christianity as the official religion of the empire. By the time Constantine moved east, in 324, to challenge Licinius for control over the whole Roman world, the "immortal gods" of the Romans had been displaced as patrons and protectors of the empire. The religious revolution was complete. The church's intensive ramifications through town and countryside alike, coupled with a firm organization and a continued underlying enthusiasm for martyrdom, at least among a minority of the faithful, had proved too strong for the pagan empire.

PERSECUTION OF HERETICS AND DISSENTERS. Constantine's religious policy was founded on unity. The Christian God could not be served by two or more rival groups of ministers. Only one such group could be accepted as representing the true catholic (universal) church. At the same time, however, the strains and tensions resulting from the Great Persecution had exacerbated existing divisions in the church and caused new ones. In the West, the North African church had been divided since 311 between factions supporting or opposed to the new bishop of Carthage, Caecilian. In Egypt, there were divisions between the Melitians and adherents of Alexander, bishop of Alexandria. Persecution directed against opponents of the church supported by Constantine was not slow in coming.

Constantine and his sons saw themselves as the *custodes fidei* ("guardians of the faith") of the empire. This involved the suppression of paganism and dissenting views such as those of the Donatists in 346–347, and measures against individuals, like Athanasius of Alexandria, who was exiled in 356. A generation later, after the free-for-all toleration under Julian (r. 361–363), the emperor Theodosius I in 380 published the general edict Cunctos Populos, by which the Christian religion as adhered to by Pope Damasus and Peter of Alexandria was decreed to be the sole legitimate religion of the empire.

Cunctos Populos is one of the turning points in the grim story of religious persecution. Those who did not accept that law forfeited their civil rights and were liable to punishment by the state. It was followed by a series of laws reiterating penalties against heretics, which reached a climax in June 392, when the emperor ordered heretical clergy to be fined ten pounds of gold and decreed that places where forbidden practices were occurring should be confiscated if the owner had connived. Pagans fared equally badly. In February 391 a law sent from Milan to Albinus, the praetorian prefect of the East, took up the legislation against paganism by the emperors Constantius II and Valens by prohibiting all sacrifices and fining people of high rank or official position who entered temples. This paved the way for a more comprehensive law late in 392 that banned every sort of pagan practice under very severe financial penalties. Informers were to be encouraged.

This framework of imperial legislation provided the means by which leaders of the catholic church were able to suppress their opponents. If, in the East, church and state formed one integrated whole under the emperor, in the West the "two swords" theory of the separate authority of church and state required the church to regard the secular power as its protector and sword against its enemies. In his long struggle against the Donatists, which lasted from 393 to 421, Augustine gradually built up a justification for the repression of religious dissent by the state. In 399 he identified the Donatists as heretics and urged that if kings could legislate against pagans and prisoners they could legislate against heretics. In 405 Augustine had imperial legislation against heretics applied to the Donatists. Denial of testamentary rights and floggings with lead whips were to be meted out to the obdurate. In 408, Augustine confessed that he was now convinced that Donatists should be coerced into the unity of Christ and quoted the Lucan text "Compel them to come in." After the proscription of the Donatists by law in 412, Augustine added to his arguments justifying persecution the statement that coercion in this world would save the heretics from eternal punishment in the next.

"No salvation outside the church," a doctrine preached by Augustine in 418 in his sermon addressed to the people of the church of Caesarea (chap. 6), implied a right to convert forcibly or otherwise the church's opponents. The precedents established in the Donatist controversy by Augustine passed into the armory of the catholic church through the Middle Ages and into Reformation times. The Albigensian crusades of 1212 and 1226–1244 witnessed terrible massacres in centers such as Béziers and Carcassonne where the heresy flourished. In 1244 the defenders of the last Abigensian stronghold, Mont Ségur, were burned alive by their victorious enemies. More than a century and a half later, in 1415, the same punishment was inflicted on Jan Hus at Prague.

In the Reformation, persecution of opposing churches was accepted by all parties. Henry VIII burned the Protestants Thomas Bilney and Robert Barnes; Mary Tudor sent some three hundred Protestants to the stake between 1555 and her death in November 1558; Calvin ordered the burning of Servetus in 1541. Unwillingness in the Roman Catholic Church to concede that "error has any rights over truth" prolonged the period of persecution of Protestants into the eighteenth century. The bloody repression of the Calvinist Camisards in the Cévennes following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 and the repression of Protestants in the Palatinate in 1715 and in the diocese of Salzburg in 1732 are reminders that religious persecution did not end with the formal conclusion of hostilities between Protestants and Catholics at the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. Even in World War II, the Ustasi government in Croatia unleashed what may be hoped to be the final spasm of religious persecution against the Orthodox minority in Bosnia. On the other hand, Christianity itself has been the object of persecution by the Hitlerite and Communist regimes. These persecutions have so far failed in their aims, but among Christians themselves it is to be hoped that the growth of the ecumenical movement and the decrees of Vatican II may help banish this blot from history.

SEE ALSO Cathari; Constantine; Constantinianism; Cult of Saints; Donatism; Heresy, article on Christian Concepts; Reformation.

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PERSEPHONE SEE DEMETER AND PERSEPHONE

PERSONIFICATION SEE ANTHROPOMORPHISM; HYPOSTASIS

PERUN

PERUN was the thunder god of the heathen Slavs. A fructifier, a purifier, and an overseer of right and order, he was the adversary of the Slavic "black god" (Chernobog, Veles). His actions were perceived by the senses: he was seen in the thunderbolt, he was heard in the crackling rattle of stones or the thunderous bellow of the bull or he-goat, and he was felt in the sharp touch of an ax blade.

The cult of Perun among the Baltic Slavs is attested by the Byzantine historian Procopius in the sixth century CE. In the Russian *Primary Chronicle*, compiled circa 1111, Perun is invoked by name in the treaties of 945 and 971, and his name is first in the list of gods compiled by Vladimir I in 980. As Prone, Perun was worshiped in oak groves by West Slavs, and he is so named in Helmold's *Chronica Slavorum* of the twelfth century. Saxo Grammaticus mentions Perun's son, whom he calls Porenutius, in his *Gesta Danorum* of the early thirteenth century.

The root *per-/perk-*, meaning "to strike, to splinter," is common to Indo-European languages. Close relatives to the Slavic name *Perun* are the Lithuanian *Perkūnas*, Prussian *Perkonis*, Latvian *Pērkons*, Old Icelandic *Fjǫr-gynn*, and Greek *Zeus keraunos* (from a taboo *_peraunos_). Common nouns derived from the same Indo-European root—Sanskrit *parjanyah* ("cloud, thunder"), Hittite *peruna* ("mountaintop"), Gothic *fairguni* ("oak forest"), Celtic *hercynia* (from *silva*, "oak forest"), and Latin *quercus* (from *_perkus_, "pine" or, earlier, "oak")—suggest prehistoric ties between Indo-European thunder gods and clouds (i.e., rain), oaks, oak forests, and mountaintops. The veneration of the Slavic *_pergynja_ (Russian *peregynia*, Polish *przeginia*), meaning "oak forest," is attested by Russian literary sources. West Slavic and South Slavic personal names and place-names with the root *per-* are mostly linked with "oak," "oak forest," and "hill": *Perun gora* (Serbian), *Perunowa gora* (Polish), and *Porun*, the name of a hill in Istria. The word for "Thursday" (Thor's day) in the Polabian dialect is *peründan*, which literally means "lightning."

In the Christian period, worship of Perun was gradually transferred to the old, white-bearded Saint Elijah (Russian, Il'ia), who traveled across the sky in a fiery chariot (as the Lithuanian thunder god, copper-bearded Perkunas, is still believed to do). In folk beliefs, Perun's fructifying, life-stimulating, and purifying functions are still performed by his traditional instruments: ax, bull, he-goat, dove, and cuckoo. Sacrifice of a bull and a communal feast on Saint Il'ia's Day, July 20, in honor of Perun or Il'ia were last recorded in northern Russia in 1907, when they were combined with Christian hymns and blessings. The meat was prepared entirely by men and then taken into the church and divided among the villagers (see Otto Schrader, *Die Indogermanen*, 1907).

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PESHER.

PESHER. The Hebrew noun *pesher* (pl. *pesharim*) is an Aramaic loanword that entered late biblical Hebrew (*Qoheleth* 8:1) and is current in the Hebrew of the Qumran scrolls in the sense of “meaning, explanation, interpretation.” Since this term is mostly employed by a particular type of Qumran biblical interpretation, it came to be the nomenclature of Qumran works, which in their literary character and their structure engaged in such interpretation. In Qumran research the term *pesher* has therefore four distinct usages: (1) as the name of the genre that contemporizes biblical prophecies according to the worldview of the Qumran ascetic community; (2) as the name attached to individual Qumran works or literary units containing such interpretations; (3) as a formula introducing the exposition of a given biblical text according to the said method; (4) as the name of the particular exegetical method applied in this kind of interpretation.

1. THE *PESHER* GENRE. One of the first scrolls to be discovered was a *pesher* of Habakkuk exhibiting a particular type of commentary. It consisted of reading into biblical prophecies allusions to various historical circumstances and events contemporary with and related to the Qumran community, often placed in the perspective of the approaching *eschaton* and the final redemption. Among the extant *pesharim* are interpretations of the prophets and other biblical passages (e.g., the Blessings of Bileam [*Num.* 24:17] in CD VII, 19 and 1QM XI, 6; the Song of the Well [*Num.* 21:18] in CD VI, 2–11; and occasionally also legal texts; *cf.* discussion of *pesher* Melchizedek below). Also included in this group are the *Psalms of David* and the vision contained in the *Book of Daniel,* both viewed as prophetic (for Psalms see 11QPs^{a} 27:11 and for *Daniel* see 4Q174 1–3 ii 3). This selection shows that various biblical texts were deemed prophetic and were subjected to *pesher* interpretation even when appearing in nonprophetic literary contexts. Nevertheless, running *pesharim* on large textual passages are extant only for the prophets and *Psalms.* All the *pesharim* from Qumran display the same fundamental structure and exegetical method, but they vary in technical formulae. The running *pesharim* on large passages are found mostly in copies dated to the second half of the first century BCE. But a copy of pesher of Isaiah, 4QpIs^{c}(4Q163) dates to the beginning of the first century BCE. Also, single *pesher* units, embedded in different literary contexts, appear in the earliest works of the community, the so-called *Rule of the Community* (1QS VIII, 13–16) and the *Damascus Document* (e.g., CD VI, 3–11; VII, 14–21). Moreover, historical allusions in the *pesharim* cover a century, approximately from 150 to 50 BCE. In addition, the *pesher* of Habakkuk attributes this technique to the founder of the community, the Teacher of Righteousness, a claim that may have a historical kernel (*cf.* below). Another piece of evidence suggesting the antiquity of the method is provided by the *Apocryphon of Joshua,* which produces a *pesher* on the curse of Joshua; (cf. below). So the *pesher* method was practiced by the community since its inception. Perhaps certain *pesharim,* especially the running ones, committed much earlier interpretative traditions to writing. Given the antiquity of the pesher method, the running *pesharim* could hardly be autographs as claimed because the extant specimens do not overlap.

Reading contemporary circumstances into old prophecies, the *pesharim* contain numerous allusions to real historical figures and events. This is evident from many details contained in the *pesher* comments that do not stem from the biblical texts or its exegetical problems and may only be explained as references to real circumstances. Accordingly, the *pesharim* are the main source for historical data of the Qumran community and its history.

2. INDIVIDUAL *PESHARIM.* The *pesharim* appear in four distinct forms.

Continuous *pesharim.* Thus labeled are works citing large running prophetic texts with detailed expositions. The citations consist of one or two phrases each, followed by a comment, usually introduced by the formula *pesher hadaver* (“the interpretation of it”) or *pishro* (“its interpretation”). The available specimens of this type are the following:

1QpHab. A *pesher* of Habakkuk chapters 1–2, found in Qumran cave 1, preserved almost intact. It offers consecutive *pesher* on the first two chapters of Habakkuk, containing allusions to historical figures and events from the middle of the second century BCE to the first third of the first century BCE. Among the persons referred to is the Teacher of Righteousness, known from CD (I, 10–15) to be the founder of the community. The *pesher* attributes to him a special understanding of the mysteries embedded in the prophetic message, divulged by divine revelation: “And when he [i.e., Habakkuk] says so that the reader can read it easily (Habakkuk 2:2) its interpretation concerns the Teacher of Righteousness to whom God made known all the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets” (1QpHab VII, 3–5). The Teacher’s identity remains a mystery. His major political opponent was the Wicked Priest, who is usually identified with the Hasmonean Jonathan (152–142 BCE) or Simon (142–134 BCE). The Teacher's ideological rival is referred to by the sobriquet "the Spouter of Lie" (1QpHab X, 9; *cf.* CD VIII, 13), probably identical with "the Man of Lie" (1QpHab II, 2; V, 11; cf. CD I, 15; XX, 15) or "the Man of Mockery" (cf. CD I, 14). This person was the leader of an opponent group (1QpHab X, 10), perhaps the one dubbed in other pesharim "the Seekers after Smooth Things" (4QpNah 3–4 i 2,7; ii 2, 4; cf. CD I, 18) or "the Men of Mockery" (4QpIs^{b} ii 6, 10; cf. CD XX, 11). All are derogatory epithets for those who, according to the view of the sectaries, practiced false exposition of Scriptures. Most scholars identify them with the Pharisees. A different type of group is labeled by the pesher as "the Kittim." In the Hebrew Bible the Kittim designate western peoples, from Greece or Cyprus (*Gen.* 10:4; *Isa.* 23:1, 12; *Ezek.* 27:6–7), but in the *pesharim* they stand for the Romans. This is clear from the assertions that they sacrifice to their standards (1QpHab VI, 4), a well-known practice of the Roman army, and are governed by rulers appointed by their council (1QpHab IV, 10–12), probably the Roman Senate.

4QpNahum (= 4Q169). The fragments of this running *pesher* of *Nahum* provide a typical illustration of the *pesher* method. One comment sees in the lion, mentioned in *Nahum* 2:12, an allusion to the Greek king Demetrius (4QpNah 3–4 i 2), probably the Seleucid ruler Demetrius III Eukerus (95–88 BCE). This pesher makes a clear distinction between the "kings of Greece" (4QpNah 3–4 i 2), namely the Seleucids, and the "rulers of the Kittim" (4QpNah 3–4 i 3), namely the Roman rulers, perhaps their military commanders. Most scholars see in this last reference an allusion to Pompey's capture of Jerusalem (63 BCE), which marked the end of the independent Hasmonean kingdom. The *pesher* also refers to a rift within Judaism, which it reads into the prophecy of Nahum: "the lion tears victims for his cubs and strangles prey for his lionesses (*Nahum* 2:13a) [. . . its interpretation] concerns the Lion of Wrath who would strike his great ones and his men of counsel [. . . and as for what he (i.e., Nahum) said And it fills up with prey] its lair and its den with mangled flesh [*Nahum* 2:13b] its interpretation concerns the Lion of Wrath [. . . who will take ven]geance of the Seekers of Smooth Things and he would hang men up alive" (4QpNah 3–4 i 4–7). The prophetic verse is understood to refer to the Hasmonean king Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 BCE), here dubbed "the Lion of Wrath," who crucified eight hundred partisans of the Pharisees for joining the army of his enemy Demetrius Eukeros (see Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews.*, xiii, 389–391; *Jewish War,* i, 92–95). Other continuous pesharim have survived, mostly very fragmentary. There are six *pesharim* of *Isaiah:* 3QpIs (= 3Q4), 4QpIs^{a} (= 4Q161), 4QpIs^{b} (= 4Q162), 4QpIs^{c} (= 4Q163), 4QpIs^{d} (= 4Q164), and 4QpIs^{e} (= 4Q165). 4QpIs^{c} (= 4Q163) merits special attention since it is not only the oldest specimen of running pesher but also the only one written on papyrus. It also cites other prophets (Zechariah and probably Jeremiah), and apparently comments only on a selection of *Isaiah* passages. Significant for understanding the community's self-image is 4QpIs^{d}, which explains the description of Jerusalem in *Isaiah* 54 as a symbol of the community and its leadership. Two texts contain a *pesher* of *Hosea:* 4QpHos^{a} (= 4Q166), 4QHos^{b} (= 4Q167). Of interest is the first. Expounding *Hosea* 2:10–14, it criticizes the calendar practiced in Israel at the time (4QHos^{a} ii 16), thus adding evidence to the well-known polemics on this issue in the Qumran writings. Other exemplars of continuous *pesharim* are poorly preserved: two interpret *Micah,* 1QpMic (= 1Q14) and 4QpMic (= 4Q168), and two expound *Zephaniah,* 1Q15 and 4QZeph (= 4Q170). A *pesher* of Malachi may also be extant (5Q10). The Psalms seem to be a favorite subject for the *pesher* authors. Three texts contain a *pesher* of *Psalms:* 1QpPs (= 1Q16), 4QpPs^{a} (= 4Q171), and 4QPs^{b} (= 4Q173). Substantial fragments of a pesher on Psalm 37 are preserved in 4QPs^{a} (4Q171), expressing the sectaries' hopes for the eschatological age, when the wicked will perish and the righteous will take possession of their inheritance. But contemporary controversies also occupy the pesher. The opponent of the Teacher of Righteousness, the Man of Lie, is accused of "misleading many with deceptive words for they have chosen light things" (4QpPs^{a} 1–10 i 26–27), probably another reference to the Pharisees and criticism of their method of interpreting biblical law. Various verses of *Psalms* are commented by other Qumran texts (cf. 4QFlorilegium and 4QCatena below).

Thematic *pesharim.* Thematic pesharim are works containing *pesher* interpretations arranged around central themes rather than producing a running commentary on a single text. Significantly, some of them, such as the *pesher* of Melchizedek, date to the first half of the first century BCE. So this form of *pesher* may have been created earlier than the running *pesharim.*

4QForilegium (4Q174). Structured around citations from 2 Samuel 7:10–14 (*1 Chron.* 17:9–13), *Exodus* 15:17–18, *Amos* 9–11, *Psalms* 1:1, *Isaiah* 8:11, *Ezekiel* 37:23, and *Psalms* 2:1, the work expounds various eschatological themes. Reflecting the Qumranites' criticism of the contemporary temple, the pesher, explaining *2 Samuel* 7, likens the reality of the Qumranites to a "Temple of Men" (*mqdš ʾdm*) in which "deeds of Torah," namely practicing the Torah commandments, replace animal sacrifices (4QFlor 1–2 i 6–7). It expresses the hope for a future temple, established by divine initiative (4QFlor 1–2 i 3–5).

4QCatena A (4Q177). This text dated to the mid-first century BCE concerns the circumstances of the Qumran covenanters in the final redemptive age (4Q177 1–4 + 14 + 24 + 31 5). It strings together pesher comments on a selection of Psalms (*Ps.* 6, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17), developing each exposition with the help of additional allusions to other biblical passages. It has been recently suggested that 4QFlorileguim and 4QCatena A are copies of the same work (by A. Steudel). However, the absence of overlapping between the two and their different literary structure excludes this suggestion.

11QMelchizedek (11Q13). This single manuscript, dated to 75–50 BCE, takes its starting point from the Torah laws mandating the liberation of slaves and the return of the possessions in the jubilee year (*Lev.* 25: 10, 13; *cf. Deut.* 15:2). Linking them with additional Psalms (*Ps.* 82:1, 7:8–9, 82:2) and prophetic texts (*Isa.* 52:7, *Dan.* 9:25), the *pesher* explains it as a redemption of the righteous from the yoke of evil forces in the eschatological jubilee, under the guidance of Melchizedek, a supernatural figure of the eschatological judge. This *pesher* provides interesting examples of *pesher* exegesis applied to legal texts from *Leviticus* and *Deuteronomy.* In the biblical books these passages are formulated as part of the speech of Moses, a prophet already by biblical statement (*Deut.* 34:10), and hence apt for *pesher* exegesis. Of significance is the special eschatological role of Melchizedek in this *pesher,* not found in the biblical references (*Gen.* 14:18; *Ps.* 110:4) but it probably lies in the background to the *Letter to the Hebrews* 7, where Melchizedek prefigures Jesus as the divine and eternal high priest.

***Pesher* units in non-*pesher* works.** Smaller *pesharim,* of one or more sentences, are interwoven into compositions of different literary genres. Such are the *pesharim* occurring in the *Rule of the Community* (1QS VIII 12–16 expounding *Isa.* 40:3) and the *Damascus Document* (e.g., the *pesher* of *Hos.* 4:16 in CD I, 13–14, the *pesher* of *Ezek.* 44:15 in CD III, 21–IV,1–6, and the *pesher* of *Amos* 5:26–27 in CD VII, 14–18). Another example of an isolated *pesher* unit is provided by the *Commentary on Genesis A* (4Q252). This work contains commentary by various exegetical methods on a selection of passages from *Genesis,* but only a single comment of the *pesher* type. It interprets the pericope about Judah in the Blessing of Jacob (*Gen.* 49:10) as applying to the Qumranites at the End of Days (4Q252 V 1–7). The *Apocryphon of Joshua* offers another significant instance. Since this work lacks any explicit sectarian terminology, it is noteworthy that it contains a *pesher* on Joshua's curse of the builder of Jericho (*Josh.* 6:26), understood as referring to contemporary historical figures (4Q379 22 ii 7–15). This piece of *pesher* exegesis must be quite old, since it is cited by 4QTestimonia (4Q175), dated to around 100 BCE.

Sobriquets as allusions to *Pesher.* A special category is presented by sobriquets applied to figures and groups who played central roles in the life of the Qumran community. They appear in several sectarian compositions without explanation, thus indicating that they were already known and accepted nicknames. Yet they were not invented at random, for most are condensed expressions taken from particular biblical locutions; each epithet functions as a cryptogram for a full *pesher* to a given biblical paragraph. For instance, the epithet "the Teacher of Righteousness" (mentioned in CD, 1QpHab, 4QpPs^a), alludes to *Hosea* 10:12 and *Joel* 2:23. The sobriquet "Spouter of Lie" (mentioned in CD, 1QpHab, 1QpMic, and 4QpPs^a) refers to *Micah* 2:11. The appellation "Seekers of Smooth Things" (appearing in CD, 4QpIs^c, 4QpNah) is based on *Isaiah* 30:10 (*cf. Dan.* 11:32). "The Man of Mockery" or "the Men of Mockery" (occurring in CD and 4QpIs^b) alludes to *Isaiah* 28:14. Being intimately connected with the community's image of its history, these sobriquets occur only in the *pesharim* and in the *Damascus Document.* In this respect the *Damascus Document* has a special place within the library of Qumran, for its narrative text interweaves not only explicit *pesher* units but also numerous nonexplicit *pesharim,* namely citations without introductory formulae.

3. THE TERM *PESHER* AS INTRODUCTORY FORMULA. The use of the term *pesher* to introduce the comment after a citation is typical of the continuous *pesharim* and is also sporadically employed in the thematic *pesharim.* However, it appears only once in the *Damascus Document* (CD IV, 14). This distribution shows that this term was not constituent for the genre. In fact, in several Qumran texts of sectarian provenance (1Q30 1 6; 4Q180 1 1,7; 4Q252 IV 5; note also 4Q464 3 ii 7 and 4Q159 5 1, 5), the term *pesher* occurs in a general sense of "meaning, interpretation," without the specific adaptation to contemporary events known from the major *pesharim.* The absence of the term *pesher* from the earliest exemplar of running *pesher,* 4QpIsc (4Q163), and from examples of *pesharim* in the *Rule of the Community* and the *Damascus Document,* suggests that the genre went through various phases of development, still detected in the sectarian works.

4. THE *PESHER* EXEGETICAL METHOD. The *pesher* exegetical procedure can be summarized as follows: (1) The first step consists of equating one or more nouns of the biblical citation with nonbiblical nouns connected with the community's life and historical or contemporary circumstances. This initial equation is usually quite arbitrary. (2) The second step is to apply all or some of the remaining words of this phrase to the nonbiblical noun. (3) At times one detail is extracted from the citation for additional interpretation. In thematic *pesharim,* adducing other biblical quotations that share one element or more with the main citation often accomplishes such amplification. Since the connection between the citation and the interpretation is not obvious, in fact, quite obscure, the writers of the *pesharim* followed a number of exegetical procedures to bridge the gap. They modeled the interpretation on the syntactical and lexical patterns of the citation, selected lexical synonyms of words in the citation, made puns on words in the citation, atomized certain words (that is, disconnected the syntactical links), and vocalized or grouped the words of the citation in a different way. Many of these procedures were known and applied in antiquity to interpretations of dreams and dreamlike visions. The *pesher* exegesis, which appeared so unique to Qumran manuscripts when the first scrolls were published, cannot be considered the sole creation of the Qumranites. Actualizing interpretations, reading into biblical prophecies intimations of later historical events, appear in the *Book of Daniel* (*Dan.* 9:2–19, interpreting *Jer.* 25:11, 29:10, and *Dan.* 11: 30 interpreting *Num.* 24:24) and in the Gospels (e.g., *Matt.* 3:3, *Luke* 3:3–4, and *John* 1:23, commenting on *Isa.* 40:3; *Matt.* 21:4 and

John 12:14–15, citing *Zech.* 9:9). The antiquity of this method, attested as early as *Daniel* (around 164 BCE), suggests that it predates the emergence of the Qumran community, and that the Qumranites, like the first Christians later, received it from older tradents and appropriated it to their own purposes.

SEE ALSO Biblical Exegesis; Dead Sea Scrolls; Midrash and Aggadah.

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Surveys and Studies

An updated edition of the classical study first published in 1958 (one of the first to be published and one that can still be read with profit) is F. M. Cross's *The Ancient Library of Qumran,* 3d ed. (Minneapolis, 1995), pp. 88–120. For a thorough investigation of 4QForilegium and its exegetical methods in the context of ancient Jewish exegesis, see G. J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran* (*JSOT Supp* 29) (Sheffield, 1985). B. Nitzan has a perceptive analysis of the *pesher* technique and structure contained in the introductory chapters of the Hebrew edition of the *pesher* of Habakkuk in "Creating Pesharim," in *Pesher Habakkuk* (Jerusalem, 1986; in Hebrew), pp. 29–79. For a survey of the research on the *pesharim* at the time of publication, see D. Dimant, "Pesharim, Qumran," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary,* edited by D. N. Freedman, vol. 5 (New York, 1992), pp. 244–251. A. Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumran-gemeinde (4QMidrEschat^{a,b})* (STDJ 13) (Leiden, 1994), offers a fresh, improved edition of 4QFlorilegium [4Q174] and 4QCatena [4Q177] with detailed comments and discussion. However, the underlying assumption that both are copies of the same work is not supported by evidence. S. L. Berrin, "Pesharim," in *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls,* edited by L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam, vol. 6 (Oxford, 2000), pp. 644–647, has a short survey of the subject. T. H. Lim, *Pesharim* (London and New York, 2002), offers a review of the *pesharim* and their study, aimed at students and the general public. Scholarly issues are often reviewed with a polemical edge.

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PETER DAMIAN SEE DAMIAN, PETER

PETER LOMBARD (c. 1100–1160), also known as Peter the Lombard, was a Christian theologian and teacher. There is little precise knowledge of Peter Lombard's origin except that he was born in northern Italy at Lumellogno in Novarre before 1100. Peter was a student at Bologna (or perhaps Vercelli) before he went to France to study, first in Reims and then in Paris and its environs (c. 1134). While it is believed that he returned to Italy, visiting Rome in 1154, all of Peter Lombard's professional life and work is associated with a career in northern France, especially Paris, where he taught at the Cathedral School of Notre Dame. By 1143 his reputation was widespread. Sometime in 1144 or 1145 he became a canon at Notre Dame, and his teaching continued to influence students, among whom were Herbert of Bosham and Peter Comestor.

Peter Lombard participated in two significant ecclesiastical investigations concerning the orthodoxy of the teachings of Gilbert of Poitiers; the first was held in Paris on April 21, 1147, the second at the Council of Reims on March 21, 1148. By 1156 Peter was archdeacon of Paris, and on June 29, 1159, he was consecrated its bishop. He died the following year.

Today only four works attributed to Peter are considered authentic: a collection of sermons, two biblical commentaries, and the *Book of Sentences.* The thirty-three sermons were composed by Peter during the twenty years that he exercised leadership in Paris (c. 1140–1160). Until recently, many of these were attributed to Hildebert of Lavardin. Peter begins each sermon with a scriptural citation, and his homilies, although clear and precise, give little evidence of the academic interest in exegesis as a science that was developing at the time. Instead, Peter's instructions emphasize a moral and spiritual exposition.

The same approach to exegesis appears to characterize the Lombard's first biblical commentary, on *Psalms* (*Commentarius in psalmos Davidicos*), completed by 1138. Peter follows the method of the teachers at Laon (northern France), glossing the biblical word with a series of patristic teachings. The prologue to the commentary, however, does include the *accessus ad auctores* formula (author, text, subject matter, intention, and *modus tractandi)* that had only recently been appropriated to scriptural exposition in some of the school works. But because this work shows no influence of the anonymous *Summa sententiarum,* which dates from circa 1137–1138, it is usually seen as an early writing of the Lombard.

Peter Lombard's *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles* (1139–1141) brings a new dynamic to his teachings. Although composed shortly after his work on the psalter these glosses reflect the doctrine and exegetical methods from the schools. For example, he includes a wider variety of patristic sources; and the contemporary teachings of both the *Summa sententiarum* and of Gilbert of Poitiers appear as well. In addition, the *Commentary* shows some influence of the discursive inquiry associated with the new theological method, which brought questions to the text in an effort to discern meaning. However, Peter Lombard remained a cautious theologian, and although this work is more didactic than its predecessor he continued to stress spiritual exegesis.

It is the Lombard's last major work, the *Book of Sentences,* that sets his teachings apart in the twelfth century. The text provided his students with a systematic and comprehensive presentation of Christian doctrine in an orderly and accessible format: book 1 examines the Trinity; book 2 discusses creation, grace, and sin; book 3 presents the doctrines of incarnation and redemption; and book 4 considers the sacraments and eschatology. Although the work is a concise synthesis, Peter's citations of authorities provided a vast range of critically selected resources on distinctions and questions that were pertinent and timely. Understandably, Augustine was favored; but accepted contemporary works were also included, such as the *Glossa ordinaria,* the *Decretum* of Gratian, and the Lombard's own scriptural commentaries. Peter also confronted the vigorous inquiry of the school theologians, such as Hugh of Saint-Victor, Peter Abelard, and Gilbert of Poitiers. Peter's responses to the issues offered a moderate, orthodox position and met the needs of the times more adequately than the numerous other collections available. The final form of the *Sentences* was completed by 1157 or 1158.

The significance of Peter Lombard for the development of theology is due to the place of the *Sentences* in the medieval curriculum. What the *Glossa ordinaria* did for scripture, and what Gratian's *Decretum* did for law, the *Sentences* did for Christian doctrine. Peter would, in fact, be remembered as the "Master of the Sentences." His student Peter of Poitiers continued to use the *Sentences* for teaching his own classes in theology, and in about 1222 Alexander of Hales officially incorporated the text into the course of studies at the University of Paris. Thenceforth all students were required to comment on the *Sentences* for a degree in theology. In this way, all medieval theologians became disciples of the Lombard, and the format, method, and distinctions of the *Sentences* continued to shape theology for more than four hundred years.

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A comprehensive and critical study of Peter Lombard's writings remains to be done. One standard reference for his life and teaching is the extensive essay by Joseph de Ghellinck, "Pierre Lombard," in the *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* (Paris, 1903–1950). Several more recent studies have brought precision to this essay. For example, Philippe Delhaye's *Pierre Lombard: Sa vie, ses œuvres, sa morale* (Montreal, 1961) summarizes the major themes of the Lombard's writings: human nature, grace, freedom, the theological and cardinal virtues, the gifts of the Holy Spirit, sin, and penance. Ignatius Brady's major essay "Pierre Lombard" in the *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* (Paris, 1985) continues these scholarly efforts. Brady's article includes an extensive, up-to-date bibliography. Another significant resource is the journal *Pier Lombardo: Revista di teologia, filosofia e varia cultura* (Novarre, 1953–1962).

John van Dyk's study of the *Sentences,* "Thirty Years since Stegmüller: A Bibliographic Guide to the Study of Medieval Sentence Commentaries since the Publication of Stegmüller's *Repertorium* (1947)," *Franciscan Studies* 39 (1979): 255–315, updates previous bibliographies and compiles the best research on this text and its influence. Van Dyk's study includes many articles in English and organizes information into significant categories: texts and editions; philosophy, theology, history; and two indexes.

EILEEN F. KEARNEY (1987)

PETER THE APOSTLE (d. 64? CE) was one of the twelve apostles of Jesus and, according to Roman Catholic tradition, the first pope. The earliest sources of information about Peter are such that it is not possible to draw an altogether clear distinction between those elements in the image of Peter that are derived from his role in the church prior to his death and those that derive from the Peter of later Christian remembrance and tradition. None of the surviving sources is primarily interested in Peter. Only a few, *Galatians* and *1 Corinthians,* were written while Peter was still alive and by someone who certainly knew him. Those sources that give a more circumstantial account of Peter were written some years, often some decades, after his death. They incorporate the story of Peter into the story of Jesus and of the early church in such a way as to raise questions about the historicity of some of the details. Are accounts of Peter's prominent role among the apostles an accurate recollection of the way things actually happened, or are they a retrojection into the time of Jesus' ministry of the role that Peter would later play in the early church? No one denies that there is a substratum of fact or event behind the New Testament descriptions of Peter, but there is considerable disagreement about what that substratum is. These problems are neither so complex nor so heavy with consequences as the problems connected with "the historical Jesus," but they are similar in type.

THE APOSTLE. Symeon or Simon (Hebrew and Greek names, respectively) was, with his brother Andrew, a fisherman at the Sea of Galilee when they were both called to follow Jesus of Nazareth. They may have been the first called, and were to be among the closest of Jesus' followers. Simon was also called Kepha (or Kephas), which is Aramaic for "rock," the Greek form of which is *Petra* or *Petros,* whence the name *Peter.* According to both *Mark* 3:16 and *John* 4:42, it was Jesus who gave Simon this additional name, but the fact that the two accounts are quite different has led some to suggest that the name may have been given only subsequently, in view of his work in the early church, and then retrojected into the time of Jesus' ministry.

Various New Testament sources present Peter as playing a special role among the disciples during Jesus' lifetime. He is named first among the disciples (*Mk.* 3:16 and parallels, *Acts* 1:13). He is often presented as speaking on their behalf (*Mk.* 8:29, 10:28, 11:21, 16:7, and their parallels). Along with James and John, he is one of an inner circle among the disciples (*Mk.* 5:37, 9:2ff., 14:33, and their parallels).

In different ways *Matthew, Luke,* and *John* all relate that Jesus entrusted to Peter some special role in the community that Jesus was to leave behind. He is the rock on which the church is to be built (*Mt.* 16:18). Jesus prays for him that, after having been tested himself, he may strengthen his brethren (*Lk.* 22:31). Jesus takes him aside and specially commissions him to feed his lambs and his sheep (*Jn.* 21:15–17). Here again there is disagreement as to whether these narratives report events that actually took place or are efforts to legitimate Peter's later role in the early church by anchoring it in the actions of Jesus. A middle position is, of course, possible: that Jesus did entrust some special responsibility to Peter, and that this was later elaborated on by the evangelists.

Peter is also the disciple whose failures are most fully described in the New Testament. When he objects to Jesus' prediction of his own suffering and death, Jesus calls him Satan (*Mt.* 16:23, *Mk.* 8:33). When Jesus' final sufferings have already begun, Peter publicly denies any association with him (*Mk.* 14:66–72 and parallels). In addition, he is described, not unsympathetically, as being impetuous (*Jn.* 21:7).

Several different strands of New Testament tradition testify that Peter was the first of the apostles to see Jesus after he was raised from the dead. Many judge *1 Corinthians* 15:5 to be part of a traditional confessional formula. If this is correct, then well before the mid-fifties of the first century it was part of Christian tradition that Jesus appeared first to Kephas. In the Lucan account it is the women who first see the risen Jesus, but then Peter is the first of the apostles to see him after the women, and his seeing is clearly more important than theirs (*Lk.* 24:1–34). In *John,* Peter is the first to enter the empty tomb. Mary Magdalene is the first to see Jesus, and only subsequently a group of the apostles (all but Thomas) are together when they first see Jesus (*Jn.* 20:1–25).

Throughout the early chapters of *Acts* (chaps. 1–12), Peter plays the leading role in the formation and expansion of the church. He is the leading preacher and wonder-worker (2:14–36; 3:1–10, 11–26; 9:32–43). He is the first to extend the Christian mission to the Gentiles (10:1–11, 18).

To judge from Paul's letter to the Galatians, Peter was the most important figure in the church at Jerusalem in the late thirties (*Gal.* 1:18). According to the same source he was still one of the pillars of that church in the late forties but now is mentioned between James and John (2:9). It is in this same letter that Paul speaks of Peter as being raised up to preach to the Jews as he, Paul, had been sent to the gentiles (2:7–8). Paul provides no detailed information about Peter's work as apostle to the Jews, but the fact that he speaks of him in this way suggests that it must have been fairly extensive, and not confined merely to his work in the church at Jerusalem. It is known that Peter was in Antioch (*Gal.* 2:11–14), and it seems likely that he was in Corinth as well (*1 Cor.* 1:12). The fact that somewhat later in the first century the pseudonymous *1 Peter* is addressed to Christians in Pontus, Galatia, Asia, and Bithynia (*1 Pt.* 1:1) suggests that these regions were associated with Peter's ministry. Also, the fact that the letter is ostensibly sent from Rome (referred to in *1 Peter* 5:13 as "Babylon") suggests that a Roman activity of Peter was also a tradition at this time.

In the disputes over the obligation of gentile Christians to conform to Jewish law, Peter probably adopted a position somewhere between that of Paul and Paul's opponents. In theory he seems to have sided with Paul, but his practice apparently was not always consistent with his ideas (*Gal.* 2:11–14).

Peter's activity at Rome would later be of great importance in Christian tradition, and so has attracted considerable attention. There is no evidence linking him with Rome in the documents written during his lifetime, but the tradition that he preached at Rome is widely attested in the late first and second centuries. Because at this time the matter had not yet become important in church politics, there seems to be no good reason to question this early tradition. Equally early is the tradition of Peter's martyrdom (*Jn.* 21:18–19) and of his martyrdom in Rome (*1 Clement* 5). Archaeological investigation has not settled the question of Peter's burial place, but it has shown that by the middle of the second century Roman Christians honored a particular place as the location of Peter's burial.

PETER IN CHRISTIAN TRADITION. Peter remained prominent in a variety of Christian traditions in the second and third centuries. Several writings were ascribed to him, either directly or indirectly, and in several others he played a leading role. Early in the second century it was asserted that the gospel according to Mark was a compendium of Peter's teaching, a view that would be generally accepted in later orthodoxy. A *Gospel of Peter,* of heretical cast according to the bishop of Antioch, was in use in Syria in the second half of the century. The *Kerygma of Peter,* a work with some similarities to the writing of the second-century Christian apologists, may have been written before midcentury. An *Apocalypse of*

Peter dates from about the same time, and *The Acts of Peter* from not much later. The gnostic library from Nag Hammadi likewise contains several works in which Peter is featured: another *Apocalypse of Peter,* an *Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles,* and a *Letter of Peter to Philip.* These works probably date from the third century. None of these writings reveals much that is likely to be historically reliable about Peter, but taken together they indicate the importance accorded to Peter in the polymorphous Christianity of this period.

Another work, the *Kerugmata Petrou,* has been reconstructed by some scholars as among the earliest sources of the later pseudo-Clementine literature. (Some scholars deny that such a document ever existed.) This reconstructed document, of a strikingly Jewish-Christian character, describes a Peter who, along with James, takes the lead in defending Christianity against such perverters of the truth as Simon Magus and Paul of Tarsus.

It was within what would subsequently be identified as orthodox Christianity that the figure of Peter has exercised its most widespread and long-lasting influence. Within this orthodox tradition his influence has been especially important in the West. Peter has been seen as the archetypal Christian, as the prototype of episcopal church order, and as the first pope. The last has been the most influential—but also the most controverted—part of the Petrine tradition.

As early as the late first century the tradition arose that Peter (along with Paul) had made special provision for the leadership in the Roman church after their departure or death (see the authentic first letter of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, chaps. 42 and 44). In the course of the subsequent controversy over gnosticism, the issue of the apostolic foundations of the church became very important. The same writers who stressed the apostolic authorship of the books of the New Testament also laid great stress on the apostolic foundations of particular churches. The church at Rome, because of the role allegedly played there by Peter and Paul, was singled out and came to see itself as the apostolic church *par excellence* (see Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 3.3.1–3). Gradually this tradition of the Petrine origin of the Roman church (Paul gradually fades from the picture) is combined with the New Testament image of Peter as the first and even the leader of the apostles. On this basis, the Roman church is seen as the first and even the leader among the churches. At first, original succession ideas (in Irenaeus, for example) emphasized that the bishop was successor to the apostle-founder of the particular church as preacher of the apostolic gospel. By the late fourth century (some would say earlier), the claim is made that the bishop of Rome succeeds as well to Peter's apostolic primacy. It is on this basis that Rome claims authority over the entire church.

These views seem to have developed first within the Roman church itself and to have spread from there only slowly throughout the West. The Christian East had a different tradition and never fully accepted the Roman interpretation of Petrine authority. Traditionally the East too recognized a Petrine primacy within the New Testament and a kind of Roman primacy within the church universal. The nature of this latter primacy has been the subject of much dispute, and the East has fairly consistently refused to see it as involving a Roman authority over other churches, or at least over the churches of the East.

Other images of Peter have also flourished over the centuries. Peter as the keeper of the keys to the kingdom of heaven has played an important role in Christian art and folklore, taking its point of departure from the same New Testament text, *Matthew* 16:18, that has been so important in sustaining the image of Peter as the first pope. Similarly, the many images of Peter to be found in the New Testament—Peter as shepherd, as fisher of men, as confessor of true faith against false teaching, as weak and impetuous—have all been reflected at various times and places within the Christian tradition.

SEE ALSO Discipleship.

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JAMES F. MCCUE (1987)

PETRE, MAUDE DOMINICA. Maude Dominica Petre (1863–1942) is best remembered as the biographer of George Tyrrell, one of the main protagonists of Catholic modernism in England, a Roman Catholic reform movement between 1890 and 1910. The leaders of this movement tried to respond theologically and pastorally to the intellectual developments of modern culture, but they were suppressed by the Vatican. Petre was a participant in the modernist movement as well as one of its first historians and critics who long survived its demise. As a writer, editor, and translator of over a dozen books and more than one hundred articles on a wide range of religious, philosophical, and literary topics (always published under the name of M. D. Petre), she was a prolific theological author in her own right who has never been given the full recognition and critical attention she deserves.

Maude Petre was born, the seventh of eleven children, on August 4, 1863, on the Essex estate of the Petres, an old English Catholic family, resident there since 1539 and prominent in post-Reformation Catholic history. Her father was a younger son of the thirteenth Lord Petre, her mother was the daughter of the earl of Wicklow and a convert to Catholicism. Born on the feast of Saint Dominic, the child was given the middle name Dominica. She grew up in the stern but religious atmosphere of an aristocratic environment, described in detail in her autobiography *My Way of Faith* (1937). Petre received a wide education at home that included literature, history, philosophy, and several languages, later used in her extensive translation work. In 1882 both of her parents died. Deeply religious, she was nonetheless plagued by recurrent religious doubt. In order to overcome this insecurity in her Catholic belief, she went to Rome in 1885 to study Thomistic theology privately for a year, a decision that her aunt explained as having gone there "to study for the priesthood."

Hesitating between marriage and the religious life, she decided in 1890 to enter the novitiate of the Society of the Daughters of the Heart of Mary (*Filles de Marie*), founded during the French Revolution along freer lines than traditional women's orders because members were free to live alone rather than in community and did not wear distinctive dress. Petre became first a local and later a provincial superior of this congregation for England and Ireland. Much involved with practical social work, she promoted orphanages and settlement houses for the poor and instructed converts in Catholicism while at the same time pursuing her own writing, begun in 1895 with essays on literary figures such as Thomas Carlyle and Victor Hugo.

By 1900 Petre had met the Jesuit George Tyrrell at a retreat and had begun corresponding with him and other modernists, namely Henri Bremond and Baron Friedrich von Hügel. On Tyrrell's suggestion she began to keep a diary, and in these personal journals are found "not only the intellectual turmoil of a theological movement, but the personal torment of a great-hearted and deeply spiritual woman as well" (Crews, 1984, p. 11). Petre became so deeply attached to Tyrrell that an intimate personal friendship and correspondence developed and changed the course of her life. Tyrrell was impressed by the freedom of mind expressed in her writings, and their growing friendship led to closer collaboration. They exchanged their manuscripts for mutual criticism, published some texts together, and shared their readings, including some studies of Buddhism.

When Tyrrell left the Society of Jesuits, he found refuge in a small cottage on Petre's property in Storrington, Essex, where he died in 1909. He had appointed her as his literary executor, and it was in this capacity that she posthumously edited some of his writings and letters but especially his autobiographical fragment supplemented by her own account of his life under the title *Autobiography and Life of George Tyrrell* (1912). This remains an indispensable source for Tyrrell's personal development, although some critics judge it as lacking in distance and objectivity. The Catholic Church soon placed the two volumes on the Index of Forbidden Books, causing Petre further trouble after an earlier controversy occasioned by her *Catholicism and Independence: Being Studies in Spiritual Liberty* (1907), published at the height of the modernist crisis. This book explored the possible conflict between personal conscience and religious authority, outlining the qualities needed for a genuine reformer of the church. The controversies surrounding its publication made Petre decide to cut all ties with her religious congregation and work independently from then onward.

Petre had a healthy respect for civil and religious authority but was sharply critical of its abuse, especially in the church. She was the only woman asked to take the antimodernist oath, but she refused to do so. Her modernist views motivated her bishop to exclude her from taking Communion in her parish church, a decision she considered an unwarranted "pseudo-excommunication," but she got around this by worshiping in another diocese. After Tyrrell's death, Petre not only dealt with his literary estate but developed new social and political interests through her association with a center of international relations in Pontigny, France, and began to write about democracy, international developments, war and peace, socialism, and fascism. Her book *Modernism: Its Failures and Its Fruits* (1918) is significant in that it provides one of the earliest histories of this movement from an insider's perspective. Her closeness to the events and people gives it a lively directness without lacking critical analysis and objectivity. She returned to reflections on modernism twenty years later in her autobiography *My Way of Faith*, a moving account largely motivated by the need to show why she, as a trenchant critic of the church, had remained a loyal believer within it, revealing her love for the sacramental and mystical dimensions of the Christian faith. She published further books on von Hügel and Tyrrell's friendship and on Alfred Loisy, but she died suddenly on December 16, 1942, in London, where she resided during the last years of her life. Her active community involvement until the end was evident from her concern for many social causes, including her volunteer nursing and her work as a nighttime fire warden during World War II in London, just as she had nursed soldiers in France during World War I.

Assessing Maude Petre's full significance remains a scholarly task to be undertaken. With her books out of print and no longer widely read, she is a largely forgotten figure. Yet she was a remarkable, courageous woman of faith and a productive essayist and writer for a wider public, rather than a scholar. She took an active role in the modernist crisis and wrote on the burning issues of her day, whether religious, social, or political, a Christian believer who saw herself as both passionately religious and innately skeptical, offering limited obedience in the face of ecclesiastical pressure. Petre was not only deeply involved with modernism as a force of change in her church, but she responded to the dynamic patterns of a changing society by addressing questions on the changing views of women and on contemporary politics and ideology. Her writings on a broad range of topics from philosophy to theology, spirituality, history, and politics make her difficult to categorize. She wrestled with the great themes of the church in its relationship to modern culture, including questions of spirituality, asceticism, mission, and reform, and ultimately she judged the problems that modernism had tried to address as fundamentally challenges of spirituality and pastoral care that had not yet been met. She saw the need for a fuller and more spiritual Christianity, for a Copernican revolution in religion.

Petre also insisted on the spiritual independence of each person, and she had a deep respect for pluralism. In some ways she anticipated the emphases on reform and renewal proclaimed by the Second Vatican Council, of an *ecclesia semper reformanda*, but also a church "subservient to the religious and spiritual needs of humanity" (Petre, 1918, p. 67). Ellen Leonard (1991) has rightly seen Petre's theology and spirituality as deeply rooted in her own experience, that of a passionate faith in God, of her involvement in the world, and of the consciousness of herself as a woman. Petre said it had been her ambition when young to become a saint, a philosopher, and a martyr. She became a loyal critic, rebel, and pioneer instead, perhaps even a prophet. She considered religious experience as primary, believed in the separation of faith from certainty, the autonomous realms of secular knowledge, allegiance to the church as largely a matter of choice, and the possibility of salvation and revelation outside the Catholic Church. She even spoke of the possible coming of a new religion and believed fervently in the spiritual unity of humanity, still in search of its social and political embodiment. The rich legacy of her writings invites further scrutiny and study.

SEE ALSO Hügel, Friedrich von; Loisy, Alfred; Modernism, article on Christian Modernism; Tyrrell, George.

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Only a few of Petre's writings can be listed here, beginning with her first book on the work of the seventeenth-century Jesuit Peter Claver among African slaves in South America, *Aethiopum Servus: A Study in Christian Altruism* (London, 1896). A significant publication during the height of the modernist crisis was her controversial book *Catholicism and Independence: Being Studies in Spiritual Liberty* (London, 1907), followed more than ten years later by one of the earliest critical analyses of this movement, *Modernism: Its Failure and Its Fruits* (London, 1918). As her own life and works have been little studied, her reputation rests primarily on what she wrote on other modernists, especially the two-volume *Autobiography and Life of George Tyrrell* (London, 1912), the account *Von Hügel and Tyrrell: The Story of a Friendship* (London, 1937), and the posthumously published *Alfred Loisy: His Religious Significance* (Cambridge, U.K., 1944). However, Alec R. Vidler's *A Variety of Catholic Modernists* (Cambridge, U.K., 1970) lists Petre as a modernist in her own right, and readers can judge this for themselves by studying Petre's autobiography *My Way of Faith* (London, 1937) and her unpublished journals from 1900 to 1942 (see Maude Petre Papers, Add. MSS 52372–79, British Library, London).

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URSULA KING (2005)

PETR MOGHILA (1596–1646), also known as Petr Mohyla, or Movila, was an Orthodox metropolitan of Kiev. As head of the Orthodox church in the Ukraine, at that time under Polish rule, Petr Moghila was chiefly responsible for the revival of Orthodoxy in southwestern Russia following the Union of Brest-Litovsk (1596), at which a large part of the Orthodox population submitted to Rome. Although willing to consider possible schemes for union with Rome, Moghila devoted his energies to strengthening the position of the Orthodox who chose to remain independent of the papacy.

Of Romanian princely descent, Moghila was born in Moldavia and educated at the Orthodox school in Lwów. He may have continued his studies in the West, possibly at the University of Paris. Widely read in classical Latin literature and scholastic theology, dynamic and authoritarian by nature, Moghila became abbot of the important Monastery of the Caves at Kiev in 1627 and was made metropolitan of Kiev in 1633, a position he held until his death.

The thirteen years of Moghila's episcopate constitute a decisive cultural turning point for Orthodoxy in southwestern Russia. In the schools that he opened for Orthodox clergy and laity, the teaching was based on Western models and was given predominantly in Latin, not in Greek or Slavonic. Western secular and religious writings were studied together with modern science. The college that Moghila established at Kiev reached a standard of excellence unequaled elsewhere in the Orthodox world of the time and continued to play a formative role throughout the seventeenth century; many of the Russians who collaborated closely with Peter the Great had been educated there. Seeking to create an "Occidental Orthodoxy," Moghila opened Little Russia to Western influences half a century before this happened in Great Russia.

Moghila's latinizing approach is evident in the wide-ranging liturgical reforms that he imposed, for example in the Sacrament of Confession, where he replaced the deprecative formula used at absolution in the Greek manuals ("May God forgive you . . .") with an indicative formula taken directly from the Roman Catholic ritual ("I absolve you . . ."). *The Orthodox Confession of Faith* that he composed in 1639–1640 was based on Latin catechisms by Peter Canisius and others. Here Moghila not only employed the term *transubstantiation* but taught explicitly that the moment of consecration in the Eucharist occurs at the Words of Institution, not at the Epiclesis of the Holy Spirit; and when discussing the state of the departed he virtually adopted the Latin doctrine of purgatory. After extensive alterations had been made in the *Orthodox Confession* by the Greek theologian Meletios Syrigos, it was approved by the Council of Jassy (1642) and by the four Eastern patriarchs (1643). Moghila himself was displeased by these changes. In his Little Catechism (1645) he continued to affirm consecration by Words of Institution, although he was more guarded on the question of purgatory.

The *Orthodox Confession* represents the high-water mark of Roman Catholic theological influence upon the Christian East. But the extent of Moghila's Latinisms should not be exaggerated, for on questions such as the *filioque* and the papal claims, he adheres to the traditional Orthodox viewpoint, although he expresses this viewpoint in a moderate form.

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KALLISTOS WARE (1987)

PETTAZZONI, RAFFAELE (1883–1959), an Italian historian of religions, was "one of the very few historians of religion who took seriously the dimensions of his discipline: as a matter of fact, he attempted to master the entire field of *allgemeine Religionswissenschaft*" (Eliade, 1963, pp. 104–105). He founded and promoted historical religious studies in Italy in the first half of the twentieth century and presided over the International Association for the History of Religions from 1950 to his death.

LIFE. Pettazzoni was born in San Giovanni in Persiceto (Bologna) on February 3, 1883. He attended high school and university in Bologna, and during those years, under the influence of a positivist and Carduccian cultural background, he lost his Catholic faith. But he kept his love for religion and felt a vocation for the history of religions, a discipline absent in Italian universities at that time and in which he trained by himself, subordinating his philological, archaeological, and ethnological studies to it.

At the university in Bologna, Pettazzoni received useful suggestions for the study of myths and religions from Vittorio Puntoni, a Greek scholar also skilled in Oriental languages and literatures. Pettazzoni addressed problems of mythology and the history of religions in his M.A. degree thesis in Greek literature, "Le origini dei Kabiri nelle isole del Mar Tracio."After he received his degree (June 1905), he attended the Italian School of Archaeology of Rome (1905–1908). He then earned a general certificate of education in archaeological studies and subsequently worked as an inspector at the Prehistorical and Ethnographical Museum in Rome from August 1909 to October 1914, five years that were decisive for his scholar training. During that time he completed his classical education with the study of primitive civilizations, going from archaeology to paleoethnology, to ethnology, to the history of religions.

Pettazzoni took his first steps in the new discipline in an unfavorable political and cultural situation. Whereas in other European countries the scientific study of religions was flourishing, in Italy, after the abolition of theological departments in state universities (1873), there had been only sporadic official teaching of religious studies. At the beginning of the twentieth century the traditional indifference toward this subject was broken by the Catholic modernists' movement, which wanted to be a sound reaction against the supremacy of old ideas but which had "its own particular congenital deficiency: modernism, for its religious Catholic origins, for the very essence of its general aspirations, was fatally obliged to be much more interested in some religious problems than in others; the philosophy of religion particularly gained modernists' attention; in the history of religions first of all and above all they saw the history of Christianity" (Pettazzoni, 1912, p. viii). The hostility of the Catholic Church not only to modernistic ferments but also to the study of religious events using independent criteria along with the lack of understanding, or the opposition, of an important representative of Italian culture, Benedetto Croce, denied autonomous value to religion and thereby also denied its own autonomy to the historical-religious discipline.

In 1912 Pettazzoni published *La religione primitiva in Sardegna* about the primitive religion in Sardinia, the first monograph of a series he dedicated to single religions. In the same year, for the first time, he attended the Fourth International Congress on the History of Religions in Leiden, Netherlands. The following year he qualified to teach the history of religions at the university in Rome. (Before him only one other scholar, Uberto Pestalozza, had qualified in 1911. He qualified for the university in Milan, which established the conditions for the creation of another center for research on religions, the so-called Scuola mediterranea.)

In 1913–1914 Pettazzoni taught a free course at the university in Rome. He then taught with a temporary appointment at the university in Bologna until 1923, with an interruption for military service during World War I. At the end of 1923, after competitive examination, he became a full professor of the history of religions in Rome, the first such position for the subject founded in Italy, and he held this chair for thirty years, until 1953. In Rome from January 1937 to December 1939 he taught ethnology and so introduced this discipline into the faculties of letters and philosophy. Ethnology as historical science separated from anthropology and joined the history of religions. For Pettazzoni this union was a fundamental need, "since between the so-called historical civilizations (both ancient and modern) and the civilisations on an ethnologic level there is neither break nor substantial heterogeneity: but there is continuity and adhesion, in a dynamic development that goes from the most archaic forms of civilization to the most modern ones, with no solution of continuity" (Lanternari, 1959, p. 286). Pettazzoni gave concrete expression to this unity, founding the Institute for Primitive Civilization at the university in 1942.

From 1910 to 1924 Pettazzoni also faced problems connected with the methodology used in the study of religions. He explained his position about the matter in the preface to the volume of 1912, later in essays, and in his opening lecture of January 17, 1924. He advocated the historical-comparative method by which religious phenomena are not compared in themselves but in their historical, dynamic development; "a history embracing both inferior and superior religions, dead and living, primitive and contemporary, including Christianity, for also the history of Christianity as religious history, cannot be understood if it is not placed inside the whole religious history" (Pettazzoni, *Svolgimento e carattere della storia delle religioni*, 1924, p. 14).

In his works of that period and in his methodologic essays Pettazzoni's historiographic inclination is clear. In his writings he often returned to the foundations of his method, which he brought to maturity through his scientific work. For example, in a lecture to the Seventh International Congress on the History of Religions he clearly explained his method of comparison:

> But comparison must neither be made following the method of the old comparative mythology (Max Müller), which compared *only* what was comparable *from a linguistic point of view*, nor following the one of the anthropological school (E. B. Tylor), which compared *all* that appeared *morphologically* alike, even if only externally and superficially. Only what is *historically* comparable can be rightly compared. From a historical point of view, in principle we can compare culturally homogeneous facts, that is belonging to similar historical-cultural situations. The religion of a rural civilization can only be radically different from the religion of a nomadic one. (Pettazzoni, "Le due fonti della religione greca," 1951, pp. 123–124)

To the history of the comparative method and to his own comparative method, Pettazzoni dedicated the last article of his life, "Il metodo comparativo," published in *Numen* (1959).

His historicist ideas did not prevent him from appreciating some positive aspects of the phenomenology of religion. In the 1920s and 1930s, reviewing Gerardus van der Leeuw's works, Pettazzoni criticized the abstract nature and the classifying character of the typological methodology, but in the success of this school, from Rudolf Otto to the Dutch scholar, he saw the remarkable symptom of the need, more and more perceived by the history of religions, of overcoming the crisis of atomism and of collecting in a unifying synthesis.

In the 1950s Pettazzoni developed a personal relationship with Mircea Eliade (the first exchange of letters is dated 1926). Eliade favored Pettazzoni's approach to phenomenological positions.

> In systematic terms, it means to overcome the unilateral positions of phenomenology and of historicism integrating them mutually, that is strengthening the religious phenomenology with the historicist idea of development and the historicist historiograhy with the phenomenological requirement of the autonomous value of religion, so defining phenomenology in history

> and at the same time recognizing the character of qualified historical science to the religious history. (Pettazzoni, "Il metodo comparativo," 1959, p. 14)

Instead, until his last days he maintained a strong opposition to the fundamentally antihistoricist currents and to the irrationalistic conceptions of religion.

After 1945 Pettazzoni also expressed his political and social thoughts. For example, he stood up for the defense of freedom of culture, of religious freedom and toleration, and of laic principles. In the 1950s he worked for the advancement of religious-historical studies on a worldwide scale. In 1950 the International Association for the Study of the History of Religions (later the International Association for the History of Religions) was founded, and in the same year, after van der Leeuw's death, Pettazzoni became its president. He helped found the review *Numen* and the series *Studies in the History of Religions* (Supplements to *Numen)* in 1954. Also in 1954, during his presidency, the *International Bibliography of the History of Religions* began to be published under the supervision of C. J. Bleeker. Pettazzoni organized the Eighth International Congress on the History of Religions in Rome in April 1955. In the summer of 1958 he attended the congress in Tokyo, the first outside Europe.

Pettazzoni's last works worsened his already weak health, and he died in Rome on December 8, 1959. During the last months of his life some scholars, either trained at his school or in touch with it, held the chairs of history of religions in Rome (Angelo Brelich), in Cagliari (Ernesto de Martino), and in Messina (Ugo Bianchi), and some years later another pupil of his, Vittorio Lanternari, held a chair of ethnology, a discipline Pettazzoni strongly fought to have included in university faculties. In the early twenty-first century many more scholars refer to Pettazzoni's teaching, even if with different individual positions and different approaches.

WORK. After he published the volume about the primitive religion in Sardinia (1912), Pettazzoni in the 1920s published other works dedicated to single religions, studied in their historical-cultural backgrounds. His book on the religion of Zarathushtra in the religious history of Iran (1920) was the first volume of the series *Storia delle religioni,* which Pettazzoni founded and directed. This collection, fourteen volumes in all, including three other works by Pettazzoni and works by other authors, was published between 1920 and 1940. Pettazzoni also published a monograph on the religion of ancient Greece, *La religione nella Grecia antica fino ad Alessandro* (1921); an essay on mysteries, *I Misteri* (1924); and a small book on Japanese mythology, *La Mitologia giapponese secondo il I libro del Kojiki* (1929), the first of the second series he founded and directed, *Testi e documenti per la storia delle religioni*, seven volumes published between 1929 and 1937. In these monographs Pettazzoni based his research on the principle, expressed in his opening lecture in 1924, that every single religious event is a forming and, as such, is the ending—and therefore the indication—of a precious development and at the same time the starting point of a further one. Several years later he wrote: "History ignores revelations; she only knows formations. Every *phainómenon* is a *genómenon* for history" (Pettazzoni, "Les deux sources de la religion grecque," 1951, p. 2).

In addition to directing the two collections, Pettazzoni founded the School of Historical-Religious Studies and the review *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni*, which he edited from the first year (1925) to the double volume of 1953–1954. The programmed line of the review is on the second page of every issue: "Studies and Materials of History of Religions pursue scientific and cultural aims in their specific field. They give a contribution to the historical science as they consider religion in its development as a subject of history. They open larger horizons to culture promoting Italian thinkers' greater knowledge of less recent and less known forms and events."

Pettazzoni accepted contributions from Italian and foreign scholars who specialized in civilizations and occasionally studied the associated religions. "So, from the very beginning the review had assumed a twice as hybrid character, just as the other few periodicals of history of religions, then existing in the world, had: on the one hand, accepting articles of comparatists ('historians of religions'), of historians of single religions and of scholars of single civilisation in general; on the other hand accepting very different, if not often opposite methodological trends in each of these classes of contributors"; all this in order "to make events and problems of his discipline known in their largest variety, since he considered his discipline of the greatest importance; to arouse interest in it, and somehow to get its recognition in Italy, not only officially" (Brelich, 1969, pp. 6–7).

In 1910 Pettazzoni planned to develop *Dio: Formazione e sviluppo del monoteismo nella storia delle religioni* in three parts: the first part regarding the beings of the sky in primitive peoples' beliefs, the second part about the supreme gods of the polytheistic religions, the third part on the gods of the monotheistic religions. He finished only the first part, which was not published until 1922 because of World War I.

The problem of the Supreme Beings and of the origin of the idea of God was particularly discussed in the first half of the twentieth century. Andrew Lang's thesis, declaring that the first form of religiousness had been a rudimentary monotheism based on the faith in a Supreme Being conceived as "All-Father" and as creator, was asserted again by the ethnologist Wilhelm Schmidt, who, in the first volume of his monumental work *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* (1912), "emphasized the exceptionally high character of the belief in the supreme being and, at the same time, its absolute primitivity and priority in comparison with any other belief, and therefore also its uniqueness" (Pettazzoni, 1922, p. 51). Pettazzoni, on the basis of this extensive work to verify ethnographic materials referring to uncultured peoples' religious beliefs, asserted that the claimed *Urmonotheismus* (primitive monotheism) could be reduced "to the more modest proportions of belief in a heavenly being, perceived as a personal figure of the sky, according to the forms of the mythical thought that is over to any form of primitive religiousness" (Pettazzoni, 1922, p. xvi).

The controversy between the two scholars continued into the 1950s. In Pettazzoni's opinion this belief in a being of uranic nature could be "seen also in the religions of most ancient peoples as the idea of a real God, and more precisely of a supreme God, according to the generally polytheistic character of the old religions." Moreover he asserted "that this universal belief in a celestial being was also of the greatest importance, later, in the historical development of the true monotheism" (Pettazzoni, 1922, p. xvi). In his works at the beginning of the 1920s he considered monotheism historically characterized as a revolution against polytheism: "*Logically* monotheism is the negation of polytheism, just as *historically* it presupposes a polytheism from which it derived as negation, that is as revolution" (Pettazzoni, 1923, p. 200).

Pettazzoni's research about the idea of God in his historical development advanced in a different way in comparison to the theory expressed in his 1922 volume. His attention increasingly concentrated on the Supreme Being's attributes, particularly on all-seeingness and omniscience. The study "Allwissende höchste Wesen bei primitivsten Völkern," published in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1931), is about the omniscient Supreme Beings of primitive peoples. The research was later enlarged to divine omniscience in different religions, a work that took up the author's time in the 1930s and 1940s and that was crowned with the systematic treatment published in Italian in 1955 and in English in 1956. Pettazzoni modified the thesis of the identity and unicity of the (uranic) nature of supreme beings, considering their nature conditioned by the cultural environment in which each supreme being was formed; hence the need for their own typology:

> The primitive notion of the Supreme Being is no abstract *a priori* idea but rises in men's thoughts from the very conditions of human existence; and since these conditions vary in the different phases and forms of primitive culture, the form of the Supreme Being varies accordingly within these phases. As in farming cultures the Supreme Being is Mother Earth, because man's sustenance comes from the earth, and as in pastoral communities he is Father Sky, since it is from the sky that there comes the rain to make the grass, which is needful for the pasture of the cattle and therefore for human life, spring up and grow, so in a hunting-culture the Supreme Being is the Lord of animals, because on him depends the capture of game and the result of the hunt, which is of vital consequence for man. (Pettazzoni, 1956, p. 445)

The project of another work of phenomenological character dates back to 1914; Pettazzoni realized this project in the decade 1925–1935, studying the confessional practice in non-Christian religions (but Christianity was not excluded from the plan) in a systematic way for the first time. Numerous articles and books were the fruit of this ten-year research. In a few pages in the essay "La confessione dei peccati: Metodo e risultati," published in *Scientia* (1937), Pettazzoni explained the method followed in the research and the results obtained. These results, expressed either in final form or as a temporary hypothesis, can be summarized so:

> The confession of sins appeared to him as a cathartic rite, essentially similar to the eliminating practices that usually accompany it. The elimination of the sin is obtained by evoking it orally, considering this, in the original phase, as a magic operation (the magic of the word). Nor did he see solution of continuity between the primitive magic operation and the confessional rite of the superior religions, giving both the elementary redeeming function: liberation from the miasma linked to the sin, first, and liberation from the repentance of the sin (or from the condition of sinner with regard to a god, or to God) later (Sabbatucci, 1963, p. 22).

The work on the confession of sins, as generally all the other works, received gratifying judgments from several scholars. The abundance and the clear exposition of the data collected were appreciated also by Adolfo Omodeo, who, however, denied any historical value to their interpretation, repeating his criticism, already expressed in other situations, to the position of the "science of religions," because "in it is possible only a process of generical synthesis of sociologic type, instead of the historical synthesis following an organized process of development" (Omodeo, 1937, p. 368). Pettazzoni replied to his colleague's criticism some years later, confirming his historicist position and the validity of historical-religious studies as historical science (Pettazzoni, 1946, pp. xvi–xvii).

"Pettazzoni is the scientist of great works," wrote Eliade (Eliade, 1938, p. 226). After the enormous research on the confession of sins, Pettazzoni undertook another important work that he had been planning since 1931: a wide anthology of the myths and legends of the peoples who did not know writing in order to divulge the voices of a primitive humanity. He worked on it in the first half of the 1940s and continued in the following years with the collaboration of Tullio Tentori (vol. 4, 1959) and Vittorio Lanternari, who completed it, supervising and finishing the second volume (1963).

This work persuaded Pettazzoni to return to a subject that had interested him during his youth: the interpretation of myth, the relation between myth and religion. In the preface of the first volume of *Miti e leggende* (1948) and in successive essays he expressed his idea of the "truth of myth":

> It is thus evident that the myth is not pure fiction; it is not fable but history, a "true story" and not a "false" one. It is a true story because of its contents, which are an account of events that really took place, starting from those impressive happenings which belong to the beginnings of things, the origin of the world and of mankind, that of life and death, of the animal and vegetable species, of hunting and of tilling the soil, of worship, of ini-

> tiation-rites, of the associations of medicine-men and of their powers of healing. All these events are far removed in time, and from them our present life had its beginning and its foundation, from them came the present structure of society, which still depends on them. The divine or other superhuman persons who play their parts in the myth, their remarkable exploits and surprising adventures, all this world of wonders is a transcendent reality which may not be doubted, because it is the antecedent, the *sine qua non* of present reality. Myth is true history because it is sacred history, not only by reason of its contents but also because of the concrete sacral forces which it sets going. The recital of myths of beginnings is incorporated in cult because it is cult itself and contributes to the ends for which cult is celebrated, these being the preservation and increase of life. (Pettazzoni, 1954, p. 15)

In his works of the 1950s Pettazzoni's methodological idea came to complete maturity. For example, in his writings about divine omniscience, compared to the volume on the celestial being, he "articulates his interpretation to the different cultural situations considered in their heterogeneous contexts, with coherently appropriate and different meanings." And in his introduction to the new edition of the book about the Greek religion "for the first time the historicist planning, that links the religious history to the social-economic history, appears in articulated terms" (Lanternari, 1997, p. 16).

SEE ALSO Historiography, overview article; Monotheism; Schmidt, Wilhelm; Study of Religion, overview article; Supreme Beings.

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PEUHL RELIGION See FULBE RELIGION

PEYOTE CULTS See PSYCHEDELIC DRUGS

PHALLUS AND VAGINA.

The historical religious traditions and the modern critical study of religion share at least one thing in common: they both display an abiding fascination with the sexual organs and their power to shape religious language, social life, human thought, and the experience of the sacred itself. Historically speaking, both this history and this modern study have been controlled largely by male actors, that is, by human beings with penises, and so these discourses have tended to be phallic discourses that implicitly or explicitly erase, ignore, or simply deny the vagina, whose internal and external anatomy, sexual function, and means of arousal male actors have seldom, if ever, really understood. This situation, however, has changed dramatically since the 1960s. As women and female perspectives have increasingly entered the center of the study of religion and enriched, deepened, and complicated our understandings, the phallus has, in one sense, only become more important—though in ways that depart considerably from the earlier male views and positions—within a broad critical discourse that Jan Campbell has humorously but quite accurately called "arguing with the phallus." At the same time, the vagina has entered more and more into both the discussion and the historical analyses, particularly through the foundational philosophical work of Luce Irigaray and other French and Anglo-American feminist writers, enriching further and correcting what has long been a very one-sided and inadequate sexual perspective on the history of religions. Since most of the scholarship has in fact focused on the phallus, the relative coverage of the phallus and the vagina in the present entry will replicate this unevenness, but with the important caveat that this state of things is neither intellectually desirable nor historically faithful to the realities of roughly half the planet's past and present human inhabitants.

Before writing a history of the phallus and the vagina in the world's religions, however, it would be helpful to distinguish between what might be called implicit and explicit histories. This distinction takes us immediately into the realm of contemporary theory, an inevitable step, since there are no adequate sexual histories without developed sexual theories. Implicit sexual phenomena include all those common symbols or institutions of religion that imply the phallus or vagina but do not actually display them as such. Explicit sexual phenomena include all those that do. To take a few very simple examples, the Jewish and Islamic practices of circumcision (the ritual cutting of the foreskin to signal God's covenant with the community), the Hindu *liṅga-yoni* (an iconic representation of the divine phallus and vagina in union), and the Christian language about those who have willingly "castrated themselves for the kingdom of heaven" (*Matt.* 19:11–12) all focus explicitly and obviously on the sexual organs as central to the religious meanings of the act, figure, or saying, even if these same sexual meanings have been suppressed or euphemistically reinterpreted at different points by the traditions themselves. On the other hand, any prayer, devotional sigh, scriptural text, or sacred story that understands the divine as a "father" is an implicitly phallic expression, since, biologically speaking, it is the phallus that constitutes a father as a father, that is, as a procreative parent of a child ("father" and "phallus," of course, imply both "mother" and "vagina," but the latter have traditionally been erased in religious language and consciousness, particularly in the monotheistic West, where the One God can have no consort or spouse).

The point is a simple but important one: the semiotic reach of the vagina and the phallus in the history of religions is far greater than the casual reader or common wisdom might first suppose. Once both implicit and explicit sexual phenomena and their relationships are recognized, it is remarkably easy to see how central the sexual organs are to the history of religions. Indeed, from the innumerable creation myths of antiquity that employ the trope of human sexuality to express cosmic origins to the moral debates surrounding genetic engineering and human cloning (that is, conception outside the female womb), from the first recorded crisis in early Christian churches over the necessity of circumcising Gentiles (that is, ritually cutting their adult penises) to the most recent Christian debates about the ordination of women (who lack the penis that Jesus had) or gay men (who have one but allegedly use it wrongly), the history of religions is, on one level at least, a history of the phallus, the vagina, and their (dis)unions. The case is overstated here for the sake of illumination, as there are other factors clearly at work in all of these examples, from communal identity and purity sensibilities surrounding menstruation, birth, and anal intercourse to philosophical understandings of "nature" and "the natural," but the point remains: the history of religions has been deeply informed by basic sexual physiology.

THE SEXUAL IGNORANCE OF THE RELIGIONS. This same history, it turns out, is also a relatively ignorant one, for when it comes to the actual biological workings of the vagina and the phallus, the history of religions is defined by at least two forms of sexual ignorance. The first involves the wildly incorrect agricultural metaphor of "seed and soil" that implicitly identifies the male as the sower of the person or soul and the owner of the field, and likewise likens the female role to a kind of passive dirt (so that if there is infertitlity in a couple it is ascribed to the woman, who is said to be "barren"). Within this same broad agricultural complex appears the astonishingly common pattern of likening the male or masculine to spirit, soul, seed, and culture and the female or feminine to the body, sexuality, soil, nature, and death. Biological knowledge of the mathematically even (23/23) genetic contribution of male and female chromosomal material via the event of ovum fertilization and subsequent cell division is entirely modern and would likely weaken the legitimacy and meaningfulness of both the symbolism of seed and soil and its dramatic asymmetrical gender implications, were these genetic facts fully understood and appropriated. They, of course, have not been, but the point remains: the sexual-agricultural symbolism of religious history rests on a serious biological error that has had profound, and profoundly asymmetrical, gender implications for religious consciousness.

The second form of sexual ignorance involves the practical impossibility, again until very recently, of guaranteeing correct paternity and, therefore, a definite lineage or flow of inheritance (*pater semper incertus est,* "the father is always uncertain," as one Latin proverb had it; or, in a more modern south Chicago version, "mama's baby, papa's maybe"). This particular inability to know the identity of the father has in turn produced any number of purity code systems and other, often extreme, cultural measures designed to guarantee paternity and so control the smooth flow of inheritance and family line from one generation to the next. Male anxieties over female (but seldom male) virginity, the actual control of women and their physical movement or location, the marriage of young women or girls shortly after or even before puberty—all of these common cultural practices are designed to ensure paternity; that is, to guarantee that the owner of the "field," and only the owner of the field, sows his "seed" there.

Behind both of these broad cultural patterns, moreover, lies a material and political economy that understands female sexuality to be a kind of male possession in need of control and protection and capable of being traded among other male social actors—hence that immense swath of cultural practices from the institutions of prostitution, in which (primarily female) sexual acts are literally bought and sold, and the multiple practices of dowry, or bride price, in which a marriage arranged by male actors is accompanied by a negotiated exchange of economic goods, to the modern Western practices of the father "giving away the bride" and the bride taking on the surname of the groom's family line. Once these two broad metaphorical discourses are in place—the male seed and both the female farm and its fruit as male sexual possessions—much of the traditional religious systems develop, almost logically, around them.

Much, but by no means all. In actual historical fact, the phallus and the vagina have not been restricted to procreative symbolism in the history of religions, and so the agricultural frame of reference, although indeed often central, is hardly the only one to consider. For strictly procreative purposes, the phallus may physiologically imply the vagina and vice versa, but one would be seriously mistaken to reduce all religious sexual symbolism or activity to procreative meanings and heterosexual patterns. In actual historical fact, vaginas and phalluses come to express multiple meanings in the history of religions, and many, perhaps even most, of these have little, if anything, to do with physical procreation or, for that matter, heterosexuality. Indeed, in many cases, it is some form of homosexual expression or homoerotic symbolism that is implicitly or explicitly normative. Moreover, and perhaps even more importantly, aggression and submission are often more primary than any literal sexual code; that is, like their primate cousins, human beings use penile and posterior displays to express both social and religious power.

In writing a dual history of the vagina and the phallus, then, it is important to learn to see these highly coded semiotic organs as physiologically related on at least two levels (via heterosexual intercourse and the sexological fact that the penis and the clitoris are biological transformations of one another), but also as quite independent and perfectly capable of multiple and diverse pairings, erotic directions, and expressive acts. As in documented human sexual behavior, the vagina of religious symbolism does not always imply the phallus, nor the phallus the vagina. With one's perspective shifted toward this kind of complementarity *and* independence, the history of religions becomes a remarkably dramatic expression of erotic diversity constituted by sexual expressions, repressions, aggressions, sublimations, cuts, castrations, and orgasmic states of altered consciousness that people have only begun to admit and identify, much less understand, analyze, and evaluate.

PREHISTORY. Much ink has been spilled discussing just what prehistoric communities knew or did not know about the details of sexual reproduction. Many writers, particularly within popular feminist circles since the 1970s, have inferred from the impressive consistency of the female genitalia and the exaggerated breasts and hips of the Paleolithic "Venus figurines" found in Europe that prehistoric peoples worshiped women as fertility goddesses and did not yet understand the role of the male and the phallus in human procreation. Beginning with Johann Jakob Bachofen's *Das Mutterrecht* (1861), some have even gone so far as to suggest an early matriarchal culture that preceded a later patriarchal revolution, with each successive evolutionary stage defined by a respective sexual organ; that is, the primordial vagina and the later, secondary phallus. As numerous anthropologists and historians of religions have pointed out, however, there simply is no solid evidence for any such matriarchal culture. As Cynthia Eller has powerfully pointed out, no such society is known of, anywhere or at any time; much of the Paleolithic evidence can be read in other ways, including explicitly phallic and even pornographic ways (some of the figurines and drawings do vaguely resemble sexual positions used to this day in pornographic contexts); and both the anthropological evidence and the findings of primate studies strongly suggest quite the opposite. Primate communities, for example, which cultural historians inclined toward evolutionary models would presumably identify as "older" than any human cultures, display very strong patterns of male dominance. Moreover, as Sherry Ortner has shown in a classic essay, "Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?," human cultures across the globe have shown a remarkably consistent tendency to analogize maleness to culture and femaleness to nature—and consequently to subordinate and devalue women (see Ortner, 1996).

In any case, it remains generally true that Paleolithic art found on the European continent displays the vagina and phallus and what sometimes appear to be their symbolic equivalents, in ways that suggest strong cultural interest in, if not an overriding obsession with, these same sexual organs.

ANCIENT GREECE AND ROME. In what is arguably the definitive study of the phallus in ancient Greek culture to date, Eva Keuls has pointed out that classicists teaching Aristophanes routinely tell their students that if they cannot detect an obscenity in any particular phrase, they are probably not understanding the passage properly, and that a previous German encyclopedia entry on "Phallos," which did not even approach completeness, covered sixty-eight pages of dense columns. No culture, she suggests, has been more imbued with phallic meanings than the Greek world, even if much of modern classicist scholarship has striven mightily to subdue this truth or, more concretely, lock its painted ceramic evidence away in secret museum cabinets or behind euphemistic translations and obfuscating readings.

It seems difficult to argue with Keuls's point. This, after all, was a male culture that created an elaborate system of prostitution, legally understood women and slaves as sexual possessions, developed a pottery tradition portraying almost every sexual act imaginable (including vaginal, intercrural, anal, same-sex, pederastic, and via dildos), and encouraged pederastic sexual intercourse with the sons of each other's social peers as a means of organizing social life and its elaborate sexual-social hierarchies. They commonly and proudly displayed their genitals in public—to the amazement (and laughing ridicule) of foreigners—and studded their cities with "Herms," those abstract stone representatives of the god Hermes that marked boundaries and doorways—much like the Japanese Shintō phallic stones used to mark boundaries or the Yoruba phallic images of the god Legba established before every house—and boasted only two detailed characteristics: a bearded head and an erect phallus (the head and the phallus are thus iconically connected very early). Moreover, as Keuls points out, the entire Dionysiac religion, and along with it the Western origins of both tragedy and comedy, sprang out of the "systematic veneration of the male generative principle" (1985, p. 78). Nor can such historical readings be safely fended off as functions of our own modern obsessions, as if every Greek "phallic symbol" were really nothing but our own anachronistic Freudian projection. What to do, after all, with all those playful Greek representations of birds, horses, and plants that commonly sport anatomically accurate penises in place of their heads? What to do when the head or bird (compare the English "cock") is not a phallic symbol but an actual phallus? The Greek joke, it appears, is very much still Freud's.

But all was not humor. There was violence as well, real violence, hence the cultural resonance of the *Amazonomachia,* the "battle of the sexes" enacted between Greek males and Amazon women so obsessively dwelt on by Greek writers and artists. In pottery illustrations of these battles, the phallus is a kind of weapon, with the male swords and spears held in obviously phallic positions and aimed at women's genitals or breasts. In this same context, Keuls also sees reflected the elaborate mythologies of rape (with Zeus playing the central rapist), Attic warmongering, and the misogynistic myth of Pandora's "box": whereas the phallus is displayed and openly celebrated in myth and ritual, the vagina is mythologized here as the primordial source of all evil and suffering. The phallus too carries a real ambivalence in Greek culture and in the general history of religions, alternating consistently between the two poles of sexuality and aggression, that is, as organ of fertility, ecstasy, and life, and as weapon of anger, domination, threat, and violence.

It was Hermes's son, the half-man, half-goat shepherd Pan, who, like the Greek satyrs, was associated with natural fertility, along with Priapus, who later becomes so popular with the Romans as the god of the garden, despite (or because of) what the Greeks considered his exaggerated and quite ugly phallus (as Keuls has pointed out, the Greeks liked theirs small and dainty). It is worth noting that Pan is particularly important for the later history of religions, primarily through his morphing into the Christian devil, himself often connected, implicitly or explicitly, to sexuality, the initiatory insemination of witches, and the antinomian counterstructures of sexual magic from medieval witchcraft trials to Aleister Crowley. Not surprisingly, then, when the English poet William Blake wanted to celebrate the transgressive sacrality and poetic potency of sexuality, he did so through what he called "the voice of the Devil." That is, after all, what the religious phallus of antiquity (Hermes, Dionysius, Pan, and Priapus) had become in the Christian imagination. In the Christian demonization of sexuality and the phallus one can perhaps hear psychosexual echoes of earlier castration motifs (witches were said to collect penises) that are found in such abundance in the mythologies of the Egyptian Osiris (whose dismembered body gathered together by his wife/sister Isis lacked only the penis), the Greek Ouranos (violently castrated by his children in Hesiod's *Theogony*), and the Greek and Roman Attis (the gentle lover self-castrated in sorrow for his unfaithfulness to the mother goddess Cybele).

JUDAISM. All three Western monotheistic traditions (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam) locate the origin point of their faith communities in a religious event explicitly focused on the phallus—God's covenant with Abraham that was to be "marked" or "cut" on the procreative penis. This was no tangential or accidental sign that just happened to be located on the male sexual organ, a curiously anxious choice indeed if the covenant could have just as easily been cut into the ear, nose, or forearm. No, the circumcised (literally "cut around") penis was *the* symbol or sign that marked a man as a member of the covenant community, and lacking such a marked penis could be quite literally deadly: God tries to kill Moses in *Exodus* 4:24–26 for just such a lack.

Most likely originally an adult fertility ritual—thought to increase male fertility by exposing the penis, rather like a pruned plant—practiced before weddings in the ancient Near Eastern world (see Eilberg-Schwartz, 1990), the symbolic act of circumcision was adopted by the Hebrew community to capture the essence of God's dual promise to them recorded in *Genesis* 17, the promise of land (always deeply connected to human fertility in the ancient Hebrew imagination) and offspring, who were thought to come, as seed, through this same fertile organ. Both concerns—land and progeny—were absolutely central to ancient Judaism, and many of its ritual practices and purity codes, and particularly those that were concerned with the acts of the phallus, were designed explicitly to ensure certain and acceptable lines of descent and inheritance—that is, how the land, wealth, and family heritage were passed on from generation to generation. Hence the overwhelming cultural preference for a male child as heir; the agricultural symbolism of the male "seed," believed to contain the essence of the person and "planted" in the passive soil of the womb, the latter owned by the male, like a farm; the horror of infertility, always, it appears, likened to barren soil and blamed on the woman; the radical sexual ploys sometimes used to ensure a proper male heir; the cultural concern over female sexual activity as a male possession to be controlled and contained; the prohibition of any sexual activity that might either confuse family lines and the smooth flow of inheritance (such as incest or adultery) or prevent the production of a male heir (such as sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman or male same-sex activity); and the law of Levi, which ruled that if a man died before producing a male heir his younger brother was required to copulate with the deceased man's widow, to ensure a proper male heir for the older brother's family line. Such a list could be expanded indefinitely, but the point is made: there is no way to understand ancient Judaism and its scriptural texts without understanding the centrality of the religious phallus and vagina, and their respective control.

The same point is only radicalized further through consideration of the biblical visionary patterns that Howard Eilberg-Schwartz has studied in *God's Phallus.* In ancient Israel, he points out, God is male, Israel is his bride, and therefore any male representative of that corporate bride (rabbi, prophet, priest, or visionary) is necessarily cast in what amounts to a homoerotic relationship with God:

> The primary relationships in Israelite imagination were between a male God and individual male Israelites, such as Moses, the patriarchs, and the prophets. . . . Men were encouraged to imagine themselves as married to and hence in a loving relationship with God. A homoerotic dilemma was thus generated, inadvertently and to some degree unconsciously, by the superimposition of heterosexual images on the relationship between human and divine males. (Eilberg-Schwartz, 1994, p. 99)

Hence the well-known biblical prohibition against seeing God's body, particularly his front side (that is, his exposed penis). Similar homoerotic patterns are developed further by Elliot Wolfson, who uncovers striking phallic patterns in medieval Jewish Qabbalah in such mystical tropes as the circumcised penis as organ of vision, the crowned corona/head of the qabbalist, the phallic rainbow, the ritual arousal of the divine phallus via the sexual union of the qabbalist and his wife, and the vaginal amorphousness of the *shekhinah,* that "speculum that does not shine." Indeed, in what certainly must count as one of the most provocative and radical of contemporary insights, Wolfson demonstrates that what the qabbalist envisions with his phallic vision through the sexual crevices of this feminine *shekhinah* is not the internal mysteries of the divine womb but the divine phallus hidden within and at the very top of the sefirotic pleroma. Phallic vision thus encounters the phallic pleroma within a striking homoerotic metaphysics that Wolfson has described as a kind of mystical ocular phallocentrism.

Finally, it also seems important to mention that much of ancient Jewish, and all of early Christian, understandings developed largely within cultural matrices that these religions did not create or control. That is to say, they were minority traditions within a broad cultural world defined by the regional politics of the time, in this case controlled largely by the Persian, Greek, and Roman Empires. This fact had profound consequences for the early Jewish communities, and often these political differences were focused precisely on the circumcised penis, that mark or sign that so clearly distinguished a Jew from a non-Jew, and so prevented full assimilation into the broader Gentile culture. This became a particularly potent problem under Greek rule when the Greek gymnasium and its nude male social bathing (*gymnos* means "naked") became a source of debate among the Jewish community. Once again, it was the cut penis that marked a man as a member of the Jewish community.

CHRISTIANITY. These phallic identity problems were only further exacerbated with the rise of early Christianity, which originated very much as a Jewish sect but eventually split from Judaism, largely through the early Pauline rejection of the purity codes that had separated Jews from non-Jews for centuries. Foremost among Christian concerns was the central issue of whether converts to the new faith were required to be circumcised. In other words, in the early Christian communities, just as today, one of the most contentious debates involved the penis. Largely under the influence of Paul, the Jerusalem Council, as described in the *Acts of the Apostles* 15, determined that circumcision would not be required. The tradition thus effectively broke with its own Jewish origins and, with it, the literal requirements of physical progeny, inheritance, and land.

Such a move was both a radical break from and a development of the teachings of Jesus, at least as they were recorded in the canonical gospels. Jesus certainly never spoke of abrogating the requirements of circumcision and understood himself and his mission as thoroughly Jewish, but both his recorded acts and teachings were often aimed at a radical rejection of traditional notions of holiness defined by purity, especially sexual purity. Hence an unclean menstruating woman is cured by touching him, Jesus socializes with known prostitutes and sinners, the despised eunuch (a castrated man associated in the Mediterranean world with physical deformation, passive homosexuality, sexual license, and imperial administration) is made the model disciple of the kingdom of heaven both in *Matthew* and in later Christian tradition, a centurion's slave and probable male lover is healed, and, perhaps most striking of all, Jesus himself appears to have a male lover both in the *Gospel of John,* as Theodore Jennings has recently argued, and in an early Gnostic fragment, as Morton Smith suggested in the 1970s. Such readings, of course, are hardly universal, and other scholars have advanced counter, conservative readings that seek to question, if not deny, the sexual radicalism of the gospels, particularly with reference to homosexual practice (see especially Gagnon)—but this modern debate itself is instructive, since it only underscores the fact that intense controversy, including controversy about sexual matters, was central to the gospel traditions from the very beginning.

Elements of Christian theology, moreover, can easily be read in vaginal and phallic terms. The early doctrine of the virgin birth, for example, represents a clear attempt to remove the human phallus (but, curiously, not the human vagina) entirely from the central event of Christian salvation history (the conception and birth of Jesus). This doctrine is entirely absent in *Mark* and *John* and most likely represents a transformation of an earlier illegitimacy motif, seduction or rape narrative, or biblical dual-parentage trope (with the divine inspiring or participating in the usual sexual means of procreation) (see Schaberg, 1990). As the same doctrine developed, its original focus on an inspired conception, or even virgin birth, was radicalized further to an assumption of Mary's perpetual virginity (despite surprisingly clear biblical references to Jesus' siblings) and eventually to theological speculations about a miraculously unbroken hymen. In other words, as Mariology developed, the Virgin's vagina became more and more protected from any kind of phallic penetration. This same sexual complex also had the long-range effect of helping to privilege virginity and celibacy over active sexuality as the surest mark of Christian holiness, thus essentially reversing the Jewish practice of circumcision, which focused on human fertility.

Similar patterns of elaborate sexual symbolism and extreme asceticism appear in the Gnostic communities of the first few centuries of the common era. Hence the famous "bridal chamber" ritual of the Nag Hammadi texts, the precise nature of which scholars are still divided over; the seeming obsession with "virginal" male spirits and entities; the outrageous stories of Simon Magus and his harlot-consort-goddess Helen; the radical acosmic dualisms of the texts (which seemed to have led to both ascetic and libertine practices); and the heresiological rumors of the Gnostic use of sexual fluids as sacramental substances. It also seems relevant here that the image of the "seed" (*spora* or *sperma*) is omnipresent in the Gnostic texts, particularly within that branch scholars dub Sethian Gnosticism, with its notion of the "seed of Seth" as a kind of mystical substance that carries divinity across the generations, from Adam to Jesus to the Sethian Gnostics themselves. What we have in this latter case is essentially a cult of mystical semen that, once again, locates religious identity in the seed instead of the soil.

Such sexual themes hardly end with the Gnostics after their suppression, although they do clearly morph into other, more homoerotic, patterns. Indeed, it is a fascinating mark of later Christian mysticism, particularly in its more erotic modes that derive from the Hebrew *Song of Songs* and its Christian commentaries from Origen to John of the Cross, that only one man can have a functioning phallus and employ it as an organ of mystical communion: Christ himself. Every other mystic, by theological necessity (since God is overwhelmingly imagined as male), is either biologically a woman or must become one in the religious imagination.

For Christian male mystics, then, a rich homoeroticism develops, disguised in the orthodox heteroerotic code of bridal mysticism. Indeed, in the context of normative Christian mysticism, male heterosexuality, at least any acted on or expressed toward the divine, is both symbolically impossible and theologically heretical (see Kripal, 2001). One, after all, would need a goddess for this, and there can be no true goddess in orthodox Christianity, at least not one who would be interested in the phallus. Every orthodox Christian mystic that chose to employ sexual language to express his or her love for God, then, was essentially seeking a divine phallus and acting within a vaginal mode. Hence Don Cupitt's mischievous observation in *Mysticism and Modernity* that male Christian mystical union with God "is described *exactly* as if it were female orgasm, by people who are not merely of the wrong sex, but not supposed to have any personal experience of such things anyway" (1998, p. 25). The French psychoanalytic and feminist category of *jouissance*—defined as pleasure, mystical rapture, or (female) orgasm—that is so evident in the works of such thinkers as Jacques Lacan and Catherine Clément is also worth mentioning in this context.

One of the more remarkable sexual developments within Christianity occurred in Renaissance art as it grappled with the theological implications of the Incarnation, which it symbolically expressed through the penis, as against the Gnostic tendency to deny the carnal flesh and the real suffering of Christ. As Leo Steinberg puts it in his classic study of this phenomenon, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and Modern Oblivion,* "the genuineness of the Incarnation is put to proof in the sexual member" (1983, p. 58). Commenting on over one hundred images out of nearly a thousand available to him, Steinberg demonstrates an elaborate *ostentatio genitalium* or ritual "display of the genitals" through artistic renditions of women playing with the child's penis, the god-baby masturbating, the Virgin touching or pointing to her infant son's organ, the magi staring at it, the dead Christ reaching for his penis, and the risen Christ displaying a clear erection under the folds of his tunic or suggestively sitting on a bull with its horned head emerging from between his legs. Here we even see the "blood-hyphen," a concept invented by the Church Fathers and developed further by artists that linked the blood of Christ's circumcision to that of His passion: "Christ's redemptive Passion, which culminates on the cross in the blood of the sacred heart, begins in the blood of the penis" (1983, p. 58).

The displayed adult penis, so evident in the work of Michelangelo, for example, is also a sign of redemption here, for if the sin of Adam resulted in the shame of the genitals (*pudendum* was a traditional term for the female genitals and meant literally "to be ashamed of"), then Christ's redemption must have removed that same shame and returned humanity to the sexual innocence before the fall. Unlike the Dionysian phallus as organ of fertility, however, Christ's penis is controlled and continent, since there is no longer any need of procreation after his victory over death, the latter being, within the Christian imagination, the result of sin. The Christian phallus, then, is a symbol of anti-death, but in a different key than that of Dionysius and the Greek phallus of fertility and life.

As with classicists embarrassed by Greek ceramics and phallic texts, Christian post-Renaissance culture would become ashamed of this redemptive shamelessness and would paint or sculpt tunics over the god-man's penis or simply lock the images away. Once again, the male member could not be mentioned, much less openly depicted in public art. A certain Bowdlerism ensued, perhaps most dramatically displayed by Pope Paul IV, who "castrated" the antique statues of Rome by literally chopping off their penises.

ISLAM. In its various approaches to the phallus and the vagina, Islam seems much closer to Judaism than to Christianity. Its elaborate concern over ritual and sexual (particularly female) purity, its ritual treatment of menstruation as a purity and religious issue, its continued practice of circumcision, its qualified acceptance of polygamy, its overwhelming concern with law *(sharīʿah)* and a legal approach to religious and social life, and its general rejection of celibacy (with the important exceptions of some Ṣūfī communities) all suggest very close connections to the ancient Jewish traditions to which the religion seems particularly indebted, even as it no doubt changed and transformed these ancient sexual and social customs for its own cultural milieus and theological purposes.

There are, however, real variations and alternative sexual traditions within Islam, as many scholars and cultural observers have noted. For example, the homoerotic patterns so evident in ancient Jewish biblical tradition and medieval Christian bridal mysticism have been studied in Islamic traditions as well, but it remains true that such phallic phenomena have been both marginal and heretical in the context of orthodox Islam. The heterosexual "seed and soil" symbolisms we noted above seem to have been far more determinative of both actual gender relations and general Islamic religious understandings of the phallus/plow and vagina/field.

INDIA. Keuls's humorous point about obscene Greek texts and unseeing classicist translators carries over into Indology as well, where Sanskritists working on ancient Indian materials sometimes share the joke that any Sanskrit word can refer to at least three things: its literal meaning, some aspect of sexual intercourse, and some part of an elephant. The joke, like many jokes, is clearly an exaggeration, but also a very instructive one, pointing as it does to the omnipresent tendency of ancient Indian culture to load the meaning of words with sexual connotations long before Freud taught us to look for such things.

Unlike their orthodox Jewish or Muslim counterparts, who tended to use the phallus as a literally "cut" marker of communal and religious identity, Indian thinkers were inclined to see the phallus as transformer of consciousness and connected the profundities of sexual pleasure with religious rapture and contemplative accomplishment very early, primarily through the Sanskrit category of *ānanda* or "bliss," as it is usually euphemistically translated. In an important essay, "Orgasmic Rapture and Divine Ecstasy: The Semantic History of Ānanda," Patrick Olivelle has demonstrated that there exists in the ancient Sanskrit texts an "explicit and unambiguous connection between *ānanda* as orgasmic rapture and *ānanda* as the experience of *brahman/ātman*" (1997, p. 154). The Upaniṣads, for example, clearly identify the organ of *ānanda* as the penis: precisely as the eye is identified as the organ of sight and the ear the organ of hearing, the penis is identified as the organ of *ānanda.* Similarly, *ānanda* is equated with nocturnal experiences of divine sexual intercourse, the ejaculation of semen, and the production of male offspring. Hence Olivelle's glossing of the term as "orgasmic rapture" and the swoon of ejaculation—that *petit mort* that somehow participates in and signals, as a kind of sacrament, the even more extreme phenomenology of mystical ecstasy. Because Being *(sat)* is essentially blissful, one of the best ways to come to know it is through that preeminent organ of (male) bliss, the aroused phallus. Such meanings, however, would not survive unchallenged and were eventually ignored, suppressed, or simply lost in many of the later Indic textual traditions. In the process, male celibacy became a *sine qua non* of the monastic traditions that would come to control the production and interpretation of many of these same philosophical texts, including those dealing with the *ānanda* of *brahman.* Not surprisingly, *ānanda* as an expressed "orgasmic rapture" was no longer commonly seen as a sexual sacrament of Being.

This same profound cultural ambivalence over the phallus as both site of erotic *ānanda* and something to renounce is particularly evident in the mythology of Śiva, the great lord of yoga and paradigm of virile power. In Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty's memorable phrase, Śiva is "the erotic ascetic" whose mythology alternates between seeming paradoxical cycles of eroticism and asceticism that never quite resolve the cultural dilemma but, in the process, express the profound metaphysical and psychological connections that appear to exist between sexual and ascetic energies. Certainly the mythological origins of Śiva's *liṅgam,* or iconic phallus, are located in some explicitly phallic behavior and in a dramatic castration. After Śiva seduces their wives, the forest sages curse his phallus and cause it to fall off. As it falls to the earth, the *liṅgam* threatens to destroy all in its flames until the forest sages promise to restore peace by worshiping it.

And indeed it is worshiped to this day in millions of shrines and stone images across India, often in the form of the *liṅga-yoni,* the dual icon of Śiva's phallus (*liṅga*) set in the vagina or womb *(yoni)* of his consort-goddess. Conditioned by over two centuries of colonial criticism, imported Victorian sensibilities, and subsequent Hindu reform movements (not to mention the original and quite ancient ambivalences expressed in the origin myth of the forest sages' curse and subsequent forced worship), many might deny the sexual connotations of such popular ritual expressions, but the mythological and historical records are clear enough. Here, then, we can speak of a kind of incomplete "historical sublimation," a historical process that gradually disassociated the categories of *ānanda, liṅgam,* and *yoni* from the physiological organs they were originally linked to, the phallus and the vagina. Their meanings (and no doubt their experiential correlates) were progressively spiritualized into *yantras* or abstract geometric shapes (such as up-turned and down-turned equilateral triangles), until the latter often presupposed the renunciation or denial of the very physicality that originally created, as it were, the categories in the first place—that is, the experience of male and female intercourse, orgasm, and ejaculation.

But the repressed always returns, and the return of the repressed in Hindu and Buddhist cultures is best represented by the efflorescence of Tantric traditions starting around the sixth century CE and continuing throughout the medieval and early modern periods, up until their gradual, if ineffective, suppression during the colonial and postcolonial eras. Certainly both the vagina and the phallus were central to many Tantric traditions. Each, for example, received extensive ritual attention, both in their actual physiological forms and as abstract triangular *yantras* (the famous *Śrīvidyā yantra*) or abstract iconic forms (the *liṅga-yoni*). Indeed, we have at least one entire text dedicated to the worship of the vagina, the *Yoni Tantra,* and numerous others treating the mythology and cultural meanings of the phallus (O'Flaherty's *Śiva: The Erotic Ascetic* and Bhattacharya's *Śaivism and the Phallic World* constitute treasuries of these). Moreover, as David Gordon White has argued in *Kiss of the Yoginī,* early medieval Kaula Tantra appears to have been organized around the production, distribution, and oral ingestion of real sexual fluids within Tantric clans. White suggests that such sexual rituals were designed to produce semen, which was then fed to the clan goddess or *yoginī* through the upper or lower "mouths" (a kind of ancient upward displacement of the vagina in Tantric symbolism). Similarly, female sexual fluids, including menstrual blood, were used in elaborate ritual contexts to transfer mystical energies *(śakti)* from the goddess/*yoginī* to the *yogin* (Irigaray's rich meditations on the morphology of female lips, the kiss, and the one who "thinks through mucous" seem especially apt here [*An Ethics,* 1993, p. 110]). Moreover, in numerous medieval Siddha alchemical contexts, the "power substances" of both semen and female sexual fluids, along with any number of symbolic or chemical equivalents (especially semen as *rasa*/mercury and menstrual blood or sexual emissions as sulfur/mica/red arsenic), were used to transubstantiate or sublimate mundane forms of consciousness and metals into ecstatic and divine ones (see White, 1996). On a side note, such rich material should give serious pause to historians of Gnosticism who wish to read accounts of similar practices in early Christian history simply as pure heresiological rumor.

Finally, before we leave ancient India, it also seems necessary to at least mention here the Jain traditions that placed such an enormous religious weight on male nudity as a sign of asceticism and renunciation. Certainly, neither Jain iconography nor Jain theology dwelt on the swollen phallus, since sexual desire was understood to entrap one further in the karmic webs of *saṃsāra,* but it nevertheless remains true that the ritual and iconic display of the *tīrthaṃkara's* penis was and remains central to the tradition, not as a phallus per se, but as an almost casual sign of the male monk's indifference to social custom and victory over the psychological and physical webs of attachment and action *(karma).* Significantly, just as early Christianity broke with Judaism over the phallic question of the circumcised penis, early Jainism split into two separate traditions (the *Digambaras* or "sky-clad" [that is, naked] and *Śvetāmbaras* or "white-clad"), largely over the implicit phallic questions of ascetic (male) nudity, which of course involves the ritual display of the penis, and of the ability of women (that is, people without penises) to achieve salvation. Significantly, whereas the Śvetāmbaras defended the possibility of female salvation on the grounds that such salvation is an internal state not to be measured by the external criterion of clothes, both sects agreed that women could not practice ritual nudity—that, in other words, the vagina could not be publicly displayed like the penis (see Jaini).

BUDDHIST AND DAOIST ASIA. Bernard Faure has written of what he calls the "red thread" of human sexuality that binds individuals to the family and the concerns of lineage, reproduction, and inheritance. Strikingly, whereas in Judaism and Islam the penis is cut to sacralize these lineage markers and in Brahmanism various sexual rituals are instituted for the same ends, within the Buddhist *Vinaya* (monastic regulations) the penis and vagina early on become veritable battlegrounds for the attempted cutting of this "red thread"—even if later, within Mahāyāna and Buddhist Tantra, they become mystical organs for this same thread's intimate weaving into the very natures of enlightenment, emptiness, and *nirvāṇa.* The discourses and semiotic patterns of what might be called the Buddhist phallus and vagina, in other words, are by no means singular or simple, and there are clearly many mythological and philosophical resources (the central doctrine of *śūnyatā,* or emptiness, foremost among them) for the deconstruction of gender and patriarchy. Still, these discourses, at least in their more normative forms, do seem to move within what many Buddhologists have identified as a profoundly androcentric, if not actually misogynistic, structure that identifies the female body as the paradigmatic example of impermanence, disgust, and suffering (see Wilson); that sees heterosexuality as the clearest threat to the stability and sanctity of the monastic community (homosexuality is quite another matter, as it can support and even strengthen monastic ties); and that even defines Tantric transgression itself as a dominantly male domain. Hence the Chinese Buddhist debates about whether one can be enlightened as a woman—that is, as a human being possessing a vagina or, perhaps more accurately, *not* possessing a penis. In some cases, at least, reincarnation was invoked as the preferred means of gender switching over multiple lives, or, alternately, as an explanation for gender-bending within an individual life ("I really *am* a man in a woman's body").

In some very literal fashion, the boundaries of the Buddhist monastery are drawn with the vagina and the phallus—by what they do, or, more precisely, do not do. Serinity Young, for example, has explored some of the gender implications of the early biographies of the Buddha and their claims that the Buddha was encased in a bejeweled box inside his mother's womb to avoid pollution; that he was born through her side instead of through the impure vaginal canal; and that his mother had to die seven days after he was born, since it is inappropriate for the mother of a Buddha to ever have sex again (we are reminded here of similar themes in early Christian Mariology and its fixation on Mary's perpetual virginity). As Faure has pointed out, although later developments would certainly bring to the fore the rhetorics of purity and pollution that were omnipresent in ancient India, Vinaya regulations generally approached the phallic penetration of the vagina and its psychophysical effects (the presence or absence of pleasure was very much part of the discourse and helped determine the act's legal ramifications), not as a dangerous loss of spiritual energy, as we find in Brahmanic Hinduism, Daoism, and later Tantrism, but as a serious breach of the social integrity of the monastic community. Indeed, the slightest insertion of the penis into the vagina, "even to a sesame seed," resulted in expulsion. The community and its boundaries are thus largely determined by the (in)actions of the sexual organs. Other sexual acts (solitary male or female masturbation, anal or oral sex, the use of dildos, etc.) were also treated in great detail but were generally not judged as harshly as heterosexual intercourse. Little wonder, then, that in Japanese Buddhist culture a punning etymology links the terms for penis *(mara),* obstacle *(māra),* and the lord of Death himself (Māra) (Faure, 1998, p. 22), or that the Buddha named his first and only son *Rāhula,* or "Obstacle." Here too we might consider the famous "cryptorchidy" of the Buddha—the belief that the Buddha's penis was hidden in a sheath.

Much of this would be challenged by later philosophical developments, particularly within the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna turnings of the wheel, in which radical forms of nondualism would identify *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra* and, consequently, the passions and awakening. Young, for example, has pointed out that during the Kushan dynasty the genitals of both male and female figures were clearly displayed in the art, and that male figures from the same period "emphasize the penis under the folds of their lower garments, even statues of the Buddha and the future Buddha Maitreya" (Young, 30). In many Tantric forms, moreover, the traditions would go even further to assert that the powerful energies of the passions are in fact necessary for awakening, or that orgasm itself is a subtle mental state compatible with reason and inducive of profound mystical states of consciousness (see Hopkins, 1998).

In China, Korea, and Japan, moreover, these developments were often synthesized with Daoist alchemical practices and symbolisms, particularly the famous yin-yang icon that was often read in sexual terms—with the "stem of yang" *(yang xing),* or penis, representing semen, hardness, light, mountain heights, and the masculine, and the "path of yin" *(yin dao),* or vagina, representing the womb, softness, darkness, valley lows, and the feminine.

SEXUAL SYMBOLS IN "MODERN OBLIVION." In his own always eloquent terms, the art historian Leo Steinberg explored the phallic dimensions of Christian theology and art "before everybody was educated into incomprehension." The result of the latter process he dubbed "modern oblivion" (1983, p. 108). Steinberg's expression connotes a certain tendency of modern thought to see sexuality as an entirely natural or biological affair and, consequently, to banish it from the sacred, or, in the reverse of the same move, to reduce all forms of religious eroticism to simple sexuality. Here a pious amnesia or prudish censorship easily beds down with modern Freudian reductionism to render a category like a resurrected erection, a ritually worshiped phallus-in-a-vagina, or an enlightening orgasm impossible, offensive, embarrassing, or, at the very least, simply in bad taste. However briefly and inadequately sketched, the comparative history of the religious vagina and phallus should make one very wary of both this embarrassment and this "modern oblivion."

It is often assumed that the act of reading sexual meanings into religious or cultural symbols originates with Freud. Indeed, the history of the religious vagina or phallus often reads like a Freudian textbook, with the hole, box, house, triangle, cave, or garden commonly evoking the vagina, and the snake, bird, head, nose, plow, pillar, thigh, spear, knife, arrow, foot, stalk, and flute all standing in for the omnipresent but not quite present phallus (one needs to be careful here, though, for there are many "reversals," such as the Indic serpent, which is often coded female).

Consider, for example, the alleged "Freudian" reading of the foot as a symbolic phallus. A modern Freudian invention? Hardly. Already in the eighteenth century, specifically erotic hermeneutics were being developed in Europe to interpret religious phenomena. Sir William Hamilton, for example, tried to visit a church near Mount Vesuvius where the faithful were bringing wax *voti* of the male organ to their churches for the women to kiss (for fertility?), only to learn that the local bishop had since suppressed the practice. Hamilton left the district with some of the waxen phalli, euphemistically dubbed "big toes." Similarly, Marsha Keith Schuchard notes that Richard Payne Knight's 1786 *Treatise on the Worship of Priapus and Its Connexion with the Mystic Theology of the Ancients* describes the phallus as the "Great Toe," that both Jewish Qabbalah and the Bible have long employed the foot as a euphemism for the phallus (the two most oft-cited biblical expressions are *Isaiah* 6:2, where four of the seraphim's six wings are described as covering their faces and "feet" before the divine presence, and the phrase "uncovering the feet," which functions as a euphemism for sexual intercourse), and that the foot and toe return again in the diaries of the great Swedish mystic Emanuel Swedenborg, who believed that there was an actual pathway or nerve connecting the two protruding organs. And, it turns out, there actually is. Cognitive science has established that different body parts are mapped onto different parts of the brain, and that when a specific body part is amputated an adjacent neural system will often take over. It turns out, moreover, that the feet and the genitals occupy adjacent neural systems, and there is at least one documented case of a man with an amputated lower leg who reported immense orgasms in his phantom foot when he had sex (Ramachandran and Blakeslee, 1998). It is certainly true that Freud's psychoanalysis has helped us immeasurably to admit, come to terms with, and better understand these remarkable and remarkably ambivalent histories, but nothing could be further from the truth than the assumption that vaginal and phallic readings of religious phenomena begin (or end) with Sigmund Freud. Moreover, to the extent that psychoanalysis encourages the reading of phallic symbols in purely biological or materialistic terms, classical psychoanalytic hermeneutics can only serve to obfuscate and prevent a deeper understanding of these same religious and sexual phenomena. The Hindu *liṅgam* or *yoni* and the Buddhist Tantric *vajra* (jewel, lightning bolt, or phallus) and *padma* (lotus or vagina), after all, are not simply penises and vaginas; they are also mystical organs capable of radically altering human consciousness and producing non-ontological bliss. Similarly, the circumcised Jewish or Muslim penis is not an arbitrary sign on an arbitrary organ: it is a cut phallus intended to be used and so pass on, quite literally, particular religious, social, political, and economic resources. So too with the Virgin's vagina: it matters a great deal to the celibate structures of Roman Catholicism whether a human phallus ever penetrated its depths, just as it is a matter of great theological and moral import to contemporary Christians whether Jesus ever actually used his phallus (and, if so, with whom). Until we can read such classical religious phenomena and modern debates as carriers of both biological and deep religious meanings, as phenomena "both natural and mysterial," as Steinberg put it so well, we have failed to grasp their full range and have only reproduced our own modern assumptions, our own modern oblivion, be it social-scientifically or spiritually defined. To close with Steinberg again, "[t]reated as illustrations of what is already scripted," that is, as purely spiritual or as purely sexual phenomena, the religious phallus and vagina can only "withhold their secrets" (1983, p. 108).

SEE ALSO Atum; Castration; Circumcision; Dionysos; Masculine Sacrality; Osiris; Pan; Priapus; Sexuality, overview articles; Śiva; Yoni.

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PHENOMENOLOGY OF RELIGION.

Philosophical phenomenology is one of the major twentieth-century philosophies, and the phenomenology of religion is one of the major approaches within religious studies. Although the phenomenology of religion emerges as both a major field of study and an extremely influential approach to religion, formulating an essay on this subject poses serious difficulties. The term has become very popular and is used by numerous scholars who share little if anything in common.

USES OF THE TERM. For the sake of organization, it is possible to differentiate four major groups of scholars who use the term *phenomenology of religion.* First, there are works in which *phenomenology of religion* is used in the vaguest, broadest, and most uncritical of ways. Often the term seems to mean nothing more than an investigation of the phenomena of religion. Second, from the Dutch scholar P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye (1848–1920) to such contemporary scholars as the Scandinavian historians of religions Geo Widengren (1907–1996) and Åke Hultkrantz (b. 1920), *phenomenology of religion* means the comparative study and the classification of different types of religious phenomena. There is little if any regard for specific phenomenological concepts, methods, or procedures of verification.

Third, numerous scholars, such as W. Brede Kristensen (1867–1953), Gerardus van der Leeuw (1890–1950), Joachim Wach (1898–1955), C. Jouco Bleeker (1898–1983), Mircea Eliade (1907–1986), and Jacques Waardenburg (b. 1935), identify the phenomenology of religion as a specific branch, discipline, or method within *Religionswissenschaft.* This is where the most significant contributions of the phenomenology of religion to the study of religion have been made.

Fourth, there are scholars whose phenomenology of religion is influenced by philosophical phenomenology. A few scholars, such as Max Scheler (1874–1928) and Paul Ricoeur (b. 1913), explicitly identify much of their work with philosophical phenomenology. Others, such as Rudolf Otto (1869–1937), van der Leeuw, and Eliade, use a phenomenological method and are influenced, at least partially, by phenomenological philosophy. There are also influential theological approaches, as seen in the works of Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834), Paul Tillich (1886–1965), Edward Farley (b. 1929), and Jean-Luc Marion (b. 1946), that utilize phenomenology of religion as a stage in the formulation of theology.

The terms *phenomenon* and *phenomenology* are derived from the Greek word *phainomenon* (that which shows itself, *or* that which appears). As Herbert Spiegelberg (1904–1990) establishes in the first volume of *The Phenomenological Movement: A Historical Introduction* (1982), the term *phenomenology* has both philosophical and nonphilosophical roots.

One encounters nonphilosophical phenomenologies in the natural sciences, especially in the field of physics. With the term *phenomenology*, scientists usually want to emphasize the descriptive, as contrasted with the explanatory, conception of their science. (In the phenomenology of religion, a similar emphasis will be seen, as phenomenologists submit that their approach describes, but does not explain, the nature of religious phenomena.)

A second nonphilosophical use of phenomenology appears in the descriptive, systematic, comparative study of religions in which scholars assemble groups of religious phenomena in order to disclose their major aspects and to formulate their typologies. This phenomenology-as-comparative-religion has roots independent of philosophical phenomenology.

The first documented philosophical use of the term *phenomenology* is by the German philosopher Johann Heinrich Lambert (1728–1777) in his *Neues Organon* (1764). In a use unrelated to later philosophical phenomenology and to the phenomenology of religion, Lambert defines the term as "the theory of illusion."

In the late eighteenth century, the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) devoted considerable analysis to "phenomena" as the data of experience, things that appear to and are constructed by human minds. Such phenomena, which Kant distinguishes from "noumena," or "things-in-themselves" independent of our knowing minds, can be studied rationally, scientifically, and objectively. A similar distinction between religious phenomena as appearances and religious reality-in-itself, which is beyond phenomenology, is found in the "descriptive phenomenologies" of many phenomenologists of religion.

Of all the uses of *phenomenology* by philosophers before the twentieth-century phenomenological movement, the term is most frequently identified with the German philosopher G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831) and especially with his *Phenomenology of Spirit* (1807). Hegel is determined to overcome Kant's phenomena-noumena bifurcation. Phenomena are actual stages of knowledge—manifestations in the development of Spirit—evolving from undeveloped consciousness of mere sense experience and culminating in forms of absolute knowledge. Phenomenology is the science by which the mind becomes aware of the development of Spirit and comes to know its essence—that is, Spirit as it is in itself—through a study of its appearances and manifestations.

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a number of philosophers used *phenomenology* to indicate a merely descriptive study of a subject matter. Thus William Hamilton (1788–1856), in his *Lectures on Metaphysics* (1858), used phenomenology to refer to a descriptive phase of empirical psychology; Eduard von Hartmann (1842–1906) formulated several phenomenologies, including a descriptive "phenomenology of moral consciousness"; and the American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914) used phenomenology to refer to a descriptive study of whatever appears before the mind, whether real or illusory.

As Richard Schmitt points out in his entry on "Phenomenology" in *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (1967), the philosophical background led to two distinct senses of *phenomenology.* There is the older, wider sense of the term as any descriptive study of a given subject matter or as a discipline describing observable phenomena. There is also a narrower twentieth-century sense of the term as a philosophical approach utilizing a phenomenological method. It is to the latter sense that this entry now turns.

PHILOSOPHICAL PHENOMENOLOGY.

As one of the major schools, movements, or approaches in modern philosophy, phenomenology takes many forms. One can distinguish, for example, the "transcendental phenomenology" of Edmund Husserl (1859–1938), the "existential phenomenology" of Jean-Paul Sartre (1905–1980) and Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908–1961), and the "hermeneutic phenomenology" of Martin Heidegger (1889–1976) and Paul Ricoeur. Since phenomenology is so complex and diverse, every phenomenologist does not accept all that follows.

The phenomenological movement.

The primary aim of philosophical phenomenology is to investigate and become directly aware of phenomena that appear in immediate experience, and thereby to allow the phenomenologist to describe the essential structures of these phenomena. In doing so, phenomenology attempts to free itself from unexamined presuppositions, to avoid causal and other explanations, to utilize a method that allows it to describe that which appears, and to intuit or decipher essential meanings.

An early formulation of the phenomenological movement appears as a statement in the *Jahrbuch für Philosophie und phänomenologische Forschung,* published from 1913 to 1930 with Edmund Husserl as editor in chief. Coeditors included leading phenomenologists Moritz Geiger (1880–1937), Alexander Pfänder (1870–1941), Adolf Reinach (1883–1917), Max Scheler, and, later, Martin Heidegger and Oskar Becker (1889–1964).

Husserl is usually identified as the founder and most influential philosopher of the phenomenological movement. The earliest phenomenologists worked at several German universities, especially at Göttingen and Munich. Outside of Husserl's predominant influence on phenomenology, the most significant phenomenologists are Scheler, an independent and creative thinker in his own right, and Heidegger, who emerged as one of the major twentieth-century philosophers.

The initial flourishing of the phenomenological movement is identified with the "Göttingen Circle" and the "Munich Circle" during the period leading up to World War I, and phenomenology remained an overwhelmingly German philosophy until the 1930s when the center of the movement begins to shift to France. Through the works of Sartre, Merleau-Ponty, Gabriel Marcel (1889–1973), Ricoeur, and others, French phenomenology established itself as the leading development in phenomenological philosophy, beginning in the 1930s and continuing at least until the 1960s. Particularly noteworthy was the French attempt to integrate the concerns and insights of phenomenology with those of existentialism.

Characteristics of philosophical phenomenology. One may delineate five characteristics of philosophical phenomenology that have particular relevance for the phenomenology for religion.

Descriptive nature. Phenomenology aims to be a rigorous, descriptive science, discipline, or approach. The phenomenological slogan "Zu den Sachen!" ("To the things themselves!") expresses the determination to turn away from philosophical theories and concepts toward the direct intuition and description of phenomena as they appear in immediate experience. Phenomenology attempts to describe the nature of phenomena, the way appearances manifest themselves, and the essential structures at the foundation of human experience. As contrasted with most schools of philosophy, which have assumed that the rational alone is real and which have a philosophical preoccupation with the rational faculties and with conceptual analysis, phenomenology focuses on accurately describing the totality of phenomenal manifestations in human experience. A descriptive phenomenology, attempting to avoid reductionism and often insisting on the phenomenological *epoché* (see below), describes the diversity, complexity, and richness of experience.

Antireductionism. Phenomenological antireductionism is concerned with freeing people from uncritical preconceptions that prevent them from becoming aware of the specificity and diversity of phenomena, thus allowing them to broaden and deepen immediate experience and provide more accurate descriptions of this experience. Husserl attacked various forms of reductionism, such as "psychologism," which attempts to derive the laws of logic from psychological laws and, more broadly, to reduce all phenomena to psychological phenomena. In opposing the oversimplifications of traditional empiricism and other forms of reductionism, phenomenologists aim to deal faithfully with phenomena as phenomena and to become aware of what phenomena reveal in their full intentionality.

Intentionality. A subject always "intends" an object, and intentionality refers to the property of all consciousness as consciousness of something. All acts of consciousness are directed toward the experience of something, the intentional object. For Husserl, who took the term from his teacher Franz Brentano (1838–1917), intentionality was a way of describing how consciousness constitutes phenomena. In order to identify, describe, and interpret the meaning of phenomena, phenomenologists must be attentive to the intentional structures of their data; to the intentional structures of consciousness with their intended referents and meanings.

Bracketing. For many phenomenologists, the antireductionist insistence on the irreducibility of the intentional immediate experience entails the adoption of a "phenomenological *epoché*." This Greek term literally means "abstention" or "suspension of judgment" and is often defined as a method of "bracketing." It is only by bracketing the uncritically accepted "natural world," by suspending beliefs and judgments based on an unexamined "natural standpoint," that the phenomenologist can become aware of the phenomena of immediate experience and can gain insight into their essential structures. Sometimes the *epoché* is formulated in terms of the goal of a completely presuppositionless science or philosophy, but most phenomenologists have interpreted such bracketing as the goal of freeing the phenomenologist from unexamined presuppositions, or of rendering explicit and clarifying such presuppositions, rather than completely denying their existence. The phenomenological *epoché*, whether as the technical Husserlian "transcendental reduction" or in its other variations, is not simply "performed" by phenomenologists; it must involve some method of self-criticism and intersubjective testing allowing insight into structures and meanings.

Eidetic vision. The intuition of essences, often described as "eidetic vision" or "eidetic reduction," is related to the Greek term *eidos*, which Husserl adopted from its Platonic meaning to designate "universal essences." Such essences express the "whatness" of things, the necessary and invariant features of phenomena that allow us to recognize phenomena as phenomena of a certain kind.

For all of their differences, the overwhelming majority of phenomenologists have upheld a descriptive phenomenology that is antireductionist, involves phenomenological bracketing, focuses on intentionality, and aims at insight into essential structures and meanings. The following is a brief formulation of a general phenomenological procedure for gaining insight into such essential structures and meanings with application to the phenomena of religious experience.

In the "intuition of essences" (*Wesensschau*), the phenomenologist attempts to disengage essential structures embodied in particular phenomena. One begins with particular data: specific phenomena as expressions of intentional experiences. The central aim of the phenomenological method is to disclose the essential structure embodied in the particular data.

One gains insight into meaning by the method of "free variation." After assembling a variety of particular phenomena, the phenomenologist searches for the invariant core that constitutes the essential meaning of the phenomena. The phenomena, subjected to a process of free variation, assume certain forms that are considered to be accidental or inessential in the sense that the phenomenologist can go beyond the limits imposed by such forms without destroying the basic character or intentionality of one's data. For example, the variation of a great variety of religious phenomena may disclose that the unique structures of monotheism do not constitute the essential core or universal structure of all religious experience.

The phenomenologist gradually sees that phenomena assume forms that are regarded as essential in the sense that one cannot go beyond or remove such structures without destroying the basic "whatness" or intentionality of the data. For example, free variation might reveal that certain intentional structures of "transcendence" constitute an invariant core of religious experience. When the universal essence is grasped, the phenomenologist achieves the eidetic intuition or the fulfilled *Wesensschau.*

Husserl proposed that all phenomena are constituted by consciousness and that, in the intuition of essences, we can eliminate the particular, actual given datum and move on to the plane of "pure possibility." Most phenomenologists who have used a method of *Wesensschau* have proposed that historical phenomena have a kind of priority, that one must substitute for Husserl's imaginary variation an actual variation of historical data, and that the particular phenomena are not constituted by an individual but are the source of one's constitution and judgment.

Though relatively few philosophical phenomenologists had much interest in religious phenomena during most of the twentieth century, some of the vocabulary of philosophical phenomenology and, in several cases, some of its methodology have influenced the phenomenology of religion.

PHENOMENOLOGY OF RELIGION AS PART OF HISTORY OF RELIGIONS (RELIGIOUS STUDIES). The modern scholarly study of religion probably had its beginnings in the late eighteenth century, largely as a product of the rational and scientific attitude of the Enlightenment, but the first major figure in this discipline was F. Max Müller (1823–1900). Müller intended *Religionswissenschaft* to be a descriptive, objective science free from the normative nature of theological and philosophical studies of religion.

The German term *Religionswissenschaft* has been given no adequate English equivalent, although the International Association for the History of Religions has adopted the term *history of religions* as synonymous with the term *general science of religions.* Thus *history of religions* is intended to designate a field of studies with many specialized disciplines utilizing different approaches.

P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye is sometimes considered the founder of phenomenology of religion as a special discipline of classification. Phenomenology of religion occupied an intermediary position for him between history and philosophy and is a descriptive, comparative approach involving "the collecting and grouping of various religious phenomena." One of the founders of *Religionswissenschaft*, the Dutch historian C. P. Tiele (1830–1902), considered phenomenology to be the first stage of the philosophical part of the science of religion.

Scholars of religion point to the phenomenology of religion's sense of generality, with its approach invariably characterized as systematic. For Widengren, the phenomenology of religion aims at "a coherent account of all the various phenomena of religion, and is thus the systematic complement of the history of religion" (1945, p. 9). The historical approach provides a historical analysis of the development of separate religions; phenomenology provides "the systematic synthesis."

The Italian historian of religions Raffaele Pettazzoni (1883–1959) attempted to formulate the diverse methodological tendencies and tensions, defining *Religionswissenschaft* in terms of these two complementary aspects: the historical and the phenomenological. On the one hand, the history of religions attempts to uncover "precisely what happened and how the facts came to be," but it does not provide the deeper understanding of the meaning of what happened, nor "the sense of the religious": these come from phenomenology. On the other hand, phenomenology cannot do without ethnology, philology, and other historical disciplines. Therefore, according to Pettazzoni, phenomenology and history are two complementary aspects of the integral science of religion.

MAJOR PHENOMENOLOGISTS OF RELIGION. What follows are brief formulations of the approaches and contributions of eight influential phenomenologists of religion: Max Scheler, W. Brede Kristensen, Rudolf Otto, Gerardus van der Leeuw, Friedrich Heiler, C. Jouco Bleeker, Mircea Eliade, and Ninian Smart. Included are criticisms of perhaps the three most influential phenomenologists of religion within religious studies: Otto, van der Leeuw, and Eliade.

Max Scheler. Of the major philosophers who founded and developed philosophical phenomenology, Max Scheler had the greatest focus on religion. After Husserl, he may have been the most influential philosophical phenomenologist during the 1920s. In many ways, he can be considered the most significant early phenomenologist of religion. Influenced by Brentano, Husserl, Kant, Nietzsche, Dilthey, and Bergson, among others, Scheler developed his own original phenomenological approach. Among his books, *Vom Ewigen im Menschen* (1921, translated as *On the Eternal in Man*, 1960) and *Der Formalismus in der Ethik und die materiale Wertethik* (2 vols., 1913–1916, translated as *Formalism in Ethics and Non-Formal Ethics of Values*, 1973) bring out his phenomenological method, his description and analysis of sympathy, love, and other values, and key characteristics of his phenomenology of religion.

Although Scheler's detailed epistemology, ethics and axiology, metaphysics, and philosophical anthropology are very complex and his phenomenology of religion goes through several radical changes, it is possible to delineate a few influential characteristics of his phenomenological approach to religion. Reminiscent of Schleiermacher and Otto, Scheler focused on a phenomenological description and analysis of human experience: the unique religious human mode of experience and feeling; the being of the human being for whom structures and essences of religious values are presented to consciousness. Within the phenomenology of religion, phenomenological disclosure, focusing on what is "given" to consciousness as the Absolute, the Divine Person, or God, is not achieved through reason but only through the love of God as orienting one toward experiential realization of the Holy.

Philosophical phenomenologists of religion are greatly indebted to Scheler, although it is not clear the extent to which scholars within religious studies have been influenced by him, even if some of their approaches can be related to his phenomenological analysis. The turn to religion in some of philosophical phenomenology and other forms of continental philosophy at the end of the twentieth century often exhibited characteristics similar to Scheler's phenomenological orientation.

W. Brede Kristensen. From Chantepie de la Saussaye and Tiele, through van der Leeuw and the Norwegian expatriate Kristensen, and up to the writings of Bleeker and others, much of the field has been dominated by a Dutch tradition of phenomenology of religion. Sometimes this is broadened to encompass a Dutch-Scandinavian tradition in order to include phenomenologists such as Nathan Söderblom (1866–1931).

W. Brede Kristensen, a specialist in Egyptian and ancient historical religions, illustrates an extreme formulation of the descriptive approach within phenomenology. As a subdivision of the general science of religion, phenomenology is, according to Kristensen, a systematic and comparative approach that is descriptive and not normative. In opposing the widespread positivist and evolutionist approaches to religion, Kristensen attempted to integrate historical knowledge of the facts with phenomenological "empathy" and "feeling" for the data in order to grasp the "inner meaning" and religious values in various texts.

The phenomenologist must accept the faith of the believers as the sole "religious reality." In order to achieve phenomenological understanding, scholars must avoid imposing their own value judgments on the experiences of believers and must assume that the believers are completely right. In other words, the primary focus of phenomenology is the description of how believers understand their own faith. One must respect the absolute value that believers ascribe to their faith. An understanding of this religious reality is always approximate or relative, since one can never experience the religion of others exactly as the believers experience it. After describing the "belief of the believers," the scholar may classify the phenomena according to essential types and make comparative evaluations. But all investigations into the essence and evaluations of phenomena entail value judgments by the interpreter and are beyond the limits of a descriptive phenomenology.

Rudolf Otto. Two interdependent methodological contributions made by Rudolf Otto deserve emphasis: his experiential approach, which involves the phenomenological description of the universal, essential structure of religious experience, and his antireductionism, which respects the unique, irreducible, "numinous" quality of all religious experience.

In *Das Heilige* (1917, translated as *The Idea of the Holy*, 1923), Otto presents what is probably the best-known phenomenological account of religious experience. In attempting to uncover the essential structure and meaning of all religious experience, Otto describes the universal "numinous" element as a unique a priori category of meaning and value. By *numen* and *numinous*, Otto means the concept of "the holy" minus its moral and rational aspects. With such an emphasis on this nonmoral, nonrational aspect of religion, he attempts to isolate the "overplus of meaning," beyond the rational and conceptual, which constitutes the universal essence of the religious experience. Since such a unique nonrational experience cannot be defined or conceptualized, the symbolic and analogical descriptions are meant to evoke within the reader the experience of the holy. The religious experience of the numinous, as an a priori structure of consciousness, can be reawakened or recognized by means of our innate sense of the numinous, that is, our capacity for this a priori knowledge of the holy.

In this regard, Otto formulates a universal phenomenological structure of religious experience in which the phenomenologist can distinguish autonomous religious phenomena by their numinous aspect and can organize and analyze specific religious manifestations. He points to our "creature feeling" of absolute dependence in the experiential presence of the holy. This sui generis religious experience is described as the experience of the "wholly other" (*ganz Andere*), which is qualitatively unique and transcendent.

This insistence on the unique a priori quality of the religious experience points to Otto's antireductionism. Otto rejects the one-sidedly intellectualistic and rationalistic bias of most interpretations and the reduction of religious phenomena to the interpretive schema of linguistic analysis, anthropology, sociology, psychology, and various historicist approaches. This emphasis on the autonomy of religion, with the need for a unique, autonomous phenomenological approach that is commensurate with interpreting the meaning of the irreducibly religious phenomena, is generally accepted by major phenomenologists of religion.

Various interpreters have criticized Otto's phenomenological approach for being too narrowly conceived. According to these critics, Otto's approach focuses on nonrational aspects of certain mystical and other "extreme" experiences, but it is not sufficiently comprehensive to interpret the diversity and complexity of religious data, nor is it sufficiently concerned with the specific historical and cultural forms of religious phenomena. Critics also object to the a priori nature of Otto's project and influences of personal, Christian, theological, and apologetic intentions on his phenomenology. Van der Leeuw, while agreeing with Otto's antireductionism, attempts to broaden his phenomenology by investigating and systematizing a tremendous diversity of religious phenomena.

Gerardus van der Leeuw. In his *Comparative Religion*, Eric J. Sharpe writes that "between 1925 and 1950, the phenomenology of religion was associated almost exclusively with the name of the Dutch scholar Gerardus van der Leeuw, and with his book *Phänomenologie der Religion*" (1986, pp. 229–230). Especially notable among the many influences on his phenomenology acknowledged by van der Leeuw are the writings of the German philosopher Wilhelm Dilthey (1833–1911) on hermeneutics and the concept of "understanding" (*Verstehen*).

In several writings, especially the epilogue of *Phänomenologie der Religion* (1933, translated as *Religion in Essence and Manifestation*, 2d ed., 1963), which contains the chapters "Phenomenon and Phenomenology" and "The Phenomenology of Religion," van der Leeuw defines the assumptions, concepts, and stages of his phenomenological approach. According to van der Leeuw, the phenomenologist must respect the specific intentionality of religious phenomena and simply describe the phenomenon as "what appears into view." The phenomenon is given in the mutual relations between subject and object; that is, its "entire essence" is given in its appearance to someone.

Van der Leeuw proposed a subtle and complex phenomenological method with which the phenomenologist goes far beyond a descriptive phenomenology. His method involves systematic introspection—"the interpolation of the phenomenon into our lives"—as necessary for understanding religious phenomena. In the first volume of his *Classical Approaches to the Study of Religion* (1973–1974), Jacques Waardenburg describes this phenomenological-psychological method as "an 'experiential' method to guide intuition and to arrive at immediate understanding" and as the "classification of religious phenomena by means of ideal types which are constituted by a psychological technique of re-experiencing religious meanings" (p. 57).

According to van der Leeuw, phenomenology must be combined with historical research, which precedes phenomenological understanding and provides the phenomenologist with sufficient data. Phenomenology must be open to "perpetual correction by the most conscientious philological and archaeological research," and "it becomes pure art or empty fancy" (van der Leeuw, 1963, vol. 2, p. 677) when it removes itself from such historical control. Special note may be taken of van der Leeuw's emphasis on the religious aspect of "power" as the basis of every religious form and as defining that which is religious. "Phenomenology describes how man conducts himself in his relation to Power" (1963, vol. 1, p. 191). The terms *holy*, *sanctus*, *taboo*, and so on, taken together, describe what occurs in all religious experience: "a strange, 'Wholly Other,' Power obtrudes into life" (1963, vol. 2, p. 681).

Influences from van der Leeuw's own Christian point of view are often central to his analysis of the phenomenological method for gaining understanding of religious structures and meanings. For example, he claims that "faith and intellectual suspense (the *epochê*) do not exclude each other," and "all understanding rests upon self-surrendering love" (1963, vol. 2, pp. 683–684). Indeed, van der Leeuw above all considered himself a theologian, positing that phenomenology of religion leads to both anthropology and theology. Numerous scholars have concluded that much of his phenomenology of religion must be interpreted in theological terms.

Critics, while often expressing admiration for *Religion in Essence and Manifestation* as an extraordinary collection of religious data, offer many objections to van der Leeuw's phenomenology of religion: his phenomenological approach is based on numerous theological and metaphysical assumptions and value judgments; it is often too subjective and highly speculative; and it neglects the historical and cultural context of religious phenomena and is of little value for empirically based research.

Friedrich Heiler. Born in Munich, Friedrich Heiler (1892–1967) is known for his studies on prayer, great religious personalities, ecumenism, the unity of all religion, and a kind of global phenomenology of religion.

According to Heiler, the phenomenological method proceeds from the externals to the essence of religion. Although every approach has presuppositions, the phenomenology of religion must avoid every philosophical a priori and utilize only those presuppositions that are consistent with an inductive method. Heiler's phenomenology of religion, which is theologically oriented, emphasizes the indispensable value of "empathy": the phenomenologist must exercise respect, tolerance, and sympathetic understanding for all religious experience and the religious truth expressed in the data. Indeed, the phenomenologist's personal religious experience is a precondition for an empathic understanding of the totality of religious phenomena.

C. Jouco Bleeker. Bleeker distinguished three types of phenomenology of religion: the descriptive phenomenology that restricts itself to the systematization of religious phenomena, the typological phenomenology that formulates the different types of religion, and the specific sense of phenomenology that investigates the essential structures and meanings of religious phenomena. In terms of this more specific sense, phenomenology of religion has a double meaning: it is an independent science that creates monographs and handbooks, such as van der Leeuw's *Religion in Essence and Manifestation* and Eliade's *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (1958), but it is also a scholarly method that utilizes such principles as the phenomenological *epoché* and eidetic vision. Although Bleeker frequently used such technical terms in gaining insight into religious structures and acknowledged that these terms were borrowed from the philosophical phenomenology of Husserl and his school, he claimed that they were used by the phenomenology of religion in only a figurative sense.

According to Bleeker, the phenomenology of religion combines a critical attitude and concern for accurate descriptions with a sense of empathy for the phenomena. It is an empirical science without philosophical aspirations, and it should distinguish its activities from those of philosophical phenomenology and of anthropology. He warned that historians and phenomenologists of religion should not dabble in philosophical speculations on matters of method, stating that "phenomenology of religion is not a philosophical discipline, but a systematization of historical fact with the intent to understand their religious meaning" (Bleeker, in Bianchi et al., 1972, pp. 39–41, 51).

Probably the best-known formulation in Bleeker's reflections on phenomenology is his analysis of the task of phenomenology of religion as an inquiry into three dimensions of religious phenomena: *theoria*, *logos*, and *entelecheia*.

The *theoria* of phenomena "discloses the essence and significance of the facts." It has an empirical basis and leads to an understanding of the implications of various aspects of religion. The Logos of phenomena "penetrates into the structure of different forms of religious life." This provides a sense of objectivity by showing that hidden structures "are built up according to strict inner laws," and that religion "always possesses a certain structure with an inner logic" (Bleeker, 1963, pp. 14, 17).

Most original is Bleeker's position that the *entelecheia* of phenomena "reveals itself in the dynamics, the development which is visible in the religious life of mankind," or in "the course of events in which the essence is realized by its manifestations." Phenomenology, it is frequently stated, abstracts from historical change and presents a rather static view of essential structures and meanings. By the *entelecheia*, Bleeker wants to stress that religion is not static but is "an invincible, creative and self-regenerating force." The phenomenologist of religion must work closely with the historian of religions in studying the dynamics of phenomena and the development of religions (Bleeker, 1963, pp. 14, 16–24).

Mircea Eliade. According to the Romanian scholar Mircea Eliade, one of the major interpreters of religious symbol and myth, religion "refers to the experience of the sacred." The phenomenologist works with historical documents expressing *hierophanies*, or manifestations of the sacred, and attempts to decipher the existential situation and religious meaning expressed through the data. The sacred and the profane express "two modes of being in the world," and religion always entails the attempt of *homo religiosus* to transcend the relative, historical-temporal, profane world by experiencing a "superhuman" sacred world of transcendent values.

In Bleeker's first sense of phenomenology of religion as an independent discipline that creates monographs that describe and classify essential structures and meanings, one may note Eliade's many morphological studies of different kinds of religious symbolism; his interpretations of the structure and function of myth, with the cosmogonic myth and other creation myths functioning as exemplary models; his treatment of rituals, such as those of initiation, as reenacting sacred mythic models; his structural analysis of sacred space, sacred time, and sacred history; and his studies of different types of religious experience, such as yoga, shamanism, alchemy, and other "archaic" phenomena.

In Bleeker's second sense of phenomenology of religion as a specific method, there are three key methodological principles underlying Eliade's approach: his assumption of the "irreducibility of the sacred," his emphasis on the "dialectic of the sacred" as the universal structure of sacralization, and his uncovering of the structural systems of religious symbols that constitute the hermeneutical framework in terms of which he interprets religious meaning.

The assumption of the irreducibility of the religious is a form of phenomenological *epoché*. In attempting to understand and describe the meaning of religious phenomena, the phenomenologist must utilize an antireductionist method commensurate with the nature of the data. Only a religious frame of reference or "scale" of interpretation does not distort the specific, irreducible religious intentionality expressed in the data.

The universal structure of the dialectic of the sacred provides Eliade with essential criteria for distinguishing religious from nonreligious phenomena. There is always a sacred-profane dichotomy and the separation of the hierophanic object, such as a particular mountain or tree or person, since this is the medium through which the sacred is manifested; the sacred, which expresses transcendent structures and meanings, paradoxically limits itself by incarnating itself in something ordinarily finite, temporal, historical, and profane; the sacred, in its dialectical movement of disclosure and revelation, always conceals and camouflages itself; and the religious person, in resolving existential crises, evaluates and chooses the sacred as powerful, ultimate, normative, and meaningful.

The central position of symbolism, with the focus on coherent systems of symbolic structures, establishes the phenomenological grounds for Eliade's structural hermeneutics. Among the characteristics of symbols are: (1) their "logic," which allows various symbols to fit together to form coherent symbolic systems; (2) their "multivalence," through which they express simultaneously a number of structurally coherent meanings not evident on the level of immediate experience; and (3) their "function of unification," by which they integrate heterogeneous phenomena into a whole or a system. These autonomous, universal, coherent systems of symbols usually provide the phenomenological framework for Eliade's interpretation of religious meaning. For example, he interprets the meaning of a religious phenomenon associated with the sun or moon by reintegrating it within its solar or lunar structural system of symbolic associations.

Although Eliade was extremely influential, many scholars ignore or are hostile to his history and phenomenology of religion. The most frequent criticism is that Eliade is methodologically uncritical, often presenting sweeping, arbitrary, subjective generalizations not based upon specific historical and empirical data. Critics also charge that his approach is influenced by various normative judgments and an assumed ontological position that is partial to a religious, antihistorical mode of being and to certain Eastern and archaic phenomena.

Ninian Smart. Smart (1927–2001), who was born in Cambridge, England, to Scottish parents, had a major impact on the field of religious studies. He was committed to phenomenology as the best way to study religion. His phenomenology of religion avoids what were two dominant approaches to religion: (1) ethnocentric, normative, especially Christian, theological approaches in the study of religion; and (2) normative philosophical approaches with their exclusive focus on belief and conceptual analysis to the exclusion of other dimensions of religious phenomena. Smart was capable of technical scholarly analysis, as seen in his *Doctrine and Argument in Indian Philosophy* (1964), but he is probably better known as a popularizer in his study of religion, as seen in *The Religious Experience of Mankind* (1969). He believed that profound insights can be presented in simple understandable language and ordinary phenomenological categories.

Smart emphasized many points that became easily recognizable and widely accepted in the phenomenology of religion and other approaches to religious phenomena during the last decades of the twentieth century. He emphasized suspension of one's own value judgments and the need for phenomenological empathy in understanding and describing the religious phenomena of others. He endorsed a liberal humanistic approach that upholds the value of pluralism and diversity. In Smart's phenomenological approach, one recognizes that religion expresses many dimensions of human experience. Such an approach is "polymethodic," multiperspectival, comparative, and cross-cultural. The phenomenologist of religion needs to take seriously the contextual nature of diverse religious phenomena; to ask questions, engage in critical dialogue, and maintain an open-ended investigation of religion; and to recognize that religions express complex, multidimensional, interconnected worldviews. This focus on religions in terms of worldview analysis leads to the contemporary interest in the globalization of religion and global pluralism.

CHARACTERISTICS OF PHENOMENOLOGY OF RELIGION. The following features, some of which have already been mentioned, are characteristic of much of the phenomenology of religion: its identification as a comparative, systematic, empirical, historical, descriptive discipline and approach; its antireductionist claims and its autonomous nature; its adoption of philosophical phenomenological notions of intentionality and *epoché;* its insistence on the value of empathy, sympathetic understanding, and religious commitment; and its claim to provide insight into essential structures and meanings. Several of these characteristics are associated primarily with the phenomenology of religion; others, while accepted by most phenomenologists of religion, are shared by other historians of religions.

Comparative and systematic approach. As previously noted, there is widespread agreement that the phenomenology of religion is a very general approach concerned with classifying and systematizing religious phenomena. There is also widespread agreement that this discipline uses a comparative approach. Various phenomenologists simply define their phenomenology of religion as equivalent to comparative religion. But even those scholars who reject such a simple identification maintain that phenomenologists are able to gain insight into essential structures and meanings only after comparing a large number of documents expressing a great diversity of religious phenomena.

Empirical approach. Bleeker, Eliade, and most phenomenologists of religion insist that they use an empirical approach that is free from a priori assumptions and judgments. Such an empirical approach, which is often described as "scientific" and "objective," begins by collecting religious documents and then goes on to decipher the religious phenomena by describing just what the empirical data reveal. Phenomenologists usually maintain that their discoveries of essential typologies and universal structures are based on empirical, inductive generalizations.

One of the most frequent attacks on the phenomenology of religion is that it is not empirically based and that it is therefore arbitrary, subjective, and unscientific. Critics charge that the universal structures and meanings are not found in the empirical data and that the phenomenological discoveries are not subject to empirical tests of verification.

Historical approach. Phenomenologists of religion usually maintain not only that their approach must cooperate with and complement historical research but also that phenomenology of religion is profoundly historical. All religious data are historical; no phenomena may be understood outside their history. The phenomenologist must be aware of the specific historical, cultural, and socioeconomic contexts within which religious phenomena appear.

Critics, however, charge that not only is the phenomenology of religion not historical, it is even antihistorical, both in terms of a phenomenological method that neglects the specific historical and cultural context and with regard to the primacy—methodologically and even ontologically—it grants to nonhistorical and nontemporal universal structures.

Descriptive approach. Unlike Müller, who intends the modern scholarly study of religion (*Religionswissenschaft*) to be a descriptive science attaining the autonomy and objectivity of the descriptive natural sciences, and Kristensen, who conceives of phenomenology of religion as "purely descriptive," almost all phenomenologists of religion today do not restrict themselves to mere description of religious phenomena. While cognizant of Kristensen's concerns about the subjective nature of much past scholarship in which interpreters filtered data through their own assumptions and value judgments, phenomenologists go far beyond the severe methodological restrictions of his descriptive phenomenology.

And yet these same phenomenologists invariably classify their discipline and approach as a descriptive phenomenology of religion; at the minimum, it is "essentially descriptive," and sometimes it is presented as "purely descriptive." They claim to utilize a descriptive approach and see their classifications, typologies, and structures as descriptive. Sometimes phenomenologists of religion distinguish the collection and description of religious data, which is objective and scientific, from the interpretation of meaning, which is at least partially subjective and normative.

Antireductionism. Philosophical phenomenology, in defining itself as a radically descriptive philosophy, opposes various kinds of reductionism. Phenomenologists oppose reductionism, which imposes uncritical preconceptions and unexamined judgments on phenomena, in order to deal with phenomena simply as phenomena and to provide more accurate descriptions of just what the phenomena reveal.

More than any other approach within the modern study of religion, phenomenology of religion insists that investigators approach religious data as phenomena that are fundamentally and irreducibly religious. Otto, Eliade, and other phenomenologists of religion often defend their strong antireductionism by criticizing past reductionist approaches. Many of these reductionist interpretations, for example, are based on "positivist" and "rationalist" norms and force religious data into preconceived unilinear, evolutionary explanatory frameworks. Phenomenologists criticize the reductions of religious data to fit nonreligious perspectives, such as those of sociology, psychology, or economics. Such reductionisms, it is argued, destroy the specificity, complexity, and irreducible intentionality of religious phenomena. In attempting sympathetically to understand the experience of the other, the phenomenologist must respect the "original" religious intentionality expressed in the data.

Autonomy. Directly related to the antireductionist claim of the irreducibility of the religious is the identification of phenomenology of religion as an autonomous discipline and approach. If there are certain irreducible modes by which religious phenomena are given, then one must utilize a specific method of understanding that is commensurate with the religious nature of the subject matter, and one must provide irreducibly religious interpretations of religious phenomena.

The phenomenology of religion is autonomous but not self-sufficient. It depends heavily on historical research and on data supplied by philology, ethnology, psychology, sociology, and other approaches. But it must always integrate the contributions of other approaches within its own unique phenomenological perspective.

Intentionality. Phenomenology analyzes acts of consciousness as consciousness of something and claims that meaning is given in the intentionality of the structure. In order to identify, describe, and interpret the meaning of religious phenomena, scholars must be attentive to the intentional structure of their data. For Otto, the a priori structure of religious consciousness is consciousness of its intended "numinous object." Van der Leeuw's phenomenological-psychological technique and Eliade's dialectic of the sacred are methods for capturing the intentional characteristics of religious manifestations. The major criticism made by phenomenologists of religion of reductionist approaches involves the latter's negation of the unique intentionality of religious phenomena.

Religious experiences reveal structures of transcendence in which human beings intend a transcendent referent, a supernatural metaempirical sacred meaning. Such intentionality is always historically, culturally, and linguistically situated. Religious language points beyond itself to intended sacred structures and meanings that transcend normal spatial, temporal, historical, and conceptual categories and analysis. That is why religious expressions are highly symbolic, analogical, metaphorical, mythic, and allegorical. Reductive explanations tend to destroy the intentional structure of religious meaning, invariably pointing to the transcendent sacred.

At the same time, no intentional referent and meaning is unmediated. For meaningful religious experience and communication, the intended transcendent referent must be mediated and brought into an integral human relation with our limited spatial, temporal, historical, cultural world with its intended objects and meanings. This is why symbolism, in its complex and diverse structures and functions, is essential for revealing, constituting, and communicating religious intentional meaning. Religious symbolic expressions serve as indispensable mediating bridges. On the one hand, they always point beyond themselves to intended transcendent meanings. On the other hand, by necessarily using symbolic language drawn from the spatial, temporal, natural, historical world of experience, they mediate the transcendent referent, limit and incarnate the sacred, allow the disclosure of the transcendent as imminent, and render sacred meanings humanly accessible and relevant to particular existential situations.

This specific religious intentionality ensures that the structures of religious experience, as well as interpretations and understandings, will remain open-ended with no possible closure. The necessary structural conditions for religious experience, the construction of religious texts, and the formulation of scholarly interpretations ensure that meaningful human understandings necessarily reveal limited intentional perspectives. And such relative, situated, intentional, religious perspectives always point beyond themselves to structures of transcendence; to inexhaustible possibilities for revalorizing symbolic expressions, for bursting open self-imposed perspectival closures, and for new, creative, self-transcending experiences, interpretations, and understandings.

***Epoché*, empathy, and sympathetic understanding.** Most philosophical phenomenologists present the phenomenological *epoché* as a means of bracketing beliefs and preconceptions normally imposed on phenomena. It is important to clarify that Husserl and other philosophers who formulate a "phenomenological reduction" as *epoché* do not intend a narrowing of perspective and negation of the complexity and specificity of phenomena. The phenomenological reduction is intended to achieve the very opposite of reductionism: by suspending one's unexamined assumptions and ordinary preconceptions and judgments, it allows one to become attentive to a much fuller disclosure of what manifests itself and how it manifests itself in experience; it allows for greater awareness of phenomena experienced on prereflective, emotive, imaginative, nonconceptual levels of intentional experience, thus leading to new insights into the specific intentionality and concrete richness of experience.

The phenomenological *epoché*, with an emphasis on empathy and sympathetic understanding, is related to methodological antireductionism. If the phenomenologist is to describe the meaning of religious phenomena as they appear in the lives of religious persons, she or he must suspend all personal preconceptions as to what is "real" and attempt to empathize with and imaginatively reenact these religious appearances. By insisting on the irreducibility of the religious, phenomenologists attempt sympathetically to place themselves within the religious "life-world" of others and to grasp the religious meaning of the experienced phenomena.

There are, of course, limitations to this personal participation, since the other always remains to some extent the "other." Phenomenologists insist that empathy, a sympathetic attitude, and personal participation in no way undermine the need for a critical scholarly approach with rigorous criteria of interpretation. This phenomenological orientation may be contrasted with the ideal of detached, impersonal scientific objectivity that characterizes almost all nineteenth-century approaches within the scholarly study of religion and that continues to define many approaches today.

In assuming a sympathetic attitude, the phenomenologist is not claiming that religious phenomena are not "illusory" and that the intentional object is "real." (As a matter of fact, many phenomenologists make such theological and metaphysical assumptions and judgments, but these usually violate the self-defined limits of their phenomenological perspectives.) The phenomenological bracketing entails the suspension of all such value judgments regarding whether or not the holy or sacred is actually an experience of ultimate reality.

With a few exceptions, it seems that phenomenologists of religion, while generally upholding an *epoché* or similar values, have not subjected such concepts to a rigorous analysis. Often they give little more than vague appeals to abstain from value judgments and to exercise a personal capacity for empathetic participation, but without scholarly criteria for verifying whether such sympathetic understanding has been achieved.

Many phenomenologists argue for the necessity of religious commitment, a personal religious faith, or at least personal religious experience in order for a scholar to be capable of empathy, participation, and sympathetic understanding. Other phenomenologists argue that such personal religious commitments generally produce biased descriptions that rarely do justice to the religious experience of others. It seems that a particular faith or theological commitment is not a precondition for accurate phenomenological descriptions. Rather it is a commitment to religious phenomena, manifested in terms of intellectual curiosity, sensitivity, and respect, that is indispensable for participation and understanding. Such a commitment may be shared by believers and nonbelievers alike.

Insight into essential structures and meanings. No subject matter is more central to philosophical phenomenology than analyses of the eidetic reduction and eidetic vision, the intuition of essences, the method of free variation, and other techniques for gaining insight into the essential structures and meanings of phenomena. By contrast, the phenomenology of religion, even in the specific sense of an approach concerned with describing essential structures and meanings, tends to avoid such methodological formulations. There are, of course, notable exceptions, as evidenced in the works of Max Scheler, Paul Ricoeur, and a relatively small number of other philosophers who incorporate phenomenology of religion as part of their philosophical phenomenology.

One generally finds, however, that most phenomenologists of religion accept both Bleeker's qualification that such terms as *eidetic vision* are used only in a figurative sense and his warning that phenomenology of religion should avoid philosophical speculations and not meddle in difficult philosophical questions of methodology. The result is that one is frequently presented with phenomenological typologies, "universal structures," and "essential meanings" of religious phenomena that lack a rigorous analysis of just how the phenomenologist arrived at or verified these discoveries. In short, in its claims concerning insight into essential structures and meanings, much of the phenomenology of religion appears to be methodologically uncritical.

Phenomenologists aim at intuiting, interpreting, and describing the essence of religious phenomena, but there is considerable disagreement as to what constitutes an essential structure. For some phenomenologists, an "essential structure" seems to be the result of an empirical inductive generalization, expressing a property that different phenomena have in common. For others, "essential structures" refer to types of religious phenomena, and there is debate concerning the relationship between historical types and phenomenological types. In the sense closest to philosophical phenomenology, *essence* refers to deep or hidden structures, which are not apparent on the level of immediate experience and must be uncovered and decoded or interpreted through the phenomenological method. These structures express the necessary invariant features allowing us to distinguish religious phenomena and to grasp religious phenomena as phenomena of a certain kind.

CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES. The examination of the major phenomenologists of religion and the major characteristics of the phenomenology of religion has raised many controversial issues. This section elaborates on several of these controversial issues and introduces a few others.

Descriptive versus normative claims. There are many controversial issues regarding the claim that the phenomenology of religion is a descriptive discipline with a descriptive method, especially since almost all phenomenologists go far beyond a mere description of the data, offering comparisons and evaluations of phenomena, universal structures, and essential meanings.

Many of these issues arise from the acceptance of a rather traditional descriptive-normative distinction. The adoption by many phenomenologists of religion of a radical, at times absolute, descriptive-normative dichotomy has been consistent with the classical empiricism of such philosophers as David Hume (1711–1776), with the Kantian philosophical framework, and with most nineteenth- and twentieth-century approaches in the history of religions.

Even those phenomenologists of religion who go far beyond Kristensen's descriptive restrictions frequently adopt a clear distinction between the collection and description of religious data, which is seen as objective and scientific, and the interpretation of meaning, which is at least partially subjective and normative. Despite its rejection of earlier models of positivism, it may be that the phenomenology of religion has unintentionally retained some of the positivistic assumptions regarding the investigation and "pure" description of unconstructed, uninterpreted, objective "facts."

Much of recent philosophy, however, challenges this absolute dichotomy. What is taken as objective and scientific is historically, culturally, and socially situated, based on presuppositions, and constructed in terms of implicit and explicit value judgments. For example, how does one even begin the investigation? What facts should be collected as religious facts? One's very principles of selectivity are never completely value-free. Indeed, philosophical phenomenologists have never accepted this sharp dichotomy, since the entire phenomenological project is founded on the possibilities of describing meanings. The challenge to the phenomenology of religion is to formulate a phenomenological method and framework for interpretation that allows the description of essential structures and meanings with some sense of objectivity.

Understanding versus explanation claims. Often related to controversies arising from the sharp descriptive-normative dichotomy are controversial issues involving the sharp understanding-explanation dichotomy. Phenomenology often claims that it aims at understanding, which involves describing meanings, and avoids explanation, which involves uncovering historical, psychological, and other causal relationships. Phenomenologists describe what appears and how it appears, and they interpret the meaning of such phenomena, but they do not provide causal explanations of the phenomena. This "understanding" often has the sense of *Verstehen* as formulated by Dilthey and others as the method and goal of hermeneutics. Phenomenologists aim at interpreting meaning and understanding the nature of religious and other "human" phenomena—as opposed to scientific, reductionistic approaches that give causal and other explanations and do not grasp the irreducibly human and irreducibly religious dimension of the phenomena they investigate.

Critics challenge such methods and goals as unscholarly and unscientific, and many scholars question whether phenomenological understanding and nonphenomenological explaining can be so completely separated. Explanatory approaches always involve understanding, and understanding is not possible without critical explanatory reflection. For example, even in terms of phenomenological understanding, the expressions of the religious other are not the final word, absolute and inviolable. The other may have a limited understanding of phenomena shaping her or his religious lifeworld, provide false explanations, talk nonsense, and engage in blatantly unethical behavior. Phenomenology of religion necessarily involves critical reflection, including contextual awareness and scholarly interpretations, understandings, and explanations that go beyond describing the expressed position of the religious other.

This in no way denies the value of phenomenological approaches that are self-critical in rendering explicit one's own presuppositions, that suspend one's own value judgments, that empathize and hear the voices of the religious other, and that describe as accurately as possible the religious phenomena and intended meanings of the religious other. Such phenomenology of religion aims at finding ways to allow other voices to be heard and is informed by a history of dominant, critical, normative approaches and reductionistic explanations that ignore, silence, and misinterpret the religious phenomena of others.

Antireductionist claims. Many critics attack phenomenology of religion's antireductionism, arguing that it is methodologically confused and unjustified and that it arises from the theological intention of defending religion against secular analysis. The most general criticism of this antireductionism is based on the argument that all methodological approaches are perspectival, limiting, and necessarily reductionistic. The assumption of the irreducibility of the religious is itself reductionistic, since it limits what phenomena will be investigated, what aspects of the phenomena will be described, and what meanings will be interpreted. Phenomenologists of religion cannot argue that other reductionistic approaches are necessarily false and that their approach does justice to all dimensions of religious phenomena.

The phenomenology of religion must show that its religious antireductionism is not methodologically confused, does not beg serious scholarly questions, does not simply avoid serious scholarly challenges, and may even be granted a certain methodological primacy on the basis of such key notions as intentionality and insight into essential structures and meanings. It must show, in terms of a rigorous method with procedures for verification, that its particular perspective is essential in shedding light on such religious structures and meanings.

Empirical and historical claims. Critics often claim that the phenomenology of religion starts with a priori nonempirical assumptions, utilizes a method that is not empirically based, and detaches religious structures and meanings from their specific historical and cultural contexts. Such critics often assume a clear-cut dichotomy between an empirical, inductive, historical approach and a nonempirical, often rationalist, deductive, antihistorical approach. They identify their approaches with the former and the phenomenology of religion with versions of the latter. They conclude that the phenomenology of religion cannot meet minimal empirical, historical, inductive criteria for a scientific approach, such as rigorous criteria for verification and falsification. (It may be simply noted that much of recent philosophy has been directed not only at critiquing classical empiricism but also at undermining this absolute dichotomy.)

Much of philosophical phenomenology is conceived in opposition to traditional empiricism. Husserl called for a "phenomenological reduction" in which the phenomenologist "suspends" the "natural standpoint" and its empirical world in order to become more attentive to phenomena and to intuit the deeper phenomenological essences. Although such a phenomenology has been described as a radical empiricism, it employs a critique of traditional empiricism adopted by most of the history of religions.

Controversies arise from criticisms that phenomenology of religion is highly normative and subjective because it makes nonempirical, nonhistorical, a priori, theological, and other normative assumptions, and because it grants an ontologically privileged status to religious phenomena and to specific kinds of religious experience. Thus, critics charge that Kristensen, Otto, van der Leeuw, Heiler, Eliade, and others have nonempirical and nonhistorical, extraphenomenological, theological, and other normative assumptions, intentions, and goals that define much of their phenomenological projects, taking them beyond the domain of a descriptive phenomenology and any rigorous scientific approach.

The status granted to essential religious structures and meanings is also controversial insofar as they exhibit the peculiarity of being empirical—that is, based on investigating a limited sample of historical data—and, at the same time, universal. These structures are therefore empirically contingent and yet also the essential necessary features of religious phenomena.

Finally, there is controversy regarding the insistence by many phenomenologists of religion that they proceed by some kind of empirical inductive inference that is not unlike the classical formulations of induction developed by John Stuart Mill (1806–1873) and others. Critics charge that they cannot repeat this inductive inference, that the phenomenological structures do not appear in the empirical data, and that phenomenologists read into their data all kinds of essential meanings.

One response by phenomenologists, as expressed in Guilford Dudley's *Religion on Trial* (1977), is to give up their empirical and historical claims and turn to a nonempirical, nonhistorical, rationalist, deductive approach. A different response, as expressed in Douglas Allen's *Structure and Creativity in Religion* (1978), is to formulate a method of "phenomenological induction" different from classical empirical induction, in which essential structures and meaning are based on, but not found fully in, the empirical data. This response involves a process of imaginative construction and idealization by phenomenologists, and the essential structures must then be rigorously tested in terms of the light that they shed on the empirical-historical data.

Questions of verification. As has been repeatedly noted, there are many different criticisms of the phenomenology of religion for being methodologically uncritical. The phenomenology of religion cannot continue to avoid basic methodological questions raised by philosophical phenomenology and other disciplines if it is to overcome these criticisms. Many of these criticisms involve questions of verification. Phenomenological "intuition" does not free one from the responsibility of ascertaining which interpretation of a given phenomenon is most adequate nor of substantiating why this is so. Fueling this controversy is the observation that different phenomenologists, while investigating the same phenomena and claiming to utilize the phenomenological method, continually present different eidetic intuitions. How does one resolve this contingency introduced into phenomenological insights? How does one verify specific interpretations and decide between different interpretations?

Such questions pose specific difficulties for a phenomenological method of *epoché* and intuition of essences. A phenomenological method often suspends the usual criteria of "objectivity" that allow scholars to verify interpretations and choose between alternative accounts. Does this leave the phenomenology of religion with a large number of very personal, extremely subjective, hopelessly fragmented interpretations of universal structures and meanings, each relativistic interpretation determined by the particular temperament, situation, and orientation of the individual phenomenologist?

The phenomenologist of religion can argue that past criteria for verification are inadequate and result in a false sense of objectivity, but phenomenology of religion must also overcome the charges of complete subjectivity and relativism by struggling with questions of verification. It must formulate rigorous procedures for testing its claims of essential structures and meanings, and these procedures must involve criteria for intersubjective verification.

Response to controversial issues. Many writers describe the phenomenology of religion as being in a state of crisis. They usually minimize the invaluable contributions made by phenomenology to the study of religion, such as the impressive systematization of so much religious data and the raising of fundamental questions of meaning often ignored by other approaches.

If the phenomenology of religion is to deal adequately with its controversial issues, the following are several of its future tasks. First, it must become more aware of historical, philological, and other specialized approaches to, and different aspects of, its religious data. Second, it must critique various approaches of its critics, thus showing that its phenomenological method is not obliged to meet such inadequate criteria for objectivity. And most importantly, it must reflect more critically on questions of methodology so that phenomenology of religion can formulate a more rigorous method, allowing for the description of phenomena, the interpretation of their structures and meanings, and the verification of its findings.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN PHENOMENOLOGY OF RELIGION. Developments within the phenomenology of religion during the last decades of the twentieth century and the early years of the twenty-first century convey a very mixed and confusing picture about the present status and future prospects for the field.

Within religious studies. Phenomenology of religion continues as a major discipline and approach within the general scholarly study of religion. Phenomenologists of religion are influenced by earlier major phenomenologists, and they share the general phenomenological orientation defined by the major characteristics previously delineated. The phenomenology of religion has also been successful to the extent that many other scholars, who do not consider themselves phenomenologists, adopt a phenomenological approach during early stages of their scholarly investigations because it has great value in allowing them to assemble data and do justice to the religious perspectives of religious persons.

At the same time, phenomenology of religion, as has been noted, is sometimes described as being in a state of crisis. There are no contemporary phenomenologists of religion who enjoy the status and influence once enjoyed by a van der Leeuw or an Eliade. Some scholars, doing phenomenology of religion, are uncomfortable with the term since it carries so much past baggage from Husserlian philosophical foundations and from Eliadean and other phenomenology of religion they consider outdated. In general, contemporary phenomenologists of religion within religious studies attempt to be more contextually sensitive and more modest in their phenomenological claims.

Recent challenges. Most of the scholarly challenges to the phenomenology of religion continue the major criticisms previously described. Robert Segal and other leading scholars of religion, usually identified with social scientific and reductionist approaches, repeatedly criticize the phenomenology of religion for being unscientific, highly subjective, and lacking scholarly rigor. Scholars identifying with reductionistic cognitive science and claiming that this is the only rigorous method and model for gaining objective knowledge provide a recent illustration of such challenges.

There are also a tremendous variety of other challenges to the phenomenology of religion that are often classified as postmodernist and narrativist. In many ways, they offer opposite challenges from the above social scientific reductionist approaches. They criticize the phenomenology of religion's claim to uncover universal structures and essences as being too reductionistic in denying the diversity and plurality of religious phenomena. Included here are a tremendous variety of approaches often described by such terms as postmodernist, deconstructionist, post-structuralist, narrativist, pragmatist, feminist, and relativist.

For example, in *Beyond Phenomenology: Rethinking the Study of Religion* (1999), Gavin Flood argues that the inadequate presuppositions, central concepts, and models of philosophical phenomenology, an impact identified almost exclusively with Husserl's transcendental phenomenology, have dominated the study of religion. By way of extreme contrast, Flood, influenced primarily by Mikhail Bakhtin's dialogical analysis and Paul Ricoeur's hermeneutical analysis, proposes a dialogical, narrativist, interactional, dynamic model for rethinking the study of religion. This model includes: recognition of signs and language as a starting point; rejection of essentializing hegemonic approaches with their universalizing claims to objectivity; recognition that self or subject is always embodied and embedded, relational and interactive, contextualized, constituted and constituting subject; recognition of the complex narrativist situatedness of both investigator and subject matter with dialogical, mutually interactive relations between the two perspectives; and affirmation of open-ended, perspectival nature of all knowledge with emphasis on nonclosure of interpretations and explanations.

In response, one can submit that Flood greatly exaggerates the impact that Husserlian transcendental phenomenology has had on the study of religion, and that most of the critiques of phenomenology and the antiphenomenological features he formulates can be found within later developments of philosophical phenomenology and phenomenology of religion.

PHILOSOPHICAL PHENOMENOLOGY OF RELIGION. The emphasis in this entry has been on phenomenology of religion as a discipline and method within *Religionswissenschaft* (the general history of religions or religious studies). The emphasis has not been on philosophical phenomenology with its limited focus on religion and its limited influence on phenomenology of religion within religious studies.

However, there has been a remarkable development, beginning in the last part of the twentieth century: continental philosophy, frequently identified with phenomenology and hermeneutics, has often taken a religious turn. It is not always clear whether to classify such developments under "the phenomenology of religion." Most of these key philosophers are deeply influenced by Husserl's phenomenology, but they often seem to transgress phenomenology's boundaries and express ambiguous relations to phenomenology. They are sometimes classified under the "new phenomenology" or under postphenomenological variations.

Special mention may be made of several of the most influential European philosophers of the twentieth century. Emmanuel Levinas (1906–1995), a student of Husserl with deep roots in phenomenology, became one of the dominant continental philosophers in the late twentieth century. With his major focus on ethics, spirituality, and Jewish philosophy, Levinas emphasized radical alterity and the primacy of the "other," thus reversing earlier phenomenological self–other emphasis on the privileged status of the epistemic constituting self or ego. Paul Ricoeur, also with deep roots in Husserl and phenomenology, has made invaluable contributions to our understanding of religious phenomena with his analysis of philosophy as the hermeneutical interpretation of meaning and with his focus on religious language, symbolism, and narrative.

Two of the most influential European philosophers are Martin Heidegger and Jacques Derrida (1930–2004). Heidegger's writings on "phenomenology of religion," based on lectures and courses he gave in 1920 and 1921, were published in German in the 1990s and translated as *Phenomenology of Religious Life* (2004). Derrida, whose early work is on Husserl, is the major figure of deconstructionist philosophy, which can be viewed as a rejection of philosophical phenomenology and traditional philosophy. Starting in the late 1990s, Derrida increasingly turned his focus to religion. His works may be described as a hermeneutic of the desire for God, deeply shaped by a return to Husserl but more of a postphenomenological critique of presence with an affirmation of the religious other.

There are several other influential philosophers who are more easily classified under the renewed interest in the philosophical phenomenology of religion. Special mention may be made of Michel Henry, with such books as *The Essence of Manifestation* (1973), *Incarnation* (2000), and *I Am the Truth* (2003); and Jean-Luc Marion, with deep roots in Husserl, who is the most influential figure within the recent religious turn in the "new phenomenology," with such books as *God without Being* (1991), *Reduction and Givenness* (1998), and *Being Given* (2002).

In the late twentieth century, significant developments in continental philosophy, usually influenced by Husserl and philosophical phenomenology, increasingly focused on religion. It is not yet clear whether such philosophical developments will have a significant influence on the phenomenology of religion within religious studies.

Several recent contributions. Finally, there are three interrelated contributions to the phenomenology of religion that often contrast with earlier dominant characteristics: the focus on the "other," givenness, and contextualization.

From their very beginnings, philosophical phenomenology and phenomenology of religion have emphasized the need to become aware of one's presuppositions, suspend one's value judgments, and accurately describe and interpret the meaning of phenomena as phenomena. Past philosophy, theology, and other normative approaches have been critiqued for ignoring or distorting the intentional structures and meanings of the religious phenomena of the "other." More recent phenomenologists recognize that earlier phenomenology, with its essentializing projects and universalizing claims, often does not pay sufficient attention to the diverse experiences and meanings of the other. One sometimes learns more about the scholar's phenomenological theory of religion than about the particular religious phenomena of the other. Recent phenomenology has been much more sensitive to providing a methodological and hermeneutical framework for becoming attentive to the tremendous diversity of the religious voices of others.

Related to this is the focus on givenness. Philosophical phenomenology and phenomenology of religion emphasize the need to become attentive to what is given in experience. Phenomenological reflection involves an active openness and deeper kind of attentiveness to how religious phenomena appear or are given to us in experience. Over the decades, phenomenology of religion has become much broader, more self-critical, and much more sophisticated in recognizing the complexity, ambiguity, and depth of our diverse modes of givenness. For example, in their very dynamic of givenness, religious phenomena both reveal and conceal structures and meanings; are multidimensional and given meaning through pre-understandings, the pre-reflective, the emotive, and the imaginative, as well as rational and conceptual analysis; are not disclosed as bare givens but as highly complex, inexhaustible, constituted, self-transcending givens; and are given in ways that affirm the open-ended perspectival nature of all knowledge and the nonclosure of descriptions, interpretations, and explanations.

Finally, phenomenologists of religion are much more sensitive to the complex, mediated, interactive, contextual situatedness of their phenomenological tasks. Unlike the earlier emphasis on doing justice to experiential givenness and the phenomena of the other, philosophical phenomenology and phenomenology of religion are continually criticized for claiming to uncover nonhistorical, nontemporal, essential structures and meanings largely detached from their specific contexts within which religious phenomena have been expressed.

More recent phenomenologists of religion tend to be more sensitive to the perspectival and contextual constraints of their approach and more modest in their claims. There is value in uncovering religious essences and structures, but as embodied and contextualized, not as fixed, absolute, ahistorical, eternal truths and meanings.

In this regard, a more self-critical and modest phenomenology of religion may have much to contribute to the study of religion, including an awareness of its presuppositions, its historical and contextualized situatedness, and its limited perspectival knowledge claims, while also not completely abandoning concerns about the commonality of human beings and the value of unity, as well as differences. Such a self-critical and modest phenomenology of religion may attempt to formulate essential structures and meanings through rigorous phenomenological methods, including intersubjective confirmation of knowledge claims, while also attempting to formulate new, dynamic, contextually sensitive projects involving creative encounter, contradiction, and synthesis.

SEE ALSO Comparative Religion; Study of Religion, overview article; World Religions.

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Douglas Allen (1987 and 2005)

PHILARET OF MOSCOW See FILARET OF MOSCOW

PHILISTINE RELIGION. The original arrival of the Philistines to the Near East seems to have occurred during the end of the thirteenth century BCE as the waves of the "Sea Peoples"—so called in Egyptian texts—appeared in the eastern Mediterranean and spread throughout the whole area. For instance, the inscriptions accompanying the battle reliefs of the great mortuary temple of Medinet Habu at Thebes mention six different foreign peoples that tried to invade Egypt during the eighth year of the reign of Ramses III (twelfth century BCE): the Peleset (*prst* or *plst*); the Tjeker (*tkr*); the Shekelesh (*škrš* or *šklš*); the Danuna (*dnjn*); the Sherden (*šrdn*); and the Weshesh (*wšš*). Some of these ethnonyms, along with a few additional ones (e.g., Lukka or *Rwkw,* probably connected to Lycia), occur in other Egyptian documents, such as the Great Papyrus Harris (from the reign of Ramses III), and earlier, at the end of the Late Bronze Age, in the Merneptah inscription at Karnak (late thirteenth century). Many of these peoples are mentioned also in Hittite and Ugaritic texts and Akkadian letters found in Amarna, all from the end of the Late Bronze Age. All these peoples seem to have had their roots in Anatolia and the Aegean. The Weshesh probably came from western Anatolia, like another group of the "Sea Peoples," the Tursha or Teresh (*trš*), cited in an inscription from Deir el-Medinah (Egypt) and identified with the *Tursēnoí* in Greek texts (perhaps the ancestors of the Etruscans). The island of Sardinia may owe its name to the Sherden or Shardanu. The Danuna are frequently identified with the Danuniyim mentioned in Phoenician inscriptions and with the Danaoi of Greek texts. Sicily may have been named after the Shekelesh or Sicels. The Tjeker or Zakkala eventually settled south of Carmel, and Dor was their capital. Finally, the Peleset or Purasti must be identified with the Philistines.

Centuries after Ramses III and as part of the originally Yahwistic materials eventually added to the Priestly genealogy (*tôledôt*) known as the "Table of the Nations" in *Genesis* 10, the Philistines are mentioned as originating from Kaphtor (*Gn.* 10:14: "and the Kaphtorim, from whom the Philistines came," cf. *Am.* 9:7; *Jer.* 47:4; *Dt.* 2:23)—Hebrew Kaphtor (*kaptôr,* Egyptian *kftjw,* Akkadian *kaptaru*) is usually identified with Crete. The people labeled in the Hebrew Bible as Philistines (*pĕlištîm*) occupied a rather larger territory (*Jos.* 13:2–3) that included a Pentapolis: Gaza, Ashqelon, Ashdod, Eqron, and Gath. Along with this Pentapolis, the Bible mentions other smaller Philistine settlements, called "villages" (*ḥăṣērîm*) or "daughters" (*banôt*), such as Ziklag, Timna, and Jabneh. Furthermore, there were other important cities identified as Philistine in some biblical passages, such as Gerar in the Yahwistic story of Isaac's encounter with Abimelek, king of the Philistines (*Gn.* 26)—but in the Elohistic story of Abraham (*Gn.* 20), Gerar is not associated with the Philistines. In terms of material culture, it is important to point out that the early (twelfth century BCE, Iron Age I) strata of some of these Philistine sites (Eqron, Ashdod) have yielded a sizeable amount of mostly locally produced Mycenaean pottery (specifically, type Mycenaean IIIC.1b).

Almost everything the Bible tells us about the Philistines is likely to refer to later groups (Carians, Ionians, Lydians, and probably Cretans), rather than to any possible original Iron-Age-II descendants of a particular branch of the Late-Bronze and Iron-Age-I "Sea Peoples." Nevertheless, the biblical traditions constitute the main source of information (even if anachronistic) about the Philistines. According to the Bible (*Jos.* 13:3; *Jgs.* 3:3; 16; *1 Sm.* 5–7; 29; *1 Chr.* 12:20; *Sir.* 46:18), the ruler of a Philistine city was called **seren* (a word attested only in plural, *sĕrānîm*). Two different proposals have been put forward in order to explain this term.

First, **seren* would be related to Greek *túrannos* and perhaps to the Neo-Hittite word for ruler in Hieroglyphic Luwian, *tarwani-*; but this does not point to a direct Indo-European connection, as early Greek words concerning authority positions (*túrannos, wánax/ánax, basileús*), even if attested already in Linear B (*wa-na-ka, qa-si-re-u*), have no good Indo-European etymologies.

Second, **seren* would come from the Anatolian root **sar-/*ser-* meaning "above, superior." The root appears in some Anatolian substantives: Hittite *šarli-* [sarli-] "outstanding"; Luwian *šarlaimi-* [sarlaimi-] "lofty"; Lydian *serli-/selli-* "authority." A suffix *-ēn* is present in designations of political authorities in Anatolian languages: Phrygian *ballēn*, "king"; Lycian *essēn,* "king" and *palēn*, "chief."

Both etymologies present problems. Nonetheless, the Anatolian (albeit not necessarily Indo-European) connection seems a recurrent theme in what is known about the Philistines. The case of the name of the champion of the Philistines in the Davidic narratives (*1 Sm.* 17; 21–22; *2 Sm.* 21:19; *1 Chr.* 20:5), Goliath (*golyāt*), is even more complicated. It has been suggested that Goliath's name is somehow related to the name of the Lydian king Alyattes (ca. 610–560 BCE), the grandson of Gyges (Greek *Gúgēs,* Assyrian *Gugu*). Gyges may be the historical figure behind the legendary northern king Gog (*gôg*) in *Ez.* 38–39 (cf. *Ap.* 20:7, whose kingdom is called Magog (*māgôg,* the name Gog with a prefix for place-names). In the *Qurʾān* (18:94, 21:96), Gog (*Yājūj*) and Magog (*Mājūj*) are both reinterpreted as tribal names, and later Islamic sources (such as the Ḥadīth corpus) identified them either with two branches of Turks or with the Scythians. In spite of this complicated tapestry of relations, a connection between Goliath and Alyattes (even if only typological) poses serious linguistic problems.

THE PHILISTINE PANTHEON. The main god of the biblical Philistines was Dagon (*Dāgôn*). There were temples dedicated to him in Ashdod (*1 Sm.* 5:1–7; *1 Mc.* 10: 83–84; 11:4), Gaza (*Jgs.* 16), and probably Beth-Shan (*1 Chr.* 10:10; *1 Sm.* 31:10). The toponym Beth-Dagon (*Bêt Dāgôn,* "The House of Dagon") may imply the presence of temples dedicated to Dagon in the two homonymous towns, one in the Shephelah (lowlands) of Judah, near Lakhish (Jos 15:41), and another on the southern border of the tribal area of Asher (*Jos.* 19:27). Beth-Dagon is mentioned among the cities captured by the Neo-Assyrian king Sennacherib (704–681) during his second campaign (Chicago Prism II 69: *Bīt-Daganna*, and appears also in Egyptian (*bt-jdqn, byt-jdqn*), Phoenician (*bt dgn*), and perhaps even Greek texts (*Bētagōn*)—the Greek form seems misinterpreted as a deity in the gloss in the *Etymologicum magnum* (Kallierges [Venice, 1499] 196.52: *ho Krónos hupò Phoiníkōn,* "Kronos by the Phoenicians"). The identification of this Beth-Dagon in Assyrian, Egyptian, Phoenican, and Greek sources with one of the two biblical Beth-Dagons (in Judah and in Asher) remains problematic. As in the case of other terms associated with the Philistines, Dagon may have an Indo-European etymology (related to the word for earth, *$d^{h}e^{h}om$). However, this god (Dagon/Dagan) was worshiped in Syria in the second half of the third millennium already, a fact that can hardly find a place in the web of alleged connections between the Philistines and the Anatolian and Aegean worlds. Moreover, in spite of their direct and prominent association with the cult of Dagon, it is quite likely that the Philistines limited themselves to taking over the preexisting worship of a deity that was already popular in Syria and the Levant for over two thousand years.

It is clear that the Philistines did not introduce the cult of Dagon/Dagan to the Levant. In fact, the name of a prince in Late Bronze Age southern Palestine occurring in two letters from the archive of international diplomatic correspondence found in Amarna (Egypt) is Dagan-takala (Knudtzon, EA 317, 318). This theophoric name implies the presence of the cult of Dagan in the area long before the arrival of the Philistines. Nonetheless, the cult of Dagon would seem central in the Philistine pantheon. According to *1 Samuel* 5:1–7, the Philistines brought the Ark of the Covenant into the temple of Dagon at Ashdod. This was intended to signal submission to the Philistine god. However, in a typical theo-political twist to show the superiority of Israel's national god, the move backfired, and apparently the statue of Dagon fell down—that is, Dagon prostrated himself in the presence of the Ark—and broke into pieces. In *Judges* 16:23, the Philistine rulers (*sarnê Pĕlištîm,* the *sĕrānîm* of the Philistines) gathered in what seems to be a temple of Dagon in Gaza, in order to offer a thanksgiving sacrifice ("a great sacrifice," *zebaḥ gādôl*) to Dagon for the capture of Samson. Likewise, according to *1 Chronicles* 10:10, the head of Saul was displayed by the Philistines as a war trophy in a temple of Dagon, probably at Beth-Shan (*1 Sm.* 31:10). During the Second Temple period, the cult of Dagon seems to have survived. In *1 Maccabees* 10:83–84, the high priest Jonathan burns down the temple of Dagon in Azotus (i.e., Ashdod), which was providing shelter to the cavalry of Apollonius, the Seleucid governor of Koile Syria.

The other two deities linked with the Philistines in the Hebrew Bible are Baal Zebub and Ashtoret. Baal Zebub, or Baalzebub (*baʿal zĕbûb*), is attested only four times in the Hebrew Bible, all in *2 Kings* 1:2–16, a section that describes how Ahaziah, the king of Israel, consulted the oracle of Baal Zebub, god of Eqron (*baʿal zĕbûb ʾĕlohê ʿeqrôn*). The apparent meaning of the name Baab Zebub is "lord of the flies," but this may be the result of a folk etymology that ended up transforming the name itself. The spelling in the Hebrew text does match the interpretation contained in the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible known as the Septuagint (*Baal muîa* "Baal the fly"), the interpretation by the Hellenistic Jewish historian Flavius Josephus (*Jewish Antiquities* 9.2.1), and the Latin transliteration in the Vulgate (*Beelzebub*). However, a fragmentarily preserved Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible by Symmachus uses *Beezeboul,* and the manuscripts of the New Testament use *Beelzeboul* (*Mt.* 10:25; 12:24, 27; *Mk.* 3:22; *Lk.* 11:15, 18–19). Moreover, the name is accompanied by the epithet "head of the demons" (*árkhōn tôn daimoníōn*) in several New Testament passages (*Mt.* 12:24; *Mk.* 3:22; *Lk.* 11:15). Symmachus and the New Testament are likely to preserve an oral tradition. Furthermore, second-millennium BCE texts from Ugarit (Ras Shamra, in Syria) exhibit two common titles of the god *Baʿlu* (literally "lord"): *zbl bʿl* ("prince Baʿlu") and *zbl bʿl ʾarṣ* ("prince *Baʿlu*/Lord of the earth"). Thus, Baal Zebub is most likely the result of a folk etymology ("lord of the flies"), as the original Baal Zebul ("Prince Baal/Lord") seemed to contain a word that was rather uncommon in Hebrew (*zĕbûl* "dominion, lordship").

The Semitic goddess Astarte appears in the Hebrew Bible as Ashtoret (*ʿaštōret*). In fact, Ashtoret may be the Phoenician form corresponding to Hebrew Ashtarot (*ʿaštārôt*), the latter being usually interpreted as a plural of Ashtoret. In *1 Samuel* 31:10, the armor of Saul is said to be hung on the walls of the temple of Astarte (or perhaps "the temple of the Astartes"): "they deposited his armor in the house of Astarte (*bêt ʿaštārôt*), his corpse they nailed to the wall of Beth-Shan." In the retelling of this episode in *1 Chronicles* 10:10, "the house of Astarte" becomes "the house of their gods" (*bêt ʾĕlōhêhem*). Moreover, Herodotus (I 105.2) mentions the sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania (*tês ouraníēs Aphrodítēs tò hirón*) in Ashqelon (a Philistine city), a goddess frequently assimilated to Astarte (see also Herodotus 1.131.3). This may be the same goddess Ctesias (Jacoby, *FGrH* 688 F I (4) 2-3) connected with Hierapolis and equated with Atargatis as a Phoenician goddess: Derceto (*Derketō*); see also *De dea syria* 14; Strabo, *Geography* 16.4.27; Diodorus, *History* 2.4. Nevertheless, the use of Ashtarot in the Hebrew Bible is to be regarded most of the time as a generic label for goddesses, whose worship and worshipers were fiercely attacked by the eventually monotheistic layers of Israelite mainstream religion. The biblical emphasis on the demonization of all these deities worshiped by the Philistines and other peoples in the area should not be regarded as part of an ethnic or political antagonism. The theo-political discourse of the official and centralized cult anathematized most manifestations of popular and peripheral religion in ancient Israel.

THE INSCRIPTION FROM EQRON. New light on Philistine religion and history has been shed by an inscription that was found in the cella of the Late Iron Age II temple at Tel Miqne (Ḫirbet al-Muqannaʿ, ancient ʿEqrôn) in 1996. The temple was most likely built after Sennacherib's campaign in Palestine (towards the very end of the eighth century), and the inscription probably dates to the seventh century. This Phoenician inscription contains what seems to be a mention of mysterious deity, for whom a temple (*bt*) was build by the prince or lord of Eqron (*šr ʿqrn*), Akayuš, son of Padi (*ʾkyš. bn. pdy*): "for PTGYH, his lady" (*lptgy.h. ʾdth*). Akayuš and Padi are mentioned in several Assyrian historical accounts as *i-ka-ú-su* and *pa-di-i* (or *pa-de-e*). The same Akayuš, king of Eqrôn, is mentioned in the Bible (*ʾākîš, 1 Sm.* 21:11; *1 Kgs.* 2:39–40). It has been suggested that the name Akayuš/Akayuś (*ʾkyš*) may be related to *Akhaios,* meaning "the Achaean," "the Greek." Although written in Phoenician, the Tel Miqne inscription seems historically and culturally Philistine. In fact, this is somehow the first Philistine inscription ever recovered, although there is a small fragment of a seventh-century Phoenician inscription found in Guadalhorce (Málaga, Spain), which may contain the toponym Eqron (*ʿqrn*). Among several proposals concerning the interpretation of the theonym *Ptgyh*, three deserve particular attention:

1. Pidrayu, as in Ugaritic *pdry,* daughter of Baʿlu, probably due to a scribal mistake or the like (so, one would have to read *ptryh*). This may be connected to Ugaritic *pdr,* which, depending on the context, may be an epithet of Baʿlu or simply another form of *pdry.* Nonetheless, both

Ugaritic names have been connected with Ugaritic *pdr* (town, city), which may have a Hurro-Urartian origin. The existence of some irregular correspondences between the various Semitic cognates (Syriac *pdorā,* Arabic *baðr*) supports the idea that this word may be ultimately Hurro-Urartian. The Mycenaean Greek form *po-to-ri-jo* is probably unrelated and corresponds to /*p(t)ólis/ > Greek *polis* (city). According to this, *Ptgyh* would be either a scribal mistake for *Pdryh,* or the result of a complex and unlikely chain of phonetic changes.

2. Potnia (Greek *pótnia* "lady, mistress," Mycenaean *po-ti-ni-ja*), which requires assuming a scribal mistake and emending the phrase to *lptnyh ʾdth.* Thus, the scribe would have started an *n,* but left it unfinished as a *g*—in this Phoenician script, an *n* resembles a *g,* but with a longer vertical stroke.
3. Pythogaia (**putho-gaia Puthō* + *Gaîa*), an unattested form reconstructed on the basis of Greek (already Mycenaean) words, "(in) Pytho (i.e., Delphi, as in a synecdoche) the goddess Gaia."

Although option three, Pythogaia, is particularly interesting, no interpretation of this name on the Tel Miqne inscription seems convincing enough. Furthermore, one could connect the final *-yh* element in this theonym with the *-yh* found in seemingly non-Semitic anthroponyms in two ostraca from Tell Jemmeh, dated to the period of Assyrian occupation in Iron Age II (*qsryh, brṣyh*).

PHILISTINE TEMPLES AND CULTIC OBJECTS. Besides the aforementioned sanctuaries, alluded to in several Biblical passages, there is direct archaeological information concerning the Philistines and their religious life. The main sources of evidence for Philistine material culture are the excavations at Ashdod, Eqron, and Tell Qasile (on the northern fringe of modern Tel Aviv). The apsidal structure with adjacent rooms and a courtyard found at Ashdod may have fulfilled a religious function, but this is rather speculative. At Tell Qasile, an original temple was twice rebuilt and enlarged, so generating three superimposed temples that were excavated within the sacred precinct: Stratum XII (end of the twelfth century BCE), Stratum XI (eleventh century), and Stratum X (beginning of the tenth century). These successively built sanctuaries at Tell Qasile included raised mud-brick platforms, pillars, mud-brick benches, and small chambers at their back, which could have been used as treasuries or were perhaps a holy-of-holies.

At Eqron (Tel Miqne), a monumental building (Building 350) that may have been a palace with shrines was unearthed in the center of the city. These shrines were not simple palace rooms as they contain mud-brick altars as well as a few bronze, iron, and ivory objects, possibly for cultic use. The shrines opened onto a hall in which there was a circular hearth with two pillar bases on each side. Hearths like this played an essential role in the structure of the megaron in the Aegean and Cyprus, whereas mud-brick altars existed in Canaan before the Iron Age (but were also common in Cyprus and the Aegean during Mycenaean times). Likewise, at Tell Qasile, a building near the earliest temple (Stratum XII, end of the twelfth century BCE) also included a hearth and two pillars, which resembled those in Building 350 at Eqron.

The Aegean connections of Philistine material culture and sites are reinforced by the presence of seemingly cult-related objects, such as the famous "Ashdoda," a ceramic figurine found in Ashdod, which is a hybrid of a chair or a throne and most likely a goddess (the top of the chair's back continues into an elongated neck ending in a head and other body parts are painted or embedded in the surface of the chair). Fragments of "Ashdoda"-like figurines have been found in Eqron and Tell Qasile as well. This seems to be a local version of the Mycenaean female figurines seated on a throne and sometimes holding a child. At Ashdod, Eqron, Gezer, and Megiddo, locally produced *kernoi* have been found. A *kernos* is an originally Aegean cultic libation vessel, consisting of a hollow ceramic ring on which the potter placed figurines of animals (such as birds, rams' or bulls' heads), pomegranates, and the like. On the other side, the Philistines had also their own style of cult vessel: a kind of lion-headed rhyton with one handle, of which examples have been uncovered in Eqron, Megiddo, Tell Qasile, and other sites. Moreover, there is also textual information about some cultic objects. Although they do not seem to correspond to any materials excavated to date, the biblical story of the return of the Ark (*1 Sm.* 6:4–16) refers to the compensation or fine (*ʾāšām*) the Philistines had to pay to the god of Israel: images or figurines of tumors (*ḥămiššāh ʿĕpolê zāhāb,* "five golden tumors"; *ṣalmê ʿĕpolêkem,* "images of your tumors") and figurines of mice (*ḥămiššāh ʿakberê zāhāb,* "five golden mice"; *ṣalmê ʿakbĕrêkem hammašḥîtim ʾet-hāʾāreṣ,* "images of your mice that are wasting the land").

It is obvious that the archaeological remains found at the Philistine sites abound in connections with Aegean material culture and that the scarce linguistic items linked to the Philistines seem to all point to Anatolia and the Aegean (the world of the "Sea Peoples"). However, with the exception of the recently discovered Phoenician inscription from Eqron, the Philistine pantheon and the general setting of its worship (such as the use of mud-brick altars) are essentially local, rooted in Canaanite religious traditions. In this respect and aside from the specific narratives of the legends of Saul and David, the theo-political biblical discourse antagonizing and demonizing the Philistines is not specific to this ethnic group. Similar intellectual constructs targeted diverse (otherwise autochthonous) groups, such as the Edomites, the Moabites, and the bulk of the rural population of ancient Israel, who were all engaged in traditional Canaanite religious practices long after the centralization and monopolization of an exclusive and monotheistic cult in Jerusalem. This theological elaboration contrasts with many details in the Davidic narratives. For instance, the name of David's special mercenary units (his "Praetorian guard" of sorts) is Kerethites (*kĕretîm,* e.g., *2 Sm.* 8:18, *1 Chr.* 18:17), which should be connected with Kaphtor (see above) and therefore understood as "Cretans." In fact, these troops of David were equated with the Philistines by some prophets (*Ez.* 25:16; *Zep.* 2:5). To a great extent, the deep religious and ethnic rivalry injected into the Davidic narratives did not have its roots in a historical setting of interaction between Philistines and Israelites, but rather in the subsequent articulation of a political theology justifying the later status quo.

SEE ALSO Astarte; Dagan.

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GONZALO RUBIO (2005)

PHILO JUDAEUS (c. 20 BCE–50 CE), Hellenistic Jewish thinker, author of an elaborate synthesis of Jewish religious thought and Greek philosophy. Although the church fathers know him as Philo Judaeus (Jerome, *De viris illustribus* 11), modern scholars often designate him Philo of Alexandria, to distinguish him from various pagan Greek authors of the same name. Philo's work marks the climax of a long chain of Hellenistic Jewish writings. His mildly atticized Greek, which is marked by a strong Platonic coloring, is unexceptionable; his encyclopedic knowledge of Greek literature and rhetoric is impressive. Disdaining a philosophically systematic exposition of his reinterpretation of Judaism, Philo assumed instead the role of scriptural exegete. He may have believed that the success of his entire enterprise was largely dependent on his ability to convince his readers that the mystical Platonism through which his Jewish understanding was refracted was no arbitrary construct imposed on the Mosaic text, but could readily be deduced from every one of its verses.

Although fully acquainted with the Greek philosophical texts firsthand and in no way restricted to manuals or digests, Philo is clearly not to be regarded as an original philosopher. He saw his task more modestly, as that of the great reconciler who would bridge two apparently disparate traditions. Although there is still no consensus, the view is gaining ground that the apparent eclecticism of his thought is in fact representative of the Middle Platonic tradition (stretching from c. 80 BCE to c. 220 CE), a highly stoicized form of Platonism, streaked with Neo-Pythagorean concerns, which included a large dose of arithmology, or number symbolism.

LIFE AND WORKS. Philo belonged to a wealthy, aristocratic Jewish family (of priestly descent, if Jerome is to be credited) that was readily attracted by the glitter of the Hellenistic world. His brother Alexander was an *alabarch* (usually equated with *arabarch*), or customs agent, for the collection of dues on all goods imported into Egypt from the East, and his wealth was such that he could grant Agrippa, the grandson of Herod the Great, a loan of two hundred thousand drachmas (equivalent to fifty-four thousand dollars); thus was established a connection that ultimately led to the betrothal of Agrippa's daughter Berenice to Alexander's son Marcus. His great wealth is further attested by his provision of silver and gold plates for nine gates of the Jerusalem Temple. His other son, Tiberius Julius Alexander, to whom Philo addressed his dialogue *On Providence* and who was described by Josephus Flavius as "not remaining true to his ancestral practices," served as procurator of the province of Judaea (46–48 CE) and as prefect of Egypt under Nero.

Of Philo himself, aside from the fact that he headed the embassy to (Gaius) Caligula in 39–40 CE and visited the Jerusalem Temple, very little is known. Though silent with regard to his Jewish education, he speaks enthusiastically of his Greek training and with engaging melancholy of his having been torn at some point from his "heavenly lookout," where he had consorted with divine principles and doctrines, to be hurled into a vast sea of civil cares. His constant use of athletic imagery, including references to specific athletic and theatrical events that he himself had attended and a triple reference to God as the "president of the games," shows him to have been an *aficionado* of the sports world. When this trait is coupled with his passionate devotion to speculative philosophy, one recognizes the presence of a Diaspora Jewish intellectual of a type utterly foreign to his Palestinian counterpart.

The Philonic corpus may be divided into three groups: historical or apologetic, philosophical (comprising four treatises, two of which are in dialogue form and preserved only in Armenian and some Greek fragments), and exegetical. The last is subdivided into three Pentateuchal commentaries: the Allegory of the Law or those treatises which begin with a scriptural passage; the Exposition of the Law or those treatises whose structure is shaped by a broad theme indicated in their title; and Questions and Answers on Genesis and Exodus. There are also references in Philo to a number of his treatises that are no longer extant. The question of the chronology of Philo's works remains problematic but the earlier tendency to assign his philosophical works to a youthful period is no longer accepted.

EXEGETICAL TECHNIQUE. Philo's attempt to read Greek philosophy into Mosaic scripture was no innovation on his part. He was fully aware of the earlier and less ambitious attempts by Pseudo-Aristeas (c. 130 BCE) and Aristobulus (c. 175 BCE), though he was also undoubtedly heir to a rich body of scholastic tradition that has vanished but to which he frequently makes allusion. He was also fully alert to the techniques employed by many Middle Platonists in their attempt to foist post-Pythagorean doctrines, including even their own, on Pythagoras (fifth century BCE) himself. Following in their footsteps, Philo put Moses forward as the greatest authority of all, as the teacher of Pythagoras and, indeed, of all Greek philosophers and lawgivers.

The main exegetical technique for Philo's vast enterprise, however, was provided by the Greek allegorical tradition, which had been initiated by Theagenes of Rhegium (sixth century BCE) in order to defend Homer against the detractors of his theology; the gods' names were made to refer to various dispositions of the soul, and their internecine struggles to the opposition between the natural elements. The Stoics expanded the Cynics' employment of Homeric allegory in the interests of a philosophical system and made much use of the etymologizing of names (of the gods, though not of the heroes), a procedure that had much appeal for Philo. For an important reassessment of Stoic allegorizing, see A. A. Long, "Stoic Readings of Homer," in *Homer's Ancient Readers*, ed. Robert Lamberton and John J. Keaney (Princeton, 1992) 41–66. Moreover, his preoccupation with the "allegory of the soul" is very similar to the later Neoplatonic allegories clustering around Odysseus, which detect in his adventures the mystical history of the soul on its way to its homeland.

John Dillon in 1977 noted the essential unity in the tradition of commentary that Philo's exegetical works and the Neoplatonic commentaries exemplify and has concluded that their common source was the Stoic exegesis of the last two centuries BCE, especially that by Crates of Mallus and Herodicus of Babylon. Thomas H. Tobin pointed out in 1983 that Stoic and Middle Platonic allegory did not include the recognition of different levels of interpretation: the allegorical interpretations involved either a rejection of the literal or complete obliviousness to it. Philo is the earliest extant example of a writer who tries to maintain the validity of both levels; thus he involved himself in a controversy with other Jewish allegorists.

A novice in the use of Hebrew texts, Philo relied on the Septuagint, which he happily considered inspired. D. W. Gooding has demonstrated that Philo shows no awareness of the Hebrew underlying the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, for he uniformly cites the Septuagint, which, given its frequent inadequacy, he would surely not have done without explanation had he known the underlying Hebrew, and he occasionally offers expositions of the Greek that the Hebrew would have forbidden (see David Winston and John Dillon, *Two Treatises of Philo of Alexandria*, Chico, 1983, pp. 119–125).

THOUGHT AND INFLUENCE. Philo's understanding of biblical thought is rooted in his abiding confidence in the existence of God as a supremely transcendent being, one absolutely without quality, whose pervasive immanence rules and directs all. The first half of this seemingly paradoxical concept of transcendent immanence has its source in the Old and Middle Academies, apparently going back to Plato's successor Speusippus (d. 339/8 BCE), and was more fully elaborated by some of the Neo-Pythagoreans as well as by the Middle Platonist Eudorus of Alexandria (fl. 25 BCE), who postulated a supranoetic First Principle above a pair of opposites, the Monad and the Dyad. The second half derives from a central emphasis of Stoic teaching, which envisions the omnipresent vitality of an all-traversing Logos whose highest terrestrial manifestation is the human intellect, which is identified by both Philo and the Stoics as an inseparable portion of the divine mind. Humans are thus akin to the divine and has unbroken access to it from within.

Philo defines two paths that lead to a knowledge of God's existence. In *On Rewards and Punishments* 41 he speaks of those who have apprehended God through his works as advancing on a sort of heavenly ladder and conjecturing his existence through plausible inference. The true friends of God, however, "are those who have apprehended him through himself without the cooperation of reasoned inference, as light is seen by light" (ibid.), a formula later used by Plotinus. Although there is no consensus concerning the precise significance of Philo's second way to God, it is very likely based on his notion of humanity's direct access to God from within and may perhaps be viewed as an early form of the ontological argument. A similar argument for God's existence seems to be found in both the works of the Stoics and in Plotinus.

Philo's theory of creation is based on Plato's Timaeus as interpreted by Middle Platonism. God created the universe out of a relatively nonexistent and qualityless primordial matter that contains nothing lovely and is utterly passive and lifeless. All things were created simultaneously, and the sequential account of creation in Genesis is only meant to indicate the logical order in God's design.

Although the human soul, as a fragment of the Logos, might be thought to have a natural claim on immortality, the latter can be forfeited if the soul is not properly assimilated into its divine source. From Philo's Platonist perspective, the body is a corpse entombing the soul, which at its death returns to its own proper life. The gradual removal of the psyche from the sensible realm and its ascent to a life of perfection is represented for Philo by two triads of biblical figures: Enoch, Enosh, and Noah; Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The Abraham of Philo's allegory is a mystical philosopher who, after having mastered the encyclical or general studies (symbolized by Hagar), in which stage all he could produce was sophistry (Ishmael), abandoned the realm of sense (symbolized in his parting with Lot) for the brighter regions of intelligible reality and, despite his initial flirtation with Chaldean pantheism, has attained to the highest vision of deity, resulting in his transformation into a perfect embodiment of natural law.

In a 1965 work, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety*, E. R. Dodds has correctly noted that the ecstatic form of prophecy as defined by Philo is not a description of mystical union but a state of temporary possession (p. 71f.). Philo, however, speaks also of another form of prophecy, which may be designated "hermeneutical" and is mediated not through ecstatic possession but through the divine voice. Whereas in the state of possession the prophet's sovereign mind is entirely preempted, it is clear from Philo's analysis of the giving of the Decalogue, the paradigm of hermeneutical, or divine-voice, prophecy, that in the latter the inspired mind is extraordinarily quickened. Since ecstatic possession is employed by Philo for the explanation of predictive prophecy alone, whereas the core of the Mosaic prophecy, the special laws, is delivered by him in his role of hermeneutical prophet, it is in this form of prophecy that one must locate Philo's conception of mystical union. In his allegorical interpretation of the divine voice as the projection of a special "rational soul full of clearness and distinctness" making unmediated contact with the inspired mind that "makes the first advance," it is not difficult to discern a reference to the activation of human intuitive intellect (*On the Decalogue* 33, 35). In Philo's hermeneutical prophecy, then, one may detect the union of the human mind with the divine mind, or, in Dodd's terms, a psychic ascent rather than a supernatural descent.

Philo's mystical passages contain most of the characteristic earmarks of mystical experience: knowledge of God as humanity's supreme bliss and separation from him as the greatest of evils; the soul's intense yearning for the divine; its recognition of its nothingness and of its need to go out of itself; attachment to God; the realization that it is God alone who acts; a preference for contemplative prayer; a timeless union with the All and the resulting serenity; the suddenness with which the vision appears; the experience of sober intoxication; and, finally, the ebb and flow of mystical experience. Philo was thus, at the very least, an intellectual, if not a practicing, mystic.

Philo never had a major impact on Jewish thought. His name appears nowhere in rabbinic literature, and were it not for the preservation of his works by the church, they would surely have perished. In the Middle Ages Jews had access at best to an Arabic or Syriac translation of a small portion of his works. It was not until the sixteenth century that Philo was rediscovered, by ʿAzaryah dei Rossi, who read his work in a Latin translation and outlined a number of his characteristic doctrines in his Me'or ʿeinayim (Mantua, 1573). His attitude toward Philo, however, though appreciative, is at best ambivalent. Yosef Shelomoh Delmedigo (1591–1655) read Philo in the original Greek and made a Hebrew translation of excerpts from his writing, which unfortunately was stolen from him and never recovered. Simone Luzzatto, in his *Italian Discorso* (1638) on the Jews of Venice, admired Philo, whom he cited from a Latin version, and believed that his motive for allegorizing the scriptures was to attract his pagan audience. Finally, Nahman Krochmal (1785–1840) includes in his *Moreh nevukhei ha-zeman* (Guide for the Perplexed of the Time, 1851) a Hebrew translation of the account of Philo by J. A. W. Neander (1789–1850, née David Mendel), a baptized Jew who was a professor of church history in Berlin.

SEE ALSO Logos.

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PHILOSOPHY

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION
PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION

PHILOSOPHY: AN OVERVIEW

One of the questions most intriguing to the philosopher is the question "What is philosophy?" Perhaps no other discipline has quite so much difficulty explaining what it is about, and in no other discipline is the question of what it is so germane to the discipline itself. Some sort of answer to this question lies close at hand in the case of the natural and human sciences: Biology is the study of life, anthropology the study of human beings, psychology the study of the psyche. Granted that these answers are not very satisfactory or edifying, they at least provide us with a point of departure; they state the specific area or realm being studied. Philosophy lacks even this point of departure, because it has no special area or realm as its subject matter.

Etymologically, *philosophy* means "the love of wisdom." Wisdom is some sort of knowledge, although it might well take some time and thought before one could say what kind of knowledge it constitutes. Perhaps one can begin by stating three things about wisdom that are quite simple and uncontroversial. (1) Wisdom does not primarily have to do with specific facts or information. (2) Wisdom is not usually to be found in a very young person; it presupposes a good deal of experience and, above all, the ability to learn from experience. (3) Wisdom must have something to do with the manner of living one's life; it must include *praxis.*

The gathering of facts or information does not automatically produce wisdom or make a person wise. Someone who reads newspapers and listens to news reports will at best be well-informed (depending on the sources), but will not on that account be wise. At the other end of the scale, individuals who study logic and the rules of critical thinking will not automatically become wise either. They will be able to argue well; their thinking will be coherent and well-organized; they will be able to pick out flaws in the arguments of others. These are fine and necessary tools, but not wisdom. It has been pointed out that logic has no content. It is like a sausage grinder; one gets out of it what is put into it, only in a better, more palatable form.

As Aristotle pointed out in his *Nicomachean Ethics,* ethics and politics are not suitable studies for the young, be they young in years or in character. Understood in Aristotle's original sense of how best to govern a city, ethics and politics require the observation of human nature and the formulation of general, flexible principles. Above all, it is necessary to recognize the fact that these sciences can never be exact in the way that the natural sciences are; to expect the kind of precision possible in natural science merely betrays false expectations and a lack of understanding of the subject matter.

Finally, one would probably expect of someone who is wise that he would lead a certain kind of life. This is meant not exclusively or, for that matter, even primarily in a moral sense, but rather in the sense of practical knowledge, of understanding. A wise person would have judgment without being judgmental. There are many great, dramatic figures in history whom one would probably not wish to call wise. In fact, Plato was most likely right: The best and wisest life is the unpretentious and undramatic life of an ordinary citizen.

One of the most illuminating statements about the nature of philosophy was made by Immanuel Kant when he said that there were three fundamental questions of concern to human beings: (1) What can I know? (2) What ought I to do? (3) What may I hope? These questions, taken together, add up to a final question: What is humanity? Kant attempted to answer them in his three main works: the question of knowledge in the *Critique of Pure Reason,* the question of ethics in the *Critique of Practical Reason,* and the question of what may be hoped for in the *Critique of Judgment.*

Having found the question "What is philosophy?" impervious to instant answers, one might pose the question "Who is the philosopher?" In a broad sense, everybody is. Every thinking human being asks certain fundamental questions: What am I doing in the world? Wow did I get here? What am I supposed to be doing? What is going to happen to me? What does it all mean? Some ask themselves more abstract questions, such as whether the world has a beginning or not. The philosopher is the person who thinks and asks; he does not necessarily write books. Three of the greatest thinkers of history, Socrates, Buddha, and Jesus, wrote nothing. One could cite many more.

In a less general sense, the philosopher is the one who asks what is real. This question led the Greeks, with whom philosophy as is known today began, to inquire into the nature of change and the relation of being (what does not change) to becoming. At least three of the most philosophical questions of all were staked out by the Greeks: the relation of (1) being to becoming; (2) reality to appearance; and (3) being to thinking. This leads to a brief look at the history of philosophy.

HISTORY. There are some philosophers who say that philosophy is a specifically Western (Greek) phenomenon and that the East does not have "philosophy" in the strict sense of that term. This seems too biased a view; Eastern thought will be briefly discussed in this article. However, Western philosophy does have its roots in the Greeks, and this article turns now to a consideration of them.

Western philosophy began with the pre-Socratics, so called because they lived before Socrates. These thinkers, often erroneously thought to be somewhat "primitive," searched for the first principle (*archē*) in things. Thales, for instance, found that principle in water, Anaximander in the boundless (*apeiron*), Heraclitus in the *logos,* Parmenides in being. The simplicity and profundity of their vision is splendid and their influence on the two greatest of Greek thinkers, Plato and Aristotle, extensive. Thus began the tradition of the history of philosophy, of thinkers learning from each other, often disagreeing and being stimulated to formulate their own ideas. It is not the case, as has been alleged, that philosophers never come up with any definitive answers because they all disagree with one another, canceling one another out, so to speak, so the end result is nothing at all. Each thinker learns from his predecessors; without Socrates there would never have been a Plato; without Plato, no Aristotle. Thus, the history of philosophy can be viewed as a long critical dialogue tracing shifting conceptions of reality.

Socrates was the true model of a philosopher. Contrasting himself with the Sophists, who claimed to have knowledge and the ability to teach it and who took money for their services, Socrates said that he knew that he knew nothing, and he therefore also taught nothing. In Plato's dialogue *Theatetus,* Socrates compares himself to a midwife who is herself barren but who helps others to give birth. The Sophists were the natural enemies of Socrates (and Plato). They taught a kind of empty rhetoric that enabled their pupils to sound impressive and win arguments, but the real philosophical issues and questions were lost to them.

These issues and questions eventually led Plato to formulate his famous theory of Forms, or Ideas (*idea, eidos*). A just person becomes just by imitating or participating in the perfect, eternal, changeless reality of justice itself. Justice itself is by no means a mere mental concept; it is what is really real. This, in a nutshell, is what is generally meant by the term *Platonism.* Reality lies in the Form, or Idea, which can be known only by the mind, not the senses. Reality is not in the mind, but it is accessible only to the mind.

If one accepts Whitehead's somewhat oversimplified, dramatic statement that "the whole history of philosophy is nothing but a series of footnotes on Plato," this thumbnail sketch may suffice to indicate the direction that the history of philosophy was to take. Two major periods followed the Greek one: the medieval, when philosophy came together with the Judeo-Christian tradition, and the modern, beginning with Descartes. In the medieval period, philosophy went hand in hand with theology and was employed in working out proofs of God's existence or in clarifying the status of the Platonic Forms, then known as "universals."

With his well-known dictum "Cogito, ergo sum" ("I think, therefore I am"), Descartes opened up what is called the modern period of philosophy. The term *modern,* in this case, indicates the belief that the unshakable foundation of all knowledge lies in the thinking subject. By isolating the subject as what alone is real, Descartes ushered in the era of subjectivism, with its concomitant dualisms of mind-body, mind-matter, and subject-object—dualisms that contemporary philosophers are still struggling to overcome and that permeate everyday language and life.

AREAS OF PHILOSOPHY. Having stated that philosophy has no specifiable subject matter peculiar to it, this article will take a look at some of the areas it prefers to deal with. These areas are articulated into what might be called different branches of philosophy. It would be well to preface this discussion with the remark that the phrase "philosophy of" can precede almost anything. "The philosophy of sport" and "the philosophy of fashion" impart a special perspective on an independent subject matter.

As primary branches of philosophy, one might cite ethics, epistemology, logic, aesthetics, metaphysics, and ontology; on a secondary level, philosophy of law, philosophy of politics, philosophy of science, philosophy of language, and philosophy of religion. With the exception of philosophy of religion, this article shall not discuss these secondary branches.

The primary branches are as old as philosophy itself—they go back to Plato. The first four are easily delineated; the last two are more problematic. An ethic is something that every human being has; it is an idea of how they want to live their lives. Even if some have ethics that one would call highly unethical, even if their concern is solely for their own interests, this view still constitutes their ethic, their idea of the best way to go through life. The question of this "unethical" ethic is discussed in detail by Plato in his *Republic:* Is the unjust person better off than the just one? Plato concludes that the height of justice is to appear unjust but to be just; the height of injustice is to appear just but to be unjust. Justice is a matter of inner balance and harmony; it has nothing to do with gain, riches, or power.

Epistemology and logic are more specialized and technical branches of philosophy. They deal with theories of how one knows things and the laws of thought. Finally, although the term *aesthetics* (philosophy of art) was coined by Alexander Baumgarten only in the eighteenth century, Western inquiry into the nature of art goes back as far as Plato and Aristotle. Aesthetics and the philosophy of art reached a culmination as the meeting place of nature and spirit in the philosophy of Kant, Schiller, and the other German Idealists. The work of art, they believed, is nature transformed by spirit.

Perhaps the most intelligible way to order terms unfamiliar to the nonphilosopher such as *metaphysics* and *ontology* is initially to adopt the classification set forth by Christian Wolff (1679–1754). *Metaphysics* generally refers to that which goes beyond (*meta*) the physical, although Aristotle's book of that name is so titled simply because he wrote it after the *Physics;* the two books, the *Physics* and the *Metaphysics,* have roughly the same (metaphysical) subject matter. To put it briefly, metaphysics is supposed to deal with what is ultimate.

Wolff divided metaphysics into two branches: general metaphysics (*metaphysica generalis*) and special metaphysics (*metaphysica specialis*). General metaphysics is equivalent to ontology, the study of being, or what is (in Greek, *to on*) in its generic traits. Special metaphysics consists of three parts: rational psychology (study of the soul), rational cosmology (study of the cosmos or world), and rational theology (study of God). Immanuel Kant called these three parts the Ideas of Pure Reason. By this he meant that these were the ultimate ideas that reason arrived at in its inherent attempt to unify the manifold (synthesize).

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION. Whereas in the East the relation of philosophy and religion is generally so unproblematic that there is often no clear-cut distinction between the two, the situation in the West is not so simple. The mainstream of Western philosophy was closely involved with religious questions until the late nineteenth century; there was certainly never a question of major conflict. The Greeks in general and Plato in particular pursued questions that are usually taken to be religious (e.g., the immortality of the soul, transmigration and the possibility of a future life or lives, the existence of the godlike), although there was no emphasis on the human relation to a personal deity. When philosophy joined hands with the Judeo-Christian tradition in late antiquity, it became almost indissolubly linked to theology. With that union arose the problem of reconciling philosophical thought with established dogma. For example the eternity of the world and transmigration of souls are incompatible with Christian dogma. When Descartes laid the foundation for knowledge in the thinking subject (in reason as opposed to faith), the possibility was created for the eventual parting of ways between philosophy and religion.

This parting took place in the nineteenth century with such thinkers as Feuerbach, Marx, and, especially, Nietzsche, with his pronouncement that God is dead. Since that time, philosophers may or may not have religious concerns. For example, the twentieth-century movement labeled existentialism can be divided into two camps: a theistic one (Marcel, Maritain) and an atheistic one (Sartre, Camus). Then there are those thinkers whom one could call religious but who have nothing to do with explicitly theological questions; their religious sense provides a background for their philosophizing (Heidegger, Wittgenstein). Finally, there are thinkers who believe that religious questions are not the business of philosophy, the main function of which is to develop critical argument (Russell, Moore). A twentieth-century thinker and theologian who sought to mediate between philosophy and religion, Paul Tillich, defines humankind in terms of its ultimate concern, which is a truly religious, but not a theological, definition. Instead of defining the human being as the animal with reason (*zoon logon echon*), as Aristotle and virtually everyone after him did, Tillich defines the human being in terms of his or her link to something ultimate or divine. In a similar vein, Heidegger speaks of humanity in terms of its relation to being.

It was, however, chiefly theology, as distinct from religion, that joined with philosophy, by using such concepts as Plato's Good (*agathon*) and Aristotle's Unmoved Mover to interpret theological ideas. *Religion* would appear to be a broader and less sharply defined term than *theology.* The etymological root of the word *religion* is the same as that of *yoga;* the root means "to join or link," and *yoga* comes to mean "to join (man to something transcending him)."

Thus, perhaps the main question with regard to the relation of philosophy to religion is whether humans are conceived as a self-contained and self-sufficient physical beings whose essences coincide with their material existence or as spiritual beings whose existence points beyond themselves and the "human-all-too-human." In the latter case, philosophy and religion coalesce; in the former, they diverge.

Not only is the question of belief in a divine being or some kind of transcendence at stake in the question of religion, but also the question of the nature of humanity. If the human being is conceived purely as a natural being, there seems to be no need or perhaps no room for anything godlike. One can draw a certain parallel between religion and art here. One can conceive of art, as did Freud, as a surrogate for more basic (more real) sexual drives. This conception makes a mockery of any kind of transcendence; transcendence is utterly fabricated, a futile, self-deluding, and mildly ridiculous attempt to escape the urgency of ultimately insatiable appetites. This view posits one's animality, one's body, as the very basis of one's being and renders one's spiritual side superfluous, not to say suspect. In this view, humans cannot be defined as Aristotle's rational animal; they are the botched-up animal. Animals do not suffer from doubts, despair, depression; they are totally what they are. They are "innocent." But man is "the disease of nature" (Nietzsche). "He is not what he is and is what he is not"; he is "a useless passion" (Sartre). His so-called spirituality serves only to estrange him from himself. Certainly, if individuals cannot achieve a certain transcendence, not just of their bodies, but of themselves, their spirituality will only disturb the comforts of animal existence. The plays of Samuel Beckett are among the most powerful presentations of what human life utterly lacking in transcendence is like.

DIVERSE PHILOSOPHICAL POSITIONS. Some mention must be made of the diversity of philosophical positions with regard to the nature of reality. These positions lie between the two opposite poles of idealism and empiricism, between stressing the importance of reason and of the senses. Humans seem to have two main accesses to the nature of the world and reality: their senses, which tell them about colors, sounds, and so forth, and reason, which tells them about concepts such as mathematical truths and the existence of God. Those philosophers who feel that the senses are the most important access to reality tend to downplay the activity of the mind, restricting it to combining and relating sense impressions. The most influential exponent of this view was the empiricist John Locke. At the other end of the scale, there is the rationalist or idealist who mistrusts the senses because they are often deceptive and who looks to reason or the mind for the foundation of knowledge. Plato was the first to articulate fully this view, which has had a long and varied history.

Many gradations exist between these two extremes of empiricism and rationalism. Some philosophers combine them in various ways; for example, Berkeley, who is both empirical and idealist (he is the philosopher who denied the existence of matter), or Kant, who insisted that one needs both sense experience and the understanding in order to have knowledge. More recently, there have been such movements as pragmatism and phenomenology, which seek to overcome the duality—pragmatism by turning its attention away from such purely theoretical questions to more practical ones (if it works, it is "true"), and phenomenology by looking at the "things themselves" as they show themselves prior to any such division. In any case, these "isms" never exhaust the philosopher's thought; they are convenient labels that can help individuals to orient themselves initially; more they cannot and should not be intended to do.

EASTERN PERSPECTIVES. The time is approaching when Western philosophers will no longer be able to neglect Eastern thought with impunity. Hinduism and Buddhism in India, Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism in China, to name just two cultures, form a vast tradition from which the

West can learn. But because these traditions are so vast, it will take time to get all the material translated, make it available, and assimilate it. The following brief comments are broad and sweeping.

In general, Eastern thought does not separate philosophy and religion. The main concern of its philosophy as well as its religion can be said to be soteriological, focusing on some kind of salvation of the individual. *Salvation* means literally "to make whole." In India, salvation can be conceived as union of the self (*ātman*) with the Absolute (*brahman*) in Hinduism or as the attainment of *nirvāṇa* (liberation, enlightenment) in Buddhism. In both of these religions, salvation means the cessation of rebirths and release from *saṃsāra,* the round of birth and death perpetuated by the individual's craving or ignorance. The Indian philosophical tradition is richly speculative, and many rather elaborate metaphysical systems have been developed. In particular, Indian theories of consciousness are intriguingly elaborate and subtle, far outstripping anything of this sort the West has produced. For example, certain Buddhist schools enumerate as many as one hundred elements of consciousness.

As Buddhism gradually lost ground in India, it moved on to China, where it was assimilated to the indigenous religions of Daoism and Confucianism. Chinese thought manifests a more practical and concrete temperament than the Indian, and much of the Buddhist metaphysical speculation was discarded. This tendency continued as Buddhism was later transmitted to Japan.

Thus far, Eastern influence on Western thinkers has been minimal. Leibniz (1646) was probably one of the first philosophers to show an interest in China. This is no mere coincidence; there are truly remarkable affinities between his *Monadology* and Huayan Buddhism. In the nineteenth century, Hegel referred to Eastern thought in his *History of Philosophy,* but his thoroughly Western bias resulted in a rather condescending treatment. Schopenhauer made use of both Hindu and Buddhist ideas, weaving them into a remarkable fabric with Platonism and Kantianism. And Nietzsche, in his attack on traditional philosophy and religion, lumped Buddhism together with Christianity, pronouncing them both "religions of exhaustion." A serious, fruitful dialogue has yet to take place.

CURRENT TRENDS. In conclusion, one might well raise the timely questions of where philosophers are heading now and what sorts of issues attract their attention. The answers will, of course, vary with different countries and areas of specialization. But a few general, tentative observations can be made.

The interest in metaphysics seems to be definitely on the wane. With the great figures of German Idealism (Fichte, Hegel, Schelling) and their British counterparts, metaphysics may have exhausted its possibilities. The era of systems and of the dominance of reason and rationality would appear to lie in the past. A lingering and self-perpetuating interest in Marx and Freud is still evident in an emphasis on the human being as a natural being and a sexual being. If there is one trend that is dominant today, it is that philosophers are preoccupied with the question of language, though in the most diverse ways imaginable. From Wittgenstein's philosophy of ordinary language to Heidegger's poetic, noncalculative thinking to the intricacies of the French schools, philosophers are taking a hard look at the way people use and structure language or the way it structures them. These are problems that religious thinkers have long been aware of in their own province. Their particular formulation of the problem asks how one can use finite language, the language naming finite things (there is no other), to speak about something neither finite nor a thing.

It is to be hoped that the philosophers will not encapsulate themselves in technical areas of academic specialization, but will be able to face and grapple with the issues looming today. The gloomiest of the existentialists seem to have played themselves out without having found much solace for the predicaments they delineated, but the force of what they expressed still continues in literature, drama, and art in a more vivid, aesthetic form.

If philosophy stays aloof from the existential concerns of the human being, as it did and does in movements so vastly different as Scholasticism and logical positivism, it loses its original (Platonic) sense of a quest for something transcending humanity. Aristotle said that philosophy begins in wonder. Perhaps in times of spiritual destitution such as the present, wonder could be the beginning of the end of thoughtlessness. As Heidegger, quoting his favorite German poet, Hölderlin, says: Where the danger grows, there also grows the saving power. The philosopher must strive to avoid the extremes of petulant pessimism and mindless optimism.

SEE ALSO Aesthetics; Apologetics; Cosmology; Henotheism; Knowledge and Ignorance; Morality and Religion; Pantheism and Panentheism; Religious Experience; Revelation; Soteriology; Soul; Theism; Theodicy; Transcendence and Immanence; Truth.

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PHILOSOPHY: PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

The two enduring forms of spiritual expression designated by the terms *religion* and *philosophy* quite obviously never confront each other as such; they enter into relations with one another only in historical and specific terms. It is in the visions of individual philosophers as they intersect with the beliefs and the practices of particular religious traditions that one finds the living relations between religion and philosophy.

THE NATURE OF RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY AND THEIR RELATION TO EACH OTHER. A fine example of the interaction between religion and philosophy is found in the thought of Clement (150?–215?) and Origen (c. 185–c. 254), usually known as the Christian Platonists of Alexandria because their school was located in that ancient center of Hellenistic culture. As this appellation implies, they were engaged in interpreting the basic beliefs of Christianity concerning God, Christ, human beings, and the world in terms of the insights of the Neoplatonic philosophy current in their time. More than a century earlier, the Jewish philosopher Philo Judaeus (d. 45–50 CE) carried out much the same enterprise for the Hebraic tradition, drawing chiefly on the thought of the Greek philosopher Plato (c. 429–347 BCE), and the Pythagorean and Stoic schools. This type of interpreting—or dialogue, if you will—involving the use of the Greco-Roman philosophical systems for formulating the ideas and elucidating the religious insights of the biblical tradition, continued throughout the Middle Ages and lasted until the end of the Renaissance.

Despite the fact that the historical interactions between religion and philosophy must always be concrete—because it is the thought of a particular philosopher or school of philosophy that is interacting with a specific religious tradition—both are themselves enduring forms to be found in every culture, and they are marked by general features that serve to distinguish one from the other. It is on this account that one not only can but must come to some theoretical understanding of how religious faith and philosophical reflection are related not only as a matter of historical fact but as one of principle. To speak of principle means to approach the task of reaching down to the roots of these two spiritual forms, universal in the experience of humankind, in an attempt to grasp what they essentially are and to determine how they should be related to each other. That the task is not easy should be obvious in view of the enormous variety of religious experiences and of philosophical outlooks recorded in human history. The task is, nevertheless, inescapable if one is to understand one's self, and therefore one must not be dissuaded by the knowledge that no one characterization of either religion or philosophy can capture everything or satisfy everybody.

The American philosopher and psychologist William James (1842–1910), in his epoch-making study *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902), quite rightly described religion as concerned chiefly with a strategy for redemption calling all human beings away from the snares and illusions of natural existence and back to their true selves. That such a strategy is needed follows from the fact, not always sufficiently recognized, that every religion offers a diagnosis of the human predicament, a judgment focusing attention on some flaw or defect in natural existence that stands as an obstacle between one's self and the ideal life envisioned by the particular religion in question. Redemption, in short, means being delivered from that flaw through a divine power capable of overcoming it. And the nature of the deliverance is determined in every religious faith by the character of the flaw envisaged. Both the diagnosis and the strategy of redemption derive from the lives and insights of the founders, sages, and prophets upon which the religious tradition rests. The articulated beliefs and practices that define a particular religious tradition are transmitted from age to age through historical communities of faith. Individuals owe their life to the tradition in which they stand, but the tradition owes its life to the continuing community sustained by the spiritual bonds existing between the members.

Philosophy, on the other hand, has as its chief concern the attainment of a comprehensive theoretical understanding of the many types and levels of being in the universe and their relations to each other, including a conception of the place to be assigned in the cosmic scheme to human beings and their experience. As far as Western philosophy is concerned, two different lines of inquiry manifested themselves in the earliest stages of development. On one side curiosity was directed toward the discovery of the most pervasive or universal traits exhibited by everything that is. Such features as unity and plurality, identity and difference, spatial and temporal location, acting and being acted upon were singled out as constituting the universal order holding sway throughout the universe. This line of inquiry can be called the quest for the categories ingredient in both the world and the structure of human thought and knowledge about it. Without pushing the identification too far, one may say that this side of philosophy is one that it shares with science. The affinity is nicely illustrated by the fact that what is called science today went by the name of "natural philosophy" in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as can be seen from the full title of the famous treatise written by the English physicist Isaac Newton (1642–1727), *Principia mathematica philosophiae naturalis* (1687).

On its other side, philosophy meant a bolder and more speculative inquiry prompted by wonder about the being of things. Wonder in the face of the fact that there is anything at all and wonder about what there might be about things that sustains them and causes them to stand out against nothingness and the void. This concern for what came to be called metaphysics in one of its senses has expressed itself in the quest for a ground not only of the being of things but of human being as well; the latter concern led to the inclusion of speculative insight about the good and ideal human existence within the scope of philosophy. Understood in this sense, philosophy shows its affinity with the concerns of religion, an overlap of interest that has in the past occasioned both fruitful cooperation as well as conflict between them. The two, however, remain distinct by virtue of their different aims and approaches. This difference may be summed up in a way that is symbolic for both: The reality of the divine, however conceived, is always the initial conviction of the religious outlook, while for philosophy that reality remains the final or ultimate problem.

There is yet another difference between religion and philosophy, and its meaning becomes clear when one takes into account what was said previously about the role of the religious community. Philosophical analyses and visions are the products of solitary thinkers whose doctrines have indeed formed the basis of traditions and schools of thought, witness Plato and the Greek philosopher Aristotle (384–322 BCE), but such schools do not perform the same functions as a religious community. The latter exists to bring together many individuals in a spiritual unity that transfigures life; schools of thought are primarily focal points of understanding and a place for the meeting of minds.

Much of the foregoing analysis has, of course, been based entirely on the situation in the West, where the three major faiths—Judaism, Islam, and Christianity—found themselves confronted with the autonomous philosophical systems developed in the classical world. These systems were autonomous in the sense that they were not developed under the special aegis of religious belief, even if they were sometimes influenced by religious ideas. They represent the reflections of individual minds attempting to articulate a comprehensive vision of what there truly is above and beyond appearances and mere opinions. The case of Aristotle, although in some respects unique, provides a clear illustration. His thought, ranging as it does over the entire spectrum of experience and existence, embraces a profound conception of God as, among other things, the Unmoved Mover. There is, as has often been pointed out, no essential connection between this conception of God and religion. In fact the thought of Aristotle on this point has often been described as the paradigm of conceptions of God without religion.

It is necessary to emphasize the autonomous nature of the classical philosophical systems for at least two reasons. One is the tension resulting from the fact that these philosophies, while useful in providing the concepts and principles through which primary religious experience and insight could be precisely expressed, stood at the same time as rival interpretations of reality to which the biblically based religions had to come to terms. To appeal to Aristotle again for an illustration, his conception of the world as eternal, or as not having come into being in time, posed a serious problem with regard to so central a doctrine of biblical religion as that of creation. Religious thinkers, therefore, could not avail themselves of his thought as a framework for theology without first reinterpreting it at crucial points. It is noteworthy that the tension thus introduced, plus the fear of distorting the religious message by expressing it in philosophical terms, led some thinkers, especially representatives of early Latin Christianity, to reject philosophy as an alien medium and to declare, with Tertullian (160?–225?), that "Jerusalem has nothing to do with Athens." This negative attitude, however, did not prevail, and the subsequent course of Western religious thought, at least until the Reformation, was marked by a continuous interaction between philosophical and religious ideas.

The second reason for dwelling on the autonomy of the philosophies that figured so largely in the religious thought of the West is that it opens to view a most important contrast with much Eastern thought. It is generally admitted that there is not to be found in the Hindu and Buddhist traditions, for example, any sharp and clear distinction between religion and philosophy. The two are closely interwoven, and there is no clear historical counterpart in the history of these traditions to the situation in the West, where more or less clearly defined religions encountered distinctive and already formed philosophies. It must, of course, be borne in mind that this is speaking in very general terms; one cannot say dogmatically that no distinction whatever was drawn between religion and philosophy in the Eastern cultures, especially in view of some difficult cases such as Confucianism and Daoism. The former is often described not as a religion but as a philosophical system of ethics, and the latter seems to have had its roots primarily in philosophical reflections that in time assumed religious form. Contemporary historical scholars, moreover, in rewriting the history of Indian thought, for example, are putting more emphasis, possibly under Western influence, on the strictly philosophical theories represented by the classical systems of thought and distinguishing them from "salvation doctrines" said to be representative of religion. Be this as it may, the important point is that the problems faced by Western thinkers in relating religion and philosophy were quite different from those confronting their counterparts in the East. It is one thing to attempt to relate two forms of insight to each other starting within a historical situation in which they meet each other as quite distinct, and another to confront the problem of their interconnections in cultures where the two were never clearly separated from the outset.

IMPACT OF KANT'S PHILOSOPHY AND THE EMPIRICIST CRITERION OF MEANING. Concentrating on Western civilization, where the interaction between religious faith and philosophical inquiry has so largely determined the history of both, it is necessary to understand the impact of two decisive developments that greatly disrupted the sort of exchange that had resulted in the monumental philosophico-religious syntheses represented by such thinkers as Augustine of Hippo (354–430); Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109); Philo Judaeus; Moses Maimonides, the medieval Jewish philosopher (1135–1204); Bonaventure, the scholastic theologian and philosopher (1217–1274); Duns Scotus, Scottish philosopher and theologian (1265?–1308); and Thomas Aquinas, author of the monumental *Summa theologiae* (1226–1274); as well as such Muslim thinkers as Ibn Rushd (Averroës, 1126–1198) and Ibn Sina (Avicenna, 980–1037), who sustained for Islamic religion the same kind of dialogue with Aristotle carried on for Christianity by Albertus Magnus, the German scholastic philosopher (1200–1280) and Thomas Aquinas. The first of these developments was the attack by the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) on the traditional metaphysics that had so long served as a medium of expression for religious belief; the second was the claim, stemming from the philosophies of empiricism, that there is a single criterion for determining the meaning and truth value of all statements, and that this criterion is found in sense experience and the knowledge represented by science. Relations between philosophy and religion had been determined since the beginning of the nineteenth century by the response to Kant and since early in the twentieth century have been characterized by attempts on the part of religious thinkers to deal with what came to be known as the empiricist criterion of meaning.

Three strategies have been proposed for overcoming the obstacles that arose and impeded a continuation of the classical dialogue between religious insight and philosophical reflection. The first is represented by those religious thinkers who accepted the Kantian thesis that knowledge extends no further than mathematics and what he called the general science of nature, so that metaphysics, and especially the classical proofs for the existence of God, become invalid, because they transcend the limits of what the human understanding can know. Because these thinkers were committed to upholding the validity of religion, their task was to find some new basis for it other than metaphysics and philosophy. The second strategy found expression in those who accepted the theory of one criterion of meaning and who, insofar as they were concerned with religion at all, identified it with emotion, feeling, and attitudes, all of which were said to be devoid of cognitive significance. This was the position of positivism or logical empiricism. Finally, there was the alternative associated chiefly with the name of the Austrian philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889–1951), who saw the limitations of the empiricist criterion of meaning and the difficulties involved in justifying it. Consequently, he proposed instead to focus attention not on meaning but on the use of language in different contexts of experience—aesthetic, economic, religious, moral, and so forth. These different uses of language were called "language games," and he described the language of religion as distinctive because it expresses what he called a "form of life." Just as in the preceding alternative, however, no cognitive status can be claimed for religious utterance, although it must be admitted that in shifting from meaning to use Wittgenstein intended to criticize positivism for having gone too far.

It should be evident that each of these alternatives represents a response to the Kantian philosophy, with its restriction of reason to the bounds of sense and of knowledge to science. The proponents of all three alternatives basically accepted Kant's analysis as valid, but with important differences. Those who adopted the first strategy had the strongest concern for preserving religion, and they consequently sought to find new foundations for it, while at the same time leaving Kant's position intact. The positivists, on the whole, regarded religion as outmoded and its utterances as without meaning; in this they went beyond Kant in abolishing his distinction between what can be meaningfully thought and what can be known. Kant, that is to say, held that individuals can validly think the idea of God, because reason demands that they do, but that knowledge of the reality meant is not possible. In identifying meaning with the possibility of verification in sense experience, the positivists had to deny that the idea of God is meaningful in any sense. Wittgenstein, though not alone in his criticism, had, nevertheless, the most influential voice in turning back the positivist approach. He claimed, in effect, that the use of language in theoretical science is not its only use; account must be taken as well of the functions of language in other contexts of experience, including the religious. Thus, he argued, instead of stopping inquiry before it begins by invoking the positivist criterion of meaning and declaring religious expression meaningless, the task is to understand the grammar and the logic of the language and forms of expression actually used by the members of religious communities. One very significant consequence of this approach was the discovery that "religious language" embraces a considerable variety of types of expression and that careful distinctions are necessary if each type is to be understood in terms proper to itself. The devotional language of worship, for example, differs in important respects from the conceptual language needed for theology, which in turn differs from the languages represented by myth, parable, exhortation, and prophetic insight.

Invaluable as this sort of clarification has been in fostering a better understanding of what religion is and means, it does not engage the problem of validity in religion, nor does it go very far in relating religion to other dimensions of experience. In fact the language-game approach in the hands of Wittgenstein and his followers has tended to encapsulate religion in a sphere of sheer faith—fideism—cut off from all forms of knowledge. So great a gap between reason and faith has been brought about that Wittgenstein could find no way of overcoming it. On the contrary, he even claimed that if there were a single scrap of "empirical" evidence to support what is intended to be a religious statement, it would thereby cease to be "religious." The major difficulty with such a position is that it fails to deal with the most important fact about religious belief, which is that those who adhere to it do so with the firm conviction that it is true, that reality is in accord with it, even if they are unable to give an account of what this precisely means in philosophical terms.

Enough has been said about the second and third alternatives to indicate that they are not ultimately satisfactory. This author should now like to return to the first alternative and mention briefly a number of the proposals that have been made to find a new basis for religion without violating the limits imposed by Kant. It shall be suggested that each of these proposals expresses something important, but that no one of them achieves a satisfactory relation between religion and philosophy. Finally, this article will propse a fourth alternative that is actually a new version of the ancient dialogue between religion and philosophy.

One of the most important religious responses to Kant was the thought of the German theologian Albrecht Ritschl (1822–1889) and his school, which made its appearance at the middle of the nineteenth century. He sought to free theology from dependence on metaphysics by stressing the essentially moral meaning of religious conceptions. Following Kant in stressing the primacy of practical reason, Ritschl envisaged Christianity as a faith aimed at the realization of a practical ideal of human life. While it is correct to say that Ritschl found the basis of theology not in metaphysics but in a value judgment expressing the practical significance of a divine reality, the value judgment in question is of a complex sort. Jesus, the object in human experience possessing the value of Godhead, is the occasion upon which individuals apprehend him as the bearer of grace, the one who reveals God as love. Insofar as individuals experience and evaluate the action of Jesus in revealing God, they see him as God. According to Ritschl, however, it is not through command or authority that Jesus is effective, but only through his moral teachings. In realizing God's goal, Jesus also realizes one's own goal, which is the fulfillment of one's purpose in life. Ritschl saw in this fundamental evaluation the justification whereby individuals gain admission to the kingdom of God through Jesus in the church. In making the moral dimension central, Ritschl was able to retain a theology unaffected by Kant's elimination of classical metaphysics.

This proposed solution of the relation between philosophy and religion is not, however, without difficulties. Granted that Ritschl's position involves something more than a simple reduction of the religious to the moral, the fact remains that the latter is too limited in scope to do justice to the religious concern. Morality is concerned primarily with what a person is to do, while religion aims at what a person is to be, and the problem of being presents itself at this point in the form of the need to find a basis for the unity and integrity of the person, something not to be resolved within the confines of morality and values. There is, in addition, the fact that the biblical message involves other theological concepts requiring an articulation that takes one beyond the resources of morality and valuation.

A second, and far more influential, attempt to resolve the problem was made by the brilliant Danish thinker Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855). Using the philosophy of Absolute Spirit set forth by the German philosopher G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831) as both a foil and the focal point of his attack, and declaring that "Kant is my philosopher," Kierkegaard insisted that Christianity is concerned primarily with the relation of faith between God and human beings and that on this account it stands over against speculative philosophy and all efforts to make Christian doctrine "rational." According to Kierkegaard, the central Christian claim that the eternal has entered time is the "absolute paradox," defying all mediation and rational explanation; God confronts human pride and refusal to acknowledge his status as a creature, so that religion is and must always appear as an "offense." If it does not, says Kierkegaard, then it is inauthentic and conventional for having been made "palatable" or consonant with human reason. From this perspective, rooted in the primacy of *existence*—that is, the individual who finds himself "there" in a time and place confronting the problem of salvation—attempts like that of Hegel to use speculative reason to break through the mystery of the eternal entering time succeed only in distorting the essential religious message, for, Kierkegaard insisted, this message is simply "absurd" when considered from the standpoint of human reason. Although not without philosophical acumen of his own, Kierkegaard devoted himself, through his genius for irony, wit, paradox, and profound psychological insight, to the confounding of philosophy, thus opening a wide gap between reason and religion. Kierkegaard could well afford to accept the strictures on theoretical reason dictated by Kant's philosophy, because he was firmly convinced that Christianity neither can nor need be made "rational."

For all of its undoubted insights into the human condition and the meaning of God and faith, Kierkegaard's position is ultimately unstable. In the face of Hegel's massive rationalism, Kierkegaard was undoubtedly right in seeking to discover the reality of the individual and the need to appropriate Christian faith in a personal commitment, something that does not happen by understanding alone. But in equating thought with possibility, so that it necessarily abstracts from existing (the individual's being and situation), Kierkegaard not only lost the basis upon which thought can be said to penetrate and illuminate human life, but he was forced as well to turn existence into a "surd" element—"what thought cannot think." As subsequent developments proved, the step from the "surd" to the "absurd" is quite short and contains a pitfall. The withdrawal of reflective thought from existence led ultimately to the declaration that religion is illusory because human existence itself is absurd. That is to say, existence came to be thought absurd, not in the ironic and paradoxical Kierkegaardian sense, but rather in the sense established by the French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre (1905–1980), according to which religion is abolished and no meaning attaches to human existence in itself but is found only in what individuals, through the heroic human will, can succeed in creating for themselves. Kierkegaard, to be sure, is not to be held accountable for this later development, but in his insistence on the irreconcilability of religion and philosophy, he left religion open to dissolution by those who could see no rationality in it and were unpersuaded by his modern version of the ancient proclamation, "I believe because it is absurd."

Yet another alternative framework for the articulation of religious insight took the form of an appeal to "sacred history," or the history of divine redemption. From this standpoint, theology has to do not with the classical doctrine of God expressed, as in the case of the medieval theologians, through philosophical categories, but with the activity of God, discernible through the eyes of faith, in accomplishing the redemption of the whole creation through history. This position finds strong support in the undoubtedly valid, even if sometimes exaggerated, distinction between the fundamental patterns exhibited by Hebraic and Greek thought. The latter, stressing form and the timelessness attached to being and truth, found itself, insofar as attention was focused on history at all, interpreting the course of human events in essentially cyclical terms after the fashion of the continual recurrence of forms in the natural world. Hebraic thought, by contrast, was marked not only by a powerful sense of the reality of time and a linear history, but by the belief that historical development is itself the medium through which the nature, and especially the will, of God is revealed.

Numerous attempts have been made, going back to the German theologians Wilhelm Herrmann (1846–1922) and Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923), to establish the primacy of history as the medium for understanding and interpreting religion; no brief discussion, however, could possibly do justice to all the shades of opinion and differences of emphasis that have been expressed. If these attempts, and those represented more recently by the thought of such theologians as H. Richard Niebuhr (1894–1962), Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976), Friedrich Gogarten (1887–1967), and John Macquarrie have anything in common, it is the belief that not philosophy but historical experience and the course of history provide both the foundation of Christian faith and the interpretative framework within which it is to be understood. It is, of course, true that this approach has deep roots in the biblical tradition; Christianity followed the faith of the Hebrew scriptures (Old Testament) in recognizing the unique conception of a linear history in and through which the will of God becomes manifest. Wolfhart Pannenberg, the contemporary German theologian, writes, "Indeed, if it is at all possible . . . to compress [the] biblical understanding of reality into a single word, that word would certainly be 'history'" (*Faith and Reality,* Philadelphia, 1977, p. 10). The strength of this position is found in what it positively accomplishes in highlighting the essential contribution of the temporal and historical—the incarnation as the disclosure of God in history—as opposed to all static conceptions of reality, wherein no provision is made either for history as a medium of revelation or for the novel and creative increment represented by the course of history itself. If, however, whether under the influence of an exaggerated contrast between the Hebraic and Greek views of the historical, or in an effort to remain within the limits of Kant's philosophy alone, proponents of the history-as-medium view hope to replace philosophy with history, serious problems arise. For, on the one hand, there is the philosophical problem of understanding the nature of historical events, the relation between interpreting and explaining them and, consequently, of having some theory about the connections between history, nature, and God. These are essentially philosophical concerns not to be resolved on the basis of the historical dimension alone. Moreover, there is no avoiding the theological issue posed by the mediating function history is to perform, for it is not only the so-called brute historical datum that is involved, but the all-important fact that this datum—especially the historicity of Jesus—must mean or point to God. This fact leads directly to the vexing problems stemming from the need to appeal to a "sacred" history that bears the religious meaning without thereby losing the historicity assumed to belong *ipso facto* to the "secular" account of the events in question. Once again, an attempt to respect what the Swiss theologian Karl Barth (1886–1968) has called the "Kantian terms for peace" in the relations between philosophy and religion, and to find a medium for religious thought other than metaphysics, turns, after the fashion of Hegel's logic, into its opposite, so that new philosophical and theological problems arise in the effort to establish this medium as the successor of metaphysics.

Other religious thinkers, sometimes called the "theologians of encounter," have maintained that religion finds its foundation neither in metaphysics, history, nor morality, but in an immediate encounter establishing a relation with a divine Thou, somewhat analogous to the situation in which two persons are related to each other through intimate bonds of love, compassion, and concern. Central to this outlook is a contrast similar to that between meeting and being acquainted with a person in direct encounter and "knowing about" that person indirectly through abstract concepts.

The small classic written by the Jewish philosopher Martin Buber (1878–1965), *I and Thou,* gave moving expression to this way of understanding the relation between humankind and God and exerted a powerful influence on Jewish and Christian thought alike. Buber, by no means a foe of philosophy, did, however, under the influence of Kant, draw a sharp distinction between the theoretical, conceptual knowledge of objects—what he called the "it-world"—and the experienced relations between persons who meet and acknowledge each other as such—the world of the "thou." Accordingly, Buber interpreted religion as the special relation established between the "I" and the divine "Thou." Theoretical knowing Buber saw as nullifying the "I-thou" relations precisely because it objectifies its content and leaves the world of persons out of account.

The approach to God through encounter has had its representatives among Christian theologians as well, with, of course, certain transformations necessary to accommodate that tradition. *The Divine-Human Encounter,* by the Swiss theologian Emil Brunner (1889–1966), is a paradigm of the view that human meets God in a faith that is essentially an "answering" acceptance of the divine word, something that is neither a thinking "about" God nor the communication of information. H. H. Farmer has expressed a similar idea in *The World and God,* where he declares that the experience of divine encounter "must be self-authenticating and able to shine in its own light, independently of the abstract reflections of philosophy. . . ." Barth, although his theological system is far too complex to be subsumed under the encounter thesis, nevertheless insists that God remains forever a subject, and that through the incarnation in Christ he makes himself available to be apprehended in the personal knowledge of encounter.

Some contemporary religious thinkers, influenced by the concerns of developing nations, of minorities and the disinherited, by new and more permissive attitudes in morality, and by conflicts in social relations, have turned away completely from traditional philosophical approaches to God and religion and have looked instead to the social sciences as the appropriate medium for expressing what they take to be relevant in religious belief for dealing with these concerns. A fine example of this trend of thought is found in what has come to be called "liberation theology," which focuses attention on the concerns of the oppressed. There is no doubt that this development has been playing an important role in bringing religious faith into the arena of social, economic, and political problems of the utmost urgency. In the context of the present discussion, however, it is necessary to call attention to a basic problem. A liberation theology must be, whatever else it is, a theology, which is to say that it must remain in touch with both religious and philosophical thought concerning God, because the social sciences themselves do not provide this content.

The most radical position as regards the relation between religion and philosophy finds expression in the claim that religion is exclusively a matter of revelation—the word of God—and stands in no need of mediation through secular knowledge, including philosophy. The theology of neoorthodoxy, as it was called, represented chiefly by the massive work of Barth, is based on the proposition that there is no "point of contact" between reason and revealed truth; every philosophical position is equally distant from and thus equally irrelevant to the theological articulation of religious faith. To take but one example, a secular philosopher discussing the meaning of nothingness, according to Barth, could, *ipso facto,* not be referring to the same nothing from which, in the biblical account, the creation was called forth. The rupture is complete; philosophy and religion must dwell in two separate and noncommunicating spheres.

The responses to Kant do not exhaust the interplay between religion and philosophy in the period under consideration. One must take into account as well the impact on religion of logic-analytic philosophies, as represented by Rudolf Carnap (1891–1970) and the proponents of logical empiricism, and A. J. Ayer, whose *Language, Truth and Logic* had serious repercussions not only for religious thought, but for metaphysics, ethics, and aesthetic theory as well. In fairness to Ayer, it should be noted that he no longer holds the views expressed in his epoch-making book; on the other hand, one cannot afford to ignore the sort of positivism expressed there because it was those ideas that, so to speak, did the work.

Central to the thought of both Carnap and Ayer is what has been called the empiricist criterion of meaning, or the thesis that the meaningfulness of any utterance is to be determined solely by verification (or verifiability) in sense experience, where experience is understood according to the conception of experience made classic by the Scottish philosopher David Hume (1711–1776). This view conflates meaning and truth in such a way that, in the absence of the sense datum that would verify an utterance, its constituent terms are said to be without meaning. By implication, the position includes the further thesis that with regard to any utterance it is necessary to specify what datum would count against its supposed truth, or, in short, would falsify it.

It is not difficult to envision what the consequences of applying this monolithic criterion to religious statements would be. Basic theological concepts such as God, atonement, sin, salvation, and faith, along with metaphysical concepts like being, reality, necessary existence, personality, and creativity would all be deprived of cognitive meaning, so that statements involving these and similar terms could not even be called false, because they are supposed to be, quite literally, nonsense. Those who accepted the full authority of the one-meaning criterion for all utterances, insofar as they attended to religious utterances at all, had no alternative but to identify religion wholly with emotion, feeling, or attitudes of a certain kind, with the clear understanding that these have no cognitive significance. It should be obvious that no positive or creative interaction between religion and philosophy is possible from this point of view, because it reduces religion to an emotive level at which no articulation of religious ideas is possible. The underlying assumption determining this outcome was that the only knowledge people possess derives from science. The interesting fact, however, is that subsequent discussion of the empiricist criterion of meaning led to its erosion when it became clear that positivism is itself philosophy and cannot appropriate the credentials of science.

The credit for resolving this situation in a way that allowed both for a mode of interpreting religious insight and the preservation of the linguistic approach to philosophy must go to Wittgenstein. He interpreted religion primarily in practical terms as the legitimate expression of a "form of life," but religious language carries with it no cognitive claim. For this reason religion had to become a matter of sheer faith—fideism—with the consequence that no religious utterance can be construed as making any assertion purporting to be true or false about any realities whatever. The position is a singular one indeed. Wittgenstein was, on the one hand, rightly aware of the difference between the type of significance—purpose, value, aim—embodied in religious language and the theoretical assertions and explanatory theories of science that provided the model for the empiricist criterion of meaning. Hence the shift from meaning to use. On the other hand, this shift was made with the meaning criterion still hovering in the background, so that in the end it remained the determining factor in defining the sphere of the "cognitive," and religion was excluded.

RECOVERY OF THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY. Nevertheless, as was noted earlier on, the linguistic analysis of religious language proposed by Wittgenstein made one important contribution to current understanding. It served to call attention to the fact that "religious language," though it purports to express a distinctive dimension of experience, is by no means to be regarded as a single, homogeneous form of discourse. The literature of the world's religions manifests a plurality of "uses," or types of expression, and great care must be exercised in distinguishing them. The language of devotion and liturgy, for example, must be distinguished from that of theology, and likewise from the languages of parable, exhortation, lamentation, myth, legend, and historical report. Each has a distinctive function, and only confusion can result from a failure to understand what each purports to express. To take but one typical example, when confronted with parabolic speech, it is a gross misunderstanding to seek the so-called literal meaning of such expressions, because their intent is of a quite different sort. A parable is a vivid and engaging story drawing on familiar experiences and things—putting a new patch on an old garment, a widow losing her last coin, tares among the wheat—for the purpose of dramatizing some religious or moral insight. Expressing the point prosaically or "literally" can never have the same effect. Important as this source of clarification may be, however, it does not go far enough, because it does not engage those theological questions that stand at the interface of philosophy and religion, nor does a purely critical philosophy provide any basis for determining the relation between religion and cultural life. What limits all critical philosophies in this regard is the absence of any but the most implicit (and sometimes hidden) metaphysics, or general theory of reality and experience, in accordance with which the various dimensions of life can be related to each other. As is learned from history, a truly fruitful interplay between religion and philosophy takes place when philosophy is represented, not by critical methods and analytic programs, but by a substantive vision of reality such as one finds in Hegel or Whitehead.

There remains yet another alternative different from all the preceding, and it is suggested by the point just made about metaphysics. An attempt must be made to recover the classical interaction between religion and philosophy in such a way that the former will once again be intelligible despite the skepticism of the age, and the latter will find its way back to those speculative questions that human beings will never cease to raise. The rationale for such a recovery can be given by showing the adverse consequences that follow for both religion and philosophy from their separation and loss of communication. First, however, it is necessary to challenge a number of philosophical assumptions, assumptions that have been in force for a century and have served to bring about the present unsatisfactory situation. It is an error to suppose that Kant's critical philosophy must be accepted as the final word about the capacity of reason and the possibility of metaphysics while attempts are made to insert religion and theology into what Barth has called the "gaps" in Kant's thought. A more radical approach is called for, which means adopting a far more critical stance to the critical philosophy itself. As Hegel saw so well, Kant's ultimate conclusion is dogmatic in the precise sense that he simply opted for the priority of understanding over reason, and in so doing he employed mathematics and physics as the criterion of knowledge, thus judging the validity of metaphysics in accordance with an alien standard.

The underlying issue is an ancient one, going back to the difference of opinion expressed in the thought of Plato and Aristotle: Is there, as Plato held, one universal method and criterion governing all thought, or, is it not the case, as Aristotle claimed, that method and standards of judgment must follow the particular subject matter in question? It is only the latter position that makes it possible to do justice to the many different spheres of meaning and dimensions of experience that actually exist, and at the same time to develop standards appropriate to a given type of thought. Speculative philosophy is not a special science, like physics or geology, and its aims and criteria of adequacy must not be thought of and judged in terms appropriate for experimental inquiries. The same is true of religion and theology; any attempt to understand either is bound to fail if no attention is paid to the special sort of meaning both purport to express. Clearly what is called for is a broader conception of reason, one that is not modeled on the most abstract patterns of thought, which, essential though they are, must exclude the most concrete and important human concerns. A reason, in short, that extends no further than the spheres of formal logic and empirical science forces beyond the bounds of rationality not only philosophy but religion and morality as well.

Earlier on, it was suggested that the rationale for seeking to recover a positive and fruitful interplay between religion and philosophy is to be found in the unfortunate consequences for both that come as the result of their separation from each other. Consider, first, the impact on religion that follows from this separation. Without the benefit of careful, conceptual articulation and the discipline of critical reflection—whether in the form of a philosophical theology or a philosophy of religion—religion is in danger of becoming obscurantist or fanatical in its basic orientation. While the central religious insights that define a tradition must be preserved and transmitted in each historical period, the culture in which the tradition finds itself and the people to whom it speaks are constantly changing. New knowledge is forthcoming, novel patterns of thought and behavior emerge, social and political conditions arise that are very different from those prevailing when the religion was first established. The world in which Augustine proclaimed the Christian message, for example, has little in common with the situation in which that same message was set forth by such thinkers as the German theologian Paul Tillich (1886–1965) or Barth in the twentieth century. A living religion must come to terms with this all-important fact and not seek to preserve itself either by refusing to confront the problems posed by the intellectual climate of the time or by retreating into an inner sanctuary untouched by secular thought and experience. It has, moreover, been persuasively argued that it is precisely through a dialogue engaging the entire spectrum of a culture that a religious tradition comes to realize previously undiscovered implications of its basic faith that further illuminate and help to transform human life. The need to relate the enduring insights of religion to new historical situations and to new generations of people who confront them presents a salutary challenge not only to obscurantism and disdain for intelligence in religion but to fanaticism as well. Having to respond seriously to the critic's question or the skeptic's doubt, as well as to the believer's plea for guidance, must engender in the religious thinker a measure of humility and circumspection not to be reconciled with the fanatic posture, which, as William James was so well aware, is the greatest evil perpetrated by religion wherever it exists. The great ages of faith in Western religion have been those in which faith and intelligence went hand in hand. That religion and philosophy should be separated must be, for religion, the greatest of disasters.

Consider now the consequences of the separation from the side of philosophy. The presence of the religious questions—the problem of God and transcendence, the place of humanity in the cosmic order and its final destiny, the issue of freedom and responsibility, the problem of evil—has repeatedly served as a goad to philosophy, orienting the thinking of philosophers in the direction of speculative themes. As has been seen, especially in the twentieth century, philosophers motivated by the desire to be scientific and to show that philosophy makes progress have worked to reduce the subject to purely critical proportions, with major emphasis falling on technical issues concerning method, knowledge, logic, and language. Speculative questions were often ignored as either without significance or beyond human intellectual capacities. Without the goad of religion (unfortunately not very powerful in the period under consideration), philosophy runs the risk of formalizing itself and of abandoning its constructive task in treating the most important human concerns. Concentration on technique alone has little value when philosophers fail to confront these concerns. A recovery of the dialogue between religion and philosophy would serve the double purpose of bringing philosophy back to the task of constructive metaphysics and of keeping religious thought within the scope of rationality, thus guarding it from the evils of dogmatism and obscurantism.

That such a recovery is a real possibility finds support in two developments of recent decades whose importance must not be overlooked or discounted. The first was the philosophical theology of Tillich, with its method of correlating philosophical questions and theological resolutions; the second was the process philosophy of the English philosopher Alfred North Whitehead (1861–1947), who emigrated to America in 1924, and the several types of theologies inspired by it. Tillich's theological method not only called for a creative exchange with metaphysical thought, but it was accompanied as well by a substantive metaphysical position in the classical mode of correlating the concepts of being and God. While Tillich's thought was marked by an undoubted originality, its appropriation was somewhat hampered because of its dependence on the philosophy of the German contemporary of Hegel, F. W. Schelling (1775–1854)—by far the least known on the American scene of the exponents of German Idealism. Despite this handicap, however, Tillich was a major force in sustaining a theologico-philosophical dialogue, and he did much to counteract the powerful antiphilosophical bias within Protestantism that had its origins in the dogmatic theology of Barth.

Like Tillich, Whitehead had a well-developed metaphysical scheme, including a network of categories for interpreting the many dimensions of experience. In Whitehead one can see how, on the one hand, religious experience and insight were brought into relation to current patterns of thought, scientific as well as philosophical, and how, on the other, these insights were incorporated into his metaphysics as part of the evidence that must be taken into account by a speculative scheme intended to be relevant for understanding everything that happens. The fruitfulness of the interplay between philosophy and religion in this particular case is all the more striking because it coincided with the recovery within the biblical tradition of an emphasis upon time, life, and history in the conception of God, features which had been eclipsed by the great stress previously placed on God as absolute, that is, unrelated to the cosmic process, and as "pure actuality," or a perfection to which the novel increment of history could make no difference.

On the basis of the foregoing analysis, one must conclude that the proper and most satisfactory relation between religion and philosophy is that of dialogical exchange, an exchange of a sort that existed for centuries until it was interrupted by the critical philosophy of Kant and the authority of the empiricist criterion of meaning. But, as has been seen, Kant's reduction of reason to the limits of understanding need not be the last word on the matter, nor should anyone continue to think that it is possible to accept Kant's position while at the same time attempting to find some loophole through which religion can pass. The monolithic criterion of meaning also need not be accepted, because it so clearly fails to do justice to dimensions of meaning not to be fitted into the pattern of thought exemplified by natural science. With these obstacles surmounted, the way is clear for the renewal of the mutual exchange between religion and metaphysics that has borne fruit in the past.

SEE ALSO Analytic Philosophy; Aristotelianism; Deism; Empiricism; Enlightenment, The; Existentialism; Humanism; Idealism; Logical Positivism; Materialism; Naturalism; Neoplatonism; Nominalism; Platonism; Positivism; Scholasticism; Skeptics and Skepticism.

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This bibliographic essay focuses on some books dealing with positions and trends noted in the foregoing article. No effort is made to include such thinkers as Kant, Kierkegaard, Hegel, James, Barth, Tillich, and Whitehead, because they are the subjects of separate articles.

James Collins's *The Emergence of Philosophy of Religion* (New Haven, Conn., 1967), both in its historical treatment and its systematic focus on underlying issues, serves to set the stage for the modern discussion concerning the intersection of philosophy and religion. Collins takes note of the important fact that prior to the eighteenth century, philosophical reflection on religious and theological topics took place for the most part within the ambit of the Judeo-Christian tradition and its fundamental doctrines. As Collins shows, however, by discussing three representative thinkers—Hume, Kant, and Hegel—in the succeeding century and a half, the situation was to change radically.

James Alfred Martin, Jr.'s *The New Dialogue between Philosophy and Theology* (New York, 1966), a clear, well-informed, and perceptive study, is the best overall account of the response by religious thinkers both in America and Britain to analytic and linguistic philosophy and to the orientation of the later Wittgenstein. Martin does not only expose the error of identifying analytic philosophy with logical positivism; he skillfully shows how the twentieth-century dialogue between analytic philosophy and theology is connected with the historical dialogue within Christendom that started with Origen and Tertullian and continued through the centuries into the discussions of Tillich, Barth, and Heidegger. In addition to critical accounts of the major writers, religious and philosophical, the book contains a useful bibliography.

Ian T. Ramsey's *Religious Language: An Empirical Placing of Theological Phrases* (London, 1957) begins with an account of what situations can legitimately be called "religious" and considers how some traditional phrases in theology—"first cause," "infinitely wise," "infinitely good"—can be given a logical structure appropriate to these religious situations. Echoing the idea that "religious language" is multiple in character, Ramsey distinguishes the language of the Bible from the language of Christian doctrine, describing each in terms of its functions and aims. In this way he hopes to avoid the many confusions resulting from lumping together under the rubric of "religious language" such diverse forms of expression as that of devotion, on the one hand, and that of theological conceptualization, on the other.

John Macquarrie's *God-Talk: An Examination of the Language and Logic of Theology* (New York, 1967), in addition to an appraisal of the impact of logical empiricism on theological discourse, includes illuminating chapters on different types of such discourse based on case-study analyses of a classical theological text—Athanasius's *On Incarnation*—and of Heidegger's philosophical theory of interpretation. The result is the delineation in theology of a plurality of meaning devices, including mythology, symbolism, analogy, indirect language, existential discourse, ontological discourse, the language of authority, appeal to direct experience, and, finally, the language of paradox.

John Hick's *Faith and Knowledge,* 2d ed. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1966), is concerned primarily with problems of religious knowledge, the distinction between belief and knowledge, and the relation of both to different conceptions of faith. It is representative of a general trend, which is the attempt to combine an analytically oriented philosophy with a neoorthodox approach to religion generally and to Christianity in particular.

E. L. Mascall's *The Secularization of Christianity* (New York, 1965) offers an extraordinarily thorough and acute analysis of J. A. T. Robinson's *Honest to God* (Philadelphia, 1963) and Paul Van Buren's *The Secular Meaning of the Gospel* (New York, 1963) in an attempt to show that, while it is essential that Christianity be presented in terms that are both intelligible and relevant to the present day, it is not necessary to jettison centuries of accumulated Christian wisdom for the purpose of communicating what in fact may prove to be merely a substitute for Christian doctrine. Whether one agrees or not with Mascall's conclusions, it is unquestionable that no better account of the topic is to be found.

Ninian Smart's *The Science of Religion and the Sociology of Knowledge* (Princeton, 1973) surveys the broad theme of the relation of religion to rationality in light of phenomenology, history, sociology, and anthropology. The author notes, quite rightly, the difference between theology as the systematic expression of the faith of a religious community and various ways of studying religion as a phenomenon involved in the total pattern of life and culture throughout the world. Although too short for an extended treatment, the discussion ranges over a very wide body of material, including references to Weber, Lévy-Bruhl, Otto, Wach, Kierkegaard, Tillich, Barth, Marx, Freud, Eliade, Berger, Jayatilleke, and Wilfred Cantwell Smith.

H. D. Lewis's *Our Experience of God* (London, 1959) decries the idea that it is the task of philosophy to construct some form of philosophical substitute for religion, or to provide proofs for religious beliefs supposedly held on inadequate grounds. The positive role of philosophy in relation to religion is to make clearer the meaning and status of religious beliefs actually held and at the same time to show their relation to the larger experiential setting in which they occur.

In *The Person God Is* (London, 1970), Peter Bertocci, a chief representative of the philosophy and theology of personalism, carries on the tradition of interpreting religious insight in philosophical terms by viewing God, the cosmic person, as the creator of "co-creators." The author considers whether the goodness of God can be empirically grounded, whether grace can be discovered in freedom, and whether religion itself can be understood in terms of the pursuit of creativity.

In the works of Charles Hartshorne, including *Man's Vision of God, and the Logic of Theism* (New York, 1941), *The Divine Relativity: A Social Conception of God* (New Haven, Conn., 1948), *The Logic of Perfection* (La Salle, Ill., 1962), *Anselm's Discovery* (La Salle, Ill., 1965), and *Omnipotence and Other Theological Mistakes* (Albany, N.Y., 1984), the critical interchange on philosophical and theological issues is sustained. Hartshorne's thought may be understood as concentrating on two distinct but closely related focal points. The first is his "neoclassical" theism based on what he calls the "principle of Dual Transcendence," according to which God contrasts with creatures not as an abstract infinite against the finite, but as a concrete "infinite-and-finite," each aspect of which contrasts with fragmentary creatures who are neither relative nor absolute in themselves. In short, Hartshorne finds that despite the great emphasis placed by the biblical tradition on time, individuality, personal responsibility, and historical development, much classical theology neglected these features by conceiving of God, not as living, but as already complete or perfect. The other focus in Hartshorne's writing is restatement and reassessment of the ontological argument as first proposed by Anselm. Here he reoriented the centuries-long discussion of this oft "refuted" argument, not by concentrating on the usual question of whether "existence is a predicate," but by directing attention to what had largely been neglected by a host of previous thinkers, namely, what is to be understood by the idea of God—the *what* of the matter—and its expression in Anselm's formula. An informative commentary on Hartshorne's work can be found in *Existence and Actuality: Conversations with Charles Hartshorne,* edited by John B. Cobb, Jr., and Franklin I. Gamwell (Chicago, 1984).

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PHILOSOPHY: PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION

The idea of a philosophy of religion is a recent one, and it assumes a differentiation between philosophy and religion that has emerged chiefly in the modern West. Much that is included under that rubric, however, dates back to ancient philosophical analysis and speculation. Philosophy of religion is the philosophical scrutiny of religion, but the meaning of those terms and the proper method and content of the field are subject to considerable dispute. Current work in the field can be divided into two types: (1) assessment of the rationality of religious beliefs, with attention to their coherence and to the cogency of arguments for their justification; and (2) descriptive analysis and elucidation of religious language, belief, and practice with particular attention to the rules by which they are governed and to their context in the religious life. The boundary between these two types is not always clear, but they can be illumined by considering their origins and some paradigmatic arguments from each.

JUSTIFICATION OF RELIGIOUS BELIEFS. The first type of philosophy of religion has been concerned chiefly with theism, but analogues can be found in nontheistic traditions. Rational arguments are proposed and assessed in order to justify or to criticize religious beliefs. Because the philosophy of religion has its provenance in the West, theistic issues have dominated the discussion, but neither type should be restricted to the consideration of theism.

Most of the classical topics in the philosophy of religion are topics in philosophical theism or natural theology. Foremost among these are the existence and nature of God. Analyses of the concept of God, discussion of the divine nature and its attributes, and arguments that purport to demonstrate the existence of God constitute the principal subject matter of philosophical theism. Such attributes as unity, simplicity, omniscience, perfection, eternity, and immutability require analysis in order to clarify their meanings, to assess their compatibility, and to consider the implications of applying them outside of the contexts in which individuals normally ascribe knowledge, power, and goodness to persons. Many of the classical issues and arguments derive from medieval philosophy and theology.

Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) classified the arguments for the existence of God as the ontological argument, the cosmological argument, and the teleological argument, or argument from design. This classification has become canonical, though not everyone would agree with Kant's claim that these three kinds of argument exhaust the logical possibilities.

The original formulation of the ontological argument, and the one that has continued to command the attention of philosophers, was given by Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109) in his *Proslogion* (1077–1078). Anselm argues that the existence of God can be demonstrated by a proper analysis of the concept of God. He begins by claiming that what is meant by the word *God* is "something than which nothing greater can be thought." Even one who would doubt or deny the existence of God, says Anselm, understands this concept, and thus something than which nothing greater can be thought exists in his mind. But that than which no greater can be thought cannot exist in the mind alone. Were it to exist only in the mind, it would be possible to think of it as existing outside the mind as well, and that would be even greater. Then that which existed in the mind alone would not be something than which no greater could be thought. Therefore, that than which no greater can be thought must exist both in the mind and in reality.

The monk Gaunilo, a contemporary of Anselm, criticized the argument by claiming that it could be used to demonstrate the existence of a perfect island, or of any other thing in which the requirement of existence was embedded in the idea of perfection or greatness. Anselm replied that the concept of an island is already the concept of something limited, and thus cannot contain unlimited greatness. In what has been viewed as the standard refutation, Kant argued that existence is not a property that can be added or subtracted in order to make comparisons of worth. To say that a table exists is not to add anything to the concept of table, but is to say that the concept is instantiated.

The ontological argument differs from the cosmological and teleological arguments in that it appears to depend entirely on conceptual analysis. But the argument is embedded in a prayer in which Anselm asks God for faith in order that he might understand. This context has prompted some commentators to suggest that Anselm was not offering an argument at all, but was reflecting on a faith that was derived solely from divine revelation. The *Proslogion* opens, however, with Anselm's expression of joy at having discovered a single argument that would suffice to prove that both God exists and all that is believed about the divine nature. Philosophical treatments often consider the argument in isolation from its religious context and from Anselm's claim that divine omnipotence, mercy, impassibility, simplicity, eternity, and other attributes could be derived from the same concept.

Recently there has been renewed interest in the ontological argument. In an influential article (1960), Norman Malcolm claims that Kant had refuted the argument set forth in the second chapter of the *Proslogion,* but that the following chapter and the reply to Gaunilo contain another argument that has been overlooked and that is successful. This is an argument not for God's existence but for his necessary existence. Malcolm contends that Anselm has demonstrated that the concept of God is such that God cannot fail to exist. Were he not to exist, or were his existence contingent rather than necessary, he would not satisfy the human concept of God. Malcolm claims that Anselm was engaged in an elucidation of the concept that is implicit in the religious life of those in theistic traditions. He was analyzing the grammar by which that concept is governed. Alvin Plantinga (1974) has employed the very different techniques of modal logic to reformulate Anselm's argument to demonstrate the rationality of belief in the existence of God, though he holds that it cannot justify that belief.

The classical statement of the cosmological argument is found in the *Summa theologiae* (1268–1273) of Thomas Aquinas. Thomas offers five proofs of the existence of God, the first three of which are versions of the cosmological argument. Each begins with some characteristic of things in the world (e.g., change, causation, contingency) and argues that a proper explanation of this phenomenon requires that one posit a first cause or something whose existence is not dependent upon anything other than itself. Thomas begins the first way with the observation that some things in the world are changing. He then asserts that anything that is in the process of change is being changed by something else, a controversial premise that he defends and glosses by appeal to conceptions of actuality and potentiality derived from the Aristotelian tradition. But this other thing, he says, if in the process of change, is itself being changed by something else, and so on. Unless this potentially infinite series is halted, there will be no first cause of the change, thus no subsequent cause, and therefore no change. So there must be some first cause of change not itself being changed by anything, and this is what everyone understands by God.

The second of Thomas's ways begins from the relation between cause and effect, and proceeds in a manner parallel to the first. The third way takes its departure from the observation that some things in the world are contingent, and thus might not have existed. Thomas argues that it is impossible for everything to be contingent, because anything that need not be was once nonexistent. If everything were contingent, then there must have been a time at which there was nothing. If that were the case there would be nothing now, for something that does not exist can be brought into being only by something that already exists. But there is something now. So there must be something the existence of which is not contingent but necessary.

Thomas's five ways are fraught with difficulties, most deriving from their dependence upon Aristotelian physics and metaphysics. The observation that some things are changing is not a controversial one unless change is understood in Aristotelian terms. If it is understood in those terms, much metaphysical baggage is packed into what appears to be an ordinary observation, and the rest of the proof turns on unpacking that baggage. If it is not understood in those terms, the argument does not succeed. The same dilemma holds for the observation that some things are contingent. Current theorists are aware, as Thomas was not, of the controversial science and metaphysics that are assumed by the proofs.

The five ways, like Anselm's argument, are embedded in a theological context. Thomas says that Christian theology is a science that takes its principles on faith in God's revelation. Some have argued that he intended only to elucidate a faith based on revelation, but Thomas asserts that some truths about God can be known by natural reasoning and are presupposed by faith. Like Anselm, he continues, after presenting his arguments for the existence of God, to derive the manner of God's existing and certain characteristics of the divine nature.

Versions of the cosmological argument have been offered by Jewish, Christian, and Islamic philosophers, and the belief that the world cannot be accounted for without reference to the existence and activity of God seems to be a part of the religious life of any theist. Doctrines of God as creator and preserver, which are central to each of these traditions, are closely connected with the cosmological argument.

Recently, renewed attention has been given to an eighteenth-century version of the cosmological argument offered by Samuel Clarke (1675–1729). Clarke argued that Thomas incorrectly assumed that there must be a first cause to account for change, causation, or contingent being. There could be an infinite series of causes. But Clarke held that such a series would still require an explanation. In order to account for the existence of this series rather than another or none at all, one must posit a cause for the series as a whole. Clarke's argument has stimulated interest because it seems to depend neither on Thomas's assumption that there can be no infinite series of causes nor on his employment of Aristotelian science and metaphysics.

The most influential statement of the argument from design comes from a critic rather than a proponent. In *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion* (1779) by David Hume (1711–1776), the interlocutor Cleanthes sets forth a version of the argument, and much of the work is an analysis of its weaknesses and of the resulting implications for religious belief. Cleanthes argues that the order that is found in the universe, and "the curious adaptation of means to ends," can only be explained by positing some kind of mind that is analogous to human minds. The universe is one great machine. No such intricate pattern and order could be accounted for by chance. A designer must be posited, and some of his attributes can be inferred from the order one observes. Like the cosmological argument, this is a formalization of an aspect of ordinary theistic belief. God is the creator, and the world shows evidence of his handiwork.

Hume raises a number of problems for Cleanthes's argument, chief among them the weakness of the analogy between the order individuals discover in the universe and the order or design in a machine, other explanations that are as or more plausible on the basis of evidence, and the religious inadequacy of the God that Cleanthes's argument permits him to infer. Hume is particularly persuasive in showing that naturalistic hypotheses are as well supported by the evidence as is the theistic hypothesis.

The *Dialogues* also contain a clear presentation of a classical argument against theistic belief, the argument from evil. Hume offers two forms of this argument, emphasizing logical and empirical problems. The logical form consists in the claim that theists are committed to the inconsistent conjunction of three propositions: (1) God is omnipotent; (2) God is wholly good; and (3) evil exists. As Hume puts it: "Epicurus's old questions are yet unanswered. Is he willing to prevent evil, but not able? then is he impotent. Is he able, but not willing? then he is malevolent. Is he both able and willing? whence then is evil?" The claim is that theism is incoherent. Consistency can be restored by giving up any one of the three beliefs, and examples can be found for each of these alternatives. The traditional solutions, however, have been either to deny that there really is evil when viewed from a proper perspective, or to offer what has become known as the free will defense. The first is a denial of (3) on the grounds that what seems from one's parochial perspective to be evil can be seen from the divine viewpoint as contributing to the greater good. The free will defense is a clarification of the meaning and limits of (1). Free will defenders argue that it was better for God to have created a world in which some creatures have free will than one in which their actions are totally determined, that evil results from human free will, and that if God creates such a world there are certain outcomes that he cannot control, but that this fact does not compromise his omnipotence.

The second form of the argument from evil is not a matter of logical compatibility. Unlike the first form, it arises from the inference articulated in the design argument. Hume says that even though one might be able to demonstrate the consistency of theism, the evil and suffering one finds in the world blocks any inference to an all-powerful and benevolent designer. While the logical form of the problem of evil has dominated the discussion, those whose theism is grounded upon an inference from the world to a benevolent creator must consider how the evil and suffering in the world affects that inference.

Some contributors to this first type of philosophy of religion have employed the techniques of modal logic (Plantinga, 1974) and confirmation theory (Swinburne, 1977, 1979, 1981) to address classical questions of the coherence and rationality of theistic belief and the arguments for and against that belief.

DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF RELIGIOUS LANGUAGE, PRACTICE, AND BELIEF. Those who constructed arguments for or against the existence of God did not suppose that religious faith is adopted or discarded for these reasons. Anselm wrote of his task as faith seeking understanding. These were attempts to employ reason to understand and to justify or criticize beliefs that had been received from tradition. While work on the coherence of theism and arguments for the existence of God continue, new interpretations of the classical texts have been offered that challenge the assumption that the authors of those texts were seeking to justify religious belief. Malcolm takes Anselm to be elucidating the faith of a believer rather than proposing an argument that is meant to convince the nonbeliever. Victor Preller (1967) and David Burrell (1979) argue that when restored to their theological context the five ways of Thomas Aquinas will be seen as relatively unimportant and as displaying occasions for the application of religious grammar rather than offering proofs for the existence of God. Alvin Plantinga (1974) reconstructs the ontological argument and the free will defense in order to refute challenges by critics who argue that theism is inconsistent or irrational. Despite important differences, in each of these cases the proper task of the philosophy of religion is viewed as the elucidation of religious belief rather than as the justification or refutation of that belief.

The second type of philosophy of religion consists of reflection on the distinctive character of the religious life and the placing of religious practice and belief with respect to other sets of beliefs and practices, especially those of science and of morals. This conception of the task of philosophy of religion stems from the conviction that religious doctrine and beliefs should not be subject to criteria of rationality and justification that derive from such other pursuits as science, metaphysics, or morals. Religious practices and beliefs require no justification from outside the religious life. The task of the philosopher is to understand them rather than to subject them to heteronomous criteria.

Though there are precursors, philosophical reflection on religion began in earnest in the eighteenth century. Hume distinguished two kinds of inquiry about religion, the first concerning its foundation in reason, and the second its origin in human nature. The first of these questions was addressed in the *Dialogues,* and the second in *The Natural History of Religion* (1777), in which he sketched a naturalistic account of the origin of religious belief and practice. Speculation about the origin of religion and its relation to other aspects of culture flourished in the eighteenth century.

The agenda for much subsequent philosophy of religion was set by Kant and by responses to his work. Kant held that traditional arguments purporting to demonstrate or to refute the existence of God were flawed. More important, however, he held that such arguments were bound to fail. They were illegitimate extensions beyond experience of categories and forms of judgment that are valid only within the bounds of experience. Philosophical debate about such issues is futile, leads to antinomies, and can never be resolved. The traditional topics of philosophical theism are ill-formed, and any semblance of progress is an illusion.

Kant argued that the task of the philosopher is not to contribute to the substance of science, morals, art, or religion, but to reflect critically on the kinds of judgments that are employed in each of these areas, to map the limits of their proper application, to describe the problems that result from exceeding those limits, and to offer an account of how such judgments are possible. The moral philosopher, for instance, cannot add to or detract from the sense of moral obligation that is accessible to all rational beings, but he can describe that obligation and the structure of moral judgments. The philosopher of religion ought not to argue for or against religious beliefs, but ought to restrict himself to mapping the structure of religious concepts, beliefs, and practices, and to offering an account of their origin in practical reason.

In *Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone* (1793), Kant situated religious concepts, beliefs, and practices within the moral life. He argued that people schematize or represent in imaginative terms the experience of moral obligation. The obligation to obey the moral law is viewed as if it were a duty imposed by a divine lawgiver. This kind of schematism cannot be avoided, and thus morality leads ineluctably to religion. Religious experience and practice derive from the moral life. Religious doctrines are not to be assessed for their truth or falsity. That would be to misconstrue them. They are expressions of aspects of moral experience. Kant offered an account of the concept of God and of major Christian doctrines as schemata of the moral law and of issues that arise from attempts to act in accord with it. Religious beliefs can never conflict with scientific beliefs because they serve very different functions. Religious beliefs cannot yield knowledge, but they are a necessary outgrowth of the moral life.

Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834) accepted Kant's critique of metaphysics and of traditional natural theology, and he agreed that religious doctrine ought not to be viewed as making scientific or metaphysical claims, but he rejected the assimilation of religion to morality. He argued that religious doctrine and practice express an autonomous and irreducible moment in human experience that cannot be reduced to belief or action. Piety is neither science nor morals, but an affective moment in experience with its own integrity. Philosophy of religion is reflection on this moment as it is shaped by different traditions and cultures, and as it is expressed in various doctrines and practices. Schleiermacher described the religious moment as a sense of finitude or dependence. While it can be understood only by acquaintance, it is a universal moment in human experience that is accessible to all. Because religious doctrine is not a matter of belief but an expression of this affective moment as it is shaped by particular traditions, religious doctrines can never conflict with the findings of science. Religious beliefs require no justification because they are independently grounded in an autonomous moment of experience.

Following Kant and Schleiermacher, representatives of the second type have embedded the philosophy of religion within a broader philosophy of culture. The focus has shifted from the justification of religious beliefs to the identification of the distinctive character of religious experience, religious language, or religious practice. The task of the philosopher of religion is to describe that experience, language, and practice, to elucidate them, and to place them with respect to other cultural phenomena. G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831) showed that religious concepts and beliefs are embedded in particular traditions of thought and practice and can be understood only in the light of those traditions. Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855) continued Kant's emphasis on the will as central to the religious life but differentiated that life from a life characterized by aesthetic immediacy and one defined by Kantian morality. He explored the role of religious language both in expressing that life and in providing the occasion for an individual to confront the absolute paradox that he took to be the heart of the Christian gospel. Ludwig Feuerbach (1804–1872) and Karl Marx (1818–1883) offered accounts of religious belief and practice as idealized projections of hopes, fears, and desires that originally had more palpable objects in the material and social worlds.

Hume had located his discussion of theism within a sketch of the natural history of religion, and Hegel had traced the development of the religious consciousness through different cultural traditions. By the beginning of the twentieth century, research in the history of religions was sufficiently advanced that many philosophers of religion realized that their descriptions and analyses of religious experience, practice, and belief must, in principle at least, take account of traditions beyond Christianity and even beyond theism. Philosophy of religion could no longer be merely prolegomena to Christian theology. Most contemporary philosophers of religion would agree, but the reorientation of the discipline implied by that recognition has yet to be achieved in practice.

During the nineteenth century, work in the history of religions had been informed by Schleiermacher's claim that religion is an experiential matter that is expressed in doctrines and practices reflecting different cultures, but that is universal at the core. In the early years of the twentieth century, William James (1842–1910) and Rudolf Otto (1869–1937) both attempted to describe the distinctive characteristics of religious experience and to examine the implications for religious belief. Both drew on illustrative material from other religious traditions and viewed the object of their inquiry as religious experience considered generally, but both were chiefly influenced by Christianity.

James held that religion is principally a matter of feeling and not of belief, but that there is no distinctively religious affection. Religious fear, love, awe, and joy are ordinary fear, love, awe, and joy associated with religious objects. In *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902), James provided both a taxonomy of kinds of religious experience and astute philosophical analysis of such problems for the philosophy of religion as the relation between the scientific study of religion and the assessment of its meaning, significance, or value. He explored the implications of the identification of religion with a feeling or sense, and, especially in his chapter on mysticism, considered the authority of such experiences for the persons who have them and for those who do not. He argued that widespread testimony provides some evidence in support of what he took to be the common element in religious experience, a belief or sense that there is something more beyond this mundane world and that it can have a benevolent effect on the lives of individuals.

In contrast to James, and in explicit indebtedness to Schleiermacher, Otto argued that there is a distinctive moment in religious experience. That moment is not properly characterized as feeling, but it is unmistakably specific and peculiar. Otto described it as the nonrational and ineffable moment in religious experience. He coined a special term, the *numinous,* to refer to "the holy" minus its moral and rational factors. He claimed that there is a unique numinous category of value and a numinous state of mind that is *sui generis* and irreducible. The numinous moment in experience cannot be communicated but can only be known by acquaintance. Otto portrays that moment as one of creaturely feeling and a sense of finitude, of awe and fascination in response to something "wholly other." Otto later went on to study non-Western religious traditions, and particularly some strands of the religions of India, but his characterization of the numinous moment in religious experience is clearly derivative from the monotheism of the Hebrew scriptures and of Lutheran Christianity.

Philosophers of religion have drawn on material from the history of religions to investigate what appear to be common beliefs or practices. Mysticism, ritual, sacrifice, prayer, and a sense of the holy or of the sacred have been subjects of such inquiry. James held that religious thoughts and beliefs vary from culture to culture, but that feelings and conduct are invariant. Many have shared this assumption and have looked to the study of mysticism, prayer, or a sense of the sacred as a way to approach the heart of the religious life. It has become clear, however, that one cannot identify an emotion or a practice without reference to the concepts and beliefs that can be ascribed to the person who has that emotion or engages in that practice. Attempts by Schleiermacher, James, and Otto to characterize a core religious experience that is independent of those concepts, beliefs, and practices are bound to fail. James's assumption that beliefs vary while feelings and actions are invariant reflects his inability to appreciate the fact that any emotion or action must be identified under a description, and that that description must be one that can be properly attributed to the subject of the emotion or action.

In Anglo-American philosophy in the mid-twentieth century, the focus shifted from religious experience to religious language. A. J. Ayer (1936), developing his version of logical positivism, contended that religious statements, along with moral statements, were incapable of verification or falsification and therefore were not cognitively meaningful. They were to be understood as expressive utterances without cognitive content. The verifiability criterion of cognitive meaningfulness was soon abandoned because of problems that were independent of its application to religious statements, but the inquiry into the proper status of religious language continued. Some philosophers, drawing on the later philosophy of Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889–1951), argued that religious language ought not to be subject to criteria derived from such other forms of discourse as scientific or moral discourse. Rather, the task of the philosopher of religion ought to be to map the peculiar grammar governing religious uses of language. Problems arise, however, when one attempts to discriminate between distinctively religious uses and other uses of particular words and sentences.

Attempts to identify a distinctive grammar of religious language in such a way as to make that language autonomous and independent of other concepts and beliefs resemble Schleiermacher's claim that there is a distinctive and autonomous moment in religious experience. In both forms, the claim is motivated by apologetic considerations as well as by the aim for descriptive adequacy. If Schleiermacher is correct in his portrayal of religious language as expressive of a moment that is independent of concepts and beliefs, then a religious statement can never conflict with a scientific statement or a moral claim. The same words function entirely differently in a religious context from their use in a scientific or metaphysical context. "God created the world" as a doctrinal statement can never conflict with any scientific or metaphysical statement about the origin of the world. The words have different meanings in the different settings. This sharp distinction constitutes a protective strategy that precludes any conflict between religious beliefs and scientific or ordinary beliefs about the world. That strategy is continued by those who claim that religious uses of language are governed by their own peculiar grammar and are not subject to criteria from outside the sphere of religious discourse. Such strategies show that the second type of philosophy of religion, while allegedly concerned with description and elucidation in contrast to justification, may be used for apologetic purposes as well. It may serve to justify religious belief and practice by ascribing to those beliefs and practices a status that precludes any conflict with scientific knowledge or claims in other areas of culture.

Both types of philosophy of religion are represented in the contemporary literature. After a desultory period, there is renewed interest in philosophical theism. Chief among the tasks facing contemporary philosophers of religion is the need for the discipline to be sufficiently comprehensive to be accountable to other religious traditions, but to avoid the distortion that results from wrenching statements and phenomena out of their historical and cultural contexts in order to serve some comparative or apologetic purpose. This task is further complicated by the fact that the concept of religion prevalent in philosophy of religion has its provenance in the modern West. Theistic assumptions are embedded in the criteria by which individuals identify an experience or a phenomenon as religious. These assumptions may be masked by claims that the philosophy of religion ought to concern itself with description and analysis while remaining neutral with respect to the justification of religious beliefs and practices.

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PHOENICIAN RELIGION [FIRST EDITION].

The names *Phoenicia* and *Phoenician* come from the Greek *phoinikē* and *phoinikias*, respectively. These terms were used by the Greeks to designate the coastal strip on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean and its hinterland, and the Semitic-speaking inhabitants of that territory. The terms may correspond etymologically to the biblical (*kenaʿan*) and cuneiform (*kinaḫḫu*) names for Canaan; both the Greek and Semitic names may derive from words that refer to a reddish-purple dye for which the Phoenician dyeing industry was renowned. But there is not a precise correspondence in usage between *Phoenicia* and *Canaan.* There is, moreover, no clear evidence for what the people in question called themselves; affiliation by individual city was more likely than any pervasive national consciousness.

There is no reason to doubt the ancient claim that the Phoenicians were autochthonous, but before the late second millennium BCE there is little evidence for a distinctive Phoenician culture in the Levant. At the beginning of the Iron Age (c. 1200 BCE), though, the great political and social unrest in the Levant seems to have forced the Phoenicians into some sort of cultural coherence. This period witnessed the collapse of the Egyptian and Hittite empires and the concomitant demise of the Levantine city-states that had been their allies or vassals. At the same time, several invading groups (Philistines, Arameans, Hebrews) appeared on the scene, ultimately to establish the nation-states that would occupy the Levant throughout most of the first millennium BCE.

The Phoenicians found themselves confined to the coast, in a territory nowhere more than 60 kilometers wide, bounded by mountains to the east and the sea to the west. The northern and southern borders varied considerably, but basically the Phoenicians occupied the central portion of the coastal strip, from Tartus (Antaradus) in the north to ʿAkko (Acre) in the south. The most important cities in the Phoenician homeland were, from north to south, Arvad (Aradus), Gebal (Byblos), Beirut (Berytus), Sidon, and Sur (Tyre).

Since they were generally cut off politically and geographically from the interior, the Phoenicians turned their attention to the sea. Even within their homeland, the Mediterranean provided them with the safest and surest path for transportation and communications. And the Phoenician mastery of navigation led them to establish a series of colonies, trading posts, and settlements across the Mediterranean to the west. These colonies, the most famous of which was Carthage (probably founded by Tyre in the late ninth century), are often called "Punic" (the Latin equivalent of Phoenician), to distinguish them from mainland Phoenicia. The colonies generally shared the two most important virtues of the mainland cities: they provided safe anchorage and they were easily defensible. Some of the Phoenician ports (e.g., Palermo and Cadiz) have remained continuously in use, but most of them (e.g., Tyre and Carthage) are too small for modern ships.

Phoenician political power was at its height in the tenth and ninth centuries BCE, with Tyre emerging as the most important city. The alliance between King Hiram of Tyre and King Solomon of Israel represents the political zenith of both nations. Close relations between Phoenicia and the Israelite kingdoms, including alliance by marriage, lasted into the ninth century. By the second quarter of the ninth century, however, all the main Phoenician cities were paying tribute to Assyrian overlords. Several uprisings, including one in alliance with Egypt in the 670s, failed to overthrow the Assyrian yoke, although Tyre itself was never actually captured. After Assyria fell to the Babylonians in 612, the Babylonians moved into the Levant; they captured Jerusalem in 587/6, and defeated Tyre thirteen years later. Nebuchadrezzar's siege of Tyre is depicted in *Ezekiel* 26:7–12.

After the fall of Tyre, Sidon emerged as the chief mainland city. When the Persians defeated the Babylonians in 539, they made Phoenicia part of their fifth satrapy, and built a royal palace in Sidon. During the period of Persian rule, the Phoenician fleets acted in Persia's interest against the Greeks. In general, however, both the Phoenician mainland and the colonies moved closer to the Greek cultural sphere. Finally, Alexander conquered Phoenicia in 332, thanks in part to a remarkable feat of military engineering (Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* 17.40–46). Only vestiges of Phoenician autonomy remained in the Seleucid and subsequent Roman periods.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century CE, the Phoenicians were known exclusively from non-Phoenician sources—products of the Phoenician encounters with the Greeks, Romans, and Israelites. Since that time, there has been extensive archaeological work both in Phoenicia proper and in the colonies. Material discoveries have supplied considerable data about Phoenician sacrificial and funerary practices. But native Phoenician and Punic texts (mostly funerary and dedicatory inscriptions) do not provide a sufficient context for the interpretation of those data. Any coherent account of Phoenician religion, therefore, must still rely heavily on biblical and classical sources, especially the *Phoenician History* of Philo Byblius and *The Syrian Goddess*, attributed to Lucian of Samothrace.

Two additional factors make a general description of Phoenician religion difficult, if not impossible. First, there seems never to have been a unified national religious consciousness. As a result, the major centers had their own pantheons and idiosyncratic practices. Second, Phoenician religion tended to be adaptive rather than exclusive; in particular, Egyptian, Aramean, and Greek elements are evident, as are local influences in the western colonies. It has often been claimed that there is a Phoenician "core" that can be isolated from the external influences, on the assumption that Phoenician religion substantially perpetuated second-millennium Canaanite religion. That assumption, which is mostly based on a comparison of Phoenician evidence with the second-millennium religious texts excavated at Ras Shamra (ancient Ugarit), is fraught with difficulties. Despite some important elements of continuity, Phoenician religion seems to have been far more innovative than is generally allowed. This innovation and change continued throughout the first millennium, as the Phoenician gods, beliefs, and practices evolved in response to changing circumstances.

DEITIES. The Phoenicians worshiped three main types of gods under different names in different places. These gods are well characterized in the treaty drawn up in 677 BCE between the Assyrian king Esarhaddon and his newly conquered vassal, King Baal of Tyre. The fourth column of the treaty contains the traditional treaty curses, invoking the wrath of the gods against any Tyrian breach of the treaty's terms. The curses are divided into two sections. The first mentions Esarhaddon's own gods, as well as two additional gods associated with Aram or North Syria. Then the Phoenician gods are invoked: Baal-Shamem, Baal-Malage, and Baal-Safon are to raise a tempest and destroy the Phoenician ships; Melqart and Eshmun are to deprive the Phoenicians of their sustenance and clothing; and Astarte is to lead them to defeat in battle.

The epithet *Baal-Shamem* ("lord of heaven") denotes the high god of any local Phoenician pantheon. In the tenth-century inscription of King Yehimilk of Byblos, the god is summoned to bless the king for having restored the local temples. He is presumably the El ("god") of Byblos (not to be confused with the El of Ugarit) who is identified with Kronos by Philo Byblius. In the eighth-century inscription of King Azitawadda (found at Karatepe, in southern Anatolia), Baal-Shamem takes precedence over the rest of the gods. He is the Elioun/Hypsistos ("highest one") of Philo Byblius, and the Olympian Zeus venerated in Tyre, according to Dio's *History of the Phoenicians* (see Josephus Flavius, *Against Apion* 1.113). A bilingual Palmyrene inscription makes the equation of Baal-Shamem with Zeus Hypsistos absolutely certain.

In the Esarhaddon treaty, Baal-Shamem is clearly the lord of the storm, and he is appropriately identified with the old Canaanite Baal of Mount Tsafon, the weather god who was the Baal of Ugarit in the second millennium. According to Philo Byblius, the primordial inhabitants of Phoenicia considered Baal-Shamem "the sole god, the ruler of heaven," and appealed to him in times of drought. It is precisely Baal-Shamem's power to alleviate a drought that is challenged by the prophet Elijah in *1 Kings* 18. The other title of this Baal, *Baal-Malage*, probably means "lord of mariners," and refers to the god's role as patron of Phoenician seafaring. This title may be compared with the Zeus Meilichios ("gentle Zeus") of Philo Byblius; that god is identified with Chousor/Hephaistos ("first of all men to sail"), inventor of fishing equipment and the raft. Philo's Chousor, in turn, must be descended from the old Canaanite craftsman god, Kothar.

While the high god is the leading deity in the pantheon, he is not the principal object of cultic veneration. That situation is paralleled at Ugarit, where Il (El) is head of the pantheon, but he is neither the most active god in the myths nor the most popular god in the cult. The other two types of gods mentioned in the Esarhaddon treaty were evidently regarded as the protective geniuses of the individual cities, and cultic activity centered around them.

The treaty shows that Eshmun and Melqart were gods who guaranteed the fertility of the land and the fecundity of the flocks. The prophet Hosea (especially in 2:10–15) calls this type of god *baʿal* (pl., *baʿalim*), and condemns the Northern Israelites for thus identifying their own national god (cf. 2:18–19). Melqart was the city god of Tyre; his cult later spread to Egypt, Cyprus, Carthage, and elsewhere. According to Menander of Ephesus (see Josephus, *Antiquities* 8.146), the tenth-century King Hiram of Tyre (Solomon's famous ally) built a new temple for Melqart (Herakles), and innovated the celebration of the "awakening" (i.e., resurrection) of Melqart. This testimony shows that Melqart was a dying and reviving god; his life cycle evidently corresponded to the seasons of the agricultural year. Melqart's name literally means "king of the city." Since the word *city* is a widespread Semitic euphemism for the netherworld (i.e., the infernal city), the name is a further indication of Melqart's chthonic character.

Eshmun, who is linked with Melqart in the Esarhaddon treaty, was the dying and reviving god venerated at Sidon. He was later identified with the healer god Asklepios. The association of healer gods with the chthonic cycle is a common phenomenon in the ancient Near East. At Ugarit, the patron of the deified dead was Rapiu ("healer"), and his name survives in those of the late first-millennium Phoenician deities Shadrafa ("healing spirit") and Baal-Merappe ("healer Baal").

The third important dying and reviving god was Adonis, whose cult was prominent in Byblos, and especially at the spring of Aphaca, near Beirut. This god's name is attested by classical authors, and does not appear in Phoenician texts; the name is, however, clearly derived from the Canaanite *adoni* or *adonai*, which means "my lord." The well-known story of the death of Adonis (e.g., Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.710–739) is undoubtedly of Semitic origin.

The most prominent deity in the Phoenician and Punic cults was the goddess Astarte. In the Esarhaddon treaty she is invoked as a war goddess, but her personality was more complex; she was also a fertility goddess, a mother goddess, and a goddess of love, having assimilated her many characteristics from various older goddesses such as the Canaanite triad of Athirat, Anat, and Athtart; the Egyptian Hathor; and the Mesopotamian Ishtar. Astarte's character was so diverse, in fact, that she was identified with several Greek goddesses: Aphrodite, goddess of love and fertility; Hera, queen of heaven; and the mother goddess Cybele. In Byblos, Astarte was worshiped simply as Baalat, "lady" (feminine form of Baal), and in Carthage she was identified with Tanit (origin uncertain). She was also venerated at Tyre (as consort of Baal-Shamem), Sidon, Arvad, and Ashkelon, as well as in the colonies on Cyprus, Sicily, and Malta. She is the Ashtoret/ Ashtarot so detested by the biblical authors.

In the fifth-century inscription of King Eshmunazor of Sidon, Astarte bears the epithet "name of Baal"; similarly, in Carthage, Tanit is styled "face of Baal." These epithets suggest that the Phoenicians saw Astarte as the manifestation of Baal-Shamem's numinous power. The cult of Astarte, then, was the means of access to the high god; the great mother served as a sort of mediator between the people and the heavenly Baal.

It has often been suggested that the divine triad described above—high god, great goddess, and dying and reviving god—constituted the basis of all Phoenician pantheons. Attractive as that suggestion is, it must be considered no more than tentative in light of the evidence. The cult of Beirut, for example, seems only to possess a divine couple (Poseidon and Aphrodite/ Astarte), and the Tyrian Melqart seems to be both a high god and a dying and reviving god. In addition, the precise relationship between the goddess and the dying and reviving god is often uncertain.

Various other gods comprise the "assembly of the gods," the "holy ones" (so the Yehimilk inscription), or the "whole family of the children of the gods" (Azitawadda). The main feature of the different local pantheons is their diversity. In the Karatepe inscription, for example, King Azitawadda's patron god is the otherwise unknown Baal-*krntrysh* (significance uncertain). The inscription also mentions Rashap (Reshef), one of the most important West Semitic gods from the third millennium onward; but the epithet assigned to Azitawadda's Rashap is unique and problematic. In his curse against anyone who would remove the great portal he has just dedicated, Azitawadda specifically invokes Baal-Shamem, El-Creator-of-the-World, and Eternal Sun. All of these divine titles evoke numerous Near Eastern parallels, but nowhere else do they occur in this form or juxtaposition.

Another problematic deity of great importance bears the epithet *Baal-Hammon* ("lord of the brazier"). He is later identified with Saturn, but the Phoenician divine name that underlies his epithet cannot be determined, nor can anything definite be said about the god's character. He is mentioned once in the ninth- or eighth-century inscription of King Kilamuwa of Ya'adi (Zinjirli, in southern Anatolia), and later becomes enormously popular in the Punic cults of North Africa, Malta, and Sicily. In Carthage, votive stelae are regularly dedicated "To the lady, Tanit-Face-of-Baal, and to the lord, Baal-Hammon." (Elsewhere, Baal-Hammon is generally mentioned first.) In view of the close relationship between Tyre and Carthage, it is tempting to equate Tanit and Baal-Hammon with Astarte and Melqart. While some assimilation is certain, however, absolute identity is not.

Throughout the first millennium, the Phoenician divine world becomes increasingly complex. Innovations do not, however, appear to be organic developments. They stem, rather, primarily from syncretism—incorporation of external influences. Compound divine names, which appear in profusion after the middle of the first millennium, are good indications of syncretism and assimilation. For example, Eshmun-Melqart is attested in several fourth-century inscriptions from Kition (Cyprus). Milk-Astarte, whose name is probably a combination of *Melqart* and *Astarte*, is prominent in the third- and second-century texts from Umm el-Awamid (near Tyre); the significance of the combination, however, is unclear.

In addition, a number of old gods from different places appear in various cults. The old Canaanite storm god Hadad, for example, is found together with the "Syrian goddess" Atargatis in a second-century Greek inscription from Kfar Yassif, near Acre. In general, though, the old gods belong to a shadowy world of protective geniuses and malevolent demons. The proliferation of divine and semidivine guardians and healers (usually chthonic, like Shadrafa) is one of the most important developments within Phoenician religion. Early evidence comes from the two extraordinary seventh-century apotropaic plaques from Arslan Tash in north Syria, which name several of these figures. One of the plaques invokes the protection of Baal-Lord-of-the-Earth (i.e., the netherworld) and of the chthonic god Horon, who is also prominent in two second-millennium Canaanite incantation texts. And later Phoenician and Punic cults venerate the Egyptian Osiris and Bes, the Babylonian Nergal (Rashap), and the Canaanite Mekal and Anat (identified with Athena), among others.

Finally, some Phoenician gods are only attested by their Greek "equivalents," so that their Phoenician identities can only be surmised. An important case in point is the high god of Beirut, who was "Poseidon," perhaps to be identified with El-Creator-of-the-Earth.

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES. Phoenician religion was certainly rooted in a rich mythological tradition. That tradition, unfortunately, does not survive in native texts. The main source is Philo Byblius's *Phoenician History*, which is supposedly a Greek translation of a Phoenician account by a priest named Sanchuniaton. Most of the extant portions of Philo's work are in book 1 of Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica*, and variant versions of some parts can be found in other late classical texts.

Despite the indubitable value of Philo's work, its reliability should not be overstressed. It is composed of numerous sources, and is replete with internal confusion and duplication. It conflates originally independent local traditions, and it imposes an alien euhemeristic framework on the material. Still, as Albert I. Baumgarten concludes in his important study (1981) of Philo Byblius, "behind the distortions one can see traces of a more traditional mythology and religion" (p. 268).

At the very least, Philo's work demonstrates that the Phoenicians had a cosmogonic creation myth that was combined with the generations of the gods and an account of the origin of culture. The traditions are generally comparable to such texts as the Babylonian epic *Enuma elish* and Hesiod's *Theogony* (according to Philo, Hesiod appropriated the Phoenician stories and "decked them out in every way"); they all provide etiologies and apologies for the supremacy of particular gods and cults in particular places. Thus, for example, the high god Kronos/El (Baal-Shamem?) assigns Phoenicia to Astarte and Zeus-Demarous/Adad ("Baal," that is, a dying and reviving god), constituting the divine triad (cf. *Dt.* 32:8 with Baumgarten, p. 214). Astarte herself then consecrates her shrine at Tyre. The text continues with etiologies of human sacrifice (see below) and circumcision, explaining that Kronos gave his beloved son up as a wholly burned offering during a time of "pestilence and death," and later circumcised himself.

In Phoenician religion, three kinds of cultic activity predominated: (1) rituals associated with the dying and reviving god, (2) sacrificial rites, and (3) funerary rites. There were three centers of cultic activity: (1) undeveloped natural sites, especially mountains, rivers, and groves of trees, which for one reason or another were considered sacred (cf. *Is.* 57:3–13); (2) open-air shrines, usually featuring a sacred grove, a small chapel, a sacrificial altar (the biblical "high place"), and one or more conical stone pillars, called betyls, that symbolized divine presence (to be compared with the wooden asherah poles mentioned in the Bible); and (3) fully enclosed temples with large courtyards for public ceremonies, such as Solomon's Phoenician-designed sanctuary. When the Phoenicians established a colony, they generally built a temple to serve as a center of both religious and mercantile activity. Their commercial ventures and dealings with foreigners thus came under divine protection (see the excellent discussion by Guy Bunnens, 1979, pp. 282–285).

The cult of the dying and reviving god was associated with sacred natural sites. The temple of Eshmun in Sidon was located on a hillside near the Asklepios River (modern Nahr el-Awali), and the famous shrine of Adonis at Aphaca was in the mountains outside Beirut at the source of the Adonis River (modern Nahr Ibrahim), near the sacred grove and shrine of Astarte. Lucian (*Syrian Goddess* 6–8) describes some of the rites and traditions associated with Adonis. In an annual celebration of his death, the people of Byblos would perform mourning rites and lamentations. Then they would offer sacrifices to Adonis "as if to a dead person," following which they would proclaim his revival. Celebrants were required, according to Lucian, to shave their heads; the many ritual razors found in Punic tombs may be connected with this rite, as are biblical proscriptions of such shaving. Women who refused to shave had to act as prostitutes for a day, turning the proceeds over to Aphrodite (Astarte).

Other sources confirm Lucian's general description of the feast of Adonis. It entailed a dramatic enactment of the god's funeral, a mournful procession to the temple of Astarte where sacrifices were offered, and an orgiastic banquet that celebrated the god's resurrection. It can be surmised that similar festivals took place in other Phoenician cities (see especially Édouard Lipinski's brilliant study [1970] of the festival of the burial and resurrection of Melqart).

The ultimate source of the festival is clearly the seasonal cycle; the dying and reviving god, whose demise comes with the withering summer heat, personifies that cycle. The return of the god guarantees the return of fertility to the land. To the archaic fertility cult, however, the Phoenicians appear to have added a personal soteriological dimension, which became increasingly important in the late first millennium. In this new theological context, Adonis personifies the vicarious sacrificial victim whose life is forfeit for the benefit of the individual celebrant. Noel Robertson (1982) rightly calls the god's death "a mythical paradigm of an act of personal atonement" (p. 359). The believer performs a private sacrifice (cf.

Syrian Goddess 55) and a rite whereby he identifies himself with the victim. He then participates in the public displays of mourning for Adonis, who is the mythic projection of the sacrificial victim, and he ultimately rejoices at the god's (and, vicariously, his own) "salvation."

The concept of the vicarious victim finds its fullest expression in the Phoenician and (especially) Punic sacrificial cults. In Phoenicia proper, animal and vegetable offerings were made at the various shrines, especially in conjunction with the seasonal festivals, and in fulfillment of personal vows; human sacrifices were apparently offered in times of crisis. In the Punic cults, sacrifice was the primary (not to say only) religious act; there is no evidence for the sort of temple ceremonies and religious feasts found in the homeland.

The evidence for the Punic sacrificial cults comes primarily from Carthage, with comparable evidence from other sites in Sardinia, Sicily, and North Africa. The sacrificial precinct was known as the *tofet* (cf. the biblical sources of this term: *2 Kings* 23:10; *Isaiah* 30:33; *Jeremiah* 7:30–32, 19:6–14); the *tofet* of Carthage covered as much as 6,000 square meters. Excavations in the area have turned up thousands of urns containing the cremated remains of birds, animals, and small children. The urns have been found in three distinct archeological strata, indicating that the precinct was in continuous use from around 750 BCE until the Romans destroyed the city in 146 BCE.

Many urns were buried under stelae that were engraved either with inscriptions or designs. The designs are usually crude representations of betyls, figures of Tanit, or symbols of Tanit and Baal-Hammon: the upraised right hand, the caduceus (crescent and disk atop a staff), the disk surmounted by a crescent, and the enigmatic "Tanit sign," basically a triangle topped by a horizontal bar upon which a disk rests. The inscriptions are typically of the votive type, such as the following: "To the Lady, Tanit-Face-of-Baal, and to the Lord, Baal-Hammon, that which Matonbaal, wife of Abdmilqart son of Baalhanno son of Bodashtart vowed, because he [the god] heard his [the votary's] voice and blessed him" (Donner and Röllig, 1966–1969, no. 88).

The dedicators of these stelae evidently repaid their vows to the gods with live sacrifices, mainly of children. And while it is often suggested that child sacrifice took place only in times of duress (cf. Diodorus Siculus 20.14.4–7), the archeological evidence points toward regular, institutionalized practice. Sacrificial animals, in fact, were probably substitutes for the preferred human victims (cf. *Genesis* 22, which is, among other things, an etiology of the substitute offering).

The sacrifice was called a *mulk*-offering; the term *mulk* (biblical *Molech*) is derived from the West Semitic word for "king," and it is evidently an epithet of the god who was the recipient of the offering. This god would have been either an autonomous god of death, like the old Canaanite Mot, or, more likely, the dying and reviving god (Baal-Hammon?) in his chthonic aspect. The location of the Jerusalem *tofet* outside the city's eastern wall, at the traditional entrance to the netherworld, explicitly connects child sacrifice with the cult of death. Offering up an innocent child as a vicarious victim was a supreme act of propitiation, probably intended to guarantee the welfare of family and community alike.

Another aspect of the Phoenician attitude toward death shows up in funerary practices. The preferred mode of burial was inhumation, although there were some cremations (aside from sacrificial victims). Wealthier Phoenicians were buried in decorated coffins, in rock-cut tombs of various types. Egyptian influence is often discernible in the design of both tombs and coffins. In later times, funerary monuments were sometimes built above the tombs. The deceased were buried together with all sorts of practical and ritual objects: utensils for food, cosmetic containers, toilet articles, clothing, jewelry, coins, masks, and figurines. As Donald Harden (1980) remarks in his excellent discussion of Phoenician tombs and burial customs (pp. 96–104), "were it not for the burials, we should know little of the pottery and other things which the Phoenicians used in their day-to-day existence" (p. 104).

The funerary practices strongly imply Phoenician belief in an afterlife. That impression is confirmed by Phoenician royal tomb inscriptions, which level curses against anyone who would disturb the tombs. In the fifth-century inscriptions of both King Tabnit of Sidon and his son Eshmunazor II, part of the curse would deny the tomb violator his "rest with the Refaim." This term, meaning literally "healers," denotes the deified dead of second-millennium Ugarit (also the depotentialized shades of the Bible). As at Ugarit, presumably, dead Phoenician notables assumed a new role as chthonic healers. A first-century- CE bilingual inscription from Lybia contains a dedication "to the divine Refaim." There is insufficient evidence to permit the reconstruction of a Phoenician cult of the dead, but a first-century- BCE text from Piraeus (Greece) does mention a Sidonian *marzih* feast—the ritual banquet of the cult of the dead.

The many Phoenician religious shrines were staffed by various cultic officials, including priests, scribes, musicians, barbers (probably for the ritual shaving mentioned above), and male and female cult prostitutes. The titular head of the cult, in all likelihood, was the king (in those cities that had one). Tabnit refers both to himself and to his father as "priest of Astarte, king of the Sidonians." The word for "priest," *khn*, is common West Semitic; it occurs frequently in the inscriptions to designate the most important cultic officials, as does the feminine form *khnt*, "priestess." The priesthood was hereditary: one stela from Carthage lists seventeen generations of priests of Tanit. Since the stela is probably from the late fourth century, that line of priests might date back to the very founding of Carthage (see Harden, 1980, p. 283, n. 31, and corresponding plate 31).

Artistic representations of the priests show them bringing offerings (in one case an infant) and giving benedictions. They wear a squarish cap or a head scarf, with a stole over one shoulder and a close-fitting tunic. Something of the priests' livelihood can be determined from lists of the sacrificial tariffs of third- and second-century Carthage, of which several broken copies have survived. These tariffs detail the payments the priests received for performing various sacrifices—both in money and in portions of the sacrificial animal (cf. the opening chapters of *Leviticus*). The two main types of offering were apparently the "whole gift-offering" and the "substitute offering" (for a child?), although both terms are problematic. The priest's fee was higher for the latter; the fee also varied according to the type of animal sacrificed. Bird offerings, oblations, and meal offerings constitute separate categories in the tariff, and there is also a provision for free sacrifices for the poor.

In addition to performing their sacerdotal functions, the priests were probably the conservators and transmitters of Phoenician culture. Through their activity, the Phoenician language and traditions survived even in the most unpromising circumstances. Poignant evidence of that survival is the one extant Phoenician prayer, an improvised personal prayer recited by a merchant named Hanno, which is preserved in Latin transcription at the beginning of the fifth act of the *Poenulus* of Plautus.

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Finally, space must be found for Gustave Flaubert's novel of Carthage, *Salammbö*, corr. ed. (Paris, 1879), inspired by his visit to the site in 1858. The chapter entitled "Moloch" includes Flaubert's gruesome account of child sacrifice.

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PHOENICIAN RELIGION [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]. With regard to the *mlk*-sacrifice, both the definition of the word *mlk* and the nature of the actual sacrifice are still under debate. There was an underworld deity named *M-l-k* (variously vocalized) in many Mesopotamian and Syro-Palestinian god lists and personal names from the late third millennium BCE on, and there existed an Akkadian term *maliku* designating shades of the dead or chthonic deities who received funeral offerings in texts from the same time period. However, there is no evidence that either the god or the shades are to be connected to child sacrifice or to the later Phoenician sacrificial term *mlk*. It is not necessary to assume that, by his nature, a god of the netherworld would receive such a sacrifice, and indeed the god *Mlk* at Ugarit (possibly pronounced *Milku*) receives only typical animal offerings (e.g., *KTU* 1.111). In addition, the later Phoenician or Punic *mlk*-sacrifice is given to more than one god and never to one called *Mlk*; for example, to the god Kronos in classical texts, to Baʿl Hammon and Tanit at Carthage and elsewhere in the western Mediterranean, and perhaps to Eshmun in the only Punic *mlk* text from Palestine (third or second century BCE). It is only in the Bible that human sacrifices are given to a god Molech (or Molek). This may be the result of a confusion on the part of the biblical text between the sacrificial term *mlk* and the divine designation *Mlk*, which was perhaps triggered by an antagonistic and rather defamatory view of non-Israelite religions.

It seems most likely that the term *mlk/mlkt* is a causative nominal form with the pattern *maqṭil*(*at*), meaning "thing presented" or "the act of presenting," from the causative of the root *ylk* (*wlk*), meaning "to offer, present" (*cf. mtnt,* "gift," from *ntn,* "to give," or *mṣʾ* "place or act of going forth," from *yṣʾ*, "to go forth"). The *mlk*-sacrifice is thus not connected to the root *mlk,* "to rule" (*cf.* biblical *melek*, "king"), even if the divine name *Mlk* may be.

Moreover, there have been new discussions about whether or not the *mlk*-sacrifice could sometimes actually indicate a human offering. Scholars have tried to distinguish between the sacrifices in the Punic realm and those on the Phoenician mainland. The large cemetery containing the burned bones and ashes of small children at Carthage, as well as the several occurrences of *mlk ʾdm* (sacrifice of a human) in Punic texts—in contrast to the almost total lack of archaeological and textual evidence in the Palestinian Levant—have led to the understanding of some scholars that there were no human sacrifices in Phoenicia. However, an unpublished basalt stela from İnçirli in southeastern Turkey found in 1993, written in standard Phoenician from the late eighth century BCE, may indicate that *mlk*-sacrifices of firstborn human sons were made there along with those of sheep and horses (Zuckerman and Kaufman, 1998).

One may still wonder whether *mlk ʾdm* denotes the literal sacrifice of a human. Some have proposed that the Carthage cemetery may simply contain burials of stillborn or short-lived infants whose bodies were cremated and then placed in an urn and buried. According to this view, the children buried in the special sacred precinct were symbolically "offered" to a deity in hopes for the divine protection or survival of others. Other scholars have suggested that the textual occurrences of *mlk ʾdm* could but did not necessarily mean the sacrifice of a human, and that the substitution of an animal would often occur, as is the case with, for example, the *mlk bʿl* (sacrifice in place of an infant) or with the *mlk bšr* (sacrifice in place of flesh). At any rate, the majority opinion among European scholars is that the immolation of humans may not have existed at all, or that, at best, it was a limited phenomenon in the Phoenician and Punic world. Nevertheless, other scholars tend to argue that human sacrifice played a somewhat essential role in non-Israelite religions. At this point, however, it seems that still more evidence is needed before the *mlk*-sacrifice is fully understood.

THE SPECIALIZED RELIGION OF PHOENICIAN MARINERS. That Phoenician mariners had a specialized religion is demonstrated by excavations of harbor shrines and ancient shipwrecks, burials of sailors, iconographic representations of seafaring activity, and classical texts. In addition to the gods Baʿl Šamem, Baʿl Malage, and Baʿl Ṣapon mentioned in the treaty between Esarhaddon and the king of Tyre, all of whom seem to be aspects of the weather god, one notes that Libyan Ammon and Baʿl Roʾš ("lord of the promontory") were invoked concerning control of the winds and weather. The goddesses ʾAsherah and Tanit, known mostly from their cults on land, were also believed to help in navigation. Many promontories, islands, and harbors were named after the god Melqart, and, on the basis of the attributes of his Greek counterpart, Herakles, it was probably believed that he was a god of travelers who also conquered sea monsters. Ships were thought to possess protective spirits, sometimes represented on the prow, and archaeologists can isolate promontory shrines that seemed to have served as landmarks for navigation and as indicators of freshwater sources. Maritime votive offerings such as model ships and dedicatory anchors in harbor shrines were presumably offered by sailors.

SEE ALSO Baal; Heracles; Melqart.

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PHOTIOS (c. 820–891), patriarch of Constantinople, saint of the Orthodox church, was a scholar, public minister, diplomat, professor, organizer of missions, ecclesiastical writer, and hierarch. Photios was born into a noble family. His father, Sergius, was the brother of the patriarch Tarasios. Three of Photios's four brothers held high civil offices; because of his family's social position, he was able to obtain an advanced education.

In 850, when the university of Constantinople was reorganized (by Photios at the empress's request), Photios was one of the first professors called there to teach. He was sent to Baghdad in 851, together with Constantine the Philosopher, as diplomatic representative of the emperor to the caliph al-Mutawakkil. After intervention in 858 by the caesar Bardas, uncle of Michael III, the conservative patriarch Ignatius resigned. Photios as a layman was elected patriarch. Although he was eventually ordained, Nicholas I refused to recognize his election, and, under pressure from Ignatius's supporters, he officially condemned Photios in Rome (863). After the intervention of the new emperor, Basil I, in 867, Photios was deposed and Ignatius once again became patriarch.

A synod convened in 869, comprised of only a limited number of bishops, condemned Photios and definitively justified Ignatius. As Francis Dvornik has said, this synod was used exclusively by the Latins to define their attitude against Photios (Dvornik, 1948). However, ten years later, in 879, at the request of John VIII, another synod was held that canceled all decisions of the previous one and reelected Photios as patriarch. He died in the Monastery of Amoniakon, probably on February 6, 891.

Photios's most important theological views are expressed in his *Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit,* which is a detailed analysis of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. According to Photios, the *filioque* clause, which claims that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father "and from the Son," was theologically unacceptable because it introduced a new principle into the Trinity. If the procession of the Holy Spirit was dependent upon procession from the Son, then this would create an unequal union among the three divine persons, destroying the balance.

Within the church, Photios thought true communion impossible without the coexistence of dogma and ethos. However, he saw the importance of accepting a diversity of institutions and ecclesiastical customs, a diversity that would be made whole by the effects of the Spirit. As a result of mission work, there were new Slavic churches demanding autonomy, which was giving impetus to changes in ecclesiastical organizations that had until that time remained uniform.

According to Photios, political authority is equal to ecclesiastical authority in the governance of a people; the functions of the emperor and patriarch are parallel. Photios's theory, known as the dual control theory, places responsibility for the subjects' material well-being in the emperor's hands; the patriarch is held accountable for their spiritual welfare. In other words, governance is equally distributed between the emperor and the patriarch, who work harmoniously for the good of the world.

Photios's theological and literary works continued to influence others long after his death. His theological work has had the most influence, especially his detailed presentation of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, which was identical to that put forth by his successors. Photios's interest and participation in the theological and political discussions of his time directly determined the field of jurisdiction of the early Christian rulers in Slavic countries and contributed to the formation of laws and to the regulation of relations between church and state. Photios was, in fact, the first patriarch of Constantinople to initiate missionary work among the Slavs. He chose Cyril and Methodius from Thessalonica to preach Christianity in Russia, Bulgaria, Moravia, Croatia, and

Slovenia. At the same time, Photios struggled to protect the rights of the ecumenical throne from the interference of the ambitious Nicholas I in southern Italy, Sicily, and on the Balkan peninsula.

Photios's corpus includes poetic and prose writings, literary works, and theological works. His most significant works are *Lexicon, Ecclesiastic History Compendium,* and *Myriobiblion* (or *Bibliotheca*), which contains the literary analyses of 280 works studied by Photios, many of which are no longer extant. Photios's *Amphilochia* is an important collection of dogmatic essays, whereas his *Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit,* an anti-filioque essay, presents all the arguments related to the teaching about the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone. His *Against the Manichaeans* refutes the Manichaean heresy and warns about the dangers it holds for the orthodox faith. Although the *Nomocanon* and the *Epanagoge* certainly reflect Photios's opinions and were for years attributed to him, they were most likely written by his students.

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PHYSICS AND RELIGION.

Physics describes the material world on the basis of repeatable observation and in terms of concepts such as mass, energy, space, and time. As the earliest of the modern scientific disciplines, physics has played a central role in establishing the approach that characterizes modern science in general. At the heart of this approach lies the quest for precise mathematical "laws," which can be used to explain, predict, and control the natural world. The historical roots of this quest lie in the musings of the ancient Greeks, most notably those of Pythagoras (sixth century BCE) and his followers. The writings of the Pythagorean tradition, as well as those of Aristotle and other Greek philosophers, were re-introduced to late medieval Europe by Islamic scholars such as Ibn Sīnā (known also as Avicenna; 980–1037). This collection of writings had a profound impact on European history, precipitating many of the intellectual shifts that led to the birth of modern physics during the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. Because of these historical connections, the impact of modern physics upon religious ideas has been most enduringly felt and evaluated from the perspective of Western Christian thought. This article thus focuses primarily on Christian responses, though works relating to other religions are included in the bibliography.

Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) stands at the center of one of the first encounters between physics and Christianity. The Roman Catholic Church is commonly perceived to have put forward theological objections to the sun-centered, or heliocentric, account of planetary motion first developed by Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543) and later promoted by Galileo. However, historians now generally agree that the church's hostility toward heliocentrism resulted more from Reformation controversies over authority and biblical interpretation, as well as the various personalities involved in the encounter, than from any real theological difficulties stemming from the earth's motion. In retrospect, the lasting theological significance of physics' emerging worldview proved to be its comprehensive account of physical motion in terms of deterministic laws. If every moment in history had been completely determined by physical laws acting upon what came before it, could one still conceive of God's ongoing activity in the world? And equally important, in such a world could one still conceive of human thought and action as genuinely free?

NEWTONIAN MECHANISM. The deterministic worldview of early modern physics solidified around the grand synthesis of Isaac Newton (1642–1727), which united celestial and terrestrial motion into a single conceptual scheme. The heavens were no longer the abode of spiritual beings but merely another part of the physical world that could be understood mathematically in terms of its parts. In this key respect, Newton's account of physical motion, his "mechanics," shaped the character of modern science in general. All of the early scientists in Europe, including Newton, were at least nominally Christian, though many held unorthodox beliefs. Some, like Johannes Kepler (1571–1630), took it as their task and reward to "think God's thoughts after him" and thought of their investigations as a hymn of praise to the Creator. Others, like Galileo, attempted to distance scientific ideas from theological ones by describing science and the church as two distinct authorities, each controlling separate spheres of knowledge. Quoting the respected cardinal and Counter-Reformation historian Césare Baronio (1538–1607), Galileo wrote in his own defense that "the intention of the Holy Ghost is to teach us how one goes to heaven, not how the heavens go." But distinguishing religion from science in this way obscured, at least initially, the far-reaching consequences of replacing the medieval view of the world as an organism open to divine interaction with physics' developing view of the world as a lifeless and autonomous clocklike mechanism closed to any "external" influence.

At the heart of this new worldview lay the idea of determinism, which has become a synonym for classical (i.e., Newtonian) physics signifies the impossibility of any genuine novelty in the world. As the French mathematician Pierre-Simon de Laplace (1749–1827) famously stated, "Given for one instant an intelligence which could comprehend all the forces by which nature is animated and the respective situation of the beings who compose it. . . , for [this intelligence] nothing would be uncertain and the future, as the past, would be present to its eyes" (Laplace, 1917, p. 4). Newtonian mechanism also reinforced the strategy of reductionism, by which an object's behavior is explained solely in terms of the behavior of its parts. Embracing both determinism and reductionism, Newtonian physicists and other scientists came to eschew explanations that appealed to purpose, or *telos.* Instead, they sought to provide explanations solely in terms of efficient causes. This mechanistic outlook continues to oppose religious perspectives that speak of the meaningfulness and purposefulness of the world.

In response to the rise of mechanistic physics, Western philosophers and theologians of the Enlightenment focused much of their effort on protecting human freedom. One of the first to deal with this issue was René Descartes (1596–1650), who divided reality into two realms: the material world of mechanical necessity *(res extensa)* and the mental world of human free willing *(res cogitans).* Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) subsequently advanced a more nuanced dualism, distinguishing between the determinism of the perceived world (the realm of *phenomena*) and the freedom of the world in and for itself (the realm of *noumena*). Following Descartes and Kant, many Protestant theologians abandoned the physical world and retreated into the "inner" world of the human spirit. Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834) was one of the first to push this agenda, removing religion from the realm of knowledge and relocating it in the realm of feeling. By the end of the nineteenth century, Albrecht Ritschl (1822–1889) could write, "theology has to do, not with natural objects, but with states and movements of man's spiritual life." In its first interactions with modern physics, Christian thought had managed to protect human freedom from physical determinism only by severing human existence from its physical foundation.

Classical physics also posed a serious challenge to notions of God's ongoing activity in the world. In response to determinism, Christian thinkers developed three markedly different theories of divine action. According to the first, the universe does not have the causal powers within itself necessary to bring about its present configuration. Newton espoused an early version of this approach, claiming that the planets' orbits were inherently unstable and thus in need of occasional divine adjustment. Locating God's activity as Newton did in events allegedly lying beyond the ken of scientific explanation has been called the *God of the gaps* approach. Such explanations rely problematically on scientific ignorance and must retreat whenever science fills an explanatory gap. Others pursued a more compelling version of this approach, often called *interventionism,* in which God breaks the laws of nature when acting in a specific event. God, on this view, creates gaps in an otherwise deterministic world to make "room" for particular divine acts. Deists rejected this theory because they felt that the most honest and reasonable response to determinism was to relinquish the God who continues to act, in favor of a God who brings the world into existence and then desists. (Newton's account of inertial, or self-sustaining, motion helped to discredit the idea that the world depends upon God's ongoing activity for its continued existence.) Finally, nineteenth-century Protestant liberals eliminated from their theory of divine action all objectively special acts and miracles, speaking only of God's one great uniform act: the entire history of creation. On the liberal account, one might *perceive* God acting specially in some particular physical event, but this would be merely a matter of one's own subjective perception.

The three responses—interventionism, deism, and liberalism—differ sharply from one another, yet they brook a common theological constraint. Each accepts that a God who brings about change in the world must be treated on a par with any other object entering into human experience. Thus, all concede to classical physics that if the world is deterministic then there is no "room" within its structures for God to act. Deism and liberalism infer from this that God does not act specially at particular moments in history. Interventionism retains the idea of an active God, but it sees God acting by breaking the world's natural structures. The far-reaching consequences of this constraint cannot be overemphasized. Prior to the rise of physics, theologians had no difficulty harmonizing a God who acts with a world that manifests its own causal integrity. While few would accept a return to prescientific notions of divine action, the virtues and liabilities of the notion that objectively special divine acts are incompatible with physical determinism, or *theological incompatibilism,* have not been discussed extensively by contemporary theologians.

Recent developments in physics have led to a new (but still theologically incompatibilist) approach to divine action. On the one hand, this approach agrees with the liberal theological tradition that God must be understood to act with the grain of natural processes—after all, it is noted, God is the one who established these processes—though it rejects the liberals' purely subjective view of special divine action. On the other hand, it agrees with interventionism that God acts objectively at particular moments in the world, though it rejects the interventionist view that God thereby violates the laws of nature. This new *noninterventionist* strategy attempts to straddle the traditional divide by turning to developments in twentieth-century physics, many of which can be seen to undercut the determinism and reductionism of the classical paradigm.

THE TWENTIETH-CENTURY REVOLUTION. As the nineteenth century drew to a close, physicists' work seemed nearly complete. Classical mechanics described the motion of physical masses under the influence of mechanical forces, electromagnetic theory described the interaction of electrical charges and currents, and thermodynamics described the phenomena of temperature and heat. The eminent Victorian physicist Lord Kelvin (1824–1907), who was instrumental in the development of thermodynamics, saw nothing new on the horizon for future generations of physicists to discover. He professed to see only a few inconsequential clouds obscuring the "beauty and clearness" of Newtonian physics. But in truth, behind these clouds lay deep puzzles regarding the nature of light and the behavior of atoms. Contrary to Kelvin's expectations, attempts to solve them ushered in the greatest revolution in physical science since the time of Newton. This revolution came in the form of two new theoretical paradigms, both of which seemed at odds with the worldview of classical physics: the theory of relativity developed by Albert Einstein (1879–1955) and the theory of atomic behavior called *quantum theory* developed by a host of scientists in the 1920s. New views of space, time, and causation prompted by these theories encouraged renewed theological reflection on the nature of God, the world, and humanity.

Newton had conceived of space as God's means of experiencing the world and of time as an absolute structure with an endless past and future, as well as a uniformly moving present. Einstein, in his special theory of relativity, reconceptualized space and time as a single reality, *spacetime*, and postulated that the speed of light, not space or time, was the true invariant of the universe. Accordingly, measurements of distance and time vary from different perspectives depending upon the different observers' relative motion. This understanding denies the existence of a universal "now" and raises questions about traditional notions of the relation between divine eternity and creaturely temporality. Additionally, the portrayal of time as a fourth dimension has led some to interpret Einstein's theory as hostile to the very idea of temporal flow. According to proponents of the *block universe* interpretation, our spacetime universe exists timelessly as a four-dimensional whole, challenging the reality of human freedom and our general sense of temporal becoming.

After publishing his special theory of relativity, Einstein turned to the problem of developing a new theory of gravity (the general theory of relativity) based on his account of spacetime. His new theory treated gravity geometrically as the curvature of spacetime rather than in Newtonian terms as a force acting on a mass. According to Einstein, matter curves spacetime, and spacetime tells matter how to move. It is within this conceptual framework that physicists developed the cosmological theory of the origin, structure, and development of the universe known as the Big Bang theory. Extrapolating backwards from the present expansion of the universe, physicists arrived at the notion of a primordial explosion, or *big bang*. This notion led Pope Pius XII to suggest in 1951 that physics had finally confirmed the Christian doctrine of creation. Much discussion has ensued as to whether such connections can be made and whether the concept of *creation* entails an absolute beginning or only the more general notion of ontological dependence. Recent scientific proposals such as *eternal inflation* and *quantum cosmology* suggest that the beginning of our universe may have been only one event in a much longer series. Consequently, the Big Bang now looks less and less like an absolute beginning.

Contemporary cosmology has also reinvigorated the design argument for the existence of God. Although earlier forms of this argument focused on the intricacy and beauty of living organisms, Darwin's case against design—it was only "apparent"—shifted the debate to the level of physics. According to the so-called anthropic principle argument, the structure and processes of the universe are finely tuned for the requirements of our own existence. In its strongest form, this argument leads to the existence of a divine tuner. In its weaker form, however, our existence is seen merely as the result of a process of cosmic Darwinism: we can only live in a particular domain of the universe where its structures and processes are hospitable to life. This weaker version avoids the theistic conclusion, but much disagreement remains as to whether or not it amounts to a scientific explanation. The design argument runs into further difficulties with the far future of the universe, which appears doomed either to endless expansion and cooling, the *freeze* scenario, or to eventual recollapse and implosion, the *fry* scenario. Neither offers much comfort for an eschatological perspective that clings to the notion of future fulfillment. It is at least conceivable that life, suitably transformed, could extend itself far into the future, though this kind of pseudo-immortalization does not satisfy the Christian vision of a creation ultimately assumed into the divine life.

While Einstein was rewriting Newton's account of space and time, as well as reshaping our understanding of the universe at the largest scales, another even more radical revolution was taking place at the very smallest scales. In 1900 the physicist Max Planck (1858–1947) turned his attention to one of the most puzzling of the remaining "clouds," a problem having to do with the emission and absorption of electromagnetic radiation by atoms. He solved this problem theoretically by introducing the curious notion that energy comes only in discrete units, called *quanta,* not in continuously varying amounts as classical physicists had supposed. This and other breakthroughs led physicists such as Niels Bohr (1885–1962), Werner Heisenberg (1901–1976), Erwin Schrödinger (1887–1961), and Paul Dirac (1902–1984) to develop quantum theory, which achieved great successes in describing the behavior of atoms and their components. These successes, however, came at the expense of classical intuitions regarding basic physical concepts such as causality, determinism, separability, and the wave-particle distinction. At the quantum level, objects can change their state over time without any sufficient mechanical cause, evolve in a purely random or indeterministic manner, remain intimately connected to one other over large distances, and behave like waves in one setting but like particles in another. Theologians have responded to the quantum perspective on the physical world in a variety of ways. Some have connected Bohr's notion of *complementarity*, the idea that mutually incompatible descriptions like *wave* and *particle* are necessary for a complete description of the same reality, to issues such the relation between religion and science. Others have appealed to quantum indeterminism to resolve the question of divine action. According to their arguments, an indeterministic ontology makes it possible to conceive of God (and perhaps human beings as well, though by different means) as acting directly in the physical world without breaking physical laws by determining otherwise underdetermined quantum events. Still others are exploring quantum nonseparability or entanglement, which suggests that creation is a place not only of immense times and distances but also of deep and subtle connections.

The remarkable subtlety of physical processes is additionally highlighted by chaos theory, a third significant theoretical development within twentieth-century physics. Strictly speaking, chaos theory fits within the Newtonian deterministic paradigm. However, it reveals how even processes described by deterministic mathematical laws, such as weather patterns, can develop in seemingly random and unpredictable ways. Because the theory is deterministic, it does not appear to offer any straightforward opportunities for those pursuing a noninterventionist account of divine or human action. Still, some have argued that, despite being presently deterministic, the theory points to a genuine form of openness in nature; this openness, they aver, will eventually be reflected in a future version of the theory. If this were to happen, chaos theory would provide yet another example of physics moving beyond its Newtonian origins.

Physicists are currently struggling to unite the various theoretical developments surveyed here under one conceptual framework, but at present the theory of relativity, quantum theory, and chaos theory each provide quite distinct lenses onto the world's physical structures and processes. Although both relativity theory and chaos theory transform various aspects of Newton's account of space, time, and causation, they also essentially sustain the determinism of the classical tradition. Quantum theory, on the other hand, at least according to the most widely held interpretation, dramatically overturns this tradition. Physics is a scientific discipline presently at odds with itself, presenting us with remarkable but fractured insights into the nature of the physical world. The resolution of this tension will no doubt lead to further opportunities for conversation with religious perspectives. The human quest for meaning and transcendence cannot be reduced to physical explanation, but it can be enriched by the deeper understanding of the world's natural processes that physics provides.

SEE ALSO Chaos Theory; Cosmology, article on Scientific Cosmologies.

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KIRK WEGTER-MCNELLY (2005)

PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA, GIOVANNI

(1463–1494), philosopher of the Italian Renaissance, was the youngest son of Francesco Pico, count of Mirandola and Concordia, a small feudal territory just west of Ferrara. He was named papal protonotary at the age of ten and was sent to study canon law at Bologna in 1477. Two years later he began the study of philosophy at Ferrara, and from 1480 to 1482 he studied at Padua, one of the main centers of Aristotelianism. He visited Paris, where he encountered Scholastic theology, returned to Florence, and then moved to Perugia, where he studied Hebrew and Arabic with several Jewish teachers. In Perugia, Pico developed an interest in Ibn Rushd (Averroës) and the mystical Jewish Qabbalah. In his late twenties, after a carefree youth, Pico's life took a more serious turn. He gave up his share of his patrimony and planned to give away his personal property in order to take up the life of a poor preacher. During his final years Pico came under the influence of the Dominican friar Savonarola. He died of a fever in Florence on November 17, 1494, the very day on which Charles VIII of France made his entry into Florence, after the expulsion of its ruler, Piero de' Medici.

A brilliant young philosopher, Pico is best known as the author of *Oration on the Dignity of Man,* which is considered to be the manifesto of Renaissance humanism. "I have read in Arabian books," Pico wrote, "that nothing in the world can be found that is more worthy of admiration than man." To support this humanistic assertion of the first part of the *Oration* he cites a broad array of ancient sources—the mystical writings ascribed to Hermes Trismegistos, various Persian writers, David, Moses, Plato, Pythagoras, Enoch, the qabbalists, Muhammad, Zarathushtra, the apostle Paul, and many others. Unlike Marsilio Ficino, his friend and mentor at the Platonic academy in Florence, Pico did not give humans a fixed place in the great chain of being; he described humanity as the object of special creation and the focal point of the world with no fixed place, outline, or task, but free to make its own choices and to seek what is heavenly and above the world, free to become a veritable angel. The *Oration* served as the rhetorical introduction to his *Conclusiones* (1486), nine hundred "theses" providing a summation of all learning, which Pico offered for public disputation. Upon publication in Rome, seven of the theses were found by a commission of Innocent VIII to be heretical and six of them dubious. Pico's apologia for them was not accepted, but Alexander VI subsequently vindicated his orthodoxy.

Pico's mature philosophical writings include the *Heptaplus* (1489), a sevenfold interpretation of *Genesis* 1:1–27; *Of Being and Unity* (1491), on the harmony of Plato and Aristotle; and a long treatise attacking astrology as demeaning to human liberty and dignity. He allowed for sidereal influence only because of heat and light, but not because of any occult power of the stars. His thought was notable for its synthesis of Aristotelianism and Platonism, its combination of scholastic and humanist elements, and for the fascination with Qabbalah that it reflects.

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LEWIS W. SPITZ (1987)

PIETISM.

Pietism has been and remains an identifiable religious orientation within the churches of the Reformation. As the name indicates, it emphasizes the life of personal piety according to the model it finds in the primitive Christian community. By doing so it has hoped to complete the Reformation, which, in the judgment of many of its adherents, has never become a movement to reform the religious life of individuals. The roots of Pietism are found, on the one hand, in the mystical spirituality of an earlier day and, on the other, in the writings of Martin Luther and John Calvin, as well as other reformers such as Caspar Schwenckfeld and the prominent Anabaptists.

It is difficult to fix precisely the boundaries of Pietism, either in terms of chronology or distribution. While scholars have associated Pietism largely with Lutheranism, it has been customary to date its beginning from the publication of Philipp Jakob Spener's *Pia desideria* in 1675, two years after which his followers were referred to as "Pietists." The present tendency, growing out of a great deal of recent research, is to expand the term so as to include what is now widely perceived as the same development within other communions, notably the Reformed, as well as Protestants who questioned the need for any kind of church affiliation because they found a lack of religious devotion and ethical urgency within the churches of the day. Under the circumstances, the classical phase of the Pietist movement should now be loosely regarded as a Protestant phenomenon of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It is bounded, on the one hand, by the age of post-Reformation orthodoxy, to which it reacted both negatively and positively, and, on the other, by the Enlightenment, which rejected some of its insights and incorporated others. In the sense of a prominent undercurrent within the religious self-understanding of large segments of Protestantism, Pietism as a historical entity has never ceased to exist.

The basic characteristics of the movement can be most easily isolated with reference to its classical phase. Pietists of the day believed that religiousness within the Christian tradition, if it is to be meaningful, must involve the complete religious renewal of the individual believer. The experience of such a renewal need not follow any prescribed pattern, but it must consist in a conscious change of humanity's relationship to God so as to bring certainty concerning divine forgiveness, acceptance, and continued concern. The fruit of such a renewal must become visible in the form of "piety," that is, a life expressive of love for God and humanity and built on a vivid sense of the reality of God's presence in all situations of life. Pietists believed that those in whom this religious perspective becomes actualized constitute an inclusive fellowship, namely the *koinōnia,* that was so profoundly cherished by the primitive Christian community. This fellowship was perceived to transcend every barrier of church affiliation, race, class, and nationality—even that of time. Thus Pietists characteristically addressed one another as "brother" or "sister," terms symbolic of a common experience of profound spiritual unity. This sense of religious solidarity was enhanced by an awareness of the fact that they were called upon to live in a society that chose to adhere to a value system different from their own, though it was widely supported by the major Christian communions. Hence they often assembled in conventicles of like-minded people within local parishes. Furthermore, Pietism during its classical period centered its concept of religious authority in a biblicism set originally against the formidable but lifeless theological systems of Protestant orthodoxy. Later it was opposed to the Enlightenment attempt to reduce Christian commitment to the acceptance of a few propositions held to be rationally demonstrable. In tension between these poles, Pietists strove to restore to Protestantism a theology based on a commonsense, untortured, more-or-less literal, and basically devotional interpretation of the Bible. Lastly, Pietists hoped to reform society through the efforts of renewed individuals, thus stemming the moral decay that, in their judgment, afflicted both the churches and the body politic.

EARLY PIETISM. The rise of Pietism is best discussed with reference to five early groupings.

1. Pietism's manifestation within the Reformed territories of the Low Countries is sometimes still referred to as "Precisianism," though it may be best to drop that designation because of the difficulty of distinguishing it conceptually from Pietism as it is here understood. Pietism within Dutch Reformed churches had certain natural affinities with Puritanism, which historically comes from the same source. It is attached to such illustrious names as Willem Teellinck (1579–1629), who may be regarded as its father; William Ames, or Amesius, as he called himself (1576–1633), who, although born and educated in England, chose to teach at the University of Franeker; and Jodocus van Lodensteyn (1620–1677). Within German Reformed territories its chief theological spokesman became Friedrich Adolph Lampe (1683–1729).

2. The branch of early Pietism that has received the greatest attention is the Spener-Halle type. It was strictly a Lutheran phenomenon, profoundly indebted to Johann Arndt (1555–1621) and counting among its outstanding representatives Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705) and August Hermann Francke (1663–1727). Although its concern encompassed men and women in all walks of life, it addressed itself especially to the nobility.

3. Swabian Pietism, on the other hand, exhibited a somewhat different ecclesiastical, as well as social, profile. Its chief spokesman, Johann Albrecht Bengel (1687–1752), was a convinced Lutheran and partially indebted to Spener. Yet he and his followers steered the Pietist development so as to make it dominantly a movement of the people. For that reason Württemberg witnessed the eventual rise of various Pietist fellowships, made up of peasants and artisans, that often resonated to the mysticism of Jakob Boehme and hence were only loosely associated with Lutheranism. A typical fellowship was the Hahnische Gemeinschaft, named after its founder, Johann Michael Hahn (1758–1819).

4. A fourth branch of early Pietism arose within Lutheranism but followed the theological leadership of Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf und Pottendorf (1700–1760). This strain ultimately became the Renewed Moravian Church.

5. Not to be overlooked is the radical wing of Pietists, which was often very critical of the major communions and their close ties to the state. Especially prominent among these critics were the young Gottfried Arnold (1666–1714) and Johann Konrad Dippel (1673–1734), while the saintly Ernst Christoph Hochmann von Hochenau (1670–1721) and Gerhard Tersteegen (1697–1769) were among the radical wing's more irenical representatives.

The eighteenth century. During the second part of the eighteenth century the face of Pietism was considerably altered by the spirit of the times. In its reaction against the Enlightenment philosophy of Christian Wolff (1679–1754), who greatly influenced continental Protestantism, Pietism was forced to align itself theologically with Protestant orthodoxy, its former antagonist, while espousing at the same time the ethical sensitivity of the Enlightenment. Interacting also with the literary movement usually referred to as Sturm und Drang, which tried to legitimize the inner human experience, the freedom of the individual vis-à-vis the accepted norms of the day, and especially the place of feeling, it tended to become sentimentalized and suspicious of rational conclusions.

In one form or another Pietism eventually reached both Switzerland and Scandinavia. By various emissaries, among them Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (1711–1787), Theodor J. Frelinghuysen (1691–1748), Michael Schlatter (1718–1790), Philip W. Otterbein (1726–1813), Peter Becker (1687–1758), and Zinzendorf, it was brought to the American colonies. Its Moravian phase strongly influenced the Wesley brothers and hence the Methodist movement in America. Thus Pietism, along with Puritanism, must now be considered one of the major religious traditions that shaped American Protestantism.

HERITAGE OF PIETISM IN THE PROTESTANT TRADITION.

The influence of Pietism on world Protestantism has been pervasive and far-reaching. With respect to the ministry, it stressed the religious and ethical qualifications of the minister above his ecclesiastical status. In the area of Protestant worship, it greatly expanded Protestant hymnody, deemphasized ritual, and tended to make the sermon central. It helped to make religious commitment the major aim of Protestant worship. Its advocacy of the devotional reading of the Bible made the latter a book of the people and produced a large corpus of edificatory literature. It was instrumental in reorienting theological education by enthroning the concept of biblical theology and by advocating the religious formation of the whole person, which inevitably resulted in the establishment of theological seminaries for prospective clergy. Its deep concern for the plight of the poor and the sick made for a massive effort to establish homes and schools that would meet their needs, and it projected the hope of a better world brought about through the involvement of concerned Christians. Its vision of a humanity in need of the gospel of Christ made for the initiation and rapid expansion of foreign and domestic missionary enterprises. Its contribution to the rise of the ecumenical ideal is clear, as is its impact on the development of modern theology, notably through the work of Friedrich Schleiermacher and his disciples. Not to be forgotten is the fact that the chief representatives of the intellectual movement known as German Idealism grew up in a Pietist environment. Its genius is discernible also in a variety of later religious movements, such as American evangelicalism.

SEE ALSO Devotion; Francke, August Hermann; Schleiermacher, Friedrich; Spener, Philipp Jakob; Wesley Brothers; Zinzendorf, Nikolaus.

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After decades of neglect, Erich Beyreuther concentrated some of his prodigious energies upon the subject, notably upon Francke and Zinzendorf. His first volume in this effort was *August Hermann Francke, 1663–1727* (Marburg, 1956). A new era of Pietism study commenced when Martin Schmidt, the outstanding Pietism scholar of the day, published the first of a series of works in the field, *Das Zeitalter des Pietismus* (Bremen, 1965), edited by Wilhelm Jannasch. The present very intense interest in Pietism study was given tremendous impetus when, under the leadership of Martin Schmidt and the Francke scholar Erhard Peschke, the Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus was founded in Germany in 1965. On the basis of its findings the concept of Pietism was once again broadened, and under its auspices a series of volumes was published under the title "Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus" (Bielefeld, 1967–), edited by Kurt Aland, Erhard Peschke, and Martin Schmidt. In 1972, it brought out the first volume, *Abteilung 3: August Hermann Francke,* of *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus* (Berlin, 1972), and later the first yearbook, titled *Pietismus und Neuzeit* (Bielefeld, 1974).

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PIGS. The pig is an animal at once unclean and sacred. Dear to demons, it is used as bait to divert them from tormenting humans, but at the same time it has particular associations with sacrifices of expiation and purification. The pig is strikingly chthonic in nature, for it is usually offered to the divinities and powers of the underworld. When pigs are so bred as to grow tusks that are curved or crescent in shape, they assume the lunar symbolism of the renewal of life or of rebirth after death. Pigs are sometimes believed to be the transformations of certain divine beings.

In ancient Mesopotamia the pig was domesticated in very early times, but its use in the temple cult was extremely rare. As an Assyrian fable puts it, "The pig is not acceptable in the temples, and it is an abomination to the gods." However, it played a very important role in healing rituals and the exorcism of demons. One healing ritual prescribed the immolation of a piglet: The bed of a sick person is rubbed with its blood, the beast is dismembered, and its limbs are applied to the limbs of the sick person. In this way, the piglet substitutes for the sick person. Pigs were especially employed against the demoness Lamashtu, the enemy of pregnant women, young mothers, and their babies. In the rite of exorcism a piglet was immolated and its heart placed at the mouth of a figure of Lamashtu. In Egypt, the pig appeared most notably in connection with the myths and rituals of Seth, the god who killed his brother Osiris and who represented the forces of evil. According to the *Book of Going Forth by Day* (chap. 112), Seth changed himself into a black pig during his fight with Horus, the son of Osiris. Whenever a pig was sacrificed to Horus and its related divinities, it symbolized the forces of evil.

Pigs were sacrificed in ancient Greece for the purification of the sacred field, the sanctuary, and the house of the priestess; they were sacrificed partly because of their association with dirt, with which evil spirits were often equated, and partly because of their association with fertility. Especially noteworthy is the use of pigs in the festivals connected with the goddess Demeter and her daughter Persephone. In the Eleusinian mysteries, for example, each initiate had to sacrifice a piglet for the specific purpose of purifying himself. Because the piglet was as symbolic of the celebration as were the torch and the *kernos* (the sacred vessel used in the Eleusinian cult), in a number of works of art it is represented in the arms of the initiates. Small pigs played a part also in the Thesmophoria, the annual fertility festival honoring Demeter and Persephone. Together with wheat cakes in the shape of serpents and human beings, pigs were thrown, probably alive, into underground chambers (*megara*), where they were left to rot for a year, while the bones from the year before were brought up aboveground and placed upon an altar.

In the cult of Attis and Adonis as well as in the festivals of Demeter, each worshiper sacrificed a pig as an individual offering. According to mythic tradition, Attis was gored by a wild boar, and likewise Adonis was killed by a wild boar while out hunting. In commemoration of these tragic events boars were sacrificed in the Levant in the domestic rite of mourning, in which the sacrificer acted as if he had been deprived of his own life. The boar sacrifice was a vicarious offering for the life of the worshiper.

For the Jews, the pig is an unclean animal and its flesh may not be eaten nor its carcass touched (see *Lv.* 11:7, *Dt.* 14:8). In ancient times, Jews did not hesitate to risk their lives for their devotion to the Torah in this regard (e.g., *2 Mc.* 6:18–31); in the middle of the second century BCE, they stood against the Seleucid king Antiochus IV when he defiled the Temple of Jerusalem by dedicating it to Olympian Zeus, immolating pigs and other unclean animals and offering them in sacrifice. His religious policy was dictated by his concern to unify the beliefs and practices of his empire (*1 Mc.* 1:41–42), and the cult of Zeus seemed to him an appropriate focus for the religious allegiance of all his subjects. In order to break down the resistance, the king directly attacked the things that expressed Jewish faith: the Torah and its prescriptions, circumcision, the Sabbath, the ritual of sacrifices, and finally the prohibition against immolating and eating pigs.

The dietary prohibition of the Torah is pre-Israelite in origin, for abstinence from the meat of the pig was a widespread, religiously motivated custom that is well attested among the Phoenicians, the Cypriots, the Syrians, the Arabs, and in fact among all Semitic peoples with the exception of the Babylonians. Although its religious origins have sunk into oblivion, the custom has been preserved: Jews and Muslims of today abstain from eating pork in accordance with its strict prohibition by the Torah and the Qurʾān.

In the Hindu tradition, the boar appears again as an avatar of the god Viṣṇu. When a demon, Hiraṇyākṣa, cast the earth into the depths of the cosmic ocean, Viṣṇu assumed the form of an enormous boar, killed the demon, and retrieved the earth with his tusk. This mythic scenario probably developed through a primitive non-Aryan cult of the sacred pig.

The pig continues to play a highly significant role in the myths and rituals of Southeast Asia and Melanesia. Among the Ngaju of South Borneo, when cosmic order has been destroyed by violation of the divine commandments, by incest, for example, the guilty parties must slaughter a pig as a vicarious sacrifice. The entire village community in which they live (the people, houses, fields, animals, plants, and so on) is smeared with the blood of the pig, and then a "tree of life" is erected at the center of the village square before cosmic order is restored. According to the aborigines of the Melanesian island Malekula, the journey to the land of the dead starts with the offering of a pig to the female divinity who guards the cavernous entrance to the otherworld. The pig can be no ordinary one; it must have been raised by the sacrificer's own hands and ritually consecrated time and again. Especially important is the shape of its tusks: They should be curved or crescent, symbolizing the waxing and waning moon. While the pig's black body, consumed by the divinity, corresponds to the new, or "black," invisible moon, its crescent-shaped tusks symbolize the continuance of life after death, rebirth, or resurrection. The killing of pigs is understood by the Ceramese in New Guinea as a reenactment of their ancestors' murder of the maiden divinity Hainuwele, which occurred at the mythical time of beginning. Hainuwele was killed, but her dismembered body was miraculously transformed into tuberous plants (such as coconuts, bananas, and yams) and into pigs, neither of which had previously existed. Pigs are thus Hainuwele in disguise.

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PILGRIMAGE

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
ROMAN CATHOLIC PILGRIMAGE IN EUROPE
ROMAN CATHOLIC PILGRIMAGE IN THE NEW WORLD
EASTERN CHRISTIAN PILGRIMAGE
MUSLIM PILGRIMAGE
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BUDDHIST PILGRIMAGE IN EAST ASIA
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HINDU PILGRIMAGE

PILGRIMAGE: AN OVERVIEW

A religious believer in any culture may sometimes look beyond the local temple, church, or shrine, feel the call of some distant holy place renowned for miracles and the revivification of faith, and resolve to journey there. The goal of the journey, the sacred site, may be Banaras, India (Hindu); Jerusalem, Israel (Jewish, Christian, Muslim); Mecca, Saudi Arabia (Muslim); Meiron, Israel (Jewish); Ise, Japan (Shintō); Saikoku, Japan (Buddhist); or one of a hundred thousand others. Whatever the site, whatever the culture, the general features of a pilgrim's journey are remarkably similar. A generalized account of one woman's pilgrimage may thus serve to illustrate the process.

> Once, in a place apart, there appeared a very holy person; miracles occurred at that place and drew multitudes of pilgrims. Later, a shrine was built by devotees. Now, in the present, those who are afflicted make a promise to the holy person in their hearts: "If you help me, I will make the journey to your shrine and perform devotions there." The journey will be arduous and inconvenient, but the goal beckons, the source out there that heals both body and soul, and worldly considerations fall away. The pilgrim sets out lightheartedly. As she travels, she joins with many others who are bound in the same direction, and bonds of friendship develop between them. During her journey the pilgrim calls at sacred way stations, each of which strengthens her faith further. When she nears her goal, and can make out the shrine from afar, she weeps for joy. When she enters the sacred domain she is conscious of actually seeing with her own eyes the place of those holy events, while her feet touch the very ground the holy one trod. At last she is in the presence of the sacred—and is in awe. She touches the shrine with her hand, then remains there a long time in bliss and prayer. Afterward, she gives offerings and makes the rounds of the lesser shrines that cluster about the main one. Before leaving she eats holy food and calls at the market for pious presents to take home. Her return journey is cheerful, for her affliction is lifted. When she arrives home, her family and neighbors feel and share in the blessings that have come to her.

THE EXPERIENCE OF PILGRIMAGE. Pilgrimage has the classic three-stage form of a rite of passage: (1) separation (the start of the journey), (2) the liminal stage (the journey itself, the sojourn at the shrine, and the encounter with the sacred), and (3) reaggregation (the homecoming). It differs from initiation in that the journey is to a center "out there," not through a threshold that marks a change in the individual's social status (except in the case of the pilgrimage to Mecca).

The middle stage of a pilgrimage is marked by an awareness of temporary release from social ties and by a strong sense of *communitas* ("community, fellowship"), as well as by a preference for simplicity of dress and behavior, by a sense of ordeal, and by reflection on the basic meaning of one's religion. Movement is the pilgrim's element, into which she or he is drawn by the spiritual magnetism of a pilgrimage center.

Freedom from social structure. The temporary release from social ties that characterizes a pilgrim's journey is shared by other travelers who have an affinity with pilgrims, especially tourists and mystics. Tourists may, at heart, be pilgrims, for many serious-minded ones, perhaps alienated from their own society, find an elective center in the periphery of society, in a place of power that affects them in a personal way. Like pilgrims, they switch worlds, and they may even experience transcendence in the situation of liminality, in the special state of being freed from social structure. Their outward journey, like pilgrimage, may thus be a form of exteriorized mysticism. Mystics, on the other hand, make an inward sacred journey, an interior pilgrimage. Pilgrims, tourists, and mystics are, all three, freed for a time from the nets of social structure.

Communitas. Pilgrims typically experience the sentiment of *communitas,* a special sense of bonding and of humankindness. Many pilgrims claim of their own company that "here is the only possible classless society." Yet, in each case, this *communitas* is channeled by the beliefs, values, and norms of a specific historical religion. The rules and norms that develop in pilgrimage are essential to the sense of flow that pilgrims feel when they act with total involvement. They need the frame to focus action. So pilgrimage, in its specificity, can foster exclusiveness between the religions, the sense that "ours is the only one."

Here one encounters the fact that pilgrims are usually social conservatives, while their critics are often liberals. More often than not, pilgrimage is a phenomenon of popular religion. The populations from which pilgrims are drawn tend to cling jealously to their traditional rights and customs. Thus there occurs the paradox that they have often rallied for national independence under pilgrimage banners such as Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico and the Virgin of Częstochowa in Poland.

Pilgrimage has been of concern to the orthodox hierarchies of many religions, for pilgrimage draws the faithful away from the center of organization. A devotion may arise spontaneously, not in a consecrated place, and may not keep the strictest rules of the structured religion. Once started, it is democratic, rich in symbolism of its own and in *communitas.* From the point of view of social structure such manifestations of *communitas* are potentially subversive.

SPIRITUAL MAGNETISM OF PILGRIMAGE CENTERS. A number of factors may be involved in the spiritual magnetism of a pilgrimage center. A sacred image of great age or divine origin may be the magnet. Such images show great variety, from a painted picture such as that of the Virgin of Częstochowa, to a lovingly clothed doll as at Tlaxcala, Mexico, to a colossal statue of the Buddha in Sri Lanka. They induce awe and devotion, for they have the power to touch the religious instinct. There is an ambivalence in such objects. Are they themselves divine or not? The ambivalence only intensifies the wonder.

Miracles of healing also endow pilgrimage centers with a powerful spiritual magnetism. Such miracles seem to occur when there are both a heightened sense of the supernatural and a profound sense of human fellowship, of shared experience. Although the study of neurological effects of religious experience is in its infancy, there appears to be a healing factor in the unitary experience that is central to religion. The repeated stories of miracles at pilgrimage centers may thus constitute more important material than has been hitherto recognized.

Many pilgrimage centers are sites of apparitions, places where supernatural beings have appeared to humans. The appearance of a supernatural being imparts magnetic power to a site whether or not it has independent beauty or significance. Pilgrims endeavor to touch objects as close as possible to the site of apparition. Through the concreteness of touch, they experience connection with the original event.

The birthplace, location of life events, or tomb of a holy person may be a pilgrimage magnet in the same way, and the land itself in certain places has power to move the spirit, so that rivers, mountains, caves, islands, and strange features of the landscape may radiate spiritual magnetism. A cave at Amarnath, India, is an example. The magically beautiful ice formation within it is worshiped as an incarnation of Śiva. Nature, at the margins of the mundane, may represent a threshold into the spiritual.

Generally, the numinosity of a pilgrimage center is palpable. After the inception of the center it takes on a longterm character, gradually unfolding throughout history.

HISTORICAL CLASSIFICATION OF PILGRIMAGES. Pilgrimages have arisen in different periods of history and have taken different paths. According to one typology, based largely in a Western view of history, pilgrimages can be classified as archaic, prototypical, high-period, and modern. Although this typology is most fruitful in examining Christian pilgrimage, it can be extended to other religious traditions as well.

Archaic pilgrimage. Certain pilgrimage traditions have come down from very ancient times, and little or nothing is known of their foundation. Some of these archaic traditions, like that of the Huichol Indians of Mexico, retain a complex symbolic code. Others have been overlaid by the trappings of a later religion, although archaic customs can still be discerned; the *communitas* of past ages also carries on, providing energy for the new establishment. Such syncretism occurred at Mecca and Jerusalem in the Middle East, at Izamal and Chalma in Mexico, and at Canterbury in England.

At Canterbury it was officially sanctioned; Augustine of Canterbury received a message from Pope Gregory the Great that he should "baptize" the Anglo-Saxon customs, bringing them into the fold and harnessing them for the new religion.

Prototypical pilgrimage. Pilgrimages established by the founder of a religion, by his or her first disciples, or by important evangelists of the faith may be called "prototypical." As in all new pilgrimage traditions, the foundation is marked by visions and miracles and by the advent of a swarm of fervent pilgrims. They make spontaneous acts of devotion, praying, touching objects at the site, leaving tags on trees, and so on. As the impulse for *communitas* grows, a strong feedback system develops, further increasing the popularity of the pilgrimage center. A prototypical pilgrimage tradition soon manifests charter narratives and holy books about the founder. A shrine is built and an ecclesiastical structure develops. The Jerusalem and Rome pilgrimages are prototypical for Christianity, Jerusalem for Judaism, Mecca for Islam, Banaras and Mount Kailash for Hinduism, Bodh Gayā and Sārnāth, India, for Buddhism, and Ise for Shintō. Pilgrims at these sites often reenact events of the founding times.

High-period pilgrimage. In the heyday of a pilgrimage tradition an elaborate shrine, crowded with symbols, is created; side shrines, a market, a fairground, and hostels spring up near the center, and professional pilgrims make their appearance. In the Middle Ages, when the growth of Muslim power in the Mediterranean hampered Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land, the loss was compensated by the creation of shrines all over Europe. A holy relic was commonly the focus of devotion, as, for example, at Chartres, France, where the Virgin's veil is enshrined. New World pilgrimages resembled their medieval forerunners, although New World shrines lacked relics—one of the reasons for the prevalence of images as a substitute in this region.

Meanwhile, at many European centers routinization and decline had set in. The shrines became so choked with symbolic objects that meaning was being forgotten. Thus, during the Reformation and the era of Puritanism many of them became targets of iconoclasts and were suppressed. Walsingham in England is a prime example.

Desiderius Erasmus, William Langland, John Wyclif, Hugh Latimer, and John Calvin were reformers who opposed pilgrimage and the excessive veneration of images. In recent years opposition has come from the Vatican, which denied approval to pilgrimages to Joazeiro, Bahia, in Brazil and to Necedah, Wisconsin, in the United States; miraculous or apparitional events may be ratified only after exhaustive examination by clerical officials. In Israel the rabbinate keeps watch for irregularities at the many popular pilgrimages to the tombs of *tsaddiqim* ("holy persons").

Modern pilgrimage. All over the world in the last two centuries a new type of pilgrimage, with a high devotional tone and bands of ardent adherents, has developed. Modern pilgrimage is frankly technological; pilgrims travel by automobile and airplane, and pilgrimage centers publish newspapers and pamphlets. The catchment areas of modern pilgrimage are the great industrial cities. However, the message of the shrine is still traditional, at variance with the values of today. Many Roman Catholic pilgrimages have been triggered by an apparition of the Virgin Mary to some humble visionary with a message of penance and a gift of healing, as at Lourdes, France.

Other centers have arisen from the ashes of some dead pilgrimage shrine. A devotee has a vision of the founder, which heralds new miracles and a virtually new pilgrimage, as at Aylesford, England. Both apparitional and saint-centered pilgrimages in other parts of the modern world abound, as in Japan and at the tomb of the holy rabbi Huri of Beersheva, Israel.

CONCLUDING REMARKS. Pilgrimage is a process, a fluid and changing phenomenon, spontaneous, initially unstructured and outside the bounds of religious orthodoxy. It is primarily a popular rite of passage, a venture into religious experience rather than into a transition to higher status. A particular pilgrimage has considerable resilience over time and the power of revival. Pilgrims all over the world attest to the profundity of their experience, which often surpasses the power of words.

SEE ALSO Relics.

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PILGRIMAGE: ROMAN CATHOLIC PILGRIMAGE IN EUROPE

During the Middle Ages the concept of Christian pilgrimage became a reality in Europe, with varied significance. Pilgrimage, making one’s way to holy places, is above all an ascetic practice that lets the Christian find salvation through the difficulties and dangers of a temporary exile. It is also a means of coming in contact with that which is divine and thereby obtaining grace because of the accumulation of supernatural power in the pilgrimage site. However, there are occasions where the blessing requested has already been received, and the pilgrimage is then an act of gratitude. One can therefore distinguish two kinds of journey: the journey of the pilgrim seeking blessing and the journey of the pilgrim giving thanks. Important in both cases, however, is the interchange between God and man through the medium of the saints. It works like an exchange: a material offering (often symbolic, such as a candle) and a self-imposed mortification, the journey to the shrine, correspond to a spiritual or material favor bestowed upon the faithful, who considers it a miracle.

PRINCIPAL TYPES OF SHRINE. The first type of shrine for pilgrimage evident in Europe was the sanctuary for relics, centered on a tomb or reliquary containing the remains of a saint or a fragment thereof. Usually initiated by mass devotion, such worship was validated by the bishop up to the thirteenth century and thereafter by the pope. Among these shrines, the tomb of Peter in Rome and that attributed to James the Greater at Santiago de Compostela in Spain were by far the most frequently visited. But there were also thousands of small churches frequented mainly by local pilgrims, most of which were brought to life only once a year, on the feast day of the patron saint.

The second large category of centers of pilgrimage is that of the Marian shrines. From the twelfth century onward, the worship of Mary developed greatly in Europe, worship that continues to draw the faithful right up to the present. Two main types of Marian shrines have evolved. First are those based on the veneration of a miraculous statue, sometimes called the Black Madonna; important examples of the type are found at Chartres, Le Puy, and Rocamadour in France; Montserrat and Guadalupe in Spain; Mariazell in Austria; Einsiedeln in Switzerland; and Częstochowa in Poland. All these shrines have been frequented since the Middle Ages. A variation on this type is represented by the two locations where homage is paid in a place where the Virgin Mary was miraculously transported or resurrected: Loreto in Italy and Walsingham in England.

The second main category of Marian shrine consists of places sanctified by an apparition of the Virgin and the transmission of a message to a believer chosen by her. These apparitions are evident mainly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The principal ones took place in the rue du Bac in Paris (1830), at La Salette (1846), Lourdes (1858), Pontmain (1871), and at Pellevoisin (1876) in France; at Fátima in Portugal (1917); and at Beauraing and Banneux in Belgium (1932). Of all the shrines, those dedicated to the Virgin Mary still attract the greatest number of believers.

THE EVOLUTION OF PILGRIMAGE IN EUROPE. There have been six main stages in the evolution of pilgrimage in Europe beginning with the Middle Ages. The period encompassing the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries saw a dramatic increase in the number of centers of pilgrimage and a corresponding rise in the number of pilgrims. During the fifteenth century and above all the sixteenth century (at the time of the Reformation), the practice of pilgrimage underwent a crisis in which its very usefulness was called into serious question (in the context of the rise of the iconoclastic movement in the churches). With the Council of Trent (1545–1563) there began a period of resurgence, the duration of which varied from country to country. The impulse was halted in France at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but it continued in the Germanic and Slavic countries right up to the time of the French Revolution. Generally speaking, the pilgrim movement became victim to the philosophy of the Enlightenment, which favored reason above religion, and victim as well to the wish to purge the faith. (The pilgrimage is interpreted by the Roman Catholic hierarchy at this time as a form of superstition to be discouraged.) In the nineteenth century, Catholicism underwent another renewal of faith, which brought with it a renewed impulse for pilgrimage, slow in the first half of the century, then gathering momentum and reaching a peak between 1850 and 1875, probably due to the development of rail travel coinciding with a rise in the influence of the papacy. Since the end of World War I, pilgrimage has been at a notable level, while undergoing sociological change: collective pilgrimages have taken the lead over individual journeys, and more than ever before, young people are taking part in pilgrimages, previously more of an adult occupation. This contributes a notably more universal and ecumenical tone to pilgrimage. However, the modern-day pilgrimage continues, as in previous centuries, to temporarily dissolve the normal lines between social classes. It has also kept its popular nature, even if some of the folklore and customs attached to it have disappeared.

The current record for the number of visits to a shrine is held by Lourdes, to which three million pilgrims journey each year. Next comes Fátima with two million visitors. There are several shrines that annually receive more than one million pilgrims: the Chapel of the Miraculous Medallion at the rue du Bac in Paris, Our Lady of Rocamadour, Our Lady of Scherpenheuvel (French, Montaigu) in Belgium, Our Lady of Montserrat in Spain, the Sacré-Coeur at Montmartre in Paris and Mont-Saint-Michel in northwestern France. With regard to pilgrimages to Rome, the greatest number of believers come in the Holy Years.

Today, as during previous centuries, the pilgrimage is a manifestation of collective devotion in which are mingled the two great concerns of the faithful: the salvation of the soul and the thirst for miracles. The pilgrimage is also an opportunity for human contacts of all sorts and for economic, artistic, and religious interchanges, making it one of the most vital elements of European Catholicism.

SEE ALSO Relics.

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PILGRIMAGE: ROMAN CATHOLIC PILGRIMAGE IN THE NEW WORLD

Roman Catholic pilgrimage shrines are found from Alaska and Canada to Tierra del Fuego. The oldest shrine in the Americas is probably Our Lady of Mercy at Santo Cerro in the Dominican Republic. Here, according to tradition, Christopher Columbus erected a cross in thanks for a victory over local Indians in the mid-1490s. The original image of the Virgin Mary is said to have been a gift from Isabella I, queen of Castile (1474–1504), and a pilgrimage chapel may have been erected as early as 1505. Thereafter, Catholic shrines spread through the Americas with Spanish, Portuguese, and French colonization. In some cases, as at Guadalupe, Amecameca, and Chalma in Mexico; Esquipulas, Guatemala; Caranqui, Ecuador; and Copacabana, Bolivia, indigenous holy places were christianized. More often, however, the establishment of shrines involved events leading to the sanctification of places not previously conceptualized as holy.

Missionaries and immigrants to the Americas from various parts of Catholic Europe introduced their own special devotions as well as regionally specific ideas about shrines and pilgrimages. Iberian and French influences were particularly important during the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, as were ideas brought by missionaries from Habsburg Germanic regions. Diversity increased with mass migrations from other parts of Europe during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For example, areas of Italian settlement in Argentina, Chile, and southern Brazil have important shrines dedicated to the fifteenth-century Marian apparition at Caravaggio in northern Italy and to the Virgin of Pompei, a late-nineteenth-century cult that originated near Naples. Similarly, eight shrines of the Byzantine rite are found in the diocese of Curitiba, Brazil, where 95 percent of the population are persons of Ukrainian descent, and a shrine at Doylestown, Pennsylvania, honors the Polish Virgin of Częstochowa. As a result of multiple influences from different parts of Europe at different time periods, the pattern of pilgrimage circulation in the Americas is rich in variety.

The New World's most famous shrine is the Basilica of the Virgin of Guadalupe on the outskirts of Mexico City. Here, according to tradition, the Virgin Mary appeared in 1531 to an Indian named Juan Diego. As proof of the apparition's validity, Diego's cloak was miraculously imprinted with an image of the Virgin in the guise of an Indian maiden. The Mexican Virgin of Guadalupe has been proclaimed patroness of Mexico and of the Americas.

Other apparitional shrines of sixteenth-century origin are at San Bartolo, Naucalpan, Tlaxcala, and Zacatecas, Mexico; Cisne, Ecuador; and Chiantla, Guatemala. Later colonial-period shrines of this type are located at Chirca, Bolivia; Lima, Peru; Ambato, Ecuador; Segorbe, Colombia; San Cristóbal, Venezuela; and Higüey, Dominican Republic. One of the most recent accounts of a New World Marian apparition came from Cuapa, Nicaragua, in 1980.

Numerous American shrines commemorate European apparitions of the Virgin Mary, particularly the 1858 event at Lourdes, France. Some of the more important New World Lourdes shrines are at Mar del Plata, Argentina; Santiago, Chile; Montevideo, Uruguay; Maiquetía, Venezuela; Euclid, Ohio; Brooklyn, New York; San Antonio, Texas; and Rigaud, Canada. American shrines celebrating the 1917 apparitions at Fátima, Portugal, are found at Campo Grande and other places in Brazil as well as at Cojutepeque, El Salvador, and Youngstown, New York. A shrine at Mayo, near Buckingham, Canada, commemorates the 1879 Marian apparitions at Knock, Ireland, and several shrines in the United States and Canada are dedicated to a manifestation of the Virgin Mary at La Salette, France, in 1846.

Many New World shrines came into being when a newly acquired relic or an image of Mary, Christ, or a saint was credited with miracles. Some of these images were probably brought by early missionaries. Examples are found at Itati and Laguna de los Padres, Argentina; Monserrate, Colombia; and Zapopan and Querétaro in Mexico. Other images, such as those honored at Cedros, Honduras; Guanajuato, Mexico; Lima, Peru; La Estrella, Colombia; and Cuenca, Ecuador, were sent as gifts by Spanish royalty. Mysterious strangers are said to have left miraculous images in such places as Cuernavaca, Mexico, and Nátago, Colombia. Elsewhere, as at Banos, Ecuador, and Saltillo and Oaxaca, Mexico, the image is said to have been brought by a mule that refused to move any farther. A variation on this theme comes from Luján, Argentina. Here, at the greatest of all Argentine shrines, an ox cart carrying a statue of Mary from church to church for veneration became stuck in 1630, thus indicating the proper place for the shrine.

Shipwrecks, or the "refusal" of ships to leave harbors, resulted in the acquisition of important cult objects at Antón and Portobelo, Panama, and at Montecristi, Ecuador. The image of Christ at Bom Jesus de Lapa, Brazil, was brought in 1690 by a workman who spent years of penitence in a grotto before becoming a missionary priest, and the image of Santa Rosa of Lima venerated at Pelequén, Chile, was brought south from Lima by a soldier in 1840. Shrines of this type in the United States include those at Dickinson, Texas, where a relic of the True Cross was enshrined in 1936; San Juan del Valle, Texas, where an image of Mary was brought from Mexico by the local priest in 1949; and Miami, Florida, where a modernistic pilgrimage church has been built in honor of the "exiled" image of Our Lady of Charity that arrived from Cuba in 1961.

Many New World shrines trace their origins to the finding of relics or images, usually under mysterious circumstances, similar to events dating to early Christian times in Europe. Stories of such discoveries account for some of the most important shrines in the Americas. Among those of sixteenth-century origin was the dark image of Christ that "appeared" in a cave at Chalma, Mexico, around 1540.

Fishermen at Cobre, Cuba, found a statue of Mary floating on the waters of the bay in 1601. An image of Mary was found on a lake shore after a 1603 flood at Caacupé, Paraguay. Early in the seventeenth century, some Indians found a statue of Mary in a cave at Catamarca, Argentina. At Cartago, Costa Rica, in 1635 an Indian woman found an image of Mary in the woods. Boys found a faded painting of Mary in a hut at Táchira, Venezuela, in 1654, and the painting was miraculously restored. In 1685, just south of Bogotá, Colombia, a man looking for lost treasure found a statue of Mary.

At Yauca, Peru, in about 1700, a group of farmers found an image of Mary in some bushes. A woman on her way back from a pilgrimage to the shrine of Coromoto at San Cristóbal, Venezuela, in 1702 found an image of Mary in a tree at Acarigua. At Aparecida do Norte, Brazil, fishermen found a black image of Mary in a river in 1717. An elderly peasant man found an image of Mary buried in the ground at Suyapa, Honduras, in 1747. At Ipiales, Colombia, in 1754, a young girl saw a painting of the Virgin on a rock face. In 1780, an image of Mary was found after a rainstorm on the edge of a solar, a usually dry lake bed, at Copiapó, Chile.

In 1807, a flash of lightning revealed a damaged image of Mary in the corner of a convent room in Guadalajara, Mexico, and in 1868 a rustic wooden cross was found on a mountain with pagan associations near Motupe, Peru.

Other shrine-generating images are said to have been found in oak tree branches, inside trees being cut for timber or firewood, in fountains, under stones in rivers, in thorn thickets, under magueys, and in ruined churches. At least one, at Sopo, Colombia, appeared in an eroded stone.

Other important New World shrines came into being as the result of a miraculous transformation of an already existent image. For example, in 1586, the cult of the Colombian Virgin of Chiquinquirá emerged when a painting of the Madonna was mysteriously restored. Similar stories are told about once-faded copies of this image that have been venerated since the mid-eighteenth century at Aregue and Maracaibo, Venezuela. Similarly, at Talpa, Mexico, a deteriorating corn-paste image of Mary is said to have been miraculously restored in about 1644. Weeping and sweating images of the Virgin Mary have given rise to the establishment of pilgrimage shrines in several places, including Lima, Peru (1591), and Santa Fe, Argentina (1636). Pilgrimages began to the Colegio San Gabriel in Quito, Ecuador, in 1906 after students reported that a painting of Mary opened and closed its eyes several times, and a similar event in 1888 encouraged the development of pilgrimages to a Marian shrine in Cap de la Madeleine, Canada. One of the most recent examples of this type of phenomenon is a plaster image of the Virgin in the cathedral at Managua, Nicaragua, reported to be sweating copiously in 1980.

The most important devotion for northern Mexicans, at San Juan de los Lagos in the state of Jalisco, began attracting devotees in 1623 after a traveling acrobat's daughter, thought to be dead after falling onto upright knives, came back to life when an old woman touched her with an ancient image of the Virgin. Pilgrimages generated by sudden cures have also emerged in Quinche, Ecuador (1589); Sainte Anne de Beaupré, Canada (1659); San Felipe, Guatemala (1820); and numerous other places. Shrines to which there have been a declining number of pilgrimages have often been regenerated by spectacular cures, as happened at Andacollo, Chile, in 1860 and San Juan Parangaricutiro, Mexico, in 1869.

Frequently shrines were established as community thank offerings for salvation from catastrophe. Survival of Indian attack or victory in battle has given rise to shrines in such places as Jujuy, Argentina; Recife, Brazil; Coroico, Bolivia; Villa Vieja, Uruguay; and Maipú, Chile. Riobamba, Ecuador, and San Miguel, El Salvador, are among the shrine centers that commemorate the end of earthquakes and/or volcanic eruptions. Others, like that at Yaguachi, Ecuador, emerged in the wake of epidemics, or, like that at Biblián, Ecuador, in the aftermath of threatened famine.

Votive shrines have also been created by individuals. For example, the venerated image at Guadalupe, Peru, was brought from the Spanish shrine of the same name in the mid-sixteenth century in thanks for the donor's release from prison, and a shrine at Hormigueros, Puerto Rico, is said to have been promoted by a man who was saved from a bull. The famous shrine at Chimayo, New Mexico, was established in the early nineteenth century by Don Bernardo Abeyta in thanks for health and prosperity.

Shrines also emerge in places sanctified through association with saints or exemplary, but uncanonized, persons. This type of holy place is more common in Europe than in the Americas, but there are several New World examples. These include the burial places of Santa Rosa and San Martín de Porres in Lima, Peru; the Aracanian Indian Ceferino Namuncura in Pedro Luro, Argentina; San Pedro Claver in Cartagena, Colombia; Saint John Neumann in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; the Blessed Philippine Duchesne in Saint Charles, Missouri; and the Italian missionary nun Mother Cabrini in New York City.

Mother Cabrini is also honored at a site in the Rocky Mountain foothills near Denver, Colorado. Here, in 1912, the first citizen-saint of the United States struck a rock with her staff, whereupon a spring emerged with waters since reported to be curative. Other examples include a shrine at Midland, Canada, near the place where French Jesuit missionaries were killed by Huron Indians in the 1640s, and the Coronado Cross erected in 1976 near Dodge City, Kansas, at the place on the Arkansas River where Father Juan Padilla offered a mass for members of the Coronado expedition. Killed by Indians in 1542, this Franciscan friar was the first priest martyred in what is now the United States.

Pilgrimages have also developed at a number of places known primarily for their historical significance. Examples include the "La Leche" shrine in Saint Augustine, Florida, at the site of the first Spanish mission in America north of Mexico (established 1565); the Sacred Heart Mission church at Cataldo, Idaho; and several of the Spanish mission churches in the southwestern United States. Although not a pilgrimage center in a conventional sense, Boys Town, Nebraska, established as a home for wayward boys by Father Edward Flanagan in the early twentieth century, provides another example of a religiously significant site. It draws more than one million visitors a year and is considered an important place of inspiration.

Finally, many New World shrines, especially in North America, are of purely devotional origin. They came into being because an individual or a group believed that a pilgrimage center should be created in a particular place and set about to make it happen. Examples of such shrines include the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in Washington, D. C.; the Shrine of the Miraculous Medal in Perryville, Missouri; the Sanctuary of Our Sorrowful Mother at The Grotto in Portland, Oregon; and the National Shrine of the Sacred Heart at Pointe aux Trembles, Canada.

In 1983 a number of North American churches not previously conceptualized as pilgrimage shrines were scenes of pilgrimages for the 1983–1984 Holy Year of the Redemption. Given the late-twentieth-century interest in pilgrimage on the part of many American Catholics, it is possible that some of these places will become permanent centers for the devotion of pilgrims, especially if miraculous events are perceived to occur there. Certainly, shrines will continue to emerge in the hemisphere as religious significance is attached to relief from environmental stress ranging from natural disasters to political upheavals.

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PILGRIMAGE: EASTERN CHRISTIAN PILGRIMAGE

Christian pilgrimage is rooted in the eastern domain of Christianity, primarily in Palestine, where Jesus was born and accomplished his mission, and secondarily in Egypt, the cradle of Christian monasticism. The fact that Jerusalem became the focal point of Christian pilgrimage is not surprising. For the Israelites, the Temple in Jerusalem had long served as the locus of the pilgrimage prescribed by their religious tradition.

The meaning of pilgrimage in ancient Israel and in early Christianity is similar yet differs markedly in one point: for the Israelite, a visit to the Temple was a requirement of faith to be fulfilled annually; for the Christian, that requirement had been fulfilled once and for all by Jesus Christ in his own final pilgrimage to the Temple. Therefore, the Christian pilgrimage became a journey to fulfill personal needs of piety rather than collective requirements. Understanding Christian pilgrimage and appreciating forms of Eastern Christian pilgrimage that have persisted for centuries necessitates, nevertheless, an examination of the meaning and form of pilgrimages in the Old Testament as well as in the New Testament.

Pilgrimage in the Old Testament. Ancient pilgrimage sites in the history of Israel were usually linked to a marvellous event in the life of an individual Israelite or in the collective history of the community. The site for a sanctuary was not arbitrarily chosen but was designated by God in a theophany (or divine manifestation) as, for example, Jacob's dream on his way to Haran (*Gn.* 28:10–22). The memory of the glorious event was made concrete by the erection of an altar. The journeys of Abraham, Moses, and the other patriarchs, the exile of the Israelites from Egypt and their forty-year journey through the desert were all pilgrimages, in the sense that they were the means to an end: the possession of the land where milk and honey flows and where God has made his rest (*Dt.* 12:9; *Ps.* 95:11, 132:8–14). After the building of the Temple, in which rested the ark of the covenant, Jerusalem became the goal for Israelite pilgrims. It was the sacred obligation of each Israelite to make an annual pilgrimage to Jerusalem, anticipating in this way the eschatological pilgrimage to God's city where all the nations of the world would gather at the end of time to inaugurate the kingdom of God.

Significance of Pilgrimage in the New Testament. The importance and meaning of pilgrimage is not explicit in the New Testament. The Synoptic Gospels ascribe to Christ only one journey to Jerusalem on the occasion of the

Passover feast (except for Luke's account of Jesus' pilgrimage with his parents at age twelve). John, however, assumes the regular participation of Christ in the pilgrimage feasts (*Jn.* 2:13, 6:4, 11:55, 7:2, and 10:22). The four evangelists are in accord in their messianic interpretation of Jesus Christ's final journey to Jerusalem, which culminates in the events of his crucifixion and resurrection. In this way, Christ fulfills for all time the eschatological pilgrimage into the city of God and inaugurates the kingdom of God. In this kingdom, one no longer needs to buy and sell sacrificial animals for the offering at the temple; according to the Pauline epistles, Christ has eliminated the need for sacrifice, having become himself both the sacrificed lamb and the high priest who entered behind the veil into the Holy of Holies (*Heb.* 6:9–20).

The theme of exile occurs again and again in the New Testament writings (*1 Pt.* 1:1–17, 2:11; *Heb.* 13:14; cf. *Gn.* 23:3–4; *Ps.* 39:12–13, 119:19; *Acts* 7:6–29.) For the early Christians viewed their lives as the time of pilgrims in exile, and the destination of this journey was the heavenly city of Jerusalem. So powerful was this idea that the Greek word *paroikia,* which means "sojourning in a foreign land," came to designate the fundamental unit of the Christian community, the parish.

EARLY CHRISTIAN PILGRIMAGE. Imperial influence and not religious obligation became the greatest single motivating force in the growth and development of Christian pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Constantine's church-building program on the holy sites of Jerusalem (begun after the Council of Nicaea in 325) invited many Christians to go and see the sacred places where Jesus was born, lived, worked, and was crucified and raised.

As pilgrimage to the holy places of Christendom became more common, the corporate life of the church was affected as well, through liturgical development. Many of the early pilgrims came to Palestine with a desire to see the places described in biblical episodes, a desire that combined historical curiosity and pious zeal. The pattern of worship conducted at each site by the pilgrims, the central feature of which was the reading of the relevant passage from the Bible, gave rise eventually to an annually recurring cycle of liturgical festivals in commemoration of the life of Christ. In these celebrations too, the central feature remained a reading of the biblical narrative, appropriately chosen to suit not only the place but also the liturgical season.

Another significant feature of Christian pilgrimage liturgies was the practice of numerous processions. "The desire to embrace all the principal holy places in the course of the celebrations, combined with the possibility of commemorating the events of the gospel at the actual places where they were believed to have occurred, produced a form of worship distinguished by its constant movement and its arduous length" (Hunt, p. 114). These processions remind one of *ḥag,* the Hebrew word for pilgrimage feasts, the root meaning of which is "to dance" or "to move in circles."

It is noteworthy that the churches that have maintained a strong liturgical tradition, particularly all of the ancient churches of the East, have lived these pilgrimage themes symbolically through their cyclical liturgical celebrations. As pilgrims they need not fulfill either the pilgrimage to the Temple or to the holy places of Christendom; rather, a spiritual participation in the life of Christ, expressed through liturgical celebrations, is their pilgrimage. For example, Gregory of Nyssa maintains that Bethlehem, Golgotha, the Mount of Olives, and the empty tomb should always be before the eyes of the true Christian as spiritual pointers to the godly life.

The same attitude gave rise to another form of pilgrimage: visits to the holy men and women who had chosen to give themselves to a life of perpetual prayer—the monks and ascetics. Basil of Caesarea, who in 351 made the journey to Palestine and later to Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia, hardly mentions the holy places; he states that the object of his journey was to visit the monks and ascetics, to stay with them in order to learn the secret of their holy lives. Basil wanted to learn the method of the personal spiritual pilgrimage, the destination of which was the heavenly city of God experienced on an inner level.

The pilgrim Egeria (late fourth century) refers to another tradition, that of the pilgrimages to martyria (churches that have been built on the tomb of a saint or a martyr). She notes that the monks in Charra, a region of Mesopotamia, rarely come out of seclusion but that they do so on Easter and on the feast of the martyr to celebrate the Divine Liturgy in the martyrium.

This tradition still continues. Many pilgrims go to the monasteries of Mount Athos in Greece and to monasteries in Egypt, Syria, and other parts of the world. Among these monasteries there are many that were built near martyria or near sites that have biblical importance. In Egypt there is the monastery of Dair al-Muharraq, the site where the holy family rested and took refuge in their flight from Herod. Each year in Dair al-Muharraq, as at all martyria, on the feast day of the saint, pilgrims come to commemorate liturgically and later through festivities the saint in whose name the martyrium or shrine was built.

Thus, personal piety for the Eastern Christian has found expression beyond the liturgical life. Pilgrimage to Jerusalem, to martyria, and to the cells of monks has given rise to numerous customs and traditions that symbolically perpetuate the main theme of pilgrimage: the yearning of the exile to reach his destination, the promised land, the city where God rests and encounters his people.

CUSTOMS AND TRADITIONS ASSOCIATED WITH PILGRIMAGE. Armenians, Copts, Greeks, Russians, Syrians, Ethiopians, and other Eastern Christians share common traditions of pilgrimage.

The pilgrimage to Jerusalem. There is no particularly appropriate time in one's life when one ought to make a pilgrimage. However, the pilgrimage *par excellence,* the journey to Jerusalem, generally becomes possible late in one's life. Once in Jerusalem, a pilgrim considers that the serious occupations of his or her life have ended. Having seen "death conquered" at the site of Christ's resurrection (the holy sepulcher), the pilgrim looks forward to his or her own death, sometimes desiring to die in Jerusalem. The Armenian term *mahdesi* ("one who has seen death") aptly describes this state. This title of honor is given to a pilgrim returning from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Russian pilgrims also acknowledge the overcoming of death by taking white shrouds to Jerusalem. They bathe in the Jordan River, the scene of John's baptisms, shrouded in white, in evocation of the awakened dead on Resurrection Morning. Other Eastern Christians bring their white shrouds and on Holy Friday place them on Christ's tomb, anoint them with oil from the lamps burning there, and perfume them with sweet-smelling incense. A pilgrim designated as a *mahdesi* is one who has seen the Holy Fire on Easter and who has received a tattoo on the inner right wrist, depicting most often a cross and the date of the pilgrimage.

The ceremony of the Holy Fire. Conducted jointly by all of the Eastern churches at midday on Easter Eve in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the ceremony of the Holy Fire is of uncertain origin, but it derives from the ritual and symbolism of the primitive church. It symbolizes the triumph of the Christian faith. The Eastern Orthodox patriarch and the Armenian patriarch (representing also the Copts, the Ethiopians, and the Syrians) enter through the door over the tomb, then emerge, each carrying a sheaf of lighted candles. This light quickly spreads among the people present, who light their own candles from it. It is said that some pilgrims take pains to carry the flame home unextinguished, preserving it in a lantern.

It is also the custom of the Armenian patriarch to distribute wafers with the resurrection imprint to all the pilgrims. This may be a symbolic vestige of a custom of hospitality that was practiced by the monks in Egypt and elsewhere in the East. Isolated in the desert, monks had to provide pilgrims with both food and lodging. As the number of pilgrims increased, the monks began to give tokens of hospitality, most often in the form of the fruit they had grown. The pilgrim Egeria called this the monks' "blessing."

Vows, offerings, and healing. Whether rich or poor, the pilgrims carry gifts of offering to the churches on the holy sites. Many bring their work or the work of skillful craftsmen; vessels and vestments to be used for the liturgical rites. Some contribute toward the building of guest rooms in the holy city where pilgrims can stay. Traditionally, pilgrims spend many months, as much as a whole year, in pilgrimage. Originally, they would come before Christmas and stay until after Easter in order to participate in the events commemorating the life of Christ. Gradually, that time has been shortened to the season of Lent and Easter.

Pilgrims come often to fulfill vows they have made. Some also bring with them the petitions of friends. If the request is for healing, they bring silver charms that represent the part of the body in need of healing. These they leave on or near the icon of the saint to whom they pray.

Returning home. The return of pilgrims to their homes has been marked ceremoniously in some Armenian communities. Usually a group of pilgrims make the journey together. Upon their return, they go to the parish church, where prayers of thanksgiving are offered on their behalf for having been able to fulfill their pilgrimage. At the conclusion of the service, the pilgrims distribute to the congregation objects of devotion that they have brought home.

They bring home oil from the lanterns that have been lighted in holy places to use for anointing and healing. Olives from two-thousand-year-old trees in the garden of Gethsemane are treasured also. Most valuable, however, are the candles that were lighted in various holy places, especially from the Holy Fire on Easter.

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PILGRIMAGE: MUSLIM PILGRIMAGE

The annual pilgrimage of Muslims to Mecca, in west-central Arabia, is known by the term *ḥājj.* As a religious duty that is the fifth of the Five Pillars of Islam, the *ḥājj* is an obligation for all Muslims to perform once in their adult lives, provided they be of sound mind and health and financially able at the time. In 1982, from an estimated world Islamic population of 750 million, approximately 3 million Muslims were reported to have made the journey. The nature and size of this annual ingathering of Muslims from countless ethnic, linguistic, and political backgrounds, combined with the common sacred status that ideally makes princes indistinguishable from paupers, render the *ḥājj* experience an important expression of social and religious unity in Islamic culture.

ḤĀJJ IN THE CONTEXT OF MIDDLE EASTERN WORLDVIEWS. The duty of performing the *ḥājj* rests on the authority of scripture (Qurʾān) and the recorded practice of the prophet Muḥammad (*sunnah*), as these are interpreted by the orthodox schools of Islamic law; Shīʿī Muslims rely in addition on the teachings of the early *imām*s, leaders descended from the family of the Prophet through the lineage of ʿAlī. The *manāsik al-ḥājj*, manuals that explain the rituals and prayers required at each of the *ḥājj* stations, are adduced from these authorities. More than the symbolism found in the other religious duties of Islam, however, *ḥājj* symbolism carries overtones of ancient Arab and Judeo-Christian cosmologies, which resonate in the appointed times and places of the ritual performances.

For Muslims, the shrine in Mecca comprehends several notions: for example, that creation began at Mecca; that the father of the prophets, Ibrāhīm (Abraham), constructed the first house of worship (Kaʿbah, Bayt Allāh) at Mecca; that the pagan practices of the Arabs at the Kaʿbah were displayed by God's final revelation through Muḥammad, his Messenger to the Arabs and to all of humankind. Indeed, the Kaʿbah determines the ritual direction, or *qiblah,* the focal point toward which canonical prayers (*ṣalāt*) and places of prayer (*masjid,* mosque) are physically oriented, the direction in which the deceased are faced in their graves, and the focus of other ritual gestures as well. The Kaʿbah is regarded as the navel of the universe, and it is the place from which the prayers of the faithful are believed to be most effective. For Muslims, Mecca has been the site of divine, angelic, prophetic, and auspicious human activity since the primordial moment of creation.

Ḥājj manuals commonly begin with the following Qurʾanic epigraph: "Truly, the first House of Worship established for humankind is the one at Bakkah [Mecca], a blessing and guidance to all realms of being. In it are clear signs, such as the Place of Ibrāhīm, and whoever enters [the Meccan precincts] is safe. The *ḥājj* to the House is a duty humankind owes to God, that is, for those who are able to journey to it" (3:96–97). The significance of the prophet Ibrāhīm to the sacred origins of the *ḥājj* sites is attested widely in Islamic literature. Ibrāhīm symbolizes the pure monotheism that the ancient communities subsequently perverted or forgot. In the Muslim view, the period of Arabian history that intervened between the prophets Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad was one of religious ignorance, Jahilīyah—a period during which monotheism was abandoned and the pilgrim stations were made to serve pagan nature deities. Yet, the pre-Islamic *ḥājj* provided important precedents of ritual sites and gestures that continued to be auspicious in Islamic times.

By the sixth century CE, the bedouin tribes of central Arabia were undergoing political and social changes, reflected especially in the growing commercial importance of settled markets and caravansaries at Mecca. Muḥammad's tribe, the Quraysh, dominated caravan trading through the use of force and lucrative arrangements with other tribes. Such trading centers were also pilgrimage sites to which Arabs journeyed annually during sacred months constituting a moratorium of tribal feuding. Although the pilgrimage remained a dangerous undertaking in the face of banditry and unpacified tribal rivalry, the special months and territories provided sanctuary for many of the shared sacred and profane activities of Arab tribal culture. The auspicious times and places of pilgrimage, along with the annual fairs and markets held at nearby locales along the pilgrims' routes, appear to have played significant roles in stabilizing the segmented polity of Arab tribalism.

The term *ḥājj* itself, like its Hebrew cognate *ḥag,* seems to reflect an ancient Semitic notion of "going around" or "standing" in the presence of a deity at a sacred mountain or shrine, or the journey to it (see *Ex.* 23:14; also *Ex.* 23:17 and 24:22, *Jgs.* 21:19, and *1 Kgs.* 8:2). The pilgrimage stations at Arafat, Muzdalifah, and Minā on the road east of Mecca appear to have been associated with solar and mountain deities prior to the rise of Islam; the "standing" at Arafat, the "hurry" to Muzdalifah, and the stoning of the pillars at Minā—the Islamic significance of which will be discussed below—were all ancient rites among the Arabs.

Islam did not destroy the pre-Islamic *ḥājj* rituals, but it infused them with new symbols and meanings. In its own conceptual terms, Islam asserted (or reasserted) monotheism over the polytheism of Jahilīyah. The Qurʾān also declared that the sacred months of pilgrimage should be calculated according to a lunar calendar that could not be adjusted every few years—as it had been in pagan times—and the Qurʾanic injunction against intercalation resulted in a lunar year of twelve months approximately every 354 days, thus distinguishing the *ḥājj* and other Muslim festivals from the fixed seasonal celebrations characteristic of pagan astral and agricultural (fertility) religions. Following the Muslim calendar, the *ḥājj* and other ceremonials rotate throughout the seasons of the year.

According to Islamic tradition, the Abrahamic origins of *ḥājj* sites and rituals had been taught by the prophet Muḥammad to the nascent Islamic community during the pilgrimage he performed just before the end of his life (632 CE). The sermon he delivered on the Mount of Mercy, at Arafat, and his removal of all pagan idols from the Kaʿbah in Mecca are recollected annually during the *ḥājj* ceremonies. The imputed Abrahamic origins of the *ḥājj* ceremonies constitute a deeper, complementary layer of symbolism that serves to underpin Muḥammad's treatment of the *ḥājj* as a monotheistic ritual. Ibrāhīm's duty to sacrifice Ismāʿīl (Ishmael; not Isaac as in the biblical tradition), Satan's three attempts to dissuade Ibrāhīm from following God's command, and the divine substitution of a ram for the blood sacrifice are celebrated at Minā during the festival of the Greater Sacrifice and the ritual stoning of the three pillars (see below). Mecca itself is believed to have been the wilderness sanctuary to which the banished Ḥājar (Hagar) and her infant son Ismāʿīl were escorted by Ibrāhīm. The Kaʿbah stands on the site of a primordial temple where Adam is said to have prayed after his expulsion from Paradise. Destroyed by the deluge, the Kaʿbah was rebuilt by Ibrāhīm and Ismāʿīl: during the deluge, the sacred Black Stone from the primordial Kaʿbah had been sealed in a niche in Mount Qubays (east of Mecca), then brought by the angel Jibrīl (Gabriel) to Ibrāhīm for the reconstruction of the present Kaʿbah, where it was set into the eastern corner. The sacred hillocks of al- Ṣafā and al-Marwah situated near the Kaʿbah symbolize the points between which Ḥājar is said to have run in desperate search of water, and the gushing forth of water next to the Kaʿbah is a Muslim symbol of God's providential relief to Ḥājar and Ismāʿīl.

The historic seventh-century shift at Mecca from a polytheistic to a monotheistic cosmology—of which the *ḥājj* is the supreme ritual expression—is significant for the comparative study of religions and civilizations. Urban geographer Paul Wheatley (*The Pivot of the Four Corners,* 1971) argues that archaeological and textual evidence on the rise of cities throughout the ancient world point to the importance of shrines and cults that stood at the center of urban complexes. Wheatley suggests that cities such as Mecca, by focusing sacredness on cult symbols of cosmic and moral order, were able to organize the previous tribal polities into larger, more efficient economic, social, and political systems. Urban-based great traditions evolved and were perpetuated by literati who canonized the technical requirements and meanings of ritual performance at the shrines. In this way, such traditions provided for the continuity of culture over time and geographic space; they ensured that the cosmic center (*omphalos, axis mundi*) continued to be enshrined and celebrated within the sacred city. The seventh-century shift from local deities and tribal morality to a monotheistic cosmic and moral order in Islam coincided with a period of Arabian hegemony over larger neighboring civilizations. With the Islamization of the Arabian *ḥājj* during this process, therefore, the pilgrimage to Mecca came to symbolize for Muslim peoples and lands across Asia, the Middle East, and North Africa the sacred origins and center of their common confessional heritage.

REQUIREMENTS AND PREPARATIONS FOR THE ḤĀJJ. Muslim authorities generally agree on the following requirements of eligibility for the *ḥājj*: (1) one must be a confessing Muslim who (2) has reached the age of puberty, (3) is of rational and sound mind, (4) is a freed man or woman, and (5) has the physical strength and health to undertake the rigors of the journey. Islamic law also provides that a pilgrim must be in possession of sufficient and honest funds not only for the expenses of the *ḥājj* but also for the care of dependents who remain at home.

From figures available on *ḥājj* participation in relation to total Muslim population, it is clear that only a small percentage of Muslims make the pilgrimage in any given year, and that many never undertake the journey at all. In addition to the above qualifications, one is not expected to risk life, limb, or possessions if war and hostility are known to exist along the pilgrim's path. Living at great distances from Mecca has tended to make fulfillment of the duty of *ḥājj* less likely for many Muslims for obvious reasons, although in modern times some Muslim countries such as Malaysia have instituted programs to assist Muslims in saving and preparing for the journey. Children, to whom the obligation of *ḥājj* does not apply, may nonetheless accompany their parents. The schools of law generally agree that women should be accompanied by their husbands or by two male relatives who are ineligible to marry them (first-cousin marriages are common in Islam). Although legal consensus and practical considerations discourage women from making the journey without appropriate male chaperons, the law does not allow males to prevent female Muslims from fulfilling the *ḥājj* if proper arrangements can be made. The Prophet is cited as having approved of Muslims' making the *ḥājj* on behalf of deceased relatives who intended, but were unable, to do so themselves. The feeble and desperately ill may send others to Mecca on their behalf.

Thus, although *ḥājj* is a duty one owes to God, the decision as to whether and when one should undertake the "journey to the House" belongs ultimately to each individual Muslim. The authorities insist that *ḥājj* is valid at any stage of adult life. The *ḥājj*, therefore, is not a rite of passage in the sense of the ritual celebrations of birth, circumcision, marriage, and death, which have their appointed times within the human life cycle, and this aspect of the *ḥājj* duty allows Muslims, including the very pious, to delay the decision to make the *ḥājj*, in many cases indefinitely. Islam recognizes that conditions may exist that will cause postponement of the journey and charges apostasy or heresy only to those who deny that *ḥājj* is a duty to God.

A pilgrim's separation from familiar social and cultural surroundings constitutes a moment of prayerful anxiety and joyful celebration for all concerned. On the eve of departure, it is traditional for family and friends to gather for prayers, Qurʾān recitation, food, and perhaps poetry and singing about the *ḥājj*. (So, too, when the *ḥājj* rites have been completed, the pilgrim's return home will be celebrated by family and friends; in some parts of the Islamic world the homes of returning pilgrims are decorated with symbols of the *ḥājj*, reflecting local popular art forms.) Many pilgrims follow the practice of setting out from home on the right foot, a symbol of good omen and fortune. Similarly, it is auspicious to enter mosques, including the Sacred Mosque in Mecca, on the right foot and depart on the left; the right/left symbolism is associated with several ritual gestures in Islam as well as in other traditions. As on so many occasions during the *ḥājj*, the actual moment of departure calls for the recitation of a particular verse from the Qurʾān, and departing pilgrims recite the words of Noah, uttered to those escaping the deluge: "Board [the Ark]; in God's name be its course and mooring. My Lord is forgiving, merciful" (11:41). Indeed, the symbolism of separation, salvation, and safe passage is found in the pilgrimage rituals of many religious traditions. Those who complete the *ḥājj* will be entitled to the epithet *ḥājj* or *ḥājji* (*ḥajjah* or *ḥajjiyah* if female). This honorific title indicates socially perceived status enhancement in the sense of recognition by one's peers that a sacred duty has been fulfilled, and this is a matter of universal value, if not universal achievement, in Islam.

Most pilgrims require assistance in arranging for travel, lodging, and proper guidance in the execution of rites and prayers within the Meccan precincts. During the Middle Ages, caravans of pilgrims assembled and traveled together from Egypt, South Arabia, Syria, and Iraq. Their common wayfaring experiences on the road have not produced an *Islamic Canterbury Tales,* although one Muslim writer has observed that material for such a literature abounds within the communities of pilgrims who journey each year to Mecca. During the Middle Ages hospices and hostels were established along the pilgrimage routes from religious endowments given by those in possession of both piety and wealth. In recent times, *ḥājj* travel organizations in Muslim countries have helped to arrange for chartered air, sea, and overland travel and for local accommodations in Mecca.

Of considerable importance throughout the centuries have been the *ḥājj* guides (known as *muṭawwifs*). The responsibilities of these guides and their agents include leading groups of pilgrims through the proper performance of rituals and prayers at each pilgrimage station as well as seeing to food and lodging needs. Employing a trustworthy guide is a major concern for pilgrims, as attested in *ḥājj* manuals and in conventional wisdom about preparing for the *ḥājj.* Since the rise of Islam in the seventh century CE, the Muslims of Arabia, especially the Meccans, have served a growing "*ḥājj* industry" of services for pilgrims from around the world. Recognizing that opportunities invariably arise to take advantage of those who are far from home and in a state of intense piety, in modern times the government of Saudi Arabia has sought to regulate the offering of religious, material, and health services to the millions of visitors who enter its national boundaries each year to fulfill the sacred duty.

Travel accounts by pilgrims reveal other dimensions of the *ḥājj*, such as opportunities for adventure, business, education, and even marriage. The intention to engage in business with other pilgrims is lawful, especially if it is meant to help defray the costs of the journey. *Ḥājj* manuals nonetheless caution wariness of unscrupulous sellers of goods and services, even those who may be found within the sacred precincts. Marriage among pilgrims is also permitted, and the *ḥājj* provides occasions for establishing friendships and personal relationships, although marriage and sexual contact are forbidden during the period of sacred observance at the Meccan precincts. In former times, when travel was considerably more difficult, many pilgrims followed an open itinerary and lingered at towns and cities along the way; those who thirsted for knowledge found opportunities to attend the lectures of famous teachers at mosque colleges. Biographical literature in Islam indicates that the *ḥājj* has been for many individuals an important moment or phase of life that has had numerous ramifications of lasting personal, if not social, significance.

IḤRĀM, THE CONDITION OF CONSECRATION. The *ḥājj* season lasts from the beginning of the tenth month of the Muslim calendar, Shawwal, until the tenth day of the twelfth month, Dhū al-Ḥijjah. Although the actual *ḥājj* rites do not begin until the eighth of Dhu al-Hijjah, the two-and-a-half-month period known as *al-miqat al-zamanīyah* is reserved for travel and ritual preparations for the *ḥājj* ceremonies. The rites of preparation and consecration are comprehended by the term *iḥrām.* Pilgrims assume the condition of *iḥrām* before they pass the territorial markers, *al-mīqāt al-makānīyah,* that are situated several miles outside of Mecca along the ancient routes for caravans from Syria, Medina, Iraq, and the Yemen. Within the territory bounded by these markers lie the sacred precincts of Mecca. For the vast majority of Muslims who in modern times disembark from air and sea travel at the west Arabian port of Jidda, the rites of *iḥrām* are begun on board before arrival, or at Jidda itself. Muslims may enter Mecca and its vicinity at any time without assuming the condition of *iḥrām*, but if their intention is to perform the rites of *ḥājj* or *ʿumrah* (see below), *iḥrām* is required.

Assuming the condition of *iḥrām* before passing the territorial markers has several aspects.

1. *Iḥrām* requires a state of ritual purity, and pilgrims who enter it must perform ablutions much the same as they do for the daily canonical prayers, *ṣalāt.* The special condition of *iḥrām* also requires pilgrims to trim their fingernails and remove underarm and pubic hair, and men must shave off beards and mustaches. The further cutting of nails and hair is part of the rite of deconsecration*, taḥallul,* and is not permitted until the *ḥājj* and/or *ʿumrah* rites have been completed. A pilgrim in the state of *iḥrām* is also forbidden to use perfumes or carry symbols of personal wealth, such as silk and gold jewelry.

2. *Iḥrām* is initiated and sustained by prayers of several kinds. (a) The *nīyah* is the prayer by which each pilgrim declares his or her intention in the rites that follow. At any time of the year except during the three days of the *ḥājj* itself, Muslim visitors may enter the Meccan precincts with the intention of performing rites at the Sacred Mosque of Mecca, which enshrines the Kaʿbah. This is known as the *ʿumrah,* or "lesser pilgrimage." Pilgrims making the *ḥājj*, or "greater pilgrimage," will declare a *nīyah* also to visit Arafat, Muzdalifah, and Minā on the eighth through the tenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah. Their prayers must stipulate whether or not they intend to interrupt the state of *iḥrām* during the interval that may lapse between the performances of *ʿumrah* and *ḥājj.* (b) A second form of prayer is the *ṣalāt,* which includes the formal prostrations in the direction (*qiblah*) of the Kaʿbah in Mecca. When pilgrims assume *iḥrām,* they perform a *ṣalāt* of two prostrations before entering the sacred territories. During the *ḥājj,* including the days of travel to and from Mecca, the five daily performances of *ṣalāt* assume the following pattern: once at dawn, the noon and afternoon prayers together at midday, and the sunset and evening prayers at dusk. (c) A third form of prayer is called *duʿāʾ,* "supplication." *Duʿāʾ* is a less formalized, more individualized expression of communication with God. A supplication is normally offered after the *ṣalāt,* especially the *ṣalāt* of *iḥrām,* and thereafter frequently at each of the pilgrimage sites. The texts of supplications recommended in the *ḥājj* manuals reveal something of the meanings these shrines and performances hold for Muslims. (d) The fourth type of prayer, the *talbiyah,* belongs to *iḥrām* alone. The *talbiyah* is uttered in a loud voice as pilgrims pass the markers of the sacred territory and frequently during the days of consecration. The brief lines of *talbiyah* begin with a phrase that means roughly "Here I am, O Lord! What is Thy command?"

3. In addition to the ablutions and prayers, *iḥrām* requires each pilgrim to exchange normal clothing for special garments. The *iḥrām* garb is simple, a visual symbol of the ideal of universal Islamic brotherhood that the *ḥājj* and *ʿumrah* rites celebrate. For males the *iḥrām* attire consists of two seamless white pieces of cloth, one attached around the waist and reaching to the knees, the other worn over the left shoulder and attached around the torso, leaving the right shoulder and arm free for ritual gesturing. Males may not wear any head covering, and their footwear is restricted to sandals that leave the backs of the heels exposed. Females wear plain dresses that extend from neckline to ankles and cover the arms. A head covering is required of females, but veiling the face is not permitted during the period of consecration. *Ḥājj* manuals are less than sanguine about the comfort of the *iḥrām* attire, especially in summer and winter seasons.

Iḥrām, then, is a state of consecration that each pilgrim must assume before he or she may enter the sacred precincts. The state of consecration exemplifies the concept of egalitarian brotherhood, or *communitas,* that many religious traditions establish ritually during pilgrimages and other rites. The *ḥaram,* or "sacred precincts," is a place in which those who enter expect to feel nearness to God, and *iḥrām* is a special moment and condition of brotherhood for all pilgrims. Within the spatial and temporal boundaries of *iḥrām,* it is forbidden to uproot plants, kill animals, or foment any social violence. Husbands and wives are enjoined to refrain from sexual intercourse, and women are counseled to conduct themselves modestly so as not to attract male attention. Familiar sociocultural identities and structures are reduced drastically, for pilgrims are now approaching the navel of creation, the primordial house where Adam and Ibrāhīm worshiped, a hallowed ground where Muḥammad recited God's final revelation to humankind.

ʿ*UMRAH,* THE LESSER PILGRIMAGE. All accounts of the experience of the final approach to Mecca indicate that it is a moment of high emotions attending the realization of a lifelong ambition. The practical matter of securing lodging and the care of a pilgrim guide is usually the first order of business; the most valued and anticipated task, however, is a visit to the Kaʿbah for the rites of *ʿumrah.*

From ancient times, the Kaʿbah and its environs have been symbols of refuge from violence and pursuit, a sacred space in which wayfaring pilgrims could find sanctuary with the divine. The Kaʿbah is now enclosed within the roofless courtyard of the Sacred Mosque of Mecca, al-Masjid al-Ḥāram. Arriving pilgrims approach the mosque through streets teeming with the traffic of other pilgrims, vendors, and merchants, whose shops and stalls compact the urban space that surrounds the ancient shrine.

Twenty-four gates lead into the mosque courtyard. The four corners of the outer walls of the Sacred Mosque as well as the four corners of the Kaʿbah in the center of its grounds are oriented approximately in the cardinal directions. The Kaʿbah is surrounded by a circle of stone flooring called the *maṭāf,* the place of circumambulations. Set within the eastern corner of the Kaʿbah is the sacred Black Stone, encased by a silver rim; another auspicious stone is encased in the southern corner. The four walls of the Kaʿbah are covered with a gigantic black curtain, called the *kiswah,* which is decorated in bands of Arabic calligraphy embroidered in gold. The Gate of Peace near the northern corner of the Sacred Mosque is the traditional entrance for the performance of *ʿumrah.* Again, emotions rise at the first glimpse of the haunting specter of the Kaʿbah.

Once they have entered the Gate of Peace, pilgrims move to a position east of the Kaʿbah and face the corner with the Black Stone. The rite of *ṭawāf,* or circumambulation, begins from this point with a supplication followed by a kiss, touch, or gesture of touching the black stone. The pilgrim turns to the right and begins the seven circumambulations, moving counterclockwise around the Kaʿbah. Each circuit has a special significance with recommended prayers that the pilgrim may recite either from *ḥājj* manuals or by following the words of the *ḥājj* guide leading the group. When passing the stone in the southern corner and the sacred Black Stone in the eastern corner, it is traditional to touch or make a gesture of touching each stone with uplifted right arm and a verbal supplication. Male pilgrims are admonished to take the first three laps at a quickened pace and the remaining four more slowly.

Following the *ṭawāf,* pilgrims visit shrines adjacent to the Kaʿbah. An area along the northeastern wall of the Kaʿbah between its sole door and the Black Stone is the *multazim* or "place of pressing." With uplifted arms, resting if possible on the *multazim* wall, pilgrims offer a supplication. Another place of visitation is the Maqām Ibrāhīm, which symbolizes the place from which Abraham is said to have prayed toward the Kaʿbah. From within or near the covered shrine of Ibrāhīm, pilgrims perform a prayer of two prostrations. Near Maqām Ibrāhīm to the east of the Kaʿbah is the well of Zamzam. A drink of its water, said to have a brackish taste, is sought by every pilgrim. On the northwestern side of the Kaʿbah, a low semicircular wall encloses a space. The enclosure is known as al-Ḥijr, and it is thought to be the site of the graves of Ḥājar and Ismāʿīl. Al-Ḥijr is also said to be the spot beside the Kaʿbah where Muḥammad slept on the night of his miraculous journey from Mecca to Jerusalem.

After the circumambulations and visitations, pilgrims leave the Sacred Mosque (leading with the left foot) through the Gate of Purity on the southeast side. A few yards outside the Gate of Purity is the small hillock of al-Ṣafā. From al-Ṣafā begins the *saʿy,* the rite of trotting seven laps to and from the hillock of al-Marwah, which is located some four hundred and fifty yards to the northeast of the Sacred Mosque. The *saʿy* commemorates Ḥājar's desperate search for water in the Meccan wilderness and ends the rites of *ʿumrah.* Year-round visitors to Mecca who intend to perform *ʿumrah* only, or pilgrims who arrive early for the *ḥajj*, deconsecrate themselves at this time by a ritual of haircutting and by doffing the *iḥrām* garb (see below).

Ḥājj, the Greater Pilgrimage. The *ḥājj* proper begins on the eighth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, the day of setting out for Arafat, which is located some thirteen miles east of Mecca. Many pilgrims spend the first night at Minā, as the prophet Muḥammad himself is said to have done, while others push on to Arafat. The goal of all pilgrims is to reach Jabal al-Raḥmah, the Mount of Mercy, located on the eastern plain of Arafat, by noon on the ninth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah.

Arafat. Muslim authorities agree that "there is no *ḥājj* without Arafat," that is, the rite of *wūquf* or "standing" at the Mount of Mercy. According to legend, Adam and Eve first met and "knew" *(ʿarafū*) one another at Arafat after the long separation that followed their expulsion from Paradise. Tradition also teaches that Ibrāhīm went out to Arafat and performed *wūquf.* The prophet Muḥammad addressed a multitude of followers performing *wuquf* during his farewell pilgrimage, and the following words are attributed to him on that occasion: "O people, hear what I have to say, for I know not whether I shall again be with you here after this day. . . . Truly, all Muslims are brothers . . . and your Lord is one." Tradition also accords to this occasion the revelation of the final verse of the Qurʾān recited by Muḥammad: "This day I have perfected your religion for you and have chosen for you Islam as your religion" (5:3). On the Day of Standing at Arafat, pilgrims perform an ablution and canonical prayer at a mosque located near the western entrance to the plain. When the sun passes the noon meridian, the Mount of Mercy is covered with pilgrims. The themes of brotherhood and repentance dominate the afternoon sermons and supplications.

Muzdalifah. At sundown the somber scene of prayer changes abruptly as pilgrims scramble to break camp and begin the "hurrying" to Muzdalifah. This rite is called the *ifaḍāh* ("pouring forth") or *nafrah* ("stampede") and is described in pilgrim diaries as a moment of urgent confusion. Like the preceding period of respectful standing, however, the hurry to Muzdalifah is a rite of ancient significance; it is not simply undisciplined mass behavior. At Muzdalifah, a few miles on the road back toward Mecca, pilgrims halt for a combined observance of the sunset and evening *ṣalāt* prayers. The *sunnah* of the Prophet established the tradition of staying overnight at Muzdalifah, although it is permissible after the halt in Muzdalifah to push on closer to Minā. The Qurʾān admonishes: "When you hurry from Arafat, remember God at the Sacred Grove (*al-mashʿar al-ḥaram*)," that is, at Muzdalifah (2:198). Today a mosque marks the place in Muzdalifah where pilgrims gather to perform the special *ṣalāt.* Also during the halt at Muzdalifah, pilgrims gather small stones for the ritual lapidations at Mina the next day.

Minā. The tenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah is the final official day of the *ḥājj* season. Most of the ritual activities of this day take place in Minā and include (1) the casting of seven small stones at the pillar of Aqaba, (2) the feast of the major sacrifice (ʿId al-Aḍḥā), (3) the rite of deconsecration from the condition of *iḥrām*, and (4) the visit to Mecca for the *ṭawāf,* called *al-ifāḍah.*

The story of Ibrāhīm's duty to sacrifice Ismāʿīl provides the symbolic significance of the rites of lapidation and blood sacrifice. It is said that on his return from Arafat, Ibrāhīm was given the divine command to sacrifice that which was most dear to him, his son Ismāʿīl. Along the way to Mina, Satan whispered to him three times (or to Ibrāhīm, Ismāʿīl, and Ḥajār), tempting him (or them) not to obey the heavy command. The legendary response was a hurling of stones to repulse the Tempter. Three brick and mortar pillars stand in the center of Minā as symbols of Satan's temptations, and the pillar called Aqaba is the site where pilgrims gather early on the morning of the tenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah to cast seven stones. Following the lapidations, those pilgrims who can afford it offer a blood sacrifice of a lamb or goat (sometimes a camel) to commemorate the divine substitution of a ram for Ibrāhīm's sacrifice. *Ḥājj* manuals recommend supplications that express the pilgrim's willingness to sacrifice for the sake of God that which is dear. The meat is consumed by family and friends, with unused portions given to the poor. The festival of the major sacrifice is also celebrated on this day by Muslims around the world in gatherings of family and friends.

Ṭawāf al-ifāḍah and taḥallul. After the sacrifice and feast, the process of *taḥallul,* or deconsecration, is begun with the rite of clipping the hair. Many men follow the tradition of having the head shaved, although for women, and for men if they prefer, the cutting of three hairs meets the ritual requirement. This is followed by a visit to Mecca for another rite of circumambulation known as *ṭawāf al-ifāḍah.* Pilgrims who have not yet performed the complete rites of *ʿumrah* may do so at this time.

The Kaʿbah itself undergoes purification and ritual renewal during the three days of *ḥājj.* Shortly before the *ḥājj* begins, the black *kiswah*—weathered and worn by a year of exposure to the open air—is replaced by a white one, suggestive of the *iḥrām* garb worn by pilgrims. After pilgrims go out to Arafat, Meccan authorities open the door of the Kaʿbah for the purpose of washing its interior, an act symbolic of the Prophet's cleansing of idols from the sacred house. Pilgrims returning for *ṭawāf al-ifāḍah* on the tenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah are greeted by the sight of a lustrous new black *kiswah.* In the early Islamic period, the new *kiswah* and other presents for the shrines of Mecca and Medina were sent annually by the caliphs; these offerings were borne by camel caravan in an ornate box called a *maḥmal.* From the thirteenth century until 1927, the Egyptian *maḥmal.* brought the new *kiswah* each year. Since 1927 the *kiswah* has been made at a factory in Mecca.

When the *ṭawāf al-ifāḍah* has been completed, the dissolution of the condition of consecration is made final by doffing the pilgrim garb and wearing normal clothing. All the prohibitions of *iḥrām* are now lifted, and most pilgrims return to Minā for days of social gathering on the eleventh to the thirteenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah. On each of these days it is *sunnah* to cast seven stones at each of the three pillars in Minā. This vast amalgam of pilgrims, dwelling in a river of tents pitched along the narrow valley of Minā, eases into a more relaxed atmosphere of friendly exchanges of religious greetings and visiting with Muslims from around the world. By sundown on the thirteenth, the plain of Minā must be vacated. Though many will choose to spend additional time in Mecca, all pilgrims make a last visit to the Kaʿbah for the final circumambulation, *ṭawāf al-qūdum,* which is permissible without the condition and attire of *iḥrām.* The *ḥajj* is thus complete, and each pilgrim leaves the sacred precincts with the honorific title of *ḥajjī.*

THE ZIYĀRAH, OR VISITATION TO HOLY PLACES. The Sacred Mosque in Mecca, the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, and the mosque of al-Aqṣā in Jerusalem are the three most sacred shrines in Islamic belief, and the three cities are especially holy to Muslims. Thus an additional pilgrimage to the Prophet's mosque and tomb in Medina is made by many Muslim visitors to Arabia each year, usually preceding or following the *ḥājj.* Although such visitations do not have the weight of religious duty in Islamic law and are not a formal part of the *ḥājj, ziyārah,* or visitation to holy places, is nonetheless an essential aspect of traditional Muslim piety. There are many monuments in both Mecca and Medina that mark the homes, graves, and events associated with the Prophet, his family, and his closest companions. Guides for *ziyārah* conduct pilgrims to these sites, where prayers and meditation are offered.

The most auspicious visitation is the one to the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina. Under the guidance of a shaykh, visitors enter the mosque through a passage called the Gate of Peace, uttering a supplication. Inside the mosque as it stands today is a brass railing that marks out the smaller boundaries of the original home and mosque of the Prophet, and within this brass railing pilgrims perform a *ṣalāt* of two prostrations followed by supplications. Nearby is the green-domed mausoleum of the Prophet, where pilgrims offer supplications and praises for the Prophet. The Prophet's mausoleum also enshrines the graves of the first two caliphs of Islam, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, for whom prayers may also be said.

THE ḤĀJJ INTERPRETED. The meaning of the pilgrimage to Mecca, in general and in its many particulars, has been the subject of numerous books by Muslims throughout the centuries and by non-Muslim scholars in modern times. Although *ḥājj* is a duty that is carefully delimited by Islamic law, the great diversity of Muslims with differing degrees and kinds of piety are accommodated remarkably well within the structures of traditional interpretations. For example, the various schools of law differ in the degree of stringency each suggests for the length of time one must perform the rite of standing at Arafat. The more pious pilgrims seek to emulate what the Prophet recommended and practiced at each station within the sacred precincts, while others may choose to follow the minimal requirements of the more lenient interpretations of the schools of law. For virtually every rite, such as the blood sacrifice at Minā, physical or economic inability to meet the literal requirement can be compensated by the substitution of prayer and fasting.

The continual process of interpreting *ḥājj* meanings and requirements within the framework of Islamic symbols can be witnessed in the writings of contemporary Muslims. One problem under increasing discussion is the size of the pilgrim gathering in relation to available physical space for performance of the rites. The press of more than two million pilgrims to cast stones at the pillars of Minā, for example, has prompted Saudi *ḥājj* authorities to devise ways of organizing and regulating the social space within which the rite is performed. The mass slaughtering of hundreds of thousands of animals at Minā within a limited space and time creates a considerable health problem, particularly when the *ḥājj* occurs during the hot summer months. Some authorities have speculated on alternative ways for pilgrims to accomplish the root meaning of the sacrifice, namely, giving up that which is dear. Others, on the basis of statements drawn from the *sunnah* and the schools of law, have proposed that greater latitude should be given to the time permitted for the completion of such rites as the lapidations and the blood sacrifice.

The problem of interpretation and meaning must also be seen in relation to the political and technological changes that have affected the Islamic world. For example, the rise of nationalism has added a new dimension to the quest for ritual unity with the sacred precincts. Mass transportation has made travel to Mecca available to vastly larger numbers of pilgrims. The traditional experiences of adventure and hospitality along the *ḥājj* routes are being exchanged for the benefits of faster and safer passage by a growing majority of contemporary pilgrims. The ability to have media coverage of the *ḥājj* at home affords the Muslim community at large an audio and visual experience of the pilgrimage rites. Thus the *ḥājj* is becoming an ever more visible event to the world of Islam in modern times.

SEE ALSO Kaʿbah.

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Numerous accounts of the *ḥajj* by travelers and adventurers provide useful historical information about the pilgrimage at specific times in the past. The best known of this genre is Richard F. Burton's *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Meccah,* 2 vols. (London, 1893). Eldon Rutter's *The Holy Cities of Arabia,* 2 vols. (London and New York, 1928), is a work written about the 1925 *ḥājj*—the period of Ibn Saud's incursion into western Arabia—and contains considerable geographical information and descriptions of the major *ḥajj* sites as well as the numerous points of visitation in and near Mecca. The role of Mecca and the Meccans in relation to the *ḥajj* was studied in Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje's *Mekka in the Latter Part of the Nineteenth Century* (Leiden, 1931).

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PILGRIMAGE: CONTEMPORARY JEWISH PILGRIMAGE

Jewish pilgrimages in Israel may be classified into three main types: (1) those that originated during the biblical period or that have as their goals historical sites from the biblical period located in Jerusalem and its surroundings; (2) pilgrimages to the tombs of Talmudic and qabbalistic sages, mainly located in the Galilee; and (3) emerging new centers of pilgrimage in various parts of the country dedicated to Diaspora sages and saints.

The tradition of pilgrimage, *ʿaliyyah le-regel* (literally, going up on foot), has been institutionalized in Jewish culture since the beginning of nationhood, with the religious prescription that committed all males to "go up" annually to the Temple in Jerusalem on three festivals (Passover; Shavuʿot or Pentecost; and Sukkot, the Feast of Tabernacles; see *Ex.* 23:17, 34:23; *Dt.* 16:16). The essence of the pilgrimage was the entry of the pilgrims into the Temple to worship, particularly through the offering of sacrifices. After the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE, pilgrimage to the holy site in Jerusalem continued until modern times, though it lost its convivial characteristics. The Western Wall (often referred to as the Wailing Wall), which survived the destruction of the Temple, became the symbol of Jewish historical continuity, recalling the tragedy of destruction and dispersion as well as the hope of the exiles to return to Erets Yisraʾel (the Land of Israel).

Other sites related to the biblical period have gradually become centers of pilgrimage. The most venerated are the Cave of Machpelah in Hebron (the reputed burial ground of the patriarchs); the reputed tomb of Rachel, Jacob's wife (and symbol of Jewish motherhood), in Bethlehem; and the reputed tomb of King David in Jerusalem. For most of the past nineteen hundred years, however, it was usually difficult, if not impossible, for Jews to visit most of the biblical sites because of obstructions set up by the local authorities. The Western Wall was for many centuries under Muslim *Waqf* administration, and Jews were not allowed to enter the Cave of Machpelah. Free entrance and worship at these sites became possible for Jews only after the Israeli army gained control of them during the 1967 war.

In later years, however, the free presence of Jews in the site of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem that hosts two monumental Muslim shrines (the mosques of Al-Aqsa and Dome of the Rock) as well as the competition for control over the Hebron Cave of the Patriarchs gradually raised tensions that culminated in extreme violence between Israelis and Palestinians. These two centers of pilgrimage became major symbols of contesting national aspirations, as well as obstacles to reconciliation and a territorial accommodation between two independent states. But less-central sites also gained popularity after 1967 and gradually caused violent conflicts, in particular the reputed tomb of Joseph in the Palestinian town of Nablus (the biblical location of Shechem).

A second center for pilgrimages developed in the Galilee, at Safad and Tiberias, where many Talmudic sages (first to fifth centuries) and qabbalist sages (particularly during the sixteenth century) lived and were reputedly buried. The first evidence of pilgrimage to these sites dates from the thirteenth century. The most famous site is the reputed tomb of Rabbi Shimʿon bar Yoḥʾai, since the sixteenth century the most venerated postbiblical figure in Jewish folk tradition. Bar Yoḥʾai, who lived during the second century, was a scholar and patriot who opposed the Roman occupation and who has been accredited by popular tradition with the authorship of the *Zohar,* the classic text of Jewish mysticism. According to tradition, Bar Yoḥ'ai was buried with his son El'azar in Meron, a village on a hill near Safad. For at least four centuries a ceremony and a popular festival have been held at Meron on the holiday of Lag ba-ʿOmer, the eighteenth day of the Jewish month of Iyyar. Pilgrims to Meron usually also celebrate at the tomb of Rabbi Me'ir Baʿal ha-Nes in Tiberias. The latter is believed by many to have been a distinguished scholar and saint, also from the second century.

Regular pilgrimages to the tombs of the sages and saints have been particularly popular in North Africa, where Muslim and Jewish beliefs have often been shared and exchanged. Among Moroccan Jewry (formerly the largest Jewish community in the Muslim world), many individuals were devoted to a particular family saint. Some of these saints' tombs acquired wide reputations throughout Morocco and became centers for large annual festivals *(hillulot;* singular, *hillula).* A number of these shrines have been symbolically transferred to the state of Israel, to which the majority of Moroccan Jews immigrated. Synagogues or memorial rooms were dedicated on spots indicated by the saints themselves, as revealed to certain individuals in dreams. Also a few venerated North African rabbis who died in Israel have gained the popularity of saints and attract large crowds of pilgrims (in particular the *hillula* at the tomb of Baba Sali in the Negev town of Netivot). The new shrines, often located in poor immigrant towns, have become new centers for convivial pilgrimages.

Contemporary pilgrims often visit, at the appropriate annual dates, the biblical, the Talmudic-qabbalistic, and the new centers of pilgrimage. But they demonstrate at the various sites different patterns of devotional activity. Visits to biblical sites are shorter than visits to other sites (a few hours at most), more specifically oriented, more formally ritualized, and less convivial.

The pilgrimage and the festivities carried out on Lag ba-ʿOmer in Meron are the most elaborate. More than 100,000 pilgrims assemble on that day, and many stay for several days. Boys are brought to the Meron pilgrimage for their first haircuts, and the hair is burned in the fire kindled on the roof of the tomb to commemorate the saint's spirit. Into the same fire people also throw small personal belongings, such as scarves and handkerchiefs. Money and candles are thrown onto the tomb itself; the money is later used for charity. Sheep and goats are slaughtered on the spot to provide food for the congregating people, including the poor, who are invited to take a share. A variety of ethnic groups, including Jews of Ashkenazic (eastern and central European), Middle Eastern, and North African extraction, meet convivially at the site, which is reputed to have miraculous powers. Structural liminality and feelings of Israeli *communitas* reach their peaks here.

In contrast, the North African immigrants who participate in *hillulot* at the new shrines, though aspiring toward similar religious and moral goals, display more noticeable feelings of ethnic solidarity. Through the commemoration of North African Jewish cultural heroes, they seem to express symbolically their shared experience of emigration and their position in Israeli society.

Contemporary Israelis also go on pilgrimage to Jewish sites outside of their country. They visit the graves of famous rabbis and saints left behind in eastern Europe (Naḥman of Bratslav [1772–1810] in the Ukraine in particular), in Morocco, and, since the late 1990s, to the grave in New York of the last venerated leader of the Habad Hasidic movement, Menaḥem Mendel Schneersohn (1902–1994).

All pilgrimages to holy sites, tombs, and shrines, during the major annual festivals or on other occasions, are deemed to carry good luck and remedy for particular misfortunes. The pilgrims pray, make offerings, and sometimes write requests on notes that they leave at the site. With the exception of the Western Wall in Jerusalem, where prayers are addressed to God, pilgrims tend to call on the ancestors and saints associated with the holy site to intercede for divine help. The belief in this practice has been expressed by a Moroccan immigrant, who stated: "We travel to the saint who will ask God for mercy. When you can't get to the mayor, you approach the deputy and ask for his help."

SEE ALSO Culture Heroes; Folk Religion, article on Folk Judaism.

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PILGRIMAGE: BUDDHIST PILGRIMAGE IN SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

Victor and Edith Turner, in their book *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York, 1978), have written that "if mysticism is an interior pilgrimage, pilgrimage is exteriorized mysticism." In the Buddhist tradition, one undertakes a pilgrimage in order to find the Buddha in the external world; one undertakes meditation to discover the Buddha nature within oneself. The internal pilgrimage brings one closer to the goal of *nirvāṇa* (Pali, *nibbāna*) than does the external pilgrimage, but the turning toward the Buddha who is iconically represented in the marks of his presence on earth or in relics constitutes an important preliminary step along the path to enlightenment. That the Buddha actually existed in the world, and continues to exist through traces (Skt., *caitya;* Pali, *cetiya*), must be acknowledged before one begins to follow his teachings (Skt., *dharma;* Pali, *dhamma*).

The question of the persistence of the Buddha in the world arose as he approached his physical death and his *parinirvāṇa* (*parinibbāna*), or "final cessation." During his lifetime, the Buddha had attracted many followers, among whom were those who came to constitute the *saṃgha,* the order of mendicants devoted to his teachings. While the *saṃgha* could be entrusted with the responsibility of perpetuating the Dharma through practice and teaching after the Buddha's death, there remained still the problem of how people were to be attracted in the first place to the Buddhist message. This problem was resolved when the Buddha charged his disciple Ananda to arrange for his cremated remains to be enshrined in stupas. In the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* it is recorded how, after the death of the Buddha, his body was cremated, and his remains were divided into eight parts, each enshrined in a separate stupa. Two more stupas were also erected; one, built by the *brahman* who had divided the relics, enshrined the Master's alms bowl, and another, erected by those who had arrived too late to receive a portion of the remains, enshrined the ashes of the funerary pyre.

According to ancient legend, after the great Mauryan king Aśoka (c. 270–232 BCE) converted to Buddhism he had all but one (which was protected by *nāga*s) of the original reliquary shrines opened and the relics divided into eighty-four thousand parts, each destined for a new stupa. Although this number must be interpreted symbolically, there is historical evidence that Aśoka did, in fact, erect a number of new stupas. Moreover, the tradition that relics of the Buddha had been, as it were, placed into circulation by Aśoka served to legitimate claims that true relics of the Buddha were to be found wherever Buddhism became established.

In addition to bodily relics (Pali, *sarīradhātu*), Buddhist tradition also recognizes two other forms of relics that are taken as indicative of the Buddha's presence in the world. In Pali these are termed *paribhogikadhātu* and *uddesikadhātu,* the former referring to objects that the Buddha used (as, for example, his alms bowl) or marks (such as a footprint or shadow) that he left on earth, and the latter referring to votive reminders, such as images and stupas known not to contain actual relics.

From the edicts of Aśoka is obtained the first historical evidence of Buddhist pilgrimage, even though it is probable that the practice began before Aśokan times. In Rock Edict 8, he says that, while previously he used to go out on *vihārayātrā*s ("excursions for enjoyment"), ten years after his coronation he undertook a *dharmayātrā* ("journey for truth") to the place where the Buddha attained enlightenment, that is, to Bodh Gayā. This pilgrimage appears to constitute the beginning of Aśoka's search for the true Dharma and for the significance of the Dharma in his own life as emperor.

From the time of Aśoka to the present, Bodh Gayā has remained the most important Buddhist pilgrimage site in India. It is often grouped with three other sites—Lumbini in Nepal, where Siddhārtha Gautama, the future Buddha, was born; the Deer Park at Sārnāth near Banaras, where he "turned the Wheel of the Law," that is, preached his first sermon; and Kuśinagara in Uttar Pradesh, where he passed into the state of *nirvāṇa.* None of these other sites, nor any other in India where he was reputed to have performed miracles during his life, however, holds the significance for Buddhists that Bodh Gayā does. Bodh Gayā represents the birth of Buddhism, the place where the Tathāgata realized the fundamental truth that lies at the base of Dharma.

The quest for the Dharma appears to have been the primary motivation for perhaps the most famous of Buddhist pilgrims, the Chinese monks who journeyed from their homeland to India in the fifth century and again in the seventh century CE. Faxian, the earliest of these pilgrims to have left a detailed record, departed from his home in Chang'an in 399 and traveled by land through Central Asia and then across northern India. From northern India he then traveled by ship to Sri Lanka and to Java and finally returned to China in 412. While Faxian's pilgrimage, like those of subsequent Chinese monks, was undertaken for the purpose of acquiring the Dharma, it reveals also another model of Buddhist pilgrimage, one much more popular with lay persons, namely a pilgrimage centered on the cult of the relics.

From his first encounter with Buddhist communities in Central Asia, Faxian found not only monks but also stupas and images of the Buddha that were the foci of popular cults. He himself visited a number of places associated with incidents in the life of the Buddha, and his account serves as a brief version of the life of the Buddha. Of particular interest, given the later development of Buddhist pilgrimage in lands outside India, Faxian observed "footprints" of the Buddha in areas as far removed from the region where the Buddha actually lived as the Punjab and Sri Lanka.

Shrines marking traces left by the Buddha in his supernatural visits to lands that were to become Buddhist as well as shrines enclosing relics that had been transported—naturally or supernaturally—from India to such lands often became pilgrimage centers in their own right. Indeed, for the long period between the decline of Buddhism in India in the latter part of the first millennium CE and the late nineteenth century, when cheap travel and Buddhist revival together stimulated renewed interest in the sacred Buddhist sites in India, Buddhist pilgrimage was confined mainly to Buddhist lands outside India. The emerging importance of certain sites—the so-called sixteen great places in Sri Lanka and the twelve shrines associated with the twelve-year cycle in northern Thailand—was associated primarily with the linking of political and moral communities in the world to a sacred Buddhist cosmos.

Buddhist pilgrims have long traveled to such important shrines as those housing the Buddha's footprints on Siripada (Adam's Peak) in Sri Lanka and at Saraburi in Thailand and those housing famous Buddhist relics, such as the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy, Sri Lanka; the Shwe Dagon in Rangoon, Myanmar; the That Luang temple in Vientiane, Laos; and Doi Suthep near Chiang Mai, Thailand. Pilgrims visited these and other holy sites in order to acquire merit or to gain access to the presumed magical power associated with them. While some have made pilgrimages to shrines associated with traces of the Buddha as an end in itself, most have continued, as did Aśoka and Faxian, to see pilgrimage as a means for orienting themselves toward the Buddha as a preliminary step along the path to enlightenment. The pilgrimage that begins by turning toward the Buddha in this world finds its culmination in an inner pilgrimage that leads to a true understanding of the Dharma.

SEE ALSO Aśoka; Faxian; Stupa Worship; Xuanzang; Yijing.

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PILGRIMAGE: BUDDHIST PILGRIMAGE IN EAST ASIA

Pilgrimage, especially to sacred mountain sites, has long been a popular religious practice in both China and Japan. Since the entry of Buddhism into China in the first centuries of the common era, and since its entry into Japan through China several centuries later, pilgrimage in East Asia has become associated with Buddhist religious beliefs.

PILGRIMAGES IN CHINA. In mainland China there have been various pilgrimage sites, related to both Buddhism and Daoism. As for the former, there existed the following four major sites: Mount Wutai, sacred to Mañjuśrī (Skt.; known in Chinese as Wenshu); Mount Emei, sacred to Samantabhadra (Chin., Puxian); Mount Putuo, sacred to Avalokiteśvara (Guanyin); and Mount Jiu Hua, sacred to Kṣitigarbha (Dizang). In the case of Daoist pilgrimages, one of the most famous sites is Mount Dai. This article shall deal with Mount Wutai and Mount Dai.

Mount Wutai. Located in northeastern China, Mount Wutai consists of five peaks. This sacred mountain has attracted a great number of pilgrims over the centuries, not only from every part of China but also from Manchuria, Mongolia, Central Asia, India, and Japan. It has, therefore, been referred to as the most eminent pilgrimage site in Asia. Although it was famous as the sacred site of Mañjuśrī, it is said to have been originally a sacred place related to the spiritual tradition of Daoism. It was not until the Northern Wei dynasty (386–535) that Buddhist influence became widespread in China, predominating over the indigenous Daoist tradition, and from this time Mount Wutai became a site holy to Mañjuśrī. In the Tang dynasty (618–907), it was so popular as a pilgrimage site that many pilgrims even came to visit the mountain from foreign countries, including Tibet and India. During the same period, many books were published, collecting stories of the miracles and wonders performed by Mañjuśrī. Drawings sketching Mount Wutai were also widely distributed. These drawings were usually put up on the walls of either Buddhist temples or individual houses all over China.

It is said to have been during the Yuan dynasty (1271–1366), when China was invaded and ruled by the Mongols, that Tibetan Buddhism, which the Mongols preferred to Chinese Buddhism, started to spread its influence at Mount Wutai. Soon Chinese Buddhism and Tibetan Buddhism came to coexist on this sacred mountain. In other words, the mountain became an important pilgrimage site for two different religious traditions simultaneously. During the Qing dynasty (1644–1912), Tibetan Buddhism gradually came to predominate at Mount Wutai, partly because the Manzhu Qing rulers, who were not ethnically Chinese, began to take a conciliatory policy toward other non-Chinese groups such as the Mongols, who believed in Tibetan Buddhism. As a result, Mount Wutai became the most holy religious site of the Mongols. According to the reports of Japanese scholars who visited Mount Wutai in the 1930s, many fervent Mongolian pilgrims were to be witnessed there. In the case of Chinese Buddhist pilgrimage sites, it is quite common for other religious traditions, including indigenous ones like Daoism, to have been closely related to the history of the sites.

Mount Dai. Long famous as a Daoist pilgrimage site, Daishan has been continually associated with Buddhism in various ways. In Chinese history, this sacred moutain has been well known as one of the so-called Five Peaks, designated as indispensable for the protection of the whole country. The history of Mount Dai can be separated into three phases.

In ancient times, Chinese emperors were supposed to visit Daishan when they ascended the throne and were supposed to perform a special ritual for declaring their ascension, worshiping all the divinities in the sky and on the earth as well. At the same time, the emperors were said to pray for their own individual wishes, such as longevity.

It was probably toward the end of the Latter Han dynasty (25–220 CE) that Daishan came to be regarded as having some connection with the world of the dead, although this was diametrically opposed to the previous belief in longevity. As time went on, therefore, Mount Dai was thought to be related to Hell. It was believed, then, that the dead received judgment at Mount Daishan as to whether they should go to Hell or not. This idea of Hell was introduced by Buddhism.

From the Song dynasty (960–1279) up until the modern period, another new belief was associated with Mount Dai: that of a goddess. This goddess was worshiped as one who presided over the birth and rearing of children. This special characteristic of the goddess attracted a great number of pilgrims because of its familiarity and closeness with the common people. Accordingly, miniature statues of this particular goddess were enshrined all over China in modern times.

Pilgrimage in modern China. Pilgrimages in China seemed to have disappeared after Communist China was established in 1949. Moreover, many temples and shrines belonging to various pilgrimage sites all over China were seriously damaged during the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s and 1970s. However, in recent years, pilgrimage sites have been rapidly restored and have reopened their doors to pilgrims both from China and from overseas. The majority of the foreign pilgrims are Chinese merchants living abroad. As a result of a rapid growth in the living standards of the Chinese people, there seems to be a tendency for famous pilgrimage sites to become targets of tourism.

PILGRIMAGES IN JAPAN. In Japanese religious tradition, both Shintō and Buddhism have various pilgrimage sites. In Japan, pilgrimages can be divided into two general types. The first is the type exemplified by the Pilgrimage to the Thirty-three Holy Places of Kannon (Avalokiteśvara) in the Western Provinces and by the Pilgrimage to the Eighty-Eight Temples of Shikoku, in which one makes a circuit of a series of temples or holy places in a set order. The individual holy places that the pilgrim visits may be separated by great distances, as in the case of the Shikoku pilgrimage, in which eighty-eight temples are scattered along a route of about 1,200 kilometers (746 miles). The order of visitation is an important feature of this type of pilgrimage. The second type is a journey to one particular holy place. Pilgrimage to the Kumano Shrines and Ise Shintō Shrine, as well as to certain holy mountains, belong to this type. In common usage, the term *junrei,* the Japanese word for "pilgrimage," usually refers to the first type only.

It is thought that pilgrimages were first undertaken in the Nara period (710–794), although the custom did not become popular until the Heian period (794–1185). With the increasing popularity of religions involving mountain worship, members of the imperial family, the nobility, and Buddhist monks made pilgrimages to remote holy mountains. Among them, Kumano in the southern part of Wakayama prefecture is the most famous, having at that early time already developed into a large center for the adherents of mountain worship. Besides Kumano, Hasedera Temple, Shitennoji, Mount Koya, and Mount Kinpu were also popular pilgrimage sites. Early forms of the pilgrimage circuits for the western provinces and Shikoku were also established by the late Heian period. It can be surmised that many of these places were centers where Buddhist monks and ascetics engaged in austerities. Such pilgrimages continued throughout the Kamakura period (1185–1333) and the Muromachi period (1333–1568).

In the Edo period (1600–1868) an unprecedented number of people began to visit pilgrimage centers. While the vast majority of pilgrims had previously been member of the upper classes, such as monks, aristocrats, and warriors, in the Edo period the number of pilgrims from the general populace greatly increased. This change was largely owing to the peace established by the Tokugawa feudal regime and to the improvement in the economic condition of both the farming and the merchant classes. Transportation improved, and although government policy restricted travel between provinces, an exception was made for pilgrimages. The number of pilgrims who made journeys to the western provinces, Shikoku, Kotohira Shrine, Zenkoji, Ise, and Mount Fuji increased rapidly, and many new pilgrimage centers developed in various parts of the country. During this period, pilgrims tended to travel in groups, and as more and more people participated for recreational as well as for religious purposes, temple and shrine towns sprang up with facilities for accommodating these people. One should also note an increase in the number of so-called beggar-pilgrims who wandered from one center to another. The Shikoku circuit was particularly frequented by criminals, lepers, and beggars.

Travel since the Meiji period (1868–1912) has basically preserved the Edo period pattern of pilgrimage. Even today, many travelers include visits to famous temples and shrines in their itineraries. Even pilgrimage circuits that lack any other attraction, such as the Shikoku pilgrimage, have once again become popular. Behind this phenomenon perhaps lies a nostalgia for the past, a resurging interest in religion, and a desire for temporary escape from urban life.

SEE ALSO Avalokiteśvara; Kṣitigarbha; Mañjuśrī; Mountains; Shugendō; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Buddhist Devotional Life in East Asia.

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PILGRIMAGE: TIBETAN PILGRIMAGE

Pilgrimage, in the sense of an extended journey to a sacred place, has long been central to Tibetan life. The word for pilgrim is *gnas skor ba*, "one who circles a sacred place." Thus the lexicon defines pilgrims by the rite they perform at the end of their journey. Although one may ride a horse to the pilgrimage site, one must as a rule walk around (or circumambulate) the sacred place on foot. In fact, in the Buddhist world it is said that the merit accrued by the pilgrim for the pious act of pilgrimage is far smaller if the circumambulation is performed on horseback.

PILGRIMAGE SITES. Since the conversion of Tibet to Buddhism, which began in the seventh century CE, Tibetans have venerated the holy places of Buddhist India. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries Tibetans traveled to India to receive Buddhist teachings and to visit Buddhist sacred sites. Buddhist institutions, and Buddhism in general, in India ended after the twelfth century. The Tibetan practice of pilgrimage to India was not revived until the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, following the archaeological discovery of sites associated with the life of the Buddha, such as Bodh Gayā, where he was enlightened, and Sarnath, where he preached his first sermon. Tibetans also travel to Indian sites associated with the history of Tibetan Buddhism, such as Lotus Lake (Mtsho Padma) in Himachal Pradesh. There, Padmasambhava, a key figure in the introduction of Buddhism to Tibet, is said to have appeared from a lotus in the middle of a lake.

Also outside the borders of Tibet, the stupa of Bodnath, in the Kathmandu Valley of Nepal, is a primary pilgrimage destination for Tibetans in the southern Himalayan region. It has attracted pilgrims for centuries and, following the Chinese occupation of Tibet that began in the 1950s, became a place of refuge for many Tibetans. Its fame derives from the legend of its founding. The Tibetan king Khri sron lde btsan, the Indian Buddhist abbot Śāntirakṣita, and the tantric master Padmasambhava (who together played important roles in establishing Buddhism in Tibet in the eighth century CE) were said in a previous life to have been brothers who built the Bodnath stupa.

In Tibet itself, two types of pilgrimage sites can be distinguished. The first are man-made. These include cities, the most famous of which is the Tibetan capital Lhasa, the "place of gods." Within the city the most famous temple is the Jo khang, or "house of the Lord," which shelters a statue of Śākyamuni Buddha said to have been brought by the Chinese princess Wengcheng in the seventh century CE. Buddhist monasteries are also important destinations for pilgrims. Some of the more famous include Bsam yas, the first Buddhist monastery built in central Tibet; Bkra sis lhun po in the city of Gzi ka rtse, the seat of the Panchen Lamas; and sKu 'bum in present-day Qinghai province, birthplace of Tsong kha pa (1357–1419), the "founder" of the Dge lugs school.

Pilgrimage sites may also be natural phenomena. The lake Lha mo bla mtsho (Central Tibet), for example, is traditionally visited to receive visions of the birthplace of the next Dalai Lama. The caves where the saint Mi la ras pa (1028/40–1111/23) practiced meditation are considered powerful pilgrimage sites. The most important of the natural pilgrimage places, however, are sacred mountains, like Mount Kailash in Western Tibet, Tsa ri in Southeast Tibet, and A myes rma chen in Qinghai province. A mountain associated with a lake—with the mountain considered the father and the lake the mother—is regarded as the ideal sacred place.

Beginning long before the introduction of Buddhism, the mountains of Tibet were regarded as territorial gods (*yul lha*). In Buddhist Tibet many mountains have retained this status and its cult, according to which only males were permitted to perform rituals of offering on the slope. Many of these mountains were incorporated into the Buddhist cosmography through the deeds of a Buddhist saint. This transformation typically occurred when a great religious figure "opened the pilgrimage" (*gnas skor phyed ba*) by subduing the negative forces that prevented access to the site. It was then a Buddhist site, and the practice of circumambulation was performed by men and women alike to consolidate this metamorphosis. The popularity of such sacred sites has waxed and waned over time through competition between Buddhist schools to gain real and symbolic control over them.

A rarer type of pilgrimage takes the form of great millenarian migrations toward "hidden lands" *(sbas yul)*, revealed by Padmasambhava, where Tibetans can take refuge when dangers threaten the country. The most well known of these is Gnas Padma bkod in Southeast Tibet. Finally, Tibetans have set off on pilgrimages to mythical kingdoms like Shambhala, said to be in the north, the cradle of the Kālacakra teachings.

LITERATURE. A wide variety of Tibetan texts have been designated by Western scholars with the term *pilgrimage guides*. Some of these are indeed guidebooks in the ordinary sense of the term. They provide concrete information, indicate directions to follow, and sometimes even give the approximate time it takes to go from one point to another. A great number of texts, however, are not conventional guidebooks. They are dedicated to a single site and present a tantric vision of the sacred place. These works describe, in more or less detail, the subjugation of the local deities and the transformation of the place into a maṇḍala, the multistoried palace of a Buddhist deity. These texts are literary projections of an internal vision onto the physical landscape, intended to convey the pilgrim toward a higher level of spiritual insight. Pilgrims, many of whom have traditionally been illiterate, know these texts from monks, nuns, and lamas met along the pilgrimage routes. Thus these written sources, passed on orally, superimpose the sacred landscape onto the land for those who have not yet gained the insight to see its true nature for themselves.

PRACTICES AND BENEFITS. Through pilgrimage, Tibetans seek purification, the accumulation of merit, and blessings. Some of these are gained through the rituals they perform along the way. Yet the place itself has its own power, often derived from the past presence of a saint, and pilgrims often take water, stones, earth, and plants home with them from their pilgrimages. Drinking the water or wearing the earth or the stone inside an amulet around the neck is said to aid in finding a better rebirth in the next lifetime. But it also brings more immediate rewards, such as prosperity, long life, and protection from harm.

Despite the pervasive influence of Buddhism in Tibet, pilgrimage remains a mixture of Buddhist and non-Buddhist, Tibetan and non-Tibetan elements. Pilgrimage guides state where along the route pilgrims must circumambulate, bow down, make offerings, and recite sacred mantras, the most popular being oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ, the mantra of Avalokiteśvara, the bodhisattva protector of Tibet. Circumambulation derives from the Indian practice of keeping revered objects to one's right; there is evidence of this ritual act being practiced in Tibet during the final centuries of the monarchy (seventh to ninth centuries CE). Buddhists must move in a clockwise direction; adherents of the Bon religion move counterclockwise. In order to accrue special merit, pilgrims sometimes perform prostrations (lying face down, rising, taking a step, and lying face down again) along the entire route. There are also particularly auspicious times to perform pilgrimage during the twelve-year cycle of the Tibetan calendar. Upon arrival at the sacred site, pilgrims make Buddhist offerings of money, butter lamps, or ceremonial scarves. But they also perform non-Buddhist rituals, like burning juniper branches and adding stones to a cairn. Other practices mix Buddhist and non-Buddhist elements in a single act, like weighing sins by hanging from a projection of a rock or crossing the *smyal lam*, the "path to hell," in order to overcome the fear of facing the intermediate state (*bar do*) between death and the next rebirth.

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS. Pilgrimage routes link the sacred sites of Tibet and provide pathways for the expression of political and cultural identity. The long pilgrimages so typical in Tibet lead to large movements of population into new regions where all forms of social interaction occur. Pilgrims not only visit sacred sites, they also meet people (leading sometimes to marriage), they carry news, and they transmit forms of knowledge. The practice of pilgrimage in Tibet helped in breaking down cultural separatism and building political integration.

Along the pilgrimage routes all the ranks of the society are encountered, yet social distinctions and hierarchies do not fade. In some cases women are not permitted to enter monastic spaces or set foot on certain segments of the ritual route. At the same time, pilgrimage offers the opportunity to escape from a variety of political constraints and social obligations. Since the 1980s, for example, pilgrimage has sometimes provided a pretext for escaping from Chinese oppression; numerous refugees who have gone on pilgrimage to Mount Kailash in Western Tibet have then continued on to Nepal.

In the Tibetan world, pilgrimage is a collective practice. Groups of pilgrims from the same family, the same locality, or the same monastery typically gather together. Often monks or lamas will serve as guides for lay people, providing information along the way. Upon arrival at the sacred site, these groups of pilgrims do not mix with one another, and conversation is limited to requests for information from a local person or a religious figure. But pilgrimage is also a festive occasion, with groups stopping along the way for song and dance and people dressed in their most beautiful clothes and jewelry.

The economic implications of pilgrimage are also significant. It promotes trade, both large-scale and small-scale, and thus the redistribution of wealth. Pilgrims typically are asked by family members to carry gifts and make offerings on their behalf at the sacred destination in order that they might share in the merit of the pilgrimage. The monastery or temple, so often located near the pilgrimage place (if it is not the sacred site itself), provides consecrated items (ceremonial scarves, consecrated pills, and sometimes food) in return for these donations.

MODERNIZATION. Since the Chinese occupation of Tibet, many changes have occurred in the Tibetan practice of pilgrimage. Numerous roads have been constructed, so it is not unusual to see pilgrims performing the circumambulation of a sacred lake in a bus. Roads have also redefined pilgrimage routes. In 2002 many Tibetans completed only half of the traditional pilgrimage around A myes rma chen Mountain, stopping at the end of the road construction.

Tourism, encouraged by the Chinese authorities, has also had an influence on some sacred sites, affecting not only the economic and political conditions but also the sense of local identity of the Tibetan residents. In general, the tremendous influx of tourists, most of them Han Chinese seeking an idyllic place populated by "authentic Tibetans," has led to a decline of the practice of more traditional pilgrimage to the region.

SEE ALSO Circumambulation; Mantra; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Buddhist Devotional Life in Tibet.

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PILGRIMAGE: HINDU PILGRIMAGE

Over the millennia, Hindus have developed an enormous number of pilgrimage places, pilgrimage-related practices, and texts extolling the virtues of, and benefits to be gained by, pilgrimages to powerful places and persons. Some of the more prominent themes that emerge in Hindu pilgrimage are the importance of water, the effects of powerful persons on particular places, the centrality of purity and asceticism, the association of pilgrimage with death, and the growing popularity and commercialization of pilgrimage as it becomes associated with tourism.

In Sanskrit and related languages, the central term for pilgrimage place is *tīrtha*, a crossing place or a ford where one leaves the mundane world and crosses over into a more powerful or spiritual location. The term already points to the centrality of water, rivers, and bathing in Hinduism. It is possible that this centrality was already present in the ancient Indus Valley Civilization, in which bathing seems to have been of central ritual importance. The Indus River itself is highly praised in the Vedas (where it is called the Sindhu), as are seven other "mother-rivers," originally located in Punjab in the northwest of India. The practice of Hindu pilgrimage always involves bathing, so that the pilgrim is purified before entering the sacred place or approaching the divinities there. From ancient times until the present, rivers have been prominent pilgrimage places, along with the numerous temples and other religious places along their banks.

The great Hindu epics *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* already mention the practice of pilgrimage, and many of the places visited by their protagonists subsequently became important pilgrimage places. In the *Tīrthayātrāparvan* (the episode relating to the pilgrimage to the *tīrthas*) of the *Mahābhārata*, numerous sites throughout the subcontinent are mentioned that have continued to be prominent pilgrimage places to the present day: rivers like the Ganges, the Godāvarī, and the Narmadā; as well as places such as Badrināth, Gayā, Puṣkara, and Prayāga.

There is no comparable listing of pilgrimage places in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*; however, many of the places visited by Rāma and his entourage in this epic have subsequently become important places of pilgrimage for Hindus, such as Ayodhyā, the city of Rāma's birth; Citrakuṭ, where he paused with Sītā on his journey; and Rāmeśvaram, in the far South, where he allegedly worshiped Śiva before crossing to Rāvaṇa's island of Laṅkā.

The Hindu Purāṇas, written roughly between the fourth and the eleventh centuries CE, have preserved a large number of names of pilgrimage places, along with a system classifying them into "divine" (*daiva*), "demonic" (*āsura*), "sage" (*ārṣa*), and "human" (*mānuṣa*) sites. The Purāṇas also contain extensive *māhātmya*s, passages extolling the virtues of particular pilgrimage places and the benefits to be obtained by pilgrimage to them. This *māhātmya* literature continues to be produced today, by those interested in promoting the fame and virtue of particular sites.

Later sources like the *Kṛtyakalpataru* of Bhaṭṭa Lakṣmīdhara (early twelfth century) and the *Triṣṭhalīsetu* of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa (mid-sixteenth century) rework the Purāṇic material and develop detailed rules and regulations for the behavior of pilgrims. It has been suggested that such literature was developed in reaction to the appearance of conquering Islamic armies in the subcontinent, as Hindus sought to codify and systematize their own practices. Both works stress that one of the virtues of pilgrimage is that it is accessible to all. Whereas Vedic sacrifice requires great wealth, the merit of pilgrimage is available to everyone, including the poor. Lakṣmīdhara says that even the lowest-caste *caṇḍāla* can obtain the fruits of pilgrimage. Both works emphasize the importance of purity and an ascetic lifestyle during pilgrimage, in order to obtain its fruits. Practices such as bathing, fasting, and shaving are recommended, and Lakṣmīdhara says that it is these practices, as much as the place itself, that bring benefit, arguing that the best of all *tīrthas* is a pure heart.

Both works stress the connection of *tīrthas* with death and the ancestors, and they give instructions on how to perform special rituals for throwing the bones of deceased persons into sacred rivers. Important Hindu rituals such as piṇḍa-dāna (feeding the ancestors), tarpaṇa (offering water to them), and Śrāddha (regular worship of them) are enjoined at *tīrtha*s. More than one-third of the *Triṣṭhalīsetu* is devoted to such death-associated rituals. In addition, Lakṣmīdhara recommends living at a *tīrtha* until one dies, so that its special power will help the pilgrim to achieve a better birth. Elsewhere in the dharmaśastra literature, the *mahāprasthāna*, or "pilgrimage unto death," is allowed for those who have committed a heinous crime, or have an incurable disease. Sometimes, particular *tīrthas* are recommended as places for such religious suicide, and there are numerous historical accounts of this being practiced, by kings and others. These citations tend to confirm what has been suspected by many scholars, that Hindu pilgrimage in the medieval period was in many cases positively valued as a way for sick and infirm people to die with dignity.

Many of these ideas and practices are very much alive today. In general, Hindu pilgrims refrain from sex, as well as from the consumption of meat, fish, liquor, and other impure substances during their journeys. Numerous pilgrimages throughout the subcontintent are strongly associated with the assumption of a "temporarily ascetic" lifestyle, for example the pilgrimage to Sabari Mallai in Kerala in South India. Men participating in this pilgrimage temporarily become "renouncers" for a period ranging from forty-five to sixty days, adding the energy of their asceticism to the power of the sacred place. Similar practices are followed by the so-called kāvarīwālās, pilgrims who carry Ganges water from Hardwār in North India back to their local Śiva shrines in time to offer it on the annual festival of Śivarātrī, observing strict asceticism on their journey.

Death- and ancestor-related rituals also remain important in contemporary Hindu pilgrimage. Some of the most famous and well-attended *tīrthas*, such as Kāśī (Banaras) and Gayā, are strongly associated with the performance of these rituals. For those lacking the time or opportunity for such a long pilgrimage, local and regional *tīrthas* serve as places for the performance of such rituals. People still come to Banaras for "Kāśīmokṣ(a)"—the liberation obtained by dying there—while the immersion of the bones of the dead remains a common practice.

Certain particularly famous *tīrthas* became important in the political and economic history of India. Kauṭilya, in his *Arthaśāstra* (written at the beginning of the common era), had already advised kings that they should send spies to pilgrimage places in order to ascertain the mood of the populace and to be on the lookout for enemies of the state. Pilgrims were not traditionally subject to taxation, but the commercial activities that grew up around large pilgrimage centers attracted the attention of rulers. In later times certain pilgrimage places became objects of contention amongst various rulers and religious orders, for commercial reasons as well as for the prestige that accrued to those who controlled them.

Caitanya (1486–1533), Guru Nānak (1469–1539; the founder of Sikhism), and many other sect-founders are said in their hagiographies to have performed extensive pilgrimages throughout South Asia, in the course of which they converted the adherents of rival sects to their cause.

One of the oldest and best-known Hindu *tīrthas* is the city of Kāśī (Benaras), which has pride of place in Lakṣmīdhara's book. By the twelfth century it had become the premier pilgrimage place in India. Lying on an unusual north-turning bend of the Ganges River, the entire riverfront of Kāśī is lined with *ghāṭs,* stone steps that lead pilgrims from the city's lanes to the edge of the river to bathe. Images of these *ghāṭs* have become almost synonymous with India and Hinduism in the tourist literature. Originally a sacred forest, Kāśī is a large city filled with perhaps the greatest concentration of *tīrthas* anywhere in India. It has always been regarded as Śiva's city, and it is believed that those who die there obtain mokṣa when Śiva whispers a liberating mantra into their ear.

In addition to Kāśī, there are two other great *kṣetras* or "pilgrimage fields" located in north India: Gayā and Prayāga. Gayā is above all a *pitṛ-tīrtha,* a pilgrimage place where the ancestors are worshiped. The Śrāddha ritual mentioned above is believed to have special merit when performed in this place, and even today hundreds of thousands of pilgrims gather there every year during the *pitṛ-pakṣa,* the time of year especially set aside for this practice, in order to perform the Śrāddha and related rituals.

The third great pilgrimage field of North India is Prayāga, even more ancient than Kāśī. It is located at the saṅgama (confluence) of the two sacred rivers—the Ganges and the Yamunā—along with an invisible third river, the Sarasvatī. At Prayaga, one is not only allowed, but in fact, enjoined to commit religious suicide by drowning, and there are historical records of such suicides there by ancient Hindu kings. Prayāga is the site of the Kumbha Melā, the largest religious gathering in the world, as well as a pilgrimage fair that occurs there once every twelve years.

There are many other systems of pilgrimage places in India. The most encompassing of these are the "four dhāms," four pilgrimage places at the corners of kite-shaped India. Badrināth in the central Himalayas of North India, sacred to Viṣṇu, was already known to the redactors of the Mahābhārata; Jagganāth to the East in Orissa is, like Badrināth, sacred to Viṣṇu and was of great importance during the late medieval period in India as a source of authoritative religious practice and doctrine. Rāmeśvaram in the South, the only Śaiva temple of the four dhāms, is where Rāma is believed to have worshiped Śiva before crossing to Rāvaṇa's fortress city of Laṅkā; and Kṛṣṇa's temple-city of Dvārakā in the West. It is widely believed that the great philosopher Śaṅkarācārya (c. eighth–ninth centuries) made a circumambulatory pilgrimage of the subcontinent and established these four shrines, though there is no reliable historical evidence of this.

Another well-known system of pilgrimage places is the so-called Saptapurī, or "seven cities" (also known as the *saptamahātīrtha* or seven great pilgrimage places), where liberation may be obtained. These include Dvāraka in Gujarat (already mentioned as one of the four dhām); Ayodhyā, the birthplace of Rāma; Mathurā, where Kṛṣṇa spent much of his life; Kāśī (mentioned below); Ujjain (associated with the Mahākala jyotirliṅga mentioned below); and Haridvār, on the Ganges at the foot of the Himalaya. Some say that Kāñcīpuram in the South is the seventh city, others say it is Prayāga in the north. Other sectarian pilgrimage systems include the twelve jyotirliṅga or "liṅgas of light" sacred to Śiva. According to the Śivapurāṇa, these are: Somanātha in Saurāṣṭra, Mallikārjuna on Śrīsaila hill, Mahākala in Ujjayinī, Parameśvara in Oμkārakṣetra (an island in the Narmadā river), Kedāra in the Himalayas, Bhīmaśaṅkara at the source of the Godāvarī River, Viśveśvara in Kāśī, Tryambakeśvara on the Godāvarī River near Nāsik (another site of the periodic Kumbha Melā), Vaidyanātha in Citābhūmī, Nāgeśa in Dārukāvana, Rāmeśvara (mentioned above as one of the four dhām), and Ghṛṣṇeśa (near present-day Daulatābād).

The system of Śaktipīṭhas, or seats of power sacred to the goddess, is said to have been created after the goddess Satī immolated herself on the sacrificial fire of her father Dakṣa. Crazed with grief, Śiva picked up her corpse and began performing his world-destroying dance, the *ānanda-tāṇḍava,* or dance of bliss. Viṣṇu, understanding that the entire world was threatened by Śiva's dance, cut Satī's body into pieces with his discus, and the places where they fell became the Śaktipīṭhas. Currently, the most powerful of these is believed to be Kāmarūpa in Assam, where the goddess's vulva fell to earth.

The sectarian aspect of pilgrimage systems is, in any case, not terribly relevant for contemporary Hindu pilgrimage. Hindus have in the past been famous for their tolerance. Sectarian differences among Hindus are not very important, and most Hindu pilgrims readily visit the shrines of a variety of gods. This kind of openness extends to the pilgrimage places of different religions as well. Kataragama in Sri Lanka, for example, is visited by Hindus, Buddhists, Christians, and Muslims; the tomb of the Muslim saint Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' (AH 636–725 /1238–1325 CE) in Delhi is regularly visited by Sikhs and Hindus; and the Sikh pilgrimage place of Amritsar attracts numerous pilgrims from other religions, including Hinduism.

In addition to the all-India level of pilgrimage places and systems discussed above, each region within the subcontinent has its own important pilgrimage places. A complete list of such places would be very long; however, some of the more notable shrines in India that have not been mentioned above include the following: the goddess temple of Jwālāmukhi, near Kāṅgaḍā in Himachal Pradesh; Kurukṣetra, near Ambālā in Punjab, thought to be the site of the great battle in which the Mahābhārata culminated;

Mount Kailāsa in Tibet, thought of as the home of Lord Śiva; Amarnāth in Kashmir, a liṅga of ice that is the goal of a very large annual pilgrimage; Amarakaṇṭaka in Madhya Pradesh on the banks of the Narmadā River; Nāthadvāra, near Udaipur, associated with Kṛṣṇa; Somanātha in Gujarat, destroyed by Maḥmūd in 1026 and now an important shrine for Hindu nationalists; Nāsik in Maharashtra, where one of the periodic Kumbha Melās is held; Pāndharpur, associated with Viṭṭhobā, the "Maharashtrian Viṣṇu"; the goddess Kālī's temple of Kālīghāṭ in Kolkatta, West Bengal; the temple of Śṛṇgerī in Karnataka, one of the four headquarters of the Daśanāmī order of Śaiva monks believed to have been founded by Śaṅkarācārya; Uḍipi, also in Karnataka, birthplace of the dualist philosopher Madhvācārya; and in Tamil Nadu, the city of Madurai with its temple of the "fish-eyed" goddess Mīnākṣī, the famous Śaiva pilgrimage place Cidambaram, and the city of Kāñcīpuram. The state of Andhra Pradesh includes the Vaiṣṇava temple of Tirupati, quite possibly the wealthiest shrine in India.

Pilgrimage activity is often associated with certain dates or times of the year. Gayā is visited especially during the pitṛ-pakṣa, the annual half-month period that is reserved for ancestor rituals. The sanctity of the four sites at which the Kumbha Melās are held on a rotating basis is also connected to particular astrologically determined times. In many places throughout the subcontinent, it is believed that a conjunction of heavenly bodies releases a kind of power that can in turn be tapped or absorbed by pilgrims at sacred places for a limited time. Therefore, throughout India, one finds pilgrimage fairs (melās) that draw huge crowds of pilgrims, but only for a limited time.

The motivations for pilgrimage are often rather mundane: success in business or studies; curing of sickness; and birth of children (especially sons). These desired objects are called fruits (Skt., *phala*). Typically, one takes a vow, promising that if the desired fruit is obtained, one will perform a pilgrimage; or one performs a pilgrimage in the hope that the desired fruit will be obtained. The power of the sacred place, along with the energy that is generated by the ascetic practices associated with pilgrimage and the grace of the god for whom the pilgrimage is performed, are believed to result in the attainment of the desired object. Such a "this-worldly" orientation has been an object of criticism for Hindu theologians and reformers for centuries. For example, the poet-saint Kabīr lamented the many pilgrims who wander the earth lost and parched, not realizing that the true Ganges lies within.

Hindus also engage in many kinds of practices that are quite similar to pilgrimage. For example, Hindus often journey to have the darśan (auspicious sight) of a holy person. This may be done on the occasion of a special ritual, or during a melā or other festival. Such journeys are not called pilgrimages *(tīrtha-yātrā)*, but the similarity of holy place and holy person is implicitly recognized by the fact that a holy person is often called a tīrtha.

The ritual processions that occur throughout South Asia are also pilgrimage-like activities. Many pilgrimage temples are associated with annual festivals where the god or goddess emerges from his or her temple and circumambulates the town or visits another deity. Ritual processions in which one deity visits another are common in the Himalayas, and in these processions the deity is normally accompanied by priests and pilgrims who tend the deity during the procession and worship him regularly.

Sādhus, or holy men, are often seen wandering in India, and they are particularly prevalent at pilgrimage places, so that one easily thinks of them as "perpetual pilgrims." However, their own understandings of these journeys are rather different. They may think of themselves variously as gods' soldiers, as novices undergoing initiation, as members of a travelling monastery, or as ascetics who are roaming for pleasure or merely wandering aimlessly.

With the rapid growth of tourism and transport in the past few decades, pilgrimage activity in India is exploding. It is now quite common to combine religious pilgrimage with tourism, and this occurs at all economic levels, from the inexpensive bus tours organized for a clientele of peasant or lower-middle-class Hindus to the five-star pilgrimage tours organized for overseas Hindus and increasingly promoted by the government of India. The video bus coach, in which pilgrims en route to a tīirtha sthān watch Bollywood movies rather than singing religious hymns, has existed for some time. Other new forms of pilgrimage include "web pilgrimages," where one may have *darśan* (sight) of the deity online, and even order some *prasād,* or blessed food, from the temple.

SEE ALSO Banaras; Ganges River; Kumbha Melā; Kurukṣetra; Rivers; Sarasvatī; Vṛndāvana; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Hindu Devotional Life.

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PIḶḶAI LOKĀCĀRYA (1264–1369) was an early formulater of Teṅkalai theology for Śrī Vaiṣṇava Hindus of South India. Born in the sixth generation of disciples of Ramanuja, and from a family learned in Sanskrit and Tamil, he lived his long life in the temple complex of Śrī Raṅgam. His father was known simply as Vaṭakku Tiruvīti Piḷḷai, "the Piḷḷai of North Street," and his mother was Śrī Raṅga Nācciyār. The couple was childless until, tradition says, Piḷḷai's *gurū,* Nampiḷḷai, ordered him to give up his ascetic chastity. When subsequently a son was born, the couple named him Lokācārya ("teacher of the world") after one of Nampiḷḷai's own titles. Piḷḷai Lokācārya himself never married, but rather devoted himself to the service of Nārāyaṇa in his iconic forms and to teaching. In 1309, when northern Muslims raided the temple, tradition relates that he walled in the immovable icons and escaped with the movable ones to a distant village, sustaining their worship until they could be safely returned.

Teaching shaped his scholarship from an early age. Whereas his father recorded Nampiḷḷai's comments on Nammāḻvār's *Tiruvāymoḻi* in the *Bhagavat Viṣayam,* and his younger brother, the ascetic Aḻakiya Māṇavāḷa Perumāḷ Nāyaṉār, one of his own disciples, likewise composed an important commentary on Nammāḻvār's poems, the *Ācārya Hṛdayam* (The heart of the teacher), Piḷḷai Lokācārya produced theological textbooks such as the *Aṣṭadaśa Rahasyam* (Eighteen Secrets), a compendium of succinct treatises that systematically explain the esoteric teachings Śrī Vaiṣṇavas receive from their *gurūs.* The work is written in the Śrī Vaiṣṇava *brahman* dialect, Maṇipravāḷam, and is addressed to "women and ignorant men," to free them from their painful bondage to the world and to deliver them into the joyful service of Nārāyaṇa. After the sect had divided into two schools, the Teṅkalai and the Vaṭakalai, the *Aṣṭadaśa Rahasyam* served the Teṅkalais through commentaries by the school's paramount theologian, Māṇavāḷa Māmuṉikaḷ (1370–1443).

Of the eighteen treatises, three have been highly significant for Śrī Vaiṣṇavas: *Mumukṣuppaṭi* (The means for those who desire freedom), *Tattvatrayam* (The three realities), and *Śrī Vacana Bhūṣanam* (The auspicious ornament of instruction). Piḷḷai Lokācārya teaches Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta but stresses one aspect—that of God's grace and the relative helplessness of embodied souls to emancipate themselves. As various scriptures reveal, Nārāyaṇa's consort, Śrī, or Lakṣmī, is the mediating agent between the majestic Lord and the numberless souls entangled in self-created bondage. She is compassionate toward all sentient beings and perfectly subservient to her Lord. Being totally dependent, she thus is able to influence him on behalf of those souls whom she touches with her grace. Surrender to the Goddess is all that is required for emancipation.

Piḷḷai Lokācārya thus teaches that the devotee—whether male or female of any caste whatever—who cannot fulfill the scriptural requirements of ritual, wisdom, and devotion can nevertheless attain the Lord, either through the grace that enables the devotee to give up this world out of impatient longing for God, or through such absolute trust in Nārāyaṇa and Śrī that he relinquishes the burden of his salvation to them. Furthermore, even the devotee who cannot surrender to God can still surrender to a *gurū.* Regarding the refugee as helpless, the properly qualified *gurū,* by virtue of his own wisdom and Śrī's activity within him, can assume his disciple's burden. Any ritual and devotional acts performed after surrender to God or *gurū* are to derive from the refugee's desire to please God and as a witness to his neighbor, not from his desire for merit. A contemporary of Piḷḷai Lokācārya, Vedānta Deśika (1268–1369) of the rival Vaṭakalai school, took issue and taught that in addition to Śrī's activity, ritual and devotional efforts, too, are important for emancipation.

SEE ALSO Śrī Vaiṣṇavas.

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PINARD DE LA BOULLAYE, HENRI

PINARD DE LA BOULLAYE, HENRI (1874–1958), was a French Jesuit theologian, preacher, and writer on theology, comparative religion, and the spirituality of Ignatius Loyola. Born in Paris in 1874, Pinard entered the Society of Jesus in 1893. He was subsequently appointed professor of theology at a Jesuit institution in Enghien, Belgium, a position that he held from 1910 to 1927. During his professorship at Enghien he became interested in the study of comparative religion. He introduced a course in the history of religions that he later offered at the Gregorian University in Rome, where he lectured from 1927 to 1934.

Earlier, in 1913, Pinard had printed privately for the use of his students a manual entitled *De vera religione.* In this work he endorsed the theory of a primitive monotheism (*Urmonotheismus*) proposed by the priest-ethnologist Wilhelm Schmidt, and the theory of cultural cycles of Fritz Graebner, also an ethnologist. The manual was a detailed study of comparative problems, a foretaste of the intellectual style of his later, more important work, *L'étude comparée des religions,* the two volumes of which appeared in 1922 and 1925. Several editions were published subsequently, for Pinard continued to revise the work.

Volume 1 of *L'étude comparée des religions,* subtitled *Son histoire dans le monde occidentale,* evidenced Pinard's erudition. By means of detailed historical, biographical, and bibliographical research, he lucidly presented the periods and personages relevant to the comparative study of religion, broadly conceived, in the West. Almost an encyclopedia, the volume was followed by an extensive double index (names and topics) that appeared in 1931. The second volume, subtitled *Ses méthodes,* studied numerous methods of classification and comparison, and the associated theories of explanation and interpretation of religion, that had appeared during the past century. Pinard analyzed the philosophical positions and presuppositions of the various methods and defined precisely what each could bring to the understanding of religion on the historical plane, as well as their defects and limits. He gave considerable attention to the method of the historico-cultural school of Graebner and Schmidt, but he preferred Schmidt's rationalism to his parallel emphasis on primordial revelation. Further, Pinard emphasized the importance of the several human sciences (history, ethnology, philology, psychology, and sociology) in the comparative study of religion, calling for the convergence of these disciplines in such study. Moreover, he insisted on the unity of science and faith.

In 1937 Pinard returned to Enghien, where he devoted himself exclusively to the study of comparative religion, intending to prepare a massive dictionary; the project was interrupted, however, by the outbreak of World War II. Pinard then turned to the study of the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius Loyola. Several books and articles on Ignatian spirituality appeared between 1940 and 1956. He died at Lille on February 9, 1958.

Pinard prided himself on rigorous logic and objectivity, holding irrationality, sentiment, and subjectivity in suspicion. He asserted that religion comes into existence on the basis of reason: That is, it is on the rational, deductive plane that religion first imposes itself on humans ("Dieu se conclut avant d'être vu"). Religious experience, on which he wrote several articles during his tenure at Enghien, he considered to be a complement to religion arrived at rationally.

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PINDAR

PINDAR. The links between poetry and religion were tight in ancient Greece, and Pindar (c. 518–c. 438 BCE) was no exception. Born in Cynoscephalae (near Thebes) and educated in Thebes and Athens, he had a special relationship with the Sicilian tyrants and the Aeginetan aristocratic families, but his reputation was Panhellenic. Some of Pindar's odes allude to the most relevant historical event of his lifetime: the Persian invasion, which was put to an end by Greek victories at Salamis in 480 and Plataia in 479. In odes for the Sicilian victors, Pindar emphasized the triumphs of the local rulers against the Carthaginians (*Himera,* 480) and the Etruscans (*Kyme,* 474). Ancient biographies of Pindar, in which he is described as *theophilés* (loved by the Gods), highlight certain "prodigious" episodes of his life. The biographies claim, for example, that a bee made a honeycomb on his mouth as he was sleeping on Mount Helikon (a symbol of his inspiration), that the goddess Demeter reproached him for having ignored her in his hymns, and that the god Pan was heard singing one of Pindar's songs in the mountains near Thebes.

The ancient editors classified the Pindaric poems into seventeen books containing hymns, paeans (a variety of hymn, mostly in honor of Apollo), dithyrambs (Dionysiac hymns), processional odes, maiden songs and others "separate from the maiden songs," dance-odes, eulogies, dirges, and victory odes.

The victory odes were grouped, according to the kind of contest they celebrated, as Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian, or Nemean (a class to which two odes of a different origin have been added). Although the essential aim of the victory odes is to praise the victor and his exploits, the religious elements that pervade them can be explained in terms of the festivals, which were dedicated to the important gods Zeus (Olympian and Nemean), Apollo (Pythian), and Poseidon (Isthmian). The poems' religious elements also reflect the belief that victory was proof of a divine predilection for the victor and his family, as well as the ritual context of the celebration that followed the triumph, and the immortalizing power of poetry. The poet contributed to this extraordinary religious atmosphere through a wide range of means: music and choreography; formal resources, such as poetical and rhetorical devices that shared traits with religious hymns or prayers; maxims; and mythical narratives or allusions.

More than half of Pindar's forty-six victory songs begin with a short prayer or an invocation to a divinity. Thirty-three of Pindar's odes describe one or more myths that give a solemn tone to the poet's praise for the victor, who appears in a remarkably heroic light. Seventeen of those myths deal with local traditions of the victor's homeland: the myths of the Aeacids in the eleven odes for Aeginetans, with many episodes from the old epic poetry; Apollo's love for the nymph Cyrene, eponym of this city (*Pythian Odes* 9, for Telesicrates of Cyrene); the origin of Rhodes (*Olympian Odes* 7, for the Rhodian Diagoras); and so on. Another ten either underline the parallel between the victors and some mythical hero, or they display an ad hoc narrative fitting the hero's personal circumstances, or they even adopt a paradigmatic tone. Thus the young hero Perseus is a perfect model for the child Hippocles of Thessaly (*Pythian Odes* 10); Heracles for a pancratium winner (*Isthmian Odes* 4, 5, and 6); and Philoctetes for a pain-suffering Hieron of Syracuse (*Pythian Odes* 1). Eschatological myths, which are related to Orphic beliefs, are significant in an ode for the Sicilian victor Theron of Acragas (*Olympian Odes* 2), where for the first time in Western literature an afterlife with prizes and punishments is described, as is the Island of the Blessed, a destiny for exceptional heroes. Finally, there are other myths that are included in the poems because of the type of victory or traditions about the origins of the festival. This is the case with the well-known myth of Pelops, the mythical paradigm of winners in the chariot race (*Olympian Odes* 1), or with Herakles as founder of the Olympian games (*Olympian Odes* 10).

The odes are full of moral advice regarding religious conceptions and other values. The poet is a *sophós*, an inspired wise artist. A victory is proof of the nature of the winner, a gleam of inborn excellence, but also a result of effort. Poets contribute to the winner's glory and fame among mortals but also proclaim the necessity of being prudent and of following the Delphic precept "know thyself": mortals must be aware of their limits and not fall into *hybris* (wanton violence). Humans must fear the justice of Zeus, be aware of Apollo's infinite wisdom, and recognize the immense powers of all divine beings. Stories about the shameful conduct of the Gods are wrong, and the poet must look for the truth in all of them. Moreover, destiny is mutable, as many mythical paradigms show, and mortals must grasp the fragility of human existence: "a dream of a shadow is man" (*Pythian Odes* 8, 95, tr. Race). Fortunately, the celebration of triumph spreads a particular *aglaia* (brilliance) upon the victors and their families. The Graces preside on those moments, and the *charis* (grace) of the song contributes to this hopeful joy.

Other types of songs with special significance for Greek religion are paeans, dithyrambs, and dirges. Pindar adapted his paeans to the requirements of audience and performance. In the Delian paeans either he sings the origins of Delos (7b), the birth of the God in the island (12, for the Naxians), and its colonization (5, for the Athenians), or he exemplifies, with relevant heroes, faith in the Gods and love for the homeland, as in, for instance, Euxanthios and Melampous (4, for the Keans). Among the Delphic paeans (3, 6, 8, 10), it is worth mentioning the myth of the successive temples (8), which symbolically exemplifies the evolution of prophetic activity, whereas in *Paean* 6 the epic past and the sanctuary are linked by the myth of Neoptolemos's death (his tomb was at Delphi). Neoptolemos was an important hero for the Aeginetans, who were attendants at this celebration. *Paean* 10 probably included the foundation myth of Python's killing and the purification of the god. Paeans 1 (for Apollo Ismenios), 7 (with the myth of Apollo and Melia), and 9 (motivated by an eclipse) were composed for the Apollonian cult of Thebes.

As was the case with paeans, Pindar's dithyrambs stressed the links between the current festival and the divine world using a rich variety of resources. The degree to which the words, music, and contents fit the spirit and tradition of a festival is clearly apparent in the impressive beginning of *Dithyramb* 2 (for the Thebans), which is rich in orgiastic and religious evocations (the heavenly festival mirrors the present rite). It is also apparent in the first stanza of *Fragment* 75 (for the Athenians), where the alliterative effects echo the sound of musical instruments. Perhaps it is not a coincidence that the myths included in the dithyrambs were apt to enhance local trends of Dionysiac religion. Herakles' descent to the underworld and the introduction into Thebes of the Eleusynian mysteries were commemorated in *Dithyramb* 2. Myths having Perseus as protagonist appeared in at least two dithyrambs (1 and 4) and were probably composed for the city of Argos, where stories told that the hero fought against the god, with whom he was finally reconciled.

The dirges illustrate the importance of the consolatory function of poetry and the wide range of beliefs concerning the afterlife that were current in the fifth century BCE. Along with a description of a delightful paradise reserved for the pious in Hades (*Threni* 7, *Fragment* 129), the dirges also contain one of the first literary testimonies of Orphic beliefs (*Fragment* 133) concerning the destiny of souls and the role of Persephone in their expiation process.

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Encyclopedia of Religion, Second Edition
Lindsay Jones, Editor in Chief

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED IN THIS WORK

abbr. abbreviated; abbreviation
abr. abridged; abridgment
AD *anno Domini,* in the year of the (our) Lord
Afrik. Afrikaans
AH *anno Hegirae,* in the year of the Hijrah
Akk. Akkadian
Ala. Alabama
Alb. Albanian
Am. *Amos*
AM *ante meridiem,* before noon
amend. amended; amendment
annot. annotated; annotation
Ap. *Apocalypse*
Apn. *Apocryphon*
app. appendix
Arab. Arabic
ʿArakh. *ʿArakhin*
Aram. Aramaic
Ariz. Arizona
Ark. Arkansas
Arm. Armenian
art. article (pl., arts.)
AS Anglo-Saxon
Asm. Mos. *Assumption of Moses*
Assyr. Assyrian
A.S.S.R. Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
Av. Avestan
ʿA.Z. *ʿAvodah zarah*
b. born
Bab. Babylonian
Ban. Bantu
1 Bar. *1 Baruch*
2 Bar. *2 Baruch*
3 Bar. *3 Baruch*
4 Bar. *4 Baruch*
B.B. *Bavaʾ batraʾ*
BBC British Broadcasting Corporation
BC before Christ
BCE before the common era
B.D. Bachelor of Divinity
Beits. *Beitsah*
Bekh. *Bekhorot*
Beng. Bengali
Ber. *Berakhot*
Berb. Berber
Bik. *Bikkurim*
bk. book (pl., bks.)
B.M. *Bavaʾ metsiʿaʾ*
BP before the present
B.Q. *Bavaʾ qammaʾ*
Brāh. *Brāhmaṇa*
Bret. Breton
B.T. Babylonian Talmud
Bulg. Bulgarian
Burm. Burmese
c. *circa,* about, approximately
Calif. California
Can. Canaanite
Catal. Catalan
CE of the common era
Celt. Celtic
cf. *confer,* compare
Chald. Chaldean
chap. chapter (pl., chaps.)
Chin. Chinese
C.H.M. Community of the Holy Myrrhbearers
1 Chr. *1 Chronicles*
2 Chr. *2 Chronicles*
Ch. Slav. Church Slavic
cm centimeters
col. column (pl., cols.)
Col. *Colossians*
Colo. Colorado
comp. compiler (pl., comps.)
Conn. Connecticut
cont. continued
Copt. Coptic
1 Cor. *1 Corinthians*
2 Cor. *2 Corinthians*
corr. corrected
C.S.P. Congregatio Sancti Pauli, Congregation of Saint Paul (Paulists)
d. died
D Deuteronomic (source of the Pentateuch)
Dan. Danish
D.B. Divinitatis Baccalaureus, Bachelor of Divinity
D.C. District of Columbia
D.D. Divinitatis Doctor, Doctor of Divinity
Del. Delaware
Dem. *Demaʾi*
dim. diminutive
diss. dissertation
Dn. *Daniel*
D.Phil. Doctor of Philosophy
Dt. *Deuteronomy*
Du. Dutch
E Elohist (source of the Pentateuch)
Eccl. *Ecclesiastes*
ed. editor (pl., eds.); edition; edited by

ʿEduy. *ʿEduyyot*
e.g. *exempli gratia,* for example
Egyp. Egyptian
1 En. *1 Enoch*
2 En. *2 Enoch*
3 En. *3 Enoch*
Eng. English
enl. enlarged
Eph. *Ephesians*
ʿEruv. *ʿEruvin*
1 Esd. *1 Esdras*
2 Esd. *2 Esdras*
3 Esd. *3 Esdras*
4 Esd. *4 Esdras*
esp. especially
Est. Estonian
Est. *Esther*
et al. *et alii,* and others
etc. *et cetera,* and so forth
Eth. Ethiopic
EV English version
Ex. *Exodus*
exp. expanded
Ez. *Ezekiel*
Ezr. *Ezra*
2 Ezr. *2 Ezra*
4 Ezr. *4 Ezra*
f. feminine; and following (pl., ff.)
fasc. fascicle (pl., fascs.)
fig. figure (pl., figs.)
Finn. Finnish
fl. *floruit,* flourished
Fla. Florida
Fr. French
frag. fragment
ft. feet
Ga. Georgia
Gal. *Galatians*
Gaul. Gaulish
Ger. German
Giṭ. *Giṭṭin*
Gn. *Genesis*
Gr. Greek
Ḥag. *Ḥagigah*
Ḥal. *Ḥallah*
Hau. Hausa
Hb. *Habakkuk*
Heb. Hebrew
Heb. *Hebrews*
Hg. *Haggai*
Hitt. Hittite
Hor. *Horayot*
Hos. *Hosea*
Ḥul. *Ḥullin*
Hung. Hungarian
ibid. *ibidem,* in the same place (as the one immediately preceding)
Icel. Icelandic
i.e. *id est,* that is
IE Indo-European
Ill. Illinois
Ind. Indiana
intro. introduction
Ir. Gael. Irish Gaelic
Iran. Iranian
Is. *Isaiah*
Ital. Italian
J Yahvist (source of the Pentateuch)
Jas. *James*
Jav. Javanese
Jb. *Job*
Jdt. *Judith*
Jer. *Jeremiah*
Jgs. *Judges*
Jl. *Joel*
Jn. *John*
1 Jn. *1 John*
2 Jn. *2 John*
3 Jn. *3 John*
Jon. *Jonah*
Jos. *Joshua*
Jpn. Japanese
JPS Jewish Publication Society translation (1985) of the Hebrew Bible
J.T. Jerusalem Talmud
Jub. *Jubilees*
Kans. Kansas
Kel. *Kelim*
Ker. *Keritot*
Ket. *Ketubbot*
1 Kgs. *1 Kings*
2 Kgs. *2 Kings*
Khois. Khoisan
Kil. *Kilʾayim*
km kilometers
Kor. Korean
Ky. Kentucky
l. line (pl., ll.)
La. Louisiana
Lam. *Lamentations*
Lat. Latin
Latv. Latvian
L. en Th. Licencié en Théologie, Licentiate in Theology
L. ès L. Licencié ès Lettres, Licentiate in Literature
Let. Jer. *Letter of Jeremiah*
lit. literally
Lith. Lithuanian
Lk. *Luke*
LL Late Latin
LL.D. Legum Doctor, Doctor of Laws
Lv. *Leviticus*
m meters
m. masculine
M.A. Master of Arts
Ma ʿas. *Maʿaserot*
Ma ʿas. Sh. *Maʿ aser sheni*
Mak. *Makkot*
Makh. *Makhshirin*
Mal. *Malachi*
Mar. Marathi
Mass. Massachusetts
1 Mc. *1 Maccabees*
2 Mc. *2 Maccabees*
3 Mc. *3 Maccabees*
4 Mc. *4 Maccabees*
Md. Maryland
M.D. Medicinae Doctor, Doctor of Medicine
ME Middle English
Meg. *Megillah*
Me ʿil. *Meʿilah*
Men. *Menaḥot*
MHG Middle High German
mi. miles
Mi. *Micah*
Mich. Michigan
Mid. *Middot*
Minn. Minnesota
Miq. *Miqvaʾot*
MIran. Middle Iranian
Miss. Mississippi
Mk. *Mark*
Mo. Missouri
Moʿed Q. *Moʿed qaṭan*
Mont. Montana
MPers. Middle Persian
MS. *manuscriptum,* manuscript (pl., MSS)
Mt. *Matthew*
MT Masoretic text
n. note
Na. *Nahum*
Nah. Nahuatl
Naz. *Nazir*
N.B. *nota bene,* take careful note
N.C. North Carolina
n.d. no date
N.Dak. North Dakota
NEB New English Bible
Nebr. Nebraska

Ned. *Nedarim*
Neg. *Negaʿim*
Neh. *Nehemiah*
Nev. Nevada
N.H. New Hampshire
Nid. *Niddah*
N.J. New Jersey
Nm. *Numbers*
N.Mex. New Mexico
no. number (pl., nos.)
Nor. Norwegian
n.p. no place
n.s. new series
N.Y. New York
Ob. *Obadiah*
O.Cist. Ordo Cisterciencium, Order of Cîteaux (Cistercians)
OCS Old Church Slavonic
OE Old English
O.F.M. Ordo Fratrum Minorum, Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)
OFr. Old French
Ohal. *Ohalot*
OHG Old High German
OIr. Old Irish
OIran. Old Iranian
Okla. Oklahoma
ON Old Norse
O.P. Ordo Praedicatorum, Order of Preachers (Dominicans)
OPers. Old Persian
op. cit. *opere citato,* in the work cited
OPrus. Old Prussian
Oreg. Oregon
ʿOrl. *ʿOrlah*
O.S.B. Ordo Sancti Benedicti, Order of Saint Benedict (Benedictines)
p. page (pl., pp.)
P Priestly (source of the Pentateuch)
Pa. Pennsylvania
Pahl. Pahlavi
Par. *Parah*
para. paragraph (pl., paras.)
Pers. Persian
Pes. *Pesahim*
Ph.D. Philosophiae Doctor, Doctor of Philosophy
Phil. *Philippians*
Phlm. *Philemon*
Phoen. Phoenician
pl. plural; plate (pl., pls.)
PM *post meridiem,* after noon
Pol. Polish
pop. population
Port. Portuguese
Prv. *Proverbs*
Ps. *Psalms*
Ps. 151 *Psalm 151*
Ps. Sol. *Psalms of Solomon*
pt. part (pl., pts.)
1Pt. *1 Peter*
2 Pt. *2 Peter*
Pth. Parthian
Q hypothetical source of the synoptic Gospels
Qid. *Qiddushin*
Qin. *Qinnim*
r. reigned; ruled
Rab. *Rabbah*
rev. revised
R. ha-Sh. *Roʾsh ha-shanah*
R.I. Rhode Island
Rom. Romanian
Rom. *Romans*
R.S.C.J. Societas Sacratissimi Cordis Jesu, Religious of the Sacred Heart
RSV Revised Standard Version of the Bible
Ru. *Ruth*
Rus. Russian
Rv. *Revelation*
Rv. Ezr. *Revelation of Ezra*
San. *Sanhedrin*
S.C. South Carolina
Scot. Gael. Scottish Gaelic
S.Dak. South Dakota
sec. section (pl., secs.)
Sem. Semitic
ser. series
sg. singular
Sg. *Song of Songs*
Sg. of 3 *Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men*
Shab. *Shabbat*
Shav. *Shavuʿot*
Sheq. *Sheqalim*
Sib. Or. *Sibylline Oracles*
Sind. Sindhi
Sinh. Sinhala
Sir. *Ben Sira*
S.J. Societas Jesu, Society of Jesus (Jesuits)
Skt. Sanskrit
1 Sm. *1 Samuel*
2 Sm. *2 Samuel*
Sogd. Sogdian
Soṭ. *Soṭah*
sp. species (pl., spp.)
Span. Spanish
sq. square
S.S.R. Soviet Socialist Republic
st. stanza (pl., ss.)
S.T.M. Sacrae Theologiae Magister, Master of Sacred Theology
Suk. *Sukkah*
Sum. Sumerian
supp. supplement; supplementary
Sus. *Susanna*
s.v. *sub verbo,* under the word (pl., s.v.v.)
Swed. Swedish
Syr. Syriac
Syr. Men. *Syriac Menander*
Taʿ an. *Taʿanit*
Tam. Tamil
Tam. *Tamid*
Tb. *Tobit*
T.D. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō,* edited by Takakusu Junjirō et al. (Tokyo,1922–1934)
Tem. *Temurah*
Tenn. Tennessee
Ter. Terumot
Ṭev. Y. *Ṭevul yom*
Tex. Texas
Th.D. Theologicae Doctor, Doctor of Theology
1 Thes. *1 Thessalonians*
2 Thes. *2 Thessalonians*
Thrac. Thracian
Ti. *Titus*
Tib. Tibetan
1 Tm. *1 Timothy*
2 Tm. *2 Timothy*
T. of 12 *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*
Ṭoh. *ṭohorot*
Tong. Tongan
trans. translator, translators; translated by; translation
Turk. Turkish
Ukr. Ukrainian
Upan. *Upaniṣad*
U.S. United States
U.S.S.R. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Uqts. *Uqtsin*
v. verse (pl., vv.)
Va. Virginia
var. variant; variation
Viet. Vietnamese

viz. *videlicet,* namely
vol. volume (pl., vols.)
Vt. Vermont
Wash. Washington
Wel. Welsh
Wis. Wisconsin
Wis. *Wisdom of Solomon*
W.Va. West Virginia
Wyo. Wyoming
Yad. *Yadayim*
Yev. *Yevamot*
Yi. Yiddish
Yor. Yoruba
Zav. *Zavim*
Zec. *Zechariah*
Zep. *Zephaniah*
Zev. *Zevaḥim*

* hypothetical
? uncertain; possibly; perhaps
° degrees
+ plus
– minus
= equals; is equivalent to
× by; multiplied by
→ yields

Sacred gaze

SACRED GAZE

Sacred images engage viewers in acts of seeing that are themselves forms of religious experience. When human beings "see," they do so by means of an extensive apparatus of vision that may be designated by the term gaze. The gaze is not simply an optical event, the physiological act of looking at something, but the constellation of numerous events and aspects of vision: the engagement of the body of the viewer, the regimentation of time, the application of an epistemology of seeing that makes things intelligible, the eclipse of spaces and orders outside the boundaries of the gaze, and the focus of memory and consciousness on certain matters. The act of vision orchestrates all of these as a culture of thought, feeling, and sensation shared by members of a group. Glimpsing, glancing, glaring, gleaming, gorging, and other discrete visual operations, such as blinking—all are to apprehend images in various ways and construct very different relationships between viewer and image and whatever is evoked or represented by the image. Even the destruction or privation of imagery creates an experience that can be profoundly meaningful.

Visitors to labyrinths **(a)** experience a form of gaze turned inward. The body is submitted to a simple and repetitive routine of movement that allows regular breathing and mental focus on bodily rhythm. This deflection from competing forms of attention delivers the mind from distraction and aligns body, mind, and sensation. "Performing" the material image of a labyrinth is often reported to be very refreshing and enabling to focused contemplation. For practitioners of Tantric Buddhism, imagery plays an explicit role in meditation. *Maṇḍalas* **(b** and

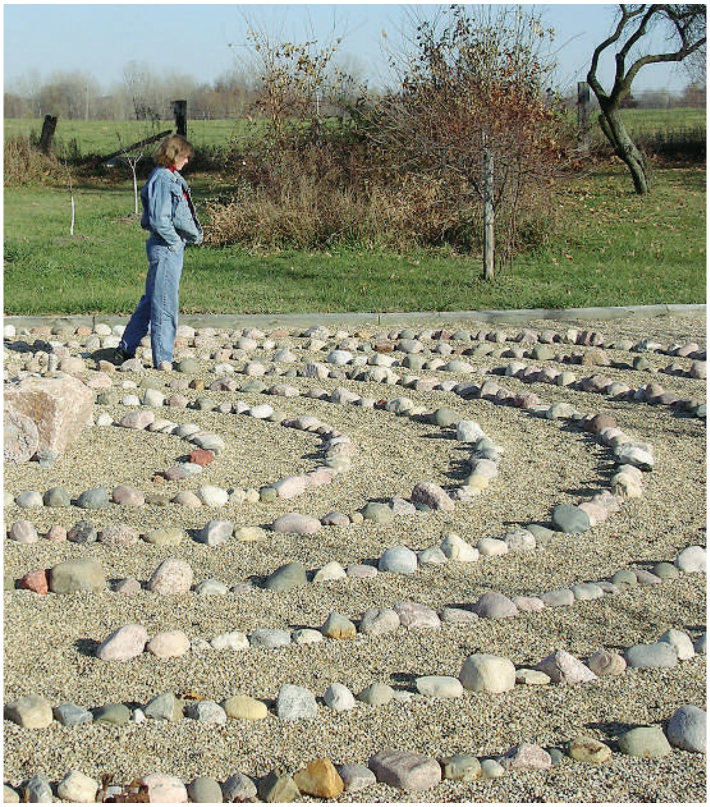

(a) An outdoor labyrinth near Michigan City, Indiana. *[Photograph by David Morgan]*

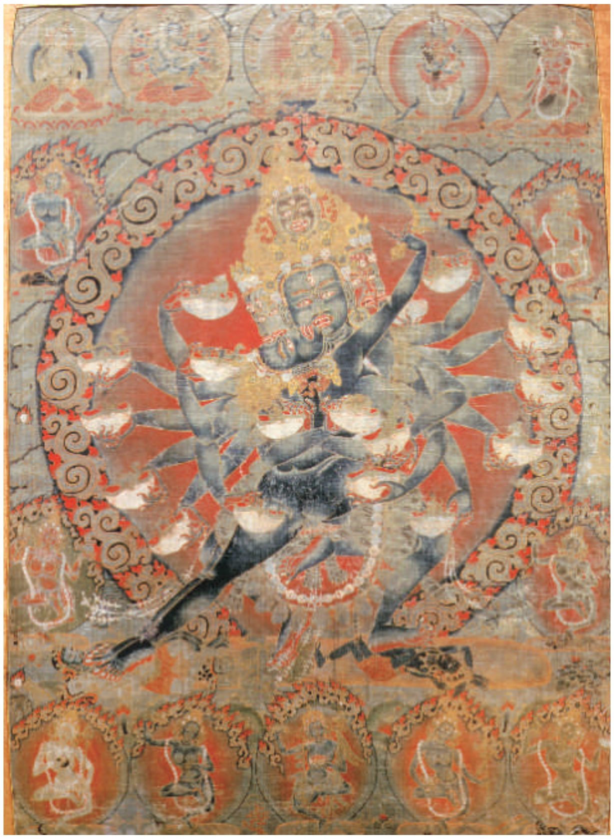

c) are highly detailed schematic images that organize levels of imagery around a central figure, a tutelary deity or buddha with whom the meditator ultimately seeks identity in mediation. The *maṇḍala* is a mnemonic device and an instructional aid in preparing for meditation, visualizing the many stages of meditation and helping one to remember them.

Seeing the deity or gazing upon the image of the saint or savior is an important aspect of many different religious traditions. *Visual piety* is a term that designates acts of veneration or adoration that engage the viewer in a powerful relationship with the sacred. Hindus perform *darśan* as a visual engagement in which the believer's vision of the deity is reciprocated as the deity's visual contact with the believer **(d)**. Some Christians contemplate the suffering

(b) Left. Seventeenth-century painting of the meditational deity Hevajra with Skati, the female embodiment of energy, gouache on silk, Tibet. *[The Art Archive/Musé Guimet Paris/Dagli Orti]* **(c)** Below. Novice monks from Simtokha, a Buddhist *dzong* near Thimphu, Bhutan, contribute to a sand *maṇḍala*. *[©Jeremy Horner/Corbis]*

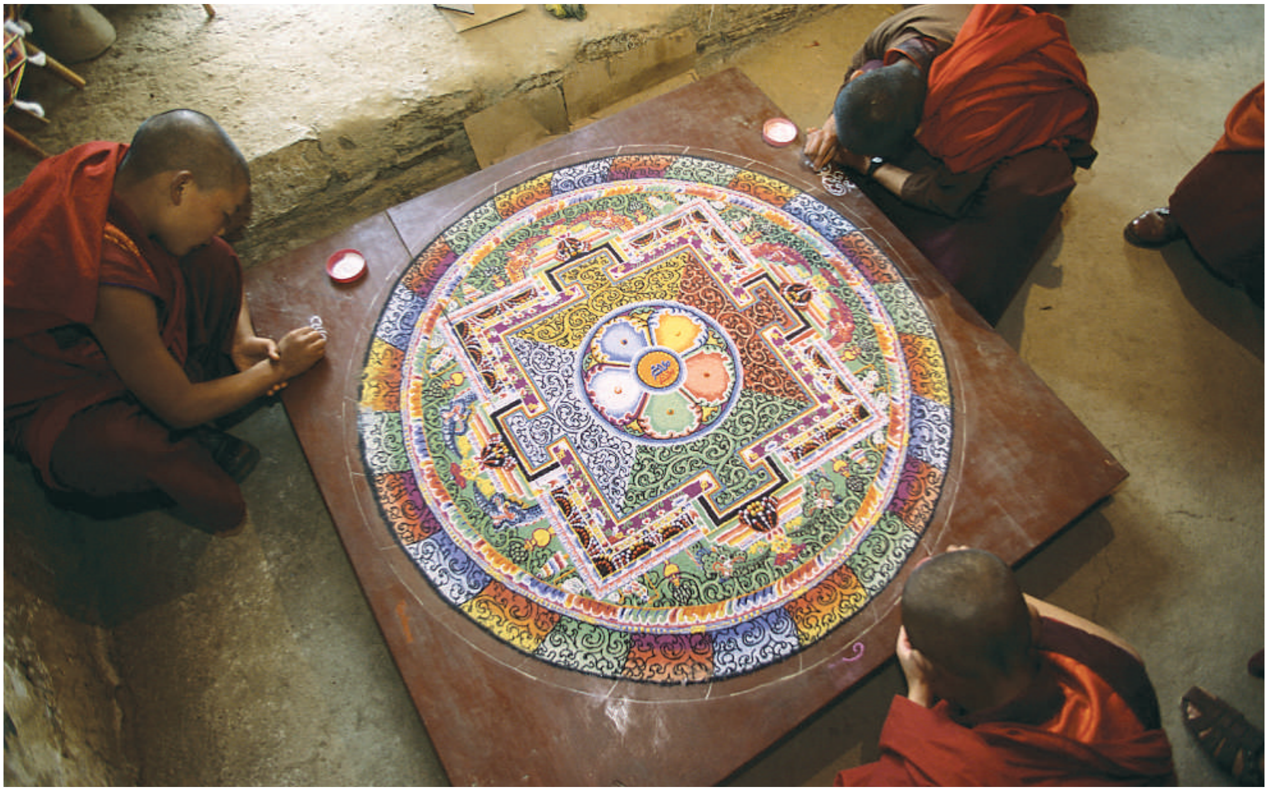

of Jesus or the saints as a way of participating empathetically in their passion and thereby experiencing pain and suffering as transfigured into a likeness or kinship with the sacred figure. An especially theatrical performance of empathy is enabled by Gian Lorenzo Bernini's well known sculpture and architectural installation, the Cornaro Chapel **(e)**, in which the viewer is invited to gaze on the sensuous vision of Saint Teresa of Ávila, who receives an ecstatic visitation of pain in the form of a golden arrow administered by an angel. In her autobiographical account of the mystical life, *The Interior Castle*, Saint Teresa describes the experience visualized by Bernini's sculpture: "I know that this distress seems to penetrate to [the soul's] very bowels; and that, when He that has wounded [the soul] draws out the arrow, the bowels seem to come with

(d) RIGHT. An Indian couple prays before a domestic shrine to the goddess Lakṣmī, wife of Viṣṇu, during the Dīvalī festival. *[©Arvind Garg/Corbis]* **(e) BELOW.** An eighteenth-century painting of Gian Lorenzo Bernini's sculpture (1645–1652) of the ecstacy of Saint Teresa of Ávila in the Cornaro Chapel of the church of Santa Maria della Vittoria in Rome. *[©Eric Lessing/Art Resource, N.Y.]*

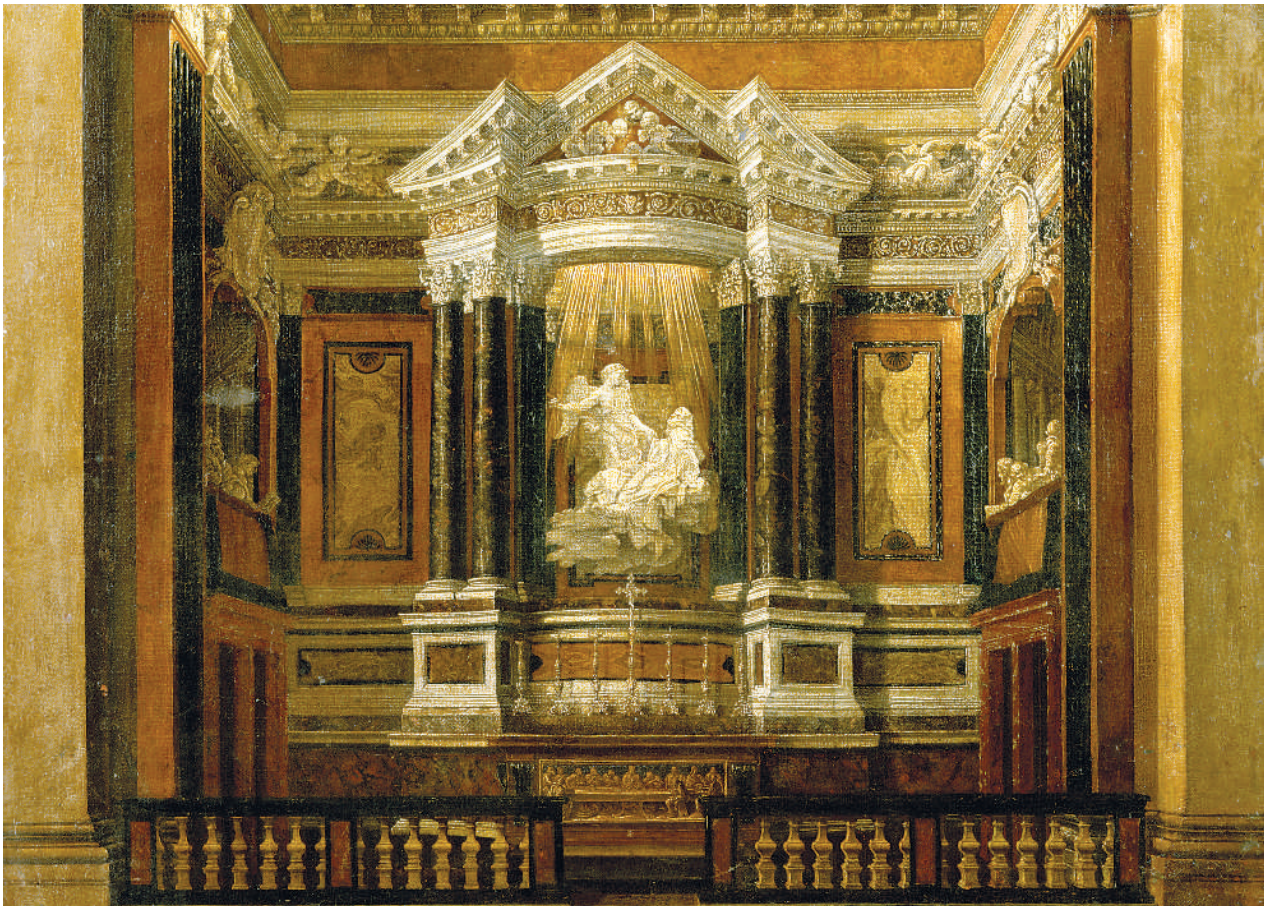

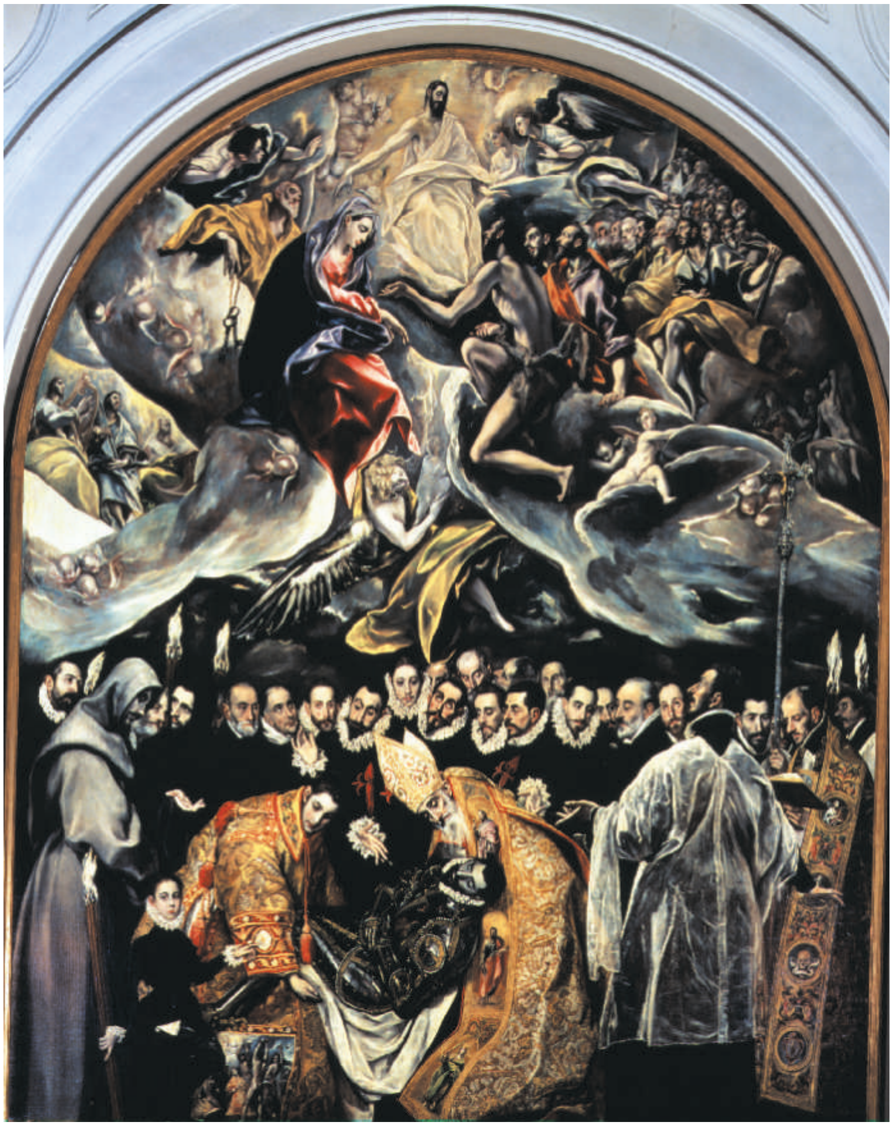

(f) El Greco, *The Burial of Count Orgaz*, 1586, in the church of Santo Tomé, Toledo, Spain. *[©Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.]*

it, so deeply does it feel this love" (Sixth Mansion, chap. 2). Bernini has included opera boxes on either side of the event, in which members of the Cornaro family devoutly witness the mystic spectacle. Above, the heavens open in a dazzling epiphany and illuminate the central event below. The artist's intention is not to craft a lurid spectacle, but to create a compelling image of the saint's embodied spirituality, in which pain was not explicitly erotic, but the register of divine presence.

The intermingling of heavenly and earthly domains was treated by another important artist. Vision is carefully parsed as a system of visual relays in El Greco's masterwork, *The Burial of Count Orgaz* **(f)**. The viewer's gaze is met by the young boy in the lower left and directed by his gesture to the body of the dead count, who is embraced by Saint Augustine. Another level of gestures and gazes directs the viewer upward to the angel ushering the soul of the count (the body of an infant) through a luminous conduit into the celestial domain where it is received first by the Madonna, who receives the homage of John the Baptist, who looks upward to the enthroned Christ. This succession of relays forms a vertical hierarchy that structures the ascent of the soul and maps the ontology of iconic devotion. Venerating the images of the saints means directing one's worship of God in and through Christ.

Jews, Muslims, and Protestant Christians often insist that they do not practice an iconic piety, but their traditions are not without visual forms of devotion. *The Way to Happiness* **(g)** is a good example of a Protestant configuration of the gaze. Instead of looking at an icon of Jesus, the young woman portrayed in this print by Nathaniel Currier looks longingly, with gleaming eyes, to the memory of her parents' devotional reading of scripture as she meditates prayerfully on the Bible. The print deftly interweaves reading, seeing, and remembering as corresponding acts of piety. For Chinese literati and artists such as Ma Yuan, who practiced an erudite and aesthetically refined Daoism, images of sages contemplating nature **(h)** were wistfully poetic ways of evoking a mindfulness of simplicity and a rustic transcendence of urban complexities and life at court during the Song dynasty. Modern viewers might

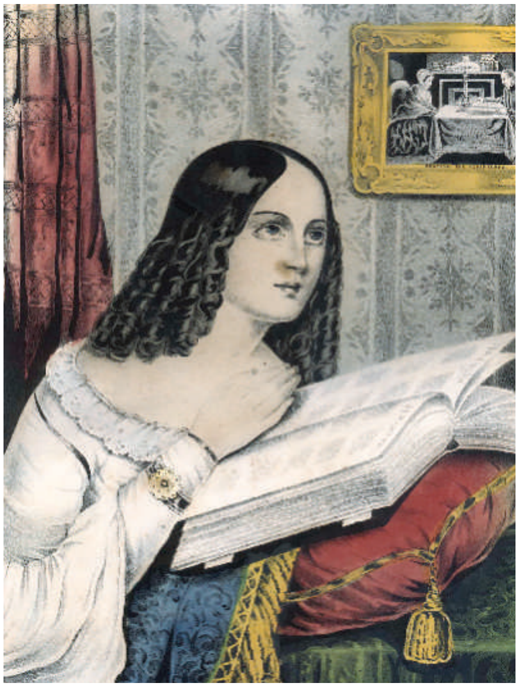

(g) ABOVE. Nathaniel Currier, *The Way to Happiness*, c. 1860–1870, lithograph. ***[Courtesy of the Billy Graham Center Museum, Wheaton, Ill.]*** **(h) BELOW.** Ma Yuan, (active 1190–1225) *Bare Willows and Distant Mountains*, ink on mounted silk fan, China. ***[©Burstein Collection/Corbis]***

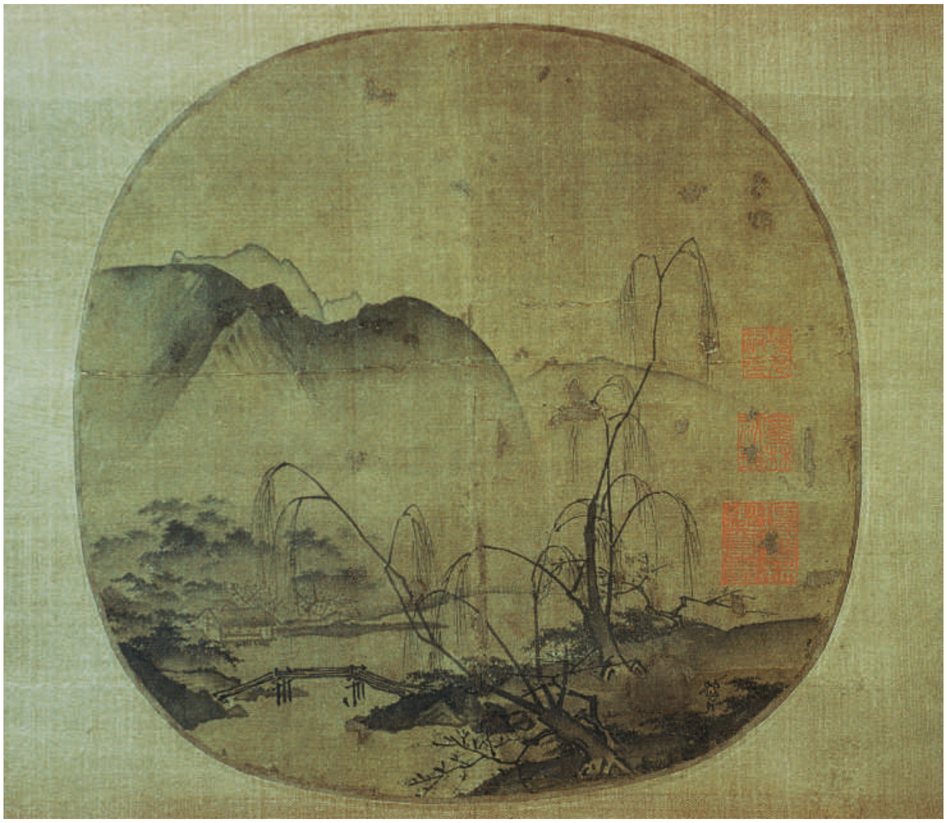

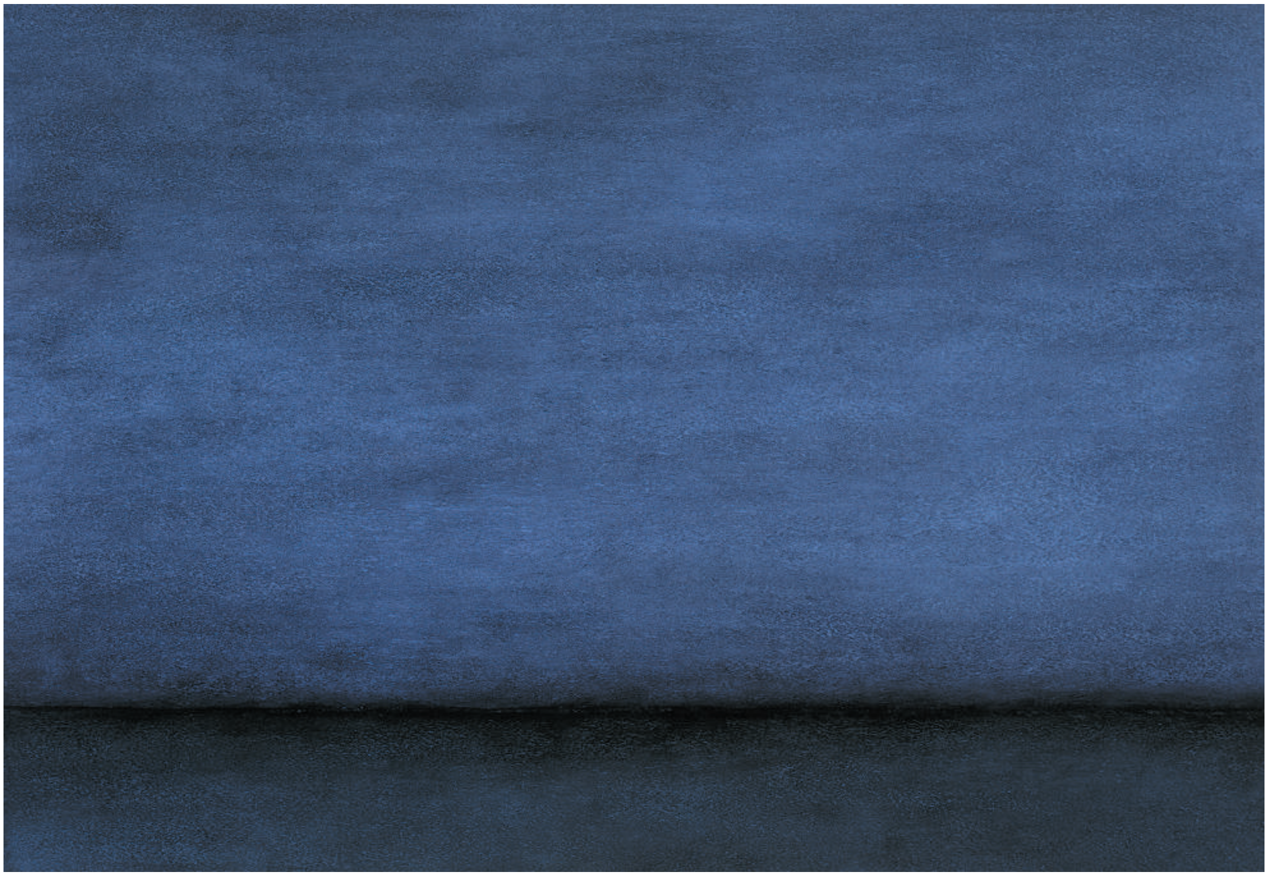

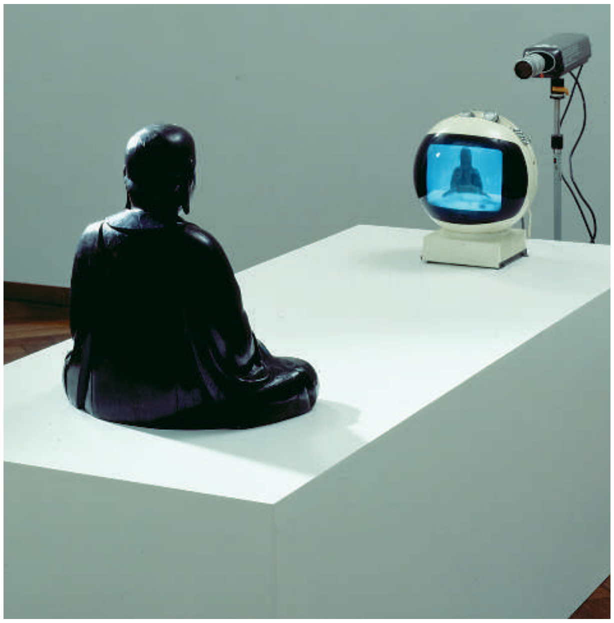

(i) Top. Tobi Kahn, *Ya-Ir XX,* 1999, oil on canvas. *[©1999 Tobi Kahn]* **(j) Above.** Nam June Paik, *TV Buddha,* 1974. *[Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam]*

find something of an equivalent refuge in Tobi Kahn's paintings of marine horizons **(i)**, in which the portentous contact of water and sky suggests something mythical, a moment of revelation about to occur. Like Ma Yuan's painting, the viewer is urged to regard the natural world as pregnant with meaning that cannot be spoken, only glimpsed.

Painters such as Ma Yuan and Tobi Kahn focus the viewer's attention on the material qualities of paint and canvas, while other image makers direct our attention to new media that rely on streams of electronic signals. Nam June Paik's *TV Buddha* **(j)** explores the relevance of videography for Buddhist meditation. One wonders who the real Buddha is: the statue of the seated figure or the image on the video monitor? The two seem inextricably and perpetually engaged in a single loop, mediating one another. By equating meditation and mediation, this work demonstrates strikingly how the sacred gaze constructs religious experience: to see the other is to think it and to provide thereby the medium for contemplating the self. A variation of this contemplative use of new media is the web user's devotional exercises at goddess sites. Coursing down a seamless electronic scroll, the viewer consumes the site in glancing movements of the eye, beholding not a discrete image, but an ever-shifting screen of pixels.

The destruction of imagery is actually a fundamental part of religious visual culture. The erasure of Buddhist and Navaho sand *maṇḍalas* **(c)** is a necessary part of their ritual significance. The histories of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam offer countless instances of the ritual destruction of images. For example, the Taliban in Afghanistan destroyed ancient carvings of the Buddha at Bamiyan **(k)** in the face of widespread objections. They did so in order to broadcast the militancy of their version of Islam, knowing that the act would elicit an unambivalent response through the instantaneous loop of global media, but also because the images may genuinely have offended their religious sensibility. Prompted by the rhetoric of iconoclastic audacity, the viewer glares at the broken image, either to celebrate its destruction or to loathe its destroyers in paroxysms of disgust. In yet another manner of iconoclasm, the Russian artist Kasimir Malevich both negated and reaffirmed the long Russian history of icon painting and veneration in his image *Black Cross* **(l)**. Whereas icon painting necessarily focused on the face and body of the saints, whose veneration was a fundamental aspect of Orthodox liturgy and devotion, Malevich's painting cancels the presence of the face with a bold geometry that both denies presence and reasserts it in the austere

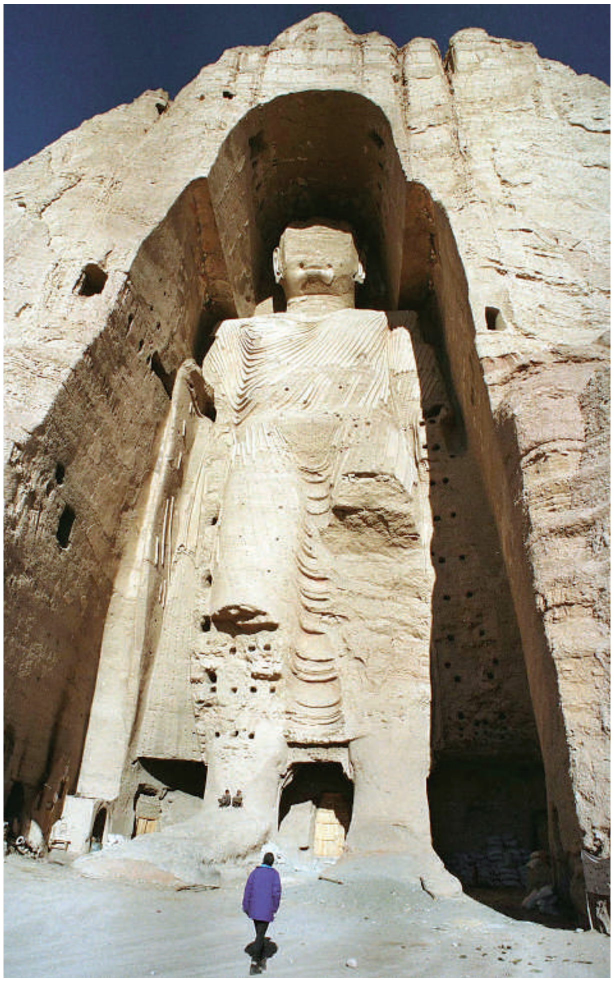

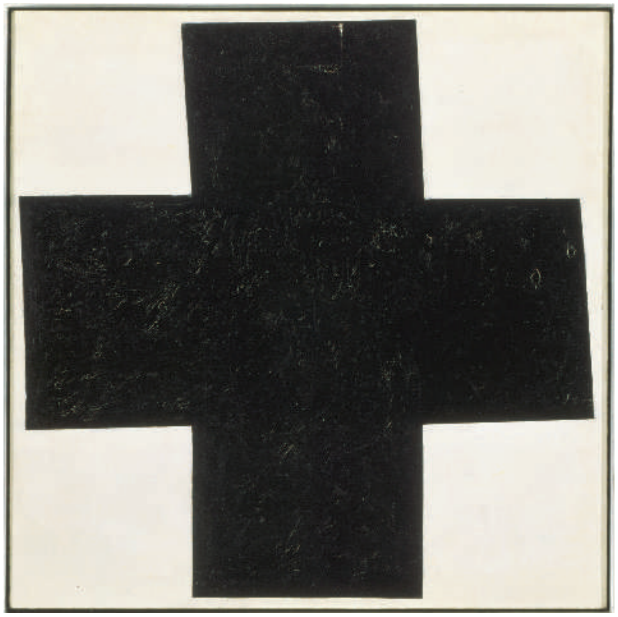

(k) ABOVE. Colossal standing Buddha in Bamiyan, Afghanistan, contructed no later than the sixth century CE, and destroyed 2001 by the Taliban. *[©Reuters/Corbis]* **(l)** LEFT. Kasimir Malevich, *Black Cross*, 1915, oil on canvas. *[CNAC/MNAM/Dist. Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.]*

abstraction of the cross. If the sacramental materiality of the human body is gone, the robust darkness of the cross replaces it with a new and foreboding presence. The shape of absence is the symbol of hope.

René Magritte's *Le Rossignol* (The nightingale) **(m)** may appear irreligious by causing the viewer to blink at the absurd juxtaposition of God in heaven and a roaring locomotive. The two images belie one another, though God comes off the worse. Thwarting the sacred hierarchy of El Greco's painting **(f)**, Magritte's image suggests that the same universe is not big enough to contain the worldview of industrial technology and the traditional deity perched on a cloudy throne above. Yet Magritte may use this iconoclastic device to suggest that the traditional conception of God is limited. An effective way to transcend the constraints of an idea is to violate its sanctity.

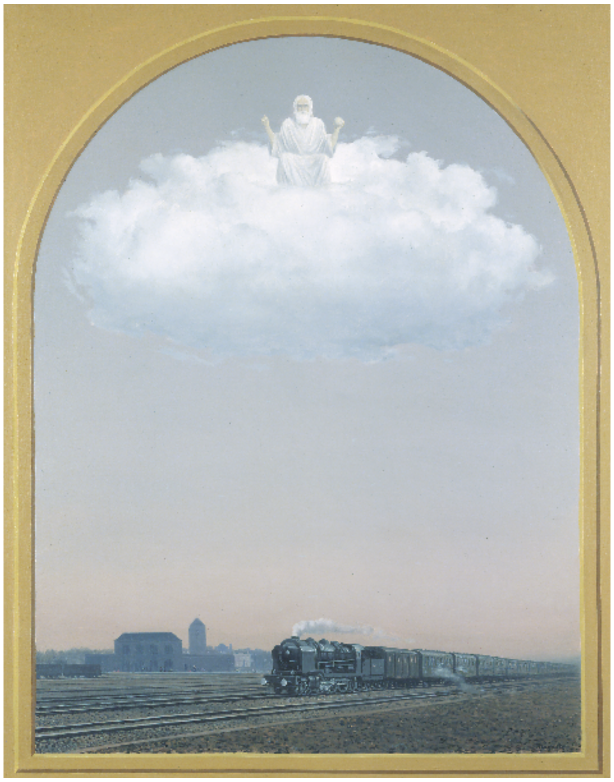

(m) René Magritte, *Le Rossignol* (The nightingale), 1955, gouache on paper. *[©Herscovici/Art Resource, N.Y.]*

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DAVID MORGAN (2005)

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CONTINUED

PIUS IX (Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti, 1792–1878), pope of the Roman Catholic Church (1846–1878). Born on May 13 into a family belonging to the gentry of the Papal States, the future pope had his priestly formation delayed by an epilepsy-like illness. This left him with an excessively impulsive temperament for the rest of his life.

Mastai was ordained at Rome on April 10, 1815, and in an age when most young priests aimed at a successful career in the church, he stood out because of his piety and complete detachment from ecclesiastical honors. Serving as an assistant to the papal delegate to Chile (1823–1825) gave him an opportunity to see not only the difficulties that liberal governments with regalist tendencies could cause the church but also the new dimensions that missionary problems were acquiring. As bishop of Spoleto (1827), then of Imola (1832), in a region largely won over to the liberal and nationalist ideals of the Risorgimento, he won esteem not only for his pastoral zeal and sympathy for Italian patriotic aspirations, but also for his desire to improve the outmoded and repressive regime of the Papal States.

At the death of Gregory XVI, Mastai, a cardinal since 1840, became the preferred candidate of those conservatives who thought it necessary to make some concession to aspirations for a modernization of the administration of the pontifical state. He was elected pope on the second day of the conclave, June 16, 1846.

The first months of Pius IX's pontificate seemed to confirm the reputation of "liberal" that reactionary circles in Rome had pinned on this enlightened conservative. Disillusionment soon set in: first, in the area of internal reforms, because the new pope had no intention of transforming the Papal States into a modern constitutional state, and, second, when he refused to intervene in the war of independence against Austria because he thought such a step would be incompatible with his religious mission as common father of all the faithful. Economic difficulties and the pope's lack of political experience finally precipitated a crisis. The Roman uprisings of 1848–1849, crushed with the help of a French expeditionary force, left Pius IX more convinced than ever that there was an inher-

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Clockwise from top left corner. Fifteenth-century woodcut depicting the burning of the Jews. *[©Bettmann/Corbis]*; Sixth-century BCE Laconian cup depicting Atlas and the punishment of Prometheus. Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Vatican Museums. *[©Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; The pyramids of Giza, Egypt: Menkaure (foreground), Khafre, and Khufu. *[©Yann Arthus-Bertrand/Corbis]*; The Temple of Poseidon in Sounion, Greece. *[©Jan Butchofsky-Houser/Corbis]*; Nineteenth-century carving of the Polynesian god Rongo, from the Gambier Islands. Museo Missionario Etnologico, Vatican Museums. *[©Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.]* .

ent connection between the principles of the French Revolution (1789) and the destruction of traditional social, moral, and religious values.

The reactionary restoration that followed upon the pope's return to Rome after his flight to Gaeta was to play into the hands of Cavour (Camillo Benso), who exploited the discontent of the middle classes and was able in 1860 to annex the greatest part of the Papal States. In 1870, the Italian army took advantage of the Franco-Prussian War to occupy Rome and its environs. Pius IX, who saw himself less as a dethroned ruler than as the owner of a property for which he was responsible to the entire Catholic world, felt he could not accept the unification of Italy and attempted, with little success, to organize Italian Catholic resistance.

Politically inexpert, Pius IX was advised mostly by men who judged affairs with the intransigence of theoreticians lacking any contact with the contemporary mind. He never understood that in the modern world the problem of the Holy See's spiritual independence could no longer be resolved by the anachronistic preservation of a papal political sovereignty. Thereafter, obsessed by what he called the "revolution," he identified himself increasingly with the conservative governments whose support seemed to provide the most effective guarantee for the maintenance and ultimate restoration of the Roman state. Moreover, seeing that the pope's temporal power had been challenged in the name of the liberal conception of the state and of the right of peoples to self-determination, he issued more and more protests against liberalism. The most spectacular of these were the encyclical *Quanta cura* (1864) and the *Syllabus of Errors* that accompanied it.

Pius IX was never able to distinguish between, on the one hand, what was of positive value in the confused aspirations of the age for a democratization of public life and was preparing in the long run for a greater spiritualization of the Catholic apostolate and, on the other hand, what represented a compromise with principles alien to the Christian spirit. He saw in liberalism only an ideology that denied the supernatural. He confused democracy with anarchy, and he could not grasp the historical impossibility of claiming for the Roman Catholic Church both protection from the state and the independence from it he valued so highly.

As a result, Pius IX was unable to adapt the Roman Catholic Church to the profound political and social developments of his time. Nor was he able to provide the impulse that Catholic thought needed if it was to respond effectively to the excesses of rationalism and materialistic positivism. By abandoning control of the church's intellectual life to narrow minds that could only condemn new tendencies as incompatible with traditional positions, he lost valuable time. The real roots of the modernist crisis may be traced back to his pontificate.

Central to the pope's zeal was a confused and clumsily expressed perception of the need to remind a society intoxicated by a scientistic conception of progress of the primacy of what theologians call the supernatural order: the biblical vision of humanity and salvation history, which is opposed to an interpretation of history as a progressive emancipation from religious values and to such a great confidence in human potentialities that there is no room for a redeemer. If we are to understand the inflexibility with which Pius IX fought his battle against liberalism, "the error of the century," as he called it, we must see this struggle as the center of his efforts to focus Christian thinking once again on the fundamental data of revelation. In his own mind, the First Vatican Council (1869–1870), which was interrupted by the entry of the Italians into Rome, was to be the crown upon these efforts.

Historians have for a long time judged the pontificate of Pius IX negatively because of his failures in the realm of diplomacy and his fruitless efforts to resist the advance of liberalism. More recently, however, scholars have come to see that matters were more complex and that Pius IX's activities were a notable help in strengthening the Roman Catholic Church in its religious sphere, whatever may be thought of certain debatable tendencies.

Missionary expansion advanced at an increasingly rapid pace on five continents during the thirty-two years of Pius IX's pontificate, and thriving churches were developed in Canada, Australia, and especially the United States as a result of Roman Catholic emigration from Europe, but his personal role in this expansion was secondary. On the other hand, he made an important contribution to the progress of the ultramontane movement, which caused guidance of the universal church to be concentrated increasingly in the pope's hands. This movement, given solemn approbation by Vatican I's definition of the pope's personal infallibility and his primacy of jurisdiction, did not go unresisted by those who saw the advantages of pluralism in the local churches and feared to see the episcopates come under the thumb of the Roman Curia. But Pius IX, whose very real virtues were idealized and who benefited from a special sympathy because of his repeated misfortunes, succeeded in rousing in the Roman Catholic world a real "devotion to the pope" which remarkably facilitated the enthusiastic adhesion of the masses and the lower clergy to the new conception of the pope's role in the church. While Pius IX did all he could to encourage this trend, he did so less from personal ambition or a liking for a theocracy than for essentially pastoral reasons: the movement seemed to him to be both a condition for the restoration of Catholic life wherever government interference in the local churches threatened to smother apostolic zeal and the best means of regrouping all the vital forces of Roman Catholicism for response to the mounting wave of "secularization."

No less important were the largely successful efforts of Pius IX to promote the renewal of the religious orders and congregations, encourage the raising of the spiritual level of the clergy, and improve the quality of ordinary Catholic life.

During his pontificate there developed an immense movement of eucharistic devotion, devotion to the Sacred Heart, and Marian devotion (the latter being encouraged by the definition in 1854 of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary). This movement has sometimes been faulted as superficial, but the multiplication of charitable works and pious associations and the immense development of the religious congregations give the lie to this simplistic judgment. Pius IX himself made a large contribution to these developments. First, he was an example of personal piety for the devotional movement. Second, and above all, he applied himself systematically to energizing, and at times even pushing, the development that had begun right after the great revolutionary crisis. It was precisely because he regarded an intransigent attitude as indispensable to this work of Christian restoration that he forced himself, despite his personal preference for conciliation and appeasement, to repeat unceasingly certain principles that he believed formed the basis for a Christian restoration of society.

Pius IX was handicapped by a superficial intellectual formation that often kept him from grasping the complexity of problems. In addition, the mystical confidence this deeply devout man had in Providence and the excessive importance he attached to prophecies and other manifestations of the extraordinary made him too ready to see in the political upheavals in which the church was involved only a new episode in the great conflict between God and Satan. But having said this we must not forget the very real qualities of the man—simplicity, refinement, serenity, and courage in adversity—and of the pastor, whose ruling concern was always to be first and foremost a churchman, responsible before God for the defense of threatened Christian values.

SEE ALSO Modernism, article on Christian Modernism; Ultramontanism; Vatican Councils, article on Vatican I.

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ROGER AUBERT (1987)
Translated from French by Matthew J. O'Connell

PLANTS SEE VEGETATION

PLATO. Plato (c. 428–348 BCE), a Greek philosopher and founder of the Athenian Academy, was an Athenian citizen of high birth who grew up during the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BCE). He was a member of the circle of young men who surrounded the charismatic Socrates (469–399 BCE). After Socrates died, Plato withdrew from public life. He traveled to southern Italy and Sicily, where he not only met the tyrant Dionysius I and began a lifelong involvement with Dion of Syracuse, but also came in contact with the Pythagorean school that flourished in southern Italy. Soon after his return to Athens (c. 387 BCE) Plato began meeting with colleagues and pupils at his home near the grove of Academus outside the walls of Athens. The rest of his life—apart from two ill-starred visits to Syracuse at the behest of Dion—was devoted to teaching and inquiry in this community, where, in dialogue between teacher and pupils, the mathematical disciplines were pursued for the sake of their contribution to an understanding of the foundations of moral and political life (see *Republic* 526d–532c). Plato used the dialogue form in writing, not only to portray Socrates himself (in the so-called early dialogues, such as *Apology, Crito, Euthyphro,* and *Laches*), but also to present the outlines of his own growing and changing thought. In the great dialogues of the middle period—*Phaedo, Republic, Symposium, Phaedrus*—Plato develops the basic themes of his philosophical vision. In the late dialogues, he pursues a variety of insights and difficulties concerning the nature of knowledge and of being *(Theaetetus, Parmenides, Sophist),* produces a treatise on the structures of the visible cosmos *(Timaeus),* and offers reconsidered accounts of the best constitution for a city-state *(Statesman, Laws).*

PLATO'S DOCTRINE. The main feature that characterizes traditional Greek religion before Plato is the distinction between gods and human beings, or immortals and mortals. Inspired by minority religious beliefs, Plato reacted against this presupposition and assigned to human beings the goal of assimilating themselves to god. This radical reversal, to which the Platonic tradition was to lay claim throughout antiquity, was based on a twofold opposition: first, between intelligible realities and sensible things, which participate in the intelligible; and secondly, between soul and body. Soul accounts for the spontaneous movement of a living body, yet it can separate itself from its original body in order to transfer itself into another one.

Plato maintained the existence of "Forms" (*eide*) in order to explain how this world, where everything is in constant change, presents enough permanence and stability for human beings to be able to know it, act upon it, and talk about it. In the belief that such stability and permanence were not to be found in the sensible world, Plato therefore postulated the existence of a reality of another kind that would fulfill these requirements and explain why, within that which never stops changing, there is something that does not change. In the *Phaedo* (79b), Socrates admits "that there exist two species of beings: on the one hand, the visible species, and on the other the invisible species." In fact, these two species of beings are separate. Nevertheless, the separation between the "intelligible" and the "sensible" cannot be complete, simply because the existence of the "Forms" must contribute a solution to the paradoxes that "sensible" particulars never cease generating. "Sensible" realities receive their names from "intelligible" realities. Above all, "sensible" can be truly known only through the intermediary of the "intelligible."

Sensible things are bodies, which, as is explained in the *Timaeus*, are made up of the four elements—fire, air, water, and earth—and of them alone. Because the body (*soma*) has come into being, no body is indestructible in itself (*Timaeus* 28a3). Nevertheless, a distinction must be made between the bodies that receive their motion from outside and those that move spontaneously because they are endowed with a soul (*psyche*) that can be directed by a higher faculty: the intellect (*nous*). The intellect enables the perception of the intelligible realities in which sensible things participate.

The soul is defined as the self-moving principle of all motion, physical as well as psychic (*Laws* X, 896e–897a). The immediate consequence of this definition is as follows: we must attribute immortality (*Phaedrus* 245a–d) to the soul as a whole, which, by definition, can have no beginning or end. Particular souls, and namely those of mortal beings (those of human beings, which can transfer into other human bodies and even into the bodies of animals), are, as shall be seen, subject to cycles of ten thousand years, at the end of which they lose the features that characterize them. In the course of the following cycle, they acquire new characteristics.

WHAT PLATO UNDERSTANDS BY "GOD" (*THEOS*). If we wish to speak of religion in Plato, we must first ask ourselves what Plato understands by "god" (*theos*), that is, by "immortal." When, in the *Phaedrus* (246c–d), he tries to describe what a god is, Plato shows himself to be very prudent. He begins by situating his discourse not on the level of *logos,* which is based on argued knowledge that makes a claim to truth, but on that of *mythos,* or a story that remains likely; and he concludes by an appeal for benevolence on the part of the divinity, which takes the form of a prayer. There is, however, a definition that will not vary: a god is an immortal living being.

It follows that since the intelligible realities (including the Good) are defined as intelligible forms, they cannot be considered as gods. Since they are incorporeal, these intelligible forms cannot have a body, and since they are immutable, they can neither be nor have a soul, which, by definition, is a motion that moves itself. In addition, Plato never qualifies an intelligible form—even the highest one, that of the Good—as a god (*theos*), although it may happen that the intelligible is qualified as "divine" (*theion*) as it is in the *Phaedo* (81a3, 83e1, 84a1), the *Republic* (VI 500e3, VII 517d5, X 611e2), the *Statesman* (269d6), the *Theaetetus* (176e4), the *Parmenides* (134e4), and the *Philebus* (22c6, 62a8). Here, the adjective has a hyperbolic value, which implies opposition with regard to "human" (*anthropinon). Theion* designates what is perfect in its kind as a function of its relation with that which bestows this perfection: the intelligible, which is therefore also *theion.* The intelligible brings the god its nourishment and its very divinity (*Phaedrus* 247d). Thus, to imitate the god, who is wise (he is a *sophos*), human beings must seek to become wise themselves (*philosophoi*) and to tend toward that wisdom that is conferred by the contemplation of the intelligible.

For Plato, a living being is one endowed with a body and a soul. Among living beings, however, some are mortal and others are not. Since the soul is by definition immortal (*Phaedrus* 245a–d), a living being can therefore be declared to be "mortal" only as a function of its body. Those living beings whose body can be destroyed are mortal, and as a consequence the soul can separate itself from the body it moves (see *Timaeus* 85e). This is the case for mankind and all the beings that inhabit the air, the earth, and the waters (see *Timaeus* 90e–92c). However, there are living beings whose soul and body are united forever because their body cannot be destroyed. The body of these living bodies is not in itself indestructible, for, according to an axiom of Greek thought, all that is born is liable to perish (see *Timaeus* 28a and 38b). It is the goodness of he who has fabricated them that ensures that they will not be destroyed (*Timaeus* 41a–c).

In addition to being endowed with an indissoluble body, the gods possess a soul, whose higher faculty—intellect (*nous*)—is constantly active and seizes its object (that is, intelligible reality) immediately and without obstacles. Once his soul is incarnated, the human being can accede to the intelligible only through the intermediary of his senses, at the end of the complex process to which Plato gives the name of reminiscence (*anamnesis*), which enables the soul to remember the intelligible realities it contemplated when it was separated from all earthly bodies. Ultimately, it is the quality of this contemplation that makes a god a god. In brief, for Plato a god is a living being endowed with a body that is indestructible, not in itself but through the will of the demiurge, and with a soul that possesses a perfect intellect.

As compounds of a body and a soul, the gods form part of an extremely vast hierarchical structure. They are situated at the summit, together with the demons (see *Symposium* 202d), the most famous of whom is Eros. Then come human beings, men and women; then the animals that live in the air, on earth, and in the water, in which human beings may come to be incarnated by virtue of the quality of their intellectual activity; at the very bottom, we must range the plants (*Timaeus* 76e–77a). Two criteria enable the gods to be isolated from all the rest of living beings: their indestructibility and the quality of their intellect. This being the case, let us draw up an inventory of the beings that may be qualified as "gods."

Beings That May Qualify as "Gods." First, there is the universe, whose constitution is described in the *Timaeus.* The body of the world, which is unique, has the appearance of a vast sphere, bereft of organs and of members. This sphere includes within itself the totality of elements so that nothing can come to attack it from outside, and it is therefore exempt from illness and death. What is more, the demiurge, because of his goodness, does not wish the universe to be subject to corruption. Within this body he placed a soul, which is situated between the sensible and the intelligible and is endowed with a mathematical structure. In fact, its structure is twofold: motor, since it moves bodies as a whole, including the celestial bodies; and cognitive, insofar as it is Providence. The motion that animates the world is as simple as possible: that of a sphere rotating around its axis, from west to east, on the spot. This physical motion is associated in turn with a twofold cognitive faculty, which seems to deal with the intelligible and the sensible; this is a necessary condition if one admits that the world soul must rule over the universe. The world soul, associated with an indestructible body that it dominates, is in addition endowed with an intellect that is perfect and whose activity is incessant. How, then, can we avoid concluding that the universe is a blessed god (*Laws* VII 821a)?

The celestial bodies (made up of fire) and the earth (made up, above all, of earth) are qualified as "divine" because they meet the criteria stated above. They are indeed immortal living beings that consist of a body that cannot be destroyed, and of their own soul, endowed with an intellect. A hierarchy is established between the celestial bodies, associated with their motion, to which the passage mentioned bears witness. The fixed stars proceed from east to west in a perfectly uniform way, for the motion of their soul does not give rise to any interference. The soul governing the wandering stars introduces anomalies in the motion of their trajectories. The earth, for its part, remains at rest at the center of the universe simply because in it conflicting types of motion cancel each other out.

The traditional gods are mentioned in an enigmatic passage: "Thus, when all the gods, both those whose circular motions we observe, and those who show themselves only when they so wish, the begetter of this universe spoke to them" (*Timaeus* 41a). These are also living immortal beings, endowed with a soul and a body, although it is hard to know what the body of the traditional gods is made of. We can suppose it is fire, since we find in the *Timaeus* a passage where the different species of living beings are associated with an element: the gods with fire, the birds with air, the living beings that walk or crawl with earth, and fish with water (*Timaeus* 39e–40a). One might think that the association of the divinity with fire holds only for celestial bodies, but it is, it seems, permissible to extrapolate to the traditional gods for two reasons: (1) in the next paragraphs the celestial bodies are mentioned first (*Timaeus* 40a–d), then the traditional gods (*Timaeus* 40d–e); and (2) the demiurge then addresses the totality of these gods (*Timaeus* 41a–c).

The soul of the traditional gods is in every point similar in structure to that of human beings (see *Phaedrus* 246a–d); this is why the gods can be subject to aggressiveness and experience feelings and passions. Unlike that of human beings, the soul of the gods is always good because their soul is permanently guided by their intellect, which perfectly contemplates the intelligible (*Phaedrus* 247c–e). In this magnificent passage, we find a constant mixture between tradition and novelty, myth and philosophy, where myth is the object of a transposition. The gods, whom the poets describe as leading a life of banquets on Olympus, where they feed on special food, nectar and ambrosia, are described in the *Phaedrus* as nourishing their soul with the intelligible. We should also note their peculiar language, which is more correct than that of men, probably because of the quality of their contemplation.

This contemplation enables assimilation to the god: "Such is the life of the gods. Let us move on to the other souls. That which is the best, because it follows the god and seeks to resemble it . . ." (*Phaedrus* 247e–249a). This is the sense in which we must understand that the intelligible forms are qualified as "divine." However, the motion that animates the traditional gods is less uniform than that which animates the celestial bodies. In the central myth of the *Phaedrus*, they rise and fall, although many of the verbs that describe these movements feature the idea of circularity.

There remains the most controversial case: the *demiourgos* of the *Timaeus*, to whom we must assimilate the *phutourgos* of the *Republic.* He who fashions the universe in the *Timaeus* is explicitly qualified as a "god": "Thus, in conformity with an explanation which is merely probable, we must say that this world (*cosmos*), which is a living being provided with a soul that is endowed with an intellect, was truly engendered as a result of the reflective decision of a god" (*Timaeus* 30b–c). This god is, however, described as a worker who thinks, has feelings, speaks, and acts. At *Timaeus* 29e30b it becomes clear that the demiurge is a god endowed with an intellect: he "reasons" and "reflects"; he "takes things into consideration" and he "foresees," and he is author of acts of "will." His responsibility is engaged; he "speaks"; and when he contemplates his works, he "rejoices." In addition, the description of his activity is scarcely compatible with the absence of a body. Besides being qualified as a "father," the personage who causes the universe to appear is qualified as "demiurge," "maker," wax-modeller, and carpenter, and he is a builder whose most important function is assembling. Moreover, if one considers the verbs that metaphorically describe his action, one realizes that the demiurge carries out several activities that are typical of some arts and crafts.

However, nowhere is it said that the demiurge has a soul and a body simply because it is he who fashioned soul and body in their totality. This is probably the reason some commentators have maintained that the demiurge cannot be separated from the soul, of which he must, one way or another, be like the intellect. Yet it seems very difficult to accept this position, for this would amount to pulling up the ladder one has just used. In summary, Plato describes the demiurge, even if only metaphorically, as a god endowed with a body and a soul.

At the summit of the divine Platonic hierarchy, then, we find the demiurge, who fashions the other gods. He is thus considered as the god who always is, and he is in a paradoxical situation with regard to the soul and the body he is supposed to fashion. Then we find the universe, which comes into being as a result of the demiurge's action; this god takes on the appearance of the most perfect form in that he rotates on the spot. Then there come the fixed stars and the planets, whose body is also spherical: but the fixed stars take on a circular motion that is perfectly regular if we compare it to that of the planets, which feature certain irregularities. The status of the earth is also problematic; bereft of motion, it rests at the center of the universe and presents an imperfectly spherical form. The traditional gods, for their part, are subject to motions that are not only circular but also linear, for they can rise and descend in the heavens.

In brief, whether one looks at traditional mythology, at Plato, at Aristotle, at the Stoics or the Epicureans, the gods are always considered as living immortal beings, endowed with an indestructible body and a soul that possesses an intellect. The idea that there may be gods who do not possess either a soul or a body is, it seems, contemporary with the efforts made by the Middle Platonists to ensure the preeminence of the first god. In this divinity, they saw both the Demiurge of the *Timaeus,* and the Good of the *Republic,* which they considered as an intellect in actuality, whose intelligible forms were the thoughts. In addition, it bears the mark of the definitive assimilation carried out by Plotinus between the Intellect and the Intelligible that all the later Neoplatonists were to follow. Even in this context, however, there remained an important place for the lower gods, endowed with a soul and a body. The same holds true for the Neoplatonists.

Since the gods possess a soul whose highest faculty, the intellect (*nous*), is constantly active, and this intellect grasps its object, the Forms (*eide*), immediately and without obstacles, they are necessarily good (*agathoi*), since evil is equivalent to ignorance; hence the saying that "No one commits evil willingly." One can understand, then, why Plato condemns the poets who describe the gods indulging in unjust or indecent acts. Since every god is good, it follows that none can be responsible for any evil (*Republic* X 617e). Thus, in the myth of the *Statesman,* as in Book X of the *Laws,* the possibility of divinities opposing one another is rejected. This amounts to a condemnation of dualism.

MORTAL LIVING BEINGS. Beneath the gods in the hierarchy are souls that possess an intellect like the gods but are liable to be attached to a body that, unlike that of the gods, is destructible. These inferior souls are subject to temporality; their existence is marked by cycles of ten thousand years, imposed by destiny, which involve a system of retribution based on reincarnation.

In order to account for the soul's relations with an indestructible body, Plato, beginning with the *Republic,* distinguishes three powers within the soul, the first of which is in itself immortal, whereas the two others enjoy immortality only as long as the body over which they reign is indestructible. The immortal power of soul—that is, the intellect (*nous*)—contemplates the intelligible realities, of which sensible things are mere images. By its means, human beings are akin to a god, or rather to a *daimon.* The other two powers are: (1) the spirit (*thumos*) that enables mortal living beings to defend themselves, and (2) the desire (*epithumia*) that enables them to remain alive and reproduce. Whereas the intellect can be said to be immortal, these two powers are declared to be mortal because they are associated with functions that enable the survival of the sensible body to which the soul is attached, albeit only for a lifetime.

When applied to mortal living beings, and in particular to human beings, the psychic tripartition just mentioned is associated with one that is corporeal and even social. In the *Timaeus,* Plato associates each power of soul with a place in the body. The lowest or desiring power, which ensures the functions of survival (by provoking the desire for food) and of reproduction (by provoking sexual desire), is situated under the diaphragm, in the area of the liver. Above the diaphragm, in the area of the heart, is the spirited power, which enables human beings to remain alive by ensuring defensive functions, both within and without. This second power enables a mediation between the desiring power and reason, situated in the head, which is responsible for all the processes of knowledge that can be expressed in speech. In human beings, only reason is immortal, for the spirited power and the desiring power are restricted to ensuring the functions that enable destructible bodies to maintain themselves in good working order for a specific time. When this body is destroyed, the spirited power and the desiring power associated with it can only disappear, and this is why they are qualified as "mortal" (*Timaeus* 69d).

This psychic tripartition, associated with a corporeal one, is in addition related to a functional tripartition in a social context. At the end of Book II of the *Republic,* Plato proposes an organization in which individuals are distributed in *functional* groups in accordance with this hierarchy, based on the predominance in the human individual of one of three powers: intellect (*nous*), spirit (*thumos*), or desire (*epithumia*). The most numerous group, responsible for ensuring the production of food and of wealth, is made up of farmers and craftsmen. This group is protected by guardians, or warriors, responsible for ensuring the maintenance of order, both within and outside the city. Insofar as they can possess neither property nor money, the guardians are completely separated from the producers, who, in exchange for the protection they receive from the guardians, must feed them and ensure their upkeep. From these functional groups, a very small number of individuals are chosen, those who are intended for higher education and the government of the city.

Soul, as an incorporeal whole, is immortal; yet one individual soul can be attached to a particular body, which is, for its part, subject to destruction. However, the soul is recycled every ten thousand years; in this way, Plato's thought on soul is not so different from Asian (particularly Hindu) doctrines on reincarnation. We now turn to consider the soul's wanderings.

During the first millennium (*Phaedrus* 245d–248c), the soul is separated from all destructible bodies, whereas during the following nine millennia (*Phaedrus* 248c–e), it passes from body to body as a function of the moral value of its previous existence, which is determined by the quality of its intellectual activity. This intellectual activity is a reminiscence (*anamnesis*), or memory, of the soul's contemplation of intelligible realities when it was separated from all terrestrial bodies. At the end of this first millennium, all souls that are worthy of being associated with a sensible body inhabit the body of a man—that is, a male, even though the sexual organs are still missing; and this association remains valid for the following millennium. A man who loves knowledge or beauty and who has chosen an upright life for three consecutive millennia will be able to escape from the cycle of reincarnations and rise back up to the heavens. The others will voyage from one body to another, beginning with the third millennium (*Timaeus* 90e–92c). The first category of bodies in which these imperfect souls may be incarnated is that of women: whoever displays cowardice enters into the body of a woman, since virility is associated with war in ancient Greece. Only in the course of this millennium does the distinction of the sexes appear, thus allowing sexual reproduction. Then come incarnations in various kinds of what we call "animals," although there is no specific term in ancient Greek to designate this category of living beings. They are classified as a function of the elements (beginning with the air, since fire is reserved for the gods), in a vertical order. At the top, birds fly through the air. Then come the living beings that inhabit the surface of the earth; these are the quadrupeds, insects, and reptiles. Finally, there are the aquatic animals: fish, shellfish, and others, which are the most stupid.

In fact, Plato describes a psychic *continuum* in which one finds a hierarchical order of gods, demons, human beings, and the animals that live in the air, on the earth, and in the water—and even, as shall be seen, plants. Intellectual activity, conceived as the intuition of intelligible forms, constitutes the criterion that enables a distinction to be made between all these souls. Gods and demons contemplate the intelligible forms directly, and, as it were, incessantly. Human beings share this privilege only during a certain period of their existence, when their souls are separated from all bodies. Once human souls have been incarnated, their contemplation of the intelligible forms is mediate, since it must pass through the intermediary of the senses; above all, it is more or less uncertain. By contrast, animals use their intellect less and less as one goes down the scale of beings.

Within the psychic scale mentioned above, one notes two discontinuities: (1) a discontinuity between the souls of gods and of demons (which never fall into a body subject to destruction) and the souls of human beings and animals (which inhabit destructible bodies with diverse appearances); and (2) a discontinuity between the souls of human beings and animals (which are endowed with a rational power) and the souls of plants (which are reduced to the desiring power).

Let us consider one by one the consequences of these two discontinuities.

1. In this hierarchical system, only souls endowed with an intellect are subject to a retributive system, which makes them rise or fall on the scale of souls, incarnated according to the quality of their intellectual activity. Gods and demons are above this class, and plants are beneath it. Gods and plants thus always remain at their level, at the highest or the lowest extremity.
2. As a result, human beings, who are situated at the uppermost limit of the class of incarnate souls, must have as their goal assimilation to the gods and the demons by seeking contemplation of the intelligible forms. Hence the theme of the assimilation to the divinity by the philosopher, who tends toward the knowledge, that is, the contemplation of the intelligible forms, or true reality.
3. The hierarchy of human beings and animals, which is a function of the exercise of intellectual activity, is materialized by the body. The body, in which the soul is situated, illustrates the quality of that soul's intellectual activity; in short, the body is a "state of the soul."
4. Like human beings, whether men or women, the soul of animals is endowed with a rational power, and this is true even if animals are what they are because they make little or no use of their intellect. In any case, nothing prevents an animal, whatever it may be, from climbing back up the scale to become a human being.

It follows that changing the destiny of an animal may imply eating the soul of a former human being. How, in this case, can the survival of human beings, who need to feed themselves, be ensured without turning them into "anthropophagi"? By giving them as food a kind of living being that is not endowed with intellect—namely, vegetables. After mentioning the four types of living beings that populate the universe—the gods associated with fire; demons; human beings; and the birds, the animals, and the aquatic beasts—Timaeus rapidly mentions the origin of vegetables, which he associates with the third, or desiring power of soul. However, this call for vegetarianism enters into conflict with the traditional sacrifice (*thusia*) of the city, which implies slaughtering victims and consuming their flesh. Scarcely mentioned in the *Republic,* this kind of sacrifice seems to play an important role in the city of the *Laws*. Does Plato accept this contradiction, or does he give a wider meaning to *thusia*? It is impossible to say.

TRANSMIGRATION OF THE SOUL. Scholars usually consider that the transmigration of the soul was a dogma among the Orphics and the Pythagoreans and that Plato made it his own. The stakes here are important, insofar as the transmigration of the soul is the basis of the doctrine of reminiscence, which itself implies the notion of a separate intelligible form that can be contemplated by the soul even when separated from the body.

However, none of the testimonies advanced to prove that the Pythagoreans preached the doctrine of transmigration is decisive: whether it is that of Diogenes Laertios, who claims to cite verses by Xenophanes that he attributes to Pythagoras (Diogenes Laertios VIII 36 = Diels-Kranz 21B7); of Aristotle (*De anima* I 3, 407b20 = Diels-Kranz 59 B39; cf. also II 2, 414a22) on the soul's entry into the body; of Dicearchus on the dogmas that Pythagoras was the first to introduce into Greece (Dicearchus, fr. 33 Wehrli = Porphyry, *Vita Pythagorica* 19); or of Herodotus (IV 95–96), who affirms that the Greeks living in the region of the Black Sea attributed to Pythagoras the practices for obtaining immortality current among the Getae (*Getai athanatizontes*). There is every reason to believe that modern and contemporary historians of religions, following in the path of the Neopythagoreans, often project Plato's doctrine of the soul on the teachings of Pythagoras, about which, objectively, we know nothing.

In addition, no ancient testimony attributes explicitly the doctrine of transmigration to Orphism. All that is explicitly attributed to Orphism is the doctrine of the soul's preexistence (a preexistence that is not necessarily individual), and that of retribution in the next world. On this point as well, the testimonies of Plato (*Cratylus* 400b–c; *Phaedo* 62b; *Republic* II 364e–365a; *Laws* IX 870d-e) and that of Aristotle (*De anima* I5, 410b27) are insufficient to inspire persuasion.

The only way to affirm that Orphism maintains the transmigration of the soul would be to think that the priests and priestesses Plato mentions in the *Meno* (81a–e) are Orphic, or to slant in this direction the testimony of Herodotus (II 123), who refers the doctrine of transmigration to the Egyptians. It is presumptuous to supply names that Herodotus will not even reveal and say that the people in question are Orphics. In addition, the passage from the *Meno* (81b–c) in which are cited a few verses traditionally attributed to Pindar (fr. 133 Bergk = 126 Bowra) does indeed evoke the doctrine of transmigration but refers it to priests and priestesses intent on being able to account for the functions they fulfill; his goal is to make not only Pindar but also poets the spokesmen for this doctrine. The interpretation of this passage, where the names of Orpheus or of the Orphics never appear, remains debatable.

In the face of so many confusions and uncertainties, the only valid hypothesis at the present time is as follows: Pindar, Empedocles, Herodotus, and Plato were aware of the existence of religious movements that maintained the doctrine of transmigration. These movements seem to have had an influence on Pythagoreanism and on Orphism. In this perspective, the question of which group—Orphics or Pythagoreans—influenced the other is meaningless. Pythagoreanism and Orphism, like Plato, accepted and rejected some of the prohibitions and doctrinal points of these religious movements, which it is impossible to identify.

From this perspective, all human beings and animals that inhabit air, earth, and water constitute a vast system of symbols—symbols from the point of view of appearances, but also from the viewpoint of behavior, which justifies the recourse to a number of comparisons, images, and metaphors in which animals play a role. In the *Timaeus* these symbols refer to different types of soul, whose moral quality is ultimately determined by their contemplation of the intelligible, according to a number of details that may seem ironic or ridiculous but that can be interpreted only in this sense: birds are naive astronomers, who think that sight is the ultimate source of knowledge; quadrupeds need four feet in order to support their skull, which has been elongated by the deformations of the revolutions of the circles of its rational power. Stupid terrestrial animals crawl; fish are even more stupid, and the worst ignorance is that of shellfish.

PLATO AND TRADITIONAL RELIGION. Plato thus agrees with traditional mythology, particularly when he maintains that the gods have a body. However, even on this point he differs from his contemporaries. He can endure neither the idea that the gods have a corporeal aspect or a behavior that renders them akin to human beings (since the gods can only be good) nor the idea that the gods may change in corporeal appearance or in opinion. The violent criticisms that constitute Books II and III of the *Republic,* and the denunciation of the poets in Book X, are clear proof of this. Only a mythology fabricated by poets under the control of those who know—that is, the philosophers—is permitted. Myths of this kind can be used, together with a kind of rhetoric, as means of persuasion in the preambles to the laws for dissuading in advance those who might be thinking of breaking a law, as is explained by the Athenian Stranger in Book IV of the *Laws.*

A similar position can be observed in Book X of the *Laws,* where the goal is to demonstrate to young atheists that: (1) the gods exist, (2) they are interested in the fate of human beings, and (3) they are insensitive to all attempts to influence their judgment. This last point has the consequence of rendering traditional religion obsolete. In this context there can no longer be any question of making prayers or offering sacrifices in an attempt to sway any particular god. The only goal of the cult is to glorify the gods, with a view to assimilating oneself to them by one's contemplation.

In summary, although he takes up many ideas concerning the gods in ancient Greece, Plato appears as a revolutionary when he assigns to human beings the goal of assimilating themselves to god, seeks to submit the myths that narrate the deeds and exploits of the gods to the control of the philosopher, and attributes to cultic acts and ceremonies the original finality of the mere glorification of the gods.

SEE ALSO Dualism; Ficino, Marsilio; Gnosticism, article on Gnosticism from Its Origins to the Middle Ages; Hermetism; Neoplatonism; Platonism; Soul, article on Greek and Hellenistic Concepts.

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PLATONISM. Taken in its broadest sense, Platonism refers to the influence of Plato in Western philosophical, religious, and political thinking. In the Hellenistic world, the vehicle of this influence was the Academy, but from the time of Athens' destruction by the Romans, accomplished by Sulla in 86 BCE, the Academy had ceased to exercise any real influence on Platonic thought. Thereafter, Platonic schools were founded in the most famous cities of the Roman Empire, including Pergamum, Athens, and Alexandria. A Platonic (i.e. Neoplatonic) school continued to exist in Athens until 529 CE, when it was dissolved by the emperor Justinian, but it cannot be called "Academy." Conveyed not only by the writings of Plato himself, but also by the works of later disciples and interpreters belonging to the so-called Middle Platonic and Neoplatonic schools, Platonism influenced Christian and Islamic philosophy in the late classical and medieval eras and underwent revivals not only at the time of the Renaissance but also in modern European philosophy.

THE OLD ACADEMY. The immediate successors of Plato as heads of the Academy were his nephew Speusippus (410–339 BCE) and Xenocrates of Chalcedon (396–314 BCE), who carried on discussions held in the last period of Plato's life, when Aristotle was also a member of the Academy. Speusippus denied the existence of the Forms and the numerical Forms, and he reduced Plato's intelligible world to a complex of mathematical entities that represented the lowest level in Platonic metaphysics. He dismissed the opinion that reality depended on a First Principle (The One Which Is the Good), as taught by Plato in his "unwritten doctrines." Both Good and Beautiful exist as a derivation from the First Principle. Xenocrates, however, turned back to Plato, though not without distinguishing his thought from Plato's. He was the first to divide philosophy into physics (which included the so-called metaphysics), ethics, and logic, as later philosophers also did. Xenocrates abandoned Speusippus's mathematical metaphysics and re-proposed Plato's numerical Forms, together with other kinds of Forms. These various kinds of forms (numerical and other) constitute the intelligible world and are the production of the two basic Principles, the One and the indefinite Dyad. Xenocrates called the One "Zeus" (i.e., the highest male god, the father, and the ruler of universe). In contrast, the indefinite Dyad was the female goddess, the mother of All, the cosmic soul. Therefore Xenocrates interpreted in a religious way the highest ontological principles, and his interest in a religious philosophy is manifested also by his demonology. The *daimon* is an intermediate being between gods and humans. Active in shrines and oracles; he may be either good or bad, like humans, but he is immortal. Xenocrates' demonology and, as a whole, the ancient Academy's doctrines were taken up by second-century CE Platonism. Aristotle might well be added to this list of Plato's direct followers, even though he founded his own school, the Lyceum, in 335, after Xenocrates had succeeded Speusippus. Aristotle was notoriously critical of Plato's way of understanding Form and of his identification of Form with being. Further, he was contemptuous of Speusippus's devotion to Pythagorean number theory. Nevertheless, Aristotle's works pursued, in their own way, the agenda of Plato's Academy, and his account of the First Principle as self-thinking Intellect (*nous*) was early adopted in the Platonic tradition, and Pythagorean doctrines continued to be discussed in the Platonic school.

THE SKEPTICAL ACADEMY. With the succession of Arcesilaus (d. 241 BCE) as its head, the Academy took a fresh turn. The so-called New Academy—frequently labelled "sceptical"—maintained that neither Socrates nor Plato had taught any settled, dogmatic system but had pursued arguments on both sides of every question without seeking to reach definitive conclusions. Indeed, Arcesilaus's approach was not completely unsound, since Socrates had taught students to doubt traditional certainties. So, Arcesilaus maintained that the *epoche* (suspension of judgement) in which this procedure resulted represented the true philosophical position of Plato, but Arcesilaus's devotion to it was largely evoked by Stoic dogmatism, with its assertion of the existence of "indubitable perception" (*kataleptike phantasia*). Against this Stoic view the New Academy emphasized the doubtfulness and subjectivity of both perception and judgment. In response to the charge that such a stance left people without guidance for the conduct of life, Carneades (d. 129 BCE) developed his theory of *pithanon* (the "persuasive" or "probable"), holding, as Cicero sums it up (*Academica* 2.10), "that there is something which is probable and, so to speak, like the truth" and that this provides a "rule both for the conduct of life and for inquiry and discussion."

It was not, however, in scepticism that Platonism was to find its future. Even in the time of Carneades and his successor Philo of Larissa (d. about 80 BCE), Platonists were beginning, though solely in defense of their own position, to employ Stoic ideas and terminology; and at the same time, in the teaching of the Stoic Posidonius of Apamea (d. about 51 BCE) there are traces of Plato's influence. This incipient eclecticism became stronger in Antiochus of Ascalon (d. about 68 BCE), and with it came a repudiation of scepticism and a new, dogmatic Platonism—so-called Middle Platonism—that eventually set the stage for the work of Plotinus and his successors.

ANTIOCHUS OF ASCALON. The split between Antiochus and his teacher Philo of Larissa, a skeptic, had its basis in Antiochus's belief that the authentic tradition of Plato's teaching must be sought in the Old Academy and that this tradition embraced the contributions of Aristotle and the Stoics. Antiochus himself was substantially a Stoic in his assumption of Stoic *logos spermatikòs*, which he considered quite similar to the Platonic ideas and thus untypical of the later Middle Platonist tradition. Nevertheless his rebellion opened the way for the growth of a school of thought that treated the Platonic corpus as an authoritative text even while it brought other points of view—Pythagorean, Aristotelian, and Stoic—to the interpretation of that corpus. The influence of Antiochus was overestimated by critics of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century who considered him the founder of Middle Platonism, but now it is thought more probable that Antiochus simply proposed a "return" to the Old Academy (including Aristotle) but was not able to give a new impulse to Platonism.

EUDORUS AND PHILO, THE MIDDLE PLATONISTS. According to most authoritative critics, Eudorus and the Jewish philosopher Philo, both active in Alexandria between the first century BCE and the first century CE, should be considered Middle Platonists. Eudorus influenced those who, during the first and second century, were interested in the theology of a First Principle, such as Plutarch of Chaeronea and Numenius of Apameia. Eudorus introduced the Pythagorean principle (the One), distinguishing between the absolutely transcendent One and the One that is correlated to the indefinite Dyad. This second One is the principle of limit (understood as form, "*eidos*") and is opposed to matter, from which disordered movement originates.

On the other side, Philo, whose imposing bulk of works was dedicated to a Greek exegesis of the Old Testament, employs many of the doctrines that were then considered Platonic, such as the "three principles theology" (*Dreiprinzipienlehre*, as it is called by German scholars). The first Principles, according to Philo, were not the first or the second One, but God, the Logos, who has in himself the ideas as his thoughts; and matter, out of which the Logos "created" the world, just as the platonic Demiurge "created" the world out of matter by contemplating the ideas. Philo also employed Stoic tenets, such as the doctrine of pathos.

The first and second centuries CE were the heyday of Middle Platonism. Once studied as preparation for Plotinus, the philosophers of the Middle Platonism are now considered worth studying in themselves, and their doctrines must be reconsidered as a more or less "organic building" (a coherent philosophical system). Therefore the word "eclectisism" must be excluded, since it means an assembly of doctrines from various schools, excluding the foundation of a coherent system of thought. On the contrary, the historical development of Platonism involved from its beginning confrontation with other philosophies, such as Pythagoreanism, Aristotelism, and, later, Stoicism, and it must appear neither an oddity nor a mark of eclecticism if Middle Platonists employed (and occasionally rejected) Stoic and Aristotelian doctrines. These philosophers did not by any means represent a uniform point of view but presented various interpretations of Platonic thought. Since the Academy had been dissolved long ago, they didn't represent a continuity, but only a loose "tradition." Platonic doctrines, in their new reassessment, were articulated by Areius Didymus, another scholar of the Augustan Age (like Eudorus and Philo), who was a doxographer more than a philosopher. His collection of Platonic doctrines took up many Antiochean tenets, which reappeared some decades later in the Stoic philosopher Seneca. For all their differences, however, these thinkers had much in common. In particular, they shared the corpus of Platonic dialogues, among which special attention was reserved for the Timaeus. Its interpretation, however, was not unanimous. Plutarch and Atticus took the view—which commended them to Christian readers—that the story of the Demiurge's "creation" of the cosmos was to be taken literally. Others, like Albinus and Calvenos Tauros, saw the story as a proper Platonic *muthos*, a tale intended not to explain how the cosmos came to be but to suggest how it is eternally structured.

In spite of such differences, however, all agreed (against traditional Stoicism) that the First Principle was transcendent and should be equated with the Good of Plato's *Republic*, the self-thinking Intellect of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, or the One of Pythagorean cosmology. The Platonic realm of Forms appeared in Middle Platonism as the content of divine Intellect, and thus as the truth that actuated the World Soul in its work of ordering the visible cosmos. This scheme, in which the ultimate god was sometimes distinguished from a second "demiurgic" Intellect, foreshadowed the Neoplatonic hierarchy of three divine hypostases. At the same time, the human ideal became the contemplative life in which the soul achieves that "likeness to God" (*homoiosis theoi*) that Plato had commended in the *Theaetetus* (176b). Apart from the school philosophers, there are a number of individuals (e.g. the physician Galen, the mathematician Theon of Smyrna, and the rhetor Maximus of Tyre) who, while not quite philosophers themselves, give good evidence for contemporary Platonic schools.

The new form of Platonism appeared in an organic structure for the first time in Plutarch's (before 50–after 120 CE) works, and perhaps already in the doctrine of his teacher, Ammonius, who was an Egyptian like Eudorus and Philo. In physics, Plutarch was influenced by Pythagoreanism, whence he took the doctrine of the indefinite Dyad and number mysticism. In his interpretation of the *Timaeus* he insists on the temporal creation of the world as the result of God's intervention on matter, which is moved by a preexistent, disorderly, bad World Soul. He asserts the existence of the daemons, as Xenocrates had done, and he identifies them with the human soul, bad or good. In ethics, he abandoned Stoicism and, like Antiochus, returned to the peripatetic doctrines of the "moderation of affects." Apuleius (125–180), an important Sophist (i.e., orator) in the Latin-speaking West, is similar in some aspects to Plutarch. Apuleius was the author of a novel (*Metamorphoseon libri*) and of various orations (*Pro se de magia liber; Florida*) that show his interest in other problems, such as magic and literature, though without abandoning Platonic ideas (indeed, he was called *philosophus platonicus*). Apuleius followed the "doctrine of the three principles" and, in ethics, the Stoic *apatheia* and the Platonic "assimilation to god." More interesting is his practice of the Isiac cult, as it appears in the last book of the *Metamorphoses*, and of many other cults to which he adhered in his youth. So Apuleius's Platonism possesses a kind of henotheistic flavor; besides, he professed, like Plutarch, the Xenocratean daemonology.

Previously confused with Albinus, the author of a handbook of Platonic philosophy (*Didaskalikòs*), Alkinoos is not an original thinker, for his doctrines derive in great part from Areius Didymus's doxography.The three principles of Stoic origin (the *oikeiosis*, the innate ideas or *physikai ennoiai*, and the distinction between natural and perfected virtues) are also present in Apuleius (For this reason Alkinoos was supposed to be, like Apuleius, the pupil of the little-known Platonic philosopher Gaius). More than other Middle Platonists, Alkinoos represented the Aristotelian tradition, since his First principle is the *nous*.

As to the "rediscovered" Albinus, he wrote an *Introduction to Platonic Philosophy* (*Eisagoge*), which contains a discussion on nature, as well as characteristics of Platonic dialogues. In other works he was principally devoted to the *Timaeus* exegesis.

In contrast, Severus and Nicostratus fought against Aristotle and his doctrine of the *Categories*. Since, it seems, they had friends in Athens, scholars have proposed an "Athenian school," which John Dillon dismisses (like the school of Gaius) as "an empty name" (1977, p. 265). More important, Nicostratus's polemic against Aristotle fits very well with the philosophy of his contemporaries, Calvenus Taurus and Atticus. The first had some kind of school in Athens, and his ethics are akin to those of the Stoics in his doctrine of *oikeiosis* and his assumption that nothing is good unless virtuous. Taurus was interested in the interpretation of the cosmogony in the *Timaeus*, which he interpreted as an allegory and not according to the Aristotelian principle of the eternity of the world.

Atticus is distinguished by a lack of toleration, and his interpretation of Aristotle is substantially distorted. His polemic against Aristotle concentrated on cosmogony and ethics. He rejected the Aristotelian exegesis of the *Timaeus* and, following Plutarch, asserted the temporal creation of the world and the existence of an evil world soul. In ethics, he refused any peripateticism, considering it a moral weakness.

But the most interesting figure of Middle Platonism was surely the Syriac Numenius of Apameia. His doctrine shows an intermingling of Platonism and Pythagoreanism (and therefore he had often been considered as a Neopythagorean); but from Xenocrates and Eudorus onward, Platonic philosophy was often shadowed with Neopythagoreanism. Numenius was interested in Hermetism, Gnosticism, and Zoroastrian and Hebrew cultures. His Pythagorizing Platonism, perhaps through Ammonius Saccas, the master of Plotinus, exercised a powerful influence over Neoplatonism and Plotinus himself. Numenius is a radical dualist, taking the Pythagorean Dyad as the passive principle in opposition to One-god. The Dyad is the origin of matter, which is eternal and unorganized, like the evil Soul of Plutarch and Atticus, though put in an organized state by the Demiurge. As such, the Dyad was not produced by the Monad. Matter is fluid and without quality, but possesses an intrinsic evil force. The Demiurge is the second god. Above him is the first god, called "Father," and under him is the world. So the Demiurge is double, being both the first and the second god, and there is a triad of divine entities, perhaps corresponding to the triad of the second Platonic epistle (312e), which is now regarded a Pythagorean forgery.

The first and second centuries CE saw the growth and diffusion of Gnosticism and Hermetism. Middle Platonic doctrines are present to some degree in these philosophical-religious movements, mingled with and transformed by other doctrines of various origins. This is a large field, which Dillon has defined as "the underworld of Platonism" (1977, p. 384).

GNOSTICISM. The relationship between Gnosis and Platonism should begin with an examination of the concept of dualism, specifically, Platonic dualism. If by dualism we mean a doctrine of two principles, from which the whole universe derives and on which it depends, then Plato's *Timaeus*, with its doctrine of coeternal Demiurge (at a higher ontological level than ideas) and *chora* (interpreted as matter), is certainly dualist. However, such a dualism is pre-cosmic, since the created world is characterized by harmony and eternity, and *chora* is not a negative entity. Besides, Plato's anthropogony in *Timaeus* 42d and 69c, which describes the intervention of the inferior gods, who, obeying the Demiurge, create the human soul and body in order not to involve God in the responsibility for evil, foreshadows some Gnostic tenets. If the chief characteristic of Gnosticism is its negative depiction of world, Gnostic dualism, though of quite different origin, may be paralleled with Platonic dualism as it is expressed in Plutarch and Numenius. Among Gnostic schools, one of the most representative was that of Valentinus, who was a contemporary of Albinus and Numenius; Valentinus was considered *platonicus* by Christian writers. Some of his doctrines derive in part from certain forms of contemporary Platonism, where a relatively nondualistic position is present. For Valentinus, the creation of the world is not the result of the struggle between the principle of Good and the principle of Evil, as it is for Barbelognostics and Mani, but is rather the result of the corruption of a previously perfect system, just as for Neoplatonism the existence of evil is the corruption of perfection. Valentinus created an elaborate myth in order to explain the existence of the material world. The basic framework of his system is reminiscent of Pythagorean metaphysics, which had penetrated also into Middle Platonism. It has been supposed that Valentinus had interpreted the aeons of his metaphysics as a kind of Platonic idea. Tertullian was perhaps the first to interpret aeons as the thoughts and motions of the divine Being, whereas Ptolemaeus, one of Valentinus's followers, interpreted them as real persons. From the primordial reality new entities come out in a kind of "emanation" (*probole*). The new entities retain, in a depotentiated way, the essence of the original reality, just as in the Neoplatonic system. Initially there are a monadic and a dyadic figure, the latter being subordinated to the former. Their secondary, derived Principle has the titles of the Platonic supreme god, Father and First Principle, while the real supreme principle is called Forefather and Pre-first Principle. The name Ennoia, in the Valentinian system, is reminiscent of Philo's Sophia, which is the same as the Logos of God. Sophia, the aeon who originate last, was a female principle. Her sin is her desire to know her origin and the Forefather's nature, which leads her to try to bear a child without a *syzygos*, or partner. She has the function of the indefinite Dyad, which introduces evil at the highest level. Horos, the "limit" in the Valentinian myth, perhaps is akin to the Pythagorean *peras*, and his function is analogous to the regulating activity (for instance, in Philo) of divine Logos.

Before Valentinus lived Basilides (end of first century CE), who held views similar to those of Plotinus. He professed *apophatism* about divine Being as the natural consequence of the doctrine of divine transcendence. According to Basilides, both original Principles, light and darkness, originally were distinct, but when darkness saw the light, it longed for union with it, just as light desired to see darkness. In the beginning there was the absolute naught, which is perhaps identified with God (Hippolytus says that God was "not existing")—such is the conclusion of "negative theology," which was quite common in Platonic and Pythagorean schools. Basilides discussed, as Platonists did, the problem of the creation of the world, which, according to him, is created out of "seeds." These seeds are derived from the Stoic doctrine of *logos spermatikos*, which states that the cosmic Logos contains the *logoi spermatikoi*, and in this primordial seed is contained all that will be developed thereafter. Basilides' cosmic seeds also contain all that will happen. Like Plato (*Tim.* 73c), Basilides employs the word *panspermia*. God creates the world thanks to his free will, and cosmic seeds don't come out of preexistent matter. Middle Platonists, in contrast, considered God to be a craftsman. So, Basilides was the first Christian philosopher to consider the same problems as contemporary Middle Platonism. Valentinian cosmogony also took up some Middle Platonic doctrines, such as: Matter in itself is not body but possesses the fitness to become every kind of body.

HERMETISM. The treatises of the *Corpus hermeticum* were composed during the second and third century CE. Hermetism was influenced by Middle Platonism, which can be seen, for example, in the first and most important treatise of the *Corpus hermeticum*, the *Poemandres* (this name is perhaps a translation from Egyptian). Poemandres describes himself as the *nous* of the Supreme Power. It is open to interpretation whether the Supreme Power is above the *nous*, as God is above Mind, or whether *nous* possesses the Supreme Power. The description of the creation of the world owes something to the concept of the Platonic Demiurge. The Hermetic writer distinguishes between *nous* and *logos* in a manner similar to Philo of Alexandria. Like Philo, the Hermetic writer defines Logos as "son of God." The supreme *Nous* generates another *nous demiourgos*, who is the creator of fire and *pneuma*, the seven planetary gods, and other entities, such as the cosmic soul and *physis*, the archetypal man (borrowed perhaps from Philo). Also in ethic, the ideal of apatheia found its way into Hermetic doctrines.

CHRISTIAN MIDDLE PLATONISTS. Middle Platonism had a strong influence on Christian thought, beginning in the second century CE. Apologists such as Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, and Theophilus of Antioch identified the Son of God with the Logos, or the second god of contemporary Middle Platonists, while the Father was considered the origin of the Logos and even superior to him, just as first *nous* is above second *nous*. Christian Middle Platonism was developed by much more representative thinkers, like Clement of Alexandria and Origen, who went deep into the question of the nature of God and of the relation between the Father and the Son, both being eternal and divine entities, but personally differentiated. In ethics, Clement of Alexandria and Origen recognized the Middle Platonic "assimilation to god" as the ideal implicit in the doctrine that God created Adam "in our image, after our likeness" (*Gn.* 1:26). The interpretation of *Genesis* 1:2 that the world was created out of shapeless matter is the Christian accommodation of Old Testament cosmogony to Middle Platonic philosophy. Philo of Alexandria had already proposed this, and it clearly appears in Athenagoras, Theophilus of Antioch, and Irenaeus of Lyon (second century CE). As soon as Apologists considered the biblical narration of the creation of the world, the problem of a philosophical interpretation became cogent, since the text of the Bible was not compatible with Platonic philosophy. The solution was a *creatio ex nihilo*, which developed at the end of second century CE, but Christian authors who were educated in the Middle Platonic philosophy, such as Justin, Athenagoras, and Clement of Alexandria, found it difficult to accept such a solution, and the contemporary heretic Hermogenes returned to the Middle Platonic doctrine of creation out of existing matter.

PLATONISM AND NEOPLATONISM. From the beginning of the Plotinian school in Rome (244 CE onward) and the research of Porphyry of Tyros (middle third century CE), we usually speak no more either of Middle Platonism or of Platonism, but of Neoplatonism. Of course, original Platonic doctrine mingled with Neoplatonic elaborations, and their influence can be traced in the writing of Christian and, later, Islamic theologians and philosophers. Plotinus (205–270) is normally considered the founder of Neoplatonism, though the evolution of Platonism is not so linear and direct as it was supposed in the nineteenth and twentieth century, such as in Eduard Zeller's strong Hegelian interpretation of the history of ancient philosophy. Plotinus wasn't the "schoolmaster of Neoplatonism," and Platonism from the third to sixth century had many peculiarities not derived from Plotinus. The essays Plotinus wrote for circulation among his pupils were collected by his disciple Porphyry (d. c. 305) in six sets of nine texts known collectively as the *Enneads*. In these terse and often difficult papers, Plotinus sets out a system according to which all reality issues spontaneously, coordinately, and timelessly from a single transcendent and inexpressible source called the One or the Good. This process of emanation produces a hierarchical world order in which each successive form of reality (*hypostasis*) images its superior at a lower level of unity. Thus Intellect—the unity of intuitive awareness with its intelligible objects (the Forms)—images the One. Soul, the third *hypostasis*, images Intellect, although its being and knowing are distended in time, and although, as "nature," it approaches division in space by giving rise to the corporeal, visible cosmos. The limit of this expansion of reality from the One is primal matter, which, Plotinus teaches, is in itself mere privation. To the emanation of reality from the One there corresponds a converse and simultaneous movement of "return" (*epistrophe*), by which each level of being seeks itself in its source and original. From this point of view, the structure of Plotinus's cosmos corresponds to the route that consciousness takes in contemplative activity as it moves from dispersion to integration. The highest normal level of consciousness is the unified awareness that belongs to Intellect, but in moments of mystical ecstasy the soul—as Plotinus records from his own experience—achieves a loss of particular selfhood in union with the One.

Porphyry was a commentator on Plato and Aristotle and the author of a lengthy treatise titled *Against the Christians*. In Porphyry's writings the scholastic tone and religious interests of later Neoplatonism are foreshadowed. He produced not only commentaries but also summary interpretations of Plotinian ontology and ethics, as in his *Sentences* and *Letter to His Wife Marcella*. Porphyry seems to be responsible for reviving the repute of a late-second-century collection of revelations known as the *Chaldaean Oracles*. Although sceptical of the claims that this collection made for the ritual-magical practice of theurgy, Porphyry apparently initiated the practice of interpreting the *Oracles* in the light of a Plotinian metaphysic.

Porphyry's disciple Iamblichus (d. c. 325 CE) wrote a commentary (now lost) on the *Chaldaean Oracles* and in his treatise *On the Mysteries* defended theurgy (against Porphyry) as necessary for the soul's union with the divine. He was also a speculative philosopher of great originality, and his system opened the way for the elaborate metaphysics that marked the thought of the later Platonic school at Athens. There, from about 400 until 529, a series of distinguished teachers developed both the philosophical and the religious positions that Iamblichus had defended. Most notable among these was Proclus (c. 412–485), whose *Elements of Theology* and *Commentary on the Timaeus* are monuments to the learning and dialectical skill of the Academy in its last days. Proclus saw his task as carrying Iamblichus's principles to their logical conclusion and filling any gaps he left in the metaphysical hierarchy. Therefore Proclus admitted within the First Hypostasis a series of Unities (*Henads*) in addition to the One itself. He establishes complete symmetry between that Hypostasis and lower orders by extending to it Iamblichus's distinction of Unparticipated and Participated Terms. The *Henads* thus constitute the Participated intermediaries linking lower realities to the One, which now becomes the First Hypostasis Unparticipated Monad. But the *Henads* are not simply aspects or attributes of the First Cause, but substantial, self-subsistent entities derived from the One and dependent on it. Hence arise their functions—one metaphysical, the other religious. The former function was that of bridging the gulf between Unity and Plurality. In particular, although the One is absolutely unknowable, the *Henads*, unknowable in themselves, can be known by analogy from their products. Fundamental is the basic Neoplatonic doctrine that the same attribute can exist under an appropriate mode on successive levels. Proclus emphasizes that such attributes are present perfectly only on the level of the *Henads*. Each order of reality, even the *Henads*, represents an appropriate combination of Limit and Infinity, whose cosmogonic roles can be traced back to early Pythagoreanism and to Plato's *Philebus*.

In the Latin West, Platonism and Neoplatonism were transmitted through Marius Victorinus (end of third century–360) and Augustine of Hippo (354–430). "Victorinus shows how lively, how original, how pulsating, how stimulating and, yea, how attractive was Platonism in the fourth century. Together with Augustine, Victorinus represents the best example that, for an intellectual, the reception of Christian doctrines was possible only through Neoplatonism, the dominating spiritual trend at the time" (Baltes, 2002, p.125). Victorinus's theology develops a rich metaphysical system, attributing to the Father the majority of the qualifications characterizing the Neoplatonic One, which are, of course, negative ones, according to apophatic trends widely developed by Greek philosophy and Christian culture (oneness, pureness, simpleness, invisibility, unutterability, motion, passions, corruption, and lack of body). Moreover, Victorinus's deep philosophical background shows in the majority of his doctrines. For example, his Trinitarian speculation is an attempt to join the triadic schemes already attested in Platonic texts, particularly in the *Enneads*. The relationship between the three Persons of the Trinity is in fact explained by means of Neoplatonic schemes, thus equating Father, Son, and Holy Spirit to the hypostatical moments of being-life-intellect (or being-intellect-life, in a reversed order), or introducing the more complex concept of predominance, according to which each Person of the Trinity is best characterized by the prevalence of one of these aspects (being-life-intellect), in order to preserve and reassert their mutual relationship. The Son's generative process is described in philosophical terms, such as stillness and movement, form and act, dynamis and activity, to which must be added the conversion, represented by the Spirit.

Augustine's conversion to Christianity accompanied his discovery of Neoplatonic thought, as represented by writings of Plotinus and Porphyry (writings probably translated into Latin by Marius Victorinus). His doctrine was permeated by Platonic themes, however revised and recast in the light of his Christian beliefs. Boethius (c. 480–c. 524), a Roman aristocrat in the service of the Ostrogothic king Theoderic, and an orthodox Christian, did as much as Augustine to transmit the heritage of Hellenic philosophy to the medieval West. Aiming to provide Latin versions of the major works of Aristotle and Plato, he succeeded, before his execution at the hands of Theodoric, in rendering certain of Aristotle's logical works as well as Porphyry's *Introduction to Aristotle's Categories*, the book that originally stimulated medieval philosophical debate. His *Consolation of Philosophy*, widely read during the Middle Ages, presented a simplified Neoplatonist outlook consistent with the structures of Christian doctrine.

It was largely through Augustine, whose influence is seen in thinkers as diverse as Anselm of Canterbury (c. 1033–1109), Hugh of Saint–Victor (c. 1096–1141), the School of Chartres, the Franciscan Bonaventure (c. 1217–1274), and the Dominicans Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225–1274) and Johannes Eckhart (c. 1260–1327?), that Platonist themes influenced medieval Latin philosophy and spirituality. Of the works of Plato, only the *Timaeus* was known (in the fourth-century Latin version of Calcidius). Plotinus and his successors were scarcely known at all, save through Boethius's translation of Porphyry's *Introduction to Aristotle's Categories*. What the Latin Middle Ages eventually harvested from the work of the late Platonists were the writings of Aristotle on natural philosophy, ethics, and metaphysics, which, during and after the thirteenth century, became standard texts in the liberal arts curricula of medieval universities.

MUSLIM NEOPLATONISM. Parallel to the Platonic tradition during the Middle Ages is the spread of Platonic thought among Muslims. Indeed, medieval Western interest in, and knowledge of Plato was stimulated and in part made possible by the labors of Islamic philosophers who worked on ninth- and tenth-century Arabic versions of the works of Aristotle, Plato, and their Neoplatonic commentators. But Neoplatonic thought didn't reach the Arabs only through translations from the Greek; Syriac translations of Greek texts were another major source. A major role was played by a remarkable forgery, the so-called *Theology of Aristotle*, which in fact consists of extracts from Plotinus's *Enneads* IV–VI augmented by supplementary or explanatory material perhaps derived from Porphyry's lost commentary. In 832 CE in Bagdad, Califf al-Mamoun founded the "House of Wisdom," whose direction was committed to famous and clever translaters, including Honayn ibn Ishaq (809–873 CE), who was famous for translating Greek books into Syriac and Arabic. Therefore the whole terminology of Arabic theology and philosophy was prepared during the ninth century, and the "hellenistic philosophers" (*falasifa* is the Arabic word for *philosophos*) could use the translation of Aristotle and his commentators, Plato and Galen. The "peripatetic reaction" by Averroes opposed the Neoplatonism of these thinkers. Al-Kindi (796–d. after 870) was interested not only in mathematics and geometry, but also in metaphysics, astronomy, and music. He tried to reconcile philosophy with prophetic revelation and distinguished between human science (which included logic, the arts of *quadrivium* and philosophy) and a divine science, which was the prophetic revelation. He accepted the *creatio ex nihilo*, which he interpreted as an act of God's will, not as an emanation. God creates the first Intelligence, from which the other are derived, as Neoplatonists taught. The structure of his worldview was essentially that of later Neoplatonism, and his thought derived from John Philoponus's works and the Neoplatonic school in Athens.

This Arab philosophical enterprise was continued by al-Fārābī (872–950), a great religious and mystical thinker. He wrote a work to demonstrate the agreement of Plato and Aristotle. In his opinion, wisdom began among the Chaldaeans in Mesopotamia and then spread to Egypt and Greece. According to his teaching, the cosmic Intelligences are derived from the One, but only through the first Intelligence, because *ex Uno non fit nisi unum.* The works of Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna, 980–1037), and al-Ghazālī (1058–1111) were also influenced by Neoplatonism.

PLATONISM IN THE RENAISSANCE. It was not until the fifteenth century and the work of Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464), Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), and others that Plato himself, read through the eyes of his Neoplatonic interpreters, was rediscovered. Nicholas, in *On Learned Ignorance*, presents a view of the world that owes much to Proclus, as well as to certain Platonic dialogues. Ficino translated Plato and Plotinus's *Enneads* into Latin and made a start on Porphyry and Iamblichus. Even Aristotle, in this new age, began to be read as the ancient Neoplatonists had read him. Platonic writings and ideas accompanied the spread of Renaissance humanism and went on to influence modern philosophy.

SEE ALSO Dualism; Fārābī, al-; Gnosticism, article on Gnosticism from Its Origins to the Middle Ages; Hellenistic Religions; Hermetism; Neoplatonism; Plato; Socrates.

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CLAUDIO MORESCHINI (2005)

PLAY. The idea of play may be embedded in the very metaphysics of certain cosmologies (Handelman and Shulman 1997), as well as in particular ritual contexts. Although the idea of play has widespread currency in religions with differing epistemologies, the profundity of its presence corresponds to the level of premises at which it is lodged in a given religious system. The more abstract and encompassing the premises of a religion imbued with the ideation of play, the more pervasive and fateful are its systematic expressions in religious life.

ATTRIBUTES OF THE IDEA OF PLAY. The idea of play is universal among humankind, whether or not particular cultures have terms to denote such a conception. A first attribute of play is that its assumptions are preeminently conditional, for play is a medium through which the make-believe is brought into being and acquires the status of a reality.

Especially human is the capacity to imagine and, so, to create alternative realities. In question, however, are the truth values of such realities, that is, the extent to which, and under which conditions, they are accorded validity. In the logic of modern Western culture, the imaginary is not accorded any ultimate status of validity or truth. Gregory Bateson (1972) has argued that the messages that signify the existence of play are "untrue" in a sense, and that the reality that such messages denote is nonexistent. This, of course, holds in a culture whose religious cosmology is predicated in part upon a comparatively immutable boundary between the divine and the human, with the former accorded the status of absolute truth, while the latter is perceived in no small measure as sinful and as a profanation of the former. Given its imaginary character, the idea of play in much of modern Western thought often is rendered as pretense and is relegated to the domain of the culturally "unserious," like the world of fiction and that of leisure time activities, or to the realm of the "not yet fully human," like the play of little children. Yet to equate the imaginary universally with the frivolous is to render the essential powers of play impotent and to obscure their roles in religious thought and action, especially in cosmologies where a state of existence is also a condition of untruth.

A second attribute of play is the necessity of a form of reference that can be altered in systematic ways. Play changes the known signs of form into something else by altering the reified boundaries that define and characterize the phenomenon. What is changed still retains crucial similarities to its form of foundation and so remains intimately related to it. For example, the medieval European Feast of Fools, a rite of inversion, required the form of a traditional Christian Mass that could be altered. The play-mass would have no significance for participants were it not derived from and contrasted with its everyday analogue, the traditional Mass.

A third attribute of play is that any phenomenal form can be transformed through a sense of imagination that itself remains constrained to a degree by the composition of the "original" form. This attribute may be problematic for ontologies that strongly implicate the active presence of play in the acts of creation, as in Hinduism. For since the idea of play requires the existence of forms that can be differently modeled, how can this idea be present prior to the creation of form? Nonetheless, if the Hindu cosmos comes into being as the adumbrated dream of the all-encompassing universal principle, *brahman,* then this attribute of play is not obviated, since original form itself is imaginary and illusory.

A fourth attribute of play is that it brings into being something that had not existed before by changing the shape and positioning of boundaries that categorize phenomena and so altering their meaning. One may state simply that creation, destruction, and recreation occur and recur because those boundaries that demarcate the coherency of phenomena are altered. Therefore play is associated intimately with creativity and with creation, as Johan Huizinga (1938) and Arthur Koestler (1964) have maintained, as well as with its converse, destruction. In the most limited case of creation, that of the inversion of a phenomenally valid form, it is only the reflection of such form, still constrained by the original positioning of boundaries, that is brought into being. For example, the inversion of gender is constrained by finite permutations, as is the overturning of a clearly defined hierarchy, as long as gender and hierarchy remain the respective terms of reference of these inversions. On the other hand, cosmologies that strongly feature trickster figures also tend to be characterized by lengthier series of transformations of these types, so that it becomes difficult to state which form is the original and which the playful copy.

A fifth attribute of play is that it is an amoral medium, one that is marked by plasticity, by lability, and by flexibility in ideation—qualities closely related to those of imagination and creativity. In play, these qualities have the potential to meddle with and to disturb any form of stability and any conception of order.

A sixth attribute of play is a penchant for questioning the phenomenal stability of any form that purports to exist as a valid proposition and as a representation of "truth." The idea of play is amoral in its capacities to subvert the boundaries of any and all phenomena and so to rock the foundations of a given reality.

Whether, and to what degree, these qualities of play are integral to the metaphysics of a given religious system should illustrate how that system works. For example, whether the boundaries that divide the paranatural and human realms are quite absolute or are matters of continuous gradation and whether the character of a cosmology's population (deities, spirits, demons, tricksters, and so forth) is one of positional stability or of ongoing transformation should be illuminated by the relative presence of the attributes of play in a particular religious system.

THE IDEA OF PLAY AND PREMISES OF COSMOLOGY. The embeddedness of the idea of play does not appear to be associated, in particular, either with great religious traditions or with local ones, either with so-called tribal societies or with more complex ones. Hence the examples adduced here are of a tribal people and of Hinduism.

The Iatmul of the Sepik River area in New Guinea are a tribal people whose culture values monistic and yet dualistic conceptions of the cosmos. Both coexist, each continuously transforming into the other. For the monism of the Iatmul view of cosmic order fragments into a multitude of competing principles that explain that order. In turn, these recombine into an elementary synthesis, only to multiply once again and to flow together once more.

Thus the character of the Iatmul cosmos is one of immanent transmutability, of plays upon phenomenal form. This reverberates throughout the institutions of Iatmul society and parallels a conduciveness to paradox in Iatmul thought. This proclivity of paradox highlights ongoing disjunctions among phenomenal forms. Therefore strong tendencies toward fragmentation lurk within numerous cultural traditions that declare the validity of a coherent synthesis of differing principles in Iatmul society. Thus Iatmul men, in the heat of argument, were to display their most sacred ceremonial objects before the profaning gaze of women and uninitiated boys, thereby completely destroying for years to come the ritual efficacy of these collective representations. Superficially this behavior could appear simply as uncontrolled and destructive. Yet further consideration would reveal that such behavior was quite consistent with those premises of an Iatmul worldview that denied to boundaries a fixedness of form for lengthy durations.

In such cosmologies, as of course in others, boundaries of form are brought into being through change. Yet in such cosmologies both phenomenal form and the agencies of change are, in a sense, illusory: though they persuade that the solidity of reification is their state, this masks the more profound observation that impermanence is their condition. Here play, as illusion in action, is crucial. The ideation of play is processual: it can bring into being forms that signify the existence of the cosmos. Yet these forms themselves must be transcended through their own negation in order to reveal those deeper truths that are masked by the very force of illusion. Therefore the processuality of play, of imagination, also effaces its own creation.

Aspects of Hindu cosmology exemplify this abstract sense of play as cosmic process. The Hindu concept of *līla* commonly is translated as the "play" of forces and energies that are continually in motion. These spontaneously create and destroy the possibility of a phenomenal world in an unending process. *Līla,* as play, is a metaphor of flux, of movement, from which the cosmos emerges and into which it will eventually disappear. Any reification of form, implying inherent solidity and stability, denies this basic premise. Yet the premise itself cannot be realized without the creation of form, which is then the opposite of nonform, of flux. Momentarily (in cosmic terms) the premise of *līlā* must create phenomena in order to revalidate itself by then subverting and destroying them. The creation of phenomena is activated through the use of *māyā,* commonly translated as the force of illusion, that is, as another aspect of the idea of play as it is used here. All phenomena rest and shift on the premise of illusion. Their most abstract of purposes is to cease to exist as phenomena.

Among the products of *māyā* is the cosmos that gods and humans inhabit. This can be rendered as *saṃsāra,* a gloss for all phenomena that exist in the cosmos. *Saṃsāra,* too, is understood as flux, as the processual flow that shapes all forms, and not as phenomena whose reification is absolute in any sense. *Saṃsāra* is also related to the idea of play and refers to the cycle of birth and rebirth of all beings. One can attain salvation, and so escape *saṃsāra,* only by dissipating the forces of illusion that render deep flux as superficial form. For gods and humans, for renouncers and antigods, aspects of the ideation of play are both their confinement, through illusion, in the bounded phenomenal trap and their escape from it through the dissolution of fixed forms. As named beings, deities are not ultimate forms in and of themselves. Rather they are signposts on the way to salvation, just as other figures point in contrary directions. Without beginning to overcome the forces of illusion, thereby gaining insight into both creation and destruction, one is caught endlessly in the paradoxes of a world that appears stable but is in flux. Yet perceptions that are paradoxical on one level of abstraction become merely ironical on a higher one.

The logic of these ideas permeates numerous aspects of Hindu cosmology. Ideally, the creative role of the *saṃnyāsin,* the renouncer, which is dedicated to the penetration of illusion, is also built into the Hindu life cycle as the final stage of living in this reality. Therefore, in a theoretical sense, the desirability of piercing the force of illusion that makes the world possible is integral to living in that world.

Like humans, Hindu gods and antigods are not constructed culturally as unitary and homogeneous figures. Instead they are self-transforming types whose logic of composition depends on the alteration of hierarchical and lateral boundaries within and around themselves. In their transformations these figures bear witness to the ultimate impermanence of illusion and also to the necessity of this force upon which they, like humankind, depend for existence. The only final stability in the Hindu cosmos is that of motility; the only final coherence in classification is its mutation.

Such paranatural types, like other facets of Hinduism, often seem paradoxical to Western thinking, in which stability is believed to be truly real and flux is both a secondary and a deficient reality. In the South Indian Śaiva Tamil tradition, for example, Śiva is composed as a self-transforming figure. He is creator, protector, and destroyer. He is, in Wendy O'Flaherty's felicitous phrasing, the erotic ascetic. He transcends and contains the cosmos, yet also appears within it through synecdoche, the relationship of part to whole. He is trickster and tricked. He creates the antigods, the *asura*s, and, by the terms of their compact, is helpless before them as they wreak havoc. But he also transcends himself in creating his son, Murukaṉ, who destroys the antigods. There are hints that Murukaṉ at once is greater than Śiva, is Śiva, and is reabsorbed into Śiva. In this example the power of imagination, intimately associated with illusion, has the capacity to expand upon, to extend, and to transform phenomenal reality beyond those boundaries that previously had contained it in an ongoing play of generative forces. This potential is actualized since reality and the fixedness that gives it definition are illusory.

Like the permutations of malleability in Iatmul cosmology, that of Hinduism, although operating in terms of a radically different epistemology, emphasizes the fragmentation of unitary principles that flow together in synthesis only to divide once again. In both of these cosmologies the idea of play would seem to inhere in their abstract conceptualizations of phenomenal reality that, on the one hand, perch and teeter precariously on the border between cosmos and chaos and, on the other, conceive of processuality as a condition of existence.

PREMISES OF PLAY IN RITUAL OCCASIONS. As the focus of play shifts to the positioning of this idea in religious or quasi-religious occasions, it becomes more constricted, since its presence threatens the validity and the stability of the occasion in which it is located. Nonetheless the idea of play does accomplish certain kinds of work in particular ritual contexts.

Within ritual contexts the notion of play has perhaps the most embracing mandate in that category of occasion termed *festival.* As the etymology of the English word denotes, a festival is an occasion of celebration, of joyous attitudes, and of rejoicing, marked by moods of cheer. In European tradition it has affinities with the carnivalesque and with certain liturgical periods in the Christian calendar. In the Hindu tradition it encompasses annual occasions that celebrate the powers of particular deities, and such times often are indistinguishable from pilgrimages to the deities in this culture.

Of especial significance here is that festival approximates a total collective performance, one that celebrates a holistic unity of cosmic and social order on the part of a relatively homogenized population of participants. This implies that many of the distinctions between social categories of persons—whether based on hierarchy, status, occupation, or age—may be temporarily subverted and dissolved in a playful spirit. Thus people, ordinarily separated by moral edicts and social rules, are brought together to experience the rediscovery of the significance of *sacra* that apply to all of them as a comparatively undifferentiated community of believers.

In part this may be done through inversions of social identity that reverse the relationships among everyday social distinctions, so that the high are made low and more peripheral positions become more central. This is the case in the North Indian holiday Krsnalila, or Feast of Love. Or, as in the European tradition of Carnival, the spirit of festive license and the erasure of social boundaries prepare the way for the ascetic restrictions of the days of Lent. In either instance the ideation of play is crucial to establish a comparative degree of social homogeneity among participants, permitting them to receive and to experience the power of *sacra,* individually and collectively. During carnivalesque occasions the indeterminacy of play serves as a mediating prelude to the transcendence of a social collective, preparing it to be recast as a religious community.

Still, the heyday of the European Carnival was during the medieval period, when the metaphysics of Christianity may have been quite different from their present-day counterparts. Then, the boundaries between the divine and the human were more mutable and interpenetrable, and the themes of the effervescent grotesque, itself a likely product of the mingling of domains, were pervasive. This more transformative cosmology was more similar in certain general respects to that of Hinduism than to its modern offsprings. And it is this kind of cosmology that encourages the genre of the religious festival. Here the playful celebration of the dissolution of boundaries creates the grounds for their reconstitution with renewed vigor.

The idea of play within ritual occasions, the boundaries of which are strongly and unequivocally reified, has a much narrower scope. Such occasions, unlike numerous festivals, tend to be organized as a clear-cut sequence of phases that follow one another in cumulative progression. Hierarchy is prominent; there are social distinctions among those who take part and between participants and others. Order is prevalent throughout, as is the measured progression to messages of the sacred. Where play is present, it rarely questions either the external boundaries that circumscribe the occasion or its internal distinctions. Instead, the mutability of play is bent to more specific purposes.

Across cultures the most characteristic of these operations is found in inversions that are featured in the commonly termed "rituals of reversal." These are not usually rituals in their own right but more often occur in a particular phase in a ritual sequence. Inversions are marked frequently by the mockery, the mimicry, and the ridiculing of one category of person or theme by another, or of a category in relation to itself. This tends to occur in a spirit of play, that is, through the subversion of one form and its substitution by another. Here the validity of existing social categories or roles is not questioned. These remain the same; only their valences change, so that access to them is temporarily altered. Moreover, the inversion of form often seems to carry connotations of an unnatural condition so that the morally correct version of form lies in the converse of what is inverted. Therefore, inversions revert to the foundation-for-form, from which the inverted image was derived. Furthermore, an inverted form remains a refraction of its usual image, and this suggests that inversion maintains the very domain of discourse that is defined initially by the original form. This effectively restricts the transformative force of play and strictly limits the possible permutations of its plays-upon-form.

Nonetheless such constricted mutability may perform significant work within ritual occasions. In the Booger Dance of the Cherokee Indians of the southeastern United States, as this was practiced during the first decades of this century, an alternative reality that was experienced as threatening by the community of believers was proposed in play and destroyed through it. The Booger Dance itself was preceded and succeeded by dances associated with the dead and the defunct. The Cherokee who were disguised as Boogers inverted their everyday identities and took on those of strangers with obscene names, exaggerated features, and strange speech. They burst noisily into the dwelling where the ritual-dance series was performed. Their behavior was aggressive and boisterous, and they were perceived as malignant and menacing creatures. As each Booger danced he was mocked, mimicked, and laughed at by the onlookers. Furthermore by their moral demeanor the onlookers quieted and tamed the Boogers and eventually ejected them from the ritual space. Outside, they unmasked, and then, as Cherokee, they rejoined the others in further ritual dances.

The Boogers, familiar men inverted as fearsome strangers, represented all that was frightful and evil beyond the boundaries of the moral community. Their intrusion underlined and reinforced these boundaries rather than threatening them. By their mockery and laughter, members of the moral community queried the valid presence of these characters within the community, expelled these symbols of evil from within, and so reasserted the correctness of the moral and social orders. In this example the alternative order proposed by the Boogers does not appear to have been entertained seriously by the other participants. The reality of the Boogers was inauthentic from the outset, and therefore the make-believe of play was contrasted throughout with the verities of ritual, reaffirming them.

In other orchestrations of ritual occasions, play is used to falsify alternative realities that are proposed as authentic and that deny sacred verities. In the following example, of Sinhala Buddhist exorcisms on the southern coast of Sri Lanka, the alternative reality is adumbrated in seriousness and falsified through play. This permits the correct order to reemerge with a sense of revelation and in sharp contradistinction to the illusory character of play. In the Sinhala cosmology demons are inferior to humankind, as is humankind to deities and to the Buddha. A person possessed by a demon is understood to invert the hierarchical superiority of the human in relation to the demonic: the possessed is thought to perceive reality as one dominated by demons and not by deities. The problem of the exorcists is to destroy the superordinate demonic reality of the possessed and to reestablish the moral superiority of deities and humans. To accomplish this, exorcists first reify the validity of a superior demonic reality. The demons then appear in the human realm, confident of their superiority there. However their assertion of authentic ascendancy is subverted and destroyed through comic episodes that show this status to be illusory. The demons are proved to be laughable savages who are ignorant of the very rudiments of correct human action, etiquette, and morality. The assertions of demonic reality are dissolved through play, and the demons are ejected from the human realm to reassume their inferior cosmological position. These tests of the validity of demonic reality, through the medium of play, prepare the grounds for the revelation of the reemergence of correct cosmic order and free the possessed from the demonic grip.

This brief survey of certain of the relationships among the idea of play and aspects of the organization of religion and ritual leads to a final point that is of widespread concern to religious experience. The presence of play induces and encourages reflection on the part of believers upon the elementary premises of their religious systems. Playing with boundaries and therefore with the coherency and verity of ideation and form emphasizes that every taken-for-granted proposition also contains its own potential negation. In turn, the experience of such challenges deepens and strengthens belief in the truths of cosmology and ritual once their validity is reestablished.

SEE ALSO Carnival; Chaos; Cosmology, overview article; Games; Līlā; Māyā; Performance and Ritual; Tricksters.

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DON HANDELMAN (1987 AND 2005)

PLOTINUS (205–270), founder of Neoplatonism. The *Life of Plotinus,* philosopher and mystic, was written by his pupil, Porphyry, who edited his master's lectures into six groups of nine treatises (*Enneads*). Completed in 309, the work comprises ethics, physics, the human and world souls, the Three Principal Hypostases (the One, the *Nous*, the Soul), and logical categories.

Plotinus was born in Lycopolis, now Asyut, in Upper Egypt. He studied in from 232 to 243 under Ammonius in Alexandria where a revival of interest in metaphysics and human non-bodily destiny had been influenced by Philo, the Middle Platonists, and the Neo-Pythagoreans in contrast to stoicism, epicureanism, and skepticism. Longing to study Persian and Indian thought, Plotinus joined an expedition of the Emperor Gordian against Persia. When the emperor was assassinated by his soldiers, Plotinus escaped to Antioch, then to Rome, where in 244 he began to teach what he learned from Ammonius. After ten years he was urged by students to write the treatises that have come down to the present. They are responses to students' questions and to teachings of Plato, Aristotle, their commentators, the Middle Platonists, Stoics, Epicureans, and Gnostics. Although he claimed to be merely an interpreter of Plato, the need to respond to the objections of non-Platonic philosophers, and his openness to whatever truth he found in their philosophy resulted in Plotinianism, called Neoplatonism in the modern period. Some main students were Amelius, Porphyry, the Emperor Gallienus, his wife, and Eustochious, a physician who was with him when he died and who reported his last words: "I am trying to bring back the divine in myself to the divine in the All."

Convinced of transcendent truth in Platonic Forms, Plotinus nevertheless agreed with Aristotle on the priority of thinking to the Forms, as well as with the Middle Platonic position that Forms are Ideas within the Divine Mind, adding his own conviction that Forms are living intelligences. Opposing Aristotle, he insisted that complexity of thinking must be preceded by a One, totally simple. Unity is needed for anything to exist, and the degrees of unity establish a hierarchy of ontological value. Influenced by Numenius, Plotinus departed from Plato's oral teaching on the forms arising from unity imposed on the Indefinite Dyad and adopted a radical metaphysical Monism.

The Plotinian First Principle, called the One or the Good, wills itself to be as it is. Thus it is from itself, and its goodness diffuses itself. Everything is a natural overflow from the One. The One is "all things and none of them" (V.2.1). Plotinus does not assume the existence of the One but argues for it.

From the One, actively self-contemplating, proceeds intelligible matter; converting and contemplating the One it becomes *Nous*, the Primal Intellect, and produces Essential Soul. According to its capacity this Hypostasis, Soul, contemplates the Forms, and there proceeds World Soul or Nature from which proceeds the most limited and faintest trace of the One, namely, matter. Unable to contemplate, matter is given forms by World Soul, and the physical world comes to be. Here Plotinus makes use of Aristotle's matter-form theory but only for sub-human things. The existence of the Three Principal Hypostases in the Intelligible World is eternal.

Whence human souls? They come from Essential Soul. Their individual archetypes are forms within *Nous* (V.9.12).The individual soul's descent into its body is both a fall and a necessity for carrying the governance of Essential Soul in parts of the world. But the soul does not wholly descend. Its intuitive intellect, its true self, aspiring for union with the One, remains in the intelligible world. It may become satisfied with living on its two earthly levels, discursive reason and perception, by over-occupation with the sensible world. The soul is a continuum of levels, the undescended Intellect intuiting the One the reason deliberating on earthly affairs, the perception of sense objects, the vegetative soul managing bodily appetites and emotions. The human soul can live on any level. Plotinus urges a return to one's true self by philosophical reflection, discipline, and a moral life leading to contemplation of one's transcendent Source, the One (V.3.3; VI.7.36). Living on this level means no return to an earthly body after death.

Contemplation, as productive, is the linchpin of the Intelligible World and of the sensible world, as well as of the return of the human soul to its true undescended self. This is made explicit in *Ennead* III.8.8.

Plotinus's views on the human body were influenced by Plato's *Phaedo* and *Timaeus*. Against the Gnostics (possible Sethians), he affirms the material world's goodness and beauty (*Enn.* II.9.8); yet he calls matter Absolute Evil (I.8.10) only because it lacks all form (*Timaeus* 48e–52d). But never existing alone, matter somehow is involved in physical evils and immoral human actions.

The Plotinian system is derived from the Classical Tradition, human reasoning, and everyday experience, not excluding religious experience. Through the Cappadocian fathers by way of the translations and writings of John Scottus Eriugena, Plotinus reached the medieval West. Augustine, freed from Manichaeism by reading treatises of Plotinus and Porphyry, also transmitted Plotinian concepts to Western philosophical theory. As founder of Neoplatonism, developed by Porphyry, Iamblichus, and Proclus, Plotinus became the source of negative theology and mystical theology, which through the works of the fifth century theologian Dionysius the Areopagite, influenced Thomas Aquinas and the Rhineland mystics, Eckhart, Suso, and Tauler. Direct knowledge of the *Enneads* in the modern world came through the Latin translations of Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499). By its refusal to confuse myths and rituals with religious philosophy, the work of Plotinus led intellectual Christians to recognize how far reason could go toward establishing divinely revealed truths, as well as how limited reason is with respect to a historically revealed and achieved salvation that requires faith in addition to reason.

SEE ALSO Neoplatonism.

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MARY T. CLARK (1987 AND 2005)

PLUTARCH (L. Mestrios Ploutarchos, before 50–after 120 CE) was born at Chaironeia near Thebes. He spent much time at Athens but in later life seems to have resided mostly at Chaironeia and at Delphi, where he held a priesthood. He was a good friend of many eminent Greeks and Romans and accordingly had considerable political influence, advocating a partnership between Rome (the power) and Greece (the educator). Late authorities report that he received high distinctions from the emperors Trajan and Hadrian. The extant work of Plutarch, an extremely prolific writer, surpasses that of almost every classical author up to his time, while many nonauthentic works have survived under his name. The *Parallel Lives*, written in an idealistic but critical style, represents a vast and masterly achievement that has had enormous influence. Modern scholarship has also concentrated on his *Moralia*, treating Plutarch seriously as a creative thinker and writer whose views deserve respect and study.

LIFE, WORKS, AND RELIGIOUS OUTLOOK. Plutarch wrote on religious, ethical, philosophical, rhetorical, and antiquarian subjects called *Moralia* or *Moral Essays* (*Ethika* in Greek), but he is most famous for his *Parallel Lives of the Greeks and Romans.* As a youth he studied Platonism at Athens under an Alexandrian named Ammonios, and Plutarch's own works in general belong to philosophical and religious Platonism.

Plutarch traveled to Egypt, Asia Minor, and Rome (several times), but his religious knowledge and interpretations usually depend on standard works, such as those of the early Hellenistic authors Manethon and Hekataios of Abdera (Egyptian religion) and Varro (late Roman Republic). Plutarch's veiled criticism of imperial cult may reflect a distaste for the Roman emperors Nero and in particular Domitian. As a priest at Delphi and a devout believer in the "ancestral faith," Plutarch played a notable part in the revival of the shrine. This interest and his own role is reflected in his *Pythian Dialogues* (*The E at Delphi*, *The Oracles at Delphi*, and *The Obsolescence of the Oracles*), in the first of which he prefers *Apollo*(*n*) as the name to designate God.

Walter Burkert has noted in "Plutarco: Religiosità personale e teologia filosofica" (1996) the personal and optimistic dimension of Plutarch's attitude toward religion. In two essays, probably early, *On the Eating of Flesh I* and *II*, Plutarch attacked the killing of animals for food, but elsewhere he treats religious festivities, which included sacrifice, as joyous occasions. He believed in prophecy and, following the Platonic tradition, speaks of its transmission through intermediate spirits (daimones), especially in *The Sign* [*Daimonion*] *of Socrates.* However, in general Plutarch treats daimones as former or potential human souls. Though drawing inspiration from Plato's afterlife myths and the *Timaios*, Plutarch speaks in *The Face on the Moon* of a "second death," the separation of intellect (nous) from soul (psyche), on the moon. In his eschatological scenes and comments, he proposes that virtuous souls, apparently limited in number, after passing through the state of daimones and undergoing purification, become gods—that is, pure immortal intellects without passions or attachment to this world—and are rewarded with the blessed vision. Plutarch is a firm believer in divine providence and the basic goodness of the divine order, but he allows punishment for the sins of ancestors to be inflicted on their descendants (*The Delay of Divine Vengeance*).

Emphasis on Plutarch's demonology (better "daimonology") has been much exaggerated. His writings reflect the vast range of meaning carried by the words *daimon*, *daimones*, or *daimonion* (i.e., spirit, demon, lesser god, a god, the divinity, God) in Greek. His interest, however, may indicate the growing influence of Near Eastern and perhaps even New Testament–type demonology. In *The Obsolescence of the Oracles* and the *Lives of Dion and Brutus*, Plutarch introduces daimones similar to New Testament demons but without seeming to be aware of possession and exorcism.

Dualism. Scholars are divided over dualism in Plutarch. In *The Generation of the Soul in the Timaios*, Plutarch posits a "world soul," which existed in a precosmic state as a source of cosmic evil before this soul obtained an intellect (Logos). Elsewhere he suggests that Zoroastrian dualism may be responsible for the doctrine of daimones (415D), and he discourses on the struggle between good and evil forces in Zoroastrianism—for example, as a tentative explanation for the battle between Osiris and Seth in Egyptian myth (*Isis and Osiris* 369D–370C). But dualism in the strict sense (a world equally balanced between good and evil—that is, between equal spiritual beings, one good, one evil) is rarely in question and certainly inconsistent with his belief in a benevolent and providential God ruling a basically good world.

Eschatological myths. Some of Plutarch's afterlife myths (found in *The Sign of Socrates*, *The Face on the Moon*, and *The Delay of the Divine Vengeance*), while modeled on those of Plato, are more focused on the personal experience of the visionary, and a "blessed vision" seems more clearly to be the ultimate destiny of the soul. Horrors are more individually described and gripping, and at least at the end of *The Divine Vengeance*, where Nero appears, one finds an outstanding contemporary figure undergoing punishment. This is an exception but foreshadows Dante Alighieri's *Inferno* (fourteenth century). Moreover in some myths the moon becomes a place of transition for the souls, and in general the daimones (generally treated as former or potential human souls) have a much more important role than in Plato. In contrast to the pessimistic myth of eternal rebirth in Plato's *Republic* or the more optimistic version of recycling souls in the *Timaios*, Plutarch seems to envisage release and a blessed vision as the normal process for truly virtuous souls, though these are few in number.

Religious Platonism. Plutarch avoided more extreme positions, such as a first, second, or even third God (the world) or a God above being and knowledge. He identifies God with the highest Platonic entities—Being, One, the Form of the Good, Intellect—even though this is usually stated only indirectly. One of Plutarch's most important contributions is his literal interpretation of the Demiurge (craftsman, creator God) in Plato's *Timaios.* Another is his

Middle Platonic allegorical interpretation of "Egyptian" religion (*Isis and Osiris*). His intention probably was to domesticate and neutralize the Isis religion through Platonic exegesis. Against Herodotos, he champions the purity of Greek religion and its independence from the Egyptian. Plutarch thus affirms the superiority of Greek culture. However, the extensive explanation of the rites and myths, a sympathetic treatment, the importance given Osiris, and the addition of Greek eschatology probably gave more meaning to the "Egyptian" cult and helped popularize it.

Dying and rising gods. In *Isis and Osiris* (356B–359C) Plutarch treats at great length the death and resurrection, or resuscitation, of Osiris. Osiris is identified on occasion with Dionysos (e.g., 356B, 362B), who in turn is identified with Adonis (*Table Talk*, 671B–C). As Giovanni Casadio notes in "The Failing Male God" (2003), Plutarch prefers to treat the dying and rising Osiris as a daimon rather than a god (360E–361F). To fit Plutarch's allegorical interpretation, however, Osiris ends up not as king of the dead as in the traditional Egyptian religion but belonging to the ethereal regions.

Judaism and Christianity. Plutarch's knowledge of Jewish religion, some of it reporting Egyptian anti-Jewish propaganda from the Hellenistic period, is limited and superficial. His ignorance is surprising, considering that the Jewish revolts brought Jews to the attention of the Greek and Roman world. His knowledge is presumably derived from earlier non-Jewish authors and represents an outsider's view of the religion. For example, the use of wine, tents, and palm branches in the feast of the Tabernacles demonstrates that the Jewish god is Dionysos (*Table Talk* 4.4–4.6). Still in these *Table Talk* "questions," the only passages exclusively dedicated to Judaism, he treats it with respect and some sympathy. Thus he differs from Tacitus (e.g., *Histories* 5.6.4), who admired the Jews for not representing the divinity in images (something Plutarch ignores) but otherwise treats them with contempt. Plutarch's respectful attitude, though consistent with his general procedure, is noteworthy, considering the hostile climate toward Jews during his lifetime. Christianity is never mentioned in Plutarch's works. Since the Christian persecutions had started and Plutarch was acquainted with high Roman officials, its absence may represent a "conspiracy of silence."

Historian of religion. Plutarch, an extraordinary source for Greek religion, was probably its most outstanding historian and comparativist in his day. In the dialogues, which permit him to introduce often radical and contradictory opinions, his personal view is often difficult to assess. In other works, such as *Isis and Osiris* (a treatise) and *The Face on the Moon* (more a treatise than a dialogue), he presents several interpretations, usually moving from a less-probable opinion to a more-probable one, as, for example, when discussing dualism. As a scholar of comparative religion (especially in *Isis and Osiris*, *Greek Questions*, *Roman Questions*, and *Table Talk*), Plutarch treats religious practices with respect. He presumes there is a reasonable or edifying rationale for something, even if strange. Plutarch had an outstanding knowledge of Greek and a comprehensive knowledge of Roman religion, and he used excellent sources, such as Varro for the *Roman Question.*

Fritz Graf, however, in "Plutarco e la religione romana" (1996), notes both Plutarch's failure to see an essential difference between Roman and Greek religion and his tendency to give theological and moralistic explanations. A case is that of the *Flamen Dialis*, where modern scholars would see socio-religious taboos. The answers in the *Greek Questions* are authoritative and often short, like encyclopedia entries, normally without theoretical explanations. But the responses in the *Roman Questions*, frequently more than one, are actually open-ended questions. In these, often described as "Greek answers for Roman questions," though not always such, Plutarch seems unable to resist giving several theoretical answers. Apparently spun out of his own head, he sometimes introduces them with "Is it as Varro says, or . . .?" Moreover Rebecca Preston, in "Roman Questions, Greek Answers: Plutarch and the Construction of Identity" (2001), observes Plutarch's tendency to avoid explicit reference to contemporary religious practice, such as imperial cult.

Plutarch was surprisingly well-informed about Egyptian religion, making use of good, early Hellenistic sources, in particular the Egyptian priest Manethon. In general, as a religious historian he tries to let the reader into his decision-making process. He interprets other religions in Greek terms, deeming practices or beliefs worthy if they can be reconciled with Greek ideas. Typical in a sense is his derivation of the Egyptian or Greek transmission of the Egyptian name *Isis*, from the Greek word "to know." One of his guiding principles is *interpretatio graeca*, the identification of foreign gods with Greek gods, an identification often based on external resemblances in rites and attributes. Plutarch mostly used old sources, but because of the prominence given Osiris in them, his work harmonizes with the growing importance of Osiris in the early imperial period. In Plutarch's appropriation or domestication of the religion through shifting Platonic exegesis and the allegorical method, Osiris becomes Plato's Eros, or the Form of the Good, while Isis is the Platonic "receptacle," or the individual soul longing for the Form of the Good (or Beautiful).

PLUTARCH'S INFLUENCE. From his own age to modern times, Plutarch has been widely read for his religious views, partly because his ideas on creation and God could be reconciled with Christian thought. His influence can be seen in such Middle Platonists as Attikos and in the Neoplatonists, though the latter disliked his metaphysics. Christians such as Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebios of Caesarea, Basil of Caesarea, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoretos, Isidore of Pelousion, and Ioannes Philoponos read and admired Plutarch, in particular for his description of the unique creation of the world by God in time. *The Delay of the Divine Vengeance*—greatly admired throughout the ages, even if not necessarily for the best reasons—was transcribed and adapted in large part by the Neoplatonist Proklos, and it received many editions and translations, especially during the sixteenth to twentieth centuries.

Plutarch was overlooked by medieval scholars in the West, but in the early humanist period Greeks like Planudes and Ioannes Mauropos admired him. In the fifteenth century only Aristotle and Plato among prose writers were better represented in Italian libraries, but Plutarch's ethical writings were favored over his religious writings. Montaigne praised Plutarch's nondogmatic approach to religious questions. Though Erasmus translated several of the *Moralia*, once saying they were inferior only to the Bible in spirituality, and Plutarch was admired by Melanchthon, Martin Luther does not mention him. Already in the seventeenth century *Isis and Osiris* had become an important source for scholars of Egyptian religion; the work helped fuel the Egyptomania of the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, and it remains an important source for Egyptologists. Though Plutarch fell somewhat out of favor in the nineteenth century, his Platonism found a home among the New England transcendentalists (Ralph Waldo Emerson). He was a favorite of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Mary Shelley, while George Bernard Shaw oddly labeled his work "a revolutionists' handbook." In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries scholars have found Plutarch's works to be an indispensable source for the mentality of his time, a time that produced such profound changes in the religious history of the Western world.

SEE ALSO Delphi; Demons; Dualism; Hellenistic Religions; Isis; Orpheus; Osiris; Plato; Platonism.

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FREDERICK E. BRENK (2005)

PNEUMA SEE SOUL, *ARTICLE ON* GREEK AND HELLENISTIC CONCEPTS

POBEDONOSTSEV, KONSTANTIN (1827–1907), procurator of the Holy Governing Synod of the Russian Orthodox church. Konstantin Petrovich Pobedonostsev was the last procurator effectively to control the administration of the church according to the stipulations of the Ecclesiastical Regulation of Peter the Great. Although this regulation remained on the statute books until the collapse of the tsarist regime in 1917, the upheavals of 1905–1906 in the church and the government necessitated adaptation in its application during the final decade of the old order.

Pobedonostsev served as procurator from 1880 to 1905, during which time he oversaw a major restructuring of ecclesiastical education and an impressive expansion of the parish school system. His purpose was twofold: to provide basic education to the Russian masses as they emerged from the shadow of serfdom and to ensure that that education firmly supported the tsarist political system. Within the seminaries and theological academies under his control he both raised the general level of education and tried to maintain control of its content. Unintentionally, he stimulated a major controversy over reform in the church and spent the later years of his career attempting to contain and stifle this controversy.

Among the forceful personalities Pobedonostsev dealt with in the controversy over church reform were Antonii Vadkovskii, metropolitan of Saint Petersburg (1898–1912), Sergei Witte, chairman of the Committee of Ministers (1903–1905) and prime minister (1905–1906), and Antonii Khrapovitskii, bishop and archbishop of Volhynia (1902–1914). The bishops were determined reformers, seeking to free the church from the bondage of the Ecclesiastical Regulation. During debates in the Committee of Ministers on proposed changes in legislation affecting non-Orthodox religious groups in the Russian empire, Witte was persuaded by Vadkovskii and others that termination of the Petrine regulation and restoration of autonomy of administration (possibly reviving the patriarchate of Moscow) were essential for good government of the church.

Pobedonostsev attempted to halt the momentum for reform and abolition of the Petrine system by having Tsar Nicholas II transfer deliberation of the question from the Committee of Ministers to the synod itself, where the procurator's agents would be able to control the debate. Vadkovskii, Khrapovitskii, and their allies outmaneuvered the synodal bureaucracy, however, and the synod itself declared for reform. As a result of the synod's decision, the procurator ordered the polling of all the bishops of the church in the hope that they would be opposed to a *sobor* (council) of the church and to the restoration of the patriarchate. But when the bishops had completed their replies, the overwhelming majority were found to favor a *sobor* and a sweeping reform.

During the months that the poll was being taken, Russia was wracked by violence and revolution. From the turmoil came the October Manifesto (1905), which granted a limited constitutional government. Pobedonostsev resigned as procurator, protesting against the manifesto, against Witte's having been appointed prime minister, and against the tsar's promise to summon an all-Russian *sobor.* He died within two years, convinced that his work of twenty-five years as procurator was being destroyed and that both the Russian church and the Russian state were doomed to collapse. He had been unyielding in his opposition to parliamentary forms of government, believing that they were the cause of the decadence of the West and that their introduction into Russia in any form would lead to corruption and disintegration.

Pobedonostsev's voluminous writings reflect his training as a lawyer. Among them are *Lectures on Civil Judicial Procedures* (Moscow, 1863), *History of the Orthodox Church until the Schism of the Churches* (Saint Petersburg, 1896), *Historical Juridical Acts of the Epoch of Transition of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Moscow, 1887), *Course of Civil Law,* 3 vols. (Saint Petersburg, 1868–1880), *The Questions of Life* (Moscow, 1904), *Annual Report of the Over-Procurator of the Holy Synod concerning the Administration of the Orthodox Church* (Saint Petersburg, 1881–1909), and a number of articles published in journals during his public career.

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JAMES W. CUNNINGHAM (1987)

POETRY

This entry consists of the following articles:

POETRY AND RELIGION
INDIAN RELIGIOUS POETRY
CHINESE RELIGIOUS POETRY
JAPANESE RELIGIOUS POETRY
CHRISTIAN POETRY
ISLAMIC POETRY
NATIVE AMERICAN POETRY AND RELIGION

POETRY: POETRY AND RELIGION

The language of religion, like the language of love, is persistently poetic, if by no means exclusively so. The reasons why religious expression is so often poetic are complex, however, and not always transparent. They can best be adduced by considering the principal ways in which poetry functions in different religious contexts and traditions. It will be useful, however, to begin by examining the overall features of poetry, and its corresponding religious potential.

POETRY AS PERFORMANCE AND EXPRESSION: BASIC ELEMENTS. Poetry has been described as heightened speech. Intensified and ordered through rhythm, sound, and image, such language is designed to be expressive or beautiful, and memorable. Poetic diction varies widely from style to style, and from culture to culture. Yet the language of poetry typically departs from both common sense and plain speech, being often figurative or metaphoric in the broad sense.

Poetry can be divided into three large genres: narrative, dramatic, and lyric. Narrative poetry includes epics, myths, sagas, fables, ballads, romances, and the like. Dramatic poetry includes verse forms of tragedy, comedy, and plays of an explicitly liturgical or ritual sort. As for the numerous kinds of lyric poetry, some of the more familiar are odes, hymns, elegies, laments, haiku, love sonnets, and meditative verse.

Many of the traits normally associated with poetry—meter, rhyme, alliteration, assonance, and consonance, for instance—become most vivid in oral expression. Religions have traditionally made much of the very orality of poetry. Thus the markedly poetic text of the Qur'ān (literally, "recitation"), which Muḥammad delivered orally, lends itself to beautiful modes of chanting out loud rather than to silent reading. Even in poetry that is unrhymed and irregularly metered, various salient features may come out more fully in oral performance. In the poetry of the Hebrew Bible, for example, oral rendition calls attention to a combined rhythm of meaning, syntax, and stress—something clearly audible in the celebrated parallelisms of the Psalms, a liturgical songbook.

Most of the poetry associated with religion and ritual is actually meant to be sung or chanted, taking the form of hymns, invocations, ritual incantations, and the like. Indeed, virtually all of the poetry in ancient Greece—not only epic and lyric poetry but also dramatic—was accompanied by instruments, and often by dance. The same can be said of traditional poetry in Africa, India, Bali, and elsewhere.

The connection between poetry and music was so intimate in Western antiquity that when Augustine of Hippo (354–430), the most influential of the Christian church fathers, wrote his only treatise on music, he approached the topic by dwelling at length on matters of number and meter associated with prosody. Unfortunately, no one knows for sure how the musical settings of ancient poetry sounded—even the hymns that Augustine confessed moved him to tears. The works of much later Christian hymn-writers—such as Paul Gerhardt (1606–1676), Isaac Watts (1674–1748), Charles Wesley (1707–1788), and Fanny Crosby (1820–1915)—were, of course, set to music that remains easily accessible; but such verse, however widely sung in churches, is rarely classified now as poetry.

In due course, religious poetry nonetheless came to exploit the possibilities of the written text. The epic narrative of the *Divine Comedy,* by Dante Alighieri (1265–1321), which traces the pilgrim Dante's progress from hell to heaven, employs an elaborate rhyme scheme (*terza rima*), complex allegory, and convoluted similes that are all savored better upon multiple readings than in a single oral performance. And though the English poet John Milton (1608–1674) was blind when he dictated the blank verse of his Christian epic *Paradise Lost,* the extended structure and density of the work's often Latinate syntax favors readers more than mere listeners. Again, the interlinked sequences of poetic stanzas in Japanese *renga* of the fifteenth and sixteenth century CE, which often touch lightly on Buddhist themes, allow poets to respond to one another in writing. There are even devotional poems by the Anglican priest George Herbert (1593–1633) that are arranged on the page in such a way as to create a two-dimensional visual image of the primary subject of the poem—as in "The Altar" and "Easter Wings."

Such features of poetry, even when seemingly of minor consequence in themselves, are reminders that the medium of poetry is never merely words in the abstract. Rather, poetry depends on imagination and a kind of embodiment. As with ritual and arts in general, the meaning of poetry registers on the whole self, appealing to head and heart, mind and body.

Despite that sort of immediacy, poetry distances itself from the merely mundane. In a variety of ways poetry estranges itself from the familiar and creates a measure of creative disorientation—something evident in modern poetry in particular. For instance, while *Four Quartets* by T. S. Eliot (1888–1965) is far removed from actual ritual practice or from prayer or other spiritual exercises in the usual sense, the structure of each of the quartets bears some resemblance to classic stages of the mystical path or, more particularly, of the spiritual progress of what Eliot elsewhere calls the "intellectual soul." The highly metaphoric language, the deferral from plain sense, and the attentiveness to sonic texture all contribute to the spiritual evocativeness of such poetry, influenced in part by the French symbolist tradition of the late nineteenth century. Again, the works of the Welsh poet Dylan Thomas (1914–1953), far more extroverted in character, have a virtually incantatory quality that is only heightened by the fact that the literal sense can be hard to fathom. It could be argued that creative dissonance likewise results from the often shocking lyrics of the highly rhythmic and rhyming popular music known as rap—originally an urban ghetto genre of African American musical verse but one that, since the late twentieth century, has begun to spread widely around the world and even to be employed in worship.

POETRY, PROPHECY, AND REVELATION. In religious life, the means of poetry serve particular ends, beyond providing purely aesthetic delight. Two of the most important religious purposes of poetry can be termed prophecy and revelation. Two other religious purposes, which will be discussed subsequently, are devotion and mysticism.

Prophetic utterance is concerned with communicating divine messages, whether about the future or about conditions of self or society that need to be changed, possibly for the sake of justice and righteousness. Thus poetry in many parts of the world has been a medium of spiritual ecstasy or "madness" in the service of prophecy. Plato (c. 428–348 or 347 BCE) and many other ancient Greeks thought of poets not as knowledgeable artists in full control of their craft but rather as seers and prophets mediating mysterious truths and divine directives that the poets might not fully grasp themselves.

In Latin, one venerable term for poet is *vates,* or "prophet." Similarly, in Arabic, the word for poetry, *shiʿr,* is derived from a verb denoting a special kind of knowledge associated with divination. Although the prophet Muḥammad's critics, in the seventh century CE, dismissed his recitations as mere poetry, Muslims themselves soon came to regard the supremacy of the Qurʾān as audible in that very poetry, with a truth and beauty beyond compare.

The aura of divine possession or prophetic inspiration has never completely departed from the role of poet, though in later times, especially in the West, it has become less visible. The prophet's call for righteousness and justice survives, for example, in poetry of protest, as exemplified by the war poems of England's Wilfred Owen (1893–1918) or the long poem *Babi Yar* by the Russian Yevgeny Yevtushenko (1933–), who, in mourning the Nazi massacre of thousands of Ukrainian Jews, also attacks Soviet anti-Semitism.

In addition to having a prophetic function, poetry serves as a medium of revelation—which, in the sense relevant here, is the inspired disclosure of deep wisdom or of holy presence. In a specifically religious sense, revelation can take place as epiphany or theophany: that which is divine or holy appears in an awe-inspiring form that is nonetheless accessible to human senses and awareness. Whereas prophecy employs exhortation and proclamation, revelation employs vision and manifestation, or sacramental embodiment. At a less lofty level, prophecy and revelation take the form of preaching and teaching, which likewise can employ poetry. Thus, in the sixth century CE, Romanos the Melodist, the most famous liturgical poet of the Orthodox Church, chanted his narrative verse sermons in a form known as *kontakia,* with the congregation joining in a repeated refrain.

In India, the most ancient sacred Hindu texts, revered as the original revelations, are the Vedas, the earliest portions of which became canonical by 1000 BCE. Those primary revelatory utterances are classified as *śruti*: that which is heard. Subsequent sacred texts (including the *Dharmaśāstras* and the epics) are classified as *smṛti*: that which is remembered. Both kinds of texts are, in many cases, composed in verse. Indian commentators have long spoken of *ṛṣhis* ("seers" and "poets") as in some sense the transmitters and composers of the Vedas—whose sacred hymns and largely non-narrative verses use vivid imagery and memorable sound and phrasing. The great epics are also attributed to poets—the *Mahābhārata* to Vyasa (a "collector") and the *Rāmāyaṇa* to Valmiki. The *Mahābhārata,* indeed, refers to itself as a *kāvya,* or great poem, and contains the *Bhagavadgītā,* which is acknowledged worldwide as a masterpiece of poetry.

Nevertheless, being regarded as revealed or inspired, those ancient texts of Hinduism were not received as poetic art or literature (*kāvya*) in the usual sense. Although, as time passed, one system of classification did recognize epics such as the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* as *kāvya,* a second system maintained that the truthful story-telling of such epic poems or of the popular but nonetheless sacred *Purāṇas* should be distinguished from the mere fictions of literature. And none of the epics themselves were so self-consciously literary as the classical Sanskrit poetry that began to be composed around 200 CE, and that culminated in the work of the poet Kālīdasa in the fifth century.

Thus, as these examples indicate, when it comes to the revelatory quality of religious poetry, there is often a tension between a religious community's desire to recognize or acclaim the poetic art of sacred texts and the contrary desire to distance such elevated or supremely truthful texts from merely human poiesis, or poetic making, and from what otherwise might be seen as creative representation, or mimesis. Indeed, the difference between divine revelation and human expression can be interpreted at times in terms of a divine disregard for the lesser delights of mere poetry. While it is true that, in the West, Augustine and other church fathers were struck by the symbolism, figurative discourse, and rhetoric of the Bible, they were pleased to point out how frequently Scripture seems to disdain the lofty language and the polished poetry perfected by the pagans. Jerome (c. 342–420), for instance, thought that the language of the Scriptures was "harsh and barbaric" compared with the pagan classics. Christians of the patristic era saw the very roughness of scriptural language as serving a higher wisdom and (as Augustine would argue) a higher, invisible beauty not to be compared with human ornament and decorum.

At other times, sacred texts are valued by their devotees or believers as the very model of poetic excellence and most worthy of emulation. Thus, while an elevated view of the poetry of the Qurʾān has sometimes functioned to cast all other poetry in a comparatively negative light, the Qurʾān has also helped inspire the extensive repertoire of Islamic poetry, in Persian as well as Arabic. Similarly, in medieval Europe, biblical figurative language and the corresponding typological and allegorical approach to reading Scripture gave impetus to poetic allegory more broadly—and, eventually, to the poet Dante's adoption of the four commonly acknowledged levels of interpreting sacred texts, which he had the seeming audacity to apply to his own extra-biblical epic narrative, the *Divine Comedy.* Protestant Reformers of the sixteenth century, such as Martin Luther, engaged in tirades against medieval allegorizing; but Protestants themselves often looked on the figurative language of Scripture not only as exemplifying the Bible's poetic excellence but also as providing divine sanction for poetic simile, metaphor, metonymy, catechresis, and so forth.

Accordingly, in England, Philip Sidney (1554–1586) defended poetry not only by citing the Psalms of David as divine poems but also by claiming that the poet's imagination is analogous to the creativity of "the heavenly maker" who "made man to his owne likenes . . . which in nothing sheweth so much as in Poetry." The seventeenth-century Anglican poet and divine John Donne (c. 1572–1631) likewise found in scripture ample evidence that the Holy Spirit is the supreme poet. God is not only a "direct God," he said, but also a "figurative, a metaphorical God too." Such convictions inspired much Protestant lyrical poetry of the seventeenth century. And though the use of figurative language had as much to do with moving and delighting readers as with conveying higher truths, in the seventeenth century those functions of poetry were closely intertwined.

During the eighteenth century, by contrast, the increasing prevalence of empirical or scientific standards of truth in Western culture spawned, in many settings, a relatively rationalist approach to religion. Since the language of poetry conformed neither to the clear and distinct ideas of science nor to the kind of self-evident or revealed absolutes required in different ways by both deist and dogmatic religion, poetry lost some of its esteem as a serious medium of either truth or revelation, though it was still thought suitable for edifying instruction.

During this era, particularly under the influence of the philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), poetry and the other arts were granted a large degree of autonomy, apart from science, morality, or religion. Ironically, however, the price was that the beauty of poetry was often conceived of not as participating in divine beauty but as delighting in an ornamental way or as providing simply an appealing guise in which to clothe social commentary or instruction in matters of morality.

During the revolutionary age of European Romanticism, which commenced near the end of the eighteenth century and continued well into the nineteenth, poets and critics such as Friedrich Hölderlin (1770–1843), Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834), and Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882) reacted against both scientific rationalism and religious dogmatism, partly by taking a very high view of works of poetic genius. Poetic imagination, according to many of the Romantics, transcends both scientific fact and religious dogma, becoming in a real sense revelatory of the highest truths available to human beings. William Wordsworth (1770–1850), for instance, could be found referring to the poet or bard as the "holiest of men." The Romantics, often enamored with the cult of the artist as genius, made the poetic Muse an ally of, or occasionally even substitute for, the Holy Spirit. "A Poet, a Painter, a Musician, and Architect: the Man or Woman who is not one of these is not a Christian," wrote the English poet and artist William Blake (1727–1857). Imagination, he said, "is the Divine Body of the Lord Jesus, blessed for ever."

In the Victorian era, when the creeds and prescribed rituals of religion further weakened under the assault of social change and scientific revolution, it began to appear to various shapers of culture that, if anything was going to remain of religion at all, it would be its "poetry." Now that fact and dogma were failing religion, wrote Matthew Arnold (1822–1888), people would increasingly need to turn for consolation to poetry, which he thought of as the "breath and finer spirit of knowledge" that could sustain humanity in the absence of secure creeds. At times, in the hands of theorists such as Walter Pater (1839–1894) and, later, Clive Bell (1881–1964), poetry—or art in general—became virtually a surrogate for religion.

Even the so-called New Critics of the mid-twentieth century, for all their preoccupation with the formal and self-reflexive features of poetic art, carried forward certain of these tendencies. For they viewed poetic language not simply as constitutive of its own world but also, paradoxically, as revelatory of a unique kind of knowledge unavailable to other modes of discourse.

Meanwhile, in the work of philosophers and theologians such as Martin Heidegger (1889–1976), Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900–2002), Paul Tillich (1886–1965), and Paul Ricoeur (1913–), truth and symbolic imagination were treated as intimately interrelated. Truth that is most important to human life and meaning, according to such thinkers, is not subject to propositional logic but appears in the simultaneous veiling and unveiling inherent in symbolic or poetic thought. In a related vein, the Roman Catholic theologian Karl Rahner (1904–1984) suggested that, ideally, the priest and poet should become one, though that fusion of roles is likely to remain an eschatological hope more than a present reality. To other theologians such as Hans Urs von Balthasar (1905–1988), that kind of hope would seem to transgress the necessary boundary between artistic inspiration and God's self-revelation. Yet Balthasar himself wanted to reclaim beauty as a transcendental, essential attribute of whatever is real and true, and he acknowledged that divine beauty can, by way of analogy, graciously manifest itself in artistic beauty as well.

All along, however, one whole line of modernist poetics, associated with formalism in particular, had resisted any attempt to think of poetry as concerned with truth at all, or with anything other than itself and the sheer play of language. In the latter part of the twentieth century, postmodern theorists such as the deconstructionist philosopher Jacques Derrida (1930–2004) took such skepticism about poetic truth and applied it to language as a whole, wherein they found all meaning to be in some degree deferred, and all representation to be artificial and unreliable to an indeterminate degree. But even then, Derrida appeared to leave room for something more—something still related to religion—to emerge from language and symbol and to entice belief. Truth might be elusive, but there was still something worth trusting in the darkness of unknowing, as Derrida would hint from time to time. Not surprisingly, this open-ended, postmodern approach, pushing to the limits of language and beyond, sounded to some students of theology and religion like a kind of negative theology—a *via negativa*—and sometimes almost like poetry, itself.

POETRY, DEVOTION, AND MYSTICISM. Religion has to do not only with prophecy and revelation, but also with devotion and spirituality: the response and expression of personal or corporate piety. In intense forms, that can entail mysticism—seeking and celebrating an experience of union (or intimate communion) with the divine or with ultimate reality transcending all imaginable qualities. Devotion that is corporate and public is usually termed worship. When private, devotion is known more often as personal prayer, meditation, or contemplation.

As noted earlier, the greater portion of poetry that has played a role in public worship has been accompanied by music. Some of that musical poetry is narrative in kind, reciting stories of the acts of deities, avatars, and exemplary human beings. Mostly, however, the poetry of worship is lyrical. Among the more complex and formal lyrics are odes praising or petitioning the divine, as occurs in cult hymns from the Alexandrian period in Greek literature (c. 300–30 BCE). In the Christian New Testament, the letters of Paul make reference to the singing of "hymns, psalms, and spiritual songs"—seemingly imprecise terms that nevertheless emphasize the lyrical mode, including canticles such as Mary's *Magnificat,* found in the book of Luke. Original lyric verse, once it has been set to music, has also been employed widely in public prayer, as one sees in the poems of the now-celebrated *Symphonia* of Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179). The extra-biblical church hymns of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such as the *Stabat Mater* and the *Dies Irae,* are among the high marks of liturgical poetry. In Judaism, similarly, there is an extensive tradition of *piyyutim,* or liturgical poems and prayers, mostly composed between the early centuries of the Common Era and the eighteenth century.

While religious poetry that is not sung or chanted has not generally found a major place in liturgy or corporate worship, such poetry has served as a medium of private devotion and personal religious expression. The works of one of the greatest Hebrew poets of the medieval period, Judah ha-Levi (c. 1075–1141), generally fall into that category. In Christian circles, from the late sixteenth century through much of the seventeenth, meditative or metaphysical lyric poetry was in many instances deeply informed by the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556). Other lyric poetry of the same period, especially in Protestant England, was shaped—as already noted—by the poetry of the Bible itself, which at that time was thought to have been composed in regular meters.

Modern counterparts of such poetry can be found, but are seldom so openly devotional in character, and rarely so explicitly prayerful. Particularly notable examples in the West include lyrics composed by the American Emily Dickinson (1830–1886), the Russian Anna Akhmatova (1889–1966), the English Jesuit Gerard Manley Hopkins (1844–1889), Ireland's William Butler Yeats (1865–1939), the German Rainer Maria Rilke (1875–1926), and the Welsh Anglican priest R. S. Thomas (1913–2000). Americans such as Robinson Jeffers (1887–1962), Anne Sexton (1928–1974), Allen Ginsberg (1926–1997), and Gary Snyder (1930–) composed poetic exhortations and confessions, both lyric and narrative, that are still further removed from conventional Western religious norms—being panentheistic, feminist, "Beat," and Zen in their respective spiritualities. The works of the Jewish poet Paul Celan (1920–1970) constitute some of the most evocative and shattering uses of poetic language to have emerged in response to the Holocaust.

Outside the West, and many centuries earlier, in Shiʿa Islamic circles under the Sunni Umayyad dynasty (661–750), remarkable religious odes and laments were composed in order to praise and mourn martyrs. A very different form of lyric verse flourished during a golden age of poetry in the Tang dynasty of China (618–907). Many Tang lyrics, composed by civil servants and aristocrats for whom the making of poetry was often a daily exercise, manifest a Daoist interest in nature, especially the harmonies and quiet surprises of seasonal change. Other poems, like those of Wang Wei (c. 699–761), contemplate landscapes in such a way as to suggest an insubstantiality corresponding to the Buddhist metaphysical idea of "emptiness." In seventeenth-century Japan, Matsuo Bashō (1644–94) composed haiku that, in their extreme brevity, likewise observed nature with care, exhibiting Zen mindfulness and suggesting the interplay between the momentary and the timeless.

By contrast with such essentially quiet (though sometimes gently humorous) forms of verse, expressions of religious awe, affection, and ecstasy abound in the lyrical modes of Indian poets and singers associated with the popular movement known as *bhakti.* In the sixth century CE, South Indian poet-saints associated with this movement began to compose extensive Tamil hymns to Śiva or Viṣṇu; others oriented their poetry toward the ultimate reality *brahman,* regarded either as personal divinity with qualities, or as ultimately ineffable and beyond qualities. The movement spread to other parts of India. Later poets in the *bhakti* line include the female poets Akka Mahadevi (a twelfth-century devotee of Śiva) and Mīrā (a sixteenth-century devotee of Kṛṣṇa). The tradition continues, with modifications, into modern times, manifesting itself, for instance, in the poetry of Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941), whose poetic art entails mystical self-realization and indeed joy, yet is not untouched by suffering.

In Islam as well, particularly in the Sūfī tradition, the more fervent forms of religious lyricism exhibit a recurrent tendency to become mystical, and often, in becoming mystical, to employ erotic metaphors to express intense longing for, or union with, the divine. Such poetic mysticism reaches a peak in the famous Persian Sūfī poet Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (1207–1273), whose narratives and lyrical couplets express a longing for God in both veiled and explicitly sexual imagery. Long before Rūmī's time, the Iraqi poet Rābiʿah al-ʾAdawīyah (d. 801) explored her love of God in terms of divine-human reciprocity, helping inspire a whole genre of Islamic mystical poetry in which God and the human self are imaged as beloved and lover.

The poetic traditions of Christianity and Judaism are generally less rapturous and mystical than those considered above, and are mostly inclined to seek communion with God, rather than union. But notable examples of the mystical poetic impulse can be found. The poems of the Spaniard John of the Cross (1542–1591) are classics of mysticism, known for tracing the path to God through the dark night of the soul. Many works of Jewish mystical poetry reflect the influence of medieval Qabbalah. Other Jewish poetry has been inspired by the Hasidic tradition of pietism and mysticism originating in the eighteenth century.

The mystical, and even the devotional, strands within religious poetry receive relatively little attention in the major Western theories of poetry. Although Western theories have sometimes related the poetic sense of the sublime to the religious experience of the holy, they have generally valued poetry as instruction and delight, as creative or beautiful making (poiesis) and artful representation (mimesis), and as self-expression. By contrast, Indian poetic theories have more frequently discerned a genuinely religious and potentially mystical purpose inherent within the experience of poetry itself. Thus various ancient theorists in India discuss eight or nine major aesthetic *rasas* (core sentiments or moods), one of which they commonly identify as profoundly peaceful (*santa*) and, as such, also religious. No later than the sixteenth century, a specifically devotional *rasa* is identified, which is called simply *bhakti*. Centuries before then, the great eleventh century theorist Abhinavagupta had said that a *rasa* produced by a drama (normally in verse and dance) can afford a kind of metaphysical bliss integral to, though not identical with, the experience of utmost spiritual liberation, or mokṣa.

THE LARGER CONTEXT: RELIGION, POETRY, AND SOCIETY. As the preceding discussion has shown, poetry serves a variety of religious purposes, even as it heightens awareness of the power, beauty, and figurative play of language itself. Prior to the modern era, the poetry with the widest sphere of influence was mythical, epic, or quasi-historical, in the manner of the Babylonian epic Gilgamesh, the Indian *Rāmāyaṇa*, Dante's *Divine Comedy*, and Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Such poetry speaks for and to the wider community, in both religious and moral terms. Poetry in that public sense of establishing and exploring core communal values has largely been eclipsed in contemporary life, especially in the West. Some cultural critics have wondered whether theatre and prose fiction may also be fading from public significance in a phase of culture that seems preeminently visual and musical.

Nevertheless, if one includes song itself in the category of poetry—something for which there is historical precedent—then it can be said with some justification that the poetic medium, if less often poetry itself, still plays a role in public. Popular songwriters such as Bob Dylan (1941–), Paul Simon (1942–), Bob Marley (1944–1987), and the Indigo Girls (first recorded in 1989) have had a communal role with discernible moral and religious dimensions that go beyond entertainment per se. At a less popular level, but with a sizeable multinational audience, the morally engaging films of the Japanese director Akira Kurosawa (1910–1998) and the Polish director Krzysztof Kieslowski (1941–1996) are certainly not without poetic qualities. Meanwhile, in their widely acclaimed contemporary operas and large-scale choral works, composers such as John Adams (1947–), Philip Glass (1937–), and Tan Dun (1957–) employ poetic texts from Christian, Hindu, Buddhist, and Mayan traditions, partly in an attempt to recover a global sense, however mysterious, of purpose and hope.

In a postmodern culture, then, it appears that the larger social and communal dimension of moral and religious imagination is still being conveyed poetically, but more often by the poetic qualities of media such as music and film than by poetry.

SEE ALSO Bhagavadgītā; Dante Alighieri; Deconstruction; Film and Religion; John of the Cross; Mahābhārata; Qurʾān, overview article; Ramayana; Rumi, Jalal al-Din; Tagore, Rabindranath.

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FRANK BURCH BROWN (2005)

POETRY: INDIAN RELIGIOUS POETRY

The most popular and influential devotional poetry in India is that associated with the *bhakti*, or popular devotional, movement—a wave of religious fervor that swept over India from South to North, beginning around the sixth century in the Tamil area and flourishing in the Hindi region between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was a grass roots movement, protesting against formalism and priestly domination; insisting on the direct accessibility of God to everyone; attacking purely external practices and hypocrisy; and stressing the importance of inner experience, which generally meant establishing a bond of fervent personal love with the deity. *Bhakti* is also associated with the rise of vernacular literature and with a group of poet-saints whose works are in many instances the classics of their respective languages. Much of this literature was composed orally, and all of it has been transmitted largely through singing. Written versions have typically been recorded and collected after the poets' lifetimes, though some poets did write down their own works. This article focuses mainly on short verse forms (lyrics and couplets) and on Hindu vernacular poetry, though there are brief sections on Sanskrit, Buddhist, and Jain materials as well.

HINDU POETRY IN SANSKRIT. The most ancient texts of Indian civilization, the Rgvedic hymns (1200–900 BCE), can be seen as remote first ancestors of the long tradition of devotional poetry in India. These poems include paeans to various Aryan gods, many of whom assumed places in the late Hindu pantheon.

The body of Sanskrit verse most relevant to this survey is the vast assortment of Hindu *stotras*—hymns of praise, adoration, and supplication—with examples ranging over two millennia, from before the common era to the present day. These poems are found imbedded in epics, Purāṇas, *māhātmyas*, Tantras, other sacred texts, and occasionally secular texts; or as independent works attributed to various devotees and teachers. The period in which *stotras* were most abundantly produced corresponds largely to that of the *bhakti* movement. Composed in all parts of India, the hymns are addressed chiefly to forms of Śiva, Viṣṇu, and Devī (the goddess), but they are also dedicated to other deities, such as Gaṇeśa and Sūrya. Their subjects extend further to sacred cities, rivers, shrines, plants; to *gurus* and ancestors; and to the impersonal Absolute. Many *stotras* are anonymous or of dubious attribution. Among numerous named composers, a few famous examples are the philosophers Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja, the Kashmiri Śaiva devotee Utpaladeva, the Bengali Caitanyite Rūpa Gosvāmin, and the South Indian poet Nīlakṇṭha Dīkṣita.

Sanskrit *stotras* are used widely in both temple and domestic worship. Their contents typically include detailed descriptions of a deity's form and accoutrements, praise of his or her attributes, references to mythological episodes, strings of names and epithets, prayers for grace and assistance, and testimonials to the devotee's grief, helplessness, love, and faith.

A. K. Rāmānujan (1981, p. 109) comments on the relation between Sanskrit and vernacular *bhakti* literature. "The imperial presence of Sanskrit," he writes, "was a presence against which *bhakti* in Tamil defines itself, though not always defiantly." While vernacular *bhakti* poets often defy Sanskritic norms, there is also a continuity between the two traditions. For example, in the *Rāmcaritmānas* of Tulsīdās there are many praise poems in highly Sanskritized Hindi, set apart in diction and form, obviously meant to echo the style of Sanskrit *stotras*. The *Saundaryalaharī*, a *stotra* popularly attributed to Śaṅkara, describes the experience of oneness with the divine in terms that later turn up almost identically in the Kabir tradition. An important transitional work between North Indian Sanskrit and vernacular *bhakti* literature is Jayadeva's *Gitagovinda,* composed in Bengal around 1200.

SOUTH INDIAN VERNACULAR POETRY. Partly in reaction to the strength of Buddhism and Jainism in the South, a great surge of faith in Viṣṇu and Śiva was touched off by poet-saints in the Tamil region between the sixth and ninth centuries. Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava saint-poets—at one level rivals, at a deeper level, collaborators in this awakening of faith—shared common themes and styles. They roamed the countryside reaching audiences of all classes and included among their number peasants, aristocrats, Untouchables, priests, women, and men. Tradition has preserved the names of sixty-three Śaiva poets, known as Nāyaṉārs, and twelve Vaiṣṇavas, or Āḻvārs. Nammāḻvār is often singled out as the greatest Āḻvār poet, Māṇikkāvacakar as the greatest Nāyaṉār. Around the tenth century Nāthamuni compiled the *Divyaprabhandam,* containing four thousand Āḻvār compositions for use in Śrī Vaiṣṇava worship. Similarly Nampi Āntār Nampi, at the request of a tenth-century king, is said to have compiled most of the *Tirumuṟai*, which includes eleven volumes of Nāyaṉār poetry (a twelfth volume, of hagiography, was added later). Śaivas often call the *Tirumuṟai,* as Vaiṣṇavas call Nammāḻvār's *Tiruvāymoḷi,* "the Tamil Veda."

The *siddha*s (Tam. *cittar*) are part of an ancient pan-Indian movement characterized by its use of yogic practices and Tantric symbols. Important *siddha* poets in Tamil range from the seventh to the eighteenth centuries and include Civavākkiyar, Pattirakiriyar, and Pāmpāttic Cittar. *Siddha* poetry is both linked to and distinguishable from mainstream *bhakti* poetry. Both tend to denigrate caste, mechanical ritual, and sterile intellectuality. But while the *bhakta*s continue to adore their images of Viṣṇu and Śiva, the *siddha*s favor an interior, impersonal Lord and unequivocally attack idol worship. Stylistically, too, the *siddha*s differ from the generally more refined devotional poets. Their verse, which often utilizes folksong forms and meters, is colloquial, forceful, and simple often to the point of being crude.

"Like a lit fuse, the passion of *bhakti* seems to spread from region to region, from century to century, quickening the religious impulse," says Rāmānujan (1973, p. 40). In the tenth to twelfth centuries the flame burned brightly in Karnataka with the Kannada verses of the Vīraśaiva saint-poets, the four greatest of whom were Basavaṇṇa, Dēvara Dāsimayya, Mahādēvīyakka, and Allama Prabhu. They composed *vacana*s, short free-verse utterances expressing intense personal experience and sometimes trenchant criticism of what the poets regarded as superstition and hypocrisy. A *vacana* by Allama Prabhu, for example, is a purely lyric outpouring:

> Looking for your light,
> I went out:
> it was like the sudden dawn
> of a million million suns,
> a ganglion of lightnings
> for my wonder.
> O Lord of Caves,
> if you are light,
> there can be no metaphor. (trans. Rāmānujan, 1973, p. 168)

while the conclusion of a *vacana* by Basavaṇṇa has a note of biting criticism:

> Gods, gods, there are so many
> there's no place left
> for a foot.
> There is only
> one god. He is our Lord
> of the Meeting Rivers. (trans. Rāmānujan, 1973, p. 84)

Vaiṣṇava poetry emerges in the sixteenth century with Purandaradāsa Viṭṭhala, who is remembered as the founder of the southern (Karnatak) style of classical music. The greatest composer of Karnatak music, Tyāgarāja (1767–1847), acknowledges his debt to Purandaradasa. A devotee of Rām, Tyāgarāja composed many devotional songs in Telugu, often praising music as a pathway to God. Another well-known Telugu saint-poet is the seventeenth-century Rāmdās of Bhadrācalam, also a worshiper of Rām.

NORTH INDIAN VERNACULAR POETRY. Four names stand out among a rich array of Maharashtrian singers between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries: Jñāneśvar, also called Jñāndev (fl. late thirteenth century), Nāmdev (c. 1270–1350), Eknāth (1548–1600), and Tukārām (1598–1650). Jñāneśvar is best known for his long Marathi exposition of the *Bhagavadgītā,* the *Jñāneśvarī.* Nāmdev composed passionate devotional songs and consolidated the cult of the Vārkaris ("pilgrims") to the important pilgrimage center at Pandharpur. Eknāth translated and interpreted important Sanskrit works. He also poured out his own feelings in lyric poems and in a remarkable series of dramatic monologues, putting the most profound teachings of *bhakti* into the mouths of characters generally despised by society—Untouchables, prostitutes, ropedancers, demons, the blind, and the deaf. Tukārām, perhaps the most beloved of the four, was a *śūdra* (member of the lowest of the four broad categories of caste) pressed by misfortune to reject worldly values and devote himself to God. His lyrics run from harsh contempt of self-serving religious specialists ("the wretched pandit stewed in dialectics . . . a fool among fools / wagging a sage beard") to the most tender humility ("May I be, Lord, a small pebble, a large stone, or dust / on the road to Pandharpur / to be trampled by the feet of the saints").

Nasiṃha Mehta (fifteenth or sixteenth century), the major *bhakti* poet of Gujarat, composed songs that were incorporated into the rituals of the Vallabhācārya sect. The Kashmiri Lal Ded (fourteenth century) was a woman devotee of Śiva whose poetic utterances are famous throughout Kashmir and beyond. The earliest and still most important devotional poetry associated with the Punjab, that compiled in the Sikh *Ādi Granth* (1604), is largely in an old form of Hindi. True Panjabi literature, beginning in the seventeenth century, is almost entirely by Muslims.

The leading figures of Hindi *bhakti* poetry are Tulsīdās, Śūrdās, Kabīr, and Mīrā Baī, followed closely by Raidās, Nānak, and Dādū. Tulsīdās (1543–1623), who wrote in the

Avadhi dialect, is the author of the *Rāmcaritmānas,* a highly devotional version of the ancient *Rāmayāṇa* epic. Popularly known as the *Tulsī Rāmāyan,* it is probably the most influential single literary work in North India. Tulsīdās also wrote many lyrics.

Śūrdās (sixteenth century) is the most illustrious member of the *aṣṭacāp,* or eight Kṛṣṇaite poets associated with Vallabhācārya and the sect he founded in Vṛndāvana. He is most famous for his evocations of Kṛṣṇa's idyllic childhood, but recent scholarship suggests that Sūr's often emotionally harrowing personal supplications to God and his poems of grief-stricken separation may be closer to the authentic core of his work than the popular songs of the youthful deity. According to legend Sūr was blind, and "Śūrdās" is today widely used as a title for any blind singer of religious songs. Thousands of lyrics attributed to the poet are collected in the *Sūrsāgar* (Ocean of Sūr). He composed in Braj *bhāṣā,* the most important literary dialect of medieval Hindi.

Mīrā Baī was a Rajput princess who became a wandering saint. Although she is believed to have spent the later part of her life in Dwarka, Gujarat, and a considerable body of poetry ascribed to her exists in Gujarati, she is more closely linked to her native Rajasthan and to its regional form of Hindi.

The leading poet of the Sant (or *nirguṇa,* "without qualities") school in North India is Kabīr (c. 1398–1448). Born of a Muslim family in Banaras, Kabīr was influenced more by Hindu than by Muslim traditions and is popularly believed to have been a disciple of Rāmānanda. He is known particularly for his iconoclasm and for his rough, colloquial style. Kabīr called on the name of Rām as a sound that revealed ultimate reality, but he rejected the mythology of the popular *avatāra* Rām, insisting that God was beyond form.

Gurū Nānak (1469–1539), the founder of Sikhism, composed poems revering the formless God and criticizing superstitious practices. The same is true of Dādū (1544–1604), in whose name a sect was founded in Rajasthan. Raidās, an Untouchable leatherworker and Sant poet of the fifteenth century, is respected by all classes but has a particular following among his own caste, the *camār*s.

Mention should also be made of the poetry of the North Indian yogins called Nāth Paṇthis, who belong to the same broad tradition as the Tamil *siddha*s. The most significant collection is attributed to Gorakhnāth (eleventh century?), semilegendary founder of the Nāth Paṇth, whose teachings pervaded North Indian religious thought in the medieval period.

The story of Bengali *bhakti* poetry begins with a Sanskrit poet, Jayadeva, whose late twelfth-century masterpiece *Gītagovinda* sets the mood for the efflorescence of Kṛṣṇaite verse in the following four hundred years. In a series of subtle and sensuous lyrics, the *Gītagovinda* unfolds the drama of love between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, which became the major theme of devotion in medieval Bengal. In this poetry the strand of several traditions come together: secular erotic verse in Sanskrit, Tantrism, and orthodox Vaiṣṇavism.

The name *Caṇḍīdās* was used by at least two important Bengali poets whose dates can only be guessed (guesses range from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century). The enormously influential saint, Caitanya (1486–1533), though he composed very little himself, encouraged the development of Bengali song literature by establishing the widespread practice of *kīrtan,* or meeting for ardent group singing. Rāmprasād Sen (1718–1785) was a powerful poet of the Śākta (Goddess-worshiping) tradition. The Bauls, unique to Bengal, are iconoclastic wanderers who hover between Hindu and Ṣūfī mysticism and worship exclusively through singing.

Vidyāpati (c. 1352–1448) was one of the earliest poets to compose religious lyrics in Maithili—a border language between Bengali and Hindi. The outstanding figure of Assamese devotional literature is Ṣaṅkaradeva (c.1489–1568), who introduced a devotional dance drama form still widely used today. A unique *bhakti* institution in Assam is the *satra*, a religious center with a leader, lay members, and facilities for musical and dramatic performances. Another prominent poet of the same period is Mādhavadeva (1489?–1596). The best-known medieval *bhakti* poet in Oriya was a disciple of Caitanya named Jagannāthadāsa (fifteenth century).

BUDDHIST POETRY. Remarkable early examples of Buddhist poetry are found in the *Therīgāthā* and *Theragāthā* (Songs of the venerable women and Songs of the venerable men) of the Pali canon, recorded around 80 BCE. The women especially describe vivid personal experiences that led to their choice of a renunciant's life.

Two great Sanskrit poets appear in the second century of the common era. Aśvaghosa is most famous for the *Buddhacarita,* a biography of the Buddha in the form of a *mahākāvya* (lyric narrative). Mātṛceṭa, perhaps an older contemporary of Aśvaghosa, wrote beautiful Sanskrit hymns to the Buddha. The seventh-century Chinese pilgrim Yi Jing reported, "Throughout India everyone who becomes a monk is taught Mātṛceṭa's two hymns as soon as he can recite the . . . precepts."

Over the centuries Buddhist poets, such as the seventh-century monk Śāntideva, produced many *stotra*s praising the Buddha and *bodhisattva*s and expressing fervent dedication to the Buddhist path. Like Hindu *stotra*s, these are found incorporated into larger texts (such as *sūtra*s and Jātaka tales) as well as in independent form with attribution to particular authors. In one such hymn Śāntideva expresses his vow to save all beings:

> I am medicine for the sick and
> weary may I be their physician and their nurse
> until disease appears no more . . .
> may I be a protector for the unprotected
> a guide for wanderers
> a bridge: a boat: a causeway

> for those who desire the other shores. . . . (trans.
> Stephan Beyer)

Finally mention must be made of Tibet's powerful and original contributions to Buddhist lyric poetry. Especially noteworthy are the many songs of the twelfth-century teacher Milaraspa (Milarepa).

JAIN POETRY. Like Hindus and Buddhists, the Jains have produced a large *stotra* literature. Their hymns, composed since at least the earliest centuries of the common era in Sanskrit and later in Prakrit, praise chiefly the twenty-four *jina*s as well as some ancient teachers of the Jain tradition. There also exists a body of vernacular Jain poetry, largely in Hindi and Gujarati. One of the most famous Jain hymns is the *Bhaktāmara Stotra* of Mānatuṅga, whose dates have been estimated to be as early as the third and as late as the ninth century. Several Jain authors composed both philosophical works and devotional poems. These include Siddhasena Divākara, Samantabhadra, Vidyānanda, and the great twelfth-century sage Hemacandra.

Many Jain *stotra*s are organized around the sequential praise of all twenty-four *jina*s, the best known being the highly ornate *Śobhana Stuti* of the tenth-century poet Śobhana. As the repeated glorification of the *jina*s made for monotonously similar content, poets made great efforts to achieve originality of form, and thus the *stotra*s contain the most ornate verse in Jain literature.

SEE ALSO Ādi Granth; Āḻvārs; Bhakti; Caitanya; Gorākhnāth; Jayadeva; Kabīr; Mahāsiddhas; Māṇikkavācakar; Mi la ras pa (Milarepa); Mīrā Bāī; Nānak; Rāmānuja; Śaivism, articles on Nāyāṇārs, Vīraśaivas; Śaṅkara; Śāntideva; Śūrdās; Tulsīdās.

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POETRY: CHINESE RELIGIOUS POETRY

To speak of religious poetry in the Chinese context is to beg several questions. First, in classical Chinese there is no exact equivalent to the word *religion:* Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism are traditionally known as the Three Teachings (*sanjiao*). Second, it is debatable whether Confucianism is a religion and whether ancestral worship is a kind of religious ritual. (The latter question was the subject of the so-called Rites Controversy among Catholic missionaries to China in the early eighteenth century.) Finally, although Daoist and Buddhist liturgies both contain verses, these are generally not considered worthy of description as poetry. With these reservations in mind, we may nonetheless survey what may be called religious poetry in Chinese.

The earliest anthology of Chinese poetry, the *Shi jing* (The Book of Songs), consisting of three hundred and five poems dating from about 1100 to about 600 BCE, contains some hymns to royal ancestral spirits, eulogizing their virtues and praying for their blessing. These hymns are believed to have been sung to the accompaniment of dance. In these and some other poems in the anthology, references are made to a supreme supernatural being known sometimes as Di ("emperor") or Shangdi ("emperor above"), and at other times as Tian ("Heaven"). The first term, which is often translated as "God," appears to denote an earlier and more anthropomorphic concept than does Tian. For instance, in the poem *Shengmin* (The Birth of Our People), which recounts the myth of the miraculous birth of Hou Ji ("King Millet"), the reputed ancestor of the Zhou people, Hou Ji's mother, Jiang Yuan, is said to have conceived him after treading in the print of Di's big toe. By contrast, Heaven is generally depicted as a vague presence without specific physical attributes, sometimes wrathful but usually benevolent.

Some shamanistic songs from the kingdom of Chu, which flourished in the central Yangtze Valley from the seventh to the third century BCE, are preserved in the next oldest anthology of Chinese poetry, the *Chuci* (Songs of Chu), compiled in the second century CE. These songs are dedicated to various deities, such as the Lord of the East (the sun god), the Lord of Clouds, and the Lord of the Yellow River. In these songs, the relationship between the male shaman and the goddess or between the female shaman and the god is described in terms of erotic love. The sex of the speaker is not always clear: we cannot always be sure whether it is a male shaman addressing a goddess or a female shaman addressing a god. The shaman may also speak in the voice of the deity. Traditionally, these and other poems in the *Chuci* are attributed to Qu Yuan (343?–278 BCE), said to have been a loyal courtier of Chu who was unjustly banished and who committed suicide by drowning himself in the Milo River. He is generally believed to be the author of the longest poem in the anthology, the *Li-sao*, whose title is usually translated as "Encountering Sorrow," although the term may simply mean "complaints." In this poem the speaker sets out upon a journey through the cosmos, in a carriage drawn by dragons and heralded by phoenixes, attended by the gods of the winds and of thunder. He also courts certain goddesses without success, and finally resolves to "follow Peng Xian," an ancient shaman. Chinese commentators have generally taken this to mean a resolution to commit suicide but the modern scholar David Hawkes interprets it as a desire to study the occult. Although it is difficult to be sure how far the mythological figures in the poem are intended to be taken literally and how far allegorically, the poem certainly derives some of its imagery from a shamanistic cult; it has even been suggested that Qu Yuan was a shaman.

During the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE), the court's Bureau of Music (Yuefu) composed ritual hymns to be used at the sacrifices made to imperial ancestral spirits. Similar hymns existed in later dynasties. They usually show a stilted style and have no great poetic merit. It was during the Han period that Daoism evolved from its early philosophic origins into an organized religion. At this time too, Buddhism was first introduced into China, although it did not become popular at once. Following the Han period, Chinese poets were mostly either eclectic or syncretic, and might express Confucian, Daoist, or Buddhist views in different poems or even all of them in the same poem. However, in the works of some poets, the propensity to one of the three major ideologies is fairly pronounced. The following are some of the most famous examples.

Cao Zhi (192–232 CE) wrote several poems about Daoist immortals, but it is difficult to say whether he really believed in them. The same may be said of Ruan Ji (210–263), who in some of his poems expressed a wish for immortality but in others showed frank skepticism. Scholars disagree about the religious and philosophical beliefs of Tao Qian (365?–427), whose withdrawal from officialdom was probably motivated by both Confucian ideals of integrity and Daoist wishes for simplicity and spontaneity. Although his poetry expresses both Confucian and Daoist views, his emphasis on following nature and his acceptance of death as a part of the eternal flux are more Daoist than Confucian. The landscape poetry of Xie Lingyun (385–433) evinces both Buddhist and Daoist influences. To him, natural scenery is a manifestation of spirituality, yet the self-conscious philosophizing in his poems suggests an inability to transcend worldly concerns.

During the Tang dynasty (618–907), the golden age of Chinese poetry, Daoism and Buddhism flourished, except during the reign of Emperor Wuzong (846–859), who persecuted the Buddhists. Many Tang poets were influenced by Daoism or Buddhism or both, although none openly rejected Confucianism. By coincidence, the three greatest Tang poets, Wang Wei (699?–761), Li Po (701–762), and Tu Fu (712–770), are considered to represent Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism respectively in their poetry, albeit not exclusively. Wang Wei, known as the Buddha of Poetry, wrote some explicitly Buddhist poems as well as others that embody a Buddhist vision of life without specific Buddhist references. In addition, he wrote court poems and social poems. His best poetry conveys a sense of tranquillity tinged with sadness as he quietly contemplates nature; the poems explicitly preaching Buddhism are less satisfactory as poetry. Li Po, the Immortal of Poetry, received a Daoist diploma and took "elixirs of life," which may have contributed to his death. Many of his poems express a yearning for the realm of the immortals and a wish to transcend this world, although they show him also to be far from indifferent to sensual pleasures such as wine, women, and song. Whether he succeeded in attaining Daoist transcendence or not, Li Po certainly found Daoist mythology a source of poetic inspiration and a stimulus to his exuberant imagination. Tu Fu, the Sage of Poetry, wrote mainly poetry with a Confucian outlook, although some of his poems refer to Daoist elixirs of life and others evince admiration for Buddhism. Perhaps, however, these are only signs of wishful thinking or polite expressions of respect for the beliefs of others.

Among late Tang poets, Han Yu (768–824), the self-appointed champion of Confucianism, attacked Buddhism and Daoism, yet befriended some Buddhist monks. Bo Jui (772–846) was strongly influenced by Buddhism and also experimented with Daoist alchemy. The calm and bland tone of his typical poems may result from Buddhist influence. Li Ho (791–817) wrote much about spirits, ghosts, and shamans, but it is difficult to ascertain whether he believed in these literally or used them figuratively. Li Shang-yin (813?–858) studied Daoism in his youth and was converted to Buddhism toward the end of his life. There are many allusions to Daoist mythology in his poetry, which is, however, seldom of a religious nature.

The best-known corpus of Chinese Buddhist poetry is that attributed to Han-shan ("cold mountain"), a legendary figure of whose historical existence we have little knowledge. Indeed, some scholars believe, on the basis of internal linguistic evidence, that the poems bearing Han-shan's name were by two or more hands and that they range in date from the late seventh to the ninth centuries. The best among these poems are quietly meditative with a touch of gentle melancholy, and the worst are short sermons in doggerel. Apart from Han-shan, some Chan masters wrote *gāthā* (a kind of hymn) in verse. These were intended as triggers to enlightenment, to be discarded as soon as enlightenment was attained, not as poetry to be read and cherished.

During the Song dynasty (960–1279), considered second only to the Tang in poetic achievements, such major poets as Wang Anshi (1021–1086), Su Shi (1037–1101), and Huang Tingjian (1045–1105) all wrote poetry chiefly expressing Buddhist views. In subsequent periods, the literati continued to write poetry reflecting Confucian, Daoist, and Buddhist attitudes, and Buddhist and Daoist priests continued to use verses in their respective rituals and sermons, even though such verses were not regarded as poetry. As for contemporary Chinese poetry, in the People's Republic of China there is hardly any poetry that can be called religious, whereas in Taiwan a few poets show Buddhist or Christian tendencies, but they are only a small minority.

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POETRY: JAPANESE RELIGIOUS POETRY

Poetic language has long had a special prestige in Japan. The earliest extant written texts, including the *Kojiki* (Record of ancient matters; 712), *Nihonshoki* (Chronicle of Japan; 720), and *Man'yōshū* (Collection of Ten Thousand Years; late eighth century), all preserve examples of ancient oral poetry or song, as well as later written verse. The ancient inhabitants of the Japanese archipelago, like many traditional peoples, believed that ritual song or recitation had a magico-religious power. Special ritual and poetic language possessed the ability to move the deities or spirits to act in specific sorts of ways. The term *kotodama* (*koto*, "words"; and *tama*, "animating spirit") refers to this magico-religious power. *Man'yōshū* 1:27, for instance, is an example of incantational praise poetry. When recited by a ritual and political leader while surveying the land, the incantation was believed to assure the vitality and fertility of the land by praising and appealing to the local deities and ancestral spirits:

yoki hito no	The good ones [of the past]
yoshi to yoku mite	looked well and found it good,
yoshi to iishi	proclaimed it good.
Yoshino yoku miyo	Look well on Yoshino,
yoki hito yoku mi	O good ones, look well!

Man'yōshū 1:2 is another example of declarative ritual poetry. The emperor recited this verse, praising the land and its gods (*kami*) as he surveyed his realm from atop Kagu-yama. In myth, this is the hill to which the *kami* had originally descended from the high heavens. As was the case in China, the prosperity of the land (the verse uses *Yamato*, the ancient name of the country) was attributed to the emperor's role as ritual mediator between heaven and earth:

Sumeramikoto Kagu-yama ni noborite	Poem by the Sovereign when he
Kunimishi tamau toki no ōmi-uta	climbed Mount Kagu to view the land.
Yamato ni wa	Many are the mountains of Yamato,
murayama aredo	but I climb heavenly Mount Kagu,
toriyorou	cloaked in foliage,
ama no Kagu-yama	and stand on the summit
norboritachi	to view the land.
kunimi o sureba	On the plain of land,

kunihara wa	smoke from the hearths rises, rises.
keburi tachitatsu	On the plain of water,
umahara wa	gulls rise, rise.
kamame tachitatsu	A splendid land
umashi kuni so	is the dragonfly island,
akizushima	the land of Yamato.
Yamato no kuni wa	

(trans. Levy, 1981, p. 38, adapted)

Poetry served numerous other ritual functions as well. Funerary verses (*banka*) were recited by women to praise the deceased and to attract his or her *tama* back into the body. *Man'yōshū* 2:155 is an example of a ritual lament performed by women in the temporary burial palace for a deceased male member of the imperial family, in this case the Emperor Tenji (r.662–671):

Yamashina no mi-haka yori soki	Poem by Princess Nukata when the
arakuru toki, Nukata no ōkimi no	mourners withdrew from the
tsukuru uta isshu	Yamashina tomb and dispersed
yasumishishi	In awe we serve the tomb
wago ōkimi no	of our Lord, sovereign
kashikoki ya	of the earth's eight corners,
mi-haka tsukauru	on Kagami Mountain
Yamashina no	in Yamashina.
Kagami no yama ni	There through the night,
yoru wa mo	each night,
yoru mo kotogoto	through the day,
hiru wa mo	each day,
hi no kotogoto	we have stayed,
ne nomi o	weeping and crying aloud.
nakitsutsu tsukarite ya	Now have the courtiers
momoshiki no	of your great palace,
ōmiyabito wa	its ramparts thick with stone,
yuki-wakarenamu	left and gone apart?

(trans. Levy, 1981, p. 109)

Recitative poetry was also used in a ritual performed to pacify the spirit of the dead. In the case of grave illness or on undertaking a dangerous journey, ritual verse was used to call back the patient's vagrant spirit and to "tie" it to the patient's body (*tamamusubi*) or, alternatively, to "tie" the traveler's animating spirit in absentia into an object that was to be carefully guarded in order to guarantee the traveler's safe return. *Man'yōshū* 1:10, an example of this, also involves a critical moment of political intrigue. Reputedly, it was recited by the empress as her brother (later the Emperor Tenji) set off to initiate a coup d'état against the Emperor Kōtoku (r. 645–654):

Nakatsu sumeramikoto,	Poem by the August
Ki no ideyu	Intermediate
ni idemashishi no mi-uta	Sovereign Nakatsu when she went to the hot springs of Ki
kimi ga yo mo	The span of your life
waga yo mo shiru ya	and the span of my life, too,
Iwashiro no	are determined by the grass
Oka no kusane o	on Iwashiro Hill.
Iza musubitenu	Come, let us bind them together!

(trans. Levy, 1981, p.43, adapted)

The Shintō prayers of the imperial court (*norito*) include similar elements, such as rites and prayers to pacify the imperial *tama,* to reinvigorate it, and to guarantee its presence in the imperial body and shrine for another year (*tamashizume no matusuri* and *mi-tamashizumeno ihai-to no matsuri*). Magico-religious verse was also employed to control interpersonal relations (e.g., to attract or keep the attention of a loved one, to calm the anger of another human or divine being). Similar uses of recited verse or song were central to the ritual and cultural life of the Ainu, an "indigenous" people of northern Japan, down to the early twentieth century.

The belief in the magical efficacy of recitative verse survived long after the introduction of writing and literacy. Ki no Tsurayuki (884–946), an aristocratic poet, wrote the most famous statement on the magical power of Japanese poetry in his preface to the *Kokinshū*, the first imperially sponsored anthology of *waka,* the thirty-one syllable verse form: "*Waka* has its origins in the human heart and flourishes in the myriad leaves of words. . . .Without physical exertion, poetry moves heaven and earth, awakens the feelings of *kami* and invisible spirits, softens the relations between men and women, and calms the hearts of ferocious warriors."

Much of classical and medieval Japanese poetry was influenced by Buddhist ideals and values. Kūkai, or Kōbō Daishi (774–835), the founder of the esoteric Shingon school of Buddhism, wrote that the absolute truth of Buddhism was available only through the body, language, and thought, and this through three forms of esoteric practice—*mudrā* (hand gestures), *dhāraṇī* (*mantras*), and yoga (meditation), respectively. Numerous medieval poetic treatises identified *waka* poems with *mantras*; others, in an instance of mystical numerology, claimed that the thirty-one syllables of the *waka* form (5-7-5-7-7), plus one for the verse as a whole, were the same as the thirty-two marks of the Buddha. Thus, composing or reciting a *waka* could accrue the same religious merit as carving a statue of the Buddha or reciting a *mantra.*

Japanese religious poetry was not all composed in Japanese, however. Buddhist priests studied Chinese poetry and literature, as well as Buddhist sūtras and commentaries. Aristocratic males in the Nara and Heian periods also used Chinese in official matters, much as Latin functioned for centuries in Europe. Thus, from the seventh century on, one finds Buddhist poems being composed in Chinese by Japanese monks and other members of the educated elite. As one would expect, these poems were informed by Chinese aesthetics.

Even after writing had been introduced into Japan, however, oral forms of religious song and verse continued to flourish. In medieval Japan, numerous different types of popular religious figures sang or chanted religious verse around the country. For example, from the Heian period (794–1185) through the Kamakura period (1185–1333), *asobi* or *asobime* (itinerant female singers and dancers) performed songs called *imayō.* Some of these carried explicit Buddhist teachings; others portrayed the vicissitudes of life. *Imayō* served as vehicles to convey Mahāyāna Buddhist teachings to the masses, including the claim that all dualisms (e.g., high/low, sacred/profane, reality/illusion) were ultimately false. *Asobi* were often affiliated with specific temple-shrine complexes, and through their travels and songs they spread tales of the miracles associated with them. *Asobi* had a mixed reputation, however. Not unlike gypsy women in Europe, they were associated in the popular imagination with prostitution. Thus, Retired Emperor Go Shirakawa (1127–1192) scandalized some members of the aristocracy when he apprenticed himself for many years to an elderly *asobi* in order to master the religio-aesthetic art of *imayō.* He preserved many *imayō* in a work known as *Ryōjin hishō,* along with personal testimonies to their ritual power and efficacy. Go Shirakawa frequently engaged in all-night rituals of sūtra recitation, meditation, and the singing of *imayō* as a means of achieving religious insight.

Blind lay priests *(biwahōshi)* also performed religious songs and tales in the medieval period. *Biwahōshi* were organized into loose associations and were affiliated with temple-shrine complexes. They were found at many mountain passes and pilgrimage centers, where they played a lute (*biwa*) and chanted oral tales and verses about the ephemerality of life, the vicissitudes of fame and fortune, and so on. The famous oral epic, *Heike monogatari* (The tale of the Heike), which recounts the contestation and warfare between the Minamoto and Taira or Heike clans, was performed and transmitted by *biwahōshi* down through the centuries. Today only a few such reciters remain, and they preserve only parts of the *Heike monogatari* performative tradition.

Many of the best-known poets of medieval Japan were poet-monks. Of these, perhaps the most famous is Saigyō (1118–1190). He spent time in ritual retreat in the hills of Yoshino in a grass hut (*sōan*), yet he also actively participated in poetry contests and other aspects of the literary life of the capital. Saigyō became a major figure in the poplar imagination down to the modern period. Modern scholars have coined the phrase "grass hut literature" (*sōan bungaku*) to refer to the literary works produced by such "reclusive" poet-monks. Yet it must be understood that they were not completely separated from the mundane world. Rather, they sought to find the Buddhist truths that were to be found in the world as such. The cry of a cicada or the tolling of a temple bell at dusk equally spoke to the ephemerality at the heart of all existence (*mujō*). For those with eyes to see, ears to hear, and heart-minds (*kokoro*) cultivated to feel the pathos of the emptiness of all things in the material world (*mono no aware*), the phenomenal world itself revealed soteriological truths.

Still, as was the case in China, some Buddhists felt that the pursuit of poetry was incompatible with the religious life of a monk or nun. In general, however, poetry was embraced as an effective form of religio-aesthetic and meditative practice. Fujiwara no Shunzei (1114–1204), one of the leading poets of his age, was not alone in practicing a form of Tendai Buddhist meditation, known as *shikan* (concentration and insight), as a part of his poetic discipline. The way of poetry (*kadō*), like the way of tea and other arts, was first and foremost a discipline, in the old-fashioned religious sense of the term. The Chinese character *dō* in *kadō* is also read as *michi*—a path, way, or discipline.

Not all poets pursued the religio-aesthetic discipline of *kadō*, to be sure, but those who did undertook it as a rigorous form of self-discipline and ritual praxis. The works of the Chinese poet Bai Juyi (772–846) were extremely influential in medieval Japan and provided one model of practicing *kadō*. Comparing his own verse to the Buddhist sūtras, Bai Juyi called his poems little more than "wild phrases and flowery language" (Jap., *kyōgen kigo*), yet he offered them to Buddhist temples throughout his life. This practice of offering poems to temples and shrines has continued in Japan over the centuries.

Those who study the poems of medieval Japan as literature *tout court* risk missing the diverse religious functions that many of them served, as well as the religious practices out of which they were created. Although numerous medieval poetic treatises describe the poetic act as a spontaneous affective response on the part of the poet to the world around him, such rhetorical claims do not reflect historical reality. Rather than passively responding to the world or to events, Japanese poets often consciously sought to evoke specific mental and affective states that were deemed spiritually efficacious. That is, through acts of disciplined imagination or meditational techniques, they envisioned scenes and situations precisely in order to provoke specific stylized psychosomatic and affective states. Many medieval aesthetic terms, such as *mono no aware*, *yūgen*, *wabi*, and *sabi,* must be understood in these religio-aesthetic terms.

If the poetry of poet-monks has long been the object of study, the poetry composed by Buddhist nuns and Shintō shrine maidens has only recently begun to attract scholarly attention. With the recent release of archival materials long held out of sight by female religious institutions, however, we may anticipate that new perspectives on the religious lives of women will be opened. Similarly, these studies will help us to fill out more fully the religio-aesthetic milieu of medieval Japan.

Numerous other forms of religious poetry bear mention. The unique linked verse form (*renga*) flourished from the fifteenth century. *Renga* was performance art before it was a literary one—that is, the compositional or recitative act itself was originally the ritual art form. A *renga* sequence was composed by a group of poets, who "linked" verses of seventeen and fourteen syllables in sequences of thirty-six, one hundred, one thousand, ten thousand, or even one hundred thousand linked verses. (A single-poet form, *dokugin renga,* also existed, but was relatively rare). Although *renga* originated as a Buddhist ritual performative form, it was soon adopted and adapted as a parlor game in elite circles of the court and in samurai circles. *Renga* sequences were often performed on temple and shrine grounds, while the written records were presented as offerings to the buddhas and *kami*. Sequences were sometimes performed by priests and samurai soldiers before battles and on battlefields after an engagement in order to pacify the spirits of the dead. Renga sequences were also performed, like sūtra recitations, in order to restore the health of someone. Itinerant Buddhist priests sometimes performed *renga* under the blossoms of weeping cherry trees (known as *Saigyō zakura*, "Saigyō's cherry trees") in order to pacify the *kami* who caused the plague and, thus, to ward off the disease.

By the seventeenth century, *haikai no renga*, a more popular and democratic form of linked verse, emerged. This form was practiced by people across the social spectrum of Tokugawa Japan, including samurai, merchants, and traders. This was the genre practiced by Matsuo Bashō (1644–1694), perhaps the most translated Japanese poet in the West. Bashō is popularly known as a haiku poet, although this characterization is anachronistic. The opening seventeen-syllable verse of a sequence (*hokku*) only emerged as an independent verse form in the late nineteenth century. Bashō is an important transitional figure, however, with one foot in the medieval world and the other in the emerging modern world. He dressed in the garb of a lay Buddhist priest, styled himself in part on Saigyō, lived at times in a grass hut, and regularly went on religious pilgrimages. These pilgrimages doubled as business trips, though, for Bashō made his living by charging students for training in poetry. His travels both enabled him to visit notable religious and poetic sites and to meet with and compose linked verse with his students, or to gather additional ones. Like Saigyō before him, Bashō has become a significant figure in the popular, as well as the scholarly, imagination. The scholarly study of this popular imagery, even when inaccurate in terms of the historical Bashō, can provide important insight into the religious needs and nostalgias of later generations in Japan and the West.

Just as the central cultural role of religion has diminished in the modern world, explicitly religious poetry as a genre has also declined in importance. It has not disappeared, however. The founders and leaders of new religions sometimes use poems as a vehicle for spreading their teachings or proffer poems as revelatory statements, while some Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines continue to maintain their poetic traditions. In a recent "invented tradition," the emperor annually offers a New Year's verse—a *tanka* (once called *waka*)—that is reprinted in all the national newspapers. Moreover, hundreds of thousands of Japanese participate in haiku and other poetry clubs, millions of tourists visit historical sites associated with poets of the past, and offertory verses are still sometimes hung above the entranceway of new homes. If religious poetry plays a smaller role in the religious ritual lives of the Japanese today, concomitantly it plays a larger role in the collective remembered past as a national cultural heritage.

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POETRY: CHRISTIAN POETRY

Any consideration of the interplay between the predominant religion of European culture and the poetry that developed within its influence should properly begin with the textual legacy of sacred scripture. For in the Bible there is a fund of images, narrative reference, rhetorical formulas, and mythic patterns that for centuries has served as a powerful source for Western poetry, no matter whether a specific work is explicitly religious (or devotional) in nature or whether it is simply presumptive of a Christian interpretative context.

ORIGINS: THE HYMN. The earliest example of Christian poetry, the hymn, is also the most immediately expressive of doctrine and tradition. Its biblical precursors can be traced to the Hebrew psalms and the Lucan canticles (e.g., Magnificat and Nunc dimittis), in addition to fragments of apostolic hymns found both in the Pauline letters (e.g., *Eph.* 5:19, *2 Tm.* 2:15) and in the *Book of Revelation* (5:13–14). Like the Christian liturgy itself, Christian poetry was first composed in Greek. By the mid-fourteenth century, however, there existed compilations of Latin hymns by Hilary of Poitiers (d. 367) and Ambrose of Milan (d. 397), both of whom composed their texts for liturgical use. Prudentius (d. 410), best known for the allegorical poem that was to have such influence on medieval portrayals of the struggle between virtue and vice—the *Psychomachia*—also wrote many didactic hymns in a variety of meters not intended specifically for worship. The Latin hymnic tradition continued with works that were to have great influence on subsequent Christian literature: the *Vexilla regis* of Venantius Fortunatus (d. 610), the hymns of Peter Abelard (d. 1142) and Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), and most important of all, the *Dies irae,* ascribed to Thomas of Celano (d. 1260). To the Franciscan Jacopone da Todi (d. 1306) is attributed not only the *Stabat mater dolorosa,* but also over one hundred hymns, or *laudes*, written in Italian. This tradition of vernacular poetry was nurtured in Franciscan circles and traditionally begins with Francis of Assisi (d. 1226) and his still renowned *Canticle of the Sun.*

MIDDLE AGES. In England Christian poetry in the vernacular was inaugurated by Cædmon (d. around 680), whose Anglo-Saxon hymn to God the Creator is also the first extant poem in the English language. Also attributed to him (if not to Cynewulf, a poet of the ninth century) is *The Dream of the Rood,* a visionary work in which the cross confronts the poet with an account of Christ's passion and resurrection, bidding him to follow the path of the rood thereafter in his own life. The culmination of Anglo-Saxon poetry, however, is the epic *Beowulf* (dated between 675 and 750), wherein pagan Germanic heroic traditions show signs of adaptation to the newer Christian sensibility.

The flowering of Christian medieval poetry in England occurs in the latter part of the fourteenth century. Both the *Pearl* and *Piers Plowman,* two anonymous Middle English poems, combine dream vision and allegory, a sense of spiritual crisis and the hope of victory in heaven. The most important work of this period, however, is Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (begun in 1386 and incomplete at the poet's death in 1400). Set within the popular medieval framework of a pilgrimage, this collection of Middle English poems represents a wide panorama of character types and narrative forms that draw heavily on French and Italian models. The work as a whole is an intriguing blend of sacred and profane, containing traditional saints' legends, as recounted by the Prioress and the Second Nun, as well as romances, as told by the Knight and the Squire, and bawdry, as employed by the Miller and the Wife of Bath. Contemporary criticism has argued over the extent to which the *Tales* should be given a Christian reading; D. W. Robertson, Jr.'s *Preface to Chaucer* (Princeton, 1962) offers the most eloquent case for doing so. Suffice it to say that whatever the case in this or that particular poem, Chaucer's work, as a whole, is unthinkable outside a Christian context.

The same might be said for the dominant form of early French vernacular poetry, the *chansons de geste,* which date from the eleventh and twelfth centuries and signal the beginning of French literature. Following the conclusions of Joseph Bédier's *Les légendes epiques* (1926–1929), most scholars consider that these narrative works, set in the ninth-century Age of Charlemagne, actually originated in churches and monasteries whose monks linked their own shrines to events, at once historical and legendary, that were associated with Charlemagne. The *Chanson de Roland,* set against the background of war with the Saracens for control of Spain and telling in particular of the battle of Roncevaux, presents characters who have become classics in Western literature: the impetuous warrior Roland (the "Orlando" of later romance-epic); the patriarchal monarch Charlemagne; the sage counselor Olivier; the priest-warrior Turpin; the traitor Ganelon. The twelfth-century Oxford manuscript of the poem, which is its earliest extant version (c. 1170), reflects a Christianization of materials coming from earlier, less religious sources. It extols Christianity, chivalry, and patriotism; for even though it portrays the folly of Roland's pursuit of personal fame and glory at the expense of Christian empire and the common cause, nonetheless, when Archbishop Turpin gives the fallen Roland his blessing and commends his soul to the safekeeping of Saint Gabriel, the errant hero is sufficiently absolved to become a kind of epic saint in subsequent handling of the legend, known as the *matière de France.*

The inaugural work of Spanish literature, the *Cantar de mio Cid* (c. 1140), shares with the *Chanson de Roland* not only certain literary models but the memory of feudal Germanic custom as well as a substratum of historical event. The poem, based on the life of an eleventh-century military leader, relates the misfortunes and ultimate triumph of Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, who, although unjustly exiled by the sovereign of Castile, remains a faithful vassal, one who continuously sends back booty from battle with the Moors; when grossly misused by perfidious noblemen, he leaves the retribution of justice to King Alfonso, the monarch who has banished him. In the course of the poem (and subsequently in

Spanish mystique) Díaz, or "el Cid," becomes a paragon of justice and bravery. A pious deathbed scene, attributed by scholars to a later (and monastic) hand, attempts to bring the poem more resolutely within a Christian framework. And yet, like the *Chanson de Roland,* Spain's epic is more a celebration of battle against "the Infidel," as well as of loyalty to the anointed lord, than it is a seriously Christian poem.

A later development in narrative poetry, which turned its attention from battlefield to court, is the romance. Critics disagree over whether it arose as a sentimentalization of earlier epic materials such as the *chansons de geste* or whether, on the other hand, it represents a hearkening back to late classical models. In any event, it concerns itself with the characters and events of King Arthur's court (known as the *matière de Bretagne*) and has at its center an ideal of chivalry and a preoccupation with love, which it portrays as ennobling when sublimated in the chaste pursuit of excellence, but disastrous (both personally and socially) when acted out in adultery. Although Chrétien de Troyes (d. around 1180) was certainly not the originator of romance poetry, it is he who brought the genre to flower in French with his poems *Erec, Yvain, Lancelot,* and the unfinished *Perceval*—the story of a simple knight whose feudal service, transcending that owed to king or lady, is given to the pursuit of the Grail, a complex symbol of religious mystery associated with Christ's passion and resurrection.

A fuller and far more profound working of this material is offered by Wolfram von Eschenbach (d. around 1220), whose *Parzival,* written between 1200 and 1210, introduced the Grail theme into German literature and brought both epic and romance to a new level of spiritual profundity that places Wolfram in the same lofty sphere as Dante. Building on Chrétien's tale of the "guileless fool" who through innocence and faithful commitment attains a goal that evades those who are wise in the ways of the world, *Parzival* describes a quasi-allegorical pilgrimage through error, pride, despair, and repentance, undertaken in order to attain the most distinctive of Christian virtues, humility. In its possession, Parzival is able not only to be keeper of the Grail—a paradisiacal stone representing the love of God—but also to assume the role of king among a circle of knights whose ideals are set infinitely higher than the loves and adventures that characterize the traditional Arthurian court. The poem is notable for its inauguration of the *Bildungsroman,* which, along with the Grail story itself, has had such a powerful impact on subsequent German literature. *Parzival* also shares some of the essential qualities (though none of the superficial) that distinguish the greatest medieval poem of pilgrimage and vision, Dante's *Commedia.*

Written between the time of Dante's exile from Florence in 1302 and his death in 1321, the *Commedia* is an unparalleled synthesis of theological reflection and literary form, in which hymn and allegory, epic and romance, spiritual pilgrimage and personal *Bildungsroman* are all brought together in a narrative of enduring appeal, as well as of profound religious depth. Set against a typology of Exodus and Deliverance, which is enhanced by the story's unfolding between the evening of Good Friday and the Wednesday of Easter Week in the year 1300, the poem recounts Dante's exploration of the state of the soul after death in a journey that takes him from hell through purgatory to paradise, and culminates in the beatific vision (left undescribed, of course, at the close of the final canto). In the course of this experience, which unites the journeys of Aeneas and the apostle Paul even as it surpasses them with its own totality, he is guided first by Vergil, the paragon of poetry, natural reason, and the dream of empire, and then by Beatrice, the woman who in life represented for Dante the transforming love of God in Christ and on whose behalf the poet promised earlier in the *Vita nuova* (1295) to offer such praise as no other beloved had ever received. Critics have noted Dante's debt to classical poets (whom, indeed, he draws on extensively—especially Vergil, Ovid, Lucan, and Statius—at the same time that he transforms them for his own Christian purposes), as well as his connection to medieval accounts of earthly pilgrimage and heavenly vision. Theologically, he unites Thomistic clarity with the ardor of Augustinian and Franciscan traditions. And yet what remains astonishing is the sheer originality of the work, which mixes what the fourteenth century knew about the ancient world with a very contemporary appraisal of the poet's own time—all of it filtered through the personal experience of Dante Alighieri himself (who, like Augustine in the *Confessions,* is both the wise author and the developing subject of the same work). The sixteenth century was to call the *Commedia* "divine," an adjective that later centuries have continued to find appropriate. Indeed, in the intricately constructed plan of the hundred cantos of this epic, Christian poetry attains a scope of reference and a depth of resonance that are rivaled (if at all) only by John Milton's *Paradise Lost.*

THE RENAISSANCE. With the exception of the fourteenth-century English works noted above, the great religious movements and controversies of Europe did not after Dante produce poetry of major significance until the mid-sixteenth century. In the latter years of that century there is unmistakably evident a Christian poetic renaissance in the form of both long narrative works and meditational, or devotional, lyrics. Within the former category is found the Portuguese *Os Lusíadas* (1572), a Vergilian celebration of the voyage of Vasco da Gama to India and of his return via the Cape of Good Hope. This national epic, composed by Luis de Camões (d. 1580), tells its near-contemporary tale in mythic terms, mingling together history, Catholic religion, and the pagan Roman pantheon of the *Aeneid.* In this poem West meets East and attempts to conquer a paradise otherwise lost to Europe. Within its epic machinery, moreover, there is the working of Camões's own curious syncretism: his blending of Christianity with Neoplatonism and of pagan religion with Portuguese national (and religious) piety.

Writing at almost the same time, but closer to the censorious arm of the Counter-Reformation, Torquato Tasso

(d. 1595) published his *Gerusalemme liberata* in 1581. Although he was heir to the secular romances of Boiardo and Ariosto, with their reworking of the old Arthurian material, Tasso set out instead to produce a truly Christian epic, and for this purpose he chose the subject of Godfrey of Bouillon's retaking of Jerusalem from the Saracens during the First Crusade. Although replete with the requisite battle scenes and amatory interludes of the romance-epic, he intended the poem to be read allegorically as the struggle of the soul to overcome every sort of temptation (and perhaps especially those of the flesh) in order to achieve salvation. Whatever his noble intentions, the text caused him difficulties with the Inquisition; consequently he republished it in revised form under the title *Gerusalemme conquistata* (1593), thereby achieving the requisite piety, but only at the cost of poetic interest and integrity.

The epic poem (like the Renaissance itself) came relatively late to Protestant England, but found its belated poet in Edmund Spenser (d. 1599), whose *Faerie Queene* (published in parts between 1590 and 1609), although unfinished according to its original plan, nonetheless succeeded in realizing its partial goals: the incorporation of Vergilian epic into medieval (as well as Italian) romance, a multileveled allegory, an expression of the Reformed religious sensibility, and a celebration of Elizabethan England and its Virgin Queen (the model for that Gloriana who, while never seen in the poem's Faeryland, motivates all virtuous action). Book 1, the "Legend of Holiness," is the most explicitly theological of the six books that Spenser lived to complete. Its Red Cross Knight struggles against the various avatars of wickedness in order to champion Una, the true (English) church, and in so doing to realize his identity as England's patron, Saint George. The rest of the poem is preoccupied with the vicissitudes of the moral life and the cultivation of the virtues of temperance, chastity, friendship, justice, and courtesy, each of which is championed by a representative knight and exercised in a successful combat with evil. Pervading the entire work, however, is the sense of incomplete victory and of an unfulfilled longing, the desire for a vision of peace that can never be attained in this life, whether in the Faeryland of the poem or in the sixteenth-century world to which its "dark conceit" refers. In the end, in the fragmentary "Mutabilitie Cantos," the poet places his sole faith in a heavenly city built "upon the pillours of Eternitie."

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. In the first half of the seventeenth century there is evident an enormous and rich outpouring of religious verse, lyric rather than epic, which is commonly characterized, after Samuel Johnson, as "metaphysical" or, since Louis Martz (1954), as "the poetry of meditation." It is distinguished by its delight in wit, learning, and paradox, and most especially by its cultivation of farfetched metaphors or "conceits." Examples can be drawn from the poetry of Italy, Spain, France, and Germany, but it is in England that the metaphysical poem found its fullest Christian expression; its foremost exponents were John Donne (d. 1631), George Herbert (d. 1633), Richard Crashaw (d. 1649), Thomas Traherne (d. 1674), and Henry Vaughan (d. 1695). With the exception of the Welsh doctor Vaughan, all were ordained priests in the Anglican church (but Crashaw later became a Roman cleric). To a greater or lesser extent, all drew upon the techniques of religious meditation that mingle a vivid reimagining of biblical scenes, intense self-scrutiny, and an orientation of the self toward God. In this group Crashaw is in every way the anomaly, drawing as he does on the more extravagantly Baroque continental sensibility typified by the convolution and artificiality of, for example, Giambattista Marino (d. 1625). But even among the more thoroughly English Anglicans, there is a wide range of feeling: the splendid self-absorption of Donne as he worries about his own salvation; the artful self-diminution of Herbert, with his exquisitely wrought lyrics of surrender to a loving Master; the mystically esoteric Traherne; the meditations of Henry Vaughan upon nature, a preoccupation that links him in anticipatory ways to William Wordsworth and the High Romantics.

John Milton (d. 1674) tried his hand at this sort of meditational poetry in the early ode entitled *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity.* But the religious lyric was never to engage his poetic imagination. To be sure, religious controversy and theological reflection preoccupied him his entire life and filled many volumes of prose as well. But it was not until his political hopes in Cromwell's Commonwealth had been frustrated and the monarchy subsequently restored in 1660 that the "sacred muse" returned—and then with an astonishing afflatus of poetry that took its "graver subject" from moments of scriptural history: the fall of Adam and Eve, the death of Samson, Christ's temptation in the wilderness. Following the example of the Huguenot Guillaume du Bartas (d. 1590) in the composition of a biblical epic, Milton made in *Paradise Lost* (1667) a deliberate decision to turn away from classical or romance themes, at the same time, of course, as he incurred openly a vast debt to Vergil on the one hand and Spenser on the other. (His later works, *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes,* both published in 1671, draw upon Greek dramatic form.) At the center of all three poems there stands an individual "sufficient to have stood, though free to fall," and in each case Milton undertakes an exploration of exactly what this sufficiency consists of: the exercise of right reason over against the appeal of lesser appetites. As in his prose writings against monarchy and episcopacy and as in those advocating freedom of speech and of divorce, the author of the poems assumes the role of prophet. This voice is especially audible in *Paradise Lost,* where again and again he claims the inspiration of the Holy Spirit in his articulation of what scripture has chosen to say little (or nothing) about. Dante too claimed enormous authority for his poetic undertaking, but while he dared to speak prophetically to his age, he did so as a Roman Catholic, as a loyal (if contentious) son of the "universal" church; Milton, by contrast, was in the composition of his great poems a denomination of one, a solitary church.

Milton's poetic enterprise is strangely Janus-faced. Late in the seventeenth century, almost as if he were resolutely looking backward, he chose unfashionable biblical subject matter and an epic genre so played out that by the end of the century it could only be mocked in satire. On the other hand, his portraits of divinity (and perhaps especially of God the Father in *Paradise Lost*) have an Enlightenment chill, as if they had passed over into a pantheon of deities no longer believed in. But perhaps the authentically religious note in Milton's poetry is rather to be found in his magnificent evocation of the physical beauties of heaven and earth as well as in the poignancy of his presentation of humanity itself—poised between innocence and experience and between obedience and rebellion, engaged in the process of choosing a self to become. It is in such emphases as these that one can anticipate the Romantic movement that was to follow upon Milton's death by a century, arriving at a time when poetry throughout Europe seems to have cut loose from the moorings of Christian tradition in order to explore new unorthodoxies of the spirit and imagination.

SEE ALSO Arthur; Dante Alighieri; Drama, articles on European Religious Drama, Modern Western Theater; Grail, The; Literature, article on Religious Dimensions of Modern Western Literature.

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Christianity is so interwoven into the fabric of European poetry up through the seventeenth century that any worthwhile study of Dante, Chaucer, or Milton will of necessity explore the interconnection between poetry and belief. In *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature* (New York, 1982) Northrop Frye begins with the Christian ur-text and suggests the degree to which scripture informs literary culture in the West. Ernst Robert Curtius in his *European Literature in the Latin Middle Ages* (Princeton, N. J., 1953) and Erich Auerbach in his *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (Princeton, 1953) have produced classic studies of the foundations and development of European poetry, which also offer invaluable insight into the interaction of Christianity with its pagan inheritance. Helen Flanders Dunbar's *Symbolism in Medieval Thought and Its Consummation in the Divine Comedy* (New Haven, Conn., 1929) establishes a religious and cultural context not only for Dante but for medieval poetry in general. Sensitive study of the role of Christianity in the formation of European poetry is also offered in R. S. Loomis's *The Grail: From Celtic Myth to Christian Symbol* (New York, 1963), C. S. Lewis's *The Allegory of Love* (Oxford, 1936), Louis L. Martz's *The Poetry of Meditation* (New Haven, 1954), Helen Gardner's *Religion and Literature* (Oxford, 1971), and A. D. Nuttall's *Overheard by God: Fiction and Prayer in Herbert, Milton, Dante, and St. John* (New York, 1980).

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POETRY: ISLAMIC POETRY

Since its emergence in the Middle East early in the seventh century, Islam has been practiced in many different cultural and linguistic areas throughout the world. As a result, Islamic religious poetry has been composed in a wide variety of languages. Among these, Arabic and Persian are distinctive for their transnational, or cosmopolitan, nature. Alongside these two classical languages, Islamic poets have employed a host of other languages, ranging from Bengali and Chinese to Swahili and Urdu. This article will summarize the development of Islamic poetry in Arabic and Persian, the important languages for classical Islamic literature, and will also commenti briefly on the nature and character of Islamic poetry in the regional vernacular traditions.

ARABIC. Since the Qurʾān was revealed in a culture that prized the poetic arts and the beauty of oral expression, these values affected the role of poetry in many Muslim societies, both Arab and non-Arab. In pre-Islamic Arabian society, poets *(shaʾirs)* enjoyed a special status, along with soothsayers *(kahins)*; they were believed to be inspired in their utterances by their relationship with spirits and jinns. As a result, their words had a particularly powerful spiritual potency. Not surprisingly, when Muḥammad began to recite the particularly beautiful verses that eventually came to comprise the Qurʾān (which means literally "the Recitation"), his opponents accused him of being a poet. In response to such accusations, the Qurʾān (for example, in Chapter 26) clearly distinguishes between a poet, who is driven by egotistical desire, and a prophet, who utters the truth that is revealed to him or her by the one God. Although the Islamic scripture criticizes poets who compete with the Divine Word, the Qurʾān displays an acute sensibility to the spoken word, both for its aesthetic qualities and for the ethical values espoused in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry (such as generosity, valor, and hospitality), albeit in a new religious framework. Indeed, for the believer, the inimitability of Qurʾanic eloquence serves as proof of the scripture's divine origin.

Many poets ranked among Muḥammad's most dangerous opponents, including Kaʿb (d. c. 630). His father Zuhayr had composed one of the "Hanging Odes," the seven most celebrated poems of pre-Islamic Arabia. According to tradition, these odes, because of their polished eloquence, were embroidered in gold and hung from the walls of the Kaʿbah. When Kaʿb eventually decided to convert to Islam, he offered his allegiance to Muḥammad by presenting him a poem of praise. In response, the Prophet gave Kaʾb his cloak (*burda*); consequently, the poem came to be known as the

Burda, or Mantle Ode. This poem ushered in a new genre of panegyric poetry in praise of the Prophet that was to become ubiquitous in all Islamic literatures.

The transaction between the poet and prophet simultaneously rejects some pre-Islamic values and transforms other values in the new religious worldview that was heralded by the coming of Islam. As Michael Sells points out in *Approaching the Qurʾān,* instead of being draped with the Hanging Odes, the Kaʿbah, the most sacred site of Islam, was adorned with a black cloth embroidered with verses from the Qurʾān. Most importantly, poetry, which had once been shunned for representing the ideals of paganism, was brought into the service of Islam. Indeed, later Muslim poets proclaimed that their work was the "heritage of prophecy," referring to a tradition that calls the tongues of poets "the keys of the treasures beneath the Divine Throne."

The tradition that had begun with pre-Islamic poetry continued to develop throughout the history of Arabic and other Islamic literatures. Muslim poets adapted the pre-Islamic genre of the *qasida*, the monorhyme praise poem, for religious purposes. Instead of praising a ruler or a poet's patron, the *qasida* was now used to praise God, to eulogize the Prophet, or to laud and lament the martyr-heroes of Shīʿah Islam. In the ninth century, as the focus of Sufism or Islamic mysticism shifted from extreme asceticism to an emphasis on an intimate and loving relationship between devotees and God, mystics began composing exquisite mystical love poetry in Arabic. Drawing upon the *qasida*'s amatory prelude (the *nasib*), with its themes of remembering and longing for a lost beloved, this poetry depicted the many aspects and phases of love—the anguish of separation, blissful union, endless striving to be worthy and faithful, and longing for physical death and spiritual union with the Divine. Prominent poets included the Iraqi woman mystic Rabʾia al-ʿAdawiya (d. 801), the Egyptian Dhu al-Nun (d. 859), and the Baghdad natives Sumnun "the Lover," (d. c. 900), Shibli (d. 945), and the great "martyr of love" al-Hallaj, executed in 922.

After a period of decline in quality and quantity from the mid-tenth century onwards, Arabic mystical poetry experienced an efflorescence in the thirteenth century with the emergence of two great writers, the Egyptian Ibn al-Farid (d. 1235) and the Andalusian Ibn al-ʿArabi (d. 1240). Ibn al-Farid drew upon the heritage of the traditional *qasida* to compose exquisite odes on mystical love, including the *Khamriyya* (A Wine Poem) in praise of the primordial wine of divine love that intoxicates everything created, and the *Taʾiyya* (a *qasida* rhyming with the letter "t"), which recounts in high-flown imagery the soul's journey to God. Though more renowned in the history of Islamic mystical literature for his dense prose works, Ibn al-ʿArabi, inspired by his love for the daughter of a Persian Sufi, composed a collection of mystical poems entitled *Tarjuman al-Ashwaq* (The Interpreter of Ardent Longings), whose imagery recalls the pre-Islamic *qasida.* In order to prevent the work's amatory and erotic imagery from being read literally by opponents determined to accuse him of moral corruption, Ibn ʿArabi wrote a commentary highlighting the esoteric meaning of the work.

PERSIAN. By the time of its renaissance in the thirteenth century, however, Arabic mystical poetry had begun to be overshadowed by works composed in Persian, which was rapidly becoming the major language of religious poetry in many Muslim lands. The spread of Persian as a literary vehicle was facilitated by the rise of dynasties of Persianized Turks who, by the fifteenth century, controlled a vast territory, stretching from Anatolia in modern Turkey, through Iran and Central Asia to southern India.

Although Persian poets adopted the form of the Arabic *qasida* for the religious panegyric in Persian, their forte lay in the refinement of two other genres: the *masnawi* and the *ghazal.* A distinctively Persian form, the *masnawi*, a lengthy poem with rhymed couplets, was initially used to compose epics recounting the heroic deeds of Iranian rulers and champions. In a religious context, Persian Sufis favored the *masnawi* as a vehicle for explicating ethical and mystical concepts through anecdotes, tales, and romances. Among the early poets who employed this form was ʿAttar (d. c. 1221), the author of the *Mantiq at-Tayr* (The Bird's Conversation). Ostensibly a narrative concerning a group of birds on a quest for their mythical king, the *Mantiq at-Tayr* has come to be regarded as one of the classic Islamic expositions of the mystical journey and spiritual development of the soul. The most famous *masnawi* ever composed, however, was the *Mathnawi-yi maʾnawi* (Spiritual Couplets), by the most beloved of Persian mystic poets, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273). This monumental work, consisting of some thirty-five thousand couplets, has been called the "Qurʾān in the Persian tongue," since later generations have considered it to be an encapsulation of the spiritual and esoteric teachings of the Arabic scripture for Persian speakers.

In addition to the *Mathnawi*, Rūmī also composed a collection of ecstatic poems called the *Divan-i Shams-i Tabriz.* As its name indicates, this work was dedicated to the memory of his spiritual mentor and soul mate, the enigmatic Shams-i Tabriz. Tradition holds that Shams's mysterious disappearance caused Rūmīto become a poet, pouring out in the poems of the *Divan* his heartbreak at the loss of his beloved friend. For the *Divan*, Rūmī chose the most important form of lyric poetry in Persian—the *ghazal*—a short poem with loosely arranged couplets united by a single rhyme and common meter.

By convention, the *ghazal*'s central theme is unfulfilled love. The rules governing the *ghazal*'s prosody exercise such tight constraints on poets that they must resort to a vast stock of conventional images and motifs—wine and tavern, nightingales and roses, attractive young boys and veiled ladies, disheveled tresses and ruby lips—to draw analogies. Skillful *ghazal* poets effortlessly interweave these images together while engaging in intricate verbal acrobatics, making it difficult to grasp the real meaning of their poetry, as it subtly oscillates between the spiritual and the sensual. Is the lover drunk with wine, wild with passion for a handsome boy, or intoxicated with God? Although the meaning intended by the poet can be vague, audiences nevertheless delight in this ambiguity, thus accounting for the popularity of the *ghazal* in Persian and Persian-influenced cultures.

The supreme master of the *ghazal* in Persian was Hafiz (d. 1390). Generations of Persian speakers have regarded his collection of *ghazals*, known as the *Divan-i Hafiz*, as a source of wisdom to consult when making important life decisions. Like Rūmī's *Mathnawi*, the *Divan-i Hafiz* is believed to contain the wise voice of the mystic who has been fortunate enough to commune with the transcendent reality. And like Rūmī's poetry, the verse of Hafiz and other Persian mystics—such as Sanaʾi (d. 1131), ʿAttar, and Jami (d. 1492)—has inspired and informed seekers on the spiritual quest. As a result, Sufis have commonly regarded the incorporation of verses of poetry in rituals such as the *samaʾ* (spiritual concert of music and poetry) as a means of triggering a mystical experience.

POETRY IN THE REGIONAL VERNACULARS. Arabic and Persian were the dominant languages for Islamic poetry until the fourteenth century; at that time, poets in other regions began adopting local languages for composing religious poetry. Many of these poets pioneered the development of literary traditions in these regional languages. In her book *As through a Veil*, Annemarie Schimmel compares the role of these Muslim poets, many of them Sufi, to that played by Christian mystics, nuns, and ascetics in the development of European vernaculars such as German, Dutch, and Italian.

To be sure, Muslim poets hesitated at first to experiment with composing religious verse in the vernacular. In some areas of South Asia, for example, anxiety about using a local language ran so deep that poets thought it necessary to apologize to readers. Many of these pioneer poets would have agreed with the Afghan poet Bayazid Ansari (d. 1585) when he commented: "God speaks in every language, be it Arabic, Persian, Hindi, or Afghani. He speaks in the language which the human heart can understand." Love for their mother-tongues, as well as the growing popularity of vernacular poetry among populations who could not access literature in the Arabic and Persian traditions, eventually resulted in a blossoming of regional vernacular poetic traditions from the eighteenth century onwards. Significantly, in the case of those languages which lacked a standard alphabet, poets used the Arabic script or adaptations of it to write their compositions.

Arabic and Persian poetry continued to exercise varying degrees of influence on the development of regional poetic traditions, however. Thus, Ottoman Turkish and Urdu poems are so heavily steeped in the Persianate tradition—from the appropriation of genres, such as the *ghazal* and *masnawi*, to the wholesale adoption of conventional Persian symbols and imagery—that it is impossible to truly appreciate poetry in these two languages without an awareness of the Persian background. The form of the Arabic *qasida* was adopted into a wide range of languages, often with adjustments in meter and imagery to suit local tastes. Indeed, in some instances, the *qasida* inspired the development of entirely new literary genres. For example, the *madah* is the religious praise poem in Sindhi, the *syair* is used in Malay for composing poems providing instruction on mystical themes, and the *qasidah moderen* in Indonesia is a genre of didactic religious poems set to popular music.

Islamic vernacular traditions also reflect an astounding array of poetic forms derived by various literary cultures around the world. Although these are too numerous to be discussed in detail, Muslim poets co-opted many forms of secular poetry, often in the form of songs, in order to compose different types of religious poetry. For instance, in the region around Bijapur in southern India, Sufi ideas were transmitted by songs sung in Dakhini Urdu by women as they performed daily tasks, such as spinning cotton or grinding grain, while in Tamilnadu, poets adopted the *kappiyam*, a long narrative poem that traditionally had related the stories of gods and the exploits of human heroes. In Senegal, odes retelling the history of prophets or praising Sufi masters employed forms traditional to Wolof praise-poetry. Hindi-speaking poets in North India used romantic ballads to create lengthy mystical allegories in verse; the most important example is the *Padmavat* of Malik Muḥammad Jaʾisi (d. after 1570). Along with vernacular forms, poets also adopted local literary conventions and adapted Islamic religious concepts and ideas to local cultural contexts. These adaptations helped Islam spread rapidly throughout many regions of the world.

Since vernacular poetry mediates between the community of believers and their religious tradition, much of this poetry tends to be didactic in character, addressing topics such as beliefs, fundamental rituals, ethics and morality, and the transitory nature of the world. Poems praising God, the prophets, and important religious personalities in Islamic history are also ubiquitous. Poetry composed under the influence of the Sufi tradition, particularly in Turkey and South Asia, tends to attack barren intellectualism and rote ritualism as paths that cannot lead to salvation. Instead, these poems laud the path of love, in which the believer develops a loving relationship with the Divine Beloved, as an interiorized form of religious practice that leads to the spiritual development of the soul. As expected, many Sufi poems also extol the virtues of the Sufi *shaykh* whose guidance helps the believer to traverse the spiritual path.

POETRY IN HONOR OF THE PROPHET. One subject common to all Islamic poetry, whether in the classical Arabic and Persian traditions or in the regional vernaculars, is praise and love for the Prophet Muḥammad. As devotion to the Prophet Muḥammad binds together Muslims from diverse cultural and national backgrounds, this subject provides an appropriate summation for this survey of Islamic religious poetry.

The tradition of composing poetry honoring the Prophet began in his lifetime, when his companions, Kaʾb ibn Zuhayr and Hassan ibn Thabit, glorified him in verse. In subsequent centuries, innumerable poets have composed *naʾts*, or poems in praise of Muḥammad, in practically every language of the Islamic world. Since poets have employed a variety of styles, genres, and literary conventions, the figure of the Prophet is indigenized to different literary contexts. A Sindhi poet, for example, following the conventions of Sindhi mystical literature, may address him as a bridegroom and portray him in Sindhi garb, while a Tamil poet, influenced by the *pillaitamil* (baby poem), imagines him as a baby within a Tamil landscape. Notwithstanding these cultural differences, however, the poetry shares certain themes: extolling the Prophet's character, virtues, and beauty; recalling the events in his life, such as his birth and his ascension to heaven (the *Miʿrāj*), or describing the various miracles he performed; expressing hope for his intercession on the Day of Judgment and beseeching his assistance in difficult circumstances; and exalting the esoteric aspect of association with the light of prophethood. The leitmotif of this poetry, however, is love. Poets fervently express in different languages their powerful, all-consuming love for the Prophet, the Beloved of God as he is frequently called, using a range of symbols and ideas. The twentieth-century Urdu poet Muḥammad Iqbal hints of the theme's power and universality when he declares, "Love for the Prophet runs like blood in the veins of the community."

SEE ALSO Ḥallāj, al-; Ibn al-ʿArabī; Ibn al-Fāriḍ; Iqbal, Muḥammad; Literature, article on Literature and Religion; Rābiʿah al-ʿAdawīyah; Rūmī, Jalāl al-Dīn.

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POETRY: NATIVE AMERICAN POETRY AND RELIGION

More than any other genre of Native American contemporary writing, poetry most closely reflects the Native American oral tradition. Traditional prayers, songs, and chants, first performed orally and later "preserved" by non-Natives who anticipated the demise of Native cultures in the nineteenth century, serve as a bridge between the oral tradition and the work of contemporary Native poets. This early poetics was an inherent part of ceremonial life for the tribes of North America, and it continues to inform contemporary American Indian poetry. Broadly defined, Native American poetry is "religious" in the sense that "[e]very factor of human experience is seen in a religious light as part of the meaning of life," as the Lakota author Vine Deloria Jr. explains in *God Is Red* (p. 195). Spirituality pervades the genre: poets incorporate mythic figures and stories, contemplate their relationships to sacred places, draw upon the rhythmic and performative aspects of the oral tradition, describe tribal ceremonies and healing rituals, and in some cases respond to experiences with Christian missionaries and conversion, as well as social justice issues related to colonization.

POETRY IN TRANSLATION. The first American Indian poetry in print consisted of ceremonial chants and songs collected by ethnographers and linguists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These transcriptions were compiled in anthologies, including George W. Cronyn's *The Path on the Rainbow* (1918), Mary Austin's *The American Rhythm: Studies and Reëxpressions of Amerindian Songs* (1932), and Margot Astrov's *The Winged Serpent: An Anthology of American Indian Prose and Poetry* (1946). One must approach these texts with some caution. As the Anishinaabe poet and critic Kimberly M. Blaeser points out, "many early works were sifted from their cultural context, displayed in a textual and secular nakedness that ignored the performed quality or distorted the sacred layers of ceremonial poetry" (p. 413). Beginning in the 1960s, the new field of ethnopoetics revived interest in Native American songs and chants, attempting this time to present it in a more "authentic" form. Collections such as John Bierhorst's *In the Trail of the Wind* (1971), Jerome Rothenberg's *Shaking the Pumpkin* (1972), and Brian Swann's *Wearing the Morning Star* (1996) presented new translations of many of the same "texts" in an attempt to include Native perspectives in world poetics. Most of those connected to ethnopoetics did not know the language of these traditions, with the exception of the linguists. So again, content was often distorted.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. The first American Indian poets writing in English included the Ojibwa (or Chippewa) writer George Copway (*The Ojibway Conquest,* 1850), the Cherokee poet and novelist John Rollin Ridge (*Poems,* 1868), the Mohawk poet and performer E. Pauline Johnson (*The White Wampum,* 1895), and the Creek writer and activist Alexander Posey (*The Poems of Alexander Lawrence Posey,* 1910). These poets were educated in the Western tradition, and because the Catholic Church controlled a majority of the boarding schools they attended, much of their poetry is closely aligned with Christianity. The tenets of Manifest Destiny are likewise often apparent in the poetry of this era. Some writers adopted Western modes of thought and verse—often for the purpose of educating a white readership about their Native cultures. E. Pauline Johnson and Alexander Posey incorporate elements of Greek mythology in their work. In "The Flower of Tulledega," for example, Posey parallels two musicians, a Creek figure named Stechupco and the Greek god Pan. Ridge's poetry favors "progress" and thereby reflects the Christian principle of dominion over nature. Johnson's poem "A Cry from an Indian Wife" expresses a deep, ironic devotion to Christian beliefs, even as Indians lands are lost and Native people suffer. "What white-robed priest prays for your safety here[?]," Johnson asks.

CONTEMPORARY POETRY AND THE ORAL TRADITION. The first major anthology of Native American poetry, *Carriers of the Dream Wheel,* appeared in 1975. The Native American Renaissance, said to have begun in 1969 when N. Scott Momaday won the Pulitzer for *House Made of Dawn* (1968), saw a flourishing of Native poetry. The themes and stylistics of this poetry connect back to early poetic modes, to the oral tradition. In particular, poets of this era employ anaphora (repetition) and pay special attention to cadence, as well as to sound and language. For example, the Muskogee (or Creek) poet Joy Harjo uses repetition in a wide variety of poems. In "Woman Hanging from a Thirteenth Floor Window," for example, some form of the title phrase begins nearly every stanza, creating a sense of suspense and anxiety over the fate of the title character, whose life so precariously teeters on the edge. Her poem "She Had Some Horses" enacts a rhythmic chant of words and sounds, demonstrating the belief that language is creation.

Another way contemporary poets draw upon the oral tradition is by incorporating tribal cosmologies and stories. In "People from the Stars," the Osage poet Carter Revard recounts the creation story of the Wazhazhe or Osage people, who "come from the stars" and will "go back to the stars" at death. Other poets tell trickster stories in their poems. The figure of Coyote, the most common trickster in tribal stories, appears in a great number of contemporary poems. Simon Ortiz uses Coyote to recount the Acoma Pueblo origin story, in which the people emerged from the earth. In "The Creation, According to Coyote," Ortiz writes,

> My uncle told me all this, that time. Coyote told me
> too, but you know how he is, always talking to the gods,
> the mountains, the stone all around. And you know, I
> believe him.

Ortiz's affirmation of belief in the Acoma creation story reflects the renewal of traditional belief systems that occurred in late 1960s and early 70s. Leslie Marmon Silko (Laguna Pueblo) catalogs a number of Coyote tales in "Toe'osh: A Laguna Coyote Story," some of which tell of contemporary manifestations of the trickster, a powerful force in the Laguna creation story:

> Charlie Coyote wanted to be governor and he said that
> when he got elected he would run the other men off the
> reservation and keep all the women for himself.

Silko demonstrates how traditional stories are remembered and reconfigured to reflect modern-day concerns.

REMEMBERING THE TRADITIONS. American Indian poets often describe tribally specific rituals and ceremonies in their work. In "The Gourd Dancer," the Kiowa author N. Scott Momaday relates the story of how his grandfather, Mammedaty, became a traditional dancer. Even though Momaday never met his grandfather, he highlights the importance of maintaining connections to the ancestors, via more immediate elders. The Mesquakie poet Ray A. Young Bear describes a male religious society in "Always Is He Criticized":

> There was this dance procession I was a part of, and we
> were all males following one another, demonstrating
> our place in Black Eagle Child society with flexed chest
> muscles and clenched fists.

Young Bear, too, places tradition in the present, as he goes on to reflect on the ironic position of warrior men, who would have traditionally supported their families but are now "perennially unemployed" and supported by their women.

Several Native poets have written "prayer poems" that reflect traditional religious beliefs. An example is Joy Harjo's "Eagle Poem," which begins,

> To pray you open your whole self To sky, to earth, to
> sun, to moon To one whole voice that is you.

Harjo likens the eagle's flight to the circle of life. One of Simon Ortiz's earliest poems, "This Preparation," describes the poet's preparation for prayer. He cuts prayer sticks in the traditional Acoma way and listens to the creek "speaking to the world." The poem ends with the affirmation that "prayers / make things possible." The Abenaki poet Joseph Bruchac's "Blessing the Waters" also describes the sacredness of water and the ancient ritual of blessing it and being blessed by it. He writes, "There is no blessing older / than the blessing of the waters." Bruchac's poem acts as both a reminder of the prayer and as the prayer itself.

The connection to nature in the prayer poems appears in other poems as well. Whereas Christianity purports dominion over the natural world, Native worldviews seek to maintain a spiritual connection between humans and their environment. Poets such as Linda Hogan (Chickasaw) have explored this connection. Her "Elk Song" begins,

> We give thanks to deer, otter, the great fish and birds
> that fly over and are our bones and skin.

Even though animals provide sustenance for humans, Hogan insists that we must never forget to give thanks for their sacrifice. She makes the connection between humans and other animals even clearer in "Morning: The World in the Lake." In this poem, the flight of a red-winged blackbird reminds the poet that we are "daughters, all of us." The Alaska Native poet Mary TallMountain takes this idea a step further in

"Coyotes' Desert Lament." The narrator lies on a hill listening to coyotes and wondering what their memories hold, when

> Suddenly I am coyote too, Nose a wet black tremble.
> Hound and I bunch together Among warm grey bodies
> Calling our brother home.

In exploring the possibility of actually becoming the coyote, TallMountain reinforces the view that all creatures are in some sense related.

Reverence for the environment extends to the landscape itself. Native poets speak of sacred places, which might include ancient homelands and reservation spaces. Leslie Marmon Silko's "Slim Man Canyon" is a contemplation of an awe-inspiring place on the territory of the Navajo Nation:

> 700 years ago people were living here water was running
> gently and the sun was warm on pumpkin flowers.

She describes "cliffs with stories and songs / painted on rock." Silko repeats the phrase "700 years" throughout the poem, giving reverence to the place and the long association between it and the Native peoples who have lived there for so long. Simon Ortiz's poem "A Story of How a Wall Stands" begins with a description of a four hundred-year-old wall at Acoma, "which supports hundreds of tons of dirt and bones." In the poem, Ortiz's father explains how the wall was made and why it continues to hold together, at the same time demonstrating how the people who built it have endured. In "This Is How They Were Placed for Us," the Navajo poet Luci Tapahonso reflects on four sacred mountains, now called Blanca Peak, Mount Taylor, the San Francisco Peaks, and Hesperus Peak, which correspond to the four directions, four seasons, four colors, and four cycles of Diné (Navajo) life. She writes, "These mountains and the land keep us strong. / From them, and because of them, we prosper." At the center is Huerfano Mountain: "This is where our prayers began," writes Tapahonso.

As Janice Gould (Maidu/Konkow) explains in the introduction to *Speak to Me Words,* "We respond to pain and suffering by seeking a healing, a healing that cannot be completed in the human world but must be completed by understanding our ties to the spirit world" (p. 11). Many poets focus on traditional healing practices in their work. For example, the Mohawk poet Peter Blue Cloud reflects on the conflict between traditional healing and Christianity in "Tota Ti-om (For an Aunt)." He writes,

> my aunt was an herb doctor, one-eyed with crooked
> yellow teeth the Christians called her pagan witch and
> their children taunted her or ran in fear of their bible
> lives at her approach

Blue Cloud's aunt is unaffected by their criticism, however, and she teaches the narrator how to collect and dry onanoron roots, "to preserve their sacred power." Another Mohawk poet, Maurice Kenny, recounts the story of a "Blackrobe" who is killed for his missionary activities in "Wolf 'Aunt.'" Kenny writes,

> I told him to stop mumbling over the sick children, that
> the duties of curing belonged to our doctors who have
> centuries of service and the herbs to heal.

Both poets resist conversion to Christianity, while expressing their faith in traditional healing practices.

CONTEMPORARY RESPONSES TO CHRISTIANITY. Numerous Native poets have responded similarly to forced conversion and missionization. In "Captivity," Louise Erdrich (Ojibwa, or Ojibwe) writes an imagined interior monologue of Mary Rowlandson, a Puritan woman taken captive during King Philip's War (1675–1676), who then wrote the first "captivity narrative." Erdrich questions the Puritan contempt for Natives as "savage" and "soulless" creatures, insinuating that perhaps Rowlandson felt an attraction toward her captor and wanted to become Indian herself. Erdrich grapples with Catholicism in a number of poems, including "Fooling God," "Saint Clare," and "Rez Litany." In the last, Erdrich parodies the availability of Christian saints to Native converts, creating such satirical figures as Saint Assimilus, "patron of residential and of government / boarding schools"; Saint Quantum, "Martyr of Blood / and Holy Protector of the Tribal Rolls"; and Saint Bingeous, "who fell asleep upside down on the cross / and rose on the third day without even knowing he had died."

The Blackfoot writer James Welch contemplates hypocrisy in the Catholic Church in "The Last Priest Didn't Even Say Goodbye." The narrator finds the priest's study empty, but smelling of "incense and bourbon." "The saints all / disapproved," Welch continues. Sherman Alexie (Coeur d'Alene/Spokane) expresses a cynical and sarcastic view of Catholicism in many of his poems. In "Rise," for example, he muses on the church's doctrine of transubstantiation, by which bread becomes the body of Christ, drawing a contrast to the worldview of the Spokanes, for whom "salmon is simply salmon." In other words, salmon is already sacred—no transformation is necessary. In "Drum as Love, Fear, and Prayer," Alexie asks, "how / do we say Indian prayers in English / and which God will answer? Is God red / or white?" And in "How to Remodel the Interior of a Catholic Church," he suggests, among other things, that the "priest's pockets are heavy with change." The Hopi/Miwok poet Wendy Rose takes her critique even further. Her poem "Excavation at Santa Barbara Mission" ends: "They built the mission with dead Indians." The line is repeated four times, as if the poet herself cannot fathom that such massacres occurred. Natives suffered at the hands of missionaries, allegedly men of God. Rose's use of the number four points to Pueblo ceremonial chants based on the cycles of life; she places it in opposition to the Christian sacred number, three, based on the Trinity. Poets like Erdrich, Welch, Alexie, and Rose weigh Christian beliefs against their respective tribal beliefs, and their poems act as reminders of both the effects of colonization and the endurance of traditional religions.

SEE ALSO Cosmology, article on Indigenous North and Mesoamerican Cosmologies; Ecology and Religion, overview article; Fiction, article on Native American Fiction and Religion; Native American Christianities; North American Indian Religions, article on Mythic Themes; Oral Tradition; Performance and Ritual; Politics and Religion, article on Politics and Native American Religious Traditions; Tricksters, articles on North American Tricksters.

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LAURA FURLAN SZANTO (2005)

POINT LOMA THEOSOPHICAL COMMUNITY was an organization of American Theosophists that was based at Point Loma, California, from 1900 to 1942. The site for the Point Loma Theosophical Community was located on the western side of San Diego Bay, on the northern end of a peninsula also used by the U.S. military. Much of the site for the Point Loma Theosophical Community is now occupied by Point Loma Nazarene University.

The Point Loma Theosophical Community's origins can be found in the history of the American Theosophical movement. Helena P. Blavatsky (1831–1891) and Henry Steel Olcott (1832–1907), along with William Q. Judge (1851–1896) and several others interested in Spiritualism, comparative religions, and the occult, began the Theosophical Society in New York City in 1875. Until 1878 Blavatsky and Olcott supervised regular meetings in which participants heard lectures on and discussed various matters related to the occult, world religions, Spiritualism, and other topics of interest to urban middle-class individuals who gravitated away from traditional religions and toward the late-nineteenth-century alternatives available from a growing body of printed literature, as well as from leaders like Blavatsky. In 1878 Blavatsky and Olcott sailed for India to take up Theosophical work there. The movement in the United States experienced a period of decline. In 1883 Judge revived the Theosophical organization by conducting public meetings and publishing a monthly magazine, the *Path*, that appeared regularly from 1886 to 1896. Through Judge's efforts as a lecturer and a frequent contributor to the *Path*, an increasing number of middle-class Americans found Theosophy to be a viable alternative to the religious cultures in which they were raised.

Numerous conversion accounts printed in Theosophical magazines beginning in the late 1800s recount a similar story: the individual became dissatisfied with doctrines preached and taught in their churches, wandered among religious institutions and movements (often finding a temporary home among Spiritualists), then heard a lecture about Theosophy, read a Theosophical book or magazine, or was befriended by a Theosophist. Theosophy resolved their doubts and challenged their imaginations. It provided a satisfactory explanation for the structure of the universe, relying upon many of the scientific notions of the day, but still reserved a place for the religious teachings of the world.

Theosophy claims that humanity evolves through various stages across eons of time, reincarnating as waves of souls or sparks of divinity in progressively more advanced forms. The worlds on which these waves of evolution occur are themselves evolving, with each evolutionary cycle ultimately reaching a point of greatest material density and then slowly working toward heightened spiritual glory and maturity before the waves of human souls move on to other worlds. Watching, and to some extent overseeing, these grand cosmic developments are a class of beings called *masters* who have advanced intellectually and spiritually many levels beyond most souls. Theosophists claimed that Blavatsky frequently communicated with certain masters. The masters were supposedly responsible for much of the information contained in some of her most important published works, especially her magnum opus, *The Secret Doctrine* (1888). The Theosophical version of the universe, then, offered to late-nineteenth-century Americans a stimulating vision of the cosmos and their place in it. Those who embraced this vision sometimes cut off ties to family and friends. Theosophists reoriented their affiliations, associating with one another in local lodges that sprang up in dozens of American cities during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. In these lodges, members held regular meetings in which Theosophical topics were discussed, distributed literature, and instructed children in Theosophical Sunday schools called Lotus Circles. Judge was the president of the American Section of the Theosophical Society until 1895, when he led the Americans in convention to declare their independence from the rest of the Theosophical Society worldwide after a series of disputes involving Judge, noted British Theosophical leader Annie Besant (1847–1933), Olcott, and others.

Shortly before Judge's death, Katherine Tingley (1847–1929) assumed an increasingly important role in Judge's leadership circle in New York City. Her origins as a Theosophist are difficult to determine. She was a middle-class social reformer, like many women in her class at that time, who fed the poor and supported other charitable works. After Judge's death, many of those closest to him were convinced that Tingley should succeed him. This succession was ratified by a pro-Tingley convention of the American Theosophical Society in 1898, in which the organization adopted a new name, Universal Brotherhood and Theosophical Society. During this period, Tingley led Theosophists in New York City and other American cities to engage in activities consistent with the priorities of women reformers and the emerging political and cultural ethos of Progressivism, activities designed to improve the quality of life and living conditions of the urban poor (e.g., training and socializing children, feeding the hungry, offering job instruction, providing housing and support for prostitutes, and caring for orphans). During the Spanish-American War of 1898, Tingley and other Theosophists worked in a hospital camp on Long Island at one of the disembarkation points for returning American soldiers. Many of these soldiers were weak and ill from tropical diseases contracted while in Cuba, and they required food and medical treatment. Because the U.S. Army was slow to organize adequate facilities to receive the influx of returning troops, the care provided by the Theosophists—as well as by other organizations like the Red Cross—was crucial in saving many lives. In recognition of her organization's work, President William McKinley provided transport for Tingley and other Theosophists to journey to Cuba to establish relief work there. This led to the eventual foundation, during the first decade of the twentieth century, of four Theosophical schools in that island nation.

Meanwhile, Tingley and other leaders among her inner circle were increasingly interested in relocating to California. The reasons for this move are not entirely clear, but California was attractive to many Americans in the East and Midwest at the beginning of the twentieth century. It provided a mild climate, geographical diversity for agriculture and industry, and freedom from the cultural, social, and economic constraints characteristic of the more settled areas of the United States. During a worldwide tour of Theosophical lodges in 1896 called the Crusade, Tingley, with the assistance of Gottfried de Purucker (1874–1942), her eventual successor, learned of the exact location of available land on the Point Loma peninsula and directed her agents to purchase it.

When she returned to the United States in 1897, Tingley gathered American Theosophists for a dedication ceremony at the Point Loma site. But Theosophists did not take up residence in substantial numbers at Point Loma until 1900 and after. In the early days of the Point Loma Theosophical Community, several hundred adults lived in tents and other temporary structures that eventually gave way, over the years, to houses and bungalows, as well as buildings containing facilities for various activities supported by the community, including a printing press, medical clinic, classrooms. From the beginning, children were central to Point Loma's existence. Tingley and others justified the creation of Point Loma as a home for souls then entering the world as children who were morally and spiritually advanced. Given the proper environment and training, these children could become superior world citizens whose lives would be devoted to the service of humanity. Taking their cues from comments made by Blavatsky in print, Point Loma Theosophists believed that they lived at the beginning of a new cycle in human evolution. If they did not do everything possible to raise an exceptional generation of souls, they believed humanity might delay or even miss the opportunity to advance spiritually.

The educational approach at Point Loma was called Raja Yoga, a term borrowed from Hinduism that described the holistic educational philosophy held by Tingley and others. Under Raja Yoga, children were challenged to grow in all ways that mattered: intellectually, physically, culturally, spiritually, and emotionally. The curriculum of the Raja Yoga schools emphasized the fine arts and humanities, although instruction in business skills, engineering, mathematics, and the sciences was available, depending upon the expertise of Theosophical adults on the teaching staff. As children grew to adulthood at Point Loma, many of them became teachers and served in other capacities in the Point Loma Theosophical Community. One outstanding example was Judith Tyberg (1902–1980), who was born and raised at Point Loma. Tyberg taught young children when she became a young adult, and later, when the Theosophical University was founded at Point Loma in 1919, she took advanced degrees and ultimately became a teacher and administrator in that university.

At its largest, the Point Loma Theosophical Community numbered in the hundreds of adults and at least as many children. Many of the latter were the progeny of adult members, but they were not permitted to live with their parents on the Point Loma site. Instead, they were housed in collective homes, segregated according to age and sex. Other children were sent to Point Loma by their Theosophical parents or guardians, so that Point Loma served as a Theosophical boarding school. A few Cuban children were brought to Point Loma during the early years, but several of them presented discipline problems and were sent back to Cuba. Criticism of Raja Yoga education, raised by some Theosophical parents and echoed in the press, focused on the children's separation from their parents and strict control of eating habits, among other techniques used to control the children's living environment. Later in life, a number of these former Raja Yoga pupils would recall their childhood experiences with dismay. But others considered their upbringing to be beneficial, even inspirational. Although the quality of caregiving was uneven, those children who had loving adult caregivers generally had positive experiences and memories of their childhoods at Point Loma.

During the first three decades of the twentieth century, Tingley traveled across the United States and around the world many times. On most of these trips, she took selected Point Loma adults and adolescents with her. During a tour for world peace in 1913, she was accompanied by over twenty young men and women, who provided musical and dramatic entertainment at a Theosophical peace conference in Sweden. These young people, most of whom had grown up at Point Loma, embodied the ideals of Raja Yoga education. Many of them married one another, often due to Tingley's matchmaking choices, although some Point Loma youth married persons outside the Point Loma Theosophical Community. During the 1920s many young adults left Point Loma. The reasons for their departure varied. Some wanted to continue their education in colleges and universities elsewhere. Others wanted to live outside the protected, insular world of Point Loma and found employment in San Diego or other locations.

Tingley and others from her generation brought to Point Loma a Victorian decorum popular among their social classes in the late nineteenth century. This decorum was transmitted to the children of Point Loma. A moral and didactic tone infused the language and relationships at Point Loma during Tingley's tenure. By the 1930s the Raja Yoga school program had a higher percentage of paying students who lived in San Diego and attended during the daytime only than in earlier decades The older Victorian cultural sensibility among young people raised at Point Loma contrasted with the choices in music and other aspects of popular culture, as well as daily customs, of the students who did not live at Point Loma and were influenced by larger culture far more.

Tingley died as a result of an automobile accident in 1929. Her successor, de Purucker, was a self-taught polymath who specialized in ancient languages and religious texts. Over the years his duties as a community member at Point Loma permitted him to devote considerable attention to scholarly pursuits. By the time he assumed leadership responsibilities, his immersion in Theosophical literature and related areas of study enabled him to give numerous lectures that were later published as collections of essays. De Purucker-er's articulation of complex Theosophical ideas is known among Theosophists and students of the Theosophical movement as *technical Theosophy* because of his sophisticated presentation of Theosophical teaching going back to Blavatsky and carried forward, in the Point Loma Theosophical tradition, through Judge and Tingley. De Purucker altered the organization's name to the Theosophical Society, dropping the older appellation of the Universal Brotherhood and Theosophical Society. By the time of his death in 1942, the community had moved from Point Loma to Covina, near Los Angeles, to avoid the military activity occurring at Point Loma after the United States entered World War II. De Purucker's successor was not clearly identified. During the war years a group of leaders ran the organization. In 1945 a retired U.S. Army officer, Colonel Arthur L. Conger (1872–1951), was brought in as leader. Some lifelong Theosophists objected to Conger, but their party failed to carry the day. Many of these individuals left the Theosophical Society. Conger was succeeded by James A. Long (1898–1971) in 1951. He was succeeded in 1971 by Grace F. Knoche (b. 1909), who served as leader of the Theosophical Society, Pasadena, the organizational descendant of the Point Loma Theosophical Community. Their principal activities include the publication of *Sunrise*, a bimonthly magazine, as well as Theosophical classics by Blavatsky, Judge, Tingley, de Purucker, and others.

SEE ALSO Besant, Annie; Blavatsky, H. P.; Judge, William Q.; Olcott, Henry Steel; Theosophical Society; Tingley, Katherine.

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W. MICHAEL ASHCRAFT (2005)

POLEMICS

This entry consists of the following articles:

JEWISH-CHRISTIAN POLEMICS
MUSLIM-JEWISH POLEMICS
CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM POLEMICS

POLEMICS: JEWISH-CHRISTIAN POLEMICS

[*This article focuses primarily on Jewish polemics against Christianity.*]

The intensity, persistence, and significance of Jewish-Christian polemics are in large measure a function of the peculiar combination of intimacy and divergence that marks the relationship between the two faiths. It is not merely the fact that Christianity emerges out of Judaism; it is, further, the combination of the continuing centrality of the Hebrew Bible for Christians together with the profundity of the theological differences that separated Christians from Jews. In these respects, a comparison with Islam is particularly instructive. It too arose in large measure out of Judaism, but because it lacked the other crucial characteristics, polemic between Jews and Muslims, however important it may sometimes have been, never played the same role as did the Jewish-Christian debate. Muslims revered the Hebrew Bible; Muslims did not, however, elevate it to the position that it held in Christianity, and they expressed the most serious reservations about its textual accuracy. Moreover, Islamic monotheism left no room for the creative rancor that produced the philosophical dimension of Jewish-Christian discussions, which addressed such issues as trinitarianism and incarnation. Moses Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon, 1135/8–1204), who has sometimes been accused of inconsistency in his attitude toward the two other faiths, was accurately portraying a complex situation. On the one hand, he described Islam as a religion of "unblemished monotheism," an accolade he would not bestow upon Christianity; on the other hand, he maintained that teaching Torah to Christians can be a fruitful enterprise, while doing the same for Muslims is, from a Jewish point of view, an exercise in futility.

The dispute between Judaism and Christianity, then, revolved around both doctrine and exegesis. To Christians, Jesus was the Messiah, the ritual law was abrogated, and the church was the true Israel, not only because Christian scripture and tradition said so but because the Hebrew scriptures themselves supported such claims. Beginning with the New Testament and continuing with the earliest church fathers, Christian ingenuity was mobilized to uncover references to the full range of Christian beliefs in the Hebrew scriptures. The Jewish polemicist was required to undertake the onerous task of point-by-point, verse-by-verse refutation, and the sparse Talmudic references to debates with *minim* (a term for heretics that surely embraces many early Christians) describe precisely such conflicts in biblical interpretation.

The institutional separation of the two religions was furthered when a curse against the *minim* was inserted into the rabbinic prayer book, and doctrinal developments made it increasingly difficult even for "Jewish" as opposed to "gentile" Christians to remain a part of the Jewish people. The Jews, it was said, had been replaced by a new Israel, and their defeats at the hands of the Romans were a just punishment for their rejection of the Messiah; moreover, by the middle of the second century there were few Christians who did not believe in some form of Jesus' divinity, and this was a doctrine that remained beyond the pale of even the most flexible definition of Judaism.

In the wake of these developments, early Jewish sources record hostile perceptions not only of Christianity but of Jesus as well. In the Talmud itself, clear references to Jesus are exceedingly rare, but those that exist do include the assertion that he was a sorcerer who led his followers astray (cf. Goldstein, 1950). Outside the Talmudic corpus, there developed a more elaborate series of early Jewish folk tales that go by the name *Toledot Yeshu* and can probably best be described as a counter-Gospel. The various versions of *Toledot Yeshu* trace Jesus' life from his birth as a result of Mary's liaison with a Roman soldier through his checkered career as a sorcerer and on to his ignominious hanging between two thieves on a massive stalk of cabbage. Although such stories did not constitute binding Jewish doctrine, they colored Jewish views of Christianity and enraged Christians who became familiar with them in subsequent periods.

From the Jewish perspective, these early responses to Christianity remained episodic and peripheral. Before Christianity became the official religion of the Roman empire, there was little reason for Jews to confront its religious claims systematically; after that point, Jewish literary activity in the Christian world was on the wane, and before the high Middle Ages, Jewish arguments against Christianity were preserved primarily in Christian works. The only significant exceptions are a little book of eastern provenance called *Sefer Nestor ha-komer* (Book of Nestor the Priest), which was written by a convert to Judaism, and a handful of passages in Jewish philosophical works composed in the Muslim world.

In the second half of the twelfth century, this situation began to change. Partly because the inner dynamic of Christianity required a confrontation with Judaism, the "renaissance" of Christian literature and thought associated with the twelfth century included a renewal of anti-Jewish polemics. At this time Jewish literature too was in the midst of a vigorous revival, and Jews throughout western Europe began to engage in a literary polemic that was to remain active through the end of the Middle Ages.

Although this polemic extends to works of exegesis, philosophy, homiletics, and even liturgy and law, a list of explicitly polemical works through the fifteenth century can serve as a useful introduction to the scope and intensity of this activity.

- Twelfth century: Yosef Kimhi, *Sefer ha-berit* (Book of the Covenant), southern France; Yaʿaqov ben Reuʾven, *Milhamot ha-Shem* (The Wars of the Lord), southern France.
- Thirteenth century: *Vikkuah le-ha-Radaq* (The disputation of Rabbi David Kimhi), pseudonymous, provenance uncertain; Meʾir of Narbonne, *Milhemet mitsvah* (The obligatory war), southern France; Mordekhai of Avignon, *Mahaziq emunah* (Upholder of Faith), southern France; Shelomoh de Rossi, *ʿEdut ha-Shem neʾemanah* (The testimony of the Lord is perfect), Italy; *The Epistle of Rabbi Jacob of Venice,* Italy; *The Disputation of Rabbi Yehiʾel of Paris,* northern France; Yosef Official, *Sefer Yosef ha-meqanneʾ* (The book of Yosef the zealot), northern France; *The Disputation of Nahmanides,* Spain; *Sefer nitsahon yashan* (The old book of polemic), Germany.
- Fourteenth century: Moses ha-Kohen of Tordesillas, *ʿEzer ha-emunah* (Aid of faith), Spain; Yitshaq Polgar, *ʿEzer ha-dat* (Aid of religion), Spain; Hasdai Crescas, *Bittul ʿiqqrei ha-Notsrim* (Refutation of Christian doctrines), Spain; Shem Tov ibn Shaprut, *Even bohan* (Touchstone), Spain; Profiat Duran, *Al tehi ka-avotekha* (Do not be like your fathers) and *Kelimat ha-goyim* (The shame of the Gentiles), Spain.
- Fifteenth century: Yom Tov Lippman Mühlhausen, *Sefer ha-nitsahon* (The Book of polemic), Bohemia; Shimʿon Duran, *Qeshet umagen* (Bow and shield), Spain; the Tortosa Disputation, Spain; Shelomoh Duran, *Milhemet mitsvah* (The obligatory war), Spain; Hayyim ibn Musa, *Magen va-romah* (Shield and spear), Spain; Mattityahu ben Mosheh, *The Book of Ahituv and Zalmon,* Spain; Binyamin ben Mosheh, *Teshuvot ha-Notsrim* (Answers to the Christians), Italy; Eliyyahu Hayyim of Genezzano, *Vikkuah* (Disputation), Italy.

POLEMICS ON BIBLICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL ISSUES. Many of the issues addressed by the authors of the aforementioned works remained relatively unchanged from late antiquity through the end of the Middle Ages and beyond. To Jews, the fundamental Christian assertion that Jesus was the Messiah had been massively refuted by the evidence of history. Since the essential characteristic of the biblical Messiah involved the inauguration of an age of peace, virtually all Jewish polemicists pointed to the persistence of war and misery as a formidable refutation of Christianity. Moses Nahmanides (Mosheh ben Naḥman, c. 1194–1270), in fact, reports that he went so far as to tell James I of Aragon how difficult it would be for him and his knights if war were to be abolished.

Christians, of course, argued not only that scriptural evidence demonstrates that the Messiah had already come but also that it points to a first coming that would end in apparent failure. The key citations demonstrating these propositions were probably the most extensively debated biblical passages in the entire literature: *Genesis* 49:10 on the first point, and *Isaiah* 52:13–53:12 on the second.

"The scepter shall not pass away from Judah, nor shall a legislator pass away from among his descendants until Shiloh comes and to him shall the nations gather." This translation of *Genesis* 49:10, with *Shiloh* understood as *Messiah,* appeared to lend powerful support to the Christian position: since there was now no scepter in Judah, the Messiah must already have come. For this passage Jews did not have a particularly attractive alternative interpretation, but they did have a persuasive argument against the Christian position. That position, they said, cannot be valid because the scepter (understood by Christians as kingship) had passed from the Jews well before the time of Jesus; during the Babylonian exile there was no Jewish rule, and even during the second commonwealth there were no kings from the tribe of Judah. Although alternative explanations of this passage were beset by difficulties, they were nonetheless abundant: Shiloh indeed refers to the Messiah, but the verse is merely asserting that whenever there will be a Jewish king, he can legitimately come only from Judah; *scepter* and *legislator* refer not to kingship but to exil-archs and patriarchs or even to ongoing communal autonomy; Shiloh is not the Messiah but a place-name, and the verse refers to a past event, most likely the schism after Solomon's death.

With respect to *Isaiah* 53, which can be read as a description of an innocent servant of the Lord who will suffer and die for the sins of others, the situation of the Jewish polemicists was reversed: they had an excellent alternative interpretation, but some of them expressed disappointment at the absence of a crushing refutation of the christological exegesis. Despite a messianic understanding of this chapter in early rabbinic sources, medieval Jews overwhelmingly saw the servant as the exiled people of Israel, and strong arguments could be adduced for this identification. At the same time, Jews were sharply divided concerning the presence of a concept of vicarious atonement in the passage; to some exegetes and polemicists, such a concept was too Christian to be readily discerned in the Bible even if applied to Israel rather than the Messiah. Finally, specific refutations of the christological interpretation were proffered: aside from the inappropriateness of the term *servant* for a divine figure, this servant, unlike Jesus, "will see his seed and live a long life," will experience ongoing affliction and disease, and will suffer as a result of the sins of many rather than for the purpose of removing the original sin of Adam and Eve.

It has already been seen that Christians considered the Jewish rejection of the Messiah to have resulted in the suppression of "carnal Israel" and its replacement by the church. Initial Jewish bewilderment at this perception gave way to a charge of Christian arbitrariness in defining biblical references to Israel, and Jews pointed to a number of citations in which favorable eschatological references that Christians took as descriptions of the church seemed inextricably linked to pejorative passages that Christians referred to the Jews. By the thirteenth century, Jews had even begun to cite their own retention of the Hebrew language as evidence that they had not been exchanged by God for people who knew the Bible only in translation.

It was not only the Jewish people, however, who were supposed to have been superseded. The same was said about Jewish law, and here the issue of allegorical interpretation of the Bible became crucial. Christians argued that, at least in the postcrucifixion era, only a nonliteral meaning is to be assigned to the legal sections of the Pentateuch, and they buttressed their position by raising questions about the rationality and consistency of biblical law. This challenge added a polemical dimension to Jewish speculations about "the reasons for the commandments." While some Jews argued against any attempt to fathom the divine intent or even denied the very existence of rational explanations, others provided both hygienic and spiritual reasons that sometimes seemed so persuasive that they became the basis for questions about the Christian failure to observe such evidently beneficial injunctions. Christian allegorization did not stop with the law; consequently, Jewish insistence on literal, contextual reading of biblical verses is a central theme of polemical literature, and some scholars have even suspected an underlying apologetic motive for the radical insistence on straightforward exegesis advocated by several significant medieval commentators such as Rashbam (Rabbi Shemuʾel ben Meʾir, c. 1080–1158) who were not primarily polemicists.

While Christian questions about the rationality of the law were a minor theme in medieval polemics, Jewish questions about the rationality of Christian dogma were at center stage. Many Jews were unable or unwilling to see trinitarianism as anything but tritheism. Those who did come to grips with the full complexity of the doctrine maintained that it violates logic and that multiplicity in God inevitably implies corporeality in God himself (i.e., not just in the temporary form of the historical Jesus). Most important, sophisticated Jewish polemicists maintained that any truly monotheistic understanding of trinitarianism—in which three divine persons are identified with attributes of God or understood in light of the perception of God as thought, thinker, and object of thought—fails because of the second, crucial doctrine of incarnation. If only one of three divine persons took on flesh, then true unity was irretrievably compromised.

Jewish objections to incarnation were not confined to the troubling light that it shed on the Christian concept of a divine trinity. Not only did the attribution of divinity to a human being raise the ugly specter of idolatry; it also seemed vulnerable to definitive philosophical refutation. Jewish polemicists argued that since infinity and immutability are essential characteristics of God, incarnation could not take place even miraculously. Moreover, they said, it is equally impossible to unite a human and a divine nature in a single person with each nature retaining its distinctiveness. Finally, even if all this were possible, it is hard to imagine that God could find no way to redeem humanity without subjecting himself to the filth and indignity of spending nine months in a womb and then passing through all the stages of a life that culminated in a humiliating death.

Virginal conception, although denied by Jews, was not vulnerable to the charge of philosophical impossibility. However, the specific doctrine that Mary remained a virgin during childbirth did appear to violate the principle that two bodies cannot take up the same space simultaneously. More important, the miracle of transubstantiation also seemed impossible, partly because Jesus' body would have to have been in many places at the same time.

There was, of course, also a scriptural dimension to these philosophical issues. Christians attempted to demonstrate trinitarianism by citing verses that contain plural verbs in connection with God, as, for example, "Let us make man in our image" (*Gn.* 1:26); or a threefold repetition of a key word, as, for example, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts" (*Is.* 6:3); or a repetition of the names of God, as, for example, "Hear O Israel, the Lord [is] our God, the Lord is one" (*Dt.* 6:4). For the incarnation, they cited the eschatological king in *Jeremiah* 23:5, whose name they translated as "the Lord our Righteousness," and, most effectively, the child in *Isaiah* 9:5–6, whose name they translated as "Wondrous Counselor, Mighty God, Eternal Father, Prince of Peace." Jews had to respond by providing alternative explanations or, in some cases, alternative translations. Thus the plural verb in *Genesis* 1:26 is either a plural of majesty or God's statement to the earth, which would provide the body into which he would place a soul. The name in *Jeremiah,* they said, should be translated "the Lord *is* our Righteousness," and the child in *Isaiah,* at least according to most medieval Jews, was named only "Prince of Peace" by God, who is himself the "Wondrous Counselor, Mighty God, [and] Eternal Father."

The scriptural evidence for virgin birth gave Jews their best opportunity to use the argument from context. The evidence, Christians said, is to be found in *Isaiah* 7:14, in which the prophet promised King Ahaz the birth of a child from an ʿ*almah.* Jews not only argued that ʿ*almah* does not mean "virgin" but also pointed to Isaiah's promise to Ahaz that deliverance would come before the child would know how to distinguish good from evil as decisive refutation of any identification of the child with Jesus.

POLEMICS ON THE TALMUD. In its classic form, the Jewish-Christian debate centered on the Hebrew Bible. Beginning in the twelfth century, however, and especially in the thirteenth, Christians became intrigued with the possibility of utilizing the Talmud for polemical purposes, and Jews found themselves confronting two distinct but overlapping challenges from Christians quoting Talmud. Nicholas Donin, a Jewish convert to Christianity, began a campaign in the 1230s that led to a virtual trial in which Yeḥiʾel ben Yosef of Paris had to defend the Talmud against charges of blasphemy. Pointing to what would otherwise have been an anachronism in a Talmudic account of Jesus, Yeḥiʾel made the novel assertion that there were two Jesuses and that any pejorative Talmudic references are to the first, who had no connection whatever to Christianity. Potentially even more serious was Donin's assertion that the Talmud constituted "another law" that was entirely different from that of the Hebrew Bible. Since Jews were tolerated in part because they observed and authenticated the "Old Testament," the very existence of Jews in the Christian world could have been jeopardized by Christian acceptance of such an assertion. Yehiʾel argued that the Talmud was, rather, an indispensable interpretation of the Bible. Ultimately, although various Dominicans and Franciscans toyed with the delegitimation of Jews on grounds related to the "other law" argument, it was the accusation of blasphemy that predominated, and this could be satisfied by the censorship of a handful of Talmudic passages.

The second approach to the Talmud is usually associated with another convert to Christianity. In the third quarter of the thirteenth century, Pablo Christiani (Cristia) began to emphasize a very minor theme in some earlier Christian polemics: that the Talmud demonstrates the truth of Christianity. Pablo and his successors did not have a positive attitude toward the Talmud, but they believed that the rabbis had preserved evidence of Christian truth. One of the earliest examples of this sort of argument is one of the best. The Talmud says that the world will last six thousand years: two thousand years of chaos, two thousand of Torah, and two thousand of the messianic age (B. T., *San.* 97a). This, said Christian polemicists, proves two crucial Christian assertions—that the Messiah has already come, and that with his arrival the age of Torah has come to an end. When Nahmanides was forced to confront Pablo in the Barcelona disputation of 1263, he insisted, of course, on the implausibility of finding Christian doctrines in a work produced by unconverted Jews, but he also made the striking assertion that *midrash* is not dogmatically binding and that Jews are therefore free to reject certain rabbinic statements. This issue became a *cause célèbre* in the next two or three centuries, largely because of the popularity of Raymund Martini's monumental *Pugio Fidei,* and the rabbis at the Tortosa disputation had to confront it under particularly trying circumstances. Generally, Jewish polemicists attempted to refute each argument individually, and they fell back on Nahmanides' position reluctantly and only as a last resort.

JEWISH POLEMICAL USE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. At about the same time that Christians began to examine the Talmud for polemical purposes, Jews began to scrutinize the New Testament. Here too the sacred text peculiar to the other faith could simply be attacked, and here too it could be used for more sophisticated polemical purposes. Jews pointed out contradictions in the New Testament, such as the differing genealogies in *Matthew* and *Luke,* but they also argued that the Gospels themselves support the Jewish position concerning the nondivinity of Jesus and the eternality of the law. The polemical usefulness of both approaches led to a sometimes ambivalent attitude toward Jesus himself. On the one hand, he was denounced for abrogating the Torah and turning himself into a divinity; on the other, his words were cited as testimony that later Christians distorted a message that was in large measure authentically Jewish. This last approach, which was to be particularly influential in the modern period, was developed most notably in Profiat Duran's impressive and sophisticated *Kelimat ha-goyim.*

The Issues of Jewish Exile and the Role of Christianity. The effect of increased Jewish familiarity with the New Testament and growing Christian awareness of the Talmud is but one example of the way in which a largely static debate could undergo dynamic transformation under the impact of historical change. Debates about interest taking, the blood libel, heresy, icons, worship of the saints, confession, priestly celibacy, the Crusades, and more all made their way into the polemical literature. Perhaps the most fundamental effect of the historical situation lay in the Jewish need to explain exile and suffering on grounds other than God's rejection of the Jews. Since Jewish polemicists insisted on the moral superiority of Jews to Christians, the standard explanation of exile as punishment was especially uncomfortable in this context. Consequently, there is found a whole array of efforts to turn the fact of suffering to polemical advantage: the Bible says that the truth would be hurled to the ground (*Dn.* 8:12); God is prolonging the exile so that the sin of the Christian oppressors should accumulate to a point where their utter destruction will be appropriate (cf. *Gn.* 15:16); God is punishing the Jews not for crucifying Jesus but for producing him. In a striking naturalistic argument, Yitshaq Polgar noted that Jewish suffering demonstrates that Christians and Jews stand in the same moral relationship as a bully and his victim.

Pressures ranging from the physical and economic to the moral and intellectual also led to transformations in the tone of Jewish polemics as well as to a reexamination of the role and religious standing of Christianity itself. This last development took place largely outside the context of medieval polemics, but its impact on later Jewish thought, including apologetic literature, was exceptionally significant. Medieval Jews generally regarded Christianity as an idolatrous religion. Nevertheless, in certain narrow legal contexts phrases such as "the gentiles among us do not worship idolatry" were used as an *ad hoc* justification for Jewish business dealings with Christians that were pursued despite injunctions against such interactions with idolaters. Menaḥem ha-Meʾiri of Perpignan (1249–1316) created a new legal category that can roughly be characterized as "civilized people" in order to distinguish Christians from ancient idolaters. Without addressing the issue of idolatry in this context, Maimonides and other authorities had assigned to Christianity and Islam the positive role of spreading knowledge of Torah and thus preparing the world for the Messiah. By the sixteenth century, some major Jewish figures had begun to misread a statement of the medieval French tosafists to mean that Noahides are not forbidden to associate another divinity with the true God; hence, although Christianity is surely idolatry for Jews, it is not so regarded for gentiles.

Later Developments. Some polemical works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reflect the aforementioned and other changes, while others remain true to standard medieval views. The major works of this period include the following.

- Sixteenth century: Avraham Farissol, *Magen Avraham* (Shield of Abraham), Italy; Yaʾir ben Shabbetai of Correggio, *Herev pifiyyot* (Double-edged sword), Italy; Meshullam ben Uri, *Zikhron sefer nitstsaḥon* (Commemoration of the Book of Polemic), provenance uncertain; *Kevod Elohim* (Glory of God), author and provenance uncertain; Yitshaq of Troki, *Ḥizzuq emunah* (Faith strengthened), Poland.
- Seventeenth century: ʿAzriʾel Petahiah Alatino, *Vikkuah* (Disputation), Italy; Yehudah Aryeh de Modena, *Magen va-herev* (Shield and sword), Italy; Yitsḥaq Lupis, *Kur matsref ha-emunot u-marʾeh ha-emet* (The crucible of beliefs and demonstrator of the truth), Syria.

Perhaps the most striking example of a more positive attitude toward Christianity is Avraham Farissol's remark that Jesus might well be regarded as a messiah for the Gentiles. Despite Maimonides' assessment of Christianity's place in the divine scheme, this assertion, highly unusual even around 1500, was virtually unimaginable in the high Middle Ages. In the sixteenth century, Shelomoh de Modena denied the idolatrous character of Christianity by equating incarnation with anthropomorphism and noting that the latter doctrine had been declared nonheretical (although also not true) by the twelfth-century authority Avraham ben David of Posquières. There was also a shift in the Jewish attitude with respect to certain moral questions. In the Middle Ages, for example, most Jews vigorously denied that there was anything unethical about taking interest on loans; in seventeenth-century Italy, both Simone Luzzatto and Yehudah Aryeh de Modena insisted that Jewish—and not just Christian—morality frowns on this activity, but that there is no avoiding cruel economic necessity. Closer Jewish-Christian contacts in Italy also led to greater Christian familiarity with Jewish literature, including the increasingly popular qabbalistic texts, and Jews now found themselves confronted with not only Talmudic but also qabbalistic passages that were supposed to demonstrate Christian doctrines.

Initially Jewish reactions to the Reformation were positive and hopeful. Aside from messianic hopes that were briefly kindled at the prospect of division in what Jews considered the biblical fourth kingdom (cf. *Dn.* 2:41), there was a feeling that many doctrinal points in the various forms of Protestantism seemed rather "Jewish": the rejection of papal authority, indulgences, transubstantiation, and clerical celibacy, as well as a return to the authority of the Bible. Moreover, there was the early work of Luther, *Dass Jesus ein geborener Jude Sei* (That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew; 1523), which appeared to portend an amelioration of the Jewish condition under Protestant rule. When Luther later dashed these hopes, Jewish attitudes changed, and Jews living in Roman Catholic countries now looked to Catholic doctrines that could demonstrate the affinity of Judaism to Catholicism: the emphasis on works, the combination of scripture and tradition, the affirmation of free will and rejection of strict predestinarianism, and the retention of the traditional language of prayer. Needless to say, both Protestants and Catholics continued to affirm the central Christian beliefs that Judaism rejected, and when the Karaite Yitsḥaq of Troki wrote his *summa* of the traditional anti-Christian arguments the work became a standard reference even in the majority Rabbinite community.

The next, even more crucial turning point took place in the eighteenth century, when Jewish history moved into the modern period and Jewish-Christian relations underwent fundamental transformations. Even outside the orbit of the Jewish Enlightenment, Yaʿaqov Emden of Germany maintained that Jesus and even Paul were perfectly good Jews whose purpose was to spread the seven Noahic laws to the gentiles; like Farissol's stance, this is a highly idiosyncratic position that nonetheless reflected a broader phenomenon. The central figure, however, who both foreshadows and exemplifies modern Jewish attitudes to Christianity, is Moses Mendelssohn.

A Christian theologian named Johann Kaspar Lavater publicly challenged Mendelssohn to refute a defense of Christianity that Lavater had translated, or to do what Socrates would have done had he read the book and found it irrefutable. Mendelssohn, who for reasons of ideology, practicality, and temperament was not inclined to engage in polemic, responded reluctantly and cautiously. He had indeed expressed respect for Jesus in light of a conviction that the latter had made no claims to divinity. This did not mean that he was inclined to abandon Judaism, which is in perfect harmony with natural morality and religion, for a faith that contains irrational dogmas. Nevertheless, not all "prejudices" are equally harmful, and Judaism's teaching that righteous gentiles have a portion in the world to come renders missionary activity unnecessary and undesirable. This emphasis on Judaism's tolerance, rationality, morality, and respect for Christianity became the hallmark of modern Jewish discussions of Christianity, but these developments were not without ironic potential for reviving tension and polemic along new and unexpected lines.

Nineteenth-century Reform Judaism and liberal Protestantism arose out of the same environment and shared the fundamental conviction that the central message of religion is ethical. Reform Jews did away with much of the ritual component in Judaism, while liberal Protestants had grave misgivings about much of the dogmatic component of Christianity. What remained in each case was ethical monotheism. This sort of agreement, however, can lead to discord, since in the absence of a religious merger, each faith must claim that it is the quintessential bearer of the ethical message whose basic content is endorsed by both sides.

And precisely such discord developed. Christians complained about the "tasteless gibberish" spouted by Jews who claimed that theirs was the ethical religion *par excellence,* and they insisted that Jesus had introduced an advanced ethic into a Jewish society beset by dry, narrow legalism. This issue exploded into controversy after Adolf von Harnack propounded such views in his lecture series on the essence of Christianity in the winter of 1899–1900, but Jews were upset not only with Harnack but with a number of Christian historians whose scholarly work revealed the same sort of bias against Talmudic religion. The Jewish response was swift, vigorous, and international. In Germany, Leo Baeck's *Das Wesen des Judentums,* Joseph Eschelbacher's *Das Judentum und das Wesen des Christentums,* and Moritz Güdemann's *Jüdische Apologetik* denounced this Christian approach as motivated by considerations that had little to do with objective scholarship. In England, the articles of Israel Abrahams, Claude Montefiore, and Solomon Schechter pursued the same arguments. Somewhat later, Gerald Friedlander's *The Jewish Sources of the Sermon on the Mount* reflected a systematic apologetic effort to compare rabbinic morality with that of Jesus, and Joseph Bloch's *Israel und die Völker* was one of several efforts to counter Christian attacks on Talmudic morality.

This last work really addressed arguments of a more medieval sort, and it should not be assumed that such polemic simply disappeared in the modern period. Vigorous Christian missionary efforts in late eighteenth-century England inspired David Levi's rebuttals, *Letters to Dr. Priestly* and *Dissertations on the Prophecies of the Old Testament;* nineteenth-century challenges led Isaac Ber Levinsohn to write his *Ahiyyah ha-shiloni* and other apologetic works. As recently as the 1970s, the activities of the "Jews for Jesus" and similar groups led the Jewish Community Relations Council of New York to commission *Jews and "Jewish Christianity"* by myself and Michael Wyschogrod. The tone and occasionally the content of such works can reflect modern developments in scholarship, argumentation, and civility; some of them, however, deal with arguments that are largely unchanged since the Middle Ages.

In the wake of the Holocaust, and especially since the Second Vatican Council of the early 1960s, a concerted effort has been made to replace polemics with dialogue. Even in such discussions, however, there are subtle pressures that produce the sort of advocacy that is not altogether alien to polemics. Before Vatican II, Jules Isaac and other Jewish leaders asked Christian groups to reevaluate, on moral as well as on more narrowly theological grounds, the traditional ascription of ongoing guilt to Jews for their role in the crucifixion. This time Jewish arguments fell on receptive ears, and precisely such a reevaluation took place.

With the passage of time, however, some Christian participants in dialogue have begun to inquire about the possibilities of a Jewish reevaluation of the standing of Jesus and the role of Christianity. These inquiries are rooted in the awareness that twentieth-century Jewish scholars like Joseph Klausner, Claude Montefiore, David Flusser, and Pinchas Lapide have provided—with varying degrees of enthusiasm—a positive portrait of a fundamentally Jewish Jesus.

Moreover, Franz Rosenzweig spoke of Christianity as a manifestation of a divine covenant with the gentiles. Even Jewish ecumenists, however, are often wary of far-reaching revisions in their evaluation of Jesus, and it is unlikely that dialogue will produce a perception of Jesus as a quasi messiah or mitigate the historic Jewish distaste for the central dogmas of traditional Christianity.

Finally, a uniquely contemporary dimension has been injected into Jewish-Christian discussions by the establishment of the state of Israel. On the one hand, the establishment of Israel has undercut the old Christian argument based on the Jewish exile; on the other hand, it fits perfectly into some scenarios of the second coming of Jesus that are popular among Christian fundamentalists. In the context of dialogue, Jews have often attempted to explain the theological centrality of the Land of Israel in Judaism, and they have sometimes argued that Christian theology itself should lead to a recognition of the significance of the state of Israel in the divine plan. This delicate balance of politics and theology has produced both understanding and tension. It is but the most recent example of the effect of historical events on a relationship that reflects the unchanging disputes of two venerable traditions as well as the dynamic interplay of two communities acting and reacting in an ever changing world.

SEE ALSO Christianity; Jesus; Judaism; Paul the Apostle.

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POLEMICS: MUSLIM-JEWISH POLEMICS

Down to the eighteenth century the majority of Jews lived in countries under Muslim rule, where they shared with Christians the status of "protected" minorities, tolerated on sufferance and subject at times and in certain areas to discrimination, ill will, abuse, and assault.

Arabic literature, the classical repository of theological lore in Islam, expresses and reflects the situation over centuries. While most of this lore is of Muslim origin, Jews and Christians have contributed to it upon occasion with Arabic writings added to their literary output in Hebrew and Syriac, respectively.

The vast Arabic literature that developed in the early centuries of Islam included works on religion, sectarianism, the treatment of the minorities, and so forth. Historians and travelers seeking to sketch the development of faiths, the rise of Islam, and its victorious march through countries and continents also threw light on the non-Muslims and their beliefs. Scholarly discussion concerning non-Muslims inevitably tended to indicate the miscreants' errors. Thus polemics appeared, and, as disputations took place, polemics gave rise to defensive apologetics.

MUSLIM POLEMICS. Indeed, Muslims knew from their own scripture that Islam is a continuation of earlier dispensations, and they were familiar with the Prophet's attitude toward their carriers—the Jews and Christians. According to the Qurʾān, the Jews (identified there as Yahūd or Banū Isrāʾīl, "Children of Israel") were an ancient people, descended from Abraham and later led out of Egypt by Moses. Favored by the Lord, who sent prophets to teach and guide them, they nonetheless became enmeshed in sin and disobedience, worshiping the golden calf, killing prophets, and rejecting Jesus, and were finally punished by destruction, exile, and dispersal. Further, the Qurʾān indicated that the Prophet had not only fought the pagan Arabs but also clashed with the Jews living in Arabia, especially those in Medina, and that the struggle had turned into a military clash when the Jews refused to accept the Prophet and his revelation.

These data were extended and embellished in the vast collections of traditions (*ḥadīth*) that arose in early Islam and were further enriched by an exegetical turn, as Qurʾanic allusions to biblical stories gave rise to commentaries on ancient Hebrew lore. Although the Jews had been instructed about the coming of Muḥammad, the Muslim commentators explained, they ignored these allusions or sought to interpret them away or to conceal them. They also fabricated stories among the *Isrāʾīlīyāt* (narratives set in the era of the Banū Isrāʾīl) that were apt to mislead true believers. Jewish converts to Islam also supplied information—albeit misleading—on Hebrew lore and the Jewish past. Kaʿb al-Aḥbār is the prototypical figure among them: a Jew from Yemen, he embraced Islam half a dozen years after the Prophet's death and was considered an expert on earlier scriptures. And presumably the anti-Jewish animus of the Near Eastern Christians percolated into Islamic circles following the Christians' conversion to Islam.

The earliest polemics, which can be traced to the eighth- and ninth-century disputations at the Abbasid court in Baghdad, are usually directed against both Jews and Christians. Only gradually does a polemical literature directed specifically against Jews emerge, beginning with special chapters on Jews and Judaism and with the writings of Jewish converts to Islam. Although such works are mentioned early on by Arab historians, the earliest surviving examples date only from the eleventh century.

Ibn Ḥazm. The earliest preserved substantial work of Islamic polemics against Jews and Judaism comes from the pen of Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064), a leading figure of Islamic learning and Arabic literature in Spain. He dealt with the subject repeatedly and is the only major figure of Arabic letters to treat it.

Ibn Ḥazm apparently felt that his road to political success in the kingdom of Granada was blocked by the preeminence of the Jews, and in particular by their leader, Ibn Nagrela (known in the Jewish community as Shemu'el ha-Nagid, 993–1056), a successful administrator, diplomat, and military commander. Both Ibn Ḥazm and the Nagid wrote on theology, and both were poets, one writing in Arabic, the other in Hebrew. They met when they were in their early twenties, but the meeting was not conducive to mutual respect and appreciation.

In Ibn Ḥazm's major work, *Kitāb al-fiṣal wa-al-niḥal* (Book of groups and sects), a survey of theology, a section of nearly 130 pages is devoted to a critique of Jewish beliefs and texts. Passages from the Hebrew scriptures, quoted to reveal their deficiencies, are followed by counterparts from the Qurʾān, which are cited to demonstrate their excellence by comparison. Ibn Ḥazm displays a good knowledge of *Genesis*, but his knowledge of the rest of the Hebrew scriptures is weak, and he is unable to distinguish biblical data from later legends. It is possible that he used a list of suitable passages ("testimonies") culled for the purpose by others. He even cites a few items of Talmudic lore. He displays an interest in the origins of Hebrew words but here too falls prey to misinformation: quoting an informant, he explains, for example, that the name *Israel* was derived from *Asarʿel* ("he detained God," *Gn.* 32:25–31, where Jacob wrestles with divine beings and prevails), thus confusing the Hebrew roots *ʿsr* and *srh*.

In his view, the Hebrew scriptures are replete with contradictions, absurdities, anthropomorphisms, and objectionable and irrelevant matter. The Muslims should feel no reverence toward the scriptures of the Jews and Christians, he argues, and should reject these faulty, distorted remnants of the true scripture. Reverence is due only to the inimitable truth and beauty of the Qurʾān.

Ibn Ḥazm is particularly eager to point out discrepancies in the biblical text, especially where numbers are involved, as with varying statements on the length of the bondage in Egypt or the population of the Israelites during the wilderness period. Other contradictions he claims to find in the text include the report in *Exodus* 7:20–22 that after all the water in Egypt turned into blood, the native magicians repeated the deed: where, he asks, did they get the water to prove their skill? Likewise, citing *Exodus* 12:38, he asks where the Hebrews obtained the multitude of cattle in the desert, and further, if they had such cattle, why did they complain of lack of meat? Among the anthropomorphisms he cites are passages such as "The Lord is a man of war" (*Ex.* 15:3); "And they saw the God of Israel, and there was under his feet, as if it were a pavement of sapphire stone" (*Ex.* 24:10); and the Lord's various pronouncements in *Exodus* 33 where he "spoke unto Moses face to face. . . . And he said, 'You cannot see my face. . . . And I shall take away my hand and you shall see my back, but my face shall not be seen'" (vv. 11, 10, 22–23).

Unlike the Qurʾān, Ibn Ḥazm argues, the Hebrew scriptures are devoid of data on reward and punishment in the life to come. Yet the Qurʾān itself refers to biblical revelation, especially to that of Moses. How is this possible? Because, he claims, there was a true revelation of the divine word to Moses, but it was not preserved. The numerous civil strifes, wars, invasions, and defeats in ancient Israel destroyed not merely the Hebrew kingdoms but also their archives and with them, the scriptures, which went up in flames. There was no continuous tradition of learning. Indeed, there was merely one copy of the scriptures remaining in the hands of the priests, who knew only chapters, fractions of it. In Babylon, Ezra the priest concocted the Hebrew scriptures from remnants of the revelation as it was remembered by other priests and from his own additions.

Here Ezra is denounced as a master of deception lacking reason and conscience (as well as a knowledge of arithmetic). Yet, Ibn Ḥazm points out, it was Ezra who shaped the new religion during the Babylonian captivity by substituting the synagogue service for the ruined Temple of Solomon. Since the days of Moses, he says, *Deuteronomy* 32 (*Haʾazinu*, The Song of Moses) is the only chapter of the Hebrew scriptures that has been taught to the people, and even this chapter—which he quotes in full—is replete with passages that cannot be of divine origin, such as verses 20–22: "God is their father." Anyone who knows the Jews, continues our author, knows they are a filthy and witless rabble, repulsive, vile, perfidious, cowardly, despicable, mendacious. Hence Muslims should seek guidance about the children of Israel not from the Ezra-produced scripture but from the Qurʾān, which also includes data about the prophets (such as Hūd and Ṣāliḥ) who were unknown to the Jews.

Ibn Ḥazm maintains that the Jews reject abrogation of their scriptures and any suggestion of a post-Mosaic dispensation, to either Jesus or Muḥammad. For them the omniscient God's decree is immutable, and any change or caprice in divine will is not feasible. Without such a sudden change (*badāʾ*) in divine pleasure, however, a new dispensation would not be feasible and thus, they assert, would contradict divine omniscience. But this is wrong, Ibn Ḥazm counters. Precepts are commands to perform certain acts over a limited period, beyond which time they may turn into their opposites. Circumstances in space and time are known to God, and it is his pleasure to grant life, death, and resurrection, power, decline, restoration, virtue, and evil, belief and deviation. For the Jews, work is permissible on Friday, but prohibited on Saturday, only to become permissible again on Sunday.

Indeed, the Jews recognize that the law of Jacob differs from the law of Moses. Jacob married Leah and Rachel, who were sisters, yet the law of Moses (*Lv.* 18:18) proscribes such a marriage. The people of Gibeon escaped annihilation to become hewers of wood and drawers of water for the sanctuary after they fraudulently exacted a treaty from Joshua (*Jos.* 9). God's wrath was about to consume the Israelites, but Moses' fervent appeal made the Lord repent (*Ex.* 32:10–14). Abraham offered curd and milk and meat to the angels (*Gn.* 18), but this was not a kosher diet (as set forth in *Deuteronomy* 14:3–21 and elsewhere).

Ibn Ḥazm is quick to notice irregularities attested in the lineage of biblical figures and points with gusto to the extent of bastardization among them. The lineage of the patriarchs, prophets, and kings is sullied with incest and fornication: Abraham married Sarah, his sister; Lot was seduced by his daughters; Reuben had relations with Bilhah, his father's concubine; from Judah and his daughter-in-law Tamar sprang the line of David, Solomon, and the expected Messiah.

The few samples of postbiblical lore that he knew, possibly through the Karaites, horrified him as "old wives' tales": data for example, from the ancient treatise *Shiʿur qomah* on the measurement of the divine body; the Lord's grieving about the destruction of the Temple; reference to the angel Meṭaṭron as "the lesser Lord." He also recounts that, according to the Jews, Paul was sent to the disciples of Jesus in order to mislead them into the belief in Christ's divinity. Thus Ibn Ḥazm concludes that the Jews are liars and tricksters. This trait begins with Jacob filching Esau's birthright (*Gn.* 25:29–34) and Isaac's blessing (*Gn.* 27). Though I have seen many of them, he reports, I found only two who were devoted to truth.

Although he holds that the Hebrew scriptures are forgeries and harps on the necessity of rejecting them completely and relying instead on the Qurʾān, he cannot refrain from quoting some passages that seem to fit Muslim notions. Thus he accepts *Deuteronomy* 33:2 ("The Lord came from Sinai and rose from Seir unto them; he shined forth from Mount Paran") as an "annunciation" of the advent of Jesus (via Seir, in Edom, later identified with Christendom, while Paran was taken to be a reference to Mecca). Likewise he finds in *Deuteronomy* 18:18 ("I will raise them a prophet from among their brethren like unto thee") an annunciation of Muḥammad's ministry, since the Arabs, the progeny of Ismāʿīl (Ishmael), are the brethren among whom a prophet was to arise.

Ibn Ḥazm also wrote a treatise against a pamphlet alleged to have been composed by Ibn Nagrela (or his son) against the Qurʾān. Although he was unable to find a copy of this text and knew of it only from a Muslim author's refutations, he nonetheless proceeded to attack the Jewish leader and the rest of the infidels who had become so arrogant. In this treatise he also inveighs against the Muslim rulers, who enjoy their luxurious palaces and forget their duty to preserve strict Muslim domination over the infidels.

The impact of Ibn Ḥazm's polemical writings is unclear. He is not quoted by later writers, and it is possible that his adherence to the Ẓāhirī school of theology—a distinct minority within Sunnī Islam—may have limited the spread of his views. At least one brief Hebrew tract, Shelomoh ben Avraham Adret's thirteenth-century *Maʾamar ʿal Yishmaʿeʾl* (Treatise on Ishmael), reproduces and refutes passages of Ibn Ḥazm's argument on forgery, however. In any case, the full scope of the Muslim-Jewish controversy was given its first systematic exposition in Ibn Ḥazm's work: abrogation (*naskh*), distortion or forgery in the scripture (*taḥrīf*), anthropomorphism (*tajsīm*), the preserved annunciation of Islam and its prophet (*aʿlām*).

Samauʿal al-Maghribī. The pamphlet *Ifḥām al-Yahūd* (Silencing the Jews), written in 1163 in Marāgha (northern Iran), is the most important and influential work of Muslim polemics against Judaism. Its author was Samauʿal al-Maghribī (c. 1125–1175), a Jew who converted to Islam and penned the pamphlet to mark his conversion. (It is not to be confused, however, with the Arabic pamphlet of Samuel Marrocanus, a convert to Christianity, which was translated into Latin and later into many Western languages.)

Samauʿal's father was a minor Hebrew poet who had presumably fled Morocco during a wave of persecution, settled in Baghdad, and married a woman of a distinguished family. Samauʿal, who studied under the eminent philosopher Abū al-Barakāt (also a Jewish convert to Islam), won fame as a mathematician and physician. His Jewish training seems to have been limited. In an autobiography added to his pamphlet in 1167, he claims that he was moved to convert by rational thinking along mathematical lines. Although he also describes visions of the prophets Samuel and Muḥammad, he still insists that purely logical arguments prevailed in his mind. A note of self-admiration is evident throughout:

> Then, after I had trained my mind on mathematical studies, especially geometry with its demonstrations, I asked myself about the differences in religious faiths and tenets. . . . I realized that reason is the supreme arbiter and that its rule should be established generally in . . . our world. . . . We realize that reason does not oblige us to accept ancestral tradition without examining it as to its soundness. . . . Mere reference to fathers and ancestry, however, is no proof. . . . I realize that the Jews had no proof . . . about . . . Moses other than the evidence of the chain of transmission, which is available for Jesus and Muḥammad just as it is for Moses . . . then all three are true prophets. . . . I have not seen Moses . . . nor have I witnessed his miracles, nor those of any other prophet. . . . A sensible person cannot believe one and disbelieve another of these prophets. . . . Rather, it is rationally incumbent either to believe all of them or to reject all of them. . . . As for disbelieving all, reason does not dictate that either. For we find that they all preached lofty morals, advocated the virtues and fought the vices, and regulated the world in a fashion beneficial to mankind.

In Samauʿal's view, the record of the Jews in scientific advancement cannot compare with that of the Greeks and others; likewise, the literature of the Muslims is overwhelmingly superior.

The key issue of abrogation is demonstrated both logically and historically. Jewish legists, he says, offered discordant views on problems; how can they all be of divine origin? Indeed the law itself abounds in contradictions: in *Exodus*, for example, all the firstborn are consecrated to worship (13:2); in *Numbers*, only the Levites (8:18). As purification with the ashes of the red heifer (*Nm.* 19:11, 19:16, 19:17) is no longer available, he contends that the Jews must consider themselves impure. Prayers on exile, dispersion, and hope of restoration are clearly of late origin, yet they should not have been introduced at all in view of the injunction against adding to or diminishing from the divine word (*Dt.* 13:1).

An array of arguments is cited to prove that Jesus and Muḥammad were announced in the scriptures: *Deuteronomy* 18:15 announces a prophet from among their brethren; in *Genesis* 17:20, God promises to multiply Ishmael (here the letters of the Hebrew words for "exceedingly," *bi-mʾod meʾod*, numerically equal 92, which is the numerical value of the name *Muḥammad); Genesis* 21:21 deals with three revelations, the last in the abode of Ishmael, which is that of the Arabs.

The critique of the scripture follows. According to Samauʿal, it perished long ago owing to the vicissitudes in the history of the Hebrews. King Saul (*1 Sm.* 22:16–20) massacred the line of Aaron. Centuries passed before Ezra, of the priestly Aaronids, reconstructed the scripture. As the priests begrudged authority to royalty, he added two stories derogatory to the lineage of David. One, that of the daughters of Lot (*Gn.* 19), establishes the origin of Moab and thus the illegitimacy of Ruth, the ancestor of the House of David, nay, of the expected messiah. The other story (*Gn.* 38) indicates that Boaz, husband of Ruth, was born of the union of Judah with Tamar.

Among other criticisms, Samauʿal also charges that the law is oppressive and a burden (*iṣr*), as demonstrated by the dietary rules that separate Jews from non-Jews. Jews, he points out, call Muḥammad a fool and a raving madman (*meshuggaʿ*, cf. *Hos.* 9:7) and also "unfit" (Heb., *pasul*, rhyming with *rasūl*, Arab., "messenger," a name for the Prophet as Messenger of God); likewise they refer to the Qurʾān as "dishonor" (*qalon*).

No doubt there is a similarity between the arguments of Ibn Ḥazm in the eleventh century and those of Samauʿal in the twelfth. Here it is probable that both were reproducing older material concerning the scriptural passages and the theory that Ezra authored the Pentateuch (the hypothesis of Ezra's role in the history of the scripture goes back to late Hellenistic texts; see Edmund Stein's *Alttestamentliche Bibelkritik in der späthellenistischen Literatur*, Lwów, 1935).

Samauʿal's tract in turn proved very influential as a quarry for Muslim authors over the centuries. His arguments reappear in *Al-ajwibah al-fākhirah* (The Perfect Replies), written by the Egyptian al-Qarāfī (d. 1285), and in works by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah (d. 1350). In copying Samauʿal's original pamphlet, which contained Hebrew passages in Hebrew characters followed by Arabic transliteration and translation, later scribes omitted the alien Hebrew characters. The tract was printed in Egypt in 1939 and again in the 1960s.

Al-Rāqilī. From somewhat different circumstances came Abū Zakarīyāʾ Yaḥyā al-Rāqilī's tract *Taʾyīd al-millah* (Support of the Faith), written in Huesca in 1360 and directed against Jews and Christians. Living in the Spanish kingdom of Aragon after the Christian reconquest, he expressed bitterness over the degradation of Islam, as Muslims fell from a position of domination to that of a tolerated minority, and especially over the treatment of Muslim peasants by Jewish officials and tax agents on behalf of the crown. Reading the biblical texts in translation, he "extracted from them passages and evidences with which to refute the Jews." God had chastised them, he observes, with permanent dispersion (*al-ghalūth al-dāʾim*) and humiliation. He mentions disputations and arguments (*al-munāẓarāt wa-al-iḥtijāj*) and hopes that God "may take us out of the country of polytheism to the lands of the Muslims."

The Hebrew scriptures, he says, show that the Jews were a rebellious, unfaithful, ungrateful, accursed breed. They transgressed against every one of the Ten Commandments. According to al-Rāqilī's historical reconstruction, Hagar, the mother of Ishmael, was Abraham's wife, not his concubine. She was not a mere slave but the daughter of an Egyptian prince, and in any case, even a slave could be a prophet, as with Joseph, who was Potiphar's slave. God ordered Abraham to sacrifice his son, then prevented the patriarch from doing so. This, al-Rāqilī concludes, is an evident case of abrogation. But even though the Jewish scriptures are not reliable, he cites *Isaiah* 21:7 ("a troop of asses, a troop of camels") as an annunciation of the prophethood of Jesus and Muḥammad, respectively.

Al-Rāqilī's pamphlet belongs to a lower level of disputation conducted between two oppressed communities under Christian domination. Also within this category of less sophisticated works, appealing more to the common Muslim reader, are two pamphlets by fourteenth-century Jewish converts to Islam. One came from the pen of Saʿīd ibn Ḥasan of Alexandria, who, in 1320, while living in the Great Mosque of Damascus, wrote an account of his conversion. Dangerously ill and expecting to die, he suddenly heard a voice urging him to read a surah of the Qurʾān. He complied and was miraculously saved. He became such a fervent believer that he turned against the Jewish and Christian unbelievers and in his tracts, which quote biblical texts, demonstrates no qualms about distortions and absurdities.

Such is also the case with ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Islāmī from Ceuta, who wrote toward the end of the century. In addition to relying on *gimaṭriyyah*, the argument from the numerical value of names and words, he accused the Jews of fire worship, considered Ahab the transgressor (*1 Kgs.* 16–18) a righteous king, nay, a Muslim believer, and presented the Hebrew phrase "The gentile is like a dog" as an authentic text.

JEWISH APOLOGETICS.

Jewish writings, in Arabic and in Hebrew, attempted to present a defense against Islamic attacks. They were apologetic replies to Muslim arguments and to an extent constituted an effort to reinterpret the Jewish cause in the light of the new intellectual atmosphere under Islam.

Maimonides. Although Moses Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon, d. 1204) warned against engaging in disputations with the Muslims, because they did not accept the Hebrew Bible as a revealed text and thus shared no common ground, his *Epistle to Yemen* is virtually a polemical treatise. Its purpose was to prepare the synagogue public to counter Muslim arguments: "Some hearts have gone astray . . . faith weakened," he tells his readers. "Ours is the true and authentic divine religion revealed to us through Moses. . . . In assaults upon us some use brute force; others, controversy. Christianity and Islam combine the two methods."

The Muslim polemicists, he continues, claim to have found Muḥammad's name and country in Hebrew scriptures (*Gn.* 17:20; *Dt.* 33:2, 18:15). Jewish converts to Islam (presumably Samauʿal) quoting these verses cannot really believe in them; their true purpose is to win favor in the eyes of the gentiles. Muslims, unable to indicate a single verse, accuse the Jews of having altered or concealed the text. In fact, he points out, the scriptures had been translated into Greek, Aramaic, and Latin centuries before Muḥammad appeared.

> On account of . . . our sins God has hurled us into the midst of this people, the Arabs, who have persecuted us severely and passed baneful and discriminatory legislation against us. . . . Never did a nation molest, degrade, debase, and hate us as much as they. . . . No matter how much we suffer and elect to remain at peace with them, they stir up strife and sedition, as David predicted (*Ps.* 120:7): "I am all peace, but when I speak, they are for war."

He concludes with a warning about the danger involved in reading his epistle, but he hopes that "the secret of the Lord may be entrusted to those who fear him (*Ps.* 23:14)."

Ibn Kammūnah. In a class by itself stands *Tanqīḥ al-abḥāth fī al-milal al-thalāth* (Critical Inquiry into the Three Faiths), written in Baghdad in 1280 by Saʿd ibn Manṣūr ibn Kammūnah. With the caliphate under Mongol rule, Islam could no longer be regarded as the faith of the ruler but remained the predominant faith of the masses. A review of Ibn Kammūnah's book in a sermon before a Friday mosque audience produced an angry mob assault, and the author had to be carried out of town hidden in a trunk.

The work begins with a brief discussion of religion in general, followed by chapters on the three monotheistic faiths. Two-thirds of the book is devoted to Islam and is based on Muslim texts; it is written in an unusually dispassionate spirit. Nonetheless, while Islam and its prophet receive a fair treatment, the cumulative impression is not favorable.

The chapter on Judaism contains a brief survey of biblical data and Jewish beliefs, followed by seven objections culled from Samauʿal al-Maghribī. These are rebutted in turn with arguments reflecting the views of Yehudah ha-Levi and Maimonides.

Ibn Kammūnah points out that communities may live side by side for centuries and yet know each other only slightly:

> But the contact of Muslims with Jews does not necessitate a Muslim inquiry into what the Jews assert, especially since the Jews are prevented from declaring their creed, and their [canonical] books are in a tongue the Muslims do not understand. The contact of a minority with a majority affects the majority and the minority differently. Thus, when a linguistic minority is in contact with a linguistic majority, the minority learns the language of the majority while the majority does not learn the language of the minority or, at best, learns it much later. Moreover, despite numerous contacts of the bulk of the Jews with the Muslims, many Jews still do not know the basic Islamic tenets known by the rank-and-file Muslims, let alone the elite. It is even more natural that a similar situation should obtain on the Muslim side, or, at the very least, that both sides should be equal [in mutual ignorance].

Moreover, the Muslims are split into various factions anathemizing one another. He lists the Christians' internal dissensions and remarks:

> I did not find most of these retorts in discussions by Christians; I supplied these retorts on behalf of the Christians, and in supplementation of the investigation into their belief.

This evoked the admiration of a Christian opponent.

In discussing the Muslims' factions and their respective claims, he notes:

> There is room for speculation in this matter. Namely, many a person will, for worldly goals and motives, do things for which, as he most assuredly knows, the founder of his respective religion has threatened severe punishment in the hereafter. This belief will not prevent a man from perpetrating that forbidden evil. Such is the case of the adulterer, wine-imbiber, and slanderer. In the quest for victory over opponents, human nature will urge the fabrication of reports favoring one's religion. Ignoring the prohibition against lying, a man will sometimes fabricate such a report in the [mistaken] belief that he will merit reward therefor. It may also be fabricated by one who joined a faith opportunistically—without inner conviction but rather in the quest for success, like many who nowadays join the faith of Islam in order to prevail over rivals, although they are not believers by conviction. If your assertion were true, no Muslim would ever have fabricated a false tradition; the contrary, however, is the case.

Summarizing the arguments for Muḥammad's prophethood, he contends that they remain unproven and remarks:

> That is why, to this day, we never see anyone converting to Islam unless in terror, or in quest of power, or to avoid heavy taxation, or to escape humiliation, or if taken prisoner, or because of infatuation with a Muslim woman, or for some similar reason. Nor do we see a respected, wealthy, and pious non-Muslim well versed in both his faith and that of Islam, going over to the Islamic faith without some of the aforementioned or similar motives.

Likewise, he rejects the argument that victory and power are proof of divine support:

> How, since the dominion of idol-worshipers and fire-worshipers continued for thousands of years in numberless countries throughout the world, can a multitude of followers be proof of a claim? I found they had no rebuttal to these arguments beyond the claim that the Islamic faith obviously excels over other faiths, and that it combines a maximum quantity and quality of perfection not attained by any other known faith. But he who, in rancor, makes this claim will never be able to present proof of it.

DECLINE OF THE GENRE. After 1400, Muslim polemics were largely reiterations of earlier arguments presented in insignificant pamphlets. One noteworthy exception is a disputation conducted in 1796 by a Persian scholar, Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdī Ṭabāṭabāʾī; known through an account in Arabic, this event appears to have been characterized by uncommon mildness and magnanimity. Within the Ottoman empire, probably from Christian circles, it was charged from time to time that the Jews used (Christian) blood to bake the unleavened bread for Passover. This "blood libel" emerged in Damascus in 1840 and resurfaced repeatedly thereafter.

In the nineteenth century, anti-Jewish moods and arguments began to penetrate the Muslim world from Western sources, at first especially through French anti-Semitism. In the twentieth century, the conflict in Palestine and the rise of Zionism were bound to rekindle the embers of the medieval controversy as a religious appendage to the conflict. But the literature of the religious aspect has proven extremely poor in content, confined to reiteration of arguments from the eleventh and twelfth centuries: passages from the Qurʾān and the traditions, a flood of epithets characterizing the Jews as eternally vicious fiends against the Muslims, against Muslims and Christians, and indeed, against all humanity, as enemies ever plotting against what is human and good, for the sake of world domination by Jewry and Israel.

All in all, Islamic polemics directed against Jews are an arid area of insubstantial writing, of minor interest to the Muslims themselves. For their part, the Jews kept a low profile and preferred not to retort. But many allusions to the Muslim arguments can be found in medieval prayers, as well as in exegetical and theological works.

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MOSHE PERLMANN (1987)

POLEMICS: CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM POLEMICS

The Qurʾān itself determines the polemic area between Muslims and Christians, because it states the terms and sets the limits of Christian error. The issues it defines have been disputed ever since: God is not three; Jesus is not the Son of God; he was not crucified (cf. surah 4:157, 171), and the Bible has been falsified and misinterpreted. This "corruption" (*taḥrīf*) includes suppressing forecasts of the Prophet. Christians have similarly sought to discredit the Qurʾān, but they have been under no comparable restraint in choosing their themes, and they have often attacked the reputation of the Prophet in order to argue that his revelation was contrived and fictitious.

MUSLIM POLEMIC. Christians long remained a majority under Muslim rule, but they began to attack Islam as soon as they realized that it had come to stay; however, it is convenient here to consider first the Muslim attack on *taḥrīf.* One of the first Muslims to argue that Christians had misunderstood rather than falsified their scriptures was a Zaydi Shīʿī from the Yemen, al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm (d. AH 246/860 CE). Until the severe reaction against the colonialism of the last century, most Muslim polemic was purely doctrinal. In his *Book of Religion and Empire*, ʿAlī ibn Sahl al-Ṭabarī (ninth century), a former Nestorian, aims, perhaps to justify his conversion, to show that the Christian scriptures foretell Muḥammad and enjoin Islam, and his *Answer to Christians*, concerned with Christology, is again based on his knowledge of Christian sources. Supposedly earlier (c. 820) is the *Apology* of al-Hāshimī, but we know it in conjunction with its refutation by the pseudonymous ʿAbd al-Masīḥ ibn Isḥāq al-Kindī, attributed to Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī (d. 974), and it is likely to be at most a revised and Christian-edited Muslim argument. Although it abuses Christianity, attacks the doctrine of the Trinity, despises the Cross, and deprecates Christian fasting, it plays into the hands of the refuter and has a contrived air. More typical is the writing of al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 869), who is aware of arguments actually used by Christians (e.g., that the Qurʾān misrepresents their beliefs), but his knowledge is superficial, and he is much put out by the existence of different Christian orthodoxies.

The Muslim critique of Christianity increased rapidly in knowledge and sophistication. The attack by Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq on the contradictions inherent in orthodox Christology seems to have made a considerable impact and was refuted at length by Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī. Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064) understands *taḥrīf* in the literal sense and devotes most of his *Discernment of the Confessions and Sects* to scriptural dispute and to the defects of the Gospels and other books of the Bible. Al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), in his *Excellent Refutation of the Divinity of Jesus Christ*, uses Christian scripture (known, says his Christian editor, from Muslim sources) to criticize in turn the christological positions of the Chalcedonian, non-Chalcedonian, and Nestorian churches. Muslims were now at grips with Christian apologists. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī (d. 1285), answering the brief *Letter to a Muslim* by Paul (al-Rāhib, i.e., the Monk) of Antioch, Melkite bishop of Sidon (fl. 1160), shows a sound knowledge of Christian scripture and discusses such varied doctrines as the Eucharist and Qurʾanic abrogation (*nāsikh*, *mansūkh*). Ibn Taymīyah (d. 1328) also answered Paul, as a courteous address to the king of Cyprus, contrasting the Qurʾān and the Bible in authenticity and expounding long arguments against the Trinity. These disputes are quite inconclusive on both sides.

Toward the end of the European Middle Ages we begin to find Western writers converted from Christianity in the course of the Ottoman advance. ʿAbd Allāh al-Turjumān (early fourteenth century), a former Franciscan, discussed the authenticity of the holy books again in his *Intelligent Man's*

Gift in Reply to Christians. Murād Bay Turjumān, a Hungarian serving at the Porte, wrote a defense of Islam in Turkish and Latin (1556) and praises of the Prophet in Turkish, Latin, and Hungarian; he writes devotionally, often using the terminology of Western religious philosophy. The forged *Gospel of Barnabas*, in an unexplained sixteenth-century Italian manuscript, an *evangelium Muhammadanum* intended to accord with the Qurʾanic Jesus, has been conjectured to have a Morisco or convert background.

CHRISTIAN POLEMIC. Early polemic is at its best in the dialogue, notably that of the catholicos Timotheos I with the caliph al-Mahdī in about 781 and that of Timotheos's coreligionist Ilyās of Nisibis with the vizier Abū al-Qāsim al-Maghribī in 1026. These Nestorians naturally exploited a Christology that was at least superficially more understandable to Muslims. Such dialogue may not always have taken place as recorded, or even at all, but their conciliatory tone offers a Christian apologetic intended to be inoffensive to a Muslim audience. Timotheos's presentation of the Prophet as "in the way of the prophets" is effective, without conceding any Christian essential.

This was not the usual pattern, even in the form of dialogue. Muslim polemic was often contemptuous, but it was never as virulent as Christian abuse of Islam and the Prophet, and much matter that was largely ridiculous or irrelevant, and always offensive, cannot have been used to impress Muslims, unless imposed by force in regions reconquered by Christians. It may be assumed that polemic develops out of widespread previous discussion, and that much remains at a low level of oral culture. Even in intellectual criticism of the Qurʾanic text, writers forced it to mean what they chose, including, in some Byzantine cases, the worship of Aphrodite. The Byzantine tradition includes authors writing in Greek from within Islam or from outside, among them John of Damascus (d. 749), Theodore Abū Qurrah (eighth-ninth century), George Hamartolus ("the Monk"), Nicetas of Byzantium (both ninth century), and the pseudonymous author of the *Letter to the Emir of Damascus* (c. 920–940). Nicetas is hypercritical in his treatment of the Qurʾanic text; all these tend to attack the Prophet, especially his wars and his marriage to Zaynab bint Jaḥsh, the influence on him of a suppositious Arian adviser, and the doctrine of a material Paradise. The pseudo- Kindī (mentioned above), writing in Arabic, is the most consistently unscrupulous in distorting every episode of the Prophet's life as self-indulgence (mostly sexual) and aggression (banditry, assassination). He deliberately ignored the sense of the Prophet's holiness in the sources he must have used, and he supported the gratuitous notion that the Prophet expected the resurrection or ascension of his dead body.

These themes had already entered the West by the middle of the ninth century. The miniature polemic found in Pamplona by Eulogius of Cordova (d. 859), archbishop elect of Toledo, and encapsulated in his *Liber apologeticus martyrum*, contains nearly all the elements used by al-Kindī and by later Western polemicists: the Prophet is accused of aggression and libertinism; the Qurʾān is ridiculed; much is made of the disappointed resurrection; the Arabs of the Hejaz are described as brutish. Eulogius was the pupil of the abbot Speraindeo, who had written a short polemic, now lost, in which he attacked the Qurʾanic Paradise as a brothel (*lupanar*), but perhaps Eulogius derived from him his fairer knowledge of the Qurʾanic theology of Jesus. Eulogius's friend and fellow student Alvarus attacked Islam along the same general lines in almost hysterical rhetoric based on Old Testament parallels.

Except for this use of the Old Testament, all these attacks were renewed at the Spanish Reconquest. Most medieval polemic derived from Spanish sources, supplemented, but not extensively, from the literature of the Latin states in the East. Peter of Alfonso contributed Jewish folklore to the polemic pool, but the next important step was taken when Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, visited Spain from 1142 to 1143 and commissioned translations from the Arabic, including a version of the Qurʾān (little better than a paraphrase) and one of the pseudo-Kindī. This Qurʾān circulated widely in manuscript until it was printed in the sixteenth century. Al-Kindī reinforced the libels on the Prophet with circumstantial detail of which the West had no other knowledge, and his work was circulated widely in the abbreviated form that appears in Vincent de Beauvais's encyclopedic *Speculum historiale.* Generally, the main polemic heads were *luxuriosus* (voluptuous) and *bellicosus* (aggressive), but Abbot Peter's own polemic, apparently never translated into Arabic, is consciously accommodating (on the information available to him) and much concerned with the authentication of scripture. The invalidation of the Qurʾān is a main theme of the mysterious *Contrarietas elpholica*, which Mark of Toledo translated early in the thirteenth century from an unknown Arabic original. He also made a much better translation of the Qurʾān, but it was generally ignored.

The Dominican Ricoldo da Monte Croce (c. 1243–1320) traveled to Baghdad (he was there about 1291), but the discussions he claims to have had with amiable Muslim divines left no mark on his polemic, derived from the *Contrarietas* and other inherited material. He attacks the Qurʾān as confused and obscure in ways equally applicable to the prophetic books of the Old Testament. The *Quadruplex reprobatio*, perhaps by another Dominican, Ramón Martí (c. 1220–1285), shows a detailed knowledge of genuine sources, such as al-Bukhārī and Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj, which he must have combed to find instances of Islamic jurisprudence objectionable to Christians as "contrary to reason" or "contrary to the public good," while ignoring the rest. Ramón Lull (1235–1315), "proving" the Trinity by "compelling reasons" in a number of works, had little impact, however. Peter Paschasius, a Mercedarian (c. 1227–1300), used authentic knowledge from the life of the Prophet by Ibn Isḥāq (d. 767) in a forlorn attempt to justify the more absurd of the Christian libels on the Prophet then circulating.

These, many of them originating in the East, enjoyed a great vogue, not only in two Latin poems and a French paraphrase but also in many fragments and in chronicles, annals, and various occasional works: an assortment of recurring legends of how a fraudulent holy book was "revealed" by a pigeon or a calf, of how Muḥammad was the dupe of a renegade Christian monk, or was even himself a frustrated cardinal. The *chansons de geste* describe a pantheon of Saracen gods, but it is doubtful if they were intended as more than a joke.

Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225–1274) advised against polemic that could not be based on shared premises. Nicolas of Cusa (1400–1464), although his polemic method shows no real advance, seems to be sincerely seeking conciliation in his *De pace fidei*. Gradually the refinement of scholarly method eliminated the worst absurdities. The greatest of the seventeenth-century Qurʾanic specialists, Ludovico Maracci (1612–1700), was scrupulously exact, but rigidly critical on traditional lines; his English imitator, George Sale (c. 1697–1736), was more sympathetic, although he is regarded by Muslims today as anti-Islamic. The old polemic lines were merely re-oriented toward the general critique of religion by the Enlightenment (e.g., Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, 1696–1697, s. v. *Mahomet*; Boulainvilliers's *Vie de Mahomed*, 1730; Gibbon; Voltaire).

THE MODERN PERIOD. Polemic revived in the nineteenth century but was profoundly modified on both sides by the colonial experience. Orientalists and missionaries alike considered themselves the intellectual and social superiors of nations ruled by Europeans. Improved historical methods introduced a new precision without necessarily changing old prejudice. Protestant missions, from the polemicist Carl Pfander (1803–1865) to a culmination in the World Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh in 1910, never escaped intellectually from the medieval polemic, but they added some contemporary social criticism, especially of the status of women in Islam. On the Catholic side we may compare Cardinal Lavigerie (1825–1892), archbishop of Algiers, and his alliance with the *mission civilisatrice* of France. Political subordination forced Muslims to take the defensive.

A nineteenth-century *aggiornamento* led by Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817–1898), Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1838–1897), and Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1849–1905) was followed by a series of apologists rather than polemicists, modernists influenced in different degrees by Western Christian, and post-Christian attitudes; among these were Muhammad Iqbal (1876–1938), Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (1889–1973), Salāh al-Dīn Khudā Bakhsh (1877–1931), and Kāmal Ḥusayn (1901–1977). The use by ʿAbbās Maḥmūd al-ʿAqqād (1889–1964) of the historical techniques of the day to refute Western Orientalism has been very influential; he respected Christ as prophet, which Tawīq Ṣidqī (1881–1920), in violent reaction against the missionaries, did not. Widely read by an English-language public, Ameer Alī (1849–1928) skillfully reversed the Christian sociohistorical attack on Islam, notably in his *Spirit of Islam* (1891) and his *Short History of the Saracens* (1899).

The English annotations to editions of the Qurʾān by Mawlānā Muḥammad ʿAlī (Aḥmadī version, 1917) and by ʿAlī Yūsuf ʿAlī (Sunnī version, 1946) put forward arguments unfamiliar to Western readers; in a general way, Muslims felt that contemporary biblical criticism supported the accusation of *taḥrīf*, though Sayyid Ahmad Khan had minimized this. The Muslim Brotherhood saw itself as simply defending Islamic civilization. Rejected by most Muslim opinion at the time, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Jawīsh (1876–1929) attacked Coptic Christianity as colonialist, in his paper *Al-liwā*, but the militant Islam of the later twentieth century, preoccupied with the struggle against the moderates, has yet to produce major polemic against post-Christian neocolonialists; it may be expected, when it comes, to have large social content. The *jamāʿāt* (fundamentalist groups) already hark back to Ibn Taymīyah. On the Christian side, some fanatics remain, but the tendency among Western Christians (e.g., Louis Massignon, 1883–1962, and Kenneth Cragg, b. 1913) is to shake free of inherited bias.

SEE ALSO Modernism, article on Islamic Modernism.

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NORMAN DANIEL (1987)

POLITICAL THEOLOGY is one in a series of attempts made by Roman Catholic and Protestant theologians since the 1960s to come to grips with the foundations of Christianity in light of the twentieth-century crisis of culture. After World War I, theology had reached a kind of equilibrium wherein the Protestants were constellated about the three giants, Karl Barth (1886–1968), Rudolf Bultmann

(1884–1976), and Paul Tillich (1886–1965), and the Catholics were still operating under the auspices of the scholasticism evoked by Pope Leo XIII in 1879, when he called for a renewal of Thomism. By the close of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), however, these liberal and neoorthodox solutions to the mediation between Christianity and modern cultures had suddenly become irretrievably passé, for it was widely felt that none of the dominant theologies, estimable as they might be, had really come to terms with the crisis of modern culture in ways that were sufficiently profound or adequately differentiated.

These deficiencies were registered within the mainly academic context of European and North American theology through the increasing influence of the nineteenth-century "masters of suspicion," Karl Marx (1818–1883) and Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900). Nietzsche's critique of modernity had probed the enervating effects upon life in the West caused by the invasion of other cultures and the various forms of reflection upon culture by historical consciousness in terms of nihilism and the death of God. In his unforgettable image of the "last man," Nietzsche had limned the outcome of the liberal democratic and socialist solutions to the political problem. This radical crisis of meaning and value was explored during the mid-1960s in a variety of Christian theologies: the God-is-dead theologies of Thomas Altizer, Gabriel Vahanian, and Paul van Buren; the universal-historical theology of Wolfhart Pannenberg; the post-Bultmann hermeneutical theologies of Gerhard Ebeling, Ernst Fuchs, and Heinrich Ott; and the post-Heidegger theology of Karl Rahner. Philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer, whose *Truth and Method* became required reading for theologians in the 1960s and 1970s, resumed the meditation of Martin Heidegger (1889–1976) upon the crisis indicated by Nietzsche and formulated the issue as follows: Since all normative traditions have been rendered radically questionable, hermeneutics (the auxiliary science of interpretation) has become a universal issue. However, the challenge of hermeneutics to theology is usually diffused in one of two ways. In academic theology hermeneutics is trimmed down to conventional scholarly dimensions, whereafter theology is subjected to subdisciplines that divide up the data on Christian religion for ever more minute and critical study. Alternatively, hermeneutics may be subsumed within a transcendental-metaphysical reflection (as in Rahner) or a wholly ontological reflection (as in process theology). These responses to the issue of a universal hermeneutic as formulated by Gadamer—fragmenting on the one hand, and totalizing on the other—bore the earmarks of that sort of interpretation that Marx, in his famous eleventh thesis on Feuerbach, said needed to be supplanted by practice. It became a real question whether theology was anything more than either a species of intellectual history or an academically domesticated speculation without any practical bearing or importance.

During the 1960s and 1970s this question became inescapable. At the same time a common awareness was starting to emerge of the spiritual impoverishment arising from what were cynically labeled state-controlled monopolies in the East and monopoly-controlled states in the West. In the developing nations, dissatisfaction spread at the popular, grassroots level in opposition to the dependence engendered by colonialist and imperialist policies of advanced industrial societies. In brief, the stage was set for theology to shift from hermeneutical methods of mediating Christianity with contemporary cultures to new approaches known as political or liberation theologies.

By 1970 it was already manifest that there were two distinct originating points for political theology: from within an academic context in advanced industrial societies, and from what have come to be called "basic communities" (from the Spanish *comunidades de base*) in developing nations. It is clear that both styles of theology are seeking to come to terms with the universal hermeneutic problem as portrayed by Nietzsche, Heidegger, Gadamer, and Paul Ricoeur. But it is no less evident that they mean to follow Marx's imperative of changing, rather than merely interpreting, history.

The leading exponents of political theology in Europe, the German Catholic J.-B. Metz and the German Protestant Jürgen Moltmann, might justly be characterized as asserting that interpretation of God is a practical and political issue. There is no split between change and interpretation: Human and even revolutionary change is at root interpretative; and, especially when it comes to the reality of God, interpretation is primarily a matter of practical reorientation (conversion) and concrete action (transformation of individual and collective life). Moltmann at first depended upon Ernst Bloch's philosophy of hope but later moved on, using motifs from the critical theory developed by the Frankfurt School to reinterpret Luther's theology of the cross in terms of its revolutionary social implications. Metz, ever a disciple of Rahner, was challenged by the experience of the Holocaust and by the writings of the enigmatic Jewish-Marxist satellite of the Frankfurt School, Walter Benjamin (1892–1940), to reformulate Rahner's theological anthropology in terms of less idealist and more concrete notions such as "dangerous memory," "religion as interruption," and "narrative theology." Both Metz and Moltmann have used the "dialectic of enlightenment" (that is, the secularist thesis that the progress achieved by modern science and technology and by the bourgeois and communist revolutions has been perverted by the dominance of instrumental reason and the "iron cage" of bureaucracy) as it was formulated by Max Horkheimer, Theodor W. Adorno, and Georg Lukács. Metz and Moltmann transpose that dialectic of progress and decline into the tension now being lived out between the pole of liberal democratic and Marxist "ideologies of winners" and the opposite pole of redemption with the radical evangelical challenge to solidarity with history's outcasts and victims.

Liberation theologies emanate less from the academic superstructure than from basic communities at the popular level. They reach public discourse in the writings of teachers like Gustavo Gutiérrez (Peru), Juan Segundo (Uruguay), José Miguez-Bonino (Argentina), Jon Sobrino (El Salvador), Leonardo and Clodovis Boff and Rubem Alves (Brazil), and so on. But they are also published in documents emanating from bishops' conferences as well as in the writings and political activity typified by the Nicaraguan priest-poet-revolutionary Ernesto Cardenal. In liberation theology the experiences of political and social oppression and of massive poverty have provoked a reading of the Bible and a celebration of ecclesial sacraments that are immediately political in the sense of being directly linked to the issue of emancipation from "structural" sin. Bourgeois social, political, and economic theories do not adequately explain the institutionalized schemes of recurrence that define the Latin American experience of oppression. Thus, liberation theology debunks bourgeois notions of "development" in favor of hypotheses like "dependency" and "national security state" in which Lenin's ideas about imperialism are applied anew. This is just one instance of the theology of liberation's penchant to have recourse to Marxism (especially the humanist strands) and Leninist or Maoist strategies in order to diagnose and remedy structural sin. This approach places liberation theologians under a double constraint since, on the one hand, genuine evangelical experience of God and faith in Jesus Christ Liberator is for them the wellspring and motive for social critique and action in a way that neither Marx nor Lenin could envisage, and, on the other hand, the theoretical weaknesses in Marxist analysis and practice sometimes threaten liberation theology with collapse back into the posture of the secularist dialectic of enlightenment. Added to this, liberal democratic and orthodox Christian misunderstanding and opposition perhaps unwittingly force the practitioners of liberation theology into increasing partisanship with secularist Marxist-Leninists.

Both European political theology and Latin American liberation theology have the Marxist orientation toward overcoming specifically bourgeois biases. In other advanced industrial countries like the United States and Canada, the Marxist analysis of structural sin in terms of class yields to three other emphases: racism (black and other ethnic theologies), sexism (feminist theologies), and issues of ecology. Like the liberation theologies of Latin America, each of these orientations struggles with the ambivalence between its roots in Christian religious experience and the terms of power and legitimacy as these terms were first formulated by secularist Enlightenment thinkers. Miscomprehension and unfavorable criticism force them, too, into stances ever more indistinguishable from their secularist counterparts. But then, reactions to such extremes among their cohorts have also led to recoveries and discoveries of Christian meanings and values.

Another increasingly prominent aspect of political theology is being explored by Ernest Fortin and James V. Schall, students of political philosopher Leo Strauss (1899–1973). Strauss took up the hermeneutic challenge laid down by Heidegger only to return to premodern authors (Xenophon, Plato, Maimonides, al-Fārābī) as an alternative to the mediations of the social sciences in the mold of Marx or Max Weber (1864–1920). Straussians bring out the tension between Christianity and liberal and socialist democracies. They tend to render Christianity as utterly apolitical; as a result, whereas liberation theology tends to flatten out into Marxism, Straussian political theory is perhaps too content with Platonic or Aristotelian reasons for espousing liberal democracy at the cost of solidarity with the poor.

The work of political scientist Eric Voegelin (1901–1985), as demonstrated by his multivolume *Order and History* (1956–), makes the tension of human existence—lived out in "the in-between" ("metaxy") as expressed paradigmatically in noetic and pneumatic differentiations of consciousness—normative for practical and political thought and action. Voegelin's ideas provide an antidote to the tendency of some political theologians to collapse that tension, and his ecumenical and transcultural comprehensiveness adds scope to conventional political theology. Nevertheless, by its very power and genericness, Voegelin's enterprise has a tendency to be too global to do justice to the particular problems of political practice.

Metz's American student Matthew Lamb has recently called attention to the relevance for political theology of the work of Bernard Lonergan (1904–1984). Lonergan, by demanding that the criteria of authentic performance in science, in scholarship, and in ordinary living be reconnected with the criteria for being authentically human (thematized in his notions of religious, moral, and intellectual conversion), has given political theologians a useful framework for the mediation of saving meaning and value in history. His stance toward the future in the light of the past, along with his germinal but still little-known work in economics, Lamb suggests, provides Christians with the first genuine alternative to either Marxist or liberal democratic political and economic theory. Whatever may be the fate of political theology as we know it, its reintegration of earlier forms of theology—emphasizing retrieval of past meaning and doctrinal and systematic restatement—into foundational, practical, and political questions about the right way to live can only be salutary for the practice of faith in society both now and in the future. Many contemporary theologians believe that political theology is, in fact, the chief symptom and response to the paradigm change theology is undergoing.

SEE ALSO Christianity, article on Christianity in Latin America; Heidegger, Martin; Lonergan, Bernard; Marx, Karl; Nietzsche, Friedrich; Rahner, Karl.

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POLITICS AND RELIGION

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POLITICS AND RELIGION: AN OVERVIEW

In his autobiographical account, Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948) made the now famous observation that "those who say religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion is" (Gandhi, 1940, p. 371). The history of twentieth-century India—and, indeed, the entire modern world—would surely seem to have confirmed the mahatma's statement, as religion has clearly emerged as a powerful force inspiring nationalist identity, anti-colonial movements for independence, and revolutionary violence. While many sociologists had predicted that religion would gradually wane as a cultural force in the face of the increasing rationalization and "disenchantment" of the modern world, it would seem that quite the opposite has occurred. Since the mid-twentieth century, religion has re-emerged as a powerful, often violent and revolutionary force, with profound implications for global politics, social structure and transnational economics. The 1979 Shīʿī revolution in Iran, the rise of liberation theology in South America, the political success of Hindu fundamentalism in India, the conflicts in Bosnia and Kosovo, the ongoing violence in Israel and Palestine, the attacks on the World Trade Center Towers in 2001, and the rise of various forms of religious nationalism throughout the globe all offer ample evidence that religion has by no means become a minor force on the periphery of global political and economic issues. On the contrary, it is often at the heart of them.

One could, however, go a great deal further than Gandhi's assertion of the intimate relation between the religious and political realms. For the very idea of separating the terms *politics* and *religion* is itself a fairly recent invention, since these are both in a sense "imagined" categories that are largely the product of the European Enlightenment and the rise of modern Western nations. Just as European intellectuals of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries began to "imagine religion" as a distinct and bounded category of human activity (Smith, 1982), so too, they began to imagine the separation between religious and political domains as a necessary condition for a rational, secular society. Rejecting the religious hegemony of the medieval Catholic Church, and recoiling from the wars of religion that tore Europe apart after the Protestant Reformation, many Enlightenment philosophers like John Locke insisted upon a separation of religious belief and political power as a necessary precondition for a rationally ordered civil society. Consequently, in the eyes of most European scholars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, cultures that had not yet risen to this level of rational society were typically regarded as either "primitive" (i.e., most non-industrial indigenous traditions) or rooted in a despotic confusion of religion and political power (e.g. Islam).

Yet such a separation often makes little sense when examining non-Western and non-industrialized cultures in which the political and religious spheres are not only closely entwined, but typically indistinguishable. In fact, it is perhaps more accurate to say that the very act of defining religion, by demarcating it as a separate category distinct from social structure, art, economics and other aspects of human activity, is itself an inherently *political act.* It necessarily entails the questions of what counts as legitimate religion, as opposed to heresy, blasphemy, idolatry, savagery or "primitive" beliefs and practices.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in the expansion of European colonialism and the conquest of the Americas, India, Africa and other parts of the world. Just as Western nations were conquering new worlds, they were also categorizing and classifying newly discovered cultures in terms of their beliefs, superstitions and their distance from a rational, modern, "civilized" state. To cite just one of many examples, the rites of most Native American tribes were not initially recognized by U.S. government officials as legitimate religious forms on a par with Christianity or Judaism. Rather, their "primitive" and savage character was a symptom of the Native Americans' need to be governed, converted or simply removed. Many rites, such as the Sun Dance and Ghost Dance were banned altogether. Others, such as the use of peyote as a sacrament, had to be contested legally throughout the twentieth century, facing state prohibitions and congressional bills banning its use, before finally being recognized as a religious rite. Ironically, the use of peyote was only recognized as a legitimate form of religious expression once it was institutionalized in 1918 as the "Native American Church," dedicated "to teach the Christian religion with morality, sobriety, industry, kindly charity and right living"—in other words, with the appearance of something more recognizably "Church-like" in the eyes of the government.

Similar examples can be found throughout the history of the colonization of Africa, South America, and India, where the act of defining "religion" was often intimately bound to political conquest, colonial knowledge and control over indigenous populations. Increasingly since the nineteenth century, moreover, the act of defining religion has also become tied to explicitly political movements, such as religious nationalism (e.g. India, Sri Lanka) and revolutionary extremism (e.g. Egypt, Iran, Afghanistan).

It is therefore perhaps more helpful to use a term like "*religio-political power*" to refer to the complex ways in which this-worldly relations of power, domination and social control are inevitably intertwined with appeals to otherworldly, transcendent or supra-human sources of authority (Chidester, 1988, p. 2). Even in the contemporary United States—ostensibly founded on a "clear wall of separation between Church and State," and yet still committed to the ideals of "in God we trust" and "one nation under God"—it is not difficult to see complex intersections between the secular and the spiritual in the construction of a collective national identity.

This article will first suggest some basic ways of distinguishing between religious and political power in a practical or provisional way, and then examine seven modern theoretical approaches. Finally, it will outline eight basic modes of interaction between religion and politics, and conclude with some remarks on the role of religio-political power in the context of globalization and transnationalism.

HUMAN AND SUPRA-HUMAN SOURCES OF AUTHORITY. Despite the fact that the very idea of separating religion and politics is a relatively recent product of post-Enlightenment European discourse, it is arguably still useful to distinguish between them as a *heuristic device* or practical tool in order to understand how power works in particular cultures. Various authors have suggested ways of defining and distinguishing the two terms. Perhaps the most common way has been to identify religion and politics, respectively, with the sacred and profane aspects of human experience. Thus, according to historian George Armstrong Kelly, "politics is the ultimate control system of the profane, and religion is the ultimate control system of the sacred" (Douglas and Tipton, 1983, p. 208).

However, perhaps a more nuanced way to understand the distinction between religious and political phenomena lies in the sorts of authority to which they appeal in order to justify their power. In broadest terms, politics could be said to refer to the "network of power relations in society"; it consists of the "lines of authority, instruments of control, strategies of domination, and the enforcement of order that all contribute to a certain distribution of power within a set of social relations" (Chidester, 1988, p. 5). And a key part of political power is the right to exercise violence. Indeed, as Max Weber (1864–1920) observed, the State is simply a community that "claims the monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force" and the "'right' to use violence" within a given territory (1946: 78).

What most distinguishes specifically religious forms of discourse from political and other sorts of discourse, however, is their appeal to a particular kind of authority—namely, to a transcendent, supra-human or eternal source of authority believed to lie beyond the temporal, fallible, human realm. "Religion," Bruce Lincoln observes, ". . .is that discourse whose defining characteristic is its desire to speak of things eternal and transcendent with an authority equally transcendent and eternal" (Lincoln, 1996, p. 225). And this discursive appeal to a supra-human authority is in turn tied to a set of practices, to a community, and to an institution, all of which serve to reproduce and reaffirm this claim to transcendent authority (Lincoln, 2003, p. 6–7). Politics, history, economics, art, and other forms of cultural discourse, conversely, tend to speak in a fallible human voice about this-worldly, temporal and finite affairs; to the degree that they begin to speak with a more than human voice, we could say, they begin to move into the realm of religion.

In most cultures, the religious and political domains are bound in an intimate, symbiotic, but also tense and conflicted relationship. Religious discourse might be said to represent the ultimate motivator, that is, the most persuasive force used to mobilize individual and collective action. With its appeal to supra-human and transcendent authority, religious discourse can lend the ultimate legitimation to temporal political power. Indeed, even Niccolò Machiavelli, in his classic work on political pragmatism, recognized this legitimizing power. Thus he advised that the prince should "appear a man of compassion, a man of good faith, a man of integrity, a kind and a religious man," adding that the last quality is the most important (Machiavelli, 1999, p. 58). In turn, religious institutions typically rely upon the patronage, financial support and physical protection of political powers. Yet at the same time, the supra-human authority of religious discourse can also be invoked to critique, challenge, or subvert the dominant political order; and conversely, the "legitimate violence" of political power can be used to silence, suppress or crush dissident religious voices.

MODERN WESTERN THEORIES OF RELIGION AND POLITICS. Sophisticated reflection on the nature of spiritual and political power is not, of course, a modern phenomenon. Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Politics* in classical Greece, Kauṭilya's's *Arthaśāstra* in ancient India, the works of Arab theologians in early Islam, the works of medieval theologians like Augustine, Aquinas, Maimonides, etc., all represent serious analyses of the ideal polity and its relation to the divine. Yet the idea of clearly defining religion and politics as two distinct spheres of human activity—spheres that should ideally have as little to with one another as possible—is a relatively modern idea with a history that is itself not free of political implications. Indeed, it was not until the Enlightenment that religion itself emerges as a distinct category in Western discourse and politics emerges as a category against which it is contrasted. The relationship between these two categories has, moreover, been theorized in many different ways over the last 300 years. For the sake of simplicity, six major models will be discussed that have emerged in Western discourse since the Enlightenment.

The European Enlightenment, from Locke to Kant. The European Enlightenment can be read as, among other things, a critique of the powerful religious hegemony held by the medieval Catholic Church, which had asserted the spiritual and temporal supremacy of the Papacy over all human domains, often including that of kings and emperors. By the end of the Middle Ages, and particularly after the Protestant Reformation and the ensuing violence of Europe's wars of religion, that religio-political hegemony had been seriously called into question and attacked on many sides.

Arguably the most influential modern author to argue for a clear separation of religious and political affairs was the English philosopher John Locke (1632–1704). In his "Letter Concerning Tolerance" (1667), Locke distinguishes religion and politics as two separate and legitimate spheres of human endeavor; the former primarily concerns individual belief and personal conviction, and the latter civil law and public action. As such, religious belief should not be restricted by political control, and conversely, political discourse should not be affected by religious conviction. Religion is for Locke an inward and private affair—indeed, "all the life and power of true religion consist in the inward and full persuasion of the mind"—which means that it cannot be governed by external political power: "the whole jurisdiction of the magistrate reaches only to these civil concernments. . . . [I]t neither can nor ought in any manner to be extended to the salvation of souls" (Cahn, p. 508). In the process, however, Locke also effectively reduced religion to a kind of disembodied, internal affair between the individual and God, something fundamentally removed from the political domain and thus of no practical importance for civil society.

By the late eighteenth century, philosophers like Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) would render judgment on the legitimate place of religion "within the limits of reason alone" (Kant, 1793). For Kant, religion was acknowledged to have a privileged place, engaged as it is in lofty metaphysical issues such as the existence of God or the immortality of the soul; but it was deemed inappropriate for all other more practical affairs, including polity and governance.

This intellectual definition of—and clear demarcation between—the appropriate domains of religion and politics set out by Locke, Kant and other Enlightenment philosophers would provide the theoretical basis for many modern Western nations, such as the early United States. Yet, as various scholars have observed, this definition of religion and politics as two separate domains of activity in rational, civilized society was itself part of a larger political agenda; it provided the basis for a hierarchical ranking of cultures from "primitive" to "modern," as well as the legitimation for ruling those who were incapable of distinguishing between proper rational governance and oppression of religious despotism.

Karl Marx and Neo-Marxism. If Locke and other Enlightenment intellectuals critiqued the dangerous mixture of religion and politics, many nineteenth century authors critiqued the very nature of religion itself as a mask or mystification of underlying economic and political interests. For Karl Marx, the criticism of religion is in fact the "prerequisite of all criticism"; for religion represents the most extreme form of ideology and "alienation." It involves the human being's own self-deception and mystification, which is the basis of all other sorts of alienation, including the more developed forms of modern capitalism. For Marx, God does not make human beings; rather, human beings make gods and then deny that they have done so, alienating themselves from the fruits of their own labor. This alienation is the spiritual analogue of the alienation suffered by the laborer in a capitalist economy, separated from the fruits of his own labor which becomes the profit of the boss or factory owner. As such, religion is itself the by-product of the social and political order; it is the "spiritual aroma" of the state, masking the domination of the powerful and the wealthy over the weak and the poor, and making oppressive social conditions appear at once agreeable and divinely ordained. Thus, "the criticism of heaven turns into the criticism of earth, the criticism of religion into the criticism of law, and the criticism of theology into the criticism of politics" (Raines, pp. 171–172).

Yet contrary to many popular interpretations, Marx is not entirely negative or dismissive in his evaluation of religion. Religion reflects a genuine need for meaning and consolation in the face of oppression, offering at once "the expression of real suffering and protest against suffering." Yet it is a protest that is misdirected, seeking imaginary ideals rather than real material happiness. In sum, the "abolition of religion as illusory happiness is necessary for real happiness" (Raines, p. 171).

Toward the end of his life, Marx would return to the question of religion as not simply a source of oppression, but also as a potential source of a kind of apocalyptic hope for radical transformation. The religious cry of protest could also perhaps articulate the voice of the oppressed seeking exodus toward a totally new world, as a kind of early, undeveloped prefiguration of genuine political revolution. This revolutionary potential of myth and religious ideology would later be taken up and developed by various later Marxists, from revolutionary nationalists in India to Liberation theologians in South America. As more recent authors like Bruce Lincoln have shown, religious discourse can indeed be used to buttress the existing political order and status quo. However, it can also be used to challenge, subvert and overthrow that same order by appealing to a transcendent source of authority that contests the status quo and provides the inspiration for rebellion or revolution.

If Marx sees the criticism of religion as necessary for a criticism of politics, he does not, however, hope for a simple replacement of religious authority by state power. On the contrary, the ultimate goal would be the "withering away of the state" altogether. In a truly egalitarian community, the specialized functions once held by political offices would be gradually turned over to the self-management of the proletariat, and finally class society itself would be transformed into a classless society in which hierarchical distinctions collapse altogether. In this sense, one might say that the criticism of religion and the abolition of its illusory promise are only the first steps toward the larger criticism of politics and the abolition of the illusory promises of the State. The great irony in the later history of Communist thought, of course, is that Marxism would itself be reinterpreted, transformed and used to create some of the most powerful state apparatuses, political ideologies, and some would say quasi-religious systems ever known, such as the former Soviet Union and Communist China.

Religion, society and politics: Émile Durkheim and Max Weber. While Marx saw religion primarily as a negative social force, imposing political conformity and resignation to suffering, other modern theorists like Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) had a more positive regard for religion's role in society. Durkheim's classic *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1912) defines religion primarily as a system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things which "unite into one single moral community . . . all those who adhere to them" (Durkheim, p. 62). Religion is primarily a source of social cohesion, binding individuals into a whole that seems to them larger than the sum of its parts—indeed, sacred. The sacred is, in sum, society writ large. Using as his primary example the system of "totemism" among Australian aboriginal communities, Durkheim suggests that the totem symbol is nothing less than the "flag" of the clan (Durkheim, p. 236). For the intense emotions generated by religious rites are attached to the totem, which then becomes a sacred object embodying the cohesion of individuals with the larger whole of the social group.

It is not difficult to see the relevance of Durkheim's analysis of religious totemism for modern politics and the "flag-totem" of the modern state. Indeed, Durkheim was concerned that the social cohesion once provided by traditional religious institutions like the Church were waning in the face of an increasingly complex and scientific modern world. The result of this loss of social unity was the growing sense of *anomie*, the isolation, fragmentation and suicidal despair felt by the modern individual. The decline of traditional religious institutions, did not, however, necessarily signal the dissolution of society altogether. Rather, Durkheim was hopeful that even as the "old gods are growing old or already dead," new kinds of rituals would emerge to affirm society's basic values, "keeping alive their memory by means of celebrations which regularly reproduce their fruits" (Durkheim, 1961, p. 475).

But clearly, religion is not only and always a source of social unity, cohesion and stability; rather, as Max Weber observed, religious ideas could act as forces of both the legitimation of established political structures and as forces of change and transformation. Religion was for Weber a separate institution inevitably involved in an ongoing process of interaction with other social institutions, assuming different meanings in specific social, economic and political contexts. Rejecting the historical materialism of orthodox Marxism, Weber saw religion not simply as a mask for underlying economic and political forces; rather, religious ideas could also transform the economic and political domains. In his best-known example of Protestant Christianity, the Calvinist ethics of hard work, thrift, and inner-worldly asceticism had a kind of elective affinity with the rise of modern capitalism and with the politics of modern European states. Other religious systems, such as Hinduism and Confucianism, instead impeded the growth of capitalist accumulation and supported very different political and economic systems.

In contrast to Durkheim, Weber was more interested in the role of individual agents, particularly extraordinary, charismatic agents such as prophets, reformers and founders who provide alternative sources of authority that shatter established patterns of traditional and legal authority. Indeed, charismatic religious power can erupt into a force of intense change, reform, even revolution against the established political order.

However, as he observed in his classic lecture on "Politics as a Vocation," the political realm also involves inherent ethical paradoxes that pose special problems for all religious traditions. Above all, politics demands the necessary use of force—indeed, "the decisive means for politics is violence"—which means that politics can never be the place for those who seek the salvation of souls or an "acosmic ethic of love" (1918, pp. 119, 121). The moral paradox of politics and violence is one with which every religion must struggle, yet always with limited success.

Mircea Eliade and the history of religions. In the middle of the twentieth century, a number of European and American scholars began to react against what they saw as the reduction of religion to various other, non-religious sorts of explanations, such as materialist critiques, social functionalism and Freudian psychoanalysis. Instead, they sought to reaffirm the independent, autonomous nature of religious experience prior to and beyond any other social, psychological or political phenomena.

The most influential figure in this regard—and indeed arguably the most influential historian of religions in the twentieth century—was the Romanian born émigré to the United States, Mircea Eliade (1907–1986). For Eliade, religious phenomena are fundamentally *sui generis* or "of their own origin"; in other words, they are irreducible to anything else. A religious phenomenon must be taken seriously "on its plane of reference," and not reduced to one of its "secondary aspects or its contexts," such as economic, social structure, psychology or politics. Even seemingly highly politicized phenomena such as the so-called cargo cults that emerged in Melanesia in the wake of western contact and colonization cannot be explained by their sociopolitical circumstances; rather they must be treated as genuine *"spiritual creations"* (Eliade, 1969, pp. 98–99). This respect for the autonomous value of religious phenomena, Eliade believed, could provide the basis for a kind of "new humanism" on a global scale. Unlike the social and political visions of Marx or Durkheim, Eliade's new humanism would demand an appreciation for the religious worldviews of all cultures, as legitimate encounters with the sacred that cannot be explained away as masks for political interests or mere products of social structure.

Although Eliade would become arguably the single most influential voice in the comparative study of religion in the latter twentieth century, he would also come under severe criticism—in part for his attempt to define religion as an autonomous *sui generis* phenomena distinct from history, society and politics. Thus he has been charged as the "leading anti-historian of religion" (Dudley, 1977:148) whose universalist approach does not so much interpret as it "manufactures" religion (McCutcheon, 1997). While many of these criticisms may be unfair, Eliade's attempt to avoid the pitfalls of reductionism did lead him to de-emphasize the political contexts, consequences and complications of religious phenomena in favor of their a-political or trans-political themes (see Wasserstom, 1998; Strenski, 1977).

Feminist critiques. If Marx made the criticism of religion the foundation for the criticism of all other forms of material oppression, many feminist theorists would also make the criticism of religion the foundation for a critique of gender politics and asymmetries of power between the sexes. The more extreme version of the feminist critique emerged out of the second wave and radical feminist movements of the 1960s, with theorists like Mary Daly. In Daly's view, the entire imagery of God the Father as divine judge and patriarch has served as the justification for a male-dominated hierarchy of power on the religious, social and political levels alike. For the past 2000 years mainstream western religious institutions have supported a fundamentally patriarchal social and political structure, built upon the oppression of female power. What is now needed, Daly suggests, is a kind of divine rage in order to deconstruct and move beyond the "biblical and popular image of God as a great patriarch in heaven;" indeed, they need to "castrate God," in order to free themselves from an icon that has for millennia justified a patriarchal political system, and to realize instead the inherent divinity of the female body (Daly, 1973, pp. 13–32).

Most later feminist theorists of religion distanced themselves considerably from the extreme rhetoric and essentialist gender politics of radical feminists like Daly. More moderate theorists have tried to find ways to apply a serious feminist critique of particular religious institutions, while still salvaging the meaningful dimensions of religious experience itself. Rita Gross, for example, suggests that it is possible to re-read religious history from a feminist perspective, critiquing oppressive gender relations, and so recovering women's religious voices and a feminine dimensions of the sacred. This requires a fundamental paradigm shift away form the current androcentric model of humanity to an androgynous or bisexual model of humanity (Gross, p. 20). As Wendy Doniger suggests, the frank recognition that religion is intimately tied to both political power and sexual oppression does not mean that one need jettison the spiritual baby with the patriarchal bathwater. That is, one can still recover the meaningfulness and value of religious narratives, while seriously critiquing their political and sexual implications (1998: 109–35).

Finally, in the wake of post-structuralism and French feminist thought, more nuanced critiques have been made by authors like Grace Jantzen in her work on medieval Christian mysticism. As Jantzen argues, the ways in which legitimate religious experience is defined—and also contrasted with heresy, delusion or demonic inspiration—is inherently tied to political interests and relations of power between the sexes. For it is inevitably bound to questions such as who has the authority to speak with divine sanction? Who has the legitimation to support or challenge existing religious and political institutions? Who, and which sex, is considered more naturally open to mystical experience, yet also more susceptible to delusion? In sum, mysticism—like the category of religion itself—is a constructed category that is inevitably tied to both gender and politics.

The micropolitics of power: post-structuralist approaches. It is perhaps worth noting at least one of the alternative approaches to the analysis of religion, politics and power that emerged in the second half of the twentieth century, particularly in the wake of movements like postmodernism and post-structuralism. Arguably the most influential figure for the theorizing of power in the latter twentieth century is the French historian, Michel Foucault (1926–1984). Contrary to most earlier analyses of power, which begin from the top down, viewing power primarily as an oppressive and dominating force wielded by the few, Foucault views power from the bottom up. Rather than viewing power on the "macro-political level" of nations and states, Foucault turns instead to the micro-politics or "capillary circuits" of power—the ways in which power operates in the lives of all individual members of a given social order, in the most mundane details of daily life such as dress, bodily comportment, physical practices, and diet (Foucault, 1978). Thus Foucault was particularly interested in a specifically embodied kind of power—bio-power or bio-politics—through which power is exercised upon individual human bodies and thereby human subjects. One of the most crucial fields for the operation of bio-power, for example, is sexuality; for sexuality lies at the pivot of two key axes: power over individual bodies and power over social bodies or the body politic (Gutting, 1994, p. 144). Control of individual sexual activity and reproduction, in other words, is the key to the larger control of populations and governance of society as a whole.

Religions, too, employ a variety of bodily and sexual techniques—such as chastity, penance, fasting, confession—in order to discipline the body and create certain kinds of subjects. The role of confession in the medieval Catholic church, for example, was a particularly effective form of "pastoral power," which gave the church intimate knowledge and individualized control over its subjects, while at the same time interiorizing a sense of sin, guilt and moral conscience within the individual believer.

However, Foucault sees an important shift in the operations of power in modern Western societies, particularly since the Enlightenment. Whereas the medieval Church exercised a kind of pastoral power, by monitoring and disciplining individuals through techniques like confession, modern European states developed ever more effective means of governing large populations through new sciences of the body, medicine and sexuality. Ultimately, Foucault sees modern forms of power as a fusion of the individualizing pastoral power once exercised by the Church and the modern totalizing power of the state: "This is government with the motto *ones et singulatum*—of all and of each. It represents the modern, biopolitical, and daemonic fusion of pastoral and polis. . . . It is a power that both individualizes and totalizes" (Fabion, 2001, p. xxviii).

Some have argued that Foucault's work offers an extremely useful new way to think about religion as a whole. Religion in this sense would be seen less as a matter of otherworldly faith than as a fundamentally embodied, corporal phenomenon concerned with physical practice and the disciplining of the self through bodily action. Finally, Foucault's model of power also forces us to view religion as an inherently political phenomenon, "taken out of its privileged realm and brought into the body politic and the heart of culture" (Carrette, 2000, p. xi). As Foucault put it in his comments on the Iranian revolution, this is a view of "religion which speaks less of a Beyond than of the transformations in this world" (Foucault, 1994, p. 716).

This brief overview of various theoretical approaches is surely not meant to be exhaustive. Yet it can be seen from these six models that the relationship between religion and politics can be construed in a variety of different, often contradictory ways, each of which is useful in understanding particular historical cases, but none of which is by itself complete. In the end, the attempt to construct a single grand theory that explains religion and politics on some universal scale is not a very fruitful endeavor. Rather, it is perhaps more useful to think of religious discourse, with its appeal to a transcendent source of authority, as a unique and powerful kind of cultural resource. This is a resource that can be deployed strategically for a wide range of political interests, at once to reinforce a given political formation and to contest it, to forge powerful nationalist bonds and to tear those bonds apart through revolutionary violence.

STRATEGIC RELATIONS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL POWER: EIGHT PATTERNS. As the sub-entries that follow this essay clearly demonstrate, the relations between religious and political power are remarkably varied, not simply between different traditions but even within the same tradition in different historical periods. These range from the complete fusion of religio-political power, to the suppression of religion by political power, to the violent revolt of the former against the latter.

Various authors have tried to make broad generalizations about the relations between religion and politics in particular traditions or families of traditions. Some, for example, have tried to contrast the "monotheistic" or Abrahamic religions with the "ontocratic" or "Oriental" and "primal religions." According to Max Stackhouse, the monotheistic traditions "distinguish between God and the world and reject political orders that are not in accord with God's will," while in the "ontocratic" religions of Asia, "the harmonious state is the supreme earthly embodiment of cosmic totality" (Stackhouse, 1986, p. 415). Others like William Scott Green have tried to distinguish and compare six major traditions, based on the core theological doctrines, which, he suggests, naturally lead to distinct relations between religion and politics in each case (Neusner, p. 5).

Yet all of these attempts to make sweeping comparisons based on Abrahamic vs. Oriental or core theological doctrines ultimately seem superficial. One need not look far into the history of any tradition to see that the relations between religious and political authority shift dramatically in different historical contexts. Buddhism, for example, begins with Siddhārtha Gautama's renunciation of his own royal status and a general withdrawal from the political realm. Yet from the time of Emperor Aśoka (r. c. 270–230 BCE) onward, Buddhism as an institution gained the patronage of kings throughout Asia, from China and Japan to Tibet and modern Thailand. Usually portrayed as a religion stressing peace, non-violence and compassion, Buddhism has also become a powerful force in modern nationalist movements and even religious violence in areas like Vietnam and Sri Lanka. Conversely, Islam begins with more or less complete fusion of religious and political power in the person of the Prophet and the early Caliphs. Yet in modern times, many Muslims have largely accepted a form of church-state separation in secular nations (e.g. Turkey, Bangladesh), while others have turned to extremist fervor and a revolutionary return to the ideal polity of early Islam.

There are no easy generalizations regarding the balance of religious and political power in different traditions. It may be true that one can identify certain kinds of elective affinities, to use Weber's phrase, between particular religious beliefs and particular socio-economic or political formations—such as the Protestant ethic and early modern capitalism, or certain forms of New Age spirituality and late capitalism. Yet even these examples show that every religious tradition has undergone radical change in different social and historical contexts, in some cases wedding religious and political authority, in other cases, turning religious appeals for transformation into a radical challenge to the existing political order.

In broadest terms, however, there are at least eight primary strategic relations between political and religious power. None of these is intended to represent a fixed or universal category, but simply a comparative pattern that recurs in various cultures and historical periods.

Religo-political synthesis: the religious as the political. One of the primary reasons modern Western scholars have had such difficulty understanding (and tolerating) Islam is its fusion of political and religious authority. For scholars raised in a post-Enlightenment separation of Church and State, the Prophet's skillful combination of military prowess, political leadership and spiritual authority has long been dismissed as a vulgar manipulation of religion for political ends. Yet this really misses the very point of Islam as a total worldview that does not separate the "religious" from other spheres of life, but rather embraces the social, political, economic and military realms in one total attitude of submission to God. The Islamic system of holy law and jurisprudence (*sharīʿah*) provides rules for the conduct of all aspects of life, including not only spiritual practice, but also family life, commerce, social activities, governance, and war. As John Esposito suggests, traditional Islam might be better described not as a theocracy but rather as a kind of nomocracy, that is, a community governed by divine law as the sovereign authority and embodiment of the Word of God.

Such fusion of religious and political power is by no means unique to Islam. Another particularly clear example is the rise of the Dalai Lama in Vajrayāna Buddhism, who served as the combined religious and political leader of Tibet from the fifteenth to the twentieth century. Embodying both the highest Buddhist ideals of infinite compassion and the center of the socio-political *maṇḍala*, the Dalai Lama survived as a powerful religio-political institution for 500 years until the Communist invasion of Tibet. Even into the twenty-first century, as a winner of the Noble Peace Prize and an outspoken commentator on global issues, the exiled Dalai Lama remains a potent religio-political symbol. He represents the spread of the once esoteric system of Tibetan Buddhism to all points of the globe and the hope of freedom for the Tibetan people.

Religious authority above political power. At least in its ideal form, the classical Hindu *varṇa* system provides one of the clearest examples of a hierarchical ordering of society in which the religious or priestly (*brahmana*) class is at once spiritually and metaphysically superior to the royal or warrior (*kṣatriya*) class. While the king is recognized for his physical power and political authority, the *brahmana* is recognized for his purity, which marks him as spiritually superior to all other classes. Since the time of the earliest Indian scriptures, the Vedas, this hierarchical model has been given both a mythological and a cosmological justification. According to the creation myth found in *Ṛgveda* X.90, the universe was born from the primal sacrifice of the first Person, *puruṣa*, whose body was dismembered and divided to create both the hierarchy of the universe (heaven, atmosphere, earth) and the hierarchy of the four social classes. Here the priest emerges from the head of the cosmic man, while the *kṣatriya* emerges from his torso. Although the king may be greater in terms of power and material capital, the *brahmana* is always superior in sacredness and spiritual capital. The two are bound in an intimate relationship of reciprocity. Thus the Vedic sacrificial ritual was, in many ways, an elaborate exchange between religious and political power, in which the *brahmana* received gifts and fees while the *kṣatriya* received status and legitimacy.

Of course, this superiority of the *brahmana* over the *kṣatriya* was probably always more an ideal than a practical reality. There would remain throughout Indian history a recurring tension between the religious and spiritual domains, with the constant threat that the superior strength of the king might break its bounds and reassert itself.

Religious and political power as separate (but interdependent or rival) forces. Medieval Christian Europe provides some instructive examples of the political and religious spheres in an ongoing relationship that was at once one of tension, rivalry, competition and symbiosis. Like the authors of the Vedas, medieval authors commonly imagined the social order as a hierarchical organism, usually a tripartite body comprised of clerics, nobles and serfs. Yet there was some disagreement as to which of the first two classes, priests or nobility, Pope or Holy Roman Emperor, was the true head of the social body. As Jacques Le Goff observes, "Christianity was bicephalous: its two heads were the pope and the emperor. . . [T]he relations between the two heads of Christianity displayed the competition at the top: the two dominant but rival orders, the clergy and the lay hierarchy—priests and warriors, magical power and military might" (Le Goff, pp. 264-265).

Since the time of Pope Gregory I (c. 540–604), the Papacy had proclaimed itself the supreme leader of both secular and religious domains; yet throughout the history the medieval Church, bishops and kings, Popes and Emperors existed in competitive and at times violent rivalry. Thus Pope Gregory VII would challenge the power of Emperor Henry IV in German lands, finally excommunicating him; in England, Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas à Becket defended the authority of the Church against King Henry II, leading to his own death in 1170. Perhaps the most remarkable conflict between religious and political authority was that between Pope Boniface VIII and Philip IV of France, which led to the Pope's arrest and death in prison in 1313, the "Babylonian exile" of the Church from Rome to Avignon (1378–1417), and finally the schism of the Church into a puppet Papacy in France and a series of rival Popes in Rome.

In modern times, one of the most striking examples of the interdependence of religious and political authority is the rise of the *Wahhābī* reformist movement in Saudi Arabia since the eighteenth century. The result of an alliance between the reformist theologian Muḥammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab (1702–1792) and a tribal chief, Muḥammad ibn Saud (d. 1765), the *Wahhābī* movement sought to unite the tribes of Arabia under the religious banner of Islam. Combining strict religious purification with military action to enforce religious precepts, the *Wahhābīs* used religious ideology to inform and guide political activity. This powerful alliance of religion and politics remains largely intact today in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia, while also powerfully influencing recent regimes such as the Taliban in Afghanistan.

Political power over religious authority. With its appeal to a transcendent supra-human and otherworldly source of authority, religious discourse always poses a potential threat to political power; as such, it is often tightly controlled, restricted, at times entirely suppressed by political regimes. Various Chinese emperors, for example, perceived Buddhism to be a subversive force within their domain; thus during the Huichang suppression under the Tang Emperor Wuzong (r. 840–846) purged monasteries, banned pilgrimages, and finally seized Buddhist property for the state.

Perhaps the most extreme example of the exertion of secular political power over religious institutions occurred in modern communist countries, such as China after the rise of the Communist Party and particularly during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). Targeting Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism as part of the "four olds" (old ideas, old culture, old customs, old habits), the Communist Party put an end to all public displays of religion, damaging temples and purging churches of religious symbols. Even more extreme state repressions of religion took place under other Marxist-inspired regimes, such as Albania under Enver Hoxha (1908–1985). Between 1947 and 1990, religion was not only stifled but simply abolished.

It is by no means only communist regimes that have been known to suppress religious movements. Already noted is the U.S. government's suppression of various Native American rituals such as the Sun Dance and Peyote religion. A more recent example is the assault on the Branch Davidian compound at Waco Texas by the BATF and FBI from February to April of 1993. In this case government agencies not only secretly infiltrated and monitored the movement, but mounted a large scale siege of the compound using heavily armed officers and tanks, resulting in the death of seventy-five people, including twenty-one children. If post-Enlightenment nations like the U.S. are founded on a separation of church and state, then cases like the Waco disaster make it clear that religious power is still, in the end, subordinate to the political power and military strength of the state.

Religious withdrawal from the political sphere. Particularly during periods of oppressive rule, many religious groups choose the option of general disengagement or withdrawal from the political realm. Turning to a supra-human, eternal source of authority, religious leaders can always claim to transcend any merely human government, and so ignore or treat as secondary the demands of worldly politics. The sayings of Jesus Christ and the life of the early church under Roman rule provide some of the clearest examples of this withdrawal from politics. Christ's assertion that his "kingdom is not of this world," while advising his disciples to "render unto Ceasar" what is owed to the Empire at once acknowledges the reality of alien political power and yet also denies it any ultimate significance. As an eschatological religion, early Christianity on the whole focused on the divine kingdom to come, not the world as it was; thus it delegitimized the latter with the promise of a more perfect rule in the heavenly kingdom.

A more recent and more disturbing example of this religious withdrawal from the political is the case of the Peoples Temple led by Jim Jones (1931–1978) in the 1970s. With a utopian vision of racial harmony between African Americans and whites, Jones preached a socialist brand of Christianity that fiercely attacked the United States government as the "antichrist" and American capitalism as the "antichrist system." After facing intense attacks from government agencies, the media, and white supremacist groups, Jones and his followers withdrew from the U.S. to Guyana in 1977. When the anti-cult group, Concerned Relatives, and Congressman Leo Ryan continued to pressure the movement, Jones decided it was time to withdraw from the world altogether. Over nine hundred of his followers drank or were forced to drink Kool-aid laced with cyanide, while Jones himself died of an apparently self-inflicted gunshot wound. As Jones put it in his farewell audio tape, "we didn't commit suicide, we committed an act of revolutionary suicide protesting the conditions of an inhumane world" (Wessinger, 2000, p. 51).

Religion in the service of political power: Religious nationalism in the modern state. Among the most striking features of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is the rise of a new form of religious nationalism in more or less all parts of the colonial and post-colonial world. As new national "imagined communities" emerged out of the demise of European colonization (Anderson, 1983), a redefined and nationalized religious identity has often provided the foundation for this re-imagining of political communities. Indeed, it would seem that much of the world simply does not share the western ideal of a secular modern nation based on a clear separation of church and state. Instead, many national identities have been born out of deep religious roots, shaped by ritual performance and mythic narratives. A reformed religious and national identity has been an integral part of the rise of modern India, Sri Lanka, Israel, various parts of the Muslim world, Kosovo, Bosnia, and even the United States, as the rise of the new Christian right suggests. The modern state of Israel provides perhaps the clearest example of a new political entity emerging out of the collapse of European colonial power, and founded on a uniquely religious identity; thus the Balfour Declaration of 1917 promised European Zionists "a national home for Jewish people" (Farsoun and Zacharia, 1997). In the process of nationalization, however, these religious traditions have often been purged of their heterogeneous or divisive elements, re-packaged in a more homogenous form to attract the broadest number of devotees, and so used to define religious practice as a kind of patriotic duty.

The case of modern Hinduism is a particularly instructive example of the complex nature of religious nationalism. Indeed, the modern imagining of Hinduism itself —which is not an indigenous term but a construction of nineteenth century Indian elites and European scholars—went hand in hand with the rise of the Indian nation as an imagined community. For early religious nationalists like Swami Vivekananda (1863–1902), the young Aurobindo Ghose and many others, the revival of a strong and vigorous form of Hinduism was a crucial part of creating an autonomous Indian nation, free of the shackles of British rule. Thus Vivekananda called not just for the revival of his country but for the "conquest of the whole world by the Hindu race"; indeed, "we must conquer the world through our spirituality . . . The only condition of . . . awakened and vigorous national life is the conquest of the world by Indian thought" (Vivekananda, 1984: 276, 277).

This kind of Hindu nationalism is by no means a quaint relic of colonial India; rather, it has continued as a powerful force driving much of modern Indian politics. Thus, India's first nuclear missiles have been named after Agni, the Hindu god of fire, while Bharat Mata or "mother India" has emerged as a powerful civil religious deity, usually portrayed as a Goddess much like Durgā, riding a lion, circled with a halo of flames and superimposed on a map of India. At the same time, religious nationalism has also fueled a number of extremist groups such as the Rashtriya Svayamsevak Sangh (RSS)—a movement dedicated to the creation of a purely Hindu nation, with an open admiration for Nazi Germany. The RSS became the ideological backbone for the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which rose to power in the 1980s in large part due to its ideal of Hindutva and the goal of building a temple to the god Rāma in the holy city of Ayodhya. One of the most striking examples of religio-political nationalist fervor exploded in Ayodhya on December 16, 1992, when mobs of Hindu extremists destroyed the Babri Masjid, a mosque that had allegedly been built on the site of Rama's birthplace. The destruction of the Babri Masjid in turn unleashed tremendous bloodshed between Hindus and Muslims throughout South Asia, and has since become a symbol of both Hindu nationalism and the alienation of non-Hindu communities in modern India. As seen in the ongoing violence in Kashmir and the slaughter of 2000 Muslims in Gujarat in 2002, the often horrific consequences of religious nationalism in India have by no means lessened in the years since Independence, but arguably grown more intense in a new age of nationalism and terror.

The political as the religious: civil religion. One of the more interesting and ironic consequences of the rise of modern secular nation states is the emergence of powerful new forms of civil symbolism, mythology and ritual practice. In a sense, the space opened up by the separation of religion and politics seems to have been filled in many cases by a modern state that now assumes a kind of quasi-religious power, invested with autonomy, disciplinary control and potential violence, for which citizens are called upon to make the ultimate sacrifice. In contrast to a form of religious nationalism, however, a civil religion does not support any one particular tradition, but instead advocates a sufficiently ambiguous sort of divine authority (such as God) and a sufficiently generic set of beliefs (a rational order to the universe, the immortality of the soul and judgment for good and evil actions) that can encompass many different faiths without alienating too many minority groups.

The idea of a civil faith was first suggested by Jean Jacques Rousseau in the second half of the eighteenth century. Rejecting traditional religious institutions like Christianity as divisive and in fact corrosive of social unity, Rousseau called instead for "a purely civil profession of faith whose articles the sovereign is competent to determine, not precisely as religious dogmas but as sentiments of sociability, without which it is impossible to be a good citizen or a faithful subject" (1762: Chidester, 1988, p. 82). The basis of Rousseau's civil faith was fairly minimal, asking only belief in an all-powerful deity, the survival of the soul after death, the reward of the good and punishment of wicked, and above all a commitment to the sanctity of the social contract.

Arguably one of the most powerful examples of civil religion in the modern era has emerged within the United States. As G. K. Chesterton observed, "America is the only nation in the world that is founded on a creed" (Chidester, 1988, p. 87). Despite its ostensible separation of the religious and political spheres, the U.S. has also developed its own set of creation myths (Exodus from British tyranny, the first Thanksgiving, etc.), its founding fathers, and a system of symbols and rituals. From the Annuit Coeptis ("God has smiled on our beginnings") and Novus Ordo Seclorum ("New Order for the Ages") on the dollar bill, the United States has been imagined in mythic terms as a nation formed under divine providence and guided toward a sacred destiny.

The United States also gave birth to an array of civil religious holy days, such as the Fourth of July and Thanksgiving (both ritual reenactments of national creation myths), Presidents' Day, Veterans Day, Flag Day, Memorial Day, among others. The celebration of Memorial Day in particular constitutes a kind of "cult of the dead which organizes and integrates the various faiths, ethnic and class groups into a sacred unity" (Warner, 1959, p. 249). This deeply ingrained civil religious faith only became more intense during the decades of the cold war, when the United States sought to distinguish itself as clearly as possible from the "godless communism" of the Soviet Union. Thus in the 1950s, the phrase "In God we Trust" was added to the dollar bill, while "One Nation under God" was added to the Pledge of Allegiance, a vow of faith mandatory in every public school. This American-style civil religion would find new, even more complicated expressions after the destruction of the World Trade Towers in 2001, as religious rhetoric was marshaled in a variety of ways to insure that God would "continue to bless America" against a new "axis of evil" (Lincoln, 2003, pp. 19–32).

Religion in conflict with political power: Resistance, rebellion, revolution and terrorism. Finally, as a form of discourse that makes an appeal to an ultimate, supra-human, transcendent or eternal source of authority, religious discourse can also be used to mount a profound challenge to political power. As the ultimate motivator, it can serve as the most powerful source of resistance, rebellion, and revolution against the dominant order.

This may take the form of a non-violent resistance against the dominant order, using religious authority as a means of rejecting the legitimacy of existing political power, yet without engaging in physical confrontation. Thus, even in the face of suppression by the U.S. government, Native American communities began to revive traditional rites like the Sun Dance during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In spite of—or perhaps in part because of—its suppression by the government, the Sun Dance would become one of the most powerful symbols of Native American identity, communal solidarity and personal power in the face of an alienating and oppressive political system. Religious resistance can have profound political consequences, such as Gandhi's *satyagraha* (cleaving to the truth) and *ahiṃsā* (nonharming) as non-violent struggle against the British Raj, or Martin Luther King's (1929–1968) use of Christian rhetoric and disobedience during the Civil Rights movement. Yet religious resistance may also take the form of more spectacular self-sacrifice like that of the Vietnamese monk, Thich Quang-Duc, who burned himself to death in 1963 in order to bring global attention to the suffering of the Vietnamese people.

When nonviolence and self-sacrifice appear futile, however, religious movements may turn to more aggressive forms of rebellion. Chinese history, for example, witnessed a number of religious rebellions against imperial power: the Daoist Yellow Turban rebellion at the end of the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE), which was inspired by an apocalyptic vision of a Daoist utopia (second century); the White Lotus Societies at the end of the Yuan dynasty (1206–1368), which looked to the messianic prophecy of the coming of the future Buddha, Maitreya; and the Taiping rebellion (1851–1864), which used Christian messianic imagery and the hope for a Heavenly Kingdom to replace the Manchu regime.

In modern India, one of the most extreme examples of religious rebellion against the secular state is the rise of Sikh separatism in the Punjab region. In 1984, when militants under the lead of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale took refuge in the Golden Temple complex in Amritsar, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi ordered a massive military assault (Operation Blue Star) that destroyed a large portion of the Temple and unleashed intense violence across the nation. Shortly after the operation, Gandhi was assassinated by her own Sikh body guards—clear evidence that, in some cases, the higher authority of religious conviction can indeed supercede secular political loyalty, even to the Prime Minister one has sworn to protect.

Ultimately, under the right conditions, religious rebellion and the appeal to a transcendent source of power can also lead to successful political revolution. The Iranian revolution led by Shīʿī Muslims against the Shah in 1979 was in many ways a surprise to the international community and to historians of religions alike. It offered perhaps the clearest evidence that religion had by no means waned in importance in the face of globalization and transnational capitalism, but had re-emerged as a powerful ideological alternative. Yet religious revolution is not limited to the Muslim world. Even the American Revolution, for example, was not without powerful elements of religious rhetoric. The Declaration of Independence itself could be said to express certain creedal statements of "sacred and undeniable" truths and divine rights, such as equality, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, the social contract, and even the legitimacy of revolution against oppression. As Jefferson famously put it, "Rebellion to Tyrants is Obedience to God" (Chidester, 1988, p. 61). Many revolutionaries would also describe their cause in almost millennial terms, with the vision of a new heaven and new earth created in America. As Thomas Paine wrote in 1776, "We have it in our power to begin the world over again . . . A situation similar to the present has not happened since the days of Noah until now" (Chidester, 1988, p. 61).

Terrorism has no doubt always been a tactic used in movements of resistance, rebellion, and revolution. Yet the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have witnessed arguably the most intense forms of religious terrorism ever known—indeed a global rise of religious violence. This in part due to the rise of religious extremism and nationalism, often setting themselves violently at odds with the forces of secularism and capitalism, and in part due to the widespread availability of inexpensive weapons, bombs, chemicals and other means of terror. More or less anyone can now concoct a fertilizer-bomb, as Timothy McVeigh did in the Oklahoma City bombing, or disseminate sarin gas, as the Aum Shinrikyō movement did in Tokyo subways. Perhaps the most disturbing form of terrorism in the modern era has come from extremist Palestinian groups such as Hamas, which have emerged since the first *intifada* against the Israeli occupation in 1987. Unable to contain their anger or find any other solution to an increasingly miserable situation, young Palestinian men and women have turned themselves into human bombs, killing thousands of ordinary people and injecting terror into daily life. Indeed, the charter document of Hamas is an overtly militant ideology, calling for violent self-sacrifice: "We will be its soldiers and the firewood of its fire, which will burn the enemies" (Farsoun and Zacharia, 1997, p. 339).

Similar kinds of revolutionary terrorist movements have emerged throughout the Middle East and now globally, inspired by radical leaders like Sayyid Quṭb (1906–1966) and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. With an explicitly political agenda, Quṭb called for a violent revolution with the goal of overthrowing the Egyptian state. In Quṭb's view, the world is essentially divided into a party of God and a party of Satan, or those committed to God's rule and those opposed to it. As such, Quṭb was attacking both the secular modern West and those parts of the Arab world that did not support his vision of Islamic society. In Quṭb's interpretation, *jihād* is a call for immediate revolutionary struggle as the only way to implement a true Islamic order.

Although he was executed by the Egyptian government in 1966, Quṭb's radical vision and his revolutionary interpretation of *jihād* had a profound impact on many later Muslim extremists. Among others, he helped inspire the activities of Usāmah bin Lādin and the al-Qāʿidah network, who have similarly turned to extreme acts of violence as the means to restore a truly Islamic society in the face of Western imperialism. Indeed, al-Qāʿidah's attacks on the World Trade Towers—the supreme symbols and perhaps cathedrals of global capitalism—might be viewed as the ultimate use of religious authority as a revolutionary force of struggle against a secular economic and political power. As Lincoln suggests (2003, p. 18), their aim was to drop a kind of divine Hiroshima bomb upon what they regarded as a godless, materialist and inherently anti-Islamic power.

CONCLUSIONS. Although early sociologists and proponents of modernization theory had predicted a gradual waning of religious power amidst an increasingly rationalized, disenchanted modern world, it would seem that since the mid -twentieth century quite the opposite has happened. If anything, religious power and appeals to supra-human authority have been reasserted in emotionally intense, globally influential and spectacularly violent new ways. A striking number of political conflicts of the late twentieth century have involved religious identity as a central component: the nuclear standoff between India and Pakistan, the violence between Russia and Chechnya, Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland, bloody clashes between Christians and Muslims in Indonesia and Nigeria, and civil war in Sudan, Uganda and Sri Lanka. Indeed, some authors have expressed almost a nostalgia for the days of the Cold War, as we appear to be reverting to seventeenth century style wars of religion, but now fought with twenty-first century weapons.

Ironically, the relationship between religion and politics has not become clearer or simpler in the context of modernization and the emergence of a global economy. On the contrary, it has become infinitely more complex, as a wide array of religious movements adapt, transform or reject altogether the model of the modern secular nation and instead reassert the power of religion in the political sphere. Some authors have tried to analyze the post-Cold War global situation as a confrontation between major ideological forces—for example, Samuel Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations* (1996), or Benjamin Barber's *Jihad vs. McWorld* (1995), which describes a fundamental conflict between the forces of global capitalism and the reactionary "tribal" and religious forces who reject global monoculture and reassert local culture and identity.

Yet the post-Cold War situation would seem far more complex and multi-faceted than these simplistic ideological clashes or binary oppositions between secular political forces and religious extremism. One need only look to the case of the United States—with its powerful political forces on the religious right and its unique brand of civil religion—to see that religious authority can go hand in hand with political power, economic influence and military might. Even the most extreme "maximalist" religious movements such as al-Qāʿidah have no qualms about making sophisticated use of the networks of the global system, such as computers, telecommunications and international finance. Since the mid-twentieth century, moreover, a wide range of new international movements have emerged—such as Sōka Gakai Buddhism, the followings of gurus like Sathya Sai Baba, and various forms of transnational Islam—that are quite at home amidst the rapid flows of human beings and resources in a global era. Far from waning in significance, religions continue to provide a sense of meaning, value and collective identity that perhaps neither secular nations nor private corporations can offer. Calling as they do upon a transcendent source of authority, religious movements can also make demands upon their believers that supercede those of the nation or any other institution of merely human authority.

In sum, attempts to separate the imagined categories of religion and politics have not often resulted in the creation of rationally ordered secular nations, as imagined by Locke or America's founding fathers. On the contrary, they have given birth to even more complex kinds of religio-political power, in the form of civil religion, religious nationalism, extremism and terror. Gandhi himself could not have foreseen the role of religion in the post-colonial world, where it has had an even more dramatic impact on politics and national identity than he dared imagine.

SEE ALSO New Religious Movements, overview article.

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POLITICS AND RELIGION: POLITICS AND BUDDHISM

In those parts of the Asian world where Buddhism is the religion of the majority, it continues to play a prominent role in many nations, not infrequently with consequences for national politics and destinies. Because Buddhism is so closely associated with cultural norms and worldviews, it cannot be isolated from politics, whether viewed historically or with regard to current events. Buddhism is a living organism, feeding off the political circumstances of a particular culture, time, or place. Its history reflects the strains of adolescence, maturity, and old age, and it has metamorphosed on occasion to accommodate changes in its environment. Buddhism's history of synthesis and adaptation led it to divide into three great branches (Theravāda, Mahāyāna, and Vajrayāna) and a myriad of schools and movements. This entry reviews the relationship between politics and Buddhism from four perspectives. It first asks how the Buddhist tradition understands and defines political life and faith and examines to what extent Buddhists see the two as separate spheres. Second, it isolates historical developments in religious and political power in the Buddhist tradition, showing the sometimes complementary, sometimes competitive interaction of the two forces. Third, the article considers how this interaction still resonates in the Buddhist world at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The article ends with a brief review of the impact of modernization and socioeconomic change on Buddhism's intersection with politics. Adapting to changing circumstances throughout history, Buddhism has sought to both protect and develop its place in the world to which it ministers—including the often polarizing and spiteful realm of politics.

DEFINING RELIGION AND POLITICS IN A BUDDHIST CONTEXT. This article will define politics as the science or art of government and the management of state affairs, with the state in turn defined as an organized political community. In many cases nationalism has played a significant role in politics; this slippery concept may be defined as a sometimes chauvinistic devotion to an ethnic, religious, or political community, with a concomitant impetus to advance its interests and traditions, often at the expense of other communities. Turning to religion, we may venture that Buddhism, in all its various forms, includes at least two features: in Pali, one of its traditional classical languages (the other being Sanskrit), these are the "church" (*sāsana*) and doctrine (*dhamma;* Sanskrit: *dharma*). A third, more contemporary characteristic is Buddhist "culture" (e.g., Sinhala: *bauddha sanskrutiya*). The aim of Buddhism is to help people find meaning in life. The religion has an institutional structure—for instance, the monastic *saṅgha* (Sanskrit: *saṃgha*) for monks and nuns, as well as various sects or Nikāyas)—but in essence it is a religion that teaches a state of mind, a way of being. Its doctrine is not primarily concerned with political systems or even social reform, which are considered to be irrelevant to salvation (Gombrich, p. 30). But history shows us that Buddhism has nonetheless been used to further political or sectarian goals, and some politicians have employed it as a vehicle to promote exclusivist, ethnically based nationalisms.

The relationship between Buddhism and politics, then, has been and continues to be a complex one, and it varies considerably among Asia's very diverse Buddhist communities. Politics in majority-Buddhist countries ranges from the relative freedom of expression enjoyed in Sri Lanka, Thailand, and Japan to the repressions imposed on the citizens of Myanmar, the People's Republic of China, and North Korea. Notwithstanding the apolitical nature of the teachings of Gautama Śākyamuni, the fifth-century- BCE Buddha, and despite the stereotype of a passivist, non-aggressive *dharma*, it can be argued that the seeds of a political worldview exist in the Pali Canon, a scripture composed of three "baskets" or collections, which all Buddhists acknowledge as a primary source. Later Mahāyāna texts also have political significance; the *Saddharmapundarīka Sūtra*, for example, served as the key text for the modern Japanese Sōka Gakkai (Value Creation Society), while the *Suvarnabhasottama Sūtra* expounded on the duties of a righteous king. Additionally, quasi-historical "chronicles" such as Sri Lanka's *Mahavamsa* or Myanmar's *Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma*, which purport to give further insight into the Buddha's missionary travels, express an often deep religious conviction linking the *dharma* to a state.

Although Buddhism's primary scriptures do not set down a precise political philosophy, a polysemous reading of the Pali *Sutta Pitaka* reveals a political ideal that complements the soteriological teachings of the Buddha. This soteriology rests on the central problem of painfulness (*dukkha;* Sanskrit *duḥka*), to which Buddhism offers a practical solution, focused on life in the here and now. No eschatological dilemma or otherworldly goals preoccupy the Buddha; rather, his teachings rely primarily on seeing the facts of life as they are (*yathabhuta-dassana*) and eradicating superstition and useless social practices through reason (*takka*) and analysis (*vibhajja*). Beyond this epistemological basis, however, there is a definite social dimension to Buddhist teachings: The Buddha not only asks how and what we know, but also what we should do, not only for ourselves but for the common good.

The Buddha's message against coarse craving (*tanhā*) and the emotional cankers (*āsava*) of greed, hatred, and delusion applies not only to the individual, but also carries implications for the collective well-being of the community. Aggression (*patighanusaya*), indulgence (*kamasukhalikanuyoga*), and other spiritual hazards regularly upset the equilibrium of peoples, states, and the world at large. Several texts (e.g., the *Sigalovada Sutta* and *Dīgha-nikāya* 3.180) set down a layperson's code of conduct (*gihivinaya*) with regard to the society in which he or she lives. Two of the most significant sūtras dealing with what might loosely be described as political responsibility are the *Cakkavattisihanada-sutta* and the *Aggañña Suttas* (*Dīgha-nikāya* 3.58, 80). These texts treat the origin and development of the state and the rights and duties of both monarch and citizen. The model society and polity they present fosters ethical conduct and embodies a strong social ideal, which then guides the principal objectives of the state. *Dīgha-nikāya* 3.62 describes the ideal world-ruler, the "Celestial Wheel–turning king," who uses his civil authority to promote righteousness and security. In this and other canonical passages, the recommendations go beyond the caste-based worldview behind Hindu statecraft and law codes (*Arthaśāstra*). The *Aggañña Sutta* in particular urges equal rights and opportunities for all people simply as fellow members of humanity, irrespective of caste or race (see also *Majjihima Nikāya* 2. 85, 151, *Dīgha-nikāya* 1.99).

Based on these texts, one could argue that Buddhism charges the state and its citizens with the responsibility to maintain economic and social equality. Whether these texts can be seen as constituting a fully fledged political philosophy, however, is doubtful; nonetheless they do suggest that the state must not impede human freedom, and that both individual citizens and the polity as a whole should be allowed to evolve and mature. This is consistent with the Buddha's teaching that nothing is permanent, nor should anything rest on the basis of authority alone (*Aṅguttara-nikāya* 1. 189); both principles certainly apply to the state. More controversially, some scholars have tried to extrapolate from the Buddha's rule (*vinaya*) for his monastic order (*saṃgha*)—citing such practices as the pooling of resources—to arrive at a proto-socialistic interpretation of Buddhist political doctrine in general, in which similarly communal principles would guide the state as a whole. Others emphasize the *saṃgha's* democratic character and argue that its traditions spilled over into various forms of assembly and village administration (see Joshi, p. 33). Yet although the Vinaya Piṭaka undoubtedly gives us a picture of an early Indian community of mendicants organized along "socialist" and even "democratic" lines, this cannot be taken as a political model for lay society. In sum, whereas the traditional Buddhist *saṃgha* was not concerned with politics, the Pali Canon arguably contains a political philosophy of a sort, derived from the Buddha's advice to rulers and citizens. The ideal of harmonious coexistence between the two and among the latter lies at the core of this philosophy, which also emphasizes the individual's right to pursue his or her fortune, but not at the expense of others (*Anguttara Nikāya* 2.95).

Politics and Buddhism are acknowledged as distinct entities in the canonical scripture, but with the rise of the Mauryan empire under Aśoka (c. 250 BCE), the association between religion and state shifted subtly toward state leadership in religious affairs. A. L. Basham indicates this when he writes: "In place of the traditional policy of territorial expansion [Aśoka] substituted conquest by Righteousness (as we here inadequately translate by the very pregnant word *dharma*)" (1954, p. 54). The monarch's conversion to Buddhism and the subsequent widespread propagation of its values, including respectful veneration and oversight of the *saṃgha*, produced an important model of a Buddhist state and its relationship with Buddhist monastic orders. In due course, the *saṃgha* sought to assume a position to grant legitimacy to the state. And much later, a new three-fold "refuge" arose in parts of the Buddhist world to complement the traditional refuges (*śāraṅa*) of the Buddha, *dhamma* and *saṃgha*. This new, inescapably political "refuge" consisted of country, national identity, and religion—or as expressed in the state motto adopted by Cambodia's 1993 Constitution, "nation, religion, king."

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT. Historically, Buddhism is considered to have developed more in concert than in conflict with political power. In fact, Trevor Ling has coined the term "royal Buddhism"to describe the increasingly symbiotic relationship between *saṃgha* and monarchy in the medieval period (though it was of course not wholly devoid of antagonism; see p. 133). By extension, the relationship between *saṃgha* and laity has been described as leading to a "mass politicization" of the Buddhist population (see Bechert, 1978, p. 16). The Theravāda polities of South and Southeast Asia provide good examples of this symbiosis of Buddhism and political authority. In addition to the well-developed Mon kingdoms of southern Burma and the central plain of the Chao Phraya (e.g., Dvaravati), Sri Lanka serves as an excellent example, with its celebrated story of the early Buddhist ideal "warrior-king" Dutthagamini (c. 150 BCE). According to the story, he requested five hundred monks to accompany him as a "blessing and protection" or "merit-field" in his efforts to repel Tamil invaders; he is also said to have carried a relic of the Buddha on his own spear as an amulet (see Alice Greenwald in Bardwell Smith, 1978, p. 13). The Khmer court in ninth- through thirteenth-century Cambodia extravagantly endorsed a cult of Hindu-Buddhist divine kingship, which reached its apogee during the reign of Jayavarman VII (1181–c. 1215), who modeled his image of the Buddha in the Angkor temple of Bayon after himself. At his death in 1218 he received the title Mahaparamasaugata, or "the great and supreme Buddhist" (see Coedès, p. 172). Burma's Pagan period (c. 800–1200 CE) was a golden age of the Buddhist monarchical ideal, represented by the Ananda temple (*zedi*) built by King Kyanzittha (r. 1084–1113). Writing about this kingdom, which was centered around the upper Irrawaddy, Michael Aung Thwin observes

> [T]he protective capacity of the state in twelfth and thirteenth-century Burma was a strong one; it was not a violent or chaotic society but an ordered and hierarchical one, concerned not with individual political freedom as a measure of happiness, but with social and political order, ruled not by independent lords and armies,

> but by a sovereign and his officials, and pacified by a [Buddhist] primate and his monks. (p. 96)

In the fourteenth- through eighteenth-century Lao kingdom (Lan Xang), the *saṅgha* legitimized what was perceived as a karmically justified kingly rule; in return they expected the king to meet their standards of just rule (*dhammaraja*). In Sukhothai (middle Thailand, 1230–1378 CE), the respected king Rama Kamheng was a precursor of the royal Buddhism associated with the great Ratnakosin dynasty (1782–present), in which the monarchs are not only the foremost sponsors of the Buddhist faith, but also symbols of national unity.

The function of the monarch. One feature common to most of these examples is the function of the monarch (clearly a "political" figure) as purifier and unifier of the Buddhist monastic order, as exemplified by the amalgamation of the Sinhalese *saṅgha* under Parakamabahu I (1153–1186 CE). In Mahāyāna Buddhist Asia, by contrast, Japan experienced the rise of powerful Buddhist temples and even armies of "priest-warriors" *(sohei)* from the time of Prince Regent Taishi Shōtoku (c. 600 CE). The Buddhist monk Nichiren's reforms (c. 1270 CE) and his promotion of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* (*Lotus Sūtra*) as an intrinsic aspect of national identity—and of himself as something of a messiah—resulted in a unique situation where "much religio-political capital was made of his inheritance in subsequent centuries" (see Harris, p. 15). In Tibet, the concept of the Buddhist monk (lama) as a political ruler originated with Sa skya Paṇḍita, who was made vice-regent to the Mongol khan Godan (1246 CE). This concept was reinforced when the head of the Dge lugs pa sect, the lama Sodnams Gyamtsho, received the honorific Dalai Lama from the Altan khan in 1578.

The Himalayan region. The traditional Himalayan Buddhist kingdoms of Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan are further interesting examples of the merging of religion with political order over a period of many centuries. In this regard, Nepal's polity has been dominated by a strong connection between the royal house and Hinduism for centuries. As recently as 1962, the Constitution referred to "the Hindu kingdom of Nepal," and although the 1990 Constitution no longer uses this language, the king (traditionally revered as an incarnation of Viṣṇu) is still identified as the "symbol of the nation." The majority of Nepal's diverse population being Hindu notwithstanding, Buddhism has also had a prominent place in Nepal's unique culture and sociology for over a millennium. Rose and Fisher (1970, p. 9) reflect on the many migrations that have affected Nepal over the centuries, their combined impact "encrusted with mythological lore." For example, the great Buddhist saint Milarepa (c. 1050 CE) is associated with several holy sites in Nepal. Tibetan Buddhism has clearly dominated entire communities, notably the high mountain peoples, Sherpas and Tamangs, and the Newar in the Valley of Nepal. What is remarkable is the close theological connection (including yogic practices and iconography) between Buddhism and Hinduism, something remarked on as far back as the seventh century CE by Hsüan Tsang. A sense of the contribution of Buddhism to Nepal's cultural and spiritual identity is everywhere apparent either in great historic structures (e.g., the Swayambhunath Stupa outside of Kathmandu), or in some of its contemporary leading personalities, such as the role of Dilgo Khyentse Rinpoche, the Nyingmapa *terton*, "discoverer of holy treasure" and founder of the Shechen temple.

Nonetheless, despite self-evident respect for Buddhism, the government of Nepal is careful not to permit politicization of the faith. Given the dominance of Tibetan forms of Buddhism in Nepal (other sects are present but of modest significance), and the always-sensitive proximity to China, no promotion of Tibetan political rights, or public veneration of the Dalai Lama for that matter, is permitted. Any suggestion of a pan-Himalayan Buddhist renaissance is alarming to the dominant Hindu communities and the regional super powers. Apart from the occasional anomaly (e.g., a Tibetan Buddhist exile guerrilla presence in Mustang), Buddhism has no political role to play in contemporary Nepal.

Neighboring Sikkim is the smallest of the traditional Himalayan Buddhist polities, ruled in recent centuries by an absolute Buddhist monarchy associated with the Namgyal family, which in turn traced its roots to the ninth-century Minvang dynasty of eastern Tibet's Chumbi Valley. Nyingmapa Buddhism was the faith of the early Tibetan migrants to Sikkim, the Bhutia people, and became the state religion. In the seventeenth century, a Minvang prince, Phuntsok Namgyal, became Sikkim's king *(chogyal)*. The last of his lineage was the twelfth *chogyal*, Palden Thondup Namgyal, who died in 1982. In time, other indigenous communities (e.g., Lepcha, Gurung, Rai) accepted both Namgyal dynastic rule and Buddhism. After years of interfering with its affairs, and alarmed by continuing border problems with China, in 1975 India annexed Sikkim. Even before Sikkim became India's twenty-second state, the era of Buddhist cultural dominance was already compromised by a longstanding migration of Hindu Nepalis, which began in the British period and has continued unabated. But Indian sovereignty has not crushed Sikkim's Buddhist spirit or cultural identity, and New Delhi conscientiously supports the maintenance of *chortens* (stupas) and sites of Sikkimese historical and spiritual importance. Sikkim's monarchial collapse has left Bhutan as the last Himalayan Buddhist kingdom and, in a sense, curator of a once widespread religio-political world view and civilization.

Tradition claims that Bhutan (Druk Yul) was converted to Buddhism by the storied Indian saint Padmasambhava in the eighth century CE. The faith was reinforced by the arrival of the great Nyingmapa teacher, Guru Rinpoche, from Tibet. A specific Buddhist polity emerged only in the seventeenth century when a Tibetan Kagyupa monk, Ngawang Namgyal, took on the title Shadrung ("at whose feet one submits"). Apart from centralizing authority, he set down a legal system and promoted the building of religious structures.

Thus began a Buddhist state that functioned for 270 years based on a shared rule between a religious leader thought to be the Shandung's reincarnation (*je khenpo*) and a secular authority (the Deb Raja). A British presence from 1864 was unobtrusive and the country essentially escaped an interfering colonial experience. In 1907, in response to the perceived political needs of the time by both religious and civil leaders, a monarchial system was introduced. Hereditary kings from the Wangchuck family formed the basis of an erastian Buddhist polity which is still in place. The kings have been capable rulers, and although an advisory national assembly (*tshoghu*) was introduced in 1951, when the prime minister was assassinated in 1964, his office was never replaced. The present king, the fourth Druk Gyalpo, Jigme Singye Wangchuck, was consecrated monarch by the *je khenpo* in 1972. As his predecessors, the king wears as part of his regal garments a saffron scarf (*kabne*), the mark of a Buddhist ruler, and an item shared only with the *je khenpo*.

Unlike the destabilized Nepal monarchy (ruinously cut down in 2001 by a deranged crown prince), the Bhutan royal house appears educated, and realistic about the pressures of modernity. Bhutan isolated itself in the mid-twentieth century from the backpackers, counter-culture visitors, and other effects of globalization. It kept India at arm's length through prudent foreign policy, and has independently and forcefully attacked various Indian secessionist organizations that periodically seek refuge in Bhutan's borders. Many challenges remain, notably widespread illegal immigration and imported political notions contrary to a traditional Buddhist monarchy, no matter how progressive. Bhutan has shown the benefits of this kind of rule. King Jigme Singye Wangchuck has, as one commentator notes, "enlightened but constrained attitudes towards progress and development" (Crossette, 1995, p. 182). This, along with a *saṅgha* active in welfare and development activities, suggests an ultimately successful and enduring Buddhist state.

Colonial experience. Another essential feature of this formative historical period is Buddhist nationalism in the context of the colonial experience. Although nationalism is often associated with political events in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe, Buddhist nationalism in Asia arose very early. "In this way," writes Heinz Bechert, "a form of nationalism originated in ancient Ceylon which was rather close to modern nationalism with its conceptions of a united nation with common linguistic, cultural and religious traditions" (1978, p. 8). Steven Kemper (p. 17) shows that a "full-fledged set of identities" was in place in Sri Lanka a thousand years before the colonial era, and that some of the same conditions applied as well to the "theater states" and "galactic polities" of premodern South and Southeast Asia. In virtually all of these instances, Buddhism played a prominent role in nurturing national identity and was thus implicated in the political repercussions of the rise of nationalism.

With the advent of colonialism the autonomous Buddhist world faced increasing confusion and doubt. The eighteenth century brought British incursions into the subcontinent, while the next century saw the establishment of French hegemony in Indochina. Japanese colonial expansion into Korea, Manchuria, and Formosa (1895–1945) brought different forms of Buddhism into these countries. A takeover by Buddhist Japan created much less of a culture shock, though, than did Victorian Christian imperialism, which attacked the emerging sense of national uniqueness and purpose in British-occupied Asian countries, and thereby also disrupted the intimate and still developing connection between Buddhism and political identity. In many cases religious identity fuelled political reactions to imperialism (see Pye, p. 91). In general, the faith retained its hold over the majority of believers, contributing to a religious revival that nurtured struggles for independence. Siam (Thailand) alone escaped foreign subjugation, largely through the capable statecraft of three perceptive monarchs who ruled the country between 1851 and 1925: Mongkut (later Rama IV), Chulalongkorn, and Vajiravudh. These monarchs were realists who acknowledged the need to modernize their country, to that end accepting those foreign values and technologies they deemed useful. At the same time, however, they centralized both the polity and the *saṅgha*, bringing the religion directly under the control of what was quickly becoming a modern nation state (see Ishii, p. 47).

By contrast, the government of Burma, long isolationist and introverted, was completely unprepared to meet the ideological and intellectual challenges of colonialism and modernization. Burma-centrism, supported by a mythological cosmology, had given the Burmese "a disproportionate overestimation of their own power" (Sarkisyanz, p. 99). Buddhism emerged as the only foundation upon which to build a Burmese national consciousness, as various nationalist groups, including "heritage protection" (*wuthanu athin*), and monks such as U Wissera and U Ottama assumed quasi-political leadership roles. Buddhist millenarian expectations—centered around the *set kya min* or Restorer of the Golden Age, the future Buddha who would reestablish the perfect society—accompanied Burmese nationalism, as did elements of magic and sorcery such as the notion of *yadaya chay*, or "outwitting fate by prompt action." (In fact, these ideas have persisted into the twenty-first century, and they still resound in the corridors of political power in Myanmar). In Ceylon (later Sri Lanka), the British initially found it politically expedient to grant state protection to Buddhism, but Christian missionary agitation led the crown to withdraw this protection in 1853. This created an immediate vacuum, with which the *saṅgha* was unable to cope. Only in the latter part of the nineteenth century did Sinhalese Buddhism assume a proactive posture, under such individuals as Anagārika Dharmapāla (1864–1933) and the American convert Col. Henry Steel Olcott (1832–1907), who inspired a Buddhist political renaissance.

BUDDHISM AND POLITICS IN THE POSTCOLONIAL ERA. The political position of Buddhism at the end of the colonial era created institutional arrangements and led to events that still resonated decades later. After Sri Lanka gained its independence in 1948, its *saṅgha* directly entered into political life, issuing a declaration of intent via Vidyālankara, a leading Buddhist seminary. The declaration broadly defined the expectations for the *saṅgha*'s activity beyond the monastery, and the Ven. Walpola Rahula's still much-cited work *Bhiksuvage Urumaya* (Heritage of the Bhikkhu, 1946) offered further guidance. Both maintained that the modern monk, alert to the decline of Buddhist influence in national affairs, should see political engagement as a responsibility. The initiative also promoted a doctrine of Sinhalese distinctiveness, leading to what Tessa Bartholomeusz has called a "marriage of religion and ethnicity" (p. 78). This marriage spurred the creation of a number of politicized Sinhala Buddhist societies and nationalist (*deshapremi*) groups, which at times have had significant influence over state affairs. No Sri Lankan head of state could afford to marginalize Buddhism without jeopardizing his or her power. Some couched their political aims in grandiose religio-political language, as did President J. R. Jayawardene in his 1978 *dharmishta,* or righteous policy objectives. Others, such as Ranasinghe Premadasa (1989), used Sri Lanka's royal past to legitimate their authority, symbolically standing on the once-royal dais at Kandy's Temple of the Tooth.

Religio-cultural issues also run deep in Myanmar, where in 1962 a rogue military junta seized power from the pro-Buddhist government of Prime Minister U Nu, who had styled himself as the Mahathammada or true leader of Buddhism. The new dictatorship forced the long-autonomous *saṅgha* to conform to strict government control. As elsewhere in Buddhist Asia, Burmese political rulers rewarded cooperative monks, and the ruling junta frequently "makes merit" through major public demonstrations of institutional support for the faith, seeking to justify its rule to a skeptical and downtrodden society. Widespread but usually unvoiced sympathy among the *saṅgha* for the dissident leader Aung San Suu Kyi periodically erupts into public demonstrations. For a month in 1990, for instance, monks "turned over the begging bowl" (*patta ni kauz za na kan*) to military personnel in political protest, an extraordinary manifestation of Buddhism's quiet influence, even under military tyranny. In Vietnam, where French colonialism led to a society divided between Buddhists and Roman Catholics, the 1930s saw a Buddhist renaissance that accelerated with the struggle for independence, particularly after the defeat of the French at Dien Bien Phu in May 1954. President Ngo Dinh Diem's overt partiality to Catholicism at a time of intense nationalist fervor alienated Buddhists, who were refused a public voice. Vietnam's *saṅgha* never demanded a "Buddhist" government, but through their actions they sought to awaken a humanitarian and nationalist consciousness in their country. Most famously, in June 1963 Ven. Thich Quang-Du'c burned himself to death in Saigon to call attention to the sufferings of the Vietnamese people. Other monks followed with similar ritual deaths, which devotees characterize as acts of heroism.

As Thich Nhat Hanh has noted, "in every Buddhist the ideas of Buddhism and nationalism are intertwined and cannot be easily separated" (p. 45, 107). In Vietnam, however, Ho Chi Minh's victorious Communist Party sought to harness Vietnamese nationalism to support its own ideology. Their claim to a monopoly on both politics and Vietnamese consciousness robbed Buddhism of any critical social or political voice. Indeed, the government sought to bring Buddhism under its control by establishing a single, state-sponsored Vietnamese national Buddhist *saṅgha* (Giao Hoi Phat Giao Viet Nam). Although communist governments in Vietnam, China, and North Korea continue to tolerate Buddhism, they never invite it to play a role either in political power or in defining official national ideology. Non-communist countries such as Thailand and Sri Lanka have often enshrined Buddhism in their constitutions, but only to patronize or protect it or to secure its place in what Bartholomeusz calls "Buddhist secularism" (p. 5). Here, as in the communist countries, the state does not envision an active political role for Buddhism or its clergy.

EFFECTS OF MODERNIZATION AND GLOBALIZATION. As R. N. Bellah points out, modernization is not simply a matter of adopting new technologies; it also involves a "modernization of the soul" (1965, p. 196). In early-twentieth-century Asia, Buddhists often adopted concepts imported from the West, such as social welfare or socialism, and adapted them to their own countries' circumstances, endowing them with a distinctive, indigenous vigor. In Japan, the Sōka Gakkai lay sect of Nichiren Buddhism exemplifies this process; through its influential leftist Clean Government Party (Kōmeitō, founded 1964), it pushes for the establishment of a welfare state to secure the health and material well-being of lower social classes. What is now referred to as "engaged Buddhism" has its roots in the late nineteenth century; in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, "engaged" Buddhist thinkers and activists such as Burma's Aung San Suu Kyi, Tibet's Dalai Lama, Thailand's Sulak Sivaraksa, and Sri Lanka's A. T. Ariyaratna have used the faith to respond to a host of issues brought on by modernization and globalization. In a unique response to the devastation of their country's environment, some Thai monks have "ordained" trees otherwise doomed to be cut down. Among the other issues Buddhism must grapple with are rampant consumerism, the deluge of Western popular culture, and political tyranny, often supported or simply ignored by the international community. It is no exaggeration to claim that "Buddhism in contemporary Asia means energetic engagement with social and political issues and crises at least as much as it means monastic or meditative withdrawal" (Queen, p. ix).

Referring to Buddhism's long association with a wide array of cultures, regimes, and governments, Thich Nhat Hanh is surely correct when he writes that "the forms of Buddhism must change so that the essence of Buddhism remains unchanged" (p. 94). In principle, the religion remains ready to offer political guidance and criticism, without seeking theocratic power or adherence to any type of dogmatic fundamentalism.

SEE ALSO Colonialism and Postcolonialism.

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BRUCE MATTHEWS (2005)

POLITICS AND RELIGION: POLITICS AND CHINESE RELIGION

Few would deny that politics has played an important role in the development of Chinese religion, yet the terms *religion* (*zhengzhi*) and *politics* (*zongjiao*) were not used in premodern China. Both of these words only entered into Chinese usage in the last century, as Japanese neologisms for modern Western concepts. Prior to the twentieth century, it is often difficult to distinguish between politics and religion: the imperial court drew upon religious symbolism in its displays of political authority, and religious leaders often claimed authority usually reserved for the state.

While the following discussion will use the terms *politics* and *religion* in describing the complex interactions of the secular and the sacred in Chinese history, it is worth bearing in mind how modern analytical categories do not always fit premodern conceptual landscapes. This article will address six main topics: (1) the politics of religion in China, (2) the development of the imperial cults, (3) religious conceptions of sovereignty and political power, (4) the analogy of the bureaucracy, (5) religious persecutions and rebellions, and (6) religious advisors and state patronage.

THE POLITICS OF RELIGION IN CHINA. Following Western models of the secular, modernized state, both the Nationalist (Guomindang, or GMD) and the Communist governments of China legislated the institutional separation of state and religion. Yet governmental policies that require the registration and monitoring of civic religious activities have complicated this claim. The constitution of the People's Republic of China (PRC) officially protects religious freedoms, but the government nevertheless monitors and controls all religious activities through the State Bureau of Religious Affairs (SBRA). All major religions in China (Buddhism, Daoism, Islam, and Christianity) are required to affirm their support of the Communist Party and leadership, to register with the SBRA, and to sever ties with foreign networks or organizations (including parent organizations such as the Roman Catholic Church). In return, religious organizations receive official state recognition and protection.

Yet as Stephan Feuchtwang has noted, religious organizations that maintain foreign ties, do not publicly support the leadership, or do not register with the SBRA are considered purveyors of superstition (*mixin*) rather than religion. Practitioners of this so-called superstition are often seen as deceiving the people, and they may be punished for a number of economic crimes, such as fraud. Here, what is noteworthy is how the state arrogates the power to define the categories of religion and superstition—that is, the religious forms protected by the state and those punishable by the state.

The religious policies of the PRC reflect a longstanding ambivalence between governing bodies and religious groups throughout Chinese history. Simply put, religion poses a counter-authority to that of the state, and as a result the state must seek means of controlling or neutralizing the potential threat of religious authority. The modern Communist government has chosen to do so by claiming the right to delimit the religious sphere. Yet the PRC's appropriation of religious authority is not a new phenomenon; Chinese governments of earlier periods have consistently sought to align, if not unify, political and religious concerns. Further, traditional Chinese concepts of sovereign power were founded on religious grounds or elaborated through religious language and imagery.

THE IMPERIAL CULTS. One sees this most clearly in the long history of imperial cults and state rituals that date from the earliest historical period to the fall of imperial China in 1911. In general, imperial cults consisted of devotions and rituals that had to be performed by the ruler, or by an official surrogate, to ensure the continued well-being and prosperity of the empire. These included the sacrifices to the Altars of Soil and Grain and at the Hall of Light, as well as ritual observances for the cults of Laozi (fl. 6th century BCE) and Confucius (Kongzi, 551–479 BCE). The most important of the imperial cults were those with the most ancient provenance: (1) the imperial ancestral cult, and (2) the worship of a supreme god known as variously as "Heaven" (Tian), "God" (Di), or the "High God" (Shangdi).

The imperial ancestral cult was related to other forms of ancestor worship in China. Yet whereas ordinary ancestral spirits concerned themselves only with their own descendents, the imperial ancestors watched over the dynastic house and, by extension, the entire empire. Scholars have noticed that the imperial ancestral cult often held a relatively low rank among the great sacrifices of state. Nevertheless, the ruler's ancestors possessed a significance that greatly exceeded the actual status of the sacrifice. Victor Xiong has noted how the placement of the ruler's ancestral spirit tablets within the capital city transformed mere urban space into the sacred center of the empire.

The imperial cult of Heaven provided the other crucial source of political authority. Early political theory had constructed the analogy between Heaven and the human ruler: just as Heaven asserted sovereignty over the pantheon of spirits, so the human ruler asserted sovereignty over the empire and its people. Yet at the same time, the ruler derived his (and, in the single exception, her) authority directly from Heaven. He was referred to as the "Son of Heaven" (*Tianzi*), the one person charged by the "Mandate of Heaven" (*Tianming*) to rule over all things. The idea of a Heaven-bestowed mandate complicated the authority of the emperor, since Heaven did not unwaveringly favor one dynastic house above all others. In fact, a dynasty that had become morally bankrupt would lose the mandate to rule. The Zhou dynasty (c. 1150–256 BCE) first introduced the Mandate of Heaven as justification for overthrowing the Shang (sixteenth to eleventh centuries BCE), and later dynasties continued to invoke the doctrine in political rhetoric and discourse.

OTHER RELIGIOUS CONCEPTIONS OF SOVEREIGNTY. The imperial cults provided the most visible means by which rulers laid claim to sacred authority. Other religious traditions, however, played important roles in the imagination and construction of political sovereignty. The following section will discuss three traditions: (1) early immortality quests, (2) Daoist models of kingship, and (3) Buddhist models of kingship. Of course, not all Chinese emperors were equally interested in alternative sources of sacred authority to the imperial cults. Rather, these reflected the personal inclinations or aspirations of particular rulers, as well as larger trends in Chinese religious history.

The most famous of the early immortality quests are those undertaken by Qin Shihuangdi (r. 221–210 BCE), the First Emperor of the Qin dynasty (221–207 BCE). The Qin succeeded in unifying China through its superior military efficiency and rigid code of laws. The First Emperor was fascinated with the possibility of becoming an immortal in the flesh, and so he traveled throughout the empire in search of spirits or gods who might give him their secrets. He also paid vast sums of money to magicians (*fangshi*) to seek out the mythical island of Penglai, upon which magical herbs of longevity were rumored to grow. The First Emperor even performed the Feng and Shan sacrifices on altars at Mount Tai (the sacred Eastern Marchmount) and Liangfu, in the hopes of achieving self-deification. For Confucian intellectuals, this was a distortion of the great sacrifices, which were supposed to announce the establishment of the age of great peace to Heaven and Earth. In the end, not only did the First Emperor fail to achieve personal immortality, but his dynasty only survived him by about four years.

The Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) succeeded the short-lived Qin. The sixth ruler, Han Wudi (r. 141/140–87/86 BCE), presided over one of the longest reigns in Chinese history. Wudi oversaw the political, economic, and military stabilization of the empire, as well as the establishment of "state Confucianism" (the cultural ideology that later came to encompass a sacred canon, state academies, and the examination system). At the same time, however, Wudi imitated Qin Shihuangdi in seeking the secrets of immortality throughout the empire; he even re-performed the Feng and Shan sacrifices at Mount Tai.

Both the First Emperor and Han Wudi were heavily criticized by the Han historian Sima Qian (c. 145–c. 85 BCE), who saw the rulers' desire for immortality as a combination of despotism and gullibility. Sima Qian's critique did not prevent later rulers from seeking immortality, some of whom perished from ingesting large amounts of cinnabar (mercury sulfide), following the instructions of their Daoist advisors.

Generally speaking, however, the adoption of Daoist models of kingship often served more politically conventional goals. In the medieval Daoist tradition, the deified Laozi became the model of the perfect ruler. Rulers that drew upon the image and rhetoric of Laozi could secure the support of Daoist factions within the court, as well as of Daoist believers throughout the empire. This was the case for Cao Pi (r. 220–226 CE), also known as Wei Wendi. As Howard Goodman has shown, Cao Pi made use of a Celestial Masters prophecy to legitimate his establishment of the Wei dynasty (220–265). Daoism also played a prominent role in the legitimation of the Tang dynasty (618–907 CE). Because the Tang imperial house shared the same surname (Li) as Laozi, the members of the Tang royal house could make the claim that they descended from the Daoist sage. Actual interest in Daoism varied among the twenty-one Tang emperors. The seventh emperor, Tang Xuanzong (Li Longji, r. 712–756), was fascinated by Daoism and was initiated by a Highest Purity (Shangqing) Daoist master as an adept of the sect. In the Song dynasty (960–1279), Emperor Huizong (Zhao Ji, r. 1101–1125) was even more involved in Daoist study and training, to the extent that he was deified as "The Great Emperor of Long Life." In one of the most striking examples of religious sovereignty, Huizong received cult worship as a god in his own lifetime.

The adoption of Buddhist models of kingship could serve similar political ends. The perfect ruler of Buddhism was the cakravartin or "wheel-turning king." Buddhism spoke of the inevitable decline of Buddhist law (*mofa*), but it also maintained that the cakravartin could arrest or even reverse the decline. Therefore, the title of cakravartin was often used to honor rulers who had been generous in their patronage of Buddhist monasteries and their activities. Exemplary Buddhist monarchs included Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty (Xiao Yan, r. 501–549), who received the title "Imperial Bodhisattva" for his intense devotion to Buddhist learning. Emperor Wu famously ransomed himself on several occasions to monasteries in order to channel funds to the Buddhist community. On the other hand, there is the example of the Tang Empress Wu Zetian (r. 684–704). Empress Wu had her monk-lover fabricate the spurious *Scripture of the Great Cloud*, which prophesied the imminent appearance of Maitreya, the Buddha of the Future, in the form of a female deity—that is, Wu Zetian herself.

THE BUREAUCRATIC ANALOGY. A hallmark of Chinese religion is the way in which the world of the gods parallels the human realm of officialdom: the supernatural realm, like this one, is ordered by bureaucracy. As Peter Nickerson has shown, a fifth-century Daoist text of the Celestial Master tradition describes the registers kept by each Daoist household, so that the gods would have accurate records when supernatural intervention was required. By the seventh century, the Buddhist afterlife likewise was represented as a bureaucracy. After death, one's soul would travel through the ten courts of the underworld, each ruled by a king who sat in judgment over the deceased.

Also, documents and papers akin to those necessary for moving through government bureaucracy facilitated communication with the gods. Like the government of this world, the bureaucracy of the gods has roles and hierarchy; in contemporary practice, those seeking help from the gods should first locate the god with the appropriate jurisdiction. But the bureaucratic analogy does have its limits. As Emily Ahern notes, it is possible to appeal directly to the highest deities in a way that is not possible within government bureaucracy. Moreover, people do not relate to the gods solely on the model of supplicant and official; for believers, rank within the supernatural hierarchy may be a consideration secondary to the efficaciousness of a given deity.

While throughout much of China's history the government occasionally granted deities honorary titles, this practice increased sharply during the late eleventh century. Local elites recommended deities associated with their region and with proven records of responsiveness. The granting of titles allowed the central government to extend its reach into each locality and simultaneously to share the accomplishments of these regional supernatural powers. However, as Robert Hymes argues, the titles granted to local gods were purely honorific and based on archaic feudal titles; the government honored the gods but did not grant them functional positions or assign them specific duties. In a related way, the government throughout history also issued ordination certificates to monks and nuns and granted temples plaques that established imperial recognition. Over time, these activities served to create a national, centralized religious network administered by the state.

SUPPRESSION AND REBELLION. As discussed above, religion frequently has been an alternate source of authority to that of the state. From time to time, this has led to religiously influenced rebellions and to the proscription and persecution of religion by the state. For example, Buddhism often has been perceived as a corrupting influence in times of political or cultural crisis because of its foreign origins, and it thus was a frequent target of state suppression. Anti-Buddhist attitudes among officials were exacerbated by the perceived negative economic impact of Buddhist monasteries: monks and nuns were not taxed, and monasteries also owned large tracts of untaxed land. Occasionally, these tensions resulted in attempts to limit or eliminate Buddhist institutions. Emperor Wu of the Northern Wei (Tuoba Tao, r. 423–452) ordered one such large-scale suppression of Buddhism. Most monks survived in hiding, but many temples, scriptures, and works of art were destroyed.

The Buddhist persecution of the Tang Emperor Wuzong (Li Yan, r. 840–846) was perhaps the most far-reaching. This suppression is usually called the "Huichang Suppression," after Wuzong's reign title. First, monasteries were ordered to purge their ranks of unregistered monks, along with those monks who failed to keep their vows, had been convicts, practiced magic, or were otherwise questionable. The government then banned pilgrimages and eliminated smaller Buddhist establishments, relocating monks to larger temples. Shortly thereafter, all Buddhist property was seized by the state. Buddhist statuary and ritual implements made of metal were melted down and made into currency or agricultural tools. The monastic population further declined as the state laicized monks and nuns under forty and set strict limits on the number of monasteries and clergy. The Huichang suppression of Buddhism was part of a larger xenophobic trend; other religions were also purged or suppressed. In 843, Uighur Manichaean priests in Chang'an and Luoyang, as well as Nestorian and Zoroastrian priests, were laicized, and their temple property was confiscated. Two months later the government ordered the execution of all Manichaean priests. The situation eased only after Wuzong's death in 846.

Subsequent dynasties never employed such drastic measures, but modernizing movements in the twentieth century led to efforts to weed out religion as a negative force. When the Communist Party came to power, Buddhist monastic holdings were decimated by land reform, and monks were expected to become productive citizens. In the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), virtually all public displays of religion came to a halt; Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism were attacked part of the "Four Olds" (old ideas, old culture, old customs, old habits). Temples were damaged, closed, or converted to other uses. Muslims were made to eat pork, and Christian churches were purged of their religious symbols. Much religious activity went underground during this time, reemerging only after the Cultural Revolution ended and the political mood shifted.

The state was capable of acting against religion in the kinds of suppressions discussed above, but religion often motivated or guided rebellions against the state. Perhaps the earliest such example is that of the Daoist Yellow Turban revolt at the end of the Han dynasty. Apocalyptic ideology and the desire to establish a Daoist utopia motivated this revolt, which began in 184 CE. Similarly, at the end of the Yuan dynasty (1264–1368), Red Turban armies grew out of millenarian White Lotus societies, drawing inspiration from their belief in messianic prophecies that Maitreya, the Buddha of the Future, would soon be reborn. The founder of the subsequent Ming dynasty (1368–1644), Zhu Yuanzhang, was affiliated with this movement early in his rise to power.

Toward the end of the Qing dynasty, rebellions that incorporated religious elements became more frequent. The Taiping Rebellion (1851–1864) was one of the most destructive. Its founder, Hong Xiuquan, was a convert to Christianity who had a vision in which he was identified as God's son and charged with driving the devils (i.e., the foreign Manchu regime) out of China. He was then to establish the Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace (Taiping Tianguo). Taiping forces managed to take a major city, Nanjing, which they declared the capital of their new kingdom. Around the same time, Muslim rebellions broke out in both Yunnan province and in northwest China, lasting until the mid-1870s. Key background causes included Qing discriminatory laws and tension between minority and majority communities. Ethnic and cultural identities were as much an issue as religion in these insurgencies. To varying degrees, religion also played a role in other late Qing rebellions, such as the 1813 Eight Trigram Revolt and the Boxer Rebellion of 1899 to 1901.

RELIGIOUS ADVISORS AND STATE SPONSORSHIP. Religious figures often served as official and unofficial advisors to emperors, in which capacity they provided rulers with another source of personal or political power. Buddhist or Daoist adepts advised emperors on the protection of the state and personal cultivation. For example, in the Yuan dynasty, Khubilai Khan (r. 1279–1294) employed the Tibetan lama Phags pa (Phagpa; 1235–1280) as his liaison to Tibet and Buddhists; Phags pa in turn provided the emperor with religious legitimacy. The Mongol Yuan government made wide use of Muslim officials, but their employment perhaps had more to do with ethnicity than belief. During the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Jesuit missionaries worked in the service of the emperor, providing guidance on Western science and culture. While their work at court was not religious in nature, their collaboration eased the way for the continued presence of Western missionaries.

Throughout history, imperial patronage has also included the building and restoration of temples and the commission of religious art. Scriptural compilation projects were also examples of major collaborations between religious orders and the state. In both the Tang and Song dynasties, the state sponsored large-scale projects to translate Buddhist sūtras into Chinese. The Song dynasty sponsored the first printing of the entire Buddhist canon, and later dynasties commissioned reprintings. Early Song emperors ordered the collection of Daoist texts, which were then published in an early form of the Daoist canon (*Daozang*); in the Ming, the Yongle emperor (r. 1402–1424) ordered the compilation of the present version of the *Daozang.*

POLITICS AND RELIGION IN MODERN CHINA. Such examples demonstrate that the relationship between the state and religious groups was often a trade-off: the transactions, whether intellectual or material, were most successful when both parties benefited, but the religious group did not overtly challenge secular authority. However, the negotiations between religious and political claims to authority have been considerably more difficult in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century China. For example, the state-recognized Chinese Catholic Church (officially known as the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association) has severed its relationship with the Vatican, bowing to pressure from the state which has frowned upon foreign influence inside China. The Roman Catholic Church does survive in China, but it has been forced underground.

The government likewise has asserted the right to administrate Tibetan Buddhism as a corollary to its claim of political sovereignty over Tibet. In 1950, the newly formed Communist government ordered the military invasion of Tibet, and in the following year, coerced Tibetan representatives to sign the "Agreement on the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet." As a consequence, central Tibet became an autonomous region within China, while other Tibetan territories were incorporated into neighboring Chinese provinces. Under this agreement, Tibetans could continue to govern according to their own traditions, leaving in place the theocracy led by the fourteenth Dalai Lama. However, land reform and other modernizations introduced by the PRC in the 1950s were met with resistance, and tensions escalated to the point of military clashes. With concern growing that Chinese forces would harm the Dalai Lama, he fled to India with an entourage of government leaders and religious followers. A Tibetan government-in-exile was established at Dharamsala, while in Tibet the Communists replaced traditional institutions with socialist ones.

As was true throughout China, the 1980s brought a more relaxed governmental stance toward religious and political expression. Seeking to capitalize on this change in official attitude, the Dalai Lama brought the issue of Tibet and its desire for autonomy to the global stage. Limited attempts at negotiations between the two sides took place in the early 1990s. The Chinese government also attempted to modernize Tibet, which had lagged behind the rest of China in terms of economic and social development. Part of this new approach included increased state patronage of religion, usually in the form of restoring temples; the government also hoped these efforts would attract tourists. But religious revival also needed to be kept in check, and the Communist government stepped up its efforts to control religious leaders. The contrast between traditional notions of religious leadership and Communist expectations clearly manifested itself in the controversy over the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama, whose tenth incarnation had died in 1989. When the eleventh Panchen Lama was identified and approved by the Dalai Lama in 1995, Beijing not only rejected this choice, but also removed the young boy from Tibet. Beijing then installed their own candidate for Panchen Lama through a process controlled by the government. Because the Panchen Lama traditionally plays an important role in identifying and sanctioning the next incarnation of the Dalai Lama, this decision will have long-ranging effects.

In the government's stance toward both the Roman Catholic Church and Tibetan Buddhism, the Chinese state has acted from concern over alternative sources to political authority. This concern also manifests itself in the state's aggressive repression of the Falun Gong movement, also known as Falun Dafa. The group was founded by Li Hongzhi (b. 1952) in 1992. Li's teachings incorporate elements of Buddhism, Daoism, and *qigong* practice, though he also claims that his teachings are superior to both Buddhism and Daoism. There are three components to religious cultivation within Falun Gong: (1) members practice a simplified form of *qigong*; (2) they study Falun Gong teachings; (3) they seek to develop the key moral qualities of truthfulness (*zhen*), goodness (*shan*), and forebearance (*ren*). The goal of such cultivation is to cleanse oneself of bad *karma,* purify one's body, and eventually become a god or buddha.

The case of Falun Gong demonstrates the problem of defining religion in modern China. The government only recognizes five religions (Buddhism, Daoism, Catholicism, Protestantism, and Islam) and thus there is no option for new religious groups to register as such. Moreover, Falun Gong has asserted that it is not a religion, but rather a scientific, rational movement based on a deep understanding of the structure of the universe. Also related to the group's claims are its promises of the health benefits of breathing exercises; these benefits may have attracted people inadequately served by the socialist healthcare system in China. Yet the government has used Falun Gong's claims of health benefits to prove the danger posed by the group, arguing that its "superstitious" practices have prevented people from seeking medical care. In the late 1990s, critics of the group began to air their concerns, causing the state to ban several Falun Gong publications. Falun Gong members began to stage demonstrations, objecting to the label of "superstition" and to state persecution. In April 1999, ten thousand Falun Gong adherents protested in Beijing's Tiananmen Square; in July 1999, the government banned the group. The state has called Falun Gong a dangerous sect that defrauds the populace, and it has used arrests, forced institutionalization, and other forms of pressure to weaken the group. For its part, Falun Gong has availed itself of new technologies, using the internet, cell phones, and pagers to organize its resistance to government pressure. While the most dramatic example of government treatment of new religious groups, Falun Gong is not an isolated case. Scores of religious groups, drawing on a range of traditions, have been banned and members subjected to harsh treatment by the government.

CONCLUSION. Throughout the history of China, religious elements have been integral to the development of Chinese political thought and discourse. Moreover, the multireligious nature of China has meant that different traditions have helped shape the sociocultural landscape. In the above discussion of the relationship between politics and religion in China, three broad positions can be identified. First, those holding political authority used religious claims to provide moral or cosmological legitimation to their rule. Second, politics and religion often existed in a state of balance or compromise, in which each side recognized advantages to cooperation or tolerance. Finally, politics and religion at times failed to recognize the legitimacy of one another's claims to authority, leading to conflict, rebellion, or suppression.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in China; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Chinese Buddhism; Chinese Religion, overview article; Confucianism, overview article; Daoism; Emperor's Cult.

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POLITICS AND RELIGION: POLITICS AND JAPANESE RELIGIONS

One of the most striking photographs of the twentieth century—a kamikaze plane crashing headlong into an Allied ship during the last year of the Pacific war—illustrates dramatically an extreme version of the collusion of religion and politics in Japan. The ideal of dying valiantly to defend or preserve one's sacred homeland is of course found in societies all over the world. However, few societies have combined diverse religious traditions, political will, educational curricula, and coercive social controls to elevate and sustain an ideology of personal self-sacrifice to the extent once found in Japan. Moreover all of these twentieth-century characteristics can be traced to earlier precedents within Japanese social and political history.

The practice of using religious traditions to enhance political power in Japan has a momentum of over eighteen hundred years. And yet the concepts of religion and politics have only recently begun to acquire in Japan some of the same semantic and legalistic meanings with which they are regarded in Europe or North America. The Japanese Supreme Court ruled in 1997 on a case that for the first time clearly upheld a 1947 constitutional distinction between religious and political activities.

The term for religion in Japanese, *shukyō*, consists of two characters: *shu*, meaning "sect," and *kyō*, or "teaching." Originally used in Chinese Buddhism, it was first employed in a treaty in 1869 to translate the German word *Religionsübung* (religious exercise). This conception of the word is adequate for religions such as Buddhism or Confucianism—both with thousands of texts, teachings, and commentaries—but less appropriate for Japan's premodern oral traditions that venerate local deities connected with healing, agriculture, fertility, defense, and control of the weather.

FORMATIVE PERIOD. The earliest recorded period in Japanese history shows clearly a symbiotic interaction of religion and politics. Starting around the sixth century CE, correct governmental administration was based upon the principle of *saisei-itchi* (a Chinese reading of the Japanese term *matsurigoto*), or "unity of ritual and government." Any ruler wanting his or her realm to prosper was obligated to formulate policies reflecting the will of the deities *(kami),* delivered through oracles at certain ancient, powerful shrines (such as Mount Miwa in the central region or at Usa Hachiman on the island of Kyushu) and manifest also through omens and natural phenomena. There is considerable but not conclusive evidence that powerful women shamans, one identified in Chinese chronicles as Himiko, channeled the will of the *kami* as the basis of their rule in the second and third centuries CE.

When Buddhism first arrived in Japan in 538, it too became a valuable resource in building a stable political and social order. The emperor Kinmei received a Buddha statue and several volumes of scriptures from King Songmyong of Paekche (Korean Peninsula), who advised him that not only did great people of the past have full knowledge of the Buddhist doctrine but also it had benefited those who built strong states. Some of Kinmei's vassals, who had been displaced and then immigrated from the Korean Peninsula some two to three centuries earlier, were supportive of this new religion, whereas native clans warned that its adoption would anger local *kami.*

Soon, with religious differences serving to focus other conflicts over title and territory, these two opposing forces met in battle in 587 CE. After the immigrant Soga clan defeated the native Mononobe, religious and political development centered on Buddhism flourished during the seventh century. Some of the patterns established at that time have continued throughout Japanese history: the emperor system, the idea of Japan as a sacred country, state support of Buddhism (and vice versa), regional temples and shrines (as well as the rituals conducted there) designed to protect the state, and venerating (in order to pacify and control) the spirits of the dead.

Shortly after the temporary setback for the native clans mentioned earlier, court nobles were commanded in 593 CE by Suiko, the first of a series of powerful empresses, to support Buddhism. Two important precedents associated with the religion in China and Korea were now to be established in Japan. The first was the *Golden Light Sūtra* (*Suvarnaprabhasa*) and its message of protection for kings, their families, and countries. The other sūtra was the *Benevolent Kings' Sūtra* (*Kārunikā-rāja-prajñāpāramitā*), which in a similar vein assured rulers that by reading and explaining the sūtra they would enact the "Rite of Protecting the Country." Thus the reign of Buddhist law and that of a local king were seen to coincide, benefit, and legitimate each other.

At the same time the regional deities and myths of conquered clans from the recent past were being consolidated into a systematic account, the *Kojiki* (712 CE), to legitimate what has since become the world's oldest extant imperial system. King Tenmu (r. 673–686 CE) bolstered his imperial position as emperor by co-opting the kind of authority traditionally reserved for clan priests. A four-layered system of *kami* worship developed: imperial *kami* were superior to all others, the emperor as a "manifest *kami*" (*akitsukami*) directly descended from the sun deity (Amaterasu) outranked clan chiefs, the most important rituals were conducted by the emperor, and finally the imperial shrine at Ise stood above all other shrines. Tenmu also stationed an imperial princess at Ise to worship on his behalf and created the Council of Kami Affairs to supervise ritual activities of benefit to the state at shrines. The concept of Japan as a "divine nation" (*shinkoku*) first appeared in a subsequent chronicle of 720 CE (the *Nihonshoki*) and then, as will be evident in a moment, emerges again at various critical moments in Japan's history.

Tenmu's grandson Shōmu further developed Buddhism as a tool of the state. In 741 CE he issued an edict requiring every province to build both a monastery and a nunnery, where rituals aimed at protecting the regime (*chingo kokka*) could be held on a regular basis, conducted by priests and nuns certified by the state. "Protect the country [through Buddhism] against all calamity, prevent sorrow and pestilence, and cause the hearts of believers to be filled with joy"

(Kōjiro, 1993, p. 255). At the center of power in what is now Nara in central Japan, Shōmu first consulted a *kami* oracle (at Usa Hachiman in Kyushu) for approval, then constructed the Tōdaiji temple, housing what was at that time the largest seated Buddha in the largest wooden building in the world, dedicated to the peace and prosperity of the state.

In many ways this early period of interactive religious and political development created institutional precedents for subsequent eras. Although the political power of emperors was soon usurped by regional clan chiefs, the structure of the imperial system, though buffeted by centuries of political wrangling, would remain essentially unchanged until 1868. When the capital moved from Nara to nearby Kyoto in 793 CE (in part to escape the meddling influence of powerful Buddhist priests in Nara), its placement followed established "religious" designs strongly influenced by Chinese Daoist principles that now are identified (with varying accuracy) as *feng-shui*, or geomancy. Before moving into the Kyoto Plain, the court had to negotiate with powerful local shrines (such as Matsuo, Fushimi, and Kamo) and gain the protection of their deities for the stability of the realm. It also established temples (Tōji, Saiji, Enryakuji) located at key directional quadrants of the capital (east, west, northeast, respectively) that would further enhance the court's spiritual defenses.

It would be safe to say that those in power during this time saw political and social change as well as calamities as originating from the willful agency of meddlesome spirits, divine beings, and transhuman forces. For example, a belief in the power of departed spirits *(goryō)* gained considerable influence during the Heian period (794–1192). These spirits were thought to be responsible for everything from epidemics to earthquakes, as droughts, famines, stillbirths, pestilence, ominous dreams, and so on were "imbued with a strong political coloration: disasters of all kinds were a barometer of political injustices" (McMullin, 1988, p. 272).

When the Fujiwara clan rose to power through intrigue, assassinations, and exile, these moves left in their wake a number of departed and potentially vengeful spirits. The first rite to propitiate six of these spirits in particular, believed responsible for an epidemic of tuberculosis, was held in 863 CE, later developing into one of the nation's three most famous festivals, Kyoto's midsummer Gion Festival. Likewise a court official exiled to Kyushu around this same time, Sugawara Michizane (845–903 CE), was later believed to have returned as a vengeful spirit to wreak havoc via lightning, flooding, and fires upon the city and court. Shrines dedicated to his spirit, known as Tenjin or Tenmangū shrines, are still prevalent in Japan and are thought to be propitious for academic success. Another vivid example of *goryō* belief will be encountered in the contemporary period.

MIDDLE PERIOD. Following a major battle between supporters of the court (Taira) and a rival faction (Minamoto) in 1185, political power again shifted both to a new clan and location. Not only had the infant emperor drowned in the climactic sea battle at Dan-no-ura, but also one of three imperial regalia—a sword supposedly plucked from the tail of a dragon and given by the *kami* to the imperial lineage—had also been lost at sea. Although the court held fast to the other two relics (a mirror and a magical jewel) and remained in Kyoto with a newly installed emperor, political power moved to Kamakura, far to the north. New and innovative alignments between religion and politics also ensued.

The turmoil of clan warfare as well as the instability of establishing military and administrative control provided an opening for radically different and highly popular religious movements—Pure Land, True Pure Land, Nichiren—to develop centers of political power during what was considered a time of "degeneration of the Buddhist doctrine" *(mappō).* Though differing in religious emphasis (Amida's Pure Land paradise versus the magical effects of chanting the *Lotus Sūtra*), all three movements were founded by charismatic monks (Hōnen, Shinran, and Nichiren, respectively) whose methods to reach salvation through chanting special prayers appealed to all social classes.

Nichiren in particular promoted his version of the *Lotus Sūtra* as an exclusive truth that, if adopted by the government, would save the nation from threats he predicted were immanent. Soon after this warning came the first Mongol invasion of 1274. Even though vastly outmanned by the Mongol and Korean forces, a typhoon wrecked their fleet and forced a withdrawal in the first "divine wind" (*kamikaze*) intervention, attributed to the deity Hachiman. Incredibly the second Mongol attack in 1281 also met the same fate, but this was not enough to convince the state that Nichiren's theocracy was correct.

Although the new rulers of Japan were from the warrior class, many of their religious affiliations followed established patterns. They rebuilt the clan shrine, Tsurugaoka Hachiman, dedicated to the *kami* of military power and swift intervention. Also just as King Tenmu had done in the Nara period, the next generation of rulers, the Hōjō, established a ranking system of regional temples as well as "temples for the peace of the nation" *(ankokuji).* An influential text by Kitabatake (1293–1354) titled *Chronicle of the Direct Descent of Gods and Sovereigns* argued that Japan is a "divine country" (*shinkoku*) and helped to develop further a national consciousness among ruling elites.

The Kamakura government promoted and patronized both Zen and Pure Land Buddhism as favored institutions. Major Zen temples, many of which had head abbots from China or who had studied in China, were organized by the state into the *gozan* or "five mountain temple" system around 1298. Samurai warriors and their feudal lords found in Zen Buddhism the discipline, self-negation, and nonostentatious aesthetics amenable to their code of loyalty and service *(bushidō).* Should samurai die in service to their lord, the saints of Pure Land Buddhism (particularly one noted for compassion, Kannon) were ready to usher their souls into the western paradise of the Amida Buddha.

The regional nation-protecting temples established earlier had become centers of enormous wealth and territory, some of which rivaled the central government before and during the Kamakura period. Because of ongoing political conflict, these religious estates (*shōen*) became even more autonomous and powerful. Fearful of losing territory to rival estates, *shōen* administrators began a practice of turning low-ranking monks into security personnel to defend their territorial interests and policies. Over time, these "priest soldiers" (*sōhei*) developed into fierce fighting units dressed in the garb of mountain monks.

In Kyoto *sōhei* monks at Enryakuji temple atop Mount Hiei, home to the Tendai sect of Buddhism, were notorious for descending into the city with sacred regalia at the front of their procession and intimidating the imperial court or battling rival factions. They fought with and burned to the ground at least six times a temple (Mii-dera) north of Mount Hiei whose founder had split from Enryakuji in the tenth century. They clashed with the great Nara temples (in particular Kōfukuji), battled against new Pure Land sects (including destroying the tomb of the founder of Pure Land Buddhism in Japan, Hōnen), burned the headquarters of the Higashi Honganji Pure Land sect in 1465, and destroyed twenty-one Nichiren temples in Kyoto in 1536.

For nearly five hundred years neither the military government in faraway Kamakura, nor the imperial court in Kyoto, nor fragile alliances of regional warlords could control the Enryakuji militias. But in 1571 they finally met their match. Having angered Oda Nobunaga (who was soon to become Japan's first leader of a centralized state after nearly three hundred years of internal wars) by siding with his opponents, he led twenty-five thousand samurai against the mountain monks. His forces not only killed over three thousand priests and monks of all ranks but burned to ashes one of the most sacred religious sites in Japan. After all, the temple was established in 788 CE first as a hermitage and later was reconsecrated for protecting the city from malevolent spirit forces issuing from the northeast. Shortly after Nobunaga was assassinated in 1582, the Enryakuji complex was slowly rebuilt in the same location.

THE MODERN PERIOD. Despite Nobunaga's razing of the Mount Hiei temples, he was not antireligious and contributed to many important temples and shrines during his short rule. He also permitted contact with foreign Jesuit Catholic missionaries who had first appeared in southern Japan in 1549. They followed three Portuguese adventurers who had traveled aboard a Chinese ship and landed in 1543, making a favorable impression with their matchlock rifles, a technology that would revolutionize clan warfare in Japan. Trade ensued over the next decade, although it was closely linked to the missionaries as translators and middlemen. Through these relations, Christianity established a foundation in western Japan for roughly sixty years, bringing with it European-born missionaries who also conveyed to Japanese scholars ideas about science, engineering, cartography, anatomy, and medicine.

Nobunaga's successor, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, was still quelling rebellions against his rule and so had less tolerance for a faith thought to shift allegiance away from the shogun toward a foreign notion of transcendent divinity. What had been a system of lucrative trade (as "Black Ships" traveled from Europe to Asia and back again) and a permissive attitude (allowing the building of churches in local fiefs) was now curtailed in 1587 as Hideyoshi accused the missionaries of preaching a "devilish law in the land of the *kami*," again evoking the sacred nation concept. Throughout the coming decades and after the Tokugawa clan seized firm control of the country in 1600 after Hideyoshi's death, Christianity was both tolerated and reviled, with a final persecution and expulsion of missionaries occurring in 1639. The military government then closed itself off from Western trade and diplomacy for over two hundred years.

The rise of the Tokugawa was credited to the cunning brilliance of its founder, Ieyasu, but he (as well as subsequent Tokugawa leaders) was ably assisted by several Buddhist priests (such as Hayashi Raizan and the abbot of Nanzenji temple, Sūden) as well as by neo-Confucian scholars. After his death in 1615, he was deified (as had been all previous military leaders) and later enshrined in the mountains at Nikkō in a temple-shrine complex (the Tōshōgū) unsurpassed for its ostentatious extravagance.

As their predecessors had done, the Tokugawa used Buddhist temples throughout the land to promote the stability of their regime. Not only were rituals held, but the temples themselves were organized into the *terauke* system to serve as extensions of state administration: all those residing within a temple's traditional precincts had to register as members of that temple. By doing so the populace entered into a system of religiously based surveillance and monitoring.

Shrines were also part of the Tokugawa government's system of control. Fearing a resurgence of Christian sentiments in the major port city of Nagasaki, the military government sponsored a revitalization of *kami*-based rites and institutions. The city's main Shintō shrine, Suwa Jinja, dates from 1614 and enshrines a deity known for its military prowess and vigilance. Like many others, the shrine also hosts on its grounds a subsidiary of the main shrine to the deified Tokugawa founder.

Beginning around 1825, more than two centuries after the Tokugawa clan gained control of the state, serious fissures in their administrative competence were becoming apparent. Critics of the inward-looking and increasingly corrupt feudal system feared Japan would be invaded and colonized by more technologically advanced European and American powers. To avoid a fate shared by China and India, samurai scholars and administrators began a discourse on reform, often at the cost of their careers and sometimes their lives. Klaus Antoni noted in *Religion and National Identity in the Japanese Context* (2003) that this ideology of a national polity, or *kokutai*, began to emerge among scholars of "national" (rather than foreign) learning (*kokugaku*) who promoted a reexamination and revitalization of Japan's ancient myths and the imperial system they legitimized. National learning scholars developed a "postulated common ethnicity" that promoted a strong and unified imagined community under the emperor's rule.

In ways similar to the formative period of civilization in the early fourth and fifth centuries, Japan was once again exalted as a "land of the *kami*" whose emperor provided a direct link to the nation's founding deities. By extension the Japanese people, like one big extended family, were also privileged to have something termed the "soul of Japan" *(yamato-damashi)* running through their blood. Sharing so many commonalities—language, race, culture, ethnicity, respect for *kami* and buddhas, veneration of ancestors—and with the emperor as both father figure and "deity visible as a human being" *(arahitogami),* the national learning scholars attempted to influence political policy toward the establishment of a state that could defend itself against colonizing predators.

Over a decade after American gunboat diplomacy forced open Japan's ports beginning in 1853, troops allied with samurai reformers (who wanted a modern state based on European parliamentary models but headed by an emperor) clashed with those of the feudal Tokugawa government, with the former emerging victorious in 1868. This major transition in Japanese history ushered in an age of radical change and innovation in many areas but none more striking than the interaction of religion and politics. One of Japan's founding fathers, Fukuzawa Yukichi, observed, "There is only a government in Japan, but still no nation." It would take a new and oftentimes coercive alignment of religion and politics to produce the national consciousness he sought.

First, the new government legitimated the *kokutai* ideology described earlier as central to their agendas of modernization, industrialization, education, and socialization. Similar to King Tenmu in the seventh century, the emperor's divinity was emphasized even as the country embarked on an ambitious race to catch up with other industrialized world powers. Because of its association with the feudal regime, Buddhism suffered through a brief but destructive persecution in the 1870s and 1880s but recovered state patronage and influence in the early twentieth century. As in the past Buddhist leaders once again promoted the "unity of royal law and the Buddha-*dharma*" (*ōbō Buppō furi*) and actively participated in Japan's territorial and militaristic expansion.

Of far more utility to the state was the ancient religious and ritual tradition of venerating local and regional *kami*, known to scholars as Shintō (way of the *kami*). Every village had at least one Shintō shrine that could be linked to the state cult of the emperor and the sun goddess. Since Shintō had no sacred texts or a centralized, organizational structure, the Meiji government used shrines in much the same way the Tokugawa had used local Buddhist temples: to register and monitor residents but also to involve them with festivals and rituals that promoted state ideologies. Only two years after the revolution ended, an 1870 attempt to create a codified national religion based on *kami* worship failed. Nonetheless schools began teaching imperial and national mythology as if it were history, effectively sidestepping the contentious issue of freedom of religion. Domestic and foreign critics of this policy were told that Shintō was not a religion but a matter of social etiquette and long-established custom.

By the late 1880s the Japanese state had the necessary ideologies, laws, and infrastructure to establish itself as a modern nation—which meant in part exploiting political weakness in surrounding countries (China, Formosa, and Korea) in order to appropriate their natural and human resources. With a war almost every ten years, soldiers killed in service to the nation were honored at a special Shintō shrine built by the government—Yasukuni—where their spirits could be propitiated, calmed, and then employed as guardians of the empire. Like the *goryō* belief established in the tenth century, the "peaceful nation shrine" incorporated potentially vengeful spirits and transformed them via pacifying rituals. Outside Tokyo large upright stones (*chukonhi*) served as memorials to the military dead after the Russo-Japanese War (1906–1907) and were likewise sanctified through both Shintō and Buddhist rituals. Community officials, school administrators, and citizen leaders were constantly engaged in these and other plans to promote national ideologies and agendas. Helen Hardacre has shown in her important work *Shintō and the State, 1868–1988* (1989) that alternate versions, espoused by new religious movements such as Tenrikyō, Kurozumikyo, Konkōkyō, Sōka Gakkai, and Ōmotokyō, were seen as subversive "pseudo-religions," with some headquarters destroyed and founders harassed and imprisoned.

Even after the Pacific war ended with Japan's defeat in 1945, Yasukuni shrine (and the regional "nation-protecting" shrines established in 1939) were permitted to continue venerating over 2.466 million spirits of the military dead, including (after 1978) officers deemed "class-A" war criminals by the Tokyo War Crimes tribunal. Although the Japanese constitution's Article 20 specifically prohibits any governmental sponsorship of religious activity or institutions, several postwar prime ministers (Miki, Nakasone, Hashimoto, Koizumi) have made official visits to the shrine to pay their respects and to appease political supporters. As might be expected after these visits, both public and diplomatic protests erupt in countries once occupied and ravaged by Japan's military. In 2000 a prime minister used the phrase "*kami no kuni*," or "land of the *kami*," to describe Japan and set off a similar furor because of prewar associations fusing religion and politics as the ideology of a nation fighting a divinely sanctioned war.

There is less ambiguity regarding the government's attitude toward religious organizations, especially after the Aum Shinrikyō group's sarin gas attack on Tokyo subways in

1995. With twelve deaths and over five thousand injuries, the Japanese government moved quickly to revise laws on religious organizations. Increased reporting requirements and monitoring, more financial transparency, and greater governmental powers to restrict activities were the result. Taking this case and state reaction as a precedent, one can surmise that the coming years will increasingly reflect worldwide standards among highly industrialized nations in treating religious activity as a private, civil right but that religious organizations must be carefully monitored for antistate activities. At the same time one should not underestimate the historic appeal of religious movements in Japan that promote within a rhetoric of democracy and peace both state stability and a veneration of the imperial household.

SEE ALSO Aum Shinrikyō; New Religious Movements, article on New Religious Movements in Japan; Sōka Gakkai.

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JOHN K. NELSON (2005)

POLITICS AND RELIGION: POLITICS AND ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN RELIGIONS

A discussion of religion and politics in the ancient Mediterranean faces two large obstacles: the geographical and cultural diversity of the traditions encompassed by this rubric and the very difficulty of defining the terms *religion* and *politics* in each culture. None of the societies of Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome possessed a word for religion in the modern sense of a system of faith in and worship of a transcendent power. Certainly all of these societies feared the power wielded by higher beings, but *religio* in Rome, for instance, does not have the same meaning as the modern word *religion;* it conveys rather the sense of a binding obligation between two parties. To define religion in these societies, one might apply the definition offered by Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood ("What Is *Polis* Religion?," 2000, but cf. the critique by Woolf, "*Polis*-Religion and Its Alternatives," 2004) of Greek *polis*-religion: religion provided a means of structuring chaos and making it intelligible by articulating a cosmic order that was guaranteed by a divine order, which then grounded human order. That order in turn was incarnated in a properly ordered state, so the state served as the institutional authority responsible for articulating a pantheon of divinities and a system of rituals and sanctuaries that would organize the universe and the divine world in a religious system. The system so constructed concerned itself with the proper performance of ritual actions to maintain the cosmic order rather than with issues of belief or ethics—orthopraxy rather than orthodoxy. In this type of system, religion and the state were fundamentally intertwined.

The interrelationship of religion and politics in these societies led naturally to a high degree of integration between religious authority and political authority. Indeed, even to use the categories of religious authority and political authority with regard to the ancient world is anachronistic, for authority was not divided along these lines. Often the persons whom most people would categorize as priests acted more as administrators, responsible for the upkeep of the sanctuary and its possessions and for the performance of rites. This is well illustrated by the Greek term conventionally translated as priest, *hiereus,* which literally means "the one in charge of the sacred things" (cf. the Latin *sacerdos,* "giver of the sacred"). None of these traditions possessed sacred texts or revelations that might dictate human behavior, so priests never formed a branch with specialized training completely separate from the institutions of the state. It fell to the state to develop mechanisms designed to appease the power of the transcendent beings, and the role of the priests was not to explicate the system, but to perform the proper rituals. Though it will become clear below that priests functioned differently in each of these societies, the selection of priests in each society and the manner in which they fulfilled their duties mirrored the political structure and developments within that structure to a remarkable degree.

Part of the explanation for the close links between religion and politics in the ancient Mediterranean lies in the fact that, unlike in most modern traditions, the very purpose of these systems was to safeguard and improve the welfare of the state. The very notion of separating religion and state would have astonished these societies; religion and politics could not be considered separate spheres of human activity because both were directed toward the prosperity of the community. Each city had its own tutelary divinity, and with the rise of centralized states, the tutelary deities of the leading city often became state deities. The success of the state was felt to depend on the favor of these deities, and its failure was interpreted as a sign that the deities had abandoned the state. Thus one of the primary functions of the state authorities was to maintain the favor of the divine through the proper performance of rituals, as noted above. Given the connection between religion and state, political relationships and diplomacy between states might be expressed through religious actions. Such actions are not evidence of the manipulation of religion for political purposes; they bespeak rather the deep interpenetration of religion within the life of these ancient Mediterranean societies. Functions that many modern traditions consider to be the province of religion, such as the enforcement of ethical standards, were the responsibility of the community, while the well-being of the community and its members, which most people tend to imagine as the purpose of politics, was the primary purpose of religion. In these circumstances, religion was inherently a part of political life: every communal action had a religious aspect and every religious action had a communal aspect.

Late-twentieth-century scholarship, perhaps driven by an increasing focus on individualism in the modern world, paid significant attention to the role of the individual citizen within these traditions. On the one hand, this research emphasized that the presence of ritual formalism did not mean that ancient Mediterranean religion was devoid of spirituality and that its coldness left individuals unsatisfied. By participating in civic rituals individuals affirmed their membership in the community, while the lack of an official dogma left individuals free to conceive of the gods and the world as they saw fit. Scholars have also noted the many religious actions performed by individuals, in addition to their participation as spectators in large state rituals. These actions, however "private" they may seem to moderns, still fall within the realm of public religion as defined in the ancient world. "Private" religious actions did not focus on eschatological salvation but involved different subsets of the larger community, and in this way continued to be public; indeed this behavior highlights the inadequacy of the terms "public" and "private" when used with regard to the ancient world. *Polis*-religion made room for individual behavior—and welcomed it—because such behavior was mediated through the state, which had approved the deities or cults to whom these "private" offerings were made or had incorporated cults that involved personal behavior into its religious structure. "Private" religion may have provided opportunities for the individual to perform rituals rather than to be an observer at a state festival, but it cannot be seen as an activity completely separable from political life. Despite the individual differences between the societies of the ancient Mediterranean, there is no clear demarcation between the spheres of religion and politics—or between religious and political authority—in any of them, down to the end of the Western Roman Empire and beyond.

MESOPOTAMIA. Because of their similarities and their influence upon one another, the religions of the ancient Tigris and Euphrates River valley will be treated together here, though of course Assyrian and Babylonian religions differed in some respects. For the ancient Mesopotamian, the divinities were responsible for creating order out of the chaos that existed before creation. The king, considered the earthly representative of the gods, was entrusted with maintaining order on earth, and in this way the religious beliefs of ancient Mesopotamia buttressed the political system that developed in the region. The interlocking nature of the political and religious authorities can be seen most clearly in the Assyrian Akitu ceremony, where the king's right to rule for the next year was granted to him by the divine beings, while the princes and the nobility renewed their oaths of loyalty. That religion was important to Assyrian kings throughout the year and not just at this ceremony can be seen from letters of the Sargonid period, many of which discuss the numerous religious obligations of the king. While temples in the Near East tended to have their own hierarchies of personnel and to own significant amounts of property, the kings still wielded significant authority over the priests. The head of the temple was responsible to the king as the representative of the gods, and many of these temple estates also derived income from royal benefits as well as from their own property holdings. To the extent that the temples became dependent on royal grants rather than on their own holdings, they came under more direct control of the kings, further eradicating the distinction between religious and political authority.

The "rise and fall" of individual Mesopotamian divinities also provides a very clear example of the interdependence of politics and religion at the level of city or state relations. The history of Babylonia demonstrates how the rise of individual cities to prominence brought their tutelary deities to the level of national gods; Marduk, the primary god of Babylon, became the national deity of the Babylonian empire and with the decline of Babylonian power saw a concomitant loss of worshipers. The process could also work in the opposite direction; the neo-Assyrian empire from the ninth to the seventh centuries BCE destroyed temples and carried cult statues into captivity to emphasize the weakness of those gods and goddesses and of the peoples whom they were supposed to protect. In keeping with this ideology, shrines to Ashur, the eponymous god of the traditional first capital of the Assyrian empire, might be placed in some cities, but the Assyrians also rebuilt temples or restored images as a means of conducting imperial policy. Religion thus provided one means of taking political action and marking political developments in both Assyria and Babylonia.

EGYPT. The relationship between religion and politics in Egypt has many striking affinities with the situation in Mesopotamia, despite some major theological differences. Because the Nile River, the lifeblood of ancient Egypt, operated on a much more regular cycle of flood and retreat than the Tigris and Euphrates, Egyptian divinities were considered guarantors of a stable cosmic order rather than forces that might unleash chaos at any moment. The outstanding feature of Egyptian society during its long history as an independent polity, from roughly 3000 BCE until the capture of Alexandria by the Romans in 30 BCE, was that the king was considered to be of divine essence, a god incarnate. Egyptians identified the king as Horus, king of the gods, and each successive king took a Horus-name upon his succession. In the Egyptian conception, the primary responsibility of the gods, and thus of the king as Horus, was to maintain the cosmic and timeless order of the Egyptian world, and in this way Egyptian religious belief supported the institution of kingship.

In practice the existence of numerous local cults throughout Egypt complicated the situation. Each cult possessed its own temple and cult structures, as in Mesopotamia, and was served by its own local priesthood, and each priesthood aimed at advancing the claims of its divinity toward primacy. Egyptian ruling dynasties when they came to power tended to raise their local cult to the status of supreme royal god, and the shifting importance of Ptah, Re, and Amun in Egyptian history owes much to the changes in Egyptian dynasties. But as in Mesopotamia, the relationship between kings and priests was not a one-way street; as Egyptian dynasties sought to raise individual cults to supremacy by granting their priesthoods special favors, they ceded power to those priesthoods as well. The supremacy of the kings may have been felt most strongly in the Old Kingdom, from roughly 2700 to 2200 BCE, the period in which the great Pyramids of Giza were constructed. By the end of this period, however, the kings had adopted the title "Son of Re," perhaps implying that they no longer held a status equal to the sun-god. That fact, and the disappearance of the king's relatives from the higher ranks of priests, may indicate that the kings had lost much of their power to the priesthoods, a trend that repeated itself throughout Egyptian history.

The Theban princes of the Middle Kingdom (c. 2000–1800 BCE) raised Amun to a position of primacy, whereas the rulers of the New Kingdom (c. 1550–1100 BCE) joined Amun with Re and made the new deity the supreme god of Egypt. During the latter period especially, the priesthood of Amun-Ra amassed great wealth due to royal generosity, and thus wielded significant political power, to the point of having influence on the selection of a new king. The celebrated reforms of Akhenaton (c. 1350–1336 BCE), who attempted to install the sun-disk Aton as the sole god of Egypt and erected a new palace and temple complex for this purpose, may have been intended in part to break the power of the priesthood of Amun-Ra. The attempt ultimately failed, and when the centralized power of the New Kingdom gave way at the end of the Twentieth dynasty, the priests of Amun-Ra found themselves the effective rulers of southern Egypt. As in Mesopotamia, political and religious authority were interlocked and developed to the point where distinctions between the two are difficult to make.

GREECE. The situation in ancient Greece presents some marked differences to that in the Near Eastern kingdoms, though some similarities can be observed. Considering that in Greece one does not find a unified polity ruled by a single king, but a plethora of independent polities usually governed by aristocracies, it should not be surprising to find differences in the relationship between religious and political authorities. In Greece there was no separate class of priests, but rather religious personnel were drawn from the citizen body just as were civic officials, and indeed they were often selected and served in the same manner. For instance at Athens, priests and priestesses were frequently chosen by lot and served a term of a single year; the number of hereditary and lifelong positions was always small and diminished over time. This similarity underscores the fact that in ancient Greece civic and religious authority were really two aspects of the same power; both were charged to protect the well-being of the state.

The fact that religion was so embedded in the life of every Greek city meant that considerations which most people would label religious often played a major role in both internal and external affairs. Public spaces, such as the agora in Athens, were in fact consecrated religious spaces, and cities might display their civic pride through religion. The temples of the Acropolis in Athens, built in the second half of the fifth century BCE, are the best-known example of a city's self-promotion through religion, but other cities used religious spaces in similar ways. Less significant states such as Sicyon or Siphnos erected elaborately decorated buildings, filled with dedications, at Panhellenic sites such as Delphi in order to boost their image among the other Greeks. While each city might promote its tutelary divinity, the fragmentation of political authority throughout Greece meant that the temporary predominance of one state, such as Athens, did not lead to the promotion of that state's deity (in this case Athena) at the expense of others, as it did in the Near East.

Despite their political fragmentation, the Greeks recognized that they shared a common bond. Religion, especially in the form of shared practices and sanctuaries, served as one of the primary markers of Greek identity. Of the Panhellenic sanctuaries, the oracle at Delphi was one religious authority in Greece that made itself felt in all of the Greek city-states. Delphi was customarily consulted prior to the foundation of a new colony, a declaration of war, and other momentous decisions; the Spartans' decision to aid in the overthrow of the tyranny at Athens in 510 BCE, which ultimately led to the establishment of Athenian democracy, was driven in part by a series of responses they had received from the oracle. But even here the authority of the Delphic oracle was limited, for her ambiguous utterances needed interpretation, and this left sufficient room for politicians to pursue their chosen paths by interpreting the oracle in a manner favorable to their policies. For example, during the Persian Wars, Themistocles famously interpreted an ambiguous, but largely negative, oracle to mean that the Athenians should pursue his policy of staking their all on a naval campaign at Salamis (480 BCE). The fact that Greeks from many city-states consulted the oracle at Delphi should therefore not be considered as evidence of religious authority external to the state; rather, the oracle formed a part of the entire system of religion embedded with civic authority.

The high degree of correlation between civic and religious authority in ancient Greece aids in understanding one of the dominant religious trends in Greece during the Hellenistic period (323–30 BCE): the development of ruler cult. The rise of Macedon brought the inhabitants of Greece under the rule of kings, and the religious system naturally changed to accommodate the altered political landscape. Unlike their Near Eastern counterparts, Hellenistic kings were not worshiped as representatives of the divine on earth, but as divinities themselves. Scholars following the seminal work of Simon Price (*Rituals and Power*, 1984) have moved beyond asking whether rulers were really considered to be gods or whether this was simply a means of expressing their transcendent political power. Rather, the two kinds of power were inseparable—the locus of political power was the locus of religious power as well, whether that be a corporate body of citizens or an individual. The absence of sharp distinctions between the religious and the political in earlier periods of Greek history meant that ruler cult could be grafted onto the religious systems of the Hellenistic period without serious difficulty.

ROME. The study of Roman religion has perhaps been most affected by the recognition that the entanglement of religion with politics signifies the health of the system, not its decay. Indeed it is scarcely possible to imagine a public action at Rome that could be undertaken without religious approval: declarations of war, decisions of when to offer battle, elections, judicial proceedings—all took place literally under the auspices of the divine. In these circumstances, it should be expected that political developments, both external and internal, would be reflected in religion. The Romans themselves were quite aware of this connection; indeed Roman ideology ascribed their imperial success to their piety. Since the Roman religious system was quite open to the incorporation of foreign religious traditions, including even the adoption of cults of defeated enemies, the imperial expansion of Rome can be read in the expansion of her pantheon, as elements first from other cities on the Italian peninsula, then from Sicily, Greece, Africa, and the Levant found homes within the Roman state religion. Roman religious imperialism is scarcely separable from her territorial imperialism.

In similar fashion the organization of political power and religious power at Rome proceeds from the same sources. The same principles guided the selection of both civic and religious authorities: during the Republic (c. 509–31 BCE), the intent was to keep power in the hands of the aristocracy while at the same time not allowing any one member of the aristocracy to accumulate too much power. So while the records of membership in the religious colleges at Rome are filled with the same prominent names of Rome's political history, tradition dictated that no person should serve in more than one college. Furthermore, these colleges in essence were advisory only: the civic magistrates themselves carried out the necessary religious rituals, with the aid of a priestly advisor, while the Senate needed to approve decisions pertaining to the state religious system. As in other Mediterranean societies, religious authority had no separate existence in Rome.

Just as Roman expansion can be seen in the expansion of the Roman pantheon, internal political change can be read in religious developments. For instance, as the non-aristocratic residents of Rome began to muscle their way into the political arena, the method of selection for the priestly colleges changed from co-option to election by secret ballot. On the other side, as individual Romans began to accrue greater power and amass a series of unprecedented offices, their religious behavior reflected their changed status. Individuals such as Lucius Cornelius Sulla (138–78 BCE) or Pompey the Great (Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, 106–48 BCE) increasingly used religious actions or religious offices to further their careers or attempted to claim divine sanction for their activities. Though precedents existed in Rome for this type of behavior, it occurred more frequently and on a larger scale in the Late Republic and thus presented a challenge to the traditional Roman form of religion, just as these newly powerful individuals challenged the Roman political structure. Julius Caesar (100–44 BCE), whose actions ultimately resulted in the end of the republican system of government, first drew attention to himself by unexpectedly winning (in 63 BCE) the election for *pontifex maximus*, the most important priestly office in Rome, even though it had limited authority even over religious affairs. Caesar also promoted himself by claiming a connection to the goddess Venus as his special divine patron. Rather than a sign of decay, as scholars looking to explain the emergence of Christianity long argued, these developments are a natural outgrowth of a society with a high degree of integration between politics and religion. As the political structure underwent revolutionary changes, religious changes paralleled the political.

The actions of Augustus (63 BCE–14 CE), as he effected the transformation in Rome from a Republic to an imperial system, clearly reflect these changes. During the struggle for power, Augustus made effective use not only of claims to a special connection with Venus, but also, following the deification of Caesar in 42 BCE, of his status as the son of a god. In this regard he followed the pattern already laid down by Caesar and others, but he also inaugurated a pattern of ruler cult that closely approximated the Hellenistic model, even if most Roman emperors were careful not to be openly worshiped in Rome itself. The priesthoods provide perhaps the best view of the revolution in Roman society: Augustus was the first to serve on all the religious colleges at once, and after scrupulously waiting for the death of the previous *pontifex maximus* he assumed that position as well. As he consolidated political authority under his control, it was natural for him also to consolidate religious authority. Subsequent emperors followed his lead, so that henceforth when the titular head of Roman religion spoke, the head of the Roman Empire spoke at the same time. Ultimately, this combination of religious and political authority in the figure of the *pontifex maximus* outlived the Roman Empire in the West, as it came to be embodied in the Pope, who continues to reside in Rome.

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POLITICS AND RELIGION: POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY

Although the relation of Christians to their governing political power usually follows Jesus's teaching, "Give to Caesar what is Caesar's, and to God what is God's," interpretations of this command vary with different historical circumstances and traditions. In Jesus's time, the relation of the Jews to their Roman conquerors was different from the relation a thousand years later of Christians to Christian emperors. Another thousand years later the relationship has become, for the most part and particularly in democracies, one of separation of church and state.

THE PRE-CONSTANTINIAN CHURCH. The first followers of Jesus were Jews gathered in Jerusalem at the time of his crucifixion, death, and—according to the *Gospel of Luke* and the *Book of Acts*—his resurrection and ascension to the right hand of God. But the belief that Jesus was the long-awaited and now risen Messiah resulted in the expulsion of his followers from Jewish synagogues. As a conquered people under the rule of the Roman Empire, Jews nevertheless enjoyed a special exemption from the otherwise required worship of Roman gods. Once the followers of Jesus gained a distinct identity, they were no longer protected from Roman persecution. Though sporadically persecuted from the time of Emperor Nero (r. 54 CE–68 CE) until Emperor Constantine (r. 312–337) legitimized Christianity in 313, Christians generally were good citizens who disobeyed only in the matter of religion.

FROM CONSTANTINE TO THE REFORMATION. When Christianity became the favored religion of the empire, Christians affirmed one God but disputed the way in which Jesus Christ, the Son of God, was also divine. Constantine called a council of Christian bishops and theologians that met in Nicaea in 325 and condemned one interpretation, known as Arianism. The right of the emperor to call councils and command bishops continued in the Byzantine Empire, established in 330 when Constantine moved from Rome to Byzantium, an ancient city on the Bosporus, which he rebuilt and renamed Constantinople. Constantine's successors ruled over this eastern empire, while the western half of the empire languished under poor political leadership. Barbarians northeast of Byzantium swept into eastern and then western Europe, destroying towns and cities. In these devastated lands, bishops were often the only effective authorities. In northern

Gaul, Clovis, the ruler of the Franks, converted to Christianity in 496 CE. The Franks became fierce defenders of their Christian faith and lands. Another Frank, Charles the Hammer (Charles Martel, c. 688–741), halted the advance of Islam into Europe by defeating the Muslim army at Poitiers in 732. His grandson was Charles the Great (Charlemagne), who ruled from 768 to 814 and by 800 had conquered most of central Europe, from the Pyrenees to the Rhine River.

Charlemagne imposed as uniform a Christianity as his fine organizational skills could manage. He brought the scholar Alcuin (c. 735–804) from Britain to Gaul and in other ways fostered learning, leading to what is known as the Carolingian Renaissance. Under Charlemagne monasteries adopted the Benedictine Rule and became repositories of learning; monks copied manuscripts, sometimes in the new, flowing "Carolingian minuscule." When rebellion threatened Pope Leo III, he appealed to Charlemagne, who thenceforth became the papal champion. On Christmas Day, 800, Leo crowned Charlemagne emperor of the Romans. Latin Christianity now had a strong emperor whose very success emphasized a latent problem: the relation of the pope to the emperor.

As a Christian Charlemagne was subject to the pope, but Leo depended upon Charlemagne for military protection. So who was the more powerful, the pope who crowned Charlemagne or the emperor whose army stood at the gates of Rome during the coronation? The tug-of-war between pope and emperor continued until the Reformation of the sixteenth century split Western Christianity and established a new political-religious dynamic. A few salient encounters will clarify the nature of the continuing conflict. After Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073–1085) stripped the secular power of the right to invest bishops with the insignia of their pastoral office, Emperor Henry IV summoned a synod of bishops, who in 1075 voted to depose Gregory. Gregory retaliated by excommunicating Henry. Since excommunication dissolved the feudal bond between rulers and their subjects, Henry repented, kneeling in the snow outside the papal residence at Canossa. Gregory thus established a principle of papal freedom from secular control. In 1208 Pope Innocent III placed England under interdict and the next year excommunicated its king. The consequent weakening of King John made room for the revolt of the barons, who managed to force John to sign the Magna Carta, "The Great Charter of English liberty granted (under considerable duress) by King John at Runnymede on June 15, 1215." The rights obtained in Magna Carta constituted a significant legal step toward democracy.

In 1303 Philip IV of France captured Pope Boniface VIII, thereby reversing the power dynamic between sovereign secular and ecclesiastic authority. Philip moved the papacy to Avignon, a move that eventually led to schism (1378–1417) and scandal, as three popes claimed to be St. Peter's successors. The Council of Constance (1414–1418) resolved the schism, but only through the action of "conciliarists," a group of clergy and philosophers who wanted to reform the church by decentralizing it and convening councils every five years. They argued that the church should return to the methods of the first four centuries, when the people elected their bishops. The pope's role, they argued, should be that of an executive secretary carrying out the decisions of a representative council consisting not only of clergy but of laymen and, according to Marsilius of Padua and William of Ockham, of laywomen as well—a remarkable idea in a time of male dominance. Although Pope Eugene IV (r. 1431–1447) succeeded in defeating conciliarism, the conciliarists had brought the West another step toward democracy.

At the council, Eugene disappointed a delegation from the Byzantine emperor, John VIII Palaeologus (r. 1425–1448), who sought military aid against the Turks. From Constantine on, the Byzantine emperor or empress ruled the Eastern church, whose patriarchs never gained the kind of power exercised by the Roman popes. When Constantinople, the "second Rome," fell to the Turks in 1453, the Russian Orthodox church assumed leadership of Eastern Christianity, and its main seat in Moscow became the "third Rome." Similar liturgies and hierarchies, barely changed since the days of Constantine, united the Orthodox churches. Relative to the Latin church of the West, state-control Orthodox churches offered fewer opportunities for rebellion by nobles, clergy, or philosophers. The lands of Eastern Christianity thus had no counterparts to the Magna Carta or the conciliarist movement, and they experienced nothing like the splintering the Western church underwent in the sixteenth-century.

FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE ENLIGHTENMENT. Martin Luther began the Protestant Reformation in 1517, insisting on the doctrine of justification by faith alone and the right of individual Christians to read the Bible in their own languages and to interpret its meaning themselves. This move toward individualism was another step toward the doctrines of human rights that developed during the subsequent two centuries. Luther survived papal condemnation and the ire of Emperor Charles V (r. 1519–1556) only because he was protected by his own suzerain, Frederick the Wise, ruler of Saxony from 1486 to 1525 and one of the Holy Roman Empire's seven electors. The empire, consisting mainly of German-speaking lands, comprised myriad territories whose lords, while jealous of their power in their own lands, were sworn in fealty to the emperor. By 1529 three of the seven electors had become "Lutherans," and that year at the Diet of Speyer they protested for their right to chose preachers in their own districts (hence the term "Protestant"). Charles V, fighting the Turks at Vienna, needed the support of all his lords and so yielded to their demands. Because Protestant preachers required the protection of their lords, the latter exercised considerable power over the churches in their territories.

In Zurich, one of the cantons of the Swiss confederation, Huldrych Zwingli in 1518 began another phase of the

Reformation. By 1525 the town's council had accepted Zwingli's reforms, voting against Catholic objections. Other republics and "free cities" within the empire that enjoyed the chartered right to elect their own municipal governments followed suit. In a sense, the Reformation's success—through the actions of locally elected magistrates and an elected emperor—stemmed from political systems developed in the Middle Ages; the liberties guaranteed by medieval town charters took on new relevance in the context of religious reform and thus made possible another step toward democracy in the West.

Luther's principle of private interpretation of the Scriptures was carried further by the so-called Anabaptists, or "rebaptizers." Originating in Zurich in 1520, the sect had spread to the empire by 1525. An imperial edict read at the Diet of Speyer in 1529 condemned them on the grounds that "no man, having once been baptized according to Christian order (as an infant), shall let himself be baptized again or for the second time." With the activities of the "rebaptizers" declared "forbidden on pain of death," Protestants and Catholics alike made martyrs of Anabaptists well into the next century.

Politics played a major part in England's revolt against the papacy, which occurred through a series of legislative acts by Parliament. The new laws paved the way for King Henry VIII (r. 1509–1547) to divorce Catherine of Aragon (1485–1536), who had borne him a daughter, Mary Tudor (1516–1558), but no sons. In 1531 Parliament declared Henry to be "their only and supreme lord and, as far as the law of Christ allows, even supreme head." After his divorce from Catherine and from Rome, Henry married the pregnant Anne Boleyn (1507–1536) in 1533. That same year, Anne bore a daughter, later Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603), one of England's greatest sovereigns. After the miscarriage of a son, Anne fell from favor and was beheaded in 1536. In 1537 Henry married Jane Seymour, who five years later gave him his long-desired son and heir, Edward VI (r. 1547–1553).

Edward succeeded his father under the regency of Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset. Through Somerset and Thomas Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury and author of *The Book of Common Prayer* (1549), England became Protestant in theology and liturgy. In 1553 Edward died and Mary Tudor, devoutly Roman Catholic, inherited England's throne. Through Parliament she reversed much of the Edwardian legislation. She had Cranmer executed for treason, while other Protestant leaders fled abroad to form a powerful group of "Marian exiles," who returned when Mary's half-sister Elizabeth ascended to the throne in 1558. England's people suffered from the changing religious legislation, which led to bitter divisions between Protestants and Catholics. In 1559 Parliament passed a new Act of Supremacy that required an oath affirming Elizabeth as the Supreme Head of the Church of England. In the same year, the Act of Uniformity introduced a system of penalties ranging from fines for not attending Sunday services as mandated by the restored *Book of Common Prayer* to death for attending a Catholic Mass. This "Elizabethan Settlement" was reached only after bitter debates between Henrician Anglicans and Edwardian Protestants, many of whom had learned their theology in the Reformed states of Zurich and Geneva. The latter's discontent over the retention of the office of bishop and the sanctioning of elaborate liturgical practices led to rebellion in the next century.

Among the Marian exiles who took refuge in Geneva during the reign of Mary Tudor was the Reformed preacher John Knox (c. 1514–1572). Upon his return to Scotland, Knox persuaded its great barons and other nobles to sign the First Covenant in 1557. In 1560 the Scottish Parliament abolished the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland, adopted a Reformed confession of faith, and organized the Scottish church along Presbyterian lines. In 1707 the Treaty of Union required the English sovereign to swear to protect the Church of Scotland, but merely as a member, not as its Supreme Governor. Church and state in Scotland continue to be thus divided; each year the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland chooses its own head, the Moderator.

In the tiny republic of Geneva, which granted refuge to English Protestants fleeing Mary Tudor's Catholic regime, Guillaume Farel (1489–1565) began the Reformation in 1532. In 1536 Geneva's General Council swore "to live according to the Word of God." Two months later Farel prevailed upon a young Frenchman, John Calvin (1509–1564), to assist him. Earlier that year Calvin had published the first edition of his *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* the definitive Latin edition of which appeared in 1559, followed by a French edition in 1560. The work presented a powerful, consistent theology that, together with the Genevan Confession of Faith and the articles of church organization, both introduced in 1537, formed the pillars of the Genevan Reformation. Calvin's Geneva was ruled by a Council of Sixty and a Council of Two Hundred. These councils annually elected twelve lay elders to serve in the Consistory along with five pastors, whose position was more or less permanent. The Consistory therefore represented both state and church in matters of church discipline. While it could neither judge nor punish civil offenses, it could admonish or, in the worst cases, excommunicate offenders. Genevan citizens had to sign the Genevan Confession of Faith, which created a marriage of church and state emulated by the settlers of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, founded in 1630.

FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE ENLIGHTENMENT. From the Reformation on, the developing nations of Western Europe had official state churches, a situation that led to bloody and bitter religious wars. Rulers determined the religion of their subjects, who had to convert or move to another territory to avoid dire consequences, including death. Territorial wars were ipso facto religious wars—Catholics fought Lutherans and Calvinists, Lutherans and Calvinists fought each other, and all three persecuted Anabaptists. To bolster armies, warring factions hired mercenaries, sometimes including Muslim Turks. The intermittent but frequent bloody chaos of the Thirty Years' War (begun in 1618) ended only with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648.

In the meantime, Christians living under Muslim rule in southern Spain, southern Italy, and along the shores of the eastern Mediterranean enjoyed religious liberty; even though their faith relegated them to second-class citizenship, they certainly fared much better than Muslims and Jews under Christian rule. When Ferdinand and Isabella defeated the Moors in the battle of the Alhambra in January 1492, they declared all Spain a Christian country. Muslims and Jews had either to convert to Christianity or to leave Spain. Some Jews signed onto the ships of Christopher Columbus, who set sail in August 1492. Columbus welcomed Jewish crewmembers, thinking that he might meet one of the lost tribes of Israel during his voyage and thus require Hebrew speakers.

In the Americas, native populations learned painfully what it was to be "discovered" by white Europeans. Spanish conquistadors killed and enslaved Aztecs, Mayas, and Incas, contrary to orders of both the Spanish king and the Holy Roman Emperor. But the conquistadors were a law unto themselves; distance made royal and imperial mandates from Europe ineffective. Missionaries either colluded with the conquistadors or fought for the rights of the natives. Even as Christian converts, the natives of Mexico and Central and South America had few rights, although the Spaniards allowed intermarriage and did not confine natives to reservations.

Natives of North America fared worse. Like those of Central and South America, they made friendly overtures and agreed to treaties, which the colonists then broke. The governments of the United States and Canada forced natives from their homelands onto reservations with inadequate space and resources for tribes to support themselves. Decimated by starvation and disease and robbed of their dignity and rights, Native Americans on reservations were given over to the influence of Protestant and Catholic missionaries. Missionaries took Indian children from their families and confined them in boarding schools, barring them from speaking their own languages. Native American religious rituals that expressed and supported traditional life-ways were forbidden. Not until 1978 did a joint resolution of Congress—the American Indian Religious Freedom Resolution—assure that the U.S. government would "protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express, and exercise the traditional religions of the American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut, and Native Hawaiians, including but not limited to access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom to worship through ceremonials and traditional rites."

Thinkers and jurists in the United States and Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries prepared the way for the unique experiment enshrined in the U. S. Constitution and its First Amendment, which guarantees freedom of religion by preventing any federal or state agency to officially sanction any one religion to the exclusion of others. As the wars of religion made clear, the Reformation itself did not result in religious freedom. In one of the most influential treatises on toleration, Sebastian Castellio (1515–1563) developed a consistent argument for freedom of conscience, arguing against the execution as a heretic of Michael Servetus by the Genevan magistrates, at Calvin's urging. Castellio said simply and forcefully that "to kill a man is not to defend a doctrine; it is to kill a man." Doctrine, he argued, could be defended by argument, by the pen and not by the sword. But his was a lonely position. Calvin's stance derived from the teachings of Luther and indeed of the medieval church back to St. Augustine, which saw unrepentant heretics as a threat to the spiritual health of the community. Castellio's position began to gain a following only a century later, in a Europe exhausted by religious wars. The Treaty of Westphalia between the Holy Roman Empire and all adjacent nations cracked the age-old armor of intolerance, affirming "Liberty of the Exercise of Religion" (paragraphs XXVIII, XLIX. A practical necessity to assure peace, religious liberty was not, however, considered a matter of ethical principle.

The uninspired scholasticism of the confessional churches in place by the early seventeenth century bored thinking minds and discouraged individuals looking for spiritual enlightenment. Two movements, both based primarily in France, emerged from this restlessness. The first was a remarkable spiritual resurgence, the "devout movement." The second, gathering strength from the systematic doubt of the otherwise pious Catholic René Descartes (1596–1650), intellectually prepared the way for the next century's Enlightenment. With Descartes' rational dualism, reason increasingly asserted its independence from theology.

Among Descartes' readers was John Locke (1632–1704), one of the strongest influences on the development of English and American democracy. Locke, a highly educated Puritan, lived through some of England's most tumultuous years, from the beheading of Charles I in 1649, through Oliver Cromwell's Puritan Commonwealth and the subsequent Restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1560, to the Glorious Revolution of 1688, which sent James II into exile and brought William and Mary (r. 1689–1702) to England from Holland. (William and Mary, both Stuarts and grandchildren of Charles I, nonetheless countered the Catholicizing tendencies of Charles II or James II.) Locke therefore had ample material for his reflections on the relationship between religion and state. Initially defending the right of a ruler to require religious obedience, he only later came around to support religious tolerance. By 1689, returning to England after five years of exile in Holland, he published three major works: the classic philosophical treatise *An Essay on Human Understanding*; *Two Treatises on Government,* which defended the English Revolution; and *A Letter concerning Toleration,* written in Holland in 1685. He argued that faith went beyond reason and so was not available to reason's arguments in a conclusive fashion. Faith, therefore, could not be coerced. Because love and good will were marks of a true Christian, tolerance should be the chief mark of the true church. Further, argued Locke, there must be a distinction between the business of religion, concerned with individual salvation, and the public business of the commonwealth. He thus separated the responsibilities and legal obligations of the church and the state.

Locke read not only Descartes, but also Castellio; nonconformists like Hugo Grotius of Holland (1583–1645) and William Penn (1644–1718), founder of Pennsylvania; the pantheistic Dutch-Jewish philosopher Barukh Spinoza (1632–1677); and the French Huguenot and skeptic Pierre Bayle (1647–1706). Bayle, fleeing persecution in France following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, settled in Rotterdam, where he published his influential *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (Historical and critical dictionary, 1697) and met Locke. Both philosophers, raised as Calvinists, argued that no one should try to coerce the individual conscience. The argument for religious liberty from this time forward became intertwined with the concept of individual rights, especially the right to follow one's own conscience. No longer did shapers of public thought and policy argue that the common good required the removal of unrepentant heretics from society. Rather, wrote Bayle, individuals must be left to God, who gave them a conscience that was "the natural and true light of reason" and a "clear and distinct conception."

FROM THE ENLIGHTENMENT TO POST-MODERNITY. The works of Locke and Bayle influenced both the American (1776) and the French (1789) revolutions. Some of the American colonies had established churches; all had citizens who had fled state-established churches in Europe. It was not difficult for the leaders of the American Revolution and the framers of the U.S. Constitution (1787) to see that tolerance did not go far enough, as it implied that a state could maintain an established church and merely tolerate, or bear with, other denominations. Disestablishment was therefore their goal, accomplished through the First Amendment to the Constitution (1791), which protected the colonists' most cherished freedoms, beginning with freedom of religion: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. . . ." In a letter dated January 1, 1802, Thomas Jefferson allayed the fears of a Connecticut minority, the Danbury Baptists, stating that the First Amendment's declaration of religious freedom amounted to "building a wall of separation between Church & State." According to some interpreters, the intent of Congress and of Jefferson's letter was to assure the free exercise of different religions, which could not be inhibited by any contravening law or the establishment of a particular religion: the state must remain neutral. Others understand Jefferson's letter as interpreting the establishment clause of the First Amendment as a protection of citizens from the demands of any organized religion.

In both the First Amendment and Jefferson's letter, the word "religion" included only forms of Christianity or deism. Challenges to this narrow conception of religion began to arise as the United States expanded. On April 30, 1803, Jefferson signed the Louisiana Purchase, for the sum of 15 million dollars in exchange for more than 800,000 square miles of land. Extending from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains, this territory included the port of New Orleans, at the mouth of the Mississippi, and St. Louis, the "gateway to the west" at the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. English was a foreign language along the Mississippi, where francophone Haitians and Canadians mingled with various Native Americans and English-speaking Americans from the east.

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the spread of Christianity continued, both in the western United States and elsewhere around the world, as missionaries followed conquering flags. The labors of these missionaries, in many cases, resulted in religious beliefs and practices far removed from the conceptions of Christianity they attempted to inculcate. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, many native peoples practice Christianity in tandem with their indigenous religions. In some areas, the two are so mixed that it is difficult to extract particular strands. And in the United States, the influx of people belonging to all the world's religions and the very belated recognition of Native American religions has brought new pressures to bear on the First Amendment and the interpretation of the word "religion."

Throughout history and around the globe, religion has been used and abused as politicians cited scripture to justify war, slavery, and male domination of women. Pacifists, abolitionists, and the Woman Suffrage Movement, however, have likewise used Christianity to advance their causes. Women obtained the vote in most of Europe, New Zealand, Australia, and North America between the end of the nineteenth century and the middle of the twentieth. Some Swiss cantons, however, enfranchised women only in the 1970s, and religious arguments are still used to deny women the right to vote in some parts of the world. The relation between church and state remains relevant in the social and cultural battles of the early twenty-first century In the United States, the controversy over same-sex marriage tests how thoroughly the country remains culturally "Christian" (and what Christianity means to its very diverse practitioners); it also reflects the wide spectrum of views regarding the desirability of both religious influence on state policy and state involvement in religious matters. Organized conservative Christians from various denominations use political means to oppose same-sex marriage, seeking to amend both state and federal constitutions to define marriage exclusively as a union between a man and a woman. "Secularists," too, continue their own fight against the privileged position of Christianity in their states. Beginning with Constantine, Christian governments awarded churches tax-exempt status and offered their clergy exemption from compulsory military service. Both exemptions have been challenged in the United States as contrary to the establishment clause of the First Amendment. In France, the government's strict secularism (especially, critics argued, vis-à-vis religious displays by non-Christian, and above all Muslim, immigrants) led to a 2004 law forbidding schoolchildren from wearing religious symbols, including Muslim headscarves, Sikh turbans, large crosses, or Stars of David.

Twentieth-century pundits predicted that science and rational skepticism, the legacies of the Enlightenment, would result in the triumph of secularism and a world in which the pursuit of goods and power was balanced by a political concern for democratic values and human rights, without reference to any religious belief or practice. Except in Europe, however, religion appeared to be gaining in influence at the beginning of the twenty-first century, both culturally and politically. While the European Union argued over whether its constitution should reference Europe's Christian past, its nations have become increasingly diverse in the wake of decolonization and globalization, with respect to both ethnicity and religion. Europe's residents are Christian and Muslim, Hindu and Buddhist. Governments based on a Christian European culture struggle to maintain their identity and at the same time to understand that Christian hegemony is a thing of the past. In the United States, too, immigrants demand an equal share in the liberties promised by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Muslims ask to sound the call to prayer in towns that previously heard only church bells, whereas Christians must recognize that, for their neighbors, Sunday is an ordinary day. In the face of globalization and its complex political realities, Christians will have to negotiate their place in the world.

SEE ALSO Anabaptism; Arianism; Liberation Theology; Reformation; Religious Diversity; Secularization.

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JILL RAITT (2005)

POLITICS AND RELIGION: POLITICS AND ISLAM

Muslims have both an individual and a corporate religious identity and responsibility. Thus to be a Muslim, to follow Islam ("submission" to God), entails both an individual and a communal responsibility as members of a worldwide community (*ummah*) to obey and implement God's will on earth in both the private and public spheres. The Qurʾān and the example of the prophet Muḥammad teach that Muslims have a universal mission to spread the religion of Islam and to establish a just society on earth, based on recognition of God (Allāh) as the source of all authority, law, and order. Historically politics have often been a central vehicle by which Islam was implemented in state and society.

RELIGION AND POLITICS IN EARLY ISLAM. How and under what form and institutions an Islamic society is to be established has been subject to many interpretations across time and space. The Qurʾān and *ḥadīth* do not provide any specific format for an "Islamic state" or even prescribe one as necessary. Instead, they contain general prescriptions or norms about the function of the state as well as ethical considerations. Early Islamic empires and sultanates developed systems that combined elements adopted from conquered societies with religious prescriptions and institutions. During this time period most states, non-Muslim as well as Muslim, controlled or used religion as a source of legitimacy or to mobilize popular support.

Historically Islam's role in the state reinforced a sense of common identity for Muslims as well as a sense of continuity in Muslim rule. The existence of an Islamic ideology and system, however imperfectly implemented, both validated and reinforced a sense of a divinely mandated and guided community with a unifying purpose and mission, giving the Islamic state a divine raison d'être.

Belief in the divine mandate of the Muslim community gave Muslim rulers the rationale for spreading their rule and empire over the entire Middle East and major portions of Africa and South, Southeast, and Central Asia as well as into Spain and southern Italy on the European Continent. Islam served as the religious ideology for the foundation of a variety of Muslim states, including great Islamic empires: Umayyad (661–750 CE), Abbasid (750–1258 CE), Ottoman (1281–1924 CE), Safavid (1501–1722 CE), and Mughal (1526–1857 CE). In each of these empires and other sultanate states from the seventh to the eighteenth centuries, Islam was used by rulers to legitimate their governance, and it informed the state's legal, political, educational, and social institutions.

Sunnī Muslims (85 percent of the Muslim community, in contrast to Shīʿī, a 15 percent minority) see the success and expansion of Islam as religion and empire as evidence of God's favor upon Muslims when they fulfill their divine mandate to spread God's word, guidance, and governance, whereas the increasing decline and powerlessness from the eighteenth century through the early twenty-first century are understood to reflect their failure to adhere to God's will. It is this worldview that has in part given rise to the Islamic revival that began in the eighteenth century and experienced a major resurgence and reformulation in the twentieth century.

GOVERNMENT: THE SUNNĪ CALIPHATE. Sunnī Muslims believe that Muḥammad died without designating a specific successor (caliph) and that the most qualified person should become the head of the Muslim community. The caliph succeeded Muḥammad as political leader, not as prophet. Because Muḥammad was the last of the prophets, leadership of the Muslim community following Muḥammad's death ceased to be a religio-political position and became strictly political instead. Thus Sunnīs believe that the leader (caliph) of the Muslim community possesses human and worldly, rather than divine, authority. They look to the rule of Muḥammad (610–632 CE) and of the Four Rightly-Guided Caliphs (632–661 CE) as a special normative period in which God's favor was clearly upon the Muslims.

One of the most contentious questions faced by religious scholars throughout Muslim history has been whether the character of the ruler was a decisive factor in determining that the state was truly Islamic. That is, if the ruler is known to be immoral, did this necessarily render the state un-Islamic, so that its citizens were obligated to overthrow the ruler? The majority of religious scholars, or ʿulamaʾ, determined that maintaining social order and avoiding anarchy were more important than the character of the ruler. The decisive factor rendering a state or society "Islamic," they concluded, is its governance by Islamic law.

However, a minority of ʿulamaʾ, most notably the thirteenth-century scholar Taqi al-Din Ibn Taymīyah, ruled that the character of the ruler was in fact decisive. If a ruler was unjust or immoral, Muslims were bound to overthrow him. Ibn Taymīyah's enduring influence, direct and indirect, on contemporary political thought and politics is also reflected in several other doctrines: the necessary synthesis between religion and state (that Islam is *din wa-dawlah*, or religion and state); insistence that one who claims to be a Muslim but does not act like one cannot be considered a true Muslim; a bipolar view of the world in which only two choices or sides existed, Muslim and non-Muslim, belief and unbelief. These viewpoints have been appropriated in particular by extremist movements, past and present.

THE SHĪʿĪ IMAMATE. In contrast to Sunnī Islam, Shīʿī Islam teaches that Muḥammad decreed that succession or leadership (the *imām* or leader) of the Muslim community belonged to the family of the Prophet, beginning with Alī, his cousin and son-in-law. However, ʿAlī's caliphate began only after three other caliphs had ruled; ʿAlī was assassinated by opponents and the caliphate was seized by his enemy, Muʿāwiya. Shīʿī regard the caliphs, in particular Muʿāwiya, as usurpers and believe ʿAlī's son, Ḥusayn, was ʿAlī's rightful successor. Ḥusayn was persuaded by some of ʿAlī's followers to lead a rebellion against Yazīd, Muʿāwiya's son, in 680 CE. Ḥusayn and his army were slaughtered in battle at Karbala (in modern-day Iraq). The tragic death of Ḥusayn and his followers, commemorated by Shīʿīs every year during ʿĀshūrā, shaped the Shīʿī worldview and its view of history as one of disinheritance and oppression, suffering, protest, and struggle against injustice and discrimination under Sunnī Muslim governments.

In contrast to the Sunnī caliphate, Shīʿī believe that leadership of the Muslim community belongs to the leader, or *imām,* a direct descendant of Muḥammad who serves in a religious as well as political-military capacity. Although the *imām* is not considered a prophet, since the Qurʾān states that Muḥammad was the last of the prophets, the *imām* is nevertheless considered divinely inspired, infallible, sinless, and the final and authoritative interpreter of God's will as formulated in Islamic law. After decades of rebellion against early Sunnī rulers, Shīʿī found a formula for coexistence, a means to recognize de facto Sunnī rule and participation in Sunnī majority territories without acknowledging the legitimacy of the Sunnī caliphate.

Because Shīʿī existed as a disinherited and oppressed minority among the Sunnī, they understood history to be a test of the righteous community's perseverance in the struggle to restore God's rule on earth. Realization of a just social order led by the *imām* became the dream of Shīʿī throughout the centuries. Whereas Sunnī history looked to the glorious and victorious history of the Four Rightly-Guided Caliphs and then the development of imperial Islam, Shīʿī history traced the often tragic history of the descendants of ʿAlī and Fāṭimah. Thus whereas Sunnīs can claim a golden age when they were a great world power and civilization, evidence, they believe, of God's will and favor and historic validation of Islam, Shīʿī see these same developments as an illegitimate usurpation of power by Sunnī rulers at the expense of a just society.

Shīʿī view history more as a paradigm of the suffering, disinheritance, and oppression of a righteous minority community who must constantly struggle to restore God's rule on earth under his divinely appointed *imām.* In the twentieth century this history was reinterpreted as a paradigm providing inspiration and mobilization to actively fight against injustice rather than passively accept it. This reinterpretation had a significant impact during the Islamic Revolution of 1978–1979 in Iran, where the shah was equated with Yazīd and Ayatollah Khomeini and his followers with Ḥusayn. Thus the victory of the Islamic Revolution was declared the victory of the righteous against illegitimate usurpers of power.

VISIONS OF POLITICS AND THE STATE IN MODERN ISLAM. Classical definitions of the role of Islam and the state have undergone substantial revision in modern times. Up until the nineteenth century Muslims generally thought of politics in terms of the Muslim *ummah* (the universal Islamic community) and either a universal caliphate (in which its religious character was emphasized) or diverse sultanates (in which its political character was emphasized). Politics was more a matter of dynasties and rulers (referred to as *dawlah*) than of popular participation.

The proposition that Islam is both a religion and a state (*din wa-dawlah*) dates to the early twentieth century, when Muslims were confronted with both the abolition of the Ottoman (Turkish) Caliphate and the territorial division of Muslim communities under the impact of European colonialism. Although the caliphate had in fact come to a forcible end with the fall of the Abbasid dynasty to the Mongols in 1258, it remained a powerful religious symbol of political legitimacy. The Ottoman sultans had adopted the title of caliph in order to lend religious legitimacy to their rule; their claim to the caliphate was abolished in 1924. Desire to restore the caliphate provided an alternative to fragmentation, reasserting the unity of the Muslim *ummah.* It also provided an alternative political vision to the territorial nationalism of Europe. Those who supported the continued existence of the caliphate defined it as a combination of political and religious authority in its ideal form. Since then there have been occasional calls among Islamic revivalists for a revival of the caliphate as a means of maintaining unity of the broader Muslim community, but such calls have not garnered significant popular support.

POLITICAL ISLAM. Twentieth-century visions of the relationship of religion to the modern nation-state varied. At one end of the spectrum was the "self-described" Islamic state of Saudi Arabia and at the other modern Turkey's secular state. Most Muslim countries were states whose majority population was Muslim and had some Islamic provisions, such as the requirement that the head of state be a Muslim, but that adopted Western political, legal, and educational models of development. However, the mid-twentieth century also brought the creation of modern Islamic movements, in particular the Jamāʿat-i-Islāmī in Pakistan and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. Both called for the foundation of a specifically Islamic state, a God-centered one run only by true believers with the Qurʾān and *sunnah* as guides. They believed Islam should inform all spheres of the state—political, economic, and legislative as well as moral—and called for the Islamization of society and state.

In the late twentieth century political Islam, often referred to as "Islamic fundamentalism," became a dominant factor in Muslim politics, the primary language of political discourse and mobilization. New Islamic republics were created in Sudan, Iran, and Afghanistan. Muslim rulers as well as mainstream opposition leaders and movements appealed to Islam to legitimate their rule or policies. Islamists have been elected president, prime minister, or deputy prime minister and to parliament, and they have served in cabinets in countries as diverse as Sudan, Egypt, Algeria, Jordan, Lebanon, Kuwait, Bahrain, Yemen, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Malaysia, and Indonesia. At the same time extremist organizations have used violence and terrorism in the name of Islam to threaten and destabilize governments, attacking government officials, institutions, and ordinary citizens in Muslim countries and in the West. Usāmah bin Lādin and al-Qāʿidah have become a symbol of the threat of international terrorism, driven home by the September 11, 2001, attacks against New York's World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM OR POLITICAL ISLAM? Though convenient, the use of the term *fundamentalism,* which originated in Christianity, can be misleading when applied to a diverse group of governments, individuals, and organizations. The conservative monarchy of Saudi Arabia, the radical socialist state of Libya, clerically governed Iran, the Taliban's Afghanistan, and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan have all been called "fundamentalist." The term obscures significant differences in the nature of the governments (monarchy, military, and clerical rule) as well as their relations with the West. For example, Libya and Iran have in the past been regarded as anti-Western and enemies of the United States, while Saudi Arabia and Pakistan have often been close allies of the United States. Similarly Islamic activists are not monolithic; they represent a broad spectrum: mainstream and extremist, progressive and conservative. Therefore *political Islam* or *Islamism* are more useful terms than fundamentalism when referring to the role of Islam in politics and society and the diversity of Islamic political and social movements.

ORIGINS AND NATURE OF POLITICAL ISLAM. The reassertion of Islam in politics is rooted in a contemporary religious revival or resurgence affecting both personal and public life that began in the late 1960s and 1970s. On the one hand, many Muslims became more religiously observant (emphasizing prayer, fasting, dress, family values, and a revitalization of Islamic mysticism or Sufism). On the other, Islam reemerged as an alternative religio-political ideology to the perceived failures of more secular forms of nationalism, capitalism, and socialism. Islamic symbols, rhetoric, actors, and organizations became major sources of legitimacy and mobilization, informing political and social activism. Governments and Islamic movements spanned both the religious and political spectrums from moderate to extremist, using religion to enhance their legitimacy and to mobilize popular support for programs and policies.

The causes of the Islamic resurgence have been many: religio-cultural, political, and socioeconomic. More often than not, faith and politics have been intertwined causes or catalysts. Issues of political and social injustice (authoritarianism, repression, unemployment, inadequate housing and social services, maldistribution of wealth, and corruption) combined with concerns about the preservation of religious and cultural identity and values.

Among the more visible crises or failures that proved to be catalytic events in the rise of political Islam were:

1. the 1967 Arab-Israeli War (Six-Day War) in which Israel decisively defeated the combined Arab armies of Egypt, Syria, and Jordan, occupied Sinai, the West Bank and Gaza, and East Jerusalem, transforming the liberation of Jerusalem and Palestine into a transnational Islamic issue;
2. the 1969 Malay-Chinese riots in Kuala Lumpur reflecting the growing tension between the Malay Muslim majority and a significant Chinese minority;
3. the Pakistan-Bangladesh civil war of 1971–1972, heralding the failure of Muslim nationalism;
4. the Lebanese civil war (1975–1990), among whose causes were the inequitable distribution of political and economic power between Christians and Muslims, which led to the emergence of major Shīʿah groups: AMAL and the Iranian-inspired and backed Hizbollah;
5. the Iranian Revolution of 1978–1979, a pivotal event with long-term global impact and implications for the Muslim world and the West;
6. the continued conflict in Palestine-Israel, which grew in strength during the 1980s and spawned its own Islamist movements, among them HAMAS and Islamic Jihad.

The failures of the West (both its models of development and its role as an Arab and Muslim ally) and fear of the threat of westernization and its political, economic, and cultural dominance were pervasive themes of the resurgence. Many blamed the ills of their societies on the excessive influence of and dependence upon the West, in particular the superpowers the United States and the Soviet Union. Modernization, as a process of progressive westernization and secularization and increasingly globalization, have been regarded as forms of neocolonialism exported by the West and imposed by local Western-oriented elites, undermining religious and cultural identity and values.

While most Islamic movements developed in response to domestic conditions, international issues and actors increasingly played important roles in Muslim politics: the Soviet-Afghan War; the Arab-Israeli conflict; sanctions against Ṣaddām Ḥusayn's Iraq; the "liberation" of Bosnia, Kashmir, and Chechnya; and Usāmah bin Lādin and al-Qāʿidah. Countries like Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Libya as well as individuals used their petrodollars and wealth to extend their influence internationally, promoting their religious-ideological worldviews and politics and supporting government Islamization programs as well as Islamist movements, mainstream and extremist.

ISLAMIC MOVEMENTS: LEADERSHIP AND IDEOLOGY. Political Islam is in many ways the successor of failed nationalist ideologies and projects in the mid-twentieth century, from the Arab nationalism and socialism of North Africa and the Middle East to the Muslim nationalism of postindependence Pakistan. The founders of many Islamic movements were formerly participants in nationalist movements: the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood's founder, Ḥasan al-Banna; Tunisia's Rashid Ghannoushi of the Renaissance Party; Algeria's Abbasi Madani of the Islamic Salvation Front (the FIS, or Front Islamique du Salut); and Turkey's Ecmettin Erbakan, founder of the Welfare (Refah) Party.

Islamic political and social movements proved particularly strong among the younger generation, university graduates, and young professionals recruited from the mosques and universities. Contrary to popular expectations, the membership of movements, especially in Sunnī Islam, has not come from religious faculties and the humanities so much as from the fields of science, engineering, education, law, and medicine. Thus the senior leadership of many movements includes judges, lawyers, teachers, engineers, physicians, journalists, and prosperous businesspeople. At the same time leaders of militant movements like Egypt's Islamic Jihad and Usāmah bin Lādin, al-Qāʿidah, and those specifically responsible for the attacks of September 11, 2001, also included many university graduates.

IDEOLOGICAL WORLDVIEW. Islamists believe the Muslim world's state of decline is the result of corrupt authoritarian regimes and excessive political, economic, and cultural dependence on the West. The cure is a return to the faith and values of Islam. Islam, they assert, is a comprehensive ideology or framework for Muslim society. It embraces public as well as personal life. They believe the renewal and revitalization of Muslim governments and societies require the restoration or reimplementation of Islamic law, the blueprint for an Islamically guided and socially just state and society. While westernization and secularization of society are condemned, modernization as such is not. Science and technology are accepted; but the pace, direction, and extent of change are subordinated to Islamic belief and values in order to guard against excessive influence and dependence on the West.

The majority of Islamists have worked to bring about change through social and political activism within their societies, participating in electoral politics and civil society where permitted. However, a significant and dangerous minority of extremists, *jihād* groups from Egypt to Indonesia, al-Qāʿidah, and other terrorists, believe that they have a mandate from God to make changes and that the rulers in the Muslim world and their societies are anti-Islamic. For these extremists, those who remain apolitical or resist—individuals and governments—are no longer regarded as Muslims but rather as atheists or unbelievers, enemies of God, against whom all true Muslims must wage holy war (*jihād*).

Extremists also believe Islam and the West are locked in an ongoing battle that stretches back to the early days of Islam, is heavily influenced by the legacy of the Crusades and European colonialism, and is the product in the twenty-first century of a Judeo-Christian conspiracy. This conspiracy, they charge, is the result of superpower neocolonialism and the power of Zionism. The West (Britain, France, and especially the United States) is blamed for its support of un-Islamic or unjust regimes and biased support for Israel in the face of Palestinian occupation and displacement. Violence against such governments, their representatives, and citizens (Jews, Christians, and other Muslims, noncombatants as well as combatants) is regarded as legitimate self-defense.

THE QUIET REVOLUTION. In contrast to the 1980s, when political Islam was simply equated with revolutionary Iran or clandestine groups with names like Islamic Jihad or the Army of God, the Muslim world in the 1990s saw Islamists participate in the electoral process. A quiet revolution had taken place. While a minority of religious extremists sought to impose change from above through terror and holy wars, many others pursued a bottom-up approach, seeking a gradual transformation or Islamization of society through words and example, preaching, and social and political activism.

Islamic organizations and associations emerged as part and parcel of mainstream society and institutional forces in civil society, active in social reform and providing educational, medical, dental, legal, and social welfare services. The number of Islamic banks, insurance companies, and publishing houses mushroomed. Social activism was accompanied by increased political participation. In the late 1980s and the 1990s failed economies and discredited governmental development policies led to political crises and mass demonstrations, resulting in limited political liberalization. Islamic candidates or leaders were elected as mayors and parliamentarians in countries as diverse as Morocco, Egypt, Turkey, Lebanon, Kuwait, Bahrain, Pakistan, Malaysia, and Indonesia. They served in cabinet-level positions and as speakers of national assemblies, prime ministers (Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan), a deputy prime minister (Malaysia), and Indonesia's first democratically elected president. The general response of many governments to this political power of Islam was to retreat from open elections, identifying their Islamic opposition as extremist or simply canceling or manipulating elections, as in Tunisia, Algeria, Egypt, and Jordan.

USĀMAH BIN LĀDIN AND GLOBAL TERRORISM. September 11, 2001, was a watershed in the history of political Islam and of the world. Its terror and carnage signaled the magnitude of the threat of Usāmah bin Lādin and al-Qāʿidah. The multimillionaire, seemingly devout, well-educated, wealthy son of a prominent Saudi family had fought against the Soviets in Afghanistan, a struggle that allied him with a cause supported by the United States, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and many others. However, after the war he became radicalized when faced with the prospect of an American-led coalition in the Gulf War of 1991 to oust Ṣaddām Ḥusayn from his occupation of Kuwait and the prospect of the presence and increased influence of the United States in Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf. Usāmah bin Lādin was regarded as the major godfather of global terrorism, a major funder of terrorist groups suspected in the bombing of the World Trade Center in 1993, the slaughter of eighteen American soldiers in Somalia, bombings in Riyadh in 1995 and in Dhahran in 1996, the killing of fifty-eight tourists at Luxor, Egypt, in 1997 as well as the bombings in Tanzania and Kenya. He threatened attacks against Americans who remained on Saudi soil and promised retaliation internationally for cruise missile attacks.

In February 1998 bin Lādin and other militant leaders announced the creation of a transnational coalition of extremist groups, the Islamic Front for Jihad against Jews and Crusaders. Al-Qāʿidah was linked to a series of acts of terrorism: the truck bombing of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania on August 7, 1998, that killed 263 people and injured more than 5,000, followed on October 12, 2000, by a suicide bombing attack against the USS *Cole,* which killed 17 American sailors.

Usāmah bin Lādin's message appealed to the feelings of many in the Arab and Muslim world. A sharp critic of American foreign policy toward the Muslim world, he denounced its support for Israel, sanctions against Iraq that resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of civilians, and the substantial American (military and economic) presence and involvement in Saudi Arabia that he dismissed as the "new crusades." To these were added other populist causes like Bosnia, Kosovo, Chechnya, and Kashmir.

Usāmah bin Lādin and al-Qāʿidah represented a new international brand of Sunnī militancy associated with the Afghan Arabs, those who had come from the Arab and Muslim world to fight alongside the Afghan Mujāhidīn against the Soviets. It was also reflected in the growth of extremism and acts of terrorism in Central, South, and Southeast Asia (where it has often been referred to as Wahabism because of its reported Saudi financial backing). Islam's norms and values about good governance, social justice, and the requirement to defend Islam when under siege are transformed into a call to arms in order to legitimate the use of violence, warfare, and terrorism. Their theology of hate sees the modern world in mutually exclusive, black-and-white categories, the world of belief and unbelief, the land of Islam and of warfare, the forces of good against the forces of evil. Those who are not with them, whether Muslim or non-Muslims, are the enemy and are to be fought and destroyed in a war with no limits, no proportionality of goal or means.

SAYYID QUṬB: GODFATHER AND MARTYR OF ISLAMIC RADICALISM. It would be difficult to overestimate the role played by Sayyid Quṭb (1906–1966) in the reassertion of militant *jihād.* He was both a respected intellectual and religious writer whose works included an influential commentary on the Qurʾān and a godfather to Muslim extremist movements around the globe. In many ways his journey from educated intellectual, government official, and admirer of the West to militant activist who condemned both the Egyptian and the American governments and defended the legitimacy of militant *jihād* has influenced and inspired many militants, from the assassins of Anwar al-Sadat to the followers of Usāmah bin Lādin and al-Qāʿidah.

Quṭb had a modern education and was a great admirer of the West and Western literature. After graduation he became an official in the Ministry of Public Instruction as well as a poet and literary critic. Quṭb's visit to the United States in the late 1940s proved a turning point in his life, transforming him from an admirer into a severe critic of the West. His experiences in the United States produced a culture shock that made him more religious and convinced him of the moral decadence of the West.

Shortly after he returned to Egypt, Quṭb joined the Muslim Brotherhood. Quṭb quickly emerged as a major voice in the brotherhood and its most influential ideologue amid the growing confrontation with the Egyptian regime. Imprisoned and tortured for alleged involvement in a failed attempt to assassinate Nasser, he became increasingly militant and radicalized, convinced that the Egyptian government was un-Islamic and must be overthrown. Quṭb's revolutionary vision is set forth in his most influential tract, *Milestones.* His ideas have reverberated in the radical rhetoric of revolutionaries from Ayatollah Khomeini to Usāmah bin Lādin.

Quṭb sharply divided Muslim societies into two diametrically opposed camps, the forces of good and of evil, those committed to the rule of God and those opposed, the party of God and the party of Satan. There was no middle ground. He emphasized the need to develop a special group, a vanguard, of true Muslims within this corrupt and faithless society. Since the creation of an Islamic government was a divine commandment, he argued, it was not an alternative to be worked toward. Rather it was an imperative that Muslims must strive to implement or impose immediately.

Given the authoritarian and repressive nature of the Egyptian government and many other governments in the Muslim world, Quṭb concluded that *jihād* as armed struggle was the only way to implement the new Islamic order. For Quṭb, *jihād,* as armed struggle in the defense of Islam against the injustice and oppression of anti-Islamic governments and the neocolonialism of the West and the East (the Soviet Union), was incumbent upon all Muslims. Muslims who refused to participate were to be counted among the enemies of God, apostates who were excommunicated (*takfir*) and who should be fought and killed along with the other enemies of God. Sayyid Quṭb's radicalized worldview became a source for ideologues from the founders of Egypt's Islamic Jihad to Usāmah bin Lādin and al-Qāʿidah's call for a global *jihād.*

GLOBALIZATION OF THE *JIHĀD.* In the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century the word *jihād* gained remarkable currency, becoming more global in its usage. On the one hand, *jihād's* primary religious and spiritual meanings, the "struggle" or effort to follow God's path, to lead a good life, became more widespread. It is applied, for example, to individual struggles to be religiously observant as well as improve one's society through educational and social welfare projects.

The Soviet-Afghan War marked a new turning point as *jihād* went global to a degree never seen in the past. The Mujāhidīn holy war drew Muslims from many parts of the world and support from Muslim and non-Muslim countries and sources. In its aftermath *jihād* became the common term for all armed struggles, used for resistance, liberation, and terrorist movements alike in their holy and unholy wars. Most major Muslim struggles were declared a *jihād,* from Palestine to Kashmir, Chechnya, Daghestan, and the southern Philippines. Those who fought in Afghanistan, called Afghan Arabs, moved on to fight other *jihāds* in their home countries and in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Central Asia. Others stayed on or were trained and recruited in the new *jihādi madrasahs* (religious schools) and training camps, joining in Usāmah bin Lādin and al-Qāʿidah's global *jihād* against Muslim governments and the West.

Although the distinction is often made between Qurʾanic prescriptions about just war versus unjust war, many and conflicting interpretations of the verses have been made over time. At issue are the meaning of terms like *aggression* and *defense,* questions about when the command to sacrifice life and property to defend Islam is appropriate, and how to define the "enemies" of Islam. For example, the Qurʾān speaks repeatedly of the "enemies of God" and the "enemies of Islam," often defining them as "unbelievers." Although other Qurʾanic verses appear to make it clear that such people should be physically fought against only if they behave aggressively toward Muslims, some Muslims have interpreted the call to "struggle" or "strive" against such enemies to be a permanent engagement required of all Muslims of every time and place until the entire world is converted to Islam.

Terrorists like bin Lādin and others have gone beyond classical Islam's criteria for a just *jihād* and recognize no limits but their own, employing any weapons or means. Adopting Sayyid Quṭb's militant worldview of an Islam under siege, they ignore or reject Islamic law's regulations regarding the goals and means of a valid *jihād* (that violence must be proportional and that only the necessary amount of force should be used to repel the enemy), that innocent civilians should not be targeted, and that *jihād* must be declared by the ruler or head of state. As the Islamic scholars of the Islamic Research Council at al-Azhar University, regarded by many as the highest moral authority in Islam, forcefully stated in condemning bin Lādin's calls for *jihād* and terrorism: "Islam provides clear rules and ethical norms that forbid the killing of non-combatants, as well as women, children, and the elderly, and also forbids the pursuit of the enemy in defeat, the execution of those who surrender, the infliction of harm on prisoners of war, and the destruction of property that is not being used in the hostilities" (*Al-Hayat,* November 5, 2001).

POLITICAL ISLAM AND THE DEMOCRACY DEBATE. In the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century the call for greater liberalization and democratization has become widespread in the Muslim world, as diverse sectors of society, secular and religious, leftist and rightist, educated and uneducated, increasingly use democratization as the litmus test by which to judge the legitimacy of governments and political movements alike.

A diversity of voices exists in debates over political participation and democratization. Secularists argue for secular forms of democracy, the separation of religion and the state. Rejectionists maintain that Islam has it own forms of governance and that it is incompatible with democracy. Accommodationists, or Islamic reformers, believe that traditional concepts and institutions can be utilized to develop Islamically acceptable forms of popular political participation and democratization. Maintaining that Islam is capable of reinterpretation (*ittiḥād*), traditional concepts of consultation (*shura*), consensus (*ijmāʿ*), and public welfare (*maslaha*) are reinterpreted to provide the bases for the development of modern Muslim notions of democracy, parliamentary government, and the like. While some would reinterpret traditional beliefs to essentially legitimate Western-generated forms of democracy, others wish to develop forms of political participation and democracy appropriate to Islamic values and realities.

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JOHN L. ESPOSITO (2005)

POLITICS AND RELIGION: POLITICS AND AFRICAN RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS

Africa is home to nearly 600 million people. Christianity and Islam are leading religious traditions—each has in excess of 250 million followers in Africa. As a result, there are declining numbers of followers of traditional indigenous religions and very few atheists or agnostics. Both Islam and Christianity were imported into Africa in the historical past. Islam gradually spread over the last thousand years, whereas Christianity was imported by and intimately associated with European—especially British and French—colonialism beginning in the late nineteenth century.

SOCIAL DYNAMICS. The main analytical problem involving an understanding of the relation between religion and politics in Africa is the region's astonishing multifariousness of religious beliefs, ethnic divisions, cultural distinctions, and political modes. Africa is marked by a high degree of political and religious heterogeneity, making a study of politics and religion in the region complex but rewarding. To ascertain the nature of the contemporary relation between religion and politics in Africa, it is necessary to take into account the impact of European colonialism, especially from the 1880s, as it was the primary modernizing force throughout the region. One of its key impacts was—theoretically, officially, and ostensibly—to divide Africa's religious world from its secular and, hence, political sphere.

Within Western social sciences, theoretical dividing lines between politics and other social actions are relatively clear cut. Such disciplinary divisions between, for example, political science, sociology, and economics frequently lead to assumptions that a complex reality can be neatly compartmentalized. However, the relation between politics and religion in Africa cannot be so easily compartmentalized. Not least of the problems is the difficulty in deciding where religion ends and politics begins. For example, during the colonial period, religious movements were often simultaneously anticolonial political movements and fundamentally concerned with both sociocultural and religio-spiritual reform. As such, in looking at Africa's colonial period it is difficult to be clear whether individual religious, political, or social objectives—or a mixture of all three—were paramount when seeking to account for the motivations of certain groups and organizations. Overall, it is more analytically satisfactory to perceive such movements as involving a combination of motivations that often defy easy or precise pigeonholing.

Generally, religion relates to politics in Africa in ways that are themselves linked to the particular historical and developmental trajectories of individual societies, whether traditional or modern. In traditional (i.e., precolonial) African societies, the relationship between religion and politics was always a close one, for religious beliefs and practices underpinned political power, while political concerns permeated to the heart of the religious sphere. Rulers were not only political heads but also religious leaders whose well-being was closely linked to their people's health and welfare. The modernization that accompanied European colonialism led to a secularization of public life and a practical separation of politics and religion at the state level. As a result, the notion of politics not only involves general relations of power but also relates to the workings of formal political institutions (e.g., legislatures, executives, presidents), as well as focusing attention more generally on issues of authority, legitimacy, power, and equity.

In seeking to peel away the layers of interaction between religion and politics, it becomes clear that each issue has several dimensions in Africa. However, attempts to arrive at an analytically precise definition of the term *religion* is fraught with difficulties because no consensus exists as to the proper understanding of what religion in Africa is. Theologians are interested primarily in understanding the nature of its individual or collective spiritual significance. Anthropologists see religion as one, albeit an important, component of the cultural aspects of Africans' social life. Sociologists seek to identify and examine religion's general and specific social imports in the countries of the region. Political scientists look for signs of political activity associated with religion, as they are keen to assess religion's political roles, especially in relation to specific groups and organizations. For example, they may question to what extent a certain religious group also serves as a vehicle of sociopolitical change. Such differing assessments of the nature of religion in Africa suggest that it would be most constructive to note its combined spiritual and material dimensions. This involves both personal belief systems as well as group ideologies, which together help to motivate individuals and groups to behave in a variety of ways. Clearly, most Africans would regard themselves as religious people, believing in a God (or gods) who looks over them and helps guide what they do. In addition, many believe that religious worship, or involvement with religious organizations, is an important means to try to improve their current earthly positions. In other words, it can be difficult to discern whether an African's individual religious motivations are primarily religious, political, or social.

Social dynamics in Africa may best be viewed as an entwined triple-stranded helix of state, class, and ethnicity. The metaphor of the triple strand is useful in understanding the political and social role of religion in Africa, with the three strands of the helix comprising religion, ethnicity, and politics. Each appears to be a facet of most Africans' individual worldviews, and in certain situations and at certain times, one element may, as least temporarily, dominate the others. For example, sometimes religious beliefs or solidarity will serve to form the main context for political action, with political concerns imbued with religious notions that help determine the nature of a particular group's collective response. Examples in this regard include recent political developments in both Nigeria and Sudan, where interreligious conflict—in both cases between Muslims and non-Muslims—reflects an array of both spiritual and material concerns that interact within very fluid boundaries.

COLONIALIZATION. This points to how religious and political power have developed historically in and between African religious traditions. The nature and characteristics of the contemporary African state are in large part a function of the legacy of the colonial era, a period of time that ended in most cases, in the 1960s. During the main period of European colonization in Africa (1880s–1914), the two main colonizing countries, France and Britain, were themselves evolving their own democratic political systems. However, the political institutions both countries created in Africa during colonialism were little, if anything, more than naked instruments of domination. With administrative networks often grafted on to preexisting institutions, European hegemony and security were very closely linked.

Colonial administrations attempted to employ religion as a tactic in their pursuit of political domination. Yet religious interaction between ordinary Africans and the colonial authorities was by no means a straightforward relationship between dominance and dependence. Africans often used their religious beliefs as a means to adjust the relationship between themselves and colonial authorities in their favor (as far as possible). Whether through the founding of independent churches or via Africanized modes of Islam, religious leaders sought to create and develop socially and communally relevant and popular religious organizations. Such religious organizations tended to function well during the colonial period because they served as appropriate focal points for ordinary people's attempts to come to terms with and to adapt to the forces of change (summarized as modernization), that were a result of the intrusion of European rule. In other words, such religious organizations functioned as statements of social, political, and economic interaction as well as important foci of community aims and strategy.

European mission churches, on the other hand, were an important facet of attempted colonial cultural domination. They had both repressive and liberating functions as agents of European superiority and political domination. However, they were also purveyors of modernization, especially Western education, the acquisition of which was quickly noted by many Christian Africans as the key route to advancement in colonial society. Preexisting Muslim communities, however, reacted to European-inspired modernization by attempting to deal with its impact without compromising Islamic ideals. Other Muslim groups adopted armed struggle against the Europeans, especially during the period from the 1880s to 1914, when they were soundly defeated by the superiority of the Europeans' military technology.

The consequences of the colonial period for the relation between religion and politics in Africa were profound. Consequently, it is appropriate to regard the nature and characteristics of religion's role in politics in contemporary Africa as a result of the multiple changes occasioned by European colonialism. The few territories that did not undergo entrenched and formal foreign control (Liberia, Ethiopia, and several others) nevertheless absorbed European-led modernizing influences almost as though they had. Colonies, where a majority of the population were neither Christian nor Muslim during the period of colonial rule (e.g., Guinea-Bissau, Upper Volta [now Burkina Faso], and Sierra Leone, where traditional African religions were followed by the great majority of local populations), were nevertheless ruled by Christian Europeans. As a result, the various traditional religious activities had to function within the Europeans' legal jurisdiction. In addition, throughout much of Africa, Muslims had to coexist with and be bound by European power, as they were ultimately under the latter's control.

It is important to note that the role of mission Christianity as an institutional force during the colonial period was not simply one of undifferentiated support of temporal political power. Whether or not the colony was settler-dominated was significant for an understanding of the relationship between Christian missionaries and colonial authorities. If large numbers of settlers were present (e.g., Kenya, Algeria, and South Africa), then there was a complex relationship that developed between the white settler community, Christian missionaries, and colonial authorities. On the other hand, where substantive numbers of white settlers were absent (as in most of West and west-central Africa, as well as Uganda), then Christian missionaries and the colonial authorities tended to develop clearly mutually supportive relationships.

Yet because various Christian churches (Roman Catholic, as well as a variety of Protestant denominations) were in direct competition for converts, there was rivalry between them. Sometimes, however, a truce would be declared in face of the common enemy of Islam. When Islam appeared as a key threat to Christian dominance and well-being, steps were taken to try to undermine its attraction by offering Western education to putative converts. However, where Islam was already religiously and culturally dominant, as in vast swathes of North, northwest, and East Africa, then the temptation of Western-style education and its attendant material rewards was usually insufficient in the face of cultural and community solidarity to win many, if any, converts to Christianity. However, sometimes after serious opposition (e.g., in the West African empire of El Hadj Oumar against the French, the Hausa-Fulani empire against the British, and in much of Muslim Somalia prior to World War I) Muslim leaders were generally pragmatic enough to reach a *modus vivendi* with the colonial authorities. It is noteworthy that a particular form of transnational Islam, or pan-Islamism, was of great concern for colonial rulers in the early years of the twentieth century. Especially around the time of World War I, many European colonial administrations were worried that both Germany and the Turkish Ottoman Empire were in tandem politically, seeking out and cultivating African Muslim leaders to be allies in their strategic rivalries with Britain and France. But in fact there was virtually no realistic chance of a pan-Islamic movement developing in Africa at that time because African Muslims were—and still are—often fundamentally divided, whether by ethnicity, nationality, area of domicile (urban or rural located), their view of the role of Islam in both private and public spheres, or a combination of these factors.

MODERNIZATION AND CHRISTIANITY. As in the early twentieth century period in Africa, contemporary trends relating to the relation between religion and politics in Africa often reflect not only what occurs locally, but are also connected to what takes place outside the region. As is often noted, over the last three decades of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century, religion has generally had a considerable impact on politics in many regions of the world, not just in Africa. One common explanation points to a resurgence of religion in the face of failed or flawed modernization. That is, the earlier widespread affirmation that modernization (i.e., the growth and spread of urbanization, industrialization, mass education, economic development, scientific rationality, and social mobility) would combine to diminish significantly the social position of religion in the region has not been substantiated.

In Africa, what are widely perceived as unwelcome symptoms of modernization, such as a perceived breakdown of moral behavior (especially among the young), educational overliberalization, and generally worsening social habits, are frequently linked to persistent governmental failures throughout the region to push through and consolidate appropriate programs of social improvement. Reactions in many African countries not only to failed modernization but also to ideas such as democracy spread by globalization were often focused in vociferous demands for incumbent governments to resign. In such protests, religious leaders were frequently well represented. In many African countries in the 1990s, mass protests occurred in which millions of ordinary people took to the streets to protest at their venal and corrupt governments.

A consequence of such protests was that, in the 1990s, many African countries underwent at least a degree of democratization. This involved a series of widespread political upheavals, focusing on demands for qualitative political change as well as more and better economic and human rights. This development reflected a reawakening of civil society's political voice, with trade union officials, higher-education students, businesspeople, civil servants, and, in many African countries, Christian leaders coordinating and leading protest efforts. Such demands were later focused by professional politicians as integral parts of political programs. The hope was that following democratization elected leaders would tackle—with energy, resourcefulness, and imagination—the pressing economic, political, and social problems of the continent.

African demands for both democratization and economic change were the result of a rediscovery of political voice by long quiescent interest groups who were encouraged by international developments, most notably the shift away from Communism in the former Soviet Union. Concerns were exacerbated by years of popular frustration and disappointment, for the promises of independence had turned out, almost everywhere, to be hollow. Frequently, senior Christian figures were instrumental in the clamor for political and economic changes—for example, in South Africa, Kenya, and various francophone West African countries. Christian, especially Roman Catholic, leaders were often prominent in prodemocracy campaigns opposing, denouncing, and frustrating authoritarian regimes and, in several cases, these campaigns were successful in removing entrenched governments from power.

It is significant that such Christian leaders were not, on the whole, in the forefront of demands for similar political reforms during the twilight of colonial rule in the 1950s and 1960s. Why was this? The simple answer is that in the 1950s and 1960s senior Christian leaders in Africa were almost always Europeans. Such people tended overwhelmingly to support the concept—if not always every aspect of the practice—of colonial rule for three main reasons. First, they shared racial bonds with colonial administrators. Second, they believed that colonial rule had provided much-needed law, order, and European civilization to Africa. Third, both religious leaders and secular rulers were members of the same socioeconomic elite, with a class stake in the status quo. In short, class, racial, and institutional bonds bound Christian leaders to the colonial regimes.

During the 1960s and 1970s, mainline Christian churches swiftly Africanized, with control shifting from Europeans to Africans. Later, in the 1980s and 1990s, leaders of mainline African Christian churches were significantly involved in demands for democracy. For example, senior Christian figures were involved in national democratization conferences in seven francophone African countries in the early 1990s; these were events held to ascertain the best ways to deliver appropriate political reforms, notably democratization. At times, Christian leaders were very prominent in the fight to oust nondemocratic governments. Such people tended to have prodemocracy convictions for three main reasons: (1) because of personal conviction, (2) because their Christian beliefs encouraged this notion, and (3) because many among their followers were palpably suffering from the effects of poor governments, especially economically and in terms of human rights abuses. Given their perceptions of their Christian leaders as spiritual guides, and in the customary absence of independent and effective political parties, ordinary Christians quite naturally turned to their religious leaders as appropriate figures to take action on their behalf. In short, Africa's recent democratization was linked to the individual and collective efforts of many Christian leaders and was a testimony to their tenacity, clear-sightedness, and lack of fear of the consequences of their actions in leading popular protests.

Such leaders were in a privileged position to head such protests because of the general, although not uniform, Christian institutional independence and integrity throughout much of Africa. In the postcolonial period, African political leaders have generally accorded a high level of respect to leaders of the main religious institutions, both Christian and Muslim. Because most mainstream expressions of both Christianity and Islam tended to be unidentified with the main interest groups, whether ethnic or class, their leaders stood on relatively neutral ground and thus could serve as a mediating element when social or political conflict occurred. Consequently, leaders of both religious traditions were often key interlocutors between state and society. Many were highly respected figures whose own personal desires and preferences were believed to be subsumed by their concern to mediate disinterestedly between followers and the state.

Islam and the State. Regarding the relation between Islam and temporal power in contemporary Africa, it is often suggested that Muslims are less concerned with or interested in democracy than are many Christians. Certainly, African Muslim leaders were not, on the whole, in the forefront of demands for political changes in the 1990s. It should be noted, however, that two of the seven francophone countries—Mali and Niger, which held national conferences on new political arrangements in the 1990s—are both strongly Muslim countries. On the other hand, Islam is often regarded by Western analysis as an authoritarian, even totalitarian, religion whose proponents sometimes seek to impose fundamentalist visions as a putative means of purifying society. What such fundamentalists are said to want, namely Muslim (*sharī ʿah*) law, is regarded as anathema by non-Muslims.

Three issues contextualize a contemporary discussion of the political role of Islam in Africa. First, there are a number of versions of Islam in the region. Many Africans belong to Ṣūfī brotherhoods. In addition, many ethnic groups, especially in West and East Africa, converted historically to Islam en masse, some of whom are also members of Ṣūfī brotherhoods, so these Ṣūfī groups may also have an ethnic dimension. Orthodox conceptions of Islam—nearly always Sunnī in Africa—are the province of the religious elite, the *ʿulamāʾ* (religio-legal scholars). Thus, in Africa, Islam is a multifaceted term covering a number of Muslim interpretations of the faith.

Islam in Africa can be divided into at least three distinct categories, corresponding to extant social, cultural, and historical divisions. The first includes the dominant sociopolitical and cultural position of Islam found in the emirates of northern Nigeria, the *lamidates* of northern Cameroon, and the shiekdoms of northern Chad. In each area, not only is religious and political power typically fused in the hands of a few individuals, but, over time, class structures developed based on extant religious differentiation. Second, there are the areas where Ṣūfī brotherhoods predominate—generally in West and East Africa, and especially in Senegal, the Gambia, Niger, Mali, Guinea, Kenya, and Tanzania. Finally, in a number of African states, Muslims, fragmented by ethnic and regional concerns, are politically marginalized into a minority bloc, as in, for example, Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, and Togo.

The second factor is that Islamic fundamentalism is rare, although not unknown, in tropical Africa. Ṣūfī Islam—the faith of many African Muslims—is actually a frequent target for Islamic fundamentalists found within the *ʿulamāʾ* and their secular allies because it is regarded as a primitive or degraded form of Islam that must be reformed or purified. Such fundamentalist interpretations of Islam are of particular political importance in Sudan (where it is the ruling ideology) and in parts of northern Nigeria, where conflict (with thousands of deaths since the late 1990s) between Muslims and Christians has long been an important politico-religious issue.

Third, there is ambivalence in the way that many Muslims regard the concept of liberal democracy itself. Many Muslims oppose Western interpretations of democracy, in which sovereignty is said to reside with the people because it is seen as a secularized system negating God's own sovereignty. The *ʿulamāʾ* are typically strong supporters of the status quo, not least because it allows them integral involvement in running the affairs of Muslims in their state. They exert influence by controlling national Muslim organizations. As a result, a partnership with state-level politicians is of crucial importance.

See Also African Religions, overview article; Christianity, articles on Christianity in North Africa and Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa; Islam, article on Islam in North Africa.

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JEFFREY HAYNES (2005)

POLITICS AND RELIGION: POLITICS AND OCEANIC RELIGIONS

In the late eighteenth century, at the beginning of extensive European intervention in the region, Oceanic peoples spoke more than twelve hundred languages and lived out their lives in tens of thousands of mostly highly localized political units. Religious beliefs and activities were correspondingly diverse, although one can detect very broad regional patterns. In traditional Oceanic societies, people lived in intimate relationship to spiritual forces and entities. Notions of the spiritual reinforced the social order that governed community relationships, informed understandings of leadership, and underlay the external politics of warfare and alliance-building. In the past two centuries, the region has moved from intermittent encounters between Pacific Islanders and Europeans through colonization to the emergence of independent nations. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the overwhelming majority of the indigenous citizens of the twenty-eight states and dependencies in the region are Christians living in circumstances markedly more secular than those experienced by their ancestors. All the same, religion remains a very strong and politically potent force in most places.

For convenience, it is useful to divide the consideration of Oceanic religions and their relationship to politics into three rough historical phases: indigenous societies as they were before extensive European contact; the colonial period, marked by intensified missionary efforts and a loss of local political autonomy; and the postcolonial period, in which religion, like much of politics in the region, is increasingly shaped by global forces. A caveat is in order. With the exception of the last period, these phases do not correspond neatly with calendar years. Some isolated groups in the interior of New Guinea did not look upon a white face until the 1960s, and a good number of islanders continue to live under colonial regimes. Many aspects of indigenous religions and political arrangements have survived or been revived in all areas, but especially those with relatively shallow histories of interactions with the outside world. Indeed, it is still possible today to observe all three of the phases described here, sometimes in the same place.

THE POLITICAL FUNCTIONS OF INDIGENOUS RELIGIONS. Oceanic languages possess no words corresponding to the concepts of "politics" or "religion." Most cultures recognized at least a degree of religious specialization in the forms of part-time magicians, healers, sorcerers, and priests; a much smaller subset developed distinct places of worship and sacrifice and supported full-time priests. The elaboration of religious functionaries and institutions reached its apogee in Hawai'i, where a priestly class periodically contested the influence of the high chiefs. But even in this case one cannot speak of a separation of religion and politics, as the chiefs, like the priests, were regarded as direct descendents of the gods and themselves possessed godlike powers of life and death over commoners. Religious assumptions infused all aspects of life in Oceanic societies, not least those concerned with the exercise of political power.

Across the region, the vast majority of people lived in small political entities made up of several hundred to a few thousand members bound by ties of kinship (real and fictitious) and territory on the one hand, and hostility to neighboring groups on the other. The daily round for most people comprised subsistence activities, usually directed by households, and reciprocal exchanges of food, labor, and wealth items that cemented relationships with kin and neighbors. Virtually everywhere, people assumed that the recent and distant dead continued to take an interest in the community. People also generally assumed the existence of impersonal spiritual forces possessing tremendous powers of transformation and destruction. The specific conception of these two notions of the spiritual and their elaboration varied tremendously from place to place—from the rather simple, vague religious notions found in many Melanesian societies to the extremely complex religions of some parts of Polynesia, with their detailed mythologies, dedicated temples, and elaborate ritual codes. All the same, Oceanic people conceptualized the implications of divine intervention in the human world in essentially similar ways. First, spiritual power was a necessary component, often along with human skill, for success, whether as a gardener or a lover or in making the transition from child to adult or from life into death. Ancestors could intervene of their own accord, but everywhere people attempted to capture and channel spiritual forces to their own advantage through the practice of magic or by offering prayers and sacrifices. Second, spiritual entities were conceptualized as extremely powerful, dangerous, and ultimately autonomous. They had to be approached with great caution and often elaborate ritual preparation. Even so, they had the potential of wreaking havoc upon the people if mishandled or angered—or simply because they could. Third, those who interacted with the divine took on divine attributes themselves.

In Oceania, as elsewhere, the spiritual could provide a source of revolutionary change but for the most part served to maintain the existing order, first by making that order appear to members to be natural and inevitable, and, second, by punishing those who deviated from the social norm. In one particularly striking example, the deepest secret of many of the elaborate male initiation cults that developed in parts of Melanesia was that the power monopolized by men was originally stolen from women. The cults served, in the men's eyes at least, to assert their domination over women, who were barred from most rituals and cult houses under pain of death. In many other places, supernaturally sanctioned food taboos, fears of pollution, and purification rituals served to distinguish men and women and to assign them distinct roles in society, usually with the men on top. By the same token, understandings of the workings of the supernatural tended to reinforce social conventions and morality. In many places, for instance, ancestors or sorcerers were assumed to attack those who failed to live up to their social obligations by making them or their loved ones sick or by destroying their gardens. To this day, parents in many parts of rural Papua New Guinea commonly explain the death of a beloved aunt or uncle to their children as the result of sorcery attacks brought on by some apparently trivial breach of the rules of sharing or respect toward others. This strongly sanctions conformity.

The political aspects of Oceanic religion become more visible when one turns to patterns of leadership. Most societies in Melanesia lacked formal offices of leadership. While powerful leaders did emerge, they largely gained influence by demonstrating their own abilities as warriors, managers of exchanges, and orators. In several areas, men rose to prominence in the course of organizing initiation and mortuary rituals, often involving years of careful coordination and spectacular forms of artistic expression. Melanesian leaders could also gain influence by gaining command over various forms of esoteric knowledge, such as garden and war magic or sorcery. Chiefs in the more hierarchical societies stretching from eastern Melanesia through Polynesia and Micronesia, by way of contrast, were considered to be inherently sacred. In the larger societies, chiefs were ranked according to their genealogical closeness to a founding ancestral god, following a principle of primogeniture. Chiefs at different ranks possessed equivalent degrees of *mana* (spiritual potency), with the highest chiefs approaching the level of the gods themselves. Polynesians often pictured their chiefs as the "fathers" and, less frequently, "mothers" of their communities. The chief was often also the highest priest, receiving first fruits from commoners in various rituals meant to assure success and fertility. The visible splendor and wealth of a chief corresponded to level of his *mana* and, by extension, the success of the community he represented. By virtue of their *mana*, chiefs demanded tribute from commoners and proclaimed *tabu* (ritual prohibitions) over economic resources. As sacred beings themselves, chiefs were often surrounded by a variety of ritual restrictions and *tabu.* These were extremely elaborated in the most hierarchical Polynesian societies. The sanctity of the high chiefs of Tahiti was such, for instance, that they would not enter houses except those dedicated to their own use or allow their feet to touch the ground outside of their own hereditary district. Violations of chiefly *tabus* in Tahiti, Tonga, and Hawai'i often resulted in execution of the offender.

Contrary to romantic stereotypes of a South Seas paradise, most areas of Oceania were subject to endemic warfare. Religious ideas both reflected and propelled the violence. The ghosts of the dead in many Melanesian societies could only be satisfied by a revenge killing, and in areas of southern New Guinea a boy's initiation into manhood depended on the acquisition of a human head. In Polynesia, success in warfare provided perhaps the main venue within which a chief could demonstrate his *mana* in the face of challenges from rivals. Continuing success in warfare required the proper rituals and sacrifices to the ancestral gods. Aspiring chiefs cultivated new gods with spectacular rituals, including human sacrifices in some of the cults that developed in Tahiti and Hawai'i.

THE COLONIAL ERA. Although Ferdinand Magellan crossed the Pacific Ocean in 1521, centuries passed before most islanders were disturbed by European intruders. Roman Catholic priests accompanied Spanish forces in the northwest reaches of Micronesia, forcibly converting the Chamorros in the 1680s. The next wave of missionary activity did not get under way until 1797, when poorly equipped parties of English Protestants landed at Tahiti, Tonga, and the Marquesas. Far from outside support, pioneer missionaries to Polynesia and many parts of Micronesia were forced to rely upon alliances with local chiefs in order to survive. Conversions, when they came, tended to follow the baptism of chiefs, who in turn ordered their followers to enter the churches. The early missions entered the islands during a period of considerable social turmoil caused in part by the increasing presence of European whalers and traders, who introduced devastating diseases, alcohol, and guns. Whatever their understanding of the missionaries' teachings, some aspiring chiefs evidently saw many advantages in forming alliances with the powerful new god of the white man. In Tahiti, Tonga, and Fiji, chiefs allied with the missions managed to conquer their enemies and to establish themselves as Christian kings. White missionaries, in turn, became councilors to the new rulers, helping them establish codes of law, courts, and new customs based on a mix of traditional chiefly privilege and the Ten Commandments. The association between chiefly rule and Christianity remains strong in many islands to this day, marked by the exalted social status of pastors in Samoa, for instance, and the strict Sabbatarianism of Tonga.

By the time European powers took an interest in the South Pacific, missionary regimes were well established on the larger islands in Polynesia, and armies of Native evangelists were taking the Word to smaller islands and into Melanesia. Missionaries and indigenous clergy wielded considerable power for a time in southern Vanuatu, Mangareva, Tuvalu, and elsewhere. By the end of the 1900s, however, colonial rule had been established over the entire region, with missionaries relegated to mostly nonpolitical roles. Still, colonial administrations everywhere depended very heavily upon them for the provision of educational and medical services and, in Papua New Guinea, as a bulwark against tribal fighting. Through such operations, as well as the networks they established, the missions played a fundamental role in easing the integration of small autonomous communities, often no larger than a village, into emerging states. In the extremely diverse linguistic context of Papua New Guinea, for instance, mission schools introduced students to the idea of a multicultural country as well as providing the tools to participate in it, through the teaching of a common language and literacy and by familiarizing students with European concepts of time, work, and authority. The most senior graduates of the mission school system, when they did not become missionaries themselves, entered the nascent bureaucracies of the colonial states and formed the seed of the elite classes that would eventually rule the new countries.

Christian ideas spread remarkably quickly, even in areas where people resented the presence of Europeans. From a very early date, prophets won followings with powerful combinations of Christian and indigenous themes that challenged white power. In New Zealand, for instance, the prophet Te Ua Haumene taught that the Maori were the true chosen people of Jehovah, whose *mana* would grant them immunity from European diseases and guns (a teaching that had disastrous consequences in the Maori wars of 1864–1865). The leaders of the so-called cargo cults of Melanesia skillfully wove together local mythology, prophetic visions, and borrowed elements of Christianity in ways that helped explain to followers the reasons for their apparent inferiority in the face of white power and wealth. The forms these movements took often struck observers as bizarre, but they are best understood as attempts to gain a moral equivalence with whites through rituals meant variously to raise the stature of indigenous followers or expel the whites while claiming their power. Colonial regimes regarded indigenous religious movements with suspicion and often brutally suppressed them. Most of the movements did not last long, brought down as much by disappointment in the lack of results as by state suppression. At their height, however, they temporarily brought together disparate communities in aspirations for a better life, leading some scholars to consider them "proto-nationalist movements."

THE PRESENT. With the exception of the Indonesian province of West Papua, which recognizes only the world religions present at the time of the country's independence and closely monitors the activities of churches and missions, residents of the Pacific islands today formally enjoy the right of free religious association. Since all but a tiny minority are affiliated with a Christian church, religious freedom has meant, in effect, competition between established groups and the mostly unfettered influx since the 1960s of a wide range of primarily evangelical Protestant sects. The domains of politics and religion are more distinct than in the past, but still overlap far more than in most Western countries. The constitutions of Papua New Guinea and Vanuatu, for instance, formally recognize Christianity and indigenous traditions as the twin foundations of the nation. Many of the most prominent politicians, including the first prime minister of Vanuatu, Father Walter Lini (1942–1999), have come from the ranks of the clergy. In Papua New Guinea, as in several other former colonies, the state shares administration of the school system with the churches.

As in earlier times, many ordinary people in the islands tend to perceive their world through a spiritual lens. Some election campaigns in Papua New Guinea resemble revival meetings, punctuated by prayers and appeals to God and posters in which Jesus appears as a politician's effective running mate. From Samoa to the Solomon Islands, chiefs legitimate their authority to followers by merging traditional statuses and customs with strong public declarations of Christian faith. Many Pacific Islanders take this conception one step further, viewing Christianity and ancestral traditions as one and the same, merely different faces of a single religious identity. In one of the uglier twists on this powerful synthesis, members of the Tukai ("land") movement in Fiji appealed to Christian nationalism and traditional land rights in attacking the rights of Indo-Fijians in the wake of government coups in 1987 and 2000.

All but the most remote areas of Oceania are experiencing rapid change in response to improved communications, increasing migration, and the influx of commodities, all of which work to undermine the former autonomy of local communities. Increasingly, people have choice in their religious affiliation as in other areas of life, and even the most established churches are gradually becoming more individualistic and democratic in response to global influences. For some, the newer Fundamentalist and Pentecostal sects sweeping through the region provide a refuge from the confusing changes undermining old certainties. But for others, the churches and faith have provided a platform and venue to challenge given orders, including political arrangements. Thus, churches have provided spiritual and organizational support to the pro-democracy movement in Tonga, protesting the autocratic power of the king, as well as to protests against continuing French colonial rule in New Caledonia and French Polynesia. In Papua New Guinea and elsewhere, church leaders and activists have spoken up, often at risk to their lives, against rampant political corruption, the rape of precious natural resources for short-term profits, and the impoverishment of local peoples. The churches have been especially important for women, as one of the few venues in which they can organize to improve the economic conditions for their families and to urge action against alcoholism, drug abuse, and associated domestic violence. Finally, the churches have provided a center of community life and a link to home for the vast and quickly expanding numbers of islanders from places like Samoa or much of Micronesia who now make their home in distant places like New Zealand or the United States.

It seems likely at the beginning of the twenty-first century that increasing globalization will continue to diversify and fracture the religious choices and identities available to Pacific Islanders. If so, the political potency of religion is likely to decline, because it depends to a high degree on a sense of shared community. Increasing numbers of Pacific Islanders are also likely to abandon religious affiliation entirely, particularly in urban areas. Still, one cannot help but be struck by the centrality of a spiritual outlook in the lives of most Pacific Islanders, a face they share with much of the so-called Third World peoples. As long as this is the case, religion and politics will form a potent mix in Oceania.

SEE ALSO Afterlife, article on Oceanic Concepts; Cargo Cults; Colonialism and Postcolonialism; Cosmology, article on Oceanic Cosmologies; Gender and Religion, article on Gender and Oceanic Religions; Globalization and Religion; Mana; Maori Religion; Melanesian Religions; Micronesian Religions; Missions; Oceanic Religions; Polynesian Religions; Revenge and Retribution; Rites of Passage, article on Oceanic Rites; Taboo.

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John Barker (2005)

POLITICS AND RELIGION: POLITICS AND NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS

The problem of determining the relationship between church and state, so prevalent in Western European history, is notably absent in the traditions and practices of American Indian tribes. Although tribal traditions lack church and state concepts, we can nevertheless find in tribal cultures practices suggesting separate realms. American Indian religion was characterized by rituals enabling individuals to attain a measure of extraordinary power bestowed by spirits in visions or dreams. Political leadership, meanwhile, demanded a reputation for courage and a man's continued good fortune in warfare. But no formal vesting of religious or political power in an institutional setting occurred. If an individual had personal charisma, projected spiritual gifts or courage in fighting, he became a leader and attracted a following.

Religion. For most Indian societies no mediating structure existed between the individual and the higher powers. Through vision quests, puberty rituals, sweat lodges, dances, and ceremonies welcoming the change of seasons or responding to personal crises, people had unusual experiences that could be called "religious" or "mystical." Most rituals were designed to remind people of the existence of higher spiritual powers from which they might seek help. People remembered clearly an unusual event, they listened carefully when they heard unusual voices, and they heeded the content of their dreams. Sometimes it was not necessary to approach the higher powers. They came in dreams or startling daytime events, identified themselves, and gave instructions to the person on how he or she should live thereafter. Almost always the individual received a song from the spirit and sang it whenever he needed the assistance of the spirit.

The spiritual message in American Indian religion was culturally and geographically specific. There was little of the general feeling of universal acceptance reported by mystics of both East and West. People did not feel they were merging with a timeless universal essence. Spiritual gifts were always practical and specific. No one felt compelled to convince others of the validity of his or her experience or to defend the knowledge received. Usually the person was given an herb or plant or taught a song to be used for specific purposes and situations. With the gift came the warning that the use of this power had limits.

A vision might impart prohibitions against killing certain creatures who assisted humans, although American Indian people generally already recognized such prohibitions. A man having a relationship with a particular creature would buy or trade goods so that he might obtain skins and feathers of his particular bird or animal. Thus members of the Fox society could not kill foxes but could trade with those who were permitted to kill them. People were sometimes told to avoid certain foods. The food might be a part of a particular animal, and the prohibition might have nothing to do with an assisting spirit animal. The Cheyennes, for example, were forbidden to eat a little piece of meat found in the chest area of the buffalo, because it represented the flesh of humans that the giant carnivorous buffalo had eaten in the previous world. Roman Nose (1830–1868), the great Cheyenne warrior, was prohibited from eating food that had been touched by metal, because the metal would remain in his body and attract bullets. He violated this prohibition at the battle of Beecher's Island and was mortally wounded. In general, special powers were meant to be used on behalf of community members, and witchcraft was forbidden and punished wherever it was identified.

Young people sought the advice of several spiritual elders before they engaged in rituals, so that they would know how to respond to the spirits when they came. Elders supervising a vision quest or other ritual seemed to have the power to monitor their protégé's progress and knew what the initiate was experiencing. Stories abound that describe how elders intervened when they saw the initiate endangered by a predator or an enemy. Following the ritual the initiate would be cleansed in a sweat lodge and asked to share what he or she could discuss about the experience. No one revealed the whole experience, because to do so would reveal the limitations of the person and thus make him or her vulnerable to the powers of hostile people. As a protection against fakery, though, the Plains tribes required the person performing the ritual or having a dream to demonstrate the powers they had been given in front of the community.

In each generation a tribe had a number of people able to perform amazing feats with the powers granted them by the spirits. One man might be able to foretell the future and would always be consulted when people prepared for a hunt or went to war. Another man might have the power to care for horses and dogs with special medicines, in order to enhance their abilities; in the case of the Appaloosa horse, such medicines might actually change the coloring of a colt. Some people could break fevers or set bones. The Ponca leader Luther Standing Bear (1829?–1908) said that he had never seen anyone with amputated limbs until the wars with the whites, indicating that healing powers had served the people well. An unusual gift was the ability to use remote seeing to locate missing people and find lost things.

The Lummi Indians, who live in the far northwestern United States near the Canadian border, had a person who could perform a rain ceremony, which they needed despite living in a very rainy climate. The rainmaker used his power when a heavy snowfall threatened to trap people in their longhouses. His power would change the snow to rain and prevent large drifts from trapping people inside their houses. This gift was restricted to a particular family, and everyone knew that each generation of that family would have the power to perform the ritual.

Spiritual leaders, without fear of retribution, could pass on—or sometimes sell—the powers given to them. In the Plains it was common to loan or give away small stones that performed many functions for tribal elders. A primary loyalty nonetheless existed between the stones and their original owners. A sale was thus actually a loan, because the second owner did not have complete control over the stone. Women had the primary knowledge of medicinal plants, and they passed this information down to their daughters and granddaughters, so that a family could become noted for its medicinal knowledge. Prohibitions against misuse of a sacred object also carried over through the generations. Even if people might no longer use the powers of a stone or pipe, it still kept its potency and so had to be respected long after its original owner had died.

Young people often served under a medicine man or spiritual leader in order to gain the knowledge and experience necessary to become practitioners of certain rituals. Their learning in some cases bound them to certain restrictions; for instance, initiates learning star knowledge could not use this knowledge until their teacher had passed on. Some scholars have described this apprenticeship as a priesthood of elders, but closer examination reveals no formal institutional practice comparable to the priesthood of Western religions. With the development of the Native American Church in the twentieth century, however, the Roadman (or ceremonial leader) played a role comparable to that of a priest. In general, however, people simply deferred to certain individuals known to have power to perform certain rituals.

POLITICS. When Europeans initially encountered Indian tribes, they looked for familiar political institutions. Thus they dubbed Indian leaders "kings"; accordingly, the daughters of these "kings" became princesses. Throughout American history, whites attempted to force the Indians to adopt Western political institutions. The period of initial contact occasioned many bitter lessons; for instance, a group of chiefs asked to cede lands might encounter opposition from another group, which would deny the sale and demand return of the land. Such incidents quickly gave rise to the custom of having both the chiefs and the headmen of smaller bands sign treaties. The U.S. government thereby hoped to reduce the chance that a dissident group would later challenge the legality of the transaction. Soon corrupted, however, the treaty system turned into a means of forcing land sales from weak peoples with no legitimate representation. Presidential peace medals or certificates were given at treaty negotiations as a way of identifying Indians who were subject to the treaty; Indians then had to present these tokens or documents at the next gathering, in order to confirm their status.

The traditional ways of organizing a community politically differed significantly from Western forms. The Six Nations—which after 1722 comprised the Iroquois, the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, the Senecas, and the Tuscaroras—had a formal council of over fifty chiefs who conducted the affairs of the Confederacy. Chieftain positions were distributed unevenly over the six Nations, but none complained about the manner of their allocation. The Clan Mothers chose the chiefs, so that anyone holding an office in the Confederacy had to respond to the concerns of the heads of families. The Red Lake Chippewa

(Ojibwa) had a council of seven chiefs who conducted business on behalf of everyone in their tribe. The Pueblos had a formal council with specific responsibilities assigned to each member. When they came under Spanish domination the Pueblos simply created additional offices to deal specifically with the Spanish. The Sioux had a general council consisting of the important chiefs, but they also designated four outstanding younger leaders to represent the whole nation in dealing with the incursions of the white man.

According to custom and tradition, no formal political organizations existed, although there were some exceptions. Most Indian settlements and bands were small. Even the settlements of the Five Civilized Tribes (the Creeks, the Chickasaws, the Cherokees, the Choctaws, and the Seminoles) were tiny in comparison with most rural communities. Longhouses, used the by eastern woodland and Pacific Northwest peoples, often represented the basic political entity. The task of governing relied heavily on cultural kinship customs and the consensus of the community. Heads of families represented their relatives in informal meetings of the group. If a person showed strong leadership qualities, the community might designate him as the primary spokesman in encounters with other groups.

American Indian institutions became more formal as dangers from the outside escalated. In the 1820s the Cherokees, Creeks, and Choctaws modified their traditional councils to resemble more closely the government of the United States, eventually adopting written constitutions. After tribes were confined to reservations in the 1870s, Indian agents tried to appoint reservation governments, including courts, so that the people could control their own civil and criminal jurisdiction. Generally tribal communities maintained their allegiance to the old chief- or headman-based form of government, and the traditional chiefs quite often became representatives of the new governments.

COLONIAL DAYS. From the first decades of colonization, representatives of various Christian denominations, with the aid of colonial governments, worked to convert the natives. French colonial policy sought not only to convert Indian, but also to intermarry with them, in effect seeking to create a new society composed of a mixture of French and Indian genes and culture. The fortunes of the various French monastic orders shifted back and forth, subjecting the Indians to different interpretations of the Christian religion. Thus the Jesuit and Recollect orders had varying success with the different eastern tribes. So pervasive was the effort of the French that many tribes became strongly Roman Catholic and insisted on securing funds and lands for their priests when the United States began making treaties with them.

English settlement was quite different. The British sought to displace the Indians in favor of their own colonists, and they discouraged mixed marriages. Various denominations sent missionaries to the tribes of New England; the emphasis, typically Protestant, was to win individual converts from local tribes or from people living on the frontier. Education was regarded as a magic wand to change the Indians from hunters and farmers into staid English merchants. The British therefore established schools to educate Indian youth, so that they might appreciate the benefits of "civilization." Thus Dartmouth, Princeton, William and Mary, and other universities began as schools for Indian youth. With the increasing prosperity of the colonists, however, these institutions increasingly served middle- and upper-class whites rather than Indians. By the time Americans began to settle the Illinois country, there was no pretense of founding colleges to educate the Indians; instead, treaty moneys designated for Indian education were often sent to churches to build schools at Indian agencies. The Choctaw Academy in Kentucky was established in the 1820s for the leading families of that tribe and later for children from the Five Civilized Tribes. The academy closed after an epidemic killed a large portion of its students.

In mid-seventeenth-century New England, Puritan missionaries—having deemed a sufficient number of Indians ready to live a "civilized" and Christian life—gathered the converts together and resettled them in villages known as "Praying Towns." These settlements consisted of Indians from several different tribes who had in common only their conversion to Christianity. The towns had the same status as other political subdivisions, with landholdings equal to those of the colonists' townships. As land became more valuable, however, the colonists assigned white trustees to the Praying Towns. These trustees gradually dissipated the Indian estates. Over the years white settlers attempted similar experiments with different tribes, but, as with the New England Praying Towns, the white man's greed for land undermined any initial religious or educational intentions. In one of the bloodier examples, a group of converted Delawares, convinced to move to western Pennsylvania before the Revolutionary War, established their own town, Gnadenhütten. When frontier violence flared up in the Ohio country, a white militia invaded this peaceful town and on March 8, 1782 slaughtered the converts. During the Removal period—after the passage of the Removal Act in 1830—the missionary Isaac McCoy attempted to set up an Indian state west of the Mississippi, and in the 1850s missionaries founded the short-lived Hazelwood Republic of the Minnesota Sioux. But neither conversion to Christianity nor the adoption of Western-style forms of government proved sufficient to save American Indians from destruction.

Just prior to the passage of the Removal Act, rumors of fantastic gold deposits on the Cherokee lands within its borders led the state of Georgia to encourage its white residents to invade these lands. The conflict led to the two most famous Indian-related U.S. Supreme Court cases—*Cherokee Nation* v. *Georgia* and *Worcester* v. *Georgia.* In the latter case Baptist missionaries insisted that their adherence to federal treaties gave them immunity from state penalties. Although the Supreme Court decided in their favor, they were nonetheless convicted under state law and sentenced to years of hard labor. Thereafter missionaries ensured that they had federal authorization to seek converts before investing in Indian missions.

RESERVATION PERIOD. In 1869 the newly elected president, Ulysses S. Grant (1869–1877), sought the advice and support of Christian churches in formulating policy toward Indians on the western frontier. Popularly called the Peace Policy, the result of this church-state collaboration allowed Christian denominations to nominate Indian agents for reservations, gave churches primary responsibility for Indian education, and in many cases also granted them exclusive rights to establish missions on reservations. Here American hypocrisy reached its zenith. No white American questioned the idea that a "full blood Christian" was most fit to impart religion and civilization to a full-blooded Indian. With a few exceptions, however, church-appointed agents exploited the Indians and established dictatorial rule on the reservations. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, created in 1824, ordered that Indians who did not work or who failed to send their children to school be denied rations. The use of tribal languages was permitted only if they had written forms, and the only materials available for reading were Christian religious writings. On all counts the Peace Policy brought only turmoil and despair to the tribes.

Because they lacked the complex bureaucratic organization of the Roman Catholic Church, Protestant churches found it difficult to bear the financial burden of operating schools. The Bureau of Indian Affairs therefore allowed them to use secular tribal annuity funds for support of their schools. The Supreme Court upheld this practice in *Quick Bear v. Leupp* (1908), on the transparently spurious ground of providing religious freedom to the Indians. Eventually, however, the practice was discontinued. With no government funds coming to the Protestants, only the Catholic Church could afford to operate schools, which it continued to establish on Indian reservations until the 1960s.

Federal and state governments prohibited Sun Dances and ceremonies beginning in the 1880s, and the Courts of Indian Affairs on the reservations rigorously enforced these regulations. Some tribes skirted this oppression by pretending their dances celebrated American holidays such as the Fourth of July or presidents' birthdays. As late as the 1920s the government deliberately worked to isolate traditional religious practitioners and began to punish participation in Indian dances with fines. Only when the Pueblos allowed some visitors to view some of their more secular dances did they find some relief from government interference. One can also perhaps credit the Fred Harvey restaurants, which sprang up on the route of the Santa Fe Railroad beginning in the late nineteenth century, with helping to ease the rigor of government prohibition of dances—Indian dances provided spectacular entertainment, and thus a source of profits, at the major stations along the line.

The 1880s also saw the spread of peyote use in religious practices. Originating with the southwestern tribes, the practice spread to Oklahoma and eventually to the northern plains and Great Lakes areas. Practitioners held night-long singing ceremonies in which they ingested the peyote cactus button, a bitter herb (and hallucinogen), in order to aid in the seeing of visions. They employed some elements of the Christian ritual to explain the place of peyote in their religious practice, making it roughly equivalent to the bread and wine of the Christian mass. The attraction of peyote lay in its origins in traditional practices and in the idea that it could serve as the center of a new religion designed for Indians by the Creator. The famous Comanche chief Quanah Parker (1845?–1911) was one of the more prominent adherents to this new religion; his prestige made it acceptable to tribes that had not practiced the ritual before.

Some tribes welcomed the new religion, while others bitterly opposed it, favoring either the old religion or Christianity. Missionaries condemned peyote rituals as the work of the devil, and religious conflict in some communities escalated so much so as to disrupt families. In 1919 the U.S. Congress held hearings on the subject and considered a bill to ban peyote use. Prohibitions against peyote had previously been justified with reference to alcohol laws, but it was not clear that these laws in fact applied. In spite of intense pressure from the Christian churches, the congressional committee considering the matter refused to send the bill to the floor. Secular social scientists sided with the Indians in the hearings, arguing that peyote use was an integral part of traditional Indian culture. On the reservation level the struggle continued, and since Indians regarded the practice as authentically theirs, the hearings only served to publicize and spread the religion. But practitioners realized that they would not be protected unless their religion could mimic the institutional organization of the Christian churches. They therefore incorporated "Native American Churches" in several states.

THE REFORM ERA. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal (1933–1939) brought about radical changes in Indian religious life. The new Indian Commissioner John Collier (1933–1945), a strong supporter of traditional Indian customs and practices, changed the directives of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to support rather than suppress dances and peyote use. The Wheeler-Howard Act (or Indian Reorganization Act) of 1934, which authorized the creation of tribal governments, allowed the tribes themselves to regulate religious practice on their own reservations. A few prohibited the Native American Church. Whereas the Pueblos generally struggled to convince their members not to join the new church, the Navajos formally passed a tribal ordinance banning the use of peyote. The federal district court upheld the ban on the basis that Indian tribes were sovereign nations "higher" in political status than states and therefore not subject to the Bill of Rights in religious matters.

THE PROTEST PERIOD. By the mid-1950s traditional dances were held openly on most reservations. Other ceremonies, however, had been neglected and could no longer be performed, and in some cases religious practitioners continued to mistrust the government and kept their rituals hidden. As the Indian protest movement began to grow in the early 1970s, traditional spiritual leaders supported the activists and often attended their rallies and gatherings. During the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters in the fall of 1972 and the subsequent protest at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, during the winter of 1973, Sioux medicine men were prominent participants, giving a sense of legitimacy to the protest. During the trials following the occupation of Wounded Knee, some Indian defendants insisted on swearing oaths on the sacred pipe rather than the Bible, thereby alarming white Christian juries.

The watershed event in raising the status of tribal religions, however, was the restoration of the sacred Blue Lake to Taos Pueblo in 1970. The Pueblo had refused money for this mountain area of forty-four thousand acres after it sued the United States in the Indian Claims Commission, preferring to work toward restoration of lands through legislative action. With the backing of a strong bipartisan coalition in Congress, the land was returned. Not only did this legislation represent a major reversal of federal policy toward Indian lands, but it also placed the issue of sacred lands on the national agenda.

MODERN ACHIEVEMENTS. In 1978 Congress passed the American Indian Religious Freedom Resolution, which ordered federal agencies to make special efforts to cooperate with tribes needing to use certain locations on federal lands for ceremonial purposes. Although the resolution contained no enforcement provisions, it did alert federal agencies, state governments, and museums that traditional Indian religions deserved respect. The more elevated legal status of traditional religion led to further reforms.

The lack of enforcement provisions in the Religious Freedom resolution created great uncertainty in Indian country. Litigation to stop various construction projects on the basis of the resolution were usually turned aside by rhetorical court decisions that failed to establish a clear interpretation of the resolution. In 1988 the Supreme Court heard *Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association,* a case involving the construction of a logging road in northern California that compromised the performance of certain rituals. In spite of factual findings by lower courts in favor of the Indians, the justices ruled that Indian religious freedom could not stand in the way of the routine bureaucratic activities of the federal government. This decision was a major setback, because it meant that any activity by the federal government, no matter how trivial, had priority over Indian religious practices.

Indians turned to Congress to change this situation, and in 1990 President George H. W. Bush signed into law the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act. The initial demand for such a law had been triggered by the discovery by Senator Daniel Inouye of Hawai'i that the Smithsonian Institution held nearly twenty-five thousand human skeletons—a substantial portion of which belonged to American Indians—that had been stolen from graves or gathered as trophies after battles with the U.S. cavalry. Hearings leading up to the bill revealed widespread wrongdoing by most U.S. museums, most of which had skeletal materials and in some cases also sacred objects obtained through less than ethical means. The law had three basic purposes: First, to protect against further grave desecration, second, to repatriate thousands of dead relatives housed in museum display cases and vaults, and finally, to restore stolen or improperly acquired religious and cultural property to their rightful owners.

Archaeologists and museums curators were at first appalled by the scope of the bill and its broad and somewhat confusing language. Eventually, however, they found their position morally untenable and cooperated to help secure final passage of the bill. Not surprisingly, the institution most reluctant to engage in the process of repatriation was the Smithsonian, whose staff was doctrinally bound to outmoded studies of human skulls to determine race, intelligence, and moral character. During the 1990s a significant number of objects and skeletons were returned for reburial and continued ceremonial use. Some tribes, abhorring the idea of receiving skeletal matter for fear that it might affect their fortunes, asked the museums to preserve the materials until a time when their people might feel differently about repatriation.

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES. The problem of ensuring American Indian religious freedom in modern times has been twofold. Because Indians had been forced onto small tracts of land to make way for white settlers, many shrines and holy places were no longer accessible, as they now lay on federal land. Traditional practitioners seeking entrance to certain locations, such as the Bear's Lodge (Devil's Tower) in Wyoming, Zuni Heaven in Arizona, or Mount Shasta in California were subject to strict regulation under multiple-use doctrines on federal lands. The trend at the beginning of the twenty-first century has been to open more national lands to industry, changing forever the landscape of the American West and destroying many shrines. Although the Religious Freedom Resolution directs agencies to work with American Indians to avoid conflicts, rumors emanating from Washington indicated that some federal agencies had "war rooms" to prepare for conflict with Indians over possible claims.

The use of peyote off the reservations and in the cities became an issue in 1990, when *Employment Division, Department of Human Resources of the State of Oregon v. Smith* came before the Supreme Court. Alfred Smith and Galen Black, two Indians, were fired from their jobs at a private drug rehabilitation program because they ingested peyote in private religious ceremonies. When they applied for unemployment compensation from the state of Oregon, they were refused on the grounds that they had been discharged for work-related misconduct. On appeal they cited a well-grounded constitutional doctrine that the government must have a "compelling" interest in the enforcement of a law before it can be invoked to infringe on or restrict freedoms guaranteed by the First Amendment. Sadly, the court overturned this test of constitutionality, leaving all religious practitioners in a legal limbo regarding the application of general statutes to religious activities.

Following the Smith case, a coalition of religious bodies sought clarification of the decision in Congress. Unfortunately this coalition refused to allow Indians to participate in the reform movement, arguing out of ignorance that peyote was merely a drug. Indians instead fought for the passage of amendments to the Religious Freedom Resolution, and they succeeded in 1994. The amendments clarified much of the confusion that the Smith case had engendered and offered increased protection for the practices of the Native American Church. Since 1994 these new protections have been tested in a number of cases, the outcomes of which have not diluted the rights of Indians. These cases, however, raised novel questions regarding the manner in which the Native American Church authorizes, appoints, or anoints its ceremonial leader, the Roadman. Some non-Indians sought to become Roadmen, forecasting a major case some time in the future. The main problem faced by the Native American Church at the beginning of the twenty-first century was one of self-definition: whether it was to be a church with no missionary responsibilities, which it certainly was on reservations, or whether it should be a more universal church that can accept non-Indian members.

To understand the historical journey of American Indians and their religious traditions one must place the developments of the modern era within a broader context. Christianity, primarily through its involvement in Indian education, made tremendous inroads into tribal cultures. As education became a function of the secular federal government and state educational institutions, religious instruction faded and Indian children received the same tepid, occasional religious instruction as non-Indians. Improved roads and modern communications reduced the distance between reservation villages and outside society. With increased mobility, people no longer felt tied to the old ways and looked for more meaningful religious experiences. Traditional tribal religions and Pentecostal neighborhood churches became more attractive.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Indian membership in the mainstream Christian churches declined precipitously, as compared to the previous generation. Many reservation churches and chapels closed or consolidated. Membership was primarily made up of the elderly, who had grown up with church traditions. Some denominations have discussed merging their missionary activities for lack of clergy and active members. The vast majority of Indians simply lived secular lives or substituted secular cultural activities for religious commitment. Traditional religions gathered more followers, but practice of the old ceremonies, for the most part, lost its supernatural capability; as with contemporary Christian ceremonies, the feeling of mystery faded. Whether this experience can be restored in the world in which we live is yet to be determined.

SEE ALSO Anthropology, Ethnology, and Religion; Conversion; Cosmology, article on Indigenous North and Mesoamerican Cosmologies; Drama, article on North American Indian Dance and Drama; Ecology and Religion; Gender and Religion, article on Gender and Native American Religious Tradition; Missions; Native American Christianities; Native American Church; North American Indian Religions; North American Indians; Performance and Ritual; Poetry, article on Native American Poetry and Religion; Rites of Passage, article on North American Indian Rites.

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POLLUTION SEE PURIFICATION; TABOO

POLYNESIAN RELIGIONS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
MYTHIC THEMES

POLYNESIAN RELIGIONS: AN OVERVIEW

Polynesia consists of several thousand islands contained within an immense triangle in the central Pacific with its corners at Hawai'i, New Zealand, and Easter Island. Polynesian peoples also inhabit a few "outliers" to the west of the triangle, such as Tikopia and Ontong Java in the Solomon Islands. Polynesian islands range from the huge, continental North and South Islands of New Zealand through the high, volcanic islands found in the Hawaiian, Samoan, and Society (Tahitian) chains, to the tiny, low atolls of the Tuamotu archipelago. Although a good deal of cultural diversity does exist within Polynesia, even more noteworthy—given the vast distances between island groups and the striking ecological differences between the continental, volcanic, and coral islands—are the cultural consistencies that hold throughout the region. These include closely linked languages, related forms of social and political organization, and similar religious beliefs and ceremonies.

While numerous isolated beliefs and practices from the pre-European period survive on many islands, the native Polynesian religion described in this essay no longer exists in a pure state. Conversion to Christianity began in Tahiti at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The process was essentially completed on most major islands by the middle of the century, although some remote islands, such as Tikopia, were not fully Christian until a hundred years later.

A CASE STUDY: KAPINGAMARANGI. Discussion begins with a description of some religious practices on one island—as it happens, an island of little significance by most measures. But it will serve as an introduction to Polynesian religion generally, because it is possible to detect in the religious practices of that island patterns that are basic to religion throughout Polynesia.

Kapingamarangi is a tiny, isolated atoll located to the south of the Caroline Islands in the western Pacific. It consists of an oval coral reef surrounding a lagoon six to eight miles in diameter, along the eastern edge of which are about thirty islets. The total land area more than five feet above sea level is less than one-half of a square mile; this is the living space for about five hundred inhabitants. Although it is an outlier, located well outside the Polynesian triangle, the culture and people of Kapingamarangi are distinctly Polynesian.

Every day, according to traditional beliefs, the gods would visit Kapingamarangi. They came from the sea, emerging in mid afternoon off the southeastern portion of the atoll and making their way northward along the outer reef toward an islet called Touhou. Shortly before sunset a priest would call out an invitation to the gods. They would come ashore at Touhou and proceed to a special cult house. They entered the seaward end of the house, which a pair of priestesses had just opened for them by taking down the wall screens. The high priest stood outside the opposite (lagoon) end of the cult house and delivered evening prayers, after which the priestesses replaced the wall screens. The following morning, just before sunrise, the high priest came again to the house. This time he went to the seaward end, took down the wall screens, delivered morning prayers, and then replaced the screens. The gods, who had spent the night in the house, departed after the prayers had been addressed to them, retraced their path along the outer reef to the southeastern part of the atoll, and, about mid-morning, returned to the sea. Several hours later they appeared again, and the entire process was repeated.

These daily events on Kapingamarangi encapsulate, in microcosm, many of the basic elements of religion throughout Polynesia. Although numerous variations may be found in different islands, Polynesians are unanimous in these beliefs: that the gods inhabit a realm distinct from the physical world populated by human beings; that they are frequent visitors to the physical world; that the gods are responsible for a great deal of what happens in the physical world, including events both beneficial and detrimental to human beings; that humans may exercise, through properly executed ritual, some control over the visits of the gods to the physical world and what they do here; and (what is one of the most distinctive features of Polynesian religion) that the gods may be ritually induced to withdraw from the physical world in circumstances where their influence is not, or is no longer, desirable. At bottom, Polynesian religion is a story of gods who are immensely active in this world and of people who attempt to control the activities of the gods by directing their influence into places where it is desired and expelling it from places where it is not. The essence of Kapingamarangi's daily cycle—the entrance of the gods into the human world, ushering them into a place of human choosing, requesting their assistance in matters of human needs, and then dismissing them to their own spiritual realm—was enacted in a thousand ways throughout Polynesia.

COSMOS. The universe, with its spiritual and physical realms, its myriads of gods, human beings, plants, and animals, was established by a series of creative acts. Myths from Samoa and the Society Islands tell of an uncreated creator god—Tangaloa or Ta'aroa (elsewhere Tangaroa, Kanaloa, etc.)—who was stirred to create the beginnings of a world. In other myths the first spark of creation is a series of abstract mental qualities and urges, existing and evolving in themselves: thought, remembrance, consciousness, and desire. In most Polynesian accounts of creation, existence was soon differentiated into a male sky and a female earth. These were joined together in copulation. The earth gave birth to a number of sons, the major gods of the Polynesian pantheon. Their numbers and identities differ among the various islands, but frequently the names Tane, Tu, and Rongo appear in one linguistic form or another among them. Tangaroa, the creator already mentioned for certain myths from Samoa and Tahiti, often appears in other myths as another of the sons of the earth and sky.

With the sky pressed so closely to his terrestrial mate, the living space between them was dark and cramped, and their sons could scarcely stand upright. They resolved to separate their parents. After numerous fruitless efforts, one of the sons succeeded in wrenching the lovers apart and raising the sky to the position it now occupies. Perhaps this is a mythological source for the notion that existence is divided into a spiritual and a physical realm, because on many islands the gods were thought to dwell in the heavens. (The spiritual realm normally includes more than just the heavens, however. As described already, the gods of Kapingamarangi came from the open sea. The underworld, as the home of the dead, was also widely considered to be part of the spiritual realm.)

Further stages of creation are usually expressed in genealogical terms. In a Samoan myth, various sorts of rocks and plant and animal species are born and mate to produce still other furnishings of the earth through many generations following the initial union of celestial and terrestrial rocks. In the ninth generation, Pili, a lizard, mates with a tropical bird, and their three sons and daughter are the first human beings. In the mythology of the Maori of New Zealand, the progenitor is the god Tane. Unable to create alone, he sought an *uha,* or female partner. He found a great many of them, and from his unions with them were born water and the various species of insects, birds, and trees and other plants. Through all this, however, Tane was frustrated in his abiding desire to create humankind. Finally he and his brothers, the sons of the sky and the earth, shaped a woman from the earth. Tane breathed life into her nostrils, mouth and ears. Unsure of himself, he then copulated with the various orifices and crevices of her body. This was the origin of the bodily excretions, for the places fertilized by Tane gave birth to saliva, mucus, earwax, excrement, and perspiration. Finally Tane tried her genitalia, and she bore a daughter, whom they named Hinetitama. Later Tane incestuously took his daughter as his mate, and she gave birth to the first human beings.

It fell to a number of heroes, of whom the most famous throughout Polynesia was named Maui, to put the finishing touches on creation. In those earliest days the sun moved rapidly across the sky, making night much longer than day. People found it difficult to accomplish their work in the brief span of daylight. Māui (or, on some islands, a hero of another name) journeyed to the place where the sun emerges from the underworld at dawn, and there he laid a snare. When the sun appeared Maui caught it and gave it a drubbing with his club (made, in some versions of the story, from the jawbone of one of his female ancestors). Thenceforth it could move only slowly and painfully across the heavens, and thus was the day lengthened to equal the span of the night. Mythic heroes are also credited with fishing up many islands from the depths of the sea. The North Island of New Zealand is known as Te-Ika-a-Māui, or Māui's fish, because he caught it with a fishhook (also made from the same jawbone), which he baited by smearing it with his own blood.

GODS. The spiritual realm was thought to be populated by an indefinitely large number of beings, known in most islands by some variant of the term *atua.* The term may be translated as "god," although it should be borne in mind that in Polynesia this is a remarkably broad category. Some gods have never lived as humans (for example, the sons of the earth and sky), while others are spirits of deceased ancestors or of quasi-human entities such as stillborn babies and menstrual clots. Some gods are benevolent, others are mischievous or downright malicious, and still others have no particular moral qualities at all. The gods have a diverse range of occupations and interests. Their number includes creator gods; gods responsible for various "departments" of existence (such as the sea, the forests, cultivated plants, and so on); gods that concern themselves with particular places, particular tribes, or particular families; gods of warfare, fishing, carpentry, and various other occupations; even gods that specialize in bringing on certain diseases or ravishing people whose hair was a certain color. All in all, they are an extremely numerous and varied lot.

While the gods properly belong to the spiritual realm, it was thought throughout Polynesia that (as with the daily visits of the gods to Kapingamarangi) they would frequently enter the human world. Indeed, so extensive was their influence deemed to be that Polynesians tended to attribute any condition or event for which a physical cause was not immediately apparent to the work of the gods. Among a great many other things, this included thunder and lightning, shifts in the wind, and the growth of plants, animals, and people. The gods were authors of dreams and human artistic accomplishments; they underwrote the rank and power of chiefs and success in love or war; and they generated courage and cowardice, illness and accidents, and even involuntary twitches in the muscles.

An indication of the variety of events that Polynesians would attribute to the gods is recorded by the traveler and artist Augustus Earle. When he sailed from New Zealand to Australia in 1828, several Maoris also made the trip. Earle writes in his *Narrative of a Residence in New Zealand* (Oxford, 1966):

> The second day after we were at sea, I saw a group of savages lying round the binnacle, all intently occupied in observing the phenomenon of the magnetic attraction; they seemed at once to comprehend the purpose to which it was applied, and I listened with eager curiosity to their remarks upon it. "This," said they, "is the white man's God, who directs them safely to different countries, and then can guide them home again. . . ." Nothing could exceed the delight manifested by our New Zealanders as we sailed into Port Jackson [Sydney] harbour; but above all, the windmills most astonished them. After dancing and screaming with joy at beholding them, they came running and asking me "if they were not gods." (pp. 196–197)

Polynesians took great stock in omens. Belief in godly instigation of events of all sorts, and that the gods had knowledge superior to that of humans—knowledge of what was happening far away, or would happen in the future, for example—led Polynesians to think that many events could be read as messages from the gods about matters of importance to humans. Dreams were a particularly rich source of information from the world of the gods. One's own spirit or soul could leave the body in sleep, traveling great distances as the gods do, and gathering all sorts of intelligence while out of the body. Sometimes the message of dreams was straightforward, as when a Maori woman's dream that raiders were gathering in the hills to attack her village was confirmed when scouts found that raiders were indeed in the hills. Other dreams needed expert interpretation to reveal their meanings. If a Maori man dreamed of skulls lying on the ground, and decorated with feathers, it was a sign that his wife was pregnant; moreover, the color of the feathers foretold the sex of the baby.

Diviner priests in Hawai'i and Tahiti would read the outcome of a proposed battle in the entrails of sacrificial animals. The configurations of rainbows, clouds, and other heavenly phenomena were everywhere understood as omens. Should a Maori war party see the moon situated above the evening star, for example, they would abandon plans to attack a fortified village because the battle would go against them. The moon situated below the evening star, on the other hand, was a sign that their attack would be crowned with success.

An important way in which Polynesian gods were thought to make their influence felt in the physical world was literally to enter and possess human beings. Often this was an unwelcome situation, for the intruding god might be malicious and proceed to bite, twist, or pinch the individual's internal organs—a common explanation for disease. On the other hand, certain persons were particularly prone to spirit possession by which a deceased chief, ancestor, or some other god would communicate with human beings. The medium would go into a trance, during which his or her tone of voice might change drastically. That was thought to be the voice of the possessing god, conveying information about the cause of some disease, the identity of a thief, the outcome of a military expedition, or some other matter of importance to the human community.

The gods also frequented animals of various species: sharks, herons, lizards, owls, and so on. Because the indwelling gods were often malicious, and in any event had power enough to make them dangerous to ordinary people, such animals were regarded with fear, or, at least, with a great deal of circumspection. Lizards were thought in many islands to be favorite earthly vehicles for particularly malevolent gods, rendering these animals objects of terror to people. In his *Journal of a Ten Months Residence in New Zealand* (London, 1823), the early visitor Richard Cruise reported that when a visiting ship's officer in the early nineteenth century brought a lizard to a Maori women in order to ascertain the local word for it, "She shrunk from him in a state of terror that exceeded description, and conjured him not to approach her, as it was in the shape of the animal he held in his hand, that the Atua [god] was wont to take possession of the dying, and to devour their bowels" (p. 320).

MANA AND TAPU. Persons, places, and things that were possessed by or were otherwise under the influence of the gods were often referred to by one or the other of the two most well-known concepts in Polynesian religion: *mana* and *tapu.* While these terms have usually been understood by Western observers to function as nouns—so that one might have a certain amount of *mana,* infringe a *tapu,* or put *tapu* on or remove it from something—some scholars think that they properly describe states of being rather than things. From this perspective, *mana* or *tapu* are similar to fame: One may "have" fame, but that is not like having a concrete thing such as a computer.

Mana (a form used in many Polynesian languages) refers to the state of being that is enjoyed by those objects, places, or persons that benefit permanently (or at least for an extended period) from the strengthening influence of the gods. A primary mark of *mana* is outstanding effectiveness in action. Hence the term was applied to certain weapons (many of which had proper names and unique qualities, as did the swords Excalibur and Nothung in European lore) that were thought to be invincible in and of themselves.

Individuals who had distinguished themselves by outstanding accomplishments as warriors, navigators, priests, or artists were thought to have *mana.* At least as important, *mana* characterized certain families and descent lines. Polynesian society on many islands (particularly on Tahiti and the other Society Islands, and on Samoa, Tonga, and Hawai'i) was highly stratified, with great gulfs of rank separating the chiefs and other nobles from the commoners. The rank of the nobility passed from generation to generation, reaching its culmination in the line of firstborn children. These lines traced their descent back to the high gods and existed under their special protection. Their rank and position was validated precisely by this relationship to the gods, which was the source of their intense *mana.* In many respects the relationship was so close that those of exalted rank were considered to be very like gods themselves. In Tahiti high chiefs were carried on the backs of servants whenever they ventured out, because if their feet had touched the ground, that spot would have been made so sacred that it could no longer be used for ordinary purposes. All persons along the chief's path had to bare their bodies to the waist as a sign of deference. In Hawai'i the concern that nobles not marry spouses of standing lower than their own resulted in the approval of brother-sister marriage for chiefs of the highest rank. The offspring of such unions were considered to be divine, and all persons were required to prostrate themselves in their presence.

Tapu, a form used in the Maori and Tahitian languages, is a term taken into English as "taboo," and is close in meaning to *mana.* It too is concerned primarily with the influence that the gods exercise over people, places, and things of the physical world. *Tapu* is often defined with reference to restrictions or prohibitions, it being *tapu* to enter a certain place, eat certain food, touch certain objects, or undertake various other activities. The word, however, refers not so much to the sheer fact of restriction as to the reason for it: that the place, person, or object in question was possessed by or under the influence of the gods and therefore had to be treated with extreme care.

It is tempting to translate *tapu* as "sacred," but that term has a consistently positive connotation that is by no means always the case with the Polynesian concept. As has been noted already, to be under the influence of a Polynesian god is not necessarily a desirable condition, for it may entail physical or mental illness, loss of courage, or any number of other unwelcome states. All of these may be described in terms of *tapu.* This points up one distinction between *tapu* and *mana.* While both terms refer to states brought on by the influence of gods, *mana* was limited to conditions characterized by outstanding effectiveness of action or elevated rank. *Tapu* might also be used in those circumstances, but it describes detrimental or debilitating states as well.

Again, both *mana* and *tapu* may refer to states of long duration, but these were perhaps more commonly described in terms of *mana.* On the other hand, only *tapu* was used to describe conditions in which the influence of the gods was experienced for relatively brief or defined periods—such as during festivals or religious ceremonies, seasons for growing crops, expeditions for hunting, fishing, or raiding, or times of tattooing or building a canoe or house. Because Polynesian rituals dealt primarily with such temporary influence of the gods, channeling it into areas of life where it was desired at the moment and away from areas where it was not, they were much more concerned with *tapu* than *mana.*

One reason that the *tapu* state tended to be of relatively short duration was because it was easily transmitted. *Mana* could be diminished or lost by defilement of some sort, but it was not easily communicated from one person or thing to another, except from parent to child by descent. To the contrary, *tapu* was considered to be a highly volatile state that was readily transmitted. This, indeed, is the primary reason why the term is so often translated as "forbidden" or as having to do with prohibitions: because it was necessary to hedge someone or something in the state of *tapu* with all sorts of restrictions in order to prevent its unintentional communication to other persons or things to which it might be detrimental. At this point it is well to recall that *tapu* refers not to a thing but to a state of being under the influence of gods. Should that influence pass from one person or thing to another, as Polynesians thought it commonly did, then the person or thing newly brought under godly influence would enter a state of *tapu.* If the godly influence should completely leave the "donor" in this situation, then that person or thing would be released from the *tapu* state.

Transmission of *tapu* was normally by direct or indirect contact. In many parts of Polynesia menstrual blood was thought to be dangerously *tapu,* and great precautions were taken to avoid contact with it. The Marquesan belief was that such contact produced leprosy. Throughout Polynesia food was considered to be an excellent conductor of *tapu.* Today women of Rapa, in the Austral chain, avoid preparing anyone's food but their own while they are menstruating. In ancient Tahiti and Hawai'i men and women ate separately on a regular basis in order to insulate the male from the dangerous influences connected with the female.

An intriguing example of how *tapu* may spread involves an unfortunate dog at Ruatoki, New Zealand. The dog contracted the extremely dangerous *tapu* associated with the dead because it rooted in a grave and began to chew on the corpse of a recently deceased person. The situation deteriorated when the dog, chased by numerous enraged Maoris, tried to escape by swimming across the Whakatane River. It was caught and killed in midstream, but by then the entire river had become *tapu* because the dog had been swimming in it. After that its water could not be used for any purpose until a priest had performed a special ceremony to release the river from *tapu.*

RITUAL.

Polynesian ritual covered an extensive field of activity. It could be destructive, as in witchcraft rites that directed gods to injure or kill their victims. Maori legend, for example, tells how a sorcerer bewitched a New Zealand tribe called Maruiwi by calling upon the god Ira-kewa to confuse their minds so that they began to wander about in the night, walked over a high cliff, and fell to their deaths. Other rites were performed for the more constructive purposes of securing fertility of crops or success in voyaging, hunting, or fishing. Some rites consisted of no more than conventional incantations that an individual might mutter to secure the gods' approval or avoid their wrath when crossing a forest or a stream; others were elaborate festivals demanding immense preparations and lasting for days, or even, as in the case of the Hawaiian festival called Makahiki, for months. In all cases, however, Polynesian ritual had the same purpose as the daily rites on Kapingamarangi, that is, to move and focus godly influence in accordance with human wishes.

Understood in this way, it is possible to distinguish three phases in Polynesian ritual. The first is an invitation to the gods to come to the place where the ritual is taking place. The second is an attempt to induce the gods to lend their influence or support to whatever goal (fertility of crops, victory in battle, success in an interisland voyage, and so on) the rite is designed to promote. While these two phases are found in the ritual process of many religions, a third phase receives particular elaboration in Polynesia. In this phase, after the purpose of the rite has been achieved, the gods are dismissed and their influence is terminated.

Invitations.

Polynesian gods were conceptualized as behaving very much like human beings, so ritual invitations to them were similar in kind to the way one might invite human guests. In Tahiti this included preparing an attactive place for them. Tahitian rituals normally took place in rectangular enclosures called *marae.* Between rituals very little attention was paid to the *marae.* The gods were not present, so there was no danger, no particular *tapu* associated with the *marae* at such times. When a ceremony was about to take place, however, a necessary prelude was to clear weeds and sweep the courtyard, to repair and scrape moss from the stone altar, to set up perches upon which the gods might settle, and in general to make the *marae* as attractive as possible for the gods who were to be summoned to it. Before lineage gods were invoked in Tonga, special mats would be spread out as places for them to sit.

Rituals normally began with an invitation to the gods to attend. In Tahiti lesser gods might be dispatched as messengers to invite the greater gods, and priests would intone long chants that described how each emissary had located the god it had been sent to fetch and was leading it to the *marae.* Other Tahitian chants inaugurating rituals were designed to awaken the gods from sleep. Hawai'ians would sometimes appeal to the gods' sexuality, attracting them to a ritual with an erotic hula dance.

New Zealand Maori invited the gods to certain places by setting out material objects in which they could take up residence. Rudely carved stone images, called "resting places for the gods," would be placed in fields after sweet potatoes had been planted. The intention was for gods to enter the images, whence they would establish a state of *tapu* over the crop by lending their growth-stimulating power to it. Other special objects, either natural or human-made, were placed in forests, near the sea, or in fortified villages. These constituted domiciles for the gods who ensured an abundance of birds and rats in the forest, fish of various species in the sea, or protection for the village. It was important to conceal these objects carefully, lest they fall into the hands of some malefactor who would perform certain spells causing the god to depart and bringing disaster on the forest or village.

Priests in certain parts of New Zealand carried "godsticks": small, carved wooden pegs that, when wrapped in a certain way and stuck in the ground, would be entered by gods. Idols or images were thought to provide housing for the gods in many parts of Polynesia. In the early nineteenth century the several chiefs who were competing to become king of a centralized Tahiti went to great lengths to secure the image of the war god Oro. Where the image was, so the belief went, there Oro himself would come, bringing with him success in war and politics.

New Zealand Maori were particularly conscious of boundaries between the human and the spiritual worlds. Frequently their rituals would be held at such places, where the gods could readily pass from the spiritual realm into this one. One of the most intriguing of these boundaries had to do with the village latrine. This was commonly built on the outskirts of a village, often on the brow of a cliff or steep hill, over which excreta would fall. The latrine consisted of a pair of carved posts that supported a low horizontal beam where the feet would be placed while squatting. Handgrips to assist in preserving one's balance were planted in the ground in front of the beam. The beam was thought to be a boundary between the realms of existence: The physical world was on the village side of the beam, with all its human hustle and bustle, while the region behind the beam, where excrement fell and where people never went, was the spiritual world. Of the numerous rituals the Maori performed at the latrine, none presents a clearer view of it as a point of emergence of the gods into the physical world than the consecration of the Takitumu canoe. According to Maori lore, this was one of the canoes that brought their ancestors to New Zealand. The tradition relates how Takitumu was placed in a state of *tapu,* so as to enjoy the gods' protection during the long and dangerous voyage, by literally hauling the canoe up to the latrine and inviting the gods to embark.

Propitiations. Once the gods had arrived at the site of the ritual, the next phase was to carry out the purpose for which they had been invited. This might be to convince them to do something for the human community, or to thank them for services already rendered. A common means of accomplishing either of these ends was to give the gods gifts. In many places in Polynesia the gods were thanked for their assistance by offering them the first crops harvested, the first birds snared, or the first fish caught. War gods might be given the first enemy killed; often a hook would be placed in his mouth and he would be announced as the first fish. Human sacrifices were offered in many parts of Polynesia including Hawai'i, Tahiti, Tonga, the Marquesas, Mangaia (in the Cook Islands), and New Zealand. Human lives were sacrificed for a variety of purposes, including the commemoration of significant events in the lives of high chiefs, the launching of important new canoes, or the opening of major houses. People in Tonga would strike off joints of their little fingers as sacrificial supplications to the gods to restore relatives to health.

Another common means of influencing the gods on ritual occasions was by incantations. After a Maori priest had induced a god to enter his godstick by wrapping it in the proper way and sticking it in the ground, he would step back a few paces and intone his requests. Often the priest held a bit of string that was tied to the stick and that he would jerk occasionally to prevent the god's attention from wandering.

The efficacy of an incantation, and, indeed, of a ritual observance in its entirety, was thought to depend on the perfection with which it was accomplished. This mispronunciation of a word, a breath drawn in the wrong place, or any disturbance of the general atmosphere surrounding the rite, was thought to abort the whole ceremony. On many islands, during a religious ceremony the people who were not participating in the rite were constrained to remain in their houses, lighting no fires and making no noise. Cocks must not crow, nor dogs bark; absolutely nothing was allowed to disrupt the highly *tapu* atmosphere of the rite. In the Society Islands, should a woman or child wander near the place where a ritual was occurring, the intruder would be killed immediately (perhaps by the husband or father) and offered to the gods as a sacrifice to amend for the disturbance. Perhaps such rules and practices, although far more severe, were not different in intent from a Maori priest tugging at the string tied to his godstick in order to prevent the attention of the gods from being distracted by matters other than those addressed in the ceremony.

The emphasis on perfection of delivery of incantations and performance of ceremonies indicates that Polynesians believed their gods to be concerned with the outer form of worship. Inner feelings and convictions were not relevant issues in Polynesian religion. New Zealand provides the most striking bit of evidence for this proposition. An imaginative chief there arranged for the necessary incantations that accompanied the planting of crops to be delivered by a talking bird!

Dismissals. The final phase of Polynesian ritual was the departure of the gods and, with them, the termination of the state of *tapu.* Occasionally this constituted not a phase but the rite in its entirety. This would apply to rituals designed to cure illness or to counteract witchcraft, where the god involved was malevolently inclined and the sole purpose of the rite was to exorcise it. In other cases, as in the departure of the gods from Kapingamarangi's cult house each day at dawn, the gods were excused in the final stage of ritual, after prayers or thanks had been addressed to them or when the beneficial results for which they had been summoned had been realized. Many Polynesians believed, for example, that crops could grow, battles be won, or houses and canoes be successfully built only with the assistance of the gods. Only, that is, when the field, warriors, weapons, builders, tools, and raw materials were in a state of *tapu.* But that very *tapu,* together with the numerous restrictions designed to control its unintended spread, rendered it impossible for the crops to be eaten once they were harvested, for warriors to take up normal activities after battle, for people to live in the house or to travel in the canoe when built. Therefore it was necessary to excuse the gods once their contribution had been achieved—to release the crop, the warriors, the house, or the canoe from the state of *tapu.*

A person, place, or thing that had been released from *tapu* entered a state of being known on many Polynesian islands as *noa.* Often translated as "common" or "profane" (in contrast to views of *tapu* as "sacred"), *noa* may be understood simply as the opposite of *tapu*—as the state of not being under the influence of the gods. Rituals or segments of rituals designed to provide a release from *tapu* were often designated by words such as *fa'anoa* (in the Society Islands) or *whakanoa* (in New Zealand), meaning "to make *noa.*"

Normally the dismissal of the gods was, as in Kapingamarangi, a temporary situation. They would be invited back the next time their assistance was needed. Occasionally, however, the lifting of the *tapu* state was intended to be permanent. This of course applied to disease-dealing or otherwise malicious gods. People wanted to escape their influence forever. But it might also be the case with a god from whom assistance had been expected, if it became clear that the god was not performing satisfactorily. Tahitians had a special ceremony for casting off a god. If a family found that it was receiving few benefits from the god it venerated, the family priest would address a special incantation to the god. He would berate it roundly for its feeble support, and inform it that the family would have nothing more to do with it. Then they would select another god that promised to be more helpful.

A variety of means were available to terminate the state of *tapu.* One was simply to get away from the god. Many gods were restricted in their spheres of influence, so if a person were suffering from a disorder known to be caused by a certain god, the healer's prescription might be for the patient to leave the area frequented by that god.

The more common tactic, however, was to send the gods or their influence away. One of the most common ritual agents used for this purpose throughout Polynesia was water. By sprinkling or immersion in salt or fresh water, Polynesians of Samoa, the Marquesas, New Zealand, the Society Islands, and Hawai'i would return to the *noa* state after participating in war, rituals, funeral observances, and other activities. The rationale was doubtless that the water washed away the godly influence responsible for the *tapu.*

Fire was another agent for releasing persons and things from *tapu,* because of its capacity to consume or drive out indwelling gods. In the Society Islands sickness or insanity might be caused by a malicious spirit that dwelt in a stone buried by a witch near the victim's residence. Should a diviner ascertain where the stone was concealed, he would unearth it and throw it into the fire to destroy or expel the infecting spirit.

Probably the *tapu*-eradicating properties of fire account for the fact that, in New Zealand, cooked food (that is, food that has been exposed to high heat or fire) was one of the most common agents used in rituals concerned with the expulsion or transfer of godly influence. Some scholars claim the Maori view to have been that cooked food repelled the gods, others that it attracted them. In any event, it was very commonly a part of *whakanoa* rituals, such as that in which the hands of someone who had been cultivating a garden, curing an illness, or cutting the hair of a chief were released from *tapu* by passing a bit of cooked sweet potato or fernroot over them.

The Maori were extremely careful in their direct or indirect association with cooked food when they were in a state of *tapu* that they wished to preserve. They were most reluctant to enter European hospitals, where water to wash patients might be heated in pots previously used for cooking. The same reasoning explains why some Maoris who had embraced Christianity and wished to purge themselves of the influence of the pagan gods would purposely wash their heads in water heated in cooking pots. One European trader engendered the wrath of a Maori chief when he joked that a cooking pot that he had for sale would make a fine helmet for the chief, and made as if to put it on his head.

The Maori concern with thresholds between the spiritual and physical realms, discussed above in connection with ritual means of bringing the gods into this world, is also important in rituals designed to send them out of it. One cure for illness was to bite the latrine beam, presumably with the intention of repatriating the affecting god to the spirit realm by sending it over the threshold between the worlds. After a session of training in sacred lore, which required that students be in a state of *tapu* if the learning process were to take place successfully, the students would bite the latrine beam in order to return to the *noa* state. Finally, a warrior who was afraid before battle might fortify himself by biting the beam, although it is not entirely clear in this case whether the purpose was to be rid of a fear-producing god, or to take on the influence of a courage-producing one.

Unquestionably one of the most intriguing agents for the ritual release from *tapu* was the female. In New Zealand

and the Marquesas Islands new houses would be made free of *tapu* by having a woman enter them. Women participated in the *tapu*-dispelling phase of the war ritual known as Luakini in Hawai'i. In New Zealand women would eat the first tubers and thereby render a newly harvested crop of sweet potatoes *noa.* Maoris would rid themselves of the malicious spirit that might be lurking in a lizard by killing the animal and then having a woman step over it. Marquesans would exorcise the demon afflicting a sick person by having a naked woman leap over or sit on the affected part of the patient's body. Women were not permitted to assist at major rites in the Society Islands, for fear that their presence would expel the gods. For the same reason women were not allowed to go near sites of canoe or house construction in New Zealand or, in the Marquesas, to have any contact with men who had been made *tapu* prior to turtle fishing or battle.

The usual interpretation is that the gods found women to be repugnant, particularly because of their connection with menstrual blood (a substance thought, on this interpretation, to be more polluting than any other). Hence the gods would withdraw upon the appearance of a woman, taking their *tapu* with them. An alternative view is that the gods were attracted to women rather than repelled by them, and that women therefore terminated *tapu* by absorbing the godly influence into themselves. On this interpretation the female is understood, as is the Maori latrine, to represent a passageway between the godly and human realms of existence. The rites in which women acted to dispel *tapu* would of course be examples of the movement of godly influence through the female from the human to the spiritual world. Certain practices in New Zealand can be interpreted as the movement of godly influence in the opposite direction, as when students about to be instructed in sacred lore would enter the state of *tapu* by eating a piece of cooked food that had first been passed under the thigh of a woman.

The view of the female as a passage between the two realms leads to some possible insights into the Polynesian view of birth and death. In New Zealand and the Society Islands incantations addressed to newborn infants of rank welcomed them into the physical world from the world of the gods. An infant, that is, was apparently viewed as an embodied spirit that had passed from the spiritual realm to the human realm. And, of course, the infant accomplished the transit by being born of a woman.

Polynesians understood death as the passage of the soul from the physical world to the spiritual realm, where it continued to exist as a god or spirit of some sort. Most interesting is that, in New Zealand at least, this passage too was thought to be made through the female. This is evident in the intriguing story of the death of the culture hero Māui. Having fished up islands and slowed the sun, Māui resolved to bestow upon humankind the ultimate gift of eternal life. He intended to accomplish this by killing Hine-nui-te-po, the female personification of death. Accompanied by his friends, the birds, Māui came upon her while she was asleep. His plan was to kill her by entering her vagina, passing through her body, and emerging at the mouth. He cautioned his friends not to laugh if they found the sight amusing, for fear of waking her. Then he stripped naked and, binding the thong of his club tightly about his wrist, he proceeded to enter the sleeping woman. But predictably the birds found the sight hilarious and they burst out in raucous laughter. That awakened Hine-nui-te-po who, discovering Maui attempting to enter her, clenched her thighs tightly together and crushed him to death. And such, opined a Maori commentator, is the fate of all humans: to be drawn at death into the genitals of Hine-nui-te-po.

Hence the female seems to constitute a two-way passage between the spiritual and physical realms of existence, for humans as well as for the gods. Moreover, the very distinction between human beings and the gods now begins to collapse. Humans, arriving at birth from the supernatural realm, apparently were thought to have a spiritual existence before birth, and they definitely were thought to return to the spiritual realm as ghosts and ancestral gods after death.

For a final bit of evidence of a Polynesian belief that human beings exist as spirits in the godly realm prior to birth, this article will return to where it began—the tiny atoll of Kapingamarangi. After a woman had given birth, she and her infant would go for a set of birth ceremonies to the islet of Touhou. That is the place, it will be recalled, where the gods would come ashore every day. Therefore, while it might actually have been born on another islet, the infant was ritually introduced into Kapingamarangi on the islet of Touhou, just as the gods were. After a period of ceremonies on Touhou, mother and child participated in a ritual that took place on Werua islet, located just to the north of Touhou. After that, they would return to their home islet and to normal life.

Interpreting this, it is seen that the child, like the gods, has come from the spiritual realm of Touhou. But whereas the gods remain gods by leaving Touhou and traveling south, the same direction from which they came, the child becomes human by leaving Touhou to the north. From that point forward the child becomes a full member of human society. In essence this is not unlike ceremonies that release one from *tapu* in other parts of Polynesia, rites in which the removal of godly influence enables a person to participate without restriction in normal human existence.

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POLYNESIAN RELIGIONS: MYTHIC THEMES

Although one might argue whether the gods created the Polynesians in godlike form or the Polynesians created the gods in their own image, it is a truism that in Polynesia gods and people are aspects of the same reality and form a continuum of the sacred and the profane. Even as, in relative terms, the gods are sacred and the people profane, so also are the chiefs sacred and the commoners profane. This axiom underlay the sociocultural organization of the Polynesians and gave religious justification to ranked social and kinship structures. The mythological threads of Polynesian religions developed an intimate association among gods, chiefs, priests, and people. High gods, demigods, ancestral gods, culture heroes, spirits, elves, and people were intertwined in different ways in each island group to create separate religions that were particularized and parochial while at the same time part of a homogenous religious fabric that was spread over a vast expanse of ocean containing hundreds of large and small Polynesian islands.

Polynesia can be conveniently divided into western Polynesia (including Tonga, Samoa, Tuvalu, the Tokelau Islands, Niue, the Futuna Islands, and Uvéa) and eastern Polynesia (Hawaii, the Society Islands including Tahiti, the Marquesas, the Cooks, the Australs, Mangareva, the Tuamotus, Easter Island, and New Zealand). A number of small islands lie outside the Oceanic region commonly designated as Polynesia, but they have Polynesian religious and cultural traditions (Rennell, Bellona, Tikopia, Anuta, Ontong Java, Kapingamarangi, Takuu, Sikiana, and others). These "outliers" are closely related to western Polynesia. Fiji, Lau, and Rotuma, on the western fringe of Polynesia, are in some ways closely related to western Polynesia, although religiously Fiji is probably more closely related to the Melanesian islands to the west. The religion of each of these groups and its mythological basis formed a coherent whole with the social organization. The connections between gods, ancestors, and humans were often made visually apparent and ritually maintained through religious architecture and works of art including songs, dances, sculptured images, and, most fundamental of all, oral literature. Although it is difficult to separate sacred and secular in Polynesia, the emphasis in this article will be on the mythological themes that help to explain the religious element of the society with its emphasis on *mana* and *tapu,* rather than on the mythological basis of secular storytelling. From a Polynesian point of view, the terms *mythic* and *mythological* are not entirely appropriate because these sacred traditions are considered historical and unquestionable in much the same sense as is *Genesis* by many Christians.

COSMOGONY. One of the most important and widespread mythic themes in Polynesia deals with the origins of the universe, the gods, and various aspects of nature. From the primary void or chaos came heaven and earth, which lay close together. The Sky Father (variously, Langi, Rangi, or Atea) and the Earth Mother (Papa or Fakahotu) clung together in a warm embrace and, in the cosmogonic myths of many of the islands, were the progenitors of the gods, the land and sea, the elements, and of plants, animals, and people. Rangi and Papa were usually forcefully separated by gods or demigods.

In western Polynesia the most important agent in this separation was usually some form of the high god Tangaroa (Tangaloa) or the demigod trickster, Māui. In Tonga, for example, Māui-motua (the senior Māui) pushed up the sky; this let in the light and permitted humans, who had previously crawled as crabs, to stand.

Our land was created
Shrouded from above
And we crawled as crabs.
The first and second skies
Tell to Māui-motua
To push them high
So the breeze can come in, for it is hot
And bring light to the land
And then we stood up
And walked about proudly.

In Rotuma, Lagi and Otfiti ("heaven" and "earth") were joined together. The male and female principles of heaven and earth, Lagatea and Papatea, were the progenitors of the high god Tangaloa. When Tangaloa was born he rose to a kneeling position and pushed Heaven and Earth apart; he did not rise to his full height, however, because of the distress of his parents who did not want to be completely separated.

In eastern Polynesia, especially among the Maori of New Zealand, cosmogonic origins were more detailed. While Rangi and Papa clung together, they produced offspring; the four great gods Tane, Tangaroa, Tu, and Rongo, known throughout Polynesia, as well as two specialized gods Haumia and Tawhiri. These offspring felt cramped with their dark close quarters and debated if and how they should separate from their father and mother. Except for Tawhiri, who disagreed, each son attempted to separate the parents. Rongo, god of cultivated foods, tried; Tangaroa, god of fish and reptiles, tried; and Tu, god of destruction, tried. Tane, god of the forests, found that he was strong enough but that his arms were too short; so he placed his head against his mother and pushed his father up with his feet. Tawhiri, god of the winds, rose with his father. Upset by Tane's success, Tawhiri sent his own offspring—the four great winds, smaller but more violent winds, clouds of various kinds, and hurricanes—against him. Tawhiri's brothers and their offspring were terrified. Tangaroa's fish offspring plunged deep into the sea, but the reptiles sought safety in the forests of Tane, even though many of Tane's trees were snapped and destroyed. Rongo and Haumia hid themselves in Mother Earth. Only Tu withstood Tawhiri's wrath and finally defeated him. During the long storm Tawhiri's progeny multiplied to include rains of various kinds, mist, and dew. Finally, light increased and the progeny of the other brothers increased. Rangi and Papa have never been reconciled to their separation; and, to this day, Papa's sighs rise to Rangi as mist, and Rangi's tears fall to Papa as dewdrops.

This cosmogonic story explains not only Tawhiri's periodic outbursts, but also the reasons for disagreements among the other brothers. Tangaroa was upset that some of his progeny deserted him for the forests of Tane, and Tu took revenge on his brothers for deserting him in battle against Tawhiri. Tane gives wood for canoes, spears, and fishhooks to the children of Tu in order to destroy the offspring of Tangaroa. The latter, however, overwhelms canoes, land, and trees with his relentless waves. Tu also traps the birds of Tane's forest, enmeshes the children of Tangaroa in fishnets, uproots the children of Haumia and Rongo, consumes all his brothers' offspring as food and controls his brothers with incantations.

Variations of this theme, especially the belief in a primal pair and their existence in a void or darkness (often called *pō*), exist in other eastern Polynesian areas. In some locales, Tangaroa was thought to be the originator of all things in the universe; in others his place was taken by Tane; while in others Tangaroa and Tane together serve this function. In the Society Islands, for example, a great octopus held the sky and earth together in his great arms. Taʾaroa (Tangaroa) existed in the darkness of contemplation, and from this darkness he called the other gods into being. When Taʾaroa shook himself, feathers fell and turned into trees, plantains, and other green plants. Ta'aroa then called the artisans to fashion him into something beautiful—a carved wooden image in most versions. Rua (the Abyss) killed the octopus by conjuring, but it did not release its hold, and, still in darkness, the demigods Ru, Hina, and Māui were born. Ru raised the sky as high as the coral tree, but ruptured himself so that his intestines floated away to become the clouds that usually hang over the island of Bora-Bora. Māui, the trickster, then used wedges to support the sky and went to enlist the help of Tane, who lived in highest heaven. Tane drilled into the sky with a shell until light came through. The arms of the octopus fell away and became the island of Tubuai. Tane then decorated the sky with stars and set the sun and moon on their courses. The fish and sea creatures were given places and duties, and the god Tohu was given the job of painting the beautiful color on the fish and shells of the deep. In Tahiti, Tane was symbolized by a piece of finely braided coconut-fiber sennit, while in the Cook Islands, Tane the artisan was symbolized by beautifully made basalt adzes lashed to carved handles with braided coconut fiber.

In Hawaii, Kāne (Tane) and Kanaloa (Tangaroa) were not usually represented in tangible form. Kāne, the ultimate ancestor of the other gods, was usually associated with the upper atmosphere, while Kanaloa, in paired opposition, was associated with the sea and its creatures. Lono (Rongo) and Kū (Tu) were less distant and abstract and were concerned with agriculture, plants, rain, pigs, peace and war, forests, canoes, houses, and crafts. Many attributes of Lono and Kū were interrelated; they depended on each other both as necessary opposites and as aspects of each other. Various attributes of Lono, Kū, Kāne, and Kanaloa might be considered as separate gods. There were hundreds of these gods, each known by a compound name that coupled the god's name with a specific attribute, such as Kāne-hekili (Kāne of the thunder) or Kūkāʾilimoku (Kū the snatcher of land, that is, the war god).

In addition to the four major gods of eastern Polynesia, other gods were often associated with specific aspects of nature. Sometimes separate gods, such as Haumia and Tawhiri in New Zealand, were given the care of particular natural phenomena, such as uncultivated food and the winds, that were elsewhere part of the domains of the four great gods. Special gods appeared to meet special requirements of different natural environments, as did Pele the goddess of volcanos and Poliʾahu the snow goddess in Hawaii. In short, the four great gods, especially in eastern Polynesia, were usually concerned with the creation of the universe, of most of the elements of nature, of the rest of the gods, and, ultimately, of human beings. Most of these cosmogonic stories begin in the *pō,* or primal darkness, and tell how one of the gods alone (often Tangaroa) or the Sky Father and Earth Mother together created the other gods and, eventually, all their progeny, each of which was a personification of a selected aspect of nature. Each island or island group had a slightly different cast of characters and emphasized different plants, animals, and natural phenomena. Whereas in the Cook Islands the creation of the universe was involved with a coconut shell that was organized in layers with Vari or chaotic mud at the bottom, in Hawaii a gourd and its association with Lono was more important. To maintain a connection with Lono, an *ipu o Lono* ("gourd of Lono") was kept in a sacred area of each household to receive offerings and prayers, which were usually concerned with fertility and protection against sorcery. In other areas a local deity sometimes replaced or elaborated one or more of the four great gods. Thus, in New Zealand the existence of two gods of food, Haumia and Rongo, indicates the importance of uncultivated food to the Maori, which was not the case in other Polynesian areas; and in Hawaii the existence of Pele and Kū, both gods of destruction, suggests a philosophical distinction between destruction by nature and destruction by humans.

ORIGIN OF THE ISLANDS AND PEOPLE. In western Polynesian creation myths more emphasis was given to the creation, genealogies, and interrelationships of human beings than to the creation, genealogies, and interrelationships of the gods from whom human beings descended. In Tonga, for example, the god Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a climbed down from the sky on a great casuarina tree and cohabited with a woman of the earlier Tongan population, which had descended from a worm. The child of this union was ʾAhoʾeitu. When ʾAhoʾeitu was old enough he went to the sky to visit his father and returned with several celestial inhabitants who became his ceremonial attendants. Half man and half god, ʾAhoʾeitu became the first Tuʾi Tonga ("paramount chief"). The succeeding Tuʾi Tonga descended from ʾAhoʾeitu and were born of the daughters of the highest chiefs in the land. Several Tuʾi Tonga were assassinated, and in about the fifteenth century the incumbent twenty-fourth Tuʾi Tonga appointed his younger brother as a subsidiary ruler, the Tuʾi Haʾa Takalaua. The Tuʾi Haʾa Takalaua was given only temporal power, while the Tuʾi Tonga retained for himself high rank and spiritual status. The sixth Tuʾi Haʾa Takalaua created a similar split in authority, reserving for himself high rank and giving to one of his sons the title of Tuʾi Kanokupolu and the tasks of ruling and collecting tribute. All three lines descended from ʾAhoʾeitu and were further linked by marriage. The origins of Tangaloa, the sky, the island of Tonga, or the other elements of nature, however, are often not detailed. The gods were less important than was the way that the chiefs traced their genealogies to them. Tangaloa (Tangaroa) and Māui were the important male gods in western Polynesia, while the female god Hikule'o was in charge of Pulotu, the underworld (a concept undeveloped in eastern Polynesia). Tangaloa was often considered the sole creator god, whose universe was the sky and a vast expanse of ocean. According to a Samoan story, Tangaloa threw a rock into the ocean, and it became Manuʾa, one of the Samoan group of islands. Tonga was said to have been created when the gods threw down chips of wood from their workshops. In Tonga, the first occupants were worms, a female of which cohabited with Tangaloa to start the first ruling dynasty. Samoans believed Samoa had been created when Tangaloa threw down a rock as a place for his bird-daughter to live. He also sent vines to the island; the vines developed maggots, which in turn generated humans. Rather than being thrown down from the sky, or sometimes in addition to this type of creation, a widespread mythic theme of island origin recounts that the islands were fished up from the sea bottom by Māui or, occasionally, by Tangaloa or Tiki. In some areas of eastern Polynesia humans originated when the god Tane, or a separate character in the creation story, Tiki (Tiʾi), impregnated a female form that had been shaped by the god from sand and that held the essence of the female principle, Mother Earth. In other areas Tangaloa created Tiʾi, the first man, for Hina, who was thought of as a goddess in some locales and as the first woman in others. In Tahiti the chiefs traced their genealogies to Tiʾi and Hina. Along with the creation of human life came the creation of death. According to the Maori, Hina-titama, an offspring of Tane and Hina the Earth-Formed, mated with her father and had several children. Her realization that this union was incestuous drove her to the underworld; from there she snared their children one by one. This was the origin of death. The origin of human life is usually associated with the Sky Father and the male principle, while the origin of death is usually associated with the female principle. In some areas there are quite different accounts of the origins of humankind. On Easter Island the most important god was the local deity Makemake, who was not only the patron of the rituals of the bird cult but was also the creator of humans. In Tuvalu the male parent was the sun, the female parent a stone, altering the more generalized sky and earth into more specific aspects of the upper and lower atmospheres. Although the origin of individual plants or animals may not be specified, items of local importance are often given stories of their own. For example, in Tahiti one of the lovers of the demigoddess Hina was an eel named Tuna from whom the coconut plant originated after he was buried. Hina, who embodies the essence of femininity, is also credited with the origin of the banyan tree, which grew on earth after she dropped a branch of such a tree from her abode in the moon. Similarly, in Tonga *kava* and sugarcane originated from the head and body of a dead child who was killed as food for a visiting high chief. This child was not eaten but buried, and the two plants grew from her grave. A rat that had eaten from the *kava* plant staggered but regained its balance after eating from the sugarcane plant. This was the origin of the ritual drinking of *kava* and of the ritual eating of sugarcane that accompanies *kava*-drinking. In Hawaii an extremely complicated mythology reveals the intimate relationships among gods, humans, and elements of the natural environment. The order of the islands' origins is given in great detail—starting in the east with the island of Hawaii, moving west through the major islands of the Hawaiian chain, and ending at Niihau (an afterbirth), Lehua, Kaula, and finally the low reef islands. The parents of the islands were primarily Wakea (Sky Father) with Papa (Earth Mother). Wakea's secondary mates were Kaula and Hina while Papa's secondary mate was Lua. In addition, the Kumulipo chant sets out the origin and order of all plants and animals in the universe as well as the origin of gods and men. Kane and Kanaloa were the first gods to be born, La'ila'i was the first woman and Ki'i the first man. Some generations later the goddess Haumea bore children to Kanaloa and then took a husband among men and became the goddess of childbirth. In many forms, nature, gods, and people interacted—not only to create, but also to change and destroy.

MĀUI. The demigod Māui was the trickster who upset the status quo. Maui has been immortalized by Katharine Luomala in her study, *Māui-of-a-Thousand-Tricks* (Honolulu, 1949). Māui's most important deeds included fishing up islands on his magic fishhook (taking the place of Tangaloa in other areas), snaring the sun, and stealing fire from the gods. He also had specialties in the traditions of some areas, such as pushing up the sky in Tonga and Uvéa (taking the place of Tane, who often performed this feat in eastern Polynesia), trying to overcome death in New Zealand, and in Tokelau taking the place of the original male parent. Māui was often considered a magician, but his most admired characteristic was trickery against authority. In classic tales Māui usually does not create, for this was the domain of the gods. Instead, as half man and half god, he transformed what had already been created into something useful to man. Thus, he slowed down the sun, which previously had raced across the sky, so that days would be long enough to beat out and dry bark cloth, grow and prepare food, and build temples to the gods. Māui stole conveniences of the gods (such as fire to cook food) for the comfort of men. Māui was the archetypal culture hero who could deal with both gods and humans. The mythic themes of Polynesian religion are complex social metaphors that helped to justify rank and social stratification to a people concerned with genealogy, respect and disrespect, and aspects of nature that needed to be explained and appeased. The gods and mythical heros were blamed for, and became part of, human vanity. Polynesian religion was an outgrowth of Polynesian social structure that focused on genealogical connections and the integration of the gods with nature and the human condition.

SEE ALSO Māui; Oceanic Religions, overview article.

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POLYTHEISM.

The term polytheism, derived from the Greek *polus* ("many") and *theos* ("god") and hence denoting "recognition and worship of many gods," is used mainly in contrast with *monotheism,* denoting "belief in one god." The latter concept is considered by theological apologists and nineteenth-century cultural evolutionists alike as a "higher" form of belief, to be superseded (at best) by modern, scientific atheism. To understand polytheism, one must look at the base component *theism,* meaning the belief in "gods" as distinct from other types of powerful or supernatural beings (ghosts, ancestor spirits, etc.). Unfortunately, no discussion of polytheism can ignore the connotations implied by the Greek word *theos,* especially as it is the Greek term that has influenced most Western discourse on the subject. Clearly Japanese *kami* (whose number according to Shintō tradition is 800,000) and Greek *theos* are not quite the same; nevertheless this article shall, at the risk of oversimplification, stay with traditional Western usage.

Historical (or rather, pseudo-historical) theories concerning the origin of polytheism were closely related to the evolutionist views that characterized early *Religionswissenschaft.* Primitive humanity was aware of its dependence on a variety of powers that were often conceived as individual nonmaterial ("spiritual") beings—for instance, the spirits of departed humans, especially ancestors—or as supernatural entities. One of the many modes of contact with this world of spirits was shamanism, a level of primitive beliefs and ritual behavior that has also been referred to as "polydaemonism." Sometimes more important figures emerge in these systems, especially in connection with accounts of the origins and beginnings of all things (first ancestors, culture heroes, originator gods), but such figures are not always central in the actual cultic life of the community. Even originator gods often remove themselves subsequently to the highest heavens and remain inactive. Although no longer generally accepted, this account of things has been reproduced here because for some time scholars have viewed it as a kind of initial stage in religious development, the last and final stage being monotheism. In this view, animism and polydaemonism become polytheism, and the latter evolves (how and why, nobody seems to know) into monotheism.

An opposing view known as the "Ur-monotheism school" (associated with Wilhelm Schmidt and the so-called Vienna School that defended also the *Kulturkreiselehre*) asserted that monotheism was the original creed of humankind and that polydaemonism and polytheism developed as humans degenerated from a more innocent state. The element of theological apologetic in this theory is evident (though by itself that fact constitutes no argument either for or against its validity). In fact, it is an anthropological refurbishing of the traditional theological doctrine that Adam and his descendants were obviously monotheists, but that at some time between Adam and Noah, and then again after Noah, a process of corruption set in. The medieval Jewish version of this process is spelled out in detail by Moses Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon). Polytheistic humanity was then reintroduced to monotheism by divine revelation or by more mature philosophical reflection. There is an element of truth in the latter assertion, for although there is no evidence whatsoever of an evolution from polytheism to monotheism, it seems true to say that monotheism appears either as a sudden, revolutionary development (for example, no really polytheistic stage can be demonstrated in ancient Israelite religion) or else as a monistic tendency (as in late Roman antiquity or in certain forms of Indian religion), as a result of which the multiplicity of gods (divine powers or manifestations) are subsumed under one superior, all-embracing principle ("the One," "the All," *brahman,* and so on.).

THE NATURE OF POLYTHEISM. Turning from speculative historical guesswork to the phenomenology or morphology of polytheism, one is struck by the curious fact that polytheism, while it is one of the major and most widespread phenomena in the history of religions, has attracted less than the attention it deserves. It seems to have fallen, as it were, between the two stools of "primitive religions" and monotheism. Or perhaps one should say three stools, if nontheistic religions such as Buddhism are also taken into account. Like all phenomenological ideal types (to borrow Max Weber's term), polytheism does not exist as a pure type. The historical variety is not easily reducible to a common denominator. Greek polytheism is different from Japanese Shintō, and the latter is different again from Maya religion. Nevertheless some basic and characteristic features are discernible, even though not all of them may be present in each and every case.

Perhaps the most striking fact about polytheism is its appearance in more advanced cultures only. (This may, incidentally, be one of the reasons why the evolutionists saw it as a post-primitive phenomenon.) In most cases, at least for the purposes of this article, the phrase "advanced cultures" means literate cultures (e.g., China, India, the ancient Near East, Greece, and Rome), though polytheism is occasionally also found in nonliterate cultures (e.g., in Mesoamerican and South American pre-Conquest religions, among the Yoruba people of West Africa, or in Polynesia). Usually such cultures also practice a more sophisticated type of agriculture (for example, one in which the plow supersedes the hoe), although, once again, this is not necessarily the case everywhere. In the case of Polynesia it could be argued that the bountiful earth itself produced the surplus that rendered possible the social and cultural background of polytheism (social stratification, division of labor, authority structures, and so forth), which elsewhere depended on more advanced types of food production. "More advanced" cultures are those whose economy in some way provides sufficient surplus to create a certain distance between humankind and nature. Society no longer lives with its nose to the grindstone, as it were. The result is increased division of labor (including bureaucracies and a priesthood), social stratification (including warrior castes, chieftains, royalty), and political structures (cities, city-states, temple establishments, empires). Greek polytheism flourished in city-states; Mesopotamia (Sumer, Assyria, Babylonia) and Egypt were kingdoms and at times empires, and the same holds true of pre-Conquest Mesoamerica and Peru.

The Indo-Aryan and pre-Zoroastrian Iranian religions certainly were not primitive. Similarly, the Yoruba kingdoms of Ọyọ and Ifẹ (present-day Nigeria), for example, clearly represent a high though nonliterate culture, as does early Japan with its *kami* worship, practiced long before the infiltration of Chinese culture and literacy.

The above considerations are not meant to explain or otherwise account for the appearance of polytheism. They merely suggest the cultural and spiritual background against which the emergence of polytheism becomes intelligible. In every religion, society attempts to articulate its understanding of the cosmos and of the powers that govern it, and to structure its relationship with these powers in appropriate symbolic systems. In the societies under discussion here, humankind already faces the cosmos: closely linked to it but no longer inextricably interwoven in it. There is a sense of (at least minimal) distance from nature and even more distance from the powers above that now are "gods," that is, beings that are superhuman, different, powerful (though not omnipotent) and hence beneficent or dangerous—at any rate their goodwill should be secured—and to be worshiped by cultic actions such as sacrifices. These divine beings are personal but not material (although they can assume bodily shape temporarily and for specific reasons); above all, their behavior and motivations are similar to those of humans. Their relevance to human life is due to the fact that, unlike the primitive high gods (originator gods of the *deus otiosus* type), they intervene in human affairs, either on their own initiative or because called upon to do so in prayer, sacrifice, or ritual.

One of the most distinctive characteristics of gods, as compared to human beings, is their immortality. Though not eternal in the abstract, philosophical sense, the gods, as the worshiper knows them, are the "immortals." Herein lies the main distinction, not (as in monotheistic religions) in a fundamental difference of essence that then, on the philosophical level, becomes transcendence. Even when the difference is emphasized, it is not a contrast between creator and creature, but one of levels of power and permanence. The relation is one of bipolarity; humans and the gods, though different, are related. Hesiod (*Works and Days* 108) relates "how the gods and mortal men sprang from one source." Even so, "one is the race of men, one is the race of gods, and [i. e., although] from one mother [i. e., Gaia] do we both derive our breath. Yet a power that is wholly separated parteth us: In the one there is nought, while for the other the brazen heaven endureth as an abode unshaken forever" (Pindar, *Nemean Odes* 6.1–5).

Yet although the gods to whom humanity is related are durable and permanent, this does not mean that they do not have origins or a history. Unlike the biblical God who makes history but himself has no history, let alone a family history, their history is the subject of mythological tales, including accounts of their family relations, love affairs, offspring, and so on. Hence the mythological genealogies, stories of the gods that preceded the ones ruling at present (e.g., Greek Ouranos-Gaia; followed by Kronos, followed by Zeus; or, in later Indian religion, the replacement of originally principal gods like Indra, Varuṇa, and Mitra by Śiva, Viṣṇu, and other deities). These gods are personal (in fact, this personal character is also one of the main features and constitutes one of the main philosophical problems of monotheism), and herein resides their religious significance: They are accessible.

Such a generalization must, of course, be somewhat qualified in view of the phenomenon of "dying and rising" gods such as Adonis, Attis, Osiris, Dumuzi, also in polytheistic myths and rituals.

Most polytheistic religions possess, as has been indicated in the preceding paragraph, a highly developed mythology that is not restricted to theogony and cosmogony though it is often used, or deliberately manipulated, to account for things as they are and to legitimate the cosmic, social, political, and ritual order. But such is not always or necessarily the case. Perhaps the best example of a highly developed polytheism with an elaborate ritual system but almost totally lacking a mythology is ancient Rome. In this respect the contrast with ancient Greece is striking. Yet even when there exists a rich body of mythology, its imagery reaches the present in comparatively late literary elaborations. Thus the mythology of ancient (pre-Buddhist) Japan is accessible only in literary works composed after the absorption of Chinese (i. e., also Buddhist) influences.

Without implying commitment to any simplistic theory about the divine order always and necessarily being a mirror of the human and social order, one cannot deny that the two are correlated. The polytheistic divine world is more differentiated, more structured, and often extremely hierarchized, because the human view of the cosmos is similarly differentiated, structured, and hierarchized. There are many gods because humans experience the world in its variety and manifoldness. Hence there is also specialization among the gods, of a nature that is either local and tribal-ethnic (gods of specific localities, cities, countries, families) or functional (gods of specific arts, gods of illness, cure, fertility, rains, hunting, fishing, etc.). The highly developed Roman sense of order could take things to extremes, and the early Christian fathers in their antipagan polemics made fun of the Roman *indigitamenta,* or invocations of highly specialized gods. Each householder had his *genius;* women had their Junos; children were protected when going in, going out, or performing their natural functions by Educa, Abeone, Potin. In fact, there was a goddess responsible for the toilet and sewage system: Cloacina. (The Roman example illustrates another important principle. Deities can be mythological beings of symbolic immediacy, to be subsequently "interpreted" or rationally allegorized; they can also be the personifications of abstract concepts.)

To cite another example of parallel hierarchy, few divine worlds were as hierarchical as the Chinese; in fact, these realms seem to be exact replicas of the administrative bureaucracy of imperial China. Just as the illustrious departed could be deified by imperial decree, so gods too could be promoted to higher rank. (Japan subsequently adopted this Chinese model, as it did so many others.) As late as the nineteenth century, these imperial promotions were announced in the *Beijing Gazette.*

The possibility of elevation to divine rank of living or departed humans (in the Western world such was the case with Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors) calls for a qualification of an earlier statement that polytheism displays an unbridgeable difference (though not quite as radical as that of monotheism) between humans and gods. For, much as humans can occasionally attain to divinity, the gods can assume human shape (as in the example of the Hindu *avatāra*s) or exist in human manifestation (as in the Japanese concept of *ikigami*).

An important corollary of polytheism is that, though the major deities can be very powerful, no god can be omnipotent. Only a monotheistic god, being *monos,* can also be all-powerful. With growing moral differentiation, originally ambivalent gods split into positive (good) and negative (bad, evil, or demonic) divinities. Thus the original Indo-Aryan *asura*s (deities) became, in Vedic and post-Vedic India, demonic antigods, in opposition to the *deva*s. The multiplicity of gods of necessity produced a hierarchy of major and minor gods and a pantheon, or overall framework in which they were all combined. The more important gods have names and a distinct personality; others form the *plebs deorum,* a body often indistinguishable from the nameless spirits of animism. Many gods are experienced as real though unidentified, and hence a Roman might invoke the deity *si deus si dea* or distinguish between *dei certi* and *dei incerti* (rather like addressing a prayer "to whom it may concern"). There even is a reference to *aius locutus* "[the god] who has spoken [on a certain occasion, whoever he may be]."

When polytheism is superseded by monotheism, the host of deities is either abolished (theoretically), or bedeviled (i. e., turned into demons), or downgraded to the rank of angels and ministering spirits. This means that an officially monotheistic system can harbor a functional *de facto* polytheism. No doubt for the urban masses in fourth-century Rome, the cult of the Christian martyrs was merely a kind of transformation of the earlier polytheistic cults, and the same is probably still true of much Roman Catholic Christianity, especially in rural areas.

Some scholars consider henotheism (the exclusive worship of one god only without denying the existence of other gods) as an intermediary stage between polytheism and monotheism, the latter being defined as the theoretical recognition of the existence of one god only, all the others being (in the language of the Old Testament) sheer "vanity and nothingness." The terminology seems somewhat artificial (both *hen* and *monos* signify "one" in Greek), but it attempts to express a real distinction. Thus it has been claimed that henotheistic vestiges can still be detected even in the monotheistic Old Testament (e.g., *Exodus* 15:11, "Who is like unto thee among the gods, O Yahveh," or *Micah* 4:5, "For all nations will walk each in the name of its god" while Israel walks in the name of Yahveh, their god for evermore). The fact that the most frequent Old Testament name for God, *Elohim,* is an originally plural form is often mentioned in this connection, but the arguments are doubtful and perhaps influenced by lingering evolutionist patterns of thought. Henotheist tendencies are also evident in Vedic religion and, to a lesser degree, in the *bhakti* ("devotion") directed toward a variety of later Hindu deities.

One problem that cannot be ignored is the disappearance (with a few exceptions) of polytheism as a result of either monotheistic "revolutions" (e.g., ancient Israel, Islam) or unifying tendencies. Indeed, too little scholarly attention has been paid to the strange fact that polytheism has gradually disappeared except in some East Asian religions. In most contemporary philosophical discussions the alternatives considered as available to society seem to be monotheism or atheism; polytheism is treated as an important phenomenon or stage in the history of religions but hardly ever, philosophically or theologically, as a live option.

The quest of an overarching unity (one universe in spite of the multiplicity of forms of existence; one natural law under which all other laws can be subsumed) is clearly one factor that led to a view of the divine as one. By using impersonal language, it is relatively easy to speak of "the divine" in the singular. A personal god is a more difficult matter. But at any rate unifying tendencies are discernible everywhere, even in antiquity. The Greek dramatist Aeschylus speaks of "the one with many names," and the *Ṛgveda* says of the evidently one god that "men call him Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni." The polytheistic paganism of the late Roman empire was syncretistic in the sense of evincing a tendency to identify the individual gods of the various (Greek, Roman, Oriental, Germanic) cultures. Hence it becomes possible to speak of a "pseudo-polytheism," a religious system that preserves the traditional polytheistic terminology but considers the many gods mere manifestations of what is ultimately one divine principle. This tendency is especially noticeable in many modern types of Neo-Hinduism. For some Hellenistic writers (e.g., Marcus Aurelius) the grammatical distinction between *theos* (singular) and *theoi* (plural) has become practically meaningless.

All monistic—even nontheistic—views on the higher and more sophisticated doctrinal levels notwithstanding, a *de facto* functional polytheism can continue to exist among the masses of devout believers. This is not the place for a psychological and sociological analysis of the role of the cult of saints among many Roman Catholics. In India, no matter what monist or nondualist doctrines are theoretically held, the religious life of the mass of believers is a de facto polytheistic one. The case of Mahāyāna Buddhism is even more striking. On the doctrinal and scholastic level, as well as on the level of higher mystical experience, there may be no god or divine being, and the key terms are emptiness, nothingness, and the like. Yet the ordinary Buddhist (and even the Buddhist monk) relates to the many Buddhas and boddhisattvas that in fact constitute the Buddhist pantheon like a polytheist to his gods.

SEE ALSO Anthropomorphism; Apotheosis; Deus Otiosus; Dying and Rising Gods; Gods and Goddesses; Henotheism; Incarnation.

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PONTIFEX. The Latin noun *pontifex,* designating certain Roman high priests, is thought of as deriving from *pons* ("bridge") and *facere* ("to make"). This etymology, held by Varro (*De lingua Latina* 5.83), is accepted by the majority of modern scholars. Yet the discrepancy between this definition of "bridge maker" and the broad extent of the pontifical function has aroused some resistance among scholars both ancient and modern. At the beginning of the first century BCE the *pontifex maximus* Q. Mucius Scaevola (cited by Varro, ibid.) preferred to see in the word *pontifices* a corruption of the word *potifices* (from *posse,* "to be able," and *facere,* "to do," undoubtedly in the sense of "to sacrifice"). Today, there are those who think that *pons* originally meant "path," even "obstacle path," by reason of its likeness to the Vedic *pānthāh.*

Commentators since antiquity have been struck by the contrast between the apparent specialization of the titleholder (Varro referred to the construction and restorations of the bridge of Sublicius by the pontiffs) and the importance of the role. The contrast is transparent in Festus: In one and the same paragraph he points out the attribution to the *pontifex maximus* of the fifth and last rank in the hierarchy of priests, even while defining him as the "judge and arbiter of things divine and human" (Festus, ed. Lindsay, 1913, p. 198 L.). Indeed, the *pontifex maximus* (aided by the pontifical college, which successively numbered three, nine, fifteen, and sixteen members) had become, from simple adviser to the king, the true head of Roman religion. Under the republic, it was he who sat in the Regia, which had become the *domus publica* of the pontifical college. He was the one who named—more precisely, it was said that he "seizes" (*capit;* Gallius, 1.12.15)—the *rex sacrorum* ("king of the sacrifices"), the *flamines,* and the Vestals whenever a vacancy occurred, and he had the right of supervision over all of them. He convoked and presided over the Comitia Calata, the assembly that witnessed the inauguration of the *rex sacrorum* and the *flamines maiores* ("greater priests"). During that same assembly there also took place each month on the nones the proclamation by the *rex* of the month's holidays (*feriae primae menstruae;* Varro, *De lingua Latina* 5.83).

For a long time the pontiffs were the true regulators of time, in that the calendar was not published until 304 BCE, when this was finally done at the instigation of the *aedilis curulis,* G. Flavius (Cicero, *Pro Murena* 25). In their archives the high priests kept all documents concerning the *sacra publica,* the public religion: lists of divinities to invoke (*indigitamenta*); prayer formulas (*carmina*) for the fulfillment of vows, dedications, and consecrations; cultic rules (*leges templorum*); and prescriptions for expiatory sacrifices (*piacula*).

Fundamentally, pontifical activity was carried out on two levels. On the liturgical level the high priests participated actively in public ceremonies, as for instance the anniversaries of temples. (The sacrificial utensils, the knife, *secespita,* and the ax, *sacena,* are among the pontifical symbols; Festus, op. cit., p. 422 L.) On the theological level the high priests provided decisions and responses (*decreta* and *responsa*), which came to constitute the *ius pontificium* ("pontifical law"). The authority acquired by the *pontifex maximus* explains why, following the example of Julius Caesar, Augustus chose to add this dignity to his set of titles in 12 BCE. Thereafter it remained attached to the imperial function.

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POOR CLARES See FRANCISCANS; SOUL, *ARTICLE ON* CHRISTIAN CONCEPTS

POPULAR CULTURE.

The study of popular culture brings together three different yet related concerns: culture, the popular, and mass culture. *Culture* is the term used to denote a particular way of life for a specific group of people during a certain period in history. It also references the artifacts, narratives, images, habits, and products that give style and substance to that particular way of life. *Mass culture* is a term that highlights the profit motive that directs the production of certain products made available for commercial sale. It refers to both these mass-produced products and the consumer demand for them that justifies their widespread production and distribution. *The popular* makes reference to "the people," and as such there are in some discussions overlaps between "folk" and "popular" culture. What usually distinguishes the two in the common use of these terms is that whereas "folk" culture is presumed to refer to cultural products and practices that emerge from the people, often having a historical connection to a certain racial, ethnic, or geographically located group, popular culture usually refers to those commercially produced items specifically associated with leisure, the mass media, and lifestyle choices. Whereas there is therefore a great deal of overlap between mass and popular culture, the latter retains its populist impulse and thus tends to be less pejorative in tone than references to mass culture. In this sense elements of popular culture are presumed to be popular in that they are well liked by many people and they hold special meaning for certain groups of consumers at certain points in history.

Items of popular culture become important markers for identity construction in the context of a society increasingly defined by differentiated lifestyle segments or taste cultures. As such popular culture includes elements produced for consumption: (1) by the mass media industries, including products such as reading materials, music, visual images, photos, film, television, advertising, video games, celebrity culture, professional sports, talk radio, comics, and the World Wide Web; (2) by artistic and creative realms, such as live and performance theater, art, musical arrangements and performances, and museum installations designed for popular consumption; and (3) by manufacturers and other players within global capitalism who seek to link certain taste cultures with commercially available products. This latter category includes a seemingly endless variety of goods, including modes of transportation, fashion, toys, sporting goods, and even food—in short, anything that can be successfully packaged for consumers in response to their desire for a means to both identify with some people, ideas, or movements and to distinguish themselves from others.

The phrase popular culture first came into use in the English language in the early nineteenth century, when for the first time it was possible to manufacture and widely distribute cultural products with relative ease and speed. Prior to the emergence of a capitalist market economy with industrialization, the popular was a term with legal and political meaning that derived from the Latin *popularis,* or "belonging to the people." The term was used as a way to draw distinctions between the views of "the people" and those who wielded power over them. In the past therefore the term popular culture was used to reference the folk traditions created and maintained by the people outside of the purview of cultural authorities and away from the demands of labor. The term is still used in this way among historians who examine practices and products that were in existence prior to a commercially dominated marketplace.

By the late nineteenth century, however, the term popular culture had come to have a rather specific meaning in relation to presumed distinctions between the elite and the people that echoed presumed distinctions between superior and inferior culture, between the artistic and the vulgar, or between the sophisticated and the banal. These distinctions gained political importance as the industrial era progressed.

THEORY, CRITICISM, AND THE STUDY OF POPULAR CULTURE.

As the working class that staffed the industrial landscape continued to grow in the late nineteenth century, concerns about both the influx of people in urban areas and the popular culture they favored came to be closely entwined. The bourgeoisie in industrialized Europe tended to view the shared artifacts of working-class culture as evidence of both their unity and their inferiority. Fearing an uprising similar to that of the French Revolution, early criticism of popular culture, known in the twenty-first century as the "culture and civilization" tradition, linked the growth of what critics viewed as inferior popular culture with concerns over the weakening of a social order that had been based on power and privilege. This tradition had its beginnings in the writings of Matthew Arnold. In his book *Culture and Anarchy* (1882), Arnold contrasted "culture" (now "high culture") with what he viewed as the anarchic and disruptive nature of working-class or popular culture.

Arnold believed that much of the problem of his generation lay in the emergent working class and its seeming refusal to adopt a position of subordination and deference to the elite. Part of the problem, in Arnold's view, was illustrated in the refusal of the working class to adhere to the suggestions of the elite in terms of which elements of "culture" to consume. This presumed problem was echoed in the writings and sermons of ministers and other religious leaders, who were particularly animated in their concerns about fiction, as will be discussed in a subsequent section.

The "culture and civilization" tradition of popular cultural critiques found renewed expression in the writings of F. R. Leavis and Q. D. Leavis, who began writing about popular culture in the 1930s in England. Believing that popular culture provided a dangerous distraction to responsible participation in democracy, they advocated that public schools engage in education about the ill effects of popular culture on young people. The Leavises promoted the idea of a mythic "golden age" of England's rural past, in which they believed a "common culture" (or "folk" culture) had flourished. Their many treatises aimed to keep the expansion of popular culture's influence under control so as to maintain what they believed were the truly valuable aspects of England's cultural tradition.

A similar strand of thought has long been a part of U.S. approaches to popular culture. In 1957 Bernard Rosenberg and David Manning White published *Mass Culture: The Popular Arts in America,* a collection of essays that bemoaned the supposed dehumanizing impact of popular culture. Other popular culture critics, such as Dwight Macdonald (who contributed to the Rosenberg and White volume) and later Daniel Boorstin, Stuart Ewen, and Neil Postman, voiced similar concerns about popular culture's ill effects on society. In the shadow of the cold war, the contributors to the Rosenberg and White volume feared that a passive audience in the sway of popular culture could be easily brought under the influence of a totalitarian government.

A fear of totalitarianism animated the writings of scholars such as Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Leo Lowenthal, and Herbert Marcuse of the Frankfurt school as well, although their intellectual roots were in Marxism rather than in the Romanticism that often informed the nostalgia-tinged desire for a culture untrammeled by popular culture. Expatriates from Adolf Hitler's Germany, the scholars in the Frankfurt school feared the manipulative potential of popular culture through the workings of what they called the "culture industries." Bringing to their work a perspective informed by Hegelian philosophy, they articulated a critique of popular culture known as critical theory. Although often dismissed as overly pessimistic in that these scholars saw little potential for change in the relations between the privileged and the disadvantaged in society, the critical school inaugurated several important streams of thought regarding popular culture. Particularly influential have been the ideas of the critical theorist Walter Benjamin, whose attention to both the mass production and ideological role of images in contemporary society has been influential in debates of art, politics, and postmodernism. Equally important, the critical school spawned the scholarly tradition of cultural imperialism, which came to prominence in the 1970s as it explored the flow of mass media across transnational borders.

Critiques of popular culture that grew out of cultural imperialism tended to assume a central role for the media in the creation of popular culture. Similar to their predecessors in the critical school, popular culture was approached methodologically through an analysis of political and economic structures, with specific attention to the relations among governments, policy makers, and development efforts as they played out in relation to media. The theory was articulated among Latin American scholars of media and popular culture, such as Antonio Pasquali, Luis Ramiro Beltran, Fernandez Reyes Matta, and Mario Kaplun. These scholars, as well as Herb Schiller in the United States and Dallas Smythe in Canada, were concerned about the ways multinational media corporations were, through the organization of profit and commerce, able to dominate the development of media and by extension popular culture in smaller and less-wealthy nations.

By the 1980s, however, a new school of thought regarding popular culture had taken root in the United States and Europe. There were several reasons for the emergence of a critique that challenged the "high culture–low culture" and cultural imperialist assumptions of the time. In the mid-1960s "pop art" had called into question the very definition of art and high culture, foregrounding meanings made by the viewer of art rather than by the creator or the art critic. A similar revolution had begun with the emergence of reader-response theory in literary criticism, as theorists posited that what made for "classic" texts were assumptions often based in race, gender, and economic privilege and that literary criticism would benefit from an examination of meanings readers made of differing texts. With the advent of pop art and reader-response theory, along with the rising prominence of feminism, black, and cross-cultural perspectives and the emergence of social analysis informed by cultural anthropology, the cultural studies approach to popular culture coalesced in Great Britain, Australia, the United States, and Latin America.

Much of the early scholarship in cultural studies approaches to popular culture was motivated by a desire to demonstrate that audiences were not passive consumers of the products produced for them by the culture industries. Drawing upon the earlier scholarship of British cultural theorists, notably Raymond Williams, cultural studies scholars such as Stuart Hall, David Morley, Charlotte Brundsen, John Fiske, Ien Ang, Meghan Morris, Jesus Martin-Barbero, Nestor Garcia Canclini, Lawrence Grossberg, and a host of others set out to demonstrate that the reception of popular culture was much less predictable than previously thought. Pointing to such factors as the vast numbers of heavily promoted popular cultural artifacts that failed to find a positive reception in the marketplace, they argued that popular cultural artifacts must meet the emotional needs of their audiences in order to succeed in the cultural economy. Methodologies differed, although many embraced textual criticism, semiotics, audience reception research, and cultural history. In the increased recognition of the need for multiple voices contributing to analysis, feminists in the United States and Europe looked at how particular popular cultural artifacts speak to and in some cases offer symbolic resolution for the real tensions in women's lives, Latin American scholars explored the role of *telenovelas* in the creation of a collective identity that may be at some distance from national identity as it has been defined within a dictatorial government, and Asian scholars explored the intersection of cultural policy and popular cultural creation and consumption.

Within the context of an affluent United States in the 1990s and the rise of interest in postmodern theory, some cultural studies critiques of popular culture tended toward a populist celebration of popular culture. A reinvigoration of neo-Marxism through the emergence of postcolonial perspectives and critiques in anthropological methods, combined with a renewed interest in cultural history, everyday life, and issues of visual representation, have redirected cultural studies toward its central concern with the ways in which specific narratives and representations contribute to maintaining power relations as they are. Multiple methodologies are now applauded in the effort to provide analyses of the nuanced relations between power and agency, creation and consumption, consciousness and control, and individual and society in understanding the relations between popular culture and its audiences.

EARLY POPULAR CULTURE AND RELIGION. Religious popular cultural artifacts have roots in the particular popular religious practices of every culture in the world. By the mid-nineteenth century the industrial market revolution of the United States and northern Europe, and later in Asia, Latin America, and Africa, had resulted in the increased availability of religious products in various forms. Some popular cultural items had distinct roles to play in relation to practices of piety that were embraced at the time. In the United States and in Europe popular art for the home and church featured biblical scenes as well as Christ's visage along with mass-produced statues of saints, angels, Mary, and Jesus and of course the family Bible. In China, although the nineteenth-century elite viewed Daoist practices as debased "folk" traditions, religious popular cultural practices endured through ritual theater, music, incense, chanting, and dance, all of which were designed to attract the attention of the gods and to communicate to them the human needs they were asked to address. Analyses of festivals and celebrations of China as well as those related to Hindu deities point to the difficulties of distinguishing between popular religion and popular culture, as it is impossible to consider these events apart from the locations in which they are held.

There is increasing evidence that items related to religious practices in other parts of the world were influenced by the colonial encounters of the nineteenth century. With the awareness of colonial British attitudes toward feminine bodies and modesty, for example, saris worn by women for ceremonial and religious festivals (as well as for daily wear) became longer in the nineteenth century, an influence found in styles of dress in India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Indonesia, and Sri Lanka among other places. In Nepal a change in traditional Buddhist meditation paintings also reflected this encounter, as the Rajesthani style gave way to European-style portraiture. Scholars of nineteenth-century Islamic, Hindu, and Buddhist popular and "high" art similarly contend that it is virtually impossible to understand religious art and popular religious artifacts of the period without taking the colonial encounter into consideration.

In the early-twentieth-century Victorian society of the United States and the United Kingdom, sentimentalized and domesticized Christian art and objects became popular decor items among the well-heeled and middlebrow alike, making piety but one reason to own such products. Tea was served from tea sets depicting scenes from the Bible, and angel statuary and artwork decorated walls and furniture. By the early twentieth century people who embarked on leisurely travel purchased and sent home postcards embossed with biblical figures and scriptural messages. Each of these signaled an identification with Christianity but also with a distinctive worldview that underscored elite and middlebrow tastes. Not surprisingly therefore many of these products were made available to consumers not through official religious sources but through mail-order catalogs and department stores.

A significant increase in the rates of literacy among the general population at this time meant that commercial publishing expanded as well, making available new genres of reading materials, notably those written specifically for entertainment purposes. Fiction quickly became an immensely popular commodity, illustrated in the often-told story of how Charles Dickens was mobbed by fans when he toured the United States in 1848. Many religious leaders were skeptical, believing that practices such as fiction reading could rouse inappropriate passions and distract from a moral, faith-centered life.

Their skepticism about fiction did not prevent some religious leaders from seeking to harness what they believed to be the powers of the new medium, however. Some saw in the nascent publishing industry the opportunity to further their cause for Christian witness and education. With the rise of wood engraving, lithography, and later photography, religious leaders employed mass-produced images both for advertising and for didactic purposes. These visionaries produced some of the earliest best-selling printed popular cultural items in the form of devotional materials, magazines of missionary societies, readers for Christian schools, and fictional novels that purportedly advanced Christian moral messages. Members of evangelical voluntary societies, who in the mid-nineteenth century traveled from town to town distributing literature such as the *Family Christian Almanac* or other materials from the American Tract Society and the American Sunday School Union, offered many people in the United States their first exposure to modern mass media and its popular cultural artifacts.

Fiction writers of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century often relied upon religious themes for inspiration as well yet produced less didactically oriented materials for commercial consumption, forming an enduring intersection of popular culture and religion in Western cultures and beyond. Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women* (1868) emphasized compassion and even Christian pity for the disadvantaged, whereas the novelist L. Frank Baum wrote *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (1900) as a means of reinforcing the importance of inner resources, such as courage and love, considered of spiritual significance among the Theosophical Society of which he was a part.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY POPULAR CULTURE AND RELIGION. "Christian kitsch," a derogatory term used to refer to sentimental material cultural products, is generally believed to have appeared less frequently among elite households in the United States and Europe after the decline of Victorian styles in the 1930s. Yet popular culture of the middlebrow and of other taste cultures continues to incorporate religious references within it. Precious Moments figurines, cross necklaces and angel lapel pins, Bible covers (or "cozies"), posters with God's "footprints," *santos* and votive candles, dashboard statues of the Madonna, items purchased in relation to religious pilgrimages, as well as the more ubiquitous bumper stickers, T-shirts, hats, and key chains with a variety of messages all comprise some of the materials that can be purchased to signify identification with religion in its various forms. Elite culture in the United States and Europe, rather than being devoid of religious popular cultural items, prefers the esoteric and Eastern, as found in such items as small indoor fountains, crystals, yoga mats and accoutrements, and African, Asian, and Latin American religious artwork. Research on the contemporary religious popular cultures of Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Daoism, and other traditions has much to contribute to understandings of how these religions have been encoded and commodified in the realm of items for sale in various contexts around the world. Existing work suggests that contemporary religious festivals and material objects associated with them extend an association with various religious, racial-ethnic, and taste cultures.

Throughout the twentieth century U.S. filmmakers incorporated religious themes and imagery into their stories, looking to sources such as the German passion play at Oberammergau to produce religiously themed epics. Many early films centered on Christ's life and death, such as Sidney Olcock's *From the Manger to the Cross* (1912) and Cecil B. DeMille's epic *The King of Kings* (1927). The pattern of borrowing from religious stories continued in the 1940s and 1950s. Films such as *Samson and Delilah, David and Bathsheba, Quo Vadis?, The Robe,* and *The Ten Commandments* were successful both at the box office and with critics. The religious epic *Ben-Hur* set an unsurpassed record of receiving eleven Academy Awards. The 1960s and 1970s saw the successful return of Jesus films with the 1961 remake of *King of Kings, The Gospel according to Matthew, The Greatest Story Ever Told, Godspell, Jesus Christ Superstar,* and *Jesus of Nazareth.* New genres such as satire and the art film influenced the production of religiously themed films of the 1980s and 1990s, such as *Monty Python's Life of Brian, Jesus of Montreal,* and *The Last Temptation of Christ.* Mel Gibson's widely publicized film *The Passion* (2004) reinvigorated the genre of biblical epic at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Various television interests have retained the broadcast rights for these films over the years, thus domesticating them from large-screen spectacle to small-screen rituals, airing frequently in conjunction with the U.S. holiday calendar.

Many less-celebrated films and television programs of the twentieth century have referenced Christianity in more popular ways through themes and characters such as angels, heaven and hell, and "the Big Guy upstairs." Stateside audiences during World War II frequented *A Guy Named Joe, The Bishop's Wife,* and *Carousel,* each of which featured a person who came from the realm beyond to provide heavenly assistance to those on earth. The guardian angel theme gained renewed interest near the close of the millennium. Film audiences of the 1990s saw *Always* and *The Preacher's Wife* (both remakes of World War II films) as well as *Michael, City of Angels,* and the satiric *Dogma,* while the CBS television program *Touched by an Angel* demonstrated the small-screen appeal of angelic helpers and haloed backlight. In the early years of the new millennium the popular CBS drama *Joan of Arcadia* posited a God who appeared in varying forms to a typically nonreligious teenage girl, while PAX television audiences enjoyed *It's a Miracle!* and even *Pet Psychic.* Before that spate of films and television programs, *Oh, God!* had garnered box office success in the 1970s, and the Catholic Church had been dubiously featured in relation to demon possession and devils in such horror films as *Rosemary's Baby, The Exorcist,* and *The Omen.*

The link of religion's dark side and horror remained throughout the 1980s and 1990s, with such entries as *Stigmata, Priest, Seven, The Devil's Advocate,* and many others in addition to the ironic references of the popular teen television series *Buffy the Vampire Slayer, Angel,* and *Charmed.* The increase in cultural and religious pluralism in the latter part of the twentieth century was reflected in films, as reincarnation was popularly depicted in Hollywood films in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s as well as in such entries as *Heaven Can Wait, All of Me, Switch, Chances Are, Made in Heaven,* and *Hearts and Souls.*

While these and other films were popular at the box office, religiously themed popular books remained on the best-seller list throughout the twentieth century. Charles Sheldon's *In His Steps;* Ralph Connor's (Charles Gordon) *Black Rock;* and Harold Bell Wright's *The Shepherd of the Hills* and *The Calling of Dan Matthews* were widely read and indeed outsold almost every other book in the period before World War I. The 1965 publication of *The Gospel according to Peanuts* sold ten million copies and served as a prototype for a series of popular books that emerged nearly four decades later, including *The Gospel according to Harry Potter* (2002), *The Gospel according to the Simpsons* (2001), *The Gospel according to the Lord of the Rings,* and even *The Gospel according to the Sopranos.* In the 1990s and 2000s books about angels, the Apocalypse, and the Holy Grail topped the best-seller charts, with the fictional *Left Behind* thriller series, penned by the fundamentalist writers Tim LaHaye and Jerry Jenkins, and less didactically motivated books such as the thriller *The Da Vinci Code* (2003) by Dan Brown and *The Five People You Meet in Heaven* (2003) by Mitch Albom. Meanwhile the Bible remained a best seller, including the fashion magazine format New Testament edition aimed at teenage girls, titled *Revolve.*

CONCLUSION. Religious groups of all backgrounds have long held what seem to be contradictory views on popular culture. On the one hand, they have been wary of entertainment, believing that it can rouse inappropriate passions and distract people from leading a moral, God-centered or ritually organized life. Yet on the other hand, throughout their history religious leaders, especially those within Christianity, have sought to harness the power of entertainment in their efforts to introduce their beliefs to nonbelievers. The twentieth-century development of the dramatic television and film industries in the United States provided new avenues for proselytization efforts while enlarging the reasons for concern. In the United States and Europe religious leaders continue to worry about popular culture's ill effects on morality and consumption practices, whereas religious leaders elsewhere in the world express grave concerns about the influence of U.S. culture's secular and materialistic representations. Despite the varied viewpoints on religion and popular culture, a revolution in the relationship between popular culture and religious leadership was begun in the earliest part of the nineteenth century and continues to play out.

The twentieth century ushered in an era of unprecedented popular culture materials, not only in written form but in oral and visual media as well. The sheer quantity of materials that have entered the commercial marketplace has made it virtually impossible to ignore the fact that popular culture and popular religiosity are now forever entwined. Religion has found a solid footing in commodified popular culture.

SEE ALSO Art and Religion; Popular Religion; Visual Culture and Religion.

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LYNN SCHOFIELD CLARK (2005)

POPULAR RELIGION. Every society exhibits divisions and segmentations based upon the classification of its members and their activities, functions, and relationships (e.g., sex, work, knowledge, etc.). However, it was long a universally common assumption that the meaning of any institution within the society, or the meaning of the society as a whole, was the privileged province of the upper, or elite, levels of the society. Indeed, the idea that social meaning could be gained from any other level, especially the lower levels of the social structure, is a relatively new notion. The setting forth of the notion that a positive and necessary knowledge of society could be gained from its lower levels defined this strata as a locus of interpretation, meaning, and value.

The idea that the positive meaning of a society is represented by the "common people," "the folk," or the peasants may be seen as an expression of "cultural primitivism," the dissatisfaction of the civilized with the quality and style of civilization and the expression of a desire to return for orientation to the archaic roots of the culture. This "discovery of the people," to use Peter Burke's apt phrase, began in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Europe. The philosophical justification for this orientation can be seen in the writings of Giovanni Battista Vico (1668–1744) and Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803). Probably more than any others, these two thinkers represented new theoretical approaches to the nature of history, religion, and society. They distinguished the notions of the *"populari"* and "the *volk*" as the basis for an alternate and new meaning of humanism apart from the rationalizing and civilizing processes set in motion by the European Enlightenment.

The discovery of two new and different forms of societal orders—one outside Europe (the so-called primitives), the other internal to European cultures (the peasants and the folk)—was prompted, in fact, by a search for origins. The search was in some senses antithetical, and in other senses supplementary, to the meaning of the origins of the West in the biblical and Greek cultures. The discovery that the archaic levels of human culture and society had an empirical locus in existing Western cultures became the philosophical, theological, and ideological basis for the legitimation of these new structures of order in modern and contemporary societies.

The notion of popular religion has to do with the discovery of archaic forms, whether within or outside Western cultures. It is at this level that the meaning of popular religion forms a continuum with both primitive religions and peasant and folk cultures in all parts of the world. This continuum is based upon structural similarities defined by the organic nature of all of these types of societies rather than upon historical or genetic causation.

Primitive and peasant-folk societies are, relatively speaking, demographically small. The relationships among people in these societies were thought to be personal in nature. Underlying all modes of communication is an intuitive or empathetic understanding of the ultimate nature and purpose of life.

This is what Herder meant by "the organic mode of life," an idea given methodological precision by the social philosopher Ferdinand Tönnies, who made a typological distinction between communities ordered in terms of *Gemeinschaft* and those expressing a *Gesellschaft* orientation to life and the world. *Gemeinschaft* represents community as organic form; *Gesellschaft* is society as a mechanical aggregate and artifact. A similar distinction is made by the anthropologist Robert Redfield when he describes pre-urban cultures as those in which the moral order predominates over the technical order. The moral order, in this interpretation, is the common understanding of the ultimate nature and purpose of life within the community. The notions of the organic nature of community (*Gemeinschaft*) and the primacy of the moral order lead to different meanings of the religious life in primitive and folk or peasant cultures as compared to societies in urban *Gesellschaft* orientations. Furthermore, the relationship or the distinction between the religious and the cognitive within the two kinds of societies differ.

While it can be said that religion is present when a distinction is made between the sacred and the profane, the locus of this distinction in primitive and folk-peasant cultures is a commonly shared one. There is a unified sense of those objects, actions, and sentiments that are sacred, and those that are profane. The religious and the moral orders tend to be synonymous; thus, the expression of religious faith on the ordinary and extraordinary levels of these cultures form a continuum. The extraordinary expressions are those that commemorate important punctuations of the temporal and social cycles (e.g., a new year, the harvest and first fruits, birth, marriage, and death). The ordinary modes are expressed in the customs, traditions, and mundane activities that maintain and sustain the culture on a daily basis.

One of the goals of the early studies of folk, peasant, and popular cultures was to come to an understanding of the qualitative meaning of religion in human cultures of this kind. Attention was focused on the meaning of custom and tradition, on the one hand, and upon the qualitative meaning and mode of transmission of the traditional values in cultures that were not predominantly literate.

The two early innovators, Herder and, especially, Vico, had already emphasized the modes and genres of language of the nonliterate. Vico based his entire philosophical corpus on the origin and development of language, or, to be more exact, of rhetoric. By the term *rhetoric* Vico made reference to the manner in which language is produced as a mode of constituting bonds between human beings, the world, and other beings outside the community. Closely related to Herder's philosophy of culture and history is the work of the Grimm brothers in their philological studies of the Germanic languages. Their collection of fairy tales, *Märchen,* and folktales represents the beginning of serious scholarly study of oral traditions. In the work of the Grimms, the first articulation of the relationship between genres of oral literature and modes of transmission are raised. This relationship is important, for, given the presupposed organic form of nonliterate societies, the genres of transmission of ultimate meaning, whether ordinary or extraordinary, defined a locus of the religious. The romantic notion (present in Herder and in the theologians Friedrich Schleiermacher and Paul Tillich), namely, that religion is the ultimate ground and substance of culture, underlies the importance given to transmission, manifestation, and expression of this form of culture as religion. Religion is thus understood to be pervasive in society and culture, finding its expression not only in religious institutions, but in all the dimensions of cultural life.

The genres of the folktale, folk song, art, and myth became the expressive forms of popular religion. The investigation of poetic meaning and wisdom, and of metaphorical, symbolic expressions, emerged as sources of the religious sentiment in the traditions of popular religion. The initial "discovery of the people" as a approach to the interpretation of culture and society and as a new form of human value was made under the aegis of intuitive methods within literary studies and from the perspective of a speculative philosophy of history. Once serious scholarly attention was given to the data of the popular, certain ambiguities were noted. The original discovery of the people was based, by and large, on a contrast between the popular and the urban, or the artificiality of the urban mode as a form of civilization. In this sense, the popular represented the archaic and original forms of culture; it was its roots. However, the meaning of the popular could not be limited to the conservative, value-retaining, residual, self-contained unit of a society or culture. One of the basic elements in the meaning of a popular cultural tradition was the mode of its transmission, and it was precisely this element that allowed the meaning of such a tradition to be extended beyond that of the nonliterate strata of society—the rural peasants and the folk.

VARIETIES AND DIMENSIONS. Critical investigations of the meaning of popular culture and religion from the disciplinary orientations of the anthropology and history of religion, and from the sociology of knowledge, revealed a wide variety of the forms of popular religion. From the anthropological and historical perspectives, one is able to delineate and describe the characteristic modes of experience and expression of religion at the various levels of the cultural strata, and to show the dynamics of the interrelationships of the popular forms with other cultural strata. The sociology of knowledge provides an understanding of the genesis, contents, and mode of thought and imagination present in popular religion, and demonstrates how various strata within a social order participate in the values, meanings, and structures of popular religion.

Though scholarly, disciplinary approaches led to a more precise definition of the popular and to a critique of the original meaning of the popular and popular religion, such studies also brought about a proliferation of different meanings and interpretations of popular religion. Of these, the following seven are the most significant.

1. *Popular religion is identical with the organic (usually rural and peasant) form of a society. The religious and moral orders are also identical; in this sense, popular religion is closely related to the meanings of primitive and folk religion.* This is the original meaning of popular religion as the religion of folk and peasant culture. Though the distinction between the folk and peasant religion and the religion of the urban areas is clear-cut in the industrial periods of all cultures, such a distinction does not rest simply on this basis. In the feudal periods of various cultures, this distinction is more pronounced in relationship to certain practices and in the hierarchical structures of the society. Within feudal structures, the upper classes participated in and controlled a form of literacy that was confined within this group. In various cultures, this meant access to an orientation of religious meaning revolving around sacred texts. In China, for example, there appeared Confucian classics; in India, the Sanskritic literary tradition; in Christianity, the Bible, and so on.

The limitation of the modes of literacy suggest that though there are authoritative sacred texts, they are situated in a context that is often dominated by illiteracy and oral traditions. The line of demarcation between the culture of literacy and that of the oral traditions is seldom clear-cut. In many cases, the traditions of literacy embody a great deal of the content, form, and style of the oral traditions of the peasants and the folk. Prior to the universalization of the modes of literacy in many cultures, the prestige of literacy was to be found in the belief in, and regard for, the sacred text, which itself was believed to have a magical, authoritative meaning in addition to the content of its the particular writings. The written words of the god or gods (the authoritative text) resided with, and was under the control of, elites within the culture.

Another characteristic of folk-peasant societies is that they define the lives of their members within the context of a certain ecological niche (agricultural, pastoral, etc.), and the modes and genres of their existence are attached to this context by ties of tradition and sentiment. The group and the ecological structure thus define a continuity of relationships. The sentiment and the moral order of communities of this kind are synonymous with the meaning of their religion. In agricultural peasant and folk cultures, the rhythms of the agricultural seasons are woven into the patterns of human relationships and sociability. The symbols and archetypes of religion are expressions of the alternation and integration of the human community, the techniques of production, and the reality of the natural world. In most cultures this type of popular religion carries the connotation of religion as *ab origine* and archaic. Robert Redfield has suggested that the folk-peasant mode of life is an enduring structure of human community found in every part of the world. As such it is not only an empirical datum of a type of human community, but may also represent an enduring source of religious and moral values.

2. *Popular religion as the religion of the laity in a religious community in contrast to that of the clergy. The clergy is the bearer of a learned tradition usually based upon the prestige of literacy.* Another type of popular religion is notable in religious communities where literacy is by and large limited to the clergy. The clergy carries out the authority of the tradition through the use of religious texts. The laity may memorize and repeat certain of these texts in worship and rituals, but they are not in possession of the instruments and institutional authority of sacred literacy. Both clergy and laity may participate in and honor other traditions that arise from the life of the laity. Such traditions are those related to the sacralization of agricultural seasons and worship centered around the cults of relics and saints, holy persons, pilgrimages, and so on.

Another meaning of this kind of popular religion stems from a society in which literacy is not confined to the clergy or elite. The laity may have access to certain authoritative or quasi-authoritative texts without being in possession of the power of normative interpretation and sanction of these texts. They therefore interpret these texts in their own manner, according to their own needs and sensibilities. A notable case of this kind of popular religion is the account given in *The Cheese and the Worms* (1980) by Carlo Ginzburg of the Italian miller Domenico Sandella (nicknamed Menochhio), a literate peasant who created and thought through an entire cosmology radically different from that of the church authorities. In other cases the clergy may create for the laity popular religious literature of a devotional or catechismal nature that takes on the forms of a more pervasive popular culture of the laity. This can be seen in the adaptation of archetypes from the authoritative tradition to a popular structure: for example, the popularization of Guanyin in Buddhist literatures, and the local and popular traditions concerning Kṛṣṇa among Hindus. In another example, Christmas (the celebration of the birth of Jesus Christ), which developed from older, popular (pagan) traditions, has been adapted to the popular cultures and economies of modern societies.

3. *Popular religion as the pervasive beliefs, rituals, and values of a society. Popular religion of this type is a kind of civil religion or religion of the public. It forms the general and wide context for the discussion of anything of a religious nature within the society.* Two studies of Greek religion may be used to illustrate this point. Martin P. Nilsson, in his *Greek Folk Religion*, described the religion of the countryside, the folk-peasant religion of ancient Greece. Jon D. Mikalson, in his *Athenian Popular Religion*, treats Greek religion not in terms of class structures, nor through a distinction between the rural and the urban, but rather concentrates on the views and beliefs that were a part of the common cultural experience of the majority of Athenians during the late fourth and fifth centuries CE. Mikalson goes on to point out that one of the most important sources for this type of popular religion was the orations presented in law courts, where the orators addressed juries that numbered from five hundred to twenty-five hundred or more Athenian male citizens.

Similar forms of popular religion are found in all cultures where the religious substratum of the culture radiates into, and finds explicit expression—or vague nuances and derivations—in the formation and processes of public institutions other than those dedicated to specific religious ceremonials. As such, this form of popular religion provides a generalized rhetoric and norm for the meaning and discussion of religion within the context of the culture in which it is found. In most cases the meaning of this kind of popular religion is expressed in terms of a dominant religious tradition that has had a profound and pervasive influence upon the culture. For example, in the Western world, one could speak of Christendom or biblical orientations; in India, of the Sanskritic language and cultural traditions; in China and other parts of the Far East, of the Confucian and Buddhist traditions; and, in Islamic countries, of the Islamic tradition. In each case a specific religious orientation has so informed the cultural life that it has become the "natural" and normative language of religion in general, and the secular forms of cultural life as well give expression to their origins in that religious tradition.

Of particular interest in this regard is the discussion surrounding the issue of "civil religion" in the United States since the end of World War II. This discussion has come to the fore in many democratic societies due to the growing democratization and secularization of the processes and institutions within societies of this kind. The case of the American republic is an extreme example of this problem because, as a nation-state, it is not philosophically based upon an explicit or implicit meaning derived from either an archaic or aboriginal religion, nor upon any meaning of a named, empirical religion. Neither did the nation's founders find it necessary to come to terms with the religion of the original inhabitants of the land as the Spanish did in Mesoamerica and South America. The notion of "God" or "Nature's God" is used as an analogue for an archaic principle of founding, but its connotations remain vague; thus, specific religious groups interpret this principle in their own manner in accord with the principle of religious freedom in the United States. However, this same meaning is not limited to its interpretation by specific religious groups; it is also evoked and given extensive interpretation in the speeches of prominent political, judicial, and public figures, and in documents of the nation's history. Sidney E. Mead (1963) and Robert N. Bellah (1967) have shown how the symbolic interpretations of the meaning of the "God of the Republic" in the rhetoric of American presidents have attempted to define—and persuade the citizenry of the United States of—the public religious and moral meanings and implications of the American Republic.

4. *Popular religion as an amalgam of esoteric beliefs and practices differing from the common or civil religion, but usually located in the lower strata of a society.* Popular religion in this form more often than not exists alongside other forms of religion in a society. Reference is made here to the religious valuation of esoteric forms of healing, predictions of events not based on logical reasoning, and therapeutic practices that have an esoteric origin and may imply a different cosmology than the one prevalent within the society as a whole. In most cases the practitioners and clients have not eschewed the ordinary modes of healing and therapy; the esoteric beliefs and practices are supplementary, representing a mild critique of the normative forms of this kind of knowledge and practice in the society at large. This form of popular religion is present in industrial societies in practices such as phrenology, palm reading, astrology, and in the accompanying esoteric, "metaphysical" beliefs. The pervasive nature of this kind of popular religion may be noted by the fact that in almost all of the larger cities of industrialized countries, every major newspaper and magazine finds it necessary to carry astrological forecasts or some other symbolic mode that appeals to an alternate interpretation of the world.

5. *Popular religion as the religion of a subclass or minority group in a culture.* Particular classes defined by their ethnicity or by an ideology or mythology associated with their work (e.g., miners, blacksmiths, butchers, soldiers, etc.), form another mode of popular religion. In most cases such groups do not represent foreign communities residing in another culture, but pose the problem of "otherness" or strangeness for people outside their communities due to their racial type or occupation. These groups are, nevertheless, integrated into the social structure as a necessary ingredient of a common cultural ideology and its functioning; they constitute "a part of the society by not being a part of it." In most traditional cultures of the world, certain occupations, such as mining or blacksmithing, represent this meaning. They are restricted to certain places of residence within the villages and they in turn have their own rituals and alternate understandings of the nature of the cosmos. While the role and function of such occupations is understood by the rest of society, and is felt to have a place in its general cosmology, they nevertheless form the basis for an alternate understanding of the nature of society. Examples of the ethnic and racial meaning of this form of popular religion may be seen in the history of the Jews within Christendom or the religions of African Americans in the New World.

6. *Popular religion as the religion of the masses in opposition to the religion of the sophisticated, discriminating, and learned within a society.* This is a variation on the difference between the laity and the clergy in hierarchical and traditional societies. Reference is made in this form of popular religion to a meaning of the masses that is the product of democratic polities and industrialism. Whereas in the older, traditional, hierarchical societies, the clergy and the laity both possessed traditions, the modern definition of "the masses" implies the loss of tradition and canons of value and taste, which are now defined in terms of a privileged class order of the elite who have had the benefit of special education. Alexis de Tocqueville's comments on the meaning of democracy in America imply that democracy and mass culture are synonymous. The form of popular religion will tend to express the existential and ephemeral concerns of the mass population at any moment of its history.

7. *Popular religion as the creation of an ideology of religion by the elite levels of a society.* From the very beginning of the study of popular culture and religion, the discovery, meaning, and valuation of "the popular" was undertaken by elites within the society. Especially with the coming of industrialization and the rise of the nation-state, the provincial traditions of the peasant and rural folk within a culture had to fall under the political and ideological meanings of larger generalizing and centralizing orders of the state and its bureaucracy. To the extent that the ideological meaning of the rural and peasant cultures served the aims of the state, it was promoted as the older, traditional meaning of the state deriving from its archaic forms. Popular culture and religion in this mode was invented and promoted by the state through folklore societies, museums, and by the promotion of historical research into the past of the society. On the basis of a genuine and authentic folk and peasant tradition of culture and religion, a new meaning of the popular forms is now embraced and supported by the state.

Given this variety of forms and meanings of popular religion, it is appropriate to ask what is the common element in all of them. There are two common elements. First of all, "the popular" in any of its varieties is concerned with a mode of transmission of culture. Whether the group be large or small, or whether the content of the religion be sustaining or ephemeral, "the popular" designates the universalization of its mode of transmission. In peasant and folk situations, this mode of transmission is traditionally embodied in symbols and archetypes tht tend to be long-lasting and integrative. In modern industrial societies, the modes of transmission are several, including literacy, electronic media, newspapers, chapbooks, and so on. Such modes of communication bring into being a popular culture that is different from, but may overlap with, other social strata within the culture. Due to the intensity of these forms of communication, the content of the forms of popular culture is able to change quickly. It is not, however, the content that is at the fore here, but the type of cognition afforded by the modes of transmission. Given the intensification of transmission and the ephemerality of content, this form of popular religion and culture is semiotic—it is embedded in a system of signs rather than in symbols and archetypes.

THE NATURE OF CULTURE. The meaning of popular religion presupposes an understanding of the nature of culture that is capable of making sense of differences and divisions within the totality of any culture. Furthermore, the notion of culture must allow room for the meaning of religion as one of the primary modes of transmission of the cultural tradition.

Clifford Geertz's description (1965) of religion as a cultural system is one of the most adequate understandings of culture as a mode of transmission. His definition is as follows: Religion is (1) a system of symbols that acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in people by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with an aura of factuality so that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic. This notion of religion as a cultural system enables one to understand how religion is the expression and transmission of a conception of the reality of the world, and it is clear that such a powerful and pervasive notion must of necessity imply a mode of transmission.

If this notion of religion as a cultural system is seen in relationship to Robert Redfield's analysis of the divisions and distinctions within a cultural system, a basis for the meaning of popular religion within a cultural milieu is established (Redfield, 1955). Redfield makes a broad distinction within a culture between what he calls the "great tradition" and the "little tradition." The great tradition is that of the learned elite and often the ruling class, while the little tradition is that of the large classes and groups of the lower classes. His combination of these two theories provides an understanding of the meaning of popular religion from the point of view of culture as a whole. However, in all parts of the world, due to industrialization and modernization, it is becoming increasingly difficult to define the meaning of culture in these terms. Whereas political power may continue to reside in an elite ruling class that has hegemony over many forms of cultural expression, the modes of transmission, through literacy and electronic media are so intense that the distinction between the elite and the lower class as well as between the urban and rural milieus fail to mark a line of demarcation that is true to social reality. From this point of view, the modes of communication and transmission have as much or more to do with the integration and wholeness of the culture as the content of symbolic clusters or ideological meaning.

Considerations of this sort raise issues regarding the locus and meaning of religion in contemporary industrialized societies. Because of the intensity of transmission, the content of what is transmitted tends to be ephemeral; thus, the notion of religion as establishing powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations is shifted away from content and substance to modes of experience. Popular religion is thus no longer defined in terms of sustaining traditions, but in the qualitative meaning of the nature of experience. Thus, in attempting to describe popular religion in modern societies, the investigator may undertake research in a wide variety of media where members of the culture express their experiences, such as television, radio, and newspapers; and in occurrences such as sports and recreational events, political activities, and so on. Seen from this point of view, the popular approximates some aspects of the older and original notion of "popular" as the peasant-folk and organic meaning in a society. In the peasant-folk, organic society, the mode of transmission were relatively slow, and thus the content of the transmission predominated, allowing for the comprehension of the symbolic content to consciously and unconsciously inform the life of society. In modern industrial societies, transmission is almost universal throughout the society, but the content is no longer the bearer of organic and integrative form.

SOCIAL CHANGE. The notion of an organic social order, whether defined as a primitive, peasant, or folk culture, often implies complete equilibrium, integration, and stasis in a society. This is hardly ever true: All societies exhibit divisions and segmentations of various kinds, and these are often expressed in religious terms. They may be seen in the religious meanings defined by gender as well as in the gradations of the types of religious knowledge wherein certain types of esoteric or secret knowledge is held by an elite, and a more public and general religious meaning is present in the society at large. A good example of this is given in Marcel Griaule's account of the knowledge of Ogotemmêli, the old Dogon sage. The knowledge held by Ogotemmêli has a correspondence to the public meaning and symbols of Dogon religion, but his knowledge is more profound and possesses a metaphysical dimension. This type of knowledge and these types of human beings are found in many traditional societies.

A similar situation is present in societies where shamans possess a different and superior knowledge to that of ordinary persons. Where differences of thought and social structure exist, there is always the possibility for a tension among and between social divisions and/or modes of thought; these tensions at any moment may lead to the expression of novelty, thus causing changes in the society as a whole.

In addition to internally induced changes in organic societies based on differences of thought or social divisions, change may also arise from certain pervasive rituals. The rite of initiation is especially conducive to the influx of new religious orientations and changes in the social order. Initiation is that ritual concerned with the creation of new human beings. It introduces the initiand into the human community through the religious experience of the world of sacred beings in mythic times. Often in initiation rituals, the candidate is made to experience a regression to a time before creation and then to ritually imitate the archetypal stages of the first creation. The ability to imitate, re-create, or renew the cosmos is a possibility present in every initiation ritual, and this experience may become the basis for social change within the society. The notion that there can be a new mode of being is the basis for radical change in this religious ritual.

There is hardly any knowledge available on the expression of initiation leading to broad societal change in non-European societies prior to the coming of the Europeans; however, initiation cults of this kind in pre-Christian European cultures attest to their implications for changes in the societal order. The Greco-Oriental mystery religions posed an extreme tension between the public religious cults of the Hellenistic period in their expression of a deeper and more personal experience of sacred realities.

The preponderance of the data regarding the relationship between popular religion and social change has come primarily from religious traditions defined by their geographical extension in time and space, where the religious tradition has become synonymous with a cultural tradition (e.g., Hinduism, Islam, Christianity). These traditions cover a wide variety of forms of social divisions and thought. As such, the tensions among and between them are many, and are much more intense. It is in such traditions that the distinctions between the organic structure of society and the elite ruling class is most pronounced. Exchanges of thought and experience between these two major structures of society may occur in ritualized forms such as the festival, carnival, and pilgrimage. These ritual forms allow for a lessening of the social divisions, and for the communication and integration of modes and styles of life that are not governed by the everyday power defined by the political and social differences between the two groups. Not only do such rituals permit the relaxation of social differences, they allow for the interchange of vital knowledge between the two groups. M. Bahktin shows how these particular ritual forms have led to the creation of specific literary genres among the elite and literate members of the culture, especially as this is related to the carnival and the festival. Literary critics have long attested to the effect of the ritual pilgrimage on the literary imagination. E. Le Roy Ladurie, in his work *Carnival in Romans* (1979), has shown how the carnival provided the setting for revolutionary activities of the peasants and townspeople. Daniel L. Overmyer has described a similar situation in the White Lotus sect and the school of Luo Qing (1443–1527) in China in the sixteenth century (Overmyer, 1976).

Movements and actions of this kind from the popular strata of the society have been called "pre-political" by Eric J. Hobsbawm (1959). By this he means that the people have not found a specific form of political ideology in which to express their aspirations about the world. While this may be true in most cases, such aspirations expressed in religious terms, and it is on this level of expression that unique dimensions of the meaning of popular religion emerge. In a manner reminiscent of the initiation structure of primitive societies, peasant and folk societies express a new self-consciousness of their solidarity through archaic symbols drawn from the genres of their lives and from a reinterpretation of the traditional religion. In many cases, symbols and teachings of the traditional religion are understood in a more literal manner, expecially as these symbols and teachings express renewal and change, the end of one order and the beginning of a new one. Banditry, outlawry, and other actions that violate the social order are permitted in the revolutionary milieu, for they are sanctioned by what Victor Turner has called the liminal state, which forms the context of the revolutionary activity. This state is a regression to chaos on the level of society.

Two major types of religious personages appear in popular religious movements of this kind: the prophetic figure and the outlaw. The prophet as a religious personage is not unique to the situation of popular religion. In most cases, figures of this sort are a part of the traditional teaching of the culture. From the stratum of popular religion, the meaning and role of the prophet is enhanced as the critical and condemnatory voice of the people against the abuses and injustices of the ruling and elite class. It is the prophet who relates the existential situation of the people to primordial religious depths forged from the life of the people and a new interpretation of the religious tradition.

The outlaw is the heroic religious figure in popular revolutionary religious movements. The archetypal outlaw is the one whose banditry establishes justice within the society; the outlaw takes from the rich to give to the poor. Myths and legends of the outlaw, such as Robin Hood in England, Janosik in Poland, Corrientes in Andalusia, or Finn in Irish and Scottish tales, abound.

The religious meaning of renewal of the world is a prominent theme of popular revolutionary movements. Within Western religious traditions, this theme is derivative of the religious symbol of the Messiah, whose coming announces the destruction of the old world or the radical renewal of the world. The world will be reversed—turned upside down—thus there will be a redress of all wrongs. These millennial expectations are not only goals of a movement; they pervade all the activities of its followers, allowing for a reordering of psychic structures as well as opening up the possibility of a new social religious order on the level of popular religion.

GLOBAL STRUCTURES. With increasing rapidity and intensity since the late fifteenth century, the Western world—through exploration, conquest, and military and economic exploitation—brought the non-European world under its modes of communication through the structures of the modern industrial system. The Western systems of economics and communications were the bearer of Western forms of religious mythology and ideology, often characterized by millennial hopes. From this point of view, the West became the center of the world; the other areas, the peripheries. In other words, the West took over the role and function of the ruling elite, with other parts of the world playing the role of the older peasant or folk societies.

There has been a religious response to this hegemony of the West in almost all parts of the world. In many cases, a new elite comes into being in the colonized countries, imitating the structures and forms of the Western center. This, in turn, creates a new form of the popular—the traditional religion of the indigenous culture becomes a popular religion and must reorder itself in relationship to the power and authority of the new, indigenous elite. The situation does not simply create a tension of opposition. The religious and ideological meaning of the West will inform, in varying degrees, the whole of the society, and the reordering of the indigenous tradition will represent an amalgam of the older indigenous forms and a reinterpreted Western religious tradition. New meanings of popular religion will emerge in this context. Making use of the communication systems of the Western colonizers, many of these movements will move beyond the provincial confines of their local culture in one of their modes. A notable example is the universal influence and acceptance of African American music in almost all parts of the world. Walter J. Hollenweger has argued in his work *The Pentecostals* (1972) that this form and style of religion represents a global phenomenon, an alternate and critical response binding together religious communities in all parts of the world.

SEE ALSO Folklore; Folk Religion; Implicit Religion; Invisible Religion; Popular Culture.

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While religious institutions exist on the popular, folk, and peasant levels of culture, the meaning of religion is not centered in the segmented religious institution. Because of the nature of these kinds of societies, religion is more often diffused throughout the forms of societal life. Given the various forms and modes of popular, folk, and peasant societies and communities, it is too much to say that religion is identical with the totality of the community. However, almost all aspects of the communal life are capable of expressing the religious life. This bibliography thus covers those works dealing specifically with popular religion as well as the wider range of the forms of popular, folk, and peasant communities.

History of the Study of Popular Religion

For interpretations of the philosophical impact of Giambattista Vico and J. G. Herder, Isaiah Berlin's *Vico and Herder* (London, 1976) is the best introduction. See also *The New Science of Giambattista Vico,* translated by Thomas Goddard Bergin and Max Harold Fisch (Ithaca, N.Y., 1948). Commentaries on the writings of Vico are found in Donald Phillip Verene's *Vico's Science of Imagination* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1981) and in *Vico: Selected Writings,* translated and edited by Leon Pompa (Cambridge, U.K., 1982). For Herder, see Frank E. Manuel's abridged edition of his *Reflections on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind* (Chicago, 1968). Interpretive studies of Herder are H. B. Nisbet's *Herder and the Philosophy and History of Science* (Cambridge, U.K., 1970), G. A. Wells's *Herder and After* (The Hague, 1959), and Frederick M. Barnard's *Herder on Social and Political Culture* (1969). For a short and illuminating essay on the impact of the Grimm brothers on the study of modern literature, see William Paton Ker's *Jacob Grimm,* Publications of the Philological Society, vol. 7 (Oxford, 1915). A highly critical study of the Grimm brothers' method and scholarship is found in John M. Ellis's *One Fairy Story Too Many* (Chicago, 1983).

The best history of the study of folklore in Europe is Giuseppe Cocchiara's *The History of Folklore in Europe,* translated by John N. McDaniel (Philadelphia, 1981). Peter Burke's *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1978) is historically oriented but is more systematic than historical. Older works such as Stith Thompson's *The Folktale* (1946; reprint, New York, 1979) and Alexander H. Krappe's *The Science of Folklore* (1930; New York, 1962) are still valuable. They should be supplemented by Alan Dundes's *The Study of Folklore* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1965) and Richard Dorson's *Folklore and Folklife* (Chicago, 1972).

Some of Max Weber's works bear on certain problems of popular religion; see especially *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,* translated by Talcott Parsons (London, 1930); *The Sociology of Religion,* translated by Ephraim Fischoff (Boston, 1963); *The City,* translated and edited by Don Martindale and Gertrud Neuwirth (Glencoe, Ill., 1958); and *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology,* translated and edited by Hans H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (Oxford, 1946). From an earlier sociological school there are the works of Ferdinand Tönnies, *Community and Association,* translated and edited by Charles P. Loomis (London, 1955), and William Graham Sumner's *Folkways* (Boston, 1907). Much can still be learned from Ernst Troeltsch's *The Social Teaching of the Christian Church,* 2 vols., translated by Olive Wyon (1931; Chicago, 1981), as well as from Joachim Wach's *Sociology of Religion* (Chicago, 1944). Wach's work remains the only sociology of religion written by a historian of religions and is thus valuable for that reason. Clifford Geertz's informative essay "Religion as a Cultural System" can be found in *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion,* edited by Michael Banton (New York, 1966), and in *Reader in Comparative Religion,* edited by William A. Lessa and Evon Z. Vogt (New York, 1965).

Regional Studies of Popular Religion

Numerous publications have been devoted to popular, folk, and peasant religions around the world. Without attempting to cover all areas of the globe, I offer here a sampling of works that are valuable for their contribution to theory as well as for their descriptive detail.

Africa

African Folklore, edited by Richard M. Dorson (New York, 1972), covers most of the genres of folklore in Africa. Two sections, "Traditional Narrative" and "Traditional Ritual," are especially relevant to the notion of popular religion. Ruth Finnegan's *Oral Literature in Africa* (London, 1970) is a highly controversial work. She makes a strong argument for the literary nature of oral literature and finds many interpretations by anthropologists and folklorists wanting because they fail to appreciate the literary character of this form of literature. She devotes a chapter to religious poetry, but she confines the meaning of religion to a very conventional usage. Jan Vansina's *Oral Tradition,* translated by H. M. Wright (Chicago, 1965), is a thorough working out of the problems and methods involved in using oral testimony as historical data. The data for his work are the traditions of the Kuba. This work has bearing on the relationship between the modes of transmission and the nature and meaning of the knowledge that is transmitted.

Japan

Cornelis Ouwehand's *Namazu-e and Their Themes* (Leiden, 1964) is important for the light it sheds on the reception and alternate interpretations of events on the folkloric levels of Japanese society. Especially in the case of catastrophic event, on the folkloric levels there is the appearance of a kind of savior figure as a motif of the understanding of these events. Ichori Hori's *Folk Religion in Japan,* edited by Joseph M. Kitagawa and Alan L. Miller (Chicago, 1968), is the best general study of the forms and structures of folk religion in Japan. *Studies in Japanese Folklore,* edited by Richard M. Dorson (Port Washington, N.Y., 1963), covers the folk traditions of various classes of workers and is one of the best studies of the traditions of workers. Michael Czaja's *Gods of Myth and Stone* (New York, 1974) is a thorough study of the mythic and religious significance of certain forms of fertility symbols and rituals in Japan; it is informed by sophisticated methodology.

Ancient Greece

Of the many works in Greek religion, I mention only three, the classic study of N. D. Fustel de Coulanges, *The Ancient City,* new ed. (Baltimore, 1980), Martin P. Nilsson's *Greek Folk Religion* (New York, 1961), and Jon D. Mikalson's *Athenian Popular Religion* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1983).

Europe

Most studies of popular religion in Europe are to be valued as much for their detailed content as for their theoretical approach and methodological contributions. Marc Bloch's *Feudal Society,* 2 vols., translated by L. A. Manyon (Chicago, 1961), is a pioneer work in focusing on the entire range of the cultural reality of the feudal period. Two representative works dealing with the amalgam of religious traditions in Europe are Albert B. Lord's *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960) and Gail Kligman's *Calus: Symbolic Transformation in Romanian Ritual* (Chicago, 1981).

Norbert Elias's *The Civilizing Process* (New York, 1978), *Power and Civility* (New York, 1982), and *The Court Society* (New York, 1983), all translated by Edmund Jephcott, demonstrate the social behavior patterns and psychological attitudes that define the processes that create the class and value orientation of the ideology of civilization. Similar processes, but directed from a centralized governmental center, are described in Eugen Weber's *Peasants into Frenchmen* (Stanford, Calif., 1976). A detailed account of popular culture in France is found in Robert Muchembled's *Popular Culture and Elite Culture in France, 1400–1750,* translated by Lydia Cochrane (Baton Rouge, 1985). One of the most prolific and brilliant scholars of popular religion and culture in France is the Annales historian Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie. His works include *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error,* translated by Barbara Bray (New York, 1978); *Carnival in Romans,* translated by Mary Feeney (New York, 1979); and *The Peasants of Languedoc,* translated by John Day (Urbana, 1974). *Religion and the People, 800–1700,* edited by James Obelkevich (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1979) is a good survey of some important themes in the study of popular European religion. One of the essays in this volume, Lionel Rothkrug's "Popular Religion and Holy Shrines," has been followed up in Rothkrug's *Religious Practices and Collective Perceptions: Hidden Homologies in the Renaissance and Reformation* (Waterloo, Ont., 1980). The importance of this work lies not only in the detailed description of such phenomena as the cult of Mary on the popular level but equally in the way it raises the issue of the forms of perception and knowledge that stem from certain modes of religious apprehension. Concrete historical detail is given to issues of the sociology of religious knowledge that are discussed more abstractly by Georges Gurvitch in *The Social Frameworks of Knowledge,* translated by Margaret A. Thompson and Kenneth A. Thompson (Oxford, 1971). Carlo Ginzburg's *The Cheese and the Worms,* translated by John Tedeschi and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore, 1980), an account of the cosmology of a sixteenth-century Italian miller, is fast becoming a classic of popular religion. Miriam Usher Chrisman's *Lay Culture, Learned Culture: Books and Social Change in Strasbourg,* 1480–1599 (New Haven, Conn., 1982), shows the impact of printing and literacy on the various cultural layers of this period. William A Christian's *Local Religion in Sixteenth Century Spain* (Princeton, N. J., 1981), examines the spirituality of several towns in New Castile. A. N. Galpern's *The Religions of the People in Sixteenth-Century Champagne* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), undertakes a similar investigation of this area. *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion,* edited by Charles Trinkaus and Heiko A. Oberman (Leiden, 1974), contains essays covering almost all aspects of late medieval and Renaissance religion. Of particular interest is part 2, "Lay Piety and the Cult of Youth." James Obelkevich's *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey, 1825–1875* (Oxford, 1976), deals with the churching of agrarian laborers by the Methodist Church. It goes far in showing the interaction of the lower classes and the middle and upper classes as this is related to the form and structure of the religious institution. There is, finally, a beautifully written book by the folklorist Henry Glassie, *Passing the Time in Ballymenone* (Philadelphia, 1982). In this study of a rural community in Ireland, the author demonstrates in his research the moral meaning of this kind of community. While there is no one chapter or section devoted to religion, the entire work reflects the religious orientation of a small Irish village. The closest one comes to an explicit meaning of religion is in part 8, "A Place on the Holy Land."

Modern America

There are few general and systematic studies of American popular religion. For orientation to the issues of the meaning of "the people," "culture," "religion," and the national state in the American democracy, Alexis de Tocqueville's classic *Democracy in America,* 2 vols. in 1, translated by George Lawrence and edited by J. P. Mayer (Garden City, N.Y., 1969), is still a very good orientation. H. Richard Niebuhr's *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (1929; New York, 1957) is one of the few works that raises the issue of the relationship of popular lower-class-strata religion to the founding of religious institutions in the United States. W. Lloyd Warner's *The Living and the Dead* (New Haven, Conn., 1959) is an anthropological interpretation of the major sacred and secular symbols in American society. The methodological point of view lends itself to the meaning of American religion from the perspective of popular religion. Sidney E. Mead's *The Lively Experiment* (New York, 1963) is a group of essays that touch upon the broader religious symbolic values of American cultural reality as the context for religious understanding.

Catherine L. Albanese's *America: Religions and Religion* (Belmont, Calif., 1981) is the first systematic attempt to deal with all the religious traditions in the United States in an integrated manner. As such it eschews the normativity of the mainline traditions as the basis for American religion, thus allowing for the meaning of popular religion to become an empirical and methodological ingredient in the study of American religion. See also Albanese's *Sons of the Fathers* (Philadelphia, 1976) for a discussion of the manner in which popular religion instituted and responded to the apotheosis of George Washington as the founding father of the nation.

Will Herberg's *Protestant, Catholic, Jew* (Garden City, N.Y., 1955) shows how denominational designations were used to define cultural modes of popular American religiosity. For a discussion of civil religion in the United States, see Robert N. Bellah's "Civil Religion in America," *Daedalus* 96 (Winter 1967): 1–21. Peter W. Williams's *Popular Religion in America* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1980) is excellent for data but lacks methodological sophistication. The later two works contain the best bibliographical sources for the many forms of popular religion in the United States.

China

Daniel L. Overmyer's *Folk Buddhist Religion* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976) is one of the few thoroughgoing discussions of folk Buddhism in China and is distinguished by its methodological astuteness. *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China,* edited by David Johnson, Andrew J. Nathan, and Evelyn S. Rawski (Berkeley, Calif., 1985), brings together several essays on popular culture of this period. Of special note are "Religion and Popular Culture: The Management of Moral Capital in the Romance of the Three Teachings" by Judith Berling, "Values in Chinese Sectarian Literature: Ming and Qing Baozhuan" by Daniel L. Overmyer, and "Language and Ideology in the Written Popularizations of the Sacred Edict" by Victor H. Mair.

Theoretical Studies

Almost all of the works cited above discuss theoretical issues, but there are, in addition, a number of valuable works written

from a purely theoretical orientation. Among them are three books by anthropologist Robert Redfield that have had great influence on the study of popular culture and religion: *The Primitive World and Its Transformations* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1953), *The Little Community* (Chicago, 1955), and *Peasant Society and Culture* (Chicago, 1956). Two works by Milton Singer are also recommended; although devoted to the Hindu tradition, they have much broader implications for many of the issues of popular religion and its relationship to urbanism and the great traditions: *Traditional India: Structure and Change* (Philadelphia, 1959) and *When a Great Tradition Modernizes* (New York, 1972).

Approaches to Popular Culture, edited by C. W. E. Bigsby (Bowling Green, Ohio, 1976), is an illuminating group of essays that demonstrate the ambiguity and difficulty of clear definition of the meaning of popular culture. Of particular interest are "Popular Culture: A Sociological Approach" by Zev Barbu, "Oblique Approaches to the History of Popular Culture" by Peter Burke, and "The Politics of Popular Culture" by C. W. E. Bigsby. The political and ideological meaning of popular culture is also explored in Herbert J. Gans's *Popular Culture and High Culture* (New York, 1974).

Finally, for a group of essays discussing the meaning of social history in various historical contexts, see *Reliving the Past,* edited by Olivier Zunz (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1985).

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PORTALS. A portal is any gateway or doorway, insofar as it elicits ritual actions or becomes a locus of concentrated architectural symbolism. It is a space framed to call attention to spatial transition; thus it has characteristics of both a path and a place. Because a portal often separates a sacred precinct from a profane one, or a regulated from an unregulated zone, it is both a termination and a beginning. As a structure that is both inside and outside the same zone, and one that attracts dangerous as well as beneficent forces, it is a site of considerable ambivalence.

The most rudimentary forms of a portal are the cave entrance, the stone heap, the upright post, and two uprights supporting a lintel. More elaborate ones add not only familiar features such as a threshold, doors, knobs, and hinges, but also figures, inscriptions, porches, domical towers, cupolas, niches for statues, and crowning arcades. In some eras portals have been so emphasized as to become freestanding monuments separated from buildings, bridges, or city walls. No longer only markers of paths, they become places in their own right. Three famous examples are the Great Gateway (1630–1653 CE) at the Taj Mahal in India, the *bailou* ("entrance") leading to the Temple of the Sleeping Buddha (eighteenth century) near Beijing, and the Gates of Paradise (1403–1424 CE), designed by Lorenzo Ghiberti for the Florence Baptistry (c. eleventh century CE). In cases where a road originates or terminates at a gate—for instance, the Ishtar Gate of Babylon (c. 575 BCE) and its grand procession way, or the Lion's Gate (rebuilt by Sultan Süleyman in 1538–1539 CE) leading to the Via Dolorosa in Jerusalem—it seems that the portal usually sanctifies the path rather than vice versa. It is not uncommon for a pilgrim to have to pass through several preliminary gateways on a road leading to a major portal.

FUNCTIONS. The widespread, cross-cultural separation, elaboration, and multiplication of portals suggests that their importance far exceeds their two most obvious functions, namely regulating traffic and providing military defense. Other functions are to commemorate noteworthy events, memorialize cultural heroes and royalty, instruct the faithful, propagandize strangers and outsiders, advertise the nature or use of a building, and dramatize the status of inhabitants.

The bronze doors (1015 CE) of the cathedral at Hildesheim in Germany, for example, teach Christian believers to consider Jesus' crucifixion and resurrection as both a parallel and a reversal of the disobedience of Adam and Eve by presenting the two stories on opposing door leaves as a visual *concordantia* of the Old and New Testaments. The best-known examples of Roman triumphal arches, such as the arches of Titus (82 CE), Trajan (114 CE), and Constantine (312 CE), commemorate the victories and accomplishments of generals and emperors. Portals such as the Stonehenge monuments in Wiltshire, England, and the Gates of the Sun (c. 1000–1200 CE) at Tiahuanaco, Peru, probably had astrological and initiatory uses.

In both East and West, portals have been the object of intense syncretism. Consequently, historians of art and religion are able to trace a remarkable continuity of style and consistency of symbolism connecting Indian *toraṇa* with Chinese *bailou* and Japanese *torii* (of which there are twenty different styles). Egyptian pylons and *heb-sed* tents (under which a pharaoh appeared as the god Horus or Re during a jubilee festival) are historically linked with Greek *propulaia,* Roman triumphal arches, the entrances of synagogues, and the cupolas of mosques and churches.

SYMBOLISM. In most cases portal symbolism is distinctly celestial. Besides decorative stars, rosettes, and solar discs, birds and wings appear over portals with considerable frequency; the Japanese characters for *torii* mean "bird" and "to be." Among ancient Hittites and Egyptians a winged solar disc formed the lintel, which was supported by two pillars often personified as guardian spirits. The identification of a lintel with a deity or royalty, and of columns with protector spirits or intermediaries, is widespread.

In theocratic societies royal dwellings, like the divine kings who inhabited them, were sacred. Portals, because they were one of the architectural features most obvious to commoners, stood for the entire palace, which itself stood for the king, who in turn incarnated the divine. The Ottoman court in Istanbul, for example, was referred to as "the divine portal." As a result of this tendency, a single pillar or the imprint of a façade on a coin could stand (especially in sixth-century Thrace) for the entirety of royal/divine power. The ability of an image of a portal to evoke such authority was probably enhanced by the practice of administering justice at city gates. Only the throne rivals the gateway in embodying the convergence of heavenly and imperial authority. Jesus' claim to be the "door of the sheep" (*Jn.* 10:7) reaches back to a Mesopotamian sensibility typified by a hymn to King Ur-Nammu (2113–2096 BCE) addressing him as "Thy gate, thy God." The name "Babylon" itself means "the gate of the gods." The guardian-like pillars of fire and cloud (*Ex.* 13:21) that led the Israelites in the desert could be interpreted in relation to the personified doorposts, Boaz and Jachin (*1 Kgs.* 7:21), that flanked Solomon's Temple. Pillars in both freestanding and supporting forms frequently undergo stylization as trees or mountains, thus serving as symbolic links between heaven and earth.

RITES. Evidence testifying to the importance and meaning of portals is not only architectural but also ritualistic. Large-scale portal rites in the West have been intensely royal. Examples include the Babylonian New Year processions, the Hellenistic epiphany (a cultic action in the mysteries at Eleusis), the Roman Adventus, and the Great Entrance (of the Byzantine rite)—all ceremonies for greeting royalty or divinity. The intentions of participants seem to have been to purify and protect as well as celebrate and elevate. Also, testing and humiliation at gateways is a ritual practice, one with evidence extending from Ishtar's tests at each of the seven portals of the underworld to modern border crossings.

Small-scale ritual practices at portals are still an active part of folklore. Making offerings, smearing blood on doorposts, burying the dead beneath thresholds, removing shoes, touching pillars, and either jumping, crawling, or being carried over thresholds are common. Lustrations and baths are widespread preparatory rites for passing through portals. Jews touch *mezuzot* on the doorposts of their houses; Catholics dip their fingers in holy water and make the sign of the cross upon entering churches. From the tradition of carrying brides across thresholds to the shrinking doors of *Alice in Wonderland,* and from popular old idioms like "gates of hell" to recent ones like "gates of the dream," popular religion, folklore, and fairy tales are replete with threshold customs and with dangerous doors that miraculously open or that one must not (but surely will) enter.

MOTIFS. Not only do portals become freestanding structures and objects of veneration, but the portal as a motif becomes metaphorically extended beyond its monumental form. Tombstones are carved in the shape of a doorway, and ossuaries have doorways etched on them, thus associating the dead with the divine. Altars incorporate architectural features of portals; by analogy, both the tabletop and the lintel are cathedras (Gk., *kathedrae,* "divine seats"). Virtually any vessel of transition, such as a mother's body, becomes a doorway. The church itself in the Carolingian era (eighth to tenth centuries CE) was regarded as a *porta coeli* ("heavenly portal"). And in modern times the threshold (*limen*) has provided the key metaphor for the widely utilized theory of ritual developed by Arnold van Gennep in *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago, 1960).

Finally, there is suggestive evidence that the shaman's experience of a difficult passage across a bridge or through a narrow pass may be a variation on the theme of smiting doors and clashing rocks (for example, the Symplegades through which Jason and his argonauts had to pass). The image of the *vagina dentata* ("toothed vagina") may be another variant. But the portal, unlike the bridge and symbolic vagina, emphasizes royally authorized security rather than shamanistically induced risk.

SEE ALSO Caves; Pilgrimage; Procession; Tombs; Towers.

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PORTENTS AND PRODIGIES

PORTENTS AND PRODIGIES are signs that, if understood or interpreted correctly, can reveal personal destinies and the will of the gods. They may be observed and interpreted either by the person who witnessed them or, more usually, by a priest specializing in the science required.

Portents and prodigies are one of the sources of the art of divination (*divinatio* in Latin, *mantikē technē* in Greek). The diviner, who is capable of predicting the future, could have recourse either to the exegesis of observed signs or to prophetic inspiration, a kind of delirium (*mania*) deriving from his possession by some divinity who comes into contact with diviners, sibyls, or Pythian priestesses.

Some of the words designating portent or prodigy in the languages of classical antiquity (Greek, Latin, and also Etruscan, which remains largely obscure to us) have a clear origin and significance; others have an original meaning that eludes us.

Sēmeion in Greek and *signum* in Latin correspond closely to the word *sign.* The ancients lived in a world where signs were ever present and were to be found in the most diverse parts of the universe: heaven, earth, and underworld. Portents and prodigies often appeared in everyday observation. Even today, popular belief often attributes favorable or unfavorable meanings to apparitions, no matter how natural: to animals of certain breeds, aspects, or colors, or to certain ecclesial phenomena such as a flash of lightning or a thunderclap in a peaceful sky.

OMENS. The most universal portent is the word or phrase heard by chance. Although it is not intended for the listener, it is perceived to have some bearing on one's daily life. In antiquity, as today, people imagined that utterances spoken or heard fortuitously could foretell a dark future or a bright and happy one. The listener, of course, might fail to recognize the omen for what it was, and remain deaf to its warning.

The Roman had the right to accept a portent—an *omen*—by declaring it in a loud and clear voice. This was the meaning of the expression *omen accipere* ("to accept the omen"). But the Roman could just as easily strip the omen of its value and efficacy by declaring in a loud and clear voice that he or she refused to take it into account: *omen exsecrari, abominari* ("omen execrated, abominated"). The ancients also knew how to transform the omen's value and meaning by adroit wording that modified or transformed its scope. Celebrated narratives from Latin writers illustrate the efficacy of human speech in this regard, as in Ovid's *Fasti* (3.330ff.), in which the legendary king of Rome, the pious Numa Pompilius, avoided by clever replies Jupiter's cruel demand for human lives to expiate the stain left on the soil by a bolt of lightning.

AUSPICES. As with all peoples of Indo-European origin, the most important and frequent portents for the Greeks and Romans were furnished by the flights, cries, and behavior of birds. The importance of birds as portents is clear in Aristophanes' comedy *The Birds,* which was performed at the festival of the Great Dionysia in Athens in 414 BCE. In this play, in which distant memories are muted by the satiric medium, the birds proudly bestow upon themselves leading roles as true guides, not mere advisers of human beings. Although this might simply be poetic fancy, it must reflect the memory of a very ancient reality whose origins are lost in the mists of protohistory.

In the vast domain of portents conveyed by birds, ancient Italy deserves attention. From its origins, Rome had a very important priestly college, the augurs, whose responsibility was to preserve scrupulously and apply methodically the religious regulations pertaining to signs given by birds, that is, auspices. By their presence, advice, and collaboration, the augurs could ensure the propriety of the actions of the magistrates. They possessed the compilations of sacred precepts, the *Libri augurales,* which preserved in full detail the rules of auspication and the precise record of controversies over procedure.

Numerous Greek and Latin texts describe minutely the ritual capture of the auspices, a ceremony dating from the beginnings of Rome. The fratricidal rivalry of the twins Romulus and Remus was adjudicated and the founder of the city selected through precise augural interrogation of the divine will. Romulus's *lituus,* a curved stick, which he used to take the portents, became the characteristic emblem of the augural *sacerdotia.*

The object of augury was to obtain signs testifying to the agreement of the gods with the city in any political, religious, or military actions it wanted to undertake. The juridical and pragmatic Roman mind knew how to organize the ritual needed to obtain this assent in the most efficacious way possible. A sacred formula, which served as a veritable pact between humans and gods, was read in a loud and clear voice by the priest who was to perform the augury. The formula specified both the time and place in which the signs were to be observed. The augurs thus received certified, enabling signs that had legal force and value in themselves. But the ceremony could be marked also by accidental, unforeseen phenomena that had to be taken into account.

The Romans were not, to be sure, the only people in Italy who possessed such an augural law. The longest religious inscription left by classical antiquity, the Eugubine tablets, attest to the existence of augural law among other Italic peoples, especially the Umbrians. According to this well-known text, a sacerdotal college called the Attiedii Brotherhood practiced a system of explication very similar to that used by the Roman augers. In both cases, the observation and interpretation of portents was carried out with the same formalism and attention to minute detail in the ritual procedures. The question put to the gods was the same among both peoples: Were they in agreement with the proposed enterprise or not?

HARUSPICES. Among the series of portents that lent themselves to observation, those furnished by a sacrificial victim consecrated on the altar of a divinity held a major importance in classical antiquity and in other civilizations. The reason is clear. By virtue of its consecration, the sacrificial animal passes from the domain of the human to that of the god. The gods express their disposition by means of the victim itself in the moments preceding, accompanying, and following the sacrifice. It was important, then, to observe everything in the victim's behavior with the greatest attention: When it was led to the altar and when it received the mortal blow, the crackling of flesh on the brazier, the colors of the flame, and the speed of the smoke's ascent into the sky.

But the clearest and most decisive indications were provided by the examination of the entrails of the sacrificial animal by experienced specialists: in Greece, the Iamides, diviners at Olympia; in Etruria and Rome, the haruspices. The haruspices, according to the ancients, enjoyed an immense reputation and seemed to practice a science that was infallible. They can be compared only with the *baru,* Babylonian priests who in the second millennium BCE had a veritable library of clay tablets at their disposal. These tablets detailed a complex doctrine based on minute observation of the organs of victims that was transmitted from one generation to the next.

For the haruspex, as for the *baru,* each fact noted at the sacrifice—i.e., form, color, presence or absence of specific parts of the viscera—unfailingly foretold the approach of specific events, favorable or foreboding, in human society. Rome received its haruspicinal science primarily from Etruria, which, long before it was conquered, had entrusted its best diviners to Rome. But did Etruria develop this discipline independently, or did it borrow elements from the Greek world or even from regions of the Near East? The latter is more likely, although the paths such influences followed are difficult to determine.

In various lands of the Near East, numerous terra-cotta models have been discovered. These models represent organs of sacrificed sheep and bear inscriptions clearly indicating the portents foretold by anomalies in the organs. Etruria is the source of the famous bronze liver found in the Po plain in 1877 near the city of Piacenza. The convex surface of the Piacenza Liver is divided into two lobes bearing the names of the sun (Usil) and the moon (Tiur). The concave surface, admirably sculptured and engraved, is divided into a large number of compartments, on which can be read forty-two inscriptions and twenty-seven names of divinities. This is a graphic illustration of the haruspex's fundamental belief: that the gods actually occupy different parts of the sacrificed animal, and their places there correspond to those they occupy in the sky.

OTHER PORTENTS. The sky, in antiquity, was the home of reigning gods and the place from which they launched comets, falling stars, lightning, and thunder (sources of joy or, more often, terror), considered in some places portents, in other places prodigies. Lightning and thunder were major phenomena, intended to warn humans, who noted with the keenest attention the path of meteorites and deep claps of thunder, foretelling, according to Cicero, the most serious perils for the city and state.

The Etruscans developed most fully the so-called science of interpretation of major celestial portents. Indeed, the master of thunder and lightning, the Etruscan Tinia, was the homologue of the Hellenic Zeus, undisputed master of meteorological phenomena, and of the Roman Jupiter, who hurled thunderbolts during the day (Summanus was master during the night). The Etruscans developed a complete methodology for the interpretation of thunderbolts, including directions for expiation if the portents were unfavorable.

The Greek historian Diodorus was not exaggerating when he wrote, "Etruscan keraunoscopia [*keraunos* was the Greek word for thunder and lightning] was renowned throughout nearly the whole earth" (5.40.2). Seneca, in *Natural Questions* (2.32ff.), discourses knowingly on the differences between Roman and Etruscan approaches to portents, and on the importance the Etruscans placed on thunder portents. He wrote, "Since the Etruscans relate everything to divinity, they are persuaded not that thunderclaps foretell the future because they have been formed, but that they take form because they must foretell the future."

If portents are taken to include inanimate objects and the earth itself, they are even more numerous in the Greek, Roman, and Etruscan traditions. The importance of portents furnished by waters, especially the waters of springs, is attested by texts and archaeological data. These portents depended on the way the water spurted out from the depths of the earth, and also on the way that objects thrown into them were carried along or sank. They were attributed to nymphs reigning over these streams and to various female divinities who were objects of popular devotions in different parts of the ancient world.

Like the surface of water, the mirror was thought to present future events in its reflected images. Drawing lots by choosing among similar objects also appeared to translate either the will of the gods or the will of destiny. Thus, as a response to a question, the white bean drawn by the Greek diviner represented a positive answer, the black bean a negative answer. At Delphi, the center of divination in the ancient world, Apollo spoke through the mouth of his priestess, the Pythia, but she, too, in certain cases, had recourse to drawing lots.

In inspired divination, the priest or prophetess, after attaining the necessary precondition, entered into direct contact with the deity. The god then spoke through their voices and permitted them to prophesy the future, albeit in obscure terms that required professional exegesis.

The premonitory dream is the object of one of the most widespread human beliefs, and in antiquity it was connected with rituals of incubation. The believer, after carrying out certain rituals before induced sleep, sees in a dream what the priests interpret upon awakening.

THE WORLD OF PRODIGIES. To move from portents to the world of prodigies is not really to change domains, because the prodigy, like the portent, is a sign, a warning the gods transmit to humans. Nevertheless, there is a serious difference between the two, which lies in the importance and gravity of the sign. The prodigy, wherever it appears, is a truly exceptional phenomenon that disrupts the normal course of things for a time.

The Greeks could call the prodigy *sēmeion,* but the proper term is *teras,* whose semantic field is the same as that of the archaic term *pelōr.* Both words lack an Indo-European etymology and undoubtedly represent loanwords derived perhaps from one of the Near Eastern civilizations. Despite their importance in Etruscan divination, the Etruscan word or words designating prodigies are not known. Although the word *teras* is found in one of two Etruscan inscriptions, the exact meaning of the word in this context cannot be confirmed.

In Latin, the numerous names for the prodigy reveal the importance the notion possessed in the Roman mind. It is called *prodigium, monstrum, miraculum, ostentum,* and *portentum.* It is not easy to distinguish among the usages of these different words. *Prodigium* is the most often used; its etymology is unclear. *Monstrum* and *miraculum* are applied to something unexplainable in a living creature, human or animal. *Ostentum* and *portentum,* properly speaking, designate what the gods present to humans. None of these terms implied, however, the idea of portent, in the sense of warning about the future. Finally it should be noted that the Roman term *miraculum* became specialized in modern languages to designate all events that ignored natural laws, particularly those associated with Christ. In the shift from paganism to Christianity, the word remained very much alive.

In Etruria, as well as in Rome and the rest of the Italic world, prodigies appeared in various forms. In Greece, as in many other countries, the prodigy could occur in any aspect of nature: earth, sea, sky, underground, in the realms of humans, animals, vegetables, and inanimate objects. The prodigy was attributed to one or another of the gods. The most diverse chthonian phenomena—subterranean rumbles, volcanic displays, earthquakes, and tidal waves—terribly feared in themselves, were also considered forewarnings of the most dire events. Sources of terror for the ancients, these phenomena required expiatory ceremonies intended to pacify the gods.

PRODIGIES IN ETRUSCAN LIFE. Etruria devoted a part of its sacred books to *ostentaria,* collections of rules for observing, explicating, and expiating prodigies. For this function, Rome called on the knowledge of the haruspices. For these priests, as for the Greeks, a prodigy could have a favorable or an evil and disastrous meaning. Presumably it was different in Rome, at least at the beginning of its history.The world of Etruscan prodigies is rather well known because Roman writings accord them considerable importance and familiarize researchers with the haruspices' behavior vis-à-vis the most extraordinary phenomena. The exegeses were often subtle, but usually based on a rather clear symbolism. A comet, a meteor, or a ringing that seemed to burst out of a serene sky could mark the end of a *saeculum,* one of those centuries that formed the history of Etruria. As in Greece, seismic activity on Tuscan soil foretold the most serious events. Conversely, however, certain prodigies could foretell the high destiny of humans, often divining in certain individuals the charisma necessary for kingship. Before the first two Etruscan kings of Rome, Tarquinius Priscus and Servius Tullius, acceded to the throne, they had been marked by prodigies announcing their elevated destiny. The former, upon arriving in Rome had his hat removed by an eagle, which then replaced it, uttering loud cries. Divine favor distinguished Servius Tullius during his childhood, for flames would surround his head for long periods, frightening those around him, and then flicker out.

It is clear that haruspices did not need uncommon wisdom to interpret correctly miraculous phenomena by means of transparent symbolism. But the priests were also masters of ritual as well as of the propitiatory expiations rendered necessary by any prodigy that they thought defiled the land or the city. The priests purified places that had been struck by lightning by interring all objects that it had touched. Compelled by a deep sense of cosmic order, they pitilessly eliminated abnormal creatures as products of the cruelty of nature. The appearance of monsters in the animal or human realm was a tangible sign of divine wrath, representing a disturbance of the rhythm and laws of the universe. Thus, the haruspices made monsters disappear from the face of the earth by fire or drowning, but without laying hands on them, lest they suffer contagion from the contamination.

PRODIGIES IN ROMAN LIFE. In Rome, the prodigy went through a perceptible evolution; its characteristics were modified during the course of history. In the beginning, according to Greek and Roman historians, the prodigy was not a divinatory sign, not a simple presaging of an important event. An unforeseen event that appeared in some form of nature broke the course of natural laws and indicated the wrath of the gods, a rupture of the peace the gods maintained with Rome. A sudden disruption of the *pax deum* represented a terrible threat. Such a situation most often came about through the failure of either citizens or the state to fulfill religious duties. To obtain the reestablishment of the crucial *pax deum,* high authorities had at their disposal an arsenal of expiatory measures. They addressed the keepers of whatever religious traditions were indicated—the pontiffs, the guardians of the Sibylline Books, or even the haruspices—to act without delay in restoring calm to a world momentarily threatened. This was known as *procuratio prodigiorum* ("prodigy management"), and it influenced greatly the evolution of Roman religion.

In the crises that characterized Roman religious history from the time of the Second Punic War, an anxious public felt new divinatory needs. Portents and prodigies became nearly indistinguishable, except for the force of the meaning they signified. To be sure, the expiation of contamination continued, but the search for divinatory meaning now intervened. At the end of the republic and the beginning of the empire, Hellenic mystery religions and religions of the Near East increased in popularity, and Christian monotheism made gradual inroads. The person of the emperor, now the center of religious life, was surrounded by an entire series of charismatic signs, portents, or prodigies. The belief in traditional prodigies, however, gave way gradually to other more complex and increasingly widespread beliefs that came from Greece and the East. Astrology and magic became more important, and it was only in great crises that the haruspices, the most ancient priests in Italy, dared to show their strength by calling attention to the prodigies whose secrets they had jealously guarded.

SEE ALSO Divination; Etruscan Religion; Oracles; Sky.

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RAYMOND BLOCH (1987)
Translated from French by Marilyn Gaddis Rose

POSEIDON is the ancient Greek god who embodies primitive power—the power of the untamed, the brutal, the wild. His name, which has not yet been convincingly explained, occurs on clay tablets from Pylos dating from the period preceding the destruction of Mycenaean civilization (1200 BCE). The god thus belongs to the older strata of Greek religion. His exact place in the Mycenaean pantheon is unknown, but he seems to have been more important that Zeus, who was the most prominent Greek god in the Classical period. The tablets of Pylos also mention the Posidaion (a sanctuary most probably located within the city of Pylos) and a goddess Posidaeja (possibly Poseidon's wife, though she is not heard of in later times).

In the Classical period, Poseidon was mainly connected with the sea, earthquakes, the horse, and men's associations. In Homer's *Iliad,* most commonly dated from the eighth century BCE, Poseidon is pictured as the ruler of the sea. When he drives over the waves, his chariot remains dry and the monsters of the deep play beneath him: "They know their lord" (*Iliad* 12.28). In the post-Homeric period, he was not so much the god of the sailors as of the fisherman, whose tool, the trident, became his symbol.

Besides the sea, Poseidon was also connected with the earth. His anger was considered the cause of the earthquakes that hit Greece regularly (Homer refers to him as *gaiēochos,* "earthshaking"), but the god was also invoked to end them; in many cities (especially on the western coast of Asia Minor) Poseidon was worshiped with the epithet *asphaleios* ("the immovable one"). When volcanic activity in 198 BCE caused the emergence of a new, small island, the inhabitants of neighboring Thera, as was typical, dedicated a temple to Poseidon Asphaleios on it.

Poseidon was also widely associated with horse breeding and racing; Greek myth even made him the father of the first horse, and the father or grandfather of the famous horses Pegasus and Areion. Whereas the goddess Athena was considered to be responsible for the technique of horse racing, Poseidon was connected with the wild, nervous, and powerful nature of the horse. Consequently, Athena was invoked during the race, but Poseidon before or after.

Finally, Poseidon was connected with men's associations. His temples were the meeting places of the pan-Ionic league and of the early amphictyony that comprised Athens and its neighbors. Various epithets of the god connect him with specific clans and tribes. Elsewhere Poseidon was worshiped with the epithet *phutalmios* ("the fostering one"), which points to an association with rites of initiation. Indeed, myth relates that the god's love turned the girl Kaineus into an adult man; her sex change is a mythical reflection of the ritual transvestism of the initiands. At a festival for Poseidon in Ephesus, boys acting as wine pourers were called "bulls," just as the god himself was sometimes called "Bull." All this evidence seems to point to a onetime connection of the god with Archaic men's associations (*Männerbünde*) and their ecstatic bull-warriors, which also could be found among the early Germanic peoples.

The Greeks experienced the power of Poseidon as both numinous and untamed. His sanctuaries were usually located outside city walls. Although his power was inescapable, the god was given no place within the ordered society of the Greek city-state.

SEE ALSO Berserkers.

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POSITIVISM. The terms *positivisme* and *positiviste* were coined by Auguste Comte (1798–1857), who first employed them in his *Discours sur l'ensemble du positivisme* (1848) and his *Catéchisme positiviste* (1852).Comte's neologisms were accepted by the Academie Française in 1878. Equivalent English terms were employed by John Stuart Mill in his *Auguste Comte and Positivism* (1865).

For Comte, "positive philosophy" means real, certain, organic, relational philosophy, and positivism is a philosophical system founded on positive facts and observable phenomena. Because positive facts are not isolated but comprehended by the positive sciences, positivism is a philosophy drawn from the whole of those sciences, and the scientific method determines positivist doctrine. But positivism, as developed by Comte, is both a philosophical system and a religious system that develops from that philosophy.

POSITIVISM AND THE THREE-STATE LAW. In his *Cours de philosophie positive* (1830–1842), Comte explains the relation of positive philosophy to the positive sciences: "The proper study of generalities of the several sciences conceived as submitted to a single method and as forming the several parts of a general research plan." He compares positive philosophy to what is called in English "natural philosophy." However, this latter does not include social phenomena, as does positive philosophy.

Comte contrasted positive philosophy to theological philosophy and metaphysical philosophy. These three philosophies are distinguished according to a three-state law of human knowledge, first presented in *Plan des travaux scientifiques nécessaires pour réorganiser la société* (Plan of the scientific tasks necessary for the reorganization of society, 1822) and developed in the Cours de philosophie positive. The first lesson of the course sketches the progressive march of the human mind and the whole development of human understanding through three methods, or states, of philosophizing: theological, or fictitious; metaphysical, or abstract; and scientific, or positive.

Before the positive method was developed, philosophers, using the metaphysical method, had recourse to abstract forces to explain all natural phenomena; before the metaphysical method, they had recourse to theological modes of explanation—to supernatural entities, to first and final causes—in the search for absolute truth. Though the positive way of philosophizing is, according to Comte, the highest accomplishment of the human mind, the most fundamental of the three methods remains the theological, which is itself divided into three substates: the fetishistic, the polytheistic, and the monotheistic. Comte appreciates the role of each of these substates in the development of the human mind and in the "intellectual history of all our societies"; they ground the possibility of three logics within positive logic: a feeling logic, a picture logic, and a sign logic. The "fetishistic thinker" is the founder of human language and of the fine arts; he is nearer to reality and to scientific truth than is the "dreamy theologist." Theologism, identified with polytheism, is thus opposed to both fetishism and positivism. Monotheism, the third of the theological substates, is "basically metaphysical theology, which reduces fiction by means of reasoning." The metaphysical state is always presented by Comte as a transitional state between theology and positive science, but it also operates as a principle of transformation in the movement from fetishism to polytheism, and from polytheism to monotheism. Beyond this, the metaphysical continues its mediation in the "anthropological revolution" that begins with Comte's own synthesis.

TIME, PROGRESS, HISTORY. Comte did not create the idea of positivism; it was created by the scientific progress of his century. Emphasis on the relation between the concept of positivism and the concept of progress helps to avoid misconstruing positivism as a nondialectical position based on the mere assertion that scientific data exist. The three-state law introduced to the system of the sciences the notion of time as threefold, dialectical, and progressive.

The predecessors of positivism can be identified among the founders of positive science. Comte often invoked the names of Francis Bacon (1561–1626), Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), and René Descartes (1596–1650); nor did he forget Roger Bacon (1220–1292), pioneer of the experimental method and among the finest medieval thinkers engaged in natural philosophy.

Roger Bacon's *scientia experimentalis* ("experimental science") was the first form of positive science and as such was conceived in correlation with the idea of progress. The idea of progress arises from the dialogue between humans and nature—between the questions of humans and the answers of nature. Along with experience, experiment is the foundation of the human-nature dialogue, which has been expressed in mathematical formulas; an example is Galileo's *De motu* (On motion).

From the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, a developing critical attitude effected a transition from the common religious beliefs of the theological period. During this transition, authority was rejected in favor of evidence and observation. Roger Bacon, in his *Opus maius* (Great work), and Francis Bacon, in his *Novum organum* (New instrument), discuss authority as a cause of error. By circumventing such error, progress in the sciences and the advancement of learning became possible: the concept of progress emerges with the birth of positive science.

Giordano Bruno (1548–1600), in *La cena de le ceneri* (The Ash Wednesday supper), writes that truth is in progress: "Time is the father of truth, its mother is our mind." A concept of time was thus introduced into the scientific method. It was further developed by subsequent philosophers. Galileo's *Discorso del flusso e riflusso del mare* (Discourse on flood and ebb) demonstrates that nature does not concern itself with the human capacity to understand natural laws: Humans must create a method to understand nature. In *Discours de la méthode* (Discourse on method), Descartes introduces a method of reasoning that requires time, as opposed to evidence (which reveals itself in the present). Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle (1657–1757) emphasizes the history of scientific progress in his *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes* (Talks on the plurality of worlds).

The notion of history, implied by the concept of progress, was further developed by Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot (1727–1781) in *Les progrès successifs de l'esprit humain* (The successive developments of the human spirit) and by Condorcet (1743–1794) in *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain* (Sketch of a historical picture of the successive developments of the human spirit). The progress of enlightenment becomes the motor of history, a movement beyond the progress of virtue emphasized by the three monotheistic religions: Judaism, Islam, and Christianity. A manifold time is therefore necessary to Comte's conception of science: the time for discovering the truth, or method; the time of scientific progress, or the history of discoveries; the time for the awakening of consciousness from simple sensation.

SCIENCE AND SOCIOLOGY. The three-state law reiterates and condenses observations of Turgot and Condorcet on the human mind in a formula that belongs to a new science of the system of sciences: sociology or anthropology. The law must be understood in correlation with the system of the sciences presented in the course on positive philosophy, in which Comte demonstrates the three-state law in each of the several sciences, from mathematics to biology to sociology. The aim of the course is realized with the coordination of all scientific conceptions and the birth of a new science: social science. Here, the social scientific discovery of social history reveals the intimate interrelation of scientific and social development. Moreover, mind and history play upon one another. Thus, Comte's philosophy of mind is also a philosophy of history and, hence, positivistic.

The paradigm of the three-state law organizes the classification of the sciences, and the relation between law and classification may be expressed in the definition of positivism as *scientia scientiarum,* or science of sciences. Robert Flint (1838–1910), in *Philosophy as Scientia Scientiarum* and a *History or Classifications of the Sciences* (Edinburgh, 1904), writes:

> Philosophy as *scientia scientiarum* may have more functions than one, but it has at least one. It has to show how science is related to science, where one science is in contact with another; in what way each fits into each, so that all may compose the symmetrical and glorious edifice of human knowledge, which has been built up by the labours of all past generations, and which all future generations must contribute to perfect and adorn. (p. 4)

For Comte, historical practice itself implies the social theory of the three-state law, which implies the logical and historical necessity of social science, which implies positivism, positive philosophy, or the system of positive knowledge. In its turn, positivism implies a practice of social reorganization, advocated by Comte both at the beginning and at the end of his own intellectual history.

Religion and Positivism. That the question raised by positivism with regard to religion was the most important problem for believers at the end of the nineteenth century can be observed in such studies as *Science et religion dans la philosophie contemporaine* (Science and religion in contemporary philosophy) by Émile Boutroux (1845–1921) and *The Varieties of Religious Experience* by William James (1842–1910). Boutroux gives a positivist account of the relation of science to religion and recognizes their common components of solidarity, continuity, love, and altruism, but he does not see a relation of these components to the positivist starting point in the observation of concrete things. Thus, Boutroux is unable to admit the principles of religion as he conceived them: God and immortality of the soul. The positivist philosophers Richard Avenarius (1843–1896) and Ernst Mach (1838–1916), on the other hand, rejected all absolute entities. In a letter dated July 14, 1845, Comte himself wrote to John Stuart Mill:

> Actually, the qualification of *atheists* suits me, going strictly by etymology, which is almost always a wrong way to explain frequently used terms, because we have in common with those who are so called nothing but disbelief in God, without sharing in any way with them their vain metaphysical dreams about the origin of the world or humankind, still less their narrow and dangerous attempts to systematize morals.

Nevertheless, in another letter to Mill, Comte did not reject praying. "For a real positivist, to pray is to love and to think, first to think by praying, then to pray by thinking, in order to develop subjective life toward those whose objective life is accomplished" (October 28, 1850). To the claim of Emil Du Bois-Reymond (1818–1896)—"Ignorabimus" ("We shall ignore [nonnatural events]"), such positivists as Alfred Fouillée (1820–1912) replied "Sperabimus" ("We shall hope"). Fouillée assented in some spiritualist claims; like Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), he admitted an unknowable.

The Impulse of Positivism. Positivism is characterized by the will to realize a synthesis that takes into account all human concerns. Some positivists, like Émile Littré (1801–1881) and Abel Rey (1873–1940), reduce philosophy to a mere history of scientific thought. Nevertheless, Littré concluded that beyond the positivist object of thought there is a reality unattainable yet within the human range of clear vision. Instead of God or the unknowable, Comte proposed humanity as the focus of his synthesis, and his "religion of humanity" attracted many followers in France and abroad, especially in Brazil.

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POSSESSION, SPIRIT See SPIRIT POSSESSION

POSTURES AND GESTURES are primal aspects of religious belief and behavior and as such have emerged, with other elements of culturally symbolic expression and communication, at the threshold of human existence. Their use is not, of course, restricted to the human species; nonhuman animals display a wide variety of postures and gestures that serve to demarcate species from each other and to signify territorial dominance, propagation procedures, and social hierarchy. However, culturally generated and transmitted postures and gestures, which may retain elements of phylogenetically evolved ones, nevertheless transcend these in their specific configurations of learned and intentional patterns, significations, and symbolizations.

Every religious tradition recognizes an intimate relationship between inward dispositions and external postures and gestures of the human body, which is capable of expressing and celebrating a great range of attitudes, moods, motivations, and intentions, whether sacred or profane. The study of postures and gestures has not progressed as far as the study of other aspects of religion or as far as the study of social science as a whole; but such study—especially the emerging disciplines of kinesics, ethology, and semiotics—deserves close attention.

Islam: A Case for Preliminary Observation and Analysis. Among the Abrahamic religions, Islam contains in its ritual observances a rich and varied repertory of postures and gestures that are mastered by every adherent. Christianity also has many body movements and gestures of deep significance, but they are neither universally performed within the tradition nor permitted across all classes of believers. All Muslims perform the *rakʿah*s (bowing cycles) of each *ṣalāt,* or prayer service, with a combination of standing, bowing, prostration, and sitting postures accompanied by coordinated head, hand, arm, and foot gestures. By contrast, the postures and gestures of Christian worship, for example in the Roman Catholic tradition, are assigned to laity or clergy in a carefully regulated manner; although certain basic forms, such as kneeling and making the sign of the cross, are shared, the laity nevertheless do not raise the sacramental elements, nor serve them, nor bless—these are gestures reserved for ordained priests.

A Muslim, or a knowledgeable outside observer, can tell at a glance and from a distance when a Muslim is at formal prayer (*ṣalāt*), and moreover at what point in the ritual, just from observing postures and gestures. If the worshiper is standing, with the hands placed slightly in front and to the sides of the head, with the thumbs aligned with the earlobes, then the observer knows that the prayer has just begun with the utterance "Allāhu akbar" ("God is most great!"). But the worshiper seated with knees on the floor and buttocks resting on the ankles is either at the midpoint of the cycle or near the end, depending on the precise placement of feet and hands. If the right hand is resting on the right thigh, and gathered into a fist, with the index finger waving slowly back and forth, and if the left foot has been placed beneath the right ankle, under the buttocks, then the cycle is nearly finished. If it is the final cycle in the series—and each daily *ṣalāt* has a set number of required *rakʿah*s—then the observer will know that the prayer is nearly over by the worshiper's turning of the head to the right and the left, uttering a blessing in each direction. This is the only point in any *ṣalāt* service at which the worshiper turns aside in any manner from the *qiblah,* or direction of Mecca. Other important parts of the *rakʿah,* which itself means "bowing," are actual bowing and, most important, a full prostration with the forehead touching the floor or ground; this gesture, called in Arabic *sajda,* is the climax of Islamic worship, when the slave of God symbolizes his total submission and obedience. If the worshiper is seen in the sitting posture, but with hands extended in front, palms upward, he or she is not engaged in the formal *ṣalāt,* probably, but is performing *duʿāʾ,* the voluntary prayer of personal petition frequently uttered after formal worship and at other auspicious times, such as at the close of a Qurʾān recitation, especially of the entire text. Or a prostration may be enacted in conjunction with the recitation of a special Qurʾān verse—whose hearing renders meritorious an immediate *sajda*—but omitting the other postures and gestures of the full *rakʿah.*

Social Functions of Religious Postures and Gestures. Religious postures and gestures serve not only to symbolize and regulate devotion; they also demarcate religious communities and subcommunities. If one sees, for example, in a Middle Eastern or Southeast Asian context, where the vast majority of people are Muslim, a person kneeling in an attitude of devotion, with hands folded or palms pressed together, with head bowed and eyes closed, one is seeing a member of the Christian tradition or possibly a Buddhist. Muslims do not kneel at prayer, fold their hands, or bow their heads with closed eyes like the Christians. Moreover, within Christianity itself there are significant variations that identify specific churches, denominations, and sects and, in some cases—as evident from art and iconography—distinct historical periods. Kneeling, for example, is a biblically warranted posture of piety that has been adopted at some time or other by most Christian communities. But in formal worship, Christians from different traditions do not necessarily all kneel at the same point, or for the same reason. Some Christians kneel in adoration, whereas others reserve that posture for penitence, which is often done in private. Some Christians stand while receiving Communion, whereas others kneel.

Likewise, there are varying ways of making the sign of the cross, two of which distinguish Roman Catholics from Eastern Orthodox: the former move the hand from the left to the right shoulder, whereas the latter move the hand from right to left. Both gestures are unambiguously Christian, yet the slight difference symbolizes also a great historical and communal separation. Similarly, particular Islamic subcommunities may exhibit variations of gesture: for example, in the standing position of formal worship some allow the hands to hang loosely at the sides, whereas others fold them gently in front of the body. By contrast, as already noted, the Islamic cultus of posture and gesture is remarkably uniform throughout the world and has been so since its early formalization. A Baptist of narrow experience who visits a high church Episcopal service would be at sea about what to do next in the liturgy: stand, kneel, or sit? But every Muslim with minimal religious upbringing would be at home in Islamic worship anywhere in the world. Even a Muslim who does not understand a word of Arabic—though most do know a few religious phrases—probably knows the postures and gestures of worship in every detail.

Symbolic Range of Religious Postures and Gestures. Religious postures and gestures are cultural products and are transmitted in various ways and with different understandings. Consequently, the question of whether there is an intrinsic relationship between inward dispositions and outward manifestations is difficult to resolve. It would seem that in most cases these manifestations are intentional signs that serve to reinforce as well as express doctrines and attitudes. Nevertheless, they are similar in many cultures; there is a high correlation between certain postures and gestures and a wide range of emotions and purposes that are usually if not exclusively religious or magical. Among these are adoration, affirmation, blessing, consecration, curse, gratitude, greeting, humility, invocation, meditation, mourning, oath taking, penitence, pleading, praise, prayer, protection, remorse, reverence, sorrow, and submission.

Kneeling is often associated with adoration, blessing, confession, humility, penitence, pleading, petition, remorse, and submission, especially in Christianity. Prostration is a dramatic posture expressing submission, penitence, consecration, and humiliation. It is especially closely associated with Islamic worship, but known also in the Bible and other religious contexts.

The sitting posture sometimes symbolizes religious attitudes, particularly in the Buddhist attitude of concentration wherein the legs are crossed, right over left, with soles facing upward, hands resting on the thighs, with thumbs touching. This "Lotus Position" is basic to Buddhist meditation as well as to Hindu yoga. Muslims commonly sit in a posture similar to the Lotus Position when in a mosque or adopt it as a normal posture anywhere. Egyptian Muslims like to rock back and forth in this position when listening to Qurʾān recitation, which can be highly rhythmic. A similar practice is found among Jews. Sitting is also understood as a royal and a divine posture, as evidenced by thrones and mounts, from whence commands and judgments descend.

Standing is a posture that in religious tradition signifies respect, as evidenced when Christians stand for the reading aloud of the gospel lesson. Early Christians stood for congregational prayer, and standing throughout the service is still practiced in Eastern Orthodoxy. Muslims stand at the beginning of the *ṣalāt* when making their *nīyah,* or "intention," and uttering the first *takbīr,* "God is most great!" The Islamic funeral service may be performed only in a standing position, and it is recommended that Muslims stand in respect when a funeral procession passes, because a soul is being transported to its place of repose until the Resurrection. The most profound point of the Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca *(ḥajj)* is the *wuqūf,* or "standing" ceremony, when the pilgrims stand for hours in repentance and hope for mercy from God. So important is this ritual standing to the Muslim that its omission for any reason invalidates the individual's pilgrimage; unlike certain other elements of the pilgrimage, the *wuqūf* must be performed beginning on a set day and at noon.

Dance as practiced in religious contexts combines many postures and gestures in complex configurations. The American Indians, for example, developed dance for religious and magical purposes in pursuit of healing, hunting success, rain, good crops, and victory over enemies, as well as for critical and calendrical rites having to do with matters such as puberty, initiation, seasons, harvests, and natural calamities. Dance has been of central importance in the religious life of peoples in all regions, and it extends far back into prehistory. The Mevlevīs, members of the Ṣūfī order of "dancing" or "whirling" dervishes founded by Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273), spin around their leader like heavenly bodies rotating about the sun. The twentieth century has seen a renewed interest in both Roman Catholic and Protestant worship in sacred dance, in the conviction that the body and its movements are repositories of holiness and a fundamental means for communing with God and celebrating the mysteries of salvation. Likewise, celebration of the whole person, soul and body, was a basic dimension in the worship of the Jews of biblical times, who danced and clapped their hands in joy in the presence of God.

Hands, which express the broadest range of religious and magical meanings and are major instruments of gesture in all traditions, are used in such motions and configurations as are necessary for blessing, praying, consecrating, healing, anointing, protecting, welcoming, ordaining, and other purposes.

Mudrā, a Sanskrit word meaning "sign, gesture," denotes a highly ramified and conceptually sophisticated symbolic hand language developed by the closely related Indian religions Hinduism and Buddhism; it interpenetrates and connects various levels of their belief, behavior, aesthetic sensitivity, and communal life. *Mudrā*s take many forms, each of which symbolizes a doctrine or truth or realization or experience. In Buddhism, for example, a fundamental event in the founder's career may be symbolized by means of *mudrā. Mudrā*s are used extensively in ritual, iconography, dance, drama, and teaching in Hindu and Buddhist regions. Without an understanding of *mudrā,* one could not interpret and thus fully appreciate the hundreds of stone reliefs concerning the Buddha's cosmic evolution that adorn the magnificent stupa of Borobudur in Central Java.

Not only the hands, but also the arms have been important in religious gesture. Extending the arms out to the sides has been practiced as a gesture of solar adoration. Coptic Christians spread out their arms in the form of a cross at baptism. Ancient Egyptian, Sumerian, Babylonian, and Etruscan worshipers spread their arms in prayer. Ancient Egyptians, Buddhists, and Romans prayed with arms crossed on the chest. Present-day extending of the arms by Armenian Christians is symbolic of the Trinity; in this position the neophyte turns toward the west and spits at the Devil, then turns east with spread arms and faces heaven in acknowledgment of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

Mouth and lips, too, have been prominent in sacred gesture among very diverse peoples. Magical practices have included spitting three times into the folds of one's garment to avoid the evil eye (ancient Greece), spitting on children for the same reason (ancient Rome), spitting into the eye of a close relative to prove the absence of evil-eye intentions (ancient and modern Greece), and other spitting gestures, such as the Shintō and Buddhist practice in Japan of spitting at healing deities. The Qurʾān instructs one to take refuge from the "evil of the women who blow on knots," meaning the witches who cast harmful spells by ritual spitting on knots tied in a cord (113:5).

Kissing particularly is often used in ritual gesture. Women kissed Christ's feet (*Lk.* 7:38). The thresholds of churches have traditionally been kissed, as have been relics, burial sites, and other powerful repositories of the holy. Muslim folk practices include the kissing of saint shrine enclosures for *barakah* ("blessing"). Christians have been known to kiss the Bible when taking an oath. Shīʿī Muslims sometimes kiss copies of the Qurʾān. Jews kiss the *mezuzah* when leaving or entering the home. Mecca pilgrims try to kiss the holy Black Stone embedded in the Kaʿbah, in imitation of Muhammad's custom. Ancient Greeks kissed the sacred oak of Zeus at Aegina. Catholics kiss the crucifix. Many ancient Near Eastern peoples kissed the hands, feet, and clothing of sacred images. Pope John Paul II kisses the ground of the countries he visits. Muslim youth kiss the hand of their Qurʾān teacher as a gesture of deep respect not only for the teacher as a person but for the treasure that the teacher carries and imparts.

In addition to postures adopted by the living are those imposed upon the deceased by others acting on their behalf. Burial in a fetal position, for example, has been known for prehistoric archaeology and ethnography. This unusual practice may have come about to prevent the spirit of the deceased from wandering about after death, especially in cases wherein the body has been tightly bound. An alternative interpretation is that the position imitates the state in the womb, with burial representing a sort of return. Most peoples lay the body on the back for burial, sometimes with particular orientations. Muslims sometimes bury their dead lying on the right side, with the face pointing toward Mecca; even if the body is supine, the face is oriented in that direction. Al-Ghazālī, the great Muslim theologian (d. 1111), advised the pious to go to bed at night lying on the right side, facing Mecca, because sleep in the Islamic view is a "little death," from which an individual might not wake. Again, Christian baptism by immersion imitates a posthumous position, in which the initiate submits passively as the officiant symbolically buries the old person who is presently to be cleansed and resurrected in the new life in Christ.

SOCIAL, MAGICAL, AVOIDANCE, AND SELF-DESTRUCTIVE GESTURES. Perhaps the most extensively studied, if not the most richly developed, social gestures among civilized peoples are those found in Mediterranean societies, such as Italy, France, Spain, Greece, Egypt, Lebanon, Turkey, Syria, and the Maghreb. Most of the postures and gestures cannot be interpreted as religious; in fact, many are utterly profane, even obscene, and have been so since antiquity. An example is the sign of the fig, made with the thumb protruding from between the index and middle fingers. This is a sexual insult, usually, and in the Middle Ages was declared illegal if directed at religious images and symbols. The sign of the horns, made by extending the index and little fingers from a closed fist, and directing it toward the eyes of a threatening person, has long been an apotropaic gesture. Among Muslims, for example in North Africa, a gesture called the Hand of Fāṭimah is made by extending the fingers toward a supposed enemy in order to neutralize the evil eye. If uncertain whether harm is actually intended, the gesturer may make the gesture under a cloak or other covering, particularly when the danger is not perceived to be grave. The "horns" are also sometimes thus covered.

Social postures and gestures sometimes involve ritual avoidances. Among Muslims, especially in the Middle East and Southeast Asia, a strong distinction is made between the right and left sides of the body. Only the right hand is considered clean and fit for gesturing, giving, receiving, blessing, greeting, eating, and touching. The left hand is considered as unclean because it is used for humble tasks only, such as the toilet. It is a great breach of propriety to use the left hand for what is properly a right-hand function. The right foot leads when entering a mosque, but one leaves a holy place left foot first. The toilet room is entered left foot first and exited with the right foot leading. The soles of the feet are considered, by Muslims and other Eastern peoples, to be unclean, and so it is essential to avoid directing them toward anyone (as an American may inadvertently do when resting the feet on a desk top). In Java it is considered arrogant and disrespectful for a boy or man to cross his legs or ankles in the presence of a superior, especially while sitting in a chair. Although that is a cultural taboo, the observance of it is especially noticeable in pious Muslim contexts, where proper physical deportment is a mark of the religious person. Social postures and gestures in highly stratified traditional societies, like Java, provide valuable clues about religious worldview.

In religious practice certain self-destructive gestures exist that express powerful emotion. One is the ritual flagellation practiced by Christian ascetics, especially during Passion Week. A structurally similar practice is the self-flagellation, often with chains, of Shīʿī men in processions associated with the Tenth of Muharram, the anniversary of the martyrdom of Imam Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī at Karbala, Iraq, in 680. The ancient Israelites mourned by putting ashes on their heads (*2 Sm.* 13:19) or tearing their hair and beards (*Ezr.* 9:3). Modern Palestinian women beat their breasts, tear their hair, scratch their cheeks, and throw soot on their heads in mourning, gestures that can be traced back to ancient times.

SEE ALSO Dance; Hands; Haṭhayoga; Human Body; Knees; Mudrā; Ṣalāt; Spittle and Spitting; Touching.

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For an excellent collection of sources and an extensive bibliography, see Betty J. Bäuml and Franz H. Bäuml's *A Dictionary of Gestures* (Metuchen, N.J., 1975). Religious postures and gestures have yet to be given much attention by students of religion, at least as a comprehensive subfield. However, a comprehensive literature on ritual and devotional practices, including detailed analysis and interpretation of postures and gestures, exists within numerous religious traditions. In addition to ritual, liturgical, and scriptural sources, a variety of other sources, for example, works on law, ethnography, and art history, provide information on the subject.

The relatively new sciences of ethology, kinesics, and semiotics give great promise of increasing the understanding of posture and gesture. Konrad Lorenz's studies, for example, offer some provocative ideas concerning the relationship between

phylogenetically transmitted and culturally transmitted gestures in animals and humans; see his *Behind the Mirror: A Search for a Natural History of Human Knowledge* (New York, 1977).

FREDERICK MATHEWSON DENNY (1987)

POTLATCH is any of a disparate variety of complex ceremonies among the Indians of the Pacific Northwest Coast of North America, associated with the legitimization of the transfer or inheritance of hereditary aristocratic titles and their associated rights, privileges, and obligations. Potlatches are characterized by the reenactment of the sacred family histories that document the legitimacy of the claimant to the rank, by ritual feasting, and by the formal distribution of gifts by the host group to its guests, each according to his rank. Though the wealth distributed at a potlatch may be quite substantial, the amount distributed is much less important than the requirement that it be distributed according to the correct social protocols and moral prescriptions.

Potlatches have traditionally occurred at points of social stress accompanying any part of the process of ascension or succession to rank: investiture into a new name; the building of a house; erecting of a totem pole or other emblem of hereditary prerogative, such as a marriage or a child's coming of age; or alternatively as a mortuary feast for a previous rankholder, as a means of acquiring prestige; and sometimes even as a means of discrediting rival claimants. The legitimacy of the rankholder's claims is proven by his dual ability to command the allegiance of his family group in putting together such a complicated ceremony and to perform correctly the formal display of his family's origin myths and ceremonial objects. The acceptance of gifts by the guests signals their acceptance of the validity of his claim.

Anthropologists have focused on the secular, social aspects and functions of the potlatch—on the way in which potlatches maintain social equilibrium, consolidate chiefly power over commoners, provide for the orderly transfer of wealth and power, provide a measure of group identity and solidarity, redistribute surplus wealth and level economic imbalances, provide outlets for competition without recourse to violence, and provide an occasion for aesthetic expression and dramatic entertainment. Irving Goldman has suggested in his *The Mouth of Heaven* (1975) that, since in Northwest Coast philosophy all status, power, and wealth are considered to be a gift from the beneficent supernatural beings who provide the materials that humans need to survive, the potlatch is inherently a religious institution, fundamentally endowed with a sacramental quality. Each of the family origin myths, whose retelling is such an important part of the potlatch, tells of how one of a particular family's ancestors was able to make a covenant with a supernatural being. In return for the right to collect food of a specific type at a specific location, to possess an aristocratic name, to impersonate (and thus become) the supernatural being in ceremonies, and to invoke the aid of that being in times of distress, the ancestor accepted the responsibility of performing the rituals that would ensure the reincarnation of that supernatural being. This covenant expresses the mutual dependency of human and supernatural, and the potlatch is the ceremony through which the aristocrat fulfills his responsibilities to the supernatural being.

The chief is the representative of his house to the spirits and in his person are brought together all the historical, social, and spiritual aspects of his group's identity. He is the being who links the spiritual world to the social world, and his costume and behavior at potlatches clearly state the duality of his role as spirit in human form. Indeed, since chiefs are the representatives of particular supernatural beings, the distribution of wealth to other chiefs at potlatches can be seen as a metaphorical distribution by one supernatural being to others, and as such it represents the flow of substance throughout the entire universe.

The potlatch, obviously a rite of passage for human beings, a death of an old identity and a rebirth into a new one, is also a rite of passage for the supernaturals. The supernatural beings sustain human beings not only by giving them power and knowledge, but by being their food—when supernatural beings come to the human world, they put on costumes that transform them into animals. The objects displayed, transferred, or distributed in potlatches are manifestations of the bodies of supernatural beings: the flesh and skins of animals (which, since they are thought to be the animals' ceremonial costumes, imply that humans survive by ingesting the ceremonial, spiritual essence of their prey); the coppers (large, ceremonial plaques that represent repositories of captured souls awaiting reincarnation); and the feast dishes (which are the coffins for the animal substance before the humans who partake of that substance begin the process of its reincarnation). Potlatches, in a sense, are funerals for the supernaturals and inherently involve the reaffirmation of the eternal moral covenants between humankind and the other inhabitants of the universe. As animals sacrifice their flesh that humans may eat it and live, so humans must sacrifice themselves or their wealth, which is a symbol of themselves, that the dead may be reborn.

In Northwest Coast thought, moral order and spiritual purity are achieved through acts of self-sacrifice, and the giving away of possessions places humans in harmony with the moral order of the universe. The universe is imagined to have been originally a place of self-interest and possessiveness, that is, until culture heroes started the process of distribution. Northwest Coast peoples believe that the universe will collapse back into the primordial chaos of selfishness unless humans continually reaffirm their willingness to disburse their possessions, to pass out wealth to their fellow men, and to pass on rank to their children. The potlatch provides the ceremonial realization of that commitment to the cosmic moral order and is a reaffirmation by all its participants—hosts, guests, ancestors, the unborn, and supernatural beings—of the system of moral covenants and mutual dependencies that lie at the basis of Northwest Coast society. The potlatch reenacts myth, and then, through redistribution, recreates its processual nature, thereby becoming a graphic representation of the continuing reality and salience of those myths, linking the past to the present, the dead to the living, the sacred to the mundane, the human to the supernatural, the local to the cosmic, and the momentary to the eternal.

It should be noted that the potlatch underwent substantial change during the nineteenth century. Heavy governmental and missionary pressures contributed to the abandonment or secularization of many Northwest Coast Indian rituals. Potlatches and all other native ceremonies were illegal in Canada between 1876 and 1951, and though some ceremonies were carried out in secret, Northwest Coast religion was irreparably altered. The potlatch and other ceremonies have played an important role in the native renaissance of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, but few studies of the potlatch in contemporary Indian life have been conducted, and very little can be said of the particulars of its role in Indian society today.

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POWER.

The term *kratophany* literally rendered is "the appearance of power." Mircea Eliade, however, who made this a technical term in English, used it to indicate an appearance of the sacred in which the experience of power dominates. Thus, that every kratophany must be, at the same time, a hierophany ("appearance of the sacred") is certain by definition, while the converse is less clear; indeed, assent to it will hinge upon the degree to which one regards the concept or experience of power to be an irreducible part of the concept or experience of the sacred.

That the idea of power is central to much religious experience can be seen by means of a simple mental exercise: try to imagine hierophany without the elements of awesomeness, authority, or effectiveness. Most will agree that it is possible to imagine intellectual constructs such as truth or value without power, but hierophany seems to require more. Here is one difference between philosophy and religion, between the intellectual grasp of an idea and the experience of a sacred reality: the religious experience involves the whole personality and not merely the intellect. It includes the emotions as well as less obvious aspects of human awareness such as the kinesthetic sense and deep instinctual and symbolic structures. Finally, it may be that the sense of reality and the sensing of power are inextricably combined into what is experienced as a unity that might be labeled "real presence." As a category of modern physics, power can be described as a potentiality, or a potential ability to do "work," which in turn implies the expenditure of energy to change the distribution of energy in a given system, just as water piled up behind a hydroelectric dam has great potential for generating electricity because of its advantageous location with respect to the direction of gravitational forces. Unlike water, however, the sacred always remains potential even after awesome power has been expended, and it is this mysterious characteristic of being an inexhaustible source of power that in part gives to hierophany its paradoxical tendency both to attract and to repulse.

The normal reactions to sacred power within a given culture can conveniently be classified under the rubrics of *mana* and *taboo*. *Mana* implies a positive attitude toward power within an object or symbol or person—power that can be appropriated for useful purposes. *Taboo* implies the opposite, namely, power in an object or symbol or person that must be avoided for safety's sake or at least hedged about with special "insulating" rites before it can be made useful. Examples are amulets and charms, holy books, saints' relics, and living sacred persons. Infraction of such governing rules constitutes sacrilege and usually brings down cultural or cultic sanctions upon the guilty, or even the direct intervention of sacred power itself.

Perhaps the most important, because clearest, example of the role played by power in religion can be seen by examination of the meaning of cosmogonic myths and of what appears to be the psychological reality that informs them, namely, the universal experience of the prestige of origins. Here, above all, is demonstrated the positive side of sacred power in its intrinsic creativity. Here is the power to bring a world into being, to shape reality, and thereby to found human cults and cultures. It is literally true that within cosmogonic myths everything that happens is a unique demonstration of creative power, since everything that happens does so for the first time. Examples abound, but consider only the Dreaming adventures of many sacred beings in Australian tribal religions, where the seemingly trivial acts performed while traveling around the countryside actually create the landscape and populate it with sacred places gravid with meaning. Or consider the Shinto myths in which with nearly every gesture of the gods—whether by sexual contact, by breaking or cutting something, or by uttering special words—new deities came into existence, deities whose intimate relationship with nature and culture made them constitutive of the world.

More dramatic examples may be found in the Hebrew scriptures, in the *Book of Job*, for example, where frequent references are made to God's creative power in ordering the world and controlling the awesome forces of the cosmic ocean. As the text comes down to us, Job's response is one of terror and repentance without understanding. The Hindu classic *Bhagavadgītā* provides another forceful revelation of the sacred as power in Arjuna's trembling witness to Lord Kṛṣṇa's true nature: nothing less than the world process is portrayed in the deity's simultaneous destructive function as death and his creative function as the womb of all beings.

POWER AND THEORIES OF THE ORIGINS OF RELIGION. Although scattered speculations can be found in the classical civilizations of China, India, and Greece, theoretical reconstructions of the possible origins of religion stem in their modern forms from the European encounter with those cultures that, from about the time of the Enlightenment until a few decades ago, were known collectively as "the savages." Knowledge of these so-called primitive (or archaic, or nonliterate) peoples made a strong impression on the Western imagination. Among other things, it played an important role in the foundation during the nineteenth century of such academic disciplines as psychology, sociology, and anthropology. Perhaps because many of the more detailed accounts of such cultures came from religious professionals and perhaps also because it was an age in the West of great religious ferment, the discovery of primitive cultures was both a discovery of exotic social customs and of strange and disquieting systems of belief and ritual. The most significant systematic attempt of this period to reconstruct a "natural history" of religion was E. B. Tylor's *Primitive Culture* (1871). There the theory of animism was first propounded.

Tylor defined *animism* as belief, or a tendency toward belief, that all nature was endowed with a spiritual, animating essence, or soul. Thus, by anthropomorphizing analogy, every natural power or object was directed by a personality possessing intellect and will. According to this theory, all things were supposed by humans' primitive ancestors to be humanlike—if not in outward appearance, then in their inner being. Power was implied in this view in that the power of being of every thing, its uniqueness and its efficacy, was assumed to be potentially greater than what one would call its mere physical possibilities. Yet the experiences that lay behind this animistic worldview were not, in Tylor's view, fundamentally of power, with its exciting, often daunting emotional concomitants, but were instead of a different and more coolly logical kind. He reasoned that primitives must have been perplexed by their own dreams and thoughts, in which they themselves as well as other people, both living and dead, and not present in the usual sense, appeared. Adding this to their own natural experience of themselves as thinking, willing, self-moving beings, primitives must have concluded that a soul, or animating principle, must inhere in all things and that it could sometimes be separated from the body. In this way, Tylor sought not only to explain primitive beliefs but also to define a proto-religious stage of cultural evolution. Religion, or more strictly the prerequisite for religion, he went on to define as "a belief in spiritual beings." Animism, then, is but one type of religion, namely, the belief that all things have souls, or, as it were, both a material and a spiritual "body" or aspect.

Tylor's theory of animism, and indeed his view of religion as a phenomenon that properly encompasses both primitive and so-called higher forms in a unified theory, provided the *locus classicus* of most anthropological work, including the formation of new theories, until well past the turn of the century. The main thrust of theorizing in this period was to reconstruct the origins of religious behavior itself, that is, to isolate the most elementary impulse, feeling, or experience that constituted the *sine qua non* of religion, and to place all forms of religious behavior on an evolutionary scale of development from this point of origin. It should be noted here that a shift in emphasis in anthropological studies occurred in an early reaction to what was deemed by many to be Tylor's excessively intellectualist view of human nature, at least as it was displayed regarding primitives. Increasingly anthropologists viewed human beings primarily as active creatures whose thought processes are subordinated to action: thought "rationalizes" action to the degree that ideas are formed only in reaction to deeds and to provide a more or less emotionally satisfying intellectual justification for them. It is here that the idea of power, in a variety of forms, began to play its part in the great quest for origins.

Animatism is the name given to a theory, formulated by R. R. Marett, that sought to build upon the work of Tylor. Although he accepted animism as a higher stage in religious development, Marett rejected the "intellectualist fallacy" inherent in the theory of animism insofar as it claimed to represent the first stage of religion. He suggested instead that primitives experience the world as fundamentally divided into the familiar and the unfamiliar. The unfamiliar object is so because it exhibits some sort of strangeness suggestive of hidden power. This he called variously "occult power" and "the sacred." To the compound of unusual and hidden power he added the notion of life in much the same sense that Tylor had used animus, that is, life or soul, except that he believed that, at the stage of animatism, the primitive mind had not yet made the leap from life or life force to separable soul. This meant that animatism could also properly be understood as "preanimism."

The full articulation of this theory was published in 1909 in Marett's *The Threshold of Religion*, but as early as 1900 he had made the first steps toward it in his establishment of the Oceanic word *mana* as a general category of religious experience. He based his usage primarily upon the work of R. H. Codrington (see *The Melanesians*, 1891), who reported that for many South Pacific island cultures, the religious system was based upon a single concept, which they called *mana*. Among the Melanesians, *mana*, the power that inhered in all things, had special significance for their religious and social system, because it could be concentrated in some objects and because it inhered in a concentrated form in some people. Indeed, the hierarchical structure of their society was justified upon the basis of the aristocrats' inborn great *mana.* Everything possessed some mana, and, in this respect, the term might be translated "the power of being." Since so much was made of its concentratability, however, in many cases the term is better rendered as "sacred." But for many scholars, particularly in the nineteenth century, this usage permitted an unacceptable broadening of the meaning of *sacred*, since mana could be transferred from one object or person to another. Many tended to classify this notion not as religious but as pertaining to magic. The fluidity of *mana* made it a kind of physical energy, or at least analogous to such an energy: the transfer could be affected by touching one mana-charged object with another with less *mana*; in particular, a person of high *mana* could infuse an object with some of his or her *mana* by handling it.

It was not long after the publication of Codrington's findings that similar discoveries began to be made in other parts of the world. American anthropologists were especially active at this time, and the Huron *orenda,* the Lakota *wakan*, and the Algonquin *manitou* were soon added to the list of *mana*-like concepts. Later the Arabic *barakah* and East Asian terms such as the Chinese *ling-pao* and the Japanese *kami* were suggested as counterparts to the Melanesian idea of *mana.* From such evidence, Marett then posited a general psychological tendency of human beings to experience the world as well as themselves under the guise of a controlling religious concept: sacred or occult power. This view has had great influence among scholars. However, contemporary anthropology does not generally accept Marett's insistence that even the most elementary religious experience engrafts to the notion of power the assumption of personality—or, to put it another way, that *mana* and animatism are necessarily combined. It may, of course, be true in certain cultures, as he argued, that because mana most powerfully manifested itself in certain types of persons, it was treated as if it were the willpower of a human being, but it is not true in all cultures. And the value of the term mana is just in its use as a general descriptive category denoting a sacred power that is not in itself personal. Thus, in fact, the modern usage implies a psychological, if not necessarily chronological, priority to the idea of *mana* over even Marett's animatism.

POWER AND THE NATURE OF RELIGION. In 1909, with the publication of *Les rites de passage*, Arnold van Gennep applied the label dynamistic to the theories of the origin of religion put forth by Marett (1900) and by J. N. B. Hewitt (1902), based upon the experience of the sacred as power. But van Gennep drew a sharp line between what he called dynamism, or the conceptual framework that assumed impersonal sacred power, and animism, which assumed that sacred power was personal. Since his goal was to classify rituals, and to a large extent to understand by means of classification, he did not enter into the theoretical debate concerning the origins of religion. Yet, because of the obvious value of his way of discussing ritual activities, his work did influence the theoretical debate, if only by showing that it was possible to make significant contributions to the study of religion without choosing a position concerning the question of origins.

No less implicit in van Gennep's work was the assumption of the centrality of the idea of power in religion, not so much in its own theorizing or attempts at self-understanding, but in its actual behavior. Thus he coined the term *magico-religious* to emphasize the practical side of human interaction with sacred power. All ritual activity he labeled as magical because it was in the realm of technique; that is, it sought to implement a practical goal, namely, to influence or even to manipulate the sacred power for useful purposes. It was, therefore, the efficacy of the sacred, its potentiality to effect change or to prevent change—in short, its power—that van Gennep emphasized in his basic insight that ritual, or, at any rate, many rituals, seek to effect transitions from one state or situation to another.

At about the same time that Marett and van Gennep were formulating their views of religion, other theories about the nature and, to some extent, the origin of religion were being formulated outside the conceptual circle of the new discipline of anthropology. Influenced by anthropological and ethnological studies, but operating in a very different intellectual framework, was Rudolf Otto, a theologian who took as his spiritual mentor Friedrich Schleiermacher. In *Das Heilige* (1917), Otto presented what might be called a phenomenological psychology of religion, in that he sought to describe the structure of human reaction to what is experienced as "the holy." Otto's work as a religious theorist, because of his attitude toward human nature and in his introspective approach to religion, may be considered a late flowering of the Romantic movement. He exhibits a qualified anti-intellectualist stance toward religious psychology: religion is an ineradicable part of human nature, present from the beginning, but, while religion itself admits of historical development, the psychological makeup of human beings, which makes religion possible, does not. Therefore, any religious experience, however far removed in time and space, can be understood by the modern student, because it shares a fundamental unity with all religion. Further, Otto appeals in a famous passage to the reader's own experience, rather than to his rational faculties, as the guarantor of the accuracy and usefulness of his descriptions:

> The reader is invited to direct his mind to a moment of deeply-felt religious experience, as little as possible qualified by other forms of consciousness. Whoever cannot do this, whoever knows no such moments in his experience, is requested to read no farther; for it is not easy to discuss questions of religious psychology with one who can recollect the emotions of his adolescence, the discomforts of indigestion, or, say, social feelings, but cannot recall any intrinsically religious feelings. (Otto, [1917] 1923, p. 8)

The fundamental religious experience Otto termed as the feeling of the presence of "the numinous." In this, his theory closely approximates that of Marett's "occult power" (or mysterious power or the sacred). But Otto sought in a systematic way to show that this feeling existed psychologically prior to any conceptualization of a god or spirit or soul and, at the same time, was the religious *sine qua non* behind these concepts. As he put it, the "ideogram" of the numinous must be present in the "concept" of god, since the former is the nonrational, feeling component of the rational concept. The mental process by which ideograms become concepts he called "schematization."

Implicit in his argument is a tension between experience or feeling, on the one hand, and *a priori* ideas, on the other, since he wished to affirm both the priority of religious experience and the truth of certain religious concepts. Indeed, it is his strong allegiance to a belief in the superiority of Christian theological formulations that has been largely responsible for Otto's lack of influence in anthropology and in related disciplines concerned with the study of religion. Added to this was his insistence upon the *sui generis* character of religious experience, which tended to isolate religion from other psychological realms, such as the experience of beauty, sexual pleasure, or terror.

The heart of Otto's system is his description of the feelings that, to a greater or lesser extent and in varying mixtures, all religious experiences evoke. These *are mysterium tremendum* and *mysterium fascinans*. The ambivalence in the human response to the object of religion that has already been encountered in the dichotomy of mana and taboo, the positive and negative aspects of sacred power. In Otto's schema, van Gennep's work focused primarily upon the *fascinans* aspect, since the efficacy of sacred power is necessary for ritual goals to be realized, although of course van Gennep also discussed rituals of avoidance. It is particularly in the analysis of the negative side of the dichotomy that Otto's unique contribution to the understanding of religious experience can be seen. Choosing as his illustrative data primarily the canonical literature of Christianity, but supplementing it with references to such famous Christian virtuosi as Martin Luther as well as to Islamic and Hindu mystics, he documents minutely the daunting presence of the numinous in the more complex or "higher" religions. For purposes of exposition, he divides his first category into two. The first is *mysterium*, which he explains as having its closest analogy in the feeling of uncanniness that irrationally can seize one when, for example, one is listening to ghost stories or passing graveyards. This feeling emphasizes the radical otherness (*das ganz Andere*) of the numinous and results in a uniquely religious dread. If, according to Otto, this feeling is allowed to predominate in the religious experience, aberrations such as demon worship can result. To this is inextricably joined the element of *tremendum*, the overpoweringness of the numinous, whose ideogram in Christianity is God's wrath. Moving from experience (*der Moment*) to ideogram to developed theological concept, *tremendum* becomes divine omnipotence.

Tremendum, therefore, is the place in Otto's schema where the experience of sacred power has its proper location. He further elaborates its effects by the ideogram of "creature consciousness," the elementary feeling articulated by the thought of having been created, assembled, as it were, as a kind of contingent and therefore somewhat arbitrary and temporary configuration with no intrinsic merit or value or power. To sense this is to feel that one is nothing over against the infinite power and presence of the Other. Out of it come the relatively sophisticated ideas of creation and of sin. Notice that sin is now partly derived not only from the memory of having contravened a law or broken a taboo; it is also intrinsic to the religious encounter itself, particularly from the encounter with power in its overwhelming immensity. Of course it is here referred to the joining or schematization of *tremendum* and the doctrine of sin, especially of original sin, which Otto argues finally makes the Christian concept of sin credible and intellectually satisfying.

It could be argued that the element of *fascinans*, or attraction, in the numinous experience also implies a tacit recognition of kratophany, but in Otto's own handling of it, *fascinans* is expressed in such terms as love, duty, and the motivation to pursue the religious life. It is an elementary recognition or experience of value rather than a perception of utility or status, which seem to predominate in the idea of mana.

MIRCEA ELIADE AND THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS. Mircea Eliade linked his own work in the phenomenology of religion with that of Otto when in *The Sacred and the Profane* (1957) he expressed admiration for Otto's descriptions of religious experience. Yet he sought to establish, at the same time, a different perspective, one that took as its starting point the categories of the sacred/profane dichotomy first given prominence by the French sociologist Émile Durkheim. Eliade was concerned with what might be called collective psychology, rather than a psychology of individual, particular experiences. His work has sought to catalog and explain (as in *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, 1958) the great collective representations, that is, symbols, by which religious meaning is mediated in a variety of cultural contexts. In accepting Otto's description of the "irrational" aspect of encounters with the sacred, Eliade infuses his use of the term sacred with specific meaning that includes power as a central element. Thus the encounter with sacred power is seen in the structure of the symbols of the sacred, while power is one of the necessary attributes of the sacred.

Eliade is perhaps most like Otto when he discusses archaic techniques of ecstasy, as he does at length in his *Shamanism* (1951). Here he shows that the shaman often unwillingly encounters, and is possessed by, sacred power in an unequal test of strength that leaves the human personality transformed. The result is the ability ritually to achieve ecstasis, or a projection of self out of self, in order to tap the power of sacred realities as a religious specialist serving the community. But the interpretation of shamanism is not restricted to psychological aspects: the symbols, for example, of drum and "flying costume," by which shamanic rituals are accomplished, are also presented, as well as myths that both buttress and explain the worldview of shamanism.

Throughout his works dealing with archaic religion, Eliade has emphasized the creative power of myth and of the sacred beings whose stories myths are (see *Myth and Reality*, 1963). Of course, this power is understood by those for whom myths still live as the power of the sacred itself, made knowable and thus usable through myth. For Eliade, cosmogonic myth is perforce the most important type, since it taps into the ubiquitous psychological tendency that he has termed the assumption of the "prestige of origins." Here, knowledge of the origin of a thing is equivalent to having power over that thing. Thus knowledge of the origin of the world as contained in the cosmogonic myth gives human beings power over their entire environment. Rituals that celebrate this knowledge by reiterating the myth, or, more dramatically, by reenacting it, are at least very useful to the scholar in attempting to grasp the meaning of a religious worldview. Eliade has also noted that the prestige of origins and the supposed power of origins continue to function psychologically, often unconsciously, in modern secular contexts.

The sacred has power, in Eliade's view, both to make the world meaningful by providing a religious worldview and to provide a means of escape from a desacralized and therefore meaningless world (*Cosmos and History*, 1949). His work on yoga (*Yoga: Immortality and Freedom*, 1954) details this latter function of sacred power in Hinduism and Buddhism. In *samadhi,* the yogin achieves the final stage in the personal journey by which the true self realizes its identity with the sacred. This state brings with it not only the bliss of a superconsciousness but also a number of sacred powers: knowledge and sensitivity beyond the ordinary as well as psychophysical powers (*siddhis*) that mark the accomplished practitioner of yoga.

In his discussion of yoga, Eliade also touches upon an especially revealing concept of Hinduism, namely, *tapas*. This idea, which is very old in the Indian subcontinent, can be rendered as "the power of asceticism," or "the sacred power by which the world was created." Sometimes, indeed, in later popular folk tales and myths, *tapas* becomes the power of desire and of sexual potency, which both creates all beings and threatens all with dissolution. Yoga as an ascetic discipline is thought to tap the power of *tapas*, for it is sometimes understood that *tapas* is the power by which the extraordinary accomplishment of final liberation is won. Among the devotional cults of modern Hinduism, the Śaivas honor Śiva, the phallic creator god who is also the prototype of all yogins.

Belief in the power of sacred models to raise individuals to new states of being (see *Rites and Symbols of Initiation*, 1958), especially as this power is brought to bear in rituals, is documented in Eliade's work on "initiation scenarios," which are so widespread even in secular literature and fantasy. These survivals of living symbol systems continue to haunt modern people's dreams and imaginative creations. In archaic societies, these symbols of death and rebirth—of being swallowed by a monster, for example—are especially significant ways by which the power of the sacred can bring about the transition from childhood to adulthood, from ordinary living human being to powerful ancestor, from ordinary human to powerful shaman. In salvation religions, these same techniques and symbols are employed in the crucial transition from a state of damnation to that of salvation and beatitude.

The amazing ability of symbols to endure through the ages and despite profound cultural changes, as Eliade has documented in the historical portions of his work, testifies to the power that symbols wield in human life. These powerful symbols appear to possess almost a life of their own, inasmuch as they are constitutive of the human personality. To possess sacred power is at the same time to be possessed by it, a view that Rudolf Otto would heartily support and one that the psychologist C. G. Jung emphasized with his theory of archetypes.

Phenomenologically, it is impossible to determine the source of symbols either within or without the self that experiences them. Indeed, Jung regarded religion as a traditional response to especially powerful symbols that arose from the hidden energy- and meaning-centers of the psyche, that is, the archetypes. What a symbol in a dream of myth masked or partially revealed of an archetype could be determined from the human reaction to it. Archetypal symbols engender great fear, awe, and longing: they are the mainsprings of the deepest and strongest emotions, and are experienced as numinous centers of power:

> When an archetype appears in a dream, in a fantasy, or in life, it always brings with it a certain influence or power by virtue of which it either exercises a numinous or fascinating effect, or impels to action. . . . Owing to their specific energy—for they behave like highly charged autonomous centres of power—they exert a fascinating and possessive influence upon the conscious mind and can thus produce extensive alterations in the subject. (Jung, 1953, p. 80)

The very process of maturation, both culturally and individually, which Jung believed to be the main focus of religious behavior, is a process of the ever-deepening experience of archetypal images and of the progressive transformation of archetypally generated symbols.

Thus, in Jung's thought the ideas of power and of religious experience were strongly associated. Religion was one way of dealing with these internal structures although by no means the only way. On the other hand, religious behavior was derived from these structures as the driving force of both thought and action.

VAN DER LEEUW AND THE PHENOMENOLOGY OF RELIGION. One major work on the nature of religion requires special mention, because it uses the idea of power as its central organizing principle. This is Gerardus van der Leeuw's *Phänomenologie der Religion* (1933), translated into English as *Religion in Essence and Manifestation* (1938). Van der Leeuw begins his ambitious work with a discussion of the experience of power as the founding impetus of religion:

> The religious man perceives that with which his religion deals as primal, as originative or causal; and only to reflective thought does this become the Object of the experience that is contemplated. . . . Theory, and even the slightest degree of generalization, are still far remote; man remains quite content with the purely practical recognition that this Object is a departure from all that is usual and familiar; and this again is the consequence of the *Power* it generates. (van der Leeuw, 1938, p. 23)

He thus describes a pretheoretical mode of perception in which the experience of power and otherness are combined, and in which the notion of efficacy dominates. This power originates and causes events; it is thus fundamentally creative.

Van der Leeuw quickly finds the traditional language of scholarship to be misleading, since it improperly distinguishes religion and magic at this elemental level:

> It is precisely a characteristic of the earliest thinking that it does not exactly distinguish the magical, and all that borders on the supernatural, from the powerful; to the primitive mind, in fact, all marked "efficiency" is *per se* magical, and "sorcery" *eo ipso* mighty. . . . Magic is certainly manifested by power; to employ power, however, is not in itself to act magically, although every extraordinary action of primitive man possesses a tinge of the magical. (ibid., pp. 24-25)

Although he often calls this elemental level of religiosity "primitive," he rejects the hypothesis that it exists as a stage in religious evolution. For him, the term designates a level of thought and experience that is found, to a degree, in all religions at all times. Further, van der Leeuw considers the notion of an ordering power, or sacred order, as in the Sanskrit *ṛta* or the Chinese *dao,* to be theories about power as advanced as the notion of an individual soul as a personal center of power.

Van der Leeuw interprets taboo as perhaps the most elemental reaction to the experience of sacred power: one is characteristically fearful in the face of the disparity of power, and taboo is an attempt to mount some defense against it. Indeed, he derives the Roman *religio* from an experience of dread. Thus religion for the Romans was a system of taboos set up in response to the awesome appearance of sacred power. "Observance," he writes, "is just benumbed awe which, at any moment, can be revived" (ibid., p. 50).

The entire first part of *Religion in Essence and Manifestation* is a long essay demonstrating that the notion of power is the key to understanding a wide variety of religious phenomena. For example, celestial symbols are an important part of many religions because they manifest cosmic power in such a way that humans can model their behavior upon the orderly motions of heavenly bodies, thus tapping their great power. Again, animal cults and totemism van der Leeuw explains as an attempt by humans to obtain for themselves the powers that animals control by virtue of their superior strength and skills, such as the ability to fly. The totem animal is especially significant in this regard because it "is a sort of reservoir for the potency of the tribe or clan" (ibid., p. 79). Angels represent a projection or emanation (they are "messengers") of specific powers of gods; sacred kingship is a recognition that the power of the most powerful person is, in part, sacred power, while belief in salvation implies faith in an extraordinary power of transformation.

Part 2 of this work takes up the reaction to sacred power as apprehended within: that is, the effect of the experience of power on human lives. Here religious functionaries, such as priest or shaman, are discussed, as well as the transformed life of the saint. Finally, religious organization, the social reaction to power, is sketched out.

Further description of van der Leeuw's work must founder because of his own interpretation of the phenomenological task: he eschewed any conscious hermeneutic or theory of religion as false to the data. Thus his work cannot be neatly summed up by reference to a relatively simple theoretical model. But in much of his work, the basic experience of power functions as much as a heuristic device as a basic insight into the nature of religion.

Another scholar who has influenced the notion of religious power held by students of religion in recent years is Georges Dumézil, who sought to develop some structural tools for dealing not with all religions but with that large class of religions known to have been derived from Indo-European cultures. His fundamental thesis is that the gods of Indo-European peoples reflect, and in turn are reflected in, the social structure of a given culture. This structure, in three main divisions, can be described in terms of the functions, or typical activities, performed by the gods or social classes in question. Although this thesis has far-reaching implications, most important for present purposes is the fact that in many cultures, most clearly in ancient India in the Vedic literature, these functions, in turn, seem to be based upon different concepts of power. Thus, because the concerns of the third-function gods are fecundity and productivity in the terrestrial sphere, they possess a special power or energy that controls and thus either promotes or inhibits the growth of herds or the abundance of harvests. This power was often thought of as sexual in nature.

But it is in the second and first functions, as Dumézil defined them, that differences in the basic nature of power become most apparent. Here he distinguishes sharply between the mysterious, hidden, even magical, power of the first-function gods and the merely physical power wielded by the gods of the second function. The second function belongs to the warrior, in India especially to Indra, who slew the cosmic demon Vrtra, and who was the protector of the Aryan tribes and the leader of the human warriors. Indeed, so important did this physical power become that there is evidence in the *Ṛgveda* that Indra to some extent replaced Varuna, the primary first-function god. Varuna and Mitra together are the representative of the function of sovereignty, whose position at the apex of the hierarchy of gods and humans was, originally at least, assured by the power they wielded. The first function Dumézil characterizes in general as celestial, priestly, and concerned with the exercise of magical and juridical sovereignty. Varuna especially is "a great sorcerer, disposed more than any other on the level of sovereignty to *maya,* magic which creates forms either temporary or permanent, disposed also to the knots in which he binds the guilty, a capture both immediate and irresistible" (Dumézil, 1968–1973, vol. 1, p. 148).

Coupled both to the characteristic celestial symbolism and to the idea of mysterious power is the association of Varuna and Mitra with the cosmic order, *ṛta.* Increasingly subservient to this impersonal order, the first-function gods nonetheless reflect and to a degree wield the very power by which the cosmos moves. This dynamism was especially impressive because the means of its motion was unseen: just as the stars or the sun followed their preordained courses; just as the seasons followed their patterns and other events such as disease occurred as punishments whose agents or mechanism, so to speak, could not be discovered by means of the ordinary senses; just so did the sovereign gods control the very power by which the world was ordered and by which its order was maintained. Physical power, the power of Indra and of war, could be understood, if not always defended against. Even the enormous physical power of a god was still physical and palpable, and therefore of a fundamentally different nature than was *maya,* the unseen and all the more frightening power of Varuna.

In the human realm, according to Dumézil's thesis, the social structure also reflected these different types of power. Of course it is the brahman caste, the hereditary priests, who wield Varuna's power, to some degree, because of their knowledge of the rites of sacrifice. In the cult, the priests function as mediators of sovereign sacred power: the words and actions of the rituals place in the priestly hands this same mysterious power, which is the power to influence cosmic forces for the benefit of humans.

Although Dumézil's point of departure is the Vedic texts of India, he applies this schema also to later Indian epics as well as to Persian, Greek, and other European religious literature. Beyond this, other scholars have sought to extend the three function theory to non-Indo-European cultures as well. Most notable of these, perhaps, is Atsuhiko Yoshida, whose "La mythologie japonaise: Essai d'interpretation structurale" (1961–1963) is the most thorough attempt to apply these categories not so much in order to show Indo-European influences upon Japanese mythology but as a useful interpretive tool.

POWER, MAGIC, AND CHARISMA. The use of the term *magic* has had a checkered career, both within Christian theological circles and within the realm of comparative religion or history of religions (*Religionswissenschaft*). On the one hand, it has shared the pejorative connotations of such terms as *superstition* and *idolatry* in its emic or confessional evaluation; on the other hand, as evidenced by such compounds as *magico-religious,* from the etic viewpoint the term has been used in a purely descriptive way, as, for example, in the work of Arnold van Gennep, noted above. From this latter perspective, magic denotes simply sacred power experienced as impersonal and, to a degree, manipulatable: it is power in its most useful mode, since it can be turned to one's advantage with what might be called a minimum of harmful side effects. Providing only that the formulae and rituals are properly followed, results are predictable, even automatic. For many theologically inclined thinkers, this notion, and even more the attitude toward the sacred that it implies, must necessarily be a "lower" form of religion, or degenerate religion—or perhaps not religion at all. This is because it is felt to be incompatible with the proper sense of reverence and dependence due to a personal god as in Christianity or Judaism. From this perspective, to treat God as an object of magic is to blaspheme since this tends to reduce the majesty and freedom of the deity.

The lack of consensus among scholars as to the proper definition and use of the term *magic* reflects not so much differences in perception as differences in the purposes to which the data are put. From the purely descriptive point of view, a distinction between magic and religion, or between magical religion and pure religion, has proved practically impossible to make. But from the normative, theological point of view, the term *magic* has proved too useful a term to be easily given up, since it delineates what is felt to be a theologically unacceptable attitude toward the power of God. Thus, even when a pejorative sense is not intended in descriptive works, it is often improperly assumed by many readers.

Examples of the difficulties that lie in wait for those who would distinguish between a manipulative approach to the sacred and a properly humble and propitiatory approach are easily produced. Subtle psychological distinctions must be made, since the existential concern of all religious people for their own welfare makes a totally unselfserving approach to sacred power improbable, if not impossible, for ordinary human beings. Put another way, one may ask how often Christians pray for forgiveness of sins out of nothing more than a pure and unselfish love of their god? Or again, rites of passage, which are ubiquitous, seek always a more or less definite personal or communal gain—but who can assess with complete certainty the motivation of the participants? Discounting "manipulativeness" can lead to a restriction of the term *religion* to such an extent that it is lost as a useful descriptive term.

Another conceptual tool relating to religious power is *charisma,* a term made popular by the sociologist of religion Max Weber (in *Religionssoziologie,* 1922), who defined it as the authority by which individuals were accorded status and power over others or, related to that, by which the functions or offices themselves—regardless of the officeholder—were felt to be worthy of respect. Indeed, Weber expressly linked charisma both to *mana* and to the Iranian *maga* (Skt., *maya*), from which the word *magic* is derived. Looked at closely, it may be seen that the notion of charisma, at least from the limited horizon of sociology, is rather mysterious. That is to say, the reason or means whereby one person is accorded this respect, or is seen as having a special inner power of attraction, is not explained or well understood. Certainly such things as character, unusual skills, great stature or strength, or force of mien or manner all seem to contribute, but, finally, *charisma* remains a relational term that classifies the reaction of others to the person whom scholars then label as charismatic.

The Chinese religious tradition offers a concrete example of belief in charisma, and even of theorizing about it within two ancient systems of thought, namely, Confucianism and Daoism. These two religions, although often antagonistic, nonetheless share a common origin and a number of common ideas. Two are especially relevant here: *dao,* or cosmic order, and *de,* variously translated as "virtue," "character," "power," or "charisma." It is possible to view these two concepts not only as closely associated in Chinese thought but as two aspects of a single reality: sacred power. *Dao* is in many ways similar to the Sanskrit *ṛta,* in that it is not only order but also the power that drives a dynamic universe. All things ultimately derive from *dao* (Laozu appropriately calls it "the mother of all things"), and all things move and change according to its "laws." To be sure, it is not entirely knowable, although Confucianism is more optimistic on this point, with its emphasis on study of the way of the ancients and its belief that *dao* is perfectly embodied in *li* (ritual or decorum).

When *dao* is perfectly embodied in a person, then he is called a sage. Such a one is as perfect an exemplar of the universal *dao* as a human being can be. To be a sage is to be perfectly in harmony with *dao.* But taken from the point of view of the individual, such a one has great *de* or personal power. This power, like *dao,* although it may be embodied in a person, is not in itself personal: it is without consciousness, or will, or emotion; it has no purpose. The intrinsic power of a sage is expressed, both in Confucianism and in Daoism, in the image of the sage-king Shun, who "acted without action"—yet all things were accomplished, and the empire was at peace. Shun is also likened to the pole star, which merely sits facing south, while all things revolve around it in a kind of cosmic ballet.

This *de* or charisma is brought down to earth, as it were, in the Confucian ideal of the *junzi* the "superior man" or "true gentleman," who also brings about by example, by ritual, and by the power of his presence the longed-for proper ordering of human society. It is not, of course, that he does nothing; rather, he is so well attuned to *dao* (or to "heaven," *tian*) that whatever he chooses to do will be the correct thing in the circumstances. When such a person is a ruler, or, one might say after Weber, when charisma of person is combined with charisma of office, one has an especially powerful force for harmony. Interestingly, however, even here, at least in the more mystical Daoist writings, a sage does not will the right, does not arrive by careful thought or logical deduction at the right course of action; rather, because he is a sage, such action will spontaneously occur, sometimes with the sage as direct agent, but sometimes at the hands of others mysteriously influenced by him.

This mysteriously acting power, action at a distance and without conscious will, sounds in many ways like the Vedic *maya.* It is sacred power, at work in the human world, that reflects and ultimately is one with the sacred power that underlies all activity in the world of nature.

Is such a belief crude magic, or perhaps mere superstition? Some would answer in the affirmative. Certainly it insists upon the impersonal nature of the sacred and of the workings of sacred power. And the will to manipulate this power to benefit self, or the society as a whole, is strong, especially in Confucianism. Yet there is also awe and reverence for the power: it is difficult to gain, and it has its own ways. Others would claim that this example shows the impossibility of separating magic and religion, that they are inextricably merged into the idea of sacred power and into the active responses of human beings as they have perceived that power over the millennia of religious history.

In religions having a central concern for extra-worldly salvation, the way in which the power by which such a transformation can be effected has been understood has resulted in unresolved and perhaps unresolvable controversies. The early fifth century struggle between the Christian thinkers Pelagius and Augustine of Hippo concerned two very different assessments of that most elusive form of power known as human freedom. Did human beings, as Pelagius argued, have the power within themselves to live sinless lives and thus achieve salvation through their own efforts? Or, as Augustine argued, did the Fall that occurred in the Garden of Eden taint all humans descended from Adam and Eve to such an extent that they were incapable of perfection without divine aid, or grace? Roman Catholic orthodoxy eventually declared for Augustine's position, although the issue has continued to this day to exercise Christian theologians, and it played a major role in the Protestant Reformation. Strikingly similar was the controversy that raged in the thirteenth century in Japan with the rise of the Pure Land movement in Buddhism. Shinran witnessed to the all-encompassing "other-power" (*ta-riki*) offered by the Buddha Amitabha that was available through faith to ordinary believers; this he juxtaposed to the use of "self-power" (*ji-riki*) by the traditional monastic forms of Buddhism, by which *nirvana* itself could be achieved. By contrast Augustine saw the fall into sin, and thus also relative powerlessness, to be positioned at the beginning of time with its effects pervading all human existence until the end of history; whereas Shinran's "fall" occurred within history. Shinran believed that the degenerate age (*mappo*), characterized by humans' decreased powers, had arrived, but it had come long after the founding of the path to salvation by the historical Buddha. Such parallel developments so far separated in time and space strongly suggest that there exists a universal deep structure of meaning to the conceptualization of power as it relates to salvation.

To be sure, many religions know of powers associated with the persons of religious elites, especially perhaps the power of healing. This power may be understood to be ultimately from God or the gods, the practitioner merely acting as a channel for it, as in western monotheism, or it may be seen as the product of the practitioner's own spiritual accomplishments. In the latter category may be placed the many forms of Buddhism that know the powers (*siddhi*) that often accompany yogic meditative accomplishments, a tradition that is also reflected in the pan-Indian idea of *tapas*, depicted in many Hindu tales of the puranic period as a power generated by yoga that is potentially so strong as to threaten the very sovereignty of the gods. The relationship between such forms of power and the ultimate goal of salvation is sometimes ambiguous.

SEE ALSO Animism and Animatism; Archetypes; Hierophany; Magic; Sacred and the Profane, The.

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ALAN L. MILLER (1987 AND 2005)

PRABHUPADA, A. C. BHAKTIVEDANTA.

A. C. Bhaktivedanta Prabhupada (1896–1977) was the founder of the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON), more commonly known as the Hare Krishna movement.

On September 19, 1965, the steamship *Jaladuta* sailed into New York harbor from Calcutta and docked at a Brooklyn pier. Seventy-year-old A.C. Bhaktivedanta Swami emerged from the ship to fulfill the instructions of his spiritual master to teach the spiritual message of the Caitanya cult in the West. Caitanya, the founder of *bhakti-yoga*, preached that all people regardless of their station in life, could reach spiritual realization through love and devotion to Kṛṣṇa (God). Bhaktivedanta Swami was dressed in traditional garb: he wore *kaṇṭhī-mālā* (neck beads), a plain cotton *dhotī* around his body, a *cādar* (shawl), and he carried *jāpā-mālā* chanting beads). His head was shaven except for the *sikhā* (tuft of hair) in the back, and his forehead was marked with *tilaka* (sacred clay). Carrying only forty Indian rupees (about seven U.S. dollars), Bhaktivedanta set out to bring the message of "Kṛṣṇa Consciousness" to the United States, and ultimately to the world.

Prabhupada was born Abhay Charan De into a Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇava family in Calcutta, India, on September 1, 1896. His father was Gour Mohan De, a cloth merchant, and his mother was Rajani. Across the street from the Des's residence in north Calcutta was a Rādhā-Govinda temple where the family worshipped. Prabhupada's father raised his son to be Kṛṣṇa conscious. At night, Gour Mohan read from the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* and the *Śrīmad Bhāgavatam* (the principle scriptures of Bengali Vaiṣṇavas), chanted on his *jāpā* beads, and worshiped the deity of Kṛṣṇa. He wanted his son to become a preacher of the *Bhāgavatam* and to grow up singing *bhajans* (religious songs), and playing the *mṛdaṅga* (a drum used to accompany congregational chanting).

In 1916 Prabhupada began studies at Calcutta's Scottish Churches' College, where he majored in English, philosophy, and economics. Yet after completing his fourth year and passing the exams for his degree, Prabhupada refused to accept his diploma. He did this to register his protest against British rule of India, for he had become sympathetic to Mahatma Gandhi's Indian independence movement. During his college years Prabhupada's father arranged for his marriage to Radharani Datta. After marrying, Prabhupada gained employment as a manager in a pharmaceutical firm in Calcutta to support his wife and family.

In 1922 Prabhupada met his spiritual master, Srila Bhaktisiddhanta Sarasvati Thakura (1874–1936). Prabhupada was impressed by Srila Bhaktisiddhanta's boldness after, upon meeting Prabhupada for the first time, he commented, "You are educated. . . .Why don't you preach Lord Caitanya's message throughout the whole world?" (Goswami, 1980a, p. 39). Later he would tell Prabhupada, "If you ever get money, print books" to help spread the mission of Lord Caitanya (Goswami, 1980a, p. 91). Although Prabhupada had accepted Bhaktisiddhanta as his spiritual master after their first meeting, he became formally initiated as his disciple in 1932. Thereafter, Prabhupada assisted in the work of his spiritual master's organization, the Gauḍḍīya Maṭh. Following Bhaktisiddhanta's death, the Gauḍīya Maṭh suffered years of infighting and schism, and Prabhupada decided to create his own movement, the League of Devotees, in 1953 in Jhansi, India. After only two years, however, the organization collapsed, having made no full-time members. In 1944 Prabhupada began publishing *Back to Godhead* magazine, which he distributed in India—and then worldwide after he began ISKCON in 1966.

In recognition of his philosophical learning and devotion, the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Society bestowed the title of "Bhaktivedanta" on Prabhupada in 1947. In 1950, at the age of fifty-four, Prabhupada retired from family life and four years later adopted the *vānaprastha* (retired) order to devote himself completely to study and writing. Thereafter he took up residence in Vrindaban, India, where he lived and worked at the Rādhā-Damodara temple. On September 17, 1959, Prabhupada accepted the renounced order of life (*sannyāsa*), whereupon he was given the name Abhay Caranaravinda Bhaktivedanta Swami. While living alone at the Rādhā-Damodara temple, Prabhupada began translating and providing commentaries on the *Śrīmad Bhāgavatam* (*Bhāgavata Purāna*).

After publishing three volumes of the *Bhāgavatam* in India, Prabhupada decided to fulfill the instructions of his spiritual master by traveling to the United States. Having received free passage aboard the freighter the *S.S. Jaladuta*, Prabhupada left his Indian homeland for the United States as a poor Indian *sādhu* (saintly person). After six months of hardship, Prabhupada established his International Society for Krishna Consciousness in July of 1966. His first temple was a rented store front at 26 Second Avenue in New York's Lower East Side. In that year he also initiated his first American disciples. In 1967, Prabhupada traveled to the emerging hippie community in the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco. There, amid the drug culture, Prabhupada taught that the chanting of "Hare Krishna" was a "high" superior to LSD. In San Francisco, Prabhupada attracted 150 to 200 converts to his movement within two years. From San Francisco, Prabhupada sent disciples to Montreal, Los Angeles, Boston, London, and other major cities to begin ISKCON temples.

Prabhupada established over one hundred temples worldwide, wrote more than sixty volumes, including *Bhagavad-Gītā As It Is (1972)*, the multivolume *Śrīmad Bhāgavatam (1972–1977)* and *Caitanya-caritāmṛta (1974–1975)*, *The Nectar of Devotion (1970*, and many other books on the Vedic scriptures. These volumes included translations of the original Sanskrit and Bengali texts, along with Prabhupada's commentaries. His writings have been translated into more than fifty languages by the Bhaktivedanta Book Trust, established in Los Angeles in 1972 to publish Prabhupada's works. Between 1973 and 1977 several million books and other pieces of Kṛṣṇa Consciousness literature were distributed yearly by ISKCON members in shopping malls, airports, and other public locations in the United States and worldwide. As Prabhupada commented, "If one percent of the readers become devotees. . .that will change the world" (Goswami, 1983b, p. 5).

A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada died on November 14, 1977, in Vrindaban, India. In just twelve years from the time he arrived in North America, Prabhupada initiated nearly five thousand disciples worldwide, circled the globe eight times lecturing on Kṛṣṇa Consciousness, began and oversaw a worldwide movement, and established himself as a scholar of Vedic philosophy and religion.

SEE ALSO International Society for Krishna Consciousness.

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PRAJĀPATI belongs to the powerful ritual center of Vedic traditions and their discourses known as the Brāhmaṇas, where he is the supreme being and father of the gods. He is the link between the ancient Puruṣa mythology that instituted sacrifice, on the one hand, and the late Vedic bifurcation into a metaphysics of the impersonal Absolute (*brahman*) and the personal god Brahmā, on the other. In the religious history of South Asia, cosmogony, sacrifice, the soma cult, asceticism and self-mortification, the concept of salvation, the ritualization of procreation, and the advisory role of the grandfather of the gods are all dependent to a significant degree on the various guises of Prajāpati.

As lord *(pati)* of creatures *(prajā)*, Prajāpati is best known in the tenth book of the *Ṛgveda* through speculations about the creation of the world. Identified there with several cosmogonic motifs, he is later associated in the Brāhmaṇas more precisely with Puruṣa, thereby assuring his preeminence in the sacrificial drama of creative transformations through self-sacrifice. Like Puruṣa projecting himself sacrificially into world being (*Ṛgveda* 10.90), Prajāpati is said in the Brāhmaṇas to have sacrificed himself in the exhausting fervor of ascetic and erotic heat (*tapas*), the cosmic result being, first, *brahman,* the sacred verbal power, and then the various components of creation, including gods and humans (see, e.g., *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 6.1.1.8ff.). Elsewhere, he himself is regarded as the result of *tapas.* A constant theme in these discourses is the human necessity of repeating the exemplary primordial event by reintegrating all the space, time, and being that the Puruṣa-Prajāpati sacrificial victim, dispersed into manifestation, represents. The Vedic *śrauta* ritual known aa the Agnicayana became one of the major expressions of this Brahmanic doctrine of sacrifice: By identifying Agni as Prajāpati, the ceremonial installation of fire *(agni)* was advanced to a soteriology. A yearlong procedure systematically reconstituted the world as a five-layered altar, its fire-center-heart being the recovered *ātman* ("self") not only of Prajāpati but also of his human correspondent, the sacrificer (*yajamāna*). Another great *śrauta* ritual was the Vājapeya, the "drink of strength," a soma ceremony in which the mystical totality of Prajāpati and the power of the number seventeen were realized. By entering such ritually produced correspondences as these, the sacrificer was able to avoid repeated death (*punarmṛtyu*). This ideology prefigured the later Upaniṣadic notion of *ātman-brahman* equivalence and of spiritual liberation obtained not by ritual but by intuitive knowledge.

Prajāpati's control over human and animal reproductive energies assured him the same prominence in the domestic ritual, mythology, and folklore that he gained in the texts for the great cosmic ceremonies. *Ṛgveda* 10.121, a hymn of creation addressed to the "golden germ" (*hiraṇyagarbha*), identified Prajāpati as the "fiery seed" within the cosmic waters. The images of seed, egg, embryo, and parturition continued into the *Atharvaveda* and the Gṛhyasutras that became manuals for such life-cycle rites (*saṃskāras*) as marriage, impregnation, production of a male, safe delivery, first feeding, and first tonsure. Prajāpati was also included as one of certain male figures surrounded by four feminine powers in gestation symbolism.

Prajāpati has numerous zoomorphic expressions, some of them evidently archaic. The boar, Emūṣa, is identified with him in the mythology of the cosmic earth diver, the creature that descends to procure a fragment or prototype of earth-world, as are two creatures prominent in the Agnicayana, the bird and the tortoise (all three perpetuated in later Hindu Vaiṣṇava myths). The goat, bull, cow, horse, stag, ant, and other animals are also drawn into Prajāpati's orbit of symbols. Vedic deities linked with Prajāpati include Vāyu, Varuṇa, Dakṣa, Vāc, and, in an incestuous theme, his daughter Uṣas. In the post-Vedic texts, Brahmā absorbs his character as Hiraṇyagarbha, and the Prajāpatis are, variously, the ten or seven spiritual sons of Brahmā.

SEE ALSO Agni.

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PRAJÑĀ. The Sanskrit term *prajñā* (Pali, *paññā;* Tib., *shes rab*), variously translated as "wisdom, gnosis, insight," or "intuitive knowledge," is central to all Buddhist traditions, imparting unity to them as well as serving to distinguish them from other philosophical and religious systems. *Prajñā* is primarily understood as a complete comprehension of the nature and aspects of phenomenal existence (*saṃsāra*), the forces that govern it, the method of becoming free from it, and the reality that stands beyond it. Although the notion has been expounded in a variety of ways by Buddhist thinkers, it serves for them all as an intellectual and spiritual faculty that imparts a correct grasp of Buddhist teachings, guides and perfects the spiritual life, imbues it with a sense of direction, and brings it to maturation.

Early Buddhist scriptures record that Śākyamuni Buddha frequently explained to his followers how, during his striving toward enlightenment, he mastered the four consecutive stages of mental concentration (*dhyāna*) and gained knowledge of his previous lives, knowledge of the past and future lives of other people, and knowledge of the destruction of the depravities (*āsrava*). Awakening to this threefold knowledge was considered by early Buddhist thinkers as the factor fundamental to the transformation of the practitioner into an arhat. One becomes an arhat by mastering these three kinds of knowledge, but it is the knowledge of the destruction and elimination of the depravities that possesses the decisive and essential power to bring final deliverance.

The standard code of religious training for the early disciples (*śrāvakas*) comprised a trilogy of morality (*śīla*), meditation (*samādhi*), and wisdom (*prajñā*). Through the practice of morality, it was held, one becomes purified, perceptive, and mindful, and thus prepares and develops the ground for meditation. Being mindful, one is able to control the senses, thus conducing to the practice of meditation, through which the mind becomes purged of the five "hindrances" (*nīvaraṇa*). In the course of well-developed meditational techniques one becomes able to pursue the four consecutive stages of mental concentration (*dhyāna*). Skill in practicing these concentrations leads to gaining and perfecting the threefold knowledge. That is, one first applies one's thought to the knowledge of one's own former lives; second, one directs the mind to the knowledge of the demise and rebirth of other people; and third, one gains the knowledge of the destruction of the depravities. The third knowledge is the most important, for it contains the penetrating and comprehensive insight into phenomenal existence and thus brings final deliverance. Once this knowledge is acquired, an intrinsic understanding of the sorrow and impermanence of *saṃsāra,* its cause, the means of pacifying it, and the path that leads to its elimination is intuitively gained. Being endowed with such knowledge, one's mind becomes free from the four depravities—sensual desire, attachment to life, wrong views and opinions, and ignorance. One understands perfectly that birth is destroyed, that religious aspirations are accomplished, and that there remains nothing more to be strived for or achieved. One has thus reached the state of *prajñā,* which endows arhat status on the practitioner.

The threefold knowledge comprised within *prajñā* is often grouped together with three other kinds of knowledge, that of magical feats, intuitive hearing, and clairvoyance. Within this set of six knowledges, jointly known as the six "superknowings" (*ṣaḍabhijñā*), the first five are regarded as spiritual and psychic endowments and the sixth, the knowledge of the destruction of the depravities, as an inherent function of the mind in its purified state. *Prajñā* stands both at the beginning of the path of spiritual purification and at its final stage. The practice of morality and meditation alone, although indispensable, cannot bring about the realization of the final goal. It is *prajñā* that imparts unity, perfects virtues, and provides the guidance toward the goal, thus bringing its realization. Its presence at the initial stages of religious striving is not fully apparent or understood, but in spite of its being obscured by impurities and imperfections, *prajñā* is active as the controlling factor throughout the religious career of the practitioner. It grows and unfolds with the gradual purification and perfection of human personality. In Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* there is an excellent exposition of the gradual stages in which *prajñā* unfolds itself: The roots of *prajñā* are purity of morality and purity of the mind. Purity of morality is achieved through the observance of monastic rules, through correct living, and through control of the senses; purity of the mind is attained through meditational practices. The foundation of *prajñā* lies in correct comprehension of, and acquaintance with, the aggregates (*skandhas*), the elements of existence (*dharmas*), the twenty-two faculties (*indriyas*), the causal nexus of dependent origination (*pratītya-samutpāda*), and the four noble truths (*āryasatya*). The inherent quality of *prajñā* consists of a perfect and thorough comprehension of the various categories and aspects of phenomenal existence and the comprehension of the correct path of liberation.

In Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* the attainment of the immaculate and perfect *prajñā* is said to be a process of gradual purification of impure *prajñās* that are inborn and natural to the human personality. The accumulation of *prajñā* can be achieved in three ways: through listening to Buddhist teachings, through mental reflection, and through contemplation. The elements (*dharmas*) of existence are here divided into two groups, conditioned (*saṃskṛta*) and unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*); the unconditioned elements are further divided into space (*ākāśa*), emancipation through discerning knowledge (*pratisaṃkhyānirodha*), and emancipation through nondiscerning knowledge (*apratisaṃkhyānirodha*). These three elements are considered to be unchanging, pure, and timeless. Discerning knowledge (*pratisaṃkhyā*) refers to a pure *prajñā* of transcendental order that brings the destruction of all desire and imperfection and that is thus viewed as synonymous with *nirvāṇa.* Within the division of the elements into the twenty-two faculties (*indriyas*), *prajñā* is listed among the five moral faculties, along with faith, vigor, mindfulness, and meditation. These five faculties, together with the last three faculties of the group as a whole—namely, the knowledge of the unknown (*ajñātam ajñāsyāmi*), the faculty of perfect knowledge (*ajñā*), and the faculty of the "one who knows" (*ajñātāvī*)—are considered the predominant factors in the purification from worldly entanglements. These three faculties are unified by the common factor of *ajñā,* or perfect knowledge, which leads to the realization of the truths that are unrealized, uncomprehended, unknown, and unattainable.

One section of the *Abhidharmakośa* deals with an exposition of the ten kinds of correct knowledge (*jñāna*). Within this group of ten, four relate to the four noble truths (the knowledge of suffering, the knowledge of its origin, the knowledge of its cessation, and the knowledge of the Eightfold Path), further analyzed into sixteen characteristics as enumerated here: The truth of suffering is the knowledge of impermanence, pain, sorrow, and nonexistence of self (*anātmya*). The second truth is the knowledge that understands the cause, origin, successive evolvements, and terminal effects of the causal nexus that is the empirical person. The third truth is the knowledge of the abolition of the impure *skandha*s, of calming the three poisons (ignorance, hatred, and desire), of the absence of pain, and of the presence of freedom. The fourth truth is the knowledge characterized by the correct path, the requisite resources, the potential attainment of *nirvāṇa,* and the departure into it. The notion of *prajñā* comprehends all these sixteen characteristics of the four knowledges.

Many Mahāyāna Buddhist texts, in particular the Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras and the important commentaries on them, deal in great detail with the exposition of *prajñā. Prajñāpāramitā,* or "perfection of wisdom," is seen as the essence of all wisdom and knowledge. It is explained from various angles and approaches, often through the use of figurative descriptions, dialogues, and similes. Perfection of wisdom, expounded and praised as the highest value and goal of human aspirations, is proclaimed as the mother of all the Buddhas and becomes personified as the goddess Prajñāpāramitā. Within the newly construed concepts of cosmic Buddhahood, the theory of the three Buddha bodies (*trikāya*), and the philosophical exposition of "emptiness" (*śūnyatā*) as an identity or nonduality of conditioned existence (*saṃsāra*) and unconditioned reality (*nirvāṇa*), *prajñā* receives a much broader and deeper interpretation than it did in the early stages of Buddhist thought. There, its role and function, although fully recognized, were somewhat overshadowed, insofar as *prajñā* was viewed almost exclusively as a tool for gaining individual deliverance, as exemplified in the idea of arhatship.

In the Mahāyāna one strives for supreme wisdom and perfect enlightenment in order to share these gifts with all living beings by guiding them on the path toward this state. Acquisition of, and abode within, perfect wisdom becomes the primary goal. The focus of the Prajñāpāramitā teachings is on the penetration into the true sense of things by metaphysical discernment and by appropriate moral conduct, as advocated by the *bodhisattva* ideal. A *bodhisattva,* out of compassion (*karuṇā*) for all living beings, pursues the path of the *pāramitā*s ("perfections") in order to gain the supreme enlightenment, which he wishes to impart to others. The philosophical tenets of the Prajñāpāramitā teachings are a further development of the earlier teachings. First, one must acquire the wisdom of understanding the nonexistence, or emptiness, of self and of the elements of existence. By making the distinction between the conditioned and unconditioned elements—and through the comprehension of the conditioned elements as empty, impermanent, and as repositories of unhappiness—one acquires the wisdom of knowing that they are not worth pursuing, adhering to, or striving for. The next step leads to considering the unconditioned elements characteristic of *nirvāṇa* as also being empty insofar as they are devoid of any identification with the conditioned elements of existence and with anything that concerns one's life. Having reached this stage of wisdom, the perception of the emptiness of both the conditioned and unconditioned elements, one advances to the next stage of perfect wisdom, through which one is able to identify the conditioned (*saṃsāra*) and the unconditioned (*nirvāṇa*) with the aim of transcending both their common identity, characterized by emptiness, and their inherent differences. Once one considers them as being without any real distinction one reaches a state of transcendent nonduality in which all opposites—negation and affirmation, *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*—are identified and comprised within the notion of emptiness.

This speculative process, realized through meditation and moral purification, brings about the realization of supreme and perfect wisdom. The path toward that realization is demonstrated by the *bodhisattva*'s career. A *bodhisattva*'s striving for supreme enlightenment follows the unique course of practicing six or ten "perfections." He also practices the thirty-seven principles conducive to enlightenment (*bodhipakṣā dharma*) practiced by an arhat, but it is the practice of the perfections that dominates all his activities and occupies the central position in his spiritual journey. By means of perfect wisdom he gains the correct understanding of the true nature of reality and of the very means (*upāya*) that he can employ for the benefit of others; concurrently, he surpasses and transcends the categories of *saṃsāra* through his wisdom. Thus, through his compassion he remains in *saṃsāra* and pursues the cause of living beings; through his perfect wisdom he abides in the sphere of *nirvāṇa.*

There is an inherent relationship between perfect wisdom and all the other perfections. The other perfections bring spiritual purification and progress and provide the ground for perfect wisdom to grow and to reach its fullness. Without them, perfect wisdom can neither be fully developed nor attained. On the other hand, perfect wisdom accompanies, guides, and elevates the other perfections to the status of being truly perfections. On their own the other perfections can bring positive results within the world of *saṃsāra,* but they cannot lead beyond it. Thus, their elevation from the sphere of *saṃsāra,* within which they are practiced, is facilitated by perfect wisdom. The harmonious growth and development of all the perfections leads to spiritual maturation and to the acquisition of perfect wisdom, which coincides with enlightenment.

Using his dialectical method, Nāgārjuna (c. 150–250), the chief exponent of the Mādhyamika philosophy, demonstrated that through conceptual constructions (*vikalpa*) reality is perceived as phenomenal existence. By stripping away all thought constructions one arrives at the perception of absolute reality, which Nāgārjuna defined in a negative way as "emptiness" (*śūnyatā*). According to him, conceptual constructions are motivated by ignorance (*avidyā*), and the process of unveiling the true reality is activated by *prajñā* and compassion. He applied the term *emptiness* to both phenomenal existence and absolute reality. Phenomenal existence is emptiness as it does not possess a true nature of its own (*niḥsvabhāva*); absolute reality is also emptiness in that it is devoid of all conceptual distinctions, because the comprehension and realization of absolute reality escapes and transcends all intellectual categories. Its realization can only be achieved through the intellectual and spiritual intuition represented by *prajñā. Prajñā* as free of all concepts and speculations coincides with the absolute reality as defined by emptiness. As an intuition of the absolute reality, where all knowledge and the absolute coincide, *prajñā* penetrates into the absolute and views it without making distinctions or differentiations that conceptual thinking entails. It simply views the absolute just as it is. *Prajñā* is not the same as an intuition resulting from empirical perception or from discursive thinking; it is an intuitive insight into total reality and thus is described as infinite, inexpressible, universal, and unfathomable.

In the Vijñānavāda school, *prajñā* coincides with supreme truth (*paramārtha*); as unobstructed and lucid knowledge it comprises everything that can be known (*sarvajñeyānāvaraṇajñāna*). It implies the correct comprehension of Buddhist teachings, the correct vision of the path, and the knowledge of all intellectual categories and appropriate conduct. It is neither thought nor lack of thought; it does not think but springs naturally from thought. Its object is the inexpressible and indescribable nature of things. It is free of any characteristics, as it is inherent and manifest in its object of cognition. As an unconstrued knowledge (*nirvikalpajñāna*), it stands beyond all mental categories and constructions. It does not make up the description of reality or the destruction of consciousness. It is nonconceptual and free of reflection. It is intuitive, born spontaneously, and surpasses all kinds of ordinary and mundane knowledge. *Prajñā* as the perfect wisdom in all its aspects is the knowledge of the absolute reality *(tathatā).*

The Tantras, following the philosophical assumptions of the Mādhyamika school, assert the basic unity of *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra.* The purpose of different kinds of Tantric practices is to eliminate the apparent duality of these two entities, which are wrongly conceived as dual because of defilements and lack of knowledge. The sphere of knowledge and understanding of nonduality between these two is perceived in *nirvāṇa,* the chief force and attribute of which is constituted by wisdom (*prajñā*). In Tantric meditation and ritual performances wisdom is explicitly identified with *nirvāṇa* and means (*upāya*) with *saṃsāra.* The highest truth as mystical experience is described in the Tantras as the union or mingling of wisdom and means. In ritual and meditational practices, wisdom is symbolized by a bell, a lotus, or a sun, as well as by the vowels. In yogic practices involving a female partner, wisdom is identified with a *yogini.* In the union of wisdom and means, it is wisdom that plays a dominant role, for although it is unattainable without means, it embraces the highest truth of emptiness. In Tantric texts wisdom is frequently named Nairātmyā ("absence of selfhood"), and it is with her that a Tantric practitioner, as means, attempts to become united. Wisdom is mostly characterized as having a female aspect, but it also appears under a masculine aspect, symbolized by a *vajra,* an epitome of the perfect and indestructible truth. Buddha Vairocana and any other Buddha of the Tantras comprehend within them the whole truth and wisdom just as much as does the goddess Prajñāpāramitā or Nairātmyā. In such cases, the Tantric goddess is made to transmute into the male deity. In yogic practices with a female partner, it is the yogin who is absorbed into wisdom.

Comparing *prajñā* with *jñāna*, one can make the following observations. *Prajñā* is a religious term that at once encompasses both knowledge and deliverance. Within the context of worldly existence permeated by ignorance, *prajñā* comprehends false notions and leads away from everything that binds one to this world. *Prajñā* is a spiritual realization gained through correct knowledge and moral purification. Buddhist thinkers of all times refrained from categorizing *prajñā* in the same way as they did *jñāna. Prajñā* was always seen as being beyond the categories of knowledge and as being born naturally within a fully perfected practitioner; *jñāna,* on the other hand, was categorized and graded from that of ordinary empirical knowledge to the level of the highest and transcendent knowledge. From the scholarly approach it is possible to make clear distinctions between the highest levels of knowledge, often described as being intuitive, and *prajñā;* doing so is difficult, though, because these notions very often overlap and coincide. The correct assessment of their relationship should be sought, perhaps, in seeing the acquisition of knowledge as an important and necessary factor that, along with meditation, induces the presence of *prajñā.*

In the early phases of the Mahāyāna, compassion and wisdom are given equal status. However, at some stage in the Buddhist writings wisdom assumed a dominant role. Mañjuśrī, as a manifestation of wisdom, became frequently invoked and praised. The glorification of wisdom reached its climax in the Prajñāpāramitā and Mādhyamika literature, in which *prajñā* is constantly praised and extolled while *karuṇā* is seldom mentioned. During the later phase of the Mahāyāna a reverse process occurred. Compassion became more emphasized, and Avalokiteśvara, as its manifestation, assumed a predominant position, overshadowing other *bodhisattvas* and even the Buddhas. Despite extreme tendencies in literary works, in iconography, and in practice, the tradition has always recognized that proper balance between compassion and wisdom must be retained, for it is the practice of both that brings enlightenment. Compassion as the basis for enlightenment is not a simple feeling of pity but an application of appropriate practical means (*upāya*) that lead toward the realization of the final goal. The employment of different means (such as the practice of the Perfections—giving, morality, etc.) and *prajñā* always go together. *Prajñā* cannot be fully realized without *upāya;* in turn, *upāya* cannot ascend beyond the worldly existence without *prajñā.*

SEE ALSO Arhat; Bodhisattva Path; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Early Doctrinal Schools of Buddhism; Buddhist Philosophy; Dharma, article on Buddhist Dharma and Dharmas; Four Noble Truths; Indian Philosophies; Jñāna; Karuṇā; Nirvāṇa; Pāramitās; Śūnyam and Śūnyatā; Tathatā; Upāya; Wisdom.

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PRAKṚTI

PRAKṚTI is a Sanskrit word meaning "nature, origin, progress." As a philosophical concept it refers to one of the two basic principles of the Sāṃkhya school, material stuff, or materiality. Materiality, according to the Sāṃkhya school, is manifest and unmanifest. There are other specific terms for the designation of unmanifest materiality, such as *mūlaprakṛti* ("original materiality") or *pradhāna* ("main principle"). *Prakṛti* is a term designating materiality in both its manifest and its unmanifest forms. The use of this term dates back to the middle group of Upaniṣads, composed in the last centuries BCE.

The concept of materiality can be traced to the Vedic creation myths. Although these myths vary, they all take as their starting point the existence of an original being, such as the "first man" (see, e.g., *Ṛgveda* 10.90). The subsequent development of the concept of *prakṛti* can be divided into two periods, a creative-formative period and a classical period.

The creative-formative period is well reflected in the Upaniṣads (from c. 600 BCE to the first centuries CE) and the *Mahābhārata* (compiled in the period between the last centuries BCE and the first centuries CE). "The first being was alone, and it desired to be many." Such descriptions are numerous in the Upaniṣads. The being that wishes to multiply itself is known by several names: *puruṣa*, Prajāpati, *ātman*, and a term of particular note *mahān ātman*. This "large self" is unborn and yet it exists, as described in, for example, the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 4.4.22. The *mahān ātman* next embodies itself in creation. This creation is an expansion of the self, and in its embodiment as creation the self is complete.

The self is aware of itself, as expressed in the phrases "I am!" or "I myself am this creation." This awareness initiates such processes as cognizing, perceiving, and so forth. The self cognizes as if it had different sense faculties. For example, it hears, although it does not have ears. The various processes that the awareness initiates gave ground to the distinction of the different principles (*tattva*s) as a result of an analysis that required a single function for a single principle.

The *Mokṣadharma*, the twelfth book of the *Mahābhārata*, calls the first-born the "large one." The "large one" is born on account of its knowledge. But the "large one" is not the only one to whom this function is ascribed. Similarly, here the *buddhi* (usually translated as "intellect") is considered the creator of the universe. The "large one" and the *buddhi* are two concepts that overlap from this time.

Such overlapping is prominent in the theory of the evolution of the universe as described in the *Mokṣadharma.* Here two cosmogonic patterns are presented. In one pattern, as typified by *Mokṣadharma* 187, the intellect (*buddhi*) exists in three *bhāvas*, later usually known as *guṇas* (constituents of materiality). In this pattern of evolution the sequence runs: intellect, then mind, then senses, and so on. The other pattern adds ego and places it between the intellect and the mind, whereby the sequence of evolution becomes intellect, then ego, then mind, and so forth. There is also a difference in how the three *bhāvas* relate to the intellect. In the first pattern, the three *bhāvas* are not inherent in the intellect; in the second pattern, the three *bhāvas* are "psychological" qualities of the individual beings.

The second period in the development of the concept of *prakṛti* is the classical period. The *Sāṃkhyakārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa (c. 500 CE) is a product of the classical period. Both patterns of evolution are recorded in the *Sāṃkhyakārikā* (vv. 24–25). The first pattern involves a diversification of ego into three distinct qualifications which are also ascribed to the *guṇas*. In the early descriptions of the evolution theory, they are the three *bhāvas*.

A version of the second pattern, on the other hand, became the established pattern for the theory of evolution in the Sāṃkhya school (cf. *Sāṃkhyakārikā* 3 and 22). In this pattern, all principles (intellect, ego, etc.) emerge from the original unmanifest materiality. Evolution starts when intellect emerges from the original unmanifest materiality; this intellect produces ego. From ego several principles emerge: mind, the ten faculties (the five sense faculties and the five action faculties), and the subtle elements. From these subtle elements, the material elements emerge. Hence there are twenty-four principles of materiality. According to the Sāṃkhya school, materiality together with consciousness form the twenty-five principles that comprise the universe.

In both patterns of production, the transformation of the original materiality into twenty-three developed principles is explained by a relation of cause and effect. Since the various principles, which are simply different forms of the original unmanifest materiality, emerge from materiality, the original unmanifest materiality is understood as the cause of the produced principles that become its effects. Since the original materiality is unmanifest, it can be known only through its effects. This theory of causality relies on an effect that is already preexistent in the cause (*satkāryavāda*), just as yogurt is latent in milk.

Materiality is distinctly described in two ways, the original unmanifest and the manifest. The Sāṃkhya school postulates a pulsating universe, which means that creation and reabsorption follow one another; at the time of reabsorption, materiality is in a dormant and unmanifest state. During this time, the three *guṇas* are in a state of equilibrium. Upon the disturbance of the equilibrium, materiality starts to emerge in varying combinations of the three constituents.

The manifest materiality is characterized as being the opposite of consciousness in the *Sāṃkhyakārikā* 11. For example, materiality is caused, finite, spatial, active, composite, dependent, undifferentiated, productive, has a substratum, and is formed of three constituents. Although multiple in its transformations, it is only one. Since materiality is nonconscious, it is dependent on consciousness to make the experience of materiality conscious.

Prakṛti, in short, is one of the dual principles of the Sāṃkhya school that finds its origin in Vedic creation myths. Originally the creation began with the first being, which eventually gave up its procreative function, bequeathing it to *prakṛti.* Thus *prakṛti* is always connected with the theory of the evolution of the universe.

SEE ALSO Guṇas; Puruṣa; Sāṃkhya.

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PRALAYA, or doomsday in the Hindu eschatological scheme, comes at the end of the fourth and worst of the four ages, or *yugas*, at the end of each *kalpa,* or day of Brahmā. The Purāṇas, which describe this process in great detail, differ as to the precise length of time that this process requires, but the scale is always astronomical, involving hundreds of thousands of years. At the end of the *kalpa,* the heat of the sun becomes so intense that it dries up the whole earth and sets the three worlds (heaven, earth, and the underworld) on fire; when they have been entirely consumed, enormous clouds appear and rain falls for hundreds of years, deluging the whole world until the waters inundate heaven and all is reduced to the primeval ocean of chaos. In anthropomorphic terms, this is the moment when Brahmā, whose waking moments or whose dream has been the source of the "emission" of the universe from his mind, falls into a deep, dreamless sleep inside the cosmic waters. And at the end of that sleep, at the end of the period of quiescence, the universe, or the consciousness of the god, is reborn once more out of the waters of chaos.

This circular pattern contains within it an infinite number of linear segments. For India, like Greece, developed a theory of four ages of declining goodness. Whereas the Greeks named these ages after metals, the Indians called them after throws of the dice, the first and best being the *kṛtayuga,* which is followed by the *tretā,* the *dvāpara,* and finally the present age, or the *kaliyuga.* The importance of the metaphor of dice is also manifest in the fact that the royal ceremony of consecration included a ritual dice game; in the second book of the *Mahābhārata,* King Yudhiṣṭhira loses his entire kingdom in a game of dice against an opponent whom he knows to be a cheat, thus inaugurating a period of exile that is also a part of the ritual of consecration. Moreover, as Madeleine Biardeau has convincingly argued, the catastrophic battle that ends the *Mahābhārata,* an Armageddon in which all the heroes as well as all the villains are killed, is a reenactment on the human level of the cosmic doomsday that is constantly alluded to in the epic. This human doomsday, like the big dice game in the sky, begins with Yudhiṣṭhira's unlucky loss and ends, inevitably, with the losing throw for humankind.

Yet the "end" that comes after the *kaliyuga* is not the end at all, but a new beginning; a new *kṛtayuga* will follow after the fallow interval. Moreover, there is a "seed" of humanity that survives doomsday to form the stock of the new race of humans. Sometimes this seminal group is said to be the Seven Sages, whom Viṣṇu in the form of a fish saves from the cosmic flood; sometimes it is Manu, the ancestor of all humankind, and his family; sometimes it is an unspecified group of "good men" who resist the corruption that overtakes everyone else at the end of the *kaliyuga,* a group that retires to the forest to live in innocence while the cities of the plain drown in their own depravity. This "seed" functions on the macrocosmic level as a metaphor for the transmigrating soul on the microcosmic level, the *ātman* that leaps across the barrier between individual human death and rebirth, just as the good "seed" leaps across the barrier between one *pralaya* and the next cosmic emission, or *prasarga.* In the Vedantic mythology of the late Purāṇas, and in Indian literature in general, recurrent images of doomsday serve to emphasize the insubstantiality of the world; the things that people think of as permanent are constantly destroyed and recreated.

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PRĀṆA. The Sanskrit term *prāṇa* (from the conjunction of *pra* and *ana*, "breathing forth") can signify (1) the Absolute (*brahman*) as the transcendental source of all life, (2) life in general, (3) the life force or "breath" of life in particular, (4) respiration, (5) air (in secular contexts only), and (6) the life organs (i.e., the five cognitive senses, the five conative senses, and the sense-related mind, or *manas*).

The third connotation is of special interest to the historian of religion, because it conveys a vibrant psychophysical reality (visible to the yogin) similar to the Greek *pneuma* and the Melanesian *mana.* In this sense, *prāṇa* is a creative force, defined in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* (3.13.31 et passim) as the "vibratory energy" (*spandaśakti*) that is responsible for all manifestation. Most metaphysical schools of India—one of the exceptions being Hīnayāna Buddhism—subscribe to this notion, although the details of interpretations differ.

In archaic Vedic thought, *prāṇa* is considered to be the "breath" of the macranthropos, the cosmic Puruṣa (e.g., *Ṛgveda* 10.90.13; *Atharvaveda* 11.4.15), and the breath or life force of the human body is regarded as a form of that all-pervading *prāṇa.* Later writers make a terminological distinction between the life force that interpenetrates the entire universe as a sort of subtle energy—called *mukhyaprāṇa* or "principal breath"—and the life force that sustains and animates the individual body-minds. *Prāṇa* in this latter sense has from earliest times been classified into five individualized breaths. These speculations, dating back to the *Atharvaveda* (see esp. chap. 15), betray a culture of intense introspection and acute sensitivity to bodily processes.

The five individualized breaths, sometimes known collectively as *vāyu* ("wind"), are the following:

(1) *prāṇa,* the ascending breath issuing from the navel or the heart and including both inhalation and exhalation;

(2) *apāna,* the breath associated with the lower half of the trunk;

(3) *vyāna,* the diffuse breath circulating in all the limbs;

(4) *udāna,* the "up-breath" held responsible for belching, speech, and the spontaneous focusing of attention in the esoteric "centers" (*cakras*) of the brain, as realized in or associated with higher states of consciousness;

(5) *samāna,* the breath localized in the abdominal region, where it is chiefly associated with the digestive process.

The soteriological literature of the post-Śaṅkara period often adds to this classical pentad a further set of five secondary breaths (*upaprāṇa*), about whose locations and functions, however, there is no unanimity. These are the following:

1. *nāga* (“serpent”), generally held responsible for belching and vomiting;
2. *kūrma* (“tortoise”), associated with the opening and closing of the eyelids;
3. *kṛkara* (“*kr*-maker”), thought to cause hunger, hiccups, or blinking;
4. *devadatta* (“God-given”), associated with the processes of sleep, especially yawning;
5. *dhanaṃjaya* (“conquest of wealth”), responsible for the decomposition of the corpse; also sometimes said to be connected with the production of phlegm.

These ten types of breaths are generally conceived of as circulating in a complex lattice of bioenergetic pathways called *nāḍī*s (“ducts”). They are widely thought to constitute an experiential field or bodily “sheath,” the *prāṇāmaya-kośa* (*Taittirīya Upaniṣad* 2). In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (2.13.6), the five principal breaths are styled “the gatekeepers to the heavenly world,” which hints at an esoteric understanding of the close relationship between breathing and consciousness. This connection was later explored in the various soteriological schools, notably in *haṭhayoga.*

Sometimes *prāṇa* and *apāna* simply represent inhalation and exhalation, but in yogic contexts both terms are used in the technical sense noted above. Particularly in *haṭhayoga,* both breaths play an important role in the technique of breath control (*prāṇāyāma*) as a means of curbing, through sensory inhibition, the rise and fall of attention.

SEE ALSO Breath and Breathing; Cakras; Haṭhayoga; Yoga.

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PRATĪTYA-SAMUTPĀDA.

The term *pratītya-samutpāda* (Pali, *paṭicca-samuppāda*), “dependent origination” or “dependent arising,” was first used by the Buddha to characterize the understanding of the nature of human existence that he had attained at his enlightenment. Essentially a doctrine of causality, this notion is so central to Buddhist thought that a proper understanding of *pratītya-samutpāda* is often declared tantamount to enlightenment itself. In it, an entire complex of notions about moral responsibility, human freedom, the process of rebirth, and the path to liberation coalesce.

Pratītya-samutpāda was promulgated against a background of four contemporary theories of causality. These were (1) self-causation (*svayaṃ kṛta*), advocated by the traditional Brahmanic philosophers; (2) external causation (*parakṛta*), upheld by the materialist thinkers; (3) a combination of self-causation and external causation, advocated by the Jains; and (4) a denial of both self and external causation, probably championed by certain skeptical thinkers who refused to recognize any form of causation. While all four of these theories were explicitly rejected by the Buddha, the brunt of his analysis was directed against the former two.

According to the Buddha, a theory of self-causation leads to the belief in permanence (*śāśvata*), that is, the recognition of a permanent and eternal “self” (*ātman*), which the Buddha found to be an unverifiable entity. External causation, on the other hand, implies the existence of an inexorable physical law of nature (*svabhāva*) that would render the human being a mere automaton with no power to determine the nature of his own existence. Ultimately, such a position divests beings of all bases for personal continuity and hence, moral responsibility. This he referred to as the theory of annihilation (*uccheda*). *Pratītya-samutpāda,* on the other hand, is presented as the “middle (*madhyama*) position” between these two extremes. This middle position is explained in great detail in the *Discourse to Kātyāyana,* which serves as the *locus classicus* of all subsequent interpretations of the Buddha’s “middle path.” Following is the text of the discourse in the Pali version:

> Thus have I heard. The Blessed One was once living in Savatthi. . . . At that time the venerable Kaccāyana of that clan came to visit him, and saluting him, sat down at one side. So seated, he questioned the Exalted One: “Sir, [people] speak of ‘right view, right view.’ To what extent is there right view?” This world, Kaccāyana, is generally inclined toward two [views]: existence and nonexistence. For him who perceives, with right knowledge, the uprising of the world as it has come to be, whatever view there is in the world about nonexistence will not be acceptable. Kaccāyana, for him who perceives, with right knowledge, the ceasing of the world as it has come to be, whatever view there is in the world about existence will not be acceptable. “The world, for the most part, Kaccāyana, is bound by approach, grasping and inclination. Yet, a person who does not follow that approach and grasping, that determination of mind, the inclination and disposition, who does not cling to or adhere to a view: ‘This is my self,’ who thinks [instead]: ‘suffering that is subject to arising arises; suffering that is subject to ceasing ceases,’ such a person does not doubt, is not perplexed. Herein, his knowledge is not other-dependent. Thus far, Kaccāyana, there is ‘right view.’

> ‘Everything exists’—this, Kaccāyana, is one extreme.
>
> ‘Everything does not exist’—this, Kaccāyana, is the second extreme. Kaccāyana, without approaching either extreme, the Tathāgata teaches you a doctrine in the middle.
>
> Dependent upon ignorance [*avidyā*] arise dispositions [*saṃskāra*]; dependent upon dispositions arises consciousness [*vijñāna*]; dependent upon consciousness arises the psychophysical personality [*nāma-rūpa*]; dependent upon the psychophysical personality arise the six senses [*ṣaḍāyatana*]; dependent upon the six senses arises contact [*sparśa*]; dependent upon contact arises feeling [*vedanā*]; dependent upon feeling arises craving *[tṛṣṇā];* dependent upon craving arises grasping [*upādāna*]; dependent upon grasping arises becoming [*bhava*]; dependent upon becoming arises birth [*jāti*]; dependent upon birth arises old age and death, grief, lamentation, suffering, dejection and despair. Thus arises this entire mass of suffering. However, from the utter fading away and ceasing of ignorance, there is cessation of dispositions . . . from the ceasing of birth, there is ceasing of old age and death, grief, lamentation, suffering, dejection and despair.” (*Saṃyutta Nikāya* 2.16–17)

Existence (*atthitā;* Skt., *astitva*) and nonexistence (*nʾatthitā;* Skt., *nāstitva*) referred to here are not simple notions of empirical existence or nonexistence. In the Indian context, existence implies permanence; hence the Buddha’s appeal to the empirical fact of cessation of phenomena to reject the notion of existence. Nonexistence refers to complete annihilation without any form of continuity, hence the Buddha’s appeal to the empirical fact of arising of phenomena. Thus, the fundamental philosophical problem involved here is how to account for continuity in human experience without either having to posit permanence of some sort or accept absolute discontinuity.

Linguistic conventions of his day did not provide the Buddha with a term to express his ideas, hence it was necessary to coin an entirely different compound term: *pratītya-samutpāda. Samutpāda* literally means “arising in combination,” or “co-arising.” But when compounded with the term *pratītya* (a gerund from the root *i,* “to move,” with prefix *prati* meaning “toward”), implying “moving” or “leaning toward,” the term means “dependence.” *Pratītya-samutpāda* may, therefore, be translated as “dependent arising.” Formulating his experience in this way, the Buddha was able to avoid several metaphysical issues that have plagued most discussions of the principle of causation in the East as well as in the West.

Attempts to understand how a cause produces an effect have led philosophers to adopt a reductionist perspective and look for an “essence,” or “substance” in the cause that gives rise to the effect. Such a perspective is also motivated by a desire to predict with absolute certainty the manner of the emergence of the effect from the cause. By speaking of the *dependence* of the effect on the cause, which is what the term *pratītya-samutpāda* is intended to express, both the reductionist or essentialist perspective and the impossible task of predicting an event with absolute certainty are avoided.

Thus, the Buddha spoke not of self-sufficient things or substances but of “dependently arisen phenomena” (*pratītyasamutpanna-dharma*). These refer to phenomena that have already occurred. There is no implication here that individual and discrete phenomena (*dharma*) are experienced and that their “dependence” upon one another is imagined (as was understood by the Humeans) or is the result of transcendental categories of understanding (as the Kantians believed). On the contrary, both phenomena and the manner of their dependence are part of human experience. However, this “dependence” is then stretched out, by means of an inductive inference, to explain the events of the dim past as well as of the future. This is the manner in which the Buddha arrived at the uniformity of the principle of dependence. When he claimed that this “dependent arising” has remained as such despite either the arising of the Tathāgatas or the nonarising of the Tathāgatas he was hinting at the universality of that experience. The uniform and universal principle of dependence is expressed in a most abstract way in the oft-recurring statement: “When that exists, this comes to be; on the arising of that, this arises. When that does not exist, this does not come to be; on the cessation of that, this ceases” (*Majjhima Nikāya* 1.262–264).

In the *Discourse to Kātyāyana* this principle of dependence is utilized to explain the processes of human bondage as well as of freedom. The positive statement of the twelvefold formula, beginning with the statement “Depending upon ignorance arise dispositions,” explains the human personality in bondage, avoiding both eternalistic and nihilistic views. The human person is here referred to as *nāma-rūpa* (the psychophysical personality). The nature of that person is conditioned mostly by his or her consciousness (*vijñāna*), which, in its turn, is determined by the person’s understanding (and in the case of the person in bondage, by his or her lack of understanding—*avidyā*) and the dispositions (*saṃskāra*) formed on the basis of that understanding. Conditioned by such understanding and dispositions, a person comes to experience (*sparśa, vedanā*) the world through the six sense faculties (*ṣaḍāyatana*) and to respond by being attracted to it (*tṛṣṇā*). Thus, the person’s behavior (*karman*) comes to be dominated not only by the world he or she experiences but also by the way in which the person experiences it. If one is attracted by that world one tends to cling to it (*upādāna*). One’s whole personality, what he or she wants to be or achieve, will be determined by that craving and grasping. Such would be this person’s becoming (*bhava*), not only in this life, but also in a future life (*jāti*). Involved in such a process of becoming (*bhava*), the person will be pleased and satisfied when obtaining what is craved and unhappy and frustrated when he or she does not. Yet even these satisfactions, which are temporary at best, turn out to be dissatisfactions as the craving and grasping continue to increase. Such is the mass of suffering the person will experience through successive stages of life and in subsequent births.

A proper understanding of phenomena as impermanent (*anitya*) and nonsubstantial (*anātman*) would enable a person to pacify his or her dispositional tendencies (*saṃskāropasama*). Pacification of dispositions leads to a better understanding of one's own personality as well as the world of experience. Perceiving phenomena as being nonsubstantial, one will neither assume the existence of an inexorable law nor believe in complete lawlessness. When one responds to that world of experience with an understanding of conditionality one's responses will not be rigidly predetermined (*asamskṛta*). Abandoning passion or craving (*tṛṣṇā*), one's actions will be dominated by dispassion (*vairāgya*), and more positively, by compassion (*karuṇā*) for one's self as well as others. Thirsting for nothing, with few wants, the person will be freed from most of the "constraints" and lead a happy and contented life until death. With no grasping, there will be no more becoming (*bhava*) and hence the cessation of any possible future births (*jātikṣaya*). The recognition of the possibility of replacing ignorance (*avidyā*) with wisdom (*jñāna, vidyā*) and craving and grasping with dispassion and compassion leaves the individual with the capacity to attain freedom. Thus, the principle of dependent arising avoids both strict determinism and absolute indeterminism; it is neither an absolutely inviolable law nor a chaotic lawlessness.

The explanation of the human personality, both in bondage and in freedom, was of paramount importance for the Buddha. Hence the discussion of the principle of dependence is confined to these two aspects in the *Discourse to Kātyāyana.* Elsewhere, however, he applies this principle to explain most other aspects of human existence. For example, without positing a first cause or any primordial substance he applied the principle of dependence to explain the evolution and dissolution of the world process. This principle is also utilized in the explanation of the process by which one comes to have knowledge of the world through sensory as well as extrasensory means. Moral behavior, social life, and religious and spiritual phenomena are given causal explanations as well. For this reason, the Buddha did not hesitate to declare, "He who sees dependent arising sees the doctrine (*dharma*)" (*Majjhima Nikāya* 1.190–191).

The Abhidharma period was the most active and highly vibrant epoch of scholastic activity in Buddhist history. During this period the contents of the discourses were carefully analyzed and presented in nondiscursive form. In the process, the "dependently arisen phenomena" referred to by the Buddha came to be listed and classified, together with an analysis of the various types of causal relations (*pratyaya*) that obtain among them. However, a few centuries later, metaphysical speculations began to emerge in the Buddhist tradition. Two schools of Buddhism, the Sarvāstivāda and Sautrāntika, speculating on the concepts of time and space, produced theories of momentariness and atomism, thereby engendering insoluble problems such as the metaphysical notions of absolute identity and absolute difference. Contradicting the Buddha's notion of nonsubstantiality, the Sarvāstivādins accepted an underlying "substance" (*svabhāva*) in phenomena, while the Sautrāntikas surreptitiously introduced a metaphysical notion of a transmigrating personality (*pudgala*).

The Pali Abhidharma work *Kathāvatthu* criticized and rejected these views. In spite of this criticism, these views continued to survive. The early Mahāyāna *sūtra*s represent another attempt to get rid of the substantialist metaphysics of these two schools by emphasizing a negative approach to the problem of reality, one based upon the notion of "emptiness" (*śūnyatā*). For example, one of the early Mahāyāna *sūtras*—the *Kāśyapaparivarta*—continued to describe the "middle path" in negative terms, while at the same time retaining the positive version discussed in the *Discourse to Kātyāyana.*

Nāgārjuna's famous treatise, the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā,* considered by many as the most sophisticated philosophical justification of Mahāyāna, is a determined attempt to return to the original message of the Buddha by criticizing the substantialist views of the Sarvāstivādins and the Sautrāntikas. Restatement of the principle of "dependent arising" without having to posit a substantial connection (*svabhāva*) between a cause and an effect (as the Sarvāstivādins did), or to emphasize their difference (as the Sautrāntikas did), seems to be the foremost concern of Nāgārjuna. "Emptiness" here becomes a synonym for "nonsubstantiality" (*anātman*).

The Buddha's conception of karmic continuity and moral responsibility also had to be rescued from the substantialist interpretations of the Buddhist metaphysicians. Nāgārjuna seems to have been aware of a statement popular among the Buddhists relating to the doctrine of *karman* that read: "*Karma*s do not perish (*na praṇaśyanti*) even after a hundred myriads of aeons. Having attained the harmony of conditions *(sāmagrī)* and the proper time (*kāla*), they bear fruit for the human beings" (La Vallée Poussin, 1903, p. 324). Inspired probably by this verse, Nāgārjuna (*Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* 17.14) upheld the notion of a nonperishable (*avipraṇaśa*) *karman,* comparing it with the unacceptable interpretations offered by the substantialists. After denying a "self" (*ātman*), he proceeded to compile chapters on the "harmony of conditions" (*sāmagrī*) and on time (*kāla*), giving a nonsubstantialist interpretation of these.

Having devoted twenty-five chapters to recasting the full range of Buddhist ideas in terms of the doctrine of "emptiness," Nāgārjuna returns to the conclusion of the *Discourse to Kātyāyana* in chapter 26, where he analyzes the twelvefold factors describing the human personality in bondage as well as freedom. Thus, Nāgārjuna's treatise should more appropriately be considered a grand commentary on the *Discourse to Kātyāyana,* this being the only discourse referred to by name in the text.

Nāgārjuna's exposition of the twelvefold formula in chapter 26 (which incidentally consists of twelve verses) focuses on the positive statement of the Buddha regarding the human life process, that is, how a human being conditioned by ignorance suffers in bondage. The negative statement of the Buddha explaining freedom is briefly outlined in the last two verses of this chapter.

Nāgārjuna begins the chapter explaining how the destiny (*gati*) of a human being, as he continues with his life-process, is determined by ignorance and dispositions. Taking a cue from the *Mahānidāna Suttanta,* where the Buddha speaks about consciousness (*viññāṇa;* Skt., *vijñāna*) entering the mother's womb in order to influence the psychophysical personality formed therein, Nāgārjuna explains the psychophysical personality (*nāma-rūpa*) as being infused (*niṣicyate*) by consciousness that is dispositionally conditioned. The most interesting addition to the formula appears in the explanation of the three links: the psychophysical personality (*nāma-rūpa*), the six spheres of sense (*ṣaḍāyatana*) and contact (*sparśa*). At this point Nāgārjuna introduces the contents of a passage explaining the process of sense experience occurring in the *Mahāhatthipadopama Sutta* that, though implied, is not specifically stated in the twelvefold formula. This passage refers to the various conditions needed for sense experience, namely, the existence of the unimpaired sense organ, the object that has come into focus, and the availability of attention arising in such a context. The rest of the formula is then briefly presented without explanations. Verse 10 introduces the idea of the perception of truth (*tattva-darśana*) in place of the cessation of ignorance (*avidyā-nirodha*). Nāgārjuna did not have to specify what this conception of truth is, for he has already compiled twenty-five chapters in its explanation. It is the perception that all (experienced) phenomena are empty (*sarvam idam sunyam*) of substance (*svabhavato*).

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DAVID J. KALUPAHANA (1987)
Revised Bibliography

PRATT, JAMES B. (1875–1944) was an American philosopher and psychologist of religion. Born James Bissett Pratt in Elmira, New York, and raised in the Presbyterian tradition, Pratt graduated from Williams College in 1898. He returned to the school in 1905 to teach, a post he held until 1943. From 1899 to 1905 Pratt studied philosophy at Harvard, primarily with William James (1842–1910) and Josiah Royce (1855–1916). From 1902 to 1903 Pratt studied in Berlin, valuing especially his work with the philosopher of religion Otto Pfleiderer. Pratt also visited eastern Europe and the Middle East, establishing a habit of travel that informed his comparative religion work. In 1911 Pratt married the Italian-born Catherine Mariotti. That devoted relationship was fundamental in expanding Pratt's Protestant sensibility to a sympathetic approach to Catholicism. Pratt's significance lies in three areas: the psychology of religion, comparative religion, and the philosophy of religion.

Philosophically Pratt was a firm critic of James's pragmatism as in *What Is Pragmatism?* (1909). Nevertheless he was a follower of James's psychology of religion, as can be seen by his doctoral thesis, *The Psychology of Religious Belief* (1907). This is an important reminder that the psychology of religion was not dependent on pragmatism for its foundation. Pratt's most significant work, *The Religious Consciousness* (1920), is second only to James's *Varieties of Religious Experience* as the hallmark of that movement. Both attempt to take religious experiences seriously and sympathetically. There are also interesting differences in their approaches. Pratt draws on a much wider range of religious phenomena and represents generally what James would have called the position of the "healthy minded." He speaks from a rich and deep but not anguished religious faith. This leads him to put less emphasis on the drama of involuntary conversion experiences than James did and to critique the evangelical theology that privileges this type. The more frequent type of conversion for Pratt was the product of the deliberate acts taken by individuals who knew their goals, were not satisfied with "any sort of merely emotional state," and were rewarded with "a new sense of calm and satisfaction" (Pratt, 1920, p. 140).

As Pratt moved from privileging extreme forms of conversion, he also distinguished mild and extreme forms of mysticism, insisting that the more mild type had been overlooked and that the extreme forms of mysticism, many of which had pathological features, had received too much attention. Pratt's work also showed a much greater sensitivity to the role of cult and worship in religious life than James and a developing sense of the religious developments through the life cycle. *The Religious Consciousness* remains the most balanced synthetic statement of the issues and approaches of the American-born movement of psychology of religion. In its attempt to hold together the social and the psychological and to take religious consciousness as an irreducible phenomenon, it did not survive the onslaught of the European trends of Durkheimian sociology and Freudian psychology. Pratt was familiar with both of these currents but could not fully embrace either.

Pratt's wide acquaintance with comparative religion was evident in his psychology works but also in two landmark titles, *India and Its Faiths: A Traveler's Record* (1915) and *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism and a Buddhist Pilgrimage* (1928). Both works are sensitive mixtures of textual study, done in translation, and rich impressions from travel. They seek to give the reader a sense for how it feels to be a Hindu or a Buddhist. Although informed by the questions of the psychologist of religion, they focus more on the worldviews and histories of the traditions under examination and therefore stand independent of Pratt's psychology of religion work.

The remainder of Pratt's writing falls into two types. First, he articulated his realist philosophical stance, which affirmed the reality of both material world and mind in such works as *Matter and Spirit* (1922), *Personal Realism* (1937), and *Naturalism* (1939). Second, his work in the philosophy of religion, *Adventures in Philosophy and Religion* (1931), *Can We Keep the Faith?* (1941), *Eternal Values in Religion* (1950), and his unpublished *God and the War,* articulated a defense of liberal religion against any overemphasis on supernaturalism. In these writings Pratt called for a return to the centrality of symbol and ritual for the nourishment of the religious imagination and for the restored vitality of religion in the modern world.

SEE ALSO Comparative Religion; James, William; Philosophy, article on Philosophy of Religion; Psychology, article on Psychology of Religion.

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WILLIAM R. DARROW (2005)

PRAYER, understood as the human communication with divine and spiritual entities, has been present in most of the religions in human history. Viewed from most religious perspectives, prayer is a necessity of the human condition. When the human material world is accounted for in an act of creation resulting in a cleavage or separation from the divine or spiritual world, prayer is one means by which this gap of createdness is overcome, if but momentarily.

Abundant texts of such communications exist as well as extensive literatures about them. Still, the general study of prayer is undeveloped and naive. The question of the universality of prayer has yet to be seriously addressed to the relevant materials. A careful comparative and etymological study of just the terminology that designates acts of human-spiritual communication has yet to be done among even the widespread and best-known religious traditions. Studies of prayer in terms of modern communications theories and semiotics are limited and rare. The theories, as well as the intuitive understandings, of prayer have been heavily influenced by Western religious traditions.

A general schema will be used in the following consideration of the typologies, theories, and interpretive issues of prayer phenomena. First, prayer will be considered as *text,* that is, as a collection of words that cohere as a human communication directed toward a spiritual entity. Second, prayer will be considered as *act,* that is, as the human act of communicating with deities including not only or exclusively language but especially the elements of performance that constitute the act. Finally, prayer will be considered as *subject,* that is, as a dimension or aspect of religion, the articulation of whose nature constitutes a statement of belief, doctrine, instruction, philosophy, or theology.

PRAYER AS TEXT.

Prayer is thought of most commonly as the specific words of the human-spiritual communication, that is, as the text of this communication, such as the Lord's Prayer (Christian), the Qaddish (Jewish), and the prayers of *ṣalāt* (Muslim). Scores of prayers appear in books of prayer, books of worship, descriptions of rituals and liturgies, ethnographies of exclusively oral peoples, and biographies of religious persons.

A common basic typology of prayer has been formulated by discerning what distinguishes the character and intent expressed by the words of prayer texts. This kind of typology includes a number of classes, all easily distinguished by their descriptive designations. It includes petition, invocation, thanksgiving (praise or adoration), dedication, supplication, intercession, confession, penitence, and benediction. Such types may constitute whole prayers or they may be strung together to form a structurally more complex prayer.

This kind of typology serves to demonstrate the extent of prayer phenomena. It may be used as a device for the comparative study of religion. It suggests that prayer is widespread and has a commonality as well as diversity. The most extensive use of this kind of typology was made in studies, done mostly in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, of the development of religion over time. Petitionary prayers were thought to be most widespread and thus the oldest form of prayer. The presence of ethical, moral, and spiritual concerns in petitionary prayers was believed to have come later as a development beyond purely personal and material needs. While these developmental aspects are no longer considered valid nor are they of much interest in the study of religion, this content typology has continued to provide the basic descriptive language of prayer.

In his classic early anthropological study *Primitive Culture* (1873), E. B. Tylor attributed a psychological and spiritual character to prayer. He called prayer "the soul's sincere desire, uttered or unexpressed" and "the address of personal spirit to personal spirit." In perhaps the most extensive comparative study of prayer, *Prayer: A Study in the History and Psychology of Religion* (1932), Friedrich Heiler understood prayer in much the same terms, describing it, using Hebrew scriptural imagery, as a pouring out of the heart before God. Thus, in both of these classic descriptions, prayer is characterized as free and spontaneous, that is, heartfelt. Such characterization is still broadly held and is, for most, so obvious that critical discussion is unnecessary. However, when the understanding of prayer as a free and spontaneous "living communion of man with God" (Heiler) is conjoined with the general restriction of prayer to the text form, incongruency, confusion, and dilemma arise. Prayer texts, almost without exception and to a degree as part of their nature, are formulaic, repetitive, and static in character, much in contrast with the expected free and spontaneous character of prayer. In the case of Tylor, whose study of culture and religion was directed to the documentation of the evolution of culture, this was particularly confounding. His theory called for religion to follow magic and thus for prayer to follow magical spells and formulas. Yet the abundance of liturgical and meditational prayer forms in the cultures he considered the most fully developed confounded his thesis. Tylor could resolve this dilemma only by holding that prayer "from being at first utterances as free and flexible as requests to a living patriarch or chief, stiffened into traditional formulas whose repetition required verbal accuracy, and whose nature practically assimilated more or less to that of charms" (Tylor, vol. 2, p. 371). Thus, the structural characteristics of prayer that contradicted the expectations of prayer were held to be a product of civilization and evolution.

Heiler was also confounded by this incongruity. He held that prayer texts were, in fact, not true prayers, but were rather artificially composed for the purpose of edifying, instructing, and influencing people in the matters of dogma, belief, and tradition. Heiler's study of prayer, therefore, was a failed effort from the outset in the respect that he denigrated his primary source of data for his study of prayer, leaving him wistfully awaiting the rare occasion to eavesdrop on one pouring out his or her heart to God. Heiler's predisposition for the psychological nature of prayer, conjoined with his failure to make any clear or useful distinction between prayer as text and prayer as act, placed his consideration of prayer in a nonproductive position, one that has generally discouraged the academic study of prayer, especially beyond particular prayer traditions.

Due to the nature of the materials available, prayers must often be considered primarily, if not solely, as texts, whose study is limited to the semantic, informational, and literary aspects of the language that constitutes them. Despite such limitations, the texts of prayers reflect theological, doctrinal, cultural, historical, aesthetic, and creedal dimensions of a religious culture.

PRAYER AS ACT. Intuitively prayer is an act of communication. In its most common performance, prayer is an act of speech. Prayer has been considered as act, including not only the words uttered but some of the performance elements of the speech act, in order to classify and describe prayers in terms of the identities of those praying, the occasions of prayer, the motivations for praying, and such physically descriptive matters as body and hand attitudes. These classifications have been primarily descriptive with institutional and psychological aspects in the foreground.

The distinction between personal and ritual prayer has often been made when viewing prayer as act. Personal prayer, regarded as the act of persons pouring forth their hearts to God, has been considered by many as the truest form, even the only true form, of prayer. Yet, the data available for the study of personal prayer are scant. Still, the record of personal prayers found in letters, biographies, and diaries suggests a strong correlation and interdependence of personal prayer with ritual and liturgical prayer in language, form, style, and physical attitude. A person praying privately is invariably a person who is part of a religious and cultural tradition in which ritual or public prayer is practiced.

Ritual prayer, by not conforming to the naive notions of the spontaneity and free form of prayer, has often been set aside. It was not incorrect of Heiler to understand ritual prayer as being composed for the purpose of edifying, instructing, and influencing people in the matters of dogma, belief, and tradition, although this is but a partial understanding. But Heiler radically truncated his, and consequently many others', understanding of prayer by denigrating these important functions. Such aspects of prayer must be recognized as important and often essential to the continuity and communication of tradition and culture. In its capacity of performing these important functions, the formulaic, repetitive, and standardized characteristics of prayer are effective pedagogically and to enculturate.

Furthermore, and importantly, it can be shown that prayer when formulaic, repetitive, and redundant in message can be a true act of communication, even heartfelt. In recent years a range of studies has developed showing the performative power of language and speech acts. Simply put, these studies show that language and other forms of human action not only say things, that is, impart information, they also do things. Ordinary language acts may persuade, name, commit, promise, declare, affirm, and so on; and these functions are often more primary than that of transmitting information.

The study of prayer has yet to be extensively influenced by this understanding of the performative power of language, but it is clearly relevant. From this perspective, the many dimensions of the act of prayer apart from the heartfelt communication with God can be appreciated more fully. For example, a prayer of invocation, through its form as well as its content, when uttered in the appropriate ritual context, serves to transform the mood of the worshipers. It sets the tone and attitude of worship. It effects the presence of the spiritual in the minds of worshipers. Likewise, a prayer of benediction releases worshipers from a ritual domain. It serves to extend the reorientation achieved in ritual to the world beyond while releasing people from the restrictions imposed by ritual. Prayers of praise direct the attention of those praying to positive divine attributes, they effect and reflect a doctrine of God, while prayers of confession and penitence direct the attention of those praying to negative human elements, they effect and reflect a doctrine of sin and humankind. Even when formulaic and without a motivation arising directly from individual felt needs, the emotive experience and affective qualities of these prayers differs markedly according to their type. Prayers of praise or thanksgiving are joyous, uplifting, and outgoing, while prayers of confession and penitence are introspective and somber. The formulaic character of liturgical prayers invites participation by establishing a frame of expectation, a pattern that becomes familiar.

Studies of the performative power of language suggest that such enactment capabilities of speech are conventionalized, formalized, and ordinarily involve physical action as well as the utterance of words in order to be felicitious. In other words, a prayer act, to have effect, to be true and empowered includes not only the utterance of words, but the active engagement of elements of the historical, cultural, and personal setting in which it is offered. It may include certain body postures and orientations, ritual actions and objects, designated architectural structures or physical environments, particular times of the day or calendar dates, specified moods, attitudes, or intentions. For example, a Muslim does not enact *ṣalāt* (daily ritual prayer) by simply uttering the words "Allahu akbar." Rather, *ṣalāt* is a performance that requires proper timing, dress, directional orientation, a sequence of bodily actions that includes standing, prostration, proper attitudes—all of these, as well as the proper recitation of a sequence of words.

When prayer is considered as act, the unresponsive and noncreative dimensions that seem inseparable from the rigidity of words tend to dissolve, for a prayer act always involves one praying in a historical, cultural, social, and psychological setting. These ever-changing contextual elements are necessarily a part of the act. In some prayer traditions, the Navajo of North America for example, it has been shown that highly formulaic constituents of prayer are ordered in patterns and conjoined with familiar ritual elements in combinations that express very specifically the heartfelt needs and motivations of a single person for whom the prayer is uttered. Analogous to ordinary language where familiar words can be ordered according to a single set of grammatical principles in infinite ways to be creative and expressive, prayer passages may be ordered in conjunction with ritual elements to achieve the same communicative capabilities.

The importance of the performative power of prayer acts is attested within many religious traditions by the expressed view that the most important prayers are those spoken in a special language, those mumbled, or those uttered silently, even those that are accomplished without words. Other nonspeech forms are also commonly recognized as essentially prayer, such as song, dance, sacrifice, and food offerings. These nonspeech forms may be understood as heartfelt and spontaneous human acts directed toward the spiritual world, but they may also be understood as religious forms whose enactment strengthens emotion, sustains courage, and excites hope.

When prayer is considered as act, a whole range of powerful characteristics and religious functions may be discerned. Here the issue is not primarily to show that prayer is communication with the spiritual or divine, or even necessarily to discern what is communicated, but rather to direct attention to the comprehension and appreciation of the power and effectiveness of communication acts that are human-divine communications. Likewise, when seen as act, the distinction between prayer and other religious speech acts—chant, spell, and formula—is less significant than it often is when distinguished and evaluated within particular religious traditions or theories of religion.

Various traditions of Buddhism present a test case in the consideration of prayer as they do many categories and dimensions of religion. For those traditions that are not theistic, like Theravāda Buddhism, prayer understood as human-divine communication is not possible. However, a number of kinds of Buddhist speech acts, such as meditational recitations, scriptural recitations, *mantra*s, and *bodhisattva* vows, have certain resemblances to prayer, especially in terms of many of its functions. Commonly the distinction between prayer and these Buddhist speech forms has simply been ignored and they are considered as forms of Buddhist prayer. It would be more valuable to comprehend specifically the similarities and differences of the various forms and functions of these Buddhist speech acts compared with prayer acts of theistic traditions. In their similarities lies the nature of religion, in their differences lies the distinctiveness of Buddhism among religious traditions.

Prayer as Subject. In religious traditions, prayer is not only words recited, prayer is not only an action enacted, prayer is also a subject that is much written and talked about. It is the subject of theory, of theology, of sermons, of doctrine, of devotional guides, of prescribed ways of worship and ways of life, and of descriptions of methods of prayer. In the style and interest of a number of academic fields that consider human communication processes and the language forms that take these communications as their subject, we propose to term this dimension of prayer "metaprayer," signifying thereby the communications in religious traditions about prayer. The extent of literature in religious traditions about prayer is massive and ranges from personal meditations on the "way of prayer" to formal theologies and philosophies of prayer. In these writings, prayer becomes the subject by which to articulate the principles and character of a religious tradition or a strain within a tradition.

There are countless memorable and distinctive metaprayers. The following examples illustrate the range and character of these statements. In Plato's *Timaeus* (27b-c), Socrates and Timaeus discuss the necessity of prayer:

> *Socrates:* And now, Timaeus, you, I suppose, should speak next, after duly calling upon the gods. *Timaeus:* All men, Socrates, who have any degree of right feeling, at the beginning of every enterprise, whether small or great, always call upon God. And we, too, who are going to discourse of the nature of the universe, how created or how existing without creation, if we be not altogether out of our wits, must invoke the aid of gods and goddesses and pray that our words may be above all acceptable to them and in consequence to ourselves.

On the Lord's Prayer, Immanuel Kant in 1793 wrote in *Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone* that "one finds in it nothing but the resolution to good life—conduct which, taken with the consciousness of our frailty, carries with it the persistent desire to be a worthy member in the kingdom of God. Hence it contains no actual request for something which God in His wisdom might well refuse us" (trans. Greene and Hudson, New York, 1960, p. 183).

Friederich Schleiermacher, in a sermon entitled "The Power of Prayer" (*Selected Sermons*, London, 1890, p. 38), describes prayer in familiar, sweeping terms: "To be a religious man and to pray are really one and the same thing."

Powerful and provocative are the many statements on prayer of Abraham Joshua Heschel. In *Man's Quest for God* (New York, 1954) he wrote, "The issue of prayer is not prayer; the issue of prayer is God" (p. 87). In an essay entitled "On Prayer" he wrote, "We pray in order to pray. . . . I pray because I am unable to pray. . . . We utter the words of the *Kaddish: Magnified and sanctified by His great name in the world which He has created according to His will.* Our hope is to enact, to make real the sanctification of this name here and now" (*Conservative Judaism*, Fall 1970, pp. 3–4). And finally, in *The Insecurity of Freedom* (New York, 1966) Heschel wrote, "Different are the languages of prayer, but the tears are the same. We have a vision in common of Him in whose compassion all men's prayers meet" (p. 180).

In Western religious traditions, prayer has raised classic issues, the resolution of which corresponds to interpretive traditions. One notable issue is whether or not prayer, particularly petitionary prayer, is necessary or useful, since God is understood as all-knowing and all-caring. The explanation of this issue is an articulation of a theology and an anthropology, and it constitutes a statement of faith. Another classic issue has been whether prayer is monologue, dialogue, or neither. If one holds that prayer is monologue, one must explain how prayer is prayer at all rather than meditation or personal reflection. If one holds that prayer is dialogue, one must describe how God participates in the communication act. Theologies and philosophies of Western traditions no longer give much attention to prayer, but it has nonetheless been a significant topic in many of the classic theological and philosophical systems.

In *Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York, 1902), William James, upon considering a number of statements about prayer, concluded that "the fundamental religious point is that in prayer, spiritual energy, which otherwise would slumber, does become active, and spiritual work of some kind is effected really."

> In *Young India*, on 24 September 1925, Mohandas K. Gandhi wrote: Prayers are a confession of our unworthiness, or our weakness. God has a thousand, which means countless, names, or say rather that He has no name. We may sing hymns to Him or pray to Him, using any name we prefer. Some know Him by the name Rama, some know Him as Krishna, others call Him Rahim, and yet others call Him God. All these worship the same spiritual being. However, just as everyone does not like the same food so all these names do not find acceptance with everyone. . . . This is to say that one can pray, sing devotional songs not with the lips but with the heart. That is why even the dumb, the stammerer and the brainless can pray.

And on June 10, 1926, he wrote in *Young India:* "It seems to me that it [prayer] is a yearning of the heart to be one with the Maker, an invocation for his blessing. It is in this case the attitude that matters, not words uttered or muttered."

A final example taken from American fiction not only illustrates that metaprayer appears in a variety of forms of literature, but that metaprayer may even be used to disavow the use and efficacy of prayer. In the following passage from Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, Huck distinguishes his own religiousness from that of old Miss Watson:

> Miss Watson she took me in the closet and prayed, but nothing come of it. She told me to pray every day, and

> whatever I asked for I would get it. But it warn't so. I tried it. Once I got a fishline, but no hooks. It warn't any good to me without hooks. I tried for the hooks three or four times, but some how I couldn't make it work. By and by, one day, I asked Miss Watson to try for me, but she said I was a fool. She never told me why, and I couldn't make it out no way.

CONCLUSION. In the general study of prayer, the term *prayer* has been used loosely to designate a variety of human acts, principally speech acts associated with the practice of religion, especially those that are communications with a divine or spiritual entity. There can be no precise definition given the word when used in this way, for it serves as but a general focusing device for more precise comparative and historical study. The term gains definitional precision when seen as any of dozens of terms used in specific religious traditions as articulated in practice or in doctrine.

What can be articulated to facilitate the general study of prayer is the significance of the tripartite distinctions of prayer as text, as act, and as subject.

SEE ALSO Language; Lords Prayer; Mantra; Meditation; Ṣalāt; Siddur and Mahzor.

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Prayer as a general religious phenomenon has received scant attention by students of religion. There are no recent global or extensive studies. The discussions of prayer that continue to be the standard, while obviously inadequate, are E. B. Tylor's *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art, and Custom*, 2 vols., 4th ed. (London, 1903), and Friedrich Heiler's *Prayer: A Study in the History and Psychology of Religion*, edited and translated by Samuel McComb (Oxford, 1932). Most of the general studies of prayer are strongly psychological in character. Prayer was a topic of extensive consideration by William James in *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature* (1902; New York, 1961), pp. 359–371. Prayer and related religious speech acts are of interest in phenomenologies of religion; see, for example, Gerardus van der Leeuw's *Religion in Essence and Manifestation*, 2 vols., translated by J. E. Turner (London, 1938), pp. 403–446.

Statements of a comparative nature are found scattered throughout the literature, especially comparing specific prayers among Western religious traditions. However, broader and detailed comparative studies of prayer do not exist. Extensive studies of prayer that have attempted to see prayer in more general and universal terms may still be of interest, even though they have a dominantly Christian perspective. Such studies include Alexander J. Hodge's *Prayer and Its Psychology* (New York, 1931) and R. H. Coats's *The Realm of Prayer* (London, 1920).

An exemplary study of prayer that makes a clear distinction between prayer as a text, act, and subject is Tzvee Zahavy's "A New Approach to Early Jewish Prayer," in *History of Judaism: The Next Ten Years*, edited by Baruch M. Bokser (Chico, Calif., 1980), pp. 45–60.

Sources for prayer within specific religious traditions can be found under the heading "Prayer" in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, edited by James Hastings, vol. 10 (Edinburgh, 1918), which includes a number of articles, some now outdated, on various religious traditions. See also *The Oxford Book of Prayer*, edited by George Appleton and others (New York, 1985).

There are numerous studies that demonstrate the importance of considering prayer as act. Harold A. Carter's *The Prayer Tradition of Black People* (Valley Forge, Pa., 1976) is a fine study of the American black prayer tradition; it traces the African heritage, describes the theological influences, discerns the major functions, and demonstrates the remarkable power of this prayer tradition in the context of black movements in American history. Gary Goosen's "Language as a Ritual Substance," in *Language in Religious Practice*, edited by William J. Samarin (Rowley, Mass., 1976), pp. 40–62, considers Chamul prayers as encoding messages interpreted in terms of Victor Turner's method of considering symbols.

On the performative power of Navajo prayer, see my "Prayer as Person: The Performative Force in Navajo Prayer Acts," *History of Religions* 17 (November 1979): 143–157. On the centrality of prayer to the whole system of Navajo religion, see my *Sacred Words: A Study of Navajo Religion and Prayer* (Westport, Conn., 1981). A notable study of prayer as a tradition of creative acts of oratory, focusing on the inhabitants of sea islands along the Atlantic Coast of the southern United States, is Patricia Jones-Jackson's "Oral Traditions in Gullah," *Journal of Religious Thought* 39 (Spring-Summer 1982): 21–33.

An examplary study of nonspeech acts considered as communication acts similar to prayer is Gabriella Eichinger Ferro-Luzzi's "Ritual as Language: The Case of South Indian Food Offerings," *Current Anthropology* 18 (September 1977): 507–514.

The performative power of speech acts, relevant to the study of prayer as act, has been shown in many essays. See, for example, Benjamin C. Ray's " 'Performative Utterances' in African Rituals," *History of Religions* 13 (August 1973): 16–35; Stanley J. Tambiah's "The Magical Power of Words," *Man*, n. s. 3 (June 1968): 175–208; and Tambiah's *Buddhism and the Spirit Cults in North-East Thailand* (Cambridge, 1970).

While folklore studies have become interested in the performance of many speech forms, especially among exclusively oral peoples, prayer is a form that has received little attention despite its abundant resources and importance within the traditions studied.

On the consideration of second-order language acts (metalanguages), see Alan Dundes's "Metafolklore and Oral Literary Criticism," *The Monist* 50 (October 1966): 505–516, and Barbara A. Babcock's "The Story in the Story: Metanarration in Folk Narrative," in her and Richard Bauman's *Verbal Art as Performance* (Rowley, Mass., 1977). Sources for prayer as subject are coincident with the second-order interpretative and critical literary traditions of all religions. In the contemporary religions and popular literature of the Western traditions, prayer is a constant topic. It has also been a consideration of major theologies and philosophies, as shown for modern Western thought in a summary treatment by Perry Le Fevre, *Understandings of Prayer* (Philadelphia, 1981). In *Prayer: An Analysis of Theological Terminology* (Helsinki, 1973), Antti Alhonsaari considers the theological issue of whether prayer is monologue or dialogue, discerning system-

atically the forms of prayer that correspond to the combinations of the variable on which this metaprayer discussion turns. While the rubric "Prayer" is not so dominant among non-Western religious traditions, there are nonetheless abundant comparable statements about prayer and prayerlike phenomena found among the writings of the interpreters and believers in these many traditions.

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PREANIMISM.

In the years around 1900, the scholarly debate about the origins and evolution of religion was still in large measure dominated by the theories put forward by E. B. Tylor thirty years previously, notably in his *Primitive Culture* (London, 1871). The key concept was *animism,* which denoted both a primitive belief in spiritual beings and a belief in the "animation" of nonhuman beings—from the higher mammals down to trees, plants, and stones—by spirits or spirit forces. By 1900, however, Tylor's theory had been challenged by two of his Oxford disciples, both of whom were and remained his personal friends. In his *Cock Lane and Common Sense* (London, 1894) and definitively in his celebrated *The Making of Religion* (London, 1898), Andrew Lang had questioned the animistic hypothesis from one direction, suggesting that "perhaps there is no savage race so lowly endowed, that it does not possess, in addition to a world of 'spirits,' something that answers to the conception of God" (*Cock Lane and Common Sense,* p. 334). At a meeting of the British Association in 1899, the animistic theory was questioned from another direction, this time by the philosopher-anthropologist R. R. Marett. Whereas Lang was saying that adherents of the animistic theory had been prevented by their presuppositions from even noticing the evidence in favor of what he called "high gods" among peoples on a low level of material development, Marett claimed that the term *animism* was ambiguous and that the mental processes it assumed were too sophisticated to have been present at the lowest level of human evolution.

Marett's paper "Pre-Animistic Religion" was first published in the journal *Folk-Lore* (June 1900, pp. 162–182); it subsequently formed the first chapter of his book *The Threshold of Religion* (London, 1909; 2d exp. ed., London, 1914). Although brief, its argument was revolutionary. On the one hand, it suggested that in view of the double meaning of the word *animism* in Tylor's *Primitive Culture,* a distinction might be drawn between animism proper, as a belief in spiritual beings, and the belief in the "animation" of animals, plants, and natural objects, which he proposed to call "animatism." This of course had nothing to do with any theory of the origin of religion as such, but was merely a plea for greater terminological precision. On the other hand—and this appeared to be an outright challenge to the Tylorian hypothesis—Marett also ventured the opinion that animism was simply not "primitive" enough to represent the earliest form of religion. Beneath (though not necessarily chronologically prior to) the belief in spirits, he argued, there is a more amorphous sense of the world as being filled with the manifestations of supernatural power. This notion was unlikely to have been reasoned out in the first instance; rather it involved a "basic feeling of awe, which drives a man, ere he can think or theorize upon it, into personal relations with the supernatural" (Marett, 1914, p. 15). In search of a word to characterize this power, Marett settled finally upon the Melanesian word *mana,* as described by the missionary R. H. Codrington in his book *The Melanesians* (Oxford, 1891). Mentioned only in passing in his 1899 paper, alongside other "power-words," over the next few years *mana* came to eclipse the others as a *terminus technicus* to describe what lay at the root of preanimism.

Mana, however, was by no means an exclusively Melanesian concept. It was common to the whole of the Pacific, to Polynesia as well as Melanesia. It had been first noted by Captain James Cook in 1777 and long before Codrington's time had been fairly fully discussed in relation to the Maori of New Zealand. F. E. Maning in his book *Old New Zealand* (Auckland, 1863) had stressed, for instance, that *mana* had no single meaning but was associated with such diverse ideas as "virtue, prestige, authority, good fortune, influence, sanctity, luck" (Maning, [1863] 1927, pp. 239–240). However, the early preanimists remained generally unaware of the New Zealand material and were content to rely for the most part on Codrington's evidence as transmitted first by Marett and subsequently by the German and French sociologists.

Marett himself was most unwilling to "dogmatize" about religious origins and always expressed himself with great caution. Thus although in his 1899 paper he went so far as to suggest that what he there called "supernaturalism" might be "not only logically but also in some sense chronologically prior to animism" (Marett, 1914, p. 11), he did not say in what sense. Again—and this is important in view of the direction subsequently taken by the debate—he did not categorize *mana* as unambiguously impersonal. In a later paper, in fact, he stated explicitly that *mana* "leaves in solution the distinction between personal and impersonal" (1915, p. 119) and noted that although it may in some circumstances be used in a somewhat impersonal way, it is always necessary to take account of "the ambiguity that lies sleeping in *mana*" (p. 121). Other writers on the subject found this degree of ambiguity unmanageable and unwelcome.

In the wake of Marett's work, the first decade of the twentieth century saw the appearance of a great deal of writing on the subject of preanimism and on *mana* and its various equivalents. In Germany, Wilhelm Wundt of Leipzig wrote extensively in his *Völkerpsychologie* (1900) about "die präanimistische Hypothese," followed by K. T. Preuss in a series of articles in the journal *Globus* (1904–1905). Both, however, seem to have assumed Marett's theory to have been conceived in direct and complete opposition to Tylor—a charge that Marett, who admired Tylor greatly, strenuously denied. In France, the *Année sociologique* school (which included Durkheim, Hubert, and Mauss) produced a theory very similar to Marett's, perhaps independently, though Hubert and Mauss's article "Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la Magie" appeared in *Année sociologique* only in 1904, and Durkheim's magnum opus did not appear until 1912.

By this time, however, *mana* had been coupled with a bewildering variety of terms drawn from primal cultures in various parts of the world, all of which, it was claimed, conveyed the same basic sense of that supernatural power that had inspired an initial human response of awe. A proportion of these words had been culled from the vocabularies of various Amerindian peoples: From the Iroquois came *orenda* (as in Hewitt's "*Orenda* and a Definition of Religion," *American Anthropologist,* n.s. 4, 1902), from the Algonquin *manitou,* and from the Lakota *wakan* and *wakanda.* The Australian Aranda (Arunta) term *arungquiltha/arúnkulta,* the Malagasy *andriamanitra,* the Fijian *kalou,* and even the Old Norse *hamingja* and the Hindu *brahman* were added to the list, which by 1914 had assumed considerable proportions. *Mana,* however, continued to serve as the flagship of the preanimistic fleet.

It is important to remember that Marett had stated (not in his original article but at the Oxford Congress of the Science of Religion in 1908) that it was by now his express intention to endow *mana* with "classificatory authority to some extent at the expense of the older notion [i.e., animism]" (Marett, 1915, p. 102). Every new science had to create its own specialist terminology; this being so, Marett was proposing the use of *mana* whenever and wherever circumstances appeared to warrant it as a technical term expressive of preanimistic religions and virtually independent of the etymological meaning of the word in its original Pacific context. In the light of Marett's express intention, it is slightly embarrassing to note the solemnity with which some scholars have subsequently believed themselves to be demolishing Marett's argument by pointing out that the etymology of *mana* is not altogether what he supposed it to be.

Another critical point concerns the supposed impersonality of the power of *mana.* As has been seen, Marett was initially insistent that *mana* is an ambiguous concept, even as he knew perfectly well that his chief informant Codrington had stated that it was always associated with and derived from persons, spirits, or ghosts. On at least one later occasion, however, in his article "Mana" in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (vol. 8, Edinburgh, 1915), he was prepared to state that *mana* was "in itself impersonal" while always associated with personal beings. (Often in such contexts he used the analogy of electricity, which remains latent until tapped and channeled.) The ambiguity between personal and impersonal remained in force nonetheless. But just as Marett read *mana* through the prism of Codrington, one feels that almost all later debaters have read Marett through the prism of the greater international celebrity Émile Durkheim.

To Durkheim, writing in *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life,* first published in French in 1912 and in English in 1915, there were no ambiguities. Caution was replaced by assertion. According to Durkheim, Marett had shown "the existence of a religious phase which he called *preanimistic,* in which the rites are addressed to impersonal forces like the Melanesian mana and the wakan of the Omaha and Dakota" (1968 edition, p. 201). Durkheim categorically stated that *mana* was "an impersonal religious force" (pp. 192, 198), "an anonymous and diffused force" (p. 194); because it was not, according to Codrington, a supreme being, Durkheim concludes that it must possess "impersonality" (p. 194). One need look no further for the later impression that preanimism must of necessity involve belief in impersonal forces; it comes not from Marett but from Durkheim.

The preanimistic theory of the origin of religion (as it had developed between 1900 and 1914) first began to be called in question in the years following World War I. In 1914 Nathan Söderblom (who had been a professor in Leipzig from 1912 to 1914) published in the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* an article, "Über den Zusammenhang höherer Gottesideen mit primitiven Vorstellungen," in which the customary preanimistic points were discussed (see also Söderblom, *Gudstrons uppkomst,* Stockholm, 1914, pp. 30–108). One of his students, F. R. Lehmann, was inspired by this article to take up the question of *mana* and in 1915 presented his dissertation on the subject, in which he penetrated beyond Durkheim and Marett to Codrington, and beyond Codrington to the etymology and implications of the common Polynesian/Melanesian word *mana* itself.

Lehmann's researches had the effect of discrediting altogether the notion that the term *mana* had ever been used in the Pacific region to denote an impersonal force. Even when trees, stones, or other inanimate objects were declared to possess *mana,* this was because spirits had associated themselves with those objects, and not by virtue of their having an impersonal force of their own. Paul Radin had made substantially the same point in 1914, when he asked, "What warrant have we for thinking of the god as a deity plus power, and not merely as a powerful deity? Are we not committing the old error of confusing an adjective with a noun?" (*Journal of American Folklore* 27, 1914, p. 347). Following Lehmann, and in the increasingly antievolutionary atmosphere of the interwar years and beyond, more and more frequent criticisms were leveled against the preanimistic hypothesis, the interpretation of *mana* that had supported it, and against those who had written in these terms. A powerful broadside against the theory was produced by the Germanist Walter Baetke, in his book *Das Heilige im Germanischen* (Tübingen, 1942), and another by Geo Widengren, in a polemical article, "Evolutionism and the Problem of the Origin of Religion" (*Ethnos* 10, 1945, pp. 57–96). Widengren, incidentally, admired Baetke's work; and it was in the Baetke festschrift that Lehmann described the course of his research in the area of *mana,* in an article called "Versuche, die Bedeutung des Wortes 'Mana'. . . festzustellen" (pp. 215–240). Widengren summed up: "The best experts in the field of Melanesian religion have explicitly stated that *mana* is actually never an impersonal power"; it is "in reality a quality. It goes without saying that not *mana* in itself but persons and things possessing *mana* are the objects of worship" (p. 84). One last critic may be quoted. In his 1958 *Patterns in Comparative Religion* and in virtually identical terms in his 1968 *Myths, Dreams and Mysteries,* Mircea Eliade denies the existence of any such "impersonal and universal force" as *mana* was once thought to represent, not least because "impersonality" is "without meaning within the archaic spiritual horizon" (Eliade, 1968, p. 129). All these critics, however, have tended to attribute to Marett extreme opinions that were actually those of Durkheim.

It remains to be noted that Rudolf Otto, in his celebrated book *Das Heilige,* produced a theory of the origin of religion in an ineffable *sensus numinis,* in the course of which he praised Marett for coming "within a hair's breadth" of his own views. Otto, too, was criticized by Baetke and Widengren, who used arguments very similar to those they had used against Marett and the preanimists. Otto's *numen* could hardly be called "impersonal," however.

Preanimism and the debate about preanimistic religion belong less to the world of religion as such (and hardly, it would seem, to the area of primal religion at all) than to the intellectual history of the early twentieth century in the West. Possibly the popularity of the concept was not unrelated to the West's growing estrangement from fixed forms of religious belief and doctrine and its simultaneous maintenance of a sense that there might be "something" (rather than "someone") in charge of the world's destiny. It involved the evolutionists' conviction that religion had emerged out of something other than, and simpler than, religion. It also made assumptions about personality and (at least after Durkheim) impersonality that later critics found it all too easy to demolish. The critics, however, may have gone too far in the opposite direction. In their desire to disassociate themselves from the evolutionists, they have frequently misrepresented and misinterpreted them, without realizing that the evolutionists themselves were quite capable of raising objections—often the same objections—to their own work. Preanimism as such can be neither proved nor disproved as a rudimentary stage in the evolution of religion. There may, however, remain an area of religion within which supernatural (or at least uncontrollable) power is sensed, while remaining inchoate and unconnected with any firm notion of deity. This need not be a stage out of which more precise notions emerge. It is just as likely to be found at the end of a long process of decline, and thus to be as much posttheist as preanimist. There is no word that can be used as a technical term to describe this. *Preanimism* clearly will not do, because of the implicit sequence involved. Some use might however still be found for the term *mana* in this connection. In 1907 Marett wrote that "the last word about *mana* has not been said" (p. 219). By 1965, *mana* had almost been dismissed from the technical vocabulary of the study of religion. It may be high time for its reexamination.

SEE ALSO Animism and Animatism; Evolution, article on Evolutionism; Marett, R. R.; Power.

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References to the "preanimistic hypothesis" will be found scattered throughout the anthropological literature of the first half of the twentieth century. The seminal articles are gathered in R. R. Marett's *The Threshold of Religion,* 3d ed. (London, 1915), and Émile Durkheim's application of the theory is found in *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life,* translated by Joseph Ward Swain (1915; reprint, New York, 1965), in which see especially pages 191–204. For the subsequent attempted demolition of the theory, reference must be made to the German works of F. R. Lehmann, beginning with *Mana: Der begriff des "ausserordentlich wirkungsvollen" bei Südseevölkern* (Leipzig, 1922) and ending with his essay "Versuche, die Bedeutung des Wortes 'Mana' . . . festzustellen," in *Festschrift Walter Baetke,* edited by Kurt Rudolph et al. (Weimar, 1966), pp. 215–240; and Walter Baetke's *Das Heilige im Germanischen* (Tübingen, 1942). See also Geo Widengren's "Evolutionism and the Problem of the Origin of Religion," *Ethnos* 10 (1945): 57–96, which follows substantially the same line.

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PRE-COLUMBIAN RELIGIONS SEE CARIBBEAN RELIGIONS; MESOAMERICAN RELIGIONS

PREDESTINATION SEE FREE WILL AND PREDESTINATION

PREHISTORIC RELIGIONS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
OLD EUROPE
THE EURASIAN STEPPES AND INNER ASIA

PREHISTORIC RELIGIONS: AN OVERVIEW

The term *prehistory* refers to the vast period of time between the appearance of humanity's early hominid ancestors and the beginning of the historical period. Since the invention of writing is used to mark the transition between prehistory and history, the date of this boundary varies greatly from region to region. The study of prehistoric religion, therefore, can refer to religious beliefs and practices from as early as 60,000 BCE to almost the present day. Generally, however, the term *prehistory* is defined by its European application and hence refers to the period from the Paleolithic period, which occurred during the Pleistocene epoch, to the protohistoric Neolithic period and the Bronze and Iron ages.

The biases of a literate culture are apparent in the term. Clearly, a people's literacy bespeaks their accessibility by a literate culture, but it is not, as has often been assumed, an adequate criterion for determining intellectual or cultural depth and complexity. To divide human cultures by the single invention of writing suggests that literacy somehow marks a specific stage of mental development or a radical turning point within the development of human culture conceived of according to an evolutionary scheme. Neither such a radical break nor such an inevitable evolutionary development can, however, be demonstrated.

This division notwithstanding, it should be noted that prehistory is understood to be singularly human. In his *Philosophical Investigations*, Wittgenstein quips, "If a lion could talk, we could not understand him." Wittgenstein is suggesting that language would not enable us to understand a "world," or perspective, that was so radically distinct in kind from our own. In contrast to Wittgenstein's lion, prehistoric humanity is regarded as understandable: a psychic unity between prehistorical and historical humanity is assumed. We believe that with sufficient evidence the prehistoric "world" can be grasped. The problem is accessibility, not difference in kind.

Access to a prehistoric culture, however, is highly problematic. And when one attempts to understand a phenomenon such as religion, the problem becomes acute. We understand religion primarily in terms of "language," that is, its principal characteristics are its interpretive meanings and valuations. The wordless archaeological remains of prehistoric religion—cultic or ceremonial artifacts and sites, pictures and symbols, sacrifices—have provided limited access to the religious "language" of prehistoric cultures. For example, knowledge of how corpses were disposed during the Neolithic period does not reveal why they were so disposed. Consequently, even when there is clear evidence of a prehistoric religious practice, interpretation of the nature of prehistoric religions remains highly speculative and disproportionately dependent upon analogies to contemporary "primitive" cultures.

Our knowledge of prehistoric religion is therefore the product of reconstructing a "language" from its silent material accessories. Among the oldest material forms of cultic practice are burial sites, dating from the Middle Paleolithic. One can trace, from the Upper Paleolithic on, a growing richness and diversity of grave goods that reach extravagant proportions during the Iron Age. The practices of second burials, the burning of bodies, and the ritual disposition of skulls are also common. Megalithic graves date back to the Neolithic period. Despite the cultic implications of these massive stone constructions (e.g., ancestor cults), a uniform religious meaning remains undemonstrated.

Evidences of sacrifices from the Middle Paleolithic period in the form of varied quantities of animal bones near burial sites suggest offerings to the dead. Sacrificial traditions that were associated with game (e.g., bear ceremonialism) date back to the Upper Paleolithic. There is no evidence of human sacrifice prior to the Neolithic period, and hence this practice is associated with the transition from a hunter-gatherer culture to an agrarian culture and, consequently, with the domestication of plants and animals.

Prehistoric works of art dating back to the Paleolithic period—paintings, drawings, engravings, and sculpture—are the richest form of access to prehistoric religion. The primary subjects of these earliest examples of graphic art were animals; humans, rarely depicted, were often drawn with animal attributes. The intimate and unique role of animals in the physical and mental lives of these early hunter-gatherers is clearly demonstrated. (This role is also evidenced in the sacrificial traditions.) Though some form of animalism is suggested, the religious significance of these animal figures is difficult to interpret.

Shamanistic practices are also reflected in this art, especially in the paintings of birds and of animals that have projectiles drawn through their bodies. Common in prehistoric sculpture is the female statuette. Although frequently related to fertility, these figurines are open to numerous interpretations of equal plausibility (e.g., spirit abodes, ancestor representations, house gods, as well as spirit rulers over animals, lands and other physical or spiritual regions, hunting practices, and natural forces).

It is unlikely that we shall ever be able adequately to interpret the "language" of prehistoric religion. The material evidence is too scarce and the nature of religious phenomena too complex. There is, however, a meaning in these wordless fragments that is itself significant for any study of religion. The power and depth of these silent archaeological remains cause one to recognize the limitation of written language as a purveyor of religious meaning. The connections one is able, however tenuously, to draw between the evidences of religious life among prehistoric peoples and the beliefs and practices of their descendants address the conditions that have inspired human beings, from our beginnings, to express our deepest selves in art and ritual.

SEE ALSO Animals; Funeral Rites; Lord of the Animals; Neolithic Religion; Paleolithic Religion; Sacrifice.

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PREHISTORIC RELIGIONS: OLD EUROPE

The term *Old Europe* is used here to describe Europe during the Neolithic and Copper ages, before it was infiltrated by Indo-European speakers from the Eurasian steppes (c. 4500–2500 BCE). The Indo-Europeans superimposed their patriarchal social structure, pastoral economy, and male-dominated pantheon of gods upon the gynecocentric Old Europeans, whose millennial traditions were officially disintegrated. Nonetheless, these traditions formed a powerful substratum that profoundly affected the religious life of European cultures that arose during the Bronze Age. Western Europe remained untouched by the Indo-Europeans for one millennium longer; Crete, Thera, and other Aegean and Mediterranean islands maintained Old European patterns of life until about 1500 BCE.

The agricultural revolution spread gradually to southeastern Europe about 7000 to 6500 BCE. A full-fledged Neolithic culture was flourishing in the Aegean and Adriatic regions by 6500 BCE. The Danubian basin and central Europe were converted to a food-producing economy circa 6000 to 5500 BCE. Around 5500, copper artifacts first appeared, leading to the creation of a fully developed copper culture in the fifth millennium BCE. The rise of agrarian cultures in western and northern Europe occurred about two millennia later.

The Old European religion of southeastern Europe and the Danubian basin persisted through three millennia, 6500–3500 BCE; the Neolithic period extended from 6500 to 5500 BCE, the Copper Age from 5500 to 3500 BCE. In northern Europe, the Neolithic period continued to about 2000 BCE. (Dates given here are calibrated radiocarbon dates.)

Old European beliefs and practices have been reconstructed primarily through analysis of the archaeological record. The evidence examined includes temples, temple models, altars, frescoes, rock carvings and paintings, caves and tombs, figurines, masks, and cult vessels, as well as the symbols and signs engraved or painted on all of these.

Cult objects, particularly figurines, provide some clues to the types of rituals performed by Old Europeans and the deities they worshiped. The richest finds have been unearthed in southeastern and Danubian Europe, as far north as the Carpathian Mountains. This region encompasses present-day Greece, Italy, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, the western Ukraine, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, as well as the Aegean and Mediterranean islands. The second region yielding cult relics is western Europe (present-day Spain, Portugal, France, and the British Isles). The best-preserved monuments are megalithic tomb walls engraved with symbols and images of deities, stone stelae, and figurines associated with burials.

Despite the multitude of culture groups in Old Europe and the diverse styles of their artworks, the pantheon of deities was the same throughout the vast landmass. Old European religious beliefs stemmed from the gynecocentric Paleolithic and early agricultural world, created by a birth giver, mother, root gatherer, and seed planter and concerned with feminine cycles, lunar phases, and seasonal changes. Skylight and stars, prominent in Indo-European mythology, hardly figure in Old European symbolism.

The images of Old Europe are those of the earth's vitality and richness. The transformative processes of nature are symbolically manifested in sprouting seeds, eggs, caterpillars and butterflies, and in such "life columns" (symbols of rising and spontaneous life) as trees, springs, and serpents, which seem to emerge from the earth's womb. Sacred images represent both the miracle of birth—human, animal, and plant—and the awe and mystery surrounding the cyclic destruction and regeneration of life.

Most Old European sacred images symbolize the ever-changing nature of life on earth: the constant and rhythmic interplay between creation and destruction, birth and death. For example, the moon's three phases—new, waxing, and old—are repeated in trinities of deities: maiden, nymph, and crone; life-giving, death-giving, and transformational deities; rising, dying, and self-renewing deities. Similarly, life-giving deities are also death wielders. Male vegetation spirits also express life's transitional nature: they are born, come to maturity, and die, as do plants.

GODDESSES AND GODS. The Old European evidence reveals clear-cut stereotypes of divinities that appear repeatedly throughout time and geography in sculptural art. The stereotypes include anthropomorphic deities and innumerable epiphanies in the form of birds, animals, insects, amphibians, stones, and hills.

Goddesses. The principal goddesses are composite images, encompassing an accumulation of traits from the preagricultural era.

The water-bird goddess appears with a beak or a pinched nose, a long neck, a beautiful head of hair or crown, breasts, wings or winglike projections, and protruding female buttocks outlined in the shape of a duck, goose, or swan. Her epiphany is a water bird, most frequently a duck. There is an association between this divinity and divine moisture from the oceans, rivers, lakes, bogs, and the skies. Meanders, streams, V's, and chevrons are her principal symbols. (The V sign, duplicated or triplicated in the chevron, probably derives from the shape of the pubic triangle.) They can be found on objects that are associated with her and also as decorations on her images. She is associated with the number three (triple source, totality) and with the ram, her sacred animal. The symbols give a clue to her function as a giver of life, wealth, and nourishment. She is of Paleolithic origin.

Since the early Neolithic she also was a weaver and spinner of human fate and giver of crafts and was worshiped in house shrines and temples.

A related image of the life-giving goddess appears in the shape of a water container (large pithos), decorated with M's, nets, brushes, meanders, and running spirals. She also appears in figurines marked with net-patterned pubic triangles and squares, symbolic of life-giving water.

The snake goddess has snakelike hands and feet and a long mouth and wears a crown. The snake spirals and snake coil are her emblems. She is life energy incarnate. As a symbol of fertility and well-being of the family she is worshiped in house shrines. Her crown very likely was a symbol of wisdom as it still is in European folklore. The horns of a snake, resembling a crescent moon, link this deity with lunar cycles. In megalithic tomb-shrines of western Europe, the winding snake figures as a symbol of regeneration. In symbolism, the snake coil is a source of energy comparable to the sun; and both are metaphors of the regenerating eyes of the goddess.

The birth-giving goddess is portrayed in a naturalistic pose of giving birth. She is well evidenced in Paleolithic art in France (Tursac, c. 21,000 BCE) and in all periods of Old Europe (from the seventh millennium onward). The vulva, depicted alone (known from the Aurignacian period, circa 30,000 BCE, and throughout the Upper Paleolithic and Old Europe), may have served as *pars pro toto* of this goddess. Her epiphanies were the doe (both deer and elk) and the bear, stemming from an early belief in a zoomorphic birth-giver, the primeval mother.

The nurse or mother holding or carrying a child is portrayed in hunchbacked figurines or, in more articulate examples, as a bear-masked madonna carrying a pouch for a baby and as a bird, snake, and bear-masked mother holding a child. Images of her date from the early Neolithic and appeared throughout the Copper Age and into historical times.

The vulture or owl goddess, a maleficent twin of the birth-giving goddess, appears as Death in the guise of a vulture, owl, or other predatory bird or carrion eater, yet has qualities of regeneration. A vulva, umbilical cord, or labyrinth is painted or engraved on her images. Hooks and axes—symbols of energy and life stimulation—are engraved on western European stone stelae and on passage-grave slabs representing the owl goddess. In one of the Çatal Hüyük shrines of central Anatolia (seventh millennium BCE), the beaks of griffins emerge from the open nipples of female breasts. The owl goddess's breasts, depicted in relief on slabs of megalithic gallery graves in Brittany, also suggest that regeneration is in her power.

The snowy owl appears in a number of engravings on the Upper Paleolithic (Magdalenian) cave walls of France, probably already as an epiphany of Death. There is rich evidence of the owl goddess throughout the Neolithic, Copper, and Early Bronze ages. During the last period, the owl form became the usual shape of urns. Burials of birds of prey as sacrifices to this goddess are known from the Paleolithic (Ksar Akil, Lebanon, mid-Paleolithic; Malta, c. 15,000 BCE), earliest Neolithic (Zawi Chemi Shanidar, northern Iraq, more than 10,000 years before our time), the Neolithic, and the Bronze Age (Isbister, Scotland). It is clear that large wings had enormous symbolic importance for millennia.

The White Lady, or Death, is portrayed with folded arms tightly pressed to her bosom and with closed or tapering legs. She is masked and sometimes has a polos on her head. Her abnormally large pubic triangle is the center of attention. A reduced image of her is a bone. Her images are made of bone or of such bone-colored materials as marble, alabaster, and light-colored stone. She dates back to the Upper Paleolithic, has been found throughout Old Europe, and appears in the Aegean Bronze Age as the Cycladic marble figurines. Most of the White Ladies were recovered from graves and found singly, in threes, or in groups of six or nine.

The goddess of regeneration appears in myriad forms, the most prominent of which are fish, toad, frog, hedgehog, triangle, hourglass, bee, and butterfly. All these appear in art as amphibians, animals, insects, and hybrids: fishwoman, frog-woman, hedgehog-woman, hourglass with bird's feet or claws, bee and butterfly with a human head.

The peculiar relationship, even equation, of the fish, frog, and toad with the uterus of the regenerating goddess accounts for their prominent role in European symbolism. The importance of the hedgehog probably derives from its equation with a wart-covered animal uterus. As life and funerary symbols, hedgehogs continued to appear throughout later prehistory and history. When manifested as a bee, butterfly, or moth, the goddess is thought to symbolize reborn life. Frequently, these images emerge from a bucranium, also the symbol of the female uterus as evidenced from the earliest Neolithic. The key to understanding the equation of the female uterus with the bucranium lies in the extraordinary likeness of the female uterus and fallopian tubes to the head and horns of a bull (Cameron, 1981, pp. 4ff.).

The Pregnant Goddess (*Mother Earth*) is portrayed naturalistically as a nude with hands placed on her enlarged belly. The abdominal part of her body is always emphasized. She is also depicted as a bulging mound and oven. In the infancy of agriculture, her pregnant belly was apparently likened to the fertility of the fields. Her image was associated with lozenges, triangles, snakes, and two or four lines. Her sacred animal is the sow. She is the Mother of the Dead: her uterus or entire body is the grave (hypogea of Malta and Sardinia, passage graves of western Europe, and court tombs of Ireland) or temple (Malta).

Although evidence of her exists from the Upper Paleolithic, it was probably not until the Neolithic that she became the earth mother and bread giver, appearing enthroned and crowned. She is the dominant figure in the early phases of the Neolithic. Her figurines are found on oven platforms (as at Achilleion, Thessaly, c. 6000 BCE; author's excavation, 1973), never on altars in house shrines, which were used exclusively for bird and snake goddesses.

Pairs of larger and smaller figurines known from all periods of Old Europe represent both the major and minor aspects of the goddess, sometimes as a mother-daughter pair (an analogy to Demeter and Persephone). Furthermore, the major temples of Malta consist of two constructions, one larger and the other slightly smaller, both in the anthropomorphic shape. This suggests again the dual or cyclical nature of the goddess as both summer and winter, old and young.

Gods. There are only two certain stereotypes of male gods: (1) the Sorrowful Ancient and (2) the mature male holding a crosier.

The Sorrowful Ancient is portrayed as a peaceful man sitting on a stool, hands resting on knees or supporting his face. Since the Sorrowful Ancient appears together with seated pregnant figurines that probably represent harvest goddesses, it can be assumed that he represents a dying vegetation god.

The bull with a human mask and the goat-masked male sculptures of the Vinca culture (fifth millennium BCE) may portray an early form of Dionysos in the guise of a bull or a he-goat—the god of annual renewal in full strength. However, lack of documentation from other culture groups warrants his preclusion as a stereotype.

The mature male holding a crosier and seated on a throne, from Szegvár-Tüzköves (Tisza culture, Hungary), may be a relation to Silvanus, Faunus, and Pan, historical era forest spirits and protectors of forest animals and hunters who also are depicted with a crosier. This image, as well as representations of bearded men, is probably of Upper Paleolithic origin (cf. bison men and other half-man, half-animal figures from the French caves of Les Trois Frères, Le Gabillou, and others). The type is poorly documented; only single examples of sculptures are known. The majestic posture of the Szegvár-Tüzköves god, however, suggests its importance in the pantheon.

Other images of the masculine principle, such as nude men with bird masks in leaping or dancing posture, were probably portrayals of participants in rituals, worshipers of the goddess. Male images are rare among the Old European figurines; usually they constitute only 2 to 3 percent of the total number recovered in settlements.

Summary. The concept of a divine feminine principle is manifested in human, animal, and abstract symbolic form: woman, water bird, bird of prey, doe, bear, snake, bee, butterfly, fish, toad, hedgehog, triangle, and hourglass form. Her manifestations are everywhere; her worship is attuned to the infinite round of life, death, and renewal.

Judging by the stereotypes that recur in figurines over the millennia, the religion of Old Europe was polytheistic and dominated by female deities. The primary goddess inherited from the Paleolithic was the Great Goddess, whose functions included the gift of life and increase of material goods, death-wielding and decrease, and regeneration. She was the absolute ruler of human, animal, and plant life and the controller of lunar cycles and seasons. As giver of all, death wielder, and regeneratrix, she is one and the same goddess in spite of the multiplicity of forms in which she manifests herself.

The prehistoric Great Goddess survives still in folklore. She appears as Fate (or sometimes as the three Fates), who attends the birth of a child and foretells the length of its life. She appears as White Lady (Death) with her white dog. Sometimes she is recognized in the toad or frog that brings death and regeneration, in the water birds and snakes that bring well-being and fertility, or in the crowned snake, whose crown grants the power of seeing all things and understanding the language of animals.

Although degraded to the status of a witch, the Old European Vulture (or Owl) Goddess lives on in fairy tales as an old hag with a hooked nose who flies through the air on a broom. She can slice the moon in half, cause cows to go dry, tie blossoms into knots, destroy human happiness, and inflict illness.

In European folklore as well as in prehistory, witches and fairies most often appear in groups with one the most important, the queen or "lady." This pattern reflects an ancient gynecocentric and matrilinear social structure.

As a consequence of the new agrarian economy, the Pregnant Goddess of the Paleolithic was transformed into an earth fertility deity in the Neolithic. The fecundity of humans and animals, the fertility of crops and thriving of plants, and the processes of growing and fattening became of enormous concern during this period. The drama of seasonal changes intensified, which is manifested in the emergence of a mother-daughter image and of a male god as spirit of rising and dying vegetation.

Let us note here that fertility is only one of the goddess's many functions. It is inaccurate to call Paleolithic and Neolithic goddesses fertility goddesses, as the fertility of the earth became a prominent concern only during the food-producing era. Hence, fertility is not a primary function of the goddess and has nothing to do with sexuality. The goddesses were primarily creatresses of life; they were not Venus figures or beauties and most definitely not wives of male gods. It is also inaccurate to call these prehistoric goddesses mother goddesses, a misconception found often in the archaeological literature. It is true that there are mother images and protectresses of young life, as well as a Mother Earth and Mother of the Dead, but the other female images cannot be categorized as mother goddesses. The bird goddess and the snake goddess, for example, are not mothers, nor are many other images of regeneration and transformation, such as the frog, fish, and hedgehog. They personify life, death, and regeneration; they represent more than fertility and motherhood.

SHRINES AND SANCTUARIES. Much of the corpus of information about the Old European religion comes from shrines, which have been found as models, within homes, or standing free. They demonstrate the close connections between secular and sacred life, especially in relation to functions performed by women.

Temples. The fifty or more clay models of temples discovered so far allow us to see the workings of Old Europe's shrines in striking detail. Usually found in front of or near the site of a former altar, these miniature shrines, generally small enough to be held in a person's hand, were probably gifts to the goddess of the temple. They are doubly revealing: in addition to reproducing the temple's configuration, the models are often elaborately decorated with symbolic designs and inscribed with religious symbols. Frequently a divine image in relief adorns the gables, rooftops, or roof corners of the temple.

Among the earliest models discovered are several from the Neolithic Sesklo culture of Thessaly in Greece. Dating from about 6000 BCE, they portray rectangular buildings that have pitched or saddle roofs, painted checkerboards or striated rectangles on their walls, and decorated gables. Noteworthy openings in their roofs and sometimes in their sides make them look, perhaps not coincidentally, like tiny birdhouses. A group of clay models from a slightly later date was found in a mound of the Porodin settlement near Bitola in Macedonia, southwestern Yugoslavia. Produced by the Starcevo culture of the central Balkans, dating from about 5800 to 5600 BCE, these models are capped with unusual features. Cylindrical "chimneys," located in the center of their roofs, bear the mask of a goddess; a necklace spreads down over the roof. The temple building below seems to have been constructed as the literal "body" of the deity; the structure, with the cylinder head on top, seems to be essentially a deified portrait bust. Perhaps for a mythologically related reason, a number of these shrine models have mysteriously shaped entrances, either inverted T's or triangulars.

Other temple models from the Vinca culture of the central Balkans (late sixth millennium BCE) and from the Tisza culture (around 5000 BCE) in present-day eastern Hungary are often distinctly bird shaped and have numerous incisions on their sides to indicate plumage. Their entrances have a round hole on their top half—again, like those found in birdhouses. Motifs of a bird goddess are found throughout the Vinca culture and Old Europe in general, and it seems likely that these openings were fashioned as symbolic entrances for the visiting goddess in the epiphany of a bird.

An exquisite, unusually large model of a temple with numerous large, round openings was discovered in the settlement on the island of Cascioarele on the Danube River in southern Romania. Dating from about 4500, this model has dramatically enhanced knowledge of Copper Age architectural and cult practices. The shrine model itself consists of a large substructure supporting four individual temples, each of which has a wide, arched portal crowned with horns. The facade is pierced by ten round apertures and is decorated with irregular, horizontally incised lines. This detailing suggests wood construction. The top surface of the substructure probably constituted a terrace that could hold a large congregation. Presumably—if this was, as it seems to be, a model of an actual structure—the whole temple complex was at least ten meters tall, with the individual roof temples measuring about three meters in height. The structure is clearly of European tradition, and no close parallels to this configuration exist.

Other models of two-story temples have been found at Old European settlements at Ruse on the lower Danube River in Bulgaria, Izvoarele in Romania, and Azmak in central Bulgaria. Still another model, this time from the Ros River Valley at Rozsokhuvatka in the western Ukraine, depicts a two-story sanctuary standing on four legs, with the second floor constituting a two-room temple. This model is from the Cucuteni culture, dating from about 4300 to 4000, the farthest outpost of Old European civilization in the northeast. This culture has been made famous through systematic excavations of entire villages, whose spacious, two- to four-room houses include altars and platforms, as well as by its magnificent ceramic art. The model has wide entrances on both floors and a platform, adorned with bull horns and perhaps used for worship, in front of the large portal on the second floor. A round window appears in the rear, and horizontal beams that support the roof are indicated in relief.

The walls of many models of temples were painted and decorated with incisions, excisions, and encrustations in symbolic motifs. Often these were arranged into panels in the same manner as on cult vases. The parallels between these forms are often particularly revealing. One dominant Old European motif, for example, found repeatedly on the models, cult vases, and other votive objects, is the meander, or the figurative representation of a snake; sometimes an abstract derivative of this image, in the form of single or pairs of spiraling lines, will appear.

A model of a Vinca temple unearthed in Gradesnica in northwestern Bulgaria, dating from about 5000 BCE, is a good example of the use of these symbolic decorations. Each wall and roof of this model constitutes a separate panel, each marked with a different design of meanders or sinuous lines, chevrons, and dotted bands. The vertical panels on either side of the entrance are inscribed with signs in a configuration that may comprise some sort of formula associated with the temple's goddess. Above the entrance to the temple are bands of dots and zigzags—snakeskin designs—further suggesting that the shrine belongs to a deity, perhaps the Snake Goddess. Above the facade, a schematic head in the center probably represents the actual goddess, and the masked heads on the corners may symbolize her divine associates.

Still other models, although otherwise complete, are roofless, so it is possible to peer into the scene of the cult activities. Such open models have a dais along the back wall and a bread oven on the side wall. A model of a roofless temple from Popudnia, a late Cucuteni settlement north of Uman in the western Ukraine, sits on four cylindrical legs and consists of a main room and vestibule; between them is a rectangular entrance with a threshold. On the right side of the large central chamber are benches and a large rectangular oven on a raised platform. To the right of the oven sits a female figurine with her hands on her breasts; near the outer wall another female figurine is grinding grain, and close by is a depression for storing flour. Almost in the center of the shrine stands a raised platform in the shape of a cross.

Among the actual temples is a two-story temple uncovered in Radingrad, near Razgrad in northeastern Bulgaria, by Totju Ivanov of the Archaeological Museum, Razgrad, from 1974 to 1978. Probably similar to the four-legged Rozsokhuvatka model from the Ukraine, this Karanovo culture temple dates from about 5000 BCE. Its first floor had a ceramic workshop with a large oven to one side; on the other side was a clay platform with tools for making, polishing, and decorating pots. Flat stone containers for crushing ocher stood nearby. Exquisite finished vases and unbaked ones were also found in the room. The second floor, like that of the Rozsokhuvatka model, comprised the temple proper. Inside was a large rectangular clay altar seventy-five centimeters high, and to its left stood a vertical loom and many figurines and temple models. A number of the vases near the altar were filled with clay beads.

One important discovery was that of a pillar temple, unearthed in the village of Cascioarele. Excavated by Hortensia and Vladimir Dumitrescu of the Institute of Archaeology, Bucharest, from 1962 to 1969, this Karanovo culture sanctuary, found just below the model of the edifice, dates from the early part of the fifth millennium BCE. Rectangular in plan, the sixteen- by ten-meter temple was divided into two rooms by six rows of posts. The interior walls of one room are painted red with bands of cream-colored curvilinear designs; above the entrance is a striking terracotta medallion with a red snake-coil outlined by a thin line of cream. This room contains also two hollow pillars, both measuring about two meters in height, that were originally modeled around two tree trunks. The thicker one was encircled by posts and, like the walls, had been painted three times with different designs. Near it lay an adult skeleton in a crouched position. The thinner pillar, measuring about ten centimeters in diameter, stood close to the interior wall and was painted with cream ribbons on a reddish brown background. Next to it was a terracotta bench or dais about forty centimeters high with painted curvilinear ribbons of cream color. Nearby lay numerous fragments of painted vases and of large vessels decorated with excised motifs. Rituals or mysteries performed here were probably connected with the idea of regeneration and the invocation of the vital source of life. The pillars, decorated with the running angularized spiral or snake motif, can be interpreted as life columns. The tradition of the life column motif can be traced as far back as the seventh millennium BCE, when it appeared in Çatal Hüyük frescoes, and in the Sesklo temples of Thessaly around 6000 BCE. In representations on Old European vases, life columns are usually shown flanked with horns, whirls, spirals, male animals, and uterus symbols.

The remains of an early Cucuteni shrine in Sabatinivka in the southern Bug River Valley of the Ukraine present an even more dramatic picture. A rectangular building of about seventy square meters, this temple has a clay-plastered floor and an entrance area paved with flat stones. The center of the room contains a large oven with a female figurine at its base. Nearby stood an incense burner and a group of vessels; these included a dish containing the burned bones of an ox and a channel-decorated pot with a small cup inside, once used for libations. Also nearby was a group of five concave grinding stones and five seated terracotta figurines with their bodies leaning backward. Along the rear wall, sixteen other female figurines were seated in low, horned-back chairs on a six-meter-long altar. In the corner adjacent to the altar stood a clay throne with a horned back and a meter-wide seat that had originally been covered with split planks. Altogether, thirty-two of these nearly identical, armless figurines with massive thighs and snake-shaped heads were found in this sanctuary. Oddly, several of them had been perforated through the shoulders, and one held a baby snake.

The Sabatinivka sanctuary demonstrates that bread ovens, grinding stones, and storage vessels played a fundamental role in the cult rites performed at Old European shrines. The seated figurines strongly suggest that temple worshipers participated in a ritual grinding of grain and baking of sacred bread and that these ceremonies were supervised from a throne, at least at Sabatinivka, by an overseer, probably a priestess. It seems likely that sacred cakes were dedicated to the goddess at the conclusion of the rites. Also the clay figurines on the altar may have been presented as votive offerings to the goddess or used as effigies to celebrate her presence.

These images of cult practices are further illuminated by a site near Trgoviste in northeastern Bulgaria, excavated by Henrieta Todorova of the Institute of Archaeology, Sofia, in 1971. This house shrine site at Ovcarovo, a product of the Karanovo culture, dates from about 4500–4200 BCE. The site yielded remains of twenty-six miniature cult objects, including four figurines with upraised arms, three temple facades or possible altar screens, decorated with chevrons, triple lines, and spirals around a central motif of concentric circles—nine chairs, three miniature tables, three vessels with lids, several large dishes, and three drums. It seems possible that this large collection of objects may have been used in different groupings at various times according to the required tableau of each particular ceremony.

The four figurines were painted with meanders and parallel lines. But most interesting was the presence of drums, which suggests the ritual use of music and dance in Old Europe. Other cult objects include miniature vessels with lids, found on small tables where they may have been used as sacrificial containers. Slightly larger than the figurines, these dishes or basins may have been used in some form of lustration or spiritual cleansing during the ceremony. The nine chairs, finally, may have been used to seat three of the figurines—the fourth is larger than the others—alternatively at the three altars, three tables, or the three drums. These miniature replicas are particularly important because lifesize Old European altars and tables holding sacrificial equipment have rarely been preserved.

A very interesting cache of twenty-one figurines, probably used for the reenactment of earth fertility rites, came to light in an early Cucuteni shrine at Poduri-Dealul Ghindaru, Moldavia, northeastern Romania. The figurines were stored in a large vase. In addition, there were fifteen chairs or thrones on which larger figurines could sit. The figurines are from six to twelve centimeters in height. The different proportions, workmanship, and symbols painted on the figurines suggest a clear hierarchy in this tableau. The three largest ones are painted in red ocher with symbols that are typical of Mother Earth: antithetic snakes coiling over the abdomen, lozenges on the back, and dotted triangles and lozenges over the ample thighs and legs. The medium-sized figurines have a striated band across the abdomen and stripes across their thighs and legs. The small figurines were rather carelessly produced and are not painted with symbols. Such differences may reflect different cult roles ranging from dominant personages (goddesses or priestesses) to assistants and attendants.

Although merely a selection in themselves, these Old European temple sites demonstrate that a long and varied list of cult paraphernalia—sacrificial containers, lamps, altar tables and plaques, libation vases, ladles, incense burners, and figurines—could have been employed in worship rituals. While the sacred rite of breadmaking appears to have been among the most consecrated and pervasive practices, there may well have been many additional distinct categories of religious ceremonies.

Caves. In the tradition of their Upper Paleolithic ancestors, the people of Old Europe used caves as sanctuaries. An excellent example of an Old European sanctuary is the cave of Scaloria in southeastern Italy, which dates from the mid-sixth millennium BCE. It consists of a large cave that is connected by a narrow tunnel to a lower-level cave containing a pool of water. The upper cave, which shows signs of seasonal occupation, contains a mass grave of 137 skeletons. The cave yielded stalagmites, stalactites, and pottery decorated with crescents, snakes, plant motifs, and egg or uterus shapes. These decorative symbols indicate that the cave was a sanctuary where funerary and/or initiation rites of mysteries took place, associated with the idea of regeneration and renewal. Many as yet unexplored cave sanctuaries have been discovered along the Adriatic coast and Greece's Peloponnese Peninsula.

Tomb-shrines. In central Europe, a sacred place of tombs and shrines has been discovered at Lepenski Vir in the Iron Gate region, northern Yugoslavia, during the excavation of 1965–1968 (Srejovic, 1972). The trapeze-shaped (i.e., triangular with the narrow end cut off) structures with red lime plaster floors of Lepenski Vir, dating from the late seventh to the early sixth millennium BCE, are dug into an amphitheater-like recess in the bank of the Danube. The essential feature of the shrine is the rectangular altar built of stones, which has an entrance in the shape of the open legs of a goddess, similar to that found in Irish court tombs. At the end of the altar stood one or two sculptures representing the fish goddess and a round, or egg-shaped, stone engraved with a labyrinthine design.

Fifty-four red sandstone sculptures were found. The dead were buried in similar triangular structures; they were placed on the red floor with their heads in the narrow end and positioned so that their navels were in the very center of the structure.

The main activities at Lepenski Vir were ritual sacrifice and the carving and engraving of sacred sculptures and cult objects. Paleozoologists were astonished to find a very high proportion of dog bones in the early phases of the site, when there were yet no herds to be watched by dogs. The bones were not broken up, indicating that dogs were not used for meat, and the often intact skeletons lay in anatomical order. Large fish bones (carp, catfish, sturgeon, pike) were identified in almost all structures; one exceptionally large catfish may have weighed from 140 to 180 kilograms! Twenty shrines contained a red deer skull or shoulder blade, which often was associated with the bones of dogs and boars. In three cases human bones were found in hearths. It can be seen from the above that the sacrificial animals at Lepenski Vir were fish, deer, dogs, and boars—the animals known from prehistory and early history to be associated with the life-giving aspect of the goddess (deer, fish) and with her death aspect (dog and boar).

Summary. That the preponderance of figurines found in Old European shrines are female suggests that religious activities during this period were largely, if not exclusively, in the hands of women. Although men participated in religious ceremonies—for instance, as bird- or animal-masked dancers—it is women who are portrayed in the overwhelming majority of figurines as engaged in cult activities or as supervising these events from thrones. Furthermore, the rituals mirror daily secular tasks associated with women, most importantly, preparation of bread from grains, manufacture of ceramics, and weaving.

In the process of sacralizing their creative lives, women in Old Europe developed many religious practices whose occurence in later periods is taken for granted. For instance, the four elements so central to ritual historically—air (incense), earth (bread and clay objects), fire (lamps and ovens), and water (liquid contents of vessels)—were represented in Old Europe. Also integrated into rites were music and dance, the use of masks, sacrificial offerings, lustration, and rites involving bread and drink.

SEE ALSO Birds; Caves; Goddess Worship; Megalithic Religion, article on Prehistoric Evidence.

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MARIJA GIMBUTAS (1987)

PREHISTORIC RELIGIONS: THE EURASIAN STEPPES AND INNER ASIA

During the Aeneolithic epoch of the fifth to the third millennium BCE two types of cultures developed in the steppe zone of Eurasia. One was a sedentary culture of primitive agriculturists and livestock breeders. They lived in clay-walled dwellings that were grouped in fortified settlements. To this type belong the Anau (Jeytun) culture of southern Turkmenia, whose scientific study was inaugurated with the excavations made by Raphael Pumpelly's American expedition to the Anau mounds near Ashkhabad, and the Tripolye-Cucuteni culture between the Dnieper River and the eastern Carpathian Mountains. (The Tripolye-type remains were identified by the prerevolutionary Russian scholar V. V. Khvoiko.) These cultures are known in detail today primarily through the work of Soviet scholars.

The Aeneolithic cultures were closely connected with the oldest centers of agricultural civilization in the Near East—the Anau culture directly so, and the Tripolye-Cucuteni through the medium of the archaeological cultures of the Balkans. Adjoining the Aeneolithic cultures were those of livestock-breeding steppe tribes. In the steppe areas around the Caspian and Black seas, from the Urals to the Crimea, was the Pit-Grave cultural community; in the south of Siberia, in the Minusinsk Basin, was the Afanas'evo culture. The tribes of these two groups of cultures were closely related.

TRIPOLYE-CUCUTENI RELIGION. The religious concepts of the Tripolye-Cucuteni tribes are revealed by analysis of amulets, paintings on pottery, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic statuettes, models of dwellings and utensils, altars, and so on. The clay models of dwellings are in the form of two-storied houses with an accentuated rounded or quadrangular upper story. Inside is a representation of a bread-baking oven, with an anthropomorphic idol next to it. Excavations of the settlements have revealed that some houses contained clay altars in the form of a female figure, sometimes with a bird's head or a head in the shape of a chalice or cylinder. There were also ritual clay dippers. Sanctuaries adjoined the dwellings and were entirely separate from them, and the cult they housed was evidently a fertility cult. In the sanctuaries were distinctive clay "horned thrones" whose backs imitated bulls' horns.

The most abundant source for understanding the Tripolye ideology are the pottery with its paintings and moldings, and the statuettes. The paintings on Tripolye vessels are divided into three vertical zones that evidently represent a tripartite concept of the universe. In mythological depictions the sun is associated with the bull, and also, at times, with the female principle (the female breast). This apparently symbolizes a cosmogonic configuration of the world that combined the male and female principles. The snake as well occupied a high position in the mythological hierarchy. The world was thought to have the form of a square or a circle, and a female deity may have taken part in the process of creation, as suggested by a vessel with a female figure in relief embracing it, as it were, with both arms. A parallel is the Sumerian goddess Ninhursaga, who gives form as "mistress creator" or "mistress potter." Religious customs included ritual dances; dancing female figures are depicted on several vessels. The dances may be Dadolaic ceremonies for bringing rain, or magic fertility rites.

Anthropomorphic plastic art, especially statuettes, is combined with ornamental designs and portrayals. There are several types of female statuettes, some with signs of pregnancy. One group of statuettes has designs with a diamond shape—a sexual symbol. In this way, the female principle and the idea of fertility were emphasized, as also seen in depictions of a snake on the stomachs of clay female statuettes that were clearly pregnant. The snake is a frequent motif in the oldest European art, and this motif often has a cosmogonic meaning. But on these statuettes the snake, as in Crete, appears as an attribute of a female deity; everywhere in the ancient East the snake symbolized fertility. Direct evidence of this is given by a group of statuettes in which the clay is mixed with flour or grains, and by another group with depictions of plants or animals. Thus, the cult of fertility and the deity (deities?) of fertility were prominent in the religion of the Tripolye-Cucuteni tribes.

ANAU RELIGION. A complex system of religious beliefs existed among the Anau tribes. Both dwellings and cultic structures expressed spatial concepts, with squarish and rectangular buildings predominating. Structures at the center of a group of buildings had a special type of hearth, in which a fire was lit for cultic ceremonies. At Karadepe two sanctuaries, side by side, have squarish hearths. Adjoining are auxiliary structures. This cult center may be regarded as a prototemple, although it also served as a granary. Together with large sanctuaries there were domestic ones, with traces of large fires inside, raising the hypothesis that they were deliberately burned down.

Vessel paintings show clear-cut spatial and geometric concepts and relationships. Goat and tree (vegetation) motifs testify to a fertility cult; sometimes the goat is next to the tree. Unquestionably, there was a cycle of beliefs associated with the reproductive power of the goat, which in general serves as a symbol of the fructifying powers of nature and which may function as an attribute or embodiment of a corresponding deity. The goat motif is one of the most widespread in ancient Eastern glyptics; association of the goat with vegetation (the tree) also signifies a connection with the earth. Another mythologem reflected in the designs is a bird with the sun disk.

Equally important for revealing religious concepts are the earthenware statuettes. Most are of sitting women with arms schematically raised at the sides, with well-defined facial features, and with markedly emphasized breasts, pelvis, and buttocks. The sitting pose itself was evidently evoked by fertility concepts and an association with the chthonic principle. It symbolized birth and, more generally, the birth and organization of the cosmos. The marks and depictions on the statuettes confirm and develop this symbolism. Some of the statuettes are holding a child and perhaps a goat. The back and bosom of one statuette are covered with numerous female breasts; other statuettes are covered with schematic depictions of trees, and sometimes of snakes. It is not possible to formulate concretely the religio-mythological cycles reflected by these statuettes, but one may surmise that they were connected with communal cults. The feminine protectors of earthly births and the ancestors of communal groups were worshiped. These female deities had created an orderly world out of chaos and had established cosmic and terrestrial law and order. On them, then, depended the continuation of humankind, the reproduction of wild and domestic animals, and the fertility of fields.

CULT CENTERS. In the Late Bronze Age (end of the third through the second millennium BCE), large cult centers with monumental edifices appeared in the agricultural and livestock-breeding communities of southern Central Asia. One such center, at Altyn-tepe in southern Turkmenia, consisted of a stepped towerlike edifice, a burial complex, dwellings ("the house of the priest"?), and household buildings. Most grandiose was a four-stepped towerlike edifice with a facade 26 meters in length and an estimated height of 12 meters. In configuration it resembled a Mesopotamian ziggurat. In one of the buildings of the burial complex was an altar, together with a gold bull's head, a wolf's head, and a plaque with astral symbols. The bull's head is akin to analogous but earlier Mesopotamian depictions, although it is more schematic. Characteristically, the Altyn-tepe bull has on its forehead a moon-shaped lapis lazuli laid-plate. The cult and image of the bull were widespread among early agricultural cultures (such as Çatal Hüyük), especially in Mesopotamia. A "heavenly bull" or a moon deity may have been worshiped at Altyn-tepe. Much later, in Zoroastrianism, the moon was called *gao čithra* ("having bull semen"). It was from this semen that all animals had been born, whereas from the semen falling on the ground domesticated plants had arisen. The mythic First Man had stood on one side of the Mythic River, and on the other side was the First Bull (*Greater Bundahishn* 1a.12–13, 6e.1–3; *Yashts* 7.3–6).

Another, later, cult center, Dashly 3 (second half of the second millennium BCE), has an entirely different structure. In the center of a square enclosure (roughly 150 meters on each side) is a round edifice in the form of a circumambulatory gallery, its interior divided into compartments and its exterior having nine salient towers. Three passageways lead into this gallery, whose interior includes chambers with fire-bearing altars. Parallel to the central edifice and outside it are two concentric walls that divide the space into three circles. All the enclosing walls are very thin and were clearly not used as fortifications.

This cultic ceremonial center mirrors in its structure a cosmogram of a ritual universe (Indic *maṇḍala*), as well as a sociocosmic model of society with its tripartite division. The central part is the spiritual center of the universe, and the three outer rings must correlate with a tripartite universe. The tripartite division of Indo-European (in this case, proto-Indo-Iranian) communities was clearly reflected in this plan. In the center—the focus of the entire composition—are reflected again the sacred triads (three gates, nine small towers). During rituals the sacred altars were lit and animals were sacrificed. This group of tribes evidently combined the idea of a tripartite world with a concept of the four sides of the world joined in a square. There is a certain correspondence with the ancient Iranian concept of *vara* and the divine fortress of the Kafirs.

BURIAL GROUNDS AND RITES. A significant migration of tribes took place in the Eurasian steppes during the second millennium BCE. Indo-Iranian tribes left the area of the Timber-Grave culture (the steppes between the Urals, the Volga, and the northern Black Sea region) and the western area of settlement of the Andronovo tribes (western Kazakhstan). They migrated south to Central Asia, spreading through that region in several waves and bringing in Indo-Iranian language, social institutions, and beliefs.

The rites performed at the Sintashta burial ground (in the southern Ural region, northeast of Magnitogorsk) had a pronounced Indo-Iranian character. The tribes that used this and related burial grounds from the eighteenth to the sixteenth century BCE carried out both individual and group interments. The wooden burial cover was held up by wooden posts; the most ancient of Indian scriptures, the *Ṛgveda,* makes reference to a similar practice. In the graves are massive finds of the bones of sacrificial animals. For example, in Pit I five horse skulls were in a row along a wall; along the opposite wall were four skulls of hornless oxen and a horse skull. In another grave were seventeen skulls of cows, rams, and horses. There were also dog bones. In a number of graves horse skulls and leg bones were laid at one end of the burial chamber, and a chariot, complete with wheels and spokes, stood at the other end. Horse skeletons were generally laid either behind each other or with skulls and legs facing each other. Many of the buried were warriors. On the earth-covered tombs, long-burning fires had been built. The chariots and steeds reflect the beliefs that the soul departs for the world beyond on a chariot and that the steed is the fire deity's companion. The same may be said of the dog. The sacrifice of animals is reminiscent of another ancient Indian sacrificial custom, the Agnicayana.

The Sintashta burial ground reflects a stage of ancient Indian beliefs earlier than that found in the *Ṛgveda.* Moreover, elements of the funeral rites have parallels to those in a wider area. For example, many steppe tribes of western Europe used burial covers on posts and cremated the deceased. In the Bronze Age, cremation and the corresponding cycle of beliefs existed in a vast area of the Eurasian steppes, particularly among the Fedorovo tribes of Kazakhstan and the Timber-Grave tribes of the Volga and northern Black Sea areas.

These Bronze Age beliefs were also widespread in Central Asia. In the Tigrovaia Balka burial ground, one central *kurgan* (burial mound) was surrounded by a ring of twenty, and another by forty-one, small mounds under which hearths were found. During the burial ritual, a ring of fire was lit around the entombed persons. This fiery barrier bore witness simultaneously to a belief in a circular universe (isomorphic with the ancient Indian belief) and to its fiery essence. This group of beliefs was further developed in the religion of the Saka peoples of the Eurasian steppes.

SAKA RELIGION. The vast area of the steppe and mountain-steppe zones, from the Aral Sea in the west to the Minusinsk Basin in the east and including Mongolia, Sinkiang, and Central Asia, was inhabited by tribes related culturally, and probably ethnically, to the East Iranians—the Saka group, mentioned in Old Persian and Greek sources. They spoke an East Iranian language. The tribes of Central Asia and of southern, western, and central Kazakhstan are termed Saka; those farther to the east are called Saka-Siberian.

In the Greco-Roman sources, references to the Saka beliefs are very scant. They may be supplemented by material from the ancient sacred works of the Indo-Iranians, especially the Avesta and the Vedas; from Middle Persian Zoroastrian works; and from the religious concepts of contemporary East Iranian and Indo-Aryan peoples. On the other hand, the archaeological materials of the Saka tribes, dating from the seventh century BCE to the beginning of the common era, are unusually abundant, especially the burial grounds and works of art. They are the main source for an assessment of the Saka religion, which had an overall similarity to that of the Scythians, although the two were by no means identical.

Divine gifts. An important mythological isogloss uniting the religious beliefs of the European Scythians and the Asian Saka is the motif of divine gifts. According to the account of Quintus Cortius Rufus, a Latin biographer of Alexander the Great, the Saka received from the gods the yoke, plow, spear, arrow, and chalice (7.8.17–18). The first two are associated with obtaining the fruits of the earth; the spear and arrow, with the defeat of enemies; and the chalice, with libations to the gods. The three-layered social condition emerges here with absolute clarity.

Sun cult. In the *Histories* of Herodotos, Queen Tomyris of the Massagetae pronounces the formula "I swear by the sun, the lord of the Massagetae" (1.212). Oaths by the sun and by fire were widespread among Iranians in antiquity and in medieval times. But even until recently the inhabitants of the Pamir, who formerly called the sun "great," swore by the "sun's head" as their strongest oath. They perceived the sun as an anthropomorphic being. The ancient Iranians had the same anthropomorphic concept of the great luminary. To them the sun was the visible form of the supreme deity, Ahura Mazdā—his child or his eye. The fact that these concepts were those of the Saka as well is made evident by the word for "sun" in the medieval language of Khotan, which is, as in the Pamir dialects, *urmaysde* (cf. Old Iranian *Ahura Mazdāh*).

Concerning the beliefs of the Massagetae, Herodotos wrote: "The only god they worship is the sun, to whom they sacrifice horses. The idea behind this is to offer the swiftest animal to the swiftest of the gods" (1.216). According to the Avesta, the ancient Iranians repeated: "We worship the shining sun, the immortal, the rich, [who owns] swift steeds (*aurvaṭ-aspem*)." They conceived of the sun's movement across the sky as that of a gleaming carriage to which heavenly steeds were harnessed. In the *Ṛgveda* as well, that is, among the ancient Hindus, the theme of white heavenly steeds in connection with the sun god (Sūrya) is elaborated in great detail. Thus, in the *Ṛgveda* the sun repeatedly appears in the form of a horse, Dadhikrā (Dadhikrāvan).

After the beginning of the common era, the solar cult in India greatly increased in importance because of the arrival there of the Central Asian Saka and the related Yüeh-chih. By the first millennium CE there were temples honoring the sun in various places in Central Asia, particularly Merv and Ferghana. Nothing is known about their structure. Some edifices in the south of Siberia give us an idea of the cult places associated with the sun and with steeds, the sun's attribute.

The Arzhan *kurgan* (in Tuva), a very ancient monument of Scytho-Siberian culture (eighth and seventh centuries BCE), had a round stone platform mound about 110 meters in diameter and 3 to 4 meters high. Under the mound was an enormous wood edifice, in whose center was a square (8 by 8 meters) wooden frame. In the middle of this structure was a smaller one with a king and a queen interred in coffins, surrounded by six wooden coffins and two small enclosures in which the king's courtiers were interred. Here too were the king's personal horses. Lines of logs, like spokes of a gigantic wheel, came radially out of the central structure. The entire surface was divided into seventy trapezoidal compartments by cross-pieces forming concentric lines. Some of these compartments had additional divisions. In nine of the compartments there were mass burials of horses; burials of humans and horses were found in a number of other compartments. The king was dressed in a rich garment of wool and one of sable; both he and his female companion had numerous gold ornaments. The ground in the royal compartment was covered with horse tails and manes. The courtiers too were clothed in costly garments and had gold ornaments. The mass horse-burials included groups of fifteen or thirty old stallions, evidently gifts to the king from tribal units subordinate to him.

The Arzhan *kurgan* clearly testifies to a developed cult of the sun. The king is at the center of a gigantic wheel, which symbolized the solar chariot or, rather, the sun itself. The concept of the "solar wheel" is widespread in Indo-European thought. Not only is the king equated with the sun, at the center, but the steeds accompanying the sun are placed, both individually and as a body, in strictly defined groups within the construction. This clearly indicates that they are immediate participants of the myth depicted by the Arzhan *kurgan.* The horses of the *kurgan* enter, as it were, the inner essence of the sun on the one hand, and on the other they indicate the way by which souls may reach this luminary.

Such sepulchral "temples of the sun" were not isolated instances. Another, simpler, variant is the Ulug-Khorum *kurgan* (also in Tuva), in whose center is a semi-spherical stone mound 22 meters in diameter. Thirty-three meters from the mound's center is a stone wall. The ring between the foundation of the mound and the wall is divided into sections by thirty-two radial spokes made of stone. On the stone are incised depictions of horses.

Cult of the horse. Throughout the entire Scythian, Saka, and Saka-Siberian areas there are burials of horses, both individual and collective, and either with or without human burials. In Central Asia and Kazakhstan there were until recent times a number of variants of the custom of dedicating a horse to the deceased. The Kafir of Nuristan retained the practice of setting up on the grave a wooden statue of a horseman, and in Central Asia, dolls on a wooden horse were set up. All this reflects a perception of the chthonic nature of the horse and, on the other hand, of its functions as an intermediary between worlds—an animal hastening to the upper worlds and conveying the soul of the deceased there.

The cult of the horse was associated with its otherwordly nature, and this cult was reflected in numerous depictions of horses. Very frequently these were made on cliffs and mountains, as the Oglakhta pictograph in the Yenisei region, and the pictograph on the Aravan cliff in Ferghana. In Chinese sources, Central Asian, and especially Ferghana, horses are termed "heavenly," evidently reflecting local concepts. A "heavenly steed" was said to live in a mountain cave in Tokharistan. Wherever there were many horse depictions in mountainous areas, as at Oglakhta, there were sanctuaries dedicated to the heavenly steed.

In ancient Central Asian legends, sacred horses dwell in a lake, a motif that may be traced back to ancient Iranian beliefs. In the Avesta, the deity of water and river streams, Aredvi, was drawn by four horses, whereas the rain deity, Tistrya, appeared in the form of a white horse with golden ears and muscles who received rainwater from the celestial lake, Vourukasa. It is possible, however, that the concept of the horse as a water steed has an even older, Indo-Iranian, foundation.

Thus, the Saka tribes had a cult of a supreme deity with pronounced solar coloration. Originating in the ancient Iranian pantheon, which is known from Zoroastrian works, this deity may have been Ahura Mazda, Mithra, or perhaps Mithra Ahura; moreover, different hypostases of this deity may have had primary significance among different Saka tribes. The cult of the horse and the cult of fire in its various manifestations (see below) were associated with the worship of this deity.

Cult of fire. The cult of fire played a large role in funerary ritual. In the Uigarak and Tagisken burial grounds (Aral Sea region); in those of Besshatyr (the Semirech'e region of Kazakhstan), Kokuibel (the Pamirs), and Tashkurgan (Sinkiang); and in the Sauromatian burial grounds of the North Caucasus the funerary structure was sometimes burned, either with total or partial cremation of the deceased, or without such cremation. Funerary pyres were sometimes burned over the deceased or around the funerary platform, and sometimes the deceased was covered with coals from a pyre that had been lit to one side of him.

In the Pamirs, the Aral Sea area, and among the Sauromatians the deceased was colored red or red paint was placed in the grave. The color red functions as a symbol and substitute for fire. Perhaps this was based on a deeper stratum of beliefs with a universal cosmological dichotomy, in which red denoted the world of the beyond, and painting the deceased red led him from the world of the living and joined him to the world of the dead. All these customs are echoes of Indo-European beliefs in the necessity of cremation. A number of Saka tribes believed that burning the deceased and his property was a sacrifice to the gods. For the deceased himself it was a "blessing," since the tongues of the flames, like horses, would perforce carry him off to heaven.

The Saka world had other manifestations of the cult of fire, differing among the groupings of the Saka tribes. The tribes of the Semirechʾe and adjoining regions of Sinkiang had censers and sacrificial altars with depictions of animals, processions of beasts, and scenes of battle between beasts. The censers reflected the mytheme of the "tree of the world" and the tripartite division of the universe. They constituted a sacred cosmogram whose functions, realized in the ritual of the fire cult, were denoted by animals and their groupings.

Myths. The available data confirm that the Saka had a well-developed (although less complex than among the ancient Hindus) system of myths. It united deities and their animal incarnations with the cosmological concept of the triadic nature of the universe (and of all that existed) and that of the "tree of the world." These deities and concepts were united with the sacred act isomorphic to the Hindu *yajña* (lit., "worship of the god"; later, any sacred act). In these beliefs, in complex oblique ways, the earthly and the divine, the profane and the sacred, were interwoven. Through sacrifices associated with fire and animals, a socially defined human being became a participant in a series of transformations. When the small sacred area of the sacrificial altar extended to the limits of the entire universe, the person making the sacrifice was embodied in the altar itself (an emanation of the deity), in the sacred fire, and in the animals associated with the deity or deities. In this way he merged with the infinite.

On a felt rug from Pazyryk *kurgan* V (Altai), there is a frequently repeated scene: a goddess with the appearance of a man sits on a throne, wearing a long-sleeved garment covering her to the feet. On her head is a spiked crown. Her left hand is raised to her mouth, and in her extended right hand is a flowering sacred tree. Before her is a mounted archer with a quiver. This is one of the feminine deities of the Saka pantheon. If she originates in the Scythian pantheon, she is most likely Tabiti or, perhaps, Api. The scene is a divine wedding, with the king acquiring divine status.

Cult of gold. According to Ctesias (see Diodorus 2.34.1), the Saka built a sepulcher above the grave of their queen, Zarina, in the form of a huge pyramid. On top of it "they set up a colossal gold statue, to which they rendered heroic homage." Archaeological excavations have not unearthed the gold statue, but "golden burials" have been found. At the Issyk *kurgan,* not far from Alma-Ata, a princely burial dating from the fourth or third century BCE has been discovered. The deceased wore a headdress richly decorated with gold clasps and plaques; his clothing and footgear were almost solidly covered with gold plaques. More than four thousand gold objects, as well as two silver vessels, were found at this burial. In northern Afghanistan, at the Tillya-tepe mound, princely graves of the first century BCE to the first century CE were found. The deceased wore gold-embroidered clothing decorated with small gold plaques. Each grave contained from twenty-five hundred to four thousand of these plaques. The deceased were indeed clad in gold; they also wore gold crowns, and under their heads gold or silver chalices had been placed.

In ancient Iran, in Parthia, only the king could sleep on a golden couch. The Achaemenid kings, including Cyrus II, were buried in gold sarcophagi. Gold symbolized royal power in ancient India (*Śatapatha Brāhmana* 13.2.2.17). In Kazakhstan and Afghan "golden" burials the idea that gold is the symbol of the king—of his power, his fate, and his good fortune (*farn*)—was the dominant one in decorating royal corpses with an enormous quantity of gold, a literal "wrapping" in gold.

These concepts are underlain by deeper ones, according to which gold is the inner content and the outer environment of divinities, for example, Agni and other gods of ancient Indian mythology. In the Hindu epics there are "golden-eyed" and "golden-skinned" gods. The newly born Buddha Śākyamuni's body was radiant like the sun and shone with gold (Aśvaghoṣa, Buddhacarita 1.1.14, 1.1.45). The ancient Iranian god Vainu wore red clothing decorated in gold, and in medieval Iran a person whose skin had a golden hue was thought to be divine. The wrapping of a corpse in clothing covered with gold distinguished it from ordinary corpses, making it a divine being from another world, for the deceased ruler was like the setting sun. The same beliefs gave rise to the custom of setting up gold statues on the graves of the Saka kings or covering their corpses with gold.

The Issyk royal headdress. Knowledge of the religious beliefs of the Saka tribes facilitates analysis of the complex spiked headdress of the Issyk prince. Above the diadem are two horse's heads turned in different directions but with a single body. In back are two more horse heads, as well as vertical arrow shafts and bent plates that imitate birds' wings. The decorations on the sides have a distinct zonal character, with mountains, trees with small birds on them, mountains with snow leopards, and medallions with depictions of goats and snow leopards. On top of the headdress is a figurine of a snow leopard. This cosmogram is the Saka variant of the sacred macrocosm and also a depiction of the "tree of the world." It is undoubtedly associated with the texts of rituals, invocations, and myths, and was an iconographic embodiment of some of these.

The Saka king undoubtedly functioned also as a priest. He was believed to know and to personify the cosmological structure of the world; it was he who correlated it with the social structure of the tribe or tribes. The *axis mundi* went through the king, as embodied in his head and crown. This was the most sacred point in space, corresponding with the sacred space and axis of the sacrificial altar.

Still more concrete conclusions may be made. Double horse heads with a single body may reflect beliefs in divine twins that are akin to beliefs widespread among different Indo-European traditions. Their contrast with depictions of ordinary earthly horses laid out side by side sets off and emphasizes the former's unearthly power. The facial part of the headdress is associated with symbols of royal power in the form of birds' wings with feathers. This may stand for the ancient Iranian god of victory, Verethragna, who was symbolized by the bird of prey *vāregna.* An amulet made of feathers from this bird gave *khvarenah,* in this case "royal good fortune." For the ancient Hindus, the eagle was the personification of Indra, and Agni the "eagle of the heavens." The symbolism of royal power is reinforced by the vertical arrows and by the figurine, atop the headdress, of a ram—the symbol of Farn, the Iranian deity of royal destiny and good fortune.

The depictions on the sides of the headdress are in three tiers, which reflect the concept of a tripartite model of the world. The bottom layer, in turn, is in three parts, recalling the ancient Indian belief that there are three worlds, this one and two beyond. The idea of triplicity permeated the Saka cosmogony and was its essence; however, each of the component elements was not homogeneous. The concept of a tripartite universe corresponded to the tripartite structure of Saka society.

Thus, the depictions on the Issyk royal headdress linked together the king's earthly and sacred power (as portrayed on the frontal part) and his cosmic essence (as portrayed on the sides). All this is united with the diadem below and the figurine of the ram above—the pole toward which everything strives and which embodies the divine attribution of the king.

Burial customs. Mircea Eliade has established that after a mythic, cosmic catastrophe only devout people, shamans, and so on may ascend to the heavens, with the help of a "sacred cord" (tree, cliff, etc.). To facilitate their ascent, at the interment of these persons wooden stakes are set up in the burial pits, or stone columns are placed on the burial mounds (as in the Pamir).

Burial rituals and customs varied considerably among the different Saka tribes. Among the large kurgans of the Pazyryk group, a chamber made of logs was sometimes set on top of the stone foundation of the burial pit, which was about 4 meters deep. On top of the chamber, the pit was packed with logs and stones. Its surface was covered with rounded earth, topped with a stone mound that had a diameter of 36 to 46 meters. The burial pit was quadrangular, oriented to the cardinal directions. The largest *kurgan*s had a double log chamber, protected from pressure by a wooden covering resting on posts. In the northern third of the burial pit, horses (up to ten) were buried and carts were placed. In the largest *kurgan*s, human burials were in log coffins with covers. One such sarcophagus was decorated with roosters cut out of leather, another with reindeer cutouts. The chamber walls were draped with felt rugs. The burial chambers and rites of the Bashadyr and Tuekta kurgans, also in the Altai, were similar. Although the *kurgan*s were robbed in antiquity, the objects were so diverse and their remains so amazingly well preserved, owing to permafrost, that they give a clear impression of the ancient inhabitants' appearance, their material culture, and, in part, their beliefs.

In Scythian times in the Altai region, deceased persons of outstanding importance were embalmed, by rather complex methods. Evidently, these deceased were believed to play a special role in the world beyond. The Scythians, for example, embalmed the corpses of their kings (Herodotus 4.71).

Some of the Altai princely burials have preserved traces of the removal of muscle tissue. Hecataeus of Miletus (fl. 500 BCE) wrote of the Massagetae: "They consider it the best kind of death, when they are old, to be chopped up with the flesh of cattle and eaten mixed up with that flesh" (Strabo, Geography 11.8.6). Similar evidence is found in Herodotus (1.216). Classical sources and the Avesta hint at the ritual killing, among a number of Iranian-speaking peoples, of aged men. In the Altai, small pieces of the deceased's flesh were apparently eaten; in this way his spiritual and physical qualities and his social rank were acquired. If a woman consumed one of these pieces of flesh, her subsequent children would inherit the outstanding qualities of the deceased. A deeper stratum of these animistic beliefs is the totemic one. Also associated with animistic beliefs was the custom of placing in the grave nail parings from the deceased and small sacks containing his hair. The burial was accompanied by purifying and ecstatic rites, particularly the smoking of hemp.

The religious worldview of the Saka was reflected in the artworks of the animal style. Analysis of these works and of the materials associated with funerary rituals confirms the existence of shamanistic beliefs and practices, especially in Siberia. The origins of the heroic epos of the Inner Asian and Siberian peoples date to Saka times. The greatest Iranian epic hero, Rotastahm (Rustam), had the epithet *Sagčīk,* "from among the Saka." His name is a symbol of the hero.

SEE ALSO Ahura Mazdā and Angra Mainyu; Fire; Horses; Indo-European Religions, overview article; Indus Valley Religion; Iranian Religions; Sarmatian Religion; Scythian Religion; Sheep and Goats; Snakes; Sun; Vedism and Brahmanism.

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PRESBYTERIANISM, REFORMED.

The word *presbyterian* refers both to a particular form of church government and, more generally, to churches that are governed by presbyters (elders or priests) but have many other characteristics. The word *reformed* defines a theological perspective. The two words usually but not always belong together. Most Reformed churches are presbyterian, but they may also be congregational and occasionally episcopal in governance.

Historical Origins of Presbyterianism. Presbyterians are catholic in their affirmation of the triune God and of the creeds of the ancient catholic church: the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Chalcedonian definition. They are Protestant in the sense of Martin Luther's treatises of 1520. Their Reformed roots are in the Reformation at Zurich, under the leadership of Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531) and Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575); at Strasbourg, under Martin Bucer (1491–1551); and at Geneva, with the work of John Calvin (1509–1564).

Reformed theology at the time of the Reformation. Reformed theology was a type of Protestantism—as distinct from Lutheranism, Anglicanism, and the theology of the radical Reformation—that originated in Switzerland, the upper Rhineland, and France. Most of the early Reformed theologians had a background in Christian humanism. They were more energetic and radical in their reform of medieval Catholicism than were the Lutherans. The Lutherans' practice was guided by the principle that everything in church life contrary to the word of God should be eliminated. The Reformed church insisted upon positive scriptural warrant for all church practice.

Reformed theology was characterized by its emphasis upon the doctrine of God, who was conceived not so much as beauty or truth but as energy, activity, power, intentionality, and moral purpose. Reformed theologians believed that all of life and history is rooted in the decrees or purposes of God. They emphasized the lordship of God in history and in the salvation of the Christian as emphasized in the doctrine of predestination. They shared the Lutheran doctrine that no one ever merits salvation and that salvation is always grace, always forgiveness. Yet they understood the Christian life as obedience to the law of God and as the embodiment of the purposes of God. As far as the relation of Christian faith to society was concerned, they neither withdrew from society nor identified Christian faith with culture. They were converters of culture and transformers of history, at least in intention.

A central theme of Reformed theology was the glory of God. The salvation of souls and concern for one's own condition was subordinate to giving God the praise, acknowledging his grace, and fulfilling his purpose in personal life and history. The Reformed churches were also characterized by an emphasis on the life of the mind as proper service of God. John Calvin, the most influential of Reformed theologians, was not a speculative thinker. While rejecting curiosity as destructive of faith, Calvin insisted that Christians should know what they believed; the way a person thinks determines action. Calvin also placed high value upon verbal expressions of faith. The sermon became the focus of Reformed worship. Through its example of disciplined, logical thinking, the sermon became a factor in influencing culture in Reformed communities.

The major theological works that shaped Reformed theology in Presbyterian churches were Calvin's *The Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536), *Institutio Theologiae Elencticae* (1688) of Francis Turretin, and *Systematic Theology* (1871–1873) of Charles Hodge. The most influential creeds have been the Scots Confession of 1560 and the Westminster Confession and Catechisms.

Reformed liturgy. In liturgy the Reformed churches placed a premium upon intelligibility and edification. As with life generally, Calvin insisted that worship should be simple, free from theatrical trifles. The sacraments were limited to the Lord's Supper and baptism, which were believed to have been instituted by Jesus Christ. Within the Reformed tradition some emphasized a preaching service, intending only an occasional celebration of the Lord's Supper. Others believed that the normative service united preaching and the Lord's Supper. Among the more prominent documents of the liturgical tradition are Huldrych Zwingli's *Liturgy of the Word*, Guillaume Farel's *The Order Observed in Preaching*, Calvin's *The Form of Church Prayers*, John Knox's *The Form of Prayers*, *The Westminster Directory of Worship*, the *Book of Common Order* (Church of Scotland), and the *Book of Common Worship* (Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.).

Presbyterian polity. The word *presbyterian*—a graded system of representative ecclesiastical bodies—has its primary reference not to theology or liturgy but to church government. The prominence of the word in the names of churches has two sources. First, the Reformed churches all believed that the way a church is ordered is important. This was especially the case with Calvin, who devoted long sections of the *Institutes* as well as a major part of his active life to questions of church governance and order. He believed that order is determined by theology and, in its turn, shapes life. Second, English-speaking Presbyterians were involved in lengthy and at times bitter struggles over the order of the church, sometimes with those who shared their theology. This was true in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Church of England, which included in its membership Congregationalists and Presbyterians as well as Episcopalians and in which many Episcopalians were also Reformed in theology. The Congregationalists and Presbyterians formed dissenting churches in England. Presbyterians in Britain and Northern Ireland never forgot these controversies, especially the attempts to impose episcopacy by governmental authority in Scotland and Ulster. The word *presbyterian* first began to be used in Scotland in the first half of the seventeenth century. Since then it has been the designation of English-speaking, Reformed Christians who maintain a presbyterian polity. Reformed churches on the European continent with presbyterian polities are called Reformed after their theology.

Presbyterianism is not a fixed pattern of church life but a developing pattern that has both continuity and diversity. Many features of the system vary from time to time and from place to place. In the United States, for example, Presbyterianism developed from the congregation to the presbytery, to the synod, to the General Assembly. In Scotland, Presbyterianism grew out of a gradually evolving notion of how the church should be governed, out of conflict with episcopacy, and from the General Assembly down to the congregation.

Presbyterians find the roots of their polity in the reforming activity of Calvin. With the reform of doctrine, the city council in Geneva had also driven out the bishop and the whole clerical establishment. This gave the reformers greater freedom in shaping the order of the church than in places where so much of the traditional structure remained intact. Calvin gave special attention to the organized life of the church partly because of his personal inclinations as a trained lawyer and also out of the theological conviction that proper order was necessary for both the piety and the purity of the church.

In his doctrine of the church, Calvin's primary emphasis was on the action of the Holy Spirit, who created the church through word and sacrament. Jesus Christ is the only head of the church, and under him all are equal. In addition, Calvin struggled all his life for a church that was independent of state control. He held to the notion of a Christian society with a magistrate whose work in the civil order is a vocation from God, but ideally Calvin wanted church and state to work together under God yet in independence of each other organizationally. Calvin placed great emphasis on the minister, who interprets and applies the word of God. On occasion Calvin refers to the preacher as the mouth of God. The importance of the minister in leading worship, in preaching, in teaching, and in pastoral care is one of function not of status. Calvin insisted that the government of the church should be in the hands of a consistory (council) composed of ministers and elders chosen from the congregation. (In Geneva the choice was limited to members of the city council.) He was opposed on theological grounds to government by individuals who were neither good nor wise enough for such responsibility, and he was likewise opposed to rule by the masses, who were not sufficiently qualified to govern. In both church and state, Calvin advocated government by an aristocracy, in the Aristotelian sense of the qualified, tempered by democracy. In representative government the will of God was more likely to be done. With few exceptions (Hungary, for example), Reformed churches that looked to Geneva for leadership were governed by a council.

Calvin also worked for a disciplined church. Discipline was the primary responsibility of the consistory. Calvin located the exercise of discipline at admission to the Lord's Table. The consistory examined communicants on knowledge based on catechetical instruction and on manner of life. Another of Calvin's achievements was the restoration of the office of deacon as exercising the church's ministry of compassion to the sick and needy.

Calvin developed a polity only for Geneva and the surrounding countryside; hence, in his own work he left the full development of church structure open-ended. Some have argued that Calvin's polity is compatible with episcopacy, but the most that can be established is that Calvin did not oppose existing administrative and judicial episcopal structures.

Although some Calvinists became Congregationalists, Calvin's successor in Geneva, Theodore Beza, was an ardent Presbyterian. Beza guided the Reformed church in France as it worked out the first presbyterian church government on a national scale, with local, district, provincial, and national assemblies composed of ministers and elders. Presbyterianism also became the form of church government in the Netherlands and other Reformed churches on the continent. It received its great emphasis, however, in Scotland, where the controversy about the structure of the church, whether it should be congregational, presbyterian, or episcopal, was vigorously contested and received an importance not given to questions of polity elsewhere.

There are four basic principles of presbyterian polity. The first is the authority of scripture. Some Presbyterians, such as Thomas Cartwright in Puritan England and James Henley Thornwell in American Presbyterianism, contended that presbyterianism was the biblical form of church government. Most Presbyterians have argued that presbyterianism is agreeable to scripture. Traditionally, Presbyterians have wanted to test government as well as doctrine by scripture. They have always subordinated church government to the gospel and have never made the form of government a test of the reality of the church.

The other three principles of presbyterian polity relate to form of governance and relations among clergy and between clergy and laity. Presbyterians have emphasized the unity of the church governed by a graded series of church courts. These assemblies are composed of ministers and elders elected by the people. The word *church* applies both to the local congregation and to the whole body of believers. There is no local congregation without its participation in the whole body of believers, and no church without local congregations. It is in the governance of the church through assemblies that presbyterianism most clearly differs from episcopacy and congregationalism. A third principle is the parity of ministers, who have the same and equal authority under the one head of the church, Jesus Christ. Finally, the fourth principle is the right of the people to call their pastors and to elect those who govern them. Sometimes this right has been limited by circumstance to approval or consent, but the demand to exercise the right of the people has continually reasserted itself.

Among the primary documents of Presbyterian polity are book four of the *Institutes*; *Ecclesiastical Ordinances of Geneva*; the *First Book of Discipline* and the *Second Book of Discipline* of the Church of Scotland; the *Book of Discipline of the Elizabethan Presbyterians.* Also primary are the Westminster Assembly's *Form of Presbyterian Government* and *The Form of Government* of American Presbyterian churches.

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES. The Church of Scotland continues the tradition in which English-speaking Presbyterianism was first established. The Congregational church in England and Wales and the Presbyterian Church of England became the United Reformed Church in 1972. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, the United Reformed Church, the Church of Scotland, and the Presbyterian churches of Ireland and Wales had approximately 1.5 million members.

The Presbyterian churches in the United States have their origin in emigration from Scotland and Northern Ireland. Puritan influences were also strong. The Presbyterian Church at Hempstead and later Jamaica, Long Island, was composed largely of Puritans and is probably the oldest continuing Presbyterian Church in the United States, dating from 1644. The first presbytery was organized under the leadership of Francis Makemie, who had come from Ulster, at Philadelphia in 1706. The organization of a synod followed in 1717, and the adoption of the Westminster Confession and Catechisms as theological standards occurred in 1729. The General Assembly held its first meeting in 1789. American Presbyterians have divided on three occasions. The

Old Side–New Side division (1741–1768) had to do with the accommodation of the church to the American frontier; the New School–Old School division (1837–1864 and 1869) was concerned with doctrinal and ecclesiastical issues; the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States (later the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.) split in 1861 and reunited in 1983. The Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. had a uniting membership of approximately 2.5 million in 2004.

The Cumberland Presbyterian Church originated in a split from the main body of Presbyterians during the revivals in the first decades of the nineteenth century. A major portion of the Cumberland Church reunited with the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. in 1903. The Second Cumberland Church, with a predominantly black membership and numbers of 15,500 in 1993, exists independently but in close cooperation with the main body of Cumberland Presbyterians.

The Associate and the Reformed Presbyterians, who originated in secessions from the Church of Scotland, continued their existence in the immigration to the United States. The major body of Associate and Reformed Presbyterians, having become the United Presbyterian Church (1858), merged with the mainstream of Presbyterians in 1958, becoming the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. The Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, located largely in the South, and the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America continue the traditions of the Scottish secession Presbyterians.

Other Presbyterian churches originated out of the controversies generated by the conservative and liberal theologies of the twentieth century. The Orthodox Presbyterian Church, a withdrawal from the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. in 1936, the Bible Presbyterian Church, a split from the Orthodox in 1938, and the Presbyterian Church of America, organized in 1973 in a pullout from the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., have their origins in these controversies.

Presbyterianism came to Canada chiefly through emigration from Scotland and represented all the divisions of Presbyterianism there. In 1875 they united in one church. The majority combined in 1925 with Congregationalists and Methodists to form the United Church of Canada. The Presbyterian Church in Canada had a membership of 129,684 in 2004.

Presbyterian churches in Australia and New Zealand were also established by Scottish immigrants. In the 1961 census, 9.3 percent of Australians declared themselves to be Presbyterian, and in the 1996 census, this percentage dropped to 3.8. In 1977 the Presbyterians, Methodists, and Congregational churches formed the Uniting Church in Australia (300,000 members in 2001, with 1.3 million claiming an association). The (continuing) Presbyterian Church of Australia in 1996 had 675,534 members. Scottish immigration and the Church of Scotland's support of immigrants are the basis of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand (54,000 members in 1999).

Presbyterian churches have been established throughout the world by the missionary movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Strong Presbyterian churches exist especially in Korea and also in Brazil, Mexico, and Africa. The World Alliance of Reformed Churches, which is now organized on the basis of theology rather than polity, reported a worldwide membership of 75 million in 2003. This includes younger churches in Africa, South America, and Asia with Reformed theologies but not necessarily presbyterian polities.

SEE ALSO Beza, Theodore; Calvin, John; Church, article on Church Polity; Farel, Guillaume; Humanism; Knox, John; Zwingli, Huldrych.

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PREUSS, KONRAD T. (1869–1938), was a German ethnologist and historian of religions. Konrad Theodor Preuss was born on June 2, 1869, in the Prussian city of Eylau (present-day Bagrationovsk, Russia). Shortly after completing school in Königsberg in 1887, he began studying history and geography at the university there and in 1894 received his doctorate from these departments. In 1895 he took a position at the Berlin Ethnological Museum; during his career there he first became head of the North and Middle America department and, eventually (in 1920), director of the museum. He received a professorship from the University of Berlin in 1912, and from that time on he conducted lectures and seminars in North and South American ethnology and archaeology. He also conducted an interdisciplinary colloquium in religious history. In accordance with regulations, Preuss retired from his positions in 1934; his retirement did not, however, hinder his scientific work. Preuss's publications, which appeared on a regular basis throughout his career, concentrated on American ethnology and linguistics.

Within the anthropological study of primal religious traditions, Preuss became known as the foremost German exponent of the "preanimist" theory of magic. Preuss, along with those who followed his theoretical course, held that there had been a stage in human religious development prior to the stage named "animism" by evolutionist anthropologists. During this "preanimist" stage, human beings had construed causality in nature in accordance with belief in the efficacy of magical practices in influencing the environment. In this connection, Preuss spoke of the "primal ignorance" of humankind.

The preanimist hypothesis was quickly disputed and has since been thoroughly rejected (see, e.g., Adolf E. Jensen's *Myth and Cult among Primitive People,* 2d ed., 1969). Deities of later religious eras, even after the existence of an impersonal power came to be accepted, were attended with the same magical methods that Preuss had indicated had been employed by people of an earlier age. But Preuss had already recorded his theoretical construct in a series of articles titled "Der Ursprung der Religion und Kunst" (*Globus* 86 and 87, 1904–1905), and he retained these principles throughout his life.

The experience Preuss gained on two field-research expeditions furnished additional information. The first of these expeditions (1905–1907) brought him into contact with the Cora, Huichol, and Mexicanos tribes of the Sierra Madre of Mexico's Pacific coast. The second journey (1913–1915) was devoted to the study of the Witóto in the lowlands and the Cágaba in the highlands of Colombia. In the religion and mythology of the Witóto, especially, Preuss was able not only to recognize correspondences between various myths and the particular cults that enact them but also to see the roots of these correspondences in an ancient period (see *Religion und Mythologie der Uitoto,* 2 vols., 1921–1923; cf. *Der religiöse Gehalt der Mythen,* 1933). The cultic religions that followed the preanimistic stage were the direct result of these deep-rooted sentiments; they were later superseded by religions in which prayers, not magical practices, were employed.

These later religions were built around a central supreme deity. The form taken by this deity became a major concern for Preuss in his work *Glauben und Mystik im Schatten des Höchten Wesens* (1926). In contrast with Wilhelm Schmidt's view that there has been a universal *Urmonotheismus* ("primitive monotheism") at the earliest stage of human religious evolution, Preuss did not believe that the supreme being was a predominant element during the initial stage of religious development.

According to Preuss's view, religion is more than the "expressive repetition of prayers of thanksgiving and humble obedience to a supreme deity" (see "Fortschritt und Rückschritt in der Religion," *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft* 47, 1932, p. 241). Like that of other gods, the supreme deity's origin can ultimately be traced. Preuss thought, to perceptual impressions of nature. Beside the theoretical problems surrounding the question of the origin of the idea of God, Preuss devoted the remainder of his career to the study of ancient Mexican religion and history.

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PRIAPUS was an ithyphallic deity of ancient Greece and Rome. He is known mainly as the god of Roman gardens, where images of him, usually holding up his fruit-laden garment to exhibit his outsize sexual organ, were often placed. However, from the time of his appearance at the dawn of the Hellenistic age well into the Christian Middle Ages, Priapus (Gr., Priapos) may have a basis in some very different realities. From Ptolemy II Philadelphus (Athenaeus, 5.201c), for whom Priapus occupies a mythico-political position, to the epigrams in the *Greek Anthology* or to the kitchen gardens of Priapea in the *Corpus Priapeorum,* this god—whom Horace makes into an obscene scarecrow (*Satires* 1.8)—finds no place among the theological definitions proposed by the ancients. Neither do they seem to have assigned him his own place in their pantheon, even though he was traditionally considered to be the son of Dionysos and Aphrodite and could have been part of the Dionysian *thiaseii* ("revels"). There is, however, one notorious exception: in the system of Justin the Gnostic, the ithyphallic Priapus becomes central to cosmogony; indeed, he is the supreme being, "the one who made creation, even though nothing existed before" (*Elenchos* 5.26.33).

The fate that history has dealt this *divus minor* ("minor god"; *Corpus Priapeorum* 53) is therefore surprising, for both ancient and modern authors have ceaselessly confused him with other figures of sexuality: Pan, the satyrs, and Hermaphroditus, as well as his own father, Dionysos. This confusion is perhaps due to the fact that Priapus's congenital feature is his oversize and perpetually erect penis, so that authors have often tended to identify everything hypersexual with him. It is as if his excessive sexuality has confused the erudite mythographers. Also, when Diodorus Siculus (4.64) and Strabo (13.1.12) try to describe Priapus, they can do so only by mentioning his "resemblance" to the Attic gods Ithyphallos, Orthnes, Konisalos, and Tychon, all ithyphallic powers about whom almost nothing is known except the priapic resemblance that defines them.

However, in spite of these frequent confusions, the ancient sources give this divinity a specific character. Unlike his phallic colleagues, Pan and the satyrs, who are hybrids, Priapus is fully anthropomorphic. He has neither horns nor hoofs nor a tail. His sole anomaly and unique pathology is the immense sexual organ that defines him from birth. Fragments of myths tell how the newborn Priapus was rejected by his mother, the beautiful Aphrodite, for no other reason than his deformed ugliness (*amorphos*) and his disproportionate virile member. It is this oversize organ, described by the Latin texts as "terribilis" (Columella, *De re rustica* 10.33), that allows Priapus to be recognized in images and that identifies him in writings by giving him the form necessary to one of his major functions, that of protecting small-scale cultivations against the evil eye or against thieves by threatening sexual violence to all who pass near the domain he guards (*Planudean Anthology* 241; *Corpus Priapeorum* 11, 28, 44, 59, 71).

In both Greek and Latin epigrams, it is the ithyphallic effigy of the god, often carved from the ordinary wood of a fig tree and daubed with red, who is the speaker pronouncing obscene threats. But Priapus is all talk and no action. In guarding his little gardens, as well as in his amorous adventures, he is often ineffectual. Ovid (*Fasti* 1.391-440, 6.319–348) relates how Priapus failed in his courtship of the beautiful Lotis (or Vesta in another version) and found himself empty-handed every time, his sex up in the air, derided by an assembly laughing at the obscene spectacle of the god frustrated and obliged to flee, his heart and his member heavy.

But it is perhaps the ancient physicians who, in their nosology, best illustrate certain aspects of this impotent phallocrat. *Priapism* is the term they use to name an incurable disease in which the male organ persistently remains painfully erect. The medical texts of Galen (8.439, 19.426) and Caelius Aurelianus (3.18.175) also insist on an important point: Priapism must not be confused with satyriasis, a comparable disease in which the pathological erection does not exclude either seminal emission or erotic pleasure, which is not the case in priapism.

This difference between the ithyphallism of Priapus and that of the satyrs may indicate still another division: Priapus, the citizen of Lampsacus, whose representations are always anthropomorphic, can be classified close to humans, whereas the satyrs, who are hybrids between men and beasts, belong with demons and the wild. It is as if immeasurable sexuality, which is impossible for a human, is viable for beasts and half-humans.

Aristotle specifies in his biological writings that nature has endowed the virile member with the capacity to be or not to be erect, and he wryly notes that "if this organ were always in the same state, it would be an annoyance" (*De partibus animalium* 689a). This, however, is precisely the case of Priapus, who, always ithyphallic, never knows the slightest sexual relief. The ancients considered such phallic excess to be a kind of deformity. The same kind of ugliness characterizes the functional aspects of apotropaic objects that, like Priapus, evoke laughter (Aristotle, *Poetics* 5.1449a) in order to distance evil. This also holds for those amulets that, as Plutarch noted, "draw the bewitcher's gaze" with their strange aspect (*atopia*).

Given his laughable ugliness, which turns people away, and the Dionysian milieu he belonged to, Priapus remained for a long time a vulgarized figure of ancient fertility. Yet, the appeal of this little god of gardens has endured across the centuries. In the late Middle Ages he was known even to the Cistercians (*Chronique de Lanercost*, 1268); he was rediscovered by the artists and craftsmen of the European Renaissance; and his image has continued in use as guardian of gardens down to the present day.

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Revised Bibliography

PRIESTHOOD

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PRIESTHOOD: AN OVERVIEW

Cross-cultural use of the terms *priest* and *priesthood* is an example of a familiar pattern in modern description of religion. Frequently, terms with European meanings and linguistic derivations are pressed into service for the description of a range of phenomena worldwide. If we pay attention to this fact, we can often enhance our appreciation not only of the terminology itself but of the material to which it is applied.

Usage in the West. In the case of *priest*, we can discern a "core" meaning in the Western use of the term. At this core, one may argue, are two identifying factors. The priest, first, performs a sacrificial ritual, usually at a fixed location such as an altar. Second, the priest does so as a specialist on behalf of a community or congregation. When both of these factors are present, we have priesthood in a strict or narrow sense.

In fact, the strict sense of the meaning of *priest* prevailed prior to modern times, while looser and more inclusive applications of the term have come into use more recently. This development has to do with religious and conceptual horizons of the Christian West, in which the vocabulary of Latin and its derivatives has been dominant. In the traditions of the Judeo-Christian West, our point will become clear when we consider circumstances in which the term *priest* has not been used. The two principal cases are the Jewish and the Protestant.

For Judaism, priesthood is a well-defined and central role in the biblical tradition. The performance of sacrifices was one of its essential characteristics. The priests carried out the sacrificial ritual at altars, and from the seventh century BCE onward such ceremony was centralized at the temple in Jerusalem. When, however, the Jerusalem temple was destroyed, the sacrificial practices lapsed, and there were no longer active priests, even if there were hereditary priestly families. Religious leadership in the synagogue, which replaced the temple, passed to the rabbis in their role as teachers. The only continuation of ancient Israel's animal sacrifice is among the small community of the Samaritans, whose officiants to this day are referred to as priests. As far as the Hebraic context is concerned, the terms we translate by *priest* regularly imply the performance of sacrifice, and in the absence of the sacrifice the concept has been considered inapplicable.

Protestants do not generally refer to their clergy as "priests" either. (In this context, the Anglican communion's usage is closer to a Roman Catholic than to a Protestant understanding of things.) But Protestants do have a conception of priesthood, referred to as "the priesthood of all believers." Each member of the community, in this view, is his or her own priest, with direct access to God. The salient feature of priesthood which this Protestant understanding illustrates, then, has not so much to do with sacrifice as such but with the priest's role as an officiating intermediary. In avoiding the term *priest* as a designation of their own clergy, most Protestants have implied a repudiation of the notion that priestly ordination should elevate any man above his fellow human beings or confer on him any access to the divine that is denied others. Protestants did differ from Rome on the senses in which the Lord's Supper, the eucharistic meal of the Mass, might be considered in itself a sacrifice, for they held that Jesus' self-sacrifice was commemorated rather than repeated. But the truly sore point was the privileged, controlling status enjoyed by the officiating Roman clergy. In the Reformation context, then, an essential characteristic of priesthood was its privileged role of mediating benefits and requests between the divine and the human community.

Before we leave the historical meanings of priesthood we may take note of the derivation of the term *priest* itself. Etymologically, the word in English comes from the French *prêtre* and ultimately from the Greek *presbutēs.* In Greek, however, that term means "elder"; hence in the course of Christian usage the semantics of the term shifted from the ordained person's place in ecclesiastical polity to his role as a cultic celebrant. Semantically, on the other hand, the chief words whose meaning corresponds to "priest" are *hiereus* in Greek, *sacerdos* in Latin, and *kohen* in Hebrew.

Description of Priesthood in Non-Western Religion. A great many other activities and attributes of priests in the European Christian tradition have built up a range of connotations of the term and role extending far beyond the two critical factors we have reviewed so far. Priests in the West generally wear ceremonial robes while officiating and have distinctive details of street clothing; hence, Western visitors to Japan, for instance, termed the robed personnel of temples "priests," whether Shintō or Buddhist. Priests in the Latin Christian tradition are unmarried; hence the disposition of visitors to Sri Lanka, Burma, or Thailand sometimes to refer to Buddhist monks as "priests," even if the status of their ritual as a sacrifice is debatable. Priests are inducted into their office through ordination; hence the tendency to view tribal societies' ritually initiated specialists in divination, exorcism, healing, and the like as priests. Priests deliver sermons and moral injunctions; hence, presumably, occasional references to the *ʿulamāʾ*, or religious scholars of traditional Islamic lands, as priests, despite the fact that they are neither ordained nor do they perform ritual sacrifice.

In the extended, cross-cultural uses of the term *priest*, then, a priest is any religious specialist acting ritually for or on behalf of a community. With a term used in so broad and flexible a general sense, one excludes little from the category. Ritual activities as such, however, do not make the laypeople who perform them priests; a priest, in any useful sense of the term, is characteristically an intermediary set apart by a recognized induction into office and functioning on behalf of others. Nor does religious specialization or professionalism on behalf of a lay clientele necessarily constitute someone as a priest; there are healers, teachers, and the like who function as professionals but whose activity is not tied to the ritual of a sanctuary.

ELIGIBILITY FOR PRIESTHOOD. The world's priests in various traditions can be divided into what one might term *hereditary* priesthoods and *vocational* priesthoods. In the first case, the priestly prerogatives and duties are the special heritage of particular family or tribal lineages. The ancient Hebrew priesthood, for example, was reserved to the Levites, or descendants of Levi. Levi does not figure in the list of Israelite tribes in *Numbers* 1 (where Ephraim and Manasseh as sons of Joseph each have a place on the list of twelve), but the Levites appear to have gained tribal status in the tradition of *Genesis* 49 (also a list of twelve, including Levi and Joseph but not Ephraim or Manasseh).

Similarly, hereditary is the priesthood in Zoroastrianism, the national religion of pre-Islamic Iran, which today still claims a hundred thousand Iranian and Indian adherents. Traditionally, fathers who were practicing priests trained their sons in the proper recitation of the prayers. More recently, *madrasah*s (schools) for the training of priests have been established. A priest's son may exercise the option to become a priest, and even if he does not do so, the grandson may; but after two or three generations of inactivity the eligibility of the line lapses.

The *brahman* class of India constitutes another important example of priests whose eligibility is hereditary. The traditional Indian social scale known as the caste system places the priests in the highest rank in terms of prestige and respect, ahead of the warrior-rulers. Not surprisingly, the warrior class had already gained greater practical power by the time documented by extant historical records. The other strata continued nonetheless to behave in the apparent confidence that their own positions might be legitimated, confirmed, or blessed by the *brahmans,* however impoverished the *brahmans* might become.

It is generally expected that the clergy in hereditary priesthoods will marry, so that the line may be perpetuated. Indeed, the genealogical awareness of hereditary priesthoods is often as carefully documented as is that of royalty, and for similar reasons. Families claiming the right to officiate in a particular location are known to record their descent back a number of centuries in order to substantiate their legitimacy. Hereditary control of certain temples, whether in Japan or India or elsewhere, can imply some financial advantage, such as access to housing on the premises or to the temple's revenues as income.

Many professions and lines of work are reflected in people's surnames, and a family association with priesthood is no exception. The Jewish surname *Cohen* is an example, as is also *Katz* (an acronym for "righteous priest"), even though the temple sacrifice has not been performed for nineteen centuries. Among Lebanese and other Arabic-speaking Christians a common surname is *Khoury*, an Arabic word for "priest," and another is *Kissis*. Common among the Parsis, the Zoroastrian community of India, is the family name *Dastur*, meaning "high priest."

What one may call a vocational priesthood, on the other hand, recruits its members from the pool of promising young people in the community. It has the potential advantage of selectivity for devotional, intellectual, or moral qualities. All branches of Christianity recruit their personnel on a vocational basis, often promising challenge rather than comfort as the reward of the priestly life. Celibacy is something that a tradition of vocational priesthood can require, as does the Roman Catholic Church, but many vocational priesthoods still permit marriage, such as those of the Greek Orthodox, Russian Orthodox, and other Eastern Christian churches.

Even in the case of vocational priesthoods, the notion of lineage is not absent, but it is expressed in terms of the transmission of legitimacy from teacher to pupil or from ordaining authority to ordained, as, for example, in Tibetan Buddhist lineages or the Christian notion of apostolic succession.

In the vast majority of the world's religious traditions, eligibility for priesthood has been restricted to males. The Hindu, Buddhist, Daoist, Zoroastrian, and Christian traditions have had exclusively male clergy until modern times. Judaism likewise restricted the rabbinate (its equivalent to the more inclusive current sense of the term *priest*) to males. In today's world various branches of both Christianity and Judaism have begun to ordain women to serve as the ritual and spiritual leaders of congregations. To the extent that Islam has leadership analogous to priests, it too has been exclusively male. Only in some "primitive" tribal traditions such as in Africa and some "archaic" traditions such as Shintō and the religions of ancient Greece, Rome, and pagan northern Europe do we find much evidence of priestesses. In most of the world religions there are analogous but supporting roles for women as nuns, deacons, or other assistants. Contemporary initiatives calling for equality for women have raised serious questions concerning the subordination that these roles imply.

Another feature of eligibility for priesthood is a sound physical and mental condition. Apart from practical considerations of community leadership, this requirement is frequently supported by a notion of perfection as appropriate to the sacrificial ritual. Just as a sacrificial animal is expected to be whole and without blemish, so should the sacrificer himself be. Traditional Roman Catholic custom has required in particular that the hands of a priest, which perform the sacrament, be without deformity.

TRAINING AND ORDINATION. A wide variety of instruction, training, and initiation for work as a priest exists among the world's religious traditions. The content of the training is generally a blend of three components that one could term the practical, the theoretical, and the disciplinary.

The practical side of a priest's training includes most saliently the skills the community expects for correct performance of ritual. In a great many traditional settings the efficacy of a prayer or incantation has been held to depend on the acoustic correctness of its utterance. To tap divine power, the formula may need to be invoked in the right language, in the right words, with the right pronunciation, and even with a precise musical intonation. The Hindu concept of *mantra* as a verbal formula entails such training on the part of those who will pronounce *mantra*s, and in the view of many Zoroastrians the exactness of the priests' pronunciation of the liturgical prayers in the Avestan language is what makes the prayers effective.

Consequently the appropriate priestly training amounts to rote memorization of the text of the Vedas in the Hindu case and of the Avesta in the Zoroastrian. This may be begun at a quite early age, and the course is sometimes completed before the candidate reaches puberty. It is knowledge of the text, rather than understanding, that is cultivated. Achievements of memorization in premodern societies can be quite impressive; the Hindu surname *Trivedi*, for example, etymologically means "one who has committed to memory three of the Vedas."

Besides the formulas of the ritual text itself there is much else for a priest to learn: where the ceremonial objects and the officiant should be placed; how the right time for an observance is to be determined; and so on. Where the celebration of a ritual has depended for its timing on direct observation of the sun, moon, or stars, the training of a priest has necessitated mastering a certain amount of practical astronomy. Where the means of divination have included the bones or entrails of animals, the priest has of necessity had to be a practical veterinary surgeon. Indeed, it is instructive to observe in the history of cultures that many professions that became independent specializations have had their origin as branches of priestly learning. But this should not distract us from the fact that priestly training that is merely rote in nature, and oriented only toward ritual performance, may not be sufficient for the demands of the modern world.

What can be termed theoretical training stands at the other end of the spectrum. The world's major religious traditions have all at one time or another undergone challenges of critical inquiry, often philosophical in character. Their scholars have wrestled with the epistemological and metaphysical implications of religious cosmologies, and the ethical and psychological assumptions entailed by religious views of human nature and personality. Some of these traditions have come to expect of their officiating clergy that they not only perform rituals but also minister to the intellectual life of their congregations. Training for priesthood thus may contain a substantial component of historical and philosophical study, in which the prospective congregational leader is given at least a rudimentary exposure to the results of scriptural and doctrinal scholarship.

The perceived need for competence in theoretical matters has generally led religious communities to develop courses of formal academic instruction for their priests (or comparable personnel) in theological studies. Throughout the Islamic world, religious scholarship flourished in a type of school known as a *madrasah*, meaning etymologically "place of study." In small towns these institutions might be modest, but many of the *madrasah*s in the chief cities of medieval Islam were substantially endowed, and to this day certain of their buildings are numbered among the finest monuments of traditional Islamic architecture. In medieval Europe, the origin of universities as institutions was frequently closely tied to the need to educate the Christian clergy, and in a number of northern European countries since the Protestant Reformation both Protestant and Roman Catholic theological faculties have continued to be integral parts of the older universities.

In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century America, the founding of many of the older colleges and universities was based on a similar desire to insure that there would be an educated clergy. The American principle of separation of church and state, however, contributed to the emergence, in the state universities, of curricula in which Christian theology played no part. Religious denominations trained their clergy in separate seminaries, but mainline Protestant bodies by the late nineteenth century were presuming a university bachelor's degree as a prerequisite for entry into them. The normal ordination course emerged as three years following the B.A., roughly from the age of twenty-one to twenty-four. The development of comparable three-year post-B.A. rabbinical curricula from the late nineteenth century onward is one of the marks of Jewish acculturation to the American environment. And the entry of Roman Catholic institutions into close ecumenical cooperation from the 1960s onward made the three-year post-B.A. theology degree standard for Catholic priests as well. The creation of cluster arrangements among Protestant and Catholic theological seminaries has resulted in a significant sharing of resources and experiences in the educational preparation of Christian clergy.

Under the heading of "discipline" can be considered a third kind of preparation for priesthood. In various cultures, from tribal to modern, the priest-to-be is expected to undertake regimes of physical or spiritual self-cultivation—the better to be worthy of, or effective in, the practice of his role.

The concept of purity seems to be associated with a great number of these disciplinary practices and is expressed in a variety of forms. Bodily cleanliness is a frequent requirement, so that the candidate before ordination, or the celebrant before a ritual, may need to undergo a bath in water, or the ablution of some parts of the body, to remove any polluting substances of a physical nature. Or the washing of the body may be a symbolic act, in which magical, mental, or spiritual pollutants are contained or eliminated. Among some peoples, semen, as a product of sexual desire or activity, is held to be polluting. For instance, a certain preparation of a Zoroastrian priest for the conduct of cermonies involves a ritual extending over several days, which is invalidated and must be started over if the candidate shows signs of sexual excitement.

Celibacy for priests is a discipline for which a number of rationales have been offered. There is, of course, the just-mentioned notion of sexual activity as a physical pollution. Beyond this may lie a cosmological or metaphysical view most characteristic of Gnostic and Manichaean thinking, that the very perpetuation of physical existence in this world hinders the eventual release of pure spirit from its imprisonment in inherently evil matter. The early Christian rejection of Gnostic teachings made procreation a positive good and an obligation—but for the laity. Other rationales for priestly celibacy have had to do with eliminating contenders for one's allegiance: the celibate priest, it is held, can give all his time to his ecclesiastical duties, can move whenever and wherever the need arises, and can take personal risks in the cause of his community which a husband or parent might feel constrained to avoid. Finally there is the justification of discipline for discipline's sake: the very confronting of a challenge, even if that challenge itself be arbitrary, makes one a stronger or more worthy individual who can hope to be found worthy and acceptable by God.

The most nearly universal discipline among the world's priesthoods is probably the discipline of meditation. To speak of this, we must deal with the question of whether a common "core" or set of identifiable characteristics of meditation exists such that we can speak of it cross-culturally. Leading candidates for such characteristics are three: some formal physical posture (such as sitting or kneeling), a suspension of conversation with other individuals (though one may be expected to chant or pray aloud), and a concentration of the awareness on divine or transcendent power (sometimes aided by facing an image or symbol). The priest in his exercise of his role may be expected to lead others in meditation; in his training, he is prepared by its practice. A general feeling of well-being or decisiveness can be a personal benefit of meditation to those who practice it; but as a spiritual discipline, meditation needs to serve an unselfish goal, the control of the self and dedication of the priest's personal identity to a power or cause beyond himself.

Upon completion of his training, the priest is ceremonially inducted into the exercise of his role, a process to which Westerners often apply the Christian term *ordination.* Essential here is an ordaining authority such as a senior priest or a religious council. What results over time is a succession of priests, transmitting the role from generation to generation and basing its authority on the legitimacy of the founder of the line. Thus, among Christians, the notion of "apostolic succession" implies that each priest has a pedigree of ordination going back to the apostles, the first generation of Jesus' followers. Buddhist lineages are similar in that monks or pupils trace their ordination back for centuries to earlier teachers.

The process of ordination generally involves some sort of examination or ritual test to ascertain that the candidate is properly prepared. Where formal schools and curricula exist, it is seldom the diploma of the school as such that certifies the candidate, for the school may be distant or its curriculum or methods the subject of dispute. Rather, the local religious jurisdiction conducts its own examination, satisfying itself as to the candidate's dedication and competency.

The actual ceremony of ordination may involve the first wearing of clothing or an ornament or emblem which sets priests apart from others in the society. It generally includes some symbolization of the transfer of power; notable in Christian ordination is "the laying on of hands," in which clergy place their hands on the head of the new ordinand. Another common feature of the ordination process is the ordinand's first performance of a ritual act reserved to priests, such as celebrating a sacrifice or invoking divine pardon or blessing on the worshipers.

PRIESTHOOD AND THE STATE. Any consideration of the relationship of priesthood to the political governance of society must encompass a diversity of cultures. In this context, variation from one time and place to another is so great that the distinctiveness of individual cases probably outweighs in importance the generalizations that can be ventured. Nonetheless, certain types of patterns can be observed that are reflected in more than one historical and social context. For schematic purposes, we shall designate them as follows: the priest as chaplain, the king as priest, the priest as king, and the priest as critic.

By "the priest as chaplain" we mean the many cases in which the priest is a functionary attached to the ruling circles. In tribal societies this may take the form of the frequent presence or attendance of the sacrificer, dancer, diviner, or healer at the hut of the tribal chieftain. In such situations, the priest is on call in supporting roles in the conduct of the affairs of the tribe, and he receives contributions in return from the chieftain or from the tribe as a whole. Essentially the same professionalization is manifested in many of the great ancient empires. Priests were kept as part of the palace retinue, serving both to maintain the ritual worship attended by the court personnel and to deliver omens or otherwise to pronounce auspicious the acts of the royal house. Royal patronage could establish one religious tradition in preference to another, as in the case of Iran in the third century CE, when an ambitious Zoroastrian high priest, Karter, eliminated rivals such as the Manichaeans. Established religion implies a subsidized priesthood, as is evident in the chapels of European palaces and castles dating from medieval to modern times. It suggests a divine sanctioning of a nation's institutions, even in relatively secularized contexts. Although the Christian tradition maintains a theoretical distinction between what one is to render to God and what to Caesar, Christian priests have frequently asked God to bless the Caesar of the day. An instructive contemporary example is found in the prayers of invocation offered by clergy on behalf of religiously diverse public constituencies—state functions such as the opening of a legislative session or the graduation ceremonies of a tax-supported university.

Under the heading "the king as priest" may be grouped those situations in which the chief ruler himself performs ceremonial acts of a religious nature. Some of these may be directed toward his own benefit as an individual, but in far more cases the purpose of the ritual is the welfare of the community as a whole. When this is so, the king's priestly role is demonstrably that of a cultic intermediary between the divine and the community. The New Year observances in ancient Babylonia are an example. In them, the king participated in an annual reenactment of the divine creation of the world, recalling the narrative in which the chief god slays the primordial watery chaos-monster and, by splitting its carcass, structures the world into water-surrounded heavens above and water-surrounded earth below. The drama served as a charter of rights and responsibilities for the king as the god's representative or intermediary, maintaining an order in society consonant with the divinely established order of the physical universe. Not very different in its function was the ritual practiced in ancient China, at the sanctuary in Beijing known as the Temple of Heaven. In this, the king performed the annual sacrifices on an open-air altar, symbolically mediating the unity of the cosmic order with that of society.

There are few instances of "the priest as king" that are not in some way debatable. In some cases, leaders have come to political power through having gained a spiritual following first. Muḥammad's career as a prophet is one example; but his leadership as an intertribal negotiator or as a military commander can hardly be called priestly. The American black civil rights movement of the 1960s and the Iranian revolution of 1979 offer two cases in which the professional religious leaders were the principal leadership possessed by people who were excluded from the ruling establishment; but once having gained power, each of these movements relied on other bases than the cultus for its maintenance and extension. Among the Jews in the Hellenistic era, the Hasmoneans were kings from a priestly lineage; but as a dynasty, they behaved as kings rather than as priests. On the whole, indeed, priests in the exercise of their cultic role seem to have become chaplains more often than kings, losing real political power and economic status rather than gaining it, as in the case of the *brahmans* of India. Perhaps the notion that priests might gain power to become kings is an elusive dream of priestly writers in much the way that the ideal of the philosopher-king is the philosopher's wishful thinking.

To speak of "the priest as critic" is to locate situations in which the priest's voice is one calling for penance or reform. To consider reform part of the vocation of a priest is in keeping with much current Christian discussion. It does, however, raise a semantic issue that calls for a historical answer. For were not the ancient Hebrew reformist critics characteristically referred to as prophets, while the priests were more the cultic chaplains of the establishment? This is indeed true for the period of Israel's religion before the sixth-century BCE Babylonian exile. Thereafter, however, prophecy tended to lapse as an institution, and it consequently became the mandate of others, particularly the clergy, to be "prophetic" in the moral sense. However much prophets and priests may have had clearly differentiated functions in antiquity, the role of the prophet as the voice of conscience in the community has become part of the portfolio of the priest in the centuries since. Struggles for justice and protests for peace throughout the Christian world today bring us constant reports of priests who summon up the courage to defy the current regime, as part of their calling as priests. Activist priests in other communities, such as the Buddhist, have sometimes made a similar contribution.

THE FUTURE OF PRIESTHOOD. The challenge of maintaining an ancient ritual tradition in a modern secular and technological age is a major one. In most of the modern world's religious communities, recruitment of priests is a pressing problem. The celibate life, for instance, surely deters many Roman Catholic males from opting for a priestly vocation, and the desire to marry is clearly a major impetus in the case of many who leave the priesthood. Economic considerations are also a factor: the offerings of the faithful sometimes no longer support a priest in the comfort, compared with other lines of work, that they once afforded. Priests have been reduced to mendicant roles even in those communities which have not characteristically expected priests to be poor. Among the Zoroastrian Parsis of India, most priests are paid on a piecework basis for prayers said, as opposed to being salaried; this fact has contributed to a certain distaste for priests as peddlers of their ritual services, though the community has left them little alternative.

Even more serious than this is a widespread decline in intellectual respect for priests throughout the contemporary world. The factors operative here are probably both philosophical and sociological. Philosophically, modern secularist criticism of traditional religous affirmations has to a certain extent called the content of the priest's affirmations into question, and the response from the pulpit has unfortunately sometimes been pietistic obscurantism. But at least as important has been the sociological fact of the growth of other skills and professions around the world. Formerly, priests often enjoyed status as the only educated, or the most educated, persons in small communities. Formerly, as we have suggested, skills and institutions associated with priesthood were the basis from which other professions and institutions were launched. Today, however, it is not unusual for the spiritual leader of a congregation to count among his flock scientists, engineers, or other professionals whose training is much more highly focused than his own. Some commentators suggest that priesthood as a vocation is in a vicious circle of decline in status, in that the caliber of personnel now being attracted is hardly such as to serve as models for recruiting the best minds of the next generation to a priestly vocation. The challenge of life's ultimate questions, however, persists. Priesthood will probably attract able personnel in significant and perhaps sufficient numbers for many generations to come.

SEE ALSO Ministry; Ordination; Spiritual Discipline; Vocation.

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PRIESTHOOD: JEWISH PRIESTHOOD

[*This article discusses the nature of ancient Israelite priesthood.*]

The most common biblical term for "priest" is the Hebrew word *kohen* (pl., *kohanim*). It is a West Semitic term known in other ancient societies, and although it is a primitive noun, not derived from any verbal root, its meaning can be established from context. The term *levi* (pl., *leviyyim*), on the other hand, often used to designate certain types of priests, has eluded precise definition, but is translated as "Levite." It seems to be a North Israelite term for "priest" in its earliest biblical occurrences.

The problem that has faced historians in reconstructing the history of Israelite priesthood is the character of the biblical literary evidence, itself, which confronts us with two alternative traditions of Israelite history. In the first, that of the Torah in general, and the Priestly tradition in particular, priests are the tribe of Levi, one of the twelve tribes of Israel, descended from and named after one of Jacob's twelve sons, though usually represented as being different from the other tribes in certain respects. The Levites had no territory of their own, were counted separately in the census, and relied on cultic emoluments, most notably the tithe, for their support. According to some biblical traditions, the Levites became collectively consecrated, or were collectively chosen for sacred tasks because of their loyalty to the God of Israel when others were wayward. In this set of traditions, the Levites were at one point demoted, relegated to maintenance functions and the like. Only one family of priests—the Zadokites according to *Ezekiel* 44, and the Aaronites according to *Leviticus* 8–10 and other priestly texts—were retained as proper priests, fit to officiate in the cult. Another set of biblical traditions, less systematically presented but apparently authentic, portrays priestly groups as professional associations in their initial stages, which became consolidated along family and clan lines through the usual tendency of families to inhabit the same towns and locales and to transmit esoteric skills within the family or clan. Clans, however, were not exclusively ancestral; they admitted outsiders to the study of their skills and eventually to full membership. These processes eventually led to the emergence of identifiable priestly, or Levitical, families, inhabiting towns throughout the land. Biblical writers could thus speak of "Levites" as a tribe, albeit a tribe different from other tribes.

Throughout the period of the northern Israelite and southern Judahite monarchies and even prior to that time, priests were appointed by heads of families, military commanders, kings, and other leaders, and served in their employ. During the period of the Second Temple, when Judaea and Jerusalem were under the domination of foreign empires, the priesthood of Jerusalem played an important political role, the priests serving also as leaders of the Jewish communities.

This is one dimension of priestly status. In religious terms, priests were consecrated persons, subject to laws of purity and restricted in all matters, including marriage and the performance of funerary functions. Priests also wore distinctive vestments.

Common to both dimensions is the factor of skilled training. Priests were taught from *torot* (sg., *torah*), "instruction" manuals for cultic officiation, instruction of the people, adjudication, and oracular and therapeutic functions. Priests also administered temple business and maintained temple facilities. In the postexilic period of the Second Temple of Jerusalem, after the status of the city had changed from a national capital ruled by native kings to a temple city under foreign imperial domination, the priests of Jerusalem assumed quasi-political functions as well. They managed community affairs, while leading priests represented the Judean community to the imperial authorities, first Persian, then Ptolemaic and Seleucid.

Preexilic biblical sources refer to chief priests (sg., *kohen ha-ro'sh, Jer.* 52:24) and their deputies (sg., *kohen ha-mishneh, 2 Kgs.* 23:4), whereas the Priestly tradition provides the title "the high priest" (*ha-kohen ha-gadol, Lv.* 21:10) which was more widely used in the postexilic period. The internal organization of the priesthood is gleaned from later biblical literature and from the writings of Josephus Flavius (fl. first century CE), as well as from the Mishnah (second-third centuries CE). Priests were assigned to tours of duty called *mishmarot,* "watches," usually of one week's duration, during which they lived in the Temple complex. The Mishnah mentions priestly officials, such as *ha-segan* ("the director") and *ha-memunneh* ("the priest designate"), who were in charge of specific temple functions in offices of the day.

Priests were supported by levies and donations to the Temple (or temples, in the earlier period) and were required to partake of sacred meals within the Temple precincts. There are indications that, especially in the postexilic period, but perhaps earlier as well, priestly families amassed independent wealth and owned large estates.

Priestly functions may be summarized in the following five categories: (1) cultic functions, (2) oracular functions, (3) therapeutic functions, (4) instructional and juridical functions, and (5) administrative and political functions.

1. *Cultic functions.* The indispensable role of the priest was to officiate in the public sacrificial cult, a role for which only priests were fit. In addition to officiating, priests were involved in the preparation of sacrificial materials and the examination of sacrificial animals and their assignment to specific rites.

2. *Oracular functions.* Both early sources on priestly activity and the subsequent Priestly codification of priestly functions lend prominence to oracular inquiry. The only permitted type of divination was by means of casting lots to secure a binary, or yes or no, response. Often mentioned in this connection is the *efod,* a finely embroidered vestment with a pouch in which the two stones called Urim and Tummim were most likely kept (*Ex.* 28:6, *Lv.* 8:7). Although it is the general view that such oracular inquiry was more characteristic of the earlier periods, their inclusion in the Priestly codes of law, and in certain postexilic references to priestly activity suggests that their utilization persisted (*Ezr.* 2:63). The Urim and Tummim could determine innocence or guilt, and lots are recorded in the Priestly tradition as the means for assigning territories to the tribes.

3. *Therapeutic functions. Leviticus* 13–15 prescribes a quasi-medical role for the Israelite priest relevant to the treatment of certain skin diseases, which also appeared as blight on leather and cloth and on plaster-covered building stones. The purificatory priest combined medical procedures such as symptomatic diagnosis, quarantine, and observation, with magical and sacrificial rites dealing with the threat of these afflictions. Although nothing is said of this role elsewhere in the Bible, comparative evidence of similar functions in Mesopotamia and Egypt suggests that this was a realistic function of priests.

4. *Instructional and juridical functions.* The priest was brought into contact with the people through his role as one who taught the people the *torah* ("instruction"), the correct procedures in religious and legal matters. Priests usually served as judges, and the high courts were traditionally located in the Temple complex of Jerusalem at certain periods. This was true of the Sanhedrin of Hellenistic and Roman times. The key verb often used in characterizing this priestly activity is the Hebrew *horah* ("to teach").

5. *Administrative and political functions.* Priests managed the business of the Temple, which involved accounting, assessing the value of donations in various forms, maintaining the Temple plant, and carrying out periodic inspections and purifications. At times, especially in the postexilic period, but perhaps earlier as well, priests did double duty as tax collectors in royal outposts and later as traveling collectors.

In the postexilic period Levites, as distinct from priests, performed nonsacral tasks in maintaining the Temple, and the later biblical books speak of them as gatekeepers and temple singers or musicians (e.g., *Neh.* 7:1). This latter role is also suggested by the captions attached to many psalms, attributing them to Levitical clans.

The various biblical traditions, including the Priestly traditions themselves, agree on the view that not ritual but rather obedience to God's command in all things, especially in relations "between man and man," is the ultimate goal of religious life. And yet it was the priesthood that made it possible for the individual Israelite and the community as a whole to experience the nearness and presence of God.

SEE ALSO Levites; Rabbinate.

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BARUCH A. LEVINE (1987)
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PRIESTHOOD: CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD

The Roman Catholic, Orthodox, and Anglican Churches apply the term *priesthood* both to the ministry of bishops and presbyters and, more fundamentally, to the baptized members of those communions. Despite historical and theological differences among these churches, there are strong commonalities in the meaning and function of priesthood. To understand these commonalities and differences, it is necessary to consider the origins of Christian priesthood in its historical and religious contexts, major divergences, and continuing developments and controversies. Because it is the early centuries that these churches have in common, they require particular attention here.

The idea and practice of Christian priesthood in early Christianity formed around two poles: the nascent communities' understanding of themselves and of Jesus Christ in light of the Jewish traditions of priesthood with which he and they were familiar. Civic and religious priesthoods in the Greco-Roman world were also significant features of the contexts within which the Christian movement grew, hence a further source of influence as Christian priesthood evolved in the early centuries.

NEW TESTAMENT PERIOD. In the first century, the followers of Jesus used the terminology and imagery of the Hebrew Bible to interpret his ministry, death, and resurrection, seeing in him the high priest (*archiereus*) who offers sacrifice for the sins of the people. But in Jesus they also saw the perfecting or completion of priesthood and sacrifice, one who intercedes eternally for them at God's right hand (*Heb.* 5:1–10; 6:23–28; 10:10–12). Early Christians understood themselves in terms of the Israelites chosen and covenanted as a priestly people (*Ex.* 19:5-6), now constituted as a holy priesthood and God's own people (1*Pt.* 2:5, 9-10; *Rv.* 1:6; 5:10; 20:6). The two concepts are so closely intertwined that it is difficult to assign temporal or logical priority to either one. Over time the focus would come to be fixed on the priesthood of Jesus Christ and his ministers. Starting in the latter part of the twentieth century, largely as the result of growing consensus in biblical studies and ecumenical dialogue, the priesthood of all the Christian people has garnered renewed attention and importance in churches that regard their bishops and presbyters as priests.

Differences over priesthood, temple sacrifice, and communal identity moved from an intra-Jewish question to a site of conflict between Christians (including now Gentile Christians) and Jews by the end of the first century CE. Christian literature of the early second century reflects the growing estrangement between these two groups; the so-called *Letter of Barnabas* is notable for its appropriation of identity as the spiritual temple and God's new Israel at the same time as it excoriates the priesthood and cult of Judaism (13–16).

The New Testament does not apply the term *priest* to any Christian ministry or function other than the role it ascribes to Jesus Christ as eternal high priest. Paul, however, does use the metaphor of "priestly service" (*Rom.* 15:16) to describe his preaching of the gospel but does not expound on its meaning. Leadership roles, offices or ministries, and an array of charismatic gifts were exercised by many believers in service of mission and community life. Nowhere in the New Testament is there any indication of who presided at the Lord's Supper (the Eucharist, as it was later called), but in accord with general social practice of the period, it is likely that the head of the household (male or female) in which the community met was the host or presider at the meal.

Over the course of the second and third centuries, Christian practice and writings increasingly associated the terms priest and priesthood with ministerial office—at first that of bishop, later that of presbyter as well. Two developments fostered this association: articulation of more formal structures of ministry within the churches, and interpretation of the Lord's Supper not simply as a memorial meal but as a representation of the death of Jesus understood as a sacrificial offering to God.

Ordered ministerial offices were beginning to evolve by the late first or early second century, as the Pastoral Epistles (1 and 2 *Tm.*; *Ti.*) witness. The qualifications and to some extent the functions of bishops (*episkopoi*) and deacons (*diakonoi*) were set forth in these letters; the office of elders or presbyters (*presbyteroi*) received briefer mention. The distinction between bishops and presbyters-elders was not well defined, but the bishop may have been a senior member or leader among the elders; the deacon served the bishop and was his representative in the church community. Over the course of the second century, these offices became more firmly established and the distinctive functions of bishops and presbyters more clearly defined.

The bishop served as leader of a local church, which was more like a parish in these early centuries than a diocese, and by the end of the second century he was the regular presider at the Eucharist. In large cities where there were multiple churches, and for outlying churches and rural areas, the bishop would delegate the role of presider to presbyters. By the early third century, the threefold structure of ministry was widespread among the churches. The offices were restricted to men, thus narrowing the ministerial roles of women to widows, who engaged in a ministry of prayer, and deaconesses, who exercised a liturgical ministry chiefly in regard to the baptism of woman, and increasingly marginalizing their leadership.

Second and third centuries. The so-called *First Letter of Clement* (written from the Roman church, c. 96) compares in a general way the ministers of the church to the high priest, priests, and Levites of Israel. Around 200 in Carthage, Tertullian applied the term *sacerdos* (priest) to bishops, only once using the term *high priest* (*summus sacerdos*) for them. Third-century texts known as church orders—the *Apostolic Tradition* (c. 212) ascribed to Hippolytus of Rome and the *Didascalia* (or *Teachings of the Apostles*) from Syria or Palestine (c. 230)—are more specific about the analogy. The *Apostolic Tradition* designates the bishop as presider at the Eucharist. The ordination prayer names him as high priest, propitiating God by his ministry and his offering of the church's gifts to God (I.iii); presbyters are compared to the elders chosen by Moses (I.viii). The *Didascalia* requires that the bishop, like the levitical priests, be unblemished in body and conduct (IV). He is due the first offerings of the community because he is priest, prophet, king, and mediator for the people, imitating Christ in bearing their sins (VIII). The use of priestly language remains largely metaphorical, however, and Christian priesthood never became a hereditary office restricted to specific families, as it did in ancient Israel.

Supported by these developments, a theology of priesthood, Eucharist, and sacrifice began to take form in the third century, particularly in the West. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage (c. 248–258), articulated this emerging nexus for the Latin churches. He considers Melchizedek a figure of Jesus Christ and the eucharistic bread and wine a sacrifice (*Eph.* 63.4–5) offered by the priest (bishop). By association, presbyters share in the priestly role of the bishop (*Ep.*61.3; 72.2). Augustine, bishop of Hippo (396–430), used the term *sacerdos* for bishops and presbyters, but was sparing in its application in order to emphasize the unique priesthood of Jesus Christ, which the ministry of bishops and priests serves. His caution was intended to counter Donatist schismatics who held that sacramental efficacy depended on the worthiness of the minister. Augustine regarded Jesus' death and the Eucharist as sacrificial, contrasting Christian spiritual sacrifice with the ineffective material sacrifices of pagan cult (*City of God* X.5, 6). But he also had a strong conception of the priesthood of the Christian people, the church (*City of God* XVII.5). In the East, the language of sacrifice was applied to the Eucharist and priesthood but was modulated somewhat by an emphasis on overcoming sin and death rather than a preoccupation with propitiating God (as in Origen, Athanasius, Cyril of Alexandria).

Constantinian era. With the growing interest of Emperor Constantine (r. 306–337) in Christianity after his surprise victory at the Milvian Bridge in 312, the church entered a new era of toleration that allowed for expansion of membership and a rapid rise in its social and political status that culminated in its establishment as the religion of the Roman Empire during the reign of Theodosius I (r. 379–395). Prior to the fourth century, the practice and conception of Christian priesthood had evolved largely in relation to the levitical priesthood of the Hebrew Bible. Given the shifts set in motion by Constantine, subsequent developments in Christian priesthood inevitably referred to and drew on Roman civic and religious priesthoods as well as the ceremony of the imperial court.

As imperial largesse transformed the church's major public spaces in Rome, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, the scale and style of Christian liturgy changed to meet the grandeur of these new environments. The use of incense, candles, processions, and vestments reflected imperial ceremony, creating an atmosphere of awe from the subtle overlay of divine and imperial presence. As presider at the eucharistic liturgy in its newly enlarged form, the bishop (and, by extension, his presbyters) began to acquire a sacral aura. John Chrysostom, the "golden-mouthed" preacher and later bishop of Constantinople (r. 398–404), gives fullest expression to these developments in his treatise *On Priesthood* (c. 386), written as an apologia for declining priestly ordination. Chrysostom describes the burdens of pastoral care (II), preaching (IV.12), and teaching (V.13) and highlights the immense honor that attends the priest (bishop) who calls down the Holy Spirit, making present the body and blood of Jesus Christ at the eucharistic sacrifice (III.7). He repeatedly takes issue with those who seek episcopal office as a means of self-promotion (III.7, 9), a concern that reflects the changed status of the church and suggests that Christian priesthood had assumed the political prestige of the old Roman priesthoods.

By recognizing bishops and priests as a legal and social class, Constantine had incorporated them into the political structures of the empire in which those holding public offices constituted distinct ranks or orders (*ordines*). The process of assimilation increased when Constantine granted bishops judicial powers to hear civil cases. Use of the political term *ordo* for priestly office reached back to Tertullian and Cyprian in the West, but its significance increased as the Christian church took its place solidly within the social and political life of the Roman Empire. The distinction between clergy (those in the priestly *ordo*) and laity (*laici*, *plebs*) arose clearly in the third century; distance between the two widened considerably in the fourth and continued to increase in subsequent centuries.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS AND DIFFERENCES. The decline of the Roman Empire in the West in the fifth century and its gradual retraction in the East served to solidify the ecclesiastical and political status of Christian priesthood. Institutional structures once derived from their Roman historical context acquired a kind of ontological status when incorporated into the platonic thought-world of late antiquity. Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (sixth century, Syria) crystallized this process in his treatises, the *Celestial Hierarchy* and the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, which saw church structures as reflecting and participating in the eternal structures of the angelic hierarchies in heaven. Within the hierarchy of the church there were two orders: the clerical hierarchy and the lay hierarchy. The picture of intricately ordered and interlocking hierarchies was influential in later medieval social and political thought.

Medieval period. The economic and political structures of feudalism that developed in the West from 500 to 800 were likewise hierarchical and congenial to the kind of church order envisioned by Pseudo-Dionysius. Theological developments in this period furthered a conception of priesthood as hierarchical and sacral, rooted in the priesthood of Christ (e.g., Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* III.q.22), and removed from the masses of laity. Scholastic theologians articulated a sacramental theology that defined clerical ordination as the sacrament of orders. For bishops and priests, the sacrament of orders was understood to confer an indelible character on the recipient, conveying to him the spiritual capacity for ministry, especially for administering the sacraments (e.g., *ST* III. q. 63, on sacramental character and participation in Christ's priesthood; III. q. 83, a. 4, on the priest's consecratory role in the Eucharist). Episcopal ordination also conferred the authority of jurisdiction (e.g., *ST, Suppl.,* q. I, aa. 5,7). Focus on the Eucharist as the central cultic work of the priest, who acted in the person of Christ (*in persona Christi*), further sacralized the understanding and practice of priesthood. Concentration on the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist and formulation of a philosophical-theological explanation of the nature and causality of that presence (transubstantiation, as defined at the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215) reinforced the sense of cultic awe attaching to priesthood and sacrament. Devotions to the Blessed Sacrament, adored but not received, increased the distance and deference granted to priesthood.

Serious efforts to require and enforce celibacy of the clergy in the West date to the wide-ranging reform program of Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073–1085). The local Spanish synod of Elvira (c. 306) had directed bishops, priests, and deacons to observe marital continence, and the first ecumenical Council of Nicaea (306) had forbidden marriage after ordination to the diaconate, but neither had lasting effect. In both the Greek and Latin churches, the promotion of clerical celibacy owed much to the influence of the ascetic-monastic movement that predated Constantine and spread rapidly during the fourth century as the church became increasingly acculturated. The metaphor of eucharistic sacrifice was taken more literally as arguments for clerical celibacy appealed to levitical laws of ritual purity.

Marriage and concubinage of the clergy were common in the West through the Middle Ages, even after the Gregorian reforms and the imposition of celibacy as a requirement for ordination at the First Lateran Council in 1123. In the East the practice of requiring celibacy of bishops but not of priests had become the norm, with the result that most bishops were drawn from the ranks of monks. Weekly eucharistic services (rather than the Western practice of daily masses) made it possible for priests to observe ritual purity without having to be celibate. Differences over clerical celibacy were one factor in the increasing estrangement of the Latin and Greek churches in this period. Both the requirement of celibacy and the failures in its observance added fuel to the growing calls for reform of the Western church's life and teaching from the thirteenth century onward.

Reformation period. Integral to Martin Luther's critique of the Catholic sacramental system and its abuses was a rejection of the theology of transubstantiation and eucharistic sacrifice, as well as of the notion of priesthood that accompanied it (*The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, 1520). Luther held that the only Christian priest was Jesus Christ. The minister does not represent Christ in a way different from other believers; every Christian is to be an *alter Christus* (another Christ) to his or her neighbor. The central task of Christian ministry is the preaching of the Word. Although Luther's conception of church, sacraments, and ministry was formulated as a critique of medieval Catholicism, he nevertheless maintained the importance of an ordained (ordered) ministry and the evangelical practice of the two sacraments of Christian faith, baptism and Eucharist. Equally important, however, was his rediscovery of the New Testament understanding of the priesthood of the whole Christian body, taken now as the priesthood of all believers. All baptized Christians, not simply the ordained, participate in the priesthood and kingship of Christ (*On the Freedom of a Christian*, 1520).

John Calvin, too, held that the preaching of the gospel was the heart of ordained ministry and that priesthood belonged to Christ alone (*Institutes of the Christian Religion* IV.19). He further developed an understanding of the threefold offices of Christ as prophet, priest, and king, and the participation of all believers in his priesthood (*Institutes* II.15). Calvin rejected as well the theology of eucharistic sacrifice and any sort of material presence of Christ in the Eucharist, but held a strong doctrine of real spiritual presence (*Institutes* IV.17-18*).* Ulrich Zwingli agreed with Luther and Calvin in recognizing that Jesus Christ was the only Christian priest. He also rejected a sacramental or sacrificial interpretation of the Eucharist, but in sharp contrast with Luther or Calvin he rejected any notion of eucharistic presence of Christ and taught that the Eucharist was simply a memorial observance (*On the Lord's Supper*).

The so-called middle way (*via media*) taken by the English reformation and brought to a settlement by Elizabeth I (1558-1603) charted a broad course between continental Protestantism as represented particularly by Calvin on the one hand, and Roman Catholicism on the other. Successive editions of the *Book of Common Prayer* reflected these and other influences as it became the norm for the "one use" throughout the English church ("Of Ceremonies," 1559 BCP). The sixteenth-century English reformers largely rejected the idea of eucharistic sacrifice and a clerical priesthood that served the altar. They affirmed the common priesthood of all Christians. Unlike their continental counterparts, they retained the offices of bishop, priest (presbyter), and deacon, but did not define these offices with any specificity. The ordination services were included in Archbishop Thomas Cranmer's 1552 prayer book and retained in later editions; more radically Puritan or presbyterian understandings were excluded in the 1662 book published after the restoration of the monarchy and the episcopacy. Elizabeth's religious policy of "comprehension" (to include within the English church a broad middle range of perspectives) had set a course that allowed for considerable diversity of interpretation and practice in the Anglican communion during subsequent centuries. In regard to priesthood and related matters, the resulting spectrum of positions encompassed the language of both priesthood and ministry, sacrifice and memorial, transubstantiation and spiritual presence, as well as a wide variety of liturgical sensibilities and styles.

In response to the Protestant reformers and by way of its own internal process of reform, the Council of Trent (1545–1563) pursued a dual agenda of doctrinal decrees and pastoral reforms. Doctrinally the council did nothing new, reasserting traditional Catholic positions regarding priesthood, Eucharist, and sacrifice (*Decree on the Sacrifice of the Mass; Decree on the Sacrament of Order; Decree on the Eucharist*). In particular it affirmed transubstantiation, the Eucharist as sacrifice, the priest acting *in persona Christi,* and the indelible sacramental character of ordination that distinguished the ordained from the laity. In the area of pastoral reforms, the council required that bishops be resident in their dioceses and priests in their parishes, reaffirmed the necessity of clerical celibacy, and returned preaching to the center of the bishop's pastoral responsibilities.

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES. Matters related to the theology and practice of priesthood in the early twenty-first century can be noted briefly in three categories: ecumenical and liturgical developments; matters of gender and sexuality; and the growing importance of lay ministry.

The liturgical movement of the twentieth century drew attention back to sources from the early church, finding in these texts common principles for liturgical renewal in the Western churches, especially the Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Lutheran. The entrance of the Roman Catholic Church into the ecumenical arena after the Second Vatican Council (1963–1965) and the rapid growth of bilateral ecumenical dialogues furthered common study of divisive issues surrounding ministry and sacraments. Agreed statements from these dialogues and the World Council of Churches' 1982 document, *Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry*, are pointing the way toward mutual recognition of ministry, members, and sacraments. At the same time, contemporary biblical scholarship has contributed to a growing consensus on the origins of church and ministry.

Issues related to gender and sexuality in connection with ordained ministry and priesthood have become a critical topic within the churches as well as in ecumenical relations between and among churches. The 1974 ordination of eleven women to the priesthood in Philadelphia sparked a crisis within the Episcopal Church in the United States and, more broadly, in the Anglican Communion. The ordinations were regularized in 1977, though recognition of women priests was not imposed on dioceses or provinces that could not in conscience accept them. Since then Anglican churches in many parts of the world have ordained women priests; the first woman bishop of the Episcopal Church was consecrated in Boston in 1989. More recently, in 2004 the first openly gay bishop was consecrated for the Diocese of New Hampshire, with worldwide repercussions among Anglicans; it remains to be seen what effects this will have on the unity of Anglicanism.

The ordination of women to the priesthood and episcopacy and the consecration of a gay bishop have raised strong questions and objections from the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches, both of which restrict priestly ordination to men and consider women's ordination a serious impediment to ecumenical progress. The Roman Catholic Church explicitly condemns homosexuality as intrinsically disordered, while the Orthodox churches have objected vigorously to the new Episcopal bishop's election and consecration. The chief arguments advanced against ordaining women to the priesthood are that tradition does not permit it and that the essence of priesthood makes it impossible: Jesus was male and chose only males to be his apostles (understood as the first ordained priests or bishops); the priest acts *in persona Christi* (Roman Catholics) and is an icon of Christ (Orthodox), but women cannot represent Christ in their bodies.

Within the Roman Catholic Church, a movement for women's ordination to the priesthood has been growing since the late 1970s, particularly in the United States and Europe. Several Vatican documents since 1977 have reiterated the prohibition of women's ordination, including a 1995 statement that declared the question closed. Nevertheless, the discussion continues. Within the Orthodox churches, too, there is a movement to permit ordination to the diaconate for women, with proponents pointing to the history of deaconesses in these churches. Addressing these questions of gender and sexuality increases pressure in the Roman Catholic Church to reexamine the requirement of clerical celibacy, a matter explicitly debated since Vatican II and made more urgent by the shortage of priests in western Europe and North America.

Finally, in each of these churches there is ongoing growth of involvement in many kinds of lay ministry, both professional and volunteer, formal and informal. This movement is related to a renewed appreciation of the common ministry of all Christians that is rooted in the priesthood of Christ and the sacrament of baptism. As it continues to grow and mature, lay ministry will gradually reshape the theology and practice of ordained ministry and priesthood.

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PRIESTHOOD: HINDU PRIESTHOOD

Hindu priesthood has its origins primarily in the Vedic religion, in which the primary focus was the ritual tradition. The Indo-Aryan-speaking invaders of northwestern India in the middle and late second millennium BCE were apparently divided into a threefold hierarchy of social classes with religious as well as economic functions, the priestly class being uppermost and distinct from the warrior, and both of these relatively small echelons ranking above the masses, the pastoral, artisan, and agricultural producers. Kings and chieftains were evidently drawn from the warrior tradition, but the function of sovereignty itself involved divine-human relationships perceived as sacrificial exchanges and therefore the sacred work (*karman*) of an elite priesthood, whose members came from the priestly social class (*brāhmaṇa*). That this sacerdotal elite was diversified according to long tradition, being responsible not only for a wide range of cultic functions but also for the composition and preservation of the sacred traditions of oral poetry, is documented from comparative study of the *Ṛgveda,* the oldest of the Vedic texts, composed c. 1200 BCE, and the Avesta of ancient Iran. Similarities in the functions not only of Vedic brahmans and Iranian magi but also of Celtic druids and Roman flamens have led some scholars to discuss a proto-Indo-European priestly tradition. In the absence of interpretable literary records from the Indus Valley, it remains undetermined what contribution a hypothetical Harappan priesthood may have made to subsequent South Asian religions.

VEDIC PRIESTHOOD. The expansion of the priesthood during the period of composition of Rgvedic hymns and subsequent texts has a complicated history. The initial verse of the *Ṛgveda* identifies Agni, god of fire, as divine priest and *hotṛ,* or invoking priest, originally the "pourer" of libations (his Avestan counterpart in name and function being the *zaotar*). The *Ṛgveda* itself came to serve as the handbook of this essential priest, who called the gods to the sacrifices. *Ṛgveda* 2.1.2 honors Agni not only with the *hotṛ*'s office but also with those of the *adhvaryu,* or administrative priest, and the *brahmán* (possibly indicating *brāhmaṇācchaṃsin*), *potṛ, neṣṭṛ, agnīdh,* and *praśāstṛ,* with the householder, *gṛhapati,* as eighth priest. In several respects this staff corresponds to ancient Iranian sets of seven or eight priests. But the fully developed Vedic staff for the great *soma* rituals consisted of four major officiants, or *ṛtvij* (a number including the *udgātṛ* with the *hotṛ, adhvaryu,* and *brahmán* from the above group), and allowed each to employ three assistants for a total of sixteen, occasionally seventeen if an additional priest was required. Just as the *Ṛgveda* was the manual from which the *hotṛ* recited, so the three subsidiary Samhitas eventually came to be specific texts for the other principal *ṛtvij* and their assistants, the *adhvaryu* instructing and proclaiming from the *Yajurveda,* the *udgātṛ* and his acolytes singing as a quartet from the *Sāmaveda,* and the *brahmán* serving as proctor or monitor for the rituals, silently observing and listening for errors in need of expiation, his relationship to the *Atharvaveda* being only nominal because his training necessarily included coverage of all three primary Vedas. *Ṛgveda* 10.71.11 alludes to the tasks of the four major priests, that of the *brahmán* being the relating of knowledge (*vidyā*), a significant clue to the nature of this important figure who, as transcendent fourth, represents the totality of priesthood. As *brahmán* (masculine) he is one who knows *bráhman* (neuter), the cosmic word in poetic formula. He "knows" and applies to the human world this *vidyā* of cosmic correspondences, his efforts being simultaneously ritual, speculative, intuitive, even magical. The *bráhman* as cosmic revelation is thus the sacred responsibility of the *brahmán* priest, and by extension, of the entire social class (*varṇa*) of *brāhmaṇa*s.

In the early centuries of the first millennium BCE, Vedic civilization expanded across North India, and sacerdotal literature explored new genres beyond the four Vedic Samhitas, including Brāhmaṇas, or theological and ritual discourses, and *sūtra*s, treatises for both levels of rituals, the great public (*śrauta*) ceremonies requiring three fires and a staff of priests, and the domestic (*gṛhya*) ceremonies dependent upon a single fire and priest. There developed an interactive system of schools (*śākhā*s) to safeguard and transmit oral traditions, each linked to one of the Vedas just as priests claimed descent from one of the traditional seven *ṛṣi*s. Partly competitive but largely cooperative, these schools produced a specialized, highly skilled priesthood that was eventually to be found throughout the Indian subcontinent, and fragments of which exist in marginal areas, particularly in South India, still today. *Prayoga*s and *paddhati*s developed as combinative handbooks for specific rituals, as, for example, in detailing the procedures for the morning and evening milk-offering known as the Agnihotra, or for funerary and ancestral rites.

In ancient and classical India the sacrificer (*yajamāna*), belonging to any one of the three high *varṇa*s, engaged one or more priests for the performance of his rites. His family priest was the *purohita,* an office known already in the *Ṛgveda.* The *purohita*'s spiritual guidance as *guru* or *ācārya* came to be regarded as highly as his textual skill as *śrotriya* or his ritual expertise for life-cycle rites (*saṃskāra*s). The *purohita* linked to a king could become a powerful state figure, as illustrated by Kauṭilya, court chaplain to the emperor Candragupta Maurya (late fourth century BCE) and author of the influential political treatise known as the *Arthaśāstra.*

HINDU PRIESTHOOD FROM THE CLASSICAL TO THE MODERN PERIOD. From the middle of the first millennium BCE, the Vedic sacrificial structure and its priestly custodians had faced competition from renunciant movements (including the Jains and Buddhists), Upaniṣadic speculation, and yogic techniques, all dispensing with or "interiorizing" the sacrifice. Then emergent Hindu theistic movements promoted devotion *(bhakti)* and worship *(pūjā)* above *yajña,* the Vedic sacrifice. The great *śrauta* system enjoyed a revival in the classical Gupta period, but began to disappear as an institution after the fifth century CE, while the Vedic domestic ritual system was absorbed into Hindu faith and practice, as indeed was its priesthood; the brahmans were now divided into temple officiants in villages, towns, and cities, or linked as *purohita*s in traditional hereditary exchanges of services with twice-born classes, known as the *jajmāni* relationship (in the vernacular, from Vedic *yajamāna,* "sacrificer-patron"). Increasingly, brahman priests found themselves to be one category among specialists of the sacred as "Hinduism" slowly broadened its base to accommodate virtually every religious expression of the multicultural subcontinent. Still the most versatile of priests by virtue of their paramount social position and range of linkages across classes and caste groups (*jāti*s), brahmans nevertheless gave significantly more space to nonbrahman religious specialists, who doubtless had long been part and parcel of religious life but had been accorded neither prominence nor legitimation in Vedic and Sanskrit Brahmanic literatures.

By the early medieval period the "priesthood" of Hinduism could be said to have included at least three distinct groups, each with its own interior hierarchy: a remnant of Vedic brahmans (Vaidikas) whose textual and ritual locus remained one or another Vedic school; a larger segment of brahmans whose textual and ritual base was not the Vedas but largely the Sanskrit epics, Purāṇas, and Āgamas, and whose recourse was increasingly toward regional vernacular renditions of these in Tamil, Konkani, Bengali, Hindi, and so forth; and a far larger representation of nontextual priests, unlettered but not unlearned, drawn largely but not exclusively from the lower castes and marginally Hindu tribal peoples, connected with an inexhaustible variety of localized shrines and cult phenomena, and more likely than their brahman counterparts to be concerned with village boundary, hero and goddess cults, spirit possession, exorcism, divination, healing, sorcery, astrology, and shamanic calls to office. Villages afforded priestly roles within virtually every caste or even subcaste. Temples in urban areas displayed wide latitude in the range of priests, including (to cite one eleventh-century example) some fifty priests among a staff of hundreds, all ranked in office and salary from the brahman *pandita* down through lesser priests appointed to serve acolyte deities in the temple or perform animal sacrifices, and even listing as part-time priests specialists in the *Ṛgveda, Sāmaveda,* and *Yajurveda.*

Hindu priesthood in the twentieth century retains many features of the past, including the hereditary *jajmāni* relationship, the location of brahman priestly subcastes near the top of the *jāti* hierarchy (although, interestingly, not as high as most nonpriestly brahman subcastes), a strong emphasis on purity and consecrated ritual status, a hierarchical organization as well as a sectarian one, and a bewildering range of specialization from every caste group, from the incongruously high-caste but low-ranking brahman funeral priest of North India (the *mahāpātra*) to the low-caste barber who performs the same function in parts of South India, to the priests from a wide range of brahman and nonbrahman castes who frequent the great holy centers and engage as patrons the incoming pilgrims. The village or urban brahman *purohita* and his nonbrahman counterpart may find themselves jacks-of-all-trades, called upon to recite *mantra*s, perform or advise on life-cycle rites, inaugurate a new house, provide horoscopes, sanction marital arrangements, advise on illnesses, counteract the evil eye, arbitrate disputes, perform accounting, or administer the age-old ritual attentions to the images in the household shrine. The urban brahman priest of a famous Vaiṣṇava or Śaiva temple, like the nonbrahman *pūjāri* of the crudest roadside rock shrine, will find his role more circumscribed than that of the domestic priest, yet still fixed in the same office of mediation between the human and divine worlds.

SEE ALSO Brahman; Druids; Flamen; Magi; Vedism and Brahmanism.

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Bodewitz's "The Fourth Priest (the *Brahmán*) in Vedic Ritual," in *Selected Studies on Ritual in Indian Religions: Essays to D. J. Hoens,* edited by Ria Kloppenborg (Leiden, 1983), has summarized and contributed to interpretations of the fourth *śrauta* priest. An innovative and influential discussion of the relationship among Vedic priests, their sacrificer patrons, and renunciation is Jan C. Heesterman's "Brahmin, Ritual and Renouncer," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens* 8 (1964): 1–31. Still useful for both Vedic and later Hindu priesthood is the overview by Arthur Berriedale Keith, "Priest, Priesthood (Hindu)," in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* edited by James Hastings, vol. 10 (Edinburgh, 1918).

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PRIESTHOOD: BUDDHIST PRIESTHOOD

The English word *priest* is frequently used by both Buddhists and non-Buddhists alike to refer to the Buddhist holy men of various Asian cultures. The use of the term is due more to the concomitant presence of Roman Catholic priests in Asia during the early periods of colonial history than to Buddhistic understandings of the religious vocation per se.

Normatively, Buddhist holy men are fundamentally more concerned with cultivating wisdom (*prajñā*), mental concentration (*samādhi*), and ethical virtue *(śīla)* in pursuit of personal spiritual attainment than with the performance of mediating ritual acts for the religious or material benefit of the laity. Moreover, it is clear from studies of the early Buddhist scriptures that early Buddhism was originally antagonistic to the performance of rites as a means for spiritual advancement. In one sūtra *(Saṃyuttanikāya,* 4.218–220), for example, the Buddha ridicules ritualistic practices of Brahman priests who, by the recitation of *mantra*s (magical incantations), believe that they are assisting the dead by empowering their progress through a heavenly afterlife sojourn. In contrast to this practice, the Buddha specifically identifies the power of performing moral actions in this lifetime to determine the quality of life in the next.

Furthermore, clear distinctions between Buddhist holy men and priestly ritual specialists are found in the religious vocabularies of most Buddhist peoples. In Tibet, Buddhist holy men are known as *blama*s, while local priests involved in the manipulation of occult powers are known as Bonpos, or adherents of the indigenous Bon religion. In Sri Lanka, *kapurala*s (priests) officiate at *devalaya*s (shrines to gods) where they chant their *yatika* (entreaties) to the *deva*s (gods) on behalf of lay petitioners. This practice is in contrast to that of Buddhist *bhikkhu*s (monks), who formally do not become involved with the supernatural powers attributed to deities.

Thus, in virtually every Buddhist culture, Buddhist holy men have been more clearly associated with the cultivation of spiritual qualities within than with the orchestration of divine powers operative at various levels of the external cosmos. Indeed, the Sanskrit and Pali terms used for Buddhist clerics are, respectively, *bhikṣu* and *bhikkhu,* which literally mean "beggar" or "mendicant," and do not connote a priestly role as such.

ORIGIN OF MINISTERIAL ASPECTS OF BUDDHIST PRIESTHOOD. In early Buddhist literature, however, the Buddha is depicted as a compassionate teacher who foresaw the need for a priestly or ministerial dimension of Buddhist mendicancy. While this priestly dimension was not expressed through the clerical performance of rites, it is nevertheless evident in the Buddha's injunctions to "wander for the benefit of the many," to become a "field of merit" *(puṇyaksetra)* for the laity, and to preach *dharma* (law, order, truth) to those seeking understanding. When these injunctions are understood in relation to the altruistic ethic of *dāna* (the perfection of giving) and the metaphysical centrality of *anātman* (nonself, selflessness), the basis for a mediating priestly role of service within the context of the Buddhist religious vocation becomes evident.

The priestly dimension of the Buddhist religious vocation assumed greater degrees of importance and specificity as the tradition spread beyond India to East and Southeast Asia. In the process of acculturation, Buddhist holy men actually assumed many of the responsibilities and functions of ritual specialists indigenous to those areas. Today, it is not uncommon to find Buddhist holy men in Tibet who are experts in exorcism, or monks in Sri Lanka who are highly proficient in astrology, or Buddhists in China who played roles similar to Daoist priests in performing funeral rites for the dead. In both Theravāda (Way of the Elders) and Mahāyāna (Great Vehicle) traditions, Buddhist holy men have become ritual specialists who serve the laity through popular ritual practices whenever specific needs arise. They also minister to the needs of the laity in nonritualized ways.

THE BUDDHIST PRIEST IN CHINA, JAPAN, AND THE THERAVĀDA COUNTRIES. Chinese religion has been characterized from ancient times to the present by an exceedingly deep reverence for ancestors. It is the duty of the living to remember and venerate their deceased kin. In light of the fact that renunciation of social and family ties is incumbent upon Buddhist holy men, Buddhism came under severe criticism, especially from Confucian quarters, during its early history in China. To mollify critical Chinese, Buddhists quite consciously popularized the legend of Mulien (Maudgalyāyana), one of the Buddha's closest disciples, who, according to tradition, dramatically and heroically attempted to save his deceased mother, who had been reborn in hell due to her inadvertent consumption of meat. Buddhist apologists stressed that Mulien endured many forms of torture and in the process suffered vicariously for his mother in a variety of miserable hells. At the moment of his greatest need, however, he was succored by the Buddha, who announced the happy news that his mother could be saved if a body of monks would come together and perform a mass for her soul. This legend became the basis for the widespread practice of Buddhist monks offering masses for the dead of their lay supporters.

These masses were also popularized by disseminating the mythologies of two *bodhisattva*s (enlightened ones): Kṣitigarbha (Chin., Dizang; Jpn., Jizō), who vowed to delay his own entry into *nirvāṇa* until he saved all suffering souls dwelling in the many hells; and Avalokiteśvara (Chin., Guanyin; Jpn., Kannon), who wandered through the hells of the damned preaching *dharma* for their eternal benefit. Masses for the dead were held to transfer to Kṣitigarbha the positive karmic power derived from sacrificial and moral actions in order to assist him in his salvific endeavors, and/or to call upon Avalokiteśvara to bring the suffering of the damned to an end.

In modern Japan, the chanting of scriptures on behalf of the dead remains one of the preeminent responsibilities of the Buddhist holy man. In this manner, Buddhist clerics share priestly duties regarding primary rites of passage with Shintō priests, who are generally called upon to officiate at birth or naming ceremonies and weddings. When priestly duties are seen in this fashion, it is apparent that Buddhist clerics share a complementary role with priests of other religious traditions. In Japan, the ritual responsibility of caring for the dead has fallen to Buddhist clerics, while their Shintō counterparts ritually assist the living during occasions of social transition.

The ritual care of the dead also forms an important part of the priestly role of Buddhist monks in the Theravāda countries of Burma, Thailand, and Sri Lanka. Following the death of kin, families assemble for commemoration rites on the seventh day, after three months, and after one year. At these times monks are invited by the family to receive alms *(daṇa),* to preach *(baṇa),* or to chant sacred scriptures (Pali, *paritta;* Sinh., *pirit*). Karmic merit derived from these religious acts is then transferred to the departed. The subsequent anniversary dates of family deaths are annually commemorated in this manner, and it is not unusual for a given family to undertake a *daṇa* (almsgiving) on the behalf of various departed family members several times a year. Accordingly, all departed family members of the preceding generation are continuously "assisted."

The basic religious reason for the continued care of the departed is rooted in the fundamental concept of karmic retribution and rebirth. In traditional Buddhist cultures, the ultimate path to *nirvāṇa* is one that spans many lifetimes, and it is incumbent upon family members to assist their departed kin in progressing to this ultimate goal. The specific role of the Buddhist monk in these rites is pivotal. On the one hand, his presence constitutes a worthy object for the performance of meritorious actions, inasmuch as he symbolizes the virtues of the Buddha, the *dharma,* and the *saṃgha* (or *sangha*; the Buddhist order). On the other hand, his sermons invariably focus on the central reality for Buddhists that all conditioned life in *saṃsāra* (repeated cycles of birth, suffering, and death) is temporary, subject to change, and compounded; that whatever is subject to uprising is also subject to decay and whatever is subject to birth is also subject to death. It is the monk's calling to make known this message.

Aside from rites pertaining to the dead, the most evident priestly role in the lives of Theravāda Buddhist monks involves the performance of *paritta,* the chanting of specially selected Buddhist *suttas* in Pali, which when recited are believed to be infused with protective sacral power. The chanting of these *suttas* usually lasts for the duration of a night but in some cases may last for as long as a week or a month, depending upon the specific purpose. The chanting is performed by a number of monks seated under a *mandapa,* a specially constructed canopy. During the chants each monk holds a sacred thread that has been placed in a water vessel. The specific texts are believed to be *buddhavacana* (words of the Buddha), and chanting them therefore charges the sacred thread with power that protects and sanctifies one and that cultivates prosperity and peace. At the conclusion of the chanting the thread is tied around the wrists of all who are present, monks and laity alike, an action symbolizing the distribution of sacral power.

Paritta ceremonies may be held on any occasion that signifies a new beginning or that needs to be considered auspicious. In Sri Lanka, the chanting of *pirit* precedes the opening of parliament, the building of personal residences, campaigns for an end to political strife, or the *Kaṭhina* ceremony, in which new robes are given to members of the *saṃgha* (a monastic Buddhist community) at the end of the *vassa,* the rain-retreat season. Studies of *paritta* indicate that its chief purpose is to establish conditions under which the individual, family, village, or state can carry out required duties favorably. Of all the priestly roles performed by Buddhist monks, the chanting of *paritta* best epitomizes sacerdotal responsibilities, for it is within this ritual context that the monk most dramatically performs the task of mediating sacred power. By articulating the words of the Buddha through chant, he magically diffuses sacred power for the benefit of the faithful.

BUDDHIST PRIESTS AND THE LAITY. Buddhist monks have also traditionally filled the roles of spiritual advisers and teachers of the laity. In ancient times eminent monks in traditional Asian cultures were selected by the royalty to educate the elite youth. In medieval Southeast Asia, virtually all adolescent males donned the yellow robes of the *bhikkhu* for at least one rain-retreat season to be taught the essentials of Buddhist life. This practice still continues in Thailand and Burma. In modern Sri Lanka, monks spend most of their *poya* (full moon) days educating the laity about Buddhist precepts and meditation. It is also not uncommon for monks and "nuns" (strictly speaking, the *bhikkhunī saṃgha* has been defunct since the tenth century CE) to counsel laity regarding personal or family problems.

The *saṃgha* is a refuge not only for the laity but for its own members as well. An especially poignant petition made by aspiring monks during the process of their ordination rite *(upasampadā)* illustrates how Buddhist monks serve as priests for one another: "I ask the *saṅgha,* reverend sirs, for the *upasampadā* ordination: Might the *saṅgha,* reverend sirs, draw me out of compassion for me" (Vinaya Piṭaka, 4.122). The life of the Buddhist holy man has normatively been characterized by compassion, and it is out of compassion that he offers his own services to the wider community of faithful adherents.

It is precisely this ethic of compassion that serves as the motivating force for new forms of priestly expression now emerging in Buddhist societies. In more traditional societies, the Buddhist holy man performed a variety of ritual tasks for the benefit of the laity in addition to cultivating the spirituality necessary for advancing along the path to eventual *nirvāṇa.* However, modernization and the influence of other religious traditions, especially Christianity, have affected the Buddhist clergy in significant ways. It is now not uncommon to find *saṃgha* social services in Therāvada countries like Thailand and Sri Lanka. In Japan, weekend meditation retreats take place in the center of bustling commercial metropolises and are advertised in local papers as therapeutically worthwhile within the high-intensity pace of the Japanese lifestyle. In virtually all Buddhist countries, temples and monasteries organize pilgrimages to famous historical shrines and sacred places. While these new forms of Buddhist priesthood have yet to endure the test of tradition, they bear witness to the vitality of Buddhist clerics endeavoring to work for the welfare of the many.

While it is clear that Buddhist monks have performed important priestly duties within the context of most Buddhist communities throughout those regions of Asia where Buddhism has become culturally and socially dominant, it is also the case that many Buddhist laymen and laywomen have assumed professional priestly vocations as well. Moreover, these lay priests and priestesses understand the purpose of their ritual perfomances within the context of a prevailing Buddhist worldview, so they do not see themselves in competition with the sacerdotal work of Buddhist monks. Rather, as in the case with Japanese Shintō or Chinese Daoist priests, their ritual transactions are regarded as complementary to the work of monks, a kind of division of spiritual labor.

In Sinhala regions of Buddhist Sri Lanka, for example, Buddhist laymen known as *kapurala*s, ritual specialists tending to the shrines of various of gods (many of whom are of Hindu origins, such as Viṣṇu, Skanda, the goddess Pattini), assert that the efficacious nature of their ritual observances performed on behalf of lay petitioners is fully consonant with the teachings of the Buddha. When *kapurala*s ritually facilitate entreaties of devotees for this-worldly help in order to help assuage existential conditions of suffering (*dukkha*), they are quite aware that the first of the Buddha's four noble truths is that human existence is characterized by the experience of *dukkha.* Therefore, from their perspectives, any divine help that can be enlisted from supernatural sources to alleviate the fundamental condition of suffering in the world is, perforce, a contribution to the basic aims of the Buddhist religion.

The gods ritually served by *kapurala*s are also deemed to be aspiring *bodhisattva*s, relatively advanced on their own paths to buddhahood. According to popular conceptions rooted in medieval Sinhala Buddhist poetry and folk ballads, the gods are said to have received their warrants to exercise their divine powers in the world as a result of the Buddha's own sanction. Gods have gained their powerful positions, it is believed, because throughout their own long careers of rebirth in *saṃsāra* they have cultivated a morally wholesome consciousness that has been expressed through altruistic and compassionate actions, actions that are karmicly fortuitous. They are not understood as saviors who can assist devotees with the ultimate attainment of *nirvāṇa,* but rather as powerful sources of potential this-worldly assistance who may intercede on behalf of devotees when called upon in times of suffering or trouble.

It is not uncommon for devotees to petition a deity's help through priestly intermediaries in matters of family planning, health, marriage prospects, business and political matters, and, in some cases, exorcism. A growing number of priestesses in Sri Lanka, who attribute their powers to their ecstatic encounters with various gods, function as mediums for their clients to communicate with the recently deceased. Other priests and priestesses, who claim special affinities with lesser deities deemed not as fully advanced on the path to becoming *bodhisattva*s, may engage in sorcery.

The ability of these lay Buddhist priestly intermediaries to function successfully on behalf of devotees is dependent upon the perfomance and observance of their own regimens of purity, including dietary prohibitions and ritual ablutions, designed to resist the contagion of pollution (*kili*). Priests and priestesses are also forbidden from performing rituals if a death has occurred within their immediate families or if a priestess is experiencing menstruation. Many priests and priestesses also assert that their continuing powers to function as effective intermediaries are dependent upon the living of a moral life that is deemed pleasing to the gods.

SEE ALSO Buddhist Books and Texts, article on Ritual Uses of Books.

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PRIESTHOOD: SHINTŌ PRIESTHOOD

The term *shinshoku* (“Shintō priesthood”) is used in modern Japan to refer to those persons serving at shrines in the performance of various religious duties. Prior to the Meiji period (1868–1912) no uniform organization existed within the Shintō priesthood, with the result that clerical titles and functions varied widely depending on the period and shrine involved.

CLERICAL TITLES. Religious titles in use since premodern times include the following:

1. *Saishu* (supreme priest/priestess). The *saishu* is highest-ranking priest at the Grand Shrine of Ise, in charge of all ceremonials and administration relating to the shrine. In the early historical period, the post was filled by a member of the Nakatomi family from the central government’s Bureau of Kami (*jingikan*), but after the mid-sixteenth century, the post became a hereditary office of the Fujinami branch of the Nakatomi family. From the Meiji Restoration (1868) to the end of World War II, the post was held by a male member of the imperial family, and by a female member thereafter.

2. *Kuni no miyatsuko* (provincial governor). Originally holding joing political and relgious office, these persons were restricted primarily to ritual functions following the Taika Reforms (645).

3. *Gūji* (chief priest). Originally, *gūji* was an admistrative official with a status superior to other clerical ranks who held responsibility for construction and finance at the largest of shrines. Depending on the status of the shrine, a supreme chief priest (*daigūji*) might have placed under him a junior chief priest (*shōgūji*) or associate chief priest (*gongūji*). At present, the *gūji* holds joint responsibility for all administrative and ceremonial functions within a shrine.

4. *Kannushi* (master of divinities). This title refers to the priest holding chief responsibility for a shrine and the role of central officiant in divine ritual. In later times, the term came to be used as an overall synonym for members of the Shintō priesthood.

5. *Negi* (senior priest). Deriving from the old Japanese word for “entreat” (*negai*), the title *negi* referred to priests primarily engaged in addressing prayers and general worship to the deities. The term later came to indicate a post directly subordinate in rank to the *kannushi* of a shrine, and was also used as a general synonym for members of the priesthood. At present, it refers to a clerical rank subordinate to *gūji.*

6. *Hafuri* or *hafuribe* (liturgist). One of the oldest titles within the Shintō priesthood, this term was used variously to refer to a specific priestly office next in rank to *kannushi* and *negi,* or as a general application for members of the priesthood, a usage it retains today among the common people.

7. *Tayū.* Formerly an honorific title given to middle-grade government officials, this term later came to be used as a general title for Shintō priests, in particular those *religiosi* serving the Grand Shrine of Ise. It is still used among the common people as a general name for Shintō clerics.

8. *Jinin* (divine attendant). Formerly, *jinin* were low-ranking functionaries of shrines, entrusted with miscellaneous duties.

9. *Tōya.* A lay member of a local parish organization (*miyaza*), selected from qualified parish members to serve for a specific period as ritualist for the parish shrine. Still widely seen in villages around the Kyoto-Osaka area, the custom of selecting a shrine *tōya* from the lay community on a rotating yearly basis was apparently a general practice for shrine organizations in premodern periods. With the development of a specialized priesthood, the post has changed in many areas into that of a lower-ranking, part-time priest, or a lay role requiring its incumbent to serve only on certain ceremonial occasions.

10. *Shasō.* The *shasō* were Buddhist clerics serving at shrines as part of the historical phenomenon known as the harmonization of Shintō and Buddhism (*shinbutsu shūgō*). Depending on the shrine, such priests were given a wide variety of titles, but the practice ceased after 1868 with the governmental policy enforcing the separation of Shintō and Buddhism.

Women held high ceremonial positions within early Shintō, but they were gradually relegated to roles assisting the male members of the priesthood. The following are representative of roles for females serving at shrines in the premodern period:

1. *Saigū* or *saiō* (supreme priestess). A *saigū* was an unmarried imperial princess sent as the emperor's representative to the Grand Shrine of Ise. The practice continued until the early fourteenth century.

2. *Saiin* (high priestess). A *saiin* was an unmarried imperial princess sent to serve at the Kamo Shrine in Kyoto, following the custom practiced at Ise. The practice continued until the twelfth century.

3. *Mikannagi* (priestess). This was a general term for young girls aged seven to eight, selected from the daughters of *kuni no miyatsuko* to attend the deities served by priests from the government Bureau of Kami.

4. *Monoimi* (abstainer). *Monoimi* were young girls selected from among daughters of the shrine clergy to lead lives of exceptional ritual purity. Incumbents could be found at many of the great shrines under various titles.

5. *Miko.* The term *miko* is a general title designating female attendants serving at shrines. Formerly ranking below *kannushi, negi,* and *hafuri* as regular members of the priesthood, *miko* at present serve exclusively in supplementary roles, often as sacred dancers.

In addition to the foregoing, numerous other terms have been used as general referents for the Shintō clergy, including *shake, shanin, shashi,* and *shikan.* Individual shrines might also make use of a variety of special titles to refer to specific clerical ranks, such as *uchibito, tone, tanamori, gyōji, azukari,* and *oshi.* In the ancient period, political administrators simultaneously served as ceremonial officiants; there was no independent, professional clergy. For example, the leader of a clan (*uji no kami*) would lead his kinship group in ritual worship of the clan deity. With time, these two roles became specialized, and as professional clerics became more numerous the tendency was strong for such individuals to pass their religious profession on to their descendants.

THE SHINTŌ PRIESTHOOD FROM 1868 TO 1945. Following the collapse of the Tokugawa regime in 1868, the authorities of the new Meiji government revived the ancient concept of *saisei-itchi* (unity of worship and rule), thus placing all shrines and members of the Shintō priesthood under direct government control. Because shrines and priests were thus considered to belong within the public domain, a comprehensive national ordering of shrines and priests was instituted to replace the non-unified ranks, duties, numbers of staff, statuses, and remuneration that had previously existed independently from shrine to shrine.

Under this system, priests of the Grand Shrine of Ise were given the outright status of national officials, with the special title *shinkan* (divine official); the titles and complement of clergy at Ise included one *saishu,* one *daigūji,* one *shōgūji,* eleven *negi,* twenty *gonnegi* (associate *negi*), forty *kujō* (lower-ranking priests), and others. Because the *saishu* was to offer worship in place of the emperor, a member of the imperial family was appointed to the post. The *daigūji* was under the direction and supervision of the Minister of Home Affairs, assisting the *saishu* in matters of ceremonial, and exercising overall control and management of other priests. The *shōgūji* allotted administrative duties and acted as a ceremonial assistant to the *daigūji.* Together, these three priests directed the activities of *negi* and other lower-ranking priests in the various ceremonies and administrative responsibilities of the shrine.

Imperial shrines (*kanpeisha*), and national shrines (*kokuheisha*) were divided respectively into three classifications based on size, and the priests of these shrines were treated as quasi-government employees (*junkanri*) appointed under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Home Affairs and local magistrates. (The only exception was the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo; the ministers of the army and navy had the power of appointment for the priests of this shrine.)

These shrines were allotted one *gūji,* one *gongūji* (limited to six major shrines including the Atsuta Jingū), in addition to one *negi,* one or two *shuten* (lower-ranking priests), and (at Atsuta only) up to thirteen *kujō;* these priests were responsible for all ceremonial and administrative functions at their respective shrines.

Smaller shrines at the level of *fu* (urban prefecture), *ken* (prefecture) and *gō* (district) were allotted one *shashi* and several *shasho,* while village shrines (*sonsha*) and unranked shrines (*mukakusha*) were staffed by several *shashō,* who were responsible for all ceremonial and administrative functions. *Shashi* and *shashō* were priests of low rank, selected by local magistrates from among candidates recommended by lay leaders of the parish. These priests were also treated as quasi officials of the national government.

Individuals selected for these various priestly ranks were required to be males over the age of twenty who had either passed a qualifying examination or had received an education preparing them for the priesthood at an approved educational institution. No provisions were made for female members of the clergy.

THE PRIESTHOOD SINCE 1945. Following Japan's defeat in World War II, the Occupation authorities abolished the system of national shrine control and disestablished priests from their previous status as public officials. Shrines were given the same treatment as other religious bodies; their chief priests were allowed to exist as religious judicial persons. In February 1946 the Jinja Honchō (Association of Shintō Shrines) was established in Tokyo as an administrative organ to oversee the activities of shrines; with the exception of a few choosing independent status, the majority of Shintō shrines in Japan became members of the association. As a result, the majority of priests at present are appointed in accordance with the regulations of the Jinja Honchō. As of December 31,1983, the number of priests included within the association was 19,810, including 1,306 (6.6 percent) women.

Depending on the size and status of the shrine, the complement of priests may include a *gūji, gongūji* (generally one only), a *negi* (usually one), and several *gonnegi.* With a status equivalent to chief director for a religious judicial person, the *gūji* must be above twenty years of age and is appointed by the president of the Jinja Honchō on the basis of recommendations from lay representatives of the organization. While the *gūji* has authority to set the number of *negi* at his shrine, the approval of the president of the association is required for the appointment of a shrine's *gongūji.*

Requirements for individuals appointed as priests include a specialized education, general learning, and training at shrines. Qualifications are divided into five levels and are acquired by passing a qualifying examination or by graduating from an accredited Shintō institution with training for the priesthood. Once appointed, priests are ranked in six grades, based on their qualifications, performance, and years of service, and these grades are reflected in the formal costume worn on ceremonial occasions. With a uniquely revered position among Shintō shrines, the Grand Shrine of Ise maintains an independent system of clergy, based on the tradition followed previous to World War II.

Members of the Shintō priesthood not only serve in the performance of formal shrine rituals but also bear responsibility for such administrative tasks as the upkeep and management of shrine facilities and finances. While Shintō ceremonial places heavy emphasis on ritual purification (*saikai*), priests are also expected to display a personal culture and character in their everyday lives consonant with their traditional role as protectors of the faith and leaders in community worship. Since the end of World War II, a strong need has been felt for the active involvement of priests in proselytizing activities among the parish and community of believers, and great expectations are placed on them as well for activities in the areas of social welfare and education.

SEE ALSO Shintō.

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PRIESTHOOD: DAOIST PRIESTHOOD

The Daoist priesthood began with the establishment of the first organized Daoist community among the Celestial Masters in the second century CE. The sources suggest that all followers were hierarchically ranked on the basis of ritual attainments, with the so-called libationers (*jijiu*) at the top of the priesthood. They served as leaders of the twenty-four districts and reported directly to the Celestial Master himself. Beneath them were the demon soldiers (*guizu*), meritorious leaders of households who represented smaller units in the organization.

All leadership positions could be filled by either men or women, Han Chinese or ethnic minorities. At the bottom were the common followers, again organized and counted according to households. Each of these had to pay the rice tax or its equivalent in silk, paper, brushes, ceramics, or handicrafts. In addition, each member, from children on up, underwent formal initiations at regular intervals and was equipped with a list of spirit generals for protection against demons—75 for an unmarried person and 150 for a married couple. The list of spirit generals was called a register (*lu*) and was carried, together with protective talismans, in a piece of silk around the waist.

The world of the Celestial Masters was created by the Dao in its personification as the Highest Lord Lao (Taishang Laojun) and governed by the Three Bureaus (*san guan*) of Heaven, Earth, and Water. Led by the senior priests, these three were celebrated at the major festivals of the year, known as the Three Primes (*sanyuan*), held on the fifteenth day of the first, seventh, and tenth months. They were also the occasion of general assemblies and tax management: in the first month, the tax was set according to the number of people in the household; in the seventh and tenth months, it was collected as the harvest was brought in.

Beyond that, the priests throughout the year practiced the recitation of Laozi's *Dao de jing* and were encouraged to follow a set of three-times-nine precepts based on it, which survives in a later text associated with the Xiang'er commentary. The precepts emphasize austerity and moral discipline and instill a sense of being special and separate from ordinary folk in the community leaders. Some scholars suspect that both the mantric, magic recitation of the *Dao de jing* and the impulse to develop a formal priesthood were inspired by Buddhist monks. The monks first appeared in China around this time and may well have had contact with the new religious groups, but the issue remains unresolved.

This changed with the fourth-century code *Laojun yibai bashi jie* (The 180 precepts of Lord Lao), which was definitely inspired by early Buddhist community rules known as the *prātimokṣa.* Directed at the higher priests of the religion, it provides many detailed rules on practical living and emphasizes personal honesty and community life. The text strongly prohibits theft, adultery, killing, abortion, intoxication, destruction of natural resources, and waste of food, and regulates the proper behavior toward community members and outsiders. It prohibits fraternization with brigands and soldiers, punishes cruelty to slaves and animals, and insists upon polite distance when encountering outsiders and officials. Many details of daily life are regulated, and pettiness and rudeness are discouraged as much as the accumulation of personal wealth.

While ordinary life was governed by discipline and simplicity, the Three Primes and other major community events were celebrated in style with banquets known as kitchen-feasts (*chu*). Wine would flow, animals were slaughtered, and everyone had a good time, leading certain critics of the movement to condemn their practices as "orgiastic." The same criticism was made of an initiatory practice known as the "harmonization of *qi" (heqi)*, which involved formally choreographed intercourse between selected nonmarried couples in an elaborate ritual. Practitioners underwent this rite when they were promoted from one level of ritual standing to another (and gained more generals in their registers), enacting the matching of yin and yang in their bodies and thus contributing to greater cosmic harmony.

A reform movement in the fifth century, led by the so-called New Celestial Master Kou Qianzhi (365–448), brought the Daoist priesthood into the imperial government. Having received several revelations from Lord Lao in 415 and 423, Kou set up a system of religious activity based on longevity techniques and bolstered by a set of thirty-six community rules as handed down by the deity. In due course he became the head of a state-sponsored Daoism, geared to bring peace and harmony to the northern Toba Wei empire. This involved setting himself up in a palace cum monastery in the capital together with key followers and administrators said to have numbered 120, and establishing Daoist institutions—temples, priests, moral rules, and rituals—throughout the country.

As described in the *Laojun yinsong xinke jiejing* (Scripture of Lord Lao's new code of precepts chanted to the *Clouds Melody*), the surviving remnant of Kou's instructions, all people had to be loyal to the ruler, obedient to their parents and elders, and subservient to the Dao. To express their proper attitude, they had to observe daily, monthly, and special festival rites throughout the year. Such festivals were led by lay priests working throughout the empire and could last three, five, or seven days. As among the Celestial Masters of old, they involved community assemblies and formal kitchen-feasts. Daily and monthly rites were performed by the priests through a series of bows and prostrations, as well as by the burning of incense and offering of a prayer or petition. Strictly forbidden were popular practices such as shamanic séances and blood sacrifices, as well as traditional Celestial Masters rites of sexual initiation.

In the sixth century, under the political urge to unify the country, the Daoist religion too strove for integration and unity. As a result, a comprehensive system was created, the so-called Three Caverns (*sandong*). Originally a bibliographic classification by the fifth-century master Lu Xiujing (406–477), this was influenced by the Buddhist notion of the three vehicles (*triyāna*) and included the three major schools at the time, Highest Clarity (Shangqing), Numinous Treasure (Lingbao), and Three Sovereigns (Sanhuang), with the Celestial Masters placed at the foundation of the entire pyramid—not counted as one of the Three Caverns, yet essential to them all.

Based on this scheme, Daoist texts were arranged into three main categories, each school associated with a special "Cavern" and a "Supplement." The latter contained technical and hagiographic materials and served as a home for texts of nonmainstream schools. The overall system, still used in the Daoist canon today, is as follows:

Cavern	*School*	*Supplement*
Perfection (Dongzhen)	Shangqing	Great Mystery (Taixuan)
Mystery (Dongxuan)	Lingbao	Great Peace (Taiping)
Spirit (Dongshen)	Sanhuang	Great Clarity (Taiqing)
Orthodox Unity (Zhengyin)		

In ritual practice, the system of the Three Caverns led to the establishment of a formal integrated priesthood and ordination hierarchy, first described in the *Fengdao kejie* (Rules and precepts for worshiping the Dao) of about the year 620. It consisted of a total of seven ranks:

School	*Rank*
Zhengyin (Celestial Masters)	Register Disciple
Taixuan (Great Mystery)	Disciple of Good Faith
Dongyuan (Cavern Abyss)	Disciple of Cavern Abyss
Laozi (*Dao de jing*)	Disciple of Eminent Mystery
Sanhuang (Three Sovereigns)	Disciple of Cavern Spirit
Lingbao (Numinous Treasure)	Preceptor of Highest Mystery
Shangqing (Highest Clarity)	Preceptor of Highest Perfection

The first three ranks were those of lay masters, while the last three were monastic, and the middle rank (Disciple of Eminent Mystery) signified a transitional stage that could be held either by a householder or a recluse.

Ordinations into these ranks began very early, with children being initiated first into the Celestial Masters level and receiving registers of protective generals. After that, each level required extended periods of training, the guidance of an ordination master, and several sponsors from the community. Ordination into any rank of the priesthood involved the transmission of precepts (*jie*), scriptures (*jing*), and ritual methods (*fa*), as well as the endowment of the candidate with various cosmic writs and talismans. In return ordinands had to surrender completely to the Dao and make a pledge to the organization. This pledge involved the presentation of lavish gifts of gold, silk, and precious objects to the master and the institution, as well as the formal oath to follow the rules and work toward the goals of the religion. Higher ranks had as many as three hundred precepts, focusing on social behavior, interaction with community members, and forms of cosmic consciousness, but most ranks involved the observation of ten precepts first formulated by the Lingbao school. These ten consist of five prohibitions, imitating the five precepts of Buddhism, and five resolutions that reflect Daoist priorities. They are:

1. Do not kill, but be always considerate to all living beings.
2. Do not commit immoral deeds or think depraved thoughts.
3. Do not steal or receive unrighteous goods.
4. Do not lie or misrepresent good and evil.
5. Do not intoxicate yourself, but be always mindful of pure conduct.
6. I will maintain harmony with my ancestors and kin and never do anything that harms my family.
7. When I see someone do good, I will support him with joy and happiness in my heart.
8. When I see someone unfortunate, I will help him with my strength to recover good fortune.
9. When someone comes to do me harm, I will not harbor thoughts of revenge.
10. As long as all beings have not attained Dao, I will not expect to do so myself.

(*Fengdao kejie*, chap. 6)

Ordinands were then equipped with the insignia of their new status: religious names, as well as the titles, robes, and headdresses appropriate for their new rank. To show their new affiliation, they would tie their hair into a topknot, unlike Buddhists who shaved theirs. Also unlike Buddhism, where nuns had to observe many more rules than monks and were given a lower status, women in Daoism were treated equally. They underwent the same ceremonies and wore the same garb as men, distinguished only by their elaborate headdress, the so-called female hat (*nüguan*), a term also used for "Daoist priestess."

The complex structure of the Daoist priesthood as it developed in the middle ages and flourished during the Tang dynasty (618–907 CE) collapsed during the Tang-Song transition. Institutions ceased to function, lineages were interrupted, and ordinations were no longer held. Instead, individual seekers emerged, wandering from one sacred mountain to the next, connecting with isolated hermits, perchance finding a stash of old texts, or discovering certain efficacious techniques by trial and error. Occasionally they even secured the support of a local ruler—who was usually more interested in alchemical ways of making gold than in spiritual pursuits—and proceeded to reconstruct one or another temple center of old.

These practitioners had no financial cushion to fall back on, and thus had to find ways of serving communities for a fee so they could continue their quest. As a result—and coinciding fortuitously with the needs of the growing merchant class—Daoists, in competition with wandering Buddhists, Tantric ritualists, and local shamans, began to offer practical rites of healing, exorcism, and protection. They issued spells and talismans for concrete goals, and undertook funerals and communication with ancestors to set people's minds at rest. Daoists of this type became very common in the Song and were known as ritual masters *(fashi).* They were at the roots of the new schools that soon developed. However, the ritual ranks remained haphazard.

A new orthodoxy only arose with the school of Complete Perfection (Quanzhen), which dates back to the twelfth century, and its founder Wang Chongyang (1112–1170), an official in the military administration of the Jurchen-Jin dynasty who became an eccentric hermit and had several revelatory encounters with Daoist immortals. Organizing his teaching, he left his ascetic life in 1167 and moved to Shandong in eastern China, where he preached his visions and began to win followers. He founded five religious communities, all located in northern Shandong, and continued to spread his teaching until his death in 1170.

His work was continued by seven disciples, six men and one woman, known collectively as the Seven Perfected (*qizhen*), who founded various communities that later developed into separate branches or lineages *(bai).* The most important among these disciples is Qiu Chuji (1148–1227), better known as Master Changchun, the founder of the leading Longmen lineage, which is still the main Daoist organization in mainland China today.

The ordination system of the Complete Perfection priesthood was formalized in the seventeenth century under its leader Wang Kunyang (1622–1680), abbot of the Longmen branch's headquarters in Beijing, the Baiyun Guan (White Cloud Temple). In this role, he reorganized the religious precepts and ordination system of the school in accordance with neo-Confucian ethics as supported by the Qing court at the time. He outlined three major ranks, each associated with specific sets of precepts, considered an indispensable means to enlightenment and an important element in the education of the Daoist clergy. The three ranks and major precepts texts were:

Master of Wondrous Practice (Miao xingshi)—Precepts of Initial Perfection (*Chu zhenjie*)

Master of Wondrous Virtue (Miao deshi)—Precepts of Medium Ultimate (*Zhongjie jie*)

Master of Wondrous Dao (Miao daoshi)—Great Precepts for Celestial Immortals (*Tianxian dajie*)

Ordination into these ranks involved, as in the earlier, medieval model, the presence of several masters as well as witnesses. Like their Tang predecessors, ordinands of Complete Perfection would take refuge in the Dao, the scriptures, and the masters, provide pledges to the institution, and take formal vows. Unlike their earlier counterparts, they would then live a strictly controlled monastic life with a strong emphasis on discipline and ascetic practices. They would, however, also function as priests, tending to local temples and performing rituals for the public. There is also an order of nuns in Complete Perfection with similar ranks as for monks, but the tendency is that they function mainly in a monastic setting and less as priests for the general public. However, nuns can also be quite influential in the organization and reach high rank as abbots and teachers.

The monastic-based priests of Complete Perfection are the dominant form the Daoist priesthood takes in mainland China today. They are more common than the lay-based priesthood of the Celestial Masters, which has survived from the very beginning of the religion and is today the main form of Daoist organization in Taiwan, with a growing impact in southeast China. These lay priests—who are all male—are specialists in the service of the communal religion. Called Daoists *(daoshi),* they share responsibilities also with mediums or "divining lads" *(jitong)* and exorcists or "ritual masters" *(fashi).* All three serve to bring the power of the gods to bear on local problems. What distinguishes them is basically the number of gods whose power they can bring to bear—the medium is the mouthpiece of a single local god; the exorcist is familiar with all the local gods; and the Daoist knows how to invite the gods of the entire universe.

The medium is someone who simply "lends his body to the gods." The exorcist is the medium's master, because his technical knowledge of the system of forces that ordinary people refer to as "gods" and "ghosts" enables him to direct the medium's trance to a useful end. The Daoist is completely self-possessed: the forces he uses in the war against evil are not those of a medium but his own. His chief function is that of a civil official in the celestial administration, in the court of the Dao. By means of formal rituals, accompanied by visualizations, he transforms his own body into the body of the Dao and conducts things back to their original purity and primordial state. His rituals are accordingly complex scenarios for the symbolization of the process and combine all the various arts: painting, music, song, dance, gesture, recitation, and visualization.

Lay Daoist priests are trained carefully and often come from generations of Daoist families. A typical priest usually grows up surrounded by all the arts of Daoist ritual and inherits a veritable family treasure of texts and traditions. In addition, he often completes what he has learned from his father by studying with one of his father's colleagues. The rituals he performs divide into two major categories, offerings (*jiao*) for the renewal and enhancement of the living, and rituals of merit or requiem services (*gongde*) for saving the dead from the punishments of hell, but he also engages in internal cultivation practices, refinement of his *qi* or vital energy, and the concentrated visualization of otherworldly forces.

The Daoist priesthood has been limited to China until very recently. Besides several Daoist scholars who trained in Taiwan and became fully ordained, there is now also an American branch of the Celestial Masters, called Orthodox Daoism of America. Its leader, Liu Ming, was originally Charles Belyea from Boston. Training in Taiwan, he attained high Daoist rank and was formally adopted into the Liu family, which claims a 2,000-year history of Daoist practice and works with scriptures that have only partially made it into official collections—undertaken by the Complete Perfection school in the Ming dynasty. Liu Ming is passing the teaching on to Western students along with Chinese, and he helps create a new dimension of the age-old priestly organization of Daoism.

SEE ALSO Daoism, overview article; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Daoist Devotional Life; Zhenren.

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PRIMITIVE MONOTHEISM SEE SCHMIDT, WILHELM; SUPREME BEINGS

PROCESSION is the linearly ordered, solemn movement of a group through chartered space to a known destination to give witness, bear an esteemed object, perform a rite, fulfill a vow, gain merit, or visit a shrine.

Some processions, such as the Via Dolorosa procession in modern Jerusalem, constitute major rituals in their own right. Others, such as the "Little Entrance" of Christian Orthodox tradition (in which the Gospels are carried to the front of the sanctuary) or the procession of a bridal party down a church aisle, are only facilitating gestures—formalized comings and goings. The most familiar settings for processions are civil ceremonies (such as coronations, military fanfares, and enthronements), weddings, funerals, initiations, and fertility rites. Major processions seem most widespread in agricultural or urban cultures or those in transition from the one to the other. In hunting, nomadic, and industrial cultures, processions are likely to decline in frequency or significance and thereafter function only as minor gestural tributaries to other rituals.

The ritual space of a procession is linear. When it is completed by a subsequent recession, one might speak of it as "bilinear." By virtue of its linearity, procession differs from circumambulation. Processual action is not movement *around* a sacred object but *to* a special place. Even when a procession returns to its beginning point, its circuit is not generally continuous. The movement is oriented toward a destination rather than a center. Processants do not occupy centralized sacred space. Instead, they carry their "center" with them. The usual places of honor in hierarchically ordered processions are at the head or end of the line. Whereas circumambulation usually sanctifies or protects the place bounded by its circumference, a procession normally links different spatial orders, for instance, civic and sacred or urban and rural space. The rhythms of processing and recessing establish a corridor between a nucleus of sacred space and adjacent, nonsacred zones, or satellite shrines beyond these zones. Distances traversed in processions are usually moderate. One of the longer ones, held during the Greek Eleusinian festival, was fourteen miles. Others, such as the chorus's entrance (*parados*) and exit (*exodos*) to ancient Greek theater, were only a few yards long. Robigalia, the ancient Roman procession intended to avert blight and later adapted by early Christianity into its Rogation processions, was five miles, a more typical distance.

Walking meditation in Zen Buddhism is called *kinhin.* This practice falls between procession and circumambulation. *Kinhin* is not directed *to* any place, so it is not strictly a procession. And although its course is usually around a meditation hall, there is no centralized object of attention. Instead, practitioners' eyes are on the floor, and their attention is directed to the way of walking itself.

The solemn or meditative tone of a procession differentiates it from the expansive, celebrative ethos of a parade or the martial, aggressive one of military marches, picketing, or conquests (such as Don Diego de Vargas's *entrada* into Santa Fe, New Mexico, in 1692). When Joshua brings down Jericho's walls, he is not processing so much as circumambulating in the service of conquest. Unlike mere invasion, conquest, now an obsolete military tactic, is akin to ritual because of its obvious stylization and emphasis on symbolic, rather than strategic, ordering. Examples of ritual elements that might distinguish conquest from invasion include carrying flags, playing drums, wearing uniforms, singing, chanting, and marching in columns. These activities sometimes retain their symbolic value long after their practical military values are lost.

The usual distinction between processions and parades identifies the former as sacred, the latter as profane. The distinction is minimally useful because processions often try to link these or other classificatory domains. Perhaps parades and processions should be considered as celebrative and solemn versions, respectively, of the same basic type of action. Consequently, speaking of a "religious parade" or an "academic procession" is no contradiction in terms. The pace of a procession is typically slower than that of a parade, and its rhythms are more deliberate than that of ordinary walking (or driving if, say, chariots, pageants, floats, or automobiles are employed to transport participants).

Participation in processions is more restricted than in parades. There seems to be a persistent tendency for every procession gradually to relax its exclusivity and become a popular parade in which bystanders can join. Because processing is group movement, it contrasts with running races, which is ritualized, for example, in the Olympic Games and among some modern-day Pueblos. A race is agonistic, setting one person in competition with another. The object of a race is to arrive ordinally (first place, second, third, and so on), not corporately or simultaneously. Perhaps the best term to appropriate for applying to an "individual procession" is *quest.* "Quest," however, is probably better treated as individualized pilgrimage.

Because a procession's destination is known, it is distinct from ritualized hunting, divination-directed migration, religious wandering (of the Hebrews in the desert, for example), and wayfaring (a common practice in medieval China and Japan). Whereas essential elements of these perambulatory rituals include becoming disoriented, abiding in unprotected places, and having to invent or discover one's destination, in processions there is no doubt where to begin and end, and little need for concern about personal safety.

Dancing has no destination; processing does. Processional dances such as the medieval European Dance of Death or the Hasidic dance with the Torah, are borderline instances. Dance presupposes not only rhythm but, typically, music. When dancing arises in a procession, as it does in Rio's Carnival, perhaps the event should be spoken of as a parade. And when dancing shifts from circularity and symmetry to linearity and asymmetry, the religious climate is likely to shift from prophetic criticism to priestly conservatism.

The space through which a pilgrim passes may be mapped, but, unlike a procession path, it is not chartered. Pilgrims pass through what Victor Turner calls liminal ("threshold") zones as they go from near to far. Whereas pilgrims tread ways they may not recognize or cross borders that make them subject to foreign authority, processants pass down ways specially cleared, decorated, and authorized for their arrival. Toward the end of certain pilgrimages—for instance, to the shrine of Guadalupe in Mexico City—one may sometimes join a procession. The chartered quality of procession paths is usually emphasized by the use of stations along the *via sacra;* at these, processants stop, rest, and oftentimes perform ancillary rites.

Even priestly processants may have little to say about the intentions of their actions. Processions, unlike initiation rites or sacrifices, evoke little codified commentary, so scholars usually have to infer intentions. The most obvious one is to display what Erving Goffman might have called a "with": These people "go with" that god. By walking with a god, processants gain merit by association and give witness that sacredness is not geographically restricted to one spot but capable of annexing, even if temporarily, other places. Both a territorial imperative and a hierarchy of gods or sacred places is implied in most processions. Being seen, particularly in postures of homage before elevated, but proximate, sacred objects, legitimizes bonds and often establishes these *sacra* as a group's own. Far from having an inversion effect, as a Mardi Gras parade might, public processions confirm established hierarchies and sacralize ownership and order. For example, one of the oldest known processions was part of the

Great Akitu festival held in Babylon in honor of Marduk. The first day of the new year was set aside for a solemn procession in which Nabu and other gods (carried in boats), kings, and subjects were seen visiting and paying homage to Marduk in his "chamber of fates." Royalty was allowed to take the hand of the god, as if inviting him down an elaborately paved procession way, in order to confirm and renew the divine kingship. At an earlier time Marduk may have been obligated to go in procession to Nabu. Whichever deity was made the goal of a procession was by implication at the pinnacle of the pantheon.

The display of venerated objects, such as the Host during Christian Corpus Christi processions, or symbols of power, such as weapons in Roman triumphal entries, is a common motive for processing. Lustrations, or gestures of purification, are sometimes enacted to ensure that such objects do not come to be contaminated or regarded as common because of overexposure.

The ritual form most akin to procession is pilgrimage. Though both are styles of symbolic journeying, they differ in essential respects. While pilgrimage is more goal-oriented (the return is usually anticlimactic), processions may be more focused on a carried object than a goal, and recessing may be as significant as processing. In contrast to pilgrims, processants do not usually eat, sleep, or suffer together, nor do they endure long periods of solitude. Furthermore, processants are usually the objects of spectating, while such is not the case with pilgrims. For these reasons processions tend more strongly toward social conservatism. Ironically, however, the more popularly successful a procession becomes, the more likely it is to become a ritual of inversion.

SEE ALSO Circumambulation; Pilgrimage, overview article.

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Presently, data on processions are still largely to be found in works on the religion and ritual of a particular area or tradition or, more specifically, their festivals and pilgrimages. Such works are Herbert William Parke's *Festivals of the Athenians* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1977) and J. M. C. Toynbee's *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1971).

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PRODIGIES SEE PORTENTS AND PRODIGIES

PROKOPOVICH, FEOFAN (1681–1736) was a Russian Orthodox archbishop who collaborated with Peter the Great to subordinate the administration of the Russian Orthodox church to the imperial government. The instrument of subordination was the Dukhovnyi Reglament (Ecclesiastical Regulation), Prokopovich's most famous writing, which Peter had proclaimed on January 25, 1721.

The Ecclesiastical Regulation achieved the subordination of the church's administration to the tsarist state until the tsardom collapsed in 1917. It abolished the patriarchate of Moscow, replacing it with an Ecclesiastical College modeled on the collegial system that had just been introduced into the civilian administration of the Russian empire. The Ecclesiastical College immediately and successfully sought to rename itself the Most Holy Governing Synod. The change in name symbolized the beginning of a nearly two-hundred-year struggle by churchmen and supporters of the church to regain administrative autonomy for the church.

One of the more burdensome features of the Ecclesiastical Regulation was the subjugation of the clergy to police supervision. Priests were obliged to witness against their penitents or face severe legal sanctions. The regulation had the immediate effect of strengthening the Old Believer schism and the long-term effect of alienating the clergy from their flocks.

Prokopovich's career signified a secularizing and protestantizing development within the Russian church. Like

Peter, Prokopovich believed that the concept of *symphonia,* which defined church and state as two autonomous but interrelated phenomena, served to weaken political authority, to encourage Old Believer intransigence, and to foster political disloyalty.

Raised by his uncle, Prokopovich studied in Jesuit colleges in the Polish Ukraine and in Rome, where, of necessity, he converted to (Uniate) Catholicism. In Kiev, he reconverted to Orthodoxy; he was appointed rector of the Kiev Theological Academy (1711), bishop of Pskov (1718), and archbishop of Novgorod (1720).

When the tsar died in 1725, Prokopovich came under attack from traditionalist churchmen determined to restore canonical equilibrium between church and state. Prokopovich counterattacked. He was a key supporter of the candidacy to the Russian throne of Anna Ivanovna of Kurland (r. 1730–1740), thereby becoming instrumental in bringing upon the Russian church the so-called German yoke.

Prokopovich's final years found him in the anomalous situation of defending the traditional hierarchical organization and the apostolic succession of the Orthodox church against further reforms of the Kurlander administration. A collection of Prokopovich's religious and political works titled *Words and Speeches* (Saint Petersburg, 1765) appeared posthumously.

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PROMETHEUS was one of the Titans of the generation of gods prior to the Olympian Zeus. According to the eighth-century BCE Greek poet Hesiod, he became the major benefactor of the human race by introducing them to crafts, fire, and sacrifice. The ambiguous position that he occupied during the rule of the Olympians around Zeus is hinted at in his name of "forethinking one" and the presence of a twin brother, Epimetheus, the "one who thinks too late." Together they seem to form one personality, as Károly Kerényi (1956) has pointed out.

ORIGINS OF MYTH. Prometheus is the major mediator between the world of the gods and that of humankind. If one takes Hesiod as starting point, his original encounter with the Olympian Zeus shows his ambivalence as benefactor and bringer of evil to the human race, evils in the form of limitations to human existence when compared to the eternal lives of the gods. He challenges Zeus to a duel of wits, as Zeus had similarly challenged Kronos, his father, and Kronos still earlier had challenged his own father, Ouranos, for sovereignty. As Jean-Pierre Vernant (1980) shows in a meticulous structural analysis of the existing mythical texts of Hesiod, the contest with Zeus also contains the paradigmatic mythical prototype of sacrificial rites for the Greek city-states. Prometheus divides an ox into two parts, one of which Zeus is to choose; one part hides the bones under an appetizing layer of fat, whereas the other part hides the meat under the unappetizing layer of the animal's stomach. Zeus, despite his all-encompassing foreknowledge (obtained by swallowing the goddess Metis, or Wisdom), fulfils Prometheus's expectations by choosing for himself the heap of bones, implying that humankind is to live on meat from then onwards (having partaken previously in divine nectar or "ambrosia," i.e. that which belongs to the "immortals," *ambrotoi).*

The outcome of the contest thus establishes paradigmatically the division between divinity and humanity while leaving a ritual channel of communication open through sacrifices. Here the ambiguities of the mythical structure are most pronounced. Both Prometheus and Zeus play a duplicitous game, as Zeus pretends in his choice that he does not see through the wiliness of Prometheus. Since he possesses ultimate foresight, however, his pretense at being angry at the deception through Prometheus becomes an arbitrary legitimization for punishing humankind with the withdrawal of fire, throwing humanity back to the stage of animality. Prometheus must then steal the fire to enable humankind to lead a civilized life, for which cooked food as well as sacrifices are basic preconditions. For this second "trickery" by Prometheus, the Olympians punish humankind with the gift of the first woman, Pandora, as fashioned by Hephaistos and endowed with sexual desirability by Aphrodite. Pandora, in spite of her inviting allure, brings humankind a box filled with all evils but also containing hope. Ultimately, she is the indicator of the lost immortality of humankind in the original state of living with the gods, though it is a state without mind or care, and linked to the acceptance of biological immortality through sexual procreation.

The structural opposition between surface appearance and true meaning or essence, between good that is hidden under evil, and evil that comes from well-intentioned deeds, is paradigmatically depicted in this myth of Prometheus who, like all the Titans, seems to straddle divine and human nature through his mediatory position: his thinking is called *ankulomeitas* ("crooked of counsel," "wily"); he is the one who "snares himself in his own trickery" (Kerényi, 1963). While trying to challenge Zeus for sovereignty through sacrificial partition, he establishes one of the main features of civilized life—namely, those sacrifices that while opening a channel of communication to the divine world fix forever the separation of the human and the divine spheres: humans have to eat cooked meat, whereas the gods sustain themselves on the mere vapors of burned bones and fat. While Prometheus wants to benefit humankind by introducing fire, an element indispensable for sacrifices and civilization, he also brings about mortality for humankind, for Pandora is the gods' poisoned countergift to humans for a gift to the gods—sacrifice—that hid its true nature—bones—under an appealing exterior. Since receiving this countergift from the gods, humankind has had to labor in the fields for sustenance, plant seeds in the earth and in womankind, and tend the fire to perform such tasks as smithery, pottery, cooking, and sacrifice (Detienne and Vernant, 1989, pp. 21–86).

PROMETHEUS AS TRICKSTER. When combining the philological analysis of Kerényi, which stresses the craftiness of the Titanic culture hero, with the structural reading of Detienne and Vernant—who rely on the logic of sacrificial practices as seen through the theoretical combination with the logic of gift-exchanges as proposed by Marcel Mauss (1872–1950)—Prometheus becomes the archetype of the ambivalent and ambiguous trickster-god, who through the themes of theft and deception is structurally equivalent to such figures as Loki in Germanic mythology. In this respect Prometheus is also akin to figures such as Athena, Hermes, and Hephaistos, deities of crafts and craftiness. He removes humankind from the state of innocence as well as from barbarism (the eating of raw meat) by introducing knowledge and crafts, but he brings mortality as well.

While this structuralist reading of the myth follows closely the text of Hesiod and generally seems to fit the sacrificial practices of Greek city-states, it does not solve entirely all interpretative problems of the sacrificial logic in Greek ritual practices. A concentration on Homer instead of the reliance on Hesiod brings about a quite different theoretical conclusion about the message of the story, as Walter Burkert shows in his stressing of those aspects which have to do with the act of killing (1987, p. 3). Besides, the apportioning of bones and meat seems to have been a variable ritual practice in different Greek regions and furthermore dependent upon the purpose of the specific sacrifice (Henrichs, 1997, pp. 42–44, on specific local practices, and Bremmer, 1997, pp. 29–31, on the scarcity of Greek sources regarding the notion and practices of ritual performances).

THE BRINGER OF FIRE. In Athenian perception at least the ritual activities connected with the figure of Prometheus are elusive and scarce. Prometheus seems predominantly to have been honored as the bringer of fire. Thus, a torch procession or run took place at a still-unknown date during the so-called Promethia which proceeded from an altar in the Academy via the Kerameikos to an unknown destination. Literary fragments refer to Prometheus in the main as the protector of pottery and smithing crafts, thus putting him close to Hephaistos and Athena.

In contrast to the scarcity of references to ritual practices, the allegorical allusions to Prometheus as bringer of fire (as important ingredient of major crafts) connect him in most literary sources, from Plato to Publius Ovidius Naso and Apollodor, to the fashioning of the first human figures from earth and water. Yet, from Hesiod to Apollodor the emphasis of the creation of the first couple shows the gods as stringent, withholding knowledge or wisdom ("craftiness") from humanity, allowing them just to exist like other created animals. This pure "animality" of life leaves humankind as deficient, except if they would gain knowledge for developing those crafts which make civilized life possible and to attain the basis of that, foreknowledge or cognitive faculties for strategic planning in the first instance. It is here that the role of Prometheus as bringer of fire becomes as pronounced as the structuralist analysis tries to show. Most ancient philosophical and literary sources refer to the stealing of fire as allegorically connected to the gaining of "a fire within," either as cognitive faculty or as life-inducing force (the soul as animating force). In this respect, the stressing of Prometheus as the bringer of civilizational skills accords well with that generalized structuralist position elaborated by Claude Lévi-Strauss in all major publications that myths—in particular creation myths—problematize everywhere: the opposition between nature and culture, pure life and civilizational achievements.

Thus the variations on the story as told by Hesiod seem all to point in the direction of a Greek (and later also Roman) perception of the ambiguities arising from the discrepancies between humankind's animality and reliance on means to surpass its deficiencies. These means are the crafty application of culture as extensions of a faculty of the mind, connected with the fire which Prometheus has to steal from the gods. Humans are then seen in the same hybrid condition, sharing traces of both categorizing domains of reality and imagination, the divine and the animal kingdom, much as their benefactor, the Titanic culture hero Prometheus is neither completely divine nor completely human.

LEGACY. At least since the Aeschylean tragedy, the image of the rebellious nature of the culture hero as allegory to self-created humanity through their invention of civilizational skills or crafts has permeated European literary consciousness. The figure of Prometheus is punished through being bound to the Kaukasos mountains and tormented by an eagle that eats daily at his liver, yet he is unable to die—after all, he is immortal. His character becomes a challenger of arbitrary and authoritarian divine rule as well as mediating benefactor of humanity, combined into the image of a culture hero who even in suffering does not renounce his deeds, but riles at the ruling gods and predicts their demise. Besides the use of the difference between planning foresight and rash unthinking action as human traits (Prometheus versus Epimetheus) which pervades the writings from Plato to the neo-Platonists like Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), the notions of the rebelliousness combined with the power of self-fashioning (the pottery image of the creation of humankind from clay through Prometheus) appeal in particular to the age of the classics and of Romanticism, from Goethe to Hölderlin and Nietzsche.

Greek vase paintings as well as sculptures are not clear about the position of the Promethean figure: he is often either juxtaposed with Atlas (the Titan holding up the earth at the Western end of the ancient mythical geography) or shown with Herakles, who finally releases him from his sufferings by killing the eagle; Herakles is himself a distant descendant of Io, whose punishment by Hera for her illicit union with Zeus is likened by Aeschylus to the fate of Prometheus, as Io is eternally tormented by a hornet and driven to madness. The notion of Prometheus as indirect bringer of the evil of mortality may make sense of interpretations which identify his figure in the circle of deities of the underworld in the combination of Dionysos and the earth goddess Demeter, as Aeschylus hints at the descent of Prometheus from Gaia-Themis.

SEE ALSO Culture Heroes; Fire; Gods and Goddesses; Hesiod; Tricksters, overview article; Zeus.

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PROOFS FOR THE EXISTENCE OF GOD.

Early generations of Christian thinkers accepted God's existence as a given that needed no proof and was surmised on the basis of immediate evidence in an act that did not clearly distinguish faith from reason. The dominant exponent of this approach was Augustine (d. 430), who posited, for instance, an awareness of God as "first truth" in the intuition of truth as such that occurs in the depths of human consciousness. Bonaventure (d. 1274) was a legitimate heir of Augustine in the medieval period, as was Blaise Pascal (d. 1662) in the modern era. Nicolas Malebranche (d. 1715), by contrast, promoted an ontologism, in which "God" is made the first innate idea implanted in the human mind, of which all other ideas are modifications.

THE ONTOLOGICAL ARGUMENT. Those who have sought God's existence by deploying the processes of reasoning have done so in one of two ways: either *a priori* or *a posteriori.* The first approach derives God's existence from an idea of him in the consciousness of the knower. The original formulation of this argument is that of Anselm of Canterbury (d. 1109); it describes God as "that than which a greater cannot be conceived." Such a notion demands, for Anselm, God's real existence (*Proslogion* 2), and indeed entails it as something necessary (*Proslogion* 3). Various versions of this argument appear in the works of René Descartes (d. 1650), who argues that God cannot be conceived as nonexisting (*Third Meditation*), and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (d. 1716), who, echoing John Duns Scotus (d. 1308), declares that if God is possible, he exists (*New Essays concerning Human Understanding* 4.10). Among the contemporary defenders of the ontological argument are Norman Malcolm, Alvin Plantinga, and Charles Hartshorne. Its two most trenchant critics are Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), who views it as making an unfounded move from the ideal to the real order (*Summa theologiae* 1.2.1–2), taking Anselm's idea of God to include the concept of real existence but not the actual exercise thereof; and Immanuel Kant (d. 1804), who insists that existence is not a predicate included in any concept and so can only be encountered empirically ("Of the Impossibility of a Cosmological Proof of the Existence of God," *Critique of Pure Reason* A592/B620 ff.).

THE COSMOLOGICAL AND TELEOLOGICAL ARGUMENTS. An alternative position repudiates any a priori approach on the ground that nothing antecedes or explains God's beingness. Finite entities of the world, however, are not the explanation of their own reality but rather are the effects of a transcendent creative cause. This explains a posteriori the mere existence at least of a primal cause, which Christians have identified materially with God. In the language of Thomas Aquinas, arguments of this kind are not designated "proofs," but five "approaches" or "ways" (*viae*) to God that function as "prerequisites to faith" (*praeambula fidei*) in the God of revelation. The starting points of all such arguments are facts readily observable in the world of ordinary experience: motion, causality, contingency of existence, grades of ontological perfection, and intrinsic finality. The nerve of the thought process is causality: efficient, exemplary, and final. An infinite regress in any series of such causes is deemed unintelligible as long as the ordering is an essential and not merely an accidental one. The rational intelligence is thus led to postulate the existence of God as primal or ultimate cause—not as the first member of the series but as the analogical cause of the series as such. The lineaments of such a procedure were not original with Christian thinkers but were already to be found in Plato, Aristotle, Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), Ibn Rushd (Averroës), and Moses Maimonides. Significantly, Thomas himself never refers to these movements of thought as establishing God's existence, only as justifying the judgment that "God is"; all that is claimed, then, is the legitimacy of using the copula "is" of God in a transsubjective sense.

THE MORAL ARGUMENT. This conviction within Christian thought, of an intrinsic intelligibility at the heart of reality bespeaking a transcendent ground to the real order, reached its clearest expression in the thirteenth century but began to erode into skepticism with the rise of nominalist theology in the fourteenth century, especially with William of Ockham (d. 1349). Immanuel Kant, in the late eighteenth century, insisted in his *Critique of Pure Reason* that human understanding has no access whatsoever to any possible realm of meaning beyond the phenomenal, which is given immediately to consciousness and structured further by categories innate to the subjectivity of the knower. God is thus, for Kant, a regulative idea formed by the mind to legitimate the ethical order. Thus, ethics becomes the grounding principle for postulating God's existence, rather than vice versa, as had been the case in the past. Moral imperatives mean, simply, postulating one who imperates; any question of a real referent to that concept outside consciousness lies beyond the competency of human reason.

JUDAISM AND ISLAM. Jewish thought eschews all efforts to prove God's existence, seeing this as established beyond dispute in the prophets, whose concern is God's moral governance. Philo Judaeus (d. circa 50 CE), however, under the stimulus of Greek and Arabic thought during the Hellenistic period, integrated rational reflection on the world with what the scriptures teach. Maimonides (d. 1204), in the medieval period, advanced two forms of the cosmological argument: one from motion and one from the contingency of existence. Among moderns, Moses Mendelssohn (d. 1786) stresses the role of reason in those areas in which revelation appears unnecessary, while Franz Rosenzweig (d. 1929) argues that the existential encounter dispenses with rational inquiry and itself constitutes revelation. This position accords with Martin Buber's (d. 1965) way to God as the eternal Thou in humanity's dialogue with every finite thou.

Islamic thought did not employ reason on things divine that were taught in the Qurʾān until medieval times, when Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037), distinguishing essence from existence, argued for God as the necessary existent. Ibn Rushd (d. 1198), integrating Islamic tradition with his understanding of Aristotle, maintained that the metaphysician can demonstrate the revealed truth about God available to believers in metaphorical language. Ibn Rushd's influence, in the form of Latin Averroism, extended to the University of Paris in the thirteenth century and to the universities of Bologna and Padua until the mid-seventeenth century.

MODERN ATHEISM. G. W. F. Hegel (d. 1831) returned to the ontological argument; he maintained that finite consciousness was a "moment" in the self-enactment of Absolute Spirit, which thus assumed prerogatives formerly ascribed to divinity. Ludwig Feuerbach (d. 1872) explicitly launched atheism against Christian thought by inverting Hegel's thinking and reducing all references to the infinite to mere projections of finite spirit confronted with its own seemingly inexhaustible resources and aspirations. This tendency soon manifested itself as psychological atheism with Sigmund Freud (d. 1939), as socioeconomic atheism with Karl Marx (d. 1883), as ethical atheism with Jean-Paul Sartre (d. 1980) and Albert Camus (d. 1960), and as anthropological atheism with Maurice Merleau-Ponty (d. 1961), thereby pervading much of modern Western thought.

THE POST-ATHEISTIC AGE. Reactions against this denial of any accessible signs of God's existence began with Friedrich Schleiermacher (d. 1834), who postulated, below the level of either reason or will, a feeling *(Gefühl)* or immediate awareness of the utter dependence of consciousness upon the sustaining reality of the transcendent whole, amounting to a God-consciousness within humankind. Roman Catholic thought, for its part, in the constitution *Dei filius* approved by the First Vatican Council in 1870, repudiated a "traditionalism" on the one hand and a "semirationalism" (in which, after a revelation from God, reason is able on its own to understand the pure mysteries of God that form the content of such revelation) on the other, opting instead for the possibility of a natural knowledge of at least God's existence. Paul Tillich (d. 1965) set a new tone in analyzing existential encounter, as opposed to metaphysical reflection; what he called disclosure experiences enable humankind to posit questions of ultimacy that are then answered in correlation to the revelatory act of a self-manifesting God. Wolfhart Pannenberg has recently argued, in reaction to Karl Barth's neoorthodoxy, which makes all acknowledgment of the true God a matter of religious faith, that history in its universality, open to human reason, offers hypothetical grounds for the reality of God. The available "proofs," then, are simply anthropological ways of formulating the question with precision and urgency—the question that humanity itself is. Because history has not yet run its course, all answers are provisional in kind, based upon anticipating the consummation of history in the resurrection of Christ.

Karl Rahner (d. 1984) and Bernard Lonergan (d. 1984) have attempted a rehabilitation of Thomas Aquinas's five "ways," viewing them as reflective and logical formulations of a prereflective, unthematic dynamism of finite spirit. This transcendental structure of human consciousness, which actualizes itself in the historical and categorical order, is described by Rahner as a pregrasp *(Vorgriff)* of God himself under the formality of holy mystery. In a radically different vein, Alfred North Whitehead (d. 1947), originating a movement loosely called process thought, views God as a coprinciple with the world in a universe ultimately not of being but of creative becoming. This argument for the existence of God arises from the need to explain novelty in a self-creative universe without making God an exception to, rather than the prime instantiation of, the metaphysical schema. Here God "lures" the world forward, even as it in turn supplies data for God's own creative advance into novelty (*Process and Reality,* 1929, 5.2).

PRESENT STATUS OF THE PROOFS. Much of modern thought, especially that indebted to analytic philosophy, tends to dismiss all talk about proofs for God's existence as meaningless, because no verifiable content can be given to the very idea of God. De facto, neither theism nor atheism is considered to be either demonstrable or refutable by reason. The affirmation of God is taken to be a matter of faith (religious or otherwise) rather than of reason—but one which, once made, may manifest itself as entirely reasonable.

SEE ALSO Atheism; Attributes of God; Doubt and Belief; Enlightenment, The; God; Nominalism; Philosophy, article on Philosophy of Religion; Scholasticism.

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PROPHECY

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
BIBLICAL PROPHECY
PROPHECY IN POST-BIBLICAL JUDAISM
AFRICAN PROPHETISM

PROPHECY: AN OVERVIEW

The term *prophecy* refers to a wide range of religious phenomena that have been manifested from ancient to modern times. The Greek term *prophētēs* is the etymological ancestor of the English word *prophet,* and it has cognates in most European languages. The indigenous Greek *prophētēs* was a cultic functionary who "spoke for" a god; that is, the *prophētēs* delivered divine messages in association with a sanctuary where the god had made its presence known. However, the word *prophētēs* influenced European languages primarily because early Jewish and Christian writers used the term in translations of the Hebrew Bible and in the New Testament to refer to religious specialists in Israelite, Jewish, and Christian traditions. Today comparativists use *prophecy* to describe religious phenomena in various contexts on analogy with the activity of ancient Hebrew prophets and other figures who had a similarly pivotal role in founding world religions in Southwest Asia.

ANCIENT PROPHECY. In antiquity it was commonly believed that gods controlled events in the world and made their intentions known to human beings in various ways. The earliest written records tell of religious functionaries whose responsibility it was to interpret signs or deliver messages from the gods in order to supply information useful in the conduct of human affairs. In early tribal societies the clan leader often carried out these duties, or perhaps some other individual who used a variety of divinatory and visionary techniques to gain access to special knowledge about divine intentions. These activities usually included intercessory functions, whereby the leader or "prophet" petitioned spirits or a god or gods for special favors for their group.

However, this picture of such figures (such as the *kāhin* of pre-Muslim Arabia or the *kohen* of patriarchal, presettlement Israel) is only inferential. They were active in nonliterate societies that left no linguistic records of themselves except by the transmission of oral traditions that eventually were written down by later, literate generations. The groups that did leave written records had more complex forms of religious and political organization, suggesting that adepts in religious knowledge had correspondingly more specialized functions.

From the records of ancient cultures in Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean region there is knowledge of a large number of religious specialists who sought out and interpreted messages from the gods. Their access to the world of the gods came through two different means. In the first place, there were diviners who practiced a variety of studied techniques to interpret symbolic messages in the natural world. Some techniques were manipulative (such as the casting of lots, the incubation of dreams, and the examination of the entrails of sacrificial animals); others were more purely observational (such as the interpretation of animal movement and the cataloguing of auspicious, often horrible, events). Second, the gods were also believed to communicate their will through oracles, that is, in human language through the mouth of an inspired person. The behavior of these divine spokesmen is often thought to have been ecstatic, frenzied, or abnormal in some way, which reflected their possession by the deity (and the absence of personal ego) at the time of transmission. Some groups used divination to test the accuracy of oral prophecies (e.g., prophecies at Mari), while others gave priority to oral prophecy, with only marginal appeal to divination (e.g., in Israelite religion).

Within general categories the nature and function of divine intermediation was diverse. Oracles and signs could appear without request; but more commonly, especially in the Greco-Roman world, cultic officials provided answers to specific questions asked to the sanctuary's god. Ecstatic oracular behavior seems to have been the most common form of intermediation among figures not connected with recognized sanctuaries (e.g., the Akkadian *muhhu*), but it was also acceptable among those who did have such official legitimacy (e.g., the Akkadian *apilu* and various Greek mantic figures). The terminology applied to intermediaries is often ambiguous or vague, as with the Greek term *prophētēs,* which at times denotes the oracular mouthpiece for divine speech and at others refers to the official interpreter of divinatory signs within a sanctuary. The diversity is immense. But it is clear from the complexity that the need for knowledge about divine activity was perceived at various social levels; ancient societies often maintained a large and varied staff of religious functionaries to keep such knowledge alive.

PROPHETIC FOUNDERS OF RELIGIOUS TRADITION. Throughout ancient Israel's history as an independent state (c. 1000–586 BCE), the religious orientation of a large segment of its population was polytheistic, and as such, it shared in the general worldview of its neighbors. But even in the monotheistic elements of Israelite culture, there were different functionaries who transmitted the will of the same god, Yahveh, to the people. During the earliest part of this history, it appears that the Yahvists relied on at least three different figures for divine communication: (1) cultic officers who performed certain techniques (like casting lots), maintained cultic implements (like the Ark), and occupied sacred space; (2) seers (Heb., *roʾeh* and *ḥozeh*), whose function is rather unclear, but may be designations from different periods of visionaries and diviners (cf. *1 Samuel* 9:9); and (3) ecstatics (Heb., *naviʾ,* commonly translated as "prophet"), whose unusual behavior was stimulated when Yahveh's spirit came upon them. As Yahvism evolved, the *naviʾ* came to be its predominant intermediary, though as this occurred the activity of the *naviʾ* came to include functions that were previously within the province of the other two specialists. Accordingly, the *neviʾim* depended less exclusively on ecstatic oracles for their identity, and many came to be (in some cases) cultic functionaries and inspired interpreters of ancient tradition. The evidence indicates, however, that prophetic legitimacy depended primarily on their acceptance within a given group as oracular vehicles for the communication of Yahveh's word, regardless of whether the *naviʾ* was an ecstatic, a cultic official, an independent critic, or some combination of these roles.

By at least the eighth century BCE the Hebrew prophets or their scribes commonly wrote down their oracles, and the prophetic writings of the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament) contain, in part, a modest literary residue of this extensive oracular activity. Historians have reached no consensus about why this development took place, nor about how these writings in particular came to be accepted among later generations as eternally authoritative. Yet, that oracular revelation came to be regarded as having an enduring value, and that followers of prophets could disseminate their written oracles among various groups with whom the prophets originally had no connection, was a major change in the history of religions. Within the religious worldview that permeated the time of the first Hebrew prophets, messages from the gods were seen as portentous for only the particular audience, time, and place attendant to the moment when they had been revealed on earth. Thus, it was necessary to maintain a retinue of religious specialists to prophesy anew and interpret messages that regularly came from the gods. As certain specified written oracles came to be accepted in Israel as the repository of normative divine instruction, the nature of prophecy itself began to change, as did the character of religious tradition.

What happened among the Hebrew prophets occurred more generally within several religious traditions in Southwest Asia. The following figures can be classed with the Hebrew prophets as intermediaries whose oracles became, at least in part, the revelational basis of a major world religion. Zarathushtra (Zoroaster), a Persian prophet of the late second millennium BCE, was the founder of Zoroastrianism (Boyce, 1975). Jesus appears in many respects as a prophet, even though Christianity has traditionally portrayed him as a unique messiah. Mani, a Babylonian born in 216 CE, founded Manichaeism, which gained a large following in countries from India to the western Mediterranean. Finally, Muḥammad, like no other, established a believing community around himself as divine messenger, and succeeding generations of Muslims have accepted the oracles written down in the Qurʾān as the unparalleled expression of divine communication.

Defining precisely what these individual prophets share in common is not a simple matter. The social location of their activity differs in each case, and the success of each prophet in gaining a following during his lifetime varied widely, from Muhammad, who led armies and established a moderate-sized empire by the time of his death, to Jesus, who died an ignominious death on a cross. Moreover the message of each prophet, if examined in detail, depends more on the particular traditions to which it was heir and the historical-cultural setting of the prophet's activity than upon a transcendent ideal that applies to every member of the group. Nonetheless, five features are common to all.

1. *They all conceived of their activity as the result of a personal divine commission.* They thought that their supreme deity had appointed them individually to bear a specific revealed message to the human (or some more narrowly defined) community, and this message usually consisted of oracular speech and writing. Even Jesus, who frequently did not use traditional forms of prophetic speech, seems to have regarded his words and actions as communicating the message he was commissioned to bear.

2. *Religious traditions arose that regarded some oracles of these prophets as uniquely heaven-sent, sacred, and binding upon people in perpetuity.* In such cases, the prophets' words became part (or the substance) of a scriptural canon that was regarded as the repository of revealed knowledge; each sacred canon became, in turn, the standard by which the tradition judged all later religious pronouncements and activity. For prophets whose speech or writing was formally oracular (e.g. the Hebrew prophets and Muḥammad), the scripture became, at least in part, a collection of those oracles. Stories about the symbolic activities and miraculous deeds performed by these prophets also found their way into the canons (note particularly the Gospels and the prophetic narratives in the Hebrew Bible), and the members of each tradition regarded this material as having paradigmatic importance.

Whether these prophets were themselves the founders of traditions is not a question to be answered easily. Both Muḥammad and Mani organized the early Muslim and Manichaean communities, respectively, and they promoted their own writings as perpetually relevant revelation. But in the other three cases (Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and Christianity), the historical prophets had little or no influence on the organization of the later religious tradition, and others determined the content and organization of the sacred scripture. In fact, the authors and compilers of the Hebrew Bible shaped the words and actions of Moses to such a degree that his biblical portrait probably has little in common with the historical person. Nonetheless, because these prophets all had an important role in founding religious tradition, and especially because later generations revered them as the fountainheads of divine revelation, this group shall be called the "founding prophets."

3. Though the content of their messages differs significantly from one prophet to the next, depending on historical circumstance and inherited tradition, *all of the founding prophets proclaimed what their later tradition regarded as universal truths.* The theological development of these prophetic, revealed religions tended toward conceptions of a deity or deities (Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism) that transcended tribal, geographical, national, and cultic boundaries. While it would be too ambitious to attribute to these prophetic figures alone the creation of universal religious claims, the writings of such prophets as Amos, so-called Second Isaiah, and Muhammad are among the most radical innovations in the history of religious thought.

4. *The founding prophets were, in their own individual ways, social critics,* even though their ideas about society were quite different from one another. Muhammad, for example, seems to have been a great deal more concerned with the structures of society on this earth than Mani, who addressed social issues primarily in order to help promote gnosis (the salvific knowledge of ultimate things). Still, all of them considered moral behavior to be central in complying with the wishes of their supreme deity. Particularly in the Judeo-Christian and Muslim traditions, prophetic teachings have been seen as attempts to denounce injustices practiced against the weak and powerless. In the prophetic writings of these traditions questions of social morality have such prominence that scholars have often characterized the religion of the prophets as "ethical monotheism."

5. Finally, *the founding prophets helped both to maintain and to reform religious tradition.* They regarded their demands for change as having a basis in ancient tradition, but they insisted that their contemporary religious situation be reshaped in accordance with that tradition. Naturally, these demands met stiff resistance from those contemporaries of the prophets who wanted to maintain other traditions or the status quo. As a result each of the founding prophets suffered indignities, sometimes even torture and death. Typically, prophets who met with resistance saw popular rejection as proof of their legitimacy, since earlier prophets had been similarly despised.

Just as these prophets constitute a group because of their mutual similarites, they are also distinct from other figures in the history of religions. They are different from the various intermediaries who preceded them in that the revelation they communicated has an enduring relevance in religious tradition and remained intimately connected with their individual personalities. Revelation had previously been relevant only for a limited time, and, with a few minor exceptions, the personality of the prophet had been of relatively little significance in the mediation of divine messages. The roles of these prophets often stood in sharp contrast with priestly functions. The innovative and reforming messages of the prophets were accepted within the religious community and tradition on the basis of their personal charisma. Priests, however, are typically those who maintained the dominant, received tradition by virtue of their position within an established religious institution.

Finally, the founding prophets are distinct from others who founded major religious traditions (such as Buddhism, Jainism, Confucianism, and Taoism). The founders of these traditions originating in India and China were not divinely chosen messengers bearing a revealed message to humankind, but rather teachers and sages who had developed new philosophic insight and practical discipline as a way of addressing religious problems. These teachers, like the prophets, were often missionaries and social critics, but the basis of their words was the perfection of their own intellectual, spiritual, and moral talents, rather than their election by a deity to bear a specific message.

PROPHECY UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF CANON. One of the most outstanding features of the founding prophets was the special importance that their personal communication of revelation had for succeeding generations of their religious communities. Just as the Hebrew prophets and Zarathushtra were influenced by the traditions that preceded them, so too were the prophets who came later. But for Jesus, Mani, and Muhammad the traditional inheritance included the message of the Hebrew prophets (and Zarathushtra), as well as the model they had established as prophets whose messages were canonized within scripture.

It was rarely easy for a person bearing revelation to effect basic reforms in the structure of religious life. Among the biblical prophets themselves, the active mediation of fresh revelation had been an accepted part of religious life. However, once prophecy became written and canonical, the revelation of these same prophets attained a special status that inevitably lessened the importance and limited the scope of active mediation generally. The guardianship and transmission of prophecy—now newly conceived as the substance of prophetic oracles within the canon—moved from the ecstatics and visionaries who originally created it to the inspired sages, priests, and scribes who maintained and passed along the scriptures.

The evolution of Hebrew prophecy into received written tradition became the cornerstone upon which all subsequent prophetic constructions were built. By 350 BCE the last of the canonical prophetic writings to find acceptance in the Hebrew Bible had been written. And by the time of Jesus' ministry (c. 25–30 CE) the preeminence of these canonical prophets was generally accepted within Judaism, even among prophets such as Jesus. Within the context of this religious tradition it became necessary for contemporary prophets who did not consider their calling subordinate to any earlier prophet to claim a special status for themselves. Therefore, Jesus on occasion appears as an eschatological prophet who proclaimed the imminent arrival of the "kingdom of God." In this way his message and character could fit the traditional conception of prophets in early Judaism, where it was believed—in certain quarters, at least—that God would send prophets (who would be of equal stature with their canonical predecesors) to announce the end of the world.

By the time of Mani (216–276) and Muḥammad (580–632), several canonical religions had come to prominence. Both these prophets understood themselves explicitly as successors to a line of prophets that included (though variously) Abraham, Moses, Elijah, other Hebrew prophets, Zarathushtra, Jesus, and even the Buddha. Moreover, they each wrote down their oracles as a self-conscious attempt to form a canon that would be authoritative for their own communities. Indeed, early Muslims distinguished between two terms for prophet: *nabi,* a generic Arabic term denoting anyone who has a vision or audition of God, and *rasū,* the Arabic word referring only to those special "messengers" (such as Moses, Jesus, and Muḥammad) who founded a religious community and transmitted their messages with a sacred book. In Islam "religions of the Book" are the highest form of religious expression.

As the words of these historical prophets attained reverential status within scriptural canons, the book replaced the living religious specialist as the primary agent of revelational mediation. The history of surviving religious traditions with a prophetic scripture (now Judaism, Christianity, and Islam) has depended in no small measure upon this development. Exegetes of various sorts replaced prophets as the maintainers of the revelational tradition, and often those who safeguarded the sanctity and purity of the written scriptures were suspicious of, even hostile to, those who claimed to have visions not mediated through the scripture. Since textual interpretation has gained the dominant socio-political position within all three traditions (probably because this mode of religious inquiry responded better to the increasingly complex social organization within which the traditions flourished), the ecstatic elements common to the earliest prophetic activity played a diminished role in later tradition. Since Muḥammad there has been no prophet to form a religious tradition with a stature equaling that of Judaism, Christianity, or Islam.

Even so, while contemporary prophetic inspiration lost influence at the center of religious authority, it was never eliminated entirely. Throughout history, in pre-Christian Judaism, in early Christianity, and in pre-Muslim and early-Muslim Arabia, prophetic figures were active alongside (though often in competition with) the rationalized institutions of canonical religion. Within the exegetical tradition itself inspirational interpretation has been a perennial source of innovation in theological thinking. In early Judaism, some of those who collected and arranged sacred writings within the Hebrew Bible conceived themselves to be prophets, for example, the levitical priests Korah and Asaph, who claimed prophetic inspiration for their hymnology and arranged the psalter in a structure that gives special prominence to a prophetic interpretation of psalms. And later, during the medieval period, qabbalist interpretation of the Bible elevated not only the revelational experiences of the biblical authors, but also the necessity for inspiration among exegetes. Similar attitudes are present among Christian (e.g., Jerome and Bonaventura) and Muslim (e.g., al-Hallāj) interpreters.

More generally one can speak of mysticism within Judaism, Christianity, and Islam as being analogous with prophecy in earlier tradition. Insofar as mystics define religious knowledge as the immediate (i.e., unmediated) perception of the divine, the nature of their experience and epistemology is similar to earlier prophets. However, their activity is to be distinguished sharply from earlier prophecy, since the canonical traditions had no recognized need for specialists in mediating divine revelation. Each tradition accommodated spontaneous outbreaks of inspirational, ecstatic, visionary behavior, but each also maintained strict controls, lest the ultimate authority of canonical revelation be undercut.

Sufism (Muslim mysticism) first appeared within one hundred years of Muhammad's death. While some Ṣūfīs who quietly made claim to personal revelation or mystical vision could coexist peaceably with those nearer the center of religious power, others met violent repression when they threatened the structure and cohesion of the Muslim community. So, while Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī, a Persian Ṣūfī (d. 875), encountered some opposition for his claims of achieving unity with God, it amounted to his being labeled an eccentric. He died peaceably, and afterward his tomb became the object of some veneration. However, al-Hallāj was executed (in 922) when he translated his visions and miracles into a political following that threatened the dominant order.

Within European Christianity (from the time of Constantine, at least, until well into the modern period) the orthodox were closely connected with the ruling political groups. Christian mystics, like their Muslim counterparts, were accepted by the orthodox as long as their revelational claims were subordinated to the authority of the church and Bible (e.g., Francis of Assisi and Teresa of Ávila). Yet, wherever claims of fresh revelation threatened the ecclesiastical and political power structure, the authorities responded—and violently, as with Joan of Arc, whom the English burned for heresy when she transformed her revelational claims into a potent military force. It is easy to understand why few Christians claimed to be prophets, and why, at the same time, accusations of false prophecy were leveled at those whose voices one wanted to silence.

Since fairly early in the common era, Jews have been outside the dominant power structure in cultures where they lived. Only if the prophetic claims of a messianic hopeful threatened the dominant social order of the host society was there any likelihood of political repression. Such was the case with Shabbetai Tsevi (1626–1676), whose messianic movement was perceived as a threat by his Turkish (Muslim) overlords. Tsevi recanted under threat of death. Otherwise, tensions between the more rationalist orthodoxy and mystical visionaries was something to be settled among Jews. Since Jewish orthodoxy had no power greater than rational persuasion, its ability to control mystical elements was minimal. Hence the Besht (Yisraʾel ben Eliʿezer, 1700–1760) was able to generate a massive following despite the detraction of his orthodox opponents.

In no case, however, could visionaries or mystics claim for themselves a mediational status equal with the founding prophets without subverting revealed canons and the traditions that rested upon them. Those who made such claims founded new traditions (i.e., Jesus, Mani, and Muḥammad) or failed in the attempt. Otherwise prophetic and mystical vision was subordinated to the revelation that had already been canonized. In all three traditions the canonical revelation, once defined, resisted internal challenges and remained the touchstone of religious truth for well over a thousand years.

PROPHECY IN MODERN TIMES. During the modern period in Europe public recognition of biblical prophecy has dwindled along with certain other aspects of European religion that had supported its primacy. The importance of prophets as the mediators of revealed truth declined sharply as the Enlightenment demolished confidence in the truth of revelation generally and enshrined a new standard of knowledge arrived at on the basis of observation and critical reasoning. At first these changes affected only the intellectual elite who had considered the impact of philosophical developments upon conceptions of God, religious truth, and divine mediation. Some philosophers (such as Hume) denied altogether the importance of revelation (and, therefore, prophetic mediation) as a source of knowledge. Others tried to accommodate revelational truths within a philosophical framework (e.g., Descartes and Kierkegaard). But others, such as Blake and Nietzsche, considered themselves to be prophets, though in their writings it is clear that they had redefined concepts related to inspiration, revelation, and truth to suit the needs of people living in post-Enlightenment civilization.

The discussion of such ideas among philosophers, scientists, and literati was contained within a minuscule portion of European culture, and the effects of their writings upon the general population materialized only very slowly. Of greater significance for popular religious culture was the diminished authority of the church. In some cases the reduction in ecclesiastical power was a direct outgrowth of Enlightenment thinking, as in the United States, where religion was consciously and explicitly separated from the centers of political power. But for the most part it seems that reductions in the power of the church to enforce its dogmas allowed for greater religious diversity (as during the Reformation), so that Enlightenment thinkers, and others, could express their religious views openly. Within this religious environment a new set of prophets arose to proclaim themselves as messengers bearing the divine word, and some have found success in founding new sects that revere their writings as sacred canon. Joseph Smith (1805–1844), for example, established the Church of Latter-Day Saints upon the claim that he had received revelations from Jesus Christ and from an angel who entrusted him with the *Book of Mormon.* Those who profess Christian Science regard the writings of Mary Baker Eddy (1821–1910) as sacred and inviolable. Others, notably the members of the international Pentecostal or the later charismatic movements, are modern ecstatics who consider themselves capable of receiving the spirit and speaking as divine agents.

As Europe exported culture during its colonialist expansions, it came to affect and discover religious traditions elsewhere. Among Muslims, for example, critical thinking about the status of Muḥammad has had some impact under the influence of and on analogy with Western reflections about religious origins. However, more important for the study of prophecy has been the impact of imperialism and modern Western culture on the indigenous tribal societies of the Americas, Africa, and maritime colonies (see bibliography, especially the entries on the ghost dance among Native Americans and cargo cults in Melanesia). As colonists encroached on territory inhabited by tribal peoples, they often found among the native religious specialists figures who showed a marked similarity to the traditional image of prophets within the major Western canonical religions. Anthropologists and comparative religionists have studied such modern prophets and their religious environment, where truths revealed through the mouths of inspired speakers remain a dominant influence in all aspects of social and personal life. Through direct observation of such religious systems scholars now understand the dynamics of prophecy with some specificity, and detailed research has dispelled various myths about its nature. It is known, for example, that ecstatic behavior among religious specialists can help maintain the structure of society, whereas scholars had long thought that ecstasy destabilized social order through its irrational influence. Likewise, the widespread opinion that ancient prophets were individualists crying to deaf ears from the loneliness of the desert now seems to be a romantic ideal. Rather, groups tend to support prophets who express their interests, while prophets acting entirely on their own rarely find a significant audience.

CONCLUSION. Though comparative theorists working with modern evidence have not yet established a single dominant interpretation of prophecy, a variety of complementary approaches now challenges the exclusivistic confessional interpretations that characterized the earlier period. Some scholars (e.g., I. M. Lewis—see bibliography) consider ecstatic religious behavior a means of expression used by disenfranchised groups who find standard channels of communication closed to them. Those studying religious behavior among shamans, Pentecostals, and other modern prophetic figures have found "deprivation theory" useful in showing how ecstatic persons support the position and structure of groups whose position in society is outside the normal channels of power and influence. Others (e.g., Victor Turner—see bibliography) interpret prochecy within a framework of social evolution. These scholars see prophets as appearing in periods of transition between societies organized along lines of kinship and clan affiliation and those structured according to more highly complex groupings that accompany the rise of states, class stratification and institutional religion. Either interpretive model applies consistent evaluative criteria to both the ancient evidence and the modern anthropological data without elevating the status of any one religious tradition over another. In this they are distinctively modern interpretations of prophecy, in contrast with canonical views, which persist in granting special recognition to the prophet(s) of a single confessional tradition.

SEE ALSO Canon; Divination; Oracles.

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For the background of mediation between gods and human beings within world religions, Mircea Eliade's *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy,* rev. & enl. ed. (New York, 1964), remains unsurpassed for its breadth. Works about the founding prophets normally contain a general discussion and bibliography concerning their specific precursors. Such are Robert R. Wilson's *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia, 1980); David L. Petersen's *The Roles of Israel's Prophets (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament,* supp. 17; Sheffield, 1981, which surveys the evidence for Israelite intermediation in the ancient Near East, and David E. Aune's *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1983), which gives a thorough discussion of Greco-Roman prophecy as well as its forms among the first Christians. Many critical works on Hebrew prophecy approach the subject from within the confessional community of Jews (e.g., Martin Buber's *The Prophetic Faith,* New York, 1949, and Abraham Joshua Heschel's *The Prophets,* New York, 1962 or Christians (e.g., Gerhard von Rad's *The Message of the Prophets,* London, 1968. Most treatments of prophecy ignore the significance of Zarathushtra and Mani, since they both have few, if any, modern followers to proclaim their value. Mary Boyce's *A History of Zoroastrianism,* 2 vols. (Leiden, 1975–1982), and Kurt Rudolph's *Gnosis* (San Francisco, 1983) provide useful bibliographies and discussions of the life and time of these prophets, respectively. The books on Muḥammad are many; the most readable and intelligent is Maxime Rodinson's *Mohammed* (New York, 1971), which contains a critical evaluation of the works that preceded it. Toufic Fahd's "Kāhin," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* new ed., vol. 4 (Leiden, 1978), pp. 420–422, is a short peculiarly lucid account of the difficulties inherent in reconstructing Arab divination during the pre-Islamic period.

Regrettably, no book discusses prophecy within a framework as broad as that suggested in this article. Hence, we suggest that the reader consult other articles within this encyclopedia for detailed bibliographies on such topics as mysticism, ecstasy, canon, scripture, and the Enlightenment, as well as on individuals that we have mentioned in the text.

Among works that may not be listed in other articles is the anthropological literature on prophecy. Max Weber's work has had a seminal influence on the field; see both *Ancient Judaism* (1922; Glencoe, Ill., 1952) and *The Sociology of Religion* (1922; Boston, 1963). I. M. Lewis's *Ecstatic Religion* (Harmondsworth, 1971) is a sociology of ecstatic behavior based on a broad range of comparative evidence, and though it does not address prophecy per se, it has influenced others (viz. Wilson, cited above) that do. Victor Turner's "Religious Specialists: Anthropological Study," in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* edited by David L. Sills (New York, 1968), vol. 13, pp. 437–444, offers analytical categories useful in distinguishing prophets from other religious personnel. A number of books describe the activity of prophets in modern cultures: Peter Worsley's *The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of "Cargo" Cults in Melanesia* (1957; New York, 1968); E. E. Evans-Pritchard's *Nuer Religion* (Oxford, 1956) and *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica* (Oxford, 1949); James Mooney's *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890* (1896; abr. ed., Chicago, 1965); and Vittorio Lanternari's *The Religions of the Oppressed: A Study of Modern Messianic Cults* (New York, 1963).

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PROPHECY: BIBLICAL PROPHECY

Throughout much of the history of Western thought, the biblical prophets have been understood as unique figures whose sudden appearance in ancient Israel had a profound impact on the development of Judaism and Christianity. They have been considered ethical and moral innovators whose views decisively shaped later Jewish and Christian theology. Particularly in Christian tradition, they have been seen as revealers of the future whose oracles predicted the coming of Jesus and whose words may still contain unrecognized clues to the course of world history.

This understanding of the biblical prophets continues to exist today. However, during the past century the traditional view has come under increasing attack from biblical scholars, who have reexamined the biblical evidence and then proposed a number of alternative and often conflicting theories about the nature and functions of Israelite prophecy. Rejecting the common notion that prophecy is concerned only with the future, scholars have portrayed the prophets variously as creators of a highly intellectual form of ethical monotheism, as ecstatics scarcely in control of their own actions, as religious officials with regular duties in the Israelite cult, as shrewd political advisers, as isolated mystics, and as guardians of Israel's religious traditions. The Hebrew Bible contains evidence to support all of these interpretations, and for this reason the scholarly debate on the nature of prophecy continues with no sign of an emerging consensus.

However, scholars have increasingly recognized that an adequate understanding of Israelite prophecy can be achieved only by using extrabiblical evidence to supplement the narratives about prophetic activity and the words of the prophets that have been preserved in the Bible. The most important extrabiblical evidence comes from two different sources. The first source provides additional documentary evidence on the nature of prophecy in antiquity. During the past century archaeologists have uncovered a number of ancient Near Eastern texts that challenge the traditional notion that the Israelite prophets were unique religious figures in antiquity. In the Mesopotamian city of Mari on the Euphrates, excavators have found letters from the eighteenth century BCE describing the activities and messages of several different types of oracle givers who bear some resemblance to the later Israelite prophets. The Mari oracles come from various gods and do not seem to have been solicited by the person to whom they are addressed. Some of the oracle givers described in the letters are ordinary individuals, but others have special titles, which indicates that these figures exhibited characteristic behavior and filled a recognized religious role in the society of Mari. Among the specialists mentioned are the "answerer" (*apilu*), the "ecstatic" (*muhhu*), the "speaker" (*qabbatum*), and a member of the cultic personnel of the goddess Ishtar, the meaning of whose title (*assinnu*) is uncertain. Later texts from the time of the Assyrian kings Esarhaddon (r. 680–669 BCE) and Ashurbanipal (r. 668–627 BCE) record the oracles of Assyrian contemporaries of some of the Israelite prophets. In addition to the ecstatic, the texts mention the "shouter" (*raggimu*), the "revealer" (*shabru*), and the "votary" (*shelutu*).

Religious specialists resembling the biblical prophets also existed outside of Israelite territory in other areas of Palestine. Inscriptions from the eighth and ninth centuries BCE refer to a "message giver" *(ʿdd)* and a "visionary" (*ḥzh*), a title also given to some of the biblical prophets. This evidence suggests that prophetic activity was going on elsewhere in the ancient Near East before and during the time when prophets were active in Israel. Furthermore, the apparent diversity of these non-Israelite specialists suggests that prophecy in Israel may have been a more complex phenomenon than scholars have previously thought.

This suggestion is reinforced by extrabiblical evidence from the second source, the studies that sociologists and anthropologists have made of contemporary oracle givers. These specialists form a highly diverse group that includes various types of mediums, diviners, priests, and shamans, but like the biblical prophets they all see themselves as intermediaries between the human and divine worlds. In spite of obvious differences, these figures often exhibit similar behavioral characteristics and interact with their societies in much the same way. This interaction has been analyzed extensively by anthropologists and shown to be highly complex. By delivering messages from the divine realm, oracle givers are capable of bringing about changes in their societies, but at the same time societies play a direct role in accrediting oracle givers and shaping their behavior.

The modern anthropological evidence indicates that the phenomenon of prophecy can be adequately understood only when the dynamic relationship between prophet and society is fully explored. This means that any account of prophecy in ancient Israel (c. 1200–200 BCE) must see the prophets in particular social contexts rather than treating them as ideal figures abstracted from their historical settings. For this reason it is necessary to avoid making too many statements about biblical prophecy in general. Each prophet occupied a unique place in the history of Israel and was part of a complex interaction between prophecy and society in a particular time and place. The history of Israelite prophecy is the history of a series of such interactions. However, once the uniqueness of each prophet is recognized, it is possible to outline some general features that characterized Israelite prophecy as a whole and to isolate some characteristics that were peculiar to particular groups of prophets.

THE PROPHETIC EXPERIENCE. Direct information about Israelite prophecy comes from two sources: the oracles of the prophets themselves, now preserved primarily in the fifteen prophetic books of the Hebrew Bible, and the narratives describing prophetic activity, found mainly in the books of the Deuteronomic history (*Joshua, Judges, 1* and *2 Samuel, 1* and *2 Kings*). Both of these sources are difficult to interpret because of their unusual character. At least until the exile (587/6 BCE), the prophets seem to have composed and delivered their oracles orally. Only later were their words collected, written down, and finally arranged in small collections, or books. This work was done either by the prophets themselves or by their disciples. Some of the written collections were then further edited by later generations of writers and editors, who were interested in preserving and above all interpreting the prophets' original pronouncements. As a result of this long process of transmission and composition, it is often difficult to separate genuine prophetic material from the interpretive work of later editors. A similar sort of problem exists in the case of the prophetic narratives of the Deuteronomic history. Some of the stories, such as those concerning Elijah and Elisha (*1 Kgs.* 17–2 *Kgs.* 9), probably circulated individually or as collections in oral tradition before being incorporated in the written work of the historian. As part of the incorporation process, the stories were edited at least once, and perhaps several times, in order to express the political, social, and religious views of the writers. For this reason, it is sometimes difficult to use the narratives for historiographic purposes.

Because of the nature of the sources from which a description of prophecy must be derived, any attempt to reconstruct a picture of prophetic activity must necessarily involve a great deal of interpretation, and the results will often be incomplete and tentative. This is particularly true of attempts to describe the prophets' supernatural experiences, which by their very nature were private and not open to public scrutiny. The prophets say very little about their experiences and even in recounting their "calls" to prophesy rarely describe more than the initial vision that they saw (*Is.* 6, *Ez.* 1–3) or the words that they heard (Jer. 1:4–10; *Am.* 7:15). Instead, the texts concentrate on the messages that the prophets received during their encounters with God. However, enough clues exist to suggest that Israel conceived of the prophetic experience as one that occurred when individuals were possessed by the spirit of God. "The hand of the Lord" fell upon them (*1 Kgs.* 18:46; *2 Kgs.* 3:15; *Jer.* 15:17; *Ez.* 1:3), or the spirit of God "rested on them" (*Nm.* 11:25–26) or "clothed itself" with them (*Jgs.* 6:34) so that they were no longer in control of their own speech and actions. As is typical in cases of spirit possession in a number of cultures, Israel interpreted the words that the prophets spoke during possession not as human words but as the words of God. The prophets were simply the channels through which the divine word came to the world. Once the prophets were possessed by God, they felt compelled to deliver the message that God wanted to communicate (*Am.* 3:8). The divine word was perceived as a "burning fire" that gnawed at them until it was delivered (*Jer.* 20:9).

Because of the loss of personal autonomy associated with divine possession, the prophets did not usually view the experience positively. In the accounts of their initial call, they sometimes speak of trying to avoid becoming prophets (*Jer.* 1:6), and some of them report that they repeatedly sought release from their prophetic roles (*Jer.* 11:18–12:6, 15:15–21; cf. *Ez.* 2:1–3:15). However, such attempts at resistance were always futile, and in the end the compulsion to prophesy could not be thwarted.

Although the prophets themselves were apparently reluctant to describe the process through which they received their oracles, additional information on the nature of the prophetic experience can be deduced from the various titles given to these individuals and from the descriptions of their characteristic behavior. This evidence suggests that the prophetic experience was not the same for all prophets and that the prophets' characteristic behavior and social functions varied enough to require more than one title or role label.

Prophetic titles. The English word *prophet* is ultimately derived from the Greek *prophētēs,* a noun that means both "one who speaks forth" or "one who proclaims" and "one who speaks before" or "one who speaks of the future." The Greek translators of the Hebrew Bible used this word to render several Hebrew titles and apparently understood it to be a general term capable of being applied to various types of religious specialists. However, in ancient Israel the different types of prophetic figures bore distinctive titles, although the understanding and usage of these titles varied with the group that used them and the time in which they were used.

The most common prophetic title used in the Hebrew Bible is *naviʾ*. Extrabiblical occurrences of the word are extremely rare, and its etymology is uncertain, although scholars normally relate it to the Akkadian verb *nabu,* "to call, to announce, to name." The title may thus mean either "one who calls" or "one who is called," but this etymology sheds little light on the precise characteristics of the figure so designated. In preexilic times the label *naviʾ* was particularly common in northern Israel (Ephraim), where it was a general term for any prophetic figure and was the only title given to legitimate prophets. In Israelite literature produced in the north or influenced by traditions originating there (the Deuteronomic history, *Hosea, Jeremiah*), the *naviʾ* played a central role in religious life and was associated with the preservation of ancient theological traditions. To the south, in Judah and particularly in Jerusalem, the title was also in use as a general role label, but it appears much less frequently in Judahite literature and is often used in negative contexts. After the exile navi' was used by all biblical writers as a general prophetic title and seems to have no longer been recognized as a distinctive role label.

While *naviʾ* was the most common prophetic title in the north, in Judah and particularly in Jerusalem the term "visionary" (*ḥozeh*) was the preferred designation. This role label appears primarily in texts originating in the south (*Amos, Micah, Isaiah, 1* and *2 Chronicles*), and when it does not, it refers to figures located there. Judahite historical traditions suggest that visionaries were particularly active during the period of the early monarchy (during the reigns of David, Solomon, and Rehoboam), when some of them were part of the royal court in Jerusalem, but references to them in the writing prophets indicate that they persisted at least until the exile (1 *Chr.* 21:9, 25:5, 29:29; 2 *Chr.* 9:29, 12:15, 19:2, 29:25, 30; cf. 2 *Sm.* 24:11). The title "visionary" clearly refers to the distinctive means by which these figures received their revelations, and indeed three of the Judahite prophetic books explicitly speak of the visionary origin of their oracles (*Am.* 1:1; *Mi.* 1:1; *Is.* 1:1), while a fourth (*Ez.*) contains numerous descriptions of revelatory visions. This particular mode of divine-human communication was apparently not well regarded in the north, where prophets preferred to speak of their oracles as the words that they heard rather than the visions that they saw (*Hos.* 1:1, *Jer.* 1:1–4). In some circles outside of Judah, visions may have been considered an inferior form of revelation (Nm. 12:6–9; cf. *Dt.* 13:1–6), a fact that may help to explain the northern priest Amaziah's derisive characterization of the Judahite prophet Amos as a professional visionary (*Am.* 7:12–15).

In addition to the *naviʾ* and the *ḥozeh,* the biblical writers mention three other prophetic titles, which were apparently not widely used. In *1 Samuel* 9:9 Samuel is called a "seer" (*roʾeh;* lit., "one who sees"), a title that the writer affirms was already archaic. If the old story in this chapter is historically accurate, then the seer was a specialist in communicating with the divine world, presumably through visions, dreams, or divination. People who wanted to request information from a deity could go to the seer, who in exchange for a fee would transmit the petitioner's request and return an answer. In the north this particular function was later asigned to the *naviʾ,* while elsewhere various diviners and priests were the agents of intercession (*1 Sm.* 9:9, *Dt.* 18:9–22). Late references to the seer may be archaisms (*2 Ch.* 16:7, 16:10), and it is probable that the title ceased to be used in the early monarchical period.

Better attested is the title "man of God" (*ish ha-Elohim*), which appears in northern sources, particularly in the old prophetic legends of the Elijah-Elisha cycle in the Deuteronomic history (1 Kgs. 17–2 Kgs. 10). This label may have originally been applied to people who were thought able to control divine power and use it in various miraculous ways, but its usage was eventually broadened to include anyone who had a special relationship to God. When the designation "man of God" became an honorific title, any specifically prophetic connotations that it may have had were presumably muted or lost.

In addition to titles normally applied to a single individual, the biblical writers also apply the label "sons of the prophets" (*benei ha-neviʾi*m) to members of prophetic groups. The title is attested only in the Elijah-Elisha stories and seems to have been used for a relatively brief period in northern Israel (c. 869–842 BCE). The sons of the prophets were clearly members of a prophetic guild that had a hierarchical structure headed by a leader with the title "father." On the death of the leader, the title was transferred to another prophet (*2 Kgs.* 2:12, 6:21, 13:14). Members of the group sometimes lived together and shared common meals (*2 Kgs.* 4:1, 4:38–41, 6:1). It has been suggested that the sons of the prophets were ecstatics, but there is no evidence of such behavior in the narratives about them.

Prophetic behavior. In ancient Israel, as in every society, the behavior of divinely possessed individuals followed certain stereotypical patterns, although these patterns varied somewhat depending on the historical, geographical, and social setting of the prophets' activities. There are two reasons for the existence of this behavior. First, Israelite society set definite limits on the kinds of behavior that its prophets could exhibit. In most social situations violent or uncontrolled actions were not tolerated, and when they occurred, they were considered a sign of mental illness or possession by evil powers. Prophets who wished to be considered genuine therefore had to keep their behavior within recognized boundaries or risk being considered insane. Second, members of social groups in which prophets operated had to face the problem of determining when divine possession was actually present. They needed to have some grounds for assigning a prophetic title to a particular individual. One of the ways in which they solved this problem was to examine the behavior of people in the past who were known to have been genuine prophets of God. Individuals who wished to be accredited as prophets were thus subtly pressed to conform to the group's picture of genuine prophetic behavior.

Prophetic actions. Biblical writers rarely describe behavior indicative of possession, but the existence of stereotypical prophetic actions can be inferred from the Bible's occasional use of the verb *hitnabbe',* which seems to mean "to act like a prophet, to exhibit the behavior characteristic of a *navi'*." This verb refers to both prophetic words and deeds, but the texts give it no specific definition. It is clear, however, that the prophet's characteristic behavior was evaluated positively by some groups but negatively by others. In some cases it was seen a a sign of divine legitimation and favor (*Nm.* 11:11–29, *1 Sm.* 10:1–13), while on other occasions it was considered an indication of madness or possession by an evil spirit (*1 Sm.* 18:10–11, 19:18–24; *1 Kgs.* 18:26–29; *Jer.* 29:24–28).

It is likely that some of Israel's prophets were ecstatics. The word *ecstasy* is usually understood to refer to a type of trance behavior marked by psychological and physiological symptoms such as a reduction of sensitivity to outside stimuli, hallucinations or visions, a garbled perception of surrounding events, and an apparent loss of conscious control over speech and actions. The intensity of ecstasy and its specific characteristics vary depending on the individual being possessed and the group in which possession occurs. The actions of an ecstatic prophet may range from apparently uncontrolled physical activity to completely normal physical activity, and his speech may range from unintelligible nonsense syllables to perfectly coherent discourse. Sometimes ecstatic behavior in Israel was incapacitating or dangerous (*1 Sm.* 19:18–24, *1 Kgs.* 18:26–29), but at least in the case of those prophets who wrote, ecstasy appears to have involved controlled actions and intelligible speech (*Jer.* 4:19, 23:9; *Ez.* 1:1–3:15, 8:1–11:25).

As part of their characteristic behavior, some of Israel's prophets accompanied their oracles with symbolic acts, although this practice was by no means common even among the prophets who employed it. In most cases these acts seem to have been designed to provide the background for an oracle or to dramatize the prophet's words. Thus Hosea and Isaiah gave their children symbolic names that foretold the fate of the nation (*Hos.* 1:4–9; *Is.* 7:3, 8:1–4). Isaiah reportedly walked naked through the streets of Jerusalem for three years to drive home the point that the Assyrians would lead the Egyptians into captivity (*Is.* 20). Jeremiah smashed a pot before his listeners to dramatize the destruction what would soon occur in Jerusalem, and he later wore a wooden yoke before the king to reinforce an oracle counseling surrender to the Babylonians (*Jer.* 19:1–15, 27:1–28:17). A few of these acts seem to move beyond symbolism into the realm of magic. When Elisha commanded the Israelite king Joash to strike the ground with his arrows, the number of times that the king struck the ground determined the number of victories that Israel would have over Syria (*2 Kgs.* 13:14–19). Similarly, Ezekiel's elaborate drawing of the besieged Jerusalem actually seems to bring the siege into existence (*Ez.* 4:1–8). However, in spite of these examples of sympathetic magic, the working of miracles was not normally a component of prophetic behavior in Israel.

In addition to performing certain characteristic actions, some of Israel's prophets wore distinctive clothing and bore a special mark that identified them as prophets or as members of a prophetic guild (*1 Kgs.* 20:35–41, *2 Kgs.* 1:8*, Zec.* 13:4). However, this practice does not seem to have been widespread.

Prophetic speech. As part of their characteristic behavior, some prophets may have used stereotypical speech patterns and shaped their oracles in certain traditional ways. The existence of a distinctive northern oracle pattern is suggested by the fact that the Deuteronomic history and the prophetic literature dependent on it (*Jeremiah*) often quote prophetic oracles that have a tripartite structure. The oracle begins with the commissioning of the prophetic messenger and then moves to an accusation against an individual who has violated Israel's covenantal law. Following the accusation, an announcement of judgment is addressed directly to the accused. The announcement is usually introduced by a stereotypical "messenger formula," such as the following: "Thus says the Lord"; "Therefore, thus says the Lord"; or "For thus says the Lord" (*1 Sm.* 2:27–36, 13:11–14, 15:10–31; *2 Sam.* 12; 1 *Kgs.* 11:29–40, 13:1–3, 14:7–14, 17:1, 20:35–43, 21:17–22, 22:13–23; *2 Kgs.* 1:3–4, 1:6, 20:14–19, 21:10–15; *Jer.* 20:1–6, 22:10–12, 22:13–19, 22:24–27, 28:12–16, 29:24–32, 36:29–30, 37:17). If this pattern is not simply a literary convention of the Deuteronomic authors, then what is often called the "announcement of disaster to individuals" may have been a characteristic feature of the speech of Ephraimite prophets. Other Israelite prophets also announced disaster to individuals and to the nation as a whole, but their oracles did not conform to rigid patterns.

Judahite prophets may have once used stereotypical forms of speech, but if so, the patterns had broken down by the time the oracles were recorded in writing. Early Judahite writing prophets such as Amos, Micah, and Isaiah seem to have favored distinctive judgment oracles beginning with the cry "alas" (Heb., *hoy*) and followed by one or more participles describing the addressee and specifying his crime. This introduction was followed by an announcement of disaster in various forms (*Am.* 5:18–20, 6:1–7; *Is.* 5:8–10, 5:11–14, 5:18–19, 5:20, 5:21, 5:22–24, 10:1–3, 28:1–4, 29:1–4, 29:15, 30:1–3, 31:1–4; *Mi.* 2:1–4). However, even if the "alas oracles" were once characteristic of southern prophetic speech, they were later used by prophets outside of that tradition.

The Hebrew word massaʾ, traditionally translated "burden," may have once designated a specialized type of Judahite oracle against foreign nations (*Is.* 13:1, 14:28, 15:1, 17:1, 19:1, 21:1, 21:11, 21:13, 22:1, 23:1, 30:6; *Na.* 1:1; *Hb.* 1:1; *Zec.* 9:1, 12:1; *Mal.* 1:1). However, if so, the original characteristic form of the oracle has not been preserved, and its distinctive function has been lost.

In addition to using speech patterns that seem to be primarily prophetic, Israel's prophets employed specialized language drawn from various spheres of Israelite life. For example, from the courts they took legal language and formed trial speeches that mirrored judicial proceedings (*Is.* 1; *Mi.* 6; *Jer.* 2; *Is.* 41:1–5, 41:21–29, 42:18–25, 43:8–15, 43:22–28, 44:6–8, 50:1–3). From the Temple they took priestly instruction and liturgical fragments and incorporated them into prophetic oracles. However, scholars have not usually succeeded in uncovering widespread structural patterns in oracles of this sort, and it is probably best not to understand them as characteristic of the behavior of prophetic possession in general.

PROPHECY AND SOCIETY. In the past there has been a tendency to portray the Israelite prophets as isolated individuals who appeared suddenly before a particular group, delivered an uncompromising divine message, and then disappeared as quickly as they had come. It was assumed that this individualism set them at odds with their society and inevitably brought them into conflict with rival religious professionals, particularly the priests. However, more recently scholars have recognized that the prophets were integrally related to the societies in which they lived. These individuals played many social roles, not all of which were related to their prophetic activities. Because in ancient Israel there were apparently no restrictions on the type of person who could be possessed by God's spirit, and because possession was not a constant experience for any given person, many of the prophets participated fully in other areas of communal life. Thus, for example, Jeremiah and Ezekiel were both priests who were possessed and transformed into prophets (*Jer.* 1:1, *Ez.* 1:3). Some priests may have delivered prophetic oracles as part of their regular cultic activities, while in the postexilic period Levitical singers in the Temple also had prophetic functions (*1 Chr.* 25:1–8; *2 Chr.* 20:1–23, 34:30). Some prophets, like Gad, seem to have earned their living through prophecy and were members of the royal court (*1 Sm.* 22:1–5, *2 Sm.* 24:1–25), while others, like Amos, engaged in other occupations and prophesied only occasionally (*Am.* 1:1, 7:14–15).

Prophetic authority. Discussions of prophetic authority normally focus on the prophetic-call narratives (*Is.* 6, *Jer.* 1, *Ez.* 1–3) and on the "charisma" that these extraordinary individuals are thought to have possessed. It is assumed that because the prophets were endowed with supernatural power, they were automatically accorded authority and viewed as divinely chosen leaders. To be sure, the prophets did sometimes cite their initial experiences of possession in order to gain support for their message, and they may be accurately described as charismatics, although they were certainly not the only ones in Israelite society. However, these two factors must not be stressed at the expense of recognizing the role that Israelite society played in creating and sustaining prophets.

The process by which ancient Israel recognized and accepted the authority of genuine prophets was subtle and complex, but at least some of its elements can be identified. One element concerned a prophet's conformity to certain standards of behavior. At least those Israelites who created and carried the biblical traditions recognized as authoritative only those prophets who stood in a recognizably Israelite prophetic tradition. This meant above all that the only legitimate prophets were those who were possessed by Yahveh, the God of Israel. Prophets possessed by other deities were not to be taken seriously, and the Deuteronomic writers went so far as to decree the death penalty for prophets who spoke in the name of other gods (*Dt.* 18:20). However, outside of these circles, possession by other gods was accepted, and for a brief time prophets of Baal and Asherah were part of the religious establishment in the northern kingdom of Israel (Ephraim) (*1 Kgs.* 18:19–40).

Prophets who wished to be considered legitimate also were pressed to make their behavior conform to what various Israelite groups recognized as traditional prophetic behavior. Canons of acceptable behavior varied from group to group within Israel, and for this reason prophets who were considered legitimate by one group might not be considered legitimate by other groups. Thus, for example, shortly before the fall of Jerusalem to the Babylonians, Jeremiah and the group that supported him condemned those prophets who predicted the salvation of the city, even though they were accepted as legitimate prophets by powerful groups within the royal court. In the eyes of Jeremiah and his supporters, these prophets were illegitimate because the form and content of their oracles and the means by which they received them did not conform to the patterns that Jeremiah's community accepted (*Jer.* 23:9–40). Isaiah and his disciples, too, had rejected the authority of some of the prophets in Jerusalem because of their aberrant behavior (*Is.* 28:7–10), and in Babylonia the exilic community of Ezekiel denied legitimacy to those prophets who were still active in the Temple in Jerusalem (*Ez.* 13:1–23).

A second element involved in the process of prophetic authentication was the degree to which the prophet fitted into a recognized Israelite theological tradition. This did not mean that the prophet was not free to innovate or criticize the tradition, but he had to remain rooted in it. Thus, for example, in Deuteronomic tradition any prophet who advocated the worship of other gods was considered to have placed himself outside of the tradition by violating its overarching monotheistic principle, and the prophet not only was considered unauthentic but, like the prophet who spoke in the name of another god, was to be put to death (*Dt.* 13:1–5).

Because Israel's theological traditions were not always in agreement with each other at every point, what was acceptable prophetic behavior in one tradition might not be acceptable in another. When such theological disagreements occurred, a particular prophet might be an authoritative figure in his own tradition but would not be taken seriously elsewhere. Clear cases of this phenomenon can be seen in some of the writing prophets. The prophet Amos, a native of Judah and presumably standing in the tradition of the theology developed by the royal theologians in Jerusalem (which saw the establishment of the northern kingdom of Israel as a revolt against the Davidic dynasty), prophesied against the north and predicted the destruction of the Ephraimite royal sanctuary at Bethel. Such behavior was not acceptable in the north, and Amaziah, the priest of Bethel, accused Amos of treason and refused to recognize his prophetic authority (*Am.* 7:10–13). A later case is that of the prophet Jeremiah, who was influenced by Deuteronomic tradition that saw as conditional the election of Jerusalem as the dwelling place of God. He delivered oracles in the Jerusalem Temple that predicted the destruction of the city and the Temple unless the people reformed their conduct and obeyed God's covenantal law. To the officials of the royal court and the Temple, who believed that God had chosen Jerusalem as an eternal dwelling place, such words were treasonous and deserved the death penalty (*Jer.* 26). Although Jeremiah was not killed, many of the officials of Jerusalem refused to recognize his prophetic authority and considered him to be insane (*Jer.* 29:24–28).

A final element involved in the process of accrediting prophets can be seen most clearly in the Deuteronomic literature, which held that authentic prophets were those whose words always came to pass. This was particularly true of prophets said to be "like Moses," a special class of prophets in Deuteronomic theology. These prophets had more direct communication with God than did ordinary prophets and for this reason were more effective intercessors and gave more reliable oracles. The words of a Mosaic prophet would inevitably come true, according to the Deuteronomists, and when these figures appear in the Deuteronomic history, the fulfillment of their oracles is always noted (*Nm.* 12:1–8; *Dt.* 18:15–22; *1 Kgs.* 11:30–39, 12:15, 14:7–11, 15:27–30, 16:1–4, 16:9–13; *2 Kgs.* 1:15–17). This criterion for recognizing authentic prophets was not always useful, for oracles might only later be fulfilled, in the distant future, and the reliability of a particular prophet's predictions could not always be determined.

Once a prophet was considered authentic by a particular group in Israel, he seems to have been at least tolerated by the rest of the society. Some of the prophets had free access to the king, the royal court, and the Temple and could carry out their activities without being harassed. Prophets were generally not held responsible for their words or actions because they spoke a divine word and not their own (*Jer.* 26:12–16). However, there were some limits to this freedom, particularly when the prophet criticized the king and the priesthood, and some of the prophets were killed because of their oracles (*Jer.* 26).

Because of the way in which prophetic authority was assigned, prophetic conflicts were common. When a prophet supported by one group gave oracles that conflicted with those of a prophet supported by another group, the conflict was often resolved only when one group simply refused to recognize the authority of one of the other group's prophets. Thus, for example, Jeremiah fought his prophetic opponents not by attacking their theological position but by accusing them of being false prophets (*Jer.* 23:9–32, 28:1–17, 29:15–32; cf. *Ez.* 13:1–23). When false prophecy led to the imposition of the death penalty, as was the case in Deuteronomic law, such accusations were effective tools for social control, whether they were used by the prophets themselves or by a government seeking to suppress troublesome critics.

Social locations and functions. In ancient Israel prophets carried out their activities in all parts of the society. However, because the prophets' functions to a certain extent depended on their social location, it is useful to identify prophets according to their relationship to the society's centers of social, political, and religious power. At the center of the social structure were prophets who may be identified as "central prophets." They carried out their activities in the context of the royal court or the central sanctuary, and individually or as part of a prophetic group they performed the functions considered necessary by the establishment. Because of their central social location, they enjoyed a certain amount of prestige and were considered authoritative by Israelite leaders. At the other end of the social spectrum were prophets who were located away from the centers of power and carried out their activities on the fringes of society. They were considered authoritative only by the small groups of supporters who shared their social location and theological views. Peripheral prophets were usually dispossessed individuals who were tolerated by the religious establishment but enjoyed little social status or political power. In Israel prophets were located at various points on the continuum that stretched between the society's center and its periphery, and some prophets changed their position on the continuum when there were alterations in the social structure.

Locating a particular prophet in the social spectrum was sometimes a subjective process, particularly in the case of peripheral prophets. Because prophets with small support groups and little status had minimal power, they could easily be classified as peripheral by the establishment, and their messages could be ignored. However, to the members of the prophets' support groups they played the crucial role of articulating group values and concerns. For this reason the prophets could be considered central by the groups that supported them. Biblical views on the social location of prophets thus often depended on the social location of the people articulating those views.

All Israelite prophets shared a single basic task. They were to deliver to individuals and groups the divine messages that had been transmitted during their possession experiences. In addition, Deuteronomic prophets served as intercessors who were responsible for communicating the people's questions and requests to God. Beyond these primary tasks, however, the prophets' social functions varied somewhat depending on their social location. Central prophets were normally concerned with the orderly functioning of the society. If they were active in the cult, they were responsible for providing oracles whenever the religious, political, or social occasion required them. They also represented God in state affairs and in general helped to preserve public morality. Such prophets were interested in maintaining and preserving the existing social order. They felt free to criticize existing conditions and structures, but they were generally opposed to radical changes that might make the society unstable.

In contrast, peripheral prophets by definition represented positions that were at odds with the majority views and practices of the society. Being possessed by God and becoming prophets gave marginal individuals an authority that they did not previously have and allowed them to bring their messages to the attention of the political and religious establishment. Peripheral prophets normally advocated basic reforms in the social structure and thus served as agents of rapid social change. Their reform programs often aimed at restoring older religious and social values and practices that the society as a whole had rejected. At the same time, the prophets were concerned with improving their marginal social position and moving their support groups closer to the centers of power. However, there were limits on the degree to which they could advocate major social changes. Up to a point, their views were tolerated, but if they became too vocal in their demands, then they ran the risk of being considered enemies of the society and having their activities brought to a halt through accusations of false prophecy or legal sanctions that would physically remove them.

PROPHECY IN ISRAELITE HISTORY. Because most of Israel's prophets were active during the monarchical period (c. 1020–587/6 BCE), it is sometimes argued that prophecy and monarchy were coeval and interdependent. However, biblical traditions coming from northern Israel speak of the existence of prophets well before the rise of the monarchy, and there is no reason to doubt their accuracy. Similarly, prophets played a role in Israel's restoration after the exile (c. 538–400), so it is probably safe to suppose that prophecy played a role in Israelite society from its origins to about 400 when, according to orthodox Jewish tradition, prophecy ceased. Prophets certainly existed in Israelite society in later times and played a minor role in early Christian communities, but they do not seem to have had major social functions and have left few traces in the biblical record.

Although prophecy existed in Israel for a fairly long period of time, it is impossible to trace a comprehensive history of the phenomenon. Earlier attempts to trace an evolutionary development from "primitive" ecstatic prophecy to the high ethical principles of the writing prophets are now generally discredited. However, it is possible to describe the complex roles that prophets played at various points in Israel's political and religious development.

Premonarchical period. The Elohist traditions of the Pentateuch and the Deuteronomic history suggest that prophets were at work in Israel before the rise of the monarchy (c. 1020). Although the narratives describing the activities of these early figures have certainly been colored by later prophetic ideology, there is no reason to deny the existence of prophecy in early Israel. Prophetic phenomena are attested elsewhere in the ancient Near East in the second millennium in roughly the same areas as those thought to have been occupied by Israel's ancestors. There is no evidence to suggest that early Israelites borrowed prophecy from elsewhere, but it may well have appeared spontaneously in some of the tribes that later joined together to form Israel.

The nature and functions of these early prophets are unclear. Biblical references to the prophetic activities of Abraham and Moses are probably retrojections from later times, and certainly the Moses stories were used by Deuteronomists to support their distinctive views of prophecy (*Gn.* 20:7, *Nm.* 12, *Dt.* 18:9–22). In addition to these traditional figures, Miriam and Deborah are both said to have been prophetesses (*Ex.* 15:20–21, *Jg.* 4:4–10), and an unnamed prophet is said to have been sent during the period of the judges to explain why the people were oppressed (*Jg.* 6:1–10). If these references are in any way indicative of the role that prophets actually played in early Israel, then it would appear that prophets had a position in the central social structure and had important functions in the conduct of warfare.

It is more certain that prophecy was well established in northern Israel in the period shortly before the rise of the monarchy. A band of prophets was part of the cultic personnel at the sanctuary at Gibeah (*1 Sm.* 10:9–13), and there are numerous traditions about the prophetic activities of Samuel. He had prophetic, priestly, and governmental roles at several northern sanctuaries and was clearly a central prophet of major importance (*1 Sm.* 3:1–21, 7:1–12:25). People came to him in order to obtain information from God (*1 Sm.* 9:6–10), and he represented God among the people. Although traditions differ about Samuel's role in the rise of the monarchy, the Deuteronomists saw him as the religious official responsible for anointing and legitimating Saul as Israel's first king (*1 Sm.* 9:15–10:8).

Monarchical period. Throughout the history of the Israelite monarchy, prophets played important religious roles both inside the royal court and on its periphery. The tradition of prophetic participation in government began with Samuel, who continued to advise Saul on cultic matters during his reign. However, Saul's disagreements with Samuel and Samuel's northern support groups over the extent of royal authority eventually broke into open warfare, and Samuel stripped the kingship from Saul and anointed David as the new king (*1 Sm.* 13:1–16:13). The presence of prophets in the royal court continued during David's reign. The court prophet Nathan delivered to David an oracle promising the king an eternal dynasty in Jerusalem and designating Jerusalem as the divine dwelling place forever (*2 Sm.* 7). This oracle became the cornerstone of the Jerusalem royal theology, and it was cited as authoritative by later royal sources (*Ps.* 89, 132). Later in David's reign his royal visionary, Gad, legitimated the building of a temple in Jerusalem (*2 Sam.* 24). David is also said to have installed prophets as religious officials in the central sanctuary (*1 Chr.* 24). Although this report undoubtedly reflects the Temple administration of the Chronicler's own time, it may well be that prophets had central cultic functions in Jerusalem during the monarchical period.

Prophecy does not seem to have been prominent during Solomon's reign, but it emerged in a new form in the time of his successor, Rehoboam. In response to general Ephraimite dissatisfaction with the growing power of the Jerusalem monarchy, the prophet Ahijah, from the old northern sanctuary at Shiloh, established the dissident northern tribes as an independent kingdom by delivering an oracle legitimating Jeroboam as king of Ephraim (*1 Kgs.* 11:29–40). Ahijah was clearly a peripheral prophet representing interests that were not connected with the royal court in Jerusalem, and his newly created state may have been intended to restore his supporters to positions of power. If so, his intentions were thwarted when Jeroboam created in Ephraim a syncretist religious establishment that horrified the Deuteronomic historians. According to the Deuteronomists, Ahijah was the first of a series of peripheral prophets who attempted to reform the northern political and religious establishments (*1 Kgs.* 13–16).

Prophetic opposition in the north reached its height during the time of Elijah and Elisha (c. 869–815), when groups of peripheral prophets appeared to denounce the Ephraimite kings and the heterodox worship that they permitted in the land. This inevitably brought the peripheral prophets into conflict with the prophets of Yahveh, Baal, and Asherah, who were part of the religious establishment in the north (*1 Kgs.* 18, 22). The peripheral prophets finally prevailed and succeeded in overthrowing the northern dynasty and bringing about cultic reforms (*1 Kgs.* 17–*2 Kgs.* 10). However, by the time of the prophets Amos and Hosea (c. 760–746), Baal worship had been firmly reestablished in Ephraim. Both of these prophets, from Judah and Ephraim respectively, continued the activities of their predecessors and predicted the destruction of the evil kingdom. The prophecies were finally fulfilled with the destruction of the northern capital, Samaria, in 721, an event that the Deuteronomic historians traced to the failure of the kings and the people to listen to the warnings that God had sent through the prophets (*2 Kgs.* 17:7–18).

Little is known of prophecy in Judah during the period of the divided monarchy until the very end of that period, when the prophets Isaiah and Micah began their activities. Both reflect an acceptance of elements of the royal theology of Jerusalem and both may be examples of prophets who were more central than periphral. Isaiah in particular seems to have had access to the court (*Is.* 7:3, 8:2, 22:15–16), and he may have played an official role in resolving the crisis caused by the Assyrian invasion of 701 (*Is.* 36–39). However, he was certainly capable of criticizing the abuses of the royal theology and advocated judicious social change to preserve traditional religious values.

Most of the remaining preexilic prophets in Jerusalem were much more supportive of the government than were Isaiah and Micah. Nahum and Habakkuk have both been linked with the Jerusalem cult, and both may have had an official part in it. Both deliver oracles against Israel's enemies and in general behave like typical central prophets.

Toward the end of the monarchical period, peripheral prophecy reappeared in a mild way with the writings of Zephaniah, but it did not become a major force until the work of Jeremiah and Ezekiel (c. 627–571). Jeremiah, a priest who seems to have been heavily influenced by the Deuteronomic movement, launched a series of increasingly harsh attacks on the king and the people, urging them to repent in order to avoid the punishment that God had decreed against Jerusalem. In the final days before the destruction of the city in 587/6, he advocated surrender to the Babylonians, a policy that brought him into conflict with the royal court and the central prophets, who still advocated the old theology of the eternal election of Jerusalem. Jeremiah narrowly escaped with his life, but when the city fell, his prophecies were vindicated. At about the same time, Ezekiel, a priest who had been exiled to Babylon in 597, advocated major modifications of the Jerusalem royal theology held by most of his fellow exiles, but his words had little effect.

Exile and its aftermath. The fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple in 587/6 created serious authority problems for Israel's prophets. The political and religious institutions that sheltered the central prophets disappeared with the conquest, and those prophets who supported the traditional Jerusalem theology were tragically wrong in their predictions. Peripheral prophets, such as Jeremiah and Ezekiel, gained new credibility because of the fall; but in their latter days they also gave oracles of promise, and as the exile continued, these oracles too seemed to be false.

The prophets of the exilic and postexilic periods faced this problem of authority in several ways. First, they turned away from oral prophecy and adopted writing as the means of circulating their words. Written prophecies were apparently thought to have more authority because of their concreteness. Second, they often attached their prophecies to those of preexilic prophets in an attempt to borrow the authority of their predecessors. Finally, these last representatives of Israelite prophecy turned increasingly toward the divine world for solutions to Israel's overwhelming problems, a move that brought prophecy closer to apocalyptic. Instead of advocating the reform of human behavior in order to cure Israel's religious and social ills, as earlier prophets had done, the postexilic prophets often looked instead to God's direct intervention in history on behalf of those who waited faithfully for God's plan for Israel's salvation to be realized. Some of these postexilic solutions to the problem of prophetic authority can be seen in the postexilic books of Zechariah, Haggai, Joel, and Malachi, and all of them are visible in the writings of the anonymous prophets ("Second Isaiah" and "Third Isaiah") responsible for the last part of the *Book of Isaiah.*

After the exile, central prophecy was briefly restored in the reconstructed Judahite state, and Zechariah and Haggai in particular had roles in shaping the restored community. However, after Ezra's mission to Jerusalem toward the end of the fifth century, officially recognized prophecy was restricted to Levites with specific duties in the cult of the Second Temple (*1 Chr.* 25). After this point, other types of prophecy disappear from the biblical record.

SEE ALSO Amos; Ecstasy; Ezekiel; Hosea; Isaiah; Israelite Religion; Jeremiah; Levites; Micah.

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PROPHECY: PROPHECY IN POST-BIBLICAL JUDAISM

Rabbinic literature presents no detailed account of prophecy. Approaches to this phenomenon must be gleaned from scattered statements and tales. Moreover, rabbinic literature contains the views of numerous sages, living in different times and places, who were subject to diverse cultural influences and who formulated their views in response to different challenges. As is to be expected, they do not speak with a single voice on this issue. Nevertheless, a number of dominant trends of thought relating to this topic can be discerned.

The prevailing view of the rabbinic sages is that the period of classical prophecy ended with the destruction of the First Temple (586 BCE), and certainly no later than the beginning of the Second Temple (538 BCE). The establishment of the canon of the Hebrew Bible, although an informal process, reflects the feeling that the period of prophecy has come to a close. This view may be attributed in part to the introduction of Hellenism in the Near East in the wake of the conquests of Alexander the Great (356–523 BCE). The major social and cultural-intellectual changes brought about by this event led to a general feeling that a new era has begun. The view that the period of prophecy has ended gained further dominance in rabbinic thought in response to competing sects within Judaism (including the followers of Jesus) who claimed revelation as the basis for their teachings. Yet the general agreement among the sages that classical forms of prophecy belong to the past and to the messianic future did not eradicate a contrary trend that was also very popular. Many continued to view revelation as an ongoing phenomenon that existed in their era in different forms, such as that of a heavenly voice. One can also find in the Talmud a tradition that views the proper understanding of Ezekiel's account of the celestial domain ("Account of the Chariot") as leading to a revelatory experience. Other sages, although acknowledging these types of phenomenon, are adamant in negating revelation's role in determining law after the revelation of the Torah to Moses. Authority in this matter belongs to the sages and their institutions. The sages see themselves as the true heirs of the prophets and in some way even superior to them. Furthermore, the prophets themselves are viewed as having been sages. In keeping with Moses's role in the transmission of the divine law, his prophecy alone is accorded a unique status.

Other issues related to prophecy also find expression in rabbinic literature. Some sages posit necessary conditions for attaining prophecy, such as wisdom, valor, and wealth. This view may also have served to combat popular approaches to revelation that viewed it as an ongoing phenomenon available to everyone. Other sages regard prophecy as depended solely on the divine will. One view goes so far as to accord the wicked Balaam a status that is at least equal to that of Moses. In the Middle Ages Jewish thinkers were to draw from these diverse views in developing and defending their approaches to prophecy.

SAʿADYAH GAON'S APPROACH TO PROPHECY. The first comprehensive attempt to understand prophecy in medieval Jewish thought is presented by Saʿadyah Gaon (882–942) in his theological treatise *Book of Beliefs and Opinions* (933 CE). Of particular concern to him is the problem of how to interpret the texts of divine revelation in a manner that negates divine corporeality. Agreeing with the rational proofs for the incorporeality of God presented in Islamic theology (*kalām*), Saʿadyah interprets figuratively all corporeal descriptions of God in the Bible. He rejects their literal meaning entirely. Saʿadyah is not oblivious to the problems this approach poses to the authority of Scripture once one dismisses its literal truth. He insists that the literal meaning should be maintained in all instances in which it is not blatantly contradicted by knowledge attained by a different reliable source, such as rational demonstration or sense perception. Even in the cases in which the literal meaning is rejected, the figurative interpretation should be in harmony with Hebrew usage. Saʿadyah's approach to biblical exegesis paved the way for reconciling the truths of revelation with the fruits of rational enquiry. It also enabled him to continue to uphold the authority of Scripture as a source of truth in theoretical matters. This approach has a sharp impact on subsequent Jewish thought.

An incorporeal deity possesses no organs of speech nor has any physical form that can be seen. This poses a severe challenge to the veracity of the biblical accounts of God addressing the prophet. Saʿadyah solves this difficulty by maintaining that the divine speech heard by the prophets was audible speech created by God in the air and conveyed to their hearing. The visions of God seen by the prophets were not actually of God but of a special luminous being, termed God's Glory (*kavod*) or Indwelling (*shekhina*), which assumed different forms in accordance with the divine will. Moses's request to behold God (*Ex.* 33: 18–20) is interpreted by Saʿadyah as a request to see the front part of the Glory. This request is denied him because the intensity of the light would inevitably destroy him; instead he is allowed to attain a close-up view of the back of the Glory. One can detect in some of Saʿadyah's descriptions of the Glory a hint of the idea of the divine Logos, an idea known to him by way of Jewish sources and Moslem theological ones. By accepting the existence of such a being and treating it as composed of a special form of light, Saʿadyah is able to interpret the prophetic visions of God in as literal manner as possible without treating God as corporeal. His approach also enables him to treat the visions seen by the prophets, as well as the words they heard, as empirically verifiable by them—the senses being a source of reliable knowledge in his view. Given his perception of the danger that the idea of a divine intermediary poses to strict monotheism, he at the same time stresses that the Glory is created and not coeternal with God, and he sharply curtails its providential role in the world. Its primary function is to verify to the prophet the truth of the message attained.

Saʿadyah continues the dominant rabbinic trend in not viewing prophecy as a living phenomenon. It existed in the biblical period and will be reintroduced only in messianic times. It served primarily as a mission for conveying divine commands as well as theoretical truths and knowledge of the future. The truth of the prophetic message was verified to the people by means of miracles. God was directly involved in the choice of each prophet, the particular mission bestowed and the miracles performed. In Saʿadyah's view, God's incorporeality and unity do not preclude God's immediate relation with the material world and its inhabitants.

PROPHECY IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF MAIMONIDES. Already in the period of Saʿadyah a number of Jewish philosophers begin to view prophecy more in terms of a naturally attained perfection than a supernaturally bestowed mission. This followed developments taking place in Islamic philosophy. Two distinct, but not mutually exclusive, models of prophecy emerge based on earlier Greek philosophic approaches. In the first model, prophecy is consequent on the perfection of the intellect resulting in a form of ontological conjunction with the supernal Intellect and the attainment of intellectual illumination or revelation. In addition to the higher level knowledge of theoretical truths attained in this state the individual experiences an immense spiritual pleasure. In the second model, prophecy is consequent on a perfect imagination, enabling the individual to attain knowledge of the future in accordance with the matters that preoccupy the individual's thought. This form of prophecy occurs most frequently in individuals lacking a well-developed intellect, and it generally assumes the form of veridical dreams. Both models can be found in the writings of the tenth century Islamic philosopher Alfarabi, who combines them in the case of one possessing both a perfect intellect and perfect imagination. He regards the one attaining revelation as the ideal ruler, thereby transforming Plato's (c. 428–347/8 BCE) philosopher-king to the prophet-lawgiver. God's role is confined to being the first cause of all that happens in the world. God does not personally choose each prophet or bestow on the individual a specific message. Alfarabi's approach strongly influenced that of Moses Maimonides (1135/8–1204), writing in the twelfth century.

No approach to prophecy in Jewish thought is as multifaceted as the one presented by Maimonides. In the *Guide of the Perplexed* (2.36) Maimonides defines prophecy as an emanation from God through the intermediation of the Active Intellect to the rational faculty and then to the imagination. To attain this emanation the individual must possess a perfect intellect that has mastered all the sciences, a perfect imagination, and a strong moral character. Anyone who fails to meet any of these conditions cannot become a prophet. As a result of the prophetic emanation, the individual attains knowledge of profound theoretical matters, rules for the governance of others, and knowledge of the future. Maimonides leaves little doubt that he regards prophecy as a natural phenomenon. He equates it with the highest level of human perfection, which lies primarily in the perfection of the intellect. The prophetic visions, consisting of sights or words, are the product of the prophet's own imaginative faculty and they have no physical reality.

Maimonides implies that the emanation resulting in prophecy is a force from the Active Intellect that strengthens the individual's perfect faculties and enables the individual to reach new heights of knowledge. God plays no immediate role in what the prophet learns as a result of this experience. A superior imagination enables the prophet to translate conceptual knowledge into figurative form, in addition to attaining knowledge of the future. This is important for the prophet's role in educating the masses, who are incapable of grasping profound theoretical truths in a purely conceptual manner. It may also aid the prophet to grasp better these highly abstract matters.

Maimonides' discussions alternate between stressing the imaginative aspect of prophecy and the intellectual one. In some passages he also alludes to the nature of the experience itself. At the end of *Guide* (3.51) he describes the death of the perfect individual, in which the human intellect, having conjoined with the Active Intellect, permanently leaves the body and remains eternally in a state of ultimate spiritual pleasure. This description is reminiscent of accounts of ecstatic death found in mystical literature and can be traced to the common Neoplatonic roots of medieval philosophy and mysticism.

Prophecy in itself does not entail a mission in Maimonides' view and may remain an entirely private attainment. Moreover, no one who has attained this illumination is eager to undertake a public role rather than continue to enjoy this most pleasurable of states. The prophetic mission results from the emanating perfection characterizing superior prophets, which drives them to perfect those around them and not rest satisfied with their own perfection. Maimonides compares this to the emanating perfection of the greatest philosophers that lead them to write books and teach others the truths they have attained. As is the case of the individual who has seen the light of the sun but nevertheless is made to return to the cave in Plato's famous myth, the public prophet must return to society and assume a leadership role. Yet for Maimonides it is not any external pressure that compels the prophet to do so. The vision in which God commands the prophet to go to the people is a figurative representation in the soul of the prophet of the feeling of compulsion to act in this manner after experiencing illumination. The mission itself in this case is part of the prophetic experience and reflects the workings of divine providence within the natural order.

Although Maimonides follows Alfarabi in regarding the prophets as philosopher-kings, he stops short of ascribing to them any legislative role. The laying down of the divine law is confined to Moses alone. He treats Mosaic prophecy and the revelation at Sinai as supernatural events, both involving audible speech whose author was God. In this manner he preserves the traditional foundations of Judaism. Yet one can read Maimonides's discussions as subtly indicating that he has a naturalistic understanding of these phenomena as well. Moses attained the highest level of perfection possible resulting in a purely intellectual illumination that did not involve the imagination at all in the apprehension of the most profound theoretical truths. This illumination enabled him to lay down a perfect law that directed society to its utmost perfection, one in which its citizens reach the highest perfection of which each is capable. Only this law deserves the label "divine." This notion is to be hidden from the masses, whose faith in Judaism is contingent on belief that God personally revealed the Law.

When dealing with prophecy in his legal works, Maimonides sharply curtails any role the prophet has in deciding legal matters notwithstanding the ideal leadership qualities they possess in his view. He is very concerned about the threat to Judaism posed by those whom he regards as false prophets, particularly charismatic individuals who seek to introduce major modifications in Mosaic Law on the basis of revelation. Maimonides seeks to insulate the Law from any changes that are not brought about by the formal institutions in Judaism entrusted with the power to determine legal matters. The leadership role of the prophets is be exercised primarily as members of those institutions and not by virtue of their claim to revelation. For the same reason he also posits near impossible tests for any latter-day claimant to public prophecy.

Although Maimonides at times expresses the traditional sentiment that prophecy has ceased to exist and will only reemerge at the advent of the messianic period, his naturalistic approach to prophecy allows for the possibility at least that individuals in any generation may satisfy the requisite conditions for its attainment. It could hardly be otherwise given the integral connection he draws between prophecy and human perfection. There are a number of allusions in his writings to the fact that he regards prophecy as a living phenomenon, one that was attained by some of the great sages of the past after the biblical period, such as R. Judah the Prince and R. Akiva, although they made no claim to public prophecy. There are even hints that Maimonides himself felt he had experienced revelation.

Maimonides's approach to prophecy bridges what appears to be an unfathomable chasm between Aristotelian philosophy and Jewish tradition. The texts of the Bible are completely true. The prophets were great philosophers who presented the truths they had attained in figurative form. Yet the reader who wishes to understand these truths must turn to Greek philosophy to unlock the meaning of the prophetic texts.

Generations of Jewish philosophers after Maimonides differ on the extent the Bible taught theoretical truths not attained in philosophy. The early fourteenth century philosopher Gersonides (1288–1344; *Wars of the Lord)*, for example, essentially negates the view that the prophets grasped truths not available to the philosophers. Later philosophers such as Hasdai Crescas (1340–1410; *Light of the Lord)*, Joseph Albo (1380–1444; *Book of Principles*) and Isaac Abrabanel (1437–1508; *Commentary on the Guide of the Perplexed*), on the other hand, argue the contrary position. They accord the prophets the attainment of truths beyond the realm of the discursive reasoning of the philosophers. They also challenge the completely naturalistic foundation underlying Maimonides' approach and seek to ascribe to God a more immediate involvement in the choice of prophets and the content of their revelation. Yet for all the differences between the medieval philosophic approaches, they share the view that underlying the figurative language and the parables of the Bible are to be found the most profound conceptual truths.

SPINOZA ON PROPHECY. Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677), writing in the seventeenth century, sets out to negate this view in his *Tractaus Thologico-Politicus*. He thereby attempts to undermine the authority of the Bible (i.e., the Hebrew Scriptures, or Old Testament) as a source of truth, let alone the ultimate source. Ironically he utilizes the authority of the Bible to accomplish this task. A literal understanding of the Bible, he argues, leads to the conclusion that it in no way touches on conceptual matters belonging to the domain of philosophy, not even in figurative form.

Spinoza rejects any supernatural conception of divine activity. Everything must be understood in accordance with the eternal laws of nature. In his approach to revelation he builds on the two naturalistic models of prophecy found in the medieval sources. Yet, instead of combining them, he treats them as completely distinct. Against Maimonides and his followers, Spinoza argues that the biblical prophets possessed solely a perfect imagination and lacked intellectual perfection (i.e., the mastery of science and philosophy). As one can discern from the Bible itself, they were simple individuals who addressed other simple people. Hence the revelation they attained involved only the workings of the imagination.

Spinoza accords the prophets a strong moral sense but no true speculative knowledge, including a philosophic understanding of morality. This was no less true of Moses who lacked a proper understanding of the nature of his own prophetic experience. Hence, the divine law Moses legislated as a result of his imaginative prophecy does not lead to perfection and ultimate felicity, only to a society well ordered for its time. The second type of prophecy, purely intellectual illumination, is ascribed by Spinoza to Jesus. The nature of this illumination is treated in greater detail towards the end of his *Ethics*, in which he labels it "the third kind of knowledge." It is the final stage in the quest for intellectual perfection. The conclusion to which the reader is drawn is that only the truths attained in a natural manner by the human intellect should be labeled divine and the prophetic texts contain no divine truths at all. Hence the medieval Jewish philosophic enterprise that treats philosophy and the Bible as teaching essentially the same truths is without foundation. Spinoza's approach to biblical revelation and human reason plays a critical role in the development of modern Jewish thought, even among those philosophers who stopped far short of his radical conclusions or who challenged them.

PROPHECY IN QABBALISTIC THOUGHT. Alongside medieval Jewish philosophic treatments of prophecy, there also developed mystical approaches. It may be argued that inherent in the turn to mystical study is the attempt to attain conjunction (termed *devequt*) with the higher realms (if not with God) and the illumination of the intellect. This in essence is identical with what the mystics perceive as the prophetic experience. Some of the early mystical texts written after the Talmud, termed *heikhalot* literature, present the road to illumination as a journey of the soul through the celestial palaces. The texts convey knowledge of the secret names of the angels (and of God) that allows the mystic to continue the ascent until he or she reaches the final palace in which he or she beholds God in all the divine glory, together with myriads of angels. Most of the subsequent qabbalistic texts do not present the road to mystical illumination or the nature of the experience so explicitly. They tend to be theosophical in character, describing the world of the Godhead, at times by way of mystical homilies on biblical verses. This is true particularly of the most important texts in the Jewish mystical tradition, those that constitute the Zohar. Yet it appears that some of the stories found there dealing with the experience of enlightenment that the authors ascribe to the rabbinic sages hint to their own experience of revelation. The proper study of the Bible, particularly the Torah, from the perspective of the system of the ten divine sefirot (emanations) the text embodies, is the path to this experience.

An important exception to the reticence on the part of Qabbalists to talk explicitly about mystical illumination and the path to its attainment is the school of prophetic Qabbalah belonging to Abraham Abulafia (thirteenth century). Abulafia laid claim to revelation and wrote a number of works, including prophetic manuals, describing the state of mystical ecstasy as well as indicating how to attain this state. His mystical approach combines older forms of Jewish mysticism focusing on the divine sefirot and the divine names with techniques involving Hebrew letter combinations. It also shares some striking similarities with Sufi and Eastern mysticisms.

Qabbalistic approaches to conjunction with the divine realm and the attainment of mystical illumination, particularly those approaches focusing on the study of the Zohar, gave rise to a good number of mystical movements within Judaism, such as Hasidism, that continue to attract followers.

APPROACHES TO PROPHECY IN MODERN JEWISH PHILOSOPHY. The idea of revelation occupies a central position in the thought of many of the most prominent modern Jewish philosophers. As in the case with the medieval Jewish philosophers, their approaches to revelation are integrally related to their overall philosophy and tend to combine ideas found in Jewish sources with contemporary philosophical developments. Immanuel Kant's (1724–1804) philosophy, in its stress on the inherent limitations of reason in attaining speculative theological truths yet its ability to attain moral truths that are to serve as the basis for theology, sets the stage for many modern Jewish philosophical approaches to revelation. Far different thinkers in the nineteenth century, such as Samson Raphael Hirsch (1808–1888; *Horeb*) and Salomon Steinheim (1789–1866; *Revelation according to the Doctrine of the Synagogue*), utilize Kant's strictures on reason to defend the idea of supernatural revelation. Hirsch sees the transmitted text of the Torah in its entirety as a product of divine revelation and hence the basis for understanding God's thoughts. Revelation for Steinheim, on the other hand, is in essence synonymous with faith. He identifies the content of revelation with the doctrines of the freely willed creation of the world *ex nihilo* (out of nothing) on the part of the one God, the human being's moral freedom and the immortality of the soul. These doctrines in his view are closed to reason. It is revelation, and not autonomous ethical reason, that makes ethical activity possible.

Abraham Geiger (1810–1874), a leading theologian in the early Reform movement and a pioneering scholar of the academic study of Judaism, is also influenced by Kant as well as by G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831), in developing his approach to prophecy. Geiger sees Judaism as a living organism developing in history as it assumes different forms. At its heart lies the prophetic idea of God and morality. By means of a careful study of Jewish history Geiger sought to reform Judaism to best express this idea in his own day without breaking completely with its past.

In the early twentieth century, Hermann Cohen (1842–1918) developed his philosophy of Judaism (*Religion of Reason out of the Sources of Judaism*) on a Kantian foundation while breaking with Kant on fundamental points of his philosophy. Revelation for Cohen is the bridge between God's Being and the human being in the state of becoming. Revelation addresses itself to reason, indeed it is the creator of reason, which culminates in the idea of ethical monotheism. Cohen does not think of revelation as an event but as an attribute of relation that expresses itself primarily in ethical activity. This relation is expressed in the message of the biblical prophets.

Cohen's philosophy of religion on one hand and the approaches of different existential philosophers—particularly Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855) and Martin Heidegger (1889–1976)—on the other exert a profound influence on the approach to revelation in the religious existential-dialogical philosophy developed by the twentieth-century philosophers Martin Buber (1878–1965; *I and Thou*) and Franz Rosenzweig (1886–1929; *Star of Redemption*). True human existence for them does not begin with one's awareness of individuality, but with the next step—the encounter with the other not as an object but as a subject. God is the Absolute Other. Revelation is neither the result of union with God (the individual always remains an independent subject in their view), nor is it concerned with attaining conceptual truths about the Godhead. It is the name given to the encounter in which the individual experiences God's love, listens to God's "speech," and is drawn into a dialogue with God by returning love. By means of this relation one is redeemed from one's isolation. Moreover, divine love or speech always makes demands on the listener in the form of ethical activity. Love must be extended to others also drawing them into the dialogue. The Law heard by Moses and the divine speech heard by the prophets are to be read as historical reflections of this existential dialogue.

Buber's and Rosenzweig's philosophy heavily influenced Abraham Joshua Heschel (1907–1972), most of whose philosophy and scholarship focuses on prophecy. In developing his own philosophy, he is particularly concerned with understanding the existential confrontation between the prophet and God on one hand, and between the prophet and society on the other. In his book *The Prophets,* Heschel defines prophecy as "exegesis of existence from a divine perspective. Understanding prophecy is an understanding of understanding rather than an understanding of knowledge. It is exegesis of exegesis. It involves sharing the perspective from which the original understanding is done" (Heschel, 1962, p. xviii). The writings of other modern Jewish philosophers, such as Joseph B. Soloveitchik (19903–1993) and Emmanuel Lévinas (1906–1995), also reflect the influence of the religious existential-dialogic philosophy of Buber and Rosenzweig, whose thought continues to attract new generations of students.

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PROPHECY: AFRICAN PROPHETISM

Studies of African religious leaders provide many descriptions of priests, diviners, healers, and witch finders, although relatively few have focused on the role of prophets within African religions. Although historians of religion debate about what constitutes a prophet, it is possible to distinguish two distinct visions: (1) the Greeks envisioned a prophet as a cultic figure who spoke on behalf of a god, and (2) ancient Israelite religion translated the term *prophet* from the Hebrew word *navi*, thereby defining prophets as spokespersons only for a supreme being. The role of these prophets was eventually narrowed to those leaders who played an oppositional role within the society in which they taught. It was this image of the prophet that captured the imaginations of scholars of religion.

Given Western commentators' assumptions that the supreme being played a relatively unimportant role in African religions, this category of prophets was rarely applied to African religions. Those who have used the term remain divided about its breadth. Some apply it to more institutionalized and hereditary forms of religious leadership, such as the office of the Mugwe among the Meru of Kenya. They served as religiously sanctioned chiefs, healers, and judges but did not necessarily receive privileged communication either from the supreme being or lesser spirits. Most commentators, however, insist on a more dramatic prophetic calling involving a direct experience of an extraordinary communication. Some apply it only to those who claim revelation from a supreme being (i.e., the Abrahamic model); others apply it to such communication from lesser deities or ancestors (i.e., the Greek model). Herein the usage of the term refers to the broader category and, as has been the practice in most studies of African prophets, includes people claiming revelation from lesser deities.

MEDIUMS, DIVINERS, AND PROPHETS. There are distinctions among mediums, diviners, and prophets. Spirit mediums are extremely common in African religious experience. These are individuals who receive messages from the supreme being or a lesser spirit, which are then interpreted by a priest to the community of adherents. It is the priest, rather than the medium, who controls community understanding of the revelation. Shona and Igbo religions, for example, have important mediums of the supreme being. In each case, a woman becomes possessed by and speaks in the voice of the supreme being, usually in a language other than her own. A male ritual specialist then interprets the message for those in attendance. Spirit mediums for lesser spirits are common to most African religions. In sharp contrast, however, prophets—whether they enter into an ecstatic state to receive communications—control the interpretation of their message and present it directly to the community. Both prophets and mediums, however, are considered to be speaking with the authority of the spiritual being who revealed the message to them. Prophets are more closely associated with specific periods of social stress and collective instability. Mediums are more closely associated with individual problems and disturbances. Both must be distinguished from diviners, who either examine signs or omens in nature or have developed mechanical techniques for ascertaining the will of deities or other spiritual forces. These religious specialists are extremely common in African religion but are understood as interpreters of signs rather than recipients of messages from spiritual beings.

Finally, distinctions must also be made between prophets within indigenous African religions and prophets within African independent churches, who situate themselves explicitly within a Judeo-Christian tradition of prophetic authority. Figures such as Simon Kimbangu (1889–1951) of Congo, John Maranke and Alice Lenshina (c. 1924–1978) of Zambia, and Isaiah Shembe (c. 1870–1935) of South Africa all claimed prophetic revelations, which led them to create independent African churches. Ecstatic visionaries associated with African Ṣūfī orders, such as Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba (1853–1927) of Senegal and Usuman dan Fodio (1754–1817) of Nigeria, are not considered prophets by African Muslims, but they share many characteristics with African Christian prophetic figures.

EAST AFRICAN TRADITIONS. Most of the religious leaders in East Africa identified as prophets tend to be individuals claiming privileged communication from lesser spirits rather than the supreme being. In some Nilotic religious traditions, however, lesser spirits are often seen as emanations of the supreme being. Through his field research on the Nuer people of southern Sudan, the British anthropologist Edward E. Evans-Pritchard was the first to describe an African prophetic tradition. The term *guk*, which earlier commentators had translated as *witch doctors*, Evans-Pritchard understood as *prophet.* He defined *guk* as a "man possessed by a spirit of some kind. . . . They are mouthpieces of the Gods" (cited in Anderson and Johnson, 1995, p. 2). He also emphasized their role in the development of oppositional politics in the wake of Mahdist and British intervention in the southern Sudan. These Nuer prophets claimed direct revelation from spirits of the above or sky deities, which Evans-Pritchard described as emanations of the supreme being Kwoth Nhial. These prophets, who also served as healers in the Nuer society, became prominent during the period of political instability and warfare as Egyptian forces penetrated the southern Sudan and began slaving in the area during the mid–nineteenth century.

Many of the most prominent prophets, such as Ngundeng and his son Gwek, claimed to speak with the authority of a spirit known as Deng. Both would spend long periods in the bush, either in ecstatic states or in the quiet repose of meditation. Ngundeng created a massive mound of brush, earth, and ivory tusks, where he conducted sacrifices and disseminated his teachings. He ritually removed evil substances and powers from the community and buried them within the mound. He also led his Nuer followers to a military victory over a neighboring Dinka community of southern Sudan before eventually being challenged by the British. He died in 1906. In the 1920s his son Gwek claimed to be a prophet of Deng, but his career was short-lived. He was killed by the British, who also destroyed the ritual center established by his father. Since the 1950s other Nuer prophets have become involved in the Sudanese civil war. The most famous of these, Wutnyang Gatakek, who claimed his authority from Kwoth Nhial and Deng, became well known in the 1990s while working for an independent southern Sudan and peace between Nuer and their Dinka neighbors.

Similar to the Nuer, the neighboring Dinka had religious leaders inspired by clan and free divinities. They were known as *ran nhialic* (men of divinity). Like Nuer prophets, Dinka prophets served as peacemakers in disputes between clans but were also capable of cursing malcontents and leading war parties. Other Nilotic groups, like the Meban of Ethiopia, had prophets who claimed they had direct contact with a divinity and allegedly could control life and death through both word and thought. The Kalenjin of Kenya and the Maasai of Kenya and Tanzania also had prophets. Among the Maasai these prophets, known as *laibon*, were associated with rainmaking and were thought to be either of foreign or celestial origin. During the period of resistance to British and German occupations, the *laibon* played an important role in the preparation of war medicines to ensure the safety of Maasai warriors and to enhance the possibility of victory. These later roles earned them the enmity of colonial authorities and often led to their arrest and detention. In central Kenya in the early twentieth century missionaries described Embu and Kikuyu men who had dreams or visions of God and who taught what was revealed to them.

By far the most famous of the East African prophets was Kinjikitile of the Matumbi hills area of southeastern Tanganyika. Claiming that he was possessed by a divinatory spirit known as Lilungu and by a more widely worshipped spirit known as Hongo, he organized a movement that led to the unsuccessful Maji-Maji revolt of 1905–1907. His initial contact with Hongo came as a result of a shamanic journey in which he was said to have entered a river and to have emerged a considerable time later, wearing dry clothes and teaching about the imminent return of the ancestors and the departure of the Europeans. Word spread that he was planning to organize resistance and that people needed to wash with a sacred *maji*, Swahili and Arabic for water, which would protect them against European weapons. The actual revolt, however, began prematurely and was brutally suppressed. Warfare and famine brought on by German destruction of local farms and granaries led to the death of over seventy-five thousand people, including Kinjikitile himself. His multiethnic movement, however, was later hailed as a first war for independence and the beginning of a Tanganyikan national movement.

XHOSA TRADITION. In southern Africa a prophetic tradition developed among the Xhosa in the wake of a series of military defeats and land losses in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century that led to the European occupation of the Western Cape Province. By 1816 Nxele began to teach of an African god he called Mdalidephu and of Thixo, the god of Europeans. Having lived on a settler farm for a number of years, Nxele became familiar with basic Christian teachings, which he placed within a Xhosa context. He claimed that Europeans murdered Thixo's son Tayi and were punished by being thrown in the sea. They emerged from the ocean on Xhosa lands, where they threatened Xhosa independence and control of their land. Nxele, who claimed to teach in the name of the "Chief of heaven and earth," proclaimed that they must abandon witchcraft to purify themselves and to rid the land of the whites. Then the ancestors would return from the dead. British officials arrested Nxele and imprisoned him at Robben Island; he died trying to swim to freedom.

In 1850 another Xhosa prophet, Mlanjeni, gathered a substantial following. He was a young man, about eighteen years old, when he began to teach. He fasted frequently, remained for long periods of purification in the wilderness, and kept celibate to preserve his powers from what he regarded as dangerous contact with women. Initially his teachings were not taken seriously, because he began to teach before he had been initiated in a circumcision school. He prayed to the supreme being whom he identified with the sun. Mlanjeni linked the drought of 1850 and the loss of cattle and land to a pervasive evil substance (*ubuthi*), which was associated with witchcraft. He became a witch finder and purged the witchcraft from those he found had practiced it. He also ordered people to destroy all charms, amulets, and medicines. Furthermore Mlanjeni provided his followers with a root that he said would protect them against European guns. In 1850 his followers went to war but met a decisive defeat after several years. In 1855 five prophets claimed to be in touch with the Russians, a black nation across the sea that was also battling the British in the Crimean War, and taught the Xhosa that they should expect Russian assistance.

In April 1856 a teenage girl named Nongqawuse heard her name called by a couple of strangers standing in the scrubland near the gardens she was watching over. They told her to tell her uncle Mhlakaza that all the ancestors would rise from the dead and that the Europeans would be expelled if the Xhosa slaughtered all their cattle and destroyed their grain, both of which had been contaminated by witchcraft. Her uncle, a major chief, decided that the strangers included his brother, Nongqawuse's father, who had died many years before. With Mhlakaza's support, what became known as the Xhosa Cattle Killing spread rapidly, leading to the destruction of thousands of cattle and granaries. Yet the prophecy did not come true. Some attributed this to the refusal of some Xhosa to make the sacrifice; others questioned the prophetic teaching itself. In either case, however, the severe famine that resulted from the sacrifice forced many Xhosa to accept British authority, and it effectively ended Xhosa resistance in South Africa.

DIOLA TRADITION. The Diola of Senegal, Gambia, and Guinea-Bissau have a continuous tradition of prophetic revelation from their supreme being, Emitai, dating back to the founding of major Diola communities, described by their oldest oral traditions. The epithet *Emitai dabognol* (God had sent him or her) was applied to those individuals who claimed a prophetic calling. Most of these prophets focused their attention on the procurement of rain from Emitai. *Emitai ehlahl* is the word for rain and indicates that rain is something that falls from the supreme being. Oral traditions concerning the precolonial era describe eleven men who claimed that Emitai communicated with them. Many of the traditions concerning the earliest prophets resemble accounts of cultural heroes, who establish communities and introduce a variety of spirit shrines (*ukine*) for prayers to Emitai to obtain rain. Since the effective establishment of colonial rule in the late nineteenth century, more than forty people have claimed prophetic revelation, two-thirds of whom are women. Sixteen of these prophets were active in the closing years of the twentieth century. Thus colonization seemed to play a causal role in the intensification and transformation of this prophetic tradition into one in which women played a central role.

Alinesitoué Diatta was the most famous of these prophets. In 1942 she introduced a major new spirit shrine (*boekine*) that she claimed Emitai gave her in an auditory revelation. Her rituals stressed the importance of neighborhood-wide celebrations that focused on the sacrifice of a black bull and six days and nights of feasting and celebrations in the public square. She insisted that women and children as well as men could be priests of her shrine and that the ritual knowledge should be shared publicly. She also taught that Emitai looked with disapproval on those who violated a Diola Sabbath for the land by working in the rice paddies, on those who neglected to plant African varieties of rice in favor of Asiatic forms introduced by Europeans, and on those men who abandoned rice farming for the cultivation of peanuts as a cash crop.

As a result of these actions and the neglect of ritual obligations by converts to Christianity and Islam, Emitai withheld life-giving rain. Her ritual of *Kasila* reaffirmed the community of indigenous Diola religion and stressed the importance of local crops as well as the role of Emitai in protecting Diola communities. In 1943 Vichy French officials arrested her, tried her under a native law code for obstructing colonial initiatives, and exiled her to Tombouctou in French Soudan. She died a year later, but news of her death was kept as a state secret until 1987. Since her death, others have come forward, claiming that Emitai had sent them in the tradition of Alinesitoué Diatta.

SEE ALSO African Religions, overview article; Alinesitoué; East African Religions, overview article; God, article on African Supreme Beings; Politics and Religion, article on Politics and African Religious Traditions.

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PROPHET, MARK AND ELIZABETH CLARE.

Mark (1918–1973) and Elizabeth Clare (b. 1939) Prophet (and the movements they founded, the Summit Lighthouse and Church Universal and Triumphant) are key figures in the emergence of American New Age apocalypticism during the second half of the twentieth century. The Prophets combined charismatic authority, Gnostic spirituality, patriotism, and esotericism to construct an influential system of alternative spirituality in America's New Age subculture.

Mark L. Prophet was born in Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin, on December 24, 1918. His devout mother reared him in the Methodist tradition, but also exposed him to the teachings of the Unity School of Christianity. Later publications of Church Universal and Triumphant claim that Prophet met the Ascended Master El Morya when he was seventeen years old and working as a railroad employee. "Ascended master" is a concept borrowed from the I AM Religious Activity, and refers to a spiritual hierarchy of advanced entities ("masters") who are responsible for the evolution of humankind. During World War II, Prophet served in the Army Air Corps and began to immerse himself in the alternative spiritual teachings of the Rosicrucians and the Self-Realization Fellowship. By the 1950s, the now-married Prophet was publishing "dictations" from El Morya anonymously for an I AM-offshoot organization, the Lighthouse of Freedom.

In 1958, Prophet moved to Washington, D.C., and founded his own organization, the Summit Lighthouse, whose mission was to publish the periodical teachings he received from the ascended masters. An inner core of followers, the Keepers of the Flame Fraternity, received advanced teachings from Prophet on such topics as decreeing, ascension, the ascended masters, reincarnation, and the coming Golden Age of spiritual illumination. Central to Prophet's eclectic version of Theosophical and I AM Activity teachings was his own role as the sole messenger for the ascended masters in the dawning Aquarian Age. Also central to his teachings was his conviction that the coming Golden Age was destined to appear first in the United States, where a race of "lightbearers" would be born. This appearance was endangered, however, by supernatural forces of evil that worked through world communism and the elite leaders of international finance and "one-world" political movements.

The purpose of humanity, according to Prophet, was to attain "ascension," a state of divinelike existence in which the human soul was united to its divine self. Before this could occur, a soul must "balance its karma," the accumulated negative energies of its past lives, and dedicate itself to the path of the ascended masters. The basic spiritual practice taught by Prophet was "decreeing," in which disciples vocalized dynamic affirmations that included the biblical name of God, "I Am." Prophet claimed that this practice gave students the power to overcome negative conditions in their lives and to create a proper relationship with their God-self. Prophet's fusion of esoteric spirituality, conspiracy theories, and right-wing political ideology would provide the catalyst for a dangerous period of apocalyptic urgency in the group during the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Prophet met Elizabeth Clare Wulf (b. 1939 in Red Bank, New Jersey) at a public lecture in 1961. Wulf, a student of Russian politics at Boston University, was the daughter of a Swiss governess and a German naval officer. By 1963, Mark Prophet and Elizabeth Wulf had divorced their respective spouses, married, and moved to Fairfax, Virginia. In 1964, Elizabeth Clare Prophet was "anointed" as co-messenger for the ascended masters by Saint Germain, the ascended master responsible for the destiny of the United States.

Between 1964 and 1972, the Prophets had four children and moved Summit Lighthouse to Colorado Springs. It was during this period that the group began attracting the youth counterculture and expanding in significant numbers in the United States. The Prophets bought a mansion that became the movement's international headquarters, publishing center, and residence for themselves and their most dedicated students. They also established Montessori International, a children's school based on the teachings of Maria Montessori and the ascended masters, and Ascended Master (now Summit) University to provide advanced students with an intensive immersion in the group's system of esoteric spirituality.

Mark Prophet died suddenly on February 26, 1973. Elizabeth Clare Prophet proclaimed that her late husband's soul was now the Ascended Master Lanello. The group was able to maintain continuity of leadership during this crisis through periodic dictations from Lanello to Keepers of the Flame gatherings. In 1974, Elizabeth Clare Prophet renamed the group Church Universal and Triumphant and founded teaching centers in major cities throughout the United States. Summit Lighthouse continued as the movement's publishing arm. Prophet moved the church's headquarters to the Los Angeles area in 1976, where it remained for ten years before relocating to the Royal Teton Ranch in Corwin Springs, Montana. Prophet appeared regularly in both print and electronic media during the late 1970s and toured the United States, "stumping for higher consciousness" and preaching against the evils of abortion and communism.

The move to Montana occurred as a result of growing opposition to Church Universal and Triumphant in California and the church's increasingly apocalyptic ideology. Prophet organized seminars during the mid-1980s for her followers that featured nationally known conspiracy theorists who issued dark warnings concerning alien civilizations, AIDS, and nuclear holocaust. Beginning in 1986, in response to apocalyptic warnings from Saint Germain, the church built a series of fallout shelters on its ranch property that were designed to protect staff members from the fallout of a global thermonuclear war. By late 1989, apocalyptic fears had reached a fever pitch, and members from around the world began moving en masse to Paradise Valley, Montana. After two predicted nuclear exchanges between the Soviet Union and the United States failed to occur in 1990, disillusioned members began leaving the valley and the church became the brunt of sensational negative media stories.

In response to the organizational upheavals caused by this cycle of apocalyptic urgency, the church began a public relations offensive in 1991 to combat its media image as a doomsday cult. Prophet published a new book, *The Astrology of the Four Horsemen* (1991), which envisioned a more hopeful future in which it was possible to mitigate the earth's "returning karma" through dynamic decreeing. During the early 1990s, she also distanced her church from the Branch Davidians and the Montana Freemen, claiming on national television programs such as *Larry King Live* and *Nightline* that her followers were law-abiding Americans who were working peacefully for a better world. In 1995, Prophet hired a Belgian corporate consultant, Gilbert Cleirbault, to begin a radical reorganization of the church. Under Cleirbault's leadership, Church Universal and Triumphant refocused its efforts on the publication and dissemination of the Prophets' teachings and on the creation of spiritual communities throughout the world.

In 1999, Prophet disclosed that she was suffering from Alzheimer's disease and turned over both temporal and spiritual authority to a leadership team that includes a president, a board of directors, and a twenty-four-member council of elders. She remains a revered figure to church loyalists but is no longer involved in the church's daily affairs.

SEE ALSO Church Universal and Triumphant.

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PHILLIP CHARLES LUCAS (2005)

PROPHETHOOD, ISLAMIC SEE NUBŪWAH

PROSELYTISM SEE CONVERSION; MISSIONS, *ARTICLE ON* MISSIONARY ACTIVITY

PROSTITUTION SEE HIERODOULEIA

PROTESTANTISM.

[*This article provides an overview of the Protestant branch of Christian religion. The historical origins of Protestantism are examined in* Reformation. *Particular manifestations of Protestantism are discussed in* Denominationalism *and in numerous articles on Protestant churches and biographies of Protestant leaders.*]

Protestantism is a worldwide movement that derives from sixteenth-century reforms of Western Christianity. As a movement it is both a set of church bodies and a less well defined ethos, spirit, and cultural achievement. Thus, one speaks of Reformed or Methodist churches as being Protestant, just as one may speak of a "Protestant ethic" or a "Protestant nation."

Through the years different needs have occasioned a variety of attempts to determine the definitional boundaries of

Protestantism. Sometimes there may be theological or liturgical motives for restricting these boundaries. Some Anglicans, or members of the Church of England, for example, who stress how closely they are identified with the ancient catholic tradition, often resent being classified as Protestant at all. So do Lutherans of similar outlook, even though the term *Protestant* was first applied in 1529 on Lutheran soil. At another extreme, many Protestants refuse to include movements like the Jehovah's Witnesses or Mormons in their ranks, even though these new nineteenth-century religious traditions flourished on Protestant soil and kept something of the Protestant impulse in their church life.

FOUR PROTESTANT CLUSTERS. For demographic purposes, David B. Barrett in his *World Christian Encyclopedia* (1982) tries to bring some order to definitional chaos by classifying the non-Roman Catholic and non-Orthodox part of the Christian world into five families, or blocs, which he calls "Protestant," "nonwhite indigenous," "Anglican," "marginal Protestant," and "Catholic (non-Roman)." All but the last of these have some sort of Protestant ties. The mainstream Protestant category includes long-established Northern Hemisphere churches such as the Congregationalist and Baptist. The Anglican family includes plural, low church, high church, evangelical, Anglo-Catholic, and central (or Broad church) traditions. The category of marginal Protestants includes Jehovah's Witnesses, Mormons, Religious Science, and Unitarian, Spiritualist, and British-Israelite churches.

The existence of the fourth category, nonwhite indigenous Christianity, "a whole new bloc of global Christendom," Barrett speaks of as "one of the more startling findings" documented in his survey. Its existence has been long known, but few, says Barrett, realized that by 1980 it numbered eighty-two million. For all their independent rise and growth, however, nonwhite indigenous forms of Christianity still derive from missionary efforts by classic Protestants. They share many of the doctrines and practices of the Western parentages. In almost all cases they also share the familiar names Baptist, Lutheran, Anglican, and the like. Therefore, while attention to them may be secondary, these younger churches do belong in any encyclopedic coverage of the longer Protestant tradition.

LOCATION OF OLD AND NEW PROTESTANTISM. After more than 450 years, worldwide Protestantism is entering a new phase, because of this shift of power to nonwhite indigenous versions. Classically the movement was strongly identified with northwestern Europe and Anglo-America. Philosopher Alfred North Whitehead once spoke of the Reformation itself as a family quarrel of northwestern European peoples. From the early sixteenth century until well into the nineteenth, the vast majority of the heirs of this Reformation did remain in Europe and its North American colonies. The Latin American nations were almost entirely Roman Catholic in makeup. Around the turn of the nineteenth century, this older Protestantism underwent vast expansion through missionary efforts to convert people in all nations and to establish churches everywhere. It was in the mid-twentieth century that the inventive and often autochthonous character of the nonwhite indigenous groups became evident, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, parts of Latin America, and the Pacific island world.

The power shift from northwestern Europe, where established Protestantism consistently lost power in the face of secularizing forces, to the vibrant world of the Southern Hemisphere portended great changes in the Protestant ethos as well. For centuries Protestant religion had been seen as an impetus toward capitalist economies, yet the new growth came in portions of the world where capitalism had little chance and few promoters. This religious emphasis in Europe had characteristically been established in coordination with the state. However, in the new nations of Africa or in Latin America, where Catholicism was first established but where anticlerical revolutions later barred privilege to any Christian bodies, nonwhite indigenous Protestantism had to make its way as a movement independent of state establishment or privilege.

Other changes came with the shift. Historically the Protestantism of Europe relied on thought patterns that depended upon and connected with older Catholic philosophies. The Protestant reformers of the sixteenth century protested against some uses Catholics made of, for example, Platonic or Aristotelian philosophies through the centuries. Yet soon they were themselves developing theologies that relied on the mainline Western philosophical synthesis. In the new area of growth, however, leaders of nonwhite indigenous flowerings of Protestantism did not have the luxury of exploring these philosophical schools. They saw no need to relate to them and often explicitly rebelled against them.

All these changes make generalizing about Protestantism far more difficult at the beginning of the twenty-first century than at the end of the nineteenth. Often one must fall back on definitions from the classic period, the first three or four centuries, keeping in mind the exceptional new developments as a subtheme. In any case, much of the plot of Protestantism after its period of expansion has revealed the dialectic of adaptation and resistance on the part of both missionary agents and the missionized. The agents of the West often arrived along with merchants or military forces, and they had to choose between being openly identified with their purposes or establishing an, at least, subtle detachment from them. Inevitably they were bearers of Western national values, but they could choose to keep their distance from uncritical embrace of these values. On the other hand, those who accepted Christianity at the hands of the missioners also had the choice of adopting as much of Western culture as possible or picking and choosing those elements of Protestantism that they could most easily or advantageously graft onto their old culture and ways.

PROTESTANT DIVERSITY AND COHERENCE. The first perception of both old and new Protestantism has always been its diversity. Barrett claims that the one billion and more practicing Christians of the world belong to 20,780 distinct denominations. While more than half the Christians are Catholic, the vast majority of these 20,780 denominations would be classed as part of the Protestant movement. Thus, in classic Protestantism, in 1980 there were almost 345 million people in 7,889 of these distinct bodies in 212 nations. The nonwhite indigenous versions, almost all of them Protestant, were located in 10,065 distinct bodies. There were also 225 Anglican denominations and 1,345 "marginal Protestant" groups. Indeed, this diversity and this fertility at creating new, unrelated bodies were long used as a criticism of Protestantism by Roman Catholicism, which united under the Roman pope, and by Orthodoxy, which was divided more into national jurisdictions but saw itself as united in holy tradition.

It is possible to move behind this first perception of the chaos of unrelated bodies to see some forms of coherence. Great numbers of Protestant bodies, along with many Orthodox ones, are members of the World Council of Churches, established in 1948, which has a uniting confessional theme around the lordship of Jesus Christ. In many nations there are national councils or federations of cooperating churches, which allow for positive interaction even where there is not organic unity. World confessional families of Lutherans, Reformed, Baptists, and others throughout the twentieth century brought into some concord these churches that have family resemblances. Finally, there have been significant mergers of Protestant churches both within families, such as Lutheran with Lutheran, Presbyterian with Presbyterian, and across family lines, as in America's United Church of Christ, which blended a New England Congregationalist tradition with a German Reformed heritage.

Whoever chronicles Protestant diversities and coherences also has to recognize that significant differences appear within each group and that important elements of concord transect the groups. Liberal Episcopalians and Methodists may have more in common with each other on many issues and in numbers of practices than either of them has with conservative members of their own communion. It is probably the better part of discretion not to seek rigid categories in classifying Protestant bodies; the concept of something like "zones" is more fruitful. Thus across the Protestant spectrum one may begin with "high church" Anglican zones, where many formal practices of Catholicism prevail, the liturgy is extremely complex, and worship is highly adorned (with icons, incense, and artifacts or gestures). At the opposite end of the spectrum and at least as securely in the orbit of sociological Protestantism is a "low church" zone, where groups may have rejected as much as possible from the Catholic past; for example, the Quakers seek utter simplicity and silence in worship and make no use of the sacraments of Catholic Christianity at all.

Some Protestant Elements Held in Common. To accent only Protestant diversity, as demographers or critics may be tempted to do, does not take into account the fact that the word *Protestant* arose to cover a distinct set of phenomena. In the minds of those who use the term, it may denote something fairly specific. The easiest way to put a boundary around Protestantism is to deal with it negatively and say that it is the form of Western Christianity that rejects obedience to the Roman papacy. Such an approach is an immense clarifier, since Protestants do reject the papacy. The only remaining element of confusion in this negative definition comes from the fact that Western (non-Roman) Catholic Christians also reject the papacy. In 1980 this group, including the Catholic Apostolic, Reformed Catholic, Old Catholic, and Conservative Catholic churches, numbered 3,439,375, as against 344,336,319 old- and new-style Protestants.

While the resistance to papal claims is a uniting factor, it is not likely that many people ever choose to remain loyal to Protestantism on such marginal and confining grounds alone. One is Protestant for many reasons; one *then* differentiates one's faith and practice from Roman Catholicism in nonpapal-versus-papal terms. That issue was strong in the sixteenth century at the time of the Protestant break with Rome, and it became a subject of intense controversy late in the nineteenth century, when papal infallibility was declared. The controversy remains to plague Catholic-Protestant ecumenical relations. But in the daily life of believers, the rejection of the papacy has little to do with churchly commitments. One must seek elsewhere for the positive elements and accents of Protestantism, even if it shares many of these with Catholicism.

The first common mark of Protestantism is historically clear and clean; virtually all Protestant groups derive from movements that began in the sixteenth century. When later groups were formed, as were the Disciples of Christ in nineteenth-century America, they may not have seen themselves as working out the logic of earlier Protestantism; yet historians at once traced the roots of this typical new group to various older Presbyterian and Baptist forms, among others.

A very few Protestant groups can also trace their lineage back to pre-Reformation times. Modern Waldensians, for example, are heirs of a movement begun under Pierre Valdès (Peter Waldo) in the twelfth century, and some modern Czech churches are heirs of traditions that go back to the Hussite Jednota Bratrská (Society of Brethren, known in Latin as Unitas Fratrum) of the fifteenth century. Yet the Waldensians, the Czech groups, and others began to be recognized as something other than illicit sects on Roman Catholic soil as a result of the Protestant breakthrough. At another point on the spectrum is the Church of England, or Anglicanism. Most of its articulators stress that they remain the church Catholic as it has been on English soil since the Christianization of England. Although it has kept faith in the apostolic succession of bishops and has retained many pre-Reformation practices, the Anglican communion as it has existed since the break with Rome under Henry VIII in the sixteenth century is vastly different from the Catholic church under Roman papal obedience in England before and since the Reformation. In short, the Waldensians, the Czech groups, and the Anglicans alike were, and were seen to be, part of the Protestant revolt from both the viewpoints of Roman Catholic leadership and historical scholarship ever since.

To have undergone formal separation from the papally controlled church or to have been transformed by the fact that one's tradition changes through such separation are the major historical marks of Protestantism. Individual groups may have parentage in the Middle Ages or may have sprung up late in the twentieth century, yet the sixteenth-century breach in Christendom is the event by which Protestant existence is somehow measured. Beyond the normativeness of that breach, Protestants begin to share elements of Catholicism. That certain elements are shared in no way diminishes their importance in Protestant definition. They tend to acquire a special color when viewed through the prism of Protestant experiences.

GOD IN PROTESTANTISM. All Christian movements, unlike some other religions, focus finally on their witness to God. Protestantism is theistic. There have been momentary expressions by theological elites of a "Christian atheism," but these have been dismissed by the Protestant public as idiosyncratic, personal forms of witness or philosophical expression. Then, too, some prophets and observers have pointed to a "practical atheism" among Protestants who in their ways of life seem to ignore the claims of God upon them. Yet such practical atheism is unself-conscious, reflexive. When called to their attention, it is usually vigorously dismissed by the people to whom it is applied, a sign that they regard theistic belief to be focal.

At the left wing of marginal Protestantism, as Barrett clarifies it, stand some former Protestant groups that have retained certain elements of the Protestant tradition. Among these are Unitarianisms of humanistic sorts and Ethical Culture movements, which grew up on Jewish soil in America but acquired some Protestant traits. It is significant that such groups are dismissed by the vast cohort of Protestants precisely because they are humanistic, or because they exclude themselves from Protestantism, usually on grounds of theism.

If Protestants are not humanistic or atheistic, they also are not pantheistic. Individual pantheists may exist as mystics, and there have been pantheistic Protestant heresies, so regarded both by those who have innovated with them and by those who have excluded their advocates. In some formal theological circles, one sometimes hears advocated teachings that seem to verge on pantheism, the proposition that the world and God are coextensive, identical. Yet articulators of such teachings usually take pains to distance themselves from pure pantheism, for example, through panentheisms, which speak both of identity and distance. Marginal Protestants such as the Mormons teach doctrines that look pantheist to mainstream Protestantisms. Here, as so often, it is their departure from theism that is at issue in the principles of exclusion.

Protestantism on occasion has had deistic proponents, agents of a natural religion that made no room for a personal God, special revelation, or reasons to pray to an unresponsive, divine, originating, but now absentee force. In eighteenth-century England there were Anglican Deists, and in the continental Enlightenment one heard of equivalents. In practice, many Protestant believers may act as though they are deistic in their prayer life, which means that they somehow believe in a divine force but see no reason for prayerful intercourse with it. Yet deism has consistently in due course been seen as a deviation from, not a part of, the Protestant impulse.

THE GOD OF THE BIBLE AND TRINITARIANISM. The freedom that belongs to the Protestant ethos has made room for the enterprising and innovating philosopher of religion, but the determining element in Protestant concepts of God has been some form of adherence to the biblical witness. The God of Protestants is the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Along with Catholics, Protestants believe in the God revealed in the Hebrew scriptures, which Protestantism has taken over intact from Judaism and made its own. This God, Yahveh, is the God of Israel and the God of the prophets. Protestantism thus relies on God as creator and sustainer of the universe, existent though hidden, being and not nonbeing, somehow an agent in history. Although not all Protestants speak of a "personal" God, most conceive of God as personal and thus addressable.

Protestant theologians spoke of the Protestant intention as one directed to what H. Richard Niebuhr called "radical monotheism." This intention has meant that Protestants share the concern of Hebrew prophecy to distance believers from "many gods" and false gods alike. The Protestant impulse, sometimes directed even against itself by its own prophets, has been iconoclastic. Pioneers of the movement such as John Calvin saw the natural human mind as an instinctive idol maker, always busy serving either the true God or gods of its own making, who must be smashed. It would be impossible to say that Protestant believers have been more successful at being radical monotheists than have others; yet reflective Protestantism has been so nervous about icons or images that might be construed as having identity with the divine or divinized figure they represent that the iconoclast always has a privileged place in Protestant arguments.

The battle against icon and idol in Protestantism may sometimes continue on the abstract planes of philosophical discourse or theological definition, but the iconoclastic position is usually stated most forcefully when Protestants explain the biblical account of Israel's witness to Yahveh, the one God. The God to whom Protestants point is one who, although hidden, exists, acts, and speaks through a divine word. This God is in every case a God of judgment and mercy, wrath and love, holiness and forgiveness.

While some Protestants have been unsure about the meaning of the covenant with Israel in the Old Testament, few have doubted the witness to God in the New Testament. The God of Israel is present in a special way in Jesus of Nazareth. Some forms of liberal Protestantism were reluctant to speak of Jesus as partaking uniquely in the divine nature associated with the one he called Father. When they showed this reluctance, this was in the interest of radical monotheism. When most other forms of Protestantism remained content with or became emphatic about classic creeds that associated Jesus Christ with God, they did so in conscious reference to the fact that this in no way detracted from monotheistic faith. Protestant interpretation of philosophies of history have always seen this God of Israel as somehow active in history.

At the same time, Protestantism is a Christ-focused faith. Here again one may speak in the language of H. Richard Niebuhr about a tendency that he saw as less compatible with true Protestantism and that, indeed, was a heresy on any terms. Some forms of evangelical, Christ-centered Protestantism, he charged, were guilty of a "Unitarianism of the Second Person" of the Trinity. This meant that just as earlier theistic Unitarians believed only in the divinity of the one God whom Jesus called Father, at the expense of the Son and the Holy Spirit, these gospel-minded people, without usually meaning to, identified Jesus almost exclusively with God and had little to say or do about God apart from witness to Jesus.

Not all Protestants have been ready to use the inherited language of the preexistent Logos, or Word, that became incarnate in the historical Jesus. They have, however, found ways to witness to the bond between Jesus and God. In his best-known hymn, "A Mighty Fortress," Protestant pioneer Martin Luther spoke of Jesus Christ as "the Lord of hosts" and then burst forth with the assertion "And there's no other God." There is no other God than the one revealed in Jesus Christ. Such witness led to radical expressions that verge on the ancient heresy of patripassionism, the claim that God the Father suffered with the Son on the cross. In this spirit Martin Rinkhart offered a line in a Good Friday hymn to the effect that in the death of Jesus "our God is dead." Nineteenth-century critics, especially left-wing Hegelians, seized on incautious lines like these to claim that the death of Jesus meant the death of God, even on orthodox soil. Rinkhart and the Protestants were not ready for such consequences or corollaries, but they left themselves open to this claim, so eager were they to proclaim the divinity of Jesus Christ. Protestants in the main have been so Jesus- or Christ-centered that they are more willing to take such risks than to side with humanistic or minority liberal Protestants who broke up notions of the Trinity and saw Jesus as a distinctive but not unique human.

As for what the creeds describe as the Third Person of the Trinity, the Holy Spirit, one despairs of pointing to a distinctive witness held by almost all Protestants. Negatively, again as a corollary to the nonpapal witness, Protestants have refused to identify the Holy Spirit with the tradition, the magisterium or official teaching, or the papal authority of the Roman Catholic Church. Most have been more at home seeing the Holy Spirit connected with revelation and authority as the inspirer of the text of the Bible. Some left-wing reformers of the sixteenth century and their heirs down to twenty-first-century Pentecostal Protestants have been ready to speak of revelation from the Holy Spirit direct to the individual, apart from scripture. Yet it is significant that in their minds, this revelation occurs alongside and not in antagonism toward or independent of what is heard in the inspired Bible.

This witness to God in three persons, historically as Father, Son (Jesus Christ), and Holy Spirit, has added up to a Protestant trinitarianism. Once the term *Trinity* is introduced, it is difficult to see what distinctions remain. True, a few Protestants, especially among the Pentecostals and others who resist Catholic creeds and dogma, reject the trinitarian approach because the word does not appear in the Bible and because it points to human formulations. Yet without using the term, they tend to reproduce the substance of trinitarian faith even while rejecting its formulations.

In sum, the distinctive characteristics of Protestantism emerge from the variety of models that Protestants endorse in forming their churches. Because of their diversity, Protestant churches have been less likely or less able to converge on the basis of each other's witness than have churches in the more homogeneous Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic traditions. As a result, Protestants are thrown back more on story than on dogma, more on biblical narrative than on creedal formulation, yet for the most part without rejecting dogma or creed. And they have been pressed to develop special ways of understanding how God is mediated and present in human affairs and, specifically, in the circle of believers and the church. Urgent on its agenda for centuries, then, has been the concept of mediation in formal authority and structure.

AUTHORITY AND STRUCTURE: THE SCRIPTURES. If the believer on Protestant soil is to be responsive to God as creator (or, sometimes, Father), Son, and Holy Spirit, questions arise. Who says so? How is this God to be known? What are the boundaries of witness to such a God? Eastern Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism stress the authority of tradition, magisterium, apostolic succession of bishops (as do Anglicans and some Lutherans), and, uniquely to Catholicism, the Roman papal office. They also testify to God's revelation in scripture, but Protestantism is thrown almost wholly on scripture. Since the end of the nineteenth century, however, more and more Protestants have been willing to see a relationship between the Bible and tradition. They have become contextual thinkers who see that the Bible reiterates the tradition it grows out of. Yet for their ancestors in faith the Bible held a special status, and tradition or papal authority could never match it. So emphatic was this Protestant emphasis that critics from within, such as the Enlightenment-era Protestant Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, complained that Luther substituted the Bible as a "paper pope" for Protestants to match the authority of Catholicism's human pope.

The Bible of Protestantism is the canon of the Old and New Testaments, and almost never the Apocrypha, which has special status in the Orthodox and Catholic traditions. The canon is theoretically open; it is conceivable that a book could still be added to it. So teach most Protestants. It is difficult to imagine the circumstance in which the many Protestant church bodies could agree on a later-discovered and apparently canonical-level writing, yet, for thoughtful Protestants, the openness of the canon is a partial safeguard against making an icon or idol of the Bible.

While the Bible has become the only document used and useful for uniting Protestant witness or helping determine Protestant theological argument—it provides at least something of the genetic programming of Protestantism, or the ground rules for their games—there is here as so often a very broad spectrum of approaches to its authority. Most Protestants have accepted the Luthern mark *sola scriptura,* that the Bible alone is the authority; but this formula tells all too little about how to regard the book.

At one extreme, conservative Protestants who have resisted modern historical criticism of biblical texts stress that the Bible is somehow not only inspired but infallible and inerrant. The inerrancy applies not only to revelation in matters of faith but also in all details of history, geography, and science, at least as would apply to the original autographs. Some of the originators of Protestantism often used language of biblical authority that was so confident of biblical truth that it gave reasons for later theologians to build elaborate theories of this inerrancy. In later centuries, some dogmatic teachers went so far as to propound mechanical or dictation theories, in which the author of a biblical writing was a kind of conduit or secretary for God, at the expense of personal inspiration and independent style. Most proponents of inerrancy, however, have been less extreme. They have tended to build on the basis of various Aristotelian or Baconian philosophies, stressing syllogisms in which a perfect, hence inerrant, God chooses to engage lovingly in revelation, hence taking care to assure that readers receive no error or ambiguity. These inerrantists have engaged in heated polemics against all, no matter how high their view of biblical authority, who have not found inerrancy to be a biblical or theologically defensible concept.

At the other end of the spectrum are a minority of Protestants, chiefly in academic centers, who have completely adopted post-Enlightenment views of biblical criticism. They have thus treated the biblical text as they would any other ancient literary text. They grant no special status to the inspiration of biblical authors. For them the Bible still has authority as a document that both reflects and promotes the norms of the Christian community. Many schools of interpretation, even among those who have immersed themselves in historical and literary criticism, find that the Bible "discloses," or potentially discloses, what God would reveal. This disclosure or revelation, it is contended, can occur even if the Bible includes grammatical inaccuracies, historical misstatements, and scientific concepts long proven wrong and rendered obsolete. The polemic of these contenders is against the inerrantists, who, they claim, do make the Bible into a quasi-papal authority or turn it into an icon at the expense of radical monotheism.

The spectrum is visible in another way when one considers how different Protestants regard the reader of the Bible. At one end, there are those who contend that "the right of private judgment" is the Christian mark of distinctiveness. Thus Martin Luther was said to have challenged the emperor in 1521 to convince him that he, Luther, was wrong on the basis of the Bible and reason. One cannot go against conscience for the sake of authority. In a sense, the conscience and intelligence of the individual in such a case take priority over claims of the community. At the other end of the spectrum, there is as much concern as in any other part of Christianity for Christian community and the nurturing of the word in the context of congregation or church. In these cases, the church is credited with preserving the Bible, seeing that it is embodied in people who effectively display its power in their lives, and calling people to belief on the basis of biblical texts that are turned into calls of faith by living people. In all cases, it is fair to speak of Protestants as being especially "people of the Book."

THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH. Lacking paper authority as they do, and unwilling as they are for the most part to yield to bishops as having a determinative role in dispensing tradition, how do Protestants see the authority of the church? The vast majority of Protestants in all ages, though they be churched and faithful, have rendered secondary to the Bible all other church authority, creeds, confessions, and forms of polity. When they are serious and are seriously confronted, most Protestants characteristically will say that they get authority for teaching and practice from the Bible alone.

Despite this claim, reflective Protestants will also admit that over the centuries they have spilled much ink in treatises on churchly authority. As much as Catholics, they may have exacted sweat and blood from people who ran afoul of church authorities, who tested the bounds of orthodoxy, or who came under ecclesiastical discipline. Protestantism, in other words, may seem chaotic to the outsider who sees its many groupings and varieties, but to most confessors and members the chaos is minimized, because they are ordinarily touched only by the authority system of which they are a part, that of their own church.

Once one insists on making churchly authority secondary, other values come to be dominant in association with the church. The church on Protestant soil is a fellowship, a congregation of people who have like minds or similar purposes. The church may be seen as "the body of Christ" or "the communion of saints" before it is an authority to compel conformity in teaching or practice. Yet once one assigns values to the group, even in forms of Protestantism that accent the right of private judgment or go to extremes of individualism, there must be and in practice have been many subtle ways to assert authority and to effect discipline. A small congregation's authority on Baptist or Congregational soil can be felt more immediately, for instance, than might Catholic authority asserted from the distance between Rome and India by a not always efficient and always pluralistic church. Democracies can turn authoritarian. Ambiguity about authority can often lead to expressions of arbitrary discipline. So polity and authority have been nagging questions in Protestantism.

First, there has been ambiguity about the lay-clerical distinction. Theologian Hendrik Kraemer, in *A Theology of the Laity* (1958), accurately pointed out that Protestantism was a revolt against authoritarian and overly hierarchical clericalism. Yet almost all Protestantism retained a professional and ordained clergy, somehow setting it aside with sacred sanctions and for special functions. The "somehow," however, became problematic. Protestantism wanted to engage in a leveling of ranks by insisting that all believers were priests, that they could all intercede for one another at the altar, symbolically before the throne of God. Then what were these ordained "priests," or whatever Protestants called their ministry or clergy, and how did they hold power?

Kraemer, historian Wilhelm Pauck, and others have shown that authority (in all but Anglicanism, the Lutheran Church of Sweden, and other "high" episcopal bodies) resides chiefly in the word of God and in the responsive congregation. The minister has tended to become the person called and set aside to be the more expert preacher and expounder of the word. Yet Protestantism was unwilling to say that the laity could not be expert at speaking the word, which was accessible to all. It was also easy to demonstrate that the succession of faith in congregations that were responsive to the word was vulnerable to faithlessness and error or heresy. To claim that ministry consisted in the clergy's unique right to administer the sacraments or holy ordinances was something that not all Protestants were eager to do. They did not want the sacramental life to seem in any way magical. As a result, in almost all cases they retained a specially sanctioned clergy, ascribed great authority also to the laity, and left the status of both ambiguous and thus problematic.

CONFESSIONS AND CREEDS. Church authority is not only an issue of clergy and laity. It must also concentrate on the substance or content of the faith that holds people together and finds them members of one Protestant confession and not another. Of course, heredity, accident of birth, and many casual factors based on aesthetics, personal choice, or marriage across denominational lines have played their parts. But thoughtful Protestantism has also insisted that its members are not only "believers" but "believers in" and in some ways, necessarily, "believers that" something or other is true. Whether or not they call these creeds or confessions, and whether these statements are formal or informal, there tend to be some common expressions that give clarity to faith and that establish boundaries between one set of beliefs and others.

Most Protestant bodies display their distinctiveness by resorting to documents from the times of their origins. In their first or second generation, leaders of groups were called upon or felt impelled to define themselves and to witness to their truths. For Lutherans the instrument was chiefly the Augsburg Confession; for the Reformed, the Heidelberg Catechism; for Presbyterians, the Westminster Confession; and for Anglicans the Thirty-nine Articles. Even loose bodies such as seventeenth- and eighteenth-century New England Congregationalism in America produced enough creeds and confessions to make up large anthologies. These documents have attracted various levels of respect and authority. Some came to be neglected or even rejected by huge parties. Yet the ecumenical movement, in which these churches had to find out who they and their counterparts were, exposed to view these ancient documents and showed their enduring power.

By some Protestants their originating confessions were believed *quia* ("because"), that is, because they were held to be simply and perfectly congruent with biblical witness. Others held to them *quatenus* ("insofar"), that is, insofar as they witnessed to biblical truth in later times and special circumstances. At times the claim was much more informal than either of these, and in some cases it is not possible to point to a church confession at all. For many Protestants a confession says "This we believe" as a hearty declaration to the world; for others it comes across as "This you must believe" and is used to rule out heresy or to provide a basis for polemics.

PROTESTANT CHURCH POLITIES. As with confession, so with structure, or polity: Protestantism presents a broad spectrum of often mutually incompatible polities. Again, they can be inclusively categorized according to what they negate. They all resist the notion that the Roman papacy is the best, or only, conduit of divine revelation and that the guardianship of the Christian church must rest in the hands of the pope as the vicar or representative of Christ on earth. Beyond that, most Protestant churches have preserved elements of the polity that came with their birth, transformed by exigencies of local, contemporary demands and, in the modern world, adjustments to the managerial and bureaucratic impulse. Yet even in the last and most practical case, the Protestant impulse is to see some legitimation for polity in the Bible and in the experience of the early Christian church.

On one end of this spectrum are churches like the Anglican church or the Lutheran church in Sweden, which insist on apostolic succession in an episcopacy that is of the essence (displays the *esse*) of the church. Elsewhere, as in Methodism and much of Lutheranism, bishops belong to the *bene esse* of the church; they are beneficial for its order but theoretically could be replaced in a different polity. Many Reformed churches rely on synodical or connectional and associational patterns under the rule of presbyters or elders. From the days of the radical reformation in the sixteenth century through various later Baptist and Congregational witnesses into modern times, and especially in burgeoning nonwhite indigenous Protestantism, the authority and even the autonomy of the local congregation is asserted.

Those Protestants at the "catholic" end of the spectrum, who regard bishops as of the *esse* of the church, have been least ready to see their polity as negotiable in an ecumenical age. Presbyterian, synodical, and congregational bodies, while emphatically cherishing and defending their polities, have shown more signs of flexibility. A safe generalization suggests that even Baptist and Congregationalist groups, who find biblical rootage for congregationalism, have adopted enough bureaucratic instruments that they have functional polities that transcend mere congregationalism. Yet they would find it a part of their Protestantism to be suspicious of bishops.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT. Alongside church confession and internal polity has been the issue of the authority of the church or religious realm in or alongside the state or governmental and civil realms. Here one can speak of a long trend, based on Protestant latencies, to move from church establishment toward disestablishment and a celebration of voluntarism.

It is historically inaccurate to say, based on the record of American celebration of "separation of church and state" with Protestant concurrence, that Protestantism has always been voluntaristic. It would be more fair to say that the sixteenth-century Reformation carried with it some potential for voluntarism—seeds that broke open, sprouted, and grew from two to four centuries later.

In the late twentieth century, most of the new nations in which nonwhite indigenous Protestantism prospered had undergone experiences of modernization that, whatever else these meant, provided no room for fusion of church and state or an interwoven pattern of religious and civil authority. Similarly, it was on the soil of largely Protestant nations such as the United States that the greatest degree of constitutional separation between the two authorities first occurred. Yet political philosopher Hannah Arendt is correct to chide Protestants for claiming that modern democracy with its religious freedom is simply a Christian invention. Some Christians have found it easy to reach into their repository of options to find impetus for supporting republicanism based on Enlightenment principles and practical support of equity and civil peace whenever pluralism has been strong.

Historical Protestantism in almost all its mainstream and dominant forms first simply carried over authority patterns from medieval Catholicism. In the Church of England, the Presbyterian church in Scotland, the Lutheran churches of Scandinavia, the Lutheran and Reformed churches of Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands, and wherever else leaders had the power to do so, they naturally clung to establishment. They simply broke from Roman Catholic establishment to form Protestant versions. Martin Luther supported a "territorial church" with princes as bishops. Elsewhere, monarchy and legislative bodies gave establishment power or privilege to the favored church and forced disabilities on others.

Only the left-wing, or Anabaptist, churches of the first generations were independent of the state, and they tended to be harassed as much by Protestant establishments as by Catholic establishments. Where they became powerful, as did the Puritans from England who founded New England, they reversed themselves and became the new established monopoly church. Even in much later republics, where no form of Protestantism ever came to dominance, Protestants were tempted to reassert power by looking for legal privilege.

Despite all these establishmentarian dimensions, it is also fair to say that Protestantism did contain the seed that helped disestablishment and separation of church and state develop. A religion of the word, Protestantism called for that word to separate people from attachment to the culture as it evoked decision. So the boundaries of the church and the state could not be coextensive, as they aspired then to be in Catholicism. Whatever "the priesthood of all believers," "the right of private judgment," and the call to conscience in biblical interpretation meant theologically, they had as their practical consequence an honoring of individualism and personal profession of faith. Both of these would become confined were there an official and authoritative church.

Another way to describe this individualism is in terms of modern theologian Paul Tillich's famed "protestant principle" of prophetic protest. This principle calls believers to question all structures and institutions, also and especially those of their own state and church. Naturally, Protestants have not found it any easier to do this than have others, since seldom does one wish to give up ease and privilege and to share power voluntarily. Yet, in contrast to much Orthodox and Roman Catholic theology, Protestant theology at least had a legitimating principle for criticizing church structure and its bond with human governmental authority. Protestantism, then, has lived with a heightened dialectic. On the one hand, it called for support of government, in the terms of Paul's biblical letter to the Romans, chapter 13, as God's instrument. On the other hand, it was critical, along the lines of *Revelation* 13, of civil and ecclesiastical government as being especially subtle and potent concentrations of power, symbols, and capacities for self-idolization and the oppression of others.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCE AS AUTHORITY. A word should be said about personal experience as authority in Protestantism. From the first its "spiritualists," "mystics," and "enthusiasts," who claimed that God spoke directly to and through them, have been both recognized and under suspicion. Those who carry these claims to extremes, as did many of the Quakers, or Friends, the seventeenth-century Puritan sect, and some modern Pentecostals, know that they are "on the margin," out of step with mainstream Protestantism. Their own protests and the way the rest of Protestantism unites against them reveal this.

At the same time, few Protestants have been willing to resist going further than Orthodox and Catholic teachers in granting much authority to individual assent in the grasp of faith. Calvin spoke of the inner testimony of the Holy Spirit in the heart and mind of the believer who hears the word of God or reads the Bible. Luther's possibly apocryphal cry at the Diet of Worms in 1521, a cry against emperor and pope, state and church, "Here I stand!" has acquired mythical dimensions as an act of Protestant heroism. There is always at least the theoretical possibility that the individual may be right and the church wrong, a possibility that both nagged and inspired Luther and other reformers.

In the end, most Protestantism asks the Christian who claims to have had an experience of God or a direct revelation and a call to individual conscience to subject these claims to the responsibilities of the congregation or church at large. There may be great suspicion by fellow believers of such claims, and the individuals who make them may suffer liabilities and persecution. Yet on the other hand, Protestantism honors "heart religion," insists on heartfelt response to the word and the claims of God upon the mind, and thus it sees experience as an authority alongside the Bible and the church.

PROTESTANT SUBSTANCE. Original or classic Protestantism was more ready to see itself as distinctive in the content of faith than is modern pluralist Protestantism. In the sixteenth century, late medieval Catholicism presented what to Protestant eyes was an egregious violation of God's system of approach to human beings. Catholicism had generated, or degenerated into, a system that progressively depended more and more upon human achievement. Key words were human *merit* or humanly gained *righteousness.* Elaborate schemes, for example, the sale of indulgences to help make up the required number of merits to assure salvation, had been devised. These led to abuses, which contemporary Catholic reformers and later historians have agreed made Protestant revolt plausible.

Protestantism across the board held to generally extreme views of human finitude, limits, "fallenness," and need. Mainstream and marginal reformers alike were not convinced by claims that human beings retained enough of the image of God upon which to build so that their own works or merits would suffice to appease a wrathful God. They exaggerated the way Catholicism had diminished the role of Jesus Christ as giver of a gift or imparter of grace upon the wholly undeserving. Once again Paul Tillich from the twentieth century can be called in as witness to what Protestantism affirmed: that God "accepts the unacceptable." Because of the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, God does not wait for sinners to become acceptable through their efforts.

In the sixteenth century, there were many variations on this theme, and Martin Luther's proclamation of "justification by grace through faith," while at home in all of Protestantism, was not necessarily the chosen formula for all Protestants. Yet all did accent divine initiative, human limits, the gifts of God in Jesus Christ, and the new condition of humanity as a result of divine forgiveness. The variations from the first included some new Protestant ways of propping up the moral quest. Not all were as sure as Luther was that the law of God, as revealed in the Ten Commandments or the sermon on the mount, played no positive guiding role in salvation. They often feared "antinomianism" or lawlessness. The grace-proclaimers protected themselves against this by insisting that faith must be active in love, that works must follow grace, that "sanctification" is an inevitable consequence and correlate of "justification."

Where such resorts to human claims and achievements were not part of original Protestantism, they did develop later. An example of this was a revision on Dutch and then English soil in a movement named after one Jacobus Arminius and called Arminianism. This system proclaimed the benevolence of a God who gave humans more capacity for benevolence on their own. In some Unitarianism this teaching became a kind of philosophical or moral system that moved to the edges of Protestantism. In Wesleyan Methodism it remained "evangelical," gospel-centered, but picked up on the themes of sanctification and the quest for perfection. In the latter case, it did not make the sacrifice of Christ or the imparting of grace as a gift unnecessary or even secondary. Somehow, then, Protestants have concentrated on faith and grace in distinctive ways. Modern Catholicism, however, has undergone such a revitalizing of faith in similar approaches to grace that the distinctively Protestant note has become compromised—a trend that most Protestants profess to welcome enthusiastically. Protestantism has considered the church always to be reforming, never reformed; Catholicism and Protestantism alike, many would say, stand in need of being reformed, and from time to time they move past rigid, older identities and formulas. Such moves are not incongruent with the Protestant ethos and spirit.

THE PROTESTANT RESPONSE TO GOD. To speak of Protestant creeds and a Protestant substance or content does justice to the cognitive dimensions of its faith. At the same time, one can easily exaggerate these elements. In the lives of most people called Protestant, behavioral factors are at least as vivid and more easily grasped, if defined with more difficulty. One can readily consult a dogmatics text to see what Protestants believe or are supposed to believe. It takes more subtle observation, more willingness to risk generalization, to observe their response in practice.

Protestantism has honored the rites of passage through life. Few Protestants would call their ordinances "rites of passage," yet most can easily be led to see that their sacraments and ceremonies do relate the individual to cosmos and community in patterns that match those observed on other soil by historians of religion. They may not see themselves classified with "the primitives" with respect to initiation, fertility, or funerary rites, but there are parallels.

Thus, almost all Protestants—Quakers chiefly excepted—see the need for a rite of initiation. With so few exceptions that they do not merit pointing to, this rite is "water baptism," something shared with the rest of Christianity. Most Protestants retained infant baptism, as either an instrument of grace (as in Lutheranism) or an expression of covenantal life (as in most of Reformed Protestantism). Yet Protestants, when called to reflect, also resisted what they saw to be Catholic notions of *ex opere operato,* which Protestants regarded as a "magical" application of human elements in sacramental life. This left those who baptized infants with the burden of showing how faith can be active among children who can have no rational conception of what is going on. How to explain the decision that was still called for in response to gifts of grace in faith, or the expectation that some disciplined life must follow?

Many mainstream Protestants compensated by accenting reaffirmation of baptism in some version of a rite of confirmation. Others saw each act of repentance and each day's conscious Christian affirmation as a new death of "the old Adam" and a "being born again" as a new being in Christ. These ideas have held the imagination of millions and made it possible for the rite of initiation to occur very early in human life.

At the same time, the logic of Protestantism and the impulse to connect rites of initiation with conscious response to the word of God led many Protestant branches to grow restless about infant baptism and to move closer to locating initiation in or after adolescence, as so many other religions have it. This meant a further move from seeing water baptism as an instrument of grace to seeing it as a human response based on decision. The new evangelizers or converters, then, called for a decision that issued in repentance and faith and then initiation. "Adult baptism" as a sign of response, usually dramatized in baptism by immersion, better exemplified the sense of ordeal and the passage across a "liminal" or threshold stage to new community. As a result, whole church bodies became "Baptist," and the baptist forms of Protestantism came to prevail progressively in the modern world, where the demand for choice and identity grew more intense. Most of fast-growing nonwhite indigenous Protestantism stressed this form of passage.

Marriage, regarded on Orthodox and Roman Catholic soil as a sacrament with an imparting of grace, distinctively stopped being that on most Protestant soil. The reformers tended to regard it as essentially a civil act, with the church serving merely as an agent to bless the couple and to hear their vows. The church was the custodian and recordkeeper of the state's work until the modern secular state took over the recording functions. One could, at least in theory, be validly married without the blessing of the church and clergy. In practice, however, the impulse of people to see their acts of bonding and fertility sacralized has won out. On most Protestant soil, whatever the theology of the marriage ceremony and act, people have seen to the development of elaborate churchly rites at times of nuptials. Yet it is distinctively Protestant to prevent notions of grace-giving or sacramental character from developing in most places.

Protestantism has not encouraged distinctive funeral traditions, but almost everywhere its churches have been participants in memorial or mourning rites. Again there occurred the negation of the Catholic notion that a sacrament was involved at the point of passage to a life to come. Some Protestants use oils for symbolic purposes associated with prayer for healing but assign them no sacramental or instrumental significance. When death comes, there is much reflection upon the event and its meaning. Almost always a cleric holds rites of the word that accent the gospel of what God has done in and for the deceased person and assure that God's love is stronger than death. These rites may occur in the sanctuary of a church or in a mortuary, and burial (whether of a body or ashes) can occur on church cemetery grounds or in public burial places. Here Protestantism offers few consistent words except that one sees the life of the believer wrapped up in divine beneficence despite human frailty.

Alongside baptism, then, the only act seen as sacramental in the vast majority of Protestantism is the sacred meal. Such meals are common in religions, and Protestants often have failed to see theirs in a larger context. Yet they have almost unanimously—the Salvation Army and the Quakers being the nearly sole exceptions—taken over the Catholic sacrament of this meal and put their stamp on it. For centuries the Mass, in which the laity received bread and the clergy partook of bread and wine, was the repeated event in which Jesus Christ was made really present through priestly act, the word of God, and faith.

Lutheranism, as an expression of a conservative Reformation, came closest to keeping the sacramental worldview with its implications for the bread and wine *as* body and blood of Christ. But even Lutheranism rebelled against *ex opere operato* concepts and did not want to see a change in the visible elements, a transubstantiation, of any sort. This could lead to what Lutherans saw to be superstitious or magical reverence. Most other Protestants sided with the Reformed tradition. They did not see the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion as an occasion for seeing God in Christ as present or for regarding Christ as sacramentally experienced in assemblies. Instead they located the Lord's Supper in a system of grace as a human response, to which people brought their faith and their intentions in response to a command of God.

Whatever their doctrinal attitude toward the rite, these Protestants took the meal seriously. For example, the nineteenth-century Protestant movements associated with the Disciples of Christ, which were attempts to restore primitive Christianity, rejected Catholic and Lutheran sacramental views. Yet, more than most Protestants, they kept the frequent, indeed weekly, practice of sharing the sacred meal, which usually takes place during the formal Sunday observance of congregations, although usually with less frequency than in the sacramental and Catholic churches. Communicants receive both bread and wine (or, in some temperance-minded bodies, unfermented grape juice) from a central table, either at that table or in the pew. The event occurs in a spirit of great solemnity, after there have been preaching and examination of hearts.

The Role of the Word. While baptism and the Lord's Supper as sacraments, and marriage, confirmation, and funeral rites as practices, receive much attention, Protestantism is supremely a religion of the word. By this most believers mean not simply the word of the Bible but the Logos of God, the expression of God. God creates the universe by a word, pronounces sinners forgiven by a word, speaks the word to heal them, builds community through the word.

This has necessarily meant dissemination of the word. Protestantism was born early in the age of Johann Gutenberg during a revolution in printing that made literacy necessary and the spread of words possible. Some modern critics have seen Protestantism as so identified with Gutenberg's invention of movable type and a great impulse to use it that they predict its demise as print gives way to the competition from electronic and visual disseminations. However, Protestantism also makes much of the oral word and sees voice as a summons for belief. Its leaders have long quoted the Pauline notion that "faith comes by hearing" and hearing by the word of God. This has meant that most Protestant revitalizations have occurred as theologies of the word or, for the people, as enhanced preaching.

Protestantism came on the scene after the great tradition of Catholic preaching was over, and there was little new attention being given to homiletics. For Protestants, the preached word or sermon, expounding the word and applying it to the needs of people in a new day, became a challenge to the Mass as the focal act of worship. This vast majority of Protestants measure the effectiveness of worship by reference to the preaching. It is the scriptural word that gives power to baptism and the Lord's Supper, whether as instruments of grace or as human response. The word shapes prayer; people use the word in teaching and conversation. In times of crisis, it is the word that inspires intercessory prayer. Most Protestant healing involves no herbs, potions, or exercises—only spiritual direction under the word. There are as many theories about why faith comes from hearing and believing the word as there have been theologies, Protestant bodies, or movements and ages in Protestantism. Given the complexity of human psychology, the variety of social contexts, and the pluralism of philosophical options, it is difficult to picture a final definition. Despite the lack of a unitary position on the power of the word, Protestants are united in believing that somehow theirs is a religion of the word.

Protestant Worship. In describing baptism (whether sprinkling of infants or immersion of adults), the Lord's Supper, and the act of preaching and the uses of the word, the outlines of Protestant worship become generally clear. To these should be added that Protestants characteristically have gathered for worship in buildings set aside for that purpose. While they believe that the gathered community may effectively baptize, eat and drink, hear and pray under the sky or in secular buildings, they have had an impulse to set aside and consecrate a sacred space, which symbolically, not actually, becomes a house of God.

The building may be of almost any architectural style. Original Protestant churches tended to be slightly stripped-down Catholic churches that had been taken over by Protestants. In general, the concept of being "stripped down" is appropriate; when Protestants build churches, they tend to be somewhat simpler than Orthodox or Catholic churches. Rejecting icons and minimizing the sacral role of statues and painting, Protestants have tended to use pictorial art for purposes of teaching, reminder, or inspiration. This approach has led to direct and simple expressions, with the exception of a very few periods in which Protestants did revert to ornate Gothic expressions.

The sacred space usually accents a place for preaching, a baptismal font or pool, and a table or altar for the Lord's Supper. Around these the people gather, in pews or on chairs. The gathering occurs to recognize the presence of God, to follow divine commands to congregate for purposes of praise, to build the morale of the group for purposes outside the sanctuary, and to celebrate the seasons of the church year, the events of the week, and the passages of life.

With few exceptions, Protestantism is also a singing religion. It took the act of praising in song, which had become largely a preserve of clergy and choir, and enlarged it to include the congregation. There may be chorally apathetic Protestantism, but in practice Protestants honor the word of God in song. Most of their revivals—Luther's and Charles Wesley's are but two examples—have been promoted through distinctive song.

Except in Seventh-day Adventism, Protestant worship almost always occurs on Sunday, the Lord's Day, the Day of Resurrection, although believers are urged to worship at any time or place. Most Protestants observe the inherited Catholic church year but have purged it of many of its occasions. That is, they annually follow the life of Christ from Advent and Christmas, with its birth rites, through another season of repentance and preparation, Lent, on the way to a climax at Good Friday and Easter weekend, and then a festival of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. The more Puritan forms of Protestantism, however, saw something "papist" in these seasonal observances and did away with almost all of them, sometimes including Christmas itself. The rest of Protestantism, which kept the church year of observances, also honored biblical saints like Paul and John on special days but rejected most postbiblical saints. It was believed that honor directed to them distracted from worship of God in Christ. In many places a new church year tied to national and cultural events has emerged. Thus in the United States many observe a Thanksgiving Day, Mother's Day and Father's Day, Stewardship Sunday, Lay Sunday, and the like. The impulse to ritualize life is strong even on the purging, purifying, and simplifying soil of Protestantism.

The Way of Life. How, it may be asked, can one speak of a Protestant way of life when the ways are so varied? What do a wealthy American high church Anglican executive, a Latin American Pentecostal, and a black under oppression in South Africa have in common as a "way of life"? It would be foolish to impose a single ideal, force a straitjacket, or overgeneralize a vision, but something can and must be said about Protestant styles of behavior. Sometimes activities are so obvious that no one bothers to note them, and this is the case with some Protestant commonalities.

First, most overlooked and yet obvious on a second glance, is the widespread assumption that the life of grace to which Protestants witness by faith must issue in some form of personal ethic. This seems unremarkable, but by no means have all religions of the world made much of this moral notion. Many have centered themselves more on matters of rites and mores than on matters of conscience and morals. Protestantism has almost always been stereotyped as moralistic in intention and outlook. Catholic Christians have dismissed some of their own heresies, such as Jansenism, as being like "grim Calvinism" or dour Protestantism. Others have rebelled against the Protestant impulse to reform the world, to rearrange by law or example or injunction the lives of others, or to convert the experience of grace into severe new legalisms. While these rejections of Protestantism may be based on exaggerations or partial misperceptions, there is enough consistency in Protestantism to warrant elaboration of the theme.

Catholic Christianity has stressed personal ethics and produced people of impressive moral conviction and achievement. Yet often it has implied that participation in the Mass and the act of having a soul saved are paramount, and that the faithful as a group are the moral agents. Protestantism, through its tendency toward individualism, expects more of an internalization and personal application of the message of the church.

Protestantism has often been impelled to be critical of the sexual mores of its day and to ask its people for restraint in expressions of sexuality. Partly under the impetus of sixteenth-century reformers who, as clerics, had been celibate but who later married, established families, and lived in "parsonages," Protestants chose to affirm sexuality in familial contexts. Scorning monasticism most of the time, and speaking of the vocation to propagate where that was possible, Protestants became champions of the family. Their critics see Protestantism as being so familial that it tends to adopt the norms of bourgeois families wherever these appear, without sorting out what is temporary cultural expression from what is integral to the faith or biblically based. Sometimes, despite Protestant individualism, the individual who is not vividly involved in family life has felt left out by the norms of preaching and teaching that see the family as a basic unit of revelation, nurture, and discipline.

It is not easy to strain all the Protestant impulses for personal ethics and morals into a single mold. In general, Protestantism has called not just for applying the faith within the Christian community but for taking it into the world as well. The line between the sacred and the secular calling and sphere was supposed to be a fine one, whether it turned out to be so in practice or not. Some Protestant ethics have been legalistic, a somber response to the commands of God in the divine law. Yet more frequently reformers have insisted that Protestantism is an issuing of faith in forms of love that seek to serve as conduits of God's *agapē,* which is a spontaneous, unmotivated love. This understanding, it has been claimed, is more liberating than those Catholic forms that stress almsgiving or doing good to obtain merit and thus would be partly self-serving. Similarly, Protestant ethicists have often criticized Catholics for using models of human desire and friendship or natural love, not the *agapē* that exemplifies the initiative of divine love.

Protestant response often generates an ethic of attention to the life of the church. Lacking the appeal of the sacramental presence of Christ in the reserved communion Host, or bread, or the understanding that something happens uniquely in the sanctuary, Protestants have often had to work strenuously to provide reasons for attending worship regularly. "Go to church" becomes a large part of the ethic, and the quality of Christian life is often measured by faithfulness in participation on church premises.

Public Life. As for social ethics, Protestantism includes several strains. There has been a denial of the world of a sort that, in H. Richard Niebuhr's terms, pits Christ *against* culture or sees Christ to be too pure and lofty to be stained in society and thus sees Christ *above* culture. There have been constant temptations for Protestantism, where it prevails, simply to baptize the surrounding culture in forms of a Christ *of* culture. Then all lines between the Christian and the world on some terms or other are obscured.

Two other types have tended to dominate wherever Protestants have been reflective and self-critical. One of these would be called by observers and critics a form that keeps transforming culture with a millennial or utopian tinge. In this version, Protestants pick up biblical witness to the always-coming kingdom of God. Proclaiming this coming kingdom involves a prophetic denouncing of the world as it is, the vision of a better world, and some sort of program for reaching it. This transforming strain of Protestantism tends to prevail in times when progressivism is plausible in the culture and calls forth a buoyant, activistic kind of response. On its soil there have been genuine efforts to change the structures of society, to promote more justice. Many Reformed and especially Puritan and later moderate evangelicalisms have been dedicated to such models.

This form of approach tends to call forth common action by the church. Either through movements, demonstrations, or the issuance of teaching and prophetic proclamations, church bodies ask for corporate wrestling with issues. The church as church takes some stand in society and tries to work for change that will make the empirical world look like or realize some dimension of life in the kingdom of God. Then the accent on personal morality is not secondary, but it becomes specialized. It works in some aspects of life but not in others.

The other main Protestant stream also asks for engagement with culture, but it is more individualistic and relies less on progressivist models. Although the kingdom of God may be wholly eschatological, coming or to come only after human history as now known is exhausted, the individual Christian is not relieved of responsibilities of citizenship. But he or she is now a more isolated representative who does not wait for and may not agree with joint Christian efforts. In this school there is more accent on the perduring element of the demonic in human history. People are seen as more intransigent, as less malleable to change. The task of the church is more otherworldly, and salvation is seen in individualistic and spiritualizing terms. There are instincts to be more conservative, to support the status quo at its best, to honor the government and the authorities or powers that be as ordained of God.

In either case, Protestantism has been culturally productive. Whether on corporate or individual terms, this movement, in the eyes of many social thinkers, including Max Weber, took advantage of new economic opportunities that arose during and after the Reformation era in western Europe and Anglo-America. By turning its ascetic and self-denying powers from the search for salvation, as in the monastery, to the search for productive life in the secular setting, Protestants produced new motives and energies. They were ready to work hard and long. They wanted to be stewards of the earth and its resources. They would not waste and wished to save. Consequently, as they took risks with capital and invested, they developed a "Protestant ethic," which spread wherever Protestantism did.

More recent sociologists have questioned Weber's thesis. There seems to have been capitalism, as in fifteenth-century Venice, before there were Protestants. There is an equivalent to the Protestant ethic in nations such as Japan, where there have never been many Protestants. Motivations for capitalist venture were too broad to be clustered under a "this-worldly ascetic" motif. Yet the Protestants, for the most part, in Europe and now in nonwhite indigenous circles, have been great promoters of individual work and responsibility. The use of leisure, the concept of siesta and fiesta, is not dealt with so consistently where Protestants dominate. They would live out a divine-human drama in the workaday world, one that calls for them to be productive and busy.

THEOLOGY. Only with broadest brush strokes need one show how Protestantism issues in a variety of thought patterns. It goes almost without saying that as a religion of the word it must connect with other patterns of word use, other systems of thought. While it could inherit much of Catholic theology and convert it to embody the new or renewed Protestant concepts, Protestantism also placed on individuals more burden for formulation than did Catholicism, where more was inherited through the tradition. Since Protestantism also induced variety and pluralism, it became important for each group or profound thinker to formulate what was special about his or her locale, context, public, and program. The freedom that Protestantism professed to bring was a mandate and a license to be enterprising in theological form-building.

By contrast, in reaction to the Reformation, Roman Catholicism through the Council of Trent tended to freeze theological development. Experiment was downgraded, and innovation was a subject that induced suspicion. The theologian became the reformulator, the custodian of assured truths. Developmental or modernist thought was formally condemned, and the papacy came to elevate Thomistic scholasticism to privileged—indeed, virtually monopolistic—status. Protestantism also engendered scholasticisms and orthodoxies but was unable to suppress the experimental tendencies it had opened up.

Protestant theology saw the Bible as its basic set of texts and, often, the only norm and source for theology. Many thinkers, with their churches, were ready also to accept the main themes and modes of early Christian orthodoxy from the creed-making period. To these they added the statements of faith from the first or second generation of each Protestant expression. Finally, there was room for individual witness and ingenuity dependent upon available philosophy and urgent cultural necessity. Protestantism was born not in episcopal residences or monasteries but, for the most part, in universities and academies. This meant that the new formulators were uncommonly exposed to rival and alien—but also sometimes alluring—patterns of thought.

Protestant thought has moved through a number of epochs. The first generation tended to be open, explosive, rich in dialectic, ready for ambiguity, indulgent with paradox. A second period led to reaction and scholastic impulses to nail everything down, to be secure and neat, to defend propositions of faith. Later, in most of the older Protestantism, new movements of the heart, new Pietisms, forced changes in thought patterns. These were quickly supplanted by the rationalisms of the Enlightenment, which colored Protestantism almost everywhere. Then came a crisis of historical consciousness, a readiness to see everything in the Christian scheme colored by accident and contingency in history. In the twentieth century, among the explosion of options, there was some embrace of existentialist and personalist outlooks. To the non-Protestant Christian, this meant individualist irresponsibility. To the churched forms of Protestantism it became both a challenge and a threat, as theologians applied Protestant witness in varied thought patterns in changing cultures. In nonwhite indigenous Protestantisms new patterns are still emerging.

PROTESTANT EXPRESSION. That Protestants chose preaching, hymnody, architecture, and the like for cultural expression and economics or reform for social expression can be inferred from preceding passages. In general, Protestantism has been less fertile than Catholic Christianity in affirming the literary and artistic worlds. Sometimes this has resulted from a certain suspicion about the validity of the earthly venture for the sake of salvation. Tillich balanced his "protestant principle" with "Catholic substance," the ability to relish and invest in the sights and sounds of human endeavor, which was often lacking in Protestantism. Sometimes moralism has prevented Protestants from literary expression, since literature often pushes at the edges of moral convention. The tinge of iconoclasm in much of Protestantism has kept it from being free for artistic expression.

All this has meant that Protestantism seemed most productive in the field of music, perhaps because the kinetic character of music seemed to be congruent with a word-centered, iconoclastic tradition. One thinks here of the musical poets of Protestantism, most notably the composer Johann Sebastian Bach. In literature there have been John Milton and John Bunyan, but in the contemporary world Protestantism has seldom helped produce anything approaching modern classics. In the visual arts geniuses like Lucas Cranach or, supremely, Rembrandt, have given expression to their evangelical sympathies and Protestant outlook. But this artistic tradition is no match for Catholic versions. The Protestant movement, then, has concentrated on other fields and still awaits substantial aesthetic articulation.

THE FUTURE. Protestantism has been in decline in its heartland, western Europe and the British Isles. The old establishments there survive, but languidly, and churches are nearly empty in much of secular western Europe. In North America the picture is more complex, varied, and promising. While mainstream Protestantism as an heir of establishment has been languishing, revitalized conservative movements, more worldly than their antecedents, prosper. The greatest growth is in nonwhite indigenous Protestantism, especially in sub-Saharan Africa. Following present trends in the Southern Hemisphere, Christianity, and Protestantism with it, is on the way toward becoming numerically dominant. What it will choose to retain from the missionary forms of Protestantism and where it will choose to innovate are not yet determined. As the two clusters come together, the result will help determine the future of Protestantism wherever that form of Christianity propagates itself.

SEE ALSO Anabaptism; Anglicanism; Baptism; Baptist Churches; Basilica, Cathedral, and Church; Biblical Exegesis, article on Christian Views; Christianity; Christian Liturgical Year; Christian Science; Christian Social Movements; Church; Creeds, article on Christian Creeds; Deism; Ecumenical Movement; Ethical Culture; Eucharist; Evangelical and Fundamental Christianity; Funeral Rites; God, article on God in Postbiblical Christianity; Hus, Jan; Hutterian Brethren; Iconography, article on Christian Iconography; Initiation; Jesus; Literature, article on Religious Dimensions of Modern Western Literature; Lutheranism; Marriage; Mennonites; Methodist Churches; Ministry; Modernism, article on Christian Modernism; Moravians; Mormonism; Music, article on Religious Music in the West; Neoorthodoxy; Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity; Pietism; Poetry, article on Christian Poetry; Presbyterianism, Reformed; Priesthood, article on Christian Priesthood; Puritanism; Quakers; Rites of Passage; Sacrament, article on Christian Sacraments; Salvation Army; Seventh-day Adventism; Shakers; Theology, article on Christian Theology; Trinity; Unitarian Universalist Association; Waldensians; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Christian Worship.

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MARTIN E. MARTY (1987)
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PROVIDENCE See CHANCE; FATE; FREE WILL AND PREDESTINATION; HISTORY

PRZYLUSKI, JEAN.

PRZYLUSKI, JEAN. Of Polish ancestry and French nationality, Jean Przyluski (1885–1944) was a linguist, Buddhologist, and historian of religions His wide-ranging interests led him to publish prolifically on topics as varied as the structure of the Vietnamese language, the development of Buddhist myths and legends, and Indo-European folk traditions (e.g., werewolf cults), and to theorize about the general evolution of human religiosity.

Przyluski began his career as a colonial civil servant in Indochina, where he perfected his competency in Vietnamese, as well as Chinese and Sanskrit, and became a correspondent for the École Française d'Extrême-Orient. In 1913 he returned to France where he soon took a post as professor of Annamese at the École des Hautes Études. He was eventually elected as an officer of the first Congress of Linguists and was chosen to write the entries on virtually all the languages of Southeast Asia in the first edition of Antoine Meillet's encyclopedic *Les Langues du Monde* (1934).

But Przyluski's most important and lasting contribution was to the field of Buddhist studies. His book-length presentations of traditions associated with the *parinirvāṇa* and funeral of the Buddha, with the first Buddhist Council, with the legend of King Aśoka, and with the expansion of Buddhism to Northwest India, remain landmark contributions to our understanding of the development of Buddhism in India. Przyluski was also influential as editor of the series *Buddhica* (begun in 1925) and of the periodically published *Bibliographie bouddhique* (1928–1958).

Przyluski has sometimes been criticized for his tendency to view changes in the Buddhist tradition as the result of influences coming from other religious traditions, often outside India. For example, he looked to Iranian and even Babylonian sources to explain the development of the cults of the cakravartin king, of the *bodhisattva* Maitreya, and of the buddha Amitābha. But he was also likely to trace certain traditions (e.g., the cult of the arhat Gavāṃpati and certain features of the Buddha's funeral) to indigenous Indian or "austro-asiatic" traditions, often invoking etymological connections to make his points. At the same time, he sought to identify different stages in the evolution of traditions (e.g., in the legend of King Aśoka) by identifying cycles of stories that he associated with different geographic locales and hypothetical stages in the development of Buddhism. Przyluski's often speculative and always forcefully made interpretations are not generally followed by Buddhologists today, but his insights remain interesting and stimulating, and the many translations he made—especially of Chinese Buddhist sources—are still valued and used.

More short-lived was the influence of the trilogy of works of a general philosophical nature that he wrote during the war—*Participation* (1940), *L'évolution humaine* (1943), and *Créer* (1943)—as well as his posthumously published *La grande déesse: Introduction à l'étude comparative des religions* (Paris, 1950). In the latter, Przyluski presents his own grand evolutionary scheme tracing humanity's development through economic, social, and spiritual stages, which he associates with belief in *mana*, magical ritualism, and the emergence of dogma, three phases that he claims also parallel a general evolution from the worship of a mother goddess ("mistress of animals") to the cult of a father god. Such a scheme, reminiscent of an earlier generation of scholars, was dismissed by reviewers almost as soon as it appeared.

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John S. Strong (2005)

PSALMS

PSALMS are ancient Hebrew songs addressed to or invoking the deity; the Hebrew Bible, or the Old Testament in the Christian scriptures, includes a book of 150 of these religious songs. In ancient and later Jewish tradition, the book is known in Hebrew as *Tehillim* ("Praises"), although only one of the songs (Psalm 145) is so designated within the biblical text. The English title *Psalms* derives from the Greek rendering of the Hebrew *mizmor* (a song accompanied by string plucking), a label that introduces fifty-seven of the Hebrew psalms. In Christian circles, the *Book of Psalms* is often referred to as the Psalter, a name taken from the psaltery, a stringed instrument that accompanied the singing of many of the psalms. Use of the word *psalter* also implies that the *Book of Psalms* has been used as a hymnal, an official collection of religious songs, since ancient times.

In the Jewish canon, *Psalms* is the first book in the third section of the Hebrew Bible, the Writings. In the Christian canon, *Psalms* appears among the so-called wisdom books, between *Job* and *Proverbs*.

Apart from the canonical psalms, which seem to have been accorded official status in the second century BCE, there are many other ancient Hebrew songs of the psalm type. Within the Hebrew Bible are the song of triumph in *Exodus* (15:1-18), the prayer of Hannah in *1 Samuel* (2:1–10), the song of thanksgiving in *2 Samuel* 22 (which is nearly identical with Psalm 18), the prayer of Hezekiah in *Isaiah* (38:10–20), the thanksgiving psalm in *Jonah* (2:3–10), and the prayer of *Habakkuk.* The *Psalms of Solomon* in the pseudepigrapha, dated to the first century BCE, comprises eighteen hymns, personal pleas for salvation in particular, which resemble certain biblical psalms. Although only versions in Greek and Syriac are extant, the pseudepigraphical psalms clearly reflect Hebrew originals.

In addition, seven noncanonical psalms have been recovered among the Dead Sea Scrolls. They appear interspersed with a number of canonical psalms in the large manuscript of psalms from Qumran cave 11. Of these seven, one is included as Psalm 151 in the Septuagint (the ancient Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible), one is contained in the apocryphal *Book of Ben Sira,* and two have been preserved in ancient translations. A fifth appears in another Dead Sea Scroll, so that only two of the seven compositions are "new." As many as four Dead Sea psalters, dating from no later than the first century CE, include noncanonical psalms; this suggests that ancient hymnals were not restricted to the biblical *Book of Psalms.* A lengthy Dead Sea composition, the *Hodayot* (Songs of praise and thanksgiving), contained over forty hymns patterned after and drawing phrases from the *Book of Psalms.* The canonical psalms, then, served as models for ancient Jewish hymnody. At least two psalms within the New Testament, the Magnificat of Mary (*Lk.* 1:46–55) and the Benedictus of Zechariah (*Lk.* 1:68–79), similarly drew upon and emulated canonical prototypes.

FORMATION OF THE PSALTER. In its canonical form, *Psalms* comprises five sections or "books": Psalms 1–41, 42–72, 73–89, 90–106, and 107–150. The fivefold structure may have been patterned after the Pentateuch. The first four books end with a doxology, or call to praise the Lord, and the fifth ends with an entire psalm (Psalm 150) that constitutes a doxology. It has been noted that books 1, 4, and 5 tend to employ the unvocalized personal name of God in the Hebrew Bible, YHVH (traditionally and in this article rendered as "the Lord"), while books 2 and 3 refer to God as Elohim, suggesting that divergent theological traditions, or schools, may have compiled the different books.

There are a number of indications that the psalms had formerly been organized differently. Psalm 135 concludes with a doxology, and Psalm 72 ends with an attribution to a special collection of "David." These two, then, may have once designated the close of earlier collections. A number of psalms are attributed in their titles or openings to various types or collections: the psalms of David (*Ps.* 3–9, 11–32, 34–41, 51–65, 68–70, 86, 101, 103, 108–110, 124, 133, 138–145—a total of seventy-two); the psalms of the sons of Koraḥ (*Ps.* 42, 44–49, 84, 85, 87, 88); the psalms of Asaph (*Ps.* 50, 73–83); the psalms of *ma'alot,* usually rendered "ascents" (*Ps.* 120–134); and the "hallelujah" psalms (*Ps.* 104–106, 111–113, 115–117, 135, 146–150). Because psalms of similar attribution generally occur in blocks, because very similar psalms appear in more than one collection (*Ps.* 14 and 53; parts of 40 and 70; 57 and 60 and 108), and because the attributions seem to refer to liturgical compilations (Koraḥ and Asaph were eponymous names of priestly guilds) or functions ("ascents" and "hallelujah" psalms), it is likely that the canonical books were formed from earlier groups of psalms, with psalms from one group interpolated into sets of psalms from other groups.

Evidence from the Dead Sea psalters suggests that books 1 and 2 were standardized by the second century BCE but that the order of psalms in the last three books remained flexible as late as the first century CE. At that time, the canonical Psalter was fixed within the Jewish community of ancient Judaea.

ATTRIBUTION OF THE PSALMS. Most psalms bear headings that serve either to attribute them to certain authors or collections (David, Koraḥ, Asaph, Moses, Solomon), to describe their type (accompanied song, chant, prayer), to prescribe their liturgical use (Psalm 92 is assigned for Sabbath worship), or to direct their musical performance.

Nearly half the canonical psalms are attributed to David, king of the Israelite empire in the tenth century BCE. Few of the psalms, however, are dated by scholars to so early a period. The attributions to David are generally held to stem from a later attempt to enhance the authority of the psalms by ascribing their origin to Israel's most famed singer and psalmist, David. David is represented as a musician in *1 Samuel* 16, and within the narrative of *2 Samuel* he is credited with three songs: an elegy for Saul and Jonathan (*2 Sm.* 1:17–27), a psalm of thanksgiving for his having been delivered from enemies (*2 Sm.* 22), and a reflection on the covenant between YHVH and David (*2 Sm.* 23:1–7). Some of the psalm headings place the following psalm in a specific situation in the life of David. For example, Psalm 34 begins: "Of David, when he feigned madness before Abimelech, and he chased him out, and he went." (This ascription is clearly inauthentic, however, for it was Achish of Gath, not Abimelech, who chased out David; see *1 Sm.* 21:10–16.) The attribution of psalms to David manifests a later interest; in fact, the ancient Greek translation inserts references to the life of David where the Hebrew has none.

Large groups of psalms are attributed to Koraḥ and Asaph. According to *Chronicles, Ezra,* and *Nehemiah,* they were the ancestral heads of the priestly functionaries in the Second Temple in Jerusalem (c. 515 BCE–70 CE), the Levites. *Chronicles* further credits David with establishing the Levitical functions in the Temple (see *1 Chr.* 15–16). It would seem, then, that the attributions to David, Koraḥ, and Asaph refer historically to collections of psalms among Second Temple personnel. The fact that *1 Chronicles* 16 incorporates a psalm virtually identical with Psalm 105 supports this conclusion.

Beginning in the second century BCE with the apocryphal *2 Maccabees* (2:13), Christian and Jewish sources (e.g., *Heb.* 4:7; B.T., *B.B.* 14b) attribute the entire *Book of Psalms* to David. A noncanonical composition toward the end of the large Psalms Scroll from Qumran cave 11 credits David not only with the 150 canonical psalms, but with a total of 4,050 (150 x 3^3) psalms and songs. Jewish and early Christian tradition ascribe all the laws to the classic biblical lawgiver, Moses; the wisdom books, *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes,* and *Song of Songs,* to Solomon, a king celebrated for his sagacity; and, accordingly, the sacred songs to David. Although certain Christian and Jewish savants in the Middle Ages questioned the Davidic authorship of all the psalms, it was not until the writing of Barukh Spinoza in the seventeenth century and that of critical scholars in the nineteenth century that David was no longer held to have composed even those psalms ascribed to him in the Bible. Fundamentalists continue to believe in the Davidic authorship.

DATE AND PROVENANCE OF THE PSALMS. Although modern scholarship has abandoned the belief that David authored all the psalms, their date and provenance has been variously determined. Nineteenth-century scholars tended to date the composition of the psalms to the period in which their use was first explicitly attested, following the return of Judahites from the Babylonian exile in the fifth century BCE and later. Similarities between the psalms and the prophetic literature were explained as the influence of the prophets on the psalmists. A number of factors led twentieth-century scholars to conceive earlier datings. One was the discovery of hymns and prayers from ancient Egypt, Hatti (in Asia Minor), and Mesopotamia, which often display themes, motifs, and formulas similar to those of the biblical psalms. Likewise, the recovery of Ugaritic (northern Canaanite) texts shows that they exhibit a language and prosodic style similar to that of the psalms. Since psalmody is attested in the ancient Near East as early as the third millennium BCE, there is no reason to think Israel did not develop it until a late stage in its history. A second factor is thematic. If most psalms are postexilic or from the period of the Second Temple, it is surprising that they are not preoccupied with the return from the exile and the restoration of a Davidic king. A third factor is cultic or liturgical. If, as most scholars believe, many psalms functioned in the Temple cult, it is likely that a large number had already served such a function in the First, preexilic, Temple (see further below).

Because the psalms contain within them few historical references, the most scientific method for establishing the date and provenance of the individual psalms is linguistic. Psalms, like liturgical literature generally, tend to archaize. Even taking this into account, texts such as Psalms 18, 29, 68, 132, and others appear, by dint of their somewhat primitive content, affinities to Canaanite literature, and outmoded linguistic features, not merely to archaize but to be old. On the other hand, Psalms 103, 117, 119, 124, 125, 133, 144, 145, and, perhaps, others betray distinctively postexilic linguistic characteristics, making their Second Temple dating reasonably certain. Psalm 137 relates directly to the experience of exile, but most others cannot with certainty be dated before or after the sixth-century BCE exile. As regards provenance, as will be suggested below, certain psalms manifest clear origins in the ritual cult, some appear to have been commissioned by the monarchy, and others probably derive from scribal or unofficial circles.

TYPES OF PSALMS. Before discussing the ancient and later uses of the psalms, it will be helpful to describe their types. The prosodic form of the psalms, their language, and their motifs are for the most part highly conventional, suggesting they were composed according to typical patterns.

Their predominant form is comprised of parallelism—the formation of couplets and, occasionally, triplets of lines, through the repetition of syntactic structure and/or semantic content. For example, *Psalms* 92:2–3:

> Good it is to give thanks to the Lord,
> and to make song to your name, O one on high:
>
> To tell in the morning of your devotion,
> and of your faithfulness in the nights.

Several phrases and lines, such as "Give thanks to the Lord, for his devotion is eternal," "Chant to the Lord a new chant," "Do not in your wrath reprove me," "He has saved me from the enemy," and the like, abound in *Psalm*s, such that most psalms appear contrived of common vocabulary and images. A number of psalms are arranged by artificial devices such as the alphabetic acrostic (Psalms 25, 34, 119, 145, and, more or less, others).

Many of the most common themes in the psalms also appear in the hymns and prayers of other ancient Near Eastern cultures. Psalm 104, for example, in which the deity's all-encompassing wisdom is compared to the sun and manifested in creation, bears sriking similarities to the fourteenth-century BCE Egyptian hymn to Aton (the sun disk) as well as to a Babylonian hymn to Shamash, the sun god. The Israelite victory hymn in *Exodus* 15 shares a number of motifs with the thirteenth-century Egyptian song of the pharaoh Merneptah. Both exalt the deity among the other gods; both describe the submission of other peoples witnessing the triumph. Prayers of Egypt, Hatti, and Mesopotamia praise the gods, as the Hebrew psalms praise YHVH, for protecting and upholding the poor, the feeble, the widow, and the orphan. All fear the god turning away his (or her) compassionate face; all ask undeserved forgiveness for the suppliant's sins; all assert that the righteous will prevail, that evildoers will stumble; all ask vengeance on enemies. As in *Psalms* 27:4, an Egyptian prayer seeks acceptance by the deity, the opportunity to gaze upon the image, or presence, of the god. The Hebrew psalms even share the typical outcry, "How long, O Lord," with Babylonian supplications. Although very few ancient Canaanite hymns or prayers have yet been discovered, the biblical psalms attest divine titles, such as "rider of the clouds" (*Ps.* 68:5), and entire verses, such as *Psalms* 92:10 and 145:13, which vary little from mid-second-millennium BCE Canaanite (Ugaritic) lines of epic. Considering these and many other parallels, and the Phoenician locale and archaic Canaanite style of Psalm 29, it would seem that

Israelite psalmists drew upon, perhaps even borrowed, common Canaanite material and patterns for their own hymns and prayers.

The conventional nature of so many biblical psalms and their relations to ancient Near Eastern hymnody in general have led scholars to delineate specific types of psalms and to associate those types with specific social or cultic circumstances in which they were presumably used in ancient Israel. In the early twentieth century, Hermann Gunkel isolated five major, as well as some minor, psalm types:

1. *Hymns,* liturgical songs of praise to the deity, sometimes beatifying God's power in nature (e.g., *Ps.* 29, 33, 34, 92, 100, 104, 105, 111, 114, 134–136, 145, 146)
2. *Personal songs of praise or thanksgiving,* similar to hymns but ostensibly offered by individuals (e.g., *Ps.* 18, 30, 32, 34, 41, 56, 116, 118, 138)
3. *Communal laments* (e.g., *Ps.* 28, 86, 106, 115)
4. *Individual laments or supplications* (e.g., *Ps.* 6, 25, 26, 38, 41, 91)
5. *Songs for the king* (e.g., *Ps.* 2, 20, 21, 45, 72, 101, 110, 132)

Several psalms mix different types; Psalm 18, for example, is both a royal song and an individual thanksgiving. Some psalms recount God's redemptive acts in Israelite history in the context of a hymn or other psalm type (e.g., *Ps.* 78, 105, 106, 136). Among the minor psalm types are didactic songs which teach piety and divinely favored conduct (e.g., *Ps.* 1, 19, 37, 49, 73, 112, 119, 127, 128, 133); meditations (e.g., *Ps.* 23, 27, 90); and communal thanksgivings (e.g., *Ps.* 67, 124).

Each of the psalm types exhibits certain characteristic traits. Within the most common type of psalm, the individual supplication, for example, in both the biblical and the extrabiblical specimens we find most of the following features: a description of the suppliant's ailment; a characterization of the suppliant as somehow disadvantaged in society; a plea for divine succor, often accompanied by a vow to the deity; and praise for the deity and/or an expression of trust that the deity will heed the plea. It is also widespread in this type for the suppliant to refer both to a physical distress and to mortal foes, on whom the suppliant seeks retribution. Note, for example, these excerpts from Psalm 6 (vv. 3, 6, 8, and 9):

> Show grace, O Lord, for languishing am I,
> Heal me, O Lord, for my limbs have been trembling. . . .
>
> For in death there is no mind of you.
> In She'ol [the netherworld] who will praise you? . . .
>
> My eye from vexation has grown sore,
> It has pined from all my adversaries.
>
> Turn away from me, all evildoers!
> For the Lord hears my crying voice.

The stereotyped nature of so many psalms suggests they may have been composed to fit into a particular, probably liturgical, function.

THE SETTINGS OF THE PSALMS. Some of the psalms cannot readily be associated with any specific historical or cultic setting. This is especially so for didactic and meditative compositions. In many other cases, the content of the psalm suggests a likely usage. Psalm 24, for example, does seem like an appropriate text for a ceremony in which the ark was conveyed to Jerusalem. Psalm 45 sounds like an ode to be chanted at the wedding of a king. Psalms 114 and 136 pertain to the Exodus from Egypt and would have served well as texts for the spring festival of Pesaḥ (Passover), which celebrates Israelite freedom from Egyptian bondage.

There are a number of reasons for thinking that many, if not most, of the biblical psalms functioned within the daily and special occasional rituals of the Israelite Temple cult. It is likely that the later use of psalms in Jewish and Christian worship continued ancient practice. Ritual literature from ancient Near Eastern societies outside Israel, such as Babylon, prescribe the recitation of prayers and hymns similar to those of the Bible within various cultic ceremonies. One may infer that the biblical psalms served a similar function.

Indeed, references and statements within *Psalms* and elsewhere in the Bible suggest a liturgical usage. This is clear in Second Temple times, as *Ezra* (3:10–11) and *Chronicles* (*1 Chr.* 16:8–36) cite the singing of Psalms 117, 96, 105, and 106. Some psalms speak of chanting psalms in the sanctuary (*Ps.* 11:4, 134:2, 150:1), and several allude to worship in the sanctuary (e.g., *Ps.* 17:15, 18:7, 23:6, 26:8, 27:4). Psalms 66 and 135 display a liturgical nature, and the numerous references to singing and musical accompaniment in *Psalms* bespeak a liturgical usage.

Preexilic biblical texts such as *Isaiah* 30:29 and *Amos* 5:23 link music to worship. Not only do many psalms describe instrumental accompaniment (e.g., *Ps.* 43:4, 71:22, 81:2–4, 92:3, 150:3–5), but several psalm headings also appear to direct the method of chanting or playing the psalm. Several psalms are introduced by the ascription *la-menatseaḥ,* which, on the basis of *1 Chronicles* 15:21, refers to the conductor of stringed instruments in the liturgy. Psalms 57, 58, 59, and 75 were to be chanted to the tune of a popular song, "Destroy Not"; Psalms 45 and 80, to the tune of "Roses"; Psalm 22, to "Gazelle of Dawn"; and Psalm 56, to "Dove of the Distant Terebinths." A number of the headings appear to prescribe the manner of, or instruments for, playing a psalm, although the precise meaning of the terms cannot be defined: *neginot* (stringed instruments?); *sheminit* (on the octave?, eight-stringed instrument?); *ʿalamot* (soprano?); *neḥilot* (reed pipe?); and *gittit* (vintner song?).

Psalms 42–43 (which comprise a single piece) and 107 feature refrains that may well have served as responses for a chorus, and Psalm 136 presents the same phrase after each new line, suggesting a choral or congregational response. The fact that the refrain "Blessed is the Lord and blessed is his name forever and ever" follows each verse of Psalm 145 in the Dead Sea Scroll from cave 11 supports the view that at least some, if not most, of the psalms played a role in the Temple liturgy.

What role they played in First Temple times can only be surmised. It is often assumed that, as in the postexilic period, psalms were chanted in conjunction with the daily cult of animal offerings and on Sabbaths and festivals. Individuals may have recited psalms privately, as *1 Samuel* 2 represents of Hannah and *Jonah* 2 of Jonah. Many psalms are indeed spoken by a first-person singular "I." Such psalms, however, frequently refer to the speaker's enemies as "the nations" (e.g., *Ps.* 44, 60, 66, 74, 89, 94, 102, 118), which suggests that the "I" of these psalms is not an individual but the entire people of Israel. How many psalms served as texts for private prayer is, therefore, unclear.

In general, the psalms deal with broad themes of human anguish and need, the deity's grandeur and pathos, and the virtues and pleasures of piety. Many psalms touch on an array of themes. The nonspecific nature of so many psalms makes them, theoretically, applicable to a variety of occasions without limit to a particular time and place. For this reason, it is difficult, and perhaps inconsistent, to define the historical setting or function of any psalm in narrow fashion. Nevertheless, the presence of striking motifs in various series or groups of psalms has led some scholars to try to find for them a common ancient setting.

A number of psalms (e.g., *Ps.* 47, 93, 95–100) speak of the kingship of the biblical god, YHVH. On the basis of festivals in Egypt (Min) and Babylonia (Akitu) in which the chief god is celebrated for vanquishing the god(s) of chaos and establishing order and is then enthroned and acclaimed as king, Sigmund Mowinckel and other twentieth-century scholars have hypothesized that ancient Israel acclaimed YHVH as king at the fall New Year, on Sukkot (Tabernacles, Feast of Booths). As many as forty psalms have been presumed to have been recited as part of this "enthronement" festival. During this festival, the primeval triumph of YHVH over the forces of chaos and his creation of the world would be recounted, YHVH would be declared king, his defeat of Israel's historical enemies would be anticipated, and he would be ensconced in his temple and adulated. Psalm 103, for example, ends with an exaltation of YHVH as king over all (v. 19), and it is followed by Psalm 104, which beatifies YHVH's majestic dominion over the entire world of nature. It has been held that such juxtapositions of theme are appropriate to an enthronement festival.

The hypothesis that ancient Israel had a fall New Year celebration of YHVH's kingship may be supported by the fact that early Judaism made the acknowledgment of the Lord as king an integral part of its New Year (Ro'sh ha-Shanah) liturgy. Without an explicit textual reference to such an enthronement festival, the use of psalms on such an occasion will remain conjectural. The wide use of psalms in later Jewish and Christian worship, however, does make their earlier liturgical use fairly assured.

USE OF PSALMS IN JEWISH LITURGY. In addition to the few, above-mentioned references in the later books of the Hebrew Bible, the use of psalms in Second Temple worship is attested in the Dead Sea and early rabbinic literature. At least thirty psalters have been discovered among the Dead Sea Scrolls—more than any other text, which suggests that a collection of psalms served the Jewish sectarians as a hymnal. The late second-century CE rabbinic code, the Mishnah, states that a specific psalm was chanted in the Temple each day (*Tam.* 7.4). According to Jewish tradition, the psalms corresponded to the order of creation as delineated in *Genesis* 1. On Sunday, the first weekday, the psalm commonly known as Psalm 24 was chosen, as it praises God's command of all creation; on the second day, Psalm 48, which exalts God for dividing the waters; on the third, Psalm 82, which refers to God's sitting as judge over the land; on the fourth, on which the sun, moon, and stars were created, Psalm 94, for it seeks vengeance on Israel's star-worshiping persecutors; on the fifth, Psalm 81, in which the marvels of creation evoke praise; on the sixth, Psalm 93, in which the wondrous creation of humankind elicits awe at God's majesty; and on the Sabbath, Psalm 92, which is assigned to that day by its title. Traditional Jewish liturgy to this day includes the recitation of these daily psalms.

On the basis of their content, Psalm 135 was prescribed for Pesaḥ; Psalm 81, for Ro'sh Ḥodesh (the New Moon); and Psalms 120–134, songs of "ascent," or pilgrim songs, for Sukkot, the joyous pilgrimage of the fall harvest. Psalm 136, the so-called Hallel ha-Gadol ("the great praise"), was recited on festive days, and Psalms 113–118 comprised a varied series of hallelujah-songs for all festivals. The juxtaposition of these psalms in the Psalter may reflect their joint liturgical function. A number of other psalms form part of the daily morning service, Psalm 145 opens the afternoon service, and certain psalms are recited for penitence and in mourning. Altogether, some eighty-four of the biblical psalms form a regular part of the Jewish liturgy. Owing to their blending of praise and petition, the psalms are also traditionally recited on behalf of the seriously ill and dying.

USE OF PSALMS IN CHRISTIAN WORSHIP. Since ancient times, the psalms have held a prominent place in Christian hymnals. Early churches inherited the regular recitation and chanting of psalms from the Jewish synagogue. The ancient church fathers, however, pointed to Jesus' quotation of *Psalms* 22:2 when he was crucified (e.g., *Mt.* 27:46) and assumed as a matter of course that Jesus recited psalms. Christian practice would accordingly emulate Jesus by making *Psalms* central to its liturgy. Jerome, for example, in the late fourth century attests to the chanting of psalms in Latin, Greek, and Syriac at funeral processions.

In the Middle Ages, *Psalms* formed the larger part of all regular worship. Psalm 119, the longest in the canon, was recited daily by clerics, who were required to memorize the entire Psalter; over the course of a week all the psalms were systematically recited. The psalms functioned both as devotion and as guides to piety and inspiration.

Various Christian churches and denominations utilize different texts of the Psalter, most of them adapted for public worship from the Latin of Jerome. Many English versions today stem from revisions of the Great Bible produced in 1539–1541. In addition to public worship, modern Christians have recited psalms in school and at home for meditation and for insight into God's ways.

THE PSALMS AS REVELATION. Although the psalms have been understood in Jewish and Christian tradition to embody the reflection and devotion of David, that is, as the expression of human spirit, they have also been taken to contain divine revelation of the future of the pious, on the one hand, and of the wicked, on the other.

An early rabbinic *midrash* on *Psalms* says: "Rabbi Yudan states in the name of Rabbi Yehudah: All that David said in his book [i.e., *Psalms*], he said with respect to himself, with respect to all Israel, and with respect to all times" (*Midrash Tehillim* 18.1). The fact that *Psalms* speaks in very general terms of the righteous and pious, who are favored by God, and of their enemies, the wicked, whom God will ultimately destroy, facilitates the traditional interpretation of *Psalms* as predictive of the respective fates of the good and the bad. Thus the Dead Sea sectarians, in their commentaries on *Psalms*, see themselves as the righteous and their personal opponents as the wicked; the Gentile nations that God will overturn, they, like the early rabbis, identify as the Romans. Christians see themselves as the true Israel, as the devotees of the Lord in the psalms. *Acts* 4:23–28, for example, interprets *Psalms* 2:1–2 to refer to the Romans and Jews as enemies of Jesus. Jesus is said, according to *Luke* 24:44, to have told his disciples: "Everything written about me in the Law of Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms must be fulfilled."

Jews and Christians have found in a number of psalms (e.g., *Ps.* 2, 18, 67, 72, 75, 100) predictions of an eschatological age at which the legitimate, anointed king (the Messiah) would be reinstated or vindicated. Church fathers and rabbis adduced verses from *Psalms* in support of various doctrines, and in the Middle Ages Jewish and Christian clerics disputed doctrines, such as the authenticity of Jesus as the Messiah and the trinitarian character of the deity, on the basis of the psalms and other canonical texts. While Christians would seek in the psalms clues to the coming of the eschaton, Jews would more often find consolation in the assurances that the righteous would be saved and the Jewish Diaspora ended.

THEOLOGY OF THE PSALMS. Historically, various psalms date from diverse periods and provenance, so that one finds in them a variety of perceptions of God and religious concerns. In Psalm 18, for example, the Israelite God responds to the outcry of his worshiper by flying down from the sky amid wind and cloud, casting out lightning bolts, and bellowing thunder. In Psalm 104, God as controller of all nature spreads the sky out as his tent, wraps himself in celestial light, and makes a chariot of the clouds. He dispatches the winds to push the waters back from covering the entire land. These bold naturalistic images contrast sharply with the more abstract God of Psalms 1 and 119, the source of wisdom and moral guidance.

In the Psalter as a whole, one encounters a deity who is here transcendent and awesome, there immanent and caring. Ultimately, the conception of God one will find in any given psalm depends upon the type and function of that psalm. In psalms of praise and thanksgiving, for example, one is apt to find a powerful creator god whose marvelous dominion even the phenomena of nature adore (e.g., *Ps.* 19:2). In psalms of supplication, however, the petitioner must express his confidence in a compassionate deity who listens to the prayers of his devotees. The worshiper may adduce a traditional doctrine of God's pathos (*Exodus* 34:6 is quoted in *Psalms* 86:15, 103:8, and 145:8), and he may allude to his God's saving acts for his people in the past. He may, as in Psalm 77, invoke the deity's prehistoric show of power by vanquishing the primordial forces of chaos and setting the world as we know it in order.

It is everywhere posited that God is just and, accordingly, shows special concern for the just and righteous. The occasional successes of the wicked, therefore, dismay the pious, but psalms such as Psalm 37 repeatedly affirm that God will confound the wicked:

> The wicked plots against the righteous,
> and he gnashes his teeth against him;
>
> But my Lord smiles at him,
> for he sees his day [of doom] is coming. (37:12–13)

The pious trusts that God will "repay a man according to what he does" (*Ps.* 62:13). Nevertheless, out of an apparent impatience with the prosperity of the wicked and the foes of Israel, psalms often appeal to the deity to take vengeance on the enemies of Israel and its pious (e.g., *Ps.* 5:11, 31:18, 35:4, 40:15, 58:7, 104:35, 139:19). Such imprecations, which have disturbed many Christian theologians in particular, evince a frustration with God's temporary inaction:

> O God of vengeance, Lord,
> O God of vengeance, appear!
>
> Raise yourself up, O judge of the earth,
> Turn retribution on the arrogant!
>
> How long will the wicked, O Lord,
> How long will the wicked celebrate? (*Ps.* 94:1–3)

The psalmists hope that the deity's care for the world and its creatures, and the indigent and weak especially, will redound to them, that God will want them to live so as to acknowledge and praise their creator. The psalms present not a systematic theological picture but a confluence of themes and interests, of which Psalm 146 is an example:

> Let me praise the Lord as I live,
> let me make song to my God while I am.
>
> Trust not in princes,
> in a human who has not saving.
>
> When his spirit leaves, he returns to the land,
> on that day his deliberations vanish.

Happy is he whose aid is the God of Jacob,
whose succor is the Lord his God,

Maker of heaven and earth,
of the sea and of all that is in it,
faithful guardian forever;

Doing justice for the oppressed,
giving bread to the hungry . . .

The Lord loves the righteous . . .
but the path of the wicked he will pervert.

Let the Lord reign forever,
your God, O Zion, in every generation.

Halleluyah! (146:2–10)

The interplay of the individual and the people Israel, on the one hand, and of the transcendent and immanent deity, on the other, is fairly typical of many psalms, and of the Psalter in general.

PSALMS AS LITERATURE. Owing to their liturgical origins and functions, many psalms display the sorts of stereotyped forms and wording, as well as the frequent refrains and repetitions, that characterize formal hymn singing and prayer. Their conventionality makes them easy to join; their repetitive rhythms and phrases can, when chanted, produce a *mantra*-like drive and intensity. When read as poems rather than prayers, many psalms do not feature the sophisticated configurations of words and deployment of tropes that are usually associated with poetry. The liturgical power of *Psalms* has, however, often been praised by readers, and certain of the psalms do exhibit artful arrangements of language and memorable images. A celebrated example is Psalm 23:

The Lord is my shepherd;
I shall not lack.

In pastures of grass he has me lie down
along waters of stillness he leads me.

My spirit he revives.

He guides me on just courses
for his name's sake.

Even when I walk in a vale of darkness
I fear no evil,
for you are with me.

Your rod and your staff—
they comfort me.

You set before me a table
opposite my adversaries.

You anoint with oil my head;
my cup overruns.

Aye, good and love will pursue me
all the days of my life;

And I shall dwell in the house of the Lord
for a length of days.

The recurrent rhythm of short, asymmetrically balanced couplets, the contrast of the idyllic pasture and the confrontation of enemies, the fear of danger mitigated by the support of the divine shepherd—these and the psalm's various tropes have made this poem a classic statement of confidence.

SEE ALSO Biblical Literature, article on Hebrew Scriptures; Music, article on Music and Religion in the Middle East.

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EDWARD L. GREENSTEIN (1987 AND 2005)

PSELLUS, MICHAEL (1018–1078?) was a Byzantine statesman, philosopher, theologian, and historian. Born in Constantinople, Psellus's talents, broad learning, and eloquence soon made him the favorite in the emperor's court, in which he served simultaneously as head of the chair of rhetoric and philosophy (at the University of Constantinople) and as grand chamberlain. He subsequently served as secretary of state, prime minister, and diplomat. As a patriot and philosopher in an often corrupt political setting, he may justly be compared to Francis and Roger Bacon, who had similar political roles and literary careers. His extensive knowledge in philosophy and rhetoric earned him the coveted title "consul of the philosophers." After thirty years, however, Psellus abruptly abandoned the court, frustrated by the incompetence of his favorite student, the emperor Michael VII Ducas. He died a poor and forgotten man. Psellus's most important works are commentaries on the Greek philosophers and theologians. He also wrote poetry, funeral orations, historical treatises, and works on ancient Greek topography, alchemy, and astrology. In addition, five hundred of Psellus's letters are known.

Psellus's task was to interpret the Greek spirit in a conspicuously Christian setting. He soon became controversial and was almost excommunicated from the church. Nevertheless, he insisted in his teaching and writings that philosophy and theology ought not be seen as two different disciplines but as one. The former lays the intellectual foundations upon which the latter builds its spiritual mansions—philosophy is not a handmaiden of Christian theology, but a collaborator. Psellus was convinced that philosophy and theology, or science and faith, in unison could give humanity the answer to its perennial questions.

By reviving the pursuit of philosophy and learning in Constantinople, Psellus single-handedly renewed the spirit of excellence patterned on that of ancient Athens. This revival of classical study had longstanding effects, for Psellus is considered the forerunner of the Italian Renaissance. Two examples suffice to show the influence he had, not only among his own, but abroad: Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Marsilio Ficino were two of Psellus's spiritual heirs.

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GEORGE KARAHALIOS (1987)

PSEUDEPIGRAPHA SEE BIBLICAL LITERATURE, *ARTICLE ON* APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

PSEUDO-DIONYSIUS SEE DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE

PSYCHEDELIC DRUGS.

Psychedelic substances, derived from plants—and more recently, from chemical syntheses—have been used by human beings for thousands of years, mainly as facilitators for religious ecstasy and firsthand contact with spirit or divinity. In this essay, the term *mysticism* is used interchangeably with *spiritual experience* to refer to any person's direct, subjective communion with a deity, spirit, or ultimate reality. Anthropologists often make a distinction between mysticism, which they see as an individual's firsthand, direct encounter with deities or spirits, and religious experiences that are mediated through a church, temple or some type of formal ecclesiastic structure. In discussing psychedelics and religion, Houston Smith reports that while psychedelics have been said to provoke religious experiences, they are not necessarily able to promote religious lives.

Overall, religious behavior universally makes efforts to induce an ecstatic spiritual state by crudely and directly manipulating physiological processes. These include drugs as well as sensory deprivation, mortification of the flesh by pain, sleeplessness and fatigue, and deprivation of food and water. Wallace (1966) argued that the physiological manipulation of the human body by any means available to produce euphoria, dissociation or hallucination is one of the nearly universal characteristics of religion. The ecstatic experience is a goal of religious effort, and whatever means are found to help the communicant achieve it will be employed.

Mystical-religious experience, enhanced by psychedelic drug or plant ingestion, has as one of its most arresting aspects, a sense of unity or awe. This has been termed "absolute unitary of being" by D'Aquili and Newberg (2001, p. 79). In this state, individuals directly apprehend absolute unity with themselves, others and the universe. Subject and object merge and boundaries to the self are weakened. Reality itself is perceived as oneness. Attached to this experience is a profound and intrinsic sense of underlying beauty and goodness. The universe is perceived as whole, good and purposeful. When people leave this state, they do not perceive it as having been an illusion, hallucination, or delusion. Rather, they see it as the fundamental reality that underlies all reality. In this model, rational consciousness is merely one type of consciousness, equally valid with that induced spiritually or by LSD-like substances. Science arises from our rational baseline state of consciousness, which perceives reality as an amalgam of multiple discrete beings in emotionally neutral subject-object relationships. The absolute unitary state, on the other hand, arises from discrete altered states of consciousness. The trance stage progressively becomes intense with a blurring of the boundaries of individuals until they perceive no spatial or temporal boundaries at all and experience absolute unity, devoid of content. The individual ultimately experiences a movement from a baseline orientation in external reality to a more intense sense of unity with the rest of the world and an increasing loss of a sense of self and other. The person can now lose his or her individuality and experience a sense of absorption into the object of focus or the universe in general.

The unitary state is experienced and interpreted as the presence of the Absolute, or union with God. In Buddhism it is seen as a void. Often there is an experience of freedom from fear of death. While these experiences may be rare and individualized, those who have them universally interpret them as being absolutely transcendent or beyond ordinary experience. They are remarkable and worth investigating.

For most of human prehistory, psychedelics were associated with nomadic hunter-gatherer societies, where male hunters used psychedelics in shamanistic religious rituals to divine the future and the location of the animals they hunted. In shamanic cultures, there are no salvational goals to achieve by using psychedelics, and the chief focus is on power and its exercise by religious practitioners who seek out and often achieve ecstatic states of consciousness. One finds a multiplicity of spirit forces, often named and mythic, rather than any concept of a high or solitary god.

We note that psychedelics have always been viewed in human cultures as a two-edged sword. On the one hand they have been utilized because of their perceived ability to access spiritual realms. If we change our body chemistry, we may be able to ascertain realms of being that are not ordinarily available to most human beings. The obverse of this is simply a faulty-wiring hypothesis, which argues that the plant chemicals deceive and trick. In a Euro-American rational world, there is no spirit realm to access, so we are merely left with tricks of the mind. On the other hand, such substances have always had a potential for abuse, even when well-controlled in traditional settings. Plant psychedelics as a psychotechnology allow tribal elders to manage the altered states of consciousness of their adolescents through hypersuggestibility. They utilize the properties of the plant psychedelics to decondition youth and heighten religious experiences deemed important for social survival.

Anthropologists and archaeologists, who work within a paradigm of cultural evolution, look at the vast array of human societies in terms of the historic changes from simple to complex structures and they view culture as adaptation to distinctive ecological niches. Over time, societies tend to move in the direction of more complexity.

Table 1 is a model of hunter-gatherers, incipient agriculturists, intensive agriculturist and pristine state societies. The division is made according to economic, social, and ideological or spiritual practices. Anthropologists often view four basic types of religious behavior across time and space: namely shamanism, the religion of hunters and gatherers, with a focus on personal ecstasy and awe, and direct knowledge of the preternatural; communal cults where lay people participate in rituals to enhance economic gains such as hunting and fishing magic and where different segments of nature are named and sacralized; in Olympian religions where a hierarchy of spiritual forces is known and respected; and in monotheistic institutions where there is a supremacy of one spiritual entity or god. A class of social science specialists, called neuroanthropologists, would argue that human beings are wired for ecstasy and the ability to have nonordinary experiences in order to apprehend the divine. It is the facile ease with which human beings enter into what psychiatrists called "dissociative states," frequently within a cultural context. Psychedelic ingestion for purposes of religious ecstasy has been reported in all segments of human societies as presented in Table 1.

As societies became more complex, access to drug-induced altered states of consciousness became part of sumptuary laws, as fewer individuals were permitted entry to these states. This contrasts with societies of hunter-gatherers, for example, where a study found that in a community of eighty Peruvian hunters and gatherers, as many as twenty-five adult men might use the plant hallucinogen *ayahusca* (various *Banisteriopsis* species) twice a week or more in ritual ceremonies for spiritual purposes. With the rise of ancient civilizations where psychedelics were employed, abrogation of such drug access was no doubt related to the supposed power of the psychedelic state and the power believed to be conferred upon the user to control or harm others through magical means or witchcraft. A movement occurred from exoteric rituals, open and accessible to all adults, to esoteric rituals, much like the Eleusinian mysteries in ancient Greece. Unauthorized drug use under these circumstances may have become a crime against the commonwealth.

Illustration of some of these different societies' use of plant psychedelics in religious practice exemplifies general principles.

AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES. Contemporary examples of hunter/gatherers include the Australian Aborigines, who utilized the plant hallucinogen *pituri*, taken within a ritualized, sacrosanct, socially sanctioned context with the intent to contribute to group cohesiveness and survival. The unique ability of the biochemical properties of the *pituri* plant (various *Duboisia* spp.) to evoke suggestibility in those who ingested them made these plants ideal catalysts. The elders provided their adolescents with a fast-paced educational experience and inculcated values, beliefs, and religious tenets. Using the suggestible states created by such substances, particularly in pubertal initiatory rituals that marked the transition to manhood, this contributed to cultural cohesiveness and survival. The hallucinogen was used by shamans—technicians of ecstasy—to obtain power and perquisites and to act as seers. The use of the plant was shrouded in secrecy and there are no first-hand descriptions of the plant use in male initiation rituals at puberty, only various early commentaries. The plant was most probably used to provide revelations, which allowed the youth to view the world and themselves as sacred.

Characteristics of Culture

	Egalitarian Hunters & Gatherers	Ranked Incipient Agriculture	Stratified Intensive Agriculture	State Agriculture
Economic Features	Small, Face-to Face; Food Sharing; Nomadic	Horticulture, Dense Population; Villages; No Work Specialization;	Eco. Redistribution; Surpluses; Complex Division of Labor; Work Specialization;	Differential Access to Basic Means of Livelihood;
Social Organiz. Features	Band Is Basic Social Unit; No Leadership; Kinship As Govt Functions;	Descent Principles; Leadership W/O Authority;	Social Classes; Status Differences; Federations; Militarism; Role of Chief;	Use of Military to Maintain Control; Diverse Populations Within State; Formal Government;
Religion & Ideology	Shamanism; No Religious Speclalists; Shaman/Client.	Community Cults; Lay Participation; Congregation;	Olympian Religions; Named Deities; Hierarchy of Dieties; Ecclesiastic Institutions;	Monotheistic Institutions;

TABLE 1. *Table courtesy of the author.*

The initiation rituals for adolescents included separation, liminality, and reintegration. The boys went into special isolated camps, were educated about sacred matters from the elders, and had circumcision and subincision sexual operations performed on their body. The meanings of ritual objects presented to them were disclosed in secret ceremonies and there was a ritual cleaning of all traces of the sacred world, followed by a ceremonial return to ordinary life.

The theme of death and rebirth is often found among psychedelic plant drug users in traditional society. The youth returned to social life as a new person, with a new name, responsibilities and knowledge of the supernatural world. The psychedelic states heightened the learning of sacred knowledge and created a bonding among members of the cohort group such that individual psychic needs were subsumed to the needs of the group.

A key feature of these rituals was the cultural utilization of the hypersuggestibility, induced by the use of the plant hallucinogen. In the altered state of consciousness managed by adult tutors, adolescent behavior patterns were framed, and religious and secular values were internalized. The plants were one way that their society had available to them to inculcate conformity in young people to patterns, mostly sacred, which would contribute to group survival and harmony. Like many other tribal societies, the Australian aborigines incorporated plant psychedelics into group initiation rites. The drugs were accepted to be of sacred origin and were treated with awe and reverence. The plants were in limited supply and protected from abuse and profanation by deviants by remaining under adult control and administration.

THE FANG OF EQUATORIAL AFRICA. With the domestication of plants and animals about ten to twelve thousand years ago, changes occurred in the spiritual use of psychedelics. In northwestern equatorial Africa, the Fang peoples are village farmers of peanuts, corn, manioc, and plantains. They use the psychedelic plant *tabernanthe iboga* as part of their adaptation to cultural upheaval caused by European domination of their society. The plant has been incorporated into a religious revitalization movement known as the Bwiti, dated to the end of the nineteenth century. Large doses bring on fantastic visions, and smaller doses of *iboga* produce marginal hallucinatory effects, possibly a dreamy or floating sensation. The plant is used as an adjunct to initiation into the Bwiti cult and the superior Bwiti divinity is revealed to the initiate. The term *Bwiti* also refers to the ancestors and the supernatural realm of the dead.

Men who drink the *iboga* participate in a cult which blends elements of traditional Fang beliefs with Christian symbols. The Bwiti cult operates to honor particular ancestors, to conduct rites linked to fertility and to help cement feelings of cohesion and solidarity. The cult presents its members with a cosmogony of religious thoughts centered on the idea of fecundity and death as well as a defense against the dangers of sorcery. In this society with a strong linkage to ancestor worship, the plant hallucinogen is believed to enable the individual to accompany a phantasm to a special place—a city of the dead, full of cadavers and skeletons. Such visionary experience is valued by the Fang, whose traditional cultural focus has been to worship ancestors who are believed to play an important role in directing the lives of those still on earth. The Fang take *iboga* because of a need to see, know, and communicate with greater powers hidden in and known through the plant. Aside from heavy ingestion in the initial session, the religious use of the substance achieves a state of one-heartedness after night-long rituals during which the Fang consume moderate amounts of *iboga* to achieve ecstatic states. Ancestors are called upon for advice.

The initiated candidate is told of the great honor he receives by knowing about the things of the earth. Most festivities are linked to initiation rites. The religion has reference not only to a person's immediate clan ancestors, but to all the ancestors of the community. The Bwiti cult gives different kinship groups—alienated by fragmentation and atomization as the result of culture contact and domination by European society—sanctified character by using the *iboga* plant since it permits direct communication with the valued ghosts of the past.

In Western culture *iboga* has a medical use, although it is still experimental. In Western clinics with drug-addicted participants, huge doses give rise to lucid visions. Clinical reports on essential loss of opiate craving and the absence of withdrawal suggests a mechanism for the substitution, which is a placebo effect enhanced by suggestibility. From a religious/metaphysical perspective, the psychedelic experience causes a sense of death and subsequent rebirth, allowing the user to return to a new beginning. The physical effects of vomiting also provide a sense of cleanliness and renewal to the individual.

THE ANCIENT MAYA. Analysis of the art of the ancient Maya led to a discovery of the presence of a psychedelic plant, *Nymphaea ampla,* the water lily. Historically it appears that high-ranking segments of society usurped the use of psychedelics. With culture change in the form of conquest and colonialism, esoteric knowledge did not diffuse to the folk level again from where it surely originated. Many of the beliefs connected to such drug use were coded in the religious art of these societies. With social change, these belief systems, as among the ancient Maya, disappeared and could only be retrieved in contemporary times through an analysis of their art.

The common water lily, *Nymphaea ampla* and *N. caerulea,* were depicted in Maya art, suggesting that esoteric drug rituals were practiced. The presence of aporphine, an opiate similar in structure to apomorphine, was found in the water lily plant. The psychoactive properties of the water lily seemed to merge well with the high value placed by the Maya on ecstatic states as a vehicle to communicate with supernatural forces. Among the ancient Maya, there are various mythic associations connected with the water lily, which include death symbols and mythic beings as the source of the plant, including a long-nosed serpent or rain god. Other associations include the jaguar, and anatomical sources associated with the water lily are the top of the head, ears, eyes, mouth, hands, and neck regions, suggestive of the psychoactive effects on sensory modalities. Shape shifting or morphing—the transformation of human beings (in this case, religious practitioners) into animals is also found associated with this plant drug. This may symbolize the power source of the individual who calls upon animal familiars to do his bidding.

UNIAO DO VEGETAL. Adherents of the contemporary Brazilian *ayahuasca* church Uniao do Vegetal (UDV), who number more than 8,000, utilize the plant hallucinogen containing *Banisteriopsis caapi* and *Psychotria viridis* in religious rituals blended with elements of Christianity. The *ayahuasca* drink is made by boiling the stems of the *Banisteriopsis caapi* vine together with the leaves of *Psychotria viridis.* Widely used in the Amazon, *ayahuasca* was taken up by mestizos living near tribal peoples who adapted it for their own needs. There are a number of different movements that have incorporated *ayahuasca* into their doctrines and activities with several *ayahuasca* churches such as the UDVand Santo Daime that combine traditional African and Christian elements in their pattern of use. There are sixty *nuclos,* or centers of church activity, among the UDV. Since 1987 the Brazilian government has allowed the use of *ayahuasca* within the context of a religious ritual.

The *ayahuasca* drink is imbibed in a ritual setting, with church elders and advisors present. Members ingest about l00 milliliters of a tea made from the two plants twice a month. New members and participants are carefully screened. There is congregational and community involvement in social activities and prayer. *Hoasca,* as *ayahuasca* is termed in Portuguese, is a consecrated sacrament of the church, a material expression of divinity, much as for Roman Catholics the consecrated wafer is the Holy Eucharist embodying the Holy Spirit.

The UDV is a Christian religion with syncretic elements that arose from the interaction between Christianity and indigenous beliefs and practices regarding *ayahuasca* in South America. The UDV was founded and is headquartered in Brazil and is recognized officially by the government of Brazil. The tea is considered sacred and indispensable, and the UDV carefully controls the cultivation and harvesting of the plants contained in it. The quantity ingested at any particular ceremony is effectively limited by the ceremonial components. Studies have shown redemptive features of the psychedelic experience among the UDV. This consists of elimination of neurotic and antisocial behavior by members of the religious community as well as their abstinence from alcohol and drugs of abuse.

PEYOTISM: THE NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH AND THE HUICHOL INDIANS. The modern use of peyote (*Lophophora williamsii*), a psychedelic cactus, originated in central Mexico and spread to southern Texas by the l870s. Archaeological finds from Texas show remnants of peyote that date back 7,000 years. The Spanish, when first invading Mexico, labeled peyote the "diabolic root" and tried to stamp out its use.

More than a century ago the use of peyote eventually led to the foundation of the Native American Church (NAC), which is the largest pan-Native America religion in North America. Peyote has been used ritually since its inception. It is estimated that a quarter of a million Native Americans have been involved with this church, with the strongest representation in the southwest and midwestern United States. The peyote religion combines elements of the vision quest, a belief in general supernatural power and the Christian Trinity. Its doctrine teaches that God is a great spirit and Jesus is a guardian spirit. Morality and ethics are also derived from the Judeo-Christian tradition. Some scholars see the church as a response to cultural/community dislocation and its attendant problems. The plant was legalized in 1994 in the United States for members of certain American Indian religions after a long legal battle.

Generally the Native American Church focuses on holistic health and harmony with nature. There is a redemptive feature in response to severity of alcoholism among Native Americans whereby the church prohibits alcohol use and promotes the sacrament of peyote ingestion as a powerful treatment for that disorder.

Within the NAC, peyotism provides a spiritual approach to facilitating a sense of identity, groundedness, connection and belonging. The plant is a spineless cactus with a rounded top surface that appears above the soil. It is cut off and dried and becomes a peyote button which is ingested during church rituals. Church members believe that their medicine functions sacramentally by allowing them to see the truth about their lives and connects them to the peyote spirit, who will give them guidance and direction. Peyote meetings are organized for those in need of healing from alcohol and drug addiction and who are personally motivated to change. During the peyote rituals, individual introspection, group interaction and healing are promoted. There is a powerful leader or guide, and benefit is derived from the actual group marathon session in the form of strengthening social networks. Healing benefits are derived from the psychotropic substance that is used as a nonspecific facilitator.

During peyote rituals, one commonly hears testimonial accounts of various psychological, physical, and emotional maladies being lifted by the healing powers of the ceremony. Members report altered states of consciousness that provide a fast-paced educational and redemptive experience. Youth learn community values, beliefs, and their religious traditions. Often paraphrased is a peyotist comment about how the white man goes into his church and prays to God, whereas the Indian goes into his church and talks directly to God. The shamanic value of direct and personal communication with deity is enhanced by the psychedelic properties of the peyote plant. A complex hierarchy of church positions in the NAC allows Native Americans to have a parallel status structure for sincere and hard-working church members in the community.

Huichol Indians who live in western Mexico have been using peyote to communicate with their gods for thousands of years. As practitioners of shamanic religion, they utilize psychedelics or other mind-altering techniques to communicate with their gods, their underworld and in order to understand the meaning of life. These agricultural peoples utilize peyote as the focus of their religious and emotional life. There is an annual cycle of communal and extended family ceremonial and religious activity. Schaefer (1998) wrote that peyote for the Huichol

> serves as an enculturating force which echoes religious tenets and re-occurring themes that are transcended to visions, the spoken word, through myths and songs, actions and rituals and ceremonies and beliefs that permeate all levels of individual and collective consciousness. In their sacred peyote rituals, the ordinary boundaries between the past and present vanish and the gods, ancestors and events of Huichol mythic history become a physical and emotional reality (p. 274).

The use of peyote appears to be pivotal in the continuing profound pride that the Huichol maintain in their culture despite Mexican governmental attempts at cultural annihilation. A Huichol artform, known as yarn painting, depicts complex arrays of dancing deer, snakes and other figures as native artists try to evoke the peyote visions. Each year, small bands of Huichol travel 300 miles to a desolate spot deep in the Chihuahuan desert to hunt for the squat, round peyote cactus.

PSYCHEDELICS, SPIRITUALITY, AND THE 1960S. No discussion of psychedelics and religion would be complete without reference to widespread runaway use of such substances in European and American society, generally focused on the decade of the 1960s and thereafter. Flower children, cultic groups in the 1960s, utilized synthetic drugs. The founders of the cult were white Americans—including physicians and psychologists, and many had scientific as well as religious interest in the phenomena.

Drugs such as LSD, psilocybin, mescaline, and marijuana were widely used, and Timothy Leary was generally acknowledged to be the spokesperson for “tuning in, turning on and dropping out,” a more aggressive segment of the psychedelic cult. He had an extraordinary capacity to stir up paranoid tendencies of the then titled “establishment.” Leary and colleagues gave LSD and related substances to prison inmates, neurotics, psychotics and alcoholics as well as to those who were dying of cancer. The focus was as much a search for meaning as for religious activity, although it was frequently reported that Leary would read segments from the Tibetan *Book of the Dead* to those tripping on psychedelics, in order to create a mystical setting for drug ingestion.

Leary and others were certain that psychedelics produced true religious experience, and the Marsh Chapel experiment, conducted by Walter Pahnke, is often referenced. In this experiment, twenty theology students virgin to the use of psychedelic drugs were given 30 milligrams of psilocibin on Good Friday in a religious setting in Marsh Chapel, Boston. The effects were compared to a matched group who were given a placebo containing nicotinic acid, which produced a tingling, but not a psychedelic effect. Nine of the subjects who received psilocybin had what they called “a religious experience,” whereas only one in the control group did.

Leary, a professor at Harvard, was forced to resign after giving psychedelics to his students. His studies indicated that when the setting for the drug ingestion was supportive but not spiritual, between 40 and 75 percent of his psychedelic subjects reported intense, life-changing religious experiences. The percentages were much higher when the set and setting were supportive and spiritual, with revelatory and mystico-religious experiences.

PSYCHEDELICS, DRUG TOURISM, AND THE GLOBAL VILLAGE. Since the 1980s there has been an upsurge in the postmodern phenomenon of drug tourism. Individuals who are on a never-ending search for self-actualization and growth demand to find drug experiences abroad. Post-World War II has been described as the empty self period, where individuals are soothed and filled up by consuming food, consumer products and experiences. Resultant psychological states such as low self-esteem, values confusion, and drug abuse (the compulsion to fill the emptiness with chemically induced emotional experiences) is expressed. Today, knowledgeable men and women travel to distant exotic places such as the Peruvian or Brazilian Amazon where they participate in drug rituals among so-called native shamans or witchdoctors.

Charlatan psychiatry is a term applied to a long tradition in Latin America of non-authentic folk healers with malicious and fraudulent intention who provide psychedelic plant drugs in ritual settings for personal gain. Unscrupulous practitioners exploit their victims and are conscious of the farce in which they are involved. In California and elsewhere today, there are zealots who devote their life to a new age of drug use, and they urgently proselytize others to immerse themselves in drugs, "to make more, to use more, to sell more." Many are irresponsible and unconscionable individuals. In Peruvian and Brazilian Amazonian cities and large towns, there are mestizo men who become instant traditional healers without undergoing any apprenticeship period, without having any teachers and without control. They provide American and European tourists mixtures of ten or more different psychedelic plants to help them become embedded in the universe and to provide them with mystical experiences. The psychedelic plants in question have never been used traditionally in the way that the self-styled healers use them and there are numerous psychological casualties.

Drug tourism is found on a smaller scale than international mass tourism. This phenomenon is shrouded in a special rhetoric, and travel literature includes terms such as "advanced shamanic training," which is coupled with descriptions of a specific healer who has explored inner space, or other terminology to cue the tourist as to the real meaning. The drug tourist perceives the natives as timeless and ahistoric. They do not recognize the vast worlds of change between the tribal native, the civilized Indian, and the lower-class laborer, the striving middle-class individual or managerial elites of the Amazon region's major industries. Nor do the tourist guides have any interest in filling in all the shades of gray for them. The drug tourist is desperate to find the vanishing primitive. They cannot or will not see the urban and civilizing influences in these Amazon cities, including 400 years of Catholic and Protestant proselytization. They miss out on the movies, radio, TV, schools, libraries, and other Western-type infrastructures found everywhere. The westerner is not involved in a native ritual of spiritual dimensions as he has been led to expect, but rather in a staged drama to turn him on and extract his cash.

There is an evil, exploitive aspect of this drug tourism that is impossible to ignore. These so-called native healers are common drug dealers, dressed for deception. They provide the exotic setting and prep the tourist to have an authentic personal experience. Theater is based on illusion and facade. The Amazon drug tourism does not dismantle the illusion nor destroy the sense of the exotic. But it can on occasion leave psychotic depression and confusion in its wake.

LSD AND SPIRITUALITY IN THE 1950S: JANIGER'S EXPERIMENT. In the tribal and industrialized societies that are examined in this essay where psychedelics are used, we see that access to supernatural power and the unitive experience were highly valued. Psychedelic plants were used to enhance perception and intuition. Recent published research on an early psychiatric study with more than 950 American subjects who were given LSD from 1954 to 1962 show some interesting insights occurring regarding psychedelics and religious experience. This was at a time when there was little prior knowledge about LSD. Oscar Janiger, a psychiatrist, made a real effort to avoid any religious prompts over the eight years of the study, but nonetheless, 24 percent, or some 228 men and women in Janiger's sample reported spontaneous spiritual/religious experiences. In the tribal societies under scrutiny and throughout studies of traditional societies of the world that utilize psychedelics, plant psychedelics provided little if any abuse potential. Most of the plants were of limited availability, were given in religious ritual settings in natural environments with all the senses engaged, had elders and religious leaders present to ensure a smooth interior voyage, and were laden with educational and didactic contact to reassure the individual.

Not discussed in this essay are the general findings on cultural patterning of the hallucinatory experience in tribal society, which gives us a fascinating glimpse into the extent to which the human psyche is subject to cultural conditioning. In such traditional societies of the world, drug-induced stereotypic visions are eagerly sought after to indicate that contact with the realm of the sacred has occurred. Psychedelics have been used in a magical-religious context, with ceremony, to celebrate or contact the realm of the supernatural and to divine the future. Psychedelic plants have been used as sacraments and have had redemptive effects on participants. In human history, the power of mind-altering plants was acknowledged to belong to special realms constrained with taboos and rituals. Anyone who entered those portals had to be properly prepared for the journey.

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MARLENE DOBKIN DE RIOS (2005)

PSYCHOLOGY

This entry consists of the following articles:

PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGION
PSYCHOTHERAPY AND RELIGION
SCHIZOANALYSIS AND RELIGION

PSYCHOLOGY: PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGION

In its most basic sense, the field of the psychology of religion is composed of a variety of studies that have utilized a broad spectrum of theoretical frameworks to interpret the psychological meaning and patterns of collective and individual religious contents, ideation, and practice. Certainly, precursors to the introspective and empirical investigations found in the psychology of religion can be discerned in the mystical, existential, philosophical, theological, and poetic texts of religious traditions both East and West. However, by the late nineteenth century, numerous factors (e.g., the rise of science, the cultural ascendancy of religious pluralism, a liberal theological atmosphere, the stress on authentic personal experience, the growing disillusionment with dogmatic forms of religious expression) gave rise to widespread attempts at more systematic, social-scientific approaches to religious phenomena. This survey will proceed by detailing the central figures, theoretical models, issues, and themes that have animated the field of the psychology of religion. The history of the field can be divided into three periods: (1) 1880 to World War II; (2) the postwar period through the 1960s; and (3) 1970 to 2005.

1880 TO WORLD WAR II. The era from 1880 to World War II was the formative period of the psychology of religion, with pathbreaking contributions from a number of researchers. Although the most influential scholarship came from Europe and North America, it is important to stress that the contributors exerted mutual influence and that collaboration was international in scope. This is well illustrated by the famous photograph of, among others, Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), G. Stanley Hall (1844–1924), William James (1842–1910), and Carl Jung (1875–1961) at the legendary conference at Clark University (Worcester, Massachusetts) in 1909. Several journals were inaugurated by these scholars, including *Archiv für Religionspsychologie*, *Zeitschrift für Religionspsychologie*, and the *American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education.* Topics investigated varied from prayer, conversion, mysticism, religious emotion, the paranormal, revival movements, and religious growth to the wide assortment of issues linked to the comparative study of religion and the psychosocial dynamic between religion, culture, and society.

EUROPEAN CONTRIBUTIONS. In Europe, seminal contributions came from several countries. In Germany, one cannot ignore the figure of Wilhelm Wundt (1832–1920), known as the founder of experimental psychology, who established the first laboratory for the study of psychological phenomena. Wundt bequeathed to later generations a psychophysical approach to human experience and consciousness that stressed the importance of analysis and the classification of data. Wundt eschewed collecting individual instances of religious faith in favor of a historical, ethnographical, and folk psychological approach to religion that highlighted its evolving cultural structure and expression. The analysis of individual religious experience was left to Wundt's successors. His student Oswald Külpe (1862–1915), the head of the Würzburg School of psychology, modified Wundt's advances to create an approach in experimental introspection that could be applied to religion. Külpe's student Karl Girgensohn (1875–1925), famous for his Dorpat School of religious psychology, introduced questionnaires and religious stimuli of various kinds into the laboratory setting, concluding that religious experience was a complex phenomenon composed of cognitive, emotional, and existential elements. As David Wulff notes in his *Psychology of Religion: Classic and Contemporary* (1997), members of the Dorpat School, in relying on the laboratory setting yet attending to descriptive detail, championed elements of the phenomenological approach to the psychology of religion (which was carried on most decisively in this era by William James and evident in the works of later humanistic and existential theorists), as well as the empirical approach (which was also apparent in the North American researchers and multiple theorists in subsequent periods of history in the field).

In France, a distinctly psychopathological approach to religion emerged, centering on the creative theoretical advances of Jean Martin Charcot (1825–1893) and his student Pierre Janet (1859–1947). Through their work, which eventuated in the articulation of pyschopathological processes based on the theory of the subconscious, the development of hypnosis, and the analysis of a number of case histories involving unusual religious states, this school laid claim to demonstrating the complicity of diseased mental states (notably hysteria), in individual religious faith and its expression. The most famous product of this school was the Viennese-based (and later, London-based) based founder of psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud.

Freud was one of the three most influential psychologists of religion of this era (the other two being William James and Carl Jung). In abandoning hypnosis in favor of the free associative technique to gain insight into the psychological dynamics of his patients, Freud went well beyond Charcot and Janet in developing a radically new theory of the mind. This theory was essentially a conflict model which divided the psyche into three parts: the unconscious, or id (seen as the repository of repressed wishes and ruled by primary instinctual processes); the ego (seen as cognizant of the exigencies of external reality and ruled by the light of reason); and the superego (the internalized voice of conscience). In addition, Freud posited a psychosexual developmental line, the central dynamic of which was ruled by the existence of childhood sexual impulses and the Oedipus complex, and a theory of the instincts (the biologically based instinctual forces of Eros [life and sexual drives] and Thanatos [aggressive and death drives]) that impacted development and the relations between the id, ego, and superego. Freud applied his theory to cultural products, particularly religion, in works such as *Totem and Taboo* (1913) and *Future of an Illusion* (1927). Freud was convinced of the superiority of science and the fact of secularization, and he endeavored to create a social space for psychoanalysis as a secular cure of souls. To that end, Freud proclaimed religion to be a historical vestige, a collective universal obsessional neurosis whose various accoutrements were composed of projected, regressive, and defensive Oedipal and related unconscious elements. His analysis deeply influenced subsequent ego-psychological and object-relational approaches (about which more shall be said below). As an architect of modernity, he is still the foremost figure of a depth-psychological approach to religion that champions, as the philosopher Paul Ricoeur once said, the hermeneutics of suspicion.

Other proponents of a subconscious, subliminal, or unconscious dimension of the personality were not wholly antithetical towards religious phenomena. In France the Catholic thinkers Henri Delacroix (1873–1937) and Joseph Maréchal (1878–1944) utilized theories of subliminal, subconscious states to enrich theological understandings of mystical states, whereas F. W. H. Myers (1843–1901), operating out of Great Britain, exercised an enormous influence on North American researchers, especially William James, by writing about how conceptions of such states could help to explain paranormal phenomena. In particular, Switzerland proved to be a most hospitable home to a methodological approach sympathetic to religion. Theodore Flournoy (1854–1820), who held a position in experimental psychology at the University of Geneva, wrote several essays and books composed of analyses of case histories and autobiographical material. Flournoy advocated a nonpathological approach that bracketed the ontological reality of the divine and, in cautioning that religious experience is complex, promoted the integration of physiological, developmental, and comparative perspectives in coming to an understanding of exceptional religious states. A good friend of William James, Flournoy also influenced Georges Berguer (1873–1945), a professor of the psychology of religion who argued that the methodological framework of psychology was necessarily limited, thus creating a dialogical intellectual space for theological perspectives. Flournoy was also a force in the development of the Jean-Jacques Rousseau Institute, where Jean Piaget (1896–1980), a subsequent director of the institute known primarily for his theories of cognitive development, also wrote about religion. Piaget distinguished between an immature, socially determined form of faith that engendered negative emotions and a more humanistic faith championing autonomy and equality. However, without question, the most important figure associated with the Swiss tradition is Carl Jung.

Jung, who studied with Janet, was deeply influenced by Flournoy and James, and was heir apparent to Freud before their complete break, is known as the founder of analytical psychology. In contrast to Freud's tripartite structural theory of the psyche, reliance on the developmental determinism of childhood, and negative evaluation of religion, Jung's valorization of the transformative potential of religion was based on the related concepts of the collective unconscious and individuation. Beneath Freud's personal unconscious, thought Jung, lay a collective unconscious housing universal archetypes, conceived of as forms (without specific content) known only by their cultural and religious expressions and effects on the individual psyche. The task of psychological growth, which Jung termed *individuation*, was to acknowledge and therapeutically work through the contents of the personal and collective unconscious, gradually heightening the feeling of wholeness, harmony, and the totality of the self. Although Jung posited many archetypes, he thought those of the persona, shadow, anima/animus, the wise man, the child, the great mother, and the self were particularly evident in religious ideation. Jung's psychology of religion, while establishing a theoretical framework for analyzing the therapeutic and healing nature of religion (including Eastern religions, which Jung promoted with greater success than any other psychologist of his era), also tended to blur the line between a psychology "of" religion and a religious psychology. In positing a generic, religious dimension to the unconscious, Jung is in part responsible for establishing the unchurched, mystical form of self-actualization prevalent in the modern era.

NORTH AMERICAN CONTRIBUTIONS. The originative contributions to the psychology of religion from North America stemmed primarily from two major figures, G. Stanley Hall and William James, and their students. These contributors as a group were sympathetic towards religion, many having been drawn initially to theological education, the ministry, and the value of a progressive social worldview. Hall, who founded the Clark School of the Psychology of Religion (at Clark University), was initially influenced by Wundt and set up a laboratory for the empirical investigation of religion. Particularly interested in conversion, religious growth, mysticism, and education, Hall and two of his best-known students, E. D. Starbuck (1866–1917) and James Leuba (1868–1946), were instrumental in developing questionnaires, interviews, and a statistical approach to the psychology of religion. Hall developed the view that religion was socially adaptive and, in books such as *Jesus, the Christ, in the Light of Psychology* (1917), that religious figures embodied higher forms of morality. Psychology, argued Hall, could help mankind to actualize those ethical ideals. Starbuck followed suit, publishing a landmark study, aptly titled *The Psychology of Religion* (1899), which centered on the relation between adolescence and conversion. However, Leuba, in works such as *The Psychology of Religious Mysticism* (1925), evinced a marked sympathy towards the methods of psychophysiology, remaining unconvinced of the ontological reality of the divine. Yet even Leuba, the most reductionistic of the group, also argued for the potential of religion to morally transform individuals and society. Leuba also studied with James, as did James Bisset Pratt (1875–1944), whose work on Buddhism and Hinduism, like that of Jung's, was instrumental in heightening awareness of the value of Eastern religious traditions. W. E. Hocking (1873–1966), James's successor at Harvard University, argued for a psychologically pragmatic, democratic, and socially activist form of mysticism. James also had a long correspondence with R. C. Bucke (1837–1902), the Canadian psychologist and author of the classic book *Cosmic Consciousness* (1901), who became an important figure for later humanistic and transpersonal psychologists. Bucke's major contribution proceeded as a result of an epiphany he later conceptualized as an instance of "cosmic consciousness." He was an early advocate of perennialism, arguing that cosmic consciousness lay at the heart of all religion, that mankind was evolving towards a utopian socialist and mystical society, and that all outward religious forms would disappear as mankind actualized its inherent ability to achieve cosmic consciousness.

Despite the fact that during this era it was Hall and his students who were perceived as the main instigators of the psychology of religion, it is James, author of the classic work *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902), who continues to exert influence on the field. Although James never developed a therapeutic system like Freud and Jung, he was the most prolific and philosophically astute of the American contributors. A product of the modern worldview, James proclaimed experience as more primary than religious dogma, theology, or church accoutrements. Adopting the descriptive, phenomenological method, he compiled the most diverse, substantial, and compelling anthology of personal religious experience of his day, offering typologies such as the sick soul, the healthy-minded, and the divided self, as well as parameters for understanding religious phenomena such as mysticism and conversion. James was a thoroughgoing pragmatist who posited a radical form of empiricism (which allowed for personal religious experience as a source for ascertaining the nature of reality), and he offered the possibility of a pluralistic universe (which threw into doubt the ascertainable existence of one, underlying absolute truth). In bracketing the divine, or "More," on the further side of the individual psyche, his interpretative evaluation of religious experiences aimed at providing *existential* judgements (classification schemes and an examination of the subconscious dynamic involved) and *spiritual* judgements (an assessment of their "fruits," or pragmatic value for one's life).

By 1930 there was a general decline of interest in colleges and culture at large in the psychology of religion. Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi (1974) has adduced several factors for this, including the rise of National Socialism, the threat of war, the Great Depression, the rise of behaviorism (which eschewed introspection and subjectivity) and theological neo-orthodoxy (a conservative theological movement which challenged the ability of psychology to apprehend religious truth), and the perception that the methods of psychology were less than competent, objective, and value-neutral. Nevertheless, one can discern the beginnings of theoretical models (depth-psychological, humanistic, phenomenological-existential, empirical) and dialogical enterprises (with humanistic, theological, and social-scientific methods) that would become the foundation upon which advances could be built.

THE POSTWAR PERIOD THROUGH THE 1960S. The aftermath of the Second World War brought new resources into the psychology of religion. Immigration brought European, Asian, and North American intellectuals representing a variety of religious traditions into greater dialogue. With respect to theory, there were substantial developments in psychoanalysis, analytical psychology, empirical studies, and humanistic-existential forms of therapy. Perhaps as important, the effect of psychology on many sectors of society was impressive enough that many culture theorists began to take note. The sociologist Philip Rieff (b. 1922), in his classic work *The Triumph of the Therapeutic* (1966), wrote that previously, all societies were "positive" in nature, by which he meant guided by a religious symbol system that facilitated repression, insured the allegiance of individuals to the communal whole, and offered religious forms of healing to ward off anomie. However, with the impact of psychology, particularly the depth-psychology of Freud and Jung, a new controlling symbolism displaced the reigning religious one. The key to the rise of the therapeutic culture (or "negative" communities) was the valorization of the individual over the communal whole and the creation of a cultural space for the working through of previously repressed unconscious contents. Given the enormous impact of this new science, philosophers, theologians, and comparativists were eager to dialogue with proponents of the psychology of religion, not simply on the grounds of the field's intellectual merits, but also due to their (correct) perception that psychology was becoming the preferred, even dominant cultural mode of introspection. This period saw both an extension and a creative rebirthing of the efforts of the prewar era. The major developments of the 1950s and 1960s were ego psychology; analytic psychology; humanistic, phenomenological, and existential psychology; empirical and behavioral studies; and pastoral psychology.

Ego psychology. Classic psychoanalysis as developed by Freud rendered the ego weak, beset by the more powerful forces of the id and superego. The next generation of psychoanalysts, headed by his daughter Anna Freud (1895–1982) and including Heinz Hartmann (1894–1970), Ernst Kris, David Rapaport (1911–1960), and Erik Erikson (1902–1994), formulated a much more positive understanding of the ego. They granted it independent energy, more sophisticated defenses, increased ability for adaptation and play, and a central role in an epigenetic, developmental process whose multiple stages of growth spanned the life cycle. These theoretical advances allowed for the resolution of infantile fixations and conflicts, eventuating in virtues such as trust, integrity, identity, generational care, and generativity. Erikson, the best known of this group, was instrumental in using such advances to reverse Freud's negative evaluation of religion. Utilizing the genre of psychobiography, Erikson analyzed religious figures such as Martin Luther (*Young Man Luther*, 1958) and Gandhi (*Gandhi's Truth*, 1969) to show how ego psychology could illuminate the healing, transformative power of religion. In the 1960s Erich Fromm (1900–1980), in his *Zen Buddhism and Psychoanalysis* (1960), and Herbert Fingarette (b. 1921), in his *The Self in Transformation* (1965), similarly used the insights of ego psychology to frame Buddhism as a healing enterprise commensurate with the best aims of psychoanalysis.

Analytic psychology. Jung's psychology was increasingly influential during the 1950s and 1960s, not simply due to the efforts of Jung, who wrote many of his most influential books on religion during this time (e.g., *Answer to Job* [1952]), but also due to subsequent interpreters such as Erich Neumann (1905–1960) and, later, James Hillman (b. 1926). During this period Jung's psychology was also made accessible to empirical, correlational testing through the creation of the Meyers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI), a personality test based on Jung's description of personality types. It is still a popular tool utilized to measure religious orientation. Jung's psychology also had considerable impact on the comparative study of religion. Mircea Eliade (1907–1986), one of the leading comparativists of his generation, used Jung's notion that the collective unconscious housed a generic religious dimension to facilitate his project of trying to recover the sacred (see *Myths, Dreams, and Mysteries*, 1960). Additionally, Joseph Campbell (1904–1987) in works such as *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (1949), established a considerable oeuvre on myths which drew heavily on Jungian archetypal thought to demonstrate their universal significance and meaning.

Humanistic, phenomenological, and existential psychology. The extension of previous attempts at developing phenomenological, existential, and humanistic elements in the psychology of religion received impetus from a variety of figures, of which three should be singled out. Gordon Allport's (1897–1967) central contribution, found in his *The Individual and His Religion* (1950), was the distinction between mature, intrinsic forms of religious orientation and more immature forms of extrinsic religious orientation. In the former case, individuals treated religion as an end in itself. Allport listed the guiding characteristics of such an orientation as being differentiated, dynamic, directive, integral, heuristic, and comprehensive. In extrinsic forms of religious orientation, Allport thought that individuals treated religion as a means, often exhibiting egoistic, wish-fulfilling forms of behavior. Allport's typology led to an immensely influential empirical, correlational scale, the Religious Orientation Scale, which measured extrinsic and intrinsic forms of religious behavior. Victor Frankl (b. 1905), influenced by phenomenological philosophy, existentialism, and his own experiences in Nazi concentration camps, was the founder of the therapeutic system known as logotherapy (see *Man's Search* *for Meaning,* 1962). Deeply religious, eschewing the total determinism of childhood development, and stressing the uniqueness of every individual and the intimate relation of the self to a personal God, Frankl highlighted issues pertaining to individual freedom, responsibility, self-transcendence, conscience, and will to meaning. Abraham Maslow (1908–1970) spent his life articulating a psychology which, over and against classical psychoanalysis and behaviorism, detailed the development of higher forms of consciousness. Maslow distinguished between basic needs for physiological sustenance, safety, belonging, and self-esteem, and the higher need for self-actualization. The latter, a general designation for experiences of joy, completeness, and unity, reached their culmination in *peak-experiences,* Maslow's most famous term and one crucial to his understanding of religion. In his *Religions, Values, and Peak-Experiences* (1964) Maslow espoused a perennialism based on peak-experiences, distinguishing between "legalists" (nonpeakers and curators of a bureaucratic understanding of religion) and "mystics" (peakers who experientially grasped the essence of religion). Mystical states and peak-experiences, now understood as the psychological core uniting all religions, could be accessed through scientific, technical means. Maslow thus advocated a naturalistic, unchurched religion that was commensurate with the scientific, psychological enterprise.

Empirical and behavioral studies. B. F. Skinner, the central theorist of behaviorism, viewed religion in generally negative terms. Skinner thought religion was a determined form of social behavior whose continued existence can be attributed to "operant conditioning" (that is, because religious behavior is reinforced) and the need of religious authorities to maintain power and control. Although behaviorism, at least at the outset, was the most powerful new form of psychological theory during this period, it met with multiple competitors. As mentioned above, the theories of Allport and Jung impacted empirical studies through the development of the Religious Orientation Scale (Allport) and the MBTI (Jung). In addition, the meteoric rise of interest in Eastern religions gave creative impetus to laboratory science. Experimental studies of meditation measured the physiological effects of practices such as Zen and yoga on respiration, heart rate, skin resistance, and cerebral activity. Similarly, the interest in altered states of consciousness accessed through psychedelics (or *entheogens,* a word which means "containing God") such as lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD), peyote, and mescaline resulted in numerous studies measuring their effect on faith and religiousness. Insofar as these studies occurred during a volatile cultural atmosphere in the 1960s, it should be noted that many of these empirical studies were conducted and advanced by figures and psychologists associated with the human potential movement. As a group, the movement championed the values of receptivity, spontaneity, nowness, and the cultivation of an essentially unchurched, mystical-experiential form of religiousness.

Pastoral psychology. In the prewar period, pastoral psychology had been practiced by figures such as Oskar Pfister (1873–1956), the Swiss pastor, lay analyst, and confidant of Freud, and Anton Boisen (1876–1965), a minister who parlayed his own bout with schizophrenia into establishing a form of clinical pastoral psychology. However, it was not until the postwar period that pastoral psychology became a powerful social institution. As ably detailed by Peter Homans in his *The Dialogue between Theology and Psychology* (1968), its aim was to formulate a mature, psychologically sophisticated form of faith by investigating the relation between developmental determinants, existential issues (such as freedom, choice, and responsibility) and theological issues (such as faith, sin, morality, and redemption). Many of its proponents (e.g., Albert Outler, Seward Hiltner, David Roberts) engaged in dialogue with proponents of existential, humanistic, psychoanalytic, and analytical psychology. Several noted philosophers and theologians entered this debate, including Reinhold Niebuhr (1892–1971), who utilized psychological insights to nuance the Christian distinction between nature and spirit, and Paul Ricouer (b. 1913), who, in respecting the depth-psychological "hermeneutics of suspicion," argued for a more mature form of faith he called a second naiveté. Of the theologians, however, none was more important than Paul Tillich (1886–1965). As his "correlational method" made abundantly clear, psychology was American culture's mode of formulating the central existential questions about the nature of the human condition. Any theological system, then, could not dispense with active dialogue with psychology. In over two dozen essays, later published in *The Meaning of Health* (1984) and in major works such as *The Courage to Be* (1952), Tillich proceeded to integrate the insights of numerous therapeutic frameworks to show how pastoral psychology could help overcome the "heteronomous" God; reveal the universal, structural anxieties of guilt, death, and meaninglessness; and mediate the only God (who he called the God "above" the God of "theological theism") who could truly heal the plight of the modern person. In many ways Tillich was the central architect of pastoral psychology and, as is so evident in his essays, the religious intellectual most responsible for fermenting a bona fide dialogue between theologians and psychologists of all stripes.

1970 TO 2005. As may be evident from the foregoing, the developments of the 1950s and 1960s began a process of blurring the understanding of psychology as a value-neutral methodological tool independent of and objective with respect to its subject (in this case the contents, practices, and ideation of religious traditions). Although the value-neutral, objective stance of psychology vis-à-vis religion remains a desired end, ongoing developments in culture studies and the postmodern deconstruction of any perspective claiming to possess objective, absolute truth has further necessitated an analysis of the relativity, selectivity, and implicit scale of values harbored within psychological theories of all kinds. The net effect has been the opening of the tent of the psychology "of" religion to include "religious psychology" and studies whose orientation consists of a dialogical enterprise between psychology and various humanistic and social scientific perspectives (e.g., philosophy, theology, comparative/cultural studies). The introduction of new terms that reflect this inclusion (e.g., *religion and the human sciences; religion, person, and culture; psychology "and" religion*) have become, for many, accepted parts of the nomenclature when designating the field. Although it is fair to say that debates over designation and inclusion still rage (some would like to narrowly circumscribe what constitutes the psychology "of" religion, omitting religious psychology and dialogical enterprises), it is also fair, in detailing the contours of this period, to mention not only developments in the psychology "of" religion but also those developments signaling the move towards a wider, more inclusive understanding of the field. Although the framework and typology utilized to conceptualize the latter can be debated, the use of alternate categorization schemes cannot safely neglect object-relations theory, transpersonal psychology, empirical and behavioral studies, practical theology, the psychology–comparativist dialogue, and psychology of religion and culture studies.

Object-relations theory. Although Freud's own emphasis was on the Oedipus complex, he also offered a preliminary framework for considering the pre-Oedipal, narcissistic (used as a descriptive, not pejorative term) phase of development. Several subsequent theorists, including Melanie Klein, D. W. Winnicott, Ronald Fairbairn, and Heinz Kohut (founder of "Self psychology"), added clinical and theoretical contributions that have increased our knowledge of the developmental line of narcissism. In contrast to Freud's emphasis on instinct and conflict, these theorists emphasized relational issues of separation and merger, the processes of idealization and identification/internalization, and the development of a cohesive self, self-esteem, and creativity. Although studies of this genre proliferate, particularly successful is Ana-Maria Rizzuto's *The Birth of the Living God* (1979), which, in utilizing Winnicott's notion of a "transitional object," elaborated a clinically based understanding of belief in a "God Representation." This is created by individuals from a variety of representational objects (the pre-Oedipal mother, the Oedipal father, siblings, relatives, and significant others), is capable of evolving with changes in the life cycle, and functions to insure adaptation to life's exigencies. With respect to Eastern religions, Sudhir Kakar, in books such as *The Inner World* (1981) and *The Analyst and the Mystic* (1991), illuminates how Hindu forms of religious ideation and practice are especially conducive to a pre-oedipal theoretical analysis. On the whole, object-relations theory allows for a marked sympathy towards religion that is absent in Freud. Several originative theorists in this tradition come close to Jung in their metapsychological conceptualization of a religious dimension to the personality (e.g., Kohut's "cosmic narcissism," Wilfred Bion's "O," Jacques Lacan's "The Real"). In this respect it is noteworthy, as is evident in Peter Homans's *Jung in Context* (1979), which sees Jung as anticipating Kohut's Self psychology, that theories concerning the developmental line of narcissism have become for many the long-awaited bridge linking the often contentious battle between Jungians and Freudians.

Transpersonal psychology. Late in his life, Abraham Maslow took his formulations on humanistic psychology and peak-experience one step further by initiating the formation of a full-blown religious psychology. Called transpersonal psychology, its proponents frame it as part of a tradition in the psychology of religion which includes the researches of James, Jung, and R. M. Bucke. Influenced by Eastern religions, its essence is devoted to the study of all higher forms of psychological and religious consciousness, including peak experiences, unitive forms of mystical consciousness, and feelings of bliss, awe, and wonder. Starting in the late 1960s, advocates of transpersonal psychology created professional, academic outlets for their work, including programs for transpersonal psychotherapy and a journal, the *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology.* A number of scholars during this period, including Charles Tart, Ken Wilber, Stanislav Grof, and Michael Washburn, have utilized a variety of psychological approaches to advocate the scientific study of mystical and paranormal phenomena. Tart has written extensively on paranormal phenomena, and Grof is known for his work on entheogens and their ability to illumine structural elements of religious consciousness, including Jungian archetypes. Wilber has articulated a version of the perennial philosophy, drawing from maps of consciousness found in Western psychotherapies and the world's mystical traditions. He argues for a "spectrum of consciousness" ranging from the lower egoistic forms to the dissolution of self characteristic of various forms of Buddhism and the Hindu Vedanta tradition. Each level can be addressed, both metapsychologically and therapeutically, by various kinds of Western psychologies. Washburn, also drawing on a variety of psychotherapeutic frameworks, argues that spiritual development has a spiral path, and his work has concentrated on elucidating characteristic forms of experience which unfold during the course of this spiraling upwards.

Empirical and behavioral studies. Arrays of studies in the empirical and behavioral category have appeared since 1970. Utilizing Allport's distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic religious orientations, several theorists have added developments to empirical analysis, including the following: the Quest Scale (a more nuanced view of intrinsic forms of religious orientation); the Religious Viewpoints Scale (which distinguishes between committed [personal religious style] and consensual [socially generated forms] of religiousness); general attribution theory (which links religion with matters of self-esteem, meaning, and control); attachment theory (which examines the strong relational bonds religion fosters); and coping theory (which seeks to analyze religion as a means of coping with the existential and social exigencies of life). Social role theory has proved useful in analyzing how motivation, behavior, and learning proceed through identification with religious role models. Sociobiology, relying on the researches of physiology, ethology, and evolutionary biology, looks at the biological basis for all social behaviors, concentrating in particular on the relationship between religion, society, and altruistic forms of relating. The continued interest in Eastern religious practices has spawned a vast assortment of laboratory analysis. Particularly significant are those researchers who have used the findings of work in bihemispheric studies to show how the myths, symbols, and practices of religious traditions signify the working of the right (devoted to spatial orientation, art, and holistic mentation) and left (involved with analytic reasoning, language, and math) hemispheres of the brain. Additionally, with the advent of brain imaging, and drawing on the researches of evolutionary psychology and biology, many in cognitive neuroscience have endeavored to locate with greater precision which areas of the brain are responsible for specific forms of religious experience and behavior.

Practical theology. The dialogue between psychology and theology and the development of pastoral psychology has continued in practical theology. Indeed, programs in pastoral education and counseling have thrived since the 1970s in many seminaries and universities. Building on the efforts of theologians and religious intellectuals of the previous period, practical theology continues to involve proponents of Christianity and Judaism, evincing a marked theoretical sophistication over previous attempts at dialogue. A noted example is James Fowler, who, in his *Stages of Faith* (1981), offers a stage approach to the maturation of faith based on the ego psychology of Erikson, the cognitive developmental framework of Piaget, and the developmental theory of morality found in the works of Lawrence Kohlberg. Don Browning, whose substantial oeuvre in this area includes *Religious Thought and the Modern Psychologies* (1987), has utilized a revised version of Tillich's method of correlation to tease out the religious and ethical horizons of various psychological theories. Having established that psychology is not simply a neutral science but, with respect to its effects on culture and individuals, has implications for religion and ethical theory, Browning brings the results of such an analysis into dialogue with Protestant cultural values and attendant notions of virtue and selfhood.

The psychology-comparativist dialogue. The continued influx and popularity of Eastern religions, scholarly advances in the exegesis of non-Western religions, and the rise of academics familiar with both psychological and indigenous religious psychophysiological techniques has given rise to a "psychology-comparativist dialogue" (see Jonte-Pace and Parsons, 2001). Germinal elements of this dialogue can be found in previous eras, although to speak of a true dialogue is problematic. The well-intended researches of Jung, James, and Pratt did much to elevate the status of Eastern religions in the eyes of psychologists in the early 1900s. However, they were marked by orientalism and marred by faulty translations, reductionism, and the lack of engagement with scholars within Eastern traditions. Studies of the 1950s and 1960s, intent on creating dialogue and tolerance, were too often inclined to level differences, succumbing to a naive perennialism. After 1970 there was more accurate exegesis of alternate understandings of self, world, and other found in Eastern religions. Although there is some overlap with humanistic, empirical, and transpersonal approaches, the psychology-comparativist dialogue is marked by a synthesis of interdisciplinary methods (i.e., psychological, cultural, philosophical, comparative) in arriving at an appreciation of real differences and attempts at respectful dialogue. Examples can be found in Luis Gomez's careful evaluation of a Jungian approach to the texts of Indian Buddhism in *Curators of the Buddha* (1995) and Jeffrey Kripal's *Kali's Child* (1995), which performs a classic Freudian interpretation by seeing symptoms of repressed homoeroticism in the visions and acts of Ramakrishna (1836–1886), but then, in exemplifying the interdisciplinary approach of this dialogue, legitimates Ramakrishna's religious visions by situating psychoanalytic discourse in a wider Tantric worldview. Jack Engler, another theorist in this category, draws on his expertise as a psychologist and meditation teacher in arguing that Western psychotherapy and Buddhist *abhidharma* each have different, legitimate aims if viewed in their proper cultural contexts (see *Transformations of Consciousness* [1986]). According to Engler, psychotherapy aims at helping to grow a cohesive, healthy sense of self; Buddhist meditation, presupposing a healthy self, aims at "losing" it. Jeffrey Rubin, in his *Psychotherapy and Buddhism* (1996), includes a careful consideration of culture in his attempt to steer a middle path between "Orientocentrism" (the privileging of Asian thought and practice) and Eurocentrism. In the period under consideration, this dialogue is also marked by an increasing number of interdisciplinary studies critiquing Western psychological attempts at creating dialogue with Eastern religions, notably J. J. Clarke's analysis of Jung and comparative studies (*Jung and Eastern Thought*, 1994) and William B. Parsons's evaluation of psychoanalytic interpretations of comparative mysticism (*The Enigma of the Oceanic Feeling*, 1999).

Psychology of religion and culture studies. Although many of the above-cited studies deal in some way with culture studies, there are several types of studies that can be directly subsumed under the category psychology of religion and culture studies. Among the most important is psychology, religion, and gender studies. As Diane Jonte-Pace (in Jonte-Pace and Parsons, 2001) has carefully pointed out, the feminist critique of psychological studies of religion is an ongoing enterprise that has incorporated three kinds of scholarship: (1) feminist critics have sought to uncover the androcentric biases of theory; (2) feminist analysts have exposed the gender imbalance and prejudice constructed by culture; and (3) feminist inclusivists have proposed creative new ways of reframing women's experiences.

Another important subcategory is psychology, religion, and the social sciences. There is a growing trend to include the psychology of religion as part of a more inclusive social scientific approach to religion. From this perspective psychology is a cultural science that cannot afford to dispense with the findings of sociology and anthropology in analyzing religious phenomena. In addition, such collaboration helps to actualize a self-reflective movement through which those that utilize psychological theory may become more aware of the ethnocentric assumptions and values embodied in psychological metapsychology. Cases in point are the work of sociologist Michael Carroll, whose *The Cult of the Virgin Mary* (1986) weds social theory with psychoanalysis; the work of anthropologist Gananath Obeysekere, who, in works such as *Medusa's Hair* (1981) and *The Work of Culture* (1990), uses culturally sensitive psychological, anthropological, and philosophical theory to interpret Hindu ideation and practice; and the work of social scientist Peter Homans, who, in *The Ability to Mourn* (1989), has fashioned an integration of social-scientific disciplines, focusing on the psychodynamics of individual biography in the context of social change in an attempt to understand the emergence of creative theorizing about religion in figures such as Jung, Freud, and Max Weber.

Another group of studies that can be categorized as psychology of religion and culture studies deals with psychology "as" religion. The term *psychology as religion* is understandably anathema to many scholars in the psychology of religion, given that it undermines the seemingly objective character of psychology as a method for the analysis "of" religion. Nevertheless, since the time of Philip Rieff's *The Triumph of the Therapeutic* (1966), culture theorists have increasingly written about the ways in which psychology not only analyzes religion but also, culturally speaking, has acted "like a religion." As is evident in the case of Jung and the transpersonal psychologists, psychological theory is often utilized for purposes of organizing and expressing the existential search for wholeness, numinous experiences, and individuation. Ostensibly a method for the analysis of religion, psychology has its own scale of values, and it not only seeks to interpret religious phenomena but also offers itself, at times quite intentionally, as a modern, nontraditional way to map one's religiosity. With respect to popular culture, this is illustrated by the success of books that rely on Jungian theory and its derivatives in promoting a version of unchurched, psychological spirituality (e.g., M. Scott Peck's *The Road Less Traveled* [1978]).

SEE ALSO Freud, Sigmund; Hall, G. Stanley; James, William; Jung, C. G.

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WILLIAM B. PARSONS (2005)

PSYCHOLOGY: PSYCHOTHERAPY AND RELIGION

Historically, the relationship between psychotherapy and religion has been strained, because until recently it has been dominated by psychoanalytic theory and has turned on that field's conceptualization of *illusion*. Influenced as it is by the psychobiological origins of psychoanalytic theory, psychotherapy traditionally has considered religion an illusion in a strictly pejorative sense. Only relatively recently have many psychotherapists come to understand that illusion is a psychological need and that, as such, it can be healthily enjoyed in a socially beneficial way or distorted into pathology, just as any need can be. Religion has defensively reacted to psychoanalysis's largely negative consideration of it by campaigning against psychoanalysis, ignoring it altogether, or prematurely incorporating its theory. Understandably, religion has bridled at being considered merely illusory, for this consideration inherently denies the reality of religious experience. Often the psychoanalytic consideration of religious material has used a methodology based in nineteenth-century physical science that, because of its own assumptions, makes study of religious experience impossible. The scientific origins (some would say aspirations) of psychoanalysis have enabled the field to lay claim to a position of objectivity, which must then see religion experience as illusory. Fortunately there have been positive developments in the relationship between psychotherapy and religion: Psychotherapy has begun to appreciate the psychological and cultural role of religion, and religion has begun to utilize psychotherapy more appropriately and less defensively. This article examines the main features of this developing relationship.

PSYCHOANALYTIC THEORY. Any consideration of the relationship between psychotherapy and religion must start, of course, with the work of Sigmund Freud (1856–1939). And there the difficulties also begin.

Freud and illusion. It is a testament to Freud's greatness that readers are frustrated with him for his shortcomings, which are clearly evident in his consideration of religion. (His shortcomings in his attempts to understand women and female experience, another glaring area of difficulty, are beyond the purview of this article.) Regardless of his greatness, the limitations of his era's scientific methodology—especially its psychobiology—and his own personal prejudice against and ambivalence toward religion combined to make it impossible for him to study religion objectively (i.e., in a way which would grant credence to others' subjectivity). Freud was able to see clearly the religious pathology in individual cases of neurosis and the social hypocrisy that probably has always been a feature of organized religion, but it is a deep irony that the man who cleared the way for the recognition of the developmental interrelation of pathology and health was not able to apply his own discovery to religious experience.

In numerous works, but nowhere as clearly as in *The Future of an Illusion* (1927), Freud considers religion as illusion. He contends that religion originated in early humanity's (and continues to originate in the child's) primordial fears and need for help. The idea of God is the psyche's projection onto the cosmos of infantile, unconscious wishes for omnipotence and protection, an effort to control the cosmos's impersonal harshness by personalizing it as a father-god. God is therefore only a psychic phenomenon, the product of wishful thinking—in short, an illusion. For Freud, then, illusion is a pejorative concept, an adaptation that, if possible, should be overcome in favor of facing reality without illusion. Although Freud does distinguish between delusion and illusion (the former definitely a false belief and the latter a belief that, whether true or false, is arrived at independently of rational means), it is nonetheless the case that by the strictures of the nineteenth-century scientific paradigm that Freud employed, religion is false because it is not real.

Psychoanalysts and other psychotherapists whose practice has been influenced by Freud, then, have little use for religion, seeing it as a defense the maladapted ego has formulated against the harsh realities of the world. In all likelihood, given a patient with a strong enough ego, such a therapist would work to encourage the patient to see that this defense is not needed. There would be some latitude here, because psychoanalytic theory has adherents at all stages of its development. There are Freudian psychoanalysts and also psychoanalytic institutes that represent the full range of Freudian thought from psychobiology to pre-ego psychology. Typically, however, the faculties of these institutes come from backgrounds in psychiatry or clinical psychology (and, more recently, social work) and therefore are little influenced by religious perspectives.

Transitional figures. Few psychoanalysts after Freud were as concerned as he was with religion. Freud's pronouncements on religion receded from controversy and became the status quo in psychoanalysis until theoretical developments necessitated their being questioned. Psychoanalytic theory developed into two broad, interrelated categories, one continuing Freud's psychobiological interests and focusing on mechanistic descriptions of psychodynamics and the other pursuing the more holistic study of the experiential psychic life of the person. In the first group, Anna Freud (1885–1982) and others contributed to the shift in psychoanalysis (a shift that had actually already been begun by Freud himself) toward the study of the ego and its defense mechanisms. In this way, the older view of the adaptation to reality at all costs began to be modified by this school, which came to be known as ego psychology. In the second group, Melanie Klein (1882–1960) and others began to study the earliest development of the person in terms of what have come to be called object relations theory. In psychoanalytic theory, an object is the psychological representation of a person in the most elementary terms—as a good object, one which is nurturing, or as a bad object, one which is persecutory. (Klein thus laid the groundwork for D. W. Winnicott's study of transitional phenomena, as well as for self psychology and the study of narcissism.) Both theoretical groups unwittingly undermined Freud's attitude toward religion: The first came to appreciate less stringent adaptation to reality than had been advocated by earlier analysis, and the second prepared the way for examining the methods—including illusion itself—that the psyche necessarily uses to come to grips with reality.

Three other psychoanalytic theorists who should be mentioned in a discussion of psychotherapy and religion are Eric Fromm (1900–1980), Victor Frankl (1905–1997), and Erik H. Erikson (1903–1987). The first two are included not so much because they contributed in a fundamental way to the development of psychoanalytic theory, nor even because they advanced the psychoanalytic understanding of illusion, but because they took religion seriously on its own terms and thus began to break away from Freud's reductionistic methodology in studying religion. Fromm, as a representative of the first group of psychoanalytic theorists previously mentioned, saw religion's value from a broad cultural perspective, whereas Frankl, as a representative of the second group, appreciated religion's psychological function in assisting the individual's search for meaning. The work of Erikson must also be considered in the psychoanalytic examination of religion. Erikson, popularly known for his study of the "identity crisis," pioneered the discipline of psychohistory. With *Young Man Luther* (1958) and *Gandhi's Truth* (1969), Erikson studied what he called *homo religiosus,* that is, the person whose nature and historical circumstance demand a religious existence—a kind of life that, Erikson insisted, can be psychologically healthy. Erikson treats the religious quests of both Luther and Gandhi with dignity, humaneness, and compassion. Even two decades before, it would have been unheard of for an analyst of Erikson's stature to psychoanalytically examine a religious figure without reducing him to a case study in psychopathology.

Winnicott and transitional phenomena. As the first pediatrician to be trained as a psychoanalyst, the Englishman D. W. Winnicott (1896–1971) was in a unique position to study the psychological development of infants and children, as well as the relationship between parents (particularly mothers) and their children. Winnicott's primary theoretical interest was the psychological emergence of the infant into the social world. In Winnicott's view, the bridging of these two worlds is accomplished through the presence of *good enough mothering* and the child's use of transitional objects. For Winnicott, a good-enough mother is concerned about her child and sensitive to his or her needs, but she does not err either by psychologically impinging on the child or by traumatizing him or her with inconsistent care. She sees her child as progressively separate from herself; psychologically as well as physically, she weans her child carefully. In weaning, she often allows the child transitional objects: physical objects such as teddy bears and blankets that, through their association with the mother, help to ensure the infant's own psychological continuity. As such, they ward off insanity, which Winnicott saw as psychological discontinuity.

Winnicott's central theoretical breakthrough is his study of how transitional objects are used by the child as a bridge from the child's inner reality to the outer reality of the adult world. By studying these phenomena, he became the first psychoanalyst to study illusion systematically and, thus also, to study the psychoanalytic correlate of religion. In his 1951 paper "Transitional Objects and Transitional Phenomena," Winnicott placed the antecedent of religious development in the period of transitional phenomena and, in this way, illustrated the object-related nature of religious experience. (He did not, however, trace the development of the representation of God.) For Winnicott, transitional phenomena are located in the psychological space he calls *intermediate space* or *potential space.* In successful psychological cultural development, this space becomes the location of all cultural experience, including religion, which he also ties to good enough mothering: "Here where there is trust and reliability is a potential space, one that can become an infinite area of separation, which the baby, child, adolescent, adult may creatively fill with playing, which in time becomes the enjoyment of the cultural heritage" (Winnicott, 1971, p. 108).

What was pejorative illusion for Freud becomes for Winnicott positive potential space or the location of cultural experience. Winnicott redeems the idea of illusion in psychoanalytic theory and thereby redeems the psychoanalytic study of religion. Whereas Winnicott fully recognizes pathological illusion, he contends that illusion per se is by no means pathological. For Winnicott, although illusion is not real, it is not untrue. The psychologically healthy person is one who can use the transitional phenomenon of illusion in a healthy way. He writes, "We are poor indeed if we are only sane" (1958, p. 150).

As excellent example of the application of object relations theory to religion can be found in Ana-Maria Rizzuto's *The Birth of the Living God: A Psychoanalytic Study* (1979). Rizzuto develops Winnicott's idea of transitional objects and applies it to religion in a systematic way by focusing on the development within the individual psyche of what she calls the *God-image.* (In this way, she avoids the argument about the reality of religious experience.) Rizzuto argues that the God-image is a necessary and inevitable part of the human psyche (whether it is used for belief or not), and she traces its origins from the infant's earliest object-relations. The God-image is a specific object, she states, because it is formed not through experience or reality-testing, but instead is created out of imaginary materials. Further, she argues that even though the God-image may be subject to repression, it can never be fully repressed. Instead, it is evoked at crucial times of life, such as the transitions between major stages of development. Rizzuto's contribution is especially important in two ways. First, departing from Freud and aligning herself with Winnicott's positive appreciation of illusion, she comes to the conclusion that religious belief is not a sign of immaturity, let alone pathology. Rather, she asserts it is simply a part of the psyche's development. Second, by tracing the personal development of the God-image, she points up the differences between the official God of religious doctrine and the living God of personal experience. She implies that for religion to continue to be a living force the personal, living God must be recognized and incorporated into organized religion.

The profound influence of Winnicott's work has also led psychoanalysts from outside objects relations theory to employ his theory in the integration of psychotherapy and religion. Ann Belford Ulanov, a Jungian psychoanalyst and a theologian, applies Winnicott's idea of potential space to what she sees as the space between the human and the divine. In *Finding Space: Winnicott, God, and Psychic Reality* (2001), she suggests that Winnicott's focus on the experience of being real can help counter the sense many have of contemporary religion as passionless.

In general, psychoanalysts and psychotherapists influenced by the work of Winnicott—and their number is likely to increase as the profound importance of his work continues to be recognized—appreciate the importance of transitional objects of all kinds, including religion and religious beliefs. The aim of such a therapist would be to provide a *good enough* therapeutic environment (through the therapeutic relationship) and not simply to interpret unconscious conflicts, so that clients' natural ability to develop transitional objects emerges and they can become their own resource for bridging the psychological and social worlds. In part, this bridging can result from playing, an activity Winnicott devoted considerable theoretical effort to understanding and an activity (such as the arts and religious ritual and experience) that is in the intermediate area between inner and outer realities. The correlation of play and religious practice may well be an area explored in future applications to religion of psychoanalytic thought as influenced by Winnicott.

Self psychology and relational psychoanalysis. As they have in the past, those who seek to integrate psychotherapy and religion look to new developments in psychoanalytic theory, not only to justify religion against the historical onslaught fueled in part by psychoanalysis itself but also to deepen understanding of these facets of human experience. Self psychology, a school of psychoanalysis developed in the 1970s by Heinz Kohut (1913–1981), and relational psychoanalysis, a second school developed in the 1980s primarily by Stephen Mitchell (1946–2001), are late twentieth-century developments in psychoanalytic theory used in this way.

Like Winnicott, Kohut was not directly concerned with religion. He worked with patients suffering from narcissistic personality or behavior disorders, conditions classical psychoanalytic theory considered unable to be analyzed because such patients were so self-preoccupied that they could not sustain meaningful relationships with others, including analysts. Kohut was able to analyze the narcissistically arrested because he saw that parental misattunement (and not only overindulgence) created narcissistic disturbances in children. He reasoned that if these patients were responded to empathically (i.e., from within the perspective of their own developmental needs), their development would proceed. In contrast to traditional psychoanalytic theory, Kohut held that narcissism has an independent line of development, so that the extreme self-love of primitive narcissism is not transformed by maturation into object-love but develops instead into mature forms of narcissism (e.g., personally or professionally advocating for one's self). In the course of his writing, Kohut shifted his focus away from narcissism itself and came to recognize that these patients suffered from what amounted to disorders of the self (thus, self psychology in contrast to ego psychology).

In contrast to Kohut's developmental arrest model, relational psychoanalysis argues that "the pursuit and maintenance of human relatedness is the basic maturational thrust in human experience," as Mitchell writes in *Relational Concepts in Psychoanalysis, An Integration* (1988, p. 289). Relational psychoanalysis, then, emphasizes the social over the individual. Although it is a very influential perspective in psychoanalysis, it is not a unified school of thought that represents a single point of view. Rather, it is inclusive of the many psychoanalysts who have become disenchanted particularly with classical psychoanalysis. Still, there are some points on which these analysts agree. For example, Mitchell portrays the analytic process as the analyst's struggle to disentangle from the patient's preset relational configurations. Further, in one tie to the classical psychoanalysis of Freud as well as Klein's object relations theory, relational psychoanalysis sees aggression as inborn and thus part of every relationship (including the analyst–patient relationship).

Although psychoanalysts of both self psychology and relational psychoanalysis have occasionally written on religion and pastoral counselors have occasionally utilized both psychoanalytic schools, no single voice has yet emerged from either discipline uniquely employing the insights these theories might provide in the understanding of psychotherapy and religion. Even mainstream psychoanalysis, then, has moved from considering illusion in a pejorative to a positive light. Many other disciplines, including those considered in this article, start from the experiential basis of illusion.

ANALYTICAL PSYCHOLOGY (JUNG). In a consideration of the relationship between psychotherapy and religion from the perspective of the concept of illusion, a unique position is held by analytical psychology (popularly called Jungian psychology or theory, after its founder, Carl Jung, 1875–1961). Jung and the Jungians have been outside the mainstream of psychoanalytic theory since the early decades of the twentieth century—a divorce that has impoverished both mainstream psychoanalysis and the Jungians themselves. The isolation of the Jungians has slowed the humanization of classical psychoanalytic theory, narrowing its field of study by excluding the consideration of many common human phenomena, and it has isolated the Jungians to the extent that, with a few exceptions, their vocabulary and model of the psyche has little relation to the rest of psychoanalytic theory. Moreover, the separation of the Jungians from classical psychoanalysis has had the effect of further divorcing the disciplines that make use of these two schools of psychoanalytic theory. Freud has been used primarily by the social sciences, whereas Jung has been employed by the arts and humanities, especially theology and religious studies.

Theology's kinship with Jungian theory can be explained by Jung's refutation of the classical psychoanalytic correlation of religion and illusion. The Jungian position on illusion is represented by Jung's concept of the *psychological fact:* Jung states that all psychic products, including visions, dreams, and hallucinations, are facts that should be considered as having the same basis in reality as other facts, including physical facts. There is, therefore, almost no such thing as illusion in Jungian psychological theory. It is almost an illusionless psychology. Jung could be reductionistic, but his reductionism was unlike Freud's reduction of religion. Jung was able to see religion more clearly on its own terms as a human activity that, although it could often be contaminated by social hypocrisy or personal pathology, could nonetheless be based on a reality of experience irreducible by psychological method to other unconscious motives. Here Jung makes an important methodological point: It is not the business of psychology to prove or disprove the existence of God. He held that psychology can discuss the psychic effects of the God-image and its mythic antecedents, but it cannot discuss the existence of God apart from the human psyche. The insistence on the reality and importance of religious experience was a position Jung held to the end of his life.

The religious was deeply important to Jung. In part, this was the result of his own personal history. His father was a clergyman, as were a number of his uncles. But it was also a consequence of his experience as a psychoanalyst. In fact, in "Psychotherapy or the Clergy" he went so far as to state, "Among all my patients in the second half of life—that is to say, over thirty-five—there has not been one whose problem in the last resort was not that of finding a religious outlook on life." He went on to add, "This of course has nothing whatever to do with a particular creed or membership of a church" (Jung, 1967, vol. 11, p. 334). Jung's experience as a psychoanalyst informed and was informed by his work as an analytic theorist. It was his theory that the psyche is comprised of archetypes in a collective unconscious. That is, Jung held there was an unconscious aside from the personal unconscious of the individual's unremembered or repressed past, and this was the collective unconscious whose contents are archetypes (i.e., typical images and patterns of human behavior, but not predestined behavior itself, that endlessly recur and are found in the psyche precisely because it is human). The most important and central archetype is the self (similar to, but not the same as, the self in Kohut's self psychology). Jung thought the psychological purpose of the second half of life was for the personal ego to come to terms with the self, the apersonal center of the collective unconscious. Jung has often been criticized by less religiously inclined psychoanalysts for projecting religious meaning onto the self and thus, his critics claim, for advocating a religious psychology. He believed he was simply an empirical scientist.

Developments within Jungian theory have expanded the dialogue between psychotherapy and religion outside traditional boundaries. One somewhat formally organized schism of Jungian theory is called archetypal psychology. Led by James Hillman, it has an almost exclusive concentration on the archetypes of the collective unconscious. Polytheism is studied by this group. A second movement is marked by the rise of interest in the goddess among some Jungians. They argue that modern consciousness, including more specifically modern religion, has a patriarchal bias. A number of Jungian analysts and writers have focused on studies on the historical goddess religions and sometimes have urged a return to religious focus on the goddess in the lives of modern individuals. Two phenomena of popular culture reflect these ideas, although neither is strictly about the goddess. In 1992, Jungian analyst Clarrisa Pinkola Estes published *Women Who Run with the Wolves* in which she argued that women's wholeness depends on reengaging their repressed instinctual nature, and in 2003 Dan Brown wrote *The Da Vinci Code*, which suggested that the sacred feminine is on the rise.

The psychoanalyst or psychotherapist who has been influenced by Jung and by developments in Jungian theory is necessarily respectful of a client's religious issues. From the beginning, in contrast to other psychoanalytic institutes, Jungian institutes have accepted candidates with theological degrees. The reality of religious experience is therefore appreciated in a way that is unusual among psychoanalytic institutes. Jungians are also trained to differentiate psychologically healthy from psychologically unhealthy religion. Yet an often-heard criticism of Jungian psychology applies here: Usually a client is not encouraged to reintegrate their religious experience back into already established religious groups. Individuality is prized in the Jungian system in a way that can impoverish the individual, as it unwittingly demeans group experiences.

SPIRITUALITY IN PSYCHOTHERAPY. A consideration of psychotherapy and religion must include the remarkable growth of a number of new movements that can be gathered under the rubric of spirituality. A number of social movements and developments in science have combined to influence the development of spirituality. In the United States, the counterculture movement in the 1960s, which arose in part in protest of the Vietnam War, exposed great numbers to Eastern cultural practices for the first time, especially to Indian gurus who promoted a variety of spiritual practices. Transcendental meditation was adopted from these sources and became increasingly legitimate as scientific studies showed its effectiveness in promoting psychological and physical health. In academic psychology, humanistic psychology as the foundation for treatment gained influence. Especially important were Carl Rogers's (1902–1987) client-centered therapy, which featured the therapist's "unconditional positive regard" of the client, and Abraham Maslow's (1908–1970) theory of hierarchy of needs, which begins with the physical needs of the body and culminates in self-actualization. Humanistic psychology arose to counter psychoanalysis, particularly the classical (Freudian) psychoanalytic theory of the previous decades, and laid the groundwork for incorporating other, seemingly nonrational needs into psychotherapy. Even modern physics, especially relativity theory and quantum mechanics, can be thought to contribute to the development of spirituality, as they describe physical reality in profoundly counterintuitive ways.

Several common themes underlie these disparate developments. Both the new physics and the mystical thought of centuries hold that everything is interconnected and that order follows from chaos. Older ways of thought are seen as linear, and these newer ways are held to be nonlinear. Critics of older, established religions see them as dualistic in that typically the self is separate from a deity. Traditional Christian concepts such as original sin, a concept that emphasizes the separation of the individual from the holy, are sharply criticized. Those who embrace these newer ways of thinking hold that any religion that produces separatism is antispiritual; the concepts of joining and union are considered spiritual to them. In religion, for these people, there has been a shift away from monotheism toward polytheism and especially toward nontheism.

Many have observed there is a basic conflict in organized religion. To maintain itself, an organized religion needs to continue to promote its own doctrines, and this is often in conflict with individual religious experiences. Thus it follows that the mystic tradition in many religions is marginalized. Yet individual experience is also at the heart of religion (as contrasted to religious organization). This discrepancy has reached the point that many have come to feel that organized religions are stifling and rigid. However, this perception is not without paradox. Interestingly, at least in the United States, established religions such as Roman Catholicism and mainline Protestantism, which judge individual religious experience with external standards, are losing members, yet newer religious organizations, especially fundamentalism, which also emphasize external judgment, are thriving.

Some of those who are disenchanted with organized religion have begun to practice or develop spiritual practices on their own; others have turned to nontraditional sources, including psychotherapists who include spirituality in their practices. These practitioners span a wide spectrum of theoretical backgrounds and include a wide variety of techniques in their psychotherapeutic practices, including meditation, yoga, and chanting—none of which would have been considered appropriate in psychotherapy (not to say psychoanalysis) even fifteen years ago. Although spirituality in psychotherapy is not widespread, there is reason to believe that it will continue to expand its foothold and perhaps even transform the discipline.

RELIGIOUS COUNSELING. In the relationship between psychotherapy and religion, religious counseling, in contrast to psychoanalytic theory, takes as its foundation the legitimacy of religious experience. Organized religious counseling has been influenced by three factors that have interacted with each other over time: seminary education, clinical pastoral education, and pastoral counseling itself as a discipline.

Seminary education. Two interrelated factors have influenced the development of religious counseling in seminary education: the need for seminarians to be taught counseling and the development of the discipline of pastoral counseling. The first factor is important because, according to polls, more people in the United States will consult clergy before other professionals for help with personal problems. Yet an already-crowded seminary curriculum does not typically allow for in-depth training in counseling (let alone psychotherapy), and when it does, the counseling tends to be based not on psychological insight but on biblical precepts, which are culturally bound and can be punitive. As religious conservatism continues to grow and to become institutionalized, psychology and psychoanalysis are likely to become even less influential in pastoral counseling. Despite these possible developments, two classics in the field remain valuable: Paul W. Pruyser's *The Minister as Diagnostician* (1976) and Wayne E. Oates's *When Religion Gets Sick* (1970).

Very broadly, the character of a seminary education is formed by the denominational affiliation of the seminary, by the intellectual climate of its geographic locale, and in part by whether it is associated with a university. In the northeastern United States, psychology programs in seminaries traditionally reflect the psychoanalytic and history of religions approaches of the area. In the Midwest, scholars have been working toward a methodology of pastoral care. In the West, the influence of humanistic psychology and the psychologies arising from the counterculture of the late 1960s and early 1970s influenced the writing of those at the consortium of seminaries near San Francisco.

Clinical pastoral education (CPE). Although first organized in 1925, CPE—a formalized system to clinically train seminarians and clergy to work with persons in hospitals, mental institutions, and prisons—had a number of antecedents. These movements had in common the urge to study spirituality scientifically, as well as a discontent with the theological education of the time, which was perceived as too concerned with theological doctrine and not concerned enough with the reality of the emotional life of the person. (This was the time of the first impact of psychoanalysis in the United States.)

The development of CPE is usually attributed to Anton T. Boisen (1876–1965), a Congregational minister. Boisen had suffered a breakdown with psychotic features in the early 1920s and was consequently institutionalized. He graphically depicted his efforts to find meaning in his experience in *Out of the Depths* (1960), a book that still makes interesting reading. Slowly he and others were able to establish an ongoing, organized ministry with its own training program. A powerful speaker who used his own experiences, Boisen was able as a chaplain to engage in therapeutic relationships with the most disturbed patients at the Worcester (Massachusetts) State Hospital, the same hospital in which he had been institutionalized. The amusing and chaotic experiences of the seminarians who comprised the first group of CPE trainees are recorded by Doris Webster Havice in *Roadmap for Rebel* (1980). The growing influence of CPE, as well as closer cooperation between CPE and various denominations, led to the formation in 1967 of the Association for Clinical Pastoral Education from several smaller organizations.

A psychotherapeutic practitioner influenced by CPE essentially functions as a pastoral counselor, balancing a clinical perspective on psychodynamics with his or her own religious belief and, typically, with the client's religious belief as well. It is possible that CPE will need to change its focus, as there are now fewer mental institutions and hospital stays have been reduced by insurance policies and advances in medical technology.

Pastoral counseling. As a response the development of CPE in the mid-1920s, in the 1930s seminaries began to lay the groundwork for the continuing integration of religion and psychology. Following World War II, due to what would now be recognized as the trauma of the war, attendance at religious services reached record levels. Psychotherapy also burgeoned during World War II as it had in World War I (in fact, almost every major figure in American and English psychoanalysis was directly involved in the war effort), largely in an effort to treat traumatized soldiers so that they could be returned to battle in the best condition. One response by seminaries to the cultural needs of the time was to create chairs and departments of pastoral care (although the titles varied considerably). Four theologians emerged as leaders of the theory and practice of pastoral care: Seward Hiltner, author of one of the first books in the field, *Pastoral Counseling,* who was originally at the University of Chicago and later at Princeton; Paul Johnson at Boston University; Carroll Wise at Garret Seminary at Northwestern University; and Wayne Oates, a Southern Baptist physician affiliated with the Louisville, Kentucky, School of Medicine.

Graduate programs integrating theology and psychology began to be developed at this time, also (again, the titles of these programs varied considerably). These programs began in Protestant seminaries; only later did Catholic and Jewish seminaries develop them. Professional organizations began to develop, as well, the most prominent being the American Association of Pastoral Counseling (AAPC), which was founded in 1963. Aside from the cultural forces outlined, AAPC was established in part by Protestant ministers who in their ministries had become burned out and who had gone into their own therapy to deal with their professional exhaustion and sometimes estrangement from the church. Consequently, there was a theoretical focus on the individual, reflected in the influence of leading contemporary psychological humanistic theory, such as Rogers' client-centered therapy or Fritz Perls's gestalt therapy.

As so often happens in therapeutic movements and psychoanalysis, the theory goes faddishly in one direction; in this case, pastoral psychology started to disregard its own theological resources, forgetting nineteen hundred years of rich history. The focus was so much on individual psychology that those outside the field started to make legitimate critiques of the loss of a theological perspective, and in response psychiatrist Karl Menninger wrote *Whatever Became of Sin?* (1973). These critics encouraged pastors to recognize the universe of concepts from their own field at their disposal that could be helpful to those in their care. A contemporary theoretician who has made a similar convincing argument is Deborah Van Duesen Hunsinger in *Theology and Pastoral Counseling, a New Interdisciplinary Approach* (1995), in which she argues that theology and depth psychology are two different frames of reference and demonstrates how these two ways of thinking relate to each other in an inter-disciplinary approach that maintains the integrity of both disciplines.

More recently, AAPC has made attempts to be more truly interfaith and to move away from focusing solely on the individual, trying to overcome its basically liberal, anti-evangelical Protestantism. In AAPC, an appreciation has developed of the social dimension of faith, from the familial, community, and societal problems (such as domestic abuse, power problems in congregations, and clergy sexually acting-out). Another aspect of including a social dimension is an evaluation of what social systems and faith communities have to offer in terms of individual health. In this regard, it is important to note that considerable empirical research has demonstrated that spiritual belief has a markedly positive effect on physical health and psychological well-being. For example, in *Spirituality and Patient Care* (2002), Harold Koenig, an associate professor of psychiatry and medicine at Duke University in North Carolina, demonstrates that people who go to church are better off by almost every measure.

SOCIAL WORK. In considering the relationship between psychology and religion, social work is especially important. In the United States, social workers provided more psychotherapy than members of any other profession. The historical development of social work is intimately tied both to psychoanalytic theory and to religion and thus might be expected to be caught in the middle of the conflict between the two. This is not at all the case, however. With few exceptions, insofar as they still emphasize clinical training (albeit a declining focus) social work schools have opted to align themselves with psychoanalytic theory as academically and professionally the more powerful of the two approaches and to eschew any religious connections.

Social work developed in urban areas in the United States from the recognition on the part of many clergy that, following the Judeo-Christian obligation to be charitable, there was a dire need for social services and that these services required organization to be effective. The religious innovators of social work projects included individual clergymen such as Joseph Tucker, a Unitarian minister who organized charity for the poor in early nineteenth-century Boston; Stephen Humphreys Gurteen whose Charity Organization Society in Rochester, New York, gave rise to community welfare councils and to agencies serving families; and Charles Loring Brace whose "orphan trains" relocated large numbers of poor urban children—not always orphans—to the midwestern and western United States. Religious organizations also emerged, including the Young Men's Christian Association and the Salvation Army. Despite these historical associations, however, the three major religious traditions involved in social work in the United States have not directly tied religion into their social services. They have varied in how they relate religion to the services they deliver. Historically, Protestantism's decentralized structure has led to the secularization of the social services it delivers. Roman Catholicism, on the other hand, with its hierarchical structure, has tended to develop social agencies that are under church auspices. Jewish social services fall between these two extremes, offering services with a religious affiliation but without direct religious supervision. In part, this lack of a direct link between religion and the delivery of services has been mandated: These agencies have been prohibited from proselytizing because their programs often receive federal government funding. However, political changes in the United States may eventually alter this historic tradition.

The training that social workers receive also increases the separation between religion and the delivery of services, especially psychotherapy. This is true even though a growing number of graduate schools of social work award joint degrees with seminaries. (In part, this movement toward joint degree programs is motivated by economic and not just intellectual concerns: Both seminaries and schools of social work have seen a steady decline in enrollments for the past three decades.)

CONCLUSION. This article has traced the history of the relationship between psychotherapy and religion from its development in psychoanalysis as pejorative illusion in Freud, to the positive potential space in Winnicott, through Jung's defense of religious experience as a psychic fact, to the emergence of spirituality in psychotherapy, to the religiously based disciplines of pastoral counseling and CPE, and ending with the studiously nonreligious discipline of social work. It is only to be hoped that the modern disciplines springing from psychoanalytic theory will mature to the point of accommodating themselves to the powerful and lasting influence of religion on human life. This accommodation is well under way, as almost all writers in the integration of psychotherapy and religion recognize that religion is inherent in human life.

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PSYCHOLOGY: SCHIZOANALYSIS AND RELIGION

Although Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari explicitly define the approach they develop in *Anti-Oedipus* (1972) as a "materialist psychiatry" and insist repeatedly that the unconscious be thought of as an "orphan and an atheist," schizoanalysis turns out to have important ramifications for the study of religion. That religion plays such an important role in a book of materialist psychiatry may be less surprising given the centrality of Baruch Spinoza to Deleuze's thought; but then again, Deleuze reads Spinoza through the lenses of Karl Marx and Friedrich Nietzsche. An evaluation of religion is thus both crucial to the development of schizoanalysis and quite complex, even ambivalent.

Schizoanalysis is, first and foremost, a world-historical, Marxian critique of Freudian psychoanalysis. While it is true that schizoanalysis combines insights from all three of the great high-modern materialists (Marx, Nietzsche, and Sigmund Freud), each of whom is used to critique the others, Freud—and particularly his theory of the Oedipus complex—receives the brunt of the critique, as the book's title itself proclaims. Just as Marx understands capitalism and the bourgeois political economy of writers such as Adam Smith and David Ricardo in relation to a theory of modes of production spanning all of known history and anthropology, Deleuze and Guattari situate the nuclear family and the "bourgeois psychiatry" of Freud in relation to an equally broad theory of modes of libidinal production, based largely on Marx, but also in part on the anthropological typology of Lewis Morgan. Through comparisons with "savagery" and "barbarism" (terms drawn from Morgan's typology), Deleuze and Guattari conclude that the nuclear family itself, as well as the Freudian version of psychoanalysis that does so much to illegitimately universalize, and hence reinforce, the nuclear family and its Oedipus complex, are strictly capitalist institutions, with little validity outside capitalist society (and only a detrimental or symptomatic role to play within it).

Modernity represents a key turning point in this view of world history, for a crucial discovery is made in a number of different fields: first by Martin Luther, then by Adam Smith and David Ricardo, and somewhat later by Freud. The key discovery, according to Deleuze and Guattari, is that value does not inhere in objects but rather gets invested in them by human activity, whether that activity be religious devotion, physical labor, or libidinal desire. In this fundamental reversal of perspective, objects turn out to be merely the support for subjective value-giving activity. Yet in each of the three fields—religion, economics, psychology—the discovery of the internal, subjective nature of value-giving activity is accompanied by a re-subordination of that activity to another external determination: In the case of Luther, subjective faith freed from subordination to the Catholic Church is nevertheless re-subordinated to the authority of Scripture; in Smith and Ricardo, labor-power freed from feudal obligations is re-subordinated to private capital accumulation; in Freud, polymorphous libido is re-subordinated to heterosexual reproduction in the privatized nuclear family. To free human activity from these last external determinations is the task of world-historical critique: Marx provides the critique of political economy to free wage-labor from private capital, just as Deleuze and Guattari provide the critique of psychoanalysis to free libido from the private nuclear family and the Oedipus complex. Can schizoanalysis provide a point of departure for a similar, world-historical critique of religion? Probably not, for reasons that will be considered below. But one thing is clear: if schizoanalysis insists that the unconscious be considered an orphan, this is in order to free it from the repressive confines of the nuclear family and the psychoanalytic Oedipus complex. Why must the unconscious also be considered an atheist?

There would be two key turning points in a schizoanalytic world history of religion, the second of which has already been broached in the allusion to Martin Luther. The first involves the transition from "savagery" to "barbarism"—or, roughly translated, from polytheism to monotheism. Under savagery, social relations comprise a patchwork of reciprocal and temporary debts and obligations, sponsored by a plethora of spirits or gods, that link everyone in society more or less indirectly with everyone else. Such a "horizontal" pattern of social relations contrasts sharply with the "vertical" relation characteristic of barbarism, which links everyone directly with a despot and his god; equally important, the patchwork of temporary and reciprocal debts gets replaced by one unidirectional debt that everyone owes to the despot and his god, an infinite debt that can never be discharged. Whereas the earth had been the focal point (or what Deleuze and Guattari call the "natural presupposition" or "quasi-cause") of social life under savagery, it is God that appears as the divine presupposition or quasi-cause of social life under barbarism, and it is ultimately on God that barbaric social relations converge and to God that the infinite debt is owed.

In this context, the emergence of (mercantile and then industrial) capitalism and the Protestant Reformation represent a second key turning point, occurring within monotheism, because Protestantism and capitalism subordinate the secular institutions of the despot (The Church) to a more abstract God (a *deus absconditus*)—the divine but absent Voice of Scripture and capital, respectively. This is Deleuze and Guattari's adaptation of Max Weber's *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904–1905) thesis, as it were: liberal-democratic capitalism and psychoanalysis pick up where Protestantism left off, as they replace waning external social authority with forms of internalized, subjective authority or self-discipline. The infinite debt once owed to the despot now transfers to the equally infinite debt owed to capital, the new god or divine presupposition of modern social life; society is henceforth governed by economic forces rather than moral principles. And as the cash nexus of capitalism subverts all religious and social authority in society at large, all that remains is the internalized authority of private conscience—first in the form of an individualized Protestant conscience nonetheless still supported by the external authority of Scripture and the congregation, then as a liberal-civic conscience with no support except the fainter and fainter echoes of the Father's Voice in the superego. But in a society governed only by the imperative to accumulate capital, the Father ultimately has no social imperative to impose on privatized conscience other than to work in order to pay the infinite debt. Capital invents secular institutions to invest with authority—most notably the nation-state, along with the nuclear family—but ultimately these too succumb to the primacy of private accumulation (through the combined forces of globalization and mediatization).

The unconscious, then, is an orphan at home and an atheist in society at large. But this atheism is not only or primarily a specifically religious disbelief, but a general disbelief in despotism of any kind—monotheistic god, absolute monarchy, private capital—that attributes the productive activity of society to itself as its "quasi-cause." This rather bleak assessment of the anachronism of belief and of the role of monotheism and despotism in world history is tempered, however, by another current of schizoanalysis derived from Nietzsche (though here again, the figure of Spinoza is important, too). Nietzsche's virulent critique in *The Genealogy of Morals* (1887) and elsewhere of Christian "slave morality" in the name of personal self-transformation (the "overman") is well known; less well-known and more important to schizoanalysis is his insistence in the same work (Essay 2, especially section 11) on the increase in power obtained by assembling human beings into larger groups. Inasmuch as Nietzsche posits will-to-power as the basic human motivation, the formation of human groups should be of major interest to him; but for the most part he disdains groups for their all-too-human "herd instinct" and focuses instead on superhuman individuals and their heroic "transvaluation of values."

Here, the schizoanalytic amalgamation of Nietzsche and Marx proves salutary and illuminating. For unlike Nietzsche, Marx is indeed focused on the formation of human groups, and he pays particular attention to the increase in human power obtained through the socialization of production, especially under capitalism. The centralization of capital; the extension of the market to now global proportions; the development of factories, assembly-line production, and, more recently, out-sourcing and computer-coordinated production—all lead to increases in human capacities through what Marx called the productive force of cooperation. Yet Marx, unlike Nietzsche (and Freud), pays insufficient attention to the unconscious, which is the very hero of schizoanalysis and the primary agent of its version of world history. This neglect has engaged Marx and Marxism in a mostly unproductive attempt to persuade people to act in accord with their own interests. Following Nietzsche and Freud, Deleuze and Guattari's response to this predicament is categorical: people are not motivated to act by interest, but by desire—much of which is unconscious; and what desire wants is power and the increase of power. Moreover, socialized production is not the only source of such power. Any binding together of human beings in larger groups will have the same effect: an increase of power. And as Émile Durkheim perhaps most famously observed, religion (from the Latin *ligare*, to bind together) has been and continues to be one of the most pervasive and effective forms of human grouping for that very reason: it increases the power of the group in and of itself (regardless of whether material productivity in the narrow sense is thereby increased or not). Far from being an "opiate," as Marx notoriously said, religion (according to the principles of schizoanalysis) is something human beings desire precisely because it represents an increase in their power. This is why schizoanalysis does not offer a world-historical critique of religion: as with capitalism and psychoanalysis, schizoanalysis considers the phenomenon of religion to be ambivalent, and therefore in need of careful evaluation.

This explanation of the appeal of religion (in this fundamental etymological sense) to human will-to-power raises a number questions for schizoanalysis, however. For one thing, can one be sure that religious groups are still viable under current market conditions, if the cash nexus and capital accumulation rule society and effectively preclude any belief? (Among others, Giorgio Agamben argues in *The Coming Community* (1990) specifically for the formation of human communities that are not held together by shared beliefs.) More important, can desire want power and at the same time want to exercise power freely? To what extent are power and freedom compatible? And most important, how can the power attained specifically through group formation be exercised free from external determination? Can group coherence remain immanent to group activity, or does it require something transcending the group itself (such as a "God above") to act as its center or ground, to which productive group activity may then become subordinate? These are some of the questions that schizoanalysis would want to ask about religion in general, as a species of group formation among others.

But a schizoanalysis of religion would be even better suited to the examination of specific instances of religious group-formation, since the answers to general questions like those above will never be black and white, but a matter of degrees. In Deleuze and Guattari's view, the unity of a human group is never simply given or naturally ordained; it is always produced and maintained by the group itself. That is why it is crucial for them to identify, in connection with the large-scale typology of social formations they derive from Morgan, the "natural" or "divine" presupposition or quasi-cause around which each type of social formation organizes itself: the earth, God, capital. Much the same would apply to human groups on smaller scales: here, too, schizoanalysis would want to discover the quasi-cause around which a group organizes itself, whether that be a totem animal (as in Durkheim), or a team mascot, a book of scripture and a prophet, a flag and a constitution, or whatever. Then the task would be to assess whether the power associated with a given quasi-cause takes on a life of its own and turns against the group—or, on the contrary, remains in consonance with group activity and enables the group to flourish—and to evaluate in each particular case the degree to which a specific mode of group-formation enhances or curtails the power of the group and of members of the group.

SEE ALSO Marxism.

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PSYCHOPOMP SEE SPIRITUAL GUIDE

PTAH was the creator god of Memphis who conceived a thought in his mind (heart) and brought it forth by speaking it with his tongue. Because the founding of Memphis and the erection of a temple to Ptah at that site were accomplishments of the first king of a united Egypt, Menes, the cult of Ptah must date at least to the beginning of Egyptian history. The text that best describes the Memphite theology, however, is preserved in a very late copy dating from the twenty-fifth dynasty (c. 700 BCE). The original text may not have been much older, but it is a very interesting document, not only for its description of the creation, but also for its handling of the other two major creation myths. In this text Ptah is identified with the last pair of the Hermopolitan ogdoad—that is, Nun and Naunet, who represent the watery abyss from which the creator god comes forth. The creator god who is thus created by Ptah is Atum, who proceeds to create the other gods of the Heliopolitan ennead and all else. In this way the theologies are all connected, and Ptah as an anthropomorphic creator god is given precedence by being placed between the chthonic, precreation cosmic aspects known as the ogdoad and the old creator god, Atum.

Almost nothing remains of the temple of Ptah at Memphis, even though it was one of the three largest and best endowed of ancient Egypt. Smaller temples (such as those at Gerf Hussein and Karnak) were dedicated to Ptah in many locations, and statues of him are plentiful. His image is that of a tightly cloaked man holding a composite scepter before him. Ptah became identified, at least to some extent, with the local mortuary god of Memphis, Sokar, and also with Osiris. His consort was Sekhmet, the powerful lioness, who was the mother of his son, Nefertem, the lotus god.

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PTOLEMY (c. 100–170), Alexandrian astronomer, geographer, and mathematician. The last of the great astronomers of antiquity, Claudius Ptolemaeus (Ptolemy) compiled works that remained the standard astronomical textbooks until the Copernican revolution in astronomy in the sixteenth century. Almost nothing is known of the details of Ptolemy's life. His *Hē mathēmatikē syntaxis* (Mathematical Compilation) was written about 150 CE; the title by which this work is better known, the *Almagest*, is a medieval Latin derivation from an Arabic corruption of the Greek title under which the work came to be known in later antiquity, *Ho megale syntaxis* (The Great Compilation). The *Almagest* sums up the mathematical astronomy of the ancient world; it became the basis of Latin and Arabic astronomy.

Ptolemy's work follows in the Greek philosophical tradition, in which the sacred nature of the heavens is expressed by the incorruptibility of the celestial realm, the divinity of the heavenly bodies, and the perfection of their motions (uniformly circular, because the circle was considered the most perfect of figures and motion around a circle was eternal). The fact that the motions of the sun, moon, and planets are evidently not circular provided a formidable challenge to thinkers within this tradition; especially challenging were the planets' periodic reverses, or retrograde motions. Drawing upon the work of his Greek predecessors, Ptolemy was able to "save the appearances" of celestial motion by using circles in his geometry of the heavens. By employing Greek and Babylonian observational data, he was able to adjust his theoretical solutions to observed celestial positions and to predict them with a precision unmatched until the work of Johannes Kepler in the seventeenth century. The geometrical devices that Ptolemy used—the eccentric, the epicycle, and the equant—were never thought to possess a physical reality, as he makes clear in the preface to the *Almagest.* But it was just for this reason that astronomy had a religious value. Astronomy developed the correspondence between the order of divine celestial things and the order of mathematical propositions.

Its science Aristotelian and its format Euclidean, the *Almagest* describes a stationary, spherical earth surrounded by concentric spheres carrying the sun, moon, planets, and stars. Motion is described geometrically by arrangements of several kinds of circles: (1) *eccentrics,* which are not centered on the earth; (2) *epicycles,* which orbit other circles that are centered on the earth; and (3) *equants,* in which the motion of the body on the circle is variable in relation to the center of the circle but uniform in relation to some noncentral point within the circle. The *Almagest* includes a star catalog and a table of observations later revised and expanded in Ptolemy's *Prokheiroi kanones* (Handy Tables).

Ptolemy's work on geometry, the *Planisphaerium,* of which only a distorted Greek title survives, *Exaplōsis epiphaneias sphairas* (Unfolding of a Spherical Surface), details the theory of the astrolabe, the chief astronomical instrument of antiquity and the Middle Ages. Ptolemy's *Hypotheseis tōn planōmenon* (Planetary Hypotheses) suggests that the spheres of the planets nestle within one another. The astrological complement to Ptolemy's astronomy is his *Tetrabiblios.* Ptolemy also wrote works on optics and music, as well as a *Geography* (Gr., *Geographikē hyphēgēsis*), which gives directions on how to map the spherical earth on a flat surface and provides tables of longitude and latitude for generating maps. Because of a lack of precise longitude, Ptolemy's map of the known world was severely distorted, even where descriptive information abounded.

Ptolemy's works present an interrelated whole dominated by the successful application of mathematics to complex technical problems. For example, the determination of terrestrial latitude in the *Geography* is achieved through calculations based on astronomy. This in turn specifies the astrological character of the inhabitants of various parts of the earth. His cartography employs the mathematics of his optics and of the *Planisphaerium.* Ptolemy's authority in applied mathematics was undisputed for more than a millennium.

Ptolemy went to great lengths in his texts to provide procedures whereby his technical achievements could be reproduced. He thus laid the foundation for other civilizations to assimilate his work, become expert at it, and progress beyond it. Such cultural innovation is invariably associated with religious creativity, though not in a predictable fashion. For example, though Ptolemy's astronomy was used to corroborate the religious view that the earth was at the center of the universe, no one was ever convinced of this view *because* of the astronomy of eccentrics, epicycles, and equants. However, becoming technically expert in these devices did allow the accurate prediction of religious feasts. Although the Jewish philosopher Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon, 1135/8–1204) criticized Ptolemy, he did incorporate some of the astronomer's techniques for determining the date of Passover.

The translation of Ptolemy's work into Arabic in the ninth century was a catalyst for the flowering of Islamic culture. Refined astronomical tables were created, such as the *Toledan Tables* of al-Zarḳālla (c. 1080). This served as the basis for the *Alfonsine Tables,* which was compiled circa 1252 by some fifty astronomers assembled for that purpose by Alfonso X of Castile, and which predicted the dates of the Easter moon. New theories of optics were proposed by the Arab heritors of Ptolemy; new geographical values were established. The Islamic appropriation of Hellenistic natural philosophy inspired the Christian Middle Ages. A desire for the *Almagest* brought the greatest of medieval translators of Arabic, Gerard of Cremona (1114–1187), to Toledo. The merits of a true physical astronomy and of "saving the appearances" by geometry were argued in medieval universities, where Ptolemaic astronomy became part of the curriculum. Although the celestial bodies were no longer thought of as gods by medieval Europeans, their movement was believed to exhibit God's will (and their order his wisdom), and hence Ptolemy's astronomy continued to provide for the intellectual contemplation of the divine celestial order. Dante drew upon Ptolemy for the cosmology of his *Commedia* (1321).

When the *Geography,* with its techniques of projection, was first translated into Latin in fifteenth-century Florence, it contributed to the rediscovery of linear perspective and to the development of cartography during the voyages of exploration. Because the distortions of Ptolemy's map of the globe bore the prestige of his mathematics, Columbus and others were convinced that it would be quite easy to reach Asia by sailing west. When Renaissance astronomers finally became truly competent in Ptolemy's astronomy, their dissatisfaction with his accuracy and methods culminated in the Copernican revolution that established modern cosmology. The Jesuit mission to China in the seventeenth century used the predictive precision of Ptolemaic astronomy to enhance the value of their religious teaching at the emperor's court. Thus it was ironic that Ptolemy's science and technology were helping to introduce Christianity to the Far East at the same time that Copernican astronomy was making Ptolemaic astronomy obsolete in the West. And well after Ptolemy's cosmos was superseded by the physical universe as defined by Copernicus, Newton, and others, the *Tetrabiblios* remained an astrological standard. It was translated into English and published in 1701, the second edition in 1786.

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MICHAEL A. KERZE (1987)

PUER AETERNUS SEE CHILD

PŪJĀ

This entry consists of the following articles:

HINDU PŪJĀ
BUDDHIST PŪJĀ

PŪJĀ: HINDU PŪJĀ

From ancient times, Hinduism has known two preeminent methods of approaching divinity in ritual: (1) the method of *yajña,* which conveys offerings to a distant god by consigning them to an intermediary fire, and (2) the method of *pūjā,* which extends offerings to a present divinity by placing them before, or applying them to, the god's symbol or image. The *yajña* appears in the earlier records; it was the principal ritual method of the ancient Aryan peoples whose priests produced the collection of texts known as the Veda. The *pūjā* is first mentioned in texts supplementary to the Veda that are known as *sūtra*s (composed around 600–400 BCE). It first became prominent in India as a result of the god-centered devotional movements that spread throughout India during the early centuries of the common era. The method of *pūjā* now predominates in Hindu practice, although the *yajña* remains important to priestly and domestic ritual.

ORIGINS AND ETYMOLOGY. Scholarly opinion is divided regarding the origins and etymology of *pūjā.* Many scholars have argued that *pūjā* was initially a Dravidian practice native to India and point to the sharp distinction traditionally drawn between *pūjā* and *yajña,* the refusal of the strictest Vedic priests to participate in *puja,* the long-standing prevalence of *pūjā* in village cults, and the long role of low-caste (and hence non-Aryan) hereditary priests in village *pūjā*s. But no clear-cut Dravidian derivation has been established for the term *pūjā;* the best-known attempt at a Dravidian etymology is that of Jarl Charpentier (1927), who proposed to derive *pūjā* from Tamil *pūcu* or Kannada *pūsu,* "to smear," a reference to the applications of sandalwood, turmeric, or vermilion pastes that are common in *pūjā* offerings.

Alternatively, the Sanskritist Paul Thieme proposed in 1939 that the term *pūjā* is derived from the Sanskrit (and hence Aryan) *pṛc*, "to mix," a reference to the *madhuparka,* or mixture of honey and water that was commonly offered to guests in ancient Indian times. Analyzing the uses of the term *pūjā* in *sūtra* and epic literature, Thieme concluded that it had once referred primarily to a ritual of guest worship. The offerings and gestures characteristic of *pūjā* are in fact still utilized in India to honor distinguished guests, as well as other meritorious persons, sacred plants and animals, and occasionally also weapons or tools. Furthermore, elements from ancient guest ritual such as offering a seat and washing the feet still play a significant role in conventional *pūjā*s. However, traces of guest ritual are rarer in village practice and in *pūjā*s of heterodox (i.e., Buddhist and Jain) traditions; hence the question of the term's origin remains open.

TYPES. *Deva- pūjā*s (i.e., *pūjā*s for the gods) are offered in four sorts of settings: (1) at shrines maintained for family (*kula*) and/or "chosen" (*iṣṭta*) divinities within the Hindu home; (2) at temples devoted to pan-Indian deities such as Śiva and Viṣṇu; (3) during the course of festivals, which may be sponsored either by temples or by local communities; (4) at shrines or temples of localized village divinities. *Pūjā*s in any of these contexts may be quite freely structured, consisting of little more than gestures of reverence (*namas*) and minimal offerings. Or they may follow conventional patterns, which vary only slightly according to the devotional sect of the performer and the deity who is honored.

Pūjā at the home shrine. Most Hindus maintain a home shrine for one or more divinities honored within the household. Ideally, the home shrine is located in a small room of the house that is set aside solely for worship (*pūjāśālā*). The shrine itself may consist of pictures of gods set up on a table or low platform, or images may be housed in a wooden shrine-cabinet, whose doors are opened only during the service. Images housed in such shrines may be Śiva-*liṅga*s, small cast-metal statues of various gods, or the stones sacred to Viṣṇu that are known as *śālagrāma*. A single family representative generally offers the *pūjā*; other household members enter at the close of the rite to offer prostrations and/or sip the water in which the image has been bathed. Worshipers of Viṣṇu will also eat the food (*prasāda*) that the god has sanctified by his taste, and may append to their *pūjā* special offerings of homage for the family's *ācārya,* or religious teacher. An ambitious household *pūjā*may incorporate all or several of sixteen traditional *upacāra*s, "attendances," which also form the core of traditional temple services. (The following list varies slightly in different textual sources.)

1. *Āvahāna* ("invocation"). The god is invited to be present at the ceremony.
2. *Āsana*. The god is offered a seat.
3. *Svāgata* ("greeting"). The worshiper asks the god if the journey has gone well.
4. *Pādya*. The worshiper symbolically washes the god's feet.
5. *Arghya*. Water is extended so that the god may cleanse his or her face and teeth.
6. *Ācamanīya*. Water is offered for sipping.
7. *Madhuparka*. The god is offered the water-and-honey drink.
8. *Snāna* or *abhiṣekha*. Water is offered for symbolic bathing; if submersible, the image may literally be bathed and then toweled dry.
9. *Vastra* ("clothing"). Here a cloth may be wrapped around the image and ornaments affixed to it.
10. *Anulepana* or *gandha*. Perfumes and/or ointments are applied to the image.
11. *Puṣpa*. Flowers are laid before the image, or garlands are draped around it.
12. *Dhūpa*. Incense is burned before the image.
13. *Dīpa* or *ārati*. A burning lamp is waved in front of the god.
14. *Naivedya* or *prasāda*. Foods such as cooked rice, fruit, clarified butter, sugar, and betel leaf are offered.
15. *Namaskāra* or *pranāma*. The worshiper and family bow or prostrate themselves before the image to offer homage.
16. *Visarjana* or *udvāsana*. The god is dismissed.

Temple pūjās. A full *pūjā* of sixteen *upacāra*s is in effect a miniaturized temple ritual; the daily worship, or *nitya pūjā*, in a major temple differs from it principally in scale and in the number of times that the *pūjā* is repeated (three to six times daily for the temple ritual). Temple officiants are usually brahmans; however, brahmans who are temple priests enjoy lesser status than those who perform Vedic rituals. In non-Śaiva temples *pūjā*s are usually addressed to anthropomorphic images, but in temples of Śiva the central "image" is always the nonanthropomorphic *linga*. A sequence of temple *pūjā*s may actually involve two images, for a moveable image stands in for the permanently fixed central symbol when it becomes necessary to manipulate or transport the divinity.

The god of a major temple is more of a resident than a guest. Segments of the daily *pūjā* will vary accordingly; hence the god is "awakened" rather than "invoked" in the morning, and may quite literally be aroused from a bed where his or her moveable image was laid the night before. Furthermore, the temple god is royal; the temple is his or her palace, and its priests are palace servants. Hence the god's "seat" is a throne, and ornaments affixed to the image may include a crown; furthermore, the "ruler," in the form of the moveable image, is carried each day in procession around the temple grounds, much as local rulers in India formerly processed through their territories. Temple *pūjā*s differ slightly according to sect and region. Thus temples of Śiva in South India once featured performances by dancing girls (*devadāsī*s) maintained as part of the temple staff. Śaiva *pūjā* s also incorporate many Tantric elements; for example, an officiating priest begins his *pūjā* by summoning Lord Śiva into his own body. Devotional hymns are often sung during *pūjā*s at Vaiṣṇava temples; while images of Vaiṣṇava saints are honored as well as images of Viṣṇu.

Daily temple *pūjā*s are not communal performances; as in the home, one person (here, the temple priest) acts for the benefit of all. Individuals may, however, make special requests of the gods by means of special offerings. This practice is known as *kāmya pūjā,* "the *pūjā* undertaken by choice." Such optional *pūjā*s are most often performed at the small shrines that dot a major temple's grounds. The intended worshiper commissions a priest to place his or her offerings before or onto the image.

Festivals. All major temples sponsor festivals. A frequent type is the *ratha yātrā,* or "car festival," in which the moveable image is mounted on a large (sometimes multistoried) cart and pulled through the town on a set processional path. The devotee thus receives an opportunity for *darśana,* or "sight," of the god; he or she may toss flowers, break coconuts, or sprinkle the image with water as the cart progresses. Communities may also sponsor festivals in which public display and celebration of images is a central feature. Community associations or families may commission elaborate and expensive clay images for such festal *pūjā*s. The images are feted with music and entertainments, then paraded to a river and left to dissolve in its waters. *Pūjā* festivals of this type are especially popular in the state of Bengal, in northeastern India.

Village pūjās. Animal sacrifice has fallen out of favor among Hindus in the early twenty-first century. It was once, and sometimes remains, a standard feature of the worship of fierce goddesses such as Kālī. Animal sacrifice was also common in *pūjā*s of village divinities (*gramādevatā*), which differ in several respects from *pūjā*s of the urban-based pan-Indian deities. Such divinities associated with specific locales have been reported from ancient times, not only in Hindu, but also Buddhist and Jain writings. The cult of village gods is now most prominent in South India, where the village divinity is often a goddess whose name is a compound of *amma,* "mother." Although temples for *amma*s have become increasingly popular, an *amma*'s shrine may be quite minimal. Sometimes it is just a bare enclosure outside the bounds of the village proper *amma*'s shrine may be minimal; sometimes it is just a bare enclosure outside the boundaries of the village proper. The "image," if any permanent image exists, may be a rock or an earthen pot or lamp. The hereditary shrine priest, or *pūjāri,* is of low caste, often a potter. Village *pūjā*s are not necessarily maintained on a regular basis, nor do they commonly follow the *upacāra* model; coconuts, bananas, margosa or betel leaves, turmeric, and cooked rice are the most common nonbloody offerings. Village gods may possess their *pūjāri* s or other mediums during the course of *pūjā*s; festivals feature such possession experiences, as well as processions, sometimes fire walking, and sometimes sacrifices of sheep, goats, fowls, or buffalo.

SEE ALSO Domestic Observances, article on Hindu Practices; Rites of Passage, article on Hindu Rites; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Hindu Devotional Life.

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PŪJĀ: BUDDHIST PŪJĀ

According to Buddhist texts, the gods worshipped Śākyamuni Buddha during his lifetime, as did humans. Gods and humans began the heartfelt ritual veneration of the Buddha's material remains as soon as he abandoned his mortal body. The term *pūjā* refers to such acts of ritualized worship. Relics, trees, mortuary monuments, and eventually images and texts associated with the three jewels (the Buddha, the teachings, and the community of Buddhists) as well as a wide range of pacific or ferocious buddhas and bodhisattvas were made the objects of worship. Yet conflicting interpretations of Śākyamuni's instructions, together with the philosophically subtle condition of possibility that the Buddha was both absent and immanent for such veneration, yielded a creative tension in the intellectual understanding of *pūjā* within the developing Buddhist traditions. Moreover, as the tradition developed local forms, which in turn took over the cults of local deities, the worship of deities who were neither buddhas nor bodhisattvas became part of the ritual calendar. Elite debates do not seem to have restrained the popular perception of ferocious dharma-protecting deities as very real agents, different only in efficacy from the great bodhisattvas and buddhas. Thus the form and interpretation of Buddhist *pūjā* varies widely, depending on the cultural context and social register of the worshipper, although the fundamental devotional impulse has never been denied.

ORIGINS AND EARLY EVIDENCE. The verbal root *pūj* in early Buddhist sources, as with other early Indic material, refers to ritual worship generally. The *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (MPNS), an early text that exists in Sanskrit, Pali, and Chinese versions, is particularly rich in descriptions of various kinds of worship: the gods worship Śākyamuni with showers of celestial blossoms, music and sandalwood powder; Mahākāśyapa, who races across India to be present for the cremation of his teacher's body, seizes the feet of his dead teacher and presses them onto his head; and Śākyamuni himself gives instructions for the construction of mortuary monuments (stūpas or caityas) and their proper worship. The earliest known Buddhist sites, the stūpas at Vaiśālī and Piprāwhā, give evidence for pre-Mauryan relic veneration. Aśoka is said to have redistributed the relics contained in the original eight stèpas into 84,000 stūpas across the Mauryan empire; and indeed, several sites that exist to this day, such as the four stūpas that surround the Newar city of Lalitpur in the Kathmandu Valley, are said to have been established by Aśoka. At the Aśokan stūpa complexes of Bharhut and Sañchi in central India, there are carvings of trees and stūpas being worshipped, as well as numerous inscriptions documenting relic worship by renunciant and lay Buddhists.

PRACTICING *PŪJĀ*. In the fifth chapter of the MPNS, Śākyamuni makes several overlapping statements about what, and how, to worship. It is taken for granted that the appropriate object of worship is a tathāgata, either directly or through mediating symbols. In other sūtras, the worship of deities is criticized; deities rather should worship the Tathāgata. When the gods do arrange a spontaneous rain of heavenly flowers and sandalwood, Śākyamuni takes the opportunity to distinguish between offering material things such as flowers and the offering of abiding in the *dharma.* Good practice, according to Śākyamuni, is the highest form of worship of a tathāgata by the four sections of the Buddhist community (nuns, monks, and female and male lay Buddhists), all of whom are clearly expected to be interested in performing *pūjā*s.

Pūjā offerings can be as simple as a handful of flowers offered by an unexpected visitor or a vast array of incense, lamps, garlands, sandalwood paste, delicious foods, water for washing and drinking, musical sounds ranging from the single peal of a bell up to a whole orchestra, dance, scatterings of unbroken rice, parasols, prayer flags and banners, circumambulations, and sculptures made from butter or flour.

Later in the same chapter of the MPNS, Śākyamuni recommends pilgrimage to the four sacred sites (that is, Lumbini, Bodhgayā, Sarnath, and Kapilvastu) and the creation and veneration of stūpas as appropriate forms of religious devotion. Morevoer, he instructs that his remains be enshrined in a stūpa. When, however, Ānanda asks the dying Śākyamuni, "What should we do about the Tathāgata's body?" he is told that the *saṃgha* ought not trouble themselves, as it will be dealt with by three sorts of paṇḍit, and he then receives instructions on funerary practices. Although this passage was taken by many Western scholars and some conservative reformists to mean that relic worship is only appropriate for lay Buddhists, it has become clear that the discussion in the MPNS is more to do with who should perform cremation rituals.

The ritual management of stūpas, as well as images and other material bases for the performance of *pūjā*, makes it clear that they are understood to be infused with a presence that makes their worship efficacious. The empowering of stūpas and images by the insertion of relics is a specially potent form of a general precondition for any Buddhist worship that takes a material item, such as a sculpture, painting, or manuscript, as its immediate object. The object must be ritually quickened before it can be worshipped. In Theravāda countries, the ritual of empowering a Buddha image is often referred to as "opening the eyes" of the image while Vajrayānists visualize, invoke, and install the appropriate deity. For certain deities, such as the ancient Newar Avalokiteśvara known as Būgadyaḥ, there is an annual cycle of deconsecrating the image by removing its essence into a separate container, renovating the image, and then re-consecrating and re-empowering it.

DEVELOPMENTS. The fundamental declaration for Buddhists is taking refuge in the Three Jewels: the Buddhas, the truth that they understand and teach, and the community that preserves that teaching. Nonetheless, the original object of worship for the earliest Buddhists was the Tathāgatha himself, continuing to be present in the physical relics of his body, the implements he had carried, and the tree under which he attained enlightenment. The relic cult was not confined to Śākyamuni. At the passing of great teachers, whether in Thailand or Tibet, the cremated remains often yield tiny relic fragments. Among Tibetans, the most powerful of these relics can, when held in the hand of another great lama, spontaneously multiply. For all Buddhists, relics are treasured possessions; and when a new monastery is founded, such relics are often gathered or donated in order to be incorporated into its new statues and stūpas. The finding of such relics in the remains of a great teacher is a confirmation of her or his holiness, and the incorporation of such relics into an image or monastic site is one way of asserting membership in the lineage of such a teacher. In Theravāda countries, *pūjā* has come to be considered a popular affair; everyone participates, and the most precious objects of worship are relics. The Śrī Laṅkan Tooth Relic is still the center of an elaborate priestly ritual cycle that reminds us of the Indic heritage that Theravāda shares with Newar and Tibetan Buddhism.

In the highest Vajrayāna tantras, it is sometimes said that the material requisites for *pūjā* can be dispensed with and the entire ritual performed as a visualization. Regardless of whether the offerings are actually present, the practitioner identifies herself with the main deity of the maṇḍala and performs subsequent ritual actions as the deity. Within the Zen school, the question of just what is present within an external image is informed by the doctrine of buddha-nature, which is thought to be present in all beings. Therefore, when a Zen practitioner bows to an image of Śākyamuni, she is not bowing to something outside herself, but as a buddha aware of her own buddha-nature.

Indic patterns. Buddhism in South Asia and, later, Southeast Asia developed along with other Indic religions. From the perspective of the present, Indic Buddhist worship looks a great deal like Hindu worship, but in fact the mutual historical influence is so complex as to make such statements vacuous. From an elite perspective, Buddhist *pūjā* depends on a sophisticated understanding of emptiness and impermanence that is pointedly opposed to the sense of divine presence that drives devotional Hinduism *bhakti.* However, much of the language and theory is held in common, including the terms for many tools and elements of the offering and the distinction between daily (*nityā),* required *(naimittikā),* and optional *(kāmyā) pūjā*; and at a popular level, the efficacy of the *pūjā* is far more interesting to the participants than its ontology. Vajrayāna Buddhists developed their own version of the Vedic fire sacrifice *(homa)* and this remains a common element among all surviving strands of Vajrayāna in Nepal, Tibet, Mongolia, Japan, and Indonesia.

The Seven-Part Worship. With the rise of the Mahāyāna came a new understanding of *pūjā.* Behind almost all Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna *pūjās* is the Seven-Part Worship *(saptāṅgapūjā),* a framework for worship that is presaged in the second century *Ajātaśatru-kaukṛtya-vinodanā* and crystallized in the *Bhadracaryā-praṇidhāna,* the vows of Samāntabhadra. This is an undated poem, still recited by Newar priests today, and it became the final chapter of the much larger fourth century text *Gandhavyūha*. Here, the structure of the Seven-Part Worship is as follows:

1. Praise (*vandanā*).
2. Worship (*pūjā*).
3. Confession of misdeeds (*pāpadeśanā*).
4. Taking delight in the good deeds of others (*anumodanā*).
5. Requesting the buddhas (and their successors) to teach (*adhyeṣaṇā*).
6. Begging the buddhas (and their successors) to remain in the world (*yācana*).
7. Dedicating the merit arising from this *pūjā* (*pariṇāmaṇā*).

The elements of the Seven-Part Worship can vary in number as well as order. Arousing the mind of awakening *(bodhicitotpāda)* is part of the ritual in both the earlier *Ajātaśatru-kaukṛtya-vinodanā* and in the later *Bodhicaryāvatāra* of Śāntideva, who also inserts going for refuge to the Three Jewels *(śaraṇagāmanā)*. However flexible, the Seven-Part Worship forms a basic liturgy for the subsequent tradition.

Further rituals in Indic Buddhism. In high Indic Mahāyāna/Vajrayāna, such as is found among the Newar and Tibetan schools, Buddhist *pūjās* have developed a modularity reminiscent of Vedic ritual. For Newar Vajrayāna priests, the most basic *pūjā* is the Guru Maṇḍala *Pūjā*, and indeed the successful performance of this *pūjā* is part of the initiation of a Vajrcārya priest. Larger rituals, such as marriages, initiations, or guiding clients through the worship of the Bodhisattva Amoghapāśa all begin with the Guru Maṇḍala *Pūjā* but add more complex visualizations and the worship of other maṇḍalas. Medieval Indic visualization compendia such as the *Sādhanamālā* and the indigenous Tibetan or Newar works that follow them often begin with an abbreviated reference to the Seven-Part Worship and perhaps a suggestion of prior rituals to be completed before the main work of the visualization. Finally, mention should be made of the *gcod* offering, a development of the *pūjā* ritual influenced by Tibetan funerary practices. Here the practitioner, through a terrifying meditation in which she offers up her own body, senses, and life, uses *pūjā* as a means to sacrifice attachment to the self.

SEE ALSO Relics; Stupa Worship; Worship and Devotional Life, articles on Buddhist Devotional Life in East Asia, Buddhist Devotional Life in Southeast Asia, and Buddhist Devotional Life in Tibet.

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PUNISHMENT SEE HEAVEN AND HELL; JUDGMENT OF THE DEAD; REVENGE AND RETRIBUTION

PURĀṆAS are extensive compendiums of the mythohistory of Bhāratvarṣa (the earlier name of the Indian subcontinent). They participate in the same mythological milieu as epic (*itihāsa*) and poetic (*kāvya*) works, but they are structured as exhaustive amalgams of epic lore seen through particular (some would say sectarian) perspectives. The Purāṇas may be thought of as core texts of Hindu religiosity; some have become cornerstones of particular devotional traditions, and others have served as templates for institutions, social observances, and traditions of secular knowledge.

The word *purāṇa* itself means "ancient," and a good deal of Purāṇic lore may have coexisted with the Vedas themselves. *Purāṇa* appears in the *Ṛgveda* (where it means "ancient") and is used in a sacrificial context in the *Atharvaveda* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, leading scholars such as R. C. Hazra (1940) to suggest that the Purāṇas originated as narrative portions of the Vedic sacrifice. In early Upaniṣads, Purāṇas are spoken of along with the Vedas as texts of divine origin and are also referred to (with the epic narratives) as a type of fifth Veda. Along with the epics, they gradually came to form a vast textual base of sacred cultural memory.

On a textual-critical level, the enormity and diversity of these narratives, the extensive oral tradition from which they derive, the layering of variant materials through time, and the sectarian claims made on specific works have made the Purāṇic materials difficult to fully catalog or comprehend. The effort by the All-India Kashiraj Trust to publish critical editions of the eighteen principal Purāṇas has proven daunting. Issues of textual criticism are further complicated by the lack of agreement as to what a Purāṇa actually is, because numerous works bear the said name, and none of the conventional classifications of these texts can be called definitive. An early datable definition is found in the sixth-century lexicon *Amarakośa*, which identifies *purāṇa* as that which has five characteristics (*pañcalakṣaṇa*): *sarga* (creation); *pratisarga* (recreation of the universe after its dissolution); *vaṃśa* (genealogies of gods, sages, kings, and patriarchs); *manvantara* (cyclic ages of humanity presided over by Manu, the father of humanity); and *vaṃśānucaritam* (royal dynastic histories). Although the Purāṇas all contain variations on these themes, none of them literally follows this definition, because the *pañcalakṣaṇa* materials only make up a small percentage of their volume. Other topics covered include the *puruṣārthas* or "aims of humanity" (*dharma*, "sacred duty"; *artha* "material power"; *kāma*, "pleasure"; and *mokṣa*, "ultimate freedom"), religious observances, pilgrimage, charitable offerings, rites for the dead, the glorification of various divinities, descriptions of cycles of time, cosmographies of space (including graphic images of heavens and hells), philosophy and doctrinal expositions, sacraments, and social duties as well as treatises on yoga, sacrifice, and other spiritual practices.

A list of eighteen Mahāpurāṇas (Great Purāṇas) existed in the time of the Arabian traveler al-Bīrūnī (973–1048), who cites two somewhat different versions of it. The traditionally accepted list, often named after the principal narrator of the work, is as follows:

1. *Brahma* (or *Ādi*, first)
2. *Padma* (Lotus)
3. *Viṣṇu* ("all-pervading" deity)
4. *Vāyu* (deity of the wind)
5. *Bhāgavata* (Kṛṣṇa)
6. *Nārada* (sage son of Brahmā)
7. *Mārkaṇḍeya* (great sage)
8. *Agni* (Vedic fire deity)
9. *Bhaviṣya* (future)
10. *Brahmavaivarta* (transformation of Brahmā)
11. *Liṅga* (symbol of Śiva)
12. *Varāha* (Viṣṇu as a boar)
13. *Skanda* (god of war and son of Śiva)
14. *Vāmana* (Viṣṇu as a *brahman* dwarf)
15. *Kūrma* (Viṣṇu as a tortoise)
16. *Matsya* (Viṣṇu as a fish)
17. *Garuḍa* (Viṣṇu's bird carrier)
18. *Brahmāṇḍa* (the egg of Brahmā)

These eighteen Mahāpurāṇas, said to contain a total of 400,000 verses, are attributed to the divine sage Vyāsa, who is said have arranged the revealed material (along with the Vedas and epics) and transmitted them to disciples who further elaborated upon them.

This narrative of authorship, the occurrence of the word *purāṇa* in the singular in a number of early works, and the scholarly tradition of a search for origins led a number of scholars to promote the notion of there being an original *purāṇa* that gradually was expanded and elaborated upon. The Purāṇas themselves, however, contain numerous and variant versions of their authorship (divine and human) and seem to accommodate multiperspectives of origin and meaning. This would be consistent with their derivation from a vast oral tradition and would suggest that the very idea of their being "books," as Ludo Rocher (1986) has argued, may be more a product of manuscript codification between the fourth and tenth centuries and later textual critical traditions than Purāṇic ones.

Various traditions have classified and continue to classify Purāṇas in a number of ways: devotionally, according to the main deity they glorify; qualitatively, according to the said quality (*guṇa*) of nature they participate in (*sattva,* "purity-being"; *rajas,* "passion"; *tamas,* "dark inertia"); chronologically; by subject; and by the number of major revisions, particularly from different doctrinal standpoints.

Along with various lists of Mahāpurāṇas, there are Upapurāṇas, or shorter Purāṇas of supposedly later composition and more particular focus. Another Purāṇic literature is called a Māhātmya, which is a text (usually attached to a Purāṇa) that glorifies a divinity, a place of pilgrimage, or a ritual offering. There are also works known as Sthalapurāṇas, which are connected with specific localities, giving rise to the idea that every place may have had a Purāṇa of its own, rich with legendary history, and which may or may not be written down. Vaṃśapurāṇas (sometimes called Caste Purāṇas) devote themselves to the history of a lineage or particular social group. And finally, an enormous number of Purāṇic translations and derivative works exist in regional languages. These too are Purāṇas, especially when one considers how the regional traditions, local legends, and sensibilities of one area can become absorbed, "brahamanized," and reconstituted as part of a Mahāpurāṇa.

PURĀṆIC NARRATIVE. The Sanskrit of the Purāṇas is similar to epic Sanskrit, but it shows a *Prakrit* influence and frequent grammatical irregularities, leading some scholars to speculate on their local origins and subsequent brahmanical appropriation. The *Bhāgavata,* as the most Sanskritized and literary-conscious Purāṇa, may be an exception here, or it may be the most obvious example of the above process.

Within the major Purāṇic literatures there is a significant diversity of style: *Agni*, *Garuḍa*, and *Nārada* are primarily encyclopedic compendiums; *Padma, Skanda*, and *Bhaviṣya* deal largely with places of pilgrimage; *Vāmana* and *Mārkaṇḍeya* pay a good deal of attention to doctrinal concerns; and *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* are concerned with history. Within this great variety, however, certain common narrative styles and sensibilities can be observed.

What kinds of stories do the Purāṇas tell? Not original ones, or ones set down by a single author; they are collections that have been passed down through the ages. These narratives often begin with a scene at the celebrated snake sacrifice of King Janamejaya, where sages have gathered in the Naimiṣa forest. The sages ask a *sūta* or bard, who is spoken of as a "holder of knowledge of the ancient lore," to narrate what he has heard, and so begins a series of dialogues within dialogues, in which narrators refer to other narrations that took place in other times and places. This technique of multinarrative frames is significant in its free-associative mythopoetic sensibility. Information is always contextualized within a particular situation. Hence whereas a Purāṇa is an admittedly collaborative retelling of the epic past, it may be filled with variants, with different versions of a particular tale appearing in the same text. Looked at historically, one sees a developing tradition quite unlike that of the fixed Vedic *mantras.* Looked at through its own narrative logic, one may see this style as a most authentic mode of mythmaking, not "myth" in the sense of something false but as a sacred narrative that imaginatively transmits that which is most dear to a culture.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PURĀṆAS. Whether or not the Purāṇas can ultimately claim the same revelatory power or priestly status as the Vedas or whether they were arranged by Vyāsa or edited by priests in order to absorb local cults and practices under a normative brahmanical fold, their widespread influence and importance is undeniable. The *Devībhāgavata* puts it thus: "*Śruti* and *smṛti* are the two eyes of *dharma* but the Purāṇa is its heart" (XI.1.21).

This heart, however, was often ignored or debunked by nineteenth-century ideologues who saw them as a corruption of Vedic religion and by Western scholarship that devalued them as "pseudo-histories" displaying masses of superstitious contradictions. With the emergence of scholarship acknowledging the important psychological and cultural value of myth, however, the Purāṇic world is seen not only as a storehouse of information about the emergence of Hindu India but as the imagistic and narrative revelation of a profoundly imaginative and sophisticated worldview.

The importance of this body of discourse is thus manifold. In devotional religious terms, Purāṇas often champion the superiority of a particular divinity (although their devotion to one god does not necessarily exclude others). Moreover their eclectic and all-encompassing characters have allowed them to serve as a major medium for the transmission of customs and traditions, for long-held ideas around geography, politics, and social organization, and for the subjects of astronomy, medicine, grammar, metrics, architecture, poetics, divination, and a host of others. They are indispensable for understanding popular Hindu traditions and their formation and for the grand narratives that have shaped Indian religious sensibilities.

PURĀṆIC HISTORY. Dating Purāṇas and seeking their origins have been preoccupations of Western orientalist scholarship, although their composite nature resists chronological specificity. Moreover the fluid Purāṇic notion of "textuality" presents problems, because texts were transmitted orally, frequently elaborated upon, and often changed. There have been numerous speculations about the existence of an original Purāṇa, which expanded into the others. One hypothesis attempted to chronologically date the Purāṇas in terms of increasing complexity, seeing their various layers of discourse like the rings of a tree, but the reverse hypothesis has also been offered. The *Prākrit* aspect of their language has caused some scholars to see them as originally non-*brahman* works, reappropriated in reaction to the heterodox schools of the Buddhists and Jains. Others have suggested that the Purāṇas appeared as a result of an effort to provide each Vedic school with a text of its own, whereas another view sees them as developing from many local works within specific parts of India.

The Purāṇic vision of narrating events that occurred in "the distant past" often takes the form of dynastic histories (*Vāyu*, *Matsya*, *Viṣṇu*, *Brahma*), and although their history has been disparaged by many, some European scholars (Hermann Jacobi, for example) found a "genuine and valuable historical tradition" in the Purāṇas. F. E. Pargiter (1922) championed their historicity and attempted to reconstruct what he considered the "ancient Indian historical tradition" from Purāṇic sources. The issue as to whether or not such sources can be used to reconstruct ancient history is almost impossible to answer. What one can do, however, is work to understand the intrinsic sensibility of the Purāṇic "past" as a paradigm for the present that can provide cultural visions and ideals. Long-standing narratives, such as the churning of the milky ocean, the childhood pranks of Kṛṣṇa, the great Bhārata War, the exploits of the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, the awesome influence of great places of pilgrimage, and the divinities, saintly kings, and sages whose lives shine through eons of time, are very much alive and well in the Hindu religious imagination.

TIME AND SPACE. In contrast to Western teleological sensibilities, Indian thinking as exemplified in the Purāṇas envisions time as cyclical. The four ages or *yugas* (*kṛta* or *satya*, *treta*, *dvāpara*, and *kali*), whose names are the same as those of the throws of dice, are said to repeat themselves in declining order. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* speaks of the sacred law (*dharma*) as a cow possessed of four feet (austerity, cleanliness, mercy, and truthfulness), losing one after another in each declining age. The duration of the *yugas* is said to be 4,800, 3,600, 2,400, and 1,200 years of the *devas* (gods), with a dawn and twilight preceding and following each age. These 12,000 divine years are converted into human years when multiplied by 360, so the *kaliyuga*, for example, would last for 432,000 earth years. While some texts speak of world dissolutions at the end of a cycle of four ages, the majority of Purāṇas depict a thousand successive *yuga* cycles composing a day of Brahmā, or a *kalpa*, followed by the dissolution of the world, and a night of Brahmā, which is as long as his day. This entire system of days and nights is repeated for the lifetime of Brahmā, which endures for a hundred years, followed by another dissolution and the beginning of a new cycle.

Alongside of this cyclic system is one of fourteen *manvantaras*, each presided over by a different Manu, who is the progenitor of humanity. Most Purāṇas set the length of a *manvantara* as seventy-one *yuga*s, which leaves unaccounted for time and hence the speculation that two separate traditions were grafted together. The present age is said to be that of the seventh Manu and is described in all the Purāṇas as one of chaos and confusion.

Purāṇas offer vast spatial as well as temporal cosmologies, such as the one of infinite universes expanding and contracting from the pores of the great breathing Viṣṇu, who rests upon Anantaśeṣa, the endless world serpent. In some texts a world egg is said to be at the center of a greater universe, surrounded by the five elements (earth, water, fire, air, and space), containing seven continents and oceans (including oceans of milk, sugarcane juice, and wine), seven higher planetary systems, and seven lower ones arranged around a central axis, Mount Meru, along with a series of heavens and hells. This Purāṇic universe is populated by a vast array of beings, including animals, humans, demons of the netherworlds, and a variety of divine and semidivine beings, including tree spirits (*yakṣas*), celestial musicians (*gandharvas*), nymphs (*āpsaras*), and subterranean serpents (*nāgas*) with luminous jewels on their heads.

THE RELIGION OF THE PURĀṆAS. There is no single religion of the Purāṇas, just as there is no one religious tradition of India, but religiosity is a primary characteristic of Purāṇic tradition. The complex religious narratives and discussions in the Purāṇas serve as the basis for a large variety of rituals, devotional liturgies, sacred dramas and poems, and *sādhanas* or spiritual practices. Again there is no one philosophical position that the texts take, but they combine theistic and nontheistic perspectives, *saṁkhya* cosmologies in which the world is seen as a challenging combination of matter and consciousness, yogic and meditative practices, and *bhakti* or loving devotion toward a personal divinity.

While one finds devotion to a number of deities, including Brahmā, whose cults have disappeared, Viṣṇu, Śiva, and Devī dominate the tradition. Yoga and ascetic traditions are generally associated with Śaivism, whereas *bhakti* or devotional ones are associated with Vaiṣṇavism. Śākta traditions that worship the Goddess in a number of forms, as well as Tantric traditions of immanent awareness and working with the elements of the phenomenal world, are also found in the Purāṇas.

Śiva. Śiva, known as Mahādeva, the "Great God," is described as the one with a thousand forms, whose breath causes creation, preservation, and destruction. In other texts Śiva is identified as the cause of all causes and as the one appearing in many forms, including one that is half male and half female (*ardhanarīśvara*), and as manifest in twenty-eight specific forms. As the Lord of Yoga, Śiva sits forever rapt in meditation. He also maintains a household relationship with his consort, the goddess Pārvartī. This tension between his ascetic and erotic natures, as noted by Wendy Doniger (1993), is the subject of numerous narratives, as is the relatively antisocial nature of Śiva, who is covered in ash and draped with serpents. Many Purāṇas recount narratives of the births and activities of the divine children of Śiva and Pārvartī, Skanda, the god of war, and the elephant-headed Gaṇeśa, the lord of obstacles. Śiva's great sign is the *liṅga*, a primordial phallic-looking form that signifies potency and divine power. The *Liṅga Purāṇa*, a most important text for the workshop of Śiva, discusses the *liṅga* as a supreme symbol of absolute reality.

Devī. Śakti, the divine feminine force, invoked under 1,008 names in the *Kūrma Purāṇa* (1.11) is often associated with Śiva. In other texts (*Devībhāgavata, Devīmāhātmya, Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*), however, the Great Goddess is worshipped as the Supreme Being.

The supremacy of the Goddess, who is created from the combined potency of all the gods, is portrayed in the celebrated story of the defeat of the Buffalo Demon, Mahiṣa. The *Devīmāhātmya*, the first full-scale Sanskrit account of this narrative, which extends through various modalities throughout India, is part of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. Although the Goddess is one, she is known by many names that indicate her different aspects and qualities, including Caṇḍikā ("Angry"), Ambikā ("Mother"), Nārāyaṇī ("Resting Place of Men"), Kālī ("Dark"), Bhagavatī ("Beneficent"), Durgā ("Protectress"), Vaiṣṇavī ("Related to Viṣṇu"), Gaurī ("Golden"), Lakṣmī ("Fortune"), and Śakti ("Potency").

The *Devībhāgavata* propounds the Śākta polemic that unlike other *mārgas*, or spiritual paths that demand renunciation as a prerequisite for spiritual attainment, the goddess offers worldly enjoyment (*bhukti*) along with liberation (*mukti*). As the mother of all beings, the Goddess sees no reason to deprive her devotees of anything. Hence, through her grace, she offers both to devotees, who simply need to acknowledge her as the source of all.

Viṣṇu. Glorified as the Supreme Being and as Creator but usually as the preserver and sustainer of the universe, Viṣṇu is envisioned as the all-pervading spirit and is worshipped with devotion. One of the most striking features of the Purāṇas devoted to Viṣṇu is the notion of *avatāras,* incarnations of Viṣṇu who descended into the world to accomplish particular missions. The lists of the *avatāras* are many, as are the variant concepts about them. There is a generally accepted list of ten principal avatars. Matsya (fish) appeared to rescue Manu, the seven sages, and the seeds of all existing beings from the rising waters and in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is said to have saved the Vedas after they had sunk into the ocean of dissolution. This particular story has attracted a good deal of scholarly attention due to similarities with flood narratives from other cultures.

The appearance of Kūrma, the tortoise incarnation, revolves around the major Purāṇic legend of the churning of the milky ocean in which *devas* and *auras,* gods and demons, use the serpent Vāsuki as a rope for a tug-of-war in which the great Mount Mandara is churned on the tortoise's back. As the ocean is churned, deadly poison emerges and is drunk by the god Śiva (who is hence called Nīlakaṇṭa or "the blue throated one"). A series of treasures then emerges from the ocean, culminating in an elixir of immortality, which is spirited away from the *auras* by Mohinī ("the beguiling one"), a female incarnation of Viṣṇu.

Varāha, the boar incarnation, appears to save the earth, which had been thrown down to the muddy bottom of the universe by the demon Hiraṇyākṣa. The notion of Viṣṇu appearing in animal forms is believed by some scholars to indicate the incorporation of earlier cults, while others see this phenomenon as an evolutive progression, mirroring the development of an embryo in the womb.

Narasiṁha ("man-lion") delivers the world from the powerful demon Hiraṇyakaśipu, who sought immortality by receiving boons from the gods to be neither killed indoors nor outdoors, by human nor beast, by day nor night, nor by any weapon. Viṣṇu, appearing in a man-lion form, kills the demon at twilight, on a porch and with his long nails, and rescues his devotee, Prahlāda, as Hiraṇyakaśipu's son. As in many Purāṇic narratives, the demonic mentality is portrayed as being desirous of immortality through egotism and power, a project that ultimately fails.

The above incarnations are said to appear in the *kṛta yuga*. In the next age (*treta*), Viṣṇu appears as the *brahman* dwarf, Vāmana, before the demon king Bali, who had acquired dominion over the three worlds, and asks Bali for a boon of three steps. Assuming a huge form, Vāmana covers the entire universe and deprives Bali of his sovereignty while restoring order to the world.

Paraśurāma (Rāma with an ax), a brutal avatar, rids the world of the errant *kṣatriya* race twenty-one times over. Rāma, the epitome of righteousness, appears in Purāṇic narratives not as a human king but as a divine incarnation of Viṣṇu. The *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa is celebrated in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* as the supreme cause of all causes. His eternal consort, Rādha, perhaps hinted at in the *Bhāgavata,* is present in the *Brahmaivrta Purāṇa*. The celebrated tenth book of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* recounts the childhood and youth of Kṛṣṇa in stories that have been canonized by *bhakti* traditions, serving as the bases for poems, plays, and stories in regional languages throughout the subcontinent.

The *kali* age is said to begin with Kṛṣṇa's disappearance. Buddha appears later in this period as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu preaching "heresy" to delude atheists and end the slaughter of animals. The addition of Buddha, whose doctrines pitted him against the *brahman* class, to this list marks a process known as *Sanskritization*, through which various deities and regional traditions are absorbed into the normative one. The final avatar of Viṣṇu, Kalki, will appear on a horse, bearing a sword, and will destroy all the demonic elements that have taken over the earth at the end of the *kali* age.

Within the variety of Purāṇic narratives of the various forms of the divine is the idea that the entire physical manifestation is an illusion, an appearance that is ultimately unreal, for the one reality, the *brahman* alone, is real. This supreme *brahman* is identified with different gods (usually Śiva, Viṣṇu, or Devī) as well as with the self (*ātman*) in all beings in different Purāṇic texts. In some Purāṇas *brahman* is envisioned in a more dualistic sense as substantively alike but qualitatively different from the individual self. Hence to say that the Purāṇas are monistic or dualistic are partial visions, leading a number of theologians to put forth the idea of "inconceivably one and many." Nevertheless the Purāṇas are not always tolerant of the "many," with Vaiṣṇava- and Śaivite-based Purāṇas frequently criticizing one another in the most severe terms.

Along with discussions of yoga and meditative *sādhanas*, Purāṇic devotional tracts contain chapters discussing images of worship or *mūrtis*. The word *mūrti* means "embodiment," and the worship, consecration, and installation of divine images involve specific rules and procedures. The worship of images, hymns of praise to various gods, and the practices of hearing and remembering the *līlās*, or plays of gods on earth, are all aspects of the *bhakti* tradition that comes to the fore in the Purāṇas. *Bhakti*, or "loving devotion," develops strongly in the Purāṇas and may well reflect cultural and social changes in Hindu traditions that were reconfigurating their relationship with brahmanical ceremony and ritual.

FUTURE OF THE PURĀṆAS. Purāṇas continue to emerge through contemporary translations in regional languages, including English, through ritual recitations and public performances, and through new innovative forms that continue to shape Hindu traditions. Cultures evolve and change by reconsidering their pasts. And indeed this is what a Purāṇa is, in its largest sense. Rather than seeing Purāṇas only as relics of medieval culture, one can understand them as the matrix of myth that people return to again and again to find new meaning through stories that draw contemporary attention even as they speak of what happened long ago.

SEE ALSO Avatāra; Indian Religions, article on Mythic Themes.

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PURE AND IMPURE LANDS. In Mahāyāna Buddhism, a "Pure Land" is a purified land where buddhas and *bodhisattvas*, the future buddhas, dwell. In contrast, the realms inhabited by ordinary sentient beings are called "Impure Lands," for they are tainted by blind passion.

In Chinese Buddhism, two technical terms, *jingtu* and *huitu*, are used to refer to Pure and Impure Lands, respectively. The concept behind these terms, however, is attested to in Indian Buddhist texts by such terms as *buddhakṣetra-pariśuddhi* ("the purification of the buddha land") or *pariśuddhaṃ buddhakṣetram* ("purified buddha land"), as in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (edited by Rajendralala Mitra, Calcutta, 1888, pp. 362–363), and *apariśuddhaṃ buddhakṣetram* ("unpurified buddha land") or *kliṣṭaṃ buddhakṣetram* ("tainted buddha land"), as in the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka Sūtra* (edited by Yamada Isshi, London, 1968; vol. 2, pp. 52, 81). It was in accordance with such usage that *jingtu* and *huitu* were established in Chinese as technical terms.

The notion of a "buddha land" (Skt., *buddhakṣetra*; Pali, *buddhakkhetta*) derives from the period of early Buddhism. According to the Theravāda interpretation, the *buddhakṣetra* is the realm in which the teachings of Śākyamuni Buddha prevail. However, in Mahāyāna Buddhism numerous buddha lands are said to exist in order to accommodate the numerous *bodhisattvas* who become buddhas; or rather, the merit accumulated by these *bodhisattvas* through their long spiritual careers goes toward creating a purified realm responsive to their influence. In other words, because of the basic Buddhist premise that no two buddhas can preside over the same Buddha land, the "new" buddhas are forced to emerge, as it were, in lands far distant from that of Śākyamuni, which is called the Sahā Land. These are located variously in the ten directions (the eight points of the compass, the zenith, and the nadir) of the cosmos. It is among these "distant" Pure Lands, described as "numberless as the sands of the River Ganges," that we find Amitābha (Amitāyus) Buddha's Sukhāvatī (to the west), Akṣobhya's Abhirati (to the east), and Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabha's Vaiḍūryanirbhāsā (also to the east).

The best-known of these Pure Lands is Sukhāvatī. This Pure Land is described in detail in three sūtras, the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyuha Sūtra*, the *Smaller Sukhāvatīvyuha Sūtra*, and the *Guan Wuliangshou jing*. Of these, the first two *Sūtras* are believed to have been compiled in northwest India around 100 CE. Modern scholarship is in general agreement, however, that the main body of the *Kuan ching* was compiled in Central Asia, and that accretions were made during the course of its translation into Chinese. But while the conditions surrounding the compilation of these sūtras differ, all three texts share in depicting the splendor of the Pure Land and the majestic appearances of Amitābha (Amitāyus) and his disciples and attending *bodhisattvas*. These depictions undoubtedly reflect ideal perceptions of the buddha land, buddhas, and *bodhisattvas* of the period when each of the sūtras was compiled. The ideal depiction of Sukhāvatī can be viewed as a symbolic and hypostatized representation of Mahāyāna Buddhist enlightenment. A Pure Land is a "purified land," that is, a realm that came into existence by "purifying the land." To "purify the land" means that the Mahāyāna *bodhisattvas* purify everything in the land in which they will appear upon becoming buddhas; this "purification" includes leading all sentient beings to buddhahood. Of course, such acts entail nothing less than the fulfillment both of the *bodhisattvas*' cultivation of the *pāramitās* ("perfections") and of his vow to benefit all beings. As such, the Pure Land can be regarded as hypostatized representation of the Buddha's enlightenment. For example, even though Sukhāvatī is described as a realm that exists to the west, it is in reality a realm that transcends space. While it is said to exist beyond billions of buddha lands, this is actually nothing but a symbolic expression for infinite distance; what is originally beyond space was expressed in the context of space.

By means of such descriptions, the Pure Land sūtras succeeded in capturing the imagination of ordinary people. Consequently, the practice of contemplating the Buddha (*buddhānusmṛti*; Chin., *nianfo*), a relatively easy form of religious practice leading to birth in the Pure Land and eventual enlightenment (buddhahood) there, gained wide popularity among Buddhists. In the same vein, the name Sukhāvatī ("realm of bliss"), which originally denoted a realm of absolute religious bliss, also acquired connotations of relative, this-worldly happiness. Given its popular appeal, Sukhāvatī quickly became the object of the most dominant form of Buddhist devotion in East Asia. Hence, "Pure Land" in Chinese Buddhism came to be regarded as synonymous with Amitābha's Pure Land. In following this practice, the Japanese Buddhist sects that are based on the worship of Amitābha (Jpn., Amida) Buddha are called Jōdoshū (the Pure Land sect) and Jōdo Shinshū (the True Pure Land sect).

In Mahāyāna Buddhism there are also other kinds of Pure Lands different in nature from the "distant" Pure Lands discussed earlier. The *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra* espouses the idea that when *bodhisattva*s purify their mind this Sahā world itself becomes a Pure Land. This view of Pure Land was advocated in China and Japan by the Chan and Zen sects respectively and led to the development of the concept of the "mind-only Pure Land." The *Lotus Sūtra* contains elements that lead some to regard Gṛdhrakūṭa—the Vulture's Peak where Śākyamuni Buddha preached the *Lotus Sūtra*—as a Pure Land. The Japanese Nichiren sect later came to view this mountain as an ideal realm and espoused the notion of "Vulture's Peak Pure Land." The *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* speaks of Vairocana's Padmagarbha, a Pure Land in which the entire world is enveloped in a lotus flower, a notion that the Chinese Huayan and Japanese Kegon sects have made an integral part of their doctrine. Finally, the *Ghandhavyūha Sūtra* speaks of a Ghandhavyūha realm. Later, the Japanese Shingon sect came to regard this realm as the Pure Land of Mahāvairocana Buddha and to identify it with our present Sahā world. In Chinese and Japanese Buddhism the Tuṣita Heaven, where the *bodhisattva* Maitreya now dwells, and the Potalaka Mountain, where the *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara dwells, are both sometimes referred to as Pure Lands and have been the objects of large devotional followings.

In response to such views, the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka Sūtra* emphasized the great compassion of Śākyamuni Buddha, who appeared in this Impure Land, rather than the buddhas of the "distant" Pure Lands such as Amitābha and Akṣobhya. This text developed in opposition to the notion of "extraworldly" Pure Lands but never wielded much influence. The same sūtra explains that our Impure Land is characterized by the "five corruptions" (*pañca kaṣāyāḥ*: the corruptions of the times, of views, of blind passion, of sentient beings, and of life). However in later periods, especially in Japan, it became customary to explain the Impure Land as coextensive with the "six destinies" (*ṣaḍ gatayaḥ*: the destinies of hell, of hungry spirits, of beasts, of *asura*s, of humans, and of heavenly beings) as seen, for example, in Genshin's *Ōjōyōshū*. In this case also, the Impure Land was posited in contradistinction to Amida's Pure Land. Here the Impure Land was characterized as something that one grows weary of and wishes to leave behind in favor of birth in Sukhāvatī.

See Also Amitābha; Jingtu; Jōdo Shinshū; Jōdoshū.

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PURIFICATION

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
PURIFICATION IN JUDAISM

PURIFICATION: AN OVERVIEW

Concepts of pollution and purity are found in virtually all the religions of the world. While some religions recognize subtle distinctions of relative pollution, others place less emphasis upon the social and religious categories that determine pollution. The range extends from cultures like that of the Pygmies, who place almost no emphasis on concepts of pollution and purity, to hierarchical systems like Hinduism, with its highly developed mechanisms for transforming impurity from a dangerous category to a meaningful structuring principle of the Indian cultural system.

It is impossible to understand religious pollution and purification as separate phenomena; these two inseparable categories of religious experience are locked into a dynamic complementarity. Rules governing religious pollution imply a corollary code for ameliorating the condition. The purification of religious pollution is a major religious theme because it forges a path of expiation, healing, renewal, transcendence, and reintegration, establishing harmonious triangular links among the individual, the cosmos, and the social structure.

The range of activities or events considered to be polluting is vast, and there is an equally impressive range of purification rituals. In Tibetan Buddhism, for instance, pollution may be associated with trivial situations, such as crowds where polluted persons may lurk (this deters no one from being in a crowd); or it may lead to very serious conditions of impurity, as in the case of big game hunting, when pollution can cause famine or drought (Keyes and Daniel, 1983).

While some pollution may be due to deliberate acts that violate social or religious norms, pollution may be accidental or unintended by the agent, as in the case of menstrual or death pollution. This distinction is important because the specific corrective rite of purification may differ depending on whether the state of pollution was attained deliberately or accidentally. Shintō, for instance, is permeated with purification rites that can be traced back to origin myths according to which the god Susano-o committed offenses against the divine order through ignorance and error. Consequently, in the Shintō religion general rites of purification must be performed periodically to resacralize the world. This contrasts with more specific occasions for purification rites, which are associated with the deliberate breaking of taboos by individuals.

Virtually all aspects of life may be surrounded by notions of pollution and purity. Not only must sins and devils be purged in annual purification ceremonies celebrated as rites of renewal; pollution rules are also applied to the ordinary products of human physiology, regulating human behavior in relation to contact with blood, vomit, excreta, cooked foods, hair clippings, and so on. The critical rites of passage associated with major transitions in life (birth, adolescence, marriage, and death) are usually governed by rules of pollution and purity, since these are times when humans are most vulnerable to attacks by evil spirits. There is no clear pattern of cross-cultural uniformity in these concepts of pollution and purity; in some societies menstruation or death may be considered especially dangerous and surrounded with elaborate rites of purification, while other cultures particularly fear pollution from eating certain foods or from contact with members of lower classes. Yet, despite this cultural diversity, there remain a number of consistent patterns that yield important insights about the nature of religious experience.

The literature on religion is replete with concern about the symbolism of purification. Nineteenth-century figures like James G. Frazer, Robertson Smith, Émile Durkheim, and Lucien Lévy-Bruhl attempted in various ways to explain principles of defilement and purification in primitive religions. Anthropologists of religion in the early twentieth century paid little attention to the subject. However, field work among African cultures and in South Asia during the 1960s challenged anthropologists to develop theoretical explanations for the increasingly complex data associated with concepts of pollution and purity in the cognitive structures of different religions. In 1966 Mary Douglas presented her extensive analysis of the topic in the classic volume *Purity and Danger*. That same year Louis Dumont published his controversial treatment of pollution and purity norms in Hinduism under the title *Homo Hierarchicus*. Since that time, symbolic anthropologists, structuralists, and religion specialists have elaborated on this theme in many different religions and cultures.

Purity and Danger is a landmark in the study of religious symbolism because it systematizes divergent information in an elegant analytical framework. For Mary Douglas, religious pollution is a property of the "betwixt and between" in human cultures; whatever falls between the social categories developed by human religious systems to comprehend and impute a sense of order and reality is considered to be impure (Parker, 1983). The concepts of pollution and purity in a particular religion make no sense without reference to a total structure of thought. Thus, along with other scholars, Douglas emphasizes the analysis of rituals and sacred texts in order to reveal semantic categories that determine mechanisms by which different peoples divide the world into domains of relative pollution or purity. Fortunately, this more systematic approach to purification has restored the concept as a major theme in the study of world religions.

FORMS OF RELIGIOUS POLLUTION. The range of human activities related to religious pollution is immense. However, it is possible to isolate three general categories of pollution associated with (1) bodily functions, (2) social bonding, and (3) the maintenance of boundaries of the "holy" or "sacred." The categories of pollution presented here are artificial devices developed to facilitate analysis; they are not meant as descriptive categories to characterize the phenomenon. It should be remembered that these categories overlap and form a continuum, and that emphasis on different sorts of pollution varies greatly from one religio-cultural context to another.

Pollution associated with bodily functions. Ideas about dirt are linked into complex symbolic systems in virtually every society. One of the most widespread concepts of pollution is associated with emissions from the human body. Urine and feces are particularly impure, partly because of their odor, but also due to their more general association with putrefaction and death. In India, the left hand, used for cleansing after defecation, is forbidden to be used when touching other people or sacred objects. Other bodily secretions, such as saliva, vomit, menstrual blood, and afterbirth, are also considered to have polluting qualities. In some traditions, even sperm is polluting outside the sanctified context of marriage. All of these bodily excretions have social significance; they are usually surrounded with heavy ritualization to ensure that they will be contained within a specific religious, cultural, temporal, or spatial context. Since they are natural physiological functions, the resulting pollution is focused not on preventing their occurrence but rather on providing boundaries for control and purification.

Anything that enters the human body may be a source of pollution. Thus, air, liquid, and food are potentially polluting agents that must be carefully controlled. Contamination by polluted food is a widespread danger, involving elaborate rules of avoidance. In some religions, dietary laws are very strict. Orthodox Judaism, with its emphasis on kosher foods, carefully articulated in the Hebrew scriptures, sets the Jews apart as a holy people who are considered to be clean and consequently prepared to receive the blessings of God, along with the heavy responsibilities that accompany this covenant. Hindus are also known for their strict dietary laws. The ascendent principle operative in Hinduism is the concept of *ahiṃsā* ("nonviolence"). Hindu dietary laws stress pure vegetarianism as an ideal. Pollution from food intake, particularly meat, has serious consequences. Thus, the highest castes strive to be strict vegetarians, while meat is allowable only to lower castes and untouchables.

In many parts of the world, food is carefully preserved to avoid putrefaction. Food must be protected from contact with impure persons who can transmit their contamination to it. Thus, in many societies menstruating women, sick people, and the lower classes are prohibited from involvement in the preparation of foods. Nobles, priests, and other persons of high status are particularly vulnerable to food pollution. Due to their magnified social visibility and influence, they must be especially vigilant to avoid pollution through careful control of food intake. While most food in rural Greece is prepared by women, men cook meals to be consumed on ceremonial occasions because they are not tainted by women's general pollution. India has an extensive system of strict rules of avoidance about interdining between different castes; the leftovers of higher castes may be consumed by lower castes, but the reverse results in contamination.

Bodily pollution, in its most extreme form, results in illness or even death. Before the emergence of the germ theory to account for biotic disorders, illnesses were universally explained as the invasion of evil spirits, the curse of the evil eye, or the result of broken taboos. Even in modern societies, illnesses may be attributed to spiritual causes. Elaborate rituals to ward off pollution from evil spirits that cause human sickness are found throughout the world. Among the Inuit (Eskimo), illness was attributed to pollution associated with breaking taboos. The shaman entered a trance, then took a spiritual journey to the abode of the goddess Sedna under the sea; there he would ask her to forgive the sins of his people. This ritual act involved confessions by community members, resulting in the possibility of a cure. The Indian goddess of smallpox, Sitala, could be angered easily and subsequently needed to be "cooled" through various rituals of purification. The innocent, the vulnerable, the aged, and those individuals who have transgressed religious and social norms are all potential victims of illness. It is widely believed that the human body can best be equipped to fight illnesses by avoiding pollution, such as the ingestion of unclean foods, contact with menstrual blood, the performance of prohibited sexual relations, neglect of proper rituals to placate deities, and lack of bodily cleanliness.

Pollution and social bonding. The intense socialization of natural bodily functions is another aspect of purification. Birth, adolescence, marriage, and death are linked to physiological stages that are highly controlled and ritualized to ensure protection from the dangers of pollution. These life crisis events demarcate major points of transition, critical both for individuals and the community. Failure to attain these transitions would threaten the survival of human culture.

The danger of childbirth is often accompanied by rigorous rituals designed to bring about a healthy outcome for both mother and child. Consequently, the whole process of birth, in some cases including pregnancy, requires special rites of purification. The pregnant woman may be expected to observe food taboos, take daily baths, and perform only a few restricted household chores. Impurities connected with childbirth are usually associated with the afterbirth; these impurities extend to the fragile bond between mother and child and to other family members. Pollution is attributed to the invasion of evil spirits that thrive on vulnerable individuals during crisis events. Often mother and child are placed in seclusion for a period of time, then ritually welcomed into the larger community after rituals of cleansing have taken place.

The transition to adulthood is considered the proper time for prophylactic rites of purification. These rites protect the initiate from pollution during his state of liminality. In some societies uncircumcised males are considered intrinsically polluted. Among the Ndembu people of northwestern Zambia, an uncircumcised boy lacks "whiteness" or "purity" and is permanently polluting; his presence can threaten the luck of hunters. An uncircumcised Ndembu man is polluted because of the dirt beneath his foreskin. He is considered "white" or "pure" only when the glans of his penis is exposed through circumcision (Turner, 1967).

Menstruation is one of the functions most widely seen as polluting, second only to death. Menstrual impurity may apply only during menses, or it may be more generalized as a kind of gender pollution, rendering women permanently impure due to their sexuality. Menstrual pollution is usually controlled by dietary restrictions, isolation in separate huts or parts of the household, and avoidance of either cooking or the performance of ordinary household tasks. Also, women are debarred from participation in religious ceremonies during menstruation. Gender pollution appears to be related, at least partially, to male dominance and the demarcation of clear male spheres of influence; thus, the very presence of women causes dangerous pollution (Douglas, 1975). In many tribal societies, women, under the threat of death, are kept away from men's houses where sacred masks are carved and the secrets of the ancestors are kept. Some Mediterranean and Near Eastern cultures elaborate gender pollution to the point of associating women with all kinds of dark forces (such as the evil eye, the world of ghosts, and magical occult powers). Unattached women in these societies must be watched carefully because they are a great source of pollution: Women are believed to be shameful creatures who can upset the entire social order by threatening the lines of distinction between separate gender domains.

Marriage and human sexuality are surrounded by elaborate pollution/purity norms in many parts of the world. Sexual relations outside culturally prescribed rules are generally treated as potential sources of pollution. These rules vary greatly from one society to another. Premarital sexual relations, for instance, are not considered to be polluting in some societies. In other parts of the world, women, in particular, who engage in premarital sex are considered to be polluted by their loss of virginity. While pollution norms surrounding sex and marriage vary, many societies consider adultery a source of defilement. Incest is a more serious offense and is universally taboo. Incestuous activities are so thoroughly polluting as to pose serious threats to the community as a whole. Consequently, persons who have committed incest are either killed or permanently banished.

The most widespread source of pollution is death and the putrefaction of bodily decay. Death breaks fragile social bonds, and the bonds that remain must be rearranged so that death pollution can be prevented from becoming a generalized condition of social disorder or chaos. The corpse and the possessions of the deceased are highly dangerous. Even though death is the most polluting social event, not all religions treat it uniformly. In some religions, as in Christianity, dead human bodies are allowed into sacred shrines or even buried there. This contrasts dramatically with Hinduism, where corpses are never allowed near a sacred shrine; even an accidental death that occurs inside a Hindu temple requires the performance of elaborate purification rites.

Funeral rituals have three general purposes: (1) the transformation of dead spirits into ancestors; (2) the placement of the ancestors in the proper realm of the afterlife (heaven, hell, or a new life via reincarnation); and (3) a restoration of both social and cosmic order from the disorder caused by death pollution (Nielsen et al., 1983). Thus, funerals are designed to accomplish a number of important tasks necessitated by the wound of death. Not only do they provide a ritual context for disposing of the pollution linked with the dead body, they also activate, contain, and assist in the resolution of grief.

Since death represents a rending of the social fabric, its pollution has far-reaching effects. In India, death pollutes the whole family, requiring strict rites of purification during prescribed periods of mourning, the length of which is determined according to the degree of kinship to the deceased. In Japan, death is believed to result in harmful and contagious pollution that can be transmitted through social contact. The idea that death pollution is communicable can be found throughout the world. The Polynesians abandoned any house where death had occurred. After the death of a Samoan chief, his house could not be entered and fishing in the lagoon was prohibited (Steiner, 1956). However, not all ceremonies surrounding death are designed to prevent the contagion of pollution; some of these rites help mourners to participate in the condition of death itself. According to Robert Parker, in ancient Greek religion death pollution was a kind of temporary participation in the condition of the dead man, who was, through the decay of the corpse, "foul" (*miaros*). "Pollution is a transposition of this sympathetic befoulment to the metaphysical plane. 'Being polluted' is a kind of metaphysical suit of mourning" (Parker, 1983, p. 64). In the Parsi religion, contact with dead bodies pollutes family, community, and even the natural elements of air, fire, water, and earth. Consequently, earth burial and cremation are forbidden among the Parsis. They resolve the problem of contaminating the natural elements by exposing the deceased on a *dakhma* ("tower of silence") to be devoured by vultures. In this extreme case, death pollution is so highly contagious that unless contained it extends to all nature.

Violent death is the most polluting of all, for both the victim and the perpetrator of the crime. The pollution generated by violent death is exceedingly dangerous because it may activate a revenge cycle. Among headhunters in New Guinea and other parts of the world, the ghost of an individual who has been murdered is considered extremely dangerous unless it is appeased by taking another head. In some societies both the murderer and the victim of violent death are refused ordinary funeral rites; in some cases these corpses are denied burial in community cemeteries.

Pollution and purity norms are related to social rank, particularly in complex societies with strong social boundaries established by ascription. People who break conventional rules of behavior in hierarchically oriented societies by crossing lines of class or caste are considered polluted by their transgression. In Polynesia the person of the chief was highly charged with *mana*, a kind of sacred energy that could be lost through touching people of lower rank. The Hindu social system, with its strict endogamous tradition for establishing social status, is even more rigid about the link between rank and pollution; Hindu castes involve strict rules requiring marriage within subcastes, prohibiting caste interdining, and restricting physical contact between members of lower and upper castes. While these rules are less rigid than in the past, they continue to thrive in contemporary India. The degree of intrinsic pollution of each caste depends on its rank in the overall system. The lowest castes are more polluted than higher ones because of their traditional occupations; the highest brahman castes are least polluted, due to their priestly duties, and the lowest castes are most contaminated because of their contact with polluting items in the environment. Untouchables, who are outside the caste system, are most polluted because they come in contact with such highly polluting substances as leather and dead bodies. Physical contact with untouchables by caste Hindus requires strong purification rites. In the past untouchables, due to their intrinsic pollution, were prevented from entering temples; this custom was banned legally by the Indian constitution (November 26, 1949).

Pollution and the maintenance of sacred boundaries. The definition of religious pollution cannot be limited to social, psychological, or physiological domains alone. The definition of the "sacred" also involves issues of spiritual pollution. This is clear to individuals who have dedicated themselves to the religious life. Rules governing pollution are more stringent for the religious because they come in contact with the supernatural more directly than the laity. Anyone who approaches the divinity, either as an intermediary or in a state of deep reverence, is required to perform extensive rites of purification.

As the religious are more vulnerable to pollution, they also may be singled out to suffer its consequences more than others. The idea of being set apart for a holy purpose is exemplified by Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Particularly in Judaism, the idea of a sanctified, priestly people becomes highly elaborated, to the point that Yahveh's chosen may become impure by worshiping other gods, consulting fortunetellers, or coming in contact with foreigners. The same notion is expressed throughout the world in varying degrees, as people attempt to define a relationship to divinity.

The polar tension between pollution and purity is activated in pilgrimage: pilgrims enter a dialectic where pollution is dissolved by the journey to a sacred place. Thus, in the great pilgrimage traditions of Islam, Hinduism, Shintō, or Christianity, one not only attains merit, community status, and indulgences for the afterlife; one also undergoes a "spiritual bathing" that opens the eyes, transforms consciousness, and centers human focus on the sacred. Pilgrimage is often prescribed to resolve conditions of spiritual pollution. In the classical pilgrimages, the devotee's journey returned him to a place of great sacrality and prepared him to cross boundaries and to enter more deeply into the realm of the sacred.

The definition of any sacred place is contingent on its opposite, namely, the removal of polluting elements that contaminate the "holy." In Hinduism, whenever a particular place is selected for worshiping a deity, it is sanctified through elaborate purification rites so that demons, evil spirits, and the dark forces of ignorance are excluded and conditions for invoking the presence of divinity are most favorable. Thus, the locus of the holy of holies in any religion embodies that religion's ideal of purity. This is not to imply that pollution has no place in sacred centers; on the contrary, it is through the very process of purifying the impure that human life is transformed and integrated into the religious sphere.

RITES OF PURIFICATION. Religious pollution always calls for specific rites of purification, which can range from the ingestion of sacraments to painful acts of purgation. There are five types of rites, involving the use of (1) fire, (2) water, (3) detergents, (4) purgation, and (5) scapegoats. Usually several purificatory mechanisms are employed together, as parts of a sacred technology, to eliminate pollution and restore wholeness to both individual and community.

Fire. Both fire and smoke are considered sources of purification. In some parts of the world, stepping over a fire is a rite demarcating a transition from defilement. The Hindu god Agni is the personification of fire, and purified butter is poured into fire as an offering to the god. At certain times of the year, sacrifices to Agni are performed to purify the whole world. Hindus attain sacramental benefit by passing their hands over fire. The eternal fire that burns day and night in Parsi fire temples is a source of purity for worshipers, who offer bread and milk while portions of the sacred text, the Avesta, are read before it.

Incense and fumigation are employed widely in the world's religions for purificatory purposes. Typically, both sacred objects and the assembled worshipers are purified with incense during the recitation of prayers. According to Parker, the ancient Greeks saw fire as an important source of purity: "Torches were an indispensable part of many ceremonies, and swung vigorously, they could purify a room or a person. Normally, however, sharp-smelling substances were added to the fire when purification was needed" (Parker, 1983, p. 227). The Greeks exposed polluted objects to the pungent odor of sulphur; by contrast, sweet-smelling burnt offerings were selected to please the gods.

Water. Water, the universal cleanser, is the most widely employed means of ritual purification. Often water is used with other elements, such as fire, salt, or herbs. It is a particularly potent source of purification when obtained from holy springs, wells, or other sacred bodies of water. The many holy wells of Ireland are special places of purification. A bath in the sacred Ganges river is accompanied by such a high level of purification that it is an object of pilgrimage for millions of devotees from all over India.

A widespread requirement before worship is the custom of ritual bathing, either of the whole body or parts of the body most exposed to pollution, especially the feet. In most religions the deity must not be approached unless the devotee is ritually clean. The Hindu is expected to bathe early in the morning, recite special prayers, and consecrate his day to the service of God. Water has purificatory qualities in Hinduism, not because of its intrinsic purity, but because it absorbs pollution and carries it away (Babb, 1975). Thus, the flow of water determines its purificatory efficacy.

Water also makes the sacred more accessible to devotees. Muslims clean their mouths and ears with water to sanctify their prayers and open their hearing to the will of God. Most life crisis events, such as childbirth, marriage, or death, involve the use of water to create a state of purification in which the transaction between humans and divinity is encouraged and the danger of pollution is minimized. The best-known instance of ritual purification with water is Christian baptism, which washes away sin and prepares the devotee to lead a religious life. In this case, water both washes away the pollution of sin and acts as a sign that the individual belongs to an initiated group who share a common state of purified grace. The statues of deities are ritually cleansed with water in preparation for religious ceremonies. The water that supports life is a sacred source of renewal. It is the "mother of being" in opposition to the accumulation of filth, evil, defilement, and decay associated with death.

Detergents. Aside from fire and water, a variety of agents are utilized in ritual purification. These various detergents include salt water, liquid concoctions made from propitious herbs and spices, and various other sacramental substances applied to the polluted individual or space. In Africa and the Middle East, sand or dry dirt is used as a detergent when water is not available. Charcoal, mud, and clay from special sacred places are also employed to remove religious pollution. These clinging substances are daubed on a person's body to absorb defilement, then washed away. In India, ash from cow dung is widely employed as a cleansing agent. Among the Nuba of Sudan, the ash from burnt branches of the acacia tree has purificatory qualities. In this society, sacred ash is linked to success in wrestling contests, fertility of the earth, rites of initiation, death, and the afterlife. Young Nuba men, at various critical points in their lives, cover their bodies with sacred ash as a symbol of purification.

Throughout the world, cow dung is used as fuel and as mortar to build shelters. Thus, it represents an important resource for human communities. It is not surprising, therefore, that in some cultures cow dung is used as a detergent with purificatory qualities. Since cows are sacred in India, cow dung and other bovine products are considered to be extremely pure. In the case of Indian death pollution, for example, when an individual has died in a house or temple, or whenever there is a need for special acts of purification, five products of the cow (dung, milk, ghee, curds, and urine) are mixed together and applied as a detergent to clean walls or apply to human beings. In Hinduism the sacredness of the cow, mother of life, makes this mixture almost sacramental in its efficacy.

Purgation. This category subsumes a large variety of purificatory rites. The common thread is either a physical or psychological purging to eliminate pollution, often involving self-sacrifice, pain, and suffering by the devotee. Purificatory purgation, found in one form or another throughout the world, always involves a metaphysics of cleansing transformation, as natural bodily or psychic pollution is purified through rituals that alter the human condition.

One means of cleansing the human body from defilement is to shave the head, eyebrows, and other body hair. In Hinduism, the hair and beard must not be cut until the end of the mourning period. At that time the head is shaved to demarcate the end of death pollution. Novices in some monastic traditions are shaved to signify the termination of their worldly life and their dedication to holy orders. Even the rite of circumcision, with its removal of the foreskin, is an act of purification as well as a rite of passage designed to integrate the individual into a new level of community.

Throughout the world special clothing is used in the context of sacred ceremonies; the hair may be covered, shoes removed, or new clothes required. In the case of death pollution, old clothes of the deceased may be burned. This change of clothing signifies a termination of uncleanliness. Deities in Hinduism must be approached by devotees wearing the purest possible garments. According to Lawrence A. Babb,

> as a general rule . . . the principal actor or actors in ritual must be in a purified condition before approaching or making offerings to the deity. This usually means that the worshippers will be freshly bathed and will be wearing garments appropriate to a condition of purity: a minimum of cotton, which is quite vulnerable to pollution; silk, if possible, which is more resistant to accidental pollution. (Babb, 1975, p. 47)

Throughout the world, fasting is an act of purgation, a sacrifice to honor the divinity, and a mechanism for cleansing the body. In Islam, the whole month of Ramadan is a time for fasting. Until recently, Roman Catholics fasted on Fridays to recall the passion of Christ. The season of Lent is a more protracted period of fasting commemorating the passion. Intense fasting as a form of purgation is widely associated with states of visionary ecstasy. Typically, the religious specialist prepares himself to receive visions by abstaining from food and drink for long periods of time; he may become emaciated, undergo symbolic death, then experience intense spiritual illumination.

Both Judaism and Islam forbid the eating of pork. No religion has a more strict set of dietary laws than Orthodox Judaism, where eating is a sacramental act. The Jewish dietary laws were a sign of the holiness of God's people; they served to preserve monotheism and to set the Jews apart from surrounding pagan societies. Dietary laws are found in the books of *Deuteronomy, Genesis,* and *Exodus,* but they are most widely articulated in *Leviticus.* Animals that have true hoofs and chew their cud, including oxen, sheep, harts, and gazelles, may be eaten. Only a few birds are considered clean: chickens, ducks, geese, and turkeys. Fish must have fins and scales to be considered clean; thus, all shellfish are excluded. Also classified as unclean are those animals that creep, crawl, or swarm upon the earth. Animals permitted in the Mosaic dietary laws may be eaten only under certain conditions: they must be slaughtered by a man trained in Jewish law, using a sharp knife and severing the animal's throat with one continuous stroke. Even then, the meat is not kosher unless it has been properly drained of blood, prepared with salt, then washed clean (Trepp, 1982, pp. 281–284). According to Mary Douglas, Jewish dietary laws act as signs to inspire meditation on the "oneness, purity and completeness of God" (Douglas, 1966, p. 57). Observance of these laws helps the Jewish people to express their holiness at every meal and to prepare for the sacrifice in the temple.

The body may be purged of pollution by various emetics that induce vomiting or diarrhea. The peyote ritual found among Indians of Mexico and the American Southwest involves a phase of vomiting, considered to have both physical and spiritual purifying effects (Malefijt, 1968). Purgatives such as castor oil are used as purifying agents in African religions. Emetics of various kinds are prescribed by shamans to flush out evil spirits and purify the human body. Among North American Indians, the sweat bath is widely employed to cure illnesses and remove impurities.

Psychological forms of purgation are connected to the condition of the human body. Various forms of physical torture have been employed in the world's religions to bring about a psychological state of penance and humility in the presence of the supernatural. Mortification of the flesh includes various forms of flagellation, walking on nails, lacerations, suspension on hooks driven through the skin, the wearing of hair shirts, and sleeping on rough surfaces. These painful acts of self-sacrifice are not reserved only for religious specialists; in many religions with strong pilgrimage traditions, self-denial is an act of purification for laypeople. At the great pilgrimage shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico City and at numerous Marian devotions in Europe, pilgrims may be seen crawling on their bleeding knees toward the sanctuaries. Pilgrimages to Mecca, the medieval shrines of Europe, and the great pilgrim centers of Hinduism are associated with danger, hardship, and self-denial, which are believed to be purificatory. The ultimate form of purgation occurs when the pilgrim dies along the journey; in Hinduism it is considered highly auspicious to die on pilgrimage, an act equivalent to dying near the sacred Ganges River.

Another form of physical and psychological purification is sexual abstinence or celibacy. In some religions, the highest spiritual experiences can occur only for individuals who have given up all worldly pleasures. Sexual abstinence is believed to place the individual in a state of grace where he can concentrate on the supernatural. In some respects, strong marriage vows prohibiting extramarital sexual activity are designed to ensure the purity of sex within the marriage contract. The transgression of sexual boundaries is an act of pollution that may require intense rites of purification.

Confession of misdeeds appears in one form or another in most religions. The public or private recitation of transgressions purges the individual of guilt and acts as an antidote to both the personal and the collective pollution resulting from the breaking of taboos. The Inuit custom of group confession, particularly practiced during times when seal hunting is unsuccessful, is an example of corporate purgation through confession. It is believed that when the hair of the great goddess Sedna, who lives under the sea, has become dirty because of human sins (like secret miscarriages and various breaches of taboos) she angrily holds back the sea animals. During a trance, the shaman appeases Sedna, then calls for a group confession so that hunting may be plentiful (Eliade, 1964). Confession often results in a flood of tears, self-mortification, or other acts intended to express sorrow for transgressions. Thus, confession removes the stain of sin through a psychological act of expiation and purification.

Contact with holy items, such as relics of saints, sacraments, and statues of deities, is an important source of purification. The utterance of prayers also has cleansing value. In Hinduism, mantras may be used either as agents to combat evil or as foci for concentration leading to spiritual awakening. Rituals of purification in Buddhism are metaphors for inner transformations and mystical enlightenment. Prayer and meditation, particularly by ascetics, purify the soul, rendering it a fitting receptacle for God-consciousness and the spiritual life. Here purgation is followed by the contemplation of sublime spiritual visions.

Substitution and catharsis. The use of substitutions to remove pollution is a widespread purificatory custom. The sick human body may be rubbed with sticks, stones, or other objects to which the pollution is transferred. A means of curing mental disorders in Nigeria is to remove the person's clothes and rub his body with a sacrificed dove, which absorbs the evil spirits. In the American Indian peyote cult, individuals are purified by being rubbed with sagebrush. The institution of kingship is widely accompanied by the purificatory anointing of the king's body. The annual Qingming ceremony in China involves a tradition of sweeping clean the graves of the ancestors. This rite of purification renews the whole community. Shintō priests transfer their pollution to a special wand, which is then thrown away so that they may perform sacred ceremonies in a state of ritual purity.

There are numerous instances of transferring pollution to either human or animal scapegoats. Specially selected individuals may be whipped, beaten, and then expelled from a community to rid it of pollution. In Fiji, the polluted person is washed in a stream; he or she then wipes their hand on a pig or turtle to remove pollution. At one time among the Maori of New Zealand, when an epidemic disease raged in the community, a man was selected as a temporary scapegoat; a fern stalk was attached to his body, he was submerged in a river, and the fern stalk was allowed to float downstream. The epidemic was transferred to the scapegoat (the fern stalk), then washed away by the river. Sometimes scapegoats are institutionalized corporately, so that a whole social class takes on the burden of pollution. Thus, Indian untouchables have been singled out to bear the suffering associated with pollution; consequently the other social castes may be at least relatively free of pollution.

Community catharsis, through substitution and the use of scapegoats, is most widely practiced in the form of ritual sacrifice, where the animal's head is exchanged for that of a human who is spiritually polluted (Preston, 1980). Sacrifice is a widespread custom in the world's religions; although it is performed for many different purposes, one major reason is to purify both the individual and community of defilement. Consequently, the dramatic shedding of blood is typically surrounded with a milieu of powerful ritual catharsis. Among the cattle-keeping Nuer tribe of the Sudan, sacrifices are performed as atonements for breaking taboos. The ancient Greeks employed blood sacrifices as rites of absorptive purification, transferring defilement to despised animals (Parker, 1983). Cattle, sheep, goats, chickens, and pigs are the animals most widely employed as scapegoats in ritual sacrifices. While human sacrifice occurred widely in the past, this form of expiation has mostly disappeared. However, in its symbolic form cathartic human sacrifice has been retained in the passion of Christ, where Jesus of Nazareth takes on the "sins of the world," becoming the "perfect offering" to cleanse the world of its collective pollution.

Secular forms. The symbolism of purification is not confined to the religious sphere. Modern secular societies continue to utilize powerful symbols of pollution and purity. Even though the religious content has been removed from much of this symbolism in technological societies, some of it lingers. The wide array of soaps and other chemicals used for cleansing the bodies and living habitats of modern peoples cannot be understood merely as extensions of scientific insights about health stemming from germ theory. Much of the preoccupation of American hospitals with white walls, antiseptics, and unstained clothing is suspiciously reminiscent of Puritan notions of religious cleanliness.

Fire, water, detergents, purgation, and substitutions remain important sources of both religious and secular purification rites in the modern world. However, the most noteworthy addition would be an array of chemicals added to this set of purificatory devices for removing pollution. Also significant is the tendency to perceive both pollution and purity in materialistic terms. Even though religious pollution is not an extinct concept in modern societies, it has often been isolated and compartmentalized away from the material world. Thus, today diseases such as smallpox are not usually thought to be related to sin or the breaking of taboos; nor are the cures of these diseases sought by performing religious purification rites. Still, some illnesses and critical life crisis events that have escaped the control of the rational scientific method remain, in many quarters, mysterious enough to require both religious and secular rites of purification. This is particularly true for some types of cancer, which remain mysterious and defy ingenious medical technologies born of the modernist world view.

Religious Meaning. Rites of purification are rarely isolated or discrete events. Usually they are linked together as sequences of rites within the larger semantic network of purity symbolism in a particular religious or cultural context. Among the Ndembu of northwestern Zambia the unifying symbol is the color white. This compound image of purity permeates every aspect of Ndembu religion. Water is regarded as white because it cleanses the body of dirt. After a funeral the widower is anointed with oil, shaved, washed, given new white cloth, and adorned with white beads. According to Victor Turner, "Behind the symbolism of whiteness, then, lie the notions of harmony, continuity, purity, the manifest, the public, the appropriate, and the legitimate" (1967, p. 77). Rites and symbols of purification have no meaning unless they are interpreted as part of a larger religious language.

This article has not exhausted the range of purificatory rites available in the world religions; other mechanisms of purification that could be added to this list include the application of sandalwood paste to the skin, bleeding the little finger, chewing hot chiles, touching sacred relics, eating or drinking sacraments, and making loud noises (as in the Chinese custom of setting off firecrackers). The important question is what all this means in terms of human religion. What is the relationship of the social categories of pollution and purity to the religious impulse itself?

Pollution/purity norms serve clear sociological and psychological purposes, reinforcing the boundaries of the community, ensuring the survival of the group, reinforcing principles of health, and assisting individuals to cope ritually with life crises. Still, the relationship of people to the supernatural remains the focal point of purification rites throughout the world. In Confucianism, a state of purity is necessary to establish a channel of communication between living persons and the spiritual world. The Hindu performs yoga only after purification; higher levels of consciousness may be blocked by painful impurities unless the devotee manages to overcome them. The loving God of Christianity helps his people to transcend impurities by sending his son and offering salvation through the Eucharist. In all these cases, channels of communication with the divinity are made possible through the establishment of boundaries between domains of pollution and purity, the identification of a situation of defilement, the performance of appropriate purificatory rites, and the experience of a new encounter with the ultimate supreme being.

Mary Douglas and other structuralists have noted correctly that pollution/purity norms impose order on the untidiness of life experiences: "Reflection on dirt involves reflection on the relation of order to disorder, being to non-being, form to formlessness, life to death" (Douglas, 1966, p. 5). Yet categories of pollution and purity represent more than ideological or social systems. Defilement represents human failure to attain perfection, to realize a godlike nature, while purification is the human expression of divine aspirations.

SEE ALSO Ablutions; Celibacy; Confession of Sins; Fasting; Fire; Hair; Incense; Kashrut; Mortification; Rites of Passage; Scapegoat; Water.

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PURIFICATION: PURIFICATION IN JUDAISM

The concept of purity represents one of the cornerstones of Jewish religiosity from its earliest articulation in biblical literature. Indeed, the ideal of attaining purity by purification from the various kinds of impurities enumerated in the Book of Leviticus forms an integral part of the notion of holiness in that book, as well as in later Jewish sources. At the same time, purity is not a uniform concept. On the contrary, the idea of purity is mobilized in numerous thematic, literary, and chronological contexts, ranging from ritual to purely metaphysical or spiritual. It plays a fundamental role in constructions of gender identity in Jewish culture, just as gender is a structural element of the various manifestations of the conceptualization of purity. Not so much a linear development of a uniform idea, from ritual to spiritual, purity is rather a concept which acquires different layers of meanings and can be variously drawn on.

RITUAL IMPURITY AND PURIFICATION IN BIBLICAL AND JEWISH LAW. The primary context in which the idea of purity plays a fundamental role is in the so-called priestly source of the Book of Leviticus and its concern for the ritual life of the sanctuary. Purity (*taharah*) and impurity (*tum'ah*) are primarily functional concepts and connote the status of a person or an object with respect to the Temple. A person needs to be in a status of ritual purity in order to enter the Temple area. If the person or an object has been affected by a source of impurity they need to undergo a process of ritual purification before they can again enter the Temple or be put to use for work related to the Temple.

Primary sources of impurity are the carcasses of various animals deemed to be impure (*Lv.* 11:1–47) and human corpses (*Nm.* 19:10–22). Further, certain physical or physiological conditions will render a person impure, namely childbirth (*Lv.* 12:1–8); scale disease, traditionally translated as leprosy, even though this is most likely not the condition described in the text (*Lv.* 13:1 – 14:32); and genital discharges (*Lv.* 15:1–33). These conditions affect first and foremost the people suffering from them. However, the priestly thinking about impurity further understands the state of impurity to be transferable from one person to another, or from a person to an object, and vice versa. Such transference can occur in numerous ways, such as by direct and indirect touch, by spittle, through sexual means, or in the case of corpse impurity, even by simply being under the same roof as the corpse.

Corresponding to these primary and secondary states of impurity, the priestly source defines different degrees of severity of impurity by legislating different durations of states of impurity, as well as different procedures of purification. For example, a woman who menstruates is in a status of impurity for seven days, but the one who touches her for the remainder of the day only (*Lv.* 15:19). A man or a woman who have irregular discharges (*zav/zavah*) are in a status of impurity as long as their discharge lasts and then have to count out seven days without a discharge before they can undergo purification (*Lv.* 15:13 and *Lv.* 15:28), while again the person who touches them remains in a status of impurity for the remainder of the day (*Lv.* 15:7 and *Lv.* 15:27). A person who has been affected by corpse impurity remains in a status of impurity for seven days (*Nm.* 19:11).

Purification is effected by various aspects: (1) by time, or by simply waiting a set amount of time free of the physiological condition that caused the status of impurity to begin with; (2) by water, that is, by washing one's clothes if one has touched an impure person or object, or washing the object such a person touched (e.g., *Lv.* 15:12); and by bathing (*Lv.* 15:13, 15:5–11, *Lv.* 15:21–22); (3) finally, the process of purification is completed by variously prescribed sacrificial offerings (e.g., *Lv.* 12:6–7, *Lv.* 15:14, *Lv.* 15:29). Surprisingly, the biblical text noticeably omits the practice of washing or immersion in all cases of women's impurity, after birthing as well as after menstruating and after suffering from an abnormal genital discharge. Finally, a further and less obvious means of purification is constituted by the ritual of the red heifer which is burned and whose ashes are mixed with fresh ("living") water to be sprinkled on the objects and people affected by corpse impurity (*Nm.* 19).

These priestly regulations concerning ritual impurity and the process of purification avoid any suggestion that they should be understood as punitive measures. Contracting a ritual status of impurity does not constitute a transgression in any way, neither of a legal nor a moral kind. On the contrary, in most cases impurity is the result of a natural occurrence in a person's life, such as birth, ejaculation, menstruation, and death. Also, ritual impurity is a temporary status, which can easily be ameliorated. In this context, the legal rhetoric merely suggests that if ritual impurity is contracted, a process of purification specified in the text should be undergone. Surprisingly, this applies even to the man who has sexual relations with a menstruating woman (*Lv.* 15:24). The actual prohibition of menstrual sex (*Lv.* 18:19 and 20:18) stems from a different source of biblical law, the *Holiness Code*, which removes it from the ritual context and places it in the lists of prohibited sexual relations. Here, contrary to *Leviticus* 15:24, the man and the woman are threatened with *karet* (commonly translated as "cutting off from their people", *Lv.* 20:18) in case of transgression. This tension between sources of biblical law makes the case of menstrual impurity unique, since here two different discourses overlap, the discourse of ritual impurity and the discourse of regulations of sex. The priestly source, however, generally lacks warnings of transgression in the context of defining the process of contracting a status of impurity. It merely warns people to avoid bringing impurity in touch with the sanctuary: "Thus you shall keep the people of Israel separate from their impurity, so that they do not die in their impurity by impurifying my tabernacle that is in their midst" (*Lv.* 15:31; cf. 7:20–21 and 22:3–9). Finally, especially in the context of corpse impurity, the priestly law enjoins people to purify themselves, or else (*Nm.* 19:13 and 19:20). Hence, the Israelites are enjoined to be aware of their ritual status, rather than being told to avoid impurity altogether, notes Jonathan Klawans in *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism.* This applies especially to the priests (*Lv.* 7:20–21; cf. 22:3–9), with the exception of their prohibition to contract corpse impurity (*Lv.* 21:1–3).

It is the priestly notion of ritual purity that is subsequently encoded in Jewish law since rabbinic law draws predominantly on this concept of purity. The earliest rabbinic legal code of the end of the second century CE, the Mishnah, devotes one of its six orders to "Purities" (a euphemism for what should be "Impurities"), subdivided into twelve tractates, in order to further develop the laws of ritual purity. Individual tractates are devoted to the impurity of a corpse, of vessels, of the menstruating woman, of the man with an abnormal genital discharge, and others. Early rabbinic law aims to systematize the degrees of impurity into originary and derivative sources. Further, the rabbis also specify in the greatest detail what a normative pool of immersion (*mikveh*) for purification as an actual built structure should look like. While biblical law merely speaks of "living water" as a means of immersion (*Lv.* 15:13), rabbinic law thus institutionalizes the practice of immersion. Significantly, rabbinic law accepts it as a given that women immerse in the *mikveh* at the end of their period of impurity (e.g., Mishnah, *Mikva'ot* 8:1 and 5).

Theoretically, therefore, rabbinic law remains wedded to the functional aspect of ritual purity with the Temple as the implied point of reference. The great medieval scholar of Jewish law Moses Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon, 1135/8–1204) thus writes: "Whatever is written in the Torah and in traditional teaching about the laws relating to things impure and pure is relevant only to the Temple and its hallowed things and to heave-offering and second tithe, for it warns those impure against entering the Temple or eating anything hallowed, or heave-offering, or tithe. However, no such prohibition applies to common food, and it is permitted to eat common food that is impure and to drink impure liquids." (Mishnah *Torah,* Mishnah *Okhelim* 16:8). However, already at the time of the Mishnah, the Temple in Jerusalem no longer existed. With the destruction of the Temple (70 CE) the laws of ritual purity lost their point of reference and, therefore, their context of applicability. This is often cited as the reason for the lack of a talmudic discussion of the mishnaic "Order of Purities," with the notable exception of the tractate dealing with menstrual impurity. Regulations of menstruation remain applicable due to the prohibition of menstrual sex in the *Holiness Code*, which, according to the rabbis, applies independent of any historical context, whether pertaining to the existence of the Temple or conditions of exile.

Generally, the entire system of purification has been rendered inoperable in the post-Temple era, since sacrifices form an integral part of the purification process. Furthermore, since medieval times all Jews are considered to be in a status of corpse impurity, due to the cessation of the ritual of the red heifer and its function of purification from corpse impurity. Consequently, the codification of the purity laws in Jewish law by and large remains a theoretical issue.

Various scholars have attempted to explain the rationale of the priestly system of ritual purity in biblical and, by implication, later Jewish law. The priestly writers themselves do, of course, not provide any explanations for either the origins or the reasons for any of their purity regulations. In describing the "priestly theology" of impurity, the biblical scholar Jacob Milgrom, in his work *Leviticus 1–16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary,* takes a history-of-religion approach which posits "Israel's victory over pagan beliefs" in almost each one of its rituals of purification (Milgrom, 1991, pp. 42–51). He thinks of this process in terms of a monotheistic reworking of pagan conceptions of demonic impurity. Accordingly, Milgrom traces the ostensible background of pagan (Mesopotamian) religion to the priestly writers, in which the deities are dependent on a metadivine realm that spawns a multitude of malevolent and benevolent entities. The malevolent metadivine entities were perceived to be the source of human pollution, a threat both to humans and gods, and purification entailed a process of exorcism.

According to Milgrom, in his *Leviticus 1–16,* the biblical writers partially adopt, with significant changes, this mythical imagination, but they thoroughly eviscerate the pagan demonic force, which finds its expression in their concept of impurity. God can still be driven out of the sanctuary, but it is now humans who do so by polluting it with their moral and ritual transgressions. And now it is exclusively the sanctuary. Hence, in the priestly writings "impurity" has become harmless, since it retained potency only with regard to the sancta, not to other people (Milgrom, 1991, p. 43). This process of reducing the power of impurity takes places in various stages within the priestly materials of the Bible and reaches its completion in the rabbinic stage which limits its "malefic effects to actual contact with sancta," while it is no longer sinful to remain otherwise impure (Milgrom, 1991, p. 317). The biblical and rabbinic ages are to be considered a single historical continuum as far as the religious concept of impurity is concerned. Other biblical scholars, however, argue that monotheism could not have effected such a radical break with ancient Near Eastern culture. In contrast to Milgrom, Baruch Levine argues that biblical writers perceived impurity as the "actualized form of evil forces operative in the human environment" (Levine, 1974, p. 78).

As an anthropologist, Mary Douglas takes a different approach altogether to make sense of the biblical notion of ritual purity. In her now famous early work on *Leviticus, Purity and Danger* (1966), she eschews the question of conceptual origins of the biblical notion and instead focuses on the ritual legislation as it presents itself. Accordingly, she argued first of all for the systemic nature of any given culture's conceptions of impurity, and especially in the biblical case. Secondly, she demands that such systems of impurity have to be understood symbolically. It is prominently body symbolism she regards as central to any understanding of systems of impurity, since the body symbolizes society and attitudes to bodily boundaries correspond to attitudes to societal boundaries. Hence, closed societies such as that which supposedly produces the biblical priestly writings will, for instance, articulate more anxiety about bodily fluids. Finally, beliefs of impurity have to be interrogated as to their function as tools of social control. They therefore have a primarily oppressive function and serve to marginalize certain groups of people, prominently women. In her more recent work, however, Douglas revises her earlier approach somewhat, even though she still adheres to the fundamental tenets of her approach of structural symbolism. However, rather than regarding the system of impurities as static, she now focuses more on the opportunity of purification provided by the priestly writers to everybody, not just the priests: "In so far as the Levitical rules for purity apply universally they are useless for internal disciplining. They maintain absolutely not social demarcation . . . the book insists over and over again that the poor and the stranger are to be included in the requirements of the laws; no one is excluded from the benefits of purification" (Douglas, 1993–94, pp. 112–113). This emphasis undermines her earlier assessment of the oppressive social function of the system, even though she still recognizes the exclusive powers of the priests within the system.

In his *Leviticus 1–16,* Milgrom equally determines the rationale of the ritual complexes of *Leviticus* 1–16 by treating them as aspects of a symbolic system that is governed by a comprehensive theory. He argues that death is the common denominator in the three major sources of impurity: scale disease, where the wasting of the body symbolizes the death process; genital discharges, which represent the life force and their loss the opposite; and corpse impurity. Since impurity and holiness are antonyms in the priestly system, impurity is to be equated with death and holiness with life. The symbolic system enjoins the Israelites to separate impurity from God and his sanctuary as the quintessential source of holiness. Thus, according to Milgrom, it serves as a reminder of the divine imperative to reject death and choose life.

IMPURITY OF TRANSGRESSIVE BEHAVIOR. However, aside from the concept of ritual purity, biblical law elsewhere and prophetic literature—most prominently *Ezekiel*—draw on the concept of purity in ways that extend beyond the functional, ritual context. In a number of prophetic and poetic passages, it has a clearly metaphoric function (e.g., *Ps.* 51, *Lam.* 1:8, *Is.* 1:15–17). But elsewhere certain human transgressive behavior is labeled as "impurity" (*tumʾah*). Such behavior includes the sexual transgressions listed in the *Holiness Code* (*Lv.* 18:24–30), idolatry (*Lv.* 19:31, 20:1–3), and murder (*Nm.* 35:33–34). The reference point for these "impurities" is not merely the Temple. Rather, such acts impose impurity upon the perpetrator (*Lv.* 18:24), the land of Israel (*Lv.* 18:25, *Ez.* 36:17), and the sanctuary (*Lv.* 20:3, *Ez.* 5:11). However, neither the land nor the sanctuary is rendered impure by direct or indirect contact. Rather, their impurity is the cumulative, spiritual consequence of the behavior deemed to be reprehensible. In these legal contexts and in the prophetic reproach, the rhetoric is clearly punitive: the individual perpetrator(s) will be "cut off" from their people (*Lv.* 18:29), while the cumulative, collective consequence of such acts is the expulsion of the people from the land of Israel: "Do not render yourselves impure with any of these things (sexual transgressions), for with all these the nations were rendered impure which I cast out before you, and the land was rendered impure. Therefore I do punish its iniquity upon it, and the land vomits out her inhabitants" (*Lv.* 18:24–25). Finally, none of these texts provide any overt process of purification. Only *Ezekiel* envisions the future ingathering of the exiles in the terms of a divine purification of the people (*Ezek.* 36:24) that will allow them to re-inhabit the land.

The tension between the conception of impurity in the priestly source and the *Holiness Code* and *Ezekiel* has caused considerable debate, particularly in biblical scholarship on the ritual purity system, since any analysis of the nature of the ritual purity system depends on the way the relationship between the ritual purity system and those other uses of purity terminology are defined. At the same time, it has provided a fertile ground for the adaptation of the language and conceptualization of purity and purification in post-biblical Jewish literature and later Jewish religiosity. For the sake of conceptual clarity we will briefly review the former, before describing the latter.

Jacob Neusner's approach in *The Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism* can be found on one end of the scale in that he considers the two to have a metaphorical relationship. Purity and impurity are primarily "cultic matters," but can serve as metaphors for moral religious behavior, even though in some post-biblical Jewish formations (Qumran, rabbis) transgressive behavior may serve as a source for actual pollution. Milgrom, however, recognizes the defiling force of sinful behavior and develops a specific description of the process by which various types of transgressions render the sanctuary impure. To Milgrom, in *Leviticus 1–16,* the defiling force on transgression is concentrated on the sanctuary, and the reference point for purification remains to be the sanctuary ("Israel's Sanctuary"). His lasting contribution is to have recognized that what has commonly been translated as a "sin-offering" (*hatta't*) should actually be translated and understood as a "purification-offering," whose main function is to purify the Temple from the cumulative effects of people's transgressive behavior (Milgrom, 1991, pp. 253–261). While individuals have to bring purification-offerings during the course of the year for inadvertent transgressions (*Lv.* 4), the climax of this process of purification is the ritual of the Day of Atonement (also known as Purgation Day), when the entire sacred area or all that is most sacred is purged with the blood of the purification offering.

Early in the twenty-first century, Klawans has taken issue with these prevailing theories in biblical and rabbinic scholarship. He insists on a categorical distinction between "ritual" and "moral" impurity which each have their distinct defiling forces. These two categories can be correlated to the different approaches the priestly source and the *Holiness Code* (and related texts) take in biblical law. Contra Neusner, moral impurity is not merely a metaphorical concept, and contra Milgrom, he focuses on those transgressive behaviors deemed to cause impurity to the land and not merely the sanctuary. Klawans emphatically rejects the idea that the concept of the defilement of the land (*Lv.* 18:24–30) is only metaphorical. Rather, the performance of sexual transgressions defiles the sinner and the land upon which the sins are committed. This defilement is understood to be moral, and what is conveyed is a permanent degradation of status. In *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism,* Klawans views moral and ritual impurity as two analogous, but distinct, perceptions of contagion, each of which brings about effects of legal and social consequence.

It should be added that Christine E. Hayes builds on Klawans and introduces one additional category of impurity in the biblical and post-biblical literature in her work *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities: Intermarriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud.* Taking a similar history-of-idea approach, she traces the notion of genealogical purity in biblical and post-biblical literature. The innovative moment with regard to this category lies with *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* who extend the requirement of genealogical purity to all Israelites, beyond the priestly groups as in the Pentateuch and *Ezekiel.* A terminological shift occurs in these books according to which priestly exogamy is no longer described as profanation but as defilement (*Neh.* 13:28–30; *Ezr.* 2:61–62/*Neh.* 7:62; cf. *Lv.* 21:15). In this genealogical context, the term "pure" comes to mean unalloyed or free of admixture, notes Hayes, and *Nehemiah* accomplishes purification by separating the Israelites from the foreign wives. She notes that while moral impurity defiles the land, the sanctuary, and the sinner, it is not said to impair ones seed in any way, as in the case of exogamy. Hayes argues therefore that these differences should caution against adopting the view that Ezra's concern for the holy seed of Israel as simply an extension of the concept of moral impurity. Both Klawans and Hayes argue that different views of their respective categories of impurity are at the root of Jewish sectarianism during the period of the Second Temple.

POST-BIBLICAL JUDAISM. Various Jewish groups during the last two centuries BCE and first century CE draw on the conceptualization of purity for boundary making purposes, among them prominently the sectarians who produced the Dead Sea Scrolls. On the one hand, these sectarians make use of ritual purity laws to differentiate themselves from other Jews, by adding more laws and interpreting some laws differently as for instance in the scroll *Miqsat Ma'ase Hatorah* (4 QMMT). But furthermore, they also conflate the differences between what were different types of discourse in biblical law. In the sectarian literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls moral transgressions are considered to have a polluting force and the technical ritual language in the priestly source of biblical law is applied to moral transgressions. Even more significantly, repentance and atonement require actual ritual purification, as reflected for instance in the *Rule of the Community.* One can also speak of a literalization of what in biblical literature appeared to operate as a metaphor, when prophetic and poetic passages draw on the terminology of purity and purification to illustrate their notion of atonement.

Early Rabbinic Judaism, on the other hand, by and large adheres to the conceptualization of purity reflected in the priestly source of the Bible. To be sure, it does champion the concept of the cumulative polluting effect of moral transgressions on the land and the punitive theological consequences. But this appears as a trope mostly in homiletic contexts and in the context of biblical interpretation, while it does play no role in the context of legal discussions. However, the legal development and talmudic discussions of purity laws atrophy, and the codification of the laws of ritual impurity as reflected in later legal codes (e.g., Mishneh *Torah*) remains a theoretical issue in post-Temple times, with the one notable exception of the discussion of menstrual impurity (*niddah*). As mentioned above, this is the only subject of the mishnaic "Order of Purities" to receive a talmudic discussion. The ongoing interest of the rabbinic scholars in the subject is warranted by the continuous applicability of at least some of its aspects, prominently the unconditional prohibition of menstrual sex in the *Holiness Code.* It is this prohibition that perpetuates the interest in the legal discussions of menstrual impurity. At the same time, even in this context most of the impurity rules have become irrelevant and therefore inapplicable in the absence of the Temple, according to Charlotte Elisheva Fonrobert in *Menstrual Purity: Rabbinic and Christian Reconstructions of Biblical Gender*. The focus of the practice is no longer the possible transference of a status of ritual impurity to other people by the menstruating woman. Nor does the synagogue legally function as a Temple substitute to prevent women from going there or from touching sancta, a practice that has nonetheless been customary in various Jewish communities over the centuries. Still, observant married women to this day still immerse monthly in the *mikveh*, while men no longer do, other than for spiritual purposes in some pious circles, such as spiritual purification before the Sabbath or a holiday. In fact, in the contemporary popular didactic literature instructing young couples on the abstention from menstrual sex, the set of practices is often called "the laws of family purity" (*taharat ha-mishpahah*). This term is technically a misnomer in that the actual practice is no longer concerned with ritual purification (*taharah*), nor is it concerned with the family as a whole, rather than the married couple itself. It entered Jewish legal discourse in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century before it was popularized in the market of handbooks for married couples. One of its main functions is rooted in its polemical force, vis a vis liberal, non-observant Jews, which is captured by Kalman Kahana, the author of one of the most popular of these handbooks, *Daughter of Israel*: "Daughter of Israel! The time has arrived to throw off alien garments, to cast away the product of strange cultures. With head erect, and with pride, remember! You are a daughter of Israel, the sacred people. Remember your forefathers, who sacrificed their lives for the sanctity of the Jewish nation. You too, bear faithful fruit, and carry forth the illustrious tradition of Jewish purity," (Kahana, 1977, p. 35).

As far as the context of the legal and ritual discourse in Judaism is concerned, one could speak of a channeling of the concerns about impurity into the discussions of the menstruating women. Time and again, Jewish legal literature reflects disputes over incorrect immersion practices by women. This process has been accompanied over the centuries by extra-normative literature in which the so-called *Baraita de-Niddah* assumes an early and prominent role. Presumably a post-talmudic text from approximately the seventh century CE, but posing as an early talmudic text, it lists a number of extremist strictures concerning the menstruating woman, including her exclusion from the synagogue or any house filled with books (1:2, p. 3; cf.2:2, p.10; Koren, 1999, p. 18), as well as prohibiting her to light the Sabbath candles (2:5, p. 17) and threatening her offspring with leprosy into the hundredth generation should she have sex with her husband. Here, the menstruating woman is all but demonized, and the fact that she can undergo purification is almost irrelevant in light of her threatening impurity. In spite of its extremism, this text has a vital afterlife, in that it is quoted in biblical commentaries by prominent medieval scholars (Moses Nahmanides on *Gn.* 31:35, *Lv.* 12:4, and 18:19, cf. Cohen, "Menstruants and the Sacred," p. 295 n. 30) and may even have influenced legal discussions in some parts of the Jewish world. This discourse of demonizing menstrual impurity continues throughout the medieval period, especially in the literature of Jewish mysticism where the concept of impurity takes on a metaphysical force of mythic proportion. In the *Zohar*, the canonical text of Jewish mysticism from the thirteenth century CE, it is menstruation that is the most prominent type of impurity. At the same time, the mystery of the laws of menstrual impurity are so deep that it cannot be disclosed to the unworthy (*Zohar* 3:79a). These texts, even though they represent extra-normative voices in Judaism, are enormously influential and add layers of meaning to the prevalent legal definitions. Thus, they still inform the Jewish imagination at least to a certain degree.

If one treats the ongoing discourse of menstrual impurity as a left-over of the priestly purity system, one can speak also of a progressive feminization of ritual impurity in recent history of Jewish culture. Ultimately, these discussions and their concomitant ritualization of women's bodies inform women's self-understanding in Judaism considerably. It is because of this that contemporary Jewish feminist literatures focuses prominently on critiquing, readapting, and reshaping the discussions of menstrual impurity.

SEE ALSO Israelite Religion; Miqveh; Rabbinic Judaism in Late Antiquity.

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PURIM ("lots") is a minor Jewish festival (one in which work is not prohibited) that falls on the fourteenth day of Adar. It celebrates the deliverance, as told in the *Book of Esther,* of the Jews from the designs of Haman, who cast lots to determine the date of their destruction. According to some historians, the events recorded in *Esther* are fictitious, the festival probably having its origin in a Babylonian festival. But there is evidence that Purim was celebrated as a Jewish festival from the first century BCE. Purim was observed also as a reminder to Jews that God often works "behind the scenes" in order to protect his people. Medieval thinkers found a basis for this idea in the absence of God's name in *Esther,* the only book in the Hebrew Bible in which the divine name does not appear.

The central feature of Purim is the reading of the Megillah (scroll), as the *Book of Esther* is called, in the form of a parchment scroll, written by hand and occasionally profusely illustrated. This public reading takes place on the night of Purim and again during the morning service in the synagogue. During this service the passage in the Torah concerning the blotting out of the name of Amalek (*Ex.* 17:8–16) is read because Haman was a descendant of Amalek. Based on this is the practice, frowned upon by some Jews, of making loud noises with rattles and the like whenever the name of Haman is mentioned during the reading of the Megillah.

Esther 9:22 speaks of sending portions to friends and giving alms to the poor. Hence the rabbinic rule is that each person must send a gift of at least two items of food to a friend and give at least one donation to two poor men. From the reference in *Esther* 9:17 to "days of feasting and joy," the rabbis further established the Purim festive meal, at which there is much imbibing of wine. A Talmudic statement has it that a man must drink until he is incapable of telling whether he is blessing Mordechai or cursing Haman.

As part of the Purim jollity, undoubtedly influenced by the Italian Carnival, people dress up, and children, especially, produce Purim plays in which they assume the characters mentioned in the Megillah. Rabbis objected to men dressing up as women and vice versa since this offends against the law in *Deuteronomy* 22:5, but Meir of Padua in the sixteenth century defended the practice as a harmless masquerade. In some communities it is the practice to appoint a "Purim rabbi" whose duty it is frivolously to manipulate even the most sacred texts.

The Jews of Shushan (*Est.* 9:18) celebrated Purim on the fifteenth day of Adar. To pay honor to Jerusalem, it was ordained that cities that, like Jerusalem, had walls around them in the days of Joshua should celebrate Purim on the fifteenth. Consequently, the citizens of Jerusalem today keep the festival and read the Megillah on Shushan Purim, the fifteenth of Adar, while for other Jews Purim is on the fourteenth of the month.

SEE ALSO Purim Plays.

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LOUIS JACOBS (1987)
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PURIM PLAYS. Known in standard Yiddish as *purimshpiln* (sg., *purimshpil),* the Purim plays, presented during the holiday of Purim, were the most common form of folk drama among eastern and western Jews up until the Holocaust. The earliest written accounts of such plays are from the middle of the sixteenth century. They describe single-actor performances in Yiddish of *purimshpiln* based on nonbiblical themes that took place in Venice, Italy, and Brest (in Belarus). In the eighteenth century, more full-fledged plays with troupe performances were produced in various communities by *yeshivah* students, musicians, artisans, and apprentices; they were enacted in synagogues and in the homes of the well-to-do, where the actors received small sums of money. Examples of especially popular biblical stories that were performed were those of Esther and Ahasuerus (main characters in the *Book of Esther)*, Joseph and his brothers, the binding of Isaac, and David and Goliath—all these plots emphasized redemption from impending destruction.

Today, most well-known traditions of *purimshpiln* occur in several Hasidic communities, of which the best known are the Reb Arele Ḥasidim (known also as Toledot Aharon), who came to Jerusalem from Hungary during World War I; the Vizhnitzer Ḥasidim, who came to Bene Beraq (in Israel) from Romania during World War II, and the surviving members of the Bobover Ḥasidim of Poland, who established themselves in Brooklyn, New York, after World War II.

In addition to the religious events of the common Jewish calendar, the Ḥasidim have established their own traditions; to a great extent these were inspired by the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century qabbalists of Safad. The qabbalists elevated the status of Purim to that of a major festival. Playing on the Hebrew word *kippurim* ("atonements," an alternate name of Yom Kippur), reading it to mean "like Purim" (*ki-Purim*), the Purim holiday thus placed in importance alongside Yom Kippur, the most solemn of all Jewish holidays.

Like their forefathers, contemporary Ḥasidim draw on the message of Purim, particularly as it is dramatically presented through the *purimshpil,* as a means of strengthening their ideology and tradition. On both Yom Kippur and Purim, a central theme is that repentance is requested and granted; the Ḥasidim believe that God is more attentive to supplication on these days.

The *purimshpil* has assumed the role of sacred work; the *rebe* (spiritual leader of the community) uses it to bring members of the community closer to God. The first evidence of the *purimshpil* as an element in Hasidic ritual is attributed to Aryeh Leib (1725–1813) of Shpola, a city in Russia. He believed that the performance of a play on Purim could influence the course of events, a phenomenon known to anthropologists as "sympathetic magic." Folk belief has it that when a decree was issued against Jews, Aryeh Leib suggested to his followers that they act in a play, the plot of which described a reversal of such a feared situation. Other stories are told of how these *purimshpiln* were instrumental in offsetting specific disasters. The quality of inversion is inherent in the original Purim text, the *Book of Esther.* A central idea underlying the *Book of Esther* is *ve-nahafokh hu'* (Heb., "and it was reversed," *Est.* 9:11). Accordingly, Haman, the king's vizier who wanted to hang Mordecai, is hanged himself, and Mordecai becomes a minister of the court. The Jewish community is avenged of its enemies rather than harmed by them.

Themes nowadays are also drawn from biblical sources, East European folklore, and issues of day-to-day life. In the Bobover repertoire, for example, the *Book of Daniel* serves as the background for the *Play of Nebuchadnezzar.* Similarly, a Hasidic legend retelling the wonder of a pious Hasid has been dramatized as the *Three Revenges.* Consistent with the *Purim-Kippurim* notion, the plays are always serious and didactic despite the comic overlay, depicting central themes in Jewish experience—survival, martyrdom, and redemption.

The production of the *purimshpil* by the community replaces the sermon the *rebe* would otherwise deliver. The *purimshpil* is incorporated into the *rebe*'s *tish* (table) on the midnight of Purim. The *tish* is a central ritual in the life of Hasidic men, who assemble around their *rebe*'s table in their prayer hall on festivals to share a communal meal, dance, and sing together. The *purimshpil* may last all night, and women may be part of the audience. The production of the play is considered sacred work rather than "entertainment," and the manner in which it is performed is as carefully monitored by those involved in the production as the content since the performance itself and the texts used may appear to be in contradiction to Jewish law. Making fun of God and misquoting biblical phrases, for example, are forbidden and could result in God punishing the actors. Therefore, it is important that the themes of Jewish belief are accurately followed.

Usually the spiritual elite of the community, the married male students and teachers, take part in the production, writing, selection of music and costume, and painting of backdrops. The comic elements are incorporated into the play during both rehearsals and the performance itself. The actors suggest jokes, which may be accepted or rejected for particular scenes. The time allocated for the preparation of the production is limited because it is viewed as taking the men away from their primary function, studying Torah.

The *purimshpil* more than any other event in the Hasidic festival calendar engages the members of the community in ludicrous, playful behavior antithetical to everyday conditions. During the performance, men become actors, wear costumes and makeup, and assume both male and female roles. In the audience, the division between male and female is also relaxed; women speak with men across the *mehitsah* (the separation between the women's and the men's sections in the synagogue, a division mandated by religious law), which has been drawn aside. Thus, the prayer hall is converted from a house of study and prayer into a theater. In fact, the Purim play is one of the rare occasions during the year for the community to view theater: The Hasidic way of life prohibits the participation in, and viewing of, movies or plays.

Inspired by the male production of *purimshpiln,* Hasidic women have started to perform their own versions of the Purim plays for mainly female audiences during the week of Purim. Referred to by the women as "Purim musicals," the texts have sources similar to those of the male *purimshpiln* but are more influenced by musicals and modern stage effects.

World War II for the most part brought an end to the folkways of Ashkenazic Jewry. Traditions of Yiddish song, music, literature, and drama, which were integral parts of Jewish life in Europe, were brutally destroyed. The revitalization of the *purimshpil* in the latter half of the twentieth century exemplifies how traditional art forms may survive physical and spiritual catastrophes. The annual performance of the *purimshpil,* once an all-encompassing Ashkenazic Jewish tradition, has evolved among Hasidim into a continuation ritual, dramatizing their need to remember the past, thereby connecting that past to the present.

SEE ALSO Hasidism, overview article.

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PURITANISM. In its most common historical usage *Puritanism* refers to a movement within English Protestantism in both the British Isles and colonial America. Some historians, identifying the essence of Puritanism as a reaction to the tardy pace of the English Reformation, date it from the activities of William Tyndale (1495–1536) and John Hooper (d. 1555) in the formative years of the Church of England. But its major impact was felt during the century between the coming of Elizabeth I to the throne in 1558 and the death of Oliver Cromwell in 1658. For most of that period Puritanism had no institutional identity of its own. Puritans sought to purge the existing English church of its Catholic remnants rather than to set up a rival church. Because their goal was reform, the line that separated them from their non-Puritan brethren was often unclear, a situation to the advantage of those clergy and laity who wished to use the institutions of the church to effect an ultimate change in the ecclesiastical structure and beliefs of the nation.

The first stirrings of Puritan reform came in the reign of Elizabeth from a group of former Marian exiles, clergy and laity who had fled to Protestant centers on the continent to escape the persecutions of the Catholic queen Mary I (1553–1558). These believers had been radicalized by their experience at Geneva and elsewhere and were dissatisfied with the conservative nature of the Elizabethan settlement. That settlement was a *via media* between the demands of Catholicism and those of extreme reform. A compromise that many returning exiles could and did accept, it was unpalatable to many who saw no grace in an accommodation with sin. Initial protests focused on outward signs and ceremonies of the church such as the wearing of vestments, the physical position of church furnishings, and matters of nomenclature. The usage of the establishment, in the view of its critics, symbolized belief in a sacrificial priesthood, a real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and other elements of Roman Catholic faith and practice.

Clerical opposition to the dictates of the queen and her archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker (1559–1575), caught the public's attention. But while the position of the clergy forced them to make public displays of their conformity or nonconformity, the movement they represented was not simply a clerical protest. Puritanism drew the support of laity as distinguished as members of the queen's Privy Council and tapped deep wells of popular support in town and village, so much so that in some cases of the nonuse of vestments it was lay pressure that strengthened the will of a Puritan clergyman rather than pressure from a clergyman stirring up popular discontent.

Puritan hopes for early reform were bolstered when Edmund Grindal (1519–1583) succeeded Parker as archbishop of Canterbury in 1575. A progressive bishop, although not a Puritan, Grindal was less concerned than Parker with enforcing practices that had caused friction in the church. He promoted efforts to upgrade the education of the clergy and to reform ecclesiastical abuses, positions strongly supported by Puritans but advocated by progressive members of the establishment as well. When Grindal refused to carry out the queen's desire to suppress prophesyings (clerical conferences designed to promote the continuing education of the participants), Elizabeth suspended him, and the division within the church widened.

Frustrated throughout Elizabeth's reign by the resistance of the episcopal hierarchy, Puritans sought other methods of reforming English religion. *An Admonition to Parliament* (1572) urged the Parliament of 1572 to take responsibility for the church. While some members of that body showed sympathy, the queen was able to block their efforts. Other clergy and laity began to discuss and advocate an alternative system of church government. Presbyterianism, first advocated by Thomas Cartwright (1535–1603), was not universally popular among Puritan reformers, most of whom were able to work with the church hierarchy on a wide range of issues. Some Puritans, however, began to despair of reforming the church. Under the leadership of men such as Robert Browne (c. 1550–1633), Henry Barrow (1550–1593), and John Greenwood (d. 1593), they broke apart from the church and organized Separatist congregations.

In the last years of Elizabeth's reign and during the rule of James I (1603–1625), a new generation of religious thinkers began to articulate their theologies. One group, which would eventually rise within and then dominate the episcopal hierarchy, was represented by Richard Hooker (1554–1600), Richard Neile (1562–1640), and William Laud (1573–1645). This strain in Anglican thought reflected an accommodation to the views of the Dutch theologian Jacobus Arminius (1559–1609), who had sought to temper the rigidity of Calvinistic predestinarianism. The Arminians in the church also stressed the authority of king and bishops, the efficacy of the sacraments in the process of salvation, and the return to a more elaborate use of liturgical ceremony. In contrast to this evolving "new orthodoxy," John Preston (1587–1628), William Perkins (1558–1602), and William Ames (1576–1633) spelled out the essentials of Puritan belief that would characterize the seventeenth-century history of the movement in England and in the New England in America. The lines of demarcation between "orthodox" and Puritan members of the church became more sharply defined, and compromise became less likely.

The starting point for Puritan theology was an emphasis on the majesty, righteousness, and sovereignty of God. God created and maintained the universe by exercise of his will and directed all things to an intelligent end. The awe-inspiring Puritan image of the Father drew heavily on the Old Testament. In contrast was the Puritan concept of man. Scripture, their social surroundings, and an intense personal introspection all persuaded the Puritans that human beings were depraved sinners incapable of earning merit in the eyes of God. But although Adam's sin had led to this fallen state and thus precluded humankind from using the Adamic covenant of works to earn its way to heaven, a benevolent and loving God predestined some of his fallen creatures for the gift of salvation included in the covenant of grace. In emphasizing humankind's sin-diminished faculties and inability to bridge the gap separating humans from the creator, the Puritan stood in increasing contrast to the orthodox Anglican point of view.

In their speculation about the means whereby God reached out to elect certain souls for the gift of salvation, the Puritans developed elements of traditional Calvinism. Puritan theologians, William Perkins in particular, made concepts of the covenant central to their evangelism and moralism. Believing in predestination, they explained that all human beings were pledged by the covenant of works to adhere to the divine law and were justly condemned for failure to adhere to it. They also wrote and preached an evangelical message of hope centering on the free gift of saving grace to the elect. For those saved from the consequences of their actions by this gift, the law still remained the standard of behavior according to which they tried to live lives expressive of gratitude to their savior.

The covenant of works depended on human action, while the covenant of grace required a faith that God himself enabled the elect to grasp. This emphasis on contractual relationships became a controlling metaphor for Puritans in their social as well as their religious thought.

If the idea of the covenant was to be found in the Reformed roots of Puritanism, so was the language of conditionality that the Puritans employed in their discussion of the doctrine. While, in the words of a foremost student of covenant theology, the ministers "from the standpoint of high Calvinism . . . were solid on election but soft on perseverance," they were still within the main current of that tradition. This nuance in their thought was revealed most clearly in their tracing of the normal path of the elect to salvation.

Most Puritan preachers developed a complex morphology of conversion, identifying stages in that process such as election, vocation, justification, sanctification, and glorification. Election signified God's choosing of those to whom the grace of salvation was to be offered. Vocation was the Holy Spirit's offer to humankind of the grace enabling it to seek contrition, faith, and cooperation with that grace. Puritans developed an extensive literature on humanity's preparation with God's help for the next and pivotal stage, justification. God provided natural means such as the scripture, the sacraments, and the sermons of godly preachers to facilitate the process of salvation. By grasping hold of these means sinners could not save themselves, but the elect could cooperate with the Spirit's transforming work on their souls.

For the blessed, justification—the soul-wrenching, born-again experience of conversion—represented a passage from sinner to saint, from a vile and loathsome creature to a being embraced by God. Justification placed the stamp of election on the saint and rehabilitated, though it did not perfect, human faculties. Sanctification was the life of grace lived by the saint, a life of endeavoring to show gratitude to the divine author of one's salvation by living as God's law prescribed. Because of human frailty, assurance of one's state was sometimes in doubt. Glorification was the unification of the soul with God after death, the final resolution of doubt, and the gathering of the elect into the communion of saints.

In his pilgrim's progress to the celestial kingdom the Puritan constantly encountered the moral law. Perhaps the simplest explanation of the rule by which the Puritan sought to live is the statement by Richard Baxter (1615–1691) that "*Overdoing* is the most ordinary way of *undoing*." The Puritan life was a life of vigorous involvement in the world without excessive or abusive use of the natural order. Some later commentators and contemporary critics have sought to blame Puritans for all that they themselves perceive as repressive in Protestant culture. But contrary to the image painted by their detractors, Puritans were not killjoys or prudes. They dressed as befitted their social class, participated in lotteries, drank alcoholic beverages, and approached sex as more than a mere obligation.

Puritans did, however, scorn what they viewed as the libertine excesses of many of their peers, condemning not the drink but the drunkard, not the expression of sexual love between husband and wife but extramarital sex. They felt called to vocations that were social, economic, and civic as well as religious. They rejected the monastic ideal of separation from the world and embraced a vision of total Christian involvement in the creation. As one of the elect the Puritan was called to use fully all the talents God provided without overstressing any one call; in early Massachusetts the civil magistrates had occasion to gently remind the clergy that even sermonizing could be overdone when the number of lecture days began to interfere with the task of community building. While some Puritans such as Michael Wigglesworth (1631–1705) allowed their fears of sin to become obsessions that made them walking parodies of Puritanism, the ideal of the Puritan moral life was one of sober moderation.

The Puritans' moral stance and belief that their role in history was that of a chosen people called to create a New Jerusalem and usher in the millennium made Puritans, on both sides of the Atlantic, culturally distinct from their peers. The elect envisioned themselves as a group apart, a saved and saving remnant. Their lifestyle was different enough to symbolize their uniqueness. Their effort to give God his due by spending the Sabbath reading the scriptures rather than indulging in sport or dance, their rejection of set prayers for spontaneous expressions, their disdain for the ritualization of the liturgy, their coming together in New England on designated fast days and days of thanksgiving—all of these reinforced the Puritans' sense of being apart from yet responsible for saving their native land.

The task of redeeming England seemed more difficult than ever as the reign of James I gave way to that of Charles I (1625–1649). Puritans had wielded considerable influence at Oxford and Cambridge and from those universities a brotherhood of reformed preachers had spread the Puritan message throughout the realm. The patronage of sympathetic gentry and of some borough officials secured pulpits for the Puritans. A group of lay and clerical leaders called the Feofees for Impropriation solicited donations to fund the purchase of numerous church livings that would be controlled by the movement. But the rise of William Laud symbolized the growing determination of the king and his chief counselors to root out dissent. Puritan clergymen were haled before ecclesiastical courts, deprived of their livings, and harried out of the land.

Having failed to reform England by their written or spoken word, some Puritan leaders conceived the idea of persuading their countrymen by the example of a model Puritan community. This was the goal of many who joined in the Great Migration to New England in the 1630s. As John Winthrop (1588–1649), the first governor of Massachusetts, expressed it: "We shall be as a City upon a Hill." Massachusetts and her sister commonwealths of Connecticut (founded in 1636) and New Haven (1637) and the moderate Separatist colony of Plymouth represented an orthodoxy that was designated the New England Way. Their social and political fabric was knit from ideas of Christian organicism owing much to English rural traditions as well as to the corporate strain in Puritan thought. In matters of religion the orthodox developed a congregational church structure with all residents required to attend service but with full membership and its privileges reserved for those who could persuade their peers that they had experienced saving grace.

The achievement of this orthodoxy was not without struggle. Puritans who migrated from England left the status of dissenting minority within the structure of the state church to cope with the challenge of translating their general principles into institutional practice and statements of faith. Various individuals offered their perspectives, and through the efforts of clergymen such as John Cotton (1584–1652), Richard Mather (1596–1669), Thomas Hooker (1586–1647), John Davenport (1597–1670), and Thomas Shepard (1605–1649) a consensus emerged that would be articulated in the Cambridge Platform (1648). Some Puritans found themselves outside these emerging boundaries of acceptable belief. Many responded by conforming, but Roger Williams (1603–1683), Anne Hutchinson (1591–1643), and others who would not bend were excluded; some, including Williams and Hutchinson, took up residence in Rhode Island, forming a society that rapidly achieved notoriety as a haven of radicalism.

In England Puritans who had stayed at home were at the forefront of the coalition that formed in opposition to the king's foreign policy, religious innovations, forced loans, and use of prerogative courts. The civil wars that erupted (1642–1648) pitted Parliament against the king, and so heavily was the House of Commons dominated by the reformers that the struggle also earned the name of the Puritan Revolution. During the course of the conflict Puritan reformers sought to construct a new Church of England. The same tensions that had threatened Puritan uniformity in New England appeared and the circumstances of the war made controlling them impossible.

Although most Puritans could agree on the doctrines contained in the Westminster Assembly's Confession of Faith (1647), many rejected the Presbyterian ecclesiastical structure that that reform convocation recommended to Parliament. Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists became distinct groups within the movement, while hosts of radical sects found sustenance in the excitement of the times. While political stability was provided by the rise of Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658) as lord protector in 1649, religious diversity did not come to an end. Cromwell did, however, make progress toward the establishment of a Puritan state church uniting moderate Congregationalists such as Thomas Goodwin (1600–1680) and John Owen (1616–1683), moderate Presbyterians such as Stephen Marshall (1594–1655), and moderate Baptists such as Henry Jessey (1601–1663).

The return of the Stuart monarchy with the Restoration of Charles II (1660–1685) in 1660 saw the casting out of Puritanism from the Church of England. What had been a reform movement within Anglicanism became nonconformity in the shape of Presbyterian, Congregational, and Baptist denominations. Across the Atlantic, Puritan values still dominated, but the institutional separation from the Church of England that had always been a fact of colonial life was accepted in theory as well, and New Englanders adopted the denominational badges of their brethren in England.

The story of Puritanism merges into the story of the denominations it spawned, but as a cultural movement it continued to have relevance. In England the poems of John Milton (1608–1674), the devotional writings of Richard Baxter, and the *Pilgrim's Progress* of John Bunyan (1628–1688) were fruits of the Puritan outlook. In America the literary offerings of Anne Bradstreet (1612–1672), Michael Wigglesworth, and Edward Taylor (1662–1729) and the range of writings of Cotton Mather (1663–1728) betokened the vitality of Puritanism. When Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758) spoke to the people of the Connecticut valley in the 1730s, there was sparked a great awakening not only of religious enthusiasm in general but of a distinctively Puritan outlook on the universe, its creator, and the sinners who inhabit it.

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FRANCIS J. BREMER (1987)
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PURUṢA is a Sanskrit word meaning "person" or "a man." Throughout Indian intellectual history the term has acquired the independent meanings of "the first man, self," and "consciousness." The development of the concept of *puruṣa* therefore overlaps with the development of the concepts of *ātman* ("self"), *brahman* ("universal self"), and *kṣetrajña* ("knower"). The interrelationships among these concepts can be traced through the literature of the Upaniṣads and the epics, in the work of the Buddhist writer Aśvaghoṣa, in the medical work of Caraka, and in the texts of the Sāṃkhya school.

Puruṣa first occurs in the oldest extant book of Vedic hymns, the *Ṛgveda* (c. 1200 BCE). Hymn 10.90 refers to the first man from whose bodily parts sprang the different groups of society (*varṇa*s) based on the division of labor. In the oldest Upaniṣads (600–300 BCE), the term still refers to the first man, whose essence is entirely self (*ātman*): "In the beginning this world was just a single self (*ātman*) in the form of a man (*puruṣa*)" (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 1.4.1). When *puruṣa* first came into existence he became aware of himself and exclaimed, "Here I am" (1.4.1).

Both *ātman* and *brahman* inherited the function of creation from the original *puruṣa*, the first man. Such examples in the case of *ātman* are found in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 1.4.1–10, and in the case of *brahman* in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 1.4.11–16. Various creation myths described how the "one," desiring to be many, multiplied itself, forming a new creation.

The concepts of *ātman* and *puruṣa* as the original entities are first replaced by *brahman* in a verse of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad:* "In the beginning this world was *brahman*, one only" (1.4.11). The fully articulated concept of *brahman*, according to the Upaniṣads, refers to the cosmic entity, an omnipresent self that holds the whole universe within itself. It is this universal self (*brahman*) that is a counterpart to the individual self (*ātman*). The aim of many of the Upaniṣadic teachings was to realize the identity of these two principles through mystical experience.

The concept of *puruṣa* cannot be uniformly understood as self or consciousness. In its development it underwent such functional transformations that at times it took on opposing functions. This development can be seen, for example, in the description of *brahman* as having two aspects: "There are, indeed, two forms of *brahman:* the tangible (*mūrta*) and the formless, the mortal and the immortal, the moving and the motionless" (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 2.3.1).

Change and creation were not the primary functions of the concept of *puruṣa;* eventually *puruṣa* took on other functions, while that of creation came to be associated with *prakṛti* (materiality). Thus, although *puruṣa* served at one time as the foundation of the whole universe it was also instrumental in establishing materiality, an opposing concept set forth by the Sāṃkhya school. Together, *puruṣa* and *prakṛti* constituted the essential entities of Sāṃkhya. This separation of *prakṛti* from *puruṣa* is reflected in the term *kṣetrajña.*

Kṣetrajña ("knower of the field," i.e., knower of materiality) is a term used to describe *puruṣa* as consciousness (cf. *Maitri Upaniṣad* 2.5). A section of the twelfth book of the *Mahābhārata* called the *Moksadharma* employs *kṣetrajña* as a synonym for *puruṣa*, while the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa uses *kṣetrajña* for consciousness in its descriptions of Sāṃkhya teachings (e.g., *Buddhacarita* 12.20).

The *Sāṃkhyakārikā* (c. 500 CE) of Īśvarakṛṣṇa, the first extant complete work of the Sāṃkhya school, is regarded as the classic statement on Sāṃkhya thought. According to this work, *puruṣa* is a contentless consciousness distinct in every respect from materiality. Consciousness (*puruṣa*) is, in fact, said to be the exact opposite of materiality or *prakṛti* (*Sāṃkhyakārikā* 19). For example, consciousness is uncaused and is not itself a cause; it is eternal, without space, without motion, without complexity, without substratum, without parts, independent, differentiated, and unproductive. The purpose of consciousness is to lend, so to speak, consciousness to materiality at the time of knowledge and thus to justify the existence of materiality.

By its mere presence, consciousness is the "passive witness" (*sākṣin*) of materiality. Consciousness is also the beneficiary of the activities of materiality, and finally, because it is different from all ordinary experience, *puruṣa* makes this ordinary experience meaningful by being different from it, by being conscious, and by making the experience a *conscious* experience.

Originally, *puruṣa* was spoken of as one, just as *brahman* and *kṣetrajña* are one. Yet in classical Sāṃhkya *puruṣa* came, like *ātman*, to be considered plural or many. This plurality of consciousnesses served to explain differences in existence, such as different births and different deaths. If, according to classical Sāṃkhya, there were only one consciousness, it would follow that when any one person attained liberation all individuals would attain liberation at the same time.

Under the influence of the dominant philosophical school of Advaita Vedānta, the Sāṃkhya-Yoga teacher Vijñānabhikṣu (sixteenth century) attempted to reconcile the plurality of consciousnesses with the one universal self of Vedantic thought. Vijñānabhikṣu claimed that it is possible for consciousness to be many under certain conditions. This was not to be considered a contradiction to the claim that there is only one consciousness, since, he maintained, the plurality of *puruṣa* is ultimately only a matter of convenience for the purposes of discourse. He thereby effected a conflation of the Sāṃkhya with Advaita Vedānta.

Sāṃkhya shares in pursuing the highest aim, liberation, with most other philosophical and religious traditions. Unlike these, liberation in Sāṃkhya comes from that knowledge whereby one distinguishes between two entities, contentless consciousness (*puruṣa*) and materiality (*prakṛti*), as essentially different things. Isolating (*kaivalya*) the two entities from each other is the recognition of this distinction. This is the truth that grants liberation.

SEE ALSO Brahman; Prakṛti; Sāṃkhya.

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PUSEY, EDWARD BOUVERIE (1800–1882), along with John Keble and John Henry (later Cardinal) Newman, a leader of the Oxford Movement (sometimes called Tractarianism), a high church development in the Church of England that flourished between 1833 and 1845. Pusey was educated at Eton and at Christ Church, Oxford, and was a fellow at Oriel before becoming regius professor of Hebrew and canon of Christ Church. Newman said of Pusey, "He at once gave us a position and a name." With Newman's defection to Roman Catholicism, Pusey became the primary leader of the movement until his death.

Pusey was among the first English scholars to become acquainted with the modern critical approach to scripture emerging in Germany, but throughout this exposure he maintained a quite conservative posture. His influence on the religious life of England can be seen in several areas: his tracts and sermons gave popular impetus to a revival of medieval piety in England, he was a friend and mentor of the nineteenth-century monastic revival, and the practice of private confession to a priest in modern Anglicanism can be traced to his sermon on the subject in 1846.

Extreme rigor characterized his personal piety, and his theology left little room for the forgiveness of sins after baptism. His long and diligent work on the subject of baptismal regeneration suffered from his failure to define the meaning of the term. As a whole, his scholarship lacked the subtle, seminal, and lasting quality of Newman's, or the poetic warmth of Keble's.

Pusey's life seemed characterized by defeats or disappointments: the appointment as regius professor of divinity of the liberal theologian Renn Hampden over Tractarian protests; the promulgation of the doctrine of papal infallibility; his censure by the university for his sermon on the real presence in the Eucharist; the departure from Anglicanism of Newman and others; and the Privy Council's overruling of the Ecclesiastical Courts on the Gorham case, and others like it, which seemed to Pusey to be an unwarranted intrusion of the state into the affairs of the church. However, his prestige, loyalty, and steadying influence within the Oxford Movement and subsequent Anglo-Catholicism marked a permanent change in direction within Anglicanism.

SEE ALSO Newman, John Henry.

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PYGMY RELIGIONS. African Pygmies comprise a variety of ethnic groups who dwell as hunter-gatherers in the rain forest of central Africa. Because they live as nomads in a demanding and inaccessible environment, few serious studies have been done on them. Most studies of Pygmy life have been concerned with how they relate to the history of religions. According to Wilhelm Schmidt (1868–1954), an ordained priest and ethnologist interested in the origin of religion, the Pygmy peoples represented humanity in its childhood; they were a living equivalent of one of the earliest stages of human culture. Since early evidence seemed to indicate the existence of monotheistic belief in primitive societies, Schmidt engaged his colleagues to explore Pygmy religious life. Hence, for years the Pygmies were studied by Catholic missionaries seeking to support the idea that monotheism (rather than animism or fetishism) was the earliest form of religion.

This article discusses three Pygmy groups that are better known through fieldwork: the Aka, located in the southern region of the Central African Republic; the Baka of eastern Cameroon; and the Mbuti of the Ituri rain forest of Zaire. Other more sedentary and less documented groups such as the Gyeli of western Cameroon and the Twa of central Zaire and Rwanda are not included.

AKA PYGMIES. According to Aka cosmology, a creator god named Bembe made the world, including the sky, earth, forest, and animals. He then fashioned the first male and female couple, Tole and Ngolobanzo. He later added a younger brother, Tonzanga. Bembe gave all worldly knowledge and goods to Tonzanga, but Tole subsequently stole them from his brother to ensure the survival of the family as a totality. Because of this theft, Bembe withdrew into the sky where he now lives without paying further attention to the world he created.

The primary twin couple, Tole and Ngolobanzo, gave birth to two children whose union later engendered the rest of humanity. Since that time, the three original beings created by Bembe have continued to live in a parallel world that represents the ideal to which human society should conform. The ghosts of human beings (*edio*) live in the forest where they lead an endless existence under the rule of humanity's two ancestral spirits, Ezengi and Ziakpokpo. Ghosts are neutral toward human beings and act either benevolently or malevolently depending on how well humans treat one another and whether they show respect for the ghosts themselves. However, it is believed that those areas outside the forest (forest edge, villages, and rivers) are inhabited by foreign malign spirits. In Aka thought, the village is a nonhuman (bad) world, the forest a realm of ghosts, and the campsite the only fully human realm.

The forest is impregnated with vital principles; from these, either by initiation or by inheritance, an individual may appropriate the spiritual power (*kulu*) that will assist him by blessing his various endeavors. However, malign spirits (*kose*) are attracted by malevolence and slander among human beings. The evil that individuals may wish upon each other is the cause of human misfortune because it provokes the wrath of the spirits.

Aka religious rituals fall into two types: large festivals that concern the entire community and small rites undertaken for more private purposes. All Aka rituals relate to three fundamental functions: propitiation of supernatural powers (ghosts or the forest god Ezengi) so as to bring about abundance and fertility; divination of the cause of disorder or the likely result of a prospective action; and the propitiation of irritated spirits, whether they are ancestor ghosts during a period of social conflict or shortage or animal spirits after a murder (the death of an animal during a hunt).

Rituals are performed before undertaking a journey. In Aka thought (which relies upon the juxtaposition of camp, village, and forest with all their other associated values), any passage from one world to the next is potentially dangerous and requires ritual action. While every adult male may be in contact with certain familiar spirits, it is the function of various specialists (an elder, chief hunter, or diviner-healer) to meet major spirits such as Ezengi or the elephant spirit.

The Aka obtain most of their food by hunting, and insofar as it is a highly dangerous activity with unpredictable results, it is surrounded by rites of various natures: rites of individual and collective propitiation, rites of divination, rites thanking the ghosts with offerings, and a rite of collective expiation vis-à-vis the game spirit. A period of successive hunting failures calls for a divination and propitiation ceremony that includes the appearance of ghosts in the form of leaf masks. When men are absent on extended hunting forays, women perform particular songs and dances asking not only that the men come back with large amounts of game but also explicitly asking for the resumption of sexual relations.

The value the Aka place on human fertility and human life in general is even more apparent in the Mokondi ceremony, a large festival devoted to Ezengi. During Mokondi, a figure wearing a raffia-cloth mask dances inside a throng of people who are segregated by sex into concentric circles. The ceremony is performed every night for an entire month to mark the settlement of a new camp after the death of a community member. It is intended to restore the welfare of the community by obtaining the benevolence and protection of the supreme being.

The last salient Aka ritual is connected with honey gathering. Mobandi, an annual rite linked to the flowering of a particular tree, is a collective purification ritual that involves flagellation; by gently beating their bodies with leafy boughs, the Aka hope to expel malign forces (*kose*) from the community. Moreover, as honey stands as a sexual symbol for the Aka, the Mobandi ritual corresponds to the periodic regeneration of the world.

BAKA PYGMIES. Certain religious conceptions held by the Baka are similar to those of the Aka. Several terms are also employed by both groups but are used to designate different aspects of their religious life. According to Baka cosmology, the god Komba created the world and all its creatures. He is part of a divine family that includes his sisters, a culture hero named Waito, and various offspring. In this complicated mythology, all of these creatures function as a many-faceted hermaphroditic entity that is self-engendering and productive of all humanity, including Pygmies as well as tall Africans.

Waito, who stole from Komba such goods as game and fire for the benefit of humanity, is the figure who introduced women and sexuality into human culture. Komba, on the other hand, brought death into the world. While Komba remains distant in the sky, it is his spirit, Ezengi, who gives Baka youths knowledge of the world and of social existence during initiation ceremonies. Ezengi protects humans and rules over their death and rebirth as ghosts in the forest. Communication with either the forest god Ezengi or the ghosts is the concern of a specialist (the diviner-healer), or of initiated adult males during the collective dances, and is achieved by means of songs, charms, offerings, or at times, with a fire.

The function of ritual among the Baka is akin to that of the Aka: prediction of the future, propitiation of the spirits so as to ensure a successful hunt, restoration of normal life after times of trouble, and procurement of Ezengi's continued benevolence toward the community. Before beginning on a spear hunt for large game, a divination session will be performed, followed by a women's ritual that includes yodeling and dances to entice the animals. A death requires two ceremonies. The night the death occurs, a masked spirit (symbol of life against death) performs a dance, insulting the audience and making obscene jokes. Following the burial, the deceased soul dances in the camp but is then chased off with firebrands and driven into the forest. Once the campsite is deserted, a large festival begins in order to restore the normal existence of the community. At this point, Ezengi appears in the form of a raffia mask. Because women are not allowed to participate, each family is represented in the ritual by an adult male. The ceremony, involving a large number of people, is also the culmination of the initiation of pubescent boys that generally lasts for several weeks. Through such pervasive participation, this ritual, which is marked by the collective singing of polyphonic songs, provides an occasion to reaffirm group unity after a serious crisis.

MBUTI PYGMIES. The Mbuti Pygmies of the Ituri rain forest are the most well known of the various Pygmy ethnic groups. According to Paul Schebesta, the Mbuti believe that God created the universe (that is, the forest) and all its creatures and forces. God then retired into the sky, ending his participation in earthly affairs. The first human, a culture hero named Tore, became god of the forest; he gave the Mbuti both fire and death and is seen as the source of game, honey, and protection. Essentially a benevolent god, Tore is thought to be particularly offended by evil. According to this version of the story, both humans and animals are endowed with vital forces (*megbe*). Furthermore, it is believed that the shadow of a deceased human becomes a forest spirit, part of an invisible people who mediate between humans and the forest god Tore.

Colin Turnbull (1965) disagrees with this account of Mbuti cosmology. According to him, there is no creator god; instead, the Mbuti worship God as a living benevolent being personified by the forest. To them, God is the forest. Turnbull also diverges from Schebesta's account of the mediating forest spirits, for he views the Mbuti as a practical people who have a direct relationship with the forest as sacred being.

The Mbuti Pygmies lack both ritual specialists and divination practices. Communication with the forest is achieved through fire and smoke, offerings, whistles, wooden trumpets, and polyphonic songs. As with the Aka and the Baka, rituals surround hunting, honey gathering, food shortages, puberty, and death.

The onset of puberty in women is celebrated by an initiation festival known as Elima. At the time of the first menstruation, a girl goes into seclusion together with all her young friends. Staying in the Elima hut for several weeks, the girls receive instruction concerning motherhood and various ritual responsibilities from a respected older female relative. They are also taught how to sing the songs of adult women. Elima also functions as a means for choosing a mate.

Although Elima functions as an initiation into adult life for both girls and boys, there is a separate initiation rite, known as Nkumbi, exclusively for males. During Nkumbi, the Mbuti boys are circumcised together with the young males of the neighboring peoples who live in fixed agricultural settlements outside the forest. Nkumbi is primarily a way for the Mbuti boys to gain status in village society, but it also works to cement ties between the Mbuti and their village neighbors.

The first killing of game marks a further initiation rite for young Mbuti men. Until he has accomplished this, a young man is not allowed to participate in the most important Mbuti ritual, Molimo, which takes place after a crisis in the community (usually a death) and lasts for an entire month. The Mbuti believe that because God is benevolent, death or similiar misfortunes cannot occur unless the forest has fallen asleep. Hence, the purpose of the Molimo is to wake up the forest with songs and to thereby restore the normal life of the community. During this rite God sings through a wooden trumpet with the whole community. The Molimo fire is kindled each day by taking embers from the hearth of each family, emphasizing the collective nature of the celebration. As a reaction to crisis and a means of seeking the regeneration of the world through polyphonic song, Molimo represents a perfect form of communication with the spiritual world.

SEE ALSO Schmidt, Wilhelm.

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PYRAMIDS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
EGYPTIAN PYRAMIDS

PYRAMIDS: AN OVERVIEW

The structure of the pyramid may unite the two religious monuments of the burial mound and the elevated altar. Because these functions are not mutually exclusive but rather are in many cases complementary and combined with yet other functions, modern archaeologists often face serious difficulties of interpretation. This problem becomes especially evident when they attempt to situate the monuments in their original contexts.

On the one hand, the pyramid can be a logical derivation of the burial mound, with the primary function of concealing the tomb of a prominent ruler while exalting his often-deified memory. The Egyptian pyramid, with its wonderfully refined form, is the perfect embodiment of this initial phase. It is, in addition, the only monument that can be considered a true pyramid in the geometric sense of the word (excluding, of course, the oldest example, in Saqqara, built with trunk-pyramidal elements).

On the other hand, the pyramid can constitute the monumental culmination of the elevated altar, an extreme manifestation of the "cult of height." Overwhelmed by the sacred, the simple mortal tends to place everything that relates to that sphere at a higher level, whether they be effigies, images, or altars, whether visible or invisible. The most outstanding forms of this genre are the ziggurats in Mesopotamia and the temple-pyramids of pre-Columbian America (particularly those of Mesoamerica and, on a lesser scale, those of the Andean region).

Chronologically, the Mesopotamian buildings are older; they date from the fourth millennium BCE. The temples, such as those of Uruk (modern Warka, Iraq), are placed on high, artificial platforms accessible by staircases or ramps. From the third millennium BCE these develop into massive ziggurats, which were usually composed of terraced blocks on a square foundation. The terraced blocks, perpendicular or parallel to the foundation, ascend in broken patterns, either directly or in spans. Archaeologists believe that a sanctuary usually crowned the last platform, but total destruction of the upper parts of the monuments makes confirmation of this thesis difficult. In profile such monuments present a terraced succession of vertical or near-vertical shapes. Their cubical appearance is often counterbalanced by great flutings that alternate rhythmically with the buttresses to animate the exterior facings and cast elongated shadows accentuating the vertical over the horizontal.

Even more versatile than the Mesopotamian pyramid is that of Mesoamerica, which originated between 1200 and 900 BCE among the Olmec of San Lorenzo and La Venta on the Gulf Coast of Mexico and continued to develop until the sixteenth century CE. The Mesopotamian pyramid often has a quadrangular foundation, but occasionally it is circular, as in the main pyramid at La Venta or that of Cuicuilco; it can also be semicircular, as in some of the *yácatas* ("mounds," "pyramids") in Michoacán or the temples dedicated to the wind god Quetzalcoatl-Ehécatl that were part of the Aztec political expansion just before the Spanish conquest.

Conceived as a single truncated block—or, more commonly, formed by a series of terraced blocks—and generally having one staircase, the Mesoamerican pyramid almost invariably presents ornamentation in talus form, an intuitive adaptation of the natural sloping angle of its solid earth fill. A formal element that works to define the principal volumes and to differentiate regional, local, and other styles is the talus panel (*tablero-talud* or *talud-tablero*) with its salient moldings that produce well-marked shadows. The pyramid, usually crowned by a temple (single or, in certain cases, twin), tends to be complemented by plazas, esplanades, and other open spaces. These, together with stairways and altar-platforms, make up a nearly inseparable whole. This type of pyramid was conceived to satisfy the needs of a form of worship that, in its community aspects, took place outdoors.

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PAUL GENDROP (1987)
Translated from Spanish by Gabriela Mahn

PYRAMIDS: EGYPTIAN PYRAMIDS

Egyptian pyramids are essentially royal tombs. Throughout the centuries their great size and architectural excellence have led to several alternative explanations for their existence, such as the medieval notion that they were granaries built by Joseph during the seven good years mentioned in the Bible

(*Gn.* 41), but such theories are quite fanciful. There is a connection, however, between the origin of pyramid building and the idea of a staircase; one such stairway, which must be symbolic, was found incorporated in a mud-brick bench-shaped tomb dating from the end of the first dynasty (c. 2900 BCE) at Saqqara, south of modern Cairo, but it is far from certain that this was a royal monument. The first pyramid, however, is the Step Pyramid, also at Saqqara, consisting of six such bench tombs arranged on top of one another in the form of a stairway. This is the earliest known monumental stone building (2700 BCE), and it has earned its architect, Imhotep, a place in history which was recognized by the ancient Egyptians themselves. Subsequent step pyramids, although unfinished, show increasing confidence in the use of stone, and they developed rapidly, replacing the step structure with something closer to a true pyramid.

THE AGE OF THE GREAT PYRAMIDS. The apogee of pyramid building was reached at the beginning of the fourth dynasty, with the two massive pyramids at Dahshur built by Snefru and the Great Pyramid at Giza, the work of his son Cheops (2600 BCE). Each successive king seems to have at least planned a pyramid for himself (over eighty are known), down to the end of the Middle Kingdom (1600 BCE), when the concept was abandoned in favor of a less conspicuous burial place. Later royal pyramids are known from the Sudan, and smaller imitations are common in private tombs of the New Kingdom (c. 1569–1085 BCE) at Thebes. One such example was discovered at Memphis in 1980. Here the idea seems to have been borrowed directly from the royal prototype. The earliest pyramids show frequent changes of plan in their interior corridors, either for religious or architectural reasons or a combination of both. Pyramids of the fifth and sixth dynasties show a regular plan and are effectively standardized. Middle Kingdom pyramids have labyrinthine passages within them to provide for greater security from tomb robbers.

THE PYRAMID TEXTS. Beginning with the reign of Unas, the last king of the fifth dynasty (2350 BCE), the sarcophagus, burial chamber, antechamber, and parts of the descending corridor were inscribed with hieroglyphic texts in vertical columns. These so-called Pyramid Texts are undoubtedly the major source on the religious ideas underlying the architecture. The Pyramid Texts make it clear that the dead king, himself a god, was thought to ascend to heaven, either by a staircase or via the sun's rays; the form of the pyramid itself clearly embodies both concepts. Some texts also hint at a primeval mound, the site of the original creation, and it is possible that a pyramid also symbolizes this idea. Other notions of the next world are explored in the Pyramid Texts as well. The most common is that of a fusion with the sun god—joining in his voyage through the night, repelling his enemies, assuming his identity; this idea is so pervasive that pyramids were in effect solar symbols to the ancient Egyptians. An alternative concept is a stellar one: the king's soul or *bai* joins the "imperishable ones," the circumpolar stars which never set in the northern sky. The king's death is seen as an event of the night, ideally taking place at the end of a season in the year, and his rebirth to new life is epitomized in the sunrise. The orientation of pyramids reflects these astronomical ideas: they were built to face the points of the compass, usually with remarkable accuracy, and the entrance was invariably placed in the middle of the northern face, at least before the Middle Kingdom; the descending passage of the Great Pyramid was oriented toward the celestial north pole. In the southern sky, the constellation of Orion was explicitly identified with the resurrected king.

A very interesting analysis sees in the position of the texts within the pyramid a clue to the organization of the funeral ceremonies and in the use of walls and ceilings a symbolic "map" of the netherworld. While this is not unlikely, it is important to remember that the texts themselves were published in an arbitrary order, and that only one pyramid has in fact been treated as a coherent whole.

PYRAMID COMPLEXES. It is a mistake to imagine pyramids in isolation. Even the Step Pyramid was designed as the center of a stone palace, intended for the spirit of the dead king. This idea was soon abandoned, but a classic later pyramid would have a mortuary temple at its eastern side for the daily cult of the dead king and a valley temple at the edge of the floodplain where rites of embalming were carried out and cult regalia stored. Both temples would be richly decorated. The two were connected by a covered causeway, also decorated, which could be up to seven hundred meters long. Subsidiary pyramids and a series of solar or funerary boats also adorned the complex. The three pyramids at Abusir, south of Giza, dating from the fifth dynasty (c. 2400 BCE), show these features well. As much work could have gone into this part of the architecture as into the pyramid itself; the mere size of a pyramid tells us little about the power or ambition of its owner. The existence of a population relatively idle during the months of the Nile flood made such building projects easier; it may even have made them necessary, as a means of gratifying popular expectations.

OTHER PYRAMIDAL STRUCTURES. Pyramid-like structures also exist in Mesopotamia; these are better known as ziggurats. They were not funerary at all but seem to have been exclusively religious, and they were the objects of a cult. In two cases temples have been found on their summits, and it is tempting to believe that the ziggurats represented either heavenly mountains or celestial stairways between gods and humans, but their function is surprisingly obscure. It is possible that Egyptian pyramids were influenced vaguely by ziggurats, or vice versa, but their purposes were markedly different. The same is even more true of the pyramid structures of Central America, which were quite different in design and function, being more like gigantic sacrificial altars. There is no reason to assume any link with Egypt, especially as the Central American "pyramids" were built two or three thousand years later. An underlying feeling that the world of the gods is elevated from that of humans and that this gap needs bridging is probably enough to explain the similarities.

See Also Egyptian Religion, article on The Literature.

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PYTHAGORAS. The ancient tradition presents different images of Pythagoras (c. 570 BCE–c. 500 BCE) that hardly square with one another: philosopher and initiator of rational inquiry, scientist and mathematician, politician and lawgiver, and religious wonderworker and leader of a sect of initiates. Surely he was an extraordinary personality and a charismatic chief, venerated by his followers and desecrated by his opponents. Soon he became a legend, whose historical nucleus is difficult to ascertain. The very nature of the association he founded is consequently controversial: it is mainly described as a philosophical school where scientific inquiries were practiced, as a political party, or as a religious confraternity.

The main sources on Pythagoras, while plentiful, are late and rarely impartial; for the most part they are cast in the distorting light of hostile polemic or religious veneration. Whether Pythagoras left any writing was in ancient times already controversial and is still debatable. Original works by him, if there were any, were soon lost. In addition, there are no extant writings from ancient Pythagoreans. Pythagorean material is mainly constituted by reports whose reliability is uncertain and by apocryphal writings, which were composed beginning in the Hellenistic age and gradually increased until a remarkable amount existed.

Few details of Pythagoras's life are definitively known. He was born to Pythais and Mnemarchos (or Mnesarchos), a gem-engraver or merchant, on the Ionian island of Samos in 571 or 570 BCE. He lived there until 532 or 531, when he migrated, perhaps to escape the tyranny of Policrates, to the Achaean city of Croton in Magna Graecia (southern Italy), soon after the defeat of the city by its neighbors, the Locrians. By his teaching, which Pythagoras gave to citizens through public speeches, he is said to have converted the city from luxury to temperance. In Croton he founded an association, some of whose members came to exercise a leading role in the government of the city. During this period Croton extended its power over many cities of southern Italy, defeating the rival Sibaris in 510. There followed a period of internal struggle; anti-Pythagorean movements culminated in a burning of the houses of some Pythagoreans, where Pythagoras himself perished. Other sources have him dying, probably at about the age of eighty, in Metapontum, where he had retired having predicted the events.

Pythagoras's image as wonderworker is variously attested. His followers, who avoided pronouncing his name, considered him a god, or at least a semidivine person ("among rational beings one is god, another one man, the third like Pythagoras"), while some of his detractors depicted him as "chief of swindlers" and a charlatan. The ancient sources connect him with the Orient and its wisdom. He journeyed in Egypt, where he was told the secret lore of the priests; he also had contacts with the Phoenicians, the Chaldeans, and the Magi in Babylonia, and was initiated into their mysteries. Among his teachers were Pherecydes of Syros and Zaratas (Zoroaster), by whom he is said to have been purified and instructed in cosmology. The connections of Pythagoras with Apollo are basic; he was called the Hyperborean Apollo by the Crotoniates, and he revealed his golden thigh to the Hyperborean Abaris, a priest of Apollo, who identified him as the god. According to other reports Pythagoras was born from Apollo and Pythais and was the god's prophet among humans.

Pythagoras was credited with supernatural faculties and extraordinary mental powers, as is shown by miraculous tales that attribute to him the capacity of predicting future events, healing diseases, being simultaneously in different places, and taming animals. Still more impressive than his magical relationship with the natural world are his connections to the underworld and the afterlife—he could remember his past lives and journeyed to Hades. Hence the much discussed interpretation that sees him mainly as a sort of shaman.

The sources unanimously ascribe to Pythagoras the belief in transmigration and reincarnation of the soul (metempsychosis), whose origin can be traced back to Indo-Iranian cultures. Though most details remain unknown, it is safe to assume that for Pythagoras the soul (*psyche*) was immortal, being not merely the life or spirit of the body, but independent, and in many ways an opposing force to the physical self; it enters other human bodies and certain species of animals, thereby experiencing the cycle of punishments and rewards that stems from one's conduct in life. The metempsychosis was in fact connected with an eschatology, whose traces survive in the so-called *akousmata* (things heard) or in symbols.

It seems certain that Pythagoras developed a practical way of life (*bios*) based upon such oral maxims and instructions. Perhaps Aristotle originated a threefold distinction of them: *what is* ("what is the oracle of Delphi? the *tetractys*, that is, the harmony in which the Sirens sing"); *what most* ("what is the wisest thing? number"); and *what should or should not be done* (e.g., one should not travel by the main roads). Some symbols seem bizarre and difficult to explain: do not stir the fire with a knife; do not wear the image of a god on a ring; do not urinate towards the sun. For this reason, in the fourth century BCE some authors provided an allegorical interpretation, which purported to explain their hidden meaning (e.g., do not stir the fire would mean "do not excite an angry man"; abstinence from beans would mean "the prohibition of sexual intercourse"). The original connection is, however, with sacrificial ritual and related purity: do not eat the heart, do not sacrifice the white cock, do not dip the hand into holy water. Some of the symbols are undoubtedly related to mystery cults, including those that command silence and fasting; prescribe the practices of sacrifice, entering the temple barefoot, and wearing a linen garment; or forbid picking up food that has fallen to the earth. Other symbols exhibit connections to an eschatology whose details are little known: what, for example, are the isles of the blest? sun and moon. Bread is not to be broken, because it contributes to the judgment of Hades. Symbols are also passwords for recognition of the initiates by their fellows and by the gods.

Reports about dietetic instructions are also variegated and sometimes self-contradictory. A logical corollary of metempsychosis was total abstinence from meat (including some fishes). Such a radical prohibition clearly contrasted with official cults of Greek religion, where animal sacrifice was central, and was thus incompatible with political offices. The original prohibition may have come to be restricted to animals into which the souls of human beings were supposed to enter, and members of the society may have been allowed to eat animals that could be sacrificed. Other reports limit the prohibition against eating meat to particular parts of the animal, such as the heart or womb. Some sources have Pythagoras making only inanimate offerings and worshiping at Delos at the altar of Apollo *genetor*, where sacrificing animals was forbidden. Most notorious is the beans taboo (*vicia faba*), which has been variously explained, though the main connection is, once again, with metempsychosis: beans represent the gates of Hades, and through beans souls return to earth for reincarnation. Some explanations point to supposed similarities between humans and beans.

The connections with Orphism are important with regard to eschatology. Some traditions made Pythagoras a direct disciple of Orpheus, attributing to him similar powers, such as mastery over animals. Both movements were concerned with salvation of the soul and the afterlife; yet, while Orphism seemingly assured salvation by simple offerings and vows, Pythagoreanism, as a sort of puritanism, was centered on an irreprehensible conduct of life. It is highly probable that Pythagoras and Pythagoreans composed or commented on Orphic literature, where theogonies and cosmogonies were interpreted and further developed.

Ancient reports describe the internal organization of the association in terms of a monastic brotherhood, whose adherents shared their goods and followed strict rules of community life. New disciples underwent a rigid process of admission with a probationary period of five years of silence before final initiation. Close fraternal ties bound the members to each other ("common are the things of friends"). Much discussed is the distinction made by later sources between *acusmatics* (members who received only basic, undemonstrated tenets) and *mathematics* (truly philosophizing members). The distinction points not to different degrees of membership but to a deepened interest in scientific inquiry by later groups compared to the former, prescientific wisdom based upon the *akousmata*. Many of these tracts, as with the community of gods, are possibly later projections of a monastic ideal of life.

Nevertheless, it is undeniable that the Pythagorean society was something more than an ordinary political club (*hetairia*) or a philosophical group; it was rather an association whose adherents were tied to the way of life expressed by the symbols. Being a Pythagorean meant not so much professing a definite philosophical doctrine or practicing scientific inquiry as following a certain sort of life. This will also explain Pythagoras's image as a lawgiver and reformer, a founder of a politically oriented educational program, and a promoter of social concord and moral authority, which had a strong influence on the political life of many cities in southern Italy. Pythagoras's actions in Croton, in fact, seem to have consisted in political advice rather than in direct involvement in the government; his supposed activity as a lawgiver has left no concrete traces, though his influence on politics is undeniable.

According to Diogenes Laertios (third century CE) Pythagoras was the originator of Italian philosophy, the first to use the term *philosophy*, and the first to call himself a *philosopher*, although these are probably later projections of the ideal of contemplative life. More questionable is whether Pythagoras can be considered a philosopher at all. Plato's Academy played a fundamental role in the transmission of Pythagorean philosophy, though in a profoundly transfigured form. Academics attributed to ancient Pythagoreanism doctrines they themselves had worked out, as that of two principles (one and indefinite dyad). The most reliable source for Pythagorean philosophy remains therefore, despite possible distortions, Aristotle, who strives to avoid confusion between Platonism and Pythagoreanism. Based on a written source, Aristotle sketches the philosophy of the "so-called Pythagoreans" (he dealt with Pythagoras's mirabilia in the lost works), which is a later development, maybe due to Philolaos. In any case, it cannot be ruled out that Pythagoras himself had worked out some general philosophical ideas about number as principle and cosmic harmony. Plato alludes to him, recalling a novel Prometheus that gave to humankind a divine doctrine: all things consist of oneness and multiplicity, limitedness and unlimitedness, in close analogy with the system described by Aristotle.

Both Plato and the Pythagoreans regard number as the principle of reality; for the latter, however, numbers are not separate entities, but the things themselves. Having applied mathematics, they discovered affinities between numbers and existing things and assumed that the elements of numbers were the elements of the things; heaven itself is harmony and number. Elements of the number are the even (unlimited) and the odd (limited). Limited and unlimited are then the ultimate principles; from them rises the odd-even "one," which is a principle of number. Here cosmogony and arithmogony are intermingled: once the "one" came into being, the unlimited, which was outside, was breathed in as void by the limited, thereby separating things from one another. The Pythagorean cosmos includes, along with fire at the center, the invisible "counter-earth," the earth, the moon, the sun, the five planets, and the fixed stars. Cosmic harmony is explained by numerical relations that determine the concordant intervals of the scale (2:1, the octave; 3:2, the fifth; 4:3, the fourth). Of paramount importance is, among other "sacred" numbers, the *tetraktys*, or decad, containing the basic ratios (1+2+3+4=10). Other Pythagoreans listed ten basic principles in a table of oppositions (limited/unlimited, oneness/multiplicity, odd/even, square/oblong, good/bad, male/female, right/left, at rest/moving, straight/crooked, light/darkness). The representation of numbers by arrangements of pebbles was based on the correspondence of odd and limited.

Pythagoras emerges from many reports as a mathematician and a scientist. He is credited with the discovery of the celebrated theorem of musical harmony and its basic intervals, together with the construction of musical instruments. Testimonies that attribute to him the theoretical study of geometry or the discovery of irrational magnitudes are not reliable and are deeply influenced by the tradition of Platonism. Yet it is reasonable that, having come of age in the Ionia of the sixth century BCE, Pythagoras could not ignore the major scientific achievements of his time, which possibly are mirrored in his doctrines.

Pythagoreanism soon spread outside Croton. Iamblichus's catalogue, which may date back to Aristoxenos in the fourth century BCE, lists 235 Pythagoreans from different cities, with Croton, Metaponto, Locri, and Tarent playing prominent roles. After the anti-Pythagorean strife the only center in Magna Graecia where Pythagoreanism survived was Tarent, where Archytas held the office of *strategos.* After its extinction in the fourth century BCE, Pythagoreanism survived as a philosophy, inspiring individual personalities who continued to lead a Pythagorean way of life. Beggars-Pythagorists appear in the Middle Comedy (fourth century BCE); they live ascetically, practicing silence and following such dietetic rules as meat abstinence or intensive fasting. However, the existence of Pythagorean groups in Greece cannot be clearly documented.

Much debated is whether Pythagorean communities survived elsewhere during the Hellenistic age. An interest in Pythagoreanism of a literary or antiquarian nature is well attested, which explains the production in the third to second centuries BCE of apocryphal writings attributed to Pythagoras (the *Golden Verses* being the best known) or ancient Pythagoreans, whose place of origin remains controversial (candidates are Rome, Alexandria, and southern Italy). A revival of Pythagoreanism is attested in the first century BCE in Rome, where Nigidius Figulus attempted to revive the *antica disciplina.* There is also somewhat questionable evidence in Rome of the existence of circles and religious sects that referred to Pythagoreanism. In addition, a renewed philosophical interest became visible in Alexandria of Egypt, where the circle of the Pythagorean Platonic Eudoros possibly contributed to the production of *apocrypha.* Between the first century BCE and the second century CE, a number of authors arose who explicitly defined themselves or came to be defined as Pythagoreans. They include Moderatus, Nicomachus, and Numenius, all of whom profess doctrines that are substantially Platonic, and some of whom are supposed to have adopted a Pythagorean *bios.* At this point, boundaries between Platonism and Pythagoreanism become very unclear. More clear is the case of Apollonios of Tiana, a wonderworker who explicitly purported to revive the Pythagorean life and presented himself as *Pythagoras redivivus.* Such Neoplatonic writers as Iamblichus and Porphyry accomplished in their biographies the apotheosis of Pythagoras, until Pythagoreanism completely merged into Neoplatonism.

SEE ALSO Neoplatonism; Orpheus; Plato; Platonism.

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BRUNO CENTRONE (2005)

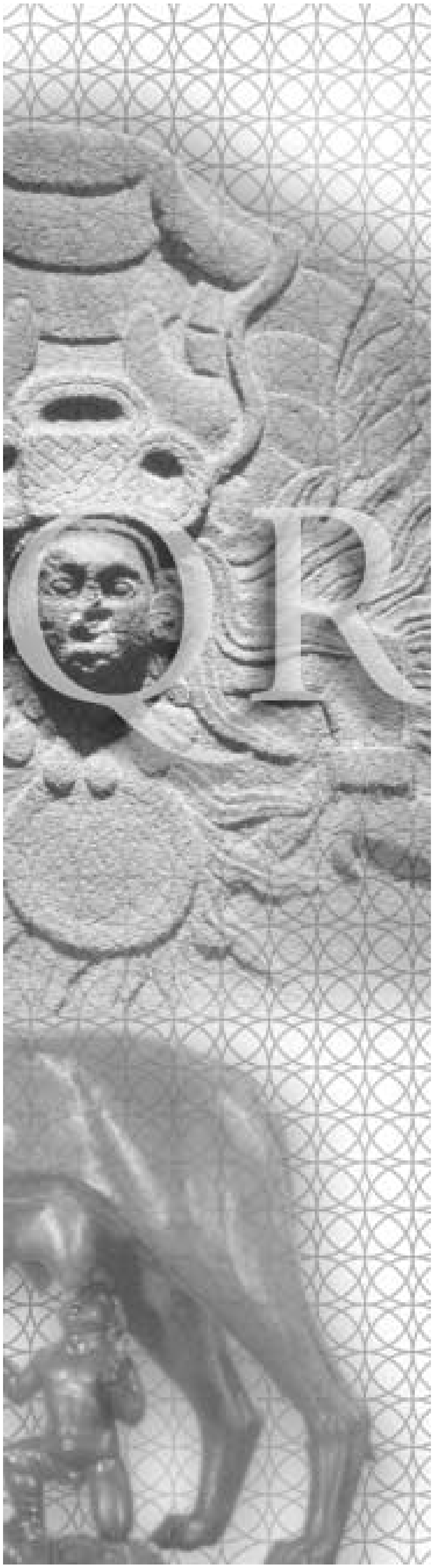

Q–R

QABBALAH. The term *Qabbalah* is derived from the Hebrew root *qbl,* which means “to receive”; in early medieval texts, *qabbalah* commonly signified “reception,” namely a received tradition, mainly concerning halakhic matters. Since the early thirteenth century it has become the main term for Jewish mystical traditions, which deal almost exclusively with (1) a theosophical understanding of God combined with a symbolic view of reality and the theurgical conception of religious life, and (2) the way to attain a mystical experience of God through the invocation of divine names. These two traditions had much earlier roots, but the term *Qabbalah* refers in general to Jewish mysticism from the twelfth century onward. The following presentation will discuss the history of Qabbalah and its phenomenological aspects.

HISTORICAL SURVEY. The first written evidence of the existence of theosophical and theurgical thought in Judaism comes from Provence, in southern France, in the second half of the twelfth century. A series of well-known halakhic authorities, beginning with Avraham ben David of Posquières and Ya‘aqov the Nazirite and later including Moses Nahmanides and his principal student, Shelomoh ben Avraham Adret, were full-fledged qabbalists, though their literary output in Qabbalah was minimal compared to their voluminous halakhic writings. Doubtless this situation is the result of a deliberate policy to keep Qabbalah an esoteric lore limited to a very small elite. However, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the veil of esotericism began to disappear. Yitsḥaq Sagi Nahor (Yitsḥaq the Blind), Avraham ben David of Posquières’s son, is known as the teacher of several qabbalists, of whom the best known are Yitsḥaq’s nephew Asher ben David and ‘Ezra’ of Gerona. They committed to writing the first qabbalistic documents, which consist of commentaries on the cosmogonical treatise *Sefer yetsirah* and on *ma‘aseh bere’shit* (the biblical account of creation), and explanations of the rationale for the commandments. During the same period, an important treatise called *Sefer ha-bahir* (The book of brightness), falsely ascribed to Neḥunya’ ben ha-Qanah, a second-century mystic, began to circulate among Yitsḥaq’s students. Although the qabbalistic doctrines incorporated

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CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT CORNER. Qur’ān written in Nashki script. *[The Art Archive/Private Collection/Eileen Tweedy]*; Pre-Toltec Quetzalcoatl in the form of the morning star. Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. *[©Werner Forman/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Etruscan bronze capitoline she-wolf, c. fifth century BCE, with twins added later by Antonio Pollaiuolo. Musei Capitolini, Rome. *[©Timothy McCarthy/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Cathedral of Saint Basil in Moscow. *[©Corbis]*; Fifteenth-century illustration by Marco dell’Avogadro of Ruth at work during the harvest, from the *Bible of Borso d’Este.* Biblioteca Estense, Modena. *[©Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.]* .

into these works are presented in a fragmentary and obscure manner, it seems highly reasonable that they reflect more complex systems whose sources predated them by decades and even centuries.

In the middle of the thirteenth century, more extensive works were produced by Spanish qabbalists, who continued the major trends of their predecessors; the most important among them were ʿAzriʾel of Gerona and Yaʿaqov ben Sheshet. After flourishing briefly in Catalonia, the center of qabbalistic creativity passed to Castile, where it underwent a renaissance. In Castile a circle of anonymous qabbalists produced a series of short treatises, known as the *ʿIyyun* (speculation) literature, that combined ancient Merkavah literature (commentaries on the chariot vision in *Ezekiel*) with a Neoplatonic mysticism of light. Another group became interested in the theosophy of evil and described in detail the structure of the "other side," the demonic world. This circle included the brothers Yaʿaqov and Yitsḥaq, the sons of Yaʿaqov ha-Kohen; Mosheh of Burgos; and Ṭodros Abulafia. The quintessential ideas of these qabbalistic schools appear in the most important work of Qabbalah, the *Zohar,* a collection of mystical writings that was circulated among the Castilian qabbalists beginning in 1280. Subsequently, between 1285 and 1335, the qabbalists produced many translations, commentaries, and imitations of the *Zohar,* mainly extant in manuscript, that contributed to the eventual acceptance of the *Zohar* as a canonic book.

Because of fierce controversy between the representative of the more conservative form of Qabbalah that preserved and transmitted older traditions, Shelomoh ben Avraham Adret, and Avraham Abulafia, the most important exponent of ecstatic Qabbalah, the creative and anarchic elements peculiar to the latter were rejected by adherents of Spanish Qabbalah, a fact that contributed to its overt stagnation in the latter part of the fourteenth century and most of the fifteenth century.

The expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Portugal in 1492 and 1497 respectively caused an exodus of important qabbalists from the Iberian peninsula to North Africa, Italy, and the Levant, thereby contributing to the dissemination of Qabbalah in those regions. Fifteenth-century Spanish Qabbalah, with the *Zohar* as its nucleus, became more and more influential in the new communities that were established by the expelled Jews and gradually developed into an important spiritual factor in Jewish life by the middle of the sixteenth century. The literary output of the first generation after the expulsion is remarkable, and several outstanding qabbalistic works were composed before the middle of the sixteenth century, including Yehudah Hayyat's *Minḥat Yehudah* in Italy and Meʾir ibn Gabbai's *ʿAvodat ha-qodesh* in the Ottoman empire. This generation of qabbalists was interested in preserving the esoteric traditions they had inherited in Spain; hence the eclectic nature of their writings. However, there were efforts to build up comprehensive speculative schemes in which the whole theosophic and cosmic chain of being was described. This work was undertaken by some Spanish qabbalists who systematically arranged older esoteric traditions, and by Italians such as Yoḥanan Alemanno, who combined philosophy, magic, and Qabbalah.

After the expulsion, a growing stream of qabbalists began arriving in Palestine. At the very beginning of the sixteenth century, Jerusalem became an important center of qabbalistic studies; its most famous members were Yehudah Albotini, Yosef ibn Saiaḥ, and Avraham ben Eliʿezer ha-Levi. Beginning in the 1540s, the small Galilean village of Safad rapidly acquired a dominant place in qabbalistic activity. For half a century, Safad was the arena of crucial developments in the history of Qabbalah. The arrival of two central figures from Turkey, Yosef Karo and Shelomoh ha-Levi Alkabets, prompted the establishment of mystical groups that formed the nuclei of intensive qabbalistic activities. Karo, the major halakhist of his time, produced a mystical diary dictated by a *maggid,* an angelic messenger who spoke from Karo's throat. Karo represents a Spanish qabbalistic trend that was primarily interested in incubational techniques to induce revelations in dreams. Alkabets, who had been close to Karo before their arrival, was aware of the philosophical perceptions of Qabbalah presented in David Messer Leon's work *Magen David* and seems to have been one of the major channels of the infiltration into Safad of Qabbalah developed by the Jews of the Italian Renaissance. However, the first towering qabbalist in Palestine was Mosheh Cordovero (1522–1570), the author of the *Pardes rimmonim* (1548), the most comprehensive exposition of all previous types of Qabbalah. He combined Spanish Qabbalah with ecstatic Qabbalah that was already flowering in Jerusalem. His clear and systematic presentation of all the major qabbalistic doctrines contributed to the immediate dissemination of his views, which remained influential for centuries, both in the Qabbalah of Isaac Luria and in Hasidism. Cordovero's main disciples, famous qabbalists themselves, were Ḥayyim Vital, Eliyyahu de Vidas, and Elʿazar Azikri. Through their literary activities—especially their moralistic works, which were intended for the public at large—they contributed to the further propagation of their master's doctrines.

A crucial development in qabbalistic theosophy occurred after Cordovero's death when one of his former students, Isaac Luria, rapidly moved to the center of the qabbalist community in Safad, where he became a profound influence through his saintly behavior, occult powers, and exposition of a novel type of theosophy. Luria's doctrines, commonly delivered orally to his disciples, elaborated upon some elements that had previously played a rather marginal role in the qabbalistic system. According to Luria, the initial movement in the process of creation consisted of the withdrawal of the all-pervading godhead into itself, leaving a point in which the world would come to exist. This withdrawal, or contraction (*tsimtsum*), made possible the elimination of "evil" elements inherent in the godhead. (The evil elements that left the godhead during *tsimtsum* formed the "material domain.") This cathartic event was followed by a series of emanations from the godhead that were intended to constitute the created world. As the emanations proceeded from their divine source, a catastrophic event occurred—the breaking of the vessels that carried them. Sparks of the divine light fell into the material domain where they were imprisoned in shells of matter. The task of the qabbalist was to liberate the sparks in order to reconstitute the divine configuration, the primordial man (*adam qadmon*), a goal with eschatological overtones.

The success of Luria's thought was instantaneous; his theosophy was accepted unanimously by the former disciples of Cordovero, and his Qabbalah was regarded as superior to the Cordoverian system. With the premature death of Luria in 1572 his disciple, Ḥayyim Vital, committed Luria's views to writing, but Vital limited their dissemination to the small circle of qabbalists who recognized his leadership. In comparison to other authentic disciples of Luria, notably Yosef ibn Tabūl and Mosheh Yonah, Vital was highly prolific; his best-known work was *ʿEts ayyim* (Tree of life). A rather different version of Luria's Qabbalah was brought to Italy during the 1590s by Yisraʾel Sarug, a qabbalist who considered himself a disciple of Luria. He disseminated it through intensive oral and written activity, recruiting disciples from among former Cordoverian qabbalists. The most important exponent of the Sarugian version of Lurianism was Menaḥem ʿAzaryah of Fano. Sarug's success was partly due to the speculative interpretations given by Sarug himself and by his disciple Avraham Herrera, who used Neoplatonic philosophy in his *Shaʿar ha-Shamayim* and *Beit Elohim.* Both Neoplatonic and atomistic views of Lurianic Qabbalah appeared in the work of Yosef Shelomoh Delmedigo of Kandia, another of Sarug's disciples.

During the seventeenth century, there was a clash between adherents of Vital's version of Lurianic Qabbalah and adherents of Sarug's version. Among the qabbalists, Vital's views prevailed in the compilations of Shemuʾel Vital, Meʾir Poppers, and Yaʿaqov Tsemaḥ.

The following centuries saw the development of various mixtures of Cordoverian and Lurianic doctrines. The theosophy of the followers of the seventeenth-century mystic and false messiah Shabbetai Tsevi was influenced mainly by Sarug's trend of thought; the theologies of eighteenth-century Polish Hasidism represented a revival of some of Cordovero's views, such as his view of prayer, at a period when Lurianic Qabbalah failed to supply appropriate answers.

Some central figures of the eighteenth century, were known as qabbalists; the most important among them were Eliyyahu ben Shelomoh Zalman, known as the *gaon* of Vilna (Vilnius) (1720–1797) and Yaʿaqov Emden (1697–1776), who continued the Lurianic tradition, though not without some reservations. In the nineteenth century, major systematic presentations of Lurianism were composed by Yitsḥaq Eiziq Haver and Shelomoh Elyashar.

The dominant brand of Qabbalah in the modern qabbalistic *yeshivot* (traditional Jewish academies) is the Lurianic system. It is studied according to the interpretations offered by Mosheh Ḥayyim Luzzatto, by Eliyyahu ben Shelomoh Zalman, by Habad, the Lubavitch Hasidic movement, and by the Sefardic qabbalists of the Beit El Academy in Jerusalem. Avraham Yitsḥaq Kook (1865–1935) offered a pantheistic and mystical version of Qabbalah that tried to explain the secularism of many modern Jews as part of a larger scheme of religious evolution; his views had great influence. After the establishment of the state of Israel, and especially after 1967, the messianic overtones in Kook's thought were stressed by his son Yehudah Kook. David ha-Kohen the Ascetic (ha-Nazir), the most important figure in Kook's entourage, developed a peculiar type of mysticism in his *Qol ha-nevuʾah* that leaned heavily on the oral aspects of Jewish tradition. Some interest in Avraham Abulafia's ecstatic Qabbalah has been recently discerned in Hasidic circles.

CHRISTIAN QABBALAH. Although Qabbalah was considered to be an esoteric lore that dealt with the secrets of the law (*Sitre Torah*) and was therefore peculiar to the Jewish people, it found its way into Christian thought. The first steps in the infiltration of Qabbalah were accomplished by converts to Christianity, of whom the most important were Abner of Burgos (Alfonso de Valladolid), who lived at the beginning of the fourteenth century; Paulus de Heredia, who lived in the second half of the fifteenth century; and Flavius Mithridates, who had by far the greatest impact. A teacher of the fifteenth-century Italian Christian humanist Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Flavius translated a voluminous body of qabbalistic literature into Latin. His translations, which he intentionally distorted, represented the most important source for Pico's *Theses,* the first qabbalistic composition written by a Christian. Although he was the initiator of this new current of Christian thought, Pico did not write lengthy treatises on Qabbalah, but presented it as an ancient Jewish theology that foreshadowed, in a veiled manner, Christian tenets. He divided Qabbalah into a high form of legal magical lore and a low form of demonic magic. Besides these Christian and magical interpretations of Qabbalah, which owe much to the distorted translations of Mithridates, Pico interpreted Qabbalah philosophically, mainly using Neoplatonic sources previously translated into Latin by his friend Marsilio Ficino, as well as hermetic Zoroastrian or Chaldean sources. These three perceptions of Qabbalah had a profound impact on the views that were developed by Pico's followers. Johannes Reuchlin, who studied Qabbalah under Pico's influence, produced in his *De arte cabalistica* the first systematic descriptions of Christian Qabbalah to be presented to the European public. In the early sixteenth century, theologians such as Egidio da Viterbo and Francesco Giorgio expanded the philosophical and Christological views of Qabbalah in influential treatises. The magical interpretation of Qabbalah reached its peak in Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim's *De occulta philosophia.* Through the writings of these Italian and German authors, as well as artwork of

Dürer, Qabbalah entered French and English literature and art in the second half of the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century, Christian Knorr von Rosenroth's *Cabbala denudata,* a compendium of translations of important qabbalistic texts, was widely read by the European intelligentsia and it remained for a long time, together with John Pistorius's earlier *Artis cabalisticae,* the main source of the influence of Jewish esotericism on European thought. Philosophers like G. W. Leibniz and the Cambridge Neoplatonists in the seventeenth century, and writers like G. E. Lessing, Emanuel Swedenborg, and William Blake in the following century, absorbed qabbalistic ideas. The occult groups that flourished in eighteenth century central Europe were influenced by qabbalistic and Shabbatean thought. The impact of Zoharic Qabbalah is especially evident in the works of the nineteenth-century Theosophist H. P. Blavatsky. In the twentieth century, traces of Qabbalah can be found in the fiction and poetry of Franz Kafka, Yvan Goll, and Jorge Luis Borges, and in the cultural criticism of Walter Benjamin and the literary criticism of Harold Bloom and Jacques Derrida.

PHENOMENOLOGICAL SURVEY. During the long history of Qabbalah, its adherents developed a variety of theosophical doctrine, symbolic systems, and methods of textual interpretation, some of them contradictory and paradoxical.

Qabbalistic theosophy. The Talmud and Midrash speak of two crucial attributes, the attribute of mercy (*middat ha-raḥamim*) and the attribute of stern judgment (*middat ha-din*). These divine qualities are believed to exist in a dynamic balance and to have been instrumental in the creation of the world and in its governance. In other texts, ten creative *logoi* or creative words (Heb., *maʾamarot*) are mentioned in this context; in *Sefer yetsirah,* the ten *sefirot* have a similar function. Pleromatic entities are also evident in the Merkavah literature. However, no detailed and systematic Jewish theosophy is extant before the composition of qabbalistic works at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Most qabbalists viewed the divinity as consisting of two layers: (1) the innermost, supreme godhead, Ein Sof (literally "the endless"), which is sometimes described in terms borrowed from Neoplatonic negative theology and sometimes described in explicitly anthropomorphic terminology; and (2) the sefirotic realm emanating from within the godhead as a pleromatic structure, that was said to be comprised of ten aspects, known variously as attributes (*middot*), potencies (*koḥot*), degrees (*maʿalot*), or, most frequently, *sefirot* (literally "numbers"). These divine powers were conceived of as forming a supernatural man, or tree, that represents the revealed as well as the creative God. Figure 1 shows the commonly accepted set of names for the *sefirot,* although slight differences are known among qabbalists.

In some post-Lurianic texts, an additional *sefirah* was discussed, Daʿat ("knowledge"), which is situated between the second and the third *sefirot,* and which plays a role similar to that of Tifʾeret or Yesod, namely, a balance between two higher poles.

There were two main ideas of the nature of the *sefirot* among the qabbalists. The view expressed in the main body of the *Zohar* and by important qabbalists was that the *sefirot* constitute the essence of God and therefore are purely divine manifestations. Since the beginning of the fourteenth century, some qabbalists viewed the *sefirot* as vessels created by God to contain the divine efflux; according to a proximate view they are the instruments by which God created and governs the world. Mosheh Cordovero combined these two views, speaking of divine *sefirot* that are inherent in the external *sefirot,* with the latter functioning as vessels for the former. This approach became prevalent in later Qabbalah. Lurianic Qabbalah also developed a representation of the divine realm according to five anthropomorphic configurations (*partsufim*), each composed of ten *sefirot.* Attempts were made in the Middle Ages to interpret the *sefirot* as symbols of human spiritual powers, and this tendency was adopted and strengthened by eighteenth-century Hasidic masters.

Qabbalistic cosmogony recognized the existence of four worlds or realms of existence: the *sefirot,* called the world of emanation (*ʿolam ha-atsilut*); the world of creation (*ʿolam ha-beriʾah*), consisting of the divine chariot and higher angels; the world of formation (*ʿolam ha-yetsirah*), in which the angels are found; and the world of action (*ʿolam ha-ʿasiyyah*), the celestial and terrestrial material world. Under the impact of Sufism, some qabbalists mentioned a fivefold division that includes the world of images (*ʿolam ha-demut*).

Qabbalistic theurgy. One of the most important tenets of mainstream Qabbalah is the view that humanity can influence the inner structure of the godhead. By performing the commandments with the proper qabbalistic intention, humankind is capable of restoring the lost harmony between the lesser *sefirot,* Tifʾeret and Malkhut, making possible the transmission of the divine efflux from the higher *sefirot* to the human world. Moreover, humans can draw this efflux from Ein Sof, the hidden divinity, downward to the *sefirot.* According to some early qabbalists, the very existence of the revealed divinity in the *sefirot* is the result of human observance of the commandments, which, by drawing the efflux downward, counteracts the "natural" movement of the *sefirot* upward in their desire to return to their primordial status within the godhead. Qabbalistic observance of the commandments constitutes a theurgic activity, since its aim is the restructuring of God.

This view of the commandments represents a sophisticated presentation of an ancient trend in Jewish thought that found its earliest expression in Talmudic and Midrashic literature, in which God is sometimes presented as requesting Moses' blessing, desiring the prayer of the righteous, and even increasing or decreasing his power in accordance with the fulfillment or nonfulfillment of the commandments by Israel. With the emergence of Lurianic Qabbalah, the emphasis was transferred to the extraction of the divine sparks (*nitsotsot*) from the material, demonic world as a progressive eschatological activity whose ultimate aim is to restore the primeval anthropomorphic configuration of the divinity. This theurgy has obvious affinities to Manichaean theology and is phenomenologically different from Neoplatonic theurgy, which was focused mainly upon the performance of rituals intended to attract the gods to descend into statues from which they could deliver divinatory messages. In the same manner, qabbalistic theurgy differed from magical ceremony in both its means and its aims. The Qabbalah used biblical commandments to effect its goals rather than magical devices; and whereas magic is chiefly directed toward attaining material results needed by certain persons, qabbalistic activity was primarily intended to restore the divine harmony, and only secondarily to ensure the abundance of the supernatural efflux in this world.

These phenomenological differences notwithstanding, Neoplatonic types of theurgy, as well as various types of magic, infiltrated into qabbalistic systems at different stages of their development, although their influence never became dominant. An interesting blend of qabbalistic and Neoplatonic theurgies with magical practices was evident in late-fifteenth-century Spain where Yosef della Reina, a Faustian figure, attempted to facilitate the arrival of the messianic eon by means of theurgico-magical activities.

Mystical techniques in Qabbalah. After the middle of the thirteenth century, qabbalists produced a series of treatises that discussed techniques for reaching ecstatic experiences and described such experiences. The most important representative of this trend was Avraham Abulafia (1240–c. 1291). In his numerous works, almost all of them still in manuscript form, he focused on complex devices for uniting with the Agent Intellect, or God, through the recitation of divine names, together with breathing techniques and cathartic practices. Some of Abulafia's mystic ways were adapted from the Ashkenazic Hasidic masters; Abulafia may also have been influenced by Yoga and Sufism. Taking as his framework the metaphysical and psychological system of Moses Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon, 1135/8–1204), Abulafia strove for spiritual experience, which he viewed as a prophetic state similar to or even identical with that of the ancient Jewish prophets. Furthermore, he perceived his attainment of such a state as an eschatological event, because he thought of himself as the messiah. This spiritual and highly individualistic conception of salvation adumbrated the later Hasidic view of spiritual messianism. Abulafia's messianic pretensions led him to undertake such exploits as his unsuccessful attempt to discuss the true nature of Judaism with the pope.

Abulafia's prophetic and messianic pretensions prompted a sharp reaction on the part of Shelomoh ben Avraham Adret, a famous legal authority who succeeded in annihilating the influence of Abulafia's ecstatic Qabbalah in Spain. In Italy, however, his works were translated into Latin and contributed substantially to the formation of Christian Qabbalah. In the Middle East, ecstatic Qabbalah was accepted without reservation. Clear traces of Abulafian doctrine are evident in the works of Yitsḥaq ben Shemuʾel of Acre and Yehudah Albotini. In Palestine, Abulafia's ideas were combined with Ṣūfī elements, apparently stemming from the school of Ibn Arabi; thus Ṣūfī views were introduced into European Qabbalah. After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, Spanish theurgical Qabbalah, which had developed without any significant impact from ecstatic Qabbalah, was integrated with the latter; this combination became, through the book *Pardes rimmonim* by Mosheh Cordovero, part of mainstream Qabbalah. Ḥayyim Vital brought Abulafian views into his *Shaʿarei qedushah,* and the eighteenth-century qabbalists of the Beit El Academy in Jerusalem perused Abulafia's mystical manuals. Later on, mystical and psychological conceptions of Qabbalah found their way directly and indirectly to the Polish Hasidic masters. The influence of ecstatic Qabbalah is to be seen in isolated groups today, and traces of it can be found in modern literature (e.g., the poetry of Yvan Goll), mainly since the publication of Gershom Scholem's researches.

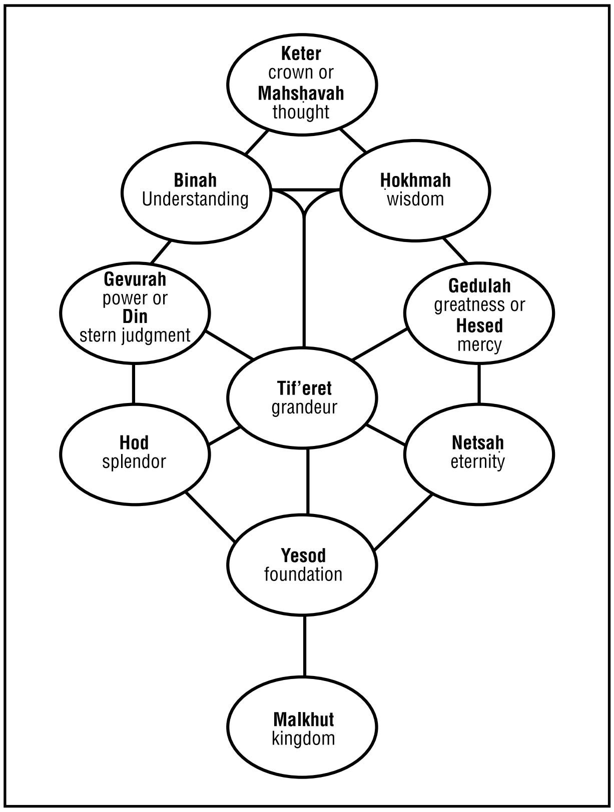

FIGURE 1. The ten divine aspects, or *sefirot,* in their symbolic configuration.

Unio mystica. Theurgical Qabbalah assumes an independent and forceful human existence whose ritual activity can influence the sphere of divinity, though humans and God remain, in principle, distinct and apart. However, even among the theurgical qabbalists the idea of a mystical union between humankind and God was known—as, for example, in the writings of ʿEzraʾ of Gerona—although it never came to the forefront. In the writings of Nahmanides and his followers, a distinction was made between the preliminary cleaving of reason to God (*devequt ha-daʿat*) and the final cleaving of the soul to God. In contrast, nontheurgical Qabbalah of Avraham Abulafia focused upon the fusion of the human and the divine intellects as the supreme goal of the mystic; extreme literary expressions of this ideal used Hebrew forms of the Ṣūfī formula Huwa Huwa (he is he) or even *anokhi anokhi* ("I I"), which symbolized the complete union of God and humanity. Sometimes the qabbalists referred to mystical union with the Active Intellect, thereby giving a mystical interpretation to the psychology developed by the Islamic philosopher Ibn Rushd. They also borrowed Aristotelian concepts of intellect, intellection, and intelligibles (which form a unity during the act of thinking) to describe mystical union. Explicit unitive phenomena were reported in the writings of Yitsḥaq of Acre, and under the latter's influence and that of Abulafia expressions of *unio mystica* were included in Safadian texts, which turned out to be one of the most important sources for the eighteenth-century Hasidic masters in their search for union with God.

Eschatology. Qabbalah developed eschatological themes considerably. Traditional messianic views contributed only marginally to qabbalistic eschatology. Under the influence of Neoplatonic or Aristotelian psychologies, the qabbalists regarded individual salvation as the ultimate spiritual achievement. Under the influence of Islamic sources, they developed the idea that cosmic processes operate in cycles of seven thousand (*shemiṭṭah*) and forty-nine thousand *(yovel)* years, with each cycle culminating in a thousand years of total rest; each millennium—or, according to other sources, seven millennia—is governed by a separate *sefirah* that influences the processes taking place during this span of time. These qabbalistic views were integrated into the well-known work *Dialoghi d'amore* by Judah Abravanel (Leone Ebreo), through which they entered general European culture. Lengthy discussions on various types of metempsychosis *(gilgul)*, or the transmigration of souls, are found in Qabbalah from the very beginning. Metempsychosis was regarded mainly as an opportunity given to a sinner to amend his former sins and rarely as a purgative period.

Qabbalistic hermeneutics. Two major methods of interpretation used in Qabbalah are the symbolic and the mathematical. The former is paramount in theurgical and theosophical Qabbalah, which considered the scriptures, the phenomena of nature, and the events of history to be symbols for the dynamic and continuous changes taking place within God. The symbolization of the whole of reality enabled the qabbalists to give theosophical significance to virtually every event and, through the "intentional" performance of the commandments, to participate mystically in the divine life. The various possibilities of symbolic interpretation changed the scriptures into an "open text" pregnant with infinite meanings. With the appearance of the *Zohar,* symbols referring to the erotic union of Tifʾeret and Malkhut, and those pointing to the demonic world (the *siṭraʾ aḥraʾ*), became more central. Since the late thirteenth century, a fourfold division of interpretation has been accepted by qabbalists.

Under the influence of Ashkenazic Hasidism of the thirteenth century, the ecstatic Qabbalah used such hermeneutical devices as *gimaṭriyyah,* the calculation of the numerical value of letters; *notariqon,* the use of letters as abbreviations for whole words; and *temurah,* the interchanging of letters. Abulafia developed a sevenfold system of hermeneutics that culminated in an ecstatic experience.

LITERARY GENRES. Qabbalah, like other bodies of Jewish literature, produced exegetical genres. Qabbalists tended to comment upon the traditional canonic texts, although they chose to discuss issues peculiar to the Qabbalah.

The qabbalists produced more than 150 commentaries on the *sefirot* containing lists of symbols that referred to each of the ten divine potencies. These commentaries were handbooks intended to instruct novices in the relations between all the elements of reality—canonic texts, human life, and the supernatural forces. This genre flourished from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries. Qabbalistic commentaries on the Pentateuch had a great impact on the propagation of Qabbalah. Tens of these commentaries are extant. The most important are those of Nahmanides, Baḥye ben Asher, Menaḥem Recanati, Avraham Saba, and Ḥayyim ben Attar. Almost every important qabbalistic school produced its own commentary on the daily liturgy, thereby introducing novel theoretical elements into the common religious activity. This vast body of literature, which is partly extant in manuscripts, still requires an extensive critical analysis.

Since its beginning, Qabbalah expressed itself through numerous commentaries on the rationale for the commandments, the most important of which are still unpublished. The qabbalists also produced commentaries on *Sefer yetsirah,* commentaries on the *Zohar,* and works of moralistic literature that were deeply influenced by Cordovero's views and that contributed to the infiltration of the qabbalistic *via mystica* among the Jewish masses. The greater part of the extant qabbalistic literature, including thousands of folios, has not been examined in detail and has not been the subject of critical analysis.

EXTERNAL INFLUENCES. Some modern scholars, such as Naḥman Krochmal in the early nineteenth century and Gershom Scholem in the twentieth, viewed Qabbalah as having been influenced by Gnostic concepts, although no hard evidence has been adduced to substantiate this assumption. The influence of Islamic and Christian Neoplatonism on early Qabbalah is indeed evident and was recognized by such opponents of Qabbalah as Eliyyahu Delmedigo and Yehudah Aryeh Modena (Leone da Modena) as early as the Renaissance period. The thesis proposed by Shulamit Shahar about the influence of Catharism on *Sefer ha-bahir* and Avraham Abulafia has not been confirmed by further studies. The qabbalistic view of evil seems to stem from older texts whose ultimate source was probably Iranian, perhaps Zurvanian. Renaissance Neoplatonism influenced the philosophical interpretation of Qabbalah in the early seventeenth century, but that trend remained without major influence on Jewish Qabbalah.

Although Qabbalah was flexible enough to enrich itself through the acceptance of external ideas, the latter never became dominant factors in its spiritual physiognomy. Through the process of absorption, the alien elements were adapted to the peculiar need of the comprehensive ideological system.

PHILOSOPHICAL INTERPRETATION OF QABBALAH. An important tendency in some qabbalistic writings is the philosophical interpretation of its theosophical and theurgical concepts. This tendency is evident from the middle of the thirteenth century in the works of ʿAzriʾel of Gerona and Yitsḥaq ibn Latif. It came to the forefront in the middle of the fourteenth century, when an array of Spanish authors formed a rather homogenous intellectual current into which Qabbalah was blended by means of concepts derived from the Islamic philosophers Ibn Rushd and Ibn Sīnā. The most important figures of this trend were Yosef ibn Vaqar and Shemuʾel ibn Motot. However, from the beginning of the fifteenth century this philosophical Qabbalah was rejected by the Spanish qabbalists, who now focused their interest on the "pure" theurgical views of the *Zohar.* In the last decades of that century, the philosophical interpretation of Qabbalah became prominent in northern Italy, mostly in the writings of Yoḥanan Alemanno, David Messer Leon, Yitsḥaq of Pisa, and Isaac Abravanel and his son Judah. The influence of this philosophical interpretation can be discerned in the Ottoman empire, Safad, central Europe, and eastern Europe. At the end of the sixteenth century and early in the seventeenth, important authors such as Avraham Herrera, Avraham Yagel, Yosef Delmedigo, and Menasseh ben Israel made extensive use of ancient texts translated during the Renaissance in order to interpret Cordoverian and Lurianic Qabbalah. Through the works of Menasseh ben Israel and the Latin translation of Avraham Herrera's *Shaʿar ha-shamayim,* this qabbalistic trend found its way into Christian Qabbalah and thus influenced European philosophy. The latest important repercussions of this trend are to be found in the period of the Enlightenment, in the writings of Salomon Maimon and Isaac Satanov, and later on in the works of modern Jewish theologians such as Franz Rosenzweig.

This type of Qabbalah commonly mitigated or even totally nullified the mythical elements that are paramount in mainstream Qabbalah, including the theurgical nature of the commandments, processes by which God's internal life unfolds, and messianic eschatology. For this reason, representatives of philosophical Qabbalah never became influential in Jewish theology.

SEE ALSO Ashkenazic Hasidism; Hasidism; Messianism, article on Jewish Messianism; Scholem, Gershom; Sefer Yetsirah; Shabbetai Tsevi; Zohar.

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MOSHE IDEL (1987)

QĀḌĪ. A *qāḍī* is a judge responsible for the application of Islamic positive law (*fiqh*). The office originated under the rule of the first Umayyad caliphs (AH 40–85/661–705 CE), when the provincial governers of the newly created Islamic empire, unable to adjudicate the many disputes that arose among Muslims living within their territories, began to delegate this function to others. In this early period of Islamic history, no body of Islamic positive law had yet come into existence, and the first *qāḍī*s therefore decided cases on the basis of the only guidelines available to them: Arab customary law, the laws of the conquered territories, the general precepts of the Qurʾān, and their own sense of equity. During the later Umayyad period (705–750 CE), a growing class of Muslim legal scholars, distinct from the *qāḍī*s, busied themselves with the task of supplying the needed body of law, and by the time of the accession to power of the Abbasid dynasty in 750 their work could be said to have been essentially completed. In constructing their legal doctrine, these legal scholars took as their point of departure the precedents already established by the *qāḍī*s, some of which they rejected as inconsistent with Islamic principles as these were coming to be understood, but most of which they adopted, with or without modification. Thus the first *qāḍī*s in effect laid the foundations of Islamic positive law. Once this law had been formed, however, the role of the *qāḍī* underwent a profound change. No longer free to follow the guidelines mentioned above, a *qāḍī* was now expected to adhere solely to the new Islamic law, and this adherence has characterized the office ever since.

A *qāḍī* continued, however, to be a delegate of a higher authority, ultimately the caliph or, after the demise of the caliphate, the supreme ruler in a given territory. This delegate status implies the absence of a separation of powers; both judicial and executive powers were concentrated in the person of the supreme ruler (caliph or otherwise). On the other hand, a certain degree of autonomy was enjoyed by a *qāḍī* in that the law that he applied was not the creation of the supreme ruler or the expression of his will. What a *qāḍī* owed to the supreme ruler was solely the power to apply the law, for which sanctions were necessary that only the supreme ruler as head of the state could guarantee.

The qualifications that a *qāḍī* must possess are stated in the law, although the law is not uniform on this subject. The minimal requirement upon which all the jurists agree is that a *qāḍī* possess the same qualifications as a witness in court, that is, that he be free, sane, adult, trustworthy, and a Muslim. Some require that he also possess the qualifications of a jurist, that is, that he be well versed in the law, while others regard those qualifications as simply preferable, implying that a person may effectively discharge the duties of the office without being well versed in the law. This latter position presupposed that a *qāḍī* who is not learned in matters of law would consult those who are before reaching a decision. Indeed, consultation was urged upon the learned *qāḍī* as well, since even the learned are fallible and can profit from the views of others. Those consulted did not, however, have a voice in the final decision making. The Islamic court was a strictly one-judge court and the final decision rested upon the shoulders of a single *qāḍī*.

The jurisdiction of a *qāḍī* was theoretically coextensive with the scope of the law that he applied. That law was fundamentally a law for Muslims, and the internal affairs of the non-Muslim, or *dhimmī*, communities living within the Islamic state were left under the jurisdictions of those communities. Islamic law governed *dhimmī*s only with respect to their relations to Muslims and to the Islamic state. In actual practice, however, the jurisdiction of a *qāḍī* was hemmed in by what must be regarded as rival jurisdictions, particularly that of the *maẓālim* court and that of the *shurṭah*. The former was a court (presided over by the supreme ruler himself or his governor) that heard complaints addressed to it by virtually any offended party. Since Islamic law did not provide for any appellate jurisdiction but regarded the decision of a *qāḍī* as final and irrevocable, the *maẓālim* court could function as a kind of court of appeals in cases where parties complained of unfair decisions from *qāḍī*s. The *maẓālim* judge was not bound to the rules of Islamic law (*fiqh*), nor for that matter was he bound to any body of positive law, but was free to make decisions entirely on the basis of considerations of equity. The *maẓālim* court thus provided a remedy for the inability of a *qāḍī* to take equity freely into account. It also made up for certain shortcomings of Islamic law, for example, the lack of a highly developed law of torts, which was largely due to the preoccupation of the law with breaches of contracts. In addition, it heard complaints against state officials. The *shurṭah,* on the other hand, was the state apparatus responsible for criminal justice. It too provided a remedy for a deficiency in the law, namely the incompleteness and procedural rigidity of its criminal code. Although in theory a *qāḍī* exercised a criminal jurisdiction, in practice this jurisdiction was removed from his sphere of competence and turned over entirely to the *shurṭah,* which developed its own penalties and procedures. What was left to the *qāḍī* was a jurisdiction concerned mainly with cases having to do with inheritance, personal status, property, and commercial transactions. Even within this jurisdiction, a particular *qāḍī*'s jurisdiction could be further restricted to particular cases or types of cases at the behest of the appointing superior.

The principle of delegation of judicial powers not only allowed the supreme ruler to delegate these powers to a *qāḍī*; it also allowed *qāḍī*s to further delegate them to others, and there was in principle no limit to this chain of delegation. All persons in the chain, except for the supreme ruler or his governor, bore the title *qāḍī*. Although in theory the appointment of a *qāḍī* could be effected by a simple verbal declaration on the part of the appointing superior, normally it was accomplished by means of a written certificate of investiture, which obviated the need for the appointee to appear in the presence of the superior. The appointment was essentially unilateral rather than contractual and did not require acceptance on the part of the appointee in order to be effective. It could be revoked at any time.

The Abbasids created the office of chief *qāḍī* (*qāḍī al-quḍāh*), whose holder acted primarily as adviser to the caliph in the appointment and dismissal of *qāḍī*s. Later Islamic states generally retained this office, while granting to its holder the authority to issue appointments and dismissals in his own name. The Mamluk state, which ruled Egypt and Syria from 1250 to 1516 CE, introduced the practice of appointing four chief *qāḍī*s, one for each of the Sunni legal schools (*madhhabs*).

Although the primary responsibility of a *qāḍī* was a judicial one, he was generally charged with certain nonjudicial responsibilities as well, such as the administration of religious endowments (*waqfs*), the legitimization of the accession or deposition of a ruler, the execution of wills, the accreditation of witnesses, guardianship over orphans and others in need of protection, and supervision of the enforcement of public morals (*ḥisbah*).

SEE ALSO Islamic Law.

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BERNARD G. WEISS (1987)

QĀḌĪ AL-NUʿMĀN. Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nuʿmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Manṣūr ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥayyūn al-Tamīmī (d. AH 363/974 CE), generally called al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, was the most eminent exponent of Fāṭimid jurisprudence and an official historian of the Fāṭimids. His works, all written in Arabic, cover various other subjects, including Qurʾanic exegesis *(taʾwīl)* and religious etiquette. He entered the service of the first Fāṭimid caliph, al-Mahdī (r. 909–934), in about 924 in Ifrīqiyah (present-day Tunisia and eastern Algeria) and served the first four caliphs of the Fāṭimid dynasty in various capacities for almost fifty years until his death.

On the eve of the advent of the Fāṭimids, Ismāʿīlī jurisprudence had not yet developed, while the Muslim population of Ifrīqiyah mostly belonged to two recognized Sunnī schools of jurisprudence: the school of Mālik ibn Anas (d. 796), followed by the popular majority, and the school of Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 767), which was usually favored by the deposed Aghlabid dynasty. The new rulers introduced the application of Ismāʿīlī ritual and law in some specific matters, and sought to win adherents. Among those who readily joined the Ismāʿīlī cause were members of old established Shīʿī families, who were not a recognized community in Ifrīqiyah, as well as Ḥanafī scholars deprived of patronage. Among the few Mālikī scholars of al-Qayrawān (Kairouan) to embrace the Ismāʿīlī faith was al-Nuʿmān's father, and it is most likely that al-Nuʿmān was brought up as an Ismāʿīlī. Already in his youth he was assiduous in collecting and transcribing books. At al-Mahdī's suggestion, al-Nuʿmān undertook the collection and classification of a vast number of legal traditions (*ḥadīths*) narrated on the authority of the family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt*). This endeavor resulted in his voluminous first work, entitled *Kitāb al-Īḍāḥ* (The book of elucidation), of which only a small fragment has survived. Fortunately, some of his several abridgments of the work, including an easy-to-memorize versified version composed during the reign of the second Fāṭimid caliph, al-Qāʾim (r. 934–946), have survived. These, as well as his subsequent works on jurisprudence, represent a development of his thought towards consolidating the legal practices with a view to the codification of Ismāʿīlī jurisprudence.

In his several polemical works refuting the principles and methods adopted by the Sunnī schools of jurisprudence and their founders, al-Nuʿmān established as authorities of jurisprudence, apart from the Qurʾān and the *sunnah*, the rulings of the *imām*s from the family of the Prophet, including the reigning *imām*. In one of the earliest Fāṭimid treatises on the imamate, entitled *al-Urjūzah al-mukhtārah* (The exquisite poem), composed during the reign al-Qāʾim, he defended the rights of the Fāṭimids to the imamate, supreme leadership of the Muslim community. This legitimist doctrine was seriously challenged by the Khārijīs, who comprised the indigenous Berbers. Their rebellion challenged the Fāṭimid state during the last two years of al-Qāʾim's reign and the early part of the reign of his successor, al-Manṣūr (r. 946–953). After crushing the rebellion, al-Manṣūr founded, near al-Qayrawān, his new residential town al-Manṣūrīyah to mark his victory. The caliph summoned al-Nuʿmān from Tripoli, where he had appointed him as a judge shortly after his accession to the caliphate, and invested him with the judgeship of al-Manṣūrīyah, al-Mahdīyah, al-Qayrawān, as well as all the other towns and provinces of Ifrīqiyah.

Al-Nuʿmān reached the height of his career during the reign of al-Muʿizz (r. 953–975), when he was invested with absolute judicial authority to investigate complaints brought before him from the subjects. He was also authorized to hold sessions of wisdom (*majālis al-ḥikma*) in the royal palace to instruct the congregation in the Ismāʿīlī religious doctrines. Under the close supervision of the caliph he composed his *Daʿāʾim al-Islām (The Pillars of Islam)*, which represents a culmination of more than thirty years of effort to codify Fāṭimid jurisprudence. It was proclaimed as the official code of the Fāṭimid state, and continues to be the greatest source of authority on medieval Ismāʿīlī law up to the present day.

Al-Nuʿmān is also rightly regarded as the founder of Fāṭimid historiography. His major historical work, *Iftitāḥ al-daʿwah* (The commencement of the mission), completed during the reign of al-Muʿizz, relates in detail the exploits of the Ismāʿīlī mission (*daʿwah*), first in Yemen and then in Ifrīqiyah among the Kutāma Berbers, which eventually succeeded in establishing a long-awaited Shīʿī state under the supreme authority of a hereditary *imām* from the *ahl al-bayt.* It remains the most important primary source for the history of that period and was used by subsequent chroniclers as a reference.

When al-Muʿizz moved to Egypt in 973 after the Fāṭimid conquest of that country, al-Nuʿmān, together with members of his family, accompanied the caliph. Fāṭimid law, as codified by al-Nuʿmān, began to be applied and taught in Egypt. He continued to serve al-Muʿizz and died in Cairo on March 27 of the following year. His sons and grandsons continued to teach his works and serve the Fāṭimids in the judiciary for nearly half a century.

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HAMID HAJI (2005)

QARĀMIṬAH (sg., Qarmaṭī) is the name applied to a dissident Muslim group that broke away from the parent Ismāʿīlī movement. At first, this name referred to the followers of Ḥamdān al-Qarmaṭ, an Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* (missionary) in the rural district of Kufa, who was given the surname Qarmaṭ (meaning either that he was short-legged or red-eyed). Later the term was used in a wider and derogatory sense to include all the Ismāʿīlīyah.

BACKGROUND. The missionary activities of Ḥamdān, who was converted to the Ismāʿīlī cause by the *dāʿī* Ahwazi, began around 873. He was assisted by his deputy and brother-in-law, ʿAbdān. In 899, because of change in the central leadership of the Ismāʿīlī movement and the doctrinal issue involved in this change, Ḥamdān severed his relations with the leadership. Shortly thereafter he disappeared, and ʿAbdān was murdered by his subordinate *dāʿī* Zikrawayh, who at first showed loyalty to the central leadership. When Zikrawayh was threatened with revenge by ʿAbdān's followers he went into hiding. In 902 Zikrawayh's son succeeded in winning the support of tribes in the Syrian desert and attacked and pillaged several cities in Syria. Two years later he was captured and executed. After several unsuccessful attempts at organizing revolts, Zikrawayh himself came out of hiding in 906 and defeated the Abbasid army, but the following year he was routed and killed, and the Qarmaṭī revolts in Syria came to an end.

The split of the Ismāʿīlīyah into two factions profoundly affected the loyalty of the various *daʿwah* (mission) groups to the central leadership. The *daʿwah* in Syria-Mesopotamia and western Persia refused to recognize the Fatimid claims to the imamate and instead supported the Qarāmiṭah. The *daʿwah* in Yemen at first remained loyal to the central leadership, but in 913 ʿAlī ibn al-Faḍl renounced his allegiance to the Fatimids and began waging war against his companion Manṣūr al-Yaman, who had remained loyal to them. Because of internal strife the political power of the Qarāmiṭah disintegrated rapidly. The *dāʿīs* in Rayy, who were successful in gaining the support of the Daylamis and some rulers of the Musafirid dynasty, maintained their contacts with the Qarāmiṭah.

QARĀMIṬAH OF BAHREIN. Abū Saʿid al-Jannābī, the founder of the Qarmaṭī state in Bahrein (the coastal area of eastern Arabia between Basra and Oman, embracing the oases of al-Qaṭīf and Hajar/al-Ḥasā), who was sent by Ḥamdān al-Qarmaṭ and ʿAbdān, began his missionary activity in 886/7. Following the murder of ʿAbdān, he sided with the rebels against the central leadership and plotted the murder of the *dāʿī* Ẓamāmī, who had been sent to Bahrein before him by Manṣūr al-Yaman from Yemen and who had remained loyal to the central leadership. He himself was murdered in 913. In 923, under the leadership of Abū Ṭāhir, the son of Abū Saʿīd, the Qarāmiṭah launched devastating attacks on southern Iraq and raided pilgrim caravans. Then, interpreting the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in 928 as a sign indicating the end of the Islamic era and the beginning of the final era, Abū Ṭāhir predicted the appearance of the Mahdi (messiah) in the near future. In 927–929 he led new attacks on southern Iraq and threatened the Abbasid capital of Baghdad itself. In 930 he attacked the holy city of Mecca during the pilgrimage season, committed slaughter, and carried away the Black Stone of the Kaʿbah, thus demonstrating the end of the Islamic era. The following year he handed over his reign to a Persian youth from Isfahan in whom he recognized the expected Mahdi, but events took an entirely unexpected turn when the Persian ordered the cursing of all the prophets and instituted the worship of fire. When the Persian encouraged certain extravagant abominations and executed prominent Qarmaṭī leaders, Abū Ṭāhir plotted his murder and admitted that he had been duped by the youth. This episode demoralized his followers. Consequently, the Iraqi Qarāmiṭah, who had escaped from the Abbasid army and had joined Abū Ṭāhir, left Bahrein. Many apostatized, disclosing their secrets, and some tribal leaders joined the army of the Sunnī rulers. Abū Ṭāhir nevertheless continued to raid southern Iraq until his death in 944.

After the death of Abū Ṭāhir his brothers ruled jointly, and in 951 they returned the Black Stone for a high sum paid by the Abbasids. The Fatimid caliph al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh (953–975) failed in an effort to bring the Qarāmiṭah of Bahrein back to the Ismāʿīlī/Fatimid fold. Open hostilities broke out after the Fatimid conquest of Egypt, when their army advanced to northern Syria, provoking the Qarāmiṭah, who had their own interests in Syria. Temporary alliances were formed when the Qarāmiṭah were aided by the Buyids of Baghdad and the Ḥamdānids of Syria against the common enemy, the Fatimids. Subsequently, the Qarāmiṭah threatened the Fatimid capital of Cairo, but they were defeated both times. As their relations with Baghdad became strained they renewed their attacks on southern Iraq. In 988 the Abbasid army inflicted a crushing defeat on the Qarāmiṭah; their capital, al-Ḥasā, was besieged; and al-Qaṭīf was pillaged. When they were defeated and reduced to local power they renewed their nominal allegiance to the Fatimids in return for a tribute, but these relations did not last long. Gradually, the Qarmaṭī communities outside of Bahrein were either absorbed by the Ismāʿīlīyah or disintegrated. In 1067 they lost the island of Uwāl, and soon thereafter al-Qaṭīf was lost. Finally, in 1077–1078, after a long siege al-Ḥasā was lost to an emerging local tribe that was aided by the Seljuks of Baghdad, thus ending the Qarmaṭī rule of almost two centuries.

TEACHINGS. The basic tenet of Qarmaṭī doctrine was the appearance of Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl as the seventh *nāṭiq* ("apostle" of God), the Mahdi, al-Qāʾim (the Redeemer), who would abrogate the *sharīʿah* (Muslim canon law) and promulgate the *bāṭin* (inner truth of religion). The doctrine carries an antinomian tendency. The reports of historians that the Qarāmiṭah dispensed with Islamic ritual and law are therefore correct, but other accusations, of licentiousness and libertinism, are not true. Abū Hātim al-Rāzī (d. 934/5), Abū al-Ḥasan al-Nasafī (d. 943), and Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī (d. after 971) are some of the illustrious *dāʿī*s who have elaborated Qarmaṭī doctrine.

The Qarāmiṭah drew a fundamental distinction between the *ẓāhir* ("exoteric") and the *bāṭin* ("esoteric"), the two aspects of religion. The former consists of external aspects of religion as laid down in the religious law and explains the apparent meaning of the Qurʾān. The *ẓāhir* changes, therefore, with each prophet in accordance with time and circumstance. The *bāṭin* is comprised of the inner, true meaning of the law and the Qurʾān. It remains unchanged.

The Qarāmiṭah formulated a new synthesis of reason and revelation based on Neoplatonic cosmology and Shīʿī doctrine. Thus, they offered a new world order under the imam, who resembles Plato's philosopher-king. The classic formulation of this synthesis is found in the well-known encyclopedic work entitled *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Safāʾ* (Epistles of the Brethren of Purity). The Qarāmiṭah viewed history as a developmental process that progresses through seven major cycles, each containing seven minor cycles. The length of these cycles varies. In conjunction with the cyclical view of the Qarāmiṭah history also had a notion of different epochs, according to which the seven major cycles progress through three different epochs: *dawr al-kashf* ("epoch of unveiling"), *dawr al-fatrah* ("epoch of langor"), and *dawr al-satr* ("epoch of occultation"). During the first epoch good prevails, hence there is no need for external law, and the *bāṭin* is promulgated openly. This is followed by the second epoch, during which goodness loses its hold over the people and religion becomes corrupted. At the end of this period begins the third epoch, when the prophet receives the revelation and lays down the law. The prophet then appoints his successor, known as *waṣī* ("plenipotentiary"), who promulgates the *bāṭin.* The imams during this epoch remain hidden. At the end, when the people are ready, al-Qāʾim appears and abrogates the law; he thus becomes the first imam of the following epoch of unveiling. These cycles are repeated until all souls are emancipated from matter and return to the Universal Soul.

HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE. The Qarāmiṭah were a powerful movement that shook Sunnī Islam, threatened the Abbasid caliphate, and terrorized southern Iraq. They had such an enormous influence in the region that during the Buyid supremacy in Baghdad the Qarāmiṭah had their own customhouse in the port of Basra alongside that of the Abbasid government. Their representatives resided in Baghdad, Kufa, and Jaʿfarīyah and wielded considerable influence. Sunnī Muslim authors considered them a heretic group led by people of the faiths superseded by Islam in order to undermine the latter from within. The general accusation against them that they practiced communism of goods and women is false; however, the shift in their opponents' arguments from theological issues to economic ones does indicate that they were perceived as a social threat.

The Qarāmiṭah constituted a messianic movement promising a better future with the rule of justice and equity; hence the social character of their preaching is undeniable. The famous historian al-Ṭabarī (d. 923) observes that the Qarāmiṭah consisted mainly of peasants and tillers. Their support came from rural areas and from the bedouin. Although the backbone of the army consisted of able-bodied Qarāmiṭah who were trained militarily, bedouin tribesmen joined them regularly for military campaigns. Some tribes, such as Banū Kilāb and Banū ʿUqayl, were integrated into the Qarmaṭī community. They did experiment with communal ownership of property, but those experiments remained peripheral. Their concern for the welfare of their community produced a unique experiment in the state of Bahrein. Its order and justice even evoked the admiration of non-Qarmaṭī travelers. Ibn Ḥawqal, who visited Bahrein in the latter half of the tenth century, makes interesting observations on its political structure. According to his account, the Qarmaṭī state was very much like an oligarchic republic. The ruler was not absolute and ruled with the aid of a ruling council comprised of important government officials and his own close associates. Following Abū Ṭāhir's death, the leadership was held collectively by his brothers.

Ibn Ḥawqal also describes the various taxes and tolls by which the state raised its revenue, and the distribution of these revenues among the ruling council. Income from grain and fruit estates was assigned to the Qarmaṭī community, while the revenues from customs on the island of Uwāl were allocated to Abū Saʿīd and his descendants. All other revenues from taxes, tribute, protection fees paid by the pilgrim caravans, and booty from military campaigns were disposed of in agreement with the ruling council after setting aside one-fifth for the Mahdi.

Nāsir-i Khusraw, a Persian Ismāʿīlī who visited Bahrein in the eleventh century, makes the following observations. There were in al-Ḥasā more than twenty thousand inhabitants capable of bearing arms. Though the inhabitants acknowledged the prophethood of Muḥammad, they observed neither fasts nor prayers. The ruling council ruled with equity and justice; it owned thirty thousand black slaves who did agricultural labor. No taxes were paid by the inhabitants, and any impoverished person could obtain a loan without interest. New artisans arriving there were given loans to establish themselves. Repairs for poor homeowners were done by the state. Grain was ground free of charge in the mills owned by the state. There were no mosques, but a foreign merchant was allowed to build a mosque for the use of Muslim visitors. People did not drink wine.

The fourth century of Islamic history, known for the flowering of Islamic civilization, witnessed a dramatic Shīʿī ascendancy to power, with the Fatimids in North Africa and Egypt and the Buyids in Baghdad. It was during this period that the Qarāmiṭah, representing a powerful, radical revolutionary movement, also succeeded in establishing their state in Bahrein. This state exemplifies their rule of justice and equity.

SEE ALSO Shiism, article on Ismāʿīlīyah.

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ISMAIL K. POONAWALA (1987)

QI is one of the most complex and multifaceted terms in all of Chinese philosophy, religion, and science. No single word can translate it adequately. Its root meaning is "moist emanation." Steam, clouds, and mist are *qi*, and the word appears frequently in compounds that refer to meteorological phenomena. Another basic meaning is "breath." Later, these meanings were sometimes amalgamated; the Daoist philosopher Zhuangzi (fourth century BCE) wrote, "When the Great Clod [the Earth] exhales breath, it is called wind."

During the Warring States period (481–221 BCE), the classical age of Chinese philosophy, the word *qi* began to be employed in an expanded variety of meanings. The concept of breath gave rise to the meaning "vital spirit," that is, the life force of all creatures. "Nourishing the vital spirit" (*yang qi*) by means of diet, yogic exercises, breath control, or sexual yoga became an important part of the Daoist quest for immortality from the late Warring States period onward. A true adept could dispense with food and even with the physical body itself; immortal spirits nourished themselves on *qi*. *Qi* could also be thought of as a flow of energy within the body. To control this flow of *qi*, traditional Chinese medicine employed acupuncture, therapeutic massage, and other techniques. The East Asian martial arts, which have a strong spiritual component, emphasize the need to regulate one's *qi* in order to achieve absolute physical mastery of the body.

Drawing on such earlier concepts as *yinyang* and the Five Phases (*wuxing*, sometimes misleadingly called "five elements"), Zou Yan (fourth century BCE) and his followers employed the idea of *qi* as the key to a systematic organic natural philosophy. For them, *qi* had two sets of meanings. First, it was an extension of the idea of "vital spirit," whereby all things, animate or not, are what they are. Things with similar *qi*, as determined by such classificatory criteria as *yinyang* and the Five Phases, were similar in nature and could interact organically without a demonstrable mechanical cause-and-effect relationship. A typical summation is that found in the second-century BCE *Huainanzi*: "All things are the same as their *qi*; all things respond within their own class." Second, *qi* was a sort of ethereal resonating medium through which such interactions took place. Both concepts entered the mainstream of Chinese philosophy during the early Han period (206 BCE–7 CE), especially in the work of the Confucian syncretist Dong Zhongshu (179?–104? BCE). During this period *qi* also came to mean something like "power"; thus, character traits and psychological states such as vigor, rage, or fortitude could be described with reference to a person's *qi*. This sense survives in the modern vernacular Chinese term meaning "to become angry": *shengqi*, literally, "to engender *qi*."

In the Neo-Confucian revival of the Northern Song period (960–1127) the term *qi* acquired a radically new meaning. Cheng Yi (1033–1108) and especially Zhu Xi (1130–1200) developed a Neo-Confucian metaphysics according to which all phenomena are manifestations of preexisting ideal principles. *Qi* was what gave physical substance to metaphysical ideals *(li)*. From the time of Zhu Xi, this sense of *qi* tended to be dominant in Chinese philosophy and religion, although the earlier senses persisted as well.

Neo-Confucian metaphysics provided indigenous (non-Buddhist) Chinese philosophy and religion with a comprehensive explanation of the phenomenon of evil. Confucianism had always held that the world and everything in it is by nature good; yet evil undeniably exists. For the Neo-Confucians, the resolution of this enigma involved the concept of *qi.* All metaphysical principles *(li)* are inherently good, but their physical manifestations may be good or not, according to the quality of *qi.* The *qi* that gives physical substance to *li* may be pure, clear, and good, or it may be turbid and flawed. A person whose *qi* is "muddy" will exhibit a flawed moral nature and will be capable of acting in evil ways, despite the fundamental goodness of man.

Fortunately, such flaws could be overcome; and the quest to do so was what gave Neo-Confucianism some of the qualities of a personal religion as well as a moral and ethical social philosophy. Sagehood—human perfection—was to be sought through the "investigation of things"; one should, through study and self-cultivation, inquire exhaustively into the perfect and enduring principles of things, and, by imitating them, purge oneself of all that is impure and inharmonious.

However, for later generations of Neo-Confucians, the "investigation of things" too often became the investigation of books. Received authority rather than active inquiry guided attempts at self-cultivation. Partly in response to this tendency, the Ming dynasty philosopher Wang Yangming (1472–1529) emphasized instead introspection and meditation. Yet in both cases the goal was the same: the purification of *qi,* leading to enlightenment and the perfect unity of consciousness and action.

Used continuously and pervasively in a variety of technical and vernacular senses, the term *qi* over the centuries has repeatedly acquired new meanings and connotations while retaining older ones. Any occurrence of the term, therefore, will be correctly understood only through careful attention to its context.

SEE ALSO Confucianism.

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QIYĀS ("analogy") is a method of reasoning that entails the extension of a precedent to an essentially similar situation. One of the four principal sources of law among *Sunnī* Muslims, *qiyās* was the last to gain explicit recognition, and then only after a fierce controversy that has left its mark on the history of Islam. The expansion of the territorial domains of Islam after the great conquests raised an increasing variety of issues not covered by the Qurʾān or the *sunnah* (tradition of the prophet Muḥammad). Islamic jurists, therefore, felt the need to have recourse to reason, logic, and opinion. Their freedom was, however, limited. In a society committed to the authority of the revelation, the use of personal opinion *(raʾy)* in religious and legal matters evoked opposition. In theory, the Qurʾān contained a complete revelation and, supplemented by the *sunnah,* was considered to respond to all eventualities. To admit any source of law other than the Qurʾān and the *sunnah* meant the renunciation of the ideal of founding the individual and collective life of Muslims exclusively on divine revelation. To overcome this difficulty, the theory of *qiyās* was elaborated with a view to restricting and setting formal limits on the use of *raʾy.*

The argument in favor of *qiyās* is based on the juristic premise that divine prescriptions follow certain objectives and have effective causes that can be ascertained and applied to similar cases. The opponents of *qiyās,* however, challenged this view by emphasizing that divine prescriptions have no causes except when these are specifically indicated. Besides, distinguishing the effective cause of a ruling involves doubt, and legal rules must not be based on doubt. In the view of the challengers, the proper conduct in response to the divine prescriptions is to accept them with devotion and without attempting to determine causes. It was on the strength of these arguments that the Ẓāhirīyah and the Akhbārī branch of the Twelver Shīʿah rejected *qiyās* altogether, and the Ḥanābilah permitted its use only in cases of dire necessity.

Neither the Qurʾān nor the *sunnah* refers directly to *qiyās.* The jurists have resorted to both, however, in supporting their arguments for or against *qiyās.* Its opponents argued that *qiyās* is alien to the Qurʾān, which says "We have sent to you the Book as an explanation for everything" (16:89) and "In whatever you differ, the verdict therein belongs to God" (42:10). They also contended that analogy is a conjecture and that "surely conjecture avails not aught against truth" (53:28). They concluded that *qiyās* is not legal evidence and that action upon it is null and void.

The defenders of *qiyās* argued that the Qurʾān stipulates "As for these similitudes, we cite them for mankind, but none will grasp their meaning save the wise" (29:43) and "Learn a lesson, O you who have vision to see" (59:2). They held the view that *qiyās* is essential to appreciate and evaluate the similitudes. Furthermore, on two occasions, when Muḥammad sent Muʿādh ibn Jabal and Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿārī as judges to the Yemen, the Prophet is reported to have sanctioned the exercise of *raʾy* in the absence of guidance in the Qurʾān and the *sunnah.*

Although *qiyās* as a technical formula was elaborated in the second century AH (eighth century CE), evidence suggests that the companions of the Prophet approved of it in principle. For example, the caliph ʿUmar's directive to Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿārī reads "Know the similitudes and weigh the cases against them." Again, when ʿUmar consulted the companions on the penalty for the wine drinker (*shārib*), ʿAlī drew an analogy between the *shārib* and the slanderer *(qādhif)* and suggested the same penalty (of eighty lashes) for both. ʿAlī reasoned thus: "When a person drinks he becomes intoxicated; when he is intoxicated he raves; and when he raves he accuses falsely."

During the second and third centuries AH, *raʾy* and *qiyās* became the focus of a controversy between the party of tradition *(ahl al-ḥadīth)* and the party of opinion (*ahl al-raʾy*). Mālik and Ibn Ḥanbal, the leading jurists of Medina and Mecca, the original seat of Islam, laid particular emphasis on tradition, which they adopted as their standard in deciding legal issues. The situation was different in the conquered territories. Iraqi jurists, for example, who were farther removed from the birthplace of tradition, had used *raʾy* and *qiyās* extensively. The leading figure in this controversy was Abū Ḥanīfah, who openly declared *qiyās* to be a valid source of law. But the person credited with ending the controversy is al-Shāfiʿī, who came out squarely in favor of *qiyās* by including it among the four roots of law, though he was very careful to state that *qiyās* must be based strictly on the revealed sources and on consensus (*ijmaʿ*).

In its technical sense, *qiyās* is the extension of the value of an original case *(aṣl)* to a subsidiary case (*farʿ*) by reason of an effective cause (*ʿillah*) that is common to both. For example, when a legatee slays a testator, the former is precluded from the latter's will. This prohibition is based on the tradition that "the killer does not inherit" *(lā yarith al-qātil)*. Although this ruling refers to intestate succession only, through analogy it is extended to bequests by reason of a common effective cause, namely the prohibition on hastening the realization of a right before it is due.

The cause in analogy must be intelligible to the human mind and it must be clearly identifiable. *Qiyās* is thus not applicable in matters of worship *(ʿibādāt),* such as the number of daily prayers, where the mind cannot understand the value in question (the command to pray five times a day rather than twenty times has no identifiable cause). A further restriction in the use of *qiyās* concerns the exercise of caution in the application of penalties. Thus, under Ḥanafī law, prescribed penalties *(ḥudūd)* may not be analogically extended to similar offences. The Shāfiʿīs and some jurists from other schools are in disagreement on this point, for they consider that the basic rationale of the *ḥudūd* is ascertainable with a reasonable degree of certainty in the Qurʾān and the *sunnah.* A total ban on the use of analogy concerning the *ḥudūd* is, therefore, not warranted. But the Ḥanafī ruling, which favors caution in the enforcement of penalties, has wider support among jurists.

There are three other conditions governing the validity of *qiyās:*

(1) The value extended to a new case should be established in the Qurʾān, *sunnah,* or consensus but not in another *qiyās.*

(2) *Qiyās* should not result in the altering of a prescription (*naṣṣ*). For instance, the Qurʾān (24:4) renders false accusation *(qadhf)* a permanent bar to the acceptance of one's testimony. Al-Shāfiʿī, however, compares the false accuser to the perpetrator of other grave sins (*kabāʾir*) and argues that since punishment and repentance absolve the latter and entitle him to be a witness, this exemption should also apply to the false accuser. The Ḥanafīyah have replied that this conclusion would amount to altering the divine prescription on the basis of personal judgment.

(3) The value in question should not be expressly limited to the original case. Thus, while the Prophet exceptionally accepted the testimony of Khuzaymah as legal proof (the standard being two witnesses), *qiyās* may not be used to justify accepting the testimony of another single individual as legal proof.

SEE ALSO Uṣūl al-Fiqh.

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M. HASHIM KAMALI (1987)

QUAKERS. The Quakers, or the Religious Society of Friends, arose in seventeenth-century England and America out of a shared experience of the Light and Spirit of God within each person. This source of worship, insight, and power they identify as the Spirit of Christ that also guided the biblical prophets and apostles. Quakers also affirm each person's ability to recognize and respond to truth and to obey the Light perfectly through the leading of an inner witness, or "Seed," called by some Quakers "Christ reborn in us" and by others "that of God in every [hu]man," out of which transformed personalities can grow. They therefore ask of each other, and of human society, uncompromising honesty, simplicity of life, nonviolence, and justice. Quakers have often been sensitive to new forms of social evil and creative in their programs to overcome them. Their worship has been based on silent waiting upon God without outward ritual.

The early Friends, as Quakers were named (from *John* 15:5) by their first leader George Fox, arose in England during the Puritan Commonwealth under Oliver Cromwell, manifesting an inward intensification of radical and spiritual forms of Puritanism; they were influenced by uncompromising Baptists, quietist Seekers, antinomian Ranters, and theocratic militants; and these were in turn influenced by English Lollards, by European Anabaptist Mennonites who rejected both the state and class inequality, and by mystics like Jakob Boehme and the Familists. Unlike their predecessors, Quakers held distinctive ideas on the purely inward nature of true baptism and Communion, on the ministry of all laymen and women, on God's power judging and working within hearts and history, and on the need for biblical events to be fulfilled within each person's life-story; but many of these ideas simply carried further those trends, already active in the mainstream of Protestant doctrine, that had turned English Christians from Catholics into Anglicans, and then into Presbyterians or radical Puritans. Indeed, many Quakers had fought in the Puritan armies of the English Civil War and had turned back from the futility of merely military millennia.

A regional mass awakening in the English Northwest, which had not been strongly reached by Puritanism or any other vital religious movement, sprang up in 1652 around George Fox and the Quaker preachers inspired by him. From open-air meetings on the Yorkshire, Westmorland, and Cumberland moors, groups were gathered who were convinced to sit under the Light, largely in silence, for months of anguished self-searching of their motives and habits. The name *Quaker* reflected the physical impact of their inner struggles to yield all self-will to the judgments and guidance of the Light until they could live purely and speak entirely by its "leadings." Only then would joy and love come.

The early Quaker mission throughout England, in 1654–1656, was presented as the "Day of Visitation" by the Lord to each town or region; newly transformed Friends spoke in markets and parish churches despite mobbing and arrests. In New England, Quakers challenging the "biblical commonwealth" were banished on pain of death, and Mary Dyer and three men were hanged in Boston. The pope and the sultan of Turkey had been visited but not converted. To Quakers, Puritan apocalyptic hopes for God's cosmic victory over evil seemed fulfilled as through their work the spirit of Christ conquered the world nonviolently in "the Lamb's war" (*Rev.* 19:11–15). Outward violence they saw as only the devil's distraction, injuring God's good physical creation. All early Quaker ethical standards were part of the crucial inward war of truth against human pride and, thus, were sure to arouse anger; among them were the use of "thee" and "thou" to individuals, the making of true statements without oaths, the refusal of titles such as sir, doctor, and my lady, and the refusal of hat honor and of tithe taxes to state churches.

To persecution for these offenses under the Puritans was added, after the restoration of Charles II, mass arrests—due to the Anglicans' Conventicle Acts of 1664 and 1670. Out of fifty thousand Friends, five hundred died in jail. Quaker courage won over to Quakerism such leaders as William Penn, the mystic Isaac Penington, and the theologian Robert Barclay. Quaker ethical testimonies of speech and dress and the continuing of silent Meetings for worship were increasingly stressed as badges of loyalty and as the fruits of the Spirit guiding "the sense of the Meeting."

The formal network of Quaker Meetings for Business, held monthly for a town, quarterly for a county, or yearly for a state or nation, was set up to replace reliance on individual leaders. The duties of these Meetings were to register births, marriages, and burials and to aid prisoners, widows, and poor Friends. Fox insisted after 1670 on independent Women's Meetings for Business throughout Quakerism. The monthly Meeting for Sufferings in London and local Meetings recorded imprisonments, oversaw publication of Quaker books, and disowned actions untrue to Quaker norms, disavowing those who so acted until they renounced their acts. Later, Yearly Meeting Epistles and Queries became regular parts of Quaker books of discipline.

Quaker theological writings began with 461 wordy debate tracts poured out by Fox and all other major Quaker leaders to answer the charges made by anti-Quaker writings; Penn wrote more systematically on the universality of the saving Light; Robert Barclay's 1678 *Apology* became the most-read statement of Quaker beliefs and worship, presenting the Bible as testimony to authentically inspired experience, parallel to that of the Friends. In Barclay's words, the death of Jesus atones for past sins, but the power of the Spirit can purify from sinning in the present. The cross stands for self-renunciation. The essence of the sacraments is inner washing, nurture, and Christ's real presence in worship; outward water, bread, and wine are needless. Ministry and even prayer must wait for and result from direct divine leading.

Toleration was always a concern for Friends: their arguments early turned from protests against persecution of God's messengers to moral, rational, and pragmatic appeals. Penn spoke for increasing groups of Englishmen convinced of the need to allow dissenting or nonconformist worship outside the national Anglican church, which led both to the Toleration Act of 1689 and the tradition of liberal Protestant reformers; he made moral appeals to all consciences, advising nonviolence and loyal opposition to government policies and people in power.

Quaker governments were set up in 1675 and 1682 by Edward Billing and Penn in their new colonies of West New Jersey and Pennsylvania; the charters of these governments mandated toleration and political and legal rights for all including the Delaware Indians. Yet even after Quakers had become a minority in these colonies, all citizens' consciences were expected to concur with the Quakers' in rejecting forts and arms, oaths, most capital punishment, and the slave trade. England's wars with France forced increasingly unacceptable compromises on Pennsylvania Quaker legislators, most of whom resigned in 1755–1758. By tender persuasion, John Woolman and others led Quakers also to make collectively the harder decision to liberate their slaves and disown Quaker slave owners. Friends were jailed and fined throughout America in the wars of 1755–1763 and 1812 and during the Revolution; the few Friends who joined or paid for the militias were disowned by their Meetings.

Friendship with the American Indians was a Quaker policy: a Quaker committee shared in peace negotiations in 1756–1758 and 1763–1768, and others set up schools and mediation for the New York Senecas and for the Shawnees and other tribes evicted from Ohio and sent to Oklahoma after 1830. In the 1870s, President Grant asked Friends to administer the Indian Agencies of Kansas-Nebraska.

The antislavery work of British and American Quakers and their allies helped to end legal slave trade in both countries in 1807, but tension piled up against Quakers such as the poet John Greenleaf Whittier, Lucretia Mott, and the Grimke sisters (pioneers also in the women's rights movement) who advocated immediate national abolition of slave-owning. Many Quakers felt driven for the first time to break laws secretly in order to protect fugitive slaves through the Underground Railroad. During the American Civil War, southern Quakers suffered much; northern Friends were inwardly torn; some enlisted to fight. In England, John Bright sacrificed his parliamentary career to oppose both England's entry into the Crimean War and cotton mill owners' support for the American Confederacy.

Change and growth characterized Quaker activities during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Eighteenth-century English industry, banking, and science were increasingly led by the interbred Quaker families of Darbys, Barclays, Lloyds, and Gurneys, who (notably Elizabeth Fry) also pioneered in reforming prisons, mental hospitals, and education for Quaker youth and the poor. Philadelphia Friends emulated them. Quaker worship, watchful against self-will, rationalism, and emotionalism had turned quietist. Among non-Quaker partners in trade or philanthropy, an evangelical orthodoxy that returned to the Bible and Christ's atonement was resurgent and began after 1800 to shape the experience of urban Quakers such as banker Joseph John Gurney, who wrote theology and traveled in America. Community revivals and regional awakenings further stimulated evangelicalism in both the creed and the experience of fifty thousand Friends who between 1795 and 1828 had been drawn to the American frontier in Ohio and Indiana from Virginia, the Carolinas, New England, and Pennsylvania by the promise of open land and freedom from slave-owning neighbors.

The 1827–1828 separation was initiated by the preaching of quietism and the urging of a boycott of slave-made products by Elias Hicks, the patriarchal farmer from New York State. The breach was widened by the influence of evangelical English Quakers traveling in America and disciplinary acts of evangelical urban elders. Friends from older close-knit rural Meetings who withdrew in protest from the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting did not foresee that the split would extend to Yearly Meetings and most Monthly Meetings, as well as to schools and committees in New York, Baltimore, Ohio, and Indiana, and that it would continue permanently.

New methods of revivalism begun after 1830 by Charles G. Finney in midwestern America seemed to the Rhode Island Quaker John Wilbur to be reflected in Gurney's Bible study methods. Rural Wilburite Friends, evangelical in doctrine but rejecting evangelism, were driven in 1846 into a second split, followed by like-minded Friends in Ohio and Canada and later in Iowa and Carolina.

The word *holiness*, in midwestern revivals and Bible conferences after 1858, came to mean a sudden second work of grace totally purifying the hearts of already-converted Christians. This experience predominated in Quaker Holiness revivals in Ohio, Indiana, and Iowa after 1867 led by John Henry Douglas and David Updegraff and others close to non-Quaker revivalists. Simultaneously, evangelical Friends were aroused to foreign mission projects in India, Japan, China, Jamaica, Cuba, Mexico, Kenya, Guatemala, Bolivia, and among both Indians and Inuit in Alaska.

Quaker organization and worship, not greatly changed since 1690, were now centered in the American Midwest on revivals and hymns and hence on pastors and superintendents, led by Douglas in Iowa and Oregon. By 1898 half the Meetings, even in Indiana, supported pastors and programmed worship with sermons and hymns and biblical Sunday schools. The Richmond Conference of 1887 gathered all orthodox Friends to look at these new patterns and to restrain Updegraff's advocacy of water baptism. The Richmond Declaration of Faith reaffirmed evangelical orthodoxy. Concern for unity led in 1902 to a formally gathered Five Years Meeting, which since 1960 has been called Friends United Meeting, and is still centered in Richmond, Indiana; it currently includes seven Orthodox (evangelical) American Yearly Meetings (mostly midwestern); the reunited Baltimore, Canadian, New England, New York, and Southeastern Yearly Meetings; three Yearly Meetings in Kenya; and one each in Cuba, Jamaica, and Palestine arising from missions. Their total 2002 membership was 34,863 in North America and about 100,000 overseas. The year 1902 also saw the gathering of Hicksite Yearly Meetings into the Friends General Conference, centered in Philadelphia, with a 2002 membership of 34,557, including Yearly Meetings of "silent Meeting Friends" in western and midwestern cities and colleges. The three Wilburite or Conservative Yearly Meetings had shrunk by 1981 to a membership of 1,832. Intensifying of the biblical and Holiness concentration, however, drove evangelical Yearly Meetings of Ohio, Kansas, and Oregon out of the Richmond network and led in 1961 to their forming the Evangelical Friends Alliance, to which were added other Friends Churches, some begun by Quaker missions in Asia and Latin America. In 1998, there remained 20,000 Friends in England and Scotland, 1,750 in Ireland as of 1985, approximately 3,000 in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa as of 1996, and 20 to 400 each in eight post-1918 Yearly Meetings in nations of continental Europe.

Quaker universalism and mysticism were replacing quietism as the central religious experience of many Hicksite and British Friends even before Rufus Jones, student and teacher at Haverford College, Pennsylvania, drew on Emerson and European mystics to make normative for their language "positive" or "ethical mysticism" and the experience of the soul's unity with "the divine in every [hu]man." Quaker education and service programs became linked to these humanitarian or humanist ideas. Rufus Jones channeled the service of Quaker conscientious objectors in World War I by helping to found the American Friends Service Committee, which then joined with the older British War Victims Relief and Friends Service Council in feeding two million German children and many victims of the 1922 Russian famine. The 1929–1939 Depression and World War II prompted Quaker interest in their own nations' unemployed and then in issues of world peace. In 1943 the Friends Committee on National Legislation was formed to coordinate and lobby for Quaker ideals in American policy. Quaker schools of all levels moved away from the guarded education of a purist sect toward a humanism aimed at developing the whole person. American colleges of Quaker origin (Haverford, Guilford, Earlham, Swarthmore, Bryn Mawr, and others) and the famous Quaker secondary boarding schools on both continents increasingly draw brilliant students of all faiths and none. Graduate study centers have been set up at Woodbrooke by the Cadbury family and at Pendle Hill near Philadelphia. The Earlham School of Religion trains all branches of Friends for ministry of all kinds.

New patterns of unity and division have emerged since the 1960s. Conferences, international visits, and sharing of theological concerns are sponsored by the Friends World Committee for Consultation. Increasingly periodicals such as *Friends Quarterly* and *The Friend* in England and *Quaker Life*, *Friends Journal*, and *The Evangelical Friend* in America transcend Quaker divisions. Reunion of Yearly Meetings and local Meetings from the Hicksite separations have occurred in Philadelphia, Canada, New York, and Baltimore. Young Friends, who have often led Quakers into new ways, are concerned now with nuclear arms, communes, and new foundations in theology.

SEE ALSO Fox, George; Penn, William; Puritanism; Quietism.

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QUATERNITY, or a fourfold structure (together with its multiples—eightfold, twelvefold, etc.), expresses symbolically the nature of the divine and, by extension, describes the structure of the world that mirrors that divinity. Like the other great numerical symbols in its class, quaternity is impersonal; it may stand alone, or it may be associated with the attributes of a personal god. God is one, says Plotinus, and so is the truth of this world. The divine is dual, say the Zoroastrians, and thus one must choose between truth and falseness. Christians say that God is a trinity, a perception that explains for Augustine the threefold nature of human love. Yet others have experienced the divine mystery as a quaternity, and its reality can be dimly perceived in the world's four cardinal directions, the four seasons, the four elements, and the four temperaments of classical thought.

Something of this symbol's power can be seen in the boyhood vision of Black Elk, the Oglala visionary. He heard voices: "Behold him, the being with four legs!" The divine quadruped was a horse that turned in the four directions to reveal four sets of twelve horses of four different colors. These forty-eight beings went into formation, four abreast, and introduced the boy to the four Grandfathers, who were the powers of the four quarters of the world. Two other Grandfathers, the dual powers of sky and earth, were also present. This experience lasted twelve days, and for twelve days thereafter Black Elk felt homesick for his extraordinary "other world" (described in John G. Neihardt's *Black Elk Speaks,* Lincoln, Neb., 1979). In this vision, the fourfold structure orders the religious experience and provides an image for the order of divine things.

It is, therefore, something of a surprise to learn that this North American medicine man disparages the square, a fourfold geometrical figure—especially in light of the fact that the Navajo Indians use squares, and quaternities generally, in the healing pictures called sand paintings. But Black Elk contrasts the square with the circle, which he finds more natural and thus more compatible with deity. The Navajos integrate the image of the circle with its geometrical "opposite," the square. The same is true for Tantric Buddhists, who make meditative use of an image called a *maṇḍala.* Tantric devotees imagine that the gods—often numbering a multiple of four, such as the thirty-two deities of the *Guhyasamaja Tantra*—reside in a square "palace" with four gates in the four directions; their residence, however, is surrounded by a "circle" (i. e., a *maṇḍala*). Confucius, in his *Analects* (7.8), describes the proper way to teach a religious truth through an image that appears to be a square: "If I hold up one corner and a man cannot come back with the other three, I do not continue the lesson." Here, a whole truth is symbolically fourfold; further, there lies inside the fourfold structure of truth a distinction between three of its parts and a fourth. Navajo sand paintings are often bordered on three sides only; the eastern fourth side is left open, because evil cannot enter there.

Ezekiel's vision of God's chariot in the Hebrew scriptures contains a fourfold image that inspired Judeo-Christian symbolism. The prophet saw Yahveh—the four consonants of whose name, incidentally, comprise the mystical tetragrammaton of Judaism—supported by "four living creatures." They had four wings and also four faces, three of which were those of animals (the ox, lion, and eagle) and the fourth the face of a man. Their "spirits" were in the chariot's four wheels, which seem to have been intersected by four other wheels permitting them to move in four directions (*Ez.* 1). In the apocalyptic vision of the New Testament, God's throne is encircled at a distance by twenty-four other thrones; "round the throne, on each side of the throne, are four living creatures"—like an ox, a lion, an eagle, but also like a man (*Rv.* 4). Irenaeus stated in defense of Christianity (*Against Heresies* 3.11.7–9): "The Gospels could not possibly be either more or less in number than they are," namely, four. He argued that the *Gospel of Matthew* is like a "man" while the other three are like an "ox," a "lion," and an "eagle." Perhaps it should be noted that, symbolism aside, these four fundamental documents of the Christian religion naturally divide themselves into a set of three—the so-called Synoptic Gospels—and the very different *Gospel of John,* which became the favorite of Gnostic heretics. Structurally, something similar can be said for the fundamental teaching of Buddhism called the four noble truths, the fourth of which is the Eightfold Path. Three of these truths describe conditions in the phenomenal realm of *saṃsāra,* but the "truth of cessation" alone describes the goal of *nirvāṇa.*

When Vedic seers of ancient India perceived the divine as an enormous person (Puruṣa), he was a quaternity: "All creatures are but one-fourth of him, three-fourths have eternal life in heaven" (*Ṛgveda* 10.90). Their vision lay behind the later and more impersonal view of the ultimate expressed by Upaniṣadic sages as *ātman* or *brahman.* According to the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (3.18.2), the divine has "four feet" or quarters—speech, breath, eye, and ear. But the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* develops the point psychologically and describes the *ātman* or self as comprised of four states of mind, three of which are waking, dreaming, and dreamless sleep; the mysterious "fourth" (*turīya*) state is the unity of the other three. When these matters are expressed in later Hinduism by anthropomorphic deities such as Brahmā and Śiva, the gods often have four heads as an optimum number. It is said that Brahmā once had a single stag's head when he lusted for his daughter; he was properly punished and lost his head, but then he was given the four heads one often sees in art. Or, he once had five heads but was too proud, so the number was reduced to four (*Skanda Purāṇa* 3.40.1–59; *Śiva Purāṇa*

3.8.36–66). Śiva, on the other hand, was not punished when he lusted after a celestial nymph who danced seductively; he had one head but, in order to see more, he increased the number to four (*Mahābhārata* 1.203.15–26). Perhaps the nymph's dance was the "dance of *māyā,*" or phenomenal life, which the Indian Buddhists say must be seen fully if one is to become emancipated. For that to happen, say the Mahāyānists, one has to experience the "twelve acts" of a Buddha, which include the critical "four visions" (of a sick man, an old man, and a dead man; but also of a monk). Then, on the night of one's enlightenment, one must have a dream that four birds of four different colors fly from the four directions, fall at one's feet, and turn completely white (*Mahāvastu* 2.136).

SEE ALSO Architecture; Calendars, article on South American Calendars; Cosmology; Geometry; Maṇḍalas.

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QUESTS. The Ojibwa Indians tell the story of the boy Wunzh and his vision quest. Having reached the appropriate age for the ritual search for totem spirits, Wunzh is left alone in the great forest. After several days of fasting, he retires exhausted to the lonely hut provided for him and waits for the dreams he hopes his guardian spirits will send. There he prays for advice on how his family and tribe might more efficiently obtain food. Wunzh takes to his mat and soon has a vision of a strange young man dressed in yellow and green with feathers on his head. As he descends from the sky, the young man announces that he comes from the Great Spirit to answer Wunzh's prayer. "I will teach you to help your people," he says, "but first you must wrestle with me." Weak from fasting, the boy nevertheless does as he is told and holds his own in the match. "Enough!" cries the spirit. "I will return tomorrow." On the next day the spirit returns. The boy is of course weaker than before but feels that he has gained an inner strength, and he fights well. Again the spirit cries, "Enough! I will return tomorrow." On the third day the boy is weaker still, but his inner strength has grown proportionately. He fights so well that the spirit concedes defeat and begins to instruct him. "Tomorrow, because it will be the seventh day of your fast, your father will come and offer you food. You must not eat until you have wrestled with me one more time. Then, if you defeat me, strip me and bury me in the ground after clearing a spot and loosening the earth. In the weeks that follow, you must remove the weeds from my grave and keep the earth soft. If you do exactly as I say, you will learn something of great value to your people." Wunzh's father does bring food and begs the boy to eat. The boy asks his father to leave him and promises to return home by sundown. The spirit appears at the usual hour, and the boy, now full of supernatural power, easily defeats his adversary, kills, strips, and buries him as instructed, and returns to his father's lodge to eat. During the spring Wunzh visits the grave of the spirit regularly and tends it with care. Soon the green plumes of the sky visitor's headgear begin to push through the ground. In late summer, the boy asks his father to accompany him to the spot of his fasting, and there he reveals the grave from which has sprung a fine plant with great yellow tassels. "This is my sky friend Mondawmin, the spirit of maize. If we do as the spirit has taught, we can have food from the ground. The Great Spirit has answered my prayer; my fast has been rewarded."

The story of Wunzh and Mondawmin is but one mask of a basic pattern to be found in the stories of any number of culture heroes and in the rituals of various cults. The story would not be foreign to the young San or Australian Aborigine initiate. The newly confirmed Christian, the Jew who has just become bar mitzvah, or the newly circumcised Muslim might feel inklings of familiarity with it. The process by which inner strength grows at the expense of physical strength during a period of self-denial and searching is as familiar to the reader of Hindu, Buddhist, Christian, Islamic, or Jewish Scripture as it is to the American Indian on his vision quest.

STRUCTURE OF THE QUEST. At its most basic level the quest is a phenomenon inherent in existence itself. In a universe in which all things must ultimately be defined in terms of their relation to the dominant pull toward energy dispersal or entropy, simply to exist is to be part of the great quest for survival. For the human being another dimension is added by virtue of the existence in humans of consciousness, specifically, consciousness of linear time. To see a beginning, a middle, and an end is to see a "road of life," and to see such a road is to see a potential quest. One cannot in fact be human without being to some degree questers, and this fact is the source of the power of the quest story to speak to humans wherever and whoever they are.

Not surprisingly then the quest myth is inexorably associated with the figure of the hero, the human metaphor for the all-encompassing chaos-to-cosmos creation process by which entropy is held at bay. The quest of course takes many forms. The hero's nature, motives, and goals derive from the particular legend of which he or she is a part and the society he or she represents. The hero might be a knight, a sage, or a prince and the goal a golden fleece, a princess, or a pot of gold. The earliest quest stories, like the earliest religious systems, must have reflected a society concerned primarily with fertility and physical survival in the face of a hostile environment. One senses the vestiges of this in the many tales in which a prince seeks and finds a princess and through union with her brings prosperity to a kingdom.

One of the best known of the European quests is that of the Holy Grail. It was Jessie Weston in her classic *From Ritual to Romance: An Account of the Holy Grail from Ancient Ritual to Christian Symbol* (1957) who pointed out that, although the grail legend was an outgrowth of medieval Christianity and chivalry, it had deeper roots in ancient fertility cults. The ostensible quest of the grail knights is for the cup used by Christ at the last supper. A less conscious but more profound objective is the renewal of a society represented not only by the infertile kingdom of the Fisher King but by the somewhat complaisant order of the Round Table. The quest of the knights for the Holy Grail is analogous to—and a metaphor for—the Christian's quest for the kingdom of God in life and in the ritual of the holy elements. Life renewal is always the ultimate goal of the quest, and life renewal is both a spiritual and a physical process.

For example, one of the world's greatest quest stories, one that influenced nearly all narratives that followed it, is Homer's *Odyssey*. Whereas Odysseus's goal seems to be a purely secular one—he wishes to return to his wife and his child—it is also true that his adventures depict a process by which a "lost soul" is reconciled with the cosmos, which is represented by the gods. The trials he undergoes, culminating in a visit to the land of the dead, are the means by which, with Athena's help, he is able to regain his proper place in the gods' order of things. Odysseus's quest is not altogether unlike that of another famous Greek, Oedipus, who can release Thebes from the bondage of infertility only by discovering himself, by finding an answer to the ultimate spiritual question: who am I?

The spiritual aspect of the quest is perhaps most obvious in those traditions that stress mystical values. The image of the Buddha under the bodhi tree or that of the Hindu ascetic in deep contemplation are as much true masks of the quest as is the story of the Holy Grail, the myth of Jason and the Golden Fleece, or the account of the magi seeking the Christ child. Literal movement from one place to the other is not necessary to the quest; the point is that the Buddha under the bodhi tree seeks enlightenment as actively in his own way as Gawain seeks the Holy Grail. Whether the hero gallops off to faraway lands or sits under a tree, the quest involves a journey to and often beyond the boundaries of human experience and knowledge. In this sense the story of the quest is always what the Hindu might call a search for the Self or what the psychiatrist Carl Jung (1875–1961) called the process of individuation. In short, the quest is a metaphor for the spiritual journey, one's own potential spiritual journey represented by that of the hero.

The ur-hero and the ur-myth that emerge from a comparison of the world's many quest stories then reveal what can be called a universal ritual of re-creation. The ritual requires certain steps. First, like the priest in any ritual, the hero must be properly vested, made clearly recognizable and ordained for the task, a task—the realization of one's humanity—that is a matter of life and death for all. So it is that the quester's heroism has been preliminarily established by a miraculous conception or birth, a divine sign of some sort, or by an extraordinary childhood deed. Before his ordeal, Oedipus is recognized as a savior-hero by virtue of his defeat of the Sphinx that had plagued Thebes. His abandonment in the wilderness as a child marks him as well, placing him in a sacred order as it were—one that includes Moses, Siegfried, and the Indian Karna as well as the Phrygian Cybele (the Great Mother) and Attis. Herakles and the *avatāra* Kṛṣṇa are marked by their defeat of evil monsters while still in infancy. Jesus' nature is indicated by the circumstances of his conception and birth and by his extraordinary intelligence, as demonstrated in the Temple when he is twelve. He also receives a sign from God at his baptism. The Buddha, as a white elephant, is the agent of his own conception and, like the Toltec-Aztec Quetzalcoatl, further proves his nature by possessing adult qualities at birth. Sir Gawain and the other Arthurian questers are eligible for the Grail search by virtue of past "adventures" and because of their association with Arthur as knights in the sacred society of the Round Table.

The hero, having been proclaimed, is ritually called to the quest. The call might come through a natural object: Moses is called by Yahveh in the burning bush; the magi are called by the star; and the Grail knights by the Holy Grail itself, appearing in their midst at Pentecost. Angels or other supernatural heralds are common, and often the herald remains as a guide. The Buddha is called when, driven about by his charioteer, he is made to witness several forms of suffering humanity "fashioned" magically by the gods. Another important charioteer-herald or guide is found in the *Bhagavadgītā,* part of one of the great Indian epics, the *Mahābhārata.* In this work the god Kṛṣṇa in the guise of a charioteer urges Prince Arjuna on to battle and to higher values.

However the call is made, it signals the necessity of an awakening to destiny in the face of an individual or societal malaise. A renewal is called for, and the hero either responds to the call immediately or at first refuses it. A natural enough reaction of any individual faced with a serious psychological, spiritual, or physical task is to withdraw from the field. Prince Arjuna at first refuses the call to battle; Kṛṣṇa must convince him to fight. Even the most "religious" of heroes express their common humanity by their reluctance. "No, Lord, send whom thou wilt," is Moses' answer to God's call. And Jesus, in the garden of Gethsemane on the eve of his Crucifixion, prays to God, saying, "My Father, if it is possible, let this cup pass me by." A particularly dramatic example of this category is the story of Jonah, whose refusal results in an unwanted voyage in the belly of a whale. The Buddha's father might be said to have attempted to refuse the call for his son when he so desperately tried to isolate him from the real world. Occasionally the call itself is a test and the refusal one of omission rather than commission. For instance, Parzival fails to ask certain ritual questions while being entertained at the castle of the Fisher King and misses his chance to free the king and his land of the ancient curse.

In ultimately accepting the call, however, the hero undertakes a series of trials; these adventures reflect the agonies involved in confronting the inner realities that one glimpses in dreams or periods of disorientation. In the context of the spiritual journey, the monsters, demons, and impossible tasks that confront the hero are all those factors that would imprison one in the barren world of egocentricity. They would prevent one from attaining renewal—the spiritual vitality represented by the attainment of the Golden Fleece, the elixirs of life, the Holy Grail, and the rescued princesses toward which the heroic adventures lead.

So it is that in the Hindu epic the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the demon king Rāvaṇa kidnaps Rāma's wife Sītā, setting up a quest that is a struggle between the forces of love and union and those of violence and disintegration. And the figures that stand between Odysseus and his reunion with the faithful Penelope are such nightmarish beings as the one-eyed Cyclops; the witch Circe, who turns men into beasts; and the bewitching Sirens. The Babylonian-Sumerian epic hero Gilgamesh must overcome Huwawa, the monster of death, and Inanna-Ishtar in her form as seductress. Jesus is tempted in the wilderness by the devil, who offers tangible worldly achievements as a substitute for the intangible ones inherent in the quest for the kingdom of heaven. The Buddha is tempted similarly by Māra the fiend, who attempts to dislodge the Great One from his position under the tree by reminding him of the more ordinary values of human life. Māra assumes the form of a messenger who informs Siddhārtha that his father's kingdom has been usurped and his wife taken and that he must return home. When this approach fails, he resorts to violence, to theological argument, and finally to sexual temptation, all to prevent the renewal of life that is the hero's goal.

The penultimate test of the hero is the descent into the underworld and confrontation with death itself. Only by, in some sense, dying to the world can the hero be resurrected as "eternal man" renewed. Only by going down can the sun hope to arise. Odysseus, Theseus, Herakles, Jesus, the Egyptian Osiris, Dionysos, and the goddess-heroine Hainuwele in Ceram all journey to the land of the dead. And the more mystical questers such as John of the Cross (the Spanish poet-monk of the sixteenth century) and Julian of Norwich (an English mystic of the fourteenth century) or "psychological" ones such as Carl Jung take equivalent journeys, "night journeys" or "dark nights of the soul," which are characterized by agonies and fears that necessarily mark a journey into the spiritual or psychic underworld. In such journeys as these, one senses the real purpose of the descent in general as one having to do with the retrieval of a lost self. Odysseus and Aeneas seek their destinies among the dead. Jesus, the "second Adam," descends to retrieve the "lost" Adam. The sun king Gilgamesh descends to find eternal life but also hopes to retrieve his friend and double Enkidu. In one of the oldest quest stories—if not the oldest—known, the Sumerian goddess Inanna takes the hero's role by descending into the underworld to find her lost lover Dumuzi; the lost lover of course is the other half without which significant wholeness—what the Chinese would call the oneness of yin and yang—is not possible.

PERSONAL ENACTMENTS. It should be pointed out that what heroes do in the old quest stories, flesh and blood human beings act out or in some sense imitate through the medium of religious ritual and related disciplines. The Muslim who journeys to Mecca is given the special title of *ḥājj* for having followed in the steps of the Prophet. The shaman, whether American Indian or Siberian, journeys ritually and psychically to the "other world" to confront the spirits who would deprive an individual or tribe of health or life. And tribal initiation at puberty often involves a quest, as the story of Wunzh and Mondawmin indicates. Even the ordinary worshiper becomes a real quester in the physical realm. A Hindu, Buddhist, or Christian who enters a place of worship undertakes a re-creative journey in microcosm from the chaos of the world to the cosmos of ultimate reality or primal cause. Reminders of the hero journey are frequently in evidence in these temples of worship. Gargoyle monsters guard the doorways—the thresholds—as if to say, "Enter here at risk." Indeed the true religious quest, like the shaman's descent, can be a dangerous affair.

The symbolism of the quest sometimes literally determines the place of worship. Such is the case with the traditional church building. Having passed by the monsters over the doorway, the Christian voyager in the great medieval cathedral confronts the font that represents baptism, the spiritual rebirth that is now reaffirmed by the making of the sign of the cross with holy water. The initiate enters the church proper to participate in the Mass, itself a complex representation of the journey of Christ through death, descent, and resurrection—a journey that the worshiper shares and literally acts out by moving eventually to the altar at the far end of the church in order to experience the Eucharistic sacrifice before reentering the world as a renewed being. A secular modern version of this spiritual journey takes place on the psychiatrist's couch, where renewal involves a quest of self-discovery by means of a process of recalling—literally remembering.

The most obvious expression of the quest is in literature. As has been suggested, anything that has a beginning, a middle, and an end, in the manner that plot does, is likely to be in some sense a quest. Gilgamesh seeks eternal life, Rāma goes in search of the abducted Sītā, Odysseus seeks reunion with Penelope, Aeneas looks for a new Troy, Dante Alighieri's and John Bunyan's pilgrims journey toward the kingdom of God, Tom Jones hopes to become worthy of his Sophia, and Anton Chekhov's three sisters long for Moscow.

Geoffrey Chaucer's great work *The Canterbury Tales* (fourteenth century) is among the finest examples of quest literature in the West. In their pilgrimage to Canterbury the pilgrims seek something spiritual that will carry them beyond their mundane and often corrupt lives. In the East the most famous of pilgrimage tales is probably the sixteenth-century *Xiyouji* (The journey to the west), the ancient Chinese story of the journey of a monkey, a pig, a white dragon horse, and a monk who travel from China to India in search of Buddhist sūtras. This fantasy tale has a strong historical basis in the actual Silk Road journeys to India of monks, such as the seventh-century BCE monk Xuanzang (Hsüan-Tsang), who brought back sacred manuscripts to China.

A type of literature in which the quest motif is particularly unveiled and therefore particularly open to observation is the fairy tale. A good example is one that appears in many parts of the world and takes its most familiar form as *The Water of Life* in the Grimm brothers' collection. As the title indicates, it is a story in which the spiritual goal of life renewal is only barely masked. "Once upon a time, there lived a king who was desperately ill"; the beginning of this tale—and of most fairy tales—involves the ritual placing of a situation in time. It is one-half of a framework that will be completed in the "happily ever after" ending, releasing the hero of the tale from his or her temporal trials by placing him or her in a state of wholeness that is eternal. In the first image of *The Water of Life*, the king, like nearly all kings, represents the kingdom of humans on earth brought into conflict by the universal nemesis, mortality. That which was once whole—in harmony with the absolute—is now unwhole. The king's mythical and literary relatives are such figures as the Fisher King of the Grail romance and Shakespeare's Lear. The sick old king constellates the theme of salvation or renewal, which is the religious essence of the quest.

The king has three sons, who weep in the palace garden at their father's plight. As potential saviors, the children must remind us of the knights of the Round Table. The symbolic nature of numbers in fairy tales, as in religious ritual and theology, is such that the presence here of three children is significant. The number four represents the quaternity, which symbolizes balance and wholeness, and four brothers would mean a common effort. Three, on the other hand, tends to suggest the discord of two against one.

In the garden an old man appears to the sons to tell them that their father might be cured by the water of life: "One drink of it and he will be well, but the water is difficult to find." As shown above, the guide is a familiar figure in quest tales. His function is to point to the solution of the insoluble problem, to establish the means of salvation by interjecting the "other" into the limited world of time and space. His way invariably involves a difficult quest.

The oldest son goes to his father to request permission to attempt the search for the water of life. Refused at first, he perseveres so that the king finally agrees, the prince thinking all the while, "If I find the water, my father will give me his kingdom." Soon after setting off, the prince meets a dwarf, who inquires as to his destination. When he answers back in an insulting manner, the dwarf imprisons him on horseback between two mountains that magically converge upon him. When the first son fails to return, the second son makes the same request of his father, is answered in the same way, and like his brother, dreams of inheriting the kingdom. Upon meeting the same dwarf, he is asked where he is going, and he gives the same insulting answer. Needless to say his punishment is the same as his brother's. The identical formula used in connection with the first two sons suggests a ritual purpose: the two older sons act out the negative aspect of a pattern in which the son who is an honest and unsullied quester for Self contrasts with the sons who embody a corrupt unreceptiveness to the call.

When his brothers fail to return, the youngest son begs for and obtains his father's reluctant permission to set out on the same quest. But unlike his brothers, he thinks only of the welfare of his father. Where the others are motivated by hope for material gain—by egotism—and are appropriately punished by their imprisonment in a narrow ravine, the young son is motivated by love, which is the proper attitude on the path to salvation. His meeting with the dwarf is therefore different from that of his brothers.

"Where are you going?" asks the dwarf, following the ritual pattern. "I am seeking the water of life to cure my ailing father" is the humble reply. The dwarf, pleased, instructs the boy on how to achieve his goal: "The water runs from a fountain in an enchanted castle. Take this iron wand, and knock three times to open the castle door. And take these two loaves of bread to quiet the lions who guard the door. Only be sure that you obtain the water and leave the castle before the clock strikes twelve, or you will be imprisoned there for life."

The dwarf, like the old man in the garden, is a personification of the spiritual guide. Here he takes the form of the shaman-teacher, who trains the good prince in magic and provides the paraphernalia necessary to release the healing forces—the water of life. The instructions he gives make no rational sense but, as in the case of all rituals, must be performed on faith, just as the ugly little dwarf himself must be accepted on faith. Only the young son has such faith; only he passes the test. The old dwarf is to him what the fairy godmother is to Cinderella or Athena to Odysseus. As an agent of the other world, the dwarf is not subject to mere physical law; for this reason, he possesses the magic that can lead to wholeness.

Arriving at the castle, the young prince follows the ritual instructions. The iron doors are overcome by the iron rod; the lions are quieted with the bread. Inside the castle, the prince finds a sword and a loaf of bread and several enchanted princes. A beautiful princess greets him as her liberator and promises to give herself to him in marriage if he will return in a year. The princess now leads the prince to the water of life and reminds him to be sure to leave the castle before the clock strikes twelve.

Many of the elements of the hero's descent into the underworld and of the psychological and spiritual process it represents are operative in these events. The prince embodies, as do all heroes of the quest, the potential journey into the unknown, which is the locked and enchanted castle. The hero always descends to redeem those imprisoned by the darkness. Jesus brings back Adam and Eve; Orpheus almost liberates Eurydice. In this case the retrieved one is the princess, who, like the enchanted Sleeping Beauty, is the deeper, lost half of the unredeemed Self longing to be released, an embodiment of the divine wisdom, or Sophia, apart from whom the Logos cannot be made flesh. The lions, overcome by the magic of supernatural power, are the bestial deterrents to the journey within.

In the princess's promise of marriage there is no question of realistic love. The relationship is ritualistic; the hero and heroine act in a way that is archetypal and symbolic rather than sentimental. The marriage of the future is established as the prince's ultimate goal after the curing of his father. The sword and the bread, symbols of power and nourishment and potential good deeds, are to be magical aids to that goal. It is the princess who leads the prince to the magical water, because, as Divine Wisdom, she is the proper guardian of the symbol of eternal life to be gained from the eventual emergence of the Self. Her repetition of the dwarf's interdiction concerning the hour of the prince's departure from the castle is an indication that she and the dwarf are of one and the same power, the universal creative impulse by which the continuing evolution symbolized by the quest itself is made feasible. In terms of the Christian culture in which the Grimms discovered this tale, the princess takes on meaning in the context of the Virgin cult. The Virgin is the earthly form of the mother of God, but as the church—the castle freed from enchantment—she is also God's bride. In this role as both mother-guide and wife, she reaches back to the most ancient traditions of the Great Goddess herself.

When the princess leaves him, the prince comes upon a fine bed that he finds irresistible, and he lies down to sleep. In so doing he conveys ritually his brotherhood with all the offspring of the primordial fallen parents. Like Christ in the garden of Gethsemane, he demonstrates his human nature. Only the sound of the clock striking midnight awakens him. He quickly draws water from the fountain and escapes through the closing doors, losing only a piece of his heel, which signifies his having almost ignored the interdictions of the dwarf and the princess. In this incident one is reminded not only of Cinderella and her glass slipper but of the fact that the journey is fraught with many temptations and dangers, any of which could prevent success. Perhaps the loss of a part of the body also ties the prince to the many dismembered man-gods of the Middle Eastern fertility cults. It seems evident, as the prince's mishap is never mentioned again in the story, that this is a ritual event with symbolic rather than narrative significance.

The prince is now ready for the trials that, if accomplished, will lead him back to a final reunion with the princess. Journeying homeward, he again meets the dwarf, who informs him of the magical powers contained in the sword and the loaf of bread found in the castle. The sword can be used to defeat whole armies; the bread can feed the hungry indefinitely. The religious significance of the sword as God's righteous justice and of the bread as the bread of life is clear. Much of this symbolism is traceable to the Christian tradition, in which much is made of the Christ's coming with both bread and the sword. But the ultimate source of the symbolism very likely lies in much older traditions.

The young prince now emerges more clearly as a savior figure when he begs the dwarf to release his sinful brothers. The dwarf, in his ancient wisdom, warns the boy of the danger in this course but to no avail. The attempt to redeem them must be made; the road to reunion with the Self must involve direct dealings with the dark forces represented by the brothers. And when the brothers are released, the prince—foolishly from a practical point of view—tells them of his quest and of his prospects for the future. The three brothers travel on together, and three kingdoms are saved by the sword and the bread. It is not surprising that the older sons betray their brother at the earliest possible opportunity. One night as he sleeps, they steal the magic fluid and substitute saltwater for it. The betrayal by siblings is an ancient and recurring motif found, for example, in the biblical story of Cain and Abel, the Egyptian story of Seth and Osiris, and any number of familiar fairy tales. Goodness in its mercy is by nature vulnerable to evil, which is itself by nature aggressive. It is as if the hero must, as a part of his trials, allow himself to be placed in the position of the ritual sacrificial victim.

The king is given the false water by the young prince, and his health worsens. The older sons accuse their brother of attempting to murder the king and produce the real water, claiming that it is they who have found it. The father is immediately cured. The young son, remaining silent—again as if this were necessary for the inevitable ritual process—is exiled, and an old hunter is given instructions to slay him in the forest. The hunter, like the one in the story of Snow White, cannot bear to carry out his orders: the simple man can recognize innocence where the king cannot. He releases the prince to wander in the woods. Mythically this period points to the hero's withdrawal into the wilderness, a symbolic death during which he must undergo the ultimate separation that will render him transcendent. It is the period of preparation for the final step in the discovery of Self—an initiation rite that will transfer him from a state of mortality to one of immortality, from immaturity to wisdom.

During this period several things happen. Three cartloads of treasure arrive at the king's palace from the three kings saved by the sword and bread of the good prince. The king begins to suspect that his son might be innocent: "How I wish he were not dead," he laments. Then comes the ritual cry from the huntsman: "He lives! He lives!" Meanwhile the princess of the castle has prepared one final test. A path of gold is laid before her door, and her servants are told to admit only the knight who rides to the castle upon this path. The two evil brothers, remembering what their brother has told them, approach the castle but will not allow their horses to ride over the gold path, for they value the precious metal more than the object of the quest. Hence they are turned away: evil is unable to attain to divine wisdom. Only those whose priorities extend beyond material gain can enter into the absolute. The young prince, his mind only on the princess, rides on the path without even noticing it and is greeted again by the sacred maiden. The ritual separation is ended; the goddess receives the reborn son.

Like the ascent to paradise in myth, the ritual marriage that ends this and many quest tales expresses the achieved goal of wholeness. The masculine principle is joined to the feminine, and in that union of yin and yang the Self is discovered, at which time the present becomes eternity; life can be lived "happily ever after." The joy one feels at the end of the fairy tale and other quest stories is more than a sentimental one. It results from one having gained a vision of the achieved goal of individual growth and human evolution. One glimpses oneself literally awakening into the permanent consciousness that is self-knowledge. In this sense, the quest tale is always a creation story in which the hero emerges from chaos as re-created God in man.

SEE ALSO Heroes; Otherworld; Pilgrimage, overview article.

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QUETZALCOATL was one of the most powerful and multifaceted gods in Mesoamerican religions. The cult of Quetzalcoatl, the "quetzal-feathered serpent," was prominent in central Mexico from at least the time of Teotihuacán (100–750 CE) to the collapse of the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán in 1521. He was called Kukulcan in the postclassic Maya culture that developed from 1000 to 1521, and he played a prominent role in the organizing of the capitals of Chichén Itzá and Mayapan. In the more than seventy painted, written, and archaeological sources that carry the elements of the Quetzalcoatl tradition, he appears both as a major celestial creator god and as intimately identified with the paradigmatic priest-king Topiltzin Ce Acatl Quetzalcoatl, whose great kingdom of Tula, or Tollan, flourished between 900 and 1100, and who is remembered as a primary source of culture, political order, and religious authority in Mesoamerica. The archaeological and ethnographic records show that Quetzalcoatl was the symbol of effective organization and sacred authority in a series of capital cities that dominated the history of Mesoamerican religions for almost fifteen hundred years.

In the cosmogonic episodes of the early sources known as *Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas,* the *Anales de Cuauhtitlán,* and the *Leyenda de los soles,* Quetzalcoatl, one of the four sons of the androgynous creator god Ometeotl, plays a number of creative roles: He generates the universe (together with his brother, Tezcatlipoca), rules over various cosmogonic eras, assists in the discovery of maize and pulque, creates fire, participates in the great sacrifice of the gods that leads to the creation of the fifth cosmic age, or Fifth Sun, and becomes transformed into the morning-and-evening star, Venus.

In a number of instances, this creative activity reflects the symbolic design of the Mesoamerican universe as a world divided into five major parts (four cardinal sections around a central space). For instance, in the elaborate cosmology of the *Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas,* Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca, Lord of the Smoking Mirror, revive the broken universe and set the stage for the fifth age by dispersing the water of chaos and restoring dry land by carving four roads to the center of the earth, from which they raise the sky to create a living space for human beings. Coincidentally, in a number of primary sources that depict the capital city of Tollan, the ceremonial centers are shown divided into five sections with four temples and mountains surrounding the central mountain or temple where the priest-king Quetzalcoatl ruled.

In another series of sources Quetzalcoatl is depicted as the inventor of agriculture, the arts, and the calendar and the restorer of human life through a cosmic dive into the underworld, Mictlan, where he outwits the lord of the dead, Mictlantecuhtli, to recover the bones of the ancestors. In this story, Mictlantecuhtli prepares a death trap for Quetzalcoatl. Quetzalcoatl falls to his death, but then he revives himself to escape Mictlan, meanwhile revitalizing the bones of the dead.

Quetzalcoatl also took the form of Ehécatl, the wind god. As depicted in Fray Bernardino de Sahagún's *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España* (compiled 1569–1582; also known as the Florentine Codex), Ehécatl announces the coming of the fertilizing rains and, in one episode, blows the sun into its cosmic orbit, thereby starting the fifth age. Furthermore, a number of sources reveal Quetzalcoatl's close association with the cycles and hierophany of Venus (Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli), one of the major astronomical bodies influencing ritual, architecture, and the calendar in Mesoamerica. The cycles of Venus were a central part of Quetzalcoatl's cult in the city of Chollolan (100–1521 CE), and the *Leyenda de los soles* depicts the self-sacrifice of Ce Acatl Quetzalcoatl following the fall of the kingdom of Tollan, which ends with his heart rising into the sky to become the Morning Star.

Historically, the god Quetzalcoatl was the patron deity of the Toltec empire centered in Tula-Xicocotitlán, also called Tollan. Some scholars, such as H. B. Nicholson, have identified in the primary sources a sacred history of Tollan that relates the seven stages of the priest-king Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl's exemplary human career, including his miraculous birth after his mother swallowed a precious green stone, his teenage revenge of his father's murder, his training for the priesthood, his years as a warrior, his ascension to the throne, the fall of his capital, his flight from Tollan, and his promise to return one day in the future to restore the kingdom. The Tollan of the primary sources is a kingdom secure in agricultural resources, rich in artwork, ritual innovation, and technological excellence, and the birthplace of astronomy and of cardinally oriented ceremonial structures. This world of stability and creativity collapsed through the magical attacks of the magician, Tezcatlipoca, whose cult in some sources was said to depend on human sacrifice. The long-range significance of Quetzalcoatl's Tollan in Mesoamerican history is attested to by the identification of five other capitals—Teotihuacán, Xochicalco, Chichén Itzá, Chollolan, and Tenochtitlán—as places replicating Tollan and the cult of Quetzalcoatl.

In Aztec Mexico, Quetzalcoatl was the patron god of the schools of higher learning, the *calmecac*s, and the model for the office of the high priesthood at the Templo Mayor in Tenochtitlán, in front of which his round temple was apparently located.

When Cortés arrived and began his assault on Tenochtitlán, a number of sources state unequivocally that Moctezuma Xocoytzin (Moctezuma II) identified him as Quetzalcoatl returning to reestablish his kingdom in Mexico.

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QUIETISM. Although some of the important insights of Quietism—a movement distinguished from the generic sense of the word *quietistic*, which implies withdrawal or passivity with regard to politics or ethics—can be found in medieval devotion, in sixteenth-century Spanish spirituality, and in various mystical sources, both Christian and Buddhist, the usual meaning of the word is restricted to the late seventeenth-century devotional movement in the Catholic Church in Italy and France. The main figure in the history of Quietism was Miguel de Molinos (1628–1696), a Spanish priest who settled in Rome at the end of 1663. He became an enormously popular spiritual adviser, especially among nuns and women of high society. His new contemplative way of Christian perfection was summed up (without some of its esoteric aspects) in a book he published simultaneously in Spanish and Italian: *Guida Spirituale, che disinvolge l'anima e la conduce per il interior camino all'acquisito della perfetta contemplatione e del ricco tesoro della pace interiore* (1685), often referred to as his *Spiritual Guide*.

Though supported by a number of theologians and, for a time, probably by Innocent XI, the *Guide* was soon attacked by the Jesuits for its total disregard of meditation, spiritual asceticism, vocal prayers, and, implicitly, the cults of Jesus and of the Virgin. The criticism ended with the arrest of Molinos on the order of the Holy Office, a long trial, and his condemnation in May 1687. He spent the rest of his life in prison. On November 20, 1687, the papal bull *Coelestis pastor* anathematized sixty-eight of his statements. The material of the condemnation was taken not only, and not mainly, from his published works, but also from about twelve thousand of his letters and from his oral teaching; in addition to the enumerated theological errors, it included the charge of sexual licentiousness—something Molinos inferred from his own doctrines and apparently frequently practiced with his penitent women.

The new devotion (the word *Quietists* had been used since the early 1680s by the enemies of Molinos) was based on the belief that any Christian can achieve an entirely disinterested insight into God; this insight is permanent, internally undifferentiated, and free from images and affects, and it involves a previous destruction of one's own will and consciousness; it is the work of divine grace, which, after the self has emptied itself, totally fills the void and becomes the sovereign owner of the higher part of the soul; as a result, the animal part of the soul as well as the body are no longer the responsibility of the person. This state of perfectly passive contemplation is not only the highest form of religious life, but makes other, more specific forms of worship—the cults of Jesus and of the saints, the acts of repentance and hope, confession, mortifications, prayers, and even concern about one's own salvation—either useless or even harmful insofar as they divert the soul from union with God. And although contemplation is at the beginning inspired by the love of God, it eventually abolishes love, desires, will, and all separate affects. What remains is not an affect, but God himself present in the soul. While it is God's gift, this contemplation is in fact given to everybody who makes a sufficient self-destructive effort, and it does not depend on education, sex, or status. Once acquired, it is effectively permanent. Since it involves a total separation of the soul from the body, the acts of the latter do not disturb it; in fact the devil often inflicts violence on the body of a contemplative and compels it to perform externally sinful acts, in particular, of a sexual character, but those acts cannot break the union with God, as they do not affect the soul. Sexual permissiveness is thus justified. The contemplative, being absolutely devoid of his will and transformed into God, cannot do good works on his own initiative or have any intention to help his neighbors; he can perform such works only on a direct order from God.

Molinos's doctrine was obviously unacceptable to the church not only because of its suspect moral consequences, but because it practically abrogated the entire external cult, along with discipline, intellectual effort, and the variety of virtues, merits, and religious acts. It reduced the religious life to one habitual act for which the mystic no longer needs the church and which is proclaimed to be the only genuine way of union with God. Further, although Molinos did not consider himself a rebel, but rather a reformer within the church, his devotional program, especially since it was not confined to monasteries but was also propagated among the laity, undermined the role of the church as a mediator between God and humans.

Molinos had a few less well-known predecessors, such as the Spanish mystic Jean Falconi (1596–1638), the blind theologian from Marseilles, François Malaval (1627–1719), and the bishop of Jesi, Pier Matto Petrucci (1636–1701), all of whom preached the superiority of passive and unreflective contemplation over meditations and vocal prayers, none of whom, however, extended the theory of mystical kenosis (kenosis meaning the relinquishment of the form of God by Jesus in becoming a man and suffering death) to the acceptance of "diabolic violence" or to the point of advising that we should not fight against temptations.

The more philosophically elaborated variety of Quietism arose on French soil, thanks to the works of Jeanne-Marie de la Motte Guyon (1648–1717) and François Salignac de Fénelon. Guyon had already been trained in mystical devotion when she met, in 1680, the Barnabite father François La Combe, who had been converted in Rome to Molinos's way of perfection. She lived in Paris after 1686, having previously organized small conventicles of mystics in various places. Among her many works, amounting to over forty volumes in the collected writings, the most popular were *Moyen court et très facile de faire oraison* and *Les torrens spirituels*. With highly developed prophetic claims, Guyon believed that God had entrusted her with the mission of a total renewal of Christianity. The contemplative devotion in her description involves all the previous Quietist tenets except for the theory of diabolic violence, but adds some metaphysical ideas. A totally passive contemplation, implying the absolute annihilation of the self, is said to be the only proper way of Christian life. At the highest stage the soul loses everything that is personal or human *(laisser agir Dieu)* and is transformed into God, like a river after reaching the ocean. The self, indeed the very fact of separate existence, is the source of evil, or rather is evil itself, and, after the annihilation, the soul attains the status of God before the act of creation. The soul returns to the original source of being where no place is left for differentiation: "At the very beginning one has to die to everything by which we are something." And this form of being cannot be lost; the deification is inalienable. Indifference to everything other than God, to sin, to the past and to the future, to life and death, to one's own and others' salvation, indeed to divine grace, all this naturally accompanies the blessed state of *theōsis.* The entire variety of religious worship, both external and internal, is done away with once the soul reaches perfection. Priests and the visible church are nothing but obstacles.

Accused of spreading heretical doctrines, Guyon was imprisoned at the beginning of 1688, but she was released after a few months. She then experienced a period of celebrity, during which she enjoyed the friendship of Fénelon and Mme. de Maintenon. The attacks did not stop, however, and a special committee headed by the influential prelate Jacques Bossuet organized a campaign against the Quietist doctrine. Although both Fénelon and Guyon signed the articles confirming the church's traditional doctrine in points where it seemed to be incompatible with the Quietists' devotion, the debates, accusations, pamphlets, and intrigues continued. They ended with the formal condemnation, in a breve (1699) of Innocent XI, on twenty-three erroneous statements on contemplation and *caritas pura* (disinterested love of God, with no regard to one's salvation) taken from Fénelon's book *Explication des maximes des saints sur la vie intérieure*. Fénelon immediately bowed to the verdict. Guyon was imprisoned from 1695 to 1702.

The Quietist mysticism was certainly incompatible with the teaching and educational system of the Roman church; implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, it questioned the very need of the visible church. The condemnation of Molinos and Fénelon, however, had a negative impact for many decades on the development of mystical spirituality in the Catholic world.

SEE ALSO Fénelon, François.

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QUIRINUS. The god Quirinus was originally one of the main Roman divinities. The priest responsible for his cult was one of the three major flamines, along with the flamines of Jupiter and Mars, who outranked him in the *ordo sacerdotum*, the order of precedence of the most important priests (Festus 299 L). These three gods (Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus) made up the early triad that Georg Wissowa (1912, p. 23) has reconstructed from various features of ancient Roman life, such as the invocation of these three deities in the practice of *devotio*, in which a leading Roman offered his life to ensure victory against the enemy (Livy, 8.9.6); the law, attributed to the king Numa Pompilius, which differentiated between three kinds of booty according to the rank of the person who seized the booty from the enemy leader and who allocated it in different amounts to each of the three gods (Festus 204 L); and the fact that the *ancilia*, shields which the Salian priests wielded in their armed dances, were under the joint protection of these three gods (Festus, commentary on Virgil, *Aeneid*, 8.663).

Romans of the later Classical period, however, wondered about Quirinus, who was certainly not, from their point of view, as important a god as the other two gods who were formerly part of the triad, Jupiter and Mars. Naturally he had his own temple on the Quirinal, the hill of Rome which owed its name to him, and his feast day, the *Quirinalia* (February 17th), fell on the last day of the festival of *Fornacalia*, a festival dedicated to the goddess of the furnace, Fornax, who presided over the roasting of the corn. Quirinus's flamen intervened rarely, however; besides the cult which the three flamines jointly controlled, once a year, in honor of the personification of good faith, Fides (Livy, 1.21.4), the Quirinal flamen officiated at the cult of Robigo, the goddess of corn blight (Ovid, *Fastes*, 4.910-942), and of Consus, the god of cereal storage (Tertullian, *De spectaculis*, 5). As a result, ancient writers offered various interpretations of Quirinus. Given the link between Quirinus and Mars, which meant that Quirinus was patron of the twelve Quirinal Salian priests and Mars of the twelve Palatine ones (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 2.70.7, 3.32.4), and that he appeared as *Mars tranquillus* (Mars in his peaceful aspect), *qui praest paci* (who presides over peace) according to Servius (commentary on Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1.292 and 6.859 respectively), Quirinus was portrayed as a war god, hence his identification with the Greek Enyalios, an epithet of Ares. Since there was a convenient link between Quirinus's name and the Sabine town of Cures, considered the home of the Sabines who, by joining with the Romans of Romulus, had allowed Rome to be founded, Quirinus was regarded as a Sabine god, introduced by their king, Titus Tatius. An alternative explanation, incompatible with the Sabine explanation, has Quirinus as the founder of Rome—as Romulus himself—deified under the name Quirinus after his mysterious disappearance. This absorption must predate our first source, Cicero (*De re publica*, 1.64).

Such confusion over the identity and origins of Quirinus explains why modern scholars have had very different ideas concerning this god. Because of his position in relation to Mars (and beneath Jupiter) in the triad, Quirinus has been viewed with Mars as representing only a part of the city. He has often been seen as the god of the Sabine part of the original population of Rome, linked to the Capitol, the Sabine Hill. More recently, André Magdelain has taken him to be the god of the city, as opposed to Mars, who would thus be the god of land outside the city itself, the *ager Romanus.* Georges Dumézil has applied to the Jupiter/Mars/Quirinus triad the trifunctional system which he sees as a conceptual framework shared by various Indo-European peoples. He regards Quirinus as patron of third-function values (fertility and related values), with Mars governing the second (war) and Jupiter the first (sovereignty). This may be admitted, as long as Quirinus is not considered an agricultural god (something that Angelo Brelich takes furthest). In Brelich's view, Quirinus is a god of the kind known ethnographically as *dema*, or the first leader of a community who, after his death, became a chthonic deity ensuring the nourishment of his people. In this regard, the etymology of Quirinus's name, the most certain aspect of this ancient god, is especially significant. Despite an attempt by Gerhard Radke to explain Quirinus's name as deriving from a Sanskrit verb meaning "to plough" and of linking it with the *sulcus primigenius*, the furrow dug by Romulus to mark out the city perimeter when Rome was founded, the name must in fact be made up of the prefix *co(m)*, "with," and of the Latin word for man, *vir*. Quirinus, **co-wir-inos,* is thus the god of men assembled together. However, as Danielle Porte (1981) and Dario Sabbatucci (1988, pp. 63–70) have emphasized, this gathering of people brings together individuals who are citizens within their particular social and political framework.

Ancient writers (Varro, *De lingua Latina* 5.73; Ovid, *Fastes* 2.479; Plutarch, *Life of Romulus* 29.1) had identified the name Quirinus as being associated with the old term *Quirites*, indicating Roman citizens, and the name is also linked with that of the *curiae* (**co-wir-ia*), which represented, in terms of the earliest organization of the city, the thirty units, grouped in three tribes, into which these *Quirites* were divided. Quirinus is thus the god of citizens. If, in Dumézil's terms, he is also patron of third-function values, this is as a result of his link with the masses, with the populace, but in Rome such a connection was considered within a social and political perspective (Briquel). In other words, if Quirinus is involved in matters concerning the food supply of the citizenry (the link with the *Fornacalia*, the cult of Robigo, things which are a normal part of the third function), he does not desert his *Quirites* when they are soldiers (second function), even taking on an official or religious role (first function). This sociopolitical factor is in evidence even in those of his functions that are most clearly related to agriculture: the *Quirinalia* falls on the last day of *Fornacalia*, called *stultorum dies*, "the day of fools," since it allowed those Romans who no longer knew to which *curia* they belonged to sacrifice to the goddess Fornax on that particular day. Her cult had been performed on the preceding days, *curia* by *curia*, presided over by the *curio*, the priest of the *curia*. Quirinus's being the patron of citizens explains his relation with the god Mars. Despite the contemptuous use Caesar makes of the term *Quirites* (Suetonius, *Life of Caesar*, 70) to berate soldiers who had revolted, Roman citizens who were called to serve in the army, *cives* who had become *milites*, remained *Quirites* (the ancient formula used to mobilize the army quoted by Varro [*De lingua Latina* 6.88] refers to *Quirites pedites armatos*, or *Quirites* footsoldiers) and thus remained linked to Quirinus. It is also possible to understand how Quirinus can be identified with Romulus, who founded the city with its political and social structure, the *curiae* who constituted the *Quirites*.

SEE ALSO Flamen; Roman Religion, article on The Early Period.

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DOMINIQUE BRIQUEL (2005)

QUMRAN SEE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

QURʾĀN

This entry consists of the following articles:

TRADITION OF SCHOLARSHIP AND INTERPRETATION
ITS ROLE IN MUSLIM PRACTICE AND LIFE

QURʾĀN: TRADITION OF SCHOLARSHIP AND INTERPRETATION

The Qurʾān is, for Muslims, the revealed word of God. Hence, the interpretation of the Qurʾān (*tafsīr*) has emerged as one of the most revered disciplines in Islam. Given that the life of the early Muslims revolved around the Qurʾān from the beginning, one of their earliest concerns was to understand the message of the sacred text. The Prophet Muḥammad (d. 632) and his immediate followers (known as the *companions*) used the Qurʾān for day-to-day guidance, prayer, and spiritual enrichment, and for liturgical and congregational use. Although interpretation of the Qurʾān as a discipline developed over time, Muslims engaged with it from the beginning in less formal ways: reflecting on it, reciting it, discussing it, and attempting to explain it to each other. It was such activities that gradually led to the development of the exegetical tradition in Islam.

The standard traditional Muslim view, both Sunnī and Shīʿī, of the revelation attributes the composition of the Qurʾān to God alone, and denies any human role in its production. According to this view, the Prophet faithfully communicated what had been "dictated" to him by God in the Arabic language through the angel of revelation, usually identified as Gabriel, without addition or alteration. Muslims also view the language of the Qurʾān, Arabic, as an essential aspect of the revelation. Similarly, when the Qurʾān says that God "says," "speaks" or "commands," these words were understood by most Muslims literally, not metaphorically. Thus, the revelations the Prophet "received" were transmitted verbatim to his followers, who passed them on to succeeding generations. On the whole, this understanding of the revelation has been maintained throughout Islamic history and is still the basis of most Islamic exegetical work. By and large, Muslim scholars, even of the modern period, adhere to this doctrine of revelation (Saeed, 1999).

***TAFSĪR* AND *TAʾWĪL*.** There are two key terms for Qurʾanic exegesis: *tafsīr* and *taʾwīl.* The term *tafsīr* occurs in the Qurʾān once in the sense of "explanation" (25:33), not in a technical sense, and its meaning may be related to the uncovering or revealing of something that is hidden. Linguistically, *taʾwīl* is derived from the root *a.w.l,* which means to go back to the origin of something. Edward Lane lists *taʾwīl* as "the discovering, detecting, revealing, developing or disclosing, or the explaining, expounding or interpreting, that to which a thing is, or may be, reduced. . . ." (1955–1956, p. 126). In the Qurʾān, *taʾwīl* is used to mean explanation, discovery, and clarification (Zurqānī, 1988, vol. 2, p. 6) and therefore is virtually synonymous with *tafsīr.* It seems to have been used in this way by the early generations of Muslims, as is shown in the Prophet's reported invocation to God to bestow upon Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 652), his cousin, the understanding of religion and to teach him the *taʾwīl* (interpretation of the Qurʾān) (Ibn Saʿd, 1957, vol. 2, p. 365). A number of early exegetes, such as Mujāhid (d. 722), and even some relatively later ones, such as Ṭabarī (d. 923), used *taʾwīl* in this sense (Zurqānī, 1988, vol. 2, p. 7).

There are, however, some scholars who argue that *tafsīr* is different from *taʾwīl.* For some, *tafsīr* deals with the "literal" meaning of the text, whereas *taʾwīl* deals with the "deeper" meaning. For others, *tafsīr* is associated with narration, tradition, and text (*riwāyah*), while *taʾwīl* is associated with understanding and interpretation (*dirāyah*) (Suyūṭī, 1974–1975, vol. 4, p. 193). *Tafsīr* is thus closely related to the knowledge handed down from the early generations (tradition), whereas *taʾwīl* may involve giving preference to one meaning over another, supported or unsupported by evidence, or attributing allegorical meanings to the text. In its more controversial sense, *taʾwīl* may be used for purely personal interpretation of the text, without linguistic or textual evidence and driven by one's theological or religio-political beliefs and doctrines, as well as for interpretation based on "esoteric" meanings, or to avoid anthropomorphism. In Shīʿī, Ṣūfī, and Ismāʿīlī exegesis, the term *taʾwīl* acquired a more technical meaning.

Early development of *tafsīr*. Contradictory opinions are held by Muslims (and Western scholars) on early attitudes toward interpreting the Qurʾān (Gilliot, 2002, p. 101). There are reports that senior companions, such as ʿUmar I (d. 644), discouraged Muslims from engaging in interpretation and in fact punished some for doing so. Equally, there are traditions from ʿUmar himself encouraging Muslims to explore the meanings of the Qurʾān. If there was general opposition to interpretation in the very early period, it is difficult to explain why a companion like Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 687) managed to engage in exegetical activity apparently on a large scale, and why other companions appear to have had no difficulty in doing the same, examples being ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd (d. 653) and Ubayy ibn Kaʿb (d. c. 656). This suggests that it may have been only a particular form of exegetical activity that was discouraged, perhaps exegesis that relied solely on personal opinion or that attempted to elaborate on verses that were considered ambiguous (*mutashābihāt*); however it must be acknowledged that Muslim scholars did not agree on which verses of the Qurʾān were ambiguous (Rippin, 1988).

A rudimentary *tafsīr* tradition began during the Prophet Muḥammad's time. On numerous occasions, the Qurʾān refers to itself as being in "clear Arabic" and as a book that is "clear" (26:195). At other times, it says that one of the functions of the Prophet is to explain the Qurʾān (16:44). There is debate among Muslims as to whether the Prophet ever provided explanations for the whole Qurʾān. Those who say he did rely on the Qurʾanic verse, "And We have sent down unto thee [also] the Message; that thou mayest explain clearly to people what is sent for them" (16:44). Others believe that the Prophet only explained very small portions of the Qurʾān, arguing that his followers were already familiar with it because it was in their own language, Arabic. Despite this general familiarity with the language of the Qurʾān among the first generation of Muslims, the need for explanation and interpretation must have existed from the very beginning, most importantly because the Qurʾān introduced new concepts and used many pre-Islamic terms in new ways. Examples include *ṣalāt* (prayer), *zakāt* (alms tax)*, ḥājj* (pilgrimage)*, ṣawm* (fasting)*, allāh* (God)*, malak* (angel)*, yawm al-ʾākhirah* (the Last Day). In particular, converts to Islam from other religious traditions might have had very different understandings of many or some of these terms.

Little of the Prophet's own interpretation of the Qurʾān is recorded, and much of it exists only in the form of what we may call *practical exegesis*, but this should not be considered insignificant. Practical exegesis exists where the Qurʾān used a particular term or concept that the Prophet then illustrated by his actions, notnecessarily explained in the form of a *ḥadīth*.. From the substantial body of information encompassed in the *ḥadīth*, one may argue that the time of the Prophet should be considered the richest period of exegetical activity through practice. The emerging "established practice" (for example, descriptions of how the Prophet performed the *ṣalāt*) thus became the foundation of later exegesis. With the death of the Prophet, the Qurʾān was ipso facto in its final and complete form. Muslim tradition holds that it was compiled ("collected") during the caliphate of the third caliph, ʿUthmān (r. 644–656).

Even though the Prophet had hundreds of followers (companions) at the time of his death, only a few reportedly contributed directly to Qurʾanic exegesis. They included the first four caliphs, Abū Bakr (d. 634), ʿUmar (d. 644), ʿUthmān (d. 656) and ʿAlī (d. 661), as well as ʿĀʾishah (d. 678), the Prophet's wife. Others included ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd, who settled in Iraq, Ubayy ibn Kaʿb (in Medina), ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās (in Mecca), and Zayd ibn Thābit (in Medina). Of these, the most celebrated are ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās, who reportedly had a large number of students in Mecca and who is known as the "Interpreter of the Qurʾān," ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, and ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd, to whom many exegetical traditions are attributed. However, the small number of sound exegetical *ḥadīth* coming from most of the companions, even those listed here, suggests that there was no pressing need to embark on a large scale "explanatory drive" during their time.

With the Prophet's death and the conquests that followed from 634 onwards, many companions decided to settle in the newly emerging "Muslim" towns outside Arabia, such as Kufa and Basra in Iraq, while others remained in Medina and Mecca. Thus Ibn Masʿūd became the teacher of the Qurʾān in Iraq, Ibn ʿAbbās in Mecca, and Ubayy ibn Kaʿb in Medina. The *tafsīr* tradition that developed during the course of the first AH (seventh CE) and second AH (eighth CE) centuries often traces its material to these teachers.

The companions who engaged in exegesis had several sources for understanding and interpreting the Qurʾān: parts of the text itself that explained other parts; information received from the Prophet, both oral and praxis; and their own understanding of what the Qurʾanic text meant. They were also familiar with the language of the Qurʾān, the context of the revelation, the Prophet's ways of thinking, and the norms, values, and customs of the Arabs, all of which provided them with a unique basis for making sense of the Qurʾanic text within the overall framework of the emerging "established practice" of the community (living *sunnah*). The final source was the traditions of the People of the Book (the Jews and Christians, or *ahl al-kitāb*), particularly in relation to the narratives in the Qurʾān about past prophets, peoples, and events. Since the Qurʾān in many cases alluded only briefly to these narratives, many companions referred to accounts by converts to Islam, particularly ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sallām (d. 663) and Kaʿb al-Aḥbār (d. 653)), both formerly Jews (Dhahabi, 1976, vol. 1, pp. 42–67).

The need for interpretation increased with the second generation of Muslims, known as "successors" (*tābiʿūn*), who were a more heterogeneous group. They included children of the Arab companions brought up within the new religious (Islamic) environment, Arabic-speaking converts to Islam from other religions, mainly Christianity, and non-Arabic-speaking converts, mainly from Christianity and Zoroastrianism. Their different backgrounds meant that they had to approach the Qurʾān in different ways. Also, the wider the gap between their era and the time of the Prophet, the stronger the need was to address questions of exegesis. With the successors based in key locations such as Medina, Mecca, and the area now known as Iraq, these locations began to develop proto-traditions of local exegesis around the teachings of their respective companions.

It was during the seventh century CE that the domain of Islam expanded dramatically to include all of Arabia and a large part of the Middle East and North Africa, lands previously under the Sassanid and Byzantine empires. Muslims thus came into contact with other civilizations, peoples, and traditions. In due course, many of the peoples of the "conquered" regions professed Islam as their religion. In this new environment, answers to new problems that were primarily legal in nature caused by the expansion had to be found. It was the companions who provided a basis for solving these emerging problems, based on the established practice of the community. The companions had been flexible in relating the text (Qurʾān) and their experiences with the Prophet to the new conditions. In this, they appear to have relied on key objectives of the Qurʾanic message, such as "establishing justice." An instance of this was the Caliph ʿUmar's rationale for not distributing the lands (in present-day Iraq) that were conquered during his caliphate (634–644). Unlike the Prophet, ʿUmar refused to distribute the land as booty to warriors, arguing that the relevant Qurʾanic verses on the distribution of booty in general did not favor such a division of land. In his view, the land should be retained as public property from which the whole community would benefit, not just the warriors (Maḥmaṣṣāni, 1984, pp. 576–577). In his interpretation of the relevant Qurʾanic texts, he was relying on the general Qurʾanic principle of justice and of sharing wealth with the wider community.

Also during the seventh century CE, material from both the Jewish and Christian traditions (later to be known as *isrāʾīliyyāt*) began to enter the discourse of exegesis via converts to Islam. These converts found an eager audience in exegetes, storytellers, and popular preachers who wanted to fill out details that were often only alluded to in the Qurʾanic narratives such as those related to Joseph, Moses, and Jesus. Significant divisions along religio-political and theological lines among Muslims began to emerge in this period too, for example on the definition of concepts such as "believer," "free will" and "predestination." This resulted in substantial differences in opinion among the successors on a range of issues to interpretation of several Qurʾanic texts (Dhahabī, 1976, vol. 1, pp. 140–141). Differences of opinion arose concerning who was right and who was wrong, and who was a true Muslim and who was not. Questions such as these contributed to the formation of theological discourse during the seventh century.

Several factors and events thus led to the further development of exegesis apart from the obvious religious reasons: (1) the political conflicts and their associated theological debates that raged after the death of the Prophet and in the wake of the assassination of ʿUthmān, the third caliph, in 656; (2) the conversion of a large number of non-Arabs to Islam; (3) the interest of popular preachers and storytellers in the Qurʾanic narratives; and (4) the development of *ḥadīth* and Arabic linguistics and literature as new disciplines. A number of other disciplines also began to develop during the late Umayyad and early Abbasid periods (eighth century CE) and provided further support to the emerging tradition of *tafsīr*. These included *qirāʾāt* (readings/recitations of the Qurʾān), which explored the variety of ways in which the Qurʾān could be recited, the legitimate recitations, their sources, and their chains of transmission. Much of this academic activity took place in Iraq (in Kufa and Basra). Another discipline was Arabic grammar in particular and linguistics in general, which began with figures such as al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad (d. c. 786) and Sībawayh (d. c. 796). Early linguists contributed to the tradition of exegesis directly or indirectly by documenting Arabic dialects and their associated vocabulary and grammar. Formal study of the language of the Qurʾān encouraged a more formal approach to understanding its meaning.

EARLY EXEGESIS. There is debate in the literature on the existence of written exegesis in the seventh century CE (first century AH). While Muslim tradition holds that some written works indeed existed from the mid-seventh century, the evidence of recent research indicates that they had begun to emerge at least by the early part of the eighth century (Gilliot, 2002, p. 104). The earliest exegesis (going back to the time of the Prophet and the companions) was primarily oral and depended on oral transmission; written exegesis developed later. Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) suggests that the explanations of the Qurʾān "continued to be transmitted among the early Muslims until knowledge became organized in scholarly disciplines and systematic scholarly works began to be written. At that time, most of these explanations were committed to writing" (Peters, 1990, vol. 2, p. 142). The exegetical writings from this early period, where they exist, are not necessarily complete commentaries; rather, they should be seen as the beginning of the documentation of teachings related to exegesis from the seventh century that continued into the eighth century.

It was perhaps natural for the *tafsīr* to begin with brief explanatory comments on specific words or phrases of the Qurʾān that appeared unclear, difficult, or ambiguous. Much of the very early exegesis falls into this category. No attempt is made to justify the explanatory comments, nor is grammatical or linguistic analysis systematically provided. An example of such a *tafsīr* work is that of Mujāhid ibn Jabr (d. 722), who belongs to the Meccan tradition of *tafsīr* going back to Ibn ʿAbbās. There is also *tafsīr* attributed to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 728), probably compiled later; Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 778), a Kufan jurist and traditionalist; and Sufyān ibn ʿUyaynah (d. 811) (Gilliot, 2002). The Shīʿah also attribute the development of this exegetical tradition to ʿAlī and his immediate circle of followers.

Another form of early *tafsīr* was related to the community's interest in legal and ritual matters. Given that a number of Qurʾanic verses deal with law and ritual, this must have been an important part of the Prophet's explanatory task. For example, the Qurʾān commands the payment of *zakāt* and the performance of *ṣalāt* but does not give detailed instruction on how this is to be done. It was the Prophet who provided the explanation and demonstration. Attempts to collate, identify, and classify verses related to legal and ritual matters were probably among the earliest *tafsīr* works. An example of this early *tafsīr* is by Muqātil ibn Sulaymān (d. 767). In his *Tafsīr khams miʾat āyah*, Muqātil dealt with several legal topics: prayer, *zakāt*, fasting and pilgrimage; marriage and contracts; and punishments related to theft, adultery, and consumption of wine (Rippin, 1988).

The third most common form of *tafsīr* in this early period was where the exegete focused on certain Qurʾanic narratives, particularly about past prophets and their communities. One of the characteristics of Qurʾanic narratives is that they are brief, lacking in detail and often without references to time or place. These Qurʾanic narratives were elaborated upon and were used by the storytellers (*quṣṣāṣ*) and popular preachers for entertainment or propagation of religion. Much of this extra-Qurʾanic material came from Jewish and Christian sources and from the folklore of the region (Rippin, 1988). Using such material, an elaborate narrative was constructed, and even if *ḥadīth* were used in elaborating the narrative there was no emphasis on the precautions taken in *ḥadīth* transmission by the scholars of *ḥadīth* such as scrutinizing the chain of transmission. It was perhaps for this reason that a number of *ḥadīth* scholars were highly skeptical about the value of the material used in this form of exegesis, and were openly critical of the material, which they considered as lacking in authenticity. In the later development of the *tafsīr* tradition, such material came to be known as *isrāʾīliyyāt* (Judeo-Christian materials), and highly suspect. But this attitude does not seem to have existed in the early development of the *tafsīr* tradition. In fact, Muslim tradition holds that even companions such as Ibn ʿAbbās approached a number of Jewish and Christian converts to Islam seeking information about the Qurʾanic narratives. Those who later contributed to this genre included al-Daḥḥhāk ibn Muzāḥim (d. 723) and al-Suddiyy (d. 746).

The early period of *tafsīr* continued into the eighth century. By the end of the eighth century, the stage was set for exegetical works that covered the entire Qurʾān, from beginning to end. Perhaps the most important figure that emerges in the late eighth and early ninth century is Ṭabarī (d. 923), whose *tafsīr* is extensive and systematic and covered the entire Qurʾān. By this time, *tafsīr* had become a fully established discipline and several scholars were writing complete *tafsīr* works. After this period, the body of work becomes large and varied and includes theological, legal, religio-political, and mystical exegetical works. Authors of *tafsīr* works often responded to and emphasized issues important to their communities, either historically or in a contemporary sense.

***TAFSĪR*: BETWEEN TRADITION AND REASON.** *Tafsīr* is often divided into two broad categories: *tafsīr bi-al-maʾthūr*, exegesis that relies on tradition; and *tafsīr bi-al-raʾy*, exegesis that is based on reason. In Sunnī Islam, *tafsīr bi-al-maʾthūr* is considered the most authoritative form of *tafsīr* because it is based on one of the most important sources of religious authority: the Prophet and his companions who were able to elaborate on the meaning of the Qurʾān based on the Prophet's instructions (*ḥadīth*). Even *tafsīr* whose sources are the successors (the second generation of Muslims) is considered as deriving its authority from the Prophet himself either directly or indirectly.

Some Muslims see *tafsīr bi-al-raʾy* as unacceptable in Islam, based, in their view, on a prohibition of such *tafsīr* in the Qurʾān (Calder, 1993, pp. 131–134) It is also said that the Prophet Muḥammad prohibited interpretation based on *raʾy* on the authority of the *ḥadīth*: "Whoever explains the Qurʾān without knowledge [*ʿilm*] let him take his place in hell" (Qurṭubī, 1993, vol. 1, p. 25). There are also several reports of the companions expressing their fear of interpreting the Qurʾān based on *raʾy*.

However, proponents of *tafsīr bi-al-raʾy* argue that there is nothing wrong with this form of interpretation and that the Qurʾān urges Muslims to reflect upon the text in that way (Calder, 1993, pp. 132–133). They maintain that if *tafsīr* based on *raʾy* is not allowed, then even arriving at Islamic laws from the Qurʾanic text is impossible. They also rebut the claim that the companions and successors did not engage in interpretation based on *raʾy*. Some of the proponents of *tafsīr bi-al-raʾy* differentiate between *tafsīr* based on *raʾy* that is acceptable and *tafsīr* based on *raʾy* that is not acceptable. Acceptable *tafsīr bi-al-raʾy* is that supported by linguistic and/or textual evidence while unacceptable *tafsīr bi-al-raʾy* is that which has no such support.

Despite the claims and counter claims, it is clear that *tafsīr* based on *raʾy* occurred in Qurʾanic exegesis from its inception. While it may be difficult for some Muslims to suggest that the Prophet Muḥammad based his interpretation of the Qurʾān simply on his own "personal opinion," it could be argued that the origins of the *tafsīr* tradition are strongly grounded in *raʾy*. Comments by companions and successors on the Qurʾān, as recorded in sources like Ṭabarī, indicate that the *tafsīr* of the very early period consisted of three things, all of which were largely related to personal opinion or reason and were not necessarily based on the Prophet's instructions and advice. They include: (1) ad hoc exploration of the meaning of a word or phrase, often through its usage in pre-Islamic times; (2) exploration of Qurʾanic narratives on the basis of Judeo-Christian material (*isrāʾīliyyāt)*; and (3) ad hoc comments or remarks on Qurʾanic verses by the earliest Muslims simply on the basis of their personal opinion. On the whole, early understandings of the Qurʾān were characterized by a high degree of subjectivity, fluidity, flexibility, and absence of absolute dogmatism in interpretation.

TRENDS IN *TAFSĪR*: FROM THE NINTH CENTURY. The ninth century saw the maturing of distinct groups, schools, or trends within Islam, following heated debates among Muslims on religio-political, legal, and theological issues. While the germ of many of these trends lay in the early to mid-seventh century, it took approximately one to two centuries for the trends to form and distinguish themselves from one another. While one may not speak about Sunnī *tafsīr* or Shīʿī or Khārijī *tafsīr* in the seventh century, one can certainly use those terms in the ninth century, by which time the trends were established, with each one supported, inter alia, by a body of *tafsīr* tradition. The vast majority of Muslims (mainstream in terms of numbers) came to be known as Sunnīs. Others were Khārijīs and Shīʿah who were further subdivided into Zaydīs, Twelvers (or Imāmīs), and Ismāʿīlīs. Apart from these groups, there were also the Ṣūfīs (mystics), the theologians (*mutakallimūn*), and the legists, who usually belonged to one of the three key groups: Sunnīs, Shīʿah, and Khārijīs.

Sunnī exegesis. Sunnism developed in the seventh and eighth centuries in the religio-political, theological, and intellectual context that emerged during this period. Early debates on religio-political and theological issues ranging from the imamate, freewill and predestination, God's attributes or the definition of a "believer" or "unbeliever," or the status of grave sinners, that existed among Muslims gave way to the adoption of certain positions by the majority of Muslims in relation to these and other similar matters, which in turn came to be known as *Sunnism.* In the ninth and tenth centuries, Sunnism accepted a set of creeds and legal schools (*madhāhib*). With this came the consolidation of Islamic disciplines that provided the intellectual basis for Sunnism: *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, and early Islamic biographical history (*sīrah*). Given that Sunnism reflected the position of the majority of Muslims, it also came to be considered the "orthodoxy." Other groups that did not adhere to the Sunnī positions on theological, religio-political, or legal matters continued to exist and develop in their own ways, however.

Ṭabarī's (d. 923) exegetical work represents the most important early "Sunnī" *tafsīr.* He was born in Tabaristan and studied Qurʾān, *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, history, grammar, lexicography, and poetry. While Ṭabarī's writings are enormous and varied, our interest is primarily in his thirty-volume *tafsīr* called *Jāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan taʾwīl āy al-Qurʾān.* Ṭabarī brought together in this massive work much of the *tafsīr*-related material of his time. He commented on each verse of the Qurʾān from beginning to end, brought together *ḥadīth* and other reports attributed to early authorities in relation to each verse, provided grammatical and linguistic analyses, noted systemically the various meanings of each text attributed to early authorities, and finally offered his own interpretation and the reasons for choosing that interpretation. Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr* is usually identified with the tradition of *tafsīr bi-al-maʾthūr* even though in some respects it can be associated with *tafsīr bi-al-raʾy* too. His mastery of the variety of Islamic disciplines and his encyclopedic knowledge make his *tafsīr* unrivalled in Sunnī tradition. Given that he compiled very early material, and that many of those early works are lost, Ṭabarī's *tafsīr* remains to this day the most important single primary source of information about the early period of the *tafsīr* tradition.

From the time of Ṭabarī, a large number of multivolume *tafsīr* works emerged that fall into the broad category of Sunnī *tafsīr*; for example, Ibn Abī Hātim al-Rāzī's (d. 938), *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿazīm;* al-Thaʿālabī's (d. 1035) *Kashf al-bayān ʿan tafsīr al-Qurʾān;* Ibn ʿAtiyyah's (d. 1147) *al-Muḥarrar al-wajīz;* al-Nasafī's (d. 1310) *Madārik al-tanzīl wa ḥaqāʾiq al-taʾwīl;* and al-Suyūṭī's (d. 1505) *al-Durr al-manthūr.* Another example is that of Ibn Kathīr (d. 1373), who was a student of the Ḥanbalī theologian Ibn Taymiyah (d. 1328). Ibn Kathīr took Sunnī *tafsīr* to its extreme by rejecting reason-based interpretation of the Qurʾān, insisting on the rejection of *isrāʾīliyyāt,* emphasizing "tradition" to explain the meaning of the text, and indirectly rejecting the intellectual tradition of *tafsīr* (Calder, 1993) It could be argued that the vibrancy, creativity, and innovation that existed in *tafsīr* (as in other disciplines) began to wane from around the thirteenth century. The work of Ibn Kathīr may be seen as representing this phase.

Key characteristics of Sunnī *tafsīr* are emphasis on literal interpretation of the Qurʾān wherever possible, strongly justified by linguistic evidence; reliance on tradition (*ḥadīth/athar*) in explaining the text; use of reason (*raʾy*) within limits; rejection of the idea of esoteric meanings as unjustifiable speculation; respect for the companions of the Prophet collectively as the most important source of religious authority after the Prophet; acceptance of a set of theological positions on God's attributes, eschatology, prophecy and revelation, the definition of a believer (*muʾmin*), and sources of authority in law; and rejection of positions held by rationalist theologians known as Muʿtazilah.

Shīʿī exegesis. The Shīʿah, the second most important religio-political group of Muslims, is subdivided into a number of groups, most importantly, the Zaydīs, the Imāmīs, and the Ismāʿīlīs. Among the most important differences between the Shīʿah in general and the Sunnī Muslims are the Shīʿah doctrine of the *imām* and their view of the companions.

The Zaydīs are the closest to the Sunnī Muslims on these key issues. Several *tafsīr* works by Zaydī scholars have been lost, while many extant works remain in manuscript form. Zaydī *tafsīr* is heavily influenced by Muʿtazilī theology: many Zaydīs rely on the Muʿtazilī exegete Zamakhsharī's (d. 1144) *al-Kashshāf* as a primary source given the similarity between their theological positions and those of the Muʿtazilah (Dhahabi, 1976, vol. 2, p. 308). In many other respects, the exegetical works of Zaydīs come very close to those of the Sunnīs. A Zaydī scholar of the modern period is al-Shawkānī (d. 1834) from Yemen, who wrote *Fatḥ al-qadīr,* a 5-volume *tafsīr* that is largely tradition-based (*al-maʾthūr*) and is widely available. The perceived closeness of the Zaydīs to Sunnism perhaps explains why Shawkānī's *Fatḥ* is widely used in Sunnī circles.

The Imāmīs (also known as Twelvers) are the largest subgroup among Shīʿah. The early Imāmīs strongly criticized the mode of compilation of the Qurʾanic text during the caliphate of ʿUthmān. They accused the compilers of the text of omitting and adding verses. However, many later Imāmī scholars toned down the criticism and argued that the existing Qurʾanic text did not contain falsifications (Bar-Asher, 1999, p. 16). For Imāmīs, the *imāms* are divinely inspired, endowed with a special *ʿilm* (knowledge). The *imām* should also be nominated as heir by his predecessor through an explicit designation (Bar-Asher, 1999, p. 12). Thus, ʿAli was the first *imām* designated as such by the Prophet himself, and any who befriended him are considered friends of the Shīʿah, but any who opposed him are seen as enemies, an example of an enemy being the Prophet's wife ʿĀʾishah because of her political opposition to ʿAli. Imāmīs were also heavily influenced theologically by the Muʿtazilah. Moreover, they believe in differences between the "inner" and "outer" meanings of the Qurʾān. This allows them to read into the Qurʾanic text their own theological and religio-political views, a characteristic that is not confined to Imāmīs, however, but cuts across almost all groups within Islam. Among the key *tafsīr* works of the Imāmīs are: al-Qummī (early tenth century), *Tafsīr al-Qummī;* al-Ṭūsī (d. 1067), *al-Tibyān fi tafsīr al-Qurʾān;* and al-Ṭabarsī (d. 1153), *Majmaʿ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān.*

On extant evidence, Ismāʿīlīs have not produced any *tafsīr* of the whole of the Qurʾān. Their exegetical works are interpretations of selected verses or groups of verses. According to Gilliot (2002, p. 118), "the science of *tafsīr* (exoteric exegesis) is absent from their literature." Ismāʿīlīs distinguish between the exterior (*ẓāhir*) and interior (*bātin*), related to exoteric and esoteric meanings respectively. For the Ismāʿīlīs, the true meaning of the Qurʾān can be arrived at only through *taʾwīl* (esoteric interpretation), which had its origin in the legitimate *imām* (Gilliot, 2002, p. 118). However, more recent studies suggest that there was a well-developed tradition of Qurʾanic interpretation among Ismāʿīlī thinkers of the Fatimid period.

Khārijī exegesis. Within Muslim tradition, Khārijīs have not contributed to *tafsīr* and other Islamic disciplines as extensively as have other groups. This is most likely because of the relatively small number of Khārijīs who were widely dispersed in North Africa, the Arabian Gulf, and East Africa. Most Khārijī *tafsīr* works were written by Ibāḍīs, a "moderate" Khārijī group, from a Sunnī point of view. Some of the Khārijī works have been lost, such as the *tafsīr* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Rustum al-Fārisi (ninth century). Among the best known Khārijī *tafsīr* works are the *Tafsīr* of Hūd ibn Muḥakkam al-Hawwāri (d. c. 893) from North Africa and *Himyān al-zād ilā dār al-maʿād* (13 vols.) of Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Itfish (d. 1913), also from North Africa.

Khārijī *tafsīr* relies heavily on the literal meaning of the text and often does not delve into deeper meanings. More recent research suggests a revision of the notion of a "wooden literalism" as associated with Khārijī exegetical thinking. Like other groups in Islam, Khārijīs interpret the text in line with their theological positions, an example being that the grave sinner (*murtakib al-kabīrah*) is an unbeliever (*kāfir*) and will remain in Hell forever (Dhahabī, 1976, vol. 2, pp. 329–344).

***Kalām*-based exegesis.** *Kalām* is the discipline of dialectical theology in Islam. Debates on the definition of "believer" (*muʾmin*), God's predetermination of events, human freedom versus God's power, the unity of God, God's attributes, God's justice, and the status of categories of human beings in the hereafter continued in intellectual circles in the seventh and eighth centuries. Theologians who wrote *tafsīr* works, who belonged to various groupings in Islam such as Sunnīs, Shīʿah, or Khārijīs, had to deal with these debates in their works. Among theologians, the Muʿtazilīs and Ashʿarīs have been the most prominent in their contribution to *tafsīr*.

Many theologians who wrote exegetical works were from a Muʿtazilī background. Many of these works have not survived, and those that have, while they may not be strictly speaking *tafsīrs,* give a sense of *kalām*-based exegetical work. Qādi ʿAbd al-Jabbār (d. 1025) made great contributions to this field in his *al-Mughnī* (a juridical and theological encyclopedia) (Gilliot, 2002, p. 114). The Shīʿī scholar al-Ṭabarsī's *Majmaʿ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān* is heavily influenced by Muʿtazilī doctrines. The most famous of Muʿtazilī *tafsīrs* is al-Zamakhsharī's *al-Kashshāf ʿan ḥaqāʿiq al-tanzīl.* However, Zamakhsharī's "reputation for exegesis rests not so much on his Muʿtazilism as on his qualities as a grammarian, philologist, and master of rhetorical and literary criticism" (Gilliot, 2002, p. 115).

Kalām-based *tafsīr* of the Muʿtazilīs emphasize interpretation of the Qurʾān in line with what reason demands, especially in relation to theological matters, rejection of "traditions" that conflicted with their theological positions, the use of linguistic evidence to support interpretation (particularly when literal meanings contradicted their theological positions), and an emphasis on the metaphorical meanings of the Qurʾān.

Ṣūfī exegesis. Ṣūfī exegesis was associated with the development of the Ṣūfī movement, *taṣawwuf,* which in part grew out of the early religious and political tensions within the Muslim community. It also arose from intense interest in the spiritual dimension of Islam, distaste for the materialism that developed as a result of the great wealth generated by the conquests (*futūḥāt*) of the seventh century, and the legalism that came to dominate Islam from the ninth century. For many Ṣūfīs, the theological, legal, and religio-political debates of the seventh and eighth centuries drew believers away from the purpose of the Qurʾān towards legalism and other irrelevancies. For Ṣūfīs it was the language of the Qurʾān that held the answers to deeper questions, such as the nature of human existence and its relation to the divine. The inner dimension of the Qurʾān was paramount, and one could not arrive at those inner meanings by superficial reading and argument over points of law or theology. For Ṣūfīs, it was the allusions in the Qurʾanic text that were most closely related to the human spiritual condition.

Ṣūfī *tafsīr* is often traced back to figures like Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 728), some of whose teachings are scattered in various *tafsīr* works, including that of Ṭabarī. Among the most influential Ṣūfī *tafsīr* works (or related works) are those of Ibn ʿArabī (d. 1240), as well as of other great Ṣūfīs, such as al-Qāshānī (d. 1329), al-Sulamī (d. 1021) in his *Haqāʾiq al-tafsīr*, and ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Qushayrī (d. 1072) in his *Latāʾif al-ishārāt.* Ṣūfī *tafsīr* also continued right up to the modern period and includes al-Maybūdī's *Kashf al-asrār wa*

ʿuddat al-abrār (written in Persian), al-Brusāwī's (d. 1725) *Rūh al-bayān*, and al-Alūsī's (d. 1854?) *Rūh al-maʿānī*.

Some Ṣūfī *tafsīrs* are primarily "theoretical," while others are chiefly "intuitive" (Chaudhary, 2002, p. 1484). Ibn ʿArabī's (d. 1240) works are considered to belong to the theoretical tradition. He did not compose a *tafsīr* himself; the work usually attributed to him, *Tafsīr ibn al-ʿArabī*, was written by al-Qāshānī, but it does reflect the thought of Ibn ʿArabī. From a Sunnī perspective, the intuitive Ṣūfī *tafsīr*s were more moderate in their claims and interpretations. Examples of such *tafsīr*s include al-Sulamī's *Haqāʾiq al-tafsīr,* one of the most important works in Ṣūfī *tafsīr*.

TAFSĪR IN THE MODERN PERIOD: FROM THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY. *Tafsīr* of the modern period begins with the mid-nineteenth century and follows several trends. Many writers, however, adopted traditionalist patterns and approaches; in fact, many traditionalist Muslims of the modern period have written Qurʾanic commentaries that differ little from premodern works. This applies to the Sunnīs, as well as to other groups within Islam. Examples include al-Shawkānī's (d. 1839) *Fatḥ al-qadīr;* al-Alūsī's (d. 1853) *Rūḥ al-maʿānī*, and al-Marāghī's (d. 1945) *Tafsīr al-Marāghī.*

Modernist exegesis. Despite this, a significantly richer environment has emerged for exegetical work in which writers make a conscious effort to relate the Qurʾān to issues in the modern world. For many Muslims, particularly of a nontraditionalist orientation, this is the key problem for exegesis today, and it was in this light that Sayyid Ahmad Khan (d. 1898) of India and Muḥammad ʿAbduh (d. 1905) of Egypt, two modernist Muslims, embarked on their exegetical work.

Although from different parts of the Muslim world, both knew life for Muslims under British colonial rule. Furthermore, although they approached the Qurʾān differently in many respects, their works had much in common (Gilliot, 2002, pp. 126–129). Both stressed the importance of moving away from imitation of the past towards a responsive approach compatible with modern life. Both believed that the Qurʾān could guide Muslims towards becoming part of the modern world. Both had an affinity with rationalist thinkers in early Islam, such as the Muʿtazilah, and saw the need for interpretation of the Qurʾān with a scientific worldview in mind. In line with this, both, each in his own way, wanted to reinterpret what appeared to be "miracles" in the Qurʾanic text in line with modern science and reason. Both believed that the contemporary exegete should make the Qurʾān familiar to the modern mind, and realized that the exegetical procedures and jargon of previous generations had made the text obscure. In their works and teaching they argued for the rethinking of approaches to the Qurʾān in the modern period and attempted to demonstrate how this could be undertaken. Both these scholars were highly influential, particularly until the middle of the twentieth century.

Muḥammad ʿAbduh's treatment of the issue of polygamy is an example of modernist *tafsīr*. The problem is whether men should continue to be allowed four wives in an era of greater gender equality and in the light of changed economic, social, political, and economic conditions. ʿAbduh's solution to this problem was to interpret some of the phrases in the relevant Qurʾanic text. ʿAbduh argued that, by Qurʾanic logic, a man should be married to only one woman because permission to marry more than one is conditional upon "justice," which, according to the Qurʾān itself, must be strived for but is impossible to achieve. According to ʿAbduh, Qurʾanic logic states that the only form of marriage ideally should be monogamy (Riḍā, n.d., vol. 4, pp. 369–370). This example highlights the problems associated with the interpretative efforts of many modernist Muslims. At times the interpretation is forced upon the text when changed norms and values are taken as the basis for a fresh understanding.

"Scientific" exegesis. Another distinctly modern approach involves examining the Qurʾān in the light of modern science. There are two ways in which "scientific" exegesis could be understood. First, the approach taken by the Egyptian Ṭanṭāwī Jawharī (d. 1940), who wrote *al-Jawāhir fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-karīm.* Although referred to as a *tafsīr*, it is not a *tafsīr* in the strict classical sense. Rather, it is an encyclopedia that enables Muslims to link the text of the Qurʾān to a modern scientific worldview (Gilliot, 2002, p. 130). Although his treatment of the Qurʾān is also called "*al-tafsīr al-ʿilmī*" (scientific exegesis), Ṭanṭāwī Jawharī was not interested in what in the mid to late twentieth century came to be known as the "scientific miraculous nature of the Qurʾān" (*al-iʿjāz al-ʿilmī*). His main interest was to encourage Muslims to learn and understand the sciences, which he saw as the main factor driving modern societies.

The second use of "scientific exegesis" is, in contrast, the use of science to highlight the so-called "scientific miraculous nature of the Qurʾān," which is essentially apologetic and attempts to demonstrate that modern scientific achievements were somehow foreseen in the Qurʾān fourteen centuries ago. It is also used as evidence that the Qurʾān had to have been composed by God, as the unlettered Prophet could not have possessed such knowledge. Its practitioners read what they consider scientific interpretations into the Qurʾān. The popular nature of this discourse is demonstrated by the large number of conferences, seminars, and publications devoted to it. Many Muslim thinkers, however, criticize it as ignoring the open-ended nature of scientific discovery and as misreading the Qurʾān, ignoring how the texts were understood by the earliest Muslims and also by the succeeding generations. Notwithstanding these criticisms, this latter form of scientific exegesis has become one of the most popular forms of exegesis in the modern period.

Sociopolitical exegesis. Sayyid Quṭb (d. 1966) wrote his *Fī Zilāl al-Qurʾān* essentially to provide a new perspective on the relevance of the Qurʾān to modern Muslims. Quṭb's particular style of writing, his uncompromising commitment to his view of Islam, and his portrayal of many of the institutions of modern society as *jāhiliyyah* (akin to pre-Islamic institutions, that is, un-Islamic), ensure him an important place among those whose primary aim is to establish Islam as the dominant sociopolitical force in Muslim societies. Quṭb's work, a good example of a *tafsīr* of a personal reflective nature, is somewhat divorced from standard exegetical tradition in its more free-floating ideas: it draws in the modern world and its challenges, and refuses to follow dogmatically early approaches to *tafsīr*. It is, as the title suggests, "in the shade" of the Qurʾān, and attempts to find relevance and meaning at a personal and collective level for Muslims of the modern period. This perhaps explains its wide acceptability among Muslim youth. It lies at the heart of an understanding of Islam as an ideology and a system. In many ways it is the most inspiring and powerful *tafsīr* in the contemporary world for many young Muslims influenced by the thought of Muslim Brotherhood.

Literary-historical exegesis. Studying the Qurʾān from a literary perspective is not new but the approaches adopted and the modern emphasis on the Qurʾanic narratives and whether these stories represent any historical reality are new. Tāhā Ḥusayn (d. 1973) caused a stir in Egypt when he argued for analyzing the Qurʾān as a literary text and suggested that the biblical stories mentioned in the Qurʾān may not necessarily be historical. Amīin al-Khūlī of Egypt (d. 1967) also argued for a study of the Qurʾān from a literary perspective, keeping in mind how this text was received by the first recipients (the Prophet and the companions) because this first reception and understanding are crucial to such a project.

This emphasis on the study of the Qurʾān from a literary perspective was taken up by a number of scholars who benefited from al-Khūlī's methodological insights. Muḥammad Khalafallah, also from Egypt, applied these ideas into his doctoral dissertation (in 1947), *al-Fann al-qasasī fī al-Qurʾān al-karīm*, which again caused a stir among the religious establishment of Egypt, leading to significant personal hardship for Khalafallah. Given the sensitivities associated with such studies, particularly if they question the "truth" (historical truth) of any aspect of the Qurʾān, not many Muslims attempt such studies.

Thematic exegesis. In the mid-twentieth century, another popular approach emerged called thematic exegesis. This approach emphasizes the unity of the Qurʾanic text over the interpretation of verses in isolation. Verse by verse treatment in exegesis is seen as distorting the Qurʾanic message, and as not giving sufficient emphasis to related verses on a particular theme across the Qurʾān. This form of exegesis also goes back to the ideas developed by Amīn al-Khulī, who emphasized that it is more beneficial to interpret the Qurʾān by focusing on specific themes. In this way, one can explore in depth such concepts as "justice" and "unity of God" by looking at all aspects of the concept as dealt with in the Qurʾān in different *sūrah*s. Such an approach, besides enabling an in-depth look at relevant issues, facilitates a more "objective" treatment of the issues at hand. While these observations may be true about the thematic exegesis to a large extent, practitioners of thematic exegesis often advocate quite different views about how it should be undertaken, the benefits of such an exercise, and the reasons for engaging in it. Practitioners argue that this approach can be useful today in dealing with questions such as women's rights, human rights, and ethical problems, to give a few examples. Thematic exegesis has become very popular and influential in many parts of the Muslim world, including Egypt and Indonesia.

Feminist exegesis. Muslim feminism brings cultural politics into exegetical scholarship. Several Muslim feminist exegetes have recently argued that it is important today to re-read the Qurʾān because the "male-oriented" readings of early and modern exegetes and theologians are biased against women. Historical injustices against women are thus seen to have been perpetuated in these readings. Feminist interpreters argue that if one half of the Muslim population is to enjoy equality with men, the Qurʾanic rules and values concerning women must be understood in the light of the sociohistorical context of the revelation. The argument continues that if the context in which the event occurs changes, so can the interpretations and rulings derived therefrom. Although it is accepted that the Qurʾān improved the position of women, the argument of these feminists is that the cultural and historical context of the revelation has remained a barrier to realizing the Qurʾanic ideals regarding women (Wadud-Muhsin, 1988; Barlas, 2002).

Unlike some so-called "radical feminists," mainstream Muslim feminists are not interested in casting religion and scripture aside in order to gain the rights they are seeking. Muslim feminists use the Qurʾān to assert their rights as women. Their weapon is the Qurʾān itself and how it should be read. Fatima Mernissi (1991) developed a critical approach to Islamic tradition and ventured into hitherto "sacred" areas. In a number of her works, she has examined the Qurʾanic text in the light of the *ḥadīth*, focusing on the biases of some of the companions who narrated these *ḥadīth,* particularly those concerning women. Amina Wadud-Muhsin and Asma Barlas have argued for a return to the message of the original text but with an emphasis on relating the Qurʾān to its historical and contemporary contexts as argued by Fazlur Rahman, in the light of the "spirit of the Qurʾān" (Wadud-Muhsin, 1988, p. 129).

***TAFSĪR* AND THE QUESTION OF THE RELEVANCE OF THE QURʾĀN TODAY.** The literature on Qurʾān interpretation in the modern period shows that there is a strong desire on the part of Muslims, scholars and laity alike, to find the relevance of the Qurʾanic text to contemporary issues without compromising the Qurʾanic value system and its essential and core beliefs and practices. It is seen as particularly urgent in relation to the ethico-legal content of the Qurʾān (Saeed, 2004). There are, broadly speaking, three trends among those who believe that the ethico-legal content of the Qurʾān is relevant to Muslims in the modern period: textualists, semitextualists, and contextualists.

Textualists seek to maintain the interpretation of the ethico-legal content of the Qurʾān as handed down in the tradition and argue for a strict following of the text (as well as the "authorized" interpretations within the tradition, be they Sunnī or Shīʿī). Where possible, they prefer to be faithful to the literal reading of the ethico-legal texts. For many textualists, there is no need at all for the scripture or its understanding to change. For them, it is the Qurʾān that should guide Muslims, not any so-called modern "needs." The Qurʾān (both in its text and meaning) is permanent and universal. For instance, if the Qurʾān says that a man may marry four wives, then that should remain so forever. Textualists may be found today among those referred to as Salafīs, neo-Salafīs, and traditionalists.

Semitextualists essentially follow the textualists, but attempt to present the Qurʾān's ethico-legal content in a modern garb. They do not ask fundamental questions about the relationship the ethico-legal content may have to the sociohistorical context of the Qurʾān or about interpretations of that ethico-legal content in the following generations. They package the ethico-legal content in a somewhat "modern" idiom, often within an apologetic discourse. Semitextualists can be sympathizers or members of modern neorevivalist movements, such as the Muslim Brotherhood and Jamāʿat-i-Islāmī, as well as some traditionalists and some modernists.

In contrast, the contextualists emphasize the sociohistorical context of the ethico-legal content of the Qurʾān, as well as its subsequent interpretations. They argue for understanding the ethico-legal content in the light of the political, social, historical, religious, and economic contexts in which this content was revealed, understood, interpreted, and applied. Thus they argue for a high degree of freedom for the modern Muslim scholar in arriving at what is mutable (changeable) and immutable (unchangeable) in the area of ethico-legal content. Contextualists are found among what Fazlur Rahman called neo-modernists and among more "liberal" Muslim thinkers today.

The methodological innovations introduced in Qurʾanic exegesis by important figures such as Fazlur Rahman to resolve this problem are highly relevant (Saeed, 2004, pp. 37–66). They represent an important step in relating the Qurʾanic text to the contemporary needs of Muslim societies. Rahman relies heavily on understanding the historical context of the revelation at the macro level, and then relating it to a particular need of the modern period. In this, he draws on the idea of the "prophetic spirit" or, in other words, how the Prophet might act were he living in these times. Thus one could argue that many modern-era Muslim scholars, like Rahman, are preoccupied with a correct method of interpreting the Qurʾān that will show its relevance to the contemporary needs of Muslims (Rahman, 1982). They emphasize the thematic and spiritual unity of the Qurʾān, and that the revelation was not a "book" given at one time but a process over a twenty-two-year period, reflecting, throughout the mission's vicissitudes and the needs of the first community. The Qurʾān's guidance, in their view, was directly connected with, and organically related to, the linguistic, cultural, political, economic, and religious life of the people of Hijaz and, more broadly, of Arabia.

More radical approaches to the interpretation of the Qurʾān are also entertained by a number of Muslim thinkers today, including Muḥammad Arkoun and Nasr Ḥāmid Abū Zayd. While these approaches are not yet widely accepted, it seems likely that we will be seeing a more intense debate on the rethinking of approaches to the Qurʾān, and perhaps a more creative period in the area of *tafsīr.*

SEE ALSO Tafsīr.

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ABDULLAH SAEED (2005)

QURʾĀN: ITS ROLE IN MUSLIM PRACTICE AND LIFE

The Qurʾān is the primary source of theological and religious knowledge in Islam. Its significance goes beyond the concept of a mere written document, for it is seen by Muslims as a paradigm for God's communication with human beings and as a token of divine presence in the world. Reflecting its paradigmatic nature, the Qurʾān calls itself *Umm al-Kitab* (literally “Mother of the Book” or “Sourcebook,” *sūrah* 13:39). It is made up of “signs” (*ayah,* pl. *ayat*) whose semantic messages replicate all of the “languages” that are to be found in the world of human experience. As a form of divine expression, the Qurʾān acts as a spiritual touchstone and code of conduct, detailing the main themes of the message of Islam as revealed to the Prophet Muḥammad. As a theological statement, it is a criterion of discernment (*furqan*), which demonstrates the existence and nature of Allāh, the One God. As a form of literature, it is regarded by both Muslims and Arab Christians as the source of the Classical Arabic language. As a work of meta-history, it imparts meaning to human affairs by detailing God’s plan for the world in the rise and fall of civilizations and in the creation and end of the universe.

As the written text declares, the original form of the Qurʾān is with God, “a Glorious Qurʾān preserved in a well-guarded tablet” (85:21–22). Although it takes on the character and logic of human language, the Qurʾān remains in essence a transcendent medium of communication, free from the limitations of purely human expression. This essential Qurʾān was communicated to the Prophet Muḥammad through the mediation of Gabriel, the angel of revelation, in words that were written down and memorized by the pious and later codified into an official document *(mushaf).* However, the Prophet claimed that he also received the Qurʾān in humanly unintelligible sounds like the ringing of bells: apparently, at least part of the revelation came to him as an inspiration directly from God. This bestowal of divine knowledge, which according to the Qurʾān was sent down directly onto Muḥammad’s heart (26:94) on the Night of Power (*laylat al-qadr,* 96:1), enabled the Prophet to become not only the mouthpiece, but also the prime interpreter of the divine word.

For more than fourteen centuries, Muslims of all sects and schools of thought have internalized the Qurʾān as the transcendent word of God, which is relevant for all times and places. Because its divine origin makes the Qurʾān a sacred, and therefore unique, form of communication, its significance depends on a worldview that accepts its authenticity. Consequently, its significance for the pious Muslim is entirely different from that of the non-Muslim or agnostic. Because each and every written word or recited sound of the Qurʾān is revered as divine in origin, any attempt to create a critical or historicist interpretation of its text can only do violence to the revelation in terms of its meaning to its audience. One who wishes to understand the resonance of the Qurʾān in the heart of the Muslim believer must not overlook the surplus of meaning in a text that is considered so sacred that it is often recited in a baby’s ears as soon as it emerges from the womb. As the sixth Shīʿī *imām,* Jaʿfar al-Sadiq, declared, “Whoever recites the Qurʾān while yet a youth and has faith, the Qurʾān becomes intermingled with his flesh and blood” (Ayoub, vol. 1, p. 12).

SACRED CHARACTER. As a revelation directly from God, the Qurʾān is the main theophany of Islam. Although it was revealed to the prophet Muḥammad in the Arabic language (12:2), its text is believed to consist of divine rather than human speech (9:6). Thus, its significance for Muslims is similar to that of the Logos (divine speech) in Christianity. However, unlike the Christian view of scripture as a divinely inspired discourse, the words of the Qurʾān are regarded by Muslims as divine in and of themselves. In Islam, the divine word does not become flesh, but the words and letters of the Qurʾān retain a profound sense of power and mystery. Muslims show their reverence for the Qurʾān by approaching it in a state of ritual purity or ablution (*ṭahārah*). At times, it may also be treated as a prized artifact, as demonstrated by the production of hand-decorated, calligraphic copies and the popularity of medieval Qurʾān manuscripts in collections of Islamic art. Ṣūfīs, Muslim mystics, have long regarded the Qurʾān as a paradigm for divine knowledge and inspiration. In the thirteenth century, the great Andalusian Ṣūfī Ibn ʿArabi organized the entirety of *al-Futuhat al-Makkiyah* (The Meccan inspirations), his magnum opus, to conform to the order and meaning of the discourses and signs of the divine text.

POWER AND PROTECTION. Because the word of God resonates continually in sacred scripture, the divine text and even the calligraphic text of the Qurʾān are believed to possess awesome powers. In a well known verse the Qurʾān states: “Were we to cause this Qurʾān to descend on a mountain you would see it humbled and torn asunder in awe of God” (59:21). A tradition reports that when the fifth *sūrah* was sent down to the prophet Muḥammad while he was traveling on a she-camel, the animal fell to the ground, unable to support the divine words. However, this divine Qurʾān, which even the mountains cannot sustain, is also a source of tranquility and peace for the hearts of those with faith. Muslims consider this quality a divine gift of mercy; as the commentator al-Qurtubi asserts, “Had God not fortified the hearts of his servants with the ability to bear [the Qurʾān], . . . they would have been too feeble and distraught before its great weight” (al-Qurtubi, vol. 1, p. 4).

The powers of the Qurʾān are reputed in Muslim folklore to heal the sick, to cause strange natural occurrences, and even to charm snakes and find lost objects. When placed in a locket, a verse of the Qurʾān may protect a child from the evil eye, and strengthen, or break the bond of love between two people. Qurʾanic verses are often inscribed on vehicles, shops, and entrances to homes or public buildings to provide protection against evil and to express gratitude for God’s bounties. In medieval Islam, Qurʾanic words, phrases, or even entire verses were often written or uttered in combination with ancient Aramaic words or symbols as formulas against magic. Today, Muslims of all beliefs, from literalistic *Wahhābīs* in Saudi Arabia to mystical Ṣūfīs and rationalist Pakistani engineers, often recite selected short *sūrah*s of the Qurʾān as a protection against evil or ill fortune. *Sūrah*s that are especially popular for such purposes include *al-Kahf* (The cave, 18), *Ya-Sin* (36) and *al-Waqiʿah* (The event, 56). In modern Egypt, these and other protective *sūrah*s are compiled in small booklets that police officers carry in their shirt-pockets as a protection against the dangers of their job.

In times of sickness and adversity, believers turn to the Qurʾān as a source of "healing and mercy for the people of faith" (17:82). The first *sūrah* of the Qurʾān, *al-Fatihah* (The opening) is sometimes called *Al-Shafiyah* (The healer). It is often recommended that a sick person drink the water in which a parchment inscribed with Qurʾanic verses has been soaked; this custom has persisted to the present day in many areas of the Muslim world. In some countries, Qurʾanic verses are written on incantation bowls with a special type of ink. When the bowl is rinsed with water and the water is drunk, the power of the Qurʾanic verses in the ink mixes with the water and enters the body of the believer as a charm. The commentator al-Qurtubi cautions that when using the Qurʾān for such purposes, a person seeking a cure must invoke the name of God in every breath he or she takes while drinking the potion, and must be sincere in prayerful attention, because his or her reward depends upon that sincerity. In the text of the Qurʾān itself, the medicinal power of the Qurʾān to heal is often linked to its rhetorical power to persuade, as in the following passage: "Oh humankind! An exhortation has come to you from your Lord, a healing for what is in your breasts, and a guidance and mercy for those who believe" (10:57).

COMFORT AND NEED. The Qurʾān also serves as a source of strength and reassurance in the face of the unknown. For pious Muslims, the Qurʾān provides a means of controlling future events or mitigating their outcome through *istikharah,* seeking guidance or a good omen in the text. Istikharah represents the choice of what God has chosen. It is carried out by averting the face, opening the book, pointing to a randomly chosen verse, and letting the verse speak directly to one's need or condition. This action is often accompanied by specific prayers or rituals. According to the famous Ṣūfī and theologian Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (1058–1111) companions said that the Prophet emphasized the practice of istikharah as much as he emphasized memorizing the Qurʾān itself. Al-Ghazālī recommends reciting the Fatihah, the *Sūrah* of the Unbelievers (109), and the *Sūrah* of Sincerity (111) when practicing istikharah. Then the following supplication is to be made:

> Oh God! I seek goodness from you through your knowledge, I seek power from you through your power, and I beseech you through your great favor. For you are powerful and I am powerless, you are knowledgeable and I am ignorant, and you are the Knower of the Unseen. If you know that this matter will be good for me in my spiritual and material life and at the end of my life whether it tarries or hastens, then make it possible for me, and bless me and ease my life through it. But if you know that it will harm me in my spiritual and material life and at the end of my life whether it tarries or hastens, then avert me from it and avert it from me and empower me with good wherever I may be, for you are powerful over all things. (al-Ghazālī, vol. 1, p. 206)

The good bestowed by the text of the Qurʾān is a mercy for believers both in life and after death. In his discussion of *ṣalāt al-Hajah* (The prayer of need), al-Ghazālī states that petitioners to God should perform twelve prostrations, each of which is to be preceded by recitations of the Fatihah, the Verse of the Throne (2:255), and the *Sūrah* of Sincerity (al-Ghazālī, pp. 206–207). Often, before a Muslim dies, he or she stipulates that the Qurʾān be recited at the grave for three days to ensure the repose of the soul. Sometimes, at the tombs of rulers or great Ṣūfī saints, teams of readers would be employed to recite the sacred text around the clock. Whenever a deceased person is remembered by friends or family, the Fatihah is recited; it is considered a gift to the dead, a fragrant breeze from Paradise to lighten the hardship of the grave. However, the verses of the Qurʾān that are learned in this world will bring believers the greatest merit in the Hereafter. The Prophet Muḥammad said, "It shall be said to the bearer of the Qurʾān [after death], 'Recite and rise [to a higher station]. Chant now as you did in the world, for your final station shall be the last verse you recite'" (al-Qurtubi, vol. 1, p. 9).

RECITATION AND MEMORIZATION. Because the Qurʾān contains the word of God, its text stipulates that no one should touch it but the purified (56:79), nor should anyone recite it that is not in a state of ritual purity. Before beginning to recite the Qurʾān, the Muslim is encouraged to clean her teeth and purify her mouth, because the body will become the "path" of the Qurʾān. The Qurʾān reciter must also put on her best attire, as she would when standing before a king, for she is in fact speaking with God, in God's own language. Likewise, because the Qurʾān is the essence of Islamic prayer, the reciter should face the *qiblah,* the direction of prayer toward Mecca. Muslims believe that anyone who yawns while reciting the Qurʾān is obliged to stop, because yawning is caused by Satan. Normally, the recitation of the Qurʾān begins with the formula of refuge (*al-taʿwiz*): "I take refuge in God from Satan the accursed." It is therefore necessary that the reciter seclude herself whenever possible so that she not be interrupted. If the word of God were to become mixed with profane speech, the reciter would lose the power of the formula of refuge with which she began her recitation.

According to a well-known tradition, those who have memorized the Qurʾān (the "Bearers of the Qurʾān") were described by the Prophet Muḥammad as being specially favored with the mercy of God because they are the teachers of his word. The tradition goes on to assert that God protects those who listen to the Qurʾān from the afflictions of this world and protects its reciters from the trials of the world to come. The Prophet is said to have further asserted that God would not torment a heart in which he had caused the Qurʾān to dwell. All obligations of worship are believed to cease with death except the recitation of the Qurʾān; it will continue to be performed forever as a delight for the people of Paradise.

TEACHING AND INTERPRETATION. According to Muslim convention, the Qurʾān is not a book with a beginning, middle, and end. Every portion, even every verse, is a "Qurʾān," a divine lecture, just as the entire book is the Qurʾān, properly speaking. In the history of Qurʾanic exegesis, this belief has led to an unfortunate tendency to take Qurʾanic verses out of context. However, this decontextualization of the Qurʾān has a spiritual benefit, in that the study of the Qurʾān is a journey through an infinite world of meaning, a journey to God through God's own words. The outward purpose of this journey is to shape one's character and life according to the word of God, and thus to attain God-consciousness (*taqwa*). The inner purpose of the journey, the path often followed in the Shīʿī and Ṣūfī traditions, is to travel toward God through the practice of deep hermeneutics *(taʾwīl),* and thus to attain a direct knowledge of God (*maʾrifah*) by repeatedly going back (*taʾawwala*) to the divine speech that is the basis of all creativity. A man is reported to have asked the Prophet Muḥammad, "What is the most excellent deed?" He was told, "Be a sojourning traveler." The man then asked, "Who is the sojourning traveler?" The Prophet replied, "It is the man of the Qurʾān, he who journeys from its beginning to its end, and then returns again to its beginning. Thus, he stops for a brief sojourn and then departs" (al-Qurtubi, vol. 1, p. 36).

Muslims believe that the Qurʾān guides its bearers to the eternal bliss of Paradise. It will pray on their behalf, and God will bestow upon them the crown of glory and will be pleased with them. Those who have internalized the sacred text through memorizing its verses and who recite it and teach others the art of recitation are described in a famous prophetic tradition as the people of God and his elect. According to another tradition, the best person is the one who studies the Qurʾān and teaches it to others. This is why people who teach the Qurʾān to children are highly respected throughout the Islamic world. The prophet Muḥammad declared that the highest merit for which a person can hope in the world to come is that of engaging with others in the study of the Qurʾān: "There is no people assembled in one of the houses of God to recite the book of God and study it together but that divine tranquility descends upon them. Mercy covers them, angels draw near to them, and God remembers them in the company of those who are with him" (Ayoub, vol. 1, pp. 8–9). The Qurʾān states that divine light descends upon houses in which God's name is remembered (24:36). All of God's ninety-nine "beautiful names" (7:180) are to be found in the Qurʾān. For this reason, the text of the Qurʾān is considered the truest approach to knowledge of God.

However, blindly reciting verses that are not understood, whether linguistically, intellectually, or spiritually, is not the best way to approach the Qurʾān, according to the majority of Islamic scholars. A person has not truly read the Qurʾān if both the heart and the mind are not fully engaged in understanding it. Approaching the Qurʾān has an outer, ritual dimension, and an inner, conceptual dimension, of which both are necessary for a full appreciation of the text. For al-, the "inner practice" of approaching the Qurʾān consists of ten levels of understanding that must be cultivated by the informed reader:

1. The reader of the Qurʾān must have a basic understanding of theology, so that he or she can appreciate the divine origin of its words.
2. The reader must fully understand the exalted nature of the divine speaker and the difference between Qurʾanic discourse and human speech.
3. The reader must cultivate the faculties of the heart and suppress mind-chatter so that the spiritual nature of the divine discourse may be revealed.
4. The reader must practice disciplined concentration when reading or reciting the sacred text.
5. The reader must concentrate on the attributes, actions, and states of God revealed in the text in order to understand how God works in the world.
6. The reader must eliminate all intellectual impediments that may block his or her understanding the spiritual message of the Qurʾān.
7. The reader must understand the contextual nature of the divine commands and prohibitions in the Qurʾān and be aware of the limitations to be applied when following its rules.
8. The reader must allow the discourse of the Qurʾān to influence the attitudes of the heart in its emotional states.
9. The reader's understanding of the text must "ascend" such that one hears the word of God speaking in the Qurʾān and not one's own ego.
10. The reader must attain "freedom" through understanding the Qurʾān from the limitations of personal effort and initiative in seeking the blessings and favor of God. (al-Ghazālī, vol. 1, pp. 280–288)

True reverence of the Qurʾān and awareness of God's will for humankind demands an approach that favors intellectual and spiritual inquiry over the mere memorization of the text and its explanatory traditions. Refuting a tradition in which the Prophet Muḥammad supposedly stated, "Whoever interprets the Qurʾān with his own opinion will find his seat in Hell," al-Ghazālī asks, "How can one possibly understand the Qurʾān without studying its interpretation?" Anyone who believes that the only way to understand the Qurʾān is through its superficial meaning has in fact limited the meaning of the word of God to the limitations of one's own understanding. Such a person is trapped in what modern scholars would call the "hermeneutical circle" of traditional knowledge *(ʿilm al-naql),* which literally "transports" text but not meaning. On the contrary, says al-Ghazālī, a complete and balanced knowledge of tradition would reveal that the ways to interpret the Qurʾān are wide for those who understand (al-Ghazālī, p. 289).

Influence. Every verse of the Qurʾān contains seventy thousand potential ways of understanding its text, because each Arabic word of the Qurʾān bears multiple, legitimate levels of meaning. Understanding this truism of Arabic hermeneutics is key to understanding the importance of the Qurʾān to Muslims. Even beyond the creedal confines of Islam, the Qurʾān has set the standard for Arabic language and literature as the highest expression and model for literary Arabic. Its style of storytelling, its similes, and its metaphors have shaped classical Arabic literature and have even influenced modern writers. It was the demand for absolute correctness in studying, writing, and reciting the Qurʾān that provided the basis for Arabic grammar and other linguistic sciences. Qurʾanic maxims and phrases have permeated all the languages of the Muslim world, and beautifully rendered Qurʾanic calligraphy graces the walls of mosques, schools, and the homes of the pious.

The Qurʾān is one of the most important bases of unity in a highly diverse Islamic civilization. Its impact on the life of Muslims may be summed up in a prayer attributed to ʿAli and intended to be offered at the completion of a Qurʾān recitation: "Oh God, relieve with the Qurʾān my breast; occupy with the Qurʾān my entire body; illumine with the Qurʾān my sight, and loosen the Qurʾān with my tongue. Grant me strength for this, so long as you allow me to remain alive, for there is neither strength nor power except in you" (Majlisi, vol. 89, p. 209).

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The role of the Qurʾān in Muslim piety, although crucial to Islamic spirituality, has until recently been neglected in Western scholarship. More surprisingly, it has also been neglected in contemporary Muslim scholarship, where moral and political approaches to Islam have been considered more important. Since the late 1980s, however, the subject has begun to appear in the writings of Muslims, many of them converts to Islam, who live in Europe and the United States. Several recent introductions to Islam contain important discussions of the spiritual importance of the Qurʾān. Exegetical works that combine scholarly and personal approaches also have appeared, which include readings of the Qurʾān from the newly relevant perspectives of gender and social justice.

Premodern discussions of the importance of the Qurʾān in Muslim spiritual life are typically found in "Virtues of the Qurʾān" (*fadaʾil al-Qurʾan*) literature. Such discussions are included in many works of Qurʾanic exegesis; see, for example the work by Ibn Kathir (d. 1373) titled *Fadaʾil al-Qurʾan* and appended to volume 7 of his Qurʾān commentary *Tafsir al-Qurʾan al-ʿazim,* Beirut, 1966. This literature also forms a part of major collections of tradition. See, for example, the chapter on *fadaʾil al-ʾan* in *Sahih Bukhari,* translated by Muḥammad Muhsin Khan, *Translation of the Meanings of Sahih al-Bukhari,* Beirut, 1979, volume 6.

The sources used for the present article are representative of these literary traditions. Muḥammad al-Qurtubi (d. 1273) was a noted Qurʾān commentator and jurist who lived and wrote in Egypt. Abū ʿAli ibn al-Hasan al-Tabarsi (d. 1153) was an important jurist of the Imāmī Shīʿī tradition, whose commentary is considered foundational to Shīʿī thought. Mulla Muḥammad Baqir al-Majlisi (d. 1699) was one of the most prolific Shīʿī traditionists. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī was one of the most important theologians of Sunnī Islam. He was uniquely influential in setting the standards for Sunnī thought and practice in late medieval Islam.

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QURRAT AL-ʿAYN ṬĀHIRAH (c. 1818–1852), was a Bābī preacher and poet, and their first woman martyr. Both *Qurrat al-ʿAyn* ("solace of the eyes") and *Ṭāhirah* ("the pure") were given as honorifics, and her original name has fallen into oblivion.

The daughter of a prominent Shīʿī mullah in Qazvin, she was married to her first cousin, the son of another important mullah. She was a highly intelligent woman and early studied the works of Shaykh Aḥmad Aḥsāʾī, who spoke of the imminent coming of the Bāb. After corresponding with Aḥsāʾī's disciple, Sayyid Kāẓim-i Rashtī, she took the decisive step of leaving her husband and children in order to join his circle in Karbala; but he died shortly before she performed the pilgrimage there in 1843. During her three years' stay in Karbala, Ṭāhirah preached the new doctrine with fervor and success and was accepted by the Bāb (whom she never met) as one of his eighteen disciples known as Ḥurūf-i Ḥayy ("the letters of the living," i. e., the letters that make up the word *ḥayy*). It was from the Bāb's description of her as Janab-i Ṭāhirah ("her excellency, the pure") that she became known as Ṭāhirah or, among Bahāʾīs, Ṭāhirih.

Her preaching made the authorities suspicious, and in 1847 she was put under surveillance in Baghdad. After the shah's Jewish physician became a convert to Babism during a visit there, Ṭāhirah and her followers were expelled from Iraq. Upon her return to Qazin, she was divorced from her husband, who opposed the new teachings of the Bāb. The assassination of her uncle (her former father-in-law), also an adversary of the Bābīs, resulted in the first persecution of the adherents of the new faith, and she went to Tehran and stayed as a guest of Bahāʾ Allāh, whom she hailed as the awaited leader of the community. During a Bābī conference in Badasht in 1848, the beautiful young woman is said to have preached without a veil, an action that is taken as the first attempt to win freedom for Persian women. When Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh ascended the throne later that year, Ṭāhirah was placed under arrest. After a Bābī attempt to assasinate the shah, she was executed, probably by strangulation, in August 1852.

Ṭāhirah is considered the first Iranian woman to preach equality of the sexes and religious freedom; E. G. Browne called her appearance in Iran "a prodigy—nay, almost a miracle." Her Persian poems are of great beauty; one of them is included in Muhammad Iqbal's *Javīd-nāmah* (1932), where the Bābī heroine appears as one of the "martyrs of love."

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QUTB, SAYYID. Sayyid Qutb (1906–1966), among the most influential Islamist thinkers of the twentieth century, was born on October 9, 1906, in the village of Musha (Upper Egypt). His father was a supporter of Mustafa Kamil's al-Hizb al-Watani (Nationalist Party). Studying at the village *kuttab* (religious school) and government school, he reportedly memorized the Qurʾān by the age of 10. In 1921 he left Musha for Cairo to stay with his uncle, a journalist; migration offered an escape from the limited socioeconomic opportunities of rural village life. Having decided to become a schoolteacher, Qutb attended preparatory schools in Cairo, then formally enrolled in Dar al-ʿUlum (established to train instructors for government schools) in 1929 to 1930, completing his modern-style, largely Western-shaped education in the shadow of British control of Egypt. After graduating in 1933, he taught in provincial towns and was later employed by the Ministry of Education as inspector of primary schools, and he continued thus until his resignation in 1951 or 1952 due to disagreement with government policies. In 1948 the ministry sent him to the United States to investigate educational methods. He enrolled at colleges of education in New York and Colorado and traveled widely, returning to Cairo through Europe. In 1951 or 1952 he joined the Society of the Muslim Brothers (Ikhwān al Muslimūn) and was appointed director of its Section for Propagation of the Call and Publication. There is a perception that Qutb enjoyed a close relationship with the Free Officers who overthrew the monarchy in 1952 (including ʿAbd al-Nasir), serving as liaison between them and the Brothers. Thus, he is believed to have been the only civilian to attend the Revolutionary Command Council's meetings. Although the Brotherhood was at first optimistic about Egypt's future after the coup, tensions with the new regime mounted as its aim to steer the country towards secular republicanism became clear. In 1954 ʿAbd al-Nasir banned the Brotherhood following a failed assassination attempt on his life, in which Brothers were implicated. Qutb was arrested along with other Brotherhood leaders, some of whom were later executed) and sentenced in 1955 to fifteen years hard labor for subversive activity against the state. His poor health led to his transfer to the prison hospital, from where he was able to write and publish. His release in 1964, ostensibly on grounds of ill health (possibly thanks to intervention by Iraqi president ʿAbd al-Salam ʿArif), proved to be short-lived. In 1965, having become closely associated with reconstituted Brotherhood circles, he was re-arrested with other Brotherhood members and sympathizers. His trial by special military tribunal focused on the implications of his work *Milestones* (the thesis of which was later refuted by the mainstream Brotherhood) as the basis of the state's case against him. It ended with the charge of attempting forcible overthrow of the government. Sentenced to death, Qutb was executed on August 29, 1966.

Qutb's career as a writer spanned an earlier, secular-oriented phase and a later Islamist one, itself encompassing two phases. From his student days, he was involved in literary circles in Cairo as a second-rank poet, literary critic, and essayist. He also engaged in the cultural politics of the day, contributing articles to the Egyptian press. Welcoming the modernizing impulse and receptive to the postwar nationalist current, Qutb nevertheless seems from the outset to have resisted the Western values upheld by the liberal-oriented establishment and its intellectual voices. This position possibly reflected his traditional background; as the 1930s progressed, it found common ground with the growing trend of dissident voices disenchanted with the liberals' view of Egypt, emphasizing instead the indigenous Muslim dimensions of Egyptian cultural and national identity. The 1940s saw Qutb gravitate from a position of cultural nationalism to one deeply engaged with the Qurʾān as a potential blueprint for change, in the context of a postwar opposition seeking a viable ideological alternative to the liberal parliamentary monarchical system. From around 1948, Qutb indeed appears to have turned from a cultural understanding of the role of Islam in society to one that saw in it a system that could respond to the political and economic needs of his context. His early works in the first phase of this explicitly Islamist vein had a modernist outlook compatible with the Brotherhood's reformist discourse, with its characteristically apologetic argumentation. The first such substantial work, *al-ʿAdala al-Ijtimaʿiyya fi al-Islam* (Social justice in Islam), appeared in 1949; this was followed by *Maʿrakat al-Islam waʾl-Raʿsmaliyya* (The struggle between Islam and capitalism, 1951) and *al-Salam al-ʿAlami waʾl-Islam* (Islam and world peace, 1951). However, Qutb's most significant work is a multivolume Qurʾanic exegesis entitled *Fi Zilal al-Qurʾān* (In the shade of the Qurʾān), written and repeatedly revised during his incarceration. Extracts from this were published in 1964 as *Maʿalim fi al-Tariq* (*Milestones*, 1978), summarizing his theory concerning God's sovereignty and the role of *jihad* in a non-Islamic society. This marked a change in his Islamist writing. Also published in the early 1960s and belonging to this second Islamist phase were *al-Islam wa Mushkilat al-Hadara* (Islam and the problem of civilization) and *Khasaʾis al-Tasawwur al-Islami* (The characteristics of Islamic theory). *Muqawwimat al-Tasawwur al-Islami* (Fundamentals of Islamic theory) appeared posthumously.

His second Islamist phase is responsible for Qutb's main intellectual and political legacy, consisting in the inauguration of a new Islamic discourse and radical activism. This discourse introduced interrelated concepts and propositions intended to reestablish Islam on firm foundations. They have since become an integral part of the vocabulary of most radical Islamist groups and, as such, represent more than a merely theoretical innovation. Qutb's scheme stressed the twin concepts of *jahiliyya* (paganism) and *hakimiyya* (sovereignty) on the one hand, and on the other called for the adoption of *jihad* as the ultimate means for delivering political power to a new generation of Islamist revolutionaries. The term *jahiliyya* (developed from writings of the Indian Abu al-Aʿla al-Mawdudi) functioned as a shorthand descriptive for the present condition of all societies, Muslim and non-Muslim. Qutb declared that all human societies had entered a new cycle of paganism by excluding "true religion" from their daily life and transactions. This state of affairs demanded the restitution of Islam as the only legitimate system capable of guiding humanity in all its endeavors. To enable such a restitution it was imperative to reassert God's sovereignty as the linchpin of a solid structure erected to lead mankind to material prosperity, moral rectitude, and salvation. God's sovereignty was thus put forward to indicate the exclusion of all systems of thought and government not derived from divine injunctions embodied in the Qurʾān. Moreover, the affirmation of God's sovereignty requires the creation of a "vanguard" of dedicated revolutionaries able to conduct a tightly coordinated program of ideological inculcation and political activity. Hence, Islam is both a doctrine and a method. The doctrine takes priority and thus constitutes the essence of Islam (particularly God's attributes of unicity, lordship, divinity, and absolute authority) that must first be firmly embraced by members of the vanguard prior to its implementation. The method is the most efficient means of initiating the second stage, of building a new Islamic order. Qutb warned that the struggle to restore Islam is long and arduous and involves adherence to a strict code by a cohort of professional revolutionaries. This code entails total dissociation from non-Islamic societies and the creation of alternative forms of organization, leadership, and loyalty. Separation inevitably leads to the division of society into two irreconcilable warring camps: this confrontation, spanning ideological, cultural, financial, and political fields, finds its culmination in armed struggle, or the highest stage of *jihad. Jihad* may thus be conducted through various forms, peaceful and violent, but its ultimate aim is to disarm the enemy so that Islam will be allowed to develop freely, by removing the obstacle of idolatrous tyrannies.

Translated into several languages, Qutb's writings are read by Muslims and Islamists of many hues, Sunnī and Shīʿī, across the Muslim world: *Fi Zilal al-Qurʾān* is considered to be among the most widely read modern Islamic works of the twentieth century. The apparent justification for direct (including violent) action aimed at overthrowing un-Islamic regimes and fighting Islam's enemies that is elaborated in Qutb's later works inspired radical Egyptian Islamist groups such as Jamaʿat al-Muslimin (1970s), al-Jihad al-Islami (responsible for Egyptian president Anwar al-Sadat's assassination in 1981), and al-Jamaʿat al-Islamiyya. Since 2001, attention has been drawn to Qutb as the intellectual inspiration behind currents that coalesced to form the terrorist network al-Qāʿidah: described as the major influence on Usāmah bin Lādin, Qutb has been dubbed the "philosopher of Islamic terror." Any proper assessment of his legacy must consider the possibility, suggested by some close to him, that his purpose has been misconstrued by such trends. It must pay due attention to other dimensions of his *oeuvre*, including his underlying near-mystical approach to Islam and his appreciation of Qurʾanic aesthetics.

SEE ALSO Modernism, article on Islamic Modernism; Wahhabiyah.

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RA SEE RE

RABBAH BAR NAHMANI (d. around 330 CE), a third-generation Babylonian amora, rabbinical colleague of Yosef bar Ḥiyyaʾ and Ḥisdaʾ. Rabbah studied with Hunaʾ and several other Babylonians, including Yehudah bar Yeḥezqe'l and, some modern scholars argue, with Yoḥanan bar Nappaḥaʾ in Palestine. After Yehudah's death, Rabbah began a twenty-two-year career as the head of a circle of students and a court in the city of Pumbedita. Serving as a judge, he had authority to impose rabbinic law in the marketplace and in various civil, property, and communal matters (B.T., *Ḥul.* 43b; Neusner, 1969).

Rabbah taught his disciples Torah, including everyday practical advice, lectured to them in the *kallah* gatherings (B.T., *B.M.* 86a), and, in his court, trained them as apprentice judges. His support for rabbinical privileges such as a tax exemption apparently brought him into conflict with the exilarch (lay leader considered to be of Davidic descent) (Neusner, 1969). His devotion to Torah study (see, e.g., B.T., *ʿEruv.* 22a) and his sinless character reportedly gave him special access to the divine—the ability to call upon God to revive the dead (B.T., *Meg.* 7b), to receive teachings from Elijah, and to be protected from demons (B.T., *Ḥul.* 105b). Perceived as a strict follower of the law who reproved the community, he was reportedly disliked in certain circles (B.T., *Shab.* 153a).

Some stories regarding Rabbah's life apparently served to counter less flattering accounts. For example, one text describing Rabbah's death after government agents had pursued him for inciting mass tax evasion justifies his early death: Miraculously protected from malicious humans, Rabbah died early in life only because he was needed in the heavenly study session to resolve a dispute (B.T., *B.M.* 86a).

Rabbah was noted for the dialectical sharpness with which he analyzed and supplemented received teachings (B.T., *Ber.* 64a). To render the Mishnah smoothly, he emended it or read in elliptical language (Epstein, 1964). Similarly, on the basis of his own views, he revised *baraitot* (texts purporting to represent extra-Mishnaic tannaitic teachings) and other earlier traditions that students cited before him. Although he treated numerous halakhic (legal) topics from ritual, civil, and even purity laws no longer in effect, few of his preserved dicta deal with aggadic (non-halakhic) matters.

SEE ALSO Amoraim.

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RABBINATE

This entry consists of the following articles:

THE RABBINATE IN PRE-MODERN JUDAISM
THE RABBINATE IN MODERN JUDAISM

RABBINATE: THE RABBINATE IN PRE-MODERN JUDAISM

The rabbinate as an institution of intellectual, spiritual, and religious leadership developed relatively late in the history of the Jewish people. It is found neither in the Bible nor in other Jewish literature from the biblical period. In Mishnaic parlance, the term *rav* (which means "great" or "distinguished" in biblical Hebrew) connotes a teacher of students, and this is its primary usage during the Talmudic period in Babylonia. The derivative term *rabbi* (*rebbe*, my master) is an honorific used originally to address sages in the Land of Israel following the destruction of the Second Temple. The title "Rabban" was used at this time to designate singularly important scholar-leaders of the generation, such as the patriarch (*Nasi).* The term *rabbinate* is perhaps derived from this title, if not from a form of the titles *rav* or rabbi. Prior to the destruction, even the greatest sages (such as Hillel and Shammai) were referred to without any honorific title.

The references in the Gospels to Jesus as rabbi (which occur for the most part in John, and not at all in Luke) have been explained in different ways. Some have suggested that this is an anachronism that was applied after the destruction of the Second Temple. Others have argued that it was an unofficial title for a personal teacher or spiritual leader, a usage that was to be found in the pre-destruction period. Within Talmudic literature, the title "rabbi" sometimes referred to those with high standing in the community who were not religious authorities, such as individuals of great wealth or lay leaders.

Rabbinic ordination (*semikhah* or *minnui*) had its origins in the biblical account of Moses placing his hands on Joshua. Ordination was conferred by sages in the Land of Israel (according to tradition, in an unbroken chain) through the period of the Second Temple, as a means of allowing or authorizing a worthy student to issue judicial rulings or to otherwise decide matters of Jewish law. After the destruction of the Temple, ordination was still conferred (despite attempts by the Roman Emperor Hadrian to prohibit it) at least until the suppression of the patriarchate in 425 CE.

The rabbis of the Talmudic period in both Israel and Babylonia were best known and venerated for their mastery of the Torah and for their devotion to its study and observance. They conducted themselves modestly and concerned themselves with communal mores and needs such as the proper burial of the dead, the support of widows and orphans, and the ability of the people to pursue livelihoods that were consonant with Jewish law. Some rabbis were appointed as *parnasim*, an office that charged them with various charity functions or more general communal leadership. Rabbis were approached with all kinds of religious, economic, and personal questions and requests, ranging from the nullification of oaths to the laws of inheritance, and from Sabbath observance to permitted contact with Gentiles, to note but a few.

There was a degree of tension between the rabbis and the less learned (*ʾammei ha-aretz*), and religious laxity led to rebuke. Certain rabbis were well known and quite adept as preachers, although the extent of public sermons varied widely. At the same time, the tax exemptions and other privileges to which Torah scholars and rabbinic figures were entitled during this period could sometimes arouse the ire of the communities. Rabbinic arrogance, borne for the most part of a rabbi's superior knowledge of Torah scholarship, also manifested itself on occasion. Nonetheless, the strong and sustained influence of the rabbinate during the Talmudic period was directly linked to the fact that the majority of the larger Jewish community accepted its authority.

Established rabbis served their teachers in both the educational and personal spheres, and expected their students to do likewise. Rabbinic teachers encouraged the practice of praising their able disciples and attempted to moderate academic and personal disagreements. Debates in the academies of the Tannaim and Amoraim were often conducted in a spirited manner. Although deep intellectual clashes and sharp words sometimes ensued, students and teachers alike were bidden to conduct themselves with mutual friendship and respect.

Until medieval times, rabbis received no salaries for their religious and judicial services and leadership, in accordance with a Mishnaic dictum which prohibited the deriving of any income or benefit from the Torah. Rabbis typically had other occupations. Talmudic literature does endorse the concept of *sekhar batalah*, whereby a rabbi or judge was permitted to receive monetary compensation for his rabbinic services in lieu of the money that he could have earned had he been able to devote that time to his regular occupation.

At some point in the post-Talmudic period, the original chain of rabbinic ordination was broken. Moses Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon, 1135/8–1204) writes that this form of *semikhah* may possibly be restored just prior to the coming of the Messiah. Nonetheless, other means of licensing judges, masters, and religious heads of the communities were developed in both Palestine and Babylonia during the Geonic period. The scope of these forms of (quasi-) ordination was considered to be more limited than the original *semikhah*, and there were differing views about who had the right to grant them.

In the medieval Muslim world, the synagogue, study hall, and rabbinic court (*beit din*) shared the same space and were interconnected. As such, the rabbis who served as the judges at the court and as the heads of the study halls also regulated synagogue life and ritual. Rabbis were involved with maintaining and disbursing the assets of the communities for charitable and other purposes, and even with quality of life issues. Throughout the Geonic period, the relationship between the local rabbinic authorities and the academies of the Geonim was governed by a series of understandings or regulations. In some instances rabbinic judges were appointed by the head of the Geonic academy, while in others they were appointed by the local community in which they served. Local rabbinic judges often reviewed their cases with the students who studied in their *beit midrash* and sought the counsel of the Geonim when they were unsure of the ruling at hand. Ordination in the Orient during the period of the Cairo geniza was viewed as a license to issue authoritative legal rulings and to act as a judge. The title *haver* was used to signify that a rabbinic scholar was ordained.

Rabbinic judges and courts did not only hear cases that involved litigation of economic matters and transactions. They also drafted legal documents for various kinds of transactions as well as bills of divorce, and they regulated and supervised ritual slaughter (*shehitah*). Judges typically received a yearly fee from all the members of the community, although some of the services that they provided required additional payments. There was extensive discussion among medieval rabbinic authorities about whether litigants had to appear before the rabbinic court in their own area or whether one litigant could compel the other to have their case heard before a rabbinic court of greater repute in another locale.

In medieval Spain, ordination was regarded as a sign of rabbinic authority, based on the Talmudic tradition. Rabbi Judah ben Barzillai of Barcelona (c. 1100) describes the procedure of ordination in his day. The direct result of ordination (which is characterized by Judah as a mere vestige, *zekher*, of the earlier institution) was that its incumbent would henceforth bear the title Rabbi and that he would be initiated into the ranks of the scholars. In addition, individual rabbinic masters in Spain at this time ordained their outstanding disciples. The duties of the communal rabbi, however, were not always clearly defined, and there were regional differences. In Aragon, for example, rabbis served as preachers, teachers, cantors, ritual slaughterers, scribes, and judges, in addition to providing general religious guidance to the community.

A formulation of Rabbi Isaac ben Sheshet Perfet (1326–1408; Ribash [the leading Spanish rabbinic authority of his day]) suggests that the traditional *semikhah* was unknown in Spain by his day, though it was still in vogue (since at least the early twelfth century) in Franco-Germany. The communal rabbinate in medieval Spain had begun to become professionalized and salaried as early as the eleventh century, and it remained so, despite Maimonides' strong objections concerning direct payment for any rabbinic services (in accordance with his understanding of what had been practiced during the Talmudic period). Communal appointments of salaried academy heads, judges, and masters, based on the recommendation of established authorities, were regarded *ipso facto* as a form of rabbinic authorization.

In Ashkenazic communities, on the other hand, the formation of a professionalized rabbinate did not occur until at least the end of the thirteenth century (in the face of a spate of persecutions), due to the relative weakness of communal organization in these matters. This state of affairs was predicated on the ready availability of capable rabbinic scholars in Ashkenaz who could respond to a broad range of queries and halakic problems, and who could voluntarily undertake various regular rabbinic functions, such as supervision of ritual slaughter and the ritual bath (*miqveh*) and the establishment of communal *ʿeruvin*. In any case, the delay in establishing a professionalized rabbinate in Ashkenaz meant that there was still a need for individual masters to give their students *semikhah*, as a means of testifying to the student's worthiness to serve as master and rabbi, a need that was not felt as keenly in Spain.

A protracted controversy erupted in the late fourteenth century (1386–1387), between Rabbi Yoḥanan Treves and Rabbi Meir ben Barukh of Vienna about the nature and extent of Ashkenazic *semikhah* (occasioning the formulation of Ribash just mentioned). A certain Rabbi Isaiah (who had been ordained by Rabbi Matatyah, father of Yoḥanan Treves and the *de facto* chief rabbi of northern France), arrogated for himself the right to appoint all rabbis in France, invalidating the bills of divorce (and *halizah*) ceremonies executed by anyone who did not accept this condition. Rabbi Isaiah was supported in his action by Rabbi Meir ben Barukh of Vienna, an important rabbinic leader of the day. Yoḥanan of Treves, as the successor to his father's office, appealed to the rabbis of Catalonia (and especially to Ribash) for help.

Rabbi Meir of Vienna's apparent desire to oust Rabbi Yoḥanan, and to replace him from afar with a less-qualified scholar (Rabbi Isaiah), has been understood by some as a reaction to the intervention of the king of France, who had confirmed Rabbi Yoḥanan's appointment as his father's successor. In fact, however, royal confirmation (and interference) in rabbinic appointments was already common in Spain. It is more likely that this controversy centered on Rabbi Meir's plan to introduce a rabbinic diploma that would regulate the rabbinic office and its functions (in light of the deteriorating conditions following the Black Death), an innovation that Rabbi Yoḥanan resisted. As opposed to the prevalent practice in which a community appointed an able rabbinic figure to serve as its rabbi, Rabbi Meir held that the certification of ability granted by a teacher to his student should also regulate all commercial appointments. References to appointments of rabbis in Germany and Austria by leading rabbinic figures (without any discussion of the role of the community in the appointment) are found in the responsa of two fifteenth-century authorities, Jacob Weil and Israel Bruna.

The formalizing of *semikhah* in Ashkenaz from the late fourteenth century onward is marked by the exclusive use of the title *Morenu ha-Rav* (our teacher and rabbi) for one who had been ordained. This title gave the candidate the right to teach and to decide matters of Jewish law (*heter hora'ah*). Writs of this ordination were issued in the middle of the fifteenth century by Israel Bruna and Israel Isserlein. These documents conveyed the formal title and status indicated, and also included the rights to open a *yeshivah*, to teach and to judge, and to deal with all matters of marriage, divorce, and *halizah*. As this form of *semikhah* spread, it became common for a candidate to receive such writs from more than one authority. Eventually, communal acceptance of a rabbi depended on his presenting a formal writ of *semikhah*. At the same time, both younger and more mature students and scholars in Germany and Austria who did not earn or receive documents of ordination were often called *haverim* (or even simply *lomdim*) to signify that they were learned and accomplished to some degree, even though they did not hold the title of *Morenu*.

In the aftermath of the controversy between Rabbi Yoḥanan Treves and Rabbi Meir of Vienna, Rabbi Moses Mintz was moved to characterize the ordination of his day as a direct continuation of the original (Palestinian) institution of old. The controversy replayed itself in several respects in Valona, Italy, in the period following the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. Rabbi David Messer Leon's overarching authority, which was based on his Ashkenazic *semikhah*, was called into question by Spanish exiles. Messer Leon was supported in his position by Rabbi David ha-Kohen of Corfu. In Safed during the 1530s, Rabbi Jacob Berab ordained four of his most outstanding students (including Rabbi Joseph Caro, author of the *Shulhan Arukh*) with the aim of reestablishing the original *semikhah* as it had been granted by leading Torah scholars in the land of Israel. This development might have allowed for the reconstitution of the Sanhedrin as well, but Berab could not convince the rabbis of Jerusalem to support his initiative, and it ultimately failed.

First in Spain—and later in France, Germany, Italy, and eastern Europe—rabbinic elections or appointments had to be confirmed by kings or other rulers, who often designated certain rabbinic figures as chief rabbis. These rabbis typically collected taxes on behalf of the crown and, at the same time, were granted by the crown to rule in both civil and criminal matters. In instances where lawsuits and other disputes remained unsettled by the local *dayyanim*, the crown itself sometimes reached out to leading scholars with whom it had a relationship. Thus, King Pedro III of Aragon (1276–1285), consulted several of the most outstanding Catalan halakhists including Rabbi Solomon ibn Adret (1235–1310; Rashba), and Rabbi Yom Tov Ashivili (Ritba). The well-known Polish rabbinic scholar and commentator Samuel Edels (1555–1631; Maharsha) wrote that "It would be fitting that the scholars and rabbis themselves elect a chief," but this was never achieved.

There were more than a few instances in which a candidate for rabbi or *dayyan* supported by the king was deemed unacceptable by the community. As in earlier periods, however, the rabbinate existed and functioned in many Jewish communities irrespective of any formal communal or external appointments. Questions in matters such as prayer customs, laws of *kashrut*, economic interactions, and marriage law received authoritative answers from rabbinic decisors, formally appointed or not. In eastern Europe, on the other hand, communities paid specially appointed *yeshivah* heads handsome salaries so that they could faithfully discharge their instructional duties and spend their remaining time completely immersed in Torah study.

Recorded decisions taken by Italian Jewish communities to appoint a communal rabbi are extant for Verona in 1539, and subsequently for Cremona and Padua. Nonetheless, a communal ordinance in Ferrara dated 1554 distinguishes (with respect to promulgating edicts) between "a rabbi of the city" (i.e., a rabbi who simply lived in that city) and "a rabbi appointed by the community." The earliest extant rabbinic contract (*ketav rabbanut*), dated 1575, was established between Rabbi Todros (Theodorus) and the Jewish community of Friedberg (Hessen, Germany). One copy of the contract was given to the rabbi, the other was incorporated into the communal ledger (*pinkas*). The contract specified the length of the appointment, the salary, and other financial benefits that were to be extended (including a fee for performing weddings and for executing marriage contracts and bills of divorce), as well as support for the students who studied with the rabbi, and other responsibilities and prerogatives. In addition to overseeing the procedures for marriage and divorce, and for appointing and supervising the ritual slaughterers, the rabbi directed the rabbinic court in the city that adjudicated all kinds of disputes. Although the rabbi was granted the power to issue various kinds of warnings (and bans) to members of the community, these had to be authorized by the communal board.

The salary specified in Rabbi Todros' contract appears rather inadequate, although it was supplemented by the fees indicated for other rabbinic services. The same held true for Italy in the late sixteenth century. Certain *yeshivah* heads were well paid, but many communal rabbis had other sources of income. Some Italian rabbis engaged in private tutoring in the homes of wealthy benefactors or in the writing of rabbinic works in honor of their patrons.

The rabbinic contract of Rabbi Asher Loeb (known as *Sha'agat Aryeh*, the title of his best-known work), who was appointed rabbi of Metz in 1765, provides a window into the nature of the rabbinate in Europe at the end of the early modern period. Rabbis were typically appointed (and reappointed) for fixed periods of time (between three and six years) and were not granted tenure. The community provided suitable housing for the rabbi and his family, exempted the rabbi from taxes, indemnified him from suits that might result from the performance of his duties, and provided for housing and support of his widow in the event that the rabbi passed away. The rabbi was the only one who could preach publicly, although he served primarily as the chief judge (*av beit din*) of the community, and as the "judge of the widows and the keeper of the orphans," monitoring their needs and protecting their interests. The rabbi would also teach local *yeshivah* students (whom the community supported), as well as members of the community. The rabbi was to be honored by being called to the Torah on special Sabbaths throughout the year. In the case of Rabbi Asher Loeb, at least, the salary level appears to be rather satisfactory.

The rabbinate in the pre-modern period was characterized by an ill-defined hierarchy that culminated (at least in theory), with the leading scholars of the generation (*gedolei ha-dor*). This lack of formal structure contributed to tensions between different groups of rabbinic figures (e.g., heads of academies and communal rabbis) and between rabbis and the lay leadership of the communities. At the same time, it enabled the rabbinate to overcome numerous challenges and obstacles in providing ritual, judicial, and educational services, as well as spiritual and intellectual leadership, for an ever-changing array of communities throughout the Jewish world.

SEE ALSO Conservative Judaism; Hasidism; Orthodox Judaism; Reconstructionist Judaism; Reform Judaism; Synagogue; Yeshivah.

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EPHRAIM KANARFOGEL (2005)

RABBINATE: THE RABBINATE IN MODERN JUDAISM

The modern rabbinate is a product of the Enlightenment and of the political emancipation of the Jews in western and central Europe. Under the influence of such Enlightenment ideas as natural human rights and the concept of the nation-state, Jews in those areas were gradually emancipated from their medieval status in the late eighteenth century and the nineteenth century and became the political equals of their Christian neighbors.

The emancipation process was slow, however; it varied from place to place in some particulars but was regarded as a two-way effort everywhere in western Europe. For their parts, the governments of these countries recognized Jews as the political equals of their fellow citizens. On the other hand, Jewish communities no longer constituted a "state within a state" as they had in medieval times, and rabbis no longer possessed legal authority and judicial power. In addition European rulers expected the Jews to transform themselves into modern citizens by giving up traditional garb, learning to speak the vernacular, abandoning the Yiddish language, and familiarizing themselves with modern European culture. Under the leadership of such individuals as Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786), Naphtali Herz Wessely (1725–1805), and Israel Jacobson (1768–1828), Jews began to accept the educational and social standards of Western modernity; as a result, the need for a progressive rabbinate educated in secular universities soon became apparent to all.

To fill this need, rabbinical seminaries were created throughout Europe, first in Padua in 1829 and later in Metz (subsequently transferred to Paris), Amsterdam, London, and other large cities. In Germany, where the movement for religious reform was strongest and was led by such rabbis as Abraham Geiger (1810–1874), there were ultimately three such seminaries: the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau, espousing what would now be called a Conservative theology; the Berlin *Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums*, which served primarily a Reform or liberal constituency; and the Orthodox Hildesheimer Seminary, also in Berlin. The curricula of these institutions were quite different from those of traditional *yeshivot*, in which the Talmud and the Jewish legal codes constituted almost the entire object of study. The new seminaries naturally saw the Talmud as paramount but also taught the Hebrew Bible, midrash, history, homiletics, pedagogy, and other subjects relevant to the modern rabbinate. In addition the seminaries usually required their students to enroll in secular universities at the same time that they were in rabbinical school. Most of these seminaries were disbanded or destroyed during the Holocaust (1933–1945). Contemporary European rabbis are generally are trained in England, France, or Hungary, where seminaries still exist, as well as in the United States and Israel.

The United States. Although the American Jewish community traces its origins to the year 1654, there were no ordained rabbis in the United States until the 1840s. In colonial America, where all the synagogues followed the Sephardic (Spanish and Portuguese) ritual, religious services were led by a *hazzan* (cantor), who had generally been trained in London, Amsterdam, or the West Indies—the exception being the well-known Gershom Mendes Seixas (1745–1816), who was born and educated in New York City. With the large-scale immigration of Jews from central Europe in the three decades before the Civil War, however, there was a growing need for ordained rabbinic leadership. The first ordained rabbi to come to America was Abraham Rice (1802–1862), who arrived in Baltimore, Maryland, from Bavaria in 1840. Throughout the nineteenth century the American Jewish community was served by spiritual leaders who often lacked formal rabbinical ordination. The outstanding leaders in this period were Isaac Leeser (1806–1868), a traditionalist who served at Congregation Mikveh Israel in Philadelphia from 1829 to 1850, and Isaac Mayer Wise (1819–1900), a reformer who came from Europe in 1846 and served congregations in Albany and Cincinnati down to 1900. These men worked tirelessly to promote the practice of Judaism in the United States through their translations of Jewish texts, composition of educational materials for children, and establishment of newspapers with nationwide circulation.

In 1875 Wise and his supporters founded the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, which continues to train Reform rabbis in the early 2000s. In response the traditionalists, led by Sabato Morais of Philadelphia, Isaac Leeser's successor, established the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York City in 1886. The seminary still serves the Conservative movement of the twenty-first century. The more traditional Orthodox, whose numbers were soaring as a result of the immigration of Jews from eastern Europe, established the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary, also in New York, in 1897. The seminary is the rabbinical school of Yeshiva University as of the early 2000s. To complete the picture the Reconstructionist movement established the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College outside of Philadelphia in Wyncote, Pennsylvania, in 1968. Together with a number of smaller rabbinical seminaries, some of which are nondenominational, these schools train the great majority of pulpit rabbis in the United States. In addition there are many traditional Orthodox *yeshivot*, such as the Beth Medrash Govoha in Lakewood, New Jersey, that also provide rabbinical training; however, the graduates of these institutions generally do not serve congregations.

With the push for gender equality that began in the 1960s, the more liberal branches of American Judaism began to call for the ordination of women as rabbis. The idea was not a new one, going back at least to the 1880s; indeed Regina Jonas (1902–1944), who had graduated from the Berlin *Hochschule*, was privately ordained in Germany in 1935. The first American woman to be ordained was Sally Priesand, who graduated from the Hebrew Union College in 1972. Two years later Sandy Eisenberg Sasso was ordained by the Reconstructionist Rabbinate College. After a prolonged and often bitter debate, the Conservative Jewish Theological Seminary opened its doors to women rabbinical students in 1984. Amy Eilberg became the first woman ordained at the seminary in 1985.

Prior to the emancipation era, rabbis generally served entire communities rather than individual synagogues. In the modern world, however, rabbis are hired by individual congregations. Although such European nations as England and France have chief rabbis, attempts to introduce a rabbinical hierarchy in the United States proved unsuccessful. In the nineteenth century rabbis were generally poorly paid and subject to the whims of congregational officers, who often had little respect for the rabbinical office.

Throughout the twentieth century, however, the rabbinate came to be regarded as a learned profession: rabbinical salaries were increased, benefits and vacations became the norm, and national rabbinical organizations were created, which helped to raise the prestige and status of their members. The modern American rabbi is called upon to fulfill many roles that premodern rabbis never envisioned: he or she is often a marriage and family counselor, a provider of adult religious education, an administrator, a school principal, and a participant in ecumenical or interfaith activities. In small communities the rabbi is sometimes the only Jewish religious professional, and rabbis in small synagogues are often called upon to serve as the cantor, Torah reader, and bar and bat mitzvah instructor as well. Many rabbis do not serve in pulpits but rather work as educators, chaplains, directors of Hillel Foundations on college campuses, or in other positions of service in the Jewish community. In general American Jews regard their rabbis as role models of faithfulness to the Torah in the congregation or other constituency.

Israel. In Israel the situation of the rabbi is generally different from that of the rabbi in the United States; in many ways it resembles that of the premodern era. In Israel religious affairs are controlled by the office of the chief rabbinate. There are two chief rabbis, one Ashkenazic (for people of central eastern European origin) and one Sephardic. Rabbis in Israel, with the exception of the traditional Orthodox and the rather small number of Reform and Conservative rabbis, are all employees of the state. Most Israeli rabbis are products of the traditional *yeshivot*; few have attended rabbinical seminaries. Some serve as judges in the rabbinical courts, which have legal jurisdiction over such matters of personal status as marriage and divorce, whereas others serve as supervisors of *kashrut* (maintaining the dietary laws), ritual baths, and other public institutions. Israeli synagogues are financed by the government; members do not join by paying dues as they do in North America. Consequently Israeli rabbis tend to have fewer pastoral duties than do rabbis in Europe and North America, and their relationship with the people who worship in their synagogues is often far less personal. On the other hand, non-Orthodox synagogues in Israel are generally patterned after those in North America, with members paying dues and usually having close relationships with the rabbi.

THE HASIDIM. In the Hasidic world the spiritual leader of the community is known as the *rebbe*. Hasidism traces its origins back to Rabbi Israel, the Baʿal Shem Tov (Master of the Good Name), who lived in Podolia in the southwestern Ukraine in the eighteenth century. He was a charismatic leader credited with performing a number of miracles. The modern Hasidic *rebbe*, always male, also is a charismatic individual, whose influence over his followers comes from the sheer force of his personality and aura of holiness. Although the *rebbe* is generally a learned rabbi, his position, which is often inherited from his father, does not depend upon his interpretations of Jewish law, for there are traditional rabbis in the Hasidic community who deal with such matters. Rather, the *rebbe* is often thought to be a person of keen human understanding whose closeness to God enables him to provide leadership, guidance, and advice to his followers. In some cases, his powers of intuition are thought to verge on the supernatural. The most influential Hasidic leader of the twentieth century was Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson (1902–1994), known as the Lubavitcher Rebbe, who initiated a global Jewish outreach program that was especially successful on college campuses.

SEE ALSO Baʿal Shem Tov; Hasidism, overview article; Leeser, Isaac; Mendelssohn, Moses; Schneerson, Menachem M.; Wise, Isaac M.

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ROBERT E. FIERSTIEN (2005)

RABBINIC JUDAISM IN LATE ANTIQUITY.

In its formative period, 70–640 CE, rabbinic Judaism forged a synthesis between two antithetical phenomena in the religion of Israel: first, the messianic movement, with its stress on history's meaning and end, and second, the priestly component, with its interest in enduring and ahistorical natural life, celebrated in the cult. Starting with the Mishnah, the systematic expression of the priestly viewpoint, composed in the aftermath of the two great messianic wars against Rome (66–73 and 132–135), the rabbis of late antiquity so reconstructed the Mishnah's system of law and theology as to join to that system the long-standing messianic and historical emphases. Rabbinic Judaism thus presents a way of life of order and regularity, lived out beyond the disturbances of one-time events of history, but in which Jews looked forward to the end of time and the coming of the Messiah. That is, as a result of their adhering to that same, permanent, holy way of life, the Messiah would come. The thesis of historical and teleological messianism generated its antithesis, the Mishnaic system of the everyday celebration of eternal things, which then fused into the rabbinic synthesis, legal-messianic Judaism as it has been known from late antiquity to the present time.

DEFINITIONS. By *Judaism* is meant a worldview and way of life held by a group of Jews, defining the holiness of their people. Any kind of Judaism will draw upon the Hebrew scriptures (the "Old Testament"), usually called Tanakh, an acronym standing for *Torah* (Law), *Nevi'im* (Prophets), and *Ketuvim* (Writings). Every kind selects and interprets a particular part of the Hebrew scriptures.

Late antiquity refers to the first six centuries of the common era, from the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 CE to the Muslim conquest of the Near and Middle East about 640 CE. The countries in which rabbinic Judaism took shape and flourished were the Land of Israel (Erets Yisraʾel, i.e., "Palestine") under Roman, then Byzantine, rule (from before the first century CE to the Muslim conquest nearly seven centuries later) and Babylonia, part of the western satrapies of the Iranian empire (to about 225 under the Parthians, an Iranian people of the northeast; from about 225 to the Muslim conquest, under the Sasanids, an Iranian dynasty from the province of Fars).

As to sources, rabbinic Judaism is known from documents created in the period under discussion: the Mishnah (c. 200 CE) and the two Talmuds (one produced in Babylonia about 500 CE, the other in the Land of Israel a century earlier), which in form constitute commentaries to the Mishnah. Other important rabbinic documents of the time include commentaries on parts of the Hebrew scriptures—in particular *Mekhilta'*, for *Exodus; Sifra'*, for *Leviticus;* and *Sifrei,* for *Numbers* and *Deuteronomy*—and *Bere'shit Rabbah* and *Vayiqra' Rabbah,* compilations of exegeses on *Genesis* and *Leviticus.* The Jewish prayer book (*siddur*) and certain mystical writings come down from this same period. They clearly relate to the larger rabbinic form of Judaism. But the precise definition of that relationship has not been fully clarified.

The adjective *rabbinic* before the noun *Judaism* signifies a kind of Judaism named after its principal kind of leader, a rabbi, a supernatural sage. The definition of *rabbi* shifts in ancient times. The title itself was originally quite neutral, and not unique to Jews. It means simply "My lord," and hence no more than *Monsieur* or *Mein Herr.* When Jesus was called "rabbi," the term was equivalent to *teacher* or *master, Sir.* Rabbis in the Mishnah, figures of the first and second centuries, generally give opinions about trivial legal matters; they were considered sages but were never represented as wonder-workers. Representations of rabbis in documents from the third century onward, including discussion of first- and second-century figures in those later documents, by contrast present the rabbi as a supernatural figure. The rabbi then emerges as a lawyer-magician, or supernatural judge-sage-mystic. Accordingly, through the centuries the title *rabbi* has come to refer solely to a distinctive amalgam, within the Jewish nation, of learning, piety, and holiness or supernatural power, associated with the sages of the Talmud and related writings.

"Rabbinic Judaism," then, is the worldview and way of life applied to the Jewish nation by rabbis. The Judaism under discussion also is called "Talmudic," after its principal literary documents. It may be called "classical" or "normative" in reference to its definitive character from its own day to today. In Talmudic times, however, the conception of a systematic *-ism,* a Judaism, is not attested in the rabbinical literature. Outsiders, coming after the fact, identify and name a religion. That an abstract system was perceived and named is not likely. One cannot isolate a word, or a concept to be presented by a single word, for "Judaism." The closest verbal symbol for this kind of Judaism is *Torah.* A sage became a rabbi because he knew Torah in the right way, having learned under proper auspices and having given ample evidence of accurate mastery and correct interpretation of the Torah.

It follows that the definitive trait of rabbinic Judaism is stress upon Torah. In fact, one may define the character of this kind of Judaism within three elements: holy faith, holy man, holy way of life. Thus, first is emphasis upon the doctrine of the dual revelation to Moses at Sinai, a written Torah (the Pentateuch) and an oral Torah. Second comes belief in the leadership of the sage, or rabbi (in context, "My lord"). Third is stress upon doing the will of God through study of Torah under the guidance of sages and upon living the holy way of life laid down in the Torah as interpreted by rabbis.

THE MYTH. This article will now consider in detail the definitive symbolic structure of rabbinic Judaism, as it emerges from late antiquity. The central myth of classical Judaism is the belief that the ancient scriptures constituted divine revelation, but only a part of it. At Sinai God had handed down a dual revelation: the written part known to one and all, but also the oral part preserved by the great scriptural heroes, passed on by prophets to various ancestors in the obscure past and finally, and most openly and publicly, handed down to the rabbis who created the Talmuds. The "whole Torah" thus consisted of both written and oral parts. The rabbis taught that the "whole Torah" was studied by sages of every period in Israelite history from Moses to the present. It is a singular, linear conception of a revelation preserved only by the few but pertaining to the many, and in time capable of bringing salvation to all.

The Torah myth further regards Moses as "our rabbi." It holds that whoever embodies the teachings of "Moses, our rabbi," thereby conforms to the will of God, and not to God's will alone but also to his *way.* In heaven God and the angels study Torah just as rabbis do on earth. God dons phylacteries like a Jew. He prays in the rabbinic mode. He carries out the acts of compassion called for by Judaic ethics. He guides the affairs of the world according to the rules of Torah, just as he does the rabbi in his court. One exegesis of the creation legend taught that God had looked into the Torah and therefrom had created the world.

The myth of Torah is multidimensional. It includes the striking detail that whatever the most recent rabbi is destined to discover through proper exegesis of the tradition is as much a part of the way revealed to Moses as is a sentence of scripture itself. It therefore is possible to participate even in the giving of the law by appropriate, logical inquiry into the law. God himself, studying and living by Torah, is believed to subject himself to these same rules of logical inquiry. If an earthly court overrules the testimony, delivered through miracles, of the heavenly one, God would rejoice, crying out, "My sons have conquered me! My sons have conquered me."

This is a mythical-religious system in which earth and heaven correspond to one another, with Torah as the nexus and model of both. The heavenly paradigm is embodied upon earth. Moses "our rabbi" is the pattern for the ordinary sage. And God himself participates in the system, for it is his image that, in the end, forms that cosmic paradigm. The faithful Jew constitutes the projection of the divine on earth. Honor is due to the learned rabbi more than to the scroll of the Torah, for through his learning and logic he may alter the very content of Mosaic revelation. He is Torah, not merely because he lives by it but because at his best he forms as compelling an embodiment of the heavenly model as does a Torah scroll itself.

The final and generative element in the rabbinic Torah myth concerns salvation. It takes many forms. One salvific teaching holds that had Israel not sinned—that is, disobeyed the Torah—the scriptures would have closed with the story of the conquest of Palestine. From that eschatological time, the sacred community would have lived in eternal peace under the divine law. Keeping the Torah was therefore the veritable guarantee of salvation. The opposite is said in many forms as well. Israel had sinned; therefore, God had called the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Romans to destroy the Temple of Jerusalem; but in his mercy he would be equally faithful to restore the fortunes of the people when they, through their suffering and repentance, had expiated the result and the cause of their sin.

So, in both negative and positive forms, the Torah myth tells of a necessary connection between the salvation of the people and of the world and the state of Torah among them. For example, if all Israel would properly keep two Sabbaths, the Messiah would come. Of special interest here is the rabbinic saying that the rule of the pagans depends upon the sin of Israel. If Israel would constitute a full and complete replication of "Torah"—that is, of heaven—then pagan rule would come to an end. When Israel makes itself worthy through its embodiment of Torah—that is, through its perfect replication of the heavenly way of living—then the end will come.

THE MISHNAH'S LAYER OF RABBINIC JUDAISM. The history of the Judaism expressed in this Torah myth is obscured by the superficially uniform character of the rabbinic compilations of late antiquity. All of them, early and late, appear to wish to say pretty much the same thing. It goes without saying that each rabbinic document finds in scripture ample precedent for its own viewpoint. That is why they all look alike. The documents, moreover, are collective, bearing the names of many authorities in common. Accordingly, when turning to the sources for the viewpoint just now outlined, one finds it everywhere. So it is difficult to trace the history of the ideas shared in common by them. Yet that is not entirely the case, for there is one rabbinic document of late antiquity, the Mishnah, that stands apart from the rest. It ignores scripture and the need for proof-texts, on the one side, and it omits reference to the Torah myth as the critical symbolic element, on the other.

The Mishnah is the first document of rabbinic Judaism, and it constitutes the foundation for the two Talmuds and the law of Judaism thereafter. The Mishnah rarely cites a scriptural proof-text for any of its propositions, even when the laws simply rephrase in the Mishnah's own language the facts supplied by scripture. Except for the tractate *Avot,* distinct in language and character, the Mishnah finds no room in its definitive construction—that is, in the formation of its principal divisions, let alone in its subdivisions (tractates) and their chapters—for extended discussion on the matter of the study of Torah, the place of the sage in the heavenly-earthly continuum, and those other propositions definitive of the Judaism that rests upon the Mishnah.

That is not to say the Mishnah knows nothing of the priority of learning. On the contrary, here and there are found explicit statements that the sage takes precedence. But the issue is this-worldly, not a matter of supernatural consequence, as is the case in equivalent allegations in Talmudic and later writings. An instance of the Mishnah's phrasing of the matter is in *Horayot* 3.5, followed by the Tosefta's gloss of the passage:

> A priest takes precedence over a Levite, a Levite over an Israelite, an Israelite over a *mamzer,* a *mamzer* over a *natin,* a *natin* over a proselyte, a proselyte over a freed slave. Under what circumstances? When all of them are equivalent [in other regards]. But if the *mamzer* was a disciple of a sage, and a high priest was an ignoramus, the *mamzer* who is a disciple of a sage takes precedence over a high priest who is an ignoramus. The Tosefta adds: A sage takes precedence over a king. [For if] a sage dies, we have none who is like him. [If] a king dies any Israelite is suitable to mount the throne. (Tosefta, *Horayot* 2.8)

Here is the first stage in the process by which the sage is moved from a merely earthly status as a principal authority to the supernatural position described above. Accordingly, the notion that Torah-learning enjoys priority is not alien to the Mishnah, and indeed begins there. But the Mishnah contains no hint of the view of the sage as a supernatural figure. Furthermore, the Mishnah distinguishes wonder-workers, such as Honi the Circle Maker (*Ta'an.* 3.8), from the sages, expressing disapproval of the former.

A still more striking trait of the Mishnah's kind of Judaism is the stress, within the Mishnah's system, upon enduring things and the omission of reference to one-time, historical events. The Mishnah presents a world in stasis, in which regularities and orderly patterns govern. It scarcely alludes to the coming of a messiah, the end of days, the meaning of Israel's suffering. The Mishnah offers no explanation or interpretation of Israel's history. If, therefore, one may characterize the first literary evidence of rabbinic Judaism in late antiquity, as of about 200 CE, this Judaism is described as focused upon the ongoing life of nature, the priesthood, and the Temple, with the sage telling the priests what to do. The Mishnah's simple, descriptive laws indicate how Israelite society, revolving about the cult, is maintained in stasis.

THE TALMUDIC RABBIS' RETURN TO SCRIPTURE AND HISTORY. Now at the other end of the period at hand, about 600 CE, that is not the Judaism that emerges. On the contrary, as has been seen, rabbinic Judaism fully revealed focused upon the meaning of Israel's history, its end in the coming of the Messiah. It was deeply engaged by one-time events and their meaning. Torah was defined by the sage as a supernatural figure who was qualified by constant reference to scripture. The contrast between the Mishnah's statements, divorced from scripture even where repeating scripture's own facts, and the later reception of the Mishnah, is seen in one fact. Both Talmuds systematically supply to Mishnah's laws precisely those proof-texts omitted by the Mishnah's framers. Accordingly, the Talmudic authorities will cite Mishnah's passage and immediately ask, "How do we know these things?" What follows will be scriptural proof-texts.

There is further indication that, in the two centuries after the closure of the Mishnah, about 200 CE, a massive reaction against the Mishnah's formulation of an ahistorical Judaism of eternal return took place. The character of other writings produced by the rabbis of those centuries provides important evidence of a renewed interest in history and its meaning. Beyond the two Talmuds and Tosefta, centered upon the Mishnah, is the formation of compilations of exegetical remarks, systematically laid forth for the Pentateuchal books of *Genesis* and *Leviticus.* These are generally supposed to have come into existence in the fifth century, that is, just as the Talmud of the Land of Israel had come to conclusion and the Talmud of Babylonia was coming to closure. Even more striking is the character of *Sifra',* a systematic essay on the *Book of Leviticus.* One basic literary form of that exegetical document is the citation of a passage of the Mishnah, or of Tosefta, verbatim or nearly so. The anonymous voice of the document then asks, "Is this not a matter of [mere] logic?" The argument then will unfold to prove that logic alone cannot prove with certainty the proposition of the Mishnah that has been cited. To the contrary, the only foundation of certainty is in a cited scripture, sometimes then subjected to exegetical work to prove the proposition of the Mishnah that stands at the head of the passage. The polemic is unmistakable. The Mishnah's laws, standing by themselves, cannot endure. Only provision of exegetical bases for them will suffice.

MESSIANISM. Beyond the emphasis upon the sage as a supernatural figure and upon scripture as the sole sound basis of truth, the third pillar of rabbinic Judaism as it emerged from late antiquity was its emphasis upon Torah as the means of reaching the messianic fulfillment and resolution of Israel's history. The authoritative expression of the messianic expectation is in the *siddur* (prayer book), emerging from late antiquity and enduring to the present day:

> Sound the great shofar to herald man's freedom;
> Raise high the banner to gather all exiles;
> Restore our judges as in days of old;
> Restore our counselors as in former times;
> Remove from us sorrow and anguish.
> Reign over us alone with loving kindness;
> With justice and mercy sustain our cause.
> Praised are You, O Lord, King who loves justice.

The restoration of the exiles to Zion and the gathering of the dispersed followed naturally by the prayer for good government, government under God's law. Then comes the concrete reference to the Messiah:

> Have mercy, O Lord, and return to Jerusalem, Your city;
> May Your presence dwell there as You promised.
> Rebuild it now, in our days and for all time;
> Reestablish there the majesty of David, Your servant.
> Praised are You, O Lord, who rebuilds Jerusalem.
> Bring to flower the shoot of Your servant David.
> Hasten the advent of the messianic redemption;
> Each and every day we hope for Your deliverance.
> Praised are You, O Lord, who assures our deliverance.

The link between the messianic hope for salvation and the religion of Torah and of rabbinic authority is expressed time and again in rabbinic writings. One example is as follows:

> Rabbah [a fourth-century rabbi] said, "When a man is brought in for judgment in the world to come, he is asked, 'Did you deal in good faith? Did you set aside time for study of Torah? Did you engage in procreation? Did you look forward to salvation? Did you engage in the dialectics of wisdom? Did you look deeply into matters?'" (B.T., *Shab.* 31a)

Rabbah's interpretation of the scripture "And there shall be faith in thy times, strength, salvation, wisdom and knowledge" (*Is.* 33:6) provides one glimpse into the cogent life of rabbinic Judaism. The first consideration was ethical: Did the man conduct himself faithfully? The second was study of Torah, not at random but every day, systematically, as a discipline of life. Third came the raising of a family. Celibacy and abstinence from sexual life were regarded as sinful. The full use of human creative powers for the procreation of life was a commandment. But, fourth, merely living day by day according to an upright ethic was not sufficient. It is true that people must live by a holy discipline, but the discipline itself was only a means. The end was salvation, daily expected in consequence of everyday deeds.

When one reflects upon the Talmudic teaching, already cited, that if all Israel only twice will properly keep the Sabbath (as the rabbis instruct), the Messiah will come, one sees the true state of affairs. The heirs of the Mishnah took over the messianic hope, so deep in the consciousness of the Jewish nation from biblical times onward, and harnessed its power to the system now known as rabbinic Judaism, a holy way of life taught by masters of Torah. Accordingly, as stated at the outset, in late antiquity is witnessed the formation on the disparate foundations of, first, the Mishnah, a law code lacking reference to history, on the one side, and, second, hope for the end of history and the coming of the Messiah, on the other, the kind of Judaism called rabbinic.

INSTITUTIONS. The institutional forms of rabbinic Judaism as known in particular from the Talmuds, are two. The first, not surprisingly, is the figure of the rabbi. The second is the court-school, that is, the place in which the rabbi ruled on certain matters affecting the Jewish community and also taught his apprentices, that is, disciples. First considered will be the figure of the rabbi as known in the third through the seventh century in the Babylonian Talmud.

The rabbi. The rabbis of that period conceived that on earth they studied Torah just as God, the angels, and "Moses, our rabbi," did in heaven. The heavenly schoolmen were even aware of Babylonian scholastic discussions. This conception must be interpreted by reference to the belief that the man truly made in the divine image was the rabbi; he embodied revelation, both oral and written, and all his actions constituted paradigms that were not merely correct but actually heavenly. Rabbis could create and destroy people because they were righteous, free of sin, or otherwise holy, and so enjoyed exceptional grace from heaven. It follows that Torah was held to be a source of supernatural power. The rabbis controlled the power of Torah because of their mastery of its contents. They furthermore used their own mastery of Torah quite independently of heavenly action. They were masters of witchcraft, incantations, and amulets. They could issue blessings and curses, create men and animals, and communicate with heaven. Their Torah was sufficiently effective to thwart the action of demons. However much they disapproved of other people's magic, they themselves were expected to do the things magicians did.

The rabbi was the authority on theology, including the structure and order of the supernatural world. He knew the secret names of God and the secrets of the divine "chariot"—the heavens—and of creation. If extraordinarily pious, he might even see the face of the Shekhinah, the presence of God; in any event, the Shekhinah was present in the rabbinical schools. The rabbi overcame the evil impulse that dominated ordinary men and was consequently less liable to suffering, misfortune, and sickness. He was able to pray effectively because he knew the proper times and forms of prayer. Moreover, the efficacy of his prayers was heightened by his purity, holiness, and other merits, which in turn derived from his knowledge of the secrets of Torah and his consequent particular observances. He could bring rain or cause drought. His blessings brought fertility, and his curse, death. He was apt to be visited by angels and to receive messages from them. He could see and talk with demons and could also communicate with the dead. He was an authority on interpretation of omens and dreams, on means of averting witchcraft, on incantations for cures, on knot tying (for phylacteries), and on the manufacture and use of amulets.

A central conception set rabbinic Judaism apart from Manichaeism, Mazdaism, Christianity, and other contemporary cults. It was not expected that the masses would assume the obligations of or attain to the supernatural skills of the Manichaean elect, Mazdean magi, Christian nuns and monks, or the religious virtuosi and cultic specialists of other groups. All male Jews, however, were expected to become rabbis. The rabbis wanted to transform the entire Jewish community into an academy where the whole Torah was studied and kept.

These beliefs aid in understanding the rabbis' view that Israel would be redeemed, the Messiah brought, through Torah. Because Israel had sinned, it was punished by being given over into the hands of earthly empires; when it atoned, it would be removed from their power. The means of this atonement or reconciliation were study of Torah, practice of commandments, and doing good deeds. These would transform each male Jew into a rabbi, hence into a saint. When all Jews had become rabbis, they then would no longer lie within the power of history. The Messiah would come. So redemption depended upon the "rabbinization" of all Israel, that is, upon the attainment by all Jewry of a full and complete embodiment of revelation or Torah, thus achieving a perfect replica of heaven. When Israel on earth became such a replica, it would be able, as a righteous, holy, saintly community, to exercise the supernatural power of Torah, just as some rabbis were already doing. With access to the consequent theurgical capacities, redemption would naturally follow.

The school. Study of Torah was just that: primarily an intellectual enterprise whose supernatural effects were decidedly secondary. The resources of the schools were knowledge of the laws and traditions that for the rabbis constituted the Torah of Moses. The actual method of learning used by the academies had nothing whatever to do with magic. The "Torah" of the rabbis was essentially no more than a legal tradition that had to be studied by the classical legal methods. The rabbis were expected to act as did other holy men, but they themselves respected legal learning and the capacity to reason about cases. Not everyone would achieve such skills of reasoning any more than everyone could make rain, and the academies doubtless attracted many who could only memorize and repeat what they knew. The whole process of learning, not merely its creative and innovative aspects, was, however, regarded as sacred, for the words themselves were holy.

The following exposition from the school of Rabbi ʿAnan exemplifies this process:

> What is the meaning of the Scripture *You that ride on* white asses, that sit on rich cloths, and that walk by the way, tell of it (*Judges* 5:10)? Those *that ride on asses* are the sages who go from city to city and from province to province to study Torah. *White* means that they make it clear as the noon hour. *Sitting on cloths* means that they judge a case truly. *And that walk* refers to masters of Scripture. *On the way,* these are masters of Mishnah. *Tell of it* refers to masters of Talmud, all of whose conversation concerns matters of Torah. (B.T., *Eruv.* 54b)

Found in the Song of Deborah, this verse about the victory of Israel over the Canaanites was explained by the rabbis as a description of the triumph of the Lord in the "wars of the Torah," a frequent image of rabbinic Judaism, and the consequent celebration by the people of the Lord. That people included many whose talents were limited but who, added all together, constituted, and celebrated, the Lord's triumph. Some, like itinerant philosophers, would wander in search of teachings. Others had great skill at clarification. Others were able and selfless judges. Still others merely knew scripture, or Mishnah, or Talmud, but spoke of nothing else. Here is the integrated, mature vision of the academies: a whole people devoted to revelation, each in his own way and according to his talent.

RABBIS AND ORDINARY FOLK. What average Jews ordinarily did not know and the rabbis always did know was the one thing that made a common man into a rabbi: *"Torah" learned through discipleship.* It begs the question to speak of the ordinary people as "ignorant of Judaism." One does not have to exaggerate the educational attainments of the community as a whole to recognize that learning in the rabbinic traditions did not by itself separate the rabbi from other people. It would, accordingly, be a gross error to overestimate the differences separating the way of life of the ordinary Jews from that of the rabbinical estate.

In general the rabbis' merely conventional social manners or customs were deepened into spiritual conceptions and magnified by their deeply mythic ways of thinking. In the villages ordinary people regarded the rabbi as another holy man, but still as a man, heart and soul at one in community with other Jews. The rabbinical ideal was antidualistic; the rabbis believed that all Israel, not just saints, prophets, and sages, stood at Sinai. All bore common responsibilities. No one conceived of two ways of living a holy life—two virtues or two salvations—but of only one Torah to be studied and observed by all, and thus the cutting edge of rabbinical separateness was blunted. The inevitable gap between the holy man and the layperson was further reduced by the deep concern felt by rabbis for the conduct of the masses. This concern led them to involve themselves in the everyday affairs of ordinary people, and it produced considerable impact upon daily life.

A review of the primary distinctive characteristics of the rabbinical school will show that the rabbis could not have created unscalable walls of social or religious difference. The sages spent a good part of their years in these schools; ordinary Jews, obviously, did not. Yet the schools were not monasteries. Disciples who left but who remained loyal to the school's way of life did not engage in ascetic disciplines of an outlandish sort, calculated to utterly divide the sages' way of living from that of normal men. They married. They ate regularly and chose edible food, not wormwood or locusts or refuse. They lived in villages, not in the wilderness. They did not make their livelihood through holy vagrancy. Their clothes were not supposed to be tattered or in rags. These differences between rabbis and other types of holy men, such as the Christian monks and the Manichaean elect, are obvious and therefore all the more important. The sages sought the society of ordinary Jews, so they lived in the villages rather than in the countryside ("wilderness"). Not engaged in begging ("holy vagrancy"), they owned property and were glad of it. They occupied important and permanent positions in the administration of communal life, and so came into constant and intimate contact with the common people. Access to rabbinical schools remained open to all, and the rabbis actively proselytized within the community to gain new candidates for their schools. Advantages of birth were minimal. In no way did the rabbis form a caste or a clan; the right marriage counted for little.

What, therefore, did the peculiarities of the rabbinical way of living amount to? A rabbi could eat with any other Jew in Babylonia because the biblical taboos about food were widely observed. Differences between the rabbis' interpretation of taboos about food and those advanced by others gradually diminished, as in time the rabbis' growing domination made their learned exegeses seem more commonplace. For example, although the rabbis said grace at meals and offered intelligible blessings for food, they were willing to teach others just what those blessings and prayers meant. Nothing in the rabbinical ritual of eating was to be kept secret. A person showed himself "ignorant" if he violated the rituals. His remedy was to go to a sage to study and learn, and this was explicitly recommended by the rabbis.

THE RABBI AS JUDGE. What did a rabbi actually do as a community administrator? The following account gives a helpful portrait of the workday function of Rabbi Huna', head of the Sura academy about 300 CE:

> Every cloudy day they would carry him out in a golden palanquin, and he would survey the whole town. Every wall which looked unsafe he would order torn down. If the owner could rebuild it, he did so, but if not, he [Rabbi Huna] would rebuild it of his own funds. On the eve of every Sabbath, he would send a messenger to the market, and all the vegetables that remained to the market-gardeners, he would buy and throw into the river. Whenever he discovered a medicine, he would fill a jug with it, and suspend it above the doorstep and announce, "Whoever wants to, let him come and take." Some say, he knew from tradition a medicine for [a certain disease caused by eating with unwashed hands], and he would suspend a jug of water and proclaim, "Whoever needs it, let him come so that he may save his life from danger." When he ate bread, he would open his door wide, and declare, "Whoever is in need, let him come and eat." (B.T., *Ta'an.* 20b–21a)

The variety of public responsibilities carried out by the rabbi is striking. He had to prevent the collapse of mud buildings during a rainstorm. He had to ensure a constant market by encouraging truck gardeners to provide a steady supply of fresh vegetables. He had to give out medical information, to preserve public health, and to make certain that poor people could benefit from the available remedies. And he had to provide for the poor, so that no one would starve in his town.

These responsibilities reflected the different roles played by the rabbi. Only the first and second duties listed depended upon his political function. As judge he could order the destruction of dangerous property; as administrator he had to supervise the marketplace and use his funds to control supply and prices. But these roles had nothing to do with medical and eleemosynary activities. The former was contingent upon his reputation as a man of learning who had mastered the occult sciences, which then included medicine; the latter was based upon his possession of great wealth, accruing from his positions in politics, administration, and academic life.

Litigations coming before the Jewish courts were not particularly important in the evidence covering 200–500 CE.

On the whole they corresponded to those likely to come before a small-claims court in modern society. Thefts involved a book or a few rams. Betrothal cases concerned the exchange of property, such as a few *zuz,* a willow branch, some onions, or a piece of silk. Settlements of marriage contracts required division of a robe of fine wool, a silver cup. A few cases of alleged adultery were recorded, all of sufficient innocence for the court to rule that no adultery had taken place. The preparation and delivery of proper divorce documents hardly amounted to weighty matters of state. Divorce litigations in any event were provoked by peculiar and exceptional circumstances; normally a man could divorce his wife without court intervention, merely with the help of a scribe who wrote out the writ of divorce in accordance with the law.

The settlement of estates entailed somewhat larger sums of money. A woman's marriage contract stipulated that if she were divorced, she would be given an alimony of four hundred *zuz,* a round number that probably represented approximately enough capital for two years' maintenance. Provisions by the court for widows (food, wine, clothing) were humble and more typical matters. Even most estate cases pertained to rather small claims, such as a few trees, a slave, or a choice plot of ground. Settlement of debts, collections of mortgages and bonds, and the like did require rulings on somewhat more substantial sums, but the real issues were still relatively inconsequential—a hundred *zuz,* or whether a pledged spoon or knife had to be returned.

Some commercial litigations were brought before the courts. Questions of contract involved a few ferrymen and sharecroppers, or devolved upon a hired ass, a purchase of wine or poppy seed, a flooded field. Some commercial disputes demanded that the courts decide about a few *zuz* worth of silk beads, some sour wine, the sale of a wine press or a field. Others concerned a damaged jar or utensil, a dead goat, a stolen purse, a broken ax or wine barrel. Property cases similarly involved alleged fraud in a relatively small plot, the claim of an option to purchase a field, the use of canal water, and, very frequently, squatter's rights over a house or field and the eviction of tenant farmers.

Cases such as these clearly reveal the real substance of issues left in the rabbis' hands. With a few exceptions, strikingly petty sums of money or barely consequential pieces of property were all that the lower classes of society brought to litigation. And it was those classes that were primarily subject to rulings by the rabbinical courts. Large commercial transactions for many thousands of *zuz* worth of silk or pearls, wine or beer; enormous property transactions involving a whole village or town; claims of a considerable number of workers against a single employer, or vice versa; the affairs of large estates, rich landowners, big businessmen, important officials—none of these appears with any frequency, if at all, in extant reports.

The rabbis surely could not have agreed, however, that the humble and petty issues before them were of no consequence. It was their view—a very old one in Judaism—that the least and humblest affairs, as much as the largest and most weighty ones, testified to heaven about the moral state of society. If the prophet Amos had condemned Israel of old because a poor man was cheated of his shoes, then one can hardly be surprised that a later rabbi insisted upon the return of a cooking utensil given in pledge. What was important to the rabbis was that justice should prevail. They knew that if justice did not characterize the street, the trading market, the small farms and shops, then great affairs of commerce and the state would not likely be morally superior. They knew that the ethics of daily life, the life concerned with exchanges of onions and the use of water in a small canal, determined the destiny of Israel.

SUMMARY. The history of Judaism in late antiquity can be summarized very simply. First came the Mishnah, shaped over the first and second centuries CE. Then, second, followed four hundred years in which the legal and theological system of the Mishnah was drastically reshaped into something new. Since the Mishnah's system constituted a reaction against the messianic wars of the time in which it came into being, one sees a process by which the messianic "thesis" generated the Mishnah as its antimessianic antithesis, so producing the rabbinic synthesis in the Talmuds. That is to say, the messianic "thesis" rested on prophetic, historical, and apocalyptic passages of scripture. The Mishnah's "antithesis" constructed a system based on priestly and ahistorical legal passages. The Mishnah's system stood aloof both from biblical proof-texts and from the messianic interest in the meaning and end of history characteristic of its own day. Over the next four hundred years the rabbinic heirs of both the Mishnah and the scripture brought the two back into relationship. They forged them into a messianic and legal synthesis, the one "whole Torah" of "Moses, our rabbi," just as their Torah myth alleged.

SEE ALSO Amoraim; Judaism, overview article; Midrash and Aggadah; Mishnah and Tosefta; Pharisees; Talmud; Tannaim.

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RABBITS. The belief that a rabbit dwells in the moon is widely attested not only in Inner Asia, South Asia, and East Asia but also in North America, Mesoamerica, and southern Africa. Among the Turco-Mongol peoples of Inner Asia, the shaman hunts a rabbit in the moon during his ecstatic journey to the heavenly world. In China, as early as the Han period, the rabbit is represented on bronze mirrors as inhabiting the moon, pounding the drug of immortality with a pestle and mortar. The Japanese depict him as pounding rice cakes in the moon spots.

The Khoi and the San of the Kalahari in southern Africa also tell of a rabbit in the moon. In Khoi myths of the origin of death, the hare is presented as the careless messenger. Charged by the moon with bringing a message of immortality to humankind, he mistransmitted the good tidings as a message of death. The San have similar stories.

In North America, a rabbit is at the center of the creation myth of the ancient Algonquin. At the mythical time of beginning, the Great Hare appeared on earth and laid the foundation of the world. He instructed people in the medicine dance and other forms of life; he fought the oceanic monsters; he reconstructed the earth after the deluge, and on his departure he left it as it is today. The rabbit, as well as the hare, appears as a trickster in the Indian tales of the southeastern United States.

In ancient Mesopotamia and Syria, about the beginning of the second millennium BCE, the hare was imbued with the symbolism of death and rebirth. In Egypt it was probably associated with Osiris, the god of rebirth and immortality. The hare appears in Islam, for example, in Rūmī's poetry, as one of the animals symbolizing the base human soul.

In the Greco-Roman world, the hare was multivalent: It was widely recognized for its lubricity, it was thought to be androgynous, and its flesh was used as an aphrodisiac. It was most pleasing to Aphrodite and sacred also to Eros, who hunted the animal. However, it was especially associated with Dionysos, the god not only of love, fertility, and life but also of death and immortality. The hare was hunted, torn to pieces and eaten, and used as a love gift. It was considered a most appropriate symbol for a grave stele, because in humanity's basic dreams it represents the love that will conquer death. As belief in immortality became more popular, the hare was increasingly used in funerary art. Early Christians accepted this rabbit symbolism and depicted rabbits on gravestones. In modern times, the Easter Bunny, whose eggs represent the source of life, seems to be a continuation of archaic religious values associated with both the rabbit and the egg.

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RĀBIʿAH AL-ʿADAWĪYAH

RĀBIʿAH AL-ʿADAWĪYAH (d. AH 185/801 CE), was an Arab mystic, poet, and Muslim saint. Even though she attained great age and fame, little is known of Rābiʿah's personal life. Her name indicates that she was a fourth (*rābiʿah*) daughter, probably of a poor family. For some time she was a house servant in Basra, but, thanks to her amazing piety, her master released her from bondage. Her life thereafter, marked by austerity and otherworldliness, was spent largely in retirement, although her sanctity attracted many who sought her prayers and teachings. Rābiʿah of Basra is regarded as the person who introduced the concept of pure love of God into the ascetic way of life prevalent among God-seeking Muslims during the second century AH.

It seems probable that Rābiʿah met some of the well-known ascetics of her time, among them Ibrahim ibn Adham of Balkh (d. 770?). However, the stories that connect her with the ascetic preacher Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, and even claim that he proposed marriage to her, are pure invention, for Ḥasan (whose constant call to renunciation and fear of God certainly colored the spiritual atmosphere in Basra) died in 728, when Rābiʿah was only about ten years old.

Many legends have been woven around her. When she performed the pilgrimage, the Kaʿbah is said to have moved forward to greet her, and her donkey, which had died on the road, was miraculously revived. But Rābiʿah, faithful to the ascetic tradition, and extremely afraid of hellfire, rejected the common belief that she was capable of performing miracles. Rather, she considered such miracles as satanic temptations.

Rābiʿah's greatest contribution to the development of Sufism lay in her insistence upon pure love of God, emphasizing the Qurʾanic verse "He loves them and they love him" (surah 5:59). She expressed her feelings sometimes in short, artless poems, sometimes in beautiful prayers, for she spent long nights in intimate conversation with her beloved Lord. In daily life, she experienced remorse when her thoughts strayed from him. Her heart was filled with love of God, with no room left even for a special love of the Prophet. Asked whether she hoped for Paradise, she answered with the Arabic proverb "Al-jār thumma al-dār" ("First the neighbor, then the house"), meaning that she thought only of him who had created Paradise and Hell.

Thus arose the best-known legend about her: having been seen carrying a flaming torch in one hand and a pitcher of water in the other, she explained that this symbolic act meant that she would set Paradise on fire and pour water into Hell, "so that these two veils may disappear and nobody may worship God out of fear of Hell or hope for Paradise, but solely for his own beauty." This tale, which reached Europe in the early fourteenth century, is the basis of several short stories, mystical and otherwise, in Western literature. Other accounts, too, eventually became known in the West, at least in nineteenth-century England, as Richard Monckton Milnes's poems *The Sayings of Rabiah* prove.

In the Islamic world, Rābiʿah was highly praised by ʿAṭṭār (d. 1221) in his *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ* (Biographies of the Saints), where he states that a woman who walks in the path of God cannot be called merely (i. e., deprecatively) "woman." Some centuries later, however, Jāmī (d. 1492) reminded his readers that the fact that the sun is feminine in Arabic does not distract from its grandeur. Certainly, her gender never clouded Rābiʿah's renown. The legend that she refused to go out to admire nature on a radiant spring day, preferring to contemplate the beauty of the Creator in the darkness of her house, has been retold for centuries, often without mentioning her name, and her life has even served as scenario for at least one Arab movie. Her name is still used to praise exceptionally pious women.

SEE ALSO Sufism.

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RABINDRĀNATHA THAKŪR

RABINDRĀNATHA THAKŪR SEE TAGORE, RABINDRANATH

RACHEL AND LEAH

RACHEL AND LEAH, or in Hebrew, Raḥel and Leʾah, were wives of Jacob and daughters of Laban. According to *Genesis,* Rachel, who was the great-granddaughter of Abraham's brother Nahor, met Jacob at a well after he had fled Canaan to escape his brother Esau. Jacob worked for Laban for seven years so that he might marry Rachel, but he was deceived into marrying her older sister Leah and had to work another seven years to earn Rachel's hand.

Both women have animal names: *Raḥel* means "ewe" and *Leʾah* means "cow." Although Rachel was beautiful, Leah was more fertile. They thus embody the two aspects of femininity that are emphasized in the Bible, and their conflict demonstrates the importance attached to male attention and appreciation. At one point Leah gave Rachel mandrakes to improve her fertility in exchange for Rachel's turn to spend the night with Jacob. In so doing the sisters exerted some control over where their shared husband spent his time.

Ultimately Leah produced seven children (Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, and Dinah); two more (Gad and Asher) were born to her slave girl Zilpah. Rachel's slave girl Bilhah bore Dan and Naphtali; later Rachel produced two sons of her own, Joseph and Benjamin.

When Jacob fled from Laban, Rachel took the family idols, sitting on them when her father came and claiming she could not rise "because the way of women has come upon me" (*Gn.* 31:35). She died after giving birth to Benjamin and was buried at the spot, between Bethel and Ephrath. Her purported tomb is venerated to this day and may have been similarly regarded in biblical times (*Gn.* 35:20, *1 Sm.* 10:2, *Jer.* 31:15). Leah apparently died in Canaan and was buried in the cave of Machpelah (*Gn.* 39:31).

Most scholars agree that these stories include personifications of Israelite tribal history. The Leah tribes may have formed an early confederation. The monarchy and the priesthood are ascribed to tribes descended from her sons Judah and Levi. Rachel is the mother of the Joseph tribes, which were dominant in northern Israel, and of the adjoining Benjamin tribe, from which came the first king, Saul.

SEE ALSO Jacob; Joseph; Saul.

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RADCLIFFE-BROWN, A. R. (1881–1955) was an English social anthropologist. Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown, as he was known formally after changing his name in 1926 (Radcliffe having been his mother's original surname), was born in Sparkbrook, Birmingham. He was educated at King Edward's School in Birmingham, at Birmingham University (where he spent a year as a premedical student), and at Trinity College, Cambridge University, from which he graduated with a bachelor's degree in mental and moral science. Among those who taught him as an undergraduate were C. H. Myers and W. H. R. Rivers (both medical psychologists who had participated in Cambridge's pioneering anthropological expedition to the Torres Strait off the northeastern tip of Australia). After graduation in 1904 Radcliffe-Brown went on to study anthropology under Rivers and A. C. Haddon (who had also been on the expedition of 1898–1899) and was sent by them in 1906 to study the people of the Andaman Islands, southwest of Burma, for two years.

Radcliffe-Brown's initial report on this expedition, "The Religion of the Andaman Islanders," published in *Folk-Lore* in 1909 (his book *The Andaman Islanders* was not published until 1922), led Trinity College to offer him a fellowship, the tenure of which (from 1908 to 1914) was for a brief period combined with a teaching position at the London School of Economics. It was in those years that he first encountered and became permanently influenced by the sociological orientation of Émile Durkheim. Radcliffe-Brown quickly became part of the rapidly developing, distinctively sociological approach to the study of primal societies, and by the 1920s he was probably this movement's most influential figure. Until well into the twentieth century this field was dominated by the ethnological approach, the practitioners of which were particularly interested in the detailed history of particular societies and the patterns of diffusion and transmission of their cultures. That style of analysis was itself still influenced by the evolutionist approach that had been strongly in evidence in the later part of the nineteenth century and had largely regarded religion as a primitive form of science. While the ethnologists of the early part of the twentieth century did not cling strongly to the latter view, they stood in contrast to the emphasis that Radcliffe-Brown, under Durkheim's influence, increasingly placed on the idea that primitive societies should be analyzed synchronically rather than diachronically. In other words, Radcliffe-Brown's work increasingly involved the claim that in order to comprehend scientifically the main features of a society one should regard it as a functioning whole; its different parts were explainable in terms of their interrelatedness and their contribution to its maintenance.

Radcliffe-Brown's impact, which grew intermittently but strongly in the 1920s and 1930s through his teaching and writing in various countries, was based primarily on his advocacy and practice of what he came to call a natural science of society, with particular reference to social structure. His attention to religion was largely confined to the study of ritual and ceremony—which was particularly evident in the book that he published on the Andaman Islanders in 1922—and the related phenomenon of totemism. In his work on ritual, Radcliffe-Brown was greatly influenced by Durkheim's argument that the primary significance of ritual is its expression and promotion of collective sentiments and social solidarity.

In his first major essay on totemism, "The Sociological Theory of Totemism," published in the *Proceedings of the Fourth Pacific Science Congress* in 1929, Radcliffe-Brown maintained that Durkheim, by arguing that a totemic object acquires its significance via its sacredness, had begged the crucial question as to why totemism in primal societies typically involves plants or animals, even though Durkheim had pointed cogently to the ways in which ritualized collective conduct in connection with totems was intimately related to social structure and social integration. Radcliffe-Brown argued that plants and animals should not be regarded simply as emblems of social groups, but rather that they are selected as representatives of groups because objects and events that deeply affect the material and spiritual well-being of a society (or any phenomenon that represents such an object or event) are likely to become what he called objects of the ritual attitude. Although there has been disagreement as to the extent to which Radcliffe-Brown's second essay on this subject ("The Comparative Method in Social Anthropology," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* 1952) involved a substantial change of position, there can be no doubt that it exhibits a very explicit interest in a theme that was not conspicuous in the essay of 1929—namely, the various relationships between totemic objects and between these objects and the structures of the groups that maintain ritual attitudes toward them.

Some have regarded Radcliffe-Brown's work at this point as embracing a form of cognitive structuralism, which is committed to the view that while animals and plants are good to eat they are even better to "think" (that is, they constitute a highly suitable and accessible symbolic means for "talking about" central features of a society's social structure and its relationship with its environment). Others have insisted that Radcliffe-Brown did not move so far beyond his original position of maintaining that the selection of totems is based primarily upon the tangible effects that particular plants or animals are perceived to have in a society. For discussion of the debate see Milton Singer's book, *Man's Glassy Essence: Explorations in Semiotic Anthropology* (1984).

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RĀDHĀ.

The cowherd woman *(gopī)* whose passionate love for the god Kṛṣṇa has been celebrated in song and story throughout the Indian subcontinent since medieval times, Rādhā has been revered by Vaiṣṇava devotees not only as Kṛṣṇa's earthly beloved but also as his eternal consort, as one half of the divine duality. Her name may be a feminine form of the Vedic *rādhās* ("desired object"). Epitomizing the ideal of *prema bhakti* ("loving devotion"), she has herself been an object of Vaiṣṇava worship, sometimes as a mediator but often as the highest reality, surpassing even Kṛṣṇa.

ORIGINS AND HISTORY. Despite the considerable scholarly attention that has been devoted to Rādhā's origins, the matter remains veiled in obscurity. Available evidence points to possible literary beginnings, perhaps in the songs of the Ābhīrs, a cattle-herding community of North India. From the earliest source material—a succession of stray verses in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhraṃṣa from roughly the third century CE that celebrate the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa—it is clear that her association with him was established throughout much of the subcontinent by the close of the first millennium.

The transfiguration of Rādhā from literary heroine to object of religious devotion was a complex and gradual process. The *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva gives evidence that already in the twelfth century she was viewed as Kṛṣṇa's eternal consort. In the succeeding centuries, especially in eastern India, she continued to appropriate designations earlier applied to such goddess figures as Devī or Durgā, notably, *śakti* (strength, power), *prakṛti* (nature), and *māyā* (the creative energy of illusion). Recent studies have revealed her kinship with Ekānaṃśā-Durgā, whose complexion is also fair, and suggested that she may be in part a transformation of Durgā. Her counterpart and possible precursor in the South, Pinnai, who is portrayed as Kṛṣṇa's consort and wife among the cowherds, likewise appears to have had connections with Ekānaṃśā-Durgā. Both Rādhā and Piṉṉai have also assimilated aspects of Viṣṇu's consort Śrī-Lakṣmī, especially her role as mediator between God and human souls.

Although there are references to Rādhā in the Purāṇas, the most characteristic and important arena of her development is not narrative myth but poetry, or, more strictly, song, for Hindu poetry is composed to be sung. Building on the literary tradition of the courts, the poets of eastern India (and, to a lesser extent, of the North) sensitively and feelingly portrayed every phase and mood of her love with Kṛṣṇa: her shyness and ambivalence at its first dawning, her fulfillment in union with him and her subsequent hurt and jealous anger (*māna*) when he betrays her, and her final agony of separation when he leaves the cowherd village to fulfill his destiny by slaying the demon-king Kaṃsa. Most of the poets and dramatists who developed this theme appear to have presupposed that Rādhā was already married, leaving to the theologians the awkward task of reconciling her status as a *parakīyā* heroine—one who belongs to another—with her role as consort of Kṛṣṇa, who as lord of the universe is the upholder of the moral order (dharma). In one such resolution, the Bengali Vaiṣṇava Rūpa Gosvāmī (sixteenth century) explains that Rādhā and the other *gopī*s belong eternally to Kṛṣṇa; their marriage to earthly cowherds is thus an expedient designed to enhance the intrigue of Kṛṣṇa's *līlā.*

THEOLOGY AND WORSHIP. Although the *gopī*s have been depicted with Kṛṣṇa in images dating from the seventh century or even earlier, it is not known whether they were at that time themselves objects of worship. It is only much later, from approximately the time of Caitanya (1486–1533), that one finds clear evidence for the worship specifically of Rādhā with Kṛṣṇa, often in the characteristic *yugala-mūrti* ("paired image," the two side by side) that can still be seen in temples in Bengal and Vṛndāvana. Rādhā's worship, however, is not confined to those communities that place her image next to his; in the main Rādhāvallabha temple in Vṛndāvana, for example, she is represented simply by a throne cushion over which hangs a golden leaf that bears the inscription of her name. Nor need her presence be marked even to that degree: Members of the Nimbārka and Vallabha communities regard Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa as indistinguishable from one another, and hence a devotee worshiping Kṛṣṇa is considered to be worshiping Rādhā as well. The Nimbārkīs in fact interpret the honorific element "Śrī" in "Śrīkṛṣṇa," a title of Kṛṣṇa used throughout India, as explicitly designating Rādhā; thus, "Śrī-Kṛṣṇa." Her paramount importance for residents of Vṛndāvana is also reflected in their use of the vocative form of her name, "Rādhe," as a standard mode of greeting. Members of the Rādhāvallabha community further honor her name by writing it on vines, stones, and pieces of wood placed in certain sacred spots. Like Kṛṣṇa's name, then, Rādhā's functions as a mantra, a group of syllables embodying sacred power.

In addition to worshiping Rādhā through her images and her name, devotees attend performances in which episodes from the love story of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are sung and enacted by professional and amateur performers. In Bengal, for example, where she has always been especially popular, the medieval verses celebrating her love for Kṛṣṇa are sung in a semidramatic musical form known as *padāvalī-kīrtan.* In a typical performance, the lead singer, assisted by several other singers and two or three drummers, spins out a single episode in the divine love story over the course of three or four hours, interspersing narrative and dialogue with the lyrical verses describing and reflecting on Rādhā's feelings. These songs play on the central juxtaposition of the physical and the metaphysical as well as the paradox of the human-divine encounter. Devotees respond with expressions of wonder at the intensity, depth, and steadfastness of Rādhā's love, which, while representing the heights of human passion, also symbolizes the religious ideal of selfless, unswerving devotion to God. Her unexpected triumph over the lord of the universe, which is indicated, for example, by his abject submission as he begs for her forgiveness, invariably evokes exclamations of astonishment and delight.

The chief basis for the worship of Rādhā is thus the transcendent quality of her love for Kṛṣṇa; even when the theological designation *śakti* is applied to her, its meaning shifts from its usual Tantric sense of strength and activity to one of love. That she is the personification of love is indicated by a common designation for her: *mahābhāva* ("great emotion"). So exalted has this love rendered her that many Vaiṣṇavas since the time of Caitanya have felt that one should not imitate her directly; they have chosen rather to assume in their devotion the role of a humble maidservant of hers, a *mañjarī,* who is privileged to assist her and thereby enjoy vicariously the bliss of her union with Kṛṣṇa.

Rādhā's nature contrasts with that of all other major Hindu goddesses. She is neither mother goddess nor fertility deity, neither angry and destructive goddess nor social paradigm. Worshiped solely in relation to Kṛṣṇa, she has never become an independent deity. Yet her importance for Vaiṣṇava devotion since the sixteenth century can scarcely be overestimated. In the intensity and steadfastness of her love for Kṛṣṇa, especially in her separation from him, she serves as the highest inspiration to the devotee. The strength of Rādhā and her friends and the superiority of their devotion provide a valorization of the religious capacities of women that has had social implications as well. Finally, as the embodiment of supreme love, Rādhā in her eternal relation to Kṛṣṇa represents ultimate reality, for love (*prema*) itself, in the Vaiṣṇava vision, is the highest principle in the universe.

SEE ALSO Kṛṣṇa; Līlā; Nimbārka; Vallabha; Vṛndāvana.

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Four studies contain portraits of Rādhā as she is presented in particular literary works and performance traditions. In her *Love Song of the Dark Lord: Jayadeva's Gitagovinda* (New York, 1977), Barbara Miller includes a chapter on the figure of Rādhā. My own *Drama as a Mode of Religious Realization: The Vidagdhamādhava of Rūpa Gosvāmī* (Chico, Calif., 1984) discusses and illustrates through summary and translation the treatment of Rādhā by the Bengali Vaiṣṇava theologian and playwright Rupa Gosvami. Finally, two works of John Hawley throw new light on the interpretation of Rādhā in the Braj region of North India. The introductions and translations in his *At Play with Krishna: Pilgrimage Dramas from Brindavan* (Princeton, N.J., 1981) present Rādhā as she is portrayed in the *rās līlās,* and a chapter of his *Sur Das: Poet, Singer, Saint* (Seattle, 1984) traces the conception of Rādhā through the successive layers of the *Sūr Sāgar,* the collection of poetry attributed to the sixteenth-century poet Sūr Dās.

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Revised Bibliography

RADHAKRISHNAN, SARVEPALLI (1888–1975), Indian philosopher, statesman, and president of India (1962–1967). Born in Tirutani, a small town south of Madras noted as a pilgrimage center, Radhakrishnan attended Christian missionary schools for twelve years, until his graduation from Madras Christian College in 1908. The tension between the Hindu piety he learned at home and the Christian doctrine he was taught at school generated an interest in comparative philosophy, religion, and ethics that occupied him for the remainder of his life. Both of his major works, *An Idealist View of Life* (published in 1932 on the basis of his 1929 Hibbert Lectures) and *Eastern Religions and Western Thought* (lectures delivered at Oxford University, 1939), show the interplay of Indian and Western religious thought characteristic of his entire life's work.

The scant information that Radhakrishnan disclosed concerning his personal life is contained in a brief essay, "My Search for Truth" (1937). A seventy-five-page essay, "The Religion of the Spirit and the World's Need: Fragments of a Confession" (1952), intended as an autobiographical writing, offers one of the clearest summaries of his thought but treats his personal life in a few unrevealing pages. In refusing an editor's request for a brief autobiography, Radhakrishnan insisted, in "Fragments of a Confession," that discretion prevented him from doing so, and further, that his writings were worth more than his personal life.

In 1908, at the age of twenty, Radhakrishnan published his master's thesis, "The Ethics of the Vedānta and Its Metaphysical Presuppositions," and continued publishing one or more works almost every year for the next five decades. His first full-length work, *The Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore* (1918), reveals most of the themes that would occupy him throughout his career: the Indian sources, varieties, and ethical implications of religious and philosophical intuition. With the exception of his first original work, *The Reign of Religion in Contemporary Philosophy,* wherein he criticizes the influence of religion on philosophy, Radhakrishnan's writings are characterized by the intimate relationship between religious experience (particularly the Hindu mystical tradition) and philosophy (particularly modern Western idealism). With the publication of his next major works, *Indian Philosophy* (vol. 1, 1923; vol. 2, 1927), *The Hindu View of Life* (1926), and *An Idealist View of Life* (1932), Radhakrishnan established his case for the positive relationship between idealist philosophy and a universalist religious attitude that he later termed "religion of the spirit."

In various ways, all of Radhakrishnan's mature writings focus on three closely related concerns: his presentation and positive interpretation of classical Indian religious thought, or Vedanta, especially as found in its three fundamental scriptures, the Upaniṣads, the *Bhagavadgītā,* and the *Brahma Sūtra;* his defense of philosophical idealism, both in its Indian expression and as found in Western philosophers from Plato to Hegel and F. H. Bradley; and his critique of contemporary (and especially Western) materialist and scientific thinking insofar as it excludes religious and spiritual values. On behalf of each of these three concerns, Radhakrishnan sought to show that although *brahman* (the Absolute) is the ultimate self-sufficient reality, the world is nevertheless valuable and worthy of humanity's deepest commitment and dedication.

Radhakrishnan's own dedication to the affairs of the world could not have been more convincing: in addition to his positions as professor of philosophy (University of Mysore, 1918-1921; University of Calcutta, 1921–1931 and 1937–1941) and university administrator (vice-chancellor of Andhra University, 1931–1936; vice-chancellor of Banaras Hindu University, 1938–1948; chancellor, University of Delhi, 1953–1962), he served in many demanding diplomatic positions, including head of the Indian delegation to UNESCO (1946–1952) and Indian ambassador to the Soviet Union (1949–1952). He was vice-president of India from 1952 to 1962, and president from 1962 to 1967.

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In addition to *An Idealist View of Life* (1932; 2d ed., London, 1957) and *Eastern Religions and Western Thought* (Oxford, 1959), which represent Radhakrishnan's major works in philosophy and in comparative religion and ethics, respectively, three other of his works are especially to be recommended. For the Indian expression of Radhakrishnan's religious and philosophic position, the fullest account is his 240-page introduction to the *Brahma Sūtra, The Philosophy of Spiritual Life* (New York, 1960). The best introduction to his understanding of contemporary religious life and thought is *Recovery of Faith* (New York, 1955). *The Philosophy of Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan,* edited by Paul Arthur Schilpp (New York, 1952), contains twenty-three essays covering all aspects of Radhakrishnan's thought, as well as his "Replies to Critics," his semiautobiographical essay "Fragments of a Confession," and a complete bibliography of his writings through the year 1952.

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RADIN, PAUL (1883–1959) was an American anthropologist. Born in Lódź, Poland, Radin was brought to the United States by his parents while he was still an infant, in 1884. Upon completing his studies in anthropology at Columbia University, he spent his life as a vagabond scholar, teaching at numerous colleges and universities in the United States and lecturing at most of the major universities of western Europe. Among them were the University of California at Berkeley, Cambridge University, Fisk University, the University of Chicago, Kenyon College, Black Mountain College, and Brandeis University. He was never offered, nor did he seek, tenure anywhere; devoted to his studies of the cultures of primitive societies, he was content to be institutionally rootless.

Radin was perhaps the most cultivated anthropologist in the history of the discipline. He was a man of paradox: a skeptic with a strong sense of the sacred, an agnostic who was fascinated by all religious phenomena, a Jew who disclaimed the uniqueness of the revelation contained in the Hebrew scriptures. In deconstructing the specificity of Old Testament claims, Radin's work follows that of Andrew Lang and others on the ubiquity of high gods among primitive—that is, pre-class, or stateless—peoples.

Radin was always equivocal about primitive religions. In *Primitive Religion* (1937) he argues for a Freudian explanation of religious concepts, and a "Marxist" awareness of the potential for domination in religious establishments, but he does not thereby deny the authenticity of a given faith stripped down to its core. In his arguments, Radin clearly indicates a belief in the irreducible universality of religious faith, which universality is an essentially phenomenological matter. On the other hand, he was fully aware of the exploitative potential of all significant religious figures and movements. These include the primitive shaman who could conceivably dominate others through his peculiar capacity to evoke religious states. Nonetheless, as he makes clear in *Primitive Man as Philosopher* (1927), Radin did not imagine that structures of domination, as normally understood, could be found in primitive societies. In fact, Radin's sense of the comparative deficiencies of civilization is evident throughout his work.

Radin brought to the study of religion a powerful sense of human fatality and historical contingency. It is probable that his own personality, continuously shaped by a very broad understanding of human experience, led him to focus on the ambivalent figure of the trickster, which is given free reign in primitive societies but is repressed in more advance civilization. More than any other aspect of his work, this concern—presented in *The Trickster: A Study in American Indian Mythology* (1956)—commended him to philosophers and psychologists alike. For Radin, the trickster reflected the double image of God: an androgynous figure, bursting with energy, without values, both creator and destroyer, the cosmic villain, and, at the same time, a bumbling fool. This definition of the trickster, which has become a classic, probably represents Radin's most striking contribution to the development of anthropological thinking.

Radin's interest in primitive religion covered a wide range of subjects. *The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian* by Sam Blowsnake (1920), which Radin edited and translated, is a pioneer work that represents, presumably in the protagonist's own words, the cultistic efforts to compensate for a lost culture, and the conflicts that ensue. Radin had a particular concern for people caught between faiths.

However, it is not Radin's focus on religious matters that commands attention, but rather the great sweep of his thinking and his powerful, indirect critique of modern secularism (see *The World of Primitive Man,* 1953) and the depths of his humanity that bound him to the primitive peoples and sacred societies he studied. If Paul Radin was the most cultivated anthropologist in the history of the discipline, he was also the most faithful, in every sense of the word.

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STANLEY DIAMOND (1987)

RAËLIANS. The International Raëlian Movement is the world's largest and best-known UFO religion. Headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland, the organization claims a membership of approximately sixty-thousand in ninety countries. As of 2004, Japan was home to the most Raëlians, followed by France and Canada. The Raëlians achieved fame (or notoriety) following the 2002 announcement of the birth of the world's first human clone—a claim that was never proven.

The International Raëlian Movement is an atheistic organization that demands recognition as a religion. Raëlians are atheists in that they deny the existence of God and of the human soul, but they are religious in that they worship godlike extraterrestrials, and they participate in rituals designed to link humans to their creators and to infinity. Raëlians call these extraterrestrials *Elohim,* viewing them as loving creators who will return to earth on or before the year 2035 to endow the human race with advanced technology. The movement's two aims are to spread the message of humanity's extraterrestrial origins and to build an embassy, landing field, and hotel that will be used to welcome the Elohim upon their return to earth.

Raël, the founder and charismatic leader of this movement, is French journalist and racecar driver Claude Vorilhon, who was born in September 1946, near Vichy. Vorilhon has reported that he experienced a close encounter of the third kind on December 13, 1973, in the crater of an extinct volcano called Puy de Lassolas near Clermont-Ferrand in France. He claims a UFO descended through the mist, and that a childlike being emerged and invited him to come aboard. Over the next three days he was taught the true meaning of the Bible, a "scientific" interpretation that he outlines in his 1974 book, *Le livre qui dit la vérité* (The book that tells the truth).

According to the Raëlians, all life on Earth, including human beings, was created scientifically through the manipulation of DNA. This was accomplished by extraterrestrial beings, called the Elohim (singular, Eloha) in the original Hebrew Bible, who were masters in genetic engineering. The Raëlians believe the term *Elohim* was erroneously translated as *God*, and that it actually means "those who came from the sky." Throughout the ages, the Elohim have sent thirty-nine prophets to the earth, among them Moses, Muḥammad, Buddha, and Joseph Smith. These prophets are born through unions between an Eloha and a mortal woman chosen for her "virgin DNA." One of the prophets, Jesus, foretold an epoch when truth would be revealed—the Age of Apocalypse, from the Greek *apocalypsis*, meaning *revelation.* The Raëlians believe that this epoch started on August 6, 1945, with the explosion of the atomic bomb over Hiroshima, Japan. The Elohim decided that it was time to contact a final messenger, Vorilhon, whom they renamed Raël (from Israël). The Elohim gave Raël the mission of spreading their message worldwide. He was also responsible for building an embassy, preferably in Israel, where the Elohim will descend in a mass landing with the thirty-nine prophets and will officially meet with representatives of the world's nations.

Raël founded Madech (Mouvement pour l'Accueil des Elohim, Créateurs de l'Humanité; Movement for Welcoming the Elohim, Creators of Humanity) in 1974, which was actually more of a UFO club than a religious organization. Raël claims to have encountered the extraterrestrials again on October 7, 1975. This meeting is described in his second book, *Les extra-terrestres m'ont ammené sur leur planête* (Extraterrestrials took me to their planet; 1975), in which Raël reports that he was given the keys needed to enable humans to fully blossom. He was also introduced to the mysteries of cloning and watched his own double being formed in a vat. The Elohim further taught him about their system of government, called *geniocracy*, an oligarchic meritocracy in which geniuses rule.

During his trip to the Elohim's planet, Raël was instructed in a meditation awareness technique intended to activate one's brain potential and develop one's sensuality in order to gain the capacity to feel connected to the infinite, and to feel infinite oneself. This technique is outlined in Raël's *Sensual Meditation* (1980), and it became a group meditation practice during the Raëlians' monthly meetings. On returning to earth, Raël established a political party in France called La Geniocratie, whose aim was to create a one-world government in which leadership was based on intelligence tests. This, coupled with the Raëlian symbol (a swastika inside a Star of David), led to fears that the Raëlians were preaching a form of fascism, and many of the Raëlian leaders were arrested, held for questioning, and had their documents seized. Raël responded by abandoning the group's political project.

In 1976, dissatisfied with the direction of Madech's executive, Raël orchestrated a schism, from whence emerged the new Raëlian Movement, to which Raël added all the building blocks of a viable religious movement: baptism, clergy, a system of values, annual festivals, and a meditation ritual that induces altered states of consciousness.

In August 1998 the movement's name was changed to the "Raëlian Religion" in the United States, where they achieved legal recognition as a religion. A subsequent application to Canada's Supreme Court for recognition as the "Raëlian Church" was denied. According to the legal definition of a religion in Canada, Raëlianism did not qualify because its "gods" were material beings with no transcendental status.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE. Raëlian membership is divided into two levels. The committed core group, made up of a hierarchy of *guides*, is called the *Structure.* More loosely affiliated members are called simply *Raëlians*; they must pay an annual membership fee ($100 in Canada) and receive the Raëlian newsletter, *Apocalypse.* New members must sign an "act of apostasy," which stipulates a renunciation of one's former religious beliefs, before they are eligible for initiation or baptism. Raëlian baptism, also called "the transmission of the cellular plan," is a formal act whereby initiates recognize the Elohim as their scientific, loving creators. Only adults can become Raëlians; the movement strongly discourages inducting children into any religion until they are old enough to understand it. New initiates are encouraged to sign a contract giving a local mortuary permission, upon their death, to remove one square centimeter of their frontal bone. This is done in hope of eventual re-creation through the cloning process. Thus, all Raëlians aspire to achieve physical immortality. These pieces of bone are stored in a bank vault in Geneva, Switzerland.

The International Raëlian Movement, as well as affiliated national organizations, are nonprofit and voluntary. Members are encouraged, but not required, to pay a 10 percent tithe. The national membership tithe is 3 percent after tax per annum, and the international membership tithe is 7 percent of net income.

The six levels in the Structure represent different stages of responsibility: assistant animator, animator, assistant guide, priest guide, bishop guide, and guide of guides (Raël himself). The bishop guides have the power to reelect the guide of guides every seven years. A "council of the wise," composed of bishops, controls heresy and sanctions rule breakers. A "council of discipline" sanctions rule breakers and promotes loyalty to the guides and allegiance to the chain of command. The ethics committee handles the movement's business affairs. All members of the Structure are required to abstain from recreational drugs, alcohol, nicotine, coffee, and tea out of concern for protecting the purity of the genetic code. Every summer Raël reviews the performance of the members of the Structure and promotes or demotes them based on their level of harmony in three areas of life: philosophical, professional, and sensual.

PRACTICES AND BELIEFS. The Raëlians are often portrayed as libertines due to an apparent antinomian streak in their ritual nudity and sexual practices. However, Raël has forged a distinct ethical system that is strictly enforced, at least among the members of the Structure. Raëlian values include absolute respect for life, self-respect and self-love, respecting and tolerating differences (whether racial, ethnic, or philosophical), nonviolence, pacifism, equal distribution and sharing of resources, strict birth control, democracy, and responsibility. The Raëlian Revolution (an alternative name for the group) aims to contribute to the conscience of humanity, mobilizing individuals and groups to action for positive changes—anything that improves human freedom, rights, and justice among individuals, minorities, or majorities.

Raëlians celebrate four festivals during the year, occasions where baptisms are performed. The Raëlian calendar begins on August 6, 1945, in commemoration of the Hiroshima bombing. Raël's two close encounters are celebrated annually on October 7 and December 13. In addition, the Elohim's scientific creation of the first humans (Adam and Eve) in a lab on earth is commemorated on the first Sunday in April.

Members also participate in Awakening seminars held every year on every continent. These seminars present the teaching of the instruction manual given by the Elohim on how to awaken one's potential, open one's mind, and lead a happy and fulfilled life. Seminars feature daily lectures, sensual meditation, one-day fasting, nonmandatory nudity, sensory awareness exercises, and an evening cabaret featuring artists from all over the world. A second seminar follows for those who wish to become part of the Structure and earn a level of responsibility within the organization.

Raëlians believe that there are infinite levels of life. The infinitely "large matter" of which humans are a part (the planets, stars, and galaxies) is similar to the infinitely "small matter" (atoms, quarks) that people are made of. The Elohim explained that the earth is just one particle of a gigantic being that itself is watching another sky. The particles that compose atoms are themselves universes in which there are galaxies, stars, and planets with others living beings, ad infinitum.

Raëlians believe that during this age of scientific revelation, humanity will come to understand its true origin. Raël's theology holds that, with the Elohim's guidance and humanity's right choice, this age holds marvelous potentials: liberation, power and immortality once the Elohim arrive (before 2035) and bequeath to their creation scientific knowledge that will enable humans to travel through space and colonize virgin planets in their image. Raël also argues that:

> Ethics is simply a last-gasp attempt by deist conservatives and orthodox dogmatics to keep humanity in ignorance and obscurantism, through the well tried fermentation of fear, the fear of science and new technologies. On the contrary, let us embrace Science and the new technologies, for it is these which will liberate mankind from the myth of god, and free us from our age old fears, from disease, death and the sweat of labor. (Rael 1987, p. 81)

According to Raël, gender is an artificial construct because the Elohim designed men and women as biological robots programmed to give each other pleasure, and only incidentally to procreate. Raël emphasizes the essential androgyny of the human being and the fluidity of gender as a result of different combinations of X and Y chromosomes. Men and women are considered equal and indistinguishable in their intelligence, abilities, and emotional makeup. Raël condemns the marriage contract as a proclamation of ownership of a person, and he argues that "when one has signed a contract one feels like a prisoner, forced to love and sooner or later each one begins to hate the other" (Rael 1978, p.285).

Raëlians favor short-term, spontaneous sexual relationships, although free choice is strongly emphasized. Homosexual relationships are respected, and homosexual experimentation is encouraged. Raël advises members to postpone parenthood, and for those who aspire to be cloned, to forgo reproduction altogether. It is rare to find new parents among the members of the Structure. Women can attain the high ranks of priests and bishops, although women are generally outnumbered by men at the higher echelons of the Structure. Still, Raël announced in January 2003 that his successor will be a woman—Dr. Brigitte Boisselier, a Raëlian bishop.

The status of women within the organization changed profoundly in July 1998 when Raël announced his latest revelation at the Raëlian summer camp, held that year at Valcourt in Quebec. Raël reported that the Elohim had asked him to create an "Order of Raël's Angels," a cadre of beautiful women, trained by Raël to act as hostesses to the Elohim and the thirty-nine prophets, in preparation for their landing. Two ranks of Angels were created, Pink Angels and White Angels, distinguishable by pink or white feathers on their necklaces. Pink Angels reserved their sexuality for the

Elohim, although they could have sex with Raël and with each other. White Angels were permitted to have other lovers, and their role was to act as missionaries to bring more women into the movement.

Unlike many new religious movements, the Raëlian Movement has always courted the attention of the media. The Raëlians even established a "Planetary Week," to be held every April, to publicize what Raëlianism stands for. Raëlians have demonstrated against nuclear testing and in support of such issues as gay rights and genetically modified foods. Raëlians have also long supported genetic engineering. But by far the Raëlians' best-known platform has been their support of efforts to clone human beings.

CLONING EFFORTS. On March 9, 1997, shortly after the successful cloning of a sheep by Ian Wilmut in Scotland, Raël announced the creation of Valiant Venture, through which the Raëlians hoped to mobilize potential investors, customers, and scientists interested in cloning projects. Later that year, Raël announced his creation of a company called Clonaid at the Las Vegas Hilton. Pope John Paul II had issued a statement condemning cloning as against the will of God, and in defiance of the pope, Raël set up a company to promote cloning and facilitate access to this technology when it became available. Clonaid hired a team of geneticists, biologists and in vitro fertilization specialists, whose main goal was to offer reproductive human cloning on a worldwide basis to infertile couples, homosexual couples, people infected with the HIV virus, and families who had lost a beloved family member. Clonaid also offered a range of cloning-related services with such names as Insureaclone, Ovulaid, and Clonapet, and proposed to cultivate personal stem cells for customers. Raël handed directorship of the Clonaid project to Boisselier, who holds doctoral degrees in both physical chemistry and analytical chemistry.

In March 2001, Raël and Boisselier testified at a hearing on human cloning held by the United States House Energy and Commerce Committee. In December 2002 Boisselier announced at a televised press conference in Hollywood, Florida, that the first cloned human baby girl was born; her name was Eve. Boisselier later announced the births of four other cloned babies and claimed that twenty more were on the way. The journalist Michael Guillen was prepared to oversee an international team of scientists who would test the newborn Eve, but ultimately Boisselier claimed that the parents had moved to Israel and wished to maintain the baby's anonymity. Bernard Siegel, a Miami attorney, filed a suit to place the child under the protection of the state so that her health could be safeguarded. At a subsequent hearing, Clonaid vice president Thomas Kaenzig admitted that Clonaid was not registered as a company and that he knew only what Boisselier told him about the baby. Boisselier then admitted that she had only seen a videotape of the baby. Although the media and scientific establishment have dismissed Clonaid's claim to have cloned a human as a hoax, Raëlians continue to believe that there are clones in our midst. Raël asked Boisselier to build a "babytron," in which cloned babies can be placed to undergo accelerated growth, a technology he claimed was developed by the Elohim thousands of years ago.

THE EMBASSY. Raël receives ongoing revelations from the Elohim, which he experiences as voices or as dictated messages that he receives through his hand. In October 1991 the Raëlian Movement sent out letters to every Israeli embassy in the world demanding that a plot of land in Jerusalem be provided for the construction of the "embassy," otherwise the Elohim would withdraw their protection of the Jewish people. In a stern warning to the State of Israel, Raël claimed that "the Age of Apocalypse has arrived. The long-awaited messiah has come. The fate of Israel is in your hands." According to Raëlianism, the sole purpose of Israel is to recognize the messiah (Raël) and build an embassy (the third temple) to welcome the Elohim and all the prophets of old. The letter claimed that if the people of Israel do not abide by the Elohim's request, Israel will disappear.

In 1990 Raël received permission from the Elohim to change the swastika in the movement's symbol to a more ambiguous, swirling, daisylike form. This was an expression of respect for the victims of the Holocaust and an attempt to improve the prospect of obtaining land in Israel. Since 1991, the Raëlian Movement has repeatedly asked the Israeli government and the chief rabbis in Jerusalem to grant them international neutral territory upon which to build the embassy, but as of 2004 there had been no positive response. In December 1997 the Elohim told Raël that he could address his request of extraterritoriality to other countries.

SEE ALSO UFO Religions.

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Susan J. Palmer (2005)

RAHNER, KARL (1904–1984) was the most prolific and influential Catholic theologian of the twentieth century. Rahner's bibliography comprises more than four thousand entries. Writing primarily as a dogmatic theologian, he also addressed philosophical, historical, pastoral, and spiritual questions. His work as a whole may be summarized as theological anthropology, correlating human experience and God's self-communication. His method is most often described as transcendental, inasmuch as it seeks to discover the conditions of possibility for divine salvific action, but it also has an inseparable historical dimension, inasmuch as the humanity addressed by God's word and presence is understood as always situated in a temporal world. Indeed, it may be even more accurate to see Rahner as a Catholic dialectical theologian whose career was marked not only by personal response to the religious issues of his day but also by an enduring effort to conceive human history as destined for eternal communion with God, achieved through the course of time.

Born and raised in Freiburg im Breisgau, Rahner entered the Society of Jesus in 1922. During his education in the Jesuit order he developed an Ignatian spirituality of "seeking God in all things." His formal philosophical (1924–1927) and theological (1929–1933) studies were shaped largely by the neoscholastic revival; but through the writings of the Belgian Jesuit Joseph Maréchal he entered into philosophical conversation with Immanuel Kant and later with G. W. F. Hegel and German Idealism. To these general influences on his thought must be added his intensive reading in patristic sources and in medieval mysticism. Ordained a priest in 1932, Rahner concluded his basic theological program the following year and then pursued a further year of pastoral and ascetic studies (the Jesuit tertianship).

In 1934 Rahner began a doctoral program in philosophy at the University of Freiburg, where he attended Martin Heidegger's seminars. His doctoral dissertation, a modern retrieval of Thomas Aquinas's theory of knowledge, centered on the theme of *conversio ad phantasma* (conversion to the phantasm) as the ground of all human knowledge, and it conceived human existence fundamentally as "spirit in world." When his director rejected the thesis as insufficiently traditional (it was published in 1939 as *Geist in Welt*), Rahner left for Innsbruck. After quickly completing a theological doctorate and habilitation, he began in 1937 to teach dogmatic theology. From those first years came an eloquent book of meditations, *Worte ins Schweigen* (1938), and also the publication of his Salzburg summer lectures on human history as the place where God's self-revelation must be sought, *Hörer des Wortes* (1941).

When the Nazis closed the Innsbruck faculty in 1938, Rahner moved to Vienna and served at the Pastoral Institute until 1944. From 1945 to 1948 he taught theology under straitened circumstances at Pullach bei München. Returning to Innsbruck in 1949, he was responsible for courses on grace and the sacrament of penance, topics that shaped his thought for the rest of his life. Rooted in the experience of grace as God's mysterious self-communication, Rahner's thought broke new ground in a whole range of areas: for example, the biblical understanding of God; current problems in Christology, nature, and grace; the human condition after original sin; human dignity and freedom; the meaning of church membership; existential ethics; and the pastoral situation of the church. His major essays were collected from this time on in a multivolume collection, *Schriften zur Theologie* (1954–1984).

Already in *Hörer des Wortes* it was clear that Rahner was developing a philosophy of religion on the assumption that Christian revelation had occurred, and in order to make plausible how that was possible. A theologian of grace and reconciliation, he engaged in extensive positive research, as is made abundantly clear in *Schriften,* vol. 11 (1973), with his historical essays on penance in the early church. But the special creativity of his writing showed itself in his efforts to correlate the circumstances of particular experience with the permanent "existentials" of the human condition. This interrelation of historical and transcendental moments was evident as well in the prodigious editorial labors that began in his early Innsbruck years and continued with the publication of four editions of Denzinger's *Enchiridion Symbolorum* (1952–1957) and seven editions of *Der Glaube der Kirche in den Urkunden der Lehrverkündigung* (1948–1965).

Building on the early Innsbruck period came a second phase of Rahner's thought, during which he was coeditor of the second edition of the *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (1957–1965) and a leading figure in the preparation and course of the Second Vatican Council (despite efforts to disqualify his participation). His retrieval and renewal of tradition in light of contemporary perspectives had previously been achieved largely through pressing particular questions against the background of School Theology. Now he drew out the consequences of these studies and began to speak more programmatically of a theological anthropology encompassing the history of a world whose call to union with God (the "supernatural existential") evokes transcendental reflection on the structural possibilities for such salvation. In powerful essays on mystery, incarnation, theology of symbol, and hermeneutics of eschatological assertions, collected in *Schriften,* vol. 4 (1960), Rahner developed his analogy of transcendence. Facing questions posed by evolutionary science, the great world religions, and utopian views of the future, other major essays in *Schriften,* vol. 5 (1962), present the scope of the divine salvific will in more comprehensive terms and argue for the coextension of salvation history and the history of the world. Corresponding to the council's ecclesiological focus, *Schriften,* vol. 6 (1966), collects papers that present a dialogue with secularized, pluralistic society and seek to express the Christian church's new self-understanding in it. Earlier, Rahner had published a large collection of essays in pastoral theology (*Sendung und Gnade,* 1959). He gathered a new collection of essays in spirituality (*Schriften,* vol. 7, 1967), and in 1962 he cooperated in drafting a plan for the *Handbuch der Pastoraltheologie,* which subsequently appeared in five volumes between 1964 and 1972, with Rahner as one of its editors.

In 1964 Rahner succeeded Romano Guardini in the chair of Christian *Weltanschauung* at the University of Munich. As it became apparent that he would not be allowed to direct doctoral students in theology, he accepted in 1967 a call to the University of Münster, where he taught until his retirement in 1971. In these first years of Vatican II's reception within Catholicism, criticism of Rahner's thought grew in various quarters. Concerned with fidelity to the tradition and to Christian symbolism, some writers, for example, Hans Urs von Balthasar, accused him of anthropological reductionism. Others, especially his former student J.-B. Metz, drew back from what they considered an individualistic, idealistic existentialism. Rahner took the second critique more seriously and gave new emphasis to the historical concreteness of Christianity and its social responsibility. Renewing the dialectic of unity in difference with which he had from the beginning sought to understand time in its openness to eternity, he addressed basic conciliar themes with a deepened sense of faith's constructive participation in its secular context. *Schriften*, vols. 8, 9, and 10 (1967, 1970, 1972), calls for a new understanding of Jesus of Nazareth as the human way to God ("Christology from below") and reform of the church in the direction of a declericalized, more democratic, and socially critical community of service. Meanwhile Rahner had undertaken additional editorial responsibilities for the four volumes of *Sacramentum Mundi* (1967–1969) and for *Concilium* (1965–).

During the first years of Rahner's retirement in Munich, his major project was the preparation of his *Grundkurs des Glaubens* (1976), an introduction to the idea of Christianity. While not intended as a complete systematic theology, the book does present many of his basic positions on the central topics of Christian doctrine and has commonly been seen as a summation of his thought.

In the last years of his life Rahner continued to lecture and write vigorously. Four further volumes of the *Schriften* were published (vols. 13–16: 1978, 1980, 1983, 1984), two while he was still living in Munich, two more after his final retirement to Innsbruck in 1981. They were accompanied by numerous smaller works and several anthologies, one of which, *Praxis des Glaubens* (1982), may also serve as a general introduction to its author's thought. These later years are again of a piece with the whole career and include familiar themes as well as considerable repetition. Nevertheless, some significant developments occur here too: in the consolidation of a historical Christology, in the proposal of a "universal pneumatology" that might precede Christology, in pleas for ecumenical seriousness, and in arguments for a truly world church.

In these last years of his life Rahner was newly concerned with addressing the mounting relativism and skepticism he saw about him. In addition, the writings of this last phase show how thoroughly dialectical his thought was, as it sought to mediate between opposed positions in either doctrine or morals, to speak of the fruitful tension between permanent polarities of historical existence, and, above all, to understand the relation between continuity and discontinuity through the passage of time.

Rahner's future influence will depend largely on how effectively his students and readers will be able to draw on his thinking for a continuing dialogue with scientific and technological culture, the social sciences, and narrative and symbolic modes of discourse. It remains to be seen how a more biblically imagined, historically diverse, and socially responsible theology will appropriate his legacy. Many who knew him would insist that the personal witness of his life will surely endure alongside the remarkably elastic architecture of his thought.

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Leo J. O'Donovan (1987)

RAIN.

RAIN. The symbolism of rain derives from its correlation with the sacred substance water, a universal metaphor for the origin and renewal of life. The primacy and awesome mystery of natural phenomena for early humans, and his vital dependence on their manifestations, are reflected in the human exaltation of rain as a supreme creative power and intermediary between heaven and earth. In the seasonal revival of nature and the infusion of new life, rain was seen as the dispenser of divine grace and plenty, the promise of survival; in the periodic destruction wrought by storms and floods, as the agent of divine retribution and disaster, the threat of annihilation. Rain signified the descent of heavenly influences upon the earth; at times the gods themselves descended in rain or spoke in the thunder. Like the sun's rays, "the rain from heaven" (*Gn.* 8:2) was cognate to light, illumination.

The sacrality of sky and the supremacy of rain deities are fundamental elements in the structure of the myths and religions of archaic peoples. As the "most high," sky gods were assimilated to transcendence, their very names often connoting elevation. The Mesopotamian hieroglyph for "height" or "transcendence of space" also meant "rainy sky," and thus linguistically linked rain to divinity. Baal, the chief god of the Syro-Palestinian nomads, was called "rider of the clouds" and was worshiped as the dispenser of fertility. When the Israelites reached Canaan and their prophets condemned the widespread cult of fertility gods, a conflict arose between the worshipers of Baal and those faithful to Yahveh. The ancient Hebrews conceived of rain as a reservoir of treasure in heaven, a benison bestowed in return for loving God and obeying his law, and withheld as retribution for sin. In times of abundance, the Israelites were drawn to the fertility gods, and the Lord's promise to Moses, "Behold, I will rain bread from heaven for you" (*Ex.* 16:4), was forgotten. In the New Testament, rain is the symbol of joy and fruition, the answer to prayer from a loving Father in heaven who sends rain on the just and the unjust alike.

The life-renewing, life-sustaining powers of rain have been personified in the pantheons of both primitive and higher religions. Worship of rain gods as symbols of fertility prevailed in the East, among the main branches of Aryan stock in early Europe, and in parts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas; and many, like the Maya god Chac, were believed to be the creator of all things. The Mesoamerican moon god whose name meant "I am the dew of the heavens, I am the dew of the clouds" was the father of gods as well as of humans, and represented death and resurrection.

The perennial, universal aspiration for rain is reflected in all traditions in the divine promises recorded in their sacred texts. Every Egyptian god was in some way related to water. In the *Ṛgveda,* the god Varuṇa proclaims, "I made to flow the moisture-shedding waters"; in the *Vendidad,* Ahura Mazdā pledges to "rain down upon the earth to bring food to the faithful and fodder to the beneficent cow"; in the Qurʾān, Allāh is described as "he who created the heavens and earth and sent down for you out of heaven water." The Persians conceived the tree of life as rising from a lake of rain, its seeds mingling with the water to maintain the earth's fertility. A common saying among the ancient Greeks when rain fell was "The Father [heaven] is pressing grapes." Both tribal rain gods and a national rain spirit were propitiated by the Burmese.

A dominant theme in universal mythology is the celestial marriage between Heaven and Earth, or between the fructifying sky god and fecund earth goddess. Rites and festivals of the seasonal fertilization of the earth by the penetrating rains have been celebrated since Neolithic times, when the correlations of rain and serpent, woman and vegetation, and death and rebirth were integrated into the complex of lunar symbolism. The union of the divine couple was the archetypal image of fruitfulness. Speaking in the storm, the Sumerian high god called himself the "fecund seed." Homer described the conjugal couch where Zeus lay with his spouse on Mount Ida as covered with a cloud from which rain fell, and Aeschylus wrote, "Rain impregnates the earth so that she gives birth to plants and grains." Birth and its attendant dangers are symbolized by a great storm in Vergil's *Aeneid.* In many of the prayers and tribal myths of North American Indians, the gentle rain is called "female" and the pelting rain "male."

Rites to ensure rain and fertility had their origin in remote antiquity and have been observed throughout the world. At the lower stages of civilization, sorcery and magical charms related to imitative or sympathetic magic were employed by shamans to evoke rain; later, prayer and sacrifice were combined with magico-religious rituals. A rain sacrifice rock painting from the Rusape district of Zimbabwe, now in the Frobenius Institut in Frankfurt, depicts a man standing with hands uplifted as if conjuring heaven, a female figure lying under a tree, and another bending forward above falling rain. Rainmakers were the most important members of the community and exerted enormous authority over the group. There is reason to believe that both chieftainship and kingship stemmed from the powerful position of the shaman. Ramses II of Egypt was credited with the faculty of rainmaking. The Zand Avesta, the Pahlavi translation of the Avesta with added commentaries, states that Ahura Mazdā (Pahl., Ōhrmazd) would raise the dead on the first day of the New Year with libations and purifications by water to ensure rain. Saints, especially in desert lands, were often reputed to be rainmakers, and the lives of Muslim saints abound with such miracles. The offices of the rainmaker are recorded among the Vedic rites of remote antiquity, where the sacred drink soma is called "son of the rain god." Water libations were celebrated by ancient Jewry as a so-called rain charm.

At the Feast of Tabernacles in Jerusalem, the priest performed the ritual mixture of wine with water from the Pool of Siloam to induce rain. At a later period, Orthodox Jews practiced a rain charm that may have had its origin in fertility rites: As they recited the names of the Ten Plagues of Egypt at the Seder on Passover eve, a few drops of water were poured into a jar of wine and the mixture was cast upon the ground in front of the house. In Greece, after the participants in the Eleusinian mysteries had been purified by water, they cried out, "Let there be rain! Be fruitful!"

According to the Chinese doctrine of "like to like," similar things summon one another, which implies that the dragon, traditionally associated with rain, generates rain. Evidence of rainmaking magic on oracle bones attests to the antiquity of such beliefs. The *Li ji* (Record of rites) from the first century BCE chronicles the practice of ritual nakedness, a magic formula continued into late Chinese history in which even Confucian officials participated in time of drought. Buddhist priests poured water into little holes in the temple floor to symbolize rain going into the earth. Rainmaking spells are mentioned in sūtras of 230 BCE.

In many parts of the East, the custom of immersing the fertility goddess, and in Europe the rite of drenching the Corn Mother, reflect earlier practices of sacrificing human victims to induce rain. In Mesoamerica, small children and birds were sacrificed to propitiate rain gods, and on the occasion of the Itzamna festival in March the hearts of certain species of wild animals were immolated. A custom among the Arabs of North Africa was to throw a holy man into a spring to end a drought, and in Russia to drench a priest or the figure of a saint for the same purpose. In societies where blood was assimilated to water, as in Abyssinia (ancient Ethiopia), human blood was the oblation offered to rain spirits. In Java, men whipped one another to draw blood, the symbolic equivalent of rain.

A milder form of rain magic was the sprinkling or scattering of water. In Lithuania, when rain was needed, people sprinkled themselves with water as they stood facing the sun at their morning prayers. The Celtic priests, the druids, bearing the image of a saint, led a procession to a sacred spring or well where water was sprinkled over special stones, which were then tossed into the air to fall to earth like rain. Pausanius left a description of the priests of Lycaean Zeus sacrificing an oak branch to a spring in time of drought, and the wizards of New Guinea and Siberia dipped branches into water and scattered the drops. Northern Dravidian tribes held an "umbrella feast" at the critical period of transplanting the rice crop, and Australian tribes performed ceremonial dances and songs around a pool to call down rain.

Rain dances figured prominently among American Indian tribes. The Omaha, members of a sacred buffalo society, filled vessels with water before they danced. Buffalo-head rituals were performed by the Plains and Woodland tribes when rain was lacking, and the Shawnee dipped a buffalo tail in water and shook it to bring rain. The Hopi and Zuni tribes depicted aquatic animals and symbolic rain clouds on their sand altars, half circles from which vertical lines depended as rain. An important feature of these rites was the bull-roarer, a sacred instrument that simulated the sound of thunder and was originally used in primitive initiations and Greek mystery ceremonies to represent the voice of God. Many of the peoples of Africa and Oceania believed that their gods spoke in the thunder. In the rites of the Oglala Lakota Indians, the water in the sweat lodge represented the thunder beings, fearsome powers that tested the warriors' strength and endurance and brought them the blessings of purification.

Rain accompanied by a thunderbolt symbolizes power or energy. In the form of a double trident, the thunderbolt is prominent in representations of the gods of ancient Sumer, Babylonia, Assyria, and Akkad. The Etruscan doctrine of thunderbolts related eleven different kinds of thunder to the powers of eleven gods. The synthesis of a sun god and a storm god connotes the energy of the pairs of opposites. An Assyrian sun god with a thunderbolt, believed to be the national deity Assur, is depicted on an alabaster wall panel from the palace of Ashurnasirpal II (c. 850 BCE), now in the British Museum. The Hebrew god Yahveh unites traits of both storm and solar god, as does Zeus, who destroyed the Titans with his thunderbolt. His Roman counterpart was believed to descend in the form of a thunderbolt and is represented on the Antonine column as the rain god Jupiter Pluvius hovering over the Roman legions with outspread wings and raining down his power upon them. This same synthesis pertains to the prehistoric Peruvian deity Viracocha, universal father and creator of all things, who as a rain god is depicted with a thunderbolt in each hand, his head surrounded by a rayed solar disk and his eyes shedding tears of life-renewing rain. The names of the Teutonic and Scandinavian war gods (Óðinn, Þórr, Donar, etc.) all mean "thunder."

Lightning symbolizes the action of the higher realm upon the lower, and in every culture has been assimilated either to a god, his weapon, or the manifestation of his sovereignty. At times, lightning has been construed as the salutary arrow of a god bringing deliverance or illumination to humankind, as when Mithra, the Persian god of light, pierced a rock with his arrow to end a drought by freeing the waters; at others, as the portent of his wrath or retribution. The lightning of the Vedic god Indra split the head of the dragon Vṛtra, demon of drought, to release the waters obstructed by him and regenerate the world, which had been made a wasteland. The storm god Rudra and his sons the Maruts, who shared the dual powers of their benign and destructive father, wielded their lightning bolts both to slay and to heal. The lightning god of the Indonesians was venerated as a supreme deity.

In the Hindu-Buddhist notion of the forms of divine manifestation, the *vajra,* lightning or thunderbolt, symbolizes the mystic, divine energy and the adamantine weapon of truth. As the invincible force in the sphere of transcendental reality, the *vajra* is the illusion-shattering light of spiritual illumination, which links the grace flowing into the world from the sun with the energy of the lightning bolt. In Buddhist iconography, the *vajra* is an emblem of the spiritual power of Buddhahood, an image of which is the solar Buddha, Vairocana, encircled by the halo of his emanations. The double trident wand carried by Buddhist monks is a form of the *vajra.* In early Tantrism, in which magic and science were inseparable, the Vajrayāna, doctrine of the "way of the thunderbolt," related to a form of electric energy.

Rain clouds and thunderstorms symbolized celestial activity in ancient China, and lightning was regarded with the same awe as were the thunderbolts of rain gods in other cultures. *Shen,* the pictogram for lightning, signifies divinity and the operation of the expansive forces. When the thunder ceases and rain ends, it is the work of demons and the contractive forces. These opposing forces symbolize two facets of the human spirit, the one ascending in life, the other descending in death. In the *Book of Changes,* the trigram *zhen,* the Arousing, is the image of thunder and signifies tension resolved after the cloudburst, nature refreshed, deliverance. According to the *Li ji,* only when the two opposing forces of yin and yang are in proper harmony will the beneficent rains fall, and when they fail to come, yin must be activated.

As a symbol of purification and redemption, rain is associated with the dissolving and washing away of sin, followed by rebirth and renewal. Every torrential rainfall bears the implication of the archetypal flood, the creation destroyed by its creator, and humankind submerged in an initiatory ordeal or cosmic baptism preliminary to redemption and regeneration. The concept of a cataclysmic inundation of the world is found in myths of every part of the world except Egypt and Japan, and only rarely in Africa. The two major interpretations of the Deluge reflect two ways of relating to the universe. The first, for which the early Mesopotamian *Epic of Gilgamesh* is the model, characterizes humanity's identity with a wholly impersonal universe controlled by the cosmic rhythm or recurrent cycle of the manifestation and disappearance of the world at the turn of every aeon. Engulfing rains alternate with a world drought in the Hindu myth in which Viṣṇu rescues humanity by becoming first the sun, then wind, then fire, and finally a great cloud from which fall the restorative rains. The second concept, exemplified in the biblical story of Noah, represents the flood sent by God as a punishment for humanity's sins and expresses the Semitic dissociation from, and guilt toward, God, with the implication of free will.

No other natural phenomenon has been so universally associated with the Holy Spirit as the rainbow, which on every continent has been the emblem of some aspect of human spiritual life, or some stage in the development of human consciousness. From the myths of Paleolithic and Neolithic peoples to the aborigines of Oceania and the Americas, the rainbow has been equated with the celestial serpent, the Great Father, the creator, or fertility god. The Egyptian sky mother Nut is depicted on coffins and papyri arced over the earth like a rainbow to signify the creation of the world. A representation of this figure is in the Egyptian Museum in Turin. A rainbow goddess in the identical posture appears in Navajo Indian sand paintings made to effect cures.

Like all sky phenomena, rainbows possess an ominous aspect, but for the most part have been regarded as an auspicious omen. An arc of light between earth and sky, the rainbow is a perennial symbol of the bridge linking the material world to Paradise and making possible communication between them. The rainbow was the path to the gods for the Mesopotamian, Indian, Japanese, and Hebrew peoples; for the Nordic peoples, it was the Bifrost, the "tremulous way" to Ásgarðr; in the Greco-Roman world, it was a sign from Zeus. To the Pygmies of equatorial Africa, the rainbow was a sign of the god's desire to communicate with them, and to the American Indian, it was the ladder affording access to the other world. The heroes of Polynesian and Hawaiian myths ascend the rainbow in order to deliver the souls of the dead to Paradise. Often construed as a prophetic sign or portent of blessings when appearing in the sky after a storm or flood, rainbows denote God's appeasement and reconciliation to humankind. Sealing his bond with Noah, God declared, "I do set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth" (*Gn.* 9:13). As a symbol of transfiguration and heavenly glory, rainbows are associated with the nimbus, aureole, halo, and mandorla surrounding the body of a god or saint. In Buddhism, the rainbow symbolizes the highest state attainable in the realm of *saṃsāra* before attaining to the clear light of *nirvāṇa,* and in Hinduism, the "rainbow body" is the highest yoga state. The rainbow is depicted in Christian art as the Lord's throne, and in scenes of the Last Judgment, Christ is frequently portrayed seated on a rainbow. In the *Revelation to John* in the New Testament, when the door opened in Heaven, "there was a rainbow round about the throne" (*Rv.* 4:3).

SEE ALSO Meteorological Beings; Water.

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Ann Dunnigan (1987)

RAINBOW SNAKE

RAINBOW SNAKE (Rainbow Serpent) is an almost ubiquitous but elusive mythological figure throughout the Australian continent. To A. R. Radcliffe-Brown (1930), the Rainbow Snake was "perhaps the most important nature-deity, . . . the most important representation of the creative and destructive power of nature, principally in connection with rain and water." Writing about southeastern Australia, he notes the Rainbow Snake's association with waterfalls, as well as with smallpox, and he mentions the belief that ordinary people who approached the Snake's home site were in danger of being eaten. He adds that paraphernalia prepared for young men's initiation sequences in the Bora rites included a snakelike earth mound up to forty feet long. Although Radcliffe-Brown concludes that the *bunyip* in Victoria was not a Rainbow Snake, Charles P. Mountford (1978) includes *bunyip*s, as well as other Snake-like characters, in this category of beings. Even among traditionally oriented Aborigines, the name Rainbow Snake can apply to snakes with no obvious rainbow connections. They may have quasi-crocodile shapes or just "something" about them that is dangerous or not normally visible.

HUMAN CONTACT WITH RAINBOW SNAKE POWER. Because of the aura of danger surrounding the *idea* of Rainbow Snakes and other similar beings, certain places are taboo to ordinary people but not to Aboriginal "doctors," the men or, less often, women whose experience goes beyond cases of illness or injury to include the supernatural dimension, usually through special initiation rites involving the Rainbow Snake and perhaps spirits of the dead. According to some Kimberley and Western Desert beliefs recorded by A. P. Elkin (1945), the novice was taken up into the sky, where he underwent a ritual death and had inserted into his body quartz crystals and perhaps *maban* (sometimes called "pearl shell"), both associated with the Rainbow Snake. The crystals or shells are invisible and confer particular powers on the recipient; or he might be given "little rainbow-snakes . . . from a water-hole at the foot of the rainbow" (Elkin, 1945, pp. 32–33). A person with such powers can see Rainbow Snakes and other beings and perhaps have a personal Rainbow Snake as a spirit familiar. He can use the rainbow as a vehicle in which to travel great distances through the sky.

Actual pearl shells from the northwest coast of Western Australia, some engraved with water and rain designs, were also associated with Rainbow Snakes. Used in initiation and in rainmaking rites, they were (and are) passed on along recognized trade routes, eastward well beyond the Victoria River district and south to the Great Australian Bight.

During the wet season (the cyclone season), the northwest coast is subject to monsoon storms that deluge the whole north coast across to northern and eastern Queensland. Rainbow Snake and other Snake stories are especially common throughout these potential flood areas. The Rainbow Snake of arid zones, known as Wonambi, Wanambi, and other names, is dangerous and powerful, but less dramatically so than his northern counterparts. Even inland, however, dry sandy creek beds can suddenly become raging torrents that flood the surrounding country (for example, the Tod River in Alice Springs and other rivers in northern South Australia or the usually dry Lake Eyre, which floods less often).

Along the northwestern Australian coast, for instance, summer cyclones threaten coastal towns—sometimes extending even into the southwest. For the non-Aboriginal population, the urgent questions have to do with whether a given cyclone will cross the coast, where and when it will do so, how destructive it will be, and, if it moves inland, whether it will become a rain-bearing low-pressure system, bringing water to areas that depend on the monsoon. Weather officials still regard cyclone movements as unpredictable. For traditional Aborigines, however, the matter is plain: mythic characters control the seasonal weather and tidal patterns, including cyclones, and the decisions are theirs.

Among the most important mythic characters are the *wandjina* (*wondjina*), well known to the outside world through cave and bark paintings. In Ungarinyin territory, these spirits, which can be manifestations of Rainbow Snake, are also sometimes called Ungud. Ungud "brings down spirit babies in the rain to the waterholes" (Elkin, 1930, p. 351). Elkin adds, "The rainbow-serpent is associated with the coming of rain, the increase of natural species and the continuance of mankind." According to Phyllis M. Kaberry, in northeastern Kimberley, the Rainbow Snake known as Galeru (Kaleru) is also a life saver and sustainer, the embodiment of fertility, "the most sacred of the totemic ancestors and . . . revered as such." He is a lawgiver, responsible for such features of social organization as marriage rules and subsections, and he is "the source of magical power not only in the past but also in the present" (Kaberry, 1937, pp. 194, 200–201; see also pp. 193, 196n). Pearl shells come from him, and in some circumstances it is dangerous to dream of them (p. 206); in the creative era of the Dreaming (the *ngarunggani),* he carried inside him certain foods now subject to life-crisis or age-linked taboos; white stones used for rainmaking also belong to him (p. 207).

Here, as in many cases, the main emphasis is on the Rainbow Snake as a male being: for example, as husband to

Kunapipi. In north-central Arnhem Land, Yulunggul is more often thought to be male. His Rainbow Snake identification there, less positive than it is in northeastern Arnhem Land, may have been influenced by the strong Rainbow Snake presence in western Arnhem Land. The Rainbow Snake in the west has several names—Ambidj, for instance, among the Maung of Goulburn Islands and the adjacent mainland, and Ngalyod among Gunwinggu speakers farther inland. Numereji, noted by Baldwin Spencer in 1912 as the Kakadu (Gagadju) name, has not been in use for at least forty years.

Gunwinggu speakers, especially, prefer to speak of the Rainbow Snake only obliquely, not directly by name. One everyday word for "creature(s)," edible or otherwise, is *mai*—provided it is included in the noun class that takes the prefix *na-* (which can be a masculine prefix). When *mai* is used with the indicator *ngal-,* which can be a feminine prefix, it usually refers to the Rainbow Snake. If Gunwinggu speakers had traditionally used written language, they would surely have written *Mai.* As it is, the context and the *ngal-* indicators differentiate it quite plainly. Among other such oblique names, one that depends partly on intonation and context for its maximum effect is Ngaldargid: here the prefix *ngal-* is attached to a word in ordinary use, *dargid,* meaning "living," or "alive." It could be taken in more than its ordinary sense, as in "the living one" or even, perhaps, as "the life-charged one." In other instances, such as in Ngaldargidni, it means that the Rainbow Snake is still there, still living, at a particular site. Hundreds of myths recount the events of the creative era in which the landscape was formed, and the Rainbow Snake plays an active role in the majority of them.

In one traditional western Arnhem Land view the Rainbow Snake is a creator, the first mother. She travels under the sea from the northwest, and on the mainland she eventually gives birth to the people she is carrying inside her. She vomits them out, licking them with her tongue to make them grow and scraping them with mussel shells to make their skin smooth and lighter in color. Some Gunwinggu women have told this author,

> No matter what our [social affiliations], we all call her *gagag,* "mother's mother." We live on the ground, she lives underneath, inside the ground and in the water[s]. She urinated fresh water for us to drink, otherwise we would all have died of thirst. She showed us what foods to collect. She vomited the first people, the Dreaming people, who prepared the country for us, and she made us, so that we have minds and sense to understand. She gave us our [social categories and] language, she made our tongues and teeth and throats and breath: she shared her breath with us, she gave us breath, from when we first sat inside our mothers' wombs. . . . She looks a bit like a woman, a bit like a snake.

In myth, and in recent and even present belief, the Rainbow Snake, Ngalyod, can be aroused by too much noise, such as that of a crying child, or by too much shouting, too much interference with the ground, the breaking of a taboo-rock, or a person's failure to take precautions at times when he or she is especially vulnerable (by going near water during pregnancy or menstruation or too soon after childbirth or by allowing a young baby to do so). Gunwinggu women at Oenpelli summed up the expected consequences:

> Far away, she lifts up her head and listens, and she makes straight for that place. A cold wind blows, there is a red glow like a bush fire, a great roaring sound, the ground cracks and moves and becomes soft and wet, water flows rushing, a flood covers the rocks, stones are falling, she comes up like a dream and swallows all those people. She carries them about for a while. Then she vomits their bones, and they turn into stone. They are still there today, as *djang,* eternally present: their spirits remain at [that place]. Let nobody go near [that place], where they came into Dreaming!

There are many variations of this account just as there are many distinctive rock formations in the Arnhem Land escarpment. Most of the named sites throughout the region have their specific *djang* spirits, and in almost all cases the Rainbow Snake was an agent in their transformation (see Berndt and Berndt, 1970).

On the coastal islands and nearby mainland, the Rainbow Snake is more often specifically categorized as male; the inland classification, however, is sometimes acknowledged to be partly a matter of grammatical gender, and the Rainbow Snake is occasionally described as either male or ambisexual. Moreover, in coastal and island contexts, myths often tell of parties of men who track down and kill the Rainbow Snake, cut her (him) open, and try to save the people inside. In one version they cook and eat the Snake to give them strength in the long task of pulling out the living and burying the great numbers of dead. But the Rainbow Snake is timeless, indestructible, and not limited to any one locality. Rainbow Snake manifestations can be almost everywhere or anywhere. For all the people of western Arnhem Land, the Rainbow Snake is traditionally a symbol of monsoon storms, rain, floods, *and* of danger; her (his) formal links with the sphere of the sacred are epitomized in the secret-sacred rites of the Ubar.

THE RAINBOW SNAKE AS CATALYST AND SYMBOL. Not only healers and law keepers can draw on the Rainbow Snake's power. In one western Arnhem Land myth, a man with a grievance deliberately smashes a taboo rock, knowing that when the Snake comes rushing to swallow (drown) everyone at that site he himself will die along with the people he wants to kill. Some sorcerers were believed to send their own Rainbow Snake familiars on vengeance missions.

In other areas a sorcerer could also supposedly draw on that power, for personal reasons or on someone else's behalf, to avenge a perceived wrong. When sorcery is identified as the cause of death, it is likely to be condemned as a misuse of the powers obtained from the Rainbow Snake and from spirits of the dead (e.g., Kaberry, 1937, p. 211). The argument is that such powers are directed toward selfish ends that are not socially approved, whereas directing them outside the community to avenge the death of one of its own members is assumed to have the community's approval.

Nevertheless, in many respects the Rainbow Snake is a guardian of the status quo as well as a source of power. The terror and dismay of victims in myth are sometimes a consequence of their own carelessness, sometimes a matter of fate or destiny (particularly in western Arnhem Land) or of seemingly harsh treatment for their own ultimate good. The Rainbow Snake is not necessarily a destroyer, to go back to Radcliffe-Brown's comment, but rather a symbol and a reminder of the potentially destructive and overpowering, as well as revitalizing, forces of nature, which can be fearsome as well as splendid. This constellation of cosmic imagery attracts within its orbit a host of other figures not necessarily categorized as Rainbow Snakes. Thus, according to Ursula H. McConnel, in North Queensland the deadly taipan snake is identified with the Rainbow Snake by virtue of its assumed "power . . . as arbiter of life and death" (McConnel, 1957, p. 111).

The Rainbow Snake is Our Mother, but there are other mythic mothers. In some accounts he is Our Father, but there are other mythic fathers (although fewer, perhaps, than mothers). There are other phallic symbols, as well as other storm, flood, cyclone, lightning, thunder, wind, rain, and fertility symbols. Other Snakes and other beings are associated with deep pools, waterfalls, whirlwinds, and rivers. But the rainbow in the sky and the Rainbow Snake on the ground and in the waters are somehow—directly or indirectly, explicitly or potentially—linked to any or all of these from the very beginning of time. Very few elaborate ritual sequences are devoted to the Rainbow Snake alone as a central personage, and he or she has not one localized site but rather many actual or potential sites in all parts of the continent. These are pointers to a frame of beliefs that, though partly open, has as its central core image a wide-ranging, powerful deity of cosmic proportions, never wholly visible at any one time or place.

SEE ALSO Gadjeri; Ungarinyin Religion; Wandjina; Yulunggul Snake.

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CATHERINE H. BERNDT (1987)
Revised Bibliography

RAJNEESH, Bhagwan Shree (1931–1990), later known as Osho, was a controversial spiritual teacher from India whose disciples at the start of the twenty-first century include thousands of Americans, Europeans, and Asians, who are called *sannyasins.* The spiritual movement is centered at the Osho Commune International in Pune, India, at 17 Koregaon Park, where it was first established in the early 1970s.

There are Osho centers in more than fifty nations. In the United States, the largest are Osho Academy in Sedona, Arizona; Viha Meditation Center in Mill Valley, California; and Osho Padma Meditation Center in New York City. Centers are independent, with some tensions developing because of different emphases, but they share common bonds through Osho's meditations and teachings.

Osho Meditation Resort in Pune began as the Shree Rajneesh Ashram and continues as the movement's heart, housing a multiversity offering myriad courses on spiritual growth, healing, creative arts, and intimate relationships. There are also meditation workshops and programs emphasizing meditative aspects of sport.

From 1958 to 1966, Osho, then known as Rajneesh and holding a master of arts degree in philosophy, taught that subject primarily at the University of Jabalpur in the city of Jabalpur. He resigned his post in 1966 to travel throughout India as an independent religious teacher, also offering meditation camps during summer months. In the early 1970s he shifted headquarters from his Bombay apartment to the Shree Rajneesh Ashram in Pune.

Osho's synthesis of spirituality with personal-growth psychology attracted significant numbers of Westerners, many in midlife transition. *Sannyasins* often received new names signifying their spiritual rebirth. These *sannyasins* were known as new or neo-*sannyasins;* they renounced living in either the past or the future, but emphatically did not renounce material or sexual indulgence. He developed unique meditations, many involving intense, emotionally cleansing activity preceding stillness. Before his death, he shifted his emphasis to meditative therapies encouraging individuals' responsibility for their own personal and spiritual growth.

Meditation remains central to the movement, and Osho meditations have been taught in schools, corporations, and other venues. Osho's philosophical approach blends Western and Eastern traditions, with special emphasis on Zen Buddhism. Important themes include dropping the ego and its conditioned beliefs and integrating the material and the spiritual. The ideal human is Zorba the Buddha, a consummate being combining Buddha's spiritual focus with Zorba's life-embracing traits.

A major reason that Osho was controversial in India was his advocacy of sexual freedom and exploration. However, the greatest international controversy developed in the United States when he settled at the Big Muddy Ranch in central Oregon. From the summer of 1981 until the late fall of 1985, several thousand *sannyasins* labored to create the communal city of Rajneeshpuram and a model agricultural collective. Their dream disintegrated because of financial, legal, and political conflicts, and Rajneesh embarked on a world tour before returning to Pune in 1987. Two years later he took the name Osho, which means dissolving into the totality of existence, or merging with all life. Osho died on January 19, 1990.

Osho Meditation Resort is an international center where a core staff hosts thousands of visitors annually. Both *sannyasins* and other seekers visit the resort center in Pune, read some of the more than six hundred books that have been transcribed from Osho's lectures or have been written about him, communicate on the internet, gather to meditate throughout the world, or enroll in Osho-based counseling and personal growth training.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, there is discord within the movement between those who regard Osho's general teachings and methods as of primary importance and those who put primary emphasis on Osho himself as an embiodied charismatic individual. This is a major dispute that could lead to a segmentation in which new centers, without connection to the Pune headquarters, incorporate and spread Osho's teachings. Such schism may result in either continued growth and spread of the belief system or attenuation of the movement and its teachings.

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MARION S. GOLDMAN (2005)

RALBAG (ACRONYM FOR RABBI LEVI BEN GERSHOM) SEE GERSONIDES

RĀMA, the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa,* an epic of ancient India, is the figure most celebrated in literature, music, and art throughout India and Southeast Asia. Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* is the earliest known source of Rāma's heroic biography. Many modern scholars agree that in the central part of Vālmīki's epic Rāma is depicted as a secular hero. The first and the sixth books of the Vālmīki text, however, depict Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, who comes down to the earth as a human warrior to kill the menacing demon Rāvaṇa. Medieval devotional *Rāmāyaṇa*s developed this theme, making Rāma the god himself. In this view, Rāma's wife, Sītā, is the goddess Śrī, and his brother Lakṣmaṇa is perceived as the human incarnation of the snake Ādiśeṣa, on top of whom Viṣṇu sleeps. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are perceived as inseparable brothers, identical even in physical appearance except for their skin color: Rāma is blue, Lakṣmaṇa is golden yellow.

Rāma is described as perfect: He is self-controlled, eloquent, majestic, and capable of annihilating all his enemies. Above all, he is truthful and totally devoted to only one wife. Similarly, Sītā is described as the ideal in chastity, devoted to Rāma in thought, word, and deed.

The idealizations of Rāma and Sītā are not totally free of problems, particularly for the authors of *bhakti* texts. Several events described in Vālmīki's text tarnish Rāma's character. For instance, after his wife is abducted by Rāvaṇa, Rāma makes a pact with the monkey king Sugrīva to kill the latter's brother Valin in return for Sugrīva's help in finding Sītā. To keep his part of the contract, Rāma, hiding behind a tree, kills Vālin. This act violates all norms of justice and valor. A second such incident occurs later, when Rāma wages a battle against Rāvaṇa. Rāma succeeds in killing the demon king, but refuses to take Sītā back because she has lived in another man's house. To prove her innocence, Sītā has to go through the fire ordeal. Later, Rāma again abandons Sītā (who is now pregnant) when the people of Ayodhyā spread vicious talk about her stay in Rāvaṇa's house.

Buddhist texts transform Rāma from a martial hero into a spiritually elevated person. In the *Dāśaratha Jātaka,* Rāma is depicted as a *bodhisattva* figure. In this version there is no mention of Rāvaṇa, and Sītā is not abducted. Indeed, Sītā is depicted as Rāma's sister. The intrigues of their stepmother make their father, Daśaratha, send Rāma, Sītā, and Lakṣmaṇa into the forest for twelve years. At the end of twelve years Rāma returns and is crowned king. He rules with Sītā for sixteen thousand years. Other Jātaka stories also incorporate the Rāma theme, with some variations.

If Buddhists made Rāma a *bodhisattva,* Jains transformed him into one of their sixty-three *śalākāpuruṣa*s. In Jain retellings, prominent among which is Vimalasūri's *Paumacariya* (written in Prakrit in the early centuries of the common era), Rāma eats no meat, performs no sacrifices involving animals, and wins his battle by wit rather than by violence. Jain *Rāmāyaṇa*s include the story of Rāma up to the birth of his twin sons. Other *Rāmāyaṇa* texts of the Jain community include Hemacandra's *Jaina Rāmāyaṇa* and Nāgacandra's *Rāmacandracarita Purāṇa,* both of the twelfth century. In these versions Rāma eventually enters the Jain order as a monk and finally achieves liberation through heroic mortifications.

Rāma's story is mentioned in a number of Purāṇas. The Śaiva Purāṇas, such as the *Liṅga Purāṇa* and *Śiva Purāṇa,* make Rāma a devotee of Śiva, while the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and other Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas describe him as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

In about the twelfth century, the Vaiṣṇava theology, particularly that of Rāmānuja, gave rise to a cult of Rāma. Numerous Vaiṣṇava commentators on the *Rāmāyaṇa* interpret Rāma as the manifestation of the divine among human beings. In keeping with Vaiṣṇava influences, the *bhakti* Rāmāyaṇas make Rāma the god (Viṣṇu) incarnate exercising his *līlā* ("divine play") with his consort, Sītā.

A late fourteenth-century text, *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa,* uses the narrative form to provide an *advaita* (nondualist) philosophical orientation to the teachings of the Rāma cult. In this book, presented as a conversation between Śiva and Pārvatī, Rāma is *brahman,* the Absolute itself, which takes a human shape as a pretext to accomplish his divine purposes. Sītā, in this text, is the eternal consort of the Lord. In keeping with this logic, the events leading to the abduction of Sītā, her later abandonment, the birth of her two sons Lava and Kuśa, and the final separation of Sītā and Rāma are significantly altered to represent the reuniting of the couple in Vaikuṇṭha, Viṣṇu's heavenly abode.

Tulsidas's *Ramcaritmanas* (composed around 1574) adopts ingenious themes to free Rāma's biography of its problems. In this text all the characters of the *Rāmāyaṇa,* including Rāvaṇa and all the demons whom Rāma kills, are described as Rāma's devotees. According to the devotional theory presented here, even an enmity to God is one of the means of reaching God. For human beings, however, the model of devotion is said to be set by Hanumān, the monkey servant of Rāma, who attends upon his master with intense devotion. *Bhakti* Rāmayanists also borrow elements of stories about Kṛṣṇa, especially relating to the god's childhood, to describe the child Rāma.

The figure of Rāma remains prominent in many *bhakti* cults. There, devotees believe that chanting Rāma's name and reflecting upon the main incidents of his biography ultimately lead them to reach God.

SEE ALSO Līlā; Rāmāyaṇa; Tulsidas.

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VELCHERU NARAYANA RAO (1987)
Revised Bibliography

RAMABAI, PANDITA. Ramabai (1858–1922) was an extraordinary woman of her time—an educator, scholar, feminist, and social reformer, whose life was an example of how womanhood and religious identity were negotiated against the backdrop of Brahmanical culture, Christianity, and colonialism. For Hindus and Christians, her life and work, including her intellectual probings and hermeneutical clashes with Hindu social reformers and Christian missionaries, seemed to signal contradictory and confusing messages. As a learned scholar of her own tradition, she vigorously questioned the status of women within Hinduism. Later, when she became a Christian, she challenged institutionalized Christianity with its creeds, which she felt stifled the power of the gospel, and she subsequently quarreled with Bible translators for their unwitting use of Vedāntic terms in the Marathi version of the Bible. She seems to have lived and worked out her life on the margins of traditions, constructing her own independent agency.

Ramabai was born into a Chitpavan Brahman family in Karnataka. She was the youngest child of Anant Shastri Dongre, a devout Hindu and erudite Sanskrit pundit, and his much younger wife, Lakshmibai. Contrary to the prevailing mood of the time, Anant Shastri believed in women's education and he opposed outdated customs like child marriage, having witnessed the sad fate of his daughter Krishnabai's child marriage. Ramabai had an unconventional upbringing in that she was taught at home, receiving Sanskrit education mainly from her mother, who herself was taught by her husband despite fierce opposition from their community. From an early age, Ramabai was exposed to a life of never-ending pilgrimage and the reciting of the Purāṇas in various locations, a traditional religious vocation, which her family undertook in order to earn a modest living. While this kind of precarious living brought untold hardship later, it freed Ramabai from domesticity and any form of patriarchal control.

Ramabai's life was marked by a series of unfortunate deaths in her family. She lost her parents, elder sister, elder brother, husband, and finally her daughter shortly before her own death. Her travels around India with her brother after her parents' demise not only offered her the opportunity to visit several important Hindu holy places, but it also enabled her to witness the plight of women, which led her to champion their cause.

It was Ramabai's visit to Calcutta in 1878 that brought a dramatic turn of events. Her knowledge of the Sanskrit language and literary and religious texts came to be widely known and appreciated, and in recognition of her Sanskrit learning the honorific title *paṇḍita* (learned) was conferred on her. She defied traditional caste norms by accepting an offer of marriage from a non-Brahman Brahmo Bengali lawyer, Bipin Behari Das, but he died within two years of their marriage, leaving her with an infant daughter, Manorama.

While her early widowhood deepened her concern for women in a similar predicament, her faith in the kind of Purāṇic and ritualistic Hinduism in which she was raised was beginning to wear off. When she later became acquainted with other Hindu texts, such as the *Dharmaśāstras*, with a pronounced patriarchal bias, she was not convinced that Hinduism as such had any hope for women. She found, however, that her early forays into reform movements, such as the Brāhmo Samāj and Prarthana Samāj, were fruitless as alternatives to Hinduism because in her view these movements focused more on philosophical aspects than on the plight of women. She came into contact with Christian missionaries but had no intention of becoming a Christian until much later in 1883 while she was in England, much to the dismay of Hindus back home. She was not wholly accepting of Christianity at this stage. She was not willing to substitute one form of patriarchy with another. She proved to be a thorn in the flesh of Anglicans when she questioned such basic tenets as the Trinity, miracles, the divinity of Christ, and the resurrection.

What is extraordinary is that Ramabai was able to make an impression in the strongly male-dominated public discourse of her time. Her highly persuasive books, both in the vernacular and in English, established her as one of the important voices of the era. The fact that she wrote *Stri Dharma Niti* (Morals for women, 1882) in order to finance her trip to England (where her hope of studying medicine never materialized) testifies that her reforming zeal preceded her attraction to Christianity. In this book she urges women to educate themselves and transform their lives, citing mythological examples of Hindu womanhood. *The High Caste Hindu Woman* (1887) is a trenchant feminist critique of a Brahmanical patriarchy that accords its women a low position. *United Stateschi Lokasthiti ani Pravasavritta* (The Peoples of the United States, 1889) is an account of her visit to the United States, and it reflects her feminist concerns whilst contrasting freedoms in the United States and colonial India. *A Testimony of Our Inexhaustible Treasure* (1907), her last public discourse, was a pamphlet narrating a spiritual odyssey that culminated in her final acceptance of the Christian faith.

The last decade of her life was spent translating the Bible into Marathi and producing Greek-Marathi and Greek-Hebrew lexicons.

Ramabai put teaching into practice. It was her early disappointment with her own community that made her turn to England and the United States to solicit help for her work among women. Realizing the importance of education for empowering women, she ran a number of vocational programs. Sharada Sadan (Home of Learning), initially a home for high-caste child widows but later for destitute women and children of all castes, provided training and education. Although the school was initially secular in orientation, it gradually became explicitly Christian. There were allegations of conversions at Sharada Sadan, which caused a major rift between Ramabai and Hindu social reformers; although Ramabai was exonerated, the rift remained.

The fact that Ramabai's commitment to Christianity coexisted with her conscious attempt to declare herself a Hindu and Indian in public discourses, continues to puzzle Hindus and Christians who would like to categorize her neatly.

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SHARADA SUGIRTHARAJAH (2005)

RAMADĀN See ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS YEAR; ṢAWM

RAMAKRISHNA (1834/6–1886) was a Hindu ecstatic and mystic, and to many Hindus a "supremely realized self" (*paramahaṃsa*) and an *avatāra*, or incarnation of the divine. Through his disciple, Swami Vivekananda, his gospel of the truth of all religions became a source of inspiration for modern Hindu universalism.

LIFE. Born Gadādhar Chatterjee in an isolated village in Bengal, Ramakrishna belonged to a Vaiṣṇava *brahman* family whose primary deity was the *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, Rāma, although the family also worshiped other deities, such as Śiva and Durgā. As a boy, Gadādhar was gifted with immense emotional and aesthetic sensitivity, which was nurtured by norms of ecstatic devotion (*bhakti*) common within the Bengali Vaiṣṇava tradition. Often, when overwhelmed by beauty and emotion, the boy would lose consciousness in an ecstatic trance.

His father's death in 1843 increased Ramakrishna's dependence upon his mother, while the role of father figure was assumed by his eldest brother, Rāmkumār, whom he followed to Calcutta in 1852. Rāmkumār became adviser to a wealthy widow, herself a Śākta, or devotee of *śakti* (the divine power symbolized as the Goddess), who was building a temple to the Divine Mother Kālī at Dakshineshwar, just north of the city. Though dedicated to Kālī, the temple also included shrines to Śiva and to Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, thus combining the major strands of Hindu devotional religion. Rāmkumār was appointed the temple's chief priest and Ramakrishna became priest to Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa.

When Rāmkumār died in 1856, Ramakrishna became priest to the Divine Mother. Bereft and overwhelmed by the pain of separation, Ramakrishna developed a frenzied longing for Kālī. Eating and sleeping little, his anguish over being separated from the Mother drove him to seize a sword in her temple, determined to end his life. Instead, he lost consciousness in a bliss-filled vision of Kālī. After this he desperately sought continual awareness of the Mother, seeking to become her instrument. As he later attested, he was nearly driven insane, spending several years in a state of divine madness in which visions of various deities came to him repeatedly, while he was unable even to close his eyes.

By 1858 concerns about Ramakrishna's mental health were mounting. His family arranged for him to return to their village, where he was married to a local girl, Sāradāmaṇi Devī, then age six. Sāradā remained in her parents' home for several more years, only visiting Ramakrishna at Dakshineshwar for the first time in 1872. By this time Ramakrishna was practicing strict celibacy, his ascetic inclinations routinely summed up in his professed aversion to *kāminī-kañcan*, "women and gold." His marriage to Sāradā was never consummated, but she served him as helpmate until his death.

In 1861 a middle-aged female Tantric practitioner *(bhairavī)* named Yogeśvarī arrived at Dakshineshwar. She became Ramakrishna's first *guru*, guiding him through a remarkable transformation, teaching him a panoply of Tantric rituals. Tantric practice seeks to overcome all socially based distinctions, enabling one to realize in a direct, experiential manner that all aspects of existence are manifestations of the Divine Mother, the *śakti*, the divine productive power. This discipline, which Ramakrishna underwent over a three- or four-year period, had a decisive impact upon his development, helping him to overcome his sense of separation and transforming his self-destructive frenzies into the joyful play *(līlā)* of a child in his Mother's "mansion of mirth," as he came to call the physical universe. This Tantric transformation also provided a theological framework into which he integrated all of his religious experiences, helping him to realize all divinities as forms of the Mother and inspiring him to participate fully in all aspects of her divine play. Thus he was able to re-experience his Vaiṣṇava heritage, playing with and realizing the divine child Rāma and, in the guise of Rādhā, longing for the divine lover Kṛṣṇa. It was such training that also led Ramakrishna to worship Sāradā as the Divine Mother in 1872, an event that would in later years serve to support her deification.

In 1864 or 1865, Ramakrishna took instruction from another renunciant, this time a naked ascetic named Ishwara Totāpurī, a master of the absolute nondualism of Advaita Vedānta taught by the eighth-century philosopher Śaṅkara. Advaita teaches the sole reality of the impersonal absolute (*nirguṇa brahman*), which is realized in a state of consciousness devoid of all conceptual forms (*nirvikalpa samādhi*). Under Totāpurī's forceful tutelage, Ramakrishna wrenched his mind from the beloved form of Kālī in order to plunge into this trancelike state; for more than a year he was so preoccupied with it and so neglectful of his body that he came near to death. According to his canonical biographers, Ramakrishna returned from this state only at the Mother's command and for the welfare of the world.

After this experiment, Ramakrishna returned to enjoy life as a child at play within his Mother's world. During this period he expanded his religious experience beyond Hindu religion, first devoting three days to the worship of Allah and then, some years later, four days to Christ. In both cases, he had visionary realizations that he held to be the same as those he had had of the various Hindu divinities. These brief but intense visions became the experiential basis for his claim that all religions can lead to the same realization of the divine.

In the mid-1870s he began to attract wider notice, especially among a generation of educated, middle-class urbanites. Surprisingly, the rustic and untutored mystic was soon entertaining some of the brightest young minds of Calcutta, including the likes of Keshab Chandra Sen (1838–1884), the fiery apostle of the Brāhmo Samāj, and Narendranath Datta (1863-1902), who first met Ramakrishna in 1881 and who would emerge as his favorite. These were men who were educated in a colonial curriculum that stressed the norms of reason, learning, and social progress, but Ramakrishna's disdain for book learning and his scorn for the workaday world of the clerk, challenged them to question their commitments. And while many of the youth had internalized the colonizer's disdain for so-called Hindu superstition, the authenticity of Ramakrishna's spiritual experiences forced his visitors to reevaluate the dignity of their spiritual heritage. Ramakrishna's final years were spent teaching such visitors and a gathering circle of disciples.

After his death in 1886, a small band of Ramakrishna's young disciples took formal vows of renunciation (*saṃnyāsa*), inspired by the example of Narendranath Datta, who later took the monastic name, Swami Vivekananda. These disciples became the swamis or "masters" who would form the core of a monastic order known as the Ramakrishna Math (Skt., *maṭha*, "monastery"). Out of this order grew the Ramakrishna Mission, a movement to spread Ramakrishna's teachings throughout India and the world. Leadership again came from Swami Vivekananda, who made a dramatic appearance at the World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893, where he spoke on the dignity of Hinduism. Before his premature death in 1902, Vivekananda traveled widely in India and the West, promoting what he called "Practical Vedānta," a religious vision that supported not just spiritual progress, but interreligious understanding, social uplift, and Indian national pride. As for Sāradā Devī, after Ramakrishna's death she was elevated to the status of Sāradā Mā, the Holy Mother, a complex status that reflects not simply her devoted service of Ramakrishna, but more importantly the power of the Divine Mother. Sāradā died in 1920. In official iconography she is depicted alongside Ramakrishna and Vivekananda, while popular images often show Ramakrishna accompanied by Sāradā and Kālī; as Gwilym Beckerlegge points out, in such images the Bengali word *Mā* "could refer equally to Kali or Sarada Devi" as mother (2000, p. 137).

TEACHINGS. Ramakrishna left no written work, but his conversations from 1882 to 1886 were recorded in Bengali by Mahendranath Gupta, writing under the pseudonym "M," and published as *Śrī Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa Kathāmṛta* (Holy nectar of Sri Ramakrishna's teachings). The five-volume Bengali text is widely read in Bengal. Elsewhere, readers discover the *Kathāmṛta* through Swami Nikhilananda's translation, *The Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna.*

Ramakrishna's followers maintain that his realization of the nondual absolute under Totāpurī was the culmination of his spiritual quest and provides the basis for his teaching of the truth of all religions as paths leading to this ultimate goal. In his teachings, however, he stressed that withdrawal from the world as advocated by Advaita produces a "knower," or *jñānī,* who is negative and self-centered. Ramakrishna contrasted the *jñānī* with the *vijñānī,* the "complete knower" who does not reject the world as an illusory distraction from the absolute but who sees it as the play (*līlā*) of the Divine Mother. Ramakrishna saw merit in both positions. The formless absolute is real, but so is the Divine Mother, or *śakti*, who is ever at play in the world of form. Viewing *brahman* and *śakti* as two sides of the same reality, Ramakrishna affirmed the reality of the goal sought by the followers of Śaṅkara, while also making clear that his own ideal was a complete knowledge that realizes the reality of the One who is both beyond change and playfully active.

The global appeal of Ramakrishna's teachings stems from his articulation of an inclusive worldview that promises to integrate the diverse and often conflicting aspects of Hinduism and that seems to provide the basis for a more harmonious relationship among the world's religions. As he was fond of saying, *yato mat, tato path*, "there are as many paths as there are points of view."

However, Ramakrishna's gospel of the truth within all religions is not based simply on the belief that they all lead to the realization of the same formless absolute, in which all difference is transcended and negated. Rather, it is based upon his own experience of the truth and reality of the divine power at work in all manifest forms. While aware that human ignorance, lust, and greed can obscure this divine presence, he had confidence that a sincere and ardent devotee of any religion would discover the Divine Mother at work, or rather at play, ever leading her child back to herself.

INTERPRETATIONS OF RAMAKRISHNA. Ramakrishna was, in Walter Neevel's words, both "multifaceted and mystifying" (1976, p. 53). The challenge of understanding his life and teachings is compounded by the need to disentangle Ramakrishna's spiritual experience from the hagiography and canonical accounts promulgated by the Ramakrishna Mission. We may consider three areas of debate within the literature on Ramakrishna, each reflecting tensions between insider and outsider views.

The first area of debate centers on the question of what philosophical framework best represents Ramakrishna's thought. As we have seen, the official position is that Ramakrishna's spiritual experience is epitomized by the teachings of Advaita Vedānta. While official sources record details of Ramakrishna's transformation under the tutelage of Yogeśvarī, this experience is relativized by the putative supremacy of Totāpurī's teachings. However, in the 1950s Heinrich Zimmer called attention to the specifically Tantric aspects of Ramakrishna's devotion to, and awareness of, the Divine Mother. In 1976, Neevel built upon Zimmer's interpretation to argue that Ramakrishna's view of the ultimate was best understood as a form of Tantric nondualism, not a Vedāntic one. Among other things, this allowed Neevel to interpret Ramakrishna's concern with worldly activity as arising from his understanding of the Mother's playful *śakti*. This, in turn, seemed to accord better with the ideals of service that are so characteristic of the Ramakrishna Mission, since the renunciatory ethic of Advaita Vedānta less readily supports the value of worldly activity.

The problem remains vexing, however, precisely because Ramakrishna's commitment to asceticism sits somewhat uncomfortably with the later ethic of social engagement promulgated by the Ramakrishna Mission. The *Kathāmṛta* provides numerous examples of Ramakrishna's outspoken impatience with those who spend their time trying to improve the world. Consequently, a second area of debate centers on tracing the exact inspiration for the movement's guiding ethic. Is it in direct continuity with Ramakrishna's teaching or does it reflect a departure? Official sources present the service-based monastic movement as grounded in Ramakrishna's embodiment of Vedāntic truth. While they recognize the creative contribution of Vivekananda, they do not raise the question of innovation. Scholars outside the movement have explored a variety of theories that might explain alternate inspirations for Vivekananda's Practical Vedānta, be it his early exposure to Western morality, his travels in the West, or his appropriation of Western reconstructions of Vedānta as found in the writings of Arnold Schopenhauer and Paul Deussen. Finally, if Ramakrishna's worldview was fundamentally Tantric, the question remains as to why this aspect of his thought has been played down in the official literature.

This suggests one final area of debate, which centers on the question of how best to account for the particulars of Ramakrishna's experience of Tantra. Postcolonial scholarship has made us aware of the stigma attached to Tantra in late Victorian discourse about India. The very mention of Tantra in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries would have conjured up visions of antinomian religious practices—most threateningly, ritualized sexual intercourse. Seen in this light, it is understandable that Vivekananda and the early disciples would have been sensitive about foregrounding the importance of Tantra for Ramakrishna. But beyond this, there were the sometimes scandalous particulars of Ramakrishna's own psychosexual development, be it his fondness for wearing women's clothing, his aversion to heterosexual relations, or the possible homoerotic dimensions of his spiritual life. Bourgeois prudery regarding Tantra and sexuality, on the part of both devotees and Western interpreters, has meant that these aspects of Ramakrishna's life were often denied or interpreted away.

Open discussion of such matters remained scandalous for most of the twentieth century, as is evident from the uproar surrounding the publication of Jeffrey J. Kripal's book *Kālī's Child* in 1995. Although scholars like Zimmer and Neevel had previously brought the Tantric side of Ramakrishna to light, Kripal attempted to put the ritual and theology of Tantra in conversation with Ramakrishna's psychosexual development. Kripal's search for a cross-cultural hermeneutic of Ramakrishna's experience that could do justice to the mystical and the erotic earned the indignation of devotees and of Hindus more generally, some of whom sought to have the book banned in India. To understand why, one need not only appreciate the fears of devotees who mistook Kripal's book for an attack on Ramakrishna, but also the sensibilities of postcolonial Hindus for whom such scholarship appeared to be yet another attempt to assert Western superiority. In the furor over the book two things were overlooked. First, far from trying to stigmatize Ramakrishna's sexuality, Kripal sought to recognize it as one dimension of a profoundly spiritual life; second, Kripal explicitly rejected any simplistic psychologism that reduced Ramakrishna's spirituality to a matter of pathology. Unflattering psycho-biographies of Ramakrishna exist, but they seem to have attracted far less attention than *Kālī's Child*, which suggests the degree to which the task of interpreting Ramakrishna must include reflection upon the place of Hinduism, Tantra, and the erotic in modern discourse about India. Without a doubt, the "multifaceted and mystifying" Ramakrishna will continue to generate fascinating discussions of mysticism and ethics, Tantra and Vedānta, and the dynamic relationship between modern Hindu apologetics and postcolonial identity.

SEE ALSO Līlā; Vivekananda.

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RĀMĀNUJA (1017–1137), Hindu philosopher-theologian and the most influential exponent of a theistic interpretation of Vedantic philosophy that opposed the earlier monistic teaching of Śaṅkara. Within the Śrī Vaiṣṇava community Rāmānuja's importance comes from his authoritative exposition of the Vedānta, his leadership of the community in a period of formative growth that brought Tamil devotion together with Sanskrit philosophy and ritual, and, above all, his decisive mediation of divine grace to Śrī Vaiṣṇavas of all subsequent generations.

Accounts of Rāmānuja's life figure prominently in many Tamil and Sanskrit hagiographies. Two purport to be by contemporaries of Rāmānuja, but the earliest that can be dated with certainty was written more than a century after his death. Rāmānuja is presented as the last of the three great *ācārya*s, the first of whom was Nāthamuni, and second, his grandson Yāmuna. Rāmānuja just failed to meet Yāmuna before the latter's death, but during his own lifetime he was able to carry out Yamuna's unfulfilled wishes for establishing the community on a firm footing. Yāmuna's extant writings do in fact anticipate major tenets of Rāmānuja's philosophy; they also provide a spirited defense of the Pāñcarātra system of ritual, and express in Sanskrit verse some of the sentiments of the earlier Tamil hymns of the Ālvārs.

Rāmānuja had to be instructed in five aspects of Yāmuna's teachings by five of the latter's disciples. The one who was to teach Rāmānuja the secret meaning of the fundamental ritual formula (mantra) of the community made Rāmānuja come to see him eighteen times before he swore the bright young convert to silence and disclosed the secret. The very next day, however, Rāmānuja went up onto the temple balcony and shouted down the secret to the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas below. Cheerfully acknowledging that for disobeying his teacher he would go to hell, he added, "But because of their connection with you these souls will be saved!" The teacher was so impressed with Rāmānuja's concern for the welfare of others that he recognized him as Yāmuna's successor and the new leader of the community. This well-known story, along with many other stories in the hagiographies, suggests a gradual shift in emphasis from a secret yoga passed on to a small number of disciples to a more open teaching shared with a community jointly worshiping Lord Viṣṇu and his consorts, incarnate in temple images.

Rāmānuja is responsible for many innovations in the Śrī Vaiṣṇava community. He reorganized the central Śrī Vaiṣṇava temple at Śrīrangam to accommodate his growing band of disciples, traveled widely to other temples to try to persuade them to adopt a more strictly Vaiṣṇava liturgy, and went all the way to Kashmir to consult ancient commentaries. He then composed new commentaries intended to convince brahman scholars all over India of the theistic Vaiṣṇava interpretation of the Sanskrit scriptures.

Much of the latter part of Rāmānuja's life was spent in the Hoysala kingdom to the north where he fled to escape the persecution of the Śaiva-oriented Cōḻa king. Indeed, the earliest "hard evidence" for Rāmānuja's historical reality is a stone carving and inscription showing him with the Hoysala king he is said to have converted from Jainism.

In general, the hagiographers put less emphasis on Rāmānuja's intellectual prowess than on his fervent devotion to Lord Viṣṇu, his lifelong efforts to establish Yāmuna's teaching, and his skill in awakening the loyalty and utilizing the distinctive talents of his disciples and scholarly converts. The success of his efforts to persuade many of his own relatives and other brahmans to join the multicaste community of Viṣṇu worshipers had a double effect: The leadership of the community passed still more completely into brahman hands, while Brahmanic Hinduism itself was transformed so that forever after caste ranking, in principle if not always in practice, has been subordinated to the quality of devotion. The story about Rāmānuja's renouncing his wife and becoming an ascetic does not imply that it is necessary in general for devotees to leave their life in society, but in this particular case Rāmānuja's wife stood in the way of his spiritual progress. She was unwilling to subordinate caste ranking to spiritual preeminence and therefore thwarted Rāmānuja's desire to honor his lower-caste teacher.

Nine writings have consistently been attributed to Rāmānuja since the earliest hagiographies and biographical compendia. Three are commentaries on the *Vedānta Sūtra*: the famous *Śrībhāṣya* and the briefer *Vedāntadīpa* and *Vedāntasāra.* One, perhaps his earliest work, is an independent summary of his philosophical position, called the *Vedārthasaṃgraha.* A fifth is his commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā,* in which his mood is at least as devotional as polemical. The remaining four works are very much in the devotional mood and are sufficiently different from the major works that their authenticity has recently been challenged. One is a manual of daily worship called the *Nityagrantha.* The other three are hymns in prose, the *Śaraṇāgatigadya, Śrīrangagadya,* and *Vaikuṇṭhagadya.* The first of these has been interpreted as Rāmānuja's own conversation with the Lord during the solemn ceremony of "taking refuge" *(śaraṇāgati),* and is taken by the tradition to provide a clear warrant for replacing the path of disciplined meditation with the path of "humble approach" or "surrender" *(prapatti).* (The text itself seems not to diverge so radically from the philosophical works as either the renowned teacher Vedānta Deśika or modern critics maintain. In this author's opinion all these minor works are genuine.)

Rāmānuja's epistemology is hyperrealistic. The first two sources of knowledge are perception and inference, and they are trustworthy notwithstanding general human subjection to "beginningless ignorance." Knowledge is always of the real, even in dreams, and error is a disordered perception or faulty inference concerning what is really there. The third source of knowledge is the testimony of scripture, or more strictly, *śabda* ("eternal sound"), which helps to establish much that is uncertain on the basis of sense perception and inference, notably the existence and nature of the ultimate reality (*brahman*), who is also the Supreme Person and personal Lord. In explicit contrast to Śaṅkara's doctrine of two levels of truth in scripture, Rāmānuja maintains that scriptural texts are all at the same level; apparent discrepancies or contradictions must therefore be resolved without placing one side or the other on a lower level. The emphasis on unity in some texts and duality or plurality in others is resolved by noting the synthetic principle in a third group of texts: radical distinction and inseparable connection coexist in the relation between the self (whether finite or infinite) and the body that it ensouls, and likewise in the relation between a substance and its mode.

Scripture testifies to a supreme self who is the inner self of finite selves. Thus the finite self is to the supreme self as the material body is to the finite self. This is Rāmānuja's celebrated doctrine of *śarīra-śarīri-bhāva*: the relation of the self to the body, which corresponds to the relation between grammatical subject and predicate adjective, or substance and mode. It is the special characteristic of finite selves to be a mode in relation to God and substance in relation to material things, which are their bodies or instruments. The entire finite universe of souls and material bodies is also the body of God. Thus God is the only ultimately substantial reality, and reality may be viewed as *viśiṣṭādvaita* (the later philosophical label for this school of Vedānta, not used by Rāmānuja): the nondual reality of that which is (internally) distinguished.

Rāmānuja defines the self-body relation in terms of three subordinate relations, those between the support and the supported, the controller and the controlled, and the owner *(śeṣī)* and the owned *(śeṣa).* It is the third relation that is most distinctive, for ownership is understood to include the obligation of the slave to serve the master and the confident expectation that the master will look after the slave. In each case it is the Supreme Self who provides the defining instance; the finite self's relation to its body is only a limited approximation of complete supporting, controlling, and owning its body.

Rāmānuja assumes that there are three kinds of reality: nonsentient matter (*acit*), sentient but finite selves (*cit*), and the Lord (Īśvara), who is the Supreme Self. The world consists of material bodies controlled by finite selves. While the particular bodies are temporary, the basic matter of which they consist and the finite selves that they embody have no beginning in time. The bondage of many finite selves to "beginningless *karman*" causes their repeated return to the world in new bodies, but the entire world of material bodies and embodied souls is intended to glorify God, that is, to express in the finite realm his power and goodness. Those who escape the ignorance induced by *karman* can see that the finite world is *now,* along with God's infinite world, a realm of glory (*vibhūti*). Despite his horror of linking God with anything defiling in the material world, Rāmānuja insists that the entire finite universe is the body of God.

Finite selves and the Supreme Self are similar but not identical in their essential natures: both have consciousness and bliss as their essential characteristics, but the finite self is limited in its power and extent whereas the Supreme Self is all-powerful and all-pervasive. Moreover, finite selves still "bound" to the material world have their secondary consciousness (that which they *possess* rather than *are*) obscured by the ignorance produced by "beginningless *karman.*"

The Vedānta is concerned with the proper knowledge of reality in order to find liberation from this bondage. In Rāmānuja's interpretation of Vedānta both performance of social and ritual duties and knowledge of reality are auxiliary means in seeking liberation, but the chief means is *bhakti* (devotion), a calling to mind of God's attributes with an attitude that should become as constant as the flow of oil, as vivid and immediate as sense perception, and so emotionally gripping that the devotee feels unable to live without the pervading presence of God.

The ultimate reality thus "remembered" in devotion is not an abstract principle but that most concrete and substantial reality who is the personal Lord, the Lord who escapes all self-confident seeking by finite selves but who chooses to become available to those who acknowledge their dependence. The Lord descends and condescends out of his great compassion to save, but those who most deeply feel their need for God's presence learn the deepest secret: the Lord also needs them. This emphasis on God's initiative along with the surprising secret that the Lord who owns everything needs his devotees' love leads to a second way of talking about the salvific process that is quite different from the first. Instead of loving devotion being the means to attaining the Lord's presence, the Lord is the means to enabling devotion that is a mutual participation of infinite and finite selves. The end has become the means, and the means has become the end. Rāmānuja seems to be able to move back and forth between the older concept of devotion as means and the implications of a radical doctrine of grace.

A century after his death, Rāmānuja was understood by his followers to have taught surrender (*prapatti*) as a preferable alternative to the path of devotion, and they were beginning to differ as to whether some human response to grace was part of this surrender. That difference would gradually split the community in two, but for both groups it was Rāmānuja's own act of surrender that gave the assurance of divine grace for all his followers, a grace then mediated through the generations by a succession of teachers. It is as if they continue to say to Rāmānuja what he is purported to have said to the teacher whose secret he made public: "Because of their [our] connection with you their [our] souls will be saved."

SEE ALSO Śrī Vaiṣṇavas; Vaiṣṇavism, article on Pāñcarātras; Vedānta; Yāmuna.

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RĀMĀYAṆA.

Along with the *Mahābhārata,* the *Rāmāyaṇa* is the most influential epic of India. Attributed to the sage Vālmīki, it is a poem of about fifty thousand lines narrating in Sanskrit the tale of Rāma and his wife, Sītā. The core of the epic is the story surrounding Rama's birth, his marriage to Sītā, his exile, Sītā's abduction by the demon king Rāvaṇa, the battle leading to the killing of the demon, and the recovery of Sītā.

The origins of the epic are obscure and beyond definitive recovery. The epic is available in three recensions—the Northeastern, the Northwestern, and the Southern. The recensions vary considerably; approximately a third of the text of each is not common to the other two. However, the variations, substantial as they are, do not alter the main theme of the epic.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* consists of seven books called *kāṇḍa*s. The story contained in these seven books is divided into two unequal parts, the first part consisting of the first six books and the second part covered by the seventh book. The content of these books is too complicated to capture in a summary, but the main storyline is recounted here.

Daśaratha, the king of Ayodhyā, is childless. He performs a sacrifice to obtain sons. At that time the gods, who are disturbed by the atrocities of the ten-headed demon Rāvaṇa, pray to the god Viṣṇu for protection. Viṣṇu responds to their prayers and decides to incarnate himself as a human being. He will be born as Rāma, son of Daśaratha. At the end of the sacrifice Daśaratha's three wives give birth to four sons, Queen Kausalyā to Rāma, Queen Kaikeyī to Bharata, Queen Sumitrā to Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna. Rāma is the favorite son of the king, and Lakṣmaṇa is devoted to his elder brother Rāma. While the boys are still young, the sage Viśvāmitra takes Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to the forest and instructs them in the use of magic weapons.

King Janaka of Videha, who has the mighty bow of Śiva in his possession, declares that the prince who can wield the weapon will be eligible to marry his beautiful daughter Sītā. Rāma wields the weapon and with his superior strength breaks it, then marries Sītā.

In Ayodhyā King Daśaratha decides to have Rāma installed as prince regent. The decision, which was made while Kaikeyī's son Bharata was away, causes Kaikeyī, on the advice of her maidservant, to rebel against the king. Kaikeyī insists that Bharata should be declared prince regent and that Rāma should be exiled to the forest for fourteen years. The king, who owes Kaikeyī two wishes, is compelled to obey her desire. Obeying his father's command, Rāma leaves the capital city accompanied by his wife, Sītā, and his brother Lakṣmaṇa. Daśaratha dies from the pain of separation from his most beloved son.

In the forest a demoness, Śurpaṇakhā, the sister of Rāvaṇa, attempts to seduce Rāma. Frustrated in her efforts, she attempts to kill Sītā. Rāma punishes Śurpaṇakhā by having her ears and nose mutilated. Śurpaṇakhā complains to her mighty brother. Enraged by Rāma's action and attracted by Sītā's beauty, Rāvaṇa decides to abduct Sītā. Rāvaṇa sends his subject Mārīca to lure Rāma away. Mārīca assumes the form of a golden deer and attracts the attention of Sītā. Consenting to her request, Rāma chases the deer, leaving Lakṣmaṇa to guard Sītā. Sītā persuades Lakṣmaṇa to go in protection of his brother. Once Sītā is alone, the demon Rāvaṇa appears at her doorstep dressed as an ascetic and carries her off by force.

When Rāma learns that Rāvaṇa has abducted Sītā, he secures the friendship of the monkey king Sugrīva. Sugrīva's minister Hanumān flies across the ocean to the island of Laṅkā and locates Sītā in a forest grove. Rāma, aided by the monkey army, besieges Laṅkā, defeats Rāvaṇa's armies, kills Rāvaṇa, and brings Sītā back.

The seventh book of the *Rāmāyaṇa* describes how Rāma abandons Sītā, this time by his own choice. The inhabitants of Ayodhyā doubt the purity of Sītā's character because she has lived in another man's house. Sītā, now pregnant, is given shelter by the sage Vālmīki. In the sage's hermitage, Sītā gives birth to two sons, Lava and Kuśa. Vālmīki composes the story of Rāma and teaches the boys to sing the story.

In Ayodhyā, Rāma begins a sacrifice that Vālmīki attends with the twin boys. The boys sing the epic for Rāma, who then discovers that the boys are his own sons and that Sītā is alive. Vālmīki announces before the assembled crowd that Sītā is pure and without fault. Rāma accepts Lava and Kuśa as his sons. Sītā appears before the guests and prays that her mother, the earth, receive her as a proof of her purity. The earth breaks open, and Sītā is received on a golden throne. Rāma, saddened by the loss of his queen, gives the kingdom to his sons and returns to the world of the gods.

According to tradition, the *Rāmāyaṇa* is believed to belong to the legendary *tretayuga*, the second of the four mythic ages. Historically, the date of the epic is a matter of considerable controversy and nearly impossible to fix with certainty. Extensive scholarly work on the linguistic, stylistic, sociological, geographical, and political data narrows down the possible dates of the epic in is current form to the period between 750 and 500 BCE.

Western scholarly opinion is fairly unanimous in agreement with Hermann Jacobi's finding that substantial parts of the first and seventh books of Vālmīki's version are later additions to the core of the five books. In the Hindu scholarly tradition, however, it is believed that the epic is the first poem (*ādikāvya*) and is composed by a single poet, Vālmīki, who is called the first poet (*ādikavi*). Thus it is believed to predate the other Indian epic, the *Mahābhārata*. Comparative dating of these two epics is a tangled issue because both the epics evolved together, borrowing extensively from each other. Although no evidence is available to establish Vālmīki as a historical personage, the stylistic evidence suggests that the central core of the five books of the *Rāmāyaṇa* are most likely to be the work of a single author.

The origins of the Vālmīki text are most likely to be folk oral narratives of the hero Rāma, a prince of the eastern Indian state of Kosala. Vālmīki's version itself has been sung orally for centuries by bards, known as *kusilava*s, before being set down in writing. Secular and heroic in quality, the Vālmīki version depicts the story of a perfect hero, steadfast in virtues and devoted to the control of his passions. The secular, heroic, and tragic messages of the *Rāmāyaṇa* have continued to influence generations of poets like Bhasa, Kalidasa, and Bhavabhuti, as well as a number of poets from the regional languages of India.

A major shift in the interpretation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* took place during the Middle Ages. Rāma was then identified as an *avatara* (incarnation) of Viṣṇu. The story of Rāma was read as an allegory of the conflict between good and evil in which the good always succeeds under the leadership of God.

Prominent among such devotional *(bhakti) Rāmāyaṇa*s is Kamban's *Iramavataram* (twelfth century), in Tamil. A further development in the devotionalization of the *Rāmāyaṇa* becomes popular with Tulsidas's *Ramcaritmanas,* in the sixteenth century. In Tulsidas all the characters of the *Rāmāyaṇa,* including the demon Rāvaṇa, are Rāma's devotees. All the conflicts of the story and its tragedy are eliminated to produce a harmonious, balanced, lyrical world of God and his devotees.

In addition to literary *Rāmāyaṇa*s, there are a number of folk/oral versions all over India with significant variations in emphasis and messages. Folk versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* sung by women emphasize the role of Sītā and portray her as more independent than she is in the literary versions.

See Also Mahābhārata; Rāma; Tulsidas; Vālmīki.

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RAMBAN See NAHMANIDES, MOSES

RAM MOHAN ROY See ROY, RAM MOHAN

RAPPAPORT, ROY A. (1926–1997). The American anthropologist Roy A. Rappaport's writings, which span ecology, systems theory, and religion, address the large issues of ritual and religious logos in human survival and evolution. After helping to conceptualize the field of anthropological human ecology in the 1960s, Rappaport did fieldwork among the Maring of highland New Guinea and crafted a truly innovative "systems" ethnography, in what became the classic *Pigs for the Ancestors: Ritual in the Ecology of a New Guinea People* (1968), which explores the ritual regulation of environmental relations in their local ecosystems. Rappaport followed up on his analysis of what religion does by probing—through cybernetic studies of the sacred and in essays that link adaptation, the structure of human communication, and ritual life—*why* ritual should order ecosystems and human life. While conducting his religion research, he also consulted with government agencies on the notion of human impacts, arguing for a more public- and policy-engaged anthropology. From beginning to end, he saw anthropology as a holistic discipline that could provide value-based moral and intellectual foundations for both the sciences and the humanities and that could help bridge their divide.

Rappaport, a New Yorker and credentialed innkeeper, was already close to forty when he began his graduate anthropology studies at Columbia University in the politically turbulent 1960s, a time of heightened public debate on ecology, civil rights, the Vietnam War, and the threat of nuclear war. At Columbia he contended with Marvin Harris's cultural materialism; Harold Conklin's ethnoscience; Conrad Arensberg's political anthropology; Andrew Vayda's, Fredrik Barth's, and Harold Conklin's interpretations of anthropological ecology, and Leslie White's theory of general evolution as presented by Morton Fried. Building on Arensberg and White, he developed his own ideas of ordered general systems; and he transformed the ethnoscience and ecologies of Conklin, Vayda, and Barth into his own notions of "cognized" and "operational" environments that introduced ideas of structure in adaptive systems. He also departed from Conklin and Barth by intentionally introducing clearly specified units of analysis, such as "human population," not only "culture," and by tracing energy and nutrient flows, not only ideas. He also bypassed the vague social structural-functional formulations and simple functionalist or materialist arguments of Harris to explore not ritual's function but its adaptive value in maintaining empirical ("reference") values, as in the numbers of humans, plants, and animals living in peace or in conflict within a given territory over a specified unit of time.

The identification of ritual as an important mechanism regulating peace and warfare, distribution of regional population, and humans' sustainable use of environmental resources was innovative, as was the ritual analysis that did not try to specify whether local models of the natural world (which included the superhuman) were true but only whether they were appropriate to maintain the ecosystem.

Despite Rappaport's personal ambivalence toward religion, his research then turned to understanding ritual's internal structure, the principles of sanctity that govern it, and how these principles connect individuals, societies, and ecosystems. Influenced by the ideas of Gregory Bateson (1904–1980) in cybernetics and adaptation, Charles Peirce (1839–

1914) in semiotics, and J. L. Austin (1911–1960) in performatives, he sought the etiology, structure, and attributes of logos (transcendent or higher truths) that bind human beings into meaningful and enduring social orders and enable the trustworthy communication necessary for a shared social and cultural life. A key to his arguments centers on the ambivalent role of language in human evolution, which introduces new content and flexibility into human ideas of desirable, creative, moral, and imaginary orders, but also permits lies. Ritual, he concluded, is the universal basis for establishing trust, given the possibility of linguistic dissembling and falsification. His concept of "the holy" weds discursive liturgical order both to nondiscursive religious experience, which allows human beings to commit themselves to orderly rules that organize their collective lives, and to cultural conventions that help maintain ecological balance. To reach these conclusions, Rappaport continued to ground his abstract theory in Maring ethnography and his ideas of ultimate sacred postulates, logos, and resilience in his understandings of Judaism, his ancestral religion.

Rappaport's main interest in ritual was in adaptive, not maladaptive, structure. Regarding the clash between science and religion, he critiqued the role of science in the modern world—where science seeks to usurp the place of religion ("the holy")—as a dangerous systemic "inversion," because while science questions the value of ritual acts, it offers nothing to replace them. Although science offers up new realms of thought, with calculations based on facts organized under theories, all scientific knowledge can be questioned, and so it fragments and precludes certainty. But humanity needs certainty and wholeness to survive. This certainty is provided by the sacred, which adds cultural structures of meaning to observations and analysis based on accordance with natural (scientific) law.

Rappaport joined the department of anthropology at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor in 1965, then served as chair of the department (1975–1980), was elected a senior fellow of the Michigan Society of Fellows (1975), and in 1991 became director of the university's program on studies in religion. He served as president of the American Anthropological Association from 1987 to 1989.

SEE ALSO Anthropology, Ethnology, and Religion; Ritual Studies.

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RASHI, acronym (RaSHI) of Rabbi Shelomoh ben Yitsḥaq of Troyes (1040–1105) was the most influential Jewish commentator on the Bible and the Babylonian Talmud. Nine hundred years after his death, Rashi's writings remain the standard commentaries for any serious student of the Hebrew Bible or the Babylonian Talmud, and new scholarly studies of his achievement continue to be published.

Rashi was born in Troyes, the political center of the county of Champagne, in northeastern France, but outside the close-knit rabbinical circles of the founding families of German Jewry. After pursuing his preliminary studies in Troyes, including studies with his father, he married and around 1060 traveled to the *yeshivot* of the Rhineland, then the most advanced in northwestern Europe. He studied there with the two heads of the Mainz academy, Yaʿaqov ben Yaqar, whom he considered his most important teacher of Talmud and Bible, and after the master's death in 1064, his successor, Yitsḥaq ben Yehudah, for a short time. Almost immediately, he went to Worms to study with Yitsḥaq ha-Levi, whose academy was superseding the Mainz school in advanced Talmud instruction. By the end of the decade he was back home, but he continued to correspond with Yitsḥaq ben Yehudah and Yitsḥaq ha-Levi.

Rashi attracted his own students in Troyes, and he served as the local rabbinical authority there. Though he wrote answers (*responsa*) to hundreds of questions sent to him, he was not a professional rabbi. He made a living some other way; however, the often repeated assertion that he was a vintner has been disputed.

Rashi had no sons. His well-educated daughters married learned men; their sons became eminent rabbinical authorities. Yokheved married Meʾir ben Shemuʾel, and among their four sons were Shemuʾel ben Meʾir (known by the acronym Rashbam), one of the most important commentators on the Hebrew Bible and developer of the literal method of interpretation, and Yaʿaqov ben Meʾir (known as Rabbenu Tam), who dominated the new scholastic method of Talmud study in the form of additions (*tosafot*) of questions and answers to his grandfather's running gloss. Rashi's daughter Miryam married Yehudah ben Natan, whose commentary to the end of *Makkot* is printed in the standard editions of the Babylonian Talmud. In this way, Rashi created his own French rabbinical family elite.

Rashi lived through the devastation of Jewish rabbinical leadership in the Rhenish academies of Mainz and Worms caused by the First Crusade riots of 1096, and some traces of early anti-Crusade polemic have been detected in his writings. Thus he says that the Bible begins with the creation of the world and not with the first law given to the Jewish people (*Ex.* 12:1), in order to teach that the Land of Israel belongs to the Jewish people, and not to the Christians or Muslims who were fighting over it in the First Crusade. Why? Since God created the world, the entire earth belongs to him, including the Land of Israel, which he first gave to the nations of Canaan and then gave to Israel (Rashi on *Gn.* 1:1).

Rashi's major achievement was his composition of comprehensive running commentaries to most of the Hebrew Bible and Babylonian Talmud. Of the biblical commentaries attributed to him, those to *Job* from 40:25, *Ezra, Nehemiah,* and *Chronicles* are not his but may be based on his approach. Of the Talmudic commentaries, those to *Taʿanit, Moʿed Qaṭan, Nedarim, Nazir,* and *Horayot* are not his. The gloss he began to *Bavaʾ Batraʾ* was finished by his grandson Shemuʾel ben Meʾir, and the one to *Makkot* was completed by his student and son-in-law Yehudah ben Natan.

In his Talmud commentary, Rashi focused on each difficult term or passage in sequence and supplied punctuation or logical transitions that were not clear from the text itself. He used his profound knowledge of the Talmud and Jewish law to help the student by briefly introducing the general topic that the text is about to discuss in detail, and he provided reasons for particular laws and mentioned historical conditions in ancient times. At times, he indicated that he preferred a particular version of a passage, and later copyists corrected the text so that there is no difference between the Talmud and Rashi's correction. His commentary became widely used from the beginning of the thirteenth century and has been printed with the Talmud from the first editions to this day.

Although Rashi based about three fourths of his commentary to the Pentateuch on earlier Midrashic works, he integrated into his work a newer method of Jewish biblical exegesis that focused on the plain meaning of the text. When an ambiguity in the text created the possibility of different interpretations, Rashi explicitly contrasted a straightforward textual interpretation (*pe-shuto shel miqraʾ*)—which could be arrived at through (1) a literal reading of the text, (2) a contextual approach, or (3) the use of a *midrash* that explains the plain meaning of the words as written—to an interpretation which he paraphrased from a Midrashic source. This dual method of interpretation is Rashi's most characteristic innovation, but it has sometimes been misunderstood. Whereas later twelfth-century French commentators like Shemuʾel ben Meʾir and Yosef ben Yitsḥaq (Bekhor Shor) developed a method of interpretation based on the systematic inquiry into the literal meaning of the text (*peshaṭ*) in preference to one based on earlier rabbinical homilies (*derash*), Rashi himself did not explicitly distinguish between the two methods of reading; he did not use the terms *peshaṭ* and *derash* and so certainly did not prefer the former. In his glosses to the other books of the Bible, such as *Isaiah* and *Psalms,* scholars have detected explicit or implied anti-Christian polemics. While there is no evidence that Rashi read Latin, he could have heard many Christological arguments and arguments derived from scriptural proof texts from Christian neighbors and introduced counterinterpretations for the benefit of his students.

From Rashi's commentaries and *responsa,* it is obvious that Jews and Christians lived in the same towns, walked the same streets, bought their household goods in the same markets, and paid for them with the same coinage. Although the medieval fairs at Troyes began only in the twelfth century, the town was already a manufacturing center and commercial depot in Rashi's day, and many travelers passed through. His commentaries include remarks about the city of Venice and about German currency. He observed firsthand in Troyes embroidery of silk with gold, soldering and engraving techniques, and the manufacture of parchment. He also comments about popular customs and street life: some women pierced their ears; butchers sometimes used their hands for scales, putting the meat in one hand and a weight in the other; the well-to-do slept in four-poster beds or else had rods constructed to support a tentlike curtain to keep flies away when they slept.

In addition to noting hundreds of such concrete references to everyday life, Rashi uses approximately a thousand medieval French terms or phrases to explain or illustrate Hebrew or Aramaic terms; these lexical items, written in phonetic Hebrew characters, have preserved important evidence about linguistic characteristics of eleventh-century French.

Apart from its value as a source for Jewish intellectual history and early French, Rashi's biblical commentary also influenced Christian biblical exegesis. Already in the twelfth century, Hugh of Saint-Victor and other Victorine scholars in Paris were interested in the Hebrew text and reflect familiarity with Rashi. But it was especially the Franciscan Nicholas of Lyra (c. 1270–1349), writing in Paris at the very time that a chair in Hebrew had been established in accordance with the Council of Vienne (1312), who made systematic use of Rashi's biblical commentary in his own running gloss on the whole Bible, the *Postilla litteralis.*

The immense influence of Rashi's commentaries in shaping the religious culture of European Judaism still awaits proper historical treatment. As a bridge between the Rhenish center of Jewish learning in Mainz and Worms and the newer dialectical methods of Bible and Talmud study that were developed in the twelfth century based on Rashi's own commentaries, his place in Jewish cultural history is secure. Through Nicholas of Lyra, Rashi also influenced subsequent Christian Hebraists down to Martin Luther and beyond.

SEE ALSO Biblical Exegesis, article on Jewish Views; Tosafot.

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RASHĪD RIḌĀ, MUḤAMMAD.

(1865–1935), Arab Muslim theologian and journalist. Born in a village near Tripoli, Lebanon, Riḍā had a traditional religious education. The writings of the pan-Islamic thinker Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and the Egyptian theologian Muḥammand ʿAbduh opened his mind to the need to reform Islam. In 1897 he settled in Cairo and from then until his death published a periodical, *Al-manār* (The Lighthouse), devoted to explaining the problems of Islam in the modern world.

His starting point was that of ʿAbduh, whom he regarded as his master: the need for Muslims to live virtuously in the light of a reformed understanding of Islam. That understanding involved drawing a distinction between the doctrines of Islam and its social morality. Doctrines and forms of worship were unchanging, laid down by the Qurʾān and the practice of the prophet Muḥammad and the first generation of his followers (the *salaf,* hence the name *salafīyah*, often used for this type of thought). He opposed what he regarded as innovations, in particular the beliefs and practice of later Ṣūfīs, and in his later years drew close to the Wahhābī point of view.

Riḍā believed that, apart from some specific injunctions, the Qurʾān and the practice of the Prophet gave only general principles of social morality and law; their implications had to be drawn out by competent Muslims in the light of circumstances. Blind imitation of past teaching led to stagnation and weakness; the changed circumstances of the present age made a new interpretation necessary, and its guiding principle should be *maṣlaḥah* (interest), a concept accepted in traditional legal theory but broadened by Riḍā so as to mean social utility. By using this principle, his aim was to create a body of modern Islamic law on which the different legal schools could agree; to this end he published a large number of rulings on hypothetical cases raising important questions of law.

Riḍā was much concerned with the question of political authority. He believed it should be delegated by the community to a combination of just rulers and men of religious learning, trained to deal with the problems of the modern world; there was a need for a caliph, not as universal temporal ruler but as the final and generally accepted authority on law. He emphasized the central position of the Arabs in the Muslim world; Arabic was the language of the Qurʾān and the religious sciences, and without the Arabs Islam could not be healthy. He played some part in the Arab nationalist movement, but the influence of *Al-manār* spread far beyond the Arab world, and some of its ideas were adopted by later movements aiming to restore Islam as the moral norm of modern society.

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RASTAFARIANISM. Rastafari (the preferred name for Rastafarianism) was once categorized simply as a syncretic Afro-Caribbean religio-political cult. The reality is much more complex. It might be meaningfully described as a Jamaica-spawned global spiritual movement that is rooted in returning to, retrieving, or reinventing African heritage and identity (and occasionally other historically disparaged or submerged identities). Rastafari includes a variety of specific manifestations, traversing a broad spectrum of religious, political, and cultural forms. The name Rastafari derives from the title and given name (Ras, translated as "prince," and Tafari, "he who must be feared," from the Amharic language of Ethiopia) of Haile Selassie (Amharic for "power of the Trinity"; 1892–1975), the former Ethiopian emperor, whom most Rastafari worship as a god-king or messiah. Yet Rastafari as a whole cannot be defined simply by reference to beliefs about the messiah, common practices, or common organizational forms. Instead, one should approach Rastafari holistically.

RASTAFARI AS A SPIRITUAL MOVEMENT. Rastafari can be considered foremost an expression of retrieved African spirituality. If all concerns about the sacred can be seen as ranging along a continuum between the ideal-typical poles of "religion" and "spirituality," then Rastafari tends toward the latter. Indeed it is important to note that most Rastas (individual participants in the movement) typically eschew the category religion because of what they consider to be the term's colonial, imperialistic, and organizational connotations. In this negative sense religion signifies an essentially dogmatic relationship to the sacred, grounded in the notion that a particular tradition is the only gateway to the Truth. Spirituality, on the other hand, represents a relationship to the sacred that allows for many different gateways and acknowledges that one path may be stronger in certain areas while weaker in others. Whereas religion tends to draw firm lines to distinguish the sacred and the secular, spirituality provides scope for fluidity between sacred and secular, promoting mutual exchange and borrowing among people with different senses of the sacred. Spirituality is also a useful descriptor because, for Rastafari, it evokes an African relationship to the sacred (cf. Mbiti, 1969; Blakely, van Beek, and Thompson, 1994), which is crucial because the movement seeks to break with its Western colonial past and retrieve and revive its African heritage.

It is nevertheless important to note that Rastafari remains intertwined with biblical, Judeo-Euro-Christian values and doctrines and has always included select notions borrowed historically from the Hinduism of the East Indian indentured workers in Jamaica (see Mansingh and Mansingh, 1985). All of these influences were part of the multicultural Caribbean world of early Rastafari patriarchs and matriarchs, and they continue to shape successive generations. As it expands Rastafari continues to borrow from a variety of other cultural expressions.

Rastafari can be considered a "movement" in three senses. First, in its early years and continuing in some circles in the early twenty-first century, movement-relocation to Africa has been a major articulated aim of Rastas. (Relocation to Africa is generally called *repatriation*, a theme explored in its fuller theological sense of redemption later in this article.)

Second, even when physical relocation is not a goal of Rastas, Rastafari represents a conscious cognitive move away from a Western colonial consciousness and toward a recovered, reconceived, or reinvented consciousness. Most typically this consciousness is intentionally oriented toward Africa, though in select cases it has also involved similar orientations to other ancestral consciousnesses (e.g., among Rastafari Maori in Aotearoa/New Zealand). This new consciousness can also be characterized as a cognitive turn inward to a more powerful and authentic sense of self. Rastafari emphasizes the interior location of deity, often referred to as the *I*—an overdetermined symbol that includes both a sense of the self as divinity residing internally and the notion that the spirit and power of Haile Selassie I dwell within individual Rastafari. In terms of the collective, Rastas tend to speak of "InI" (I&I), as opposed to "you" and "me." This urges Rastafari to identify human value universally, communally, and from a viewpoint independent of the value projected on people by a corrupted society.

Third, Rastas themselves and Rastafari ideas and symbols have increasingly expanded geographically, moving beyond their original Jamaican context into different parts of the world. In less than a century Rastafari has taken on global proportions, adapting its contours in creative ways to fit sociocultural contexts ranging from Aotearoa to Poland, from South Africa to Japan, and throughout the world.

The spread of Rastafari has been due in part to the movement's association with popular culture, especially reggae music, from the late 1960s onward. Consequently Rastafari manifests itself not only as an expression of spirituality but also as a secular style. It is not clear among either scholars or the Rastafari themselves where the division of style, politics, and spirituality-religion should reside. Thus different branches of the Rastafari movement reflect the differing degrees to which religious, spiritual, or secular features are ascendant. The historical root of the movement in Jamaica—the Order of Nyahbinghi—is arguably the most traditionally "religious" (including its populous offshoot, the Bobo Dreads of the Ethiopia Africa Black International Congress). These are the most churchical groups, the *houses* (or denominations) of Rastafari that are the most biblically based (especially attending to the Hebrew Scriptures), the most fervently black nationalist in orientation, as well as the most tightly structured around ceremonial worship. Although there is no universally recognized Rastafari orthodoxy at this point, Carol D. Yawney and John P. Homiak (2001) have pointed to an important trend within the House of Nyahbinghi to assume responsibility for upholding traditional Rastafari doctrine, especially in its overseas missions. At the other extreme, those who enter the movement via its broad cultural appeal and who may not belong to any particular house tend to be more open to other dimensions of spirituality and may not relate significantly to the Bible, worship with any special congregation, or even have any commitment to relocate to the continent of Africa. There are also clusters of Rastas who link with more directly political organizations, like the Rastafari Centralization Organization in Jamaica, which attempts to coordinate the different houses and focus them on political issues (for example, challenging the ganja [marijuana] laws or setting up a practical program for relocation to Africa).

Doctrines, organizational patterns, and ritual practices vary widely within the Rastafari movement. It is difficult to define Rastafari according to doctrine, for Rastafari groups do not require allegiance to a single creed from those wishing to join or participate, and doctrine continues to progress semiautonomously in the spirit of a dynamic ethos of theological inquiry and dialogue (a practice called *reasoning*). At the same time in the more churchical houses of Rastafari one is likely to find fairly widespread theological cohesion. Similarly Rastafari groups vary in how they are organized: with some notable exceptions (such as the Bobo Dreads, who maintain a distinction of prophet, priest, and king), authority in the movement is not vested in particular religious offices. Among the Nyahbinghi a collective authority flows from the de facto leadership and seniority (in terms of years in the movement) of various elders in the group. The authority structure among Twelve Tribes and Ethiopian World Federation groupings involves more conventional positions, such as an executive, president, secretary, treasurer, and others. Rastafari organization has been characterized as acephalic, but in reality the organization of the movement varies tremendously.

Finally, there is no formal ritual, practice, or symbol sine qua non that conclusively denotes Rastafari. But the more churchical the group, the more likely one is to find common practices (ranging from common ways of passing the communion chalice [water pipe] to common clothing, such as the Bobo Dreads' distinctive turbans, and common psalms and prayers). Though some practices, such as smoking ganja, are virtually ubiquitous among the Rastafari and other practices, such as wearing the long matted hair known as *dreadlocks*, are now universal in the movement, historically they have not always been so and are increasingly adopted as a style by people not associated with Rastafari. Reasoning might be considered a universal practice in the movement, but it is similar to types of dialogue and conversation outside of Rastafari, and it is too informal and unstructured (outside of the formal Nyahbinghi ceremony of worship—a more structured drumming, chanting, dancing, and prophesying ritual) to be an identifying marker of Rastafari.

With such a fluid range of characteristics, it is impracticable as an outsider to the movement to define conclusively who is part of the movement and who is not. In any case, most Rastas themselves will say that one does not become a Rasta, "believe in Rastafarianism," or join Rastafari as a choice or identity. Rastafari, in their view, is an "inborn conception"—one is a Rasta from birth. The only question is whether or not one knows it and lives it. Indeed the brethren and sistren often refer to their movement as a "way of life," or "*livity*," thereby emphasizing its holistic qualities.

HISTORY OF RASTAFARI. The roots from which Rastafari sprang were present in Jamaica long before Rastafari emerged as a movement. In his early treatment of Rastafari, Leonard Barrett (1988/1977) laid great emphasis on Rastafari as a continuation of Jamaica's traditional Ethiopianism. Ethiopia held a prominent place in the imagination of black Jamaicans; it was a meronym of Africa as a whole, and because of Ethiopia's importance in the Bible, it stood not only as a representation of homeland but also as a symbol of eschatological redemption. Barrett and other scholars have also linked Rastafari's roots to other indigenous Jamaican religions and traditions. Perhaps most comprehensively, Barry Chevannes (1994) explores Rastafari's continuity with the Jamaican Revival tradition, which itself has roots both in colonial and indigenous Christianity and in a Pan-African religion, myalism (a communal healing and anti-witchcraft tradition). Thus Rastafari reflects a continuation of indigenous religious resistance in Jamaica (Besson, 1995).

Most scholars agree that the Rastafari movement per se began in Jamaica at the time of the emperor's grand coronation in 1930, when several early leaders arrived independently at similar ideas regarding Haile Selassie I as a black messiah. Included among these early Rastafari were Leonard Howell (1898–1981), Joseph Hibbert, Robert Hinds, Archibald Dunkley, and Altamont Reed. Howell is typically regarded as the earliest, a "catalyst" for the movement (Hill, 1981), especially insofar as he sought to establish a community of believers (Chevannes, 1994, p. 122).

But the international context was also critical to the emergence of Rastafari, playing an important part in the lives of the early leaders themselves. Howell, for example, had worked as a laborer and resided in the United States, Panama, and according to some accounts, Africa. And virtually all of the founding fathers were influenced by Marcus Garvey's (1887–1940) internationalist vision of Pan-African unity. Garvey (though not a Rasta himself) directed black people's attention toward Africa (best seen in his prophecy—now lost to the written record but preserved in Rastafari oral tradition—"Look to Africa for the crowning of a black king") and raised black awareness concerning Africa and things African both on the continent and in its diaspora. To a significant extent Garvey was responsible for revalorizing Africa in the diaspora, a process the Rastafari continued.

Perhaps the most important galvanizing events for these early Bible-reading leaders were the crowning on November 2, 1930, of Ras Tafari Makonnen as Emperor Haile Selassie I, King of Kings, Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah (fulfilling the prophecies of *Rv.* 5:5 and *Rv.* 19:11–16 in the Rastas' biblical exegesis) and the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935–1936. The latter event ignited angry protests in Africa and evoked an unprecedented wave of solidarity and racial consciousness at the grassroots across the African diaspora. Leaders such as Garvey, George Padmore, Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, and C. L. R. James all came together at this time in England, where Haile Selassie had been forced into exile, in effect giving birth to the modern Pan-African movement.

This early stage in the formation of Rastafari also coincided with widespread political upheaval throughout the West Indies. A number of scholars (e.g., Hill, 1981; Post, 1978; Waters, 1985) have argued that Rastafari ideology played an active part in sparking the labor uprisings of 1938 in Jamaica. Not surprisingly government authorities immediately branded the movement as seditious. By 1940 Howell and his group had established Pinnacle, a community of believers in the rural parish of St. Catherine, Jamaica. In what would become a persistent pattern for the next fifty years, police persecuted the group, and it was under this intense harassment that several contemporary features of Rastafari developed on a mass scale, including dreadlocks (uncombed hair), collective worship, the centrality of the "shepherd figure" as leader in the more churchical houses, along with the practice of living in a self-enclosed agriculturally based community and planting marijuana as a cash crop.

Throughout this period the Rastafari movement also grew under the leadership of other founding figures and independent followers. Moreover as migration from the Caribbean region to the United Kingdom increased in the 1950s, subcultural styles linked to Rastafari became important markers of identity for Caribbean immigrants and started to diffuse through British popular culture (see Hebdige, 1991/1979). Rastafari thus developed not only in Jamaica but also as a subcultural style responding to the double alienation of black West Indians excluded from full participation in British life yet separated from the changes occurring back home. Some three decades later the development of Rastafari motifs in popular culture grew to exert a semiautonomous influence on the global spread of the movement.

In 1947 a number of Rastafari brethren, including most notably Ras Boanerges (1925–2000), formed the Youth Black Faith (YBF) in Trench Town, West Kingston. Other Rastafari groups also existed, but the YBF is of decisive importance for its seminal influence on the movement. Chevannes characterizes it as a militant reformist group "born out of [younger leaders'] contempt for the waywardness of the older leaders" (Chevannes, 1994, p. 154). What was distinctive about the YBF was its zeal to purge Rastafari of the elements of the Revival tradition that could still be found in it such as ritual activity that invoked the spirit world or appeared to Rastafari as magical. This is a seminal point of formative influence, with deep implications for the crisis of "religion" verses "spirituality" currently resonating in the movement. When viewed through the lens of Biblical literalism the Revival use of magical ritual, incantations, potions and other activities appeared to the Rastafari of the YBF as bordering on necromancy. The YBF ultimately was also important for institutionalizing dreadlocks, the heartbeat rhythm of drumming and chanting, ritual use of ganja, vegetarian diet, the importance of words and sounds in Rastafari (including a distinctive Rasta idiom), and the predominance of men in the movement. The YBF developed these elements into a composite whole, the Order of Nyahbinghi, at once a guideline for living and a ceremony of worship centered around a ritual of music, dancing, prayer, and prophesying that remains an important basis of churchical gathering for many Rastas. The Nyahbinghi is based on a radical reinterpretation (through the prism of the Bible) of the rituals of a traditional, anticolonial, late-nineteenth-century religious cult by the same name in Uganda. It should be noted that although the Nyahbinghi had an explicit political message calling for "death to black and white oppressors," most Rastafari did not overtly participate in conventional politics at this time.

Two general developments were especially important for Rastafari in the 1950s and 1960s. First, relations between Rastafari and the police further polarized, owing largely to the inherently radical political message of Rastafari, the militancy of the YBF and other reform groups, and the association of these groups with certain illegal activities (e.g., ganja production). Police finally destroyed Howell's Pinnacle commune in 1954, and there were several infamous conflicts between Rases (males in the movement; females are often called Empresses) and police as the decade progressed (i.e., the Coronation Market riot [1959], the Claudius Henry affair [1960], and most importantly the Coral Gardens massacre [1963]). Ironically two of these incidents were not in fact triggered by Rastas.

Second, as a consequence of this polarization and at the invitation of Rastafari, the University of the West Indies (UWI) produced a report (Smith, Augier, and Nettleford, 1960) that detailed the history, social conditions, and doctrines of Rastafari. The report also made a series of concrete recommendations as to how to broker relations between

Rastafari and the larger community. The UWI report had several consequences that were pivotal for the movement. Crucially the academic credentials of the scholars who produced it and their calls for tolerance of the movement sewed the seeds of the Rastafari's subsequent public legitimacy. Though persecution of Rastafari did not by any means end with the UWI report, the report initiated a positive trend in social perceptions of Rastafari that continues in the twenty-first century. The report further recommended that the Jamaican government send a mission, including Rases, to select African countries to explore possibilities for relocation of Rastafari to Africa. Such international missions were not common in the movement for over a decade, but with the historic 1961 delegation that visited five African states, including Ethiopia, a vital precedent was set.

Changes in the scope and nature of the Rastafari movement since the 1960s are too numerous to catalog comprehensively, but nonetheless a few key trends are noteworthy. Most important of all was the tremendous impact of Haile Selassie's watershed visit to Jamaica in April 1966, ushering in a new cycle in the movement that was characterized by greater levels of formal organization among the brethren and sistren, particularly through the channels of the Ethiopian World Federation (EWF) and organization founded in 1937 (first Jamaican branch founded in 1938) to garner support worldwide for Ethiopia's struggle against Italian imperialism. (The EWF became an important vehicle for pan-African consciousness and brought important elements of formal structure to the Rastafari movement, especially from the late 1930s into the 1970s. It also became the major early instrument for the repatriation to Ethiopia of hundreds of Rastafari who have settled on Haile Selassie's land grant at Shashamane). Other important trends were the entry of a sizable number of persons, especially the youth, from the educated class into the movement and increasing social acceptance of the Rastafari.

The 1970s saw the incorporation of Rastafari symbols into wider Jamaican culture, for example, in the 1972 election campaign of Michael Manley and in the hugely popular film *The Harder They Come* (1973). Among other things, this public recognition marked the beginning of Rastas' transition "from outcasts to culture bearers" (Edmonds, 2003). But the transition has been ambivalent, making Rastafari more acceptable to a broader segment of society while also co-opting Rastafari's prophetic voice (e.g., by appropriating uncritical portions of the reggae icon Bob Marley's [1945–1981] song "One Love" as the anthem for the Jamaican Tourist Board). However, the trend to co-opt Rastafari has not been lost on the Rastas, and several prominent Rastas have denounced the dilution of Rastafari by popular culture. Moreover in the 1990s a more radical stream of young musicians such as Sizzla (Miguel Collins), Luciano (Jepther McClymont), and Capelton (Clifton George Baily III) reignited Rastafari's musical critique of status quo culture by increasingly calling down fire on Babylon in their lyrics.

The 1970s also witnessed the growth of the Twelve Tribes of Israel, a Rastafari organization founded in 1968 by the Prophet Gad. The Twelve Tribes were less stringent in the renunciation of contemporary society and embraced more openly Rastafari's links to Christianity. Because of their less-severe critique of the status quo, the Twelve Tribes started to draw more middle-class Jamaicans into the movement, further contributing to Rastafari's increasing level of acceptance. The emergence of Twelve Tribes was also linked to the charismatic black Marxist historian at the UWI, Walter Rodney (1941–1980), whose political activism among the grassroots in Jamaica before he was deported in October 1968 radicalized a number of students and ghetto youths, most of whom gravitated to the organization. With the continued rise of black power in the Caribbean and increasing scholarship on the movement during this period, Rastafari found a new cadre among UWI students from the eastern Caribbean islands. They carried Rastafari and reggae with them when they returned home, where the movement continued to develop. Some of the most radical cultural manifestations and political conflicts involving Rastafari in the 1970s were in the eastern Caribbean, such as Dominica's notorious Dread Act (an act that made Rastafari illegal by prohibiting dreadlocks, suspending standard arrest and trial procedures, increasing without limit police capacity to use deadly force in apprehending those with dreadlocks, and giving *de facto* power to citizens to shoot someone with dreadlocks on sight if he or she was caught entering their property; see Salter, 2000), the attempted Rasta takeover in 1979 of St. Vincent's Union Island, and early Rasta participation in and critique of the Grenadian revolution that same year (see Campbell, 1987; Salter, 2000; Tafari, 2001).

In terms of Rastafari's global spread, the most important development of the late 1960s and the 1970s was the association of Rastafari with reggae and the popular Jamaican music's worldwide growth as a result of new, affordable transistor radios and cassette players as well as the popularity of international reggae superstars, such as Bob Marley, Peter Tosh, and Burning Spear. Reggae at that time emphasized themes of justice, liberation, racial equity, and love, which resonated with alienated youth globally. Regardless of whether the specific artist considered himself or herself Rastafari, popular culture linked reggae music and Rastafari ideals.

Finally, in 1975 a formal mission set out to spread word of Rastafari outside of Jamaica. In April 1975 Ras Boanerges, Jah Prof, Ras Nedley Seymour, and Ras Ikael Tafari visited Barbados to spread the faith and culture of Rastafari and Nyahbinghi. From Barbados this group launched a series of divine missions through the region that marked the first self-conscious attempt by Rastafari to spread the movement. If any particular trend characterizes Rastafari since the start of the 1980s, it is the increasing efforts by Rastafari to spread knowledge of the movement and to organize. These efforts include an explosion of Rasta-authored books, newspapers, and pamphlets, including excellent monographs by Rastafari scholars, and an incredible array of Web pages devoted to Rastafari in all of its various manifestations. There has also been an exponential growth in missions outside of Jamaica to teach and inform about the movement. The House of Nyahbinghi has been especially active in missions, but other organizations, such as the EWF and the Twelve Tribes, have also established themselves in different locations around the globe. At the same time Rastafari has continued to spread independently of these organizations (e.g., through popular culture).

RASTAFARI SYMBOLS. Rastafari is an iconographically rich movement. It also manifests itself as a subcultural style, hence the various symbols associated with it accumulate both spiritual and secular meanings over time. Four elements continue to reflect central components of Rastafari spirituality: Haile Selassie I, marijuana, dreadlocks, and repatriation.

Rastafari views on Haile Selassie I range widely. The most crucial variable concerning the status of Haile Selassie is arguably the divide between Rastafari in Jamaica and the rest of the movement. But of course generation, political consciousness, the particular Rasta organization one is affiliated to, and even gender all account significantly for different viewpoints. In the absence of empirical data, the overall impression is that a clear majority of Rastafari view Haile Selassie in some degree of messianic or divine light, whether as the creator, god-king, Christ, or some more vague concept of divinity. This majority status becomes more overwhelming when one turns to Jamaica. In examining the way the figure of Haile Selassie is constructed among Rastafari, once again the contradictions are as great as they are seminal to the contours of the movement. Perhaps the overriding factor is the limited knowledge among many Rastafari of Haile Selassie's actual life, his policies, and even his statements. Consequently many of the classic doctrinal positions of, for instance, the Nyahbinghi—the roots from which most of the other branches of the movement willy-nilly sprang—are in diametric opposition to the stand taken by the emperor. Thus wide divergence separates the emperor from many Rasta brothers and sisters on key topics, such as education, democracy, race, gender, politics, modernization, and even the significance of Jesus Christ.

While the above polarity may well be dialectical and admittedly has to do with the radically different contexts within which the Rastafari and Haile Selassie found themselves, it still reflects a fundamental lack of synchronicity in certain vital areas between a movement and the leader they proclaim themselves to be following. Similar contradictions exist between the Rastafari and their other main cultural icon, Garvey. Nevertheless in their overlapping, essentially Pan-African vision, their uncompromising commitment to the mother continent, and their shared exaltation of spirituality, the Rastafari, their god-king, and their prophet-avatar are one. The comment of Hans Wilhelm Lockot, possibly the emperor's most insightful biographer, is worth noting in this regard: "The uncritical admiration of the Rastafarians offended people of sophisticated views, *but they none the less did greater justice to Haile Selassie for what he was and what he stood for than did most of his contemporaries*" (Lockot, 1989, 40, emphasis added).

Central to their movement is the Rastafari use of the psychotropic herb variously called ganja or marijuana, particularly as a sacrament in their communion ritual. Because controversy continues to accompany the marijuana question, given its illegal status in most countries, the Rastafari advocacy of this substance has been the major basis of persecution of the movement as well as the source of much of the dismissive attitude often directed at the brethren and sistren. For the Rastafari traditions, as with so many other spiritual traditions, the herb acts as a mediator between a person's surface consciousness and the deeper layers of awareness—the divinity that lies within. It is also a crucial medium for the energy connecting the divine consciousness in one human vessel to that of another via the smoking ritual that involves passing the pipe (chalice of communion) among the circle of worshippers (usually brethren). Various authors (Yawney, 1978; Forsythe, 1996) have argued that the use of marijuana is integral to the movement's visionary ethos. The multipurpose herb also has tremendous healing potency, the range and depth of which has only just begun to be appreciated by modern medical science but which the Rastafari make full use of. Of course, like any other substance, it can be abused, and most Rastas stress the distinction between "use" and "abuse" of the herb. On the whole the herb has been the catalyst for an incredible creativity and imaginative renaissance in the arts among the Rastafari, especially in Jamaica.

With regard to the dreadlocks, if from the vantage point of another hundred years down the corridor of history one were to look back at the indescribable force and contribution of the Rastafari and to ask what set the movement apart from its own time and circumstance, it would not be first and foremost the emphasis on love and natural living (other movements have championed these before), nor the unrepentant focus on African culture (there are other Afrocentric expressions of cultural resistance), nor the idea of a return to an Edenic Africa (the Garveyites raised that cry earlier), nor even the smoking of the herb (the hippie and jazz movements also celebrated this). The force and power of Rastafari would, in the final analysis, be seen to lie in the magnetic iconoclastic power of their flashing dreadlocks, making so many subliminal statements that sum up the points listed above all at once (natural roots, cosmic antenna, lion's mane, judge's wool, priestly garment, ancient crown, or just simply black man's or woman's hair, once despised as "hard" and ugly, now affirmed as rich and beautiful). It is perhaps inconceivable that the Rastafari could have broken the mental-spiritual-psychological chains of four hundred years of slavery, colonialism, neocolonialism, and racism without the shattering symbolism of the dreadlocks, projected globally through their charismatic music icons.

Justified by scriptural reference to the Nazarite Vow (*Nm.* 6) and confirmed by the fact that members of the militant anticolonial Land and Freedom Party in Kenya in the early 1950s expressed their nationalist zeal in the wearing of dreadlocks, the image of the dreadlocks has invested the Rastafari with an aura of black dignity and self-love at the same time that it has been the visible source of their social marginalization. Moreover because anyone can wear hair in this style, the locks have been the main means whereby the movement has been on occasion infiltrated and tarnished by criminals and other negative elements.

The Rastafari (from Howell and Hibbert through Claudius Henry to Ras Boanerges and the Nyahbinghi) always conceived of repatriation in biblical, Black Zionist, Garveyite terms. Their prophetic concept is apocalyptic (liberally strewn with verses from *Rv.*) and on a grand scale. The classic scriptural reference on repatriation is from *Isaiah*: "Bring my sons from far and my daughters from the ends of the earth" (*Is.* 43:3–7). As Ras Boanerges once spelled out its contours, the repatriation vision is not about migration. "I&I are not dealing upon migration. I&I are dealing upon the ransom of Israel by the moral laws of Almighty God—Jah Rastafari" (Barrett, 1968, 139). Ras Boanerges and the elders accordingly viewed the Twelve Tribes and EWF programs as merely land settlement and emigration initiatives. For the former, then, repatriation involved a long-term moral process of black redemption as well as the ensuing large-scale removal of African people (predominantly Rastafari) en masse from the West and their return to their "own vine and fig-tree," Ethiopia (a Biblical reference meaning all of Africa), their ancestral homeland.

In the elders' conception, repatriation was either to be immediately preceded or followed by what the Rastafari foresee as the pending destruction of the Western world via the long-prophesied military conflagration of world war III and its biblical climax—Armageddon—spreading out from its epicenter in Palestine. Such a historical retribution for the horrors of four hundred years of chattel slavery, colonialism, and neocolonialism would inevitably be accompanied by massive reparations along the lines spelled out in *Exodus* 12. Thus the Rastafari are the harbingers of the virtually global movement for black reparations, though not perhaps in the way they anticipated.

Not all Rastas are committed to repatriation, however, and those so committed hold different conceptions of the process. The Twelve Tribes' ultimate destiny does not lie in Ethiopia but in Jerusalem. Nevertheless the Tribes have a major resettlement program at Shashamane just outside Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. So too do the Bobo Dreads, the Nyahbinghi, and the EWF. About six hundred to seven hundred persons live there in the early twenty-first century, and the community includes a school, a bakery, a tabernacle, and some other communal facilities. Much smaller groups of Rastafari from the West have migrated individually or collectively to South Africa, Ghana, Burkina Faso, Benin, and other parts of the continent. Despite severe financial constraints, the Rastafari are upgrading the level of organization involved in their repatriation program, shifting the focus more toward a developmental Pan-Africanist enterprise rather than mere land settlement and emigration initiatives. This is in keeping with the ongoing transition in the Rasta movement in general from an originally millenarian emphasis, in which the brethren and sistren tended to look to the emperor to bring in the covenanted kingdom, to an emancipatory mode, in which the Rastafari are intensifying their organizational efforts to transform their vision of African redemption into a praxis of liberation (Tafari, 2001). This internal development in turn has led the Rastafari to a greater awareness of and participation in the political and economic dimensions of the wider Pan-African struggle, of which their quest for repatriation remains a crucial spearhead.

CONTROVERSIES WITHIN RASTAFARI. Unity is a supremely important political and ethical concern for many Rasta brethren and sistren. Thus raising controversial questions about the differences among Rastafari may be perceived as sewing disunity. Nevertheless, setting aside theological differences over the status of Haile Selassie and disputes over issues like vegetarianism, whether Rastas should be involved in politics, or how completely to separate oneself from society, there remains one area that causes more controversy among Rastafari than anything else: the question of how closely to adhere to the Bible. At stake is the fundamental issue of how committed the Rastafari are to elements of the Euro-Christian worldview they inherited. Literal readings of the Bible provide a foundation for some of Rastafari's most intransigent positions (e.g., the condemnation of homosexuality as an abomination) and continue to define traditional gender roles in the movement.

Though Rastafari is in many senses a liberation movement, it can also subordinate women (Lake, 1998). Some groups prohibit the sistren from speaking or drumming at Nyahbinghi rituals or reduce their role to support for men. Strict interpretations of the Bible can impose harsh restrictions on women. For example, the Bobo Dreads maintain a long period of separation for menstruating women (twenty-one days). On the other hand, there is a growing spectrum of opinions in Rastafari concerning women, and increasingly (especially as Rastafari leaves its Jamaican context) women have been playing important roles in the movement. Among other things, women have started to play essential roles in spreading and organizing Rastafari, in producing Rastafari literature and art, and in challenging the patriarchal assumptions of the earlier leaders.

One explanation for Rastafari's ambivalent treatment of women is the historical legacy of chattel slavery in the New World. Some scholars argue that the nature of the ancestral black culture predisposed the black woman in the New World to play a central, dominant role in the family structure. At the same time the economic reality of the lower strata black male tended to marginalize him. Given the heavy matrifocal pull within Jamaican grassroots family life, the patriarchal concepts the early Rases evolved would have been a vital buffer to their manhood, which was always under heavy siege from the time of slavery. The early Rastafari patriarchs (and to a lesser extent most of the subsequent leaders in the movement) were raised on the Bible and internalized the pervasive patriarchal teachings (and interpretations) of that book, which they understood as part of the natural divine order of things. In fact the Rastafari movement is notably distinct from most, if not all, of the other African revivalist religions in the Caribbean (Vodou, Santeria, Revival, Pocomania, Kumina, even the Spiritual Baptists), which tend to celebrate leading matriarchal figures, such as the priestess, shepherdess, or mother-queen.

Over time this early model of masculinity and femininity in Rastafari has been eroded. Much of Rastafari has shifted away from its early Euro-Christian influences (some groups more than others), and in the process space has opened for women to play central roles and to refigure their place in the movement in ways that make sense to them. The Twelve Tribes allow the sisters to speak at their meetings and even have a night when twelve of them collectively preside over the gathering. Among other things working to change gender relations in Rastafari, the theological emphasis on the I as divinity within is genderless, providing groundwork for equality among men and women.

CONTROVERSIES IN THE STUDY OF RASTAFARI. Controversies surrounding research on Rastafari fall into three categories: ethical considerations, methodological concerns, and practical considerations of where to do research on Rastafari. Most important is the ethical consideration that there are growing numbers of Rasta researchers who are able to represent the movement to the academic community. In the past there were few Rastafari trained in the academy, so information about the movement came from outside researchers. In theory the fact of both "inside" and "outside" viewpoints focusing on the movement represents the possibility of arriving at a more complete understanding. But whereas the "insider" is generally assumed to be subjective, as Tafari (2001) has pointed out, there is an entrenched "myth of objectivity" in the literature on Rastafari that allows ideological and even epistemological biases on the part of the "outsider" to lurk beneath the cloak of "objectivity." In the view of Richard Salter (2000), the academy should recognize the legitimacy of Rasta scholars of Rastafari and create a voice for them in the academy in the same way that it has, for example, recognized the legitimacy of Christian theologians. Only then will research on Rastafari continue to reflect the dynamism of the movement.

There is also an ongoing methodological debate between scholars who seek to research Rastafari through ethnographic fieldwork and hands-on experience and those who seek to research Rastafari primarily through representations of the movement in the arts. The former type of research is limited by all of the constraints that any ethnography faces. Ethnography is limited in scope and duration, and one can never be entirely sure of the degree to which the researcher is projecting himself or herself into the research (for a summary of this critique in early studies of Rastafari, see Johnson-Hill, 1995). For example, an ethnographic study like *Dread* (1976) by Joseph Owens, for all its sympathetic views of the Rastafari, distorted the overall picture of the movement by dwelling only on the religious brethren mainly from the Nyahbinghi, thus reproducing a kind of inverse reflection of Catholic doctrinal orthodoxy among the Rastas that is inaccurate.

Typically the scholars who work with the arts focus on music lyrics or poetry, though they may also base some of what they say on interviews with the musicians or poets. The problem with this approach is that most Rases are not musicians or poets, and the search for Rastafari exclusively through music or poetry misses less-studied aspects of the movement, such as Rasta political organizations. Moreover this approach runs the risk of misunderstanding the dynamic nature of the movement (which has resisted routinization to a large extent and thus is not fixed in the written form of lyrics or poetry). At the same time it has been argued that the resistance of Rastafari to routinization owes a great deal precisely to the influence of artists in the movement rather than to the religious brethren and sistren, who can be rigid and dogmatic.

Finally, there is the practical controversy concerning where studies of Rastafari are located. As Rastafari spreads globally it is important that scholars of Rastafari recognize that the movement differs from place to place and can no longer be represented as a whole based solely on studies in any one location.

RASTAFARI PAST AND FUTURE. African culture. Biblical narratives of redemption. Grassroots practices of healing, talking, and connecting to the divine. Prophecies of divine justice and divine wrath poured out on a corrupted world. The intrepid sign of liberation reflected in untamed locks. Drawing on treasures buried deep within the soil of slavery, colonialism, and poverty, Rastafari make meaning in a barren world. That they have done so for so many, in so many places, and in such a short time is living testament to the movement's irrepressible vitality.

For two-thirds of the twentieth century the Rastafari revitalized awareness of the pristine glory of black civilization and threw up mythical heroes and heroines of the likes of Brother Bob Marley, his queen Rita, and the wailing Wailers, who through the intense rhythmic language of reggae music provided a new canopy of Africanity under which a whole generation of black youth as well as youth from other nations sheltered from the ravages of a Western world devoid of dreams, mystery, and dread.

It is the fulfillment of a vision the children of Jah (God) have shared with the rest of humanity for most of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, and it leaves a positive omen that suggests that the Rastafari, with their fiery black love, pulsating rhythms, and bright rainbow hues of ites, gold and green, will be around for countless generations to come.

SEE ALSO African American Religions; African Religions; Caribbean Religions; Christianity; New Religious Movements.

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RICHARD C. SALTER (2005)
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RASTAFARIANS SEE CARIBBEAN RELIGIONS, *ARTICLE ON* AFRO-CARIBBEAN RELIGIONS

RAUSCHENBUSCH, WALTER (1861–1918), Baptist clergyman and intellectual leader of the Social Gospel movement in American Protestantism. Rauschenbusch was born in Rochester, New York, received most of his schooling there, and taught at the Rochester Theological Seminary from 1897 to 1918. His father, August, a highly educated Westphalian Lutheran pastor, had gone to Missouri in 1846 as a missionary to German immigrants. After becoming a Baptist, August Rauschenbusch headed the Rochester seminary's program for German-speaking clergy. He bequeathed to his son an enduring appreciation of both evangelical piety and the Western cultural tradition.

Following his graduation from the Rochester Theological Seminary in 1886, young Rauschenbusch became pastor of the Second German Baptist Church in a tenement section of New York City. Here he was stirred by the hardships of the people: "I saw how men toiled all their life . . . and at the end had almost nothing to show for it; how strong men begged for work and could not get it in the hard times; how little children died" (*The Social Gospel in America, 1870–1920,* p. 265). He realized that his training had not equipped him to understand the powerful social, economic, and intellectual currents sweeping through American life; nor had his conservative seminary professors offered him a religious perspective adequate to cope with those currents. During his eleven-year pastorate in New York City he undertook an intense schedule of reading, discussion, and writing, much of it in collaboration with colleagues in two new organizations he helped to direct, the Baptist Congress and the Brotherhood of the Kingdom. Rauschenbusch received intellectual stimulation from a variety of authors, notably the American economist Henry George, the English theologians Frederick D. Maurice and Frederick W. Robertson, the Russian novelist Leo Tolstoi, the Italian patriot Giuseppe Mazzini, and the German sociologist Albert Schäffle.

Rauschenbusch returned to the Rochester Theological Seminary in 1897 as professor of New Testament; from

1902 until his death he was professor of church history. More than any other person in the United States, he provided a theological undergirding for the growing numbers of laity and clergy who sought to mold social and economic institutions according to Christian principles. His chief books were *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (1907), *Prayers of the Social Awakening* (1910), *Christianizing the Social Order* (1912), *The Social Principles of Jesus* (1916), and *A Theology for the Social Gospel* (1917).

Central in Rauschenbusch's message were the affirmations that the churches must recognize afresh that the kingdom of God had been Jesus' key teaching, that God intends this kingdom to reach into every realm of life, and that the competitiveness and selfishness fostered by capitalism must be opposed by persons committed to fulfilling God's beneficent will for humanity.

In the decades following Rauschenbusch's death many churches continued to address the tasks of social criticism and reconstruction, albeit not with the single-mindedness and effect for which he and other Social Gospel leaders had wished. Some influential religious thinkers in the middle third of the twentieth century judged Rauschenbusch's theological perspective to have been colored excessively by the optimism of his era. Recently, his thought has been viewed more appreciatively by persons who find richly provocative such Rauschenbuschian themes as the centering of Christianity in Jesus' proclamation of God's reign, the historical and social character of sin and salvation, and the complementarity of personal piety and social activism.

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Paul M. Minus (1987 and 2005)

RAV (lit., "rabbi"), epithet of Abbaʾ bar Ayyvu (c. 155–c. 247), a first-generation Babylonian amora. Rav helped lay the foundations for rabbinic Judaism in Babylonia. He studied in Palestine with his uncle Ḥiyyaʾ and with Yehuda ha-Nasiʾ, from whom he reportedly received authorization to render decisions in many areas. These contacts gave him a rich reservoir of teachings, self-reliance, and the freedom to go beyond tannaitic traditions.

Later Talmudic circles considered his resettlement in Babylonia, conventionally dated to 217, a turning point in Jewish history, one presaged by natural omens (B. T., *Shab.* 108a). First dwelling in Nehardea, a city on the Euphrates River, he assisted other rabbis and served as a market administrator (J.T., *B.B.* 5.11[5]; 15a–b). He later moved to Sura, a town hitherto said to lack a rabbinical presence. There he gathered a circle of students but probably did not head an academy, as was anachronistically claimed by some post-Talmudic chronicles (Goodblatt, 1975).

Rav's prestige was enhanced by a claim of Davidic descent and by his daughter's marriage into the exilarchic family. He was perceived as a master of wisdom and practical advice (B.T., *Pes.* 113a), able to read natural signs and endowed with the power to hurl curses to maintain respect (B.T., *Meg.* 5b).

In explaining the Mishnah, he drew on Palestinian sources and patterned his teachings after the Mishnah's style and phraseology even where he disputed it (Epstein, 1964). Though later Talmudic circles considered Rav especially authoritative in ritual matters, his dicta affected the way amoraim approached issues in general. Indeed, his comments, with those of Shemuʾel the amora, were subsequently reworked to form a structure around which later teachings were organized; thereby they eventually became the literary rubric for the *gemaraʾ* (Bokser, 1980).

Rav stands out for his wide-ranging theological interests. He emphasized that God rules with supremacy and that he benevolently and with knowledge created the world (B.T., *Ḥag.* 12a). The latter belief was expressed in a Roʾsh ha-Shanah prayer, *teqiʿataʾ devei Rav,* selected or edited by Rav, which stresses creation (J.T., *ʿA.Z.* 1.2; Neusner, 1966). Describing the future, Rav distinctively suggested that the righteous will experience as a reward a spiritual nourishing analogous to what the mystic visionaries of God experience in their lifetime (Chernus, 1982). He often emphasized the importance of Torah study and the respect due to Torah students (B.T., *Taʿan.* 24a, *San.* 93b). Rav made the fulfillment of messianic hopes dependent on human repentance and good deeds (B.T., *San.* 97b). He reportedly asserted that the commandments were designed to purify (*tsaref*) people, in the sense of refining or improving (*Gn. Rab.* 44.1). His ideas, teachings, and activities thus started the process of transforming tannaitic Judaism in Babylonia into a wider social movement.

See Also Amoraim.

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BARUCH M. BOKSER (1987)
Revised Bibliography

RAVAʾ

RAVAʾ (d. circa 352 CE) was a leading fourth-generation Babylonian amora, based in the city of Mahoza. The son of Yosef bar Ḥamaʾ and a student of Ḥisdaʾ, Nahman, and Yosef bar Ḥiyyaʾ, Ravaʾ gathered students in Mahoza after the deaths of Yosef bar Ḥiyyaʾ (c. 323) and Abbaye (c. 338). In his work he attempts to analyze and further disseminate earlier rabbinic teachings.

Through his function as a *dayyan* (judge) and market supervisor, Ravaʾ imposed rabbinic norms on Babylonian Jewry (B.T., *Ket.* 67a, *San.* 99b–100a). He lectured in the *pirqaʾ* gatherings, where aggadic and halakhic topics were discussed. These were convened on sabbaths and special occasions especially for the general public, although students were also expected to attend (B.T., *Pes.* 50a). He instructed many students who attended the *kallot* (sg., *kallah*), academic conventions that lasted several days. He trained disciples as well in his court and had them observe and emulate his personal practices (B.T., *Ber.* 6a; Goodblatt, 1975). Stories depict the students' deep involvement in learning and the insistence of Ravaʾ that they maintain family and community ties (B.T., *Ket.* 62b).

Ravaʾ also played an important part in transmitting earlier Babylonian teachings and possibly the third-century Palestinian traditions of Yoḥanan bar Nappahaʾ (Dor, 1971). With Abbaye, his fellow student and older colleague, he led in critically analyzing the logic of both sides of issues. Conventionally these discussions have been considered key building blocks of the Talmud, though recent research (by David Weiss Halivni and others) suggests they may have been shaped and especially preserved by postamoraic circles. Ravaʾ in particular recognized that to construe the Mishnah, one might have to emend the text or posit an ellipsis (Epstein, 1964). He particularly sought the biblical basis for various Mishnaic laws and practices (B.T., *Sot.* 17a, *B.Q.* 92a–b)

Ravaʾ taught the full range of halakhic, aggadic, and exegetical topics as well as practical advice. In comments such as "a person when distraught cannot be held accountable" (B.T., *B.B.* 16b), he recognized the significance of a person's mental or psychological state. He spoke of God's place in the world and, in stressing public and private study, he claimed that Torah study, even more than good deeds, can counter demons (B.T., *Sot.* 21a). In emphasizing the respect and privileges due to Torah students, he asserted that rabbis, like the priests and Levites of Ezra's day (*Ezr.* 7:24), should be exempt from poll taxes (B.T., *Ned.*)

Ravaʾ stands out in his generation not only for a judicial role with extensive jurisdiction, his reportedly large number of students, and his unusual methods of teaching but also, with Abbaye, for the large number of supernatural stories told about him (B.T., *Taʿan.* 21b–22a). People believed that Torah study and good deeds brought Ravaʾ divine blessings, protection against evil and demons, and divine communications in omens and dreams (B.T., *Ber.* 56a–b). His great prestige is reflected in the Talmudic stories describing the gifts he received from the mother of King Shapur II and in the subsequent principle that his legal opinions should be followed in all but six cases (B.T., *B.M.* 22b).

SEE ALSO Abbaye; Amoraim.

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RĀWẒAH-KHVĀNĪ

RĀWẒAH-KHVĀNĪ is the Persian ritual of public lamentation over the suffering of Imam Ḥusayn and other Shīʿī martyrs. Together with the *taʿziyah* (passion play) and the Muḥarrm mourning procession, known in Iran as *dastah,* it forms a part of the trilogy of the mourning observances that determines the basic popular ritual orientation in Shīʿī Islam. Similar rituals are known by different names in other countries with Shīʿī populations.

The recitation and chanting of eulogies for the Shīʿī martyrs, which has flourished in the Muslim world during the last thirteen centuries, produced a literary genre known as *maqtal* (pl., *maqātil*). It was precisely at the beginning of the Safavid period (1501), when Shīʿī Islam became the state religion of Persia, that the major Persian *maqtal* masterpiece was composed. This was the work of Ḥusayn Vāʿiẓ Kāshifī, titled in Arabic *Rawḍat al-shuhadāʾ* (The Garden of the Martyrs), from which *rāwẓah-khvānī* takes its name: The second word of the Arabic title was replaced with the Persian *khvāni* ("chanting" or "recitation") to yield *rāwẓah-khvānī,* or "garden recitation."

The public lamentation of *rāwẓah-khvānī* is performed most often during the first two months of the Muslim calendar, Muḥarrm and Ṣafar, in commemoration of the murder of Imam Ḥusayn on the tenth of Muḥarrm in AH 61/680 CE. As the son of ʿAli and the grandson of the prophet Muḥammad, Ḥusayn was the third imam of the Shīʿah, who consider his death at the hands of the caliph's troops the treacherous murder of the just and rightful ruler at the hands of an evil usurper. Mourning for Ḥusayn thus combines grief over his death with a strong condemnation of tyranny and injustice.

All classes of society participate in the *rāwẓah-khvānī*s (popularly called *rawẓah*s), which can be held in black tents set up for the occasion in the public square of a town or village, in mosques, or in the courtyards of private houses. During the late eighteenth and the nineteenth century, special edifices known as *Ḥusaynīyah*s or *takīyah*s were also built for the performance, often by official patrons. Richly decorated and carpeted, they displayed black standards and flags, as well as a variety of weapons intended to recall the Battle of Karbala.

The *rawẓah* usually begins with the performance of a *māddaḥ* ("panegyrist") reciting and singing in praise of the Prophet and the saints. He is followed by the *rawẓah khvān* (also known as a *vāʿiẓ,* "preacher"), who offers storytelling and songs about Ḥusayn and the other martyrs. His rapid chanting in a high-pitched voice alternates with sobbing and crying to arouse the audience to intense emotion. The *rāwẓah-khvānī* ends with congregational singing of dirges called *nawḥah*s. The performances last anywhere from several hours to an entire day and well into the night, and the emotional atmosphere that is generated can result in weeping, breast-beating, and body flagellation, as in the Muḥarrm parades. Through the choice of episodes and the modulation of their voices, a succession of chanters are able to excite and manipulate the emotions of their audiences so that they identify with the suffering of the martyrs, who will serve in turn as their intercessors on the Day of Judgment. At the same time, the *rawẓah khvān*s frequently make digressions into contemporary political, moral, and social issues, creating the kind of social and religious climate that is ripe for political action. There is no doubt that the religious symbolism of the just Imam Ḥusayn, martyred at the hands of a tyrannical ruler, played a major role in the Iranian Revolution of 1978–1979.

Outside of Iran, it is only in Bahrein that public lamentations for Ḥusayn and other Shīʿī martyrs follow the Persian model of *rāwẓah-khvānī*. The Shīʿah of India, Pakistan, Iraq, and Lebanon, along with smaller Shīʿī communities in Turkey and the Caucasus, observe the mourning months of Muḥarrm and Ṣafar according to various local traditions, although the intensity of the feelings is the same.

SEE ALSO ʿĀshūrāʾ; Taʿziyah.

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RĀZĪ, FAKHR AL-DĪN AL-, Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar (AH 543–606/1149–1209 CE), was a celebrated twelfth-century Muslim theologian and a prolific scholar. The period in which Rāzī flourished is marked by a cautious reassessment of some of the basic principles of Neoplatonic philosophy, after a period in which this tradition had suffered strong criticism, primarily in the writings of the famous Muslim theologian al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). Rāzī was the principal protagonist of this reassessment of the philosophical tradition, particularly as it had been expounded and established by Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037). Although he was not a philosopher in the strict sense, Rāzī's mature theological works manifest an unquestionable Avicennian influence. But what he perceived as being the excesses of the Neoplatonic tradition he sought to moderate, in order to accommodate its fundamental theories within the traditional framework of Muslim rational discourse. Thus his works arguably represent the most successful synthesis of the conflicting traditions of Muslim philosophy (*falsafa*) and Muslim speculative theology (*kalām*).

LIFE. Rāzī was born in Rayy, near modern-day Tehran, in 1149. Not much is known of his early years, but most Muslim biographers agree that it was Rāzī's father, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn, the city's main preacher (*khaṭīb*), who was responsible for the education of his son in the two principal Muslim sciences of jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and theology (*kalām*). In accordance with the scholastic tradition to which his father belonged, Rāzī received his training in the Shāfiʿī branch of jurisprudence and in the Ashʿarī school of theology, both of which were classical Sunnī affiliations. His formation in philosophy took place in Marāgha (Azerbaijan) at the hands of Majd al-Dīn al-Jīlī, who also happened to be the teacher of the famous illuminationist philosopher, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī. It should also be noted that al-Jīlī's teacher had been a student of al-Ghazālī himself.

Having completed his formative studies in Rayy, Rāzī set off for Khwārazm. There he engaged in serious disputations with the Muʿtazila (upholders of the kind of rationalism to which Sunnī Islam, as championed by Rāzī, was vehemently opposed). Khwārazm was at that time the only remaining Muʿtazilī stronghold, after the decline of the movement in Baghdad, and the opposition stirred up by Rāzī was such that he was soon forced to leave the town and return to Rayy. From there he traveled on to the major towns of Transoxiana, and reportedly even as far as the Indian frontier, before finally returning to settle in Herāt. He died there in 1209.

During his early years Rāzī was of very modest means. But his fortunes quickly changed after he entered into a series of high-profile relationships, most notably with the Ghūrid rulers of Ghazna, Ghiyāth al-Dīn and his brother Shihāb al-Dīn. Later on, Rāzī's travels took him to Khurasan, where he was welcomed by the Khwārazm-Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Tekesh, whose generous patronage he enjoyed. Ibn al-Athīr, a medieval Muslim historian, informs us that these relationships brought Rāzī enormous wealth. The legal schools (*madrasah*) set up in his name in various towns added considerably to his fame. Throughout these various sojourns, however, he was never quite free of controversy. Rāzī was undoubtedly an impressive speaker and his proselytizing sermons—as well his ruthless public criticisms of doctrines associated with various Muslim groups, among them Ḥanbalīs, the Karrāmiyya, and Ismaʿīlīs—won him many dangerous enemies. On one notorious occasion his scurrilous attack against the head of the Karrāmiyya (an extreme anthropomorphist sect active in Ghūr) led to serious public disturbances, and to Rāzī's subsequent expulsion from the town.

WORKS. By any standard, Rāzī was a prolific scholar. Close to a hundred works can be attributed to him with near certainty, although some biographers have suggested twice this number. The range of subjects covered by Rāzī is indeed encyclopedic: he wrote works on history, exegesis, theology, jurisprudence, philosophy, rhetoric, medicine, ethics, geometry, astrology, and physiognomy. He composed a well-known treatise on the theory and practice of magic, but it seems that he abandoned the field after his research did not meet with any real success. Of the range of subjects that Rāzī covered, his principal contributions to Muslim intellectual thought are to be found in his theological writings; his two commentaries (*sharḥs*) on Ibn Sīnā's work (one on the latter's *Kitāb al-Ishārāt waʾl-Tanbīhāt*, another on his *ʿUyūn al-Ḥikma*); and his voluminous commentary on the Qurʾān, the *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb* (The keys to the unseen).

Though Rāzī wavered on certain Ashʿarī doctrines (viz., atomism, God's attributes, and the theory of human "acquisition" of acts), he was generally a staunch defender of this school of *kalām*, as can be seen in his major theological works (*al-Muḥaṣṣal*, *Lawāmiʿ al-Bayyināt*, *al-Arbaʿīn*). Rāzī, however, would devote the large part of his theological writings to the development of what may be termed a Muslim "philosophical" theology (almost a third school of *kalām*, after Muʿtazilism and Ashʿarism). One of his earliest efforts in this respect is a work entitled *al-Mabāḥith al-Mashriqiyya* (Oriental investigations). Here, as elsewhere, Rāzī's debt to two philosophers is obvious: Abūʾl-Barakāt al-Baghdādī (d. after 1164/5) in physics, and Ibn Sīnā in metaphysics (especially Ibn Sīnā's *al-Shifāʾ* and *al-Najāt*).

Rāzī took exception, however, to certain Avicennian fundamentals, most notably the emanationist principle that from the "one" can only issue one, the notion of God's knowledge being limited to universals, and the eternity of the universe. Rāzī refuted these concepts at length, and further refined Ibn Sīnā's proof for God as the "necessary being" by drawing a subtle distinction between *essence* and *being*. Rāzī's *al-Maṭālib al-ʿāliya min al-ʿilm al-ilāhī* (The noble pursuits of the science of divinity) possibly represents the best example of his synthetic approach to theology, since in this work Rāzī makes use, somewhat eclectically, of the methods of Muslim *kalām* and those of Avicennian philosophy. Rāzī's magnum opus, however, on account of its sheer breadth and sophistication, remains his commentary on the Qurʾān. Here, dogmatic principles are affirmed through a combination of philosophical and theological arguments interwoven in such a way that one cannot discern the traditional separation between the two. Finally, Rāzī's contribution to the field of Islamic ethics has been neglected, although it has recently been shown to be quite significant.

A deeply religious individual, Rāzī believed that he could reassert the fundamental principles of the Muslim faith through a synthesis of arguments drawing on traditional *kalām* and Neoplatonic philosophy. Notwithstanding his famous deathbed renunciation of the methods of rational discourse, Rāzī's contribution to Muslim intellectual thought remains considerable.

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RE

RE, the ancient Egyptian sun god, was, for most of the pharaonic period, the chief god or at least among the chief gods. His cult center was at Heliopolis, where he seems to have displaced Atum as universal god during the fifth dynasty, and at the same time he also achieved some supremacy over Horus. In the Pyramid Texts the deceased king, who becomes identified with Osiris, joins Re in the solar bark and serves as a guide on the voyage through the day and night skies. By the First Intermediate Period (c. 2181 BCE), local monarchs and other nobles were having these same texts copied on the interior of their coffins, and thus the right to become Osiris (or join him) and the right to join Re was extended. The theology of the Re religion is known not only from mortuary literature but also from the tenth-dynasty *Instruction for King Merikare* and the later solar hymns.

Re is combined with the old Heliopolitan creator god, Atum, as Re-Atum, the supreme god of the later Old Kingdom, and he is assimilated to the Theban god Amun as Amun-Re, "king of the gods," in the Middle and New kingdoms. Representations of Re in his combined forms are very common, but Re does occur individually on Memphite stelae as a human with hawk head surmounted by a sun disk. This is also his regular appearance in the late New Kingdom, when as Pre-Ha-rakhty (the Re-Horus of the Horizon) he is universal lord. The sun disk itself is known as Aton, and in the eighteenth dynasty this became the object of Akhenaton's devotion at the expense of Amun-Re's cult temple at Karnak. The old Heliopolitan priesthood may have persuaded Akhenaton to transfer his allegiance, but his movement failed and he was later regarded as a heretic.

Hathor is the consort of Re and personification of the entire ennead of gods, and in this way she is also mother of Horus, the king. "Son of Re" was one of the major titles of the king beginning in the fourth dynasty. The great temple of Re at Heliopolis has not survived, but there are separate chapels to the sun god in New Kingdom mortuary temples. The great rock-cut temple of Ramses II at Abu Simbel was dedicated to the sun god in his two aspects, Re-Harakhty and Amun-Re. Re's central position in the early mortuary literature continued in the New Kingdom, when papyri of the *Book of Going Forth by Day* were available to anyone who could afford them and kings used new books that described the underworld of Sokar of Memphis, through which the deceased ruler was to guide the solar bark. The solar hymns acknowledge Re's involvement with creation and with sustaining and overseeing what he created. Other gods are described as coming from his sweat, and humankind from the weeping of his eye.

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REBBE See TSADDIQ

REBECCA

REBECCA, or in Hebrew, Rivqah, was the wife of Isaac and the second of the biblical matriarchs. The name *Rivqah* is usually taken to be an animal name, like those of Rachel and Leah; it is derived from a hypothetical form (**biqrah*) meaning "cow." According to *Genesis,* Rebecca was the granddaughter of Abraham's brother Nahor.

Abraham sent his servant to find a wife for Isaac in Mesopotamia, where he encountered Rebecca drawing water from a well, a meeting place often indicative of divine providence in the Bible. God's involvement is further evidenced by Rebecca's offer of hospitality, fulfilling the servant's stipulated sign. Rebecca subsequently consented to make the journey back to Canaan, where she met and married Isaac. Like his father Abraham, Isaac once claimed that his wife was his sister so that Abimelech, king of Gerar, would not have him killed in order to possess her. The ruse was discovered, however, when the king observed an amorous encounter between them.

After twenty years of infertility, Rebecca bore twins. According to a divine oracle, they were to become two nations, with the descendants of the older serving those of the younger. Rebecca ensured the fulfillment of this prophecy by helping Jacob, her younger son, deceive his blind father while the elder son, Esau, was away. As a result Isaac gave Jacob the blessing intended for Esau. According to rabbinic tradition, Rebecca instigated this deception because she recognized from her sons' behavior that Jacob would make the better leader. She later helped Jacob flee Canaan to escape Esau's anger. Her earlier reassurance to Jacob that the "curse [for this deception] will be on me" (*Gn.* 27:13) came to be fulfilled when she never again saw her favorite son.

The Bible presents Rebecca as a strong and incisive figure, complementing the relatively weak Isaac. She is the only woman whose birth is noted in the Bible (*Gn.* 22:20–23). Her judgment as to the better son corresponds with God's, and her actions not only control the transmission of authority within the family but also ensure the fulfillment of God's will.

SEE ALSO Isaac; Jacob.

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FREDERICK E. GREENSPAHN (1987 AND 2005)

REBIRTH SEE REINCARNATION; TRANSMIGRATION

RECITATION SEE CHANTING; TILĀWAH

RECLUSES SEE EREMITISM

RECONSTRUCTIONIST JUDAISM.

Reconstructionist Judaism originated in the philosophy of Mordecai Kaplan (1881–1983) and is widely considered the fourth religious denomination of American Jewry, along with Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox. Kaplan coined the term *Reconstructionism* in his major work, *Judaism as a Civilization* (1934), to define his intentions for making Judaism in the United States meet the needs of the generation of the children of eastern European immigrants who arrived in the United States in the early twentieth century and those who were born in the country subsequently. He believed Judaism as practiced in Europe would not be viable in the American environment, and he sought to create a blueprint for a new way of being Jewish that would combine the best features of traditional Judaism with the American way of life. He chose the term *reconstruct* because it indicated both a respect for Jewish tradition and an awareness that Judaism needed to be remodeled to fit the conditions of life in the United States. He saw his plan in contrast to reform, which lacked a connection to Jewish traditional practice because it focused on theology rather than customs. He also rejected the idea of more traditionally oriented Jews that Judaism needed to be conserved without change.

THE CIVILIZATIONAL APPROACH. Kaplan's most influential idea, which was central to his platform of reconstruction, was that the Jews were neither solely a religious group nor a nation, as they were constituted in prior eras, but a people. He suggested that belonging to the Jewish people was what bound Jews together, even if they disagreed about belief and practice.

Kaplan's blueprint entailed a redefinition of the terms of Jewish life. Judaism was the evolving religious civilization of the Jewish people. Influenced by the ideas of modern sociology, Kaplan retold the story of Jewish history through the conceptual framework of evolution, arguing that change was central to Jewish development over time. Just as Judaism in the past had changed from the times of the Bible through the rabbinic period and into modernity, the Jews in each era in the future would have a responsibility to reconstruct Judaism to meet the needs of the times. The key to this process in early-twentieth-century America was for Jews to understand Judaism as a civilization parallel to other ancient civilizations, like Greece or Rome, or modern ones, like France or England. While religion was central to Judaism, Kaplan viewed Judaism as more than a religion. Jewish civilization should be understood to have the same characteristics of those of other groups, including language, law, literature, customs, art, food, and music. Judaism was not simply a religion or a nation, as others claimed, but a fully developed way of life. This perspective supported those who were alienated from Jewish religious practice but were interested in remaining Jewish through their connections to literature or the culinary arts, for example.

Kaplan dealt with the problem of being both Jewish and American by claiming that Jews could live in two civilizations, the American and the Jewish, taking the best from each. He saw these two civilizations as perfectly compatible. The idea of living in two civilizations was an antidote to the melting-pot ideal that suggested that immigrants shed their ethnic backgrounds. Kaplan's idea that one could be both Jewish and American without experiencing conflict between those identities prefigured the ethnic and racial identity politics that became popular in the 1960s.

What Kaplan wanted Jews to take from the American framework was a connection to what he called the sancta of American civilization: the holidays, myths, and customs of America. To this end Kaplan created liturgies for holidays like Thanksgiving and the Fourth of July. He also was a passionate believer in democracy and sought to transform Jewish institutions into the democratic patterns of American life. An intellectual disciple of Émile Durkheim and John Dewey, Kaplan wanted to reorganize American Jewish institutions to function in a democratic way. Instead of organizing Jewish life into synagogues and denominations, Kaplan envisioned the creation of organic Jewish communities where democratically elected leaders would reconstruct Jewish political, social, and religious life in concert. Kaplan was also an avid cultural Zionist and believed that a Jewish state in what was then Palestine would be the center that would hold these organic communities together in a worldwide, democratic Jewish structure of governance. Although this dimension of Kaplan's social vision was utopian and never was achieved, his ideas were influential in the movement to create synagogue centers and communal structures, like the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, and in Zionist and other organizations that sought worldwide connections among Jews.

KAPLAN'S THEOLOGY. To Kaplan, religion was the most important contribution of Jewish civilization to the world. Kaplan's own religious vision was controversial and achieved much attention but little support. In 1937 Kaplan published a theological treatise, *The Meaning of God in Modern Jewish Religion.* Espousing a theology of religious naturalism, Kaplan defined God as "the Power that makes for salvation" and rejected anthropomorphic and supernatural views of God, instead defining God as an impersonal force that acts through and not beyond the natural world and inspires human beings to aspire to do good in the world. Influenced also by pragmatism, Kaplan's main concern was on how this Power functioned in people's lives to encourage them to seek out a meaningful and moral life. Although many have considered Kaplan's position atheistic, he was a passionate believer in the existence of this impersonal force.

Another controversial dimension of Kaplan's religious philosophy was his elimination of the notion that the Jews were the chosen people. A God that did not act in history could not single out one people for any special role. Kaplan taught that all peoples had a unique function to fulfill in the world and that each group could, through what he called "ethical nationhood," serve a divine purpose.

THE PAST HAS A VOTE, NOT A VETO. Kaplan defined the traditional practices of the Jews as folkways rather than law. The idea that "the past has a vote but not a veto" became an important slogan for Reconstructionism. While the past needed to be respected, it could not be the final factor determining Jewish practice. Kaplan did encourage people to observe the Sabbath and other holy days and keep kosher, not because they were commanded to do so by God but because these observances were still meaningful to bind them together as a people and connect them to Jews in the past and the future. He encouraged Jewish groups to take Jewish folkways seriously and think about ways to reconstruct them. If customs in their ancient forms still had meaning, Jews should continue to observe them as they had been practiced. Other practices that no longer conformed to the ethical vision of modernity, such as the inequality of the sexes in ancient Jewish teaching, should be abandoned, however. Many customs that no longer were meaningful, Kaplan argued, should be reconstructed, given new meanings, and observed.

One of Kaplan's great contributions was to publish prayer books that illustrated his intention to reconstruct Judaism. He published a Haggadah in 1941 that told the Passover story as a tale of the triumphs of Moses and the people of Israel rather than God. *Sabbath Prayer Book,* published in 1945, changed the wording of key prayers to eliminate the concept of chosenness, reward, and punishment, as well as references to Temple sacrifice. The prayer book also removed special status for the ancestors of the priests and Levites, as Kaplan saw that practice as not in keeping with democratic principles and therefore in need of reconstruction. *Sabbath Prayer Book* was publicly burned by Orthodox rabbis in 1945, and Kaplan was excommunicated. Unlike his other works, *The New Haggadah* achieved great popularity and brought Kaplan great attention in American Jewish life in the mid-1940s.

THE SPREAD OF RECONSTRUCTIONISM. Kaplan's ideas were most influential with the leadership of Reform and Conservative Judaism from the 1920s, when *Judaism as a Civilization* was published, through the late 1940s. His magazine, the *Reconstructionist,* was a leading forum for discussion and debate about critical Jewish issues, from Zionism to economic justice. Kaplan was interested in influencing the leadership of the American Jewish community to follow his ideas. He was not interested in starting a movement based on those ideas. He was a rabbi of a synagogue he founded in 1922, the Society for the Advancement of Judaism (SAJ). The SAJ was a place to carry out his experiments in liturgy. The services conducted at SAJ were based largely on the traditional Hebrew liturgy but also included English readings in keeping with the themes of the service and provided ample opportunity for discussion of the Torah portion and its relationship to issues of the day. The SAJ is also famous as the location of the first modern bat mitzvah, held rather unceremoniously for Kaplan's eldest daughter, Judith, in 1922.

Kaplan's primary vocation was as professor of homiletics at the Jewish Theological Seminary, a position he held from 1909 to 1963. During Kaplan's years at the seminary, Reconstructionism was seen primarily as the left wing of the Conservative movement. Kaplan's greatest influence was on the several generations of rabbis he taught, many of whom became his ardent followers. His followers were among those most dissatisfied with the way Conservative Judaism was developing, and they urged Kaplan to separate from the institutional structure of Conservative Judaism and embark on the creation of a Reconstructionist movement. He gave tacit permission and support to these rabbis but never embraced the idea of creating a separate movement based on his ideology. He refused opportunities to start his own seminary or to teach at other Jewish institutions.

But Kaplan's ardent followers were intent on creating a movement based on his philosophy. The task of movement building fell to Kaplan's son-in-law, Ira Eisenstein (1906–2001). Eisenstein was one of the many young men who became followers of Kaplan while training for the rabbinate at the Jewish Theological Seminary. Eisenstein slowly built an organizational structure that began with the Reconstructionist Foundation in 1940. The foundation was a membership organization that coordinated the publications produced by the nascent movement, including the magazine, the works of liturgy, and pamphlets explaining the Reconstructionist program.

Assuming that the future of a movement depended on attracting synagogues in addition to building an individual membership base, Eisenstein in the early 1950s took a position as rabbi of Anshe Emet, a large Conservative synagogue in Chicago thought to be sympathetic to the Reconstructionist program. Unsuccessful in the effort to make Anshe Emet a Reconstructionist synagogue, Eisenstein returned to New York in 1959. He and his colleagues organized their own synagogues and small study groups, which they called havurot, to further the work of the movement. With the cooperation of several rabbis who revered Kaplan as their teacher and who encouraged their congregations to affiliate with both the Reconstructionist and Conservative movements, the Reconstructionist movement began to grow. In 1954 they organized the Reconstructionist Federation of Congregations, which consisted of the SAJ and two other groups. As more affiliates joined the movement, the federation was reorganized as the Federation of Reconstructionist Congregations and Havurot (FRCH) in 1960, and it later was renamed the Jewish Reconstructionist Federation (JRF). Through the next few decades the organization grew gradually, adding a few dozen or more Reconstructionist groups around the United States and Canada. Some of Kaplan's followers were also instrumental in creating a Reconstructionist presence in Israel, founding a synagogue, Mevaqshe Derekh, in 1962.

The slow growth of the movement can be attributed to several other factors in addition to Kaplan's own reticence. Many rabbis who were his followers were also institutionally loyal to the Reform and Conservative movements and did not want to build new institutions. And Kaplan's ideology was intellectually challenging and rigorous, and consequently attractive to only a small number of Jews who were dissatisfied with traditional synagogue life. As the sociologist Charles Liebman pointed out in an influential study in the 1970s, Reconstructionism functioned as the folk religion of American Jewry. Kaplan's work described what American Jews actually believed and practiced but not the way Jews wanted their religious institutions to represent Judaism in America. While Reconstructionist ideology may have described the actual theology and behavior of American Jewry, most Jews preferred that their synagogues hold up an ideal that was not necessarily reflected in their own belief or practice.

FOUNDING A RABBINICAL COLLEGE. Although the Reconstructionist movement did not attract large numbers, congregations did form, and they sought leadership. Many Conservative rabbis were taught by Kaplan, but they were, like Kaplan, loyal to their institutional homes and were not willing to serve these new congregations. For Reconstructionism to grow as a movement, it was necessary to start a school to train its own rabbis. The Reconstructionist Rabbinical College (RRC) was founded in 1968 in Philadelphia by Ira Eisenstein who became the first president. While Kaplan generally opposed to the institutionalization of the Reconstructionist philosophy and was not involved directly in the school's creation, he did travel from New York to Philadelphia to teach a class once a week, and continued to do so until 1972 when he moved to Israel. The establishment of this school put Reconstructionism on the map as an independent denomination in the American Jewish community.

The timing for the creation of such an institution was excellent. Young men fleeing the draft considered this new kind of theological training. Young women influenced by women's liberation were another source of students for the new school. (Although the Reform seminary, the Hebrew Union College, ordained its first woman candidate a year before Sandy Eisenberg Sasso, the first woman RRC graduate, completed her training; when RRC admitted Sasso, no woman had yet been ordained.)

Eisenstein sought to provide a training program and curriculum that reflected the Reconstructionist ideology. The ordination of women followed Kaplan's principled belief in women's equality. Living in two civilizations meant that graduates of the RRC would also obtain doctoral degrees in religious studies from a secular institution. To that end the RRC was located in Philadelphia based on an arrangement for rabbinical candidates to take doctoral studies at the Department of Religion at Temple University. The curriculum at RRC was constructed around seminars that focused on the evolving history and culture of the Jewish people. The first year was devoted to the Bible, the second to the Talmud, the third to medieval studies, the fourth to modern studies, and the fifth to the contemporary world. Text study was considered ancillary to the history seminar. This distinguished studies at RRC from those at the Jewish Theological Seminary, where learning Talmud text was central. It also distinguished the program from Hebrew Union College, which focused more on practical rabbinical training. At RRC practical rabbinical training was limited. The ideal was that RRC graduates would be teacher-scholars who worked with small congregations on weekends while they pursued their academic studies as their primary occupation.

Whereas some of the early students were interested in pursuing academic careers, others were more interested in traditional careers as synagogue rabbis. The Reconstructionist congregations were also seeking leadership. During the first decade, the Ph.D. requirement was reduced to a master's degree, and students began pursuing master's degrees in education and social work to support their vocational interests. Some of the graduates began to assume leadership in Reconstructionist congregations, whereas others served Reform and Conservative congregations or took positions as Jewish communal service directors, institutional chaplains, principals of day schools, or chaplains on college campuses.

Slow growth continued through the 1970s. The first graduates organized the Reconstructionist Rabbinical Association (RRA) in 1974. The RRA welcomed not only graduates of the RRC but rabbis who were supportive of the Reconstructionist philosophy and movement. The addition of an organization of Reconstructionist rabbis enabled the Reconstructionist movement to mirror the tripartite organizational structure of the Reform and Conservative movements and gain legitimacy on the national level.

THE NEXT GENERATION OF LEADERSHIP. For many years Eisenstein served as editor of the *Reconstructionist* magazine, the head of the Reconstructionist Foundation, and the president of the RRC. In the early 1980s he began the process of retiring from these posts, having accomplished his goal of establishing the institutions of the Reconstructionist movement. Eisenstein's retirement in 1981 was soon followed by the death of Mordecai Kaplan, and a new era of leadership and change ensued.

In 1981 Ira Silverman succeeded Eisenstein as president of the RRC, and David Teutsch became the head of the Federation of Reconstructionist Congregations and Havurot. Neither man had a prior association with the Reconstructionist movement. Silverman had been the executive director of the American Jewish Committee, and Teutsch was a recently ordained Reform rabbi. Both had been strongly influenced by the newly developing Ḥavurah movement in Judaism. Although Reconstructionists had formed *ḥavurot* (small fellowships for study and celebration) as early as the 1950s, the Ḥavurah movement envisioned these small groups quite differently.

Ḥavurah Jews formed their groups as an alternative to synagogue membership. The groups usually consisted of young people in their twenties and thirties who came of age in the 1960s, singles and couples, some with small children. Many were educated in the Conservative movement's youth and summer programs and as a result were quite knowledgeable about Jewish texts and practice. While they were generally comfortable with traditional theology, they were critical of Jewish institutional life and uninterested in synagogues and rabbis, preferring intimate, participatory gatherings where the participants could alternate leadership roles. With the exception of an annual conference and newsletter, they opposed the creation of new institutions. They preferred celebrating and studying together in these small groups, and most such groups had no need for Jewish communal institutions. Teutsch and Silverman, on the other hand, saw the potential of the institutions of the Reconstructionist movement as a structure within which to harness the energy of Ḥavurah Judaism.

Important elements of the ideological orientation of Reconstructionism are compatible with Ḥavurah Judaism. Reconstructionism and Ḥavurah Judaism share an emphasis on peoplehood, community, and democracy; a passionate embrace of women's equality; an interest in developing new rituals and practices; and an informal and emotive worship style. However, Kaplan's theology and his unbridled enthusiasm for America were not of importance to the Ḥavurah orientation and would no longer be emphasized. This rejection of Kaplan's ideas was a source of tension between those who came to be defined as classical Reconstructionists and the next generation.

Silverman made many changes at RRC. He moved the campus from its small, urban home near Temple University to a much larger building in a northern suburb, and he added the nationally recognized scholars Hershel Matt, Arthur Green, Arthur Waskow, and Zalman Schachter-Shalomi to the faculty. The presence of Waskow and Schachter-Shalomi in particular created problems for the small movement. These men were the key leaders in what later became known as the movement for Jewish Renewal.

Like Reconstructionism and Ḥavurah Judaism, the Renewal movement emphasizes community, equality for women, and ritual innovation. But Renewal Judaism, particularly as defined by Schachter-Shalomi, is also neo-Hasidic with an emphasis on charismatic leadership and mystical union with God. Schachter-Shalomi taught that Jewish life is enriched by borrowing practices from other religious traditions, like Sufism, Yoga, and Native American spirituality. This emphasis created enormous tension and debate among Reconstructionists, who did not appreciate his mystical orientation. Waskow was controversial within the organized Jewish community for his outspoken political views, including his criticisms of the government of Israel. The Reconstructionist movement endured much censure for keeping him on the faculty during Silverman's presidency.

When Silverman resigned in 1986, Arthur Green became the president of RRC. Green was a scholar of Hasidism and a critic of Kaplanian theology. He shifted the curricular focus of the rabbinical program, ending the requirement for outside study. He replaced the requirement with an emphasis on traditional textual study, shifting the curricular focus away from historical critical study. He added a mandatory year of study in Israel and increased Hebrew language requirements in the curriculum. Green left in 1993 to resume his career as a university professor.

Teutsch resigned as the director of the Federation of Reconstructionist Congregations and Havurot to serve RRC as dean of admissions and then as executive vice president. He was chosen to follow Green as RRC president in 1993. Teutsch embarked on a program to fulfill the institutional mandate of the original Reconstructionist leaders, to make Reconstructionism a legitimate fourth denomination on the American Jewish scene. In his years as president, Teutsch initiated capital improvements, began master's degree and cantorial training programs, and solidified the financial base of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College. But his most important contribution was as the editor of the five-volume prayer book series *Kol Ha-neshamah*, published over a ten-year period, 1989–1999.

This prayer book series replaced the old Reconstructionist prayer books that had been so controversial and popular in their time. *Kol Ha-neshamah* includes the classical Reconstructionist formulation of the prayers alongside traditional prayers and more contemporary innovations. By making these options available, the prayer books provided room for Reconstructionists of different theological orientations to feel welcome within the Reconstructionist community. The prayer books made a definitive statement that the Reconstructionist movement had a distinctive worship style and a contribution to make to Jewish religious life. For Reconstructionist congregations, *Kol Ha-neshamah* created a perception that even if congregations make different choices about which prayers to use, they are all part of one Reconstructionist community, reflecting Teutsch's emphasis on consensus building. The number of Reconstructionist congregations also expanded during this era, growing in number from several dozen to over one hundred as the movement placed greater emphasis on supporting congregational life.

BEYOND CLASSICAL RECONSTRUCTIONISM. The emphasis on creating liturgy linked the new era to the Reconstructionist past but also highlighted how spirituality became a dominant feature of contemporary Reconstructionism. Reconstructionist congregations welcome Jews who embrace Kaplan's theology of religious naturalism, or a cultural rather than religious orientation to Jewish life. But Reconstructionist Judaism has followed the contemporary Jewish trend toward a focus on the human-divine encounter that is predicated on a more traditional view of God as a partner in conversation. Reconstructionist Jews are not likely to believe that God responds directly to prayer or acts to reward or punish them in their lives. But they are likely to seek a relationship with God through prayer and meditation. Rabbinical students at RRC have mentors for their spiritual direction, and Reconstructionist synagogues sponsor healing groups, prayer circles, and Jewish meditation.

The emphasis on community, and in particular on inclusive community, became the other hallmark of Reconstructionist Judaism under Teutsch. Kaplan was a maverick, often at odds with the faculty at the Jewish Theological Seminary, espousing a theology that many perceived as heretical. Eisenstein also propounded an antiestablishment orientation, founding an upstart movement and school in an era when few new institutions were being developed in American Judaism. Following that pattern, contemporary Reconstructionist philosophy emphasizes welcoming Jews who see themselves as unwelcome in the rest of the Jewish community, particularly gay men, lesbians, and the intermarried. The Reform movement has also reached out to these groups, but the Reconstructionist movement has taken bold steps to welcome them without the institutional strength of the Reform movement. The RRA adopted patrilineal descent (accepting the child of a Jewish father and a non-Jewish mother as a Jew) and developed guidelines for welcoming intermarried couples in 1978, supporting a position taken by the Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation in 1968. The RRC under Silverman was the first seminary to admit openly gay and lesbian students, in 1984. The emphasis on inclusive community reinforced the classical Reconstructionist orientation toward acceptance of those who were alienated from Jewish life but took the idea in a new direction.

In 2002 Teutsch stepped down as president to direct the Center for Jewish Ethics at RRC. He was succeeded in the presidency by Dan Ehrenkrantz, the first RRC graduate to hold the position. With an alumnus of the rabbinical college in the highest leadership position for the first time and with the stabilization of its institutions, Reconstructionist Judaism claimed a place in the mainstream of Jewish life.

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Rebecca T. Alpert (2005)

REDEMPTION (from Lat. *redemptio,* derived from *redemere,* "to buy back") literally means liberation by payment of a price or ransom. The term is used metaphorically and by extension in a number of religions to signify the salvation from doom or perdition that is wrought by a savior or by the individual himself. Like the concepts of salvation, sacrifice, and justification, the concept of redemption belongs to a cluster of religious notions that converge upon the meanings of making good, new, or free, or delivering from sickness, famine, death, mortality, life itself, rebirth, war, one's own self, sin and guilt, anguish, even boredom and nausea. Redemption bears the closest conceptual kinship to salvation, sharing with it the intentionality of the need or desire to suppress an essential lack in human existence and to be delivered from all its disabling circumstances. This deliverance requires various forms of divine help, succor, or intervention to be achieved, which often secures for the believer an access to the *dunamis* of the spirit and to its outpourings, thereby leading to charismatic gifts. Redemption may be of God's or of humanity's doing. In a certain sense, redemption makes possible a recovery of paradise lost, of a primordial blissful state. In another sense, it points to new creation or ontological newness in the future. Creation is in many religions a highly sacrificial act that requires prior destruction, as in the dismemberment of Prajāpati's body in Hinduism or the thorough destruction of the shaman's body in northern Asian religions. These acts signify reconstruction-participation in divine fecundity or, respectively, multi-fecundation by the god Prajāpati, equivalent to partnership in the world. To be redeemed may mean to be divinized, either by the reenactment of the primordial creative act (preceded by a descent) or through the theandric, sacrificial action of a savior (*sōtēr*). In both cases, grace plays an important role; forgiveness also may be redemptive to the extent that it is provoked by, or calls for, repentance.

In Judaism, the psalmist's "God of my salvation" (Heb. *Goʾel,* "redeemer," from the verb *gaʾal,* used to refer to the redeeming of relatives from slavery, of property from foreign possessions, etc.) is a savior from distress and disaster, yet sometimes is himself in need of salvation (*salvator salvandus*). Says Job: "I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he will at last stand forth upon the dust" (*Jb.* 19:25). And the Psalm: "Truly no man can redeem himself!" (*Ps.* 49:7). "Israel, hope in the Lord. He will redeem you from all your sins" (*Ps.* 130:7–8). In Judaism the concept of redemption is closely associated with repentance.

Liberation from exile (*Dt.* 15:15), restoration of freedom (*Is.* 62:12, 63:4), and the vision of a just society have always been signs of divine redemption for the people of Israel. Messianic Judaism projected the new heaven and the new earth, the final restoration and reintegration in peace and harmony of the people of Israel into a remote, utopian future, an ultimate event that, however, was to be preceded by apocalyptic, catastrophical changes; in this respect, the liberation of Israel from slavery in Egypt and the Sinai covenant are complementary to each other. Yet there are in the Old Testament elements of realized eschatology, of "redemption here and now," beliefs that were carried over by various sects (the Ebionites, Essenes, Nazarenes) into Christianity. While having an indubitable eschatological dimension, redemption cannot be reduced to it. And, the extent that it is involved with sacrifice, redemption shares with sacrifice either an active or a passive character. Redemption points to both liberation and repurchase.

This mystery of redemption is best illustrated in Christianity: Christ suffered on the cross in order to satisfy retributive justice. The meaning of redemption in the New Testament is chiefly that of the deliverance of humanity from sin, death, and God's anger, through the death and resurrection of Christ. A certain Greek influence makes itself felt through Paul, who took in the notion of ransom (*lutron,* from *luō,* "to loose") and thus pointed to the Greek custom of emancipating slaves through payment. "Jesus Christ gave himself for us, to ransom us from all our guilt, a people set apart for himself." (*Ti.* 2:14); and "that flock he won for himself at the price of his own blood" (*Acts* 20:28). Also in *1 Corinthians:* "A great price was paid to ransom you; glorify God by making your bodies shrines of his presence" (6:20); and "A price was paid to redeem you" (7:23).

Yet *lutron* must not be taken literally, as denoting a particular commercial price, a barter; it may mean any instrument of deliverance without there being a question of paying a ransom. (One must exercise prudence, as Thomas Aquinas did, and use the word *price* as that which is payable to God, not to the devil.) Going beyond the juridical notion of punishment and ransom, Paul emphasized the gratuitous aspect of redemption as an act of love: Christ's passion and death take on their supreme redemptive value due to the voluntary nature of the sacrifice, the free acceptance of suffering. Obedience to the divine Father's decree is the proof of love; *price* here equals liberating satisfaction, deliverance from the double slavery of sin and punishment. The exaltation of Christ and the sending of the Holy Spirit signify the decisive act of salvation history (*Heilsgeschichte*), which ushers in the new age proclaimed by the prophets (*Is.* 65:17). Works of satisfaction for sin—fasting, almsgiving, prayer, and works of mercy—all have redemptive value, not only for Christianity, but for other religions as well. Functional equivalents of the Judeo-Christian notion of redemption can be found in many other religions, especially in ethically oriented ones that stress the virtues of action. Salvation is of course the primary and essential goal. But to gain it many primitive cults devised severe and sometimes complicated rituals and ceremonies of redemption.

The Egyptian Pyramid Texts of 2400 BCE looked upon salvation as both a mystery and a technique. Osiris, slain by his brother Seth, is rescued by Isis and brought back to life by means of a secret and complicated ritual; he becomes the one savior from death and from its consequences. The redeeming efficacy of the mortuary ritual of embalming, in which the devotee is identified with the god, was believed to stem from Osiris' primordial experience, which, by being reenacted, made salvation possible.

The primitive vegetation-gods were redeemer gods who required the sacrifice of a symbolic part of the crop to save the whole and allow its use by humans. The agrarian sacrifices of the Romans were meant to appease the wrath of the gods and bring about plentiful crops. The sacrifice of an animal instead of a human was believed to cure illness. According to Ovid, the Romans sacrificed to the *manes,* or spirits of the ancestors. In Babylon, as in ancient Israel, the sacrifice of the firstborn or vicarious forms of it played an important role in the process of redemption by transmitting the tension and effecting the link between primordial time (*Urzeit*) and the eschaton (*Endzeit*). The idea that the sins of the fathers are visited upon the sons appears in the *Ṛgveda,* even before the notion of *karman* was unfolded. To be cleansed of paternal sin, the son has to break violently away from his past; this is viewed as a split between the ascetic and erotic parts of man, located respectively in a mental seed (above the navel), and a lower seed (below the navel). The alchemic function of yoga tends to transform animal instinct into soma, the mental type of seed. Blood functions here as mediator between semen and *soma.* The sacrifice of wild beasts as well as the taming of the cows are symbolic of this sought-for individual regeneration.

The Vedic sacrifice is more beneficial to the gods than to the individual; indeed, it strengthens the gods, but their prosperity in turn reverberates on humans; thus it is said that the gods nourish you if you nourish them. Agni, the god of fire and sacrifice, behaves like a demon and tries to burn everything down, but placated by sacrifice, he resurrects humankind from ashes. Hence sacrificial food is a bribe to the gods. In the post-Vedic, ascetic mythology, sacrifice becomes a two-edged sword, for Hindu mythology, even demons can be redeemed. The *bhakti* spirit generates entire cycles of its own, in which even apparently malevolent acts of God are regarded as being of ultimate benefit to humanity; hence the practice of a magic of friendship or of friendliness as means of redemption.

In Zoroastrianism, the redemption of humankind, viewed as both individual and universal eschatology, is linked with the hope of seeing that Ohrmazd, having been released from his entanglement with darkness and evil, emerges victorious from the war over Ahriman. The *haoma* ritual, a central act of worship, actualizes such a god-centered redemption. The theological trend in Sasanid Zoroastrianism exhibits a belief in the redemption of the world through the individual's efforts to make the gods dwell in his body while chasing the demons out of it. Mazdaism admits of a cosmical redemption besides individual deliverance, which is supposed to occur at the end of time at the hand of Saoshyant, the savior.

Buddism is a religion fully bent on salvation. In Mahāyāna Buddism the doctrine of the Buddha and the *bodhisattva* shows the great vows required by the spiritual discipline of enlightenment to be a devotion to the principle that the merit and knowledge acquired by the individual on this path be wholly transferred upon all beings, high and low, and not jealously accumulated for one's self. This "activity without attachment" involves a free restraint from entering upon *nirvāṇa,* exercised for the sake of one's fellow beings. In Japanese Buddhism the principle of salvation by self-power (*jiriki*) is contrasted by salvation through "another" (*tariki*), that is, through the power of the Buddha Amida. In Zen, devotion, fervor, and depth are all equally redeeming inner attitudes. Some types of mysticism have been categorized as redemptive: for instance, true gnosticisms rely on the dispelling of ignorance, as, for example, the gnosticism of *al-insanal-kamil* ("the perfect human being") and the dispensers of the individual's proper spirituality in Hinduism. Some others cannot be so categorized; Hasidic mysticism, for example, is self-redemptive, noneschatological, and nonmessianic.

There are three main ways of redemption in mystical religions: through illumination, as in Zen Buddhism, or through a dispelling of ignorance of the gnostic type, as in Islam; through membership and participation in the community (the Buddhist *saṃgha,* the Christian *ekklēsia,* the Muslim *ummah*); or, in secular types of religiosity by a redirection of the libido, a reordering of the soul's powers in a harmonious use of the personality, which may mean either a widening or a narrowing of consciousness.

Ancient Mexican religions knew a variety of redemptive types, among which was a form of plain self-redemption from diseases such as leprosy, cancer, buboes, or bubonic plague, and from spiritual sins such as falsehood, adultery, or drunkenness. The Aztec religion favors redemption from existence itself during one's very lifetime, the highest aim being identification with divinity. One example of such a "perfect redemption" (Joachim Wach) is the return of the high priest Quetzalcoatl after his beatification achieved by encounter with the divinity.

In African traditional religions, the need for redemption is expressed in myths of the Baganda peoples: terms such as *kununula* ("to buy back, to ransom, to redeem") and *kulokola* ("to save, to rescue") point to deadly misfortunes from which the spirits of the departed (*lubaale,* "deity of the below") may rescue one. Redemption is far more directed toward the reintegration of the cosmic, social, and political order in the present moment of the community than toward the afterlife, in spite of the general belief in immortality.

SEE ALSO Soteriology.

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Gorringe, Timothy. *A Theology of the Built Environment: Justice, Empowerment, Redemption.* New York, 2002.

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ILEANA MARCOULESCO (1987)
Revised Bibliography

REFERENCE WORKS in the field of religion are extensive and of many types. A specific work may cover religion broadly or be limited to a particular religion or area in the study of religion. The titles listed in this article are primary reference works chosen to provide the reader with resources for definitions, background information, and bibliographies of basic works. Technical works such as concordances and lexicons utilized for translation and exegesis of specific religious texts are not included. The titles, with annotations, are arranged under two main sections: "General Religion" and "Specific Religions."

The General Religion section includes works that provide a broad view of religion or a concentration on at least two specific religions. The listed titles are arranged under five genres: "Atlases," "Bibliographies," "Dictionaries," "Encyclopedias," and "Websites."

Atlases present history and geography via a collection of maps and text. The titles found under this heading cover the biblical world as well as history and growth of the world's religions.

Bibliographies are works that provide the basic titles in a field. Hundreds of bibliographies have been published on specific areas of religion. Many are published as part of two primary bibliography series: the *ATLA Bibliography Series* (Metuchen, N.J.) and *Bibliographies and Indexes in Religious Studies* (Westport, Conn.). The books listed here offer broader coverage of multiple religions.

Dictionaries and Encyclopedias are two genres for which the distinctive lines are very often blurred. Typically, a dictionary is one volume long, contains short definitions of terms or proper names, and includes no, or only brief, bibliographies. Encyclopedias are thought of as comprehensive, multivolume sets including lengthy articles with bibliographies and cross-references. There are, however, many works which fit the description of one genre but carry the title of the other; examples are the one-volume *Encyclopedia of Cults, Sects, and New Religions* (Amherst, N.Y., 2002) and the six-volume encyclopedic work *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York, 1992). For the purposes of this section of the article, irrespective of their titles, one-volume works are found under the heading of Dictionaries and multivolume works under Encyclopedias. Websites represent a fairly new but growing genre. Religious websites may function as bibliographies or guides pointing to other resources on the internet, or they may contain substantive content.

Websites represent a fairly new but growing genre. Religious websites may function as bibliographies or guides pointing to other resources on the internet, or they may contain substantive content. The websites listed are considered to be among the most stable and provide the best starting points for religious studies.

The Specific Religions section lists resources under the headings of five religions: Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, and Judaism. The titles included are primary works in the genres of the earlier section. The inclusion of these five particular religious traditions over others reflects the number of major reference works available rather than number of adherents to a particular group. There are many important religious groups and movements for which unique reference works are scant (e.g., Sikhism, Asian new religions), and information on them may be found more readily in the general resources.

Readers interested in additional resources listing reference works in religion will find numerous guides available. The following titles are basic starting points: *Critical Guide to Catholic Reference Books* by James Patrick McCabe, 3rd ed. (Englewood, Colo., 1989); the religion section of *Guide to Reference Books,* edited by Robert Balay, 11th ed. (Chicago, 1996); *Judaica Reference Sources: A Selective, Annotated Bibliographic Guide* by Charles Cutter, 3rd rev. and expanded ed. (Westport, Conn., 2004); *Recent Reference Books in Religion: A Guide for Students, Scholars, Researchers, Buyers, and Readers* by William M. Johnston, 2d ed. (Chicago, 1998); and *Theological and Religious Reference Materials* by G. E. and Lyn Gorman, 3 vols. (Westport, Conn., 1984–1986).

SEE ALSO Festschriften; Periodical Literature.

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General Religion

Atlases

Aharoni, Yohanan, et al., eds. *The Carta Bible Atlas.* 4th ed. Jerusalem, 2002. Updates *The Macmillan Bible Atlas* (New York, 1993). Includes indexes to persons (new in this edition) and place names; key to maps arranged by books of the Bible; and chronological table (2800 BCE to 140 CE).

Baly, Denis, and A. D. Tushingham. *Atlas of the Biblical World.* New York, 1971. The best atlas for the geology and geography of Palestine in the context of the Middle East. Includes both Judaic and Christian perspectives on the biblical world, with some references to the beginnings of Islam. Chronologies span 3000 BCE to 700 CE. Excellent maps and color plates.

Fārūqī, Ismaʿīl Rāgī al, ed. *Historical Atlas of the Religions of the World.* Maps edited by David E. Sopher. New York, 1974. Text divided into religions of the past, ethnic religions, and the world religions of Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam. Each religion is presented in written text accompanied by photographs, maps showing its history and present distribution, diagrams, and chronologies.

Pritchard, James B., ed. *The Harper Atlas of the Bible.* New York, 1987. Extensive text and illustrations accompany the detailed color relief maps; covers time period of prehistory (150,000 BCE) to 135 CE. Editorial board comprised of outstanding biblical scholars.

Smart, Ninian, ed. *Atlas of the World's Religions.* New York, 1999. Provides geographical as well as historical understanding of the birth, growth, expansion, and interconnections of the world's religious groups. Generous array of color relief maps, photographs, and charts.

Survey of Israel (Tel Aviv), ed. *Atlas of Israel: Cartography, Physical and Human Geography.* 3d ed. New York, 1985. 40 sheets (maps). The land of Israel considered historically, sociologically, religiously, ethnographically, and economically. For more current information, compare the maps and numbers of this atlas with *Atlas Yisraʿel he-hadash* (New York, 1995). Although nearly all of the text of this latter work is in Hebrew, it is similar in its arrangement to the 1985 work, so maps and numbers can easily be compared. The 1995 work also includes satellite photos.

Bibliographies

Barrow, John Graves. *A Bibliography of Bibliographies in Religion.* Ann Arbor, Mich., 1955. Comprehensive listing of separately published bibliographies from approximately 1500 to 1955. Arranged chronologically by date published; includes extensive index. Although dated, contains information not found elsewhere.

International Association for the History of Religions. *International Bibliography of the History of Religions.* 23 vols. Leiden, 1952–1973. Published annually. Index of scholarly studies of religion in general and the history of specific religions, exclusive of biblical studies and folklore. Articles listed were published in English, several European languages, and, to a small degree, other languages, and arranged by religious group. Continued by the *Science of Religion Bulletin,* quarterly (1976–1979), and *Science of Religion,* semiannual (1980–).

Melton, J. Gordon. *Religious Information Sources: A Worldwide Guide.* New York, 1992. Provides an overview of the field of religion and religions. Eight sections list resources on religion from general and theoretical considerations; religions of the world; issues in comparative religion; Christianity; and esoteric, New Age, and occult religion.

Turner, Harold W. *Bibliography of New Religious Movements in Primal Societies.* 6 vols. Boston, 1977–1992. Covers religious movements in primal societies, defined by the author as "those which arise in the interaction of a primal society with another society where there is great disparity of power or sophistication" (p. vii). Each volume covers a different geographic area: volume 1, Black Africa; volume 2, North America; volume 3, Oceania; volume 4, Europe and Asia; volume 5, Latin America; volume 6, the Caribbean.

Dictionaries

Brandon, S.G.F., ed. *A Dictionary of Comparative Religion.* New York, 1970. Short, initialed articles by British scholars include brief bibliographic references. Designed to discuss religions in proportion to their significance in human cultural history. Contains synoptic index of fifteen major religions as well as a general index. Important first reference tool.

Douglas, J.D., ed. *New Twentieth-Century Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge.* Grand Rapids, Mich., 1991. An updated edition of the *Twentieth-Century Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (1955). The 2,100 historical, biographical, geographical, and topical entries attempt to "present a retrospective view of one period in church and world history" (p. v). Related to the *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (see under Encyclopedias).

Ferguson, John. *Illustrated Encyclopedia of Mysticism and the Mystery Religions.* London, 1976. Brief articles on names, movements, and terminology of mysticism in its various forms. Extensive bibliography.

Fischer-Schreiber, Ingrid, et al. *The Encyclopedia of Eastern Philosophy and Religion: Buddhism, Hinduism, Taoism, Zen.* Edited by Stephan Schuhmacher and Gert Woerner. Boston, 1988. Introduction for the general reader to the terminology and doctrinal systems of Buddhism, Hinduism, Daoism, and Zen. Some illustrations.

Grim, Keith, ed. *Abingdon Dictionary of Living Religions.* Nashville, Tenn., 1981. Guide to the historical development, beliefs, and peculiarities of the variety of religions in the world today. Comprehensive, signed articles on the major religions; some include brief bibliographies. Well illustrated.

Hinnells, John R., ed. *A New Dictionary of Religions.* Oxford, and Cambridge, Mass., 1995. Brief entries on terms related to living religions; also includes information on ancient religions, astrology, magic, the occult, new religious movements, and secular alternatives to religion. Includes extensive bibliography.

Lewis, James R. *The Encyclopedia of Cults, Sects, and New Religions.* 2d ed. Amherst, N.Y., 2002. Brief entries on approximately 1,000 non-mainstream religious groups. Bibliographies included in some articles, as well as extensive general bibliography. Includes photographs of leaders of many of the groups.

MacGregor, Geddes. *Dictionary of Religion and Philosophy.* New York, 1989. Brief entries of basic terms, movements, and persons related primarily to the Judeo-Christian traditions. Bibliography.

Melton, J. Gordon. *Encyclopedic Handbook of Cults in America.* Rev. ed. New York, 1992. Begins with essay exploring the term *cult.* Entries on individual groups include basic information on the history, beliefs, practices, organization, controversies, membership, and primary and secondary bibliographic sources.

Melton, J. Gordon. *Encyclopedia of American Religions.* 7th ed. Farmington Hills, Mich., 2003. Introductory and historical essays trace the growth and development of religion in the United States and Canada, followed by 2,630 descriptive entries on religious bodies located primarily in North America. Includes bibliographies.

Parrinder, Edward Geoffrey. *Dictionary of Non-Christian Religions.* Philadelphia, 1973. Short entries, many with black and white photos and line drawings. Strongest on Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam; Christianity and the Bible not treated. Basic general bibliography.

Rice, Edward. *Eastern Definitions: A Short Encyclopedia of Religions of the Orient.* Garden City, N.Y., 1978. Dictionary of terminology of major and minor Eastern religions. Some illustrations; no bibliographies.

Smith, Jonathan Z., ed. *The HarperCollins Dictionary of Religion.* San Francisco, 1995. Published in conjunction with the American Academy of Religion. Longer articles on major religious groups by area editors. Numerous illustrations.

Encyclopedias

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Cancik, Hubert, and Helmut Schneider, eds. *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopedia of the Ancient World.* Leiden, 2002–. Three volumes (A–Cyp) as of 2004 (twenty volumes, with index, projected). Translation of *Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike* (Stuttgart, Germany, 1996–2003; 15 vols. plus index), an updated and expanded version of *Paulys Real-Encyclopaedie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (1894–1980; 24 vols. plus supplements). Basic resource for Greco-Roman religion.

Doniger, Wendy, ed. *Mythologies.* 2 vols. Chicago, 1991. Translated and restructured edition of *Dictionnaire des Mythologies et des Religions des Sociétés Traditionnelles et du Monde Antique* (Paris, 1981). Organized by geographic or cultural area. Signed articles, many with bibliographies. Numerous black and white photographs.

Freedman, David Noel, ed. *The Anchor Bible Dictionary.* 6 vols. New York, 1992. Nearly 1,000 contributors prepared the 6,200 signed entries, many with bibliographies. Attempts to treat all biblical subjects and topics. Scriptural references based on the Revised Standard Version. Also available on CD-ROM.

Hauck, Albert, ed. *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge.* 13 vols. New York, 1908–1912. Signed articles, usually brief. Based on Herzog and Hauck's *Realencyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (Leipzig, Germany, 1896–1913); major revision and expansion to introduce later and non-Germanic materials. Most useful for entries on persons, ancient religions, and extensive bibliographies. Comprehensive index. Available on the internet at http://www.ccel.org/s/schaff/encyc/. Supplemented by the *Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1955; 2 vols.) and *New Twentieth-Century Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1991).

Hillerbrand, Hans J., ed. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation.* 4 vols. New York, 1996. Covers the religious life and "related societal phenomena" of sixteenth-century Europe. Four hundred and fifty scholars contributed 1,200 signed articles, many with bibliographies. Numerous biographical entries. Includes maps and synoptic outline.

Melton, J. Gordon, and Martin Baumann, eds. *Religions of the World: A Comprehensive Encyclopedia of Beliefs and Practices.* 4 vols. Santa Barbara, Calif., 2002. Includes approximately 200 essays on the major religious traditions and the religious history and environment in each country of the world, plus 2,000 shorter articles on religious groups and communities throughout the world. Arranged alphabetically by topic and includes a comprehensive index.

Van Huyssteen, J. Wentzel Vrede, ed. *Encyclopedia of Science and Religion.* 2 vols. New York, 2003. Contains more than 400 signed entries with bibliographies on topics that highlight the intersections and interrelationships between science and religion. Includes synoptic outline and annotated bibliography of significant resources.

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Gresham, John L. "Finding God in Cyberspace: A Guide to Religious Studies Resources on the Internet." Available from http://sim74.kenrickparish.com/contents.htm. Begun in 1994 and continually updated, this was one of the first

guides to religious resources on the internet. Categorizes religion sites on the internet by type (print, people, digital, and teaching resources) and content (academic disciplines, religious traditions, and religion and cyberspace).

"Ontario Consultants on Religious Tolerance." Available from http://www.religioustolerance.org/. Organized in 1995. Includes essays, historical information, belief statements, definitions, statistics, news feeds, and reading lists on various belief groups, particularly those that have been targeted for discrimination.

Thursby, Gene L. "Religion Religions Religious Studies: Information and Links for Study and Interpretation of Religions." Available from http://www.clas.ufl.edu/users/gthursby/rel/. Resources arranged under major headings: Religious Traditions (historical as well as alternative/new religions); Religion—Modernity—Beyond (Freedom *of* Religion, Freedom *from* Religion, etc.); Religious Experience (Cultural Diversity, Mysticism, Psychology, Transpersonal); Religious Studies Programs; Research and Teaching Resources. Includes news sources and additional reference sources.

"Virtual Religion Index." Available from http://religion.rutgers.edu/vri/index.html. Developed and maintained by the Religion Department of Rutgers University. Organized by general topics, including the major religious traditions and general topics such as "Academic Sites," "Anthropology and Sociology," "Ethics and Moral Values," and "Philosophy and Theology."

Specific Religions

Buddhism

Buddha Dharma Education Association. "BuddhaNet: Buddhist Information and Education Network." Available from http://www.buddhanet.net/. Created and maintained by the Buddha Dharma Education Association of Sydney, Australia. Contains listings of study guides, e-books, image files, meditations, and activities for children; historical and biographical information; a worldwide directory of Buddhist sites and masters; and links to other web resources.

Buswell, Robert E., Jr., ed. *Encyclopedia of Buddhism.* 2 vols. New York, 2004. Aims to serve as the definitive reference work on Buddhism and Buddhist perspectives on religious issues. More than 250 international scholars contributed signed articles, which include short bibliographies. Numerous illustrations, some in color.

Chitkara, M.G., ed. *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism.* New Delhi, India, 1961–. Six volumes (A–Minayett) as of 2004 (ten volumes projected). Massive work on all aspects of Buddhism: names, literature, history, and religious and moral aspects and concepts. Most articles signed; some include bibliographies.

Ciolek, T. Matthew, et al. "Buddhist Studies WWW Virtual Library: The Internet Guide to Buddhism and Buddhist Studies." Available from http://www.ciolek.com/WWWVL-Buddhism.html. Edited by Dr. T. Matthew Ciolek, Australian National University, Canberra, and others. Clear table of contents directs users to numerous internet resources, including websites, electronic texts, maps, and bibliographies.

Keown, Damien. *A Dictionary of Buddhism.* Oxford, 2003. Succinct entries on concepts, practices, persons, places, schools, and texts. Appendices include maps, a pronunciation guide, a guide to Buddhist scriptures, and a chronology.

Prebish, Charles S. *Historical Dictionary of Buddhism.* Metuchen, N.J., 1993. Introductory materials include an essay on history and doctrine, introduction to Buddhist scriptures, and a chronology of Buddhist history. Entries provide short definitions of biographical, geographical, and topical subjects. Offers a 98-page bibliography. Also published as *The A to Z of Buddhism* (2001), which does not include the bibliography.

Christianity

Cross, F. L., ed. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church.* 3d ed. New York, 1997. The 6,000 entries (most with bibliographies) cover history, doctrines, persons, and ecclesiastical terms. The latest edition reflects the many changes in the Christian church due to Vatican Council II, feminist theology, liberation theology, and the globalization of Christianity.

Di Berardino, Angelo, ed. *Encyclopedia of the Early Church.* 2 vols. New York, 1992. Translated from the Italian *Dizionario Patristico e di Antichità Cristiane* (Rome, 1990). Covers archaeological, philosophical, linguistic, theological, historical and geographical topics related to Christianity of the first to the eighth centuries. Nearly half of volume 2 is composed of a synoptic table, maps, photographs, and line drawings. A French translation, *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du Christianisme Ancien* (Paris, 1990), is also available.

"Ecole Initiative." Available from http://www2.evansville.edu/ecoleweb/. Rich content related to church history: translations of Judeo-Christian and Islamic primary sources to 1500; short essays on significant persons and topics, from Peter Abelard to Zosimus; longer essays on major topics and figures; images of iconography and religious art; and a timeline with geographic cross-index (limited entries). Sections are hyperlinked to each other. Also contains a bibliography of sources used in the articles on the page, a list of contributors with short listings of credentials and links to their contributions to the site, and a list of web pages related to church history.

Ente Per L'Enciclopedia Cattolica. *Enciclopedia Cattolica.* 12 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1948–1954. Major pre-Vatican Council II encyclopedia treating the life, thought, history, and general relationship of the Catholic Church to other religions and systems of thought. Numerous biographical entries and illustrations.

Fahlbusch, Erwin, et al., eds. *The Encyclopedia of Christianity.* Grand Rapids, Mich., 1999–. Three volumes (A–O) as of 2004 (five volumes projected). Updated and augmented translation of the third edition of *Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon* (Göttingen, Germany, 1986–1997), a standard German Protestant work on the teaching of the Christian churches. Endeavors to reflect global, ecumenical, sociocultural, and historical contexts of Christianity at the opening of the twenty-first century. Includes demographic and religious statistics for the six major geographic areas as well as individual countries. Signed articles include bibliographies. No illustrations.

Ferguson, Everett, ed. *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity.* 2d ed. 2 vols. New York, 1997. Over 1,200 signed articles include bibliographies and cover persons, places, doctrines, and movements of the early church—from the life of Christ to the seventh century. Includes photographs, line drawings, maps, and chronologies.

Ganzer, Klaus, and Bruno Steimer, eds. *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche.* 3d ed. 11 vols. Freiburg, Germany, 1993–2001. The standard German encyclopedia, written from a Roman Catholic viewpoint; covers a variety of religions, faiths, and practices. Authoritative signed articles, with extensive bibliographies.

Hillerbrand, Hans J., ed. *Encyclopedia of Protestantism.* 4 vols. New York, 2004. Provides latest scholarship on the historical and theological dimensions of Protestantism. Articles on persons, movements and events, creeds, denominations, theological and social issues are signed and include brief bibliographies. Also includes an appendix of statistical tables.

"Internet Christian Library." Available from http://www.iclnet.org/. Provides links to Christian mission organizations and resources; general Christian resources, including Christian internet tools, mail-based services, Christian college sites, alphabetical and subject listings of Christian websites, electronic newsletters and journals, electronic bulletin boards, and usenet groups; online Christian texts; and directories of Christian organizations.

Jedin, Hubert, ed. *Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte.* 3d ed. Freiburg [im Breisgau] and New York, 1987. The best atlas for church history. Outstanding worldwide coverage in numerous clear maps and charts; seventy pages of textual commentary includes bibliographies. A French edition, *Atlas d'histoire de l'eglise: les eglises chrétiennes hier et aujourd'hui* (Paris, 1990), and Italian edition, *Atlante Universale di Storia della Chiesa: le Chiese Cristiane Ieri e Oggi: 257 Carte e Schemi a Colori* (Rome, 1991), are also available.

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REFLEXIVITY is a potent and popular concept; it is also a problematic and paradoxical one. The term is problematic because it is so popular today; it is used in several different disciplines to refer to a wide variety of mental, verbal, and performative phenomena that nonetheless share a family resemblance. Reflexivity is a paradoxical concept because the type of self-referential activity—consciousness of self-consciousness—that it denotes involves the epistemological paradox so well discussed by Gregory Bateson (1972, pp. 177–193) and Rosalie L. Colie (1966, pp. 6–8), in which the mind by its own operation attempts to say something about its operation—an activity difficult both to contemplate and to describe without conceptual vertigo and verbal entanglements.

In the most general sense, the terms *reflexive, reflexivity,* and *reflexiveness* "describe the capacity of language and of thought—of any system of signification—to turn or bend back upon itself, to become an object to itself, and to refer to itself" (Babcock, 1980, p. 4). This is anything but the rarefied activity it might at first seem, for reflexivity has come to be regarded as a *sine qua non* of human communication.

When, for example, Kenneth Burke defines humanity in the first chapter of *Language as Symbolic Action* (1966), he describes as "characteristically human" this "'second-level' aspect of symbolicity or 'reflexive' capacity to develop highly complex symbol systems about symbol systems, the pattern of which is indicated in Aristotle's definition of God as 'thought of thought,' or in Hegel's dialectics of 'self-consciousness'" (p. 24).

The adjective *reflexive* first appeared in English in 1588; it was used as early as 1640 to refer to the capacity of mental operations to be "turned or directed back upon the mind itself." Regarding things grammatical, *reflexive* has been used since 1837 to describe pronouns, verbs, and their significations that are, as the *Oxford English Dictionary* says, "characterized by, or denote, a reflex action on the subject of the clause or sentence." With reference to mental operations, the adjective is frequently confused and used interchangeably with its near synonym, *reflective.* To be reflexive is to be reflective; but one is not necessarily reflexive when one is reflective, for to reflect is simply to think about something, but to be reflexive is to think about the process of thinking itself. In its present usage, *reflection* does not possess the self-referential and second-level characteristics of reflexivity. Such was not always the case, and the terminological confusion arises because Locke, Spinoza, and Leibniz, as well as subsequent philosophers, used the term *reflection* to denote the knowledge that the mind has of itself and its operations, in contrast to mere "thinking" about matters external to the mind itself.

A related confusion occurs with the term *self-consciousness,* which denotes primary awareness of self rather than the consciousness of self-consciousness characteristic of reflexivity—what Fichte described as the "ability to raise oneself above oneself," in contrast to "vain self-reflection." The latter phrase raises yet another terminological tangle and, in this instance, a negative connotation that must needs be dispensed with: the association of reflexivity with narcissism and solipsism. By definition, both involve self-reference and self-consciousness, but both are forms of "vain self-reflection" without any second-level awareness of that self-absorption. Unlike reflexivity, neither narcissism nor solipsism partakes of epistemological paradox, ironic detachment, or, hence, the ability to laugh at oneself. Reflexivity involves what Maurice Natanson defines as "methodological solipsism," that is, the examination of all experience from the perspective of the self-aware ego, in contrast to "metaphysical solipsism," which claims that the individual is the sole reality (1974b, pp. 241–243). As Merleau-Ponty pointed out in a discussion of modern painting in *Signs* (Evanston, 1964), reflexivity "presents a problem completely different from that of the return to the individual." Rather, like Husserl's concept of the transcendental ego, it involves the problem of knowing how one thinks and communicates, of "knowing how we are grafted to the universal by that which is most our own" (p. 52).

In Western philosophy, reflexivity has been recognized at least since Socrates as an inevitable if not always welcome companion of thought. A human being is not only an animal who thinks, but who also—certainly if a philosopher—thinks about thinking, and thinks of him or her self as a thinker: "to be a questioner in reality is to locate oneself as part of the questionable and also as the source of questions" (Natanson, 1974a, p. 233). Philosophers have tended to explain this paradoxical state of affairs in two related ways. The first and most familiar is "the two-in-one that Socrates discovered as the essence of thought and Plato translated into conceptual language as the soundless dialogue *eme emauto*—between me and myself" (Arendt, 1977, p. 185). While the participants in this dialogue have been variously named—me and myself, I and me, self and other, self and soul, "naked self" and "selfsame," I and Thou—philosophers from Socrates to Arendt have similarly described the dynamics of thinking as an exchange between an experiential or perceiving self and a reflexive or conceptual self. In all cases, the viewpoint of the latter is regarded as a higher form of consciousness, and it is frequently regarded as transcendent, if not explicitly divine. Hence, the second mode of explaining reflexivity and its seeming transcendence of human symbol systems—its thought-trains by which one could take one's way out of the world—is to equate it with the divine. To give but a few examples: In Platonic dialectic, a movement toward the abstract was equated with a movement toward the divine; Aristotle similarly defined God as "thought of thought"; Augustine's reflexive or "selfsame" self is the mind illuminated by God; and, for Kant and Hegel, ultimate meaning, if not divine, is nonetheless described respectively as "transcendental reflection" and "absolute knowledge." While acknowledging this affinity between reflexivity and the higher forms of consciousness in religion, philosophers since Hegel have argued that reflexivity is beyond any particular system of belief, that "thinking is equally dangerous to all creeds" (Arendt, 1977, p. 176).

More recently, phenomenological philosophers such as Schutz and Merleau-Ponty have "grounded" reflexivity by conceiving of it as embodied institution tied to temporality and situation, rather than as transcendental constitution. Far from being a philosopher's prerogative, reflexivity so conceived is nothing more nor less than the process of rendering experience meaningful— the inevitable and necessary "framing" that everyone engages in. Phenomenological discussions of reflexivity as a series of exchanges between subject and object, or between individual consciousness and social reality, recall not only the Socratic conception of thought as internal dialogue but also the conception of the self as reciprocal, dialogical, and reflexive as formulated by American pragmatic philosophers and psychologists, notably Peirce, James, Mead, and Cooley.

In *Mind, Self, and Society* (1962), social psychologist George Herbert Mead defines reflexiveness as "the turning back of experience of the individual upon himself," asserting that "it is by means of reflexiveness that the whole social process is brought into the experience of the individuals involved in it" and that "reflexiveness, then, is the essential condition, within the social process, for the development of mind" (p. 134). Mead's concept of "reflexiveness" as a dialogue between a personal "I" and a social "me" is closely related to Cooley's formulation of the "looking-glass self" and to Jacques Lacan's more recent description of "le stade du miroir," for Mead indicates that the achievement of identity involves mirroring, or the assumption of a specular image; the individual "becomes a self in so far as he can take the attitude of others and act toward himself as others act" (p. 171). The self, therefore, "as that which can be an object to itself, is essentially a social structure" (p. 140); or, in Charles Sanders Peirce's terms, it is a semiotic construct: "When we think, then, we ourselves, as we are at that moment, appear as a sign" (*Philosophical Writings of Peirce,* New York, 1955, p. 233). Thus described, the self, like the world, is a text embedded in and constituted by (as well as constitutive of) interconnected systems of signs, of which the most important and most representative is language.

While Peirce asserts that reflexivity is perforce semiotic, subsequent semioticians, linguists, and philosophers have argued that *all* systems of signification are inherently and necessarily reflexive. As Fredric Jameson summarizes in *The Prison House of Language* (Princeton, 1972), "Every enunciation involves a kind of lateral statement about language, about itself, and includes a kind of self-designation within its very structure" (p. 202). Because of its descriptive usefulness, the metalinguistic or metacommunicative model has become pervasive in discussions of all forms of reflexivity. It would be wrong, however, to regard linguistic self-reference as either the cause or the explanation of reflexivity. As Robert Nozick has recently pointed out, reflexive self-knowledge is a basic phenomenon without which neither cognition nor communication is possible, and it is pointless to argue which comes first (1981, p. 82).

Both the idea that reflexivity consists of the self representing itself to itself and the notion that all forms of representation involve self-reference or reflexivity are present in the plural in the concepts of collective representations and cultural performances, as defined and discussed by sociologists and anthropologists since Durkheim. In *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1915), Durkheim defined collective representations, such as a clan's mythic ancestor, as forms in which the group "represents itself to itself," implying that the collective symbolization process as expressed in myths and rituals includes within its operations consciousness of itself. In recent decades, Claude Lévi-Strauss has argued not only that myths are sociocultural metacommentaries but that all myth is "meta-" insofar as its implicit if not explicit subject is the emergence of language or communication. In his earlier work on ritual and ritual symbols, Victor Turner (1974) suggested that liminal periods are reflexive moments when society "takes cognizance of itself" and reflects on the order of things through symbolic disordering, through the "analysis and recombination of the factors of culture into any and every possible pattern" (p. 255). In later works (1979, 1982, 1984), Turner argued that *all* genres of cultural performance (ritual, myth, theater, narrative, games, etc.) are instances of plural reflexivity because they are self-critiques and reflections *upon,* rather than simply reflections *of,* the structures and strictures of the everyday world. Clifford Geertz (1973) has similarly asserted not only that religion is a reflexive cultural system that provides "models of" and "models for" self and society but that illicit, secular cultural performances such as Balinese cockfights are stories that a group "tells itself about itself" (pp. 93, 448). While not all collective representations—verbal, visual, and performative—are religious, it is no surprise that many of them are, for as Robert Bellah states in *Beyond Belief* (New York, 1970), religion has been "the traditional mode by which men interpreted their world to themselves" (p. 246)—the "pattern of patterns" or epitome of plural reflexivity.

If, as has already been implied, it is difficult to discuss reflexivity without discussing religion, the reverse is equally true. Regardless of whether one considers religion as a system of belief and body of texts or as praxis and experience, one is concerned with the interpretation of the moral complexities and paradoxes of human social and individual life—thus, with signs about signs, with reflexive self-reference. In myths, humans not only render an account of themselves and their world, they testify to the power of language to make a world and to create gods. In rituals and sacred symbols, humans embody and reenact these comprehensive ideas of order, and every time sacred words and deeds are retold and represented, these primal interpretations are interpreted and criticized yet again.

Quite apart from the metadiscourse about religion—explicit reflexivity—that has developed in the great religious traditions in the form of systematic theology, religious history, and textual hermeneutics, every religious system is implicitly reflexive. The communication of the highest truths and the most sacred order of things is invariably accompanied by the subversive self-commentary of *aporiae* (liminal disorder in such diverse forms as Ndembu monsters, Sinhala demons, Zen *koan*s, Pueblo clowns, Midrash tales, and Christ's parables). Such ambiguous and paradoxical elements generate reflexive processes that redirect thoughtful attention to the faulty or limited structures not only of thought, language, and society but of religion itself (cf. Colie, 1966, p. 7).

In addition to this ineluctable reflexivity of religion's collective representations and plural expressions, many singular religious practices are explicitly reflexive. Contemplation, meditation, prayer, and confession all have in common a withdrawal from the world and a bending back toward the self. Frequently, the reflexive character of such practices is marked by their literal or figurative association with mirrors, with *specula,* reminding us not only that mirrors reflect the essence of things and are crucial to the achievement of identity (Fernandez, 1980, pp. 34–35) but that "as in mirror images, self-reference begins an endless oscillation between the thing itself and the thing reflected, begins an infinite regress [or progress]" (Colie, 1966, p. 355). Such mirroring frequently occurs as well in language itself, for careful analysis of sacred discourse reveals a markedly higher proportion of metalinguistic verbs in contrast to everyday speech.

In sum, reflexivity is not a consequence of social complexity or the degree of religious articulateness; it is an essential and inevitable dimension of all religious experience. The power of religious consciousness that humans keep trying to explain is probably not its prescriptive, descriptive, or explanatory force but its reflexiveness—religion offers a system of interpretation of existence that is itself subject to interpretation, and that is infinitely compelling.

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REFORM. In everyday usage, the term *reform* generally connotes advance, progress, modernization. In discussions within religious groups, the use of this word is not so limited. It occurs in the most varied contexts, with reference to a wide range of individual and social questions, as well as with regard to specifically religious matters. Proposals for reform may be directed at the actions, or even the attitudes, of a relatively few persons within a particular faith-community. In this case, unless the change that is advocated would entail either a conflict with the law of the entire community or a violation of public decency—as might, for example, a restoration of animal sacrifices—the change at issue should be of no concern to those persons outside the particular group involved. On the other hand, the reform that is urged may pertain to the entire society. In many modern situations, however, the larger society encompasses members of other religious groups and persons of no religious attachment for whom the proposed reform may seem totally undesirable and unwarranted. If this is the case, and if the reform would affect the lives of persons other than those who propose it, as would, for example, the recriminalization of abortion in the United States, then the proposed reform should become a matter of public concern, properly to be decided by public procedures.

The examples just touched on may seem to suggest that, as applied to religion, the term *reform* is always used to refer to a return to older, more traditional ways of acting. In some cases, this is so, but far more often the reform that is advocated is seen as a step forward. Its acceptance would further progress toward the realization of an ideal future; rather than signal a return to the past, it would usher in ways that never were, in actual time and place. Every world religion has called often for the moral reform of individuals, both among its own followers and among those others too unregenerate to heed its saving message. The content of the morality thus imagined has deepened with the complications of human culture and will, no doubt, change even further as the social order changes. Often, too, the political and economic conditions of a particular time and place affect the customary morality and evoke a religiously grounded demand for reform. Less often, perhaps, but with reasonable frequency, a call from within has demanded that the religion set its own house in order.

RELIGIOUS CONCERN FOR MORAL REFORM. Religious sanctions designed to enforce the morality of a particular tribe or other small group almost certainly preceded the religious proclamation of a universal morality. But once the idea of universal morality had been broached, some time during the first millennium before the common era (the "axial age"), it was inevitable that the sovereignty claimed for a moral ideal would become as universal as the ideal itself. Just as tribal cults had maintained their own tribal moralities as sacrosanct, so the universal religions all proclaimed the sacred, and often the revealed, character of their own versions of universal morality. The Ten Commandments of Judaism and Christianity enshrine one version of such a religiously sanctioned universal moral code. Other forms, some even older, are to be found in China, in India, in Iran, in Mesopotamia, and in Egypt. These codes differ in detail but are alike in their claim to universality.

The most important issue is not which of these codes came first, nor even whether the codes had their origin in religious belief or were merely adopted by the various religious groups. The point is that, once they were accepted as partial statements of the religiously sanctioned rules of behavior, one aspect of the proper function of religion was to try to assure that these rules of moral behavior were observed, and to call attention to any failure to observe them. In this way universal morality added an important accent to the universality of religious ideas, while the emphasis on morality tended to become, increasingly, the raison d'être of religious life. This transformation of tribal religion into universal moral religion had what might be termed its apotheosis in the Zoroastrian tradition of Iran. There, the divine forces of good in the universe, led by the god Ahura Mazdā (Pahl., Ōhrmazd), are in eternal conflict with the comparably divine forces of evil in the universe, under the rule of Angra Mainyu (Pahl., Ahriman). The moral life of each person, if good, helps the cause of Ahura Mazdā; if evil, it aids Angra Mainyu and his cohorts. Thus individual reform has not only a moral but also a metaphysical or transcendental part to play in the age-old struggle between good and evil. In the end, during the final era of the universe, Zoroastrians believe that Ahura Mazdā will triumph. Thus, although Zoroastrianism has dualistic strains, it is not formally a theological dualism. Through its offshoot, the religion of the solar deity Mithra, Zoroastrianism's theology of moral strife reached the Occident and, through the adherents of Mithraism in the Roman legions, had some influence on both Judaism and Christianity.

In some religions, as in the tradition of Confucianism in China, the moral emphasis has been so dominant as to virtually eliminate concern for the theistic aspects of religious life. This is true also of the classical (Theravāda, or Hīnayāna) schools of Buddhism, which, although they arose in India, have remained especially vital in Southeast Asia (Sri Lanka and Myanmar). A like emphasis on the moral and social aspects of Christianity appears from time to time; it has given rise to such predominantly sectarian groups as the Society of Friends (Quakers) and to "religious humanist" offshoots such as Unitarian Universalism. In some aspects of liberal Judaism (Reform Judaism) a similar moral emphasis has been manifest. In their major developments, however, both Christianity and Judaism have remained too theocentric to permit moral concern to become the autonomous core of religious belief and practice. Relations among people, the central theme of the moral life, have in Western religious thought been considered for the most part as relations mediated through the presence of divinity.

Consequently, the reform of the moral lives of individuals has been treated in Western religions as a means toward entering into a right relation with God, rather than as an end in itself or as a matter of right relations with one's fellow humans. This indirectness of moral consciousness does not imply greater or lesser morality in the Western world than in the Eastern. It indicates only that moral reform has been preached in Western religions on ulterior grounds. As the prophet Micah insisted, God demands of his human creations that they act justly, love mercy, and walk in ways of humility, not before priests, kings, or presidents, but only with their God (*Mi.* 6:8). Micah, like his predecessor Amos, his contemporary Isaiah, and many of his successors among the prophets, including Jesus, affirmed the centrality of moral reform among religious values over against the priestly emphasis on cultic ritual. Prophetic reform called for the moral regeneration of relations among people as the sovereign road to a revivified relation with God.

In more recent times, as a consequence especially of development in the social sciences of psychology, sociology, and anthropology, religious leaders in many faiths have come to realize that an absolute, universal moral code is by itself not enough to ensure higher levels of morality. Principles like the Golden Rule, whether in its negative ("Do not do unto others . . .") or affirmative ("Do unto others . . .") version; codified sets of rules, like the Ten Commandments; even the Kantian categorical imperative ("Act as if the maxim from which you act were to become through your will a universal law") all are far too general to give guidance for the majority of specific moral problems. In addition, their very form of expression as rules or laws is foreign to the moral context in which they are proposed as guides.

The reform of individual morality that is sought in current advanced religious thought is one grounded not in a formal rule but in a concern for one's fellows that takes into account all the individual and cultural factors that arise in each moral situation. General rules and laws are the business not of morality but of legislatures and courts of law. In ethical discourse, "right" and "wrong" must yield place to "good" and "bad." As Henry Thoreau wrote, in the mid-nineteenth century: "Absolutely speaking, Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you is by no means a golden rule, but the best of current silver. An honest man would have but little occasion for it. It is golden not to have any rule at all in such a case" ("Sunday," in *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*). To be good is to be "good for" somebody or something other than oneself.

Thus the reform of morality is not to be achieved by the passage of more laws, by the criminalization of more acts. Making more laws only makes more lawbreakers. Criminalizing more acts only makes more criminals. A truly religious understanding of morality would recognize that the causes of immorality are rooted in the home and family, in the educational experiences of the streets as well as the schools, in the popular entertainments, in the world of work and of play, indeed in all the social world that is the matrix within which a child grows to an adult. As these roots differ from child to child, so the development of child into adult will differ. If healthy shoots are to develop, if society is to harvest healthy fruits, then society must care for the roots. This recognition is the reason for religious reform's more recent tendency to place greatest emphasis on social change, so that the soil may be prepared for the growth of a better humanity in the future.

RELIGIOUS CONCERN FOR SOCIAL REFORM. When the universal religions are in complete accord with the social orders in which they are embedded, they are clearly not serving their proper function within society. They are then functioning as tribal, not as universal, religions. An important part of the obligation and of the value of any religion to society is its ability to make critical judgments of the social order from a larger and more transcendent perspective than the society can adopt in judging itself. The religious view of society and its institutions should properly be *sub specie aeternitatis* (from the point of view of eternity). In immediate, local, and temporal terms, any social order may seem to be doing very well; viewed, however, from the perspective of the larger religious demand, the demand for righteousness, it may be in very bad condition. It has been noted many times that some of the kings of ancient Israel who had the longest and, from the secular point of view, the most successful reigns are dismissed in the biblical books of *Kings* with the terse judgment that they "did evil in the sight of the Lord." Religion does not exist to glorify the current social order but as a spur to its reform.

In many periods of history, in many parts of the world, those who spoke for the religion of the place and time have been keenly aware of their obligation to criticize the social status quo and to promote its reform. The modes in which they have carried out this obligation have varied greatly. Some, especially in the Buddhist and the medieval Christian world, have done so by setting up communities of monastics whose "discipline" exemplified an approximation to the envisaged ideal form of social life. It is a measure of the humanness of human beings that these ideal communities themselves frequently needed to be reformed.

Even within these monastic communities there were differences in the degree of separation from the evils of the surrounding social world. Some monasteries were a base from which the monks made sorties into the secular world to teach, to preach, and, most importantly, to exemplify, as nearly as possible, the ideal they represented. Other monastic communities were content with complete withdrawal; this type of community served as a retreat from the evils of the social world, a passive exemplar rather than an active witness. A beautiful example of this type is described by Philo Judaeus of Alexandria in his treatise *On the Contemplative Life.* In the Buddhist tradition, in its early form, the ideal of the arhat, or saint, although available to anyone was thought most readily achievable by those who pursued the monastic life, that is, by those who exemplified a reformed society rather than those who preached it. On the other hand, among Protestant Christians, the impulse to social reform has tended to be expressed in many different forms of worldly intervention; the most usual, other than charitable relief, has been the formation of special bodies established for the promotion of specific reforms of great urgency, as, for example, antislavery groups in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, temperance groups in the nineteenth and twentieth, and "honest government" groups in every time and place.

The methods pursued by dedicated religious adherents of social-reform causes have ranged from prayer services dedicated to enlisting divine aid to the most militant forms of civil disobedience. Men and women of all religious groups have not hesitated to risk imprisonment, even execution, in their struggle to achieve social reforms that they conceived as sanctioned by their religious commitments. It must be noted, of course, that such social reforms are not always "liberal." Highly conservative and even reactionary positions are frequently defended ardently on religious grounds. Examples of such retrograde "reforms" are commonplace: the retention of the caste system in India; the persistent maintenance of an all-male priesthood in Roman Catholicism; the agitation, in many parts of the United States, for so-called voluntary prayer in public schools. Because it is of the essence of a religious position that it be a strong commitment, religiously motivated advocates of a social reform tend to become, for better or for worse, dominated by a single issue.

If religiously motivated social reform is to have a significant impact upon society in the late twentieth century, it cannot concentrate on a limited range of such matters. In the process of bearing witness to the changes that are necessary in the complexly woven fabric of modern life, many of the older simplicities must be abandoned, however reluctantly. For example, just one twentieth-century development, that of air travel, has wrought great change, bringing all the parts of the earth into relatively close proximity. Long-distance travel and its resultant interactions have become commonplace, not only between residents of one country or one continent, but between people of very different backgrounds and customs from all over the globe. The number of cross-cultural contacts has increased phenomenally within less than half a century. The more mobile of American men and women, as well as a great many American youths, have the opportunity to experience life and to meet people in countries where prevailing customs are different from those in the United States. Similar groups from other countries can now visit the United States and get to know some of its people.

It is inevitable that these multitudes of travelers will soon begin to make critical comparisons of their countries' social orders and institutions with those of countries they have visited. They will not at first be considering larger theoretical questions of politics or economics. They will look at the actual day-to-day lives of people. Their consciousness in such matters will rapidly become a world consciousness. Religious reformists must be prepared to adapt their visions of directions and goals to the concerns of this new kind of "international" public mind. Even as individual churches have had to expand the horizons of their awareness to include the concerns of a denomination, so denominations must broaden their thought to the interlocked concerns of the human world.

RELIGIOUS CONCERN FOR RELIGIOUS REFORM. Religions are not only faiths; they are also churches. That is, they not only express a deep feeling for the mutual interrelation of humankind and the universe but are also organized groups of people who come together on specified occasions for specific purposes, groups of people who relate to the transcendent, to each other, to outsiders, to animals, and to nature in traditional, ritualized ways. In addition to those members who come together periodically for celebratory or ceremonial purposes, most of these organized groups have a professional corps of leaders with specialized educational (sometimes merely vocational) preparation and qualifications. These leadership corps go under various names (priests, ministers, rabbis, etc.). In some cases, they constitute a separate class within the larger society, such as the *brahman* caste in Hinduism, and they may have still, though in a reduced form in modern times, certain privileges or prerogatives, sometimes called "benefit of clergy."

While some internal reforms in religious life have been inaugurated by members of the nonprofessional group, the "laity," in most cases both the need for reform and the program for putting the reform into practice have been first recognized and then expressed by members of the professional class, the "clergy." It is scarcely to be wondered at that this should be so—that those whose lives and careers are centered in the institution, the "church," and who are, as a general rule, more fully trained for the understanding of matters of religion, should be those who see that old words, old ways, or old rules no longer serve the faith as they presumably did at an earlier time. What does surprise is that so many of the clergy, seeing this, have called loudly for reform of their institution, placing its future and its purposes above their own convenience and comfort. On the one hand, the clergy as a body is composed of those who have most to gain from not troubling the waters, from not disturbing institutional stability; on the other hand, most of the prophetic calls have come from members of the clergy and have pointed emphatically to the need for reform, for change, and, by implication, for instability.

Because there are these two internal strains in each major religious tradition, and perhaps also in the thinking of many individual members of the clergy, religions do change—although, as a rule, slowly and very cautiously. The heretic of one age is gradually transformed into the saint of a later time; the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas was forbidden reading to Franciscans for many years after his death, and some of his ideas were officially regarded as dubious even at the end of his life. But within a century he was proclaimed a saint, and his philosophy became the dominant intellectual system within the Roman Catholic church. Similarly, the roundness of the earth was acknowledged in practice long before it was accepted in religious cosmology. Step by cautious and hesitant step, reluctant at every move, religious bodies ultimately accept new moral and social ideas and are even led, in the end, to *novellae* (new theological formulations) and to revised religious practices derived from the new ideas. Characteristically, however, these novelties, on first proposal, are greeted with dismay, even with horror. The earliest formulators of the novelties may be silenced, denounced, unfrocked and expelled from their orders, even excommunicated, as were the founders of many of the more extreme Christian sects of the Middle Ages and as was so well-known a figure as Martin Luther in the early modern period. During the Protestant Reformation itself John Calvin's Geneva burned Michael Servetus at the stake for his antitrinitarian views.

Both Christianity and Judaism, in earlier times, tended to be more akin to tribal religions than to universal religions, and therefore harsher in their treatment of dissenters. In the modern Western world, most religious leaders are more ready to recognize that silencing the thinker does not silence the thought. Toleration of religious reform and religious reformers has come to be the norm in the Western world in the past two centuries. Intolerance, however, has again begun to flourish in the Middle East, in the form of religio-political strife. The resurgence of such conflicts raises doubts whether the message of religious toleration has roots as deep as they seem to be, whether in fact mutual toleration has become as widespread as was once believed. It is surely evident that there is a need for the reform of interreligious relations, as well as for maintaining within each religion a climate hospitable to the idea of reform.

RELIGIOUS REFORM AND TRADITIONAL PRACTICE. There is no aspect of religion that is more important to the members of any religious group than the traditional practices to which they adhere. Truly, religious practice is the context in which the child that is latent in every adult comes closest to self-revelation. Psychologists maintain that what people learn in early life persists longest in their memories, and the traditional practices associated with every religion are a large part of what holds the attention of young children. Some traditional practices are peculiar to a particular family and remain in use within that family for many generations. Others are traditions of a national group and are carried with the members of that group wherever they may migrate. The most persistent practices are those handed down from the founders of a religious movement or from its great leaders. Some may even be held over from the religious tradition that preceded the one by whose members it is now practiced, as some pre-Buddhist traditions have persisted in the Tibetan form of Buddhism, or as earlier Arab pagan practices were preserved in Islam. Even today, despite its explicit prohibition by the hierarchy of the Orthodox Greek church, a pre-Christian fertility rite (now called Pyrovasia), in which young men jump through a fire as a magical way to ensure good crops, is still performed in Thrace, usually with the connivance of local priests. A very similar practice is associated with the Holi, a spring festival in popular Hinduism. This festival, too, is thought to antedate the Hindu religion, which would explain why it is found only in popular Hinduism and not in the formal religion. Thus rituals and other religious practices precede, in many cases, the religions in which they are preserved; theology comes to people later in their lives and is accepted with little questioning because it comes wrapped in the haze of familiar, traditional rites and practices.

Because these rituals are so deeply embedded in people's consciousness at the most impressionable period of their lives, it would be most desirable if the advocates of religious reform could consistently retain the ancient ritual traditions. In some instances it is possible to do so without being false to the reforms advocated. There is no great virtue in withholding the experience of Christmas celebration from a Christian child on the grounds of the historical falsity of the date, or because snow in the vicinity of Bethlehem is impossible, or because there is no astronomical report of so bright a star as that in the Christmas story. Christmas is itself often reinterpreted today as the Christmas version of a far more ancient festival of the winter solstice, developed by Roman Christians as an alternative to the Mithraic Birthday of the Invincible Sun (Dies Natalis Solis Invicti), celebrated on the day in the Roman calendar equivalent to December 25. To the Roman Christian rites of celebration there were added, as Christianity spread into northern Europe, a variety of elements more suitable to the climate of that region. Easter, too, must be recognized as a christianized and spiritualized version of the widespread festivals celebrating the arrival of spring. To acknowledge the earlier ancestry of these Christian festivals adds a universal dimension to their significance; it does not diminish their Christian poetic and symbolic value. Similarly, it is possible to take many of the festivals of other religions and, while retaining all or most of their attractive ceremonial, to refine their traditional basis. Reforming religion does not necessarily imply destroying its poetry or its myth; it requires only recognizing the difference between myth and actuality, between poetry and history.

There are other instances, however, in which ancient traditions have already had to yield to later and higher ideals, and still others in which the advocates of reform must continue the struggle to change traditional practice. The age-old Hindu practice of *satī,* immolating widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands, was forbidden by British rulers as early as 1829 in those parts of India that they controlled. In the "native states," enclaves ruled by native princes, the traditional *satī* was maintained for a time but was gradually eliminated. The theological rationale (perhaps originally an economic rationale) could not be maintained against the higher sense of women's personhood that has developed in modern Indian society. Hindu scholar-priests found no difficulty in reinterpreting the Vedic texts by which the old practice had been justified. Similarly, the Bible, the basic text of Judaism and Christianity, still presents animal sacrifice as a ritual practice divinely commanded and to be routinely carried out by the priests. Both religions have long since given up the practice literally commanded and have replaced actual sacrifice with the symbolic sacrifice of almsgiving. Other biblical injunctions, too, such as the "levirate" obligation, in which the brother of a man who died childless married the widow of his deceased brother in order to sire a son to perpetuate the dead brother's name (*Dt.* 25:5-10), have been either totally abandoned or replaced by a merely symbolic substitute.

Reform is a process that is never finished. Those who carried forward the reforms that have been mentioned, and others like them, may have thought that they had made all the changes that were necessary. But because human knowledge is always increasing, there is no point at which people can say that there is nothing left for them to learn and that all their beliefs are final. It is a continuing part of the religious reformers' obligation to carry on in their own time the unending struggle to renew tradition by bringing features of the religious systems into line with the most advanced knowledge and the most modern sensibilities of their time. There is no reason, for example, why the struggle to achieve parity for women should not, in the present age, be pursued in every religion, even though the achievement of this goal would require the overthrow of certain traditional practices and beliefs. In any area of life in which traditional religious practice comes into conflict with modern sensibility there is a frontier for religious reform. It might well be extremely difficult to eliminate the exclusively masculine language that has become traditional in speaking of God in the monotheistic faiths. But as the role of women in the formal services of these religions is increased, and as certain ritual formulas, such as ". . . who hast not made me a woman," are forced out of the prayer books by insistent and repetitive agitation, the development of a gender-neutral language for religious practice should be possible.

These examples suggest that there are two directions to follow in achieving reform of traditional religious practice. The easier of the two, for all concerned, is to reinterpret, in the light of modern understanding, the theoretical doctrine or historical principle upon which a practice is based, and thus to modify the meaning that the practice has for people today without forcing them to give up the practice itself. Wherever it is possible to do so, the goal of religious reform should be to change meaning without eliminating well-loved practice. Where this is impossible, however, where the practice itself involves a kind of behavior unacceptable in the modern world, reform must be total; the practice and the principle on which it rests must be uprooted, not merely reinterpreted. To be modern, religions must not require either practices that fail to conform to the present-day moral ideas of their environing cultures or beliefs that contradict the best knowledge available. If religions fail in either of these respects, they require reform.

SEE ALSO Morality and Religion; Revival and Renewal; Tradition.

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Hinduism

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Buddhism

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Judaism

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REFORMATION.

[*This entry discusses the sixteenth-century movement within Western Christendom that led to the emergence of the several Protestant churches.*]

The term *reformatio* (from the Latin *reformare,* "to renew") was employed in the Middle Ages to denote attempts to reform church and society; the use of the term *Reformation* in the sixteenth century indicates a sense of continuity with earlier efforts. While the term expressed the notion of turning the church from alleged worldliness and lack of proper theological emphasis, it did not, either conceptually or pragmatically, entail the notion of separation from the one church.

When it became evident in the sixteenth-century controversy over the proper interpretation of the Christian faith that the Protestant reformers in fact believed the Roman Catholic Church to be in theological error rather than merely to have mistaken emphases, a major step in the direction of separation had been taken. The Catholic Church, in turn, viewed the Reformation movement as rebellion and revolution. The term *Protestant,* applied to the adherents of the Reformation, stemmed from the "protest" voiced at the Diet of Speyer (1529) by the Lutheran estates against the revocation of the policy of toleration decreed at the Diet of Speyer three years earlier.

Reformation scholarship has tended to be dominated by confessional perspectives. Catholic scholars have viewed the Reformation as a religious and theological aberration and (as regards its historical significance) the cause of modern secularism. Protestant historiography, in turn, has depicted the Reformation as the restoration of authentic Christianity, with different emphases placed, according to the orientation of particular scholars, on the particular branch (Lutheran, Calvinist-Reformed, Anabaptist, Anglican) of the Reformation. Protestant Reformation historiography has generally focused on theological foci, stressing the distinctive emphases of the respective Protestant churches.

BACKGROUND. The traditional view, from the Protestant perspective, has been that in the early sixteenth century, church and society were in a state of crisis. The church was seen as suffering from various moral and theological abuses and the Reformation as a necessary reaction against that state of affairs. Recent research has drawn a different picture, holding that in the early sixteenth century, church and society were essentially stable, although not without problems. Therefore, the explanation for the outbreak of the Reformation is sought elsewhere, namely in a complex interplay of an essentially stable society and powerful new forces.

The foremost political reality of the time, the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation," was characterized by uncertainties about its boundaries and the respective roles of the emperor and the territorial rulers. A demand for greater effectiveness in governance had begun to surface in the late fifteenth century, particularly among the territorial rulers. A call for imperial reform was variously voiced and diets (parliamentary assemblies) in 1495 and 1500 went far in reorganizing the formal institutional structures of the empire.

The territories of the empire were in a state of transition in the late fifteenth century. The territorial rulers sought to enhance their own power at the expense of the emperor, while striving for a balance with the nobility in their territories. Because of his need for increased financial resources to support more extensive governmental activities and the flourishing bureaucracies, the emperor had to rely for support on the territorial rulers, who in turn depended on the nobility. The towns, many of which, as free imperial cities, were politically autonomous, presented a similar picture of superficial power relationships. Important centers of commerce and finance were emerging, the political power of which remained restricted. Tensions between the towns and the territories in which they were located were real, since the territories depended on the fiscal resources of the towns but sought to curb their political aspirations.

The Catholic Church stood in the center of society. It had extensive land holdings. It controlled education. It possessed its own legal system. It provided the ethical principles on which society was based and which were meant to guide it. Above all, the church, as the guardian of eternal truth, mediated salvation. There is no doubt that, on the eve of the Reformation, the church possessed a great vitality, especially in Germany, and that it commanded considerable loyalty and devotion. Heresy had virtually disappeared. Ecclesiastical benefactions increased in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Pilgrimages were popular. Preaching positions in churches were established, and the newly invented printing press provided a host of devotional materials for a growing reading public.

Along with these manifestations of vitality, there were also problems. The hierarchy seemed distant and too cumbersome to deal with the spiritual needs of the people. The higher clergy, notably the bishops, were mainly recruited from the nobility and viewed their office as a source of prestige and power. This was particularly true in Germany, where many bishops were political rulers as well as spiritual rulers. The condition of the lower clergy, the parish priests, was often deplorable. Their theological learning was fragmentary and their economic circumstances marginal. Many parishes had absentee priests; as a result, clerical responsibilities were assumed by the less qualified curates.

In this setting many voices pleaded for church reform. The argument was that the church was too worldly, the papacy too far removed, the clergy too greedy, the religion of the people too vulgar. The humanists, notably Erasmus of Rotterdam, were outspoken in their opposition to scholastic theology. They argued that the simple religion of Christ should be restored. They objected to the scholastic concern over trivia, to the vulgar popular preoccupation with such matters as pilgrimages and relics, and to the pomp and worldliness of the hierarchy. The dominant theological influence emanated from Gabriel Biel, whose Ockhamism seemed a balanced treatment of the themes of human effort and divine action. An overall assessment of the theological situation on the eve of the Reformation must stress the presence of harmonious consistency.

The decades before the Reformation brought the growth of "territorial church government." Political authority became increasingly involved in ecclesiastical affairs, while, quite consistently, the role of the church in society—politically, fiscally, and legally—was challenged. In the towns the municipal councils became concerned with responsibility for education, the supervision of morality, and the care of the poor, all of which previously had been the prerogative and function of the church.

When all is said, however, a survey of church and state on the eve of the Reformation fails to reveal extensive symptoms of a profound crisis. Tensions existed but were hardly fundamental, and sundry efforts were being made to alleviate them. Despite criticism and anticlericalism, the call was for change and reform, not for disruption and revolution.

CONTROVERSY OVER INDULGENCES. The Reformation originated in a controversy over indulgences precipitated by Martin Luther's Ninety-five Theses of October 31, 1517. Indulgences, originally remissions of certain ecclesiastical penalties, had by the early sixteenth century come to be understood as offering forgiveness of sins in exchange for certain payments. Luther's misgivings about a singularly vulgar sale of indulgences by the Dominican monk Johann Tetzel found expression in a probing of the theology of indulgences. In a letter to Archbishop Albert of Hohenzollern, Luther pleaded for the discontinuance of the sale. What was meant as an academic and pastoral matter quickly became a public one, however, primarily because Luther sent out several copies of the theses, and the positive response of the recipients helped to propagate them. Moreover, Luther had inadvertently touched upon a politically sensitive matter. By attacking the sale of indulgences, he had infringed upon the fiscal interests of both the papacy and Archbishop Albert.

The subsequent course of events that turned Luther's expression of concern into a public controversy finds its explanation primarily in the astonishing intensity and swiftness of the official reaction: By early 1518 Luther had been cited as a suspected heretic. Undoubtedly, the church still had a vivid memory of the Hussite troubles of the previous century, and its strategy was to squelch the controversy as quickly as possible. The next three years were characterized by dogged pursuit of the official ecclesiastical proceedings against Luther, culminating, in January 1521, in his formal excommunication. After much deliberation and amid unresolved legal uncertainties, a rump diet issued the Edict of Worms in May 1521, whereby Luther was declared a political outlaw.

Events between 1517 and 1521 were dominated not only by the official ecclesiastical proceedings against Luther but also by the concurrent unfolding of his public presence and the increasing echo thereof. Luther's public message was a combination of cautious anticlericalism and a call to a deepened spirituality. This message explains at once the popular response: people responded precisely because they were not called upon to break with the church or to embrace a new theology.

BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION. At Luther's formal condemnation in 1521 the nature of events changed. With Luther removed from the scene (many thought him dead), the message of reform was spread by an increasing number of comrades-in-arms and supporters. By that time consequences of the new message and its call for reform were beginning to emerge. What would be the practical consequences of Luther's call for a deepened spirituality? If, as Luther had argued, monasticism was unbiblical, what was to be done about the monks and the monasteries? If clerical celibacy was wrong, should priests marry? As these questions were asked and practical answers were offered and implemented, the Reformation in the real sense of the word can be said to have begun.

The Edict of Worms proved but a scrap of paper. Most territorial states plainly ignored it in view of the widespread support for Luther, the dubious legality of the edict, and the rulers' concerns for their legal prerogatives. In the Imperial Council, which exercised the emperor's function during his absence from Germany for the remainder of the decade, the debates about the execution of the edict were lengthy and inconclusive. Nor did diets meeting in Nuremberg in 1523 and 1524 have any greater success, other than issuing plaintive pleas for the convening of a general or at least a German council.

The message that evoked such widespread support is evident in the multitude of pamphlets published between 1517 and 1525. Their themes were simple. They were concerned more with personal piety than with theological propositions. Their message was that of a religion of substance rather than form, of inner integrity rather than outward conformity, of freedom rather than rules. It was also a message of utter dependence on God's grace. At the same time, certain key slogans made their appearance: "human traditions," "works righteousness," "the pure word of God," and, once the battle lines were drawn, the fateful declaration that the papacy was the seat of the antichrist.

The impact of the reformers was so strong because they deliberately took their arguments to the people whom they knew to be interested in the issues discussed. Abandoning Latin as the language of religious discourse, the reformers used the vernacular in their writings and preferred the brief tract, the pamphlet, to the weighty tome. The genres used for disseminating the message of the Reformation were extensive and varied—straightforward expositions, satires, dialogues, plays, even cartoons. The quantitative output was enormous. Within the first decade of the controversy, over a million copies of Reformation tracts were disseminated in Germany, with its population of roughly ten million. Many tracts were reprinted more than fifteen times.

At this point in its development, the movement was diverse and imprecise in its theological focus. The common denominator was the vague notion of the need for change and reform. Everything else was up in the air, so to speak; the only certainty was that Luther clearly occupied a position of central eminence. The issues propounded were not merely religious ones; they encompassed a wide variety of social and political concerns that made for an intertwining of religious and nonreligious motifs.

The further course of events brought a variety of issues to the fore that defined and divided the Reformation movement. Luther became engaged in controversy with several fellow reformers—among them Ulrich Zwingli, Andreas Karlstadt, and Thomas Müntzer—who challenged both his perspective and his eminence. The controversy with Zwingli, about the Lord's Supper, dominated the remainder of the decade of the 1520s.

By the end of the 1520s the reform movement had firmly established itself, especially in southern and central Germany, so much so that the Diet of Speyer in 1526 concluded the impossibility of enforcing the Edict of Worms. Accordingly, the diet allowed the territorial rulers for the time being the freedom to proceed with the edict according to the dictates of their consciences and their sense of responsibility to the emperor.

Two themes were dominant in the years between the Diet of Speyer (1526) and the Peace of Augsburg (1555): the expansion of the Reformation and the pursuit of reconciliation (or coexistence) between the two sides. The theme of Protestant expansion found striking expression in the spread throughout Europe and, in Germany, of the acceptance of the Reformation by a majority of the imperial cities. The convergence of societal concerns and religious goals, characteristic of the Reformation as a whole, is clearly discernible in the cities. The cities were centers of economic power and literacy, and in many were manifest a pronounced anticlericalism and a conflict between the church and those who held political power.

Three patterns of ecclesiastical change in the cities emerged. In some, the agitation for change came from the councils, which sought to bring their quest for full control of all areas of municipal life to a consistent conclusion. In others, the Reformation became part of the political conflict between the council, the ruling oligarchy, and the guilds. The attempt to introduce the Reformation paralleled the effort to democratize. In the third pattern, the quest for ecclesiastical change came from a group of intellectuals who forced the city council to embrace the Reformation.

The second Reformation theme between 1526 and 1555, the pursuit of reconciliation between Catholics and Protestants, had both its political and constitutional aspects. At the Diet of Speyer (1529) the Catholic estates mustered a majority, which insisted on enforcement of the Edict of Worms. But this move had no discernible consequences, and Charles V convened a diet at Augsburg in 1530 to resolve the controversy. The Lutheran estates were invited to submit a confessional statement; the Zurich reformer Zwingli was deemed politically insignificant; the theologically extreme were ignored.

The Lutheran declaration of faith, known as the Augsburg Confession, argued that there was agreement in major matters and that the disagreements pertained only to minor issues, notably the married clergy and episcopal jurisdiction. The issues that had dominated the controversy—the sacraments, authority, and justification—were treated in a broad and most general fashion. This approach of stressing conciliation may have been an astute propaganda move, since there was reason to believe that the Catholics would be rigid. In fact, however, the papacy had also decided on a conciliatory policy, and the eventual failure of the discussions was in part attributable to the failure of each side to understand the other.

At the adjournment of the diet, the Protestants were given six months to rescind their ecclesiastical changes. When the deadline came, however, nothing happened. The emperor, preoccupied militarily with the Turks, was dependent on the support of all the estates, including the Protestants. Moreover, the important Protestant territories had formed the Smalcaldic League to resist any attempt to resolve the religious controversy by force. Accordingly, Charles V had to agree to the Peace of Nuremberg (1532), which afforded the Protestants legal recognition until the convening of a general council.

The 1530s brought continued Protestant expansion in Germany. At the end of the decade new attempts were made to explore the possibility of theological agreement. At the Colloquy of Worms (1539), agreement was reached concerning justification, which had been the main point of controversy between the two sides. In the end, however, disagreement prevailed, and the attempt to resolve the controversy by theological conciliation failed.

Charles V was now determined to use force. Upon concluding peace with France in 1544, he was ready to face the Protestants. War broke out in 1546 and despite a good deal of blundering, Charles emerged successful, winning the decisive Battle of Muhlberg in 1547. The victorious emperor convened a diet at Augsburg in 1548 to impose his religious settlement on the Protestants. The result was the Augsburg Interim, which afforded the Protestants two temporary concessions—use of the communion cup and the married clergy—but left little doubt about the emperor's determination to restore Catholicism fully in the end. At the same time, Charles V sought also, through an ambitious constitutional reform project, to enhance imperial power in Germany. The pairing of these two objectives proved his undoing, for once his political objectives had become clear, his military coalition promptly disintegrated. A conspiracy of territorial rulers, headed by Maurice of Saxony, almost succeeded in imprisoning the emperor.

Charles faced increasingly formidable opposition from the territorial rulers, Protestant and Catholic alike, and he had to acknowledge that Protestantism was firmly entrenched in Germany. The formal recognition of Protestantism could no longer be avoided. Lengthy negotiations conducted by his brother, Ferdinand, culminated in the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. While both sides affirmed the ideal of eventual reconciliation, the realities intimated a permanent division. The foremost provision of the peace was "Cuius regio, eius religio," by which territorial rulers were given the freedom to choose Lutheranism or Catholicism as the official religion in their territory. The emerging distribution of political power in Germany provided the framework for the settlement of the controversy. Even as political power shifted from the emperor to the territorial rulers, so was the religious countenance of Germany formed by the territories rather than the empire.

DIFFERENTIATION OF REFORMATION VIEWS. As the Reformation movement spread, it became evident that the reformers' common opposition to the Catholic church did not entail a common theological position. Differences of views emerged, pertaining both to the timing and to the scope of reform.

The first incidence of differentiation came in 1522, when Andreas Karlstadt, a colleague of Luther's at the University of Wittenberg, publicly disagreed with Luther. Two years later Thomas Müntzer, minister at Allstedt, not far from Wittenberg, published two pamphlets in which he dramatically indicted Luther's notion of reform. He accused Luther of selling out to the political authorities by preaching a "honey-sweet Christ." In the spring of 1525, Müntzer joined the rebellious peasants in central Germany and became their spiritual leader. The pamphlets that issued from his pen were vitriolic and categorical: the true church would be realized only through suffering and by a resolute opposition to the godless rulers.

While the most famous of the peasant programs, the Twelve Articles, astutely linked peasant aspirations with the Lutheran proclamation, the connection between the reform movement and the peasants was tenuous at best. It must remain doubtful whether, given their illiteracy, the peasants were extensively touched by the Reformation. But Luther felt sufficiently implicated to publish two pamphlets against the peasants in which he expressed sympathy for their plight yet categorically declared that the gospel did not provide the justification for its amelioration and that rebellion was against the gospel. These tracts heralded a fundamental divorce of the Reformation from a major social issue of the time.

Huldrych Zwingli. The major division within the ranks of the reformers is associated with the Swiss reformer Huldrych (Ulrich) Zwingli, of Zurich. Unlike Luther, whose theological development occurred in the setting of monastery and university, Zwingli matured as a parish priest and as a theologian greatly influenced by Erasmus. In 1522, he publicly defended eating meat during the Lenten fast and in so doing precipitated a lively controversy about the propriety of the prescribed ecclesiastical practices. The Zurich city council ordered a disputation to resolve the contested issues. It took place in January 1523 and resulted in the public declaration of support for Zwingli by the council, a declaration that had the noteworthy underlying assumption that a community could itself determine the faith, regardless of established ecclesiastical authority. A new norm of religious authority was evident here.

A second disputation, in October 1523, dealt with the issues of the use of images in churches and the interpretation of the Mass. Agreement was quickly reached that both were unbiblical, but opinion differed as to the most propitious time for their abolition. From the ranks of some of Zwingli's followers came the same kind of impatience with the course of ecclesiastical change that Luther had witnessed in Wittenberg in 1522. Eventually some of these followers broke openly with Zwingli; thus was launched the Anabaptist movement.

The specific issue that was to divide the Reformation was the interpretation of the Lord's Supper. Luther, while rejecting the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, affirmed the real presence of Christ in the elements of bread and wine, while Zwingli affirmed a spiritual presence. The controversy between the two men erupted in 1525 and continued, with increasing vehemence, for years to come. By 1529 political overtones to the theological disagreement had surfaced. Since military action against the Protestants was a possibility, the internal disagreement weakened the Protestant position. It became clear that the future of the Reformation lay in political strength. Landgrave Philipp of Hesse, the driving force behind such notions, arranged for a colloquy between Luther and Zwingli at Marburg in October 1529. Luther was a reluctant participant, not only because he had little empathy for Zwingli's theology but also because he reflected a different political perspective. Any rapprochement with Zwingli, who was seen as both anti-Habsburg and a theological radical, would make conciliation with the Habsburg emperor Charles V more difficult.

The Marburg colloquy, therefore, manifested both political and theological issues. No agreement was reached in the lengthy discussions, even though the document signed by those present skillfully buried the disagreement concerning communion in an inconspicuous sentence. The Reformation movement remained divided. Zwingli's influence was strong in Zurich, Switzerland, and even southwestern Germany even though the second of two military engagements between Swiss Catholics and Protestants in 1529 and 1531 ended with Protestant defeat and the curtailment of further Protestant expansion. Zwingli himself died on the battlefield of Kappel in 1531.

The Anabaptists. A second major division within the ranks of the Reformation pertained to a heterogeneous group whom contemporaries called "Anabaptists." This term, derived from a Greek word meaning "rebaptizer," indicated the Anabaptists' most prominent assertion: that baptism should be performed in adulthood as the outgrowth of an individual's decision. More important was the Anabaptist conviction, which echoed Thomas Müntzer, that the major reformers had been neither serious nor comprehensive in their effort to restore biblical Christianity. The Anabaptists thus placed great emphasis on the personal commitment to follow Christ (exemplified by the desire to be baptized), viewed the church as a voluntary group of believers, and held for complete aloofness from the political structures.

Anabaptism originated formally in Zurich among young humanist associates of Zwingli who, influenced by Müntzer and Karlstadt, were disenchanted with the slow progress of reform. Their attempt to impose their own vision of speedier and more comprehensive reform on the course of events proved unsuccessful. They broke with Zwingli, administered believer's baptism early in 1525, and found themselves promptly persecuted, since the authorities were unwilling to tolerate diverse forms of religion in their midst. Impatience and dissatisfaction with the course of ecclesiastical change were widespread in the mid-1520s, so that it is not possible to speak of a single point of origin for Anabaptism. Events were moving too slowly for many, and the theological atmosphere at the time was so diverse as to suggest a multiplicity of mentors and sources.

The Anabaptist movement expanded throughout Austria and Germany, chiefly through itinerant lay preachers. Small congregations developed as a result of their preaching. Both ecclesiastical and secular authorities declared the Anabaptists to be revolutionaries and pursued a harsh policy of persecution. This caused Anabaptism to become an underground movement. Its literature was sparse, since it had to be clandestinely printed and disseminated. It had no trained clergy. Despite such handicaps Anabaptism enjoyed a widespread, if modest, expansion.

The catastrophe of Anabaptism at the northwestern German town of Münster, in the early 1530s, proved to be a turning point in the history of the movement. The coming of the Reformation to Münster had prompted the town's leading minister, Bernd Rothmann, to embrace Lutheran notions and successfully secure the appointment of other reform-minded Lutheran clergy. Elections to the city council in 1533 resulted in a Lutheran majority. Subsequently, Rothmann came under Anabaptist influence, and Münster underwent a second Reformation in embracing Anabaptism. Early in 1534 representatives of the Dutch Anabaptist leader Melchior Hofmann arrived to administer adult baptism. Euphoria set in, since Hofmann had earlier prophesied that the imminent end would be preceded by the victory of the elect over the godless. The events at Münster seemed to vindicate his prophecy of the glorious things to come.

Extensive changes occurred in the city. In 1534 Jan van Leyden, who had assumed leadership, declared himself king of the New Jerusalem. Communism and polygamy were introduced, both measures forced upon the Münster Anabaptists as much by external pressures as by biblical reflection; these changes prompted Catholic and Protestant authorities to lay siege to the city. Food and other supplies were at a premium, and women vastly outnumbered men.

After Münster was captured in the spring of 1535, and this New Jerusalem came to its end, the consequences for Anabaptists proved catastrophic. The authorities concluded that their fears had been vindicated: religious dissent had indeed, as they had predicted, escalated into political revolution. The persecution of Anabaptists intensified, and their very credibility suffered disastrously.

In northern Germany and Holland, Anabaptism was significantly aided by the leadership of a former Dutch priest, Menno Simons. With sensitive theological reflection and organizational skill, he succeeded in directing the perplexed Anabaptists to the ideal of a quiet, otherworldly Christianity that removed itself from any involvement in the political structures of society and acknowledged that existing authorities could not be replaced. While the themes of nonviolence and withdrawal from society had been voiced by earlier Anabaptist leaders, Simons emphasized them as hallmarks of Anabaptism. The Netherlands became, with Switzerland, the center of the movement.

The Antitrinitarians. Although some of the intellectual roots of Antitrinitarianism can be traced to the late Middle Ages, the catalytic influence of the Reformation was paramount in the movement. The atmosphere of challenge of established opinion and the stress on the Bible as sole authority seemed to call for the repudiation of the doctrine of the Trinity. A most dramatic event, in the early 1530s, was the publication of two staunchly antitrinitarian tracts by a Spanish lay theologian and physician, Michael Servetus. Servetus's later *Restitution* of 1553 offered a detailed critique of traditional dogma. However, it was not until the second half of the sixteenth century that a new ecclesiastical tradition embracing such notions emerged, notably in Poland. In an atmosphere of toleration, a part of the Calvinist church in Poland became antitrinitarian, greatly influenced by the Italian reformers Laelius and Fausto Sozzini.

John Calvin. An urbane French lawyer and humanist by background, John Calvin was the embodiment of both the differentiation of Reformation views and of its European dimension. Calvin had left his native country for Switzerland to arrange for the publication of his brief summary statement of Reformation theology, *Institutes of the Christian Religion.* Passing by chance through Geneva in 1536, the twenty-seven-year-old scholar was pressured into staying to take part in the reform there. His first attempt to implement reform led to conflict with the city authorities and to his expulsion in 1538. Three years later, however, he was invited to return and he remained there until his death in 1564.

Institutes of the Christian Religion, an originally slender volume that was many times revised and enlarged, stands as the monumental systematic delineation of reformed religion. Its basic motif, echoed in many variations, is the majesty of God, from which humanity's eternal destiny—predestination to salvation or to damnation—is reasoned. While Calvin always wished to emphasize God's majesty as the overarching theme of biblical religion, the concept of predestination emerged as the characteristic feature of Calvin's thought.

Calvin's notion of election to salvation made the elect the warriors for God. At the same time, Calvin consciously sought to implement the societal implications of the Christian religion. Following notions of Zwingli and the Strasbourg reformer Martin Bucer, he undertook to reform not merely the church but all of society. Thus Geneva, Calvin's seat of action, was to become the most famous of the towns of the Reformation.

Calvin's instrument of reform was the *Ecclesiastical Ordinances* of 1541, a comprehensive summary of the structure of the church and its place in society. The most important administrative institution in Geneva (and wherever Calvin's version of the Reformation gained a foothold) was the consistory, a body composed of both clergy and laity whose task was to supervise the maintenance of true faith and pure morals. Thus, it was not an ecclesiastical (or clerical) body, turning Geneva into an ecclesiastical tyranny. The political authorities participated fully in it in pursuit of an orderly and moral community.

Calvin's determination to implement his vision of God's law brought him into conflict with influential Genevans. There were several serious confrontations, and matters remained at an uneasy stalemate until 1553, when the trial of Michael Servetus forced the issue. Calvin, who despised Servetus for his heretical views, regarded his appearance in Geneva as part of a larger plot to undo Calvinist reforms in the city. Servetus's condemnation and execution consolidated Calvin's role. Elsewhere in Europe, notably in Poland, the Low Countries, Scotland, and especially France, Calvinism emerged as the major form of the Reformation. Lutheranism at the time was rife with internal theological controversy, leaving to Calvin and his followers the role of the dynamic force of the Reformation in the second half of the sixteenth century.

EUROPEAN DIMENSION OF THE REFORMATION. In light of the European dimension of the Reformation the question has been asked whether to view this dimension as the result of the transmission of ideas from Germany or as the emergence of simultaneous reform movements in a number of European countries. There has been support for both views, although there seems little doubt that the Lutheran controversy in Germany affected theologians and laity throughout Europe. Travelers and the printed word carried forth the message from Germany. To this German influence the native reformers added their own emphases.

The European theological themes were also uniform; they were determined by a common opposition to Roman Catholicism and a common stance concerning the authority of scripture. Moreover, the essential course of development of the Reformation in Europe hardly differed from one country to another, in that theological discussion was always accompanied by a quest for legal recognition. In each country the period of the Reformation ended with a legal pronouncement: in France with the Edict of Nantes (1598); in Poland with the Confederation of Warsaw (1573); and in Scotland with an act of Parliament (1560).

The spread of the Reformation movement was uniformly related to local political issues and to the concomitant ability of the Protestants to demonstrate that their religion could have relevance for these issues. The success of the Reformation hinged on its ability to convert king or nobility, whichever was crucial in the struggle. As events turned out, in England, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, and Scotland, the Protestants were on the winning side.

At the time the Reformation movement broke out in Germany, reform notions were already strong in France. Although Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples had anticipated some of Luther's notions and had translated the New Testament into French, one may see the first phase of the Reformation in France as the dissemination of Lutheran ideas and pamphlets. The official reaction was that of suppression. While Francis I was himself a humanist by disposition, political prudence led him to take a Catholic and papal course. The *placard* affair of 1534, in which a Protestant poster was affixed to the door of the king's bedroom, symbolized Protestant strength in the country. Francis responded with persecution and a stern censorship of books. His successor, Henry II, continued this policy, which found embodiment in the Edict of Chateaubriand (1551).

Henry's unexpected death in 1559 precipitated a constitutional crisis over the exercise of regency during the minority of the new king, Francis II. Cardinal Guise summarily assumed the regency, but his move was opposed by the prestigious Bourbon family, which argued for a council of regency. The constitutional issue had religious overtones, since the Guises were staunch Catholics, while the Bourbons had Protestant leanings. To side with the Bourbons seemed to promise toleration for the Protestants. The constitutional uncertainty prompted the question whether royal authority was being properly exercised. This crisis saw the emergence of the issue of political resistance among French Protestants. Calvin's doctrine of the right of resistance to rulers who did not fulfill their duty served as sanction for the contention that the higher nobility had the right to oppose the king when he violated the law.

The Wars of Religion, which began in 1562, sought to resolve the issue of political power in France and saw the French Protestants (Huguenots) combine political concerns with their religious cause. The Edict of Nantes (1598) ended the struggle and brought the French Reformation to an end. It resembled the Peace of Augsburg in that the Protestants failed in their effort to win acceptance of their religion by France. They were recognized legally, however, and were given freedom of worship. In Germany only the territorial rulers possessed freedom of religious choice; in France this freedom was extended to all.

The Reformation in England. In the 1520s England underwent a period of lively agitation against the Roman Catholic Church. Although this agitation was influenced by events on the continent, there were indigenous forces at work as well: anticlericalism, the tradition of the Lollard heresy, and Erasmian humanism. Henry VIII had himself participated in the initial Reformation controversy with a defense of the traditional Catholic teaching on the sacraments, for which Pope Leo X granted him the title "Defender of the Faith." The king's conservative temperament was thus on record.

This atmosphere of religious agitation was complicated by Henry's sudden desire for an annulment of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon (his deceased brother's widow) on the grounds that the marriage violated canon law. Extensive efforts to obtain a favorable papal decision proved unsuccessful, and Henry eventually chose, on the advice of Thomas Cromwell, the parliamentary route to provide legal justification for his intention. In 1533 Parliament passed the Act in Restraint of Appeals to Rome, which declared England an "empire" whose sovereign could adjudge all spiritual and temporal matters in his realm. This act kept the judicial resolution over Henry's "divorce" in England. The king had broken with the papal church.

The doctrinal statement of the religion imposed by Henry came with the Six Articles of 1539. These articles were Catholic in orientation—as, for example, in espousing transubstantiation and clerical celibacy. Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who was married, had to send his wife abroad. Although the legal situation was restrictive, the actual situation was relatively free. The penalties imposed by the articles were rarely applied, and antipapal propaganda flowed openly. Protestant sentiment, except of the ardent kind, could be easily disseminated. Adamant Catholics were persecuted no less than adamant Protestants. The influence of Erasmian religion made itself felt in England, a religion relatively open, yet essentially Catholic in orientation.

When Henry died in 1547 religious affairs were thus in a precarious balance, neither strongly Protestant nor strongly Catholic. He had intended this state of affairs for his minor son, Edward VI, but the Council of Regency was dominated by men of Protestant sympathies. The official religion of the land veered in the direction of Protestantism. Under the aegis of Archbishop Cranmer, a new order for worship *(The Book of Common Prayer)* was promulgated in 1549. Drawing on the rich liturgical heritage of the medieval church, this order for worship, with the beauty of its language and its structure of the divine office, proved to be an immensely enriching contribution to English Christendom. The theological tone of the prayer book was conservative in that it espoused a Lutheran view of Communion. A revision of the book, three years later, embraced a Zwinglian view.

Mary, Henry's daughter by Catherine of Aragon, who succeeded her half brother in 1553, attempted to restore Catholicism, with an increasingly heavy hand and, in the end, with a ruthless persecution of all avowed Protestants. In so doing, she overlooked the fact that England's ties with the Catholic Church had been severed for almost a quarter of a century; what is more important, she failed to understand the danger of creating martyrs. After her reign (1553–1558), John Foxe wrote his *Book of Martyrs,* a gripping, often melodramatic description of Protestant suffering, torture, and martyrdom. Put into the context of the martyrs of the faith of all times, the book helped make Catholicism impossible in England.

The Elizabethan settlement. With the succession of Mary's half sister, Elizabeth I, in 1558, the English situation changed dramatically. Elizabeth was predisposed to Protestantism and promptly set out to effect a religious settlement in that direction. She wished only for a limited restoration of Protestantism, aiming for the initial reestablishment of royal supremacy and the possibility of further religious change later. But Parliament, convening in 1559, was determined to move in a more Protestant direction. Elizabeth yielded to a settlement that restored religion as it had existed at the end of Edward's reign. An important change, however, made the section on Communion in *The Book of Common Prayer* less precise. By juxtaposing language of the 1549 and 1552 editions of *The Book of Common Prayer* with respect to Communion, it was left uncertain if Christ was bodily present in the Communion bread and wine.

In 1563 the Convocation adopted a theological statement for the Church of England. With Thomas Cranmer's Forty-two Articles of 1551 serving as the point of departure, various revisions resulted in the Thirty-nine Articles, a theologically moderate statement.

Puritanism. Before long the settlement of 1559 began to evoke opposition from those for whom it was not sufficiently Protestant. Its critics argued that too many vestiges of Catholicism remained in the English church. They wanted a "pure" church, and before long they came to be called "Puritans." The Puritans were to be a major element in English history until the second half of the seventeenth century. Puritanism underwent significant changes in the course of its lengthy history. Toward the end of the sixteenth century it became increasingly diverse and sectarian, some strands determined to break with the established church. It also became increasingly political.

Until the end of the sixteenth century, England witnessed successive waves of Puritan dissent. Clerical vestments and the episcopal form of church government soon became the subject of controversy. By the 1580s some Puritans had concluded the impossibility of effecting change from within. Robert Browne's *A Treatise of Reformation without Tarrying for Any* argued for the establishment of separate congregations because the Church of England was unable to reform. In response, Richard Hooker's monumental *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* stated the case for Anglicanism as the perfect middle way, arguing with an impressive command of the principles of natural law and the early church.

On the continent the Reformation controversies had virtually subsided by the end of the sixteenth century. In England, however, the separatist sentiment came to fruition during that time with the emergence of different groupings, of which several—Congregationalists, Baptists, and Quakers—were to become ecclesiastical traditions in Anglo-Saxon Christendom.

THE CATHOLIC REACTION. The initial reaction of the Catholic church to Luther was astoundingly swift and categorical. Undoubtedly, it was influenced by the apprehension that, if not properly handled, the conflagration would lead to another Hussite debacle. By 1520 the position of the church had been delineated: Luther's understanding of the Christian faith was declared heretical and his notion of reform rejected. It was to be of profound import for subsequent events that despite this condemnation, the Catholic Church possessed neither a comprehensive policy for reform nor a clear perception of how to execute the judgment against Luther or halt the increasing defections. Moreover, the papacy had its own priorities, which were slow to focus on the Lutheran affair and the Protestant Reformation, even though there was no dearth of voices predicting disaster unless a solution was found.

The disadvantages facing the defenders of the Catholic Church were obvious. They had to defend the status quo with all its shortcomings, while the reformers were able to delineate a splendid vision of an ideal church. Many of those who attacked the church did so for other than religious reasons, thus introducing an element of power politics into what purported to be a religious matter. Pope and emperor, whose concerted efforts would have been able to stem the Protestant tide, frequently were at odds with each other, working at cross-purposes, and thereby aiding the Reformation.

The question of whether a general council should be convened was undoubtedly the overriding issue during the first two decades of the Reformation. With striking unanimity Christians throughout Europe saw a council as the panacea not only for the ills of the church but also for those of society. To be sure, notions differed as to what the function of a council should be, and perhaps not much would have been accomplished had a council actually convened. But the negative stance of Pope Clement VII, who feared a resurgence of conciliarism, precluded a council in the early years of the Reformation.

When a council eventually convened at Trent in 1545, it was clear that it could have no other function than to sharpen the true Catholic position on a wide variety of issues. Thus the council, which met intermittently until 1563, possessed significance only for the Catholic Church. Its canons and decrees were consciously anti-Protestant and offered conciliatory views only with respect to issues contested within Catholicism. Thus the council served to revitalize the Catholic Church, formulating the principles and policies that characterized an invigorated Catholicism for the century to come.

The Council of Trent gathered together the sundry strands of renewal within the Catholic Church, some of which had been discernible even before 1517. The revival of monasticism, for example, antedated the Reformation. Renewal continued in the 1520s and 1530s, in many instances not influenced by the Reformation. The foremost expression of this renewal was the work of Ignatius Loyola and the Society of Jesus, which he founded. The manifestation of Catholic renewal became an instrument of reaction against the Reformation, and in one of its central forms, namely, monastic spirituality, it reiterated the traditional vehicle of Catholic reform.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE REFORMATION. Perceptions of the significance of the Reformation have differed markedly since the sixteenth century. Generally it is the ecclesiastical persuasion of the observer that has provided the cue for the interpretation.

Protestants saw the Reformation as the restoration of biblical Christianity against a worldly and perverted church. In turn, Catholics saw the Reformation as rebellion against truth and, concomitantly, as a triumph of subjectivism. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century Catholics have argued that, because the Reformation repudiated authority, it was a direct forerunner of the French Revolution. Such stereotypes as these have largely disappeared. Catholic scholars have been willing to acknowledge the religious depth and significance of Luther, while Protestants have revised their negative assessment of the pre-Reformation church and are prepared to see greater continuity between the late Middle Ages and the Reformation. Recent scholarship has also made clear that there was great misunderstanding among the protagonists on both sides of the sixteenth-century controversy. The theological differences are nowadays seen to have consisted in divergent notions of authority and salvation: authority of the Bible and the church or of the Bible alone; salvation by works and grace or by grace alone.

Although the divergence between Catholic and Protestant historiography of the Reformation has largely disappeared, the resurgence of the interpretation first delineated by Friedrich Engels has perpetuated the tradition of divergent assessments of the Reformation. Marxist historians view the Reformation and the German Peasants' War collectively as "early bourgeois revolution." In their view the rising class of townspeople engaged in commerce and trade and holding increasing economic power, found itself in conflict with the holders of political power. In opposing this political power, the new class had to reject the ideological undergirding of medieval society, the Catholic Church. Luther was the religious spokesman for economic power and a new, bourgeois mentality.

The foremost consequence of the Reformation was the division of Western Christendom into several churches. The centrality of the Catholic Church was irretrievably destroyed, and the universal church gave way to national churches. While the political authorities precluded the formal recognition of more than one church, the existence of several religious perspectives (bitterly opposing one another) surely diminished the public as well as private significance of religion in Europe. This disintegrated the notion that had characterized medieval society—the oneness of this world and the next. The existence of diverse religious options did not, however, entail a sense of toleration or religious liberty. All parties clung to the notion of objective truth and the impossibility of allowing the public expression of religious error.

The masses, illiterate and living in isolation in rural areas, remained untouched by the controversies of the Reformation. In other words, the sixteenth century is not to be viewed as a time of intense popular preoccupation with religion. Evidence abounds of outright disinterest in religion, despite countless governmental mandates stipulating church attendance or religious instruction. Popular religion was a simple folk religion, little influenced by the sophisticated theological arguments that characterized Reformation controversies.

The role of the political authorities in these religious controversies has already been noted. Throughout Europe the rulers had the last word about the success or failure of the Reformation. They rarely hesitated to exercise that power, at times for religious reasons and at other times for political reasons. In exercising their power, they enhanced their political stature and enlarged the scope of their authority.

Clearly, the role of political authority in religion was more firmly established at the end of the sixteenth century than it had been at the beginning. If the Reformation thus conformed harmoniously with the new self-understanding of the political rulers, it also proved exceptionally congenial to the mentality of a new type of person, very much in evidence in the late fifteenth century—literate, self-confident, and energetic. The Reformation, after all, affirmed the priesthood of all believers, the freedom of the Christian individual, and the sanctity of the common life. The autonomy of the individual was asserted not with respect to transcendental concerns but with respect to the role and place of the church in society.

In such a setting, the Reformation provided a host of stimuli for all areas of life. The notion of vocation declared all jobs to be spiritually meaningful. This sanctity of the common life must not be defined merely by an individual sense of liberation, enabling men and women to go about their daily rounds with confidence, but also by a societal sense, embodied by statute no less than by ethos, that society did not need to be dominated by the church. All facets of life, both individual and societal, became subject to new formulations. Conceptual and practical problems of education, law, commerce, and behavior were approached with eagerness and enthusiasm. The common denominator was the notion of a lay culture, where the laity rather than the clergy played the incisive role. This did not entail the secularization of society: religion continued to be very much in the center of things, if for no other reason than that a divine order was generally agreed to govern all of life. If the genius of the medieval world had been its notion of the oneness of society under the aegis of the church, the Reformation stipulated a oneness that entailed the equality of church and society.

SEE ALSO Anabaptism; Anglicanism; Browne, Robert; Bucer, Martin; Calvin, John; Christianity, article on Christianity in Western Europe; Church; Denominationalism; Eucharist; Free Will and Predestination, article on Christian Concepts; Grace; Hooker, Richard; Humanism; Ignatius Loyola; Justification; Luther, Martin; Monasticism, article on Christian Monasticism; Müntzer, Thomas; Papacy; Protestantism; Puritanism; Reform; Revival and Renewal; Sacrament, article on Christian Sacraments; Servetus, Michael; Simons, Menno; Sozzini, Fausto Pavolo; Theology, article on Christian Theology; Trent, Council of; Zwingli, Ulrich.

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REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

SEE PRESBYTERIANISM, REFORMED

REFORM JUDAISM is the branch of the Jewish faith that has been most adaptive, in belief and practice, to the norms of modern thought and society. It is also sometimes called Liberal Judaism or Progressive Judaism. By *Reform* is meant not a single reformation but an ongoing process of development. Well over one million Reform Jews live in the United States and Canada, with about another 100,000 in Europe, Latin America, South Africa, Australia, and Israel. Internationally, all Reform congregations are united in the World Union for Progressive Judaism, which holds biennial conferences, usually in Europe or Israel. In the United States some nine hundred independent congregations constitute the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC), and more than seventeen hundred rabbis—some of them serving abroad—make up the Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR). Rabbis, as well as scholars, educators, community workers, and cantors, are trained at the Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion (HUC–JIR), which has branches in Cincinnati, New York, Los Angeles, and Jerusalem. The most influential role of organizational leadership in Reform Judaism is the presidency of the UAHC, since the late twentieth century a professional position held by a rabbi.

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES. Unlike more traditional forms of the Jewish faith, Reform Judaism does not hold that either the written law (Torah) or the oral law (Talmud) was revealed literally by God to Moses at Sinai. It accepts biblical and other historical criticism as legitimate, understanding Scripture and tradition as a human reflection of revelation rather than its literal embodiment. Whereas theologies among Reform Jews vary greatly, from the traditional to the humanistic, concepts of God strike a balance between universal and particular elements, with somewhat more stress upon the former than among other religious Jews. Like other branches of Judaism, Reform recognizes the close connection between religion and ethics. It especially emphasizes the prophetic message of social justice and seeks to act upon it both congregationally and as a united movement. Judaism is seen to exist for a higher universal purpose, which aims messianically at the biblical vision of world peace. Traditionally, in Reform Judaism, this sense of purpose has been known as the "mission of Israel."

The doctrine that most significantly sets Reform Judaism apart from more traditional currents is the conception of progressive revelation. Reform Jews hold that revelation is ongoing with the progress of human knowledge and moral sensitivity. This represents a reversal of the Orthodox belief whereby the theophany at Sinai, as interpreted by the rabbis, constitutes the authoritative, permanent expression of God's will, which must therefore remain normative for all time. The Reform conception of progress in understanding of the divine does not necessarily imply an unbroken moral advance of the Jews or of Western civilization, although Reform Judaism before the Holocaust was prone to draw that conclusion.

The freedom of the individual Jew to be selective, to draw from Jewish tradition those elements of belief and practice that he or she finds the most personally meaningful, is far greater among Reform Jews than among either Orthodox or Conservative. Religious anarchy, while always a danger, is restrained by a common though theologically diverse liturgy, general agreement on basic commitments, and a well-structured organizational framework. Reform Jews do not accept the Jewish legal tradition as binding but have always—and especially since the late twentieth century—turned to it for guidance in ritual matters. The CCAR has issued guides for Sabbath and holiday observance and for the Jewish life cycle.

At most Reform congregations in America the main religious service of the week is held after dinner on Friday evenings, though a service before the meal has gained increasing popularity; men and women sit together, participating equally in the service. In the last two decades of the twentieth century, many rabbis, some male congregants, and a much smaller number of women began to wear the ritual head covering (*kippah,* or yarmulke) during worship. In nearly all Reform synagogues (or temples, as they are often called) the liturgy is accompanied by an organ, while musical responses are led or performed by a choir or a cantor. Most of the prayers are spoken in English, except for those of central significance, which are rendered in Hebrew; the ratio varies from congregation to congregation. Especially under the impact of the state of Israel, the relative amount of Hebrew in the service has generally increased, and its pronunciation has been altered from the Ashkenazic (central and eastern European) to the Sefardic (Spanish and Near Eastern) accent used in the Jewish state. Formality and decorum have been hallmarks of the Reform temple, but a growing number of congregations have sought to regain some of the informality and emotion of the traditional synagogue through greater congregational involvement in the service and experimentation with alternative musical instruments, such as the guitar. The influence of worship services conducted in the summer camps of the National Federation of Temple Youth has been an appreciable factor in this regard.

Outside the synagogue, Reform Jews practice their faith by attempting to guide their lives according to the moral precepts of Judaism. A large percentage practices some Jewish rituals in the home, especially the lighting of the Sabbath candles on Friday evening; the sharing of the Passover eve ceremony, or seder; and the celebration of Ḥanukkah. Once especially aware of their religious differences from traditional Jews, Reform Jews emphasize to a greater extent their common ethnic identity and the faith shared by all religious Jews, limiting the significance of denominational differences.

Reform Jews remain more favorably inclined to proselytism than other branches of religious Judaism. The largest portion of converts to Judaism become Reform Jews, often as the result of marriage with a Jewish partner. Such "Jews by choice" comprise a small but growing percentage of the membership of most Reform congregations. Reform Judaism has given much attention to issues concerning procedures for conversion as well as the Jewish legal status of children born from mixed marriages in which the father is Jewish but not the mother. According to the *halakhah* (traditional Jewish law), such children are not Jewish unless formally converted; however, Reform Judaism recognizes them as Jewish if they are being brought up as Jews. About one-half of Reform rabbis will conduct weddings for mixed couples in which the non-Jewish partner does not intend to convert to Judaism. In such instances, however, the couple usually promises to raise its children as Jews.

THE MOVEMENT IN EUROPE. Reform Jews have often pointed out that religious reform was inherent in Judaism from its beginnings. They have noted that the prophets were critics of contemporary religious practices, that the Talmud includes reforms of earlier biblical legislation, and that even later legal scholars were willing to alter received beliefs and practices. Such willingness to adjust to historical change waned only under the pressure of persecution and the isolation of the ghetto. Latter-day Jews seeking religious reform thus sought, and to a degree found, precedent for their programs in earlier layers of Jewish tradition. However, they soon became aware that most of their fellow Jews, and especially the established rabbinical leadership, did not share such views. The result was a movement for reform originally intended to harmonize all aspects of Jewish life with the modern world into which European Jews increasingly entered beginning in the eighteenth century. Only gradually did the movement come to focus specifically on the religious realm, and only after a generation did it separate itself as a differentiable religious current with a more or less fixed religious philosophy. In discussing origins, it is therefore more accurate to speak of the "Reform movement in Judaism" than of Reform Judaism. Even this terminology, however, requires the qualification that self-conscious awareness of being a movement with definite goals came only gradually with the coalescence of various elements of belief and practice.

Beginnings. The background for the emergence of the Reform movement is the changing political and cultural situation of central and western European Jewry in the last decades of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. For numerous generations Jews had been physically and intellectually excluded from the surrounding, largely Christian civilization. With occasional exceptions, they lived within their own spiritual world. Their communities possessed corporate status; they were allowed to conduct their internal affairs according to Jewish law. The curriculum of their schools was confined almost exclusively to study of traditional Jewish texts. Secular knowledge was gained only informally and only to the extent necessary for the conduct of daily affairs. This medieval situation of the Jews was undermined by two novel elements: political centralization and the universalism of the Enlightenment. As European states sought greater concentration of power, they found it necessary to remove the divisive elements of medieval corporatism. Jews were brought more directly under state control; their autonomous jurisdiction and the coercive power of their rabbis were curtailed. Hopes were raised among Jews that political integration would lead to the abolition of political, economic, and social disabilities. At the same time a more friendly attitude toward Jews, which regarded them foremost as creatures of the same God rather than as Christ killers, began to pervade enlightened circles, drawing Jews to respond with their own broader, more universal identifications. In increasing numbers they now began to learn modern European languages, to read contemporary literature, to absorb the prevalent aesthetic sensibilities, and to regard themselves culturally as Europeans no less than religiously as Jews.

Gradually, a gap was created between Jewish traditions, harmonious with medieval realities, and the new economic, social, and cultural status of a portion of Western Jewry. To be sure, this modernizing process did not affect all Jews at once or to the same degree. Well into the nineteenth century most Jews in eastern Europe remained virtually untouched by the norms of modern civilization, whereas even in western Europe modernization among Jews was a slow process, more so in the religious than in the cultural sphere. However, as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century there began, especially in Germany, a pronounced falling away from Jewish belief and observance on the part of those Jews most exposed to the currents of modernity. Fears arose that, unless Jewish traditions could be brought into harmony with the intellectual canons and the social norms of the surrounding society, Judaism might find itself relegated to the dustbin of medievalism. The Reform movement arose as an attempt to reconcile Jewish religious tradition with cultural and social integration, to stem the rising tide of religious apathy—and even conversion—in certain circles, and to reshape Judaism in such a way as would make it viable under radically novel circumstances.

The first religious issue to arouse major controversy was burial on the very day of assumed death, as required by Jewish law. The famed Jewish philosopher of the Enlightenment, Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786), who remained an Orthodox Jew, broke with established practice in 1772 when he advocated temporary "burial" above the ground and a graveyard vigil until actual death could be determined with certainty. Mendelssohn based his view both on the precedent of an ancient custom and on current medical experience. For decades thereafter, this question served as a touchstone separating traditionalists from modernists, those who held that all customary practice was sacred and inviolable from those who believed that, at least in some instances, criteria external to the Jewish tradition should be invoked to determine religious obligation.

A new theoretical religious position, which thereafter was largely if not directly absorbed by the Reform movement, first appears in a work titled *Leviathan* (1792) by Saul Ascher (1767–1822), a Jewish book dealer living in Berlin. Ascher rejected the Mendelssohnian dichotomy between natural religion (that shared by all rational human beings) and revealed law (that given exclusively to the Jews and the basis for their separation as a religious community). For Ascher the distinguishing feature of Judaism was not its legal corpus but its unique religious faith. Thus, Judaism was not dependent on political or judicial autonomy; it could take its place alongside Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, differentiated from them as one faith from another. In contrast to Mendelssohn, Ascher held that Judaism does indeed possess specific dogmas that set it apart from natural religion. These include belief in the God of love, who revealed himself to the patriarchs, who rewards and punishes, and who guides the world through divine providence. Likewise essential to Judaism are certain practices—including circumcision, observance of Sabbaths and holidays, and atonement—as a way of seeking God's favor. Ascher's arbitrary selectivity marks a sharp departure from traditional Jewish thought. In the fashion of non-Jewish thinkers of the eighteenth century, it makes religion largely a means to the end of personal spiritual happiness *(Glückseligkeit)* rather than, as in Judaism, the fulfillment of God's will as expressed in divinely ordained commandments. Though Ascher's specific program remained idiosyncratic, his subjectivization of the Jewish faith and its confessionalization soon became characteristic of the Reform movement. In later literature the differentiation is repeatedly made between what is essential to Judaism and what has been added by historical accident—"the kernel and the husk." In Jewish education the concomitant to this endeavor to isolate the basic tenets and distinctive practices of the faith was the catechism, increasingly introduced in place of, or supplementary to, traditional texts.

The reform of synagogue ritual under modern cultural influence was undertaken for the first time by the Adath Jeshurun congregation of Amsterdam in 1797. This synagogue was established in separation from the general community following the grant of emancipation to Dutch Jewry by the French-controlled Batavian Republic the previous year. The congregation buried its dead only on the third day, shortened its liturgy, made aesthetic "improvements" in the worship service, introduced a regular sermon on a moral theme, and eliminated a prayer that asked for vengeance against those who had martyred Jews at the time of the Crusades. The congregation had existed for only about a decade when the new king of Holland, Louis Bonaparte, required it to rejoin the general Jewish community.

Although France preceded other European states in giving its Jews complete political equality (at the time of the French Revolution), its Jewish community did not lead the movement for religious reform. The Assembly of Jewish Notables (1806) and the Sanhedrin (1807), called by Napoleon, committed French Jewry to the fulfillment of all civic obligations and to the official acceptance of the superiority of the law of the state over Jewish law. However, the delegates were not required to undertake liturgical reforms, give up any religious practices, or alter their theological conceptions. The centralized Jewish consistory system, which emerged in France shortly thereafter, militated against individual initiative in religious matters, favoring a superficially modernized official orthodoxy.

A program of religious reforms for an entire Jewish community was first undertaken by an officially constituted body enjoying government support in the kingdom of Westphalia. Under the leadership of the wealthy and influential financier Israel Jacobson (1768–1828), a Jewish consistory composed of three rabbis and two laymen was created there in 1808. The consistory introduced the confirmation ceremony (which it borrowed from Christianity) removed secular elements from the sacred space of the synagogue, and generally sought to impose a more dignified and decorous mode of worship. One of the rabbinical members of the consistory, Menachem Mendel Steinhardt (1768–1825), attempted to justify some of its reforms by reference to Jewish law and tradition as well as to the variant customs of Sefardic Jewry.

Jacobson moved to Berlin following the demise of the Westphalian kingdom and its Jewish consistory in 1813, and some months later he established regular weekly worship in his home for those members of the community who desired a service modeled on that of Westphalia. Like the services that Jacobson had instituted at the chapel of a school that he sponsored in the small Westphalian town of Seesen, the worship here was enhanced by the use of an organ and by a boys' choir. Later moved to larger quarters, these services attracted as many as four hundred worshipers. There were hymns and regular edifying sermons in the German language. However, the liturgy—for which a special prayer book was published—remained mostly traditional in content if not in form. As long as the prayer gatherings remained a private venture, the Orthodox faction of the community was willing to tolerate them. However, once it seemed that some of these reforms would be introduced into the community synagogue, traditionalist opposition, combined with Prussian government hostility to religious innovations, led to a royal edict in 1823 prohibiting any and all Jewish religious reform. This was the first of many disputes and polemical exchanges between reformers and traditionalists that thereafter punctuated the history of the Reform movement.

In 1817 the New Temple Association was formed in the independent city of Hamburg. Its members, who represented a broad economic and social cross section of the city's Jewry, succeeded in establishing and maintaining their own synagogue, despite Orthodox opposition, on account of the more indulgent attitude of the city's senate. The Hamburg temple, which lasted until the Holocaust, remained for a generation the model for the movement. In 1819 it issued a prayer book that, for the first time, made substantial changes in the liturgy. Intensely particularist passages were removed or altered. While references to Zion were not wholly excised, the prayer book reflected the members' abandonment of the desire to return to the Land of Israel and reestablish the ancient sacrificial service. Two lay preachers gave regular German sermons on the Christian model and prepared both boys and girls for the confirmation ceremony.

Ideologists. The next two decades may be described as a period of latency in the history of the Reform movement. The climate of political reaction in Europe was not conducive to religious innovation. Orthodox opposition, moreover, had proven to be pervasive and united. No new Reform prayer books were published between 1819 and 1840, and no new congregations were established. Aside from the Hamburg temple, Reform of any more than a minimal variety flourished only in those modern Jewish schools that, as in Berlin and Frankfurt am Main, offered a modified worship service for the children and their parents.

However, during this same period a new generation of rabbis came to maturity, some of them eager to institute religious reforms. Schooled not only in traditional Jewish texts but also at German universities, this younger rabbinical generation was able to provide spiritual leadership for what heretofore had been basically a lay movement. Gradually these men received rabbinical positions, first in the smaller Jewish communities and then in the larger ones. A number of them possessed considerable scholarly abilities and applied themselves to the task of creating a historical theology for the Reform movement. The most prominent was Abraham Geiger (1810–1874), who rapidly became the leading ideologist of the movement in Europe. Employing the new critical approach to Jewish texts, an approach known as *Wissenschaft des Judentums,* Geiger wrote scholarly studies and delivered lectures that presented Judaism as an evolving entity subject to the forces of history. The essence of Judaism, Geiger argued, was not its legal system but its religious spirit, reflected and symbolized in its rituals. This Jewish spirit was the product of revelation and created, in turn, the great literary monuments of Judaism. Geiger stressed the universal message of Judaism, setting its rational ethical monotheism into sharp contrast with Christian trinitarian dogma and pagan materialism. Under the influence of the early Romantic thinker Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), who conceived spiritual epochs succeeding one another in nondialectical fashion, Geiger saw Judaism as a spiritual historical entity that in the modern world was entering a new epoch in its history. It bore within it the combined heritage of previous stages of its development and was moving toward yet undetermined forms of historical existence. For Geiger it was the task of the Reform rabbi to press the wheel of history forward with a program of modernizing and rationalizing reforms.

Geiger's colleague Zacharias Frankel (1801–1875), the rabbi of Dresden, took a more conservative position. Frankel recognized the historical development of Jewish law, but also its centrality, and he believed that the rabbinical leadership should be responsive to the present collective will and spiritual situation of the community, rather than attempt to direct and hasten its course of development. In 1845 Frankel broke with fellow reformers on the issue of Hebrew in the worship service, and in 1854 he became the head of the new conservatively oriented rabbinical seminary in Breslau. The most prominent radical reformer in this period was Samuel Holdheim (1806–1860), who believed the revolutionary new situation of Western Jewry demanded a thoroughgoing transformation of Judaism. Holdheim favored transfer of the Jewish Sabbath to Sunday and the abolition of all legal elements in Judaism. He regarded his own age as representing a clearly higher level of religious evolution, and he then argued that contemporary Jews had the right to reshape Judaism in messianic, universal terms without overmuch regard for preserving continuity with the past. Holdheim eventually became the rabbi of a separatist Reform congregation in Berlin that radically abbreviated and altered the traditional liturgy, retained only a minimum of Hebrew, and conducted its principal weekly service on Sunday.

Collective activity and diffusion. In the 1840s the Reform movement in Germany underwent a major revival. After considerable opposition, Geiger was able in 1840 to assume his tasks as one of the rabbis in the influential Breslau community. A year later the Hamburg temple issued a new version of its prayer book on the occasion of its move to more spacious quarters. Lay societies seeking more radical reforms sprang up in Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, and Breslau. Led for the most part by university-educated, highly acculturated German Jews, these societies proposed elimination of national symbols and ritual prescriptions from Judaism in favor of a highly spiritualized and universalized faith, anchored in a humanistic understanding of the Hebrew Bible and virtually excluding later rabbinic tradition. In their religious radicalism they paralleled similar contemporary movements in German Protestantism and Catholicism.

The rabbis inclined to religious reform now undertook a collective initiative for the first time. A total of forty-two rabbis, most still in their thirties and holding doctorates, participated in three conferences in the years 1844 to 1846. Although the rabbis represented a spectrum of opinion, the tenor of these conferences reflected a middle position among German reformers, dissatisfying both conservatives like Frankel, who favored only the slightest revisions in existing law and custom, and radicals like Holdheim, who urged strict conformity to the demands of the zeitgeist. Among the conclusions reached were that the use of Hebrew in the service was a subjective but not an objective necessity, that prayers for the return to Zion and the reinstitution of the sacrificial service should be eliminated from the prayer book, and that it was permissible to accompany the service with an organ even on the Sabbath. Plans for a new common liturgy and a committee report favoring the lay religious equality of women were not acted upon when the annual conferences ceased after the third year, in part because of the agitated political situation preceding the revolution of 1848.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Reform movement in Germany continued to make inroads in the Jewish communities, though generally with less éclat and polemic than heretofore. Increasingly, the larger Jewish communities provided for modified services (with organ accompaniment and a modified liturgy) as well as traditional ones. Religious reform became institutionalized in Germany as Liberal Judaism, one of two religious currents or trends *(Richtungen)* within the general community, and it soon won over the majority of German Jews. Synods, including laity as well as rabbis, were held to discuss further reforms in 1869 and 1871. At the end of the century a permanent union of Liberal rabbis was established, and a similar national organization for all Liberal Jews came into existence in 1908. However, a common prayer book for the German Liberal congregations—quite traditional in character—was not issued until 1929.

While the Reform movement in Europe remained centered in Germany, which had the largest Jewish population west of the czarist empire, it spread to other countries as well. As early as 1826 the Vienna community adopted a number of aesthetic reforms, as did some congregations in Hungary, Galicia, Holland, and Denmark. Even in Russia certain circles of *maskilim* ("enlightened" Jews) or immigrants from the West introduced decorum, choirs, and vernacular sermons. In the 1860s some Russian Jewish intellectuals argued, as did reformers in the West, that religious reform was indigenous to Jewish tradition from ancient times and that Orthodoxy in fact reflected stagnation.

In England a Reform congregation, called the West London Synagogue of British Jews, was founded in 1840. Generally conservative in character, its most pronounced reform was the abolition of the second days of certain holidays that were celebrated only according to rabbinic, not biblical, precept. Similar congregations were established elsewhere in

England. After the beginning of the nineteenth century, a more radical religious movement emerged that soon adopted the term *Liberal* to differentiate itself from the earlier Reform. British Liberal Judaism, which was patterned closely upon the American Reform Judaism of the time, sought to win back to the synagogue the large mass of English Jews who had become alienated from all religious Judaism. Its liturgy was largely in English, and men and women sat together.

In France the centralized consistory long militated against religious division. Some reforms, mostly cosmetic, were undertaken by the chief rabbis, and proposals for more radical change were aired with some regularity in the Jewish press. However, a viable, independent Reform congregation, the Union Libérale Israélite, was established only after the separation of church and state in France in 1905.

European Liberal Judaism—together with its counterpart in America—finally achieved international organizational unity with the establishment of the World Union for Progressive Judaism in London in 1926. Until World War II, the work of the Union, and of Reform Judaism in Europe generally, was particularly influenced by Leo Baeck (1873–1956), a Liberal rabbi in Berlin and a teacher at the seminary of the movement, the Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, which had been established there in 1872. As a religious thinker, Baeck elaborated an antiromantic theology, greatly indebted to Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), which stressed the revealed moral commandment that emerges out of the mystery of revelation. Under the influence of Rudolf Otto (1869–1937), Baeck's theology later became less rationalistic, whereas his perspective grew more particularistic as he came to focus his attention on the unique religious history of the people of Israel.

AMERICANIZATION. Reform Judaism has enjoyed its greatest success in the United States. In Europe it was repeatedly forced to assert itself against an entrenched Orthodoxy, sometimes supported by the government; in the New World it faced no such established institutions. The United States lacked officially recognized Jewish communities, like the German *Gemeinde* with its powers of taxation and centralized control over Jewish affairs. The complete separation of church and state, the numerous Christian denominations existing side by side, and the prevalent notion that religious activity was strictly a matter of free choice created an atmosphere most conducive to Jewish religious fragmentation. Moreover, it was difficult for an immigrant Jew in nineteenth-century America to make a living while still observing all the inherited traditions. Given the large influx of Jews from Germany in the second third of the nineteenth century—among them some who had had experience with religious reform, as well as a number of Reform rabbis—it is understandable that, until the massive Jewish immigration from eastern Europe in the last decades of the century, Reform Judaism should play the dominant role in American Jewry. In the freer atmosphere of America, Reform soon took on a considerably more radical character than its counterpart in Europe.

Classical American Reform. With the exception of an isolated and short-lived attempt in 1824 to create a Reform congregation in Charleston, South Carolina, somewhat on the model of the Hamburg temple, Reform Judaism took hold in the United States only toward the middle of the nineteenth century. Beginning in 1842 with Har Sinai in Baltimore, liturgical reforms were gradually introduced into existing synagogues or new Reform congregations founded in New York City, Albany, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, and Chicago during the next twenty years. Jewish periodicals favoring religious reform appeared, as did new prayer books embodying various degrees of liturgical revision. When a rabbinical conference held in Cleveland in 1855 reaffirmed the authority of the Talmud, it aroused protests from the more thoroughgoing reformers, whose influence increased in the following decades.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, American Reform was dominated by two immigrant rabbis representing, respectively, a consistent, separatist ideological position and a pragmatic, relatively more conservative stance, which sought to make Reform Judaism broadly acceptable. David Einhorn (1809–1879), a rabbi in Baltimore and later in New York, stressed the priestly mission of the Jewish people and vigorously opposed mixed marriages, but he saw little value in most Jewish ceremonials and was a firm believer in the progress of Judaism beyond its ancient sacred texts. His influence was dominant at a meeting of Reform rabbis held in Philadelphia in 1869. Following debate in the German language, this conference declared that the dispersion of Israel providentially served its universal messianic aim. It also rejected the traditional dogma of bodily resurrection in favor of belief only in the immortality of the soul.

Isaac Mayer Wise (1819–1900) was the founding father of organized Reform Judaism in the United States. Unlike Einhorn, whose intellectual stature he did not rival, but whom he far excelled in practical energy, Wise sought to create an Americanized Judaism that could appeal to the widest spectrum of Jewry in the United States. Eschewing consistency, Wise sometimes took one position on religious issues, sometimes another, being concerned more with momentary effect than with crystallized ideology. However, unlike the radicals, he consistently rejected pentateuchal criticism as undermining the foundations of Judaism. As a rabbi in Cincinnati, Wise came to represent the more moderate midwestern wing of Reform Judaism, which differentiated itself from the more thoroughgoing Reform of the East Coast. It was largely due to Wise's efforts that the national organizations of Reform Judaism were created: the UAHC in 1873, Hebrew Union College (HUC) in 1875, and the CCAR in 1889.

In 1885 Wise served as president of a rabbinical conference that formulated the Pittsburgh Platform, a document that represented the ideological position of American Reform Judaism for the next half-century. The key figure at the conference, however, was not Wise but Kaufmann Kohler (1843–1926), a son-in-law and spiritual heir of David Einhorn, who became the movement's leading theologian and, after a short interval, succeeded Wise as president of Hebrew Union College. Under Kohler's influence the Pittsburgh conference declared that "Judaism presents the highest conception of the God-idea as taught in our holy Scriptures and developed and spiritualized by the Jewish teachers in accordance with the moral and philosophical progress of their respective ages." It recognized in the Bible "the record of the consecration of the Jewish people to its mission as priest of the One God," but found only the moral laws of the Pentateuch to be binding, while ritual precepts were to be subjected to the criterion of their continuing capacity to sanctify life and to be harmonizable with modern civilization. Jews were defined as a religious community, not a nation, their religion as progressive, "ever striving to be in accord with the postulates of reason." A final paragraph expressed a commitment to seek social justice in American society by reducing the "contrasts and evils" in its present organization (Meyer and Plaut, 2001, pp. 197–199). For the next fifty years, Reform Judaism adhered to the Pittsburgh Platform. During this period the movement increased in numbers, reaching a high point of about 60,000 families in 285 congregations before the Great Depression temporarily halted its growth. In 1892 the CCAR published the first edition of the *Union Prayer Book,* which, with only relatively minor revisions, remained standard in Reform Judaism until 1975. However, during this same half-century the movement was forced to give up its hopes of becoming the norm for American Jewry. It was increasingly associated specifically with the German Jewish immigrants and their descendants. Eastern Europeans, concentrated in New York, either remained Orthodox, dissociated themselves from religion entirely, or in the second generation were attracted by the more ethnic and nostalgic appeal of Conservative Judaism. Until the late 1930s most Reform Jews were opposed to Jewish nationalism, seeing in Zionism a retreat from the universal mission of Judaism. Nonetheless, a small percentage, especially among the rabbis, played active roles in Zionist affairs from the beginning of the century.

Reorientation. Only in the late 1930s did Reform Judaism in the United States began to lose its identification with the German immigrants. Reform rabbis, and then increasingly the laity as well, were now coming from eastern European backgrounds. During this same decade, awareness of the lot of Jews in Nazi Germany created stronger national ties among all Jews. Gradually, Reform Judaism began a process of transformation from which it emerged with a much more significant ethnic and ceremonial component than heretofore. Eventually the earlier period came to be designated Classical Reform Judaism, and whereas its particular emphases continued to be represented in a small number of congregations, even down to the early twenty-first century, a reoriented Reform Judaism began to displace or modify it at an increasing pace.

The first major indication of this shift in position was the Columbus Platform, adopted by the CCAR in 1937. This document was largely the work of Samuel Cohon (1888–1959), an eastern European Jew who served for many years as professor of Jewish theology at Hebrew Union College. The Columbus Platform spoke of a "living God" rather than a "God idea"; described Torah, in its broad sense as both written and oral law, as enshrining Israel's "ever-growing consciousness of God"; and declared that it was the task of all Jews to rebuild Palestine as a Jewish homeland, both as a "refuge for the oppressed and a center of Jewish culture and spiritual life" (Meyer and Plaut, 2001, pp. 199–203). In contrast to the Pittsburgh Platform, it stressed the use of Hebrew in worship and the importance of customs, symbols, and ceremonies. Like its predecessor, the platform declared the movement's commitment to social justice, a dominant concern of Reform Judaism during those years of economic distress in the United States.

DEVELOPMENTS AFTER WORLD WAR II. In the immediate postwar years, Reform Judaism in the United States enjoyed remarkable growth. New congregations were established in the suburbs of major cities as increased Jewish affluence made possible higher levels of support for religious institutions both locally and nationally. The Christian religious revival of the 1950s produced renewed interest in Jewish theology. In 1951 the UAHC moved its offices from Cincinnati to New York, the center of Jewish life in the United States. From 1943 to 1973 the congregational union was headed by Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath (1902–1973), a talented organizer and impressive public speaker. The well-known biblical archaeologist Nelson Glueck (1900–1972), as president of Hebrew Union College from 1947 to his death in 1971, was able to achieve a merger with the Jewish Institute of Religion, founded by the Zionist Reform rabbi Stephen S. Wise (1874–1949) in 1922, and to bring about considerable expansion of the combined institution.

Reform Judaism now engaged vigorously with the moral issues troubling American society. Rabbis and laity participated actively in the civil rights movement and later in the organized opposition to the Vietnam War. In 1961 the UAHC established the Religious Action Center in Washington, D.C., with the intent of making a direct impact on legislation of Jewish and general religious or moral concern as well as educating the Reform constituency with regard to questions under current legislative consideration. In the spirit of ecumenism the UAHC developed a department dealing with interfaith activities, supplementing the long-standing work of individual congregations and of the National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods in this area.

Reform theology in this period grew increasingly diverse. A group of Reform rabbis, who became known as "covenant theologians," favored a more personalist and existential grounding of their faith. Influenced by the twentieth-century European Jewish thinkers Franz Rosenzweig (1886–1929) and Martin Buber (1878–1965), they eschewed the earlier idealist theology based on progressive revelation in favor of the notion of divine-human encounter as represented both by the testimony of the Torah and by contemporary religious experience. At the same time, however, there arose a significant rationalist and even humanist faction within the movement. Its members stressed the impact of biblical criticism and psychoanalysis upon religion, as well as the difficult theological questions that the Holocaust had raised for Jewish theism.

Whereas theological positions in Reform Judaism generally moved apart, religious practice, for the most part, became more traditional. The postwar period witnessed a renewal of interest in Jewish law not as authoritative in the Orthodox sense but as a guide for the religious life. Over three decades Solomon Freehof (1892–1990) of Pittsburgh, one of the most influential Reform rabbis, published half a dozen collections of Reform responsa on issues ranging from aspects of synagogue ritual to matters of individual observance. The publication of these responsa, as well as guides for religious observance, was due in part to the feelings of most of the religious leadership that Reform Judaism needed to reengage with traditional symbols and practices if it was not to dissipate in the absorptive social climate of postwar America. It was also prompted by a heightened ethnicism and personalism in Reform Judaism. The individual *bar mitsvah* ceremony for boys reaching the age of thirteen, and later the equivalent *bat mitsvah* ceremony for girls, were increasingly adopted by Reform congregations, preceding the group ceremony of confirmation. The rabbinical role, which in Reform Judaism had principally been that of prophetic preacher, now became more priestly, as congregants especially sought rabbis whose personal warmth would enhance life-cycle ceremonies. Reform synagogues introduced more Hebrew into the liturgy and encouraged greater congregational participation.

Jewish education among Reform Jews became more comprehensive in the 1970s. In place of the customary two hours per week of Sunday school instruction, most temples now offered twice-weekly classes supplemented by weekends or summer sessions at a camp. A handful of Reform day schools came into existence for those children whose parents desired them to obtain more extensive Jewish knowledge and depth of Jewish commitment. The National Federation of Temple Youth introduced study programs for Reform teenagers beyond religious-school age, and rabbinical education was extended to women. The first woman, Sally Priesand, was ordained by HUC–JIR in 1972. In 1981 the UAHC published its own Torah commentary, encouraging lay study of the Pentateuch according to the liberal approach of Reform.

The commitment of Reform Judaism to Zionism deepened in the postwar period. Reform Jews welcomed the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, shared feelings of crisis and relief during its Six-Day War, and increasingly appropriated its cultural impact. Israeli melodies entered the synagogues, religious schools, and summer camps. The CCAR declared Israeli Independence Day a religious holiday, and beginning in 1970 HUC–JIR required all entering rabbinical students to spend the first year of their study at its campus in Jerusalem. Reform Jews organized the Association of Reform Zionists of America (ARZA) to give Reform Judaism an individual voice in the world Zionist movement.

In the state of Israel, the first successful Progressive congregation was established, mostly by German Jewish immigrants, in Jerusalem in 1958. Congregations in the other major cities followed, and attendance reached about five thousand for the High Holy Days. The congregations and their rabbis united as the Movement for Progressive Judaism in Israel, a regular constituent of the World Union for Progressive Judaism. The latter moved its headquarters to Jerusalem in 1974. In the 1970s, Israeli Reform also established its first *kibbuts* (collective agricultural settlement) in the southern desert and a youth movement with groups in various cities. In 1980 HUC–JIR for the first time ordained an Israeli Reform rabbi in Jerusalem. However, Reform Judaism (and also Conservative Judaism) remained unrecognized by the Israeli rabbinate and was forced to wage a continuous, and by the early twenty-first century incompletely successful, struggle for equal rights with Orthodoxy. In general, Israeli Reform emerged as considerably more traditional than its counterpart in the United States, finding the positions taken by the American radical wing on such matters as rabbinical officiation at mixed marriages and conversion procedures embarrassing in the Israeli milieu.

The centrality of Jewish peoplehood, symbolized by the state of Israel, found clear expression in a new platform of Reform Judaism. Called "A Centenary Perspective" because it was composed about one hundred years after the creation of the first national institutions of American Reform Judaism, it was adopted by the CCAR in 1976. The statement was the work of a committee chaired by Rabbi Eugene Borowitz, a professor at the New York school of HUC–JIR and one of the most influential contemporary theologians of the movement. Unlike previous platforms, it did not seek to define Judaism as a whole dogmatically, but only to give a brief historical account of Reform Judaism—what it has taught and what it has learned—and to describe its present spiritual convictions. Recognizing and affirming the diversity of theology and practice in contemporary Reform, it pointed to those broad conceptions and values shared by most Reform Jews. In the wake of the Holocaust, and recognizing the physically precarious situation of Israeli Jewry and the assimilatory forces operative on American Judaism, the statement gave prominence to the value of ethnic survival, an element not highlighted in earlier platforms. It affirmed the reality of God without setting forth any specific theology and defined the people of Israel as inseparable from its religion. Torah was seen as the product of "meetings between God and the Jewish people" (Meyer and Plaut, 2001, pp. 203–207), especially, but not only, in ancient times. Rejecting the optimism of nineteenth-century Reform Judaism, the statement nonetheless reaffirmed the religious significance of human history and the moral obligations of Jews, both particularly in Jewish matters and in the pursuit of universal messianic goals.

LATE-TWENTIETH-CENTURY TRENDS. During the last two decades of the twentieth century, Reform Judaism continued to assume a more traditional character. Religious services incorporated a higher proportion of Hebrew; ritual practice became as important as social action. In other respects, however, Reform Judaism took radical positions that separated it from both Conservative Judaism and Orthodoxy. Unlike the latter, and in contradiction to Jewish law, Reform Judaism accepted children of mixed marriages whose fathers but not mothers are Jewish and gave full equality in religious leadership to gays and lesbians. It sought to make non-Jews married to Jews feel welcome in the synagogue.

Whereas a generation earlier the Reform movement, like American Judaism in general, was largely focused upon Jewish peoplehood, the Holocaust, and the state of Israel, it increasingly emphasized the religious life of the individual, introducing prayers for healing into its services and stressing spirituality. Its rabbinate, perhaps under the influence of an increasing number of women within its ranks, came to place less emphasis upon the sermon and more upon pastoral counseling. Finally, the leadership of the movement stressed Jewish literacy, resulting in enhanced Jewish education for both children and adults. Most of these new trends were reflected in the platform of the movement adopted in Pittsburgh in 1999.

SEE ALSO Baeck, Leo; Buber, Martin; Frankel, Zacharias; Geiger, Abraham; Herder, Johann Gottfried; Holdheim, Samuel; Judaism, article on Judaism in Northern and Eastern Europe since 1500; Kohler, Kaufmann; Mendelssohn, Moses; Otto, Rudolf; Rosenzweig, Franz; Wise, Isaac M.; Wise, Stephen S.

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MICHAEL A. MEYER (1987 AND 2005)

REGULY, ANTAL (1819–1858) was a Hungarian traveler, linguist, and ethnographer and one of the founding fathers of Finno-Ugric studies. A typical romantic hero of his time, he was an extremely talented, persuasive, melancholic, and uneven person. As a talented nobleman he started to study law in Hungary, then he left for a "grand tour" to the North, and in Stockholm he met the Finnish-Swedish poet and politician A. I. Arwidsson (then in exile from his homeland), who called Reguly's attention to the national awakening in Finland (then a grand duchy in the Russian Empire). Reguly, who knew about the affinities of Hungarian, Finnish, and other Finno-Ugric languages, went to Finland, where between 1839 and 1841 he learned the Finnish language and made his first ethnographic and linguistic fieldwork trips (also among the Lapps, then in Estonia and Ingermanland, and among the Votes).

In Finland, Reguly was one of the first to follow Elias Lönnrot's footsteps as a folklore collector in Finland, and he even started to translate the "old" *Kalevala* into Hungarian. He met all the important intellectuals (including the mythologist and initiator of the "awakening movement" of the Lapps, L. L. Laestadius), and from 1841 on he met the intellectuals in Saint Petersburg (including K. E. von Baer and Peter von Köppen) and Swedish Lapland. Beginning in 1843, to some extent supported by the Czarist Academy and by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Reguly traveled to West Siberia to describe the peoples, akin to the Hungarians. Reguly traveled alone and visited several groups of the Voguls and Ostiaks. In 1844 in Tobolsk he met the famous Finnish linguist Matthias Alexander Castrén (1813–1852), who was in Siberia collecting material for his comparative studies of Uralic languages and mythologies. Reguly, on his way from Siberia (during the winter of 1845–1846) in the central area by the River Volga, collected some material of language and lore of the Finno-Ugric Cheremis and Mordvins and also the Turkic people, the Chuvash. Exhausted by the hardship of the climate and having serious financial troubles, he nevertheless was able to collect important linguistic, anthropological, and folklore material, including epic songs and other genres. After his return to Saint Petersburg in 1846, he engaged in drawing the first detailed map of the Ural Mountains.

Due to his failing health and hidden intrigues among Finnish and Russian scholarly circles in Saint Petersburg, Reguly had to return to Hungary, where in 1848 he was appointed first librarian of the university. In that time of reforms and a war of liberation in Hungary, the whole society wanted to find "noble relatives" for the Hungarians with elaborate mythology and majestic heroic songs, like the Finnish *Kalevala*. Reguly's trips did not fulfill such expectations. He could not find the ancient homeland (*Urheimat*) of the Hungarians, and the "mythology" in his Vogul and Ostiak texts seemed to be little and uninteresting. Moreover Reguly was unable to decipher and translate most of his fieldwork notes. Despite his nonsystematic training in linguistics, he could master foreign languages with ease. But he collected too much material in a hasty way. After suffering a nervous breakdown, he recovered slowly. In 1857 he conducted anthropological research among the *palóc* group in Hungary, but he died suddenly, without publishing the texts he collected.

Generations of Finno-Ugric linguists in Hungary (such as Pál Hunfalvy, Bernát Munkácsi, József Pápai, Miklós Zsirai, Dávid Fokos Fuchs, and Béla Kálmán) undertook the painstaking task of editing Reguly's manuscripts. From the end of the nineteenth century they organized several fieldwork trips to western Siberia, and with the help of native informants, they have tried to translate Reguly's texts. Of course they have collected new material as well. In the early twenty-first century practically a complete, bilingual edition of Reguly's Vogul and Ostiak texts exists, with scholarly notes. The notes describe several genres of folk literature of the Ob-Ugrians and give detailed summaries on bear ceremonialism and personal and epic songs.

Reguly was not specialized in collecting mythology or in grammar. In this respect his contemporary, the Finnish scholar Castrén surpassed him. But Reguly's folklore texts are of unparalleled importance. He registered perhaps at the last moment the traditional texts, and he had the anthropologist's view on the life of the people. Moreover the later Hungarian expeditions collected good comparative material, often from the same village, but from informants two or three generations later. The poetic genres and religious ceremonies among the Ob-Ugrians Reguly detected are in some cases alive even in the early twenty-first century. But their continuous variability Reguly's data inevitable as a starting point to any further investigation. It is a pity that Reguly did not leave a "complete" description of an Ob-Ugrian shaman's séance. His material still serves as the basis for the later summaries of Ob-Ugrian religion, such as those by Bernát Munkácsi, Géza Róheim, Béla Kálmán, Vilmos Diószegi, Edit Vértes, and Éva Schmidt. Reguly's collections from other Finno-Ugric peoples have a lesser importance for the study of mythology, but they are often the first scholarly collected folklore items of special regions or genres.

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VILMOS VOIGT (2005)

REIMARUS, HERMANN SAMUEL (1694–1768), German theologian and philosopher. Son of a scholar, grandson of a clergyman, student and son-in-law of J. A.

Fabricius (one of the staunchest defenders of orthodoxy of the time), Reimarus was for much of his life a professor of Oriental languages at the Hamburg academic *Gymnasium.* He lived during the period of the German Enlightenment, amidst the evolving discussion of the relation between reason and revelation.

Reimarus's public religious views belong to that stage characterized by the philosophical synthesis of Christian Wolff: (1) revelation may be above reason but not contrary to it, and (2) reason establishes the criteria by which revelation may be judged, namely, necessity and consistency. Publicly, Reimarus argued that the demands of a natural religion of reason only and those of Christianity agree with or complement one another. Natural religion, he contended, lays the ground for Christianity. These public views were set forth most succinctly in his *Abhandlungen von den vornehmsten Wahrheiten der natürlichen Religion* (Essays on the Principal Truths of Natural Religion; 1754). At his death, a colleague would eulogize him as a defender of Christianity.

Reimarus's private views of religion were not known even to his wife. They were part of the rationalism that contended that the criteria of reason judge revelation to be false. Revelation is at odds with reason and must be displaced. Natural religion, he believed, replaces Christianity. Reimarus recorded his private views in a secret manuscript he entitled *Apologie oder Schutzschrift für die vernünftigen Verehrer Gottes* (Apology for or Defense of the Rational Worshiper of God), three copies of which remain. Of the thirty-seven works that he wrote, this one alone has brought him renown. In it he accepts Wolff's contention that the two criteria of necessity and consistency must be satisfied by any alleged revelation before its genuineness can be accepted. He then sets out to show (1) that it is possible to describe the origins of Christianity as entirely natural (not miraculous and therefore not necessary) and (2) that any supposed revelation is filled with contradictions (not logically consistent). Reason thereby undermines the claims of the alleged Christian revelation. Seven fragments of this manuscript were published by G. E. Lessing between 1774 and 1778. Of these the two most influential were the sixth, "On the Resurrection Narratives" (1777), which declares the revelation of the resurrection false on the basis of contradictions, and the seventh, "On the Intentions of Jesus and His Disciples" (1778), which draws a distinction between the message and intention of Jesus and that of the early church.

Reimarus has influenced contemporary thought indirectly through Lessing, David F. Strauss, and Albert Schweitzer. The fragments of the *Apologie* caused Lessing to break with the eighteenth-century assumption that religious truth depended on the historicity of certain alleged events in scripture. Lessing's position, in turn, influenced Kierkegaard, who maintained that Christian truth is established independently of one's estimate of the historical origins of Christianity by God's act in the moment, though history occasions that moment. The fragments also caused Lessing to come to grips with the need for source criticism of the Gospels.

The fragments played a role in Strauss's struggle to establish a mythical view of miracles. Strauss used Reimarus to show that Christianity was not supernatural. As a result, Reimarus confronts the modern reader with the question of the historicity of the miracles.

The fragments also influenced Schweitzer in his work in the area of eschatology. Schweitzer turned to Reimarus to support his view that Jesus' orientation was eschatological, that Jesus expected an imminent end of the world, and that the delay of the Parousia was the main problem of early Christian theology, beginning with Jesus himself.

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CHARLES H. TALBERT (1987)

REINACH, SALOMON (1858–1932) was a French archaeologist and author of more than seventy books. Reinach is most widely known for his controversial writings in the area of the anthropological-ethnological comparative study of religions. He became conservator of the Musées Nationales in 1893, director of the Musée des Antiquités Nationales in Saint-Germain in 1901, and also served from the following year onward as professor at the École du Louvre in Paris. He was coeditor of the *Revue archéologique,* and from 1896 a member of the Académie des Inscriptions.

Although he branded eighteenth-century rationalism as a "paltry doctrine" seeking "to suppress religion without knowing its essence and without any clear idea of its origin and development" (*Cultes,* vol. 2, p. xviii, my translation), Reinach expressed his admiration for Voltaire, whose ideas about religion he did not share, but whose "incomparable gifts as a narrator" greatly inspired him (*Orpheus,* Eng. ed. of 1930, pp. vi-vii) and in whose spirit he wished to wage a more effective campaign against the church. "The history of humanity is that of a progressive secularisation [*laïcisation*] which is by no means complete as yet" (*Orpheus,* p. 23).

Reinach saw his own role as that of a popularizer of what others—among them Robertson Smith, Frazer, Tylor, Lang, and Jevons—had discovered: "Mine has been a lowlier part—to grasp the ideas of my betters, and to diffuse them as widely as I might" (*Cults,* p. xi). His summary definitions of magic and religion and of totem and taboo are in many ways illustrative of his approach. Reinach described magic as "the strategy of animism," and he based his definition of religion on the Latin word *religio,* calling it "a sum of scruples which impede the free exercise of our faculties" (*Orpheus,* p. 23). On totem and taboo Reinach remarked: "The totem is inconceivable without a taboo, and the logical outcome of a generalised taboo can hardly be anything else than a totem" (*Cults,* p. ix). His admission, made during the Third International Congress for the History of Religions held at Oxford in 1908, that totemism was "an overridden hobby" of which he himself had been "one of the roughriders" was followed by the statement that he "did not yet feel disposed to apologize nor to recant," and this unwillingness seems to hold true for subsequent writings as well. Discussing, for example, the ceremonial killing and eating of a totem, he leaves the possibility open that this idea of "fortifying and sanctifying oneself by assimilation of a divine being" survived in the medieval Christian rite of the Eucharist: "If primitive Christianity, with its theophagistic practices, conquered Europe so rapidly, it was because this idea of the manducation of the god was not new, but simply the presentation of one of the most profound religious instincts of humanity in a more spiritual form" (*Orpheus,* p. 19).

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Reinach wrote extensively in the areas of classical philology, archaeology, and art history. Among his publications in these fields are *Manuel de philologie classique,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1883–1884); *Minerva,* 4th ed. (Paris, 1900); and *Apollo: Histoire générale des arts plastiques* (Paris, 1904), which has been translated by Florence Simmonds as *Apollo: An Illustrated Manual of the History of Art throughout the Ages,* 2d ed. (London, 1907).

Almost one hundred of Reinach's articles, most dealing with the comparative study of religion, were republished in *Cultes, mythes et religions,* 2d ed., 4 vols. (Paris, 1908–1913). Elizabeth Frost selected fourteen of these essays for her translation, *Cults, Myths and Religions* (London, 1912).

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New Sources

Reinach's ideas on the origins and development of religions are summarized in *Orpheus: Histoire générale des religions* (Paris, 1909). This book became extremely popular. It went through thirty editions (30th, Paris, 1921) and was translated into five languages, including Russian during the Soviet era. The English edition, translated by Florence Simmonds as *Orpheus: A General History of Religions* (New York, 1909), went through thirty-eight editions before Reinach's death (the edition quoted in the text is that of 1930).

Every existing publication of *Cults, Myths and Religions* is superseded by a new edition of a broad selection of these articles in French as *Cultes, mythes et religions* (Paris, 1996). This volume is provided with a foreword by Pierre Brunel, a preface, five sectional introductions and complementary notes by Hervé Duchêne. The detailed and well-organized bibliography makes this book an indespensable tool for every research.

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REINCARNATION.

The doctrine of reincarnation concerns the rebirth of the soul or self in a series of physical or preternatural embodiments, which are customarily human or animal in nature but are in some instances divine, angelic, demonic, vegetative, or astrological (i.e., are associated with the sun, moon, stars, or planets). The concept of rebirth may also be expressed in such terms as *metempsuchōsis* (or more accurately, *metensōmatōsis*, "passage from one body to another") and *palingenesis* (Gr., lit., "to begin again").

The belief in rebirth in one form or another is found in tribal or nonliterate cultures all over the world. The notion is most dramatically evident in the native societies of central Australia and West Africa, where it is intimately associated with the cult of ancestor worship.

It is in ancient India and Greece, however, that the doctrine of rebirth has been most elaborately developed. In India, the precept is linked inextricably with the teachings and practices of Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism (a hybrid synthesis of Hinduism and Islam founded in the fifteenth century by Gurū Nānak), and Sufism (the mystical branch of Islam); it even figures in the writings of such modern thinkers as Ramakrishna and Aurobindo. In ancient Greece, the idea is identified primarily with the philosophical lineages of Pythagoras, Empedocles, Plato, and Plotinus.

The doctrine of rebirth can also be found in certain ancient Near Eastern religions, for example, the royal cultus of the pharoahs in ancient Egypt and the mystery cult of Orpheus in second-century Greece. It is found in the teachings of Manichaeism, a third-century CE Persian religion founded by the prophet Mani. The concept of reincarnation also figures in such modern schools of thought as the Theosophy of H. P. Blavatsky and Annie Besant and the humanistic psychology of thinkers like C. G. Jung and Fritz Perls; it appears also in the "perennial philosophy" of Aldous Huxley.

ARCHAIC CULTURES. That the belief in reincarnation is of great antiquity in the history of the human species is suggested by the existence of the idea at the core of the belief systems of numerous nonliterate ethnic groups scattered throughout various parts of the world. It is also suggested by the fact that some archaic peoples whose physical culture (domestic architecture, implements of livelihood, etc.) is of an extremely primitive nature (e.g., the Arunta, or Aranda, people who originally inhabited the wastelands of central Australia and who may be classified as a Stone Age society) espouse the ideas of preexistence and reincarnation, which may indicate that this belief arose contemporaneously with the origins of human culture per se.

It is particularly significant that a belief in reincarnation in some form or another is to be found in non-literate cultures all over the world. Other primary cultural areas (besides central Australia) in which this precept is noticeably present are West Africa (among the Ewe, Edo, Igbo, and Yoruba), southern Africa (among the Bantu-speakers and the Zulu), Indonesia, Oceania, New Guinea, and both North and South America (among selected ethnic groups).

In sub-Saharan Africa, for example, reincarnation is not only viewed positively, but failure to be reborn and thereby gain yet another opportunity to improve the world of the living is regarded as an evil (as is the state of childlessness). Weighty emphasis is placed upon fertility rites and the efficacious powers of the shaman to promote the production of offspring (i.e., the rebirth of the ancestral spirits).

Among the Yoruba and Edo peoples, the belief in the rebirth of the departed ancestors remains a strong and vibrant cultural force to the present day. It is their custom to name each boy child “Father Has Returned” and each girl child “Mother Has Returned.” The Zulu hold that the spirit of each person undergoes numerous rebirths in the bodies of various beasts, which range in size from tiny insects to huge elephants, until at long last the spirit enters a human body where it is fated to undergo yet another birth. Finally, after reaching the pinnacle of human existence, the soul is united with the supreme spirit from which it originated in the beginning. Here, as in other archaic cultures, the belief in reincarnation is linked directly with the veneration of ancestors, for it is the spirits of deceased ancestors that return in one or another life-form in association with the various totemic groups that form the organizational structure of the society.

For the Australian Aborigines, it is axiomatic that the spirits of human beings are periodically incarnated in animal or plant forms or even in such inanimate entities as water, fire, and wind, or the sun, moon, and stars. This belief is based upon the presupposition that the soul is separable from the body and from any other physical object it may inhabit. By virtue of its capacity to survive independently of a physical abode for at least a brief time, the soul possesses the capacity to travel from body to body and to inhabit a variety of forms ranging from stones and insects to animals and human beings. Because of the centrality of the totemic clan in Aboriginal religion, it was of utmost importance to establish the precise identity of the ancestor being reborn in each instance.

According to Australian Aboriginal religious beliefs, a deceased ancestor, after a sojourn of an unspecified length of time in the land of the dead, returns to the world of the living by entering the body of a mother at the moment of conception. The father is believed to play no direct role in impregnating the mother. Instead, the mother-to-be conceives new life by coming into the proximity of an *oknanikilla*, or local totem center, in which a spirit being (*alcheringa*) or soul of a deceased ancestor is lying in wait to be reborn.

Women who desire children travel to a sacred totem center with the intention of conceiving. The Aborigines also believe that if a woman happens to walk in the revered spots where the *alcheringa* ancestors are located, she will become impregnated without their intending it, even against their will. It is also commonly believed that when a woman conceives a child at a site sacred to a particular clan or totemic group (say, for example, the lizard totem), then that child will belong to the clan identified with the place of conception rather than with the clan of its parents. Thus, clan connections outweigh blood-relationships in cultural significance.

HINDUISM. The whole of the Hindu ethical code laid down in the ancient law books (e.g., *Laws of Manu*) presupposes the survival of the soul after death and assumes that the present life is fundamentally a preparation for the life to come. According to the Hindu conception of transmigration or rebirth (*saṃsāra*, “a course or succession of states of existence”), the circumstances of any given lifetime are automatically determined by the net results of good and evil actions in previous existences. This, in short, is the law of *karman* (action), a universal law of nature that works according to its own inherent necessity. Reward and punishment are thus not decreed by a god or gods nor by any other supernatural personage. It is a person’s own actions, in conformity to the moral and cosmic law (*dharma*), that is determinative. The law of *karman* finds synoptic expression in the Upaniṣadic assertion: “By good deeds one becomes good, by evil, evil.”

As early as the Upaniṣads human destinies are assigned to two divergent pathways: the pathway of the ancestors (*pitṛ*s), which is traversed by those persons who follow worldly pursuits, and the pathway of the gods (*deva*s), which is taken by those who meditate with faith and austerity in the forest (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 4.15.5, 5.10.1–10). The former path leads to rebirth; the latter, toward brahman and liberation. After the “worldling” has resided in the postmortem realm until the effects of his previous deeds has been consumed, he returns along the same route by which he departed the world to be reborn. By contrast, those who depart by the pathway of the gods reach *brahman*, the Ultimate, and are released from the rule of *saṃsāra* forever. For them, say the scriptures, there is no returning.

The *Bhagavadgītā*, one of the most highly revered texts of Hinduism, asserts that the eternal self (*ātman*) is unaffected even to the slightest degree by the vicissitudes of finite existence. According to this text, the universal soul, or self, in its essential nature neither comes to be nor passes away, for "of the nonexistent there is no coming to be; of the existent, there is no coming not to be" (2.11–25). It is rather the body (*śarīra*) or the embodied form (*jīva*) of the self that is subject to the changing conditions of life: creation and destruction, good and evil, victory and defeat. As the eternal, unchanging, and imperishable spiritual essence of humanity, the self is invincible to alteration of any sort, whether on this side of eternity or beyond.

The succession of finite births has traditionally been regarded by Hindus pessimistically, as an existential misfortune and not as a series of "second chances" to improve one's lot, as it is often viewed in the West. Life is regarded not only as "rough, brutish, and short" but as filled with misery (*duḥkha*). Thus, the multiplication of births within this "vale of tears" merely augments and intensifies the suffering that is the lot of all creatures. Furthermore, this painful existence continues unabated until such time as a person experiences spiritual liberation (*mokṣa*, or *mukti*).

The root cause of this existential bondage to time, ignorance, and suffering is desire (*taṇhā*), or avaricious attachment to objects that at best bring only limited, and often debased, pleasure. Even the life of a deity (*deva*) is governed by the law of death and rebirth. Hence, a person's only hope of escaping the clutches of rebirth is through extinguishing all desires except the desire for perfect unification with the universal self (*brahman*). The empirical self of the liberated person "goes to the *brahman* and becomes the *brahman*." As a result, he is free from the effects of all actions, both good and evil, and from any subsequent participation in existences determined by *karman*. This state of complete union with the universal self is known as *mokṣa* ("release" or "salvation").

Opinions differ among Indian sages as to whether final liberation is attainable while still in an embodied state or only after death. At least from the time of the *Vedānta Sūtra* (second century), the sages believed that salvation could be achieved while still alive. Thus, according to the *Mahābhārata*, the *ātman* is affected by the bonds of finite existence only under the conditions of metaphysical ignorance (*avidyā*), but once a soul is enlightened (*prakāṣita*), the self is freed from the consequences of its good and evil deeds and thereupon becomes indistinguishably identified with the *brahman* (12.267.32–38).

BUDDHISM. Śākyamuni Buddha, like his philosophical and spiritual predecessors, believed that birth and death recur in successive cycles for the person who lives in the grip of ignorance about the true nature of the world. However, he undercut the Vedāntic position by denying that the world of evanescent entities is undergirded and suffused by an eternal and unalterable Self or "soul-stuff" (*ātman*). In place of the doctrine of absolute self, he propagated the precept of "no-self" (*anātman*), namely, that the human person, along with everything else that constitutes the empirical universe, is the offspring (*phala*) of an unbroken, everfluctuating process of creation and destruction and birth and extinction according to the principle of Dependent Co-origination (*pratītya-samutpāda;* Pali, *paṭiccasamuppāda*). The technical formulation of this Law of Causation is as follows: "If this exists [e.g., an acorn], then that comes to be [an oak tree]." The entire universe perishes and is created afresh in every instant; nothing remains the same from one moment to the next, from a single microbe to an entire galaxy.

The human being or personality, therefore, is not to be understood essentially as an integral and enduring mind-body organism but rather as the manifestation of a highly complex succession of psychosomatic moments propelled along the temporal continuum by the force of *karman.* In the Buddhist view, the human person can be broken down into five constitutive elements, or strands (*skandhas*); it is continually changing but is always determined by its previous actions. As such, humans are never the same from moment to moment and therefore are in no sense the projection of a permanent self. Hence, a cardinal teaching of the Buddha is "there is nothing that transmigrates and yet there is rebirth."

If there is no absolute self that survives the death of one body and is reborn in a new one, then how is the doctrine of rebirth to be reconciled with that of "no-self"? The Buddha declares that this question, like other questions pertaining to the fundamental nature of reality, arises out of a misconstruing of the nature of *karman. Karman* is not a unified and independently existing entity that moves from life to life, as a traveler might go from place to place. Rightly understood, *karman* is the life process itself, the blending of energy and form that coordinates an unending flow of life moments. That is, the myriad clusters of factors that constitute the universe at any given moment are nothing more than the product of all its pasts. In other words, the sprout is not the temporary projection of some universal "soul-stuff" but rather a permutation of the parent seed. As one Buddhist text declares, "One hundred thousand universes conspire in the creation of the iridescent eye that graces the feather in the peacock's tail." Birth and death, then, are to be construed as nothing more than dramatic interruptions or exceptional innovations in the ongoing life process.

Therefore, neither a single entity (however subtle and rarified) nor a conglomeration of entities passes across from the old life-form to the new, yet the continuity among the phenomena is maintained. That is, all of the constitutive elements of a person's life are present from the moment of conception, just as the sprout preexists in the seed and contains the sum total of all the effects of its antecedent causal elements, at least in a state of potentiality.

According to the doctrine of *karman*, a person may be reborn successively into any one of five classes of living beings: gods, human beings, animals, hungry ghosts, or denizens of hell. Since birth as a human being occurs at the apex of the ladder of existence and is the penultimate stage to full enlightenment, it follows that all humans have undergone a birth in each of the four other orders of existence prior to the current cycle and occupy a privileged position from which to reach the ultimate goal.

While theoretically all human beings possess the capacity to achieve enlightenment and, thence, liberation from rebirth (Zen Buddhists, for example, contend that a person can experience *satori* at any moment simply by dropping off the thinking mind), in practice only those select few who forsake the life of social responsibility in the world and follow the Buddha *dharma* exclusively as monks and nuns have a realistic hope of achieving salvation in this life.

JAINISM. According to the teachings of Mahāvīra (c. 599–527 BCE), the founder of Jainism, the unenlightened soul is bound to follow a course of transmigration that is beginningless and one that will persist for an unimaginable length of time. The soul becomes defiled by involvement in desire-laden actions and thereby attracts increasingly burdensome quantities of karmic matter upon itself. This polluting material, in turn, promotes the further corruption of the soul and causes its inevitable movement through countless incarnations.

The Jains conceive of *karman* as composed of innumerable invisible particles of material substance that pervade all occupied space. Actions of body, mind, and speech project waves of energy that, when combined with the antithetical passions of desire (*rāga*) and hatred (*dveṣa*), attract karmic "dust" to the soul and weigh it down deeper and deeper in the slough of ignorance and rebirth.

Jains also distinguish between the initial awakening to an awareness of one's bondage to ignorance, suffering, death, and rebirth (the most that the layperson can hope to achieve), on the one hand, and the ultimate state of liberation, on the other. This ultimate state of bliss to which aspire all Jains (or at least the adherents of the monastic path) disperses and dissolves the load of karmic matter that encumbers the mind-body ego and transforms the practitioner into an omniscient and totally dispassionate soul.

ANCIENT GREECE. Whether the idea of metempsychosis was imported by the ancient Greeks from the East (more specifically, India) is subject to speculation in face of the absence of conclusive evidence to support one or another view. Be that as it may, the concept of rebirth occupied a central place in Greek thought from the time of Pherecydes of Syros (sixth century BCE), the mentor of Pythagoras (c. 582–507 BCE), and came into full flowering in the writings of Plato (427–347 BCE) and Plotinus (205–270 CE).

Herodotos, the greatest of ancient Greek historians, records that the Egyptians were the first people to embrace the doctrine of reincarnation. According to his sources, the Egyptians believed that the soul is immortal (i.e., subject to rebirth after each death) and that it passes through various species of terrestrial, marine, and aerial creatures before once again becoming embodied in human form, the entire cycle being completed at the end of a period of three thousand years.

Empedocles (490–430 BCE), under the influence of the writings of the mystic-mathematician Pythagoras, asserted that nothing in the cosmos is either created or destroyed. All living things undergo transmutation in accordance with the relationships among the four basic elements (air, fire, water, and earth). The souls of the impure are condemned to transmigrate for thirty thousand years through numerous types of incarnations. In the course of this transition, various lifetimes are affected in diverse ways by each of the four elements. Escape from this dark destiny is achieved through a lengthy purification process, the primary requirement of which is the avoidance of eating the flesh of animals whose souls once may have inhabited human bodies.

Like many other religious and philosophical traditions that hold to a belief in reincarnation, Orphism, an ancient Greek mystery cult that celebrated the life, death, and resurrection of the god Orpheus, is based upon a dualistic conception of humanity. Orphic sages declared that humans are composed of an invisible soul that was originally good and pure but that has become polluted by some kind of primordial sin or error. As a consequence of this ancient transgression, the originally pure soul has become imprisoned within a physical body that is believed to be impure or evil by nature.

The ultimate aim of this mystery was to raise the soul of each devotee to increasingly loftier and purer levels of spiritual existence. The elevation of the soul was promoted by participation in the sacramental practices of the Orphic brotherhoods (*thiasoi*). By performing these sacraments—always in secret places and often in the dead of night—the devotee received the power of the divine life. By continually cultivating this gift through meditation, prayer, and vegetarianism, he eventually gained immortality and thereby achieved release from any future reincarnations.

Orphic eschatology emphasized postmortem rewards and punishments. Because of its essentially spiritual nature, the soul could not achieve its true state of existence until after the last of a lengthy series of lives. Complete and lasting freedom from bondage to the material order could be realized only after undergoing a series of rebirths in a variety of physical forms that were determined by the merits of the previous life or lives. Supposedly it was this mystical teaching that was the heart of the revelation that was given to each novice initiated into the Orphic religion.

Plato drew together and synthesized numerous strands of thought concerning the fate of the individual soul. Under the influence of Empedocles, Pythagoras, the Orphic prophets, and others, he fashioned a theory of the nature and destiny of humanity that is as complex in its philosophical makeup as it is inspiring in its poetical contents. Like the Vedāntins, he believed that the soul (*psuchē*) is immortal. The soul is the governor and indweller of all conscious beings; it descends periodically into the physical realm of existence as a result of metaphysical nescience and bondage to the passions. Like the Vedāntins and the Buddhists, Plato declared that the soul of each human being (except for that of the "true philosopher," who is the one truly enlightened being) is entrapped by the body (and by material reality, generally) because of its attachment to the objects of transitory desire (i.e., objects of pleasure and pain). In a statement in the *Laws* (book 10) that could easily have been lifted directly from the Upaniṣads, he asserts, "Recognize that if you become baser you will go to baser souls, and if higher, to the higher, and in every course of life and death you will do and suffer what like may appropriately suffer at the hands of like."

Even the selection of a new incarnation by each soul at the beginning of a new life cycle is determined by the experiences of the former lifetime. During its journey through a series of births, the soul finds temporary abode not only in a variety of land, air, and water creatures, but, once it has achieved the status of humanity, it may pass through a number of professions of varying degrees of moral quality, ranging from that of a demagogue and tyrant at the nadir of the scale, to a lover, a follower of the Muses, and a seeker after wisdom at the apex (*Phaedrus* 248d–e).

According to Plato's famous myth of Er (*Republic* 10), those souls whose minds are governed by the baser pleasures first travel to the plain of Forgetfulness and take up residence on the banks of the river of Indifference, "where each as he drinks, forgets everything"; they then go to their respective births "like so many shooting stars."

The painful and disorienting wanderings of the soul throughout the various orders of creatures are brought to a halt, and the soul is ushered into a state of eternal and perfectly fulfilling bliss, but only after it has divorced itself completely from the pleasures of the body and the material world, placed all of its appetites and yearnings under the governance of Reason, and attained a pure and undeviating contemplation of the Absolute ("the Good"), thereby obtaining "the veritable knowledge of being that veritably is."

In the end, the liberated soul finds unending sojourn in the "place beyond the heavens" (cf. the *brahman* in Vedānta), where "true being dwells, without color or shape, that cannot be touched; reason alone, man's pilot, can behold it and all true knowledge is knowledge thereof" (*Phaedrus* 247d–e).

CONCLUSION. There is no question but that the twin doctrines of *karman* and reincarnation have done more to shape the whole of Asian thought than any other concept or concepts. It might be difficult to identify an idea or set of ideas that has exercised a comparable influence through the entire scope of Western thought, including the cardinal concepts in the writings of Plato and Aristotle.

Ironically, the notion of reincarnation is beginning to make inroads into contemporary Western thought (particularly in theology, the philosophy of religion, and psychology) by way of a number of circuitous routes. One of the most notable avenues along which the idea is traveling to the West is the number of Asian (primarily Indian) religious traditions that have appeared in Europe and America, along with theosophy, transpersonal psychology, and the academic study of the history of religions and comparative philosophy.

One of the most curious manifestations of the belief in reincarnation in modern times is a new approach to psychotherapy that operates in the United States under the rubric of "rebirthing analysis," which purports to help the client deal with current psychological and spiritual problems by recalling personal experiences during numerous past lifetimes with the aid of meditation, hypnosis, and in some cases, consciousness-altering drugs.

Time alone will tell whether this new imprint on the fabric of Western thought and life will endure to become an integral part of the overall design or will, in time, fade into insignificance and remain only as a vague memory of a short-lived image in Western consciousness.

SEE ALSO Enlightenment; Karman; Mokṣa; Orpheus.

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REINES, YITSḤAQ YAʿAQOV

REINES, YITSḤAQ YAʿAQOV (1839–1915) was one of the founders and first leaders of Mizraḥi, a religious Zionist movement established at the beginning of the twentieth century. Reines was born in Belorussia, studied at the leading *yeshivot* (rabbinic academies), and served as a rabbi in a variety of towns in Lithuania throughout his life. He made a major contribution to rabbinic scholarship, with emphasis on a strictly logical approach to problems in Jewish law. He published a number of important legal works, including *Ḥotam tokhnit* (1880–1881), and a homiletical work, *Nod shel demaʿot* (1891). While serving as rabbi of Sventsyany from 1869 to 1885, Reines established a *yeshivah* that combined traditional studies with secular subjects, but he was forced to close the school after several months as a result of extreme Orthodox opposition. Only in 1905 did he succeed in establishing such a *yeshivah,* in Lida. This new school became the model for religious Zionist education in the Mizraḥi movement and, following World War I, was copied throughout eastern Europe.

In addition to his legal and educational contributions, Reines was active politically. He joined the proto-Zionist movement Ḥibbat Tsiyyon at its inception in the 1880s and proposed religious agricultural settlements in the Land of Israel. Following the creation of the World Zionist Organization in 1897, he became one of Theodor Herzl's most fervent rabbinical supporters in the face of rejection by most other Orthodox authorities. In 1902, Reines published a book defending Zionism entitled *Or ḥadash ʿal Tsiyyon* (A new light on Zion).

Despite his support for Herzl, Reines was concerned that the secular leadership of the World Zionist Organization would ignore or even denigrate Jewish religious values in the struggle for a Jewish state. In 1902, he convened a conference of Orthodox Zionists in Vilna that resulted in the establishment of Mizraḥi in 1902. Reines also founded the movement's first journal, *Ha-Mizraḥi.* The movement sought to defend and inculcate traditional Jewish values while supporting the Zionist settlement in the Land of Israel. Mizraḥi established a network of schools in eastern Europe and, later, in Palestine. It became the foundation for the National Religious Party (Mafdal), which plays a critical role in Israeli politics today.

SEE ALSO Zionism.

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DAVID BIALE (1987)
Revised Bibliography

REIYŪKAI KYŌDAN.

REIYŪKAI KYŌDAN. A Japanese Buddhist lay organization, Reiyūkai Kyōdan was founded between 1919 and 1925 in Tokyo by Kubo Kakutarō (1890–1944) and his sister-in-law Kotani Kimi (1901–1971). As of 1982 it had roughly three million members in Japan, with branches in seventeen foreign countries. Deriving from the tradition of Nichiren, the thirteenth-century religious reformer, Reiyūkai created lay rites of ancestor worship based on daily recitation of an abridgement of the *Lotus Sutra.* Personal salvation is believed to follow upon salvation of one's ancestors, which in turn is brought about through lay rites in the home without priestly mediation. Reiyukai represents a rare example in the history of religions of ancestor worship as the center of a voluntary association that transcends kinship boundaries. In daily life, Reiyūkai emphasizes traditionalist ethics in marriage and the family, linking these ideals to salvation of oneself and one's ancestors.

An employee of the Imperial Household Ministry, Kubo regarded himself as the Nichiren of the Taishō era (1912–1926), and like the medieval saint he set out to alert the world to the catastrophe he believed imminent. In Kubo's day, Japan was undergoing a radical social transformation, even as it had begun to gain place in international politics. Kubo saw in the massive changes about him a threat to traditional values and a need for religious response. He received religious instruction from exponents of Nichirenshugi, a nationalistic political interpretation of Nichiren's thought, but Kubo sought an understanding of contemporary events that would suggest an appropriate course of religious action for the laity. Since he regarded the Buddhist clergy as utterly incapable of providing suitable moral leadership, he set out to found a lay religious society in order to implement his understanding of Nichiren Buddhism.

Kubo believed that the world was beset with war and disaster because modern society had entrusted the rites of ancestor worship to the Buddhist clergy. He believed that social and political upheavals are actually signs of ancestral distress, reflected to the human world to inform the living that their ancestors are in need of ritual care. When descendants fail to worship them directly, ancestors in the spirit world are unable to achieve Buddhahood. Priests claim to be able to transfer merit to them through esoteric ritual, but actually, in Kubo's view, clerics have no karmic bonds with parishioners' ancestors. These are the ties of blood, filiation, and morality, which exist only among persons actually descended from common ancestors, or between spouses. A priest cannot mediate this relationship. Therefore, Kubo concluded, the ancestors' plight will continue to manifest itself as disasters in the human world until lay people perform the rites that will transfer merit effectively and until they implement in their daily lives an ethic that will "satisfy" the ancestors. The terrible earthquake of 1923 increased tremendously Kubo's sense of urgency in propagating this message.

Kubo's ideas might never have gone beyond a small circle of followers had he not been aided by Kotani Kimi. While Kubo elaborated doctrine and refined ritual, it was Kotani who gathered a core of followers. She proselytized in the poor sections of Tokyo, and by sharing the poverty of her converts, nursing them, and performing faith healing, she established herself as a pillar of the organization. Even after her death, Kotani continues to be widely regarded as a "living Buddha." In activities held at the group's mountain training center, Mirokusan, Kotani has been identified with the Buddha of the future, Maitreya.

Among the present membership, 70 percent reside in urban areas and 30 percent in rural areas. Reiyukai is organized into a number of branches formed by the links of proselytization. A person rises in rank by converting others, and conversion forms a pyramid in which all those proselytized by the same person are considered his or her "spiritual children," and the original proselytizer the "spiritual parent." Those at the foot of this pyramid look to an original "parent" as their leader, and that person is placed in charge of a branch headquartered in a certain area. The Eighth Branch, for example, has its headquarters in Osaka, claims roughly six hundred thousand members, and on a daily basis operates independently of the Tokyo headquarters of Reiyūkai.

Reiyūkai ritual consists chiefly of daily recitation morning and evening of the *Blue Sūtra,* an abridgement of the *Lotus Sūtra.* The ritual is structured so as to mobilize the power of the *Lotus Sūtra* for the salvation of the ancestors by simultaneously transferring merit and eliminating negative *karman* through repentence. It is assumed that men and women share equally the responsibilities of ritual, and it is considered most desirable that families unite in these observances. It is also assumed that men and women share equally in the fruits of correct ritual: a happy home, filial descendants, and personal salvation. Adherence to a prescribed ethic in marriage is the counterpart to ritual and is regarded as no less essential to salvation.

In the traditionalist family ethic advocated by Reiyūkai, the ideal of the family follows the prewar form (the *ie*). That is, members idealize a situation in which three generations live together, worship together, and if possible engage in a common economic enterprise. The idea of filial piety is central, as is respect for elders. A hierarchical principle exists between men and women, with men in the dominant position. This idea receives religious formulation in the notion that women have worse *karman* than men and therefore have a greater need for religion. A corollary of this notion holds that if women can overcome their *karman* they can achieve spiritual feats impossible for men, an ideal expressed ritually in shamanistic practices resembling spirit possession, from which men are barred.

Reiyūkai continues to engage in political activity in support of various conservative causes, such as advocating state support for the Yasukuni Shrine, formerly the official shrine of the war dead. It also supports revision of the Constitution, particularly Article 9, which renounces the use of war. It is allied with other right-wing religious groups in this and other causes and supports conservative candidates for election. The extent to which this activity accurately mirrors the sentiments of the general membership is unclear, but it seems certain that this large, well-organized group may, along with other religious groups, wield an important political influence in Japan's future.

SEE ALSO New Religious Movements, article on New Religious Movements in Japan.

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HELEN HARDACRE (1987)

REJUVENATION myths are found all over the world and in varied forms. A concern with being made young and healthy again is found not only in ancient cultures but also in contemporary society. The rejuvenation slogans of the advertising industry have an ancient heritage, as, for example, in the account of beer brewing in the Finnish epic, the *Kalevala,* which says, "The beer of Kalevala strengthens the weak, cheers the sick, and makes the old young again." Myths of rejuvenation are a part of the way humankind has responded to the fear of death and the love of life. To undo the ravages of time, to turn the clock back, has been an age-old longing.

IMITATION OF NATURE. The earliest human cultures were close to nature, experiencing both hardship and joy in the annual change of seasons, lamenting the death of vegetation as it grew old and withered, and rejoicing at the return of spring. The waning of the sun in the west at the close of each day and its rising again to new strength the next day also suggested a rejuvenating power in nature. The Greeks and Celts had stories of a "western paradise" where the aged could obtain youth. Changing Woman, in the Navajo pantheon, transforms herself into a young girl when she becomes old; as wife of the Sun Carrier, her home is in the west. From the idea that the land of the world is surrounded by water, water became associated with the renewal of the sun, as well as with that from which life itself came.

Myths of rejuvenation that focus on the role of sleep reflect an imitation of nature. A myth of the Selk'nam of Tierra del Fuego tells of a culture hero, Kénos, and three of the ancestors who, in old age, tried to fall into a long sleep so as to be rejuvenated. Finally, after several efforts, they went north and there were wrapped in mantles and put in the ground. After a few days they began to stir and whisper, and then, upon rising, they saw that they were young again. They had succeeded in a transformation sleep.

The snake's shedding of its skin has led it to be associated with the power of rejuvenation as well as with healing and transformation. An Icelandic saga describes a man who shed his skin every few centuries and always emerged thirty years old. The *Ṛgveda,* an ancient scripture of India, describes a priest who in old age had been exposed to die but who was rejuvenated by two physician gods who took off his skin as one would a mantle, prolonging his life and making him the "husband of maidens." Depth psychologists report that the association of snakes with the development of a new perspective, one that is presenting itself to consciousness for the first time, is a frequent motif in contemporary dreams.

THE SPECIAL ELIXIR. There are many accounts of special fruits, herbs, or waters that rejuvenate or provide everlasting life. Usually these stories are about foods of the gods, or foods in distant lands that, if humans could only obtain them, would assure the desired result. An old Norse story tells of a king grown old who heard of a distant land where there was a special water and a priceless apple that would make one young again. He sent his eldest son in quest of them, but the son was distracted by the pleasures of a strange city. So also with the king's second son. Finally, the third and youngest son, after numerous difficulties, succeeded. However, on his return journey the older brothers took from him his treasures and rejuvenated the king themselves. In a German version it is the "water of life" for which the king sent. In Japanese mythology is the story of Ningyo, the Fisherwoman, a mermaidlike creature who lives in the sea; it is said that women who were fortunate enough to eat of her flesh gained perpetual youth and beauty. In Eddic mythology, the goddess Iðunn guarded the apples that the gods tasted when they began to grow old lest the giants steal them. In Celtic mythology Fraoch went in search of a tree that grew on an island in a lake. Every month it produced sweet fruit that prolonged life for a year and healed sickness. In ancient China it was believed that gold, the metal that never "grows old" (that is, never tarnishes), not only would preserve a dead body from decay but would also, when ingested in the proper way, promote longevity.

E. Washburn Hopkins sought to demonstrate in "The Fountain of Youth" (*Journal of the American Oriental Society* 26, 1905) that all the many European stories of magic springs or fountains of youth were descended originally from a story in the *Mahābhārata,* an Indian epic. In this story an old man who had married a young woman made an agreement with the Aśvins (twin physician gods) that he would make them drinkers of soma, the divine ambrosia, if they would rejuvenate him. They took him to the "youth place," and when he emerged from its water, he had indeed been restored to youthful vigor and appearance. In the European stories the mysterious and miraculous fount is located, usually rather vaguely, in Asia. Hopkins suggested that the Spanish explorer Ponce de León would have been aware of those stories when in the early sixteenth century he set out for India by way of the West Indies, and thus, when he heard stories in Florida of a medicinal and healing spring, he naturally interpreted it as being the famed fountain of youth. Furthermore, Hopkins disagreed with Brinton (*Myths of the New World,* New York, 1896), who contended that the fountain of youth was a universal myth that had emerged from the veneration of water as the female element.

THE REVERSAL OF TIME. Mircea Eliade described in *Myth and Reality* (New York, 1963) and elsewhere how health and youthfulness are obtained by a "return to the origins," by abolishing the work of time—time "the destroyer," as the Roman poet Ovid called it. The therapies for reversing time usually included a ritual reiteration of the creation of the world, thereby permitting a sick person to be born anew and to recommence existence with the health of earlier years. The ancient Daoist and other Chinese alchemists took up these traditional healing methods and applied them to the cure of the illness that results from the ravages of time, that is, from old age and death. Eliade has pointed out that there is a continuity between the early concern with health and rejuvenation and the alchemical traditions of both the East and the West. All the symbols, rituals, and techniques of these traditions emphasized a basic idea: in order to obtain rejuvenation or long life, it is necessary to return to the origin of life and recommence with the vitality that was then present.

Initiatory rituals often enact a "return to the womb" in which the initiate is placed in isolation for a period and then greeted as a newborn upon his delivery. In ancient China the Daoists had a technique of "embryonic respiration" in which the adept tried to imitate respiration within a closed circuit, in the manner of a fetus. This was believed to drive away old age. Myths concerning a "return to the origin" are on different levels, some more physical, some more spiritual. Eliade has pointed out a similar motif in the psychoanalytic system of Sigmund Freud that involves a "return to the beginning" in its method of healing.

A caution about tampering with time is expressed in the Japanese story of an old woodcutter who, becoming thirsty one day, drank from a stream he had not drunk from before. The water was unusually delicious, flowing clear and swiftly. He went to the pool from which the stream flowed, and as he knelt to drink some more, he saw his reflection in the pool, but his face was that of his youth. Realizing that he had drunk from a fountain of youth, he ran (which he had been unable to do for years) to tell his wife. With difficulty he persuaded her of his identity. She insisted that she must drink of the same water, for he would not want an old wife, and she hurried away. When she did not return, he went in search of her. At the pool he found a baby girl lying on the bank. In her eagerness the old woman had drunk too much from the fountain of youth.

The Realm of the Divine. Many stories of rejuvenation take place in the realm of the divine or involve gifts or rewards from the gods. In a Scandinavian legend the age of Olger the Dane is changed from one hundred years to thirty by means of a ring provided by the fairy Morgana. In Greek mythology, when Zeus heard that Prometheus had stolen fire from him and had given it to humanity, he became indignant and so gave to those who informed him about the theft a drug that was an antidote to old age. And on the return of the Argonauts, the enchantress Medea made Aeson, Jason's father, young again with herbs and incantations.

In a Navajo myth, the two sons of Changing Woman are warned by Old Age not to walk on her path, but, rather, to keep to the left of it. They forgot this counsel, however, and walked on the path. Then they began to feel heavy; they stooped, and their steps became shorter; and finally they could not move, even with the help of canes. Old Age rebuked them and, in a Navajo pattern of creating, sang a song so that in future, she said, everything should reach old age. Then, however, she made them young again and sent them on their way. In some stories continual rejuvenation is the reward for living in an especially holy place or on a blessed island. In Aztec mythology there is a holy mountain, the residence of the great mother of the gods, that one can never entirely climb, for the upper half consists of fine, slippery sand. However, whoever climbs part way, no matter how old, grows young again in proportion to the distance climbed.

Some myths explain why old age and death are inevitable. In Mesopotamian mythology, Gilgamesh is told at the end of a long journey in search of a means of avoiding death that the gods have reserved immortality for themselves. Disappointed, he is told, as a parting gift, of a plant that makes one young again. He dives to the bottom of the sea to get the plant; but on his return journey, when he stops to bathe in a pool, a snake steals the plant, sloughing its skin as it goes—thus obtaining immortality for snakes. In the Hebrew scriptures, eating of the fruit of the Tree of Life, which stood in the midst of the Garden of Eden, enabled one to live forever. After Adam and Eve disobeyed God by eating of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil they were driven from the garden, and a guard was placed there to protect the path to the tree of life.

Spiritualization of the Quest. Mesopotamian and Egyptian mythologies tended to focus on the quest for immortality or life after death, while in ancient China and Vedic India the quest was much more for rejuvenation and the recovery of youthfulness in this life. In later Indian thought, beginning in the sixth century BCE, for both Hinduism and Buddhism the aim of life was not rejuvenation but liberation from earthly existence. Similarly, beginning in the sixth century BCE, the mystery religions of the Mediterranean world responded to a longing for cleansing and renovating the human spirit and found in nature a model for that renewal; thus their professed aim was to assure eternal life. Christianity then turned the emphasis to an inner, spiritual renewal: "Unless one is born anew, he cannot see the kingdom of God" (*Jn.* 3:3). The water in the baptismal font assured the possibility of life eternal. In one eucharistic liturgy the words of the priest at the moment of delivering the bread and wine indicate their life-giving power: "Preserve thy body and soul to everlasting life."

Implications. The desire for rejuvenation in this life, however, is still present. In the secular culture of the modern world, with its loss to a large extent of any sense of the sacred, there has been a new interest in rejuvenation, not as a gift from the realm of the divine, but as a goal for human endeavor. According to early records, priests and elders in ancient India and China consumed the sexual organs of wild animals in order to resist the effects of old age and restore their youthful vigor; similar attempts at rejuvenation have continued throughout history. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a few surgeons in Europe and North America claimed to have achieved rejuvenation by transplanting reproductive glands from animals. The medical community in general rejected the technique and attributed to other factors the apparent results, which were, at best, temporary. Vitamins are now advocated as a means of postponing the consequences of old age.

When the present lacks meaning, discontent expresses itself in a longing for the past. The thirst for rejuvenation may occur precisely at the point in human development when either the culture as a whole or an individual is ready to move on to a new level of understanding but is reluctant to undertake the journey and seeks instead to find meaning in the way life was before. The contemporary developmental understanding of human life as moving from stage to stage, with each stage having its own maturation task to be accomplished or wisdom to be achieved, suggests that the thirst for rejuvenation may stem from a failure to move on to the next level of development. The investigations of the history of religions as well as contemporary psychotherapy demonstrate that humans cannot stand a meaningless life. How this dilemma is to be faced, expressed, and lived out by individuals is the challenge that faces contemporary civilization, with its expanding population of old people.

See Also Death; Elixir; Fountain; Initiation; Quests; Snakes.

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Crucible: The Origins and Structures of Alchemy, 2d ed. (Chicago, 1978), Eliade illuminates the attempts of the Chinese and Indian alchemists to accelerate the work of nature and thereby conquer time. A comprehensive collection of legends about the fountain of youth and related stories of rejuvenation is to be found in E. Washburn Hopkins's article titled "The Fountain of Youth," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 26 (1905): 1–67.

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RELATIVISM. The term *relativism* is applied to ethical, cultural, and religious views. Relativism contends that such views are to be evaluated relative to the societies or cultures in which they appear and are not to be judged true or false, or good or bad, based on some overall criterion but are to be assessed within the context in which they occur. Thus, what is right or good or true to one person or group may not be considered so by others.

This theory was first presented by certain Greek authors who noted the varieties of religions and moral behavior in the Mediterranean world and suggested that differing mores indicated that there were no absolute standards. Protagoras said, "Man is the measure of all things," and this was interpreted to convey that each person could be his or her own measure. The variations of human, social, political, and ethical behavior were worked into a basic theme of the Greek skeptics. The fact of differences in human behavior is taken to imply that no general standard can possibly apply to all peoples and cultures. Sextus Empiricus even suggested that cannibalism, incest, and other practices considered taboo are just variant kinds of behavior, to be appreciated as acceptable in some cultures and not in others. This reasoning was applied by the Greek skeptics to various religions and their practices. They urged suspension of judgment about right or wrong and undogmatic acceptance of one's own culture.

This relativistic attitude was in sharp contrast to the dogmatic views of the Jews and Christians in the Roman empire, who insisted their revealed information assured them that their religious beliefs and practices were the only correct and acceptable ones. The christianization of the Roman empire and of pagan Europe pushed the relativistic approach aside. There could be some variations in ritual or practice, but in essential beliefs and practices anything different was heretical.

The skeptical-relativist view reappeared in new and forceful ways in the Renaissance, with a rediscovery of the wide variety of beliefs and practices of ancient times, and with the discoveries of radically different cultures all over the world. The rapid development of new kinds of Christian practices resulting from the Reformation also contributed to an emerging view of differences as based on cultural factors. Contrasts with the Ottoman empire made people even more cognizant of the wide range of human beliefs and practices. Montaigne was foremost in presenting the panorama of human beliefs and implying that the fact of difference indicated that each set of beliefs and practices was culturally conditioned. He contended that most people hold their religious views as a result of custom rather than conviction. He also suggested that the religious and moral practices of the "noble savages" were at least as good as those of European Christians.

Montaigne's skepticism and cultural relativism were carried further by the French skeptic Pierre Bayle, who insisted that a society of atheists could be more moral than a society of Christians, since moral behavior results from natural causes such as custom and education and not from religious doctrines. Bayle sought to show that such biblical heroes as David, such leading Christians as Calvin and Luther, and saints and popes throughout the history of Christianity have all acted in the moral sphere because of their own human natures and not because of their religious beliefs.

Bayle's analysis was incorporated into the Enlightenment's quest for a science of humanity that would explain why people acted, behaved, and believed in different ways. This science would deem religious beliefs the effects of different physical and psychological conditions, which might be studied neutrally. Climate, history, customs, education, institutions, and so on would account for the fact that societies differ in their social, cultural, and religious practices. One's personal psychological conditions would account for an individual's strong or weak religious convictions. Hume's *Natural History of Religion* (1757) initiated the study of religion as a manifestation of human behavior in which religious activity is relative to individual and cultural conditions.

This relativistic aspect of religion was identified as a crucial feature of the human condition by the German philosopher J. G. Herder, who contended that every society or culture develops from its own unique idea or character. Ethical and religious norms are part of the expression of these ideas, and no culture is inferior or superior to any other; it is simply different. Thus religion is seen to be relative to the culture in which it appears.

Herder's relativism and the growing interest in comparative studies of language and religion led to the full-blown relativism of Alexander von Humboldt in the nineteenth century, and of many twentieth-century anthropologists. Von Humboldt stated, "There are nations more susceptible of cultivation, more highly civilized, more ennobled by mental cultivation than others—but none in themselves nobler than others. All are in like degree designed for freedom" (*Cosmos,* London, 1888, vol. 1, p. 368).

The relativist position was further reinforced by various theories of the natural causes of beliefs. The theories of Marx and Freud offered ways whereby one could account for the fact that individuals and groups adhere to beliefs without considering whether or not these beliefs are true. Scholars now began to consider instead whether various religious beliefs were beneficial or deleterious, or why a particular belief arose at a certain moment in human history.

The relativist position was forcefully stated by the anthropologist Edward A. Westermarck in his major work *The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas* (1906). Westermarck contended on the basis of historical, sociological, and anthropological evidence that no ethical principles are objectively valid. In *Ethical Relativity* (1932) he further argued his position on philosophic grounds.

Critics of cultural relativism have suggested, first, that evidence of cultural differences does not rule out the possibility that there exist common beliefs and attitudes held by most or all cultures and, second, that factual information about such differences does not eliminate the possibility that one belief system may in fact be better, or more true, than another. Further, philosophers are still arguing about whether causal explanations about people's beliefs evidence the value, truth, or falsity of these beliefs. Yet by the late twentieth century, cultural relativism was a rather common view among many students of ethics and religion.

SEE ALSO Anthropology, Ethnology, and Religion; Apologetics; Freud, Sigmund; Herder, Johann Gottfried; Hume, David; Marx, Karl; Skeptics and Skepticism; Study of Religion, article on Methodological Issues.

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RELICS may loosely be defined as the venerated remains of venerable persons. This should be taken to include not only the bodies, bones, or ashes of saints, heroes, martyrs, founders of religious traditions, and other holy men and women but also objects that they once owned and, by extension, things that were once in physical contact with them.

According to the principles of contagious magic, any personal possession or part of a person's body can be thought of as equivalent to his whole self, no matter how minute it may be, or how detached in time and space. Thus a bone, a hair, a tooth, a garment, a footprint can carry the power or saintliness of the person with whom they were once associated and make him or her "present" once again.

Scholars eager to discuss the "origins" of relics have often pointed to the magical use of such objects by "primitive" peoples in rituals of war, healing, rainmaking, or hunting. They have gathered examples from all sorts of ethnographies to show that fetishes and talismans, amulets and medicine bundles were sometimes made of human bones, hair, or organs. They have thereby concluded that the impulse to preserve and use "relics" must be very ancient indeed. They may well be correct, but it is important to try to view such examples within their individual cultural contexts, and not to generalize too quickly from them about the development of relic worship as a whole.

In fact, the veneration of relics is not equally emphasized in the various religions of the world. Highly featured in some traditions (such as Buddhism and Catholicism), it is virtually absent in others (Protestantism, Hinduism, Judaism), and found only incidentally elsewhere (Islam, ancient Greece). This entry, therefore, shall deal primarily with the Roman Catholic and Buddhist traditions. But before doing so, it may be helpful to examine briefly some of the reasons for the other traditions' diversity.

PROTESTANTISM, HINDUISM, AND ISRAELITE RELIGION. The Protestant reformers condemned the veneration of relics partly for theological reasons and partly because it was closely associated in their minds with the sale of indulgences and with other ecclesiastical practices of which they disapproved. From the start, their criticism was thus polemical, and, appealing to reason, it lambasted in particular the fantastic proliferation of relics that had developed in medieval Catholicism. For instance, John Calvin (1509–1564), who wrote a treatise on relics, mockingly commented that in his day the quantity of wood contained in relics of the True Cross was so great that even three hundred men could not have carried it.

In Hinduism, opposition to relic worship occurred for quite different reasons. Though Hindus commonly honor the memories of great saints and teachers and visit sites of pilgrimage associated with them, they do not generally venerate their bodily remains. On the one hand, the doctrine of reincarnation and the belief in the ultimately illusory nature of things of this world simply do not promote relic worship. On the other hand, and probably more importantly, death and things associated with it are, in Hinduism, thought to be highly polluting. For this reason, in fact, Hindu funeral customs stress the total destruction of the body, which is most commonly cremated. The ashes from the pyre and any unburned fragments of bone, though they are treated with respect for a while, are all eventually disposed of, often in a nearby river, ideally in the Ganges.

In ancient Israel, there also existed a concern for purity and for separating the dead from the living. Bodies were not cremated, but they were quickly and carefully buried in the hollowed sides of caves or burial chambers. There it was expected that they would decay, dry up, and disintegrate; thus tombs were commonly reused by family members. Pronounced rites of mourning and lamentation did take place, but, generally speaking, the tomb and the corpse were thought to be unclean, and contact with them was defiling (Lv. 21:1–4, Nm. 19:11–16). Hence, there was little room for any enthusiasm for relics.

It may also be, however, that too great a veneration of the remains of the dead—as in the occasionally mentioned practice of making food offerings in the tombs—was thought of in certain ancient Israelite circles as bordering on idolatry or paganism, and hence to be condemned.

ISLAM. Much the same concern can be found in Islam; certain Qurʾanic scholars periodically denounced the veneration of relics, especially of the bodies of saints, as *shirk* (polytheism), that is, as treating the grave as an idol rather than worshiping God alone. Nevertheless, the cult of relics did manage to grow within the Muslim fold, and it continues to be popular today.

In addition to the various "traces" (*athar*) left by Muḥammad, such as hairs, teeth, autographs, and especially footprints, Muslims have long venerated the remains of saints. This, it should be pointed out, is a cult of bodies rather than of bones, and focuses on the tombs of holy persons that dot the countrysides of those Muslim lands where their worship plays an important role. Though ritual patterns at these tombs may vary, often believers will circumambulate the saint's enshrined coffin, leave votive offerings there, and pray for cures, for help with family problems, or more generally for "blessing" (*barakah*). While some Muslim theologians may claim that such petitions are not technically made to the saint but through the saint to God, it is clear that, in the minds of the faithful, the saint himself is thought to be present in the tomb and able to respond effectively.

In some instances, owing to their great popularity, certain famous saints are reputed to be buried in more than one place. Thus, for example, the body of the great Shīʿī martyr, Ḥusayn ibn ʿAli (d. 680 CE), while usually thought to be enshrined in Karbala, is also reputed to rest in Medina, Damascus, Aleppo, and a number of other places, and his head is said to be in Cairo, where it remains a popular center of piety.

Nonetheless, because of orthodox objections, the cult of relics in Islam seems never to have mushroomed in quite the way it did in Christianity or Buddhism, and it has retained a somewhat ambiguous status. This ambiguity is perhaps best summed up in the recurring legends of mausoleums that were destroyed by the very saints they entombed—the saints themselves thereby posthumously objecting to their own cult (and at the same time showing their even greater glory).

ANCIENT GREECE. In ancient Greece, the veneration of relics was closely connected to the cult of heroes, whose reputed remains—often bones larger than lifesize—were enshrined and honored in towns as a guarantee of their protection and an enhancement of their prestige. Thus Lesbos had the head of Orpheus, Elis the shoulder bone of Pelops (which had been found by a fisherman and identified by an oracle). Tantalos's bones were at Argos, while the remains of Europa were the focus of the great Hellotia festival in Crete. All of these were thought to ward off disease and famine, to encourage fertility and welfare, and sometimes to bring about miraculous cures.

Occasionally the relics of great heroes were the object of searches and, when found, had to be translated to their place of enshrinement. Plutarch, for example, describes in some detail the quest for the bones of Theseus, a hero whose armed ghost many Athenians believed to have helped them achieve their victory at Marathon. Finally, when his remains were discovered on the island of Siphnos, they were transported to Athens with considerable pomp and celebration and enshrined in the center of the city.

In addition to the bones of the heroes, weapons and other objects associated with them were honored. Thus, in a variety of temples, visitors could marvel at Orpheus's lyre, Achilles' spear, Helen's sandal, Agamemnon's scepter, the Argonauts' anchor, the stone swallowed by Kronos, even the tusks of the Erymanthian boar captured by Herakles. Such items were, perhaps, more objects of curiosity than of cults, but they served the important function of drawing pilgrims and of concretizing the myths and glories of a former age.

EARLY CHRISTIANITY. In Christianity one finds an example of the fully developed veneration of relics. Its origins within the Christian tradition are usually traced to the cults that arose around the tombs of the early saints and martyrs. These cults are often compared to the similar hero cults of the Hellenistic world. They stem, however, not only from a desire to venerate the memory of the departed saint, but also from a hope to partake of some of the power and blessing he or she derived from a close and ongoing relationship with God.

It was thought to be beneficial in the early church to be physically close to the saints. Hence, from the start, Christians paid visits to their tombs; there they celebrated the Eucharist on the stone slabs covering their graves. Sometimes, they even decided to settle permanently in the vicinity of these graves. In this way, tombs became altars, and whole cities arose where once had been cemeteries.

Alternatively, the bodies of the saints were sometimes brought to the faithful; they were translated from their graves to existing cities and enshrined in churches there. Thus existing altars also became tombs, and the custom of celebrating mass over the bones of the martyrs was reinforced. In fact, by the fourth century, in the Eastern church, the Eucharist could only be celebrated on an altar covered with an antimension—a cloth into which were sewn fragments of relics. And in the West, the common custom was to enclose relics in a cavity in the altar top itself—a practice that became formalized in 787 when the Second Council of Nicaea declared the presence of such relics to be obligatory for the consecration of a church.

With the toleration of Christianity throughout the Roman empire beginning in the reign of Constantine (272–327), the demand for and veneration of relics grew. Especially in the fourth and fifth centuries, not only were the known remains of martyrs venerated but lost relics of ancient saints started making their appearance. Thus the body of Saint Stephen—the first Christian martyr—was discovered as though it had been waiting for this time and was enshrined in a number of important centers.

At the same time, relics connected with Christ's passion came to be highly esteemed: the crown of thorns, the nails that pierced his hands and feet, and especially the wood of the True Cross on which Christ had died and which, according to legend, had been discovered by Constantine's mother, Helena. The cross was said to have been made of the wood of the Tree of Life, taken belatedly from the Garden of Eden by Adam's son Seth. It was, thus, a powerful symbol of both the death of Christ and the rewards of eternal life. Along with other relics, it was credited with miraculous cures, even resurrections. It was also used as a talisman for magical protection; Gregory of Nyssa's sister Macrina (c. 327–379) always wore around her neck an amulet consisting of a splinter of the True Cross encased in a ring, and she was clearly not the only noblewoman to do so. It comes as no surprise, then, that by the middle of the fourth century, according to one account, wood from the True Cross filled the world (though miraculously the original cross itself still remained whole and undiminished in Jerusalem).

The growth of the cult of relics in the early church, however, was not without controversy and opposition. On the one hand, it was clearly an offense to traditional Roman sensibilities about keeping the dead in their proper place. For example, Julian the Apostate (r. 361–363) denounced the Christians for filling the world with sepulchers and defiling the cities with the bones and skulls of "criminals." On the other hand, even within the Christian community, there were those such as Vigilantius (early fifth century) who were very critical of the worship of relics, claiming that it was grossly superstitious and bordered on idolatry. However, Jerome, in an angry reply to Vigilantius, argued that Christians did not "worship" relics but "honored" them. Doctrinally, then, if not always in practice, a distinction was made that still stands today between the *veneratio* paid to the saints and their relics and the *adoratio* espoused for God and Christ.

Other church leaders, however, were concerned about the veritable traffic in relics that was developing in the fourth and fifth centuries, especially in the East. In 386, therefore, the emperor Theodosius passed legislation restricting the translation of dead bodies and the selling, buying, or dividing of the remains of martyrs. This, however, seems to have had little effect; at the end of the century, Augustine was still complaining of unscrupulous monks who wandered and traded in "members of martyrs if martyrs they be," and over a century later, the emperor Justinian had to issue another decree regulating the exhumation and transfer of saints' bodies.

It is important to realize the many dimensions of these practices and their larger religious and social significance. As Peter Brown has pointed out, the translations of relics that started in the fourth century helped to spread Christianity by making it more mobile and decentralizing it (Brown 1981, p. 88). Because of this, not only local holy men but centrally important saints could be worshiped in places far away from the ancient foci of the faith. It was not necessary to journey to Palestine or Rome to honor the memory of Jesus or of the early martyrs; they could be found—present in various physical objects—more close to home, indeed in any consecrated church. In this, the translation of relics was a perfect complement to the popular practice of pilgrimage; it brought the saints to the people instead of taking the people to the saints. At a somewhat different level, the translation of relics also served to establish an intricate network of "patronage, alliance, and gift giving that linked the lay and clerical elites of East and West," which was crucial in the development of the church (Brown 1981, p. 89). In this, the remains of saints acted as a sort of symbolic exchange commodity.

At the same time, as Brown has also pointed out, the exhumation, dismemberment, and translation of relics has played an important role in divorcing them from too direct an association with death. Precisely because relics are fragments of bones and not whole corpses, precisely because they are in altars or reliquaries and not in coffins, the connotations of death are suppressed, and in the relics the saints can be thought to be "alive."

THE MIDDLE AGES. By the time of the Middle Ages, the veneration of relics had become so widespread, popular, and intense that more than one scholar has called it the true religion of the medieval period. Especially in Europe, churches, monasteries, cathedrals, and other places of pilgrimage seemed to develop an almost insatiable thirst for relics that might add to their sanctity, prestige, and attractiveness to pilgrims. This increasing demand led, in fact, to a renewed search for the bodies of ancient saints in places such as the catacombs in Rome. Quickly, a transalpine trade in bones developed, manned by relic merchants and professional relic thieves, who were eager to supply the needs of Carolingian bishops and abbots and later of Anglo-Saxon kings. Then, with the Crusades, still new sources of relics became accessible—Jerusalem and Constantinople being the most important of these.

Throughout the Middle Ages, relics, in fact, were significant sources of revenue. Offerings made to the shrine of Thomas Becket, for example, accounted for almost half of Canterbury's annual income in the late twelfth century, and this proportion increased when special indulgences were granted to pilgrims there. It is not surprising, then, that persons in power were willing to invest considerably in the acquisition of relics. Louis IX of France (r. 1226–1270), for example, reportedly offered the count of Fondi fifteen thousand florins for the bones of Saint Thomas Aquinas, but, alas, in vain.

When relics were obtained, they were often magnificently enshrined. The reliquaries in which they were encased were some of the most richly adorned products of medieval art; sometimes entire buildings were conceived of as reliquaries, such as the splendid Sainte Chapelle in Paris, which was built to house Christ's crown of thorns.

Given such enthusiasm and piety, it is perhaps not surprising that fraudulent and false relics should also appear. Chaucer, in his *Canterbury Tales*, tells of a relic monger who in his trunk had a pillowcase that he asserted was Our Lady's veil. Other sources mention exhibitions of vials that were said to contain a sneeze of the Holy Spirit, or the sounds of the bells of Solomon's temple, or rays from the star that guided the wise men from the East. One church in Italy even claimed to possess the cross that Constantine saw in his vision.

More generally, however, piety and rival claims led to a bewildering multiplication of the remains of saints. During the Middle Ages, it was rare, in fact, for a saint's body or bones to exist in one place only. At least nineteen churches, for example, claimed to enshrine the jaw of John the Baptist. The body of Saint James was found most famously at Santiago de Compostela in Spain, where, like a magnet, it drew pilgrims from all over Europe along well-established routes; it was also venerated, however, in at least six other places, with additional heads and arms elsewhere. Saint Peter, of course, was honored in Rome, but despite (or because of) his fame there, pilgrims could also venerate significant portions of his body at Arles, Cluny, Constantinople, and Saint-Cloud. While his thumb was to be seen in Toulon, three teeth were in Marseilles, his beard was in Poitiers, and his brain was in Geneva (although John Calvin later claimed it was but a piece of pumice stone).

Relics of more minor saints—six hands of Saint Adrian, various breasts of Saint Agatha—abounded as well. The list is almost endless, and Collin de Plancy easily filled three volumes of a dictionary of relics with references to them.

As for relics of Jesus and the Virgin Mary, they, too, were extremely popular during the Middle Ages, though the doctrine of their bodily ascension to heaven presented some difficulties. In their cases, bones were, for the most part, not legitimately acceptable. Great emphasis, however, could be laid on any object that had once been in contact with their persons.

In the case of the Virgin, these relics tended to emphasize her maternal, nurturing, and domestic characteristics. Thus vials of her breast milk (spilled on various occasions) could be found in countless churches throughout Christendom, later causing Calvin to comment that, had she been a cow all her life, she could not have produced such a quantity. Almost as popular was her tunic (especially that worn at the time of the Annunciation). Threads from it were occasionally worn in protective amulets. Roland, in Spain, for example, fought with a sword in whose hilt was a piece of the Virgin's robe (along with a hair of Saint Denis, a tooth of Saint Peter, and some of Saint Basil's blood). Finally, in Loreto, in central Italy, the whole of the house in which the Virgin had raised the young Jesus in Nazareth could be visited. It was believed to have been miraculously transported there through the air from Palestine in 1296.

In the case of Jesus, the relics were of a more varied character. Some, such as his swaddling clothes and the boards of the manger in which he lay in Bethlehem, brought to mind the figure of the Christ child. Others called up more complex associations, perhaps; no fewer than seven churches claimed to possess his circumcised foreskin, and the one at Coulombs in the diocese of Chartres was venerated by pregnant women hoping for an easy childbirth. Still others simply recalled various episodes recorded in the Gospels: bread crumbs left over from the loaves he had used in feeding the five thousand, one of the pots in which he had turned water into wine, the cloth that had covered the table at the Last Supper, the towel he had used on that occasion to wipe the apostles' feet, the body of the ass on which he had entered Jerusalem.

The greatest veneration and enthusiasm, however, were reserved for relics associated with Christ's passion. Some of these, such as the crown of thorns, the spear that had pierced his side, the nails and wood of the True Cross, had long been popular. But now no detail of Christ's agony escaped attention, and in various churches, pilgrims could also venerate the pillar to which he had been tied, the reeds with which he had been whipped, Veronica's veil on which he had left an image of his face on the way to Calvary, the seamless robe that the soldiers divided, the sponge with which he was offered vinegar, the blood and water that flowed from his side, and, finally, the burial shroud in which he lay in the tomb and on which he left the full imprint of his body. This shroud, now in Turin, was perhaps the last major relic of Christ's passion to come to light. It was first exhibited in the fourteenth century and has, in recent years, become the subject of intensive debate and scientific analysis.

It is sometimes difficult to realize the fervor with which medieval people approached many of these relics. Part of their attraction, of course, lay in their reputed miraculous powers, especially in the form of cures, but there was more to it than this. Relics enabled the pious to relive—to recall experientially—events that were central to their faith. They were visible manifestations of the presence of Christ and of his saints that could, in the words of one bishop, "open the eyes of the heart." They thus provided effective focal points for religious devotion and emotion. Suger, the abbot of Saint-Denis in Paris, has described the scene there in the early twelfth century. The old church, he states, was often filled to overflowing by the faithful, who pressed in closely to implore the help of the saints and strove hard to kiss the nail and crown relics of the Lord. Women found themselves trampled underfoot or squeezed to the point of suffocation, while the brethren themselves, pressed hard by the crowd, periodically had to make their escape with the relics through the windows.

BUDDHISM. Christianity is but one of two major traditions in which relics have played a prominent and popular role. The other—Buddhism—became one of the great propagators of relic worship throughout Asia. Unlike Hinduism, which, as has been seen, had little room for relics, Buddhism was from the start fascinated by, and preoccupied with, death. This does not mean that Buddhists did not share some of the Indian repugnance for dead bodies. They tried, however, to overcome that repugnance, meditating on the impurity and impermanence of the body, dead or alive. The remains of the Buddha and of other enlightened saints, however, were thought not to be impure but worthy of the highest veneration.

The focus in Buddhism has been by and large on the relics of the Buddha himself, even though Buddhists in ancient India did also honor the relics of his disciples, and though still today, in some places, believers will search the ashes of great monks for their *śarīradhātu* (either bits of bone or tiny pieces of what is thought to be metamorphosed bodily substance).

According to tradition, when the Buddha passed away into final *nirvāṇa*, he told his disciples who were monks not to preoccupy themselves with his physical remains but to follow his teaching. After his cremation, therefore, his relics were left to the laity. Almost immediately they became the object of a dispute among various North Indian monarchs, each of whom wanted all the physical remains of the Buddha for his own kingdom. According to the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, this squabble was resolved not by the monks but by a brahman named Drona who divided the Buddha's relics into eight equal shares and distributed them to eight kings, instructing each to build a stupa (a domed funerary mound) over his portion.

The fate of these eight "Drona stupas" (as they were called) is uncertain. According to one legend, however, soon after his conversion to Buddhism, the great Indian emperor Asoka (third century BCE) collected from them the relics, which he then redistributed throughout his empire, this time dividing them into eighty-four thousand shares and building eighty-four thousand stupas to enshrine them. Thus, the Buddha's physical body (his relics), along with his teaching (his Dharma), was spread throughout the Indian subcontinent in a systematic and ordered way. It is clear, however, that Asoka was also using Buddhism and the relics symbolically in order to impose his own authority over the kingdom.

In addition to this legend of the eighty-four thousand stupas, there are a number of other quite different traditions concerning the fate of the Buddha's relics. These focus not so much on his ashes as on the fortune of certain of his bones and teeth. One tooth, for instance, ended up enshrined in Sri Lanka, where today it is an object of veneration by pilgrims who come to the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy to make offerings of flowers and incense. Once a year, in the summer month of Äsa-la, it is paraded in pomp around the city in what remains one of the chief Sri Lankan festivals.

Throughout the precolonial history of Sri Lanka, possession of the Buddha's tooth was seen as an indispensable attribute of kingship. Its cult was the privilege and duty of the legitimate ruler and was thought to ensure social harmony, regular rainfall, bountiful crops, and righteous rule. Its possession meant power. Thus, when the British finally took Kandy in 1815 and captured the tooth, they found to their surprise that resistance to them soon stopped.

The official cult of the tooth relic was and is today carried out by an entire hierarchy of priests. Several times a day, in a series of ceremonies that closely resemble the Hindu pattern of worship of the gods, they ritually entertain the tooth, bathe it, clothe it, and feed it. In this, it is quite clear that the Buddha is thought to be somehow present, despite the doctrine that he has completely transcended the realm of rebirth.

As with the saints in Christianity, this presence of the Buddha in his relics is sometimes emphasized by the occurrence of miracles. For instance, according to the *Mahāvaṃsa* (Great Chronicle) of Sri Lanka, when King Dutthagamani (first century BCE) was about to enshrine some Buddha relics in the great stupa he had built, the casket in which they were kept rose up into the air; it opened of itself, and the relics came out, took on the physical form of the Buddha, and performed all sorts of miracles that had been performed by the Buddha himself during his lifetime. According to some traditions, it might be added, much the same miracle is expected to take place at the end of this present world cycle, when, just prior to the advent of the next Buddha, Maitreya, all of the dispersed relics of the present Buddha will miraculously come together again to form his body one more time, before disappearing forever into the depths of the earth.

Sri Lanka, however, was by no means the only Buddhist nation to enjoy the possession of prestigious Buddha relics. A number of hairs of the Buddha were enshrined in splendor in the great Shwe Dagon pagoda in Rangoon, Burma; and in Lamphun in northern Thailand, several relics of the Buddha became the object of great veneration and elaborate legends. In both of these places, as in many others throughout the Buddhist world, the presence of Buddha relics is closely linked to the first introduction of Buddhism into the country. In other words, the relics were not just objects of veneration for a few but were symbolic of the establishment of the faith in a whole region.

The situation was somewhat different in China, where Buddhism was always in competition with a number of other faiths and ideologies. Nevertheless, in Changan (present-day Sian), the ancient capital of the Tang dynasty, the emperor's periodic reception for the Buddha's finger bone relic (generally kept at a monastery outside the city) was perhaps the greatest religious festival during the ninth century.

As Kenneth Chen put it in his *Buddhism in China*, "Whenever this relic was put on public display, the people . . . would work themselves into such a state of religious frenzy as to belie the statement that the Chinese are rational and practical in their conduct" (Chen 1964, p. 280). Devotees threw themselves on the ground, gave away all their possessions, cut off their hair, burned their scalps, and made fiery offerings of their fingers. It was, in fact, this sort of display that in 819 led the Confucian scholar Han Yü to petition the throne to put an end to such celebrations, pointing out that it was demeaning for the emperor to have anything to do with the bone of a barbarian.

Another famous relic of the Buddha in China was a tooth that was originally brought to Nanking in the fifth century and then taken to Chang'an. Lost for over eight hundred years, it was rediscovered in 1900 and is presently enshrined in a pagoda outside Peking. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the Chinese government, eager to improve its relations with Buddhist nations of South and Southeast Asia, allowed it to go on a tour to Burma and then Sri Lanka, where it was worshiped by hundreds of thousands of people.

Not all of the Buddha's relics, however, have been bodily remains. In several places in South and Southeast Asia, great stone footprints, reputed to be his, are still venerated today. In northwest India, he is said to have left his shadow or reflected image on the wall of a cave that was a popular pilgrimage site from the fourth to the eighth century. There, given the right amount of devotion and meditation, pilgrims were thought actually to be able to see the Buddha himself in his shadow. Nearby was a rock on which one could discern the pattern of the cloth in the Buddha's robe where he had set it out to dry. Also in the same region was the Buddha's begging bowl, which the Chinese pilgrim Faxian saw during his trip to India (399–414). Faxian recounts a legend concerning the bowl's miraculous migration over the centuries throughout the Buddhist world. According to this, at the end of the present age, it is destined to ascend to the Tusita Heaven, where it will be a sign for the future Buddha Maitreya that the time for him to come down to earth is at hand.

CONCLUSION. In both the Christian and Buddhist traditions, as well as to a lesser extent in Islam and ancient Greece, the examples of relics here considered present a great variety of aspects and have been caught up in a whole gamut of symbolisms. In relics, believers have found the ongoing presence and power of Jesus, of the Buddha, of the saints of different traditions. Everywhere relics have performed miracles of various kinds; they have been used to ward off evil, to effectuate cures, and to ensure the prosperity of individuals, cities, and even nations; they have legitimized the rule of kings and emperors; they have helped spread and popularize religion; they have been bought, stolen, traded, and fought over, and have held social, economic, and political importance.

But for all these many functions, it must be noted that relics remain marked with a certain ambiguity. They are often objects that are normally considered to be impure—dead flesh, bones, and body parts—and yet they are venerated as holy. In this very paradox, however, can be seen some of the ways in which relics work to heighten the holiness and purity of the saints; if even their impurities are venerated, how much purer and more venerable they must be themselves!

Somewhat the same reasoning can be applied to a second and more basic ambiguity found in relics. They are clearly symbols of death and impermanence; they are what is left after the saints and founders of the tradition are no more. Yet, as has been seen repeatedly, they also make manifest the continuing presence and life of these absent beings. In asserting that the saints are "alive in death," or, in the case of Buddhism, that they are paradoxically present despite their final nirvana, relics in both traditions manage to bridge a gap that is one of the great divides of human existence.

SEE ALSO Architecture; Bones; Persecution, article on Christian Experience; Stupa Worship; Tombs.

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RELIGION [FIRST EDITION].

The very attempt to define *religion*, to find some distinctive or possibly unique essence or set of qualities that distinguish the "religious" from the remainder of human life, is primarily a Western concern. The attempt is a natural consequence of the Western speculative, intellectualistic, and scientific disposition. It is also the product of the dominant Western religious mode, what is called the Judeo-Christian climate or, more accurately, the theistic inheritance from Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The theistic form of belief in this tradition, even when downgraded culturally, is formative of the dichotomous Western view of religion. That is, the basic structure of theism is essentially a distinction between a transcendent deity and all else, between the creator and his creation, between God and man.

Even Western thinkers who recognize their cultural bias find it hard to escape, because the assumptions of theism permeate the linguistic structures that shape their thought. For example, the term *holy* comes from linguistic roots signifying wholeness, perfection, well-being; the unholy, then, is the fragmentary, the imperfect, the ailing. Sacredness is the quality of being set apart from the usual or ordinary; its antonym, *profane*, literally means "outside the *fane*" (ME, "sacred place"). Thus every sanctuary—synagogue, church, mosque—is a concrete physical embodiment of this separation of the religious from all else. So too, in a more general sense the sacred is what is specifically set apart for holy or religious use; the secular is what is left over, the world outside, the current age and its fashions and concerns. This thoroughgoing separation has been institutionalized in a multitude of forms: sacred rites including sacraments; sacred books and worship paraphernalia; holy days; sacred precincts and buildings; special modes of life and dress; religious fellowships and orders; and so on *ad infinitum.*

Many practical and conceptual difficulties arise when one attempts to apply such a dichotomous pattern across the board to all cultures. In primitive societies, for instance, what the West calls religious is such an integral part of the total ongoing way of life that it is never experienced or thought of as something separable or narrowly distinguishable from the rest of the pattern. Or if the dichotomy is applied to that multifaceted entity called Hinduism, it seems that almost everything can be and is given a religious significance by some sect. Indeed, in a real sense everything that is is divine; existence *per se* appears to be sacred. It is only that the ultimately real manifests itself in a multitude of ways—in the set-apart and the ordinary, in god and so-called devil, in saint and sinner. The real is apprehended at many levels in accordance with the individual's capacity.

The same difficulty arises in another form when considering Daoist, Confucian, and Shintō cultures. These cultures are characterized by what J. J. M. de Groot termed "universism": a holiness, goodness, and perfection of the natural order that has been misunderstood, distorted, and falsified by shallow minds and errant cultural customs. The religious life here is one of harmony with both the natural and human orders, a submersion of individuality in an organic relationship and in an inwardly experienced oneness with them. And Buddhism in all its forms denies the existence of a transcendent creator-deity in favor of an indefinable, nonpersonal, absolute source or dimension that can be experienced as the depth of human inwardness. This, of course, is not to forget the multitudinous godlings, *bodhisattvas*, and spirits who are given ritual reverence in popular adaptations of the high religion to human need.

There is one other important result of the Western concept and practice of religion, here alluded to in passing: the religious community, distinct and more or less set apart from the environing society. This is not absolutely unique to Western religiosity, for in almost every culture there are those individuals believed to have unusual capacities and powers—the soothsayers, shamans, witch doctors, medicine men, and other specialists who are set apart from all others by their powers and who use them in a professional manner. Likewise in most cultures there are those temporary and voluntary groups of initiates into secret or occult fellowships who take upon themselves prescribed special obligations, diets, psychosomatic disciplines, and the like.

But none of these achieves the form or distinctive qualities of the congregations of synagogue, church, or mosque. There is more and other here than the geographical togetherness of worshipers at a Hindu or Buddhist temple or the cultic togetherness of a tribal society. In one sense, a Western-style congregation is a "gathered people," a group of persons who have been divinely called to and have consciously chosen to follow this particular faith rather than other possible faiths or nonfaith. (That geographical, historical, and social factors greatly modify the actuality of the factor of choice is to be understood, but being chosen and choosing remain the ideal model.) Such groups have their chosen leaders, carry on joint worship periodically as well as other corporate activities, and evangelize for their faith among others. Thus, being a member of a body of believers—a term that betrays the Western theistic emphasis upon doctrine—separates individuals to some extent from others in the environing society. And the professional teachers and ritualists—rabbis, ministers, priests, and to some extent mullahs and imams—are by their dress and mode of life even more separated from "the world" than the devout laity are.

Again, this special type of grouping, though produced in part by many other factors as well, is a distinctive product of the Western theistic dichotomous conception of religion as a set of beliefs and practices that are different from surrounding beliefs and practices and that embody a special relation to deity, that transcendent other. The very term *religion* originally indicated a bond of scruple uniting those who shared it closely to each other. Hence *religion* suggests both separation and a separative fellowship. How, then, is religion to be conceptually handled for the purposes of thought and discussion, since the very term itself is so deeply ingrained with specifically Western cultural presuppositions?

DEFINITIONS. So many definitions of religion have been framed in the West over the years that even a partial listing would be impractical. With varying success they have all struggled to avoid, on the one hand, the Scylla of hard, sharp, particularistic definition and, on the other hand, the Charybdis of meaningless generalities. Predictably, Western-derived definitions have tended to emphasize the sharp distinction between the religious and nonreligious dimensions of culture and sometimes have equated religion with beliefs, particularly belief in a supreme being. Obviously such definitions exclude many primitive and Asian religions, if we still wish to use the term.

Such definitional usage has had its critics in the West. As early as the late eighteenth century an attempt was made to shift the emphasis from the conceptual to the intuitive and visceral in defining religion. In a very influential statement, Friedrich Schleiermacher defined religion as "feeling of absolute dependence"—absolute as contrasted to other, relative feelings of dependence. Since that time there have been others who have sought to escape formalistic, doctrinal definitions and to include the experiential, emotive, and intuitive factors, as well as valuational and ethical factors. These factors seemed to be truer to the religious person's sense of what religion is like from the inside, to include what William James called "the enthusiastic temper of espousal." Such definitions appear to be more universally applicable to primitive and Asian religions than belief-oriented ones.

This is surely the case with primitive religion where, as noted, the religious is scarcely distinguishable from the sociocultural, where custom and ritual are abundant while belief structures are scarce, where emotional realities carry more weight than statable ideas. The Asian religious traditions, too, characteristically place their prime emphasis upon the inner states of realization rather than upon the merely instrumental rite or doctrine. Indeed, this is so much the case that in some of the more radical expressions, such as Zen Buddhism and Hindu *bhakti* (devotional faith), creed and tradition are purely secondary or even valueless hindrances. Of course, it should be added that this is not quite the case in actuality. For feeling-based experience never subsists on its own exclusive resources: feeling (and love as in *bhakti*) is always feeling *about* or *toward* some object or other. Experience never happens in a complete ideational vacuum. In all these cases, be they primitive, Buddhist, or Hindu, there is an underlying conceptual context of some sort, and its implicitness or verbal denial does not indicate its total functional absence.

With the rise of the sociological and anthropological disciplines, another factor has been projected into definition making—the social, economic, historical, and cultural contexts in which religion comes to expression. Sociologists and anthropologists rightly argue that religion is never an abstract set of ideas, values, or experiences developed apart from the total cultural matrix and that many religious beliefs, customs, and rituals can only be understood in reference to this matrix. Indeed, some proponents of these disciplines imply or suggest that analysis of religious structures will totally account for religion. Émile Durkheim, a pioneer in this societal interpretation, asserted in *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (New York, 1926) that "a society has all that is necessary to arouse the sensation of the divine in minds, merely by the power that it has over them" (p. 207). Thus the gods are nothing more than society in disguise. Since Durkheim's time, sociologists have refined their methods of analysis, but some still maintain the essential Durkheimian view.

The various forms of psychology come out of the same scientific-humanistic context as the social science disciplines.

The central concerns of psychology are the psychic mechanics and motivational forces that result from human self-consciousness. In some sense, psychological interpretations of religion are more akin to those that stress experiential inwardness than to those that accent intellectual and societal aspects. In the final analysis, however, psychology is more akin to the social sciences in its treatment of religion than to any intrareligious effort at interpretation. It tends, like social studies, to dissolve religion into sets of psychological factors.

It should be observed in passing that the religious person would not be satisfied with such analyses. That person's sense of what is happening in religion seems always to contain some extrasocietal, extrapsychological depth-factor or transcendent dimension, which must be further examined.

Among Western religion scholars there have been attempts to define religion in a manner that avoids the "reductionism" of the various sociological and psychological disciplines that reduce religion to its component factors. A prominent one has been the analysis of religions of varied nature in terms of the presence of an awareness of the sacred or the holy. First proposed by Schleiermacher, this approach found its most notable expression in Rudolf Otto's *The Idea of the Holy* (1917). Analyzing the biblical accounts of the experience of the prophets and saints in their encounters with God, Otto defines the essence of religious awareness as awe, a unique blend of fear and fascination before the divine. Thus Isaiah, upon becoming aware of the presence of the living God (Yahveh) in the temple sanctuary, cried out, "Woe is me, for I am undone!" Isaiah's response expresses both creaturely fear of his creator and his own sense of sinfulness before God's absolute righteousness. Yet he does not flee but remains to worship and to become the bearer of a prophetic message to his people. In Otto's terms, Isaiah and others like him sensed the *mysterium tremendum*, the "wholly otherness" of the divine being. And for Otto this was the prototype of all truly religious experience.

Otto's conception of the essential nature of religious experiences may be acceptable in the context of Western theism, though this type of religious experience seems relatively rare or else is smothered by the religious apparatus that envelops it. But even in Otto's own writings the application of this concept to primitive and Asian religions seems difficult. In primitive religions any sense of the divine in the mode of Isaiah seems missing despite the early attempt of Andrew Lang to find a "high god" tradition in primitive antiquity. Here religion is scarcely distinguishable from magic; rites seem primarily used for the fulfillment of physicial needs; and fear rather than awe predominates. *Sacred* and *profane* are inappropriate terms to apply to this cultural continuum. Of course, it must be said that the powers that are feared, placated, and used, in turn, do have their invisible and esoteric dimensions with which some rites attempt to make contact.

Nor does this definition of religion as the experience of the awe-inspiring wholly other seem to fit Asian religions. To be sure, at the popular level much religion consists of placation and use of spirits and superhuman powers and various rituals reminiscent of theism. But in their own self-definitions Buddhism and Hinduism, for example, seem to have little or no sense of a radically other and ultimate being. In fact, the basic thought and action model here is that of man's oneness with his environing universe. He seeks to live religiously in organic harmony with the ultimate, and the highest level of religious experience tends toward a mystical monism, though with Eastern qualifications. Immanence of the sacred rather than its transcendence is emphasized. Thus Hinduism, Buddhism, and Daoism characteristically find the truly transcendent within the human self itself. The divinized, exteriorized forms given to the holy in theistic religions—and in the popular forms of their own faiths—are viewed as temporary and practically expedient but essentially false means for the final enlightenment of the ignorant.

The most recent and influential formulation of sacredness as the unique and irreducible essence of all religious experience has been that of Mircea Eliade. He has refined and expanded Otto's use of the term extensively. No longer is the sacred to be sought almost exclusively in the God-encounter type of experience; it is abundantly exemplified in the symbolisms and rituals of almost every culture, especially the primitive and Asian cultures. It is embodied as sacred space, for example, in shrines and temples, in taboo areas, even limitedly in the erection of dwellings in accordance with a sense of the *axis mundi*, an orientation to the center of the true (sacred) universe. Indeed, structures often symbolically represent that physically invisible but most real of all universes—the eternally perfect universe to which they seek to relate fruitfully. This sense of sacredness often attaches to trees, stones, mountains, and other like objects in which mysterious power seems to be resident. Many primitive rituals seek to sacramentally repeat the first moment of creation often described in myth when primordial chaos became recognizable order. Sacred time—that is, eternal and unfragmented time—is made vitally present by the reenactment of such myths. In *The Sacred and the Profane* (New York, 1951) Eliade writes, "Every religious festival, every liturgical time, represents the reactualization of a sacred event that took place in a mythical past, in the beginning" (pp. 68–69).

It is a matter of opinion whether Eliade's portraiture of the experience of the sacred, much more elaborate and extended than here stated, escapes the limitations of Otto's view and represents a viable way of defining and describing the religious mode. Sociologists and anthropologists question its verifiability in actual cases as well as Eliade's interpretation of his data. To them sacredness is an ideal construct, not a genuine cultural or experiential entity. Linguists, psychologists, and philosophers also question the identifiability of such a distinctive entity in patterns of language, experience, and thought patterns. For all of these critics the religious experience is a compound of cultural entities and experiences, not a separable thing in and of itself.

Is there no alternative to such reductions of religious experiences and structures into congeries of easily identifiable and nonmysterious psychological, social, political, and economic factors? Conversely, is there no alternative to the definition of the religious as a mystical essence that can be located in every culture by the proper methodology, like the detection of uranium by a geiger counter? The truth in the former views is that a religious awareness, wherever found, occurs in the context of and is given tangible form by cultural, economic, and social factors. Traditionally, these factors condition members of a society to perceive and experience the world in ways given as religious.

On the other hand, it is also true that there is something of a sacred otherness about religious experiences that cannot be easily dissolved or given no weight. Even though an unanalyzable, unqualifiable factor called "the holy" or "the sacred" cannot be isolated from its varied components and contexts, almost every known culture displays elements that, if not wholly other from their context, do show a certain discontinuity with it. When these discontinuous elements are spoken about or related to, there occurs at least a slight shift to another perspective, another realm of discourse, which concerns the more mysterious and indefinable areas of experience and expectation. Or these elements might be discussed in terms of a depth dimension in cultural experiences and customs that hints at the more central, serious, or ultimate concerns and values. Perhaps religions could be seen, then, as the attempt to order individual and societal life in terms of culturally perceived ultimate priorities.

It should be noted, of course, that the form, clarity, and degree of such an ordering of life vary immensely from culture to culture. Thus primitive man adds enhancing rituals and magic incantations to his tool-making and hunting skills, without clearly conceptualizing why he does so. He does not confuse the two means to his end, never substituting religio-magic for good weaponry, or chants for physical skill. Rather, he adds the magic and ritual elements to the humanly possible means in order to ensure their success; the magic and ritual elements are efforts to deal with the powerful and mysterious dimensions of existence that cannot be controlled or affected by ordinary means. This quality of other-than-ordinary also resides in the ritual paraphernalia, in the ritual specialists, and often in the secret content of the rites themselves and certain special localities. Thus even in primitive society there is a vaguely felt and inarticulate awareness of transcendence as strange, more, and different.

In Asian traditions that emphasize immanence rather than transcendence, characterized by continuums rather than discontinuities both of theory and of experience, gradations of both understanding and of experience exist nonetheless. Recognized levels of practice and attainment are buttressed by texts and incorporated into systems of praxis. "Lower" levels of attainment are not considered totally false or wrong but as less than fully true or ultimate. There is, then, a kind of transcendence by degree or stage; the highest is "other" to the lower states, and in some Buddhist and Hindu traditions (i.e., Zen and meditative Advaita) there is a breakthrough experience (*satori* and realization of *brahman*) that experientially is wholly other than or wholly transformative of ordinary awareness.

In summary, it may be said that almost every known culture involves the religious in the above sense of a depth dimension in cultural experiences at all levels—a push, whether ill-defined or conscious, toward some sort of ultimacy and transcendence that will provide norms and power for the rest of life. When more or less distinct patterns of behavior are built around this depth dimension in a culture, this structure constitutes religion in its historically recognizable form. Religion is the organization of life around the depth dimensions of experience—varied in form, completeness, and clarity in accordance with the environing culture.

DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS OF RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE. If religiousness is a depth-awareness coming to distinctive expression in the forms we call religion, how is religiousness distinguished from various other types of awareness such as the aesthetic and ecstatic—what Abraham Maslow (1964) calls "peak experiences" and Marghanita Laski (1961) terms "non-religious ecstasy"—and the states of "altered consciousness" produced by various psychosomatic techniques or drugs?

Indeed, there are those who would equate all such states with the so-called religious variety. For example, Maslow urges that all peak, that is, highly emotional and ecstatic, experiences should be recognized as equally valid and valuable, whatever the conditions of their occurrence or production. He criticizes religions for preempting the quality of genuineness as proof of the truth of their respective doctrines. Laski likewise fully equates the structured religious experiences of mystics with the "natural" experiences of ecstasy, transcendence, and aesthetic intensity that occur in the presence of some natural wonder, in sexual experience, in childbirth, or by other means. In the case of mystical experiences, she argues, religious "overbeliefs" have gratuitously attached to them and are erroneously considered to be causal.

There have also been many experiments, with and without drugs, in the achievement of a nonindividualized or transpersonalized consciousness. In these experiments the subject is lifted out of the usual narrow, self-oriented awareness into an awareness of the overpowering beauty of ordinary objects, colors, and sounds and of unity with the boundless infinitude of space, time, and being. Some subjects have reported the fusing of all the senses so that color has sound as well as the converse. Others report a sense of oneness with all other beings. Aldous Huxley equated these experiences with those of Christian, Muslim, Daoist, and Hindu mystics. Some practitioners have deliberately fused the use of psychosomatic techniques and drugs with religious practice—Zen, Hindu, American Indian.

However, the true significance of these experiences, misinterpreted in such views, is not found in the likeness of psychosomatic character in all such experiences, whether religious or not. That they can occur in nearly identical forms in a variety of contexts and with varied stimuli (or are they really identical?) indicates at most the similar psychosomatic nature of all human beings. The truly significant element is precisely that ideational and emotional context discarded by Maslow, Laski, and others as dispensable "overbeliefs." Such experiences in and by themselves are anonymous, miscellaneous, and trifling emotional flashes, unless they are connected with some system of ideation that interprets them in terms of meaningful concepts or other like experiences. In short, the ideational system gives the experiences an identity. And by thus having a traditional religious identity, these experiences also have power to affect the whole life—a power denied them as anonymous feeling. Thus the mystical ecstasies of Teresa of Ávila remolded her spirituality and propelled her into a life of strenuous activity in the cause of Roman Catholic Christianity. The same could be said of a Zen *satori* experience, even though it is not expressed in doctrinaire terms. *Satori* dynamically activates the total man because it validates the Zen context of tradition, thought, and values in which it occurs. It is oneness with the absolute Buddha essence; it is an experience of the Buddha mind, of organic harmony with the entire universe, of the felt unity of outer and inner worlds. These experiences are of revolutionary significance to the experiencer because of their contextual religious meaning.

In summary, it may be said that while ecstatic, transic, and intense aesthetic experiences are found both within religious and nonreligious frameworks and have many features in common psychologically, the religious experience is religious precisely because it occurs in a religious context of thought, discipline, and value.

CHARACTERISTICS AND STRUCTURES OF RELIGIOUS LIFE. As previously suggested, religions adopt their tangible historical forms as matrices of cultural and social elements about the depth-centers of culture. Hence the beliefs, patterns of observance, organizational structures, and types of religious experience are as varied as the matrices that give them birth, and that they in turn help form and reform. Even in the midst of this variety, however, we may distinguish certain characteristic elements and categories of structures distinctively religious.

Traditionalism. All attempts to find a primitive religion embodying the primordial form of all subsequent religions have encountered two insurmountable problems. The first is the sheer arbitrariness of seeking the origin of all types of religion in a single form. The second is that wherever religion is recognized—if one uses the above definition of religion as a depth-dimensional structure—one also encounters an existent tradition comprising stylized actions related to the pursuit of cultural goals, however meager or closely geared to survival needs. Present modes of religious activity always seem to look backward for origins, precedents, and standards. As cultures become more complex and literate, these traditions of ancient thought and practice become more elaborate and stylized.

Whatever the degree of elaboration, two things seem to be taken for granted. First, the beginnings—the original creative action, the life and words of an individual founder, even the authorless antiquity of a tradition's scriptures, as in the case of Hinduism—are taken as models of pristine purity and power, fully authoritative for all members of the group or adherents of the faith. Second, no matter how great the actual changes in a particular historical religious tradition—and sometimes this means the entire cultural tradition, more or less—the basic thrust of traditionalism is to maintain itself. Typically, religious reformers speak about a reforming of the religion in terms of its more holy past. Thus Zen seeks to go back directly to the mind of the Buddha, bypassing all historical forms and scripturalism. Revivalist Islam speaks of returning to pure Qurʾanic faith and practice. Protestantism sought a return to New Testament Christianity, eliminating all the Roman Catholic "accretions"; and the Roman Catholic church responded that its doctrine and ritual and authority were demonstrably older than anything in Protestantism, going back to Christ himself.

Myth and symbol. Religious traditions are full of myth and replete with symbol. *Myth* in most contemporary use simply means "false"; myths are the fanciful tales of primitives spun out as explanations of beginnings. Hence creation myths are rationalizations of what prescientific cultures cannot understand through other means. Though this explanatory function of myth has been important, an even more basic function has been that of symbolic source. Apparently, even the writers of myths recognized the impossibility of expressing the fundamentally indescribable nature of absolute beginnings and ultimate realities. Hence poetry and symbol were their metier. In this way, religious myths have become modes of action, mankind's way of relating to physical and environmental realities. Thus does religious man seek to grasp the actionable significance of the world and relate to it emotionally. In passing, it should be noted that all disciplines of thought and life have their mythology of guiding images and unproven assumptions.

Symbol is the language of myth. When the crucially important but mysterious nature of ultimate reality—the basic concern of religious man—can only be seen through a glass darkly, how else can one speak of it except in symbolic forms? Ordinary language will not serve for the fullness of either the question or the answer here. Therefore religious language is rich in analogies, metaphors, poetry, stylized actions (ritual), and even silence ("Be still and know that I am God"). For the symbol stands for something other and more than itself; it is only a finger pointing at the moon of reality.

In seeking to deal with man's ultimate concerns, religions are prolific in the production, use, and elaboration of symbolic forms and objects; thus it is not surprising that religions have been the inspiration of an overwhelmingly large and diverse body of art. Indeed, in most cultures of the past, religions have been the central cultural fountainhead. To realize the importance of symbols in religion one need think only of the immense variety of rituals; of the stylized dress, manner, and speech of ritual officiants; of artifacts used in rituals; of paintings and sculptures, of shrines and sanctuaries of all levels and types.

Finally, the tremendous tenacity of symbolic forms and their ritualized vehicles must be emphasized. Many a symbol outlives its parent religion and culture, as the lotus, for example, has lived through centuries of symbolic existence, first in Hinduism and then in Buddhism. Symbols are more lasting than their explanatory doctrinal forms because they speak to the human imagination and to human feelings, not merely to the rational sense. Religious symbols often embody what is felt to be the central religious reality involved; they are its sacramental form, which must be preserved at all costs.

Concepts of salvation. Salvation is but another name for religion. That is, all religions are basically conceived as means of saving men at one level or another. And there are always two aspects to salvation: what men are to be saved *from* and what they are to be saved *to*. It goes without saying that what men are saved from and to varies immensely from culture to culture and from religion to religion.

At the primitive level of religion, salvation both "from" and "to" is achieved mainly in the realm of physical dangers and goods. The primitive seeks by his rituals to save himself from starvation, from death by storm, from disease, from wild animals, and from enemies and to sufficiency of food and shelter, to freedom from danger and disease, and to human fertility. Implicit in this context, and in the realm of mental and emotional malaise, is salvation from mysterious and even malign powers and forces of evil. The achievement of salvation in all these areas is striven for by all possible physical means with the superadded power of ritual, charm, and magic.

Of course, the development of environing cultures implies a change and expansion in the nature of religious salvation. Group values come to play a larger and more conscious role. The group—whether tribal kinship-clan or nation-state—comes to be a sacred entity in its own right, perhaps the preeminent one in some cases. Roman religion, for example, was essentially a state religion whose major purpose was the preservation (salvation) of the state in prosperity and power; a triumphal conquest was a triumph of the Roman deities. In time the emperors themselves were considered incarnate deities, as were the Egyptian pharaohs of an earlier era. Later, inner values, relatively unimportant to primitive and early nationalistic cultures, became matters of prime religious importance. Inner states of mind, the cultivation of ecstasy, and concern about the personal survival of physical death became important, sometimes almost paramount in times of social and political turmoil.

In time, this area of inner development, experiences, and values became the impetus for religious development. The "great" religious traditions of Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Christianity, and Islam are all oriented toward the inner life. Their doctrines, texts, religious disciplines, and even organizations aim to cultivate the inner life of prayer, faith, enlightenment, and purity of character.

Yet the development of the inner life in religion does not completely exclude the lower level of physical-material goods. They remain as the object of perfectly acceptable religious hopes so that prayers are still made for health, safety, rain in times of drought, and sufficiency of food. And in some instances the final higher goods represent only the absolutizing or infinitizing of the physical-material ones. Thus eternal life maximizes the desire for deliverance from death—that primary human desire for survival toward which so much of primitive religion is directed. Indeed, the Greek religion of ancient times seems almost alone in portraying life after death as an unsatisfactory shadow existence. Most pure lands, heavens, and paradises are described as the perpetual enjoyment of life without pain, sorrow, or unhappiness of any sort. Similarly, the indescribable *nibbāna* of Theravāda Buddhism is conceived as the final, absolute end of the emptiness, impermanence, and pain of all embodied existence.

But even given the continuing presence of the lower-level goods sought by religious means in the higher-level religions, it is still true that the inner goals of peace, self-sacrificing love, purity of heart, and awareness of absolute goodness increasingly become central to the religious quest. When they are sought for themselves with no ulterior motives, the possibility of saintliness comes into being.

It is, of course, obvious that religious salvation is as responsive to and expressive of human needs and desires as any secular scheme of salvation. For salvation in religion is a means of fulfilling needs and desires, even when the needs and desires are revealed from "above." Yet the forms fulfillment takes express specially religious values, supplementing and sometimes opposing other, nonreligious values. And it is also evident that the varied cultural contexts of religions each represent a variant perspective on the human situation—its goods and goals, its dangers and evils. These varied perspectives greatly influence the form of religious salvation. Thus the Hindu Advaitin, the African San, the Sunnī Muslim, the Orthodox Jew, the Zen Buddhist, the Protestant, and the Greek Orthodox Christian would define religious needs and goods quite differently.

Is there then any appreciable difference between the ways in which religious and nonreligious modes of need fulfillment proceed? In other words, are there distinguishing characteristics of religious salvation? The first is that religious salvation tends to concentrate on the needs a culture defines as most fundamental, neglecting needs that a culture defines as less important. Religious means of salvation, often indirect and extrahuman, seek to use supersensible forces and powers either in addition to or in place of ordinary tangible means. The second distinguishing characteristic is that religious salvations tend to aim at total, absolute, and sometimes transcendent fulfillment of human needs. As defined by the cultural context, this fulfillment ranges all the way from the fullness of physical satisfactions to the eternal ecstasy of union with the Absolute.

Sacred places and objects. One of the striking features of historically observable religions is the presence of special religious areas and structures set apart from ordinary space by physical, ritual, and psychological barriers. Precincts, churches, mosques, synagogues, and shrines are the highly visible manifestations of religious discontinuity with the surrounding world. Various physical actions are often required of those who enter sacred areas to indicate this separation: ablutions, removal of footwear, prayers and incantations, bowing and kneeling, silence, preparatory fasting, special garb, and preliminary inward acts of contrition.

Further, particularly within the more spacious precincts, there are grades of sacredness that enshrine specially sacred objects or relics in their supremely holy areas. A classic example is the last of the Jewish temples in Jerusalem, in which there was a spatial progression from the outermost court of the Gentiles to the women's court to the men's court to the court of the burnt offering to the priests' enclosure to the Holy of Holies wherein was the Ark of the Covenant and, in some sense, the special presence of Yahveh. In synagogues today the ark containing a copy of the Torah is the most sacred part. In Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches, the altar supporting the sacramental bread and wine is the focal point of sacredness. Protestant churches display a weaker form of the same principle, centered around the Bible or pulpit. Buddhist shrines in Southeast Asia commonly are pagodas containing sacred relics and/or consecrated Buddha images, which are honored by removing footwear, circumambulating with the central spire to one's right, and presenting floral offerings and obeisances. Japanese Buddhist temples usually contain large Buddha images at the rear of ornately decorated altars. Hindu temples vary somewhat in this respect; some have a holy inner sanctum into which only the ritually pure devotee may enter, while others provide relatively open access to the revered god images. Perhaps the Islamic mosque is the least set apart of religious places. Yet even here ablutions are required before entry, nonbelievers are scarcely welcome, and the semicircular alcove set in the rear wall (*qiblah*) must project toward the Muslim holy of holies, the Kaʿbah in Mecca, so that praying believers always face in that direction.

Quite logically, many of the furnishings and objects used in temples and shrines, particularly in their most sacred rituals, partake of the sacredness of the shrine itself. One thinks here of altar furnishings and utensils, sacrificial paraphernalia, baptismal water, the special garb of temple officiants, special words and gestures, incense, candles and the like. These furnishings and objects are less holy than the shrine and revered relic, which are intrinsically sacred.

But in the final analysis sacred places are sacred because of what has occurred there or may occur there. Their essence is sacramental. Sacred places are cherished and revered because they offer the possibility of directly encountering and partaking of the real in the given tradition. An unusual power has manifested itself in a natural object or taboo place either for good or ill. Or tradition tells that some primordially creative act once took place here and that power still lingers. So in both more and less developed religious traditions, past sanctity and present hope characterize sacred places, The shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe appears to have been first a center of pagan deity worship before its adoption by the Christian faith; its religious power is centuries old, transfixing past and present devotees. This same quality is found at the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, from which Muḥammad reputedly made his ascent into heaven; at the places of the Buddha's birth, enlightenment, first sermon, and death in India; and at the legendary birth and death places of Jesus in Palestine.

Other sacred places and objects (images) particularly emphasize the hope of present and future blessing. The shrine at Lourdes is venerated not simply because a French peasant girl reputedly once saw a vision of the Virgin there but because of the hope of present healing. Similarly, many Buddhists expect to gain merit by praying and making offerings before Buddha images or to reap tangible benefits in the here and now by touching *bodhisattva* images. The Shintō practitioner rings the bell to summon his chosen deity and petition him or her for a specific boon. A Roman Catholic church is made sacred because of its consecrated altar at which the life-giving miracle of bread and wine transformed into the spiritual body of Christ occurs at every mass. The Protestant pulpit is the space where the word of the living God is expounded; at the very least the devout parishioner hopes for some sense of empowerment and renewal for daily living. Every functioning shrine embodies such living and sacred hopes.

Sacred actions (rituals). Just as it is impossible to think of living religions without their sacred places, so is it impossible to conceive of a religion without its rituals, whether simple or elaborate. The forms of ritual are familiar, involving the stylized saying or chanting of certain words, bowing or kneeling, offerings of various kinds including animal sacrifices, dancing and music making.

Several features are prominent in most rituals. One is the element of order. Indeed, an established ritual pattern is the ordered performance of sacred actions under the direction of a leader. This order usually develops early in the history of a given tradition. Initially the sacred actions are more or less informal and spontaneous, then, step by step, become ordered and standardized procedures, and in the end may become elaborate ritual patterns requiring a considerable quantity of equipment and personnel (ritualists, priests). In Christianity we see the beginnings of this in Paul's exhortation to the church in Corinth to conduct their worship "decently and in order" (*1 Cor.* 14:40). He had heard reports of chaotic gatherings at which all participants were under the "inspiration of the Spirit." From this order developed the classical Christian liturgies. However, perhaps the maximal degree of ritualization was achieved in another tradition, for the *Brahmanic* Hindu sacrificial rituals involve an almost unbelievable complexity and rigidity of pattern.

Rigidity of pattern, requiring the utmost care and precision in use of word, action, and material, points to another feature of ritual, maximized in the Hindu sacrifice but more or less present in all fixed rituals: meticulous performance. Analogies may be drawn to magic formulas and scientific experiments, and the resemblance is indeed meaningful. Just as in magic and science, where success depends upon meticulously faithful following of the given formula, so too in religious ritual the desired healing, fertility, safety, prosperity, or inward state will not result if the ritual is improperly performed. Ritual words are words of power. The Hindu sacrificial ritual mentioned above involved priests specifically appointed to cover any lapses (wrong words or incorrect actions) by ritually speaking charms. Of course, cases such as this and some primitive rituals are the extreme manifestation of this quality. In other ritual patterns aesthetic concerns and inner-personal aspirations are important; ritual uniformity also has the practical advantage of giving the worshiper or user a sense of familiarity and ease as well as identity with a given tradition and group.

Yet deep within ritualism there is inherent the concern for accuracy and faithfulness. This is the essentially sacramental nature of ritual that arises from its nature as an ordered symbol system. Thus both symbol and ritual are perceived as intrinsic embodiments of the sacred essence, the supersensible and indescribable ultimacy of a religion. Thus ritual and symbol bring the real presence of the religious depth-dimension into the lives of its experients and in so doing become incredibly precious. This seems to apply across the religious spectrum to magic prayer rituals of the primitive, the Voodoo dance, sacrificial rituals, repetition of the Pure Land Nembutsu, Tibetan mantric *maṇḍala* rituals, and the Roman Catholic Eucharist. The preciousness of myth and symbol explains why religious groups tend to cherish and preserve their rituals more jealously and zealously than any of their doctrinal statements and why ritual patterns often survive longer than their parent traditions.

One final observation is required: ritualism in religion often produces an antiritualistic expression. Many examples could be given. Zen Buddhism was in one sense antiritualistic, as were Hōnen's and Shinran's Pure Land Buddhism. These latter substituted the easy, simple repetition of the name Amida for elaborate and often esoteric rituals. Devotional Hinduism, in which one is saved by love (*bhakti*) wholeheartedly given to a deity, protested against excessive Brahmanic ritualism. And Protestantism, in particular its radical forms, sought freedom from Roman Catholic ritualism. In all cases the motifs were simplicity and ease of access to the sacred.

Sacred writings. In literate societies writings are often of considerable religious importance. (Christianity calls sacred writings scriptures.) Typically sacred writings comprise the reported words of the holy men of the past—prophets, saints, founders of faiths such as Zarathushtra, Moses, the Buddha, Muḥammad, Christ, or Nanak. As such they are of prime importance as statements of the truth and expositions of the right way for believers to live. (Of course, nonliterate societies have their oral traditions that serve the same purpose.) The Hindu Vedas are considered to be without human author or known human channel of transmission.

When scriptures exist, interpreters must also exist. Successive interpretations vary greatly, for interpreters are caught between their desires to be faithful to the original sacred word and to make its exposition relevant and meaningful to their own age. A multitude of sectarian divisions based on variant scriptural interpretation is found in all the major religious traditions. Perhaps the number of writings in the Buddhist and Hindu traditions give interpreters an advantage in this regard, but Christian and Islamic sectarians have been nearly as successful with a smaller scriptural base.

Confucianism, Daoism, and Shintō can scarcely be said to have scriptures in the above sense of a corpus of inspired utterances. Their revered writings—the sayings of Confucius and Mengzi, of Laozi and Zhuangzi, and the *Records of Ancient Matters*—are studied more as the wise counsels of sages than as inerrant statements of truth. (In the latter the apothegms are considered precedent setting.) In general, Buddhist and Hindu scriptures can be interpreted much more flexibly than Western ones because of their greater variety and their emphasis on truth as dependent on the level of the hearer's understanding.

The sacred community. Every religion has some communal sense and structure. Ritual is essentially a group exercise, except for magico-religious rituals geared to personal desires. Hence ritual nearly always involves professional ritualists and a group bound together by its experience. But the communal bonds vary greatly in nature and extent.

Some ritual groupings are quite temporary: one thinks of the occasional, selective, and experience-based spirit groups found among some Native Americans. In other primitive cultures, the religious-ritual grouping is hardly separable from the general clan or tribal social structure and indeed might better be called a social subculture with religious elements centered on certain particular occasions and activities. In many Buddhist and Hindu contexts the religious community is little more than those in the vicinity who attend various religious ceremonies in the local temple and often come on purely personal quests. In such situations the only sacred community seems to be the priests and ritualists at a religious shrine, persons qualified for such functions by character and training.

To be sure, in most of these societies there are special groupings of a secret or semisecret nature open only to initiates. Such are the Native American spirit groups. Late Greek religion developed its "mystery" rites that sought goals and experiences beyond those offered by the ordinary temple and priesthood. Hinduism abounds in such special-interest, special-ritual groups bound together by a particular god, common pilgrimage points, and distinctive rituals; sometimes members live in separate communities built around a leader.

Buddhism and Christianity institutionalized such special-interest groups in their monastic orders. Men and women for a variety of reasons retire from the world to seek a more intensely religious way of life than that possible in ordinary secular pursuits or even as priests having everyday dealings with the laity and major liturgical duties. Some Ṣūfī communities in medieval Islam approximated the monastic life of a community apart from the wider community of believers.

Perhaps it is only in Islam and Christianity, and somewhat limitedly in Judaism, that the concept of a holy fellowship of believers, called a church in Christianity, has been created to express religious faith and practice. The prevailing ethnic qualification in Judaism prevents its description as a purely faith-gathered group. Islam represents a near equivalent to the Christian church, especially as Islamic groups have spread out into other areas than those totally Muslim in nature. Muslims, like Christians, consider themselves members of one sacred group, called out from among others by the faith and practice of their religion, ideally a unity stronger than any other bond. In the early days of Christianity, the apostle Paul could speak glowingly of the Christian community as a universal one in which there was neither Jew nor Greek, neither slave nor freeman, for all were equal in a new Christ-like humanity. Of course, in actuality both Christians and Muslims have divided along lines of race and nation. Both faiths, however, continue to cherish the ideal of the universal fellowship of faith.

It may be observed in passing that such a definition of community comes more naturally and more easily to Islam and Christianity than to most Asian religions. To a large extent this is because of the strong emphasis on doctrinal belief in Islam and Christianity: believers and nonbelievers can be clearly distinguished because religion is seen as a deliberate choice by the individual. In Asian religions, inclusive and naturalistic values predominate: experience rather than doctrine receives emphasis, rendering exclusivist religious formulations almost unknown. It may also be that the underlying Asian patterns of social organization have emphasized the group to such an extent that individual religious decision is nearly impossible.

The sacred experience. The question of whether all depth experiences, experiences of transcendence, or unusual mind-body states should be considered on a par with religious experiences, or are intrinsically religious themselves, has already been discussed. Here are considered only those experiences that occur within a declared religious context and are therefore doubly set apart, both as designatedly religious and as of special clarity and intensity even within that context.

These special experiences represent a continuum from the comparatively mild and frequent experiences to those commonly termed mystical. At the less intense end of the continuum are those instances of a sense of awe in the sacred precincts, a sense of humility before a felt presence, an unusual degree of joy or peace suddenly coming upon one, or the deep conviction of a prayer answered. Then there are those of a much more intense nature such as physical sensations of fire, electric shock, or a strong and sudden conviction of the forgiveness of one's sins such as John Wesley's "warming of the heart" at Aldersgate. Indeed, in some Christian groups special conversion or purification-of-heart experiences are made a matter of explicit emphasis and a condition of church membership. In Pentecostal groups a sudden and unexpected experience of speaking in unknown tongues is considered a sign of the "baptism of the Spirit." There are classical instances of the same phenomenon: Muḥammad hearing the voice of the angel Gabriel commanding him to recite (resulting in the Qurʾān) and Isaiah seeing the Lord high and lifted up with his train filling the temple (resulting in Isaiah's call to prophesy).

At the further end of this experiential continuum are the mystical experiences found in Judaism, Islam, Christianity, Daoism, Hinduism, and Buddhism. Those who have had such experiences (especially in Christian, Hindu, and Muslim contexts) insist that they differ in kind from all other religious experiences, including the less intense ones just discussed. Their distinctive qualities seem to be these: (1) their suddenness and spontaneity (without warning or overt preparation), (2) their irresistibility, (3) their absolute quality of conviction and realistic authority, (4) their quality of clear knowledge, not strong emotion, which is asserted even when the mystically received knowledge is conceptually indescribable. Perhaps the true and basic content of such moments is an assurance of the absolute reality of God, Kṛṣṇa, Brahmā, Dharma, or Buddha nature, that is, the ultimate reality as envisioned by the given faith. Also rather uniformly experienced is the overpowering conviction of knowing directly, climaxing in a felt encounter with the ultimate one or with the basic oneness of the universe.

In any case, these special experiences of prophets, saints, and enlightened persons have played an important role in many religious traditions. Though beyond the reach of ordinary religiosity, they have given a kind of reflected authenticity to faith at all levels, have encouraged the creation of various spiritual methodologies of devotion and meditation, and have vitalized traditions in difficult times. Mystical experiences have kept alive a sense of the reality and availability of religious power and have constantly renewed the whole corpus of ritual, doctrine, and organization.

RELIGION AND MODERNITY. The question whether religion, at least in its traditional forms, will survive the ongoing cultural changes of modern times is often discussed. Certainly many traditional and current formulations, and perhaps entire traditions, will radically change or even disappear. Yet it also seems that as soon as one form of religion disappears, another rises to take its place. Without asserting a religious instinct in mankind, it may perhaps be said that man is incurably religious in one way or another and that the human situation and human nature make it inevitably so. The immense mysteries and uncertainties of the world and man's own inquiring and evaluating self-consciousness make inevitable a reaching out for some sort of ultimate values and realities—which is but another name for the religious quest.

SEE ALSO Architecture; Community; Iconography; Mysticism; Myth; Orthopraxy; Philosophy; Religious Experience; Ritual; Sacred Space; Scripture; Soteriology; Study of Religion; Symbol and Symbolism; Truth.

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RELIGION [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

Winston King's entry in the first edition of the *Encyclopedia of Religion* states well one classic position in religious studies: religion results from a particular kind of experience, which King calls "depth-awareness." Even at the time the encyclopedia first appeared, that position was fiercely contested. Indeed, certain characteristic fault lines run through King's account: the difficulty of denoting religious experience in a way that is not obscure ("depth-awareness") or circular ("religious experience is religious precisely because it occurs in a religious context"), for example, and the presence of two different treatments of experience—one in "Definitions" and "Distinguishing Characteristics of Religious Experience," the other in "The Sacred Experience"—separated from one another as far as possible, perhaps in order to hide the repetition.

Alternatives to this position were certainly available at the time. They included Melford Spiro's treatment of religion as "an institution consisting of culturally patterned interaction with culturally postulated superhuman beings" (Spiro 1966, p. 96); Clifford Geertz's account of religion as a system of symbols that integrate worldview and ethos; and Peter Berger's claim that religion is the highest order of legitimation available to human beings in protecting cultural constructs against the perennial threat of anomie. In the past several decades, however, scholarly attention has increasingly turned away from trying to conceptualize religion to reflecting on the act of conceptualization itself. One might say that it has turned away from treating *religion* as a thing to treating it as a word, concept, or category. At least three topics deserve consideration in this regard: the history of religion, strategies of definition, and the different discursive purposes that lead humans to conceptualize religion.

HISTORY OF RELIGION. The English word *religion* clearly derives from the Latin word *religio*, as do its cognates in other European languages, but the derivation of the Latin noun is uncertain. It is most commonly linked to one of two Latin verbs, *religare* (to bind or fasten) or *relegere* (to collect again, to go over again [as in reading]). Although the uncertain etymology creates difficulty in writing about the history of the term, it is of little practical consequence, for there is no good reason for etymology to dictate current usage.

In tracing the history of religion from classical antiquity to the present, the German Catholic theologian Ernst Feil discusses three successive meanings of the term. So small a number hardly does justice either to the history of religion or to Feil's (and others') detailed studies of it, but they do serve as a rough initial guide.

According to Feil, the core meaning of *religio* in antiquity was "careful, scrupulous observation, full of awe" (Feil, 2000, p. 18). In other words, religion denoted a set of moral actions or a species of justice—specifically, proper behavior in the matter of actions directed to the gods or God. During the European Middle Ages a more specific version of this definition became important. *Religio* designated not something that everyone had or did but a particular mode of life oriented to the service of God; namely, the life of Christian monks and nuns. This sense is still preserved today when English-speakers use the noun to refer to Catholic priests, monks, and nuns as "religious."

With the appearance in 1799 of Friedrich Schleiermacher's famous *Religion: Speeches to Its Cultured Despisers* and the attempt after the Enlightenment to rescue religion for educated people—or perhaps better, to rescue educated people for the church—religion acquired a very different sense, which Feil identifies as its second meaning.

Genuine religion, Schleiermacher insisted, was neither belief in what educated people usually rejected (the church's claims about miracles and revelation) nor adherence to a restrictive morality. The essence of religion was a feeling, an intuition of the universe as a whole and of oneself as a part of it. In line with this conception, Schleiermacher reformulated central concepts within Christianity, such as miracle, revelation, God, immortality, prophecy, and grace. He also maintained that, although religious intuition was universal, it found its supreme manifestation in Christianity.

Schleiermacher's conception of religion was certainly not the only option available during the next two hundred years. Another important trend arose from Edward Burnett Tylor's notion of religion as a belief in souls and spirits, reformulated by James George Frazer as "a belief in powers higher than man and an attempt to propitiate or please them" (Frazer, 1935, p. 222). But by the second half of the twentieth century, according to Feil, religion in the sense of a distinctive interior experience had become untenable. Feil himself recognized the possibility that a third sense of religion might arise, one suited to the various traditions of meditation that were being imported into Europe and North America from Asia after World War II. But reminiscent of Dietrich Bonhoeffer's "religionless Christianity," he preferred, as a theologian, to follow Wilfred Cantwell Smith and abandon the term *religion* for *faith*.

Other scholars, such as Talal Asad, have explored not the changing meanings of religion but the discursive and political forces that operated upon them, an exploration that Michel Foucault has called genealogy. It is no more possible to explore those forces in detail here than it is to explore religion's changing meanings, but one particularly significant force leading to the formulation of the modern notion of religion, besides the desire to rescue belief and practice from the clutches of rational critique, was dismay at the warfare that beset Europe in the aftermath of the Reformation. Faced with battles that pitted one confession against another, thinkers began to conceive of religion as distinct from the political, and at times as ideally separate from it in practice as well.

They also stressed that the varying claims to particular revelations were of little importance compared with the common core or essence that all confessions shared. One such early thinker, Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, identified what he called "the common notions concerning religion": that God exists, that God should be worshiped, that virtuous deeds are the best way to worship God, that people should repent of their faults, and that virtue will receive its reward and vice its punishment in an afterlife.

During the course of the Enlightenment, the allegedly universal core of religion, innate and so requiring no special revelation, came to be called "natural religion," to distinguish it from the various empirical, or "positive," religions (as they were called then), such as the various forms of Christianity.

Schleiermacher and other Romantic thinkers rejected the idea that natural religion could exist apart from positive religions. In addition, some nineteenth-century thinkers considered religion to have been the primal source from which all cultural, social, and political forms derived. Nevertheless, the idea of religion as a distinct sphere of life having a universal essence remained. In significant respects, then, the modern notion of religion is a European and North American, and particularly a Protestant, attempt to negotiate diversity.

It may, however, be too simple to see religion as merely a European and North American construct. Based on the evidence of interreligious polemics, religious syncretism, and royal edicts regulating religions in places like ancient China and India, Martin Riesebrodt has argued that people in many parts of the globe, not just in Europe and North America, have long recognized different religious traditions as belonging to the same broader class, even if they did not explicitly conceptualize that class as religion. This argument does not address several questions, such as the extent to which the different local classifications are assimilable and whether an overarching assimilation, if desirable, is best conceived of as religion or as, for example, *dharma.* But it does point to significant cognitive issues involved in the history of conceptualizing religion.

Religion is a local category that scholars, along with others, have applied beyond the bounds of its origins. Just as in the centuries following Columbus natural historians in Europe adapted local terms to categorize the new flora and fauna that they encountered, Europeans simultaneously adapted the term *religion* to make sense of unfamiliar thought and behavior that they were encountering in unprecedented richness. Scott Atran has argued that the effort to universally extend classifications in biology was successful because the human mind everywhere employs certain hierarchical strategies in classifying organic life. It is not, however, evident that the mind uses the same conceptual apparatus for human constructs. For example, religion is not one taxon in an exhaustive, hierarchical system with mutually exclusive categories. (A bat is either a bird or a mammal, but if we decide Confucianism is not a religion, what is its taxonomical alternative?) Indeed, religions and other cultural products do not "breed true," and so do not have the stability and distinctness that populations of organisms do. If the above observations are correct—and it is not yet certain that they are—it may not be reasonable to expect the kind of universally acceptable classifications in the study of religions that one finds in a natural science like biology.

In any case, a consideration of history can only raise questions about the adequacy of a category like religion. It cannot answer them. The adequacy of a concept depends upon whether it can be properly formulated and whether it serves the purposes at hand.

STRATEGIES OF DEFINITION. During the second half of the twentieth century, scholars repeatedly discussed several issues pertaining to an adequate conceptualization of religion. One of them, introduced by Melford Spiro, was the distinction between functional and substantive definitions.

Some scholars have favored conceptions of religion that are functional; that is, whose *definientes* ("definers," plural of *definiens*) describe what religions do. (Functional *definientes* should not be confused with functionalist explanations.) An example would be describing religion as a set of symbols that, by embodying a society's most important values, evoke collective emotions that create social solidarity. A typical objection to such conceptions concerns the issue of extension: they often encompass phenomena that many scholars have not been prepared to identify as religion. For example, the functional definition just given would include patriotism as a religion.

Scholars like Spiro have responded by demanding that conceptions of religion be substantive, that is, that they contain only *definientes* that refer to properties that make up religion. An example would be Spiro's definition of religion as an institution consisting of culturally postulated interactions with culturally postulated superhuman beings. Once again, a typical objection concerns extension: such conceptions often exclude what are generally seen as instances of religion, such as certain forms of Theravada Buddhism and Confucianism in Spiro's case. Proper extension is certainly an appropriate criterion by which to assess definitions, but isolated from the actual purposes for which a definition is being formulated, limiting conceptions of religion to substantive *definientes* is probably too austere.

Another much discussed issue originates in Wittgenstein's reflections on family resemblances (*Philosophical Investigations,* 1953, pp. 66–67): the possibility of conceiving of religion polythetically rather than monothetically. Although scholars occasionally define religion in terms of a single property (e.g., Stewart Guthrie's "anthropomorphism"; Frederick Streng's "means of ultimate transformation,"), they more often conceive of it in terms of an explicit or implicit conjunction of properties. (They have generally overlooked the possibilities of definition presented by disjunction, as in George Orwell's "Whatever goes on four legs, or has wings, is a friend," from *Animal Farm.*) The traditional approach has been to treat these properties monothetically; that is, to consider all of them as necessary and, when taken together, sufficient to define religion. Polythetic definitions relax these requirements. They see no particular property as necessary to religion and consider the presence of a collection of properties selected from a master set as sufficient to make a specific item a member of the class called *religion.* For example, William Alston suggested that the presence of an unspecified number of any of the following characteristics would make a set of cultural practices a religion:

> (1) Belief in supernatural beings (gods). (2) A distinction between sacred and profane objects. (3) Ritual acts focused on sacred objects. (4) A moral code believed to be sanctioned by the gods. (5) Characteristically religious feelings. (6) Prayer and other forms of communication with gods. (7) A world view, or a general picture of the world as a whole and the place of the individual therein. . . . (8) A more or less total organization of

> one's life based on the world view. (9) A social group bound together by the above. (Alston 1967, pp. 141–142)

In principle it is possible to formulate guidelines about what collections of properties are sufficient to make something an instance of religion, but this has not been done. As a result, no polythetic conceptualization of religion proposed to date has been particularly useful, because none yields consistent, intersubjective results.

Benson Saler has tried another approach, one that calls upon the presumed role of prototypes in the formation of categories. People learn what a word means by generalizing from specific instances. For example, upon learning that robins, blue jays, eagles, and other similar species are birds, the human mind formulates an implicit category *bird* that it applies consistently and accurately. The mind also recognizes some members of the class as better representatives than others: robins, blue jays, and eagles are prototypical birds, ostriches and penguins unusual ones. Saler suggests that scholars should approach the category of religion in just this way. For North American and European scholars, religion is a category whose prototypes are Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, perhaps not in that order. Other religions are religions to the extent that they are more or less analogous to these prototypes. This approach can certainly provide an initial expedient, but its utility is limited to a specific geographic or linguistic area. In a globalizing world one can hardly presume that the community of scholars interested in what the European tradition has called religion includes only people whose dominant categories have been shaped by the prototypes of Christianity, Judaism, and Islam.

It is also possible to define religion stipulatively or lexically. That is, scholars may stipulate what a term means (like Isaac Newton defining "derivative" in calculus for the first time) or they may describe how a linguistic community uses a word (like the *Oxford English Dictionary* defining what mathematicians mean by "derivative"). Furthermore, definitions must ordinarily meet several formal criteria. They must have an appropriate extension. They must be clear—for example, they must not use words that are more obscure than the term being defined. They must avoid circularity; that is, they must not include the term to be defined among the *definientes*, either directly or indirectly (like defining sacred as holy, and when pressed for the meaning of holy, defining it as sacred). They must also be appropriate to the purposes for which they are formulated. This last criterion has an impact on the others. For example, a definition does not need to single out every instance of religion; it only needs to single out every instance of religion pertinent to the project at hand. The criterion of suitability deserves more recognition in the study of religions than it has received.

DISCURSIVE PURPOSES. In a widely noted passage, Jonathan Z. Smith has written, "Religion is solely the creation of the scholar's study. It is created for the scholar's analytic purposes by his imaginative acts of comparison and generalization" (J. Z. Smith, 1982, p. xi). Insofar as Smith draws attention to the relationship between conceptualizations of religion and the purposes for which they are formulated, he makes an important point. But his position both assigns too much independent agency to scholars—scholars did not alone create religion—and overlooks significant, nonacademic purposes for which people have used it. Indeed, different discourses make different demands upon religion.

Scholars of religion have frequently argued as if academic purposes required religion to have precise boundaries. For example, during the last half of the twentieth century, some scholars analyzed a long series of unusual institutions as religious, including Marxism (an analysis with political utility), patriotism, psychotherapy, and even sporting events (highly ritualized), shopping malls (sacred spaces in a consumer society), and the stock market (a matter of ultimate concern). Others found the conception of religion in such analyses much too broad and called for demarcating the category precisely. Despite this call, Benson Saler has argued that scholarship requires of its concepts not precision but clarity. (On the difference, consider Samuel Johnson's quip, "The fact that there is such a thing as twilight does not mean that we cannot distinguish between day and night.") A clear concept of religion, even if it has fuzzy edges, allows scholars to explore with insight what institutions like Marxism, patriotism, and even the stock market share with prototypical religions, while still recognizing crucial differences. Such a concept would meet the basic requirements of academic discourse: that one's conceptions be coherent and allow the scholar to say something insightful, whether interpretive or explanatory, about the data.

Religion also plays important roles in discourses outside the academy—in contemporary discourse on law, human rights, and public policy, for example. Many nations guarantee religious freedom—disestablishment is less widely accepted—and so does Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations on December 10, 1948: "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance." Some, however, see this conception of religious freedom as North American and European rather than universal. For example, the Universal Islamic Declaration of Human Rights, adopted September 19, 1981, retains the language of religion (in Articles 10, 12 to 14, and 19) but restates the rights in accordance with Islamic teachings.

Much more than in academic discourse, the adjudication of claims arising within legal discourse about religion presents challenges of precision. Majority communities—Christians in North America and Europe, Hindus in India, Muslims in Muslim-majority states—have at times found it in their own interest to claim that certain practices and convictions were not religious but cultural. Some courts have agreed; for example, in 1966 the Constitution Bench of the Indian Supreme Court found that Hinduism "may broadly be described as a way of life and nothing more," and that the word *Hindu* denoted residence in a certain territory more than religious affiliation. Minority communities such as the Unification Church and the Church of Scientology have argued, at times unsuccessfully, that they were in fact religions, common opinion notwithstanding, and so deserved the protections and privileges that came from that status. In the early 2000s, Europeans who opposed the wearing of head scarves by Muslim women claimed that the very same practice was either religious (in France) or nonreligious (in Germany), because of the different legal status of religion in the two countries.

The extent to which locally variant views of religion are compatible with a universal right remains to be determined, as do the precise boundaries of religion in most systems of law. In practice, such questions also highlight a tension between academic and legal discourse. Those charged with adjudication look to academics for expert advice on religion and cite academic writings to justify their findings. Academics criticize the adequacy of legal and political conceptions, such as the tendency to conceive of new religious movements as cults. Nevertheless, the purposes of academic discourse, which often calls customary boundaries into question in the pursuit of insight, stand in some tension with the needs of legal discourse for precise definitions that enable consistent decisions.

THE FUTURE OF RELIGION. Like Feil, many historians and students of religion—and others, too—have been suspicious of the category. Some have suggested replacing religion with terms like faith (W. C. Smith), worldview (Ninian Smart), social formation, or culture. The anthropologist Talal Asad has been more circumspect. He has argued that "there cannot be a universal definition of religion, not only because its constituent elements and relationships are historically specific, but because that definition is itself the historical product of discursive processes" (Asad, p. 29). What is required, he has claimed, is for scholars to determine what they mean by religion on a case-by-case basis.

Asad's argument leaves him vulnerable to the charge of committing the genetic fallacy (the assumption that an account of the origin and development of a claim can determine its adequacy for present purposes). Still, it is widely thought today that definitions are specific to contexts and purposes, and there is no reason religion should be any different. Specific conceptualizations of religion need to meet certain formal criteria, including the criterion of suitability. Furthermore, the projects for which definitions are formulated are always subject to critique, including moral and political critique. While such critiques will inevitably call specific conceptualizations of religion into question, they do not necessarily require that religion as a concept be abandoned.

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RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE

is the name that was given, beginning in 1903, to a group of German Protestant theologians who consistently applied the history of religions method to the interpretation of the Bible. This school of thought originated at the University of Göttingen, where a number of young theologians became known as the “little Göttingen faculty” because of their common concerns and their critical dissociation from Albrecht Ritschl, who had earlier been their teacher. The group was made up of Hermann Gunkel, Wilhelm Bousset, Johannes Weiss, Ernst Troeltsch, Wilhelm Wrede, Heinrich Hackmann, and Alfred Rahlfs. After 1900, Carl Clemen, Hugo Gressmann, and W. Heitmüller joined the school, while Rudolf Bultmann and Otto Eissfeldt may be reckoned as forming a third generation. All looked upon Albert Eichhorn as the decisive influence on their work.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCHOOL. The Religionsgeschichtliche Schule drew theological conclusions from preceding developments in historical science, Orientalism, the history of religions, and ethnology. Many kinds of scholarly endeavors served as godparents for the school: Johann Jakob Wettstein’s efforts to produce a complete, annotated edition of the Greek New Testament, including variants (*Hē Kainē Diathēkē: Novum Testamentum Graecum,* 2 vols., 1751–1752) and J. G. Herder’s undogmatic and literary approach to the Bible; the discoveries made and the languages deciphered in the Near East; the rise of historical thinking in the works of such scholars as Barthold G. Niebuhr, Leopold von Ranke, and Johann G. Droysen; the discovery and decipherment of new sources from the ancient Near East; the development of literary criticism; the new science of religions as developed by F. Max Müller, C. P. Tiele, P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, James G. Frazer, and Nathan Söderblom; the new field of ethnology associated with Adolf Bastian, Friedrich Ratzel, and E. B. Tylor; and the antimetaphysical spirit promoted by Neo-Kantianism in Germany during the second half of the nineteenth century. Even the “Babel and Bible” discussion started by Friedrich Delitzsch, Alfred Jeremias, and Peter Jensen, which to some extent ran parallel to the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule, contributed to the rise of the latter.

Historical criticism in the form of source analysis of biblical documents had already been generally accepted and was causing difficulties for dogmatic theology. The rise of the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule meant the definitive victory of the historical-critical method, but the school supplemented this method with a deeper understanding of the historical process that lay behind the literary sources and with the application of the comparative history of religions to the Bible and Christianity. For this reason the representatives of the approach comprised primarily biblical scholars. Apart from Clemen, only Hackmann opted for the general history of religions. Strictly speaking, this method was a movement within Protestant biblical exegesis, and theologically it was of course in the liberal camp.

Though it was initially a purely academic phenomenon, its representatives attempted, as those of hardly any other theological movement of the past had done, to broadcast their view on a large scale through popular works on the history of religions and through periodicals such as *Theologische Rundschau* (1917–), *Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher* (1903–), and *Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments* (1913–), and collections such as *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (1st ed., Tübingen, 1909–1913), *Die Schriften des Alten Testaments in Auswahl: Übersetzt und für die Gegenwart erklärt,* by Hermann Gunkel (Göttingen, 1910–1915), and *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments neu übersetzt und für die Gegenwart erklärt,* by Johannes Weiss (Göttingen, 1906). As a result, they were soon in conflict with ecclesiastical authorities, who accused them of destructive, secularizing intentions, an accusation that the school firmly denied.

Historians see the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule as beginning its public activity in 1895, which was the publication year of Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (Creation and Chaos in Primordial Time and End Time). But the basic ideas of the school had been clearly at work even earlier in Gunkel's *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes: Nach den populären Anschauungen der apostolisch Zeit* (The Effects of the Holy Spirit according to the Popular Mind of the Apostolic Age; Göttingen, 1888). In this earlier publication Gunkel examined exotic and even irrational features of early Christianity, such as belief in the preternatural, and explained these features as due to the ideas that were popular in the period of "late Judaism." The same approach was soon adopted by Johannes Weiss in his *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes* (Jesus' Preaching of the Kingdom of God; Göttingen, 1892) and by Wilhelm Bousset, who in his *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (Tübingen, 1903) developed the idea that Judaism in the New Testament era was the real soil from which Jesus and the primitive Christian community sprang. In *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* (Göttingen, 1907) and *Kyrios Christos* (Göttingen, 1913) Bousset also drew upon the religious history of Hellenism and late antiquity in describing the Christianity of the first and second centuries. By and large, the further work of the school followed the same general lines, though at times the emphasis differed, as in the case of the brilliant but short-lived Wilhelm Wrede, who, in his *Paulus* (Tübingen, 1904), *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangilien* (Göttingen, 1901), and *Vorträge und Studien* (Tübingen, 1907) maintained what were probably the school's most radical views.

In the field of Old Testament studies Gunkel pioneered not only the religio-historical explanation of the Old Testament, especially in his *Genesis* (1901) and *Psalmen* (1926), but also the literary-historical method and, in particular, a reformulated "tradition-historical" approach that ushered in a new age of Old Testament exegesis. Hugo Gressmann followed Gunkel's lead in his *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie* (Göttingen, 1905) and *Der Messias* (Göttingen, 1929).

The end of the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule after World War I was due not only to the social changes that the war brought to Germany but also to correlative radical shifts in theology, such as those produced by Karl Barth and dialectical theology, and, surely, to the early deaths of many of the school's leading representatives. Richard Reitzenstein (1861–1931), who wrote *Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe* (Prehistory of Christian Baptism; Leipzig, 1929) was one of the last champions of the school's ideas, unless one includes Rudolf Bultmann and his school as the third, most recent generation. This third generation reshaped the heritage of the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule and sought to safeguard it, especially in the area of the study of gnosticism, by new methods such as form criticism, redaction history, tradition history, existential interpretation, and demythologization.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE APPROACH. The mounting criticism, especially after World War II, of the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule and its program cannot gainsay the fact that it brought major progress in the understanding of biblical writings and their history. Questions first raised by the school, such as the role of Canaanite religion, apocalyptic thought, eschatology, pneumatology, gnosis, and Hellenistic Judaism, cultus, and piety in the formation of Christianity, are still vital and have acquired increased relevance due to new discoveries such as those at Ugarit, Khirbat Qumran, and Nag Hammadi. Biblical exegesis, theology, and religious studies cannot retreat to the scholarly situation as it was before the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule was formed. The facts brought to light by the school cannot be dismissed, even if scholars now prefer explanations other than those proposed by the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule.

Plurality of Christianity's origins. The school's members rejected interpreting the New Testament solely in light of the Old Testament. Primitive Christianity, they believed, was not a mere continuation of Old Testament history but had other roots as well.

One of these other roots was Hellenistic Judaism, represented by the thought of Philo Judaeus (d. 45–50 CE), as opposed to rabbinic Judaism, which belongs to a later period. The Hellenistic religious outlook, as expressed in the mystery religions and other Oriental religions of redemption, in gnostic groups, Hermetism, emperor worship, and magic, played an important part in the development of early Christianity. Gunkel, in his *Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments* (Göttingen, 1903) had already spoken of the "syncretic" character of early Christianity, arguing that, from the historical viewpoint, Christianity had many links with contemporaneous religions. Bousset, though somewhat more cautious on this point, constantly rejected the artificial division between primitive Christianity and its historical environment. He explained the disjunction that appeared between the teachings of Jesus and those of the later church by citing the influence of this early environment. Behind the replacement of "Jesus the itinerant prophet" with "Christ the Lord" was the transition, beginning even before Paul, of primitive Christianity into the Hellenistic-Roman world in the form of a Hellenistic community of Christians at Antioch. The Religionsgeschichtliche Schule was concerned primarily with intellectual links, not with individual derivations or parallels. The same principle held for the Old Testament, whose historical development, the school believed, was to be understood in light of its changing milieu, to which belonged Canaan, Babylon, Egypt, and Iran.

Historical framework. The division between the New Testament and the history of the early church and its dogma, the school believed, is an artificial one. The New Testament canon is a historical product and should be studied only in the framework of a history of early Christian literature. Prominent examples of this approach are found in the works of Eichhorn and Wrede.

Concept of religion. According to the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule, the traditional focus on doctrinal concepts should be replaced by a focus on religion, the religious spirit, and piety. Theology is only one side of religion—the rational, conceptual, and systematic side. The essence of religion, as understood by the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule, is nonrational experience. This concept of religion originated in the works of Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834) and became normative for the theology and philosophy of religion of the subsequent period. The school aimed at writing a history of Christianity as a religion and not simply a history of ideas, dogmas, and doctrines.

Role of religious practice. The Religionsgeschichtliche Schule was part of a current of thought that, in contrast to the overemphasis by some scholars on mythology or ideology, regarded the realm of cult and religious practice as central and as an important expression of piety. The interest in the "theology of the community," that is, the popular religion of the masses (including folk tales and fairy tales, or, in other words, the "seamier side" of religion as contrasted with the "heights" of elitist theology), was already paving the way for a sociological and psychological interpretation of religion. On the other hand, the school also stressed the innovative role of religious individuals and authorities (for example the Old Testament prophets and Jesus), who, according to the school, have a formative influence on the history of religions.

Tradition history. One of the most important but often overlooked discoveries of the school is what is known as "tradition history," which was first proposed by Gunkel. Tradition history is the attempt to get behind the written tradition (i.e., texts) to its prehistory. This approach was considered to be the only way to make texts historically intelligible. The abandonment of classical literary history and criticism for a history of preliterary "form," "genres," or "materials" is a result of the historical approach taken by the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule: a text yields its meaning through its history, its development, and the materials (its "prehistory") used to compose it. This turning of written tradition into something problematic soon became a tool of tradition criticism and made nonsense of many problems regarded as central by literary criticism. The old representatives of literary criticism, such as Wellhausen, rejected Gunkel's works, although they themselves could not avoid raising questions that involved the history of traditions.

This aspect of the school's work is another indication of its concern with "the religion of the community" as a sociopsychological category. The designation "history of traditions" was at times used by members of the school as a synonym for "history of religions." Unfortunately, the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule failed to make a clear distinction here and, more importantly, to introduce a necessary reflection on method, a step that would have spared it a great deal of trouble. Methodological clarification began only with the rise of "form criticism" in the works of Bultmann and Martin Dibelius (1883–1947).

Definition of the field. Consideration of the Bible as a historical religious document that is to be investigated with the same tools as other religious texts soon led to the view that the traditional theological faculties should be replaced by departments of the history of religions. The historical disciplines associated with theology are really no longer theological, Wrede clearly saw; rather, they belong to the history of religions, since they employ the same tools as philology and all other historical sciences.

The school's "leveling down" of Christianity so that it becomes just one more subject of a general or comparative history of religions led to a certain relativism that had an important impact, especially on dogmatic and theological systems. In this situation Troeltsch, who remained faithful to a romantic and ultimately Hegelian concept of development, drew historico-philosophical conclusions that looked to the future development of Christianity in the framework of a universal history of religions. Bousset, too, sought to rescue Christianity from the maelstrom of historical relativization by reverting to the liberal theological emphasis on ethics and morality and to the idea of the irreducible personality of Jesus as a revelation of God. But Christianity cannot be rescued by the tools of historical science; at this point the assertions of faith stand alone against the power of history and critical reflection. To rescue Christianity is the task of theology, not of the history of religions.

The Religionsgeschichtliche Schule began as a movement within theology, but it ended outside theology because its methods and approach were so radical. The attempt to restore the ties connecting the school and Christian theology expresses only the personal piety, or Christian faith, of the school's representatives. Here again the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule created a dilemma, in this case one of the most difficult that the history of religions as such must face: the relation between personal conviction or faith and scientific honesty or objectivity.

SEE ALSO Bultmann, Rudolf; Delitzsch, Friedrich; Wellhausen, Julius.

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RELIGIONSWISSENSCHAFT See COMPARATIVE RELIGION; HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

RELIGIOUS BROADCASTING. The sophistication, diversification, and influence of religious broadcasting are greatly underappreciated dimensions of the global religious scene at the beginning of the twenty-first century. From India to Europe and from Latin America to the United States, religious broadcasting has become a dominant purveyor of religious teaching and entertainment for vast numbers of the world's population. According to a 2002 report by the respected Barna Research Group, more adults—141 million—experience the Christian faith in a given month in the United States through Christian radio, television, or books than attend Christian churches (132 million). Breaking this finding down, the report discovered that 52 percent of American adults had tuned into a Christian radio program in the previous month, that 38 percent of these listeners tuned in to a teaching, preaching, or talk show program; and that 43 percent of this population had listened to a Christian music station. The survey observed that women and African Americans were overrepresented among these listeners to Christian radio. Forty-three percent of all adults—some 90 million people—were watching Christian television or programming in a given month, about the same number of people who attend Christian churches in any given week. Somewhat surprisingly, more than fifteen million atheists, agnostics, and adult members of non-Christian faiths had some degree of exposure to the Christian faith through various forms of religious broadcasting.

Though precise figures are not available for other regions of the world, the ubiquity of religious programming on satellite broadcasts reaching every continent in the world attests to the fact that religious broadcasting is a phenomenon to be reckoned with by any student of contemporary religion. This influence has been greatly augmented since the 1990s by the growth of religious internet sites and programming. The dominance of religious broadcasting is a tale of entrepreneurism, audacity, competition, zeal, scandal, and triumph. Although this medium has its critics and detractors, both religious and secular, its explosive growth and influence show no signs of diminishing for the foreseeable future.

Origins. The origins of religious broadcasting reach back into the early days of radio in the United States. The first station to receive a radio license from the U.S. Department of Commerce, KDKA Pittsburgh, broadcast the Sunday evening vespers service of the Calvary Episcopal Church choir on January 2, 1921. Although the audience for the program was only in the thousands, the broadcast became a fixture of the station's Sunday evening programming schedule. Soon, the entrepreneurial spirit of America combined with the growing appeal of radio and the missionary zeal of evangelical Christianity to launch dozens of radio ministries.

The evangelist Paul Rader (1879–1938), pastor of the Chicago Gospel Tabernacle, was among the first to recognize the potential of radio to preach the gospel. In the summer of 1922, Rader brought a brass quartet to the roof of city hall and preached a sermon in a makeshift studio on local station WHT. The success of this cameo appearance encouraged Rader to reach an agreement with radio station WBBM to broadcast fourteen hours of religious programming every Sunday. Rader called his once-a-week station WJBT (Where Jesus Blesses Thousands). WJBT's broadcasts included the Sunday evening worship service at Gospel Tabernacle, choral performances, organ concerts, and popular shows such as the *Healing Hour*, the *Back Home Hour*, and the *Bible Drama Hour*. Rader discovered that many of his radio listeners wanted to hear him preach live and that the radio ministry increased attendance at Gospel Tabernacle. Rader's pioneering efforts in creating a diverse programming format and in partnering radio ministries with local churches would have an immense influence on subsequent generations of broadcast evangelists. Rader was aware of the medium's limitations, however, and he warned that radio did not substitute for a community that gathered to worship, sing, pray, and bear mutual joys and sorrows.

Aimee Semple McPherson (1890–1944) was another popular Christian evangelist of the 1920s who saw the potential of radio to spread her message. In 1922 she became the first woman to broadcast a sermon over the radio waves. A year later her Santa Monica–based church, the Angelus Temple, inaugurated the five-hundred-watt station KFSG (Kalling Foursquare Gospel). The station was the first in the nation to be owned and operated by a church. During the 1920s, KFSG broadcast the Angelus Temple's worship services to listeners who crowded into tents set up in nearby suburbs of Los Angeles, such as Venice and Pasadena. In the unregulated early days of radio broadcasting, McPherson and others arbitrarily changed their broadcast frequencies. This practice drew the ire of Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover in 1927. In response, the colorful McPherson sent Hoover a telegram stating, "Please order your minions of Satan to leave my station alone. You cannot expect the Almighty to abide by your wavelength nonsense" (Erickson, 1992, p. 127). This salvo was the first in what would become a long-standing battle between federal broadcast communications regulators and the entrepreneurs of religious broadcasting.

Christian evangelicals and fundamentalists were not the only religious ministries to recognize the potential of radio outreach during the 1920s. The Unity School of Christianity, a New Thought–influenced religious organization in Kansas City, Missouri, inaugurated radio broadcasts on station WOQ in 1922 and purchased the station in 1924. In 1927 the Ancient and Mystical Order Rosae Crucis (AMORC), a popular purveyor of Western occultism, purchased radio station WJBB in Tampa and began broadcasting a mixture of drama, choral music, metaphysical discourses, and news. AMORC's imperator, Harvey Spencer Lewis (1883–1939), became a pioneer in short-wave religious broadcasting and aired WJBB's programs throughout North and South America as well as the Caribbean, Africa, and Europe. His station was also the first to sponsor listener call-in programs and morning birthday announcements.

The 1920s and 1930s were a time of acrimony between fundamentalist and modernist Christians in the United States. Both factions sought to control the radio airwaves, and the early winners were the modernists. The U.S. Congress established the Federal Radio Commission (FRC) in 1927, and new regulations issued by the commission for licensed stations effectively closed down over half of the nation's radio ministries, many of them fundamentalist in orientation. Between 1927 and 1934, a movement emerged to reserve certain sections of the radio broadcast spectrum for educational, noncommercial, and religious programming. The Wagner-Hatfield Amendment to the Communications Act of 1934 would have implemented this spectrum allocation. The amendment failed, however, and a compromise plan allowed secular networks such as CBS and NBC to allocate a given amount of free airtime each week to public-interest programming in place of losing entire segments of the radio broadcast spectrum. These allocations were called "sustaining time."

Following passage of the Communications Act of 1934, religious groups across the fundamentalist-modernist spectrum sought a share of the free time allotted by the major networks. When it became apparent that there were more applicants than airtime, the networks and representatives of major national religious bodies such as the Southern Baptist Convention, the Federal Council of Churches, the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, and the National Council of Catholic Men agreed to sort out the competing claims in an equitable manner. The effect of this agreement was to shut out independent evangelicals and fundamentalists who were not represented by national groups. Mainline denominations defended their monopoly of the networks' sustaining-time slots by claiming a national constituency for their programs, in contrast to the regional constituency—the Bible Belt—of fundamentalist programming. Both individual denominations and parachurch groups produced a variety of programming in the sustaining-time slots. This programming ranged from the broadcast of local worship services to instructional documentaries, sermons, and discussions of issues by prominent religious figures.

The sustaining-time monopoly forced independent evangelicals and fundamentalists to purchase commercial time from such networks as the Mutual Broadcasting Network and the American Broadcasting Company (ABC). The most successful of the independent evangelical programs was Charles E. Fuller's (1887–1968) *Old Fashioned Revival Hour*. Fuller began his broadcasting career in the 1920s, teaching Bible classes over the Bible Institute of Los Angeles's privately owned radio station. By 1930, Fuller's Calvary Church Sunday worship service was being broadcast locally, along with a popular phone-in show during which Fuller answered listener questions. In 1933 Fuller decided to concentrate his entire efforts on his radio ministry and its flagship program, *Radio Revival Hour*. Through judicious agreements with regional networks, Fuller's program was soon being heard throughout the western United States. In 1937 the Mutual Broadcasting System purchased the renamed *Old Fashioned Revival Hour* for national broadcast. By 1939 the show had ten million weekly listeners, who were organized into a loose-knit group of financial supporters. The program featured popular gospel songs performed by a professional choir, Fuller's homespun homilies, and a reading of letters from listeners who had been led to God through the broadcast. The ministry's global listenership peaked at twenty million during the 1940s and aired over powerful AM stations in Europe, South America, and Asia in subsequent years. Fuller set the pattern for future independent broadcast ministries that were wholly listener supported and that were focused on personal conversion.

Another consequence of the sustaining-time monopoly was the formation of the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) in 1942. The association's mission was to protect evangelical radio ministries like that of Fuller and to promote the interests of independent fundamentalists and evangelicals at the national level. The immediate catalyst for NAE's formation was a set of recommendations published by the Institute of Education by Radio, an independent group of academics whose charge was to monitor radio ministries. The large radio networks paid close attention to the Institute's criticism of Charles Fuller's broadcasts and to its recommendation to limit commercial religious programming on their networks. In response to this threat, over 150 conservative radio ministries formed NAE and two years later organized National Religious Broadcasters (NRB) as the official broadcasting arm of NAE. Since then NRB has been instrumental in lobbying Congress and the Federal Communications Commission (which replaced the Federal Radio Commission in 1934) on behalf of its member organizations. Members of NRB adopt a code of ethics that obligates them to maintain the highest technical standards for their programming, to obey governmental regulations, and to adopt high standards of financial accountability. The body's efforts have helped establish numerous independent broadcasting ministries on a solid financial footing and encouraged them to improve their programming quality.

A major change in radio evangelism occurred in the 1970s, when 75 percent of the listening audience shifted to FM stations. This left older, less affluent listeners with AM radio evangelists like those documented by Howard Dorgan in his book, *The Airwaves of Zion: Radio and Religion in Appalachia*. These ministries are run largely by independent Holiness-Pentecostals who have little formal theological training. Their style of preaching is highly emotional, unstructured, and reliant on the inspiration of the moment. They attack everything from lottery sales to roadhouses and from homosexuality to alcohol sales. Some ministries include in their programs recitations of long lists of people in need of prayer. These AM radio preachers can be heard on Sundays and weekdays throughout the United States, but especially in the Southeast. Although these ministries have difficulties attracting advertisers because of their elderly audience profile, they have survived into the twenty-first century on freewill offerings and constitute one of the most durable formats in the history of religious broadcasting in America.

THE RISE OF TELEVISION. With the coming of television in the 1940s, the competition between fundamentalists and modernists became even more intense. Each faction recognized the tremendous cultural influence the medium would have and the promise it held for religious outreach. The National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA (NCC) superseded the old Federal Council of Churches in 1950 and immediately sought to limit television access to those ministries approved of by its member churches. The NCC also requested that the major broadcast networks refuse to sell commercial airtime to religious ministries and that they accept the guidance of the NCC's Broadcast and Film Commission in creating and allotting any sustaining-time programming. These actions succeeded in limiting religious programming on the major networks during the 1950s to the Sunday morning sustaining-time slots and a few other nationally syndicated broadcast ministries.

The three most significant independent television ministries of the 1950s were those of Rex Humbard (b. 1919), Oral Roberts (b. 1918), and Billy Graham (b. 1918). Humbard was an itinerant Pentecostal minister who settled in Akron, Ohio, after a successful revival there in 1952. He began to televise the Sunday worship service of his Calvary Temple on a local Akron station in 1953 with the intention of providing outreach to the sick and elderly. This concern for those unable to attend regular church services would become a common justification for subsequent television ministries nationwide. Humbard also pioneered the religious spectacle genre of programming. He built a five-thousand-seat church in 1958 that featured state-of-the-art camera, lighting, and sound equipment as well as a huge stage that accommodated an orchestra, a choir, and broadcasting personnel. Humbard's *Cathedral of Tomorrow* Sunday broadcasts featured his musical family and his own folksy sermons. The broadcast was essentially a praise and preaching program that highlighted God's love and forgiveness and avoided controversial political or doctrinal debates. By 1971 Humbard's ministry aired on 650 television and 700 radio stations in North America. The ministry would expand to Japan, Australia, Africa, and South America over the next decade. Popular televangelist Robert Schuller (b. 1926) followed in Humbard's footsteps in the late twentieth century with his upbeat and carefully choreographed Crystal Cathedral broadcasts.

Oral Roberts began his career as a Holiness-Pentecostal minister whose healing revivals took him throughout the South and Southwest. With encouragement from Rex Humbard, Roberts gained the financial backing to televise one of his healing crusades in 1955. Within three years, the crusades were being aired on network affiliates to a steadily growing national audience. Roberts was the creator of the live healing-revival format that later became the vehicle by which faith healers Kathryn Kuhlman (1907–1976) and Benny Hinn (b. 1953) rose to prominence. Using high-speed film to compensate for the low lighting inside his tent, Roberts's programs captured the drama and excitement of seemingly miraculous healings by the laying on of hands. Here was religious television that was inspiring, entertaining, and emotionally gripping. Roberts went on to become a successful author, university president, and founder of a broadcast dynasty that is now largely in the hands of his son, Richard Roberts (b. 1948). Oral Roberts also pioneered religious broadcasting's foray into the variety show format. His program, *Oral Roberts and You*, featured upbeat contemporary music, bright-faced young people, the highest technical standards, and a Bible-based sermon. Roberts also broadcast hour-long television specials that featured popular singers such as Minnie Pearl and Mahalia Jackson and was one of the first televangelists to preach the "prosperity gospel," which claimed that God's plan for humanity included both spiritual and material riches.

The popular evangelist Billy Graham came from a more conservative theological background (Presbyterian and Southern Baptist) than either Humbard or Roberts, and his use of television would also be more measured. He gained national fame in 1949 when a planned two-week revival in Los Angeles went on for two months and attracted the attention of the Hearst publishing empire. Beginning in 1950, Graham had his own nationally broadcast radio program, *Hour of Decision*, with an estimated listening audience of twenty million. Following an influential telecast of his crusade in England in 1955, Graham had the clout to arrange the broadcast of his Madison Square Garden Crusade on ABC in 1957. The spectacle of thousands responding to Graham's call for repentance and conversion made these broadcasts riveting television. For the rest of the twentieth century, Graham's crusades became a staple of religious television. They incorporated footage of crowds pouring into athletic stadiums, music and testimonials by popular artists, Graham's powerful sermons, and finally his call for members of the audience to "come forward to Christ." Although Graham never inaugurated a weekly television broadcast, his Billy Graham Evangelistic Association was influential in the formation of the Evangelical Council for Financial Accountability, whose members pledge to abide by strict standards of financial accountability. His own association is a model of financial transparency and makes its yearly audit available to the public. The association's efforts have helped lift the stain of financial scandal that has plagued religious broadcasting ministries since the late 1970s.

While independent televangelists like Humbard, Roberts, and Graham were creating their media empires, mainstream ministries affiliated with the National Council of Churches created more conventional programming for use on Sunday morning sustaining-time slots. The most popular of these mainstream ministries was that of Bishop Fulton J. Sheen (1895–1979). Sheen was already an accomplished Roman Catholic author and speaker when he began *The Catholic Hour* radio program in 1930. This sustaining-time broadcast was aired on NBC radio and attracted millions of listeners. Sheen's first television appearance was on a historic Easter Sunday broadcast in 1940. It was not until the early 1950s, however, that he became a household fixture with his program *Life Is Worth Living*. The broadcast showcased Sheen's personal charisma, flair for the dramatic, and magisterial presence. Unlike the more conversion-focused broadcasts of Graham and Humbard, Sheen made Catholic moral teachings accessible to people from varied religious and secular backgrounds. His show was a success not only with Catholics but also with Protestants. The themes of his talks—sin, guilt, redemption, motherhood, and personal responsibility—were universal in scope and directed to everyman and everywoman. Sheen rejected the trappings of entertainment television and kept to a simple, dignified format. He began his program with a courtly bow and sat in a chair with only a blackboard, a table, and a Bible as props. For dramatic effect, he would sometimes pace the floor, allowing his clerical clothing to fall gracefully from his arms. He would also speak directly into the camera, giving viewers the sense that he was talking personally to them. Sheen's success as a television preacher demonstrated the significance of sheer personal charisma for building and maintaining a religious broadcasting ministry.

THE EMERGENCE OF INDEPENDENT RELIGIOUS NETWORKS. The most significant development in the United States between 1960 and 1990 was the creation of religious broadcasting networks such as Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN), Trinity Broadcasting Network (TBN), Praise the Lord Network (PTL), the Roman Catholic Eternal Word Television Network, LeSea Broadcasting, and Pax TV. These enterprises allowed for the development of diverse programming formats, nonstop religious television and radio coverage, and an expansion around the globe using satellite technology.

The forerunner for these ministries was Pat Robertson's (b. 1930) CBN. The network began with Robertson's purchase in 1959 of a UHF station in Portsmouth, Virginia. During the 1960s, CBN's programming was limited to a daily schedule airing between 7 and 10 P.M. The core program was *The 700 Club*, a talk show during which Robertson invited a host of evangelical authors and musical performers to discuss contemporary social, political, and religious issues. A live call-in segment invited those in need of healing to ask for prayer, exorcism, and words of encouragement from the show's hosts. Robertson began to operate television and FM radio stations throughout the United States in the late 1960s, and by the late 1970s he was sending CBN's programming via the Westar and RCA Satcom satellites to over sixty stations nationwide. The ministry employed a team of volunteer prayer counselors who worked twenty-four hours a day. These workers created a referral system that funneled new converts into local churches. Robertson retooled *The 700 Club* during the 1980s to resemble secular talk show and news magazine formats such as *The Today Show* and *Good Morning America.*

CBN has been a pioneer in the "media blitz," which saturates a given region over a concentrated time period with television programming, radio shows, videotapes, and literature. CBN's Worldreach partners with Christian ministries around the world to spread the gospel using media, discipleship, small-scale church planting, and humanitarian relief efforts. By the late 1990s, CBN International was broadcasting programming in ninety countries and in more than fifty languages. Robertson pioneered religious broadcasting in the Middle East with the launch, in 1982, of CBN's Channel 12/Middle East Television Network. In 1997 the network began broadcasting throughout the Middle East via satellite. Increasingly, other American broadcast ministries, many with millennial hopes, have targeted this biblical region. These include SAT-7, which transmits programming produced in Middle Eastern studios by Middle Eastern Christians in the Arabic language. This network is careful not to attack Islam directly and features culturally sensitive dramas, talk shows, children's programs, and musical programs.

Robertson's enterprises have set the standard for the religious broadcasting empires that have followed in CBN's wake. Robertson himself has been influential in the rise of the religious right as a political force in the United States. He and other broadcasters such as Jerry Falwell (b. 1933) have become respected spokespersons for the evangelical wing of the Republican Party.

Perhaps the most successful of the new broadcasting empires is the Trinity Broadcasting Network. From its humble beginnings in 1973, TBN has grown into a half-billion-dollar television empire that owns and operates over 22 full-power TV stations and over 500 low-power stations nationwide. By the beginning of the new millennium, the network's 3,500 cable affiliates allowed it to reach an audience estimated at thirty million daily. The ministry used twenty-six satellites to broadcast in twenty-four languages on every major continent. Trinity's programming is broadcast twenty-four hours a day and includes the biggest names in televangelism in its lineup. Founders Paul (b. 1934) and Jan Crouch come from Pentecostal backgrounds, and the Pentecostal worship style and theology pervades the network's programming. The network's signature program is the *Praise the Lord* show, which features both variety show and talk show formats. The Crouches cast a wide net and include a cross-section of America's most prominent Christian preachers and musicians on their program. The network has also perfected the biannual telethon, which raises funds for the maintenance and expansion of the ministry. TBN's international outreach has been augmented by its inauguration of TBN Enlace in 2002, which targets the growing Hispanic population of the United States.

RELIGIOUS BROADCASTING GLOBALLY. One of the most significant developments in religious broadcasting that has occurred since the mid-1980s is the rapid expansion of networks and programming around the world. Many of the longest-running broadcast ministries in Europe and Asia were radio-based. The earliest of these, HCJB, or the Voice of the Andes, began its short-wave broadcasts blanketing South America in 1931. At the start of the twenty-first century, it was operating three powerful short-wave transmitting stations that send out radio and television programming around the world in a variety of vernacular languages. Vatican Radio also transmitted its inaugural broadcast in 1931. Over the years, this Jesuit-run operation has expanded its programming to include a professional news service, sophisticated musical programs, daily mass, live coverage of papal audiences, and live video streaming of the pope reciting his Sunday Angelus prayers. The broadcasts are offered in thirty-four languages and are sent out on short and medium waves, satellites, and FM. The Far East Broadcasting Company (FEBC) started its radio broadcasts in 1948 on a humble one-thousand-watt transmitter in the Philippines. By the 1950s, FEBC was broadcasting programs in thirty-six languages and dialects to the People's Republic of China and other Asian countries using megawatt transmitters. FEBC airs its Christian programming over thirty stations to Asia, eastern Europe, Australia, and Latin America. Trans World Radio (TWR) managed to break through the prohibitions against evangelical programming that European governments placed on their stations during the 1950s. The station purchased broadcasting rights in the principality of Morocco and began airing its programming throughout Europe on its new 100,000-watt short-wave transmitter in 1960. As the ministry expanded, the station built AM, long-wave, and short-wave transmitters and hired local religious leaders and musicians to produce programming in forty languages. Like FEBC, this station was successful in circumventing the jamming efforts of authorities in Communist countries. Today its broadcasts are global and reach almost 80 percent of the world's population with evangelical Christian programming.

The fall of Communism in eastern Europe (1989–1991) opened a new field for religious broadcasting ministries. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, a number of broadcasters were blanketing the former Soviet Union and its satellites. Among these is Agape Europe, an interdenominational Christian mission organization that distributes Christian television programming throughout eastern and western Europe, and United Christian Broadcasters Europe, which uses digital satellite and cable technology to broadcast preaching, Bible study, music, and world-affairs television programming across the United Kingdom, Ireland, and continental Europe. A major development for Europe occurred in 1990, when the British Parliament passed a law that opened the radio airwaves in Great Britain to independent religious broadcasters. In 1994, Premier Radio was one of the first evangelical ministries to receive an AM license. It now reaches a core audience of committed Christians in Great Britain with programming that expresses Christian values without alienating nonbelievers simply looking for a quality radio option.

Religious broadcasting is booming throughout the world at the dawn of the new millennium. Australia is served by more than 40 Christian radio stations, Latin America by more than 150 Christian TV stations and 1,000 radio stations, and Africa by a growing number of active media outlets. Islamic broadcasters, such as America's Nation of Islam, Egypt's Voice of the Holy Qurʾān, and Libya's Voice of Islam are becoming increasingly sophisticated both in their programming formats and technical expertise. In India all religious groups, including the Jains, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, and Hindus, have cable television channels that offer nonstop religious programming to their audiences. The range of shows includes everything from the sermons of Islamic clerics to the devotional songs of Hindu musicians and the healing crusades of Benny Hinn. Christian broadcasting still faces enormous challenges in countries such as Sri Lanka, China, Vietnam, and North Korea, where radio frequencies are jammed and broadcast licenses and air time are severely regulated by governmental agencies.

CRITIQUES OF RELIGIOUS BROADCASTING. A series of sexual and financial scandals rocked the religious broadcasting industry during the 1980s, and criticisms of television evangelists and their shows have come from across the conservative and liberal spectrum. These criticisms fall out along six principal axes.

First, commentators such as Quentin Schultze offer indictments of televangelism that are theological in focus. These critics allege that televangelism exploits well-intentioned but biblically illiterate believers by delivering a shallow "health and wealth" gospel in return for financial support. This indictment essentially charges that televangelists such as Kenneth Copeland (b. 1937), Robert Tilton (b. 1946), and Robert Schuller are distorters of the traditional gospel values of obedience to God, self-sacrifice, love for the poor, and a rejection of worldly fame and riches. In their growth to affluence, many televangelists have come to the view that material wealth is acceptable and desirable, and that listeners need only ask God for abundance, make a donation to their ministry, and wait for the money to begin rolling in. Gone, these critics charge, is the Protestant ethic that saw wealth as the fruit of diligent labor. Faith and Values Media, which is owned and operated by a coalition of mainstream Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, Jewish, and Protestant churches, has attempted to address these concerns by eschewing the on-air solicitation of funds.

A second line of criticism concerns the dominance of Pentecostal Christianity in religious programming—and this form of Christianity's dualistic, apocalyptic worldview. This critique indicts religious broadcasting for its tendency to view individual and societal moral conflicts within the context of a cosmic war between Satan and God. In this dualistic conception of ultimate good and ultimate evil at war with each other, the ambiguities and subtleties of human moral behavior are left unexplored and absolute moral principles are definitively proclaimed. The tendency of programs such as *Jack Van Impe Presents* and *Hal Lindsey* to read current events through this dualistic lens, critics charge, often results in a jingoistic nationalism that demonizes Russians, Muslims, Palestinians, or Arabs, while blinding viewers to immoral actions by the U.S. government and its allies. The focus of many televangelists on eschatology and prophecy often leads to categorical condemnations of other nations and belief systems and a singular inability to reflect on the collective social injustices that plague American society. The news segments of many televangelistic programs unabashedly blur the distinctions between professional reporting and theologically biased commentary.

A third line of criticism concerns the format and medium of television itself. These criticisms allege that televangelism turns congregations into passive, unreflective audiences and the gospel into another form of popular entertainment. The concern is that the link between the gospel message and people's individual behavior may be lost in the glitz, glamour, and spectacle of many forms of religious programming. This criticism is linked to another line of concern, the possibility that "virtual" communities of believers following televangelist superstars may supersede the vital links of mutual support found in neighborhood church communities. The rise of the internet and of internet religious ministries has added to these fears of individual withdrawal from the close interpersonal interaction that is crucial for emotional health. This criticism acknowledges the demonstrably positive effect of religious broadcasting for shut-ins and handicapped persons unable to participate in local church communities. At the same time, however, it observes that televangelists do not counsel people with marital problems, bury their viewers' dead, visit the sick, or perform baptisms, all staples of a week in the life of a local pastor.

A fourth line of criticism has to do with the increasing influence that radio and television evangelists exercise over America's political process. This criticism voices concerns that the many religious broadcasters who support the Christian right's political and social program are turning the national airwaves into a platform for the Republican Party's political agenda. CBN's Pat Robertson, Jerry Falwell, and *Focus on the Family*'s James Dobson (b. 1936) are just a few examples of religious broadcasters who are using their ministries to create bases of electoral and financial support for conservative political candidates. Constitutional purists see this growing trend as an erosion of the Constitution's separation of church and state and as an unwarranted and illegal intrusion of traditionally nonpartisan (and tax-exempt) religious communities into the nation's political life.

A fifth line of criticism takes aim at the avowed goal of most broadcast ministries—bringing the gospel message to the unconverted. A preponderance of evidence indicates that most regular viewers and listeners already hold evangelical, fundamentalist, or very conservative religious beliefs. What this means is that while religious broadcasting likely reinforces the existing beliefs and behaviors of its viewers, it is not very successful at reaching the unconverted. In the end, religious broadcasting may be mostly an alternative media source for people of religious faith who cannot find other programs that conform to their values and tastes. Put another way, religious broadcasting may answer to a pressing need in society for programming that reflects the conservative, fundamentalist, and evangelical worldviews of a sizeable segment of the American population.

A sixth and final line of criticism pinpoints the anti-intellectualist biases of many religious programs. Broadcast preachers regularly ridicule liberal ministers who tolerate moral ambiguity or who fail to speak plainly and directly. They rarely address the traditional historical concerns of mainstream theologians and instead focus narrowly on personal salvation and the spiritual condition of the world. Religious broadcasters tend to be biblical inerrantists who condemn historical-critical methods of scriptural exegesis and read scripture literally. Critics claim that this anti-intellectual bias dissipates the strength of respected traditions of scholarship as well as the historical experience of Christian communities. It also leaves the religious broadcasting audience bereft of the critical faculties that are necessary to identify the various forms of political, social, and religious propaganda and hucksterism that saturate religious programming.

Religious broadcasting shows no signs of slowing down in the twenty-first century. Radio and television ministries continue to proliferate around the world, and cable television has greatly expanded their outreach to developed and developing countries alike. Religious broadcasting via the World Wide Web also continues to expand, allowing space for even more religious entrepreneurs to attract audiences and build their ministries. As geopolitical developments increasingly take on religious overtones, radio and television channels will become hotly contested sites. The future will likely see partisans of various religious ideologies vying for airtime and political sponsorship. Thus it will be interesting to watch the role of federal and national regulators of the airwaves in the religious battles of the future.

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GREGOR T. GOETHALS (1987)
PHILLIP CHARLES LUCAS (2005)

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES

This entry consists of the following articles:

RELIGION, COMMUNITY, AND SOCIETY
CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS ORDERS

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES: RELIGION, COMMUNITY, AND SOCIETY

Religion is both a personal matter and a social reality. In dealing with the latter, one is confronted by a confusion of categories and by terminological difficulties. For example, popular references to "religious community" reflect ambiguities in the current use of the term *community.* From Webster one learns that *community,* derived from the Latin *communitas,* has many meanings, including (1) a body of people having a common organization or interests, or living in the same place under the same laws and regulations, (2) society at large, a commonwealth, a state, (3) joint relationship or ownership, and (4) a common character or commonness.

Students of society have tried to overcome such ambiguities. Under the influence of the later German Enlightenment's notion that society is a product of human will, Ferdinand Julius Tönnies (1855–1936) proposed the famous dichotomy between community (*Gemeinschaft*) and society (*Gesellschaft*). Community embodies natural will (*Wesenwille*) and is maintained by face-to-face interhuman relationships and a sense of solidarity governed by traditional rules. Society, however, is a more complex entity reflecting rational will (*Kürwille*) and characterized by indirect and impersonal interhuman relationships motivated by rational self-interest. Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) also attempted to distinguish between primitive and archaic social groups (roughly analogous to Tönnies's community type) and more complex groups (Tönnies's society type). In Durkheim's model, the former are based on the mechanical solidarity of undifferentiated individuals who live according to the authority of the social group, while the latter are based on the organic solidarity of more differentiated individuals who relate to one another by means of the division of labor. Prior to Tönnies and Durkheim, of course, Karl Marx (1818–1883) had classified various social organizations according to modes of production and the class system, ranging all the way from primitive communism to modern capitalist society. An implicit evolutionary assumption—that the movement from what Tönnies called community to what he called society was irreversible—underlay all these typologies and classifications.

Students of religion generally apply Tönnies's notion of the community type to both archaic and contemporary tribal communities, in which religious and natural bonds coalesce. They also acknowledge that a more stratified society usually develops from community, even though smaller religious or ethnic communities may continue to exist within the framework of a larger society. Beyond this general level, however, students of religion encounter a bewildering variety of religious phenomena that defy simple categorization in terms of community and society. For example, some of the ancient states, from the Hebrew to the Japanese, considered themselves "sacred communities" embracing a number of "religious societies." In the course of time, some of these religious societies themselves developed into religious communities. Other troublesome examples stem from the classical world religions such as Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam. These three considered their fellowships to be "religious communities" or "faith communities" that united different segments with a society or even crossed ethnic, linguistic, cultural, and national lines. Here again, these larger religious communities gave birth to a variety of religious societies that often became *de facto* religious communities, even if they retained the nomenclature of "society," as in the case of the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits).

Thus, for students of religion, the category *religious community* must include at least (1) tribal communities, both natural and religious, archaic and contemporary, (2) sacred national communities, (3) founded religious communities such as the Buddhist, the Christian, and the Islamic, and (4) various religious societies-turned-communities, as for instance orders of monks and nuns. Different though these groups may be, they share what the Dutch scholar Gerardus van der Leeuw (1938) calls the sense of community. This sense "is something not manufactured, but given; it depends not upon sentiment or feeling, but on the Unconscious. It need be founded upon no conviction, because it is self-evident; we do not become members of it, but 'belong to it'" (p. 243).

TRIBAL RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES. To avoid the misleading adjective *primitive,* many scholars now use expressions—not wholly satisfactory—such as *tribal, nonliterate,* and *folk* to refer to the religious forms of a wide variety of peoples who live in small social groups and who possess a simple material culture and an unwritten language. It is often assumed that there are many similarities between tribal communities in archaic or prehistoric periods and tribal communites of the present. It is indeed possible that archaic and contemporary tribal communities are in some way typologically similar, presumably owing to their simple living conditions. Still, one should not overlook the long span of time that separates them.

Archaeological excavations have unearthed a variety of material remains from the prehistoric period, but very little can be reconstructed of the social system of the peoples or the movements of the so-called tribal migrations, including the prehistoric migration of Native Americans from Eurasia to North and South America. Excavated sites of Neolithic settlements, such as Banpo in Shensi, China, may give glimpses of the physical layouts of archaic tribal communities, but it is difficult to know how prehistoric food-gatherers, hunters, and agriculturalists conducted their personal, communal, or religious affairs. Even so, by piecing together evidence from archaeology, physical anthropology, philology, and other sources, it is conjectured that all activities directed toward subsistence and all cultic and religious activities merged to form a single, unified community. Some scholars even speculate that the archaic tribal community was, so to speak, a "religious universe" in which living itself was a religious act.

The contemporary tribal or folk communities scattered throughout Africa, Asia, Oceania, Australia, and the Americas display a great divergence in complexity of community structure, division of labor, cultic and religious beliefs and practices, and relations with neighboring societies and cultures. Moreover, as E. E. Evans-Pritchard (1951) notes, these communities "have just as long a history as our own, and while they are less developed than our society in some respects they are often more developed in others" (p. 7). Different though they are in many other respects, contemporary tribal communities share one characteristic: They are held together, to quote Robert Redfield (1953), "by common understanding as to the ultimate nature and purpose of life." Each community "exists not so much in the exchange of useful functions as in the common understandings as to the ends given" (p. 12). To these communities, life's ultimate purpose is the creation of a meaningful order through imitation of the celestial model, transmitted by myths and celebrated in rituals.

Unlike their archaic counterparts, contemporary tribal communities have more complex social organizations based on locality, age, sex, and sometimes totemic affiliations. Their nucleus is the kinship system, usually with exogamous clans and local territories. Many tribal communities have secret men's societies, which usually meet in the "men's house," an institution known by different designations in different localities but serving similar purposes—a club house for bachelors, a place for community worship, a residence for young boys during their initiatory seclusion. Such societies are found in Australia, New Guinea, Melanesia, Micronesia, Polynesia, the Philippines, India, Africa, and North, Central, and South America. (For examples, see Hutton Webster's *Primitive Secret Societies,* 1932.)

Today it is becoming increasingly inappropriate to apply the designation *community* to some tribal groups. The term is still applicable to such groups as the hunting and gathering tribes of South America and Australia and to the San of southern Africa, but larger groups like the Navajo Indians, who occupy eighteen million acres in Arizona and New Mexico, and the Inuit (Eskimo), whose habitations stretch from Greenland to the Bering Strait, resemble instead huge conglomerate societies containing a series of smaller communities and subgroups and various kinds of cultic fraternities. In addition, because of the impact of surrounding societies, some tribal groups now live in permanent settlements and so have lost their sense of the traditional tribal-religious community.

SACRED NATIONAL COMMUNITIES. The first great civilization in the history of the world emerged around 3500 BCE on the Mesopotamian plain. It was followed by the rise of other civilizations in Egypt, Crete, India, China, Mexico (Mesoamerica), Peru (Andean), and Palestine. According to the cosmography of these civilizations, the state was more than a political entity: It constituted the sacred national community.

Understandably, different civilizations have understood the meaning of the sacred national community differently. For example, in Mesopotamia the universe as a whole was considered a sovereign state governed by the assembly of the gods. In turn, the national state—made up of many city-states, each owned by its own god and ruled by his human steward—was governed by a king, who was himself guided by the executive officer of the assembly of the gods. Thus, as part of the cosmic commonwealth directed by the united wills of the divine powers, the earthly national community was sacred.

In contrast to the Mesopotamian tradition, the Egyptian national state was considered sacred because the king himself was one of the gods. At the same time, he was the intermediary between the people and the gods, the earthly community's divine representative. He was also the one recognized priest of all the gods, and as such he ruled the nation with the help of deputies, the officials and priests.

A third type of sacred national community, one rarer than the first two, is the Hebrew concept of a community based on a covenant between a god and his people. Despite the fiction of their common ancestry from Abraham, the Israelites were a composite people. As the prophets Hosea and Jeremiah stressed, they understood the sacral character of their commonwealth to depend both on faithful adherence to the covenant and on ethical conduct.

Throughout history, many nations have defined their sacrality in terms of one of these three types—king as deputy, king as god, or covenantal/contractual community—or a combination of them. But with increasing stratification of society and political organization, and the solidification of religious traditions, national communities have eroded. They have been replaced by a variety of relationships between religion and state ranging from theocracy—reminiscent of the sacred national community—to the secular state. But the *idea* of the sacred national community has persisted in various forms into the present century, as in, for example, Japan and Tibet.

FOUNDED RELIGOUS COMMUNITIES. In contrast to the sacred national community, whose *raison d'être* and destiny depend on the corporate life of the sociopolitical entity, the founded religious community, as this author is using the term, refers to a community that derives its initial impetus from the religious experience of the founder of a religion. The better-known classical examples of such founded groups are the Buddhist, Christian, and Islamic communities; lesser known but equally significant are the Jain, Zoroastrian, and Manichaean communities. The founded religious communities of recent origin, such as the Sikh, Baha'i, Mormon, and a number of contemporary new religious communities in Asia, Africa, and the Americas, generally follow a similar pattern.

For convenience of exposition, one can identify three stages in this pattern: (1) the significance of the founder, (2) the process of formation, and (3) the usual, but by no means universal, manner in which such a religious community develops.

For the most part, the actual or legendary accounts of a religious founder (accepted as authentic, of course, by the given religious community) follow—with some notable exceptions—what is often called a law or scenario of sacred biography: the founder's miraculous birth, unusual childhood, ordeal or personal crisis prior to having a decisive religious experience, successful or unsuccessful ministry, and memorable demise, implying death or a new life beyond.

Then, either during or after the founder's lifetime, a circle of disciples becomes the nucleus of an informal brotherhood or fraternity. In the course of time, this brotherhood grows into an egalitarian or hierarchical religious community, with official scriptures, liturgies, and rules of conduct as well as specialists in sacred matters: clergy, scholars, jurists, monastics, bureaucrats, and service personnel. The religious community also develops a channel of authority to coordinate the activities of its scattered branches and faithful.

Finally, the religious community must cope with the surrounding culture, society, and secular political authorities, which view it with varying degrees of positive, negative, or neutral attitudes. Internally, this community often suffers from routinization, clericalization, inertia, spiritual decay, and fossilization. In this process, various kinds of reform and protest movements arise. Whether forward- or backward-looking, they cause change, schism, or secession, or establish small societies of like-minded members within the framework of the larger religious community (*ecclesiola in ecclesia*). The reformers and leaders of schismatic and sectarian groups often become *de facto* founders, and the groups—both inside and outside the larger religious communities—take on the characteristics of religious communities.

Significantly, the idea of the unity of the religious community tends to persist, in spite of schismatic division or the breakup of the community's empirical structure into sects or denominations or possibly both. Thus, all divided Buddhist groups recite the same threefold affirmation of the essential unity of the Buddha, the Dharma (Buddhist doctrine), and the Samgha (the Buddhist community); all traditions of Islam affirm the unity of its community (*ummah*); and all divisions of Christianity accept the Christian community (church) as the one unbroken "body of Christ" that exists beneath its empirical disunity: "Credo in . . . unam sanctam catholicam ecclesiam."

RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES-TURNED-COMMUNITIES. As mentioned earlier, a variety of small religious societies and cultic fraternities tend to emerge within the framework of "sacred national communities" and "founded religious communities." Many such groups, if not formed for limited, temporary, and specific purposes, have the potential to become religious communities. How a religious society, viewed from a sociological perspective, becomes a religious community, may be seen in the initial development of the founded religious community. For example, as E. J. Thomas astutely observes in *The History of Buddhist Thought* (1933), the Buddhist community started "not with a body of doctrine, but with the formation of a society bound by certain rules" (p. 14). But the initiation of a variety of individuals into this society reoriented it toward the corporate soteriological objective and led to a shared experience, so that the society became a religious community.

To take another familiar example, Christianity started as a charismatic society within the fold of the Jewish community. After the Pentecost, it affirmed that those who were initiated into that society, Jews and gentiles alike, became the true Israel by virtue of being grafted onto the stock of Abraham. This in turn transformed them into children of God in the Christian community by being born "not of the will of man, but of God" (*Jn.* 1:13). Similarly, gnostic groups started out as mystery societies or circles at the periphery of the Christian fold but quickly developed into full-fledged religious communities.

The intricate relationship between religious societies and religious communities just illustrated tempts one to count numerous groups of ambiguous character among religious communities. However, this article shall here consider only those societies that were established for specific religious and cultic purposes within larger tribal, sacred national, and founded religious communities, and that were later transformed into more permanent and coherent religious communities possessing such characteristics as rites of initiation, private or corporate religious ceremonies and duties, and independent organizational structures. This article shall give brief typological discussions of (1) secret societies, (2) mystery societies/communities, (3) cult-based communities, (4) religous orders/monastic communities/service societies, and (5) utopian communities.

Secret societies. Secret societies include a wide range of groups that initiate in secret, possess secret symbols or rituals, or transmit esoteric knowledge. In size they range from small societies in tribal religious communities to Freemasonry, whose membership on both sides of the Atlantic numbers 5.9 million. (Freemasonry's satellite groups, among them the Ancient Arabic Order of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine—popularly known as the Shriners—and the Order of the Eastern Star, are not secret societies. The Ku Klux Klan, on the other hand, is a secret terrorist organization but not a religious society, despite its stress on white Protestant supremacy.)

In part, secret societies overlap with the next two types of society-turned-community—the mystery societies and the cult-based communities. For example, the secret societies of ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome were in fact mystery societies, with the possible exception of the Pythagorean community, and they will be discussed under that heading. The past ten centuries of Chinese history have been sprinkled with secret societies, some of which—notably the Maitreya Society, the White Lotus Society, the White Cloud Society, and the Triad Society—were inspired by Buddhist-Daoist eclecticism. The last major Chinese secret society was the Society of Shangdi, whose patriarch, Hong Xiuquan, who was influenced in part by Christianity, started the Taiping Rebellion in 1848. Contrary to popular impression, the esoteric schools of Buddhism, which transmit esoteric truth, are not secret societies: Though the transmission of the teaching is secret, membership is open to anyone. In Europe, despite the predominance of Christianity and the threat of the Inquisition, pre-Christian pagan legacies of witchcraft and sorcery were kept alive by secret societies such as the Calsari, while the neo-Manichaean Cathari and other persecuted heretical groups went underground and tried to survive as secret societies.

Among contemporary tribal communities, secret societies are virtually universal phenomena. According to Paul Radin in *The Winnebago* (1923), the Winnebago Indian community has the following four groups: (1) clans or natural groups, which exclude outsiders from their ceremonies, (2) religious societies limited to those who receive the blessings of a special spirit, (3) the medicine group, a mystery society, and (4) associations of warriors and other such groups. As for African secret societies, Wilfrid D. Hambly's *Source-Book for African Anthropology* (1937) depicts the following types: (1) those based on age and sex affinities, (2) those connected with initiation, (3) those concerned with political and legal matters, and (4) those based on economic differentiation. Similar admixtures of religio-cultic, economic, and social factors are found in many other secret societies of contemporary tribal communities in various parts of the world.

Mystery societies/communities. Classical types of mystery societies or communities emerged in the Greco-Roman world and in China, where the mysteries were believed to confer immortality and eternal life. Many mystery cults, such as that of Eleusis, originated with certain families. In the course of time, various Greek mystery cults developed private mystery societies. Under Roman rule, some of these societies became more open cultic communities. Meanwhile, other mystery cults of foreign origin—for instance, the cults of the Great Mother from Asia Minor, of Mithra from Iran, and of Serapis from Egypt—penetrated Greece and Rome. In the Roman world, many joined the cultic groups of Dionysos in search of personal immortality, but the religion of Mithra was probably the most influential mystery cult.

In China, Daoism greatly amplified the belief in immortals (*xian*), which was already very strong. The so-called Huanglao cult (the cult of the legendary Yellow Emperor and Laozi) attracted many immortality-seekers before the beginning of the common era. Vigorously promoted by priest-magicians, this tradition was further developed in the second century CE by Zhang Ling, who inaugurated a magico-religious movement called the Way of the Five Bushels of Rice with Zhang Ling himself as the Heavenly Teacher. Meanwhile, other Daoists combined Daoist philosophy with the Yin-yang school and with alchemy. In the fifith century, Kou Qianji systematized the Daoist community, regulating its theories and cults. Since then Daoism, also called the Religion of Mystery (Xuan Jiao), has exerted great influence not only in China but also in neighboring countries.

Many mystical or semimystical cults, societies, and communities in the Hindu, Buddhist, Islamic, Jewish, and Christian folds exhibit external resemblances to Greco-Roman and Chinese mystery societies and communities. Opinions vary, however, as to how central the "mysteries" are to their communal life.

Cult-based communities. Like the Orgeones, a free cultic association that persisted in Greece at least until the sixth century, certain groups are united primarily by cultic devotion to one or more deities and not by clan, tribal, national, or occupational ties. In other words, their specifically religious interests cut across sectarian and denominational boundaries. Or sometimes different communities participate in common, albeit temporary, cult associations, as do Kwakiutl Indian communities in North America in wartime and during winter dances. The prototype of this category is the *sampradāya* of Hinduism, which may be characterized as a phenomenon halfway between mystery communities and sects or denominations. The members of the *sampradāya,* divided though they are in terms of caste and other affiliations, experience a ritual unity in a communal adherence to particular traditions of teachers, as illustrated by the *sampradāya*s of the deity Viṣṇu, which trace their origin to eminent teachers such as Rāmānuja and Madhva. Similarly, the different groups united in devotion to Śiva trace their origin back to various ascetics. One of the subdivisions of the cult groups of Śiva, the Liṅgāyat, numbers four million members of different backgrounds, who wear the emblem of the phallus as the symbol of their cultic unity.

Similar cult-based communities, by no means as elaborate as the *sampradāya* of Hinduism, are found in many other parts of the world, from ancient Greece to modern Japan. At times, cult seems to be a stronger bond of unity than other features of religious life.

Religious orders/monastic communities/service societies. Important among voluntary groups within larger religious communities are religious orders, which are often, but not always, identified with monastic communities, and sometimes with service societies sponsored by or affiliated with religious bodies. In common English usage, the term *religious* not only connotes "scrupulously faithful" or "devout" but as a noun also refers to those who are bound by monastic vows or devoted to a life of piety and religion, such as monks, friars, and nuns. Similarly, the term *order* signifies a society of persons bound by some common rule, especially an aggregate of separate communities like a monastic brotherhood or community. The term *religious order* could, of course, designate a variety of holy orders that may not practice a monastic form of life. This article, however, shall discuss only those religious orders that come under the category of monastic communities. Similarly, of all the service societies under religious jurisdiction—societies for missionary work, teaching, and philanthropy, and others as well—only those that are organized as communities will be discussed.

Students of religions recognize various kinds of religious brotherhoods, guilds of priests, and monastic communities in different traditions, as for example the Pythagorean brotherhood in ancient Greece, the Bektashī order in Islam, and the Vedanta Society of modern India. Two religious traditions that have developed elaborate systems of monastic communities, Buddhism and Christianity, deserve special attention.

Although the early Buddhist community consisted of four components—monks (*bhikkhu* or *bhukṣu*), nuns (*bhikkhuni* or *bhukṣuṇī*), laymen (*upāsaka*), and laywomen (*upāsikā*)—the most central group was the order of monks. Initially, the monastic order started as an informal assembly of wandering mendicants, but soon it developed into monastic communities in which monks shared a normative discipline (Vinaya). Under the patronage of King Aśoka in the third century BCE, monastic communities played an important role as missionaries propagating Buddhism. In the course of time, great monastic communities became centers of religious and secular education and of cultural activities. Although the Buddhist community divided into Southern (Hīnayāna or Theravāda) and Northern (Mahāyāna) traditions, each with further subdivisions along doctrinal and cultic lines, it was possible for monks of different schools to live in the same monastic communities.

In the main, the Southern tradition follows an elitist model: Monks leave the secular world and enter monasteries for a life of full-time spiritual striving toward their own enlightenment, while the laity receives merit by supporting monastic communities. The most elaborate monastic hierarchy developed in Thailand, where the *sangharāja,* or ruler of the monastic community, was under no other authority except that of the king. In the modern period, the traditionally otherworldly monastic communities in the Southern tradition have become more involved in the affairs of the world. In the Northern tradition, on the other hand, the paths of monastics and laity were always regarded as different but equally important vocations. Mahāyāna monastic communities, inspired as they are by the compassionate bodhisattva ideal, stress active service to all beings.

Monastic communities in the Christian tradition are many and varied. Unlike communities in Western Christendom, Eastern Orthodox communities are not divided into different orders. Having originally developed out of informal fellowships of hermits who lived a life of prayer, they were transformed in the fourth century into monastic communities with three components: those who lead a monastic life without taking vows and two grades of monastics who take permanent vows (monks of "lesser" and "greater" habits). In Western Christendom, the *Rule of Saint Benedict* (c. 540) transformed earlier, loosely organized communities of hermits into disciplined monastic communities. The Rule provided the norm of communal life based on the daily offices, as followed by the Cluniacs and the Cistercians. Meanwhile, more activist orders of friars, such as the Franciscans and the Dominicans, appeared on the European scene. They were followed by the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits), which not only championed the cause of the Counter-Reformation at home but also initiated extensive missionary activities abroad. Both Eastern and Western traditions of Christianity comprise many orders of nuns. Like their male counterparts, some nuns are contemplative while others pursue educational and philanthropic vocations.

Utopian communities. Most religious communities have what might be characterized as utopian features or ideals. Many myths of tribal religious communities reflect their notion of the idealized celestial realm or the paradigmatic activities of gods and heroes at the beginning of time. Many historic religious communities affirm the existence of an ideal state either in their golden past or at the end of history. Philosophers like Confucius and Plato have also attempted to depict the ideal society on earth.

But in a more specific sense, the term *utopia* is derived from Thomas More's *On the Highest State of a Republic and on the New Island of Utopia* (1516). More's idea of an idealized society, realizable on earth, and his critique of the lamentable state of the world, continued to stir literary and religious imagination after his time. From the seventeenth century onward, a number of utopian communities have been established on either side of the Atlantic, including New Harmony in Indiana, Brook Farm in Massachusetts, and Oneida in New York. There have also been such religious utopian communities as the Dutch Mennonite colonies in Delaware, the German Pietist settlements in Indiana and Pennsylvania, and the Bruderhof communities in Germany, England, and North America.

For the most part, utopian elements in the Islamic, Buddhist, and Chinese traditions were absorbed into millenarian and eschatological ideologies, but they did not inspire the establishment of separate communal settlements. In modern Japan, however, a number of utopian communities inspired by Lev Tolstoi and several indigenous messianic cults have emerged. Modern Jewish settlements in Palestine, many of which took the form of *kibbutsim,* exhibit an intricate homology of religious, political, and social utopian features. Most of the "hippie" communes that emerged in America in the 1960s and 1970s can hardly be classified as religious utopian communities, but an increasing number of utopian communities are being generated in North America today by Christians, Theosophists, and new religious groups of diverse origins.

CONCLUSION. Religion, then, is both a personal matter and a social reality. Throughout the history of humankind, from the prehistoric period down to the present day, religion has sought fellowship either by intensifying the existing social fabric—family, clan, tribe, caste, local or national community—or by creating specifically religious communities within, above, or apart from other social and political groupings and institutions. Despite their diversity, these groups all share that unconscious sense that makes them communities to which religious persons belong.

SEE ALSO Community; Monasticism; Mystery Religions; Secret Societies; Utopia.

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RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES: CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS ORDERS

Christians have used the term *religious order* in both a narrow, technical sense and a broader, more common one. Popularly, religious orders are thought to include any and all men or women who profess public vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience; follow a common rule of life; engage in a specific kind of work (e.g., teaching, nursing, missionary endeavor); and submit to the directions of superiors who may be either appointed by higher ecclesiastical authority or elected in some manner by the order's members. In this broad sense, virtually all religious communities of Christian men and women may be referred to as orders, but more technically, a religious order is qualified by certain conditions that do not necessarily affect all Christians who choose a life of prayer and service in community with others.

Three qualifications have commonly been attached to this narrower meaning of a religious order: the public profession of "solemn" (as opposed to "simple") vows; an obligation to celebrate publicly each day the Liturgy of the Hours (a pattern of psalms, hymns, scripture readings, and prayers attached to specific times of day and night), and restriction to a cloister or "enclosure" (a defined space, often identified with the physical limits of the monastery or convent, within which members live and from which all outsiders are excluded). In history and practice, however, these qualifications have been neither rigid nor absolute. The Society of Jesus (Jesuits) has been regarded in Western church law as a religious order in the strict sense, even though its members have never been cloistered. Similarly, the exact distinction between solemn and simple vows, unknown before the thirteenth century, has never been entirely clear either to theologians or to experts in church law. In common theory, a solemn vow has been defined as a free, irrevocable promise made to God that binds the individual forever and renders certain actions opposed to the vows (e.g., marriage as opposed to celibacy; the ownership of property as opposed to poverty) not only illicit but null and invalid as well. A simple vow, in contrast, is regarded as having a less absolute character and may thus be made for a limited period of time (e.g., for one year or three years). In practice, however, the distinction blurs, since people may make simple vows in perpetuity, while those who have made irrevocable solemn vows may be released from them through a legal process known as dispensation.

The term *religious order* is more commonly used by Western Christians (e.g., Roman Catholics or members of Protestant communions) than by Eastern Christians (e.g., Greek or Russian Orthodox). Even within the Roman Catholic church, where attention to the precise legal status of religious vows and communities has been examined and evaluated for centuries, ambiguities still exist. Catholic members of religious orders are subject to the definitions and provisions of the Code of Canon Law (1983).

ORIGINS. For centuries, Christian apologists have attempted to find a basis for religious orders in the historical ministry and teaching of Jesus. An early example may be seen in the *Life of Antony* by Athanasius (c. 298–373), which reports Antony of Egypt's (c. 250–355) conversion to a solitary life of prayer and asceticism after hearing Jesus' words in church: "If you would be perfect, go, sell what you possess and give to the poor . . . and come, follow me" (*Mt.* 19:21). This biography helped spread monastic ideals throughout the Roman empire and encouraged the notion that to live alone with God, apart from all human company, is the supreme Christian response to Jesus' message.

There is no clear evidence that Jesus himself observed or promoted the ascetic life, or directly invited or commanded his followers to choose a life of poverty, celibacy, and obedience to human superiors. Central to Jesus' understanding of the relation between God and humankind was the conviction that God's reign (or kingdom) could break in upon the world at any time in any place—and that this reign would guarantee blessing and happiness for those open to receive it. Significant among the traditions associated with Jesus' life and collected in the Gospels are stories that show Jesus enjoying certain events (parties, dinners) and associating with people not ordinarily linked with an ascetic way of living (sinners, prostitutes).

While the remote origins of religious orders cannot be directly assigned to Jesus, possible antecedents to Christian asceticism may be discerned in both Judaism and the Greco-Roman world. Some members of the circle that gathered around John the Baptist probably adhered to a life of strict self-denial and repentance as preparation for God's impending judgment of the world. Most notable among Jewish antecedents were the sectarians of Qumran near the Dead Sea, whose collection of writings, the Dead Sea Scrolls, was discovered in 1947. Many scholars have identified the Qumran sectarians with a Jewish ascetic group known as the Essenes, who are mentioned by Philo of Alexandria (c. 13 BCE–45 to 50 CE), Josephus the Jewish historian (c. 37–100 CE), and Pliny the Elder (23–79 CE). Their descriptions show that the Essenes not only existed during Jesus' time but had developed a highly organized manner of life, which included an arduous three-year novitiate for newcomers, sharing of goods, celibacy, and strict obedience to authorities.

Similar to the Essenes was an Egyptian Jewish group of ascetics called the Therapeutae, whose principal center was a hill just outside Alexandria above Lake Mareotis. Among ancient writers, only Philo describes them. If his report is reliable, the Therapeutae were distinguished from more active groups like the Essenes by their strict seclusion. Each member of the sect seems to have had a separate dwelling, within which a special room was set aside for the daily study of scripture. Weekly, on the Sabbath, members met for common worship, while once every seven weeks a solemn feast, marked by a ritual meal eaten in silence and by the wearing of white clothing, was celebrated. The Therapeutae appear to have been celibate, though persons previously married were permitted to join them. Members were also expected to abjure the use of money, share goods in common, and keep bodily needs to a minimum.

Though the Therapeutae were Jewish, they can hardly have escaped influence from Greek philosophical traditions, especially in the region around Alexandria, the intellectual center of the Hellenistic world in the first century CE. In both the first century BCE and the first century CE, there were non-Jewish ascetic movements inspired by philosophers like Pythagoras (c. 580–500 BCE) and the Neo-Pythagoreans. Pythagoras himself is thought to have established a quasi-religious "club" or school in Croton, Italy, which fostered secret initiation ceremonies, communal sharing of goods, vows, and a vegetarian diet. Neo-Pythagoreans were particularly interested in religious life and theology, and they probably exerted influence upon both Judaism, through Philo of Alexandria, and early Christianity, through Clement of Alexandria (150?–215?).

While the extent of Jewish and Greco-Roman influence on the origins of Christian asceticism is difficult to assess, at least some early Christian congregations are known to have prized celibacy, if freely chosen for religious motives. In the *First Letter to the Corinthians* (c. 57), Paul encourages celibacy as a means of giving undivided attention to the Lord (*1 Cor.* 7:25–35). Because in Christ the final age of salvation has dawned for the world, Paul argues, even married Christians should behave in a manner that leaves them unencumbered by the business and burdens of the world (*1 Cor.* 7:29–31). Similarly, an earlier letter of Paul's to the congregation at Thessalonica (c. 51) had encouraged all Christians to pursue constant prayer and watchfulness (*1 Thes.* 5:1–17), practices later linked to monasticism and the ascetic life.

Before the end of the New Testament period, a distinct body of persons dedicated to prayer, celibacy, and charitable service within the congregation was recognized and regulated by church leaders. The widows described in the *First Letter to Timothy* appear to have been such a body. Widows were expected to be at least sixty years old, to be married only once, to be devoted to hospitality and the care of others, and to attend faithfully regular meetings for prayer and worship. In return, they could expect to receive material support from the congregation. Once admitted to the group, widows were to remain celibate; thus younger women who lost their husbands were advised to remarry (*1 Tm.* 5:11–15).

These examples reveal that the earliest Christians did not think an ascetic way of life should involve separation from the rest of the community. The celibate widows of the *First Letter to Timothy* are organized for the edification and service of the local community; they do not take vows, nor are they set apart through a public ceremony. Neither the widows nor the virgins mentioned by Paul in *1 Corinthians* are seen as having "superiors" distinct from the ordinary local leaders of the congregation. And nowhere in the New Testament are Christians advised to withdraw into solitary isolation.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT. Despite early Christian deemphasis on an ascetic way of life separate from the community, the notion that some Christians might be called to a life of extraordinary dedication to God gained ground—and with it the related idea that such a life was more perfect than that of other believers. Both Clement of Alexandria, head of an important Christian school in Alexandria in the late second century, and his pupil Origen (c. 185–c. 254) were enthusiastic for ascetic ideals. Strongly influenced by the philosophy of Middle Platonism, both Clement and Origen spoke rapturously of the "true Christian gnostic" whose knowledge (Gr., *gnōsis*) is perfectly illuminated by faith in Christ, God's Logos (the Greek *logos* meaning both "word" and "reason"). In his commentary on the *Song of Songs,* Origen traced the stages of growth in the Christian's interior life and seemed to suggest that certain degrees of contemplative intimacy with Christ were possible only for the "perfect"—and that such perfect believers were a breed apart from the rest of the community.

Neither Clement nor Origen intended to create sectarian divisions within the church, nor did they want to pit groups of perfect Christians against less perfect ones in a battle for perfection. Still, their discussions of spiritual growth could be interpreted by less subtle thinkers as meaning that the truest Christians are celibate ascetics, while all others are innately inferior. It is not insignificant that Latin Christian writers of this period like Tertullian (c. 160?–225?) and Cyprian of Carthage (third century) also began producing works devoted to the praise of virginity as an ideal state for Christians.

By the fourth century, ascetic ideals were securely entrenched, as was the notion that Christians might legitimately withdraw from society and church in a solitary pursuit of perfection. The example of Antony has already been mentioned. Changes in the relation between church and culture after the emperor Constantine's Edict of Milan (313), which recognized Christianity as a licit religion in the empire, created a new situation. Some Christians felt that acceptance of their religion by the empire posed a serious threat to devout living and perfect union with God. Martyrdom, the oldest form of Christian heroism and a symbol of utmost dedication to God, was displaced by celibate asceticism, a spiritual sacrifice of ultimate value. Numerous ascetic movements began in the fourth century; virgins and monks became the "new martyrs" in an imperialized Christianity.

This notion of protest leads directly to the question of monastic origins. For a long time scholars assumed that Christian monasticism began as an exclusively eremitical phenomenon in Egypt, with people like Antony, and that it spread from there to other parts of the world. Cenobitic monasticism (monks living in community with other monks) was thought to have developed in a similar way, beginning with Pachomius (c. 293?–346) and his cenobitic foundation in the Thebaid near the Nile River (c. 320), but recent scholarship has shown that this hypothesis about monastic origins is untenable. A more likely theory is that monastic life, in both its eremitical and cenobitic forms, developed simultaneously in many different parts of the ancient world—Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Cappadocia, Mesopotamia.

The work of Pachomius was extremely influential because it provided an organized pattern of community life for men and women who wished to devote themselves both to asceticism and to service of others. Pachomian monks met twice daily for prayer and scripture-reading, but they also worked hard, raised their own food, engaged in handicrafts, shipped grain and products down the Nile to Alexandria, cared for orphans and the elderly, and nursed the sick. When Pachomius died in 346, there were eleven cenobitic monasteries, nine for men and two for women.

Elsewhere the development of organized monastic life encountered greater difficulty. In Cappadocia, Basil of Caesarea (c. 329–379) struggled to keep Christian ascetics from both sectarian eccentricity and heretical separation from the church. In that region, the legitimacy of ascetic life had been compromised by the unbalanced views of Eustathius of Sebaste (c. 300–377), who repudiated marriage for Christians, rejected the ministry of married clergy, and encouraged ascetics to hold their own worship services apart from those of the larger church. These views were denounced by the Council of Gangra (c. 345). Through his *Moral Rules* (c. 360) and his *Longer Rules* and *Shorter Rules* (c. 370), Basil tried to root Christian asceticism in texts drawn from the Bible. Rejecting sectarianism of the Eustathian sort, Basil affirmed the necessity of ascetic principles for all Christians and insisted that ascetics should remain close to the life and worship of the local congregation. Eastern Christian monks and nuns still regard Basil's rules as the fundamental charter for their way of life.

In the fourth century in the West, interest in asceticism and monastic life flourished. Jerome (c. 347–420) relates that a disciplined ascetic life, especially for virgins and widows, was well known in Rome and elsewhere in Italy. Bishop Ambrose of Milan (c. 339–397) is known to have consecrated virgins and also to have acted as patron for a monastery of men just outside Milan. Martin of Tours (c. 316–397), traditionally if inaccurately known as "the first monk in the West," promoted monasticism in western France, while in the south, Lérins (actually two islands just off the coast from Cannes) became an influential monastic center after Honoratus, bishop of Arles (d. 429), established a monastery there around the year 410.

In Roman North Africa, too, monasticism was expanding. Augustine of Hippo (354–430) provided advice and structural organization for communities of men and women. His rule (reconstructed from three separate documents) emphasizes such ideals as common ownership of property, communal prayer several times each day, simplicity in food and clothing, manual labor, celibacy, and obedience. At a later period, the Augustinian rule was adopted by groups known as "canons regular" (see below).

The most significant figure in Western monasticism was Benedict of Nursia (c. 480–547). Though almost nothing certain is known of his life, the rule (c. 530) that bears his name became so widely respected that it eventually supplanted most other Western monastic legislation and remains the foundation for the Benedictine order to this day. While it does not reject the eremitical life, the *Rule of Saint Benedict* clearly prefers cenobitic living and proposes a pattern that balances prayer, scripture-reading, rest, and manual labor in almost equal proportion under the government of an abbot responsible to God for the welfare of each individual in the monastery.

Benedictine monasticism, like the other ascetic movements described so far, was primarily "lay" rather than clerical in character. Many early ascetics like Pachomius and Jerome were in fact politely hostile toward the clergy, and while sixth-century documents like Benedict's rule permit ordained people to seek admission to the monastery, they include stern warnings against clerical pride and privilege. After the ninth century especially, it became common to ordain most Benedictine monks to the priesthood, but this practice was a departure from the rule and from earlier tradition.

Like many movements, Christian monasticism periodically needed reform, sometimes to correct abuse, at other times to reinvigorate or redefine ideals. In the West, especially from the time of Charlemagne (r. 768–814) onward, periodic reforms resulted in changes within monasticism and occasionally in the creation of new religious orders. Benedict of Aniane (c. 750–821) helped reorganize monasticism in the Carolingian empire by promoting exclusive allegiance to the Benedictine rule. Toward the end of the eleventh century, the reforming efforts of Gregory VII (r. 1073–1085) had two important effects: the reform of groups known as "canons regular" and the emergence of a new monastic order, the Cistercians. These latter stem from the Monastery of Cïteaux, founded in 1098 by Robert of Molesmes and made most famous by Bernard of Clairvaux, who joined it in 1112. Reacting against the wealth and prestige of Benedictine houses like Cluny (founded in 909), the Cistercians hoped to recall monks to a stricter, more primitive observance of monastic life. The Cistercian order still exists, though it was later reformed by Armand-Jean de Rancé (1626–1700) at the Abbey of La Trappe (hence the name Trappists).

The reform of canons regular, whose way of life had already been organized by Chrodegang of Metz (d. 766) in the eighth century, resulted in adoption of Augustine's rule by groups such as the Augustinian Canons (papal approval in 1059 and 1063) and the Canons of Prémontré (Norbertines, after Norbert, who founded them in 1120). Unlike monks, who were originally laity, canons were from the beginning a body of clergy who lived in common and ministered with the bishop at a diocesan cathedral. As a result of the eleventh-century reforms, canons assumed many features of monastic life (including an abbatial structure of government), much as monks had taken on many characteristics of clerical life.

It was a Spanish canon regular, Dominic (c. 1170–1221), who was largely responsible, along with Francis of Assisi (1181/2–1226), for the emergence of a new type of religious order in the West—the "mendicant friars." Unlike either canons (clergy) or monks (originally lay, but bound to one place by a vow of stability), the mendicants could move about freely to carry on tasks of teaching, preaching, studying, and serving the poor. Dominic's Order of Preachers quickly gained a reputation for scholarship, especially in the thirteenth-century universities. Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225–1274), the great theologian, was an early and brilliant exponent of Dominican ideals, while his contemporary at the University of Paris was Bonaventure (c. 1217–1274), a Franciscan. Like the Augustinian and Norbertine canons, the Dominican and Franciscan friars still exist, with members working in many parts of the world.

In 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council forbade the creation of more religious orders, though in fact new communities have continued to emerge up to the present time. Perhaps the most significant of these newer groups were the "congregations" of religious men and women that appeared after the Council of Trent (1545–1563). Some leaders at Trent appeared to agree with the Protestant reformers and sought to abolish religious orders altogether. But the work of people like Antonio Maria Zaccaria (1502–1539, founder of the Barnabites in 1530), and later of François de Sales (1567–1622) and Jeanne-Françoise de Chantal (1572–1641), founders of the Visitation sisters, helped convince doubters that viable new religious communities were possible. Most of these newer groups stressed active participation in church and society through works like teaching, nursing, care of orphans, and assistance to the needy.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, religious orders also appeared in some Protestant communions, such as the Church of England. A monastic community of men, the Society of Saint John the Evangelist (Cowley Fathers), was founded in 1865 by Richard M. Benson while in 1907, the Sisters of the Love of God were established as a cloistered, contemplative community for women at Fairacres, Oxford. Among Roman Catholics, the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) caused sweeping changes in religious orders. Old styles of clothing (the religious habit), government (methods of choosing superiors, their terms of office, the practice of obedience), and local customs (rules of fasting, silence, prayer) were modernized or abandoned. For some orders these changes have brought dwindling memberships, while others have continued to grow.

SEE ALSO Asceticism; Benedictines; Cistercians; Dominicans; Eremitism; Essenes; Franciscans; Jesuits; Monastery; Monasticism.

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RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY.

[*This entry examines the origins and differing patterns of development of the world's major religious traditions, as well as the varying patterns of interaction between these religions and the social, political, and economic frameworks with which they coexist.*]

Religion and religious conceptions, beyond being systems of belief and patterns of worship, constitute a central component, as Max Weber pointed out, in the construction of the basic symbolic and institutional premises of societies and civilizations. This article shall explore systematically the relationship between several crucial aspects of religions and the construction of institutional features of societies and civilizations.

"PAGAN" AND "GREAT" RELIGIONS. This article shall concentrate on the analysis of a basic distinction between two broad types of religions: the so-called pagan religions (without, for reasons of space, going into the many differences between them) and the "great" religions (with some distinctions drawn from within the latter). It will explore some of the major ways in which some of the basic characteristics of these religions, especially of the religious belief systems, have shaped the contours of the respective civilizations in which they were institutionalized.

The societies in which different types of pagan religions were predominant have, of course, been many, and they include all tribal or preliterate societies, as well as many so-called archaic ones such as those of the ancient Near and Middle East, South and Southeast Asia, Japan, Mesoamerica, and many others.

The civilizations shaped by the great religions were denoted by Karl Jaspers in his work *Vom Ursprung und Ziel der Geschichte* (1949), as the "Axial Age" civilizations, including ancient Israel, ancient Greece, the early Christian world, Zoroastrian Iran, early imperial China, the Hindu and Buddhist civilizations, and, though postdating the Axial Age proper, the Islamic world.

The central distinction between these two broad types of religions is focused on the nature of the perception and definition of the relationship between what is mundane, or "given," and what is "transmundane" (otherworldly).

In all human societies, the transmundane order has been perceived as somewhat different, usually higher and stronger, than the mundane one. In pre-Axial Age, pagan civilizations, this higher world was symbolically structured according to principles very similar to those of the mundane or lower one; in other words, there existed a high degree of homology between them. Relatively similar symbolic terms or connotations were used for the definitions of both gods and humans and for both the mundane and transmundane orders, even if there always was a stress on the differences between them. In such societies the transmundane world was usually equated with a concrete setting, "the otherworld," which was the abode of the dead, the world of spirits, not entirely unlike the mundane world in detail.

By contrast, in the Axial Age civilizations, the perception of a sharp disjunction between the mundane and transmundane worlds developed. There was a concomitant stress on the existence of a higher, transcendental moral or metaphysical order that is beyond any given this-worldly or otherworldly reality.

On the symbolic or ideological level the development of these conceptions gives rise to the problem of salvation, to use Weber's terminology. The roots of the quest for salvation are manifest in the consciousness of death and the arbitrariness of human actions and social arrangements. The search for some type of immortality and a way to overcome such arbitrariness are universal to all societies. In societies where the mundane and transmundane worlds are defined in relatively homologous terms, the search for immortality has generally been envisaged in terms of some physical continuity; it is usually seen as conditional to the fulfillment of one's concrete obligation to one's group.

This no longer holds true for civilizations where there is an emphasis on the chasm between the transcendental and the mundane order and a conception of a higher moral or metaphysical order. While the concept of immortality in such civilizations may or may not still be tied to bodily images and to ideas of physical resurrection, the very possibility of some continuity beyond this world is usually seen in terms of the reconstruction of human behavior and personality. This reconstruction tends to be based on the precepts of the higher moral or metaphysical order through which the chasm between the transcendental and mundane orders is bridged; as Gananath Obeyesekere has put it, rebirth eschatology becomes ethicized.

STRUCTURE OF AXIAL AGE ELITES. The conceptions outlined above were developed and articulated by a relatively new social element, a new type of intellectual elite, which became aware of the necessity of actively ordering the world according to some transcendental vision. The best illustrations of such elites are the Jewish prophets and priests, the Greek philosophers and Sophists, the Chinese literati, the Hindu brahmans, the Buddhist *saṃgha,* and the Islamic *ʿulamāʾ.* These new elites, which developed in conjunction with the process of institutionalization of these visions, generally differed from the ritual, magical, and sacral specialists of the pre-Axial Age civilizations. Intellectuals and clerics alike were recruited and legitimized according to distinct criteria, and were organized in autonomous settings, apart from those of their basic ascriptive units. They acquired a society-wide status of their own. They also tended to become independent of other categories of elites and social groups and competed strongly with these others, especially over the articulation and control of symbols and media of communication. Such competition became intensive because a parallel transformation had taken place in the structure of other elites, who also developed claims for an autonomous place in the construction of the cultural and social order. They saw themselves not only as performing specific technical, functional activities, but also as the potential carriers of a distinct cultural and social order related to the transcendental vision prevalent in their respective societies. The nonpolitical cultural elites and the political elites each saw themselves as the autonomous articulators of the new order, with the other type potentially inferior to and accountable to themselves.

Moreover neither of these groups of elites was homogenous. There developed a multiplicity of secondary cultural, political, and educational elites, each of which often carried a different conception of the cultural and social order. These elites were the most active in the restructuring of the world and the institutional creativity that developed in these societies.

CONSTRUCTION OF AXIAL AGE SOCIETIES. Common to all these elites were several tendencies with respect to the restructuring of the world and the construction of personality, civilization, and social order according to a transcendental vision and the principles of a higher metaphysical, ethical, or sacred order.

The given, mundane order was perceived in these civilizations as incomplete, inferior, and even in need of being reconstructed according to the conception of salvation, or the bridging of the chasm between the transcendental and the mundane orders.

Personal identity was usually taken beyond the definition of humankind in terms of the primordial givens of human existence, beyond the various technical needs of daily activities, to be constructed around the central mode or modes of human action through which the tensions between the transcendental and the mundane order are resolved. Purely personal virtues, such as courage, or interpersonal ones, such as solidarity, mutual help, and the like, have been taken out of their primordial (i.e., given) framework and combined in different, often dialectical, modes with the attributes needed to enact such a resolution. This combination resulted in a new level of tensions in the structure of the personality.

These conceptions also had far-reaching implications for institutions. The most common has been the high degree of symbolic and ideological orientation of the major aspects of institutional structure, manifest in the construction of distinct civilizational frameworks, collectivities, and autonomous centers, as well as the growth of conceptions of the accountability of rulers and new patterns of political struggle.

Civilizational collectivities. Some collectivities and institutional spheres (for instance, political, military, or economic) were singled out as the most appropriate carriers of these attributes that were required for resolution. As a result, new types of collectivities were created, or seemingly natural and "primordial" groups were endowed with special status couched in terms of the perception of the tension between the transcendental and mundane order and its resolution. In this context, the most important innovation was the development of cultural or religious collectivities—as distinct from ethnic or political ones—even if some embryonic elements of this development existed in some of those societies where this tension had not been institutionalized. The membership of these collectivities tended to become imbued with a strong ideological orientation and to become involved in ideological struggle. An aspect of this struggle was the insistence on the exclusiveness and closure of the group, and on the distinction between inner and outer social and cultural space as defined by it. This led to attempts to structure the different cultural, political, and ethnic collectivities in some hierarchical order, which usually became a focus of ideological and political conflict.

Centers and center-periphery relations. Related to the construction of such major collectivities was the tendency toward the development of autonomous organization of the social centers and toward a relatively strong emphasis on the symbolic distinctiveness of the centers in relation to the periphery. Such centers have been conceived as the major loci of the charismatic attributes of the transcendental vision, and hence also of the construction of cultural and societal orders. These attributes of centrality became naturally related to the institutional spheres that show the closest affinity to the focus of the transcendental tension, and the centers most closely related to these spheres became autonomous and distinct from the periphery.

At the same time, the symbolic differentiation of the center gave rise to its tendency to permeate the periphery and to reorganize it according to its own, autonomous criteria. Carriers of the great traditions attempted to pull the little traditions into their orbit, and the latter tried to dissociate themselves from the great traditions, to profane them, and also, paradoxically enough, to generate their own distinct ideology.

In all these civilizations (as distinct from pre-Axial Age civilizations) there also took place a far-reaching reordering of the relationship between the political and the higher, transcendental order. The political order, as the central locus of the mundane order, was usually conceived as lower than the transcendental one; accordingly it had to be restructured according to the precepts of the latter. Above all, the political order had to reflect the perception of the proper mode of overcoming the tension between the transcendental and the mundane order (i.e., "salvation").

At the same time the nature of the rulers became greatly transformed. The king-god, who embodied the cosmic and earthly orders alike, disappeared, and a secular ruler, in principle accountable to some higher order, appeared. Thus there reemerged the conception of the accountability of the rulers and of the community to a higher authority—God, divine law, and the like. Accordingly, the possibility of calling a ruler to judgment emerged.

Autonomous spheres of law and conceptions of human rights also began to develop. These tended to be somewhat distinct from ascriptively bound custom and from purely customary law, and while their scope varied greatly from society to society, all were established according to some distinct and autonomous criteria.

Parallel developments have also taken place in the structuring of social hierarchies and the economy, which became imbued in varying degrees and modes with broader ideological dimensions.

Dynamics of Axial Age civilizations. All these modes of reconstruction of the social and civilizational orders were not, however, static; indeed they were the focus of continuous struggle and change, and cannot be understood except in connection with the tensions inherent in the institutionalization of the tension between the transcendental and the mundane order as well as of the quest to overcome it. Such institutionalization generated an awareness of a great range of possibilities or visions of the very definition of such tensions; of the proper mode of their resolution as well as an awareness of the partiality or incompleteness of any given institutionalization of such vision. Historically, institutionalization was never a simple or peaceful process. It has usually been connected with a continuous struggle among many groups and their respective visions.

Once the conception of a basic tension between the transcendental and the mundane order was fully recognized and institutionalized in a society, or at least within its center, any definition and resolution of this tension became in itself very problematic. It usually contained strong heterogeneous and even contradictory elements, and its elaboration in fully articulated terms generated the possibility of different emphases, directions, and interpretations, all of which have been reinforced by the historical existence of multiple visions carried by different groups. Because of this, no single vision could be taken as given or complete.

This multiplicity of alternative visions gave rise to an awareness of the uncertainty of different roads to salvation, of alternative conceptions of social and cultural order, and of the seeming arbitrariness of any single solution. Such awareness has become a constituent element of the self-consciousness of these civilizations, especially among the carriers of the great traditions. This was closely related to the development of a high degree of "second order" thinking, of a reflexivity turning on the basic premises of the social and cultural orders.

Another element common to all these civilizations emerged from the combination of the conception of possible ways of salvation, alternative cultural and social orders, and the structuring of time. This element is the utopian vision: an alternative cultural and social order beyond any given place or time. Such visions contain many of the millenarian and revivalist elements that can also be found in pagan religions, but they go beyond them by realizing the necessity of constructing the mundane order according to the precepts of the higher one, and of searching for an alternative, "better" order beyond any given time and place.

The full impact of these dynamics can be understood only in connection with the nature of the social groups that were most active in the structuring of these civilizations, the major societal elites that developed within them, and the various autonomous intellectual and political elites mentioned above.

Of crucial importance for my analysis are the following facts: these elites were, as has been indicated above, heterogeneous; they were in constant competition with one another; and they were members not only of the ruling coalition, but also were the most active element in the movements of protest and processes of change that developed in these societies. They were above all involved in the construction of new sects and heterodoxies that upheld various alternative visions and conceptions of the social and cultural order and that became closely connected with the struggle among different elites, indeed often becoming the foci of such struggle. Because of this connection there emerged in these civilizations the possibility of structural and ideological linkages among different movements of protest and foci of political conflict (particularly rebellions, central political struggle, and religious or intellectual heterodoxies), and the possibility that all such movements, as well as sects and heterodoxies, would influence the center or centers of the society.

It is thus that there developed a new type of civilizational dynamics that transformed group conflicts into potential class and ideological conflicts and cult conflicts into struggles between the orthodox and the heterodox. Conflicts between tribes and societies became missionary crusades for the transformation of civilizations. The zeal for reorganization, as shaped by each society's concept of salvation, made the whole world at least potentially subject to cultural-political reconstruction. In all these new developments the different sectarian movements and heterodoxies played a central role.

Differences between Axial Age civilizations. Beyond the characteristics common to all the Axial Age civilizations, far-reaching differences developed among them. These were shaped by many conditions, two of which have been of special importance from the point of view of my analysis. One refers to variations in the basic cultural orientations, in the basic ideas or visions concerning civilizations, and their implications for institutions. The other set of conditions refers to different social arenas in which these institutional tendencies can be played out.

First of all, among the various cultural orientations there are crucial differences in the very definition of the tension between the transcendental and mundane orders and the modes of resolving this tension. There is the distinction between those cases in which the tension was couched in relatively secular terms (as in Confucianism and other classical Chinese belief systems and, in a somewhat different way, in the Greek and Roman worlds), and those cases in which the tension was conceived in terms of a distance between basic religious terms (as in the great monotheistic religions, Hinduism, and Buddhism).

A second distinction within the latter cases is that between the monotheistic religions, in which there was a concept of God standing outside the universe and potentially guiding it, and those systems, like Hinduism and Buddhism, in which the transcendental, cosmic system was conceived in impersonal, almost metaphysical terms, in a state of continuous existential tension with the mundane system.

Another closely related distinction lies in the focus of the resolution of the transcendental tensions, or, again in Weberian terms, salvation. Here the distinction is among purely this-worldly, purely otherworldly, and mixed this-worldly and otherworldly conceptions. It is probably no accident that the secular conception of salvation was connected (as in China and to some degree in the ancient world) with an almost wholly this-worldly approach, while the metaphysical, nondeistic conception of this tension (as in Hinduism and Buddhism), tended toward an otherworldly conception of salvation, and the great monotheistic religions tended to stress combinations of this-worldly and otherworldly conceptions.

These cultural orientations, as articulated by different elites, shaped to a very high degree the symbolic autonomy and characteristics of the new types of elites and ruling coalitions that characterized the post-Axial-Age civilizations. That is, they shaped the relations between them, their place in the ruling coalitions, the modes of control of the major institutional spheres effected by them, and the degree to which different ruling elites, secondary elites, and heterodoxies became involved with processes of societal change and transformation. The differences in the cultural orientations and structure of elites in various Axial Age civilizations had far-reaching impact on their institutions, structure, and dynamics—above all on the structure of centers, of center-periphery relations, and of collectivities—as well as on patterns of societal and civilizational change.

Otherworldly Axial Age civilizations. In most otherworldly civilizations there developed patrimonial regimes, to some degree similar to those that can be found in pre-Axial Age civilizations, yet with some crucial differences.

Such systems were characterized by a relatively low level of economic development, weak internal markets, a stronger orientation toward external markets, and strong extractive policies as well as, on the whole, a low degree of coalescence between the boundaries of the collectivities and the civilizational frameworks. The predominant coalitions within these systems were composed of relatively nonautonomous political and religious elites. The latter were also nonautonomous in most pagan societies, and in the post-Axial Age civilizations they were autonomous in the religious but not the political field.

In a parallel manner, the patrimonial societies were characterized by a relative lack of structural (as compared with ecological and symbolic) distinctiveness of the center from the periphery and usually by an adaptive attitude of the center toward the periphery. Within these patrimonial societies there generally developed a lower degree of society-wide class consciousness and symbolic articulation of the major types of collectivities.

The major distinction between those patrimonial regimes of the great post-Axial Age civilizations (Hindu, Buddhist, Islamic, and Latin American Catholic) and those that belonged to pagan civilizations lay first of all in the fact that the major types of elites (cultural and political alike) in the latter case were embedded in basic ascriptive frameworks, whereas in the former, the religious elites (and the political ones to a smaller degree, as in the Latin American Spanish empire) were autonomous mainly in the religious sphere. The carriers of the cultural and social order were those cultural elites that developed the great traditions and special, broader civilizational frameworks based on a strong perception of the tension between the transcendental and the mundane orders, the likes of which could not be found among the other pagan patrimonial regimes. Concomitantly, those elites created centers that were distinct from their own periphery in the religious sphere, as well as special interlinking networks between these centers and the periphery.

Hence these societies tended to develop more compact and dynamic political regimes (of which one type was the Theravāda Buddhistic gallactic polity as analyzed by Stanley J. Tambiah) while at the same time the national communities became imbued with stronger universal religious symbols. In times of crisis the religious elites also developed some autonomous activities.

Opposed to this development, in Axial Age civilizations in which a this-worldly orientation (as in China), or a mixed this-worldly and otherworldly orientation (as in the Byzantine and Russian empires and, to a smaller degree, the Abbasid and Ottoman empires) was prevalent, imperial systems, or mixed imperial and feudal ones, tended to develop. Western and central Europe are two important examples of such systems, which were characterized by highly coalescent boundaries of the major collectivities, political centralization, relatively developed economic systems, a preponderance of internal markets, and highly autonomous elites.

Most of the elites in the imperial and imperial-feudal societies tended to define themselves in autonomous terms, having their own resource bases and potential access to the center of society, and to each other. This was above all true with respect to the articulators of the cultural and social order (i.e., the cultural and religious elites), the political elite, and, to a lesser degree, the representatives of different collectivities and the economic elite.

Within these societies, moreover, a multiplicity of secondary elites developed, such as various sectarian groups in the religious sphere, or various social and political groups or movements. These elites impinged on those of the center and the periphery, and shaped protest movements and political activities within them. Each of the primary and secondary elites could constitute the starting point of movements of protest or of political struggle possessing a high level of organizational and symbolic articulation.

These elites also generated specific types of center-periphery relations, the major characteristics of which were a high level of symbolic and ecological distinctiveness from their respective centers and the continuous attempts of the centers not only to extract resources from the periphery but also to permeate and reconstruct the periphery according to their own premises. Thus, the political, religious, and cultural centers constituted the foci and loci of the various great traditions that developed in these societies as distinct from the local traditions. The permeation of the periphery by the centers was manifest in the latter's promotion of widespread channels of communication and in the attempts to break through the ascriptive ties of the periphery.

Closely connected to this type of center-periphery relationship in these societies was the development of a high level of articulation of symbols of society-wide social hierarchies, of some political consciousness of the upper strata, and of high ideological symbolization and mutual orientation among the major religious, political, and even ethnic and national collectivities. Although each collectivity tended to develop a relatively high degree of autonomy, they also constituted mutual referents for each other. For example, being a good "Hellene" was identified, in the Byzantine empire, with citizenship, and vice versa. This high degree of symbolic articulation and distinctiveness of the major institutional aspects of these imperial and imperial-feudal societies, was closely related to certain types of cultural orientations which, as has been seen, were articulated by these elites.

The most important difference between imperial and other types of regimes (such as those that were patrimonial or decentralized) was found in the structure of their ruling elites, the cultural orientations they articulated, the modes of control they exercised, and the relative autonomy of the major social strata. Differences existed between the monolithic elites, usually evincing strong this-worldly orientation, and the more heterogeneous ones, usually carrying some combination of this-worldly and otherworldly orientations. The latter patterns could also be distinguished according to the degree to which heterogeneous elites were segregated or interwoven. Both the monolithic and segregated elites tended to exercise relatively restricted modes of control. While the segregated elites were inclined to exert more intensive control than the monolithic ones, the control exercised by the more heterogeneous and closely interwoven elites was more flexible, though often also very intensive. But these possibilities became more fully developed in a political-ecological constellation in certain types of decentralization. This article shall now turn to the analysis of decentralized political-ecological systems.

Religious and social dynamics in Axial Age civilizations. The different Axial Age civilizations were characterized also by patterns of religious and societal dynamics in general and by the impact of religious changes on societal ones in particular. From the point of view of my discussion the most crucial difference is between those civilizations that can legitimately be called heterodoxies and those that are more appropriately labeled sects.

The term *heterodoxy* is, of course, applicable only in cases where one can talk about orthodoxy, and this term in its turn implies certain types of organizational and cognitive doctrinal structures. Organizationally the crucial aspect is, of course, the existence of some type of organized church that attempts to monopolize at least the religious sphere and usually also the relations of this sphere to the political powers. But of no lesser importance is the organization of doctrine, in other words, the very stress on structuring clear cognitive and symbolic boundaries of doctrine.

With respect to both organizational and doctrinal aspects, the major difference among the Axial Age civilizations is that between the monotheistic civilizations (Christianity in particular) and Hinduism and Buddhism. (Confucian China constitutes a sort of in-between type.)

Within Christianity, these organizational and doctrinal aspects of orthodoxy, as well as full-fledged churches that constituted potentially active and autonomous partners of the ruling coalitions, developed in the fullest way. In Judaism and Islam these developments were weaker; there developed rather powerful but not always as fully organized and autonomous organizations of clerics.

Similarly, in Christianity, and to a smaller, but yet not insignificant, degree also in Judaism and Islam, there developed strong tendencies toward the structuring of relatively clear cognitive doctrinal and ritual boundaries.

In comparison, in Hinduism and Buddhism—despite a very strong transcendental and otherworldly orientation—the structuring of cognitive doctrines (as distinct from ritual) did not constitute a central aspect or premise. Hence, though it is not impossible to talk about something akin to church in Buddhism—albeit a much more loosely organized one than in the monotheistic traditions—it is very difficult to talk about heterodoxy. At the same time sectarianism abounds, Buddhism itself being, in a sense, a sect developing out of Hinduism.

The various Hindu sects, and Buddhism itself, did indeed have far-reaching impact on the structuring of the mundane spheres of their respective civilizations. They extended the scope of the different national and political communities and imbued them with new symbolic dimensions. They also changed some of the bases and criteria of participation in the civilizational communities, as was the case in Judaism, in the *bhakti* movement and, above all, in Buddhism when an entirely new civilizational framework was constructed.

Buddhism also introduced new elements into the political scene, above all the special way in which the *saṃgha,* usually a very compliant group politically, could in some cases become a sort of moral conscience of the community, calling the rulers to some accountability.

But this impact was of a different nature from that of the struggles between the ruling orthodoxies and the numerous heterodoxies that developed within the monotheistic civilizations. Of crucial importance has been the fact that, in these latter cases, a central aspect of the struggles was the attempt to reconstruct the political and cultural centers of their respective societies and that, because of this, these struggles became a central part of the histories of these civilizations, shaping the major contours of their development.

The impact of religion on society in China and in the Islamic world was greatly shaped by their prevalent orientations and the structure of their respective elites and heterodoxies, that is, by their respective political-ecological settings; by whether they were small or great societies; by whether they were societies with continuous, compact boundaries, or with cross-cutting, flexible boundaries; by their economic structure; and last by their specific historical experience, especially in terms of encounters with other societies (such as mutual penetration, conquest, or colonization).

The interplay between the different constellations of the cultural orientations analyzed above, their carriers, and their respective visions of restructuring the world (and the concrete arenas and historical conditions in which such visions could be concretized), have shaped the institutional contours and dynamics of different Axial Age civilizations, both in the "historical" periods as well as in the transition to modernity, and in the different modes of modernity, that have developed within them.

SEE ALSO Intellectuals; Modernity.

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Revised Bibliography

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION is an issue of considerable controversy and debate in Western societies, for three main reasons. First, there is a conceptual problem, depending on whether it is perceived as a religious activity or an educational activity. In the former case, it may be defined as nurture or faith development; in the latter, it is an activity designed to increase understanding of an important dimension of human existence and to encourage cross-cultural understanding. Second, in terms of actual provision, religious education may mean one of three things: an item on the curriculum of the school; the teaching with which religious groups supplement the public schooling their children receive; or a religious approach to the whole educational process (often found in "faith schools") that rejects contemporary secular values. Third, different religions and denominations have different understandings of religious education, often based on a rich history of provision, and this adds another layer of complexity to the already wide diversity of national policy and established practice in religious education that exists in different countries. The result is that different issues dominate national debates, and international comparisons are difficult. These three issues provide the framework for this entry.

TWO CONCEPTS OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION. There is an important distinction to be made between education *in* religion and education *about* religion. The former, sometimes called *religious instruction*, is a religious activity designed to nurture young people in a particular faith, and thus to preserve that faith across the generations. The latter is educational in the sense of aiming to develop children's knowledge and understanding of religion while leaving them free to choose their own path in life. Although it is tempting to insist that the former should be called *religious instruction* and only the latter *religious education*, this does not accord with contemporary usage. Both practices are commonly called *religious education*, and one unfortunate outcome is that many people assume that in the United States *all* religious education in public schools is unconstitutional, not just the former kind. For convenience, the former will be called *type A* religious education, the latter *type B*.

Type A religious education may be formal or informal and typically occurs in the home, the family, a place of worship, a religious institution, or with a local community of believers. It also takes place in public schools in countries where the majority of citizens share a single religious faith (including many Muslim and some Roman Catholic countries) and in denominational schools, whether private or state-funded. Sometimes called *catechesis,* or the *confessional* approach, type A religious education involves faith development through the transmission of the teachings of a particular religion or denomination. It is justified in terms of both the interests of the faith group (preserving and perhaps increasing the numbers of adherents and maintaining and developing the faith) and the interests of the child (providing emotional stability and continuity with the beliefs of the child's significant others, and, more importantly, encouraging the child to engage with and be transformed by the truths of the faith). Both globally and historically, the vast majority of religious education is of this kind. However, type A religious education is criticized for paying inadequate attention to such liberal values as critical openness and personal autonomy; for teaching as truth beliefs that are significantly controversial; for defining knowledge in terms of dogma, revelation, and religious authority rather than in terms of rationally justifiable beliefs;

and for failing to prepare children adequately for life in a multicultural, multifaith society.

Type B religious education, on the other hand, involves teaching children about religion—and about a number of different religions—without any expectation that they will necessarily develop their own personal religious commitments. The aim is to produce people who are "religiously educated" or "religiously literate," in the sense of understanding different systems of religious belief and being able to reflect knowledgeably on a range of religious issues. Type B religious education is justified on the grounds that religion is so fundamental to human existence and has had such a profound influence on history, philosophy, art, music, literature, morality, and other domains of knowledge that people can hardly be considered educated if they know nothing of religion. This approach is fully compatible with liberal education in its aims and methods. Teachers are required to adopt a position of neutrality and impartiality in their presentation of a variety of religious and nonreligious worldviews. Teaching children about different religions makes them aware of alternatives and enables them to make informed autonomous choices about their own commitments and ways of life. Learning about the diversity of religions in the world can help to break down religious prejudice and can contribute to the development of a tolerant, harmonious, and respectful multicultural society. This approach to religious education has been promoted strongly in the United States in recent years by scholars such as James W. Fraser, Charles Haynes, Robert Nash, Nel Noddings, and Warren Nord, who make up what is sometimes called the "New Consensus." However, Type B religious education is criticized for reducing what believers call revealed truth to cultural practice, for encouraging relativism, for prioritizing the individual over the community, and for undermining commitment to any particular faith by teaching that all faiths are equally worthy of respect.

At first glance, these two types of religious education are quite incompatible: one cannot both reinforce a religious upbringing and encourage children to adopt a critical stance towards it at the same time. The result would be confusion and uncertainty. However, some scholars have argued that the two approaches can exist in a kind of creative tension. First, though one type involves looking at religion from the inside and the other from the outside, both are examining the same phenomenon. Second, children who feel good about their own identity (which is developed by type A religious education) are in a strong position to be tolerant and respectful towards other faiths and to make a positive contribution to a pluralist society (which are precisely the goals of type B religious education). Third, anxieties about different types of religious education often presuppose an old-fashioned, rigid transmission form of pedagogy; a constructivist approach, on the other hand, suggests that what children take from religious education depends to a large extent on what they bring to it and thus anticipates more open outcomes.

In practical terms, a threefold pattern of provision is likely to emerge in liberal democracies in view of the issues that have been discussed so far: (1) in the public school, students may be introduced to religious beliefs, practices, and issues in a nondogmatic, phenomenological way as part of the school curriculum; (2) in the Sunday school, *madrasah*, synagogue, *gurdwara*, temple, or other place of worship, children will be taught the traditions and practices of their own faith from a believer's perspective; and (3) those parents who are unhappy with the split between secular and religious learning have the option of sending their child to a religious or denominational school, for which they may have to pay fees. Each of these forms of provision is commonly called *religious education.*

PATTERNS OF PROVISION IN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION. In many countries, although not the United States, the term *religious education* commonly refers to an item on the school curriculum; indeed, in England and Wales until 1988, religious education was the only compulsory school subject. In denominational schools, religious education is typically taught from the perspective of a single faith (type A) and in nondenominational schools from the perspective of a diversity of faiths (type B).

In the school curriculum. In England and Wales, the religious education syllabus in nondenominational schools has to be determined by a committee made up of representatives of teachers' unions, local councilors, and representatives from the Church of England and other religious denominations. The justification for teaching religious education as a separate subject is that religion is a distinguishable form of knowledge known at the university level by the titles of theology, religious studies, or divinity, having its own distinctive concepts and truth criteria. Opposition to the separate teaching of religious education comes from two sides: those who believe religion to be a human construct may prefer it to be taught through history, sociology, psychology, anthropology, or its various cultural manifestations (art, literature, music, and so on); while those who believe that all knowledge is religious may prefer religion to be integrated throughout the curriculum.

In nondenominational schools, the subject matter of religious education usually falls into two categories: learning about religion and learning from religion. "Learning about religion" entails learning about the religious beliefs, practices, and values of specific religions, including their festivals, places of worship, ethical codes, sacred texts, prophets and leaders, denominational differences, stories, pilgrimages, rites of passage, symbolism, artifacts, forms of artistic expression, lifestyles, religious experience, language and expression, and forms of prayer, meditation, and worship. There is room for debate about which specific religions should be taught (clearly not all can be taught, since the United States alone is home to more than five hundred different religions, denominations, and sects), but the most common pattern is for up to six major world religions to be taught (typically Hinduism, Judaism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, and Sikhism), plus any other religions of particular local significance. Learning about religion should also include learning about religious diversity, natural religion, implicit religion, emotional responses to religion, dialogue between religions, arguments against religious beliefs, and nonreligious worldviews. "Learning from religion" gives space for students to reflect on some of the big questions raised by religion, such as the existence of God, the meaning of death and the possibility of life after death, debates between science and religion or postmodernism and religion, and the problems of evil, suffering, and war. Learning from religion also encourages students to explore such concepts as spirituality, love, right and wrong, and identity and commitment, and to develop sensitivity, tolerance, respect, and understanding towards those whose beliefs differ from their own.

There remain many unresolved questions about religious education as a school subject, particularly relating to the role of the teacher, teaching approaches and strategies, and the sequencing of the subject matter. Do teachers need to have some experience of, or commitment to, religion in order to teach it effectively? Should they share their own beliefs and values with students or keep quiet about them? Should different religions be taught together (for example, through studying a topic such as festivals or sacred books) or is such an approach liable to confuse children? Do young children have a natural spirituality that schools should nurture, or is it the task of religious education, like other school subjects, to develop rational understanding? Most of these are value judgments rather than empirical questions that can be resolved by research, and in any case the amount of research into religious education seems to have declined since Kenneth Hyde's comprehensive review of the topic published in 1990.

In supplementary schooling. In pluralist societies where there is a system of common schools, most faith groups provide some form of supplementary schooling through which their children are nurtured in the faith and taught its basic beliefs and practices. Though few groups would call this *religious education*, preferring a title that identified the specific faith concerned, it is an important part of any overview of the provision of religious teaching. Such teaching may take place in a private house or a place of worship, is usually privately funded by parents or the faith community, and is exclusively type A religious education. There is a close similarity of approach to supplementary schooling among different faiths and countries.

Sunday schools have a long, well-documented history, and they are a major method used by (mainly Protestant) churches to pass on Bible stories and Christian moral teaching to children. Confirmation classes provide a more formal introduction to Christian beliefs and practices, leading to full church membership, while Christian youth clubs, holiday camps, and other activities may be used as a general introduction to Christian values. Bible classes provide continuing adult education. Similarly, many Jews in Western countries send their children for supplementary schooling at the local synagogue, where they learn about Jewish identity, beliefs, values, and practices; study the Torah and perhaps Hebrew; and prepare for the ceremony of bar or bat mitzvah. Though such schools tend to cooperate in large cities, making use of the same teaching materials and organizing joint summer camps and other activities, they are not centrally controlled. Comparatively few children continue with such schooling beyond the age of thirteen. Hindu temples and Sikh *gurdwaras* in the West are beginning to set up evening or Sunday schools to teach children the language of their scriptures and their faith communities and also to supplement the religious education that goes on in the home.

Islamic supplementary education is also well established in most Western countries. Muslim children from the ages of about four to thirteen attend the local *maktab* or *madrasah* (mosque school) for up to two hours daily after regular school to learn Arabic, Qurʾanic recitation, the basic requirements of the *sharīʿah,* and the principal Islamic beliefs. Children who wish to memorize the whole Qurʾān and become a *ḥāfiẓ* may attend in the mornings as well. The language of instruction is commonly Arabic in North America and Australia, Urdu or Punjabi in the United Kingdom, and Turkish in Germany, though the language of the country of residence is increasingly being used. For a variety of reasons, however, many Muslims consider this provision to be educationally unsatisfactory: it makes extra demands on children's time, the premises are often inadequate, the teachers unqualified, and the methods (including rote learning and strict discipline) compare unfavorably with schools in the state system. To solve this problem, while at the same time fostering integration, several European countries (including Belgium, some German provinces, and some British local authorities) have introduced specific Islamic instruction for Muslim students in state schools. This solution also has its problems; in particular, it does nothing to resolve the conflicting values to which Muslim children are exposed. For a growing number of Muslims, the answer is separate Muslim schools.

In faith schools. The third meaning of religious education is full-time schooling that is permeated by religion in a conscious attempt to exclude secular influence. The term *faith school*, which has only recently come into widespread usage, covers all full-time schools with a religious foundation and a religious vision, whether Christian, Muslim, Jewish, or other. Some countries (including Great Britain, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Israel) and some provinces (including Newfoundland in Canada) fund denominational as well as secular state schools, and many other countries (including the United States, France, Belgium, India, Indonesia, and Japan) allow private faith schools. Faith schools typically seek to preserve a religious ethos but vary significantly in terms of the amount of time spent on religious education, their willingness to admit students and employ teachers of other faiths, and their compatibility with liberal democratic values.

In the United States, more than 10 percent of all children attend private religious schools. About half of these attend Catholic schools, while the other half attend fundamentalist Christian schools or schools belonging to a wide range of denominations, sects, and world religions, including Lutheran, Calvinist, Episcopalian, Quaker, Seventh-day Adventist, Orthodox, Mormon, Christian Science, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, and Hindu. Proportions are significantly higher in countries where faith schools are state-funded: about two-thirds of all students in the Netherlands and nearly one-quarter of students in Great Britain attend faith schools. Church of England and Roman Catholic schools make up the vast majority of funded faith schools in Great Britain, and Muslim, Hindu, Sikh, and evangelical schools are more numerous in the independent sector.

The reasons for founding faith schools vary widely. Catholic schools were founded because of a perceived Protestant bias in the public schools. Amish schools, on the other hand, seek to reinforce group identity and prepare children to lead a simple, useful, godly life. Muslim schools are typically founded as a result of dissatisfaction with the moral standards in public schools. Jewish schools have been justified as the best way to respond to the danger of absorption into the dominant culture of Western societies. More than anything else, faith schools are an attempt to address an imbalance that many believers find in public schooling, in which secular values take priority over religious ones, religious neutrality silences religious expression in schools, and the message is conveyed that religious belief is either false or unimportant. Faith schools enable parents who are believers to ensure that their children are educated within an appropriate spiritual environment and that their distinctive cultural and religious beliefs are, as far as possible, preserved. Opponents of faith schools, on the other hand, are likely to claim that they are divisive and may encourage intolerance and extremism; that the right of parents to choose their own children's education is trumped by the children's right to an education that does not culturally encapsulate them but liberates them from restrictive backgrounds and develops their personal autonomy; and that parents have no right to expect public funding if they choose a religious education for their children.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN THE GREAT RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS. The nature of the education provided in faith schools depends to a significant extent on the educational theories and practices that have been developed in the religion concerned. Most world faiths have rich traditions of thinking about religious education, often developed over many centuries both by individual scholars and theologians and by the sustained training and research carried out in seminaries and universities.

Within Hinduism, religious education has traditionally been an informal process carried on in the home and local community. Children pick up an understanding of Hindu deities and basic beliefs and practices through participation in daily rituals, such as ablutions and meals, as well as worship at family shrines; through the celebration of festivals, rites of passage, and pilgrimages; and through listening to traditional stories narrated by grandparents, professional storytellers, and temple priests, or (more recently) at the cinema. In classical Hindu teaching, the student stage (*brahmacārin*), centered on the development of spiritual understanding and the relationship between teacher (*gurū*) and disciple, is the first of four stages of life. Since the nineteenth century, a number of educational reformers and leaders (including Rabindranath Tagore, Vivekananda, Mohandas Gandhi, Aurobindo Ghose, Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, Vinoba Bhave, Jiddu Krishnamurthi, and Sathya Sai Baba) have attempted to develop forms of education in line with Hindu principles. Outside India, Hindus have tended to rely on temple schools to provide children with more structured religious education. There are also some Hindu faith schools in the West, and Hindu University in America, the first Hindu university in the United States, opened in Orlando, Florida, in 2001.

The word *Sikh* means "learner," and this points to the importance of the balanced development of the individual throughout life. At the heart of Sikh education is the development of spiritual and moral values, but Gurū Nānak also displayed a surprisingly modern approach to education in his emphasis on the need for reflection and critical enquiry into traditional ideas. As with Hinduism, the primary responsibility for the religious education of children traditionally lay with the extended family, but outside the Punjab Sikhs have increasingly looked to the *gurdwara* to provide weekend classes in Gurmukhi and the Sikh scriptures for their children. In Great Britain, several full-time Sikh schools have been established as of 2004, including two that are state-funded.

In a sense, the whole of Buddhist teaching is a course of spiritual education, with a strong emphasis on meditation, moral self-discipline, and enlightenment, traditionally passed on by teachers in the monasteries. The Buddha himself made use of many techniques currently favored in contemporary Western religious education, including narrative, analogy, the use of visual aids, and teaching by example, and the qualities expected of teachers in their dealings with pupils are set out in the *Sigālovāda Sutta.* The first full Buddhist universities were established in India and Thailand in the twentieth century, and Soka University of America, the first Buddhist university in the United States, opened in southern California in 2001.

Islam has long-standing traditions of education, and the Qurʾān itself is full of injunctions to pursue knowledge. Of the three Arabic words for education, *tarbïya* implies personal development towards maturity; *taʾdïb* implies moral, social, and cultural refinement; and *taʿlïm* refers to the pursuit of knowledge. The Muslim scholar Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī distinguishes two forms of knowledge: the revealed (which is divine and absolute) and the discovered (which is human and tentative). These should be in harmony and should both lead to God, but the former takes priority.

In the golden age of Islam (750–1150 CE) a large network of educational institutions was established across the Islamic empire, including the *maktab* (writing school), the *ḥalqa* (circle school), the *masjid* (mosque school), and the *madrasah* (school of public instruction), as well as universities in Baghdad, Cairo, and Nishapur. There was an upsurge of Islamic scholarship in all known disciplines at this time, but Islamic education later began to stagnate. European colonizers introduced modern Western systems of education for the elite, leaving traditional Islamic education unchanged for the masses. In the postcolonial period, Islamic states have resolved the inequalities between the two types of education in different ways: some have made Westernized education available to all, others have attempted to Islamize the educational system as thoroughly as possible, and still others have tried to run the two systems side by side as viable alternatives. Muslim immigrants to the West thus arrive with a variety of educational experiences and expectations, though most try to preserve their religious and cultural heritage through supplementary schooling, and a growing number see faith schools as the way to combine the teaching of advanced Western knowledge, especially in science and technology, with a religious ethos that is true to Islamic values and traditions.

Education is a formal requirement of Jewish law, and a system of universal elementary education for Jewish boys seems to have been in place for two thousand years. The traditional school system—the *heder* (or *cheder*) for younger children and the *yeshivah* for older children and adults—taught only the Torah, the Talmud, and other religious writings, but by the late eighteenth century the system diversified as schools came under pressure to include general and vocational studies. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, there is a clear distinction between Jewish education in Israel and Jewish education in the Diaspora. In Israel, except in the religious schools, Jewish identity is developed through Hebrew and the study of Jewish history, literature, and culture, rather than through religious instruction and observances. In the Diaspora, Jewish education is primarily religious and mainly under the control of synagogues, whether Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, or Reconstructionist; like other religious education, it is found in the home, in supplementary schooling for those who attend secular public schools, in full-time faith schools (usually called “day schools” by Jews), in less formal activities (including youth clubs and youth movements), and in the *yeshivah* for higher-level studies.

For many centuries, the history of education in the West was coterminous with the history of Christian education. In the Middle Ages, treatises on education were written by both Augustine and Thomas Aquinas and systems of schooling were developed by teachers like Alcuin. The well-to-do were educated at monastic and cathedral schools, and later at the new universities, while the illiterate were educated mainly through sermons. After the Reformation, greater emphasis was placed on the ability to read the Bible for oneself, and religious education was high on the agenda of Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchthon in Germany, Huldrych Zwingli in Zurich, John Calvin in Geneva, Johannes Amos Comenius in Moravia, and the Anglicans and Puritans or nonconformists in England, the latter including Congregationalists, Baptists, Quakers, and, later, Wesleyans. Each developed their own distinctive forms of religious education and schooling, as well as training colleges for ministers. Meanwhile, new approaches to Catholic education were being developed by the Jesuits and other groups. With the transition to a state system of education in Great Britain in the nineteenth century, the free churches were generally satisfied with the nondenominational religious education provided, which they supplemented with denominational teaching in Sunday schools, and so they abandoned denominational schooling altogether. The Church of England, however, retained its separate schools, and the Catholics built up their own corresponding system of schools. Both systems are state-funded, but whereas the Church of England schools generally see it as their mission to provide an education with a Christian ethos and based on Christian values for the needs of the broader community, the Catholic schools cater primarily to the children of their own faith community.

As of 2004, religious education persists as a compulsory subject in state schools (“community schools”) in England and Wales, but now with a world religions focus, and somewhat anachronistically there is still a requirement for a daily act of nondenominational collective worship. In the United States, on the other hand, the clear separation of church and state that is set out in the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution means that all religious schools must be private establishments and public schools must maintain a position of neutrality between different religions and denominations, and also between religious and nonreligious worldviews. Numerous court cases have clarified precisely where the boundaries lie in terms of the unconstitutional promotion of religion in schools. Elsewhere, liberation theology has had a major impact on the development of education in South America and Africa, and the role of the Orthodox Church in the provision of religious education in Russia has increased dramatically since *perestroika.*

FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR RELIGIOUS EDUCATION. In countries with adherents from several or all of the above religious traditions—and in some cases many more, for among the 741 accredited colleges and universities in the United States that have a religious affiliation, over seventy different faiths and denominations are represented—the decision to base policy on the liberal values of impartiality, tolerance, and respect for diversity has important consequences for religious education. First, different faith communities should be given opportunities to learn about each other, so that they are more likely to live integrated lives and avoid the fear, prejudice, and intolerance that ignorance breeds. Religious education can play an important role in developing interfaith and cross-cultural understanding. This is in line with the core values of the Religious Education Association of the United States and Canada (founded in 1903), with the approach adopted in British religious education syllabuses since about 1975, and with the views of the New Consensus in the United States, as represented by the writings of Warren Nord, Charles Haynes, and others. It seems likely that, over the first quarter of the twenty-first century, practice in religious education in public schools in different Western pluralist liberal democratic societies will gradually converge. However, this may result in individuals increasingly constructing their own personal religious faith, selecting bits from a smorgasbord of different religions—a phenomenon already being observed among some students exposed to a world faiths approach to religious education. It may also dangerously highlight the split between liberal and fundamentalist approaches to religious education.

Secondly, it is clear that religions and faith groups have the right to nurture their own children in their own faith through religious education, though this does not extend to the right to foreclose children's free choice with respect to religion as they grow older. This means that both supplementary schooling and faith schools will continue to have a place in liberal pluralist societies so long as children are not indoctrinated and so long as they are exposed somewhere within their schooling to other religious and nonreligious worldviews.

Thirdly, it is not the place of a pluralist liberal society to promote one religious worldview over another, or to promote religious belief over nonreligious worldviews. This means that the teaching of an established religion through religious education in a multifaith society is no longer justifiable, and the practice is likely to decline gradually, as is the British requirement of a daily act of collective, nondenominational worship in all British state schools. It also raises questions about the continued funding of faith schools in Western states, although there may be justification for partial funding where faith schools provide a general, as well as a religious, education.

SEE ALSO Initiation, overview article; Scholasticism; Yeshivah.

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J. MARK HALSTEAD (2005)

RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE. The term religious experience has been used in three often overlapping senses in the twentieth century: (1) to refer descriptively to the subjective aspect of a tradition or religion in general; (2) to describe the "common core" of religion in general; and (3) to assert a claim with respect to the source of religious knowledge or certainty. In the first instance, it has competed with the terms piety, devotion, and spirituality. In the second and third instances, it has competed with mysticism.

These usages have been associated with key preoccupations of the modern era. In the first case, where the emphasis is on the subjective experience of the individual, experience has been linked with the rise of individualism and the democratization of religious authority. In the second usage, where the emphasis is on the nature of religion, religious experience has been bound up with the problems of commonality and difference in the context of globalization, colonialism, westernization, and the encounter between traditions. In the third usage, where the focus is on how we know (epistemology), religious experience has been associated with the question of truth in the context of Enlightenment critiques of traditional sources of religious knowledge and social scientific explanations of the origins of religion.

This entry provides a history of the use of the concept of religious experience rather than a history of religious experience per se. The use of the term is discussed under the following headings: (1) the concept of experience and its analogues within various traditions; (2) religious experience in relation to religion in general; and (3) critical approaches to religious experience in recent scholarship.

While there are traditional terms within most, if not all, traditions that have experiential overtones to the modern ear, the way and the extent to which these traditional terms have been brought into modern, comparative discourses has varied. The first section provides an overview of the way in which selected traditions have engaged with modern Euro-American experience-related discourses. The second section highlights three key figures—William James (1842–1910), Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan (1888–1975), and Joachim Wach (1889–1955)—each of whom understood religion in general in terms of religious experience, albeit in very different ways.

Disparate theoretical assumptions (philosophical, theological and/or social scientific) led to different understandings of religious experience—both in terms of what counts as religious experience and how it could or should be explained. Depending on the author's underlying theoretical perspective and/or apologetic aims, competing terms, such as enthusiasm, visions, mysticism, spirituality, esotericism, psychical phenomena, and psychopathology, were variously subsumed under, equated with, or distinguished from religious experience. These and other critical issues raised by scholars of religion since the 1970s are discussed in the third section.

EXPERIENCE AND ITS ANALOGUES WITHIN VARIOUS TRADITIONS. Although the use of the Latin term *experientia* in Christian contexts dates back at least to Aquinas, and the use of *experience* in Protestant contexts dates back at least to the seventeenth century, explicit references to religious experience became common in English at the beginning of the nineteenth century and in French *(l'expérience religieuse)* and German *(religiöse Erlebnis, Erfahrung)* toward the end of the nineteenth century. Prior to the late nineteenth century, the use of the term was most common among conversion-oriented Anglo-American Protestants. Over the course of the nineteenth century the English term religious experience was abstracted from its indigenous context within evangelical Protestantism, losing many of its specifically evangelical connotations in the process, and it was recast as a generic term that applied to religion in general. Non-Protestant traditions dealt with this process in various ways. Other terms, such as mysticism and spirituality (indigenous to the Catholic tradition), underwent similar changes during this period and also emerged as comparative terms in the study of religion.

By way of overview, current research suggests the following:

1. Liberal Protestants invested deeply in the concept of experience during the nineteenth century and in the new generic concept of religious experience formalized at the turn of the century by William James. Apart from a few modernists, most of whom were condemned, Catholic theologians dealt with the concepts of experience and religious experience warily if at all in the century and half prior to Vatican II, preferring the indigenous terms mystical and spiritual instead.
2. Universalistic nineteenth-century new religious movements, such as Transcendentalism, Spiritualism, New Thought, and Theosophy utilized experientially related terms (influxes, intuition, revelations, visions, spirits) to understand religion in general, but did not make extensive use of the terms experience or religious experience to refer to these phenomena.
3. Jewish interest in the experiential side of Judaism (Hasidism, Kabbalah) was, for the most part, channeled into discussions of mysticism rather than religious experience. The same seems to hold true for interest in the experiential side of Islam (Sufism).
4. Hindu and Buddhist thinkers more commonly invested in the concept of experience and a few made the concept of religious experience central to their thought.

PRE-REFORMATION CHRISTIANITY AND TRADITIONAL PROTESTANTISM. Within the history of Christianity, church authorities carefully regulated experientially related forms of belief and practice, beginning with the Montanists. In the *Summa Theologia* (1a 2ae q.112 a.5), Thomas Aquinas discussed the experience (experientia) of grace, which he indicated could be known conjecturally by signs of its presence in the believer. However, following Aristotle, he claimed that such knowledge is imperfect, and therefore that the experience of grace could not be known with certainty. This theological understanding undercut individual claims to knowledge based on experience and heightened the authority of the church. Mystical and ascetic theology, as subdisciplines within systematic theology, reflected an orthodox Catholic understanding of experience, while non-orthodox understandings were defined as heretical.

Although Protestant reformers also attempted to regulate experientially related forms of belief and practice, the schismatic tendency inherent in Luther's break with Rome made this more difficult, as Catholic critics did not hesitate to point out. Radical (sectarian) Protestants, especially those who advocated the separation of church and state, often made appeals to experience both in England and the Continent. While Continental Protestants typically made use of related terms, English Puritans made explicit reference to experience and occasionally to spiritual experience by the mid-seventeenth century, generally in reference to claims of direct experiences of inspiration by the Holy Spirit. Proponents of Enlightenment thought, such as John Locke, disputed these claims, redescribed such experiences as enthusiasm, and attempted to account for them in non-religious terms.

From the beginnings of evangelical Protestantism in the transatlantic revivals of the 1730s and 1740s until the present, claims of direct experience of the Holy Spirit or the immediate experience of the presence of God have been asserted by some evangelicals and disputed by others. Jonathan Edwards and John Wesley both defended the idea of a direct experience of the Holy Spirit. Both argued that authentic conversion was accompanied by a "new spiritual sense," which by analogy with the physical senses (cf. John Locke) allowed the believer to apprehend the Spirit directly. References to religious experience were common in the titles of nineteenth century evangelical Protestant memoirs, where the term generally referred to such experiences as conversion, sanctification and/or a call to preach. Methodists typically testified to such experiences in what were known collectively as "experience meetings."

The concept of religious experience underwent a dramatic redefinition within the Anglo-American context over the course of the nineteenth century, largely under the influence of romanticism, the growing interest in other religions, and new universalistic religious movements. Through the early decades of the nineteenth century, Anglo-American

Protestants continued to contrast religious experience, by definition authentic, with enthusiasm and mysticism, both considered false. By the middle decades of the nineteenth century, however, enthusiasm had taken on its more benign modern meaning, while mysticism acquired positive connotations through the writings of the Transcendentalists and widely read Protestant translations of Catholic mystical writers, such as Thomas Upham's *Life of Madame Guyon* (1846).

UNIVERSALISTIC NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS. Universalistic nineteenth-century new religious movements, such as Transcendentalism, Spiritualism, New Thought, and Theosophy, drew upon experientially related terms (influxes, visions, spirits, intuition) to understand religion in general, but did not make extensive use of the terms experience or religious experience to refer to these phenomena. Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882) contrasted experience, which he understood as the sense experience of materialism, with intuition, ecstasy, and influxes of the Divine into the human soul, which he associated with idealism. Explicitly relying on Immanuel Kant to critique Locke, but also drawing support from Plato, Plotinus, and Emanuel Swedenborg, Emerson argued for the legitimacy of intuition and granted it authority over experience. He viewed enthusiasm and "a tendency toward insanity" as relatively benign concomitants of such divine influxes. Like many romantics with an interest in the perennial wisdom tradition, Emerson viewed all religions as pointing to "a fundamental Unity," which, in his view, reached its highest expression in Hinduism. Reading texts in translation, he linked the religious writings of the East with the thought of Plato, Plotinus, and others in the West (Emerson, pp. 198–199, 392–393, 638).

Later universalistic movements, such as Spiritualism, New Thought, and Theosophy under Helena Blavatsky and Henry Olcott, utilized terms such as spirit communication (Spiritualism) and intuition (New Thought, Theosophy) to describe the means by which individuals might acquire higher non-sense based forms of knowledge. As universalizing movements, they, like the Transcendentalists, maintained that the means in question informed all religions and, thus, religion in general. In contrast to the Transcendentalists, however, these later movements drew extensively on the popular psychology of animal magnetism, arguing that the mental abilities cultivated by mesmerists, such as trance and clairvoyance, provided the psychological substratum upon which their more developed abilities were based.

The Society for Psychical Research, founded in 1882 to assess such claims scientifically, brought together evidence from the Society's investigations of Spiritualist mediums with the latest clinical research on hysteria, the doubling of personality, and hypnosis (the direct descendent of animal magnetism). Frederick Myers, the Society's leading theoretician, linked these phenomena though his theory of the subconscious, which he and William James understood as the means by which non-sense based knowledge might come to consciousness. Whether such knowledge simply surfaced from the recesses of the mind or entered in some other way from beyond it was the focus of much of the Society's research.

LIBERAL PROTESTANT THEOLOGY. Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834), a German Protestant theologian with a Pietist background, is usually credited with initiating the emphasis on the self or subjectivity and, thus, by extension on experience, associated with modern Protestant theology. Through his influence on Rudolf Otto, Schleiermacher also had a major influence on the twentieth-century study of religion. In opposition to Kant's emphasis on religion as morality, Schleiermacher located the essence of religion in the immediate, prereflective intuition and feeling of the infinite *(On Religion).* Later he referred to this essence as "a feeling of absolute dependence" *(Christian Faith).* As Hans-Georg Gadamer noted in *Truth and Method,* Schleiermacher himself did not use the term experience, although his key ideas were transposed into this idiom by later interpreters, such as Wilhelm Dilthey, who used the newly coined term *Erlebnis* in his 1870 biography of Schleiermacher (Gadamer, pp. 60–64).

At the turn of the last century, Schleiermacher's emphasis on immediate intuition and feeling as the basis of religious knowledge—now explicitly framed in terms of experience—enjoyed a revival of interest. The revival was coupled, probably not coincidentally, with a widespread shift in the way scholars understood religion. This shift from the Enlightenment conception of religion as an archaic "survival" to a conception of religion as "power," subjectively understood, implicitly grounded religion in experience. The British anthropologist, R. R. Marett is usually given credit for initiating this shift with his essay on "Pre-Animistic Religion," delivered in 1899. But others, such as William James, were also thinking along similar lines at about the same time.

Protestant theologians with an interest in the comparative study of religion, such as Nathan Söderblom, Friedrich Heiler, and Rudolf Otto, played a major role in this shift. Building on the thought of Schleiermacher, Marett, and Söderblom, Otto argued in *The Idea of the Holy* that a felt experience of a numinous presence logically preceded Schleiermacher's "feeling of dependence." The numinous, he said, evoked feelings of mysterium (wholly otherness), tremendum (dread, awe), and fascination. Otto interpreted mysticism as a subset of the experience of the numinous. He considered religion sui generis, that is, something unique that could not be adequately interpreted or explained in other terms, and located it, following Schleiermacher, in an irreducibly religious domain (Otto, pp. 5-41).

Ernst Troeltsch, Otto's colleague on the theological faculty at the University of Marburg, approached the experiential dimension of Christianity historically and sociologically under the rubric of mysticism. In *Social Teachings of the Christian Churches* (1912; English, 1931), he drew an important distinction between mysticism, in the widest sense of the word, which he understood as "the insistence upon a direct inward and present religious experience" (Troeltsch, II, p. 730), and mysticism as understood more narrowly by the philosophy of religion. His depiction of the latter provides, in effect, a sociological description of the emergence of the "philosophia perennis." While mysticism in the broad sense takes on an "immense variety" of forms within the various traditions, mysticism in the narrower sense may break away from "concrete religion" and "set up a theory of [its] own which takes the place of the concrete religion and of its mythos or doctrine." When this happens, "mysticism realizes that it is an independent religious principle; it sees itself as the real universal heart of all religion, of which the various myth-forms are merely the outer garment. It regards itself as the means of restoring an immediate union with God; it feels independent of all institutional religion" (Troeltsch, II, p. 734).

CATHOLICISM AFTER THE COUNCIL OF TRENT. The idea of experience received little development in the Catholic tradition during the post-Reformation period due to its association with Protestantism and movements that were condemned within Catholicism, such as Jansenism, Quietism, and Modernism. The First Vatican Council (1870) reacted to the nineteenth-century emphasis on experience as a source of religious authority, condemning the idea that "men and women ought to be moved to faith only by each one's internal experience or private inspiration" *(De Fide,* Canon 3). In *Pascendi dominici gregis* (1907), Pius X alleged that Catholic modernists wrongly held to the idea that faith and revelation were rooted in religious sentiment or an intuition of the heart. This reliance on "personal experience," the encyclical explained, caused modernists to "fall into the opinion of Protestants and pseudomystics" (para. 14). Moreover, as the encyclical duly noted, an emphasis on experience undercut the Church's exclusivist claims. Given their logic, the encyclical asked, "[W]ith what right will Modernists deny the truth of an experience affirmed by a follower of Islam? With what right can they claim true experience for Catholics alone?" (para. 14) Catholic modernists did embrace the modern turn to the subject and with it a concomitant emphasis on experience, though not in the monolithic way outlined in *Pascendi.*

In the decades prior to the Second Vatican Council (1962–65), twentieth-century Catholic theologians debated whether Thomism could be reconciled with the modern emphasis on subjectivity. The wary appreciation evident in Catholic historian Ronald Knox's *Enthusiasm* (1950) illustrates Catholic ambivalence toward experience prior to the Second Vatican Council. The concept of experience found renewed, though qualified, acceptance at the Second Vatican Council. Among twentieth-century Catholic theologians, Karl Rahner, S. J., and Edward Schillebeeckx, O.P., are particularly known for the emphasis they place on experience.

JUDAISM AND ISLAM. Scholars of Judaism and Islam, for the most part, discussed experientially related phenomena under the rubric of mysticism, understood to include what in Christian contexts would be distinguished as Gnosticism and esotericism. With the publication of volumes on *Jewish Spirituality* (1988, 1989) and *Islamic Spirituality* (1989, 1991) in the World Spiritualities series, scholars in both traditions adopted spirituality as an encompassing a rubric under which to discuss the subjective aspect of the traditions more broadly.

Two of the most prominent early twentieth-century scholars of Jewish mysticism—Martin Buber (1878–1965) and Gershom Scholem (1897–1982)—were both German Jews who reacted against the Enlightenment rationalism of their era and sought, albeit in different ways, to highlight the non-rational aspects of the Jewish tradition. Buber embraced an ahistorical *Erlebnismystik* early in his career, which Scholem reacted against. Buber's *Ekstatic Confessions* (1909)—a collection of personal accounts from various eastern and western religious traditions—utilized the German distinction between *Erfahrung* (sense experience) and *Erlebnis* (non-sense based experience) to make a case for ecstasy as an undifferentiated experience in which the boundaries between self and other and self and world disappear. This ecstatic experience, he claimed, was common to the Vedas and Upaniṣads, Midrash and Qabbalah, Plato and Jesus. Although Buber grew increasingly uncomfortable with this formulation as his thought matured, the *Ekstatic Confessions* recalled the spirit of Schleiermacher and prefigured Rudolf Otto's *Idea of the Holy.*

In contrast to Buber, who believed that such ecstatic experiences transcended time and thus had no history, Scholem devoted his life to the historical study of Jewish mysticism and in particular to the Qabbalah. He understood the Qabbalah as a suppressed and esoteric tradition that held the key to the continuing vitality of the tradition as a whole. In his hands, myth, symbol, and mysticism rather than religious experience, provided the conceptual categories for surfacing an alternative history of Judaism and, in the process, a different understanding of mysticism. In the late twentieth century, Moshe Idel highlighted the ecstatic side of Qabbalistic mysticism, overlooked by Scholem, and integrated the study of Hasidic mysticism, pioneered by Buber, into the broader history of Jewish mysticism.

Some of the most prominent twentieth-century scholars of Islamic mysticism—Louis Massignon (1883–1962), Henry Corbin (1907–1978), and Annemarie Schimmel (1922–2003)—were non-Muslims who turned to the study of Islamic mysticism in the context of colonialism. During the eighteenth century, scholars associated with the British East India Company discovered the "Sooffees" and soon thereafter coined the term *Sufism.* During the nineteenth century, western intellectuals viewed Sufism positively as a form of mysticism and distinguished it from Islam, which they viewed negatively. By the late nineteenth century, this view had been racialized on the assumption that any mysticism evident in the Semitic religions was actually of Aryan origin. Massignon, through close philological work on the writings of a particular Ṣūfī mystic, al-Ḥallāj, challenged this theory, arguing that Ṣūfī mysticism could be traced directly to the Qur'ān. As a Catholic reconverted to Catholicism through his engagement with the martyred Ṣūfī Massignon was studying, the depiction of al-Ḥallāj as a mystic undoubtedly seemed obvious. He viewed al-Ḥallāj, who died at the hands of the community he was trying to save, as recapitulating the mystical substitution of one life for another that lay at the heart of Massignon's Christocentric Catholic devotional life. The work of Massignon's student, Henry Corbin, also provided an eclectic bridge between traditions. Through a reading of Islam that stressed on-going revelation through Ṣūfī and Shīʿah visionaries—something that he could not find in Christianity—Corbin found a means of critiquing Christianity. Given his interest, Corbin used a broader range of terms—prophetic philosophy, esotericism and the visionary tradition—to depict his approach. Annemarie Schimmel, who taught at Harvard for twenty-five years, emphasized the complexity of the origins of Ṣūfī mysticism. In *The Mystical Dimension of Islam,* she resisted the then still common tendency to explain Sufism as the result of contact with other mystical traditions and, like Massignon, pointed to Ṣūfī-like tendencies present in the Qur'ān.

HINDUISM AND BUDDHISM. The concept of experience played a prominent role in the mediation of Hinduism and Zen Buddhism to the West in the twentieth century. In India and Japan, the heightened emphasis on experience reflected a rethinking of the Hindu and Buddhist traditions amidst the crosscurrents of colonialism, westernization, and nationalist self-assertion. Building on the thought of nineteenth-century Neo-Hindu predecessors, such as Rammohun Roy (1772–1833), Debendranath Tagore (1817–1905), and Vivekananda (1863–1902), the Indian scholar Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan (1888–1975) explicitly embraced the concept of religious experience as central to his understanding of religion in general and Hinduism in particular. In Japan, Daisetz Teitaro (D. T.) Suzuki (1870–1966), influenced by the philosophy of Nishida Kitarō and the "New Buddhism" of the Meiji period (1868–1912), emphasized the "inner experience" of enlightenment (satori) in Zen, the Buddhist tradition, and religion and philosophy in general. As with Christian modernists of the same era, Hindu and Buddhist "modernizers" used the idea of experience to undercut traditional sources of authority and interpret traditional concepts in new ways.

Roy, whose translations of Hindu texts were read by the American Transcendentalists, opened the question of the authority of Hindu scriptures and raised questions regarding the relation of Hindu revelation to the revelation claimed by other traditions. Tagore pursued these questions much more deeply in an attempt to establish how much of the tradition could be accepted as binding. He broke with the Vedānta philosophy of Śankara, replacing Śankara's commentaries with his own. According to Wilhelm Halbfass, Debendranath transferred authority from the texts themselves to "the pure heart, filled with the light of intuitive knowledge," thus placing himself "in the position of a 'seer'" (Halbfass, p. 223). His reinterpretation of authority was simultaneously influenced by Western conceptions of inspiration and intuition and assertively Hindu. According to Halbfass, Debendranath's

> doctrine of intuition and his interpretation of religious texts as documents of inner experience opened up new dimensions of universality and of interaction with other religions, and it paved the way for such exemplary Neo-Hindu views as that of Radhakrishnan, who saw all valid religious documents, both within and without Hinduism, as records of 'experiences,' and thus understood 'intuition' and 'experience' as the basis and the common denominator of all religions (Halbfass, p. 224).

These ideas were promoted in the West in an embodied way through the figure of Ramakrishna—"the most famous representative of 'living Hinduism' and . . . the very symbol of the potential of undogmatic religious experience and ecstasy contained within the Hindu tradition" (Halbfass, p. 227). While, according to Halbfass, Ramakrishna himself cannot be counted as a spokesperson for Neo-Hinduism, "he became the instrument and leading figure of Neo-Hinduism in its encounter with Europe" through the tireless promotional efforts of his student, Vivekananda (Halbfass, p. 230).

D. T. Suzuki's earliest publications reflect the New Buddhist orientation of his teacher, the Rinzai Zen abbot Shaku Sōen, as well as the influence Paul Carus, the western Buddhist advocate with whom Suzuki studied from 1897–1909, but they place little explicit emphasis on the concept of experience. In his *Outlines of Mahayana Buddhism* (1907), Suzuki characterized Nirvana in terms of "the suppression of egoism and the awakening of love." He described the Boddhisattva ideal as one of "all-embracing love" and, like Carus, depicted "this gospel of universal love [as] the consummation of all religious emotions whatever their origin" (Suzuki, pp. 55, 366, 369). Suzuki's turn to experience was apparently prompted by the publication of his friend Nishida Kitarō's *Zen no kenkyū* (An inquiry into the good) in 1911. Kitarō's work, which was influenced by William James, was a rethinking of Japanese philosophy in light of the concept of pure experience (junsui keiken). In "The Zen of Japanese Nationalism," Robert Sharf indicates that the two Japanese words used to translate experience—keiken (for the English experience) and taiken (for the German Erlebnis)—rarely appeared in pre-modern Japanese texts. By the 1920s, Suzuki was interpreting "the doctrine of Enlightenment" as an "inner experience," in which "Enlightenment is grasped immediately without any conceptual medium" *(Essays in Religion,* First Series [1926], p. 73). He used this understanding of enlightenment to argue for the centrality of Zen in the Buddhist tradition and to critique those who tried to "grasp the spirit of Buddhism" through the philosophical study of Buddhist teachings rather than by entering into "the inner essence of Enlightenment [as] experienced by the Buddha" (p. 118).

Enlightenment emerged as Suzuki's primary experiential category. While he was quite open to comparisons, he stressed the difference between the Zen experience and meditation (dhyana) as practiced in India, most theistic forms of Christian mysticism, and "conversion . . . as the term is generally used by Christian converts" (Suzuki, *Essays,* pp. 262–263, 231). At the same time, he viewed "Zen as the ultimate fact of all philosophy and religion." Not only was it "the fountain of Buddhist thought and life," it was "very much alive also in Christianity, Mahommedanism, in Taoism, and even in positivistic Confucianism" (Suzuki, p. 268). With a few exceptions, such as his discussion of Eckhart and Zen in *Mysticism: Christian and Buddhist* (1957), Suzuki stayed with the Japanese concept of satori. While he was willing to translate satori as Enlightenment, interpret it as the "Zen experience," and recognize it in other traditions, he rarely subsumed it under other rubrics, in effect promoting it as a competitor to mysticism and religious experience in the market place of ideas.

USE IN RELATION TO RELIGION IN GENERAL. William James (1842–1910), Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan (1888–1975), and Joachim Wach (1889–1955), each of whom understood religion in general in terms of religious experience, illustrate three different understandings of the concept—empirical (James), perennial (Radhakrishnan), and phenomenological (Wach)—each with its own intellectual antecedents. James's *Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902) marks the transformation of traditional evangelical Protestant understanding of religious experience in the Anglo-American context under the influence of experimental psychology, including psychical research, and new religious movements such as Transcendentalism, Swedenborgianism, Spiritualism, and Theosophy. Radhakrishnan, in writings that date back to the 1920s, highlights the Neo-Hindu transformation of traditional Hindu concepts of *darśana* and *anubhava* in the colonial Indian context under the influence of the East-West exchange, Christian missions, and the rise of Hindu nationalism. Wach represents the explicit codification of the German intellectual tradition represented by Schleiermacher and Otto under the rubric of religious experience within the context of the academic study of religion (the History of Religions) beginning in the 1940s.

WILLIAM JAMES. William James, a philosopher and psychologist who taught at Harvard for over thirty years, is usually given credit for constituting the term religious experience as a technical term in the study of religion. In *Varieties,* religious experience, abstracted from its traditional Protestant meaning, served as an umbrella term that encompassed traditionally Catholic conceptions of sainthood and mysticism as well as the traditionally Protestant idea of conversion. References to other traditions, while not as numerous, appeared throughout the book as well. All were united under the rubric of religious experience, which no longer referred to the understanding of experience that a particular (evangelical Protestant) tradition deemed normative, but to an aspect of religion in general.

James delivered the Gifford Lectures, soon thereafter published as *Varieties,* in Edinburgh in 1901. He defined religion for the purpose of his lectures (that is, heuristically) as "the feelings, acts, and experiences of individual men in their solitude, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they may consider divine" (James, p. 34). He stressed that for religious persons "[i]t is as if there were in the human consciousness a sense of reality, a feeling of objective presence, a perception of what we may call 'something there,' more deep and more general than any of the special and particularly 'senses'" (James, p. 55). Utilizing autobiographies and memoirs as data, James focused on what he referred to as first hand experience, that is, on "the original experiences that were the pattern-setters," rather than in the experiences of "ordinary believers." Under the influence of nineteenth-century romanticism, James was particularly interested in "'geniuses' in the religious line." Such persons, he recognized, were frequently subject to extremes of experience; they heard voices, had visions, and fell into trance. James, like Emerson before him, readily conceded that religious geniuses were often depicted as psychopathological in his own day and as "enthusiasts" in earlier times. Nonetheless, James, in contrast to many later psychologists of religion, was convinced that, empirically speaking, the more extreme cases would shed the greatest light on religious experience as a whole.

Although religious experience and mysticism were both viewed positively and much discussed at the turn of the century, the boundary between them was not clearly demarcated. While, according to James, "personal religious experience has its root and centre in mystical states of consciousness," mysticism was not simply a subset of religious experience. There were, in his view, both religious experiences that were not mystical and mystical experiences—such as dreamy states and alcohol and drug induced experiences—that were not religious. At the end of his discussion of mysticism, he conceded that "religious mysticism" actually makes up "only one half of mysticism." The other half, he said, has no traditions other than what "the text-books on insanity supply" (James, p. 337).

Those with a particular interest in mysticism often have read James's chapter on the subject in isolation from the work as a whole, either adopting or critiquing his "four marks" of mysticism—ineffability, noetic quality, transciency, and passivity—and linking him with the tradition descended from Schleiermacher. Recent critics of ahistorical approaches to mysticism, such as Grace Jantzen, have critiqued James on the basis of this sort of reading. While there are resemblances between Schleiermacher, Otto, and James, particularly in terms of their emphasis on emotion, the differences are significant. Troeltsch noted in 1912 that the key difference between James and the European philosophers of religion lay in the latter's commitment to Platonic or Neoplatonic rationalism and the former's commitment to an anti-Platonic radical empiricism. While the Europeans presupposed an "a priori unity of consciousness" upon which they could base a postulated "essence of religion," James did not. James did not consider religion an a priori category and, while he assumed that it had a distinct function that could be identified by means of comparisons with similar phenomena, it was not, in his view, sui generis.

At most points in *Varieties,* James as a result made a clear distinction between the subjective experience of believers (i.e., their phenomenological claims of immediacy), which he recognized, and the truth claims they asserted (i.e., their epistemological claims to immediacy), which were, in his view, open to question. He recognized, for example, that "any object that is infinitely important to us and awakens our devotion feels to us also as if it must be sui generis and unique." Even a crab, he added tongue in cheek, would undoubtedly be filled with "a sense of personal outrage" if it overheard us class it with the crustaceans "and thus dispose of it" (James, p. 17). In contrast to Otto, who made analogies—particularly between religious and aesthetic experience—in order to evoke the "perfectly sui generis" experience of the numinous in his readers, James was an inveterate comparativist who liked nothing better than to construct a graduated series of examples—religious and non-religious—so as to more fully grasp the significance of the phenomena in question.

Also in contrast to Otto, James was interested in mediating between science and religion and did not reject naturalistic explanations of religious claims out of hand. Where Otto seemed to assume the objective reality of the numinous object, James asked whether the seemingly external presence encountered by believers—the "More" as he called it—really existed. James offered the idea of the "subconscious" developed by Frederick Myers, his colleague in the Society for Psychical Research, as a largely naturalistic explanation of such experiences, which nonetheless held open the possibility of influences that originated beyond the self. James himself believed that such influences were possible, as he indicated in his postscript, and he was closely involved with the Society for Psychical Research's attempts to obtain evidence of life after death through their investigations of spiritualist mediums.

SARVEPELLI RADHAKRISHNAN. Radhakrishnan was born near Madras, India, and educated in schools run by Christian missionaries. The missionaries' criticisms of Hinduism led him to examine it for himself and ultimately to take up the Neo-Hindu efforts to modernize the tradition. From 1909 to 1931, he taught philosophy and religion at various colleges and universities in India. Beginning in the mid-1920s, he gave a series of prestigious lectures in England and the United States and, from 1936–39, held the Spalding Chair in Eastern Religions and Ethics at Oxford. Upon his return to India, he assumed a variety of high-ranking administrative and political posts, including from 1962–67, the presidency of India.

Radhakrishnan's perennialist understanding of religious experience blended a distinctly Neo-Hindu form of Vedanta with the philosophical idealism of the West. In a lecture on "Religious Experience" given at Oxford in 1926 (and later published in *A Hindu View of Life* [1927]), he located Hinduism's particular strength in its long history of "welding together heterogeneous elements and enabling them to live together in peace and order." In a world "full of racial, cultural, and religious misunderstandings," he hoped that the Hindu approach to "the problem of religious conflicts" might have lessons for all. Hinduism was able to discover unity amidst diversity because of its grounding in religious experience. Reflecting his debt to Tagore, he wrote that in Hinduism "intellect is subordinated to intuition, dogma to experience, outer expression to inward realization. Religion is not the acceptance of academic abstractions or the celebration of ceremonies, but a kind of life or experience. It is insight into the nature of reality *(darśana),* or experience of reality *(anubhava)*" (Radhakrishnan, p. 15).

As McDermott points out, both Vedanta and idealism share an epistemology (a theory of intuition) and a metaphysics (a theory of the Absolute) in which the case for intuition presupposes the reality of the Absolute and case for the Absolute depends on knowledge supplied by intuition (Radhakrishnan, p. 16). Radhakrishnan equates "religious experience" and intuitive knowledge. In *An Idealist View of Life,* he described religious experience as "a type of experience which is not clearly differentiated into a subject-object state, an integral, undivided consciousness in which not merely this or that side of man's nature but his whole being seems to find itself." (Radhakrishnan, 1932, p. 91). He made use of the idea of the unconscious to explain how the Absolute could be "directly experienced" without making a claim for "pure experience." Thus, he argued:

> immediacy does not mean absence of psychological mediation but only non-mediation by conscious thought. Ideas which seem to come to us with compelling force, without any mediate intellectual process of which we are aware, are generally the results of previous training in traditions imparted to us in our early years. . . . Something is directly experienced, but it is unconsciously interpreted in the terms of the tradition in which the individual is trained (Radhakrishnan, 1932, pp. 98–99).

Thus, as he summed up in *The Hindu View of Life:*

> religious experience is not the pure unvarnished presentment of the real in itself, but is the presentment of the real already influenced by the ideas and prepossessions of the perceiving mind. . . . Each religious genius spells out the mystery of God according to his own endowment, personal, racial, and historical. The variety of the pictures of God is easily intelligible when we realize that religious experience is psychologically mediated (Radhakrishnan, pp. 24–25).

Joachim Wach. Wach, a German-born historian of religions, studied with Otto, Heiler, and Troeltsch. He taught at the University of Leipzig until his appointment was terminated in 1935 due to his family's Jewish background. He immigrated to the United States, where he taught at Brown University (1935–45) and the University of Chicago (1946–1955). In his best known work, *The Sociology of Religion,* Wach synthesized the phenomenological method as pioneered by Otto, Max Scheler, and Gerardus van der Leeuw with the sociological approach of Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch. Relying on Otto, Wach began with religious experience, which he defined as the "experience of the holy." Following the lead of Weber and Troeltsch, Wach focused on the expression of religious experience in the contexts of theory (myth and doctrine), cultus (worship), and, above all, social groups and social relations. By focusing on the interplay between religion and society, Wach hoped to illustrate not only "the cultural significance of religion but also to gain new insight into the relations between the various forms of expression of religious experience and eventually to understand better the various aspects of religious experience itself" (Wach, 1944, p. 5).

In contrast to James who compared religious and nonreligious phenomena and distinguished between such phenomena pragmatically, Wach limited his comparisons to religious experiences, which he held to have an "objective character" that would "ultimately defy any attempt to describe, analyze, and comprehend its meaning scientifically" (Wach, 1944, p. 14). In the wake of the Second World War, perhaps in reaction to Nazism, Wach provided what were, in effect, theological criteria for distinguishing between genuine (i.e., objective) and pseudo-religious experience. While "pseudo religions," such as Marxism, ethnic or racialized religions, and nationalism, in his view, were grounded in finite (i.e., human and subjective) realities, genuine religious experience was, he claimed, grounded in "ultimate reality" (Wach, 1951, pp. 32-33). Wach's stress on the sui generis nature of religion and the objective character of ultimate reality, which he shared with Otto and van der Leeuw, remained characteristic features of the history of religions program at the University of Chicago under Wach's successor, Mircea Eliade (1907–1986).

Eliade, in the eyes of many the dominant figure in the study of religion for the post-war generation, approached the study of religion in light of the distinction between the sacred and the profane rather than religious experience per se. He explicitly linked his understanding of the hierophany, the manifestation of the sacred in the profane, to the Christian ideas of incarnation and sacrament. In *Patterns of Comparative Religion,* he emphasized the idea that "the sacred is always manifested through some thing" (Eliade, p. 26). These things included the natural and built environment (sun, moon, rocks, water; temples); plants, animals, and humans; biological processes (sex and fertility); human activities (agriculture, hunting); and immaterial objects, such as time, symbols, moral laws, and ideas. Indeed, he stressed that there was probably not "anything . . . that has not at some time in human history been somewhere transformed into a hierophany" (Eliade, p. 11). Given his sharp distinction between the sacred and profane, the hierophany represented a "paradoxical coming-together of sacred and profane." Acknowledging the Christian overtones of this formulation, he indicated that "one might even say that all hierophanies are simply prefigurations of the miracle of the Incarnation, that every hierophany is an abortive attempt to reveal the mystery of the coming together of God and man" (Eliade, p. 29).

While anything could potentially manifest the sacred, Eliade also insisted that "a hierophany [nonetheless] implies a choice, a clear-cut separation of this thing which manifests the sacred from everything else around it" (Eliade, p. 13). Sometimes Eliade depicted this act of separation as the result of human choice, and at other times, the result of sacred action. Thus, Eliade acknowledged that humans as historical actors experience, interpret, and revalue the sacred, while, at the same time, insisting that the sacred as suprahistorical agent ultimately reveals, displays, and thus imposes "itself on man from without" (Eliade, p. 369). The conflation of the two perspectives into one "onto-theological system"—to borrow Jonathan Z. Smith's phrase—has been both a source of confusion and the subject of critique in subsequent decades.

Although Eliade did not use the term religious experience in a technical sense, he often used it as a synonym for the experience of the sacred, broadly conceived to include not only hierophanies, but also kratophanies (manifestations of power), totemism, ancestor worship, etc. He stressed that "elementary hierophanies" were always part of a larger religious system made up of "all the religious experiences of the tribe," on the one hand, and "a corpus of traditional theories [e.g. myths] which cannot be reduced to elementary hierophanies," on the other (Eliade, p. 30). In so far as it functioned as an extension of his concept of the sacred, Eliade's understanding of religious experience maintained the sui generis and objective character evident in the lineage from Otto to Wach.

Eliade's colleagues and heirs at the University of Chicago appropriated and critiqued his legacy in various ways. Eliade's seemingly casual subsumption of the sacred under the heading of religious experience was subsequently reinforced by Eliade's colleagues, Charles Long and Joseph Kitagawa, both of whom studied under Joachim Wach and maintained Wach's preference for the term religious experience. Kitagawa, reflecting the influence of Otto on Wach and Eliade, used the term as a catchall for the "unique and irreducible element" of religion (Kitagawa, 1987, p. 28). In essays dating back to the late sixties, Long undercut Eliade's ontological claims by stressing the role of human imagination in the apprehension of the sacred (Long, 1986, pp. 23–25, 27–53, 65–78). Jonathan Z. Smith explicitly criticized Eliade's conflation of the morphological and ontological and argued for the importance of separating the two in order to maintain the integrity of the morphological enterprise in the context of historical analysis (Smith, 2000, p. 346; see also 1978, pp. 88–103, 253–259, 289–310). In *The Symbolism of Evil,* philosopher Paul Ricoeur critiqued Eliade's understanding of symbols, rooting them more deeply in psychological and cultural experience, by arguing, first, that "to manifest the 'sacred' on the 'cosmos' and to manifest it in the 'psyche' are the same thing" and, second, that scholarly engagement with symbols is shaped both by scholars' own situatedness and by the situatedness of the questions they ask (Ricoeur, pp. 12–13, 19–20).

MYSTICISM, THE NUMINOUS, AND RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE. James understood mysticism and religious experience as overlapping but not coextensive. Radhakrishnan used the term religious experience to refer to what many others would call mysticism. Otto, van der Leeuw, Wach, and Eliade subsumed mysticism under their rubric of choice (the holy, power, religious experience, or the sacred respectively). Wach, Eliade, Kitagawa, and Long, all of whom were interested in the study of religion in general, viewed terms such as religious experience, the sacred, and the holy in relation to a wide range of material and non-material phenomena that were not necessarily associated with the term mysticism. Presumably, they viewed it as a more adequate basis for the study of religion in all its concrete manifestations.

Scholars of mysticism did not demonstrate the same interest in the study of religion in general as did historians of religion. Many were identified primarily as philosophers of religion and brought epistemological concerns to the study of mysticism. During the fifties and sixties, their discussions revolved mostly around matters of definition and boundaries in the study of mysticism. Thus, for example, R. C. Zaehner, who assumed the Spalding Chair in Eastern Religion and Ethics at Oxford upon Radhakrishnan's departure, critiqued both his predecessor's perennialism and that of Aldous Huxley, countering with a more nuanced characterization of mysticism that ruled out psychic and physical phenomena, downplayed the value of drug-induced experiences, and heightened the differences between traditions in a manner congruent with his own Catholic commitments. In *Mysticism and Philosophy,* Walter T. Stace reiterated the consensus view that visions, voices, raptures, trances and "hyperemotionalism" were not part of the "universal core" of mystical experience and sharply differentiated "mystical experience" from "religious experience," arguing that once mystical experience is stripped of "all intellectual interpretation" all that is left is "the undifferentiated unity." What, he asked, "is there that is religious about an undifferentiated unity?" (Stace, p. 23).

The British historian of religions, Ninian Smart (1927–2001), made the most significant attempt to bring discussions of mysticism into the general study of religion during this period. In *Reason and Faiths,* he proposed to move beyond Otto by arguing that the numinous and the mystical represented two different forms of religious experience. He associated the former, with its emphasis on an encounter with the "wholly other," with the monotheistic religions of the West and the latter, with its emphasis on union with the one, with the religions of the East. He used this distinction to structure his influential textbook on world religions, *The Religious Experience of Mankind,* which was reissued in five editions over the succeeding three decades.

THE CRITICS. Because, to paraphrase William James, the use of a concept can be better understood in relation to its near neighbors and closest competitors, this section gives some consideration to critical debates over the concept of mysticism alongside debates over the concept of religious experience. Other competitors, especially "enthusiasm," "the sacred," and "spirituality," could profitably be compared as well. Mysticism, however, was selected for examination because of its prominence as an alternative during most of the period under consideration in this essay. Significant criticism of the underlying assumptions that informed the use of the terms religious experience and mysticism surfaced in the 1970s and gathered momentum over the next two decades. The central question with respect to religious experience (and by extension religion) was whether or not it was sui generis. This question was typically debated in relation to the issue of "reductionism" in the study of religion, that is, the question of whether religion (or religious experience) could be legitimately redescribed in nonreligious terms. The central question with respect to mysticism was whether or not it had a "common core" that united all the disparate forms of mystical experience. This question was typically debated in relation to questions about the nature of experience, specifically the relationship between experience and language.

Both debates were, in a sense, about the autonomy of the experiences in question. The debate over whether or not mysticism had a common core located the question of autonomy in relation to the traditions. Those who argued for a common core, a view typically connected to the philosophia perennis, were in effect arguing for a common esoteric tradition that united the various traditions. The debate over whether or not religious experience was sui generis located the question of autonomy in relation to the academic disciplines. Those who argued for the sui generis nature of religious experience resisted the idea that religion could be adequately understood in nonreligious (i.e. psychological, sociological, historical) terms. The underlying issue was whether or not the phenomenological approach to the study of religion, which made a sharp distinction—loosely following Dilthey and other Continental philosophers—between methods appropriate to the humanities and methods appropriate to the sciences, was adequate for the study of religion or just another way of importing religion itself into the academy.

In its most recent iteration, the debate has turned to the relationship between scholars of religion and what they study. Methodological questions surrounding the selection of data, the nature of comparison, and the influence of the scholar's beliefs and life experiences remain central in a context where some scholars are calling for methods that more effectively distinguish between the voices and agendas of scholars and those of their subjects. The underlying issue has to do with the extent to which scholars construct the object of study and the bearing that role in constructing the object has on the subject.

DEBATES OVER THE NATURE OF RELIGION. The 1970s and early 1980s were a period of rising discontent among scholars interested in the study of religion and the study of mysticism. In both cases discontent focused on critiques of the giants that had dominated these areas of study. In the study of religion, criticism focused above all on Mircea Eliade. Robert Segal's provocative essay "In Defense of Reductionism" directed much of the critical energy. At issue was what Eliade meant by claiming that the "sacred" was "irreducible." Did he mean that the sacred was real for believers and, thus, should not be interpreted in any other terms, or was he claiming that the believers' perspective was in fact epistemologically true? While acknowledging that Eliade's statements were inconsistent in this regard, Segal concluded that Eliade's "willingness to exceed and even violate believers' particular conscious views of the meaning of religion for them suggests that he is concerned with more than its truth for them" (Segal, 101). Segal also made the point, which was shortly thereafter reiterated and generalized by Wayne Proudfoot, that there is no necessary conflict between the humanists' desire to describe the conscious meaning of religion for believers, and the social scientists desire to account for the believer's understanding in terms other than the believer's own.

Building on the different conceptions of interpretation in the hermeneutic and pragmatic traditions, Proudfoot made an important and widely accepted distinction between descriptive and explanatory reduction in Religious Experience. "Descriptive reduction," according to Proudfoot, "is the failure to identify an emotion, practice, or experience under the description by which the subject identifies it." The subject's self-description, he maintained, is normative for describing the experience, but should not prevent scholars from offering their own explanations of the phenomena in question in terms that "are not those of the subject and that might not meet with his approval." This sort of "explanatory reduction," Proudfoot argued, is "perfectly justifiable and is, in fact, normal procedure" (Proudfoot, pp.194–197).

Two volumes edited by Thomas A. Idinopulos and Edward Yonan, *Religion and Reductionism* and *The Sacred and its Scholars* capture much of the flavor of the subsequent debate. Two points are worth emphasizing in relation to the first volume. First, Proudfoot's distinction between descriptive and explanatory reduction was widely accepted. While accepting Proudfoot's distinction, both Segal and Donald Wiebe, another well-known critic of Eliade, emphasized that avoiding descriptive reduction did not mean accepting the tacit explanations of experiences embedded in the descriptive accounts of believers (Idinopulos/Yonan, p. 123). Second, as Ivan Strenski's discussion made clear, reduction involves the redescription of phenomena. "In its home context in the natural sciences and philosophy of science, 'reduction' names a process by which concepts and theories from one domain change by being logically and/or conceptually subsumed by—'reduced to'—those of another. . . . 'Reductionism' is thus the obverse of the view that theories are a priori 'autonomous' and immune to the subsumption by other theories" (Idinopulos/Yonan, p. 97). Although "reduction" is a technical term, it does not refer to a process that is limited to scientists or scholars. As Strenski (Idinopulos/Yonan, p. 102) and Merkur (Idinopulos/Yonan, p. 221) both point out, ordinary believers routinely redescribe the beliefs of those they disagree with.

Several of the essays in *The Sacred and Its Scholars* wrestled with the question of whether Otto, van der Leeuw, Wach, and Eliade were making descriptive claims about the experience of believers or metaphysical claims about religion when they argued that religion is sui generis. Merkur argued that Otto was making a descriptive claim, but that van der Leeuw, Wach, and Eliade were not. Idinopulos disagreed with Merkur, claiming that Otto is hopelessly obscure on precisely this point. In a two-part article commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the first edition of Eliade's *Patterns in Comparative Religions,* Jonathan Z. Smith advanced this discussion by distinguishing between morphological (i.e., synchronic) and diachronic approaches to history, on the one hand, and ontological claims to transcend history, on the other. Smith argued that *Patterns* reflects Eliade's "persistent attempt to conjoin [a] morphological understanding of history with an ontology that rejects the historical" (Smith, 2000, p. 346). As indicated above, Smith argues for the importance of separating the morphological and ontological in order to uphold the value of synchronic as well as diachronic analyses in the historical enterprise.

DEBATES OVER THE NATURE OF EXPERIENCE. In the study of mysticism, the critical assault began with a symposium organized by Steven T. Katz in the mid-1970s. In *Mysticism and Philosophical Analysis,* Katz set out to advance the discussion and analysis of mysticism "beyond James and Otto, Stace and Zaehner" (Katz, p. 3). Katz framed his symposia and the volumes that emerged from them in relation to the question of experience and interpretation. Katz and most of the contributors to his edited volumes are considered specialists in the history of mysticism within particular traditions. Most followed Katz's lead in arguing that there is no such thing as a pure unmediated experience and, thus, that the idea that all mystical experiences share a "common core" is false. Robert K. C. Forman emerged as Katz's most prominent critic. In *The Problem of Pure Consciousness* and subsequent works, Forman, building on Stace, narrowed the proposed common core to the "Pure Consciousness Event (PCE)," which he defined "as a wakeful though contentless" form of consciousness (Forman, pp. 7–8).

Forman also reframed the debate between himself and Katz, describing Katz as a "constructivist" and himself as a "perennialist" in their approaches to mysticism. The constructivist model, Forman argued, reflected the desire to privilege pluralism and difference over the commonalities highlighted by perennialists. Viewed in this way, the debate between Katz and Forman can be understood as a debate over the autonomy of mystical experience relative to the traditions. Conversely, it is a debate over the legitimacy of the perennialist self-understanding, which, as predicted by Troeltsch, has broken increasingly free of the traditions over the course of the twentieth century. While perennialists may indeed pluck experiences out of their original socio-historical environment, as the historians of mysticism claimed, they do so in order to relocate, that is subsume, them within a perennialist framework. They are engaging, in other words, in a process of redescription that is not always openly acknowledged.

Both the Katz-Forman debate and the debate over reductionism in the study of religion focused on the autonomy of the experiences in question. The debate between Katz and Forman located the question of autonomy in relation to the traditions. Forman, in arguing for a common core, a view that he explicitly linked to perennialism, argued for the academic legitimacy of a perennialist framework undergirding and implicitly linking the various traditions. The debate over whether or not religious experience (religion) was sui generis, in contrast, located the question of autonomy in relation to the academic disciplines. The debate over whether Otto, van der Leeuw, Wach, and Eliade were making descriptive claims about believers or ontological claims about religion in general reflects a parallel uncertainty. Were Otto, van der Leeuw, Wach, and Eliade involved in the empirical study of the religion of their subjects or in creating a generic understanding of religion ontologically grounded in an ostensible experience of the holy or sacred and, thus, tacitly protected from methodological scrutiny? The weight of the scholarship suggests that while they hoped to accomplish the former, they in fact effected the latter, without effectively differentiating between the two aims. Like the perennialists, they too were engaging in an ontologically informed process of redescription that was not overtly acknowledged.

QUESTIONS OF METHOD. The central methodological question for the empirical study of religion is data selection. Douglas Allen clearly articulated the problem when he observed apropos of Eliade that if the historian of religion's "point of departure is the historical data which expresses the religious experiences of mankind[,] . . . how does one know what documents to collect, which phenomena to describe and interpret?" (Allen, pp. 171-172). Proudfoot identified two options: an experience can be designated as religious by the scholar (who must then supply a definition of religion) or by the subject of the experience. In practice, however, matters are not so simple. Many texts that the scholar might intuitively want to consider were written by followers or observers rather than by the ostensible subject of the experience. More crucially, many of those same texts do not explicitly refer to either "religion" or "experience." Moreover, when scholars turn to definitions of religion for assistance, they often find that they employ referents (e.g., ultimate reality, the sacred, the numinous) that are so vague that they offer little assistance in selecting texts. The problem of data selection, thus, leads directly to the underlying question of how (and to what extent) we as scholars constitute our objects of study.

If, as Jonathan Z. Smith has argued, we want to move beyond simply paraphrasing the words of those we are studying, whether on the grounds of their uniqueness or inviolability, we must take responsibility for our role in constructing an object of study. Three options are particularly pertinent with regard to what has traditionally been construed as religious experience, each with its own advantages and disadvantages, depending on the scholar's aims. (1) The scholar can limit him or herself to texts that make explicit use of the term "religious experience" and its near neighbors and competitors, always taking care to note which terms are actually being employed. This is the strategy adopted by Halbfass, Sharf (1995), and this entry. This approach is particularly useful for tracing the use of concepts and the history of ideas. It does not attempt to get at experiences per se. (2) The scholar can decide in advance what he or she will count (i.e. define) as "religious experience" by developing a definition that is sufficiently specific that it can actually be used to select appropriate textual sources for consideration. While this approach allows the scholar to get at experiences, it runs the risk of saying more about the scholar's understanding of religion (substantively or heuristically) than that of his or her subjects. Care, therefore, should be taken to distinguish between the scholar's views and those of his or her sources. (3) The scholar can identify an aspect of experience that is not necessarily co-extensive with what scholars or their subjects take to be religion (e.g., the subjective sense of encountering or being moved by an external power), and analyze the way in which it is understood by persons who stand inside and, if desired, outside one or more traditions. This approach allows scholars to analyze what their subjects understand as authentic experience and to explore the criteria they use for making these judgments. This approach makes controversies over the meaning of a particular type of experience the focus of scholarly analysis. It recognizes (and takes advantage of) the fact that both insiders and outsiders to a tradition regularly describe and redescribe experiences as religious or not religious, authentic or inauthentic. In so doing, this approach allows scholars to recognize and examine boundary issues (e.g. between psychical experience, visions, mysticism, religious experience, spirituality and so on) that may be suppressed by scholarly definitions of religion.

NEW DIRECTIONS. Some of the most interesting new research reflects the interdisciplinary interests of William James and others affiliated with the Society for Psychical Research at the beginning of the twentieth century. Three partially overlapping areas of research look particularly promising: the relationship between religious experience and brain function, between religious experience and psychopathology, and between religious experience and various disciplines or practices. These investigations locate the study of religious experience in relation to cognitive science, clinical psychology, and ritual studies, respectively. Three studies, each of which explores this interdisciplinary terrain in different ways, illustrate three different ways of constructing an object of study.

Etzel Cardeña, Steven Jay Lynn, and Stanley Krippner—all associated with the American Psychological Association's Division 30 (Psychological Hypnosis)—edited *Varieties of Anomalous Experience.* In addition to alluding to James in their title, they view themselves as continuing a tradition of scientific investigation initiated by the Society for Psychical Research and late nineteenth-century clinical researchers. Their object of study is "anomalous experiences," that is, experiences that are either uncommon or are "believed to deviate from ordinary experience or from the usually accepted explanations of reality" (Cardeña/Lynn/Krippner, p. 4). By choosing a term that does not have any necessary associations with either psychopathology or religion, they are free to explore how anomalous experiences relate to either or both in essays on topics such as hallucinatory experiences, synesthesia, lucid dreaming, out-of-body experiences, past-life experiences, and near-death experiences.

Jess Byron Hollenbeck's *Mysticism: Experience, Response, and Empowerment* breaks into the Katz-Forman debate by refusing to exile "visions, locutions, and illuminations from the domain of mysticism," because, he says, in doing so, "we lose sight of a number of fascinating questions that pertain to the psychology of trance." Like James, Hollenbeck takes as his object of study phenomena that fall along a continuum of experience from the more abstract forms of experience typically designated as mystical to "more 'concrete' types of transcendence," such as visions, apparitions, supernormal enhancements of the senses, and experiences of supersensible illumination. These more concrete forms of experience in turn bear some resemblance to everyday sense experience. Reestablishing a continuum of experience allows Hollenbeck to break down the dichotomy between "universal" and "tribal" religions presupposed by the usual definitions of mysticism. He explores the linkages between paranormal experiences, mystical states of consciousness, and practices of recollection (or concentration of the mind)and critiques both the perennialist and contextualist lines of interpretation.

Finally, Ilkka Pyysiäinen's *How Religion Works: Toward a Cognitive Science of Religion* provides a new theory of religious experience based on an object of study that distinguishes between religion and experience and defines religion empirically. Building on the work Pascal Boyer and others, Pyysiäinen hypothesizes that people identify something as "religious" if it involves "counter-intuitive agents," that is, agents that "'violate panhuman intuitive expectations' in a well defined fashion" (Pyysiäinen, p. 23). In contrast to scholars who simply stipulate a definition of religion, Pyysiäian's definition is offered as a hypothesis, which he has tested empirically and which is, thus, potentially open to refutation (Pyysiäinen, p. 225). In discussing the neurological mechanisms associated with what are commonly understood as "religious experiences," he stresses that the mechanisms themselves are "in no way specifically 'religious'" (Pyysiäinen, p. 142). The experiences, in other words, are not necessarily either religious or non-religious; they become religious when they are associated with counter-intuitive representations. By carefully distinguishing between religion and experience, Pyysiäian constructs a theory in which both aspects—the definition of religion and the correlations between experiences and brain processes—are open to experimental testing and potential refutation.

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William James. There is a vast literature on William James. Within religion, most of the recent discussion of *Varieties* has taken place among philosophers of religion and scholars of mysticism (e.g., Proudfoot, Bagger, Barnard, Jantzen, Lamberth). For a good introduction to James in relation to the modern study of mysticism, see Furse, pp. 9–28. Jantzen reads James's chapter on mysticism in relation to Schleiermacher and the Romantic tradition, pp. 304–321, and critiques philosophers of religion for their ahistorical utilization of James's chapter on mysticism, pp. 330–332. Barnard focuses his reading on James's epistemology, utilizing it to support Forman's position in the Katz-Forman debate. Long (pp. 158–172) provides a helpful critical discussion of James and Troeltsch in relation to the study of religion. Taves 2003b, building on Taves 1999: 253–291, treats James from the perspective of comparison in the study of religion.

Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan. For biographical details, see Radhakrishnan's autobiography in McDermott. Radhakrishnan's key writings on religious experience can be found in *The Hindu View of Life* (1927), pp. 11–33, and *An Idealist View of Life* (London, 1932), pp. 84–126. McDermott also provides a helpful philosophically oriented introduction to his thought. *The Philosophy of Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan,* edited by Paul A. Schilpp (New York, 1952), includes numerous tributes to Radhakrishnan, including Wach's somewhat critical contribution, "Radhakrishnan and the Comparative Study of Religion," pp. 443–458.

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Twiss & Conser. For histories of the Chicago School under Wach and Eliade by insiders, see Kitagawa, "The History of Religions at Chicago" in Kitagawa 1987: 133–44, and Charles H. Long, "A Look at the Chicago Tradition in the History of Religions," in Kitagawa 1985: 87–104.

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New Directions. The essays in Cardeña, Lynn, and Kripner (2000) provide a good point of entry into the literature on religious experience and the clinical disciplines (clinical psychology, transpersonal psychology, and psychiatry). The edited volumes by Andresen (2001) and Pyysiäinen and Anttonen (2002) provide an overview of the most recent work on cognitive science approaches to religion, including several authors that focus on religious experience (see, in addition to Pyysiäian, the articles by McNamara and Barrett in Andresen). The edited volume by Andresen and Forman (2000) draws together a wider range of studies that can be loosely grouped under the heading of conscious studies and religious/spiritual experience. Hollenbeck's interest in supernormal phenomena places him in the tradition of Myers and James and of more recent works, such as Michael Murphy's *The Future of the Body* (Los Angeles, 1992), but raises questions that most scholars of religion have so far avoided.

ANN TAVES (2005)

RENAN, ERNEST (1823–1892) was a French Orientalist and essayist. Joseph Ernest Renan is a fragment of a mirror held up to nineteenth-century France. His life and work reflect especially the appeal of positivist science and its conflict with religion, particularly Roman Catholicism.

Born on February 28, 1823, in Tréguier, Brittany, Renan was raised a Roman Catholic and educated in seminaries until, at the age of twenty-two, he left both the seminary and the church. He wrote to his spiritual director that the church would not allow him the freedom to pursue the kind of scientific study that had increasingly fascinated him. Three years later, in 1848, he wrote *L'avenir de la science* (The Future of Science), a kind of apologia for his conversion to positivist science. In it Renan developed the ideas that would govern virtually all his later work. First, he thought that science would eventually supplant religion in developed societies. "Only science," he wrote, "can resolve eternal human problems." Second, he understood science as an inquiry that exhibits a comparative, skeptical, and nonjudgmental attitude toward its subject, and so distinguishes itself from doctrinaire religion as well as eighteenth-century rationalism.

The Future of Science was not published until 1890, two years before Renan's death; nevertheless, his attitude toward and confidence in science showed clearly in his work on Middle Eastern languages and religion. Renan's interest in the Middle East began during his seminary study in Paris, where he worked under Arthur Le Hir and Étienne Marc Quatremère. In 1848 he won the prestigious Prix Volney for his essay on the history of Semitic languages. In 1852 he was appointed an assistant to the keeper of Eastern manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, where he was in charge of Syrian, Sabaean, and Ethiopian manuscripts; this work, he once said, was the most rewarding he had done. During the same period, he published his doctoral thesis on the Arab philosopher Ibn Rushd (Averroës).

As a result of this work Renan had begun to earn a reputation as an Orientalist and so was able to secure a place on a scientific mission to Syria that was organized under the protection of the troops of Napoleon III, who were occupying Beirut. Despite the tragedy of the death of his sister, Henriette, who had always aided and supported his work and who had accompanied him and his wife to Syria, the trip was a milestone for Renan because it cemented his interest in the Middle East and set him to work on what would be the major accomplishment of his professional life, the seven-volume *Histoire des origines du christianisme* (1863–1881) and its five-volume supplement, *Histoire du peuple d'Israël* (1887–1893).

The first volume of *Origines* was the controversial and enormously popular *Vie de Jésus* (Life of Jesus). This little book, which first appeared in 1863, gave educated Frenchmen Renan's idiosyncratic portrait of Jesus. What made the book remarkable in its time, however, was its effort to draw the portrait of Jesus only along the lines roughed out by historical criticism and to project it against the larger background of the Middle Eastern religions. It showed Renan's comparative method at work, and because it failed to make or support the traditional religious claims about the divinity of Jesus or the uniqueness of Christian religion, it was widely condemned by the churches.

Renan returned to the Middle East again in 1864, this time to Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece. It was on this trip that Renan composed the *Prière sur l'Acropole,* which expressed what he called his religious revelation that the perfection promised by Judaism, Islam, and Christianity actually existed in the Greek civilization that created science, art, and philosophy. Since religion is, in Renan's view, the way people often satisfy their craving for such perfection, he continued to pursue his research into the relationships among Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. His thesis was that Christianity adapted Judaism to the European temperament and Islam adapted it to the Arab.

Renan's historical sense was not always the best, and he clearly preferred to draw his conclusions from what he thought were psychological patterns of the races and religions he studied. He speculated a good deal more freely than scholars are accustomed to do today (for example, he described in detail the physical appearance of Paul of Tarsus), and he was ready to base his judgments on aesthetic principles as much as on historical fact. However, his prose style was provocative and so effective that he often had an impact in excess of the merits of his research. His work earned him appointment as professor of history of religions at the Collège de France in 1862 and again in 1870. In 1878 he was elected to the Académie Française. He died in Paris on October 2, 1892.

Above all, Renan has reserved a place for himself in the religious history of France because he, as much as anyone else, focused public attention on the potential and the consequences of a scientific approach to religious questions. Particularly for the group of French Catholic scholars who followed him, he served as a challenge and a warning to their effort to modernize the church.

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Renan's works have been published in many languages. In French, his *Œuvres complètes,* 10 vols., edited by Henriette Psichari (Paris, 1947–1961), is the basic source. Among his works that have appeared in English editions, translated by various hands, are *The Future of Science, History of the People of Israel, The Life of Jesus,* and *Studies in Religious History.* Renan's two autobiographical pieces are also available under the English title *The Memoirs of Ernest Renan* (London, 1935).

The standard work on Renan in English is Francis Espinasse's *The Life of Ernest Renan* (1895; reprint, Boston, 1980), written only a few years after Renan's death. H. W. Wardman's *Ernest Renan* (London, 1964) is another English-language study. A useful bibliography can be found in Jacques Waardenburg's *Classical Approaches to the Study of Religion,* vol. 2 (The Hague, 1974), pp. 228–241.

New Sources

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RICHARD J. RESCH (1987)
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REN AND YI are basic terms in Confucian thought. *Ren* is often translated as "benevolence" or "humaneness," and *yi* as "propriety" or "rightness"; in combination, the expression *ren-yi* refers to the Confucian way of life and is often translated as "morality."

Ren was probably cognate with another term, *ren** (human beings, persons, others), and there are two main scholarly views regarding the early use of *ren.* One theory takes it to refer originally to the desirable attributes making one a distinctive member of certain tribes or aristocratic clans. The other takes it to refer originally to love or the tender part of human feelings, especially the kindness of a ruler toward his subjects. The term is used in the *Analects* of Confucius (sixth to fifth century BCE) more often in a broader sense, but sometimes in a narrower sense. In the broader sense, it refers to an all-encompassing ideal for human beings that includes such desirable attributes as wisdom, courage, filial piety, conscientiousness, trustworthiness, or even caution in speech and the ability to endure adverse circumstances. In the narrower sense, it emphasizes the part of the ethical ideal having to do with affective concern for others, and on one occasion *ren* is explained in terms of love for fellow human beings. This latter use of *ren* is highlighted in the *Mengzi.* Mengzi (also known as Mencius, fourth century BCE) characterizes *ren* in terms of love or concern for others, a concern that involves gradation—one's concern for and obligations to those closer to oneself go beyond one's concern for and obligations to those more distant from oneself. *Ren* also involves a reluctance to cause harm and the capacity to be moved by the suffering of others, where the scope of this concern includes not only human beings but also animals of certain kinds.

Yi was probably a near relative of, if not derived from, *wo* (I, me, myself), and it was used in early texts in relation to distancing oneself from disgrace—someone with *yi* has a proper regard for himself or herself and would not brook an insult or accept disgraceful treatment. By the time of Confucius, *yi* had come to be used more generally in connection with proper conduct, where what is proper is measured against certain ethical standards that go beyond ordinary social honor or disgrace. Both Mengzi and Xunzi (third century BCE) highlight the distinction between what is truly honorable or disgraceful, as measured by certain ethical standards, and what is honorable or disgraceful by ordinary social standards. Unlike Mozi (fifth century BCE), who explains *yi* in terms of *li* (profit, benefit), Mengzi often contrasts *yi* with *li*, emphasizing the priority of *yi* over profit. Mengzi uses *yi* to refer not just to the propriety of conduct but also to a desirable attribute of a person. As such, it involves one's regarding as tainting to oneself what falls below ethical standards, and one's insistence on distancing oneself from such occurrences.

Mengzi contrasts *ren* and *yi* by saying that the former concerns *xin* (heart, mind) of human beings and is that in which one resides, and the latter is the path for human beings and is that which one follows. Also, the former concerns what one cannot bear while the latter concerns what one would not do. Thus, *ren* has to do with affective concern for others, while *yi* has to do with strictness with oneself, a firm commitment to not falling below certain ethical standards.

This contrast between *ren* and *yi* is highlighted by the Han Confucian thinker Dong Zhongshu (179–104 BCE), who points to the link of *ren* to *ren** (others) and of *yi* to *wo* (oneself). According to Dong, *ren* has to do with love for others (rather than oneself) and *yi* with straightening oneself (rather than others). The Tang Confucian thinker Han Yu (768–824) thinks that loving broadly is what is meant by *ren*, while acting in a way that's appropriate is what is meant by *yi*.

The understanding of *ren* and *yi* continued to undergo significant evolvement in later Confucian thought. *Yi* is often related to *dao* (way) and to *li** (pattern, principle) in early texts. The Song Confucian thinker Zhu Xi (1130–1200) distinguishes between these concepts by saying that *dao* emphasizes the proper way of life for human beings in general, while *yi* emphasizes what is proper in relation to specific situations and affairs. *Li** pertains to things and affairs, and is that which accounts for the way things operate and the way they should operate. *Yi*, by contrast, pertains to the actual dealings with affairs by human beings; a person acts with *yi* by following *li** that pertains to the situation. While still often contrasting *yi* with *li* (profit, benefit), Zhu also endorses another early idea that regards *li* as arising from *yi*. While *li** (pattern, principle) is ultimately one, its instantiation in things is differentiated and everything has its own *feng* (allotment, proper place). *Yi* involves following *li** in things, thereby enabling each thing to attain its proper place (*feng*) without interfering with other things; this is what is truly beneficial (*li*) to things.

The early texts *Yijing* (Book of changes) and *Li ji* (Record of rites) refer to *ren* as the *xin* (heart, mind) of heaven and earth, and the Song Confucian thinker Zhang Zai (1020–1077) also speaks of the *ren* of heaven and earth. According to Zhang Zai, *ren* should encompass every thing and affair without omission, and the sage is like heaven in being without regard for himself. Following Zhang Zai, Zhu Xi explicates *ren* in terms of forming one body with ten thousand things; everything is part of oneself, so there is no longer a distinction between self (*wo*) and other things. Following the brothers Cheng Hao (1032–1085) and Cheng Yi (1033–1107), Zhu Xi characterizes *ren* as the *xin* of giving life to and nourishing things, endorsing the Cheng brothers' comparison of *ren* to the life-giving power of a seed of grain. Again drawing from the Cheng brothers, Zhu Xi compares the use of *ren* in an ethical context to its use in a medical context. Everything is part of oneself, just as the four limbs are part of one's body. Just as numbness in a limb is referred to as the lack of *ren* in a medical context, a failure to be sensitive to the wellbeing of other things reflects a lack of *ren* in oneself. This does not mean that one should treat everything equally; just as one might sacrifice one's hand to protect one's head, the wellbeing of those closer to oneself can have priority over the wellbeing of others who are more distant. This is an application of the idea that although *li** (pattern, principle) is one, its instantiation in things is differentiated; differential treatment of things is an appropriate response to the different relations one maintains to different things.

SEE ALSO Confucius; Mengzi.

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KWONG-LOI SHUN (2005)

RENNYO (1415–1499), a Japanese Buddhist monk, was the eighth head priest of the Honganji temple of Jōdo Shinshū ("True Pure Land sect"). He was the eldest son of Zonnyo, the sect's seventh head priest. Since Honganji, which was then located in the Higashiyama district of Kyoto, was then affiliated with the Shoren-in belonging to the Tendai sect, it was dominated by Tendai rituals and teachings. At that time, Honganji was nearly deserted, visited by few people.

When Rennyo was six years old, his mother left the temple. At that time, she instructed him to revive the teaching of Shinran (1173–1263), the founder of Jōdo Shinshū. Following his mother's wish, Rennyo, at the age of sixteen, resolved to work for its revival. At seventeen, Rennyo took the tonsure at Shoren-in, and then went to Daijo-in, a subtemple of Kofukuji in Nara, where he studied Buddhist teachings. Rennyo subsequently returned to Honganji and studied Shinran's writings assiduously.

With the death of his father in 1457, Rennyo succeeded to the abbacy of Honganji and began to proselytize Shinran's teachings. He first concentrated his efforts in the province of Omi, which bordered Kyoto to the east. His success provoked the anger of the Tendai sect, which sent armed monks to attack Honganji. The temple was destroyed, and Rennyo barely escaped with his life. This event is called the *Kanshō no Hōnan* (persecution of the Kansho period). Rennyo took refuge in Kanegamori in Omi, where the villagers succeeded in routing the pursuing monks in a pitched battle.

No longer able to work in Omi, which was under the dominance of the Tendai sect, Rennyo moved his base of operation in 1471 to Yoshizaki in Echizen province, a region to the northwest of Kyoto on the Sea of Japan. There he proselytized widely using pastoral letters, called *ofumi* or *gobunshō*, written in colloquial Japanese, and he developed lay religious associations called *ko* to organize his followers. As a result, the number of his adherents increased dramatically. Rennyo's success sparked the jealousy of other local Buddhist groups, including those located at Heisenji and Toyohara-dera. Local warriors also began to show interest in extending their control over Yoshizaki.

In 1473, two years after Rennyo's move, rumors started that these forces were about to attack Yoshizaki. Fearing a battle, Rennyo attempted to leave Yoshizaki, but was persuaded by his adherents residing in Yoshizaki to remain and to protect the town using all necessary means. A resolution adopted at this time states the following: "After mutual discussion, it was decided that (if Yoshizaki is attacked), we must fight to protect the Buddhist dharma, even if we are to die in battle." This resolution became the basis of *ikkō ikki*, which were popular uprisings that sought to protect Buddhist teachings, by force if necessary.

In 1474, followers of the Takada branch of Jōdo Shinshū in the province of Kaga (next to Echizen), in league with the warrior Togashi Yukichio, tried to suppress Rennyo's followers. As a result, the people of Kaga rose up in the so-called Kaga Ikkō Ikki. The Jōdo Shinshū followers of Kaga provided Rennyo with his largest source of economic support. Rennyo justified their action, saying that "they had no choice but to begin their rebellion, since Buddhism was being attacked and *nembutsu* practitioners were being persecuted. Their actions are only natural." However, Rennyo did not desire more fighting. Feeling that the only way to quell the rebellion was for him to vacate Yoshizaki, he left the town in 1475. Nevertheless, the Kaga Ikkō Ikki continued. In 1488, Togashi Masachika, the constable of Kaga, was killed and the *ikkō ikki* took over the province.

After leaving Yoshizaki, Rennyo attempted to restore the Honganji that had been destroyed earlier by Tendai monks. He began a construction project in 1478 in the Yamashina district of Kyoto and completed it after five years. Its many marvelous buildings led people to describe it as being "just like the Buddha's land." A temple town was created around Honganji as believers flocked to settle in the vicinity of the temple. The town quickly became a thriving center of commerce and industry where, it was said, all the people are rich and live in beautiful houses.

While at Yamashina, Rennyo succeeded in unifying the many Jōdo Shinshū branches under his leadership, and his organization spread throughout Japan. Even after he retired and passed on the position of chief abbot to his son, Jitsunyo, in 1489, Rennyo remained an active proselytizer, composing many pastoral letters and constructing a temple in Osaka in Settsu province. Rennyo died in 1499 in Yamashina.

The most important writings by Rennyo are his pastoral letters (Osamu Katata has verified the existence of 252 such letters). In them, Rennyo stressed the importance of faith and argued that the *nembutsu* (the phrase "Namu Amida Butsu" or "I take refuge in Amida Buddha'") should be recited as an expression of gratitude to Amida Buddha, the major object of worship in Jōdo Shinshū, who vowed to save even the most evil person.

Besides his well-known pastoral letters, Rennyo composed the *Shoshinge-chu*, the *Shoshinge tai'i*, and two commentaries on a hymn written by Shinran. The *Shoshinge tai'i*, written in 1457 just after Rennyo became the chief abbot of Honganji, has been the object of much scholarly attention in modern times. Rennyo frequently presented his followers with autographed copies of the so-called "ten character name of Amida Buddha" (the phrase "*kimyo jinjip'po mugeko nyorai*," meaning "I take refuge in the Tathagata of Unhindered Light Illuminating the Ten Quarters") to be used as objects of worship. In the commentary to this work he states the following: "Amida Tathagata is also called Tathagata of Unhindered Light. This is because the saving light of Amida Tathagata cannot be obstructed by human laws" (*Shinshu shogyo zensho,* vol.3, p. 387). *Human laws* here refers to laws of the state and ethical rules, which were often employed as means of oppression. Some people felt liberated by these words and were moved to take part in antiestablishment activities, such as *ikkō ikki.* Perhaps for this reason, Rennyo stopped presenting his followers with the ten character name after he moved to Yoshizaki. Instead he began to present them with the six character name, "Namu Amida Butsu." At the same time, he also repeatedly admonished his followers in his pastoral letters to respect the authorities and to obey social norms and ethical rules. However, Rennyo's adherents found it difficult to forget his earlier teachings.

Rennyo also composed numerous verses in colloquial Japanese on Jōdo Shinshū doctrine. Katata has identified the existence of 316 such verses. Although not works by Rennyo, collections of his sayings and anecdotes about him, such as the *Kuzen kikigaki* and *Jitsugo-ki*, provide insight into Rennyo's character and daily life.

SEE ALSO Jōdo Shinshū; Mappō.

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KENSHI KUSANO (2005)

RENOU, LOUIS (1896–1966) was a French student of the religions of India and a Sanskrit grammarian. Louis Renou gave to the Indological world French translations of the *Ṛgveda* and other studies that have gained central importance in the scholarly understanding of Sanskrit texts as autonomous and internally consistent literatures. His *Études védiques et paninéennes* (1956–1969) and other publications on Sanskrit philology are exacting and precise studies that have elucidated for specialists the often obtuse and difficult, but fundamentally important, literatures of ancient India. His introductory works on the religions of South Asia have helped beginners gain confidence in their understanding of complicated religious systems.

Renou taught himself Sanskrit in his mid-twenties, and by the time he took a course in 1922 with Sylvain Lévi he found that he could read Sanskrit texts with ease. He was frustrated in his initial studies of the language, however, by the paucity of critical or analytical tools, and he became determined to provide such materials for others. He therefore focused his attention in his earlier works on Sanskrit philology, grammar, and literature. From these concerns he then moved into specialized studies and translations of the hymns of the Vedic Saṃhitās.

Generally taking issue with historical or cultural methods in the critical study of Indian religious systems, and particularly of Vedic canonical texts, Renou insisted throughout his career that the literatures and religious ideas of ancient India should not be understood either in comparison to the religions of other cultures or in their relationship to later developments in the religious systems of India itself. He was particularly assertive in his notion that the verses of the *Ṛgveda* are intentional poems in their own right and are not to be understood as Indian counterparts of Iranian religious literatures or as veiled records of or literary precursors to the Brahmanic ritual. For Renou, data relevant to a text's interpretation lay within the syntax and semantics of the text itself, not in the structures and dynamics of other religious expressions.

Because he maintained that the sacred texts of ancient India should be analyzed in their own terms, Renou's linguistic studies may be characterized as extended critical *explications du text* that eschew sociological, mythological, sacerdotal, developmental, or other contextual concerns. He therefore saw no recourse in commentaries, indigenous or otherwise (even those of the perhaps too widely accepted fourteenth-century Vedic commentator Sāyana), in his pursuit of the meaning of primary texts. His interpretive spirit was thus kindred to that of Panini, a Sanskrit linguist who in the eighth century BCE wrote what many modern scholars hold to be the oldest grammar in the world and whose works Renou studied diligently.

Renou was born in Paris, but through his mother he had a long line of Alsatian ancestors. He was introduced to Indic studies while at the Lycée Janson of Sailly, where he read various articles by Auguste Barth, a family friend. He obtained the *licence ès lettres* in 1921, his studies having been interrupted by his captivity during World War I. During 1921–1922 he taught at the Lycée Corneille in Rouen and was awarded the *docteur ès lettres* in 1925, having written a principal thesis entitled "La valeur du parfait dans les hymns védique" (1925) and a secondary thesis entitled "La géographie de Prolémée: L'Inde (VII 1–4)" (1925), a critical edition and commentary.

Renou was professor of Sanskrit and comparative literature at Lyons from 1925 until 1928, when he moved to a similar positon at the École des Hautes Études in Paris. He was chosen in 1937 to head the department of Indian languages and literatures at the Sorbonne, where he succeeded Alfred Foucher as the director of the Institute de Civilisation Indienne. Renou was elected to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres (1946) and to the Académie du Japon (1956) as well as to academic and intellectual societies in India, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands, and other countries. He also was the vice president of the Société Asiatique. Renou gave a series of lectures in India in 1948–1949 and subsequently became active in the Sanskrit Dictionary Project based in Pune (Poona). In 1951 he was invited to give a series of lectures at the University of Louvain and then at the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies. Renou accepted Franklin Edgerton's invitation to teach at Yale University for the academic year 1952–1953, and from 1954 to 1956 Renou was the director of the Maison Franco-Japonaise in Tokyo, where he developed a course on the *Atharvaveda.*

Despite his concentration on Sanskrit grammar and exegesis, no aspect of Indian culture remained foreign to Renou, and through his writing he contributed much to Indological studies on an international scale.

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RENUNCIATION See FASTING; MONASTICISM; NUNS; RETREAT; SAṂNYĀSA; SLEEP; SPIRITUAL DISCIPLINE

REPENTANCE.

The noun *repentance* and the verb *repent* came into modern English via Middle English and Old French from the Latin verb *paenitere,* meaning "to be sorry, to grieve, to regret." As a religious term repentance denotes a change in a person's attitude, will, and behavior, sometimes accompanied by feelings of sorrow and regret for past transgressions and perhaps accompanied also by some form of restitution.

Morphology of Repentance.

Repentance is a phenomenon found in some, but not all, religious traditions. When present it can range along a continuum from informal but socially recognized practices (for example, the repentance preceding conversion in modern Protestant revivalism) to very complex formal institutions (for example, the sacrament of penance in Roman Catholicism). Whether formal or informal, repentance is a ritual procedure; it exists to repair a breach in relations between the gods and an individual (or—since ritual and moral pollution are communicable—between the gods and a group). The establishment and maintenance of good relations with the supernatural order is thus a central preoccupation of religion. The interruption of these relations, when it occurs, is either inferred from the experience of misfortune (frequently thought the result of conscious or unconscious transgressions), or discovered through divination (for example, in the Roman senate, reports of prodigies could be either accepted or rejected; if accepted, some form of divination was used to discover the mode of expiation). Repentance belongs to a constellation of restorative religious techniques (for example, confession of sins, restitution, purification, expiatory sacrifice) that lie at the frontier leading from impurity to purity, from sin to salvation, from the community of the lost to the community of the saved. The primary function of these techniques is to objectify and rectify the cause of the breached relationship. Since many important human activities must be undertaken in a state of ritual and perhaps moral purity (warfare, hunting and fishing, childbirth), taboo violations as well as ritual and moral infractions are often confessed and expiated in preparation for such activities.

Confession of sin and accusation. The confession of sin, nearly always a characteristic of repentance, is the verbalization of wrongs committed and the acceptance of blame for their personal and social consequences. Confession can be made privately (to the gods directly as a penitential prayer, or to a specially credentialed representative of the gods), or it can be made publicly. In many cultures the act of confession is inherently cathartic, the sincerity of the penitent being irrelevant. Confession and accusation are sometimes closely connected, particularly when witchcraft and sorcery are involved; in parts of Africa where the onset of witchcraft is thought involuntary (in contrast to sorcery, which is regarded as a skill to be learned), confessions of witchcraft double as accusations against those who imposed it. Among the Ashanti of Ghana, women often confessed acts of involuntary witchcraft at shrines whose presiding spirits troubled them. The Bete of the Ivory Coast think that confession of witchcraft automatically involves absolution. Among the Iroquois of New York State and Ontario who follow the Good Word religion of Handsome Lake, witchcraft is a serious offense requiring public or private confession. During the Salem, Massachusetts, witchcraft trials of 1692, many publicly accused witches acknowledged their culpability and were publicly forgiven and reintegrated into the community. Confession may be seen as self-accusation: During the revivalist movement known as the Great Awakening, which began in 1734 in New England, many people publicly accused themselves of various moral offenses (thereby avoiding accusation by others) and experienced religious conversion.

Penitential rites. Repentance may take form as a ritual presentation, made by the penitent person to observers, of outward expressions of remorse and sorrow. Penitential sorrow often takes the form of customs associated with mourning for the dead: wearing sackcloth and rags, smearing oneself with ashes or mud, self-inflicted pain, fasting, and sexual abstinence. Confession may be formalized both as a rite with its own efficacy (as among the Indian Shakers of the Pacific Northwest), and as part of a more elaborate expiatory protocol perhaps concluding with a sacrifice (as among the Nuer or the ancient Israelites). Restitution or compensation is often an integral feature of penitential rites, particularly in cases wherein others have been harmed or their property damaged or taken away. Confession is sometimes regarded as the necessary prerequisite for formalized types of expiation, such as public sacrifice or public penitential discipline.

Guilt. Repentance is an institutionally approved means of eliminating excessive guilt stemming from the awareness of having transgressed in thought, word, or deed, and thus its public and ritually prescribed protocol exists for the formal recognition and removal of guilt. In order to understand the ritual removal of guilt, it is useful to bear in mind that an anthropological distinction was formerly made between guilt cultures and shame cultures. This distinction was an attempt to reify the fact that in some (generally small-scale) societies self-control is based primarily on *external* sanctions, namely, fear of shame, ridicule, and punishment, while in other societies (often more complex and stratified) self-control is determined primarily by *internal* sanctions, in particular the desire to avoid painful feelings; this is known also as the inner value-structure of the individual conscience, a phenomenon Freud labeled "the censor."

Conversion. The word *conversion* may be defined as the voluntary entry into a religious movement having exclusive claims that are buttressed by a system of values and norms at variance with the outside world; and for conversion repentance is often a necessary precondition, for it involves abandoning the old in order to embrace the new. Particularly with respect to revitalistic or millenarian movements, repentance is often a necessary step for entry. After the rebellion in 1944 of the Bagasin cult of New Guinea (one of the cargo cults), its members were required to confess all past transgressions—primarily sorcery and quarrels over women—in order to demonstrate their genuine conversion to the new order. Two rebel leaders, Kaum and Dabus, had confessional services each Monday; adherents were told that when God-Kilibob was satisfied with their new intentions he would turn their skins white and send cargo through the spirits of the dead. Another cargo cult, the so-called Vailala Madness of Papua, was characterized by both public accusation and public confession as preparations for reform. (Transgressions included stealing and adultery—the established fine for each was one pig; positive injunctions included Sunday observance and the provision of feasts for ancestors.) The rite of public confession may in this instance have been adapted from Roman Catholicism; whatever its origin, it served to ritualize the embracing of the new morality and abandonment of the old. Again, emphasis on conversion to a new life characterizes the Good Word (Gaiwiio) religion, whose belief system is based on the revelatory visions received from 1799 forward by the Seneca chief Handsome Lake (Ganio ʿDaí Ioʿ), and whose tenets are still maintained by half the fifteen thousand Iroquois in New York State and Ontario. The codification of these visions articulates an ethical and cultural program of accommodation between white person and the Indian. Converts to this religion are required to abstain from drinking, gambling, witchcraft, gossip, vanity, boasting, and pride; in short they are to abandon many aspects of the past. In place of these the precepts of the code are tendered, which require the adoption of the white people's mode of agriculture (including working in the field), the learning of English, and a respect for family life and children.

CLASSICAL GREEK TRADITIONS. Among the ancient Greeks, the causes of illness, injury, or other misfortunes were variously diagnosed as (1) the result of chance, (2) the effect of sorcery, (3) divine revenge for affronting a particular divinity's honor, or (4) a punishment for having committed ritual or moral transgressions. In the event that guilt was incurred—for which the main term was *miasma* (pollution, defilement)—a state of purity might be regained by *katharsis* (ritual purification). Consciousness of sin, that is, guilt, was rarely understood in terms of emotional suffering alone. The views of the Athenian orator Antiphon (fifth century BCE) expressed in *On the Murder of Herodes* 5.93 are a striking exception to this rule; more commonly, guilt looked not inward, but outward in anxious anticipation of the consequences of the deed, that is, physical misfortune. After the fifth century BCE the term *enthumios* ("weighing on the mind") and cognates thereof were often used of religious scruples or anxiety, but used in the sense of anticipating an evil fate to result from evil deeds. Thus Euripides interpreted the Erinyes as hypostatized projections of guilt who pursued Orestes in the form of avenging spirits, symbols of his uneasy conscience over past transgressions (acknowledged in *Orestes* 396).

For the existence of repentance and confession among the Greeks, as for the existence of inwardly directed guilt, only limited evidence can be adduced. For example, Lydian and Phrygian inscriptions of the second and third centuries CE may be cited that were dedicated by persons believing themselves punished with illness for specific transgressions (usually ritual offenses); in their belief, healing was obtained by identifying and confessing the sin. Evidence may be claimed also in Plutarch's description of the superstitious people who confesses numerous transgressions and subjects themselves to various ritual expressions of repentance: wearing sackcloth and rags, rolling in mud, and using various magical means of purification (*On Superstition* 168d). However, these repentance rituals appear to be of Asian origin rather than Greek; Plutarch's example is perhaps borrowed from the cult of Dea Syria, which he is known to have held in general contempt. Again, some might cite the conclusion of the first Hermetic treatise (*Poimandres* 28), a call for repentance very similar to Jewish and Christian appeals. But the phenomenon perhaps closest to the idea of repentance is found in certain rites of purification practiced in the Greek cults, including Orphism and the Samothracian, Eleusinian, and Dionysian mysteries. It must be stressed that ritual, not moral, purity was demanded of initiates; in particular they must be free of blood guilt. Entrance to the mysteries therefore required purification rites, such as smearing oneself with mud lest one wallow in mire in the afterlife. In the mysteries of Samothrace initiates were expected moreover to confess any significant crimes (Plutarch, *Apophthegmata Laconica* 217d, 229d), a requirement involving the expiation of ritual pollution. The phenomenon of conversion existed not in cults but in philosophical schools, which were ideologically exclusivistic and thus made conversion possible. For the idea of conversion Plato uses the word *epistrophē* (*Republic* 518dff.): Cicero calls it *conversio* (*De natura deorum* 1.77). Finally, in the *Pinax* of Cebes (a philosopher of the first century CE), wherein the life of vice and virtue are described, repentance personified as Metanoia provides deliverance from the bad life (chap. 26).

NEAR EASTERN TRADITIONS. Repentance is a particularly important aspect of many ancient Near Eastern religions including Mesopotamian religions, Judaism, Islam, and Christianity. Among these religions illness and misfortune were widely attributed to transgression, whether ritual or moral, deliberate or unconscious. Similarly, Akkadian and Sumerian penitential prayers enumerate ethical as well as ritual transgressions. Ancient Egyptian religion is an apparent exception, if one accepts Henri Frankfort's claim that Egyptians had no real consciousness of sin; certainly they had no conception of original sin. Chapter 125 of the Egyptian *Book of Going Forth by Day* contains a script for recital by the deceased person on entering the hall of judgment, and within this script is the very opposite of a confession of sin, that is, a declaration of innocence, using a stereotyped list of the many kinds of crimes and transgressions *not* committed. Siegfried Morenz, however, correctly insists that this display of innocence is actually funerary magic in which the deceased identifies himself with Osiris to evade judgment. The lengthy protestations of innocence provide indirect evidence of a consciousness of sin; nevertheless the phenomenon of repentance is wholly lacking. (Ceremonial avowals of innocence can be found also in the All Smoking ceremony of the Blackfeet Indians and in the Old Testament (*Dt.* 26:13–14, *Ps.* 26:4–5, *1 Sm.* 12:3).

Judaism. In ancient Israel, as in the rest of the Near East, fear existed concerning the possibility of committing unconscious sin and incurring guilt thereby (*Dt.* 29:28, *1 Sm.* 26:19, *Ps.* 19:13, *Jb.* 1:5). But the Bible deals more extensively with guilt incurred by conscious and deliberate sin, described several ways. Guilt may be a motion of the heart: *1 Samuel* 24:5 and *2 Samuel* 24:10 use the expression "David's heart smote him." Guilt may be physical suffering: In an investigation of the *asham* (guilt) offering, Jacob Milgrom has shown that the verbal root *ʿshm* denotes the pangs and remorse brought on by guilt and that it should be translated as "feel guilty" (cf. *Lv.* 5:24–25, *Nm.* 5:6–7). The Hebrew root *shav* ("turn, turn back") eventually came to denote repentance, that is, a turning back to God. The same root was used to denote sin or apostasy, that is, a turning away from God (*Jos.* 22:16). *Shav* meaning "repent" is emphasized by the eighth-century classical Israelite prophets (*Am.* 4:6–11; *Hos.* 3:5, 5:4; *Is.* 1:27, 6:10), and becomes more popular after the sixth century (variant forms occur twenty-seven times in *Jeremiah,* twenty-three times in *Ezekiel,* and twenty-eight times in the postexilic books). The earlier prophets addressed Israel as a whole and demanded national repentance, but later prophets like Ezekiel emphasized individual repentance (*Ez.* 18:21, 18:27, 33:9, 33:11). The Israelite prophets did not distinguish sharply between ritual and moral transgressions, but called Israel back to an earlier, better relationship to God as defined by the terms of the covenant. For the Deuteronomist historian repentance or conversion is primarily a turning away from cultic sins such as idolatry (*1 Sm.* 7:3, *1 Kgs.* 13:33, *2 Kgs.* 17:7–18).

The repentance demanded by the Israelite prophets is linked to ritual manifestations of repentance, as may be seen in *Joel* 2:12–13: "Return to me [Yahveh] with all your heart, with fasting, with weeping, and with mourning; and rend your hearts and not your garments." These manifestations accord with traditional Near Eastern rites of repentance: fasting, wearing sackcloth or mourning garb, rending one's clothes, strewing earth on one's head, sitting in ashes (*Est.* 4:16, *1 Kgs.* 21:27, *Neh.* 9:1, *Jon.* 3:5–9). These manifestations also include the offering of a sacrifice (*Mi.* 6:6–8, *Is.* 1:10–17; occasionally, as in *Jl.* 2:14, the sacrifice is a gift or blessing rather than an expiation). For the prophets forgiveness of sins is dependent on repentance, by which they mean the shunning of evil (*Is.* 33:15) and the practice of good (*Am.* 5:14–15, *Jer.* 26:13).

For sacrificial expiation to take place, there must first occur confession (*hitvaddut*), restitution of goods to persons, and atonement (*asham*) for offense to God (*Nm.* 5:6–8). In the case of deliberate sin, moreover, remorse must be verbalized (cf. *Dn.* 9:5–20, *Neh.* 1:6–37; sacrificial expiation is not possible for the sinner who does not confess or repent (*Nm.* 15:27–31). In the wisdom literature, confession, a prerequisite for sacrificial expiation, includes admitting having committed a specific sin and accepting the blame for it (*Ps.* 32:5, 38:18; *Prov.* 28:13).

During the Second Temple period (516 BCE-70 CE), the notion of repentance or conversion (Heb., *teshuvah;* Gr., *metanoia*) was of central significance to Judaism. The conception could involve the prophetic notion of restoration as well as the conversion of pagans. The Jewish philosopher Philo Judaeus of Alexandria (d. 45–50 CE) viewed the Jewish tradition of conversion or repentance through the spectacles of Greco-Roman philosophy, whereby a proselyte (*epelus*) underwent a conversion (*metanoia*) from a life of vice to one of virtue (*On the Virtues* 175–186, *On Abraham* 17, *Questions and Answers on Genesis* 1.83.) In every age, the mark of the pious Jew is to turn continually to God. Repentance means a permanent break with sin (*Eccl.* 34:25–26, *Sibylline Oracles* 1.167–170; Philo, *On the Special Law Books* 1.93, 1.240). In rabbinic Judaism repentance (*teshuvah*) and good deeds together describe the ideals of Jewish piety (*Avot* 4.21–4.22). In modern Judaism the Days of Awe (Roʾsh ha-Shanah, followed by a week of repentance, culminating in Yom Kippur), is a period of communal contrition and confession of sins. The ritual blowing of the shofar, or ram's horn, beginning a month before Roʾsh ha-Shanah and ending on the festival day itself, comprises four symbolic sounds: *teqiʿah* (the waking call), *shevarim* (the sobbing of the contrite heart), *teruʿah* (the weeping of a heart aware of guilt), and *teqiʿah* (the awakening sound again). On Yom Kippur sins are confessed through statutory prayers recited privately and in unison publicly.

Islam. The most important theological conception in Islam is that God is compassionate and merciful. Repentance has therefore played a central role throughout the history of Islam. Throughout history messengers from God have tried with little success to call people to return to God, that is, to repent; the Arabic word for repentance, *tawbah,* literally means a "returning" to God. Those who reject the message are unbelievers (Arab., *kuffār,* literally "ungrateful ones"). Nevertheless sinners can always repent, be converted to the truth, and do good deeds (Qurʾān 6:54, 42:25–26). They are cleansed from all sins and restored to their original sinless state. Repentance must be followed by faith and good works (Qurʾān 25:70). *Zakāt* (almsgiving) is a continuing sign of repentance, which must be manifest throughout life (Qurʾān 66:5, 9:112).

Traditional Islam is not as concerned about repentance as the Ṣūfīs and the Muʿtazilah. According to the Ṣūfīs, who are the mystics of Islam, the first station (*maqamāh*) on the mystical path begins with repentance. A spiritual guide (*shaykh*) enrolls the penitent as a disciple (*murīd*) and assigns him a regimen of ascetic practices. Ṣūfīs recognize three degrees of repentance, namely, in ascending order, (1) *tawbah* (turning to God), which is motivated by fear; (2) *inābah* (returning), motivated by the desire for reward; and (3) *awbah* (returning), motivated by the love of obedience. For the Ṣūfī, life is a constant struggle against the *nafs* ("self," i. e., lower nature). The Muʿtazilah, proponents of a liberal theological view within Islam, emphasized three elements in repentance: (1) restitution, (2) the importance of not repeating the offense, and (3) continuing remorse. In most forms of Islam, repentance is a relatively informal institution.

Christianity. The religious reform movements led by John the Baptist and by Jesus of Nazareth were revitalistic or millenarian in character. Both emphasized the necessity for repentance or conversion, and took from Judaism the dual means of restoration and proselytism. Even though the activities of John have been christianized in gospel tradition, it is apparent that John summoned fellow Jews to a repentance that he sealed with a ritual bath reminiscent of the washing of Jewish proselytes (*Mt.* 3:1–12; *Lk.* 3:1–20; *Acts* 13:24, 19:4). Those who underwent this baptism were initiated into an eschatological community preparing for the imminent visitation of divine judgment. Jesus, too, is presented as summoning fellow Jews to repentance (*Mk.* 1:14–15; *Lk.* 13:1–5, 15:7), and the ritual of baptism inherited from John was perpetuated as a rite of initiation into the community of the saved. Thus this emphasis on repentance, which was to characterize many strands of Christianity throughout its history, was inherited primarily from Judaism.

There are two Greek words used in early Christian literature that convey the basic notion of repentance, namely, *metanoia* and *metameleia.* By the time of the Christian era both words had come to convey a change of attitude or purpose as well as a sorrow for past failings, whereas in non-Christian Greek texts the terms are not used in an ethical or religious sense until the late Hellenistic period.

As in Judaism, in early Christianity forms of the term *metanoia* (occurring approximately fifty times in the New Testament) continued to mean conversion to a new faith and abandonment of the old, or restoration within the new faith by confession and rejection of sins. Employing the same word, the *Revelation to John* reports a series of visions in which the risen Jesus demands repentance of Christians in Asia Minor who have made accommodations to paganism (*Rv.* 2:5, 2:16, 2:21, 3:3, 3:19); the ritual protocol involved (if any) is unstated. John uses the same term for the conversion of pagans (*Rv.* 9:20–21, 16:9–11). The ethical rigorism expressed in the *Letter to the Hebrews* (*Heb.* 6:4–6, 10:26–31, 12:14–17) reveals a problem with postbaptismal apostasy.

The ideal of moral purity in the Christian church was contradicted by reality. During the second and third centuries Christianity underwent a penitential crisis. By the second century baptism was thought to confer sinlessness as well as the forgiveness of all previous sins. Since baptism or martyrdom were the only two means of eradicating postbaptismal sin, the practice of adult baptism and deathbed baptism became common. Many reform movements arose. The prophet Elkesai (fl. 100 CE) summoned people to repent and submit to a second baptism to expiate sin. The Marcionites and the Montanists (middle of the second century) proclaimed different forms of ethical rigorism. In a complex document called the *Shepherd of Hermas* (compiled c. 100–150 CE), revelatory visions legitimate the possibility of a second and final repentance. Forms of the word *metanoia* are found therein nearly a hundred times. The prophetic author urges Christians to repent the abuses stemming from the possession of wealth and the conduct of business affairs (*Visions* 3.6.5; *Commandments* 10.1.4; *Similitudes* 9.20.1). Throughout the document there is no explicit connection of the appeal for repentance with a formalized ritual procedure. Tertullian (c. 160–225 CE), before converting to Montanism, wrote *De paenitentia,* in which he dealt both with the repentance required of candidates for baptism (chaps. 4–6) and with a single final opportunity for repentance following baptism (chap. 7), after which the penitent must never again return to sin (chap. 5). The ritual behavior of repentance described by Tertullian includes lying in sackcloth and ashes, severe treatment of the body, restricted food and drink, and weeping (chap. 9). The orthodox tradition developed the practice of auricular ("to the ear") confession to a priest as a surrogate for God. By the third century a system of public penance came to be regarded as a second baptism. Excluded from the Eucharist, the penitent went through a regimen of fasting, prayer, and almsgiving. The Council of Trent (1545–1563) reaffirmed that repentance must involve three elements, namely, contrition, confession, and satisfaction.

TRADITIONS OF SMALL-SCALE SOCIETIES. Among the Nuer of the Sudan, certain acts are regarded as bad because God punishes them. Faults (*dueri*) are against God and he is the one who punishes them. Such faults include incest and adultery as well as offense against certain prohibitions, such as eating with those with whom one's kin have a blood feud and milking one's own cow and drinking the milk. In Nuer belief the person who commits *dueri* places himself in physical danger, for moral faults accumulate and predispose the offender to disaster. Thus faults destroy a person, but they can be "wiped out" (*woc*) by sacrifice. The Nuer have a custom of confessing sin at certain sacrifices, wherein the worshiper must reveal all the resentments and grievances that he or she holds against others if his sacrifice is to be efficacious. (In effect the worshipper confesses the shortcomings of others.) The faults and the feelings of aggrievedness are wiped out by the blood of the sacrificial victim. Such sacrifices are regarded as effective only when accomplished with the will and desire of the sinner.

Among the Indian Shakers of the Pacific Northwest ritual confession was practiced early in the sect's history (late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries), but was later abandoned. The founder, John Slocum, emphasized the necessity of confessing sins and asking for forgiveness in order to attain salvation. Every Friday Slocum would hear the confession of individual penitents privately—though he rang a bell all the while so that he would be unable actually to hear them. Early Shakers believed that the ability to hear confessions was a gift. Louis, a Shaker leader possessing this gift, received penitents who came each carrying a bundle of sticks, a mnemonic device representing their sins. As each sin was confessed (while Louis rang the handbell), a stick was placed on the table, and all were burned at the conclusion of the confession. For the Shakers confession was a catharsis for immediate personal relief and was not connected with spiritual regeneration.

The phenomena of confession and repentance are culture traits indigenous to American Indian cultures quite apart from Christian influences. This conclusion is supported by the early character of the evidence as well as by the fact that tribal confessors are native functionaries. Examples abound. The Aurohuaca Indians of the Columbian Sierra Nevada regard all illness as a punishment for sin. When a shaman is summoned for curing, he will not treat patients until they confess their sins. The Ijca of Columbia abstain from salt and alcohol before confession. In the manner of the Pacific Coast Shakers, when they visit the priest (*mama*) they bring mnemonic devices made of corn shucks and knotted strings to help them remember each sin. Similarly the Huichol of southern Mexico confess sexual transgression on their way north in search of peyote (*híkuri*). Women knot palm-leaf strips for each sin and throw them into the fire after reciting the name of each lover. Among the Maya of Yucatan, women in labor summon native shamans to confess their sins, particularly those of a sexual nature. The Inuit (Eskimo) are anxious lest by conscious or unconscious violation of taboos they offend Sedna, the mistress of animals, who resides at the bottom of the sea and whose displeasure might threaten the food supply. As Weston La Barre has observed, the wages of sin are starvation. If the guilty party confesses, all is well: Seals and caribou are caught. If not, the shaman (*angakkoq*) must ferret out the offender and secure a confession.

SEE ALSO Confession of Sins; Conversion; Merit; Purification.

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RESHEF is a northwest Semitic god, whose cult is best attested in northern Syria. Its history may be followed for 3,500 years, from the Ebla tablets of the third millennium BCE to the Babylonian Talmud and the *Aggadic Midrash*, *Exodus Rabbah*, the redaction of which took place, it seems, not earlier than the tenth century CE. By that time, the Reshefs had become birds of prey, after having been viewed as demons dwelling on roofs. This development has a background in the Judeo-Hellenistic interpretation of Reshef in the Septuagint translation of the Bible, which at times assimilates him to a bird of prey, like a vulture or an eagle. Unfortunately, there are no extant myths in which Reshef plays a significant role, except for allusions to the plague he may cause.

Extension of Reshef’s Cult. An important and diversified cult of Reshef is attested as early as circa 2300 BCE in cuneiform documents from Ebla, then in various texts from the thirteenth century BCE, found at Ugarit and Ras ibn Hani, and also in compound personal names at Ebla, Mari, Ugarit, and Emar, all from Bronze Age Syria. In the seventeenth century BCE, at Hana/Ana on the Middle Euphrates, Reshef’s heteronym *Rushpan* is used as an onomastic element. It does not witness a simple phonetic or dialectal development, but belongs to another nominal pattern, the same as Shulman, a divine name well attested in the area of the Middle Habur. Both names derive from adjectives. Reshef also occurs in the Bible and in many inscriptions from the eighth to the first centuries BCE. In the mid-second millennium BCE worship of Reshef also found its way to Anatolia, where he was called Irshappa, and more importantly to Egypt.

His name was introduced in Anatolia by the Hurrians, whose language does not admit any initial *r*, hence the prosthetic vowel *i-* and the consequent changes in vocalization and stress, leading to the form *Irsháppa*. In Egypt, about fifty stelae and other artifacts have been discovered bearing Reshef’s name or image. In hieroglyphic script, the theonym is usually written *Ršpw*, where the *-w* is a vowel sign added in analogy to several Egyptian divine names ending in *-w*. Under Amenhotep II (1453–1419 BCE), the cult of Reshef obtained an official status in Egypt, and this pharaoh even bears the title of “Reshef’s beloved” on one of his seals. However, most stelae date from the thirteenth or twelfth centuries BCE and come from Deir el-Medineh, a settlement of Syrian crafters, facing Thebes. Among other attestations of Reshef one can mention the rock shrine of Tushka in Nubia, dating from the eighteenth dynasty (c. 1500–1300 BCE). A procession of five offering bearers approaches three seated deities, identified by hieroglyphic inscriptions as the local Horus, lord of Miam, the deified pharaoh Sesostris III, and Reshef, who brandishes a mace-ax above the head and holds a shield. A stele from el-Simbillawein, from the Ramesside period (c. 1300–1100 BCE), shows Reshef in front of the god Ptah with a scepter and the figure of the Horus falcon above.

Etymology and Local Associations. Reshef’s name is probably a derivative of the same Semitic root as the Akkadian divine epithet *rašbu*, “redoubtable.” In fact, interchanges between labials (*b*/*p*) often take place in Semitic languages. Etymologically Reshef is an epithet or a title, and it is often used with a following place name, “Reshef of. . . ,” for which many examples can be found at Ebla and Ugarit. It was initially a title used for any tutelary god. Certainly later it became a proper name, but even then it was used for a type of deity, namely a warlike deity, as confirmed by the use of its plural in various texts and by iconography.

Since “inspiring fear” is a notion essential to the nature of the sacred in primitive religion, it is not surprising therefore that the cult of Reshef is recorded already in the third millennium BCE and that several local numina are called in such a way, the plural “Reshefs” being also attested. This is best illustrated in texts from Ebla, where at least eleven different deities named *Rashap* occur with mainly toponymic qualifications. The tablets mention the deity in relation to offers that were brought to Reshef’s various sanctuaries, and they specify the number of sheep sacrificed in his honor. There are neither mythological nor ritual and liturgical texts, which could reveal the true nature of the god and show him in action. Nevertheless, an administrative text lists offers made not only to Reshef of Atanni, an important holy place, but also to his emblems, possibly his “quiver,” his set of “javelins” or “arrows,” and his “mace-ax.” If this uncertain interpretation of the logograms is correct, these weapons would appear to be Reshef’s attributes. Bow, arrow, and quiver are offered also to the Hurrian god Nubadig, identified with Reshef. Reshef of Gunu, mentioned at Ebla, deserves a special mention, because he is still worshiped one thousand years later at Ugarit.

Local connections of Reshef’s worship still appear in some Phoenician inscriptions from the first millennium BCE, possibly at Karatepe, an elevated stronghold on the Ceyhan River in eastern Cilicia (c. 750 BCE). Reshef's name is followed there by *ṣprn* or *ṣprm*, usually explained as "(Reshef) of the goats" or "of the birds." However, his equation with the stag god, which appears in the parallel Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription, does not prove that "goats" are meant. In cuneiform script, the stag god Runt was indicated by the logogram ^{d}kal of a protective deity, like Reshef was at Ugarit. Nevertheless, a toponymic connotation was assumed in this case as well, *ṣprm/n* being possibly a counterpart of Sepphoris in northern Israel, with the ending *-în/-îm* of place names. On Cyprus, the oldest dedication to Reshef, dating to the seventh century BCE, might refer to "Reshef of Sa[lamis]" (on Cyprus), while later inscriptions from Idalium and Tamassus (Cyprus) identify him with particular types of Apollo, either Cypriot or originally Laconian (Peloponnesus), and call him "Reshef of Amyclae," "Reshef of Helos," and "Reshef of Alashiya," the ancient name of Cyprus or part of it.

There is so far no unequivocal trace of a cult of Reshef in Phoenicia proper, except for two royal cylinder seals from Sidon, dating to around the fourteenth century BCE, and the name of the "Land of Reshefs" given in the fifth century BCE to a city quarter at Sidon. Nor was Reshef worshiped at Carthage or on the island Ibiza. The name Eresh, borne by a West Semitic divine craftsman, was there misread as Reshef, just as the Egyptian god Herishef was confounded by some authors with Reshef, especially at Byblos. Arsūf, a coastal city of Palestine, preserved the name of Reshef. The place name is possibly attested as early as the third millennium BCE at Ebla and is recorded in *1 Chronicles* 7:25 as the name of a son of Ephraim. Its Arabic name, mentioned by Yāqūt (1179–1229 CE) and corrupted by the crusaders into Arsur, bears witness to the Palestinian and Lebanese shift *rašp* > *ršāf*, as in *kafr* > *kfār*, to the phonetic changes *š* > *s* and *ā* > *ō* > *ū*, and to the addition of a prosthetic vowel. Excavations have provided evidence of an early first-millennium BCE occupation at Arsūf, but the settlement of the Bronze Age was probably located at a nearby site. The city was called Apollonia in Hellenistic and Greco-Roman times, depending on Reshef's identification with Apollo. Along with this place name and the biblical references to Reshef, a few Palestinian cylinder seals from the late Bronze Age include a recognizable figure of Reshef.

INDEFINITENESS OF ACTION. Sacred potency, because of the very indefiniteness of action, can heal or strike, be beneficent or unforgiving. Its presence can guarantee peace and security. This is why one of the city gates at Ebla was called "Gate of Reshef" and why personal names witness the recourse to Reshef's patronage, as shown by their meaning: "Servant of Reshef," "Reshef is merciful," "My father is Reshef," "My god is Reshef." On the other hand, Reshef can spread plague and inflict death through his mace-ax, spear, large bow, and arrows. He is not properly a war god, but the god of death inflicted by plague or weapons. It is probable that his arrows, like those of Apollo, killed by spreading the plague. Egyptian stelae show him brandishing his mace-ax over his head, in the same martial stance as the hundreds of bronze statuettes of the so-called Smiting God, found in the Levant and elsewhere. Since these statuettes are not inscribed and the divine characters represented wear various types of crowns, there is no certainty that all these bronzes can be related to Reshef. In particular, no bronze represents the deity with a crown adorned with the typical bent gazelle horns that characterize Reshef on a number of Egyptian stelae. However, these images express the original connotation "redoubtable" attached to his name.

RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER DEITIES. This basic aspect of Reshef's character explains why he could be assimilated to such differing deities as the Mesopotamian god Nergal, the lord of the netherworld; the Hurrian god Nubadig/Nupatik, a tutelary deity known earlier as Lubadaga/Lupatik; the Luwian protective god Runt, represented in hieroglyphic Luwian by a stag; the Egyptian war god Montu; the North-Arabian god Ruḍa, and a major Cypriot deity called Apollo in Greek inscriptions. Even a direct identification of Reshef with Horus is attested in Egypt in the Saite period (c. 663–526 BCE). Reshef's name is engraved in hieroglyphic script on the base of a bronze statuette representing a deity still wearing the "lock of youth," characteristic of "Horus the Child." He wears the red crown of Lower Egypt and his left hand holds a shield, a bow, and an arrow, while a quiver hangs from his shoulder. These are Reshef's typical weapons.

The equation of Reshef with Nergal led some writers to characterize him as a chthonic deity. This equation is already attested in a lexical text from Ebla and thus goes back at least to the twenty-fourth century BCE. At that time, Nergal was still the bull god of Kutha, a city located some twenty-five kilometers north of Kish, which appears to be the oldest Semitic center of power in Babylonia, irradiating as far as Ebla. Nergal's anthropomorphic image in mythology reveals that he was a dying and rising god. Every year, he had to spend six months in the netherworld with Ereshkigal, the queen of the dead. This is stated in a late explanatory text: "on the 18th of Tammuz [July] Nergal goes down to the netherworld, on the 28th of Kislev [December] he comes up." In such a way, he thus appears as a chthonic deity, but essentially he was the "redoubtable" city god, bringing war or peace. In the twenty-first century BCE, his full equipment consisted of a mace, a large bow, arrows, and a dagger, like Reshef's. It is likely that the equation of the two gods was made on this level and it does not justify, in consequence, the characterization of Reshef as a chthonic deity, although he could inflict death like Nergal. The equation of the two deities was so well anchored in the second millennium BCE that logograms of Nergal's name, in particular ^{d}maš.maš and ^{d}kal, were used in Ugarit and most likely on Cyprus for Reshef or the Cypriot god identified with him.

The problem of Reshef's spouse would need greater clarification in the sources. The goddess Adamma or Adam appears sometimes as Reshef's consort. Since she is mentioned in a grave inscription from Cyprus in the early ninth century

BCE, she could possess chthonic features, but this is only a remote possibility, since the existence of a relation between her name and the Hebrew noun *ʾădāmāh*, "earth" or "soil," is just a guess based on assonance and analogy with the Greek goddess Gaia or Ge, "earth," resident in the earth and governing it. Egyptian stelae from Deir el-Medineh associate Reshef with Min, an Egyptian god, and with a naked Syrian goddess named Qudšu. However, nothing indicates that she was regarded as his wife. In the year 6 BCE, the priests of the Babylonian goddess Herta at Palmyra dedicated some premises to Herta, to the goddess Nanaya, and to Reshef. Nothing is known about the relationships between these deities.

FIGURATIVE CONNOTATIONS. The name of Reshef does not seem to have ever lost the features of a common noun, since it continued to be used also in the plural. A ritual text from Ugarit alludes to a procession, "when the Reshefs enter the house of the king," and the historical records of Ramses III at Medinet Habu praise the pharaoh's chariot warriors for being "as valiant as Reshefs," while *Psalms* 76:4 refers to "Reshefs with bow, shield, and sword," and a city quarter in Sidon is called "Land of the Reshefs," possibly the garrison. Reshef *ḥṣ* is more likely a "Reshef with arrows" than a "Reshef of the street," corresponding to Apollo Agieus. In fact, "the sons of Reshef" in *Job* 5:7 are his arrows that "fly upwards" (cf. *Psalms* 91:5), while the "Reshefs of fire" in the *Song of Songs* 8:6 are a synecdoche inspired by inflamed arrows shot at besieged cities to set them ablaze. The same synecdoche also occurs in the Hebrew text of *Ben Sira* 43:17, where flying snowflakes are compared to arrows shot by an invisible enemy: "his snow flies like Reshef."

In older biblical texts, such as *Deuteronomy* 32:23–24, *Habakkuk* 3:5, and *Psalms* 78:48, Reshef is a harmful power, bringing plague, as he does in the *Poem of King Keret*, preserved by tablets from Ugarit. In contrast, the Alexandrian translators of the Hebrew Bible regard Reshef as a bird of prey, thus in *Deuteronomy* 32:24, *Job* 5:7, and *Ben Sira* 43:17. They even attribute to him "wings of fire" in the *Song of Songs* 8:6, as if he were the Phoenix, and he is recorded in such a way by the *Greek Apocalypse of Baruch* 6:8. These interpretations probably originated in Egypt, where Reshef was identified also with Horus, often represented as a falcon. The conception of Reshef as a bird seems to have gained wider acceptance, since Reshefs appear in Talmudic literature as "demons dwelling on roofs." There is so far no evidence supporting the view that Reshef was a fertility god, a chthonic deity, or a storm god.

SEE ALSO Apollo; Nergal.

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RESH LAQISH SEE SHIMʿON BEN LAQISH

REST SEE SHABBAT; WORK

RESURRECTION. The term *resurrection* is so intricately bound up with Christian ideas that it is extremely difficult to decide when it should be used for similar ideas in other religions. Obviously, the term should not be used to refer to the belief that there is an immortal element in humans (often called "soul" or "spirit") that lives on after the destruction of the body, or to the belief in some kind of continued existence in a shadowy realm of the dead. Also excluded is the idea of reincarnation, which implies that the soul is repeatedly reborn into a new body. If resurrection is defined as the revival of the body, or rather of the person as a whole, after a period of death, one finds phenomena that fit this definition only in Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, with doubtful analogies in Chinese Taoism and ancient Indian and Egyptian religions. Belief in resurrection presupposes either a monistic view of humans, which implies that humanity as a whole disappears in death and is then revived to a new existence; or a dualistic view, according to which the body dies whereas the soul or spirit lives on and is later united with the body into a renewed being. Another phenomenon that should be discussed here is the idea of dying and rising gods, which is found in several religions, some with and some without a belief in resurrection.

DAOISM. In Chinese Daoism there is frequent mention of prolonging life and strengthening the vital force, but there is no uniform doctrine on this subject. The background is the idea that humans, like the universe, consist of several elements, some light, pure, and heavenly, others heavy, impure, and earthly; they are held together by the vital principle, or breath. One early report had it that a certain Bo You managed to strengthen his life to the extent that he actually returned to life after being dead for some time. Most cases, however, told of various practices—meditation, use of alcoholic beverages, magical rites—through which the lower and mortal elements in humans can be replaced by higher and immortal ones and the vital principle can be strengthened so as not to be separated from the body. In this way humans can achieve immortality and ascend to the heavenly world. But this is hardly resurrection in the strict sense of the word.

INDIA. The Vedic religion of ancient India offers a rich variety of beliefs concerning the dead and the life in the hereafter. There is the idea of the dead haunting the living as ghosts; there is the idea of the heavenly world of Yama, the first human, where the ancestors live; and there are hints of a dark world or a kind of hell. The dead were either buried or burned, the latter practice becoming predominant.

The Vedic language possesses several words that have been thought to denote the "soul" as an immortal spiritual substance in humans: *manas* ("thought, thinking"), *asu* ("life"), *ātman* ("breath"), *tanu* ("body, self"). But the equation of any of these words with "soul" is hardly correct. That which appears as a ghost or exists in heaven or hell is not a bodiless spirit but the dead person himself with some kind of body. Any existence without a body is inconceivable. It might seem that the fire in which the corpse is burned would consume it, but in reality the corpse is supposed to be transformed into a heavenly body. In the *Ṛgveda* there are hints that at death the various parts of the body merge with natural phenomena of a similar kind: The flesh goes to the earth, the blood to the water, the breath to the wind, the eye to the sun, the mind (*manas*) to the moon, and so on. These natural phenomena then give the elements of the body back to the deceased as he ascends to heaven in the burning fire. Thus the individual is recreated in the other world as a kind of shadow that looks like his former self but that cannot be touched or embraced. Although this belief differs considerably from the Christian idea of resurrection, it may perhaps be described by this term.

In the Upaniṣads, the term *ātman* ("breath") came to denote the imperishable spiritual element in humans, identical with the "spirit" of the universe, called *brahman.* This correlation opened the way to the idea of mystical union between humanity's spirit and the divine element in the cosmos, and also to the idea that the soul can be reborn into a new body (reincarnation). Thus the idea of resurrection was lost.

EGYPT. The ancient Egyptian ideas of the hereafter are very complicated, partly beause they contain elements of differing origins and belonging to different stages of development. The Egyptian view of humanity presupposes two incorporeal elements, neither corresponding to any modern concept of the soul. The *ba,* usually translated as "soul," is often depicted as a bird; it can mean power or external manifestation, and it represents the ability to "take any form it likes." When a person dies, his or her *ba* leaves the body but hovers near the corpse. The *ka* combines the ideas of vital force, nourishment, double, and genius. The British Egyptologist Alan Gardiner suggests such translations as "personality, soul, individuality, temperament, fortune, or position." *Ba* and *ka* cannot exist without a bodily substrate. Therefore the body is embalmed to secure their existence. In addition, the funerary rites transform the deceased into an *akh,* a "shining" or "transformed" sprit. In this capacity the deceased lives on in the realm of Osiris, the god of the netherworld, who once died but was revived again as the ruler of the dead.

Other beliefs include the judgment in the hall of Osiris of the deeds of the deceased; the latter's taking part in the journey of the sun god, Re, in his bark; the warding off of monsters and other dangers in the netherworld by means of magical formulas; the happy life of the deceased in the Field of Rushes; and so on. One common idea seems to be that of absorption into the great rhythm of the universe. Osiris was, among other things, a symbol of grain; thus, when the dead join Osiris they participate in the renewal of life in the growing grain. Similarly, when the dead join the sun god they partake of the life of the sun that is renewed every morning. It is difficult to decide whether these are beliefs in resurrection or whether they should be given another name.

ZOROASTRIANISM. The earliest documents of Zoroastrian religion do not mention the resurrection of the body but rather the soul's ascent to paradise. But in the later parts of the Avesta there is at least one reference to resurrection: "When the dead rise, the Living Incorruptible One will come and life will be transfigured" (*Yashts* 19.11). The Living One is the savior, Saoshyant (Pahl., Sōshans), who is to come at the end of the present era. Another passage (*Yashts* 13.11), which speaks of joining together bones, hairs, flesh, bowels, feet, and genitals, refers not to resurrection, as has been maintained, but to birth.

In the cosmological treatise the *Bundahishn* (ninth century CE), a doctrine is set forth in detail. Chapter 30 describes what happens at the death of a man. His soul remains near the head of his body for three nights and is then carried away. If the man has been righteous the soul meets a fragrant wind, a sleek cow, and a beautiful young girl and is brought across the Chinvat Bridge to Paradise. If he has been evil the soul meets a foul wind, a gaunt cow, and a hideous girl and is thrown from the bridge into Hell. This description should be read against the background of the ideas set forth in the Avestan fragment *Hadhōkht Nask,* which relates that after the three nights the soul meets its *daēnā,* which, according to his works, appears either as a beautiful girl or as an ugly hag. It becomes apparent that the *daēnā* is the heavenly counterpart or double of the soul, whose character is dependent on the person's deeds in this life. As the two join together, the spritual part of the person is complete and can enter eternal life.

Chapter 33 of the *Bundahishn* describes the course of the world as it evolves in subsequent periods toward the end, when evil is defeated and the world perfected. Chapter 34 deals with resurrection. At the arrival of the third and last savior, Saoshyant, the dead will be roused, first the primeval man, Gaya-maretan, (Pahl., Gayōmard), then the first human pair, Mashyē and Mashyānē, and finally all humankind. Then the great gathering will take place at which everyone's good and evil deeds are revealed. The sinners will be punished and the righteous will enter the bliss of Paradise. A stream of molten metal will spread over the earth, and all people will have to pass through it: The evil will be burned (and purified), the righteous will experience it like lukewarm milk. At the end, all will be saved, and creation will be renewed.

Similar ideas are set forth in chapter 34 of the *Selections of Zatspram* (approximately contemporary with the *Bundahishn*). Here it is asked how creatures who have passed away can receive their bodies back and rise again. The first answer is that it is easier to assemble parts already existing than to create from nothing. If Ahura Mazdā was able to create them, he is also able to assemble the scattered parts again. There are five "storekeepers" that receive the bodily substance of those who have died: The earth keeps flesh and bone; the water, the blood; the plants preserve the head and the hair; the light of the firmament receives the fire; and the wind, the spirit. At the time of the rehabilitation (Frashōkereti; Pahl., Frashkart), Ahura Mazdā will assemble all these elements again then create new human beings. This account is very close to the belief expressed in the Indian *Ṛgveda.* Obviously, these later expositions present a combination of at least two ideas of different origin and character, the idea of the soul joining its counterpart in the other world and the idea of bodily resurrection. Lack of sources prevents scholars from following the process of amalgamation of these ideas.

JUDAISM. The Hebrew scriptures (Old Testament) as a whole have no doctrine of resurrection. When it is said, "I kill and I make alive, I wound and I heal" (*Dt.* 32:39), or "The Lord kills and brings to life, he brings down to Sheʾol [the realm of death] and raises up" (*1 Sm.* 2:7), the stress is on God as the origin and cause of everything rather than on resurrection. Usually the scriptures assert that "if a man dies, he will not live again" (*Jb.* 14:14) or that "he who goes down to Sheʾol does not come up" (7:9). In the *Book of Psalms* there is the general conviction that Yahveh is stronger than death and can rescue from Sheʾol: "You have delivered my soul from death, my eyes from tears. . . . I walk before the Lord in the land of the living" (116:8–9); "I shall not die, but I shall live . . . he has not given me over to death" (118:17–18); "God will ransom my soul from the power of Sheʾol" (49:15). It is never stated how this deliverance takes place; it is enough for the psalmist to know that God will not give him up to death or Sheʾol. It is probable that for an explanation of the mechanism of deliverance one must look to the metaphorical language referring to healing of illness or rescue from some deadly danger. Illness or calamity is potential death, and it means being in the grip of Sheʾol; consequently, rescue from illness or danger is rescue from death. It is interesting to recall that when a Babylonian god is said to be "a reviver of the dead," it clearly means that he cures illness.

Ezekiel 37 reports the prophet's vision of a heap of dry bones in a valley that is revived through "the spirit." At an early stage of Judaism this text was understood as referring to resurrection (e.g., in the paintings of the synagogue at Dura-Europos), but the context indicates that the bones symbolize the Jewish nation, and the message of the vision is that just as it seems impossible for the dead bones to be revived, it also seems impossible for the nation to be restored; however, the impossible is made possible through a divine miracle.

Isaiah 26:19 reads, "Your dead shall live, their bodies shall rise." This passage evidently points back to verse 14, "The dead will not live, the shades will not rise," a reference to the enemies of Israel. It may be, therefore, that verse 19 should be interpreted along the same lines as *Ezekiel* 38: Israel is in a better position than her enemies, therefore Israel shall "live." The next line, however, reads: "Wake up and rejoice, you who sleep in the dust." This may be an early, though vague, reference to the resurrection of the dead. But the chapter belongs to the latest part of the *Book of Isaiah,* the so-called Isaiah apocalypse, and it probably dates from the third century BCE.

The only clear reference to resurrection is found in the *Book of Daniel* (c. 165 BCE). It reads: "Many of those who sleep in the dust will awake, some to eternal life, others to eternal shame" (12:2). There can be no doubt: the dead are described as sleeping, and they are going to wake up from their sleep; consequently they will live again. It is not explicitly said that all the dead shall rise, although "many" (*rabbīm*) often has that connotation. Yet not only the righteous will be resurrected; others will awaken also, but to eternal shame.

It has been suggested that the idea of resurrection in Israel has its roots in Canaanite religion. There, the dying and rising of the god Baal plays a significant part in symbolizing the annual death and renewal of vegetation. But the conclusion that such a resurrection might apply to humanity in general is never drawn, as far as the available evidence goes. It should be noted, however, that *Isaiah* 26:19 combines the revival of the dead with the falling of the dew of light, and that dew plays an important part in Canaanite mythology. It is also very probable that *Hosea* 6:2, "He will revive us after two days, on the third day he will raise us up," goes back to a Canaanite formula quoted by repenting people. The prophet, however, rejects the conversion of the people and does not accept their hope of revival. Thus, there may be Canaanite ideas in the background, but the final development of the idea of resurrection probably did not take place without Zoroastrian influence. The Judaism of the period of the Second Temple develops the idea further, without, however, reaching any consensus regarding the details. Above all, the testimonies differ as to whether resurrection means a reunion of body and soul or a renewal of the person as a totality.

One of the earliest references to resurrection is found in the *Second Book of the Maccabees* (first century BCE). It shows that the idea of resurrection is bound up with belief in just retribution, especially in the case of martyrdom. Seven young brothers are tortured and killed by King Antiochus, and one young man after another confesses his belief in resurrection: "The king of the universe will raise us up to an everlasting renewal of life" (7:9). "We cherish the hope that God gives of being raised again by him, but for you there will be no resurrection to life" (7:14). Finally, their mother addresses her sons: "God will in his mercy give life and breath back to you again" (7:23). The reason for this hope is that the sons are giving their life "for God's laws," and it is repeatedly stated, especially in 7:36, that the king will receive just punishment for his arrogance. No statement is made about the *how* of the resurrection, but the mother, addressing her last son, expresses her hope "to get him back again with his brothers" (7:29), which seems to imply some kind of family life in the other world.

According to Josephus Flavius (37/8–c. 100), the Essenes believed in the immortality of the soul (*Antiquities* 17.18), whereas Hippolytus (*Against Heresies* 9.27) says that they believed in the resurrection of the body. So far no words to this effect have been found in the Qumran writings.

The clearest statements about resurrection appear in documents from the end of the first century CE; they were probably inspired by reaction to the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE. Though several passages in *1 Enoch* (22, 90:33, 91:10, 92:3) mention the resurrection, it is only in the so-called Similitudes (chapters 37–71, which are absent from the Qumran manuscripts and probably of later origin) that the idea is clearly set forth: "And in those days shall the earth give back that which has been entrusted to it, and Sheʾol also shall give back that which it has received, and Hell shall give back that which it owes"(*1 En.* 51:1). It is clear from other passages (46:6, 49:9–10) that the sinners do not take part in this resurrection, which is not the joining of body and soul but the renewal of humanity as a whole to live on a new earth (51:5).

Similar statements are found in other documents from approximately the same periods. The passage *4 Ezra* 7:32 reads: "The earth shall give up those who sleep in it, and the dust those who rest there in silence, and the storehouses shall give back the souls entrusted to them." The mention of the souls seems to indicate that death is the separation of body and soul (cf. 7:78) and that resurrection means they are reunited. Similarly, the Syriac *Apocalypse of Baruch* speaks of the opening of the treasuries in which souls are preserved (30:2). The dust is told to give back what is not its own and to let everything arise that it has preserved (42:7); it is said further that the earth shall restore the dead without changing their form (50:2). This last text clearly teaches the resurrection of the body, but the context shows that the righteous will then be transformed into an angelic state. The word *soul* here seems to refer, as in the Old Testament, to humanity as a whole. Finally, the *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum,* falsely ascribed to Philo, says that God will "revive the dead and raise up from the earth those who sleep" (3:10); after that, judgment will be held and everybody will receive according to his work.

These texts use more or less the same formulaic language, but their view of humans is not uniform. Some use *soul* to refer to the human being as a whole, others distinguish between body and soul. Resurrection always implies the restoration of the body and usually its transfiguration. According to Josephus and the New Testament, the Pharisees accepted the resurrection of the righteous, whereas the Sadducees denied it altogether (*Acts* 23:8, *Mt.* 22:23).

The victory of Pharisaism after the fall of Jerusalem led to general acceptance of the belief in resurrection in rabbinic Judaism. Thus in the Mishnah tractate *Sanhedrin,* chapter 10 begins with the statement that the one who denies the resurrection of the dead has no part in the world to come, and the rest of the chapter is devoted to a discussion of who is not going to rise (*qūm*).

Liturgical texts, such as the ʿAmidah, assert that God "makes the dead alive and keeps faith to those who sleep in the dust" (cf. *Dn.* 12:2), and that he "kills and makes alive and causes salvation to sprout forth" (cf. *1 Sm.* 2:6). It is interesting that on some occasions a reference to God as giving wind and rain is inserted into the prayer, which uses the verb "to sprout forth," in its literal sense referring to the growing of plants. This indicates a parallel between the life of nature and the life of humans. The parallel is also suggested by Talmudic comments comparing resurrection with the growing of a grain of wheat (B.T., *San.* 90b; cf., in the New Testament, *1 Cor.* 15:36ff.) and stating that the dead "sprout forth" from the earth (B.T., *Ket.* lllb). Does this language contain a reminiscence of ancient roots in the fertility cult? One rabbinic statement explains resurrection as the reunion of body and soul: "Blessed art thou, who bringest the souls back to the dead bodies" (B.T., *Ber.* 60b). Other passages defend the possibility of resurrection by assuming that a certain part of man, the lowest vertebra or a spoonful of rotten mass, escapes corruption and serves as material for the new body.

CHRISTIANITY. In primitive Christianity the resurrection of Christ was the fundamental fact; belief in it was even regarded as a prerequisite of salvation. The earliest statements, which are found in the letters of Paul, are very simple and state the fact in a credal form: "God raised Jesus from the dead" (*Rom.* 10:9); "Jesus died and rose again" (*1 Thes.* 4:14). Sometimes the significance of Jesus' resurrection is defined: "He was designated the son of God in power by his resurrection from the dead" (*Rom.* 1:4); "He was put to death for our trespasses and raised for our justification" (4:25). The choice of words and the context indicate (1) that he was dead; (2) that it was God who raised him; and (3) that his resurrection was not merely a return to normal life on earth but a transfer into an existence of a higher kind. The question of body and soul is not discussed.

Jesus' death and resurrection are mentioned together also in his predictions of suffering in the Gospels (*Mk.* 8:31, 9:31, 10:34, and parallels), and in the proclamation of the apostles in *Acts of the Apostles* (2:23–24, 10:39–40, 17:3). It is difficult to tell whether the expression "on the third day" derives from an interpretation based on *Hosea* 6:2 (see above) or is based on actual experience.

The Gospels give no detail of the resurrection itself. What they have is the report on the empty tomb (*Mk.* 16:1ff. and parallels), to which Matthew has given an apologetic touch by adding the story of the guard being bribed by the chief priests to report that the disciples stole the body (*Mt.* 28:11–13). There are, however, several reports of appearances of Jesus, some taking place in Jerusalem, others in Galilee. It is a matter of dispute whether these different geographical locations rest on independent traditions and, if not, how they are related. According to Luke the last appearance is connected with Jesus' ascension to heaven; according to Matthew it is associated with his sending the apostles to preach to all nations.

The New Testament seems to have taken over the general idea of resurrection from contemporary Judaism. *Matthew* 12:41 mentions it explicitly ("will arise at the last judgment"), and it is presupposed in many other passages (e.g., *Mt.* 7:22, 8:11, 11:22, 12:41–42). In his answer to the Sadducees, who deny the resurrection, Jesus adopts the idea of an angelic existence of the resurrected (*Mk.* 12:18–27 and parallels).

The first Christians expected the second coming of Christ (the Parousia) to happen in their lifetime. But as several Christians died without having experienced the Parousia, questions arose as to the reliability of the Christian hope. Paul answers such questions in *1 Thessalonians* 4:13–18, asserting that just as Christ died and rose again, the fellowship with him cannot be broken by death: First those who have died in Christ will rise when "the archangel calls and the trumpet sounds," then those who are still alive will be taken away to heaven to Christ. This idea of a two-step process is taken further in the *Book of Revelation,* according to which the righteous will rise at the beginning of the millennium ("the first resurrection," 20:6), the rest at its end (20:12–13). The same idea seems to be present in *1 Corinthians* 15:22–23, where one learns that "all shall be made alive in Christ . . . first at his coming those who belong to Christ; then comes the end," when all evil powers are defeated and everything is laid under his feet. Elsewhere, there is only reference to resurrection in general as one event, which is clearly presupposed in the parable of the Last Judgment in *Matthew* 25.

The question of how the resurrection is going to take place is dealt with by Paul in *1 Corinthians* 15. The body that rises is not the old body but a new one, just as a new plant comes out of a seed. Nothing is said here of an immortal soul. Humanity as a whole is perishable; a human being as a whole is recreated as a "spiritual body." Other New Testament passages seem to imply some kind of existence between death and resurrection, for example, "to be with Christ" (*Phil.* 1:23), "to be in Abraham's bosom" (*Lk.* 16:22), and "to be with Christ in paradise" (23:43). A different approach is represented by the *Gospel of John.* He who believes in Christ receives eternal life here and now (3:36, 5:24). However, other statements in the same gospel, which many exegetes ascribe to a later editor, retain the idea of a resurrection at the end of time (5:28).

Under Greek influence the early church developed the idea of an immortal soul that continues to exist after death and is reunited with the body at the resurrection. This remained the commonly accepted belief of the Christian church into the twentieth century. Modern theology now often tries to view the human being as a unity that is totally dissolved in death, whereas resurrection implies a total recreation of the whole being.

ISLAM. Islam shares with Christianity the belief in a general resurrection followed by a judgment. The stress is rather on the latter. In the Qurʾān the last day is referred to as "the day of resurrection" (*yawm al-qiyāmah*), but also as "the day of judgment" (*yawm ad-dīn*), "the day of reckoning" (*yawm al-hisāb*), or "the day of awakening" (*yawm al-baʿth*). In the Qurʾān there are several very graphic descriptions of the day of resurrection, focusing on the natural phenomena that accompany it and on the outcome of the judgment—the believers entering paradise and the unbelievers being thrown into the fire of hell. It is a day "when the trumpet is blown" (cf. *Mt.* 24:31, *1 Thes.* 4:16) and men "shall come in troops, and heaven is opened and the mountains are set in motion" (surah 78:18–20; cf. 18:99), a day "when heaven is rent asunder . . . when earth is stretched out and casts forth what is in it" (84:1–4; cf. 99:1–2). After these events the dead "shall come forth from their graves unto their Lord; they shall say: Alas for us! Who roused us from our bed?" (36:51–52).

There is no reference in the Qurʾān to an immortal soul, nor is resurrection defined as the reunion of body and soul. *Sūrah* 81:7 states that "the souls shall be coupled"; some Muslim commentators take this to mean that the souls are to be joined to their bodies, whereas others think that they are to be coupled with their equals (good or evil) or that they will be divided into two groups.

When the unbelievers express doubt in the resurrection, the Qurʾān refers to God's omnipotence as the creator: "Does man think we shall not gather his bones? Indeed, we are able to shape again his fingers" (75:3–4); "Man says: Who shall quicken the bones when they are decayed? Say: He shall quicken them who originated them the first time. He knows all creation" (36:78–79; cf. 17:53, 19:68). Again, "O men, if you are in doubt as to the uprising, surely we created you of dust, then of a sperm-drop, then of a blood clot

. . . and we establish in the womb what we wish, till a stated term, then we deliver you as infants. . . . And you see the earth blackened, then we send down water upon it, it quivers and swells and puts forth herbs of every joyous kind. This is because God—he is the Truth—brings the dead to life and is powerful over everything" (22:5–6). Thus God forms the child in the womb, he renews the life of vegetation, so he is also able to raise the dead. Only on one occasion is there a hint that the resurrected body will be different from the present one: "We have decreed among you death . . . that we may exchange the likes of you and make you to grow again in a fashion you do not know" (56:60–61). But the wording is not very specific here.

Later Muslim tradition has developed these ideas in several directions. A great number of signs foretelling the day of resurrection are mentioned; the blast of the trumpet has become three blasts: the blast of consternation, the blast of examination, and the blast of resurrection. There is also the idea that at the resurrection the body will be raised and united to its soul, and that the lower part of the spine is preserved as a basis for the future body (as in the rabbinic idea discussed above). In addition there are speculations about a "punishment in the grave" (*ʿadhāb al-qabr*): immediately after burial the deceased is questioned by the two angels, Munkar and Nakir, and if the deceased is not able to answer the questions concerning God and the Prophet, punishment is inflicted.

Several speculations are based on an interpretation of the obscure word *barzakh* in the Qurʾān (23:100), taken by commentators to denote a bar or obstacle preventing return to the world after death. The word is now defined as the interval or space between this world and the next, or between death and resurrection, a kind of intermediary state. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah (d. 1350), who wrote a book about the spirit, presents various theories about what happens to the spirit between death and resurrection: The spirits are in or near the grave; the spirits of the believers only are in Paradise, or at the gates of Paradise, or in the sacred well Zamzam, or on the right-hand side of Adam; the unbelievers are in the fire of Hell, or in the well Barhut.

A Possible Precursor. The belief in dying and reviving gods has sometimes been taken as one of the roots of the idea of resurrection. The English anthropologist James G. Frazer (1854–1941) devoted one volume of *The Golden Bough* to "the dying god," interpreting the myth as a symbol of the death and renewal of vegetation. However, the clearest example of a dying god, the Canaanite Aliyan Baal, was not known when the book was written, because the Ugaritic texts were only discovered in 1929. Baal is the god of thunder, rain, and fertility. He is killed by his enemy Mot (whose name means "death" and who represents the dry season), and vegetation withers away. However, Baal's sister Anat defeats Mot, and Baal returns to life, which also implies the renewal of vegetation. The myth probably served as the scenario of a ritual drama, whose aim was to secure the new life of vegetation and promote fertility in general. However, there is no trace of any belief in the resurrection of humans based on the god's return to life.

Another example is the Sumerian god Dumuzi (the Akkadian Tammuz). According to the Sumerian myths, Dumuzi, the god of the flocks and the grain, was killed by demons and had to descend into the netherworld. There are no clear texts referring to his resurrection, but there are hints that it was decided that he spend part of the year in the netherworld and the other part on earth. This would indicate that his death and return to life represent the seasonal cycle. Here too, evidence for a belief in resurrection is lacking.

Elements from these two myths (of Baal and Dumuzi) are clearly recognized in what Greek sources report on the Phoenician-Syrian god Adonis (Phoen., *ʾādōn,* "lord"). He was loved by the goddess Aphrodite and by the lady of the netherworld, Persephone; Zeus finally decided that Adonis should stay one half of the year with Aphrodite and the other half with Persephone. (It is also told that Adonis was killed by a boar and was bitterly mourned by Aphrodite.) In the case of the Egyptian god Osiris, the facts are somewhat more favorable to the theory of belief in resurrection growing out of the myth of the dying god. The myth of Osiris was known in several versions, but their essence is as follows. Osiris was a good king who was killed and dismembered by his brother Seth. His wife, Isis, mourned him, found the body, reassembled its parts, and restored it to life through a magical formula. Isis then was made pregnant and bore a son, Horus, who was recognized as the lawful successor of his father, while Osiris was made ruler of the netherworld. As a god, Osiris had clear connections with the inundation of the Nile and with grain. These connections are manifest in several rites of the Osiris "mysteries," including the burial of an effigy of Osiris made of earth and grain. Growing grain symbolizes the god's return to life. Here, for once, is a clear connection with beliefs concerning human life in the hereafter. Every person who is properly buried becomes an Osiris in the other world and shares the life of the god.

Clearly, there are considerable differences between these dying gods, and it is doubtful whether all of them represent the same specific type of god. Great caution should be exercised in seeking to draw conclusions concerning the role played by these myths in the development of the belief in resurrection.

See Also Dying and Rising Gods.

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RETREAT may be defined as a limited period of isolation during which an individual, either alone or as part of a small group, withdraws from the regular routine of daily life, generally for religious reasons. Retreats are one of the commoner practices in the religious life of nearly all peoples, although they are often restricted to a determinate type or class of persons: those preparing for initiation (e.g., into the adult life of a clan, into a religious group, or into some public office of a religious nature), those undergoing a process of conversion, those in search of a religious vocation, or those seeking a periodic renewal of their spiritual lives. During this period, retreatants interrupt their ordinary routine, break off regular social relationships, and (except for those who already live in monasteries or the like) withdraw into a solitary place or to a special building set apart for such purposes. This isolation, as well as the interruption of social intercourse and ordinary life, is adopted as a condition that enables individual retreatants to enter within themselves in silence, in order to establish contact with the divinity or with the world of the spirits. Hence, retreats often involve the use of various ascetical means, such as fasting, abstinence, prayer, meditation, and techniques aimed at inducing a revelatory dream, trance, or ecstasy.

Various forms of retreat may be distinguished, and participants may engage in retreats with varying frequency. A retreat accompanying a radical conversion of life or the discernment of a vocation may be a rare or even unique event in an individual's life; whereas that aimed at personal spiritual renewal might be repeated periodically. Retreats of initiation may follow quite diverse procedures, depending on the kind of initiation involved. Thus, one may distinguish retreats of tribal initiation; retreats of search for a revelatory dream; retreats of shamanistic or monastic initiaion; and retreats of conversion, discernment, and renewal.

Retreats of Tribal Initiation. In generic and somewhat abstract terms (since in reality quite different forms of ritual may be involved), initiation into the life of a tribe entails separating candidates from the social nucleus to which they belong as children, especially from their mother, and isolating them in a well-defined zone, protected by rigid taboos. There they are placed under the direction of elders chosen by the tribe. The neophytes are then subjected to certain strict disciplines (fasting, abstinence, and various taboos), are instructed by the elders in certain traditional truths and beliefs (social and sexual ethics, myths and rituals, techniques of hunting, fishing, or farming), and are forced to undergo certain more or less painful tests. At the end of this period of initiation, after passing through certain liberating rites, the neophytes, having undergone a profound transformation, return to the tribe as adults. The symbolic meaning of this period of isolation seems clear enough. Cultures that practice this kind of initiation regard it as a mutation or deep transformation of the human being: a sort of death and rebirth. Henceforth, all that had previously constituted the life of a child must be suppressed, especially the child's former dependence on its mother. The adolescent through this isolation, enters the world of the sacred, of mythic time, and is often locked in struggle with mysterious force, involving some form of bodily suffering (torture and, above all, circumcision). In this case the retreat is precisely the vehicle that allows this breaking away and entry.

Retreats of Search for a Revelatory Dream. A number of peoples, especially pre-Columbian Indians, submitted their children and adolescents to a period of isolation aimed at enabling them to enter into contact with the spirit who was to guide each of them throughout life. This phenomenon is especially notable among certain Canadian groups, such as the Athapascans, who submitted children as young as five years old to the test. The norm commonly followed involved removing these children or adolescents from their normal world of relationships, abandoning them in a solitary place, and subjecting them to a strict fast until physical weakness induced a state of hallucination. The first image that presented itself to the child or adolescent was the spirit who would accompany and protect him until death, a sort of tutelary *numen* whom he would thence-forward invoke. The Delaware and Algonquin of the Atlantic coast observed much the same procedure with twelve-year-old girls and boys, but introduced the concept of the compassion of the spirits, whom the adolescents were required to invoke while they practiced their total fast. The spirits then put an end to the sufferings of the initiates by revealing themselves to them in a dream. After a certain length of time, the parents visited the adolescents to see whether the revelatory experience had yet occurred. If it had, they brought their offspring back to the tribe, where they were regarded as the depositories of a sacred force (Walter Krickeberg et al., *Die Religionen des Alten Amerika,* Stuttgart, 1961; see also J. Blumensohn, "The Fast among North American Indians," *American Anthropology* 35, 1933, pp. 451–469).

Retreats of Shamanistic Initiation. Mircea Eliade treats shamanism as a religious limit-experience: a form of mysticism originating in a vocation awakened by a crisis that is found in many religions (*Shamanism: Archaic Techniqes of Ecstasy,* rev. and enl. ed., New York, 1964). Here, shamanism is taken in its original, strict sense, as a characteristic and primary expression of the religious life of the peoples of north central Asia. The shaman is an individual who has been suddenly overcome by a spirit and has, by that very fact, received a distinctive gift. The signs whereby this possession becomes known coincide with what the Western mind would call symptoms of epilepsy or, more generally, a form of nervous disorder. Whoever receives such a "dangerous" gift must stay in constant contact with the world of the spirits, and this the shaman does by isolating himself. Frequently, the candidate is instructed by an old shaman, or the whole tribe may take part in the shaman's initiation by contributing to its ritual sacrifices. The future shaman learns the necessary formulas and offertory rites and then retires to the wild in order to learn the techniques of ecstasy by sitting before a fire and repeating certain formulas. At the end of the shaman's retreat, the individual is consecrated in a rite celebrated by the ancient shaman who provided instruction. From this retreat the new shaman emerges endowed with special powers, and can now enter into contact with the world of the spirits, and the new shaman's mediation thus becomes important for the tribe.

Retreats of Monastic Initiation. Among the four exemplary stages that Hindu tradition distinguishes in the life of a person—the third, after those of student and father of a family, but before that of wandering holy person—is that of the individual who withdraws in solitude into the forest, where he or she (now called a *vanaptrasthin*) commits to meditation and to certain practices of asceticism. This retreat portends the person's coming to spiritual maturity and eventual irradiation of the surrounding people, by way of the *vanaptrasthin*'s example and teaching. Since a long period of isolation is involved here, this retreat may well be classified as an experience of the eremitical life. Significantly, in the history of Western monasticism, Athanasius, in his *Life of Antony,* describes how his hero, after his conversion, first underwent a stage of basic initiation under the direction of an ascetic, after which he underwent a further stage of isolation in a necropolis, followed by a third and decisive stage of enclosure in a ruined castle, where he remained for twenty years. At the end of this stage, Athanasius relates in terms reminiscent of the mystery cults, that Antony "came forth as from a sanctuary, initiated in the mysteries and filled with the divine spirit" (*Life of Antony* 14). Finally, after receiving the gift of spiritual fecundity, Antony accepted some disciples, although he remained with them in solitude. The parallels to Hindu monasticism are revealing: In both cases there is a retreat into complete solitude, which prepares the individuals for full spiritual maturity and confers on them a certain irradiative power. The Hindu ascetic then embarks upon an itinerant, renunciative life (*saṃnyasa*), returning to society but not forming part of it. The Christian anchorite becomes an elder—a religious father or mother—and accepts disciples, instructing them in the spiritual life.

A similar phenomenon appears in the lives of other Christian saints, who were dedicated not to monastic contemplation but rather to intense activity among people. Ignatius Loyola spent almost an entire year, from March 1522 to February 1523, in Manresa, where he devoted himself to prayer (seven hours daily), fasting, and abstinence. He emerged from this experience transformed and illumined in spirit by revelations of various kinds. Three centuries later, Anthony M. Claret (1807–1870) spent some months at San Andrés del Pruit (Girona, Spain), dedicated to prayer. He went forth from this retreat powerfully consecrated to itinerant preaching. In both cases, the retreat was one of initiation into an intense religious experience, accompanied by an outburst of apostolic irradiation. It would be easy to cite numerous other examples of this type.

A different sort of retreat of monastic initiation is represented by the novitiate, a relatively long period of trial prior to incorporation into a religious community. During the novitiate, candidates are separated from others—even from professed members of the community—and placed under the direction of a master, who instructs them and tests their vocation. The novitiate appears in the Buddhist tradition, where it is called *upasaṃpadā* ("goal, arrival"). Its aim is to prepare the novices for entry upon the way of salvation, and it ends with an anointing ceremony (*abhiṣeka*), which consecrates them. In Christian monasticism, an initial period of instruction and trial originated among the anchorites of the fourth century. It was a rather long period, which ended when the elder in charge adjudged the novice to have reached the required maturity, and invited the novice to withdraw into chosen solitude. In monastic communities, the novitiate was reduced to a period of a year. At present, it lasts from one to two years, according to custom. Originally, the year of novitiate began with investiture of the novice in the habit, while it later came to be terminated with his commitment to the religious life. Besides this investiture, another feature observed in the past was a change of the novice's name, to indicate that a secular individual had died and a religious one had come to birth. The medieval Christian theology of the religious profession as a second baptism referred to this idea of a symbolic death and rebirth.

RETREATS OF SPIRITUAL RENEWAL. The practice of withdrawing for a relatively brief period of time in order to revitalize oneself spiritually seems to be evidenced in all religions that attach great importance to the spiritual experience of the individual. The retreat in the woods constitutes one of the stages of the ideal way of the Hindu. Even masters return periodically to the forest solitude, in order to encounter themselves more deeply. But it is above all in Islam and Christianity that this kind of retreat has been most popular.

Islam. The custom of devoting a period of time to prayer and fasting (*khalwah*), while withdrawing from social contacts and ordinary occupations, is amply documented in the Muslim world much earlier than in Christendom. The source of inspiration for this practice is the fact that, according to the Qurʾān, God gave the Law to Moses at the end of a retreat of forty days (*sūrah* 7:142). It is also said that Adam received his life-breath only forty days after he had been formed from the clay. The Prophet himself left an example, by going frequently into retreat. The great Andalusian mystic Muḥammad ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1240) tells of the revelations he received during a retreat he made as a very young man in Seville (*Al-futūḥāt al-makkīyah,* Cairo, AH 1329/1911 CE, vol. 1, p. 186). Ibn al-ʿArabī also wrote a treatise on the conditions for making a retreat, the *Kitāb al-khalwah.* A century later, the Indian Sharaf al-Dīn Manērī (d. 1381) devoted one of his *Hundred Letters* to explaining the origin and aim of the retreat. An essential element in it is the remembrance of God, that is, the sense of God's presence and the invocation of his name. By reviving the sense of the divine presence, the retreat heals and fortifies the soul, and disposes it to continue in that presence when the retreatant returns to ordinary life.

In Ṣūfī orders, the superior of a house is obliged to go on retreat periodically. The novices, too, must make a retreat, ordinarily for forty days. This forty days' experience must be made in a solitary place or, if one is a member of a community, in a dark cell. Fasting is essential to this kind of retreat: Whoever makes one must reduce their food consumption considerably throughout, and abstain completely from eating during the last three days. The lives of the Ṣūfī mystics contain numerous allusions to this practice (see Javad Nurbakhsh, *Masters of the Path,* New York, 1980, pp. 115, 117). Ibn al-ʿArabī tells of a retreat he made with the master Abū Zakarīyāʾ Yaḥyā ibn Ḥassān (*Sufis of Andalusia,* Berkeley, Calif., 1971, p. 138).

Christianity. In Christianity, especially during the last few centuries, this type of retreat, aimed at the spiritual renewal of the individual through meditation, prayer, and silence, has reached a high level of development. Such a retreat is often made under the direction of a master, who engages in periodic dialogue with the individual retreatant, or else delivers instructions, when the retreat is made by a group.

It is significant that certain popular histories of the retreat begin with the episode narrated by the evangelist Mark (repeated, with amplifications, in the Matthean and Lukan parallels), concerning Jesus' withdrawal into the desert of Judaea after his baptism and the "descent" of the Holy Spirit upon him. The Markan account (*Mk.* 1:12–13) is not only Christological in content, but also exemplary in intention.

Jesus, after his baptism and his anointing by the Spirit, appears as the New Adam, dwelling among the wild beasts and ministered to by angels. During this time (scholars debate whether the passage existed in the tradition prior to Mark), Jesus was tempted by the spirit of evil but, unlike the first Adam, overcame the temptation (see Vincent Taylor, *The Gospel according to Mark,* London, 1955, pp. 162–164). Of itself, the episode did not overtly attribute to Jesus the intention of devoting himself especially to spiritual exercises of prayer. The accounts of Matthew (4:1–11) and Luke (4:1–13) add that Jesus' stay in the desert lasted forty days, and that the temptation came at the end of this period.

The account of Jesus' sojourn in the desert added even richer spiritual implications to the biblical texts on the passage of the Hebrew people through the desert, before their entry into Canaan. The desert now became the symbol of a new spiritual attitude. Origen, in his commentary on *Exodus,* speaks of the need for retreat: One must leave familiar surroundings and go to a place free of worldly preoccupations, a place of silence and interior peace, where one can learn wisdom and come to a deep knowledge of the word of God (*In Exodum Homiliae,* Wilhelm Baehrens, ed., Leipzig, 1920, p. 167).

Drawing their inspiration from the example of Jesus, the Christian churches soon established a period of forty days dedicated to fasting, abstinence, and greater prayer, in order to prepare the faithful for the celebration of the Pascha. Two themes were interwoven in the sermons of the Fathers on Lent: that of participation in Christ's struggles and sufferings during his passion as a preparation for the celebration of the Resurrection, and that of a model projection on it, of the fast and temptations of Jesus in the solitude of the Judean desert. On this fundamental model, they occasionally superimposed the image of the wandering of the Israelites in the desert, with all the trials and temptations to which they were subjected there (see Leo the Great, "Sermons on Lent," *Patrologia Latina,* vol. 54). In addresses to the laity, the latter were not asked to go on retreat (although they are asked to prolong their prayer), but were exhorted to conversion, to charity toward the poor, and to reconciliation with enemies. Traditionally, it was also recommended that they forgo diversions and entertainments.

The anonymous author of the *Rule of the Master* (central Italy, c. 500) introduced three chapters on the observance of Lent by monks, prescribing that they multiply their prayers and perform more acts of fast and abstinence (*Rule of the Master,* chaps. 51–53). Benedict (480–c. 547) reduced the rule for Lent to a single chapter, in which he echoed Leo the Great and the *Rule of the Master.* In it he added a recommendation that monks recite more numerous individual prayers and restrict their dealings with each other (*Rule of Saint Benedict,* chap. 49). Lent thus tended to become a sort of forty-day retreat spent in silence, prayer, fasting, and abstinence. From the Middle Ages on, the monastic orders began to interrupt all contact, even by way of letter, with outsiders, throughout the period of Lent. Thus, the Lenten retreat was fundamentally a retreat of spiritual renewal, in which the individual retreatant relived certain fundamental themes of Christianity, derived primarily from the passion of Christ, but secondarily from his withdrawal and fast in the desert.

It is fitting at this point to inquire into the rise, in Christian churches, of the practice of the retreat proper, that is to say, of that prayerful kind of withdrawal practiced by a person, either alone or as part of a small group, for a certain short period of time. It was precisely the celebration of Lent that suggested the first tentative steps in this direction. Around the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth, Euthymius the Great, a monk of Melitene, adopted the custom of withdrawing during Lent of each year and going to a mountaintop, where he gave himself over to prayer and fasting. Later, he went with a friend each year into the desert of Koutila (see Cyril of Scythopolis, *Life of Euthymius,* edited by E. Schwartz, in *Texte und Untersuchungen,* vol. 49, no. 2, Lipsia, 1939, pp. 3–85). Jesus' stay in the Judean desert thus became a model that was imitated literally. It is quite possible—indeed, probable—that other monks followed the same norm, in an endeavor to practice a stricter eremitical life during Lent.

Yet another historical fact might be considered as a precursor of the modern retreat. Pilgrimages to shrines, which were so frequent during certain periods of the Middle Ages, involved a break with the normal situation of the individual, a going forth from one's city and family, in order to visit some usually distant holy place ("to *ferne* halwes," as Chaucer noted in his prologue to the *Canterbury Tales,* poking fun at English pilgrims who managed to get no farther than Canterbury). Palestine, the tombs of the apostles in Rome, and Compostela were among the most common goals. The deep reason behind these journeys was the desire to visit a sacred place where the presence of the supernatural was more perceptible, thanks to the presence either of the relics of a saint or of some venerable holy image. Sometimes these pilgrimages became the occasion of a process of conversion and separation from the world. It is noteworthy, for example, that the primitive nucleus of twelfth-century hermitages of Our Lady, at Mount Carmel (the future Carmelite order), were constituted by people of western Europe who had established themselves in the Holy Land. In certain cases, the pilgrimage shrine was served by a community of monks who ran a hostelry for those who wished to spend a limited period of prayer and silence nearby. This fact is documented in connection with the shrine and abbey of Einsiedeln, Switzerland, perhaps as early as the twelfth century (Ludwig Raeber, *Our Lady of Hermits,* Einsiedeln, 1961), and, somewhat later, at the shrine and monastery of Montserrat, Spain (Joan Segarra, *Montserrat,* Barcelona, 1961).

But the retreat as commonly known during the past few centuries has its roots, properly speaking, in the spiritual movement called the Devotio Moderna, initiated by Gerhard Groote (1340–1384) in the Low Countries, of which the most widely known representative is Thomas à Kempis (c. 1380–1471). Groote, converted to a fervent life in 1374, withdrew for a time to the charterhouse of Munnikhuizen, near Arnhem on the Rhine. The Brethren of the Common Life and the authors of the Devotio Moderna popularized their form of piety among the secular clergy and the laity, giving it a practical and ascetical interpretation, well suited to the clearly individualistic horizons of the spirituality of the Christian West in their day. Next came the refinement of different methods of meditation, and the compilation of various handbooks of meditations. In the early fourteenth century, the Tuscan Franciscan John de Caulibus published his *Meditations on the Life of Christ;* Gerard of Zutphen (d. 1398), in his *De spiritualibus ascensionibus,* propounded a precise method of meditations and examens, a procedure repeated later by the Dutch canon regular, John Mombaer (d. 1501), the last master of the Devotio Moderna, who used it as an instrument of reform in the monasteries of the clerks regular in France. In 1500, the reforming abbot of Montserrat, Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, printed his *Ejercitatorio de la vida espiritual,* containing a precise method of meditations, and a plan that structured the various meditations into four successive weeks. The technique developed out of the Devotio Moderna could thus be used in a period set aside especially for prayer and meditation.

This technique culminated in the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus. It is a methodical interweaving of meditations, contemplations, and examens, more or less developed, taking place over four weeks and accompanied by a series of counsels and rules. He first sketched out the method during his own retreat at Manresa, and perfected it over the years until the definitive version was approved by Pope Paul III in 1548. Although there are points of contact between Ignatius and some of his predecessors (especially Jiménez de Cisneros, whose method he seems to have known), he is quite original in definitively tying these meditations to a retreat made under the direction of a master, with the basic aim of choosing a proper mode of life for the greater service of God—hence, the rules of discernment that accompany the *Exercises.* Starting with the first companions of the founder, the Jesuits have continued to be trained in the *Exercises* of Ignatius.

In the sixteenth century, retreat exercises according to the Ignatian method had already become popular, although they were practiced only by priests and religious at the time, not by the laity. Retreat houses were established in order to facilitate the arrangement of retreats for those who wished to make them. The first such house was opened in a villa in Siena, Italy, in 1538. This was followed by the retreat houses of Alcala, Spain, in 1553, Cologne, Germany, in 1561, and Louvain, Belgium, in 1569. In the seventeenth century this practice was adopted by the principal representatives of French spirituality. Vincent de Paul (d. 1660) is said to have directed the *Exercises* of more than twenty thousand persons. The *Exercises*, in somewhat modified and shortened form, began to be practiced by the laity in great numbers. An outstanding figure in the history of retreats was the Argentinian María Antonia de San José de la Paz (1730–1799), who organized Ignatian retreats in the course of her life for more than a hundred thousand people. However, the Ignatian retreat was gradually converted into a retreat of spiritual renewal as it came to be repeated periodically by persons who had already chosen a type of Christian life (priestly, religious, or secular) and only sought to be spiritually revitalized through a retreat.

Priests, religious, and seminarians of the Roman Catholic church commonly make eight days of spiritual exercises annually. Many members of the Catholic laity follow the same norm in the present time. Some periodically make even a month's exercises. Hence one may find retreat houses in all countries where the Roman Catholic Church is present. In 1836, the bishop of Viviers, France, approved the Congregation of the Sisters of Our Lady of the Cenacle, founded by Marie Victoire Thérèse Couderc and by Jean-Pierre Étienne Terme. Initially called Dames de la Retraite ("retreat ladies"), the Sisters promoted the practice of retreats among laity. They have retreat houses in England (since 1888), and even more exist in the United States, where they arrived in 1892. A similar end is pursued by the Retreat Sisters of the Sacred Heart, founded in 1678 in Quimper, France, by Claude Thérèse de Kermeno. Other men and women religious are dedicated to the same apostolate. In France, toward the end of the nineteenth century, the Oeuvre des Retraites de Perseverance was founded, and soon the movement spread to Italy. Its aim is to promote yearly retreats and monthly days of recollection among the laity, as a means of renewing Christian life. Besides the month-long and annual eight-day retreat forms, where the dominant influence is Ignatian, there are weekend retreats for laity, which follow many different methods: scriptural, charismatic, healing, and so forth. In the United States, the National Catholic Laymen's Retreat Conference was founded in 1928. A retreat league founded by the Sisters of the Cenacle became, in 1936, the National Laywomen's Retreat Movement.

A particular form of retreat, originally among Catholics, has been propagated by the movement known as Cursillos de Cristiandad, founded by Bishop Hervás in Majorca in 1949, whence it has spread to several other countries. A group of Christians, from almost any walk of life, retreat for a few days dedicated to community reflection, liturgy, dialogue, and private reflection. They examine and share the concrete faith-experience of their ordinary life. The *Cursillos* movement, which has existed for some years in the United States, is organized on national and diocesan levels, and has, to some extent, been practiced by other Christian groups, mainly Lutherans and Episcopalians.

Finally, some mention should be made of the monthly retreat or recollection day. Practiced mainly by religious and priests in the nineteenth century, it became almost obligatory after Pius X recommended it in his exhortation to the Catholic clergy in 1908. The Second Vatican Council, in its Decree on Priests, also recommended the practice of retreats to the clergy (*Presbyterorum Ordinis,* no. 18).

SEE ALSO Deserts; Eremitism; Initiation; Monasticism; Quests; Shamanism.

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Very little, if anything, of a general nature has been published on the topic of retreat. References to retreats, seclusion, and the like can be found in any general survey on Hindu, Muslim, and Christian mysticism, as well as in works dealing with phenomenology of religion.

Works dealing with specific traditions can, however, be recommended. For a discussion of retreat traditions in tribal societies, see Victor Turner's *The Forest of Symbols* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1969). On the role of seclusion in the Buddhist monastic tradition, see John C. Holt's *Discipline: The Canonical Buddhism of the Vinayapataha* (Delhi, 1981). On retreat in the Christian tradition, the *New Catholic Encyclopedia,* vol. 12 (New York, 1967), includes a valuable article by Thomas E. Dubay. Further discussion of the topic is available in *Historia de la practica de los Ejercicios Espirituales de San Ignacio de Loyola,* 2 vols. (Bilbao, Spain, 1946–1955), by Ignacio Iparraguirre. For the role of retreat in Eastern Orthodox churches, see Catherine de Hueck Doherty's *Sobornost* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1977). For discussion of Muslim retreats, see Muḥammad ibn al-ʿArabī's *Kitāb al-khalwah* (Aya Sofia, 1964) and letters 96 and 22 in Sharafuddin Maneri's *The Hundred Letters,* translated by Paul Jackson (New York, 1980).

JUAN MANUEL LOZANO (1987)

RETRIBUTION SEE JUDGMENT OF THE DEAD; REVENGE AND RETRIBUTION

REVEL, BERNARD

REVEL, BERNARD (1885–1940), a rabbinic scholar, was the organizer of American Jewish Orthodoxy. Born in Pren, a suburb of Kaunas (Kovno), Lithuania, where his father was the community rabbi, Revel later studied in the Telz *yeshivah* and was ordained in Kaunas at the age of sixteen. Immigrating to the United States in 1906, Revel received his master of arts degree from New York University in 1909; three years later he completed a Ph.D. at Dropsie College with a thesis entitled "The Karaite Halakhah and Its Relation to Sadducean, Samaritan, and Philonian Halakhah."

Revel first worked in the Oklahoma-based petroleum company of his wife's family, but in 1915 he accepted the presidency of New York's newly merged Yeshivat Etz Chaim and Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary. Under its auspices, Revel then opened the Talmudical Academy, the first such *yeshivah* high school in the United States. He also reorganized the rabbinical school, and in 1928, he continued his expansion program with the opening of Yeshiva College, later Yeshiva University (1945).

Revel guided the schools in the spirit of modern Orthodoxy, attempting to perpetuate the traditional Torah way of life within the context of American society. Yeshiva College, in particular, marked the first effort to provide traditional Talmudic study and liberal arts training under the same auspices. Despite the vigorous opposition of some rabbinical leaders, who feared for the primacy of Torah study in such an institution, Revel forged ahead and in 1937 opened a graduate department in advanced Jewish and cognate studies. In 1941 this school was renamed the Bernard Revel Graduate School in his memory.

Revel was a presidium member of the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada from 1924 (later honorary president) and vice-president of the Jewish Academy of Arts and Sciences from 1927. He was an associate editor of the *Otsar Yisraʾel* encyclopedia (vol. 9, 1913), and his doctoral dissertation was published by Dropsie College (1913). Despite the demands made upon his time by his manifold Yeshiva responsibilities, Revel continued his doctoral research with monographs and studies about deviant *halakhah* systems. He also produced articles of rabbinic scholarship and wrote halakhic *responsa.* His writings were published mainly in the *Jewish Quarterly Review, Yagdil Torah, Ha-Pardes,* and various Yeshiva student publications.

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REVELATION.

REVELATION. The concept of revelation is a fundamental one in every religion that in any way traces its origin to God or a divinity. Revelation is a divine communication to human beings. This broad description allows the phenomenologist of religion to include very different manners and degrees of revelation. In fact, the most diverse experiences, ranging from an obscure clue given by a supernatural power to the self-communication of a personal God, are possible from the standpoints of psychology, religious philosophy, and theology.

In general, religious phenomenologists use five different criteria (characteristics or factors) of revelation:

(1) Origin or author: God, spirits, ancestors, power (*mana*), forces. In every case the source of revelation is something supernatural or numinous.

(2) Instrument or means: sacred signs in nature (the stars, animals, sacred places, or sacred times); dreams, visions, ecstasies; finally, words or sacred books.

(3) Content or object: the didactic, helping, or punishing presence, will, being, activity, or commission of the divinity.

(4) Recipients or addressees: medicine men, sorcerers, sacrificing priests, shamans, soothsayers, mediators, prophets with a commission or information intended for individuals or groups, for a people or the entire race.

(5) Effect and consequence for the recipient: personal instruction or persuasion, divine mission, service as oracle—all this through inspiration or, in the supreme case, through incarnation.

It is to be noted that the historians of religion derived the concept of revelation from the Judeo-Christian religion where it received its theological elaboration and then in the course of research into the history of religions was transferred in a broad and analogous sense to other religions. The answer to the question whether one may speak of revelation in the proper sense in animistic, polytheistic, and polydemonistic religions will depend on the understanding of religion maintained by a given Christian scholar. In theologian Karl Barth's view Christianity alone possesses a revelation; historian of religion van der Leeuw, on the other hand, develops a much more inclusive understanding of revelation and therefore a series of types that culminates in the Christian concept of revelation.

It is certain that revelation must be clearly distinguished from magic, since magical practices aim at power over and disposal of the divine, while revelation means in principle a free announcement by the divinity. This announcement even goes beyond hierophanies and epiphanies and involves the manifestation of something holy or the rendering apprehensible of a divine depth, inasmuch as it always clearly includes the distinction between revealing subject and revealed object, between self-revealing God and mystery made known. In any case, this fuller meaning is regularly intended by the Latin *revelatio* and the Greek *apokalupsis.*

Whether gnosis and mysticism are to be regarded as forms of revelation or, on the contrary, as the opposite of revelation depends essentially on the role assigned to divine grace (as help from and self-communication of God) in these manifestations of religious life. Whenever ultimate knowledge and the vision of supreme wisdom are regarded not as the fruit of human effort alone but as a gift from God, then, as in the experience of a profound union with God that cannot be acquired by force or produced by the human being but can only be received as a gift, a self-communication of a personal God comes into play and the concept of revelation is correctly applied.

NATURAL REVELATIONS. It may therefore seem at first sight contradictory to speak of "natural revelation," since the knowledge of God derived from nature seems to involve no personal, here-and-now turning of God to human beings but to result rather from the intellectual efforts of the latter. The objection overlooks the fact that religio-philosophical statements about God can never take the form of knowledge gained by the natural sciences, which turn the object of their investigations into an object of human experience and human categories of thought. God cannot be fully grasped by human thought or defined or adequately described in concepts derived from experience of the spatiotemporal world. This fact is reflected in "negative theology," which regards it as possible to say unreservedly of God only what he is not. Positive statements about him always fall short and are compatible with his absolute transcendence, his wholly-otherness (*totaliter aliter*) and ever-greaterness (*semper maior*), only insofar as they are made with a realization of the analogous structure of human language. In this context "analogy" does not mean mathematical similarity; it refers rather to a fundamental relation of similarity-dissimilarity, due to which every positive assertion of a formal perfection in God (being, goodness, justice, etc.) must immediately be negated. That is, it must be purified of the experienced finiteness that attaches to these concepts in the spatiotemporal world, and then applied to the trancendent God in a nonmaterial sense and in the highest possible degree of perfection. It is clear that in this three-step operation—assertion, negation, and reassertion in the mode of supereminence—negation plays the decisive role.

To make the point more simply: God is a hidden God (*Deus absconditus*). Only if he discloses himself and only to the extent that he makes himself known can he be known by human beings. This is the basic idea behind the concept of "natural revelation," which is proposed at various points in the Western tradition of philosophical theology.

The Bible. In his *Letter to the Romans,* the apostle Paul vividly states the possibility (not the actuality) of a natural knowledge of God: "The wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and wickedness of men who by their wickedness suppress the truth. For what can be known about God is plain to them, because God has shown it to them. Ever since the creation of the world his invisible nature, namely, his eternal power and deity, has been clearly perceived in the things that have been made. So they are without excuse; for although they knew God they did not honor him as God or give thanks to him, but they became futile in their thinking and their senseless minds were darkened" (*Rom.* 1:18–22).

The most important statement here is "God has shown it to them." This clearly brings out the revelational character of the knowledge. The cosmos is not simply *phusis* or nature in the form of an eternally self-subsisting world, such as the Greeks understood it to be; rather, it is *ktisis* or creation, that is, God's handiwork that had a beginning and that as finite nature points to the infinite God as its creator.

Ever since the creation of the world, the invisible being of God has been known by reason. Human beings understand themselves to be creatures and therefore by reason know God's power and deity.

The apostle Paul was evidently referring to a passage in the *Wisdom of Solomon,* which was probably a Jewish composition written in Egypt in the first century BCE. Rejecting Egyptian polytheism, the author says: "All men who were ignorant of God were foolish by nature; and they were unable from the good things that are seen to know him who exists, nor did they recognize the craftsman while paying heed to his works; but they supposed that either fire or wind or swift air, or the circle of the stars, or turbulent water, or the luminaries of heaven were the gods that rule the world. If through delight in the beauty of these things men assumed them to be gods, let them know how much better than these is their Lord, for the author of beauty created them. And if men were amazed at their power and working, let them perceive from them how much more powerful is he who formed them. For from the greatness and beauty of created things comes a corresponding perception of their creator" (*Wis.* 13:1–5).

In this passage myths about the origin of the world and philosophical explanations of the world as emerging from primal matter (water, air, etc.), such as were offered by the Ionian natural philosophers, are being rejected in favor of an understanding in which the beauties of this world are explained as produced by a first cause.

Philosophy of Plato. The very wording of the passage from the *Wisdom of Solomon* betrays the philosophical influence of Plato, who speaks in his dialogue the *Symposium* (178a–c) of the ascent of the soul, via the various degrees of bodily and intellectual beauty, to the primordially beautiful, that is, the idea of Beauty as such. Here as elsewhere in Plato's elaboration of his doctrine of the Ideas, his thinking takes as its point of reference the origin (*arche, proton*) of things. Such is the case in the *Lysis,* where is found the concept of the Primordially Lovable (*philon*), and especially in the *Republic* (505–511), where Plato describes the function of the idea of the Good as such, which is the cause of being and knowledge in everything else that is. In conceiving the world as having its ground in the ideas, Plato provides the philosophical presupposition for understanding everything finite as conditioned and as sustained in being by the idea of God. The world is not intelligible in itself either ontically or noetically, either in its being or in its knowableness. Once this fundamental insight is grasped, it becomes easy to understand the viewpoint of Jewish and Christian thinkers who saw the world as a message conveying God's greatness, beauty, power, and goodness, and therefore as a revelation in the proper sense.

It is for this reason that in the passage from *Romans* Paul says human beings should have advanced from knowledge of God to acknowledgment of him and the payment to him of honor and gratitude. Even natural revelation implies and calls for existential consequences such as reverence and obedience.

Luther for his part interpreted Paul as saying in *Romans* that they are foolish who endeavor to gain a natural knowledge of God from creation as the "work" of God's power and glory. Over and against such a "theology of glory" he set a "theology of the cross" that maintains that "insofar as God's being is made visible and is turned to the world, it is represented there in suffering and the cross" (Heidelberg Disputation of 1518). But, valuable though this emphasis on God's revelation in Christ is, in Paul's view human beings are "foolish" not because they attempt to learn God's eternal power and divinity from creation but because "by their wickedness [they] suppress the truth." In general, evangelical theology still has a negative attitude toward natural theology.

Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas. In the Constitution on Faith of the First Vatican Council (1869–1870), on the other hand, the Catholic church insisted on the possibility and point of natural revelation: "God, the beginning and end of all things, can be known with certainty from the things that were created through the natural light of human reason, for 'ever since the creation of the world His invisible nature has been clearly perceived in the things that have been made' (*Rom.* 1:20)" (Henricus Denzinger and Adolfus Schönmetzer's "Enchiridion symbolorum, no. 3004," *The Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church,* 36th ed., no. 113, Rome, 1976). The passage goes beyond what is said in *Romans* and speaks of God as not only the ground but also the destination of creation. It is clear from this, as it is from the expression "the natural light of human reason," that the council fathers were here following the teaching of Thomas Aquinas.

In his five "ways" of obtaining knowledge of God (*Summa theologiae* 1.2.3), Thomas was basing his thought on Aristotle rather than Plato. The background of this link in the history of ideas must be briefly sketched. Aristotle had accepted several points made by Plato: the priority of movement proceeding from within over movement initiated by what is outside (*Laws, Phaedrus*); the idea that what is first in the cosmos is an idea, or *eidos* ("spiritual entity"); and, finally, the view that first cause and end are necessarily identical. In the framework of his own theory of potency and act, Aristotle then elaborated his doctrine of God as the First Unmoved Mover (*to proton kinoun akineton auto*), who as self-sufficient intellectual reality (*actus purus*) is not dependent on anything outside of himself, while at the same time all other intellectual and corporeal beings have their ground in him. God is the origin and source of the world and at the same time its ultimate end, since all things strive toward him and he moves them as "that which is loved," that is, as a supreme value that draws them (*Metaphysics* A, 6–9).

All these "movements" of which Aristotle speaks are not to be interpreted in mechanistic terms but intellectually or metaphysically: They are a striving for form or fulfillment in reality or value.

Thomas Aquinas reduces these arguments of Plato and Aristotle to concise systematic form. The first three ways take as their starting point certain facts of experience: that the beings of this world are in movement (in potency); that they do not have their efficient cause in themselves (they are conditioned beings); and that they do not exist necessarily but are finite, temporal, and contingent. These three ways conclude to a First Cause that "moves" everything (in the Aristotelian sense of the word "move"), is the ground of all further causal series, and has the ground of its own being within itself, or, in other words, exists necessarily and eternally.

The inevitability of this conclusion is underscored by the consideration that an infinite regress does not offer an alternative solution and that one must abandon the endless series of causes and conditions (*ab alio*) and accept a First that is of a different kind *(a se)* if anything at all is to be explained. The idea that an infinite regress is impossible bears the clear mark of Platonic thinking, according to which something finite and conditioned is explicable only in terms of something infinite and unconditioned (*anupotheton*). Platonism thus conceived is indispensable for the philosophy of religion.

Thomas's fourth way is likewise based on the gradations of being and value that is found in the doctrine of the ideas. The ground of every goodness is located in the supreme Good as such (in Platonic terms: in the [divine] idea of the Good), which distributes of its goodness and gives a participation in it.

The fifth way concludes from the order found in the world to an orderer who possesses intellectual knowledge and who is all-powerful and so infinitely good that he can bring good even out of evil. The Aristotelian idea of God as end (destination) of the cosmos merges here with the Platonic idea that evil in all its forms is simply a lack of goodness.

If now is added the assertion that these insights (for these are not empirical proofs as this term is used in the natural sciences) are acquired by "the light of reason," the place of this entire body of considerations in the history of ideas becomes clear once again. Just as in the material world the sun gives light and makes things knowable, so the idea of the good gives things being and the power to know (analogy with the sun in the *Republic* 508–509). Augustine therefore says that in every act by which one knows the truth one is illumined by the eternal Truth, and Thomas teaches that human reason participates in "the divine light" (*Summa theologiae* 2.1.91.2).

The circle is now closed. Natural revelation means that it is possible in principle to think about the finitude of the world and one's own existence and come thereby to know something of God's wisdom and creative power, because God himself makes it possible to know him through traces, reflections, and images in his creatures.

In regard to the actual fulfillment of this potentiality Vatican I showed itself rather reserved, noting that "such truths among things divine as of themselves are not beyond human reason can, even in the present condition of mankind, be known by everyone with facility, with firm certitude and with no admixture of error" because God has in fact granted a supernatural revelation (Denzinger-Schönmetzer, no. 3005; Neuner-Dupuis, no. 114). This appraisal of the situation is fully in accord with that of Thomas Aquinas *(Summa theologiae* 1.1.1), for in his view the knowledge made available by natural revelation is indeed possible for the human race in its present condition, but it is by no means easily gained or accessible to all. One is thus brought to a consideration of "supernatural revelation," which will here be called "biblical revelation."

Kant did not join Thomas in this approach. His criticism of the proofs for the existence of God is based on the principle that knowledge is valid only within the realm of sense experience and that there is no correspondence between thought and the truth as it exists in itself.

OLD TESTAMENT AND JUDAISM. Jewish theology regards it as inconceivable that human beings should know God by their own powers and apart from God making himself known, that is, revealing himself, to them. Like the rest of the Near East, Israel had certain techniques for penetrating the mysteries of God, such as soothsaying, the interpreting of omens and dreams, and the casting of lots. The Old Testament accepted some of these techniques (*Dt.* 33:8, *1 Sm.* 14) and always refused others, for example, astrology. On the other hand, God's action toward Israel in the course of its history is always understood as revelatory in the strict sense. The people experience the nearness of God through external signs and events such as thunderstorms (*Ex.* 19:16), pillars of cloud and pillars of fire (*Ex.* 14:24), and the wind (*1 Kgs.* 19:12). Descriptions of theophanies in human or angelic form (*Gn.* 16:7, 18:2, 48:16) are also found in the early stage of the patriarchal tradition; the "angel of God" *(malakh Yahveh),* in particular, seems obviously to be a device for maintaining the transcendence of God.

As the history of salvation advanced it became increasingly important to interpret God's guidance of Israel. The result was revelation through words, taking the form of auditions and going beyond visions or else interpreting these. God's spirit filled the prophets; his hand was laid on the human beings he chose for this revelation.

Various verbs were used to express the divine act of revelation:

(1) *glh* ("to uncover, unveil"). Yahveh opens the eyes and ears of human beings so that they are able to see and hear (*1 Sm.* 9:15, *Ps.* 119:18); he unveils himself (*Gn.* 35:7, *Is.* 22:14) and his mysteries (*Dt.* 29:29), his glory (*Is.* 40:15), and his justice (*Ps.* 98:2).

(2) *yd*ʿ ("to proclaim, make oneself known"). The essence of revelation according to the Old Testament consists precisely in this self-communication of God to his people as he makes himself known to them (*Ex.* 6:2), speaks to them (*Ex.* 25:22), and, above all, brings them out of Egypt (*Ez.* 20:9) and enters into a covenant with them.

It is for this purpose that he makes known to Israel his name (*Is.* 64:2) and his ways (*Ps.* 25:4), that is, his commandments and his law (the Torah), as well as his wisdom (*Ps.* 119).

(3) *nggd* ("to report, communicate"). This is the most frequent of all the words for revelation and means to manifest something that is hidden: God's name (*Gn.* 32:30), his plan (*Gn.* 41:25), his salvation (*Is.* 42:12), and his hidden wisdom (*Jb.* 11:6). All these contexts have this in common, that God directs his word to human beings. For this reason,

(4) *dvr* can frequently be used for this decisive communication on God's part. God's word to Israel is his most precious gift; in it he communicates himself: "I am the Lord" (*Gn.* 28:13; *Ex.* 6:2, 6:29) and "there is no other" (*Is.* 45:5, *Jl.* 2:27).

The word of God is spoken in a special way to Moses (*Ex.* 20:18). The people perceive only the thunder and lightning, the trumpet blast and the smoke, that accompany the word; they see the "glory" of God but receive the commandments only through a mediator who is therefore regarded as the greatest of the prophets (*Dt.* 18:15). In like manner, all the later prophets are also proclaimers of God's word. He speaks through their mouths, his spirit moves them, his word is given to them; when they speak, "It is I, Yahveh, who speak" (a frequently occurring expression).

The goal and purpose of revelation is the call of Israel to be a covenanted people. This purpose is served by the revelation of God as "the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob" (*Ex.* 3:6), as well as by the announcement of his name, which is at one and the same time a promise of his presence as helper ("I will be there as the One who will be there"; *Ex.* 3:12) and a concealment and withdrawal of God from any control by human beings ("I am who I am"; *Ex.* 3:14). The paradigmatic saving action of God becomes a reality in the deliverance and exodus from Egypt (*Ex.* 14) and, climactically, in the conclusion of the covenant at Sinai (*Ex.* 19–20). The entire religious practice and tradition and the entire liturgical cult of Israel, as well as the attribution of all laws to Moses and the constant warnings of the prophets, all show the fundamental importance of this encounter with God. Not only does the individual Jewish believer live by the light and power of that encounter; the entire social and political life of the people also takes its direction from it.

Since history is the reduction of the covenant to practice it too acquires a theological significance. Successes and catastrophes alike are explained as having their basis in God's plan of salvation, which thus subsumes all the destinies of individuals and all events under a universal saving will that orders everything to the "day of the Lord" (*Am.* 5:18, *Is.* 2:17). That day will bring the definitive fulfillment of God's reign over all of humankind. Revelation thus has a comprehensive meaning; it looks to world history in its entirety, since it sets forth and wins recognition of God's holiness and love. For this reason a special importance is attributed to the end time (eschatology) in Jewish apocalyptic. What is to come and the one who is to come (the Messiah) take on central meaning.

The "revelation of mysteries" (a notion that occurs first in *Daniel* 2:18) becomes a commonplace in the Qumran documents. The devotees at Qumran believe that they possess a special revelation for the end time, a revelation available only to the "wise and initiated."

By contrast, the Judaism of the scribes (beginning with Ezra, fourth century BCE) shows a tendency to regard revelation as closed and to see the prophetic movement as now past. The Jewish tradition generally accepted these positions. Only Jewish mysticism (Qabbalah, Hasidism) regarded not only the once-for-all historical act of divine revelation but also the repeated mystical experience of God as revelatory; the function of the latter is to bring out the implications of the historical revelation and make it intelligible.

NEW TESTAMENT AND CHRISTIANITY. Building on the Old Testament understanding of revelation, the New Testament writers see revelation as the self-communication of God in and through Jesus Christ. This communication is regarded as the supreme, final, irrevocable, and unsurpassable self-disclosure of God in history (*Heb.* 1:1f.). It is unique because, as Christians understand it, in Jesus of Nazareth, agent of revelation and content of revelation (the person, teaching, and redemptive work of Jesus) are identical and make up the sole object of revelation. The theological elaboration of the New Testament concept of revelation is to be found especially in Paul and John.

Paul. To express the idea of revelation, Paul uses above all the words *apokaluptein* ("uncover, remove from concealment") and *phaneroun* ("make apparent, show"). His basic theme is the uncovering of the mystery that has previously been hidden and is now made manifest (*Eph.* 1:9, *Col.* 1:26). Revelation, therefore, means the uncovering or unveiling of the divine plan by which God reconciles the human race to himself in Christ. Revelation is a divine creative activity, an eschatological saving deed, rather than a simple announcing of messages or items of knowledge. God is the really active one in the process of revelation. It is he who from eternity decides that in his Son he will turn in love to the human race. The incarnation of his Son in the womb of a woman (*Gal.* 4:4), this Son's expiatory death on the cross, and the recapitulation or unification of the cosmos under him as head and firstborn from the dead (*Rom.* 3:25, *Col.* 1:18) are the fulfillment of this hidden plan. In this plan Christ himself is what is revealed. The death and resurrection of Christ, and even the church as his body, are elements of this mystery of salvation.

In a derivative application of the term, the apostles also "reveal" the salvific justice of God (*Rom.* 1:17) inasmuch as they proclaim the good news brought by Jesus (*2 Cor.* 2:14). In the fullness of time (*Gal.* 1:16) the gospel is preached to all peoples (*Rom.* 1:16, 16:26), not like an esoteric doctrine of the Hellenistic mystery religions but as a message meant to profit the entire human race, provided men and women are ready to accept the scandal of the cross (*1 Cor.* 1:18–25). For it is of the very essence of revelation that it must be accepted in faith and obedience. It does not supply empirical evidence that forces acceptance; on the other hand, neither may it be accepted or rejected at whim, for it makes a claim upon its hearers and may not be rejected without resultant guilt.

In short, revelation is still incomplete within historical time. Only in its definitive stage of development at the return (Parousia) of Christ will it be complete. At that point, too, the glory promised to the redeemed will be manifested, for it will be clear beyond doubt that the redeemed are risen and that they are the children and heirs of God (*1 Cor.* 1:7; *2 Thes.* 1:7; *Rom.* 8:18–23).

The synoptics. The revelation accomplished in Jesus is extremely important to the early community as well. As a result, the statements made in the synoptic Gospels are in principle the same as those in the preaching of Paul.

There is no doubt that the Old Testament is a vehicle of revelation; nonetheless the fullness of revelation comes only in Christ (*Mt.* 5:17–19). Jesus differs from the other agents of revelation because not only does he claim a complete and direct knowledge of God's saving will (*Mt.* 11:27, *Lk.* 10:22), but his messianic work is also the definitive revelation and calls for an unconditional decision (*Mt.* 4:20, 8:22, 10:37–39; *Mk.* 1:18; and others).

John. The concept of revelation emerges most clearly in John, even though he almost never uses the term *apokaluptein.* He prefers the verb *phaneroun* ("make apparent, show") and likes to use pairs of concepts that were popular in the Hellenistic religious movements of his time, especially gnosticism: light and darkness, truth and falsehood, life and death. The expression "bear witness to the truth" is typical of Johannine theology.

John regards the revelatory event as the center of his message. Not only is Jesus the redeemer by means of his "work"; he is also and above all the proclaimer of God's truth and the life and light of the world (*Jn.* 1:4). God is invisible and unknowable; the Son alone knows the Father, and in him the Father is made visible and understandable (*Jn.* 1:14, *1 Jn.* 1:1). He has brought knowledge of God and borne witness to him (*Jn.* 1:18, 3:11–13); he speaks in plain words of the Father (*Jn.* 8:38). Revelation is therefore given together with the person of the Logos (the Word); it is the manifestation of the life and love of God (*Jn.* 4:7–9). Because Jesus is the only-begotten Son, he reveals the Father in what he says and does. "He who has seen me has seen the Father" (*Jn.* 14:9).

In keeping with the realized eschatology of the gospel according to John, faith, as response to revelation, can even now be described as a "seeing" (*Jn.* 6:40, 12:45, 14:19). What is revealed is already present. Yet, although revelation is essentially completed with the first coming of Jesus, John, like Paul, can speak of the "revelation of Jesus" and of the "glory of the children of God" at the return of Christ (*1 Jn.* 2:28, 3:2).

Revelation. The *Revelation to John* is a New Testament book that focuses its attention on the final age and the return of Christ. It presupposes the proclamation of salvation as achieved through the cross and resurrection of Jesus and, in John's vision on Patmos of the Apocalypse, it interprets the persecutions and sufferings endured by the communities in the light of the hope of their coming fulfullment. The book's images and symbols, taken from Jewish apocalyptic, are intended to urge the reader to perseverance and fidelity. The various hymns of the heavenly liturgy reflect the response of the church to God's judgments, which have for their ultimate purpose the salvation of his creation; this salvation will be achieved despite the terrors that are announced.

ISLAM. Islam's understanding of revelation comes closest to that of the Bible. *Waḥy,* or revelation, comes from God, usually through the agency of the archangel Gabriel. It is concerned with God's decrees, his mysterious will, the announcement of judgment, and his commandments, the divine law (*sharīʿah*). Revelation is given to the prophets and, in its definitive form, to Muḥammad (c. 570–632), who receives it in dreams, visions, and auditions. It is set down in the Qurʾān, the uncreated archetype of which has been taken up to the throne of God in heaven. This uncreated word is not, however, the source of God's self-knowledge (as it is in Christian theology). To this extent, the Muslim conception resembles the Jewish, while at the same time it is distinguished from the latter by the absence of any promise. In the Qurʾān the content of revelation is wisdom and guidance for living and, above all, warnings and the announcement of final judgment. Because it is divine in origin revelation may not be altered.

ZOROASTRIANISM. Zarathushtra (seventh to sixth century BCE) was another nonbiblical prophet. He too saw revelation as having its source in the voluntary action of a unique and personal God. The dualism that is otherwise prevalent in the Iranian world is based on an original revelation to the extent that this last calls for an unqualified ethical decision. Like Ahura Mazda, the Mazdeans opt for the good and against evil. This tension soon hardens, however, into an ontic dualism. The world is divided between good and evil and thus reflects at all cosmic levels the opposition between the virtues and their contraries. History becomes the field of a struggle that is predetermined by God and will end with judgment and transfiguration.

HINDUISM. Even in Hinduism it is possible to speak of revelation as this concept is understood by historians of religion. The Vedas have the status of sacred revelation: *śruti* ("heard," i. e., revealed directly by the gods to seers) is clearly distinguished from *smṛti* ("remembered," i. e., composed by humans). According to Hindu belief, the Vedic literature has existed from eternity, is supernatural in origin, and has been transmitted to human beings by unknown seers of the primordial period.

In the *Ṛgveda,* forces and elements of nature are viewed as divinities. Later on the question arises whether behind the multiplicity of divinities there is hidden an ultimate ground of the world. The Upaniṣads are concerned with the question of the identity of *ātman* and *brahman* (the principles of the individual and the cosmos respectively), and with the transcription of souls and redemption.

Notions of revelation and a consciousness of transcendence are also discernible in other religions, although often only in an obscure and confused form, despite the fact that an especially clear idea of God is evident in archaic forms of religion. Because of this last-named fact many scientists of religion in the past accepted the existence of a primordial revelation in the form of an originally given knowledge of God in the early phase of human history; today, however, this view is generally not accepted.

SEE ALSO Divination; Enthusiasm; Hierophany; Inspiration; Oracles; Prophecy.

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Translated from German by Matthew J. O'Connell

REVENGE AND RETRIBUTION.

There are actions by which human beings compensate for something—for a loss by a reimbursement, a gain by a reward, a crime by expiation, an insult by satisfaction, an advantage by a sacrifice, a defeat by a victory. These are all forms of repayment based on an essential connection made between agency and receptivity in action. That connection is tacitly assumed by human beings to be the price paid for every deed; it is an element in the performance of every deed and is the means used to ensure a particular behavior. In it lies the origin of private and public law, which allow for a retribution in which individuals settle scores for themselves, and a retribution in which they become the subject of a settling of scores. They avenge themselves and are penalized.

The instrumental character of retribution finds exemplary expression in the "law of talion," in which the penalty matches the crime, and in the Golden Rule (behave toward others as you wish them to behave toward you). Good deeds bring their reward, and evil deeds their punishment.

Opinions on revenge differ from science to science. Students of the history of law see it as a primitive form of law. From this point of view, it is an unbridled, unreflective, and arbitrary act of retribution, whereas punishment has a purpose and is administered according to laws and on the basis of a judicial sentence. The passage from thinking focused on vengeance to penal law thus represents an ethical advance.

Some ethnologists and structuralist sociologists reject this view and see revenge as moral behavior within the context of the laws of exogamy. It is an act of self-assertion by a group against an outside attacker, "an outward-directed act of solidarity." Revenge is taken exclusively on outsiders. This distinguishes it from punishment, which is imposed by a group on members who violate its order; it is an act of exclusion, "an internal sanction for a lack of solidarity." Punishment is found in primitive legal systems, just as revenge is found in more developed systems. Revenge is a problem connected with the balance between private and public agencies in every system of justice; it resists legal positivism but does not inevitably lead to anarchy.

Many historians of religion and theologians lend support to this nuanced approach. Tribal gods avenge themselves and high gods exercise retribution through rewards and punishments.

The high religions and the world religions set limits on vengefulness and move beyond it. Guilt is compensated for by punishment in a process that is cosmic (as in the Hindu idea of *karman*) or historical (as in the Christian idea of judgment). The dead are no longer agents of retribution (avenging themselves so that they may have peace of soul) but its recipients, as seen in the concepts of the transmigration of souls and the judgment on the dead. Their actions are now significant only for themselves and no longer for their tribe.

Structural differentiation in the ways of making up for guilty acts becomes an existential problem for religion. For revenge can be simultaneously a duty and a crime. Punishment takes different forms in different legal systems; hence "summum ius, summa iniuria" ("strict justice can be the height of injustice"). Greek tragedy presents the myth of unavoidable guilt and the problem of whether or not justice is really done through penal retribution.

A question arises: Is there an unbreakable connection between receptivity and performance in action as such and, therefore, in redemption?

REVENGE AS THE ARCHAIC FORM OF RETRIBUTION. In a system based on vengeance, the reciprocity of sin and expiation is regulated by those directly involved. It entails an exchange of life at all levels of existence. The individual and the group are mutually accountable. Vengeance places authority, prestige, and material possessions on the same level of value. Those who avenge themselves gain prestige; they take part in the social life of the group and become respected. They represent the honor of their clan.

Retribution exercised by individuals is a problem in the anthropology and theology of religion.

Regulation of vengeance in archaic societies. Groups in which revenge is an institution are of a kinship or totemic type. They are made up of families and clans (or subclans). In them, personal existence and collective existence are regarded as interchangeable. The group is the vital sphere for the individual, and the individual is a quantity in the vital capital of the group. For individuals to be avenged means, therefore, that the group stands up for them. The group is the vehicle of individuals' right to life. It establishes an identification between what they are in themselves (their existence as persons) and what they stand for in the group (their prestige). Murder and homocide are, therefore, offenses to the family, as are rape and theft. A slander can be regarded as a crime deserving of death, and theft can be regarded as murder. Blood vengeance, substitutional vengeance, and symbolic vengeance each represent a different aspect of the identification of individual and societal life, namely, the power of blood, the property of the family, and the honor of the clan.

An example of such interchangeableness is the Australian Aborigines' custom of obtaining blood vengeance by the wounding, not the killing, of a culprit. Magical rites also provide an illustration; Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (1927) speaks of a "mystical compensation." Another example is the identification of bride-price and blood-price, because in each case there is a question not of purchasing a life but of presenting gifts that symbolize life, and, therefore, of an exchange of life. In this sense the blood-price is equivalent to life itself, just as the bride-price replaces the bride who is exchanged for it.

This explains why many languages use the same word for bride-price and blood-price. Among the Maengue of New Britain, the word *kuru* (literally, "head") means "both the human life demanded in revenge and treasures given to a bride's family at her marriage" (Verdier, 1980, p. 28). The bride herself may be a blood-price. Among the bedouin, the daughter of the nearest relative of a murderer is the price paid. She belongs to the son, brother, or father of the slain man as a substitute for the loss suffered, until she bears a son; she regains her freedom only when this child has grown up and can bear arms. "Among the Mundang of Africa the king can compensate the brother of a victim with a woman instead of cattle; when she brings a son into the world, the reparation is complete; the husband must then in turn pay a price to his parents-in-law" (ibid., p. 29). Revenge may therefore take a bloodless form and contribute to peace; the person who exercises vengeance now breathes freely and is satisfied. His act asserts the right to life and honor: "The righteous will rejoice when he sees the vengeance; he will bathe his feet in the blood of the wicked" (*Ps.* 58:11). To avenge a murder is thus to avenge honor and wipe out a disgrace. In many societies this is the decisive motive at work in revenge. "A man reviled is like a weakling. He cannot regain his honor without shedding blood" (ibid., p. 19). Among the Moussey of Cameroon, a man is judged by the enemies he has killed. When he marries, he must answer his father-in-law's ritual question: "Whom have you killed in order to win my daughter's hand?" Vengeance rests on a complex involving feelings of honor and disgrace.

The reciprocity of individual and collective existence is the source of linguistic peculiarities and helps in the understanding of various legal provisions. The German expression that means "to pay someone back" is understood as "to take revenge on him." Among the Beti of Africa, the equivalent expression can mean "to return evil" or "to recompense someone" or "to take advantage of him"; among the two Maengue groups, "to pay a price" or "to set a price"; among the Kikuyu, "to remove someone's guilt"; among the Hausa, "to cancel his debt"; among the Kabyle, "to pay the price of a corpse," which indicates payment for a death. The wiping out of guilt for a crime and the wiping out of debts (in a business matter) are forms of making up for a loss that a possessor has suffered in each case.

These forms of wiping out are ruled by the principle of harm done, not of culpability; that is, it is the act itself, and not the responsibility for it, that evokes revenge. Moreover, the principle of collective liability, not individual liability, is operative: The group, and not the culprit, is liable; in addition, the rank of the person harmed is taken into account in the compensation. Only those acknowledged by law as persons, and not slaves, are capable of revenge.

The principle of representation also comes into play. The person harmed and his avenger, on the one hand, and the culprit, on the other, are members of different groups. Each represents the right and duties of his group and acts in its name. The duty of revenge depends on the degree of kinship with the person harmed, the order being son, brother, uncle, nephew; there can also, however, be hired representatives. The principle of representation accounts for the phenomenon of sequential vengeance, inasmuch as the representative, too, is subject to the principle of the collective liability of his kindred. The result is feuds and wars.

Revenge is taken on outsiders, not on fellow members of the same group. That is, the principle of exogamy comes into play. As a result, different persons are affected, depending on whether the society is matriarchal or patriarchal.

The rules governing vengeance also include provisions meant to prevent escalation into cycles of revenge. Among these provisions are the exclusion of damages that do not justify revenge (homicide as distinct from murder), the determination of places and times to which revenge is limited (the criminal caught in the act), an expanded range of compensations and substitutions that can replace vengeance (*wergeld*), and the provision of sanctuaries or places where revenge is utterly forbidden (sanctuary cities, palaces, temples, churches).

The religious basis of vengeance. Guilt binds the guilty party to the debtor by means of the conscience, which accuses him, and a curse that pursues him. Guilt thus takes on an aspect of revenge, for conscience and the curse exercise retribution and are nevertheless agencies in the overall order of life. They are vengeance exercised by the gods. They represent the vital force of the gods and their power to prevail, the necessity directing the gods to restore their own honor and to fulfill the responsibility they have on earth. Consequently, the symbolism associated with vengeance is very closely linked to ancestor worship, the cult of the dead, belief in the soul, the ownership of land, and magical rituals.

In primitive religion, the souls of the dead themselves commit acts of retribution because they have lost life and now demand it back. The living fear the vengeance of the dead because it can be undirected and therefore strike anyone at all. It is told of the Negritos of northern Luzon in the Philippines that "one who has trodden on the grave of a stranger is slain with arrows from safe ambush by the relatives of the dead person who keep watch at the grave" (S. R. Steinmetz, 1928, vol. 1, p. 337). The Manobos of Mindanao, also in the Philippines, are said to go into the forests at the death of a family member "in order to make reparation for the death, which they do by killing the first person that comes along" (ibid., p. 338). In New Zealand it used to be the custom "after a murder for friends of the slain person to go out sometimes and kill the first person, friend or foe, who came along" (ibid., p. 223). The Maori would kill someone at random after a murder. Among the inhabitants of Daghstan someone would be slain at random after a death from unknown causes, and custom demanded that the parents of a murdered man appear in front of the mosque and declare someone guilty at random. For guilt and expiation are part of life as such, and therefore revenge is taken in the name of life.

> On the one hand, fear of the souls of the dead and specifically a fear of revenge the dead may take on those who violate the social order, and, on the other hand, the hope of protection and support for those who behave in an orderly way—or, in short, belief in the retributive role played by the souls of the dead—are the basis of the ancestor worship that was so widespread among early human beings. (Kelsen, 1941, p. 12)

This fear and hope are the basis of tradition and one reason for belief in retribution generally. For one may not "overlook the fact that the concept of the soul arose out of the concept of the souls of the dead, and that the original function of the soul, its first effect as it were, is revenge" (ibid., p. 238).

Vengeance is religious in character and can be applied to everything that has life or is regarded as living. Thus animals and plants, and also mountains and rocks, the soil, and indeed the earth in its totality can be seats of the living soul and can exercise vengeance. The existence of the dead and the retribution they exercise thus go together. An unexpiated death is like a life without honor, life as a mere shadow. Revenge, on the other hand, restores honor, wipes away disgrace, and gives the soul power. "A Bedouin seeks to wipe out his disgrace through blood vengeance or even, in the spirit of the pre-Islamic Arabs, to satisfy thereby the soul of the slain person, for after a violent death the soul is transformed into an owl that seeks unwearyingly to drink the blood of its enemy" (Joseph Chelhod, in Verdier, 1980, p. 125).

Blood is the symbol of the soul, of a family's life, and of honor itself. When blood is shed, dangerous forces are unloosed; it cries out for revenge. It has been dishonored, and the lack of peace that afflicts it stains the earth. The spirits of blood call for compensation, for they possess the earth, and the latter cannot exist apart from the integrity of the soul that these spirits embody.

The land is a clan's living space and, therefore, the root of its being. "The ancestral land is 'therefore' often regarded as the source and refuge of life and on this score embodies a spiritual quality. Every attack on the life of a group is consequently an attack on the land" that the group inhabits and on the spirits that possess the land and are its real owners. Every conflict will be avenged on it (ibid., p. 22).

Among the Mundang of Chad, it is therefore customary to give the land on which someone has been killed to the clan to which the dead man belonged. This exchange reflects the view that the land is the possession of the blood and that the blood is the soul of a tribe. The tribe accepts possession of this land by virtue of the soul that is embodied in its blood. For among the Mundang the blood is "the root of one of the souls (*masen-byane:* God of my birth) which constitute the person; but it is also the root of a less differentiated power which may be described as a life-force and which the Mundang call *ma-zwe-su* (spirit or genius of the body)" (Alfred Adler, in Verdier, p. 83). One who sheds blood and thereby releases the interior and the exterior soul inflames the land and excites the spirits that possess it. One who effects a reconciliation creates a new existence. This process takes place in the offering of gifts. For one who gives something of his own can take something for himself. By means of the sacrifice one makes a space for himself in the area of another's life. In that area he is restored to himself. "A blood-price . . . like a bride-price consists therefore not in a transfer of wealth but in sacrificial blood by means of which the two parties recover their integrity" (ibid., p. 84). The blood is the offering and acceptance of their common will to be reconciled.

Chthonic divinities are spirits that wreak vengeance. The Greeks and Romans called them Erinyes or Furies respectively. They were "the embodiment, as it were, of the spilt blood, which, because it had turned against itself, resulted in madness. . . . For there is not yet any such thing as punishment in the modern sense: it is the power of the outraged blood itself that reacts against the murderer" (van der Leeuw, vol. 1, 1933, p. 248). Vengeful gods are demonic in many myths. They are therefore warded off and exorcised by magic.

RETRIBUTION AS PUNISHMENT. Guilt is not only avenged but is also punished, for there are on the one hand offenses against life itself and on the other hand offenses against the rules that protect life and are instituted to defend life. These latter offenses are made up by punishment, which is directed not against the clan but against the offender. The principles at work here are not those of representation but of culpability (the responsible agent is punished); individual liability; personal responsibility; as well as the principle of endogamous sanction (that is, the sanction applies only to subjects of the group's own juridical order, not to subjects of an outside juridical order). What is reflected here is the passage from particularity to universality in the concept of religion.

The "law of talion." Retribution through punishment is regulated by bodies of law whose sets of rules describe cases, define responsibilities, and determine the kind and extent of payment. The guilty party is looked upon as a member of a juridical community and, depending on the harm he has done to this community, he suffers harm in turn and is thereby excluded from the community.

The "law of talion" is one of the oldest forms of payment for crime. The term comes from the Latin *lex talionis* ("law of retaliation") and is first documented in the law of the Twelve Tables (451–450 BCE): "If someone breaks another's limb and does not come to an agreement on it, he shall suffer the same and equal punishment." *Talio* refers to a codified numerical equality in every punishment (for example, one eye for one eye, one hand for one hand, and so on). For a correct understanding of *talio,* one should omit the element of vengeance implied by the English term *retaliation.*

The provisions are as follows: The case in question is the destruction of a bodily member, and the injured party has a right to retribution, member for member. "If the talion exceeded the measure provided in the law, the person justified in taking talion was himself now subject to a new talion. If the injured party was unable personally to take talion, his nearest male relative was appointed to take it" (Jüngling, 1984, p. 3).

Roman law provided for talion-like punishments or analogous talion: "mirror punishments," as they were called. Under this heading came the death penalty for homicide and murder, "but especially punishments in which the culprit was punished by the instrument used in the commission of his crime (death by fire for an arsonist) or was punished in the bodily member used in the crime (by cutting off a thief's hand or cutting out a perjurer's tongue)" (ibid., p. 4). These punishments were imposed by courts. They were quite different from talion in the proper sense, and for this reason some scholars urge that they not be called talion at all.

The legal principle embodied here is found in many non-Roman legal systems as well. Among these are cuneiform law, Mosaic law, and Islamic law.

The Code of Hammurabi (c. 1795–1750 BCE) is characteristic of this principle: a slave for a slave, an eye for an eye, a broken bone for a broken bone, a tooth for a tooth. The code treats citizens differently from slaves, men differently from women. The agents who carry out the sentence are those affected by the misdeed: the plaintiff and his relatives.

In the Hebrew scriptures (Old Testament), the administration of talion is, unlike that found in Roman and Babylonian law, still a tribal matter (see *Dt.* 19:21, *Lv.* 24:20, *Ex.* 21:23–25). Talion here is a juridical principle that operates in the framework of basic legal responsibility and is not to be defined independently of the principle of just exchange and its life-enhancing character. It is a formula for giving and taking within the sphere of authority over the clan. It is located in a personal framework: "If any harm follows, then you shall give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burn for burn, wound for wound, stripe for stripe" (*Ex.* 21:23–25).

Islam has two sources for retributive law: blood vengeance and judicial punishments. The clan has the right to kill the murderer of one of its members, provided the murderer acted on his own responsibility and deliberately. But Muḥammad limits the application even further: The right can be exercised only on the legally and morally responsible individual.

Legal punishments are imposed for offenses against religion and public order. But talion for these offenses is limited to cases in which there can be complete equality, for example, "the loss of a hand, a foot, or a tooth, etc. If the guilty party has cut off the same hand of two persons, his punishment is to lose that same hand; for the second hand he must pay a blood-price" (Schacht, 1964, p.185).

In Christianity the law of talion is inverted. It requires that evil be repaid not with evil but with good, so that the evil may be turned to good. "You have heard that it was said, 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.' But I say to you, Do not resist one who is evil. But if any one strikes you on the right cheek, turn to him the other also. . . . Give to him who begs from you, and do not refuse him who would borrow from you" (*Mt.* 5:38–42). In this new principle retribution continues to be retribution, but it is put on a new level: The guilt of the guilty party becomes a means of conversion (see *Rom.* 12:20).

THE MYTH OF GUILT AND RETRIBUTION THROUGH PUNISHMENT. In the transition from archaic retribution through revenge to official retribution through punishment, retribution itself became problematic. A person is obliged to exercise it, yet it is forbidden; it is a right, but it also creates injustice; it is both destiny and sacrifice. This contradiction and the impossibility of avoiding it become a central theme in both Greek tragedy and the Bible. It is a basic motif in biblical myth and theology.

In Greek thought, retribution is justice in the form of punishment. It is the context in which Greek thought comes to grips with justice as regulative of revenge:

> The word *dikē* occurs in such phrases as *dikēn didonai, dikēn tinein,* literally to give, to pay, justice, which signify "to be punished." The word *tisis* means "payment," "compensation," but also "revenge," for justice and revenge are not very different, indeed they coincide when vengeance is taken for wrongdoing. A product of this kind of justice is the *ius talionis* which was usual in early times and finds pregnant expression in the saying "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." This is to be traced among the Greeks also; for them, justice is retributive justice. . . . This view was so deep-rooted that it comes out now and then in the older philosophers when they are describing the course of nature. Anaximandros of Miletos said: "The boundless is the origin of all that is. It is the law of necessity that things should perish and go back to their origin. For they give satisfaction and pay the penalty (*didonai dikēn kai tisin*) to one another for their injustice *(adikia)* according to the ordinance of Time." (Nilsson, 1948, pp. 35–36)

An order of justice that includes both patriarchal and matriarchal rights is unthinkable in the system ruled by the Erinyes. Aeschylus tackles this problem in the *Oresteia,* where the Erinyes do not pursue Clytemnestra, who has murdered her husband, but do pursue Orestes, who has murdered his mother. The regime under which the clan lives has confronted Orestes with an insoluble conflict: The patriarchal code demands that he avenge his father, but the matriarchal code prohibits his attacking his mother. Whichever course he chooses, he contravenes archaic law. He is trapped in the myth of guilt:

> The Erinyes who pursue Orestes because he has killed his mother appear here as divinities of an earlier time and representatives of the blood vengeance that is connected with the kinship group. They are sharply contrasted with the younger gods, Apollo and Pallas Athene, who represent the higher principle of the law of Zeus and the right of the state to pass judgment and are therefore unwilling to hand Orestes over to the vengeance of the Erinyes. (Kelsen, 1941, p. 220)

In Homer and the tragedians, the Erinyes are an agency of justice that belongs to an earlier time. Aeschylus has them say in *The Eumenides,* "That is the way of the younger gods: they alter things by violence and laugh all justice to scorn" (165). And again: "Novelty is breaking in and overturning all that is old, if guilt and the horror of matricide are victorious at the judgment seat" (466). They plead with Apollo: "You are destroying the power of the ancient divinities" (697).

The chthonic goddesses that embodied a matriarchal order were related in several ways to the Olympian gods. The shrine of Zeus at Olympia, the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, and Athens, the city of Athena, were all places where the chthonic goddesses were originally venerated. Daughters of Gaia, the supreme agency of justice on earth, these goddesses included Demeter (one of whose titles was Erinys) and Themis, goddess of communities and rights of assembly. Among them were also many other divinities of later derivation whose myths point to the irreconcilability of earthly justice and heavenly retribution, of divine law and earthly destiny. Nemesis, goddess of retribution, and the Moirai, goddesses of destiny, were daughters of Night (the goddess Nux). They punished hubris and took revenge on those who achieved happiness, for injustice was punished by injustice, and happiness unaccompanied by unhappiness aroused the envy of the gods.

The symbols of the court—the wolf, the serpent, and the lightning bolt—are part of the myth of guilt and punishment. They are also symbols of the soul that seeks revenge, and of the Olympian gods who represent the rights of such individuals. Apollo is defender of the rights of blood but also god of purification from blood guilt. He contracts this guilt but also purifies himself from it. He grants oracles concerning the future. He establishes norms by subjecting himself to them: "The god who forbids and punishes murder, must himself murder and be punished for it; this identification of the addressee of norms with the authority behind the norms, of the god who punishes with man who is punished, is a very ancient motif in the establishment of the efficacious norms" (Kelsen, 1941, p. 364).

There is a cycle of guilt, and there is deliverance from guilt, a pattern that constantly repeats itself. The transmigration of souls represents this mystery of life in the Orphic and Eleusinian religions.

Retribution nonetheless involves not only vengeance and punishment but also promise. But those who open themselves to a new hope must achieve deliverance from old guilt. This notion is the basis for the discussion of the concept of retribution in the Bible, and has therefore an archaic as well as an eschatological meaning. The biblical concept is one of God's acting as God. Both aspects are fundamental for the biblical concept of retribution. He who does something undergoes a fate, and he who undergoes a fate has to do something as well. Many biblical expressions contain this reciprocity: To do evil is identical with suffering misfortune, to do good is to incur blessing. The evildoer is he who finds himself in misfortune. To make oneself guilty is like declaring someone guilty; fidelity like steadiness; badness like downfall; reward like work; path of life like way of life. This reciprocity of action and result is guaranteed by Yahveh himself, the tribal God of Israel. It is he who unfolds this reciprocity fully.

The Bible is thus able to include God in the framework of retribution, because he himself exercises vengeance. When in *Genesis* 4:10 the voice of spilled blood cries out to him from the ground, he punishes the murderer by expelling him; he avenges himself sevenfold, however, on anyone who then avenges the murderer. God's clan is the entire human race, and he himself acts on behalf of the race and is its source of strength. He punishes those who attack the race and set themselves against him, and punishes any transgression, taking vengeance on those who avenge the transgression: Thus he restores his own honor. Retribution, therefore, is not only a response to action but surpasses it.

SEE ALSO Ancestors; Blood; Conscience; Judgment of the Dead; Soul.

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ELMAR KLINGER (1987)
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REVIVAL AND RENEWAL. The phenomena of revival and renewal have been classified and described by various terms reflecting a wide range of analytical frameworks based on such criteria as overt purposes, main emphases or characteristics, historical period, and location. The catalog of relevant terms thus bears examination.

The terms *accommodative, acculturative, adaptive, adjustive,* and *syncretic* are largely interpretive, indicating that revival and renewal activities took place in, and as a response to, a situation in which two or more different sociocultural orders were in contact and were more or less in opposition or conflict, as, for example, in the colonial situation. The terms *denunciatory, militant,* and *nativistic* speak mainly to what seem to have been the main emphases or characteristics of revival, as, for instance, the vehement reactions to the dominant culture in the colonial process. The terms *dynamic, revitalization,* and *vitalistic* interpret revival activities as more positively creative rather than merely responsive. *Devotional* and *pious* are usually used to describe movements of renewal that occur squarely within an established religious tradition. In these cases the objective is a deeper understanding of, and closer conformity with, the perceived truths of the tradition. But since revival and renewal activities may become heterodox and refractory with the discovery of new truths, the terms belong in the general lexicon. In activities described as *reformative* and *revivalist* new truths, heterodoxy, and criticisms of the given tradition are explicit.

Utopian, more familiarly descriptive of literary works, proposals, and indirect suggestions for a better world, is often used to describe revival and renewal activities because they appear to have as their purpose an impractical state of perfection or bliss. The word *cargo* has been reserved for revival activities occurring in Oceania, particularly in the islands of Melanesia, where the overt purpose is to gain access to European manufactured goods, called in Pidgin *kago* ("cargo").

The terms *enthusiastic* and *enthusiasms* refer specifically to movements within the Christian tradition during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. But because the activities were heterodox, antinomian, and anticlerical, and because they sought new truths in a direct relation with the godhead without the intervention of clergy and envisaged a state of comparative bliss, the terms have come into a more general usage. *Millenarian* is gaining ground as a general portmanteau term, but it specifically refers to those activities in the European medieval period whose overt purposes and emphases were grounded in an expectation of the second coming of Christ. *Adventism* carries much the same connotations as *millenarian* but is usually used to describe more recent Christian movements and sects. Although *messianic* refers particularly to the Judeo-Christian tradition, it is also used more widely for any activities hinging on the advent of a leader-redeemer. Hence the term *prophet movements* is also used. Finally, while *charismatic,* like so many other words of specific Christian reference, is now used more loosely and generally, as in "charismatic leader," within the Christian tradition it refers more precisely to a form of worship centered on the "gift of tongues," glossalalia, a supposed charism of the Holy Spirit.

The above list of labels is not exhaustive. But since the bulk of those remaining are differing forms of, or are derived from, the terms provided, it will suffice. Whether the number of terms—so many of which are synonyms of each other—indicate significant phenomenological differences or are distinctions without a difference is a moot question. Still, for the most part the labels refer to activities that are heterodox, refractory, or rebellious in relation to a given tradition and appear to anticipate the discovery of new truths and new moralities, looking forward to a more certain redemption and better or even blissful times. Hence it is perhaps permissible to consider them as millenarian-type activities and their leaders, charismatic or otherwise, as prophets.

MORPHOLOGY. Briefly and generally, what happens in millenarian-type activities is that an individual, usually a man but sometimes a woman, the prophet, articulates to a given community a seemingly imperative program of action. When the program falls on deaf ears, the prophet is regarded as more or less insane or deranged. If, on the other hand, members of the community take up and pursue the program, something significant is beginning to happen even though nonparticipants may regard the collective action as insane, ill-considered, or foolish. Behind the articulation, bizarre and odd though the program may sometimes seem, has lain a period of hard thought and imaginative wrestlings, which culminate in a vivid and compelling inspirational experience. This, revelatory in nature, usually occurs in a dream, vision, or trancelike state but also in that more controlled mode in which a number of apparently intractable problems, mulled over in the mind, suddenly cohere into a resolution to act. In any case, the prophet usually disclaims personal authority except insofar as he or she is the agent of some transcendent source: God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Virgin Mary, the Great Spirit, an angel, an ancestor or ancestors, a figure or passage from mythology, a particularly powerful spirit or ghost in human or animal form, or passages from the sacred scriptures. There are many such sources. It suffices that the program for action has a divine warrant, usually also sanctioned by threats of imminent disaster—a destructive flood, storm, tidal wave, earthquake, volcanic eruption, holocaust, or, more simply, eternal damnation. Sometimes the disaster is muted into a life of continuing misery and helplessness. The point is that while participants will be saved or redeemed or will enjoy happiness, nonparticipants will deserve the fate reserved for them.

The general framework of revival and renewal activities may be described in terms of two phases between a prologue and an epilogue, with the caution that during the course of the action the parts of one phase may well overlap those of the other.

The prologue consists of the development of an ambience of general dissatisfaction with the way things are. People talk and gossip about their present difficulties, hark back to a time when, supposedly, all was well with them, and cast forward to a misty future when all might be well again, the heart's desires capable of being satisfied, the good life possible, and an earthly as well as a heavenly or spiritual redemption obtainable. The present appears as a kind of limbo, a transitional time of disappointment and dysphoria sandwiched between two kinds of well-being. In literate societies there is recourse to the sacred scriptures. Reinterpretations are bandied about, talked over, rethought. In nonliterate societies new meanings are pulled out of old myths; the new meanings then interact with present circumstances to form, in effect, new myths. In either case the following are the implicit questions: What is the truth of things? How may the good and moral life be lived in accordance with the truth? How is redemption to be obtained? In both cases it is thought that somewhere along the way something has gone wrong and that if it could be put right, a new age—envisaged as a new set of moral relationships in which each person will be able to satisfy his or her desires through others—will dawn. One or two in the community may already have attempted, publicly, to articulate a program to resolve present problems. Others have heard them but have rejected them as false prophets. Nevertheless, the early speakers have brought some things together and have created an expectation that someone sometime will get it right.

The development of the prologue seems essential to the effectiveness of a prophet. A particular connection—whose constituents are not easily unraveled—between prologue and revelation creates an authenticity in the prophet, sparks the revival and renewal activities, makes explicit what has been incipient and implicit in the prologue. The issues are, generally, the creation of new moralities, the construction of a new and relevant semantic environment of meaning, the transformation of a state of misery and helplessness into one of happiness, control, and the promise of redemption.

The first phase, assuming the form of a classic rite of transition, consists of a symbolic—and actual—return to first beginnings. Essentially, participants strip themselves of extant statuses, roles, and moralities to become, in effect, a noncommunity of mere selves. This is done most commonly by dancing a new dance to exhaustion; by dramatized orgies of sexual promiscuity; by the use of drugs; by the destruction of crops, animals, and property; or, in a more modern idiom, by the organization of encounter groups or mutual confessional sessions. There are other techniques. Glossalalia often occurs, for example. But whatever the mode employed, it is vital that an extant self be at least temporarily deprived of or released from its social and moral supports, that it understand itself and relate to other selves as well as to the divine outside of a sociocultural matrix that has become, by definition, intolerable. In short, to paraphrase a Christian idiom, participants are invited to die to themselves in order to put on the new person.

The second phase is the reverse or obverse of the first: a definition of the new social self both internally among the participants and externally by reference to outsiders. Special badges may be worn; exclusive modes of greeting, address, and apparel may be adopted. Gatherings of the faithful assume a distinctive, ritualized form; set procedures are carefully followed, especially when directed toward releasing the self from social constraints. Even in specifically secular movements, ritualized social observances (brushing or flossing one's teeth, practicing drills, performing the daily round of activities in prescribed ways) strengthen internal solidarities and emphasize the distinction between insiders and outsiders, the elect and the lost, the saved and the damned. The use of money—to which prophets often advert in their revelations—is strictly controlled, and narrow, rigorous moralities govern community interrelationships. Finding fault in others, at first a necessary adjunct to maintaining the new ways and moralities, becomes a major concern. Where the prologue and first phase had been informed by sentiments of love and egalitarianism and by the transcending of status barriers and competing interests, now hierarchy and close definitions of status and relative worth begin to seem more important. Although new recruits may be welcomed, they are closely examined. Backsliders are denounced and made to atone or are expelled from the community in disgrace.

The epilogue is by no means always a sad ending to hopeful beginnings. Many Christian sects and denominations—indeed, Christianity itself—have started in a variety of modulations of the way outlined and have survived. And there are many other communities which, whether regarded as part of or distinct from and independent of a larger fold, have survived in quietist and particularist modes. On the other hand, what more often occurs is that government forces intervene, either to bring an end to the activities of the first phase, because they appear to disturb the peace and seem contrary to good order, or to extirpate the movement because the new moralities are seen to have political overtones that challenge government authority. Alternatively, the activities of the prologue and the first phase may never actually cohere into a definable movement and simply evaporate as the collective will to continue dissipates in uncertainty.

Whether the prologue develops into a pious movement of renewal within an established church, the foundation of a religious order, the formation of an independent sect or denomination, or into a position wholly independent of its parents, the new community and its moralities cannot be other than syncretic, evoking the first group of terms mentioned at the outset of this article. Ideas from a variety of sources are brought together and reformulated as the prologue develops. The freshness of the new moralities lies not so much in the rituals (although these may seem peculiar enough to an outsider) as in the wider appreciations and deeper understandings brought to a novel hierarchical arrangement of what had existed before. What had once seemed intractable and intolerable is transformed into a semantic environment of relevance, an environment of meanings that guarantee the truth of things, indicate the good and worthwhile life, and assure members of the community that at the end of a good life lies redemption.

The force of the prophet's revelatory experience lies in the fact that it seems to make entirely possible the realization of what had been before in large part a kind of wish-dream. While the duration of a prologue varies greatly, and while there must always be a "first time," it is unusual for an effective prophet not to have had precursors. This indicates that the prologue may take some time to develop. Furthermore, interventions by governments aside, for a movement to be viable, the initial revelation perforce has to be developed and modified. And for this, political skills are required. Sometimes the prophet possesses such skills. More often, however, the survival of the movement depends on the managerial and political abilities of participants other than the prophet, who is shunted more usefully into an honorary, advisory position.

In principle, millenarian-type activities represent a general human proclivity realizable in any culture. Instances have occurred within Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism. Oral traditions suggest that instances also have occurred in nonliterate societies of all types. Indeed, in an evolutionary context renewal and revival activities enable groups or communities to survive by creating more meaningful semantic environments, whereas otherwise they might have perished.

However, the incidence of recorded instances of revival and renewal shows that the vast bulk have occurred within a Christian ambience. This is not simply a function of colonialism or the European passion for recording. The nature and history of Christianity reveal it as peculiarly susceptible to millenarian-type activities. The history of Christianity in Europe is replete with instances, and as Europeans and Christian missionaries have moved into other lands, the instances have multiplied. If it seems odd to think that Christianity, variegated though it is in its denominational manifestations, yet contains within itself such a recreative evolutionary property, it is at least a possibility not to be lightly dismissed.

The idea of an alternative sociocultural order or semantic environment informed by perfected moralities, as well as attempts to realize such orders, comprise an integral part of Christianity. From first beginnings under the coercive aegis of the Roman hegemony, Christianity developed in a variety of differing cultural milieus. Given the Christian affirmation of the world as well as of things divine, its promise of new earths as well as new heavens, two contrasting models of community became dominant. Although both spoke to the greater perfection of morality, the first model of community was egalitarian, characterized by the mutual sharing of property and goods and held together by a set of transcendent beliefs, particularly in the guidance of the Holy Spirit. The second model, derived from Plato's ideal society, was hierarchical with supposedly mathematically harmonious structures and was grounded, at least initially, in measures of physical coercion. The permutation and combination of the contraries contained in the two models continually generate possible alternative sociocultural orders. And this process, sociologically speaking, would seem to have been largely responsible not only for the multiplicity of Christian sects and denominations but also for utopian writings, the formation of secular movements intent on an ambience of more perfect moralities, and the founding of experimental and ideal secular as well as religious communities. The history of Euro-Christian, or Western, civilization teems with examples.

This is not to say that an idea of the alternative sociocultural order has been absent from traditional societies and communities outside or beyond the Christian ambience and influence. But manifestations have been only sporadic. On the other hand, as Christian-derived Western ideas have spread, so have notions of the alternative moral community; and the incidence of attempts to realize such alternatives has been increasing, particularly in Japan since the end of World War II. Traditionally, however, in spite of historical change, whatever existed in any one lifetime has had to be taken as given: The good life has had to be managed either within its terms; in spite of them, through techniques of gaining an inner spiritual peace; or by renunciation.

INTERPRETIVE THEORIES. Description inevitably involves interpretation, and with millenarian-type activities there are further difficulties. The evidence for what has actually occurred is rarely obtained firsthand and usually becomes accessible only through the reports of those who were unsympathetic if not actively hostile. Because it is almost impossible for a competent observer to be in the right place at the right time, only a fraction of the data that might have been available ever comes to light. Questions as to whether the prophet and participants mean what they say in a literal or a symbolic sense and how these senses relate to each other and to the activities are difficult to disentangle and form into a relatively unimpeachable statement of what is really happening. Social scientists and professional ethnographers began to investigate millenarian-type movements only in the second decade of this century, and it was not until the late forties that the activities began to be investigated more or less systematically. Even then the large bulk of the work has concentrated on activities in the colonial situation, virtually ignoring the specifically Christian inheritance and contribution. Finally, although the force of the transcendent is clearly of great significance, social scientists, whatever their personal views, must either ignore the transcendent or reduce or translate it into sociocultural factors.

In such circumstances, accounting for or having a theory about millenarian-type activities presents problems. Moreover, an adequate theory should consist of a set of integrated statements about a phenomenon that, in accounting for the positive instance, also should account for the negative. For example, the disaster theory holds that millenarian-type activities follow upon what is perceived as a disaster, the last conceived broadly and including sociocultural as well as physical circumstances. In cases where an outsider identifies such a disaster but where no revival or renewal activities occur, it is likely that the insiders have not perceived the disaster as such. That is, the identification of a disaster is dependent on the activities, and the problem becomes one of specificity about the kinds of disaster involved. At present, such specifics are lacking.

In another example, a significant difference between what are thought of as legitimate expectations or aspirations and social realities has given rise to the "relative deprivation" hypothesis. That is, where social realities hinder legitimate expectations, revival and renewal activities occur. But since legitimate expectations may be economic ("we ought to have as much wealth as . . .") or political ("we ought to deploy as much power as . . .") or religious ("we ought to have the same opportunities for spiritual redemption as . . ."), and since there are few groups that do not consider themselves "deprived" in one or another sense in relation to another group, the negative instances are legion and unexplained. While the activities define the cause, the latter fails in its effects much more often than it succeeds.

One of the first professional social scientists to consider the problem, A. C. Haddon, described the parameters neatly enough:

> An awakening of religious activity is a frequent characteristic of periods of social unrest. The weakening or disruption of the old social order may stimulate new and often bizarre ideals, and these may give rise to religious movements that strive to sanction social and political aspirations. Communities that feel themselves oppressed anticipate the emergence of a hero who will restore their prosperity and prestige. And when the people are imbued with religious fervour the expected hero will be regarded as a Messiah. Phenomena of this kind are well known in history, and are not unknown at the present day among peoples in all stages of civilization. (Haddon, 1917, p. 455)

However, with the intervention of World War I, the implications of Haddon's statement were lost for a generation and more. While Ronald Knox's (1950) study of "enthusiasims" did not go wholly unoticed, when social scientists again addressed the problem, they turned to psychology rather than sociology and history.

Psychological interpretations were, and to a great extent still are, centered around the notions of "cognitive dissonance" or "collective flights from reality," where proper cognitions and reality were and are taken as givens. Although from this point of view, one might suppose forms of schizophrenia, Norman R. C. Cohn (1970) identified collective paranoia as the leitmotif of medieval millenarism. Thus arises the question of whether in the light of social unrest, oppression, disasters, and relative deprivation, the paranoia reflected reality or represented an avoidance of reality—like the rabbits of Richard Adams's *Watership Down* (New York, 1972) who escaped the destruction meted out to their fellows through just such a "collective flight from reality" and after many adventures eventually realized a comparative state of earthly bliss.

If the participants in millenarian-type activities feel that something is wrong with their world that they want to put right, psychological interpretations generally move toward the view that something is wrong with or lacking in the participants. (Anthony F. C. Wallace's 1956 article on revitalization is the notable exception.) The same is true of biological interpretations, which cite brain lesions or the complexities of the interconnections and relations between the right and left hemispheres of the brain. Thus it has been suggested that leaders who are followed despite their apparently irrational demands are wont to have brain lesions. Yet, as history informs us, true leaders cannot be other than extraordinary people. Perhaps such lesions are necessary to leadership with a vision of the future. And since left-hemisphere dominance is thought to give rise to logical thought and science, whereas right-hemisphere dominance is typical of the intuitive and nonrational approach of charismatics, it is likely that prophets will be right-hemisphere-dominant. Suggestive, but waiting on a great deal of further research, biological interpretations raise questions about whether they will provide further information about what one needs or wants to know or, more pertinently, whether they will reveal what questions remain to be asked.

Biological and psychological interpretations must tend toward the identification of a lesion—something wrong or abnormal. Moving from the opposite premise, that there may be something reasonable and expectable rather than something amiss or lacking in millenarian-type activities, many scholars working in sociological or anthropological modes have attempted explication rather than explanation. That is, accepting that some kinds of explanation must be inherent in an explication, these scholars have not sought causes like disaster and deprivation theories but have sought to tease out and define the relevances of the phenomenon. Some examples follow.

Breaking out of the anthropological functionalism that often inhibited studies of millenarian-type activities by insisting on equilibrium, synchronic analyses, and virtual denial of historical relevances, Peter Lawrence's detailed explication of a cargo movement in Papua New Guinea (Lawrence, 1964) demonstrates in historical depth, and with particular reference to the influence of Christian missionaries, how historic events and political and economic circumstances interacted with traditional mythologies and cohered into a movement. Lawrence is particularly illuminating on the nature of the prophet involved, Yali: not mad or insane or given to wild imaginings but experienced, traveled, and particularly affected by the differences in lifestyle, power, and economic resources obtaining between black and white peoples. In a similar study (Burridge, 1960), I have done much the same as Lawrence in an adjacent area, but, lacking the detailed historical data, my study accents traditional and symbolic elements in relation to social, political, economic, and cognitive features inherent in the colonial process and missionary activity. In later and more general works I consider a variety of features, including money and interpretive modes (Burridge, 1969) and the relevances of identity, individuality, Christianity, and contrasting models of community (Burridge, 1979).

Johannes Fabian's 1971 study of the Jamaa movement, which started as a pious movement within the Roman Catholic church and whose prophet was a Roman Catholic missionary priest, emphasizes semantic and organizational changes largely through detailed analyses of what was said and done. Although the prophet's maxim was "organization kills the movement," participants began to feel the necessity to organize once church authorities had removed the prophet. Fabian shows how organization was achieved not so much purposively and directly as through what was inherent and implicit in the discussions and activities of the participants. He also shows how the process of becoming organized in itself began to move the participants into an independent position, no longer a pious movement within the church.

Peter Worsley's classic study of Melanesian cargo activities (Worsley, 1957) is both historical and developmental, framed within an analysis of the politico-economic features of the colonial process. Worsley shows how millenarian-type activities are the only way in which a generally nonliterate and subject people can, lacking other means, signal their objections to the way things are. Not only are nonrational means adopted because no rational means exist, but the people themselves, in their traditional lives, habitually make use of transcendent sources or nonrational means when what is called rationality in the European view seems to fail them. Stephen Fuchs (1965) emphasizes themes of economic disadvantage, political disfranchisement, oppression, and consequent rebellion. Vittorio Lanternari (1963) does much the same. Bryan R. Wilson (1973) has pursued the problem of the rational and the irrational, concluding that thaumaturgical desires—command of transcendent or divine forces as well as of politico-economic and social features—are the basis for millenarian-type activities, and are thus inappropriate in or to rational and industrialized society.

Whether the interpretation be biological, psychological, cultural, or sociological, studies of millenarian-type activities have converged and reached a point at which, traditional methodologies having been more or less exhausted, a phase of consolidation and rethinking has started. Over a period of fifty years or so, systematic studies have moved from virtually dismissing the activities as forms of insanity or madness to considerations of different kinds of reality, their construction and interrelations, and the implications of terms such as *rational, nonrational,* and *irrational.* Ideologies, symbolic constructs, and notions of the transcendent are coming to be viewed as not simply epiphenomenal, products of the realities of politico-economic relations and modes of production, but as themselves kinds of reality that react back on other arrangements in ways not yet wholly understood. While the painting on a cave wall depicting a buffalo transfixed by a spear may be thought of as a magical and irrational way of attaining an end, it is also a means by which the hunter makes explicit to himself and fixes in symbolic terms an image of what he desires to accomplish. Similarly, the making of airplanes, radio stations, ships, and storage sheds from palm leaves and rattan (as well as many other apparently odd activities so frequently encountered in cargo movements) is now appreciated not simply as magical or irrational fantasy but as the forming of symbolic constructs of desired ends.

Studies of historical depth have made it abundantly clear that millenarian-type activities and their modulations are likely to occur in situations characterized by contradictory juxtapositions of affective and impersonal relations, particularly where differences of culture or subculture, lifestyle, modes of production, economic opportunity, and kinds of access to political control are involved—industrialized society notwithstanding. Why the problems that arise from these juxtapositions should cohere in a religious idiom, and why this should be thought irrational, are perhaps the main issues. For even in secular activities it is possible to discern a vital and essentially religious element. Too little is known about the nature of reality and about the transcendent and its relations to forms of redemption. The symbolic resonances of money—in particular its effects on moral affective and impersonal relationships—require much closer attention. Examination of the relevances of literacy—the quantum leap in symbolic and logical competence, the different kinds of effects wrought by the written and spoken word, the release from thralldom to a learned and literate clergy and secular elite—will surely provide further insights.

Finally, beyond their intrinsic human interest millenarian-type activities remain a crucial challenge to social scientists. They invite the statement through which particular actions and rationalizations, presently confined to specific situations, may aspire to a more general ontological validity. Absurd or irrational though they may seem, millenarian-type activities reveal human beings in the crisis of deciding how to be true to themselves and their future.

SEE ALSO African Religions; Australian Indigenous Religions, article on New Religious Movements; Enthusiasm; Millenarianism; North American Indian Religions; Reform; Syncretism; Utopia.

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REVIVALISM SEE EVANGELICAL AND FUNDAMENTAL CHRISTIANITY; PENTECOSTAL AND CHARISMATIC CHRISTIANITY; REFORM; REVIVAL AND RENEWAL

REVOLUTION.

Throughout the course of history, religion has functioned as a source of social solidarity, and this fact is undoubtedly related to the very essence of religion, which provides a set of basic values for the regulation of human life on earth and guidance in the search for meaning and salvation. Since in all traditional societies both nature and society were regarded as part of the same cosmic universe controlled by gods or spirits, a religious legitimation of the social order developed as a matter of course.

The integrative role of religion has been known for a very long time. The eighteenth-century rationalist Voltaire assured his noble pupil, Frederick the Great, that a "wise and courageous prince, with money, troops, and laws, can perfectly well govern men without the aid of religion," but most rulers of humankind and the sages counseling them have preferred not to take any chances on the firmness and sway of political authority. In his *Discourses* (1517) Machiavelli called religion "the most necessary and assured support of any civil society," and he exhorted princes and heads of republics "to uphold the foundations of the religion of their countries, for then it is easy to keep their people religious, and consequently well conducted and united." The duration of empires, argued the French conservative Joseph de Maistre, writing after the French Revolution, "has always been proportionate to the influence that the religious principle has acquired in the political system." The emphasis on the importance to society of a sense of shared values endeared de Maistre to his fellow countryman, the sociologist Émile Durkheim, probably the best-known modern spokesman for the view that the primary function of religion is the preservation of social unity.

But religion has often also functioned as an agent of revolutionary mobilization. Religion involves transcendent moral standards that define an ideal against which human performance can be measured. Hence those who are dissatisfied—politically, economically, socially, or spiritually—may find in religion strong support for their attack upon the status quo. Religion can be a powerful agent pushing the thoughts of leaders beyond tradition; it may become the spiritual dynamic of revolution that Georges Sorel called the "social myth." As the judicious Richard Hooker observed in the sixteenth century, during a period of great religious and social upheaval, when the minds of leaders are once "persuaded that it is the will of God to have those things done which they fancy, their opinions are as thorns in their sides, never suffering them to take rest till they have brought their speculations into practice." Religion can provide individual with the zeal of true believers who know that they are right and who act with fortitude since they carry out God's will and count on God's helping hand.

While some religious ideas, such as the conception of sacred kingship to be found in many premodern societies, have reinforced a pattern of political subservience and quietism, most religious views of rulership have not had such unequivocal political consequences. The ancient Chinese doctrine of the mandate of Heaven, for example, legitimized the rule of the emperor, the Son of Heaven, who traced his title to deified ancestors upon whom Heaven, the supreme deity, had conferred the right to rule. And yet, the mandate of Heaven was not seen as granted in perpetuity or unconditionally. Heaven demanded righteousness and good government and deposed rulers who abused their exalted office. Hence, just as the concept had apparently come into being to justify the seizure of power by the Zhou dynasty (around 1028 BCE), which claimed a divine mandate for overthrowing the Shang, so the mandate of Heaven could later be invoked by new aspirants to the supreme rulership. Indeed, in Chinese a revolution is called *ge ming*—"breaking of the mandate."

The Christian ideas of divine providence and of the divine origin and sanction of rulership also have had diverse results: They have helped shore up and sanctify political authority, but they also have been used to justify rebellion. In the deterministic worldview of Augustine of Hippo, nothing could exist without divine approval. Divine providence has arranged things in such a way that every evil in the world is directed to some good. God appoints rulers according to the merits of the people, and in view of his omnipotence and justice tyrants must be considered God's retribution for the perversity of the people. Both just kings and cruel tyrants reign by God's providence; none may be resisted.

This gospel of submissiveness, a justification for a theologian desirous of obtaining secular support for the suppression of heresy or for a Martin Luther in need of assistance from the princes of the Holy Roman Empire, was a burdensome handicap for Christians eager to fight the pretensions of absolute temporal power. Hence, in the later sixteenth century, in particular, the doctrine of divine providence was reinterpreted so as to make possible certain political actions. Theodore Beza, a disciple of Calvin, conceded that nothing can exist without divine approval and that God uses the evil deeds of sinners to punish other sinners. But, he asked, why could it not be God's will that tyrants be punished by the people rather than people by tyrants? During the Puritan Revolution (English Civil War) the Christian humanist John Milton rejected the suggestion that God had put the English nation in slavery to Charles Stuart and that only God, therefore, could be relied upon to release it. If God can be said to give a people into slavery whenever a tyrant prevails over a people, he asked, why ought God not as well be said to set them free whenever people prevail over a tyrant?

But this kind of politically useful theological reasoning did not originate with either Beza or Milton. Around 1110, Hugh of Fleury had taught in his *De regia potestate* that God punishes bad princes by the insubordination of their people, and the same idea is found in Eastern Christendom. The Kievan chronicler considered a revolt of the citizens against their prince an act of God's will, punishing the prince for his misconduct. More recently a pastoral letter issued in 1967 by "Sixteen Bishops of the Third World" declared that "Christians and their pastors should know how to recognize the hand of the Almighty in those events that from time to time put down the mighty from their thrones and raise up the humble." Needless to say, the impressment of God for the cause of rebellion is today no monopoly of the political left. After the military coup of 1964 in Brazil, a group of Brazilian archbishops and bishops thanked God for having listened to their prayers for deliverance from the communist peril. Divine providence, they said, had made itself felt in a tangible manner.

Other contradictory consequences of the doctrine of divine providence must be noted. The acceptance of the omnipotent role of the deity can lead to fatalism and inaction, but it can also spur people to mighty effort because of the conviction that God is on their side. Thus the early Jewish apocalyptic writers counseled complete reliance upon God's direct intervention, which would redeem Israel, whereas the later Zealots, engaged in eschatological war against Rome, believed that God would usher in the new age of freedom and justice only if pious Jewish warriors actively participated in the realization of the divine plan. Here strong faith in the certainty of divine assistance acted to inspire superior exertion and fortitude and gave the struggle against Rome the character of a holy war. Revolutionary action merged with messianic utopianism and led to an utter disregard of Rome's overwhelming might, a realistic appraisal of which would have discouraged any hope of success.

The fact that most religious doctrines are protean in character and are open to different readings does not mean that the doctrinal content of a religion is entirely irrelevant to politics. Though all religions have both quietistic and revolutionary potentials, the relative proportions of these differing political implications vary. Considering the phenomenon of revolutionary millenarianism, for example, we see that certain religious traditions are more conducive to expectations of a coming age of bliss than others. The cyclical view of history in Hinduism and Buddhism, providing as it does for perpetual flux and endless repetition of the cosmic drama, appears to discourage millenarian ideas, just as the linear theory of history and the expectation of a final salvation of humanity in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam provide inspiration for the millenarian dream of eternal terrestrial redemption.

The leadership of religious organizations or movements is often of considerable importance in determining that group's political posture. A charismatic leader of a millenarian movement is a potent agent of radical change. As the bearer of chiliastic prophecy, he is not just a champion of felt needs or a catalyst but also a cause of the movement he is heading. The millenarian prophet's ambitious and challenging vision of what the world ought to be increases expectations and dissatisfactions, which can lead to a revolutionary situation. The limited success of *conscientização,* the attempted "raising of the consciousness" of the subservient peasant population of South America by various radical groups, shows that this enterprise encounters serious difficulties when entrusted to persons of ordinary and secular cast.

In sum, religion can be both a prop for the established institutions of society and a revolutionary force, since it includes elements for integration as well as for radical change. Religion can defuse social conflict by devaluing earthly concerns and emphasizing happiness in the world beyond, but its promise of divine intervention in human affairs can also strengthen the hope that a better life is possible here on earth. Hence many times different groups within one religion will line up on opposite sides of the barricades. God's will, when seen through the lenses of human desires and interests, can be, and in fact usually is, read in several different ways.

Whether religion discourages or promotes revolution depends on variables such as the relationship of the religious institution to the state or the presence or absence of a forceful leader. All religions known to us can assume both roles, though the intellectual and organizational traditions they hold will incline some more in one direction than in the other. Situational factors, such as the relative chances for success of a revolt, will also be important. In all there are four ways in which religion can assume a revolutionary posture:

(1) *Millenarian revolts* occur (a) when situations of distress or disorientation develop, and the causes are not clearly perceived or appear insoluble by ordinary and available remedies; (b) when a society or group is deeply attached to religious ways of thinking about the world and when the religion of that society attaches importance to millenarian ideas; and (c) when an individual or group of individuals obsessed with salvationist fantasies succeeds in establishing charismatic leadership over a social movement.

(2) *Militant religious nationalism* arises among colonized people in situations of awakening national consciousness. Religion supplies a sense of national identity; it becomes a symbol of self-assertion against the colonial regime, which is usually indifferent, if not hostile, to the native creed.

(3) *The leaders of religious bodies with a developed ecclesiastical organization support a revolutionary upheaval* because they are sympathetic to the aims of this revolution, or because they are protecting the interests of the religious institution. These interests can be temporal or spiritual or both. They can involve the defense of worldly possessions or the protection of the mission of the religious institution as the channel of divine grace to humanity.

(4) *Individual theologians or laymen support a revolutionary movement* to give a concrete social and political meaning to the transcendent elements of their faith, as in the Christian "theology of revolution." Such religious revolutionaries often work in concert with secular revolutionary movements and many lose their identity in them.

Just as in earlier times religion was often used to support the status quo, religion has, in many parts of the world today, become the handmaiden of revolution. The cross of Christianity, the crescent of Islam, and even the peaceful prayer wheel of Buddhism have been enlisted to shore up revolutionary movements and regimes, which are often identified with liberation, modernization, and progress, although, as especially in the case of Islamic revolutionary movements, the radical and far-reaching change instigated by revolution can entail fighting modernization and restoring the old ways. Whether this new positive relationship of religion and revolution will indeed promote human liberty and happiness is, of course, a question nobody can as yet answer. Religion has its part in this celebration of heroic ruthlessness and violence. It continues to inspire killing in Northern Ireland as much as on the Indian subcontinent and in the Philippines, demonstrating once again that religious zeal can be a powerful force for love but also an important force for hatred and cruelty. The various theologies of revolution make people slight the cruelties and the hatreds that commonly accompany revolutionary upheavals. What the theologizing of revolution cannot do is to establish the progressive character of such revolts. That judgment is reserved to future generations, who will have the opportunity to live with the consequences.

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RICCI, MATTEO (1552–1610), Jesuit missionary. Born at Macerata, in the Papal States, Ricci studied law at Rome and entered the Jesuit novitiate in 1571. He volunteered for the missions and was sent to Portugal (1577) and then to Goa (1578). He finished his theological studies in Goa and in 1580 was ordained at Cochin, on the Malabar coast. In 1582 he went to Macao to study Chinese language and culture. The next year, with unprecedented permission from Chinese authorities, Ricci and Michele Ruggier (1543–1607) traveled to Zhaoqing, China. Beardless, with shaven heads, they assumed garb similar to that worn by Buddhist monks. They sought to spread Christian doctrine unobtrusively, attracting educated visitors with their world map, Western clocks, and prisms. Ricci's use of the term *tianzhu* (lord of Heaven) to refer to God dates from that period. In 1588 Ricci, known in Chinese as Li Madou, took charge of the mission. Ordered by local authorities to leave (1589), the missionaries went to Shaozhou (modern-day Guangdong). There they were advised by Qu Rukui, an early convert who had initially been attracted by rumors of the foreigners' expertise in alchemy. It was probably he who counseled the Jesuits to present themselves as scholars rather than as monks. At Shaozhou Ricci appears to have completed a Latin translation (now lost) of the Confucian Four Books.

After a brief visit to Nanjing (1595), the Jesuits settled in Nanzhang (modern-day Jiangxi), appearing with hair and beards and wearing Confucian robes. At Nanzhang Ricci wrote, in Chinese, *Jiaoyou lun* (On friendship), dedicated to an imperial prince he had met, and also completed his catechism *(Tianzhu shiyi).* In 1598 the Jesuits went to Beijing, but they stayed only two months, as people feared to associate with them at the time of the Chinese involvement in Japan's invasion of Korea. They settled in Nanjing (1599), where the atmosphere had improved; there Ricci met many scholars, including Li Zhi and Jiao Hong, and published a revised edition of his world map (1600). That same year the Jesuits left once more for Beijing, reinforced with presents for the emperor, including clocks, clavichords, statues, and crucifixes. At Tianjin a eunuch confiscated some articles and held the party for nearly six months.

When the Jesuits finally reached Beijing in January 1601, their gifts so pleased the emperor that he allowed them to stay on and even granted them a monthly stipend. Ricci associated there with scholar-officials including grand secretary Shen Yiguan, minister of rites Feng Qi, and minister of personnel Li Dai, with whom Ricci discussed science and religion. Feng Yingjing, editor of an encyclopedia, was prevented from receiving baptism by his untimely death. Another convert, Li Zhizao, helped Ricci publish his world map, his catechism, and his treatise on friendship. By 1604 Ricci had also published a short treatise, *Ershiwu yan* (Twenty-five sayings), and became sole superior of the China mission, now independent of Macao. In 1608 he also published a work on ethics, *Qiren shipian* (Ten dialogues of a nonconformist). With Xu Guangqi, another collaborator baptized at Nanjing, who would rise to the position of grand secretary, Ricci translated the first six chapters of Euclid's *Elements* (1607) and other texts on astronomy, trigonometry, geometry, and arithmetic. He prepared a special copy of the world map for the emperor, as well as various polemics directed against Buddhism, especially the *Bianxue yidu.* By this time the Jesuits had bought a compound inside the Xuanwu Gate, later known as Nantang (South Church). There they met Ai Tian, a Chinese Jew from Kaifeng, who told them about the Nestorian presence in China. By then also, their suspicion that China was identical with the legendary land of Cathay had been confirmed. Ricci died of illness at age fifty-seven. He was buried outside the western city-gate of Beijing, in Zhala'er. His grave, destroyed by the Boxers in 1900, was desecrated again in 1966 but was subsequently repaired; it has been open to the public since 1980.

Ricci's gentle personality, his expertise in Western science and philosophy, and his knowledge of Chinese culture made him one of the great cultural mediators of all time. He was venerated posthumously by Chinese clockmakers as their patron. His method of cultural accommodation in the China mission left its legacy of controversy. Whether Chinese converts to Christianity should still be permitted to participate in Chinese rites was a question long debated in China and Europe by missionaries and philosophers, Chinese emperors, and papal legates. Such participation was condemned as intrinsically evil by popes Clement XI (1704) and Benedict XIV (1742). Even a later papal decision in 1939 to allow a measure of "Chinese rites" did not fully rehabilitate Ricci's institutional position. His ideas were ahead of his time, although his exclusive preferences for early Confucian morals as an ally of Christianity and his opposition to neo-Confucian philosophy and to Buddhism is not entirely acceptable to even more ecumenically minded modern missionaries.

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JULIA CHING (1987)

RICHARDSON, CYRIL C. (1909–1976) was an American church historian. Born in London, England, Cyril Charles Richardson emigrated to Canada in 1927 and was educated at the University of Saskatchewan (B.A., 1930) and Emmanuel College, Saskatoon (Lic. Theol., 1931). He pursued graduate study at Union Theological Seminary, New York City (Th.D., 1934) and, in Europe, at the universities of Göttingen, Dijon, and Basel. He was ordained to the priesthood of the Protestant Episcopal church in 1934 and became a naturalized American citizen in 1940. From 1934 until his death he taught at Union Theological Seminary, New York, becoming the seminary's fifth Washburn Professor of Church History in 1949 and its dean of graduate studies in 1954.

A brilliant lecturer and prolific writer, Richardson specialized in early Christian literature, patristic theology, and the history of Christian worship and spirituality. He also wrote extensively on the relationship of Christian faith to mental health, spiritual healing, and parapsychology—interests engendered by his hospitalization and successful treatment for tuberculosis from 1943 to 1945. His churchmanship, at once practical and innovative, showed itself in his lifelong concern for Christian unity and in his advocacy, already in the early 1950s, of the ordination of women to the priesthood.

Richardson viewed church history as a specifically theological discipline, whose chief aim is not to study "Christianity," understood as a phenomenon in the general history of religions, but to recount the story of the "holy community" called into being by God's saving acts. Thus church history is "the tale of redemption" and "the medium of revelation," which requires not only a critical sifting of the historical evidence but, above all, the use of symbolic language, or what Richardson referred to as "myth," to convey the ultimate meanings of events.

He is the author of five monographs: *The Christianity of Ignatius of Antioch* (1935); *The Church through the Centuries* (1938); *The Sacrament of Reunion* (1940), a historical examination of the ministry, apostolic succession, and the Eucharist as bases for Christian unity; *Zwingli and Cranmer on the Eucharist* (1949), showing Archbishop Thomas Cranmer's indebtedness to the sacramental theology of the Swiss reformer Ulrich Zwingli; and *The Doctrine of the Trinity* (1958), wherein he argues that the church's classical trinitarian dogma is an "artifical construct" that fails to resolve the profound theological problems it addresses. This pathbreaking book, which generated intense controversy in academic and church circles, typifies Richardson's scholarship, combining mastery of historical detail with acute philosophical criticism and deep religious faith.

He also edited two highly regarded volumes in the Library of Christian Classics series: *Early Christian Fathers* (1953) and, with Edward R. Hardy, *Christology of the Later Fathers* (1954). He collaborated on eleven books, including the second, revised edition of Williston Walker's widely used textbook, *A History of the Christian Church* (1959). He contributed over one hundred articles and a like number of book reviews to theological and historical journals.

Richardson's eminent abilities as a director of doctoral students and his many publications, remarkable for their chronological scope and weight of learning, earned him international repute as one of the leading church historians of the mid-twentieth century.

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DAVID W. LOTZ (1987)

RIDDLES SEE PARADOX AND RIDDLES

RIGHT AND LEFT SEE LEFT AND RIGHT

RISSHŌ KŌSEIKAI (Society Establishing Righteousness and Harmony) is one of the new religions of postwar Japan. It was founded in 1938 by Niwano Nikkyō (1906–1999), at that time a minor leader of Reiyūkai, and his disciple and assistant Naganuma Myōkō (1889–1957), a woman with shamanic attributes. The school regards the *Lotus Sutra* as the ultimate source of their teachings.

Niwano Nikkyō was born into a farming household in a mountain village in Niigata Prefecture, went to Tokyo in 1923, and eventually became a shopkeeper. In his early twenties he studied systems of fortune-telling based on people's names and on rules governing auspicious and inauspicious dates (*rokuyō*) and directions (*shichishin*) derived from ancient Chinese forms. In 1934, when his daughter became seriously ill, he turned to Arai Sukenobu, a chapter leader in the Reiyūkai organization and a renowned scholar of the *Lotus Sutra,* for advice. Convinced that the *Lotus Sutra* provided answers to the problems of suffering, Niwano became active in the Reiyūkai movement. However, by 1938 his increasing doubts about Reiyūkai, especially its insistence that lectures on the *Lotus Sutra* were unnecessary, led him to form a new organization, Risshō Kōsekai.

Early in its development, Kōseikai taught that adverse karmic causes and effects caused by bad deeds in a previous existence or by the bad deeds of one's ancestors could be overcome by means of ancestor veneration in which the *Lotus Sutra* was chanted, by religious training for the improvement of one's personality, and by guiding others to the faith. This teaching, which stemmed primarily from Reiyūkai doctrine and practice, was complemented by Niwano's use of fortune-telling techniques in order to attract converts to the movement. Niwano also instituted mutual counseling sessions, known as *hōza,* designed to improve the mental outlook of practitioners.

In keeping with the doctrinal roots of the movement, the original iconographic focus of Kōseikai devotion was the Daimoku ("Hail to the *Lotus Sutra*") *maṇḍala* transmitted in the Nichiren tradition. But as Niwano became increasingly disillusioned with the Nichiren sect and the possibility of carrying on joint missionary work with it, he began his own study of the *Lotus Sutra.* In 1958, as a result of his study of the text, he declared the focus of Kōseikai devotion to be the Eternal Buddha of the *Lotus,* and an image of this Buddha was installed in the movement's headquarters in 1964. From around this time a change took place in the composition of the Kōseikai members, as an increasing number of them sought a more meaningful life rather than mere respite from worldly problems. This reflects perhaps the rising standard of living in the Japan of the 1960s. With the changing concern of its followers, and also with the emergence of second-generation members, the core of the Kōseikai doctrine shifted from the attainment of happiness by the elimination of negative karmic effects to the perfection of the personality and the realization of peace on earth.

The basic unit of membership in Risshō Kōsekai is the household rather than the individual. Kōseikai claimed a membership of about a thousand households in 1945. Since then, its membership has increased dramatically: 50,000 in 1950, 399,000 in 1960, 973,000 in 1970, and 1,640,000 in 1980. Members are not requested to end all former religious affiliations. While no clergy-laity distinction exists, the formal status of "teacher" is institutionalized; in 1980, 173,000 people had this qualification. Originally, new members were installed in the same branch as the senior member who brought them to Kōseikai (a system called *oya-ko,* literally, "parent-child"). There were nine such branches in 1945. In 1959, there was a reform in branch organization, and the *oya-ko* system was replaced by one based on propinquity, whereby a branch was made up of members living near one another irrespective of *oya-ko* relations; 138 new branches were set up by this system. A further reform instituted in 1969 defined the boundaries of a branch as coincident with those of municipalities. In 1982 there were 224 branches in Japan, with additional ones in Korea, Brazil, and the United States. These reforms promoted local Kōseikai activities, including campaign work for local and national elections and dissemination of its teachings to nonmembers. Around 1970, Kōseikai launched the Brighter Society Movement (a public-spirited movement bringing together secular, religious, and governmental organizations to create a better society) and an international movement for the attainment of world peace through interreligious cooperation. The headquarters of Kōseikai have been located in Wada, Suginami-ku, Tokyo, since its foundation. Full-time workers at the headquarters and its affiliates numbered a little more than five hundred in 1980. No position is hereditary, with the exception of the presidency, which is held by lineal descendants of Niwano.

Kōseikai, the second largest new religion in contemporary Japan, is unique in a number of ways. Although it may be said to stem in part from Nichiren Buddhism, today it stresses basic *bodhisattva* practices as well as faith in the Eternal Buddha. While Kōseikai emphasizes traditional values such as reverence of ancestors, modesty, and harmony, it is neither nativistic nor nationalistic, as demonstrated by its peace movement. It is not meditation-oriented; rather it is practice- or action-oriented on the basis of inner reflection. Its organization is unlike that of other new religions in that the municipality-based local branches are linked to the highly developed bureaucracy at the headquarters.

SEE ALSO New Religious Movements, article on New Religious Movements in Japan.

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MORIOKA KIYOMI (1987)
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RITES OF PASSAGE

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW [FIRST EDITION]

AN OVERVIEW [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]
AFRICAN RITES
OCEANIC RITES
MESOAMERICAN RITES
HINDU RITES
JEWISH RITES
MUSLIM RITES
NEOPAGAN RITES

RITES OF PASSAGE: AN OVERVIEW [FIRST EDITION]

Rites of passage are a category of rituals that mark the passage of a person through the life cycle, from one stage to another over time, from one role or social position to another, integrating the human and cultural experiences with biological destiny: birth, reproduction, and death. These ceremonies make the basic distinctions, observed in all groups, between young and old, male and female, living and dead. The interplay of biology and culture is at the heart of all rites of passage, and the struggle between these two spheres asserts the essential paradox of humanity's mortal heritage. Humans dwell in an equivocal world, for they belong to both nature and culture, as Claude Lévi-Strauss has pointed out. It is through rites of passage that people are able to contemplate, to formulate and reformulate, their ambivalent condition of animal and human. Biology dictates the fundamentals of human experience—birth, reproduction, and death—yet the ways in which individuals manipulate and modify these imperatives through cultural means are endless.

Tribal Societies. That certain physiological "facts" are as much cultural or social as biological is brought home time and time again if one searches the vast, intricate descriptions of rites of passage in tribal societies. And the message is clear: men and women are not simply born, nor do they merely procreate and die; they are made what they are through ceremonies. An act of procreation alone cannot make a bride; a wedding must be performed. And brides who can neither copulate nor procreate can be made from infants; many years may separate betrothal from puberty. Sometimes, a female must be initiated into fertility by her society before she is allowed to mate; a girl's social definition as "woman" is provided by ceremony, whether she has begun to menstruate or not. Similarly, males frequently must satisfy certain social conditions before they are allowed to mate; for a boy, a successful hunt or the cutting of his foreskin may be required for passport into adulthood.

In rites of passage one is reminded, too, that the ages of a life are not ordained by laws of nature; most of the ages universally acknowledged are socially or culturally created. As Philippe Ariès has demonstrated in *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York, 1962), "childhood" is an invention of post-Renaissance Europe, not a distinctive, universally recognized condition. Prior to modern history, a child was treated, dressed, and regarded as a miniature adult, without special needs or privileges. In like manner, adolescence represents a recently invented, rather than a biologically ineluctable, phase of the human life cycle; G. Stanley Hall established the concept with his book *Adolescence* in 1904. Since then, all manner of social agencies, commercial enterprises, psychologists, physicians, legislators, and educators have arisen to articulate and serve the needs of teenagers. And, as Margaret Mead in *Coming of Age in Samoa* (New York, 1928) has pointed out, the menstrual cramps and discomforts that American women regard as inevitable were unknown among Samoan adolescent girls, attesting that biology is not always destiny and that physiological symptoms may result from social or cultural conditions. To be sure, it is often quite forgotten how complex and how numerous are the cultural templates individuals lay over their biological essence.

Celebration of paradox. Rites of passage embody paradox, the inevitable legacy of one's humanity, vividly calling attention to, and allowing one to announce and renounce, the most profound enigma of all: that humans live out their lives suspended between the borders of nature and culture. This is the essential paradox, but other paradoxes are played out as well. Because rites of passage mark distinctions in an otherwise continuous life course, they celebrate and facilitate change or disruption of standard social categories, while at the same time they preserve them. A third paradox represented reveals the conflict between one's aspirations and strivings for individual ventures, and yearnings for assurance and sustenance from one's social group. In actual physiological fact, each person is born and dies quite alone, unique and separate, but also does so as members of a group, a group that seeks to preserve the continuity of its values and understandings, a group that therefore defines birth, aging, and death and that reassures one that life is meaningful.

Hence, during the performance of these life-crisis rituals, societies may inscribe their designs both literally and figuratively upon the initiate, and in doing so, life's paradoxes are proclaimed, contemplated, and dramatized. The struggle between nature and culture is evidenced in Bali, where before a young man or woman may marry, he or she undergoes a tooth-filing ceremony, in which the canine tooth, the mark of the beast, is smoothed so that the smile is less reminiscent of an animal's snarl. The theme of disruption and continuity is enacted in certain African societies, where, as Victor Turner has described, an initiate undergoing male puberty ceremonies ingests a powder ground from the burned foreskins of previous initiates, thereby incorporating into his body the vitality and power of his forebears. And James Fernandez has called attention to the interdependence of the individual and the collectivity in "Reflections on Looking into Mirrors" (*Semiotica,* 1980) by describing an initiation ceremony in which a neophyte stares into a looking glass until the face of an ancestor appears and merges with his own.

In the extreme expression of the interdependence between the individual and his or her social group, the initiate is construed as a microcosm of society, and what is enacted by or upon the individual is thought to transform the collectivity. Rites of transition performed for divine royalty—

birth, marriage, procreation, and death—are rites performed for the perpetuity of the kingdom as a whole, and in certain cultures a king has been killed annually in order to rejuvenate and ensure the fertility of the land. Moreover, certain rites of passage, such as healing rituals, may serve to resolve social problems and to perpetuate the social order directly as well as indirectly because they treat not only the sick or diseased person but also the entire society.

For all that societies use rites of passage to instill their values and configurations in the individual, they also take advantage of these ceremonies to foster the arousal of self-conscious questioning, for rites of passage are also times of what Victor Turner terms "reflexivity." Individuals (as well as the society itself) may be moved to the edge of profound self-investigation and exploration: social categories are played with, inverted, suspended; social borders are liquidated, crossed, blurred; identity symbols are stripped away and affixed anew. Such play is facilitated through the use of mirrors, masks, costumes, and other kinds of novelty. Free reign of reflexive awareness is permitted, even expedited—but only within the formal constraints of the ritual itself.

Paradox, then, lies at the heart of rites of passage. The paradoxes and conflicts in people's lives as humans may produce great anxiety because they defy their desire to live in a logically consistent and comprehensible world. Ritual exposes these paradoxes and accentuates them; tension is heightened and resolution is eagerly sought. But precisely because these paradoxes are cognitively or logically irresolvable, no actual resolution can be gained. But the familiar bounds and safety that ritual provides allow individuals to experience their truth, and thereby to discover the intractable parameters of their fate as humans. In this way, rites of passage not only accentuate anxiety but also alleviate it.

History of study. The structure of rites of passage was clearly articulated early on in the discipline of anthropology by Arnold van Gennep, who in 1907 discerned a fundamental tripartite form inherent in all rites of passage: separation, transition, and incorporation. Van Gennep noted that a person had to be separated from one role or status before he or she could be incorporated into a new one. He thus identified not only those phases of separation and incorporation but a transitional, or liminal, one as well. Consequently, for van Gennep ritual truly represented a process, and he thus stood apart from mainstream Victorian anthropology, which emphasized evolutionary phases and the tracking down of the origins of customs. In this way, van Gennep laid much of the groundwork for the modern interest in symbolic and ritual studies.

Building on van Gennep's work, Victor Turner has generated exceptionally rich and fruitful theories for the study of ritual processes; his works articulating the concept of liminality are especially generative and far-ranging. Through Turner's work, *liminality* has been extended far beyond its original sense of an intermediate or marginal ritual phase and has taken on new meaning as an autonomous and sometimes enduring category of people who are "betwixt and between." All manner of those who inhabit and cross the edges of social boundaries and codes—tricksters, clowns, poets, shamans, court jesters, monks, "dharma bums," and holy mendicants—represent liminal beings. Not only people but also social movements, such as millenarian cults, and social principles, such as matrilaterality in patrilineal systems, may be viewed as liminal. These ideas are developed in *The Ritual Process* (Chicago, 1969) and *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1974).

What do these persons or principles have in common with neophytes in a liminal phase of ritual transition? The point is made in many ways: the symbols used for them are similar, emphasizing innocence, rebirth, vulnerability, fertility, change, emotion, paradox, disorder, anomaly, opposition, and the like. Such people, because they dwell on and between the borders of categories, as Mary Douglas affirms in *Purity and Danger* (London, 1966), are designated taboo or polluted simply because they are out of place. Like ritual neophytes they are neither here nor there, and like ritual neophytes they threaten one's orderly conceptualizations. Yet, because they are out of place, they are mysterious and powerful; and liminal beings or phases can also be, as Turner shows, the sources of renewal, innovation, and creativity.

The liminal phase also contains another universal and critical element. Turner observes that among the neophytes living outside the norms and fixed categories of the social system a feeling of solidarity and unity emerges, and this oneness, or *communitas,* also has a structure, although its purpose is antistructural. Equality, undifferentiated humanness, androgyny, and humility characterize this condition, and neophytes are symbolically represented as a kind of *tabula rasa,* pure, undetermined possibility—the converse of social structure, which emphasizes differentiation, hierarchy, and separation. Even historical periods may be liminal, transitional times, when the past has lost its grip and the future has not yet taken definite shape. At those times, the "subjunctive" mood of the culture prevails, and play, imagination, and paradox are encouraged, all as part of a self-conscious quest for the basic truths of the human condition.

Another structuralist interpretation of initiation rites is advanced by Mary Douglas in *Purity and Danger,* in which she seeks to explain the sex and role reversals so common to these ceremonies. Douglas sees them as a reflection of the usual social symmetry. That is, the impersonation of women by boys is a statement of symmetry that echoes a fundamental social structural principle in societies in which wife exchange between two groups must articulate the symmetry and equality between the two groups.

Mircea Eliade in *Rites and Symbols of Initiation* (New York, 1958) contends that the dynamics in rites of passage provide a means through which participants may achieve religious perfection. The concepts of male and female provide a fundamental structural complementarity in the usual social order, but complementarity also fosters envy between men and women. Each is fascinated with the special attributes of the other. Because rites of passage abound with sexual symbolism, particularly evident in cross-dressing and role-play reversal between the sexes, they allow the neophyte the chance to experience the usually repressed other half. Accordingly, the neophyte can then become the incarnation of totality, can then reach perfection, and can then transcend irreducible quotidian complementarity.

Some scholars hold that rites of passage function to underscore the social importance of the group or sex that is the focus of the celebration. This stance is illustrated by Alice Schlegel and Herbert Barry in "The Evolutionary Significance of Adolescent Initiation Ceremonies" (*American Ethnologist,* 1980), in which they show that puberty ceremonies for girls predominate in those societies where female participation in food production exceeds or is more important than male contribution. They also add an evolutionary scheme by contending that as societies grow more complex, gender as a classificatory principle recedes in importance, and fewer initiation ceremonies are found altogether. A further twist on the evolutionary scheme is put forth by Martha and Morton Fried in *Transitions: Four Rituals in Eight Cultures* (New York, 1980). The Frieds examine four critical transitions (birth, puberty, marriage, death) and find that they are not crucially linked to the success of social cohesion or of social operation. They also conclude that ritual may not be a critical element in the success of social groups, for they note that ritual seems to have appeared rather late on the human scene. The evidence available for this is the flower-strewn remains of Neanderthal humans, which date from only about 40,000 BCE.

Learning and experience through ritual. Whether or not rites of passage, or any ritual activity, is *necessary* to human existence is a debatable matter, yet rites of passage do provide for and fulfill at least one crucial task: that of inculcating a society's rules and values to those who are to become its full-fledged members. Because rites of passage occur at great moments of anxiety (life crises) and because they even provoke anxiety by vividly calling attention to irresolvable human paradoxes, they provide an atmosphere in which the neophyte is rendered most susceptible to learning. Initiates are almost always separated from society; their previous habits of acting, thinking, and feeling are stripped away. Thus cut off from their usual ways of apprehending the world—their routines and their customary ways of communicating—they are placed in a highly suggestible state for learning. But how does this learning take place? How does learning permeate the various levels of consciousness and unconsciousness so that the person is filled with motivation and desire to become what he or she must become in addition to absorbing knowledge?

One way the communication of society's arcane knowledge is achieved is through direct instruction. Sometimes secret names of deities or ancestors are revealed; sometimes the mythical history of the society is recounted in full; sometimes special incantations or creeds are taught. All of these do much to transmit the store of esoteric principles to the initiates, and they are often encouraged, if not forced, to reflect upon this knowledge.

Yet certainly this is not the only kind of teaching and learning that transpires during rites of passage. What is to be made of the masks and images that incorporate grotesque combinations and weird juxtapositions of animal and human parts; what of the bold body decorations or scarifications; what of the driving, incessant beat of the music that accompanies ritual? Symbolic experience—whether in drama, poetry, myth, the arts, or trance—holds forth its particular kind of information, eluding words but nonetheless significant and real. On other deeper, less verbal, less cognitive levels, people are moved to understand something of their lives and their places within the cosmos when they enact ritual. Because rites of passage are *performed*—that is, carried out physically and mentally—*experience*—affective and subjective as well as cognitive—may well represent the crux of ritual. Unfortunately, for the most part, anthropologists have failed to deal with the experiences of ritual participants—private, subjective, psychological, conscious, and unconscious—in their endeavors to explain ritual, and this represents an enormous barrier to an understanding of the subject.

There are notable exceptions to this truism, however. There are some who have pioneered an examination of emotion and learning in ritual. In the classic study *Religion: An Anthropological View* (New York, 1966), Anthony Wallace presents the concept of a "ritual learning process," which essentially works through what he calls the "law of dissociation." That is, because the neophyte has been placed in a stage in which he or she is radically dissociated from past knowledge before being presented with much new information, cognitive and affective restructuring is facilitated. Wallace outlines the various phases of this kind of learning: prelearning or anticipation; separation (through sensory deprivation, monotonous stimuli, extreme physical stress, and the like); suggestion (high suggestibility associated with trance or dissociation, sometimes thought of as conversion or possession); execution (achievement of a new cognitive structure); and maintenance (through repetition or reinforcement), occasionally involving a resynthesis.

Jerome Frank uses a similar paradigm in *Persuasion and Healing: A Comprehensive Study of Psychotherapy* (Baltimore, 1961). However, Wallace's and Frank's work do not seem to have been utilized, at least not systematically, in subsequent studies of ritual, and it is clear that a complete comprehension of the manner in which learning takes place in ritual calls for psychologically informed theories and hypotheses.

One that stands out is cognitive dissonance theory. Leon Festinger asserts in the seminal *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance* (Evanston, Ill., 1957) that there is a direct relationship between the degree to which persons suffer for an experience and the value that they attach to the experience. The higher the psychological price paid, the more likely are subjects to pronounce it worthwhile. It is noteworthy that rites of passage, especially rites of puberty, may be acutely painful, involving as they often do tattooing, circumcision, scarification, cicatrization, and other forms of mutilation. Yet, the application of this theory has not been systematically applied to initiation rites.

Psychologists, for their part, have not availed themselves of the opportunity to test learning theories against the vast and rich ethnographic literature on rites of passage. True enough, there has been enormous interest generated for puberty rites among psychologists, but this attention has been limited generally to the use of psychoanalytical theory in explanation. Freudians, particularly, have focused on the dramatic aspects of puberty rites, seeing in them support for the ideas that Sigmund Freud advanced in *Totem und Tabu* (1913). In his "Oedipus theory" Freud proposed that the beginning of civilization occurred when an ancestral patriarch was slain by his jealous sons because of his monopolization of the females in the group. The patriarchs in turn punished their sons for their incestuous yearnings toward their mothers and for the sons' desire to overthrow the authority of their elders. In this view, puberty rites celebrate this moment in human history by recreating these episodes, especially through circumcision or other forms of genital mutilation.

The diverse and plentiful symbols of procreation and birth in adolescent initiation rites led Bruno Bettelheim to expound another interpretation of these rituals in *Symbolic Wounds* (New York, 1954). Noting that circumcision and subincision of the penis cause bleeding and that often puberty rites stipulate that boys must move through the legs of older men (symbolizing rebirth), Bettelheim concludes that male initiation ceremonies are thus forums for the expression of envy of the procreative powers of women. Circumcision is seen as imitative of menstruation, giving birth to new life, and extreme cases of subincision are viewed as making male genitals superficially similar to those of women. Envy and emulation are thus the key messages and purposes of male puberty rites.

Another psychological view holds that male initiation rites serve to expedite the resolution of Oedipal conflicts and to establish masculine identity. This perspective, represented in Frank Young's *Initiation Ceremonies: A Cross-cultural Study of Status Dramatization* (New York, 1965), further contends that in societies where the mother-son bond is particularly strong, elaborate and painful ceremonies are needed to vigorously and decisively break a male child's identification with his mother (and hence with other women) and to install him in the psychological and social company of his father's group.

Most psychological treatments of initiation ceremonies have investigated those of male puberty; discussions of female initiation rites are scarce. In *The Drums of Affliction* (London, 1968), Victor Turner describes the girls' initiation rites observed and analyzed by him and Edith Turner while among the Ndembu of Zambia. The rites express woman's ultimate structural dominance in a matrilineal system. The central symbol, a "milk" tree, with white sap, is not merely an emblem of womanhood, it also represents the value set on matriliny as the hub around which the whole society revolves. The rites oppose women to men as a sex before they reunite them with men as joint producers of children. The great aim of initiation is to convert a girl into a fruitful married woman. Other writings on girls' initiation have emphasized the bonding between females that occurs at these times; however, they describe rites whose main function is to communicate female inferiority and the suppression of female sexuality.

As has been made clear in the foregoing paragraphs, the literature on rites of passage is profuse and much research attention has been devoted to the subject. These rituals of transition and initiation have yielded forth many distinct lines of explanation: structural, functional, religious, symbolic, and psychoanalytical, each articulating an aspect of what these ceremonial activities *tell* the participants and onlookers. Many of these interpretations have gone a long way toward analyzing the multilayered meanings contained in rites of passage. Unfortunately, however, anthropologists and other scholars have paid disappointingly little heed to what these rites *do* to people. It is necessary to know how, in fact, culture is transmitted—not merely as a codified system of principles and messages, but as an intrinsic learning process, embracing experience so that, as Victor Turner puts it, one's duty becomes one's desire. Anthropology cannot possibly reach an understanding of the transmission of culture, of the maintenance of values, without expanding its conceptions of learning theory and symbolic processes, unconscious and conscious.

MODERN, INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY. In persuing the literature on rites of passage, one finds, in addition to scholarly interpretations, descriptions (and often photographs) of fantastic, elaborate masks, costumes, or other body decoration, and while these certainly may be intriguing, Westerners may be quite thankful that they do not have to endure tooth filing, circumcision, subincision, cicatrization, tattooing, and the like. Still, the impression one is frequently left with is that rites of passage are elaborate affairs occurring in small-scale societies in which every member of the community takes part. What meaning, if any, do rites of passage hold for the modern, industrial world? Have people lost sight of their need to move people clearly and safely from one life stage to another? Is the safety and assurance that ritual provides no longer possible, or even applicable for those in complex societies?

Early twenty-first century society may be characterized as fragmented, confusing, complex, and disorderly. People put a premium on their individuality; they pay dearly, though, for the individuality so cherished. The cost of freedom is often adjustment to life's transitions quite alone, and with private, not public, symbols. Contemporary society is so multifarious and diffuse that individuals must entrust their lives into the hands of experts and anonymous agencies or individuals who care for only a small part of their human needs. People are born, for the most part, in hospitals, and usually die there. Birth and death, the irreducible entrance and exit, become merely secular affairs, matters of the most profound emotional significance that are left publicly uncelebrated.

There may well be dire consequences for this lack of public ritual. Long ago, Émile Durkheim made evident in his classic work *Suicide* (1897) that the lack of social connection, the unacknowledged existence, and the feeling of anomie may be expressed by the individual in the form of suicide. More recently, Solon Kimball remarks in the introduction to a reprint of van Gennep's *Rites of Passage* (Chicago, 1960) that one result of the strain of undergoing individualistic ritual may be mental illness.

Some scholars argue that genuine rites of passage are not possible in modern societies because of the limited, specialized, or attenuated social relations experienced in them. For example, Max Gluckman asserts in *Essays on the Ritual of Social Relations* (Manchester, 1962) that rites of passage are "sacred" and thus can exist only in societies where the social is also religious, where social relations serve multiple purposes and are charged with moral valuations.

But ritual is not synonymous with religion, and it may well be that religion operates more through conscious cognitive faculties than does ritual. The differences are informative. One of ritual's distinguishing features is that it is *performed.* One must engage more than merely cognitive processes in order to *carry out* ritualistic activity, for ritual absorbs and employs all the senses, and indeed it probably involves different centers in the brain from those of cognition. As Mircea Eliade puts it so well, one may become what one performs; hence, critical thinking may not be so essential an element here as it may be in religious belief. Rituals also incorporate paradox and conflict; problems of codification and consistency, therefore, may not be so relevant as they are in religious belief. Rituals are indeed "transformative" experiences, as Victor Turner affirms; and as Sherry Ortner observes in *Sherpas through Their Rituals* (Cambridge, 1978), individuals approach ritual with a cultural problem, stated or unstated, and then work various operations upon it, arriving at "solutions"—reorganizations and reinterpretations of the elements that produce a newly meaningful whole. Achieving the appropriate shift in consciousness is the work of ritual.

It is important to note that rituals are *constructed*—fabricated, built, created—for that indicates that individuals may then be able to create and provide them for themselves if they are not already bestowed by society. Studies of crises in the adult life cycle in Western society (e.g., Roger Gould's *Transformation: Growth in Adult Life,* Louisville, Ky., 1978, and Gail Sheehy's *Passages: Predictable Crises of Adult Life,* New York, 1974) have highlighted the creation of various life phases and the various cultural and psychological problems that result from them. These works, however, have not considered the relation and importance of ritual to these junctures in individual lives.

People in modern Western society indeed experience numerous forms of crises and transitions: menopause, surgery, "empty nests," divorce, retirement. They are traumatic and anxiety-provoking, and yet they regularly occur uncelebrated. People do make attempts to enact rituals at several crossroads in their lives, although they usually do so alone and secluded. Burning an unfaithful lover's photograph, returning gifts from one no longer cherished, changing a hairstyle, and cleaning house are all ways to announce that one phase of life has ended and a new one is beginning.

Dwellers in Western society do not live in the same kind of world as do those in tribal or traditional societies, yet they surely experience the same anxiety and uncertainty at life's crisis points. And they surely share the same conceptual quandaries about life: that they are natural yet cultural beings; that their lives are marked both by disruption and by continuity; and that humans are individual yet collective. These are the fundamental paradoxes that everyone everywhere experiences, and that rites of passage announce, instruct, and help individuals to transcend.

SEE ALSO Birth; Funeral Rites; Initiation; Marriage; Ordination; Sacrament, overview article.

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RITES OF PASSAGE: AN OVERVIEW [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

The publication of Mircea Eliade's *Rites and Symbols of Initiation* in 1958, the appearance in 1960 of an English translation of Arnold van Gennep's *Les rites de passage*, and Victor Turner's influential and widely read *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, published in 1969, are the three pillars on which classical rites of passage theory was constructed. The generation of scholars following these three men has done the work of developing, adding to, applying, and critiquing their contributions. The work of Eliade, van Gennep, and Turner informed a surge of popular interest in North America and Europe—beginning in earnest in the 1980s—in passage rites. Their thinking on rites of passage has been disseminated to a wide audience through secondary texts, programs, institutes, and weekend workshops, and has helped cultivate an ethos of ritual experimentation around the "canonical" big four: rites of birth, initiation, weddings, and funerals, as well as a host of other events in the life cycles of men and women in the modern West: divorce, graduation, serious illness, abortion, leaving home, mid-life, retirement, same-sex marriage, and menopause.

In the 1980s, as cultural theory, analysis, and criticism became dominant in the academy, theorizing rites of passage gave way to the critical analysis of both ritual theory and ritual practice. The new direction was marked by Ronald Grimes's 1990 work *Ritual Criticism*, which called for a hard-nosed examination of the political and normative nature of rites and ritual theory, but also, following Victor Turner, called for awareness of the critical dimensions of ritual—ritual itself as a way of doing criticism, encouraging reflexivity, and creatively responding to social and individual needs and concerns. One outcome of cultural theory has been to validate the study of popular culture and spirituality; in two subsequent works, Grimes applied his notion of "ritual criticism" to the rising phenomenon of ritualizing passage rites and the appeal to classical rites of passage theorists for justification. Criticism of theory and criticism of practice coalesced, since so much of the creative ritualizing was being driven by a dominant theoretical paradigm derived from a fusion of van Gennep's, Eliade's, and Turner's work.

Initiation as Paradigm. One limitation of classical rites of passage theory is that it uses rites of initiation, and, moreover, male initiation, as the paradigm for all passage. Van Gennep's 1909 text is predominately concerned with initiation. The paradigmatic tripartite pattern, derived from ethnographic accounts of rites in indigenous cultures, is that of a group of boys separated from domestic space and their mothers, taken to a sequestered, liminal zone where they endure ordeals and trials that generate their transition to adulthood, and then are returned and incorporated into the village as full-fledged men. Eliade viewed such initiation rites as the fundamental means by which people become human and the cosmos made sacred, believing initiation to be a "metacultural" and "transhistorical" phenomenon. Turner used van Gennep's schema to study the internal dynamics of social change associated with rites that evoke liminality and *communitas*, and initiation rites (along with pilgrimage and festival) were the focus of his attention.

But whereas the male initiation rites of many cultures may be said to exhibit a three-phased structure, it is not clear that all passage rites do; actual descriptions of rites, as Grimes has shown in *Deeply Into the Bone*, reveal far more than simply three phases—detailed phenomenological descriptions of rites reveal the limits of abstract, universalized summaries, or models. Bruce Lincoln, in *Emerging From the Chrysalis*, a study of women's initiation rites in five cultures, does develop a three-phased model, but it is not the classic pattern of separation, transition, and incorporation that defines the rites he studied, but instead one of enclosure, metamorphosis, and emergence. Initiation, not to mention the diverse practices that are grouped under the phrase "rites of passage," is a complex phenomenon; van Gennep's tripartite schema has been shaped by male initiation rites, overextended in its application to other passage rites, and also bears traces of Hegelian dialectics and Trinitarian theology, implicitly drawing on a conceptual paradigm that has long influenced the Western intellectual tradition. In theorizing passage rites greater attention needs to be given to birth rites, weddings, and funerals and to female passage rites in general.

Liminality. Essential to classical rites of passage theory is the notion of transformation. Society is composed of a set of recognized status positions, and the work of passage rites is to move individuals through these (often age-related) social positions by transforming them from one state to another, from adolescence to adulthood, from being single to being married. The emphasis on transformation in theory has meant an emphasis on liminality, since it is the liminal (or transitional) phase of a rite of passage that does the work of transforming the individual. For Turner, all authentic ritual is transformative, and therefore requires liminality. In Eliade's language, in passage rites one ritually "dies" to an old state, enters the womb of renewal and transformation, and returns to the world reborn and remade; implicitly, liminality is where the sacred is found, and is therefore more important than separation or incorporation. But such claims may be universalizing aspects of male initiation rites, male experience, and the role of ritual in effecting passage into social positions traditionally occupied by males.

In her study of women's experiences in the late Middle Ages, Carolyn Walker Bynum argues that women's stories and symbols, though often dramatic, do not entail the processual movement found in men's stories. Transformation requires movement to some social position or state of status, and whereas male biographers shaped women's lives into a narrative of "situation, rupture, resolution," women's dramas were in actuality, argues Bynum, fragmented and incomplete (p. 112). Women's stories were sources of liminality for men, but do not reflect liminal, transformative, status-changing processes in women's lives. Bruce Lincoln offers a similar critique of the gender bias inherent in the notion of liminality and the way it can misrepresent the trajectory of women's experience. Liminality may, as the authors of the previous entry write, situate one "betwixt and between" the edges of social boundaries and codes, "tricksters, clowns, poets, shamans, court jesters, monks, 'dharma bums,' and holy mendicants" may "represent liminal beings," but these vocations have been traditionally occupied by males (p. 382).The tendency to implicitly or explicitly equate liminality with the sacred and transformative power is to privilege male access to and control of the sacred. The description and classification of rites on the basis of a particular characteristic or function can serve to reinforce a particular theoretical orientation. Some passage rites may involve liminal processes but making liminality the heart of all passage rites is to closely associate them with rites of inversion, leading to a distended typology of rites, and implicitly grants greater moral and religious worth to rites emphasizing liminality and anti-structure, rather than status system and structure.

RITUALIZING. Eliade opened his classic 1958 text on initiation by framing the plight of "modern man" as that of living in a "desacralized cosmos," and linked this state to the "disappearance of meaningful rites of passage" (p. ix). Since Eliade, it is commonly claimed that in industrial, modern, secular society, passage rites have either disappeared entirely or are no longer effective, and a connection is typically made between a (supposed) pervasive spiritual and social anomie in Western culture and a lack of rites of passage to serve as markers to guide and move individuals through the various phases and crises of the life cycle. This assumption has generated a good deal of ritualizing, a term introduced by Grimes to distinguish formal and traditionally accepted rites from the practice of deliberately cultivating new rites.

It was van Gennep who first associated rites of passage with individual life crises, but this needs to be seen as a partly interpretive move; passage rites do not necessarily coincide with life crisis events, and to label any life crisis a "rite of passage," as is commonly done, is to so stretch the term that it threatens to become meaningless. There remains, however, a close conceptual and typological tie between life crisis and passage rites, a fact evidenced by the widespread study of ritual and ritualizing of passage rites in pastoral care, family therapy and social work, by child and youth care workers, drug addiction counselors, and hospice culture. Anxiety over potentially troublesome life stages and passage drives interest in ritual experimentation, but weddings, funerals and initiation are also driven by the forces of market capitalism, advertising, an ethos of spiritual questing and the promise of personal transformation or healing that has come to be closely associated with rites of passage in the West.

In Western cultures, the call for recovery of rites of passage has been strongly directed at initiation, and in particular male initiation. In the absence of passage rites it is not uncommon that major transitions or stages in the life cycle become ritualized; in the case of adolescent males, as Ray Raphael demonstrated in his 1988 work *From Men to Boys*, unsupervised, spontaneous, unconscious and often violent ritualized initiation practices commonly occur. Classical rites of passage theory has been a prominent source for ritualizing coming of age ceremonies for young men and women. The ritualized practices and theoretical framework in the popular and influential *Crossroads: The Quest for Contemporary Rites of Passage*, published in 1996, and *Betwxit and Between: Patterns of Masculine and Feminine Intitiation*, published in 1987, both edited by Louis Carus Mahdi, draw heavily on classical rites of passage theory, and are representative of the widespread ritualizing of passage in Eurocentric culture. But such practices are not without problems.

As Grimes notes in *Deeply into the Bone*, much contemporary ritualizing has cobbled together the work of van Gennep, Eliade, and Turner with the archetypal psychology of Carl Gustav Jung and Joseph Campbell's narrative of the hero's journey with the result that "*invented* patterns, treated as if they were *discovered*, came to be *prescribed* as if they were laws determining how rites should be structured" (1990, p. 107). Many self-constructed rites thereby unwittingly incorporate the gender (male) and cultural (Christian and Western) biases that have been shown to exist in this body of theory. When the ritual imagination becomes trapped in producing rites derived from uncritical acceptance and application of theory, ritual cannot perform the self-reflexive, critical and socially constructive work that Victor Turner ascribes to it.

Second, invented initiation rites rely on a good deal of ritual borrowing. The assumption that the ritual practices of "traditional" societies are fecund tools for the revitalization of modern, industrial society idealizes those practices and creates a hunger for them, encouraging ritual appropriation. Many North Americans of European descent have turned to Native religion for their spiritual goods: sweat lodges, vision quests, sacred pipes, rattles, and spirit catchers make up the bill of fare of many workshops and retreats. Steven Foster and Meredith Little, cofounders of the School of Lost Borders and Rites of Passage Inc., are among those to have developed initiation practices based on vision questing or *Hanblecheyapi*, a traditional coming-of-age rite in Plains culture. But for many Native people, non-Native fascination with Native religious, symbolic, and ritual systems represents the ongoing colonization of Native North Americans. The appropriation debate first focused on issues of land claims and the return of artifacts and human remains, but has widened to include ritual practices.

A third problem with invented male initiation rites is that they potentially reinforce a heroic, individualistic style of masculinity. Ray Raphael argues that the use of the vision quest model for initiation practice in Eurocentric culture is an isolationist model, a "perfect model for a rite of passage in an individualistic culture"; it represents "the privatization of our initiations [and] fails to provide any structural support to help us with our personal struggles, and so it does little to help ensure success in our difficult time of transition" (1988, p. 198). The connections in North American culture between spiritual questing, heroic individualism, and colonial expansion need further study.

POWER, PARADOX, AND DOUBLE BINDS. Classical rites of passage theory draws attention to the interplay of biology and culture. With the rise of cultural theory, attention turned to the dynamic and often contentious process by which meaning and power are produced, maintained, and negotiated, and work on passage rites during the 1990s gave considerable attention to the intersection of the human body and structures of power. Elaine Combs-Schilling, in her study of Moroccan marriage rites, and Robbie Davis-Floyd, in her analysis of the ritualization of hospital birth, argue that societies use life cycle passages to literally inscribe their most fundamental values and assumptions into the body. Passage rites involve more than a struggle between nature and culture that proclaims fundamental paradoxes of human being—they may be highly politicized sites through which power is wielded and maintained. "Culture," writes Combs-Schilling, "can make its elaborations appear true by embedding them within the body's most biological truths. The physical groundings—sexual intercourse, bloodspilling and birth—independently and panhumanly exist, while the cultural elaborations do not (they are culture-specific). Once fused, they are hard to pull apart" (1991, p. 678). Combs-Schilling suggests that by timing rites of passage with periods in the life cycle in which the body is potentially weakened or exposed, those rites can embed social values and power structure deep into the body. She offers an analysis of the Morrocan rite of *hinna'* associated with marriage practices and conjugal intercourse in terms of its power to "etch" both male and female bodies with patriarchal values and subservience to monarchical rule. Similarly, Davis-Floyd treats the medical procedures of Western hospital birth as ritual, arguing that the extreme openness of women during birth is the prime occasion for Western society to imprint fundamental values on the bodies and minds of its members; these values are principally those of technocracy, efficiency, and distrust of instincts and the body.

Ronald Grimes and Eric Schieffelin have considerably advanced understanding of ritual action through the notion of "ritual failure." Rites may not always work, they may be exploitive, and they may not always do what practitioners or even ritual theorists say they do. Passage rites may be imbued with the deep paradox of having one foot planted in nature and the other in culture, yet they may fail to unify these two domains. A rite may be deeply disjunctive, detached from its physiological roots, out of time with bodily rhythms; when they are, they can place ritual participants in severe double binds. Grimes offers several examples of ritual failure and disjunction between ritual, biological, and cultural scenarios in his *Deeply into the Bone.* Passage rites may aim to weave together body and culture, but the result can be far from seamless.

SEE ALSO Initiation, overview article and articles on Men's Initiation and Women's Initiation; Liminality; Ritual.

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RITES OF PASSAGE: AFRICAN RITES

Rituals in Africa, just as in other parts of the world, utilize symbols to express and convey meanings, verbally and nonverbally. In traditional African societies, a firm stress is placed on the performance of rituals as customary, standardized, and symbolic social communication that is repeatable according to fixed patterns. All African societies have different age-linked rituals, and mark the passage from one to another, but not all have the same rituals, either in number or in kind. The following are typical: (1) prenatal rituals (e.g., rituals to confirm pregnancy, for fetal growth, and for safe delivery); (2) naming rituals; (3) pre-pubertal and pubertal initiation rituals for the entrance into adulthood; (4) betrothal and marriage; (5) initiation into prestige-bestowing adult associations; (6) rituals elevating individuals to high office or to priestly functions; and (7) funeral (Turner, 1985).

African rituals thus can be analyzed helpfully under the category "life cycle rituals," or what have been called "rites of passage" since the publication of the book of the same title in 1908 by Arnold van Gennep and expanded later by the British anthropologist Victor Turner. Van Gennep identified three phases in such rituals: rites of separation, which provide a socially accepted way to move away from a prior status; rites of transition, which safeguard participants during the dangerous liminal, or "in-between," period; and rites of incorporation, which ensure that the participants have been reinstated properly into society and legitimated by the community in their new roles. Turner argued that the entire ritual process, from separation through transition to incorporation, can be understood as liminal because each phase occurs in a time between times and in a space that is set apart from other places.

Because Africa consists of vast regions and multiple traditional societies, examples of selected groups from different parts of the continent illustrate the way various rites of passage are understood and practiced.

NDEBELE BIRTH RITUAL. A typical birth ritual among the Ndebele-speaking people of Zimbabwe begins with the woman leaving her husband during her ninth month of pregnancy to go to her own parents' home. This constitutes the separation phase, which involves women preparing the room by polishing the floor with cow dung. After the room is cleaned thoroughly, no one is allowed into it until the mother is nearing the time for the delivery. When the time approaches for the birth, the liminal phase of the ritual begins. The pregnant woman is accompanied into the room by her mother and grandmother and any other women assisting in the childbirth. It is forbidden for any man to enter the room when a woman is giving birth, even her own husband. Before touching the pregnant woman, the woman acting as midwife, usually the grandmother, washes her hands in water that contains herbs prescribed by a traditional healer. When the baby comes out of the mother's womb, the midwife is the first to touch the baby by cleaning the blood off with the medicated water. The umbilical cord of the baby is then cut, but some of it is left hanging to its navel and tied with a string. The midwife then washes the baby again in the medicated water. While the baby is sleeping, but before the baby is allowed to feed from its mother, a fire is prepared in the room. Specially selected herbs are put onto the fire, which is allowed to reduce to burning coals. The baby is then awakened and its head placed in the smoke from the fire containing the herbs. The baby may be held over the fire for over an hour before being allowed to suck from the mother. The next day, the same process of putting the baby in the smoke from the medicated fire is repeated, and is continued until the umbilical cord falls off, which may take up to a week. After the umbilical cord falls off, the liminal phase ends when the baby is recognized as a person and given a name. As a sign that the mother and baby have been incorporated into the community, people outside the room are called in to celebrate the birth by bringing gifts; only after this is the father of the baby allowed to see his child. To complete the ritual, the father is given the piece of umbilical cord, which he takes to a place near the homestead and buries, offering thanks to the ancestors and asking them to protect the new baby. After these events, the father, mother, and baby return to the father's home, fully reincorporated into society in their new status as parents with a child (Cox, 1998).

AGIKUYU INITIATION RITES. The Agikuyu of Kenya are organized around the age-set system (*marika*), and thus male and female initiation rites (*irua*) play a central social role. These involve prolonged and intensive puberty rituals that culminate with male and female circumcision. Although boys and girls are taken to separate locations for the rituals, those circumcised at the same time are considered age-mates, and those circumcised during the same season are regarded as age-sets. The process of separation begins with the slaughtering of a goat that is eaten while members of the extended family, under the direction of the chief elder, consider if any of them might have broken any social rules that would result in harm coming to the initiates during the rite of passage to adulthood. If some breach of the social code is discovered, the initiates are not allowed to take part in the ritual until a purification ritual is performed for the family. If no rules have been broken, the next stage of preparation takes place with the slaughtering of another goat, which is dedicated to the ancestors. Those to be initiated then leave their own families to go other, "adopted" families for the actual ritual. This signals that they are separating from their biological families and becoming part of the larger Agikuyu community. The initiates sing and dance all night at the homesteads of their adopted families. The following morning, ceremonial elders anoint them with a white soil that is considered to be sacred. Further rituals then occur, including more dancing and singing, competitive games between initiates, and additional purification ceremonies. When the actual circumcisions are performed, each initiate receives a sponsor, experienced women for the girls and senior men for the boys, who in the former cases nurse the wounds caused by the cutting of the genitalia. After the circumcisions are completed, both boys and girls remain in seclusion until their wounds heal, during which time they are instructed fully by their sponsors in the social and moral norms of Agikuyu society, including sex education. They then return from the period of seclusion to be recognized by members of the community as "emerging" adults. They are allowed to remain still in a kind liminal phase for a few weeks, as if on a holiday, with no responsibilities. Finally, they are incorporated into the community as adults through a ritual called *menjo*, which involves shaving their heads, symbolizing that they have been transformed into different people during the rituals; they were separated from their biological families as children and have returned, reborn as it were, as adults (Hinga, 1998).

MARRIAGE IN TSWANA CULTURE. In most African societies, kinship relations are closely connected to economic security that is ensured through childbearing. Because marriage rituals solidify alliances between kinship groups, they formalize the material conditions on which the alliances have been forged and on which the continuation of the lineage depends. Within traditional Tswana society in Botswana, for example, the separation phase in a marriage ritual is marked by an agreement between the families of the boy and the girl that a formal kinship alliance will be made. This can occur even when the boy and girl are children, or in some cases, even before they are born. The next stage of separating a woman from her own family involves a payment (*bogadi*—sometimes translated as "bride price") from the husband's family to the wife's family (Amanze, 1998). Although today compensation is often made in cash, typically the bride price is satisfied by offering cattle to the girl's family, usually between four and ten head, with the number decided entirely by the boy's family. Once the payment is made, the girl is regarded as entering into a liminal phase that transfers her labor and her childbearing properties to her husband's family. In some parts of Tswana society, particularly in sections where longstanding traditional patterns persist, this stage is extended by the boy cohabiting with the girl at her parents' home for up to a year, during which time the girl might become pregnant as a sign that she is fertile. If for any reason she is not able to bear children, the contract between the families can be abrogated. In this sense, the liminal phase becomes potentially dangerous, because the couple have not yet been incorporated into society, which only occurs when the couple returns to set up a household at the boy's parental home. Although this system of marriage is based on strictly defined kinship relations that in some senses are quite specific to Tswana culture and to subgroups within it, from the point of view of ritual activity, it conforms to the general pattern throughout Africa that marriage never occurs between two people, but is based on a contractual agreement between two extended families (Schapera, 1950).

SACRED KINGSHIP AMONGST THE EDO. Although initiation into sacred kingship amongst the Edo (Benin) people of Nigeria begins with a series of funeral rituals for the deceased king, it is best classified as a rite of passage into a high office. The death rituals for the king of Benin (*oba*) correspond to the annual cycles of nature because he is believed to represent in his person a variety of nature spirits that are essential for ensuring the well-being of the people. For this reason, he is regarded as qualitatively different from other humans, and becomes an object of worship in himself. He is thought not to eat or drink as other humans do. Elaborate measures are taken to safeguard him against becoming sick, but if he does fall ill, no direct references are made to this among the people. Rather, the *oba* is said to be sleeping, as expressed in the proverb, "the leopard is resting." Because the *oba* symbolizes the whole of the Edo people in his person, when he dies, his eldest son (the crown prince, or *edaiken*) acts out on behalf of the whole nation quasi-historical legends that relate great deeds performed by the royal ancestors. This dramatization is reinforced graphically and concretely by effigies of past *obas* that have been cast in bronze and placed on ancestral altars around the palace compound. After the burial of his father, the *edaiken* begins a year-long process of separating from his role as a prince, enters the liminal stage, and finally is incorporated into Edo society in his new role as the divine earthly ruler, the *oba* of Benin. During the hazardous liminal phase, the *edaiken's* life cycles are reinacted ritually by recounting first his passage from childhood to youth, then his period as a novice-in-training learning princely responsibilities, and finally his rise to full maturity as the *oba*. The ceremonies are concluded when the crown prince is installed as the *oba*, one who in the eyes of the people has been transformed from being a human to one who is sacred (Kaplan, 2000).

LIMBA FUNERAL RITUALS. Amongst the Limba of Sierra Leone, the belief in the ability of ancestor spirits to affect the living is demonstrated by the care with which funerary rituals are performed. Burial ceremonies are thought to be the first steps in the transformation of the deceased into an ancestor. In the separation phase, the corpse must be cleaned, wrapped, and prepared ritually for burial, only after which can the social roles that have been left vacant by the deceased be filled and the property distributed to the next of kin. From the time of the burial until a ritual called *aboreh* is performed, a period of between forty days and one year elapses, during which time the spirit of the deceased is in a state of liminality, neither in the world of the living nor in the company of the family ancestors. The *aboreh* ritual, which lasts for one week, must be conducted to effect a transition that removes the spirit of the deceased from a condition of roaming about the bush dangerously to one who assumes ancestral duties, such as protecting the family from misfortune, illness, and witchcraft attacks. If the deceased had been a member of a secret society (*Gbangbani* for men; *Bondo* for women), during the first few days of the *aboreh* ritual, members of the secret society perform special rites which nonmembers are prohibited from attending. When the ritual becomes public later in the week, the whole community is involved. Of particular importance in the public ritual are singers who praise the ancestors of the deceased, rehearse the names and deeds of the ancestors, and appeal for the ancestors to accept the one who has died as one of them. On the last day of the ritual, at dawn, a white fowl is carried to the grave of the deceased by some of the elders. Rice is placed on the grave while the chief elder, who holds the fowl in his hand, praises the ancestors and implores them once again to receive the deceased among them. When the elder completes his speech, the fowl jumps from his hand and eats the rice on the grave to indicate that the spirit of the deceased has now been accepted as an ancestor. The fowl is then killed and its blood poured on the grave. After the sacrifice is completed, a stone known as *betiyeh* is taken from the grave of the deceased and kept in a special container at the homestead, symbolizing that the deceased has now become an ancestor and can protect the family from misfortune (John, 1999).

CONCLUSION. Additional cases could have been multiplied both in types of rituals and from different societies to illustrate the many ways rites of passage are practiced and understood in Africa. Nevertheless, these instances, which follow closely the transitional stages outlined by van Gennep and Turner, demonstrate that for practitioners of African indigenous religions, life crises are overcome successfully by performing ritual acts precisely and meticulously. In this way, African societies make sense of major social transitions and, at the same time, ensure that traditional authority is maintained.

SEE ALSO Liminality.

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RITES OF PASSAGE: OCEANIC RITES

Arnold van Gennep published the classic French text *Rites de passage* in 1908. Basing his study on ethnological reports, including some from Australia and parts of Melanesia and Polynesia, he noted how people change their social status throughout their lives. The break between these social spaces is like a pivot upon which one's life trajectory alters direction. These pivots, or liminal periods, are critical moments, and ritual is the principal means of safely navigating through to the next stage.

One may question whether van Gennep's theory tends to impose a threefold pattern of separation, transition and incorporation onto complex rites. Nevertheless, Oceanic cultures generally accept that people are "made," not born; that is, they are formed by social recognition as much as biological gestation. Rites of passage, common throughout Oceania, accompany transitions in people's lives: childless people into parents, children into adults, living people into ancestors.

BIRTH AND PARENTHOOD. Most Oceanic cultures have traditionally provided ways of recognizing parenthood and acknowledging the presence of new life in the community. In Aotearoa, New Zealand, the Maori would perform a *tohi* rite in which a newborn child was dedicated to a particular god while immersing it in water or sprinkling it with water from a branch dipped in a stream or the sea. Severing of the umbilical cord at this time was symbolic of separating the child from the world of darkness and its incorporation into the world of light. The umbilical cord was buried with stones placed on top—one for every night the mother had experienced the trials of childbirth. The rite was usually performed only for male children, though in a few cases a first-born female might be honored in this way.

Throughout Oceania, naming ceremonies might occur months or even years after the birth of the child. In the past, infant mortality was so high that it wasn't until after a year had passed that the family could be reasonably confident that the child was out of danger. In Tahiti, the infant was known as "milk eater" until the time it began to crawl, after which it was referred to as a child and addressed by its given name.

Birth order can affect ritual. Gilbert Herdt describes how, for the Sambia people of Papua New Guinea, the birth of a first child is elaborately celebrated. The next birth, however, is observed in a more truncated fashion, and birth ceremonies are suspended after the fourth child. Rites welcoming new life also serve to recognize parents in their new status in the community. Once parenthood is established there is less need to acknowledge it further.

In modern times in Palau, in Micronesia, particularly if a woman is a mother for the first time, she goes into seclusion and spends time in an enclosure to be bathed with hot water steeped with aromatic herbs. This procedure, called *omesurech,* is meant to cleanse her and to promote healing. However it is also a rite of social recognition. The number of days of bathing and steaming depends on the social rank of the woman. After the proper number of days has elapsed, the new mother is decorated and emerges from the steam chamber. Later, in a more private setting, kin exchange gifts. These gifts used to be beads and crescent-shaped objects that women wore as neck ornaments; nowadays, U.S. dollars are given.

In rites such as these, Oceanic cultures acknowledge biological events in social ways, leading to the recognition of personhood and identity, and ultimately to what it means to be human.

TRANSITION TO ADULTHOOD. Initiation rites received special treatment in van Gennep's *Rites de Passage.* However, there has been much discussion in academic circles as to what constitutes initiation rites, and whether, or in what ways, they differ from puberty rites. Is the circumcision of a seven-year-old boy a late birth rite or an early initiation rite? Is the seclusion of a girl when she experiences her first menstruation a puberty rite that is essentially different from the group initiation rites of her brothers? With only the gradual appearance of male features such as facial hair, becoming a "man" can be a long and complex process.

Biology is not the sole marker of social identity. Culture intervenes in ritual forms, and often there may be a series of initiation rites spanning many years, all contributing to the achievement of full adulthood. In *The Voice of the Tambaran,* Donald Tuzin gives an account of the Arapesh *tambaran* cult in Papua New Guinea, describing how the Arapesh male goes through five grades of the cult, from the naiveties of early childhood to the wisdom and authority of old age.

Initiation rites in Oceania include combinations of various elements: being instructed by mentors; acquiring sacred, sexual, or cultural knowledge; displaying subservience; being acquainted with sacred objects; overcoming pain and fear; observing food, sexual, and other taboos; regressing to childlike states; preparing to assume new responsibilities; dreaming; receiving a new name; and body marking, such as genital operations, extracting a tooth, or receiving tattoos.

Female initiation is not practiced as widely as male initiation and where it does occur, it is usually associated with a girl's first menstruation. In the Sepik region of Papua New Guinea, after a time of special dietary restrictions and instruction in the ways of women, a girl is ceremonially bathed, as if after birth, and then reintroduced to the community amid much celebration. In some societies, full initiation into womanhood is complete only after the birth of her first child.

Tattooing. In much of the Pacific, receiving a tattoo was once both a spiritual process and a cultural requirement for those wishing to hold various positions within society. Tattooing does more than alter the appearance of the body: it transforms the wearers' sense of self. For men in Samoa, the traditional tattoo, called *pe'a,* runs from just above the waist to just below the knees. In the past, most boys would begin the tattoo process between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. Completion of the *pe'a* signaled the boy's transition to manhood. Today the *pe'a* is performed on fewer men as they reevaluate the pain, cost, and social worth of wearing one.

The traditional tattoo of Samoan women, called *malu,* was performed on young women somewhere between the ages of fourteen and twenty-five. The *malu* is placed primarily on the thighs and knees, but it can also be found on the lower abdomen, wrists, and hands. *Malu* means "to protect," and while women's tattoos may have had protective significance in the past, in contemporary culture they are discussed in terms of family status and cultural commitment.

As a display of cultural pride, many Polynesians, both male and female, now wear forms of tattoo that draw upon both traditional Polynesian and contemporary Western motifs. Modern-day tattoos may differ from traditional tattoos in placement and design. One sees tattoos on wrists, arms, and lower legs, and some modern armbands are called *Tatau Pisikoa* (Peace Corps tattoos). Moreover, tattoos may now be on only one arm or leg, thus breaking with the bilateral body symmetry of traditional *tatau.* One even sees tattooed words, such at *Talofa* (greeting).

Genital operations. Operations on the penis are widely practiced in Oceania. Often they involve superincision, whereby the foreskin is cut at the top but not completely removed. In parts of Papua New Guinea, particularly among Austronesian speaking groups, superincision is still practiced. The ritual is documented in the film *Napalunga* (Katim Skin), by Bike Johnstone and Ignatius Talania.

Among the Kabana of the West New Britain district of Papua New Guinea, a boy is "superincised" while lying on top of his father's or mother's younger sister. The woman gets on her hands and knees and the boy lies on her back. The man chosen to cut the child inserts a small piece of bamboo under the foreskin, says a spell on the razor, spits a fine spray of ginger juice on the boy's penis to anesthetize it, and with a smooth stroke cuts the top of the foreskin. After the incision the boy's penis is wrapped in a leaf, and a burning ember is placed on the ground between his feet to heat the wound and facilitate the drying process.

Circumcision and allied genital operations have been interpreted in various ways: as a mark of subjection, a test of endurance, a hygienic precaution, a sanctification of procreation, a badge of incorporation into the tribal community, a symbolic castration by a dominating father figure, and an expression of male envy of women's menstruation. On Wogeo Island off the north coast of Papua New Guinea people actually refer to penile incision as men's menstruation.

Genital operations in themselves are often only part of a rite of passage. Robert Levy is of the opinion that for the Tahitians, "supercision" [sic] was part of becoming an adult but the operation was never conceived as the point of transition. Raymond Firth has noted how, on Tikopia in the Solomon Islands, the "kindling of the ovens" of youth involving superincision for young males was accompanied by exchanges of food and other goods. While it was part of a wider ritual process, it did give the boys a new status, allowing them to participate in adult assemblies. Throughout the Pacific, genital operations are generally limited to young males, though in the past among some aboriginal Australian groups, female initiation might include ritual defloration or laceration of the vulva.

DEATH. People in the Pacific treat death with more solemnity than any other event in a person's existence. Customs vary in ways of treating the corpse, mourning, and preservation of the remains. Death rites differ according to the status of the deceased, beliefs about veneration of the ancestors, and whether it was a "good" or "bad" death. A transition period is marked primarily by the mourning period around the body of the dead person. However, in most societies there are commemorations by the family after certain periods of time. The commemoration reminds the living that the deceased family member has finally passed into the place of the ancestors.

In New Zealand, particularly among the Maori population, people may gather to hear the last wishes of the dying person. At the time of death the *tuku karakia* is chanted, with the intention of releasing the person's spirit from the body so as to commence the journey to the underworld. Later, during the funeral *(tangi)*, songs and chants are addressed to the dead person. A year later there is an unveiling of the headstone for the grave. This replaces the traditional *hahunga* ceremony, when the bones of the deceased would be disinterred and placed in a receptacle for placement in a sacred location reserved for the bones of the ancestors.

In Australia, a dead person's close relatives will sing and invoke the sacred names of the dead person's water hole and country, with its mythological associations. In Papua New Guinea, rites for the dead and dying involve many layers of meaning. There are fears and concerns over the possible malicious intent of the ghost of the deceased, financial obligations, and consequences of accusations of poison or sorcery. The family member has been transformed into one of the living dead, often leaving the family in a state of anxiety and fear.

Death is not necessarily an event, but rather a condition that may last for years. It is the state between life and afterlife, but may also include the sick and very old. In recent times in Papua New Guinea, some elderly people are officiating at their own funerals while still alive and relatively healthy. They take the opportunity to say farewell to friends and family, seek to reconcile sour relationships, bequeath their valuables to family and friends, and conduct a feast. This growing practice demonstrates creativity and initiative by the principal actor in the transition from elder to ancestor.

PERSONAL SIGNIFICANCE. How do individuals cope with rites of passage, particularly initiation experiences in their personal lives? Papua New Guinean Celine Yakasere, now a Catholic sister, has written about her initiation experience. "I felt that I was isolated from the rest of the village people, especially my friends. When the hair is shaved off, you feel shy to walk in public, or afraid of your school mates who will make fun of you. . . . Finally, when a girl has gone through this process she feels proud that she is now a woman and not a girl anymore" (Yakasere, 1991, p. 4).

Many rites are concerned with defining proper male and female roles. Marilyn Strathern claims that among certain groups in Melanesia, initiations dismantle identities that were originally androgynous in order to create single-sex people capable of reproducing in relationships with each other. Often, concepts of male and female emphasize the differences between the sexes, yet they are seen as complementary rather than oppositional, and both are viewed as essential to the continuity of the social whole.

Some rites of passage divide a person's life into "before" and "after." One is never the same again. Other rites occur in stages and effect a more gradual transition. Some, such as the Tikopian superincision rites, confront the young man with some of his basic social ties, reaffirming them and thus making him well aware of the time when he will have to adopt them in earnest.

SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE. Rites of passage, particularly those associated with initiation, nearly always involve a social withdrawal, signified by movement away from the group or camp, and a return to that life as an active participant but with a different status. The change in social status is represented by symbolic actions such as ritual bathing, a public reception, or physical changes like scarring of the body.

Scholars differ in their interpretations of the social significance of such actions. Functionalists see sociopolitical solidarity in the support given to participants as they make a social transition in their lives. Structuralists tend to focus on sex and role reversals during the rites, while those basing their analysis on psychological theories detect in men an envy and desire to emulate the procreative powers of women. In the late twentieth century, studies have focused on the cultural construction of masculinity.

Despite differing theoretical approaches, most will agree that rites of passage are social events. Male initiation tends to be more public. The number of people involved in female initiation is normally more restricted, yet female rites celebrate both a woman's role within the domestic realm and her political and economic role within the public realm. Rites of passage usually have socioeconomic significance as well, with gifts and services offered both at the time of the rite and for the future.

COSMIC SIGNIFICANCE. Rites of passage are cultural means of defining birth, maturity, aging, and death, and the means of making the transitions between these social spaces. The elaborate cosmologies typical of Pacific peoples are rich in their ability to give sacred meaning to these life crises. Death is seen as a transition through which a person passes to another life not entirely unlike the one he or she has left. The transition is foreshadowed in the symbolic death and rebirth that is the central focus of much initiation ritual.

The many Oceanic cultures vary in their ways of expressing the underlying dynamics of birth and death. Circumcision is not only a ritual killing, but the boy who has lost his foreskin is sometimes said to have emerged from his mother. Many rituals symbolize regeneration in return to a primordial event that took place at the beginning of time. Through initiation the novice establishes a relationship with the sacred history of the community.

Oceanic rites often involve secret and sacred objects that have symbolic significance and mythical associations. People continue to learn about sacred ritual and myth throughout their lives. Thus, rites of passage open up new possibilities for entering into this metacultural and trans-historical realm.

RITES IN THE MODERN WORLD. People in Oceania continue to move from one stage of life to another. Yet with the demise of many traditional rites of passage, transitions can become ritualized in various ways, such as adolescents initiating adolescents, sometimes violently. Evidence of this is seen in an upsurge in membership in occult movements in Papua New Guinea secondary schools. For example, members of a "generation name" group or "family" use secret words or signs to greet one another when they meet. They are also expected to monitor each other's behavior for adherence to the generation-name "character." For example, a certain generation name may have a promiscuous character, and all students bearing that generation name from year to year are expected to display promiscuous sexual behavior in accordance with the character of the name. Other generation-name characters include hating teachers, being a fire bug, and satan worship. Generation names are passed on at initiation ceremonies of an abusive type known as bastardization rituals, often involving alcohol, drugs and physical assault.

Forms of circumcision and superincision continue to be practiced today in the Pacific. Uncircumcised males in Tonga, Samoa, and among ethnic Fijians would find themselves the object of jokes and derision. To be called "uncut" is an insult. In Vanuatu, the Bislama term *dip-skin* ("deep skin," i.e., uncircumcised) is used as a generalized swear word. In some circles, traditional genital operations are replaced by inserting ball bearings under the skin of the penis—a procedure supposed to increase one's sexual prowess.

The initiate of the older generation is being replaced by the graduate of the younger generation. With most young people attending school, leaving little time for or interest in traditional initiation rites, they are left to experiment with novel ways to gain prestige and social standing. For some, reaching drinking age or gaining a driver's license opens the door to a new status, as does secondary school or university graduation.

In many parts of Oceania, ceremonies are now often blessed by church ministers or accompanied by prayer. In places like Samoa, weddings, funerals, and the conferring of titles involve a mixture of Christian rites and neotraditional exchanges. The vow ceremonies of indigenous members of Catholic religious orders often demonstrate unique combinations of Catholic worship and traditional rites of passage. In the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea, Sister Theresia Nakankwien of Yangoru, wearing traditional attire, had to bend over to make her way through the tunnel formed by the linked arms of her uncles. Having performed this gesture of humble submission, she stood erect to face the community as a woman to be respected. She then changed from her traditional attire and turned toward the altar to pronounce her vows as a Sister of Mercy. Ten years after the event she says, "I still feel that new identity, both within me and within my community."

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PHILIP GIBBS (2005)

RITES OF PASSAGE: MESOAMERICAN RITES

In Mesoamerica, the most human of all religious rituals, rites of passage, mark people's changing relationships with their fellow human and nonhuman beings. Points in the life cycle most stressed include birth, marriage, and death. Rites, however, mark many other transitions, including children's and adolescents' development, the transition from illness to health, and initiation into new careers. Communities small and large also celebrate rites that move human corporate bodies from one status to another. Finally, because both the cosmos itself and those things that inhabit it are also considered living beings analogous to humans, even cosmic entities such as the sun move through transitory moments celebrated as rites of passage.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION. Mesoamerica's long history dates back to approximately twenty-three thousand years ago. Fairly secure archaeological dating techniques have been able to place humans in the region at that point, although some suggest an even earlier occupation. After a very long and slow period of development, four cultures in particular have played formative roles: the Olmec (c. 2250–300 BCE); the Oaxaca (c. 1400 BCE–present); the Mexican highlands people (c. 1200 BCE–present); and the Maya (c. 400 BCE–present). The Spanish Conquest in 1521 produced a cataclysmic change in the region, destroying almost all indigenous pictorial documents and wreaking havoc on architectural, sculptural, and other material remains. The conquerors sought radical cultural and religious change as well, working hard to turn indigenous Mesoamericans into Spanish-like Catholics. However, this venture was not as successful, so the cultural and spiritual conquests of New Spain proved less complete than the political and material ones.

Historical records in the modern sense for anything prior to the Spanish Conquest are largely lacking. This does not mean indigenous history was not recorded. Mesoamericans kept records not in script but in pictorial, partly hieroglyphic, partly phonetic forms of writing, sometimes inscribed on stone stelae (stone slabs), buildings that were used ritually, and often in screen-folded books, the last of which the Spanish mostly destroyed. Hence, what scholars know about cultural practices before the Conquest relies almost exclusively on material remains, and what they know after it relies heavily on documents influenced, collected, or written by the Spanish.

Although written records prove both scarce and difficult, because the cultural and spiritual conquests were never complete, in the early twenty-first century one often can find strong continuity among historical and contemporary versions of various indigenous religious traditions, especially in those areas removed from the centers of Conquest. This means that what scholars now know about Mesoamerican rites of passage depends on four broad sources of information: material remains from before and after the Conquest, accounts commissioned and sometimes written by the Spanish conquerors, historical documents and travelers' accounts produced in the years since the Conquest, and ethnographic and indigenous reports of living traditions. Thorough investigations of both historical and living traditions rely on all four, for none alone can either account for the disruption of the Conquest or present a picture with any depth.

Besides marking birth, marriage, and death as the key points in a person's life, all rites tend to take a very long view of these and other transitions. Rites of passage mark human life stages, among other events. The Mexica (Aztecs) said that life was divided into four broad periods: childhood; puberty; maturity; and old age, a sequence echoed by many other Mesoamerican groups. However, Alfredo López Austin (1988) reports that, within these four, the Mexica used many words that made much finer distinctions, such as a baby in the uterus; a nursing infant; a person under or over six years of age; a youthful, then nubile male or female; early and advances middle age; early and advanced old age; and more. Clearly, one's particular life stage was noted with precision. Moreover, the words seem to say that life continuously changes and is far more complicated than simply getting born, growing up, becoming old, and dying.

Life's continuous changes are similarly expressed in the structure of Mesoamerican rites of passage. These rituals say that change never stops, and moreover, major change takes a particularly long time; in fact, it takes one's whole life span and more. Mesoamerican rites reflect the ongoing nature of all transitions in a way that extends considerably the classic three-stage model advanced by Arnold van Gennep in 1909. Van Gennep proposed that life changes are marked by rituals that: (1) separate the individual in transition; (2) restructure that individual to effect the change; (3) end by reintegrating him or her back into the community transformed by his or her new status. One must understand van Gennep, however, in the most expansive manner possible when considering Mesoamerican rites. These are not simple discrete rituals that move through just three stages (no matter how complex those stages might be) and end at the third with the reintegration of the individual into his or her community in his or her new status; rites of passage in Mesoamerica never quite end.

Each ritual of status change and reintegration is also an anticipation of the next transformation and therefore must be seen as multiple sets of van Gennep's three ritual steps strung together, each set of three moving to another set of three on the ritual's "string," none ever quite ending. In this way, the person moves through and toward his or her life changes, recognizing life's innate transitory character. In Mesoamerican rites, one may gain a new status, but that status is always temporary, to be enhanced or replaced by the next new status. Sixteenth-century Mexica birth rituals, for example, did not simply mark the new status of a baby in a community and then end. They began with early pregnancy; marked pregnancy's later stages; structured birth itself, including the possibility of death; and if successful, named the baby. But even then, the naming ceremony didn't just celebrate the birth and introduce the child to the family; it also explicitly anticipated future rites tying the child to its community, such as schooling, marriage, parenthood, and death. These birth rites recognized one's whole life and beyond by symbolically referencing future rites. Moreover, when their times came, those future rites referred back to the previous ones. It becomes difficult to separate one of these moments from the rest, for ultimately all are connected, even if some major changes like birth, marriage, or death are particularly noted.

An ancient 260-day divinitory calendar, dating back at least to the seventh-century BCE, determined everything from naming a child, determining her or his occupation, and deciding when he or she would marry to deciding the time for installing rulers and for making good trips, successful business deals, and victorious wars. All Mesoamerican rites of passage were, and many still are, set by this calendar, and most share a similar ongoing, transitory character. Nevertheless, rites can vary considerably in their details regionally and throughout history.

EXAMPLES OF MESOAMERICAN RITES OF PASSAGE. Mexica noble birth rituals are among some of the most extensive and poignant appearing in the sixteenth-century resources. Their sympathetic Spanish reporter, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, took particular interest in the numerous and lengthy formal speeches made throughout by the family members, the young mother, and the midwife. This series of formal rituals began with the first knowledge of pregnancy. Gathered for a meal and speeches, the relatives noted that the Lord of the Near and Nigh had placed a "precious necklace, a precious feather" within the young woman. They wondered if this impending birth worried their dead ancestors, those who had gone to "the water," "the cave," "the land of the dead," those who had departed but nevertheless might yet be present. Since the godly creator couple, Ometecutli and Omecihuatl, had instructed that a child be born, the speakers now must warn the young woman to not lift heavy objects and advise the young parents about sexual matters. They reminded them that they now had become protectors like the "silk cotton wood and cypress trees" that shield people. With pregnancy, the couple took from their ancestors the carrying frame, the burden of mother and fatherhood. The new mother thanked her parents for all the suffering that she had put them through, noting that now it was her turn. So began the long difficult road to bringing forth and fostering a new life.

In the seventh or eighth month, similar rites were performed with a midwife who introduced the young woman to the sweat bath. There, the midwife called on various godly powers, including those of healing, motherhood in general, mothers who had died in childbirth, and the night, and she massaged the young woman vigorously. She also advised her at length on what she should and should not do to assure a safe birth. During birth—the most dangerous moment in the whole ongoing ritualized event—godly powers that would help the girl were enlisted as well as those that would help should death occur. Birth was a battle with the young women warriors in pursuit of their children. The goddess Cihuacoatl, who assisted the second in command of all the Mexica, also assisted the midwife with her war strategy. Male warriors sacrificed in state rituals became gods who captured the sun from the land of the dead at daybreak, carrying it to the sky's roof; women who died in childbirth's sacrificial battles became goddesses who captured the sun from the male warriors at noon, carrying it back to the western house at dusk. But if a birth was successful, the midwife gave war whoops to celebrate the victory.

A baby girl's umbilical cord was given to Ometecutli and Omecihuatl and buried in the corner of the house, for she would become the hearth, the cook, the spinner, and the weaver. A baby boy's was given to the Lord and Lady of the Healing Night (the sweat bath), the Earth Lord, and the Sun and was buried in a battlefield by seasoned warriors, for that was his destiny. The family named the child within a week or two on a day propitious for its future character, and before it crawled, they promised it to one of the schools for religious training—which taught boys and girls in separate institutions—or to one that trained boys for warfare. A babe thus was brought into an extended family, which included living and deceased generations, and dedicated to the community, society, and cosmos in which it lived. Its past, present, and future combined to assist the production of a healthy child and future family member and citizen. In a similar fashion, the child would be sent off to school, into marriage, and eventual ancestorhood.

Other Mesoamerican groups celebrated and continue to celebrate similar, yet different, birth rites. The sixteenth-century Maya placed the goddess Ix Chel's image under women's beds to induce pregnancy and, as did the Mexica, named their babies on propitious days. Seventeenth-century Zapotec families in Oaxaca fortified their newborns by fasting for three days and abstaining from sex for twenty. When forty days had passed, the family took the child, along with its godparents, to be baptized in the church. As the Mexica baby was dedicated to its future school, so too the Zapotec child was dedicated to the church in which it would be trained. And in the early twenty-first century in Guatemala, the Quiché Maya say that the divinatory calendar that has determined all rites of passage for centuries marks passage of the same amount of time that it takes for the gestation of a baby.

Mesoamericans also mark children's developmental stages. In the sixteenth century, Yucatec Maya dedicated their children when they were old enough to be carried on the hip: three months for girls, probably because the hearth fire had three stones, and four for boys, because a cornfield had four corners. Godparents were ceremonially introduced to the child, taking up the task of helping with its development. Every four years, the Mexica dedicated their very young children along with honorary aunts and uncles, who later would introduce them to school. The children were symbolically singed or cooked over the fire and stretched so that they would grow tall. At the celebration, the new aunts and uncles carried the children on their backs or, if the children were old enough, danced with them.

Clothes and hair often marked childhood stages. Yucatec children ran naked until they were about five years old, when little boys began wearing a cloth like their fathers and little girls a skirt like their mothers. A boy received a small white bead to wear in his hair, and a girl received a string with a red shell, which was tied around her waist. They wore these until puberty. A little Otomí girl wore her hair very short, then shoulder-length with bangs when older, and bound it on her head after she herself had become a mother. A little Mexica boy sported a shorn head, but at age ten he was allowed to grow a tuft until he had captured his first warrior at about age fifteen, when his hair was cut to hang long over the right ear. His grandfather warned him to quickly capture another or else he would continue to wear his hair like a girl. Scarification on one breast and hip marked a young Mexica girl ready for school, and a lip plug marked a young boy. Each was ceremonially advised on proper behavior and the expectations of their large families before embarking on their formal education. Mexica youths remained guarded in the schools until marriage moved them from childhood to adulthood. Yucatec youths could not marry until their childhood adornments were formally removed from them in a ceremony. These ceremonies, however, were not necessarily performed at puberty but at an older stage of childhood just before puberty. And they were not performed individually but in a community of children close in age. They married only when their parents deemed it appropriate.

Marriage, not puberty, often officially moved youth into adulthood and almost always allied the two families. After ceremonially informing his schoolmaster, a Mexica boy's family carefully chose his mate, and a matchmaker ritually negotiated the union. On a calendrically propitious day, a matron of her own family carried the bride on her back to her new family home. Surrounding her on this sad, scary trip of leave-taking were all her female relatives with whom she had lived. The mothers each dressed their respective new child-in-law, and then an elderly day keeper (diviner) literally tied the knot by tying their capes together. After the elderly matchmakers put the couple in their wedding bed, they guarded their door through the night, all the while getting drunk. Yucatec Maya, however, could betroth their children when they were young, becoming honorary in-laws until the two actually married. The groom lived with and worked for the bride's family for five to six years.

Contemporary Nahua men, ancestors of the ancient Mexica, also use matchmakers to negotiate a marriage. The groom must pay for the entire process and so sometimes must postpone marriage. The marriage alliance is negotiated over much food and alcohol, and a generous gift of more food and drink seals the deal. During the twenty-four-hour ceremony, they stage mock displays of anger, which are smoothed over, indicating the two families' peaceful union to come. A sacred web of incense woven around the couple and their godparents finalizes the alliance, and the godparents dance with dough images of their future children.

The elderly play many key roles in these ceremonies, and death marks their transition to ancestorhood, beginning a continuous flow of sacred powers between the dead and the living. According to David Friedel and Linda Schele, the sarcophagus lid of the seventh-century Maya Lord Pacal of Palenque, Mexico, shows the dead ruler sliding down the Milky Way into the underworld's skeletal jaws. At each winter solstice's sunset, a flash of light illuminated a frieze depicting the deceased Pacal handing on the leadership to his son Chan Balum. After traveling through the underworld, Pacal will emerge at dawn as the new ancestral sun warming the earth. Some Mexica dead were sent to the underworld "place where no smoke escapes, the place of no chimney" in rites that extended over as much as five years. Repeated cremations moved these dead to beyond the "wide waters" in the Land of the Dead, carried there by a small yellow dog. In the case of a ruler, elaborate rituals reestablished the state's relations with both their alliances and enemies. In the 1930s the Panajachel Maya dead traveled through the underworld to emerge as stars, and before birth, their babies lived as stars following the sun. The twenty-first-century Maya of Yalcoba say that their deserving deceased relatives appear at dawn and dusk as pink clouds floating in the still skies.

Both cosmic and human rites marked the transitional nature of all existence. The Mexica ritual that gave birth to a new sun every 52 solar years—just when 73 rounds of the 260-day calendar had ended—acted as a cosmic transformative rite of passage. The sun was birthed in a series of steps that never quite ended, thereby anticipating its continuing life and eventual death. Even suns in the Mexica world were born, lived, and died according to the ongoing calendrical patterns governing all transitions. Similarly, Quiché day keepers—those who count the sun's days—receive their calling and are trained and initiated in an extended series of rituals closely following the same calendar. Moreover, the initial rite is not necessarily their last. Even as they perform rites of passage for others, they can train further, going through more rites of their own. And so human life continues as the cosmos continues, transiting from one stage to another and on.

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An extraordinarily rich source of information on the Mexica (Aztecs) was compiled by a sixteenth-century Franciscan father, Bernardino de Sahagún, in his *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España*, translated by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble as *Florentine Codex: A General History of the Things of New Spain*, 13 vols. (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 1950–1982). Although information pertaining to rites of passage is spread throughout almost all the volumes, Book 6 contains particularly extensive material on pregnancy, childbirth, and childhood. *Representing Aztec Ritual: Performance, Text, and Image in the Work of Sahagún*, edited by Eloise Quiñones Keber (Boulder, Colo., 2002), pp. 143–174, offers a number of useful individual articles on Nahua ritual found in the corpus of Sahagún. Alfredo López Austin presents a detailed picture of Aztec or Nahua cosmic, religious, and physiological ideas, including a complete list of life-stage terms, in *The Human Body and Ideology: Concepts of the Ancient Nahuas*, translated by Thelma Ortiz de Montellano and Bernard Ortiz de Montellano, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah, 1988). Kay Read's *Time and Sacrifice in the Aztec Cosmos* (Bloomington, Ind., 1998) offers a comprehensive discussion of the transitional nature of Aztec cosmology and a description of the solar rite of passage. Equally useful is Davíd Carrasco's retrospective *City of Sacrifice: The Aztec Empire and the Role of Violence in Civilization* (Boston, 1999), which gathers articles spanning over fifteen years and exploring topics ranging from cosmology to ritual. In 1566 Fray Diego de Landa described a number of rites, primarily of the Yucatec Maya, in his *Yucatan before and after the Conquest*, translated by William Gates in 1937 (New York, 1978). One of the few sources on religion in Oaxaca, including information on rites of passage, is José Alcina Franch's *Calendario y religión entre los Zapotecos* (Mexico City, 1993), which explores religion and calendrics among the seventeenth-century Zapotec.

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RITES OF PASSAGE: HINDU RITES

India is a land of many ethnic, tribal, and linguistic groups, and of numerous castes and sects, each with its distinctive customs and practices. This article does not presume to be an exhaustive survey of the rites of passage practiced by all these groups. Its scope is limited to those rites handed down in the mainstream Brahmanic tradition and described in its normative texts.

Rites of passage are defined as the rites that accompany a change of state, whether it be age or social position. This study will focus on three classifications formulated within the Hindu tradition that partly overlap and together indicate what are called rites of passage as well as the states that they initiate: *saṃskāra, dīkṣā,* and *āśrama.* This discussion also includes rites performed at various junctures of an individual's life even though there is no change of state; the Hindu category of *saṃskāra* includes these life-cycle rites, as well as strict rites of passage.

SAṂSKĀRA. Hindu theologians define *saṃskāra* as a rite that prepares a person or thing for a function by imparting new qualities and/or by removing taints. It consecrates and purifies. The term, therefore, covers a broad group of preparatory rites, including sacrifices and the consecration of sacrificial utensils. The texts on Hindu domestic rites (Gṛhyasūtras) and the law books *(Dharmaśāstras)* apply the term more specifically to rites associated with the human life cycle. "Sacrament," the customary translation of *saṃskāra,* captures only a part of its significance and is liable to cause misunderstanding.

Sources do not agree on the number or the procedures of the *saṃskāra*s. Some list as many as forty, using the term broadly to cover numerous domestic rites, while others give just twelve. The medieval handbooks enumerate sixteen. The descriptions of these rites also show marked discrepancies. The texts themselves acknowledge the existence of local and caste differences and often ask the reader to consult women, the custodians of folk customs. Our account, therefore, offers only a partial glimpse of these rites as they were performed at various times and places.

Marriage. It is customary for modern accounts of *saṃskāra*s to begin with the prenatal rites. The Gṛhyasūtras, however, begin with marriage, and for good reason. It is the central Hindu institution: only a married man accompanied by his wife is the complete *persona religiosa* entitled to perform the principal religious acts of sacrifice and procreation. The Vedic texts declare that a man becomes complete after securing a wife and begetting a son. Other *saṃskāra*s either lead up to marriage or flow from it.

Sources contain detailed instructions regarding the selection of a partner, the marriageable age of a boy and a girl, the auspicious times for marriage, and the like. The betrothal takes place some time before the marriage: the father of the groom asks for the bride's hand and her father formally gives his consent.

The rite of marriage, more than any other *saṃskāra,* is subject to local variations. Four rites, however, form the core of the ceremony:

1. Several oblations are made into the sacred fire.
2. The bridegroom takes the bride's hand, saying: "I take your hand for happiness."
3. He guides her three times around the fire. After each circumambulation he makes her step on a stone, saying: "Tread on this stone. Be firm like a stone. Overcome the enemies. Trample down the foes."
4. He makes her take seven steps toward the northeast, saying: "Take one step for sap, two for juice, three for prospering in wealth, four for comfort, five for cattle, six for the seasons. Be my friend with your seventh step! May you be devoted to me. Let us have many sons. May they reach old age." Most authorities consider these seven steps as the essential rite of matrimony; if the bridegroom dies before this rite is performed, the bride is not considered a widow.

Prenatal *saṃskāras.* There are three principal rites performed before birth to promote conception and to ensure the safety of the mother and the fetus. Garbhādhāna, the conception rite, is performed between the fourth and the sixteenth day after the beginning of the wife's monthly period. Puṃsavana, which literally means "quickening of a male child," is performed in the third or fourth month of pregnancy to ensure a male progeny, and also contains ritual and medicinal safeguards against miscarriage. Sīmantonnayana, ceremonial parting of the mother's hair, is performed between the fourth and the eighth month of pregnancy to protect the fetus from evil spirits.

It is very likely that the prenatal *saṃskāra*s once formed a part of the marriage ceremony to promote the fertility of the bride. Their transfer to a later time may have resulted from the progressive lowering of the marriageable age of girls. When prepubertal marriage became the custom, rites associated with intercourse and conception would have seemed inappropriate within the marriage ceremony. Some features of these *saṃskāra*s, moreover, recall their original context. For example, invocations of many sons and prayers for fertility abound. Further, the conception rite, the parting of the hair, and, according to some, even the quickening of a male child are performed only for the first pregnancy. Accordingly, these rites are viewed by many Hindu theologians as directed at the purification of the mother rather than of the fetus.

Childhood *saṃskāras.* The largest number of *saṃskāra*s belong to the period between birth and adolescence, the most precarious time of life in premodern societies. Sources differ widely regarding the number, the names, and the procedures of these rites. The most significant of them are: Jātakarman (birth rites), one of the oldest of the *saṃskāra*s and performed immediately after birth; Nāmakaraṇa (naming ceremony) on the tenth or the twelfth day after birth; Niṣkramaṇa (exit from the birthing room) between the twelfth day and the fourth month from birth; Annaprāśana (first eating of solid food) in the sixth month; Karṇavedha (ear piercing) performed between the twelfth day and the fifth year; Cūdākaraṇa or Caula (first haircutting) in the third year.

***Saṃskāras* of adolescence.** While the childhood *saṃskāra*s are aimed at protecting and nurturing the child, those of adolescence have a markedly social significance. They prepare the youth to assume the social and religious responsibilities of the adult world. They are, therefore, associated with education, and the teacher plays a central role in them.

The main *saṃskāra* of adolescence is Vedic initiation (Upanayana). It is regarded as the second birth of the initiate. The teacher who performs the initiation and who imparts the Veda is said to bear the pupil within him like an embryo and to cause him to be born again in the Veda. Thus the *brāhmaṇa*s, *kṣatriya*s, and *vaiśya*s, who form the first three social classes (*varṇa*), are called "twice-born" because they undergo initiation, whereas the *śūdra*s, who are not qualified for initiation, are said to have only a single birth—the physical birth from the parents. Before initiation a child of the upper classes is not subject to the norms that minutely regulate the lives of adult Hindus, and, therefore, he is likened to a *śūdra.*

The standard age for initiation is eight years for *brāhmaṇa*s, eleven for *kṣatriya*s, and twelve for *vaiśya*s, although all are permitted to undergo initiation at a younger or an older age. Men of the three upper classes who remain uninitiated after the ages of sixteen, twenty-two, and twenty-four respectively are considered sinners. Social intercourse with them is forbidden.

Before the rite the boy takes his final meal in the company of his mother. Then his head is shaved and he is bathed. He is given a girdle, a deerskin, a staff, and a sacred thread. The sacred thread consists of three cords, and each cord is made by twisting three strands. It is normally worn over the left shoulder and hangs under the right arm. Though the sacred thread is not mentioned in the earliest sources, it has come to be regarded as the central element of initiation and as the symbol of a person's second birth. Today the rite is often called the "thread ceremony." At first the thread was probably a substitute for the upper garment worn during ritual activities.

The teacher performs several symbolic acts that establish an intimate relationship between him and his new pupil. The initiatory rite reaches its climax when the teacher reaches over the pupil's right shoulder, places his hand over the pupil's heart, and says: "Into my will I take thy heart. Thy mind shall follow my mind. In my word thou shalt rejoice with all thy heart. May Bṛhaspati join thee to me." The teacher then imparts the sacred Sāvitrī formula: "That excellent glory of Savitṛ [Sun], the god, we meditate, that he may stimulate our prayers" (*Ṛgveda* 3.62.10). The centrality of these rites is pointed out by an ancient Vedic text, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (11.5.4.12): "By laying his right hand on the pupil the teacher becomes pregnant with him. In the third night he is born a *brāhmaṇa* with the Sāvitri." The initiate, who is called a *brahmacārin,* then puts wood into the sacred fire. This is his first encounter with the sacrifice, the central religious act of the Vedic religion.

The pupil remains for many years at the teacher's house, away from his home and family. This is a liminal period. The number of years is not determined; twelve, the number most often given, probably has a symbolic value, signifying completeness. The pupil is reduced to the level of a servant, without status, rank, or property; he obtains even his food by begging from house to house. Humility, obedience, and chastity are his main virtues.

Samāvartana is the *saṃskāra* that concludes the period of studentship. Initiation separates the boy from the social community, while Samāvartana reincorporates the youth into the adult world. The term literally means the return of the scholar to his parents' home after graduation. The central feature of the ceremony is a ritual bath. The rite, therefore, is often termed *snāna* (bath), and the young graduate is called a *snātaka* (the bathed). This feature, present also in the rite that ends the period of seclusion following the consecration (*dīkṣā*) for a Vedic sacrifice, indicates that it is the concluding act of the initiatory ritual, rather than a separate *saṃskāra.* After the bath the youth discards the student's attire and puts on ornaments and fine clothes; he assumes his new status in society. The young adult is now ready to get married and establish a household, and a search for a suitable bride will soon begin.

Funeral. The funeral is the last *saṃskāra.* It prepares a person for existence after death. From the earliest period of Indian history human remains were normally cremated. With the growth of sacrificial speculation in the late Vedic period, cremation came to be regarded as one's last sacrifice (Antyeṣṭi), in which one's own body is offered in the fire. From this sacrifice the deceased person is born again into a new existence in the company of his or her ancestors. Vedic texts call it a person's third birth. The funeral, therefore, is a rite of passage from the earthly existence to the world of the fathers.

Cremation, however, does not conclude the funeral; it is believed that newly deceased people pass through a liminal period lasting twelve days or one year, during which they live as ghosts (*preta*s). The dead are then dangerous, and their relatives are impure. During this time special offerings of food and water are made for the newly deceased (Ekoddiṣṭa-śrāddha). On the twelfth day, which is the current practice, or after one year, the newly deceased person is ritually united with his or her dead ancestors through a rite called Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa or Sapiṇḍāṇa. Four rice balls are prepared, three for the three preceding generations of ancestors and one for the newly dead person. The latter is cut into three parts, which are then mixed with the three balls intended for the ancestors. The union of rice balls symbolizes the union of the deceased with his or her ancestors. It is the final act of the funeral. Henceforth, the dead person will participate in all the normal offerings that his or her relatives will make to their ancestors.

The Upaniṣads contain information on a rite performed by a father when he feels that his death is imminent. In it he transfers his duties and powers—his ritual persona—to his son. This rite of transmission (Saṃpratti or Saṃpradāna) by which a son succeeds his father was later assimilated into the rite of renunciation, which also results in the ritual death of the father.

A remarkable feature of the funeral as well as the other *saṃskāra*s is that they do not refer at all to the common Indian beliefs of rebirth (*saṃsāra*) and liberation (*mokṣa*). These Hindu rituals are founded on a different worldview that celebrates life and fertility, shrinks from pollution and death, and, when death comes, ritually transports the dead to the world of the fathers.

DĪKṢĀ. Like *saṃskāra, dīkṣā* is a preparatory rite. It is, however, more closely associated with the assumption of a new state. While *saṃskāra*s are obligatory for all, most *dīkṣā*s are undertaken voluntarily. It is, however, impossible to define either term precisely because they are often used as synonyms, and *dīkṣā* frequently refers to a wide variety of purificatory and other rites.

The most famous *dīkṣā* is the consecration of a man for a Vedic sacrifice. It prepares the sacrificer for the solemn act by purifying him and by transferring him to a new but temporary state similar to that of the gods. In *dīkṣā* the sacrificer is ritually transformed into an embryo and is born again with a new and more perfect body. Many elements of the rite symbolize the birthing process. The consecrated man (*dīkṣita*) is surrounded by taboos. He is sacred and dangerous: others are not allowed to touch him or to pronounce his name. At the conclusion of the sacrifice the consecratory period ends with a ritual bath, after which the sacrificer returns to his normal state.

The royal consecration is also called *dīkṣā.* It shares many common features with the sacrificial *dīkṣā.* Like the sacrificer, the new king is ritually reborn at his consecration. His period of *dīkṣā* lasts a year, during which time he is deprived of his royal prerogatives.

In the post-Vedic religions of India the most common forms of *dīkṣā* are associated with the entry into voluntary religious groups. The earliest such *dīkṣā* was probably that of ascetics. Buddhist and Jain sources indicate that at a very early period these sects developed rites of entry into their respective monastic orders. Brahmanical sources contain information on the *dīkṣā* of renouncers (*saṃnyāsin*s) and forest hermits. These rites symbolically enact the death of the novice and his rebirth into the new ascetic life. Some rites include ordeals, such as pulling the hair by the roots and branding. At the conclusion of the rite the ascetic assumes a new name and the insignia of the new state: ascetic garb, tonsure, staff, begging bowl, and so forth. Initiatory rites of ascetics often assume an educational dimension in imitation of the Vedic initiation. The teacher plays an important role in them and imparts a secret formula (*mantra*) to the novice. The ascetic *dīkṣā* begins a long period of training for the novice.

Medieval Hindu sects, where admission is not limited to ascetics, devised *dīkṣā*s for admitting lay members. They are patterned after the Vedic initiation and are regarded as constituting a new birth of the initiate. In some sects, such as the Virasaiva, the voluntary nature of *dīkṣā* is eliminated and a child is initiated at birth. Admission to each higher level or rank within a sect also entails special *dīkṣā*s.

Dīkṣā introduces a new state, either temporary like the sacrificer's or permanent like the ascetic's. The term, therefore, is used as a synonym of *vrata* (vow) that often indicates a special mode of life. This meaning of *dīkṣā* is very close to that of *āśrama.*

ĀŚRAMA. By the sixth century BCE new religious ideas advocating a life of renunciation, celibacy, and poverty were sweeping the Ganges River valley. New religions, such as Buddhism and Jainism, broke with the Vedic tradition. Considering human beings as bound to an endless cycle of births and deaths, they questioned the value of central Vedic institutions such as sacrifice and marriage, and even of society as such.

There were brahman thinkers at this time who also advocated these new ideals but were unwilling to break completely with the Vedic tradition. They attempted to find theological formulas that would give scriptural legitimacy to renunciation while maintaining the religious significance of marriage and other Vedic institutions. One such formula was the system of the *āśrama*s. Historically it was the most significant.

The term *āśrama* in all probability referred originally to "places of austerity" or hermitages. Its meaning was then extended to include lifestyles devoted to religious exertion. The term has the latter meaning when used within the context of the *āśrama* system. Its earliest formulation, which one may call the preclassical, is found in the ancient law books, the Dharmasūtras, the earliest of which were composed around the fourth century BCE. The preclassical system considers the four *āśrama*s—Vedic student, householder, forest hermit, and renouncer—not as temporary stages but as permanent vocations. A young adult, after completing the period of study following Vedic initiation, is allowed to choose one of these *āśrama*s. It is clear, therefore, that in the preclassical system the first *āśrama* was that of a permanent student, who remained with the teacher until death. The temporary period of study following initiation, on the other hand, was not regarded as an *āśrama* but as a period of preparation for all *āśrama*s.

Āśrama represents a theological understanding and evaluation of several social institutions; it cannot be equated with the institutions themselves. They existed prior to the invention of the *āśrama* system, and even afterwards continue to exist independently of that system both within and outside the Hindu tradition. Certain forms of Hindu marriage and the renunciation of women and *śūdra*s, for example, fall outside the *āśrama* system. The system gives the institutions religious legitimacy. The *āśrama*s are proposed as a new fourfold division of *dharma,* paralleling its older division into the four social classes (*varṇa*), and as four alternative paths leading to the heavenly world. These institutions are thus made integral parts of *dharma* and, therefore, of the Vedic tradition.

Although it represented an important theological breakthrough for Brahmanism, the preclassical system had several drawbacks. It allowed choice in a matter of *dharma.* Choice or option was never encouraged by Brahmanic hermeneutics; even in minor matters of ritual it was used as a last resort in interpreting conflicting injunctions. Choice with regard to how one will spend one's adult life, moreover, gave rise to debates on the relative superiority of the *āśrama*s and in particular eliminated the obligatory nature of marriage. Some used the Vedic theory of the three debts of man—study, procreation, and sacrifice—as an argument against the *āśrama* system: if one does not marry, one is not able to repay the debts of procreation and sacrifice. Others even suggested that the Veda authorized only one *āśrama,* namely that of the householder.

Toward the beginning of the common era a new formulation of the *āśrama* system, which one may call the classical, gained wide acceptance. It is given in the authoritative *Laws of Manu,* composed around the beginning of the common era. The preclassical system all but disappeared from the later Hindu tradition, and even modern scholars are often ignorant of its very existence.

The classical system conceived of the *āśrama*s not as permanent vocations but as temporary stages of life through which an individual passes as he grows old. The *āśrama* system thus came to parallel the *saṃskāra* system, and the two central *saṃskāra*s—initiation and marriage—became the rites of entry into the first two *āśrama*s. The first *āśrama* is no longer the permanent studentship but the temporary period of study following initiation. Thus, according to Manu, a person should undergo initiation and live the first part of his life in the student's *āśrama.* After graduation (Samāvartana) he should marry and enter the householder's *āśrama.* When he is a grandfather and when, as Manu says, he sees his hair turning gray and his skin wrinkled, he should retire to the forest as a hermit. After spending some time there, he should enter the fourth *āśrama,* renunciation.

These, then, are the states that recur in the life of each individual. They are viewed as four rungs in the ladder leading up to liberation. The ladder image replaces the path image of the preclassical system. The rites of passage from one *āśrama* to the next are called *saṃskāra* and *dīkṣā* indiscriminately. The passage, however, takes place only in one direction; one is not permitted to return to an *āśrama* one has left. A person who does so—for example, a renouncer who reverts to the household life—is considered an outcaste.

The classical system eliminates choice and reaffirms the centrality of the householder. The ascetic orders are relegated to old age and retirement. The Vedic doctrine of three debts, once used as an argument against the preclassical system, is now seen as a scriptural basis for the *āśrama*s. Payment of the debts is carried out by passing through at least the first two *āśrama*s.

The third *āśrama* (forest hermit) had already become obsolete by the early centuries of the common era. Passage through the other three *āśrama*s is today, as it probably was even during the time of Manu, an ideal rather than a reality in the lives of most Hindus. Yet the theological understanding of these four central socioreligious institutions as hierarchical stages of life that one enters and leaves through rites of passage became a cornerstone of Hindu doctrine and practice. It is this theology that has given *āśrama* a place alongside *varṇa* as the two pillars of Hinduism and made the compound term *varṇāśramadharma* the closest Sanskrit approximation to the foreign term *Hinduism.*

WOMEN AND RITES OF PASSAGE. Hinduism has always been a patriarchal religion. Women play a decidedly secondary role in it. This is especially so with regard to ritual activity. It is generally accepted that the prenatal and childhood *saṃskāra*s, and of course the funeral, are performed also for women belonging to the twice-born *varṇa*s. The Vedic formulas normally recited at these rites, however, are omitted, since women are forbidden to study the Veda. However, there is some evidence to suggest that in ancient times girls were allowed to be initiated and to study the Veda. By the time of Manu's lawbook this practice had been discontinued. Marriage, it was claimed, constituted initiation for women.

The position of women in Hindu sects varies considerably. The major sects follow the Brahmanic prohibition against female initiation. Many fringe and anti-structural sects, such as the Vīraśaiva, however, admit women to initiation and full membership.

Women are also excluded from direct participation in the *āśrama* system. In marriage and, according to some, also in the hermit's *āśrama,* a woman participates in the *āśrama* of her husband. Female renouncers are found in Buddhism, Jainism, and in many medieval Hindu sects, and even mainstream Brahmanism acknowledges their existence. A woman's life in these institutions, however, is not theologically interpreted as constituting an *āśrama.*

ŚŪDRAS AND RITES OF PASSAGE. *Śūdra*s, by which is meant all the groups that do not belong to the twice-born *varna*s, are excluded from reciting or even hearing the Veda. Thus they cannot be admitted to Vedic initiation. It is quite likely, however, that these groups did possess their own initiatory rites, although no information on them has come down to us. Regarding the other *saṃskāra*s, however, there is a conflict of opinion. Some hold that no *saṃskāra* should be performed for a *śūdra,* while others allow them the prenatal and childhood *saṃskāra*s, as well as marriage and funeral rites, but without Vedic formulas.

*Śūdra*s are similarly excluded from the *āśrama* system, though some authorities recognize their marriage as an *āśrama.* Many medieval sects permit a type of *dīkṣā* for *śūdra*s and admit them to membership.

CONCLUSION. Hinduism has no single dogma or doctrine. Its cohesion is found in its rites and observances. The central rites of Hinduism, whether it be mainstream Brahmanism or sectarian cults, have traditionally been the rites of passage.

The situation in modern India, however, is very different. The only *saṃskāra*s regularly practiced in the early twenty-first century are marriage and funeral. Vedic initiation, where it is still practiced, has become the prerogative of brahmans to such a degree that the sacred thread has become the hallmark of a brahman.

The practice has changed, but the theology has remained the same: the modern Hindu villager as well as the modern Hindu theologian will, if asked, define Hinduism as *varṇāśramadharma.*

SEE ALSO Domestic Observances, article on Hindu Practices; Saṃnyāsa; Śāstra Literature; Sūtra Literature.

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RITES OF PASSAGE: JEWISH RITES

Jewish rites of passage are diverse in their historical development and reflect the dynamic relation between social conditions, local customs, and the continued reinterpretation of classic texts. Only one rite, that of circumcision, derives explicitly from a commandment, or *mitzvah* (pl. *mitzvot*), in the Hebrew Bible, but images from the Bible linked to marriage and death have been mobilized in the evolution of weddings and funerals. Bar mitzvah is not mentioned in the Bible, Mishnah, or Talmud, and the Bible has no ritual of conversion. In some circumstances rites of passages have been linked to other biblical-based celebrations such as festivals and pilgrimages. Jews' involvement in the wider society has shaped rites of passage from antiquity through the Middle Ages under Christianity and Islam and continuing into the contemporary world. A modern development is the explicit attention to life-passage rituals for women, and the greater place of women in ritual life in general. The notion of "life cycle" was not traditionally an explicit principle organizing rabbinic discussions of *halakhah,* or law concerning rituals: bar mitzvah appeared in discussions of the daily prayer routine, while weddings appeared in considerations of laws of marriage and divorce. An awareness of the life cycle appears in the early modern period in Europe and grew within both the orthodox and liberal streams of Judaism that evolved in the nineteenth century. With the personalization of religion that has characterized Western culture, much attention is now paid to the different ways life milestones may be linked to Jewish tradition.

CIRCUMCISION, NAMING, AND REDEMPTION OF THE FIRSTBORN. The commandment that Israelite males be circumcised is presented in *Genesis* 17 as part of God's evolving relationship with Abraham and his descendants. The set date of eight days is unusual in the world's cultures, where ritual operations on male genitals usually takes place closer to puberty. This very low age, coupled with the story of the great age of Abraham and Sarah when Isaac was born, emphasizes that fertility is not dependent on circumcision but on Divine will. The biblical text builds upon existing cultural associations, mobilizing them for its purposes. It turns circumcision into a sign of a covenant between God and the Abrahamid line. The notion of covenant (*brit*) also emerges from the context of mundane kin relations and protective alliances, stressing that Abraham is ultimately dependent on God rather than on human patronage. The narrative assumes that the procedure of circumcision is known and stresses its Israelite meaning.

Some neighboring groups in the biblical world may have practiced circumcision, while the Philistines were marked as those who did not. In the Hellenistic period, the ritual came to symbolize Jewish particularity, and this meaning was later reinforced by Christianity. Literature from the Mishnah and Talmudic periods describes the procedure as consisting of three stages: (1) *milah,* the removal of the foreskin; (2) *peri'ah,* the tearing off and folding back of the mucous membrane to expose the glans; (3) and *metsitsah,* the suction of the blood from the wound. The latter step probably was accepted surgical procedure of the day. A passage from *Luke* (1:59) indicates that circumcision was also the occasion of naming a boy.

The standard form of the circumcision ceremony took shape in the Middle Ages. Tradition views the father as being obligated to circumcise his son, but it allows him to appoint a specialist, the *mohel.* In the Middle Ages the synagogue became the preferred site for the occasion, typically at the end of morning prayer. Both these developments extended communal authority into family celebrations and restricted the participation of women. Auxiliary roles emerged, such as the *sandaq*, typically a grandfather to the child, who held the baby on his lap during the procedure. Other roles, entailing both women and men, ceremoniously brought the infant from his mother and the circle of women into the main ritual arena. A series of texts were made standard, such as the formula for praying for the health of the mother and naming the boy. Some practices lacked ancient authority, such as drinking and reciting the blessing for wine on the occasion. In medieval Europe the blood drawn in circumcision took on meanings that competed with understandings of sacramental blood in Christianity. In general, circumcisions were occasions in which popular notions coexisted with or strained against halakhic norms. During the eighth century an idea appeared—that Elijah the Biblical prophet, viewed as the protector of children, is present at every circumcision, and the practice emerged of setting aside an honorary chair for him. Later, there is evidence of an elaborate celebration or vigil taking place throughout the night preceding a circumcision, in which the presence of many people guarded the child. At first these were raucous occasions, but rabbinic influence subdued them and inserted readings from sacred texts, like the Zohar. This basic configuration was common both in European communities, where circumcision was a mark of being Jewish, and in Middle Eastern settings, where Muslims circumcised as well, but at a different age and with different theological claims.

The modern era and emancipation created new perceptions of circumcision. As Jews became citizens of European nation-states, they became subject to laws regulating the recording of births and deaths, and to laws regarding health. New concepts of disease raised the question of whether *metsitsah*, normally carried out by the *mohel* directly sucking blood from the wound, had to be maintained as part of the ceremony, but it was defended by the nineteenth-century movement of Orthodoxy. Some spokesmen for Reform, which developed at the same period, claimed that circumcision was no longer required, but the majority of Jews maintained the custom even as new hygienic procedures for carrying it out became common and new theories as to the health-based rationale of the operation became popular. These ideas became widespread among Gentiles in the United States, in comparison to Europe, and in the course of the twentieth century it became common for the training of a *mohel* to include both ritual and medical preparation.

Feminism, which rose in the mid-twentieth century, both critiqued the male-oriented connotations of the rituals and suggested practices whereby baby girls could "enter the covenant" and be named publicly. There had been various ways of naming girls in the past. In European (Ashkenazi) tradition, the father would be called to recite the blessings over the public reading of the Torah on a Sabbath soon after the birth. On that occasion, a prayer for the mother's convalescence was read and the baby was given a name, even if the mother were not present. An alternative or complementary practice, *holekreish*, took place at home after the mother was strong. The baby was raised in its cradle while surrounded by people and given a name. Girls often had Yiddish names rather than Hebrew ones, and the same ceremony might give boys a Yiddish name to complement the Hebrew one from his circumcision. *Holekreish* appears to stem from a local custom warding off a monster that threatened babies. A similar tradition may have existed in Spain, where rabbis established a home naming-ceremony for girls, including a liturgical component in Hebrew called *zeved ha-bat,* the gift of a daughter. From Spain it has spread to other areas of the Spanish-Jewish (Sephardi) world and now constitutes one model for contemporary girl-naming ceremonies.

Innovations for naming girls have appeared in all streams of Judaism. Orthodox Jews have introduced changes within the framework of *halakhah,* while a Hebrew neologism, *britah*, suggesting the feminine of *brit*, has emerged among secular Israelis. The timing of the ceremony has been derived from different spheres of practice, such as the Sabbath or the New Moon, which traditionally was important to women. Liturgical content has been taken from such diverse sources as circumcision or marriage. Some have introduced a physical gesture in girls' ceremonies to parallel circumcision: an example is "washing the feet," based on Abraham and Sarah welcoming harbingers of her giving birth (*Gn.* 18). Innovations regarding girls have influenced the way circumcisions are treated. The Reform movement now trains women to be a *mohel*, and discussions arise as to whether modern anesthesia should be used in circumcisions. Both contemporary circumcision and baby girl-naming reflect the contemporary diversity of Jewish life.

Another infancy rite, based on *Exodus* 13:12–13, is the redemption of the firstborn male. The term redemption, *padoh* in Hebrew, refers to an exchange that moves a person or thing from one category to another, and firstborn is here defined as a male who has "opened the womb" of his mother. This definition highlights the holiness attributed to "firstness" in the Bible, because if a male baby is born after his mother has given birth to a girl, or after she has miscarried, the redemption commandment does not apply to him. A father does not apply to fetuses who are not carried to term but are lost in a miscarriage, highlighting the holiness attributed to "firstness" in the Biblical view. The father redeems his firstborn son by transferring a sum of money, "five *sheqalim*," to a person from the priestly Aaronid line (a *kohen*), and in exchange the son is removed from the category of being holy. Rabbinic Judaism gave shape to the biblical injunction by adding texts and a formal blessing. In the Geonic period (c. seventh–eleventh centuries), a blessing for the mother to recite was composed but did not gain wide acceptance and disappeared from tradition. In some versions of the rite today, a mother is asked to testify that this baby is the first to "escape" her womb. Because it applies only to a fraction of children, the ceremony continues today, but it has attracted less general attention than has circumcision. Some strictly orthodox Jews seek opportunities of carrying out the redemption of firstlings of domestic animals.

BAR AND BAT MITZVAH AND RITUALS OF EDUCATION. The obligation to both obey and love God's words was expressed in *Deuteronomy* 6:4–9, where there also is a demand to write and recite them. The Deuteronomic text may represent a stage in which involvement with divine instructions and teachings, which with time collectively came to be called Torah, was being expanded beyond the priesthood and directed to all Israelites. The textual world of Torah and its evolving interpretations became a hallmark of Jewish life, and entrance into that world by male children constituted a significant passage. There are hints in the Bible, as in the beginning of *1 Samuel,* that weaning was viewed as a significant transition that could thrust a youngster into a setting of education. There is no clear evidence of rituals accompanying the entrance into the realm of Torah within Talmudic literature, but such rituals are known from France and the Rhineland (Ashkenaz) in the Middle Ages. They involved:

1. Carrying the child from his home to the synagogue;
2. The synagogue teacher's exposing the child to Hebrew letters that he in some form ingests as sweets;
3. Engaging in incantations intended to ward off forgetfulness;
4. Walking to the river from the synagogue.

A difference between the French and German sources is that in France the ceremony took place whenever a child reached the appropriate age, while in the Rhineland it was prescribed for the festival of Shavuʿot, the date to which tradition assigned the revelation at Sinai. Both in textual references mobilized within the ceremony and in one illuminated manuscript depicting it, the child's entrance into the realm of instruction is portrayed as analogous to the Israelites receiving the Torah at Sinai and then traveling to the next stage on the banks of the Jordan River. Some of the illuminated material shows the child on the knee of a teacher in a manner parallel to the way the infant Jesus sits on Mary's lap in contemporary art, suggesting that there was polemic content to the ceremony as well. In the medieval European setting, the ritual was important to the whole community, for which it recapitulated its sacred history and reinforced its identity. Aspects of the ceremony, such as associating the text of the Pentateuch with sweetness, survive in customs today, but toward the end of the Middle Ages this custom declined in centrality in comparison to the growing importance of bar mitzvah.

The age of thirteen appears in some classic sources; for example, males from that age must fast on the Day of Atonement, while females fast from the age of twelve. In the late Middle Ages in Europe, with the growing sense of the individual and the cultural recognition of stages of life, this was systematized into a general rule as to when a young person was obligated to observe the *mitsvot.* For a male, the salient expression of reaching this stage was the donning of phylacteries, or *tefillin* (containing the Deuteronomic passage discussed above, and related verses), during morning prayer and being counted in a prayer quorum. In the late sixteenth century the personal and communal elements now associated with bar mitzvah coalesced into a pattern. The year before a boy's thirteenth birthday was devoted to instruction in synagogue skills, and teachers exhorted him about his new moral and religious duties. The obligation to observe all the commandments was made public in his donning *tefillin* and being called to recite the blessings over the reading of the Torah. Families began to celebrate the event, and rabbis considered whether the occasion was appropriate for an official *mitzvah* feast like those accompanying a circumcision or wedding. The practice spread throughout Europe and beyond it.

In many Sephardi regions the practice was accepted, but the details differed. The name given the occasion varied; often it included the term *tefillin.* In some settings the celebration had two phases: the first of donning the *tefillin* on a weekday, and the second on the following Sabbath, when an extensive reading of the Torah and the Prophets in the synagogue gave the initiate more opportunity to demonstrate his skills. In North Africa the idea and the celebration were accepted, but into the twentieth century it was common to stage the occasion as soon as a youngster had the ability to go through the ceremony successfully, even if this preceded his thirteenth birthday. A bar mitzvah ritual never evolved among the Jews in Yemen.

A religious majority celebration for girls, now referred to by the feminine form bat mitzvah, first arose in the nineteenth century. It is linked to the creation of the confirmation ceremony first appearing in Central Europe early in that century as a complement to bar mitzvah. This stemmed from the critique that boys went through bar mitzvah ceremonies on a rote basis without adequate knowledge or personal commitment. Confirmation was to reflect further study and took place later in the teenage years in a public setting. Youths in the synagogue were quizzed on their knowledge and beliefs in a manner parallel to catechism, after which their joining the adult community was "confirmed." Classes preparing for this event began to include girls as well as boys. Most Orthodox leaders opposed the innovation, which initially was shaped on a Christian model, but with time some accepted it as it was embellished with traditional symbolism, such as taking place on the festival of Shavuʿot. The inclusion of girls in public rituals also evolved into various and occasional forms of celebrating bat mitzvah, reported in the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century both in Europe and the Middle East. Both confirmation and bat mitzvah became regularized in Reform and Conservative synagogues in North America in the twentieth century. In Conservative synagogues, bat mitzvah celebrations were different from bar mitzhah, taking place on Friday nights rather than Saturday mornings. They featured elements traditionally associated with women, such as lighting the Sabbath candles, but also included reading from the Prophets, as with boys. Feminism influenced all streams of Judaism to expand the education of women, and bar and bat mitzvah ceremonies were identical by the start of the twenty-first century in liberal branches of Judaism. This trend also led to the training of women cantors and rabbis in non-Orthodox rabbinic seminaries. In these matters, religious leadership responded to expectations that had become accepted among contemporary Jews.

A development in the late twentieth century was organized travel among young people to supplement Jewish education. Travel to Israel is a central destination, but the purpose typically is to reinforce Jewish identity among those in the Diaspora. Travel to sites of the European Holocaust by Israeli high school students has become a standard practice in the Jewish state for reinforcing national culture. Identity-bolstering travel also is utilized for people in later stages of life.

Another ritual connected to study is the convening of a *siyyum,* a celebration of conclusion, when an individual or group finishes studying a sacred book, traditionally a tractate of the Talmud. An ancient theme in Jewish symbolism likens a Torah scroll or a sacred book to a person. Thus, when a sacred book is no longer usable, it is not treated as refuse but should be buried in a manner parallel to burying human beings. Different practices evolved in relation to this norm. One was to bury worn-out books on the occasion of the burial of a sage, and another took place on a set date in the year, linked to one of the festivals. The overall notion links the individual to sacred texts throughout life and even in death.

MARRIAGE. As in many societies, marriage was the occasion of the most elaborate life-cycle rituals among Jews. The biblical blessing to humankind to "be fruitful and multiply" (*Gn.* 1:28) was a value taken for granted, and rabbinic writings assumed that marriage was the normal state for adults. In premodern times, weddings and the accompanying celebrations were the first occasion on which a woman was central in a public celebration. In various locales, the onset of menarche was recognized by traditional gestures within the family, but these were never linked to textual traditions. By contrast, the Bible and especially rabbinic law pay close attention to menstruation with regard to married women and their husbands' access to them. In the latter, a strict set of procedures evolved in which a woman terminates menstrual impurity after two weeks with immersion in a ritual bath, or *miqveh.*

The Bible and rabbinic law also portray men as the active partner in initiating and terminating marriage. Feminist literature debates how to interpret these texts and the historic developments behind them. The "patriarchal period" portrayed in *Genesis* features men in the public sphere, but the "matriarchs" are not passive actors, even though institutions like polygamy are taken for granted.

Talmudic literature provided detailed principles regulating marriage and divorce. These are based on the notion that a man acquires rights with regard to a woman, while she agrees to his acquisition of those rights. Contemporary weddings consist of two phases that were separated in time during antiquity. The first is called *kiddushin,* or *erusin,* and the second is *nisu'in. Nisu'in* is normally translated as "marriage," while *kiddushin* means "engagement" in modern Hebrew. In the context of formal marriage procedures, however, *kiddushin* establishes a ritual and legal relationship between a woman and man who perform the act. Related to the Hebrew term *kadosh,* or holy, the Talmud interprets *kiddushin* as a woman being "set aside" for a single sacred purpose; after that, no other man may have sexual access to her. *Kiddushin* takes place when a man gives a women an object of defined minimum value (now typically a ring) while he declares his intention to "consecrate" her and she agrees. Once this occurs, a permanent relationship is established, and if there is a decision not to continue with the marriage, a *get,* or bill of divorce, must be written. In antiquity, months or more passed between *kiddushin* and *nisu'in,* after which a woman could permanently co-reside with her husband. In eleventh-century France it became the practice to combine both phases of the ceremony, and this was widely adopted in Europe and later became common elsewhere. In several Middle Eastern communities, the separation of the phases continued until much more recent times.

The *ketubba,* or marriage contract, is also a post-biblical institution. It states the economic obligations of a man to a woman if the marriage relationship terminates. Its contents have varied over time and place. It might specify the dowry brought into the marriage by a woman or contain specific conditions. For example, within Sephardi tradition, where polygamy remained a theoretical option, it might stipulate that a man may take a second wife only with the permission of the first. Traditionally a *ketubba* is written in Aramaic and signed by two witnesses. Often, parts of it are read or explained at wedding ceremonies between the *kiddushin* and *nisu'in* phases, but this is not required to make it binding. At various times, artistic traditions of *ketubba* illumination developed. Today, in liberal branches of Judaism, opportunities are offered to a couple to formulate their own mutual commitments in written form, and they may choose to place an elaborately decorated *ketubba* on a wall in their new home. These practices both hold on to and reinterpret aspects of an ancient *halakhic* pattern.

The *nisu'in* phase in antiquity entailed a woman moving permanently into her husband's home. The wedding canopy, or *ḥuppa,* which became common in the Ashkenazi Middle Ages, is seen as symbolizing this stage. Another pattern, still common in some Sephardi traditions, is for the groom to spread his prayer shawl over the head of the bride. Liturgically, *nisuʾin* is marked by the recital of seven blessings from Talmudic literature. They may be summarized as follows:

1. A blessing over wine;
2. Three blessings citing God's fashioning humankind with the power of procreation;
3. A blessing over the ingathering of Jews to Jerusalem;
4. Two blessings citing the joy of the bride and groom.

This order moves from the most inclusive category of humanity through Jewish peoplehood and then highlights the single couple. The fifth and the last blessings mention, respectively, Zion and Jerusalem, with the latter expressing the hope that the joy of weddings will soon be heard again in that city. This theme is also associated with the well-known feature of Jewish weddings of breaking a glass, which now typically concludes the ceremony. Formally, it is only a custom, but for many it marks the high point of Jewish weddings. It carries many general meanings, such as breaking the hymen, severance from the natal family, and the irreversibility of passage, which energize the now standard rabbinic gloss that it reminds people of the destroyed ancient Temple in Jerusalem. This illustrates how rabbinic rules and interpretations interlace with popular practices and understandings that traditionally featured festivities taking place during the days preceding and following the wedding itself.

At the turn of the twenty-first century, a major factor embellishing basic marriage ritual is the expectation of equality between the partners, and in liberal branches of Judaism rabbis may encourage couples to suggest their own innovations. Orthodox rabbis open to this trend have also found ways to express equality, such as including women friends among the those who hold up the *ḥuppa* or having the bride give the groom a ring in addition to the formal *kiddushin*. A personally formulated *ketubba*, viewed either as the essential marriage contract in liberal ceremonies or as a supplementary document in some Orthodox instances, is another feature that is spreading.

Divorce, while discouraged in Jewish tradition, has always been a possibility and is explicitly mentioned in *Deuteronomy* 24:1. There is symmetry between divorce and marriage in rabbinic law; they are both actions taken by the man to which a woman acquiesces (or refuses). The necessity of having a woman agree to accept a bill of divorce was instituted by authorities in medieval Ashkenaz. A *get* is a short document, addressed to a woman from her husband, which releases her from her commitment to him and makes her "permissible to any man." In contrast to a *ketubba,* it cannot be a standard form in which the names and date are filled in, but must be prepared expressly for the divorce in question. After it is written, a *get* must be delivered to a woman, and it must be clear that she received and accepted it. If there are mistakes in a *get*, or a lack of clarity, it may be claimed that a woman is not formally divorced. If she then enters into a relationship with another man, she is committing adultery. Rabbis have always been concerned with the exactitude of the *get* procedure, not only with regard to the "morality" of women but with reference to potential illegitimate children (*mamzerim*) issuing from an adulterous union, who themselves would be severely restricted as to whom they could marry.

This has given rise to the problem of the *aguna*, an "anchored" women who is no longer in an active marriage but has not received a *get*, making it impossible for her to remarry within a Jewish framework. Classically, this concerns women whose husbands have disappeared without proof of death. In modern times this problem has become acute in places where Jews live under civil law within a nation-state while their marital status is also subject to rabbinic law either because they are Jewish citizens of Israel or because they choose to follow *halakhah*. Cases exist of husbands who effectively have separated from their wives but refuse to give them a *get* out of indifference or hostility. This critical life-cycle issue is now discussed within organizations and networks that span the Jewish world, in the attempt to find both *halakhic* and practical solutions for women in the status of *aguna.*

DEATH, MOURNING, AND MEMORY. The Hebrew Bible contains only a few explicit rules concerning death and mourning, but many practices and attitudes are reflected throughout it that became models for customs and regulations that were systematized later. These include repugnance over delay in burying corpses, the rending of garments by a mourner, eulogies, a meal initiating the process of reconciliation with loss, and the expectation that friends visit and console a mourner. Part of the rabbinic liturgy during burial is a quote from the *Book of Job* (1:21): "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away: blessed be the name of the Lord." Several rules separate the realms of sacrificial sanctity and of a *kohen* from death: a priest should not have contact with the dead except with regard to his immediate family (*Lv.* 21:1–3). A tendency in Pentateuchal law is to encourage ordinary Israelites to adopt priestlike standards, as in the prohibition against gashing one's skin when hearing news of death (*Dt.* 14:1–2). This practice, violating the prohibition, still took place in the twentieth century among women from some communities in the Middle East.

Rabbinic laws were systematized in an extra-Talmudic compilation that acquired the euphemistic name *Semaḥot*, or rejoicings. It opens by asserting that a person who is dying is to be considered alive in every respect: nothing should be done to hasten death. It also defines periods of mourning: the first intense week (*shivʿah*), thirty days, and a year. During *shivʿah,* one should stay at home and refrain from washing, anointing oneself, wearing shoes, and sexual intercourse. Friends are obligated to visit and console a mourner during this period. The Bible and early rabbinic writings did not provide elaborate images of life after death. Some claim that such notions grew subsequent to the devastation that followed the second-century CE revolt against Roman power.

Much later, beginning in the late eleventh century, the suffering associated with the Crusades in Western Europe were the context for a liturgical development that has become central in Jewish mourning and commemoration: the *kaddish* prayer.

Communities in Ashkenaz compiled memory books with the names of people murdered during the Crusades, including the names of women, and created ritual occasions (*yizkor*), upon which these names were read aloud. This created a nexus between personal and communal memorialization. The notion also developed, based on Talmudic and extra-Talmudic sources, that a person could assist the soul of a deceased parent by bringing the community to declare, in Aramaic, "May the name of God be blessed forever and ever" (*Dn.* 2:20). This is the kernel of the *kaddish* that exists in various versions and came to fulfill various liturgical functions, but which is saliently associated with memorialization. It is recited by a mourner in daily prayer during the first year after death, on the anniversary of death, and on *yizkor* occasions. Some Sephardi scholars resisted the notion of an impact upon the soul of the deceased, but the idea spread throughout the Jewish world. Traditionally, it was associated with males only, but in liberal streams of Judaism women also recite *kaddish.*

Late medieval Ashkenaz was also the site of the evolution of the *ḥevra kaddisha,* the burial society charged with dealing with sick people on their death bed and making funeral arrangements. It emerged at a time when traditional communal authority was weakening and concerned itself with many matters like collecting and distributing charity or providing funds for the dowries and weddings of orphans. Its power derived from vivid images of the afterlife of the soul that were developing with the diffusion of qabbalistic notions through wide social circles, with the *ḥevra kaddisha* becoming the gatekeeper for the correct ritual transition from this world to the next. At this point, specialized manuals dealing with the soul, death, and burial began to appear and may reflect a step in the explicit recognition of "the" life cycle. Similar developments occurred elsewhere, and a professional *ḥevra kaddisha* is still the main framework for dealing with death. In smaller communities in North America where there is no *ḥevra kaddisha*, many funeral homes send morticians to train someone so that proper last rites are provided for local Jews. A late-twentieth-century development in such communities is that "ordinary" Jews have banded together to form a *ḥevra kaddisha* on a voluntary basis.

Modern science and emancipation created some clashes between rabbinic norms regarding burial and the nation-states of which they became citizens. The traditional expectation was that a person would be buried as soon after death as possible. Late in the eighteenth century there was growing concern over the possibility of "false death"—that a person would appear to be dead and mistakenly be buried alive. Rabbinic criteria of establishing death had to be coordinated with prevailing secular concepts and laws. Issues of difference and possible coordination continue to exist over matters such as "brain death," organ transplants, and mercy killing. Another example concerns the death of infants under thirty days old. Traditional *halakhah* does not provide for any burial ceremony, while pregnancies assisted by modern prenatal examinations often imbue an unborn fetus with individual characteristics resulting in a personal sense of loss even in the case of a prefers miscarriage. In all these areas contemporary rabbis within both liberal and orthodox streams of Judaism have forged a variety of approaches to abandoning some burial and mourning practices, maintaining and reinterpreting others, and in some cases shaping new ones.

Practices of memorialization have also accommodated to modern circumstances. The anonymous death of millions in the Nazi Holocaust meant that the date of death of close relatives often was not known. Israel's chief rabbinate selected the tenth of the Hebrew month of Tevet, a fast day marking the siege of Jerusalem in the sixth century BCE, as a date appropriate for the recital of *kaddish* on behalf of these Holocaust victims. Individual mourning thus continues to be linked to collective definitions. Within the United States, suburban synagogues built in the second half of the twentieth century often incorporated within them memorial boards, carrying the names of deceased individuals, that had been removed from defunct synagogues in areas where Jews no longer lived. One example concerns Jews in South Africa, from which there is continued out-migration. Cremation is not permitted by *halakhah,* but some Jews there have requested to be cremated in order to make their remains transportable, because they realize that there will be no children nearby to visit their graves. Here is an example of one traditional pattern clashing with another in changed circumstances.

CONVERSION. While not an inevitable phase of the life cycle, conversion ritual can be viewed as a rite of passage: the Talmud states that a proselyte is like a newborn child. The Bible envisions the possibility of foreigners joining the Israelites and participating in rituals but does not provide a single marker of that process. *Exodus* (12:48) insists that foreigners among the Israelites be circumcised in order to partake of the Passover sacrifice, and *Deutoronomy* (21:10–14) specifies how a woman captured in war may become a legitimate wife. The Mishnah does not contain a tractate dealing with proselytes, or *gerim,* but Talmudic literature includes debates over which conversion rituals are the most critical ones: circumcision, immersion in amiqveh, or both together. One source states that a proselyte must be informed about some of the weightier *mitzvot*, along with some less central ones, but there is little stress on understanding the motivations of the individual proselyte. None of the sources emphasizes conversion as a personal religious transformation, but they do stress the affiliation with a new collectivity and its norms. The notion of examining the motives of a potential convert began to emerge only in the Middle Ages. For much of the medieval period, the actual likelihood of Christians or Muslims converting to Judaism was minimal, so the rabbinic legal tradition in this area was not tested by the crucible of historical experience. With emancipation in Europe, issues of intermarriage and potential conversion arose with a new poignancy.

As with other ritual issues, diverse approaches developed toward conversion. Orthodox rabbis have been hesitant to accept converts on the grounds that their motives may be extraneous, and do so only when convinced that the proselyte will lead an orthodox life. The liberal streams have been more open, but Conservative Judaism demands preparatory study, circumcision, and immersion, while Reform Judaism does not insist upon the ritual requirements. In the wake of widespread intermarriage in the United States in the late twentieth century, Reform Judaism also decided that a person can claim Jewish status through descent either from a father or a mother, while traditional *halakhah* sees only the mother as determinative. The small Reform movement in Israel did not encourage this innovation because the situation in that country, where the state privileges Orthodoxy, raises questions of whether ritual matters that effect personal status might create permanent splits within the Jewish population. Given the links between Israel and Jews all over the world, life-cycle events can become global political issues. On the background of growing choice in all cultural realms, questions of community and of religious authority at the beginning of the twenty-first century often appear as aspects of individual life cycles.

SEE ALSO Conservative Judaism; Orthodox Judaism; Reconstructionist Judaism; Reform Judaism.

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RITES OF PASSAGE: MUSLIM RITES

While Muslims throughout the world emphasize the unity of Islam, they also recognize the impressive diversity of cultural and historical contexts in which Islamic civilization has been elaborated and expressed. Because of this diversity, rites of passage in the Islamic world draw equally upon ritual forms and metaphors specific to local cultural contexts and upon the more universal elements of the Islamic tradition. Some of these ritual and expressive forms existed prior to the advent of Islam in the seventh century CE and were incorporated with appropriate shifts in context and meaning into the Islamic tradition. Others developed concurrently with the Islamic tradition.

Some transitions marked by rites of passage, including birth, naming, circumcision, social puberty, betrothal, marriage, pregnancy, motherhood, fatherhood, death, and mourning, are not specific to the Islamic world. These rites show an especially wide diversity of form and content because they incorporate major elements of local belief and practice. Marriage, for instance, is a secular contract in Islam. Muslim jurisprudence specifies certain legal requirements but not the form taken by marriage ceremonies. Provided that preexisting rites of passage are not directly contrary to the more universalistic aspects of the Islamic tradition, they remain a part of accepted local practice. Likewise, socially recognized transitions considered significant in some Islamic societies may be given much less emphasis in others. Some transitions, including the completion of Qurʾanic schooling and the pilgrimage (*ḥājj*) to Mecca, are specifically Islamic, yet how these occasions are ritually marked varies considerably with location.

Because of this diversity, rites of passage considered to be inherent components of the Islamic tradition in some parts of the Islamic world or by some social groups are not always accepted as having anything to do with Islam by Muslims elsewhere. For example, before departing for the pilgrimage to Mecca, many North African Muslims first circumambulate their town or village, visiting its principal shrines in the company of friends and relatives. Flags or banners associated with these shrines are carried in the procession. On their return from Mecca, the pilgrims participate in a similar procession and visit local shrines before crossing the thresholds of their homes. Modernist Muslims claim that these "local" ceremonies have nothing to do with Islam or the pilgrimage proper, but for many North Africans these practices remain an integral part of Islam as they practice and understand their faith. Modernist sentiments are even more intense against the annual festivals (*mūsims*) of some ethnic groups in North Africa, especially Morocco, in which ethnic collectivities renew their "covenant" (*ʿahd*) with particular saints and their living descendants through the offering of a sacrifice. Many such festivals occur annually just before the planting season and the moving of herds from summer to winter pastures. Similarly, the Alevi (Arab., ʿAlawī) Muslims of eastern Turkey, Syria, and northern Iraq fast only twelve days per year, in honor of the twelve imams (leaders of the Islamic community) whom they recognize, instead of for an entire lunar month. Alevis also consider that the true *ḥājj* is carried out in one's heart, not in travel to Mecca. Their interpretation of Islamic obligations and practice is not recognized as valid by neighboring Muslims of other sects.

Although some rites of passage resemble one another in general form throughout the Muslim world, a thorough knowledge of how they are locally elaborated is essential to understanding their contextual meaning. Most of these rites derive in part from formal Islamic doctrine but are equally shaped by, and in turn shape, diverse underlying local conceptions of society. In Marrakesh, for example, the ceremonies marking birth, circumcision, marriage, and pilgrimage resemble one another because they share an underlying conception of social boundaries and social space. These conceptions are not derived from Islamic doctrine, but neither are they opposed to it. After a woman gives birth, she and her child are confined for seven days to the room in which the birth took place. Ceremonies involving only close relatives are then performed, but until the fortieth day after birth, the mother and her child refrain from crossing the threshold of the house. At the end of this period, they visit one of the principal shrines of Marrakesh. After a child is circumcised, he and his mother are likewise confined to one room of the house for the first week then to the entire house for another interval; finally, all restrictions on movement end after a visit to one of the major local shrines. For marriage, newly wed couples remain seven days in the nuptial chamber, followed by a few days in the house itself and finally a visit to one of the principal shrines. Returning pilgrims, once they have entered their houses, follow a similar progression to regain the full use of social space and to reincorporate themselves into ordinary society. Even with the widespread expansion of mass education in recent years, which has the effect in many parts of the world of modifying or eliminating local ritual practices, those of Marrakesh remain largely intact.

In Islamic societies, as in others, the social and cultural significance accorded to specific rites of passage becomes clear only when the rites are considered in their full social context. In some parts of the Muslim world—in Silwa, a village in Egypt's Aswan province, for example—weddings are an important marker of transition, especially for women. Upon marriage a woman leaves the residence of her own parents and becomes part of her husband's domestic group. However, the significance of marriage elsewhere—as in Atjeh, in northern Sumatra, for example—is overshadowed by a woman's first live birth. In Atjeh, when a woman becomes a mother, she also becomes an adult and takes legal possession of her house. The ceremonies associated with her becoming a mother and the naming of her child are locally regarded as much more significant than marriage itself: Women claim that they are girls until they have children.

In the interior of Oman, a country in the southeastern corner of the Arabian Peninsula, marriages generally occur within the extended family and often involve a move of no more than several hundred feet for the bride, from the house of her father to that of a nearby relative. She continues to spend the better part of the day in the house of her own mother, although elsewhere in the Muslim world it is common to have a period of avoidance between a new wife and her family of birth. Marriage ceremonies in the Omani interior are such subdued, private occasions that non-family members often learn that they have taken place only after the event. In contrast, once a woman gives birth, the naming ceremony for her child is elaborate. It occasions visits from every household in the community and results in the mother's achieving full social status as a woman. The mother, not the child, is the center of attention at naming ceremonies.

Since the interpretation of rites of passage is dependent upon local cultural contexts, principal Moroccan practices are described here to illustrate a complete set of major social transitions. Examples are also provided from elsewhere in the Islamic world to indicate the range of major variation.

BIRTH AND NAMING. In Morocco, if a woman wishes to induce pregnancy or fears a difficult one, she visits the sanctuaries of marabouts (*walī*s) reputed for their efficacy in dealing with such difficulties. She will often leave a strip of cloth from her own dress as a promise that, if her childbirth occurs, she will return and sacrifice a sheep or goat, distributing its meat either to descendants of the *walī* or to the poor. Once a woman knows she is pregnant, she begins to eat special foods and to receive visits from female neighbors and relatives, practices that are common elsewhere in the Islamic world.

After she has given birth, a woman is confined to her house for a period that varies from a week to forty days. During this period she is regarded as ritually unclean and is unable to pray and fast, an indication of her marginal status. At the end of her confinement she is taken by female friends and relatives to the public bath, resumes normal activities, and is able once again to leave her house. The child is kept in its swaddling clothes during this period and is constantly guarded for fear that he or she might be exchanged for a malevolent spirit *(jinnī)*. Most women unaffected by modernist Islamic belief and practice perform a series of rituals designed to propitiate any such spirits that might be nearby.

The most important event in the child's life is the naming ceremony (*subūʿ*), which ideally occurs a week after the birth of a child of either sex. On this day the child is named, usually by its father but in agreement with the mother and other relatives. The mother is bathed, dressed in new clothes, and painted with henna, often by the midwife who has delivered the child. The child also has henna applied to its face, hands, and feet, both because henna is thought to be pleasing to the eye and because it is thought to protect the child's spirit from harm. The mother receives visits from female relatives and neighbors on this occasion.

There is no fixed set of relatives involved in the naming of a child in Morocco. The choice is primarily a personal one and may also involve consultation with patrons or close friends. Likewise, the selection of names reflects a variety of influences and personal choices. Some persons prefer distinctly religious names such as Muḥammad (Mḥā in Berber-speaking regions) or ʿAbd Allāh ("servant of God") for men, and Fāṭimah, the name of the Prophet's daughter, for women. Other children are named after a religious feast day, such as Mulūdī for a man born on or near the Prophet's birthday (colloquially, ʿĪd al-Mulūd). Other names reflect a commitment to nationalism, as in using the name ʿAllāl, after the Moroccan nationalist leader ʿAllāl al-Fāsī. The name chosen may honor a recently deceased relative; it is a bad omen to name a child after a living relative. In non-Arabic-speaking countries, such as Indonesia and Bangladesh, the growing use of Arabic names instead of non-Islamic ones or names in local languages is a direct result of a growing commitment to reform Islam.

For boys in Morocco, the naming ceremony is always accompanied by the sacrifice of a sheep or goat, although a blood sacrifice is often omitted in the case of girls. This sacrifice is known as the *ʿaqīqah* ceremony. The male relatives and friends of the father are invited to a midday feast, the child's hair is cut for the first time, and alms are distributed to the poor. A separate feast is held for female relatives in the evening. This rite of passage is so significant that in wealthy families it is not unusual for hundreds of guests from throughout the country to attend. In many villages, each part of the sacrificed animal has a special significance and is designated for particular persons. The liver is eaten only by members of the household, and the heart and stomach fat are eaten by the mother alone. Other parts of the animal, usually including the skin and entrails, are destined for the midwife.

Moroccans consider the sacrifice for the naming ceremony to be an Islamic obligation, although of the four legal schools of Sunnī Islam only the Ḥanbali school regards it as compulsory. The other schools merely allow the practice, although Islamic tradition ascribes the sacrifice, which has pre-Islamic antecedents, to the prophet Muḥammad (d. 632). The sacrifice, like the haircutting, is thought to avert evil from the child by offering a substitute sacrifice. At the same time, with the acquisition of a name, the child becomes a full social person.

CIRCUMCISION. Circumcision is the next major rite of passage for boys. It usually occurs between the ages of two and seven. There is no equivalent ceremony in Morocco for girls. The day before the circumcision, the boy is bathed, and his head is shaved. His mother paints henna on his hands and feet to ward off the evil eye. A sacrifice is made, and a feast is prepared for friends, neighbors, and relatives, to which the guests bring small gifts. Many households wait until ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā or a marriage in the family or arrange with other households to have their children circumcised together. On the day after the circumcision feast, the boy, dressed in fine clothes and accompanied by musicians, is led around town on a mule. In the past in some areas, his clothes would have resembled those of a bride. Elements of the circumcision ceremonies are exactly parallel to those of marriage. The boy's mother and sisters wear their hair loose, as they would for a wedding. Just before the circumcision itself, usually performed by an itinerant specialist but increasingly by medical personnel, the boy is dressed in a new, white shift, often similar to that worn by pilgrims to Mecca. The garment is another indication of the purificatory intent of the ritual.

In classical Arabic, circumcision is known as *khitān,* although in Morocco and elsewhere in the Arab world it is usually known as *ṭahārah* ("purification"), and in Turkey as *sünnet,* or the practice of the Prophet. Although not mentioned in the Qurʾān, circumcision is attributed to the Prophet and recognized as a pre-Islamic Arabian tradition; it appears to have been performed at puberty and as a preliminary to marriage. There is a modern tendency among educated Moroccans to have their children circumcised at an earlier age, sometimes even at birth, although for most families circumcision still takes place when a child, toward the age of six or seven, prepares to assume the responsibilities of an adult Muslim, including the daily prayers and the Ramaḍān fast.

In Morocco, as elsewhere in the Muslim world, the possession of reason *(ʿaql)* informed by accepted Islamic practice implies the ability of Muslims to subordinate their "natural" passions or personal inclinations (*hawa nafs*) to God's will. The concepts of *ʿaql* and *hawa nafs* occur in almost all Islamic societies. Children are said to be "ignorant" *(jāhil)* because they lack knowledge of the Islamic code of conduct and the capacity to abide by it. Thus, when circumcision occurs at the traditionally preferred age of six or seven, it marks the beginning of full participation in the Islamic community. Memorization of the Qurʾān, for those children who accomplish this feat, also sets a child apart from ordinary society through the mnemonic possession of the word of God. Like circumcision, the event is marked by a public procession and announcement of the child's new status.

MARRIAGE. After discreet private negotiations between the families involved, a date for the wedding and the size of the marriage payment (*ṣadāq*) are set. This payment, relative to the value placed on the girl and her family, is used to buy domestic furnishings that remain the bride's property. By Islamic law, payment must be made in order for the marriage to be valid. The contract is usually signed in the presence of notaries or valid witnesses just after a ceremonial dinner at the girl's home at which her father or guardian is formally asked for her hand. Later, an engagement party is held. This is primarily a woman's party, with dancing and singing, the closing of the marriage contract, and payment of the bridewealth.

A day or two before the actual wedding, the bride's family delivers to the bridegroom's home the furnishings purchased with the *ṣadāq* money. These are publicly displayed, often on the back of a truck, and accompanied by drummers and musicians. There is often a small celebration at the woman's house before she is taken to that of her future husband. In rural areas, the groom's party may bring an animal to be sacrificed at her house. Several days later they return to carry the bride away to the groom's house, where the major ceremony is held. As the groom's party, often accompanied by the blowing of horns and drumming, approaches the woman's house, there is a mock battle between the bride's family and the groom's, at the end of which the girl is allowed to be taken away. She has been prepared by purification with water and henna.

The day before the wedding, the groom also undergoes purification. He goes to the bath, accompanied by his friends, and is treated as if he were a sultan with his court. He is often painted with henna and entertained by musicians. In the past in some regions, the groom was himself dressed like a bride for a brief period, a custom that emphasized all the more the imminent transformation of his status. Afterward, he is washed, shaved, and dressed in new clothes.

Upon arrival at the groom's house, the bride is ceremonially dressed in heavy layers of fine brocades and jewels, often rented for the occasion. After a long evening of music and feasting, the groom leaves his guests, enters the bridal chamber, lifts the bride's veil, and ceremonially offers her milk and dates. Depending upon the region of Morocco and the social class, close relatives may visit the couple briefly at this stage. Wedding gifts are publicly announced and displayed at this time. Religious specialists are invited to the wedding feast, where they recite the Qurʾān and invoke blessings upon the couple but do not play a central role. Celebrations continue until proof of the bride's virginity is brought to the guests, although Moroccans are rapidly abandoning this practice. For a week thereafter, the wife remains confined to her husband's house, receiving visits only from close female friends. So that the bride may become accustomed to new patterns of domestic authority, she is forbidden to see her father, brothers, and other male relatives for at least three months. The public nature of parts of the ceremony, the bride's change of residence, and the restrictions on her conduct formally denote the couple's change of marital status.

DEATH. Deaths and funeral ceremonies show the most consistency in essential features throughout the Muslim world. More so than the other rites of passage, those for death and mourning are largely common to all Muslims. If the death is expected, the Qurʾān is recited continuously in the presence of the ailing person. At the point of death, the eyes and mouth of the person are closed, and the arms are straightened alongside the body. The deceased is placed with his or her face turned toward Mecca. For the duration of mourning, regular social life is suspended for those affected. A person of the same sex who knows the prescribed ritual washing and preparation of the dead is called in. The women of the family are expected to cry and lose their composure, but men's expressions of grief are expected to be much more restrained. The deceased is wrapped in a white seamless cloth similar to that worn for the pilgrimage; in the case of those who have actually made the *ḥājj,* the seamless white garments worn while in Mecca are used. The Qurʾān is recited. Burial occurs quickly, on the same day if death occurs in the morning or early afternoon; if death occurs late in the day, burial is postponed until the next morning. Friends and relatives accompany the procession to the cemetery, where a prayer for the dead is recited by a religious specialist. On returning from the cemetery, participants in the procession are provided with a meal at the house of the deceased. In some rural areas, food is also placed over the grave for the first three days after death.

Mourning continues for three days, the period thought to be sanctioned by the Qurʾān, and consolations are received by the relatives of the deceased. Since death is ordained by God, proper conduct for a Muslim after the initial shock of grief is to accept the will of God. The lack of forbearance and composure (*ʿazaʾ*) implies a lack of reason, in this context the capacity to adjust to an expression of God's will. A widow remains in seclusion for four months and ten days, a period prescribed by the Qurʾān and the minimum legal waiting period (*ʿiddah*) before she is allowed to remarry. In Morocco, it is not unusual for elaborate stone markers or enclosures to be erected around the grave, a sharp contrast with, for example, the custom of the Ibāḍīyah of Oman, who indicate the equality of all Muslims after death by marking graves with simple stones, none of which carry inscriptions.

MAJOR VARIATIONS. If there are numerous points of resemblance among rites of passage in the Islamic world, divergences are just as pronounced. In Egyptian villages along the Nile, women visit shrines and cross the river to encourage conception; the latter practice is directly related to a wish to induce a change in the woman's status. In these practices, the parallels with Morocco are almost exact, yet divergences also become clear when overall patterns are considered. In Atjeh, for instance, an elaborate series of visits takes place between the mothers of the wife and the husband, both before and after births, accompanied by complex food restrictions. Some of these restrictions occur only for odd-numbered pregnancies. In Java, the various rituals associated with birth are timed by the Javanese calendar, in which each month has thirty-five days. Many of the rituals involve a rich mixture of Islamic, Hindu-Buddhist, and indigenous spirits, and each food and gesture associated with these rituals has a specific implication. Thus, in the small feast for household members only, which occurs just before birth, a dish of rice is served with a peeled banana in the middle, to symbolize an easy birth. The precision with which events are timed and the punctilious concern with ritual detail are alien to other parts of the Islamic world. After childbirth in Atjeh, a woman may not leave her house for forty-four days. For much of this time, she lies on a platform over hot bricks with her legs extended and her ankles together. The idea behind this "roasting" is to become as dry as possible in order to expel the aftereffects of childbirth, again a set of notions without direct correspondences elsewhere.

The obligations incurred by guests at life-crisis ceremonies and the comportment appropriate to them also show considerable range. Egyptian villagers keep punctilious written accounts of the gifts they give to other members of the community and the value of those they receive in return. By contrast, the notion of strict, explicit equality of value is lacking in the Arabian Peninsula and is there considered to be against the spirit of Islam. In Java, certain foods such as wafer-thin disks of rice are served at major life-crisis feasts. Sharing them is meant to symbolize that all guests are internally composed and free from strong emotions such as envy, hate, and jealousy, a concern not equally emphasized elsewhere.

Circumcision shows two major patterns of variation throughout the Islamic world. Although all males are circumcised, women are circumcised only in certain areas, notably in Upper Egypt, the Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, West Africa, and Atjeh. Circumcision for women, which occurs between the ages of six or seven (Egypt) and twelve (Atjeh), occasions a minimum of ceremony. It does not result in any significant change of status for a girl, although the operation is considered a necessary prerequisite to marriage. Unlike boys undergoing circumcision, girls are allowed and even encouraged to cry out in pain. The Islamic jurist al–Shāfiʿī (767–820 CE) argues that circumcision is obligatory for both sexes. Other jurists argue that it is merely "honorable" for women. The more extreme forms of circumcision, including infibulation, have been declared illegal in recent years by many governments, although enforcement is highly variable.

The age at which male circumcision occurs varies according to its significance in a particular cultural context. In northern Yemen, for example, circumcision until recently took place between the ages of twelve and fifteen and, despite official government bans, continues in some areas. The youth is surrounded by men and women of his village. A knife is held to his foreskin as he recites three times, "There is no god but God and Muḥammad is his Prophet." The foreskin is then cut and thrown into the crowd. The youth retrieves it and is carried on his mother's shoulders while he continues to display it proudly, leading a procession of dancers and brandishing his dagger. He is humiliated for life if he shows any sign of pain. In this context, circumcision is more a test of virility and a marker of young adult status than a point of entry into participation in the religious community, which is the case when circumcision occurs at the age of six or seven, as in Morocco. In Java, it traditionally occurred after a youth had completed religious studies, between the ages of ten and fourteen; two transitions that are kept separate elsewhere in the Islamic world were thus fused. Circumcision is also seen as a prelude to marriage, which is not the case when it occurs at a much younger age.

The vitality of the Islamic tradition is indicated in its capacity for self-renewal and transformation. The rites of passage described here for the Islamic world are inseparable from basic notions of social and cultural identity. As notions of identity shift, so do the forms of many of these rituals, even in the face of traditions previously accepted and taken for granted in specific contexts. Since the late nineteenth century, modernist and reform movements in Islam have given impetus to a reappraisal of the links between Islam and personal identity. Likewise, the abandonment or modification of practices not considered authentically Islamic, even if locally tolerated, signifies that notions of self and community are in a process of change, a process that is ongoing throughout the Islamic world.

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RITES OF PASSAGE: NEOPAGAN RITES

Rites of passage, like most forms of Neopagan ritual, take place within a sacred circle. The basic ritual form of the circle casting illustrates the ways in which deity is in the world, not outside it. While different variations on circle casting exist, most circles are oriented with the four cardinal directions, and the four directions are typically associated with forces of nature: fire, air, water, and earth. Some Neopagans address the "powers" of a particular direction, while others address the "winds." Depending on the ritual, specific gods and goddesses are invoked and invited to be present in the circle or embodied by participants. During the ritual, participants are often led on an "astral journey" in which they visualize another realm of existence, the spirit world, or astral reality. The presence of deities, journeys through other worlds, and shifts of consciousness all contribute to participants' experience of the rite. Because it is designated as a safe and sacred space, the circle facilitates initiations, the passing from one phase of life to another, and the shifting from one type of consciousness to another.

Rites of passage include personal initiations within specific Neopagan traditions. Witchcraft covens and Neopagan ritual groups include initiation rites to mark the passage of members from one stage of learning and skill to another. For instance, Gardnerian Witchcraft, named for Gerald Gardner (1883–1964), includes different degrees that participants can attain through training and study within a coven led by a priest and priestess who offer the initiation when they believe their students are ready. Traditional Witchcraft of this type and other forms of Neopaganism are mystery religions in which secret knowledge is passed through a series of initiations, and the individuals who undergo these initiations are expected to be transformed by them.

SEASONAL RITUALS. Wiccans, or Witches, are the largest Neopagan tradition, and their Wheel of the Year provides a model for other Neopagan celebrations of seasonal festivals. The Wheel is based on the ever-changing relationship of a goddess and a god as they move through the cycle of the seasons. The goddess has varied meanings for Wiccans and among Neopagans in general. She may be seen as a great goddess who encompasses all of life or as the partner of a god. She is also sometimes seen as having three aspects: maiden, mother, and crone (old woman). The maiden aspect of the goddess is celebrated in the spring, the mother in summer, and the crone in winter. The god plays different roles in different seasons as well. He may be referred to as any of the following: Lord of the Greenwood, Sun King, Corn King, Lord of Life and Death, or Leader of the Wild Hunt. The Wheel that the goddess and god move through includes eight sabbats: Yule or Winter Solstice on December 21, Brigid's Day or Candlemas on February 2, Eostar or Spring Equinox on March 21, Beltane on May 1, Litha or Summer Solstice on June 21, Lammas or Lughnasad on August 1, Mabon or Fall Equinox on September 21, and Samhain or Halloween on November 1.

Rituals for these sabbats are designed to celebrate seasonal changes and at the same time to lead participants through personal changes appropriate to the seasons. Beltane, or May Day, for instance, is a celebration of fertility. Neopagan rituals at this time of year might involve selecting a May queen and king who would be symbolically married. Neopagan marriages, called *handfastings*, might be performed on Beltane. Such unions are ritualized in a variety of ways for both homosexual and heterosexual lovers. Some are long-term commitments, while others are for "a year and a day," to be renewed at a later time if the participants are willing.

Rituals designed for Samhain, the festival of the dead, might include a ritualized journey through the land of the dead and remembrances of dead loved ones. Many Samhain rituals refer to some version of the "Descent of the Goddess" in which the goddess descends to the land of the dead to restore the god, who has become the lord of death, to a new life. She sleeps with him and creates him anew so that he will be reborn on the Winter Solstice. In Samhain rites, participants may symbolically undergo this passage from life into the land of death. They may also express their grief for dead ones within a collective ritual process. These seasonal rituals affirm Neopaganism's identity as an earth religion and help people align the changes in their lives with the cycles of the natural world.

RITUALS TO MARK LIFE CHANGES. The Wheel of the Year is also paralleled by the life passages of men and women in the community. Creating new rites of passage is at the heart of Neopagan religion, and these rites are a common feature of Neopagan festivals and other gatherings. Rites of passage are an important way that Neopagans celebrate embodied life changes and create religious community. The goal of these rites is not simply to help a person celebrate significant life changes but also to bind the community together. Starhawk, a famous Neopagan writer and activist, discusses rites of passage in her book *Truth or Dare* (1987), observing that, "Ritual affirms the common patterns, the values, the shared joys, risks, sorrows, and changes that bind a community together. . . . A living community develops its own rituals to celebrate life passages and ease times of transition, to connect us with the round of the changing seasons and the moon's flux, to anchor us in time" (p. 296). Neopagans have created new rituals and reinvented old ones to draw in their community members around pregnancy and birth, marriage, puberty, and death.

Neopagans design rituals to celebrate life experiences from birth to death. For instance, some Neopagans borrow the Navajo "blessingway" tradition to bless a new baby and welcome him or her into the community. Others call their welcoming rite a *wiccaning* or *saining*, which is designed to initiate a child into the community. This ritual may include introducing the child to the deities, giving the community a chance to meet the child and to give gifts and offerings to the child, perhaps even the gift of a personal quality or character trait. But most Neopagans do not see this initiation as determining their child's religious identity, and they are adamant that the child will eventually make his or her own choices. Rituals that mark the end of life and facilitate mourning are similarly diverse and also involve offerings. Sometimes Neopagans set up shrines for the dead in their homes or at nature sanctuaries.

Rites of passage among Neopagans are also directed toward women's and men's specific life changes. The impact of the feminist movement, especially in the United States, has shaped a wide range of women's ritualizing in Witchcraft and other forms of Neopaganism. According to some feminist Neopagans, pregnancy, labor, delivery, and breastfeeding are ways that women embody the goddess in the biological events of their lives. Some feminist Neopagans label their rites of passage "women's mysteries"; the mysteries are seen as physical, emotional, spiritual, and psychic rites of passage that women experience by having been born into a female body. Women's mysteries celebrate the earth's seasonal cycles of birth, death, and regeneration, as well as women's cyclical nature, and they include birth, menstruation, childbirth and lactation, menopause, and death. These women imagine that a society made over by goddess-worshipping Neopagans would sanctify birth and menses. They seek to transform what they see as destructive and disempowering images of body and self by identifying women with goddesses and ancient myths. In this way, female bodies are made sacred, and bodily experience becomes an important aspect of moving from one stage of life to another.

One ritual that some Neopagans have reclaimed is the so-called sacred marriage between a goddess and a god. The sacred marriage that takes place among other kinds of fertility rites on the Neopagan holiday Beltane (May 1) is both marriage and initiation for the man and woman who take part in it by becoming goddess and god. The practice of contemporary "sex magic" includes the sacred marriage, or Great Rite—ritualized intercourse, often between priest and priestess. The Great Rite can take two forms: *actual*, involving intercourse, or *symbolic*, in which the union of the male and female principles is symbolized by putting the athame (ritual knife) into the chalice to bless the wine on the ritual altar. The idea behind the Great Rite is that through ritual a woman becomes the goddess and a man becomes the god. Journalist Margot Adler explains this process in her study of Neopaganism, *Drawing Down the Moon* (1986): "Two people who have drawn down into themselves these archetypal forces, or, if you will, have allowed these forces within them to surface—can have a spiritual and physical union that is truly divine" (p. 110). The actual ritual is sometimes used in traditional Witchcraft initiations and in some handfastings. Because sexuality is seen as a source of spiritual power, Neopagans often include it, both actually and symbolically, in their ritual lives.

Sexual freedom is important to many Neopagans because they believe that sexuality is both natural and sacred, but freedom is translated to mean the right to choose a homosexual relationship, to have multiple lovers, to be celibate, or to commit to a monogamous heterosexual relationship. Some rituals focus on healing or changing aspects of the self that are related to gender and sexuality. Healing from rape and unhealthy sexual relationships is a common focus of ritual work, as are rituals and guided meditations that explore gendered aspects of the self (e.g., men exploring their "feminine side"). Neopagans create theatrical rituals with ancient deities and encourage participants to act out sexual abuse or try on different gender identities. Men wear skirts and gowns for some Neopagan rituals and festivals. All of these rituals are intentionally designed to replace outdated rites and to address the absence of rites of passage and initiatory experiences that Neopagans believe characterizes Western cultures.

Some Neopagans, and especially Neopagan women, have created initiation rites for adolescents. They believe that negative views of the body and sexuality are taught to young children, and particularly to adolescents, and that the way to change this is to celebrate the physical changes that mark the onset of adolescence, such as a girl's first menses. For instance, Starhawk tells the story of how her coven created a ritual to celebrate the first menstruation of a coven member's daughter. It involved a ritual symbolizing the daughter's separation from her mother and ended with each of the women giving the girl a special and personal gift. Starhawk's description of the first menses ritual provides a model for other communities looking for alternative rites of passage for their adolescents.

In Neopaganism, old women, mothers, and adolescent women are each celebrated in unique ways. Many Witches and other Neopagans believe in the "Triple Goddess" of maiden, mother, and crone that originated with the first Neopagans in mid-twentieth-century England. For Neopagans, the Goddess is expansive and encompasses all women's roles. The idea of the Triple Goddess has its origins in the studies of classical Greek and Roman mythology by British scholars Jane Ellen Harrison (1850–1928) and Sir James Frazer (1854–1941), whose works were consulted by the earliest Neopagans. Through the Triple Goddess, women at all stages of life can identify with a sacred feminine ideal. The revaluing of women's bodies at all stages of life and the identification of the feminine as divine has made possible many of the new rites of passage Neopagans have created. Neopagans redefine the archetypes of maiden, mother, and crone (wise old woman), leaving them open to personal interpretation by the women who look to them for guidance. *Cronings*, for instance, honor women who have become elders in their communities. During croning rituals, the lifelong achievements of older women are honored, and they are given gifts to symbolize the new stage of life they have entered.

MEN'S RITES. Rites for women are much more common than rites for men, in part because of the tremendous popularity of images and stories of goddesses and the disproportionate influence of the feminist movement on Neopagan communities. Many Neopagans share the desire to affirm and make positive those aspects of gendered behavior that they believe have been repressed or are seen as evil, such as homosexual relationships, women celebrating their sexuality outside of marriage, and men choosing more traditionally feminine roles. But Neopagans also include men's rituals at their gatherings.

Robert Bly's discussion of gender roles in *Iron John* (1990) and Sam Keen's men's movement classic, *Fire in the Belly: On Being a Man* (1991), inspired the men's movement of the 1990s and encouraged Neopagans to explore masculinity and celebrate the variety of male gods that men can look to as models. The approaches of Bly and Keen have resulted in many men's events and have also influenced Neopagan gatherings, so that workshops and rituals on men's issues and for men only now coexist with women-centered activities. Pantheacon, a Neopagan convention held in the San Francisco Bay Area in 2003, included sessions on "Mystery and the Masculine: Connecting to the Male Divine" and "Liturgy for Chiron the Centaur as Sage." New Age and Neopagan men have followed feminist strategies in borrowing images of deities from ancient cultures that they believe offer more diverse models for masculinity and allow men to explore their human potential without being subject to rigid male ideals such as the emotionless warrior. Feminists and men's movement leaders both argue that previous patterns of socialization have been oppressive and limiting. All men and women, they say, need to heal old wounds and change certain ways of doing things before they will be free to explore their full potential as human beings. It is through ritual work that these changes take place.

Men's rites have been more slowly accepted than women's rites, and they sometimes receive mixed reactions when they occur at large Neopagan festivals. Sometimes these rites are called "male mysteries" and explore images of the warrior and hunter. Some Neopagan communities design initiations and workshops for men that might include, for example, flint-napping, making coal from plants, fire-starting, and beer-making. In men-only and women-only spaces, Neopagans say they feel free to explore aspects of femininity and masculinity that have been shaped by biology and culture. The ritual work that Neopagans do with gender and sexuality involves mending and strengthening the spiritual aspects of relationships.

CONCLUSION. Neopagans focus on cyclical changes in nature and in the lives of individuals, but they also see spiritual practice itself as a series of initiatory experiences. Neopagan rituals often involve initiatory journeys of self-exploration to bring about personal growth, healing, and empowerment. They may facilitate healing by externalizing suffering and loss and helping individuals to process painful aspects of their lives within a supportive group setting. Neopagan festivals often include rituals and workshops geared toward inner transformation, such as "Pagan Meditation: The Inner Work of the Old Ways," "Guided Shamanic Journey," and "Metamorphosis: An Approach to Addressing Prenatal Patterns and Means of Change." In some sense, almost all Neopagan rituals are rites of passage in that they involve moving from one phase of life to another. Personal initiation, life passages, and seasonal celebrations share this emphasis. Rites for healing the damage done to sexuality and gender identity and rites that honor and celebrate love relationships, sexual expression, life passages, and bodily experience are all ways that Neopagans incorporate rituals into their lives.

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RITSCHL, ALBRECHT (1822–1889) was a German Protestant theologian. Born in Berlin, the son of a pastor and bishop of the Evangelical church, he was reared in Stettin (present-day Szczecin, Poland), in the Prussian province of Pomerania. From 1839 to 1846 he studied at the universities of Bonn, Halle (Ph. D., 1843), Heidelberg, and Tübingen (where he learned the church historian's craft from Ferdinand Christian Baur). From 1846 to 1864 he taught at Bonn, and from 1864 until his death he was professor of dogmatics (systematic theology) at Göttingen.

Ritschl's teaching and writing at first concentrated on the New Testament and early church history. The views of Baur and his "Tübingen school"—which regarded late second-century Christianity ("old Catholicism") as the outcome and reconciliation of struggles between Jewish Christians ("Petrinists") and gentile Christians ("Paulinists")—informed Ritschl's first two books: *Das Evangelium Marcions und das kanonische Evangelium des Lukas* (The Gospel of Marcion and the Canonical Gospel of Luke; 1846) and *Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche* (The Rise of the Old

Catholic Church; 1851). The second edition of the latter book (1857) marked a dramatic personal and academic break with Baur, whose "conflict model" of early church history Ritschl now repudiated as too speculative or "Hegelian." He insisted, rather, that all the apostles proclaimed a fundamentally similar message, interpreting the ministry of Jesus in the light of its Old Testament presuppositions; that the differences between Jewish and gentile Christians were relative, not substantive, with only a few groups of Judaistic Christians opposing Paul; and that early Catholicism, far from being a Jewish-gentile "synthesis," was wholly a gentile phenomenon, the result of a gradual "de-judaization" of Christianity.

During the 1850s Ritschl's interests turned increasingly to dogmatic theology. While at Göttingen he published two monumental works, each occupying three volumes: *Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung* (The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation; 1870–1874) and *Geschichte des Pietismus* (History of Pietism; 1880–1886). These works, in tandem with numerous essays and several short monographs—notably *Unterricht in der christlichen Religion* (Instruction in the Christian Religion; 1875)—established Ritschl's international reputation as the foremost Protestant systematic theologian of his time. His disciples occupied the leading chairs in theology at the German universities well into the twentieth century. The most prominent Ritschlians were Adolf von Harnack, Wilhelm Herrmann, and (at an early stage of his career) Ernst Troeltsch.

Ritschl's paramount aim during his Göttingen years was to fashion a comprehensive interpretation of the Christian religion based on the doctrine of justification and reconciliation, as set forth by the New Testament (chiefly the letters of Paul) and by the Protestant reformers (chiefly Martin Luther in his writings of 1515–1520). In Ritschl's judgment, however, the reformers, while recovering essential components of New Testament Christianity and turning them to church-reforming effect, had failed to order their religious insights in a holistic theological system. They had neglected, not least, to correlate their fundamental teaching on justification by faith alone with the biblical teaching on the kingdom of God. Thus they left the impression that Christianity is primarily a religion of personal redemption from sin, and not equally one of corporate ethical activity directed to the moral reconstruction of society. Viewed in respect of its formal theological productions, therefore, the Protestant Reformation was unfinished.

Ritschl contended, moreover, that post-Reformation Protestantism had continued and heightened the "theological atrophy" of the Reformation era, leading to serious "deformations" of authentic biblical-Reformation Christianity—as evidenced, for example, in the intellectualism (neoscholasticism) of Protestant orthodoxy, in the emergence within the Lutheran and Reformed churches of a "half-Catholic" mysticism, in the sectarianism and "otherworldliness" of Pietism, in the rationalism ("natural religion") and eudaemonism ("self-justification") of Enlightenment theology, and in the flight from the historical Christian revelation in Hegelian speculation. To be sure, Immanuel Kant and Friedrich Schleiermacher had given significant impulses for the reconstruction of Protestant theology on the basis of Reformation religion, but their gains had soon been surrendered by their epigones.

Ritschl took it as his own vocational task, therefore, to effect a true reformation of Protestant theology by recovering the reformers' religious root ideas through critical-historical scholarship and by articulating these ideas, with the aid of constructs supplied by Kant and Schleiermacher, in a "homogeneous" theological system. Thereby, he believed, the unfinished Reformation would be brought to theological completion; classical Protestant Christianity would be vindicated before its cultured despisers and its newly resurgent Roman Catholic foes; and the Reformation's epoch-making significance, including its immediate relevance for the modern world, would be displayed, all with the result that a debilitated Protestantism would at last be purged of "alien growths" and so would attain "maturity."

The main themes of Ritschl's doctrinal system are presented in the third volume of *Justification and Reconciliation.* God, for the sake of Christ, freely pardons sinful humanity ("justification"), thereby overcoming the sinner's fear, mistrust, alienation, and enervating consciousness of guilt, and thus making possible the individual's entrance into a new, confident relationship to God as Father ("reconciliation"). This relationship is verified, first, in the religious virtues of trust in God's providential guidance of the world, patience, humility, and prayer (whereby the believer attains "spiritual lordship over the world" and the vindication of the unique worth of spirit, or the "order of persons," vis-à-vis nature, or the "order of things"); and, second, in the moral virtues of fidelity in one's secular vocation and active love for the neighbor (whereby the kingdom of God, or "moral society of nations," is ultimately to be realized). Ritschl claimed that this doctrine was faithful to the biblical-Reformation heritage because it centered entirely on God's self-revelation as loving Father in Jesus Christ ("history")—a revelation mediated to individuals solely by and within the community of believers ("church"), and appropriated solely through lively personal trust ("faith"). This doctrine, therefore, entailed the explicit repudiation of all "disinterested" knowledge of God, metaphysical speculation, "natural theology," ahistorical mysticism, monastic-ascetic piety ("flight from the world"), ethical quietism, and unchurchly individualism.

From about 1920 to 1960 Ritschl's theology suffered an almost total eclipse. The leading representatives of the then-dominant Protestant neoorthodoxy, Karl Barth and Emil Brunner, charged Ritschl (and Ritschlianism) with egregious departures from classical Christianity, including religious subjectivism, moralism, capitulation to the cultural *Zeitgeist,* and, in sum, a return to the anthropocentrism of Enlightenment religion in its "chastened" (antimetaphysical) Kantian form. Since the 1960s, however, there has been a noteworthy Ritschl renaissance, which has defended Ritschl before his neoorthodox detractors by eschewing "criticism by catchwords," by relating his total theological program to its immediate historical context, and by taking seriously his claim to have constructed his system on biblical and Reformation foundations.

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DAVID W. LOTZ (1987)

RITUAL [FIRST EDITION]. Although it would seem to be a simple matter to define *ritual,* few terms in the study of religion have been explained and applied in more confusing ways. For example, Edmund Leach, a contemporary cultural anthropologist, after noting the general disagreement among anthropological theorists, suggested that the term *ritual* should be applied to all "culturally defined sets of behavior," that is, to the symbolical dimension of human behavior as such, regardless of its explicit religious, social, or other content (Leach, 1968, p. 524). Thus one could presumably discuss the ritual significance of scientific experimental procedures, for example. For Leach, such behavior should be regarded as a form of social communication or a code of information and analyzed in terms of its "grammar." Ritual is treated as a cognitive category.

Only slightly less vast a definition, but one that covers a very different set of phenomena, is implied by the common use of the term *ritual* to label religion as such, as in "the ritual view of life" or "ritual man in Africa," the title of an article by Robert Horton (reprinted in Lessa and Vogt, 1979). Many modern theories of religion are in fact primarily theories of ritual, and study of the literature on either topic would provide an introduction to the other.

Another very broad but commonly encountered usage is the one favored by, for example, psychoanalytic theory, in which notably nonrational or formalized symbolic behavior of any kind is distinguished as "ritual," as distinct from pragmatic, clearly ends-directed behavior that is rationally linked to empirical goals. Here "ritual" is often contrasted to "science" and even to common sense. Without much further ado, religious rituals can even be equated with neurotic compulsions, and its symbols to psychological complexes or genetically linked archetypes. Sociologists and anthropologists who favor such a contrast between ritualistic and rational behavior are usually interested in ritual's sociocultural functions, in which religious values shrink to social affirmations. (Some social anthropologists distinguish between "ritual"—stylized repetitious behavior that is explicitly religious—and "ceremony," which is merely social even in explicit meaning.) According to these theorists, the manifest religious content of ritual masks its more basic, "latent" social goals. However, there are anthropologists, such as Clifford Geertz and Victor Turner, who are interested in the explicit religious meaning of ritual symbolisms and who point out that ritual acts do endow culturally important cosmological conceptions and values with persuasive emotive force, thus unifying individual participants into a genuine community. Here ritual is viewed sociologically, to be sure, but in terms of its existential import and explicit meanings rather than its purely cognitive grammar, its psychological dynamics, or its merely social reference.

Such an approach comes closest to that adopted by most scholars in the history and phenomenology of religions. According to Rudolf Otto and Mircea Eliade, for example, ritual arises from and celebrates the encounter with the "numinous," or "sacred," the mysterious reality that is always manifested as of a wholly different order from ordinary or "natural" realities. Religious persons seek to live in continual contact with those realities and to flee or to transform the inconsequential banality of ordinary life, thus giving rise to the repetitions and "archetypal nostalgias" of ritual. In this approach, there is the attempt to define ritual by its actual intention or focus. This intentionality molds the formal symbolisms and repetitions of ritual at their origins, so that when the rituals are repeated, the experience of holiness can be more or less fully reappropriated by new participants.

For the purposes of this article, "ritual" shall be understood as those conscious and voluntary, repetitious and stylized symbolic bodily actions that are centered on cosmic structures and/or sacred presences. (Verbal behavior such as chant, song, and prayer are of course included in the category of bodily actions.) The conscious and voluntary aspects of ritual rule out the inclusion of personal habits or neurotic compulsions in this definition, as does the stress on a transcendent focus (as Freud has shown, neurotic obsessions refer back to infantile traumas and represent contorted efforts of the self to communicate with itself: the focus of neurotic compulsion is the self).

Even more fundamentally, ritual is intentional bodily engagement in the paradigmatic forms and relationships of reality. As such, ritual brings not only the body but also that body's social and cultural identity to the encounter with the transcendental realm. By conforming to models or paradigms that refer to the primordial past and that can be shared by many people, ritual also enables each person to transcend the individual self, and thus it can link many people together into enduring and true forms of community. As a result, ritual draws into itself every aspect of human life, and almost every discipline of the social sciences and humanities has something to say about it. This article shall begin this analysis of ritual, however, with an attempt to articulate its manifest religious orientation and how this gives rise to repetitious behaviors. After that it shall turn to other approaches that highlight the latent factors in ritual, such as its personal or social value. By its conclusion this article will have reviewed the major theoretical approaches to ritual

THE RELIGIOUS MEANING OF RITUAL. Ritual appears in all religions and societies, even those that are nominally antiritualistic. Although it is common to contrast "ritualism" with "deeper spirituality" and mysticism, ritual is especially stressed in mystical groups (Zen monasteries, Ṣūfī orders, Jewish mystical communities, Hindu yogic ashrams, etc.); in such groups ritual often expands to fill every moment of daily life. The body is evidently more important in religious experience than is often thought.

Ritual centers on the body, and to understand ritual one shall have to take the body seriously as a vehicle for religious experience. It is evident that without a body one would have no awareness of a world at all. The infant builds up an understanding of the world out of sensory-motor experience, and as Jean Piaget and Sigmund Freud, among others, have shown, this understanding underlies and sustains the adult experience of space, time, number, and personal identity. The self is first of all a bodily self. As a result, physical experiences and actions engage consciousness more immediately and irresistibly, and bestow a much stronger sense of reality, than any merely mental philosophy or affirmation of faith. Much ritual symbolism draws on the simplest and most intense sensory experiences, such as eating, sexuality, and pain. Such experiences have been repeated so often or so intimately by the body that they have become primary forms of bodily awareness. In ritual, they are transformed into symbolic experiences of the divine, and even into the form of the cosmic drama itself. One may therefore speak of a "prestige of the body" in ritual. In the bodily gesture, the chant, dance, and stride of participants, primordial presences are made actual again, time is renewed, and the universe is regenerated.

Ritual is more than merely symbolic action, it is hieratic. Almost all human activity is symbolic, even the most "rationally" pragmatic. People would never trouble to fix cars if cars had no cultural value; even scientific experiments would be meaningless without a tacit reference to a specific kind of world and society that validates such activities. However, ritual underlines and makes emphatic its symbolic intention. Hence the stylized manner of ritual: the special clothes, the altered manner of speech, the distinctive places and times. But above all, behavior is repetitive and consciously follows a model. Repetition, after all, is a natural way for the body to proclaim, enact, and experience the choice of true as opposed to false things and ways, and to dwell self-consciously in determinative model realities, in the "holy."

The use of model roles and identities is crucial to ritual. As Mircea Eliade has shown, ritual is shaped by archetypes, by the "first gestures" and dramas from the beginning of time, which must be represented again in the ritual and reexperienced by the participants. It is easy to stress the imaginative and mythic aspect of these dramas, and to ignore their significance specifically as bodily enactments. In ritual, people voluntarily submit to their bodily existence and assume very specific roles with highly patterned rules—rules and roles that conform the self to all others who have embodied these "typical" roles in the past. To contact reality, in short, the conscious self must sacrifice its individual autonomy, its freedom in fantasy to "be" anything.

The self is not utterly unique and self-generated, and it cannot control life as it wishes. This is no doubt one of the deepest reasons for the common resentment of ritual: it locates and imprisons individuals in a particular reality whose consequences can no longer be avoided. The power of ritual is wryly indicated by stories about the bride left abandoned at the altar: in the specificity of the wedding ritual and its implications, the singular and immortal youth who exulted in the eternity of romantic dreams must become merely one of many mortals who have passed this way before. The autonomous and infinitely free self is transformed ritually into "groom" (remorselessly implying the series "father," "grandfather," and dead "ancestor"). The ritual makes him take his place in the cycle of the generations. Thus it signifies human limitation, and even death. He becomes what he had always undeniably been, a bodily, mortal being. Through ritual, the self is discovered as a public, external reality, which can be known only through perspectives mediated by others and especially by transcendent others: the self is something already determined and presented, which can be understood above all and most truly in the ritual act itself. In these actions and encounters the primal beings provide the model and the source of life. The ritual participants must submit to those deeper realities. They must will their own bodies into identities and movements that stem from the ancestral past. They must be humble.

This essential preliminary movement of the self may be called "recentering": there is in a kind of standing outside of oneself, a taking up of the position of the divine "other" and acting on its behalf that is expressed explicitly as a personal submission to it and that is experienced directly as a submersion of the personal will in the divine will. The ritual comes from the ancients and was a gift from the divine; to repeat it means to receive their stamp upon the self and to make their world one's own.

In a wide-ranging study of native religions, Adolf E. Jensen (1963) has defended the thesis that the various epochs of human history have been characterized by distinctive visions of the universe. Although the details and applications of these visions vary enormously from society to society and era to era, the basic visions themselves are not numerous. Early agriculture, for example, was made culturally possible by a certain way of seeing the world and understanding life, death, and humanity, a way that transformed the "burial" of the root or seed, its "rebirth" (or "resurrection") as a plant, and its "murderous" harvesting as food into a kind of mystery, a compelling and salvific vision. The first seer to whom the divine revealed itself in this way must have had a shattering experience. Here, according to Jensen, is the fundamental origin of the rituals of the early agriculturalists: these rituals arose to induct neophytes into the mystery and to enable full initiates to reexperience the shattering revelations of the primal reality. The participants remember the creative acts that made them what they are, and thus they are able to dwell in a world that has meaning. Farming itself becomes not only possible, but necessary.

Eliade (1959) terms these primal, constitutive encounters with the sacred *hierophanies* (self-disclosures of the holy) and *kratophanies* (revelations of overwhelming power). It is the underlying purpose of rituals to recall and renew such experiences of reality. These powerful visions—which are usually devoted to the mythic origins of the universe or to those aspects of the creation that hold special consequence for mankind, but which are preserved within the sacred field of ritual enactment—provide a focus and framework for living in the "profane" world of everyday activity. They even sanctify this activity, and so rescue it from the terror of inconsequentiality and meaninglessness. However, ordinary life, with its egoisms, pressures, and attractions, constantly threatens to erode a wider sense of reality. Crises arise that make the challenge acute. The regular enactment of rituals renews the experiential focus on the sacred. In the recentering process, the overall meaning of life and the reality of transcendental powers are again made paramount over merely egoistic or social concerns. The ordering that ritual effects can even be directly healing, inasmuch as many physical ailments have a significant psychosomatic component, and social crises are above all crises in accommodating individuals or groups to each other and to cultural norms.

There is a tendency among phenomenologists of religion concerned with ritual to emphasize the personal encounter with divine beings as the focus of ritual experience. Rudolf Otto, in his influential *The Idea of the Holy* (first published in 1917), was explicitly guided by Christian (and specifically Lutheran) assumptions when he described the holy, or "numinous," this way. However, there are many religions in which the focus of ritual is mostly or entirely impersonal, or in which there are no prayers or sacrifices made to divine beings. Rather, ritual action consists in repeating the primal deeds of beings not now actively present. It is the deeds, not the persons, that are important. Most Australian Aboriginal ritual fits in this category; a striking parallel can be found in the teachings of the ritual texts of late Vedic Hinduism. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* for example, states repeatedly that the priests are to perform the sacrifices because this is what the gods themselves did to create the world; in fact, it is by performing these rites that the gods became gods and immortal. Therefore the priests recreate the world when they repeat certain actions, and all who participate in the sacrifice become gods and immortal as well.

In this view, the dynamic of reality is sacrificial; it is renewed only through sacrifice and attained only by those who sacrifice. Through sacrifice one becomes equal to the gods, or even their master, since they too depend on sacrifice. In later Hinduism, there developed a philosophy of ritual, the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā (also called the Karma Mīmāṃsā), which in some versions was explicitly atheistic: The process underlying the universe was a ritual process repeated in and sustained by Brahmanic ritual performances alone. However, the enactment of the duties (*dharma*) appropriate to one's caste, sex, and age is also a form of this ritual world maintenance, especially if done with the fully conscious intention of sustaining the impersonal ritual order of the universe. This may be called a structural rather than a personal focus to ritual action. The aim of such ritual is to enact and perhaps even regenerate the structure of reality, the deep structure that consists of a certain pattern of relationships and their dynamic regeneration. It can even be argued that this structural focus is the real or deeper one in most rituals directed to personal beings, for commonly those personal beings are addressed in ritual in order to assure the proper changing of the seasons, the fertility of the fields, the restoration of health, prosperity in business and everyday affairs, or perhaps more profoundly the general preservation of social tranquillity and universal harmony.

One need not expect to find that ritual emerges first as the result of a personal experience of encounter with a divinity, although traditional cultures often explain their rituals in this fashion. Rituals are also found to be taking shape in conformity with a general sense of what is right and fitting to do in the context of a given situation. This structural sense of what is "right and fitting" may well lack much precision, at least on the conscious level, but despite this a preconscious (or "unconscious") awareness of the nature of the world and the way in which it relates to the ritual situation may operate to determine ritual details with great exactitude. Monographs on particular ritual systems often illustrate this vividly.

As Bruce Kapferer (1983) has shown for exorcism rituals in Sri Lanka, the details of cult can only be understood in terms of the general sense of life, and the overall existential environment, of ritual participants, although they may not be able to explain these details and simply accept them as "traditional." In fact, participants insensibly adapt rituals to specific situations, personal experiences, and training. James W. Fernandez (1982) has provided an astonishingly rich analysis of the symbolic coherence of an African religious movement that shows how conscious thought and prereflective experience interact to produce ritual behavior. At times, the conscious component may be very high: Stanley J. Tambiah's (1970) description of spirit cults in Thailand necessarily involves a discussion of Buddhist metaphysics at certain points, but even here most of the structure of the ritual conforms to unspoken but vividly present folk realities.

One of the most telling instances of the influence of a general sense of the "right and fitting" on ritual behavior, however, is described in W. Lloyd Warner's classic study of Memorial Day and other rituals in a New England community, *The Living and the Dead: A Study of the Symbolic Life of Americans* (1959). Warner describes how the celebration of the holiday was planned and carried out one spring. Many people were involved; in fact almost all groups in the community were represented. Many random factors and issues intervened, but the result can be regarded as a crystallization of the American ethos as it existed at that time and place. There is here neither the calculated imposition of ritualized ideology on underclasses by an authoritarian, hypocritical elite nor solitary ecstatic encounters with sacred beings used as models for community cult (two current theories of the origin of ritual). Instead, one finds the voluntary community enactment of a felt reality, which in turn makes the common dream an actuality, at least in the festival itself. The felt reality is also a dream, an ideal, for it consists of those experienced values that at the deepest level guide members of the community, and in terms of which they understand and, on occasion, even criticize each other and themselves.

Shame and death in ritual. This phenomenon of criticism, and especially of self-criticism, is an essential part of ritual. It is part of the "recentering" that has already been mentioned, a self-transformation that is necessary if there is to be any hope of escaping personal fantasies and encountering authentic realities outside the self. For reality, which the self longs for as a secure grounding, at the same time must include other things and beings, which in turn must condition and limit the self. Encounters with these other presences will be chaotic and destructive, however, unless some harmonious and stable mode of interaction is discovered. In ritual, the bodily self enacts the true and enduring forms of relationships within a cosmic order that has a constructive place for the self. But this enactment must begin with an acceptance of personal limitation. So it is commonly found that ritual sequences may begin with explicit declarations of personal flaw, shame, or guilt existing in the participants or in their world that it will be the task of the ritual to assuage or nullify. The "flaw" need not be narrowly moral, of course: it may only be, for example, that a youngster is growing into an adult without yet knowing or assuming adult responsibilities and roles. If this willful autonomy were to continue, or to become common, the sanctified social order would cease; therefore, initiation is necessary to rectify the disharmony introduced by the child-adult.

Rituals cluster especially around those primary realities (such as sexuality, death, strife, and failure) that force individuals to face their personal limits and their merely relative existence. In many Indo-European and Semitic languages the very word for "shame" felt before the opposite sex (especially in regard to their sexual organs) is the same as that for "respect" before the elderly, the rulers, the dead, and the gods; it is also the word for "ritual awe." This deeply felt "shame-awe" provides people with the proper stance and poise to accept their mere relativity and their limits, and thereby to restore harmony to the world. Beginning with a shamed sense of flaw and submission, one comes in the course of the ritual to perceive the self from the perspective of the holy. From this perspective and this transcendental center, one wills the ritual actions until the identification of wills results in making the ritual one's voluntary, autonomous, and bodily enactment of truth. Although ritual commonly begins in duty or submission, it generally ends in voluntary and even joyful affirmation. In this way, the dread and the enchantment that R. R. Marett and Rudolf Otto found to be two aspects of the experience of the sacred articulate also the actual structure of most ritual sequences, which begin in disequilibrium and end in harmony after confession, submission, purification sacrifice, or other ritual strategies.

Connected with this is what might be called the ritual barter of immortalities. In ritual, one inevitably and implicitly wills one's own death, since one takes on a merely partial identity as "man" or "woman," "elder" or "youth," the identity of an actual finite self existing within boundaries and under obligations, defined through relationships with others and destined to die. It is therefore both as a kind of palliative and as a necessary consequence of the search for reality that rituals of initiation, the New Year, and so on place such stress on immortality and mythic eternity. The consolation for accepting one's death is the awareness that through this one attains to another kind of eternity, as part of a larger cosmic reality. The seeming eternity of one's immediate desires and wishes are given up for an eternity mediated through the divine order, which certainly endures beyond all individuals and embodies the "otherness" that limits us.

There should be nothing surprising in this intimate mixture of personal need and ruthless objectivity, for ritual as such is constituted by the longing to place the self in enduring contact with absolute or source realities. This necessarily requires a relationship compounded of both self and other, of heteronomy and autonomy. (It would therefore be incorrect to identify ritual action with heteronomy, as Kant, Friedrich Schleiermacher, and others have done.) W. Brede Kristensen, the Dutch phenomenologist of religions, refers to this connection of self and other as the fundamental "compact," "agreement," or "covenant," "man's Law of life" that underlies all rituals, for in them humanity and the divine bind themselves together to sustain a unified and stable order of the universe.

Space and time in ritual. Through ritual, then, the self is inducted into the necessary forms of space and time, and these forms are disclosed as harmonious with the body. The space and time of ritual are organic experiences. Time, for example, waxes and wanes; like organisms it can grow and decay, and must be regenerated. Time has neither static eternity nor monotonous regularity but the rhythms of the body, even if it embraces the universe. Yearly festivals mark the moments in the "life" of the year, from birth through fertility to death. The rites of passage, including birth, initiation, marriage, and death, translate the patterns of time into the individual life cycle, giving the chief transitions of every life the authentic resonance of the sacred. Even the minor moments of ritual, ignored by participants, render an architecture in time in which the girders are ceremonial gestures, the rhythms of chant, the turn, and the stride.

Space, as well, is drawn into the ritual field of correspondences and boundaries and is given a shape that hospitably welcomes the body. The cosmos is revealed as a house and a temple, and, reflexively, the personal and physical house and temple are disclosed as the cosmos made immanent. The mountain is the "throne" of the gods, the heavens their "chamber"; the shaman's drum is his "horse," by which he ecstatically mounts through the "roof" of heaven. The Brahmanic altar is shaped in the form of a woman in order to tempt the gods to approach the sacrificial place. And if the center of the universe is brought symbolically into one's midst, so too is the beginning of creation, which can then ritually be repeated in one's central shrines. Ritual makes all of this immediately and bodily present. The universe itself may be embodied in the participants, so that the marriage of king and queen may at once simulate and stimulate the marriage of heaven and earth, and the slaying of slaves may accomplish the overthrow of chaos. The elementary sensory-motor experiences of up and down, in and out, and left and right, rudimentary though one may think them, are utilized in ritual, often in astonishingly systematic fashion, showing to what degree ritual is a meditation on the final and basic experiences of the body, an attempt to discover deeper meanings in them. Left and right symbolisms, for example, are everywhere in the world correlated through ritual equivalences and oppositions between male and female, day and night, order and disorder, the sun and moon, and other basic elements in experience. Robert Hertz, who first noted that rituals worldwide share these left and right symbolisms, suggested that they were rooted in the general human experience of skill and mastery in the right hand and relative weakness and clumsiness in the left, which then served to characterize and give order to a wide range of other experiences and perceptions (see essays in Needham, 1973). Ernst Cassirer (1955, pp. 83ff.) has shown how specific bodily organizations of experience of other sorts, especially of space, time, number, and self, are ritually integrated into cosmological enactments.

Certainly ritual definitively breaks up the homogeneity of space and establishes places in it for humanity. The body itself is a common model for the universe. Puranic descriptions of the universe develop this idea in astonishing detail, in schemes that are often reproduced in Hindu temples and iconography. The Hindu temple has a waist, trunk, and head. In Nepal, Buddhist stupas often have two eyes painted on the dome and are topped with a small parasol, just as the Buddha himself used to have. Such ritual symbolisms make such actions as moving through the temple a journey through the various heavens and lend shape to meditation as well. The yogin may practice visualizing his body as the temple-universe, finding within it all the gods and heavens. It is common even in folk religions to find ritual identification of the cardinal points with the four limbs, and the center of the world identified as an omphalos, or umbilicus, which may be located at the center of one's village or enshrined as the goal of religious pilgrimage. In every example, the religious motivation is to establish necessary links between the body and the world, to make these links "natural" in the very fabric of things, to make secure continuities that give the self access to transcendent and sacred life.

A major strategy employed by ritual to achieve this goal is simply to reenact with the participants' own bodies the primeval or constitutive acts by which the cosmos came into being. Mircea Eliade, who has devoted many studies to this almost universal trait in ritual, has called it "the myth of the eternal return." To exist truly is to remember, and even more to reenact, the foundational events; to forget is to dissolve the world in chaos. By repeating the primordial deeds of the gods, human beings become as the gods, posturing out their will and establishing their divine world. Precisely as bodily beings, and through the body, they enter eternity and "become" the transcendent others who control their lives. The personal distancing of the self from the self mentioned earlier permits this ritual ecstasy, which perhaps achieves its most extreme form in trances of possession or mystical union, when the sense of self is entirely blotted out. However, the ritual dialectic of self and other much more usually seeks to retain the full consciousness of both in reciprocal harmony. New Year's festivals, initiations, funerals, and coronations all show this passion for the abiding dynamic process, the eternal form of the universe.

When, in the Finnish epic *Kalevala,* Väinämöinen, the shaman hero, wishes to heal himself of a wound caused by an iron weapon, he ritually chants the myth of the first creation of iron and so is able to reverse and negate the impure and wrong unfolding of time (*Kalevala,* rune 9). The first act of Columbus when he set foot on the soil of the New World was to hold a religious service, praying to God and drawing this new and alien territory into the same universe of dedication that contained God, sovereign rulers, and Spain. The terra incognita thus became a domesticated Spanish territory.

These two instances show the prayerfulness of "magic," and the magic of prayer. Väinämöinen's chant was also prayerful, for it was grounded in submission to foundational realities and mysteries. The very need for comprehensive accuracy in the wording of the myth recital obviously signifies the necessity of complete obedience to a sacred and powerful reality that is formal in nature. Of course, faith in this chant is also faith in those divinities named in it, who made iron and who, by transmitting the chant, created it. And, for his part, Columbus followed archetypal forms in his petition to the sacred beings who made the entire world and this new land as well, and he even transformed the entire service into a kind of legal statement of territorial appropriation, so that personal prayer followed the logic of a deeper impersonal and "magical" transubstantiation of the land. Like Väinämöinen, he overcame anomaly through a cosmological recitation. Such reflections show the emptiness of distinctions between religious and magical rituals and, even more importantly, provides an awareness of the two basic modes of the sacred, impersonal archetypal form and personal sacred presence. Archetypal form consists of cosmological structures that shape a divine order and may be renewed through ritual reenactments. Sacred beings must be ritually invoked and acknowledged. As the instances of Väinämöinen and Columbus show, the two modes of the sacred often occur together in the same rite and can inspire the same sense of awe and personal submission.

The symbolic integrations of ritual. Religious ritual is evidently not a simple or infantile manifestation but is based on a kind of final summing-up of, acknowledgement of, and submission to reality. Ritual engages all levels of experience and weaves them together. It has often been noted, for example, that ritual symbolisms often center on such elementary acts as eating and sex. From this strong emphasis, in fact, Freudian psychoanalysis was able to draw evidence for its hypothesis that religion consists of sublimated or projected sexual hungers and symbols. Other theorists (in the modern period, most notably those emphasizing totemism and the Myth and Ritual school) deduced from the importance of food and eating in ritual that rituals were economic in origin and concerned with magical or proto-scientific control of the food supply. However, not only in the areas of sexuality and eating (two of the most rudimentary of bodily experiences), but also elsewhere, ritual makes use of activities that are familiar and deeply intimate, that when engaged in involve the body very strongly, or that have been repeated so often that they take on a habitual, automatic nature. The power that ritual has to make these acts conscious and, simultaneously, to bring them into relationship with central religious realities is a major part of its attraction and fascination. In effect, ritual sacramentalizes the sensory-motor sphere by lifting it into the sphere of the ultimate, while the energy of elemental awareness is reshaped and drawn into the support of the structures of clear consciousness and ultimate concerns. The secular is transformed by the sacred.

The process can be observed in terms of particular ritual symbols. Each symbol is multivalent: it refers to many things, which may not be clearly present to consciousness but that exist in a kind of preconscious halo around it. Victor Turner, in a number of richly detailed studies, has emphasized a bipolar structure to this multivalency of ritual symbols: they are often drawn from sensory experience and passion (the "orectic" pole) and are made to represent social ideals (the "ideological" pole). So, as he shows, initiation rituals among the Ndembu of Zambia are structured around ideologically defined natural symbols (colors, plant species, etc.), which in the course of traumatic ordeals work deeply into the consciousness of candidates, reshaping their self-conception and view of the world and society. In the same way, Ndembu "cults of affliction" turn painfully destructive impulses and social tension, and even mental and physical illness, into affirmative communal experiences. This analysis can be elaborated further: A single symbol can draw on orectic sensual urges; can implicitly relate to a larger cognitive and *dispositional* structure that organizes all sensory experience into a coherent perception of the natural world; can be part of a ritual used by a participant to advance his or her own *ego-centered* utilitarian aims; can embody the social values of the actual group and perhaps even indicate the group identity; can be seen to point to wider *sociocultural* and *ideological* issues; and, finally, can be directed to *transcendental* spiritual beings or cosmological structures. This sixfold layering of symbolic meaning may be generally characterized as relating to the body's organic world, the social world, and the cosmological or transcendental realm. The ego's concerns connect the first and second, while ideological and broadly ecological issues connect the second and third, producing five levels of general symbolic significance that are unified in ritual enactments.

A MULTIDISCIPLINARY APPROACH TO RITUAL. The various levels of symbolic reference in ritual assist in understanding of the applicability of many disciplines and theories to ritual. These can be seen as applying to one or another aspect or level of ritual action, although obviously this applicability also suggests that any one theory or discipline in itself cannot claim sole truth and must be supplemented and corrected by other approaches. For example, Freudian theory has helped researchers to see the relevance of organic processes in the development of personality, from infancy to the organization of behavior in adults. Freud was the first to show in detail just how, through sublimation, repression, projection, and other transformations, bodily symbolisms can be expanded in dreams, art, language, and ritual into entire cosmological dramas. Freud also showed how each organic symbolism organizes increasingly wider ranges of experience within it. This expansive tendency of each symbol, which may be called its imperialistic tendency to organize all experience around itself, brings it into competition with other symbols and even with conscious thought. However, as Volney Gay has shown, Freud's own restriction of meaningfulness to this organic level alone, and even solely to sexual complexes, and his general antipathy to religion, led him to suggest that religion and ritual are infantile and to equate the latter with regressive neurotic compulsions.

The operations by which bodily symbols are organized into coherent general dispositional structures of perception have been illuminated by the work of such psychologists as Jean Piaget, Heinz Werner and Bernard Kaplan, and C. G. Jung, each in his own way enlarging their understanding. Ernst Cassirer's philosophically sophisticated analysis of how cognition comes to organize space, time, and identity, enacting paradigms of these in ritual, may almost be taken as a philosophical phenomenology supplementing Mircea Eliade's researches and detailed demonstrations. Such studies enhance but also correct the often highly speculative approach of Jungian psychology to ritual symbolism. Of great importance is the work of structuralist anthropology, a field founded by Claude Lévi-Strauss and dedicated to the analysis of cognitive organization in cultural creations. According to this theory, rituals, myths, and other aspects of culture are structured cognitively by processes resembling binary computer operations. These mental operations lie finally outside of all meaning and simply reflect an autonomous cognitive drive toward order. Lévi-Strauss suggests in some of his works that each culture works out a tight and utterly consistent logic in its rituals and myths; elsewhere that coherence can only be found on a regional and even a global scale, particular cultures exemplifying only partial and unconscious cognitive unifications. It must be added that Lévi-Strauss (1979) finds ritual far more incoherent than myth, due largely to ritual's explicitly religious and emotive focus. However, other structural anthropologists have shown astonishingly coherent organizations of symbols in even the slightest details of ritual; action becomes a coded text or hidden language conveying information about the social and cultural universe of the performers. The actual meaning of the ritual to the actors may be considered irrelevant.

Critics of this approach have suggested that ritual may not be concerned after all with the cognitive classification of things but may instead relate to others of the six levels that have been distinguished in ritual symbolic reference. Fredrick Barth points out that, as the media of social interaction, relatively unsystematic and incoherent symbolic networks may be sufficient or even especially desirable. He describes a Melanesian culture in which ritual symbols have only loose chains of analogical associations, varying from individual to individual and only imperfectly worked together. Since these metaphors and symbols by their very looseness underlie at some point or another every participant's experience, they can be variously meaningful to all and serve to bring them together. More generally, a purely cognitive approach ignores the possibility that ritual may be concerned above all with the cultivation of a basic stance on life, involving the recentering that I have earlier discussed. As Gilbert Lewis has suggested, rituals may even emphasize precisely the illogic and incoherence of symbols in an effort to capture the paradox, mystery, and transcendental reality of the sacred. Even more basically, if possible, the multivalence of symbols necessarily insures their ultimate formal incoherence, since the relational meanings often accrete to a symbol by experienced conjunction, not logic, and the "imperialism" of symbols makes each incompatible at some points with others. Particular rituals may achieve a unified meaning by making one symbolism dominant, using the rich though submerged associations of subordinate symbols simply to contribute to the sense of depth and authenticity of the rite.

The value of ritual to the ego world of rational calculation and social manipulation and interaction has been emphasized by a number of theorists. Some cultures and religions make such an approach easier than others; for example, as Emily Ahern has emphasized, in Chinese religions the heavenly spirits and gods are ranked in a bureaucratic hierarchy that is a transcendental continuation of earthly Chinese society and government. Prayers, offerings, and modes of address can therefore be interpreted in an almost wholly social and manipulative mode, if one is so inclined. Much of the debate about the "rationality" of ritual among anthropologists, referred to earlier, applies to this level of ritual meaning as well. These discussions have revived the viewpoints of E. B. Tylor, James G. Frazer, and others from the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century that ritual was in its origins a pragmatic attempt to control nature, a rational even if scientifically ill-founded activity. Such theorists as Adolf Jensen and Robin Horton go on to make a distinction between "expressive" and "instrumental," or manipulative, aspects of ritual; the former relates to faith and is authentically religious, while the latter is said to be materialistic, pragmatic, and inauthentic. But such viewpoints not only ignore the recentering process underlying even the most utilitarian ritual; they have difficulty accounting for the fact that in many religions it is precisely the pragmatic application of cult that directly expresses the faith that the springs of reality flow forth in the actualities of human existence and that reality is benevolently concerned with human needs. There is no separation of spirit and flesh in such religions, and the aim of religion is to sanctify life. Still, in the multileveled significance of ritual symbolisms, rational ego-oriented calculations have a role.

So do social and political calculations, conscious or otherwise, for these act as a necessary check on a population of competing egos and permit a community to exist. The recentering that ritual forces on the ego, as in initiations, provides an intersubjective, social confirmation of reality necessary even for the individual ego, if it is to participate in a world it cannot wholly control. Inner structures of awareness are thus shared with others, and a community is created that has legitimacy to the degree that it is anchored in transcendental cosmological realities. Thus one finds that in all religions ritual has enormous social value. Society can enhance itself by fusing transcendental symbolisms with its own norms, and ritual can be quite functional in overcoming tensions and divisions in the community (in this way sublimating violence).

This was quite powerfully brought out by the French sociologist Émile Durkheim in *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1912). Societies image themselves in their ritual symbols, he maintained; the "sacred" is the essential social idea. Religion is not for Durkheim (as it was for Otto) about abnormal personal states, but about normal social and natural life: the rainfall, the crops, good hunting, good health, children, and social continuity. Even relationships to particular spiritual beings are cast in terms of this deeper, more normative, structural and cosmological orientation. In effect, Durkheim brought to the attention of researchers a mode of the sacred they had ignored until then, the structural and cosmological mode. But he saw it chiefly in terms of social groupings and values; even individual spiritual beings symbolized the group or its relations with other groups. The community is recreated at times of initiation and festival.

Such ideas were developed into "functionalist" anthropology in the Anglo-Saxon countries under the leadership of A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Bronislaw Malinowski. The organic interconnections between social values and rituals were demonstrated by this approach in many striking studies. Taboos, for example, do not so much arise from individual fears or longings as they do from the social purpose of identifying to participants the proper sentiments to feel in particular situations. Groups are identified by the rites they practice, roles within the group are differentiated (a special necessity in small-scale societies, in which roles overlap and daily interaction may be filled with personal antipathies and preferences), and tensions resolved by the community feeling engendered by the rites. The functionalists taught their contemporaries that even the most bizarre or apparently harmful practices (e.g., witchcraft and sorcery, painful initiatory ordeals, ritual head-hunting) might be socially constructive. But the genuinely needed tolerance that characterizes their work has recently been criticized as static, ahistorical, a priori, and Panglossian.

That ritual symbolisms may correspond to a society's economic and political forces and relate to historical changes in these forces as well has been a theme of recent Marxist anthropology. Whereas functionalists tended to limit their concern to the ideological structures elaborated by particular societies and often more or less consciously recognized by participants, Marxist analysis locates itself at a more comparative and materialistic level: the more extreme theorists, for example, argue in the vein of Enlightenment critics of religion that ritual consists of systematic falsehoods designed by ruling circles to justify their exploitation of the underprivileged (e.g., see Bloch, 1977). In any case, ritual is about political power or economic forces.

Some studies have extended insight into the integrative power of ritual to include a culture's relationship to its larger natural environment. One of the most striking demonstrations of this ecological function of ritual, in which ritual acts as a central control on a wide range of forces, is Roy A. Rappaport's description of the pig festival of the Tsembaga of Papua New Guinea (Rappaport, in Lessa and Vogt, 1979). Warfare, human fertility rates, land-occupation densities, protein supply during crises, wild pig marauders, and many other factors are kept in balance by this festival, truly bringing the Tsembaga into harmony with the ecological forces affecting their lives and even their survival. Once again, and from an unexpected perspective, one finds a multiform unity between self and other, expressive and instrumental elements in ritual.

THE TYPES OF RITUAL. Two basic approaches to the classification of ritual may be found in the literature on the subject, which may be called the functional-enumerative and the structural-analytical. The first has the attraction of seeming inductive, empirically firm, and precise: one simply notes down each kind of ritual behavior as one finds it, defining it by its function or explicit use. The result is usually a long and imposing list. Each item on the list is a special case to be explained separately. It is usually not noticed that rituals of different levels of generality are mixed together. For example, Crawford Howell Toy, in his *Introduction to the History of Religion* (1913), in an admittedly "not exhaustive list," presents the principal forms of early ceremonies as follows: emotional and dramatic (religious dances and plays, processions, circumambulations); decorative and curative; economic (hunting and farming rites, dietary rules, rainmaking); apotropaic (averting or expelling evil spirits or influences); puberty and initiation; marriage, birth, burial, purification and consecration; and periodic and seasonal. In a separate chapter he considers "totemism" (a supposed cult belonging to a specific cultural-historical epoch) and taboo (a universal ritual type), and in a third chapter "magic" (a general way of using rites) and divination (a specific kind of ritual). Toy's approach is often informative, but haphazard.

More systematic is the functional classification offered by Anthony F. C. Wallace (1966). He distinguishes between technological rituals aimed at the control of nonhuman nature (divination, "intensification" rites to increase food supply, protective rites to avert misfortune); therapy and antitherapy rituals affecting humans (curing rites and rites with injurious ends, like witchcraft and sorcery); ideology rituals directed to the control of social groups and values (passage rites of the life cycle and territorial movement, "social intensification" rites to renew group solidarity, like Sunday services, arbitrary ceremonial obligations, like taboos, and rebellion rites, which allow catharsis); salvation rituals enabling individuals to cope with personal difficulties (possession rites, shamanic rites, mystic rites, and expiation rites); and, finally, revitalization rituals designed to cure societal difficulties and identity crises, such as millenarian movements.

This classification system is clearly much more useful. However, its functional precision is not entirely adequate, since a single ritual may in actual performance belong to several or even all of these classes: For instance, Easter in a medieval Polish village was a technological ritual (as a spring festival and as a protective rite); offered therapy to ill believers and antitherapy to nonparticipants, such as Jews; was an ideology ritual that renewed group solidarity and included arbitrary ceremonial obligations; and was a salvation and, on occasion, even a revitalization ritual.

Such overlap is almost impossible to avoid in classifications of ritual, due to the integrative thrust and multileveled nature of ritual. The main criterion in distinguishing rituals should perhaps be the overall intention or emphasis of the performers: thus one can say that Easter has in a general way moved historically from a revitalization ritual to a salvation ritual in the early church, and thereafter to a technological and therapy ritual in the Middle Ages, and finally to an ideology ritual at the present time. But if that is so, the external forms of the ritual do not necessarily help to classify it, nor do they always correspond to a specific function. To put the matter a little differently, function is at base a structural matter and depends on context.

Wallace's classification, then, may be supplemented with a structural one. Two of the founding classics of the modern study of religion suggest a starting point. Émile Durkheim, in his study of religion mentioned above, divided all rites into positive and negative kinds. By negative rituals he meant taboos, whose purpose, he said, was to separate the sacred from the profane, preserving the transcendence of the former and the everyday normality of the latter. Positive rituals chiefly included sacrificial rites, in the course of which the sacred and profane realms were brought together and the ordinary life of performers was infused with the ideal and the normative. The cultic life of religion moves continually between these two phases, maintaining and regenerating the stable universal order.

Sigmund Freud also distinguished similar basic types of ritual in his *Totem and Taboo* (1913). By "totem" Freud referred to the totemic sacrifice that, according to him, reenacted the primordial parricide.

Generalizing from these two classics, one may say that all rituals may be divided into those whose purpose is to maintain distinctions within a divine order and those whose purpose is to bridge divisions and effect transformations, renewing that order when it is threatened by internal or external change. These two traits, of structure maintenance and transformation, must exist in any system if it is to endure in a stable fashion, integrating change into itself without altering its basic form. Although both Durkheim and Freud saw structure maintenance in a negative light and in terms of taboos, it is evident that positive injunctions are also important and, indeed, that negative prohibitions often have a very positive intention. This article, therefore, shall call rituals of this kind "confirmatory rituals," for in them the basic boundaries and internal spaces of the divine order are confirmed without change, while rituals that bridge divisions and regenerate the structure shall be called "transformatory rituals."

Confirmatory rituals. Both confirmatory and transformatory rituals act by centering the will in transcendental sources, that is, they anchor the immediate order in a realm that transcends it. As shall be seen, these orders may nest hierarchically within each other: reverence to clan ancestors helps to establish the clan within the cosmos, but larger human groupings may need to center themselves in more inclusive realities. This suggests that the order that is being affirmed is to a certain degree situational and relative, and that it therefore may contain a certain amount of overlap, incoherence, and contradiction. These are existential realities, not logical postulates, as has been determined, although certain religions do indeed work out their inner structures with remarkable clarity.

Confirmatory rituals do not include only taboos, although this is the category that has been most thoroughly discussed. Positive injunctions are merely the other side of taboos, so that in some cases stress on one or the other aspect is merely a matter of temperament. Greetings of a religious nature, blessings, prayers of affirmation, and rituals of meditation that stress the sustained perception of transcendental meanings present in ordinary experience are further instances of confirmatory rituals. For example, observant Jews have traditionally been accustomed to recite blessings focused on God on every occasion of everyday life, from the time of rising in the morning to going to bed at night, on meeting strangers, friends, wise persons or individuals remarkable in any way, witnessing or hearing of strange occurrences, encountering good news or bad, seeing a beautiful tree or tasting a new fruit, and so forth. As religious Jews come to see all of life as an opportunity to dwell in God's presence, so do Buddhist monks discover the void within all events, analyzing every perception, thought, and event in terms of yogic categories and *śūnyatā.* Such practices ritualize consciousness, and are especially important for mystical groups of almost all world religions.

Such practices express a more general attribute of ritual: it acts as a frame to awareness. Recognizing within the fluid continuum of ordinary occurrences a specific way of directing one's behavior immediately removes one from a complete immersion in mere activity. It creates self-conscious choice of behavior, so that one chooses this way, not that; actions referring to a larger meaning or presence, not actions merely referring to self. As George Albert Coe remarked in

The Psychology of Religion (Chicago, 1917), prayer "is a way of getting one's self together, of mobilizing and concentrating one's dispersed capacities, of begetting the confidence that tends toward victory over difficulties. It produces in a distracted mind the repose that is power. It freshens a mind deadened by routine. It reveals new truth, because the mind is made more elastic and more capable of sustained attention" (pp. 312–313). This power of confirmatory rituals is shared with transformatory rituals. However, confirmatory rituals tend to be more abbreviated, because their aim is to direct the performer into the world in a certain way and not simply to transform the performer. If such rites were drawn out and emphasized in themselves, they would have a contrary effect: the symbolic references within the rituals themselves would become the subject of concentration, replacing the focus on the ordinary field of activity. The internal nesting of symbols would displace banal realities, isolate the performers, and reveal a world of transcendental truths outside of common experience. This is what transformatory rituals do. Thus such rituals as taboo and sacrifice are closely related to each other, varying modes of the experience of liminality.

The framing power of ritual acts to shape consciousness itself and in confirmatory rituals sustains that modified consciousness as an enduring thing, producing the specific kind of self-consciousness and worldview aimed at by the particular religion. This power of ritual over consciousness creates cultural realities and so even from an empirical viewpoint actually produces changes in the environment. Godfrey Lienhardt (1961) has shown how such processes operate in detail among the Dinka of the southern Sudan: when a tardy herdsman, hurrying home before the sun falls, stops to tie a knot in a tuft of grass, he not only concentrates his mind but he actually modifies his reality, and this action as a whole has objective results. No Dinka supposes that commonsense efforts are actually replaced by such acts; such efforts are still needed, but a "slant" or framework of reality has been generated that facilitates activity. As Clifford Geertz has put it, ritual is both a "model of" and a "model for" reality (Geertz, in Lessa and Vogt, 1979), or, to use Martin Heidegger's term, ritual defines a "project," a way of entering into existence and bodily seizing it. Sherry Ortner (1978) has shown how key symbols operate ritually in this way among the Buddhist Sherpas of Nepal, sustaining pervasive moods or dispositional orientations to life and generating characteristic choices of behavior among the performers.

Striking advances have been made in recent years in the understanding of taboos. Decades ago it was common to regard taboos as superstitious, even infantile fear responses designed to ward off the sacred or perhaps lacking even that semirational goal. As recently as 1958, Jean Cazeneuve argued at length that taboos and purifications are intended to reject the sacred and to create an autonomous human sphere in which transcendence is an"impurity." With this view, Cazeneuve was building on Durkheim's important insight that taboos act to distinguish and thus to preserve both the sacred and the profane. However, more recent studies lead one to question whether there is any really profane sphere bereft of sacred quality and significance in most premodern religious systems. As Steiner showed, the profane was not to be understood as the "secular" in those systems, but simply as the common and everyday, as distinguished from the special quality of specifically transcendental things. Thus the profane could have sacred value. It is striking that the word *qadosh* ("holy") and its derivatives, such as *lehitqadesh* ("to make holy, to sanctify"), are used much more often in the Pentateuch about activities and things in this world and even the human sphere than they are about God. The first use of the root in the Bible is in regard to God making the Sabbath day holy (*Gn.* 2:3). The taboos of biblical Judaism describe ways of dwelling with God and not of keeping away from him: "You shall be holy, for I the Lord your God am holy" (*Lv.* 19:2). In effect, the taboos permit the sacred to be diffused in a controlled way through the entire world, building up a divine order rather than destroying it, as would occur if the shattering holiness of God were totally unveiled. (This important meaning of *qadosh* was entirely overlooked by Rudolf Otto in his *The Idea of the Holy,* leading to an unfortunate disregard for the cosmological and structural aspect of the sacred and a considerable distortion of the spirituality of the religions he described.)

Taboos not only surround sacred persons, places, and times, so as to preserve the intensity and specialness of these against the encroaching banality of ordinary life, but they also delineate the shifting frameworks of holiness that follow a person through life, at one time defining the sacred path for one to walk as a youth, at another time the path of the newly initiated, the married person, the elder, and so on. Different things are "sacred" to a person as he or she passes through the stages of life, and different things are "profane." Arnold van Gennep (1960) called this the "pivoting of the sacred" and concluded from it that the sacred is not an absolute quality, but a relative one. Taboos mark out these stages and confine the individual in them. For example, among the Aborigines of the northern Flinders Range in southern Australia, women and uninitiated males are not permitted to approach the areas set aside for men's initiations. These areas, the author of this article was told, were sacred and therefore taboo to women and young boys. But as novices the boys are led to those grounds, and henceforth they are allowed to go there: The taboo is lifted.

Taboos also define the enduring gradations in a continuum of sacrality. Among the Adnjamathanha people just mentioned, for example, anyone could go to the burial grounds, but certain things had to be done before entering them, and the only time that people could visit was in the late afternoon. As was mentioned, the men's sacred grounds were more taboo, with women and uninitiated men forbidden at all times; however, these grounds were divided into two parts, one near to the ordinary camp (which women could approach) and another in a remote part of the bush that was tabooed even to initiated men, except at times of special ceremonies. Taboos on food, noise, and even the things one carried differed according to which place one wished to visit. Taboos therefore can distinguish the more sacred from the less sacred. A striking account of the social impact of such taboos for Hindu society and caste was made by Edward B. Harper (1964): caste hierarchies are preserved by strict taboos governing personal relations, eating habits, marriage, and much else. These taboos are phrased in terms of purity and pollution. A brahman priest, after careful purifications, may serve the divinity in the temple, washing the divine image, changing its clothes, and offering food and flowers. The priest may thus "take the dirt" of the divinity, eating the offered food, carrying off the "dirty" clothes, and so on. Other castes are renewed by "taking the dirt" of the priest, and the process continues down to the outcastes who sweep, launder, and do other "impure" tasks for everyone. In this way the divine energy flows through the entire caste system, sustaining all of its gradations. The specific taboos thus have as their basic aim the preservation of the entire divine order, which is tacitly present at each observance. By keeping ten paces from the priest, one sustains the world.

Taboos also distinguish different species of the sacred from each other. Among the Adnjamathanha, as among most Australian Aboriginal peoples, the entire society was divided into totemic clans and divisions. Each clan had certain taboos to observe in regard to their own totem, which were not obligatory for other totems. For example, a clan would not hunt their own totem even though there was no taboo on eating it as there was among some other tribes. The entire society was symbolically divided in half, and each moiety had its own totems and its own special taboos. These taboos also controlled relationships between the two moieties, that is, they were not only directed to the natural world but structured the social world as well.

Finally, taboos act to distinguish fundamentally different modes of the sacred from each other, such as male sacrality and female sacrality, each gender having its own food prohibitions, its own tabooed activities, its special ceremonial centers tabooed to the other, and so on. The "pure" and the "impure" is another such pair of opposing modes. The "impure" often has the dangerous quality of being formless or anomalous and therefore threatening to the structures of the divine order. Death, for example, is often considered "impure" for this reason, even though it is also a form of the sacred, and so will be surrounded by taboos. What may be called positive and negative sacrality (e.g., "good" and "evil") are also distinguished by taboo. Positive liminality builds up the divine order, while negative liminality destroys it.

To summarize, confirmatory rituals such as taboos serve as framing devices that (1) bring the transcendental and ordinary realms into relationship while preserving each, (2) define and create, through the pivoting of the taboos and other rites, the transitory grades, stages, and roles of life, (3) fix the enduring gradations and divisions of social space (as in the caste system) and physical space (as in the various grounds and areas of the Adnjamathanha region), (4) distinguish the various species of the sacred from each other (as in Australian Aboriginal totemism), and (5) contrast the polar modes of the sacred (male-female, pure-impure, positive-negative).

Transformatory rituals. If confirmatory rituals sanctify the distinctions and boundaries that structure the cosmos (and therefore cluster especially around liminal points to preserve and define differences), transformatory rituals serve to bridge the various departments and divisions thus established, regenerating the cosmos in whole or in part when it is threatened by change. These rituals arise in response to anomaly, fault, disequilibrium, and decay, and they have as their aim the restoration of harmony and ideal patterns. Recentering is their essential dynamic. They all accomplish this in basically the same way, in accordance with a sacrificial logic: (1) the disturbing element is disconnected from its surroundings, by literal spatial dislocation, if possible; (2) it is brought directly into contact with the transcendental source or master in the sacred, which dissolves it and reforms it—this is the time of flux, outside of ordinary structures; and (3) the reshaped element is relocated in the divine order. These rites often separate out from the disturbing element or situation those positive potentially integrative factors that can be reshaped into a constructive part of the divine order and the negative disintegrative factors that must be located in some peripheral and bounded part of the cosmos, where they belong.

One may further loosely distinguish between transitional rituals, which place the disturbing element in a new location in the divine order (e.g., through initiation, the child enters the adult sphere; in funerals the living person is acknowledged as fully dead, perhaps as an ancestor, etc.), and restorative rituals, which return the regenerated element to its previous place in the whole. Examples of transitional rituals include "rites of passage" (birth, initiation, marriage, mortuary rites), calendrical rites (seasonal and other regularly enacted rites, sometimes called rites of intensification), consecration rituals (founding a new village, accepting a stranger into the community, sanctifying a house, etc.), and conversionary rituals (penitential practices, rituals inducing radical personal change or ecstasy, and conversions as such). Restorative rituals include purifications, healing rites (which generally attempt to reintegrate the ailing organ or patient into a state of harmony with the body or community), divination, and crisis rites. Millenarian or revitalization movements exhibit both restorative and transitional features in different proportions in different movements, often combining themes from life cycle, calendrical, and conversionary rituals, and from all forms of restorative rituals as well. This is not surprising, since in these movements the struggle for a divine order becomes all-embracing and desperate. Depending on the emphasis, then, the rites common to these movements may be put in either the restorative or the transitional categories, as intensified forms of conversionary rites, or as vaster crisis rites.

In any case, one can only speak of general emphasis rather than sharp distinctions between the two sub-categories of transformative rites. In most religions, for example, when New Year or harvest ceremonies are celebrated they both renew the annual cycle and restore the primordial form of things. Theodor H. Gaster (1961) has suggested that the seasonal rites of ancient Near Eastern religions sustained a "topocosm," the world as an organic whole. Reviving the world when it decayed, these renewals reenacted the ideal forms of the creation myths, so that their transitions were essentially restorative.

The liminal phase. Arnold van Gennep (1960), in his classic study of "rites of passage" (even the terms are his), emphasized that the crucial phase of these rites is the middle, liminal, or threshold phase, during which one is outside of ordinary life and exposed more directly to the sacred. The transcendental and transformative power of the liminal is indicated ritually in many characteristic symbolisms. Often one finds "rituals of reversal," in which ordinary behavior is turned upside down: people might don the clothes of the other sex or indulge obligatorily in orgiastic or "mad" behavior (although ordinary life may be very restrained—thus the Carnival in several Mediterranean societies); the powerful may be humiliated and the weak may purge resentments. (The king of the Swazi was ritually slapped and the people acted out rebellious behavior during their harvest festivals; ordinarily modest and retiring Hindu women douse men with ochred water during the riotous Holi festival; children in the guise of monster beings threaten adults and extort sweets from them during American celebrations of Halloween). There is a certain sense of *communitas,* as Victor Turner (1969) puts it: the participants feel joined together in a unity that lies outside of ordinary social structures and that expresses the prior flux and even formlessness out of which those structures have emerged. Yet the exaggerated reversal of roles and behaviors serves to emphasize the goodness of social structures, which are returned to with a sense of refreshment after the liminal period; in the liminal rites themselves, as many anthropological studies have stressed, one may find the ideal roles of a society and the ideal patterns of the universe enacted with particular emphasis and clarity, although these patterns and roles may have become obscured by the personal interactions, forgetfulness, and above all the confusion of overlapping roles that occur in small-scale communities. However, in sectarian movements or otherworldly religions in more complex civilizations, this *communitas* and its contrast to ordinary life can be understood as access to an antithetical realm of the spirit denied to those in general society. In any case, the liminal period is "betwixt and between" and is appropriately the time for the triumph of monstrous and anomalous things, for inverted and extreme behaviors, for ecstasies, paradoxes, and the abnormal. The increased closeness to the primordial flux may be represented in masked dances, initiative rituals centering on devouring monsters, and the entry of transcendental beings and forces into the sacred area. The ritual follows the archetypal patterns laid down when these things were first done in the beginning by the ancestors and gods, or it obeys the teachings then given by the divine beings. For all is not formless and utter flux: there is a sacred form that *communitas* takes, which is that of the pristine dynamic that defines and sustains reality. Participants are unified by this common form, even if they each have different roles within its hierarchies.

The triumph of liminality is also demonstrated by distortions of ordinary sensory things. The body image is altered, for example: decorations cover the body, scarifications are made, distinctive clothes are worn, movement is severely restricted or is contorted, parts of the body are removed, or things are stuck into the flesh in painful ordeals. Distinctive treatment of the hair is a common indication of liminal status. Operations are also performed on nonhuman things (animals, plants, newly consecrated houses, sacred rocks, etc.) to indicate the dominance in them of spiritual meaning over perceptual or physical facticity. The self-sustaining integrity of merely perceptual experience is shattered, to be transformed by the authentic realities of the "ideal." The ability of the self to define reality on its own terms is thereby shaken, and it is forced to submit to the central and defining force of the transcendental other. Even the self is defined by the other, sustained by it, and required to acknowledge it. This is the essential point of sacrifice as such, the enactment of which takes so many forms in transformatory rituals.

Sacrifice. A great deal has been written about sacrifice, and often there has been an attempt to explain all forms of it in terms of one application or use of it (gifts given to a deity so as to obligate him to the giver, communion, etc.). Long lists of types of sacrifice based on their uses have been compiled. However, almost every actual instance can be shown to involve many of these functions. E. E. Evans-Pritchard (1956), in a celebrated analysis of sacrifice among the Nuer of the southern Sudan, was able to list no less than fourteen different ideas simultaneously present in those rites: communion, gift, apotropaic rite, bargain, exchange, ransom, elimination, expulsion, purification, expiation, propitiation, substitution, abnegation, and homage. He asserted, nevertheless, that the central meaning was substitution: all that is oneself already belongs to the transcendental presences and powers, which is explicitly acknowledged in the sacrifice by giving back to the divine some part of what defines the self or symbolizes it. Phenomenological studies of religion agree with this anthropological analysis or extend it further, stating that one offers back to the divine what is thus acknowledged as already belonging to it, including the entire world one uses and dwells in. All of these views confirm that sacrifice consists above all in actively recentering the self and its entire world and renouncing personal autonomy. One is experientially and cognitively placed in a divine order, in which the merely physical or perceptual sensual connections of phenomena are broken and the transcendentally centered meaning is made to dominate.

The French sociologists Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss showed that sacrifice served to bring into a mediated relationship a human group and the sacred powers that affected it, via manipulation of a victim who through consecration or general usage symbolically embodied or substituted for the group or some aspect of it (e.g., the scapegoat above all embodies the sins or flaws of the group, which are then expelled with him). By the conclusion of the rites, the victim might be taken up entirely into the sacred realm, or returned to the human group and shared among them. The first option, removal of the mediatory victim, desacralizes the community, expelling a surplus of perhaps baleful sacred power from the group and in any case preserving the separation of sacred and profane, while the second option, return of the now-transformed victim to the group, exemplifies the tendency to sacralize the community and establishes a mediated continuity with the divine. Luc de Heusch has called these the "conjunctive" and "disjunctive" powers of sacrifice.

However, as Kristensen (1961) has shown, the victim often symbolizes the god who receives it rather than the group that offers it. Water was sacrificed to Osiris, who was the Nile; wild animals were offered to Artemis, Mistress of the Wild; dogs were given to Hekate, for both were of the underworld. And even enemies of the divinity may be sacrificed to the god, demonstrating his power over everything. Everything is made to center on the sacred pivot of life.

J. H. M. Beattie (1980) notes that some theories of sacrifice emphasize the power and divinity of the recipient of sacrificial offerings (as in the gift theory of E. B. Tylor), while others emphasize the dynamic interchange of energies involved and even underline impersonal structures (as in the approach of James G. Frazer). Beattie classifies all sacrifices into four basic types, derived from the aim or focus of the participants: (1) sacrifice to maintain or gain close contact with spiritual beings, (2) sacrifice to separate the sacrificers from those beings, (3) sacrifice to gain access to or control of dynamic impersonal modes of liminality, and (4) sacrifice to separate such forces from the sacrificer or the person for whom the sacrifice is enacted. Such a schema can be applied only very loosely, however: impersonal and personal elements usually coexist, as, for example, in the Roman Catholic Mass, where personal prayers are part of the essential sacramental transformations that are effective regardless of personal intentions. Similarly, conjunctive and disjunctive motifs usually occur together. For example, in Hebrew sacrifice certain parts of the victim's body, including its blood, were removed and given to God before the flesh could be shared among the communicants and eaten. It would not be correct to assume from this that the blood was a form of negative liminality, to be expelled from the community in a purgative rite; quite simply, the essence of everything, in this case the blood or "life," belongs to God. Kristensen again provides assistance in distinguishing predominantly positive sacrificial rites of sanctification from sacrifices with the predominantly negative aim of causing a misfortune to cease.

Sacrifice is often literally present in transformatory rituals, but it need not be. It may be symbolically enacted in other ways. W. E. H. Stanner (1966) has shown in a detailed structural analysis of the initiation rites of the Murinbata Aborigines of northern Australia that the treatment of the novice precisely follows the dynamic of sacrifice—although this community, like almost all Australian Aboriginal societies, has no explicitly sacrificial rituals. Similar parallels to sacrifice have been noted in the treatment of the death and replacement of divine kings in Africa. Some religions do without literal sacrifice altogether, having sublimated the notion into the entire ritual system. Thus the rabbis consoled themselves after the fall of the Temple in 70 CE that prayer, charity, and good deeds would fully replace the sacrifices offered there; so too Protestant Christianity has generally abandoned sacrifices.

In any case, the essential dynamic of sacrifice is symbolical and spiritual. It operates within a world in which everything is a metaphor for the divine life. As a result, even religions with a great stress on sacrifice need not make use of bloody immolations (with which sacrifices seem to be associated in the common mind). The favored offerings in Hinduism are clarified butter and flowers. The Nuer are quite content to symbolize cattle with cucumbers in their sacrifices.

CROSS-CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL VARIATIONS. Religions can clearly differ significantly in their reliance on ritual, the kinds of ritual preferred, and the purposes of ritual in general. The major variations are still being vigorously debated. Maurice Bloch (1977), arguing from a Marxist anthropological perspective, claims that the more institutionalized hierarchies a society has, the more ritual there is, especially of the "eternal return" type, which repeats past events. This is because rituals are highly limited codes of information that can be easily manipulated by the holders of power to falsify the sense of reality of the exploited classes; therefore ritual legitimates social inequality and must be greatest in those societies that are the most politically differentiated. However, American society, for example, is highly differentiated politically but tends to be anti-ritualistic and has little ritualism, whereas the Australian Aborigines devote a great deal of their time to ritual reenactments of events in the ancestral Dreaming. Max Gluckman (1965), on the other hand, has suggested that rituals are necessary in relatively undifferentiated societies to distinguish roles that tend to blur and overlap in everyday life, while in more complex societies role specialization is so advanced that ritual definitions of social structure are no longer needed. Ritual is therefore reduced to temple and priestly cult, while the rest of society is increasingly secularized.

A more ambitious and detailed historical schema is offered by Robert Bellah, an American sociologist (see his essay in Lessa and Vogt, 1972). He distinguishes a "primitive" stage of religion (erroneously identified with the Australian Aborigines) in which ritual is the continual reenactment of ancestral deeds, with all things supposedly so fused that no external or self-conscious perspective is possible; an "archaic" stage (found among most native cultures) in which worship, prayer, and sacrifice first appear, the result of a widening gap between humanity and divinity; a "historic" stage in which for the first time the gap between the sacred and profane is so great and society so complex that rituals stress salvation from the world rather than inclusion in it, and in which a religious elite emerges separate from the political elite to administer the otherworldly rites and specialize in or embody religious ideals; and finally, "early modern" and "modern" stages of religion (identified with Western culture) in which salvation is democratized and ritual is extended into the whole of life, made subjective, and finally dissolved in secularism (cf. Bellah's article, reprinted in Lessa and Vogt, 1972). Although instructive, such vast generalizations suggest that due caution is required.

Mary Douglas (1970) has tried to characterize the variations that can be found within religions at almost any level of complexity, without essaying sweeping historical syntheses. Cosmologies vary according to whether they tend to stress clear-cut rules and principles underlying the universe and society or the absence of such rules; they also vary in the identification of true being as located in a group or in the individual person apart from the group. These two polarities combine to produce four basic cosmologies. (1) Groups with a strong sense of rules ("grid") and of group identity tend to be highly ritualized, with fairly elaborate rites to demarcate the various sectors of the cosmology and with rich and dense symbolisms that thus define sin and sacramental salvation. These religions see the material and spiritual worlds as interfused. (2) Groups with very weak "grid" and weak sense of group identity, on the other hand, tend to have quite abstract ritual symbols, and indeed little use for ritual as such; here, what ritual exists is oriented toward personal states of ecstasy or aesthetic display. An instance might be contemporary counterculture communities. (3) Societies with weak "grid" but strong group identity tend to see salvation as obtained by belonging to the group; ritual stresses "we-them" polarities, which, because not rationalized in any coherent structure of principles or rules, tend toward strongly emotive fear of the "them" as evil persons or groups outside of any comprehensible order. Ritual is often used for self-purgation or for counter-witchcraft, and within the group ritual is used to stress ecstatic subjective states of *communitas* and to reenact the formation of the group. There may be an otherwordly, salvation-oriented type of cult, as in early Christianity. Sectarian movements are not uncommonly of this type. (4) Cultures or individuals with a strong sense of "grid" but weak on group identity characteristically produce ritual that services personal goals. In many Melanesian societies of this sort, ritual is used mainly to increase personal powers and to defeat personal enemies, to make one's own fields prosper, and so on. If the "grid" is understood in a moral sense, one may have a stoic outlook—cool, impersonal, and indifferent to society, but at the same time personally demanding. Variations of these four basic types can be found on every level of cultural complexity, and this is not a historical scheme as is Bellah's.

The use of ritual in modern cultures varies considerably. However, a number of paradoxical assertions can be made. First, antiritualism is quite strong in many circles, due to a number of factors. Ritual is oriented toward equilibrium and stability, but the modern period is a time of rapid change even in religious institutions. Ritual draws upon shared bodily experiences, which it uses to delineate a common cosmos; however, life experiences are highly varied today, and there is little agreement on the larger cosmos either. Religious institutions as such "do" very little in a scientistic, secularized world. Subjective and private experience is considered the realm of the spiritual, but it is often asserted that the sacred has never been so remote from actual human life. Yet the search for authentic realities continues, and when these are found, rituals reassert themselves. Industrialized Western societies spontaneously generate ritual and so do militantly antiritualistic communist societies.

Much of the current debate about the impact of secularism on religion is really about the forms, intensity, and purpose of ritual in modern life. The literature on secularism cannot be reviewed here, but it may be said that this literature has shown that the extent of ritual practice in Western and communist societies is much greater and more diverse than statistics on church attendance might suggest. Especially when one takes into account the structural or cosmological focus of much religious ritual, it becomes evident that many community and national festivities are genuinely religious in nature.

W. Lloyd Warner's study of community ritual in "Yankee City," mentioned earlier, bears this out. In recent decades much has been written about "civil religion" in the United States and elsewhere. Robert Bocock, in a study of ritual in modern England (1973), has suggested that another form of ritualism in modern life can be termed "aesthetic" ritual. It is found in dance halls, art galleries, and sports stadiums, and its purpose is to orchestrate sensual and aesthetic experience of a personal nature. However, more obviously religious are ritual practices derived from new religious movements and personal cults, which offer the individual spiritual enhancement or attunement to the world: meditational practices, theosophical study groups, even many of the personal therapy groups that have assumed cultic form.

SEE ALSO Archetypes; Ceremony; Ecstasy; Hierophany; Rites of Passage; Sacrament; Sacred Space; Sacred Time; Sacrifice; Seasonal Ceremonies; Secularization; Taboo; Worship and Devotional Life.

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General Works

Most good introductions to cultural anthropology have one or more chapters devoted to ritual and religion. An excellent one-hundred page overview unusual in that it draws upon both anthropological and religious studies is by W. Richard Comstock in a volume edited by him, *Religion and Man: An Introduction* (New York, 1971). The overview is separately printed as *The Study of Religion and Primitive Religions* (New York, 1972); the bibliography is very useful. The various editions of *Reader in Comparative Religion,* edited by William A. Lessa and Evon Z. Vogt (see "References" above) provide a continuously updated anthology and survey of anthropological research on ritual. The bibliographies are especially full, and one of them offers an annotated listing of the best monographs on the religions of particular native cultures. Also very useful are the three volumes edited by John Middleton anthologizing anthropological articles: *Gods and Rituals* (Garden City, N. Y., 1967), *Myth and Cosmos* (Garden City, N. Y., 1967), and finally *Magic, Witchcraft and Curing* (Garden City, N. Y., 1967).

For a historical survey of theories about religion and ritual since classical antiquity, especially strong on the nineteenth century and European schools, see Jan de Vries's *The Study of Religion: A Historical Approach* (New York, 1967). Robert Lowie's *The History of Ethnological Theory* (New York, 1937) and E. E. Evans-Pritchard's *Theories of Primitive Religion* (Oxford, 1965) are among the more penetrating anthropological accounts.

I have emphasized anthropology thus far. A good instance of how Freudian psychology can treat ritual structures in an illuminating way is Géza Róheim's *The Eternal Ones of the Dream* (New York, 1945). The work deals with central Australian Aboriginal rituals. Erik Erikson's psychoanalytic *Childhood and Society* (New York, 1950) shows the connection between ritual and games. Jean Piaget has reflected on the role and meaning of games in the psychological development of children in numerous books, such as his *Plays, Dreams, and Imitation in Childhood* (New York, 1961); many of his observations have a bearing on ritual. However, the classic study of this fascinating topic is Johann Huizinga's *Homo Ludens* (London, 1949), written not from a psychological but a humanistic perspective.

A synthetic, multidisciplinary approach to ritual, making use of the contributions of specialists in a variety of natural and social sciences within the context of a single theory of human development, is *The Spectrum of Ritual: A Bio-Genetic Structural Analysis,* edited by Eugene G. d'Aquili (New York, 1979).

The study of ritual in terms of its explicitly religious significance remains the province of scholars in the history and phenomenology of religions, for example, Mircea Eliade, Theodor H. Gaster, W. Brede Kristensen, and Gerardus van der Leeuw (see "References").

Major contributions to the general understanding of ritual are to be found in studies from within specific religious traditions, or in works devoted to their classic sources on ritual. As examples, I should mention from the Jewish tradition Gersion Appel's *A Philosophy of Mizvot* (New York, 1975) and Max Kadushin's *The Rabbinic Mind,* 2d ed. (New York, 1965); from the Catholic tradition Louis Bouyer's *Rite and Man* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1963) and Roger Grainger's *The Language of the Rite* (London, 1974); and from the Confucian tradition the classic *Li Ji* (The Book of Rites), translated by James Legge and edited by Chu Zhai and Winberg Zhai (New York, 1967)—the James Legge translation first appeared in "Sacred Books of the East," vols. 27 and 28 (London, 1885)—and the philosophic commentary by Herbert Fingarette, *Confucius: The Secular as Sacred* (New York, 1972). Reference has been made in the essay to some classic works on Hindu ritual; these are available in English translation. Arthur Berriedale Keith's *Karma-Mimamsa* (Calcutta, 1921) gives a general introduction to this school of philosophy, while Raj Bali Pandey's *Hindu Samskaras,* 2d ed. (Delhi, 1969), gives a good insight into the traditional understanding of personal rituals.

Ritual provides a way of dealing not only with the positive sides of the human condition but also its negative sides. One study has approached even the cultural phenomenon of the "feud" in terms of ritual theory: Jacob Black-Michaud's *Cohesive Force: Feud in the Mediterranean and the Middle East* (New York, 1975). One of the major ways of controlling violence is through the ritualization of it; a penetrating examination of the implications of this is René Girard's *Violence and the Sacred,* listed in the "References" above. Also see Ernest Becker's *Escape from Evil* (New York, 1975) and Eli Sagan's *Cannibalism: Human Aggression and Cultural Form* (New York, 1974), although both of these works tend to generalize overhastily—for example, some research casts doubt on almost every European report of "savage cannibalism."

An overall bibliographic survey of study on ritual is available by Ronald L. Grimes, entitled "Sources for the Study of Ritual," *Religious Studies Review* 10 (April 1984): 134–145.

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RITUAL [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS].

The term *ritual* remains difficult to define, which is hardly surprising, since central activities and concepts are always the ones probed most restlessly. The difficulties attending the definition of *ritual* testify to the fundamental role it is given in religion and social life, as well as to its attractiveness as a focus for current theorizing about religion in general. The definitional difficulties may also suggest the variety of input into the discussion. For these reasons, ritual has been identified in many unexpected places; rarely does an analysis decide something is not ritual. Nevertheless, the study of ritual in numerous settings is driving theory in several disciplines to work through, and past, the symbol-culture model of the 1970s and 1980s—in some cases to engage the contributions and ramifications of postmodernism, in other cases to forge a new science to depict the importance of ritual. The results, a matter of highly visible differences with more subtle areas of consensus, are the context for much of the contemporary study of religion.

Many current theories of ritual use the term *ritualization,* which goes back at least as far as the work of Max Gluckman (1962) and Julian Huxley (1966), in order to foreground the dynamics by which people actually do rites, perform rituals, or act ritually. The term challenges a number of positions, starting with the assumptions that rites are the unchanging elements of a religious tradition, and that they all have some underlying, universal structure. Even when rituals proclaim their faithful adherence to ancient models, they always involve choices and changes; the degree to which change is denied, minimized, or embraced is important for any interpretation. The more deeply rooted longing to articulate a universal structure for ritual—a scheme that does not change when other features do (i.e., that which makes a rite a rite)—has taken on a special significance due either to a semi-theological concern for absolutes or, more likely, a pragmatic instinct to ground "religion" itself. In a prosaic but remedial manner, ritualization also announces that it is the activity itself, not texts or doctrines or pantheons, that will be taken as important and as the place to start analysis. Ritualization also signals an understanding that any activity can be ritualized; that is, made into a ritual or a ritual-like performance, usually by invoking features such as formality, repetition, and the use of more traditional models. Naturally, then, the term appreciates that there are degrees of ritualization and the example of one rite might not be the best example for all rites. While not all of these points are embraced by every theorist, there is a consensus that the activities themselves should be the main focus, and theorists seek the best theoretical model for doing that.

Using the terms *ritual*, *ritualization*, or *performance*, attention to ritual is frequent in the major disciplines—anthropology, sociology, history, communication, and even philosophy. Collections such as *A Reader in the Anthropology of Religion* by Michael Lambek (2002) and *Handbook of the Sociology of Religion* by Michele Dillon (2003) feature sections on ritual that attempt, in their different disciplinary ways, to organize this fast-paced area of research so as to suggest a coherent direction. Within the collection of methods that make up the field of religious studies, these terms are also used with a new self-consciousness in biblical studies, church history, psychology of religion, and, naturally, liturgical studies. The most comprehensive bibliography of ritual covering all these areas since Ronald Grimes's *Research in Ritual Studies* (1985) is the extensively annotated and thematic catalog appended to *Theorizing Rituals: Classical Topics, Theoretical Approaches, Analytical Concepts, Annotated Bibliography*, edited by Jens Kreinath, Jans Snoek, and Michael Stausberg (2005).

Just as *ritual* remains hard to define, the ability of ritual to pull together scholars of different subjects, approaches, and disciplines—witnessed in the many conference panels and subsequently published collections—remains remarkable. Interdisciplinary projects will often involve the widest mix of cultures and historical periods, and some even go out of their way to use particularly unconventional notions of ritual, such as the scratching of medieval graffiti on the walls of a small church in Italy (Rollo-Koster, 2002, p. 127). These projects testify to a lingering desire to identify something common in all the examples identified as ritual, even when careful historical contextualizing makes each set of activities stand out in their uniqueness. Still, these collections vividly illustrate something else as well: that attention to so-called ritual activities in multiple contexts can bring into focus forms of behavior relevant to the study of religion and society that would have fallen under the radar of other analytical terms.

CURRENT THEORIES: A ROUGH GUIDE. There are two theoretical points of departure dominating the study of ritual at the beginning of the twenty-first century, each with distinct but not mutually exclusive positions on ritualization, religion, and the role of theories about them. While these "camps" read each other, they do not often refer to each other clearly. Hence, a guide of sorts may help clarify the main lines of argument. Of course, any general rubric for organizing approaches, such as distinguishing those theories that emphasize ritual as a form of communication from those that emphasize it as a form of action, can be precise only at a certain level of generality. In regard to ritual and the whole ragtag set of issues that have defined the study of religion in modern times, it sometimes seems that the most telling distinctions among theories are not found in the introductory assumptions—where one starts, so to speak—but in where one ends up. As a "rough guide" to the current scene, a first-order distinction can be made between theories that remain heavily rooted in cultural explanation and those that are recreating naturalistic (or scientific) models of explanation. Yet even within these two general positions, no two theories are alike. In addition, several popular theories resist categorization even within a sorting this broad; they might be said to take a more or less psychoanalytic view of the role of ritual in human history—a view that often seems distinctly literary, romantic, and even mythic, even as it alludes to the science of the psychoanalytic enterprise.

Ritual theory through the 1980s often took it for granted that ritual is primarily a form of communication, although such communication involves much more than the simple conveyance of information. Earlier theories of this sort emphasized the symbolic nature of ritual action, with later ones showing a preference for focusing on the expressive or performative aspects of ritual communication. Pushing at the margins of the influence wielded by Victor Turner and Clifford Geertz throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Mary Douglas and Barbara Myerhoff were prominent in portraying the complexity of ritual's symbolic communication in generating meaningful interpretations of the social and cultural order. For these theorists, the encoded symbols and performance sequences understood as ritual are flexible forms of symbolic activity that reaffirm cultural values and a sense of order—both social and cosmic. In other words, rituals are frameworks for mobilizing meaning. But resistance to this approach has been building widely in anthropology, with Talal Asad's challenge to Geertz's notion of a symbol often cited as something of a turning point (Asad, 1993).

COMMUNICATION AND A NEW NATURALISM. During the 1990s, several projects were launched that explore ritual's essentially communicative functions in ways that differ from the Geertzian symbol-culture-meaning approach. This new approach foregrounds communication in the doing or performing of ritual, but stresses the relative unimportance of any "meaning" for participants, as well as for theorists (contrast Rothbuhler, 1998). This note was first sounded by Frits Staal in 1975, and its later rearticulation can be understood perhaps as reluctance to objectify religion and culture as required by most theories of ritual as communication. In one project, the anthropologist Roy Rappaport consolidated thirty years of theories from a number of disciplines into a massive study entitled *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* (1999), which expands the insights of his earlier work, notably *Ecology, Meaning, and Religion* (1979). In another echo of Staal, Rappaport declares ritual to be "the social act basic to humanity" (1979, p. 198; 1999, p. 31) because ritual involves adaptive features as important to the evolution of human beings as language itself. As an essentially performative mode of communication, with more emphasis on the communication aspect, ritual does more than merely *convey* religious ideas. Rather, Rappaport attempts to show how ritual *creates* religious ideas and experiences. In his early work he argued that ritual communicates both indexical (self-referential) messages and canonical (pertaining to cultural tradition) information. The later analysis expands this to include how ritual activities generate, ratify, and normalize "the Holy" in a set of "Ultimate Sacred Postulates" (1979, pp. 210–211; 1999, pp. 263–290). Ritual communicates, Rappaport argues, but it communicates an informationless and unquestionable order of things in which the performer and the performed are indistinguishable from the certainties expressed and, inevitably, accepted.

For Rappaport, ritual performs two explicit and socially indispensable communicative functions: in its creation and communication of the Ultimate Sacred Postulates, ritual does not lie and it does not sanction alternatives to itself. Drawing these terms from Martin Buber's analysis of the stages of evil (1952), the lie and the possibility of choice (and indecision), Rapport uses them to describe the forces that constantly threaten to unravel the social fabric. Ritual denies the possibility of both by asserting a true and unchallengeable order of things. It creates (and communicates) a discourse of sacrality, defined as "the quality of unquestionableness" that participants intellectually attribute to things that cannot be proven (Rappaport, 1999, p. 281). Simultaneously, ritual affords participants an affective experience of the numinous, which Rappaport defines as an emotional consciousness of transcendence comparable to the discussions of *das heilige* (the holy) by Rudolf Otto (1869–1937) and others at the turn of the twentieth century. Indeed, within Rappaport's rubric, the conjunction of the sacred and the numinous creates the holy. The "meaninglessness" of a rite is an essential quality of the holy, which is generated by the rite. Meaninglessness is the product of both a ritual's "canonical invariance," as Rappaport puts it, and the basic emptiness of the sacred postulates endorsed by ritual. Not only is meaning not needed, it would impede what a ritual is doing. Instead of meaning, the critical factor is the social ratification invoked in and demanded by ritual, not the diffusion of meaning in the fashion suggested by Geertz among others (Rappaport, 1979, p. 263). Ritual is the language-like communication of what is socially indispensable; it is what sets the human species apart—but it is not a provider of meaning. Eventually locating his argument more fully in the biological language of human evolution, Rappaport contends that ritual is the indispensable evolutionary adaptation that established social conventions and mandated their acceptance (Rappaport, 1999, p. 124). He concludes with the same amused finale that closed his earlier work: ritual is the means by which "the unfalsifiable supported by the undeniable yields the unquestionable which transforms the dubious, the arbitrary, and the conventional into the correct, the necessary, and the natural" (1979, p. 217; 1999, p. 405).

Rappaport's study is subtle, repetitive, and synthetically indebted to many. Still, in both its 1979 and 1999 articulations, he contributes one of the most complete descriptions of how "the religious" may be constituted. The role of ritual is central in this process, perhaps well beyond what anyone but a ritual studies scholar could possibly appreciate. In his major step beyond Émile Durkheim (1859–1917) and Geertz, Rappaport describes ritual as doing more than simply supplying the "effervescence" that enables individuals and society to create social identities (Durkheim) or mechanistically restoring the fit between the mental orientation of a worldview and the emotional tendencies of a cultural ethos (Geertz). Yet he follows the same structural style of argument basic to the analyses and conclusions of Durkheim and Geertz; that is, he also casts ritual as the means for reuniting the terms of a previously drawn analytical distinction— an essentially circular argument. In his case, ritual creates the holy by conjoining the sacred and the numinous, defined in intellectual and emotional language, respectively. This seductive pattern of theorizing about ritual—to distinguish two properties (thought and action, individual and society, spiritual and material, etc.) and then work one's way toward a definition and analysis in which ritual is the means for reuniting them—is thoroughly critiqued in Catherine Bell's *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (1992). Still, while evoking Geertz's categories in particular, Rappaport does what Geertz never; he ventures to describe *how* the sacred and the numinous each come into being and then come together in an experience of the holy. This is a provocative phenomenological exercise, although Rapport does not see this as phenomenology. It took him many years to determine how best to cast his arguments, and he chose evolutionary biology; the meta-argument of his later book maintains that the mental requirements for ritual activity, defined as the construction of the holy, functioned as the adaptive evolutionary prerequisites for a fully human consciousness.

Rappaport is not the first scholar to return to the role of ritual and religion in evolution. This was a major topic of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century anthropology, when Giovanni Battista Vico, David Hume, Auguste Comte, and Edward Burnett Tylor all presented new "sciences" of religion that cast religiosity as a stage somewhere between early emotional attempts to placate unknown powers and the dispassionate pursuit of science seen in the Enlightenment. After Tylor, Julian Huxley and Konrad Lorenz in the 1930s also proposed their ethological examinations of ritual practices among animals and humans. With E. O. Wilson's widely discussed theories of sociobiology in the 1970s and 1980s, there began to be analyses of the adaptive benefits of altruism and other aspects of religion. In the 1980s Eugene d'Aquili and his colleagues were writing about how the cognitive dimensions of ritual activity might have been important to, or made possible by, the evolution of specific neurological systems in the brain (d'Aquili, 1979; 1985). The renowned classicist Walter Burkert took up the evolution of the broad and questionable patterns he saw in ritual among both human beings and animals in *Creation of the Sacred: Tracks of Biology in Early Religions* (1996). In the most general biological-evolutionary explanations of morality and religion, such as Frans de Waal's *Good Natured: The Origins of Right and Wrong in Humans and Other Animals* (1996) and David Wilson's *Darwin's Cathedral: Evolution, Religion, and the Nature of Society* (2002), ritual is an important component for explaining the evolutionary or biological significance of religion, although in many of these studies ritual is characterized primarily by emotionalism, strict repetition, and illiterate cultural settings. For all of these works, religion is still an "other" to be explained with the proven analytical frameworks of science, or at least something that looks like science.

Rappaport's concluding, nearly apocalyptic, appeal to the role of ritual in the past and future of humankind is, therefore, part of a fairly constant interplay between cultural explanations and natural/scientific ones. During the 1990s the tendency for a popular shift every few years in the winning focus found greater substance in the emergence of "cognitive" theories of religion—and ritual. Cognitive studies are not actually new. A standard textbook on psychology and religion (Wulff, 1997) has three extensive chapters on biological, behavioral, and laboratory-based natural theories of belief and ritual going back a full century. Still, a study of ritual by E. Thomas Lawson and Robert N. McCauley, *Rethinking Religion: Connecting Cognition and Culture* (1990), claimed to be launching a "science of religion" due to the sense of fresh developments in evolutionary psychology and neurobiology. Lawson and McCauley's argument for the existence of certain rules in the performance of ritual generated fresh enthusiasm for explanations as empirical hypotheses that could be tested by others, a scientific process new to religious studies. In *Bringing Ritual to Mind: Psychological Foundations of Cultural Forms* (2002), they were even bolder, using the tools of an action-representation system to address another specific aspect of ritual, the link between the frequency of a ritual and the degree to which it is marked by elaborate and varied modes of expression. Their science of religion has been accompanied by a provocative line-up of studies espousing a wide array of theses (Andresen, 2001; Atran, 2002; Boyer, 2001; Pyysiäinen, 2001; and Whitehouse, 2000, 2004, among others). While some of these works propose very reductive theories of religion ("apparently pointless behaviors," and "snares for thought" [Boyer, 2001, pp. 262–263]), others are more moderate and nuanced. Cognitive approaches are also attempting to address issues in theology and the psychology of religion by explaining the constraints and the formative impulses in how and why people believe what they believe, or remember what they remember—still ritual is a common and often central concern.

McCauley and Lawson are careful with the language of reductionism. They are apt to speak of an "intuitive knowledge" of a system of ritual that is not dependent on socialization or instruction, suggesting that a type of ritual grammar exists in human beings, much like the innate generative grammar for language proposed by Noam Chomsky in *Syntactic Structures* (1957). As a grammar, a language, or some analogous scheme, a ritual system is seen as a rule-governed expression of an evolutionary adaptive basic competence. For McCauley and Lawson, theirs contributes another model of ritual as communication, but one that builds on the work of cognitive psychology, in contrast to the evolutionary anthropology of Rappaport, where the rules are less amendable to empirical testing. In their first book, Lawson and McCauley specifically looked at the way in which ritual structures are linked to types of beliefs about the supernatural. They proposed two universal principles: the principle of *superhuman agency* and the principle of *superhuman immediacy.* The first finds that the most central rites are those in which a superhuman being is the active agent, compared to those more peripheral rites in which the god is inactive or passive. The principle of superhuman immediacy argues that the more central rites are less complex, that is, they include fewer "enabling" activities and superhuman agents. These two principles, say Lawson and McCauley, will explain the basic competence of people to produce fitting rituals in their cultural setting and suggest the adaptive function of religion.

Their second book is concerned with the relation between ritual form (the structures generated by their first analysis) and ritual frequency (how seldom or often a ritual is performed). Since rituals motivate participants to recall and re-enact performances, Lawson and McCauley generate a "ritual form hypothesis" to explain the low levels of emotionalism attending frequent rites compared to the high levels of stimulation found in rites that are less often performed. In their analyses, the psychological processes that Lawson and McCauley attempt to uncover do not derive from social or cultural contexts but from cognitive structures, forms, or abilities within the human brain, with the assumption that scholars can imagine precultural forms of cognition. While it is assumed that ritual knowledge confers adaptive social benefits, ritual—as ritual—is not seen as a fundamentally social phenomenon. Among those who turn away from cultural-symbolic explanations of meaning, the Lawson-McCauley theory of cognition attempts to go the furthest in delineating "very general features of religious ritual form [that] are independent of both semantic and cultural contents" (2002, p. 10). Their acultural analysis addresses "religious ritual" tightly defined as the same universal form everywhere (secular rites are never discussed as "ritual"). Whatever cultural content and context might contribute, what makes a set of actions a ritual lies beyond culture: thus, the rules uncovered among the Baktaman of New Guinea, for example, should be valid for religious rituals of the eighteenth-century Chinese court. In effect, and unlike Rappaport, McCauley and Lawson are not drawing on the history of the study of ritual; they are operating among the literature and issues defining the branch of competence theory in the field of neuropsychology. Their ability to contribute to a broader study of ritual cannot be discounted, nor can that of the other cognitive approaches being developed. Yet the primary assumptions, as well as the terminology and style, are difficult for people in religious studies and cultural anthropology. While addressed at some length here, these two works are not the best introduction to the cognitive approach. Jensine Andresen's "Introduction: Towards a Cognitive Science of Religion" (2001) and Ilkka Pyysiäinen's *How Religion Works* (2001) are clearer in tracing the origins of the cognitive model and its relationship to older models of religion.

Practice and Performance. The other general approach to ritual works within the assumptions of a fully cultural perspective—namely, that the social and cultural life of a community is responsible for the emergence and style of ritualization, and the category of "ritual" is a historical one as much as it is an analytical one. From a sociocultural perspective, the origin of ritual has not been much addressed since Durkheim led a general abandonment of "origins" arguments. But a naturalistic explanation of the evolutionary origins of ritual could be welcomed by those who avow to be nonscientists—as long as the formidable role of culture is not left out of any aspect of ritualization, even its evolutionary roles or neurological rules. Recent cultural theories have tended to regard ritualization as a fundamentally performative action or practice, rejecting the stress on communication, although Rappaport and others considered ritual as performative communication. Among the many discussions of performance, the notion of practice exerts great influence. Rooted in the work of Pierre Bourdieu, Maurice Bloch, and Sherry Ortner, practice approaches to ritual are used in the work of Jean Comaroff and Talal Asad, with the most developed theoretical presentation in Bell's *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. The starting point for Bell is the notion that ritual might be more accurately approached if it is not classified as some structurally distinct and primal cultural activity; that is, unlike all other ways of acting. Rather, ritual activity should be returned to the context of cultural action in general, as action among actions. Only in the context of many ways of acting—a functional semiological system—can one approach the construction, meaning, and efficacy of ritualized practices. The term *practice*, historically indebted to Karl Marx's notion of *praxis*, simply refers to culturally shaped and shaping activities.

For many of the great theoreticians of religion, there was no question that ritual possessed a distinctive identifying structure. The dominant models of ritual in the twentieth century, such as those of Arnold van Gennep, Durkheim, Mircea Eliade, Turner, and Geertz, understood ritual as a fundamentally different sort of social event. Just as Durkheim described the distinction between the sacred and profane as starkly clear, these models assume that ritual—as a symbolic (non-instrumental) mode of acting, directed toward what is sacred—by definition must differ completely from profane modes of acting. In making this argument theorists needed to name the something extra or different that is found in rituals, such as traffic with supernatural beings, awe of the *mysterium tremendum*, or a specific structuring of social symbols and symbolic stages of experience. For example, Turner saw ritual in terms of a distinctive pattern of "structure" and "*communitas*," while Geertz saw a characteristic harmonization of the symbolic references that make up a social arrangement (ethos) and a sacred cosmology (worldview). The many adoptions and adaptations of the Turner and Geertz models to interpret an ever elastic set of activities have shown how impossible it may be to define ritual as a clear category. Some theorists have been logically drawn into the enterprise of constructing typologies in order to deal with those rites that had a "fuzzier" nature; they wrestle with taxonomies to distinguish liturgy from rite from ceremony from ceremonial, and, naturally, religious ritual from secular and civic ritual. The impulse to see ritual as a very distinct form of action is, according to Bell (1992), a position that replicates a fundamental dichotomy between thought and action, and eventuates in an overly structured discourse that strongly defines scholars as those who are not ritual actors, the observed and the analyzed.

Bell's approach builds on (1) the notion of practice, (2) the dynamics of the so-called ritual body, and (3) ultimately, the arrangements of power that make ritualization the culturally effective thing to do. Drawing in part on Bourdieu (1977), Bell suggests four basic features of cultural practice or activity in general. First, practice is situational, with a contingency that eludes any attempt to grasp its objective meaning, thus evoking Edward Said's description of the "endless deferral of meaning." Second, practices are strategic (i.e., exploitative or expedient), with an instrumental logic that remains as implicit and improvisational as possible. Third, practices misrecognize their own dynamics; generally focusing only on their goal, they do not see how their activity towards it shifts the nature of the goal and the whole landscape of action to attain it. Finally, practices are guided by the need to act as much as possible within an interpretation of domination and subordination that provides all involved with a measure of empowerment, however modest or even illusionary—a concept dubbed "redemptive hegemony" (Bell, 1992, pp. 81–85). As cultural practice, ritual activity will be all these things; it will share these features with other activities, such as cooking a meal, though some features will be more stressed than others. Ritual is not an intrinsically special way of acting, but it is a distinct orchestration of activities: the commonality of ritualization with other actions allows a better focus on what is distinctive about the choices involved in it. In terms of this commonality, ritualization should be analyzed in context of its situational strategies and misrecognitions, which create a form of redemptive hegemony able to exercise some dominance over other activities in the world.

According to Bell, the distinctive significance of ritualization starts in the type of contrast it generates with other actions. Acting ritually appears to establish, in the very manner in which the activity is performed, a "privileged distinction" between it and other implicated actions: "acting ritually is first and foremost a matter of nuanced contrasts and the evocation of strategic, value-laden distinctions" (1992, p. 90). Bell's suggestion that ritualization seeks to establish a privileged differentiation means that a Sunday service is not a ritual by virtue of an intrinsic structure it alone possesses, but by virtue of the way its activities stress contrasts with other activities that make the ritualized acts special (people dress up for Sunday service, gather in a large room according to a what is understood as a tradition, sing an order of songs, address God in prayer through a minister's leadership—in contrast to their daily dress-down routines, infrequent gatherings, individual prayer, and self-determination, etc.). Through an action's creation of this type of privileged distinction, "ritual is always contingent, provisional, and defined by difference" (1992, p. 91). Therefore, formalism or repetition or traditionalism are not intrinsic qualities of ritual practices, but common strategies for producing acts that can dominate their context in important and useful ways. On this basis, a universal characterization of ritualization may be impossible; it may be describable only in general terms since even the most widespread strategies could mean different things in different cultural contexts. Bell's "theory" of ritual, therefore, is an experiment in backing away from all the universal qualities usually assigned to ritual to make it an a priori event structured similarly in Madras and Manhattan.

Yet the privileged opposition at the base of ritualized practices is only part of what goes on in ritualizing. Another distinct feature for Bell is the way in which ritual strategies of action are rooted in the individual, socialized body: "the interaction of the social body with a symbolically constituted spatial and temporal environment" is a circular process by which the body shapes the space that shapes the body. The socialized body misrecognizes this shaping: it does not see itself shaping its environment so much as reacting to an order or pre-existing arrangement of forces. Nonetheless, as bodies (with minds and voices, not just limbs and gestures, etc.) absorb the logic of spaces and temporal events, they then project these structural schemes, reproducing liturgical arrangements out of their own "sense" of the fitness of things. This process of embodiment and projection produces, and is indicative of a "ritualized body," a body that can naturally produce ritualized schemes. Even outside the ritual arena, the ritualized body will exercise quiet ways of reinterpreting (thereby dominating) social circumstances based on the dense, flexible logic of schemes learned in the rite. This theory of the "ritual mastery" of the socialized body draws upon Marcel Mauss's analysis of the "*technique de la corps*" (1935), as well as to Bourdieu's innovative re-description of Mauss's notion of "habitus" (Bourdieu, 1977). For Bell, the goal of ritualizing activity is always the production of a ritualized and ritualizing agent who acts beyond the rite, while the situation in which this particular set of circular misrecognitions is played out is one in which the participants are seeking a particular organization of domination and power, that is as emanating more or less directly from sources deemed beyond the human community but still subject to some channeling or control or intercession.

The contextualization of ritual as cultural practice opens up new dimensions of analysis. For example, the theorist can ask why ritual is chosen as the most efficacious way of acting in a situation? What types of power are defined for all involved? What is the difference for a community between ad hoc ritualizing and a "tradition" of ritual forms controlled by whom? The choice to use ritualized practices to act on the world can lend a peculiar efficacy to action, an efficacy that has everything to do with ritual's own qualities of misrecognition and its redemptive sense of empowerment. It might also lend a particular retreat to a situation by defining the problem and solution in terms that leave the dispensation of power outside of the community. This practice theory of ritual has proven to be usefully elastic for a number of fields and disciplines, especially the interpretation of so-called secular rituals and the emergence of new ritualizing, neither addressed by preceding theories.

The anthropologists Caroline Humphrey and James Laidlaw propose a different theory of ritual as action. They see ritualization as the distinctive way in which any action may be performed, but they suggest that ritualized activities will always differ clearly from routine actions for a cultural community. First, ritualization is "a qualitative departure from the normal intentional character" mobilized for any action (1994, p. 89). Second, ritual actions are always stipulated in advance, already formed, ready to do, or prescribed. Hence, the intentions of the actor make no difference to what the actions are or how they are done. This is, in part, a way of dealing with the ritual tradition as something that is given yet also freshly exercised. These ritual precedents, which Humphrey and Laidlaw call "archetypal," have no intrinsic meaning for the ritual actors or the participants. People are free to assign meanings and argue about the rites in broad or detailed terms, which they certainly do. A third and crucial point for Humphrey and Laidlaw is that these rites are perceived as external, elemental, or object-like entities. As such they appear to exact a type of fundamental acquiescence to the facticity of one's social world. In their extended analysis, liturgies or "liturgy-centered rites" can be seen as characteristically ritualized, while more performance-centered rites are only weakly ritualized, leaving more to the actors to determine.

Humphrey and Laidlaw's theory of ritualizing action is particularly concerned with challenging the assumption in anthropology that ritual is a paradigmatic form of cultural communication with discursive meaning for all involved. Bell rejects any suggestion that ritual is universal, and she is hesitant even to grant universality to any particular strategy of ritualization, such as formalism. Similarly, Humphrey and Laidlaw argue that since cultural attitudes toward ritualization are inseparable from it, ritual can never be the same across cultures, but ritualization as they define it remains a universally available form of action. This contrasts strongly with Bell's move away from universalism and power of tradition.

Performance theory invokes the emphases on communication and performance that have characterized so much theorizing about ritual, while identifying a spectrum of ritualized gestures and acts (Bell, 1998). At one end of a spectrum, some theorists emphasize the performative aspects of ritualization, in contrast to theorists in theater studies, for example, who explore the ritualized dimensions of performance.

Some analyze performance as communication, while others approach performance theory as liberation from communication models. Pushing out from all of these positions, the focus on performance has opened up many avenues of inquiry. For example, it highlights ritual as a multisensory experience of sights, sounds, flavors, and smells, as well as a physical language of gestures and embodiment (Sullivan, 1986; Schechner, 1985). Performance approaches also generate analysis of the ways in which ritual is a matter of "frames" and what framing accomplishes interactively between actor and audience (Bateson, 1955; Goffman, 1974; Handelman, 1990). While some scholars point to an underlying notion of "illusion" in the language of performance, this is challenged by those who articulate both ritual and performance as central to the social construction of reality (Schieffelin, 1985). As evidence of its synthetic tendencies, a view of ritual as performance will foreground the limits on, and yet necessity for, inventive spontaneity suited to the moment, in addition to time-honored classical models that provide a larger sense of context and identity (Hughes-Freeland, 1998). A number of anthropological studies of performance attempt to chart the social and cultural ramifications of transitions from a local traditional rite to a more tourist-oriented performance, certainly a very common development in the last century. Finally, performance theorists have been particularly alert to the importance of a culture's own approach to performing, letting cultural specificity dominate theoretical categories (Laderman and Roseman, 1996). Still, the implied question of universal aspects to ritual and performance, even when answered in the negative, often underlies the issues brought to the study of "ritual performance."

The popular theories of Georges Bataille (1973) and René Girard (1986) forge distinctive routes through the issues of culture, nature, communication, and practice to express themes that have been consistent threads throughout the twentieth-century's study of religion. Bataille and Girard are regularly cited for their distinctive analyses of sacrifice, with both using approaches that are vaguely psychoanalytic in a Freudian way and loosely ahistorical in a Eliadian way, focusing on primal emotional conflicts that endure, they argue, in ritual today. For both theorists, sacrifice is the origin of religion (and much else) and the preeminent form of ritual in general. For Bataille, ritual is born of desire and destruction; for Girard, ritual is mimetic desire (envious imitation) and violence. Within an encompassing theory of religion, Bataille argues that the sacrificial destruction of an animal transforms it from an external object in the world of things into something more intimate and immanent to human beings: a part of the divine world. The sacrificer negates the profane order of reality for the priority of the mythical or sacred order, yet, paradoxically, each order exists in order to neutralize the other (as Bataille acknowledges). Sacrificial killing is an act of destructive consumption (in contrast to the productivity of profane reality) in which the transformation of the separate, objective life of the animal is, mysteriously, the transformation of the separate identity and reality of the individuals involved in the act. In the death and consumption of the animal, human beings experience a transgression of the bounds of life and death. While Girard laments the heavy moral demands of sacrifice, Bataille argues that the cruelty and anguish of sacrificial killing are essential in opening the only route to transcendence.

Bemoaning the failure of religious anthropology to solve "the mystery of ritual," Girard lays out a theory that roots all ritual forms in primitive, or primal, sacrifice. Convinced that primitive societies are "obsessed" with mimetic rivalry, in which one person desires that which another has, Girard casts ritual as a "theatrical reenactment" of the social crisis that results from such rivalry, a destructive paroxysm in which the group can purify itself by killing a victim, a scapegoat. The purpose of ritual, therefore, is collective reconciliation and reordering—a Frazerian process of regeneration (Girard, 1996, pp. 10–14)—via the shared act of violence. It is not so hard to understand why Bataille is regularly cited, although not usually in formal studies of ritual, since his explanation is so close to Christian theology despite his insistence on outsider status. It is more curious that Girard's bleak reductionism has been found so provocative to many, although its attractions are undoubtedly a version of the theological as well— if only the atheology of Sigmund Freud himself, who tried to account for religion by collapsing history into the psyche, with religion as the necessary illusion that keeps us more or less content in a civilization constructed on the sacrificial killing of the father.

NEW DIRECTIONS. In the words of one theorist, the interaction of the concepts of ritual, practice, and performance has generated a "rapidly changing intellectual geography" (Hughes-Freeland, 1998, p. 2); certainly none of the preceding approaches will keep their current shape for long. The study of ritual practices will undoubtedly continue to pursue several directions of inquiry, perhaps with lopsided influences on each other. Cultural-practice theories are proving amenable to further refinement and wide application. The various arguments of cognitive science may not be unraveling that many ritual milieus, but so far they have generated suggestive ideas and drawn much attention in a post-postmodern milieu. The assumption that cognitive universals underlie the panoply of culture reintroduces an old position, of course, but with fresh enthusiasm for scientific forms of evidence and the mysteries of adaptive evolution (Pyysiäinen, 2001). For decades the study of religion was mapped in terms of the poles of *eklaren* (explanation) and *verstehen* (interpretation); and again we hear the cry for a truly scientific explanation and a rejection of vague cultural interpretation. Yet for students and readers of Eliade, it is hard to read the introductory chapters to this new scientific literature without thinking of the grand comparative-religion project of the twentieth century. With a sentence that could have come from Eliade's *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (1958), one proponent of the new cognitive science writes that "there are quite obviously recurrent patterns of religious phenomena across cultures, and it is these patterns that form the object of the study of religion" (Pyysiäinen,, 2001). Eliade's morphology of the forms of religious symbolism, with its semi-scientific intentions of collection and analysis, capped a century of what was understood to be the scientific study of religion. Eliade eventually reached out to be more than scientific, in part because science was having such a hard time actually comprehending religion. As in the anthropological and psychological sciences, interpretation became a rich and complex method, as well as an object of study itself.

In a summary of recent studies of ritual, the sociologist Robert Bellah asserts that ritual is the basic social event and "the most fundamental category for the understanding of social action" (Bellah, 2003, p. 32). He then traces the evidence for its emergence in this role and its evolutionary contributions in the transition from primates to humans, raising interesting questions about ritual's relationship with language and music. Bellah is strongly committed to maintaining "general terms in the social sciences"—although they warrant a "healthy skepticism" since they are "of recent and Western origin." Still he argues, there is no need to doubt that they "refer to real features of the real world" (p. 44). Bellah is specifically responding to Bell's suggested doubt that the category of ritual refers to a real, universally distinct phenomenon. Thus, even as culturally oriented a sociologist as Bellah finds it impossible to adopt a perspective that he undoubtedly sees as the continued nihilism of postmodernism. He also turns to various discussions of the evolutionary roots of ritual with their promises of real evidence.

Cognitive approaches to ritual might be most valuable if they were to find a clear, realistic place for cultural analysis. Practice theories of ritual, for their part, need to continue to demonstrate greater ethnographic utility, not merely in the broad outlines. Surely the nature versus nurture debate is foolishly conceived, and we will inevitably find that these two extreme categories refer to realities that are harder to differentiate. In the end it is not surprising that ritual studies is the site of such different approaches; it has always been a area for cross-disciplinary exchange, and it undoubtedly will continue to be that.

Future theories of ritual may address some of the evidence for how people are actually ritualizing today. Around the globe, several major changes in ritual practices are occurring. First of all, the loss of undisturbed tribal cultures is certainly complete, so the rites of tribal peoples today must be understood to represent incredibly complex cultural interactions, dominations, and inversions. Second, the twentieth century saw the conversion of many peoples of the world to Islam and Christianity, both of which invite forms of nationalism and transnationalism not possible among earlier cultural differences. Third, the evangelical movement in the United States, perhaps another great awakening, may be again emptying the mainstream churches and filling up the so-called mega-churches with their distinctive style of worship and their openness to immigrant populations. Fourth, the sense of a personal spirituality that does not require affiliation or clear doctrines, or more than minimal ad hoc rituals, cannot continue to be dismissed as New Age-ism; while people of this persuasion have been active consumers of books and paraphernalia on how to ritualize the main events of their lives, the language of an unaffiliated spirituality is now quite pervasive (Grimes, 2000). Together, all of these developments do not predict any greater coherence and unity in ritual studies than we have seen up to this point. Following the words of the cognitive theorist Ilkka Pyysiäinen, perhaps a theory of ritual is unreasonable, but we can have theories about ritual (2001, p. viii). For religious studies in general, the mid-century move from Biblical sources about ritual, with their particular focus on sacrifice, to more anthropological ones, makes religious studies a player alongside the other social disciplines. So, within the field of religion, ritual studies inevitably struggles to identify its peculiar contribution, which is less likely to be a special position or method as a stubborn refusal to reduce—in analysis or in significance—so-called religious phenomenon into fully other (that is, non-religious, un-holy) components or conclusions.

SEE ALSO Ritual Studies.

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For an overview of theoretical interpretations, the many types of rituals identified, and the roles ritual plays in social life, see Bell's *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions.* It is usefully supplemented by Humphrey and Laidlaw, *The Archetypical Actions of Ritual*, which develops an extensive example in Jain ritual. McCauley and Lawson's *Bringing Ritual to Mind*, from two major scholars, is not the easiest introduction to cognitive analysis of ritual per se, but it is the most complete. One could also start with the articles by McCauley and Lawson in Andresen's *Religion in Mind.* Rappaport's *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity*, the other major work since the mid-1980s, is also not a simple study, but Lambek's *Reader in the Anthropology of Religion* excerpts a credible selection. Bial's *The Performance Studies Reader* assembles a thorough collection of the major theoretical sources for a performance perspective on ritual.

CATHERINE M. BELL (2005)

RITUAL STUDIES as a field of inquiry began with a research group established in 1977 by the American Academy of Religion (AAR), the international society of religious studies scholars. A decade later Ronald L. Grimes and Fred W. Clothey cofounded the *Journal of Ritual Studies.* Ritual studies is a distinct academic field that gives special attention to the performance aspect of the rites themselves (gesture, aesthetics, space, choreography, praxis, meaning) and not just to a rite's social function or cultural context.

Although the term *ritual studies* is often misapplied as a catchall category for widely divergent research, the field of ritual studies aspires to more than simply cultivating conversation and exchange among scholars from different disciplines. Ritual studies requires a research approach that is truly interdisciplinary. This field of study represents a movement away from more traditional text-oriented conceptions of ritual, and like anthropology and sociology, ritual studies endorses participatory fieldwork when possible. Yet ritual studies differs from the social sciences in its interest in both experiential meaning (phenomenology) and textual interpretation (hermeneutics) and in its concern with studying ritual's relationship to language, narrative, and myth. An excellent example that strikes the ritual studies ideal of balance in simultaneously studying text, action, and context is Sam Gill's *Native American Religious Action* (1998). Gill combines fieldwork data from Navajo culture with a careful exposition of the semantic content of prayer texts to show that the most culturally responsible way to study Navajo prayer is to consider it as a performative, pragmatic, and poetic ritual medium. Gill notes that the referential meaning of the prayer's words ought not be privileged apart from the prayer's actual performance or cultural context. In Gill's study prayer as a rite is not severed from its proper place in the history of Navajo oral tradition nor from its current position in the larger healing ceremony of which it is part.

Because many of the field's leading scholars work in religious studies departments, ritual studies has adopted the cardinal premise of the academic study of religion: that no single ritual tradition or practice ought to be used as a normative standard for analysis or classification. Any type of theoretical interpretation performed in ritual studies is understood as a comparative judgment, not as a value judgment. This does not mean that ritual studies eschews theology or liturgics. Once only the purview of Christianity, *liturgics* increasingly refers to the study of worship ritual in a variety of religious traditions. Whereas the global study of religious rites past and present is an expected province of ritual studies, it is not presumed that religious ritual is the highest form or most fully developed type of ritual. Ritual studies follows the lead of Sally F. Moore and Barbara Myerhoff's *Secular Ritual* (1977) in pursuing the study of secular ceremony and ritual as well.

A good reading list of texts on ritual is in Ronald L. Grimes's anthology, *Readings in Ritual Studies* (1996). Grimes's succinct introductions to each entry highlight many of the scholars and debates pertinent to the study of ritual. Reading these in conjunction with Catherine Bell's *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (1992) will provide a thorough introduction to the academic discourse on ritual. As Bell notes, many classic theories are marked by the use of binary oppositions and the Western philosophical split between thought and action, observer and observed. Because ritual is often viewed as simultaneously representing and fusing these polarities, Bell invites a more thorough integration of practice theory into ritual studies to resolve this seeming paradox. The concerns and sensibilities of ritual studies as a field are best articulated in Grimes's first monograph for classroom use, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies* (1982). Grimes also produced the first bibliography of ritual, *Research in Ritual Studies* (1985), that covers 1960 to 1983. This resource paired with Madeline Duntley's updated bibliographic essay "Ritual in the United States" (1997) organizes the diverse range and types of modern writings on ritual available to scholars in both the academic and popular press.

Since 1977 ritual studies has made significant strides in interdisciplinary research in three key areas: (1) mind-body and language; (2) popular culture and ritual; and (3) theoretical analysis and construction.

MIND-BODY AND LANGUAGE. Ritual studies provides a variety of ways to study ritual in the wider context of human behavior. One option is performance studies. Richard Schechner defines *performance* as ritualized behavior both conditioned and permeated by play. Building upon Victor Turner's pioneering work, *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play* (1982), Schechner measures "play acts" using six templates: structure, process, experience, function, ideology, and frame. In *The Future of Ritual* (1993) Schechner claims that players, spectators, and observers each may be independently analyzed in terms of these six templates, which in turn helps to break down the dichotomy of observer and observed (Schechner, 1993, pp. 25–26). Performance studies has ties to kinesics (the study of the communicative role of bodily movements and facial expressions). Because ritual action often takes the form of carefully framed gestures, methods such as kinesic-style film study and dance-annotation analysis of ritual hold great potential for the study of ritual. But to date the theory of gesture remains rooted in conceptual categories of interaction ritual first established by Erving Goffman in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959).

Biogenetic structuralism is an approach in ritual studies exploring the connection between ritual and myth from a neurological and evolutionary point of view. It tempers the humanistic orientation in ritual theory by suggesting that ritual mediates between genetic codes and ecological adaptation. In *The Mystical Mind* (1999) the psychiatrists Eugene G. d'Aquili and Andrew B. Newberg map responses to ritual action in various areas of the brain. For example, the site of emotional discharges associated with different types of religious experiences can be located using brain imaging experiments on Tibetan Buddhist meditators. D'Aquili also collaborated with Charles Laughlin and John McManus in *The Spectrum of Ritual* (1979), a collection of essays on the genetic foundations of ritual, and in *Brain, Symbol, and Experience* (1990).

Studies of ritual and violence often begin with the findings of ethologists such as Julian Huxley in the article "A Discussion on Ritualized Behavior in Animals and Man" (1966). Ethologists see many connections between animal and human ritualized behavior, especially in human imitation of animal behavior in certain totemic rites in aboriginal societies. Human aggression and gender display, like those of animals, are hedged with stylization, symbolization, and repetitiveness. This is a topic addressed by Walter Burkert, René Girard, and Jonathan Z. Smith in *Violent Origins* (1987). The three authors' diverging viewpoints on violence and ritual are typical of academic debates over the role of violence in the origins of religion itself. Whereas this book deals with the universal tendency of ritual to take violent form in sacrifice and scapegoating, other scholars prefer an evolutionary perspective to locate the origins of ritual as engendering less-negative contributions to human society and community. For instance, Roy A. Rappaport's *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* (1999) treats ritual in a positive way—as humanity's "basic social act." Rappaport combines evolutionary biology with ecology, semiotics, philosophy, and communications theory to argue that ritual both communicates and creates morality, obligation, and convention. Ritual, in short, makes society possible.

Interest in psychology within ritual studies begins with Volney Patrick Gay's *Freud on Ritual* (1979), where Gay challenges the commonly held interpretation of Sigmund Freud's negative view of ritual as repressive and as a collective version of personal neurosis. Ritual studies recognizes the existence of nonpathological, private ritualizing and explores the therapeutic uses of ritual. A major part of *Religious and Social Ritual* (1996), edited by Michael B. Aune and Valerie DeMarinis, is devoted to the effective use of ritual in clinical settings and of the similarities and differences between ritual and psychotherapy.

The collaborative work of Robert N. McCauley and E. Thomas Lawson represents the best examples of the cognitive science of ritual. McCauley and Lawson examine the cognitive machinery essential to a participant's ritual competence. In *Bringing Ritual to Mind* (2002) McCauley and Lawson utilize experimental research in cognitive psychology. They look at ritual transmission and those factors that determine the survival of ritual systems and what motivates participants to perpetuate them over time. McCauley also presents research on what he calls "sensory pageantry" in "Ritual, Memory, and Emotion: Comparing Two Cognitive Hypotheses" (2001). McCauley explores how ritual meaning and experience are contingent upon environment and how ritual frequency and infrequency contribute to a rite's meaning and efficacy.

McCauley and Lawson also forge important links between semantics and ritual in *Rethinking Religion* (1990). Here they argue that linguistic theories offer strategic insights for the study of religious rituals, especially for examining the internal structure of ritual. Another volume examining the interconnection between ritual and language is *Ritual and Semiotics* (1997), edited by J. Ralph Lindgren and Jay Knaak. Of particular interest is Lindgren's work on magic, where he argues that a semiotic (the study of signs and symbols) investigation of ritual reveals the process of social beliefs in flux and in turn allows one to see ritual as an open-ended, flexible sign system.

Ancient Magic and Ritual Power (1995), edited by Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki, offers several linguistic analyses of ritual and magic. Magic presents a taxonomic (categorical) challenge to the study of ritual that these authors resolve in part by substituting the term *ritual power* for *magic.* Magic is thus liberated from its negative connotations by revisioning it as empowerment by ritual means. Another treatment of ritual and language is Richard K. Fenn's *Liturgies and Trials* (1982), a study of performative utterance and the ritual efficacy of language used in court proceedings. Grimes's *Ritual Criticism* (1990) also utilizes J. L. Austin's speech-act theory for use in determining and assessing the many ways a rite can fail. Grimes presents nineteen categories of ritual failure, some of which are: gloss (covers up problems), breach (failure to follow through), opacity (act unrecognizable or unintelligible), misframe (genre misconstrued), contagion (act leaps beyond proper boundaries), flop (failure to evoke proper mood), and violation (act effective but demeaning).

POPULAR CULTURE AND RITUAL. One of ritual studies' most important contributions is its ability to bridge academic and public interest in ritual. *Liberating Rites* (1998) by Tom Driver and *Mighty Stories, Dangerous Rituals* (1998) by Herbert Anderson and Edward Foley are books by theologians who target both popular and academic audiences. Anderson and Foley offer guides for creating new rites for nontraditional life transitions (divorce, retirement, miscarriage), and Driver provides theoretical guidelines and maxims for improving existing rituals. Driver also distinguishes between two central types or modes of ritual action: confessional (effecting revelatory self-disclosure) and ethical (effecting social change through action). Yet Driver also notes how these two modes overlap. First, the two modes serve in tandem to enhance ritual's potential to inspire liberation and justice. Second, the ethical and confessional modes work together to impede ritual's destructive tendencies.

Anderson and Foley offer new perspectives on the interconnection between ritual and narrative. Narrative is not simply the particular mythic story a rite imparts but is the actual storytelling occurring before, during, and after the rite that in part imbues ritual action with meaning. Narrative is emotionally charged because it augments and frames ritual action in life transition ceremonies of birth, marriage, and death. Far from taking the creation or refinement of new rituals flippantly, Anderson and Foley are aware of the profound danger and risk involved in the task of ritual revitalization and innovation. Ritual may be used intentionally and unwittingly to embarrass, destroy, or disturb as well as to unify, satisfy, and heal. Their discussion of the categories "mythic" (a rite that intentionally glosses over contradictions and enacts the ideal) and "parabolic" (a rite that intentionally addresses and resolves contradictions and problems) is applicable beyond the Christian context and helps interpret secular and non-Christian rites as well.

Ritual studies research in popular culture helps locate new ritual practices and media on the ritual spectrum. Gregor Goethals's *The TV Ritual* (1981) shows ways in which television viewing, especially of such sporting events as the Super Bowl, share many of the dynamics and characteristics typically associated with ritual. Bobby C. Alexander, in *Televangelism Reconsidered* (1994), argues that televangelism is itself a ritual practice. Television viewing becomes a ritual site of the celebration of community and legitimacy of conservative subcultures rather than merely a reflection of such ritual activity occurring elsewhere.

Studies of life passages experienced by women offer new critiques of old theoretical paradigms. In *Birth as an American Rite of Passage* (1992) Robbie E. Davis-Floyd presents hospital obstetrical procedures as ritual. For mothers, the social convention of in-hospital birth becomes a status quo–enforcing rite of passage. In this so-called technocratic birth rite, the mother is made subservient to and accepting of her obligation both to patriarchal institutions and to society's cultural control over natural processes such as birth and death. Other fieldwork studies of modern women use feminist theory to refocus attention upon the role of the body in rites of passage. Jone Salomonsen's *Enchanted Feminism* (2001) suggests how ritual in a coven is perceived as a reclamation of divine immanence. Thus self-healing and transformation are dependent upon actualizing eco-magico interdependence through ritual. Nikki Bado-Fralick's article "A Turning on the Wheel of Life: Wiccan Rites of Death" (1998) also uses field research on Wiccans to claim that ritual transformation is more than a spontaneous mental attitude or reorientation that results from a ritual event. Instead, transformation is itself a somatic process that is learned by the body over time. This requires a much longer time frame to take effect than implied by theories such as the instantaneous participatory unity that Turner calls "communitas." Here ritual studies provides gender-specific case studies that build upon the concept of "ritual knowledge"—the idea that ritual meaning is acquired primarily through somatic or bodily performance first articulated by Theodore W. Jennings Jr. in "On Ritual Knowledge" (1982).

THEORETICAL ANALYSIS AND CONSTRUCTION. Because scholars of ritual studies recognize the importance of studying contemporary ritual, many of the field's most notable contributions to theory are in the areas of ritual change and ritual criticism. Elizabeth H. Pleck's *Celebrating the Family* (2000) assigns ethnic identity an important role in the alteration of family celebrations over time. She also links many drastic changes in holidays and rites of passage directly to commercialization and emphasizes the often ignored market dimension of rituals as a product. Several of Pleck's examples highlight the latent ethnocentricity in many interpretive strategies concerning life transition rituals. For example, in the Hispanic *quinceañera* (coming of age or debutante birthday ball for fifteen-year-old girls) scholars may focus on the event as a secular occasion with sexist conservative gender and restrictive status implications. Yet the participant herself may see the event as a mystical religious rite of blessing and consecration that directly results in status elevation. Grimes's *Ritual Criticism* (1990) introduces an interdisciplinary method called ritual criticism to resolve this dilemma of how to include scholar and participant views in one interpretive framework. Ritual criticism is "the interpretation of a rite or ritual system with a view to implicating (involving) its practice" (Grimes, 1990, p. 16). Ritual criticism uses evaluative judgments only insofar as they are necessary to take into account the contexts and circumstances in which ritual knowledge is produced.

Yet another way to discover ritual's "core" is to use the typologies offered by Bell in *Ritual* (1997). Ritual attributes of formalism, traditionalism, disciplined invariance, rule-governance, sacral symbolism, and performance help interpret and organize a wide range of contemporary examples of "ritual-like" activities that often fall outside other interpretive and classificatory models. Bell also broadens the concept of ritual change, which is usually defined as ritual alteration and innovation, to include ritual immutability by showing how changelessness is an important way ritual is actively responsive to rapidly changing social contexts.

In *Deeply into the Bone* (2000) Grimes shows the theoretical implications of realizing that rites of passage paradigms are theoretical hybrids constructed from the work of Arnold van Gennep, Turner, and Mircea Eliade. Grimes demonstrates that the widely accepted tripartite model of separation, transition, and reincorporation so often used as the template for all rites of passage is far from universal in scope. In fact rites of passage theory is rooted in data gleaned specifically from aboriginal male initiation rites. Yet in the twentieth century this three-part rites of passage model came to be used as the theoretical lens for viewing virtually all types of ritual activity, ancient and modern, aboriginal and postindustrial. Current research in ritual studies demonstrates that theories originally based on aboriginal male initiation are less useful in interpreting contemporary life transition rites and women's rituals. If rites of passage theory is not the reflection of universal human ritual experience that it was once commonly believed to be, then both practitioner and scholar must avoid the temptation to conform ritual experience and interpretation to fit the expectations and parameters supplied by these classic rites of passage templates. Grimes provides more flexible theoretical guidelines for interpreting contemporary rites of passage; these guidelines respond to situational variety and offer an alternative to the fixed typologies proposed by Bell in *Ritual*.

Once dominated by North American researchers, ritual studies is gaining international exposure both in research groups and in degree-granting programs. *Ritualtheorien: En einführendes Handbuch* (1998) is the premier handbook for European use. The Institut für Religionswissenschaft at Germany's University of Heidelberg hosts the *Heidelberger e-Journal für Ritualwissenschaft*. This institute's theoretical contributions include introducing new methods called interrituality and ritualistics—the comparative study of complexes of structurally interlinked rituals. In the Netherlands, Thomas Quartier leads a ritual group at the University of Nijmegen, and the Netherlands School for Advanced Studies in Theology and Religion (NOSTER) sponsors research on liturgics, ritual praxis, and community. Helen Phelan of the University of Limerick in Ireland directs a master of arts degree program in chant and ritual song. One of the insights of Phelan's edited collection *Anáil Dé, the Breath of God: Music, Ritual, and Spirituality* (2001) is how the study of ritual music demonstrates the viability of the practice-performance model as a research method for ritual studies (Phelan, 2001, p. 56).

Europeans are also engaged in developing definitional and conceptual alternatives to the term *ritual*. Jan A. M. Snoek challenges the North American tendency to use *rite* and *ritual* as synonyms, in contrast to non-American scholars, who use rite to refer to the building blocks of ceremonies. The international standardization of ritual studies terminology remains a challenge for the field, especially regarding key concepts such as *ritualization* or *ritualizing*—variously employed as synonyms for ritual action, for emergent rites-in-the-making, or in reference to habitual, repetitive gestures that parallel, but do not qualify as, rites.

SEE ALSO Anthropology, Ethnology, and Religion; Ceremony; Liturgy; Performance and Ritual; Rites of Passage, overview article; Ritual.

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MADELINE DUNTLEY (2005)

RIVERS. Among the Native American Yurok people, who live along the Yurok River in northern California, orientation in the world was not provided by the four cardinal directions, but by the river itself: upstream and downstream. To these salmon fishermen, dependent upon the river for livelihood, the river alone was the primary axis of orientation.

In ancient times too, there were great civilizations whose life was so oriented toward one major river that they have come to be called river civilizations: Mesopotamia along the Tigris and Euphrates, Egypt along the Nile, the Indus Valley civilization along the Indus. In all these it is not surprising that the river itself should function as a fundamental means of world orientation and become associated with yearly inundation, fertility, and with life in its fullest sense.

Ancient Mesopotamian civilization made a distinction between Tiamat, the great mother of the salt waters of chaos and creation, and Apsu, the lord who ruled the "sweet waters" under the earth that fill the rivers and the springs. Ea was a descendent of Apsu, and Ea's offspring included Marduk, who was "born within the holy Apsu," associated with rivers, and called in one hymn the creator of the Tigris and Euphrates. Among his other creative tasks, Marduk "has opened the fountains [and] has apportioned waters in abundance" (Heidel, 1942, p. 56). Tammuz, too, is called a "son of the deep" and is the corn spirit who comes to life each year with the fertilizing waters of the rivers.

Ancient Egyptian civilization also saw fresh waters as springing from the abyss beneath the earth. There were said to be two rivers called the Nile, however, one that flowed on earth and one that flowed across the sky in heaven. This vision of the heavenly river, identified with the Milky Way, is also part of the mythology of the river Ganges in India. In ancient Egypt the Nile was so central that many of the great gods and goddesses are associated with the river in some way. The river itself is often depicted as the male god Hapi, with two full breasts, from which the northern and southern branches of the Nile spring; he holds two vases, which represent in another fashion the northern and southern Nile. The goddesses Anuket and Isis are both identified with the Nile as she inundates the land and fertilizes the fields. Khnemu (Khnum), the water deity with four rams' heads, is seen to represent the four sources of the Nile. Osiris, the dying and rising god, is also identified with the Nile as it sinks and rises again.

Although there is no systematic mythology available from the Indus Valley civilization to clarify how the inhabitants regarded the river itself, there is surely evidence in the large bathing pool of Mohenjo-Daro and in the elaborate drainage systems of both Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro that the inhabitants cared greatly for the cleansing properties of running water. Later Indian civilization, preserving this emphasis on running water and purification, has developed a full range of mythological and ritual traditions concerning sacred rivers.

During the Vedic period, sacred rivers are mentioned, often numbering seven: the five rivers of the Punjab, plus the Indus and the mysterious Sarasvati. Later on, with the movement of the center of Aryan civilization into the Ganges Valley, the river Ganges (Skt., Gaṅgā) becomes preeminent among rivers. As a female divinity in the form of a heavenly river, Gaṅgā agreed in her mercy to flow upon the earth, falling first upon the head of Śiva, who broke the force of her cascade from heaven. It is said in the Hindu epics and Purāṇas, which tell the tale of Gaṅgā's descent and which contain descriptions of the world's mythic geography, that Gaṅgā actually split into four streams when she fell. From Mount Meru, the cosmic mountain in the form of a lotus flower at the center of the world, Gaṅgā flowed north, south, east, and west—watering the whole world with the waters of life. The southern branch became the Ganges of India.

The importance of the Ganges as the paradigmatic river—holy, cleansing, and life-giving—is further seen in its widespread duplication in other rivers. Today, India counts seven sacred rivers, often called the Seven Gaṅgās, that are thought to supply the whole of India with sacred waters. In addition to the Ganges, there are the Indus, also called Sindhu; the Sarasvatī, said to have disappeared from earth and to flow underground; the Yamuna, which flows from the Himalayas, through North India, past Kṛṣṇa's birthplace at Mathura, and on to its confluence with the Ganges at Prayāga, the modern Allahabad; the Narmadā, which flows west across central India from its source in Amarakaṇṭaka to the Arabian Sea; the Godāvarī, which flows eastward from its sacred source above the temple of Tryambaka in Maharashtra; and the Kāverī, which flows eastward across southern India from its source at Talai Kāverī in Coorg country.

The ritual treatment of such rivers in India confirms their sanctity. The Narmadā, for instance, is circumambulated in a long pilgrimage that takes several years to complete. The confluence of rivers, like that at Prayāga where the Ganges, Yamunā, and Sarasvatī are said to meet, is an especially holy place and often becomes the site of special pilgrimage observances like the great Kumbha Melā held every twelve years. Along the banks of the Ganges, or at the source of the Narmadā or Kāverī, one may see the tall multiwicked lamps of the evening *āratī,* a ritual prayer performed for the very waters of the river itself.

RIVER GODS AND DEITIES. For Hindus, the Ganges is not only a sacred river but a liquid form of the divine. She is called "liquid *śakti,*" or female energy, and is said to be Śakti, the female counterpart of the great lord Śiva, in the form of a river. Gaṅgā as a goddess is depicted as utterly auspicious, holding a lotus and a water pot while riding a crocodile. She is often addressed as Gaṅgā Mātā, Mother Ganges; the other seven rivers are similarly depicted as goddesses and addressed as "Mother."

Among many African peoples, rivers and streams are considered the homes of water spirits. The feminine names of rivers often signify a direct connection between flowing waters, fecundity, and the female. Some rivers are themselves seen as goddesses. The goddess Yemọja of the Yoruba, for instance, is said to have turned into the river Ogun and is symbolized by river-worn stones through which offerings are made to Yemọja. Yemọja's son was Ṣango, whose many wives were rivers. The most important among them was the faithful Ọya, who became the river Niger.

The personification of rivers and their identification with spirits was also prominent in ancient Syria, where the *baalim* had seats on the banks of streams and springs, as well as in ancient Greece, where Homer speaks of altars built upon river banks and of bulls sacrificed to the river. Native Americans have also identified rivers as spirits. In the Southwest, the Colorado River was traditionally thought of as female, and the San Juan River as male. The confluence of the two near Navajo Mountain in Utah was traditionally called the "nuptial bed," where numerous "water children" of springs, clouds, and rains were born.

LIVING WATERS. It has been noted that Hindu cosmology views the heavenly river Gaṅgā as flowing in four, or sometimes seven, streams into the four quarters of the earth. The waters of the Ganges, identified with the milk of mother cows, are truly life-giving waters, and are called "mother" as they are sipped by devout Hindus. The vision of Eden presented briefly in *Genesis* 2 also evokes a river issuing forth from the garden and splitting into four streams. Of the four, the Tigris and Euphrates are named and well known, but concerning the Pishon and the Gihon there is disagreement, although some speculation identified the Pishon with the Indus and the Gihon with the Nile. Josephus Flavius in the first century CE, Eusebius in the third century, and others after them identified the Pishon with the sacred Ganges, which by that time had become well known in the ancient world. The notion that such divine waters issue forth from Paradise is also present in the Sumerian myth of the land of Dilmun, where the living waters are associated with Tammuz. The Egyptian Nile, with its four sources, has also been identified with Osiris and Isis, both of whom are associated with the notion of the river as "living waters."

In one of the prophet Ezekiel's visions (*Ez.* 47), he sees a stream of water issuing from beneath the main door of the Temple in Jerusalem, flowing from the Holy of Holies itself. At first it is ankle-deep. Gradually it becomes a great river, deep enough to swim in. Its waters are the waters of life; even the salt waters become sweet and living waters once this sacred river flows into them. Along the banks of the river, on both sides, are trees of all kinds, bearing fresh fruit and healing leaves.

This vision is repeated in the *Revelation to John* in the New Testament (*Rv.* 22). An angel shows John the heavenly Jerusalem: There is no temple, but the Christ, the Light, the Lord alone, sits enthroned at the center. From "the throne of God and of the Lamb" flows the river of the waters of life. "Bright as crystal," it flows through the city and produces on either side the tree of life, bearing twelve kinds of fruits and yielding leaves for "the healing of the nations."

PURIFICATION AND REBIRTH. Living waters are purifying waters. The running water of rivers is often used ritually for purification, or where it is not available, the pouring of water may accomplish the same aim. The Hindu ritual tradition makes it clear that water used in purification must not be standing water, but flowing, living water. Lustrations with such water prepare one ritually for worship, or for eating, and remove the impurity associated with childbirth or with death. Bathing in the Ganges is said to purify not only the sins of this birth but also those of many previous births.

Such use of running water, which is homologized to river water, is common elsewhere as well. Greek ritual prescribed bathing in a river or spring after an expiatory sacrifice. As recorded by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, the Aztec prayer over a newborn child asks, "May this water purify and whiten thy heart: may it wash away all that is evil." Similar rites of baptism, in the Isis tradition as well as in the Christian tradition, use the symbolic power of living water to wash away the sins of the past.

Rites of healing are a form of rites of purification. The rivers of biblical Syria, Abana, and Pharpar were famous for healing. So it was with indignation that Naaman, the commander of the army of the king of Syria, received word from the prophet Elisha that he should bathe in the river Jordan seven times in order to be cleansed of his leprosy (*2 Kgs.* 5). To the present day the Jordan retains its reputation for healing, but especially so among Christians. The source of the Euphrates River was also famous for healing, and a bath there in the springtime was said to keep one free of disease all year long. The healing properties of the river Ganges are also well known, and pilgrims bring small sealed bottles of Ganges water home for medicinal use. Among the Hindus of Bali, the springs of Tampak Siring are filled with healing waters.

RIVERS OF DEATH. Crossing the river at the time of death, as part of the journey to another world, is a common part of the symbolic passage that people have seen as part of one's journey after death. In the *Epic of Gilgamesh,* the hero encounters a boatman who ferries him across the waters of death as he seeks the secret of immortality. The river Styx of Greek mythology is well known as the chief river of Hades, said to flow nine times around its borders. Styx is married to the Titan Pallas and according to Hesiod counts as her children Rivalry, Victory, Power, and Force. The power of the Styx is evidenced in the fact that Achilles gained his invulnerability by being dipped in the river as a baby held by his heel, the only part of his body thereafter vulnerable to mortal wounds. In addition, the most inviolable oath of the gods is sworn with a jug of water from the Styx, poured out while the oath is being uttered.

In Hindu mythology, the river Vaitaraṇī marks the boundary between the living and the dead; in the Aztec journey, the river Mictlan must be crossed on the way to the underworld; in Japan, rivers are part of certain landscapes designated as realms of the dead in both the Shintō and Buddhist traditions. The Sanzunokawa, for example, is said to divide the realms of the living and the dead. The dry riverbed of Sainokawara is said to be the destination of dead children.

The far shore of the river of life and death, or birth and death, thus becomes an important symbol for the destination of one's spiritual journey in many religious traditions. In the Buddhist tradition, *nirvāṇa* is referred to as the "far shore." In the Hindu tradition, holy places are called *tīrtha*s ("fords") because they enable one to make that crossing safely. Riverbank *tīrtha*s, such as Banaras and Prayaga, are thought to be especially good places to die. In the Christian tradition, crossing over the Jordan has come to have a similar symbolism. On the far shore is not only the promised land, but the spiritual promised land of heaven. Home is on the far shore. As the African American spiritual puts it:

> I look'd over Jordan and what did I see?
> Comin' for to carry me home.
> A band of angels comin' after me.
> Comin' for to carry me home.

SEE ALSO Baptism; Boats; Ganges River; Water.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED IN THIS WORK

abbr. abbreviated; abbreviation
abr. abridged; abridgment
AD *anno Domini,* in the year of the (our) Lord
Afrik. Afrikaans
AH *anno Hegirae,* in the year of the Hijrah
Akk. Akkadian
Ala. Alabama
Alb. Albanian
Am. *Amos*
AM *ante meridiem,* before noon
amend. amended; amendment
annot. annotated; annotation
Ap. *Apocalypse*
Apn. *Apocryphon*
app. appendix
Arab. Arabic
ʿArakh. *ʿArakhin*
Aram. Aramaic
Ariz. Arizona
Ark. Arkansas
Arm. Armenian
art. article (pl., arts.)
AS Anglo-Saxon
Asm. Mos. *Assumption of Moses*
Assyr. Assyrian
A.S.S.R. Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
Av. Avestan
ʿA.Z. *ʿAvodah zarah*
b. born
Bab. Babylonian
Ban. Bantu
1 Bar. *1 Baruch*
2 Bar. *2 Baruch*
3 Bar. *3 Baruch*
4 Bar. *4 Baruch*
B.B. *Bavaʾ batraʾ*
BBC British Broadcasting Corporation
BC before Christ
BCE before the common era
B.D. Bachelor of Divinity
Beits. *Beitsah*
Bekh. *Bekhorot*
Beng. Bengali
Ber. *Berakhot*
Berb. Berber
Bik. *Bikkurim*
bk. book (pl., bks.)
B.M. *Bavaʾ metsiʿaʾ*
BP before the present
B.Q. *Bavaʾ qammaʾ*
Brāh. *Brāhmaṇa*
Bret. Breton
B.T. Babylonian Talmud
Bulg. Bulgarian
Burm. Burmese
c. *circa,* about, approximately
Calif. California
Can. Canaanite
Catal. Catalan
CE of the common era
Celt. Celtic
cf. *confer,* compare
Chald. Chaldean
chap. chapter (pl., chaps.)
Chin. Chinese
C.H.M. Community of the Holy Myrrhbearers
1 Chr. *1 Chronicles*
2 Chr. *2 Chronicles*
Ch. Slav. Church Slavic
cm centimeters
col. column (pl., cols.)
Col. *Colossians*
Colo. Colorado
comp. compiler (pl., comps.)
Conn. Connecticut
cont. continued
Copt. Coptic
1 Cor. *1 Corinthians*
2 Cor. *2 Corinthians*
corr. corrected
C.S.P. Congregatio Sancti Pauli, Congregation of Saint Paul (Paulists)
d. died
D Deuteronomic (source of the Pentateuch)
Dan. Danish
D.B. Divinitatis Baccalaureus, Bachelor of Divinity
D.C. District of Columbia
D.D. Divinitatis Doctor, Doctor of Divinity
Del. Delaware
Dem. *Demaʾi*
dim. diminutive
diss. dissertation
Dn. *Daniel*
D.Phil. Doctor of Philosophy
Dt. *Deuteronomy*
Du. Dutch
E Elohist (source of the Pentateuch)
Eccl. *Ecclesiastes*
ed. editor (pl., eds.); edition; edited by

ʿEduy. *ʿEduyyot*
e.g. *exempli gratia,* for example
Egyp. Egyptian
1 En. *1 Enoch*
2 En. *2 Enoch*
3 En. *3 Enoch*
Eng. English
enl. enlarged
Eph. *Ephesians*
ʿEruv. *ʿEruvin*
1 Esd. *1 Esdras*
2 Esd. *2 Esdras*
3 Esd. *3 Esdras*
4 Esd. *4 Esdras*
esp. especially
Est. Estonian
Est. *Esther*
et al. *et alii,* and others
etc. *et cetera,* and so forth
Eth. Ethiopic
EV English version
Ex. *Exodus*
exp. expanded
Ez. *Ezekiel*
Ezr. *Ezra*
2 Ezr. *2 Ezra*
4 Ezr. *4 Ezra*
f. feminine; and following (pl., ff.)
fasc. fascicle (pl., fascs.)
fig. figure (pl., figs.)
Finn. Finnish
fl. *floruit,* flourished
Fla. Florida
Fr. French
frag. fragment
ft. feet
Ga. Georgia
Gal. *Galatians*
Gaul. Gaulish
Ger. German
Giṭ. *Giṭṭin*
Gn. *Genesis*
Gr. Greek
Ḥag. *Ḥagigah*
Ḥal. *Ḥallah*
Hau. Hausa
Hb. *Habakkuk*
Heb. Hebrew
Heb. *Hebrews*
Hg. *Haggai*
Hitt. Hittite
Hor. *Horayot*
Hos. *Hosea*
Ḥul. *Ḥullin*
Hung. Hungarian
ibid. *ibidem,* in the same place (as the one immediately preceding)
Icel. Icelandic
i.e. *id est,* that is
IE Indo-European
Ill. Illinois
Ind. Indiana
intro. introduction
Ir. Gael. Irish Gaelic
Iran. Iranian
Is. *Isaiah*
Ital. Italian
J Yahvist (source of the Pentateuch)
Jas. *James*
Jav. Javanese
Jb. *Job*
Jdt. *Judith*
Jer. *Jeremiah*
Jgs. *Judges*
Jl. *Joel*
Jn. *John*
1 Jn. *1 John*
2 Jn. *2 John*
3 Jn. *3 John*
Jon. *Jonah*
Jos. *Joshua*
Jpn. Japanese
JPS Jewish Publication Society translation (1985) of the Hebrew Bible
J.T. Jerusalem Talmud
Jub. *Jubilees*
Kans. Kansas
Kel. *Kelim*
Ker. *Keritot*
Ket. *Ketubbot*
1 Kgs. *1 Kings*
2 Kgs. *2 Kings*
Khois. Khoisan
Kil. *Kilʾayim*
km kilometers
Kor. Korean
Ky. Kentucky
l. line (pl., ll.)
La. Louisiana
Lam. *Lamentations*
Lat. Latin
Latv. Latvian
L. en Th. Licencié en Théologie, Licentiate in Theology
L. ès L. Licencié ès Lettres, Licentiate in Literature
Let. Jer. *Letter of Jeremiah*
lit. literally
Lith. Lithuanian
Lk. *Luke*
LL Late Latin
LL.D. Legum Doctor, Doctor of Laws
Lv. *Leviticus*
m meters
m. masculine
M.A. Master of Arts
Ma ʿas. *Maʿaserot*
Ma ʿas. Sh. *Maʿ aser sheni*
Mak. *Makkot*
Makh. *Makhshirin*
Mal. *Malachi*
Mar. Marathi
Mass. Massachusetts
1 Mc. *1 Maccabees*
2 Mc. *2 Maccabees*
3 Mc. *3 Maccabees*
4 Mc. *4 Maccabees*
Md. Maryland
M.D. Medicinae Doctor, Doctor of Medicine
ME Middle English
Meg. *Megillah*
Me ʿil. *Meʿilah*
Men. *Menaḥot*
MHG Middle High German
mi. miles
Mi. *Micah*
Mich. Michigan
Mid. *Middot*
Minn. Minnesota
Miq. *Miqvaʾot*
MIran. Middle Iranian
Miss. Mississippi
Mk. *Mark*
Mo. Missouri
Moʿed Q. *Moʿed qaṭan*
Mont. Montana
MPers. Middle Persian
MS. *manuscriptum,* manuscript (pl., MSS)
Mt. *Matthew*
MT Masoretic text
n. note
Na. *Nahum*
Nah. Nahuatl
Naz. *Nazir*
N.B. *nota bene,* take careful note
N.C. North Carolina
n.d. no date
N.Dak. North Dakota
NEB New English Bible
Nebr. Nebraska

Ned. *Nedarim*
Neg. *Negaʿim*
Neh. *Nehemiah*
Nev. Nevada
N.H. New Hampshire
Nid. *Niddah*
N.J. New Jersey
Nm. *Numbers*
N.Mex. New Mexico
no. number (pl., nos.)
Nor. Norwegian
n.p. no place
n.s. new series
N.Y. New York
Ob. *Obadiah*
O.Cist. Ordo Cisterciencium, Order of Cîteaux (Cistercians)
OCS Old Church Slavonic
OE Old English
O.F.M. Ordo Fratrum Minorum, Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)
OFr. Old French
Ohal. *Ohalot*
OHG Old High German
OIr. Old Irish
OIran. Old Iranian
Okla. Oklahoma
ON Old Norse
O.P. Ordo Praedicatorum, Order of Preachers (Dominicans)
OPers. Old Persian
op. cit. *opere citato,* in the work cited
OPrus. Old Prussian
Oreg. Oregon
ʿOrl. *ʿOrlah*
O.S.B. Ordo Sancti Benedicti, Order of Saint Benedict (Benedictines)
p. page (pl., pp.)
P Priestly (source of the Pentateuch)
Pa. Pennsylvania
Pahl. Pahlavi
Par. *Parah*
para. paragraph (pl., paras.)
Pers. Persian
Pes. *Pesahim*
Ph.D. Philosophiae Doctor, Doctor of Philosophy
Phil. *Philippians*
Phlm. *Philemon*
Phoen. Phoenician
pl. plural; plate (pl., pls.)
PM *post meridiem,* after noon
Pol. Polish
pop. population
Port. Portuguese
Prv. *Proverbs*
Ps. *Psalms*
Ps. 151 *Psalm 151*
Ps. Sol. *Psalms of Solomon*
pt. part (pl., pts.)
1Pt. *1 Peter*
2 Pt. *2 Peter*
Pth. Parthian
Q hypothetical source of the synoptic Gospels
Qid. *Qiddushin*
Qin. *Qinnim*
r. reigned; ruled
Rab. *Rabbah*
rev. revised
R. ha-Sh. *Roʾsh ha-shanah*
R.I. Rhode Island
Rom. Romanian
Rom. *Romans*
R.S.C.J. Societas Sacratissimi Cordis Jesu, Religious of the Sacred Heart
RSV Revised Standard Version of the Bible
Ru. *Ruth*
Rus. Russian
Rv. *Revelation*
Rv. Ezr. *Revelation of Ezra*
San. *Sanhedrin*
S.C. South Carolina
Scot. Gael. Scottish Gaelic
S.Dak. South Dakota
sec. section (pl., secs.)
Sem. Semitic
ser. series
sg. singular
Sg. *Song of Songs*
Sg. of 3 *Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men*
Shab. *Shabbat*
Shav. *Shavuʿot*
Sheq. *Sheqalim*
Sib. Or. *Sibylline Oracles*
Sind. Sindhi
Sinh. Sinhala
Sir. *Ben Sira*
S.J. Societas Jesu, Society of Jesus (Jesuits)
Skt. Sanskrit
1 Sm. *1 Samuel*
2 Sm. *2 Samuel*
Sogd. Sogdian
Soṭ. *Soṭah*
sp. species (pl., spp.)
Span. Spanish
sq. square
S.S.R. Soviet Socialist Republic
st. stanza (pl., ss.)
S.T.M. Sacrae Theologiae Magister, Master of Sacred Theology
Suk. *Sukkah*
Sum. Sumerian
supp. supplement; supplementary
Sus. *Susanna*
s.v. *sub verbo,* under the word (pl., s.v.v.)
Swed. Swedish
Syr. Syriac
Syr. Men. *Syriac Menander*
Taʿ an. *Taʿanit*
Tam. Tamil
Tam. *Tamid*
Tb. *Tobit*
T.D. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō,* edited by Takakusu Junjirō et al. (Tokyo,1922–1934)
Tem. *Temurah*
Tenn. Tennessee
Ter. Terumot
Ṭev. Y. *Ṭevul yom*
Tex. Texas
Th.D. Theologicae Doctor, Doctor of Theology
1 Thes. *1 Thessalonians*
2 Thes. *2 Thessalonians*
Thrac. Thracian
Ti. *Titus*
Tib. Tibetan
1 Tm. *1 Timothy*
2 Tm. *2 Timothy*
T. of 12 *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*
Ṭoh. *ṭohorot*
Tong. Tongan
trans. translator, translators; translated by; translation
Turk. Turkish
Ukr. Ukrainian
Upan. *Upaniṣad*
U.S. United States
U.S.S.R. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Uqts. *Uqtsin*
v. verse (pl., vv.)
Va. Virginia
var. variant; variation
Viet. Vietnamese

viz. *videlicet,* namely
vol. volume (pl., vols.)
Vt. Vermont
Wash. Washington
Wel. Welsh
Wis. Wisconsin
Wis. *Wisdom of Solomon*
W.Va. West Virginia
Wyo. Wyoming
Yad. *Yadayim*
Yev. *Yevamot*
Yi. Yiddish
Yor. Yoruba
Zav. *Zavim*
Zec. *Zechariah*
Zep. *Zephaniah*
Zev. *Zevaḥim*
* hypothetical
? uncertain; possibly; perhaps
° degrees
+ plus
– minus
= equals; is equivalent to
× by; multiplied by
→ yields

the true image

THE TRUE IMAGE

Many religious traditions cherish images surrounded by narratives that tell of the image's origins and its long history as an object of devotion in court and ecclesia. Often these images are *acheiropoetic*, that is, not made by human hands. Their origins are divine. Fashioned by angels or deities, these images descend from heaven and are found by the faithful. They are enshrined and typically prove their peculiar merit by moving, speaking, bleeding, weeping, or performing miracles. In Thai Buddhism, for instance, the Sinhala Buddha floated on a plank when the ship carrying it from Sri Lanka to Thailand was wrecked in a gale. Copies were made of the image and envious rulers were inspired to acquire the original. The statue boasts a long history of migration through theft and conquest. There are different stories about its origin. One says that the image was created by twenty *arhats* (enlightened followers of the Buddha) in order to show the king of Sri Lanka what the Buddha looked like. The likeness proved so authentic that the king spent a week paying homage to the figure and then asked that a replica be made. The resulting sculpture miraculously took on the visual qualities of the Buddha and commanded veneration. Another version states that a dragon turned himself into an apparition of the Buddha to serve as a model for fashioning an authentic likeness. In both accounts the image's production involved a supernatural intervention that served to authorize it and ensure its power to convert the unbelieving. Not surprisingly, these narratives are closely associated with the political identities and ambitions of monasteries, courts, and kings, as well as the spread of Buddhism in new lands or its renewal in Buddhist regions.

The search for the true image is a quest in religious traditions for which cult imagery serves as a means of authorizing sect and court, for focusing and authenticating the power of images to heal, and for devotional practices that center around the cha-

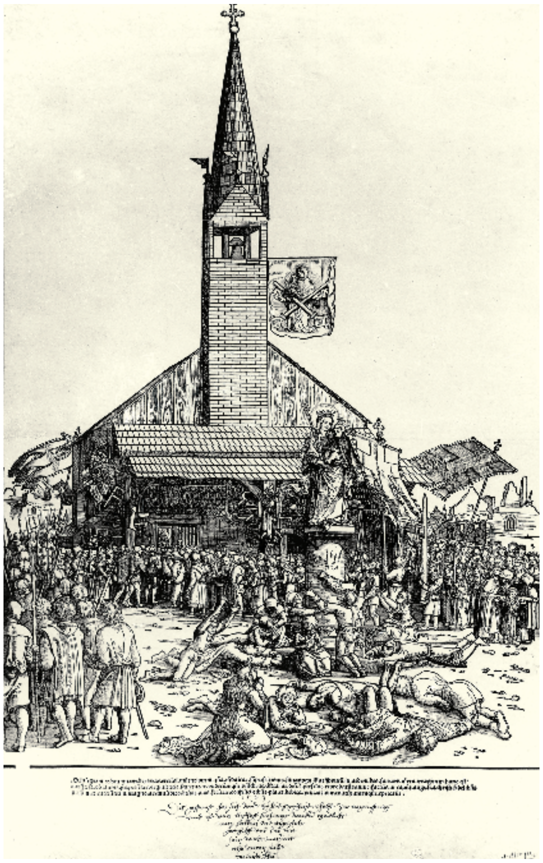

(a) Michael Ostendorfer, *Pilgrimage to the New Church at Regensburg*, 1519, woodcut. *[©Foto Marburg/Art Resource, N.Y.]*

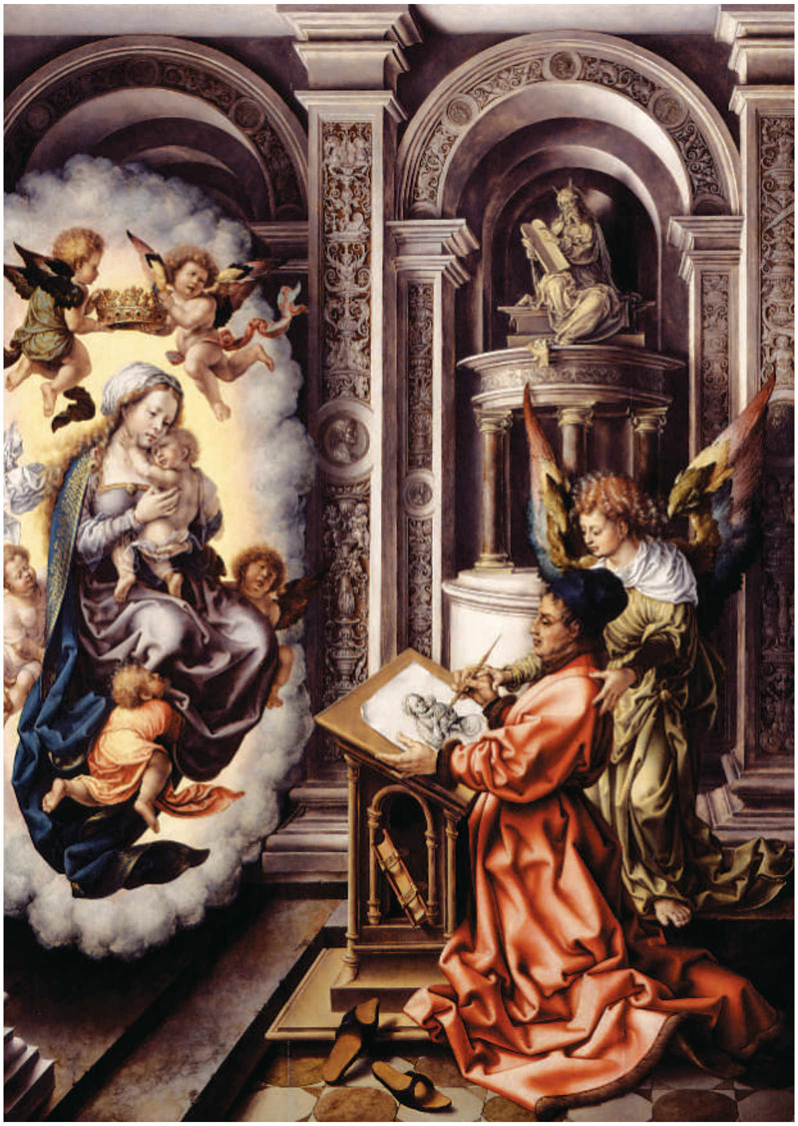

(b) **Above.** Jan Gossaert, *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin*, 1520, oil on panel. ***[Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien oder KHM, Wien]*** **(c)** **Opposite.** *Mandylion of Edessa with Scenes of the Legend of King Abgar*, unknown artist, eighteenth century, egg tempera and resin glazes on panel. ***[The Royal Collection ©2004, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II]***

risma of the cult figure. True images are a kind of evidence for the devout, proof of the authenticity of the image's power, and vindication of those who claim it as their own.

Christianity is deeply invested in the practice of the true image. In the eighth and ninth centuries the Eastern Christian world was wracked by violent disagreement over the propriety of images. Successive Eastern emperors forbade the use of icons while many monasteries insisted on their importance. During this time it became common to claim that the image of the Mother and Child had been painted by Saint Luke. The story, which predated the Iconoclastic Controversy, but certainly anticipated anxieties about the status and authority of images in Christianity, strengthened the position of those who argued for icons. The icon associated with this tradition, which first appeared around 600 CE in Rome, showed the Theotokos, or Mother of God, holding the Christ child in one arm and pointing to him with the other. During the Renaissance in Europe, artists produced many examples of the motif, in part because it underwrote their vocation, but no less because the subject enjoyed great popular enthusiasm, sometimes ecstatic. In 1519, the German city of Regensburg was suddenly visited by thousands of pilgrims seeking healing and blessing from an image of the Madonna and Child, which was associated with the miraculous healing of a local man who had been injured during the demolition of a Jewish synagogue. Michael Ostendorfer captured the frenzied tone of the pilgrims in a contemporary print **(a)**. Although medieval artists had depicted Luke painting the Virgin and Child since the twelfth century, none matched the theatrical spectacle of Jan Gossaert's portrayal of the scene **(b)**. The Madonna and Child hover before the artist in a cloud as the artist's hand is guided by an angel. Luke's Gospel appears as a bound volume in the lectern he uses as a drawing table, deftly equating book and image as authorized versions of one another.

The intervention of the angel recalls the legend of the origin of the mandylion **(c)**, the cloth on which Christ's image miraculously appeared when, according to one ver-

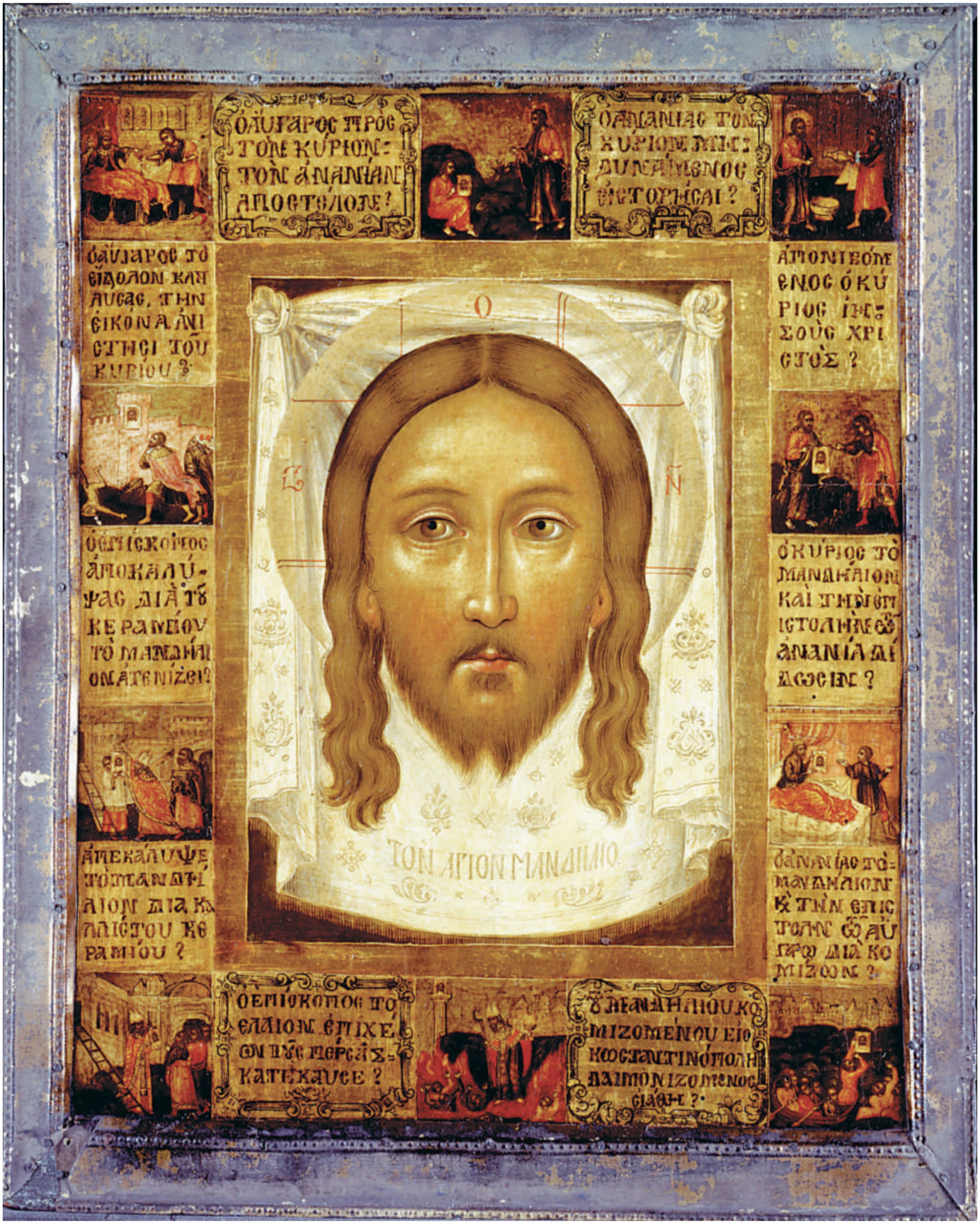
Ο ΑΥΓΑΡΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΚΥΡΙΟΝ: ΤΟΝ ΑΝΑΝΙΑΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΕΛΛΟΙ ?
Ο ΑΝΑΝΙΑΣ ΤΟΝ ΚΥΡΙΟΝ ΜΗ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΗΣΑΙ ?
Ο ΑΥΓΑΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΚΑΘΕΛΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΙΚΟΝΑ ΑΝΙΣΤΗΣΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ?
ΑΠΟΝΙΨΑΜΕΝΟΣ Ο ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ?
Ο ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΑΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΚΕΡΑΜΙΟΥ ΤΟ ΜΑΝΔΗΛΙΟΝ ΑΤΕΝΙΖΕΙ ?
Ο ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΤΟ ΜΑΝΔΗΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΝ ΤΩ ΑΝΑΝΙΑ ΔΙΔΩΣΙΝ ?
ΑΠΕΚΑΛΥΨΕ ΤΟ ΜΑΝΔΗΛΙΟΝ ΔΙΑ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΥ ΚΕΡΑΜΙΟΥ ?
Ο ΑΝΑΝΙΑΣ ΤΟ ΜΑΝΔΗΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΝ ΤΩ ΑΥΓΑΡΩ ΔΙΑΚΟΜΙΖΩΝ ?
Ο ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΤΟ ΕΛΑΙΟΝ ΕΠΙΧΕΩΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΕΡΣΑΣ ΚΑΤΕΚΑΥΣΕ ?
ΤΟΥ ΜΑΝΔΗΛΙΟΥ ΚΟΜΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΗ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΙΑΘΗ ?
Ο Ω Ν
ΤΟΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΜΑΝΔΗΛΙΟ

sion, an artist attempted to paint his portrait from life at the behest of the king of Edessa. When the artist failed to capture a likeness, angels completed the portrait, thus ensuring its authenticity. Another version states that Christ himself made the image by placing the cloth on his face. Related versions of the story tell of Veronica, a woman who met Christ on his path to Calvary and offered him a cloth to wipe his bloody, soiled face. The result was an image that became especially important among European Christians in the thirteenth century when a papal indulgence was promised to those who uttered a prayer in the presence of a Veronica (a corruption of *vera icon*, or "true image") in Rome. Veronica's Veil multiplied as mementos for pilgrims and as works of fine art by artists during the Baroque period, who seized on the illusionistic possibilities of painting an image of an image of an image (**d** and **e**).

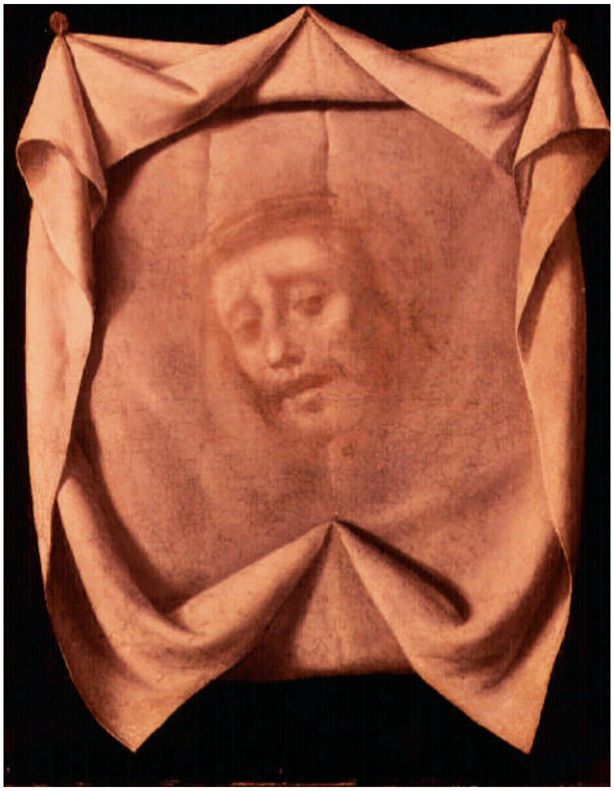

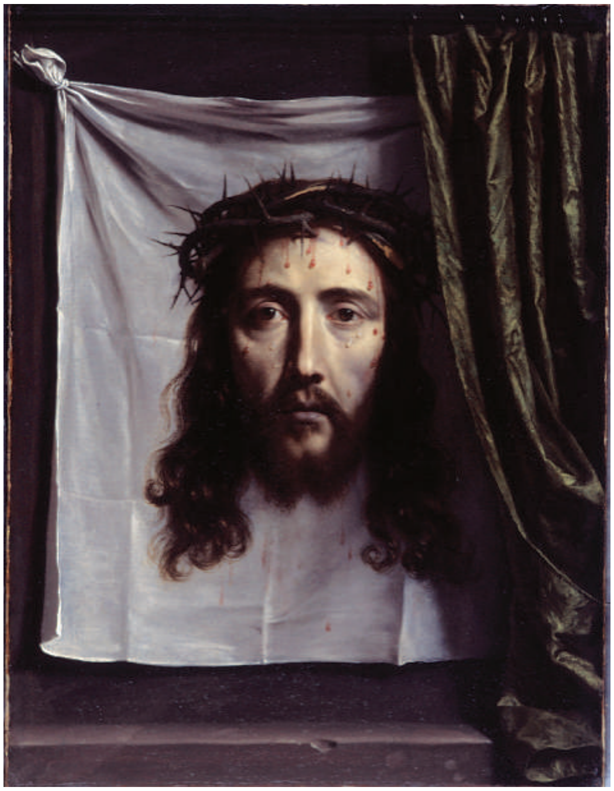

(d) Top. Francisco de Zurbarán, *The Holy Face (Veil of Veronica)*, 1630s, oil on canvas. *[©Art Resource, N.Y.]* **(e) Right.** Philippe de Champaigne, *La Sainte Face*, seventeenth century. *[Courtesy of the Royal Pavilion, Libraries and Museums, Brighton and Hore]*

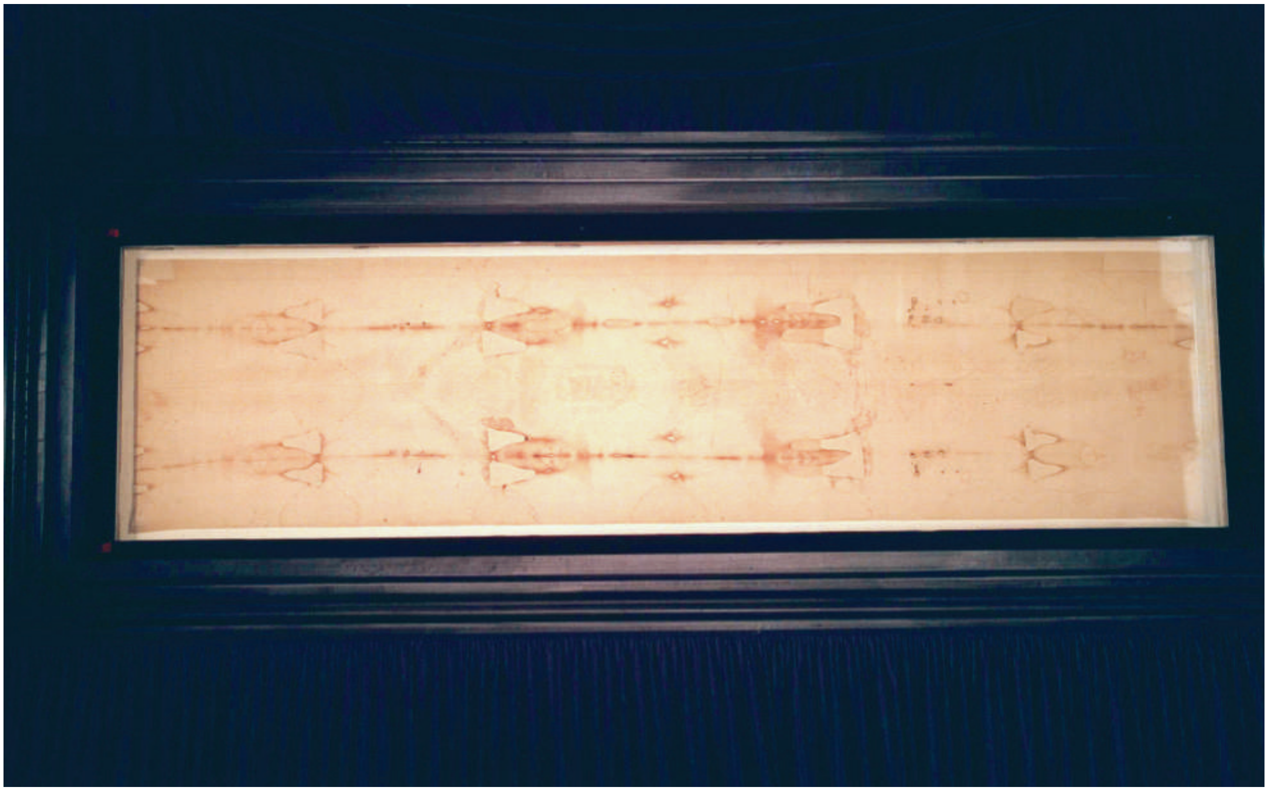

(f) The Shroud of Turin, housed at the Cathedral of Turin in Italy. *[©Gaudenti Sergio/Corbis KIPA]*

One of the most striking features of the "true image" is its capacity for replication and the power of copies (of copies of copies) to retain the vitality of the distant, even lost original. In the visual piety of the true image, there is no limit to multiplication. Every copy retains the aura and authenticity of the original. The image of the Virgin and Child appears no less than four times in the print by Ostendorfer **(a)**: in the foreground as a sculpture, on the banner waving from the steeple of the church, from a standard fluttering above the crowd on the left of the print, and on the altar inside the church, glimpsed through the open door. Moreover, the image appeared yet again on well over 100,000 clay and silver badges that were produced and avidly acquired by pilgrims to Regensburg during 1520 alone. Images of the Veronica and mandylion were commonly copied and revered across Europe and wherever Catholic missionaries took the faith in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The pattern is recognizable in many kinds of images in Christian practice. The Shroud of Turin **(f)** remains a powerful

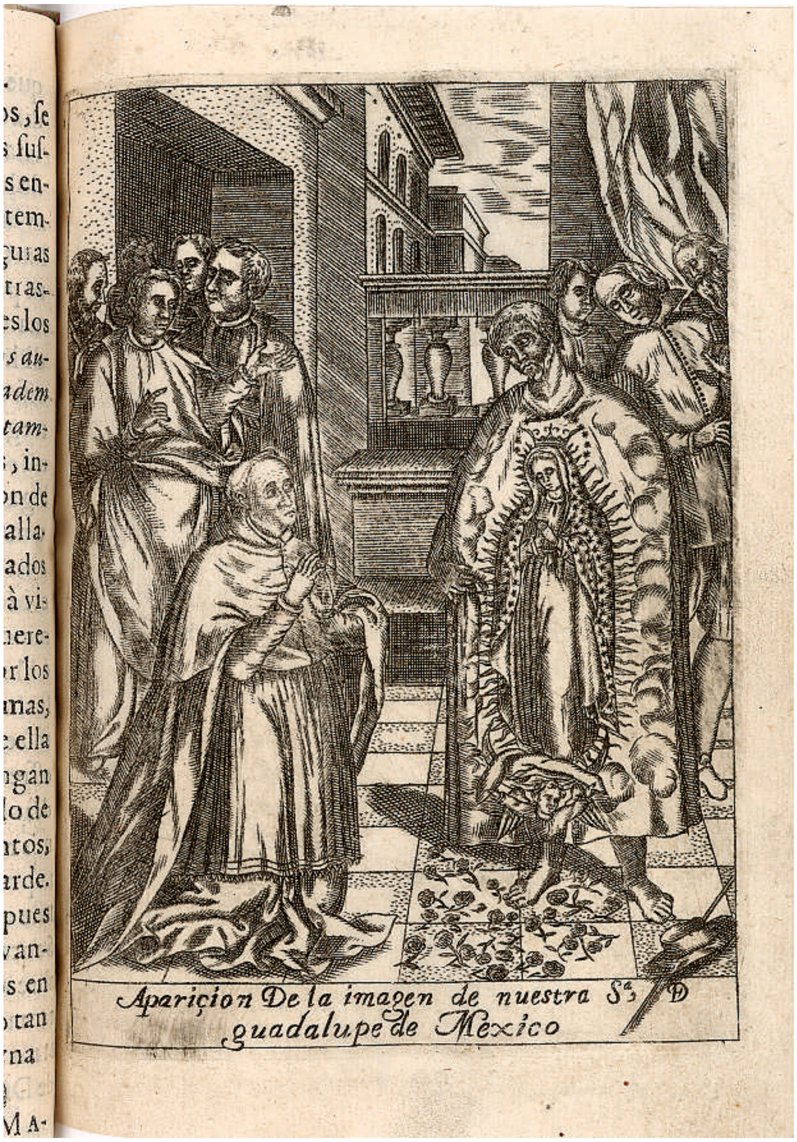
Aparicion De la imagen de nuestra Sª guadalupe de Mexico

(g) *Imagen de la Virgen Maria, Madre de Dios de Guadalupe*, an engraving by Miguel Sánchez depicting an image of Our Lady of Guadalupe on the cloak of Juan Diego, 1648. ***[Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University]***

image to this day. Another persistent example is the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe **(g)**, whose origins are likewise miraculous. Images made without human hands may be endlessly copied because the original is devoid of human fabrication. Copies refer to it as faithful relays perhaps because no human is thought to have invented the concept of the image. Seeing the image or a copy of the image connects the devout viewer to the original person—the Virgin or Jesus—with a reliability and a directness that match the viewer's devotion to the person who can satisfy his longing. Acheiropoetic images are representations whose power consists in their promise to destroy the image as artifice and replace it with the very thing to which the image refers. This power of the portrait image is discernible in pre-Christian visual practices that may have informed the earliest conceptions of the Christian icon.

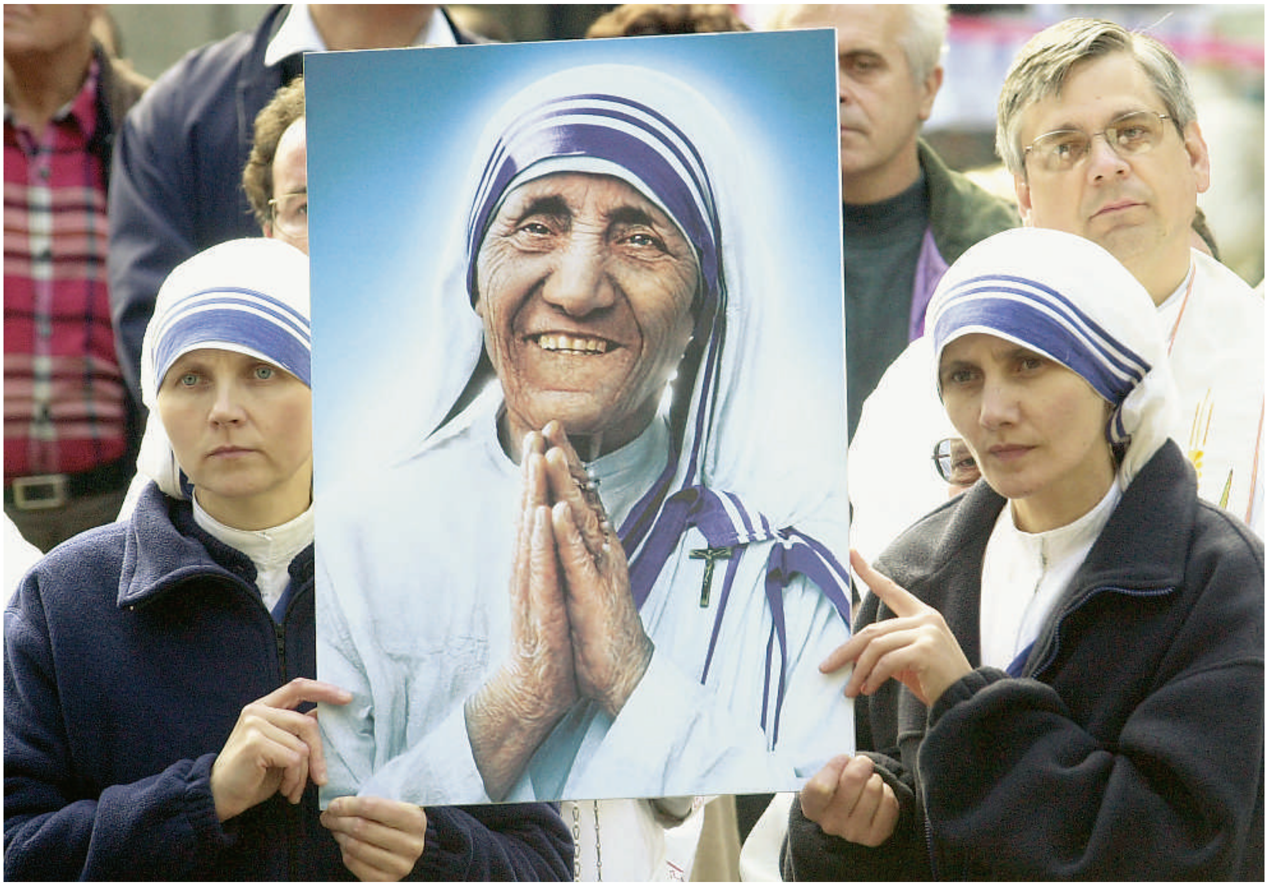

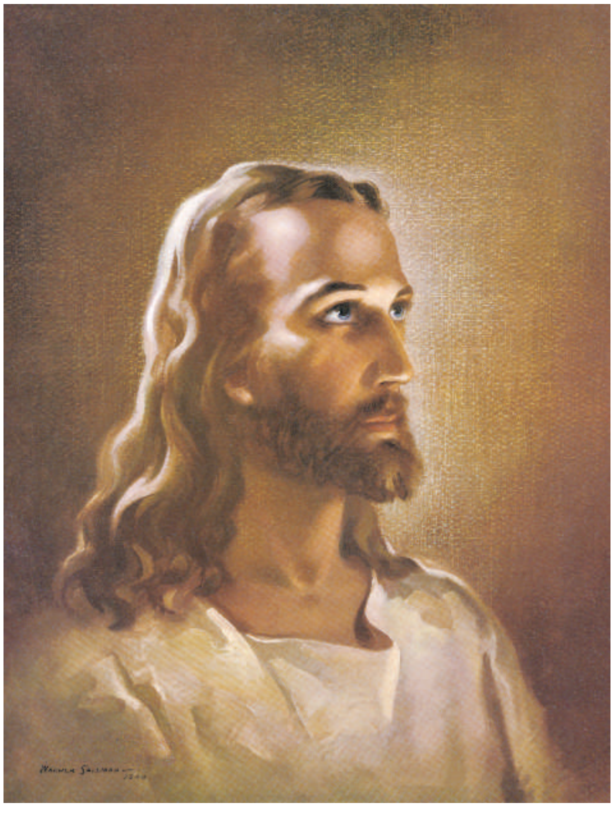

The cult of the saints today remains grounded in the visual piety of selecting an "official" image of the person whom supporters wish to see beatified and then canonized by the church. Supporters of the cause of Mother Teresa have already proffered such an image **(h)**. Since it is based on photographs of the historical person, the image can lay claim to literal accuracy. But the idea of the "true image" does not require the empirical verity of the photograph. Nor is it an idea observed only by Orthodox and Roman Catholic Christians. Warner Sallman, the Protestant painter of the twentieth century's most widely disseminated picture of Jesus **(i)**, stated that this image came to him in a dream or vision, which he quickly

(h) Above. Members of the Sisters of Charity display an image of Mother Teresa in support of her canonization, 2003. *[AP/Wide World Photos]* **(i) Right.** Warner Sallman, *Head of Christ*, oil on canvas. *[©Warner Press, Inc., Anderson, Indiana. Image may not be reproduced without written permission from Warner Press]* transcribed and later painted in a way that suggests the vignette lighting and head-and-shoulders format of portrait photography. And the evocative work of artist Daniel Goldstein **(j)** recalls the mummified figures of Egyptians and the Shroud of Turin **(f)**. Whether fine art or popular devotional imagery, the power of images to endow replicas, even mass-produced replicas, with the presence of the original makes seeing the "true image" a compelling part of religious practice. The search for the original happens by means of the copy.

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DAVID MORGAN (2005)

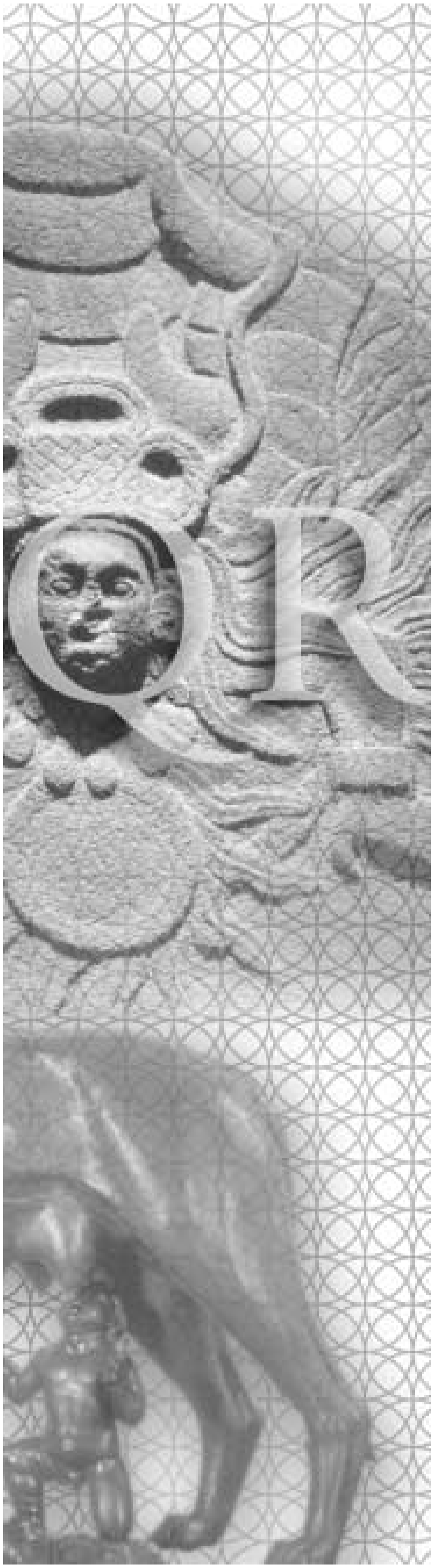

Q–R
CONTINUED

RNYING MA PA (NYINGMAPA) SCHOOL. The expression “Rnying ma (Nyingma) pa school” may be used to refer to the Rnying ma (Nyingma) pa order of Tibetan Buddhism, as well as to the broad range of lineages claiming to derive their authority from the early transmission of Buddhism in Tibet during the seventh through ninth centuries. A common mytho-historical view of the origins of their tradition, as well as adherence to similar doctrinal and ritual foundations, serve to distinguish the Rnying ma pa from the other major trends in Tibetan Buddhism. At the same time, elements of Rnying ma pa ritual and contemplative practice play a role, sometimes an important one, within the non-Rnying ma pa orders.

The Rnying ma pa stand in a distinctive relationship to all other traditions of Tibetan religion. As their name, which literally means the “ancients,” suggests, the school maintains that it uniquely represents the ancient Buddhism of Tibet, introduced during the reigns of the great kings of Tibet’s imperial age. Fundamental to the distinctions informing Tibetan views of religious adherence is a broad division between the “ancient translation tradition” (*snga ’gyur rnying ma*) and the “new *mantra* traditions” (*gsang sngags gsar ma*), where *mantra* refers to Buddhist esotericism, or Tantrism, as it is called in the West, in general. The former includes all of those lines of teaching that eventually came to be grouped together under the rubric Rnying ma pa. Their identity, however, was formed only after the tenth century, when the proponents of the newly introduced esoteric systems began to attack the older traditions as corrupt, or as outright Tibetan fabrications. In response, the adherents of the earlier traditions argued that their esoteric teachings and practices were derived from the texts and instructions transmitted during the time of the Tibetan monarchs of the seventh through ninth centuries, Khri Srong lde btsan (Trisong detsen, r. 755–c. 797) above all. The post tenth-century Rnying ma pa came to hold that the Buddhist cultural heroes of that age—in particular, the Indian masters Padmasambhava and Vimalamitra and the Tibetan translator Vairocana, but many others as well—had introduced a purer, more refined and elevated form of esotericism than that which

Clockwise from top left corner. Qurʾān written in Nashki script. *[The Art Archive/Private Collection/Eileen Tweedy]*; Pre-Toltec Quetzalcoatl in the form of the morning star. Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. *[©Werner Forman/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Etruscan bronze capitoline she-wolf, c. fifth century BCE, with twins added later by Antonio Pollaiuolo. Musei Capitolini, Rome. *[©Timothy McCarthy/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Cathedral of Saint Basil in Moscow. *[©Corbis]*; Fifteenth-century illustration by Marco dell’Avogadro of Ruth at work during the harvest, from the *Bible of Borso d’Este.* Biblioteca Estense, Modena. *[©Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.]* .

characterized the teaching transmitted in Tibet from the late-tenth century on. During this period in which a distinctive Rnying ma pa identity took form, the lineages involved were often familial lines of lay priests, not monks, and it is impossible to think of them as yet forming a cohesive order. In later times, the Rnying ma pa tended to rely on the renewed revelation of texts and teachings that were held to be spiritual "treasures" (*gter ma*) inspired by, but not derived in a direct line from, the traditions of the early masters. The proliferation of large numbers of new *gter ma* lineages further undercut the unity of the Rnying ma pa.

In contradistinction to the organized Bon religion, the Rnying ma pa identify themselves as purely Buddhist, whereas, over and against the other Tibetan Buddhist schools and in harmony with the Bon, they insist upon the value of an autochthonous Tibetan religious tradition, expressed and exalted within a unique and continuing revelation of the Buddha's doctrine in Tibet in the form of "treasures" (*gter*). The following features of Rnying ma pa Buddhism are particularly noteworthy: The primordial Buddha Samantabhadra (Tib., Kun tu bzang po [Küntuzangpo], the "Omnibeneficent"), iconographically most often depicted as a naked Buddha of celestial blue-color in embrace with his consort, is regarded as the supreme embodiment of buddhahood (shared with Bon). The highest expression of and vehicle for attaining that Buddha's enlightenment (which is equivalent to the enlightenment of all buddhas) is the teaching of the "Great Perfection" (Rdzogs chen [Dzogchen], also shared with Bon). The paradigmatic exponent of this teaching, and indeed of all matters bearing on the spiritual and temporal well-being of the Tibetan people, is the immortal Guru Padmasambhava, the apotheosis of the Indian Tantric master remembered for playing a leading role in Tibet's conversion to Buddhism during the eighth century, and who is always present to intercede on behalf of his devotees. Moreover, the teachings of the latter are continually renewed in forms suitable to the devotee's time, place, and circumstances, the agents for such renewal being "discoverers of spiritual treasure" (*gter ston*/ *bton*), thought to be embodiments of, or regents acting on behalf of, Padmasambhava.

While the Rnying ma pa adhere, as do other Tibetan Buddhists, to Tantric forms of ritual and contemplative practice, their Tantric canon is altogether distinctive, incorporating a great quantity of literature whose "authenticity" is challenged by some adherents of the other Tibetan Buddhist schools, as is the authenticity of their special teaching of the Great Perfection. Hence, from relatively early times, their unique standpoint created for the Rnying ma pa a remarkable justificatory problem, which has generated an elaborate apologetical literature, much of which is historical in character.

In their thinking about the history of their own tradition, the Rnying ma pa have come to identify three phases in the lineage through which their special doctrines have been transmitted: the "lineage of the conquerors' intention" *(rgyal ba dgongs brgyud)*; the "symbolic lineage of the awareness-holders" *(rig 'dzin brda brgyud)*; and the "aural lineage of human individuals" *(gang zag snyan brgyud)*. The first of the "three lineages" is related to the primordial origination and disclosure, in the domain of the Buddha's enlightenment, of the doctrine, especially that of the Great Perfection. The third concerns the successive transmission of that doctrine through a line of human individuals, related each to the next as master to disciple, and always thought to be placeable, datable persons, though the specifics may be sometimes debated. The second lineage explains the beginnings of the transmission in the human world, the stages whereby a doctrine belonging to the timeless inexpressible realm of awakening came to be expressed in time.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT. Although a clear Rnying ma pa identity was formed only in reaction to the criticisms of early Tibetan Tantrism that became current from the late tenth century on, certain of the characteristic features of later Rnying ma pa teaching are already evident in documents from Dunhuang dating to the ninth to tenth centuries, as well as in the works of relatively early writers such as Bsnubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes (Nupchen Sangye Yeshe, late ninth to early tenth centuries). These works make it clear that two of the key elements of the Rnying ma pa ritual and contemplative tradition were already emerging: the Mahāyoga (Great Yoga) system of Tantric ritual, and the Rdzogs chen (Great Perfection) approach to meditation, emphasizing abstract contemplation. By the eleventh century some adherents of the old lineages began to defend their tradition against its detractors and at the same time to elaborate its doctrine and codify its ritual. The prolific scholar and translator Rong zom Chos kyi bzang po (Rongzom Chözang) and the ritual masters of the Zur lineage exemplify these trends.

In 1159 the monastery of Kaḥ thog was founded in far Eastern Tibet by Dam pa Bde gshegs (Dampa Deshek, 1122–1192). This soon emerged as an important center of scholarship, where a distinctively Rnying ma pa exegetical tradition based on the system of nine progressive vehicles (*theg pa rim pa dgu*) was elaborated. The influence of Kaḥ thog was widely felt throughout southeastern Tibet, penetrating even neighboring areas in Yunnan. During the same period, Rnying ma pa traditions were reinvigorated by the discoveries of treasure-doctrines (*gter chos*). Some of the foremost promulgators of the newly revealed teachings included Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer (Nyangrel Nyima Özer, 1124–1192) and Guru Chos dbang (Guru Chöwang, 1212–1270), and, sometime later, the discoverer of the so-called *Tibetan Book of the Dead*, Karma gling pa (Karma Lingpa, fourteenth century), as well as Rig 'dzin Rgod ldem can (Rikdzin Gödemcen, 1337–1408), whose Northern Treasure (Byang gter) spread throughout the Tibetan world.

The contemplative teachings of the Great Perfection, too, were greatly refined, syncretically absorbing and reinterpreting elements of the new Tantric traditions. The Seminal Essence (Snying thig) system, in particular, which placed great emphasis on visionary experience, developed through a series of revelations spanning some two centuries and came to be regarded as the culminating synthesis of Rnying ma pa teaching. Klong chen pa Rab 'byams pa (Longcen Rabjampa, 1308–1363), a poet and philosopher of unusual depth and refinement, codified the textual corpus of the Seminal Essence in four parts (*snying thig ya bzhi*), and in his own expansive writings—the *Mdzod bdun* (Seven treasuries), *Ngal gso skor gsum* (Trilogy of rest), and *Mun sel skor gsum* (Trilogy removing darkness), among others—he set forth an encyclopedic summation of the entire Buddhist path, which has remained the definitive Rnying ma pa doctrinal formulation. He was later believed to have been reborn as Padma gling pa (Pema Lingpa, 1450–1521), a treasure-discoverer whose revelations played a special role in the emergence of the Himalayan kingdom of Bhutan.

During the seventeenth century, a period of intensive civil war and sectarian conflict, the Rnying ma pa were fortunate to find a patron in the person of the fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682), himself a revealer of treasures. With the encouragement of the "Great Fifth," a renewed monastic movement emerged among the Rnying ma pa, which had formerly been situated primarily in lay lineages, local temples, and individual adepts. Six preeminent monastic centers eventually came to be recognized: Rdo rje brag (representing the Northern Treasure tradition) and Smin grol gling in Central Tibet; and Kaḥ thog, Dpal yul, Rdzogs chen and, somewhat later, Zhe chen, all in far Eastern Tibet. Smin grol gling, in particular, enjoyed very close ties with the fifth Dalai Lama, so that its hierarchs were recognized as the official heads of Rnying ma pa order. The writings of its two great luminaries, the brothers Gter bdag gling pa (Terdak Lingpa, 1646–1714) and Lo chen Dharmaśrī (1654–1717), offer a uniquely influential synthesis of Rnying ma pa ritual traditions. Their efforts, however, were impeded by the 1717 invasion of Central Tibet by the Dzungar Mongols, which was accompanied by grievous sectarian persecution. Rnying ma pa establishments and adherents were among the Dzungar's victims, and Dharmaśrī and many other leading teachers perished in the onslaught. Smin grol gling was later revived by the efforts of Gter bdag gling pa's daughter, Mi 'gyur dpal sgron (Mingyur Paldrön, 1699–1769), whose career marks the beginning of a notable succession of female teachers.

Rnying ma pa resurgence in Central Tibet continued with the revelation by 'Jigs med gling pa (Jikme Lingpa, 1730–1798) of a new cycle of treasures, the Seminal Essence of the Great Expanse (Klong chen snying thig), inspired in part by the writings of Klong chen Rab 'byams pa. These teachings enjoyed a remarkable success and were soon studied and practiced throughout Tibet. They remain perhaps the most widely practiced Rnying ma pa Tantric ritual system at the present time. His successors came to play a notable role in the eclectic or universalist movement (*ris med*) in nineteenth-century Khams. 'Jam dbyangs Mkhyen brtse'i dbang po (Jamyang Khyentse, 1820–1892), thought to be his incarnation, was a particularly prominent exponent of the nonpartisan perspective and encouraged one of his most talented disciples, Mi pham rgya mtsho (Mipham Gyatso, 1846–1912) to extend the insights of characteristically Rnying ma pa teaching to the interpretation of Buddhist doctrine generally. The copious commentarial writings of Mi pham on all aspects of Buddhist thought and practice have enjoyed considerable prestige and are regarded as second only to the writings of Klong chen Rab 'byams pa as definitive expressions of Rnying ma pa thought. During the twentieth century the leading exponents of the Rnying ma pa order have mostly represented Mi pham's outlook, though some dissenters have criticized him for laying too much stress on the cataphatic doctrines of buddha-nature and pure awareness, and so perhaps compromising the radical emptiness associated with Madhyamaka thought.

Following the exile of large numbers of Tibetans in 1959, a number of leading Rnying ma pa teachers became established in South Asia and began to attract Western students. Two heads of the order, Bdud 'joms Rin po che 'Jigs bral ye shes rdo rje (Dudjom Rinpoche, 1904–1987) and Dil mgo Mkhyen brtse Rin po che (Dilgo Khyentse Rinpoche, 1910–1991), particularly inspired the spread of Rnying ma pa instruction in the West.

CHARACTERISTIC DOCTRINES. The Rnying ma pa adhere to the same canon of Kanjur and Tanjur as do other Tibetan Buddhists, but they supplement these with uniquely Rnying ma pa textual collections to which they accord a similar canonical status. Foremost in this regard is the *Rnying ma rgyud 'bum* (Collection of the ancient Tantras), which exists in many differing versions, but is always held to represent the body of Tantras translated into Tibetan prior to the tenth century. The Tantric rites of the Rnying ma pa, those for which a continuous lineage extending back to the imperial period is claimed, are gathered in the *Rnying ma bka' ma* (Oral tradition of the ancients). Though each particular lineage among the Rnying ma pa adheres to its own favored treasure-doctrines, during the nineteenth century a master of the universalist movement, 'Jam mgon Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas (Jamgön Kongtrül, 1813–1899), assembled a grand anthology of treasure-texts in over sixty large volumes, which has been widely promulgated since.

The Rnying ma pa teaching is generally organized according to the progression of nine sequential vehicles (*theg pa rim pa dgu*): those of (1) *śrāvakas*, (2) *pratyekabuddhas*, and (3) *bodhisattvas*, which are the three "causal vehicles" (*rgyu'i theg pa*); followed by (4) Kriyā Tantra, (5) Caryā Tantra, and (6) Yoga Tantra, which are the three outer vehicles among the "fruitional vehicles" of *mantra* (*'bras bu'i theg pa sngags phyi pa*); and culminating with (7) Mahāyoga, (8) Anuyoga, and (9) Atiyoga, which are the inner *mantras* (*sngags nang pa*). Atiyoga is also called Rdzogs chen, the Great Perfection. The first six vehicles are shared with the other traditions of Tibetan Buddhism and so require no special treatment here. The last three, though finding parallels in the

Tantric teachings of the "new" schools, are, in their precise formulation, distinctively Rnying ma pa.

Mahāyoga ("Great Yoga") emphasizes the creative visualization of the divine *maṇḍala* and the elaborate rites, including collective feast assemblies (*tshogs 'khor*; Skt. *gaṇacakra*) and ritual dance-drama (*'cham*), that are associated with it. The feast assembly, in particular, plays an important role in Rnying ma pa ritual life, and in most communities, whether monastic or lay, assemblies are held on the tenth day of the lunar month, consecrated to the *guru* (i.e., Padmasambhava), and on the twenty-fifth, consecrated to the Ḍākinī (Tib., Mkha' 'gro ma), the goddess embodying enlightenment. As a subject of study and reflection, the focal point of the Mahāyoga is the *Guhyagarbha Tantra*, which has generated an enormous commentarial literature.

Anuyoga ("Subsequent Yoga") is explained generally as emphasizing the internal manipulation of the energies (*rlung*; Skt., *vāyu*) and seminal essences (*thig le*; Skt., *bindu*) that flow through the channels (*rtsa*; Skt., *nāḍī*) of the subtle body. However, it is at the same time a complete system, which in its most elaborate forms embraces the entire teaching of the nine vehicles. In this respect, it is primarily associated with a vast Tantric compendium, the *Mdo dgongs pa 'dus pa* (The sūtra that gathers the [Buddha's] intentions), said to have been translated into Tibetan from the Burushaski language during the tenth century. It is possible that this work reflects developments in the Śaiva traditions of Kashmir during the period of its composition.

The highest pinnacle among the nine vehicles is the Atiyoga ("Highest Yoga"), or Rdzogs chen (Great Perfection). Kong sprul explains it as follows:

> "Great Perfection" is derived from the term *mahāsandhi*: it is "great concentration," [*mahāsamādhi*], or "great absorption" [*mahādhyāna*]. It therefore has the significance of "unsurpassed pristine cognition," in which all the phenomena of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* naturally arise in the expanse of the unique abiding nature of reality, surpassing the intellectualized doctrinal systems of the eight lower vehicles. . . .The Great Perfection has three classes according to their relative degrees of profundity whereby the naturally emergent pristine cognition itself functions as the path. Among them, the exoteric Mental Class [*sems sde*] is liberated from the extreme of renunciation, for one has realized that all phenomena have transcended causal and conditional effort and attainment in the play of mind-as-such alone. . . .The esoteric Spatial Class [*klong sde*], free from activity, is liberated from the extreme of antidotes, for one has realized that, because all phenomenal manifestations neither arrive in nor depart from the space of Omnibeneficent Mother [Kun tu bzang mo], there is no getting away from the expanse of the naturally present three bodies [*sku gsum*; Skt., *trikāya*]. . . .The secret and profound esoteric Instructional Class [*man ngag sde*] is free from the extremes of both renunciation and antidote, for one has realized that particularly characterized mode of being wherein the significance of all phenomena—ground, path, and result—is the indivisible union of primordial purity and spontaneous presence. . . .So it is that the objects adhered to in the sūtras and in the inner and outer *mantras*, up to and including Anuyoga, are all merely tenets grasped by the intellect. For this reason, [the Great Perfection] clearly teaches the particular ways whereby one falls into the error of not seeing the original abiding nature of reality just as it is. The pristine cognition of the Great Perfection transcends the eight aggregates of consciousness, including thought and speech, cause and result. It is that great freedom from elaboration, in which all mind and mental events attain to peace in the expanse of reality. Because the naturally emergent reality of awareness, free from activity, the natural disposition of the great transcendence of intellect, itself abides in its self-possession and is otherwise uncontrived, the appearance of its expressive power as ephemeral taint passes away, naturally dissolving into the natural expanse. For these reasons, this way is particularly superior to all of the lower philosophical and spiritual systems.

The adepts who have mastered this path, realizing its highest goals in the progressive disclosure of visions emerging from the revelation of the innermost nature of mind, are believed to transcend the boundaries of ordinary human mortality, and so pass away by vanishing into light in the attainment of a rainbow body (*'ja' lus*).

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Tibet; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism.

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ROHDE, ERWIN

ROHDE, ERWIN (1845–1898) was German philologist. Rohde served as professor of classical philology at several universities; appointed to a chair at Kiel in 1872, he moved to Jena four years later and to Tübingen in 1878, followed by a very short stay in Leipzig in 1886, from where he went to Heidelberg.

Rohde's major study on the Greek novel, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer,* appeared in 1876. Its second edition (1900), prepared by Fritz Scholl, contains as an appendix an address given by Rohde in 1875, in which he suggests the desirability of further study of the book's tentative thesis: that the animal fables and many other tales from India and other parts of Asia originated in Greece and, much later, found their way back to the West, where speculations about their Asian origin began. A third edition of this work was published in 1914, prepared by Wilhelm Schmidt, and a fourth was released in 1961, reflecting an ongoing interest in the study.

Rohde's name, however, is associated primarily with *Psyche, Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen* (1890–1894). In 1897 the author completed his preparations for the second edition of this work, which went through several later editions and was translated into English as *Psyche: The Cult of Souls and Belief in Immortality among the Greeks* (1925). The author stresses that the cult of the souls, discussed in part 1 of the book, is a notion clearly distinct from and to some extent in contrast with belief in immortality, to which the second part is devoted. The most succinct formulation of this distinction is found in chapter 8: "The continued life of the soul, such as was implied in and guaranteed by the cult of souls, was entirely bound up with the remembrance of the survivors upon earth, and upon the care, the cult, which they might offer to the soul of their departed ancestors." Belief in the immortality of the soul, in contrast, sees the soul as "in its essential nature like God," a notion in radical conflict with "the first principle of the Greek people," namely that of an absolute gulf between humanity and divinity (pp. 253–254).

Tracing the belief in the divinity and immortality of the soul back to its Thracian context, Rohde elaborates his thesis of the formative impact on Greek life and thought of, on the one hand, the religion of paramount gods of the Homeric poems and, on the other hand, the worship of Dionysos, a Thracian deity whose cult was "thoroughly orgiastic in nature." These two forces explain the two opposing features of the Greeks, an "extravagance of emotion combined with a fast-bound and regulated equilibrium." (p. 255). His description of "the awe-inspiring darkness of the night, the music of the Phrygian flute . . . , the vertiginous whirl of the dance," which could lead people to a state of possessedness, conveys vividly his own vision of the cult. "Hellenized and humanized," the Thracian Dionysos found his place beside the other Olympian gods, and continued to inspire, not least in the field of the arts: "the drama, that supreme achievement of Greek poetry, arose out of the choruses of the Dionysiac festival" (p. 285).

Much of Rohde's language has been adopted by later researchers. At the scholarly level, his thesis of the Dionysian origin of the Greek belief in immortality is now widely rejected, following the criticism of, among others, Martin P. Nilsson, and his interpretation of *psuche* was largely abandoned after Walter F. Otto's study of 1923. But whatever criticisms have been raised, there is still widespread agreement that Rohde's *Psyche* is one of the most significant books in the field because of its remarkable erudition, the clarity of its methodology, and the tremendous impact it has had in circles beyond those professionally engaged in the study of the classical Greek world. The work is in its own right a "classical" expression of the belief in "the imperishable spirit of Hellas."

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Revised Bibliography

RÓHEIM, GÉZA. Géza Róheim (1891–1953) was born in Budapest and died in New York City. He immigrated to the United States from Hungary in 1938. Of Jewish descent, he was the only child of prosperous bourgeois parents. At an early age he developed an abiding interest in folklore, and he later chose to study ethnology in Leipzig and Berlin. It was during his time in Germany that he discovered the works of Sigmund Freud and his followers, which he embraced with great enthusiasm. Róheim is mainly remembered as a pioneer of psychoanalytic anthropology.

In 1915 and 1916 Róheim was analyzed by his compatriot and a member of Freud's inner circle, Sándor Ferenczi. With his wife Ilonka Róheim, he undertook fieldwork in various locations around the world between 1928 and 1931, including Somaliland, Normanby Island (now part of Papua New Guinea), and Arizona. However, Róheim's most significant ethnographic work was done with Arrernte, Luritja, and Pitjantjatjara Aborigines in central Australia, where he stayed for nine months in 1929. Róheim was the first properly psychoanalytically trained ethnographer and the first anthropologist to apply rigorous Freudian methods in his research and writing. He was a prolific writer, with his many books and papers having their primary focus on religion, magic, and folklore.

In 1925 Róheim published *Australian Totemism,* a large volume that scoured the ethnographic literature on Australian Aborigines for evidence to support and extend Freud's primal horde theory of the origins of religion and morality, put forward in *Totem and Taboo* (1913). Like Freud, Róheim understood Australian Aborigines to be "stone age savages" and thus a suitable testing ground for an evolutionist explanation of totemism as the primal religious form. Hence *Australian Totemism* followed Freud's lead in being a form of psychohistory, taking the vast array of Aboriginal myths, rituals, and related phenomena to be so many complex symbolic transformations that, through analysis, could be used to reconstruct the prehistoric transition from nature to culture. It fundamentally confirmed Freud's idea that totemism, as the primal religion, took a properly human form through the projection of "the father" into totemic species but also suggested that it had a prior, protohuman form that relied on the projection of maternal symbolism into the environment.

Róheim's appreciation of "primitive" life and religion altered somewhat as a result of his fieldwork experiences. Between 1932 and the end of his life he produced a number of works that were ethnographically rich and theoretically innovative. In particular he began to pay less attention to Freud's primal horde story and more openly interrogated its assumption that phylogenetic memory underlay the symbolic resolution of the Oedipus complex. While he never gave up his interest in psychohistory, Róheim devoted much of his attention to functionalist explanations, formulating what he called "the ontogenetic interpretation of culture." He argued that human societies differed culturally to the extent that they had evolved different "type traumata" giving rise to peculiarly distinctive adult character types (later known as "modal personalities"), together with systemically reproduced forms of defense mechanism and sublimation.

Whereas this theory was an account of culture in general, a specific interpretation of religion lay within its ambit. The totemic gods of Aboriginal Australia, for example, were said to have their origins in the demonic projections that arise in children as a result of anxieties prompted by the primal scene, demons being "bad" parents projected into the environment in the name of ego integrity. But these very demons are the basis of totemic religion, in the sense that they are transformed into authentic gods (totemic heroes) in the passage into adult life. Initiation into the male cult reverses the earlier trends of ego protection and fosters development of the superego. Concomitantly the demons that once gave rise to anxiety are transmuted, introjected, and dutifully revered as ancestral protectors of the law. Róheim believed that the religious emblems of this law (sacred objects representing the ancestors) took symbolic forms organically related to the demonic projections of childhood.

Róheim never wavered in his allegiance to Freud and rarely explicitly challenged any of the fundamentals of the primal horde theory of religious origins. Even as he rejected the Freudian idea of a "group mind," his originality lay more in the manner in which he extended the insights of *Totem and Taboo* and brought new emphases to bear on its scope. Like Freud, Róheim believed that religion had its origins in ancestor worship and that the psychoanalytic problem of "the father" was central to the symbolic creation of deities. Also like Freud, he understood the deification of ancestors to be symptomatic of the very process of cultural transmission itself. But unlike Freud, Róheim maintained an abiding interest in pre-oedipal development and hence with the problem of "the mother." His genius lay in giving due attention to feminine principles in the origin and function of religion and wedding this broader psychoanalytic program to an up-to-date anthropological methodology based on fieldwork and cultural relativism. Freud never directly encountered "primitive religion," but Róheim witnessed it in the flesh. This may be one reason why Róheim was not, like his master, quick to patronize "the primitive" or dismiss religion per se as a neurotic illusion.

SEE ALSO Australian Indigenous Religions; Psychology, article on Psychotherapy and Religion; Totemism.

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JOHN MORTON (2005)

ROMAN CATHOLICISM [FIRST EDITION].

The first question in defining the scope of Roman Catholicism has to do with the term itself. There are Catholics who object to the adjective *Roman* because the community encompassed by the designation "Roman Catholicism" includes those who do not regard themselves as Roman. These are the so-called Uniate Catholics, the name given to former Eastern Christian or Orthodox churches that have been received under the jurisdiction of the church of Rome and retain their own ritual, practice, and canon law. They are the Melchite Catholics, the Maronites, the Ruthenians, the Copts, and the Malabars, among which there are six liturgical rites: Chaldean, Syrian, Maronite, Coptic, Armenian, and Byzantine.

There are, on the other hand, Christians who consider themselves Catholic but who do not accept the primatial authority of the bishop of Rome. This group insists that the churches in communion with the see of Rome should call themselves Roman Catholic to distinguish them from those Catholic churches (Anglican, Orthodox, Oriental, and some Protestant) not in communion with Rome. For some Protestants in this group, the Roman Catholic church did not begin as a church until the time of the Reformation. Indeed, in their eyes, Roman Catholicism is no less a denomination than Presbyterianism or Methodism, for example.

Protestantism is usually defined negatively, as the form of Western Christianity that rejects obedience to the Roman papacy. But this definition encounters the same difficulty described above. There are also non-Roman Christians who reject the papacy but who consider themselves Catholic rather than Protestant. For that reason alone it would be inadequate to define Catholicism by its adherence to papal authority.

Roman Catholicism refers both to a church (or, more accurately, a college of churches that together constitute the universal Catholic church) and to a tradition. If one understands the body of Christ as the whole collectivity of Christian churches, then the Roman Catholic church is a church within the universal church. And if one understands Christian tradition to embrace the full range and pluralism of doctrinal, liturgical, theological, canonical, and spiritual traditions, then the Roman Catholic tradition is a tradition within the one Christian tradition. For Roman Catholicism, however, the Catholic church and the Catholic tradition are normative for other Christian churches and traditions (as expressed in the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, no. 14, issued by the Second Vatican Council).

As a church, Roman Catholicism exists at both the local level and the universal level. In the canon law of the Roman Catholic church, the term "local church" (more often rendered as "particular church") applies primarily to a diocese and secondarily to a parish. The term "local church" has a wider meaning in Catholic theology than in canon law. It may apply to provinces (regional clusters of dioceses within a country) and to national churches (all the dioceses within a country), as well as to parishes and individual dioceses. A diocese is a local church constituted by a union, or college, of other local churches known as parishes. Each diocese is presided over by a bishop, and each parish by a pastor. The universal Roman Catholic church, on the other hand, is constituted by a union, or college, of all the local Catholic churches throughout the world. There are more than one-half billion Catholics worldwide, by far the largest body of Christians. Apart from other important doctrinal, liturgical, theological, canonical, and spiritual links, what holds these various churches and individual members in solidarity is the bond each has with the diocese of Rome and with its bishop, the pope.

As a tradition Roman Catholicism is marked by several different doctrinal and theological emphases. These are its radically positive estimation of the created order, because everything comes from the hand of God, is providentially sustained by God, and is continually transformed and elevated by God's active presence within it; its concern for history, because God acts within history and is continually revealed through it; its respect for rationality, because faith must be consonant with reason and reason itself, fallen and redeemed, is a gift of God; its stress on mediation, because God, who is at once the First Cause and totally spiritual, can have an effect on us only by working through secondary causes and material instruments, for example, the humanity of Jesus Christ, the church, the sacraments, the things of the earth, other people; and, finally, its affirmation of the communal dimension of salvation and of every religious relationship with God, because God has created us a people, because we have fallen as a people, because we have been redeemed as a people, and because we are destined for eternal glory as a people.

The very word *catholic* means "universal." What is most directly opposed to Catholicism, therefore, is not Protestantism (which, in any case, has many Catholic elements within it) but sectarianism, the movement within Christianity that holds that the church is a community of true believers, a precinct of righteousness within and over against the unredeemed world of sin, pronouncing judgment upon it and calling it to repentance but never entering into dialogue with it, much less collaboration on matters of common social, political, or religious concern. For the sectarian, dialogue and collaboration are invitations to compromise.

The contrast between Catholicism and sectarianism is nowhere more sharply defined than in their respective approaches to the so-called social question. Catholic social doctrine acknowledges the presence and power of sin in the world, but insists that grace is stronger. Catholic social doctrine underlines the doctrines of creation, providence, the incarnation, redemption, and sanctification through the Holy Spirit. Christians are called to collaborate with God in Christ, through the power of the Holy Spirit, to bring the entire fallen and redeemed world to the perfection of the kingdom of God, "a kingdom of truth and life, of holiness and grace, of justice, love and peace" (Vatican Council II, Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, no. 39).

HISTORY. What are the origins of Roman Catholicism? What events and personalities have shaped it? How is it presently being transformed?

Peter and the Petrine ministry. If one insists that Roman Catholicism is not a denomination within Christianity but is its original expression, one faces at the outset the historical fact that the earliest community of disciples gathered in Jerusalem and therefore was Palestinian rather than Roman. Indeed, the see, or diocese, of Rome did not exist at the very beginning, nor did the Roman primacy.

If, on the other hand, one holds that the adjective *Roman* obscures rather than defines the reality of Catholicism, Catholicism does begin at the beginning, that is, with Jesus' gathering of his disciples and with his eventual commissioning, probably following the resurrection, of Peter to be the chief shepherd and foundation of the church. Therefore, it is not the Roman primacy that gives Catholicism its distinctive identity within the community of Christian churches but the Petrine primacy.

Peter is listed first among the Twelve (*Mk.* 3:16–19, *Mt.* 10:1–4, *Lk.* 6:12–16) and is frequently their spokesman (*Mk.* 8:29, *Mt.* 18:21, *Lk.* 12:41, *Jn.* 6:67–69); he is the first apostolic witness of the risen Christ (*1 Cor.* 15:5, *Lk.* 24:34); he is prominent in the original Jerusalem community and is well known to many other churches (*Acts* 1:15–26, 2:14–40, 3:1–26, 4:8, 5:1–11, 5:29, 8:18–25, 9:32–43, 10:5, 12:17, *1 Pt.* 2:11, 5:13). Peter's activities after the council of Jerusalem are not reported, but there is increasing agreement that he did go to Rome and was martyred there. Whether he actually served the church of Rome as bishop cannot be known with certainty from the evidence at hand.

For the Catholic tradition, the classic primacy texts are *Matthew* 16:13–19, *Luke* 22:31–32, and *John* 21:15–19. The fact that Jesus' naming of Peter as the Rock occurs in different contexts in these three gospels does raise a question about the original setting of the incident. Did it occur before the resurrection, or was it a postresurrection event, subsequently "retrojected" into the accounts of Jesus' earthly ministry? In any case, the conferral of the power of the keys clearly suggests an imposing measure of authority, given the symbolism of the keys as instruments for opening and shutting the gates of the kingdom of heaven. On the other hand, special authority over others is not clearly attested, and indeed Peter is presented in the *Acts of the Apostles* as consulting with the other apostles and even being sent by them (8:14), and he and John act almost as a team (3:1–11, 4:1–22, 8:14).

But there seems to be a trajectory of images relating to Peter and his ministry that sets him apart within the original company of disciples and explains his ascendancy and that of his successors throughout the early history of the church. He is portrayed as the fisherman (*Lk.* 5:10, *Jn.* 21:1–14), as the shepherd of the sheep of Christ (*Jn.* 21:15–17), as an elder who addresses other elders (*1 Pt.* 5:1), as proclaimer of faith in Jesus, the Son of God (*Mt.* 16:16–17), as receiver of a special revelation (*Acts* 1:9–16), as one who can correct others for doctrinal misunderstanding (*2 Pt.* 3:15–16), and as the rock on which the church is to be built (*Mt.* 16:18).

The question to be posed on the basis of recent investigations of the New Testament is therefore whether the subsequent, postbiblical development of the Petrine office is consistent with the thrust of the New Testament. The Catholic church says "Yes." Some other Christian churches are beginning to say "Perhaps."

The biblical images concerning Peter continued in the life of the early church and were enriched by additional ones: missionary preacher, great visionary, destroyer of heretics, receiver of the new law, gatekeeper of heaven, helmsman of the ship of the church, co-teacher and co-martyr with Paul. By the latter half of the second century, the church had accommodated itself to the culture of the Greco-Roman world, particularly the organizational and administrative patterns that prevailed in areas of its missionary activity. Accordingly, the church adopted the organizational grid of the Roman empire: localities, dioceses, provinces. It also identified its own center with that of the empire, Rome. Moreover, there was attached to this city the tradition that Peter had founded the church there and that he and Paul were martyred and buried there.

In the controversy with Gnosticism, defenders of orthodoxy appealed to the faith of sees (local churches) founded by the apostles, and especially to the faith of the Roman church, which was so clearly associated with Peter and Paul. During the first five centuries, the church of Rome gradually assumed preeminence among all the churches. It intervened in the life of distant churches, took sides in theological controversies, was consulted by other bishops on doctrinal and moral questions, and sent delegates to distant councils. The see of Rome came to be regarded as a kind of final court of appeal as well as a focus of unity for the worldwide communion of churches. The correlation between Peter and the bishop of Rome became fully explicit during the pontificate of Leo I (440–461), who claimed that Peter continued to speak to the whole church through the bishop of Rome.

Constantine and Constantinian Catholicism. One of the major events during this early period was the conversion of the Roman emperor Constantine I (306–337) in the year 312. Constantine subsequently pursued a vigorous campaign against pagan practices and lavished money and monuments upon the church. Roman law was modified to reflect Christian values more faithfully, and the clergy were accorded privileged status. For some, the conversion of Constantine provided the church with extraordinary opportunities for proclaiming the gospel to all nations and for bringing necessary order into the church's doctrinal and liturgical life. It also allowed the church to be less defensive about pagan culture and to learn from it and be enriched by it. For others, however, the event marked a dangerous turning point in the history of the church. For the first time, the church enjoyed a favored place in society. Christian commitment would no longer be tested by persecution, much less by death. The community of disciples was on the verge of being swallowed up by the secular, and therefore anti-Christian, values of the state and the society, which now embraced the church. Indeed, there is no word of greater opprobrium laid upon Catholic Christians by sectarian Christians than "Constantinian."

Monasticism. The first protest against Constantinianism, however, came not from sectarians but from Catholic monks. The new monastic movement had an almost immediate impact upon the church. Bishops were recruited from among those with some monastic training. For example, Athanasius (d. 373) was a disciple of Antony of Egypt (d. 355), generally regarded as the founder of monasticism. One historian has argued that the strong missionary impetus, the remarkable development of pastoral care, the effort to christianize the Roman state, and above all the theological work of the great councils of the fourth and fifth centuries would have been inconceivable without monasticism. On the other hand, when monks were appointed bishops they tended to bring with them some of their monastic mores, particularly celibacy and a certain reserve toward ordinary human experiences. As a result, there developed a separation between pastoral leaders and the laity, based not only upon the exercise of power and jurisdiction but also upon a diversity in spiritualities.

Imported into the West from the East, monasticism reached its high point in the middle of the sixth century with the founding of Monte Cassino by Benedict of Nursia (d. 547). Monks were directly involved in the missionary expansion of the church in Ireland, Scotland, Gaul, and England between the fifth and the seventh century. This missionary enterprise was so successful that, in the eighth century, English missionaries had a prominent role in evangelizing the more pagan parts of Europe.

In spite of its simple purposes of work and prayer, Western monasticism would serve as the principal carrier of Western civilization during the Middle Ages. No other movement or institution had such social or intellectual influence. With the restoration of some political stability to Europe by the middle of the eleventh century, monks tended to withdraw from temporal and ecclesiastical affairs to return to their monasteries, and a renewal of monasticism followed. The foundings of the Franciscans, Dominicans, Cistercians, and Jesuits were among the major effects of this renewal, as were the rich theological and spiritual writings that emerged from these communities by, for example, Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274) and Bonaventure (d. 1274).

Doctrinal controversies. At the heart of the Catholic faith, as at the heart of every orthodox expression of Christian faith, is Jesus Christ. In the fourth and fifth centuries there was a preoccupation with dogmatic controversies about the relationship between the one God, the creator of all things, and Jesus Christ, the Son of God and redeemer of humankind, and then about the relationship of the Holy Spirit to both. Arianism (Christ was only a creature, greater than humans but less than God) was opposed by the Council of Nicaea (325); Apollinarianism (Christ had no human soul), by the First Council of Constantinople (381); Nestorianism (the man Jesus was separate from the divine Word, or Logos; the two were not united in one person), by the Council of Ephesus (431); and monophysitism (Christ's human nature was completely absorbed by the one divine person), by the Council of Chalcedon (451). Jesus is at once divine and human. The divine and the human are united in one person, "without confusion or change, without division or separation" (the definition of the Council of Chalcedon). This stress on theological and doctrinal balance has been an abiding feature of the Catholic tradition.

The same balance was preserved in the great Western debate about nature and grace. Pelagianism had argued that salvation is achieved through human effort alone. Augustine of Hippo (d. 430) insisted on the priority of grace, without prejudice to human responsibility. Indeed, the church would later condemn quietism, Pelagianism's opposite, in the constitution *Caelestis pastor* of Innocent XI (d. 1689). Moral effort *is* essential to the spiritual life, although such effort is always prompted and sustained by grace. Grace, in turn, builds on nature, as the Scholastics would put it.

Structure and law. By the beginning of the fifth century, German tribes began migrating through Europe without effective control. This movement has been called, somewhat inaccurately, the barbarian invasions. It was to last some six hundred years and was to change the institutional character of Catholicism from a largely Greco-Roman religion to a broader European religion. The strongly militaristic and feudal character of Germanic culture influenced Catholic devotion, spirituality, and organizational structure. Christ was portrayed as the most powerful of kings. The place of worship was described as God's fortress. Monks were perceived as warriors of Christ. The profession of faith was understood as an oath of fidelity to a kind of feudal lord. Church office became more political than pastoral. Eventually a dispute arose about the appointment of such officers. Should they be appointed by the church or by the state? This led to the so-called investiture struggle, which was resolved in favor of the church through the leadership of Gregory VII (d. 1085).

When, at the beginning of the eighth century, the Eastern emperor proved incapable of aiding the papacy against the Lombards in northern Italy, the pope turned for help to the Franks. This new alliance led eventually to the creation of the Holy Roman Empire, climaxed in 800 with the crowning of Charlemagne (d. 814). The line between church and state, already blurred by Constantine's Edict of Milan some five hundred years earlier, was now practically erased. When the Carolingian empire collapsed, however, the papacy was left at the mercy of an essentially corrupt Roman nobility. The tenth and part of the eleventh centuries were its dark ages. Only with the reform of Gregory VII was the papacy's luster restored. Gregory attacked three major abuses: simony (the selling of spiritual goods), the alienation of church property (allowing it to pass from ecclesiastical hands to private hands), and lay investiture (granting the power of church appointment to secular authorities). Papal prestige was even more firmly enhanced during the pontificate of Innocent III (1198–1216), who fully exploited the Gregorian teaching that the pope has supreme, even absolute, power over the whole church.

Canon law was codified to support the new network of papal authority. The church became increasingly legalistic in its theology, moral life, and administration of the sacraments, especially marriage, which was regarded more as a contract than as a covenant based on mutual love. By the middle of the thirteenth century the classical papal-hierarchical concept of the church had been securely established. Newly elected popes were crowned like emperors, a practice observed for centuries until suddenly discontinued by John Paul I (d. 1978). Emphasis on the juridical aspects of the church did not subside until the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), which declared that the church is first and foremost the people of God and a mystery (i. e., a reality imbued with the hidden presence of God) before it is a hierarchical institution. Indeed, that principle must be kept firmly in mind, lest this historical overview be read only from the top down. The story of the Catholic church always remains the story of Catholic people.

Divisions in the church. Through a series of unfortunate and complicated political and diplomatic maneuvers, the historical bond between the church of Rome and the church of Constantinople came apart. In 1054 the patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Cerularios (d. 1058), was excommunicated by papal legates, but it was the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) and the sack of Constantinople by Western knights that dealt the crucial blow to East-West unity.

By the beginning of the fourteenth century, other events had introduced a period of further disintegration, reaching a climax in the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century. First, there was the confrontation between Boniface VIII (d. 1303) and Philip the Fair (d. 1314) over the latter's power to tax the church. The pope issued two bulls asserting his own final authority: *Clericis laicos* (1296) and *Unam sanctam* (1302), the latter having been described as the most theocratic doctrine ever formulated. But Philip arrested Boniface, and the pope died a prisoner.

Then there was the proliferation of financial abuses during the subsequent "Babylonian Captivity" of the papacy at Avignon, France (1309–1378). There followed a rise in nationalism and anticlericalism in reaction to papal taxes. Theological challenges mounted against the recent canonical justifications of papal power, especially in the advocacy by Marsilius of Padua (d. 1343) of a conciliar rather than a monarchical concept of the church. The Western schism of 1378–1417—not to be confused with the East-West schism involving Rome and Constantinople—saw at one point three different claimants to the papal throne. Finally, the Council of Constance (1414) turned to the principle of conciliarism (i. e., a general council of the church, not the pope, is the highest ecclesiastical authority) and brought the schism to an end. The three claimants were set aside (one was deposed, a second resigned, and a third eventually died), and Martin V (d. 1431) was elected on Saint Martin's Day, 11 November 1417.

There were, of course, more immediate causes of the Reformation: the corruption of the Renaissance papacy of the fifteenth century; the divorce of piety from theology, and of theology from its biblical and patristic roots; the debilitating effects of the Western schism; the rise of the national state; the too-close connection between Western Catholicism and Western civilization; and the vision, experiences, and personalities of Luther (d. 1546), Zwingli (d. 1531), and Calvin (d. 1564).

The Reformation itself took different forms: on the right, it retained essential Catholic doctrine but changed certain canonical and structural forms (Lutheranism and Anglicanism); on the left, it repudiated much Catholic doctrine and sacramental life (Zwinglianism and the Anabaptist movement); nearer to the center, it modified both Catholic doctrine and practice but retained much of the old (Calvinism).

The Council of Trent and post-Tridentine Catholicism. The Catholic response was belated but vigorous. Known as the Counter-Reformation, it began at the Council of Trent (1545–1563) and was conducted especially under the leadership of Paul III (1534–1549). The council, which was perhaps the single most important factor in the shaping of Catholicism from the time of the Reformation until the Second Vatican Council, a period of some four centuries, articulated Catholic doctrine on nature and grace, following a middle course concerning doctrines of salvation between Pelagianism, which emphasizes human effort, and Protestantism, which emphasizes God's initiative. The council also defined the seven sacraments, created the Index of Forbidden Books, and established seminaries for the education and formation of future priests. At the heart of the Catholic Counter-Reformation was the Society of Jesus (Jesuits), the strongest single force in helping the church regain its lost initiative on the missionary, educational, and pastoral fronts.

By and large, the post-Tridentine Catholic church continued to emphasize those doctrines, devotions, and institutions that were most vehemently attacked by the Protestants: veneration of the saints, Marian piety, eucharistic adoration, the authority of the hierarchy, and the essential role of priests in the sacramental life of the church. Other important elements received less emphasis, perhaps because they were perceived as part of the Protestant agenda: the centrality of Christ in theology and spirituality, the communal nature of the Eucharist, and the responsibility of the laity in the life and mission of the church.

With the Reformation, Catholic missionary activity was reduced in those countries where Protestant churches began to flourish, but Catholicism was carried abroad by Spain and Portugal, who ruled the seas. New gains were sought to offset losses in Europe. Dominicans, Franciscans, and the newly formed Jesuits brought the Catholic faith to India, China, Japan, Africa, and the Americas. The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith was founded in 1622 to supervise these new missionary enterprises.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Catholic church faced yet another challenge from within: Jansenism, a movement in France that drew much of its inspiration from Augustine. Augustine had always stressed the priority of grace over nature, but Jansenism seemed to take his emphasis many steps further, portraying nature as totally corrupt and promoting a theory of predestination. From such principles there emerged a form of Catholic life that was exceedingly rigorous and even puritanical. When Rome moved against Jansenism, many in the French church saw Rome's action as a threat to the independence of French Catholicism. Gallicanism thus emerged as an essentially nationalistic rather than theological movement, asserting that a general council, not the pope, has supreme authority in the church. Consequently, all papal decrees would be subject to the consent of the entire church, as represented in a general council. Gallicanism was condemned by the First Vatican Council

(1869–1870), which declared that infallible teachings of the pope are irreformable, that is, not subject to the consent of any higher ecclesiastical body or authority.

The Enlightenment. One cannot easily underestimate the impact of the Enlightenment on modern Catholicism, although it influenced Protestantism sooner and much more profoundly. Characterized by a supreme confidence in the power of reason, an optimistic view of human nature, and an almost inordinate reverence for freedom, the Enlightenment exhibited a correspondingly hostile attitude toward the supernatural, the notion of revelation, and authority of every kind, except that of reason itself. The Enlightenment affected Catholicism primarily in the Catholic states of Germany, where it stimulated advances in historical and exegetical methods, improvements in the education of the clergy, the struggle against superstition, liturgical and catechetical reform, and the promotion of popular education. However, much Catholic theology before the Second Vatican Council remained largely untouched by the Enlightenment.

The French Revolution. If the Enlightenment marked the beginning of the end of unhistorical, classicist Catholic theology, the French Revolution (1789) marked the definitive end of medieval Catholicism. The feudal, hierarchical society that had been so much a part of medieval Catholicism disappeared, but the French Revolution had other effects as well. It was so extreme that it provoked counterreaction among some European intellectuals, who returned with new enthusiasm to the basic principles of Catholicism (see "Romanticism," below). The Revolution also destroyed Gallicanism by uprooting the clerical system upon which it had been based. The clergy were compelled to look to Rome and the papacy for support and direction. Finally, the French Revolution gave the Catholic church the "grace of destitution." It no longer had much to lose, and so it was free once again to pursue the mission for which it was originally founded.

Romanticism. In France and Germany the French Revolution generated an opposite phenomenon, romanticism, which extolled Catholicism as the mother of art and the guardian of patriotism. Thousands who had been alienated from the Catholic church returned. With the notable exception of Cardinal John Henry Newman (d. 1890), theology at this time was restorative rather than progressive. What was restored, however, was not the witness and wisdom of sacred scripture and the ancient Christian writers but the literal content of a renewed scholastic philosophy and theology. There developed in France a rigid traditionalism, characterized by integralism and fideism, which was distrustful of all rational speculation and critical thinking in theology. The practitioners of such theology looked "beyond the mountains," the Alps, to Rome for papal direction (thus, the movement's name, ultramontanism). The popes of this day, Gregory XVI (d. 1846) and Pius IX (d. 1878), set themselves stubbornly against the winds of change and modernity. Nowhere was their defiant attitude more sharply formulated than in Pius's *Syllabus of Errors* (1864), which proclaimed that the pope "cannot and should not be reconciled and come to terms with progress, liberalism, and modern civilization."

Although Pius IX successfully persuaded the First Vatican Council to define papal primacy and papal infallibility, he lost the Papal States (September 1870) and with them his remaining political power. Not until the Lateran Treaty of 1929 (renegotiated in 1983) were the pope's temporal rights to the Vatican territory acknowledged.

Catholic social doctrine. The nineteenth century also witnessed the rapid development of industrialism, and with it a host of new social problems, not least of which was the worsening condition of workers. Marxism stepped into the gap. The workers found themselves alienated not only from the fruits of their labor but from their Catholic heritage as well. The Catholic church responded, albeit belatedly, in 1891 with Leo XIII's encyclical *Rerum novarum*, which defended the right of workers to unionize and to enjoy humane working conditions and a just wage.

Catholic social doctrine was further refined by Pius XI (d. 1939) in his *Quadragesimo anno* (1931); by Pius XII (d. 1958) in his various Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost messages; by John XXIII (d. 1963), in his *Mater et magistra* (1961) and *Pacem in terris* (1963); by the Second Vatican Council's Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, known also as *Gaudium et spes* (1965); by Paul VI (d. 1978), in his *Populorum progressio* (1967) and *Octagesima adveniens* (1971); by the *Iustitia in mundo* (1971) of the Third International Synod of Bishops; and by John Paul II's *Redemptor ho-minis* (1979) and *Laborem exercens* (1981). The twin pillars of Catholic social doctrine, as articulated in these documents, are the infinite dignity of each and every human person, and the responsibilities all persons, agencies, and nations have to the common good.

Modernism. Just as the Catholic church could not ignore various social, economic, and political developments initiated in the nineteenth century, neither could it ignore corresponding intellectual developments. As these developments began to make some impact on Catholic scholars, there emerged a new ecclesiastical phenomenon known as modernism. Modernism was not a single movement but a complex of movements. It assumed many different forms, some orthodox and some unorthodox. But distinctions were rarely made, and the term *modernist* was usually employed in early-twentieth-century discussions as one of opprobrium.

Modernists were those who refused to adopt a safely conservative standpoint on all debatable matters pertaining to doctrine and theology. Modernism was condemned by Pius X (d. 1914) through the Holy Office decree *Lamentabili* (1907) and the encyclical *Pascendi* (1907). Much of pre-Vatican II twentieth-century Catholic theology was written under the shadow of modernism. Deviations from the main lines of neoscholastic theology during this period were regarded as reductively modernist. Theologians, pastors, and others were required to swear to an antimodernist oath.

Some of the positions once denounced as modernist, however, were later reflected in the teachings of Vatican II and even in certain decrees of the Curia Romana, for example, regarding the historical truth of sacred scripture and the development of dogma. The modernists had argued that dogmatic truths, as well as truths contained in sacred scripture, are not absolute and unchanging but are affected by historical conditions and circumstances. Official Catholic teaching at first condemned this view but gradually accommodated itself to it, particularly in the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith's *Mysterium ecclesiae* (1973), which noted that "even though the truths which the Church intends to teach through her dogmatic formulas are distinct from the changeable conceptions of a given epoch and can be expressed without them, nevertheless it can sometimes happen that these truths may be enunciated by the Sacred Magisterium in terms that bear traces of such conceptions."

Between the World Wars (1918–1939). The period before Vatican II was not without its progressive movements (otherwise Vatican II itself would be inexplicable). The liturgical movement bridged the gap between altar and congregation by emphasizing the nature of worship and by stressing the Thomistic principle that sacraments are signs of grace as well as causes of grace. As signs, sacraments must be understandable, in terms of both language and ritual. The biblical movement carried forward the work of critical interpretation without provoking additional papal condemnations. But Catholic biblical scholars labored under a cloud until Pius XII issued the so-called Magna Carta of Catholic biblical scholarship, *Divino afflante Spiritu* (1943). The social action movement continued to apply the teachings of the social encyclicals, particularly in support of the labor union movement. The lay apostolate movement under Pius XI and Pius XII sought to involve larger numbers of laity in the work of the church (a movement also known as Catholic Action). The ecumenical movement had a more difficult path, given the negative tone of Pius XI's encyclical *Mortalium animos* (1927), but pioneers like Yves Congar were preparing the way for Vatican II. Meanwhile, the missionary movement, which had experienced a major revival in the nineteenth century, with as many as 8 million converts, was increasingly liberated from undue colonial and European influence. Both Pius XI and Pius XII stressed the importance of establishing native clergies and native hierarchies in mission lands.

Pope John XXIII and the Second Vatican Council. No other persons or events have had so profound an impact on modern Catholicism as John XXIII and the Second Vatican Council he convoked. When elected in 1958, John insisted that his was "a very humble office of shepherd" and that he intended to pattern his ministry after that of Joseph in the Old Testament story, who greeted the brothers who had sold him into slavery with the compassionate and forgiving words, "I am Joseph, your brother." When the new pope ceremonially took possession of the Lateran Basilica in Rome, he reminded the congregation, which included cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and assorted ecclesiastical dignitaries, that he was not a prince surrounded by the outward signs of power but "a priest, a father, a shepherd." He visited the sick in the Roman hospitals, the elderly in old-age homes, the convicts at Regina Coeli prison.

John XXIII first announced his council on January 25, 1959 and officially convoked it on December 25, 1961. In his address at the council's solemn opening on October 11, 1962, he revealed again his spirit of fundamental hope. He complained openly about some of his closest advisers, who "though burning with zeal, are not endowed with much sense of discretion or measure. In these modern times they can see nothing but prevarication and ruin." He called them "prophets of gloom, who are always forecasting disaster, as though the end of the world were at hand." He believed instead that "Divine Providence is leading us to a new order of human relations." He had not called the council to preserve doctrine. "The substance of the ancient doctrine . . . is one thing, and the way in which it is presented is another." This was not the time for negativism. The most effective way for the church to combat error would be by "demonstrating the validity of her teaching rather than by condemnations." The purpose of the council, therefore, would be the promotion of "concord, just peace and the brotherly unity of all."

Although John XXIII died between the first two sessions of the council, his successor, Paul VI, carried his program to fulfillment:

1. Vatican II taught that the church is the people of God, a community of disciples. The hierarchy is part of the people of God, not separate from it. Authority is for service, not for domination. Bishops are not merely the delegates of the pope, and laity are not merely instruments of their bishops. (See the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church.)
2. The church must read the signs of the times and interpret them in the light of the gospel. The church is part of the world, and its mission is to serve the whole human family in order to make the history of the human race more human. (See the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World.)
3. Christian unity requires renewal and reform. Both sides were to blame for the divisions of the Reformation; therefore both sides have to be open to change. The body of Christ embraces more than Catholics (Roman or otherwise). (See the Decree on Ecumenism.)
4. The word of God is communicated through sacred scripture, sacred tradition, and the teaching authority of the church, all linked together and guided by the Holy Spirit. The sacred realities are always open in principle to a growth in understanding. (See the Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation.)
5. The church proclaims the gospel not only in word but

also in sacrament. Since the whole people of God must actively participate in this worship, the signs, that is, language and rituals, must be intelligible. (See the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy.)

6. No one is to be forced in any way to embrace the Christian or the Catholic faith. This principle is rooted in human dignity and the freedom of the act of faith. (See the Declaration on Religious Freedom.)
7. God speaks also through other religions. The church should engage in dialogue and other collaborative efforts with them. The Jews have a special relationship to the church. They cannot be blamed as a people for the death of Jesus. (See the Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions.)

After four sessions the Second Vatican Council adjourned in December 1965. The story of Catholicism since the council—through the pontificates of Paul VI (1963–1978), John Paul I (1978), and John Paul II (1978–)—has been shaped largely, if not entirely, by the church's efforts to come to terms with the various challenges and opportunities which that council presented: specifically, how can the church remain faithful to its distinctively Catholic heritage even as it continues to affirm and assimilate such modern values as ecumenism, pluralism, and secularity?

CATHOLIC VISION AND CATHOLIC VALUES. Catholicism is not an isolated reality. The word *Catholic* is not only a noun but also an adjective. As an adjective, it modifies the noun *Christian*. The word *Christian*, too, is both a noun and an adjective. As an adjective, it modifies *religious*. The word *religious* also functions as an adjective and a noun. As an adjective, it modifies the word *human*. Thus the Catholic church is a community of persons (the fundamentally *human* foundation of Catholic identity) who believe in and are committed to the reality of God and who shape their lives according to that belief and in fidelity to that commitment (the *religious* component of Catholicism). The church's belief in and commitment to the reality of God is focused in its fundamental attitude toward Jesus Christ (the *Christian* core). For Catholics, as for every Christian, the old order has passed away, and they are a "new creation" in Christ, for God has "reconciled us to himself through Christ" (*2 Cor.* 5:17, 5:19). "Catholic," therefore, is a qualification of "Christian," of "religious," and of the human. To be Catholic is to be a kind of human being, a kind of religious person, and a kind of Christian.

To be Catholic is, before all else, to be human. Catholicism is an understanding and affirmation of human existence before it is a corporate conviction about the pope, or the seven sacraments, or even about Jesus Christ. But Catholicism is also more than a corporate understanding and affirmation of what it means to be human. Catholicism answers the question of meaning in terms of ultimacy. With Dietrich Bonhoeffer (d. 1945), Catholicism confirms that there is more to life than meets the eye, that there is "a beyond in our midst." With Paul Tillich (d. 1975), Catholicism affirms that there is a ground of all being which is being itself. With Thomas Aquinas, Catholicism affirms that all reality is rooted in the creative, loving power of that which is most real (*ens realissimum*). Catholicism answers the question of meaning in terms of the reality of God. In brief, Catholicism is a religious perspective, and not simply a philosophical or anthropological one.

But Catholicism is not some undifferentiated religious view. Catholicism's view of and commitment to God is radically shaped by its view of and commitment to Jesus Christ. For the Christian, the ultimate dimension of human experience is a triune God: a God who creates and sustains, a God who draws near to and identifies with the human historical condition, and a God who empowers people to live according to the vocation to which they have been called. More specifically, the God of Christians is the God of Jesus Christ.

But just as Jesus Christ gives access to God, so, for the Catholic, the church gives access to Jesus Christ. However, the church itself is composed of many churches, as noted above. The church universal is the communion of local churches, and the body of Christ is composed of denominations (for want of a better term). Thus the noun "church" is always modified: the Catholic church, the Methodist church, the Orthodox church, the Lutheran church, and so forth. Moreover, even those modifiers can themselves be modified: the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, the Lutheran Church of America, the American Lutheran Church, and so forth.

There are many churches, but one body of Christ. Within the community of churches, however, there is one church that alone embodies and manifests all the institutional elements necessary for the integrity of the whole body. In Catholic doctrine and theology, that one church is the Catholic church. As ecumenical as the Second Vatican Council certainly was, it did not retreat from this fundamental Catholic conviction:

> They are fully incorporated into the society of the Church who, possessing the Spirit of Christ, accept her entire system and all the means of salvation given to her, and through union with her visible structure are joined to Christ, who rules her through the Supreme Pontiff and the Bishops. This joining is effected by the bonds of professed faith, of the sacraments, of ecclesiastical government, and of communion. (Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, no. 14)

Since Vatican II, however, much has happened to suggest that the traditional lines of distinction have been blurred. It is more evident now that, in spite of the distinctiveness of the Catholic claims for the papal office, Catholic identity is rooted in much broader and richer theological values. Specifically, there is a configuration of characteristics within Catholicism that is not duplicated anywhere else in the community of Christian churches. This configuration of characteristics is expressed in Catholicism's systematic theology; its body of doctrines; its liturgical life, especially its Eucharist; its variety of spiritualities; its religious congregations and lay apostolates; its official teachings on justice, peace, and human rights; its exercise of collegiality; and, to be sure, its Petrine ministry.

Roman Catholicism is distinguished from other Christian traditions and churches in its understanding of, commitment to, and exercise of the principles of sacramentality, mediation, and communion. Differences between Catholic and non-Catholic (especially Protestant) approaches become clearer when measured according to these three principles.

Sacramentality. In its classical (Augustinian) meaning, a sacrament is a visible sign of an invisible grace. Paul VI provided a more contemporary definition: "a reality imbued with the hidden presence of God." A sacramental perspective is one that "sees" the divine in the human, the infinite in the finite, the spiritual in the material, the transcendent in the immanent, the eternal in the historical. Over against this sacramental vision is the view, strengthened by memories of past excesses in the sacramental vision, that God is so "totally other" that the divine reality can never be identified with the human, the transcendent with the immanent, the eternal with the historical, and so forth. The abiding Protestant fear is that Catholics take the sacramental principle to a point just short of, if not fully immersed in, idolatry.

The Catholic sacramental vision "sees" God in and through all things: other people, communities, movements, events, places, objects, the world at large, the whole cosmos. The visible, the tangible, the finite, the historical—all these are actual or potential carriers of the divine presence. Indeed, for the Catholic, it is only in and through these material realities that we can even encounter the invisible God. The great sacrament of our encounter with God, and of God's encounter with us, is Jesus Christ. The church, in turn, is the key sacrament of our encounter with Christ, and of Christ with us; and the sacraments, in turn, are the signs and instruments by which that ecclesial encounter with Christ is expressed, celebrated, and made effective for the glory of God and the salvation of men and women.

The Catholic, therefore, insists that grace (the divine presence) actually enters into and transforms nature (human life in its fullest context). The dichotomy between nature and grace is eliminated. Human existence is already graced existence. There is no merely natural end of human existence, with a supernatural end imposed from above. Human existence in its natural, historical condition is radically oriented toward God. The history of the world is, at the same time, the history of salvation.

This means, for the Catholic, that authentic human progress and the struggle for justice, peace, freedom, human rights, and so forth, is part of the movement of and toward the kingdom of God (Vatican Council II, Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, no. 39). The Catholic, unlike Luther, espouses no doctrine of the two kingdoms. The vast body of Catholic social doctrine, from Leo XIII in 1891 to John Paul II a century later, is as characteristic of Catholic Christianity as any element can be. In virtue of the sacramental principle, Catholics affirm that God is indeed present to all human life and to history. To be involved in the transformation of the world is to be collaboratively involved in God's own revolutionary and transforming activity.

For the Catholic, the world is essentially good, though fallen, because it comes from the creative hand of God. And for the Catholic, the world, although fallen, is redeemable because of the redemptive work of God in Jesus Christ. And for the Catholic, the world, although fractured and fragmented, is capable of ultimate unity because of the abiding presence of the Holy Spirit, who is the "first fruits" of the final kingdom of God.

Mediation. A kind of corollary of the principle of sacramentality is the principle of mediation. A sacrament not only signifies; it also causes what it signifies. Indeed, as the Council of Trent officially taught, sacraments cause grace precisely insofar as they signify it. If the church, therefore, is not a credible sign of God's and Christ's presence in the world, if the church is not obviously the "temple of the Holy Spirit," it cannot achieve its missionary purposes. It "causes" grace (i. e., effectively moves the world toward its final destiny in the kingdom of God) to the extent that it signifies the reality toward which it presumes to direct the world.

On the other hand, sacraments are not only signs of faith, as Protestants affirmed at the time of the Reformation. For the Catholic, God is not only present in the sacramental action; God actually achieves something in and through that action. Thus, created realities not only contain, reflect, or embody the presence of God, they also make that presence effective for those who avail themselves of these realities. Encounter with God does not occur solely in the inwardness of conscience or in the inner recesses of consciousness. Catholicism holds, on the contrary, that the encounter with God is a mediated experience, rooted in the historical and affirmed as real by the critical judgment that God is truly present and active here or there, in this event or that, in this person or that, in this object or that.

Again, the Protestant raises a word of caution. Just as the principle of sacramentality edges close to the brink of idolatry, so the principle of mediation moves one along the path toward magic. Just as there has been evidence of idolatry in some Roman Catholic piety, so there has been evidence of a magical view of the divine-human encounter in certain forms of Catholic devotional life. Some Catholics have assumed that if a certain practice were performed a given number of times in an unbroken sequence, their salvation would be guaranteed. A magical worldview, of course, is not a solely Catholic problem, but it is an inherent risk in Catholicism's constant stress on the principle of mediation.

Catholicism's commitment to the principle of mediation is evident, for example, in the importance it has always placed on the ordained ministry of the priest. God's dealings with us are not arbitrary or haphazard. God is present to all and works on behalf of all, but there are also moments and actions wherein God's presence is specially focused. The function of the priest, as mediator, is not to limit the encounter between God and the human person but to focus it more clearly for the sake of the person, and ultimately for the community at large.

The principle of mediation also explains Catholicism's historic emphasis on the place of Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ. The Catholic accepts the role of Mary in salvation on the same ground that the Catholic accepts the role of Jesus Christ. God is present in, and redemptively works through, the humanity of Jesus. This is the principle of mediation in its classic expression. The Catholic understands that the invisible, spiritual God is present and available to us through the visible and the material, and that these are made holy by reason of that divine presence. The Catholic, therefore, readily engages in the veneration (not worship) of Mary, not because Catholicism perceives Mary as some kind of goddess or supercreature or rival of the Lord himself, but because she is a symbol or image of God. It is the God who is present in her and who fills her whole being that the Catholic grasps in the act of venerating yet another "sacrament" of the divine.

Communion. Finally, Catholicism affirms the principle of communion: the human way to God, and God's way to humankind, is not only a mediated but a communal way. Even when the divine-human encounter is most personal and individual, it is still communal, in that the encounter is made possible by the mediation of a community of faith. Thus there is not simply an individual personal relationship with God or Jesus Christ that is established and sustained by meditative reflection on sacred scripture, for the Bible itself is the church's book and the testimony of the church's original faith. There is no relationship with God, however intense, profound, or unique, that dispenses entirely with the communal context of every relationship with God.

And this is why, for Catholicism, the mystery of the church has always had so significant a place in its theology, doctrine, pastoral practice, moral vision, and devotion. Catholics have always emphasized the place of the church as the sacrament of Christ, which mediates salvation through sacraments, ministries, and other institutional elements and forms, and as the communion of saints and the people of God. It is here, at the point of Catholicism's understanding of itself as church, that one comes to the heart of the distinctively Catholic understanding and practice of Christian faith. For here, in Catholic ecclesiology, one finds the convergence of those three principles that have always been so characteristic of Catholicism: sacramentality, mediation, and communion.

The Protestant again raises a word of caution. If one emphasizes too much the principle of communion, do we not endanger the freedom of individuals? If sacramentality can lead to idolatry, and mediation to magic, the principle of communion can lead to a collectivism that suppresses individuality, and an authoritarianism that suppresses freedom of thought.

But stress on the individual also has its inherent weakness, just as there are inherent weaknesses in the historic Protestant insistences on the otherness of God (over against the Catholic sacramental principle) and on the immediacy of the divine-human encounter (over against the Catholic principle of mediation). Some important Protestant theologians like Paul Tillich and Langdon Gilkey have come to acknowledge these inherent problems in Protestantism and the corresponding truth of the Catholic sacramental vision. According to Gilkey, the Catholic principle of symbol or sacramentality "may provide the best entrance into a new synthesis of the Christian tradition with the vitalities as well as the relativities of contemporary existence" (Gilkey, 1975, p. 22).

THEOLOGY AND DOCTRINE. The principles of sacramentality, mediation, and communion frame Catholic thinking and teaching about every significant theological question. The following is not an exhaustive list, and some overlapping with the above discussion is inevitable.

Revelation and faith. Catholics share with other Christians the conviction that God has somehow communicated with humankind in the history of Israel; supremely in Jesus Christ, the Son of God; then through the apostles and evangelists; and, in a different way, through nature, human events, and personal relationships. Some Roman Catholics have tended to restrict revelation to the teachings of the church, just as some Protestants have tended to limit revelation to the Bible. But fundamentally, all Christians, conservative and liberal alike, are united in the belief that Jesus Christ, as both person and event, provides the fullest disclosure of God. Christian faith is the acceptance of Jesus Christ as the Lord and Savior of the world and as the great sacrament of God's presence among us.

Roman Catholics, however, have always been insistent that such faith is reasonable, not arbitrary or blind. The First Vatican Council (1869–1870) taught that faith is "consonant with reason." Roman Catholics, therefore, exclude fideism, on the one hand, and rationalism, on the other. Faith is neither beyond intellectual support nor fully open to intellectual scrutiny. It is neither rational nor irrational. It is reasonable. That is, we can identify solid motives for believing, and we can show that one need not surrender intellectual integrity in order to be a Christian.

The most celebrated Roman Catholic exponent and practitioner of this view has been Thomas Aquinas. For centuries Thomism and Catholicism have been identified in many minds. Accordingly, some Protestants have thought that Catholics are too analytical and too rational about their faith. And some Catholics have assumed that the "truth" of Roman Catholic claims is so demonstrably clear that any open-minded person would have to accept them once he or she examined the "evidence."

While Roman Catholic apologetics has moved away from its earlier rational, almost rationalistic, orientation, it remains committed to the notion that Christian faith does have a "content," that it is, for example, more than the personal acceptance of Jesus Christ or a feeling of absolute dependence upon God.

Creation and original sin. Roman Catholics adhere to the ancient Christian creeds, which professed their belief in one God, the Almighty Creator, who made the heavens and the earth, and all things visible and invisible. And they adhere as well to the later councils of the church, which added that God freely created the world from nothing at the beginning of time in order to share his own goodness, to manifest his own glory, and to sanctify humankind. Jesus Christ is not only the head of the whole human race but also is himself the summit of all creation. He is the Second Adam through whom all else came into being (*Col.* 1:15). Because of their understanding of creation, Roman Catholics have always had an essentially positive attitude toward the world.

But the specific origins of men and women have posed a more thorny problem. The councils of the church (specifically Lateran IV in 1215 and Vatican I in 1869–1870) had taught that all people owe their existence to the creative action of God. Although humankind was specially favored by God in the beginning, we sinned and thereby suffered both physical and spiritual losses (Council of Trent, 1545–1563). But how exactly did this original sin occur, and who "committed" it? Present Catholic scholarship, both biblical and theological, argues that there is no necessary connection between monogenism (the theory that the whole human race sprang from one set of parents) and the integrity of Catholic doctrine. What is clearly maintained is that humankind comes from the creative hand of God. This creative action, however, could have been an evolutionary process just as likely as a one-time event. And so, too, the entrance of human sin could have been evolutionary in character. Some would argue, therefore, that sin gradually spread through the human race until it became truly universal in the sin that was the rejection of Christ. But there are problems with this view, and many Catholic theologians continue to insist that the original sin be traced to a primal fault that immediately affected the entire race.

Nonetheless, original sin has a meaning that goes beyond the personal decisions of Adam and Eve. It is the state in which all people are born precisely because they are members of the human race. As such, we are situated in a sinful history that affects our capacity to love God above all and to become the kind of people God destined us to be. What is important to remember, Catholics insist, is that we came forth from the hand of God essentially good, not essentially evil. Sin has rendered our condition ambiguous, at best and at worst. Unlike some Protestants, Roman Catholics have been less inclined to paint the human scene in dark and ominous colors, several examples to the contrary notwithstanding. Humankind is redeemable because men and women are radically good.

Nature and grace. The question of grace raises one of the sharpest issues that have historically divided Protestant from Roman Catholic. How is humankind justified and eventually saved? By our own efforts? By God's alone? Or by a combination of both? Appearances to the contrary, Roman Catholics have never endorsed the view that people are saved by their own power. That position, known as Pelagianism, has been condemned consistently by the councils of the church, especially by Trent, and by Augustine in particular. Catholics, however, regard the second view as equally objectionable, namely, that human beings contribute nothing at all to salvation, because it is so totally the work of God. Such a belief, Catholics have always argued, undermines human freedom and human responsibility and encourages a passive, quietist approach to the Christian life. We are saved neither by faith alone nor by works alone, but by a living faith that overflows in works befitting a "new creature" in Christ (*Gal.* 6:15).

To be in the state of grace means to be open to the presence of God, and of the Holy Spirit in particular. This indwelling of the Spirit really transforms us. Our sins are not merely "covered over." They are obliterated by an act of divine forgiveness and generosity, on the sole condition that we are truly sorry for having offended God in the first place. The graced person is still liable to sin, of course, and so in this sense he or she may be said to be both just and sinful (*simul iustus et peccator*). But that gives a different meaning to the expression than some of the reformers assigned it. They would have been less prepared than Catholics to stress the internal transformation by grace.

Jesus Christ and redemption. Roman Catholics share with other Christians the central conviction of Christian faith that Jesus of Nazareth is the Lord of history (*Phil.* 2:5–11), that he was crucified for our sins, was raised from the dead on the third day, was exalted as Lord of all, is present to history now in and through the church.

Jesus Christ is both human and divine in nature, yet one person. "Born of a woman" (*Gal.* 4:4), he is like us in all things save sin (*Heb.* 4:15). At the same time, he is of the very being of God, Son of the Father, the light of God in the world. He is, in the words of the Second Vatican Council, "the key, the focal point, and the goal of all human history" (Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, no. 10).

While Roman Catholic piety has often emphasized the divinity of Christ at the expense of the humanity ("God" died on the cross; "God" dwells in the tabernacle, etc.), Roman Catholics have sometimes suspected some Protestants of reversing the emphasis in favor of Jesus' humanity. Whatever the exaggerations on either side of the Reformation divide, official Roman Catholic doctrine has always maintained a balance, without confusion, between the human and divine natures.

Roman Catholics believe, of course, in the centrality and absolute necessity of Jesus Christ for personal salvation and the salvation of all the world, but they do not believe that one must be an explicit Christian, confessing the lordship of Jesus, before one can be saved. People of good will who lead exemplary lives are just as likely to enter the heavenly banquet as professed Christians. Catholics have called this "baptism by desire." Conversely, Roman Catholics also acknowledge that professed Christians can be damned, their fervent appeal to the lordship of Jesus notwithstanding. "Not everyone who says to me, 'Lord, Lord,' shall enter the kingdom of heaven, but he who does the will of my Father who is in heaven" (*Mt.* 7:21).

Neither do Roman Catholics readily identify with the evangelical Protestant stress on the propitiatory nature of the crucifixion of Jesus, even though this view has durable roots in history, particularly in the writings of Anselm of Canterbury (d. 1109). Jesus did not die in order to pay off a debt coldly demanded by his Father. He was executed because his person and his message were threatening to the political and religious establishments of his day. By accepting death, he demonstrated that love and freedom are more powerful than apathy and fear. The crucifixion was the will of God in the sense that God wills the personal fulfillment of every man and woman, and specifically God willed that Jesus should confront and challenge the network of sin in human society even though such a confrontation and challenge would surely polarize all the forces of sin against him.

In any case, for Catholics the redemption was accomplished by the whole paschal mystery, that is, Christ's passing over to his Father through a life of suffering servanthood, his obedient death on the cross, and his resurrection, ascension, and exaltation at the right hand of God. The redemptive act is not limited to the crucifixion alone.

Holy Spirit and Trinity. The Holy Spirit is God's self-communication as love and as the power of healing, reconciliation, and new life. The divinity of the Holy Spirit was defined by the First Council of Constantinople in 381. The Spirit has the same divine essence as the Father and the Son and yet is distinct from them both. Within the Trinity, the Spirit proceeds from the Father *through* the Son. Despite the bitter East-West dispute on this point, the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–1440) did allow for the preposition "through" as a legitimate alternative to the preferred conjunction "and." The God who created us, who sustains us, who will judge us, and who will give us eternal life is not a God infinitely removed from us (i. e., God the Father). On the contrary, God is a God of absolute proximity: a God who is communicated truly in the flesh, in history, within the human family (i. e., God the Son), and a God who is present in the spiritual depths of human existence as well as in the core of unfolding human history, as the source of enlightenment and community (i. e., God the Holy Spirit). The mystery and doctrine of the Trinity is the beginning, the end, and the center of all Christian and, therefore, all Catholic theology.

Mary. Whatever the popular exaggerations in the past, Roman Catholic doctrine does not say that Mary is coequal with Christ. However, she is the mother of Jesus, and her motherhood is what roots Christ in our humanity. Indeed, Mary's name was involved in the earliest christological controversies. If Jesus was not divine, then of course it would have been wrong to call her the Mother of God. But the Council of Ephesus condemned the Nestorians in 431, and Mary was proclaimed *theotokos* (Mother of God)—which effectively meant that Jesus was proclaimed as true God as well as true man.

Controversy has continued to surround Mary, especially since the middle of the nineteenth century: first in 1854 with the promulgation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception (that she was conceived without original sin), then in 1950 with the dogma of the Assumption (that she was taken up bodily into heaven after her death). Mary has also been called the Mediatrix of all graces (i. e., by the will of Christ, all the grace he earned for us is channeled through her), co-Redemptrix (i. e., she shares somehow in the redemptive work of her Son, without prejudice to the supreme saving power of his own death and resurrection), and Mother of the church (i. e., she has a certain priority in the church, as chief among the saints, and is the prototype of the church, a sign of the church's call to obedience and fidelity to God's word). Controversy has been rekindled, too, in the matter of the Virgin Birth (i. e., Mary conceived Jesus by the power of the Holy Spirit alone, without benefit of a human partner), while reports of Marian appearances in Guadalupe (1531), Lourdes (1858), and Fatima (1917) have generated both skepticism and fervor.

Devotion to Mary is a characteristically Catholic phenomenon in that it expresses the three fundamental principles of Catholic theology and practice:

1. The principle of sacramentality, which affirms that the invisible and spiritual God is present through the visible and the material, and that these are in turn made holy by that presence. This includes Mary, in whom God is very specially present.
2. The principle of mediation, which affirms that grace is a mediated reality, first through Christ and secondarily through the church and other human instruments, including Mary.
3. The principle of communion, which affirms that the saving encounter with God occurs not only personally and individually but also corporately and ecclesially. To be in the church, that is, to be in communion with other Christians, is to be in and with Christ. Mary is the preeminent member of this communion of saints. Our unity with her is an expression of our unity in and with Christ.

Church, kingdom of God, and sacraments. For the Catholic, the church is the whole body, or congregation, of persons who are called by God the Father to acknowledge the lordship of Jesus, the Son, in word, in sacrament, in witness, and in service, and, through the power of the Holy Spirit, to collaborate with Jesus' historic mission for the sake of the kingdom of God. The mission of the church, as also Jesus' mission, is focused on the kingdom of God. By kingdom of God is meant the redemptive presence of God actualized through the power of God's reconciling Spirit. Literally, the kingdom of God is the reign, or rule, of God. The kingdom happens whenever and wherever the will of God is fulfilled, for God rules where God's will is at work. And since God's will is applicable to the cosmos, to nature, to objects, to history, to institutions, to groups as well as overarching as the claims and scope of the divine will itself.

The mission of the church is unintelligible apart from the kingdom of God. The church is called, first, to proclaim in word and in sacrament the definitive arrival of the kingdom of God in Jesus of Nazareth; second, to offer itself as a test case or sign of its own proclamation, that is, to be a people transformed by the Holy Spirit into a community of faith, hope, love, freedom, and truthfulness; and third, to enable and facilitate the coming of the reign of God through service within the community of faith and in the world at large.

For the Catholic, the church does God's work because God is present and at work within it. To speak of the church as the presence and instrument of God is to speak of it sacramentally. Just as Christ is the sacrament of God, so the church is the sacrament of Christ. Because the church is a sacrament, it acts sacramentally. In the course of its history, the Catholic church has identified seven specific acts as sacraments in the strictest sense of the term: baptism, confirmation, and Eucharist (which together constitute the rite of Christian initiation), and marriage, holy orders, reconciliation (or penance), and the anointing of the sick. The sacraments, individually and collectively, are signs of faith, causes of grace, acts of worship, and signs and instruments of the unity of the church and of Christ's presence in the world.

The relationship between sign and cause, however, has provoked the most serious sacramental controversy, particularly at the time of the Reformation. The Council of Trent rejected two extreme notions of causality: the one that reduced sacraments to magical actions, and the other that robbed sacraments of their inner spiritual reality and efficacy. The sacraments cause grace, not because of the faith of the recipient but because of the working of God within the sacraments themselves (*ex opere operato*). On the other hand, God does not force the human will. Faithfully reflecting the teaching of Thomas Aquinas, the Council of Trent recognized that the recipient must have the right disposition if the sacrament is to be spiritually fruitful: interior conversion, faith, and devotion. Finally, the validity of a sacrament does not depend on the holiness of the minister, although some sacraments can be validly celebrated only by certain authorized ministers (bishops in the case of holy orders; bishops and delegated priests in the case of confirmation; priests in the case of the Eucharist, the anointing of the sick, and penance; priests and deacons in the case of the sacrament of marriage, which the couple themselves administer to each other; and a priest or deacon in the case of baptism, although in principle anyone can administer baptism.

Catholic morality. For Catholicism, morality is a matter of thinking and acting in accordance with the person and the community one has become in Christ. It is therefore a matter not only of obeying the rules but also of being faithful to the spirit as well as to the letter of the gospel. Since human agents are free to accept or reject Christ and his gospel, Catholicism contends with the reality of sin. But the church's moral vision and its approach to the moral demands of Christian life are qualified always by its confidence in the power of grace and by its readiness to expect and understand the weaknesses and failures rooted in original sin. And so Catholicism is a moral universe of laws but also dispensations, of rules but also exceptions, of respect for authority but also freedom of conscience, of high ideals but also minimal requirements, of penalties but also indulgences, of censures and excommunications but also absolution and reconciliation.

Catholic morality, therefore, is characterized by a both/and rather than an either/or approach. It is not nature *or* grace, but graced nature; not reason *or* faith, but reason illumined by faith; not law *or* gospel, but law inspired by the gospel; not scripture *or* tradition, but normative tradition within scripture; not faith *or* works, but faith issuing in works and works as expressions of faith; not authority *or* freedom, but authority in the service of freedom; not the past *versus* the present, but the present in continuity with the past; not stability *or* change, but change in fidelity to stable principle, and principle fashioned and refined in response to change; not unity *or* diversity, but unity in diversity, and diversity that prevents uniformity, the antithesis of unity.

This both/and approach to morality also explains the so-called seamless-garment approach of U. S. Catholic bishops to contemporary issues such as nuclear warfare, capital punishment, aid to the handicapped, abortion, human rights, and the like. And the Catholic church's beliefs about the universality of grace and the capacity of all persons, Catholic or not, to come to an understanding of the law of God written in every human heart (*Rom.* 2:15) explains its conviction that Catholic moral teachings about such matters as nuclear warfare and abortion are also universally applicable, and not restricted to Catholics alone.

The last things. Catholic teaching and belief about life after death applies to individuals, the church, and the human community as a whole. Everyone and everything is destined for the kingdom of God, but there is no guarantee of universal salvation. The separation of the sheep and the goats (*Mt.* 25) will occur at both the general judgment (i. e., at the end of human history) and at the particular judgment (i. e., at the end of each individual's life). Some will join God forever in heaven; some may be separated eternally from God in hell; others may find themselves in a state of merely natural happiness in limbo; and others will suffer in purgatory some temporary "punishment" still required of sins that have already been forgiven. Such "punishments" can be partially or fully remitted through the application of indulgences.

Each individual is destined for the beatific vision (heaven, eternal life) and the resurrection of the body. Purgatory is an intermediate state between heaven and hell, reserved for those who, at the moment of death, are not yet ready to see God "face to face" (*1 Cor.* 13:12). Catholic tradition holds that it is possible for the living (the church militant) spiritually to aid "the souls in purgatory" (the church suffering). All members of the church, living and dead, are bound together as a communion of saints. Just as the prayers of the living may benefit those in purgatory, so the prayers of the saints in heaven (the church triumphant) may benefit those on earth who make intercession to them.

Although the church has defined that certain persons are in heaven (canonized saints), it has never defined that anyone is actually in hell. Thus, a Catholic is required to believe in hell as a real possibility for those who utterly reject the grace of God, but the Catholic is not required to believe that anyone has actually been consigned to hell. The destiny of the unbaptized infant or young child, on the other hand, has, since the Middle Ages, been linked with a state called limbo, a condition of "natural happiness," where the individual is free of punishment but deprived of the vision of God. However, belief in limbo and teaching about limbo has declined as the hope of universal salvation has gradually increased since the Second Vatican Council.

POLITY. According to its own official teachings, the Roman Catholic church is neither a monarchy nor an oligarchy nor a democracy. Its governance is of a unique kind because the church has a "unique essence" (Rahner and Ratzinger, *The Episcopate and the Primacy*, 1962, p. 33). The universal church is a college of local churches. The supreme jurisdictional power of this universal church is vested at one and the same time in the pope and in an ecumenical council, over which the pope presides and of which he too is a member. Indeed, the universal church is itself a kind of ecumenical council convoked by some human agent (today the pope, in the past popes and emperors alike). The papacy is the highest pastoral office in the Roman Catholic church because of the pope's status as bishop of the diocese of Rome. As such, he is head of the college of bishops, and is called the Vicar of Christ (more accurately, the Vicar of Peter) and pastor of the universal church on earth.

According to the legal tradition of the Roman Catholic church, however, the church seems closer to an absolute monarchy. The Code of Canon Law accords the pope "supreme, full, immediate and universal ordinary power in the Church, which he can always freely exercise" (canon 331). Therefore, there is "neither appeal nor recourse against a decision or decree of the Roman Pontiff" (canon 333, no. 3). The only way a pope can lose such authority is through death or resignation.

Just as the universal church is composed of an international college of local churches, so the universality of the church is expressed through the collegial relationship of the bishops, one to another. The bishop of Rome serves as the head and center of this collegial network. Even the Code of Canon Law of the Roman Catholic church acknowledges that the church is not a strict monarchy, for the college of bishops, which always includes the pope, "is also the subject of supreme and full power over the universal Church" (canon 336), a power that it exercises solemnly in an ecumenical council. Bishops also participate in the governance of the church through synods. A synod of bishops is a group of bishops who have been chosen from the different regions of the world to discuss matters of general interest to the church and to make recommendations for pastoral action. Since the Second Vatican Council, international synods of bishops have met in Rome every two, and then every three, years. An extraordinary synod of bishops was called by John Paul II in 1985.

The college of cardinals constitutes a special college of bishops within the larger episcopal college. There were lay cardinals until 1918, when the Code of Canon Law specified that all cardinals must be priests. Pope John XXIII decreed in 1962 that all cardinals must be bishops. The responsibility of the college of cardinals is to provide for the election of a new pope and to advise the pope when and if he seeks its counsel on matters pertaining to the governance of the universal church. In its present form, the college of cardinals dates from the twelfth century. Earlier the title had been bestowed on deacons and priests of the leading churches of Rome and on bishops of neighboring dioceses. The title was limited, however, to members of the college in 1567. The number of cardinals was set at seventy in 1586 by Sixtus V, and that limit remained in force until the pontificate of John XXIII, who gradually increased it. Paul VI limited the number of cardinals eligible to vote in papal elections to 120.

The Curia Romana is the administrative arm of the papacy. It consists of the Secretariat of State, the Council for the Public Affairs of the Church, and various congregations, tribunals, and other institutions, whose structure and competency are defined in special law. There are ten congregations (Doctrine of the Faith, Oriental Churches, Bishops, Discipline of the Sacraments, Divine Worship, Causes of Saints, Clergy, Religious and Secular Institutes, Catholic Education, and the Evangelization of Peoples, or Propagation of the Faith); three tribunals (Sacred Apostolic Penitentiary, Apostolic Signatura, and the Sacred Roman Rota); three secretariats (one for Christian Unity, one for Non-Christians, and one for Non-Believers); and a complex of commissions, councils, and offices, which administer church affairs at the central executive level (e.g., Theological Commission, Council of the Laity, and Central Statistics Office). The terms *apostolic see* or *holy see* apply not only to the pope but also to the Secretariat of State, the Council for the Public Affairs of the Church, and other institutions of the Curia.

The Code of Canon Law also stipulates that the pope "possesses the innate and independent right to nominate, send, transfer and recall his own legates to particular churches in various nations or regions, to states and to public authorities; the norms of international law are to be observed concerning the sending and the recalling of legates appointed to states" (canon 362). These legates are usually called nuncios and have ambassadorial rank. Those without full ambassadorial rank are called apostolic delegates.

The polity of the Roman Catholic church is not limited to the organizational structure and operation of its Rome base. In Eastern-rite churches that are in union with the Holy See, there are patriarchs and patriarchates that have "existed in the Church from the earliest times and [were] recognized by the first ecumenical synods" (Vatican Council II, Decree on Eastern Catholic Churches, no. 7). A patriarch is a bishop who has jurisdiction over all bishops, clergy, and people of his own territory or rite. "The Patriarchs with their synods constitute the superior authority for all affairs of the patriarchate, including the right to establish new eparchies [dioceses] and to nominate bishops of their rite within the territorial bounds of the patriarchate, without prejudice to the inalienable right of the Roman Pontiff to intervene in individual cases" (no. 9).

At the diocesan level there are bishops, auxiliary bishops, vicars general, chancellors, marriage courts, diocesan pastoral councils, and the like. At the parish level there are pastors, associate pastors, pastoral ministers, extraordinary ministers of the Eucharist, parish councils, and the like. The Second Vatican Council substantially expanded the participation of the laity in the governance of the church, particularly through its teaching that the church is the people of God (Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, nos. 30–33).

SPIRITUALITY AND ETHOS. As the name itself suggests, Catholicism is characterized by a radical openness to all truth and to every authentic human and spiritual value. One finds in it, in varying degrees, all the theological, doctrinal, spiritual, liturgical, canonical, structural, and social diversity and richness that are constitutive of Christianity as a whole. Catholicism is the very antithesis of a sect, and it is not inextricably linked with the culture of a particular nation or region of the world. It is in principle as Asian as it is European, as Slavic as it is Latin, as Mexican as it is Nigerian, as Irish as it is Polish.

There is no list of Catholic fathers or mothers that does not include the great figures of the period before as well as after the division of East and West and the divisions within the West. Gregory of Nyssa is as much a Catholic father as is Augustine or Thomas Aquinas. Nor are there schools of theology that Catholicism excludes. Catholicism embraces Ignatius of Antioch and Clement of Alexandria, Athanasius and Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nazianzus and Augustine of Hippo, Anselm of Canterbury and Bernard of Clairvaux, Abelard and Hugh of Saint Victor, Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure, Roberto Bellarmino and Johann Adam Möhler, Karl Rahner and Charles Journet, as well as John and Luke, Peter and Paul. Nor are there spiritualities that Catholicism excludes. It is open to *The Cloud of Unknowing* and the *Introduction to the Devout Life*, to the way of Francis of Assisi and that of Antony of Egypt, to Ignatius Loyola and John of the Cross, to Abbott Marmion and Thomas Merton, to Catherine of Siena and Dorothy Day, to Teresa of Ávila and Mother Teresa.

Catholicism is not just a collection of beliefs and practices but a community of persons. Catholicism is, and has been, composed of martyrs and ascetics, pilgrims and warriors, mystics and theologians, artists and humanists, activists and outsiders, pastors and saints. Catholicism is in Dante Alighieri, Michelangelo Buonarroti, Blaise Pascal, Erasmus, Joan of Arc, Julian of Norwich, Thomas More, Thérèse of Lisieux, and many others. "The splendour of saints, the glory of cathedrals, the courage of reformers, the strangeness of myth and marvel, the soaring ecstasies of mystics and the sorrows of the poor—all these are the home of the Catholic enterprise" (Haughton, 1979, p. 249).

SEE ALSO Apostles; Atonement; Baptism; Biblical Literature, article on New Testament; Basilica, Cathedral, and Church; Canon; Christian Ethics; Christianity; Christian Liturgical Year; Church, article on Church Polity; Cistercians; Constantinianism; Councils, article on Christian Councils; Creeds, article on Christian Creeds; Cult of Saints; Death; Dominicans; Eucharist; Evil; Fall, The; Franciscans; Gallicanism; Grace; Heresy, article on Christian Concepts; Humanism; Iconography, article on Christian Iconography; Incarnation; Jesuits; Jesus; Kingdom of God; Mary; Merit, article on Christian Concepts; Ministry; Missions, article on Christian Missions; Modernism, article on Christian Modernism; Monasticism, article on Christian Monasticism; Music, article on Religious Music in the West; Papacy; Peter the Apostle; Pilgrimage, articles on Roman Catholic Pilgrimage in Europe and Roman Catholic Pilgrimage in the New World; Priesthood, article on Christian Priesthood; Redemption; Reformation; Religious Communities, article on Christian Religious Orders; Sacrament, article on Christian Sacraments; Schism, article on Christian Schism; Scholasticism; Sin and Guilt; Trent, Council of; Trinity; Ultramontanism; Vatican Councils, article on Vatican II; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Christian Worship.

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RICHARD P. MCBRIEN (1987)

ROMAN CATHOLICISM [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS] A significant theme recurs in Roman Catholic studies at the turn of the twenty-first century: before nominally indicating a church or adjectivally describing a belief, Roman Catholicism denotes action. It is what people do with spiritual sensibilities redolent of the Christian God and tutored in traditions of Roman Catholic memory. Terrence Tilley's 2000 study of Roman Catholicism as a religious tradition is representative, illustrating Roman Catholicism as the *act* of handing something on (*traditio)* as much as the *things (tradita) passed down.*

This focus on human action belies the oversimplified image of Roman Catholicism as a hierarchical, authoritarian church of immutable beliefs and acquiescent believers. It reveals a much more complex phenomenon: a church hierarchical in form, yet materially diverse in its religious actions and insights. Roman Catholics variably control and contest the practice of their religious sensibilities; practices formed as much by aesthetic sensibilities as by dogmatic pronouncement. What emerges from this scholarship is a Christianity not reckoned by a plurality, but expressive of a surprising pluralism. Sociologists of religion such as Kevin Christiano strike a common note: "many people—not excluding Catholics themselves—think that the Catholic Church is unitary in addition to universal, monolithic as well as monumental, and immutable as much as it is inimitable. Nothing could be farther [sic] from the truth (2002)."

Attending to what Roman Catholics do, contemporary research mines the everyday world of time and space. Uncovered in such work are previously unrecognized changes in Roman Catholicism over time, as well as locally distinct religious practices shaped by the geographic and social spaces within which Roman Catholics find themselves. Eamon Duffy's 1992 work *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400–c.1580* illustrates this trend. Duffy scrutinizes daily life in late medieval England and discovers lay Roman Catholic religious practices that are surprisingly vibrant and changing. Overturning the standard view of the period, Duffy unearths a popular religiosity that seems scarcely moribund or decadent enough to seed an English Reformation.

Other historical investigations apply this method to spaces beyond the Eurocentric limits of earlier Roman Catholic scholarship. Gauvin Bailey (1999), for example, analyzes art on the Jesuit missions in Asia and South America from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.

Kathleen Myers and Amanda Powell (1999) edit and translate the seventeenth-century journal of Mexican nun Madre María de San Jose. Austen Ivereigh (2000) edits essays on Roman Catholic religious politics in nineteenth-century Central and South America. These and more examinations outside Europe further disclose the variable impact of time and space on lived Roman Catholicism.

Regard for historicity and contextuality also marks present Roman Catholic theology. Ethnically and regionally focused theologies have proliferated, drawing on Roman Catholic behaviors and convictions particular to nearly every region of the world. There are African and Asian Catholic theologies, European-American, Hispanic-American, and African American Catholic theologies, as well as theologies differentiating many national cultures of Central and South America. Robert Schreiter summarizes this development in his 1985 book *Constructing Local Theologies:* "there is now a realization that all theologies have contexts, interests, relationships of power, special concerns—and to pretend that this is not the case is to be blind."

Allied to this fascination with action in time and space is scholarly concentration on Roman Catholic group activity. Between the microscopic level of personal religious practice and the macroscopic level of hierarchical church authority lies a "mesoscopic" layer of group and organizational action. From parish ladies' guilds and food-drive committees, through regional ethnic associations and right-to-life groups, across diocesan social justice offices and marriage preparation conferences, to national lay organizations and Marian devotion assemblies, Roman Catholicism is replete with mesoscopic religious action. In his historical-analytical investigation of this fact, Ad Leys (1995) observes both the practical ubiquity of Roman Catholic group life and the theoretical expression it is given in the social-moral principle of subsidiarity.

Recent explorations attend to important, but previously unexamined, groups and organizations. Especially poignant are studies of women's religious orders, the unheralded creators of vast school, orphanage, poorhouse, hospital, and social service networks around the world since the early nineteenth century. Like the African American Oblate Sisters of Providence described by Diane Batts Morrow (2002), many of these heroic women's groups struggled against not only social discrimination, but also the disregard of their own church leadership. To this day, a push-pull relationship with church authority persists for some women's religious orders. Characteristic of Roman Catholicism, two national organizations of women religious, representing contrasting responses to this relationship, evolved in the United States after the Second Vatican Council (1961–1965): the Leadership Conference of Women Religious and the Council of Major Superiors of Women Religious.

Heightened strain on the quality and funding of public schools at the end of the twentieth century has called attention to another previously neglected mesoscopic organization: the Catholic school. Though many schools have closed and enrollment has declined over the past twenty-five years, the remaining 120,000 Roman Catholic elementary and secondary schools and their fifty million students around the world still play a vital role in many societies. Analysts Anthony Bryk, et al. (1993) and Gerald Grace (2002) are particularly fascinated with the loose federation, relative autonomy, and commitment to inner-city, non-Catholic children that is emblematic of many Roman Catholic schools—organizations ironically nested within their church's centralized, authoritarian structure.

Bryk observes another irony in the operation of Roman Catholic high schools. Teachers and students still grant the (typically lay) Roman Catholic school principal a greater degree of power and deference than is generally given principals in public schools. But today, this vestige of religious order, authoritarian empowerment, is used as much for encouraging parental involvement and local, decentralized school control as for maintaining discipline. From an international perspective, Grace (2003) explains how schools employ this power in relation to church authority, from those that are largely compliant (e.g., in Australia and Ireland), through moderately challenging (e.g., in England, Scotland, and the United States), to boldly resistive (e.g., in Brazil, Chile, and South Africa).

Research on women religious orders and Catholic schools parallels the new scholarly concentration on the parish, the place where the micro-, meso-, and macroscopic levels of religious life intersect for most Roman Catholics. Andrew Greeley captures this reality when he writes that "it is the parish where people do their living and dying, their loving and their quarreling, their doubting and their believing, their mourning and their rejoicing, their worrying and their praying" (1990). James Davidson, et al., communicate the point statistically: 78 percent of parish-affiliated Roman Catholics in the United States consider parishes "very important" organizations, as do 50 percent of those no longer affiliated with a parish (1997).

While a Roman Catholic's sacramental life cycle surely accounts for much of this affiliation, Mark Kowalewski's research offers an additional reason. As a member of a church with largely distant, ostensibly unchanging authority, a lay Roman Catholic's typical contact with approachable and flexible religious leadership is the parish priest. When such person-to-person leadership is effective, Roman Catholics receive help not only in managing their sacramental lives through the upheavals of contemporary economic, familial, and cultural existence, but also in coping with these hard realities on a day-to-day basis. Parish priests, says Kowalewski, are "not simply bearers of the official directives of the organization, they also exercise their ministry in the context of individual pastoral experience—an experience which often calls for compromise and negotiation" (1993).

As they do with school principals, Roman Catholics frequently defer to their parish priests. The common result is a parish milieu mirroring the priest's style of response toward church authority. Today, Roman Catholics worldwide popularly categorize parishes as conservative, liberal, or radical.

In the United States, however, the prerogatives granted to parish priests have come under intense scrutiny, ever since numerous disclosures of clerical sexual abuse of children occurred in the 1980s and subsequent decades. This priest-pedophilia tragedy has been compounded immeasurably by the delinquency of church authority. Schooled in habits of hierarchical, authoritarian arrogance, few bishops initially felt compelled to respond compassionately to the victims of past abuse or to safeguard potential future victims. Instead, their first instincts were to protect predator priests, by reassigning them to other parishes without notice or simply by denying that the abuse ever took place. Not surprisingly, lay Roman Catholics have reacted by creating multiple protest groups. The Voice of the Faithful collaborates with bishops on church reform, while the Survivors' Network of those Abused by Priests (SNAP) is less inclined to participate in such collaboration.

These examples display the plural, mesoscopic ways in which Roman Catholics practice and perceive their everyday religiosity, and how they relate this religiosity to the power and instruction issued from hierarchical church authority. Scholars regularly model this relationship on a conservative, liberal, and radical scale. Mary Jo Weaver and Scott Appleby (1995) add further complexities to this scale. At each point, a Roman Catholic congregation may articulate comparatively "right" and "left" orientations, approaches that are often additionally nuanced by a group's unique regional history.

This complex combination affects the many Roman Catholic groups in the Americas that are devoted to improving society. Responding to prevailing public policies, as well as to church authority, groups on the conservative-right, such as Catholics United for the Faith, exist alongside those on the conservative-left, such as the North American neoconservative movement. Simultaneously, liberal-right groups like the St. Egidio communities work differently from liberal-left organizations such as the social-justice lobby, Network. Added to this mix are radical-right groups, such as those sustaining Dorothy Day's Catholic Worker legacy, and radical-left groups, such as those inspired by the earlier Latin American *comunidades eclesiales de base* movement.

Some Roman Catholics deride this variety as the undesirable byproduct of "cafeteria Catholics"—people who select only those items in Roman Catholicism they like and pass over items they dislike. If this phenomenon did not exist, critics argue, Roman Catholic thought and action would more uniformly replicate the instruction of hierarchical church authority. But as Dean Hoge points out, "Catholicism includes an amazing collection of teachings, symbols, rituals, devotions, and practices, which has grown up over the centuries." Accordingly, it is not transparently obvious to Roman Catholics which elements are core and which are peripheral. "Catholics today are faced with the question," says Hoge, "of sorting out core and periphery in their rich, many-stranded tradition." Hence, "everyone is, to some degree, a cafeteria Catholic" (2002).

This is not a new phenomenon. Thomas Bokenkotter (1998), Marvin Krier Mich (1998), Paul Misner (1991), and others map an analogous range of Roman Catholic dispositions dating as far back as the French Revolution. Eighteenth- and early nineteenth- century conservative Catholics include the autocratic *caudillos* in South America on the right and German romantic traditionalists like Adam Müller on the left. Liberal Catholics can be found supporting Frédéric Ozanam's St. Vincent de Paul societies on the right and Félicité Lamennais' *L'Avenir* republicanism on the left. Similarly, some radical-right Catholics support communitarian experiments inspired by the earlier Jesuit reductions in Paraguay, while other radical-left Catholics embrace Philippe Buchez's Christian socialism.

Frank recognition of Roman Catholic pluralism, past and present, invites assessment of how this compound Christian religiosity sustains itself over time. Drawing on the thought of Félix Guattari, Renée de la Torre offers a "transversalized institution" model. In such institutions, multiple horizontal axes of popular practice intersect a single vertical axis of hierarchical authority. As in Roman Catholicism, this vertical axis of objective law meets multiple, horizontal "group aspirations and strategies which cross it from different points—within and without, above and below." As these lateral activities crisscross the axis of the hierarchical authority, "spaces of conflict that traverse and penetrate the institution" are produced (2002).

In transversalized institutions, therefore, vertical and horizontal axes operate in tensive, but mutually beneficial, ways. This model suggests that Roman Catholicism persists in its formal religious structure and dizzying array of material religiosity by "the continuance, rather than the dissolution, of contradictions" (2002). For de la Torre, Roman Catholicism not only is, but also *must be,* a site of religious contestation.

The functionality of this control-contest interaction can be further elucidated using Paul Connerton's (1989) and Ann Swidler's (2001) investigations of social memory. With its protracted and geographically diffuse history, Roman Catholicism possesses more religious memory than it can express at any given time. By selecting and communicating a manageable portion of this memory, church authorities perform an important control function for a Roman Catholic's religious identity.

But Roman Catholic lay people contribute to corporate identity formation as well. They also select and communicate religious memory, primarily to meet the practical challenges of day-to-day economic, familial, and cultural life. Church authority tutors most, but not all, of this lay religious memory. Some religious memories may include personally and locally cherished practices and perceptions that were never known, long forgotten, or once silenced by church authority. Other memories may recall searing family crises resolved by untutored, customized religious insights unavailable or even contrary to the letter of formal church teaching.

Sometimes, the institutionally unknown, novel, and contested religious memories alive in 98 percent of the Roman Catholic population rejuvenate the 2 percent of Catholics who exercise church authority. Though such memories may first appear divisive to church leaders, often their long-term effect is to lessen, if not prevent, arthritis in the vertical axis.

Thomas Reese's (1989, 1992, 1996) in-depth research on the structures and processes of Roman Catholic church authority indicates that religious *ressourcement* may also originate within the vertical axis itself. Reese tracks the often covert interplay of control and contest among popes, cardinals, and bishops. Though infrequent, inside reform may sometimes be overt, as in Pope John XXIII's 1959 call for an ecumenical council.

Michael McCallion and David Maines (1999) explore intra-institutional transformation in Roman Catholicism by taking up sociological "frame analysis" and social movement research. In particular, they look at change in religious liturgy. Since the Second Vatican Council, a class of professional liturgists has appeared; these practitioners are committed to a relatively egalitarian "People of God" theology inspired by conciliar documents. Through variously inserting this ideological "frame" into patterns of worship, these "oppositional insiders" press against the formally asymmetric relationship between priest and people.

The seemingly impressive power of adaptation detailed in these examinations has not sheltered Roman Catholicism from defection of worshippers, however. Statistical surveys in Europe and the Americas demonstrate that Mass attendance has not noticeably rebounded from the precipitous decline during the 1960s and 1970s. More Roman Catholics have converted to evangelical forms of Protestant Christianity. Fewer young people get married in the Roman Catholic Church, and an even smaller number become priests or nuns. The large population of divorced Roman Catholics typically leaves the church, alienated by what they perceive to be an arcane, duplicitous annulment process.

Disaffection with church authority also registers high in survey research. As more and more people around the world expect and demand operational transparency from the institutions that affect their lives, the procedures of the Roman Catholic hierarchy remain shrouded in secrecy. At a time when official church teaching encourages democratic forms of participation and oversight in worldwide political and cultural institutions, no formal structure allows lay people to check and balance the hierarchical, authoritarian power of their leadership. Coincidentally, these same church leaders use secular rational-legal systems to protect their own clergy—and themselves—from civil lawsuits.

Despite all this, most Roman Catholics stay in their church. Michele Dillon (1999) cites this seeming anomaly in her discussion of women. As profound as the work of women's religious orders has been, nothing matches the contribution women have made to the practical, day-to-day survival of Roman Catholic Christianity. From quietly praying with newborns and herding families to Mass, through organizing liturgies and planning parish fund-raisers, from handing out food baskets and editing church bulletins, to laundering altar linens and making coffee after Mass, women perform most of the practices which preserve everyday, local Roman Catholicism. Yet women continue to be excluded from priestly ordination and are largely prevented from holding positions of decision-making power in parishes and dioceses.

The glue Dillon finds securing women—whether conservative, liberal, or radical—to Roman Catholicism is the rich melange of symbols, stories, devotions, and rituals they claim as their own. When linked to memory, says Dillon in a 1998 book, these traditions remind most women that "their genealogy is entwined with a historically continuous church rather than a history of sectlike divisions. There is a disposition therefore to stay, rather than to leave, and to work towards transformation from within the tradition."

Dillon's observation touches on a growing theme in contemporary Roman Catholic research: the centrality of aesthetic resources for the understanding and exercise of Roman Catholic religiosity. Important to this renewed theological interest in beauty has been the English translations of Hans Urs von Balthasar's five-volume theological aesthetics, *The Glory of the Lord.* Critical too has been increased theological focus on culture. Works such as Roberto S. Goizueta's *Caminemos Con Jesús: Toward a Hispanic/Latino Theology of Accompaniment* (1995) show how attention to aesthetics discloses heretofore hidden theological resources in the cultural practices of the Roman Catholic laity.

Greeley points this out in terms of narrative when he insists that "religion is story before it is anything else and after it is everything else" (2000). Writtings such as John Shea's popular *Stories of Faith* (1980) have highlighted the role narrative plays in Roman Catholic religiosity.

Greeley signals another topic of current exploration when he observes that "religious sensibility is passed on by storytellers, most of whom are not aware that they are telling stories because their narratives reside more in who they are and what they do than in what they say" (2000). Several Roman Catholic investigations today probe the transmission of religiosity through such aesthetic embodiment, correcting for an earlier overemphasis on religious faith as a predominantly cognitive matter. Characteristically, Aidan Nichols comments that "nothing is in the intellect that is not first in the senses" (1996).

Interest in aesthetics and bodily senses has likewise created interest in the role of affectivity in the play of Roman Catholic Christianity. Important advances have been made, for example, in understanding how affections influence the moral life, as William C. Spohn explains in *Go and Do Likewise: Jesus and Ethics* (2000). This focus has also added novel twists to the much-explored field of Roman Catholic sacramentality. In *Extravagant Affections: A Feminist Sacramental Theology* (1998), Susan Ross creatively enjoins these dynamics, inviting one to consider the sacramentality of such actions as giving birth, cooking meals, mediating conflicts, and tending to the sick.

With this attention to Roman Catholicism as action, this overview of Roman Catholic studies returns to where it began. The focus on action in Roman Catholic research has lead scholars in many fresh directions, only a few of which have been outlined here. The overall effect of this quarter century of research has been to heighten appreciation for the rich complexity of Roman Catholicism. As its population center continues to shift from the Northern to the Southern Hemisphere, away from the comforts of middle-class existence to the soul-testing conditions of hunger and disease, the challenges confronting this multifaceted religious community will continue to be great indeed.

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MICHAEL J. SCHUCK (2005)

ROMAN RELIGION

This entry consists of the following articles:

THE EARLY PERIOD
THE IMPERIAL PERIOD

ROMAN RELIGION: THE EARLY PERIOD

HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP. Although Roman religious institutions had been studied earlier (by, for example, Barnabé Brissonius, 1583), the differentiation between Greek and Roman religion within antique “heathendom” or “polytheism” was the work of nineteenth-century scholars. Concentrating on literary sources and on origins as described by ancient historiographers and critically reviewed by contemporary historians, the studies by J. A. Hartung (1836), Rudolph H. Klausen (1839), and J. A. Ambrosch (1839) marked the beginning of a scientific reconstruction of the religion of the city of Rome (and, marginally, of the religions of Italy). Under the impact of the extensive collection of inscriptions and the systematization of Roman law and the Roman "constitution" assembled by Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903), German scholars, especially Georg Wissowa (1859–1931), reconstructed authentic Roman religion as a body of sacral law and conservative ritualism informed by legal conceptions of deities. The Roman calendar, projected into the regal period as a document of early systematization, and the lost "books of the priests" (*libri sacerdotum*), transmitted in occasional antiquarian quotations only, formed the basis of the reconstruction.

Wissowa's handbook (1902/1912), with its detailed account of deities, temples, and rituals, dominated factual research in the twentieth century. Less successful were the more experiential or expressive interpretations of Roman rituals (e.g., Fowler, 1899 and 1911) and the attempts of Hermann Usener's school and James George Frazer to elucidate these rituals by ethnographic comparison, opening classical material to late-nineteenth-century evolutionary schemes (late resonances in Bailey [1932] and Wagenvoort [1947]). Drawing on comparative linguistics and mythology, Georges Dumézil interpreted Roman deities within an Indo-European framework of three basic "functions" (sovereignty, warfare, and agriculture). Dumézil's impact remained limited, but his attention to a mythology present in the guise of Roman historiography re-enlarged the objects of studies.

The quest for origins and "Wesen" (spiritiual substance) led to a neglect of the interaction with Hellenic culture (an important exception was Altheim, 1930), visible already in the archaeology of early Rome (Foro Boario), and with Italian religions that were increasingly subjected to Roman domination and increasingly present in Rome. Thus the reinterpretation of public Roman religion within the framework of a more skeptical and more sociological image of the history of Roman political institutions (see Beard et al., 1998) must be supplemented by intensified research in Italian imagery and architecture (e.g., Wiseman, 1995, 2000; Coarelli, 1987), as well as a new look at late republican literature (e.g., Feeney, 1998; Barchiesi, Rüpke, and Stevens, 2004) and extra-urban inscriptions.

SOURCES. Any attempt at a historical reconstruction of republican Roman religion has to rely on a critical reading of early Augustan historiography (late first century BCE). With a few exceptions (e.g., Plautus's comedies from the early second century BCE, Cato the Elder, some inscriptions), contemporary literary evidence is lacking before the intensively documented first century. The most important antiquarian source, Marcus Terentius Varro (116–27 BCE), is mostly known through quotations from imperial times and late antiquity (Augustine, Servius) only. Although the calendar, including information on many temple foundation days, is known from a wall painting from shortly before the Julian calendar reform in 45 BCE, an extended epigraphical culture did not begin until the reign of Augustus (r. 27 BCE–14 CE). Temple structures and fragments of architectural decor have been excavated, but the archaeological record of altars, reliefs, and statues is entirely dominated by the imperial rebuilding of Rome. However, a unique coinage features individual religious motifs from the late second century BCE onward.

Major advances have been made in locating, documenting, and interpreting new archaeological and epigraphic sources outside Rome. Major findings of votive objects at different sites in Italy allow the reconstruction of the production, usage, local variations, and overarching trends, and help put the Roman material (mostly recovered from the Tiber) into context. Local archaeological research in the Roman colonies and a new edition and commentary on republican laws and statues (Crawford, 1996) have clarified the processes of expansion and Romanization. In addition, new archaeological methods used at excavations at Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri, 1992) and other sites have added to the collections of funerary ware and provided insights into the formation and changes of early Italian pre-urban societies.

A history of Roman religion is impossible for any period before the fifth century BCE, even though the archaeological record attests important religious sites and enables a reconstruction of the history of the early Forum Romanum (an unhesitatingly optimistic stance is taken by Carandini, 1997). Structurally, Rome has to be seen as a Latin city under Etruscan domination, increasingly establishing direct commercial and cultural relationships with (Italian) Greek and Punic cities.

ROMAN AND ITALIAN RELIGION. "Roman religion" is an analytical concept that is used to describe religious phenomena in the ancient city of Rome and to relate the growing variety of cults to the political and social structure of the city. Although Rome gradually became the dominant power in Italy during the third century BCE, as well as the capital of an empire during the second century BCE, its religious institutions and their administrative scope only occasionally extended beyond the city and its nearby surroundings (*ager Romanus*). Nothing is known about the religious structure of the early Roman colonies in Italy. The establishment of towering Capitolia (replicas of the threefold temple on the Roman Capitoline hill, dedicated to Jupiter [*Iuppiter*], Juno [*Iuno*], and Minerva) had no structural necessity, but represented infrequent individual efforts to acquire prestige and demonstrate loyalty. Intense contacts led to manifold processes of exchange, the direction of which could hardly be ascertained. From the second century BCE onward, intense urbanization led municipal elites to the reception of Roman models of administration and representation. The most visible effect of this process was the parallel Hellenization of the cities and townships.

The resulting similarities were due to competition among the cities, as well as adaptation from the cultural centers, including Rome, Athens, and Alexandria. The resulting Mediterranean *koiné* remains an object for further research. The process itself intensified in imperial times. The religious profile of Pompeii during the first centuries BCE and CE is neither Oscan nor Roman, but rather a local variant of Mediterranean polis religion. The pantheon of the Umbrian town of Iguvium contained a grouping of three gods parallel to the Roman Capitoline triad: Iou, Mart, and Vofiono, all bearing the common epithet Grabovio (its meaning is obscure). This similarity between the two pantheons is all the more apparent since *Vofiono* is the exact linguistic equivalent of *Quirinus,* even to its adjectival form *-no-,* derived from a nominal root. Yet the *tabulae Iguvinae,* the Iguvine tablets from the second and first centuries BCE, are not an independent attestation of an Indo-European structure, but rather the religious product of a city with confederate status from the first half of the third century BCE onward. That is not to deny the importance of local and translocal cultures independent of or even superior or opposed to Rome (e.g., the religious conceptions and symbols of the Etruscan elites and the Greeks of Magna Graecia, located to the south of the Volturno River). The Roman solar calendar did not even replace middle Italian and Etruscan lunisolar calendars until the first century BCE. And yet the Iguvine documents in Oscan language use Latin letters in their later section, and they attest an interest in documenting rituals that cannot be separated from the cultural developments of the whole peninsula, subjected to Roman rule.

Basic concepts. The idea of obligation lies at the very root of the Romans' attitude toward the gods, and it is expressed in the word *religio.* If the modern languages of the Western world (both Romance and Germanic) have failed to translate this word and have settled on a simple copy thereof (*religion, religione*), the reason lies in the fact that this idiom is untranslatable. Indeed, in the ancient world there was no Greek equivalent. All the expressions that one can bring to mind by analogy—*sebas* (respect for the gods), *proskunesis* (adoration), *eulabeia* (reverential fear), *threskeia* (cult)—fall far short of filling the semantic range of *religio.* Careful examination shows that the Latins, who were not concerned with philological rigor, connected *religio* more with the verb *religare* (to tie), alluding to the bonds between gods and humans, than with the verb *relegere* (to take up again with care). Such as it is, *religio* expresses a fundamental preoccupation manifested in two complementary ways: the care taken to avoid divine wrath, and the desire to win the benevolence and favor of the gods. It was the Romans' inner conviction that without the accord of the gods they could not succeed in their endeavors. This explains the solemn declaration of Cicero (106–43 BCE) proclaiming the Roman people to be "the most religious in the world" (*De natura deorum* 2.3).

This preoccupation is evident throughout the history of Livy (59 BCE–17 CE). Roman accomplishments rise and fall in complete rhythm with the disfavor or favor evinced by the gods. A revealing example is furnished in the Romans' desperation following the sack of Rome by the Gauls (in 390 BCE by Varronian chronology, but probably, according to a Polybian synchronism, to be dated to 387/6). Overwhelmed, they were nearly resolved to abandon the ruins of their city, at the instigation of their tribunes, in order to emigrate to Veii. It was then that M. Furius Camillus, the predestined leader (*dux fatalis)* and dictator who conquered Veii in 396, and now the restorer of the situation in Rome, lit upon the decisive argument that inspired the mood reversal of the assembly: to abandon Rome, many times endowed with heavenly blessings since its origins, would be to commit sacrilege. In the course of his address, Camillus called to mind this permanent lesson for the benefit of his listeners: "Consider the events of these last years, whether successes or reversals. You will find that everything succeeded when we followed the gods, and everything failed when we scorned them" (Livy, 5.51.4).

Ideas as *religio* were not reflected upon before the very end of the Republic. It was under the influence of Greek philosophy that some Roman authors (usually at the end of their political career) started to systematically reflect upon their own religious tradition in order to clarify concepts. Cicero is the foremost exponent, realizing in his books *On the Nature of the Gods*, *On Divination*, and *On Fate* a multivolume theological project. However, his reflections on religion did not arrive at a unified concept: *religio* was a feeling of obligation; *pietas* (piety), a corresponding attitude; and *sacra* (rituals) and *caerimonia* (forms of veneration), were the way to put *religio* and *pietas* into practice.

Because a general concept of religion as a system of actions and ideas was lacking, no corresponding concept of "sacred law" could exist. There were rules to be followed in matters of divine property, divination, and priests, but they did not add up to a *ius sacrum,* a phrase that did not exist in antiquity. And even these rules were flexible, matters of debate, traditions frequently fixed only under the impact of the encounter with Greek critical thought. The term *Roman religion,* therefore, encompasses what belongs to our modern concept of religion.

Early Iron Age Latium. It is not before the beginning of the first millennium BCE (between the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age) that it becomes possible to identify traits of a Latin material culture attesting to an ethnogenesis in the plain south of the lower course of the Tiber, a territory that was bordered on the northwest by the Tiber and the hills north of it, and on the northeast by the (later) Sabine mountainous area. On the east this area was bound by the Alban chain from the mountains of Palombara, Tivoli (Tibur), Palestrina (Praeneste), and Cori (Cora) as far as Terracina (Anxur) and Circeo (Circei), and to the west was the shore of the Tyrrhenian Sea. Small settlements formed in this area within a population that was melted together from (probably) local people and immigrants from the north and northeast. Scholars know nothing of their religion apart from the tombs attesting inhumation, as well as cremation. At Rome traces of earlier presences of humans have been found, but continuous settlements on places like the Palatine started around the tenth century. From around 830 BCE onward, smaller settlements took shape at privileged places of the plain, a proto-urban phase.

It is possible to give some detail of the conditions of life in these population centers. They drew their sustenance mainly from animal husbandry and from the exploitation of natural resources (salt, fruit, and game). Their inhabitants progressively took up agriculture in pace with the clearing of the woods and the draining of the marshes, at the same time making pottery and iron tools. Their language belonged to the Indo-European family. The first document in the Latin language may be an inscription on a golden brooch from Praeneste, dated to the end of the seventh century: "manios med fhefhaked numasioi" (in classical Latin: "Manius me fecit Numerio" ["Manius made me for Numerius"]). However, the authenticity of this inscription is doubtful.

The placing and the contents of tombs attest to growing social differentiation and the formation of gentilician groups; urns in the form of oblong huts are characteristic. At Osteria dell'Osa of the ninth century, cremation served as a social marker that separated outstanding male warriors—recognizable by miniature weapons—from the rest of the population.

Social differentiation was certainly furthered by the presence of Greeks in Italy from 770 BCE onward who could serve as traders and agents in long-distance contacts with the southern and eastern part of the Mediterranean. The Orientalizing period (c. 730–630 BCE) is present in the form of luxury tombs, princely burials with highly valuable and prestigious objects in sites around Rome (Praeneste, Ficana, Castel di Decima [= Politorium?]), though not in Rome itself. Social power offered the possibility of acquiring wealth and long-distance contacts; such contacts and goods served to further prestige.

Early Rome. The urbanization of Rome could be inferred from the paving of the Forum and the removal of preceding huts around 650 BCE to form a central and common space soon to be enlarged and surrounded by a growing number of stone buildings from 600 onward. A site adjacent to the Comitium paved with black stones (*lapis niger*) probably marked an open sanctuary to the god Vulcan. Another building that at least later on served as a cultic center, the Regia (king's palace), was built during the sixth century. It should be noted that Greek influence is visible in the arrangement of the central "political" space, as it is in archaeological details. The archaeological remnants of the earliest temples of the Forum Boarium (San Omobono), the cattle market on the border of the Tiber, are decorations by Greek artisans.

The most impressive testimony to early Rome's relation to the Mediterranean world dominated by the Greeks is the building project of the Capitoline temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (Jove [*Iove*] the Best and Greatest), Juno, and Minerva, dateable to the latter part of the sixth century. By its sheer size the temple competes with the largest Greek sanctuaries, and the grouping of deities suggests that that was intended. The investment in the quality of the terracotta statuary (Varro in Pliny the Elder, *Historia naturalis* 35.157) points to the same intention. The actual size of the late-sixth-century city remains debated, but even as a larger city with international contacts, as shown by the treaty with Carthage, Rome was but one of the Latium townships. The conquests attributed to regal Rome in the Roman annalistic tradition were made up from a painful series of conflicts that ended with the Latin wars in 340 to 338 BCE. The Latin league was dissolved and the Latins were incorporated into the Roman community.

Parallel to the central investment of resources, the luxury of individual tombs—unlike in Etruscan centers—receded. Yet it would be erroneous to assume a highly centralized state. During republican times, even warfare was an enterprise frequently organized on a gentilician basis, as the institutions of the *fetiales* (legates that established the involvement or disinvolvement of the community as a whole into predatory conflicts) and the *lapis Satricanus* demonstrate. This dedicatory inscription from around 500 BCE, found at Satricum (northeast of Antium), accompanied a dedication to the warrior god Mars by followers *(sodales)* of a certain Poplios Valesius.

Religion of the early period. Our image of the early period is far drier than the colorful narratives of late republican and Augustan times, transmitted especially by the historians Livy and Dionys of Halikarnassos. The earliest phase was organized narratively in the form of a diptych: the "providential" passage from the "savage" state to the "civilized" state. The narrative by Cicero follows this form (*De republica* 2.4). He first evokes the divine origin of the twins Romulus and Remus, born of the god Mars and the Vestal Virgin Rhea Silvia. Romulus and Remus were left exposed on the banks of the Tiber by their granduncle Amulius, king of Alba Longa, but were then miraculously saved by the intervention of a nursing wolf. The author draws a contrast between the pastoral phase, which saw the assertion of the authority of Romulus (the elimination of Remus is passed over in silence), and the civilizing phase of the city's founder.

Within the succession of seven kings, Romulus, the founder, and Numa, the second king, shared in the establishment of important institutions like central cults and priesthoods. Yet the picture of the net of traditions is complex: Numa is said to be a pupil of the southern Italian philosopher Pythagoras; King Tullius was killed in his attempts to manipulate flashes in secret rites.

As stated above, the archaeological record of temples remains meager. Nevertheless the statues of the temples of San Omobono belie later reconstructions of pure origins. A remark by Varro (*Antiquitates rerum divinarum* frg. 18, Cardauns, quoted by Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 4.31) deserves attention: "For more than 170 years, the Romans worshiped their gods without statues. If this custom had prevailed, the gods would be honored in a purer fashion." This reference to a lost state of purity (*castitas*) is an indirect criticism of the Hellenic anthropomorphism that attributed human passions and vices to the gods, as in Homer's *Iliad* or in Hesiod's *Theogony.*

Rituals can be hypothetically reconstructed only on the basis of much larger attestations that try to account for social changes and external influences. Despite the probable short presence of Etruscan rule in the sixth century, symbols of power and some public rituals seem to have been heavily influenced by Etruscan models, perhaps indicating "self-Etruscanization" rather than conscious implantation by Etruscan tyrants. Etruscan influence is evident in the central position of the monthly festival of the full moon, the ides (*eidus*), dedicated to Jupiter (Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.15.14–16). Etruscan influence is also probable for the processional ritual and the chariot races of such old games as the Equirria. Chariots had been aristocratic prestige objects since the Orientalizing period, and they were no longer in use in middle Italian warfare by the end of the sixth century BCE.

Religion and topography. Late republican tradition and religious practice included festivals related to topographical situations that might date back to regal or early republican times. The topographical grid that corresponds to the feast of the Septimontium, celebrated on December 11, reflects already an extended township. The three knolls of the Palatine region (Palatium, Cermalus, Velia) are joined with the three knolls of the Esquiline group (Fagutal, Oppius, Cispius), along with the Subura (the Caelius was added later to this list of seven names). These are the stages of the procession that the abridger Sextus Pompeius Festus outlines for this feast, but in a different order, probably in line with the liturgical itinerary. The list is borrowed, as is known, from the scholar M. Verrius Flaccus: Palatium, Velia, Fagutal, Subura, Cermalus, Oppius, Caelius, Cispius.

At a later stage of topographical development the city was divided into four regions: Palatina, Esquilina, Suburana, and Collina, the last comprising the Quirinal and the Viminal. Surrounding walls were constructed. Tradition attributes these initiatives to the next-to-last king, Servius Tullius. Recent archaeological discoveries have verified a notable territorial extension of the city during the sixth century. As for the ramparts, if the date of the wall made by Servius in *opus quadratum* should be advanced to the fourth century, after the burning of Rome by the Gauls, the existence of walls in the sixth century is nonetheless established by the vestiges of an *agger* found on the Quirinal. The discovery at Lavinium of a rampart in *opus quadratum* dating from the sixth century leads, analogously to the Roman situation, to the same conclusion.

A comparison of different cults gives profile to the development—again hypothetically, for contemporary evidence is lacking and the possibility of archaizing constructions of rituals cannot be ruled out. The latter is illustrated by the ritual of the declaration of war that is described by Livy (1.32) and was performed by Octavianus before the war against Cleopatra and Antonius. The antiquarian account supposes a fetial priest throwing a spear across the border of the hostile territory. The spear is made of cornel wood hardened by fire, without an iron point. This account forms the backdrop of the same rite being performed by Octavian in 32 BCE in the city of Rome (Dio, *Roman history* 50.4.4–5), allegedly on "hostile" territory ritually set apart for that purpose (Servius, *Ad Aeneidum* 9.52). The new ritual made the observers forget that they were witnessing the opening of a major civil war, turning a ritual gesture, earlier attested for the general leading his army, into an archaized priestly activity: the late use of iron was part of Roman historical knowledge.

The Lupercalia, celebrated on February 15, delimited the very cradle of the city. On that date "the old Palatine stronghold ringed by a human flock" (Varro, *De lingua Latina*) was purified by naked Luperci (a variety of wolf-men, dressed in loincloths), who, armed with whips, would flog the public. Everything about this ceremony—the "savage" rite (see Cicero, *Pro Caelio* 26) and the territorial circumscription—demonstrates its extreme archaism.

The feast of Septimontium on December 11 designated, as its name suggested, a more extended territory. It involved no one except the inhabitants of the *montes* (mountains). These seven mountains (which are not to be confused with the seven hills of the future Rome) are the following: the knolls of the Palatium, the Germalus, the Velia (which together would make up the Palatine), the Fagutal, the Oppius, the Cespius (which three would be absorbed by the Esquiline), and the Caelius (Sextus Pompeius Festus, while still asserting the number of seven *montes,* adds the Subura to this list). This amounted, then, to an intermediary stage between the primitive nucleus and the organized city. One will note the use of the word *mons* to designate these knolls, as opposed to *collis,* which would be reserved for referring to the northern hills.

The feast of the Argei, which required two separate rituals at two different times (on March 16 and 17, and on May 14), marks the last stage. It involved a procession in March in which mannequins made of rushes (Ovid, *Fasti* 5.621) were carried to the twenty-seven chapels prepared for this purpose. On May 14 they were taken out of the chapels and cast into the Tiber from the top of a bridge, the Pons Sublicius, in the presence of the pontiff and the Vestal Virgins. There are different opinions on the meaning of the ceremony. Wissowa saw in it a ritual of substitution taking the place of human sacrifices. (A note by Varro, *De lingua Latina* 7.44, specifies that these mannequins were human in shape.) However, Kurt Latte prefers to compare these mannequins of rushes to *oscilla* (figurines or small masks that were hung from trees), which absorbed the impurities that were to be purged from the city. The itinerary of the procession shows that it corresponds to the final stage of the city's development, the Rome of the *quattuor regiones* (four regions). Varro outlined the procession as follows: it proceeded through the heights of the Caelius, the Esquiline, the Viminal, the Quirinal, and the Palatine, and encircled the Forum—henceforth located in the heart of the city.

An important line, at least legitimated by religious arguments in later times, was the *pomerium*, separating the area of *domi* (at home, at peace) and *militiae* (the area of warfare and the unlimited power of the war leader). What was this *pomerium*? According to Varro (*De lingua Latina* 5.143), it was a circle within the surrounding wall marked by stones and describing the limit inside of which urban auspices had to be taken. Rome included sectors outside the pomerial zone that were still part of the city: the Aventine Hill, which had been outside the city of the four regions (its incorporation into the city was attributed by tradition sometimes to Romulus and sometimes to Ancus Marcius), remained outside the pomerial zone until the time of Claudius (first century CE), even though it was surrounded by what was called "Servius's wall."

The same extrapomerial status held true for the Field of Mars, which owed its name to the military exercises that were conducted on its esplanade. Yet here there occurs a further practice that lies at the root of Roman law. On this emplacement there was an altar consecrated to Mars from time immemorial. It is mentioned by the "royal" law of Numa in relation to the distribution of the *spolia opima* (spoils taken from an enemy's general slain by one's own army commander) and was completed later by the erection of a temple in 138 BCE. The assemblies of military centuries (*comitia centuriata*) were also held there. In addition, every five years the purification of the people (*lustrum*) was celebrated on the Field of Mars by the sacrifice of the *suovetaurilia,* the set of three victims—boar, ram, and bull—that had been paraded beforehand around the assembly of citizens. The presence of the old Mars outside the *pomerium* (similarly, another temple of Mars, constructed in 338 BCE to the south of Rome outside the Porta Capena, was also outside the pomerial zone) was in strict conformity with the distinction established between the *imperium domi,* the jurisdiction of civil power circumscribed by the pomerial zone, and the *imperium militiae* that could not show itself except outside this zone. This is why it was necessary to take other auspices when one wanted to go from one zone to another. If one failed to do so, every official act was nullified. This misfortune befell the father of the Gracchi, T. Sempronius Gracchus, during his presidency of the *comitia centuriata.* While going back and forth between the Senate and the Field of Mars, he forgot to take the military auspices again; as a result, the election of consuls that took place in the midst of the assemblies when he returned was rejected by the Senate (see Cicero, *De divinatione* 1.33 and 2.11). The delimitation of Roman sacral space by the pomerial line explains the distribution of the sanctuaries. Vesta, the goddess of the public hearth, could only be situated at the heart of the city within the *pomerium*, whereas a new arrival, such as Juno Regina, originating in Veii, was received, as an outsider, in a temple built on the Aventine (in 392 BCE).

Early festivals and priests. The calendar of festivals reflected and conventionalized temporal rhythms. The preparation for warfare finds ritual reflection in some festivals and in the ritual activities of the priesthood of the Salii in the month of March, the opening month of the year. Mars is the god presiding over warfare; the Salians performed dances clad in archaic warrior dress and cared for archaically formed shields in the shape of an eight. Agricultural and pastoral festivals could be found in the month of April, the Parilia with their lustration of cattle being probably the oldest one (April 21). Fordicidia, the killing of pregnant cows (April 15); the Cerialia (April 19), named after the goddess of cereals; the Vinalia, a wine festival (April 23); and the Robigalia, featuring the sacrifice of a dog to further the growing of the grain (April 25), might denote old rituals, too. Series of festivals in August and December, addressed to gods related to the securing of the harvest and abundance, might have produced other foci of communal and urban ritualizing of the economic activities of farmsteads. The subordination of the festival listed to the monthly—originally empirical, later fictitious—lunar phases of the developed calendar warns of the assumption of complex festival cycles, too easily postulated by scholars like Dumézil. The same warning holds true for the postulation of complex cycles of initiation rites (Torelli, 1984). Sociologically, Rome was not a tribal society, but a precarious public of gentilician leaders and their followers and an increasingly incoherent urban population. What looks like initiatory phenomena are rites reserved mostly for young aristocrats organized as representative priesthoods.

The concept of priesthood, however, is far from clear for the early period. At least from the late fourth century BCE onward, the public priesthoods underwent a process of politicization, adapting these lifelong roles and the modes of accession to the model of annual magistracies. The preceding phase might have been one of a sacralization of ousted political positions that once combined political and religious authority. Such an interpretation is particularly plausible for the figures of the *rex* and the *regina sacrorum* (king and queen of the rites), who took care of important routine rites in the course of the month and year, but did not have any significant political or even religious competence in historical times. The Regia on the Forum Romanum formed one of the centers of their cult activities; it must have been part of a complex that embraced the *atrium* and *aedes Vestae* as well. Here, the Vestal Virgins, six in number, resided and performed. Under the direction of a *virgo maxima,* their essential mission was to maintain the public hearth in the *aedes Vestae.* Their service lasted thirty years and enjoyed great prestige (Cicero, *Pro Fonteio* 48). Their liturgical importance is confirmed by two significant points. Once a year, they would make their way to the king in order to ask him: "Are you vigilant, king? Be vigilant!" On another solemn occasion, the *virgo maxima* mounted the Capitolium in the company of the *pontifex maximus* (Horace, *Carmina* 3.30.8).

Drawing on the legendary figure of the seer Attus Navius, it might be asked whether a slow integration of charismatic religious figures into an organized public college of *augurs* would also be a possible line of development. In either case, the shift from regal to consular rule, from kingdom to Republic, would have been of the utmost importance.

Private worship is attested by votives from early on; Lavinium features dedications from the seventh century BCE. Like several larger sanctuaries in the surroundings, it might have drawn clients from the city. Migrant artisans offered their services at the sanctuaries on a temporal basis; mass production, not individual expression, forms the economic basis of this form of material documentation of piety, even in lower social strata.

The regional context. *Latium Vetus*, or *Latium Antiquum*, was augmented later on by the *Latium Adiectum*, or *Latium Novum* (New Latium), formed by the territories won from the Volsci, the Aequi, the Hernici, and the Aurunci by conquests or federations (see Pliny the Elder, *Historia naturalis* 3.68–70). Traditionally, the Latins are called *populi Latini* (Latin peoples) or by the collective noun *nomen Latinum* (Latin nation). In the historical epoch, older structures, including those around the sanctuary of Jupiter Latiaris on Mons Albanus and those surrounding the sanctuary of Diana Aricina located in "the sacred grove" of Aricia (Nemus Dianae), were preserved by religious federations based on common cults.

Another federal cult would play an important role in history because it held privileged ties with the Romans. This cult was centered at Lavinium, which Varro (*De lingua Latina* 5.144) identifies as the religious metropolis of Rome: "Lavinium:. . .ibi di Penates nostri" ("Lavinium:. . . there are our household gods"). Excavations have uncovered the site, which includes a necropolis dating back to the tenth century BCE. There are also ruins of ramparts dating from the sixth century, the vestiges of a house of worship flanked by thirteen altars, and a mausoleum (it could be a *heroion* in memory of Aeneas) that houses an archaic tomb from the seventh century BCE. Thousands of votives attest the appeal of a healing sanctuary for several centuries. In the imperial period, the religious existence of the city was preserved in the form of a symbolic community, whose offices were assigned like priesthoods to members of the Roman equestrian class.

The integration of federal cults into Roman dominance could follow different routes. The Romans' capacity for adaptation to different circumstances is evident here in an especially remarkable way, as illustrated by the following three cases.

One of the most ancient federal cults presupposes the original preeminence of the ancient city of Alba Longa: the *Feriae Latinae* (Latin holidays) were celebrated at the summit of the Alban Hills in honor of Jupiter Latiaris. In earlier times, the Latins had been granted an equal share of the sacrifice, which consisted of a white bull (this detail, coming from Arnobius in *Adversus nationes* 2.68, would show that the ordinary rule, which provided a castrated victim for Jupiter, did not apply here). Once the consecrated entrails *(exta)* were offered to the god, all in attendance would share the meat, thus demonstrating their bonds of community. After the destruction of Alba Longa, Rome quite naturally picked up the thread of this tradition by incorporating the *Feriae Latinae* as a movable feast into its liturgical calendar. Still, the attitude of the Romans was selective: even though they transferred the entire Alban population to Rome itself, they kept the Alban celebrations in their usual locations. They simply built a temple to Jupiter Latiaris where previously there was only a *lucus,* a sacred grove. During the historical epoch, the Roman consuls, accompanied by representatives of the state, would make their way to the federal sanctuary shortly after assuming their responsibilities and would preside there over the ceremonies. The *Feriae Latinae* had come under Roman control.

The conduct of the Romans was very different with regard to the federal cult of Diana. Tradition places this cult at Aricia near Lake Nemi, which is known as the *speculum Dianae,* "mirror of Diana" (Servius, *Ad Aeneidem* 7.515). An archaic rite determined that the priest of Diana's sacred grove, called the *rex nemorensis,* could hold office there until he was killed by his successor in single combat (the point of departure of J. G. Frazer's *Golden Bough).* During the historical period, this odd priesthood attracted only fugitive slaves. The federal altar had been consecrated to Diana by the Latin dictator Egerius Laevius, a native of Tusculum. Tusculum was the center of a federation of Latin towns, established perhaps after the disappearance of Alba Longa. When the cult came under Roman authority, it was transferred into the city on the extrapomerial hill of the Aventine. It had nothing there at first except an altar, then a temple that Varro acknowledges as having federal status: *commune Latinorum templum.* Yet this status was only one of appearance, since no assembly of Latin cities is recorded as ever having occurred on the Aventine during the Roman period, any more than at Aricia. Another point is significant: the anniversary of the temple fell on the ides of August and bore the name *Dies Servorum* (slaves' day). Whatever interpretation one gives to this designation, the fact remains that the cult of Diana was not of concern either on the Aventine or in Aricia. This time Rome had reduced a federal cult to a suitable level. In contrast with Jupiter Latiaris, Diana, whose name is a semantic homologue of *Jupiter* (since both names were formed from the root **diu;* she signified nocturnal light, just as he signified the light of day), was doomed to fade gradually away. Identified with Artemis, she would be invoked in Horace's *Carmen saeculare* as the sister of Apollo.

The relations that Rome held with Lavinium were very different. In the Roman mind, Lavinium had the same resonance as the Alban Hills, judging from the discourse that Livy attributes to the dictator Camillus. Camillus did not hesitate to put these two high places on the same level: "Our ancestors entrusted to us the celebration of religious ceremonies on Mount Alban and in Lavinium." In reality, the latter ranked higher than the former. Varro (*De lingua Latina* 5.144) specifies it as the source of Roman lineage and the cradle of the Roman *penates.* Lavinium benefited from a continual deference on the part of the Romans after the treaty that tradition traced back to the time of T. Tatius (Livy, 1.14.2). This deference was evident in the ritual processions of higher magistrates to the *penates* and to Vesta as they entered their office and as they left it. The deference was likewise evident in the annual pilgrimages by the pontiffs and the consuls to the sanctuary of Aeneas Indiges, which Ascanius is reputed to have built for his divinized father. If one considers that Lavinium was also the cradle of the religion of Venus, who was understood according to Trojan legend to be the *Aeneadum genetrix* ("mother of the descendants of Aeneas"), one can imagine that this exceptional site exerted in every way a great attraction for the Romans.

Archaeology has recently made an important contribution concerning the territory of Lavinium by bringing to light, among other things, a *heroion* (temple) from the fourth century BCE, constructed upon an archaic tomb (which its discoverer, Paolo Sommella, identifies as the mausoleum of Aeneas) and a set of thirteen altars, of which twelve were in use in the middle of the fourth century. They may have served a new Latin federation presided over by Rome. Indeed, Rome did not stop at destroying the Latin confederation in 338 BCE, but also reinforced the privileges of Lavinium. For Lavinium, as Livy points out (8.11.15), had added to its titles the merit of loyalty by refusing to join the Latin revolt. It brought even more renown upon itself as a pilgrimage center. Thus Rome's attitude toward federal cults was definitively shown under three very different aspects: sometimes Rome assumed them (Alba Longa), sometimes Rome restricted them (Aricia), and sometimes Rome exalted them (Lavinium).

Conceptions of the divine. The Latin word designating divinity has an Indo-European origin. *Deus,* which phonetically comes from the ancient *deivos* (just as *dea* comes from *deiva*), means "heavenly being." In line with this etymology, *deus* and *dea* represent for the Latins powers in relation to the luminous sky *(divum),* in opposition to humans *(homo),* who are bound to the earth *(humus), homo* itself being a derivative of an Indo-European word meaning "earth." One immediate consequence of this is the fact that the Latin noun is distinguished from its Greek homologue *theos,* which takes its meaning from a different etymology: *theos* probably is connected with the prototype **thesos,* which refers to the sphere of the sacred (Émile Benveniste), though no one has been able to specify the limits of its meaning. We note, however, that this difference of vocabulary between the Latin and the Greek in naming the divinity fades at the level of the supreme god: *Iuppiter (*Iou-pater,* with **Iou-* deriving from **dyeu-*) and *Zeus (*dyeus)* both go back to the same Indo-European root. It also follows that the Latins represented the divinity as an individual and personal being. This linguistic fact at once discredits the "animist" or pre-animist notion that would postulate a pre-deist phase in Rome which would have preceded the advent of the personal divinity.

And yet, compared to the gods of Homer's Greek pantheon, the Roman gods lack in personality. They lack the embellishments of a mythology that is more or less abundant with picturesque variations. They were mainly defined by their specific competence, far from any tie with the human condition. Wissowa (1912) observed that there was no marriage or union between gods and goddesses at Rome. This fact is particularly verified by the existence of many divinized abstractions, such as Fides, the goddess of good faith, who received each year the common homage of three major priests. They would come in an open chariot to her chapel to ask her to preserve harmonious relations within the city. Also, Ceres, the etymology of whose name places her in charge of growth (especially of grains), appears as the background to the feast of the Cerialia, which was celebrated annually on April 19. These, then, are not minor divinities, nor is Consus, the god of grain storage (*condere,* "to store"), who was celebrated at the time of the Consualia on August 21, as well as at the time of the Opiconsiva on August 25, when he was in association with Ops, the goddess who watched over abundance. As for Janus (*Ianus*), god of beginnings and of passages, and Vesta, the goddess of the sacred fire, their importance in the Roman liturgy was such, as reported by Cicero (*De natura deorum* 2.67), that the former shared in the beginning of every religious ceremony, while the latter was invoked at the end.

Did this tendency toward divinized abstraction lend itself to excesses? One readily cites the example of the minor specialist gods that assisted Ceres in her functions, according to Fabius Pictor (quoted by Servius Danielis, *Ad Georgica* 1.21): Vervactor (for the plowing of fallow land), Reparator (for the renewal of cultivation), Imporcitor (for marking out the furrows), Insitor (for sowing), Obarator (for plowing the surface), Occator (for harrowing), Sarritor (for weeding), Subruncinator (for hoeing), Messor (for harvesting), Convector (for carting the harvest), Conditor (for storage), and Promitor (for distribution). Another group of minor divinities gave Augustine of Hippo occasion for sarcastic comments in detailing its list. This group included lesser divine entities who were regarded as aiding the husband on his wedding night: Virginensis (to loosen the belt of the young virgin), Subigus (to subdue her), and Prema (to embrace her). "And what is the goddess Pertunda [from *pertundere,* "to penetrate"] doing here? Let her blush, let her flee! Let her leave the husband something to do! It is really a disgrace that someone else besides himself is fulfilling the duty that this goddess's name embodies" (*De civitate dei* 6.9.264–265).

What can be said about all this? Whatever the merit of these lists of specialized divinities (the first one, transmitted by Servius, is guaranteed by the quality of the source: Fabius Pictor, the author of books on pontifical law, contemporary with Cato the Elder), one can observe that they name only secondary entities that are served by no particular priest (even though the Roman institution recognized the *flamines minores,* the "lesser priests"). Nor did they appear in the liturgical calendar. Moreover, these entities moved in the wake of top-level divinities. This trait is expressly brought out by the list of lesser specialists who gravitate toward Ceres: the *flamen* (priest) of this goddess invokes them when he offers, during the Cerialia, the sacrifice to Tellus (earth) and to Ceres. Everything indicates that the same applies to the list drawn up by Augustine: all those names fit easily within the circle of Juno Pronuba, protector of marriages. They demonstrate the analytic abilities of pontifical experts and their concern for accompanying each phase of an activity with a religious factor. Finally, this tendency to divine miniaturization corresponds to a kind of luxuriant manifestation of the inclination of Roman pontiffs toward abstract analysis. At the same time it should not be forgotten that the Romans started to put their religion into writing from the third century BCE onward. It is difficult to ascertain which degree of systematization had been reached before the writing process began.

These divine abstractions exist in both masculine and feminine forms, without any interference between the two. The apparent exceptions are only illusory. Thus it is that Faunus has no feminine counterpart. (His name's meaning is uncertain; it has sometimes been compared by the ancients with *fari,* "to talk," as in Varro, *De lingua Latina* 7.36, and sometimes with *favere,* "to be favorable," as in Servius Danielis, *Ad Georgica* 1.10; this god had been assimilated to the Greek Pan, as is confirmed by the location of his temple, erected in 194 BCE on the Isle of the Tiber, in the extrapomerial zone.) Indeed, Fauna seems to be an artificial construction of syncretic casuistry that attempted to associate her with Faunus as either wife or sister or daughter (Wissowa, 1912). Her name was later confused with Fatua and with Bona Dea (an appellation also used in turn by Damia, a goddess originating in Tarentum).

The same holds true for Pales, the goddess whose feast, the Parilia, occurred on April 21, the anniversary of the foundation of Rome. (In contrast, two Pales appear on the date of July 7 on the pre-Julian calendar of the town of Antium. Nothing prevents us from considering these as two goddesses liable for distinct tasks, the protection of different categories of animals: small and large livestock.) The god Pales, mentioned by Varro (quoted by Servius, *Ad Georgica* 3.1), belongs to the Etruscan pantheon and has no liturgical place in Rome.

How then is one to understand the expression "sive deus sive dea" ("whether god or goddess"), which is found in many prayers? It does not reflect uncertainty about the gender of a possibly epicene divinity but rather uncertainty about the identity of the divinity that one is addressing. In Cato's example the peasant, careful not to make a mistake in the form of address when pruning a *lucus,* where he does not know the protective divinity, envisions the two possibilities: he thus invokes either a god or a goddess.

The same prudence is evident in the precautionary formula inserted by the pontiffs, cited by Servius (*Ad Aeneidem* 2.351): "Et pontifices ita precabantur: Iupiter Optime Maxime, sive quo alio nomine te appellari volueris" ("And the pontiffs uttered this prayer: Jupiter, Best and Greatest, or whatever be the name by which you choose to be called"). This formula is all the more instructive in that it provides for the case in which Jupiter, while well identified by his Capitoline titles, might by chance desire some other name.

Since a Roman divinity is essentially defined by its action, even a single manifestation of this action suffices for the existence of the divinity to be acknowledged. Such would be an exceptional, but significant, case. In vain a voice once called out on the Via Nova in the silence of the night to announce the approach of the Gauls. The Romans later reproached themselves for their culpable negligence and erected a sanctuary to the voice under the name of Aius Locutius ("he who talks, he who tells"; Livy, 5.32.6; 50.5; 52.11). Similarly, a *fanum* (shrine) was constructed outside of the Porta Capena to the god Rediculus. This was because Hannibal in his march on Rome had retreated, overcome by apparitions, from that place.

Changes in hierarchy. As noted above, the Capitoline triad of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva dominated the republican self-image of the city's pantheon. Wissowa (1912) pointed to the importance in Roman religion of another configuration, the triad of Jupiter-Mars-Quirinus, which appears at the point of convergence of several factors and proceeds from the ancient priestly hierarchy as transmitted by Festus, who set down the following hierarchy: the king, the *flamen Dialis,* the *flamen Martialis,* the *flamen Quirinalis,* and the *pontifex maximus.* Framed by the king and the grand pontiff, the three major *flamines* (the *flamines maiores*) bring into relief the gods to which they are respectively attached: Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus. Their close union is emphasized by the ritual in which, once a year, they would go together to the chapel of Fides, to venerate the goddess of good faith.

The same triad is manifest in the interior arrangement of the Regia, which under the Republic became the official seat of the pontifical college. Indeed, this building housed three different cults in addition to the cults of Janus and Juno, who were honored respectively as ushers of the year and of the month: the routine cult of Jupiter, associated with all the *nundinae* (market days); that of Mars, in the *sacrarium Martis;* and, in another room, the cult of Ops Consiva (abundance personified) in conjunction with Consus, the god of the storage *(condere)* of grains. This last goddess belongs to the group of agrarian divinities headed by Quirinus (whose *flamen* could act in related cults, too: thus, in Ovid's *Fasti* 4.910 we learn that the *flamen Quirinalis* officiated in the ceremonies of Robigus, or Robigo, the divinity invoked against mildew in grains). These deities are involved in what has been described as a group of festivals accentuating the rhythm of agrarian activities in the city of Rome.

The same triad of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus is found after Janus, the god of passage, and before the divinities invoked by reason of particular circumstances in the old hymn of the *devotio* (Livy, 8.9.6) that a Roman general uttered in order to consecrate himself, at the same time as the enemy army, to the *di manes.* The triad also appears in the regulations provided by the ancient royal law of Numa Pompilius for the distribution of the *spolia opima.* The first of these spoils were offered to Jupiter Feretrius, the second to Mars, the third to Janus Quirinus (Plutarch, *Life of Marcellus* 8.5; Servius, *Ad Aeneidum* 6.859). The ternary scheme is clearly supported by the document, despite some difficulties of interpretation. The meaning of *Feretrius* (derived from *ferire,* "to smite," or from *ferre,* "to carry") is not certain. As for the expression *Ianus Quirinus,* Robert Schilling has offered the explanation that the presence of Janus comes from his role as the initiator of the peacemaking function of Quirinus in opposition to the fury of Mars Gradivus. The tertiary scheme appears finally in the threefold patronage of the college of Salian priests ("who are under the protection of Jupiter, Mars and Quirinus"; Servius, *Ad Aeneidum* 8.663).

This archaic triad had been interpreted by Dumézil as corresponding, in an Indo-European world, to three diversified functions. Jupiter embodies sovereignty in its magical and juridical aspects, which in Vedic India belong respectively to Varuṇa and Mithra; Mars embodies power (his physical and military attributes are similar to Indra in India); Quirinus (**Couirio-no,* the god of the community of citizens in time of peace) is connected with fruitfulness and with prosperity in its pastoral and agrarian forms. This triad would show the survival of the characteristic tripartite ideology of the Indo-European world, which considered the hierarchical structuring of these three complementary functions to be indispensable for the prosperity of society. Despite a later evolution that would progressively fossilize their offices as the pantheon was opened to new gods, the three major *flamines* would remain the unimpeachable witnesses of this Indo-European heritage in Rome. However, such an interpretation is highly problematical with regard to the postulation of a historical Indo-European society that would be attested in but a few words and conceptual configurations. For Rome, it supposes a hierarchical structuring of the pantheon, which is visible only in an antiquarian attempt at systematization (the Augustan scholar Verrius Flaccus as quoted by Festus). The dedication of the calends to Juno and the ides to Jupiter, and the acting of the *rex* and *regina sacrorum* as priests to these two, suggest an early importance of Juno. The pantheon of Roman gods was never fully hierarchized, but is characterized by different, incoherent, and very partial internal configurations. When the Romans presented for the first time several gods and goddesses in the necessarily hierarchical order of a banquet within the ritual of *lectisternium* (see below), they fall back on undeniably Greek principles of grouping.

Given this background, the establishment of the Capitoline triad by dedicating a temple to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva at the end of the sixth century BCE was no revolution. The project being associated with an unclear form of temporary Etruscan dominance toward the end of the sixth century (tradition named three kings who were of Etruscan origin: Tarquin the Elder, Servius Tullius, and Tarquin the Proud) transformed the masculine triad into a new triad in which Jupiter's masculine associates were replaced by two goddesses. That these goddesses were none other than Juno and Minerva can be explained not only by the fact that their Etruscan homologues, Uni and Mernva, held respectable places in their pantheon, but by reference to important Greek cultic centers as well. Schilling offered an even larger sociological interpretation. Juno, the patroness of *iuniores* (especially of youth available for battle), succeeded Mars, the god of war; Minerva, the protector of artisans and crafts, succeeded Quirinus, the god overseeing economic activity. The keystone of the triad remained immovable, even though Jupiter took on the traits of Tinia, as illustrated by the Etruscan artist Vulca of Veii, who produced the cult statue.

Tradition associated the temple built on the Capitoline Hill in honor of the new triad of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva with the transition from the royal to the republican period. According to tradition, the construction of the Capitoline temple was begun under the Tarquins, while the dedication was performed by the consul M. Horatius Pulvillus in the first year of the Republic (509 BCE, a constructed synchronism).

Yet, it has to be stressed again: the political change from lifelong monarchs to an annual consul (the collegiality of two consuls might be a later development) did not provoke any religious upheaval. The Capitoline triad was not called into question, in spite of its strong Etruscan connotation. Instead, Jupiter more and more dominated the representation of the *res publica*, the "common affair," of the family leaders. If there was a conscious demythologization of the Roman pantheon, it was, as Carl Koch has demonstrated, focused on the figure of this god. None of the competing aristocrats could claim descent from this god (and hence superiority); even references to divine offspring—although present in nearby sanctuaries—were removed from Roman cults. At the end of the Republic, it was the second-rank families that claimed divine ancestors, as they were not able to claim a sufficient number of consular forefathers, Caesar and the *gens Iulia* offering a splendid example. The attempt of Scipio Africanus to associate himself with Jupiter by frequent presence and prayer in his temple was highly suspicious.

The title of king was maintained on the religious level. On that account, the official designation from then on was *rex sacrorum* or *rex sacrificulus*—in other words, a king limited to his liturgical functions but stripped of his political privileges. This point of prudence is explained by observing the care that the Romans took to avoid irritating their gods with untimely interventions in the realm of the sacred.

Mythology. Throughout its history, Rome was a city on the margin of Greek culture. Influence was both indirect and direct. It was indirectly influenced by the Etruscans, to the extent that Etruscan culture, its script as well as its material culture and pantheon, was itself Hellenized. It was directly influence by the nearness of Magna Graecia. All the parties involved took it for granted that, within a horizon of benevolent ethnography, deities of the other culture could be interpreted as the deities known to one's own society. *Interpretatio graeca* or *romana* was practiced by travelers, diplomats, and ethnographers, and put to use by artisans and storytellers. Thus, the large body of Greek mythology and imagery (itself already enriched by even more ancient Middle Eastern traditions) was available and attractive for middle Italian, Etruscan, and Roman reception and consumption.

A Greek ceramic fragment, showing Hephaistos, under the earliest layer of the Volcanal, the sanctuary for the Italian god Vulcan, offers an early example for equations. The sanctuary at San Omobono featured a statue group of Athena and Herakles (Minerva and Hercules), thus attesting the presence of whole narratives; the grouping would probably show the story of the apotheosis of the hero-god. The archaic sanctuary of Anna Perenna, a new year and fluvial deity venerated on the shore of the Tiber to the north of the city, contained a tile decoration of the Greek fluvial deity Achelous. If a continuity of the cult at that place (down to late antiquity) is admitted, the seemingly abstract and popular (rather than public) deity Anna Perenna was inserted into narrative patterns from Greek mythology. Instead of remaining an abstract concept of "creative" force *(creare),* Ceres was more or less identified with a Demeter in human form and enhanced by a moving legend (Demeter in search of her daughter Kore, abducted by Pluto). This "new" Ceres was made into a statue which, according to Pliny the Elder, was "the first bronze statue made in Rome." Consequently, she gained a "house," the temple built in 493 BCE to the triad near the Circus Maximus. The temple was decorated with the paintings and sculptures of Damophilos and Gorgasos, two celebrated Greek artists.

Patricians and plebeians. Other cults reflect, so to speak, the specific aspirations of the two classes that formed the basis of Roman society, the patricians and the plebeians. One observes an antagonism between the two classes that is evident not only on economic, social, and political levels, but also on the religious level. Until 300 BCE only the patricians were allowed to discharge as an official function the great traditional priesthoods, such as the pontificate and the augury. At that date a kind of religious equality was established by a law (the *Lex Ogulnia*), which, in providing members for these two colleges, reserved half of the seats for plebeians. Nevertheless, the patricians kept for themselves the privilege of admittance to the archaic priesthoods: the *rex sacrorum,* the three major *flamines,* and the Salii. The question of the origin of the differentiation of the two "orders" remains a matter of debate and has been dated to the regal, as well as early republican, period.

This rivalry between the two classes explains diverse cult initiatives that are nonetheless not necessarily mutually exclusive. In the critical phases of the city's history, they were able to coexist in a way that was satisfactory to both parties. A particularly convincing example comes to us from the beginning of the fifth century, when one individual strove to balance the two tendencies. It was the time when, according to Livy (2.18.3), "a coalition of thirty tribes" was formed against Rome. The situation induced the Romans to name a dictator, Aulus Postumius, who was vested with full powers, in place of the two consuls.

Aulus Postumius had two problems to resolve: stabilizing the food supply, which had been disrupted by war, and confronting the enemy in decisive combat. He successfully accomplished his twofold mission. The victory he won over the Latins (in 499 BCE) near Lake Regillus is celebrated in the annals. This battle entered a critical phase when the infantry failed to hold its ground. On that account, the dictator decided to send in the Roman cavalry and, at the same time, made a vow to build a temple dedicated to Castor. He thus combined, according to Livy's expression, "human and divine" means. He did so because this god, of Greek origin, was the patron of horsemen. Before going into the campaign, the dictator took another step toward easing the difficulties surrounding the food supply: he made a vow to build a temple to the Roman triad of Ceres-Liber-Libera, the names of which barely disguised the Greek divinities Demeter-Dionysos-Kore.

The victory enabled Castor to become a Roman god and to acquire a temple above the Forum: the *aedes Castoris* (dedicated in 484 by the dictator's son; Pollux was not to join his brother until the beginning of the Empire, and even then the name *aedes Castorum* recalled the original primacy of Castor). Since the harvests were abundant, Aulus Postumius also fulfilled his vow to the triad of Ceres-Liber-Libera by dedicating a sanctuary. This was a source of great satisfaction for the plebeians, for the sanctuary was entrusted to their charge and served as a meeting place for *aediles* (plebeian officials). Thus, circumstances had moved Aulus Postumius to achieve a skillful balance by the concomitant foundation of a patrician cult and a plebeian cult. Only the placement of the sanctuaries revealed a difference of status: Castor was installed inside the *pomerium*, in the heart of the Forum, while Ceres and her associates had to be located outside of the *pomerium*, near the Circus Maximus.

The codification of law of the Twelve Tables, which made law an (ever more) important instrument in dealing with social conflicts, is said to have entailed regulation of the calendar. Whereas such an exact dating remains questionable, it is certain that during the fifth century the commonly used lunisolar calendar was replaced by a purely solar calendar with fixed lengths of month, a civil calendar without parallel in the Mediterranean world. Thereafter, the lunar cult was kept but became fossilized, and observation of the lunar phases were declamatory only. It is perhaps a consequence of this change that astronomical deities did not gain in importance until the Italian reception of astrological practices beginning in the late second century BCE.

THE MIDDLE REPUBLIC: SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CHANGES. It is not before the fourth century BCE that we reach surer ground for historical reconstruction. Even then, the processes leading to the formation of a new patricio-plebeian elite in the second half of the century remain obscure in their details and sequence. The closing of the mainly religiously defined patriciate, marked by the interdict on intermarriage in the law of the Twelve Tables (around 450 BCE), and their monopolization of political roles gave way to a balance between patrician and plebeian office holders (the *leges Liciniae Sextia* are traditionally assigned to 367 BCE). The result was the formation of a new elite that channeled their competition into office holding and military success as public Roman generals.

Rituals were important in giving profile to achievements. The *pompa imaginum*, the funerary procession that paraded living statues—actors wearing masks representing the ancestors—to give a summary of all the achievements of the deceased's family in terms of higher offices held, was perhaps the most characteristic expression of the new culture. Ancestors who had not performed any higher magistracy did not participate and were not commemorated in the speech *(laudatio funebris)* that explained the file of ancestors on display in the Forum, the pinnacle of the procession (Polybios, 6.53). As Harriet Flower has shown, this ritual must have originated in the latter part of the fourth century.

Wealth was not eliminated as an instrument to gain prestige, but its legitimate spending depended on electoral success and the attainment of offices that offered the opportunity to stage attractive rituals. Praetorships and especially consulates provided opportunities to greatly enlarge one's wealth through successful warfare and the acquisition of booty. The contribution of such gains into the public fund was expected, but the share was never regulated. A victory enlarged the general's *clientela* by adding the legionaries who had sworn on his name. The festival of return consisted of impressive processions (the triumph), ever more attractive games, and occasionally temple dedications.

The proliferation of games was the most important religious innovation of the period. The combination of processional rituals parading gods and actors through the city of Rome and the competitions in circuses or the presentation of dramas on temporary stages brought religion into the central public space and enabled the participation of larger shares of the populace as spectators. Thus, the rituals gave information about foreign affairs and culture, they offered space for communication between the various social groups seated in an orderly arrangement in the theater or circus, and they produced a feeling of common identity—a victorious Roman identity.

Divination. The checks and balances developed in the formation of the new political elite entailed an exceptional use of divination in politics. Despite the usually distanced relationship to their gods, every important act of the higher magistrates was subjected to the prior assent of the gods, in particular Jupiter. Religious legitimation of the elected magistrates was not given once and for all, but in a piecemeal manner. To this end, there existed an indigenous institution especially charged with this mission: auspicy. On the morning of the action planned, the magistrate had to observe the cries and the flight of birds, checking them against the rule specified by himself concerning what would count as divine assent. A large number of forms eventually became standard. At least from the third century BCE onward, the *tripudium,* the observation of the hens picking fodder in cages, was the usual form. Such a technique was open to manipulation, but the lack of empirical input did not devaluate the system in the eyes of contemporaries. The duty to read auspices was at some points of the political process an opportunity to question the validity of the legitimation, or to announce the observation of adverse signs *(obnuntiatio)*. Augurs were specialists of the techniques; they had an individual right to observe contrary signs in the context of popular assemblies, but the normal right to the observation *(spectio)* was held by the magistrates.

Other techniques, borrowed from Rome's neighbors in Etruria or Magna Graecia and employed collectively or individually included *haruspicinae disciplina* (lore of the haruspex) and the consultation of the Sibylline Books. This accumulation of divination methods is explained by the desire to benefit from new techniques, which were all the more seductive when they appeared to offer independent access to the will of the gods. Whereas *auspicia* indicated Jupiter's assent for the very day of the procedure only, Etruscan soothsayers boasted of being able to foretell the future, either by examining the entrails of sacrificed animals (*libri haruspicini)*, by observing lightning (*libri fulgurales)*, or by interpreting marvels (*libri rituales)*. The first method, divining by examination of entrails, was especially popular. It featured, among the *exta* (entrails) used, the liver, which was considered a microcosm of the world. Every lesion detected in some part of the former allowed an inference on the fate of the latter.

The Sibylline Books, which had been introduced, according to tradition, in regal times under Tarquin the Proud, purported to contain prophetic verses. These books, kept in the temple of Capitoline Jupiter (they would later be transferred by Augustus to the sanctuary of Apollo Palatine), could be consulted, upon order of the Senate, by persons specialized in that office, the *X,* later *XV viri sacris faciundis.* Usually, the announcement of bad signs *(monstra, prodigia)* instigated an examination of their significance and measures to placate the gods. The measures advocated (often the introduction of new divinities) were evaluated by the Senate, which would make the final decision. The sibyl did not enjoy a liberty comparable to that of the oracle of Delphi: Her responses were always subject to senatorial censorship. There is no need to stress further the benefit that the Romans hoped to gain from these divination techniques of foreign origin. This cluster of methods is instructive, moreover, to the extent that it reveals a fundamental trait of Roman polytheism. Founded upon a conservative tradition, it was always open to enrichment and renewal.

New divinities and temples. The Senate controlled claims to triumph and the selection of sites for new temples, and probably also the date of their dedication. The erection of permanent theaters was delayed until the very end of the Republic when Pompey built a theater on the Campus Martius. Initiative, however, rested with individuals, and the introduction of a new god into the pantheon of Rome generated more attention than, for example, the restoration of an old temple. Rome's loosely organized polytheism lent itself to this sort of openness when the traditional gods proved to be inadequate in critical situations. Circumstances, perhaps family practices or local practices of significant places, inspired the Romans' attitude. An early example is demonstrated by the entry of Castor into Rome, described above.

There were other ways for foreign gods to be introduced into Rome. When the Romans had trouble with an enemy city, they resorted to the *evocatio,* which consisted of a kind of abduction of divine power at the adversary's expense and to Rome's benefit. A famous case (and also unique in the annals) occurred in the siege of Veii in 396 BCE. The war against that Etruscan city seemed endless (it was to last ten years, as long as the Trojan war). Finally, the dictator M. Furius Camillus directly addressed the city's protective divinity, Uni (the Etruscan homologue of Juno): "Juno Regina, who resides now in Veii, I pray that you will follow us after our victory into our city, which will soon be yours; you will there have a temple worthy of your majesty" (Livy, 5.21.3). In this way Juno Regina acquired a temple on the Aventine, as a divinity of outside origin, while continuing to sit, as a national divinity, on the Capitolium at the side of Jupiter. The practice is still attested in the late Republic, even if the cult offered to the tutelary deity of Isaura vetus in Asia minor was realized on the spot (*Année épigraphique* 1977, 816).

There was another procedure for introducing foreign gods into Rome: the capture, pure and simple, of a foreign divinity. This arrogant approach may seem strange on the part of a people imbued with "religious" respect toward the supernatural world. By way of explaining the *evocatio,* Macrobius (in *Saturnalia* 3.9.2) advanced precisely this reason: "Quod. . .nefas aestimarent deos habere captivos" ("they regarded it as sacrilege to make prisoners of the gods"). However, the seizure of Falerii in 241 BCE resulted in captivity for its goddess, who was then given a small shrine in Rome at the foot of the slope of Caelius, under the name of Minerva Capta (Ovid, *Fasti* 3.837). During the campaigns of the second century, most gods from the eastern part of the Mediterranean entered Rome only as artistic valuables, and, as such, they were not offered cults but were given a place in a villa or a public colonnade.

For the third century before the start of the second Punic War (218), the following temples were established: Bellona (296), Venus Obsequens (295), Iuppiter Victor (295), Iuppiter Stator (294), Fors Fortuna (293), Aesculapius (292), Hercules Invictus (292), Portunus (292), Summanus (276), Consus (272), Tellus (268), Pales (267), Vortumnus (264), Minerva (263/2), Ianus (260), Tempestates (Storms, 259), Spes and Fides (258/7), Volcanus (252), Ops Opifera (250), Neptunus (257), Iuturna (242/1), Iuno Curritis (241), Fortuna Publica (241), Flora (240), Honos (233), Fons (231), Feronia (225), Hercules Magnus custos (223), and Honos et Virtus (222). Further temples to Flora, Hercules, Honos, Hora Quirini, Lares, Luna, Penates, Sol et Luna, Sol Indiges, Tiberinus, Vica Pota, Iuppiter Fulgur, and Ops cannot be dated with certainty (Ziolkowski, 1992, pp. 187–188).

The list is remarkable in its incoherency. In the long run, the popularity of the gods invoked was very divergent. The temple of Asklepios, for example, introduced as a filiation of the great healing sanctuary of Epidaurus, flourished as a center of private devotion, a healing cult in the Greek manner. Thus, the specter of shrines that could be addressed for personal needs (as Minerva Medica) was significantly enlarged. It should not be forgotten that the importance of public religion did not stop or diminish private cult activities and traditional ways of dealing with personal crises. Individual religion was taken seriously: one could legitimately, for example, temporarily defer the military draft if one had to care for private cults and auspices (Cincius in Gellius, *Attic Nights* 16.4.4–5).

Influences of Hellenism. The military expansion gradually intensified cultural contacts. As discussed earlier, Rome was from its beginning within reach of direct and indirect Greek influence. The Dionysian cult that was fought in 186 BCE (see below), was, despite perhaps some recent organizational changes, a long-established private cult in Italy. During the third century, Rome came in direct contact with the southern Italian *Magna Graecia,* and during the second century the Romans installed themselves in continental Greece and Asia Minor. The speed of imports and the quality of the reaction changed.

Some gods of the Greek world had particularly attractive features. Aesculapius has already been mentioned, and Apollo, whose introduction was due to an epidemic, was equally appealing to the Romans. Indeed it was not the god of the Muses, nor the sun god, nor the prophet god who would later become the patron of the Sibylline Books (these titles would appear in the *Carmen saeculare* by Horace during the time of Augustus) and to whom the Romans had appealed for aid at the beginning of the fifth century; rather, this Apollo was the healing god. His temple, voted "pro valetudine populi" ("for the people's health") in 433, was dedicated in 431 in the Flaminian Meadows at the southwest of the Capitol, within a sector that already bore the name Apollinare ("Apollo's enclosure"; Livy, 4.25.3, 40.51.4). The oldest invocation used in the prayers of the Vestals was directed to the "physician": Apollo Medice, Apollo Paean (Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.17.15).

New rituals. The introduction of the *lectisternia* ritual had been recommended by the Sibylline Books, which were consulted upon orders of the Senate by the *II viri sacris faciundis* in the face of an alarming pestilence. This ritual would be used more and more, and, as a result, the Romans became very familiar with this new form of devotion, which had more significance on the emotional level than was usual in Roman worship. The standard Roman sacrificial ritual consisted essentially of a canonical prayer followed by the slaughtering of an animal and the offering of consecrated entrails (the *exta*) to the divinity (the distinction between *exta*—comprising the lungs, heart, liver, gall bladder, and peritoneum—and the *viscera,* flesh given over for profane consumption, is fundamental in Roman ritual). The sacrificial ceremony was celebrated by qualified magistrates or priests on private initiative around an altar placed in front of the temple. In the new ritual, however, statues of the deities reposing on cushions *(pulvinaria)* were displayed within the temples on ceremonial beds *(lectisternia).* Men, women, and children could approach them and offer them food and prayers in fervent supplication (see Livy, 24.10.13; 32.1.14), often presided over by the *II* or *X viri sacris faciundis* (cf. Livy, 4.21.5).

The first *lectisternium,* which was allegedly celebrated in 399 BCE, joined in heterogeneous pairs Apollo and Latona, Hercules and Diana, and Mercury and Neptune (Livy, 5.13.4–6). Outwardly, half of the names were of purely Greek origin (Apollo, Latona, Hercules), and the other half of Latin origin. In fact, even these Latin names applied to Hellenic divinities: Diana/Artemis, Mercury/Hermes, Neptune/Poseidon. The healing god Apollo, accompanied by his mother Latona, was at the head of the list during this period of epidemic.

Much more dramatic circumstances—Hannibal at the walls of Rome—instigated in 217 BCE the last and most celebrated *lectisternium* in the history of the Republic (Livy, 22.10.9). On this occasion, the Romans for the first time adopted the Greek plan of a set of twelve deities divided into six couples in the following order: Jupiter and Juno, Neptune and Minerva, Mars and Venus, Apollo and Diana, Vulcan and Vesta, and Mercury and Ceres. This ceremony would remain unique (one cannot regard as a parallel the merry parody organized by Augustus during a *cena* where the twelve dinner companions disguised themselves as gods and goddesses; see Suetonius, *Life of Augustus* 70). Without a doubt, the Greek inspiration is evident in this list in the presentation of pairs of gods and goddesses (the idea of grouping twelve principal deities would be repeated later by the installation of gilded bronze statues of the *di consentes* in the niches located below the Portico at the foot of the Capitolium).

Yet it is necessary to avoid misunderstanding the meaning of the coupling here. The Greek model appeared in outline after the first four couples: Zeus-Hera, Poseidon-Athena; Ares-Aphrodite, Apollo-Artemis. It could suggest a conjugal meaning for Jupiter and Juno and an erotic meaning for Mars and Venus, but nothing of the kind would apply to the association of Neptune and Minerva (which evokes the rivalry of Poseidon and Athena in giving a name to Athens), nor for Apollo and Diana/Artemis, who were brother and sister. One can also wonder if the Romans were not still more heedful of the representative value of these divine pairs. Only a functional bond makes sense for the two last couples, in Rome as well as in Greece: fire for Vulcan and Vesta, economic activity (commerce and grain) for Mercury and Ceres. As for the couples that seemed most to bear the stamp of Hellenism, they were explained perfectly in accord with Roman norms. Thus Jupiter and Juno were associated here, just as they had been in the Capitoline cult since the sixth century. Nor did Venus and Mars form a couple in Rome in the strict sense of the term. Mars, father of Romulus, is the old Italic god, while Venus, mother of Aeneas, appeared as the protector of the Romans-Aeneades. In a word, Rome knew how to utilize the Greek plan to its own ends without in turn submitting to it. Rome joined together the two essential personages of its history: Aeneas, founder of the nation, and Romulus, founder of the city.

Putting the Mediterranean to use. The example described above makes manifest a constant attitude. Nothing is more significant in this connection than the introduction of the cult of Venus Erycina. Once again the circumstantial cause was the imperative need for supplementary divine aid, this time during the Second Punic War (218–210) after the disaster of Trasimene in 217 BCE. Named as dictator, Q. Fabius Maximus (who would bear the surname *Cunctator,* or "delayer") obtained from the Senate a consultation with the Sibylline Books, which prescribed, among other measures, a promise to provide a temple dedicated to Venus Erycina (Livy, 22.9.7–11). This choice becomes clear when one recalls that, at the time of the First Punic War, the consul Lucius Junius had "recognized" Venus, the mother of Aeneas, in the Aphrodite of Mount Eryx, which he had succeeded in occupying from the start (248 BCE) till the victorious finish. Thus Q. Fabius Maximus, who was struggling with the same enemy (the Carthaginians), vowed to give the same goddess—as a pledge of victory—a temple, which was dedicated in 215 on the Capitolium. It was the "Trojan light" that earned for Venus Erycina, "mother of the Aeneades," this majestic entry to the summit of the Capitolium, which was included at that date within the pomerial zone.

Some ten years later, the Oriental goddess Cybele was introduced on the same basis, and marvels impressed religious awareness: "two suns were seen; intermittent flashes had streaked through the night; etc." (Livy, 29.14.3). An oracle drawn from the Sibylline Books had predicted "the day when an enemy of foreign race would bring war to Italian soil, he could be defeated and banished from Italy, if the Mater Idaea were carried from Pessinus to Rome" (Livy, 29.10.5). In this way the Magna Mater (alias Cybele), honored as a "Trojan" ancestor, was solemnly received in Rome in 204 BCE and was installed on the Palatine. Until the building of her own temple, which was dedicated in 191 BCE, she was provisionally lodged in the temple of Victoria.

The entry of these two goddesses, understood in terms of the "Trojan light," is instructive on another account as well. In spite of the considerable honors that Rome accorded them (far from treating them as outsiders, they were installed on the prestigious hills of the Capitoline and the Palatine), Rome did not neglect to subject their cults to discreet censorship. Venus Erycina was treated in two ways. In the temple on the Capitoline (dedicated in 215) Rome venerated her as a Roman goddess. However, in the extrapomerial temple, built later outside of the Porta Collina and dedicated in 181, Rome considered her to be a foreign goddess, covered by the statute of the *peregrina sacra* (foreign rites), which allowed for tolerance of certain original customs. The temple of Venus Erycina outside the Porta Collina admitted, as an extension of the one on Mount Eryx, the presence of prostitutes in imitation of the sacred courtesans on the Sicilian mountain. The restraints were even stricter for the Mater deum Magna Idaea. Her routine cult could be practiced only by the Galli, the eunuch-priests, positions from which Roman citizens were excluded, and the cult was placed under the surveillance of the urban praetor. Still, the aristocrats did not hesitate to institute mutual visits and banquets during the goddess's festival. Her games were among the most splendid public rituals in the Roman festival list of the late Republic.

The *supplicatio* (organized in 207 BCE, following a miracle) in honor of Juno Regina of the Aventine make a particularly memorable impression with an innovation: twenty-seven girls sang a hymn composed especially for the occasion by the poet Livius Andronicus (Livy, 27.37.7–15)

Public worship. The aim of public worship (the *sacra publica*) was to assure or to restore the "benevolence and grace of the gods," which the Romans considered indispensable for the state's well-being. Annually returning rituals dominated public cultic activity. The feasts were fixed *(stativae)* or movable *(conceptivae)* or organized around some particular circumstance *(imperativae).* The *feriae,* a special class of days given to the gods as property (and hence free from every mundane activity) were marked as a special class of *dies nefasti* (days not to be used), namely as a group of days whose violation made piacular sacrifices necessary (hence marked by the letters *NP* and abbreviations of the festival names). Many of these festivals go back to the early Republic or an even earlier period. Usually, they were coordinated with the days that structured each month. The *calendae,* often marked by festivals to Juno, were the first day of the month, the *nonae,* were the ninth day before the ides (accordingly the fifth or seventh day) and the *idus* fell on the thirteenth or the fifteenth, respectively, according to whether they were ordinary months or March, May, July, or October. The idus were usually dedicated to Jupiter, but the same day staged other important festivals, too.

To that end, the calendar days were divided into profane days *(dies profesti)* and days reserved for the gods (*dies festi* or *feriae*), and thus for liturgical celebrations. However, if one looks at a Roman calendar, one observes that the list of days contains other signs. When the days are profane, they are marked by the letter *F (fasti);* when they pertain to the gods, by *N (nefasti).* This presentation does not call into question the division of "profane" and "sacred" times. It simply changes the perspective as to when "divine" becomes "human." Indeed, for the Romans, the day is *fastus* when it is *fas* (religiously licit) to engage in profane occupations, *nefastus* when it is *nefas* (religiously prohibited) to do so, since the day belongs to the gods. In reality, the analytical spirit of the pontiffs came up with yet a third category of *C* days *(comitiales),* which, while profane, lent themselves in addition to the *comitia,* or "assemblies." Furthermore, there are other rarely used letters, such as the three *dies fissi* (half *nefasti,* half *fasti*). The *dies religiosi* (or *atri*) are outside these categories: they are dates that commemorate public misfortunes, such as July 18, the *Dies Alliensis* (commemorating the disaster of the battle of Allia in 390 BCE).

The republican calendar (called *fasti*) divided the ferial days over the course of twelve months. Each month was marked by the *calendae* (the first day), the *nonae,* and the *idus* (the last two fell respectively on the fifth or seventh, and the thirteenth or the fifteenth, according to whether they were ordinary months or March, May, July, or October). The feasts were fixed *(stativae)* or movable *(conceptivae)* or organized around some particular circumstance.

The Roman liturgy developed in line with an order of feasts consecrated to particular deities. An overlap was therefore possible: since the ides, "days of full light," were always dedicated to Jupiter. The sacrifice of the Equus October (horse of October) on October 15 coincided with the ides.

This ritual sequence was punctuated by the rhythm of seasons for the agrarian celebrations (especially in April and in July and August) and by the schedule of training for military campaigns. Thus it is interesting to note that the month of March contained several feasts marking the opening of martial activities. There was registered on the calendars a sacrifice to the god Mars; the blessing of horses on the Equirria on February 27 and March 14; and the blessing of arms on the Quinquatrus and of trumpets on the Tubilustrium on March 19. In addition, there was the Agonium Martiale on March 17. The Salii, carrying lances *(hastae)* and shields *(ancilia),* roamed the city performing martial dances. Apart from the feriae and connected ritual sequences, many commemoration days of the dedication of temples filled the calendar. The annual sacrifice in front of the temple sometimes gave rise to very popular festivals.

Besides the liturgical feasts, it is also necessary to cite the *ludi,* games consisting essentially of chariot races. They went back to an old tradition represented by the Equirria. The new *ludi* replaced the *bigae,* teams of two horses, with the *quadrigae,* teams of four, for the races in the Circus Maximus and included various performances: riders leaping from one horse to another, fights with wrestlers and boxers. (The gladiator fights, which were Etruscan in origin, appeared in 264 BCE for private funeral feasts, but they did not become part of the public games until the end of the second century BCE.) These competitions were soon complemented by other spectacles: pantomimes and dances accompanied by the flute. The principal ones were the *Ludi Magni* or *Ludi Romani*, celebrated from the fifteenth through the eighteenth of September after the ides that coincided with the anniversary of the temple of Jupiter Capitoline. Considered to have been instituted by Tarquin the Elder (Livy, 1.35.9), they became annual events starting in 367 BCE, which is the date that saw the creation of the curule magistracy *(aediles curules).* The *Ludi Plebei*, a kind of plebeian reply to preceding games, were instituted later: they are mentioned for the first time in 216 BCE (Livy, 23.30.17). They took place in the Circus Flaminius, involved the same kind of games as the *Ludi Romani*, and were celebrated around the ides of November. It is also noteworthy that the *Ludi Romani* and the *Ludi Plebei* were both held around the ides (of September or November) and dedicated to Jupiter, to whom a sacrificial meal, the *Epulum Iovis*, was offered.

The priesthood. Priests were not necessary for private cult. An *aedituus,* a guardian of a temple, would have to open a temple that was normally closed or provide items necessary for the cult (water, for example). However, much of private ritual was performed on private ground. Neither prayer nor animal sacrifice was in need of a cultic specialist other than the *pater familias,* the head of the family, a person in charge of a farm, or the president of an association. The same holds true for public rituals. Many were led by the chosen magistrates, who gave the order to kill an oxen or start a horse race. A pontiff might assist in reciting a prayer that the magistrate uttered aloud, but it was the magistrate who performed, for example, the dedication of a new temple.

By the late Republic, certain priests who were dedicated to special cults—functioning, perhaps, but one or two times a year—were hardly important or prestigious. Few of these twelve *flamines minores* are known by name. The same type of specialized priesthood, but more to the fore, was represented by the *rex sacrorum* and the three major *flamines* of Jupiter (Dialis), Mars (Martialis) and—already a lesser figure—Quirinus (Quirinalis). The *flamines minores* oversaw a number of central, but routine, rituals that probably took place without a large public audience, and their priestly role was not more than a part-time job. They were, however, subjected to rules that limited their opportunities for entering a political career—a subject frequently leading to conflict. On the other hand, they were recruited at a comparatively young age, in their early twenties during the late Republic (and later), which is more than fifteen years before a consulate would take office. The wives of the *rex* and the *flamines minores* supplemented their ritual tasks as *regina sacrorum* (with a separate range of cults) or *flaminica.*

The only exception to the latter characterization were the six Vestal Virgins, who had to live in celibacy in the *atrium Vestae* on the Forum Romanum, adjacent to the Regia and the *aedes Vestae,* a circular sanctuary accessible to nobody else. "Caught," as the technical expression was, by the *pontifex maximus* at a minimum age of six years, their period of service was said to last for thirty years, although no case of a Vestal who left after that period is known. Instead, the role of the *Vestalis maxima*, the eldest one, was one of utmost authority and sanctity in the eyes of the public.

The predominant priests from perhaps the fourth century BCE onward were those organized as *collegia sacerdotum.* They were responsible for certain procedures and areas of religious regulation, but were—as a rule—not dedicated to the cult of specific deities. The mode of their recruitment and the persons recruited were increasingly adapted to the rules and personal reservoirs of the political magistrates. Although election was not implemented for most of them before 104 BCE *(Lex Domitia),* they came from the leading families only, being appointed shortly before the consulate or even afterward in the case of "new men" risen from nonconsular families. These colleges had no special building for their meetings, but regularly (probably monthly) met at their private homes. Holding their offices as lifetime appointments, they formed powerful networks within the political elite.

The most important and most politicized position was held by the *pontifex maximus.* He presided over the pontifical college, to which the *flamines* and *Vestales* (both "caught" by him), as well as the *rex sacrorum*, were attached. Jurisdictional competence and participation in large public rituals led to an enlargement or, even better, differentiation of the college. Its scribes were given the title "minor pontiffs" and the status of priests; a second college, the three (later seven) "men for Jupiter's banquets" *(Septemviri epulonum),* was split off in 196 BCE and ascended to nearly equal dignity under the Empire. In particular, it was their duty to organize the sacrificial supper, the *Epulum Iovis,* at the *Ludi Romani* and the *Ludi Plebei*, the Roman and Plebeian games on the ides of September and November. They numbered three at first, then seven, and finally (without a change of name) ten. The pontiffs were early specialists of Roman public and private law; the realm of religious property rights—divine property, tombs *(locus religiosus),* the juridical and religious quality of the time, and intercalation were in their hands. The college, originally recruited from patricians only, grew—always in parallel to the augural college—to nine members by the *Lex Ogulnia* of 300 BCE, then to fifteen by the *Lex Cornelia* of 82 BCE (opening prestigious positions for Sulla's supporters in the Civil war), and finally to sixteen by Caesar's *Lex Julia* of 46 BCE.

The augurs made up the second college. Their competence encompassed divination and the change of sacral status. Thus, it fell upon them to inaugurate both persons (the *rex sacrorum* and the three *flamines maiores*) and space *(templa)*; in the ritual of the *augurium maximum* they even checked for the status of a ritual; that is, they asked for Jupiter's consent to have the ritual performed. As a college, and in certain functions as individuals, they served as experts for everything concerning the *auspicia,* the divination by means of the observation of birds regularly performed by magistrates. Being able to question or invalidate auspicial legitimation, they were highly political figures, and the regulations concerning the college were at pains to ensure the independence of its members, who would not loose their priesthood even if they were condemned or exiled.

The *Duo viri sacris faciundis* (men in charge of the celebration of sacrifices) were responsible for safeguarding and for consulting the Sibylline Books by order of the Senate. There were at first two of them, then ten (*Decemviri*, beginning in 367 BCE), and finally—equating them to the other colleges—fifteen *(quindecimviri).*

The electoral procedures for the members of these priestly colleges, probably enacted for the first time in the second half of the third century, show how carefully Roman procedures regulated the religious realm. Only a minority (seventeen chosen by lot) of the thirty-five "tribes," originally regional voting units, selected among the candidates nominated by the surviving priests. The successful candidate was than formally adrogated by the college, thus continuing the practice of *cooptatio* (cooptation) that remained the rule for all the other, politically less important priestly groups. Even priests elected in a popular assembly were not installed by majority vote.

In addition to the four *collegia,* it is worth mentioning the fraternities that confirm the preference in Rome for priestly specialization and the division of religious authority. The twenty Fetiales saw to the protection of Rome in foreign relations, especially with regard to declarations of war and conclusion of peace treaties. The twenty-four Salii (twelve *Salii Palatini* and twelve *Salii Collini*, from Augustus onward) were dancer-priests who opened the season of war in March and who were the youngest aristocratic priests; female Salians are mentioned only once (Servius, *Ad Aeneiden* 8.285). The twenty-four Luperci (twelve *Fabiani* and twelve *Quinctiales*) acted only in the rites of the Lupercalia on February 15. The twelve Arval Brethren were in charge of the cult of the agrarian deity Dea Dia, whose sanctuary was located outside the city in the fields *(arva).* The function of the *Sodales Titii* (perhaps likewise twelve men) remains unknown; perhaps they continued a regal heroic cult. It is characteristic of the reduced political importance of these priesthoods that hardly any member is known, or rather the membership of those who are known was rarely made explicit. In contrast, between one- and two-thirds of the members of the major colleges are known for most years from the Second Punic War onward. By way of a unique ensemble of marble inscriptions from their sanctuary, the *fratres Arvales* are the best documented priesthood of the Empire.

Private worship. Religion as organized by the nobility, the political elite, and paid for by state funds—hence *religio publica*—offered a space for religious activities for the aristocracy and the framework for various collective or individual activities on the part of ordinary citizens or simply inhabitants of Rome. The *sacra publica*, publicly financed ritual, were not restricted to activities of the city as a whole. Territorial subdivisions, such as the *curiae* or the neighborhoods of the *compitalia* (crossroad sanctuaries), offered space for ritual interaction and communication. The *curio maximus* was the second priesthood to be included into the procedure of popular election, more than one hundred years before the augurs and the other pontiffs. In imperial times, the *vicomagistri* who presided over *compitalician* cult were given the right to wear the *toga praetexta,* togas with a purple strip distinguishing Roman magistrates, during their services.

We do not know much about gentilician cult, but much is known about family and household cult from literary and archaeological sources,which serve as a helpful corrective against poetic or antiquarian idealization. Rented Roman flats lacked built-in altars, and the ancestor cult of deceased relatives simply dumped into the extra-urban pits might have been limited.

The cult within the *familia,* the extended Roman family placed under the unrestricted authority of the *pater familias,* may be regarded in a biographical perspective. The day of birth *(dies natalis)* and the day of purification (*dies lustricus:* the ninth day for boys, the eighth for girls, when the infant received its name) were family feasts. In the atrium of the family home, the infant would acquire the habit of honoring the household gods (the *lar familiaris* and the *di penates*). The allusion made in the *Aulularia* (v. 24s) by Plautus to a young daughter who every day would bring "some gift such as incense, wine, or garlands" to the *lar familiaris* shows that personal devotion was not unknown in Rome. Livy (26.19.5) cites a more illustrious example of this kind about P. Cornelius Scipio, the future conqueror of Hannibal. "After he received the *toga virilis,* he undertook no action, whether public or private, without going right away to the Capitolium. Once he reached the sanctuary, he remained there in contemplation, normally all alone in private for some time." (It is true that a rumor attributed divine ancestry to Scipio, something he very carefully neither confirmed nor denied; see above).

The taking of the *toga virilis,* or *pura* (as opposed to the *toga praetexta,* bordered with a purple ribbon and worn by children), generally took place at age seventeen during the feast of the Liberalia on March 17. Before this point, the *puer* (boy) offered his *bulla* (a golden amulet) to the *lar familiaris.* From then on, he was a *iuvenis,* and he would go to the Capitolium to offer a sacrifice and leave an offering in the sanctuary of the goddess Juventus (*Iuventas*). Girls would offer dolls and clothing on the day of their wedding. Another family feast honored the father of the family on his birthday; for reasons of convenience the commemoration and party seems to have frequently been moved to the next calends or ides. A warm atmosphere brought together the whole family, including the servants, at least twice a year. On March 1, the feast of the Matronalia, mothers of families would make their way up the Esquiline to the temple of Juno Lucina, whose anniversary it was. Together with their husbands they prayed "for the safeguarding of their union" and received presents. They then prepared dinner for their slaves. Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.12.7), who mentions this custom, adds that on December 17, the feast of the Saturnalia, it was the masters' turn to serve their slaves, unless they preferred to share dinner with them (*Saturnalia* 1.7.37). It is characteristic of the gendered perspective of the Romans that the "male" Saturnalia developed into a carnival lasting for several days, characterized by an exchange of gifts, as well as excessive drinking.

At the end of life, the *Feriae Denecales* (*denecales* or *deni-,* perhaps from *de nece,* "following death") took place. The purpose was to purify the family in mourning, for the deceased was regarded as having defiled his or her family, which thus became *funesta* (defiled by death). To this end, a *novemdiale sacrum* was offered on the ninth day after burial. As for the deceased, the body, or a finger thereof kept aside *(os resectum)* in the case of cremation, was buried in a place that become inviolable *(religiosus).* The burial was indispensable in order to assure the repose of the deceased, who from then on was venerated among the *di parentes* (later the *di manes*). If there were no burial, the deceased risked becoming one of the mischievous spirits, the *lemures,* which the father of the family would expel at midnight on the Lemuria of May 9, 11, and 13.

During the *Dies Parentales*, from February 13 to 21, the family would go to the tombs of their dead in order to bring them gifts. Since the period ended on February 21 with a public feast called the Feralia, the following day, February 22, reverted to a private feast, the Caristia or Cara Cognatio, in which the members of the family gathered and comforted one another around a banquet. This explains the compelling need in an old family for legitimate offspring (either by bloodline or by adoption). In their turn, the duty of the descendants was to carry on the family worship and to calm the souls of their ancestors. Foundations or donations to associations could serve the same purpose.

Religious associations. The sacrifice and banquet framed family festivals and organized social space for secondary groups as well. The Romans believed that their associations dated back to the early regal period. Common economic interest and sociability usually went together, formally united by the cult of a suitable deity. Bakers, for example, venerated Vesta, the goddess of the hearth. In addition, slaves of large households were known to have organized themselves into associations during imperial times. Given the weak economic position of many individuals and families, associations might provide funeral services as well.

The multifunctional form of the association *(collegium)* often opened them to criticism and suspicion. For example, associations of venerators of the goddess Isis, originally stemming from Egypt but present at Rome from the second century BCE onward, were regarded as political troublemakers and organizers of popular unrest in the last decennium of the Republic. Even the territorially organized groups of the *compitalia* were subject to suspicion, and they eventually dissolved. The most famous and best documented conflict between a religious organization and Roman officials is the persecution of the Italian Bacchanalia in 186 BCE.

The affair is known from Livy's extensive narrative (39.8–18) and from a bronze copy of the final decree of the Senate, which enforced the Roman sanctions of the cult within the whole of Italy, or at least the Roman territories *(Senatusconsultum de Bacchanalibus).* The cult of Dionysos had a long history and was widespread throughout Italy. Accordingly, the Senate's action was not directed against the god Bacchus or his cult in principle. Following a denunciation, alarm had been created by the secret gatherings (Livy, 39.8.3) that reeked of scandals involving both men and women. The bacchants were accused of taking part in criminal orgies in a milieu marked by "the groans of victims amid debaucheries and murders." The prohibition was dictated out of a concern for public order. The reaction involved draconian sanctions, including the death penalty for some leading figures. The cult however, was not suppressed. If restricted to five persons or fewer and to female priests and a majority of female members, and with the renunciation of a associative framework (money, officers), the cult could continue—everything else had to be explicitly requested and permitted by the Senate.

The Bacchanalian affair illustrates the Roman approach of honoring the religious obligations of subjects as the city itself fulfilled the religious obligations that had arisen in the long course of history *(religiones).* The gods would be helpful and would not interfere, if they were given their due. In this process there was an acceptable range of behavior, but any excess would be superstitious *(superstitio).* In founding new colonies and regulating their affairs, Roman officials were forced to address the religious basics and put them into legal terms: that was part of the *ius publicum.* With regard to such decisions, the most important source is the *Lex Coloniae Iuliae Genetivae Ursonensis,* a law written in 44 BCE for a Spanish colony founded by C. Julius Caesar, which survived in fragmentary form in a copy from the end of the first century CE (Crawford, 1996). The basics are few: a college of augurs and pontiffs had to be installed (without specifying their tasks); their succession was to be regulated; and the (low) pay of the haruspices was specified. Games had to be held for the Capitoline triad and Venus, the tutelary deities. The introduction of every other cult was left to the city council, as was probably the calendar. It was made certain that the colony was able to pay for the cults and the religious obligation it had taken up: the coordination of contracts with suppliers of victims and organizers of games was the first topic in the city council every year.

SEE ALSO Indo-European Religions, overview article.

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ROMAN RELIGION: THE IMPERIAL PERIOD

The Roman state's extraordinary and unexpected transformation from one that had hegemony over the greater part of Italy into a world state in the second and first centuries BCE had implications for Roman religion that are not easy to grasp. After all, Christianity, a religion wholly "foreign" in its origins, arose from this period of Roman ascendancy. To begin, then, to understand the religious system of imperial Rome, it is best to confine the discussion to some elementary and obviously related facts.

First, the old Roman practice of inviting the chief gods of their enemies to become gods of Rome (*evocatio*) played little part in the new stage of imperialism. *Evocatio* played some role in Rome's conquests in the middle Republic, but the practice had been transformed. The last temple to be built in Rome to house a deity "evoked" from an enemy of Rome was that of Vortumnus (264 BCE). A version of the ritual was probably used to "evoke" the Juno of Carthage in the 140s BCE, but no temple was built to her in Rome. The extent of the transformation is shown by the fact that in 75 BCE a Roman conqueror of Isaura Vetus (in Asia Minor) took a vow (in language reminiscent of the *evocatio*), which seems to have resulted in the foundation of a new local cult of the patron deity of Isaura Vetus. The old procedures of *evocatio* are not found in the imperial period. Instead, the cults of Rome's subjects continued to form the basis for their local religious system.

Second, while it was conquering the Hellenistic world, Rome was involved in a massive absorption of Greek language, literature, and religion, with the consequence that the Roman gods became victorious over those of Greece while their old identification with Greek gods became more firmly established. Because the gods were expected to take sides and to favor their own worshipers, this could have created some problems. In fact, from the middle Republic onward, the Romans respected the gods of the Greeks. As early as 193 BCE the Romans replied to the city of Teos (in Asia Minor) that they would "seek to improve both honors towards the god [Dionysos, the patron deity of Teos] and privileges towards you," on the grounds that Roman success was due to her well-known reverence towards the gods (Sherk, 1969, pp. 214–216). In other words, the Romans accepted that the Greek god Dionysos was included among the gods that favored Rome. In consequence, the Greeks felt no pressure to modify their ancestral cults, and traditional Greek cults remained vibrant throughout the imperial period.

Third, the conquest of Africa, Spain, and Gaul produced the opposite phenomenon of a large, though by no means systematic, identification of Punic, Iberian, and Celtic gods with Roman gods. This, in turn, is connected with two opposite aspects of the Roman conquest of the West. On the one hand, the Romans had little sympathy and understanding for the religion of their Western subjects. Although occasionally guilty of human sacrifice, they found the various forms of human sacrifices that were practiced more frequently in Africa, Spain, and Gaul repugnant (hence their later efforts to eliminate the Druids in Gaul and in Britain). On the other hand, northern Africa (outside Egypt) and western Europe were deeply Latinized in language and Romanized in institutions, thereby creating the conditions for the assimilation of native gods to Roman gods.

Yet the Mars, the Mercurius, and even the Jupiter and the Diana seen so frequently in Gaul under the Romans are not exactly the same as in Rome. The individuality of the Celtic equivalent of Mercurius has already been neatly noted by Caesar (*Gallic War* 6.17). Some Roman gods, such as Janus and Quirinus, do not seem to have penetrated Gaul. Similarly, in Africa, Saturnus preserved much of the Baal Hammon with whom he was identified. There, Juno Caelestis (or simply Caelestis, destined to considerable veneration outside Africa) is Tanit (Tinnit), the female companion of Baal Hammon. The assimilation of the native god is often revealed by an accompanying adjective (in Gaul, for example, Mars Lenus and Mercurius Dumiatis). An analogous phenomenon had occurred in the East under the Hellenistic monarchies: native, especially Semitic, gods were assimilated to Greek gods, especially to Zeus and Apollo. The Eastern assimilation went on under Roman rule (as seen, for example, with Zeus Panamaros in Caria).

Roman soldiers, who became increasingly professional and lived among natives for long periods of time, played a part in these syncretic tendencies. A further consequence of imperialism was the emphasis on Victory and on certain gods of Greek origin (such as Herakles and Apollo) as gods of victory. Victoria was already recognized as a goddess during the Samnite Wars; she was later associated with various leaders, from Scipio Africanus to Sulla and Pompey. Roman emperors used an elaborate religious language in their discussions of Victory. Among Christians, Augustine of Hippo depicted Victory as God's angel (*City of God* 4.17).

These transformations are part of the changing relationship between the center (Rome) and the periphery (the Empire). By the early Empire, Italy fell wholly under the authority of Rome: in 22 CE the senate decided that "all rituals, temples, and images of the gods in Italian towns fall under Roman law and jurisdiction" (Tacitus, *Annals* 3.71). The provinces were different and not subject to Roman jurisdiction in the same way. However, Roman governors of the imperial period were required to watch over religious life in their province. They were concerned that religious life proceed in an orderly and acceptable manner, and the governors' official instructions included the order to preserve sacred places. They also ensured that the provincials took part in the annual performance on January 3 of the Roman ritual vows of allegiance to the emperor and the Empire.

Roman practices were celebrated in certain specific contexts throughout the Empire. Roman *coloniae*, settlements consisting of Roman citizens (ex-soldiers and landless poor from Rome), were established in the provinces in the late Republic and early Empire. Such settlements were privileged clones of Rome in a sea of mere subjects of Rome. Their public religious life had a strongly Roman cast, despite much variation from place to place. Many *coloniae* had their own Capitolium, priesthoods (pontifices and augures), and rituals based on those of Rome.

The Roman army also followed overtly Roman rules. Military camps had at their center a building that housed the legionary standards and imperial and divine images (sometimes including images of Romulus and Remus). The importance of the building is reflected in the fact that in 208 CE it is even called a Capitolium (*Année épigraphique*,1989, no. 581, from Aalen in Germany). From the early Empire all legionary soldiers (who were Roman citizens) and later all auxiliary soldiers (who were originally not Roman citizens) celebrated religious festivals modeled on those of Rome. They celebrated festivals on the Roman cycle (e.g. Vestalia or Neptunalia); they performed imperial vows to the Capitoline triad on January 3; and they celebrated imperial birthdays and other events.

Towns with the status of *municipia* (where local citizens had the so-called Latin right and some even full Roman citizenship) shared some of the Roman religious features of *coloniae*; their principal priesthoods, for example, were named after and modeled on Roman institutions—*pontifices*, *augures*, and *haruspices*. And from the second century CE onward, *municipia* in North Africa also began to build their own Capitolia. Overtly Roman practices served as part of the process of competitive emulation that marked civic life in many parts of the Empire. The original Caesarian regulations for the *colonia* of Urso in southern Spain, which constitute our fullest single document of this process, remained sufficiently important to Urso for them to be reinscribed a hundred years later, at a time when other Spanish communities had just received the (lesser) status of the Latin right (Crawford, 1996, pp. 393-454). Throughout the Empire, whatever the technical status of the community, there were publicly organized and celebrated religious rites. For example, the Greek city of Ephesus (Gr., Ephesos) proudly commemorated the fact that Artemis was born at Ephesus and voted to extend the period of her festival "since the god Artemis, patron of our city, is honored not only in her native city, which she has made more famous than all other cities through her own divinity, but also by Greeks and barbarians, so that everywhere sanctuaries and precincts are consecrated for her, temples are dedicated and altars set up for her, on account of her manifest epiphanies" (*Die Inschriften von Ephesos* no. 24, c. 163 CE). Individuals took part in such festivals and also sacrificed incense on small altars outside their houses when processions in honor of the Roman emperor passed by. This is not to say that piety towards the gods existed only in public contexts or indeed was constituted primarily through civic channels. Individuals formed private religious associations, either simply to worship a particular deity or to form a society that would ensure the proper burial of its members. They also made private prayers and vows to the appropriate god and set up votive offerings to the god in his or her sanctuary.

IMPERIAL ATTITUDES TOWARD AND USES OF RELIGION. Augustus and his contemporaries thought, or perhaps in some cases wanted other people to think, that the preceding age (roughly the period from the Gracchi to Caesar) had seen a decline in the ancient Roman care for gods. Augustus himself stated in the public record known as the *Res gestae* that he had restored eighty-two temples and shrines (in one year, 28 BCE). He revived cults and religious associations, such as the Arval Brothers and the fraternity of the Titii, and appointed a *flamen dialis*, a priestly office that had been left vacant since 87 BCE. This revivalist feeling was not entirely new: it was behind the enormous collection of evidence concerning ancient Roman cults, the "divine antiquities," that Varro had dedicated to Caesar about 47 BCE in his *Antiquitatum rerum humanarum et divinarum libri*; the rest of the work, the "human antiquities," was devoted to Roman political institutions and customs. Varro's work codified Roman religion for succeeding generations, and as such it was used for polemical purposes by Christian apologists.

The Romans also turned certain gods of Greek origin into gods of victory. As early as 145 BCE, L. Mummius dedicated a temple to Hercules Victor after his triumph over Greece. After a victory, generals often offered 10 percent of their booty to Hercules, and Hercules Invictus was a favorite god of Pompey. Apollo was connected with Victory as early as 212 BCE. Caesar boosted her ancestress Venus in the form of Venus Victrix. But it was Apollo who helped Octavian, the future Augustus, to win the Battle of Actium in September of 31 BCE.

It is difficult to do justice both to the mood of the Augustan restoration and to the unquestionable seriousness with which the political and military leaders of the previous century tried to support their unusual adventures by unusual religious attitudes. Marius, a devotee of the Mater Magna (Cybele), was accompanied in his campaigns by a Syrian prophetess. Sulla apparently brought from Cappadocia the goddess Ma, soon identified with Bellona, whose orgiastic and prophetic cult had wide appeal. Furthermore, he developed a personal devotion to Venus and Fortuna and set an example for Caesar, who claimed Venus as the ancestress of the *gens* Julia. As *pontifex maximus* for twenty years, Caesar reformed not only individual cults but also the calendar, which had great religious significance. He tried to support his claim to dictatorial powers by collecting religious honors that, though obscure in detail and debated by modern scholars, anticipate later imperial cults.

Unusual religious attitudes were not confined to leaders. A Roman senator, Nigidius Figulus, made religious combinations of his own both in his writings and in his practice: magic, astrology, and Pythagoreanism were some of the ingredients. Cicero, above all, epitomized the search of educated men of the first century BCE for the right balance between respect for the ancestral cults and the requirements of philosophy. Cicero could no longer believe in traditional divination. When his daughter died in 45 BCE, he embarked briefly on a project for making her divine. This was no less typical of the age than the attempt by Clodius in 62 BCE to desecrate the festival of Bona Dea, reserved for women, in order to contact Caesar's wife (he escaped punishment).

The imperial age inclined toward distinctions and compromises. The Roman *pontifex maximus* Q. Mucius Scaevola (early first century BCE) is credited with the popularization of the distinction, originally Greek, between the gods of the poets as represented in myths, the gods of ordinary people to be found in cults and sacred laws, and finally the gods of the philosophers, confined to books and private discussion. It was the distinction underlying the thought of Varro and Cicero. No wonder, therefore, that in that atmosphere of civil wars and personal hatreds, cultic rules and practices were exploited ruthlessly to embarrass enemies, and no one could publicly challenge the ultimate validity of traditional practices.

The Augustan restoration discouraged philosophical speculation about the nature of the gods: Lucretius's *De rerum natura* remains characteristic of the age of Caesar. Augustan poets (Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid) evoked obsolescent rites and emphasized piety. Vergil interpreted the Roman past in religious terms. Nevertheless, the combined effect of the initiatives of Caesar and Augustus amounted to a new religious situation.

For centuries the aristocracy in Rome had controlled what was called *ius sacrum* (sacred law), the religious aspect of Roman life, but the association of priesthood with political magistracy, though frequent and obviously convenient, had never been institutionalized. In 27 BCE the assumption by Octavian of the name Augustus implied, though not very clearly, permanent approval of the gods (*augustus* may connote a holder of permanent favorable auspices). In 12 BCE Augustus assumed the position of *pontifex maximus*, which became permanently associated with the figure of the emperor (*imperator*), the new head for life of the Roman state. Augustus's new role resulted in an identification of religious with political power, which had not existed in Rome since at least the end of the monarchy. Furthermore, the divinization of Caesar after his death had made Augustus, as his adopted son, the son of a *divus.* In turn, Augustus was officially divinized (*apotheosis*) after his death by the Roman Senate. Divinization after death did not become automatic for his successors (Tiberius, Gaius, and Nero were not divinized); nevertheless, Augustus's divinization created a presumption that there was a divine component in an ordinary emperor who had not misbehaved in his lifetime. Divinization also reinforced the trend toward the cult of the living emperor, which had been most obvious during Augustus's life. With the Flavian dynasty and later with the Antonines, it was normal for the head of the Roman state to be both the head of the state religion and a potential, or even actual, god.

As the head of Roman religion, the Roman emperor was therefore in the paradoxical situation of being responsible not only for relations between the Roman state and the gods but also for a fair assessment of his own qualifications to be considered a god, if not after his life, at least while he was alive. This situation, however, must not be assumed to have applied universally. Much of the religious life in individual towns was in the hands of local authorities or simply left to private initiative. The financial support for public cults was in any case very complex, but many sanctuaries (especially in the Greek world) had their own sources of revenue. It will be enough to mention that the Roman state granted or confirmed to certain gods in certain sanctuaries the right to receive legacies (Ulpian, *Regulae* 22.6). In providing a local shrine with special access to money, an emperor implied no more than benevolence toward the city or group involved.

Within the city of Rome, however, the emperor was in virtual control of the public cults. As a Greek god, Apollo had been kept outside of the *pomerium* since his introduction into Rome: his temple was in the Campus Martius. Under Augustus, however, Apollo received a temple inside the *pomerium* on the Palatine in recognition of the special protection he had offered to Octavian. The Sibylline Books, an ancient collection of prophecies that previously had been preserved on the Capitol, were now transferred to the new temple. Later, Augustus demonstrated his preference for Mars as a family god, and a temple to Mars Ultor (the avenger of Caesar's murder) was built. It was no doubt on the direct initiative of Hadrian that the cult of Rome as a goddess (in association with Venus) was finally introduced into the city centuries after the cult had spread outside of Italy. A temple to the Sun (Sol), a cult popular in the Empire at large and not without some roots in the archaic religion of Rome, had to wait until Emperor Aurelian in 274 CE, if one discounts the cult of the Ba'al of Emesa, a sun god, which came and went with the emperor Elagabalus in 220–221 CE. Another example of these changes inside Rome is that Emperor Claudius found the popularity of these alien cults partially responsible for the neglect of the art of haruspicy among the great Etruscan families, and he took steps to revive the art (Tacitus, *Annals* 11.15, 47 CE).

A further step in the admission of "Oriental gods" to the official religion of Rome was the building of a temple to Isis. In the late Republic, the cult was formally suppressed, only for the triumvirs to vow a shrine to the goddess in 43 BCE, and official action was taken once more against the cult under Augustus and Tiberius. At some point between then and the fourth century CE, festivals of Isis entered the official

Roman calendar, possibly under the emperor Gaius Caligula. From at least the second century CE, the main Roman sanctuary of Isis on the Campus Martius was architecturally related to the east side of the Saepta, or official voting area, and to other public monuments in this area, which suggests its integration into the official landscape of Rome. It was, however, the only new foreign sanctuary, so far as can be discovered from the surviving fragments, to be represented on the third-century CE official map of the city of Rome. Jupiter Dolichenus, a god from northern Syria popular among soldiers, was probably given a temple on the Aventine in the second century CE.

There is some evidence that the Roman priestly colleges intervened in the cults of *municipia* and *coloniae* (in relation to the cult of Mater Magna), but on the whole it is unreasonable expect the cults of Rome herself to remain exemplary for Roman citizens living elsewhere. For example, Vitruvius, who dedicated his work on architecture to Octavian before the latter became Augustus in 27 BCE, assumes that in an Italian city there should be a temple to Isis and Sarapis (*De architectura* 1.7.1), but Isis was kept out of Rome in those years. Emperor Caracalla, however, presented his grant of Roman citizenship to the provincials in 212 CE in hope of contributing to religious unification: "So I think I can in this way perform a [magnificent and pious] act, worthy of their majesty, by gathering to their rites [as Romans] all the multitude that joins my people" (*Papyrus Giessen* 40). Although the cult of Zeus Kapetolios appears three years later at the Greek city of Ptolemais Euergetis in Egypt, the general results of Caracalla's grant were modest in religious terms.

Coins and medals, insofar as they were issued under the control of the central government, provide some indication of imperial preferences in the matter of gods and cults, as well as when and how certain Oriental cults (such as that of Isis, as reflected on coins of Vespasian) or certain attributes of a specific god were considered helpful to the Empire and altogether suitable for ordinary people who used coins. But because as a rule it avoided references to cults of rulers, coinage can be misleading if considered alone. Imperial cult and Oriental cults are, in fact, two of the most important features of Roman religion in the imperial period. But it is crucial to take into consideration popular, not easily definable trends; the religious beliefs or disbeliefs of the intellectuals; the greater participation of women in religious and in intellectual life generally; and, finally, the peculiar problems presented by the persecution of Christianity.

MAGIC AND DIVINATION. A striking development of the imperial period was that the concept of magic emerged as the ultimate *superstitio*, a system whose principles were parodic of and in opposition to true *religio*. The definition of magic is contentious and hotly debated. In the nineteenth and earlier part of the twentieth century, many theorists (especially Sir James Frazer, the author of *The Golden Bough*) defined "magic" as an inferior and prior form of religion: whereas religion had a complex cognitive significance, magical actions were purely instrumental, believed to have a direct causal effect on the world; or, in an alternative formulation, the magician coerced the deities, whereas the priest of religion entreated them in prayer and sacrifice. Such theories still underlie widely held conceptions of magic. But this grand developmental scheme, in which magic is seen as the precursor of "true religion," has become increasingly discredited, along with the nineteenth-century evolutionary views of human society and development of which it is a part. Besides, the definition of magic as coercive and instrumental as against the (essentially Christian and partisan) view of "real" religion as noninstrumental and noncoercive does not often match (or help us to classify) the varieties of ritual, worship, or religious officials in the ancient world. A better starting point is the discussions of magic (and its relation to religion) in the writings of the Romans themselves. For example, according to the encyclopedia of Pliny the Elder, magic, which originated in Persia, was a heady combination of medicine, religion, and astrology that met human desires for health, control of the gods, and knowledge of the future. The system was, in his view, totally fraudulent (*Natural History* 30.1-18; cf. Lucan's *Pharsalia* 6.413-830). Such views of magic as a form of deviant religious behavior should also be related to the developing concepts and practices of Roman law in the imperial period. The speech by Apuleius (*De magia*) defending himself against a charge of bewitching a wealthy heiress in a North African town is particularly important.

The relationship of this stereotype to the reality of magical practice is, however, complex. Magic was an important part of the fictional repertoire of Roman writers, but it was not only a figment of the imagination of the elite; and its practice may have become more prominent through the principate—a consequence perhaps of it too (like other forms of knowledge) becoming partially professionalized in the hands of literate experts in the imperial period. So, for example, the surviving Latin curses (often scratched on lead tablets, and so preserved) increase greatly in number under the Empire, and the Greek magical papyri from Egypt are most common in the third and fourth centuries CE. Roman anxieties about magic may, in part, have been triggered by changes in its practices and prominence, as well as by the internal logic of their own worldview.

Divination had been central to republican politics and to the traditional religion of the Roman state. For example, before engagement in battle or before any meeting of an assembly the "auspices" were taken—in other words, the heavens were observed for any signs (such as the particular pattern of a flight of birds) that the gods gave or withheld their assent to the project in hand. These forms of divination changed in Rome under the principate. The traditional systematic reporting of prodigies, for example, disappeared in the Augustan period: these seemingly random intrusions of divine displeasure must have appeared incongruous in a system where divine favor flowed through the emperor; such prodigies as were noted generally centered on the births and deaths of emperors. There were many other forms of divination. Some of them (such as astrology) involved specific foretelling of the future. Some (such as dream interpretation) were a private, rather than a public, affair. Some could even be practiced as a weapon against the current political order—as when casting an emperor's horoscope foretold his imminent death.

The practitioners of divination were as varied as its functions. They ranged from the senior magistrates (who observed the heavens before an assembly) and the state priests (such as the *augures* who advised the magistrates on heavenly signs) to the potentially dangerous astrologers and soothsayers. These people were periodically expelled from the city of Rome and under the principate were subject to control by provincial governors. The jurist Ulpian included in his treatise on the duties of provincial governors a section explaining the regulation of astrologers and soothsayers; a papyrus document survives from Roman Egypt, with a copy of a general ban on divination issued by a governor of the province in the late second century CE (on the grounds that it led people astray and brought danger); and at the end of the third century CE the emperor Diocletian issued a general ban on astrology. Consultation of diviners that threatened the stability of private families or the life of the emperor himself were obvious targets for punishment.

THE IMPERIAL CULT. The imperial cult was many things to many people. Indeed, it can be said that there was no "imperial cult;" instead, there were many "imperial cults," as appropriate in many different contexts. The emperor never became a complete god, even if he was considered a god, because he was not requested to produce miracles, even for supposed deliverance from peril. Vespasian performed miracles in Alexandria soon after his proclamation as emperor, but these had no precise connection to his potential divine status; he remained an exception in any case. Hadrian never performed miracles, but his young lover Antinous, who was divinized after death, is known to have performed some (Dörner, 1952, p. 40, no. 78).

Apotheosis, decided by the Senate, was the only official form of deification valid for everyone in the Empire and was occasionally extended to female members of the imperial family (Drusilla, the sister of Gaius, who received apotheosis in 38 CE, was the first such honorand.) It had its precedent, of course, in the apotheosis of Romulus. Ultimately, the cult of the living emperor mattered more. It was the result of a mixture of spontaneous initiative by provincial and local councils (and even by private individuals) and promptings from provincial governors and the emperor himself. It had precedents not only in the Hellenistic ruler cult but also in the more or less spontaneous worship of Roman generals and governors, especially in the Hellenized East. Though it is unlikely that temples were built to provincial governors, Cicero had to decline such worship when he was governor of Cilicia (*Ad Atticum* 5.21.7).

The cult of Roman provincial governors disappeared with Augustus, to the exclusive benefit of the emperor and his family. When he did not directly encourage the ruler cult, the emperor still had to approve, limit, and occasionally refuse it. Although he had to be worshiped, he also had to remain a man in order to live on social terms with the Roman aristocracy, of which he was supposed to be the *princeps.* It was a delicate balancing act. It is probably fair to say that during his lifetime the emperor was a god more in proportion to his remoteness than his proximity, and that the success (for success it was) of the imperial cult in the provinces was due to the presence it endowed to an absent and alien sovereign. His statues, his temples, and his priests, as well as the games, sacrifices, and other ceremonial acts, helped make the emperor present; they also helped people to express their interest in the preservation of the world in which they lived.

The imperial cult was not universally accepted and liked. Seneca ridiculed the cult of Claudius, and Tacitus spoke of the cult in general as Greek adulation. In the third century the historian Dio Cassius attributed to Augustus's friend Maecenas a total condemnation of the imperial cult. Jews and Christians objected to it on principle, and the acts of the Christian martyrs remind us that there was an element of brutal imposition in the imperial cult. But its controversial nature in certain circles may well have been another factor in the cult's success (conflicts help any cause). There is even evidence that some groups treated the imperial cult as a mystery religion in which priests displayed imperial images or symbols.

Schematically, it can be said that in Rome Augustus favored the association of the cult of his life spirit (genius) with the old cult of the public *lares* of the crossroads (*lares compitales*). Such a combined cult was in the hands of humble people (especially ex-slaves). Similar associations developed along various lines in Italy and the West and gave respectability to the ex-slaves who ran them. Augustus's birthday was considered a public holiday. His genius was included in public oaths between Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the *penates.* In Augustus's last years Tiberius dedicated an altar to the *numen Augusti* in Rome; the four great priestly colleges had to make yearly sacrifices at it. *Numen,* in an obscure way, implied divine will.

In the West, central initiative created the altar of Roma and Augustus outside Lyons, to be administered by the Council of the Three Gauls (12 BCE). A similar altar was built at Oppidum Ubiorum (Cologne). Later temples to Augustus (by then officially divinized) were erected in Western provinces. The key episode occurred in 15 CE, the year after the official deification of Augustus in Rome, when permission was given to the province of Hispania Tarraconensis for a temple to Divus Augustus in the *colonia* of Tarraco. Its priests were drawn not just from Tarraco but from the whole province, and Tacitus (*Annals* 1.78), reporting the decision of 15 CE, notes that the temple set a precedent for other provinces. In the East, temples to Roma and Divus Julius (for

Roman citizens) and to Roma and Augustus (for Greeks) were erected as early as 29 BCE. There, as in the West, provincial assemblies took a leading part in the establishment of the cult. Individual cities were also active: priests of Augustus are found in thirty-four different cities of Asia Minor. The organization of the cult varied locally. There was no collective provincial cult of the emperor in Egypt, though there was a cult in Alexandria. And any poet, indeed any person, could have his or her own idea about the divine nature of the emperor. Horace, for example, suggested that Augustus might be Mercurius (*Odes* 1.2).

Augustus's successors tended to be worshiped either individually, without the addition of Roma, or collectively with past emperors. In Asia Minor the last individual emperor known to have received a personal priesthood or temple is Caracalla. In this province—though not necessarily elsewhere—the imperial cult petered out at the end of the third century. Nevertheless, Constantine, in the fourth century, authorized the building of a temple for the *gens* Flavia (his own family) in Italy at Hispellum, but he warned that it "should not be polluted by the deceits of any contagious *superstitio*"—whatever he may have meant by this (Hermann Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* 705, lines 46-48, 337 CE).

It is difficult to say how much the ceremonies of the imperial court reflected divinization of the emperors. Domitian wanted to be called *dominus et deus* (Suetonius, *Domitian* 13.2), but this is anomalous and broke the normal convention that the emperor should present himself to the Roman elite as *primus inter pares* (first among equals). In the third century a specific identification of the living emperor with a known god seems to be more frequent (for instance, Septimius Severus and his wife, Julia Domna, with Jupiter and Juno). When the imperial cult died out, the emperor had to be justified as the choice of god; he became emperor by the grace of god. Thus Diocletian and Maximian, persecutors of Christianity, present themselves not as Jupiter and Hercules but as Jovius and Herculius, that is, the protégés of Jupiter and Hercules. It must be added that during the first centuries of the Empire the divinization of the emperor was accompanied by a multiplication of divinizations of private individuals, in the West often of humble origin. Such divinization took the form of identifying the dead, and occasionally the living, with a known hero or god. Sometimes the divinization was nothing more than an expression of affection by relatives or friends. But it indicated a tendency to reduce the distance between men and gods, which helped the fortunes of the imperial cult (Wrede, 1981).

In at least the "civilized" parts of both East and West, the principal social change that accompanied these religious changes was the role of local elites in the service of Rome. Holders of the local offices of the imperial cult received prestige in their local communities, as they did for holding other offices or priesthoods, and they might be able to use such offices to further the status of themselves or their families. In the West, ex-slaves with Roman citizenship (who formed a significant upwardly mobile group) could aspire to a public status that articulated their position in the framework of the Roman Empire.

"ORIENTAL" INFLUENCES. It has long been standard to employ the category "Oriental religions" in discussing the new religious options in imperial Rome. This category was first widely used, if not invented, by the Belgian scholar Franz Cumont in the early years of the twentieth century in his pioneering studies of Roman religion. For Cumont, the key to understanding the religious history of the period lay in the influx into Rome of a group of Eastern religions that shared a number of common characteristics setting them apart from traditional civic cults—and paving the way, eventually, for the rise of Christianity. However, these religions cannot be neatly pigeonholed as "Oriental." Several of the cults did proclaim an Eastern "origin" for their wisdom, but it is often clear that a Roman version of the cult differed substantially from its (notional) Eastern ancestor. Above all, the "Orient" itself was hardly the homogeneous category that modern scholars (and the Romans, no doubt) often try to make it: different cults came from quite different religious backgrounds—the religious traditions of the home of Mithras in Persia, for example, had little in common with the Egyptian traditions in the worship of Isis and Sarapis.

The issue of whom the new cults attracted is difficult. Did the different "messages" appeal more to some sections of the inhabitants of Rome than to others? Were the poor more commonly to be found among the adherents than the rich? Women more commonly than men? Did these alternative religions attract those who had only a small role to play in the traditional civic cults and the political order that those cults sustained? Were they, in other words, "religions of disadvantage?" There is no simple answer to those questions. There was enormous variety within the population of Rome, which had no single axis between privilege and disadvantage. In a society where some of the richest and most educated members were to be found outside (and indeed ineligible for) the ranks of the elite, it makes no sense to imagine a single category of "the disadvantaged." Besides, it is very hard now (and no doubt always was for most outside observers) to reconstruct accurately the membership of any particular cult; for apparently casual references to a cult's adherents in the writing of the period are often part and parcel of an attack on that cult—deriding a religion as being, for example, the business of women and slaves. But it is clear that male members of the senatorial order were conspicuously absent from the new cults. No senators are attested as initiates of Jupiter Dolichenus, Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus, Isis, Mithras, or (probably) Christianity before the mid-third century CE.

New cults claiming an "Oriental" origin penetrated the Roman Empire at various dates, in different circumstances, and with varying appeal, although on the whole they seem to have supplemented religious needs in the Latin West more than in the Hellenized East. They tended, though not in equal measure, to present themselves as mystery cults: they often required initiation and, perhaps more often, some religious instruction.

Cybele, the first Oriental divinity to be found acceptable in Rome since the end of the third century BCE, was long an oddity in the city. As the Mater Magna (Great Mother), she had been imported by governmental decision, she had a temple within the *pomerium*, and she was under the protection of members of the highest Roman aristocracy. Yet her professional priests, singing in Greek and living by their temple, were considered alien fanatics even in imperial times. What is worse, the goddess also had servants, the Galli, who had castrated themselves to express their devotion to her.

Under the emperor Claudius, Roman citizens were probably allowed some priestly functions, though the matter is very obscure. Even more obscure is how Attis became Cybele's major partner. He is so poorly attested in the republican written evidence for the cult of Cybele that scholars used to believe that he was introduced to the cult only in the first century CE (they saw Catullus 63 as a purely "literary" text). However, excavations at the Palatine temple of Mater Magna discovered a major cache of statuettes of Attis dating to the second and first centuries BCE. The find hints that religious life in republican Rome was more varied than the written record suggests. A new festival, from March 15 to 27, apparently put special emphasis on the rebirth of Attis. Concurrently, the cult of Cybele became associated with the ritual of the slaying of the sacred bull (taurobolium), which the Christian poet Prudentius (*Peristephanon* 10.1006–1050) interpreted as a baptism of blood (though his depiction of the ritual is deeply suspect, forming part of a fierce and late antipagan polemic). The taurobolium was performed for the prosperity of the emperor or of the Empire and, more frequently, for the benefit of private individuals. Normally it was considered valid for twenty years, which makes it highly questionable whether it was meant to confer immortality on the baptized.

Although Isis appealed to men as well as to women—and indeed her priests were male—it seems clear that her prestige as a goddess was due to the unusual powers she was supposed to have as a female deity. The so-called aretalogies (description of the powers) of Isis insist on this. Thus the earliest aretalogy, found at Maroneia in Thrace, tells of Isis as legislator and as protector of the respect of children for their parents (*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 26, no. 821). The text from Kyme (in West Turkey) declares that she compelled husbands to love their wives (H. Engelmann, ed., *Inschriften von Kyme* 41, 1.97), and the hymn from Oxyrhynchus (Egypt) in her honor explicitly states that she made the power of women equal to that of men (Oxyrhynchus Papyri 11.1380). No god or goddess of Greece and Rome had achievements comparable with those of Isis. The girlfriends of the Augustan poets Tibullus and Propertius were captivated by her. In association with Osiris or Sarapis, Isis seems to have become the object of a mystery cult in the first century CE; she appears as such in Apuleius's *Metamorphoses.*

Late in the first century CE, Mithraism began to spread throughout the Roman Empire, especially in the Danubian countries and in Italy (in particular, as far as can be known, in Ostia and Rome). A developed mystery cult, it had ranks of initiation and leadership and was—though this has been disputed—reserved for men, a clear difference from the cult of Isis. It was practiced in subterranean shrines rather than in temples; the rooms were ritual versions of the cave in Persia where Mithra had once slain a bull. The environment of the Mithraic cult, as revealed in numerous extant shrines, was one of darkness, secrecy, and dramatic lighting effects.

What promise Mithra held for his devotees cannot be known for certain. The cult seems to have encouraged soldierly qualities, including sexual abstinence. It certainly presented some correspondence between the degrees of initiation and the levels of the celestial spheres, which probably implies an ascent of the soul to these spheres. The killing of the bull (different from the taurobolium and perhaps without any implication of baptism) was apparently felt to be a sacrifice performed not for the god but by the god. The initiates reenacted this sacrifice and shared sacred meals in a sort of communal life. The progressive transformation of the soul of the initiate in this life, on which much of the cult focused, was probably conceived to continue after death. Tertullian considered Mithraism a devilish imitation of Christianity, but the Neoplatonist Porphyry found in it allegorical depths.

The cult of Sabazios may have been originally Phrygian, but later was known also as an "ancestral" deity of Thrace. Sabazios appears in Athens in the fifth century BCE as an orgiastic god. He was known to Aristophanes, and later the orator Aeschines may have become his priest. There is evidence of mysteries of Sabazios in Lydia dating from the fourth century BCE. In Rome the cult was already known in 139 BCE. It may at that time have been confused with Judaism, but Sabazios was often identified with Jupiter or Zeus, and there seems to be no clear evidence of syncretism between Sabazios and Yahweh. Sabazios was most popular in the second century CE, especially in the Danubian region. In Rome his cult left a particularly curious document in the tomb of Vincentius, located in the catacomb of Praetextatus. The document includes scenes of banquets and of judgment after death. Whether this is evidence of mystery ceremonies or of Christian influence remains uncertain (Hermann Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* 3961; see Goodenough, 1953, p. 45 for a description) The tomb of Vincentius appears to belong to the third century, when, judging by the epigraphic evidence, there seems to have been a decline of the cult of Sabazios and, indeed, of all mystery cults. Although a shortage of inscriptions does not necessarily imply a shortage of adepts, it leaves the impression that by then Christianity was seriously interfering with the popularity of Oriental cults.

Another popular Oriental god occupies a place by himself. This is Jupiter Dolichenus, who emerged from Doliche in northern Syria in the first century CE and who has over six hundred monuments. His cult is known mostly in Rome and along the Rhine-Danube border zone. Of the Oriental gods, he seems to have been the least sophisticated and to have disappeared earliest (in the third century). Christian polemicists ignored him. While he circulated in the Empire, he preserved his native attributes: he is depicted as a warrior with Phrygian cap, double ax, and lightning bolt, standing erect over a bull. In the Roman interpretation, the goddess Juno Regina often accompanied him. Twins, identified with the Castores, followed him; their lower parts were unshaped, and they were probably demons. Soldiers seem to have loved the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus. Its priests were not professional, and the adepts called each other brother. Admission to the cult presupposed instruction, if not initiation.

RELIGIOUS PLURALISM? There is a constant danger of either overrating or underrating the influence of these Oriental cults on the fabric of the Roman Empire. If, for instance, Mithraists knew of the Zoroastrian deity Angra Mainyu, what did he mean to them? How did this knowledge affect the larger society? At a superficial level these cults can be seen as an antidote to the imperial cult, an attempt to retreat from the public sphere of political allegiance to the private sphere of small, free associations. The need for small loyalties was widely felt during the imperial peace. Distinctions between social, charitable, and religious purposes in these multiform associations are impossible. Tavern keepers devoted to their wine god and poor people meeting regularly in burial clubs are examples of such associations (*collegia*). Ritualization of ordinary life emerged from their activities. Nor is it surprising that what to one was religion was superstition to another (to use two Latin terms that ordinary Latin speakers would have been hard-pressed to define). Although allegiance to the local gods (and respect for them, if one happened to be a visitor) was deeply rooted, people were experimenting with new private gods and finding satisfaction in them. Concern with magic and astrology, with dreams and demons, seems ubiquitous. Conviviality was part of religion. Aelius Aristides has good things to say about Sarapis as patron of the symposium. Pilgrimages to sanctuaries were made easier by relative social stability. Several gods, not only Asclepius (Gr., Asklepios), offered healing to the sick. (Here again, Aelius Aristides is chief witness for the second century.) Hence miracles, duly registered in inscriptions; hence also single individuals, perhaps cranks, attaching themselves to temples and living in their precincts.

The real difficulties in understanding the atmosphere of paganism in the Roman Empire perhaps lie elsewhere. It remains a puzzle how, and how much, ordinary people were supposed to know about official Roman religion. The same problem exists concerning the Greeks in relation to the religions of individual Greek cities. But in Greek cities the collective education of adolescents, as *epheboi*, implied participation in religious activities (for instance, singing hymns in festivals) that were a form of religious education. In the Latin-speaking world, however, there is no indication of generalized practices of this kind. People who tell us something about their own education, such as Cicero, Horace, and Ovid, do not imply that it included a religious side. The situation does not seem to have changed in later times, as illustrated, for instance, in Tacitus's life of Agricola. Children at school no doubt absorbed a great deal from classical authors, but, whether they read Homer or Vergil, they did not absorb the religion of their own city. Temples carried inscriptions explaining what was expected from worshipers as well as the qualities of the relevant god. Cultic performances, often in a theater adjoining the temple, helped to explain what the god was capable of. However, a distinct line cannot be drawn between cultic performances, perhaps with an element of initiation, and simple entertainment. More puzzling still is the question of what general idea of "Roman religion" (if, by that, is meant the religious institutions and practices of the capital) the population of towns in Italy and *coloniae* in the provinces would have had. One possible channel is Varro's *Divine Antiquities*. This treatise remained even under the Empire the only general work on the Roman religious system. That provincials did turn to it for inspiration is suggested by the effective (polemical) use made of it by the Christian Tertullian, writing in North Africa. But even Varro's book is difficult to apply to particular local issues.

Another element difficult to evaluate is the continuous, and perhaps increased, appeal of impersonal gods within Roman religion. There is no indication that Faith (Fides) and Hope (Spes) increased their appeal (they came to play a different part in Christianity by combining with Jewish and Greek ideas). At best, Fides gained prestige as a symbol of return to loyalty and good faith during the reign of Augustus. But Fortuna and Virtus were popular; the typology of Virtus on coins seems to be identical with that of Roma. Genius was generalized to indicate the spirit of a place or of a corporation. Strangely, an old Latin god of the woods, Silvanus, whose name does not appear in the Roman calendar, became important, partly because of his identification with the Greek Pan and with a Pannonian god, but above all because of his equation with Genius. The god as protector of Roman barracks was called Genius Castrorum, Silvanus Castrorum, or Fortuna Castrorum. Victoria, too, was often connected with individual emperors and individual victories (Victoria Augusti and Ludi Victoriae Claudi, for example).

A third complication is syncretism, which means two different things. One is the positive identification of two or more gods; the other is the tendency to mix different cults by using symbols of other gods in the sanctuary of one god, with the result that the presence of Sarapis, Juno, and even Isis was implied in the shrine of Jupiter Dolichenus on the Aventine in Rome. In either form, syncretism may have encouraged the idea that all gods are aspects, or manifestations, of one god. In most cases of identification of two or more gods, there is only the record of a mixed divine name, so it is left to guesswork what that name meant, which deity (Roman or native) was uppermost in the minds of the worshippers, or whether the two had merged into a new composite whole (a process often now referred to as *syncretism*). There is no way to know, in other words, how much of the process was an aspect of Roman take-over (and ultimately obliteration) of native deities, how much it was a mutually respectful union of two divine powers, or how much it was a minimal, resistant, and token incorporation of Roman imperial paraphernalia on the part of the provincials. Signs of syncretism, then, always need to be interpreted. For example, to understand why most deities in the eastern part of the Empire did not merge with Roman counterparts but retained their individual personalities and characteristics, whereas in the western part pre-Roman gods acquired Roman names, or non-Roman and Roman divine names were linked, it is necessary to investigate the nature of Roman religion outside Rome and attend to the agenda of all those groups involved in developing a new Roman imperial worldview.

A related issue is monotheism. According to a Christian writer of the second century CE, the Greeks had 365 gods. For the proponent of one (Christian) god this alleged fact demonstrated the absurdity of Greek religion. Modern scholars also sometimes assume the nobility and superiority of one supreme god (monotheism) as against the proliferation of little gods (polytheism). But the number of the Greek gods (not as great as 365) does not mean that those gods lacked significance any more than does the multiplicity of gods in the Hindu tradition. In addition, proponents of monotheism (whether Jewish, Christian, or Islamic) are often not ready to note the disruptive consequences of monotheistic intolerance or the extent to which alleged monotheisms contain plural elements. Within Christianity, what about the Trinity, the Blessed Virgin Mary, or the saints? In fact the categories *monotheism* and *polytheism* do not promote historical understanding. Some scholars have sought to "rescue" polytheism by arguing for an element of monolatry (or henotheism), in which the power of one god in the pantheon is proclaimed as supreme. But this maneuver is conditioned by a Judaeo-Christian evaluation of monotheism, and the tendency to monolatry in antiquity is much overstated. The terms *polytheism* and *monotheism* are best left to the theologians.

Interest in an abstract deity was encouraged by philosophical reflection, quite apart from suggestions coming from Judaism, Christianity, and Zoroastrianism. Some have therefore thought it legitimate to consider the cult of Sol Invictus, patronized by the emperor Aurelian, as a monotheistic or henotheistic predecessor of Christianity. But believers would have had to visualize the relation between the one and the many. This relation was complicated by the admission of intermediate demons, either occupying zones between god (or gods) and men or going about the earth and perhaps more capable of evil than of good. Even those (such as Plutarch) who could think through, in some depth, the idea of one god were still interested in Zeus or Isis or Dionysos, whatever their relation to the god beyond the gods. Those educated people in late antiquity who liked to collect priesthoods and initiations to several gods, in pointed contrast with Christianity, evidently did so because they did not look upon the gods concerned as one god only. The monuments of the leading pagan senator Vettius Agorius Praetextatus are an example of this tendency. In the face of a Christianity that was gaining the upper hand, he and those like him sought to gather together all that could be saved from the traditional cults (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin, 1863, vol. 6, no. 1778, 387 CE; Hermann Dessau, *Inscriptione Latinae Selectae* 1259, tombstone).

This is not to deny the convergence of (or at least striking parallels between) certain beliefs and experiences. For example, the mystical experience of ascension to heaven was shared by Paul, Jewish rabbis, Gnostics such as the author of the *Gospel of Truth*, Plotinus, and the author of the "Mithras liturgy" (preserved in the Great Magical Papyrus of Paris).

ROLE OF WOMEN. Gender had always been a factor in the organization of cults. It is important to consider how the appeal of the various cults to different genders determined the membership of new religions. The official civic cults of Rome were principally in the control of men—though there were some exceptions (e.g. Vestal Virgins). Some cults and festivals demanded the participation of women. According to tradition, The temple of Fortuna Muliebris, "the Fortune of Women," was dedicated by senatorial wives in 493 BCE and served as the focus for their religious activities. In the imperial period, the temple was restored by Augustus's wife, Livia (and again by Emperor Septimius Severus, along with his two sons and his wife, Julia Domna). Formal involvement of women in the official cults of Rome was largely restricted to women of senatorial families.

In general, although the attendance of women at most religious occasions (including games) was not prohibited, women had little opportunity to take an active religious role in state cults. Even occupational or burial associations generally did not include women; only in the purely domestic associations of the great households were women normally members. Much more fundamentally, women may have been banned—in theory, at any rate—from carrying out animal sacrifice; and so prohibited from any officiating role in the central defining ritual of civic religious activity.

These limited roles may have been satisfying to some women, but almost certainly not to all. How far then did women find in the new cults a part to play that was not available to them in civic religions? Some women no doubt found an opportunity within these cults for all kinds of religious expression not available within the civic cults of Rome. For some women, it may even have been precisely that opportunity which first attracted them to an alternative cult. On the other hand, there is no evidence to suggest that women were particularly powerful within these cults in general or that they dominated the membership in the way suggested by the conventional stereotype of the literature of the period. In the cult of Isis, men held the principal offices, and the names of cult members recorded in inscriptions do not suggest that women predominated numerically.

The literary stereotype, in other words, almost certainly exaggerates the number and importance of women in the cults by representing them effectively as "women's cults." Why is this? In part the explanation may lie in the exclusively elite vision of most of the literary sources. Even if women did not dominate the new religions, it seems certain that upper-class women were involved in these cults before their male counterparts. Wives of senators, that is, were participating in the worship of Isis at a period when no senator was involved in the cult; and wives of senators are attested as Christians from the late second century CE, before any Christian senator. Thus, the literary stereotype may reflect a (temporary) difference between the involvement of elite men and women that did not necessarily apply at other levels of society. Much more fundamentally, however, the claims of female fascination with foreign religion are embedded in the vast literary and cultural traditions of Greco-Roman misogyny. And, at the same time, foreign peoples and places were denigrated in specifically female terms. In traditional Roman ideology, "Oriental" cults would inevitably raise questions of gender.

Women's participation in new cults is one aspect of the active part they played in the religious life of the imperial period. Women, especially wealthy women, experienced considerable freedom of movement and could administer their own estates. Roman empresses of Eastern origin (Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus, and Julia Mamaea, mother of Severus Alexander) contributed to the diffusion outside Africa of the cult of Caelestis, who received a temple on the Capitol in Rome. The wife of a Roman consul, Pompeia Agrippinilla, was priestess of an association of about four hundred devotees (all members of her household) of Liber-Dionysos in the Roman Campagna in the middle of the second century CE (Moretti, 1968, no. 160). In the Greek world, women served as priestesses (as they had always done) but received new public honors. In the city of Thasos in the third century CE, a woman, Flavia Vibia Sabina, was honored by the local council "as a most noteworthy high priestess . . . the only woman, first in all times to have honors equal to those of the councilors" (Pleket, 1969, no. 29). Women could be asked to act as *theologoi*, that is, to preach about gods in ceremonies even of a mystery nature. It is revealing that the emperor Marcus Aurelius declared himself grateful to his mother for teaching him veneration of the gods.

The intellectual and religious achievements of women become more conspicuous in the fourth century CE. Women such as Sosipatra, described in Eunapius's account of the lives of the Sophists, and Hypatia of Alexandria are the counterparts (though apparently more broadly educated and more independent in their social actions) of Christian women such as Macrina, sister of Gregory of Nyssa (who wrote her biography), and the followers of Jerome.

Dedications of religious and philosophical books by men to women appear in the imperial period. Plutarch dedicated his treatise on Isis and Osiris to Clea, a priestess of Delphi. Diogenes Laertius dedicated his book on Greek philosophers (which has anti-Christian implications) to a female Platonist. Philostratus claims that Julia Domna encouraged him to write the life of Apollonius of Tyana. What is more, according to the Christian writer Eusebius, Julia Mamaea (mother of the emperor Alexander Severus) invited Origen to visit her in Antioch, allegedly to discuss Christianity.

EVIDENCE. Epigraphy and archaeology are the starting point for analysis of the religious history of the Roman Empire. Both types of evidence are the actual products of religious adherents of the period, designed to promote or support their religious actions and beliefs. The interpretation of the iconography of objects, the design of buildings, and the formulation of dedications is absolutely critical. This evidence does, however, need to be used with care. Inscriptions have to be treated not simply as texts (which is how they are often presented in modern books), but as texts with particular relationships to the objects on which they were written. In addition, texts painted on walls (*dipinti*) or written on material other than stone or bronze rarely survive. But the sheer number of religious dedications tempts one to treat the variations in their numbers over time as an index of the varying popularity of the deity concerned. This is a mistake, as the variation in the number of religious dedications parallels the variations in the number of inscriptions in general. In other words, religious inscriptions share in the variations in the "epigraphic habit."

A further point to note is that not all religious groups embedded their practices in material form. Jewish and Christian groups in the early Empire are largely invisible from either archaeological or epigraphical evidence (in Rome, for example, there are no remains of synagogues and no secure evidence of churches before Constantine).

In addition to epigraphy and archaeology, the religions of the Roman Empire survive mainly through writings in Latin, Greek, Syriac, and Coptic (not to speak of other languages), such as biographies, philosophical disputations, epic poems, antiquarian books, exchanges of letters, novels, and specific religious books. Most of the authors speak only for themselves. But taken together, they convey an atmosphere of sophisticated cross-questioning that would have prevented minds from shutting out alternatives. For example, the Stoic Lucan in his *Pharsalia*, a poem on the civil wars, excludes the gods but admits fate and fortune, magic and divination. Two generations later, Silius Italicus wrote an optimistic poem describing Scipio as a Roman Heracles supported by his father, Jupiter. More or less at the same time, Plutarch was reflecting on new and old cults, on the delays in divine justice, and (if the work in question is indeed his) on superstition.

In the second part of the second century Lucian passed from the caricature of an assembly of gods and from attacks against oracles to a sympathetic description of the cult of Dea

Syria; he abused such religious fanatics as Peregrinus, as well as Alexander of Abonuteichos, the author of a new cult, whom he considered to be an impostor. Perhaps what Lucian wanted to give is, in fact, what readers get from him—the impression of a mind that refuses to be imposed upon. Fronto's correspondence with Marcus Aurelius confirms what can be deduced from other texts (such as Aelius Aristides's speeches): preoccupation with one's own health was a source of intense religious experience in the second century CE. In his *Metamorphoses*, also known as *The Golden Ass,* Apuleius offers a (partially satirical) account of the mysteries of Isis that may be based on personal experience. But Apuleius's *Golden Ass* is only one of the many novels that were fashionable in the Roman Empire. The appeal of such works probably resided in their ability to offer readers vicarious experiences of love, magic, and mystery ritual.

The variety of moods and experiences conveyed by these texts, from the skeptical to the mystical, from the egotistic to the political in the old Greek sense, gives us an approximate notion of the thoughts of educated people on religious subjects. These books provide the background for an understanding of the Christian apologists who wrote for the pagan upper class. How much of pagan religious thinking was conditioned by the presence of Jews and, even more, of Christians in the neighborhood? The anti-Jewish attitudes of a Tacitus or of a Juvenal offer no special problem; they are explicit. The same can be said about the anti-Christian polemics of Celsus. The problem, if any, is that the text is lost and inferences have to be made from the reply given in changed circumstances by the Christian Origen. But there are far more writers who seldom or never refer to Christianity yet who can hardly have formulated their thoughts without implicit reference to it.

How much Lucian or Philostratus (in his life of Apollonius of Tyana) was trying to put across pagan points of view in answer to the Christian message is an old question. Nicomachus Flavianus, a pagan leader, translated the biography of Philostratus into Latin in the late fourth century. Another author who may know more about Christianity than his silence about it would indicate is Diogenes Laertius. In his lives of philosophers, he pointedly refuses to admit non-Greek wisdom and enumerates all the Greek schools, from Plato to Epicurus, as worthy of study and admiration. With the renascence of Neoplatonic thought in the third and fourth centuries and the combination of Platonism with mystical and magical practices (the so-called *theurgy*) in the circles to which Julian the Apostate belonged, the attempt to erect a barrier to Christianity is patent but, even then, not necessarily explicit.

The most problematic texts are perhaps those that try to formulate explicit religious beliefs. Books such as the Chaldaean Oracles (late second century, or third century CE) or the Hermetic texts, composed in Greek at various dates in Egypt (and clearly showing the influence of Jewish ideas), make it difficult to decide who believed in them and to what extent. Such texts present themselves as revealed: they speak of the human soul imprisoned in the body, of fate, and of demonic power with only a minimum of coherence. They are distantly related to what modern scholars call Gnosticism, a creed with many variants that was supposed to be a deviation from Christianity and, as such, was fought by early Christian apologists. Today, much more is known about the Gnostics, thanks to the discovery of the Nag Hammadi library, which supplemented, indeed dwarfed, previous discoveries of Coptic Gnostic texts. Assembled in the fourth century from books mainly translated from Greek, the Nag Hammadi library represents an isolated survival. It points to a previous, more central movement thriving in the exchange of ideas. What was the impact of the Gnostic sects when they placed themselves between pagans and Christians (and Jews) in the first centuries of the Empire?

STATE REPRESSION AND PERSECUTION. The Roman state had always interfered with the freedom to teach and worship. In republican times, astrologers, magicians, philosophers, and even rhetoricians, not to speak of adepts of certain religious groups, had been victims of such intrusion. Under which precise legal category this interference was exercised remains a question, except perhaps in cases of sacrilege. Tacitus writes that Augustus considered adultery in his own family a crime against *religio* (*Annals* 3.24). Whatever the legal details, Druid cults and circles were persecuted in Gaul and Britain in the first century. Augustus prohibited Roman citizens from participating in Druid cults, and Claudius prohibited the cult of the Druids altogether. Though it is not clear what the consequences were for participating, there is little recorded of the Druids from this time on. Abhorrence of their human sacrifices no doubt counted for much. But Augustus also did not like the practice of foretelling the future, for which the Druids were conspicuous, and he is credited with the destruction of two thousand prophetic books (Suetonius, *Augustus* 31). The Druids were also known to be magicians, and Claudius condemned to death a Roman knight who had brought to court a Druidic magic egg (Pliny, *Natural History* 29.54).

Roman action against the Druids is an example of Roman action against practices deemed to be noxious *superstitio.* It is often said that the Roman government only exceptionally acted in this way: existing cults might or might not be encouraged, but they were seldom persecuted; even Jews and Egyptians were ordinarily protected in their cults. This view of a general liberal Roman state is false. The Romans acted whenever need arose against *superstitio.* In 19 CE two scandals in Rome brought the cults of Isis and Judaism to the attention of emperor and Senate. The outcome, according to Tacitus, was that the Senate banished four thousand ex-slaves to a labor camp in Sardinia and expelled those of higher status from Italy "unless they gave up their profane rites before an appointed day" (*Annals* 2.85; cf. Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 18.65–84). The principles of religious coercion were firmly in place before the emergence of Christianity.

The long-standing conflict between the Christians and the Roman state has to be set against this background. As with actions against other troublesome people, persecution was desultory and instigated from below, until the mid-third century. However, there are some unique aspects, mostly as a result of Christian rather than of imperial behavior. First, the Christians obviously did not yield or retreat, as did the Druids. Indeed they were believed actively to seek conversions, even without the knowledge or approval of the head of the household. Second, the Christians hardly ever became outright enemies of, or rebels against, the Roman state. The providential character of the Roman state was a basic assumption of Christianity. The workings of providence were shown, for Christians, by the fact that Jesus was born under Roman rule, while the Roman state had destroyed the Temple of Jerusalem and dispersed the Jews, thus making the church the heiress to the Temple. Third, the Christians were interested in what can be called "classical culture." Their debate with the pagans became, increasingly, a debate within the terms of reference of classical culture; the Jews, in contrast, soon lost their contact with classical thought and even with such men as Philo, who had represented them in the dialogue with classical culture. Fourth, Christianity and its ecclesiastical organization provided what could alternatively be either a rival or a subsidiary structure to the imperial government. The Roman government under Constantine chose the Church as a subsidiary institution (without quite knowing on what conditions).

The novelty of the conflict explains the novelty of the solution—not tolerance but conversion. The emperor had to become Christian and to accept the implications of his conversion. It took about eighty years to turn the pagan state into a Christian state. The process took the form of a series of decisions about public non-Christian acts of worship. The first prohibition of pagan sacrifices seems to have been enacted in 341 (*Codex Theodosianus* 16.10.2). Closing of the pagan temples and prohibition of sacrifices in public places under penalty of death was stated or restated at an uncertain date between 346 and 354 (*Codex Theodosianus* 16.10.4).

Even leaving aside the reaction of Julian, these measures cannot have been effective. The emperor remained *pontifex maximus* until Gratian gave up the position in 379 (Zosimus, 4.36.5). Gratian was the emperor who removed the altar of Victoria from the Roman Senate and provoked the controversy between Symmachus and Bishop Ambrose, the most important controversy about the relative merits of tolerance and conversion in late antiquity. Then, in 391, Theodosius forbade even private pagan cults (*Codex Theodosianus* 16.10.12). In the same year, following riots provoked by a special law against pagan cults in Egypt, the Serapeum of Alexandria was destroyed. The significance of this act was felt worldwide. The brief pagan revival of 393, initiated by the usurper Eugenius, a nominal Christian who sympathized with the pagans, was soon followed by other antipagan laws. Pagan priests were deprived of their privileges in 396 (*Codex Theodosianus* 16.10.4), and pagan temples in the country (not in towns) were ordered to be destroyed in 399 (*Codex Theodosianus* 16.10.16)—though in the same year, festivals that appear to have been pagan were allowed (*Codex Theodosianus* 16.10.17).

Rome in the fourth century CE remained for some people a city characterized by the worship of the ancient gods. The pagan historian Ammianus Marcellinus, when describing the visit of the emperor Constantius II to Rome in 357 CE, depicted the (Christian) emperor admiring the temples and other ancient ornaments of the city (16.10.13–17). This account tendentiously suppresses any mention of Christianity or Judaism in Rome.

The traditional monuments of the city were duly restored in the course of the fourth century CE by the prefectus urbi (prefect of the city). Even after the reforms of Gratian, when the responsibility of the prefect of the city was redirected toward the Christian buildings instead of the traditional temples, the imperial authorities did not entirely neglect the monuments of pagan religion. Under Emperor Eugenius (392–394 CE) some temples were again restored, and as late as the 470s a prefect of the city restored an image of Minerva.

The traditional religious practices of Rome were not mere fossilized survivals. They did not incorporate elements of Christianity or Judaism, but there were continuing changes and restructuring through the fourth century. For example, in the Calendar of 354 CE, games in honor of the emperor continued to be remodeled and adjusted to the new rulers, and the cycle of festivals in honor of the gods was also reworked.

The process of change is also visible in cults long established in Rome, which sometimes received new and heady interpretations. In the fourth century the cult of Mater Magna placed a new emphasis on the practice of the *taurobolium.* Inscriptions from the sanctuary in the Vatican area record that some worshippers repeated the ritual after a lapse of twenty years—one claimed that he had been thereby "reborn to eternity," which seems to have been a radically new significance. The reinterpretation of the *taurobolium* in what was by now an ancient cult of Rome shows clearly how even such ancestral religions could still generate new meanings—in this case, a new intensity of personal relationship with the divine.

The process of incorporation of once foreign cults into the "official" religion is most visible in the priesthoods held by members of the senatorial class. Until the end of the fourth century, senators continued to be members of the four main priestly colleges, but there were, in addition, priests of Hecate, Mithras, and Isis. For senators to associate themselves with these cults in Rome was an innovation of the fourth century. The change should be seen as a trend toward assimilating into "traditional" paganism cults in Rome that had not previously received senatorial patronage. Faced with the new threat posed by imperial patronage of Christianity, senators redefined (and expanded) their ancestral heritage.

After the fall of Eugenius, Theodosius's ban on sacrifices was more effectively applied, and the implications of the old calendar for public life were revised. Traditional public festivals were not banned, but they were officially marginalized in favor of Christian festivals. The last pagan senatorial priests are attested in the 390s, the series of dedicatory inscriptions from the sanctuary of Mater Magna in the Vatican area runs from 295 to 390 CE, and the last dated Mithraic inscription from Rome is from 391 CE (slightly later than from elsewhere in the Empire). Some Christians went on the offensive, destroying pagan sanctuaries, including sanctuaries of Mithras. The sanctuary of the Arval Brothers was dismantled from the late fourth century onward.

But traditional religious rites were very tenacious, and their demise cannot be assumed from the ending of dedicatory inscriptions. Emperors through the fifth and into the sixth century elaborated Theodosius's ban on sacrifices—presumably in the face of the continuing practice of traditional sacrifice, for a pagan writer traveling up from Rome through Italy in the early fifth century observed with pleasure a rural festival of Osiris. At around the same time the old ways were revived during the siege of Rome by the Goths (408–409 CE). When Christianity was not obviously helping, the prefect of the city, after meeting diviners from Etruria, attempted to save the city by publicly celebrating the ancestral rituals with the Senate on the Capitol. The economic independence and traditional prestige of local pagan aristocrats, especially in Rome, allowed them to survive for a time and to go on elaborating pagan thought. Around 430 CE the Roman writer Macrobius sought to recreate in his *Saturnalia* the religious learning and debate of the age of Symmachus, a generation before. Most striking (given the date of its composition) is the complete exclusion of Christianity—an exclusion that sought (in vain) to align classical culture and traditional religion. The Neoplatonists of Athens had to be expelled by Justinian in 529.

Even at the end of the fifth century CE, the Lupercalia was still being celebrated in Rome. The bishop of Rome found it necessary both to argue against the efficacy of the cult and to ban Christian participation. Hopes that the pagan gods would come back excited the Eastern provinces during the rebellion against the emperor Zeno in about 483, in which the pagan rhetorician and poet Pampremius had a prominent part (Zacharias of Mytilene, *Vita Severi*, in *Patrologia Orient.* 2.1.40; M.-A. Kugener, ed., Paris, 1903, repr. Turnhout 1993). The peasants (*rustici*), about whom Bishop Martin of Bracara in Spain had so many complaints, gave more trouble to the ecclesiastical authorities than did the philosophers and the aristocrats of the cities. Sacrifices, because they were generally recognized as efficient ways of persuading the gods to act, were at the center of Christian suspicion. According to a widespread opinion shared by the apostle Paul (but not by all the church fathers) pagan gods existed—as demons.

SEE ALSO Apotheosis; Constantinianism; Druids; Emperor's Cult; Gnosticism, article on Gnosticism from Its Origins to the Middle Ages; Hellenistic Religions; Hermetism; Isis; Mithra; Mithraism; Mystery Religions; Sabazios.

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ROSENZWEIG, FRANZ (1886–1929), German-Jewish philosophical theologian, writer, translator of Jewish classical literature, and influential Jewish educational activist. Generally regarded as the most important Jewish philosophical theologian of this century, Rosenzweig also became a model of what the Jewish personality in the twentieth-century West might be.

He was born into an old, affluent, and highly acculturated German-Jewish family in Kassel, in which the sense of Jewishness, though lively, had shrunk to a matter of upper middle-class formalities. He studied at several German universities, ranging over multiple disciplines, and finished as a student of Friedrich Meinecke, the important German political and cultural historian. During those years he also had intense conversations on religion in the modern world, especially with close relatives and friends, several of whom had converted to Christianity. Having already adopted a strong German nationalist outlook, Rosenzweig also tried to sort out his own religious convictions at the very time that he was writing his Ph.D. dissertation (on Schelling and Hegel) and his first important book (*Hegel und der Staat*, 2 vols., 1920). In a night-long conversation on July 7, 1913 with his cousin, the physiologist Rudolf Ehrenberg (who had become a Christian theologian), and his distant relative Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy (later the influential Protestant theologian, also a convert), Rosenzweig decided that he, too, ought to become a Christian; however, he would take this step "as a Jew," not "as a pagan," and he would, therefore, briefly return to the synagogue. His experience there during the High Holy Days that year, however, changed Rosenzweig's mind completely: he would instead turn himself from a nominal into a substantial Jew, and he would devote his life to Jewish values. He studied with and became a close friend to the Neo-Kantian philosopher Hermann Cohen, who was then living in Berlin in retirement but was still very active with Jewish writing and teaching. Rosenzweig immediately began to write on Jewish subjects.

During World War I, Rosenzweig served in various, mainly military, capacities. He continued, however, to correspond with Rosenstock-Huessy on theological matters

(Rosenstock-Huessy, *Judaism despite Christianity*, Alabama, 1968) and with Cohen and others on Jewish matters. He also wrote and published essays on historical, political, military, and educational subjects. Assigned to eastern Europe and the Balkans, he experienced some of the full-blooded life of the Jewish communities there. Above all, he began on postcards to his mother the composition that he finished on returning home from the war—his magnum opus, *Der Stern der Erlösung* (Frankfurt, 1921; translated as *The Star of Redemption*). An injury he sustained during the war may have been the cause of his severe and eventually fatal postwar illness.

The Star of Redemption is a complex, difficult, and ambitious work, in some ways comparable to Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit.* The introduction to the first part argues that the fundamental and ineluctably individualistic fact of human death breaks up all philosophy *qua* monism, idealistic or materialistic, into the three realities of human experience: man, God, and the world. (Metaphysical empiricism is thus an apt name for what Rosenzweig also calls "the new thinking.") In the first part, he philosophically "constructs" these three realities very much in the manner of the later Schelling, as logico-mathematical and metaphysical entities. In this condition man, God, and the world constitute the "pagan" universe: they exist without interrelationships, as three unconnected points.

In the second part, the three realities enter into relationships with one another through "revelation," that is, by continuously revealing themselves to each other. God reveals his love to man and thus becomes available to human prayer, and the world is revealed as divine creation, available to human transformation. Speech is the operative force in this dimension of the world. Three points have formed a triangle. The final part of the book establishes the second triangle of the "star of redemption" when the individual relations between man, God, and the world are transformed into collective, historical forces, specifically, Judaism and Christianity. (Two interlocking triangles form the hexagram that is the Magen David, the Star of David, symbol of redemption.) Judaism is "the fire in the star"; that is, Israel is "with God/the truth," outside of history, in eternity. Christianity is the rays from the star on pilgrimage through the world and history toward God/the truth, in order to conquer the kingdom of God's eventual universal realm. In this dimension of the world, collective speech—liturgy and hymn—is the operative force. Judaism and Christianity are the two valid covenants—Sinai for Jews and Calvary for the rest of mankind, to be unified only when the road to truth has brought the Christian world to the Jewish domicile in truth. In the meantime loving acts of believers are to "verify" the love of revelation and prepare the eschatological verity of God as "the all in all." (Truth is thus Hegelian-existentialist "subjectivity," and the three parts of *The Star* explicate the basic theological triad of creation, revelation, and redemption.)

After the war Rosenzweig wanted to translate his beliefs and his pronounced educational interests into action. He settled in Frankfurt, where he entered into close relationships with Nehemiah Nobel, the Orthodox rabbi of the community; with Martin Buber; with a younger generation of German Jews; and with eastern European Jews on their way west. He founded what became famous as the Free Jewish House of Learning (Lehrhaus), in which teachers and students together sought out classic Jewish sources and, translating and publishing them, tried them out on the modern world. Rosenzweig and Buber were joined as teachers by well-known chemists, physicians, sociologists, and activists, and such influential contemporary Jewish scholars as S. D. Goitein, Ernst Simon, Gershom Scholem, Hans Kohn, Erich Fromm, and Nahum N. Glatzer.

Rosenzweig married in 1920 and fathered a son just before coming down with a disease so grave that he was expected to die within months. Instead he lived for six years, so paralyzed, however, that ultimately he could communicate only by blinking an eyelid to the recitation of the alphabet. Nevertheless his associates flocked to his side and spread his influence. Rosenzweig continued to write philosophical and religious essays and conducted a large correspondence. He edited the *Jüdische Schriften* (Jewish Writings) of Hermann Cohen (3 vols., Berlin, 1924) and, in an extensive introduction, reinterpreted Cohen's posthumous philosophical theology as having laid the basis for a proto-existentialist doctrine. He continued to study Jewish sources. He translated, among other things, the Hebrew poetry of Yehudah ha-Levi and supplied it with extensive commentaries. In 1924 he joined with Martin Buber to produce a new German translation of the Hebrew Bible, and in the process the two also developed a sophisticated theory of translation, language, and textuality. Their position was that the full meaning of a text develops through what has since come to be called "reception history." Thus the Bible is divinely revealed not as a matter of Orthodox dogma or in opposition to Bible-critical history but in terms of its effects over time. Translation must not adjust the text to a new culture but must confront the new culture with the text's own authenticity. This confrontation takes place on the ground of the universal, Adamite human speech embedded in the literary forms of both languages. When Rosenzweig died at the age of forty-three, the Bible translation had progressed to *Isaiah.* (Buber finished it in the 1950s.)

Rosenzweig's basic tenets led to some new and promising positions in modern Jewish life. Between the Orthodox belief in the Sinaitic revelation and the Liberal critical historicism regarding the Bible, his "postmodernist" view made it possible to take all of Torah with revelatory seriousness and punctiliousness, while neither rejecting modern scholarship nor committing oneself to a fideistic view. This coincided with and influenced the biblical work of such scholars as Buber, Benno Jacob, Yeḥezkel Kaufmann, and Umberto Cassuto. It also laid the basis for much subsequent renewed Jewish traditionalism among the acculturated in Germany and elsewhere. Rosenzweig's outlook, beyond the established fronts of Orthodoxy and Liberalism, also offered help with respect to Jewish law (*halakhah*). In opposition to Buber's subjectivistic, pietistic antinomianism, Rosenzweig called for an open-minded, receptive confrontation with Jewish law to embrace it "as much as I can" in terms of one's own preparation and honesty. His "two-covenant doctrine" serves as a strong foundation for Jewish-Christian dialogue, although it can easily be abused in an "indifferentist" spirit and although it suffers inherently from Rosenzweig's pervasive europocentrism (e.g., his total blindness to Islam) and his antihistoricism (cf. Hegel's "absolute spirit" after "the end of history"). Unlike his friend Buber, Rosenzweig rejected the notion of a Jewish state (which would bring Israel back into history); on the other hand, he naturally preferred Jewish self-reauthentification in language, ethnicity, culture, and religion to liberalistic acculturation in gentile societies. With the rise of Nazism, Rosenzweig's educational ideology, along with that of Buber, spoke to German Jewry so aptly and powerfully that the Lehrhaus pattern of highly cultured and acculturated teachers and students in community spread throughout the country and produced an "Indian summer" of German-Jewish creativity of a high order in the 1930s.

The impact of Rosenzweig's thought continues to be strong, philosophically and religiously. The interconnections between him and Martin Heidegger, whom Rosenzweig praises in his last essay ("Vertauschte Fronte," 1929; in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 3, pp. 235–237), are increasingly being crystallized. Heideggerian existentialist phenomenologism, with Jewish-Rosenzweigian modifications, has further left its significant marks on diverse movements of thought—the Frankfurt School (of Hegelian neo-Marxists) on the one hand, and Emmanuel Levinas, who goes beyond Heidegger and Husserl in philosophy and takes Buberian-Rosenzweigian dialogism yet closer to historical Judaism, on the other. Rosenzweig's sophisticated traditionalism comprises ethnicity, language, and religion (though still without "land") and shows the way back from European high culture to Jewish self-definition.

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Revised Bibliography

RO᾽SH HA-SHANAH AND YOM KIPPUR,

holy days prominent in the Jewish religious calendar, mark the beginning of the new year and set off the special period traditionally designated for self-scrutiny and repentance. They are referred to as Yamim Nora᾽im ("days of awe"), the time when the numinous aspect of Judaism comes into its own.

RO᾽SH HA-SHANAH. Ro᾽sh ha-Shanah ("head of the year," i. e., New Year) is the name given in postbiblical times to the biblical festival of the first day of the seventh month (counting from the spring month of the Exodus from Egypt) and described (*Lv.* 23:23–25, *Nm.* 19:1–6) as a day of blowing the horn. The postbiblical name is based on Talmudic teachings that on this day all humanity is judged for its fortunes in the coming year. For this reason Ro᾽sh ha-Shanah is also called Yom ha-Din ("day of judgment"). Biblical scholars, exploring the origins of the festival, have noted the parallels with ancient Near Eastern agricultural festivities in the autumn and the enthronement ceremonies of the king as the representative of the god Baal or Marduk. According to the critical view, references to the festival occur in sections of the Pentateuch known as the Priestly code, which is post-exilic and hence could well have been influenced by Babylonian practices. Such theories remain, however, conjectural. In *Nehemiah* 8:1–8 there is a vivid description of the dramatic occasion when the Israelites who had returned from Babylonian captivity renewed their covenant with God. Ezra read from the Torah on this first day of the seventh month; the people, conscious of their shortcomings, were distressed at hearing the demands of the Law, but Nehemiah reassured them: "Go your way, eat the fat, and drink the sweet and send portions unto him for whom nothing is prepared; for this day is holy unto our Lord; neither be ye grieved, for the joy of the Lord is your strength" (*Neh.* 8:10). These are the antecedents of the festival as it later developed (held on the first and second days of the autumnal month of Tishri), a day of both joy and solemnity. The day also became known as Yom ha-Zikkaron ("day of remembrance") because on it God remembers his creatures.

The themes of God as king and judge of the universe and the need for repentance all feature prominently in the Ro᾽sh ha-Shanah liturgy. The special additional prayer consists of three groups of verses and prayers: (1) *malkhuyyot* ("sovereignties," in which God is hailed as king), (2) *zikhronot* ("remembrances," in which God is said to remember his creatures), (3) *shofarot* ("trumpet sounds," which refer to the blowing of the horn). A popular medieval interpretation of these three is that they represent the three cardinal principles of the Jewish faith: belief in God, in reward and punishment (God "remembers" humankind's deeds), and in revelation (the horn was sounded when the Law was given at Sinai, as stated in *Exodus* 19:16). Another prayer of the day looks forward to the messianic age, when the kingdom of heaven will be established and all wickedness will vanish from the earth. In a hymn recited on both Ro'sh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur, continuing with the judgment theme, God is spoken of as the great shepherd tending his flock. He decides on Ro'sh ha-Shanah, and sets the seal on Yom Kippur, "who shall live and who shall die; who shall suffer and who shall be tranquil; who shall be rich and who poor; who shall be cast down and who elevated." At various stages in the liturgy of Ro'sh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur there are prayers to be inscribed in the Book of Life, based on a Talmudic passage stating that the average person whose fate is in the balance has the opportunity during the period from Ro'sh ha-Shanah to Yom Kippur to avert the "evil decree" by repentance, prayer, and charity. These days, including Ro'sh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur, are consequently known as the Ten Days of Penitence, the period for turning to God and for special strictness in religious observances. The verse "Seek ye the Lord while he may be found" (*Is.* 55:6) is applied especially to this time of the year.

The central ritual of the Ro'sh ha-Shanah festival is the ceremony of blowing the shofar. Although the shofar may be fashioned from the horn of several kosher animals, a ram's horn, reminiscent of the ram sacrificed by Abraham in place of Isaac, is preferred. Many attempts have been made to explain the significance of the rite; Maimonides' is typical:

> Although it is a divine decree that we blow the shofar on Ro'sh ha-Shanah, a hint of the following idea is contained in the command. It is as if to say: "Awake from your slumbers, you who have fallen asleep in life, and reflect on your deeds. Remember your Creator. Be not of those who miss reality in the pursuit of shadows, who waste their years seeking vain things that neither profit nor deliver. Look well to your souls, and improve your actions. Let each of you forsake his evil ways and thoughts." (*Code of Law,* Repentance 3.4)

The shofar is sounded a number of times during the synagogue service. The three basic notes are *teqi'ah* (a long, drawn-out note, signifying hope and triumph), *shevarim* (a broken set of short notes), and *teru'ah* (a set of even shorter notes that, like *shevarim,* represents weeping). First, the *teqi'ah* suggesting firm commitment to God's laws is sounded followed by the two weeping sounds as humanity reflects on his sins and failings, and finally a second *teqi'ah* is blown signifying confidence in God's pardon where there is sincere repentance.

At the festive meal on Ro'sh ha-Shanah it is customary to dip bread in honey and to eat other sweet things while praying for "a good and sweet year." In some places the celebrants eat fish to symbolize the good deeds they hope will proliferate like fish in the sea in the year ahead. An ancient custom is to go to the seaside or riverside on the afternoon of the first day of Ro'sh ha-Shanah, there to cast away the sins of the previous year. This is based on *Micah* 7:19, a verse that speaks of God casting away the sins of the people into the depths of the sea.

YOM KIPPUR. Yom Kippur ("day of atonement") is the culmination of the penitential season, the day of repentance and reconciliation between humanity and God and between people and their neighbors. It is the most hallowed day in the Jewish year and is still observed by the majority of Jews, even those who are otherwise lax in religious practices. In Temple times, elaborate sacrificial and purgatory rites, described in *Leviticus* 16, were carried out. The high priest entered the Holy of Holies in the Temple, where no other person was allowed to enter under pain of death, to make atonement for his people. A whole tractate of the Mishnah (*Yoma'*) describes in greater detail the Temple service on Yom Kippur. The Mishnah was compiled over one hundred and fifty years after the destruction of the Second Temple, but at least some of the material does represent the actual practice in the Second Temple period. After the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE, the day became one of prayer and worship. The reference to "afflicting the soul" (*Lv.* 16:29) on this day is understood as an injunction to fast. No food or drink is taken from sunset on the ninth of Tishri until nightfall on the tenth. Other "afflictions" practiced are abstaining from marital relations, from wearing leather shoes, and from bathing.

The ninth of Tishri, the day before Yom Kippur, is devoted to preparation for the fast. On this day, festive meals are eaten both for the purpose of gaining strength for the fast and to celebrate the pardon Yom Kippur brings. In Talmudic teaching, Yom Kippur does not bring atonement for offenses against other human beings unless the victims have pardoned the offenders. It is the practice, consequently, for people to ask forgiveness of one another on the day before the fast. The custom of *kapparot* ("atonements") is carried out in the morning. The procedure is to take a cockerel, wave it around the head three times, and recite "This shall be instead of me," after which the cockerel is slaughtered and eaten. Many medieval authorities disapproved of the practice as a pagan superstition, but it is still followed by some Jews. Others prefer to use money instead of a cockerel, and then to distribute it to the poor. Another custom still observed by some is that of *malqot* ("flagellation"), in which the beadle in the synagogue administers a token beating with a strap as atonement for sin. Many pious Jews, in preparation for the fast, immerse themselves in a *miqveh* (ritual bath) as a purification rite. Before leaving for the synagogue, as the fast begins, parents bless their children.

In the majority of synagogues, services are several hours long on Yom Kippur night, and continue without pause during the day from early morning until the termination of the fast. The evening service begins with the Kol Nidrei ("all vows"), a declaration in Aramaic to the effect that all religious promises that will be undertaken in the year ahead are hereby declared null and void. This was introduced as a means of discouraging such vows since a promise made to God had dire consequences if broken. Throughout the day hymns and religious poems composed over many centuries are chanted. These consist of praises, supplications, martyrologies, and, especially, confessions of sin. A prominent feature of the additional service (Musaf) is the remembering of the Temple service on Yom Kippur. At the stage that relates how the high priest would utter the divine name and the people would then fall on their faces, the members of the congregation kneel and then prostrate themselves. This is the only occasion nowadays when there is prostration in the synagogue. At the late-afternoon service, *Jonah* is read as a lesson that none can escape God's call and that he has mercy even on the most wicked if they sincerely repent. The day ends with Neʿilah ("closing"), a special service signifying that the gates of heaven, open to prayer all day, are about to close. At this particularly solemn time of the day, the worshipers make an urgent effort to be close to God, many standing upright for the hour or so of this service. As the sun sets, the congregation cries out aloud seven times: "The Lord he is God." Then the shofar is sounded to mark the termination of the fast.

White, the color of purity and mercy, is used on Yom Kippur for the vestments of the scrolls of the Torah and the ark in which the scrolls are kept as well as for the coverings in the synagogue. Traditional Jews wear white robes; in fact, these are shrouds to remind humanity of its mortality. This tradition serves a main theme of Yom Kippur: human life is frail and uncertain, but one can place trust in God and share in God's goodness forever. Since the festival of Sukkot falls a few days after Yom Kippur, it is advised that as soon as the worshipers return home from the synagogue and before breaking the fast, they should make some small preparation for the erection of the Sukkot booths and so proceed immediately after the day of pardon to do a good deed.

SEE ALSO Atonement, article on Jewish Concepts.

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LOUIS JACOBS (1987)

ROSICRUCIANS.

Although the secrecy pledged by members necessarily limits knowledge of Rosicrucian fraternities and their legendary founder, Christian Rosencreutz (whose surname means "rose cross"), documents published in the early seventeenth century and specific historical allusions to the Rosicrucians from that time on both provide basic information on these fraternities and adumbrate their significance within the esoteric traditions that arose in early modern Europe. The story of Christian Rosencreutz was promulgated through the publications *Fama Fraternitatis* (1614) and *Confessio Fraternitatis* (1615), which recounted his life and teachings and described the fraternity he founded. A third document, the *Chymische Hochzeit Christiani Rosencreutz* (Chemical Wedding; 1616), portrayed an alchemistic initiatory process, the representation of which was based in part on the actual wedding of Frederick V, Elector Palatine, and Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I of England.

HISTORY. According to the story recounted in these documents, Christian Rosencreutz was a German scholar born in 1378. He lived to be 106. One hundred and twenty years after his death, his followers, obeying his instructions, opened his tomb; they heralded this event as the "opening" of a new era in Europe. The tomb purportedly contained Rosencreutz's uncorrupted body, various artifacts, and texts summarizing his teachings. In his quest for wisdom, Rosencreutz had traveled to the Holy Land, Egypt, Morocco, and Spain; his teachings reflected the influences of alchemy, Alexandrian Hermetism, Christian gnosticism, Jewish mysticism (Qabbalah), and the Paracelsian medical tradition. Following his own preparation and study, Rosencreutz, with three companions, established the Society of the Rose Cross. This fraternity was to have no other profession than (in the manner of Paracelsus) to attend to the sick for free. Members were also required to travel in order to gain and to disseminate knowledge, to report yearly by letter or in person to the center Rosencreutz had founded (called the Home of the Holy Spirit), to wear no distinctive garb, to seek worldly successors, and to employ the rose cross as their seal and symbol.

Significantly, both the publication of the aforementioned Rosicrucian documents and the purported opening of Rosencreutz's tomb occured in the early seventeenth century, thus placing Rosicrucianism directly in the context of Reformation and Counter-Reformation currents. Further, the documents originally appeared in Bohemia, which at the time was a haven for alchemists, freethinkers, millenarians, and adherents of diverse religious traditions. The authorship of the three key texts has been attributed to Johann Valentin Andreae (1586–1654), a Lutheran theologian and mystic. Andreae later described the history of the Rosicrucians up to his time as pure fabrication; at their publication, however, his texts met with a receptive and enthusiastic audience. With the collapse in 1620 of the brief reign in Bohemia of Frederick and Elizabeth and the onset of the Thirty Years War, Rosicrucianism became associated with Protestantism and "heretical teachings." As part of their campaign against

Rosicrucianism, the Jesuits even penned their own Rosicrucian-style document, the *Rosa Jesuitica* (c. 1620).

During the seventeenth century, Rosicrucian figures such as the "Great Hermeticist" Michael Maier (1568–1622) and the physician Robert Fludd (1574–1637) were instrumental in the spread of Rosicrucian thought and influence on the European continent and in England, respectively. The antiquarian Elias Ashmole (1617–1692) is believed to have brought the Rosicrucian current into speculative Freemasonry. What linked these writers, as well as numerous minor figures, was less an identifiable Rosicrucian brotherhood than an adherence to Rosicrucian beliefs. The claims of Descartes and Leibniz—that, the secrecy of the Rosicrucian order notwithstanding, their efforts to meet a live Rosicrucian were in vain—support the contention that Rosicrucianism existed mainly as a religious and intellectual approach to life rather than as an actual association. In this connection, the question of whether Francis Bacon was a Rosicrucian is unimportant, for he certainly was influenced by, and a participant in, the Rosicrucian trends affecting European intellectual life.

Following a period of relative quiescence in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Rosicrucianism was revived. The Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia, founded in the latter part of the nineteenth century by Robert Wentworth Little (d. 1878), played an important role in the renewal and spread of Rosicrucianism. This was not, however, the only strain. Here, polemic concerns of divers Rosicrucian groups obscure the already uncertain history of interactions among European currents and the introduction of Rosicrucianism into America. In the mid-1980s, two major Rosicrucian societies exist in the United States: the Society of Rosicrucians, or Societas Rosicruciana in America, founded in New York City and presently located in Kingston, New York, and the Ancient and Mystical Order of Rosae Crucis, based in San Jose, California. The Societas Rosicruciana publishes the *Mercury* quarterly; the first issue appeared in 1916. The Ancient and Mystical Order issues the *Rosicrucian Digest,* which began publication as the *Triangle* in 1921.

In addition to the establishment of Rosicrucian organizations, the late nineteenth century witnessed Rosicrucianism's strong influence upon Western esotericism. Rosicrucian traditions took form in the Order of the Golden Dawn, a Hermetic society whose initiates practiced a spiritual discipline that they claimed was based upon principles of occult science and the magic of Hermes Trismegistos. At various times, the order numbered William Butler Yeats and Aleister Crowley among its members. Rosicrucianism's influence was also felt in the artworks of an idealist renaissance fostered by the occult aestheticism of Joséphin Peladan's Salons de la Rose + Croix in Paris and in the work of Rudolf Steiner and the Anthroposophical Society.

DOCTRINES. From its beginnings, Rosicrucianism spread a message of general reformation, preached a new enlightenment, promised a new Paradise, and taught a combination of religious illumination, evangelical piety, and magic. Rosicrucian "science" comprised a system of mathematics and mechanics for the lower world, celestial mathematics for the higher world, and angelic conjuration for the supercelestial world. In principle, the angelic sphere could be penetrated by the use of Rosicrucian technique, and, thus, the essence of all reality was graspable. The initiates were offered insight into the nature of all life. The Hermetic axiom "As above, so below," typical of Rosicrucian teaching, had a profound effect on early modern scientific thought, and Rosicrucianism—like other occult paths—has been credited with having helped to prepare the way for the rise of modern science.

The *Chymische Hochzeit* depicts the initiatory aspects of Rosicrucianism. Echoing themes of the *Fama* and the *Confessio,* its story recounts Christian Rosencreutz's participation in the celebration of a royal wedding. Called on the eve of Easter from his preparation for Communion, Rosencreutz journeys to a magical castle full of treasures. There he joins the wedding party, and over the course of the Christian Holy Week he views many marvels and becomes initiated into chivalric orders. This romance stands as a spiritual allegory both of Rosencreutz's inner transformation and of the transformation of the Rosicrucian elect.

The esoteric dimension of the transformation is rendered in alchemical symbols. Union of bride and bridegroom represents a mystical marriage of the soul, and this spiritual image is bound to an alchemic metaphor of elemental fusion. Likewise, the theme of spiritual death and rebirth is tied to the alchemy of elemental transmutation. The symbolic components of the rose cross may further evidence the importance of the alchemical tradition to Rosicrucian spiritual discipline: Within the alchemical lexicon, *ros,* or dew, is the solvent of gold, and *crux,* the cross, is the equivalent of light.

The emblem, however, clearly draws on other symbolic traditions as well. Rosicrucianism's roots in chivalric traditions are revealed in certain aspects of the rose cross. The "chemical wedding" leads to Christian Rosencreutz's initiation as a Red Cross knight, and the initiation he experiences in the allegorical tale is similar to that actually undergone by Frederick V (at the time of his marriage) into the English Order of the Garter, whose heraldric symbol is the Red Cross of Saint George.

The symbol of the rose and the cross also evokes mystical images of the rose of the Virgin and the death of Christ. (Coincidentally, the rose cross was one of Luther's emblems.) For contemporary Rosicrucians, the interpretation of the rose cross centers in the maxim "No cross, no crown," that is, the belief that one comes to the rose (signifying the divine) through mortal suffering.

SEE ALSO Anthroposophy; Freemasons; Paracelsus; Steiner, Rudolf.

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HARRY WELLS FOGARTY (1987)
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ROUSSEAU, JEAN-JACQUES (1712–1778) was a Geneva-born author, social and educational theorist, and advocate of a nondogmatic religion of nature. Rousseau was a prolific writer; however, his mature religious thought is encapsulated in a comparatively short section, "The Profession of Faith of the Savoyard Vicar," of *Émile* (1762), his treatise in support of experientially based educational methods. The straightforward, somewhat serene tone of this famous statement stands in marked contrast to the complex, turbulent pattern of its author's life history.

Amid the natural beauties of the Alps, Rousseau's vicar, a simple, unpretentious country priest, recounts his efforts to resolve his doubts, stemming from the diversity of competing beliefs. Dissatisfied with the philosophers, of whom he says he is not one, he has found a basis for certitude and optimism in his own experience. This has convinced him, ultimately, of the presence of order in the universe, which is only explicable by the existence of a powerful, intelligent, and beneficent God. He further asserts the immortality of the immaterial soul and the natural goodness of human beings. Evil stems from ignoring the "heavenly voice" of conscience, which teaches a sociable sympathy for others and rejects self-interest as the basis of right conduct. The vicar concludes that the adherent of natural religion may in good conscience follow the prescribed religious customs of the jurisdiction in which he or she happens to live, as he himself does in Roman Catholic Savoy.

The vicar's views are unquestionably Rousseau's own. Of equal importance with his positive beliefs is his rejection of, as unanswerable and, practically speaking, unimportant, many of the traditional central questions of metaphysics and theology, such as the meaning of "creation," the alleged eternal punishment of the wicked, and the status of "revelation." Although Rousseau, an admirer of the scriptural Jesus, considered himself a Christian, he refused, consistently with his natural religion, to endorse claims that Jesus' alleged miracles were proof of his divinity.

These religious views were central to Rousseau's entire outlook. In his autobiographical *Confessions* (completed in 1770 but published posthumously, in two parts, in 1782 and 1789) and elsewhere, he speaks rather positively of his early moral upbringing in Calvinist Geneva, although he had left there at the age of sixteen in search of wider horizons. Within a brief time, he had declared himself a convert to Catholicism in Turin. He next established some reputation as a music teacher and theorist, traveling to various Swiss and French cities before settling in Paris. There he made the acquaintance of Thérèse Levasseur, a working-class woman who became his lifelong companion, and of the social circle surrounding the *philosophes*, notably Diderot. He eventually contributed to their *Encyclopedia.*

An incident in the autumn of 1749, known as "the illumination of Vincennes," shaped Rousseau's subsequent career. Stopping along the road to rest, he glanced at a journal announcement of a prize essay contest on the question of whether the renaissance of the sciences and arts had contributed to the purification of morals. The insight that, on the contrary, civilization and progress had brought about degeneration from the more natural earlier state of humanity struck him forcefully. His *Discourse on the Sciences and Arts* (1750), which elaborates on the consequences of this degeneration, won the prize. In his *Discourse on the Origins of Inequality* (1755), he imaginatively reconstructs humanity's development from a happy but unenlightened early state of nature through successive stages leading to the establishment of private property, government, and ultimately despotism. But he also insists that an attempt to return to the primitive state would be unrealistic. His *Social Contract*, published in the same year (1762) as *Émile*, aims to show how a free community structured in accordance with the general will of its citizens could claim moral legitimacy. It concludes with the chapter "On Civil Religion," in which Rousseau proposes to combine the principles of natural religion with the state's need for religious reinforcement: a new doctrine affirming the "sacredness of the social contract and the laws" is the result.

Rousseau's work of 1762, particularly the "Profession of Faith," was attacked by Catholics, Protestants, and *philosophes* alike. He was forced to flee France to avoid arrest and was also condemned by the authorities of Geneva, whose citizenship and religion he had proudly readopted eight years earlier. Subsequent forced displacements and isolation led him to suspect the existence of a large conspiracy against him. But by the time of his death, Rousseau's ideas—especially, perhaps, as popularized in his romantic novel, *The New Heloise* (1761)—had won many adherents. His name later came to be associated with the French Revolution; Robespierre was a great admirer of Rousseau's, as was Kant, who took Rousseau's ideal of societal self-government—obedience to a law that one has prescribed for oneself—as his formula for moral autonomy.

Subsequent uses and interpretations of Rousseau's thought have been equally disparate. Was he a rationalist or a proponent of the purest sentimentality? A totalitarian or a democrat? A conservative or a protosocialist? A sympathetic portrayer of female heroines or a blatant sexist? A Pelagian, a Deist in spite of himself, or a consistent exponent of the fundamental ideas of the Reformation? Textual evidence exists for these and many other incompatible, ardently defended interpretations of Rousseau. What is correct in any case is that Rousseau had a keen sense for dialectical paradoxes in the human condition, and that he was a pioneer in exploring the complex tensions and ambivalences of the human psyche, beginning with his own.

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WILLIAM LEON MCBRIDE (1987)

ROY, RAM MOHAN (1772–1833), important early nineteenth-century reformer of Indian religion and society, founder of the Brāhmo Samāj. Roy's lasting influence has earned him the epithet "father of modern India."

Ram Mohan Roy was born into an orthodox Hindu *brahman* family on May 22, 1772, in Radhanagar, a small town in modern West Bengal. He was sent at an early age to Patna, then a center of Islamic learning, to study Persian and Arabic, the languages of social and political advancement at that time. At Patna, Roy became acquainted with Islamic thought, particularly Islamic monotheism and views on Hindu image worship, which was to have a lasting influence on his own religious beliefs. His new ideas and subsequent criticism of Hinduism caused such conflict with his parents that he left their home to travel around northern India, perhaps venturing as far as Tibet, to study the religions of those areas firsthand. Encouraged by his mother, he then settled down in Banaras (Varanasi) for a few years to study Sanskrit and the Hindu scriptures. At this time he also began to study English, which eventually enabled him to secure an appointment in Bengal under the East India Company in 1803.

Success as an administrator and an assured income from landed estates permitted Roy to retire at the age of forty-two and settle permanently in Calcutta, then the political and intellectual capital of India. There he launched an active career calling for reforms in Indian religion and society. There too he began to develop close ties with the Unitarian missionaries of Calcutta. Roy was attracted to the Unitarian doctrine of divine unity, and for a time (1824–1828) he regularly attended Unitarian services and considered himself a "Hindu Unitarian." Later, he and his followers rejected Unitarianism as unsuited to their views and principles; in 1828 they founded their own movement, which came to be known as the Brāhmo Samāj, a society organized to provide for the proper worship of *brahman*, whom Roy considered to be the one true God of the Hindu scriptures. In 1830 he set sail for England to realize a long-held dream of visiting Europe, the land of the scientific rationalism to which he had become so attracted. He was, unfortunately, never to return to India, for his life was cut short by a serious illness; he died at Bristol on 22 September 1833.

Roy's first work of major importance was the *Tuḥfat al-muwāḥḥidīn* (A gift for the monotheists). This work, written in Persian and Arabic at an early date but not published until 1804, argues that, by natural reason, all human beings believe in one being who is the source and governor of creation, but by habit and training at the hands of deceitful religious leaders, they stray from this virtuous belief. In 1815 Roy published a major study of Hindu Vedanta, *Vedāntagrantha* (also abridged as *Vedāntasāra*), and from 1816 to 1819 he published translations of five major Upaniṣads in both Bengali and English. He hoped to show by these efforts that the belief in and worship of the one *brahman* was the only sensible religious practice for Hindus. Roy published *The Precepts of Jesus* in 1820, which presented Christianity as a simple, virtuous moral code, avoiding mention of miracles and opposing the doctrine of the Trinity in favor of the unity of God. This publication upset both the orthodox Hindu community and the Baptist missionaries of Calcutta.

The two primary tenets of Roy's religious reform were the establishment of a Hindu monotheism and the abolishment of what he called Hindu "idolatry." He wrote in his English introduction to the *Vedāntasāra*:

> My constant reflections on the inconvenient or, rather, injurious rites introduced by the peculiar practice of Hindoo idolatry, which, more than any other pagan worship destroys the texture of society, together with compassion for my countrymen, have compelled me to use every possible effort to awaken them from their dream of error; and by making them acquainted with their scriptures, enable them to contemplate, with true devotion, the unity and omnipresence of nature's God. (de Bary, 1958, p. 575)

Roy believed that the pure Hinduism of an earlier age had become encrusted with degrading customs, of which it had to be purged. Although his appreciation of monotheism began with his exposure to Islamic thought and was strengthened by Christian Unitarianism, Roy was born a Hindu and would not be satisfied until he had found approval for his monotheistic ideas in the Hindu scriptures. He found this confirmation in his study of Vedantic thought, particularly that of the Upaniṣads. The Upaniṣadic *brahman*, according to Roy, is not a static absolute but rather the sole "author and governor of the universe." As for Hindu image worship, he contended that the scriptures recommend it only for the feebleminded and he therefore declared it inferior and unworthy of practice.

Much of what Roy criticized in Hinduism was precisely what was condemned by the Christian missionaries in Calcutta. His reform program had two essential purposes: to convince the Hindus that many of their beliefs and practices were not sanctioned by their own scriptures and to demonstrate both to the adherents of other religions and to the British rulers that, contrary to common understanding, the Hindu scriptures did not advocate polytheism and idolatry but in fact contained a lofty and rational message. These efforts, of course, caused deep resentment and outrage among many orthodox Hindus.

Roy also campaigned vigorously for certain social reforms. He promoted modern education and struggled ceaselessly for women's rights. Roy's influence was particularly conspicuous in the official British proscription of *satī* (the self-immolation of a widow on her husband's funeral pyre) in 1829.

Many scholars place Roy at the head of a reformation of Indian religion and society that was to change Indian culture significantly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The most important and lasting event in his career was the establishment of the Brāhmo Samāj. Through this religious society, which nurtured such figures as Rabindranath Tagore and Keshab Chandra Sen, Roy's continuing influence was assured. Roy shaped the Brāhmo Samāj with his ideas, and many scholars will argue that it was the Brāhmo Samāj that shaped modern Indian culture.

SEE ALSO Brāhmo Samāj.

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ṚTA (Skt., "cosmic order") represents the Vedic notion of an impersonal and powerful force upon which the ethical and physical worlds are based, through which they are inextricably united, and by which they are maintained. *Ṛta* is the universal truth that gives effective strength to Vedic ritual practices, that serves as the foundation for proper social organization, and that preexists even the Vedic gods themselves, who find in it the very source and essence of their power. In many ways, *ṛta* stands as the Vedic antecedent for the notion of *dharma* (the established order of things, proper behavior, fitting truth), a concept of central importance not only to the various forms of Hinduism but also to the teachings of Buddhism, Jainism, and other South Asian religious systems.

The term *ṛta* is based on the Sanskrit verbal root *ṛ* ("go, move"), which itself reflects the Indo-European verbal root **ar* ("fit together properly"). Thus *ṛta* signifies the cosmic law that allows the universe to run smoothly, the dynamic structure in which every object and all actions have their proper place and in which all parts support and strengthen the whole in a flowing symbiosis. The word is related through **ar* to the Greek *harmos*, from which the English *harmony* derives, and to the Latin *ars* ("skill, craft"), the source of the English *art* and *artist.* Accordingly, the term *ṛta* connotes the experience of a "finely tuned" universe whose laws can give creative power to those gods and cultic specialists who understand its structures.

The *Ṛgveda* (c. 1200 BCE) commonly assigns to the gods such epithets as "he who possesses *ṛta*," "he who grows according to *ṛta*," or "he who is born of *ṛta*," descriptions representing the Vedic notion that the gods derive their strength from their adherence to cosmic law. If they—or humans, for that matter—were to go against the structures of *ṛta*, they would then be said to be *anṛta*, a common synonym for *vṛjina* ("crooked, wrong") and even *asatya* ("untrue"). Thus even the gods must obey the laws of *ṛta*. The principles of *ṛta* (like those of the Zand Avestan *asha*, a Zoroastrian notion to which *ṛta* is linguistically and conceptually related) function in eternal opposition to any principle of disjunctive or disintegrative power (*druh;* Av., *druj*) as well as to those personal demons and humans who seek to disrupt impersonal cosmic order by means of harmful magical practices (*yātu*).

Throughout the Vedic period *ṛta* was understood to be an impersonal law and was never personified or hypostatized into a deity. Characteristically, the primary agent or guardian of the laws of *ṛta* is the god Varuna, who—in Vedic times at least—was an ethical sky god whose omniscient judgment the Vedic cult admired and feared.

As the impersonal source of cosmic and ethical order, *ṛta* includes important creative aspects. The gods find their ability to create the world precisely in their ability to recognize the principles of *ṛta.* These creative dimensions appear frequently in Vedic salutatory depictions of natural processes. Thus the wonderful facts that the sun rises in the east every morning and that water runs downhill are trustworthy cosmic events because they reflect the truth of cosmic harmony (see *Ṛgveda* 1.105.12). Furthermore, Vedic tradition held that the very structures of *ṛta* allow the human community access to the powers that drive the universe itself. This is most apparent in the performance of the ritual: since proper cultic activity embodies the structures and processes of cosmic law, the incorrect performance of the ritual would signal the collapse of cosmic order and would be as devastating to the Vedic community as it would be if the sun were not to rise or rivers not to flow.

SEE ALSO Dharma, article on Hindu Dharma.

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RUDRA is a Vedic god and precursor of the great Hindu divinity Śiva. The name *Rudra* derives from the verbal root *rud* ("to howl, to roar"), from which he takes the epithet "the howler." The root *rud* also connotes "red" (as in English *ruddy*), suggesting that the earliest concept of the divinity was inspired by red storm clouds or the sound of thunder. Rudra has no correlates in other Indo-European mythologies.

Some scholars believe that the earliest prototype of Rudra may be traced to an Indus Valley seal in which four animals surround a seated figure. This seal, and some Vedic texts, suggest Rudra's connection with animals. As the Lord of Animals (Paśupati), he is their protector as well as their destroyer, an ambivalence common in many mythologies. The animal most frequently associated with Rudra is the bull, a symbol of rain and fertility. Typically, the figure in the Indus Valley seals is seated in a posture later associated with yogic meditation, leading some to postulate a non-Aryan origin of his post-Vedic role as the ascetic mendicant *par excellence.*

Rudra's wife is Pṛśni, whose name denotes a leather water bag, clearly an association with rainwater. This association is strengthened by references in the *Ṛgveda* to Rudra as the bringer of fertilizing rain. Rudra is invoked in only four hymns of the *Ṛgveda,* although he also figures in the later Saṃhitās and in the Brāhmaṇas. The Ṛgvedic hymns describe him as a well-dressed god riding in a chariot, carrying a bow and arrows. These hymns seek to avert the wrath of a fearsome and destructive god who hurls his lethal arrows at random upon men and beasts. In addition to the wind gods, Vāyu-Vātāḥ, Rudra's Vedic associates are the Rudras and the Maruts, who share his benign and chthonic traits respectively. The word *marut,* derived from the root *mṛ* ("to die"), seems to signify a spirit of the dead. Cultic worship of Rudra also confirms his close connection with Yama, the god of death, with spirits of the dead, and with the dark goddess Nirṛti. His oblations and the venue and manner of offering them are characteristic of a chthonic god. Rudra's later Vedic consort was Rudrāṇī, or Mīdhuṣī. The latter, like Pṛśni, signifies Rudra's function as the "pourer," and indirectly connects him with fertility, a trait incipient from the Indus Valley period. This perhaps explains the worship of Rudra in the phallic emblem, which later almost completely replaced his anthropomorphic representation.

In the Vedic literature Rudra is intimately connected with Agni and Soma. Indeed, in his power, brilliance, and destructive capacity he is almost an alter ego of Agni. Like Soma, he dwells on a mountaintop, especially Mount Mūjavat, the abode of Soma in later literature. But from the *Yajurveda* onward, a syncretism begins in which the Ṛgvedic Rudra merges with other gods evidently of indigenous origin, reflecting the fusion of Aryan and non-Aryan peoples. In that text Rudra is invoked as the god of burglars, highwaymen, night rovers, and cheats. His benign characteristics persist, but dark and malevolent traits now appear, and his chthonic character is henceforth established. In later Vedic literature Rudra assumes such new names as Bhava, Śarva, Ugra, Mahādeva, and Śiva. Some of these figures are clearly of regional origin, while others are still unspecified but may be indigenous gods of non-Vedic origin. Both the *Yajurveda* and the Brāhmaṇas record the progress of Rudra's syncretism with other gods until he finally merges into Śiva, his mythological successor. The complex "Rudra-Siva" is thus often used by students of the tradition to designate the mythological and cultic fusion of Śiva and his Vedic precursor.

Because of the fairly early syncretism with other indigenous regional and tribal gods, Rudra becomes a conglomerate of disparate traits. His evident ambivalence toward the sacrifice bears testimony to this. In the subsequent Śaiva mythological cycle, the sacrifice flees from him, or he is denied a share in Dakṣa's sacrifice. Infuriated, he destroys the sacrifice, killing men and injuring gods. These anti-Vedic traits continue to multiply until the Ṛgvedic god who granted boons, forgave sins, and blessed his devotees assumes a dual personality combining benign and malevolent traits.

SEE ALSO Śiva.

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SUKUMARI BHATTACHARJI (1987)

RŪMĪ, JALĀL AL-DĪN

(AH 604–672/1207–1273 CE), Muslim mystic and poet. No Ṣūfī poet has exerted a vaster influence on Muslim East and Christian West than Jalāl al-Dīn, called Mawlānā, or Mawlawī, "our master." His Persian works are considered the most eloquent expression of Islamic mystical thought, and his long mystico-didactic poem, the *Mathnavī,* has been called "the Qurʾān in the Persian tongue" by the great fifteenth-century poet Jāmī of Herat.

LIFE. Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn was born in Balkh, now Afghanistan; the Afghans therefore prefer to call him "Balkhī," not "Rūmī," as he became known after settling in Anatolia, or Rūm. Although the date of his birth seems well established, he may have been born some years earlier. His father, Bahaʾ al-Dīn Walad, a noted mystical theologian, left the city some time before the Mongol invasion of 1220 and took his family via Iran to Syria, where Jalāl al-Dīn studied Arabic history and literature. They then proceeded to Anatolia, an area that had not yet been reached by the Mongol hordes and thus offered shelter to numerous mystics and scholars from the eastern lands of Islam. They enjoyed the liberal patronage of the Seljuk Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kaykōbād. After Bahāʾ al-Dīn's family settled in Laranda (now Karaman), Jalāl al-Dīn married, and in 1226 his first son, Sulṭān Walad, was born. The aged Bahaʾ al-Dīn was invited to Konya (ancient Iconium), the capital of the Anatolian Seljuks, to teach in one of the city's numerous theological colleges. After his death in early 1231, Jalāl al-Dīn succeeded him in the chair.

A disciple of Rūmī's father, Burhān al-Dīn Muḥaiqqiq, reached Konya in the early 1230s and introduced Jalāl al-Dīn into the mystical life and to the ideas of his father, whose *Maʿārif,* a collection of sermons and a spiritual diary, were later to form an important source of inspiration for Rūmī. He also studied the Persian poetry of Ḥakim Sanāʾī of Ghazna (d. 1131), the first poet to use the form of *mathnavī,* "rhyming couplets," for mystical instruction. Rūmī may have visited Syria in the 1230s, but nothing definite is known. His teacher later left Konya for Kayseri (Caesarea), where he died about 1242.

Shams al-Dīn. After ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's death in 1236, the Mongols invaded Anatolia, and the internal situation deteriorated owing to the incompetence of his successors. In the midst of the upheavals and troubles in eastern and central Anatolia Jalāl al-Dīn underwent an experience that transformed him into a mystical poet. In October 1244 he met the wandering dervish Shams al-Dīn, "Sun of Religion," of Tabriz, and, if the sources are to be believed, the two mystics spent days and weeks together without eating, drinking, or experiencing any bodily needs. The discussions of Rūmī and Shams, who must have been about the same age, led Jalāl al-Dīn into the depths of mystical love but also caused anger and jealousy among his students and his family. Shams left Konya, and in the pangs of separation, Mawlānā suddenly turned into a poet who sang of his love and longing while whirling around to the sound of music. He himself could not understand the secret of this transformation and expressed his feelings in ever-new verses, declaring that it was the spirit of the beloved that made him sing, not his own will. There was no question of seeking a fitting rhyme or meter—they came to him spontaneously, triggered by a casual sound, a word, or a sight. The poems of this early period, which excel in their daring paradoxes and sometimes eccentric imagery, do not mention the name of the beloved but allude to it with frequent mention of the sun, which became Rūmī's favorite symbol to express the beautiful and destructive but always transforming power of love. In addition to classical Persian, he sometimes used the Turkish or Greek vernacular as it was spoken in Konya.

When news reached Konya that Shams al-Dīn had been seen in Damascus, Mawlānā's elder son, Sulṭān Walad, traveled there and succeeded in bringing his father's friend back. As Sulṭān Walad says in his poetical account of his father's life, "They fell at each other's feet, and no one knew who was the lover and who the beloved." This time, Shams stayed in Mawlānā's home, married to one of the young women there, and the intense spiritual conversation between the two mystics continued. Again jealousy built up, and Shams disappeared in December 1248. It seems certain that he was assassinated with the connivance of Mawlānā's younger son. Rūmī knew what had happened but refused to believe it; his poetry expressed the certitude that "the sun cannot die," and he even went to Syria to seek the lost friend. But eventually he "found him in himself, radiant as the moon," as Sulṭān Walad says, and most of his lyrical poetry came to be written in the name of Shams al-Dīn.

Friends and disciples. After reaching complete annihilation (*fanāʾ*) in Shams, who had claimed to have attained the stage of being "the Beloved" and who appeared as the true interpreter of the secrets of the Prophet, Mawlānā found spiritual peace in his friendship with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, an illiterate goldsmith with whom he had long-standing relations through his own spiritual teacher, Burhān al-Dīn. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn became, as it were, Rūmī's mirror; in his pure simplicity he understood the friend without questioning. To cement the relationship, Mawlānā married Sulṭān Walad to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's daughter, and his letters to his beloved daughter-in-law are beautiful proofs of his humanity.

The number of disciples that gathered around Rūmī grew steadily. They came from different layers of society, for he was a friend of some of the powerful ministers who, for all practical purposes, ruled the country; but there were also greengrocers and craftsmen among them. A number of women belonged to his circle, some of whom arranged musical sessions for him in their homes. Outstanding in piety and obedience among his disciples was the youthful Ḥusām al-Dīn Chelebī, who now became Rūmī's third source of inspiration.

A poem dated November 1256 reveals the moment when Ḥusām al-Dīn first assumed his new role. About that time, he had asked the master to compose a mystical *mathnavī* for the benefit of his students so that they would no longer need to go back to the epics of Sanāʾī and ʿAṭṭar. Rūmī began by reciting the famous "Song of the Reed," the eighteen introductory verses of the *Mathnavī,* which express the soul's longing for home, and from that time Ḥusām al-Dīn wrote down whatever inspirational teaching came from the master. The composition of the *Mathnavī* was interrupted in 1258 when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn died after a protracted illness and Ḥusām al-Dīn lost his wife; the poems attributed to the next four years are usually didactic in character though lyrical in form. The dictation of the *Mathnavī* resumed in 1262, when Ḥusām al-Dīn was designated as Rūmī's spiritual successor (*khalīfah*), and continued almost to the master's death on December 17, 1273. His death was lamented not only by the Muslims but also by the numerous Christians and Jews of Konya, for he had friendly relations with all of them (and his verse at times shows a remarkable awareness of Christian thought and ritual).

Ḥusām al-Dīn, his first successor, died in 1284; then Sulṭān Walad, the obedient son, assumed the leadership of the disciples and shaped them into a Ṣūfī fraternity proper. He institutionalized the mystical dance, *samāʿ,* in the form that has remained current through the centuries. By the time he died in 1312, the Mevlevi order (called Whirling Dervishes in the West) was firmly established and continued to exert great influence on Turkish culture, particularly music and poetry. The order was abolished, like all mystical fraternities, in 1925 by Kemal Atatürk; but since 1954 the anniversary of Rūmī's death is again being celebrated in Konya, and the performers of the *samāʿ* have toured Western countries under the label of a "tourist attraction."

WORKS. Mawlānā's writings can be divided into two distinct parts: the lyrical poetry that was born out of his encounter with Shams and is collected in the more than thirty-six thousand verses of the so-called *Dīvāni Shams-i Tabrīz,* and the didactic *Mathnavī-yi maʿnavī* with about twenty-six thousand verses, written in a simple meter that had already been used for similar purposes by ʿAṭṭar. Mawlānā's "table talks" have been collected under the title *Fīhi mā fīhi;* these prose pieces sometimes supplement the poetry, since the same stories are used at times in both works. More than a hundred letters, written to dignitaries and family members, have also survived; they show that Mawlānā was also practically-minded and looked well after those who entrusted themselves to him.

Dīvān-i Shams. The *Dīvān* is a remarkable piece of literature in that it translates the author's ecstatic experiences directly into poetry. The form is the traditional *ghazal* with its monorhyme. The rhythm is strong, and often the verses invite scanning by stress rather than by the rules of quantitative classical Persian prosody, although Rūmī uses the traditional meters most skillfully. He is also a master of rhetorical plays, puns, and unexpected ambiguities, and his allusions show that he had mastered Arabic and Persian classical literatures and history as well as religious writings completely. In some poems one can almost follow the flow of inspiration: Beginning from a seemingly trivial event, such as a strange sight in the street, the mystic is carried away by the music of the words and the strength of his rapture until, at least in some longish poems, the inspiration tapers off even though the rhyme continues to carry him through some more (not too good) verses.

Mathnavī. As the *Dīvān* was largely born out of an ecstatic experience that was expressed in unusual and extremely rich imagery, it is difficult to analyze. The *Mathnavī* is somewhat more accessible, and it has been a source for mystical instruction ever since it was written. For the Western reader, the book is still not easy to understand, for stories grow out of stories to lead to a mystical adage or a highly lyrical passage, and after long digressions the poet may return to the original anecdote only to be carried away by a verbal association or, as we may surmise, by the interruption of a listener who set him on a different train of thought. The *Mathnavī* is a storehouse not only of Ṣūfī lore but also of folklore, proverbs, and sometimes very crude, even obscene stories that, again, turn into surprising symbols of spiritual experiences. The book contains so little technical terminology of the Ṣūfīs and so few theoretical discussions of "stages," "states," and so forth that some listeners objected to the master's simple "storytelling," as becomes evident from scattered remarks in the *Mathnavī* itself.

Content. The subject of Mawlānā's work is always love, the true moving power in life. Those verses in the *Dīvān* that can be assigned with some certainty to the early years (c. 1245–1250) use especially strong images to describe the mystery of love, the encounter between lover and beloved, the secrets of seeking and finding, of happiness in despair. They carry the reader away even though the logical sequence is not always very clear. Love is personified under different guises—Rūmī sees it as a police officer who enacts confiscation of humanity's goods or as a carpenter who builds a ladder to heaven, as a ragpicker who carries away everything old from the house of the heart, or as a loving mother, as a dragon or a unicorn, as an ocean of fire or a white falcon, to mention only a few of the images of this strongest power of life. God's preeternal address to the not-yet-created souls, "Alastu bi-rabbikum" ("Am I not your Lord?" Qurʾān 7:171), is interpreted as the first music, which caused creation to dance out of not-being and to unfold in flowers, trees, and stars. Everything created participates in the eternal dance, of which the Mevlevi ritual is only a "branch." In this ritual, the true mystery of love, namely "to die before dying," of sacrificing oneself in order to acquire a new spiritual life, is symbolized by the dervishes casting off their black gowns to emerge in their white dancing dresses, symbols of the luminous "body of resurrection." For the idea of suffering and dying for the sake of transformation permeates all of Rūmī's work, and he expresses it in ever-new images: not only the moth that casts itself into the candle, or the snow that melts when the sun enters the sign of Aries, but even the chickpeas that are boiled in order to be eaten, and thus to reach a higher level of existence in becoming part of the human body, speak of this mystery of transformation, as does the image of the treasure that can only be found in ruins; for the heart must be broken in order to find in itself the "hidden treasure," which is God.

Most interpreters, including the leading European expert, Reynold A. Nicholson, have understood Rūmī's work almost exclusively in the light of Ibn al-ʿArabī's theosophy. Although on friendly terms with Ibn al-ʿArabī's stepson and foremost interpreter, Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunawī, Mawlānā was not fond of the "great master's" theoretical approach and his ingenious systematization. To explain everything in the *Mathnavī* in the light of *waḥdat al-wujūd,* "unity of being," as systematized by Ibn al-ʿArabī, would be wrong. Of course, Rūmī was deeply convinced, as is every true Muslim, that the multiplicity of phenomena is a veil before the absolute Divine Unity: God's creative command, "Kun!" ("Be!"), with its two letters (*kn*), is like a two-colored rope that makes people forget the unity of God who created it. The end of the ascending ladder of manifestations through which the creatures have to pass in their constant attempt to return to their beginning (symbolized by the reed bed out of which the complaining flute was once cut) lies in *ʿadam,* "positive nothingness," the divine essence that is absolutely hidden and beyond any qualifications. But Rūmī's experience of unity is not based on mere speculations of a gnostic approach to life; rather, it develops out of the experience of love, for the lover believes that everything he sees, hears, or feels merely points to the one Beloved with whom he experiences an ever-growing proximity until his own "I" has been burned away in the fire of separation, and he feels that only the Friend exists, who has taught him that "there is no room for two I's in the house."

This loving relationship is also expressed in prayer. Among all Muslim mystics, Rūmī has expressed the mystery of prayer most eloquently: Prayer is the language of the soul, and the poor shepherd's prayer in which he offers his beloved God "to sweep his little room, to comb his hair, to pick his lice, and to bring him a little bit of milk" is more acceptable to God than learned words uttered without feeling or with pride, for it is the expression of true love. More importantly, prayer is a gift of God: The man who called "God" ever so long and was finally seduced by Satan to refrain from calling is informed by God himself that "in every 'O God' of yours there are a hundred 'Here am I' of mine." Without divine grace, people would not be able to pray—how could a rose grow out of mere dust?

It was out of this life of constant prayer that Mawlānā was able to teach and to inspire later generations. But one must not forget that he was well aware of this world, even though he considered it "like the dream of a sleeping person." Yet, the actions that occur in this dreaming life will be interpreted in the "morning light of eternity," and Mawlānā never tired of teaching his disciples that, as the Prophet had stated, "this world is the seedbed of the other world," for each action—rather, each thought—brings its fruits for spiritual development. Death, therefore, is the true mirror that will show everyone his real face.

This awareness of the world makes Rūmī's poetry especially powerful. There is nothing abstract in his verse, and he does not shun to mention the lowliest manifestations of life, since for him everything turns into a symbol of some higher reality. Spring is the time of resurrection, when the frozen material world suddenly becomes a paradise thanks to the thunder's "trumpet of Isrāfīl," and the trees, donning green paradisical garments, dance in the spring breeze of eternal love. Animals and plants, the arts and crafts of the citizens of Konya (sewing, weaving, calligraphy, pottery, and the like), and the skills of gypsy rope dancers inspired him as much as the legends of the Ṣūfī saints of yore, or the traditions of the Prophet. Allusions to and quotations from the Qurʾān form the warp and woof of his work. Just as the sun, according to Eastern folklore, is able to transform pebbles into rubies, so too Rūmī, touched by the "Sun of Tabrīz," who was for him the locus of manifestation of the divine sun of love, was able to transform everything into a poetical symbol. It goes without saying that not all his verse is on the same level, but the spirit is the same everywhere. Even though Rūmī, in a moment of anger, claimed that he thoroughly disliked poetry, he knew that he was forced by the mystical Friend:

> I think of rhymes, but my Beloved says: "Don't think
> of anything but of my face!"

The allusions to philosophical problems in some of the later lyrics, and especially in the fourth book of the *Mathnavī,* show that during the mid-1260s Rūmī developed some interest in more theoretical aspects of Sufism, but this period apparently did not last long.

Mawlānā's life can be seen as the ideal model of the mystic's progress: After the experience of the love of Shams, which, like a high-rising flame, burned him to complete annihilation, there followed a period of comparative quietude in his relationship with the goldsmith, a time of finding his transformed self. Finally, in the descending semicircle of his life, he returned to the world and its creatures by teaching Ḥusām al-Dīn the mysteries he had experienced through the medium of the *Mathnavī.* This sequence explains the stylistic differences between the *Dīvān* and the *Mathnavī;* it also explains why the *Mathnavī* became the centerpiece of mystical education wherever Persian was understood, from Ottoman Turkey to the borders of Bengal.

LEGACY. In the East, the *Mathnavī* has been translated into many languages, and hundreds of commentaries have been composed; it has been a source of inspiration for mystics and kings alike. In the West, Rūmī's work was studied from about 1800 onward and inspired poets such as Rückert in Germany, whose free adaptations of some *ghazal*s are still the best introduction to Rūmī's style and thought. Through Rückert, Hegel learned of "the excellent Rūmī," in whom he saw a distant forerunner of his own thought. Numerous partial translations of Mawlānā's lyrics exist, but to do full justice to him is next to impossible because of the multicolored imagery of his verse, and the innumerable allusions would require a running commentary. Simple prose translations, again, cannot convey the delight that the reader feels when carried away by the rhythmical flow of these poems, which mark the high point of mystical verse in Islam.

SEE ALSO Sufism.

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The *Dīvān,* which has been published often in the East, was critically edited in ten volumes by Badiʿ al-Zaman Furuzanfar (1957; reprint, Tehran, 1977). *Fihi ma fihi,* Mawlānā's prose work, is likewise available in several Eastern editions and in a translation by A. J. Arberry as *Discourses of Rūmī* (London, 1961). Arberry has published other translations of Rūmī's work, including *Tales from the Masnavi* (London, 1961) and *Mystical Poems of Rūmī* (Chicago, 1968, selections 1–200; Boulder, 1975, selections 201–400). Earlier translations of parts of the *Mathnavī* by James W. Redhouse, *The Mesnevi* (London, 1881), and E. H. Whinfield, *Masnavi i maʾnavi* (1887; reprint, London, 1973), may be used for reference.

Afzal Iqbal's *The Life and Thought of Mohammad Jalālud-Dīn Rūmī* (Lahore, 1956), enlarged in later editions, provides an introduction to Rūmī's life and work, as does William Chittick's excellent book *The Sufi Path of Love* (Albany, N.Y., 1983). Most valuable are the studies of the Turkish scholar Abdülbâki Gölpinarli, who has not only written a fine biography of Rūmī, *Mevlânâ Celâlettin, hayati, felsefesi, eserlerinden seçmeleri* (Istanbul, 1952), and a history of the Mevlevi order, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra Meveliviîlik* (Istanbul, 1953), but has also translated the *Dīvān* (*Divan-i kebir,* 7 vols., Istanbul, 1957–1960) and the letters (*Mevlânâʾnin mektuplari,* Istanbul, 1963) into Turkish. For a general survey, with emphasis on the poetical aspects of Rūmī's work, see my study *The Triumphal Sun* (London and The Hague, 1978), with extensive bibliography.

One of the oldest biographies of Mawlānā, his friends, and his family, Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Aflākī's two-volume *Manāqib al-ʿārifin,* was published in the Persian original by Tahsin Yazici (Ankara, 1959–1961) and translated by him into Turkish (*Âriflerin menkibeleri,* Ankara, 1964). The French version by Clément Huart, *Les saints des derviches tourneurs* (Paris, 1918–1922), is not very reliable.

There is a considerable literature on Rūmī, and (partly very free) translations of his poems, in German, the latest ones being *Aus dem Diwan* (Stuttgart, 1963) and *Rumi: Ich bin Wind und du bist Feuer* (Cologne, 1982) by me and *Licht und Reigen* (Bern, 1974) by J. Christoph Bürgel. Important for the serious scholar are Helmut Ritter's numerous studies, including "Philologika XI: Maulānā Ǧalāladdīn Rūmī und sein Kreis," *Der Islam* 26 (1942): 116–158, 221–249, and "Neuere Literatur über Maulānā Calāluddīn Rūmī und seinen Orden," *Oriens* 13–14 (1960–1961).

ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL (1987)

RUNES [FIRST EDITION]. The modern English word *rune* (Dan., *rune;* Swed., *runa;* Icel. pl., *rúnar;* Ger., *Rune*) signifies any character in the ancient Germanic, and especially Scandinavian, alphabet. The word is seemingly derived from a hypothetical Germanic form, **runo-*, meaning "secret" (cf. modern Ger. *raunen*, "whisper"; Icel. *rýna*, "speak confidentially"; Goth. *rûna*, "secret"; AS *rún*, "rune, secret whispering"). The Finnish word *runo*, meaning "song," is an early borrowing from Germanic.

Comprising the earliest known form of writing in any Germanic tongue, runic inscriptions can be documented for as early as 200 CE. What is known of cultural, and especially linguistic, development in general leads to the supposition that runes must have been in existence for some generations by the time the earliest preserved inscriptions were carved. Numerous theories concern the date of their creation, the tribal identity of their inventors, and the models by which they were inspired. Much discussed also is the original purpose or purposes of the runes: were they invented and used initially to serve religious (and magical) ends or were they primarily conceived of as a mode of communication? It is attested that during the period of their employment—for a millennium and longer—they served both these purposes.

The geographical distribution of the earliest brief inscriptions points strongly to early Denmark as the primary center for the first important use of runes. From Denmark the loci of early Germanic inscriptions radiate outward to southern Norway and Sweden, to northern Germany, Poland (Rozwadów), and the Ukraine (Kowel), and ultimately to Hungary (Szabadbattyán) and Romania (Pietroassa). Later the runes spread to England, undergoing in time characteristic modifications and additions and eventually awakening the interest of monks and bishops.

The geographical evidence for a centralized origin of the runes is reinforced by a linguistic consideration. From the outset, as evidenced by all known examples, there was no faltering or sign of experimentation: whether created by an individual genius or by a group, the runes were made full-blown, not only in their graphic and phonetic values but in their unique order and arrangement. Made up of twenty-four characters divided into three groups of eight, the runic "alphabet" is now known, after its first six characters, as the *futhark*. During the Viking age, commencing around 800, and through a second act of decisive linguistic creativeness, the Scandinavian *futhark* was shortened to sixteen characters, still arranged in three groups. This took place first in Denmark, then in Norway and Sweden.

The earliest inscriptions, from 200 CE or so, appear on small objects such as spearheads, buckles, amulets, and horns, apparently as marks of ownership. Their angular shape indicates the practice of carving onto wooden tablets. By the fourth century they were being chiseled into stone, particularly in Norway where rocks are plentiful. With that step, the runes acquired additional scope and permanence, chiefly as memorial inscriptions, which frequently have historical value of note. The oldest of this new type, dating from 350–400, is the brief inscription of Einang, Norway, reading "[I, Go-]dagastiz painted the rune" (i.e., carved the inscription). The longest inscription (720 runes) is that of Rök, which is partly versified and is filled with mythological and semihistorical allusions. The westernmost, and northernmost, inscription is the fourteenth-century carving from Kingiktorsoaq, Greenland, far above the Arctic circle.

Of five thousand known inscriptions, more than three thousand are Swedish, most of which were carved before 1100. Lacking a cursive form and hence unhandy for manuscript use, and imperiled after 1100 by the spread of Latin letters, the runes nevertheless persisted, especially in Sweden, for several centuries. Ultimately, they fell into disuse save as an occasional pastime or for such limited purposes as marking the calendar or, recapitulating their earliest use, indicating ownership. In Sweden a form of runic shorthand enjoyed a limited vogue.

Conflicting theories derive the runes, via some early Germanic-speaking tribe, from the Greek alphabet, the Roman alphabet, or from North Italic (Etruscan); even Celtic influence has been posited. Suggested intermediaries are the Goths around the Black Sea and the Marcomanni, who were resident in Bohemia until their destruction at Vercellae in 18 CE. But the Gothic alphabet of Bishop Ulfilas (fourth century) itself shows runic influence, and the Marcomanni or their fellow Germans would simply have adopted the Latin alphabet entirely. The greatest number of similarities is between runic and Latin, and that accords well with the intense early relations between Rome and (pre-Danish) Jutland, "the long-time heartland of Germania" (Haugen, 1976).

Some early rune masters, however, had no doubt of the origin of the runes. It is explicitly stated on the Noleby Stone (Sweden, 450 CE), on the Sparlösa Stone (Sweden, 800), and in the Old Norse *Hávamál* (st. 80; cf. ss. 138–144) that the runes derived from the gods. Whether or not the runes were originally created for religio-magical purposes, they were certainly no less adaptable to such use than were the classical alphabets that preceded and coexisted with them. Early inscriptions repeatedly contain the word *alu*, meaning "protection, magic, taboo"; on the Stone of Nordhuglo (Norway, 425) the rune master proudly refers to himself as the *gudija* (priest) "protected against magic."

In time, Christian notions succeeded traditional Germanic conceptions. Inscriptions in the younger *futhark*, often carved within traditional serpentine patterns, came to be decorated with Christian crosses as well; the serpents were retained partly out of tradition and convenience as line markers and occasionally out of residual resentment or defiance of the "new faith." But as Christianity gained sway in the north, runic incantations, maledictions, and appeals to the Germanic gods yielded to such phrases as "So-and-so made this thing (e.g., built this bridge) for his soul." Late inscriptions are sometimes mixed with Latin phrases; the hammer of Þórr (Thor) is paired with a Christian cross; the Virgin Mary is mentioned.

In the British Isles runes were adroitly drawn into the service of the church. One of the finest examples of this is the splendid Ruthwell Cross (Dumfriesshire, c. 800), adorned with evangelical pictures and containing portions of *The Dream of the Rood.* The tenth-century Jelling Stone (No. 2), that huge royal Danish monument erected by King Harald Bluetooth in honor of his parents and himself, is aggressively Christian; on it, Harald claims credit for having christianized the Danes. Many rune stones have been transported to churchyards and even immured in church walls, as a rule with the inscribed face obscured, a practice that points rather to economic than to religious considerations.

In the sixteenth century the study of runes became a learned preoccupation in Sweden, whence it spread to Denmark, and by the nineteenth century the subject was being pursued to some effect in Germany and Great Britain. In the twentieth century much energy has been devoted to such topics as runic cryptography, speculative theories of Germanic uniqueness, and efforts to derive the runes from early conceptual signs (*Begriffszeichen*). Little of this has borne fruit, but the systematic study of runology during the past hundred years or so has brought forth works of great distinction.

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ERIK WAHLGREN (1987)

RUNES [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS].

The first edition's article on "Runes" has held up well, although some updates are necessary. First, the Noleby stone is now believed to be from c. 600 CE. Second, the word *alu,* found frequently in runic inscriptions from the third to the eighth centuries, is no longer interpreted as "amulet" (cf. Gothic *alhs,* "temple"). Instead, a connection with Hethitic *alwanzahh* (to charm) and Greek *alúein* (to be beside oneself) suggests a meaning of "ecstasy" or "magic." Third, the continued use in the Christian era of serpentine patterns to contain a series of runes is now considered to be due to tradition rather than as signalling pagan defiance. Finally, it should be pointed out that the Ruthwell Cross inscription (now dated c. 627–725 CE) quotes an Old English poem that in the mid-ninth century was reworked into another Old English poem called *The Dream of the Rood.*

Early scholarship on runes assumed that this system of writing was essentially magical, and despite considerable skepticism about that view, many early inscriptions (second–eighth centuries CE) do appear magical in nature. But whether magical, religious, or secular, runic inscriptions provide much contemporary evidence regarding Germanic paganism. The Glavendrup (c. 900–925 CE) and Snoldelev (early ninth century) inscriptions on stone monuments refer to priests. Their formula "Þórr consecrate these runes" attests to a belief in this god, and the monuments themselves show the importance of commemoration of the dead. The Rök inscription (early ninth century) contains riddling allusions to obscure legends. The rune-master raised the stone in memory of his dead son, but evidently the father was a priest, and the stone appears to have a second purpose of testing a person's knowledge of ancient lore. Runes also appear on cult objects such as bracteates (medal-like gold jewelry) and drinking horns. An inscription on a secular item of jewelry, the south German "Nordendorf fibula" (c. 600–650 CE), refers to *Wodan* and *Wigiþonar* (Hallowing-Thor), making it one of the few sources that record the south Germanic belief in the Germanic pantheon.

Another aspect of Germanic paganism was the belief in the magical properties of runes. Each rune represented not only a sound but also the word that was its name. For example, the f-rune was named *fé* (cattle, or wealth), and the t-rune was named for Týr, god of victory, and was often carved on weapons. A rune could be repeated in an inscription to emphasize its concepts, as could magical words. Migration Age bracteates were inscribed with the words *laukaR laukaR laukaR* (leek, leek, leek) to invoke the particularly effective medicinal and magical powers of this plant. The healing power of runes is explained in the eddic poem *Sigrdrífumál,* and another eddic poem calls runes the antidote for misfortune (*Hávamál,* sts. 138–141). The þ-rune was sometimes called *þurs* (giant) and could be used in black magic; the eddic poem *Skírnismál* (st. 6) says that carving it three times will bring disgrace, madness, and restlessness to its victim. Yet another eddic poem (*Rígsþula,* st. 41) includes runic lore among the cultural gifts divinely transmitted to the nobility, along with the aristocratic pastimes of swimming and the chess-like game of "tables."

After the demise of paganism, runes were widely used in Christian contexts. On the Isle of Man, which developed Christianity from Irish sources but was later settled by Scandinavians, Celtic high crosses were carved with runic inscriptions and dedications like those on continental Scandinavian monuments. That Manx Scandinavians assimilated the Cross as a warrior standard and implement of power—akin to the weapons of the pagan gods—is seen from the tenth-century slate cross fragment at Kirk Andreas. On the right side of the cross, Óðinn with his spear and raven treads on the jaw of a wolf; on the left, Jesus or a saint, armed with cross and book, treads on a serpent, flanked by a fish (cf. *Gen.* 3:15). To either side of the upper member of the cross are runic inscriptions. The Danish Jelling Stone (c. 965–987 CE), raised by a king to commemorate his role in the conversion of Denmark, displays a simple cross surrounded by interlace and a serpentine runic inscription. A fashion for somewhat similar memorials left thousands of eleventh-century rune stones in Sweden, where memorial stones with runic inscriptions continued to be erected until around 1100. The custom died out not due to the introduction of Christianity per se (many of the later stones are definitely Christian), but perhaps due to the new custom of burying the dead in churchyards. Pieces of wood with runic inscriptions of mythological poetry, found in the Bryggen section of Bergen, Norway, show that this medium as well as this material had an enduring life in an Christian, urban, nonclerical environment as late as the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. Runes in Bergen could be used for magical purposes—in love charms, for example, or as something like a curse ("Ími heated the stone so that the hearth would smoke! Never shall the food be cooked! Out with heat! In with cold! Ími heated the stone!")—but usually they had secular purposes, acting as ownership tags for merchandise, accounting records, packing slips, and other kinds of ordinary, everyday communication. The knowledge of runic writing was evidently widespread from the eleventh century on, and some 10 percent of all medieval (c. 1050–1500) runic inscriptions are in Latin and have religious content. Some are prayers; others are charms. Churches and ecclesiastical furniture such as baptismal fonts, bells, and censers were inscribed with runes.

SEE ALSO Eddas; Germanic Religion, overview article.

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ELIZABETH ASHMAN ROWE (2005)

RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH.

Vladimir I, grand prince of Kiev (960–1015) was the first Christian ruler of Russia. Having sent ambassadors to investigate the religions of his day, Vladimir was persuaded to embrace Greek Christianity when, according to the Russian *Primary Chronicle*, his envoys reported that at the liturgy in Constantinople they did not know whether they were in heaven or on earth. Vladimir's marriage to the Byzantine princess Anna and his economic dealings with the empire also played a significant part in his decision to align his principality with the imperial Church of Byzantium. Vladimir was baptized in 988.

KIEVAN CHRISTIANITY. After the baptism of the Kievan peoples by prince Vladimir, Orthodox Christianity flourished in the lands of Rus'. Before the Tatar devastations in the thirteenth century, Kiev was a cosmopolitan city with commercial and cultural ties with Europe and the East. Its spiritual center was the Kievan Monastery of the Caves founded by Anthony of Kiev (d. 1072) and Theodosius (d. 1074). The monastery provided the first literary and historical as well as religious writings in the Russian lands; for centuries it served as the theological and spiritual center of Russian church life. In the early years of Christian Kiev, several remarkable churches were constructed, such as the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom (Hagia Sophia, 1037); these churches conformed to Byzantine patterns of architecture, iconography, and mosaic decoration. The leader of church life was the bishop of Kiev, often a Greek by nationality, who had the title *metropolitan.*

The city-republics of Novgorod and Pskov to the north also developed vibrant Christian societies after their conversions, boasting wonderful architectural and iconographic achievements that early began to show independence and originality. Spared attacks by the Tatars, these areas were threatened by crusading Christians from the West who desired to enforce Latin Christianity in the region. Grand Prince Aleksandr Nevskiy (d. 1263) led the Russians in their defeat of the invading Swedes (1240) and the Teutonic Knights (1242), thus preserving the Orthodox faith. He also managed to maintain peace with the Tatars through skillful diplomacy accomplished by extensive visits to the khans, to whom he paid homage and tribute.

MUSCOVITE CHRISTIANITY. After the devastation of Kiev by the Tatars in 1240, the center of Russian political and ecclesiastical life shifted to Moscow. The Muscovite princes succeeded in bringing the rival cities of the region into submission, and with the final defeat of the Tatars by Grand Prince Dmitri Donskoi in 1380, their city reigned supreme among the Russians. The ascendancy of Moscow could not have occurred without the efforts of church leaders, particularly the metropolitans, such as Alexis (d. 1378), who for a time served as governing regent, and the abbot Sergiy of Radonezh (d. 1392).

Sergiy is considered by many to be Russia's greatest saint and the "builder" of the nation. A simple monk who became famous for his ascetic labors and mystical gifts, he was appointed abbot of the Saint Sergius Trinity Monastery, which he founded in the wilderness north of Moscow. The monastery soon became the center of social and economic as well as religious and spiritual life in the region. Its members and their disciples provided Russia over the centuries with hundreds of bishops, abbots, missionaries, thinkers, artists, and secular leaders, many of whom were canonized saints of the church. One such figure was the monk-iconographer Andrei Rublev (c. 1360–1430), whose painting of the Trinity in the form of three angels who visited Abraham is among the great masterpieces of Russian art. Closed after the 1917 revolution, the monastery was reopened after World War II; it attracts thousands of pilgrims annually and houses the Moscow Theological Academy and Seminary.

THE IMPERIAL PERIOD. In the fifteenth century, with the fall of Constantinople to the Turks (1453), the theory developed that Moscow was the "third Rome," the last center of true Christianity on earth. Job, the metropolitan of Moscow, was elected patriarch. This election was confirmed by Jeremias II of Constantinople in 1589, thus giving the Russian Church a status of self-governance and honor equal to that of the ancient patriarchates of the Christian empire: Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. The patriarchate existed in Russia de facto until 1700, de jure until 1721, when Peter the Great (1672–1725) issued the Ecclesiastical Regulation, which created a synodical form of church government patterned after that of the Protestant Churches of Europe. The patriarchate was restored to the Russian Church only in 1918, when the All-Russian Church Council, the first such assembly allowed since before Peter's rule, elected Tikhon Belavin (d. 1925), a former archbishop of the North American mission, to the office.

In the seventeenth century Patriarch Nikon (d. 1681) attempted to reform the Russian Church according to the practices of the Church of Constantinople. He corrected the liturgical service books and instituted Greek forms of ritual, such as the practice of making the sign of the cross with three fingers instead of two, as was the practice among the Russians. Nikon's reform was taken as an assault on the "third Rome" theory because it radically questioned any special calling of the Russian Church and nation. Its result was not only the resignation of the unyielding patriarch but the schism of great numbers of "old ritualists" from the established church.

During the time of the westernization of Russia under Peter the Great and subsequent czars, the Russian Church became the virtual captive of the state. The patriarchate was abolished and replaced by the Holy Synod, consisting of bishops, presbyters, and laypeople. Church councils were forbidden, ecclesiastical properties were appropriated and secularized, and church schools began to teach in Latin. The clergy were alienated from the people, particularly the intellectuals, and the church structure was bureaucratized, with the lay government official for ecclesiastical affairs, the Oberprocuror of the Holy Synod, at its head.

LATINIZATION IN THE UKRAINE. From the end of the fifteenth century the church in the Kievan area, by now a part of the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom, was canonically attached to the patriarchate of Constantinople and not to Moscow. In 1596 in Brest-Litovsk, the metropolitan of Kiev signed an act of union with the Church of Rome, a move opposed by some bishops and most leading laypeople. Great numbers of believers in the territories of these bishops became Uniates at this time and, over the centuries, developed into strongly committed members of the Catholic Church. In the early twenty-first century the Ukrainian and Ruthenian Eastern Rite Churches remain staunchly anti-Russian and anti-Orthodox.

The defense of Eastern Orthodoxy during this period was led by the Orthodox metropolitan of Kiev, Petr Moghila (d. 1647). Though violently anti-Catholic, Petr was himself trained in the West and became responsible for bringing many Latin doctrines and liturgical practices into the Orthodox Church through his publications and the school he founded in Kiev, which influenced not only the whole Russian Church but the entire Orthodox world. In addition to the theological school in Kiev, higher faculties of theological study specializing in preparing missionaries for the Eastern regions were established in Moscow, Saint Petersburg, and Kazan.

RUSSIAN MISSIONARY ACTIVITY. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the missionary efforts of the Russian Church were extensive. The Scriptures and services of the church were translated into many Siberian languages and Alaskan dialects as the eastern regions of the empire were settled and evangelized. Russian missionaries reached the Aleutian Islands in Alaska in 1794, thus beginning the history of Russian Orthodoxy in the New World. The monk Herman (d. 1830), a member of the original missionary party, was canonized a saint of the church in 1970 by both the Russian Church and the Orthodox Church in America. The latter, formerly the Russian missionary diocese in North America, was recognized in the same year by the Russian Church as the fifteenth autocephalous (self-governing) Orthodox Church in the world.

Joining Herman in the Orthodox calendar of saints were two other great missionaries. Innokentiy Veniaminov (d. 1879) was a young married priest who traveled extensively through Siberia and North America, reaching as far as San

Francisco. He created several Alaskan alphabets, translated many texts, wrote many books, and converted countless people before becoming head of the Russian Church as metropolitan of Moscow, which post he occupied until his death. Nikolai Kasatkin (d. 1912) was the first Orthodox archbishop of Tokyo and the founder of the now autonomous Orthodox Church of Japan. In addition to contributing to the conversion of thousands, he translated Scriptures and services into Japanese and built the cathedral of Nikolai-Do in Tokyo.

SPIRITUAL REVIVAL OF THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries also saw a revival of traditional Orthodox ascetical and mystical life, uninfluenced by the westernizing tendencies of the ecclesiastical institutions. Paisiy Velichkovskiy (d. 1794) brought the hesychast method of mystical prayer, rooted in the invocation of the name of Jesus, into the Ukraine and Russia from Mount Athos, an important monastic center in northern Greece. He translated into Church Slavonic many ancient texts, including the anthology of writings on the spiritual life by the church fathers titled the *Philokalia (Dobrotoliubie).* (Church Slavonic, the language created for the Slavs by the Greek brothers Cyril and Methodius in the ninth century, is still used liturgically in the Russian Church.) Bishop Feofan Govorov (d. 1894) translated into modern Russian many of the same works, including several contemporary Greek and Latin spiritual classics. Feofan also wrote many treatises on the spiritual life that continue to exercise wide influence in the Orthodox Church. He accomplished this task after retiring as bishop and spending twenty-five years as a monastic recluse. Another retired bishop canonized for his ascetic life and spiritual writings was Tikhon of Zadonsk (d. 1783), who inspired the Russian novelist Fyodor Dostoevsky (1821–1881) to name after him a character in *The Possessed.*

During this same period there emerged in Russia a tradition of spiritual eldership (*starchestvo*), the most famous center of which was the hermitage of Optina, where such elders (*startsy*) as Leonid, Macarius, and Ambrose spent several hours each day instructing and counseling people of all classes, including many philosophers, intellectuals, and statespeople, among whom were Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910), Dostoevsky, Vladimir Soloviev (1853–1900), and Konstantine Leontiev (1831–1891).

The most famous saint of the time, however, was an elder from the Sarov monastery, the priest-monk Serafim (d. 1833), whose teachings on the Christian life understood as the "acquisition of the Holy Spirit" still have great influence among the Orthodox. Ioann of Kronstadt (d. 1908), a parish priest from the port town of Kronstadt near Saint Petersburg, also was acclaimed at this time throughout the nation as an "all-Russian pastor." He is glorified in the church as a man of prayer and preaching who called the people to spiritual and sacramental renewal on the eve of the Russian revolution, which both he and Serafim had predicted.

The beginning of the twentieth century also saw a revival of patristic studies and a recapturing of the authentic Orthodox theological and liturgical tradition in the ecclesiastical schools as well as a religious renaissance on the part of a significant number of Russian intellectuals, many of whom either perished in Joseph Stalin's prison camps, like Pavel Florenskiy (d. 1937), or who were exiled to the West. Among the latter group were the philosopher Nikolai Berdiaev (d. 1948) and the theologian Sergei Bulgakov (d. 1944), who served as dean of the émigré Russian Orthodox Theological Institute of Saint Serge in Paris. The institute educated scores of pastors and church workers and sent scholars, such as George Fedotov (d. 1951), Georges Florovsky (d. 1979), Alexander Schmemann (d. 1983), and John Meyendorff (d. 1992), to Saint Vladimir's Seminary in New York.

THE ERA OF PERSECUTIONS. When the Bolsheviks came to power in Russia in October 1917, one of the main points on their ideological program was the war against all manifestations of religion. This battle turned into full-fledged genocide in the 1920s and 1930s: the repressive wave of militant atheism spared nobody—neither bishops, priests, monks, nuns, nor laypeople. The bitter fate of persecuted clergy was shared by their wives and their children, who were declared "children of the enemies of the people" and placed in special boarding schools, where they were raised in an antireligious spirit. People from all religions—Christians (Orthodox, Catholics, Protestants), Muslims, Jews, and Buddhists—suffered equally from the persecutions. All of this took place while slogans of the struggle for freedom, equality, and fraternity, inherited from the French Revolution, were proclaimed.

The notion of freedom had a limited meaning when it came to religion. The Stalinist constitution of 1929 allowed the freedom to exercise a religious cult and to propagate atheism. It was therefore possible to promote only atheism, because the preaching of religion was officially forbidden. In practice mere membership in a church was seen as a threat to the entire Soviet society and almost inevitably led to dismissal from one's job and the loss of social status. In many cases, especially during the bloody 1920s and 1930s, to be a believer meant risking one's life and the lives of one's loved ones.

During the twenty years of revolutionary terror that began during Vladimir Lenin's (1870–1924) time and continued during the rule of Joseph Stalin (1879–1953), the church was almost totally annihilated. By 1939 all monasteries and theological schools were closed, and tens of thousands of churches were either blown up or shut down. Of the more than 60,000 prerevolutionary churches, only about a hundred remained open; of the more than 150 bishops serving before the revolution only 4 remained free. The overwhelming majority of the clergy and monastics (whose number before the revolution exceeded 200,000) were either shot to death or tortured in concentration camps.

The catastrophic course of combat at the beginning of World War II forced Stalin to mobilize all the national resources for defense, including the Russian Orthodox Church as the people's moral force. Some churches were opened for services, and some bishops and priests were released from prisons. The Russian Church did not limit itself to giving spiritual and moral support to the country in danger. It also rendered material aid by providing funds for all kinds of things, including army uniforms. This process, which can be described as a rapprochement between church and state in a "patriotic union," culminated in Stalin's receiving Patriarchal Locum Tenens Metropolitan Sergiy (Stragorodsky) and Metropolitans Alexy (Simansky) and Nikolay (Yarushevich) at a meeting on September 4, 1943.

From that historic moment a thaw began in relations between church and state. Later in September 1943 in Moscow, with the permission of state authorities, a Bishops' Council convened and elected Metropolitan Sergiy (Stragorodsky) patriarch of Moscow and All Russia. His successor was Metropolitan Alexy (Simansky), elected patriarch in 1945. During and after World War II some theological schools and monasteries were reopened, and some churches were restored. The church, however, remained always under state control, and any attempts to spread its work outside its walls were met with strong rebuffs, including administrative sanctions.

The 1960s, when Nikita Khruschev (1894–1971) was in power, brought a new wave of repressions, when thousands of churches throughout the Soviet Union were closed "for ideological reasons." State control over the church affairs continued under Leonid Brezhnev (1906–1982), when Patriarch Pimen (1971–1990) was the primate of the church. One of the leading hierarchs of that time was Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad (d. 1978), who invested great efforts into the struggle for better understanding between the church and the state and greater independence of the former from the latter.

Until the end of the 1980s it was impossible to confess one's faith openly and at the same time occupy any more or less significant position in society. The entire activity of the church was under the strictest control of the authorities, the number of churches and clergy was severely regulated, and missionary, educational, and charitable work was forbidden.

In the last years of the Soviet era the Russian Orthodox Church in the U.S.S.R. had the legal right to hold church services in buildings authorized by the state for such purposes. A council of twenty laypeople was needed to petition for the use of a church. Because few churches and monasteries were functioning at that time, church services were normally crowded. The church had no right to teach, preach, or pray outside of these buildings, because "religious propaganda" was still expressly forbidden by Soviet law. Admission to the three operating theological schools was strictly monitored by the state. There were no church schools for children and laypeople, who received daily instruction in Marxist-Leninist doctrines with accompanying antireligious propaganda that was legally supported and officially enacted by the state.

RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY. The situation changed drastically after the collapse of the Soviet regime. In the 1990s millions of people returned to their faith and were baptized, and thousands of churches, hundreds of monasteries, and dozens of theological schools were opened. The number of bishops more than doubled and by 2004 was approximately 150, and the number of priests and deacons and their parishes more than quadrupled and in 2004 stood at about 30,000. The growth statistics of monasteries and church educational institutions was particularly impressive: in 1988 there were eighteen monasteries in the jurisdiction of the Russian Church, and by 2004 there were over six hundred; and the number of theological schools during this period grew from three to approximately one hundred.

According to 2003 statistics, about 70 percent of Russians think of themselves as belonging to the Russian Orthodox Church. The majority of believers in the Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova belong to the Russian Church, and most Orthodox Christians in the Baltic (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania) and Central Asian countries (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tadzhikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan) count themselves members of the Russian Church. The total number of faithful of the Russian Orthodox Church living in Russia, the above-mentioned countries, and elsewhere (particularly in western Europe) comprises over 150 million.

This unprecedented quantitative growth in the 1990s was accompanied by radical changes in the church's sociopolitical situation. After more than seventy years the church once again became an integral part of society in all the countreis of the former Soviet Union and was recognized as a highly authoritative spiritual and moral power. And after many centuries the church acquired the right to define independently its place in society and its relations with the state without any interference from secular authorities.

This change in the church's status required from it tremendous efforts in overcoming the "ghetto mentality" that had formed during the many years of forced isolation. Previously clergy had associated only with their parishioners, but now they had to confront a great number of people unfamiliar with the church's teaching and practices and whose knowledge of religion was either rudimentary or nonexistent. Previously priests did not preach outside the walls of their churches, but now they had opportunities to appear on television, on radio, and in print. Previously society and the church had followed their own separate courses, but now the church was drawn into society's discussions of the fundamental questions of human existence.

Ten years of intensive work in understanding and analyzing the contemporary issues were crowned with the adoption of a document titled *The Bases of the Social Concept of* *the Russian Orthodox Church* at the Bishops' Council of 2000. The significance of this document is conditioned by the fact that it reflects the church's position on questions involving church-state relations and contemporary society in general. The document is intended to serve as a spiritual and moral guide for the entire Russian Orthodox Church—not just for the clergy but in no lesser way for the laity as well.

CHURCH AND STATE RELATIONS. Orthodoxy was the state religion of Russia for many centuries, which meant the church not only enjoyed a respected position in society and a substantial income but also was totally dependent on the government. During the synodal period (1700–1917) the church was essentially part of the bureaucratic system; consequently its freedom was violated, and its activities were limited. During Soviet times it was even more enslaved to the state, and although the principle of separation of church and state had been proclaimed, it worked only in favor of the authorities: the church received nothing from the government, whereas the latter interfered in the affairs of the church and controlled its workings.

On account of the persecutions in the twentieth century, the Russian Orthodox Church, when it became free from government control, categorically declined to be associated with the government and to become a state church. In 2000 in the *Bases of the Social Concept* the church declared both its loyalty to and its independence from the state and reserved for itself the right, if necessary, of civil disobedience. Cases of such civil disobedience can be of either a personal or a general nature:

> The Christian, following the will of his conscience, can refuse to fulfil the commands of state forcing him into grave sin. If the church and her holy authorities find it impossible to obey state laws and orders, after a due consideration of the problem, they may take the following action: enter into direct dialogue with the authorities on the problem, call upon the people to use democratic mechanisms to change the legislation or review the authority's decision, apply to international bodies and world public opinion and appeal to her faithful for peaceful civil disobedience.

The *Bases of the Social Concept* is the first document in the history of world Orthodox Christianity that includes an official statement on the possibility of disobedience to the state. The document also maintains that

> the state should not interfere in the life of the church or her government, doctrine, liturgical life, spiritual guidance of her flock, etc., or the work of canonical church institutions in general, except for those aspects where the church is supposed to operate as a legal entity obliged to enter into certain relations with the state, its legislation and governmental agencies. The church expects that the state will respect her canonical norms and other internal statutes.

According to the *Bases of the Social Concept,* the Russian Orthodox Church can effect its participation in state affairs by cooperating in those areas that touch upon its sphere of interests, such as peacemaking at the international, interethnic, and civil levels, fostering mutual understanding and cooperation among peoples, nations, and states; concern for the moral state of society; spiritual, cultural, moral, and patriotic education; works of mercy and charity and the development of joint social programs; the protection, restoration, and development of the historical and cultural legacy, including the care of historical and cultural monuments; dialogue with organs of state government of any kind and at all levels on questions significant to the church and society, including those involving the creation of relevant legislation, decrees, and decisions; pastoral care for soldiers and law-enforcement personnel and their spiritual and moral education; crime prevention and pastoral care for prisoners; scholarship, including research in the area of humanities; health; culture and creative activities; the work of church and secular mass media; activities for the conservation of the environment; economic activity for the benefit of the church, state,and society; supporting the institution of the family, motherhood, and childhood; and opposing the activities of pseudo-religious organizations harmful for the individual and society.

CHURCH GOVERNANCE. The Russian Orthodox Church (which is also known officially as the Moscow Patriarchate) has a hierarchical structure of governance. The supreme bodies of church authority and governance are the Local Council, the Bishops' Council, and the Holy Synod, which is chaired by the patriarch of Moscow and All Russia.

The Local Council consists of the bishops and representatives of the clergy, monastics, and laity. It interprets the teaching of the Orthodox Church, preserving the doctrinal and canonical unity with the local Orthodox Churches. It also deals with internal matters of church life, canonizes saints, elects the patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, and establishes the procedure of such elections.

The Bishops' Council, which is convened every four years, consists of the diocesan bishops and those assistant bishops who direct synodal departments and theological academies, or have canonical jurisdiction over parishes in their charge. The Bishops' Council is responsible for, among other things, preparation for convening a Local Council and monitoring the implementation of its decisions. It also adopts and amends the Statute of the Russian Orthodox Church; resolves basic theological, canonical, liturgical, and pastoral issues; canonizes saints; adopts liturgical offices; gives competent interpretation to church regulations; expresses pastoral concern for contemporary problems; defines the nature of relations with governmental bodies; maintains relations with local Orthodox Churches; establishes, reorganizes, and dissolves self-governed churches, exarchates, dioceses, and synodal institutions; and approves ecclesiastical awards.

The Holy Synod, chaired by the patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, is the governing body of the Russian Orthodox Church between Bishops' Councils. It is convened several times a year. Apart from the patriarch, it includes seven permanent and five temporary members. The permanent members of the synod are the metropolitans of Kiev and All Ukraine, of Minsk and All Belorussia, of Kisineu and All Moldova, of Krutitsy and Kolomna, and of Saint Petersburg and Ladoga as well as the chancellor of the Moscow Patriarchate and the chairman of the Department for External Church Relations. Temporary members of the Holy Synod are invited by rotation from among diocesan bishops to each session.

The patriarch of Moscow and All Russia is the first in honor among the bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church. He governs the Russian Orthodox Church together with the Holy Synod, which he chairs. The patriarch is elected by the Local Council from among those bishops who are at least forty years old; enjoy a good reputation and confidence among the bishops, clergy, and people; are higher theological school graduates; have sufficient experience of diocesan governance; are distinguished by their commitment to the canonical order; and "have a good report of them which are without" (*1 Tm.* 3:7). The patriarch is elected for life. In 2004 the primate of the Russian Orthodox Church was His Holiness Alexy II (Ridiger), patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, who in 1990 succeded Patriarch Pimen.

The synodal institutions are executive bodies under the patriarch and the Holy Synod. There are a Department for External Church Relations, a Publishing Board, an Education Committee, a Department for Catechism and Religious Education, a Department for Charity and Social Service, a Mission Department, a Department for the Co-Operation with the Armed Forces and Law-Enforcement Bodies, and a Youth Department. The chancellery is also part of the Moscow Patriarchate with the status of synodal institution.

INTERNAL ORGANIZATION. The Russian Orthodox Church is divided into dioceses, which are local churches headed by a bishop and uniting diocesan institutions, deaneries, parishes, monasteries, church representations, theological educational institutions, brotherhoods, sisterhoods, and missions. Some dioceses of the Russian Orthodox Church are consolidated in exarchates. This consolidation is based on the national-regional principle. In 2004 the Russian Orthodox Church had the Byelorussian exarchate located in the Republic of Belarus and headed by the metropolitan of Minsk and Slutsk, patriarchal exarch for All Belarus.

The Moscow patriarchate incorporates autonomous and self-governed churches. Self-governed churches function on the basis of and within the limits provided by the patriarchal tomos issued by the decision of the Local Council or the Bishops' Council. In the early twenty-first century the self-governed are the Latvian Orthodox Church (primate—the metropolitan of Riga and All Latvia), the Orthodox Church of Moldova (primate—the metropolitan of Kishinev and All Moldova), and the Estonian Orthodox Church (primate—the metropolitan of Tallinn and All Estonia).

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church is a self-governed church with the right of broad autonomy. Its primate is the metropolitan of Kiev and All Ukraine.

The three Russian Orthodox dioceses in the Republic of Kazakhstan are united into one metropolia headed by the metropolitan of Astana and Alma-Ata. The parishes in Kyrgyzstan, Tadzhikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan belong to the diocese of Tashkent and Central Asia headed by the metropolitan of Tashkent and Central Asia.

The Russian Orthodox Church has eight dioceses "in the distant abroad": Argentine and South America, Berlin and Germany, Brussels and Belgium, Budapest and Hungary, the Hague and the Netherlands, Korsun (in France, Spain, Italy, Portugal, Switzerland), Sourozh (in the United Kingdom and Ireland), and Vienna and Austria. The patriarchal parishes in the United States and Canada are consolidated into deaneries governed by assistant bishops.

The Russian Orthodox Church has representations to the European Institutions in Brussels, to the World Council of Churches in Geneva, to the United Nations in New York, to the Patriarchate of Alexandria in Cairo, to the Patriarchate of Antioch in Damascus, to the Patriarchate of Serbia in Belgrade, to the Patriarchate of Bulgaria in Sofia, and to the Church of Czech Lands and Slovakia in Prague. The Russian Orthodox Church also has representations in Dusseldorff, Strasbourg, Bari, Dublin, and in some other cities as well as the ecclesiastical mission in Jerusalem.

The Japanese Autonomous Orthodox Church and the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church are independent churches free in their internal affairs and linked with Universal Orthodoxy through the Russian Orthodox Church. The primate of the Japanese Autonomous Orthodox Church is the archbishop of Tokyo, metropolitan of All Japan. The primate is elected by the Local Council of the Japanese Autonomous Orthodox Church, and his nomination is approved by the patriarch of Moscow and All Russia. In the early twenty-first century the Chinese Autonomous Orthodox Church consists of several communities of believers who because of political circumstances are deprived from permanent pastoral care.

The so-called Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia is a self-governed metropolia headed by its first hierarch, the metropolitan of New York and Eastern America. It separated from the Moscow Patriarchate in the 1920s for political reasons. In the early twenty-first century it is not recognized as canonical either by the Moscow Patriarchate or by any other local Orthodox Church. However, the process of its rapprochement with the Moscow Patriarchate is underway, which may eventually lead to restoration of full communion between it and the world Orthodoxy.

SEE ALSO Uniate Churches.

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THOMAS HOPKO (1987)
HILARION ALFEYEV (2005)

RUTH AND NAOMI have long enjoyed favored status in Jewish and Christian tradition. Ruth is often portrayed as a paragon of virtue and a model for religious conversion. However, feminist scholars have tended to replace idyllic interpretations with more complex understandings of the scriptural narrative that bears Ruth's name.

THE *BOOK OF RUTH.* *Ruth,* one of two Hebrew Bible books titled after women, is a beautifully crafted tale consisting of eighty-five verses divided into four chapters. More than half the verses feature dialogue among main characters. Naomi, Ruth, and Boaz are leading figures in *Ruth.* Orpah and an unnamed relative/redeemer play key roles near the beginning and end. Bethlehem's women and (male) elders also figure importantly in the story. The narrative is framed by the death of three men and the birth of one child. The basic plot is as follows:

In chapter 1, Elimelech and Naomi, with sons Mahlon and Chilion, journey from famine-stricken Bethlehem (meaning "house of food") to Moab for survival. After Elimelech's unexplained death, the two sons marry Orpah and Ruth (both Moabite). Ten years pass. Mahlon and Chilion die, leaving the three women alone. Naomi begins a journey back to Bethlehem and instructs her daughters-in-law to return to their mothers' houses. Orpah departs with a kiss, but Ruth clings to Naomi with a pledge. The two arrive in Bethlehem at harvest. Naomi publicly laments her emptiness.

In chapter 2, at her own initiative, Ruth obtains food and protection by gleaning in the fields of Boaz, a relative of Elimelech. Boaz, an upstanding citizen, is generous with the women, and Naomi blesses him in her words to Ruth.

In chapter 3, Ruth seeks out a satiated, sleeping Boaz on the threshing floor one night. Adapting Naomi's scheme, Ruth uncovers his "legs" and lies beside him. When Boaz awakes, Ruth asks him to claim her and to act as redeemer of Naomi and Elimelech's land. Boaz praises Ruth's character and agrees to her requests, but acknowledges the existence of a closer relative/redeemer. Ruth returns secretly with food to Naomi.

In chapter 4, Boaz publicly approaches the closer relative and manipulates him into waiving his right of redemption. Boaz receives a blessing from the elders and claims Ruth as his wife. Together, they produce an heir to Elimelech's estate. Neighbor women bless the Lord, praise the boy's mother, and ascribe him to Naomi. They name the child Obed, the future grandfather of King David.

The *Book of Ruth* concludes with a genealogy that may be read either as integral to the story or as an external addition. The genealogy makes Ruth an ancestress of David and, therefore, of a Davidic messiah. The Christian *Gospel of Matthew* includes Ruth in a genealogy of Jesus (*Mt.* 1:5).

ORIGINS AND IMPLICATIONS. Some scholars have concluded from the Obed genealogy that the *Book of Ruth* was written to foster support for the Davidic dynasty. Others have emphasized Ruth's Moabite heritage (reiterated frequently in the text) and have suggested *Ruth* was written in opposition to Ezra's and Nehemiah's post-exilic policy forbidding marriage to outsiders. Both claims are speculative.

The story itself, based on a folk-tale model, offers sparse evidence about historical matters such as date and circumstance of origin. This tale (or separate Ruth and Naomi traditions) may have circulated orally before becoming written text. The most scholars have said with certainty is that the *Book of Ruth* achieved its final form no earlier than the time of David. Name etymologies attributed to the characters in *Ruth* are historically suspect at best. *Ruth* also provides little reliable information about actual Israelite practices concerning levirate marriage (which this technically is not), redemption of land, legal procedures, or religious acts.

God is mentioned as the agent of blessing and the source of Naomi's complaint. Many readers understand God to be a silent but active character in the story. The *Book of Ruth* portrays ordinary people bringing about extraordinary events. The *Ruth* scroll is read and celebrated annually during the Jewish festival of Shavu'ot (Pentecost).

The authorship of the *Book of Ruth* is unknown. Some scholars have proposed that, unlike most Hebrew scriptures, this narrative speaks with a "woman's voice." The author could be a woman, a community of women, or a man or men sensitive to and influenced by women's experience. But this is pure speculation and is more relevant to reading and interpreting than to making historical or literary claims.

The pledge of Ruth to Naomi is commonly recited at weddings, even though the original context is not marriage, but two women whose fates are joined by an oath that remains intact even when one of them marries someone else: "Do not press me to leave you or to turn back from following you! Where you go, I will go; where you lodge, I will lodge; your people shall be my people, and your God my God. Where you die, I will die—there will I be buried. May the LORD do thus and so to me, and more as well, if even death parts me from you!" (*Ru.* 1:16–17). Naomi responds to Ruth with silence, which leads some commentators to suggest that the pledge is more of a threat (or at least an expression of determination) than a promise.

Feminist scholars have pondered the implications of the *Book of Ruth*. On the one hand, it may be read as a positive story of strong women who work together to obtain security in a man's world. Scholars who have taken this view have compared Ruth to Tamar in *Genesis* 38. Tamar is also a strong woman who obtains justice and security from her father-in-law (Judah) through extraordinary means. On the other hand, *Ruth* may be read as a story of assimilation where the title character gains then loses her individual identity. When Naomi arrives in Bethlehem, she speaks to the women of "emptiness," although Ruth, having pledged her presence, presumably stands nearby. Ruth gains an identity (in Naomi's eyes as well as the reader's) while interacting with Boaz. Yet in the end, Ruth's child becomes Naomi's, and neither woman is named in Obed's genealogy, where the child is attributed to Boaz. According to this reading, Ruth the independent Moabite woman is transformed into a servant of patriarchal interests concerning land and lineage.

Some feminist scholars have dismissed Ruth and found in Orpah the better role model. As Naomi's words reveal, both daughters-in-law have shown *chesed*, meaning "kindness" or "loyalty" (*Ru.* 1:8). Orpah loves Naomi and honors her by following instructions. In returning to her mother's house, Orpah remains loyal to her own family, her own national identity (Moabite), and her own gods. Whether read traditionally or nontraditionally, the *Book of Ruth* and its characters are rich with meaning.

SEE ALSO Shavu'ot.

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SUSANNA W. SOUTHARD (2005)

RUUSBROEC, JAN VAN (1293–1381) was a Flemish Christian mystic, known as "the Admirable." Born in Ruusbroec, near (or in) Brussels, he was educated for the priesthood in both lower and higher studies under the care of his kinsman Jan Hinckaert, canon of Saint Gudule collegial church in Brussels. He was ordained a priest at age twenty-four and became influential in the theological and spiritual currents of the church and of the tradition of Middle Netherlandic (Netherlandic-Rhenish) mysticism. He led a devout life in the circle of friends around Hinckaert and Vrank van Coudenberch. Aware of the need to bring doctrinal teaching to the people in their own language, Ruusbroec wrote in the Brabant vernacular.

In 1343, impelled by a longing for silence and a richer spiritual life, Ruusbroec and his companions withdrew to the solitude of Groenendael, near Brussels. A few years later their association developed into a monastery of canons regular under the Augustinian rule of order. His gentleness gained him the epithet "the good prior," and his spiritual wisdom earned him the title "Doctor Admirabilis." He wrote four extensive treatises and seven shorter works; only seven of his letters have been preserved. His reputation for holiness was ratified when the church declared him "blessed" on December 2, 1908.

In Ruusbroec's doctrine, human being is fundamentally oriented toward the triune God. He sees God as at once indivisibly one and threefold, in constant tension between activity and essence. Essence enjoys itself quietly in modelessness. Activity is fecund. The Father, in knowing himself, creates relationships; he brings forth and expresses himself in his Son, the Word of God. In the reciprocal beholding of Father and Son, the Holy Spirit flows forth as the mutual bond of active love. Turning inward in essential love, they enjoy the unity of essence, which drives them afresh toward activity.

In turning outward, God creates according to the image of his Son and in the power of the Holy Spirit. The human creature in its selfhood is irrevocably distinct from the transcendent God. At the same time, however, the creature is in relation with and directed toward God because human being is created in the unity of God's likeness and image.

Ruusbroec sees humanity as structured in a threefold way, according to three interacting unities. The body and the lower faculties of the soul are under the heart and form the unity of the heart. The higher faculties of the soul, oriented to the highest human powers, form the unity of spirit, which in activity is receptive to God's essence. In these two lower unities, by the grace of God, the creature attains likeness to God in active (outer) life and in inner life ("unity by means"). According to the third unity, the creature attains its oneness with God's image in the contemplative life ("unity without means," or "unity without difference").

In Christ (the God-man) humanness is realized in the fullness of likeness and unity-of-image in himself, and this fullness is communicated to and in humankind. The ascent in likeness and unity is realized in Christ and in human beings: on earth, characterized by mortality, in the likeness of grace; in heaven, characterized by immortality and irradiated by the *lumen gloriae,* in the likeness of glory. Ruusbroec's grandiose view provides a balanced synthesis of God's outflowing transcendent love and of humankind's potentiality for harmonious ascent to union with God.

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ALBERT AMPE (1987)

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SAʿADYAH GAON (882–942), properly Saʿadyah ben Yosef al-Fayyumī, was a Jewish theologian, jurist, scholar, and gaon ("head, eminence") of the rabbinic academy at Sura, Babylonia. Saʿadyah was born in Dilaẓ (modern Abu Suwayr) in the Faiyūm district of Upper Egypt. Virtually nothing is known about his family and early education. By age twenty-three, however, he had corresponded with the noted Jewish Neoplatonist Yitsḥaq Israeli (c. 855–955), published the first Hebrew dictionary (*Sefer ha-agron*), and composed a polemic against the Karaite schismatic ʿAnan ben David (fl. 760). After leaving Egypt, Saʿadyah spent time in both Palestine and Syria but eventually, in 921 or 922, settled in Babylonia. There he championed the cause of the Babylonian rabbis in a dispute with Palestinian authorities over fixing the religious calendar and published his views in two treatises, *Sefer ha-zikkaron* and *Sefer ha-moʿadim.* Recognizing his ability, the exilarch, or hereditary leader of the Jewish community, awarded Saʿadyah with an academic appointment in 922 and subsequently elevated him to the gaonate of Sura. Soon afterward, in 930, a legal dispute between the two developed into a bitter political struggle in which each deposed the other from office. Saʿadyah was driven into formal retirement in Baghdad, but, ultimately, reconciliation led to his reinstatement in 937.

A versatile and prolific author, Saʿadyah pioneered in many areas of Jewish scholarship. He translated the Hebrew Bible into Arabic, wrote commentaries on most of its books, assembled the first authorized *siddur,* or Jewish prayerbook, and composed numerous other works in the fields of jurisprudence, grammar, lexicography, liturgical poetry, and theology. His most famous work, *Sefer emunot ve-deʿot* (933; *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions,* 1948), was the first systematic exposition and defense of the tenets of Judaism and contains a detailed account of his views.

The Book of Beliefs and Opinions reflects both the cosmopolitanism and the sectarian rivalries characteristic of tenth-century Baghdad. Saʿadyah indicates that the intense competition between adherents of the various religious and philosophical creeds had produced an atmosphere of spiritual confusion in which believers were either mistaken or in doubt about the inherited doctrines of their religion, whereas unbelievers boasted of their unbelief. Seeking to dispel such doubt and establish a common basis for achieving religious

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Clockwise from top left corner. Sixteenth-century illuminated miniature of dancing dervishes, from the "Sessions of the Lovers." *[©Bodlein Library, University of Oxford]*; South torana at the Great Stupa at Sāñcī, India. *[©Adam Woolfitt/Corbis]*; Eleventh-century Śiva Naṭarāja from Southern India. Musée Guimet, Paris. *[©Giraudon/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; The "Wedded Rocks" at Futamigaura in Ise, Japan. *[©Werner Forman/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Angkor Vatt, Cambodia. *[Dave G. Houser/Corbis].*

certainty, Saʿadyah adopted the methods of *kalām* (Islamic speculative theology) current in his day. He aimed to defend the doctrines of his faith and to refute errors by using rational arguments that could convince any reasonable person. Thus, from mere acceptance of traditional doctrines, itself always open to doubt, the reader would arrive at rationally established beliefs or convictions, just as the book's title suggests.

To facilitate this transition, Saʿadyah begins by identifying the causes of error and doubt. He then analyzes three sources of truth and certainty and illustrates their proper use: (1) sense perception, (2) rational intuition of self-evident principles, and (3) valid inference. To these he adds a fourth source based on the other three, reliable tradition, which is both indispensable to civilized life and the medium in which God's revelation to the prophets is transmitted. While Saʿadyah confidently believes human speculation can arrive at the truth of everything disclosed in prophecy, revelation is still necessary to teach the truth to those incapable of speculation and to guide the fallible inquiries of those who are capable, since only God's knowledge is complete. Because verification of revealed truths confirms faith, Saʿadyah considers such verification a religious obligation.

Saʿadyah's organization of the rest of the treatise likewise reflects *kalām,* especially the preoccupation of the Muʿtazilī school with establishing God's unity and justice. To prove the existence of the one God, Saʿadyah employs four standard *kalām* arguments showing that the world was created and must therefore have a creator.

1. Since the world is spatially finite, the power within it that maintains it in existence must also be finite. But then the world's existence over time must likewise be finite, indicating that it was created.
2. Everything composite is created by some cause. Since the whole world displays skillful composition, it must have been created.
3. All bodies in the world are inseparably linked to accidental characteristics that are created in time. But whatever is inseparably linked to something created is itself created.
4. If the world were eternal, an infinite period of time would have to have elapsed for the present to be reached. But since an infinity cannot be traversed and the present has been reached, the world must have existed for only a finite period after being created.

Saʿadyah offers further arguments to show that the world could only have been created out of nothing and by a single deity.

Saʿadyah's discussion of God's nature and attributes traces the implications of his being a creator. For God to have created a world such as ours at a point in the past, he must be alive, powerful, and wise. But insofar as God is creator and not creature, he cannot possess the characteristics of creatures. Hence, he must be incorporeal and absolutely simple in nature. Moreover, the essential attributes of life, power, and wisdom should not be understood as separate features of God's nature but as identical with it. Only a deficiency of language necessitates speaking about distinct attributes. Similarly, reason dictates that whenever scripture depicts God with creaturely characteristics, these terms should be understood metaphorically.

In accounting for God's relation to his creatures, Saʿadyah takes up various questions about divine justice. By creating the world out of nothing, God wished to endow creatures with the gift of existence. He further sought to provide them with the means for attaining perfect bliss by giving them the commandments of the Torah. By thus requiring human effort to attain happiness rather than bestowing it by grace, God assured that such happiness would be all the greater. The commandments themselves fall into two classes: rational commandments, such as the prohibitions against murder and theft, and traditional commandments, such as the dietary and Sabbath laws. The authority of the former lies in reason itself, while that of the latter lies in the will of the commander. God revealed both types of law, because without revelation not even perfectly rational men would agree on the precise application of the rational laws, much less discover the traditional laws, on both of which their salvation depends.

For Saʿadyah, the fact of revelation is confirmed by the occurrence of publicly witnessed miracles, announced in advance, that could have been performed only by God's omnipotence. They are to be accepted as proof of the authenticity of the revelation, unless the revealed teaching is contrary to reason.

Once God holds humanity responsible for fulfilling his commandments, justice requires that people be able to choose to obey or disobey. Saʿadyah argues that sense experience attests to this ability in us and that reason shows that God does not interfere with its exercise. While God foreknows exactly what one shall choose, his knowledge in no way causes one's choices. One can always choose otherwise, although he would foreknow that choice too.

Rewards and punishments are determined according to the majority of one's actions, and for Saʿadyah the suffering of the righteous and the prosperity of the wicked also conform to this rule. For either such experiences represent immediate retribution in this world for the minority of one's evil or good actions (with eternal reward or punishment for the rest to follow in the world to come), or they are temporary trials whereby God may increase one's reward in the hereafter. These latter are "sufferings of love," and bearing them bravely counts as a righteous act deserving reward. Indeed, Saʿadyah's commentary on *Job* interprets it as a debate designed to show that undeserved suffering really is a trial. For Job erroneously thought that God's justice consists simply in doing as he wishes, a position reminiscent of the rival Ashʿarī school of *kalām,* while the friends mistakenly supposed all suffering is a penalty. Only Elihu claims that Job's afflictions are a trial that divine justice will repay, and God confirms this by reasserting his providence over all creation and restoring Job's material fortunes prior to rewarding his soul in the hereafter.

Saʿadyah defines the soul as a pure, luminous substance that can act only through the body. Because the body and the soul are jointly responsible for one's behavior, God's justice requires that retribution affect both together. Accordingly, he will resurrect the bodies of Israel's righteous from the dust with the same power he used to create them *ex nihilo.* This event heralds Israel's messianic age and universal peace. It occurs either when all Israel repents or when God's foreordained end arrives, whichever is first. However, when God finishes creating the appointed number of souls, there will be a general resurrection and judgment, and a new heaven and earth. In this final retribution, the righteous will bask, and the wicked will burn, in the light of a miraculous divine radiance.

Saʿadyah concludes the treatise by describing the kind of conduct worthy of reward. Since humans are composite creatures with many conflicting tendencies, they should not devote themselves to one above all others. Rather, they should strive for a balance and blending of preoccupations determined by reason and Torah.

Aside from offering the first systematic exposition of Judaism in rational terms, Saʿadyah laid the foundation for all later medieval Jewish philosophy by asserting the complete accord of reason and revelation. Although Saʿadyah was far more confident than his successors about what reason could prove, his commitment to investigation and proof in all areas of Jewish scholarship gave rationalism a legitimacy in Judaism that it might not otherwise have enjoyed. He is rightly recalled as "the first of those who speak reason in every area."

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SABAZIOS, a god of the Thracians and the Phrygians, is also known from Greek and Latin sources as Sabadios, Sauazios, Saazios, Sabos, Sebazios, Sabadius, and Sebadius. His name is related to the Macedonian word *sauâdai,* or *saûdoi,* meaning "satyrs" (Detschew, 1957, p. 427). According to some scholars (e.g., Lozovan, 1968), he was a Thracian mountain god whose cult was carried by Phrygian emigrants from Thrace to Anatolia.

Greek sources from the fifth century BCE onward mention Sabazios as a Thracian or Phrygian god. In Athens, his cult's initiation ceremonies took place by night, and the adepts were purified by being rubbed with mud. A sacramental drink was also involved. The identification of Sabazios with Dionysos, which occurs regularly in Hellenistic sources, is unquestionable. However, Phrygian inscriptions relate him to Zeus, and in North Africa, where his cult is attested as early as the fourth century BCE, he might have had the features of a heavenly god; hence he was later identified with the Semitic god Baal, both of them receiving the Greek epithet *hupsistos* ("highest, supreme"). He was probably worshiped in Thrace under other local names, such as Athyparenos, Arsilenos, Batalde Ouenos, Eleneites, Mytorgenos, Ouerzel(enos), and Tasibastenus.

Sabazios's name has been connected with the Indo-European **swo-,* meaning "[his] own," and with the idea of freedom, which occurs frequently among the epithets of Dionysos. Franz Cumont has suggested a relationship with the Illyrian *sabaia,* or *sabaium,* identifying a beer extracted from cereals (see Russu, 1969, p. 241). More recently, Gheorghe Muşu has translated *Sabazios* as "sap god," from the Indo-European roots **sap-* ("taste, perceive") and **sab-* ("juice, fluid"). This translation corresponds well to the pattern of Dionysos/ Sabazios, who was the divinity of humidity and as such was connected with both vegetation and intoxication (see Muşu, in Vulpe, 1980, pp. 333–336).

The Jews of Syria and Anatolia identified Sabazios with Sabaoth. Under the Roman rulers Sabazios was worshiped in Thrace, where he was more often known as Sebazios or, in Latin, Sabazius, Sabadius, or Sebadius and where he received such epithets as *epekoos* ("benevolent"), *kurios* ("lord"), *megistos* ("greatest"), and so forth. In Crimea, probably under Jewish-Anatolian influence, he was called *hupsistos.* He was constantly identified with both Zeus and the sun. Motifs of hands making the votive gesture of *benedictio Latina* are among the distinctive features of his cult. According to several Christian writers (Clement of Alexandria, Arnobius, and Firmicus Maternus), the most impressive rite of initiation into the mysteries of Sabazios consisted of the adept's contact with a snake (*aureus coluber*) that was first put over his breast (*per sinum ducunt*) and then pulled down to his genitals.

No less enigmatic than Zalmoxis, Sabazios was worshiped as early as the fourth century BCE both as a chthonic and as a heavenly god. Scholars have too often tried to solve this riddle by supposing a borrowing from Jewish religion, but Jewish influence was not relevant in Anatolia before the third century BCE. One should rather consider that chthonic features determined the character of the Thracian Sabazios, whereas the Phrygian Sabazios was probably connected with the sky.

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SABBATEANISM SEE SHABBETAI TSEVI

SABBATH, JEWISH SEE SHABBAT

SACRAMENT

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
CHRISTIAN SACRAMENTS

SACRAMENT: AN OVERVIEW

The meaning of the term *sacrament* is heavily determined by Christian usage. This circumstance presents both important opportunities and certain difficulties for the scientific study of religion. On the one hand, the familiarity of the term and of the rituals to which it refers in Christianity makes possible, at least for the Western student of religion, progression from the known to the less known with the aid of developed categories used for comparative purposes. On the other hand, there is the danger that the derivation of the category of sacrament from Christianity will result in a distortion of other religions, unduly emphasizing cognates or analogies while ignoring or dismissing distinctive features of other traditions.

In order to both make good on the comparative opportunities provided by the term and to overcome the limitations of too heavy a reliance upon the perspective that has determined its customary meaning, this article will first indicate some of the antecedents to the standard Christian view of sacrament. A consideration of parallels or cognates to Christian sacraments will be followed by a brief consideration of the possibility of a more strictly formal definition of the category.

HELLENISTIC SACRAMENTS. While classical Christian usage has largely determined the understanding of *sacrament* that the student of comparative religion employs in the study of religion, it is important to have some awareness of the pre-Christian understanding of *sacrament* and its Greek antecedent, *mustērion.* Three antecedents to the classical use of the term will be considered: the mystery cults, the apocalyptic mystery, and the mystical, or gnostic, tradition.

The mystery cults. The Greek *mustērion* is of uncertain etymology but is most probably associated with *muein,* meaning "to close" (the mouth), and thus "to keep secret." Certainly it was this connotation of secrecy that dominated the technical usage of the term to designate the Hellenistic cults, especially those associated with Eleusis, which are accordingly known as "mystery cults" or simply as "mysteries" (*musteria*). The term *mustērion* designates the sharp dividing line between initiates, for whom the secret history of the god (his birth, marriage, or death and rebirth, depending on the cult) is dramatically reenacted, thus binding their fate to the god's, and noninitiates, who cannot participate in this kind of salvation.

If the term were to be employed in this, its earliest technical religious sense, for phenomenological and comparative purposes, its application would necessarily be restricted to esoteric initiation rites of cult societies such as those found among the indigenous peoples of the Americas (for example, the Snake and Antelope societies of the Hopi). A somewhat more flexible usage might include those rites of passage that stress the esoteric character of the knowledge imparted.

Such usage, however, would be unwieldy for two reasons: (1) it would exclude many rituals for which the term *sacrament* has become standard—Christian and Hindu rituals in particular—and (2) it would duplicate existing terminology of initiatory rituals and rites of passage.

Apocalyptic usage. In the New Testament, *mustērion* is used in a way that is grounded in apocalyptic rather than cultic sensibility. Here *mustērion* refers to the disclosure of God's ultimate, or eschatological, intention. The term is used quite widely to designate anything that prefigures the final consummation of the divine will or plan. Thus Christian proclamation, biblical typology, and the inclusion of Jew and gentile in divine election could all be referred to as *mustērion* (which becomes *sacramentum* in Latin). Significantly, the term was not used in a specifically cultic sense at all in this period.

If this sense of the term, derived from late Jewish and early Christian apocalyptic writings, were to be decisive for phenomenological or comparative approaches to the study of religion, then the term's application would be restricted to those groups that have a strong orientation to future fulfillment. The Ghost Dance of the indigenous peoples of the North American Plains and the elaborate baptismal rites of the African independent churches are illustrations of ritual enactments of such eschatological expectations.

Gnostic usage. Deriving from the theory and practice of the mystery cults, certain mystical and especially gnostic philosophical traditions of the Hellenistic world used *mustērion* to apply to the quest for transcendental insight. While they dispensed with outward forms of ritual or cult, they nevertheless sought by knowledge a saving union with the divine.The religious tradition that best exemplifies this sense of *mustērion*/sacrament is the Hinduism of the Upaniṣads and of yoga. While these movements do not reject the ritual or cult but seek to give it a more pure, interior, and "noetic" significance, other reform movements—most notably Buddhism—reject this connection to the Vedic rites in the quest for ultimate insight. In the Western Christian tradition examples of sacramental mysticism often approximate the pattern of the yogic or gnostic transformation of external ritual into interior discipline. While these parallel phenomena demonstrate the way in which the bodily action of ritual may become paradigms for an interior praxis, it is with sacrament as a species of bodily action that the phenomenology of religion must be most concerned.

EMERGENCE OF THE CLASSICAL PERSPECTIVE. The Latin *sacramentum* was generally employed as a technical term for a military oath, the vow of a soldier. The initiatory function of this vow understood in relation to the vow of secrecy associated with the Greek mysteries made possible the appropriation of the term *sacramentum* for those activities (especially baptism) in which the Christian confession of faith (which, like the vow of soldiers, placed one in mortal danger) played an important role. Thus, despite the typically exoteric character of Christian doctrine and practice, ideas and practice associated with the Greek mysteries were used to interpret Christian rituals. *Sacramentum* gradually lost its wider, apocalyptic meaning, was increasingly used to refer to baptism and eucharist, and then was extended by analogy to apply to related ritual actions including confession and penance, confirmation, marriage, ordination, and unction. The earlier Latin sense of "vow" can still be discerned in baptism, confirmation, marriage, and ordination, but the oldest Greek associations with cultic participation in salvation predominate. Thus sacrament comes to be exclusively identified with a set of ritual actions that are understood to be both necessary to and efficacious for salvation.

COGNATE SACRAMENTS. Since the scientific study of religion is a discipline that has arisen within the culture most heavily influenced by Christianity, it is natural that much of its terminology is borrowed from Christianity. (Just as, *mutatis mutandis,* Christianity has borrowed its terminology from the cultures in which it has taken root.)

If sacrament is defined ostensively, by reference to the set of rituals that bear that name in Christianity, then one is confronted with the question of whether to restrict this discussion to the two sacraments accepted by most Protestants (baptism and eucharist) or to include the additional five sacraments (confirmation, penance, marriage, ordination, and extreme unction) accepted by Catholics. Clearly, eucharist and baptism have a place of singular importance in all Christian traditions; a phenomenological approach, however, will seek the widest possible range of data and so provisionally accept the more inclusive enumeration.

There are two sorts of such sacraments, those that deal with transitional moments and so are not repeated and those that are regularly repeated.

Sacraments of transition. The earliest and most important of the transitional sacraments is baptism. In early Christianity this ritual signified the movement from the worldly to the eschatological reality, or, under influence from the Greek mysteries, from the profane to the cultic sphere of participation in the fate of the god. This type of transitional rite is analogous to the initiation into cult societies of, for example, the indigenous peoples of the North American Plains. It is also characteristic of the African independent churches of central and southern Africa.

As Christianity became more or less coextensive with culture and society, the transition came more and more to be identified with birth or early infancy (a development contingent upon the understanding of penance and eucharist as supplementing the forgiveness of sins and transformation of life originally associated with baptism). As a ritual associated with infancy, it took the place of the Jewish rite of circumcision, except that it applied equally to female infants. It is thus similar in function to the Hindu sacrament of Namakarana, in which the child receives a name.

As baptism became "infant baptism," the catechetical aspect of the ritual that inaugurated persons into full membership in the cult society became fixed in the form of confirmation. Insofar as confirmation is associated with adolescence, it could enter into homology with rites of tribal initiation—a species of ritual that is exceedingly widespread and well developed among the indigenous peoples of the Americas, Africa, and Australia. In Africa and Australia the sacrament of initiation takes the form of segregating a cohort of adolescent males and placing them under great stress (often including circumcision) so that distinctions among them are erased. The loss of social identity and the violation of bodily integrity is accompanied by esoteric instruction and rites of great emotional force that frequently involve symbolism of death and birth. A significant number of groups, for example, the Bemba of Africa, have initiation rites (Chisungu) of similar intensity for adolescent females. Among North American aboriginal peoples, the young males (and, rarely, females) undertake the highly individualized dream or vision quest, which may entail a rigorous journey, fasting, and other ordeals. This individualized initiation contrasts sharply with the corporate initiation of African and other groups.

A further extension of transitional sacrament occurs with the development of extreme unction, the anointing of the sick. This sacrament may assume the form of a viaticum, by means of which the recipient is enabled to make the transition from this life to the world beyond. Insofar as the Christian sacrament of unction has the intention of healing (as in the anointing of the sick), it becomes repeatable and homologous to the healing rites found in virtually all religious traditions. Collections of incantations for this same purpose constitute the Egyptian *Book of Going Forth by Day,* and in ancient Iran the whispering of formulas to the dying person was accompanied by the administration of *haoma,* the sacred beverage.

Unlike baptism, confirmation, and unction, which traditionally have been required of all Christians, two other sacraments of transition, ordination and marriage (traditionally thought of as mutually exclusive), have developed. Rites of ordination are found in virtually all societies in which a priestly caste is drawn from the society as a whole. (In a number of societies the priesthood is hereditary, and rites associated with accession to cultic authority may be coterminous with accession to adulthood. This appears to be largely true of the brahmanic class of Hinduism, for example.) Marriage rites are obviously quite widespread although only those that have a clearly sacred or religious character are directly comparable. Often these have the added dimension of rites to ensure fertility.

Perhaps the most highly developed system of sacraments of transition is to be found in Hinduism. The term *saṃskāra,* which generally translated as "sacrament," refers to any rite of transition, of which several hundred may have been performed. In modern Hinduism the number of reduced (to between ten and eighteen). These sacraments begin with conception (*Garbhādhāna*) and continue through pregnancy (Puṃsavana, Simanta, Jātakarman). In addition to the naming ceremony (Nāmakaraṇa), which occurs a few days after birth, there are sacraments to mark the first appearance of the infant outside the home, the child's first solid food, the tonsure, and the piercing of the child's ears. Sacraments that mark the progress of the male child's education include Upanayana and Vedārambha. The completion of these studies requires a further sacrament (Samāvartana). Marriage (Vivāha) is the only sacrament permitted to *śūdras* or lower castes. The final transition of death is marked by the sacramental rites of Antyeṣṭi.

These sacraments generally involve sacrifices, ceremonies of fire and water, ritual washings, recitation of appropriate mantras and prayers, and so on. Both individually and collectively these Hindu sacraments are far more elaborate than the comparable set of Christian rituals and so may provide the student of religion with a more adequate set of categories for studying sacraments of transition.

Repeatable sacraments. While sacraments of transition are in principle nonrepeatable (with the possible and limited exceptions of marriage and extreme unction), two sacraments of great importance in traditional Christianity, penance and eucharist, do require repeated performance.

In the Christian tradition penance is related to baptism as the restoration of baptismal purity and to the Eucharist as the necessary preparation for participation. The confession of sin has a place of central importance in the religion of Handsome Lake practiced by contemporary Iroquois in the United States and Canada. Individual confession to a priest was of great importance in Central and South America, among the Inca and Maya, as is confession to a shaman among, for example, the Inuit (Eskimo).

The ritual that is most often associated with sacramentality is the Eucharist, Mass, or Communion of the Christian community. The selection of comparable rituals from the history of religions will depend upon the degree of emphasis placed upon one of three aspects: thanks giving or offering, communal meal, or sacrifice of the divine victim.

Certainly for much of Western history the last aspect has been especially emphasized. The most dramatic instances are the human sacrifices, which include the Greek *pharmakos,* a number of African rites, and practices belonging to the high civilizations of the Americas, especially the Aztec. Among the latter the sun god, Tezcatlipoca, was impersonated by the prisoner of war most honored for beauty and bravery, who received homage for a full year before being sacrificed. Many of the human sacrifices, including those to Huitzilopochtli, the god of war, were subsequently eaten as a form of ritual cannibalism.

Substitutions for the flesh of the divine victim are also found, including the eating of a dough image of Huitzilopochtli, which first was shot with an arrow, and a similar ritual involving the dough image of the tree god, Xocotl.

The communal meal is a common feature of many sacrifices. A vegetable, animal, or cereal offering is presented to the god and is subsequently shared by all participants, much as in the Christian Communion the bread and wine is first offered in thanksgiving and then shared by the participants. Where these rites are associated with first-fruits festivals or with harvest, the element of thanksgiving (eucharist) is especially pronounced. These rites are found not only in agrarian societies. Common among hunters and gatherers are rituals involving a communal meal in which the sacralized game animal is both praised and eaten. An example from the Pacific coast of North America is the ritual surrounding the first salmon catch. Among circumpolar peoples such rites are performed after successful bear hunts.

Here too should be mentioned the preparation of sacred substances whose consumption makes for unity with the divine. The *haoma* of Iran, the *soma* of India, and the hallucinogenic substances so important to the indigenous peoples of the Americas are illustrations. Members of the Native American Church, which includes many of the aboriginal peoples of North America, use peyote as a sacramental element within a liturgical setting in order to acquire union with the divine.

FORMAL DEFINITIONS OF SACRAMENT. The procedure that has just been illustrated, of finding material cognates to the sacraments of the Christian tradition in the field of religious studies, while illuminating in certain respects, may tie the term too closely to the Christian tradition to be genuinely serviceable for phenomenological purposes. Accordingly, one may attempt to acquire a more formal definition of *sacrament,* a definition that can be employed for comparative purposes.

Since Christian theology has devoted considerable energy to the development of such a formal definition, one may look first to the theological definitions. When this is attempted, however, it becomes clear that these are either of such an *ad hoc* nature that they devolve to disguised ostensive definitions or are so broad as to identify virtually any ritual action. If, for example, *sacrament* is defined in accordance with the principle of *ex opere operatum* ("what the action signifies it also accomplishes"), any ritual thought by its practitioners to be efficacious (including, of course, all forms of magic) will be covered. If, on the other hand, only those ritual actions positively commanded by Jesus are said to be sacraments, this proves to be an ostensive definition (which, moreover, is usually applied in an arbitrary manner—so as to exclude ritual foot washing, for example). The same is true of definitions of *sacrament* that insist on the conjunction of matter and form. According to this view, *form* designates the crucial pronouncement whereas *matter* may refer, for example, to the water of baptism, the oil of unction, or the bread and wine of the Eucharist. Moreover, this notion of matter may be arbitrarily extended to apply also to the sacraments of penance (the sin of the believer) and marriage (the love between spouses).

If a formal definition is required, it appears that theology will not be of much help. It does seem possible, however, to propose a more strictly phenomenological definition. On this basis *sacrament* may be defined as "a ritual that enacts, focuses, and concentrates the distinctive beliefs, attitudes, and actions of any religious tradition." While any ritual may perform this function to some degree, it will usually be possible to discriminate within the ritual complex of a tradition as a whole that ritual (or group of rituals) that functions as a paradigm for other ritual action and so may be said to have a privileged and normative relationship to the articulated system as a whole. Usually these sacraments will be found within the prescribed corporate ritual or liturgy.

In this definition the initiation rites of the mystery religions, the Christian Eucharist, the Ghost Dance and peyote ritual of the North American Indians, and many other rituals already mentioned would be included. But the principle of inclusion is not their resemblance to specific Christian rituals but their location and function within the religious tradition of which they are a part.

In addition, rituals that are not material cognates to Christian sacraments and so are necessarily overlooked on the basis of an ostensive definition of sacrament now acquire a sacramental character. Thus the Shalako ceremony of the Zuni Indians of New Mexico, which displays the vigor and values of the Zuni while inviting the participation and blessings of the gods, is a sacrament in the form of a dance (to which there are no Christian but many other religious cognates). While regular occasions for prayer do not have a sacramental character in Christianity, they may well have this character in Islam, which is generally suspicious of ritual and of Christian sacraments in particular. Finally, the Buddhist practice of *zazen,* which consists of periods of sitting and breathing punctuated by periods of walking, may have a place of importance and function similar to the Christian Eucharist.

The further refinement of a phenomenological definition of *sacrament* in tandem with its use in the analysis of the place and function of particular rituals within the wider ritual complex of which they are a part is an important agenda for the study of religion.

See Also Gnosticism; Human Sacrifice; Initiation; Mystery Religions.

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SACRAMENT: CHRISTIAN SACRAMENTS

In the Christian community sacraments are acts of worship that are understood by the worshipers to give access to an intimate union with the divine and to be efficacious for salvation. The term *sacraments* is sometimes used in a very broad sense for places, persons, things, ceremonies, and events that mediate, or are intended to mediate, the presence and power of the divine. In this broad sense, Christians acknowledge sacraments in other religious traditions and also in the particular circumstances of the lives of individuals and groups. A simple illustrative story in the Hebrew scriptures (the Old Testament of Christians) is that of Jacob setting up a stone in the desert and calling the place Bethel, house of God (*Gn.* 28:10–22).

More usually the term *sacraments* refers to a limited number of ancient rituals understood to be the acts of Jesus Christ carried out through the continuing ministry of the church. The Eastern Christian and Roman Catholic churches enumerate these rituals as seven: baptism, confirmation (or chrismation), eucharist, penance (sacrament of reconciliation), matrimony, ordination (or holy orders), and the anointing of the sick (extreme unction). Protestant churches usually enumerate the sacraments (in the narrower sense of the term) as only two, namely, baptism and eucharist, because these two are clearly identified in the New Testament.

The word *sacrament* derives from Latin *sacramentum,* meaning "oath," "pledge," or "bond." As a Christian term applied to rituals of worship, it is found no earlier than the third century, when it came into use in Western churches as a translation of the Greek term *mustērion,* which had the religious connotation of effecting union with the divine, even before Christians used the term in that sense. When the word *sacrament* is used in the singular without contextual specification, it may be assumed to mean the Eucharist.

Jewish Roots. At the time of Jesus of Nazareth the people of Israel, the Jewish community, enjoyed a rich accumulation of symbolism and ritual. Jesus and his early followers participated in that heritage and followed the observances. Characteristically, Christian rituals were shaped not only out of the immediate experience of the early Christian community but also out of the stories, imagery, and ritual observances of their Jewish tradition. This influence can be seen in Christian perceptions of sacred space and sacred time, and it also appears in the configuration of sacred actions.

The core of the Christian sacramental system is the Eucharist, also known as the Divine Liturgy, the Lord's Supper, the Communion service, and the Mass. The ritual is based directly on the table grace of Jewish observance as solemnized in the Passover Seder. There are several common elements: the community is gathered to respond to God's call and to fulfill a commandment; the gathering is at a ritual meal at which prescribed foods are blessed, shared, and consumed; the accompanying prayers and ceremonies ritually reenact a past saving event so that the present worshipers become part of that past event and it becomes present in their experience; the doing of this anticipates a fulfillment that still lies in the future; the ritual (though not it alone) constitutes the participants as God's holy people. In the Jewish understanding and also in the Christian, the ritual is not effective in isolation from the community's daily life; on the contrary, it is effective precisely in its reshaping of the imagination and sense of identity of the worshipers, bringing about a transformation of individual and social life.

Other sacramental rites that have clear antecedents in Jewish observances are baptism in water as a ritual of spiritual regeneration, the imposition of hands in blessing, and the action of anointing to confer an office or mission. Beyond the direct influence of ritual actions of Jewish life, there is the much more extensive and pervasive indirect influence of stories, prayers, and symbols from the Hebrew scriptures. Thus, baptism is not easily understood without knowledge of the Hebrew stories of creation and sin, of the Deluge, and of the passing through the waters of the Red Sea at the Exodus and through the waters of the Jordan River as Israel took possession of the Promised Land. Similarly, confirmation (chrismation) is not readily understood without reference to the theme of the breath of God, which runs through the Hebrew scriptures.

EARLY HISTORY. Although there are references to sacramental activity in the New Testament, and these are accompanied by a sacramental theology (e.g., *1 Cor.*), little is known about the form of early Christian ritual except through late second-century sources. By the fourth century most of the rituals were elaborate and well established in the patterns that were to endure, though they were not numbered explicitly as seven until the twelfth century in the West and the seventeenth century in the East.

Early Christian rites. The central sacrament has always been the Eucharist. From early times it has consisted of a ritual meal of small amounts of bread and wine, commemorating the farewell supper of Jesus before his death and extending the presence and friendship of Jesus to his followers through the ages. The celebration begins with readings from the Bible, prayers, usually a sermon on the biblical texts read, and sometimes, hymns. Then follows a great prayer of praise and thanksgiving, recited by the one who presides over the ritual; in this context the story of the farewell supper is recited and reenacted. The bread and wine are consecrated, the bread is broken and distributed to the worshipers, who consume it immediately, and the wine is likewise consumed. This eating and drinking is known as "communion."

Admission to the community formed around the Eucharist is by baptism and confirmation. In the early centuries baptism was by total immersion of the candidate, preferably in running water, accompanied by a formula of profession of faith. This going through the water symbolizes a death and a spiritual rebirth. Baptism was surrounded by lesser ritual elements: a divesting of old clothes and donning of a new white robe (which was worn for about one week), an anointing, and the receiving of a lighted candle. The ritual was generally preceded by a fast of some days and an all-night vigil. A further step of the initiation into the community was a confirmation of the baptism by the bishop (the leader of the local church) with a laying on of hands, a further anointing, and a prayer that the Holy Spirit (the breath of God that was in Jesus) might descend upon the candidate.

In the early centuries, there were also many reconciliation (penance, repentance) rituals: the recitation of the Lord's Prayer was one. However, there was also a more formal ritual of reconciliation, later modified radically, that applied to those excommunicated from the Eucharist and the company of the faithful for some grave offense. A period of exclusion, accompanied by the wearing of a special garb and the performance of prescribed works of repentance that were supported by the prayers of the community, was concluded by a ceremony in which the bishop led the penitents back into the worship assembly to readmit them to the Eucharist.

The custom was established in the early centuries of the laying on of hands not only in confirmation but also in the designation of persons to certain ministries or offices in the life and worship of the community. Such laying on of hands symbolized the passing on of authorization understood to come in a continuous line from Jesus and his earliest followers. It was performed in the context of a worship assembly and was accompanied by prayers and solemnity.

From the fourth century onward there is evidence of the blessing of marriages, at least in certain cases, by bishops, although the ritual of marriage was otherwise performed according to local civil custom. Of the anointing of the sick there is, despite the injunction found in the New Testament (*Jas.* 5:14), no clear evidence from the early centuries of the church.

Theology of the rites. Christian sacraments are based on the understanding that human existence in the world as human beings experience it is not as it is intended by God, its creator; hence they stand in need of salvation (redemption, rescue, healing). If all were in the harmony of God's creation, all things would speak to humanity of God and would serve its communion with God. However, because of a complex legacy of the misuse of human freedom (a legacy known as original sin), the things of creation and the structures of human society tend to betray humans, turning them away from their own true good. Jesus Christ is seen as the savior (redeemer and healer) in his life, actions, teachings, death, and resurrection. The sacraments are understood as continuing his presence and redeeming power.

In the New Testament and the other writings extant from the earliest period of Christian history, known as the patristic period, the community dimension of the sacraments is inseparable from the communion with God that they offer. Sacraments are redemptive because they draw people into the fellowship in which salvation is found. Baptism is the outreach of God through Jesus in his community whereby it is possible for a person to turn (convert) from the ways and society of a world gone astray to the ways and society of the community of the faithful. That this is the meaning of baptism is evident in the New Testament in the early chapters of the *Acts of the Apostles* and in the instructions given in the early community, for instance, in the *Didache.* Similarly, the Eucharist is seen as fashioning worshipers into "one body" with Jesus Christ, which has far-reaching consequences for their lives and their relationships (as the apostle Paul explains in *1 Corinthians,* chapters 11–13).

In the patristic period, the theology of the sacraments was more inclusive and less specific than it later became, because the terms *musterion,* among Greek writers, and *sacramentum,* among Latin writers, were being used rather generally for all Christian rituals, symbols, and elements of worship. But the emphasis is clearly on the Eucharist and the initiation into the fellowship of the Eucharist, with the understanding that it constitutes a dynamic in history. Not only does it commemorate the past event of the death and resurrection of Jesus, and put the worshiper in intimate communion with that event, but it anticipates a glorious fulfillment of all the biblical promises and hopes in the future, and puts the worshiper into intimate communion with that future, thereby transforming the quality of life and action within the historical present.

SACRAMENTS IN THE ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN TRADITION. The sacramental practice and theology of the Orthodox churches is in direct continuity with the Greek patristic writings, emphasizing wonder and reverence in the presence of the holy.

Orthodox rites. Besides the seven sacraments enumerated above, Eastern Christianity recognizes a wide range of ritual considered sacramental in a broader sense: the anointing of a king; the rite of monastic profession; burial rites; blessing of water on the feast of the Epiphany; and blessings of homes, fields, harvested crops, and artifacts. These are not, however, all of equal importance.

Although, since the seventeenth century, the Orthodox churches have accepted the Western enumeration of seven rites, the manner of celebration of Orthodox sacraments does not correspond closely to the Western celebrations. The first sacramental participation of an Orthodox Christian is that of initiation, usually in infancy. The children are baptized by total triple immersion with an accompanying formula invoking the triune God. This is followed immediately by the chrismation (anointing) of forehead, eyes, nostrils, mouth, ears, breast, hands, and feet, with words proclaiming the seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit. As soon as possible thereafter, the infant is given Communion (either a small taste of the wine, or both bread and wine). This initiation is performed by a bishop or a priest.

The Eucharist, also known as the Divine Liturgy, is ordinarily celebrated daily, though the community as a whole is more likely to participate on Sundays, special feasts, and weekdays of Lent. It is performed in a highly elaborated way with processions, candles and incense, congregational singing, and the wearing of special vestments by the celebrating clergy.

The ordinary ritual of repentance and reconciliation is not a public ceremony as in the early church but a private conversation between a Christian and a priest who acts in the name of the church. The penitent, the person seeking forgiveness and reconciliation through the ministry of the church, ordinarily stands or sits before a cross, an icon (sacred image) of Jesus Christ, or the book of the Gospels. The priest, who stands to one side, admonishes the penitent to confess his or her sins to Christ, because he, the priest, is only a witness. Having heard the confession, and having perhaps given advice, the priest lays his stole (a type of scarf used as a ritual vestment) on the head of the penitent, lays his hand on it and pronounces a prayer of forgiveness. Besides this ritual of repentance, which can be repeated many times by the same person, the anointing of the sick is available to all who are ill, whether or not they are in danger of death. Anointing of the sick has the double purpose of prayer for healing from illness and forgiveness of sin.

The Orthodox churches ordain men only to their ministries, as bishops, priests, deacons, subdeacons, and readers. Ordinations are performed by a bishop during the Liturgy, and the consecration of a bishop is normally performed by three bishops. Essentially the rite is that of imposition of hands, but this is preceded by an acclamation of the congregation in which the faithful approve the candidate and consent to his ordination. The candidate is then brought to the altar to kiss its four corners and the hands of the bishop. The bishop lays hands on the candidate with a prayer invoking God's blessing.

The Orthodox marriage ceremony, celebrated by a priest, has two parts, the Office of Betrothal and the Office of Crowning, and includes the blessing and exchange of rings, the crowning of the bride and groom, and the sharing of a cup of wine by the couple.

Theology of the rites. Orthodox liturgy is concerned with making the beauty of the spiritual an element of experience, even a haunting element of experience. Liturgy is "heaven on earth," an anticipation of the glorious future. The fundamental sacramental principle is that in Jesus Christ a process of divinization has begun that continues in the sacramental mysteries and draws the worshipers in. Christ himself is the first sacramental mystery, continuing to live in the church, whose sacred actions reach forward to a glorious fulfillment in the future. The sacramental actions are the realization or becoming of the church as heavenly and earthly community. Therefore, they establish communion with the redemptive events of the past, communion among persons, and communion with the heavenly realm.

In the theology of the Orthodox church there is a strong sense of the organic wholeness, continuity, and pervasive presence of the redemption in the world, and therefore an unwillingness to draw some of the sharp distinctions that the West has been willing to draw concerning the sacramental mysteries.

WESTERN DEVELOPMENTS UP TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. In the West, the sacraments underwent more change than in the East. This was caused by many factors, such as the large-scale conversions of European peoples, the cultural discontinuity resulting from the dissolution of the Roman empire, the problem of the difference in languages, a poorly educated clergy in the medieval period, and some other characteristics of Western traditions in church organization and theology.

Western rites. In the practice of the sacraments as received from the early church, there were some modifications. In the initiation, which was almost always conferred on children in the medieval period, baptism, confirmation, and first participation in the Eucharist were separated. The custom grew up of baptizing not by immersion but by pouring water over the forehead of the child. Confirmation, being the prerogative of the bishop, might be considerably delayed, and Communion was delayed out of a sense that infants might "desecrate" the holy.

The Eucharist became something that the priest did; the people had little part in it and little understanding of it. Its symbolism had become rather obscure and overlaid with additions and the Latin language, which had been adopted because it was the vernacular in the West in earlier centuries, was retained long after ordinary people no longer understood it. Communion by the laity became rare at this time, and even then it was restricted to the bread alone, the priest being the only one who received from the cup. Many ordinary Christians sought their real inspiration and forms of worship outside the liturgy of the Eucharist and the sacraments, and thus a great variety of other devotional practices arose.

As in the East, the old solemn and public form of reconciliation gave way to a far more private one embodied in a conversation between penitent and priest. This had originated in a tradition of voluntary individual spiritual guidance given by a wise and spiritual person who was not necessarily a priest. However, by the thirteenth century it had become obligatory for all people to confess, at least once a year, "all their grave sins" to their own parish priest, and the ceremony was constructed rather like a judicial procedure. By a subtle shift of usage in the twelfth century, the prayer that God might forgive had become a declaration that the priest forgave by the power the church had vested in him. There were also some changes in the other sacraments. The anointing of the sick became, in effect, the sacrament of the dying. Ordination was restricted not only to men, but to celibate men, and the consent of the faithful was not sought, even as a ritual formality. Effectively, the ranks of the clergy were reduced to two: bishop and priest. Men were ordained to the other ranks (deacon, subdeacon, minor orders) only as an intermediate step to the priesthood.

There seems to have been no obligatory religious ritual for a marriage until the eleventh century, although there was a custom of celebrating a Eucharist at which a canopy was placed over the bride and groom and a special blessing was pronounced. After the eleventh century, weddings were performed at the church door with the priest as witness and were followed by a Eucharist at which the marriage was blessed. Essential to the ceremony was the exchange of consent by the couple. A ring was blessed and given to the bride.

Theology of the sacraments. The Western theology of the sacraments is heavily indebted to Augustine, bishop of Hippo (d. 430), though the Scholastic theology of the West in the Middle Ages elaborated Augustine's teachings much more. Key ideas in Scholastic teaching are concerned with the validity, the necessity, and the efficacy or causality of the sacraments.

Validity is a legal concept, and this gave a different direction to Western sacramental theology from that of the East. Sacraments are valid if the rite is duly performed by a duly authorized minister, quite independently of the spiritual goodness or worthiness of that minister, because essentially they are the acts of Christ performed through the mediation of his church. Therefore a Eucharist correctly celebrated by someone who has gone into schism from the church or who is wicked would nevertheless be a true Eucharist.

According to the Scholastics, the necessity of baptism, and of sacraments in general, for salvation is grounded in the universal involvement of the human race in the heritage of sinfulness and disorientation. This led to much speculation in medieval times concerning the fate of people who were not baptized because the opportunity had not been presented to them. The Scholastics found an acceptable compromise in postulating, besides the "baptism of blood" of martyred converts who had not yet been initiated, a "baptism of desire" granted to those who lived in good faith by the light that God had given them.

There was strong emphasis in this theology on the efficacy of the sacraments because they were the acts of Christ. Their efficacy is to bestow grace, that is, an elevation of human existence to a privileged intimacy with God leading to salvation. Augustine's teaching tended to emphasize the gratuity of God's gifts so strongly that it gave the impression to some that the human response of faith and surrender was not a constituent of the sacramental encounter. Augustine and the medieval theologians taught that the salvific effect of (or the grace bestowed by) a sacrament was not dependent on the virtue of the one who administered the sacrament. Unfortunately, this was sometimes popularly understood as meaning that sacraments are also not dependent for their efficacy on finding faith in the recipient.

SACRAMENTS IN POST-REFORMATION ROMAN CATHOLIC TRADITION. The Council of Trent (1545–1563), while correcting many abuses, substantially reaffirmed both the practice and the theology of the sacraments as they had been received from the medieval period. It was not until the twentieth century, and particularly until the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), that substantive developments occurred.

Roman Catholic rites. The most significant and pervasive changes in the sacramental rites following Vatican II were the restoration of a more extensive and careful use of scripture and of preaching on the biblical readings; a reconstruction of rites to emphasize the communal character of the sacraments and the full and active participation of the laity; and a simplification and clarification of the symbolism of the rites, effected by stripping away accretions and rediscovering the classic forms from the heritage of the early church, and also by introducing some cautious and modest contemporary adaptations.

In the case of adults, initiation has been restored to its ancient form with some adaptations. As in the primitive church, the culminating ceremonies are placed at the conclusion of a leisurely time of preparation known as *catechumenate.* In the case of infants, baptism has been simplified and made more clearly a community action and commitment.

The Eucharist, like the other sacraments, is now celebrated in the vernacular. Even in large congregations, the presiding priest now faces the community across the altar rather than facing away from the people. More people now have active roles in the ceremony. It is usual, not exceptional, for all to communicate, that is, to partake of the bread, and, on special occasions, also of the wine. The whole community at every Eucharist, not only the clergy on certain solemn occasions, exchanges a ritual "kiss of peace" (which is actually more usually a handshake).

The anointing has been reinstated as a sacrament of the sick rather than the dying. But perhaps the greatest changes have occurred in the structures for the sacrament of reconciliation, which now has not only an individual rite, but also a communal one and a mixed one. The individual form remains much as before but is enriched by scripture readings, while the focus of the rite has shifted from the judicial function to spiritual guidance in a progressive Christian conversion. The communal form consists of an assembly in which scripture is read; a sermon is preached; there are hymns and prayers including a common, generic confession of sin and repentance; and a general absolution, given in the name of the church. In the mixed form a similar service is held, but a pause is made during which individuals can go aside to make a personal and specific confession of sins to a priest out of earshot of the congregation, and an individual absolution is given.

The significant change in holy orders is not in the ceremony but in the fact that the Catholic church once again ordains permanent deacons (thereby restoring a third rank of clergy), who, moreover, may be married men. Marriages are more usually celebrated with an exchange of rings, rather than a ring for the bride only, and both partners receive the nuptial blessing. It is still understood that the partners themselves confer the sacrament on each other; the priest serves as witness.

Theology of the sacraments. The Catholic theology of the sacraments after Vatican II has returned to closer affinity with the patristic and Eastern understanding. The fundamental sacrament is Jesus Christ, who is made present in the sacrament of the church, which in turn is realized as a sacrament in its own sacramental actions and assemblies. But sacramentality is pervasive in Christian experience and not restricted to the seven special moments. The liturgy (especially that of the Eucharist) is the peak or summit of Christian life in that everything should lead to it and everything should flow from it. That is to say, life for the Christian community should be progressively transformed in the grace of Christ, in lifestyle, in relationships, and in community structures and values by the repeated immersion of the community in the eucharistic moment.

A distinct but related aspect of the renewed theology of the sacraments after Vatican II is the rediscovery of the link that was seen so clearly in the early church between Christian sacraments and social justice. The very ceremonies and symbols of the sacraments are seen as presenting a radical challenge to many of the existing structures of the world. Under the influence of biblical renewal and patristic scholarship, there is a consistent effort in contemporary Catholic sacramental theology to correct a former bias by constant remembrance that the sacraments are not simply acts of Christ but also of the community, are not only channels of grace but also acts of faith and worship.

SACRAMENTS IN THE PROTESTANT TRADITION.

Although Protestant churches cannot simply be taken as a unity when discussing the sacraments, they do have one factor in common: They define themselves by their discontinuity with the medieval church tradition. Positively they also define themselves by a special emphasis on scripture and on personal faith.

Protestant rites. In general, the Protestant churches acknowledge as sacraments, in the strict sense of the term, only baptism and the Lord's Supper. Although other rites are celebrated, they are ordinarily not called sacraments because Protestants generally find no evidence of their institution by Jesus Christ. Some Christian groups of the Western church that are traditionally grouped with Protestants do not acknowledge sacraments at all; examples are the Society of Friends (Quakers), Unitarians, and Christian Scientists.

Among those Protestant churches that practice baptism, some insist on the "believer's baptism" and therefore will not baptize infants because they are not capable of a response of faith. Such, for instance, are the Baptists, the Disciples of Christ, and the Mennonites. These groups practice baptism by immersion. Most Protestant groups, however, do baptize infants and consider the pouring (sometimes the sprinkling) of water over the head as sufficient, accompanied by the recital of a formula usually invoking the triune God.

Protestant churches in general do not celebrate the Eucharist (Lord's Supper) as frequently as do the Catholic and Orthodox churches. Even a weekly celebration is not customary in most cases, though a monthly Communion service is quite usual. Although there is a variety of rites in the various churches, the central elements remain: the blessing and breaking of bread and its distribution to the worshipers to eat, accompanied by the biblical words of and about Jesus at his farewell supper; the blessing and distribution of the cup of wine (in some cases nonalcoholic grape juice) to be drunk by the worshipers, also accompanied by the appropriate biblical formula; biblical readings and meditation; and some expression of fellowship in the community. In general the Eucharist as celebrated by the Protestant churches is marked by a certain austerity of ritual expression and elaboration when compared with the celebrations of the Catholic and Orthodox churches.

Most Protestant churches celebrate some or all of the other rites that the Catholic and Orthodox churches enumerate as sacraments, although Protestants do not accord the rites that designation. There is a variety of rites of reconciliation, ranging from private confession of specific sins to an ordained minister, through such other forms as mutual confession between laypersons or stylized, generic formulas in which the whole congregation acknowledges sinfulness and need of forgiveness, to the characteristic Mennonite rite of foot washing (commemorating the action of Jesus related in the *Gospel of John* 13:2–10).

Anointing of the sick and other anointings have traditionally been practiced in some churches and have become far more common under the influence of the charismatic and Pentecostal movements. Marriages are commonly celebrated with some religious ceremony that includes bestowal of a ring or exchange of rings, exchange of marriage vows, and an exhortation in the context of community worship. Although most Protestant churches have some type of ordination of ministers, the ceremonies for such conferral reflect the different ways in which ministry and the role and status of the minister are understood.

Theology of the rites. Common to the Protestant churches is the insistence on the primacy of the Bible and on faith in salvation. Generally the efficacy of sacraments is not emphasized, while the role of the faith of the individual participant is stressed. This emphasis, combined with a strong sense of the priesthood of all believers, means that there is less concern over the "validity" of sacraments, and especially over the "validity of orders" of presiding ministers than in the Catholic and Orthodox traditions.

A major concern in celebrating the two great sacraments is obedience to the command of Jesus to do so, as that command is read in the New Testament. However, a significant difference exists between the Lutheran and the Calvinist understanding. In the former an act of God in the sacrament is effective when it encounters faith in the participant. In the latter a sacrament is a sign of God's grace but does not confer that grace.

ECUMENICAL ISSUES. The sacraments raise some ecumenical questions among Christians of different churches. One of these is the question of "intercommunion," that is, whether Christians of one church may receive communion at the Eucharist of another. Most churches allow this practice, at least in some circumstances. Another question is whether Christians transferring from one church tradition to another should be baptized again. With some exceptions, the churches do not confer baptism a second time, because they consider the first baptism valid. The question of accepting the ordination to ministry of other churches has proved far more controversial.

SEE ALSO Ablutions; Atonement; Baptism; Confession of Sins; Eucharist; Grace; Hands; Initiation; Justification; Marriage; Ministry; Ordination; Passover; Priesthood, article on Christian Priesthood; Repentance; Rites of Passage, article on Jewish Rites; Water; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Jewish Worship.

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SACRED AND THE PROFANE, THE. When referring to the sacred and the profane and distinguishing between them, the languages of modern scholarship are indebted to Latin, even though they may have equivalent or synonymous terms for both that have been derived from their own linguistic traditions. To the Roman, *sacrum* meant what belonged to the gods or was in their power; yet when referring to *sacrum* one was not obliged to mention a god's name, for it was clear that one was thinking of cult ritual and its location, or was primarily concerned with the temple and the rites performed in and around it. *Profanum* was what was "in front of the temple precinct"; in its earlier usage, the term was always applied solely to places. Originally, *profanare* meant "to bring out" the offering "before the temple precinct (the *fanum*)," in which a sacrifice was performed. *Sacer* and *profanus* were therefore linked to specific and quite distinct locations; one of these, a spot referred to as *sacer,* was either walled off or otherwise set apart—that is to say, *sanctum*—within the other, surrounding space available for profane use. This purely spatial connotation adheres to the two terms to this day, and implies that it represents a definition of them, or at least of their more important features. It makes sense wherever the church still stands next to the town hall, the cult site alongside the village council chamber, and wherever an assembly of Buddhists or Muslims is something other than an assembly of professional economists or athletes.

If one clings to the spatial aspect of these terms, however, and attempts to use it as a means of distinguishing not only between the two of them but also between religion and nonreligion, one is led astray. This occurs if one posits the sacred as a special category of religion in the way that the correct or the true has been made a category of cognition theory, the good a category of ethics, and the beautiful a category of aesthetics. The sacred is then what gives birth to religion, in that humanity "encounters" it; or it functions as the essence, the focus, the all-important element in religion. Of course it is possible to define the sacred in such a way if one determines that a single attribute is sufficient for an all-encompassing statement about religion. But when one is forced to find attributes that suggest religion's links to altogether different concepts, aside from those having to do with the quality of lying beyond a specific boundary, one discovers that the attribute of sacrality is no longer enough, even if one views its original spatial aspect as a transcendental or metaphysical one. And today, confronted with definitions advanced by critics of ideology, sociologists, psychoanalysts, and others, it indeed necessary to find such attributes. Any definitions, even simple descriptions of the sacred and the profane, are affected by these as well; they also depend, in turn, on the manifold factors one has to muster when identifying the concept of religion.

Yet it is not necessary to discard the ancient Roman distinction between *sacer* and *profanus,* for the idea that they exist side by side represents a fundamental paradigm for making distinctions in general. It therefore has a certain heuristic value, though admittedly only that and nothing more.

The relationship between the sacred and the profane can be understood either abstractly, as a mutual exclusion of spheres of reality, or cognitively, as a way of distinguishing between two aspects of that reality. The former approach necessarily presupposes that such exclusion is recognizable; the latter, that one is dealing with ontic factuality. Even if one assumes a transsubjective reality, the boundary between the two spheres may prove to be movable or even fictitious, and even if one confines oneself to the fact of subjectivity, one may at times conclude that transcendence conditions the individual psychologically. Thus, when asking whether the sacred and the profane "exist," and how humans "experience" them, one encounters even greater difficulties than when inquiring after being and its various modes. Even though this article contains primarily the most important information about the various ways in which the sacred has been perceived in the history of religions, these difficulties of meaning must be borne in mind. It is necessary to suppress one's own conclusions about how and in what dimensions the sacred might exist, and about what it "is," in favor of the numerous theories that have been advanced on the question; according to these, conclusions may only be drawn case by case, in the light of the data and the theoretical arguments presented, and may well come out differently in every instance. Only with such reservations in mind can one consider the nature of the sacred and the profane.

MEANS OF IDENTIFICATION. In selecting evidence of the sacred and its relationship to the profane one must be limited to two approaches: Either it is tacitly perceived as something real, or it assumes some kind of symbolic form. In order to establish tacit perception, one requires proofs that silence is maintained for the sake of the sacred. These proofs suffice not only for the mystic, for example, who could speak but prefers to maintain silence, but also for persons who have spoken, but whose language is unknown: namely, the people of prehistory and early historical times.

Symbolic forms may be specifically linguistic or of a broader cultural nature. If they are linguistic, the historian of religions must distinguish between the language spoken by the people who are the objects of study ("object language") and the one spoken by the scholar, though naturally the two will have shadings and terms in common. One can best make this distinction by keeping one's own definition of what is sacred or profane separate from the definition that is given by the culture under scrutiny itself ("self-definition"). Each definition naturally identifies the sacred and profane in a different way. The self-definition is part of those languages in which religious and nonreligious documents have come down to us; in terms of methodology, these are the same as object languages. The definitions the historian develops must arise not only out of the categories of language, but also out of those of modern sociology, psychology, aesthetics, and possibly other disciplines as well, categories employed in an attempt to understand the sacred and profane without resorting to the concepts one customarily translates with *sacred* and *profane;* in terms of methodology, this amounts to a metalanguage.

If the symbolic forms are not of a linguistic nature, there is no self-definition at all. The definitions given from outside to which one must restrict oneself, in this case to relate to language, are not metalinguistic in nature, for the object area is not expressed merely in language, but rather through social behavior, anthropological data, or works of art.

Whether considered a linguistic or a nonlinguistic expression, the definition given from outside can assume an affirmative character, and in so doing turn into the self-definition of the scholar who identifies himself with a given artifact, be it in a text, a specific event, a psychic configuration, or a work of art. The researcher compiling a definition can thus identify himself with both its sacredness and profaneness.

As a rule, one should give neither of these means of identification precedence over the other. It is for purely practical reasons that this article now turns its attention first to those methods relying on linguistic evidence.

Philological methods. It is an axiom in the logic of criticism that one can declare the use of a concept of sacredness in a source to be false. However, the conclusions of the modern scholar, no matter how subtly they might not only deny phenomena of sacredness within religions but also manage to demonstrate them outside of religions, are constantly in need of correction by object-language traditions.

Seen in terms of the history of scholarship, the first object-language tradition to contain the terms for *sacred* and *profane* (upon which the terminology of the medieval precursors of modern scholarly languages was based) was the Latin of the Roman classical writers and church fathers, including, among the texts of the latter, the Vulgate and the harmony of its gospel texts represented by Tatian's *Diatessaron* in the Codex Fuldensis. Equating words resulted in the double presentation of terms in the vernacular, as can still be seen from various contextual, interlinear, and marginal glosses, and in the translations of the *Abrogans,* an alphabetical dictionary of synonyms, and the *Vocabularius Sancti Galli,* in which the terms are arranged by subject. Bilingualism, resulting from the rechristianization of Spain, was also responsible for the earliest translation of the Qurʾān by Robertus Ketenensis and Hermannus Dalmata, for the unfinished *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum,* and for some important translations from Hebrew, which not only reflect the Jews' skill as translators throughout the Diaspora, but also represent active endeavors on the part of the medieval mission among the Jews. Terms for the sacred and its opposites could thus be translated into the vernaculars directly out of Hebrew, Latin, and Catalan, and out of the Arabic by way of Latin. They also became available from Greek, once the early humanists, the forerunners of the modern scholars, had rediscovered the Greek classics through the Latin ones, and the original text of the New Testament and the Septuagint by way of the Vulgate. At the Council of Vienne, in 1311–1312, it was decided to appoint two teachers each of Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, and Chaldean at each of five universities; thenceforth Latin emerged once and for all as a metalanguage with respect to the terminologies of these languages (including Latin itself, now considered as an object language), and in so doing came to stand fundamentally on the same footing as the European vernaculars.

In order to avoid short-circuiting self-confirmations within the terminology of sacredness, it is best to consider this complex as an independent one transmitted to modern scholarship not from the Middle Arabic of the Islamic traditionalists, nor from the Middle Hebrew of the Talmudists, but solely from the Middle Latin of the Christian scholars. It must be distinguished from a later complex that resulted from the use of the European vernaculars in missionary work and in colonization. These were able to reproduce certain word meanings from the native languages, but more often led to interpretations dependent on the terminology of sacredness from the former complex, rather than congenial translation. Moreover, true bilingualism was only present in the work of a few explorers and missionaries. More recently, of course, translation has been accomplished increasingly in accordance with methods taken from the study of the early oriental languages, of Indo-European, and of comparative philology, as well as from linguistic ethnology; only in the twentieth century did all of these achieve independence from interpretations provided by classical antiquity and by Judeo-Christian-Islamic tradition.

Philologia classica sive sacra. The relationship between *sacer* and *profanus* can be called a contradictory opposition, if one understands *sacer* as the object-language expression of something true and *profanus* as its logical negation. In the rich cultic vocabulary of Latin *sacer* is of prime importance. Rites such as those of the *ver sacrum*—the sacrifice of all animals born in the spring and the expulsion from the community and cult congregation of all grown people about to establish their own domestic state (for the purpose of securing the support of Mars, who worked outside communal boundaries)—or the *devotio*—the offering of an individual life as a stand-in for an enemy army, so that Mars will destroy it as well—serve as prime examples of the characteristic relationship between the *sacrum*'s liability and certain kinds of human behavior. It follows that all cult objects and sites included in ritual acts can also be *sacra.* This meaning gives rise to derivations such as *sacrare, sacrificare, sancire, sacramentum, sacerdos.* Of these, *sancire* ("to set aside as *sacer*"; later also "to designate as being *sacer,*" or, even more generally, "to establish with ceremony") is the most fertile, for its participle *sanctus* would ultimately come to characterize everything appropriate to the *sacrum. Sanctus* could thus assume a multitude of meanings, including those of cult infallibility and moral purity. Accordingly, it was an ideal translation for the Greek *hagios* of the New Testament and the Septuagint, and, by way of the latter, for the Hebrew *qadosh* as well. When used in such a Judeo-Christian context, *sacer* was then restricted in meaning to "consecrated," and this tended to fix a change in meaning that had begun already in the Latin of the writers of the Silver Age, as *sacrum* ceased to have an almost innate quality and came to depend on the act of consecration to a deity. A new formation such as *sacrosanctus* ("rendered *sanctum* by way of a *sacrum*") attests to this difference, as well as to the continuing similarity between the two meanings.

The basic meaning of *profanus* may also be discovered within the context of human actions, for the spatial connotation, which is always at its root, doubtless first derived from the use made of the area outside the *sacrum.* Originally, perhaps, this space may even have been used for rites, for the fact that even here one is dealing not with banal functions but with special ones is shown by legal arguments about how assets owned by a god or in the estate of a deceased citizen can be used "profanely."

Along with *profanus,* there is also another concept that is the opposite of *sacer,* namely that of *fas.* This designates, in a purely negative way, the sphere in which human affairs may take place. *Fas est* means that one *may* do something without any religious scruples, but not that one *must* do so. It first appears as a qualifier for a permitted act, then for a condition as well, and accordingly was used through all of the literature of the Roman republic only as a predicate concept. Livy, who also used the term *sacrosanctus* with some frequency, was the first to employ the concept as a subject as well. Specific times came to be distinguished by the activities appropriate to them. *Dies fasti* were days on which civil, political, commercial, or forensic activities were *fas,* or permitted by the religious institutions; *dies nefasti* were those on which such activities were *nefas,* that is, not permitted, or sacrilegious.

The meaning of *fas* does not accord with that of *fanum,* then—nor are they related etymologically; *fas* is related to *fatum*—as though *fas* is "what is appropriate to the *fanum.*" Here it is rather the profane sphere that is the positive starting point. *Fas* is the utterance (from *fari,* "speak") of the responsible secular praetor who permits something; *nefas* is that which the priest responsible in the *fanum* finds unutterable, which constitutes sacrilege on those days over which his institution has control. When one recognizes that what is here accepted as natural and immutable passes over into what has been fixed by humans and is therefore subject to change, and which can be objectively false just as its opposite can, then one can speak of the opposition between *fanum*/*sacer* and *fas* as a contrary one.

Sacer thus has a contradictory opposite (*profanus*) and a contrary one (*fas*). In addition, finally, there is a dialectical opposition contained within the concept of *sacer* itself. This comes from the ambivalence produced when, as with *fas,* the extrasacral sphere is assumed as the positive starting point in one's appraisal. *Sacer* is thus what is venerated, to be sure, but also something sinister; or, to put it another way, it is both holy and accursed. Consecration to a god is perceived by humans as a blessing, whereas being possessed by a god is perceived as a misfortune. One must not make this dialectical contrast into an actual one by construing possession and misfortune as a fatal consecration to an underworld deity inimical to humans, for in so doing one destroys an ambiguity that is part of the basic structure of every religious experience. Positively, *sacer esto* simply means that a person is handed over to a deity; negatively, it implies that he is excluded from the community. The negative side of the dialectic may extend as far as demonization. If damnation or demonization is manifest on the historical level, then one is dealing with something other than profanation, and, outside the holy, still another sphere is revealed in addition to the profane. The dialectical relationship with this sphere comes about only through humanity's limited capacity for experience, and must not be enhanced by philologically setting up some finding related to *sacer;* that is, it must not be turned into an essential contrary working inside the nature of a *numen* or a deity.

The types of contrasts between the terms designating the sacred and the profane are less fundamental in Greek than in Latin, even though elements of ambivalent background experience may also be recognized in *hagios* and *hieros.* For the most part, the expressions have the character of a primary positing dependent on premises other than those relating to the differences between inclusion in or exclusion from a given precinct, or between ritual and nonritual behavior. As a rule, the antithesis was only created belatedly, through the use of the alpha privative, as in *anhieros, anosios, amuetos,* or *asebes;* the only term that appears to relate to an original negative concept, namely the opposite of *hieros,* is *bebelos,* which can be translated as "profane," while *koinos* can function as the opposite of practically all the concepts of sacredness. In a survey of the latter, then, the contrary concepts may be easily imagined, even though not specifically named.

From Mycenaean times on, the decisive concept is that designated as *hieros.* Behind it, most likely, is a sense of force altogether lacking in the early Roman term. *Hieros* functions almost exclusively as a predicate, both of things and of persons: offerings, sacrificial animals, temples, altars, votive gifts (even including money), the road leading to Eleusis, the wars engaged in by the Delphic amphictyony, and priests, initiates in the mysteries, and temple slaves. Only very rarely did anyone go so far as to call a god or a goddess *hieros;* Greek-speaking Jews and Christians were forced to resort to the term *hagios.* Traces of some experiential ambivalence are apparent when a *hieros logos,* or cult legend, is regarded as *arreton* ("unspeakable") and a shrine as *aduton* or *abaton* ("unapproachable"). It is nonetheless striking that in Homer and the older Greek literature a whole range of things may be called *hieros:* cities, walls, hecatombs, altars, temples, palaces, valleys, rivers, the day and the night, the threshing floor, bread and the olive tree, barley and olives, chariots, guard and army units, individual personality traits, mountains, letters, bones, stones used in board games. Here it is rare to find *hieros* used with any connection to the gods, as when grain and the threshing floor, for example, are spoken of as the gifts of Demeter. On the whole it is tempting to speak of a certain profanation due to literary redundancy, though in fact a complete reversal of meaning is never produced.

Hagnos, which also encompasses what is pure in the cultic sense, is even more profound in its meaning than *hieros;* it relates to *hazesthai* ("to avoid in awe, to fear, to venerate") in the same way that *semnos* ("solemn, sublime, holy"—i. e., lacking the component of purity) relates to *sebesthai* ("to be afraid, to perceive as holy"). *Hagnos* is more frequently used than *hieros* when referring to the gods (Demeter, Kore, Persephone, Zeus, Apollo, Artemis), but in that they are elements that can purify, water and fire can also be *hagnos,* as can sky, light, and ether. Because of this connotation, *hagnos* can be used not only for things and persons in the same way as *hieros,* but may also designate rites and festivals or the conditions of sexual purity and of freedom from the contamination of blood and death, as, for example, when applied to bloodless offerings (*hagna thumata*). *Hagnos* can even extend to the whole conduct of one's life outside the cult, though the connotation "sacred" never entirely disappears; it is only in Hellenistic Greek that it comes to mean "purity of character." Whether one is justified in calling this a profane use or not depends upon one's judgment of the nature of post-classical religiosity in general. In any case, the only clearly contradictory opposite of *hagnos* is *miaros* ("polluted, disgusting").

From the root *hag-,* from which *hagnos* derives, the adjective *hagios* was also created. This does not limit, but rather emphasizes (hence, too, its superlative *hagiotatos*), and is used especially of temples, festivals, and rites, though only rarely of the reverent attitudes of men. In classical Greek and the pagan Greek of Hellenistic times it is used only relatively rarely. Precisely for this reason its clear religious connotation was preserved, and this is what recommended the term to Hellenistic Jewry as a virtually equivalent translation for the Hebrew *qadosh,* whereas from the *hieros* group of words one finds only *hiereus* as a possible rendering of the Hebrew *kohen* ("priest"), and *hieron* to designate a pagan shrine. The New Testament develops even further the sense given to *hagios* in the Septuagint—though unlike the Septuagint it can also use *hieron* when referring to the Temple in Jerusalem—and thereby transmits this sense to the Greek of the church fathers and the Byzantine church. Secular modern Greek continues to use *hagios* as the standard term for "sacred" to this day.

The word *hosios* designates behavior that conforms to the demands of the gods. Accordingly, it can be applied to human justice just as properly as to a correctly performed cult ritual. Both are carried out on the profane level. Though one cannot translate *hosios* with "profane," one must think of it as a contrary opposite of *hieros:* If money belonging to the gods is *hieron,* that means one cannot touch it, but the rest, which is *hosion,* may be freely used. The Septuagint never uses *hosios* as a translation for *qadosh* but generally does for *ḥasid* ("pious"). The Vulgate, however, renders *hosios* unaffectedly with *sanctus,* whether applied to humans or to God.

Sebesthai ("to shrink back from a thing, to be awestruck") has no parallel in the Semitic languages, and hence the word is important solely in the classical Greek tradition. The related adjective *semnos* implies exaltedness or sublimity when used of gods; when applied to speeches, actions, or objects (a royal throne, for example) it suggests that they command respect. It appears only infrequently in the Greek Bible for various terms, just as does the important classical concept *eusebēs,* which is chosen in a few instances to render *tsaddiq* ("the just one"), which in turn may also be translated with *dikaios.* The Vulgate has difficulty with both adjectives, and makes do with approximations or circumlocutions.

In the Hebrew Bible the all-important concept is *qadosh.* If its root is in fact *qd* ("to set apart"), its fundamental meaning is not unlike the Roman *sacer.* But it is also possible that its root is *qdsh,* as in the Akkadian *qadashu* ("to become pure"), which would point to a cultic connection. Nothing is *qadosh* by nature, however; things only become *qadosh* by being declared so for, or by, Yahveh Elohim. All of creation is potentially eligible: persons, especially priests; places, especially the city of Jerusalem; festivals, especially the Sabbath; buildings, especially the Temple; adornments, especially the priest's crown and robe; bodies of water; plants; and animals, especially sacrificial ones. The prophets—assisted by a trend that emerged from the reading of God's law at the Israelite feast of covenantal renewal and culminated in the establishment of the Holiness Code (*Lv.* 17–26)—managed to transfer the attribute "holy" almost exclusively to Yahveh Elohim. As a result, only a very few of the above-mentioned categories of objects and activities continued to be accorded the attribute of holiness in the actual target language of Hebrew. In large part, reference to holy places, times, actions, and objects is metalanguage interpretation. It is not factually wrong, for even a holiness accorded by God on the basis of his own holiness is deserving of the name. Nevertheless, one must be aware of the special quality of having been created by him that is typical of such holiness; this is in distinct contrast, for example, to the Greek concept of nature. And it affects the designation of what is profane in Israel. An important thesis of secularization theory asserts that the desacralization of the world, especially of nature and its wonders as it was accomplished in the Israelite theology of holiness, and later transmitted by Christianity, was one of the fundamental preconditions for the worldliness of the modern era. If one does not regard this basic precondition as a *conditio sine qua non,* it is doubtless correctly identified. It would be possible to view the realm of created things in the Israelite concept of the world as profane, just as one might view secularity as a legitimizing criterion for what constitutes the modern era, but that profaneness would be altogether different in kind from that of Rome or Greece. Given this situation, it is understandable that in the Old Testament languages (Hebrew and Septuagint/Vulgate translations) the "profanity" of the world is expressed in quite dissimilar fashion and only fragmentarily, depending upon whether it is mentioned in the cult context of pure and impure or in prophetic preaching about obedience and sin. As a clear contradiction to *qadosh* is thus found, in only a few instances, the adjective *ḥol,* which is rendered by the Septuagint with *bebēlos* and by the Vulgate with *profanus* (*ṭameʾ*, "impure," becomes *akathartos* and *pollutus,* respectively; *ṭaher,* "pure," becomes *katharos* and *mundus*). *Ḥol* designates only something that is accessible and usable without ritual, while the verb *ḥalal* suggests a genuine desecration by means of an abomination.

The grateful use of created things, which God makes holy, by people who are likewise holy because God is, is not the same thing as the Greeks' and Romans' removal of things from profane use. The closest parallel to the latter in Israel is the practice of bans. Translated etymologically, *ḥerem* ("the banned object") means what has been set apart. The difference not only between this practice and profane use of a holy object but also between it and the sacrifice of an object lies in the fact that the purpose for the setting apart is the object's destruction. The Septuagint quite correctly expresses the term's identity with the idea of damnation by using *ana*(*te*)*thema*(*tismenos*), while the Vulgate makes do with *consecratum* or *votum.*

In Arabic, at least since the appearance of the Qurʾān, words with the root *ḥrm* take on the central importance that *qdsh* and its derivatives have in Hebrew. At the same time, the Arabic *qds* and its offshoots (*muqaddas,* "holy") continue to survive with more general meaning. This switch in the relative values of the two may have occurred simply because all of the concepts of sacredness having to do with rites and sacrifices were concentrated on a specific precinct. It is as though the Israelite concept of holiness, bound as it was to the ideas of sacrifice and consecration, were multiplied by the Roman concept, with its original link to a well-defined location. The city of Mecca is a *ḥarīm,* a circumscribed, inviolable spot. The strip of land that surrounds and protects it is known as *al-ḥarām.* In the city's center lies *al-masjid al-ḥarām,* the "forbidden mosque," so named because it may not be entered by those who have not performed an *iḥrām,* or consecrated themselves. In the center of its inner courtyard, *al- ḥarām al-sharīf* (the "noble precinct"), lies the *aedes sacra,* the Kaʿbah, *al-bayt al-ḥarām* (the "forbidden house"). Everything outside this complex is known as *ḥill,* where, just as in the *profanum,* except during a period of three months, everything is *ḥalāl* ("permitted") that is prohibited in the sacred sites. The Arabic *ḥalāl* is thus close in meaning to the Hebrew *ḥol,* but quite different from *ḥalāl.*

Linguistica externa. Regarding the problem of "the holy," a number of groups of terminologies have to be located between the Latin/Greek/Hebrew/Arabic ensemble and the modern scholarly languages influenced by them, terminologies that can suggest things similar to those existing in the gap between those object languages and these metalanguages. Semantic antinomies that can remain unrecognized in the latter should certainly not influence this terminology. There are three ways of attempting to establish meanings here: through etymological "translation," through synonyms, and through analysis of the context and its cultural background. The first of these, especially favored in the case of the Indo-European and Semitic languages, is altogether worthless. Reliable checks are only provided by context analysis. In this way one can discover "synonyms"—though not always synonyms in the strict sense—which more or less approximate what the meta-languages define as sacred/holy and profane.

The Sanskrit term *iṣira* has the same root as the Greek *hieros,* but contextually it means "strong, robust, impetuous." Sanskrit does not even have a separate word for "holy," though there are numerous adjectives applied to objects and persons in the religious sphere, such as *puṇya* for a geographical location, *tīrthaka* for a ford, or the crossing or passageway to a pilgrimage shrine, or substantives such as *muni* for a seer or an ascetic. Related etymologically to the Greek *hazesthai*/*hagios* are the Sanskrit *yaj* and Avestan *yaz.* These two also mean "to hold in awe," but their usage is limited to the sense of "bestow, present," as when one brings a gift to a deity (Skt. *ijyā,* Av. *yasna,* "the offering"), and there is no connotation, as in the Greek *hagios,* of an otherworldly essence from which the earthly is thought to have derived. For this latter sense Avestan has the word *spenta,* to which are related the Slavic *svętu* and Lithuanian *šventas.* These latter two are used in Christian contexts for *sacer,* but their root meaning originally lay somewhere between "supernaturally powerful" and "especially favorable, extremely useful." Pahlavi translations render *spenta* with *abzōnig* ("overflowing, bursting with power"). The cultural background is the world of plants and animals, which in its abundant energy has the miraculous ability to bring forth new life and set it to work in its own cause.

The Germans have translated *spenta* with *heilwirkend* ("producing well-being" or "prosperity") employing a root that means "whole, sound, intact," and that gave rise to the German *heilig* ("holy"). Gothic *hails* meant "healthy"; Old Icelandic and Old High German *heil* is "a good omen" or "good fortune." Runic *hailag* means roughly "gifted with good fortune [by a god]," but also, conversely, "consecrated [to a god]." This becomes equal to the Gothic adjective *weihs* and its related active verb *weihan,* medial verb *weihnan,* and abstract noun *weihitha,* which appear in the Gothic translation of the Bible in place of the Greek *hagios, hagiazein, hagiazesthai,* and *hagiasmos,* respectively. All in all, the German *heil-* words connote a physical integrity with distinct religious significance. Possession of such integrity is a boon that can be given. The god who bestows it thereby becomes one to whom one gives veneration (Ger., *weiht*). Accordingly, even in Gothic the two concepts *weihs* and *hails* (which can also develop to *hailigs*) are interchangeable, and the situation in other Germanic languages is similar.

In general the synonyms in the Indo-European languages for what the metalanguages imply with their contrast between profane and sacred boil down to a qualitative exaggeration, intensification, or concentration of aspects of nature.

Among the ancient peoples of Asia Minor, to whose ideas the mythology of the Hittites in part attests, there appears to have been no special word for mysteries, such as the amazing magnetic force of stones or the destruction of creation by the creator himself. Yet a Hittite adjective, *parkui,* refers to the state of purity required in preparation for contact with the gods, and another, *shuppi,* designates such contact itself. Among the Sumerians, for reasons whose elaboration would go beyond the scope of this article, one must assume from earliest times a well-defined pantheon that predated all ritual. The basic polytheistic structure is of a more general character than anything that has been defined to demonstrate a consistent background world beyond the differentiations into socially and functionally limited deities. Yet even the world of the gods is permeated by a single, unifying element that one can only call "the divine." This is the *me,* which is met with in compounds like *melam* ("divine radiance, divine majesty"). Mythical people and kings can also exhibit it, in which case they are god-men. The gods pronounce *me* and exclude it from the framework of fate, which they in fact subordinate to the *me.* Humanity is required to bring itself into conformity with this *me* so as to be able to realize it in the world. There are numerous adjectival terms corresponding to this concept, the most important being *kug, mah,* and *zid.* In Babylonian, *kug* is translated with *ellu* ("[ritually] pure, bright, free"), *mah* with *siru* ("first-rank, exalted"), and *zid* with *imnu* ("right-hand") or *kanu* ("to be firm"). Alternatives to *ellu* in Babylonian spells are the terms *namru* ("clear, radiant") and *quddushu* ("purified, [made] perfect"), the latter having the same root as the Hebrew *qdsh.* Moreover, the Babylonian creation epic *Enuma elish* attests to a primordial cosmogony in a preexistent world. For the relationship between what the metalanguages call the sacred and the profane one finds *analogies* in the relationship between human and animal forms of deities, as well as between their constructive activity (including Marduk's creation of the world) and the social organization of gods and human beings.

In Egypt, whose language became accessible by way of Greek (through the Rosetta Stone), temples and necropolises especially were set apart from the everyday world, and, in connection with them, so were gods and specific objects. This sense of being separate did not have to be concentrated in a specific term, but from the first to twentieth dynasties this was frequently done with the word *dsr. Dsr* means, first of all, a kind of vibrating motion, but it can also designate a defense against a rush of attackers or, more generally, a clearing resulting from the settling of a whirlwind. These have in common a sense of thrusting away that amounts to the establishment of distance. The word came to be used, in an increasingly abstract sense, for such distance when an appropriate attribute was required to describe the location of a cult statue in a necropolis, a shrine, the eternal body of the god Re, the space in which bulls were sacrificed, the realm of the gods, and the underworld paths reserved for the dead once they had become Osiris. It is simplest to conceive of the relationship of such places and objects to the everyday world as the subsequent removal of the distance at which they have been placed. Something of this sort happens when texts used in the context of religious institutions become the models for secular literature; the most important ancient Egyptian narrative, the *Story of Sinuhe,* for example, poses as a copy of an autobiographical tomb inscription.

Western knowledge of the Chinese and Japanese languages is due in general to the presence of Jesuit missionaries in China and Japan in the sixteenth century. Deeper understanding of the vocabulary of East Asian religions comes most of all from Chinese translations of Buddhist texts originally written in Indian dialects, and already known through other channels; and, later, from the study of Japanese renderings of the better-known Chinese. The first bilingual (i. e., Chinese- or Japanese-European) dictionaries finally appeared in the nineteenth century. Whether or not there are precise equivalents for *sacred* and *profane* is largely a matter of each individual lexicographer's interpretation. The Chinese *shen-sheng,* which some gloss as meaning "holy," is held by others to mean, roughly, "extremely right," "highly exalted," or "doubtless as it must be." Of course, it is possible to interpret an ecstatic act such as submersion into the totality of the Tao as the attainment of holiness; however, the foundation in physical nature that is discovered to be a basic principle of the mystical experience is so much more magical here than in other religions that a difference in quality results. The relationship between the sacred and the profane would thus be roughly the same as that between alchemy and hygiene, both of which are practiced within Taoism as a means of attaining "not-dying."

The Shintō concept of nature is doubtless both more spiritual and more mythological. The *kami,* or nature and ancestral deities, are profane or sacred to the precise degree in which they do or do not belong organically to the everyday world of the living. The monks (*shidosō*) and wandering *hijiri* who carried the rites and concepts of the popular and even more magical esoteric Buddhism out into the provinces, and thereby contributed greatly to its fusion with Shintō, can rightly be called "holy men"—whatever that may imply about the charismatic leaders of new religions in the present day, who take them as their models.

The metalanguage expressions *sacred* and *profane* and their equivalents are only synonyms for all of the views derived from the various terminologies discussed here. If one proceeds from the roots of their subject matter and not from an all-inclusive hermeneutics, they are not complete synonyms but only partial ones, of a conceptual rather than a stylistic nature.

Metalanguage meanings. The modern scholarly languages for the most part presuppose the changes of meaning that the classical vocabulary ultimately experienced as a result of being put to Christian use, in part after certain non-Christian usages that prepared the way. These changes of meaning are characterized by the fact that a clear distinction exists between the quality of God in the beyond and the quality of creation in the here and now; and the terms are distributed accordingly. This distinction must not be thought of as static, however, for it can be suspended in either direction, that is to say, both by God's communication with humans and by humans' consecration of things to God.

In the first sense, the Latin term *sanctus* had ultimately come to mean a primarily divine quality; and consequently there is now the French *saint* and the Italian and Spanish *santo.* The Germanic languages, on the other hand, perpetuate the root that in the language's earliest stages had meant "intact, healthy, whole," represented by the English *holy* (related to *whole;* synonyms: *godly, divine*), by the German and Dutch *heilig,* and by the Swedish *helig.* And the Slavic languages preserve a root that had meant "efficacious" in the early stage of the language: the Russian *sviatoi,* for example, or Polish *święty.*

In the second sense, that is, for the quality attained by dedication to God, Latin had preserved the term *sacer,* which was linked to places, objects, and situations. Later, though relatively early, *sacer* existed alongside *sanctus,* which, confusingly enough, could also be used to refer to this mode of transformation. *Sacer* could be exchanged for the clearer form *sacratus,* and it is from this that the French (*con*)*sacré,* the Italian *sacro* (synonym: *benedetto*), and the Spanish (*con*)*sagrado* derive. For this meaning English employs the Romance word *sacred,* while German and Dutch make use of the ancient root **ueik-* (possibly a homonym; "to set apart" or "to oppose oneself to someone") with the forms *geweiht* and *gewijd.* In addition, German also substitutes for this a form from the former word group, using *geheiligt* in the sense of *geweiht,* a situation that gives rise to constant misunderstanding. This misunderstanding had been prepared for by the double direction of Gothic *weihs*/*hailigs,* and it was strengthened by imitating the biblical wording. For the sake of clarity, some careful speakers therefore prefer the form *dargeheiligt* to mean "consecrated." This substitution also occurs in Swedish, which uses only *vigd* and *helgad.* In the scholarly Slavic language ambiguity is avoided through incorporation of the simple form into a composite, as in the case of the Russian *sviaschchennyi* and the Polish *świątobliwy.*

In Latin, *profanus* had continued to be the opposite of both *sanctus* and *sacer,* the latter in its broader, classical Roman sense as well as its more limited Judeo-Christian meaning. Accordingly, the Romance languages and Romance-influenced English still use the term, while the strictly Germanic languages have it only as a loan word. In all of them there are synonyms with the meaning "secular," or something similar. Synonyms of this type have completely replaced the Latin form in the Slavic languages; Russian has *svetskii* or *zemnoi,* Polish *świecki* or *światowy.*

It is most important to notice the metalanguage nature of these terms as they are used to translate expressions from the linguistic complex Latin/Greek/Hebrew/Arabic, as well as from other languages. Scholars have frequently failed to do so, and this has led to a great number of semantic antinomies that were not recognized as such and therefore became, often enough, the cause of premature or totally false identifications.

Sociological methods. For the examination of symbolic forms of a nonlinguistic nature, the methods of sociology are the most effective. Of such nonlinguistic forms, the most important are, of course, rites. Much would suggest that rites were in fact the very earliest forms of religious expression. This article shall here assume stereotypings to be next in importance, forms that are even more hypothetical and that serve, among other things, as the rationale for institutionalizations. The two scholars who have analyzed these forms most profoundly are Émile Durkheim and Max Weber, and this article shall draw on their findings. In so doing their identifications are accepted, by and large, though not their theories regarding the ultimate origin of religion(s).

Neither Durkheim's nor Weber's method is correct in itself, but together they may well be so. Durkheim's idea that, in contrast to individual reality, society is of the nature of a thing, and Weber's idea that social reality is made up of continuous human action, inclusive of theorizing, are complementary. It is true of both, as for most of the other sociological approaches, that they strive to work with pure designations, but that these are also more or less stamped by metalanguage usage and by concepts from classical and church tradition. This often tends to compromise the accuracy of translation from native languages; but, on the other hand, this is what permits at least an approximate understanding of unfamiliar terms.

The nature of the sacred and profane in the objectivity of social reality. In *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (New York, 1915), Émile Durkheim points out that all religious beliefs share one characteristic in common. They presuppose, he notes,

> a classification of all things, real and ideal, of which men think, into two classes or opposed groups, generally designated by two distinct terms which are translated well enough by the words *profane* and *sacred* (*profane, sacré*). . . . By sacred things one must not understand simply those personal beings which are called gods or spirits; a rock, a tree, a spring, a pebble, a piece of wood, a house, in a word, anything can be sacred. A rite can have this character; in fact, the rite does not exist which does not have it to a certain degree. . . . The circle of sacred objects cannot be determined, then, once for all. Its extent varies infinitely, according to the different religions. . . . We must now show by what general characteristics they are to be distinguished from profane things. One might be tempted, first of all, to define them by the place they are generally assigned in the hierarchy of things. They are naturally considered superior in dignity and power to profane things. . . . It is not enough that one thing be subordinated to another for the second to be sacred in regard to the first. . . . On the other hand, it must not be lost to view that there are sacred things of every degree. . . . But if a purely hierarchic distinction is a criterium at once too general and too imprecise, there is nothing left with which to characterize the sacred in its relation to the profane except their heterogeneity. However, this heterogeneity is sufficient to characterize this classification of things and to distinguish it from all others, because it is very particular: *it is absolute.* In all the history of human thought there exists no other example of two categories of things so profoundly differentiated or so radically opposed to one another. The traditional opposition of good and bad is nothing beside this. . . . In different religions, this opposition has been conceived in different ways. Here, to separate these two sorts of things, it has seemed sufficient to localize them in different parts of the physical universe; there, the first have been put into an ideal and transcendental world, while the material world is left in possession of the others. But howsoever much the forms of the contrast may vary, the fact of contrast is universal. (pp. 52–54)

These words express the most strictly sociological theory of all those that have been advanced regarding the concept of the sacred and the profane. Durkheim argues that it is society that continuously creates sacred things. The things in which it chooses to discover its principal aspirations, by which it is moved, and the means employed to satisfy such aspirations—these it sets apart and deifies, be they men, objects, or ideas. If an idea is unanimously shared by a people, it cannot be negated or disputed. This very prohibition proves that one stands in the presence of something sacred. With prohibitions of this kind, cast in the form of negative rites, humanity rids itself of certain things that thereby become profane, and approaches the sacred. By means of ritual deprivations such as fasts, wakes, seclusion, and silence, one attains the same results as those brought about through anointings, propitiatory sacrifice, and consecrations. The moment the sacred detaches itself from the profane in this way, religion is born. The most primitive system of sacred things is totemism. But the totem is not the only thing that is sacred; all things that are classified in the clan have the same quality, inasmuch as they belong to the same type. The classifications that link them to other things in the universe allot them their place in the religious system. The idea of class is construed by men themselves as an instrument of thought; for again it was society that furnished the basic pattern logical thought has employed. Nonetheless, totemism is not merely some crude, mistaken pre-religious science, as James G. Frazer supposed; for the basic distinction that is of supreme importance is that between sacred and profane, and it is accomplished with the aid of the totem, which is a collective symbol of a religious nature, as well as a sacred thing in itself. Nor does a thing become sacred by virtue of its links through classification to the universe; a world of profane things is still profane even though it is spatially and temporally infinite. A thing becomes sacred when humans remove it from ordinary use; the negative cult in which this happens leads to taboo. A person becomes sacred through initiation. Certain foodstuffs can be forbidden to the person who is still profane because they are sacred, and others can be forbidden to the holy person because they are profane. Violation of such taboos amounts to desecration, or profanation, of the foodstuffs in the one case, of the person in the other, and profanation of this kind can result in sickness and death. In the holy ones—that is to say, both the creatures of the totem species and the members of the clan—a society venerates itself.

The meaning of sacred and profane in the context of subjective religious action. Max Weber states in *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (Tübingen, 1922) that the focus for sociology is the "meaning context" of an act. In order to interpret an act with understanding, the sociologist

> has to view [social] structures as simply the consequences and connections of specific action on the part of *individual* persons, since for us these are the only representatives of meaningful action we can comprehend. . . . Interpretation of any action has to take notice of the fundamentally important fact that [the] collective structures . . . belonging to everyday thought are *conceptions* of something in part existing, in part desired to be true in the minds of actual persons

> . . . conceptions on which they *base* their actions; and that as such they have a most powerful, often virtually dominating causal significance for the manner in which actual persons conduct themselves. (pp. 6–7)

The same also applies to religiously (or magically) motivated communal action, which can only be comprehended from the point of view of the subjective experiences, conceptions, and goals of the individual, that is, from the point of view of its meaning. According to Weber, such action is at bottom oriented to the here and now. It gradually attains a wealth of meanings, ultimately even symbolic ones. Trial and adherence to what has been tried are of particular importance, since deviation can render an action ineffective. For this reason, religions are more tolerant of opposing dogmatic concepts than they are of innovations in their symbolism, which could endanger the magical effect of their actions or rouse the anger of the ancestral soul or the god. Hence there is encountered in all cultures religious stereotyping, in rites, in art, in gestures, dance, music, and writing, in exorcism and medicine. The sacred thus becomes specifically what is unchangeable. By virtue of it, religious concepts also tend to force stereotypes upon behavior and economics. Any actions intended to introduce change have to be correspondingly binding. The ones most likely to fulfill this requirement are specific contracts. The Roman civil marriage in the form of *coemtio* was, for example, a profanation of the sacramental *confarreatio.*

Anthropological methods. At times humans reveal themselves in situations that appear to be of a different quality than ordinary ones. The latter form the basis for comparison either as the sum of their normal behavior or as a social cross section. For the moment, comparisons demonstrating the specific differences between a possibly sacred condition and a profane one, or showing social appraisal of a specific human type as sacred in contrast to the profane average person, are best relegated to categories of a historical anthropology, for as yet no historical psychology exists that might penetrate still further. A culture may choose to identify any number of unusual individual conditions or situations as sacred or profane. The most important of these warrant closer examination.

Ecstasy and trance. Even in terms of ethology, one could probably establish a similarity between humans and animals in the way they concentrate on an opponent, holding their breath in silence and maintaining a tense calm from which they can instantly switch into motion. Presumably this has its roots in the moment when the first hunter found himself confronting his prey. As far as humans are concerned, the perpetuation and further development of this primeval behavior is a history of self-interpretations that presuppose continuously changing social contexts. This was probably first apparent in shamanism, and continues to be so wherever it persists. Contributing to the Greek concept of *ekstasis* was the idea that man is capable of "standing outside himself." Specifically, from the fifth century BCE on, it was believed that one could physically step out of one's normal state; and from the first century BCE, that one's essential being, the soul, the self or perceiving organ, could take leave of the body. The notion of ecstasy is found throughout the history of the human psyche and human culture. It may seize a person for no apparent reason or be induced through meditation, autohypnosis, fasting, drugs, fixing the eyes on specific objects, or extended ritual repetition of certain words or motions. Ecstasy is not necessarily sacred; it can also be profane, though quite often specific manifestations, such as intoxication, glossolalia, receptivity to visions and voices, hyperesthesia, anesthesia, or paresthesia, are identical. In technologically poor cultures, profane ecstasies may accompany initiations, rites of passage, and preparation for war, or may be reactions to specific defeats or social setbacks. Examples of profane ecstasies in literary cultures are those of the Corybantes and Maenads of Greece, of the dancers and flagellants who appeared in the wake of the Black Death in the fourteenth century, of Shakers and Quakers, of individual psychopaths, and of social outcasts. Ecstasy is only sacred in the context of historical religion and is never the primal germ of any religion. Nevertheless, ecstasy can be experienced within a religion as the basic source of its particular variety of mysticism.

It then passes over into trance, of which possession has already been recognized as the hyperkinetic primal form. When the being by which one is possessed, or—to put it more mildly—inspired, is held to be a god who has replaced the extinguished consciousness, classical Greek already spoke of *enthousiasmos.* By definition, such possession is sacred. Profane trances, on the other hand, are those accompanied by visions of distant events, or past or future ones.

Sexuality and asceticism. Sex, especially female sexuality, is considered sacred. It stands as the positive condition contrary to both infertility and asexuality. If a woman was infertile, it probably meant above all that she was malnourished, and starvation is always profane when not undertaken in deliberate fasts as a means of conquering the physical self. (The sacredness of the mother must certainly have been enhanced when, in the Neolithic period, agriculture was first developed—a new science made possible by Mother Earth.)

Sexuality, especially active sex, is also held to be the contrary of asexuality, the profane sign either of the normal condition of both sexes as the result of danger, cold, or constant labor, or of the lesser capacity for frequent orgasm on the part of the male.

The importance in archaic societies of dominant goddesses, especially mother goddesses, is solely dependent on the sacredness of their sexuality and is not a result of their given character as either the otherworldly representatives of matriarchal societies or the polar referents in patriarchal ones. From the role of a great goddess alone it is impossible to draw any conclusions about a given social order. Such goddesses are frequently of a dual nature, both helpful and cruel, both givers and destroyers of life, and this ambiguity is altogether a part of their sacredness.

Asceticism is not the profanation of sexuality but rather a transcendence over the normal human condition into a perfection that lies in the opposite direction. The ascetic practices self-denial with regard to all aspects of life, including eating and drinking. In suppressing his sexuality, he is to a certain extent both acknowledging its sacred dimension and claiming that sacredness for himself.

Innocence and wisdom. Since Vergil's fourth *Eclogue,* perhaps since the prophecies of Isaiah, or even earlier, the innocence of the messianic child has been seen as sacred. Mere babbling childishness, on the other hand, is profane. Yet one can hardly conclude from the innocence of the messianic child how sinful or jaded the society that hopes for him actually considers itself.

Wisdom can be the sacredness of old age, as in the case of the Hindu guru, the mystagogue of late antiquity, or the *tsaddiq* in Jewish Hasidism, who only after long experience is able, through their own example, to help their fellow people find communion with God. Feebleness on the part of the elderly is widely considered to be profane, and when it poses a burden on the young they tend to segregate themselves from it socially. In extreme cases the old are sent off into the wilderness, as in some cultures of ancient India, or are left behind in an abandoned campsite, a practice of some nomadic peoples. The aged exile only avoids being profane by seeking his own salvation, and that of the others, through a curse, rather than through wisdom.

Charismatic and magical gifts. The relationship between these is complex, especially since subsequent explanation of a magical or miraculous act frequently shifts the accent or undertakes to reevaluate it, and since modern interpretation is bound to suspect an element of trickery in the majority of miracles.

A miracle worker was often thought of as a sacred person, as were Origen's pupil Gregory Theodoros of Sykeon and others who were given the epithet *Thaumaturgus.* But not all of the figures canonized as saints by the Catholic Church, for example, were miracle workers—unless, of course, one considers it miraculous that anyone could have fulfilled absolutely the commandment to love God, his neighbor, and his enemy. Conversely, it is also possible for a miracle worker *not* to be recognized as a saint or be held to have been so according to religious scholarship—as were Jean-Baptiste-Marie Vianney and Giovanni Melchior Bosco—and still not count as a charlatan like Cagliostro or Rasputin (who were, in fact, probably neither totally profane nor demonic). Here profaneness is easier to define: That person is profane who is simply incapable of controlling sicknesses, natural forces, or his or her own feelings of animosity. One also hears of "false prophets," as, for example, in ancient Israel or in Lucian's satire on the pseudoprophet Alexander—though it cannot be discerned whether these were simply instances of certain holy people winning out over others. In late antiquity it was possible for charismatic persons to rise to "sainthood," for better or for worse, by taking over the control of cities or towns in which the elected administration or leading landholders had been rendered powerless by social or religious upheavals (see Brown, 1982). Similarly, magic can be either sacred or profane, as can seen if it is examined from the perspective of history.

SACRED AND PROFANE HISTORY.

Related to the anthropological approach is the historical. In terms of history, qualities of objects, modes of conduct, events, relationships, and persons in part define themselves as sacred or profane, and insofar as they do one may either accept them or criticize them. In part, however, it is up to the scholar to establish and define them. In either case it is quite possible that the sacred is truly metaphysical, eternal, and transhistorical and manifests itself only fragmentarily and partially in a continuing succession of historical objects. It is equally possible in either case that the sacred is constantly forming itself anew out of certain symbol-making forces inherent in the historical processes, by transcending even the objectifications of such forces.

In the history of religions there are numerous examples of belated creation of the sacred out of the profane. The sacred may initially have been only a catchall concept for specific desires and may have later become genuine; or it may have come into being by means of true consecration, or sanctification, in both senses of the term, as have been identified above. One thinks, for example, of the sanctification of actions that were originally only ethical, of the evolution of the gift (Marcel Mauss's term) into the offering, of the emergence of gods from humans by way of the intermediate stage of the hero, and so forth.

Related to this is the problem of whether the sacred and profane should be viewed as having come into being simultaneously, or one before the other. All three possible theories have been advanced. Unfortunately, however, the findings of religious phenomenology and the history of religions permit no sure pronouncements about the very earliest religious manifestations. Even the basic assumption that religion came into being along with the appearance of man, though most likely correct, provides no solution to the problem of priority. For even if one makes such an assumption, one still cannot know whether religion once encompassed the whole of life, or whether there was not from the very beginning a profane worldview alongside the religious one, with its knowledge of the sacred.

Origins. The sacred may be an integral part of religion, but when studying its history it is necessary to treat it as quite independent. According to one possible view, the sacred and the profane came into being simultaneously. Another theory has it that the sacred was a later elevation of the profane. Still a third presupposes a kind of primal pansacrality, claiming that the sacred was once a totality that encompassed or unified the entire world. Even the magical was not yet detached from it. And the profane, whether magical or not, only gradually developed through a kind of primal secularization.

The primal polarity and homogeneity of the sacred and profane. For this thesis one can point to caves and grottoes from the middle Paleolithic (the Drachenloch and the Wildenmannlisloch in the Swiss canton of Saint Gall; Petershöhle in Middle Franconia, in Germany), others from the late Paleolithic (Altamira, Lascaux, Trois Frères, Rouffignac), and numerous Neolithic ones. Their special nature fulfills only the two criteria for holiness: (*a*) spatial detachment from the settings of everyday life and (*b*) unusualness; but these are sufficient to justify calling them sanctuaries. These caves are difficult to reach, they are located either at a great height or far below the surface, access to them is either narrow or hard to find, and they are too low or too dark for everyday activities. They contain artworks sequestered away from day-to-day viewing as well as deposits of bones and skulls that cannot be merely the remains of meals. These facts indicate that here, in addition to the profane area (namely, the sitting, sleeping, and eating space near the cave entrance), there was also a sacred room. The question of whether the deposits were offerings or not, and whether they were meant for a single god or several, remains unanswered. But it is virtually certain that the caves were used for sacred activities, in many cases for initiation rites. Entering them, one proceeded out of the *profanum* into the *sacrum.* It is not known what other relationships may have been maintained between these two, but it is clear that they did exist side by side. It is then altogether probable that each had come into being as distinct from the other, and that at no earlier date did the two occupy a single space that was predominantly only one or the other.

The priority and homogeneity of the profane and subsequent appearance and heterogeneity of the sacred. This thesis accords with the one that supposes that there was once a time when humankind was as yet without religion. It is based primarily on ethnological theories, and in part also on psychoanalytical ones. It claims, with James G. Frazer, that magic as a prescientific science proved wanting, and humans therefore had to seek refuge in religion.

In the formula of dogmatic Marxism, the primeval human's social existence was so primitive that his or her consciousness was wholly absorbed with practical matters and was incapable of giving birth to religious abstractions. Only when magic became necessary to assist in the attainment of food through hunting and agriculture did religion evolve along with it, and its function was then further bolstered by the appearance of hierarchical social structures.

According to Wilhelm Wundt and others, the sacred had its origins in notions of impurity. Taboo, the instilling of a reluctance to touch, was common to both (and still continues to be so), whereas the everyday sphere is profane and pure. At some point this reluctance entered the religious sphere and split into awe in the presence of the sacred and loathing for the demonic; everything that was displeasing to the sacred deity was now held to be impure, that is, profane, and the sacred was pure. Gradually, the impure has come to function as the opposite of the sacred, and between the two lie the pure and the ordinary—now seen as profane, that is, as the realm of what is permissible.

In Freud's view, the central taboo is the one against incest; it derives from the will of the primal father. After he has been killed, one's relationship to him becomes ambivalent and finds its synthesis in the idea of sacredness. The reason behind his murder is the primal father's castration of his sons, which is replaced symbolically by circumcision. It is the circumcision performed on the male progeny of Israel, for example, that represents the actual sanctification of that people.

René Girard argues that the sacred arose out of sacrifice, which, as the ultimate form of killing and bloodletting, brings to an end the chain of force and counterforce that constitutes the profane history of humankind. Since the ultimate use of force that cancels out everything can no longer be arbitrary, it comes to be circumscribed and restrained through rituals. Once the resultant sacred act is correctly identified as such and distinguished from profane action, the roles of the sacred and profane in society are truly segregated. If the sacred and the profane come to be indistinguishable, a sacrificial crisis ensues; this is at the same time a confusion of roles and brings on a social crisis. The force required to restore stability is applied both by individuals and by the collective: by individuals in the form of asceticism, self-discipline, and other actions against the self, through which they attain sacredness; and by the collective, through deflection onto a scapegoat, which protects society from the threat that groups within it will destroy each other. (See Girard, [1972] 1977.)

Some of these theses can point to changes that have actually occurred in the relationship between the sacred and profane through the course of history, and even Freud's theory, though otherwise impossible, contains an element of truth in the fact that the exercise of religion can actually become a compulsive act. Girard's thesis is doubtless the most realistic in its incorporation of the nature of man, and the nature of his socialization, within the primary constitution of sacrifice (to the extent to which the latter exists at all). But none of this is of any use toward a valid reconstruction of prehistory.

The priority and homogeneity of the sacred and heterogeneity of the profane. All of the things now distinguished as religion, magic, and science; as religious worship, sorcery, and medicine; as prophecy, law-giving, and ethics; and as priests, kings, and shamans, were once united in a sacral unity. Such is the widespread, fundamental view derived from the thesis of a primal monotheism, as propounded by thinkers from Andrew Lang to Wilhelm Schmidt; derived, too, from the theologoumena of a primal revelation advanced by Johann Tobias Beck and Adolf Schlatter, the elements of E. B. Tylor's animism theory, the *mana-orenda* identification from the period between R. H. Codrington and Gerardus van der Leeuw, and the preanimism or dynamism theory promulgated from R. R. Marett to Konrad T.

Preuss. One can say that the profane becoming independent is the result of a process of differentiation out of primal sacrality only if one ignores the synonymity between the very definition of the sacred and the naming of the phenomena on which these theories are based.

Temporal existence. Since it is impossible to verify any theory of origins or development, it is advisable to do without one altogether, and to adopt the approach of Mircea Eliade, who for historical consideration sees the sacred as an element in the structure of consciousness, rather than as a stage in the history of its development. Regardless of the similarity of religious phenomena throughout cultures, it is the cultural-historical context that at the same time lends an immeasurable novelty to their various manifestations. As for the phenomena of the sacred and the profane, the following temporal aspects are of fundamental importance.

Unchangeableness. The sacred is absolutely unchangeable only if one has extrahistorical reasons for treating it as a metaphysical, eternal, or transhistorical reality. As understood by Max Weber, it is not unchangeable. On the historical plane, unchangeableness and constancy are evident to the degree that in everything that the religious phenomenologies identify as sacred—persons, communities, actions, writings, manifestations of nature, manufactured objects, periods, places, numbers, and formulas—not only are situations, motive, and conditions expressed, but an ancient type remains operative, or makes a reappearance. Once delineated, such types can reappear at any moment, and they persist through great periods of time. Notwithstanding, genuine changes also take place.

Metamorphoses. These appear as either transcendence over the profane or secularization—now no longer considered primary, as it was above—of the sacred. The former occurs in initiations, sacraments, and baptisms, in the use of stones for shrines or of animals as offerings, in the blessing of an object, an act, or a person. The latter is evident on a large scale in world-historical processes. On a small scale it is present whenever a sacred function is simulated, when a myth is transformed from the fact that it *is* into a reporting of facts, when a sacred text is read for entertainment, or whenever someone's behavior swerves from his vows to God, without his actually sinning. The ultimate form of secularization is the destruction of the sacred while the profane continues to exist; the greatest possible transcendence is the restitution of the sacred together with a fundamental skepticism regarding the profane.

Destruction. The destruction of religion is not the same thing as the destruction of the sacred. The destruction of a religion occurs most clearly when it is confined to institutions, as these can simply be abolished. It is less apparent when a religion ceases to have its original function, but this too can finally be ascertained. The sacred, on the other hand, increasingly tends, in industrial society, to be transformed from the active element it once was into a kind of unexpressed potentiality. It then decays in social intercourse and such intercourse becomes wholly profane. Nevertheless, its archetype persists in the human spirit, and is always capable of restoring the religious feeling to consciousness, if conditions are favorable.

Just what sort of conditions these have to be, no one can say. It may be that they are altogether unfavorable when a civil religion is established of the type envisioned by Jean-Jacques Rousseau at the end of his *Social Contract;* it may also be that they are indeed favorable when no organized religion continues to play any role.

Restoration. It is possible to try to secure once more the place for the sacred in society that it lost thanks to the disappearance of the distinction between it and the profane that once existed. This is what motivates the scholarship of the Collège de Sociologie. Every community that is intact and wishes to remain so requires a notion of the sacred as *a priori.* Archaic societies that provided sufficient room for the sacred kept it socially viable in secret fraternities or through magicians or shamans. Modern societies can achieve the same by means of public events such as festivals, which generate social strength, or by the establishment of monastic, elitist orders, or the creation of new centers of authority.

DETERMINING THE RELATIONSHIPS. The relationships between the sacred and the profane occur both on the level of their expression in language and on a (or *the*) level of existence that is characterized by various different ontological qualities. The relationships between these two levels themselves are of a more fundamental nature. Since only the *homo religiosus* is capable of bearing witness to the manner of such existence, and not the scholar, one can speak of it only in formal categories that reveal both the conditions of one's possible perception of the sacred and the transcendental prerequisites of its mode of being.

The epistemological approach. Non-Kantian religious thinkers and scholars have always restricted themselves to their inner experience. What they have found there could easily be rediscovered in history. The experiential method, which tends toward psychology, was therefore always superbly compatible with the historical-genetic method. On the other hand, it is also possible to apply a logical, analytical, transcendental method, and in fact this can be used in investigating the possibilities of both inner experience and historical perception. Heretofore, discussion of these alternatives has been most productive toward determining the position of the philosophy of religion, and therefore religion itself, within the overall scheme of culture and scholarship. At the same time, it has tended to curtail any elucidation of the religious phenomenon in general and the phenomenon of the sacred and its relation to the profane in particular. Perhaps one could take it further.

A priori and a posteriori. In his book *Kantisch-Fries'sche Religionsphilosophie und ihre Anwendung auf die Theologie* (Tübingen, 1909), Rudolf Otto took a rational approach to the *a priori* concept and applied it to the idea of God. God is not an object alongside or superior to other objects, and he cannot be placed in one of the various standard relationships. He is able to transcend space and time as well as every particular relationship. Accordingly, it must be possible to imagine the sacred as standing in a transcendental primal relationship to things. One way or the other, the *a priori* concept is rational.

Rationality and irrationality. When writing *Das Heilige* (1917), Otto abandoned his transcendental philosophical position. He did not give up the *a priori* concept, however, but rather reinterpreted it with a psychological slant. In this way, the transcendentality of the rational applied to the *a priori* concept becomes the capacity of thought to be rational. This capacity can then be opposed to the irrational. The rational concepts of absoluteness, necessity, and essential quality, as well as the idea of the good, which expresses an objective and binding value, have to be traced back to whatever lies in pure reason, independent of experience, whereas the irrational element of the sacred must be traced back to the pure ideas of the divine or the numinous. Here, from the point of view of irrationality, "pure" becomes the attribute of something psychically given, and the *a priori* becomes emotional.

On the other hand, as Anders Nygren argues, just as one questions the validity of perception, using the *a priori* of cognition theory, it becomes necessary to question the validity of religion, using the religious *a priori* concept. Further, Nygren and Friedrich Karl Feigel suggest, it becomes necessary to comprehend the sacred as a complex category *a priori*, not so as to be able to experience it in itself, but rather so as to identify the sacred in experience and cognition, even in the course of history.

The ontological approach. Links exist not only between the sacred and the profane, each of which has its own complexity, but also between the sacred and the demonic, the profane and the evil, the profane and the demonic, and the sacred and the evil. The first and second links have ontological implications, the third and fourth have ethical ones, and the fifth has both. One obscures the demonic aspect when one asks the question whether one can have an ethic that can deal with the awesome potential powers at modern humanity's disposal without restoring the category of the sacred, which was thoroughly destroyed by the Enlightenment. In Hans Jonas's view, these powers continue to accumulate in secret and impel humankind to use them, and only respectful awe in the face of the sacred can transcend calculations of earthly terror. But it is not the task of this article to enter into a discussion of ethical implications; the reader must be content to consider the ontological ones.

Ambivalence. Otto described the positive aspect of the sacred by using the numinous factor *fascinans* and various subordinate factors of the numinous factor *tremendum.* He characterized its negative aspect by way of a subordinate factor of the latter that he called "the awesome." In so doing he provided countless studies with the suggestion of an ambivalence that truly exists and is not to be confused with the dialectic of the hierophanies. However, Otto was referring primarily to the essence of the sacred in itself. Such an approach is logically possible only if one begins consistently and exclusively from "above." Since Otto declares both aspects to be factors of the same numinousness, his methodological starting point becomes, *de facto,* if not intentionally, Judeo-Christian theocentricity. This is certainly extremely productive, but it also exhibits one of the limits of scholarly study of religion: namely its continual orientation, only seeming to overcome the theological *a priori,* at the starting point of historical scholarship, namely recognition of the ambivalence in the ancient Roman notion of the *sacrum.*

Dialectics. Eliade has concentrated the links between the complexes of the sacred and the profane on the plane of appearances, introducing the inspired concept of hierophany. A hierophany exposes the sacred in the profane. Since there are numerous hierophanies (though the same ones do not always appear everywhere), he sets up a dialectic of hierophanies to explain why an object or an occurrence may be sacred at one moment but not at another. Such an approach makes it possible to examine every historical datum and identify it as sacred or profane—and in so doing to write a new history of religions within profane history. In addition, one can draw conclusions about the objectivity of the sacred, which is satiated with being and therefore has the power, functioning through the hierophanies (including even their profane element), to become apparent. Eliade does both. The former demonstrates a historical phenomenology, and points toward an as yet unrealized historical psychology of religion. The latter is subject to the same criticism as the ontological proof of God.

IDEOGRAMMATICS AND HERMENEUTICS. The sacred remains closely bound to the modalities of its names. One cannot do without the testimony revealed in language, but one must not restrict the sacred to the terms language provides. In addition to such testimony, one has to discover the sacred in experience. The sum of linguistic testimony and descriptions of such experience can serve both as a check on each other and as mutual confirmation.

Deciphering the sacred. Using this approach, one can only speak of the sacred ideogrammatically. Classical phenomenology of religion is content to present the sacred as revealed in so-called phenomena that corroborate each other within a larger context. However, this kind of evidence obscures the ambivalence that permits one to experience a sacred phenomenon simultaneously with a profane one. Therefore, one can only understand the phenomenon of the sacred, whether evidenced with the aid of language or writing or not, as something like the Greek *idea,* and accordingly regard the forms of the sacred accessible to description and investigation as its ideograms. However, these can also be understood as "tautograms," that is, as designations that withhold immanence, but at the same time one cannot call them profane merely because they lack the connotation of transcendence into the sacred. Otto's book on the holy was already in large part an ideogrammatics of the sacred.

Understanding the sacred. At the heart of the findings from the study of synonyms that have provided reasons for speaking of both the sacred and the profane in the singular are certain basic attributes, such as separateness, power, intensity, remoteness, and otherness. Cognition theory has less difficulty identifying the sacred when it examines larger systems, within which such fundamental attributes are mutually complementary. In doing so, one cannot only recognize the ideograms of the sacred in texts but also treat the sacred as though it were explained. Eliade's work represents just such a hermeneutics of the sacred as distinguished from the profane.

SEE ALSO Hierophany; Holy, Idea of the; Purification; Sacred Space; Sacred Time; Secularization.

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SACRED SPACE. A sacred place is first of all a defined place, a space distinguished from other spaces. The rituals that a people either practice at a place or direct toward it mark its sacredness and differentiate it from other defined spaces. To understand the character of such places, Jonathan Z. Smith has suggested the helpful metaphor of sacred space as a "focusing lens." A sacred place focuses attention on the forms, objects, and actions in it and reveals them as bearers of religious meaning. These symbols describe the fundamental constituents of reality as a religious community perceives them, defines a life in accordance with that view, and provides a means of access between the human world and divine realities.

As meaningful space, sacred space encompasses a wide variety of very different kinds of places. It includes places that are constructed for religious purposes, such as temples or *temenoi,* and places that are religiously interpreted, such as mountains or rivers. It includes spaces that can be entered physically, as the outer geography of a holy land, imaginatively, as the inner geography of the body in Tantric yoga, or visually, as the space of a *maṇḍala.* Sacred space does not even exclude nonsacred space, for the same place may be both sacred and nonsacred in different respects or circumstances. In traditional Maori culture, for example, the latrine marks the boundary between the world of the living and that of the dead. As such, it is the ritual place at which an unwanted spirit can be expelled or the help of the spirits obtained. Therefore, it is sacred. And it is still a latrine. Similarly, a house is a functional space, but in its construction, its design, or the rites within it, it may be endowed with religious meaning. A shrine that is the focus of religious activity on certain occasions may be ignored at other times. In short, a sacred place comes into being when it is interpreted as a sacred place.

This view of sacred space as a lens for meaning implies that places are sacred because they perform a religious function, not because they have peculiar physical or aesthetic qualities. The tradition articulated by Friedrich Schleiermacher and developed by Rudolf Otto links the perception of holiness to religious emotion. Originally or authentically, therefore, sacred places ought to have had the power to evoke an affective response. And many sacred places do precisely that: The sacred mountains of China, the Gothic cathedrals of Europe, and the sources and the estuaries of India's holy rivers have a beauty and a power that are elements of their religious dimension. But such qualities of place are not inevitable. Many sacred places, even places that are central in the religious life of the community, are unimpressive to someone outside the tradition. The form of the place, without a knowledge of what and how it signifies, may not convey any religious sense whatever. Ṛddhipur, for example, is the principal pilgrimage place of the Mhānubhāvs, a Kṛṣṇaite Maharashtrian sect. It is the place where God lived in the incarnate form of Guṇḍam Rāül, where he deposited divine power, and where he performed acts that revealed his divine nature. It is the place visited by another divine incarnation, Cakradhar, who founded the Mhānubhāv community. But Ṛddhipur itself is completely unexceptional, and the places where Guṇḍam Rāül performed his deeds are indicated only by small stone markers. There is nothing there that gives rise to a sense of awe or mystery, and yet the village is revered and protected by religious restrictions. The place is not aesthetically profound, but it is nonetheless religiously powerful.

ESTABLISHMENT OF SACRED SPACE. Both the distinctiveness of sacred space and its reference to the ultimate context of a culture are often expressed in the conviction that sacred space is not arbitrary. Objectively, and not only subjectively, a sacred place is different from the surrounding area, for it is not a place of wholly human creation or choice. Rather, its significance is grounded in its unique character, a character that no purely human action can confer on it.

In traditional societies, the whole land of a culture is normally sacred, and this sacredness is often communicated in the narratives of its foundation. Sometimes the land is uniquely created. The *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* record the traditions of the age of the *kami* when Japan and its way of life were established. According to these texts, the divine pair, Izanagi and Izanami, looked down upon the waters of the yet unformed earth and dipped a jeweled spear into the ocean. From the brine that dripped from the spear the first island of Japan was formed. The divine couple later gave birth to other deities, among them the sun goddess, Amaterasu, whose descendants rule over Japan. Thus, Japan is different from all other places: It is the first land, and the land whose way of life is established by the gods. Or a land may become sacred because it is given by a god, like the land of Israel. Or again, a land may be established by ritual. According to an early Indian tradition in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* the land lying to the east of the Sadanira River was unfit for habitation by *brahmans.* It became fit when the sacrificial fire was carried across the river and established in the land.

Similarly, a sacred structure or place within a holy land possesses something—a character, a significance, or an object—that sets it apart. The traditions of the greater Hindu temples and pilgrimage places declare that they are intrinsically, not ascriptively, sacred. The holiest images of the Śaiva tradition are the *svayambhūliṅga*s, images of Śiva that are not human creations but self-manifestations of the god. Similarly, the holiest places of the goddess are the *pīṭha*s, the places where the parts of her body fell after her suicide and dismemberment. In other cases, not an object but the very ground itself fixes the worship of a divinity to a particular spot. According to the traditions of the temple at Śrīraṅgam, the shrine originated in heaven. From there it was brought to earth, to the city of Rāma. Rāma then gave it to a pious demon, who wished to take it with him to his home in Sri Lanka. On the way, however, he put it down near a ford on the Kāverī (Cauvery) River, and when he tried to pick it up again he could not move it. The god of the temple then appeared to him and told him that the river had performed austerities to keep the shrine within her bounds and that the god intended to stay there (Shulman, 1980, p. 49). The current location of the temple is therefore where the god, not any demon or human, chose it to be.

The gods may also communicate the special sanctity of a place through signs. Animals often serve as messengers of divine choice. So, for example, the Aztec city of Tenochtitlán was founded at the place where an eagle landed on a blooming cactus, and Aeneas followed a pregnant sow to the place where it farrowed and there founded Alba Longa. The search for such signs could develop into a science of divination. Chinese geomancy is just such an attempt to sort out the objective qualities of a place by studying the contours of the land and the balance of waters, winds, and other elements.

In other cases, a location becomes holy because of religiously significant events that have occurred there. From the time of Muḥammad, Jerusalem has been a holy place for Islam. Although various traditions were attached to the city, it was above all the Prophet's journey there that established its sanctity. One night Muḥammad was brought to Jerusalem and to the rock on the Temple mount, and from there he ascended through the heavens to the very presence of God. The mosque of the Dome of the Rock and the establishment of Jerusalem as a place of pilgrimage both expressed and intensified the sanctity of the city. That sanctity was heightened by the discovery of tokens of Muḥammad's journey: his footprints on the rock, the imprint made by his saddle, and even the place where the angel Gabriel flattened the rock before the Prophet's ascent. And it was further intensified by bringing other religiously significant events into connection with it. The stories of Abraham and Isaac, of Melchizedek, king of Salem, and of Jacob's ladder were among the other biblical and nonbiblical narratives set there. As this example illustrates, a sacred place can draw a variety of traditions to itself and thereby become even more powerfully sacred.

Places may also be made sacred through the relics of holy beings. A grave may sanctify a place, for the tomb marks not only the separation of the living from the dead but also the point of contact between them. In early Christianity, for example, tombs of martyrs became places of communion with the holiness of the deceased. Later, beginning about the sixth century, the deposition of relics became the center of rites for the consecration of a church. These sanctified the church and, within the church, the sanctuary where they were installed.

Finally, the form of a place may give it meaning and holiness. In different cultures, various kinds of places suggest the presence of deities. As has been seen, the land of Japan is holy because it is created and protected by the *kami.* Within Japan there are particular places where the *kami* are manifestly present: Mountains, from Mount Fuji to the hills of local shrines, for example, may be tokens of the presence of the *kami.* In India, rivers and confluences are sacred, for purifying waters and meeting streams suggest places where gods are present and approachable. In these cases, the shape of the land suggests meanings to which the sacredness of the place draws attention.

At the beginning of this section, it was stated that sacred places are typically not arbitrary. But there are places of religious activity that are meaningful precisely because they are arbitrary. If the tendency to institute sacred places is universal, so also is the tendency to deny the localization of divinity. The Indian devotional tradition, like other religious traditions, is pulled in two directions: one toward divinities located in specific places, the other toward the denial that divinity should be sought in any place other than within. "Why bow and bow in the mosque, and trudge to Mecca to see God? Does Khuda live in the mosque? Is Ram in idols and holy ground?" asks Kabīr (Hess and Singh, 1983, p. 74).

Mosque architecture shows the tension between the sanctification of a place and the denial of any localization of divine presence. The mosque carries values typical of other sacred places. The interior is oriented toward a holy center: The *miḥrāb* (prayer niche) directs worship toward the sacred city of Mecca. The space of the mosque is differentiated from other kinds of spaces: Persons must leave their shoes at the entrance. Within the area of the mosque, the holiest area, the sanctuary (*ḥaram*), is clearly marked from the courtyard (*ṣaḥn*). Some mosques are pilgrimage places because they are burial sites of holy men or women who endow them with spiritual power. The most prominent of these is the mosque at Medina built over the tomb of the Prophet.

At the same time, the architecture can be read quite differently as the meaningful negation of sacred space. The primary function of the mosque is to serve as a space for common prayer. It has significance in Islam because the community gathers and worships there, not because of the character of the place. "All the world is a *masjid,*" a place of prayer, says one tradition (cf. Kuban, 1974, p. 1). In Islamic lands the mosque often does not stand out from secondary buildings or call attention to itself as a holy place. Even the dome, which typically surmounts it and which recalls the arch of heaven, has a generalized meaning of power or place of assembly and does not necessarily designate a sacred place. Neither is that symbolism of the sky pursued within the mosque, nor does it have liturgical significance. While the sanctuary is oriented toward Mecca, the remaining parts of the building do not have any inherent directional or axial structure. Even the *miḥrāb,* which might be a place of particular holiness, is kept empty, emphasizing that the deity worshiped is not to be located there or anywhere. All this accords with the Islamic view that while God is the creator of the world, he is above it, not within it. The mosque is sacred space according to the definition of sacred space as a place of ritual and a place of meaning. But it is expressive, meaningful space because it denies the typical values of sacred places.

Similar negations of localization occur in Protestant architecture, particularly in the Protestant "plain style." During the Reformation in Holland, for example, larger Gothic churches were not destroyed but were re-created into places of community prayer and preaching. Sculptural ornament was removed, clear glass was substituted for stained glass, the high altar was removed, and the chancel was filled with seats. In short, all the visible signs of the sacredness of a specific location were eliminated. The architecture made positive statements as well, but statements that again located sanctity elsewhere than in place. A high pulpit was centrally situated and became a focal point, but the pulpit was not itself a place of divine power or presence. Rather it pointed to the holiness of the word of God, which was read and preached there. Again, these churches are sacred places by being visible denials that the holiness of divinity is mediated through the symbolism of space.

FUNCTIONS OF SACRED SPACE. The symbols that give a place meaning typically refer to the religious context in which a people lives. This section examines the ways in which sacred space acts to fix this context and to create interaction between the divine and human worlds. Three roles of sacred space are especially significant, for they are widely attested in religious systems and fundamental to their purposes. First, sacred space is a means of communication with the gods and about the gods. Second, it is a place of divine power. And third, it serves as a visible icon of the world and thereby imparts a form to it and an organization to its inhabitants.

Places of communication. First, sacred spaces are places of communication with divinity, places where people go to meet the gods. This function is often indicated by symbols that represent a link between the world of humans and transcendent realms. Such symbols might be vertical objects that reach from earth toward heaven, such as mountains, trees, ropes, pillars, and poles. North Indian temples, for example, connect the realm of heaven, symbolized by the *amṛtakalaśa* ("jar of the elixir of deathlessness") atop the temple, with the plane of earth. The spires of these temples are also architectural recapitulations of mountains, which are the dwelling places of the gods. The Kailāsa temple, for example, bears not only the name of the mountain on which Śiva dwells, but even its profile. But symbols that express the intersection of realms can be of other forms as well. In Byzantine churches, to walk from the entrance toward the altar is to move from the world of humans toward that of divinity. The doorway between these realms is the iconostasis, the screen between the chancel and sanctuary. As they pass through the doors of the iconostasis, priests become angels moving between realms. The icons themselves provide visual access to heaven. In general, "the iconostasis is not a 'symbol' or an 'object of devotion'; it is the gate through which this world is bound to the other" (Galavaris, 1981, p. 7).

Another way of joining gods and humans is through symbols of the gods. A sacred place may include images of the gods or other tokens that make their presence manifest. A Hindu temple is a place of meeting because it contains a form in which the god has graciously consented to dwell. The Ark of the Covenant in the Holy of Holies of the Temple in Jerusalem was the throne of Yahveh, a visible sign of his presence or of the presence of his name. Shintō shrines are dwelling places for the *kami,* whose material form is a sacred object called a "divine body" or "august-spirit substitute." It is housed within the innermost chamber of the shrine, kept from sight by doors or a bamboo curtain, but its presence invests the shrine with the presence of divinity. Similarly, a Japanese home becomes a sacred place when it has a *kamidana,* which enshrines symbols of the *kami,* and a *butsudan,* an altar that holds both Buddha images and ancestor tablets.

Even without explicit symbols of communication or tokens of the gods, a place may be understood as a point of contact between gods and humans. Islam strongly resists localization or visible symbols of divinity. Although the Kaʿbah is the center toward which worship is directed, it does not house an image of God, nor is it the dwelling place of God. Nonetheless, Islamic interpretation occasionally characterizes it as a place of particular access to divinity. A medieval tradition describes the Black Stone embedded in the Kaʿbah as God's right hand, "which he extends to his servants (who kiss it), as a man shakes hands with his neighbors," and a 1971 newspaper article urges: "When you touch the black stone and kiss it—you place your love and your yearnings in it and turn it into a mailbox from which your love is delivered to the creator of this world whom eyes cannot see" (Lazarus-Yafeh, 1981, pp. 120, 123). As these cases suggest, the deity is not exactly present, yet the Kaʿbah does become the point of communication between God and humanity.

As a place of communication with divinity, a sacred space is typically a place of purity because purity enables people to come in contact with the gods. There, the imperfections and deficiencies, the "messiness" of normal life, are reduced. The sacred place reveals the ideal order of things, which is associated with the perfect realm of divinity, with life and vitality among humans, or with the values to which people should aspire. The Shintō shrine is a place of purity, for it is a place of the *kami* and it is a place that excludes pollution, for pollution is decay and death. The shrine's purity is expressed in the rites of approach to it. Traditionally, an open pavilion with a stone basin provides water for rinsing the hands and mouth, and three streams spanned by bridges lead to a shrine, so that worshipers purify themselves as they cross these streams. Its purity also is expressed in clarity of definition. *Torii* (Shintō gateways), fences, enclosed spaces, and bridges mark distinct areas and signal the approach to the deity. Other sacred places mark the movement from a zone of impurity to one of purity by defining an intermediate space for rites of purification. Some churches, synagogues, and mosques have such an area at the entrance to the principal space of the sacred precincts.

A sacred place can be a place of communication not only with divinity but also about divinity. For example, a central paradox of religion is that if divinity is everywhere, then it must be somewhere. Even if the whole world is "full of God's glory," that glory must be manifest in some place. This paradox is reflected in the Temple at Jerusalem, which contained the Ark of the Covenant, symbolizing the throne of Yahveh, but which enshrined no image of Yahveh. Similarly, in Deuteronomic theology, Yahveh has made his name but not his person to be present at the Temple. In their different ways, therefore, both the Temple and the text sought to mediate the paradox of the simultaneous localization and universality of Yahveh. Larger Hindu temples, on the other hand, normally have a variety of images of deities. Typically, worshipers will see other gods and goddesses or other forms of the central divinity of the shrine, or they will worship at shrines to other divinities in preparation for their approach to the central deity. A Hindu temple thus reflects Indian views of a divine hierarchy, which culminates in a particular divine being. Or, again, in Renaissance churches architectural balance and harmony reflect divine beauty and perfection. In all these instances, the form of the place expresses the nature of the deity worshiped there.

Places of divine power. Because it is a place of communication with divine beings, the sacred place is also a locus for divine power, which can transform human life. The nature of this transformation varies according to the religious tradition and reputation of the sacred space. According to a Hindu tradition, pilgrimage places provide *bhukti* ("benefit") and *mukti* ("salvation"). Typically, one benefit is healing. In medieval Christianity, for example, many pilgrimages were inspired by a desire to witness or to experience miraculous cures. Pilgrimage was so closely associated with healing, in fact, that a young man of Warbleton refused to go to Canterbury, "for I am neither dumb nor lame and my health is perfectly sound." Another person argued, "I am in excellent health. What need have I of St. Thomas?" (Sumption, 1972, p. 78). Lourdes remains a place of pilgrimage for millions seeking miraculous cures, though the Catholic church has certified few healings as true miracles. A place may even specialize in its cures. As the location of a manifestation of the god Śiva, the mountain Arunācala heals especially lung disease and barrenness, and two Ṣūfī shrines in the Punjab help leprosy and leukoderma (Bharati, 1963). The power of divinity encountered at sacred places may also secure more general goals of physical and material well-being. Success in business or in school, the birth of children, or simply the blessing of the deity may all be reasons to visit a sacred place.

Salvation can also be attained at sacred places. According to various Hindu traditions, to die at Banaras, to be cremated there, or to disperse the ashes of the dead in the Ganges at Banaras assures salvation for the deceased. Often salvation is directly related to the purity of a sacred place and its ability to purify those within it. An English reformer, Hugh Latimer, lamented that the sight of the blood of Christ at Hailes was convincing pilgrims that "they be in clean life and in state of salvation without spot of sin" (Sumption, 1972, p. 289). The sacred place as an access to divinity thus also becomes a way to the perfection of human life.

Places as icons of the world. Sacred space is often a visual metaphor for a religious world. The connection between the ordering of space and the ordering of human life is a natural one. A life without purpose or meaning is often expressed in spatial metaphors: It is to be "lost," "disoriented," and "without direction." Because they are defined spaces, sacred places are natural maps that provide direction to life and a shape to the world. They order space—often geographic space, always existential space—and by ordering space, they order all that exists within it. The Lakota sweat lodge provides a good example of the ordering of space in the image of a sacred place. The outer perimeter of the lodge is a circle. Its frame is created by bending twelve to sixteen young willows from one quadrant of the circle across to the opposite quadrant. According to Black Elk, "the willows are set up in such a way that they mark the four quarters of the universe; thus the whole lodge is the universe in an image, and the two-legged, four-legged, and winged peoples, and all the things of the world are contained in it." A round hole, which will hold heated rocks for making steam, is dug in the center of the lodge. This center "is the center of the universe, in which dwells Wakantanka [the Great Spirit], with his power which is the fire" (Brown, 1971, p. 32). The center belongs to Wakantanka, for he is the summation of all divine powers.

The sweat lodge, therefore, encompasses physical space and draws the other realities of the Lakota world into its form. Its center becomes an ultimate point of reference in which space, all beings, and all powers finally converge.

Another spatial metaphor closely connected with sacred places is orientation. The sacred place focuses attention on a symbolically significant region by being itself turned, or turning those within it, toward that region. Sacred places show a variety of orientations and values of direction. First Coptic and Eastern churches, and later Western churches, were oriented toward the rising sun, which was the symbol of the resurrected Christ. Hindu temples face various directions for various reasons. For example, the temple of Taraknatha at Tarakeswar faces north. The head of the monastic community at the temple has explained that north is particularly auspicious, first, because it is the opposite of south, the direction of the world of the dead; second, because it is the direction of Mount Kailash, the home of Śiva; and third, because by beginning in the north, circumambulation of the inner shrine first proceeds east, the direction of the sun and of the light of knowledge (Morinis, 1984, p. 291). The abbot's explanations show the restless logic of sacred space, which finds significance in its every facet. In other traditions, the cardinal directions are not the basis for orientation: Synagogues traditionally are oriented toward Jerusalem, and mosques toward Mecca. These places are similar not because they express similar systems of orientation but because they all make direction meaningful.

Sacred places also create actual and functional divisions of geographic space, divisions that are at the same time metaphors for different ways of life. In ordering the world, they may be not only centers on which the world converges but they may also mark boundaries between realms. These may include both boundaries between visible and invisible realities and geographic boundaries. The Maori latrine mentioned above formed the border between the world of humans and that of the dead, which was associated with excrement. But the world of the dead was also the world of the gods. A ritual of biting the latrine beam opened up communication across this boundary. Those who wished to expel an unfriendly spirit bit the beam to send the spirit back to its realm. Those who wished to obtain the help of the gods bit it in order to establish contact with the gods. The border formed by the latrine was thus open in both directions.

Boundaries created by sacred spaces can also define the limits of the visible world or create distinctive spaces within it. In a northern Thai tradition, for example, a series of twelve pilgrimage shrines created a system of nested spaces. Beginning from the innermost and smallest area, this system encompassed successively larger concentric areas and defined the successively broader communities to which the people at the center belonged. These communities were seen from the perspective of the Ping River valley, in which four of the twelve shrines were located. These four shrines and four other shrines associated with the major northern Thai principalities outside the Ping River valley defined the second community, that of the Lanna Thai people. The third community included all adherents of northern Thai and Lao Buddhism, which were perceived as closely related. This community was defined through the addition of a shrine in northeastern Thailand sacred to the Lao peoples of Thailand and Laos. Fourth, the addition of the Shwe Dagon shrine in Rangoon, Burma, identified Thai Buddhism with that of the peoples of lower Burma, to whom the Shwe Dagon shrine was especially sacred. Fifth, the shrine at Bodh Gayā, where the Buddha gained enlightenment, joined Northern Thai and Burmese Buddhism to the community of all Buddhists. The last shrine was in the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods. This location is still within the sphere of the worlds governed by *karman,* and thus it defines the community of all sentient beings in heaven and earth who are subject to death and rebirth. In this way, the sacred shrines both distinguished and integrated the various spaces and beings of the world to which the people of the Ping River valley were related.

Similarly, in South Asia the traditional pattern of city planning created a series of concentric spaces around a central temple in the urban heart of a region. This pattern occurs, for example, in Kathmandu. The city is surrounded by twenty-four shrines of the Mātṛkās, the eight mother goddesses. A ritual of sequential worship at these shrines arranges them into three sets of eight, which form three concentric circles around Kathmandu. The widest circle encompasses the area traditionally under the kings of Kathmandu. The second encloses the valley of Kathmandu, which includes surrounding villages and areas familiar to the urban population. The third defines the city itself. The central part of the city was laid out in twelve rectangular wards centered on the temple to Taleju, a goddess closely connected with the Malla kings. The geometric clarity of the city distinguished it from the surrounding areas and marked it as the most sacred area in which the realization of divine order was most perfectly articulated. In this way, the shrines define different levels of sanctity extending from the sacred center of the city to the entire kingdom.

ENCODING OF SACRED SPACE. The functions of sacred space are, in their different ways, aspects of its essential function: to identify the fundamental symbols that create the patterns of life in a culture. This section will sketch some of the symbolic systems that make sacred space meaningful. These systems are superimposed on the structure of a place and thereby joined to one another and to the manifest form of that place. A space can encompass, among many other things, the human body, the cosmos, the stages in the creation of the cosmos, the divisions of time, the sacred narratives of a tradition, and the various spheres of human life. The more central a place is in the religious life of a culture, the more numerous the systems to which it refers.

Body. The human body is a primary system—if not *the* primary system—through which people order and interpret the world. It is itself a space, sometimes even a sacred space—

as in forms of Tantric yoga, in which the body becomes the field for the transformations effected by yoga. It also can be a correlate of external spaces, to which it imparts a shape and character. In many instances that correlation between body and place is explicit. The horizontal plan of Gothic churches represented not only Christ on the cross but the human form more generally. In the symbolism of the Byzantine church, the nave represented the human body, the chancel the soul, and the altar the spirit. In South Asian culture areas, body symbolism of sacred places is pervasive. Hindu temples, for example, are explicitly recapitulations of the body. The symbolic blueprint of a temple is the Vāstupuruṣa Maṇḍala, a diagram drawn on its future site. This diagram incorporates the directions, the lunar mansions, the planets, the gods, and the human body and symbolically transmits their forms to the temple rising above it. Indian architectural manuals explicitly liken the temple to the body: The door is the mouth; the dome above the spire is the head. Just as the human skull has a suture, from which the soul at death departs to heaven, so also the dome is pierced with a finial; and the inner sanctum of the temple is the place of the soul within the human body. "The temple," summarizes the *Śilparatna,* "should be worshiped as the cosmic man" (cf. Kramrisch 1946, vol. 2, p. 359).

A variety of meanings is invested in such correspondence of place and body. Both the Gothic church and the Hindu temple are images of the cosmos as well as the body, and thereby both portray the sympathy and parallelism between microcosm and macrocosm. The Gothic church signifies the body of Christ, who is the whole Christian church, who is the incarnate deity, and upon whom the world and history center. The correspondence of the church and the body of Christ thus gives visible expression to the centrality of Christ in the world and his presence in the life of the community. Because the Hindu temple represents a human body, the journey into the temple is also a journey within oneself. Contact with the image of divinity in the heart of the temple is the symbolic replication of the meeting of divinity within the center of one's being. Thus, while the shape of the body generally imparts meaning to space, the specific meaning is developed in the context of individual religious traditions.

Cosmos. Sacred space often imparts form to the world by taking the form of the world. According to Mircea Eliade's paradigm of sacred space, the major vertical divisions of the world intersect at the sacred place and are represented in it. These divisions are frequently the upperworld, the earth, and the underworld. David D. Shulman has found this pattern in the temples of Tamil Nadu, which contain not only symbols that rise from earth upward but also symbols of a *bilādvara,* a doorway to the underworld. Other structures express more unique cosmological conceptions. At Wat Haripuñjaya in Thailand, for example, the *ceitya,* which is the central structure of the sacred complex, vertically encompasses the three fundamental realms of the Buddhist world: the sensuous, the formed, and the formless. The *ceitya* not only represents these different spheres but also the possibility of ascent to full enlightenment.

Sacred places may represent not only the vertical realms of the world but one or another of its layers. As noted, the sacred place is often the place where humans enter the realm of the gods or, conversely, the place where the gods are among humans. In either case, it becomes the place of the presence of divinity and therefore an image of the realm of divinity. Through its use of simple geometric forms, proportionality, and light, for example, the Gothic cathedral was imagined as the image of the heavenly city. The holy cities of Jerusalem and Banaras have heavenly prototypes, according to Christian and Hindu traditions, and hence they are the forms of heaven.

Heaven may be not only the realm of the gods but also the exemplar of divine order and regular progression. The sacred place may be a heaven on earth, which transposes the eternal and sanctified order of heaven onto the plane of earth. At the founding of cities within the Roman world, for instance, the augur drew a circle quartered by lines running east-west and north-south. This diagram replicated the heavenly order and thereby established it on earth. Through ritual formulas, the diagram was then projected onto the whole tract of land to be encompassed by the city, so that the periphery of the city reproduced the boundary of the universe. The east-west line represented the course of the sun; the north-south line, the axis of the sky. The augur and the city thus stood at the crossing point of these two lines and hence immovably and harmoniously at the center of the universe.

Cosmogony. Sacred space may also reproduce the successive steps through which the world came into being. Again, according to Eliade's paradigm, because the sacred place is the center around which the world is ordered and the point of intersection with the realm of the divine, it is also the point of origin. Creation began there and from there it extended. That symbolism is apparent in the architecture of the Hindu temple. In the innermost shrine of the temple is the dark center from which emerge the forms of the world, portrayed on the walls or gateways of larger temples. The naturalness of this symbolism can be illustrated by its secondary attachment to places whose primary meaning lies elsewhere. According to *Midrash Tanḥuma',* Qedoshim 10, for example, Jerusalem and the Temple are holy because the Holy Land is the center of space and the Temple is the center of the Holy Land: "Just as the navel is found at the center of a human being, so the Land of Israel is found at the center of the world . . . and it is the foundation of the world. Jerusalem is at the center of the Land of Israel. The Temple is at the center of Jerusalem. The Holy of Holies is at the center of the Temple. The ark is at the center of the Holy of Holies, and the Foundation Stone is in front of the ark, which spot is the foundation of the world." Such symbolism conveys the primacy of the place, for what is first in time is naturally first in significance.

Time. The divisions of time may also be represented in the sacred space, especially when time is ordered or governed by the rites performed there. For example, the sides of the *mingtang,* the Chinese calendar house, represented the seasons. Each side was further divided into three positions representing the months of one season. The rituals enacted at the place guaranteed the orderly progression of these cycles of time. They also guaranteed that the movement of time, and thus the fate of all living beings, depended upon the emperor, who carried out these rites. A different kind of temporal symbolism was connected with the brick altars created in particular Vedic rites. The layers and bricks of the altar represented the seasons, the months, the days and nights, and finally the year, which was the symbol of the totality of time. The completion of the rite was the consolidation of time and ultimately the attainment of immortality for the sacrificer.

Sacred narratives. Sacred space may not only bear the imprint of the natural world but also of sacred narratives. A particular place may be a reminder of events said to have occurred there, or it may contain tokens or depictions of sacred narratives which recall them to memory and reflection. At Wat Haripuñjaya in Thailand, the walls of the *vihāra* (monastic compound) are adorned with illustrations that tell the lives of the Buddha in his earlier incarnations and express the basic moral values of Buddhism. Similarly, Christian churches of both the East and the West contain paintings and sculptures depicting the history of salvation. In Eastern churches, for example, the upper part of the iconostasis contains depictions of the twelve great events in the life of Jesus, which are celebrated in the great feasts of the Christian year. Other icons might depict scenes from the Bible or from the lives of saints and martyrs, all of which recall the history of God's work in the world. Or again, the rites of the *ḥājj* move within a space that reminds the pilgrim of two critical moments in Islamic sacred history: the time of Abraham, who built the Kaʿbah and who established monotheistic worship there; and the time of the Prophet, whose final pilgrimage is recalled in rites at the plain of Arafat. In this last instance, the sacred place not only recalls an event but is also the location of the event, for the Prophet gave his last sermon during his farewell pilgrimage at Arafat. The place removes the physical distance between the worshiper and the event, and in doing so, it also mitigates the temporal distance between the time of the Prophet and the present. By thus collapsing space and time, it endows the event with an imposing reality.

Spheres of human life. In their form or function, sacred places organize human life and activity. Grounding the precarious and fluid structures of social organization in these places imparts to them a sense of conformity to a system that is not arbitrary but intrinsic to the very nature of things. The sacred place often creates a vivid parallelism between the objective order of the universe, the eternal realm of the gods, and the constructs of human relationships.

This aspect of the sacred place has been investigated in an extraordinary work by Paul Wheatley, *The Pivot of the Four Quarters.* In it, Wheatley discusses the ceremonial complexes that were the seed and integrating center of ancient urbanism. These ceremonial centers "were instruments for the creation of political, social, economic, and sacred space, at the same time they were symbols of cosmic, social, and moral order" (Wheatley, 1971, p. 225).

In Wheatley's description, the ancient Chinese city functioned in just this way to anchor the human order in the divine. The city was laid out as an image of the universe: It possessed cardinal orientation and a major north-south axis corresponding to the celestial meridian. The center of the city was the most sacred spot, corresponding to the polestar, the axis around which the sky turned. And in the center was the royal palace. The city, therefore, re-created the celestial order on earth and its pivot in the ruler. As the heavens eternally moved around the polestar, so the state revolved around the emperor. The political order was firmly established in the objective order of the universe, which was made plain in the sacred images of space.

The ceremonial complex as cosmic center also helped make it an economic center. In Mesopotamia, for example, agricultural labor was apparently under the centralized control of the temple officials. The preeminent economic function of the ceremonial center lay in its role as an instrument of redistribution. This could imply either storage and reapportionment of goods or merely rights of disposal. The ancient cities of Sumer, the temple cities of Cambodia, and Tenochtitlán, the capital of the Aztec Empire, are all examples of cities whose sacredness confirmed the economic control they exercised.

A sacred area may also project the image of the social order. The villages of the Boróro of Mato Grosso, Brazil, for example, were laid out in a cosmological image. The houses formed a rough circle around the men's house, and this circle was divided into quarters by axes running north-south and east-west. But these divisions also governed the social life of the village and its systems of kinship and intermarriage (cf. Lévi-Strauss, 1973, pp. 227ff.). A sacred space may be the center of a system of social prestige that divides and structures society. In the South Indian temple town of Srirangam, the two innermost ring roads closest to the temple are inhabited almost exclusively by *brahmans.* Other, less prestigious, castes live farther toward the periphery.

In one way or another, sacred space orders space in a socially meaningful way. Because a sacred place is both visible and comprehensible, it lends concreteness to the less visible systems of human relationships and creates an identifiable center of social and political organization.

CONCLUSION. This article began with the assumption that if a place is the location of ritual activity or its object, then it is sacred. To designate a place as sacred imposes no limit on its form or its meaning. It implies no particular aesthetic or religious response. But if sacred places lack a common content, they have a common role. To call a place sacred asserts that a place, its structure, and its symbols express fundamental cultural values and principles. By giving these visible form, the sacred place makes tangible the corporate identity of a people and their world.

SEE ALSO Architecture; Basilica, Cathedral, and Church; Caves; Center of the World; Cosmology; Geography; Geomancy; Human Body; Mosque, article on Architectural Aspects; Mountains; Orientation; Relics; Rivers; Sacred Time; Temple.

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SACRED TIME.

SACRED TIME. Pichugi having just given birth, Chachugi prepared his bow for the hunt. Like all Guayaki men, Chachugi was a hunter, but that was not why he headed into the forest on this cold morning in 1963. As father of the child, he had to go hunting because Pichugi, "letting fall" this new life, had made him *bayja*, one who attracts living creatures. It was a dangerous state, *bayja*, but a propitious and sacred time. Dangerous, because if he failed to return today with the prey for which man and jaguar always competed, he was most at risk of becoming the prey of jaguar. Propitious, because animals would be drawn to him despite the cold, leaping into the arc of his arrows. Sacred, because *bayja* and the hunt were as much a part of the ritual of birth as the taking of a bamboo knife to the umbilical cord and the lifting up of the infant from the cold earth to the warmth of a human breast. Walking into the Paraguayan forest, Chachugi knew that he had to recompose his own life in the wake of the birth of another. "In reality," observed the anthropologist Pierre Clastres in his *Chronicle of the Guayaki Indians* (1998, p. 37), Chachugi was "walking ahead of himself, in quest of his own self, his own substance."

In 1881, a man wrote to the *Christian Neighbor* of South Carolina in celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of his silver watch, a watch so thick some called it a turnip. The turnip had been faithful to him, and he in turn was faithful to the turnip, which he would never exchange for some thin modern gold watch. "When I do, you may set me down for a barbarian! Not the best gold and jewelled 'Hunter' in existence would tempt me to swap. That watch marked the time when my children were born, and the record is set down in the family Bible." The ticking turnip had taken his family through births and illnesses, had "marked the time when the doctor's medicines were to be given," and had intimated at what lay beyond death and the "many records that are fast sealed up, to be opened only when another time comes." Mark M. Smith, who happened upon this letter while writing *Mastered by the Clock* (1997, p. 51), adds that African Americans of the same era placed clocks in their burial grounds, clocks that had been stopped at death, as former slave Elizabeth Bunts explained (p. 147): "I would not stay in a house that would not stop the clock the minute the person dies, for every minute that clock runs takes the soul that much longer to cross the valley of the shadow of death alone, and if the clock is stopped he makes the crossing swiftly and unafraid."

When Jesuit missionaries brought European clocks to China in the seventeenth century, the mandarins were impressed by the intricate mechanisms but unmoved by the tightly wound chronology that came attached. As Erik Zürcher notes in *Time and Space in Chinese Culture* (1995, pp. 148–149), the Christian arithmetic of time seemed unwarrantably narrow to the more expansive Chinese. "Saying that 7000 years ago there was no world amounts to saying that there is a today but not a yesterday," argued the lay Buddhist scholar Hsü Ta-shou, skeptical of a Creation dated no farther back than biblical genealogies would allow, while his fellow Buddhists operated comfortably within a cosmology that extended across millions of years. "They only [use such a story] to intimidate the ignorant rabble, calling [the act of Creation] something 'beyond human imagination'—but this is like telling young children that there is a ghost in a dark room."

A ghost in a dark room: Not only is time differently experienced within and across religious traditions, it is also differently conceived and formatted. These differences, debated openly within traditions and operating tacitly at crossroads between traditions, reflect the richness of the human architecture of time. If by *sacred* is meant that which marks or secures a connection with what lasts beyond an individual life and manifests powers beyond human agency, there is no equally brief synopsis of *time*, a subject that engages physicists and philosophers, novelists and neurobiologists, historians and theologians, economists and environmentalists, poets and prophets. The conjoining of *time* with the *sacred* is especially contested because much about being human—possibility and purpose, faithfulness and forgetting, nostalgia and regret, mortality and immortality—is at stake. In order to make clear the salience and liveliness of a topic that could seem forbiddingly abstruse, it is best to begin with a review of different senses of sacred time, breaking from encyclopedic formality into a style that embodies the heat and heart of those differences.

SHARING IN THE CONVERSATION. Here then are a dozen definitions, in the colloquial, with brief examples.

1. Time itself is sacred. All time is sacred time, there's not a minute to waste, make the seconds count. Each moment must be cherished, for life is a precarious gift.

So medieval Roman Catholic bishops decried the lending of money at daily, weekly, monthly, or yearly interest rates, since those who profited from loans were poaching on God's gift, the time of our lives; so the early Muslim scholar and ascetic Hasan al-Basri wrote, "There is not a single day which is ushered in by its morning twilight except it calls out, 'O son of Adam! I am a new creature, and I am a witness over your deeds. Therefore take your provision out of me, for if I pass away, I shall not recur to the Day of Resurrection.'"

2. The sacred must be timeless. Since what's sacred must be what's true and what's true must be unchanging, only what stands apart from time can be truly sacred. There's no such thing as sacred time. There's a sacred timelessness of which we all have inklings, but time drags everyone into the muck of the profane: age, accidents, illness, nightmares, loss, death, decay. Don't confuse the hours you spend at prayer, meditation, or confession with sacred time; those are just hours spent in pursuit, honor, or awe of something eternal that's never within reach. Eternal is what we aren't; you and I, we're bastards of time, and time, to be blunt, is trauma.

So the French philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908–1961) backed into a discussion of time in his *Phenomenology of Perception* through the experience of the phantom limb, an amputee's continuing trauma of presence-in-absence; so early Daoists struggled with the paradox of a cosmos whose origins lay in chaos, *hun-tun*, and whose nature was infinitely chaotic, but which amounted at last to something more revealing than confusion, so long as, according to the *Zhuangzi*, "The sage steers by the touch of chaos and doubt"; so the Christian theologian Origen (c.185–c.245), calling time a natural reality, resisted any imputation of sacredness to time.

3. Sacred time is the experience of the transcendent. A belief in some sort of soulfulness can be found nearly everywhere on the globe, and with it a conviction of times of transcendence. Sacred time must be that time during which people experience their lives as unbounded: during which they commune with ancestors or other worlds; during which they are alert to voices and figures that call and dance beyond our human confines; during which they learn how they too can escape those confines.

So, in the throes of divine possession among the Danhom of West Africa, Brazilian Candomblé, and Caribbean vodou, worshippers petition Legba, spirit of the open and unforeseeable, to refrain from interrupting, but Legba's help must also be solicited as translator of messages from other gods, for transcendence is as tricky as it is thrilling; so English Quakers of the late seventeenth century, German Pietists of the eighteenth century, and North American Swedenborgians and Spiritualists of the nineteenth century developed rules of discernment by which to know what voices were speaking to or through them, what was inspiration and what was aspiration.

4. Sacred time is ritual time. We're all mortal and vulnerable, and unless we're saints we can't go around all day feeling transcendent. If the sacred has to do only with the unbounded, then it's sheer escapism. Most days are going to be humdrum, that's just how it is. The sacred is the ordinary lifted into the extraordinary, which makes for a democracy of inspiration. Birth, puberty, coupling, death, those are the transfiguring times that everyone shares, and each society creates rituals around them, and also for such significant recurring events as new moons, solstices, first rains, first fruits.

So, in the uncreated, vast but finite universe contemplated by the Jaina community of mendicant teacher-ascetics and lay followers, for whom the soul is reborn in a succession of bodies bound by the karma of past deeds and the state of mind at the instant of death, Jains perform a funeral ritual in which a new body is shaped out of symbolic balls of rice that stand as guarantors of a swift and positive reincarnation for the departing soul, lest it be stuck in a sacred limbo.

5. Sacred time is epiphanous. It seems oxymoronic to rely upon a regular series of rituals to invite the extraordinary. Rather than exalting repetition, shouldn't sacred time be the time that I hold dear precisely because it surprises me, yielding sudden revelations? Sacred time should be like a bolt of lightning, a moment that I keep holy through an ongoing archive of those rare and astonishing insights by which I have come to know myself more acutely in this world.

So the ninth-century Persian Ṣūfī, Sahl At-Tustarī, had theophanies, pre-visions of Allah, consistent with a theology that saw life unfolding as an unbroken series of instantaneous, divinely-sustained events; so among the Campa of Peru and the Waiwai of the Brazilian Amazon, it is through song and music, at once ephemeral and memorable, that the sacred enters the world of mortals.

6. Time becomes sacred through neural patterning. If the sacred is worth its salt, it has to be about more than suddenness and the self. Listen instead to cognitive scientists, who tell us that humans are hard-wired to notice quantity, periodicity, and causality. Time as before/after and time as repetition are built into our brains, hence into philosophy and theology. Is the sacred built in too? Well, we are also wired to locate patterns in our environment. Let's hypothesize that the sacred is basically an antique expression of the inborn conviction that everything we encounter is ultimately assimilable to an overarching pattern. Sacred time, then, may simply be the moment of the discovery or confirmation of such a pattern, when opiates are released in our brains and we enjoy what we call an "otherworldly" satisfaction.

So, argued the neurophilosopher Paul Churchland in *The Engine of Reason, the Seat of the Soul* (1995, pp. 17–18), the doctrine that human cognition resides in an immaterial soul or mind looks, "to put if frankly, like just another myth, false not just at the edges, but to the core," but in the crafting of "a proper theory of brain function" he hoped for a conceptual revolution that would "allow us to achieve a still higher level of moral insight and mutual care."

7. Sacred time is sacred because unique and inexplicable. What hubris, to think that sacred time is just a field of synapses sparkling with chemically bonded ecstasy! It has to be clear to the most bleary-eyed neuroanatomist that experiences of sacred time are triggered by what is not assimilable to, or which exceeds our capacity for, pattern. Even should we accept the materialist slant of neurobiology, there is little evidence that our opiate receptors are more indulged by perceptions of pattern than by delightful encounters with the new and unique. Scientists themselves relish anomaly; grand patterns are usually the projects of paranoiacs and megalomaniacs. The sacred need be neither surprising nor instantaneous; it must, like the best art, be irreproducible. Sacred time is misunderstood because by nature it's indefinable and, like any unique event, can be approached only by way of inadequate analogy. Trying to explain sacred time head-on is liking trying to explain to inveterate gamblers why odds of a trillion-to-one make it unlikely that they will be the one.

So in Chinese and Japanese Chan (Zen) Buddhism, masters and students approach revelation obliquely, their sacred time spent "sitting straight, without any thought of acquisition, without any sense of achieving enlightenment" (from the thirteenth-century conversations of Dōgen, recorded by his disciple Ejō in the *Shōbū genzō zuimonki*, pp. 98–99). In this way they prepare for the puzzle of a *koan* which liberates the mind from time-bound logic, as in this eleventh-century verse appended to *The Recorded Sayings of Layman P'ang* by Master Fo-Jih Ta-Hui:

> The Birthless is basically wordless;
> To speak is to fall into words.
> Kindred gather in a happy family circle;
> A tiger watches the water-mill turn.

8. Sacred time is divine time. The problem with gamblers and riddlers is that they mystify the accidents of chance and personalize fortune, which leads to mystifying and personalizing everything unique and inexplicable. But the unique and inexplicable, that's the divine, and the divine, though manifested as miracle or marvel, is hardly mystifying and never exclusive to an individual. Ditto for sacred time: it's simply the time instituted for us all by the divine, intervals during which we are enabled and inspired. It's forgivable that people confuse the time they make for the sacred with the time the divine has made for them; it's reprehensible to forget that our lives and times are always at the pleasure of the divine.

So after six days of offering tributes at the temples, "On the Seventh day as the sun declines the day is desacralized; at sunset the king is desacralized," according to Ugaritic Instructions for the Ritual Calendar of the Month of Vintage (1500–1200 BCE), as translated by Nick Wyatt (1998, p. 354). "Seven times, with all his heart, the king shall speak: As the sun declines the day is desacralized, at sunset the king is desacralized. Then they shall array him in fine clothes and shall wash his face. They shall return him to his palace, and when he is there, he shall raise his hands to heaven."

9. Sacred time is cosmic. Beware turning sacred time into stultifying obligation or authoritarian imposition, in much the same fashion as secular society, making time machinable and merchandisable, poisons the gift of time by turning it into chores and stock futures. There has to be an appreciable gravity to sacred time that makes it worthy, comprehensible, and memorable. Sacred time must be that time during which people individually and collectively bear the weight and fate of the cosmos. Neither that weight nor that fate can be long sustained by any one person; it must therefore be presented within a sacred theater of sacrifice and renewal, atonement and attunement, that is undeniably momentous. Each of us, for the well-being of the planet and our posterity, needs to bear the weight and fate of the cosmos, if only for the briefest moment, for in that moment we learn what the universe requires of us lifelong.

So Hindi men and women throughout northern India at the end of the rainy season move back and forth between participation and spectatorship in the epic play cycle of the Ramlila, lasting some places as long as thirty days, reenacting the life of the god Rāma, his victory over the demon king Rāvaṇa and his shattering of the great cosmic bow of Śiva, the god of devouring time; so the Mayan ball games with their deadly ritual replay of the motions of the heavens, and so the human sacrifices on the Mexica (Aztec) pyramids, where the years were bound together in spirals of death and rebirth that encompassed people, plants, cities, kings, and the gods themselves, eaten up by time.

10. Sacred time is time out. Must we resort to grandiloquence or terror to prevent sacred time from being cheapened? If we all had to wait upon a cosmic connection to claim sacred time, this entire entry might as well be blank. That's not a bad idea. . . . What's sacred about sacred time is that it's set aside from our usual course. It can be a time of rest or ecstasy, of silence or drumming, of solitude or communion, as long as its rhythm is unusual and it alludes to forces that ride above everyday turmoil. Other definitions suffer from a subtle arrogance with regard to the sacred or to time, as if we humans had a hand in running the universe. All we have it in our hands to do, now and then, is to pause, dedicating those pauses to something beyond the immediate.

So Plato in his *Laws* called a religious holiday an *anapaula*, a breathing space, and whether as a Sabbath, a carnival, a festival, a jubilee, or days added at the end of the year to keep a calendar aligned with the seasons, most cultures recognize a time out; so, warned Gary Eberle more than two millennia later in *Sacred Time and the Search for Meaning* (2003, p. xiii), when we don't do justice to a sabbatical, we end up in an impermanent world, "untouched by anything we might call eternity." Whoso would know sacred time, let them stop counting the hours.

11. Sacred time is spiritually receptive time. An aphorism whose latitude erodes its attitude. Leisure time should not be mistaken for sacred time, lest the supramundane become another species of the mundane. Those who take time out to meditate, to go on pilgrimage, to fast and contemplate, or to study scripture put themselves in a receptive frame of mind, a heightened attention that has nothing in common with idle relaxation. Released from the daily grind, one ignores the pricklings of the personal in order to support profound insights.

So the Jewish qabbalist Moses ben Jacob Cordovero of sixteenth-century Safed wrote in his *Or Ne'erav*: "the time that is most conducive to understand matters in depth is during the long nights, after midnight; or on the Sabbath, for the Sabbath itself lends predisposition to it; and similarly on the eve of the Sabbath, commencing after midnight"; so Shintō ceremonies incorporate the Japanese principle of *ma,* interval, which opens up time as well as space, allowing for the entrance of spirits on which the worshipper waits with expectant stillness.

12. Experiencing the sacred, time is discovered to be an illusion. You have to realize that the closer you come to the sacred, the weaker is time's grip on you, until at last time is totally unhinged, since it is a vise of your own making with nothing absolute about it. A better aphorism might be: Sacred time is what you make of time when time is made out to be none of your own. Once you get beyond your attachments to this world, time no longer has any attachment to you, and the illusion drops away.

So in the Yoga Vāsiṣṭha, one Hindu philosophical school argues from the relativity of time—how, according to one's mental state, an instant may feel like an eon or vice versa—that the object of yogic practices is to get beyond the conceit of time, at best a vehicle for reincarnation, at worst a self-deception; so Buddhists of the Śānyavāda school insist that time is merely a set of subjective conventions, and the wheel of time, the *kālachakra*, at best a teaching tool, at worst a prison.

GETTING SERIOUS. There's a deadline for this essay, and that's no illusion, so I'd better get cracking. But that very "get cracking" has been at the crux of the debate over sacred time between Aristotle and Augustine, the former certain of the reality of time as a measure of motion and substrate of potentiality, the latter uncertain of its reality, given the flickering of human horizons and the frailty of human comprehension. For both of them, though, sacred time is the bottom line.

LEARNING WHAT'S AT STAKE. Drama inheres in beginnings and endings. What lies between is as much the province of Sacred Time as creation or conclusion, and what is thought to lie before or beyond (the Uncreated, the Prime Mover, Eternity, the Infinite) works in tandem with each calculus of the quotidian. How religions handle the less climactic intervals is key to the spiritual framing of that ongoing dailiness by which human life is ordinarily lived.

If time has to do with instantiation, duration, sequence, causality, and change, then sacred time has to do with the implicit issues that make time of particular moment: presence, continuity, consequence, story, and transformation. Variably fraught and freighted, these issues may be expressed at a personal level in terms of self-identity, trust, generational bonds, memory, and hope. Either way, time is fully implicated in notions and experiences of the sacred, whether time is depicted as the primal ground of being or as the presiding force that sustains and destroys each world; as that which is set in motion through a cosmic act of sacrifice or as that which must be overcome on the path to enlightenment; as the slow revealer of truth, which must withstand all storms, or as the swiftness of revelation, which proves itself by the very storm of its truth; as the implacable enemy of all illusions, eroding all disguises, or as the archetypal illusion.

Without time in its manifold senses, the experience of the sacred would lack a sense of occasion (timing), urgency (timeliness), momentum (time-after-time), resolution (timefullness) or relief (timelessness). The secular world, of course, may also be driven by time to such an extent that people of no avowed faith upbraid themselves for "worshipping the clock" and efficiency experts, bankers, taxi dispatchers, journalists, and air traffic controllers unite in a secular priesthood of timekeepers, but these are customs and clerisies of the immediate, where time "saved" is hardly, in the long run, redemptive. Those who deal in the long run—astronomers, mythographers, folksingers, tombstone carvers—owe their professions rather to religion, to stories of cosmic origin and evolution by which time is installed in the sacred and the sacred instilled with time.

Folded into cosmology, rituals of renewal, calendars of festivals, images of a future state heavenly or hellish, time becomes sacred. This at least would be the weak explanation, granting time and the sacred separate tracks with culturally variable crossings. A stronger claim would be that time makes the sacred possible, since without it believers would be at a loss to embrace the holy in past, present, future, memory or dream. The counterclaim here would be that the sacred is time's contractor, and that it is the first job of every religion and spiritual tradition to enable time. The strongest claim would be that time and the sacred are congenital, given that humans are temporal beings whose humanity is manifested through an intrinsic awareness of mortality and an intrinsic desire to bridge each mortal span. The strongest counterclaim would be that time and the sacred are accidental categories that obscure the ultimate insignificance of human life, the realization of which can be the only respite from suffering.

The stronger claims, speculative though they may seem, have exercised many a theologian and religious philosopher, since agreement on sacred time appears to be vital to the conduct of ceremonies and refinement of liturgies that hold communities together through the years. Even for those who do not bundle time into neat parcels of past, present, and future, or whose sagas swallow the eons in great gulps, sacred time must still be reckoned, and reckoned with. Although the Ainu off the coast of Northeast Asia told no tales of the future and counted their present not by years or months but by two irregular seasons and the daily barking of sled dogs at dawn, noon, and dusk, yet (through at least the 1960s) they understood the winter, the morning, and the first half of each lunar period as times for prayer, contact with good spirits, ceremonies for the bear, and mediations with the goddess of the moon.

EXPLORING POSSIBILITIES. In general, each religious group determines the borders and meanings of night and day, the seasons, childhood and adulthood, life and death. Each group then establishes nodes of tension and relaxation along these divides, such that the quotidian round is structured through periods of preparation, consummation, and relaxation whose coincidence with cycles fixed by human and celestial bodies is notable but distinct. That is, the universals of breath and digestion, of sex and death, of sunset and moonfall, are differently incorporated into each society and differently experienced through its set of observances acknowledging, praising, appraising, or acceding to sacred time.

Specifically, sacred time is shaped by five acts of definition that, separately or in complex conjunction, engage the supernal. These five acts define the nature, origin, spectrum, power, and rhythm of time in relation to the sacred.

Where, at one extreme, time is understood as an independent ordering principle, time may be deified (Brahmanic Hinduism, Iranian Zurvanism, Aztec and Mayan cosmology) and the five acts of definition may together constitute a theology; where, at the other extreme, moments are experienced as parts of an indeterminate flux (early Daoism, modern pantheism), the five acts of definition may together constitute a radical phenomenology in which the sacred becomes that alone which survives from moment to moment. Most spiritual traditions plot time between the extremes of paramount coherence and particular incoherence, risking thereby logical and psychological inconsistencies—inconsistencies that, theoretically and experientially, are in turn projected onto time, which is then seen as imbued with conundrum and felt as happily contradictory, neutrally brutal, or fatally enigmatic. The nature of time may be as passionately disputed within as between traditions, giving rise to schools of thought (most forcefully in Neoplatonic, Hindu, Chinese Buddhist, and Protestant circles) at odds over ostensibly minor points that actually feed major divergences in approaches to the role of ancestors, the virtue of sociopolitical action, the chronology of grace or redemption. If, as in the Sikh tradition in India, time began with the divine creation of an existential reality that leads through an irreversible, dynamically evolutionary process to the spiritual union of human beings with God, then history, and a believer's place in history, may be active and sometimes revolutionary. If, as in the Qumran community near the Dead Sea, all events have been prepared by God as the "master of time," then one's responsibility is to honor God's decrees with the utmost purity and ceremonial precision, isolated from the disruptions of larger society, "for your mighty deeds we will extol your splendor at every moment, and at the times indicated by your eternal edicts, at the onset of day and at night at the fall of evening and at dawn. For great is the plan of your glory" (War Scroll, 1QM xiv 13–14).

Given that time would, *prima facie*, make origins imaginable, and given that many cultures consider the original *ipso facto* sacred, the sacredness of time might seem overdetermined, especially where primitivist strains (as in Anabaptist, Puritan, Methodist, and Iroquois revitalization movements) strongly encourage a return to an earlier and uncorrupt or incorruptible era. However, the origin of time can be untwinned from its essence in those traditions where time is solicited primarily to initialize aging and mortality (as with the Iraqw of Tanzania, who have no origin or creation myths) or to stand as guarantor for an inherent immortality (modern Theosophy). Time may even be circumscribed at both ends, serving primarily as a measure for the precise execution of rituals geared fiercely to the present or to the immediate presence of ancestors (Ruist Confucianism, Shintō). In cases where a culture has constructed a tight nexus between space and time (Incan cult, Tibetan Buddhist *maṇḍala,* Icelandic saga, the longhouses of the Pirā-paranā Indians of the northwest Amazon), the origin of time and of the universe may be so entwined that each act of memory is a sacred emplacement.

The spectrum of time refers to the variety of phenomena scaled by time. For some cultures, and for industrial society, maturity, adulthood, legal rights, social rank, economic standing, and attributed wisdom are all etched by year counts, which also guide such religious ceremonies as baptism, conversion, confirmation, circumcision, and weddings; here the spectrum of time is short, dense, and finely notched—and would be further inflected with arrows of upswing and downswing. For other cultures (as with the Komo of Zaire), time as age or clock-count has little to do with rank, rights, or respect, but time as seasonality does demand attention for plantings or migrations and may track some rites of passage; here the spectrum of time is thin and marked at relatively long intervals—and the very notion of a spectrum of time would be alien. For many cultures, beyond the obvious biological, climatic, agricultural, and riverine cycles that act upon human beings, acts of prophecy, witch-detection, mediumship, healing, and clairvoyance demonstrate one's intimacy with, if not also mastery of, time; here the spectrum of time is long and complexly indexed—and would be reconceived in non-Euclidean intersecting parallel lines.

Power is a tortured subject. The question is, what can time do? Of course, time's nature provides part of the answer: if time is a god, it may have diverse powers; if time is a force, it may have one sphere of influence; if time is an illusion, it deceives. But the question is at root comparative: What can time do that cannot be done elsewise or undone? What are its unique powers? Is time the sole prompter of change, or is change what prompts a sensitivity to time? Does time devour all, or do human beings fear time as a devourer because they are flawed and fall short on their promises? Is fate another face of time and are human fortunes inscribed between time's eyes, or is time in its expansiveness the best assurance of free will, for otherwise an awareness of time would be nothing but torture for all those shunted along a predestined path toward hell, karmic demotion, or the wrong kind of oblivion. Is time itself a master, a mistress, or a liberator?

Everywhere, people dance to the rhythm of day and night, lunations and tides, equinoxes and solstices. These may be celestial phenomena, but rarely are they merely astronomical, considering how much they are seen to influence living things through their powerfully regular rhythms. Their repetitions and syncopations, widely taken as intimations of the divine, are refracted in human arts of time: storytelling, fortune-telling, music-making, star-tracing, trance-dancing. The rhythms are captured with more subtlety in the extensions and compressions of sacred calendars and their punctuation by solemn Sabbaths or mortal games, in the accordion of swift and slow motions throughout a complex ritual, in the staccato or fluid discourse of the bewitched or inspired, in all of the rhythms that build beyond the thumping of the heart.

CALL AND RESPONSE. Nature, origin, spectrum, power, rhythm: these are analytic categories that no tradition would acknowledge in this particular pen-tangle, but they do assist in the unpacking of "sacred time," a phrase with much baggage. They do not, unfortunately, keep the study of sacred time from being knocked for a loop by a number of methodological problems common to international baggage-handling.

First, perhaps foremost, among the problems is the abstraction of Time, which for this paragraph appears alone in the upper case to emphasize that in this Case abstraction simultaneously hypostatizes. That is to say, it is hard to write about Time without ascribing to Time an independent existence. Not all groups welcome or understand the abstracting of Time (indeed, degrees of abstraction or concretion are at the nub of a controversy about notions of Time among Africans and Native Americans); few societies have hypostatized Time as thoroughly as have the countries of the industrialized North Atlantic ecumene. The problem of abstraction should have become evident through the initial quicktime of competing definitions, some of which deny Time substance or independent action, but Time has moved paragraph by paragraph to reclaim that autonomy which often is its preeminent claim upon the Sacred.

So now the Sacred demands the upper case, as if the Sacred were a book. Among religions that rely upon scripture, Sacred time seems bound up with language and efforts toward the permanent inscription of truths. For religions in which the word, oral or written, is held to be creative and instrumental, the syntax of expression would seem to define both the scope and processes of time, even as it makes strenuous any clarification of time aside from language. Sociolinguists and anthropologists have sought to infer from a language's tenses, aspects, and moods that language-group's experience of time. A highly conjugated matrix of predicates that finely parses the past, the progressive, the habitual, the punctual, the perfective, the future, the optative, and the conclusive would indicate a culture whose concept of time is highly articulated and important enough to keep company with the Sacred, which must inevitably address difficult issues of persistence and loss, order and disorder, origin and end. A meager inventory of temporal markers would indicate a culture in which time is not key to the consideration of those elements of life that are believed to give it depth or enduring significance. At least two perilous assumptions come into play here: assuming what (for most South American and many Asian traditions) remains to be proven, that time is a human construct rooted in language; assuming that concepts of time, especially Sacred time, cannot be fully developed through nonlinguistic processes such as painting, sculpture, music, and dance (as in the "dreaming" and paintings of Australian aborigines, the Lion Mask dances of Korean animism, the rock art of the San of southern Africa, or the *gamelan* music accompanying Javanese Hindu-Buddhist plays).

This second problem has had a graphic companion in a third and more widespread problem: the frisking of religions for signs of linear as opposed to cyclical time. Like the desire to differentiate a tribal god of judgment from a catholic god of love, the desire to differentiate the "cyclical" time of archaic hunter-gatherer or agrarian societies from the "linear" time of urban or industrial societies stemmed from Protestant historians desperate to give a universal footing to their sense of civilization's moral advance. Denizens of "cyclical" time were supposedly caught in a maze of their own making, resilient but condemned to traditionalist pieties and a pervasive fatalism, anxious for each year to be renewed in the image of the old and reluctant to plan a better world. Denizens of linear time, in contrast, were supposedly politically engaged, driven by a past that betokens a brilliant, if often apocalyptic, future, which explains why they become reformers, looking ever for improvement. That binary set, whether in the blatant stereotype sketched here or in more sinuously seductive versions, still rules public conversation, although it has been shown to be historically groundless by Jonathan Z. Smith for the ancient Near East, Pierre Vidal-Naquet for ancient Greece, Sacha Stern for ancient Judaism, and Nancy Farriss for the Mayan world.

The same binary set, with value signs reversed, was adopted in the 1990s by cultural critics deploring a frenzied busyness that was "bleeding meaningful time out of our lives," as the American philosopher Jacob Needleman had it in his *Time and the Soul* (2003, p. 2). People need some of that old-time cycling, he wrote, to catch their breaths and find their true selves. But nearly every religious system gambols between the cyclical and the linear, because human beings, familiar with recurrence and adept at repetition, are also fascinated by novelty and blessed with inventiveness. The best one can do with the mountain of words on cyclical and linear time is to note that priestly forms of religion lean toward the cyclic just enough to protect the temple and its servitors from violent shifts of direction, while demotic forms lean toward the linear just enough to keep possibilities open, to make for immediate second chances, to rescue the downtrodden from persecution, forced conversion, slavery.

There may be more advantage to a complementary set of terms that has been applied to Sacred Time (both now momentarily in the upper case) in cultures far removed from their roots in Greece and the eastern reaches of Neoplatonism and early Christianity: *aion*, *kairos*, and *chronos*. *Aion* is time understood as a principle, and principal, of infinite, undifferentiable, unceasing time, sometimes pictured as an ouroboros, a serpent swallowing its own tail, an Egyptian symbol of renewal. *Kairos* is time felt and depicted as the knife's edge, a pregnant moment on which all hangs in suspense or, as Tukanoan tribes of the northwest Amazon mean by their verb *~su? husé*, that instant in which all conditions are propitious for conception. *Chronos* is time enumerated, the sequence of event following event, from which proceed schedules, chronologies, chronometers, and the raw data of history, but which may also mount up to a long-anticipated total, the Aztec calendar round of 52 years, the Qumran cycle of 294 years, the Mayan long count of 1,872,000 days, the allotted 6,000 years of Jewish messianism and Western Christian apocalyptics, the 7,000 years of Eastern Orthodox eschatology, or the 432,000 years of the Hindu *kaliyuga,* last and least of the four ages of the 28th of 71 mah(yugas (four-age cycles) in the 7th of 14 overarching manvantaras in the first kalpa or eon of the second half of the life of Brahman. The virtue of the three terms is that they are neither culturally nor mutually exclusive; although *aion* has special potency in analyses of Orphism, Mithraism, and Siberian shamanism, *kairos* in Christian soteriology, and *chronos* in ancient Egyptian royal cults and modern secularization, none of the terms insists upon the subservience of the others. Rather, one can see how, as in sixteenth-century Andean syntheses of local cults and colonial Catholicism or in the South African Xhosa cattle-killing movement of 1856–1857, communities handle crises through a complex manipulation of *aion*, *kairos*, and *chronos.*

A fourth methodological problem in the study of sacred time (back to the lower case) derives from a misplaced devotion to *chronos.* Much of the scholarly corpus makes the "time before" sacred to investigations of sacred time, seeking intact cores of religious belief that have resisted the influence of foreign raiders and invaders, colonial powers with their resident armies and missionaries, tourists, journalists, and anthropologists. Why expect sacred times to be unswerving or uncontested? As the anthropologist Johannes Fabian and ethnographer Nicolas Thomas have pointed out, Western researchers have tended to regard non-Western societies (read: non-white, or tribal, nomadic, primitive, even "stone age") as relics. Whereas all peoples going about their business on any given day are effectively coevals, once regarded as relics they become reliquaries, appearing to hold up to the world valuable remnants of ancient truths. Because sacred times and their train of ceremonies and rites of passage are presumed to be at the core of religious life, researchers have looked as much to fragments of sacred times as to ruins of sacred spaces to establish what that tradition had in mind before the incursions of strangers.

Within and without, of course, sacred times have long been subject to renegotiation, as in the shift of Manichaean cosmology and ecclesiology under the impact of Buddhism in northwestern China, or the mixed discourse of Cree heaven and Methodist Sabbath in the program of the Cree prophet Abishabis in Ontario (Canada) in the 1840s. To expect of any religion a resolute invariance and coherence in its construct of sacred time is to make two idealizing mistakes, imposing both a system and a stasis that would have turned such a religion into a museum piece from the start, in the name of an anthropological "eternal" that has proven as difficult to shake as the Ptolemaic astronomy of beautifully eternal epicycles.

Which unearths the archeological eternal. Digging through "layers of time" and walking the stone circles of Neolithic peoples or tunneling through underground burial chambers, archaeologists have found not only prehistoric time-keeping but prehistoric ritual, and through prehistoric ritual, prehistoric sacred time. Or is it vice versa: from sacred time, ritual? Their arguments are themselves elegantly circular, implying that there is something irretrievably human and visceral to the keeping of time which, because it is inexplicably human and visceral, must be numinous. Rather than couching sacred time in a culture's myths of origin, archeologists and archaeo-astronomers have often devised their own origin myths of sacred time for Iron and Bronze Age cultures in England and Israel, for Old Kingdom Egypt, for Shang China, for the prehistoric Mayans—origin myths that are then embraced and elaborated by resurgent spiritual groups (Druids, Hermeticists, Wiccans, Neopagans) strongly invested in the sacredness of an elemental or "natural" time.

The flip side of the archaeological eternal is "real time." A mischievous phrase, "real time" has come to be associated as much with unmanipulated media as with the honestly existential. "Real time" is what is happening "as we speak"; what has not been edited, prerecorded, or reenacted; what, in short, has not been tampered with. It is easy to see how the premise of "real time" can result in an implicit promise of sacred time, if one takes sacred time to be inviolate time, a pure time "delivering the goods," the good, the gods. Electronically infused with event, contemporary society further conflates *aion*, *kairos,* and *chronos*, identifying the eternally valid with the constant repercussions of breaking news. "Real time" is integral to utopian premises that those who live relatively unalarmed lives (i.e., those in preindustrial, "precontact" or monastic societies) enjoy greater access to the sacred. "Real time" is prominent in dystopian premises that those not "in touch" with what is going on "under their own eyes" (because isolated, illiterate, impoverished, disabled, or senile) cannot appreciate the meanings of their actions and are, to put it cruelly, cut off from the sacred. "Real time" informs the documentarist premise that taking cognizance of any segment of life automatically unveils the sacred, as if a "respectful" approach to the passage of time is all that one needs to access "the holy."

RETURNING TO "REAL LIFE" BY WAY OF HUMILITY. The bristling quotation marks of the paragraph above are signs of overprotectiveness regarding "time" and "the sacred." With or without seven thousand seven hundred words that less than one-thousandth of one percent of the billions of humankind will ever read, people will surely conceive, experience, and reconceive sacred time in their own fashion.

AFFIRMATION AND DEPARTURE. What then is the point of an article on sacred time? Why am I still writing? Why are you still reading? Wouldn't everyone's time be more valuably spent in working to eliminate poverty, feed the starving, comfort the suicidal?

These are not rhetorical questions. Whether in the form of a liturgical calendar through which a people's traumatic memories of persecution, enslavement, and devastation are at once condensed and transmuted (Jewish, Sikh, Cuban Santería, the Nation of Islam); or as a formal period of waiting (in exile, hospital, asylum, prison) through which fantasies and frustrations may merge and emerge in spiritual transformation; or as an active pursuit of the holy through fasting, initiation, hallucinogenic retreat, vision quest, pilgrimage, or prolonged mourning, sacred time is that time during which the contingency of human life is confronted and one must decide, again and again, how to spend one's life and give of one's time. A philosopher of language, Jacques Derrida, argued that time, belonging to no one, cannot possibly be given but is always the object of human desires to give of—and beyond—oneself, a cogent postmodern reformulation of sacred time. Clearly in this mode, Alfred L. Roca of the Laboratory of Genomic Diversity at the National Cancer Institute in Maryland, together with seven collaborators around the world, meant in 2004 to give a small animal, the highly-endangered solenodon, the gift of time literally and twice over. Demonstrating the origins of this shrew-like mammal in a genetic divergence that occurred seventy-six million years ago, they hoped thereby to persuade Cuban and Hispaniolan authorities to act to prevent the extinction of a species whose lineage, older than most mammalian orders, is ancestral to, and perhaps coterminous with, our own.

SEE ALSO Aion; Apocalypse, overview article; Birth; Calendars, overview article; Chronology; Consciousness, States of; Cosmology, overview article; Death; Eschatology, overview article; Eternity; Funeral Rites, overview article; Heaven and Hell; Initiation, overview article; Inspiration; Meditation; Memorization; Millenarianism, overview article; Miracles, overview article; Morality and Religion; Phenomenology of Religion; Prophecy, overview article; Rites of Passage, overview article; Sacred Space; Seasonal Ceremonies; Secularization.

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A full-fledged bibliography on sacred time might begin with a quotation from the first volume of *Remembrance of Things Past* (1913–1927), where Marcel Proust, as he is leaving church, genuflects before the altar and suddenly feels the fragrance of almonds steal toward him through the blossoms of a hawthorn bush. "Despite the heavy, motionless silence of the hawthorns," (C. K. Scott Moncrieff's translation, New York, 1924, p. 87), "these gusts of fragrance came to me like the murmuring of an intense vitality, with which the whole altar was quivering like a roadside hedge explored by living antennae, of which I was reminded by seeing some stamens, almost red in color, which seemed to have kept the springtime virulence, the irritant power of stinging insects now transmuted into flowers." That intensity of sensation so common to sacred time, that flow of memory into presence and presence into passion, resonated with the work of Proust's cousin-in-law Henri Bergson, son of a Jewish musician and himself a philosopher alive to issues of tempo and temporality, beginning with his first book, *Essai sur les donnés immédiates de la conscience (Time and Free Will,* Paris, 1889), which made of time a rich, indivisible flow. The task of religion, wrote Henri Hubert in 1905, using Bergson as a springboard, was to endow such uncut time with a definite rhythm of interruptions by which the sacred could be told from the profane. In his *Étude sommaire de la représentation du temps dans la religion* (Paris, 1905), available as *Essay on Time*, translated by Robert Parkin and Jacqueline Redding (Oxford, 1999). The young Hubert was also an obvious disciple of the sociologist Émile Durkheim, whose *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse* (*The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, Paris, 1912) informed most subsequent European analyses of the sacred. After the First World War and its killing time in the trenches, sacred time itself suffered

from a kind of shellshock to which Rudolf Otto's war-stricken *Das Heilige (The idea of the holy,* Breslau, 1917) was incomplete antidote. It was left to Martin Heidegger, a disciple of the German philosopher Edmund Husserl (an exact contemporary of Bergson's), to put sacred time into phenomenological perspective in his short lecture, *Begriff der Zeit* (1924), translated by William McNeill as *The Concept of Time* (Oxford, 1992). Writing in Parisian exile in 1945 with the ruins of the Second World War splayed before him, the Romanian erotic novelist and scholar of Indian religions Mircea Eliade chose history over fiction as a vehicle for reviewing and renewing the options of sacred time in *Le mythe de l'éternel retour: archétypes et répétition* (Paris, 1949), translated by Willard R. Trask as *Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return* (Princeton, 1954).

Since then, many of the central works have not been monographs but wide-ranging anthologies of essays, drawn often from conferences on the topic of time in religion or the broader topic of time across cultures. These began with Henry Corbin and others, *Man and Time*, vol. 3 of *Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks* (Princeton, N.J., 1957), but it was J. T. Fraser, founder of the International Society for the Study of Time in 1966 and organizer of *The Voices of Time: A Cooperative Survey of Man's Views of Time as Expressed by the Sciences and by the Humanities* (New York, 1966), who etched the template with *The Study of Time (1972–)*, a series of conference volumes on which he collaborated over two decades with a number of co-editors, eventually relinquishing the series to other hands, as with vol. 11, *Time and Uncertainty,* edited by Paul Harris and Michael Crawford (Leiden, the Netherlands, 2004). Publication of similar collections accelerated in the years leading up to 2001: Paul Ricoeur and others, *Les cultures et le temps: études préparées pour l'UNESCO* (Paris, 1975); Tommy Carlstein and others, eds., *Timing Space and Spacing Time*, 3 vols. (London, 1978); Dorian Tiffeneau, ed., *Mythes et représentations du temps* (Paris, 1985); Dorothea M. Dooling, ed., "Time and Presence," *Parabola* 15 (spring, 1990), entire issue; John Bender and David E. Wellbery, eds., *Chronotypes: The Construction of Time* (Stanford, Calif., 1991); Anindita N. Balslev and J. N. Mohanty, eds., *Religion and Time* (Leiden, the Netherlands, 1993); Etienne Klein and Michel Spiro, eds., *Le temps et sa flèche* (Luisant, France, 1994); Diane Owen Hughes and Thomas R. Trautman, eds., *Time: Histories and Ethnologies* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1995); Kurt Weis, ed., *Was Ist Zeit?,* 2 vols. (Munich, 1996); Yasuhiko Nagano, ed., *Time, Language and Cognition* (Osaka, 1998); Jeremy Butterfield, ed., *The Arguments of Time* (Oxford, 1999); John B. Brough and Lester Embree, eds., *The Many Faces of Time* (Dordrecht, the Netherlands, 2000); Deutschen Religionsgeschichtlichen Studiengesellschaft, *Zeit in der Religionsgeschichte* (Münster, Germany, 2001); and Vincianne Pirenne-Delforge and Őhnan Tunca, eds., *Représentations du temps dans les religions* (Geneva, 2003, essays solicited in 2001). Meanwhile, Samuel Macey, who had published at length on time and mythology, enlisted a growing community of scholars in the creation of an *Encyclopedia of Time* (New York, 1994), many of whose articles set a bead on the sacred. Two new journals were also launched: *Time and Society* (London, 1992–) and *KronoScope: Journal for the Study of Time* (Leiden, 2001–). During the centurial years 1999–2001, academic journals often mounted special issues on time; among those most focused on sacred time were the *American Historical Review* 104, no. 5 (1999), *Ethnohistory* 47, no. 1 (2000), and *International Review of Sociology* 11, no. 3 (2001).

By the late twentieth century, time had been so enlarged as a field of study that methodological critiques began to seem urgent. Time had already been problematized in physics, vividly in Thomas Gold, ed., *The Nature of Time* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1967), recording the rambunctious speculations of physicists toying with a phrase coined by the English physicist Arthur Eddington in 1928, the "arrow of time"—a phrase further problematized by Stephen Jay Gould in *Time's Arrow, Time's Cycle: Myth and Metaphor in the Discovery of Geological Time* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987) and by Huw Price in *Time's Arrow and Archimedes' Point: New Directions for the Physics of Time* (New York, 1996). In this context, respected models for the investigation of sacred time, such as E. E. Evans-Pritchard's *Nuer Religion* (Oxford, 1956) and Clifford Geertz's *The Religion of Java* (New York, 1960), were taken to task by other anthropologists: Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York, 1983); Nancy Munn, "The Cultural Anthropology of Time: A Critical Essay," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21 (1992): 93–123; and Nicholas Thomas, *Out of Time: History and Evolution in Anthropological Discourse*, 2d ed. (Ann Arbor, 1996). Ruling assumptions about cyclical and linear time were also undermined, as anticipated by Edmund R. Leach in two brief essays, "Cronus and Chronos," *Explorations* 1 (1953): 15–23, and "Time and False Noses" *Explorations* 5 (1955): 30–35, reprinted with revisions in his *Rethinking Anthropology* (London, 1961), pp. 124–136. The critique was deepened by Pierre Vidal-Naquet, "Divine Time and Human Time," in *The Black Hunter: Forms of Thought and Forms of Society in the Greek World*, translated by Andrew Szegedy-Maszak (Baltimore, Md., 1986), pp. 39–60; Nancy M. Farriss, "Remembering the Future, Anticipating the Past: History, Time and Cosmology among the Maya of the Yucatan," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 29, 3 (1987): 566–593; Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago, 1987); Anthony Aveni, *Empires of Time: Calendars, Clocks, and Cultures* (New York, 1989); and Alfred Gell, *The Anthropology of Time: Cultural Constructions of Temporal Maps and Images* (Oxford, 1992).

Given such momentum, challenges were issued as well to dominant theories about particular religious systems—Sassanid Persia's worship of Zurvan, originary god of time (according to R. C. Zaehner), Africa's futurelessness (according to John S. Mbiti), Hopi ritual atemporality (according to Benjamin Lee Whorf), the ultimate unsustainability of Hindu cosmology (according to G. W. von Hegel)—by such scholars as Shaul Shaked, "The Myth of Zurvan: Cosmogony and Eschatology," in *Messiah and Christos*, edited by Ithamar Gruenwald and others (Tübingen, Germany, 1992), pp. 219–240; Peter R. McKenzie, "Sacred Time," in his *Hail Orisha! A Phenomenology of a West African Religion in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Leiden, 1997), pp. 154–208; Ekkehart Malotki, *Hopi Time: A Linguistic Analysis of the Temporal Concepts in the Hopi Language* (Berlin, 1983); and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Time and Timing: Law and History," in *Chronotypes: The Construction of Time*, edited by Bender and Wellbery (Stanford, Calif., 1991), pp. 99–117.

Debate continues, with a vehemence equal to that of Hubert (who with Durkheim's nephew Marcel Mauss published in 1899 a seminal study of sacrificial rites), concerning the degree to which sacred time originates in, or is primitively defined by, blood sacrifice as a psychic strategy of re-creation or as a means of collective renewal. On this, see Georges Bataille, *Theory of Religion,* translated by Robert Hurley (New York, 1992); Raimundo Panikkar, "Time and Sacrifice: The Sacrifice of Time and the Ritual of Modernity," *The Study of Time III*, edited by J. T. Fraser (New York, 1978), pp. 683–727; Kay A. Read, whose *Time and Sacrifice in the Aztec Cosmos* (Bloomington, Ind., 1998) is also sensitive to the gendered aspects of sacred time, as is Johan Normark, *Genderized Time and Space in Late Classic Maya Calendars*, Museion Occasional Paper No. 1 (Göteborg, Sweden, 2000). Elsewhere too, attention has been called to gender: Warren L. d'Azavedo, "Gola Womanhood and the Limits of Masculine Omnipotence," in *Religion in Africa,* edited by Thomas D. Blakely and others (London, 1994), pp. 342–362; Fatima Mernissi, "The Muslim and Time," in *The Veil and the Male Elite,* translated by Mary Jo Lakeland (Reading, Mass., 1991), pp. 15–24; Susan Starr Sered, "Gender, Immanence and Transcendence: The Candle-Lighting Repertoire of Middle-Eastern Jews," *Metaphor and Symbolic Activity* 6, no. 4 (1991): 293–304; Sarah Lund Skar, "Andean Women and the Concept of Space/Time," in *Women and Space, Ground Rules and Social Maps*, edited by Shirley Ardener, revised edition (Oxford, 1993), pp. 31–45; and numerous contributors to *Nature Religion Today: Paganism in the Modern World*, edited by Joanne Pearson and others (Edinburgh, 1998). For a woman theologian's perspective, see Carol Ochs, *The Noah Paradox: Time as Burden, Time as Blessing* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1991).

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South Asia: Jasabir Singh Ahluwalia, "Time, Reality, and Religion," in his *The Doctrine and Dynamics of Sikhism* (Patiala, India, 1999), pp. 29–50; Maitreyee R. Deshpande, *The Concept of Time in Vedic Ritual* (Delhi, 2001); Werner Herzog's film, *Rad der Zeit* (Wheel of Time) (Germany, 2003, eighty minutes); Padmanath S. Jaini, *Collected Papers on Jaina Studies* (Delhi, 2000); Hari Shankar Prasad, ed., *Time in Indian Philosophy* (Delhi, 1992); Alexander von Rospatt, *The Buddhist Doctrine of Momentariness* (Stuttgart, 1995); Geshe Lhundub Sopa and others, *The Wheel of Time: The Kālachakra in Context*, edited by Beth Simon (Ithaca, 1991); Thomas R. Trautman, "Indian Time, European Time," in *Time: Histories and Ethnologies*, edited by Hughes and Trautman (Ann Arbor, 1995), pp. 167–197; Peter Van Der Veer, "Ayodhya and Somnath: Eternal Shrines, Contested Histories," *Social Research* 59, no. 1 (1992): 85–109.

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For more on the solenodon, see Alfred L. Roca and others, “Mesozoic Origin for West Indian Insectivores,” *Nature* 429 (June 10, 2004): 649–651.

HILLEL SCHWARTZ (2005)

SACRIFICE [FIRST EDITION].

The term *sacrifice,* from the Latin *sacrificium* (*sacer,* “holy”; *facere,* “to make”), carries the connotation of the religious act in the highest, or fullest sense; it can also be understood as the act of sanctifying or consecrating an object. *Offering* is used as a synonym (or as a more inclusive category of which sacrifice is a subdivision) and means the presentation of a gift. (The word *offering* is from the Latin *offerre,* “to offer, present”; the verb yields the noun *oblatio.)* The Romance languages contain words derived from both the Latin words. The German *Opfer* is generally taken as derived from *offerre,* but some derive it from the Latin *operari* (“to perform, accomplish”), thus evoking once again the idea of sacred action.

Distinctions between sacrifice and offering are variously drawn, as for example, that of Jan van Baal: “I call an offering every act of presenting something to a supernatural being, a sacrifice an offering accompanied by the ritual killing of the object of the offering” (van Baal, 1976, p. 161). The latter definition is too narrow, however, since “killing” can be applied only to living beings, human or animal, and thus does not cover the whole range of objects used in sacrifice as attested by the history of religions. A truly essential element, on the other hand, is that the recipient of the gift be a supernatural being (that is, one endowed with supernatural power), with whom the giver seeks to enter into or remain in communion. Destruction, which can apply even to inanimate objects, is also regarded as essential by some authors but not by all; thus, according to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* a sacrifice is “a cultic act in which objects were set apart or consecrated and offered to a god or some other supernatural power” (1977, vol. 16, p. 128b). On the other hand, it is indeed essential to the concept that the human offerer remove something from his own disposal and transfer it to a supernatural recipient. The difference between the broad concept of offering and the narrower concept of sacrifice may be said to reside in the fact that a rite, a more or less solemn external form, is part of sacrifice.

Sacrifice differs from other cultic actions. The external elements of prayer are simply words and gestures (bodily attitudes), not external objects comparable to the gifts of sacrifice. Eliminatory rites, though they may include the slaying of a living being or the destruction of an inanimate object, are not directed to a personal recipient and thus should not be described as sacrifices. The same is true of ritual slayings in which there is no supernatural being as recipient, as in slayings by which companions are provided for the dead (joint burials) or that are part of the dramatic representation of an event in primordial time.

According to some theories, the conception of sacrifice as gift-giving is the result of a secondary development or even of a misunderstanding of rites that originally had a different meaning. (On this point, see “Theories of the Origin of Sacrifice,” below.)

MORPHOLOGY (TYPOLOGY) OF SACRIFICE. The various forms of sacrifice show some common elements that respond to the following questions: (1) Who offers the sacrifice? (2) What is offered? (3) What external forms belong to the act of offering? (4) In what places and at what times are sacrifices offered? (5) Who is the recipient of the sacrifice? (6) For what reasons are sacrifices offered? The classifications implied by these questions often overlap (e.g., the type of material used for the sacrifice may determine the rite).

The sacrificer. Most religions allow not only sacrifices offered by a group or community but also individual sacrifices for entirely personal reasons; in unstratified societies, therefore, everyone is in principle able to offer sacrifices. In fact, however, such purely personal sacrifices are rare, and as soon as sacrifices become connected with a group, however small, not every member of the group but only a representative may offer them. The sacrificer may be the head of a family or clan, an elder, or the leader of a band of hunters; in matrilinear societies, the sacrificer may be a woman. This is true especially of hunting and food-gathering cultures as well as nomadic pastoral cultures; even when these include individuals with specific ritual functions (medicine men, sorcerers, soothsayers, shamans), the function of offering sacrifice is not reserved to them. (In pastoral cultures we can sometimes see that only at a secondary stage do shamans replace family heads for certain sacrifices.) Food-planting cultures, on the other hand, commonly have cultic functionaries to whom the offering of sacrifice is reserved (e.g., the “earth-chiefs” in West African cultures). In sacrifices occasioned by some public endeavor or concern (e.g., an epidemic, or before or after a military campaign) the head of the tribe or larger group is the natural offerer of sacrifice. In archaic high cultures the function often goes with the kingly office; frequently, however, it decreases in importance in the course of further development and is then discernible only in vestigial form.

The more fully articulated the divisions in a society, the more often there is a class of cultic ministers to whom the offering of sacrifice is reserved. In this situation, tensions and changing relations of power can arise between king and priests, as in ancient Egypt. When a special priestly class exists, membership is either hereditary or must be earned through a consecration that is often preceded by lengthy training, or both may be required: descent from a certain family, class, or caste and training that leads to consecration. The consecrated functionary who is an offerer of sacrifice often must then submit to further special preparation (through purificatory rites, etc.) before exercising his office. A priest may have other cultic or magical functions in addition to that of offering sacrifice; he may, for example, act as oracle, exorcist, healer, or rainmaker, he may be a source of tradition and knowledge, and he may have noncultic functions as well.

Myths sometimes speak of the gods themselves as offering sacrifice. Sacrifice by human beings is then simply an imitation of the primal sacrifice that played a role in the establishment of the cosmic order.

Material of the oblation. Scholars often generalize, as for example: "If we look about in the history of religion, we find there are very few things that have not, at some time or in some place, served as offering" (van Baaren, 1964, p. 7). Others will say that everything which has a value for human beings can be the material of sacrifice; the value may be symbolic and not necessarily inherent (as seen, for example, in the firstlings sacrifices of food-gatherers). Perhaps we may say that originally what was sacrificed was either something living or an element or symbol of life; in other words, it was not primarily food that was surrendered, but life itself. Yet inanimate things were also included in the material for sacrifice. (But do not archaic cultures regard a great deal as living that to the modern scientific mind is inanimate? Some scholars emphasize not the life but the power of the object.) Only by including inanimate objects is it possible to establish a certain classification of sacrificial objects, as for example, on the one hand, plants and inanimate objects (bloodless offerings), and, on the other, human beings and animals (blood offerings). But such a division is not exhaustive, since a comprehensive concept of sacrifice must include, for example, a bloodless consecration of human beings and animals.

Bloodless offerings. Bloodless offerings include, in the first place, vegetative materials. Thus food-gatherers offer a (symbolic) portion of the foodstuffs they have collected. Cultivators offer to higher beings (whom they may regard as in need of nourishment) sacrifices of food and drink: fruits, tubers, grains, and the foods that are made from these plants (meal, baked goods, oil), along with drinks, especially beer and other alcoholic beverages, that are poured out as libations. Among herders milk and milk products (e.g., koumiss, a drink derived from milk and slightly fermented, used in Inner Asia) play a similar role, especially in firstlings sacrifices (see below). In the ritual pouring (and especially in other ritual uses) of water, the intention is often not sacrifice but either some other type of rite (lustration, purification, or expiation) or sympathetic magic (e.g., pouring water in order to bring on rain). The offering of flowers or of a sweet fragrance otherwise produced (as in the widespread use of incense, or, among the American Indians, of tobacco smoke) also serves to please the gods or other higher beings.

Inanimate objects used in sacrifice include clothing, jewelry, weapons, precious stones and precious metals, sacrificial vessels made of metal, and, in more advanced civilizations, coins (especially as substitutes). Also used in sacrifice are all sorts of objects that are offered as votive gifts and are kept in a sanctuary, though it is possible that sympathetic magic also plays a role here, as for instance when one seeks deliverance from illnesses by depositing likenesses of the diseased organs.

Blood offerings. When animals or human beings serve as the sacrificial gift, the shedding of blood may become an essential part of the sacrificial action. Thus *ritual* slaying makes its appearance among cultivators and herders. (The practice is generally not found in hunting cultures, where a small but symbolically important part of the animal slain during the hunt is offered; thus the slaying is not part of the sacrificial action but precedes it. The slaying by the Ainu of a bear raised for the purpose is perhaps not really a sacrifice but a "dismissal" rite.)

The most extensive development of ritual slaying is found among cultivators. Here blood plays a significant role as a power-laden substance that brings fertility; it is sprinkled on the fields in order to promote crop yield. Head-hunting, cannibalism, and human sacrifice belong to the same complex of ideas and rites; human sacrifice is also seen as a means of maintaining the cosmic order. The combination of blood rites with magical conceptions of fertility is found more among tuber cultivators than among grain cultivators (but it is also found among maize growers, as in Mesoamerica). The assumption that all blood sacrifices originated among food cultivators and then were adopted at a later stage by nomadic herders is one-sided; ritual slaying probably made its appearance independently among the latter.

Blood sacrifices consist primarily of domesticated animals: among cultivators, sheep, goats, cattle, pigs, fowl; among nomads, also reindeer, horses, and camels (whereas pigs are regarded as unclean animals and not used, while fowl would not usually be kept). Dogs too may serve as sacrificial animals; they are especially sacrificed to provide companions for the dead. The offering of fish, birds other than domesticated fowl or doves, and wild animals is rarer. The characteristics of the sacrificial animal are often determined by the recipient; thus brightly colored animals are offered to the divinities of the sky, black animals to the divinities of the underworld and the dead or to feared demonic beings.

Sacrificial animals are not always killed by the shedding of their blood; they are sometimes throttled (especially in Inner Asia) or drowned in water or a bog. Furthermore, there is also the bloodless consecration of an animal, in which the animal is not killed but transferred alive into the possession of the divinity or other higher being, after which it often lives out its life in a sacred enclosure. Such animals can best be described as offerings, not as victims.

Substitutes. Blood sacrifices, especially those in which human beings were offered, were often replaced at a later stage by other sacrificial gifts, as, for example, "part-for-the-whole" sacrifices, like the offering of fingers, hair, or blood drawn through self-inflicted wounds. Some authors would thus classify so-called chastity sacrifices and include under this heading very disparate and sometimes even opposed practices such as, on the one hand, sexual abandon (sacral prostitution) and, on the other, sexual renunciation, castration, and circumcision.

Animal sacrifices can replace human sacrifices, as seen in well-known examples from Greek myth, epic, and history and in the Hebrew scriptures (Old Testament; *Gn.* 22:1–19). This shift may also be due to the suppression of an older religion (e.g., of the Bon religion of Tibet by Buddhism) or to measures taken by a colonial regime (e.g., the British rule in India) against human sacrifice. Substitute gifts for human beings or animals may also be of a vegetative kind (e.g., sacrificial cakes) or may consist of payments of money. Another form of substitution is that by representations, such as the clay figure substitutes for human beings that were buried with a high-ranking dead person and sent into the next world with him. Such figurines accompanying the dead are known from ancient Egypt and China; however, it is not certain that the practice was preceded by actual human sacrifices in these countries or that these practices are best described as sacrifices. Other kinds of pictorial representations have also been used, including objects cut from paper. Many votive offerings should probably be listed under this heading.

That human sacrifices were replaced by other kinds of sacrifices is certain in many instances, as in the late stage of Punic religion, when under Roman rule human sacrifices were replaced by other gifts (for example, lambs), as is attested by votive inscriptions; in other instances it is simply a hypothesis that certain rites replaced human sacrifice. Thus the so-called hair sacrifice is often a rite of initiation, sacralization, or desacralization (a rite of passage) in which the hair is not really a sacrificial gift and need not have replaced any human sacrifice. Sacral prostitution may also be understood as a magical rite of fertility or as a symbolic act of union with a divinity, rather than as a substitute for human sacrifice.

Divine offerings. In the examples given under the previous heading, a sacrificial gift is replaced by another of lesser value. The opposite occurs when the sacrificial gift itself is regarded as divine. This divine status may result from the idea that the sacrificial action repeats a mythical primordial sacrifice in which a god sacrificed either himself or some other god to yet a third god. In other cases the sacrificial object becomes divinized in the sacrificial action itself or in the preparation of the gifts. Thus among the Aztec the prisoner of war who was sacrificed was identified with the recipient of the sacrifice, the god Tezcatlipoca; moreover images of dough, kneaded with the blood of the sacrificed human, were identified with the sun god Huitzilopochtli and ritually eaten. In the Vedic religion divinity was assigned to the intoxicating drink *soma,* and in Iranian religion to the corresponding drink *haoma* or to the plant from which it was derived. For Christians who regard the celebration of the Eucharist as a rendering present of Christ's death on the cross, Christ himself is both offerer and sacrificial gift.

Rite (manner and method) of sacrifice. Sacrifice involves not only a visible gift but an action or gesture that expresses the offering. This may consist of a simple deposition or a lifting up of the gift, without any change being effected in the object. The external form of the offering is already determined in many cases by the material of sacrifice; in the case of fluids, for example, the natural manner of offering them is to pour them out (libation), which is a kind of destruction. If the gift is a living being (animal or human), the destruction takes the form of killing. It is doubtful, however, whether destruction can be regarded as an essential element of any and every sacrificial rite. It is true that in many sacrifices the offering is in the form of slaughter or ritual killing; in others, however, the slaughter is only a necessary presupposition or technical requirement for the act of offering as such. Thus, among the Israelites, Levitical law prescribed that the slaughtering not be done by the priest; the latter's role began only after the slaughtering and included the pouring of sacrificial blood on the altar.

When food as such is in principle the real object offered, slaughter is a necessary first step if the animal sacrificed is to be in a form in which it can be eaten. When it is thought that the divinity (or, more generally, the recipient) does not eat material food but simply receives the soul or life of the sacrificial animal, burning may be used as a way of letting the soul rise up in the form of smoke ("the odor of sacrifice"; see also, on the burning of incense, below). When blood in particular is regarded as the vehicle of life, the pouring out of the blood, or the lifting up of bleeding parts of the victim, or even the flow of blood in the slaughtering may be the real act of offering. Another category of blood rites serves to apply the power in the blood to the offerers, their relatives, and the sphere in which they live their life (dwelling, property); this application may take the form of, for example, smearing.

The conception that the offerers have of the recipient and of his or her location also helps determine the form of the rite. If the recipient is thought to dwell in heaven, then the smoke that rises from a burning object becomes an especially appropriate symbol. The offerers will prefer the open air and will choose high places, whether natural (mountains, hills) or artificial (roofs, temple towers), or else they will hang the sacrificial gift on a tree or stake. Sacrifices to chthonic or underworld beings are buried, or the blood is allowed to flow into a hole. For water divinities or spirits the sacrifice is lowered into springs, wells, streams, or other bodies of water (although the interpretation of prehistoric burials in bogs as "immersion sacrifices" is not undisputed), or the offerers fill miniature boats with sacrificial gifts. Sacrifices offered to the dead are placed on the graves of the latter, or the blood of the victims is poured onto these graves.

Finally, the intention of the offerers or the function of the sacrifice also influences the form of the rite. If the sacrifice establishes or renews a covenant or, more generally, if it promotes the communion or community of recipient and offerer, then a sacrificial meal is usually an indispensable part of the rite. This meal can be understood as sharing a meal with the god or, the recipient, or more rarely, as ingesting the god; in this second case, the communion has a mystical character. In the first case, acceptance by the recipient removes the sacrificial gift from the profane sphere and sanctifies it; the recipient now becomes a host and celebrates a banquet with the offerer, who thereby receives back the sacrificial gift (or at least a part of it) as a vehicle now laden with higher powers. Thus understood, the sacrificial meal can be called a sacrament. The meal also establishes or strengthens the communion of the offerers with one another when it is a group that makes the offering. More rarely, people have believed that they eat the god himself in the flesh of the sacrificial animal (as in some Greek mysteries) or in images of dough (which were sometimes mixed with the blood of sacrificed human beings, as among the Aztec). (For the Christian conception of the Eucharist as a sacrificial meal, see below.)

Other rituals also express communion. For example, part of the sacrificial blood is poured on the altar, while the participants are sprinkled with the rest (as in the making of the covenant at Sinai, according to *Ex.* 24: 3-8). Or a person walks between the pieces of a sacrificial animal that has been cut in half.

In other cases the victim is completely destroyed, as in a burnt offering, or holocaust, which may express homage or complete submission to the divinity on which the offerers consider themselves dependent. Total destruction often also characterizes an expiatory sacrifice, in which a sacrificial meal is antecedently excluded by the fact that the sacrificial animal becomes the vehicle of sin or other uncleanness and must therefore be eliminated or destroyed (e.g., by being burned outside the camp).

The ritual of sacrifice can take very complicated forms, especially when professionals (priests) do the offering; part of their training is then the acquisition of a precise knowledge of the ritual. The sacrificial action is in stages: the sacrificial animal is often chosen some time in advance, marked, and set aside; before the sacrificial act proper, it is ritually purified and adorned; next comes the slaughter of the animal, then the offering proper or consecration or transfer from the profane to the sacred sphere or condition. At times, signs are heeded that are thought to show acceptance of the gift by the recipient. The division of the sacrificed animal can take various forms: an uncontrolled tearing apart of the victim by the participants, in imitation of a dismemberment reported in myth, or a careful dissection, as when the condition of specific organs yields omens (divination). In some sacrifices the bones may not be broken. A special form of division is cutting in two, which is practiced not only in sacrifices proper but also in rites of purification and expiation. (See Henninger, 1981, pp. 275–285.) A sacrificial meal may conclude the sacrifice, but there may also be special concluding rites for releasing the participants from the realm of the sacred. It is sometimes also prescribed that nothing is to be left of the sacrificial gift and nothing carried away from the sphere of the sacred; any remnants must be buried or burned (though this last action is not the same as a burnt offering).

Place and time of sacrifice. The place of offering is not always an altar set aside for the purpose. Thus sacrifices to the dead are often offered at their graves, and sacrifices to the spirits of nature are made beside trees or bushes, in caves, at springs, and so on. Artificial altars in the form of tables are relatively rare; they become the normal site of sacrifice only in the higher civilizations, where they are usually located in a temple or its forecourt and are sometimes specially outfitted, as for example with channels to carry away the sacrificial blood. Far more frequently, natural stones or heaps of stones or earthen mounds serve as altars. A perpendicular stone is often regarded as the seat of a divinity, and sacrifice is then offered in front of the stone, not on it. Flat roofs and thresholds can also be preferred locations for sacrifice.

With regard to time, a distinction must be made between regular and extraordinary (occasional or special) sacrifices. The time for regular sacrifices is determined by the astronomical or vegetative year; thus there will be daily, weekly, and monthly sacrifices (especially in higher cultures in which service in the temple is organized like service at a royal court). Sowing and harvest and the transition from one season to the next are widely recognized occasions for sacrifice; in nomadic cultures this is true especially of spring, the season of birth among animals and of abundance of milk. The harvest season is often marked by first-fruits sacrifices that are conceived as a necessary condition for the desacralization of the new harvest, which may only then be put to profane use. The date of the New Year feast is often established not astronomically but in terms of the vegetative year. In the life of the individual, birth, puberty, marriage, and death are frequently occasions for sacrifices. The annual commemoration of a historical event may also become a set part of the calendar and thus an occasion for sacrifice.

Extraordinary occasions for sacrifice are provided by special occurrences in the life of the community or the individual. These occurrences may be joyous, as, for example, the erection of a building (especially a temple), the accession of a new ruler, the successful termination of a military campaign or other undertaking, or any event that is interpreted as a manifestation of divine favor. Even more frequently, however, it is critical situations that occasion extraordinary sacrifices: illnesses (especially epidemics or livestock diseases) and droughts or other natural disasters. Many expiatory sacrifices also have their place in this context, whether offered for individuals or the community (see below).

Van Baal (1976, pp. 168–178) distinguishes between low-intensity and high-intensity rites; the former occur in normal situations, the latter in disasters and misfortunes, which are taken as signs that relations with higher beings have been disturbed. This division is to a great extent the same as that between regular and extraordinary sacrifices, but it pays insufficient heed to the fact that joyous occasions may also lead to extraordinary sacrifices.

Recipient of sacrifice. Many definitions of sacrifice specify divine beings (in either a monotheistic or a polytheistic context) as the recipients of sacrifice, but this is too narrow a view. All the many kinds of beings to whom humans pay religious veneration, or even those whom they fear, can be recipients of sacrifice. Such recipients can thus be spirits, demonic beings, and even humans, although sacrifice in the proper sense is offered to humans only when they have died and are considered to possess a superhuman power. The dead to whom sacrifice is offered include especially the ancestors to whom is attributed (as in Africa and Oceania) a decisive influence on human beings. Care for the dead (e.g., by gifts of food and drink) need not always indicate a cult of the dead; a cult exists only when the dead are regarded not as helpless and in need (as they were in ancient Mesopotamia), but rather as possessing superhuman power.

Intentions of sacrifice. Theologians usually distinguish four intentions of sacrifice: praise (acknowledgment, homage), thanksgiving, supplication, and expiation; but several or even all four of these intentions may be combined in a single sacrifice. From the standpoint of the history of religions this schema must be expanded somewhat, especially with regard to the third and fourth categories.

Praise (homage). Pure sacrifices of praise that express nothing but homage and veneration and involve no other intention are rarely found. They occur chiefly where a regular sacrificial cult is practiced that resembles in large measure the ceremonial of a royal court.

Thanksgiving. Sacrifices of thanksgiving are more frequent. According to the best explanation of firstlings sacrifices, these, in the diverse forms they have taken in various cultures, belong to this category. (For divergent interpretations, see "Theories of the Origin of Sacrifice," below.) Votive sacrifices likewise belong here, insofar as the fulfillment of the vow is an act of thanksgiving for the favor granted.

Supplication. Yet more commonly found are sacrifices of supplication. The object of the petition can range from purely material goods to the highest spiritual blessings (forgiveness of sins, divine grace). The line of demarcation between these sacrifices and sacrifices of expiation and propitiation is often blurred.

Sacrifices of supplication include all those sacrifices that, in addition to establishing or consolidating the link with the world of the sacred (which is a function of every sacrifice), are intended to have some special effect. Such effects include the maintenance of the cosmic order; the strengthening of the powers on which this order depends (e.g., by the gift of blood, as in the human sacrifices of the Aztec); and the sacralization or consecration of places, objects, and buildings (construction sacrifices, dedication of boundary stones, idols, temples), of individual human beings, and of human communities and their relationships (ratification of treaties). Construction activities are often thought to be an intrusion into the sphere of superhuman beings (spirits of earth and water, or divinities of earth and water) who may resent them; for this reason, scholars speak in this context of sacrifices intended to appease or placate. These come close to being expiatory sacrifices (in the broadest sense of the term), insofar as the offerers intend to forestall the anger of these higher beings by a preventive, apotropaic action (protective sacrifices).

Sacrifices are also offered for highly specialized purposes, for example, in order to foretell the future by examining the entrails of the sacrificial animal.

Expiation. In the narrow sense, expiatory sacrifices presuppose consciousness of a moral fault that can be punished by a higher being who must therefore be placated by suitable acts on the part of the human beings involved. But the concept of expiation (purification, lustration) is often used in a broader sense to mean the removal or prevention of every kind of evil and misfortune. Many authors assume that the ethical concept of sin was a late development and therefore consider rites of purification and elimination for the removal of all evils (in which no relation to higher personal beings plays a part) to be the earliest form of expiation. Furthermore, when there is a human relationship to personal beings, a distinction must be made. These beings (spirits, demons, etc.) may be regarded as indifferent to ethical considerations, unpredictable, and capricious, or even malicious, envious, cruel, and bloodthirsty. In this case expiation means simply the removal of what has roused (or might rouse) the anger of these beings, so that they will leave humans in peace; no relationship of goodwill or friendship is created or sought. On the other hand, the higher beings may be regarded as inherently benevolent, so that any disturbance of a good relationship with them is attributed to a human fault; the normal good relationship must therefore be restored by an expiatory sacrifice or other human action; in these cases we speak of atonement, conciliation, or propitiation. The human fault in question may be moral, but it may also be purely ritual, unintentional, or even unconscious.

Certain facts, however, render questionable the overly schematic idea of a unilinear development from a non-ethical to an ethical conception that is connected with general theories on the evolution of religion. Even very "primitive" peoples have ideas of higher beings that approve and keep watch over moral behavior. Furthermore, not only in the high cultures but in primitive religions as well, expiatory sacrifice is often accompanied by a confession of sins. A more highly developed form of the ideas underlying expiatory sacrifice may be linked to the concept of representation or substitution, especially when the role of substitute is freely accepted (self-sacrifice). This, however, is not the proper context for speculative theories (developed especially by James G. Frazer and those inspired by him) on the ritual slaying of the king, who may be replaced by a substitute; Frazer is speaking of the magical influence of the king in his prime on the general welfare of the community, and not of disturbances of the communal order by faults for which amends must be made.

THEORIES OF THE ORIGIN OF SACRIFICE. Very different answers have been given to the question of which of the various forms of sacrifice presented above is to be regarded as the oldest and the one out of which the others emerged either by development to a higher level or by degeneration. In each case, theories of sacrifice have been heavily influenced by their authors' conceptions of the origin and development of religion. Scholars today generally approach all these explanations with some skepticism. A brief review of the various theories is nonetheless appropriate, since each emphasizes certain aspects of the phenomenon and thus contributes to an understanding of it.

Sacrifice as gift. Before the history of religions became an independent discipline, the conception of sacrifice as gift was already current among theologians; it was therefore natural that the history of religions should initially make use of this concept. In this discipline, however, the conception acquired two completely different applications: the sacrificial gift as bribe and the sacrificial gift as act of homage.

The gift as bribe. The gift theory proposed by E. B. Tylor (1871) supposes that higher forms of religion, including monotheism, gradually developed out of animism as the earliest form. Since the spirits resident in nature are indifferent to moral considerations and have but a limited sphere of power, they can be enriched by gifts and thereby influenced; in other words, they can be bribed. Sacrifice was therefore originally a simple business transaction of *do ut des* ("I give so that you will give in return"), an activity without moral significance. Sacrifice as homage and as abnegation or renunciation developed only gradually out of sacrifice as bribe; but even when it did, the *do ut des* idea continued to be operative for a long time in the later stages of religion, especially wherever sacrifice was conceived as supplying the recipient with food.

Critics of this view have stressed that in archaic cultures the giving of a gift, even between human beings, is not a purely external transaction but at the same time establishes a personal relation between giver and recipient. According to some scholars, the giving of a gift also involves a transfer of magical power for which, in a very generalized sense, they often use the term *mana.* This personal relation is even more important when a gift is presented to superhuman beings. Thus it is understandable that sacrificial gifts of little material value can be quite acceptable; such gifts need not be interpreted as efforts to circumvent the higher beings and their influence. In light of this consideration, later theories of sacrifice gave the *do ut des* formula a deeper meaning and regarded the commercial understanding of it as a degenerate version.

The gift as homage. Wilhelm Schmidt (1912–1955, 1922) understood the sacrificial gift in a way completely different from Tylor. He took as his point of departure the principle that the original meaning of sacrifice can be seen most clearly in the firstlings sacrifices of primitive hunters and food-gatherers. These are sacrifices of homage and thanksgiving to the supreme being to whom everything belongs and who therefore cannot be enriched by gifts—sacrifices to the giver of foods that human beings do not produce but simply appropriate for themselves through hunting and gathering. These sacrifices consist in the offering of a portion of food that is often quantitatively small but symbolically important. In nomadic herding cultures this sacrifice of homage and thanksgiving takes the form of an offering of the firstlings of the flocks (young animals) or of the products of the flocks (e.g., milk). In food-growing cultures the fertility of the soil is often attributed to the dead, especially the ancestors; they, therefore, become the recipients of the first-fruits sacrifice. When this happens, however, the character of the sacrifice is altered, since the recipients now have need of the gifts (as food) and can therefore be influenced. According to Anton Vorbichler (1956), what is offered in firstlings sacrifices is not food but life itself, but since life is seen as deriving from the supreme being as creator, the basic attitude of homage and thanksgiving remains unchanged.

Schmidt's historical reconstruction, according to which firstlings sacrifices are the earliest form of sacrifice, has not been sufficiently demonstrated. From the phenomenological standpoint, however, this kind of sacrifice, in which the gift has symbolic rather than real value and is inspired by a consciousness of dependence and thanksgiving, does exist and must therefore be taken into account in any general definition of sacrifice.

Sacrifice as a (totemic) communal meal. W. Robertson Smith (1889) developed a theory of sacrifice for the Semitic world that he regarded as universally applicable. He saw the weakness of Tylor's theory, which paid insufficient heed to the sacral element and to the function of establishing or maintaining a community. Under the influence of J. F. McLennan, who had done pioneer work in the study of totemism, Smith proposed a theory of sacrifice whereby the earliest form of religion (among the Semites and elsewhere) was belief in a theriomorphic tribal divinity with which the tribe had a blood relationship. Under ordinary circumstances, this totem animal was not to be killed, but there were rituals in which it was slain and eaten in order to renew the community. In this rite, recipient, offerer, and victim were all of the same nature; sacrifice was thus originally a meal in which the offerers entered into communion with the totem. As a vivid example of such a ceremony, Smith cites a story told by Nilus of a camel sacrifice offered by the bedouin of the Sinai. It was the transition to a sedentary way of life and the social changes effected by this transition that gave rise to the conception of sacrifice as a gift comparable to the tribute paid to a sovereign, the latter relationship being taken as model for the relation to the divinity. The burnt offering, or holocaust, was likewise a late development.

Smith's theory is valuable for its criticism of the grossly mechanistic theory of Tylor and for its emphasis on the communion (community) aspect of sacrifice; as a whole, however, it is unacceptable for a number of reasons. First, the idea of sacrifice as gift is already present in the firstlings sacrifices offered in the egalitarian societies of primitive hunters and food-gatherers; it does not, therefore, presuppose the model of the offering of tribute to a sovereign. Second, it is doubtful that totemism existed among the Semites; furthermore, totemism does not occur universally as a stage in the history of human development, as was initially supposed in the nineteenth century when the phenomenon was first discovered, but is rather a specialized development. Third, the *intichiuma* ceremonies (increase ceremonies) of central Australian tribes are magical rites aimed at multiplying the totem animal species. They were used by early theorists of totemism, but they do not in fact match the original model of sacrifice postulated by Smith. Finally, the supposed account by Nilus is not a reliable report from a hermit living in the Sinai Peninsula but a fiction whose author is unknown; it shares with the late Greek novel certain clichés used in depicting barbarians and cannot be regarded as a reliable historical source (see Henninger, 1955). Smith's theory of sacrifice also contributed to Freud's conception of the slaying of the primal father, which Freud saw as the origin of sacrifice and other institutions, especially the incest taboo; this conception is therefore subject to the same criticisms.

A link between the profane and sacral worlds. Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss (1899) rejected Tylor's theory because of its mechanistic character. They also rejected Smith's theory because it arbitrarily chose totemism as a universally applicable point of departure and reconstructed the development of the forms of sacrifice solely by analogy and without adequate historical basis and, further, because offering is an essential element in the concept of sacrifice. Hubert and Mauss themselves begin with an analysis of the Vedic and Hebraic rituals of sacrifice and, in light of this, define sacrifice as "a religious act which, by the consecration of a victim, modifies the condition of the moral person who accomplishes it, or that of certain objects with which he is concerned" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 1977, vol. 16, p. 129a). The victim is not holy by nature (as it is in Smith's theory); the consecration is effected by destruction, and the connection with the sacral world is completed by a sacred meal. Implied here is the view (which goes back to Émile Durkheim) of the French sociological school that the sacral world is simply a projection of society. "Gods are representations of communities, they are societies thought of ideally and imaginatively. . . . Sacrifice is an act of abnegation by which the individual recognizes society; it recalls to particular consciences the presence of collective forces, represented by their gods" (Evans-Pritchard, 1965, p. 70).

The objection was raised against this explanation that conclusions universally valid for the understanding of sacrifice as such, especially in "primitive" societies, cannot be drawn from an analysis of two highly developed forms of sacrifice, even if the two differ among themselves. Thus E. E. Evans-Pritchard, having called the work of Hubert and Mauss "a masterly analysis of Vedic and Hebrew sacrifice," immediately adds: "But masterly though it was, its conclusions are an unconvincing piece of sociologistic metaphysics. . . . They are conclusions not deriving from, but posited on a brilliant analysis of the mechanism of sacrifice, or perhaps one should say of its logical structure, or even of its grammar" (Evans-Pritchard, 1965, pp. 70–71).

Sacrifice as magic. Hubert and Mauss considered the recipient of sacrifice to be simply a hypostatization of society itself. Other authors have gone even further, regarding the idea of a recipient as not essential to the concept of sacrifice. They more or less explicitly presuppose that the idea of an impersonal force or power, to which the name *mana* is given more frequently than any other, is older than the idea of soul or spirit as understood in animism. For this reason, the idea of sacrifice as a purely objective magical action (the triggering of a magical force that is thought to be concentrated especially in the blood), accomplished by destruction of a sacrificial gift (e.g., the slaying of an animal), must be the basic form, or at least one of the basic forms, of sacrifice. Sacrifices of this kind are said to be "predeistic." Expressions such as this, which imply a temporal succession, are also used by phenomenologists, who claim in principle to be simply describing phenomena and not asserting any kind of development. In this view the concept of sacrifice as gift is a secondary development in which gifts to the dead played an important role (Loisy, 1920). According to Gerardus van der Leeuw (1920–1921), sacrifice conceived as gift constitutes a transfer of magical force; the *do ut des* formula describes not a commercial transaction but the release of a current of force (*do ut possis dare,* "I give power to you so that you can give it back to me"). The recipient is strengthened by the gift; the two participants, deity and human beings, are simultaneously givers and receivers, but the central role belongs to the gift itself and to the current of force that it sets in motion. This theory, then, combines to some extent the gift theory and the communion theory, but it does so from the standpoint of magic.

There do in fact exist rituals of slaying and destruction in which no personal recipient is involved and that are regarded as operating automatically; there is no evidence, however, that such rituals are older than sacrifice in the sense described earlier. The examples constantly adduced come to a very great extent from high cultures (e.g., Roman religion). An especially typical form occurs in Brahmanic speculation, where sacrifice is looked upon as a force that ensures the continuation of a cosmic process to which even the gods are subject. Other examples come from food-growing peoples. When human beings contribute by their own activity to the production of food, their consciousness of dependence on higher powers is less than in an economy based on the appropriation of goods not produced by humans. Thus it is easier to adopt the idea that the higher powers can be influenced and even coerced by sacrifices and other rites. For this reason, the firstlings sacrifices of hunters and food-gatherers do not fit in with speculations that give priority to magic, nor do such speculations take account of such sacrifices, and thus the full extent of the phenomenon of sacrifice is lost from view. Sacrifice and magic should rather be considered as phenomena that differ in nature; they have indeed influenced each other in many ways, but neither can be derived from the other. The personal relation that is established by a gift is fully intelligible without bringing in an element of magic (see van Baal, 1976, pp. 163–164, 167, 177–178).

Sacrifice as reenactment of primordial events. According to Adolf E. Jensen (1951), sacrifice cannot be understood as gift; its original meaning is rather to be derived from certain myths found in the cultures of cultivators, especially in Indonesia and Oceania. These myths maintain that in primordial time there were as yet no mortal human beings but only divine or semi-divine beings (*dema* beings); this state ended with the killing of a *dema* divinity from whose body came the plants useful to humans. The ritual slaying of humans and animals, headhunting, cannibalism, and other blood rites are ceremonial repetitions of that killing in primordial time; they affirm and guarantee the present world order, with its continuous destruction and recreation, which would otherwise be unable to function. Once the myth had been largely forgotten or was no longer seen to be connected with ritual, rites involving slaying were reinterpreted as a giving of a gift to divinities (who originally played no role in these rites, because the primordial divine being had been slain); blood sacrifices thus became "meaningless survivals" of the "meaningful rituals of killing" of the earlier food-growing cultures. Magical actions are likewise degenerate fragments of the originally meaningful whole formed by the mythically based rituals of killing.

This theory has some points in common with Freud's theory of the murder of the primal father and with the theory according to which sacrifice originated in the self-sacrifice of a divine being in the primordial time of myth. The common weakness of all these theories is that they take account only of blood sacrifices. These, however, developed only in food-growing and even later cultures, whereas in the firstlings sacrifices of hunters and food-gatherers there is no ritual killing, and bloodless offerings are widespread in many other cultures as well.

Sacrifice as anxiety reaction. In the theories discussed thus far, except for the theory of sacrifice as a gift in homage, firstlings sacrifices receive either inadequate attention or none at all. Vittorio Lanternari (1976), on the other hand, provides a formal discussion of these, but gives an interpretation of them that is completely different from that of Schmidt. Lanternari's point of departure is the analysis of a certain form of neurosis provided by some psychologists; according to this analysis, this kind of neurosis finds expression in the undoing of successes earlier achieved and is at the basis of certain religious delusions. Lanternari maintains that a similar psychic crisis occurs among "primitives" when they are confronted with success (hunters after a successful hunt, food cultivators after the harvest) and that this crisis leads them to undertake an at least symbolic destruction of what they had gained. For Lanternari, then, a firstlings sacrifice is the result of anxiety, whereas for Schmidt it is an expression of gratitude. Hunters feel the slaying of the animal to be a sacrilege, which explains the rites of Siberian peoples that seek a reconciliation with the slain animal and a repudiation of the killing. For cultivators the sacrilege consists in the violation of the earth, which is the dwelling of the dead, by the cultivation of the soil; they feel anxiety at the thought of the dead and worry about future fertility, even if the harvest is a good one. It is a secondary matter whether the symbolic destruction of the gain is accomplished by offering food to a higher being or by simply doing away with a portion of it.

Critics of the psychopathological explanation have pointed out the essential differences between the behavior of neurotics and the religious behavior exhibited in firstlings sacrifices. In the psychically ill (those who are defeated by success), efforts at liberation are purely individual; they are not part of a historical tradition, are not organically integrated into a cultural setting, and do not lead to inner deliverance. In religious life, on the contrary, efforts to surmount a crisis are organically inserted into tradition and culture, tend to restore psychic balance, and in fact achieve such a balance. For this reason the "primitive" peoples in question are not defeated by life, as neurotics are; on the contrary, their way of life has stood the test of ages. Whatever judgment one may pass on the value or nonvalue of the underlying religious views and modes of behavior of these peoples, one cannot characterize them as pathological; for this reason a psychopathological explanation of sacrifice must also be rejected. This is not to deny that fear or anxiety plays a significant part in certain forms of sacrifice; such feelings result primarily from the ideas of the offerers about the character of the recipient in question (see Henninger, 1968, pp. 176–180).

Sacrifice as a mechanism for diverting violence. Whereas Jensen derived rituals involving killing, which were subsequently reinterpreted as "sacrifices," from certain myths of food-growing cultures, René Girard (1977, 1978) has proposed a more comprehensive theory that explains not only sacrifice but the sacred itself as resulting from a focusing of violent impulses upon a substitute object, a scapegoat. According to Girard, the peaceful coexistence of human beings cannot be taken for granted; when the desires of humans fasten upon the same object, rivalries arise and with them a tendency toward violence that endangers the existing order and its norms. This tendency can be neutralized, however, if the reciprocal aggressions are focused on a marginal object, a scapegoat. The scapegoat is thereby rendered sacred: it is seen as accursed but also as bringing salvation. Thus the focusing of violence on an object gives rise to the sacred and all that results from it (taboos, a new social order). Whereas the violence was originally focused on a randomly chosen object, in sacrifice the concentration takes a strict ritual form; as a result, internecine aggressions are constantly being diverted to the outside and cannot operate destructively within the community. At bottom, therefore, sacrifice lacks any moral character. Eventually it was eliminated by the critique of sacrifice that began in the Hebrew scriptures and, most fully, by the fact that Jesus freely made himself a "scapegoat" and in so doing transcended the whole realm of sacrifice. Girard supports his thesis by appealing to the phenomenon of blood sacrifice, which (especially in the form of human sacrifice) is a constant in the history of religions, and by citing the evidence of rivalry and violence, leading even to fratricide, that is supplied by the mythical traditions (especially myths of the origin of things) and also by history (persecution of minorities as scapegoats, etc.).

A critique of this theory can in part repeat the arguments already advanced against Jensen. Apart from the fact that it does not distinguish between sacrifice and eliminatory rites, Girard's concept of sacrifice is too narrow, for he supports it by reference solely to stratified societies and high cultures. It could at most explain blood sacrifices involving killing, but not sacrifice as such and certainly not the sacred as such, since the idea of the sacred exists even among peoples (e.g., in Australia) who do not practice sacrifice. As was pointed out earlier, firstlings sacrifices (of which Girard does not speak) have intellectual and emotional presuppositions far removed from Girard's key concepts of "primal murder" and "scapegoat mechanism."

The value of the theories here reviewed is that each of them highlights a certain aspect of sacrifice. It is unlikely that we will ever have a sure answer to the question of whether there was a single original form of sacrifice or whether, on the contrary, various forms developed independently.

SACRIFICE IN HISTORY. It will never be possible to write a complete history of sacrifice. In any case, sacrifice is found in most of the religions known to us. The extent to which the human mind has taken the phenomenon of sacrifice for granted is clear, for example, from the role it plays in many myths dealing with primordial time. Probably to be grouped with these sacrifices is the sacrifice that Utanapishtim, the hero of the Mesopotamian flood story, offers after the flood, as well as the one that Noah offers in the biblical flood story (*Gn.* 9:20–21). Even earlier, the Bible tells of the sacrifices offered by Cain the farmer and Abel the shepherd (*Gn.* 4:3–5); these are expressly said to be firstlings sacrifices. Aristotle, too, was of the opinion that the sacrifice of firstlings (of field and flock) is the oldest form of sacrifice. As we know today, these sacrifices were also performed by peoples—hunters and food-gatherers—whose economy was of a purely appropriative kind.

Archaic cultures. Scholars disagree on whether there are unambiguous indications of sacrifice in the Paleolithic period. On the basis of a comparison with the practices of more recent hunting peoples, various authors have interpreted the burial of the skulls and long bones of cave bears as part of firstling sacrifices; this view, however, has met with strong criticism. Nonetheless, Hermann Müller-Karpe (1966, pp. 224–229) insists that there is clear evidence of sacrifice in the early Paleolithic period. There is undisputed evidence of sacrifice in the Neolithic period (Müller-Karpe, 1968, pp. 334–348; see also pp. 348–371 on the treatment of the dead).

Sacrifice is also found in all the types of nonliterate cultures made known to us by ethnologists. It is not detectable, however, among some primitive hunters and food-gatherers, for example, in Australia; whether it was present there at an earlier time is uncertain. On the other hand, it is amply attested among nomadic shepherds in both Asia and Africa, and among food-growing peoples, from primitive tuber cultivators down to the most highly developed grain growers, who themselves mark a transition to the high cultures (as for instance the ancient rice-growing cultures of Japan and China). It is typical of many food-growing cultures (e.g., in Africa) that, while they believe in a supreme creator god, they assign him hardly any role in cult. Sacrifices are offered primarily or even exclusively to lesser divinities, spirits of nature, and ancestors who in some instances are regarded as mediators and intercessors with the supreme creator god.

Historical high cultures. In Shintō, the ancient nature religion of Japan, sacrifices were offered to the divinities of nature and to the dead; these were in part regularly recurring sacrifices determined by the rhythm of the agricultural year and in part sacrifices of supplication or sacrifices in fulfillment of vows made under extraordinary circumstances. While originally offered simply by individuals, sacrifice eventually became the concern of the community and was therefore offered by the emperor or by priests commissioned by him. Human sacrifices also occurred.

In China the sacrifice that the emperor offered to heaven and earth at the time of the winter solstice had an important function. In addition to sacrifices determined by the agricultural year, sacrifices especially to the ancestors played a large part in the life of the people. These were offered at the graves of the dead, in the clan's hall of the ancestors, or before the family's ancestral tablets. The emperor sacrificed to his ancestors in temples erected especially in their honor.

For ancient Egypt, the archaeological, epigraphical, and literary evidence points to a strictly ritualized sacrificial cult, administered by a highly organized priesthood and including daily sacrifices in the temples, where the divinity was treated like a sovereign in his palace.

The same was true of ancient Mesopotamia, where the Sumerians already had a professional priesthood and a rather full calendar of feasts with accompanying obligatory sacrifices. Both priesthood and calendar were to a very large extent taken over and developed still further by the invading Semites. The ritual and therefore the sacrificial cult of the Hittites were strongly influenced by the pre-Indo-European population of Anatolia (whose language also continued to be largely used in ritual), but were also influenced by Mesopotamia. Mythological and ritual texts from Ugarit give evidence of a sacrificial cult that in part was influenced by Mesopotamia and in part showed peculiarly Canaanite characteristics; some of the terms connected with sacrifice are related to Hebrew terms.

The evidence for the other Semites is sketchy. In the high cultures of southern Arabia, which are known to us from inscriptions dating from as far back as the first millennium BCE, the sacrificial cult was administered by a professional priesthood and was offered mainly to the three major astral divinities (Sun, Moon, Venus). Documentation for northern and central Arabia begins at a later time; apart from rock inscriptions containing scattered details about religion, the chief sources are literary, mostly from the Islamic period, and provide rather sparse information about pilgrimages to the shrines of local divinities and the sacrifices offered there.

In Vedic and later Hindu religion, sacrifice, which was controlled by the brahmans, was ritualized down to the smallest detail and given a comprehensive speculative theological explanation. In the horse sacrifice (the Aśvamedha) and in other cultic practices, as, for example, the sacrifice of butter and of the sacred intoxicating drink *soma,* there are elements common to the Indo-Iranian world, but after the immigration of the Aryans into India, these were to some extent amalgamated there with pre-Aryan rites. Buddhism, on the other hand, rejected sacrifice in principle; tendencies to a spiritualization of sacrifice and its replacement by asceticism are also found in some currents of Hinduism.

Animal sacrifices were also practiced in the oldest form of Iranian religion, where they were inherited from the Indo-Iranian period. During his reform, Zarathushtra (Zoroaster) abolished these practices. In later times such sacrifices again made their appearance to some extent; they were offered, however, not to Ahura Mazdā but to subordinate heavenly beings. Bloodless sacrifices, involving especially the sacred intoxicating drink *haoma,* remained especially important.

Historical Greek religion combined the religion of the Indo-European invaders with that of the pre-Indo-European population; the same combination marked the sacrificial cult. There were bloodless sacrifices of food and drink. In blood sacrifices a distinction was made, as far as objects and ritual were concerned, between those offered to the ouranic gods *(hiereia, thusiai),* which culminated in a sacrificial meal, and those offered to the chthonic gods *(sphagia)*, in which there was no sacrificial meal and the victim was often completely cremated or buried (sacrifices of destruction). Pigs and cattle were sacrificed to the ouranic gods, while inedible animals (horses, asses, dogs) were the chief offerings to the chthonic gods. Human sacrifice was later replaced by other sacrifices. The sacrificer was the ruler in the earliest period; later on there were professional priests.

In its earliest form, before intensive contact with Greek religion, Roman religion was pronouncedly agrarian. Occasions for sacrifices were therefore determined primarily by the agricultural year, and only later by special occasions in civic life. Etruscan influence shows in the divination *(haruspicia)* that was connected with sacrifice; the animals sacrificed were chiefly pigs, sheep, and cattle *(suovetaurilia).* Like Roman religion generally, the sacrificial cult had a marked juridical character.

The sacrifices known from the Hebrew scriptures (Old Testament) are, in their external form, largely the same as those found in the surrounding world, especially among the Canaanites. As far as ritual was concerned, a distinction was made chiefly between the burnt offering, or holocaust *(ʿolah),* in which the sacrificial animal was completely burned up, and the sacrifice of salvation or peace *(zevaḥ shelamim).* In the latter, only certain parts of the sacrificial animal were burned; the blood, regarded as the vehicle of life and therefore not to be consumed by humans, was poured out (in many sacrifices it was smeared on the altar), and the rite ended with a sacrificial meal. Expiatory sacrifices constituted a special category comprising *asham,* "guilt sacrifice," and *ḥaṭʾaṭ,* "sacrifice for sin," the distinction between which is not entirely clear. In these sacrifices the animal had to be burned up, probably because it had become the vehicle of impurity. *Minḥah* meant a bloodless sacrifice (of vegetables), but the term was also used in a broader sense. There were, in addition, incense sacrifices and libations. The sacrificial cult was ritualized in great detail, especially in the period after the Babylonian exile. In this ritual the three major feasts, those involving a prescribed pilgrimage to the central sanctuary, were marked by extensive sacrifices. In addition, there were daily sacrifices in the temple. There were also individual occasions for sacrifice, some of them prescribed, others inspired by freely made vows. After the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE, the sacrificial cult ceased and was replaced by other religious activities.

Islam is in principle opposed to sacrifice. "It is not their flesh and blood [i.e., that of sacrificial animals] that reaches God but the piety of your heart" (Qurʾān, surah 22:38). Sacrifice thus has no place in official worship. Pre-Islamic blood sacrifices live on, in external form, in the great slaughters that take place as part of the pilgrimage ritual at Mount Arafat near Mecca, and similarly in almost all the countries of the Islamic world, on the tenth day of the month Dhū al-Ḥijjah. These are interpreted, however, as commemorations of the sacrifice of Abraham and as almsgiving, inasmuch as the flesh is given to the poor or to anyone who wants it. Blood sacrifices (and bloodless ones as well) are also part of popular piety, especially of veneration of the saints; but these are not sanctioned by orthodox Islam.

According to New Testament teaching, which is developed especially in the letter to the Hebrews, the sacrifices of the Old Testament were only provisional and had to cease under the new covenant. The self-giving of Jesus in his death on the cross is understood as the definitive and perfect sacrifice that has the power in itself to effect expiation and redemption and that therefore makes all earlier sacrifices superfluous. In the Roman Catholic church and the Eastern churches the celebration of the Eucharist is regarded as a rendering present (not a repetition) of the sacrifice of the cross, and therefore itself constitutes a real sacrifice in which Jesus Christ the high priest, using the ministry of the ordained priests who represent him, offers himself as the perfect sacrificial gift. The sixteenth-century reformers rejected the official priesthood and the sacrificial dimension of the Eucharist (Calvin took the most radical position on this point); the celebration of the Lord's Supper thus became simply a commemoration of Jesus and, though a sacrament, had no sacrificial character. In recent times, there has been a tendency in the Lutheran church to confer to some degree a sacrificial character on the Lord's Supper. Even more explicit however is the emphasis placed on the sacrificial character of the Lord's Supper by the Anglican church. In Protestantism generally the term *sacrifice* refers to a purely interior attitude.

CONCLUSION. In the course of its history, which can be traced through several millennia, sacrifice has undergone many changes, and this in all its aspects: changes in the material of sacrifice (occasioned by economic changes but also by ethical considerations, e.g., in the suppression of human sacrifice); changes with regard to place and time (centralization of cult, regulation of feasts and thereby of the occasions for sacrifice); changes in the offerer (the rise of classes of official sacrificers); and changes in ritual and motivation. These developments do not, however, reflect a one-directional "advance." Egoistic and magical motives were not always eliminated by higher motives; in fact, they often asserted themselves even more strongly in connection with manifestations of religious degeneration. In the same context a quantitative increase in sacrifices is also often to be seen; thus in some late cultures the number of human sacrifices became especially extensive (e.g., among the Punics and the Aztec).

Disapproval and criticism of sacrifice might spring from a skeptical, antireligious attitude that condemned sacrifice as meaningless waste. However, it could also be motivated by a more profound reflection on the meaning of sacrifice in the light of religious interiority, leading to an emphasis on inner conviction, the self-giving of the human being to the divinity, which finds symbolic expression in sacrifice, and without which the external rite has no religious value. This cast of mind could lead to the complete abolition of the external rite, but also to a consciously established accord between external action and interior attitude.

Tendencies to the spiritualization and ethicization of sacrifice were already present in Indian religion, where they produced a mysticism of sacrifice; in the philosophers of classical antiquity, who regarded ethical behavior as of highest value; and above all in the biblical religions. Early in the Hebrew scriptures the idea was expressed that obedience to God's commandments is better than sacrifice (*1 Sm.* 15:22), and the prophetic criticism of sacrifice was directed at an outward cult unaccompanied by interior dispositions and ethical behavior. The wisdom literature, too, repeatedly stresses the superior value of religious dispositions and moral behavior. This outlook became even more pronounced in postbiblical Judaism, once the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE had put an end to the sacrificial cult. From the beginning, Christianity emphasized not only the continuance of cultic sacrifice in the celebration of the Eucharist but also the necessity of a self-surrender that finds external expression in other ways as well; thus, even in the New Testament, prayers, hymns of praise, good works, and especially love of neighbor are described as "sacrifices." These tendencies became particularly strong in Protestantism, which no longer acknowledged the Eucharist to be a sacrifice.

Finally, the idea of renunciation, which is connected with the offering of a gift, was especially emphasized in Christianity, so that every kind of asceticism and self-abnegation came to be called sacrifice (there is a similar development in Buddhism). A one-sided emphasis on this aspect led finally to a very broad and metaphorical use of the term *sacrifice.* Thus an abandonment of possessions and a personal commitment to an idea or to the attainment of certain goals, especially if this commitment demands costly effort, is described as sacrifice in the active sense of the term. We also speak of the victims of wars, epidemics, natural disasters, and so on with a sense that they are, in a passive sense, sacrificial victims. Thus the word *sacrifice* ultimately became very much a secular term in common usage; yet the origins of sacrifice in the religious sphere remain evident.

SEE ALSO Atonement; Blood; Cannibalism; Gift Giving; Human Sacrifice; Magic; New Year Festivals; Scapegoat; Seasonal Ceremonies.

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JOSEPH HENNINGER (1987)
Translated from German by Matthew J. O'Connell

SACRIFICE [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS].

Since Joseph Henninger's outstanding summary of the literature and practices of sacrifice in world religions, scholars have continued to explore the sacrificial practices, meanings, and conundrums of these types of violent, symbolic practices. New studies of human sacrifice, bloodletting, biblical sacrifices, animal sacrifices, and the role of women and gender in sacrifice have been carried out. The rise in terrorism with its various forms of martyrs has also led to new reflections on the meaning of sacrifice. As one scholar, concerned about whether the origin of violence in human beings is to be located in biology or culture, writes, "The one thing that cannot be denied is that violence is ubiquitous and tenacious and must be accounted for if we are to understand humanity" (Hamerton-Kelly, 1987, p. vi). In what follows, we will review a handful of more recent studies on sacrifice that have tried to "account" for the ubiquity, tenacity, and mystery of ritual violence and its creative and destructive powers in human society.

One of the most fascinating studies of sacrifice has come from the historian of Greek religion, Walter Burkert, in his *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth* (1972). Burkert sought to understand the persistence of archaic survivals of religion, especially sacrifice, in Greek culture. Noticing on the one hand that sacrificial myth and ritual accompanied many major religious dimensions of Greek culture (e.g., oracles, games, cults, mysteries, drama, funerals, and royal ceremonies), while on the other that the handling of bones of animal victims mirrored that of the practices of Paleolithic hunters, the author developed a theory of religion and ritual, based in large part on the hunt. In his view, the hunt was a supremely collective, dramatic experience that demanded disciplined behavioral codes (rituals) which channeled unwieldy human aggressions toward new definitions and practices of shared territory, food distribution, mating, and reproduction. Critical in his view was the capacity of the hunting cultures to ritualize immense human aggressions by focusing them away from other humans and refocusing them onto the prey, which became a kind of organizing symbol that opened up new social possibilities as a result of the kill. In Burkert's view, the dramatic scenes and emotions associated with the killing of animals after careful planning and intense physical and mental exertions resulted in new processes of perception and reflection or the creation of mythologies about the events. The kill, the planning and the success of the hunters, and the body, power, and beauty of animals stimulated the human capacity for ritual and myth into a creative nexus or religion. In other words,

> The hunting ritual gave rise to the full range of articulations that we understand to be mythic or symbolic, articulations characteristic of religion. The naming of the 'Master of the Animals', the songs and 'prayers' that address the prey, the gestures surrounding the kill, the care of the bones, the narration of the ritualized hunt as a sequence of events (myth), and the eventual articulation of social codes and honors, including honors due the Master of the Animals ('worship'), all are found to be generated by the complex experience of the act of killing. Thus a theory of the ritualization of the hunt

> becomes a theory of the origin of religion. (Mack, 1987, p. 26.)

In this theory of religion and sacrifice, the effectiveness and emotionality of the kill, as well as its intense planning and coordination, is not only the dramatization of a new social ordering—it actually restructures society for the satisfaction of basic human needs.

A new, evocative approach to sacrifice was put forth by Nancy Jay in her *Throughout Your Generations Forever: Sacrifice, Religion, and Paternity* (1992), which surveys Greek, Israelite, Roman, Nuer, Hawaiian, Lugbara, and Ashanti sacrifice. Jay's work also looks at the Christian Eucharist as sacrifice and proceeds from two powerful observations, almost always ignored by other scholars. First, "in no other major religious institution is gender dichotomy more consistently important, across unrelated traditions, than it is in sacrifice." The exclusion of women and the repeated father-son relations in sacrificial rituals have gone largely unremarked upon, and Jay's work illuminates this lacuna and begins to fill it up with new meanings. Her second observation is that the literature reveals a consistent opposition between blood sacrifice and childbirth or between male sacrificers and childbearing women. She notes that while women sometimes participate in sacrifices, mothers never do and she wants to know why.

Jay's work brought gender and feminist studies into the scholarship on sacrifice by making two claims that have recently undergone critical examination and appreciation. She states that sacrifice is "at home," that is, sacrifice thrives and has historical continuity in social settings that require intergenerational continuity to facilitate inheritance of power, property, and prestige. This means that sacrifices serve to assist in the selective continuity between males and not females. In other words, "ancestor worship" involves sacrifices designed to favor one gender of ancestors. Secondly, Jay argues that sacrifices are valuable because of their unexpected social achievement. Sacrifices give to males the mysterious powers that are akin to those that women have in childbirth. Just as women bring new beings into the world in childbirth, males recreate their lines of descent as authoritative social structures through sacrifice. Descent through males is not naturally given but socially achieved through ritual violence.

Jay's work is worth attention for at least two reasons. It is the first study to place a broad range of scholarship about ritual violence under serious feminist scrutiny and interpretation. Secondly, it applied rigorous anthropological interpretations to biblical texts about violence and then placed them in a fresh comparative perspective by looking at other cultures with similar practices.

Other works that have made their mark include Valerio Valeri's *Kingship and Sacrifice: Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawaii* (1985), Peggy Reeves Sanday's *Divine Hunger: Cannibalism as a Cultural System* (1986), Jon Levenson's *The Death and Resurrection of the Beloved Son: The Transformation of Child Sacrifice in Judaism and Christianity* (1993), Davíd Carrasco's *City of Sacrifice: The Aztec Empire and the Role of Violence in Civilization* (1999), and *The Cuisine of Sacrifice Among the Greeks* (1989), edited by Marcel Detienne and Jean-Pierre Vernant. Valeri's detailed anthropological work gives new emphasis to the significance of social and cosmological hierarchies associated with royal sacrifices that serve as mirrors of the major concepts of pre-Western Hawaiian society. Sanday's work takes up the difficult topic of ritual cannibalism in a number of tribal societies and shows how cultural "selves," cosmological order, and a cannibalistic consciousness combined to control the vitality of the world and the reproduction of human society. Levenson shows how the story of the miraculous liberation of a beloved son from the sacrificial knife is a powerful, shared theme in both Christianity and Judaism, which sets the stage for new kinds of comparisons. Carrasco argues that sacrifices, and especially human sacrifices, become social forces largely through the construction of monumental ceremonial centers that function as theatres for the remembering and re-experiencing of both mythic episodes and other human sacrifices. The work of Detienne and Vernant, emerging from the Center for Comparative Studies of Ancient Societies in Paris, is a multidisciplinary and detailed analysis of how the sacrifice, cooking, and eating of animals functioned in Greek society to tie humans to the gods but also to insure that social relatedness on all political levels was rejuvenated. As one author states, "political power cannot be exercised with sacrificial practice" (Detienne and Vernant, 1989, p. 3).

While new studies of sacrifice and its social, religious, cultural, and political significance continue to be produced, perhaps the best model for real dialogue, theoretical advance, and understanding appeared in *Violent Origins: Walter Burkert, René Girard, and Jonathan Z. Smith on Ritual Killing and Cultural Formation.* This book, edited by Robert Hamerton-Kelly and published in 1987, came from a conference that involved papers, conversations, and responses from Girard, Burkert, Smith, Renato Rosaldo, and Burton Mack. Interested readers will see how this event and its publication explored the tantalizing possibility that understanding human violence against animals and other humans is one major source for developing persuasive theories about the nature of religion and culture. In this constructive sense, Burkert's claim and invitation seem highly relevant to the contemporary situation. "More can be said for the thesis that all orders and forms of authority in human society are founded on institutionalized violence."

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DAVÍD CARRASCO (2005)

SACRILEGE is typically defined as "violation or theft of the sacred." It originates from the Latin *sacrilegium* or *sacer* (sacred) and *lego* (to gather or to steal). In addition to the literal theft of sacred objects or the violation of sacred places, *sacrilege* connotes violation of sacred practices (orthopraxy) and sacred beliefs (orthodoxy). Because the concept of sacrilege is founded upon the distinction between *sacred* and *profane*, this entry will begin with a brief overview of the academic distinction between those two terms and their relationship to sacrilege. An overview of different religious approaches to the problem of sacrilege and transgression will follow.

Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) argued that sacred and profane are distinct categories defined only by their absolute opposition. The sacred is that unique category circumscribed by boundaries that differentiate it from ordinary, or profane, reality. However, Durkheim claimed, the sacred is a category created by humans and not unique in and of itself: anything can potentially be set aside and distinguished as sacred. Mircea Eliade (1907–1986), on the other hand, argued that the sacred was an essential experiential category. From his perspective, the sacred is qualitatively different from ordinary, profane reality. While a sacred object may be physically identical to a profane object, they are not interchangeable because the sacred object has a special quality that the profane object does not have. Physically identical profane objects, on the other hand, are also qualitatively identical and interchangeable. Mary Douglas (1921–), argues that the distinction between sacred and profane is a distinction between order and disorder. From her perspective, sacrilege means disturbing or disrupting the established order of the sacred. Contemporary scholars of religion, such as Jonathan Z. Smith (1938–), argue that the definitions put forth by Durkheim, Eliade, and Douglas, while helpful, are too rigid and do not accurately describe religious realities. The sacred and profane are flexible, fluid categories that frequently overlap, distort, and transform. For Smith, a central religious problem is adapting sacred ideals to the messy reality of lived experience. Thus sacrilege is also a situational interpretive frame that must continually adapt to its context. What is clear, however, is that sacrilege is essentially concerned with the boundaries of the sacred.

The sacred is constituted by a perimeter, a differential limit. Sacrilege is the violation or rupture of sacred boundaries. "Theft from the sacred" and "violation of the sacred" are reciprocal actions. They consist of either bringing the profane into or the taking the sacred out of its established limits. In either case the sacred comes into contact with the profane and the order and purity of the sacred is disturbed. There are two distinct forms of sacrilege: interreligious and intrareligious. Violations committed by religious outsiders, or interreligious violations, are frequently described as "desecration" and will be discussed in the section below. Sacrilege typically refers to intrareligious violations, or violations by religious insiders, which will be the focus of the remainder of this section.

Although its etymological roots are in pagan Rome, sacrilege, particularly in its connotation of unorthodoxy, is a Christian concept (and to a lesser degree an Abrahamic concept) whose greatest cultural impact occurred during the Middle Ages and continued throughout the eighteenth century. Since the eighteenth century, its theological importance has waned, as a subject search in any academic library clearly demonstrates. Its Christian context is important because wide application of the concept requires the type of hierarchical organizational structure that was characteristic of Christendom during that period. Broad accusations, prosecutions, and actions of sacrilege require the broad agreement upon definitions of orthodoxy and unorthodoxy that only a hierarchical religious organization can bring to bear. When localized religious subgroups control definitions and consequences of sacrilege, its coercive power is significantly diminished. The definition of sacrilege is thus conceptually constrained in Jewish and Islamic communities, where the local community by and large sets its own criteria for transgressive behavior.

If sacredness is inherently dualistic, in that its definition requires the profane, then sacrilege or transgression are also inherent and essential to sacredness. However, this dualistic boundary can be drawn more or less boldly. The more absolute and impermeable the boundary is between the sacred and the profane, the more rigid and inflexible the concept and consequences of transgression will be. In the Abrahamic traditions, dualism is essential to creation, good and evil are irreconcilable, and the boundary between the two is conceptually impermeable. Non-Abrahamic traditions, such as Buddhism and Hinduism, on the other hand, conceive of an underlying unity behind duality. Consequently, the boundary between sacred and profane is more lightly drawn, and both traditions include antinomian sects that employ transgression as a means of transcending duality and dissolving the boundary between sacred and profane.

Sacrilege and transgression are problematic because the sacred and profane inevitably come into contact during the messy reality of lived experience. Absolute conceptual and physical limits invite and require human transgression. The heart of the sacred lies at its edges, not at its center. It is in the encounter with boundaries, and their transgression, that we experience the sacred. The Abrahamic concept of sacrilege calls for retribution in so far as it maintains rigid boundaries. As rigid hierarchical boundaries lessen so too does the need for retributive sacred justice. The transgression of boundaries understood as sacred does not destroy the sacred, rather, it heightens awareness of those sacred boundaries where human desire for the sacred meets the mortal, transgressive reality of human life.

DESECRATION. Interreligious sacrilege consists of actions by members of one religious group that violate the sacred boundaries of another religious group. Such destruction or damage by outsiders inflicted upon temples, shrines, and other sacred places, as well as upon sacred objects or beings, is commonly characterized as desecration, in contradistinction to intrareligious, or insider, sacrilege. In the case of sacred violation resulting from sectarian disputes, either term may apply, although sectarian conflicts inherently redefine former insiders as outsiders.

While intentional desecration has a long history, it is a particularly pressing issue at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Because of the increasing religious plurality of many societies in the so-called global village, and the resulting contact between members of different religious traditions, interreligious friction and tension with the potential for sacred violation and violence will continue to increase. The sacred boundaries, both physical and ideological, of multiple religions can be, and frequently are, coextensive. When sacred boundaries overlap in physical, ideological, or social spaces, competing sacred claims can result in volatile confrontations from which desecration may result.

Most acts of desecration are the result of interreligious contestation over sacred territory. It is an assertion of the primacy of one territorial claim over conflicting sacred claims. Desecration disrupts, destroys, and denies the claims of other religious communities to the sanctity of their sacred territory. As such it is an inherent attack upon the validity of those sacred claims and the very identity of the competing religious group.

The Ayodhyā dispute is one example of contested claims to sacred space that led to desecration. In 1992, Hindu demonstrators destroyed the 464-year-old Babri Masjid Mosque located in Ayodhyā, India, about one hundred miles north of Banares. The territorial dispute can be traced to 1528, when a Hindu temple on the site was destroyed to make way for the mosque. The earlier Hindu temple was constructed on the site because according to Hindu belief the site was the birthplace of Rāma, the iconic hero of the 2,500-year-old Hindu epic, the *Rāmāyaṇa*. A new temple honoring Rāma was begun immediately after the destruction of Babri Masjid. Rather than an isolated incident, the Ayodhyā dispute is but one symptom of centuries-old tensions between Hindu and Muslim communities in northern sections of the Indian subcontinent. While the 1947 partition of India and Pakistan was an attempt to resolve such longstanding Hindu-Muslim conflicts, at the beginning of the twenty-first century relations have arguably deteriorated to the lowest level since partition.

Desecration is frequently directed at sacred sites such as temples and cemeteries, but can also include sacred texts and ritual objects. Like the Ayodhyā incident, desecration is not simply the result of conflicting claims to coextensive sacred territory. In most cases, including seemingly inadvertent desecration (discussed below), it is a strike against the legitimacy of the particular religious identity itself. Desecration occurs within the context of complex social, economic, and political tensions. Because religion and its demarcations of sacrality are so closely tied to individual and community identity, desecration is frequently linked to intolerance and hatred of religio-ethnic groups. Desecration is a symbolic negation of the targeted religious group.

Surprisingly, seemingly inadvertent desecration can also be understood as religious intolerance and negation. In 1990 the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) was signed into U.S. law. The NAGPRA was an attempt to address Native American concerns about the historic and ongoing collection of native remains. Since death and the disposal of human remains are the object of intensive religious activity, disturbance of the dead constitutes desecration, particularly when it involves intentional abuse of the burial site or remains. Because many contemporary Native Americans experience collection and disturbance of ancestral remains as desecration, archeological excavation of historically remote but potentially native remains has emerged as a serious controversy.

Is it fair to use the term *desecration* when actions do not appear to intentionally target religious identity? After all, the object of collecting native remains is scientific knowledge, not the violation of sacred space. However, the historical context tells a different story. Anthropological study of Native American culture during the nineteenth century led to a frenzied collection of human remains, ritual objects, and secret ceremonial practices of those supposedly dying cultures. The alienation of remains and ritual objects, as well as the revelation of ritual knowledge, was, and is, a literal theft of the sacred. Most of the collection was illegitimate because objects and ceremonies were sold by native individuals who had no right to sell communal property, and others were simply taken without permission. All of these actions were desecration because they inevitably denied and negated Native American control of sacred possessions and, ultimately, the religious identity of those communities.

Such seemingly inadvertent desecration results from an underlying conflict over the right and ability of competing communities to designate sacrality itself. While there are clearly cases of errant violations of sacrality, apparent ignorance of the designation "sacred" more frequently results from an underlying challenge to the legitimacy of that designation. One community simply asserts and forcibly imposes its values or desires upon another community, irrespective of the second community's sacred designations. The inherent statement is that those other religious values do not matter and are unworthy of recognition. Like intentional desecration it is a symbolic (and actual) negation of the religious identity of the other community.

Because religious claims, by definition, supercede all other claims, interreligious contact can potentially lead to acts of desecration whenever two or more religious claims are in opposition. Since secular values tend to dismiss the ultimacy of religious claims, particularly when those claims are made by a less powerful or minority community, contact between secular and religious communities can also potentially lead to acts of desecration. The twentieth century, like previous centuries, witnessed horrible acts of desecration. The twenty-first century will be no different, unless or until individual religious communities find other means to live coextensively with other communities whose religious claims and values conflict with their own religious claims and values.

JEWISH SACRILEGE. In order to understand sacrilege in the Jewish tradition, it is first necessary to appreciate the significance of the fact that, for Jews, God is the sole genesis of all that exists. Because all of creation originates from God, all of creation must be considered of divine origin and, therefore, sacred. Moreover, the first humans were created in the image of God and became living beings only when God breathed life into them. Thus all of creation, including human beings, is of divine origin and is sacred. However, even though humans are made in the image of god, they are formed out of the earth, and this earthly component, insofar as it is derivative of God, is the impure, transgressive quality that leads to human mortality. Insofar as creation and humans find their genesis in God, they are sacred, but insofar as creation and humans become separate and independent from God, they are profane. Transgression, from this perspective, is simply separation and independence from God.

But God made a covenant with Abraham that was sealed by Moses and that bound the Hebrew people to God. Or, to put it a little differently, the purpose of the covenant was and is to bind the Hebrew people to God. How does it accomplish this? The covenant is the means by which God's chosen people are to honor and remember the sacred genesis of creation and themselves. For example, the keeping of the Sabbath is nothing less than the ritual remembrance of the divine origin of creation. Keeping the covenant involves maintaining connection to and awareness of the sacredness of God's creation. Failure to keep the covenant is a transgression against God; it is a sacrilege.

In the Jewish tradition the chosen people maintain the sacredness of creation through the keeping of the covenant. Without deliberate human action, the sacred aspect of creation and humans is profaned. The sacred is sustained through intentional human action. When humans fail to keep the covenant, they lose sight of the divine origin of creation. The material world becomes simply the material world, and human beings become simply flesh and blood. When the divine origin of creation is forgotten, God's creation is stolen from God. Keeping the Torah requires remembering that creation is more than simply the world we see; it means awareness that behind what we see is the sacred mystery of God. In the Jewish tradition sacrilege is stealing the creation from its source and reducing it to merely the dirt of materiality.

Jews who profane the sacred origin of creation lose their claim to the world to come. Only a life lived with full awareness for the divine aspect of humanity and its environment is worthy of the immortal life of the human spirit. A life governed by the covenant is one that continually reflects upon the fact that humans are created in the image of God. Sacrilege amounts to renouncing the knowledge of the divine breath that sparks human life and thereby cutting oneself off from God. Sacrilege is the grave loss suffered by those who lose sight of their intimate connection to the divine creative force inherent to all that exists. Moreover, the failure to recognize the image of God in others is equally problematic. All creation, including oneself and other humans, should be understood as an inherently sacred aspect of God's continually unfolding creation.

The sum result of profaning the sacred is to lose one's claim to the world to come. Full awareness of having been created in the image of God is necessary to claim immortal life for the spirit. Sacrilege means cutting oneself off from the image of God and thereby forfeiting an intimate connection to God. God established the Torah to promote consciousness of the sacred, divinely created aspect of humanity and the rest of the physical world. Transgression is essentially any violation of the Torah. There are consequences for this, but reconciliation is always possible with sincere atonement. Because of our earthly aspect, humans are naturally transgressive. Orthopraxis (correct practice) brings humans into union with God, as partners in the maintenance of the sacred essence of creation. God created the Torah because it makes it possible to mitigate or manage human transgression.

In the Jewish tradition the primary transgression is idolatry. Idolatry violates the entire Torah because it negates God's genesis of creation and renders it profane. Public profaning of God's name can result in excommunication. However, other than violation of the Torah, there is no uniform code of transgression in the Jewish tradition. Transgression and its consequences are determined by the local community to which one belongs. Different communities establish different standards and may not recognize the determinations of other communities. Thus it is apparent that the Torah creates and maintains the worldwide Jewish community as a sacred community. Following the Torah sets Jews apart from the surrounding secular community. The community is differentiated through its self-conscious spiritual identity. For example, the laws of purity situate the community as having a different orientation than surrounding communities. Transgression of these laws separates the individual from both God and the community. Maintaining the Torah establishes one's life and community within a world that is sacred through an intentional acknowledgement of the givenness of God throughout all creation. Sacrilege is turning one's back on the sacred and thereby dwelling in the world of the undifferentiated profane.

CHRISTIAN SACRILEGE. The history of heresy, inquisition, and witchcraft in the Christian church has been the subject of an enormous body of scholarship. The picture presented here is far from complete, and the reader should be on guard against easy or fashionable generalizations. In the history of the concept and pattern of sacrilege in Europe, one is confronted with striking paradoxes: it is often the case that sacrilege was neither invented nor spread by those one would have at first suspected. Sometimes the very forces that were responsible for the prosecution of sacrilege were the ones that prevented such prosecution from being effective. If trials for sacrilege finally came to an end, this did not happen according to any known law of human progress. A thorough investigation of this phenomenon, as of any other phenomenon in history, will show that whenever human consciousness, reflection, and intentionality are involved, things are far from being simple.

The Roman Empire. In the Roman Empire, sacrilege was considered to be a crime carrying the penalty of death, and torture was sometimes used to extort confession. The persecution of Christians, in particular, was justified by a pattern of defamation: besides their sacrilegious practices, the Christians were represented as murderers of infants and as engaged in promiscuous sexual intercourse.

This basic pattern of defamation, analyzed historically by Norman R. C. Cohn in his influential book *Europe's Inner Demons* (1975), was then taken over by the victorious church and applied to several of its enemies, both external and internal. The revival of Roman criminal law in the eleventh century provided the legal procedures for the conduct of the Christian Inquisition. These procedures were in turn copied by the lay authorities of Europe at the time of the witch craze of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By this time the Inquisition itself had adopted a skeptical attitude that in some cases prevented abuses by the secular powers.

The eleventh to thirteenth century. The revival of Roman criminal law in the eleventh century seems to have been accompanied by a revival of the ancient Roman pattern of the defamation of Christians, used this time, however, by the Christians themselves against enemies of their own. This was not entirely new. Augustine had used these tactics against the Manichaeans, and John of Odzun had used them against the Armenian Adoptionists in 719. Now the target was the heretics of Orleans (1022), who were said to recite a litany of demons, renounce Christ, spit upon his image, engage in sexual orgies, sacrifice children, and practice cannibalism. At the end of the century (1076–1096), the priest Alberic of Brittany was convicted of sacrilege for having smeared the crucifix with excrement and poured animal blood upon the altar. He was further accused of selling this blood to the people as relics.

By 1150 to 1160, a group of heretics in Germany had been accused of offering solemn sacrifices to the Devil, practicing incestuous intercourse, and ridiculing the celebration of the nativity on Christmas Eve when, in mockery of the Christian kiss of peace, their priest allegedly uncovered his backside to be kissed by the congregation. This is perhaps the earliest testimony concerning the *osculum infame* (kiss of infamy). In 1182, Walter Map mentioned the kiss of infamy as being practiced upon the backside, the genitals, or the paw of a huge cat. Down to the mid-fifteenth century, the new conventicles of the alleged worshipers of Satan were called *synagogues* (later *sabbat,* a term also used in reference to witches), a clear reference to a group to whom sacrilegious activities of the most extreme kind were attributed, namely the Jews. Sexual intercourse with the Devil is mentioned for the first time in 1275, when a woman in Carcassonne, France, was burned at the stake for this sacrilege.

Inquisitorial and criminal procedure to the fourteenth century. The relationship between ecclesiastic and criminal justice forms one of the most fascinating chapters in the history of European civilization. Without some knowledge of this relationship, it is impossible to understand such a fundamental phenomenon as the witch craze. It is important to establish two facts: first, that this relationship underwent constant changes; second, that it varied from country to country.

In the early Middle Ages, religious offenses in Germany were prosecuted by the secular authorities. The accusation had to be proved, and thus the accuser risked greater damages than the accused. In Spain under the Visigoths, by contrast, religious offenses were, according to the juridical formula, *mixti fori,* that is, they belonged both to the ecclesiastical and to the lay authorities. In Italy, according to Langobardic law, the crime of *maleficium* fell under secular jurisdiction. In northern Italy, under French influence, the episcopal inquisition was in place after 800. Indeed, in the Frankish Empire, justice in religious matters was assured by episcopal visitation and inquisition (Latin *inquisitio,* "investigation"), the bishop being supported by the landlord as *defensor ecclesiae* (this is the oldest form of local justice, the *justice seigneuriale*). After the fall of the Frankish Empire, however, the institution of royal justice became increasingly important, having been taken as a model by the local landlords.

The procedures of the episcopal inquisition were introduced by the church in 1184. A further step was taken by

Gregory IX (1227–1241), who created the papal Inquisition as a central institution staffed by the Dominicans and the Franciscans and directed from Rome. Torture, sporadically employed since the eleventh century, was expressly recommended for inquisitorial procedures against heretics by Innocent IV in 1252. The death penalty, in accordance with Roman law, had been applied since the eleventh century in the French and German territories, but not in southern Europe. Starting in 1197, the death penalty for heretics upon relapse was decreed in Aragon, France, Lombardy, Sicily, and Germany. In 1232 it became effective for the entire Holy Roman Empire. In 1198, Innocent III had recommended execution upon relapse in instances when excommunication had proved ineffective. By the fifteenth century, witches were burned as heretics upon first conviction rather than after a relapse.

ISLAMIC SACRILEGE. Because the Islamic tradition does not have a central hierarchical authority structure, the generally accepted definition of sacrilege is relatively narrow. Transgression of the first and foundational pillar of Islam, the Shahādah, is the tradition's only unforgivable sin. While a Muslim is obligated to fulfill all the five pillars of Islam, sincere and devout recitation of the Shahādah is the sole requirement for becoming a Muslim. The Shahādah is the deceptively simple statement: "There is no God but Allāh, and Muḥammad is his prophet." The first of two assertions in the statement is that there is no God but Allāh (*Lā ilāha illā Allāh*). There is only one God, and that God is known as Allāh. The Arabic word translated as God, *ilāh,* means one who is worshiped, one who has the greatness and power worthy of worship. It also implies the Islamic principle of *tawḥīd,* the absolute oneness and unity of God. The first principle of Islam is a radical, or absolute, monotheism. Allāh is one all-powerful harmonious being. Allāh is not and cannot be a multiplicity.

In addition to the unity of Allāh, the statement "there is no God but Allāh" necessarily requires that Allāh is not a physical being. Allāh is the powerful and mysterious being behind all other powers in creation. As such, Allāh cannot possibly be a physical being. *Shirk,* idolatry, is the worship of anything less than the all-encompassing unity of Allāh. Allāh is the limitless power concealed beyond the human or material world, indeed Allāh is beyond human understanding altogether. Focusing one's care and attention upon any worldly power, such as wealth, fame, sex, and even nature, is *shirk*, just as much as the worship of an idol is *shirk.* Both the denial of the unity of Allāh and idolatry are sacrilege in the sense that they lessen and thereby violate the essential sacred qualities of Allāh.

Like idolatry, apostasy is a transgression against Shahādah. Abandonment or renunciation of the Islamic faith amounts to the repudiation of the Shahādah. Like religious conversion, apostasy repudiates the divinity and unity of Allāh. Thus, either apostasy or conversion amount to transgressions against the sacrality of Allāh.

The second assertion of the Shahādah is "Muḥammad is his prophet." (*Muḥammad rasūl – Allāh*). This statement legitimizes Muḥammad as a prophet among other prophets of the Abrahamic traditions. It is also understood to establish Muḥammad as the final prophet, the last of Allāh's messengers, who seals, or completes, all revelations from God to humans. As the last prophet, the message revealed to Muḥammad supercedes all other prophets, including both Moses and Jesus. As a result of having brought divine revelation to an end, worship of Allāh in a consecrated temple is no longer necessary. Muḥammad's message includes the revelation that the entire earth can now be a place of worship and purification. This is relevant to discussion of sacrilege because sacred space is transformed. Prayer in a state of impurity simply makes the prayer invalid. Pollution of sacred space is of lesser concern than the ritual purity of the individual who offers prayer to Allāh. After Muḥammad brings the revelation, violation of sacred space is no longer universally understood as sacrilege. Prayer that takes place within a polluted context is simply invalid.

Muḥammad is the preeminent human, but human nonetheless. His humanity and mortality are essential because he in absolutely no way resembles the singular divinity of Allāh. On the other hand, Muḥammad is the foremost exemplar of human behavior. His speech and character are models of perfection. Thus the *sunnah,* the historical record of Muḥammad's words and deeds, is considered the second most sacred text in Islam. Because of Muḥammad's unique exemplary status, he is worthy of obedience and the utmost respect. Any statements or action that impugn Muḥammad in any way are without a doubt sacrilegious. Salmon Rushdie's *Satanic Verses* (1988) was condemned by the Islamic community precisely because it characterized the prophet in derogatory and offensive ways. Rushdie's book provoked outrage because it profaned the sacred name and character of the prophet.

The divine origin of the Qurʾān is implicit in the statement that Muḥammad is Allāh's prophet. Islamic tradition understands the genealogy of the Qurʾān as having been transmitted directly from Allāh to the angel Gabriel, who brought Allāh's message to Muḥammad. The Qurʾān is nothing less than the divine speech of Allāh. The Qurʾān, in its original Arabic, is not created nor interpreted by Muḥammad or any other human. Because it is an exact replication of divine speech, the Qurʾān is unique among all other texts. Both the oral recitation and the written text (in Arabic) are considered sacred and should be treated reverently. Consequently, physical mistreatment, misrepresentation, or mockery of the Arabic Qurʾān is considered extremely sacrilegious. Questioning the validity or truth of the Qurʾān is equally transgressive. Scholarly investigation of the literary and historical origin of the Qurʾān, in itself, would amount to sacrilege precisely because it undercuts its foundational claim to authority by presupposing human authorship.

HINDU SACRILEGE. There are two areas in Hinduism where concerns similar to the Abrahamic concept of sacrilege arise.

One area of primary concern would be *nāstika*, unorthodox interpretation of the Vedas. Religions derived from Hinduism, such as Buddhism and Jainism in particular, constitute the unorthodox insofar as they are a rejection of the authority of the Vedas. For example, rejection of the principle of saṃsāra, the ongoing cycle of rebirth, would be an extreme form of unorthodoxy worthy of censure. The second concern is the so-called laws of purity. While purity concerns vary by caste, there are general principles governing purity and pollution. The near universal prohibition against sexual contact with menstruating women also holds in the Hindu tradition. Intercaste sex or marriage, like all intercaste contact, is also subject to regulation. Included in such prohibitions would be objects and food handled by those of a low caste. Finally, contact with excrement and dead animals or humans, as in many cultures, is a source of pollution that must be ritually regulated.

Vāmācāra, left-handed conduct, refers to ritual Tantric practice of traditionally prohibited behavior involving sex, alcohol, dead bodies, and so on. *Savism* is the best known form of Hindu Tantrism; it refers the ritual practices of devotees of the deity Śiva. Śiva is the destroyer, but he is also a creator, in that he destroys the cosmos at the end of its cycle, making way for creation anew. A common depiction is of Śiva dancing within a ring of fire. The fire represents both the destruction of ignorance and the fire of cremation. Śiva is the first of all yogis, demonstrating sensual experience and the freedom of nondualistic awareness. Śiva exists in the particular and subsumes all duality—creation and destruction, good and evil, bodily eroticism and supreme consciousness.

Left-handed *Savism* exploits the embodied, erotic aspect of Śiva in order to attain to the nonduality of Śiva. Like all Hindu gods, Śiva is powerless without Śakti, the feminine power that animates all things. Śiva and Śakti together are the combination of consciousness and power. The union of Śiva and Śakti is the model for Tantric sexual ritual. Through sexual union with the active principle of the woman, the pure consciousness of the male yogi is liberated from the oppositions of the material world. The devotee becomes oblivious to everything but divine unity. At this point, the categories of purity and impurity are also destroyed. Tantric ritual also employs other ostensibly sacrilegious practices, such as contact with death or prohibited castes, in order to merge the Śakti power of impurity with yogic consciousness. Such legitimized sacrilegious behavior is powerful precisely because it transgresses the opposition of purity and impurity, exposing them as products of dualistic consciousness, and thereby paving the way to liberation from the body and to unified consciousness beyond opposition. This is an example of when ostensibly sacrilegious behavior is legitimized within a sect but condemned by the orthodox tradition.

BUDDHIST SACRILEGE. The Buddhist perspective is that all transgressions arise from one source: fundamental ignorance about the nature of the self and the world. *Anātman* (no permanent self) is a foundational principle of Buddhist thought. While the precise meaning and implications of *anātman* are beyond the scope of this entry, the general idea is that wrong actions stem from the normal human illusion of possessing a permanent self. From this illusion, self-serving and self-interested behaviors necessarily follow. The Buddhist view is that the individual self is impermanent in the sense that it is in a constant state of flux. Furthermore, duality, the perception of self and other as discrete entities, is also an illusion that leads to actions harmful to both self and other. Because the two are inextricably linked through the chain of causality, self-interested actions that negatively impact the other will inevitably impact the self negatively.

Because Buddhism understands that duality and wrong action are illusions, sacrilege is both the result of individual illusions and, ultimately, also an illusion itself. However, there are boundaries of moral transgression. There are five moral precepts that all Buddhists are expected to uphold: no killing, no stealing, no sexual misconduct, no mistruth, and no intoxication. Violations of these precepts (or the violation of any other vow) constitute the primary "sins" of Buddhism. During the lifetime of the Buddha, members of the *saṃgha* (the religious community) could also be expelled for lying about spiritual achievements. During this time, the five worst transgressions were patricide, matricide, killing a monk, wounding the Buddha, and causing dissent in the community. Even so, when the Buddha's cousin, Devadatta, tried to kill the Buddha several times and sought to undermine his leadership, the Buddha reacted to these grave transgressions with equanimity and compassion, and Devadatta was never punished for his actions. The Buddha's action, or more accurately, nonaction, set the precedent that transgressions should be handled with compassion precisely because the transgressors are already enduring the suffering that inevitably arises from the illusion of self and other.

Buddhist Tantrism was derived from Hindu Tantrism; both are widely known antinomian traditions. Tantra (to weave) refers to ritual instructions opposed to sūtra, a discourse of the Buddha. Originating from Bengal, Buddhist Tantra developed within the Vajrayāna tradition (diamond vehicle) of Tibet in the tenth and eleventh century CE. The Tantras are ritual instructions and practices for visualizing buddhas and *bodhisattvas* with the express intent of bringing the practitioner into transcendent union. The goal is to remove karmic defilements and the illusion of self, and thereby experience the supreme reality of nonduality that underlies the perceptual world. The goal is nothing less than achieving the union of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*; that is, to experience nonduality while still living within the illusionary world of suffering and duality.

Tantrism is best known in the West for the practice of imagining or actually engaging in sexual union as the culmination of disciplined spiritual practice. The underlying premise is that the lesser pleasure of sexual union is linked to the superior pleasure of the transcendental union that occurs when the illusion of duality is overcome. This premise is based on three observations. First, sexual union gives rise to desire and is extremely pleasurable. Second, sexual union is the union of the male-female dyad, and thus an experience of nonduality. Third, the pleasure of sexual union is a minute fraction of the pleasure of transcendental union. The Tantric insight is that sexual desire can be employed as the means to overcome the desires that bind one to the duality of saṃsāra.

The Tantra adept is supervised by a *gurū* who has mastered the Tantric rituals and teachings. While Tantrism is thought to be the fast way to enlightenment, traditional Buddhist practices, such as meditation, must be mastered prior to Tantric practice. When the *gurū* determines the adept has demonstrated the spiritual discipline needed to experience transcendental union, the practitioner is instructed to focus upon the previously cultivated experience of nonduality during sexual intercourse, rather than upon sexual desire. It is thought that the pleasure of sexual union will be experienced as inferior to the much greater ecstasy of the spiritual union of opposites. Sexual desire will in turn be diminished because it will be eclipsed by the desire to experience complete nonduality, rather than the experience of limited nonduality of sexual union.

Other Tantric practices include the eating of meat, sex with low-caste women, and meditation in cemeteries or upon corpses. All of these practices are intended to overcome saṃsāra in its most polluted form so as to experience the blissful spiritual reality that underlies it. Intimate contact with a corpse, for example, is an experiential lesson in the transitory nature of bodily life. Tantric practice seeks to exploit transgression by putting it into direct relationship with the transcendental union of opposites. In this sense, Tantric practice articulates and explores the boundaries of Buddhist transgression. Tantrism exaggerates and underscores the very behaviors that transgress the boundaries of traditional Buddhist mores; as such it provides an inverted image of Buddhist sacrilege.

ZUNI PEOPLE AND SACRILEGE. The concept of sacrilege is not indigenous to the Zuni people; however, actions and things that do not conform to their conservative social and religious norms make the problem of transgression a central concern. Traditional Zuni society is highly structured, as it is among other tribes in the Pueblo cultural group. Membership in Zuni society brings specific rights, privileges, and duties. All Zuni are expected to actively participate in religious societies and perform the accompanying ceremonial duties. Their ceremonies are organized according to a rigid agricultural cycle, and individual participants are often required to undergo exacting preparations and ritual restrictions. Failure to perform ceremonies to traditional standards or individual failure to carry out ritual privations brings great danger to both individuals and the group. The ceremonial responsibilities of the Zuni are among the most exacting in the world.

Individual behavior is closely monitored, and conformity to group values—including hard work, good manners, and social conservatism—is expected. At the heart of the Zuni value system is conformity to traditional mores. The individual is taught from an early age to avoid either deviation or notoriety. Public display of inappropriate behavior is highly censored. Expressions of sexuality, such as kissing or touching; smoking (for women); or any hint of immoderation or disrespect is considered deeply disgraceful. Secrecy, not only in relation to people outside the pueblo but also in regard to intra-Zuni behavior, is therefore highly regarded and always an ideal. For the Zuni, transgressions of such traditional mores, and of prescribed ritual responsibilities and restrictions, are treated seriously and subject to a range of social and ritual sanctions.

During many Zuni rituals, divine beings arrive at Zuni and dance in the plaza at the center of town. These divine beings, *kachinas*, are present in the form of masked members of Zuni religious societies. During *kachina* dances the plaza exists within sacred space and time, and it represents the idealized spiritual life. However, in the midst of the ritual dance, masked clowns inevitably arrive and disrupt the proceedings with antics that transgress proper social and sacred behavior. These ritual clowns may engage in simulated copulation, sex-role reversal, gluttony, backward behavior, smearing of ashes (associated with witchery and death), and other disgraceful behaviors, including mockery of either audience members or the *kachinas* themselves. What do these ritual clowns, who are brought into divine presence and sacred space and time, teach about the transgression of the sacred?

The actions of Zuni ritual clowns draw attention to and reflect upon the progress of the *kachina* ritual. When the clowns disrupt the ritual, the contrast between sacred and profane behavior heightens. The actions of the clowns clearly delineate the boundary and distance between the clowns and the *kachinas*. The role of the clown is to stand in and act as the agent of the ordinary human members of the audience. The clowns remind the Zuni that in the face of the sacred all humans are transgressive, all humans are clowns who cannot control themselves and who do everything backward. The clowns are funny and entertaining, but they also prod the people to reflect upon the incongruence of their own behavior with their spiritual aspirations.

The ritual clowns' bodily humor and mockery of spiritual solemnity during sacred rituals is often perplexing to Euro-American observers. However, the clowns perform a profoundly moral role in Zuni cosmology. The clowns, in fact, are one manifestation of the Zuni attempt to mediate duality. The clowns, continually "in process," weave together the sacred and the profane, the people and the deities, such that the ritual performance brings bodily, material life into the realm of eternal truth. Rather than profaning the sacred, the ritual clowns express the sacred potential of the profane. Through attention to these two essential, but opposite, poles, the delicate balance of cosmic duality is maintained and affirmed.

The clowns remind the Zuni people that the ideal spiritual life is ultimately incongruent with their everyday profane lives. And yet their spiritual aspirations require that they bring their transgressiveness into the presence of the *kachinas'* sacred dance. The ritual clowns dissolve the absolute distinction between sacred and profane, creating a permeable boundary that welcomes human contradictions and transgressions into the sacred dance of life. However, the tension between human transgressions and spiritual ideals is heightened, not erased, especially when the clowns are eventually disciplined by the *kachinas* for their behavior. Here then is what the clowns teach: that human appetites and desires, and the transgressions to which they give rise, need not be eliminated prior to contact with the sacred. When transgression is recognized as the place where the human and sacred meet, incongruity is not eliminated but does become manageable.

SEE ALSO Blasphemy; Heresy, overview article; Inquisition, The, article on The Inquisition in the Old World; Taboo.

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SADDUCEES.

The Sadducees were one of the main Jewish political and religious groups (usually termed "sects") of the Second Temple period. By about the reign of John Hyrcanus I (135–104 BCE), they were a recognizable aristocratic group. Most of them were apparently priests or members of the families that had intermarried with the high priestly families. They tended to be moderate Hellenizers whose primary loyalty was to the religion of Israel but whose culture was greatly influenced by Hellenism. The Sadducees derived their name, Greek *Saddoukaioi*, Hebrew *ṣāddūqim,* from that of Zadok, the high priest of the Jerusalem Temple in the time of Solomon. In *Ezekiel* 40–48, the priestly duties were assigned exclusively to this clan. This family of high priests served throughout First and Second Temple times, except when foreign worship was brought into the Temple and when the Hasmoneans took control of the high priesthood. Sources mentioning the Sadducees are Josephus, the New Testament, rabbinic literature, and the Dead Sea Scrolls; there are no primary sources written by the Sadducees themselves.

The Sadducees rejected the "tradition of the fathers" that the Pharisees considered as law. For this reason the later rabbinic sources picture them as rejecting the oral law. The notion of some Church Fathers that the Sadducees accepted only the Torah as authoritative, rejecting the prophets and the emerging corpus of writings, is unsubstantiated by any earlier sources. The New Testament maintains that Sadducees did not believe in resurrection. Josephus writes that they rejected personal immortality, reward and punishment after death, and determinism, but that they believed strongly in absolute free will.

The Sadducees differed in matters of Jewish law from the Pharisees, according to rabbinic sources. The Sadducees required compensation for injuries done by a person's servant, whereas the Pharisees required it only in the case of one's animals, according to their interpretation of *Exodus* 21:32, 35–36. The Sadducees required that false witnesses be executed only when the accused had already been put to death because of their testimony (*Dt.* 19:19–21). The Pharisees imposed this penalty only when the accused had not been executed. The Sadducees criticized the inconsistencies in Pharisaic interpretations of the purity laws, and the Pharisees regarded Sadducean women as menstrually impure. In general, the Sadducees saw the purity laws as referring to the Temple and its priests, and saw no reason for the extension of these laws into the daily life of all Israel, a basic pillar of the Pharisaic approach.

A fundamental question is why the Sadducees disagreed so extensively with the Pharisaic tradition. Later Jewish tradition claimed that all differences revolved around the Sadducean rejection of the oral law. Based on this assumption, modern scholars argued that the Sadducees were strict literalists who followed the plain meaning of the words of the Torah only. Yet such an approach would not explain most of the views regarding legal matters attributed to the Sadducees.

Recent discoveries from the Dead Sea caves have illuminated Sadducean law. One particular text (4QMMT), written in the form of a letter purporting to be from the founders of the Dead Sea sect (who were apparently closely related to the Sadducees) to the leaders of the Jerusalem establishment, lists some twenty-two matters of legal disagreement. Comparison of these matters with the Pharisee-Sadducee disputes recorded in rabbinic literature has led to the conclusion that the writers of this "letter" took the view attributed to the Sadducees while their opponents in the Jerusalem priestly establishment held the views attributed later to the Pharisees. Examination of this document and related materials leads to the conclusion that Sadducees had their own methods of biblical exegesis and accordingly derived laws that were different from those of the Pharisees and their supporters.

The Sadducean party cannot be said to have come into being at any particular point. The priestly aristocracy, which traced its roots to First Temple times, had increased greatly in power in the Persian and Hellenistic periods, since the temporal as well as spiritual rule of the nation was in their hands. Some of these priests had been involved in the extreme Hellenization leading up to the Maccabean revolt, but most of the Sadducean lower clergy had remained loyal to the Torah and the ancestral Jewish way of life.

In the aftermath of the revolt, a small and devoted group of these Sadducean priests probably formed the group that eventually became the Dead Sea sect. They were unwilling to tolerate the replacement of the Zadokite high priest with a Hasmonean in 153–152 BCE, and they disagreed with the Jerusalem priesthood regarding matters of Jewish law. Soon after the Hasmonean takeover of the high priesthood, this group repaired to Qumran on the shore of the Dead Sea. The Dead Sea Scrolls refer to the early leaders of the sect as "sons of Zadok," testifying to some connection with the Sadducean tradition. Other moderately Hellenized Sadducees remained in Jerusalem, and it was they who were termed Sadducees in the strict sense of the term by Josephus in his descriptions of the Hasmonean period and by the later rabbinic traditions. They continued to be a key element in the Hasmonean aristocracy, supporting the priest-kings and joining, with the Pharisees, in the gerousia. After dominating this body for most of the reign of John Hyrcanus I and that of Alexander Janneus, the Sadducees suffered a major political setback when Queen Salome Alexandra (r. 76–67 BCE) turned thoroughly to support the Pharisees. Thereafter the Sadducees returned to greater power in the Herodian era, when they made common cause with the Herodian dynasty. In the end, it would be a group of lower Sadducean priests whose decision to reject the sacrifice offered for the Roman emperor set off the full-scale revolt of the Jews against Rome in 66 CE.

Closely allied to the Sadducees were the Boethusians. Most scholars ascribe the origin of the Boethusians to Simeon ben Boethus, appointed high priest by Herod in 24 BCE so that he would have sufficient status for Herod to marry his daughter Mariamne (II). This theory is completely unproven, and certain parallels between Boethusian rulings and material in the Dead Sea Scrolls argue for a considerably earlier date. There certainly were some differences between the Sadducees and the Boethusians, but the latter appear to have been a subgroup or an offshoot of the Sadducean group.

The most central of the disputes recorded in rabbinic literature as having separated the Boethusians from the Pharisees was that of the calendar. The Boethusians held that the first offering of the Omer (*Lv.* 23:9–14) had to take place on a Sunday, rather than on the second day of Passover. Such a calendar, similar to that known from the Dead Sea sect and the Book of Jubilees, was based on both solar months and solar years. If so, the Sunday in question would be that after the seventh day of Passover (most interpreters have taken it as referring to the intermediate Sunday of the festival). Following this calendar, the holiday of Shavuot (Pentecost) would always fall on a Sunday. While this approach seemed to accord better with the literal interpretation of the words "on the morrow of the Sabbath" (*Lv.* 23:11), the Pharisees could accept neither this innovative calendar (the biblical calendar was based on lunar months) nor the interpretation on which it was based. To them, "Sabbath" here meant festival. (Attribution of this Boethusian calendric view to the Sadducees by some scholars results from confusion in the manuscripts of rabbinic texts.)

The approach of the Sadducees certainly had a major impact on the political and religious developments in Judaism of the Second Temple period, including the formation of the Dead Sea sect. There is evidence that some Sadducean traditions remained in circulation long enough to influence the medieval literalist sect of the Karaites that arose in the eighth century CE. Yet otherwise, with the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE, the Sadducees ceased to be a factor in Jewish history. The sacrificial system in which they played so leading a role was no longer practiced. Their power base, the Jerusalem Temple, was gone, and their strict constructionism augured poorly for the adaptation of Judaism to its new circumstances.

SEE ALSO Dead Sea Scrolls; Jerusalem, overview article.

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SĀDHUS AND SĀDHVĪS.

The term *sādhu* (feminine, *sādhvī*) derives from the Sanskrit root *sādh* (meaning "accomplish") and also has the general sense of "a good or virtuous person." More specifically, within the Hindu religious tradition a *sādhu* or *sādhvī* (a *sādhvī* is also referred to as *mai* and "Mātājī") is someone who, under a *guru*, has undergone a ritual of renunciation known as *saṃnyāsa* and formally abandoned family life and conventional worldly means for making a livelihood. The *saṃnyāsa* rite, which is preceded by a preliminary initiation rite, is usually performed at a Kumbha Melā, the preeminent festival for *sādhus*. The rite is assisted by a *guru* and several Brahmin *paṇḍits*, thereby relieving the initiate's family of any future responsibility in that regard. *Sādhus* are usually buried in a seated position when they die, in distinction from the traditional Hindu practice of cremation.

The Hindu religious explanation for taking *saṃnyāsa* and becoming initiated as a *sādhu* is to "realize God" or obtain liberation (*mokṣa*), an objective considered to be difficult in worldly life. While some *sādhus* claim to have experienced a direct religious calling to renounce—occasionally in old age—others become *sādhus* to escape legal, financial, personal, or family problems. In some instances an orphan is adopted and raised by *sādhus*, and *sādhvīs* are not infrequently bereaved. Renunciate practices range from a primarily devotional approach to liberation—through reciting *mantras* or chanting and singing the names and praises of a personal deity—to a path of austerities and asceticism (*tapas*, literally "heat") that may involve meditation and yoga. Within the Hindu mythological world, the practice of asceticism, which may range from dietary restrictions to extreme forms of mortification, is also believed to produce powers (*siddhis*) of a supernatural kind, which are feared and considered to be real at a popular level. *Sādhus* are revered almost as forms of a deity in some areas of north India.

After performing the *saṃnyāsa* rite, the lifestyle of the *sādhu* is, traditionally, thereafter that of a wandering mendicant. However, the rite also simultaneously constitutes an initiation into the renunciate sect to which the initiating *guru* belongs. An initiate receives a new name, a new religious identity, and enters the network of an alternative social world, with its own hierarchies and implicit codes of behavior. The names of renunciates are usually recorded by an official from the sect into which the candidate is initiated. Although most *sādhus* live simply—some in remote places—from alms or local produce, an initiate into a renunciate order also has potential access to a network of *āśramas* and *maṭhas* (monasteries), which can be extensive for the larger sects. These institutions often provide food and shelter for both resident *sādhus* and those on pilgrimage to holy places. Many of even the largest *āśramas* have developed over time from a simple dwelling constructed by a *sādhu* who settled somewhere, frequently after traveling for many years on pilgrimage throughout the Indian subcontinent.

There are currently around sixty Hindu (or semi-Hindu) renunciate sects of *sādhus* in India and Nepal. Orders of *sādhus* (or their equivalent) are also a constituent of several of the other religious traditions currently represented in India. They are to be found amongst Muslims, where, according to some schemata, there are fourteen orders of Sūfīs (also referred to as *fakīr*); amongst Sikhs (in the Udāsin and Nirmala orders); and also amongst Jains, where *sādhvīs* significantly outnumber *sādhus*. Within the Jain tradition there is a closer relationship between the *sādhu* and lay communities than in other Indian renunciate traditions. Buddhist monks, who are not very numerous in India, are represented in a few regions, but they are almost exclusively attached to monasteries.

All renunciate sects trace their origin to a revered founding *guru*, the sectarian identity of members being exhibited by a variety of means. These include specific ash or paste marks on the face and body, the kinds of beads or seeds used for a necklace (*mālā*), accoutrements (such as a particular kind of staff), and also the type and color of clothing, which is frequently scant. *Sādhu*s of some orders, particularly *nāgā*s (who are traditionally naked, fighting ascetics), cover their entire body with ashes. *Sādhu*s have their head fully shaved during initiation, but some subsequently grow dreadlocks.

Amongst Hindus, while there are several relatively small sects of Tantric/*śākta sādhu*s, whose main deity is a form of the goddess (*devī*), most Hindu renunciate sects are primarily *vaiṣṇava* or *śaiva* in orientation, and their main deity is a form of, respectively, Viṣṇu or Śiva. The two largest sects of *sādhu*s—with several hundred thousand initiates—are the *vaiṣṇava* sect of Rāmānanda (known as Rāmānandīs or *vairāgī*s) and the *śaiva* sect of *saṃnyāsī*s (or Daśanāmīs, meaning "ten names"), founded, according to their respective traditions, by Rāmānanda in the fourteenth century and the *advaita* (nondual) philosopher Śaṅkarācārya in the ninth century.

According to traditional Brahmanical norms, women are ineligible for *saṃnyāsa*. However, there is considerable historical evidence of ascetic women renunciates, and some women ascetics may be found in nearly all renunciate sects. Currently, more than 90 percent of *sādhu*s are men, though government census data from the early twentieth century indicate that at that time women *sādhvī*s comprised up to 40 percent of the renunciate population in some areas of India. It is not uncommon for women renunciates to have suffered bereavement and to have become *sādhvī*s to escape the difficult circumstances often experienced by widows in South Asia.

In most instances, women renunciates are initiated by male preceptors and do not have their own institutions wherein there is a lineage of authority transmitted from a female *guru* to a female successor. However, in a few orders there are branches that have their own female *guru*s. For example, amongst Daśanāmīs—nominally an orthodox sect—there is a division of around a thousand *mai*s who are *nāgā* and are affiliated to the Jūnā *akhāḍā* (see below) but live entirely separately from their male counterparts. Similarly, there are two communities of women renunciates (the Śrī Śāradā Maṭha and the Śāradā Rāmakṛṣṇa [Ramakrishna] Mission) who are devotees of the nineteenth-century Bengali saint, Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahaṃsa, and his wife, Śāradā Devī. However, unlike the Daśanāmī *nāgā* women who occasionally travel to pilgrimage sites and attend festivals such as the Kumbha Melā, the women renunciates of the orders affiliated to the Rāmakṛṣṇa Mission reside most of the time in monastic institutions. As most renunciate orders have an ambivalent attitude toward female ascetics, it is also not uncommon for women renunciates to become independent *guru*s, some of whom attract a considerable lay following.

According to the traditional Hindu ideal, renunciates undertake austerities of some kind or other to purify the mind and body, food is collected by begging, and celibacy is maintained. However, a wide range of practice is evident both between and within the various renunciate sects. Being a renunciate does not necessarily entail asceticism, and limited regimens of asceticism are not infrequently practiced by householders. Some sects—notably those of the *vaiṣṇava* devotees of Vallabha (1479–1531 CE), Caitanya (1486–1533 CE), and Dādū (1544–1604 CE)—have both celibate and married initiates. Managers of one of the larger *sādhu āśrama*s have significant responsibilities for the maintenance of buildings, observance of temple activities, the welfare of visitors, and administrative affairs, which may include income derived from land-holdings. There is generally a hierarchy of authority and responsibility within the renunciate orders, with posts for cooks, security officers, secretaries, and property managers. Titular heads of monasteries may wield considerable influence, not only locally but even at the national level, as in the case of the Śaṇkarācāryas, who head the Daśanāmī order. There are also instances of renunciates taking political office, a prominent example being Ūma Bhāratī, a *saṃnyāsin* who became a politician, and who was subsequently sworn in, on December 8, 2003, as the first woman chief minister of the state of Madhya Pradesh. While, at one end of the spectrum, *sādhu*s may be strict vegetarians who avoid all forms of intoxication, at the other end of the spectrum, some few *sādhu*s of the most radical orders, the Aghorīs, and some Nāths and Tantrics, may inhabit graveyards and exhibit extreme antinomian behavior, eating from human skulls and even consuming human flesh. *Sādhu*s of the more radical orders often consume alcohol and also large quantities of cannabis, which is either smoked with tobacco, or eaten or drunk in the form of *bhāṅg*, a prepared form of the leaves of the plant.

Scholars still do not agree on when ascetic renunciates first emerged on the religious landscape of South Asia. Some believe that semi-shamanic ascetics date back to the Indus Valley civilization (2500–1800 BCE) or even earlier, and may be seen as the *yati* or *muni*, semi-mythological characters who appear in the *Ṛgveda* (c. 1200–1400 BCE). This characterization is disputed by other scholars, who maintain that during the so-called axial age (fifth–sixth centuries BCE), economic and social developments provided the context for the development of a new worldview, the notion of renunciation, and the institution of renunciate religious sects, such as the Ājīvika, Jain, and Buddhist orders. One of the earliest available reports of a foreigner visiting India is that of Megasthenes (fourth century BCE), who like many other visitors, records the activities of ash-covered philosophers (gymnosophists), some of whom were capable of extreme feats of endurance. Around this time were produced the earliest Sanskrit texts to include sections detailing the way of life of the renunciate *saṃnyāsin* as being within the scope of the *dharma* (religious rules and practices) of orthodox Brahmanical culture. Several of these texts, the *Dharma-sūtra*s, provide rules and procedures for those wishing to take *saṃnyāsa*, and renounce Brahmanical ritual life and the daily religious activities—based on the *Veda*—incumbent upon all members of ancient Brahmanical society. Whatever the origins of Brahmanical religious asceticism, by around the beginning of the Common Era, *saṃnyāsin* had become the term generally used by the Brahmanical tradition to designate those who had renounced ritual life, preferably in the fourth and last stage (*āśrama*) of life.

However, it appears that it was not only older people who had retired from Brahmanical ritual life who became ascetic renunciates. Perhaps the earliest reference to sectarian asceticism in South Asia is by the grammarian Pāṇini (fourth century BCE), who refers to *śaiva* ascetics. These ascetics were most probably Pāśupatas, renowned for their antisocial behavior. They are the earliest known sect of "Hindu" ascetics, who survived into the fourteenth century. The earliest known monasteries (*maṭha*) for Hindu renunciate orders date from the eighth century CE, and were of *śaiva* orders, namely the Kāpālikas (the predecessors of the Aghorīs) and the (less radical) Kālāmukhas, both of which superseded the Pāśupatas. *Maṭha*s of the influential Śaiva-Siddhānta order appear to have been first founded in the tenth century. Śaṇkarācārya is reputed to have founded the first order of orthodox Brahmanical ascetics, the *śaiva* Daśanāmī-Saṃnyāsīs, though recent research casts some doubt on this. Several of the most important orthodox *vaiṣṇava* orders, which also have renunciate initiates, have preceptors dating to the early centuries of the first millennium CE: the Śrī *sampradāya* (order/sect) of the devotional philosopher Rāmānuja (traditionally dated to 1017–1137 CE), and the *sampradāya*s of Madhva (1238–1317 CE) and Nimbārka (twelfth century). Several more *vaiṣṇava sampradāya*s with both householder and renunciate initiates arose during the next few centuries. A number of sects were also established that have a partially *vaiṣṇava* religious culture, but whose adherents worship a formless (*nirguṇī*) god. One of the best known of these sects is the *panth* (sect) of Kabīr (c. 1450–1525 CE). In distinction from nearly all *śaiva* and most *vaiṣṇava sādhu*s, renunciates of some *vaiṣṇava* sects do not perform the *saṃnyāsa* rite, but undergo a parallel rite whereby a special relationship is established between the renunciate and the deity of the sect.

Besides the monastic traditions of the renunciate sects, which have produced innumerable scholars and philosophers, *sādhu*s have also been periodically engaged in significant military and mercenary activities. Although as early as the eighth century Pāśupata ascetics were armed by guilds to protect trade, it was during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that *nāgā* (naked) ascetics from the Nāth, Daśanāmī-Saṃnyāsī (also called *gosain*), Vairāgī (Bairāgī), Dādū-*panth*, Nimbārkī (Nīmāvat), and Rādhavallabhī sects first became organized as fighting units (*akhāḍā*, literally "wrestling ring"), primarily owing to state patronage. Initiation as a *nāgā* into an *akhāḍā* is nearly always performed subsequent to the *saṃnyāsa* rite. During the latter half of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—a time of great political instability in north India—*nāgā*s were employed in many instances as part of a regularly paid standing army of several thousand troops in service to *māharājā*s of Jodhpur, Jaipur, Jaisalmer, Bikaner, Udaipur, Baroda, Marwar (western Madhya Pradesh), and Bhuj (the capital town of Kacch, Gujarat). At the height of their careers in the late eighteenth century, three prominent Daśanāmī *nāgā saṃnyāsī*s, namely Rajendra Giri Gosain (d. 1753 CE) and his *celā*s (disciples), the brothers Anūp Giri Gosain (Himmat Bahādūr, 1730–1804 CE) and Umrao Giri Gosain (b. 1734 CE), commanded forces of up to forty thousand horse and foot soldiers. They were highly regarded by the British as a fighting force, ranked alongside the Afghans and Sikhs, and were particularly renowned for their nighttime guerrilla operations. These *nāgā*s fought many campaigns, mostly on behalf of Mughal regents, but changed allegiances several times over the decades.

There are currently thirteen *akhāḍā*s extant in India; seven are Daśanāmī, three are Rāmānandī, and three are Sikh-related, namely the Nirmala and two Udāsin *akhāḍā*s. The *nāgā* members of the *akhāḍā* still train for fighting, but after the imposition of British rule in India their military operations were almost entirely curtailed. As a consequence of their mercenary activities many *gosain*s became wealthy, acquiring substantial property and trading enterprises. By the 1780s *gosain*s had become the dominant moneylenders and property-owners in Allahabad, Banaras, Mirzapur, Ujjain, and Nagpur, and they were major brokers in Rajasthan and the Deccan at places such as Hyderabad and Pune. Their influence declined during the nineteenth century, and since the beginning of the twentieth century, nearly all renunciate institutions, including most of the *akhāḍā*s, have been actively engaged in educational and social welfare programs throughout India. Being Hindu institutions, renunciate sects have also been periodically vocal in the politics of India. This was particularly evident during the 1990s, when the leaders of several renunciate institutions became more closely involved with the ruling, nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party.

In several regions of South Asia there are castes of Saṃnyāsīs, Nāths, and other renunciate sects, who exhibit some of the customs of the sect to which their ancestors were members, but having married and settled, are otherwise integrated into worldly society amongst a general hierarchy of castes.

SEE ALSO Asceticism; Ashram; Gurū; Kabīr; Kumbha Melā; Madhva; Moksa; Nimbārka; Nuns, overview article; Ordination; Rāmānuja; Saivism, overview article; Saṃnyāsa; Śaṅkara; Sārāda Devī; Vaiṣṇavism, overview article.

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MATTHEW CLARK (2005)

SAʿDĪ (AH 597?–690/1200?–1291 CE), pen name of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Musharrif (al-Dīn) ibn Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Saʿdī-yi Shīrāzī, Islamic Persian belletrist, panegyrist, and popularizer of mystically colored poetry. His exact name (other than the universally used *nom de plume*) and his precise birth and death dates have been much disputed, and he has often been credited with longevity of well over a century. He was born and died in the south Iranian capital of Shiraz, but allegedly spent some half of his life elsewhere, partly perhaps to escape the Mongol invasions and the constant petty warfare within Iran itself. His wanderings fall into three categories: study, most importantly at Baghdad; pilgrimages to the holy cities of Islam (Mecca and Medina); and general drifting, as he claims, all over the Islamic world and beyond.

At one point, so he relates, he was a prisoner of war of the Crusaders and was set to hard labor until ransomed into an unfortunate marriage. Some time around the second and major Mongol invasion of the Middle East in the late 1250s, he seems finally to have retired to his native city—Shiraz was somewhat off the beaten track for the Mongols, as it proved—and established himself as a man of letters and a sort of court-holding sage. The detailed facts of Saʿdī’s life are almost as much disputed as his full name and dates, for most of the information derives from, or depends heavily on, his own avowedly “poeticized” writings. However, along with his acknowledged stature as a writer, certain features of his career are hardly open to doubt: his hard-won erudition, his urbane and even cynical world experience, and his familiarity with all aspects of the dervish way of life, both practical and theoretical.

Saʿdī’s writings, most of which are poetry, fall into various categories and are often published in one large volume as *Kullīyāt* (Collected works). Once again, there is much controversy as to the period of his life to which some items belong, but the two longest and most significant can be fairly specifically dated. These are the *Būstān* (Herb garden), completed at some time in late autumn of 1257, and the *Gulistān* (Rose garden), published in the spring of 1258. In the few months between these two dates there occurred one of the most traumatic events, at least from the psychoreligious point of view, in the history of Islamic society: the sacking of the capital city of Baghdad and the extinction of the venerable Abbasid caliphate. Yet if the onrushing storm is nowhere presaged in the former work, its aftermath—at only some eight hundred kilometers’ distance—is equally passed over in silence in the latter. There could be several plausible reasons to account for this idyllic detachment on the part of one of Iran’s great commentators on life: one is that (other arguments notwithstanding) Saʿdī might have been a Shīʿī, and no sorrier than Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī to see the symbol of perceived Sunnī usurpation so drastically defaced. Certainly, despite one or two brief and formal elegies elsewhere on the passing of the old order, he would soon come to offer panegyrics to the new rulers.

The *Būstān* is a work of some 4,100 lengthy couplets, divided into ten unequal sections, the rich content of which is only approximately indicated by such general titles as "On Humility," "On Contentment," and so forth. Though clearly grounded in a rather humane, mystically tinged Islamic, and even pre-Islamic, tradition, it is ethical, moralistic, and edifying rather than religious in any strict sense. An element of entertainment, rarely missing from such works in Persian at any time, is provided by frequent variation of matter, style, and pace, and by the inclusion of some 160 illustrative stories (some quite short and not designated as such). At the same time, the poem is not merely exhortatory, but reflective and in places almost ecstatic. Yet if it achieves a beneficial moral effect, it does so primarily through its incomparable style and narrative power: at virtually all points throughout its lengthy sweep, it is fluent, elegant, graphic, colorful, witty, paradoxical, and above all epigrammatic.

The *Gulistān*, Saʿdī would have us believe, is a hasty compound of material left over from the *Būstān*. Superficially, it is certainly quite similar in subject matter, but it is much more obviously a work of art and light entertainment. Arranged in eight main sections, again of considerable vagueness as to central theme, it is primarily a collection of stories, told in exemplary (often rhyming) Persian prose with verse embellishments in both Persian and Arabic. The general tone is much less lofty than that of the *Būstān*; indeed, it is frequently quite worldly, even cynical and flippant. Despite this, it has always been the more popular of the two in both East and West, though manuscripts and editions of both have been reproduced beyond counting, so quintessentially Persian are they held to be.

Apart from a few prose essays, the rest of Saʿdī's writings consists largely of monorhyming poems of two kinds: the long *qaṣīdah* (some forty double lines or more) and the shorter, more lyrical *ghazal* (of a dozen double lines or so). These poems are usually classified in various arbitrary ways having little or nothing to do with their essential character. Quite a few are circumstantial and panegyric, and some (not included in most editions) are downright obscene. Excepting a few in Arabic, nearly all of them are in Saʿdī's native Persian, and the great majority anticipate Ḥāfiẓ (d. 1389?) in ambiguously using the language of earthly love for mystical statement or vice versa. Saʿdī was a complex character, clearly vain of his own literary skill and disingenuous about his loyalties, and his allegedly religious utterances, however sublime, can rarely be taken at simple face value. Indeed, he often warns his readers against taking any of his words too literally. His supreme achievement was to speak with the voice of his age and his culture, and his writings are religious only in the sense that the age was (and the culture still is) deeply permeated by the matter of religion.

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Editions of Saʿdī's works in Persian are countless; practically none of them are in any sense critical. As to translations, few of the individual poems have been satisfactorily rendered into any Western languages. There are, however, reliable and recent English renderings of the two major works: the *Būstān*, which I have translated with an introduction and notes as *Morals Pointed and Tales Adorned* (Toronto, 1974), and *The Gulistān or Rose Garden of Saʿdī*, translated by Edward Rehatsek (1888), which I have revised with an introduction (New York, 1965). Both of these contain further bibliographical information.

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ṢADR AL-DĪN SHĪRĀZĪ See MULLĀ ṢADRĀ

SAGAS are long prose narratives in Old Norse written primarily in Iceland between approximately 1180 and 1500. They are generally categorized by their subject matter. The kinds of sagas important for the study of Norse paganism are the *kings' sagas*, which are biographies of Scandinavian kings (related sagas are about the Scandinavian earls of the Orkneys and the Faeroes); *family sagas* (or "sagas of the Icelanders"), which recount the histories of Iceland and Greenland from their settlement in the ninth and tenth centuries up to about 1030 (a related text is *Landnámabók* [Book of the Land-Takings], an account of the settling of Iceland, which began around 870); and *mythical-heroic sagas*, which describe adventures taking place in Scandinavia before the settlement of Iceland. All three groups of texts contain material relating to Scandinavian paganism, mythology, and other non-Christian beliefs and practices.

The kings' sagas about Olaf Tryggvason and Olaf Haraldsson describe their efforts to convert Norway and Iceland to Christianity in the period from 995 to 1030, including their encounters with pagan gods, temples, idols, and believers. The legendary history of the early kings presents the Swedish royal family as the descendants of Freyr and worshippers of Óðinn. It also includes myths not found elsewhere, some of which (such as the story that the giantess Skaði married Óðinn after she separated from Njörðr) may be medieval inventions. Family sagas contain characters who are pagan priests, seeresses, witches, and sorcerers, and they describe rituals such as fortune-telling, "baptism," funerals, sanctifications of land and temples, oath-taking, and sacrifices. Mythical-heroic sagas, some of which draw on pagan myth and legend, treat all of the above, although their setting in the legendary past and their cast of heroes, gods, and monsters make their accounts of paganism seem less realistic than those of the other kinds of sagas, which tend to a more factual-seeming style.

Although this material may possibly be accurate, somehow preserved by oral tradition, the saga authors are generally writing long after the fact and are interpreting (if not inventing) the tale for reasons of their own and according to their Christian worldview. For example, authors of the family sagas often wanted to show that the beliefs and social institutions of pagan Icelanders prefigured those of a fully Christian society. A later saga author could also borrow from an earlier saga, so the existence of some element of paganism in more than one saga is not necessarily proof of its origin in the shared pagan heritage. It is just as likely to derive from vague memories and popular tradition, deliberate antiquarian reconstruction, or the writer's own suppositions as to what the old religion was like. For instance, the account in the family saga *Hrafnkels saga* (Saga of Hrafnkell) of a sacred horse shared by the hero with the god Freyr, which he swore that no man should ride, on pain of death, is now generally recognized as a late and fictitious presentation of heathen beliefs and practices unlikely to have been part of pagan culture. Similarly, the description of a heathen temple in the family saga *Eyrbyggja saga* (Saga of the People who Lived at Eyr) is now considered a learned reconstruction. Nonetheless, traces of the old heathen religion and its rituals are preserved in the sagas, and increasingly reliable the lower the religious plane, as simple magical practices that surely continued to be performed into the Christian era.

The sagas attest to a belief in *landvættir* (land spirits), who can bring luck in farming and fishing, and they depict pagans devoting themselves to Þórr (a protector against bad weather at sea and the god who supports order in the community), Óðinn (a sower of strife but also the god who endows poets with the valuable power over words), and Freyr (the bringer of good harvests). *Eyrbyggja saga* chronicles the arrival from Norway of Þórólfr, a devout worshipper of Þórr who settles in western Iceland. He is shown choosing his land at the prompting of the god, setting up pillars brought from Þórr's shrine in Norway, marking his boundaries with fire, and building a new temple near his home. The association of Þórr with the land, with the choice of a sacred field for the Law Assembly, and the taking of oaths on a sacred ring appears authentic. The mythical-heroic saga *Gautreks saga* (Saga of Gautrek) describes Starkaðr the Old, a famous warrior renowned for the talents Óðinn bestowed on him. His mother dedicated him to the god before birth in return for help in a brewing contest, and when he grew to manhood, Óðinn was compelled by Þórr's curse to cause Starkaðr to commit terrible deeds, such as the sacrificial death (by hanging and stabbing with a spear) of the king he served. One version of the king's saga about Olaf Tryggvason includes a tale about a fugitive Icelander who joined the priestess of Freyr as she traveled from farm to farm in Sweden in a chariot with a statue of Freyr; this was believed to bring good harvests. The young man soon substituted himself for the statue, and when the priestess became pregnant the people took it as a sign of divine favor. Although this episode is probably intended to mock paganism, the practice it describes is confirmed from other sources, such as Tacitus's description of the procession of Nerthus.

Two priestesses are mentioned in *Landnámabók;* these Icelandic women are also distinguished by being related to the local chieftains. One was the wife of Þorvaldr Koðránsson, and the story goes that, during the efforts to spread Christianity in Iceland, Þorvaldr was assisting in the preaching at the Assembly but his wife remained at home, offering a sacrifice at a temple. When considering such a report, it must be remembered that medieval Christianity associated the male with the spiritual and the female with the carnal, and the sagas therefore contain many episodes in which a woman promoting or defending paganism is defeated by a man's efforts to promote Christianity. In the family saga *Njáls saga* (Saga of Njál), it is a woman who forcefully defends the pagan faith and even attempts to convert King Olaf Tryggvason's missionary, the priest Þangbrandr. The king's saga about Olaf Haraldsson includes a tale in which a farmwife has her household worshipping a preserved horse's penis; when King Olaf hears of this, he travels to their remote district and preaches Christianity to them in person. Another female-led ritual practice that occurred within the household was *seiðr*, a kind of divination that, according to myth, was taught by Freyja, the Vanir goddess of love. It could be used for black magic, but its purpose in several sagas is to predict the future and men's fates. A famous description of it is in the family saga *Eiríks saga rauða* (Erik the Red's Saga), where a famine in Greenland prompts one of the leaders of the community to invite a seeress to a feast. She wears special clothing and is fed special food. The next day she obtains the help of another woman who knows the right chant; this draws many spirits to the circle of women, and the seeress is able to forecast the end of the famine, predict famous progeny for the woman who sang, and answer questions put by various individuals.

In contrast to the mythic origin of this practice, *Landnámabók* and the king's saga about Harald Fairhair of Norway refer to *seiðr* and magic being learned from the Sámi or Lapps in northern Norway. (Not quite a saga is the Norwegian *Historia Norwegiae* [History of Norway], written circa 1178 to 1220, which gives a Latin account, purportedly based on the testimony of a Christian eyewitness, of two Sámi shamans who attempt to retrieve the missing life-soul of a woman struck unconscious by an unknown adversary.) Like the category of the female, the Sámi are generally deployed in the sagas as a "cultural other," that is, a group that is used to define Norse society by being the group that the Norse are not. Thus, both women's magic and Sámi shamanism can, from the perspective of the sagas, easily be interpreted as witchcraft and sorcery, although witchcraft, strictly speaking, is a phenomenon of Christian Europe. *Eiríks saga*'s account of the seeress's garb includes the detail of her cat-fur gloves, which is more reminiscent of European witchlore than Finno-Ugric shamanism. The saga authors probably saw little difference between the *seiðr* of the past and thirteenth-century notions of witches.

The biases just described, however, were not universal, and several Icelandic men of good reputation are depicted as involved in divination and manipulative magic. The king's saga about Olaf Tryggvason includes a tale about an Icelander who can see the future, including the imminent death of his best friend's son, soon to be killed by malevolent *dísir*, female spirits associated with his family, who are angry that the family will abandon them for a new faith. The family saga *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar* (Saga of Egill, Son of Bald Grímr) describes one incident in which Egill cures a woman who was sickened by the improper use of runes, which had been cut into a stick that was then put into her bed. Because the carver of the runes was incompetent, his runes made her ill instead of infatuated. Egill cuts away the runes, burns the shavings, and cuts new runes into the stave that restores the woman to health.

Another aspect of Germanic paganism that does not involve the gods is a belief that the dead were conscious inhabitants of their graves. A related belief, documented in *Landnámabók* as well as *Eyrbyggja saga*, held that the dead spent the afterlife with their ancestors in a nearby mountain. The latter says that the Þórr-worshipper Þórólfr brought the tradition with him from Norway, and he and his son Þorsteinn are said to retire after their death to a certain mountain, where they feast in the company of their ancestors. Helgafell ("Holy Mountain"), the familial mountain in western Iceland, is guarded from being defiled by bloodshed or excrement, and no one is allowed to look at it without being washed. (Interestingly, Helgafell became a thriving monastic center by the thirteenth century.) *Landnámabók* notes that the descendents of Auðr, a Christian settler of Iceland, reverted to Holy Mountain worship after her death.

Pagan Germanic cultures varied widely, from the warrior tribes known to the Romans through the kingdoms of Scandinavia and Anglo-Saxon England, with their well-developed towns and trade routes, to the unique North Atlantic society of Iceland, which for its first four hundred years was a commonwealth of farm-based chieftains, with neither king nor any urban center. The religion and rituals of these cultures also varied, as do the reflexes of them found in the sagas. In addition to the beliefs and practices that the sagas depict as beliefs and practices, there are also episodes that appear to derive from rituals, although the saga author seems to be unaware of their special nature. These are found in mythical-heroic sagas based on Migration Age legends, such as *Völsunga saga* (Saga of the Völsungs) and *Hrólfs saga kraka* (Saga of Hrólf Kraki). Primarily they involve initiation ceremonies used to mark (or make) the change of boys into young warriors.

A thousand years later, these tribal practices had faded from memory, but knowledge of the Old Norse mythic world was still a cultural resource of the Icelanders, and without it the sagas cannot be fully understood. It was not the only cognitive category they possessed—Christianity was another—but it was one means by which they could communicate a wide range of concepts and ideas that were integral to their culture. Nonetheless, the saga authors and audiences were Christians, and their use of paganism as a theme and the old myths as narrative patterns was, on the largest scale, subsumed within a Christian worldview in one of several ways—for example, by considering the age of paganism to be the Scandinavian equivalent of the "old dispensation" (the period before the old law of the Jews was replaced by the new law of Christ). Paganism and pagan associations, such as Odinic characters, are deployed according to the Christian author's view of the past or agenda for his history. Snorri Sturluson (1179–1241) emphasizes the Odinic allegiances of Earl Hákon, who is the opponent and pagan counterpart of King Olaf Tryggvason, the Christian who must assert political control over his new kingdom and begin its conversion. The family saga *Víga-Glúms saga* (Saga of Killer-Glúmr) describes an Icelandic intercult rivalry between Freyr and Óðinn. The author implies that such a proud and vengeful society can only escape its failings by accepting Christianity. Pagan behaviors are thus shown to be embodiments of Christian sin. *Eyrbyggja saga*'s Þórólfr establishes the authority of his temple through demanding tributes from neighboring farms, and similar characteristics are found in the figure of Hrafnkell, who is deeply affectionate towards the stallion he has dedicated to Freyr and is kind to his own supporters, though he forces others to become his supporters and does not treat them fairly. In these sagas, the oppression exercised by these priests probably signifies the spiritual burden and evil nature of paganism.

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ELIZABETH ASHMAN ROWE (2005)

SAHAK PARTHEV (d. 439) was chief bishop of Armenia from circa 387 to 439. Sahak, son of Nerses the Great, is surnamed Parthev, or Partʾew ("the Parthian"), because of his descent from Gregory the Illuminator and the Armeno-Parthian Arsacid dynasty. There is very little information about his early years and the first two decades of his pontificate. The fifth-century Armenian historians Koriwn and Lazar of Pʾarpi speak for the most part about his role in the cultural movement at the time of the invention of the Armenian alphabet in 404 CE. Sahak, who presided over the Persian sector of Armenia, patronized the educational, missionary, religious, and literary activities of Mesrop Mashtotsʿ, the inventor of the Armenian alphabet. Sahak was instrumental in the spread of literacy in the royal central provinces of Armenia; he personally revised the Armenian version of the scriptures on the basis of the Septuagint and translated several works of the Fathers from Greek, a language in which he was proficient.

In 420 Sahak went to the Persian court in Ctesiphon (near present-day Baghdad), where he intervened on behalf of the Persian Christians who were being persecuted. In 428, when the Sasanids put an end to the Arsacid dynasty of Armenia, Sahak was removed from office, since he was of Arsacid lineage. He was replaced by southern and Syriac bishops, but evidently continued to exercise authority in spiritual matters.

Sahak is well known for his correspondence with Patriarch Proclus of Constantinople (434–446) and Bishop Acacius of Melitene concerning the "heretical" teachings of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Contact with these bishops led Sahak to banish Theodore's works from Armenia. A part of Sahak's letter to Proclus was officially read during one of the sessions of the Second Council of Constantinople in 553.

In the mid-430s, while Sahak was still alive, the canons of the councils of Nicaea and Ephesus were brought to Armenia and translated into Armenian, probably by Sahak himself. There are also canons attributed to Sahak that are probably not authentic that are from a later period predating the eighth century.

Koriwn states that Sahak translated and adapted the Greek liturgical texts for practical use. The exact nature of his influence on the present-day liturgical books has still not been carefully studied. There are also hymns ascribed to him that bear the stylistic marks of later centuries. The earliest translations of the Fathers, however, were made under his supervision, according to the trustworthy testimony of Koriwn.

Sahak died on September 7, 439, and was buried in Ashtishat. Soon thereafter a martyrium was built over his grave, and he was venerated as a saint. In his youth he had married and fathered a daughter, who became the mother of Vardan Mamikonian, the commander-in-chief of the Armenian army. Sahak was the last of the bishops of Armenia who were of the lineage of Gregory the Illuminator. He is greatly venerated by the Armenians as a saint and honored, with Mesrop Mashtotsʿ, as the cofounder of the Armenian literary tradition.

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SAI BABA MOVEMENT. The Sai Baba movement is perhaps the most popular modern South Asian religious movement. It owes its origin to Shirdi Sai Baba (d. 1918). Through one of the inheritors of his charisma, Sathya Sai Baba (b. 1926), the movement became a transnational phenomenon in the late twentieth century.

While most of the available literature is hagiographical in nature, scholars have studied some aspects of the movement, including the figures of Shirdi Sai Baba and Sathya Sai Baba, the middle-class constituency of Sathya Sai Baba, and the movement's pedagogical innovations. In addition, Shirdi Sai Baba has been identified with certain Ṣūfī orders in Maharashtra and Karnataka (Shepherd, 1985), the medieval figure of Kabīr (Rigopoulos, 1993), and the protean Indian deity, Dattātreya (Rigopoulos, 1998). Rigopoulos points out that the "syncretistic quality of Kabīr's life and teachings" seems to have been Sai Baba's model (1993, p. 305), and that on one occasion Shirdi Sai Baba stated that his "religion" was Kabīr. Dattātreya's "interreligious eclecticism" is found in the Sai Baba movement: Shirdi Sai Baba was believed by his devotees to be an incarnation of Dattātreya, and Sathya Sai Baba has presented himself as an incarnation of the same figure (Rigopoulos, 1998, p. 251). An early ethnographic study of the Sathya Sai Baba movement by Lawrence Babb (1986) focuses on miracles as central moments that make the world of the devotee seem like an enchanted place. While the miracles of both Shirdi Sai Baba and Sathya Sai Baba (healing; appearing in dreams to foretell the future or provide guidance; producing substances, such as ash, that have sacred and salutary effects; etc.) are certainly significant, this entry examines specific institutions, processes, texts, and practices in the growth of the Sai Baba movement.

The authoritative account of Shirdi Sai Baba's life, *Shri Sai Satcharita,* states that he arrived as a tall lad of about sixteen in Shirdi, a small village in Maharashtra, India (Gunaji, 1972, p. 20). The majority of the population there were Hindu peasants, and Muslims worked mainly as artisans or agricultural laborers. He stayed for three years in Shirdi, then disappeared, only to return in 1858 when he began to reside in a dilapidated mosque, his belongings limited to a pipe, tobacco, a tin pot, a long white robe, and a staff. He sat in front of a sacred fire *(dhuni)* to ward off the cold. He never used his own name but was referred to by others as "Sai Baba." Rigopoulos suggests that *Sai* means "holy one" or "saint," while *Baba* literally means "father" (1993, p. 3). Shirdi Sai Baba often used the term *mendicant* (*fakir* or *faqir*) when referring to either himself or God. Initially, few people came to him: the incident that transformed him almost overnight from a mad mendicant to a holy saint was a miracle in which he apparently converted water to oil.

Shirdi Sai Baba adopted modes of oral and scriptural instruction for his followers. To some, he recommended the reading of such scriptures as the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bhagavadgītā*, or he recommended simply chanting the sacred names of Rāma, Viṣṇu, or Allāh. He sent other followers to various temples, with gifts to other saints, and explained to them the meaning of certain sacred verses, concepts, or texts, either personally or in dreams. At first, Shirdi Sai Baba was worshiped through individual offerings of sandal paste and flowers. With Baba's permission, around 1897, one of his devotees (who had been blessed with a child through his intervention) began the practice of holding a festival commemorating the death of a Muslim saint (*urs*) in Shirdi. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Shirdi Sai Baba began the practice of collecting sacrificial fees (*dakshina*) from the hundreds who began to flock to Shirdi. The complement of this was the sacred ash (*udi*) that Baba collected from burning logs in his sacred fire, for use in all manner of cures.

About 1908, other devotees transformed the early individual worship of Shirdi Sai Baba into a congregational form along the lines of the worship at Pandharpur in Maharashtra, one of the most important pilgrimage centers of Hindu devotionalism in the region. Around this time, Shirdi Sai Baba gave up begging, and the food brought by his devotees would be distributed after he blessed it. In 1912, certain devotees decided to hold a *Rāma Navami* festival (to celebrate the birth of the Hindu deity, Rāma) along with the *urs*, and this became an annual festival at Shirdi, with Shirdi Sai Baba actively participating. In 1918, Baba had an attack of fever and passed away. A dispute arose as to where he should be buried. The Muslim devotees wished to lay their saint in an open piece of land in Shirdi, while the Hindu worshipers wished him to be buried in a building where a Kṛṣṇa image was to have been placed. Eventually a plebiscite settled the matter in a way favorable to the Hindus.

By 1918, Shirdi Sai Baba's constituency had become increasingly urban and his Ṣūfī practices became more overlaid with those identified with sectarian Hinduism. When Baba passed away, he had no property, while all the paraphernalia of worship came to be vested in the Sai Sansthan trust in 1922. The Sai Sansthan today is a vast organizational network, with hotels, rooms for pilgrims, a magazine, and other publications to cater to thousands of devotees. The sacred fire still burns in Shirdi, a site that links devotees to the memory of Shirdi Sai Baba and his life, and sacrificial fees are often collected at the temple where his tomb lies, dominated by his imposing white marble image. Shirdi is on the pilgrimage route for many Hindus and Muslims who regard him as a saint who still speaks from the tomb. Today, the devotion of Shirdi Sai Baba is a national and transnational phenomenon with devotees around the world. There are temples dedicated to Shirdi Sai Baba in virtually every major city in India and in many overseas; several popular films about his life have been made; and while traveling in autorickshaws in India, one comes across pictures of Shirdi Sai Baba pasted near the handlebars of the vehicle, alongside those of other deities, the Qurʾān, and movie stars.

Shirdi Sai Baba's reassurances that even after his death he would continue to help his devotees led to the belief among some that he would be reincarnated. While a number of persons subsequently posed as Baba reborn, the most famous claim of reincarnation is that of Sathya Sai Baba, born on November 23, 1926, as Sathyanarayana Raju to a peasant family in Puttaparthi, a village in a drought-prone region of Andhra Pradesh. Sathya seems to have had a fairly normal early life, although biographers and oral accounts claim a number of mysterious events at the time of his birth, including a snake lying under his bed (interpreted as an indication of the deity Śiva's presence) and the sound of musical instruments playing. As a child, Sathya would produce countless articles from a bag for his playmates, and he also seems to have possessed intuitive powers. In his early teens he went through a prolonged period of "illness" and erratic behavior after apparently being stung by a black scorpion. He refused to speak for long periods and would break into weeping and song, sometimes reciting Sanskrit verses. The family took him to various doctors and even an exorcist, but to no avail. According to the official biography by N. Kasturi, on May 23, 1940, Sathya announced his spiritual genealogy to be in the lineage of two Indian sages, Āpastamba and Bhāradvaja, and declared that he was Sai Baba (Kasturi, 1968, pp. 42–43). A few months later, he cast off his school books and said that his devotees were calling him.

At first, Sathya Sai Baba resided in the garden of an excise inspector's bungalow and taught what is considered his first devotional song (*bhajan*), singing that meditating on one's spiritual preceptor (*gurū*) could take one across the difficult sea of existence. He lived in the house of a Brahman woman named Subbamma till about 1944 or 1945, and then he relocated to a building constructed for him by a group of devotees. By 1950 a hermitage called Prasanthi Nilayam was completed on the outskirts of Puttaparthi. Witnesses carefully recorded the details of his maturing ministry: he performed miracles, granted boons to devotees who gravitated towards Puttaparthi, and visited towns and cities in south India. The appearance of Sathya Sai Baba in dreams, the appearance of sacred ash and honey on photographs of Sathya Sai Baba and other holy figures in homes, reports of healings, and so on, formed an ever-growing fund of folklore; Sathya Sai Baba himself has referred to these as his "calling cards." The watershed in his career occurred in 1957, when he left for his first tour of northern Indian cities and sacred sites; thereafter his public role came to be voiced distinctly. He spoke at gatherings of devotees and at temples, hospitals, schools, and language associations, sharing platforms with government ministers, educators, and other religious leaders.

Sathya Sai Baba has categorized his life in terms of three time periods. He stated as far back as 1953 (Sathya Sai Baba, 1999, p. 3) that the first sixteen years of his life were a period of childhood miracles and divine sport. The second period witnessed the centrality of divine miracles, and after his thirty-second year the task was spiritual instruction and the guiding of humanity back to the path of truth (*sathya*), righteousness (*dharma*), peace (*shanthi*), and love (*prema*). Sathya Sai Baba was using the term *incarnation* (*avatar*) at least as early as 1955 to describe himself and his mission to reform humanity. He also declared a disinterest in creating a new religious path, for the divine had a million names and forms leading to God. The giant architectural symbol of this universalism is the Sarva Dharma Stupa, an enormous pillar in his hermitage with symbols from five "world" religions—Hinduism, Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, and Zoroastrianism.

Although Sathya Sai Baba had earlier indicated that he was the incarnation of Shirdi Sai Baba, on Gurū Pūrṇimā day in 1963 he made the startling announcement that he was the divine bi-unity of Śiva and Śakti (male and female principles of divinity). He also announced that a third Sai Baba would be reborn a few years after his passing away. The recasting of the memory of Shirdi Sai Baba and the prediction of another incarnation, Prema Sai Baba, signaled the beginning of a massive organization and a pan-Indian and international role for Sathya Sai Baba. The first all-India conference of Sai organizations was held in Madras in 1967, and the first world conference at Bombay in 1968. Sathya Sai Baba left for a tour of East Africa, his first and only foreign trip, the same year. The year 1968 was important in other ways: Sathya Sai Baba established an arts and sciences college for women in Anantapur in Andhra Pradesh (a similar institution was founded in 1969 in Bangalore for men). In 1981 Sathya Sai Baba established the Sri Sathya Sai Institute of Higher Learning, which eventually achieved university status. He later inaugurated two "super-specialty" medical institutes in Puttaparthi (1990–1991) and Bangalore (2000). One of the most ambitious of Baba's projects provides drinking water for Anantapur district in Andhra Pradesh—a project completed in 1996, after only one year of work.

Apart from the central hermitage in Puttaparthi, there is a second center of the Sathya Sai Baba movement in Bangalore called Brindavan, and Baba also maintains residences in Hyderabad, Chennai, and Mumbai. Four main festivals have been celebrated at these centers since the early years: Sathya Sai Baba's birthday, Śivaratri in February/March (dedicated to Śiva), Gurū Pūrṇimā in July (dedicated to one's spiritual preceptor), and a nine-day autumn festival called Dasara. Today, a number of other holidays—for example, Christmas, Buddha's birthday, New Year festivals, and so on—have been added to the list, and the older festivals have become more elaborate. Thousands travel to Puttaparthi to celebrate Sathya Sai Baba's birthday and to participate in other festivals.

There is a vast and growing corpus of literature on Sathya Sai Baba. Apart from accounts of devotees' experiences, the official biography, and publications of the Sathya Sai Central Trust, Baba's own discourses and works are central to the movement. The first category within them is a set of books that are discourses called "streams" (*vahini*) on specific themes, such as meditation, peace, knowledge, and so on, aimed at the clarification of spiritual truths. The second category includes his exegeses on different scriptures. Sathya Sai Baba is an indefatigable public speaker—he speaks mainly in Telugu—and he gives lectures to devotees, students, villagers, and other religious organizations. *Summer Showers in Brindavan* are speeches given by him to college students during courses held for them. The newsletter, *Sanathana Sarathi* ("The eternal charioteer," a reference to Kṛṣṇa), devoted to the moral and spiritual awakening of humanity, was inaugurated in 1958. Many of Sathya Sai Baba's speeches find their way into *Sanathana Sarathi.* Others have been collected in more than thirty volumes titled *Sathya Sai Speaks.*

A central aspect of the Sathya Sai Baba movement is the casting of the relationship between ancient values and modernity in terms of the Sai golden age, a millenarian process in which all followers have a role to play. The path laid down by Sathya Sai Baba for devotees comprises three sets of activities: (1) spiritual activities, including devotional singing, study circles of Sai teachings, and meditation; (2) educational activities, including a program in human values for children; and (3) service activities, including the organizing of medical camps, blood donations, the feeding of the poor, emergency relief, and adoption of underdeveloped villages. The devotional songs are essentially utterances of the names of God, and they form the spiritual center of the movement and a devotee's everyday life. Every week, men and women may gather to sing for about an hour in front of pictures of Sathya Sai Baba (and sometimes, Shirdi Sai Baba, Jesus, Buddha, and others, depending on the constituency) and an empty chair that signifies his presence. The Human Values program for children is meant to create a firm spiritual basis for future society by focusing on the moral education of children. Members are also enjoined to engage in service to society, a reflection of Baba's philosophy that devotion and service are intertwined practices and that the body is the site for realizing the self. Practices such as devotional singing, meditation, or social service become the path by which the self is realized.

The Sathya Sai centers, or *samitis*, were instituted by Sathya Sai Baba to be the main venue for these activities. The first was registered in 1965 in Mumbai. By 2002 there were 8,447 centers in India and about 9,000 in other parts of the world. The main function of the centers is to undertake spiritual, educational, and service activities under the inspiration and guidance of Sathya Sai Baba and the Sri Sathya Sai Seva Organization's 1981 charter. The organization is meant for all and does not recognize any distinctions based on religion, caste, color, or creed. Its fundamental objective is to awaken the awareness of inner divinity by propagating through practice and example the basic principles emphasized by Sathya Sai Baba.

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SAICHŌ

SAICHŌ (767–822), also known by his posthumous title Dengyō Daishi; founder of Japanese Tendai, a sect derived from the teachings and practices of the Chinese Tiantai school.

LIFE. Saichō was born into a family of devout Buddhists. At the age of twelve he went to study at the provincial temple in Ōmi. There he studied under Gyōhyō (722–797), a disciple of Daoxuan (702–760), the Chinese monk who had brought Northern School Chan, Kegon (Chin., Huayan) teachings, and the *Fanwang* precepts to Japan in 736. Saichō's studies of meditation and Kegon "one-vehicle" (Skt., *ekayāna*; Jpn., *ichijō*) doctrines during this period influenced his lifelong doctrinal predilections. Shortly after he was ordained in 785, he decided to climb Mount Hiei. He remained there for approximately a decade to meditate and study. During his retreat, Saichō read about Chinese Tiantai meditation practice in Kegon texts and managed to obtain several Tiantai texts that had been brought to Japan by Jianzhen (Ganjin, 688–763) in 754 but had subsequently been ignored by Japanese monks.

The capital of Japan was moved from Nara to Nagaoka in 784, and then to Kyoto in 795. Mount Hiei was located to the northeast of Kyoto, a direction considered dangerous by geomancers, but Saichō's presence on the mountain protected the new capital and brought him to the attention of the court. In addition, the court was interested in reforming Buddhism by patronizing serious monks without political aspirations and by supporting those teachings that would bridge the traditional rivalry between the Hossō (Yogācāra) and Sanron (Madhyamaka) schools. Soon various court nobles, especially those of the Wake clan, began to show an interest in Saichō. With court support, Saichō traveled to China in 804 to obtain Tiantai texts and to study with Chinese teachers. During his eight months there, he received initiations into a variety of Buddhist traditions, including the Tiantai school, Oxhead Chan, the *Fanwang* precepts (a set of fifty-eight Mahayana disciplinary rules), and Esoteric Buddhism.

Upon his return to Japan in 805, Saichō discovered that his brief studies of Esoteric Buddhism attracted more attention than his mastery of Tendai teachings. Saichō's major patron, Emperor Kammu (r. 781–806), was ill, and Saichō used Esoteric rituals in an attempt to restore Kammu's health. Shortly before Kammu died the court awarded Saichō two yearly ordinands, one in Tendai and one in Esoteric Buddhism. This event marked the formal establishment of the Tendai school.

Saichō spent the next few years studying Esoteric Buddhism, but his efforts were overshadowed by the return of Kūkai (774–835) from China in 806. Kūkai's knowledge of Esoteric Buddhist practice and doctrine was clearly superior to that of Saichō. Although Saichō and some of his disciples went to study with Kūkai and borrowed Esoteric texts from him, by 816 irreconcilable differences on doctrinal issues, a dispute over the loan of certain Esoteric texts, and the defection of Taihan (778–858?), one of Saichō's most able disciples, ended Saichō's hopes of mastering Esoteric Buddhism.

During the years that Saichō studied Esoteric Buddhism, more than half of the Tendai yearly ordinands left Mount Hiei. Many of them defected to the Hossō school; others departed in order to study Esoteric Buddhism with Kūkai or to support their ailing mothers. It became clear that if Tendai were to survive, Saichō would have to retain many more of his students on Mount Hiei. During the last five or six years of his life, Saichō strove to secure the place of Tendai within Japanese Buddhism, and in the process composed almost all of his major works.

Saichō's activities during this period can be divided into two categories. First, he defended Tendai doctrines and meditation practices against attacks by the Hossō monk Tokuitsu (d. 841?). Two of Saichō's major works, the *Shugo kokkaishō* (Essays on protecting the nation) and the *Hokke shūku* (Elegant words on the *Lotus Sūtra*) were written during this period. Saichō argued that everyone could attain Buddhahood and that many could do so in their present lifetime through Tendai and Esoteric practices. He firmly rejected the Hossō argument that the attainment of Buddhahood required aeons of practice and that some people would never be able to attain it. Second, Saichō proposed major reforms in the Tendai educational system, in monastic discipline, and in the ordination system. Saichō suggested that Tendai monks be ordained on Mount Hiei, where they would be required to remain for the next twelve years without venturing outside the monastery's boundaries. Ordinations were to be supervised by lay administrators *(zoku bettō)* who also held important positions at court. Two texts, the *Sange gakushō shiki* (Rules for Tendai students) and the *Kenkairon* (Treatise elucidating the precepts) concern Saichō's proposals on administration and monastic discipline.

In addition, Saichō criticized the *Sifenlu* (*Dharmaguptaka Vinaya*) precepts, which traditionally had been conferred at ordination in China and Japan. He argued that the *Sifenlu* were Hīnayānist rules that would cause the recipient to retrogress, not progress, in his religious practice. The *Sifenlu* precepts were to be replaced with the *Fanwang* precepts, a set of Mahayana precepts traditionally used in East Asia to inculcate Mahayana attitudes in monks, nuns, and lay believers, but not to ordain laypeople as monks or nuns. The adoption of the *Fanwang* precepts was intended to strengthen monastic discipline on Mount Hiei by providing the monks with a more relevant guide to conduct than the *Sifenlu* precepts. After the yearly ordinands had completed their twelve years on Mount Hiei, many of them were to receive official appointments as administrators of monastic affairs in the provinces. During their terms, they were to devote much of their time to projects that would benefit the populace. Saichō expected these activities to contribute to the spread of Tendai influence.

Saichō's proposals were vehemently opposed by the Hossō and other Nara schools because their approval would have entailed implicit recognition of Saichō's criticisms of Hossō doctrine and practice. In addition, the proposals would have removed Tendai monks from the supervision of the Office of Monastic Affairs (Sogo). The court, not wishing to become involved in disputes between schools, hesitated to act on Saichō's proposals. As a result, Saichō died without seeing his reforms approved; however, one week after Saichō's death the court approved the proposals as a posthumous tribute.

THOUGHT. Most of Saichō's works were polemical and designed either to prove that Tendai doctrine and practice were superior to that of any of the other schools of Japanese Buddhism or to argue that the Tendai school should be free of any supervision by other schools. In his defense of Tendai interests, Saichō discussed a number of issues that played important roles in later Japanese religious history.

Saichō had an acute sense of the flow of Buddhist history. The teachings of the *Lotus Sūtra,* the text that contained the Buddha's ultimate teaching according to the Tendai school, had been composed in India and then transmitted to China. Japan, Saichō believed, would be the next site for the rise of the "one-vehicle" teachings propagated by Tendai. Saichō was conversant with theories on the decline of Buddhism and believed that he was living at the end of the Period of Counterfeit Dharma (*zōmatsu*), described as an era in which many monks would be corrupt and covetous.

Although Saichō believed major changes were needed in Japanese Buddhism, he did not use theories on the decline of Buddhism to justify doctrinal innovations, as did some of the founders of the Kamakura schools. Rather, Saichō argued that because Buddhism in the capital had declined, monks should retreat to the mountains to practice assiduously.

Many of Saichō's doctrinal innovations were based on his belief that the religious aptitude of the Japanese people as a whole had matured to the point where they no longer needed any form of Buddhism other than the "perfect teachings" *(engyō)* of the Tendai school. Earlier Buddhist thinkers had also been interested in the manner in which the religious faculties of people matured, but had usually discussed the process in terms of individuals rather than Religious training for people with "perfect faculties" (*enki,* i. e., those whose religious faculties respond to the "perfect teachings") was based on the threefold study (*sangaku*) of morality, meditation, and doctrine. Saichō believed that Tiantai teachings on meditation and doctrine were adequate, although they could be supplemented by Esoteric Buddhism. However, he was dissatisfied with the traditional Tiantai position on morality, which maintained that a monk could follow the *Sifenlu* precepts with a Mahayana mind. Saichō argued that adherence to the *Sifenlu* would cause a monk to retrogress toward Hīnayāna goals. Tendai practices could be realized only by using the Mahayana *Fanwang* precepts for ordinations and monastic discipline.

Chinese Tiantai had been a syncretistic tradition, particularly at the Tiantai Yuquan monastery. Chinese monks had been interested in Chan and Esotertic Buddhism as well as in the *Sifenlu* and *Fanwang* precepts. Saichō inherited this tradition, but developed certain aspects of it in innovative ways. For example, Saichō considered Esoteric Buddhism to be essentially the same as Tendai (*enmitsu itchi*) and thus awarded Esoteric Buddhism a more central place in the Tendai tradition than it had been given by most Chinese monks. Like Kūkai, Saichō emphasized the importance of striving for enlightenment as an immediate goal to be attained in this existence (*sokushin jōbutsu*). Tendai and Esoteric practices, he felt, provided a direct path *(jikidō)* to enlightenment, whereas the teachings of the Nara schools required aeons to bring the practitioner to enlightenment.

The Chinese Tiantai systems for classifying teachings (*kyōhan*) developed by Zhiyi (538–597) had been designed to demonstrate how the "perfect teachings" of the *Lotus Sūtra* revealed the ultimate meaning of all other Buddhist traditions and could be used to unify and interpret various Buddhist doctrines. Later, as the competition between Tiantai and other schools intensified, Tiantai scholars such as Zhanran (711–782) developed classification systems that demonstrated the complete superiority of the *Lotus Sutra* over other teachings. Saichō's rejection of Hossō doctrine and the *Sifenlu* precepts was based on the later Tiantai classification systems. Saichō also developed his own systems, which emphasized the importance of relying on the Buddha's words from such texts as the *Lotus Sutra,* rather than on the commentaries (*śāstras*) used by the Hossō and Sanron schools. In addition, he stressed the importance of matching teachings to the faculties of the religious practitioner so that enlightenment could be rapidly attained.

SEE ALSO Mappō; Shingonshū; Tendaishū.

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PAUL GRONER (1987 AND 2005)

SAID, EDWARD W. (1935–2003) is best known as the author of the influential and widely read *Orientalism* (1978), a study of the modes of thought and writing which have created a Manichean and essentialist divide between "the Orient" and "the Occident" since the eighteenth century. In his introduction to the book Said argues that one must grasp the remarkable consistency of thought and method which underpins Western representations of the Arab Muslim world across the centuries if one is to understand properly "the enormously systematic discipline by which European [and later American] culture was able to manage—and even produce—the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period" (p. 3). No other single work has had a greater formative influence than *Orientalism* on debates about the representation of non-Western cultures within the discourses of the West, on the historical and theoretical understanding of the dynamics of culture and power between center and periphery in colonial and postcolonial contexts, or, more specifically, on the ways in which knowledge of Islam and the Arab Muslim world has been shaped or misshaped in Europe and America.

But Said's writing career was a long and productive one and his intellectual interests were marked by a rare and impressive range. He wrote with authority and passion on literature, politics, and Western classical music; and he worked with equal ease and effectiveness in academia as well as in the world of the popular media. Diverse as the books, collections of essays, newspaper articles, reviews, and interviews are, a number of common threads tie them together. Said was concerned throughout his career with the nature and function of secular criticism (and so also with its religious opposite), with the relationship of knowledge to power, of culture to imperial histories, with the experience of exile and diaspora within modernity, and above all with the role of the intellectual in the contemporary world. His forceful defense of secular humanism and of the public role of the intellectual, as much as his trenchant critiques of Orientalism and his unwavering advocacy of the Palestinian cause, made Said one of the most internationally influential cultural commentators writing out of the United States in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

Said was born into an extremely well-to-do Christian family in Jerusalem in 1935. His father, Wadie, a Protestant, had immigrated to the United States before the First World War and had returned to the Middle East with American citizenship after volunteering for service in France. Upon his return he had married the daughter of a Baptist minister. *Out of Place* (1999), a memoir of Said's years of childhood in Palestine, Cairo, and Lebanon, describes his sense of distance from his disciplinarian father and his lonely retreat into the world of novels and classical music. The Cairo School for American Children and Victoria College were among the schools Said attended as a boy. When he was expelled from Victoria College in 1951, his parents decided to send him to Mount Hermon, a preparatory school in the United States.

Said was an accomplished student and pianist and spoke several languages. He went on to graduate from Princeton, to gain a Ph.D. from Harvard, and, in 1963, to join the faculty at Columbia University in New York, where later he became a professor of English and comparative literature. Though he seemed confidently embarked on what promised to be a successful career as a literary scholar, Said was jolted by the Arab-Israeli war in 1967, the Arab defeat, and what he saw as the almost universal pro-Israeli stance in the United States, into a newly politicized sense of his own Palestinian and exilic identity and of Palestinian and Arab history. However, as important as 1967 proved to be, one should not forget that the focus of Said's Ph.D. is Joseph Conrad (1857–1924), himself an exile and among the most incisive analysts of the imperial project in modern literature—and a touchstone for Said throughout his career.

Said's first book was *Joseph Conrad and the Fiction of Autobiography* (1966), and his second major work was *Beginnings* (1975), an ambitious attempt to examine the notion of the point of departure in literature. Later works on literature developed more political and historical perspectives. *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), a sequel of sorts to *Orientalism*, examines the constitutive role of empire in major works of Western literature and music. *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (1983), which outlines some key theoretical foundations of Said's work, insists on the worldliness of the text, and argues for the necessity of a properly "secular criticism"—which is to say a criticism free from the priestly specializations of academic discourse and the dangers of ideological certainties. As William D. Hart has pointed out in his important *Edward Said and the Religious Effects of Culture* (2000), Said's defense of secular criticism is necessarily haunted by the specter of the religious, understood in both the literal and the figurative senses. Quoting Said himself, Hart notes that "the object of Said's critique, and what he holds to be distinctive of religious discourse, is the appeal to 'the extrahuman, the vague abstraction, the divine, the esoteric and the secret'" (p. 10). Just as some critics have rightly argued that *Orientalism* has a tendency to create a monolithic version of Western discourse lacking an adequate sense of historical and individual variation, so Hart is also right to suggest that Said has a tendency to slip into antireligious cliché and that he does not fully acknowledge the ways in which religious practices can become "a site of hegemonic struggle by subaltern classes (the ruled) against the ruling class" (p. 37).

If the idea of the religious was a constitutive deep structure in Said's thought, the actual religion of Islam, the culture that it has produced, and the reception of that culture in the West also preoccupied Said. Of central importance here is the trilogy of books which perhaps more than any others define the key concerns and methods of Said's post-1967 career: *Orientalism*, *The Question of Palestine* (1979), and *Covering Islam* (1981; revised 1997). Where *Orientalism* provides a sweeping literary and cultural survey, *The Question of Palestine* is concerned with the immediacy of contemporary politics and attempts to offer an account of the emergence of Palestinian nationhood in its confrontation with Zionism and Israel. *Covering Islam* offers yet another perspective on the relationship of the Arab Muslim world and the West by providing a scorching account of the representation of Islam and the Muslim world in the Western media. It is the argument of *Covering Islam* that the indiscriminate use of the label "Islam" to explain almost everything that happens in the Arab world is a violent but persistent simplification. This label of "Islam," writes Said in the revised edition, "defines a relatively small proportion of what actually takes place in the Islamic world, which numbers a billion people, and includes dozens of countries, societies, traditions, languages, and, of course, an infinite number of different experiences" (p. xvi). For Said, the label also obscures the fact that it is "secularism, rather than fundamentalism" which has "held Arab Muslim societies together" (p. xxvi). It was Said's aim to use "the skills of a good critical reader to disentangle sense from nonsense" and to ask "the right questions": "At that point humanistic knowledge begins and communal responsibility for that knowledge begins to be shouldered" (p. lix). Few intellectuals have done more to advance this project.

Edward Said died at the age of sixty-seven on September 25, 2003.

SEE ALSO Orientalism.

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SHAMOON ZAMIR (2005)

SAINTHOOD. *Saint* is a designation that Christianity has used to recognize individuals deemed to have lived lives of heroic virtue and who, as a result, dwell eternally with God. They therefore may be venerated in a public cult. Historians of religion have liberated the category of sainthood from its narrower Christian associations and have employed the term in a more general way to refer to the state of special holiness that many religions attribute to certain people. The Jewish *ḥasid* or *tsaddiq,* the Muslim *walīy,* the Zoroastrian *fravashi,* the Hindu *ṛṣi* or *guru,* the Buddhist *arahant* or *bodhisattva,* the Daoist *shengren,* the Shintō *kami,* and others have all been referred to as saints.

THE CATEGORY OF SAINTHOOD. The problem for the historian of religions is whether the term *sainthood* so broadly applied retains any meaning. Can a category that grows out of one religion be properly and usefully extended cross-culturally? William James described universal saintliness in psychological terms, while Joachim Wach defined the saint as a particular type of religious authority alongside the founder, the reformer, the priest, the prophet, and others. But sainthood may embrace persons of diverse psychological constitutions and religious offices. Fundamentally, then, sainthood may be described as a religion's acclamation of a person's spiritual perfection, however that perfection is defined. Persons so acclaimed exemplify the religion's highest values and thus function as models for others to follow. At the same time, the special holiness that inheres in such people endows them with supernatural powers that their devotees may call upon in their own spiritual quests. These figures may serve as wonder-workers, helpmates, or intercessors. In other words, saints are recognized by their religions as both subjects for imitation and objects of veneration. The tension between imitability and inimitability, between likeness to humans and otherness than humans, lies at the core of the saint's identity. While the extent to which particular saints or classes of saints are either emulated or worshiped varies greatly within and among religions, all saints attract some measure of both imitation and veneration.

Usually sainthood is a posthumous phenomenon. While recognition and proclamation of a person's exemplary virtues and exceptional powers may begin during his or her lifetime, a saint is one who stands the test of time. Indeed, a saint's exemplariness and powerfulness must transcend his or her death and be available to those who did not know him or her in the flesh. Thus, those who function as saints after their deaths may have been priests or prophets, activists or ascetics, rulers or the simple pious during their lifetimes. Sainthood, so understood, may embrace the holders of any number of religious offices but depends more on personal charisma than on religious status. Some religions even sponsor mythical saints, legendary people who lived long ago or dwell anonymously in the present world but who function for their followers much the same as do the historical human beings more commonly deemed saints.

Saints, however, should probably be distinguished from founders, the initiators of religious insights and religious communities. While founders may also be imitated and venerated posthumously, as are, for instance, Jesus of Nazareth and Gautama Buddha, they occupy a position of uniqueness in the structure of their religions that no saint can claim. Saints often imitate a founder, devoting themselves to living in his or her image. They may "translate" the founder's life and teachings for their own time and place. Saints come in quantity, collectively mapping out a topography of holiness that renders accessible the founder's example and power.

SAINTHOOD IN MAJOR WORLD RELIGIONS.

Sainthood, as here typified, does not exist universally. Not all religious communities acclaim holy individuals as both paradigms to be imitated and intercessors to be venerated. Classic rabbinic Judaism, for instance, stressed the redemption of the entire Jewish people rather than individual salvation. Thus personal intercessors had little function in the religion. Furthermore, Judaism forbids the worship of human beings. Protestant Christianity, while emphasizing individual salvation, repudiated the Catholic cult of saints, finding in God's grace alone the key to redemption. Yet some forms of both Judaism and Protestantism recognize saints: The Besht (Yisraʾel ben Eliʿezer), spiritual leader of Hasidism, and Mary Baker Eddy, founder of the Christian Science church, for example, are given the status of sainthood by their followers. Archaic and primitive religions tend to associate holiness more with certain offices, such as shaman or medicine man, than with unique individuals.

Christianity. The recognition of the special holiness of certain people began early in the history of Christianity. Under the Roman persecution that began in the first century, many Christians gave up their lives rather than renounce their faith. These martyrs became the first persons to be given the title *hagios* ("saint"), though earlier the word had been used in the plural to designate the faithful in general. A martyr's willing renunciation of life demonstrated to other Christians his or her superhuman strength and convinced them that this person had conquered death. By the third century, commemorations in Rome marked the anniversaries of these deaths and celebrated the martyrs' rebirth into heavenly lives. Meanwhile the power of dead martyrs in drawing the faithful to their cemeteries had attracted the attention of the bishops, who made altars of their tombs and claimed them as their heavenly patrons. Christian officialdom thus embraced the popular veneration of martyrs and made it the cornerstone of ecclesiastical power.

At first the martyrs were remembered primarily as witnesses, examples to encourage others in times of persecution: Other Christians were urged to follow their model of imitating Christ by submitting to death. But at the same time, because they had transcended death and dwelled in heaven, martyrs possessed extraordinary powers, which the faithful could summon. At martyrs' tombs one could pray for cures of ills, for forgiveness of sins, or for protection from enemies. Indeed, after the establishment of Christianity as the state religion in the fourth century diminished persecution, the martyr was seen less as a paradigm and more as a hierophant.

With martyrdom on the wane, confessors, those who suffered but did not die for the faith, joined the ranks of the saints, as did ascetics, solitaries, and monks. By suffering voluntarily these saints imitated Christ and separated themselves from the world in order to know God better. They renounced food, money, marriage, human company, and even their own free will in order to discipline themselves for the contemplative life. In Eastern Orthodox Christianity the life of contemplation came to be the quintessential model of holiness. In the West in the thirteenth century, the mendicant orders, such as the Franciscans and Dominicans, promoted the contrasting saintly ideal of active service in the world. The image of Francis of Assisi overflowing with love for all creation balances the specter of pathological self-torture attributed to so many other Christian saints.

Although martyrdom was clearly believed to transport a person to heaven and sainthood, other forms of superlative piety required the evidence of miracles to substantiate posthumous heavenly domicile. Thus the miraculous element in the lives of the saints was increasingly stressed: Saints healed, exorcised, prophesied, and mastered the elements of nature. Although the Roman Catholic church insists upon the moral quality of a candidate for sainthood, only miracles constitute absolute proof that the candidate is in heaven and thus can intercede for those on earth.

Saints, especially monks and royal figures, are also central to the piety of Eastern Orthodox Christianity. Saints are venerated in icons, elaborated and stylized pictures, not only found in churches but also prominently displayed in homes. These pictures aim to show the power that emanates from union with Christ and to depict graphically the unity of the church by linking the dead with the living.

In the sixteenth century Martin Luther attacked the Catholic cult of saints, which then included a huge traffic in relics. He ridiculed the veneration of saints as idolatry, for like the old pagan gods, many saints had special realms of expertise and particular places from which they could be invoked. While maintaining a belief in the exemplary value of some saints, Luther denied their intercessory efficacy. Protestant Christianity on the whole follows his lead, although some groups, such as the Mormons and the Christian Scientists, tend to revere their founders as saints.

Islam. The monotheistic religion preached by Muḥammad and exhibited in the Qurʾān abhorred and forbade the association of anything or anyone with God. Even Muḥammad himself was seen only as God's spokesman. The Arabic term generally translated as "saint," *walī* (pl., *awliyāʾ*), is used in the Qurʾān to refer both to God and to God's "friends," that is, pious people in general. Those who obey God are *awliyāʾ* and God acts as *walī* to them. Nevertheless, popular Islam came to understand the *walī* as a particular kind of friend of God, one whose special closeness to divinity mediated between the ordinary faithful and that all-powerful and distant deity. Islam embraced and sanctified charismatic sons and daughters in its vast empire as vehicles for the popular transmission of the scriptural faith. These *awliyāʾ* personalized and localized the stern and austere faith of Muḥammad.

No formal canonization process, as exists in Roman Catholicism, determines who is to be *walī*. According to Islamic beliefs, a saint is made not by learning, asceticism, or piety but rather through a spontaneous enrapturing by God. Saints know who they are and may even proclaim their own sainthood. Together they form a single hierarchy headed by the *quṭb*, the pillar or axis, a legendary figure who dwells at the center of the universe and sustains it. Despite their power, saints occupy a lower spiritual rank than prophets, persons who bear special messages from God. Islamic theologians and jurists were forced by popular consensus to recognize saints and to acknowledge their miracles, but they did protest against pilgrimages to saints' graves and the practice of cultic activities there.

The figures who best illustrate the saint as imitated and venerated holy person are the Ṣūfī masters. Sufism, the general term for Islamic mysticism, traditionally traces its origins to Muḥammad himself, for his reception of revelation is seen as a mystical experience. Ascetic tendencies among individuals who sought to interiorize their Islamic faith had led by the twelfth century to the formation of Ṣūfī brotherhoods. In these associations disciples were expected to submit to the way of the master like, it was said, a corpse in the hands of an undertaker. The Ṣūfī shaykh modeled the mystical path for his disciples and guided them along its stages. The stages of this path are epitomized in a Turkish saying:

> *Sharīʿah* ("law"): Yours is yours and mine is mine.
> *Tarīqah* ("way"): Yours is yours and mine is yours too.
> *Māʿrifah* ("gnosis"): There is neither mine nor thine.

Veneration of a Ṣūfī master continued posthumously at his tomb, especially on the anniversary of his birth. In Tanta, Egypt, for instance, the autumn *mawlid* ("birthday") of Sidi Aḥmad, the founder of a Ṣūfī order, is celebrated as a huge agricultural fair. The present head of the order, the caliph, bestows Sidi Aḥmad's blessings during a long parade to the tomb-mosque complex, where prayers, sermons, and circumcision rituals take place. Relics of Ṣūfī saints, such as their clothes and utensils, are often preserved by their orders.

Not all Muslim saints are Ṣūfīs, however. Even an outspoken opponent of the cult of saints, the jurist Ibn Taymīyah (of the thirteenth to fourteenth century), who championed the equal access of all Muslims to superlative piety, was venerated after his death by those who sought his intercession and *barakah* ("spiritual power"). In Morocco, marabouts (warrior-saints), who claim descent from the Prophet and possession of thaumaturgic powers, are believed to preside after death over the territory around their tombs and bestow blessings through their descendants, some of whom will in turn become saints. Through the marabout, it is believed, the *barakah* of the Prophet directly touches the common person.

If saints play an important but unofficial role in Sunnī Islam, they lie at the very heart of Shīʿī orthodoxy. In Shīʿī Islam the term *wilayāh* denotes not sainthood in general but rather the position of authority of the imam who claims direct descent from the Prophet. This imam alone knows the esoteric interpretation of the Qurʾān, and he alone sustains the world. For one group of Shīʿīs, the Twelvers, the last imam went into occultation (hiding) centuries ago but continues to exert cosmic influence. For another group, the Ismaʿiliyah, the contemporary Aga Khan IV is the latest in an unbroken chain of imams who embody holiness for their followers.

Judaism. Although classic rabbinic Judaism gave no sanction to hagiography or hagiolatry, it revered a whole galaxy of exemplary figures. Biblical heroes such as Abraham and Moses, rabbinic sages such as Hillel and Meʾir (of the first and second centuries, respectively), and martyrs such as ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef (also of the second century) all displayed imitable virtues commended to the faithful in the legends of the Talmud and Midrashic literature. Martyrs were especially sacred to a people so often persecuted; their sacrifices were believed to atone for the community's sins, and as a group they were remembered in various liturgies. Generally speaking, however, rabbinic Judaism honored above all others the scholar who through learning, righteousness, and piety sanctified himself and the community at large.

If the rabbis of the Talmud never countenanced the veneration of human beings alive or dead, popular sentiment was often otherwise. Reputed graves of biblical and rabbinic worthies, for instance, were the objects of pilgrimages in ancient and medieval days, and among Middle Eastern Jews they still are. Mystical groups have been especially prone to lionize their founders. Yehudah ben Shemuʾel, leader of a medieval German ascetic and pietistic movement, was transformed into a wonder-worker in later legends, while among Spanish qabbalists the second-century rabbi Shimʿon bar Yoḥʾai was considered a patron saint. The sixteenth-century mystic Isaac Luria, of Safad, Palestine, called a *tsaddiq* ("just man") by his followers, saw himself as a reincarnation of Shimʿon bar Yoḥʾai and "discovered" the graves of other ancient sages, with whom he communed. His teachings and habits were reverently preserved by his disciples and had great influence on later Jewish mysticism.

In eighteenth-century Poland the pietist wonder-worker Yisraʾel ben Eliʿezer, called the Besht—an acronym of Baʿal Shem Tov (Master of the Name [of God])—initiated the modern revivalist movement of Hasidism, which focused on the intercessory powers of the *tsaddiqim*. This movement appealed to Jews who were repelled by rabbinic elitism and learning. The *tsaddiqim*—the Besht, certain of his disciples, and certain of their descendants—functioned for their followers as living, personal embodiments of Torah (law). In the "court" of the *tsaddiq* the *ḥasid* (disciple) found a warm and fervent piety and a man who understood his innermost thoughts and needs. The *tsaddiq* could intercede with God on behalf of his followers and raise them to higher spiritual achievement. Thus the *tsaddiq* represents the clearest specimen of contemporary Jewish sainthood.

Hinduism. The boundary between humanity and divinity is far more fluid in Hinduism and in Eastern religions generally than it is in the monotheistic faiths. Thus devotees do not always distinguish human saints from divine incarnations. Hindu deities are regularly described anthropomorphically, and highly spiritual humans manifest divinity. The god Kṛṣṇa, for instance, appears in the *Bhagavadgītā,* Hinduism's most popular text, as both instructor and object of devotion to the young warrior Arjuna, while the sixteenth-century Bengali teacher Caitanya is sometimes deified by his followers as an incarnation of the same Kṛṣṇa.

Classic Vedic religion focused on the elaborate priestly performance of the sacrifice rather than on individual personalities; yet the ancient *ṛṣi*s, legendary composers of Vedic hymns and renowned wonder-workers, and *śramana*s, self-mortifying ascetics, were highly revered. As the Vedic heritage was criticized and reinterpreted, human exemplars came more to the fore. The first famous historical model and teacher was Śaṅkara (788–838), whose monist philosophy revitalized orthodoxy and in the twelfth century provoked the dualist response of the equally revered Ramanuja.

But it was the *bhakti* ("devotion") movements, focused on the worship of theistic gods, principally Viṣṇu and Śiva, in which the *guru* ("preceptor") as saint became prominent. In literature as early as the Upanisadic texts the *guru* was seen not only as a teacher of the Vedas but also as a model whose daily habits pointed the way to spiritual liberation. The student not only learned from his master but also served him by attending to his sacred fire, his cattle, and his other priestly needs. In the *bhakti* tradition, however, the *guru* was honored not because of his knowledge or birth but because of the wholehearted devotion to his god that he manifested. The *guru*'s experience of liberation (*mokṣa*) became his disciples' goal. The tenth-century poet Jñanesvara described the total fulfillment that he experienced in the worship of his *guru* Nivritti to be like bathing in all the holy waters of the world. In the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva sects the *guru*s were considered divine incarnations and were worshiped with incense and offerings.

In modern times *guru*s have continued to be an important force in Hindu religion, and some have found substantial followings beyond India. The gentle and sensitive Ramakrishna Paramahamsa (1836–1886) came to the attention of the West through the efforts of his disciple Vivekenanda, who spread his teaching worldwide. Similarly, the teachings of Caitanya are continued in the International Society for Krishna Consciousness. The most famous modern Hindu saint, Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948), exemplified ancient Indian religious ideals and employed them to work for the cause of Indian nationalism. In so doing he became a "guru" for social justice movements in the West.

Buddhism. The two major divisions of Buddhism, Theravāda and Mahāyāna, have different understandings of sainthood. The Theravāda, whose adherents live primarily in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia, acclaim the *arahant* as the acme of human perfection. The *arahant* achieves the final stage of the monastic quest for release from suffering and rebirth. The seeker begins by renouncing the householder's life in favor of homelessness and then passes countless lifetimes pursuing the "three trainings" in higher morality, higher concentration, and higher wisdom. At the end the *arahant* achieves the destruction of the *asava*s, the wrong mental states that bind one to *kamma* (Skt., *karman*) and rebirth. He declares, "Destroyed is rebirth, lived is the higher life, done is what is to be done; there is no further becoming for me." The numerous legends of the *arahant*s in the Pali canon complement the descriptions of the path by relating stories about the previous lives of the *arahant*s, the ways they attain wisdom, their virtues, and their miraculous powers.

Remote from the ordinary person, the *arahant* provokes veneration rather than imitation. Indeed, few *arahant*s have been recognized since the time of Gautama Buddha. Yet a person can and should imitate the developing *arahant* as he is portrayed in the stories about his previous lives. By making offerings at pagodas containing the *arahant*s' relics, the householder purifies his own mind and earns merit. Moreover, by providing food, clothing, and housing to monks, laymen enable them to pursue enlightenment while, at the same time, accruing merit for themselves.

While Theravāda Buddhism idealizes the world-renouncing saint who follows the Buddha's reported last words to "seek your *own* salvation with diligence," Mahāyāna schools, dominant in East Asia, stress the power of saints to aid ordinary laymen to attain enlightenment. The *bodhisattva* (lit., "Buddha-to-be") is a saint who has postponed his complete enlightenment in order to help others along the path. He emulates the compassion of the Buddha by nurturing the seeds of enlightenment that are present in all beings.

The *bodhisattva* path is open to all people. Those who after many lifetimes have reached the stage of "arousing the thought of enlightenment" (*bodhicitta*) resolve to work for the welfare of others. Through the practice of the six perfections (*pāramitā*s)—giving, morality, patience, vigor, meditation, and wisdom—*bodhisattva*s overcome their self-motivated behavior. By imitating the virtues of a *bodhisattva* and having faith in his compassion, a person can be assured of eventual enlightenment. The *bodhisattva* is capable of transferring his own merit to the sincere seeker and thus directly speeding his progress.

The most advanced *bodhisattva*s are mythical figures who became venerated as divine saviors. Closely related are the celestial Buddhas, counterparts of Gautama Buddha existing in other worlds. In China and Japan devotion to the Buddha Amitābha, for instance, assures one of rebirth in the Pure Land. There the hindrances on the way to enlightenment are far fewer than they are in this world.

Tibetan Buddhists venerate the lama ("preceptor"), who may be either a scholar-monk or a wonder-worker like the most popular lama, Mi la ras pa (Milarepa) (1040–1123). The most famous saints of Tibet are the Dalai Lamas, incarnations of the celestial *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara. Upon the death of a Dalai Lama, the incarnation passes to an infant born forty-nine days later, who must be discovered and properly raised for his exemplary and yet inimitable role.

Confucianism. As one of the several religious components of precommunist China, Confucianism offers a distinct notion of sainthood. For Confucius (551–479 BCE, as recorded in the *Analects,* the ideal humans were the sage-kings, the legendary ancient rulers who disclosed the ways of Heaven to humans and ruled in accord with those ways. Mengzi, a late fourth-century BCE follower of Confucius, did not restrict the *sheng* ("sage") to antiquity but recognized the ongoing possibility of such exemplars. For Mengzi the sage was by nature the same as other people, so through learning and self-cultivation anyone could aspire to sagehood.

The Neo-Confucians worked out the ways to this goal. The school of Principle stressed the effort and discipline necessary to investigate *li,* the moral order in oneself and other things, while the school of Mind insisted that the highest good is waiting within to be uncovered and brought to fruition. For both, sagehood consists of the full realization of one's nature or mind and the sense of oneness with all things. A sage can be recognized by his peacefulness, warmth, honesty, and empathy for all beings. Sagehood thus became a reachable even if rarely realized goal.

As saint the sage is not only exemplary but also venerated. When, during the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE), Confucianism became the official state religion, temples devoted to Confucius and noteworthy Confucians proliferated. Even in modern times the Wenmiao (Temple of Learning) was the site of sacrificial rites to Confucius. Such devotion arose out of respect for Confucian teaching, however, and not from the desire to seek intercession from Confucian masters. In the official religion the heroes were not deified. Yet in more popular circles Confucius was taken up as a deity in family shrines, along with ancestors, Buddhas, and popular gods.

PATHS TO SAINTHOOD. Recalling that the most diverse types of people have been acclaimed as saints, as individuals both imitable and inimitable, one can nonetheless identify three broad paths to sainthood: moral, intellectual, and emotional.

The moral path is followed by those who seek to control and purify their will in order to do but one thing well: Serve their god or realize ultimate truth. The spiritual soldier is one who cultivates discipline in order to do his duty. Frequently that duty demands asceticism: By denying himself the ordinary pleasures of life, the ascetic reaches for extraordinary bliss. Among Christian saints chastity divided the world of spirit from the world of flesh. Eradicating bodily desires and mortifying the flesh, the Christian ascetic sought to remove the impediments that blocked his or her total communion with God. Similarly, for the Theravāda Buddhist monk the renunciation of the household life and the taking up of the begging bowl represent sacrifice of self-interest in the pursuit of enlightenment. Martyrdom represents the most extreme form of volitional control, a sure path to heaven in Christianity and Islam.

Other saints pursue an intellectual road to sanctity. Exercising the mind to know deeply oneself, the world, and ultimate reality has often been deemed a saintly vocation. The Confucian sage seeks the correlation between his inner self and the structure of the world outside, while the Jewish mystical sage aims to discover in Torah, God's revelation, the secrets of creation itself. For both, the mind is the road to truth. Judaism and Islam especially emphasize mastery of the written divine law as the prerequisite for further spiritual pursuits. On the other hand, education alone cannot make a saint. Religions typically emphasize supernatural intellectual qualities such as intuition, clairvoyance, and prophecy when elaborating sagely wisdom. The saint in this category rarely rests in his wisdom but reaches out instead as a teacher to share his wisdom with others. The master or preceptor type of saint, the Muslim *shaykh* or the Hindu *guru,* for instance, aims to guide others. Less by communicating objective knowledge than by teaching a way to live, the master exemplifies wisdom for his disciples.

The third path to sainthood is the way of the emotions, the perfecting of the heart to love unqualifiedly. Mystics of all religions are great lovers, and those acclaimed as saints have expressed that love in ways that inspire others to love. The Christian saint Bernard of Clairvaux and the Muslim saint Rābiʿah al-ʿAdawīyah did not hesitate to express their love for God in frankly erotic terms. Perfected love overflows into love for other human beings; thus saints are acclaimed for their healing and redeeming actions. The modern Jewish Ḥasid who experiences the love of his *tsaddiq* is elevated to new levels of holiness and feels all his earthly cares melt away in the master's presence. The typical *walī* can be depended on to listen to the prayers of barren women, paralytics, and the poverty-stricken and to respond compassionately. The quintessential lovers are the *bodhisattva*s, who aid their fellow creatures on the road to enlightenment. By assuming the sufferings of others they advance all beings toward final peace.

Finally, special note must be taken of the woman's path to sainthood, for it often varies from that of her male coreligionists. In general women have not had equal access to sainthood, especially in Judaism, Hinduism, and Confucianism. Still, the cults of Hindu goddesses such as Kālī and popular Chinese heroine-goddesses such as Mazi are likely functional equivalents to the veneration of established, male saints. Elsewhere, the ways to sainthood for women seem more rigid than those for men. In Roman Catholicism women are far more dependent upon supernatural powers to establish their holiness than are men and, as female nurturers, constitute a high proportion of the helping and healing saints. Their stories also typically feature penitential acts especially aimed at obliterating their debilitating sexuality. The Mahāyāna *bodhisattva* ideal, although asexual, requires of women, more so than men, a purge of their sexuality. In many cases a woman must undergo a sexual transformation in either this or a future life in order to become a *bodhisattva,* although some celestial *bodhisattva*s do retain their femininity.

SEE ALSO Bodhisattva Path; Cult of Saints; Hasidism; Imamate; Martyrdom; Merit; Miracles; Perfectibility; Sufism.

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ŚAIVISM

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ŚAIVISM: AN OVERVIEW

Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism form the two principal religious currents of classical and modern Hinduism. Śaivism centers on the worship of the god Śiva and Vaiṣṇavism on that of Viṣṇu. In classical Hindu mythology Śiva is the god of destruction, generally portrayed as a yogin who lives on Mount Kailāsa in the Himalayas. His body is smeared with ashes, his hair piled up in matted locks. He wears an animal skin and carries a trident. A cobra often serves as his garland and the crescent moon as his hair ornament. He has a third eye, kept closed, in the middle of his forehead. He may be surrounded by his beautiful wife, Pārvatī, and their two sons, the six-faced Skanda and the elephant-headed Gaṇeśa.

The migration of bands of people called Aryans into the northwest of the Indian subcontinent initiates the Vedic period (c. 1200–600 BCE), known through the religious texts called Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, and Upaniṣads. In them the minor god Rudra serves as a prototype of the later Śiva. The two gods, each with his own varied forms and names, are identified with each other in the classical Hindu tradition represented by the Sanskrit texts known as the *Mahābhārata* (300 BCE–300 CE) and the Purāṇas (200–1300 CE). Beginning in about the second century of the common era, a number of important Śaiva sects appear, each with its own texts and doctrines. Many worshipers of Śiva belong to such sects, but the majority simply count themselves as Hindus who believe in this god over all others.

Discussions of Śaivism traditionally begin with an examination of the so-called proto-Paśupati seals of the ancient pre-Aryan civilization centered in the Indus Valley of Pakistan. The most interesting of these seals depicts an anthropomorphic and apparently ithyphallic figure seated on a low dais in a yogalike position with his heels meeting in the perineal region, the hands of his extended and braceleted arms resting on his knees, and his head—which may or may not be triple-faced and/or bovine—bearing a horned headdress. Surrounding this figure are small representations of a rhinoceros, a buffalo, a tiger, and an elephant. Under the dais are two goats or deer. The seal also bears a seven-sign inscription.

Starting from the hypothesis of the archaeologist George Marshall, most scholars have accepted the identification of this figure as the precursor of the god Śiva in his Paśupati, or Lord of Animals, form. The most important dissent from this consensus was made by D. D. Kosambi, who pointed out that the horns of the figure were those of a buffalo and not of a bull (the latter being the animal most closely associated both with the Vedic Rudra and the later Śiva). Kosambi further proposed a historically improbable identification of the proto-Paśupati figure with the buffalo demon named Mahiṣāsura (which dates at least 1,500 years later) and through this demon back to Śiva. Until further evidence or an accepted reading of the Indus script becomes available, it seems best to suspend judgment on the whole problem.

Still, the discussion clearly bears directly not only on the question of the historical origins of Śiva, the god of Śaivism, but also on that of the transition from the minor Vedic god Rudra to the major post-Vedic Śiva. Among the varied hypotheses on these questions, several basic tendencies can be distinguished. A. B. Keith (1925) suggests that the attempt to distinguish Aryan and non-Aryan elements in Rudra-Śiva is basically fruitless. The character of the god develops through a constant process of accretion resulting from the identification of other minor gods, both Aryan and non-Aryan, with the Vedic Rudra. Jan Gonda (1970) prefers to see a fundamental continuity between the Vedic Rudra and post-Vedic Śiva, and between Vedic and post-Vedic religion in general. He regards the lack of reference to many aspects of the god in Vedic literature as due in large part to the class bias of the priestly authors, who ignored or excluded many of the god's more popular traits. Louis Renou (1953), on the other hand, suggests that there was a decisive break between Vedism and Hinduism. He notes the absence of any obvious connection between the Veda and the earlier Indus civilization and accepts the possibility of some connection between Indus religion and later Hinduism. With less caution, R. N. Dandekar (1967, 1971) speaks of the religion of the Vedas as an "interlude" between protohistorical and historical Hinduism. However this case may be, Dandekar also makes the important observation that Vedic mythology is an "evolutionary mythology," one that evolves in accordance with the ethos of a historical period and with the changing conditions of life.

It is now clear that there was a gap of five hundred years or more between the end of the mature phase of the Indus Valley civilization (c. 1800 BCE) and the hymns of the *Ṛgveda* (c. 1200 BCE). It is also evident that Hinduism, as opposed to Vedism, grew up—together with Buddhism, Jainism, and other non-Vedic cults—in the Ganges River valley (Uttar Pradesh and Bihar). The rise of these new movements corresponds to the transition from an economy based on pastoralism mixed with shifting cultivation to one based on sedentary grain production, and to the political transition from migratory tribal oligarchies to kingships with clearly demarcated territories. These historical changes imply the existence of dramatic cultural and religious changes as well, changes that did not derive from the influence of the ancient and distant civilization of the Indus Valley. Elements of the new religions may ultimately be traced to that civilization—and to the little-known culture of the early non-Aryan inhabitants of the Ganges Valley—but the new religions as systems should be considered new creations arising in conjunction with the new and radically changed economic and political conditions.

The Vedic Rudra is a fierce and terror-inspiring god of storms, disease, and the untamed aspects of nature. He is exclusively invoked in only four of the 1,028 hymns of the *Ṛgveda,* although he is frequently mentioned in it as the father of the Maruts, gods of the winds, and as one of the *viśvadeva*s, or All-Gods. The hymns contain only brief allusions to the mythology of Rudra, but the epithets he receives and the attitude with which he is invoked give a clear picture of his basic character. The name *Rudra* itself is traditionally derived from the known root *rud,* meaning "cry" or "howl," and is evidently related to his association with storms. An alternative derivation from a postulated root **rud,* meaning "be red" or "shine," can be connected with a proposed derivation for the name *Śiva* ("auspicious") from a Dravidian word meaning "red." In the hymns the poets implore Rudra to be "compassionate" and "easy to invoke," not to kill cows or men, and to keep men "prosperous and free from disease." He is frequently described as a "bull," as being "brown," and as "terrible." He possesses a "sharp weapon," a "thunderbolt," and "swift arrows." He wears "braided hair" (*kapardin*) and brings a "cooling [?] medicine." Although in two hymns he is associated with Soma, god of the intoxicating sacrificial drink, his principal association in Vedic literature as a whole is with Agni, the god of fire, with whom he is already identified once in the *Ṛgveda* and several times in the Brāhmaṇas.

In the *Yajurveda* Rudra is invoked at length in the section called the *Śatarudriya.* Among the noteworthy epithets he receives in this text are "mountain dweller," "lord of cattle" (*paśūnāṃ patiḥ*), "wearer of an animal hide," "blue-necked," "ruddy," and the names or seminames Kapardin, Śarva, Bhava, Śambhu, Śaṅkara, and Śiva. His prowess as an archer is repeatedly mentioned, as is his association with the untamed aspects of nature and with hunters, thieves, and brigands.

An important passage in the *Atharvaveda* (15.5.1–7) closely associates seven apparently independent gods, all of whom early become identified as names or forms of Rudra-Śiva, with the enigmatic *vratya*s, a class or group of religious officiants who were only partly aryanized. These gods are Bhava, Śarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Rudra, Māhadeva, and Īśāna. Each is associated with a particular region. Quite similar lists appear in the Brāhmaṇas and other later Vedic texts, with the addition of an eighth name, Aśani or Bhīma (and in one text the names Hara, Mrda, Śiva, and Śaṅkara as well). In post-Vedic Hindu texts the same eight names of Śiva are sometimes listed, but more important are the five forms or faces of the god: Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpuruṣa, and Īśāna.

A key theme that first appears in later Vedic literature is the god's rather ambiguous relation to the sacrificial oblations and offerings. Originally Rudra seems to have been at least partly excluded from orthodox Vedic sacrifices and thus has to demand his share of the offerings, sometimes described as the share that is "left over" (*ucchiṣṭa*). In the classical mythology of Hinduism, this theme is incorporated into Śiva's conflict with his father-in-law, the brahman named Dakṣa, whose sacrifice Śiva destroys because he was not invited to it. Śiva beheads Dakṣa and then replaces the head with that of a goat, the sacrificial animal. This myth again suggests popular, nonhieratic origins for the god.

The god Rudra-Śiva appears for the first time as the object of monotheistic devotion rather suddenly in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad,* a text often described as a Śaiva *Bhagavadgītā.* The *Śvetāśvatara* is one of the later of the early Upaniṣads, possibly dating from about the sixth century BCE, and clearly illustrates how these texts mark the historical transition from Vedism to Hinduism. It refers explicitly to important aspects of Sāṃkhya metaphysics and Yoga practice. Its own metaphysical position is not entirely consistent, but it bears some resemblance to the later system of "qualified monism" (*viśiṣṭādvaita*) propounded by Rāmānuja (twelfth century). In the Upaniṣad, Rudra is described as the "one God" (*eka deva*), the ruler and cause of all, the *brahman* itself, and he is addressed as Hara, Īśa, Mahāpuruṣa, Īśāna, Bhagavat, Śiva, and Maheśvara.

Between the Upaniṣads and the *Mahābhārata* epic, chronologically the next major source for knowledge of Śiva, there appears to be a gap of several hundred years in the course of which Vedism is replaced by an already mature Hinduism. In recent years the classical mythology of Śiva in the *Mahābhārata* and in the later Purāṇas has been extensively analyzed by Wendy O'Flaherty, Stella Kramrisch, J. Bruce Long, and others, using methodologies influenced by the theories of Mircea Eliade and Claude Lévi-Strauss. The resulting emphasis on symbolic archetypes and on thematic structures and motifs has provided a clearer idea of the mental structures and contents of the myths, but it has also tended to exaggerate their consistency and to isolate them from their sociohistorical contexts.

In classical Hindu mythology Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva are linked together as the gods of creation, preservation, and destruction, respectively. In the varied Śaiva versions of the myths, however, Śiva is generally portrayed as the one God over all, who is ultimately responsible for creation and preservation as well as destruction. Vaiṣṇava versions do the same for Viṣṇu. This informal monotheism takes more systematic forms in the theological works of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sects.

Many of the main episodes in the Śaiva myth cycle revolve around the dynamic tension between Śiva as the god equally of asceticism and eroticism, a master of both yogic restraint and sexual prowess. This tension is frequently expressed in terms of the image of castration: the real castration of the god himself and symbolic castrations (loss of eyes or teeth, beheading) of his opponents.

Śiva destroys Kāma, the god of erotic love, with the fire from his third eye when Kāma attempts to disturb his ascetic trance. Subsequently Pārvatī, daughter of the Himalaya, wins Śiva's love through her own ascetic penance and persuades him to revive Kāma in disembodied form. For his visit to the pine forest Śiva wears the guise of a naked, ash-smeared ascetic, but he uses the occasion to seduce, or to attempt to seduce, the wives of the forest sages. As a result either of the sages' curse or of his own action, Śiva is castrated and his phallus, or *liṅga,* becomes fixed in the earth. The stylized stone *liṅga,* mounted on an equally stylized vulva, or *yoni,* has become the central image of Śaiva worship and serves as the dual symbol of the god's creative and ascetic power.

By chopping off the fifth head of the god Brahmā, Śiva is charged with the major sin of the murder of a brahman and must undertake the penance, or Great Vow (*māhavrata*), of the Skull-Bearer (*kapālin*), an ascetic who wanders about with a skull as a begging bowl. This Great Vow becomes the archetypal basis of the ascetic sect of the Kāpālikas or Mahāvratins, who are equally noted for their indulgence in orgiastic rites of Tantric character.

The complicated myth of the birth of the six-faced Skanda, a son of Śiva, exists in a number of very different versions. In part, Skanda is the son of Śiva and Pārvatī, but he is at the same time the son of Agni and of the six Kṛttikas. His role is to destroy the terrible demon Tāraka. In South India, the Dravidian god Murukaṉ was early identified with Skanda and contributed to the historical development of his mythology.

The three sons of Tāraka later establish the mighty triple city of the demons, which Śiva eventually destroys with a single arrow from his bow, Pināka. Another demon, named Andhaka, the blind son of Śiva and/or of the demon Hiraṇyākṣa, lusts after Pārvatī but is defeated and reformed by Śiva. Śiva beheads his son Gaṇeśa, whom he has never met, when Gaṇeśa tries to prevent the apparent stranger from entering the room of Pārvatī, Śiva's wife and Gaṇeśa's mother. Śiva then replaces his son's head with that of an elephant with one broken tusk, just as he once replaced Dakṣa's head with that of a goat. Historically, Gaṇeśa was perhaps originally an independent elephant god. As part of Śiva's family he serves as the god of obstacles and hence of luck, to be invoked at the beginning of any undertaking.

The existence of an extensive mythology of Śiva in the *Mahābhārata* suggests the existence of an important cult dedicated to the god by about the beginning of the common era. Unfortunately, direct historical evidence for the cult before that date is not plentiful. Megasthenes, a Greek ambassador to the court of Candragupta Maurya (c. 324–300 BCE), mentions the presence in India of worshipers of Herakles and Dionysos. These two gods are usually identified as Kṛṣṇa and Śiva, respectively. The early grammarian Patañjali (c. 150 BCE) mentions Śiva Bhāgavatas who carry iron lances. These must be Śaiva ascetics. The earliest example of a Śiva *liṅga* seems to be the large, realistic stone *liṅga* from Guḍimallam in southeastern India, estimated by some to date from the first or second century BCE.

Coins and inscriptions that give evidence of Śaiva worship are plentiful from the period of the Kushans (first and second centuries CE) and, more important, that of the Guptas (300–550 CE). Although the Gupta emperors mostly preferred Vaiṣṇavism, they also sponsored temples of Śiva. The kings of the contemporary Vākāṭaka dynasty were mostly followers of Śiva, as were those of the slightly later Maukhari dynasty. From about the seventh century, Śaivism became the dominant religious current in the south, largely replacing the Jains and Buddhists and competing successfully with the Vaiṣṇavas. The southern dynasties of the Pallavas, Cōḻas, and Cālukyas were all patrons of Śaivism.

The age of the Guptas seems to mark the beginning of distinct Śaiva sects. Except for the Pāśupatas these sects do not appear in the *Mahābhārata,* but they become prominent in the Purāṇas. The sects are made up chiefly of ascetics but also have some sort of lay following. The Pāśupata sect was founded by Lakulīśa, who was born near Broach in western India about the beginning of the second century. Lakulīśa is already regarded as an incarnation of Śiva in several Purāṇas, and the Pāśupata sect became important, particularly in southern India, from about the seventh to the fourteenth century. The Kālamukhas, a closely related sect, were influential in the Karnataka region of the south during much the same period. Another early Śaiva sect, of considerable symbolic interest but uncertain historical importance, was that of the Kāpālikas.

A fourth early sect is that of the Śaiva Siddhāntins, often simply called Śaivas. This sect grew out of a devotional movement centered in the Cauvery River basin of the southeast and led by the Śaiva Nāyaṉārs (Nāyaṉmār), poet-saints of the seventh to tenth centuries whose devotional hymns composed in Tamil even today occupy a central place in Śiva worship in this region. The sect is still active and has produced, or appropriated to itself, an extensive literature in both Sanskrit (the twenty-eight Śaivāgamas) and Tamil (the twelve Tirumuṟai and the fourteen Meykaṇṭaśāstras).

The Pāśupatas, Kālāmukhas, and Śaiva Siddhāntins all maintain monotheistic theological systems in which the grace (*prasāda*) of God and devotion (*bhakti*) to him play essential roles in attaining personal salvation. All accept an ontological distinction between God (*pati*), the individual person (*paśu*), and mundane existence (*pāśa*).

The Pāśupata and Kālāmukha sects are now extinct. In the Karnataka region they gave way to another Śaiva sectarian movement known as the Vīraśaivas or Liṅgāyats. This sect, especially in its initial stages, has been noted for its advocacy of social reforms, including attacks against casteism and the subjugation of women. Its metaphysics is less dualistic than that of the other southern sects, though it also stresses the importance of devotion and God's grace. The most important literature of the sect consists of devotional hymns composed in Kannada by various inspired devotees beginning with Basava (c. 1150), often considered the founder of the sect. Many of the hymns are collected in the *Śunyasaṁpādane.*

In the north, the Śaiva sect known as the Trika or Kashmiri school became important from about the ninth century. It incorporated Tantric and Buddhist influences and adopted a monistic metaphysical position similar to that of nondualist (*advaita*) Vedānta. The extensive literature of the sect is divided into the categories of Āgama Śāstra, Spanda Śāstra, and Pratyabhijña Śāstra. Its greatest thinker was Abhinavagupta (c. 1000).

Tantric influences have been strong in Śaivism since about the end of the Gupta period, when this religious current first became important. Tantrism blended with yoga, particularly *haṭhayoga,* forms the doctrinal basis of the medieval Śaiva sect of the Nāths, also called Siddhas and Kānphaṭa Yogis. This group emphasizes yogic control over mind and body, including the winning of magical powers (*siddhi*s), and aims at spiritual enlightenment through the domination of the inner "serpent power" *(kuṇḍalini),* which lies trapped within the veins or nerves (*nāḍī*s) and centers, or ganglia (*cakra*s), of a supraphysical yogic anatomy. A few Nath Yogis still exist, although the influence of the sect continues mainly through the diffusion of *haṭhayoga* into the mainstream of Hinduism and beyond.

During the past few centuries the worship of Viṣṇu and his *avatāra*s has proved to be more adaptable to the emotional devotionalism of modern Hinduism than has the worship of Śiva. Śaivism, however, still claims many millions of devotees. Most of them are not followers of specific sects, nor even necessarily exclusively devoted to Śiva. They patronize Śiva temples and make offerings of flowers, sweets, coconuts, and money to the god and his priests. The holy city of the Hindus, Banaras, is the city of Śiva, and the temple of Śiva Viśveśvara there is one of the chief pilgrimage sites of all India. Similarly, in Hindu mythology the holy river Ganges is portrayed as a goddess who descends to earth through Śiva's matted hair.

The priests of Śiva temples often belong to the nonsectarian, orthodox tradition of the Smārtas, who practice the worship of five shrines (*pañcāyatana-pūjā*) dedicated to the gods Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, and Dūrgā. This Smārta tradition is compatible with a variety of metaphysical positions, but is often linked with the nondualist (*advaita*) theology derived principally from Śaṅkarācārya (c. 700–750).

According to tradition, Śaṅkarācārya was a devotee of Śiva and composed a number of devotional hymns dedicated to this god. Although his authorship of these hymns has often been disputed, the orthodox monastic sect of the Daśanāmīs, which he is said to have founded, retains this Śaiva influence. Today the monks (*samnyasins*) and abbots of the Daśanāmī monasteries are the dominant arbiters of theological orthodoxy and socioreligious tradition (*varṇāśrama-dharma*). Through them Śiva has come full circle from his role as the heretical outsider of Dakṣa's sacrifice to that as the patron deity of Hindu orthodoxy.

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ŚAIVISM: ŚAIVA SIDDHĀNTA

Śaiva Siddhānta is an important medieval system of Śaiva thought. The term technically refers to a set of Śaiva theologies written in Sanskrit and Tamil in South India, although this classification need not be considered a rigid one. While Śaiva Siddhānta differs in many ways from the theologies presented by Kashmir Śaivism (most particularly in its assertion that the world and individual souls are real entities and that final release depends on the grace of Śiva, in contrast to Kashmiri idealistic and monistic ontologies and soteriologies), both schools accept as canon the Vedic Saṃhitas and Upaniṣads as well as the twenty-eight Sanskrit Śaiva and Raudra Āgamas, which date to the seventh century CE. The Śaiva Siddhānta distinguishes itself from other Śaiva systems, however, in that along with these literatures it accepts as scriptural authority the twelve Tirumuṟai and the fourteen Meykaṇṭaśāstras.

The Tirumuṟai consist of devotional poems written in Tamil in South India by Śaiva mystics and gathered in the latter part of the tenth century by Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi. The Meykaṇṭaśāstras are doctrinal works written in Tamil in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries by Śaiva theologians, the most influential of whom was Meykanta Tevar (Meykantar), a *sūdra* who lived to the north of Madras in the thirteenth century. Meykaṇṭa Tēvar's important work known as *Civañaṉāpōtam* (Instructions on the knowledge of Śiva) consists of Tamil translations of twelve *sūtra*s from the *Raurava Āgama*, a seventh-century Sanskrit Śaiva work, to which he added Tamil commentaries and analogic interpretations. The system he taught became known as the Śaiva Siddhānta, the "doctrine of the followers of Śiva."

The Śaiva saints portray a vivid personal experience of God (Śiva), the fundamental theme of which is expressed by Tirumūlar: "The ignorant say that God and love are different; when they know that love and God are the same, they rest in God's love." Elsewhere Tirumūlar writes, "They have no love for God who have no love for all mankind." Appar (seventh century) speaks of the man who has unshakable belief in God's mercy and love. Śiva indwells every creature in a subtle form and manifests himself to his devotees. All that is required to be saved is to attune one's mind to Śiva and to be intent on his love and service. Inward and spiritual worship is the essence of religion, according to Appar. Without love for Śiva, the knowledge of scriptures, external rituals, and asceticism are of no avail for salvation. Campantar (seventh century) and Cuntarar (ninth century) stress the need of *bhakti* (love of God) in order to be freed from fetters. The mystic formula "Namo Śivāya," which represents the essence of the four Vedas and the essence of Śiva's name, when pronounced with true devotion, saves even nonmystics. Māṇikkavācakar (ninth century) describes in his *Tiruvācakam* the progress of a soul out of the bondage of ignorance and passion to the liberty of light and love. The main themes of this work are strong monotheism; infinity of bliss in Śiva alone; the purification, by grace, of the soul from delusion, as a preparation for eternal fellowship and communion with Śiva; prayers for forgiveness of sin; and enthusiastic love of God. Great prominence is given to the working of divine grace in Śaiva Siddhānta. *Aruḷ* (grace) is the remedy against *iruḷ* (ignorance). The illuminating grace takes the form of divine and mystical knowledge by which the soul, liberated from darkness, realizes its oneness with Śiva.

According to the Śāstras, there are three eternal and real substances: God *(pati)*, souls (*paśu*), and bondage (*pāśa*). God (Śiva) is immanent in everything and yet transcends everything. He is pure being, pure consciousness, and pure bliss. He is the efficient cause, and his *śakti,* composed of knowledge, action, and desire, is the instrumental cause of the world and of souls. He stands in relation to the universe as the soul to the body. As eyes cannot see but for the light of the soul, the soul cannot know but for the light of God. God and souls are one in the sense that they cannot be disjoined; they exist and function together. *Advaita* means inseparability, not identity; hence souls preserve their distinct character even in the final state of liberation.

Souls are endowed with knowledge, volition, and the ability to act, but they are bound by the fetters of *āṇava* (ignorance), *karman* (the effects of action), and *māyā* (changing reality), and therefore they experience themselves as independent of God. Śiva imparts to the soul instruments of empirical knowledge when it is in the *kevala* state (the state of the soul only with *āṇava*) and illuminating knowledge when it is in the *sakala* (embodied) state. Empirical knowledge leads to good and evil acts, and the result is the rebirth of the soul in different states. The three paths of salvation are those of service (*caryā*), worship (*kriyā*), and meditation (*yoga*), all of which should be animated by the love of God. All these ways dispose the soul to receive gratuitously from Śiva divine knowledge (*patijñāna*), by which is realized perfect union with Śiva in supreme love. This divine knowledge is imparted to souls either directly through intuition in the case of advanced souls or through a *Śivaguru* to the less advanced.

SEE ALSO Māṇikkavācakar; Meykaṇṭār; Umāpati Śivācārya; Tamil Religions.

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ŚAIVISM: VĪRAŚAIVAS

The Indian religious movement of the Vīraśaivas ("heroic Śaivas")—also known as Liṅgāyats ("bearers of a *liṅgā*")—appeared as a reformist Śaiva sect in Hinduism probably in the middle of the twelfth century in the border regions of Maharashtra and Karnataka. Its founder is said to have been a brahman named Basava or Basavanna (1106–1167), though the main reformist role may have been that of Ekantada Ramayya, a contemporary of Basava. The Vīraśaiva doctrine was probably further elaborated in the following centuries.

The sect now has about six million adherents, mostly in Karnataka, where, though officially classified as "backward," they are a not unimportant group. Vīraśaivism may have appeared as a reaction of Dravidians against Brahmanic (and therefore Aryan) domination. Temple worship, sacrifice, and pilgrimages are condemned as useless. The caste system is rejected, the sexes are declared equal, child marriage is forbidden, and widows are allowed to remarry. Caste distinctions tended, however, to reappear in the course of time. There are, for instance, hereditary priests, the *jaṅgamas*, while the sect itself is regarded as a caste.

All Vīraśaivas must belong to a group connected with one of the sect's five main religious centers or *matha*s (Kedarnath, Śrīsaila, Balehalli, Ujjain, Varanasi). All must have a *guru,* undergo initiation, and carry a small *liṅgā* in a tube fastened to the neck or arm (hence the name Liṅgāyat). The sect mark is a white dot on the forehead. The dead are buried, not cremated.

Though they condemn all ritual, Vīraśaivas still admit some rites, but these are performed by *jaṅgamas*, not *brāhmaṇas*, the main rite being initiation (*dīkṣā*) of male children. They must also pay homage at least twice per day to the small *liṅgā* they wear. Fundamental to their religion and deemed indispensable for salvation are the so-called eight covers (*aṣṭāvaraṇa*): the *guru,* who is even more revered than God; the *liṅgā;* the *jaṅgamas*; holy water (*padodaka*); returned offerings (*prasāda*); holy ashes (*vibhūti*); the rosary (*rudrākṣa*); and the *mantra* "Namaḥ Śivāya." Vīraśaivas believe in reincarnation, except for those who attain a certain degree of holiness in this life.

The metaphysical creed of the Vīraśaivas is "qualified dualism" (*viśeṣādvaita*), a Śaiva variant of Rāmānuja's doctrine, from which it may derive. Śiva acts through his energy (*śakti*), which divides itself into the Lord as manifested in the *guru* and the *liṅgā* and into all individual souls (*aṅgas*). *Māyā* is the cause and origin of the material world. Liberation from this world is gained by devotion to God and through a sixfold practice, the six phases (*sthalas*) of which will eventually bring the devotee to union with Śiva (united with Śakti), a union that is not, however, complete identity with God.

The literature is in Sanskrit, Kannada, and Telugu. That in Sanskrit is mostly doctrinal; some Āgamas include Vīraśaiva elements. The most important and popular texts are in Kannada, the main part being made up of *vacanas* ("sayings"). These are sermons, poems, and mystical utterances of the great Vīraśaiva saints and masters (Basava, Kasimayya, Mahādēviyakka, Allamaprabhu). This literature, in which *bhakti* and Tantric elements combine to form a very remarkable synthesis, is often of great poetic beauty.

See Also Rāmānuja.

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ŚAIVISM: NĀYAN̠ĀRS

The sixty-three Nāyaṉārs (c. 500–750 CE) are the early leaders (Tam., *nāyaṉār,* "lord, leader"; pl., *nāyaṉmār*) and canonized saints of the Tamil Śaivas, a Hindu sect that commands a large following in the Tamil linguistic area of South India. Along with the Vaiṣṇava Āḻvārs, the Nāyaṉārs were among the first saints of a regional, vernacular *bhakti* (devotional) tradition in Hinduism.

Preeminent among the Nāyaṉārs are Ñāṉacampantar (also called Tiruñāṉacampantar or Campantar; c. 650), Tirunāvukkaracar (also called Appar; c. 580–670) and Cuntaramūrtti (also called Nampi Ārūrar; seventh to eighth century), authors of the Tamil hymns of the *Tēvāram,* which form the first seven books of the Tamil Śaiva canon, and are sung during temple rituals. Māṇikkavācakar, author of the *Tiruvācakam* (c. ninth century), is revered as the fourth saint-teacher (*camayakuru*) of the tradition, although he is not included among the Nāyaṉārs. Next in popularity to the four poet-saints are the woman hymnist Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār (c. 550–600), Tirumūlar (c. eighth century), author of the mystical text *Tirumantiram,* and the legendary figures Kaṇṇappar and Caṇṭēcar.

The contributions of Ñāṉacampantar, Appar, and Cuntaramūrtti are embodied in their hymns, which Tamil Śaivas consider equal to the Vedas, holiest of Hindu scriptures. In the Tamil hymns—the first vernacular religious texts in Hinduism—the saints eloquently express emotional love for a personal God (Śiva), a form of religiosity new to Hinduism. The three Nāyaṉārs traveled to 260 shrines of Śiva in Tamil country and celebrated his presence in these places. The saints' emphasis on Tamil cultural elements, such as emotional love in the setting of particular places, endeared their religion to the Tamils. The *Tēvāram* helped to drive Buddhism and Jainism out of the Tamil region and to establish Tamil Śaivism as the national religion of the Tamils, patronized by the kings and practiced by the masses.

In his Tamil work *Periyapurāṇam* (The great history), the hagiographer Cēkkiḻār (c. 1135) narrates the lives of Cuntaramūrtti and the sixty-two historical and legendary saints named in a hymn *(Tēvāram* 7.39). The Nāyaṉārs came from all segments in Tamil society. The majority were from the upper castes and classes—kings, brahmans, cultivators—but the list also includes a hunter, a low-caste musician, and even an untouchable. In contrast to the traditional Hindu caste hierarchy, the saints formed an ideal society, a spiritually egalitarian community of devotees of Śiva. The extreme acts of Kaṇṇappar, who dug out his own eyes to replace the miraculously bleeding eyes of the *linga* image of Śiva that he was worshiping, and of Ciṟuttoṇṭar, who upon request cooked and served his own son to a Śaiva devotee, are dramatic yet typical examples of the pattern of the saints' lives. At the end of such episodes, Śiva reveals himself, commending the saint as an exemplary "servant" (*aṭiyār*). The lives of the Nāyaṉārs articulate the Tamil Śaiva view of devotion as love of God expressed with intensity; as emotional poetry; and as ritual service (*toṇṭu*) to God and service to his devotees, rendered with total and selfless love. To this day, Tamil Śaivas celebrate the saints by worshiping their images, singing their hymns, and retelling their lives.

SEE ALSO Māṇikkavācakar; Poetry, article on Indian Religious Poetry; Tamil Religions.

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There is no comprehensive work on the Tamil Śaiva Nāyaṉārs. Translation of the major texts relating to these saints—the *Periyapurāṇam,* the *Tēvāram* and the *Tirumantiram*—remains a desideratum, as does a systematic study of the role of the sixty-three saints in the tradition.

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ŚAIVISM: KRAMA ŚAIVISM

The term *Krama Śaivism* refers to a number of closely related mystical cults of the goddess Kali and her emanations, which, originating in Uḍḍiyāna (Swat) and Kashmir before the ninth century, propagated an idealist metaphysics that exerted a decisive influence on the Trika and thence on the Śrīvidyā. The Krama rituals and their wild, skull-decked, often theriomorphic deities place them within the Kāpālika culture of the cremation grounds.

The branch of Krama scriptures that originated in Uḍḍiyāna (of these, manuscripts survive of the *Devīpañcaśataka, Kramasadbhāva, Devīdvyardhaśatikā,* and *Yonigahvara Tantra*) has assimilated Kaulism and so professes to have distanced itself from this Kāpālika background. Nonetheless, several Krama *guru*s in Kashmir, though they followed these scriptures, were Kāpālika ascetics, while in the other major scriptural source of the Krama, the Kashmirian *Jayadrathayāmala,* the reforming influence of Kaulism is absent and the Kāpālika context of the Krama is vividly described. Here it is seen that the Krama arose within a tradition of Kali worship principally concerned with Kāpālika rites of spontaneous and controlled possession. The concept of possession developed into that of an enlightenment in which social individuality, with its constituent belief in a world of external powers and in the objectivity of Brahmanical criteria of purity, is displaced by the radiant expansion of Kālī from within as an impersonal, value-free, and infinite power of consciousness that projects and resorbs the universe within itself.

All forms of the Krama ritual are designed to induce this liberating intrinsicism through assimilative worship of Kālī (the true Self) in and as a "sequence" (*krama*) of sets of divine powers. This "sequence" embodies all the phases through which this cyclical dynamism manifests itself in the microcosm of the individual's cognition, as it fills and empties itself from moment to moment in the flux of experience. Thus in its commonest form the Krama ritual culminates in the worship of a sequence of deities that successively encodes the projection of content, immersion in content, retraction of content into the state of latent impression within the subject, and finally the dissolution of these subjective impressions in the implosion of consciousness into its pristine, nondiscursive potentiality. In some traditions, pure luminosity (*bhāsā*) is worshiped as a fifth phase englobing these four as its creative vibrancy. Fortifying this gnostic ritual with the expansive joy of caste-free sexual union and the consumption of wine, flesh, and the impurities of the body, the initiate penetrates through the inhibition of external values and the rebirth-generating bondage of self-awareness that this inhibition entails, thereby attaining the conviction that his individualized consciousness is but the spontaneous play of these universal powers. No longer enslaved by the appearance of subjection to the not-self in consciousness, he achieves liberation within the very flow of extroverted cognition.

This neo-Kāpālika mysticism of the Krama reached its highest theoretical and liturgical coherence in Kashmir in the preceptorial lineage of Jñānanetranatha (fl. c. 850–900). Emerging out of the Krama of Uḍḍiyāna, the outstanding works of this Kashmirian tradition are three texts, each entitled *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Illumination of the Great Doctrine), one anonymous (between 1000 and 1200) and the others by Arṇasiṃha (fl. c. 1050–1100) and Śitikaṇṭha (fifteenth century?). While remaining a distinct sectarian tradition, the

Krama strongly influenced the Trika, the other major Śaiva soteriology in Kashmir. Krama deities were incorporated into the core of the Trika pantheon in the second phase of Trika, and in its third phase the *guru*s who propagated the Pratyabhijñā (in the tenth century) took initiations in the lineage of Jñananetranātha. It is probable that this Krama background inspired their idealist nondualism. Among them Abhinavagupta contributed to the literature of the independent Krama, while his better-known exegesis of the Trika attempts to show that the Trika's categories contain the Krama as their essence. The independent Krama, influenced in turn by the Pratyabhijñā, spread in the twelfth century to the Śaiva centers of the far South. Of this phase there are the *Mahārthamañjarī* (Flower-cluster of the Great Doctrine) by Maheśvārananda of Cidambaram (fl. c. 1175–1225) and the *Cidgaganacandrikā* (Moonlight of the sky of consciousness) by Śrīvatsa, probably of Śucīndram (between 1075 and 1150).

Apart from these Kashmirian and southern developments, forms of the Krama flourished outside Kashmir as the basis of the cult of the goddess Guhyakālī. The earliest and richest work of this tradition is the *Kālīkulakramārcana* of Vimalaprabodha (before 1000), drawing on both the tradition of Uḍḍiyāna and that of the *Jayadrathayāmala.* Many liturgical texts of this branch of the Krama survive in the Kathmandu valley, where the cult of Guhyakālī (often identified with Guhyeśvarī, the principal local goddess) has continued into modern times. It is also to the Śaiva Newars of Nepal that is owed the preservation of manuscripts of the Krama scriptures, which are mentioned and quoted by the early authors of Kashmir but have not survived there.

SEE ALSO Abhinavagupta.

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ALEXIS SANDERSON (1987)

ŚAIVISM: TRIKA ŚAIVISM

The Śaivas of the Trika tradition were the principal propagators of the nondualist idealism that flourished in Kashmir from about 900 CE. Although all the known exegetical literature of the Trika is Kashmirian or inspired by Kashmirian authors, there are reasons to doubt that the tradition was Kashmirian in origin. The earliest and probably pre-Kashmirian phase of its development is seen in the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata Tantra,* the *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra,* and the *Tantrasadbhāva Tantra.* These Tantras lack the exegetes' doctrine that the world is the projection in and of consciousness, and their liturgies and yogic systems share the absence of the goddess Kālī/Kālasaṃkarṣiṇi, whose cult was later central to the Trika.

In the earlier period (probably before 800 CE) Trika Śaivism is defined by a system of ritual whose goal is the assimilation of the power of a "triad" (*trika*) of goddesses, Parā, Parāparā, and Aparā, the first benevolent, the other two wild and terrifying, garlanded with skulls and brandishing the *khatvāṅga,* the skull-topped staff of the Kāpālikas. Associated with the cult of these sect-defining deities was that of the eight mother goddesses and their embodiments in "clans" (*kula*) of *yoginī*s. The latter are both supernatural apparitions and human females considered to be permanently possessed by the mother goddesses. They were to be invoked and/or placated with offerings of blood, flesh, wine, and sexual fluids by power-seeking adepts whose affinity with one or other of these clans was divined at the time of initiation.

This cult of supernatural power through the manipulation of impurity incorporated Kālī in the second phase of its development, first alone, as the transcendental goddess immanent in the original three as her emanations (this is seen in the *Devyāyāmala Tantra* and in parts of the *Jayadrathayāmala Tantra*), and then accompanied by the pantheon of Krama Śaivism's cycle of cognition, as in the *Trikasadbhāva Tantra* and *Trikahṛdaya Tantra.* Since the Krama originated in the far Northwest, it is probable that this second phase of the Trika developed in Kashmir.

The third phase of the Trika (from c. 900 CE), represented principally by the *Tantrāloka, Mālinīvijayavārtika,* and *Parātriṃśikāvivaraṇa* of Abhinavagupta, shows the tradition competing with the Śaiva Siddhānta for authority within the mainstream of Kashmirian Śaivism. Equipped in the Pratyabhijñā with a respectable metaphysics, it distanced itself from the visionary, power-orientated world of the early Trika. Its sect-defining rituals are directed inward to self-contemplation in unmotivated performance, so that in principle they can be abandoned when gnostic self-cultivation no longer requires their support.

Behind this level of Tantric ritual, which gave the sect its broad base in the Śaiva community, this phase of the Trika preserved, as the cult of the virtuosi, a variety of the erotico-mystical Kaulism associated with the perhaps mythical saint Macchanda (also known as Matsyendranātha). This tradition had its roots in the cult of the clans of the eight mother goddesses seen in the first phase of the Trika, in related Śaiva cults (e.g., that of the *Picumatabrahmayāmala Tantra*), and in Buddhist adaptations in the Heruka Tantras, but broke away from this substratum by rejecting the external aspects of the culture of the cremation grounds. This trend toward mystical interiorization is extremely marked in the Trika Kaulism of Abhinavagupta, who propagated a meta-aesthetics in which orgasm with the consecrated female partner or "messenger" (*dūtī*)—the key moment of higher Kaula practice—was to reveal the all-containing dynamism of the absolute self radiating in blissful consciousness as the reality embodied and less directly perceived in the structure of its divine powers worshiped by lesser adepts in the Tantric and preliminary Kaula rituals.

Distinctive of the third phase of the Trika are (1) the doctrine of the co-essentiality of the "triad" (*trika*) of the individual (*aṇu* or *nara*), cosmic power (*śakti*), and the ground of *śakti,* Śiva; (2) the equation of the worship of the three goddesses in their Kali-ground with liberating awareness of the unity in pure consciousness of (a) precognitive impulse, cognition, and action, (b) object, medium, and agent of cognition, and (c) projection of, immersion in, and retraction of content in consciousness; (3) the ascent through the three means of salvation: the *āṇava* (through action, both ritual and yogic), the *śākta* (through the gradual intensification of a purely intellectual representation of reality toward its self-transcendence in nondiscursive revelation), and the *śāmbhava* (self-realization unmediated by thought, in the inner vibrancy of the precognitive impulse); (4) the hierarchy of seven levels of the contraction of the self, from the Śiva-mode to that of the individual; and (5) the claim to catholicity: The third phase of the Trika claims to be the summation of and key to all Śaiva traditions, both "orthodox" (i.e., Śaiva Siddhānta) and "heterodox" (i. e., the Bhairavatantras, Kaulism, and the Krama). After Abhinavagupta and his pupil Kṣemarāja, the third phase of the Trika spread to the Tamil country. There it provided the theoretical basis for and influenced the form of the cult of Śrīvidya.

See Also Abhinavagupta.

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ALEXIS SANDERSON (1987)

ŚAIVISM: ŚAIVISM IN KASHMIR

From the second half of the ninth century CE, Tantric Śaivism in Kashmir advanced in various forms into the front line of Brahmanical thinking. Learned authors superimposed upon roughly homogenous groups of scriptural traditions uniform systems of metaphysics and soteriology that could be defended not only against each other but also against the major non-Śaiva doctrines of the time. By the tenth century the Śaiva scene was dominated by the confrontation of two radically opposed schools: on the one hand, a group of nondualistic traditions, principally the Trika and the Krama, and on the other, the dualistic Śaiva Siddhānta. The nondualists, upholding the doctrine that the world and persons are no more than the play of the power of a universal consciousness-self, operated from within transgressive cults "tainted" by the Kāpālika culture of the cremation grounds and the erotico-mystical soteriology of the Kaulas. The Kashmirian Śaiva Siddhānta sealed itself off from these "impure," visionary traditions. It sustained a "pure" cult of Śiva, based on the twenty-eight Āgamas, with a soteriology that subordinated gnosis to the ritual praxis of indissolubly individual agents, claiming, moreover, that this praxis was entirely compatible with orthodox Brahmanical duty and caste purity.

The outstanding authors of this conservative Śaivism were Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha (fl. c. 950–1025 CE) and his son Rāmakaṇṭha. The most outstanding work is the latter's *Nareśvaraparīkṣāprakāśa.* The rise of the nondualist theology that opposed the Śaiva Siddhānta began with Vasugupta and his pupil Kallaṭa (fl. c. 850–900), was philosophically refined by Somānanda (fl. c. 900–950) and his pupil Utpaladeva, and culminated in the monumental works of Abhinavagupta and his pupil Kśemarāja (fl. c. 1000–1050). This tradition also sought to accommodate orthodox life, but by a different route. While the dualists adapted Śaivism to the orthodox view of the castebound ritual agent, the nondualists offered the initiate an esoteric self concealed within his perceived individuality, a blissful, transindividual consciousness which, being the cause and substance of all phenomena, could be seen as freely assuming the appearance of his limitation by an "outside world" and its values, as though it were an actor playing a role. Behind this outer conformity the Śaiva householder initiated into the Trika could experience the power of transcendence through contemplative worship that involved not only consumption of meat and wine but—in the case of the elite of *vīra*s ("heroes")—sexual intercourse.

This nondualistic tradition with its relatively sect-neutral metaphysics has generally been called Kashmir Śaivism. This term, however, obscures the fact that in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the period of most of the existing Śaiva literature, it was the Śaiva Siddhānta that was the dominant Śaiva doctrine (*jñāna*) in Kashmir, whereas the principal Śaiva cult in that region was then, as it has remained, neither that of the Śaiva Siddhānta nor that of the Trika or Krama. Rather it was the worship of Svacchandabhairava and his consort Aghoreśvarī, a form of Śaivism that falls between these two extremes. Naturally, the two schools competed for authority over this middle ground. The Śaiva Siddhānta had propagated a dualistic and socially conservative exegesis of its principal scripture, the *Svacchanda Tantra,* which Kśemarāja countered from within the newly consolidated nondualism in his own, subsequently authoritative commentary.

The new nondualism also entered the Kaula cult of the goddess Tripurasundarī, or Śrīvidyā, which rose to eminence in Kashmir during the eleventh century. This Kashmirian tradition of the Śrīvidyā, which by the twelfth century had spread to the Tamil country, came to be adopted in Trika circles with the result that the Trika became less a system of Tantric worship than a matrix of metaphysics and soteriological theory. Outstanding representatives of this Trika-based Śrīvidyā in Kashmir were Jayaratha (fl. c. 1225–1275), Sāhib Kaula (b. 1629), Śivopādhyāya (fl. c. 1725–1775), and Harabhaṭṭa (1874–1951). The cult of Tripurasundarī also permeated the worship of the local family goddesses of Kashmir (Jvālāmukhī, Śārikā, Rājñī, Bālā, etc.). Indeed, she was generally seen as the archetype and source of all the goddesses enshrined in the valley.

Although Trika ritual seems largely to have been replaced by that of the Śrīvidyā, that of the Krama retained its vigor, being preserved in such late texts as the *Mahānayaprakāśa* of Śitikaṇṭha, the *Chummasaṃpradāya,* and the *Śivarātrirahasya* of Nityasvatantra, in which Krama ritual is seen to play an important role in the annual Śivarātri festival. It is also probable that a related tradition based on the *Mādhavakula* of the *Jayadrathayāmala Tantra* and worshiping Kālī as the consort of Narasiṃha, the man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu, survived into the late Middle Ages. At present, nondualist Śaiva doctrine and some techniques of meditation continue to be accessible to the brahmans of the valley, but the tradition of Tantric ritual maintained by the priests (*gōrini*) through the centuries of Muslim rule has declined to such an extent that it faces imminent extinction.

SEE ALSO Abhinavagupta; Tantrism.

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ŚAIVISM: PRATYABHIJÑĀ

The Pratyabhijñā system of thought is part of what is called Kashmir Śaivism, a name applied to nondualist forms of Śaivism that flourished approximately between the ninth and thirteenth centuries in Kashmir and other parts of northern India but also elsewhere. The importance of the Pratyabhijñā in nondualist Śaivism is underscored by the fact that Mādhava (fourteenth century), in the *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha,* a classical work on Indian religious and philosophical systems, describes this school as Pratyabhijñā. The doctrine was first formulated systematically by Somānanda (ninth century?) in his *Śivadṛṣṭi,* then by his disciple Utpaladeva in the *Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā* (Verses on the Recognition of God) and in a subsequent commentary (*Vṛtti*) on them. It was further elaborated by Abhinavagupta (tenth to eleventh century) in two important commentaries, the *Īśvarapratyabhijñā Vimarśinī* and the *Īśvarapratyabhijñā Vivṛttivimarśinī.* Abhinavagupta's disciple Kṣemarāja gave a short and clear exposition of this doctrine in the *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya.* These treatises, all from Kashmir, rank among the main Indian philosophical works.

The term *pratyabhijñā* is usually translated as "recognition." The word has been explained as knowledge (*jñāna*) of an object to which one turns back (*prati*) and which then faces (*abhi*) the knower. It is the knowledge regained of the identity of the individual self and of the world with the Supreme Source of all.

For this school, to quote Kṣemarāja, "it is the divine Consciousness alone, self-shining absolute free will, that flashes forth in the form of the multitudinous universe": It is the unique cause, the inner reality and the substratum of cosmic manifestation, which it projects as a shining forth (*ābhāsa*) on itself as on a screen. This consciousness, Śiva, is the one absolute reality. The world is insubstantial—though not illusory, for it is, in its ultimate nature, of the same stuff as consciousness, from which it has evolved and with which it remains merged. But this identity is hidden because of the action of *māyāśakti,* the limiting and obnubilating power of Śiva. The world, in such a vision, exists only as a kind of cosmic oblivion of reality, hence the role of recognition through which the "forgotten" truth is rediscovered. *Pratyabhijñā* is not remembrance, however. It does not result from memory, despite the important metaphysical role of remembrance—*smaraṇa*—in nondualist Śaivism, but from a synthetic activity of the mind that destroys the misconceptions veiling the real nature of the supreme Self and finally brings one to realize the truth: "I am Śiva, the only true consciousness, omniscient, the only active power of the universe."

This knowledge, brought about by intense spiritual concentration (*bhāvanā*) and with the necessary help of God's grace (*anugraha* or *śaktipāta,* the "descent of divine energy"), is attained by the yogin after having reached the state of *samādhi,* where the yogin experiences a merging with (*samāveśa*) or a unifying contemplation of (*samāpatti*) the Supreme. It is said to shine as an intuitive vision (*pratibhā*), destroying all illusion. When this state becomes permanent, the yogin is freed from all bondage and is totally identified with Śiva, master of the whole cosmic process. The highest cosmic bliss (*jagadānanda*) is then experienced while one is still in life (*jīvanmukti*); it is a state in which empirical awareness and perfect transcendental consciousness coincide.

See Also Abhinavagupta.

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ŚAIVISM: PĀŚUPATAS

The Pāśupatas were possibly the earliest, and certainly one of the most influential, of the Hindu religious sects dedicated to the god Śiva. The probable founder of this sect was called Lakulīśa, meaning "the lord [*īśa*] with the club [*lakula*]." According to several of the Purāṇas, and other sources as well, Lakulīśa was an incarnation of Śiva, who entered a human body in the village of Kāyāvataraṇa or Kāyārohaṇa, located in western India near the city of Broach. He had four disciples named (with variants) Kuśika, Gārgya, Kauruṣa, and Maitreya. Each of them established an important genealogy of religious preceptors. An inscription from Mathura of 380 CE mentions a Śaiva *guru* who was tenth in descent from Kuśika. Assuming that this Kuśika was his direct disciple, Lakulīśa must have lived in about the first half of the second century.

The Pāśupata sect seems to have died out by about the end of the fifteenth century. Nonetheless, its doctrines and practices are reasonably well known from two surviving Pāśupata texts: the *Gaṇakārikā,* attributed to Haradatta, with a commentary attributed to Bhāsarvajña (tenth century), and the *Pāśupata Sūtra,* with the commentary of Kauṇḍinya. Both of these texts are cited by Sāyaṇa-Mādhava (fourteenth century) in the chapter on this sect in his *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha.* The influence of the Pāśupatas is evident in several Śaiva Purāṇas and in the late *Atharvaśiras Upaniṣad,* but the Pāśupata doctrines and practices described in these works differ considerably from those of the *Gaṇakārikā* and *Pāśupata Sūtra.*

The Pāśupatas were quite influential over much of South India from about the seventh to fourteenth centuries. The Kālamukhas, a closely related sect that also traced its foundation to Lakulīśa, controlled many temples and monasteries in the Karnataka region of the South during much of the same period. The ascetics of both sects actively participated in the revival of Śaivism that virtually eliminated Jainism and Buddhism from South India and competed successfully with the rival Hindu Vaiṣṇavas as well. As a result, even today Śiva remains the principal god of the Hindus of this region.

According to the *Pāśupata Sūtra,* the doctrine of the sect is based on the analysis of five major topics: effect (*kāraṇa*), or the created universe; cause (*kārya*), namely God; union (*yoga*), the purposeful association of the individual soul with God; observance (*vidhi*), ascetic and devotional practice; and end of sorrow (*duḥkhānta*), or salvation. The *Gaṇakārikā* describes five different stages (*avasthā*) in the adept's spiritual progress, each connected with a particular place, strength, impurity, purification, procedure, attainment, and aspect of initiation. In the first, "marked" (*vyakta*) stage, the adept stays with his *guru* in a temple. In an act typical of Śaiva ascetics he daily "bathes" in ashes and offers six different acts of worship dedicated to Śiva. In the second, "unmarked" (*avyakta*) stage, he leaves the temple to live among ordinary people and engages in the curious practices called "doors" (*dvāra*), the aim of which is to earn the active contempt of the uninitiated populace. These practices include walking about as if sick or crippled, making "amorous" gestures toward women, and acting and talking as if without any wits. The ascetics thereby pass their own bad *karman* to their unsuspecting revilers while at the same time absorbing these revilers' good *karman.* The remaining three stages are basically progressive levels of spiritual enlightenment unrelated to external behavior.

As in the possibly related doctrine of the Saiva Siddhantins, the Pāśupatas make an ontological distinction between the individual soul (*paśu*), God (*pati*), and the fetters of this world (*pāśa*). Their basic metaphysical position is thus both dualist and monotheistic. The grace of God is believed to be essential for salvation, which is conceived of as an intimate association of the soul with Śiva (*Rudrāsayujya*). Several Pāśupata theologians were renowned as logicians (*naiyāyika*s).

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Revised Bibliography

ŚAIVISM: KĀPĀLIKAS

In the South Indian text *Periya Purāṇam* by Cekkilar (c. 1100), a Śaiva ascetic visits the home of a seventh-century householder-saint, one of the sixty-three Nāyaṉārs, and demands to be fed with the flesh of the saint's only son. With limitless devotional zeal, the saint promptly beheads his young son, helps his wife prepare a curry of their son's flesh, and finally agrees even to join the ascetic in the gruesome feast. At the last moment the cruel guest disappears and the sacrificed son returns to life. The ascetic reveals himself to be none other than the god Śiva come to test his devotee. This legend is typical of those associated with the Kāpālikas, or Bearers of the Skull (*kapāla*), a heterodox Śaiva sect often accused of both necrophilic and orgiastic practices.

The true character of the Kāpālika sect is difficult to determine since it is known almost exclusively from the text of its opponents, especially from dramatic works such as the *Prabodhacandrodaya* of Kṛṣṇamiśra (c. 1050–1100) and the *Mattavilāsa* of Mahendravarman (c. 600–630), and from the hagiographies of the great theologian Śaṅkarācārya written by Mādhavācārya (c. 1700?), Anantānandagiri (c. 1400?), and others. It is even possible to suppose that the Kāpālika sect has been created by these authors to personify the varied groups of unorthodox and Tantric ascetics who worshiped the god Śiva. There does, however, exist sufficient evidence to indicate the probable historical reality of a specific Kāpālika sect between about the fifth and fifteenth centuries CE.

First, the Kāpālikas, sometimes also called Kapālins or Mahāvratins, are frequently mentioned as one of the four principal religious sects dedicated to the god Śiva. The historical existence and importance of the others—the Pāśupatas, Kālāmukhas, and Śaiva Siddhāntins—is beyond doubt. Second, two inscriptions from western India, dating from the seventh and eleventh centuries, record donations to what must have been Kāpālika ascetics. In the first inscription the recipients of the gifts are described as Mahāvratins who reside in the temple of Kāpāleśvara, Lord of the Kāpālas; in the second the recipient is described as a Mahāvratin ascetic who is "like the Kapālin Śaṅkara in bodily form." This Kapālin is none other than Śiva in the form of a Kāpālika ascetic. The myth of Śiva-Kapālin is the third and most important basis for supposing the existence of a specific Kāpālika sect, since this myth evidently serves as the archetypal model for the religious practices of the ascetic members of the sect. The myth is not clearly referred to in texts earlier than the Purāṇas (c. 200–1300), but it is indirectly linked to the early Vedic myth of the conflict between the gods Prajāpati and Rudra and to the *Mahābhārata* myth of Rāma Rāghava and the sage Mahodara.

The Puranic myth of Śiva-Kapālin begins with an argument between Śiva and the creator god, Brahmā. The upshot of the dispute is that Śiva removes one of the five heads of Brahmā and thereby is afflicted with the sin of *brahmahatyā,* the killing of a brahman. To free himself from this sin, symbolically represented by the skull of Brahmā sticking to his left hand, Śiva must undertake a twelve-year penance, wandering about in the guise of a Kāpālika ascetic who uses the skull as a begging bowl. This penance is known as the Great Vow (*mahāvrata*), and Śiva consequently becomes a Mahāvratin (Follower of the Great Vow). The penance is eventually completed in Banaras, the holy city of Śiva, at the sacred bathing place (*tīrtha*) on the Ganges called Kapālamocana, where the skull finally falls from his hand.

The descriptions of human Kāpālika ascetics likewise conform to those of the Kapālin form of Śiva. They wander about with a skull begging-bowl, their bodies smeared with ashes, wearing bone or skull ornaments and loincloths of animal skin, with their hair in matted locks. They sometimes carry a special club called a *khaṭvāṅga,* consisting of a skull mounted on a stick.

In none of this is there any suggestion of orgiastic behavior. Nonetheless, the more heterodox Śaiva sects generally are associated with the religious current known as Tantrism, which does feature rites that break, either symbolically or in fact, orthodox socioreligious injunctions concerning both food and sex. The best known of such rites is that of the five *ma* sounds (*pañcamakāra*) in which the devotee partakes of liquor (*madya*), meat (*māṃsa*), fish (*matsya*), parched grain (*mudrā*), and coition (*maithuna*). Kāpālika ascetics are frequently regarded as libidinous hypocrites who practice the Tantric reversals of conventional morality on a daily basis.

In Tantric cults, salvation (*mukti*) is often imagined as a state of bliss homologous to the bliss of the sexual union of Śiva and Pārvatī. The doctrine of the Kāpālikas is usually called Soma Siddhanta, a term that is traditionally explained as the doctrine (*siddhānta*) of Śiva united with his wife Uma (*sa-umā*).

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SAKA RELIGION SEE SCYTHIAN RELIGION

ŚAKTI SEE KUṆḌALINĪ; TANTRISM

SAKYA PAṆḌITA (SA SKYA PAṆḌITA)

(1182–1251). The religious culture of Tibet came to be characterized, from the thirteenth century on, by a remarkable emphasis not just upon Buddhist thought and practice, but also upon a broad range of Indian learning sometimes only indirectly related to the study of Indian Buddhism *per se*. The broadening of Tibetan cultural horizons that this entailed may be traced directly to the considerable influence of the renowned monastic scholar Sa skya Paṇḍita.

HIS LIFE. Sa skya Paṇḍita (the "*paṇḍit* from Sa skya"), whose proper name was Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (Kunga Gyaltsen), was born in 1182 as the son of Dpal chen ’od po, a scion of the ruling ’Khon family of the principality of Sa skya in southwestern Tibet. During the preceding century, his forebears had already established a reputation for Sa skya as an important seat of Buddhist learning and a major center for the promulgation of the esoteric system of the Tantras. He was accordingly educated in these traditions under the tutelage of his uncle, Grags pa rgyal mtshan (Trakpa Gyaltsen, 1147–1216), a renowned lay scholar and adept. During his mid-teens, he came to be regarded as a master of the familial legacy and, advised by his uncle, left Sa skya to continue his studies under a variety of masters of the major Indian Buddhist philosophical and doctrinal treatises, concentrating in particular upon epistemology and Madhyamaka dialectical thought.

In 1204 the Kashmiri master Śākyaśrībhadra (d. 1225) arrived in Tibet accompanied by an entourage of Indian scholars. Sa skya Paṇḍita was one of a number of up-and-coming Tibetan clerics who were inspired by this opportunity to learn directly from knowledgeable Indian teachers and he invited one of them, Sugataśrī, to return with him to Sa skya. For a period of three years (1205–1207), Sa skya Paṇḍita applied himself to mastering Sanskrit grammar and other aspects of Sanskrit linguistic and literary learning, a training that would lend a notably “Indological” perspective to his scholarship in later years. In 1208 he again met Śākyaśrībhadra and received the full monastic ordination of a *bhikṣu* from him, an event that traditionally is held to mark the inception of the Sa skya pa as a properly monastic order. For the next five years he continued to study a broad range of Buddhist textual traditions under Śākyaśrībhadra and the other members of his entourage. Following the death of his uncle Grags pa rgyal mtshan in 1216, Sa skya Paṇḍita came to be recognized as the leading successor within the religious tradition of Sa skya.

For the three decades that follow, the exact chronology of Sa skya Paṇḍita’s life is obscure, though it is clear that it was during this time that he was most active as a teacher and author, achieving widespread fame in Tibetan learned circles. At some point—it remains unclear just when—he traveled to the Tibet-Nepal frontier, where he is said to have engaged in debate and soundly defeated a Hindu ascetic named Haranandin. The story of their dispute, though only thinly documented in early sources, later became a popular tale of magical warfare in which Sa skya Paṇḍita had to call upon the services of a Rnying ma (Nyingma) pa sorcerer in order to vanquish his opponent, who was about to fly miraculously into Tibet.

A real threat to Tibet, however, did emerge during the last years of Sa skya Paṇḍita’s life: the Mongol descendants of Chinggis Khan, having conquered much of Eurasia, began to direct their armies toward Tibet, where an incursion was made in 1239. Sa skya Paṇḍita’s preeminence came to the attention of the Mongol ruler Godan Khan not long after this, and in 1244 the latter summoned him to the court, effectively to negotiate Tibet’s submission. Traveling with his young nephews, ’Phags pa (Phagpa, who would later become the preceptor of Khubilai Khan) and Phyag na, he arrived in Liangzhou (in modern Gansu) in 1246 and met the Khan early the following year. Tibet, as a result, became one of the few lands to enter into the Mongol empire through negotiation, without subjection to the horrors of invasion, the Sa skya pa emerging as Tibet’s rulers for the century that followed. These developments, however, occurring gradually over roughly two decades, were not the immediate outcome of Sa skya Paṇḍita’s mission to Godan Khan, which nevertheless provided a precedent for the Sa skya pa-Mongol alliance.

Sa skya Paṇḍita passed away in Liangzhou in 1251. Besides the fame he enjoyed among later generations of Tibetans, the Mongolian peoples have also honored him as one of the first Buddhist masters to introduce them to the faith that in later times they adopted.

MAJOR WRITINGS. Sa skya Paṇḍita’s writings are known today primarily through the standard, Sde dge (Derge) xylographic edition of his collected works in three volumes, published during the mid-1730s and containing a total of over one hundred individual texts ranging from short poems to extended systematic treatises. Though by no means a large corpus for an important Tibetan author, Sa skya Paṇḍita’s oeuvre is nevertheless noteworthy for the diversity of the subjects treated, as for the unusual influence his major writings have had throughout much of Tibetan intellectual and literary history. Recent Tibetan bibliographical scholarship has revealed some additional works preserved only in manuscript that may be securely attributed to Sa skya Paṇḍita’s authorship, while at the same time a number of texts included in the Sde dge edition have been shown to be pseudepigraphical. Most notorious among the latter is a substantial work, the *Gzhung lugs legs bshad* (Excellent exposition of textual traditions), that appears to have been inserted in the standard edition on the mistaken assumption that it was to be identified with Sa skya Paṇḍita’s still lost treatise on Buddhist philosophical systems.

Among the many notable writings that are presently available, it is the *Mkhas pa ’jug pa’i sgo* (Scholar’s gate) that comes closest to setting forth a general program representing Sa skya Paṇḍita’s ideals of Sanskritic learning. He presents here the exposition of a trivium based upon the mastery of composition, rhetoric, and debate, and in the first chapter, on composition, he supplies a series of short, fine surveys of the elements of grammar and poetics, including the theory of designation and meaning, and a relatively detailed introduction to the topics of aesthetic sentiment and poetic ornament. His promulgation in Tibet of Indian literary conventions is further represented by his *Legs bshad rin chen gter mdzod* (Jewel mine of aphorisms), perhaps his most famous work, a collection of short verses, many of which were culled from Indian books of ethical and political admonition. Sa skya Paṇḍita’s pithy Tibetan renditions have achieved proverbial status and even today are frequently cited from memory.

Indian traditions of logic and epistemology (*pramāṇa*) figured prominently among his major concerns. Among his key contributions here was the final redaction of the Tibetan translation of Dharmakīrti's masterwork, the *Pramāṇavārttika,* henceforth the basis for all Tibetan scholarship in this field. His own synthesis of Indian Buddhist epistemology, the *Tshad ma rigs gter* (Treasury of epistemic reason), enjoys a singularly extensive commentarial tradition in later Tibetan scholasticism and is said to have been the sole Tibetan philosophical work ever translated into Sanskrit (though no proof of this has so far emerged).

Sa skya Paṇḍita's Buddhist doctrinal writings are represented by his *Thub pa dgongs gsal* (Clarification of the sage's intention), providing a comprehensive guide to the path of the *bodhisattva* according to the major scriptures and treatises of the Indian Mahāyāna. His *Sdom gsum rnam dbye* (Analysis of the three vows) is perhaps his most controversial work, in which he sets forth trenchant criticisms of doctrinal and exegetic developments in Tibet, organized according to the three major Buddhist ethical and disciplinary codes, those of the monastic Vinaya, the path of the *bodhisattva*, and the esoteric Tantras. His foremost target, considered in others of his writings as well, was the notion of an "immediate entry" (*cig car 'jug pa*) into enlightenment, which he often characterized as the "Chinese Great Perfection" (Rgya nag Rdzogs chen), referring to the Chan traditions attributed to the eighth-century Heshang Moheyan. His remarks about this, together with his frequent critical asides, have earned Sa skya Paṇḍita something of the reputation of a pugnacious author of polemics. Nevertheless, given the restraint and the aesthetic refinement characterizing much of his writing, such an assessment appears overly to exaggerate the importance of just one aspect of his work.

The diversity of Sa skya Paṇḍita's interests is reflected by his *Rol mo'i bstan bcos* (Treatise on music), a rare example of musicological writing by a Tibetan Buddhist author. Its discussions of the Buddhist ritual use of the drum may offer some insights into now otherwise lost Indian Buddhist liturgical music. Others among his works offer contributions to Sanskrit lexicography and poetic meter, Tantric ritual and meditation, as well as several epistles responding to particular queries on the part of Tibetan contemporaries.

INTELLECTUAL LEGACY. Sa skya Paṇḍita influenced the later development of Tibetan culture significantly. His studies of Sanskrit and Indian linguistic and literary learning convinced him, on the one hand, that there was an intrinsic value to such studies, which formed the basis of a classical Indian education. On the other hand, he believed that the Tibetans frequently erred in their understanding of Indian Buddhist works in Tibetan translation precisely because they had lost site of the cultural and linguistic context of the originals. Sanskritic learning, in short, was to be valued for its roles both in the cultivation of personal refinement and in the hermeneutics of the Buddhist religion. With variations, these guiding ideas would be taken up by later generations of Tibetan scholars, so that, for the most part, Tibetan learning from the late thirteenth century on distinctly bears Sa skya Paṇḍita's imprint.

Specifically, his interest in Sanskrit poetics provoked a virtual revolution in Tibetan literary style. Following the Tibetan translation by his disciple, Shong ston Rdo rje rgyal mtshan (Shongtön Dorje Gyaltsen, fl. late thirteenth century), of such Sanskrit literary classics as Kālidāsa's famed *Meghadūta* (Cloud messenger) and Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* (Mirror of poetics), the stylistic emulation of Sanskrit poetic ornament became a fundamental feature of Tibetan composition. Though contemporary critics have sometimes lamented the privileging of such work over and against more characteristically indigenous Tibetan modes of expression, echoes of Sa skya Paṇḍita's Sanskritizing voice may be found even among today's young Tibetan authors.

The emphasis on the full range of Indian learning that Sa skya Paṇḍita's project entailed found perhaps its greatest exemplification in the work of the Great Fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682) and his regent Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1653–1705), whose extensive efforts to codify in detail the full range of the arts and sciences (*rig gnas*; Skt., *vidyāsthāna*) known in Tibet explicitly acknowledge the contributions of Sa skya Paṇḍita as their precedent.

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SALANTER, YISRAʾEL (1810–1883), born Yisraʾel Lipkin, Lithuanian rabbinic scholar and leader, founder of the Musar movement. Yisraʾel Lipkin, the son of a rabbi and an exceptionally educated woman, showed scholarly promise at an early age. At the age of twelve he traveled to the town of Salant to continue his studies under the tutelage of the noted scholar Tsevi Hirsh Braude. From his stay of some fifteen years in Salant derives Rabbi Yisraʾel's usual designation, Salanter.

The young Yisraʾel came under the influence of the charismatic but reclusive rabbi, Yosef Zundel of Salant. Characteristic of the latter's approach were an intense concern with the moral aspects of Jewish law and the development of psychological techniques meant to heighten moral sensitivity and inspire righteous action. Yisraʾel Salanter's discipleship under Zundel also put him in a direct line of discipleship from Zundel's teacher Ḥayyim of Volozhin to Ḥayyim's master, Eliyyahu ben Shelomoh Zalman (the "Vilna Gaon," 1720–1797), the most revered figure in the Lithuanian rabbinic tradition.

Salanter's public career began upon his arrival in Vilna (modern Vilnius) in 1840. He first served as the head of a major *yeshivah* in the city but soon left to found his own academy in a Vilna suburb. During this period Salanter began his efforts to set up a mass movement dedicated to individual ethical improvement. He addressed audiences of all social classes, arranged for the reprinting of classical ethical tracts, established the *musar-shṭibl*, a place for the study of moral works, and formed a nucleus of disciples who would spread the Musar doctrine.

Salanter was a widely revered figure known for his scholarship, his personal saintliness, and his concern for the suffering of others. His independent spirit and his moral authority in the community are illustrated by an incident in which Salanter suspended the Yom Kippur fast during a cholera epidemic in 1848. That same year government officials offered him the post of Talmud instructor in a newly opened modern rabbinical seminary, but Salanter, who opposed cooperation with government-sponsored Enlightenment programs or with *maskilim* ("enlightened" Jews), instead took up residence in Kovno (modern Kaunas).

In Kovno, Salanter forged the model of the Musar *yeshivah,* where the study of ethical works and the practice of self-contemplation became regular parts of the curriculum. From Kovno, Salanter sent letters to his followers outlining aspects of his Musar doctrine. These letters, later collected and printed in numerous editions, constitute the greater part of Salanter's written legacy.

In 1857, seeking medical treatment for depression and nervous disorders, Salanter moved to Germany, where he remained the rest of his career. In 1860 he published one of the first Orthodox periodicals, *Tevunah,* and in 1877 founded an advanced *yeshivah* in Kovno for married students. In Germany he met with university students, proposed a project to translate the Talmud into other languages, and asked that Talmud study be accepted as part of the university curriculum. He helped organize religious institutions for eastern European immigrants in Memel (modern Klaipeda, Lithuania), Paris, and other cities. Throughout his later years Salanter maintained correspondence with and influence over his disciples in Lithuania.

SEE ALSO Musar Movement.

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ṢALĀT. The *ṣalāt* is a ritually prescribed prayer in the Islamic faith. Although the Qurʾān mentions *ṣalāt* many times, the specific details of how, when, where, and under what conditions to perform the ritual prayer are not minutely described in the Qurʾān. Rather, the early Muslim community formalized the ritual on the basis of the Prophet Muḥammad's example, or *sunnah.* Such matters as the exact postures, times, conditions, and recitations of the *ṣalāt* were arrived at thanks to the early community's recollections of the prophet's practice. Inspired by the Qurʾanic decree to emulate Muḥammad as their most beautiful model (*uswa al-ḥasana*), oral reports called *ḥadīth* recalling what Muḥammad said or did began to circulate soon after his death. As many spurious *ḥadīth* also proliferated, eventually they had to be sifted in terms of their reliability on the basis of criteria developed by *ḥadīth* scholars. In the century after Muḥammad's demise, Muslims sought to consolidate their faith and identity in institutional, legal, and theological terms. To this end, scholars *(ʿulamāʾ*) and jurists (*fuqahā*) devoted considerable attention to debating and determining the religious duties of Muslims. What it meant to be a Muslim in terms of doctrines and practices was still in a state of flux, and *ṣalāt* was part of this process of discovery and construction of identity.

PRAYER IN THE QURʾĀN. Prayer is of central significance in Islam. At the core of Islamic faith is the act of submission to God expressed in the first place through worship (ʿībādat). The Qurʾān repeatedly emphasizes the necessity of prayer, especially in the form of praise and self-surrender: "Establish regular prayer, enjoin what is just, and forbid what is wrong; and bear with patient constancy" (31:17); "And be steadfast in prayer; practice regular charity; and bow down your heads with those who bow down [in worship]" (2:43). Indeed, faith without prayer is simply meaningless in Islam. The Qurʾān uses several terms connoting prayer, including supplication (*duʿāʾ*), remembrance (*dhikr*), repentance (*istighfār*), glorification (*tasbīḥ*), litany (*wird*), and ritual (*ṣalāt*). Worship in Islam thus encompasses a wide variety of expressions, and the *ṣalāt* must be seen within this broader context.

The Qurʾān places the origin of forms of worship under divine guidance and declares that all the prophets established ritual prayers that were divinely inspired. For instance, Abraham begged God to bless him and his descendants with the privilege of performing worship (*ṣalāt*): "O Lord! Make me one to establish proper worship, and some of my posterity [also] and Lord accept Thou my prayer!" (14:40). In Islam, the primary sense of worship and devotion is to fulfill God's will. This is conveyed by the term *ʿībādat,* which is derived from the root *ʿabada*, meaning "to serve."

ETYMOLOGY OF *ṢALĀT.* The delineation of *ṣalāt* as a specific form of ritual prayer and as a distinct religious obligation (*farḍ*) was part of the historical development of *sharīʿah*, or Islamic law. The word *ṣalāt* is not found in pre-Islamic sources. Most likely, the term entered Arabic usage through monotheists in Arabia, notably Christians and Jews living in Muḥammad's time. The ritual of *ṣalāt* has several formal features that suggests it drew inspiration from contemporary Jewish services. The Arabic term *ṣalāt* was probably derived from the Aramaic word *śloṭā*. In Aramaic, the root *ś-l-ʾ* means "to bow, bend, stretch"; *śloṭā* is the act of bending or bowing. The Arabic verb *ṣallā* means to perform *ṣalāt.*

The form and content of *ṣalāt* evolved even during Muḥammad's lifetime. For instance, in the earliest Meccan revelations, the term *ṣalāt* was used in the sense of worship or prayer in general: "Those will prosper who purify themselves, and glorify the name of the Lord and pray" (87:14–15). *Ṣalāt* as a ritual with specific formal elements occurs more frequently in the Medinan revelations during the formation of Islam as an institutional religion. For example, the Qurʾān gives guidance on how to conduct prayers under special circumstances, such as while traveling or in battle: "And when you travel through the land, there is no blame on you to shorten your prayers if you fear that those who disbelieve may attack you" (4:101–103). It is clear, given its use in the Qurʾān in both the general sense of prayer and the specific sense of formal ritual performed by Muḥammad, that the word *ṣalāt* had a wider meaning at the beginning of Islam. However, it is this latter, more specific usage that became the basis of the codified and obligatory ritual consisting of certain prescribed gestures and acts by which the *ṣalāt* is known today. It should also be noted that from Turkey to India, the Persian word for *ṣalāt, namāz*, is commonly used to designate the obligatory ritual prayer.

DIVERSITY OF INTERPRETATION. Influenced by historical events, political interests, theological approaches, and exposure to other faiths and cultures, Muslims had already begun to diversify into communities of interpretation in the first centuries after Muḥammad's life (570–532 CE). One of the most important questions on which the earliest generation of Muslims differed was how much emphasis to give to the authority of ʿAli (598–661 CE), Muḥammad's cousin and son-in-law, as his interpreter and successor. Difference of opinion led to the formation of many groups in Islam, of which the two major movements are the Shīʿah and Sunnī.

***ḤADĪTH, FIQH,* AND THE PILLARS OF ISLAM.** Although *ṣalāt* has remained fairly uniform since Muḥammad's time, slight variations in practice do exist between various Muslim groups. Shīʿah and Sunnī schools appeal to different sources of authority to ascertain and establish the fundamentals of Muslim faith and practice. All Muslims turn to the Qurʾān as the primary source of authority in religious matters. Next in authority for the Shīʿah are the memory of prophetic example (*sunnah*) inscribed in the collections of *ḥadīth,* and the teachings of the *imāms.* The Sunnī give greater emphasis to the *sunnah,* and consider the *ḥadīth* collections of al-Bukhārī (d. 870) and al-Muslim (d. 875) to be the two most trustworthy ones (*as-ṣaḥīhan*). The Shīʿah have their own *ḥadīth* compilations which give priority to traditions narrated by ʿAli, Muḥammad's daughter Fatimah, and the hereditary *imāms.* Authoritative Shīʿah collections include those of al-Kulaynī (d. 939), Ibn-Bābūya (d. 991), and al-Ṭusī (d. 1067), and great importance is given to ʿAli's sermons in *Najhul Balāgha* and the teachings of Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 765). In addition to the Qurʾān, the teachings of the *imāms,* and the *ḥadīth*, of great practical importance are the writings of scholars and jurists of the different schools of law which form the day-to-day basis of *sharīʿah,* or Islamic law. Muslim religious practices are anchored in different schools of Islamic jurisprudence called *madhāhib al-fiqh,* whose authority is founded upon the law books and manuals written by such famous jurists as Mālik ibn Anas (d. 795), al-Shāfiʿī (d. 820), Aḥmad Ḥanbal (d. 855), and Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 767) for Sunnī jurisprudence, and Imām Jaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq, ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 1325), and Qāḍī an-Nuʿmān (d. 974) for Shīʿah jurisprudence.

Fiqh, or Islamic jurisprudence, is the summation of rules and regulations formulated by the leader of the *madhhab,* or law school, according to its own methodology. The part of Islamic law (*sharīʿah*) dealing with rites and rituals is called *fiqh al-ʿībādat.* The canonical collections of *ḥadīth* (both among the Shīʿah and Sunnī) begin with the requirements of worship, or ʿībādat, and include the pillars of Islam (*arkān al-dīn*). Although they are not mentioned in the Qurʾān, by the time the essential doctrines had been articulated in the ninth century, all branches of Islam accepted the fundamental tenets or requirements expressed in shorthand as the five pillars, which include the *shahādah* (testifying to the oneness of God and Muḥammad as God's messenger), *ṣalāt* (five daily ritual prayers), *zakāt* (alms for the poor), *ṣawm* (fasting during Ramadan), and *ḥājj* (pilgrimage to Mecca once in one's lifetime). The Shīʿah have additional pillars, including *wilāyah* (devotion to the *imāms* of the *ahl al-bayt*) and *jihād* (defending one's faith; striving for moral and spiritual perfection).

The *ṣalāt* was legally the most important pillar after the *shahādah* (which it included), and rules regarding conditions of prayer occupy a vast volume of *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* literature. Thus, it can be surmised that the *ṣalāt* and its details were crystallized once the major *ḥadīth* were compiled in the ninth century. That there was vigorous discussion and interpretation of the sources prior to this time can be seen from the fact that numerous slight distinctions in *ṣalāt* performance were adopted and justified by the different *madhhabs* in their legal texts (for example, whether to say *āmīn* silently or loudly after the opening Qurʾanic verse *al-Fātiḥah*). Obviously, the final conclusions regarding the details of worship were shaped by the different methods and historical situations of the jurists. Generally speaking, the Sunnī schools of law have shown considerable tolerance for each other's differences. For the most part, however, they have contested or rejected the legitimacy of the Shīʿah *madhhabs.*

DESCRIPTION, VARIATIONS, AND REQUIREMENTS OF *ṢALĀT.*

We now turn to a discussion of the requirements and description of the *ṣalāt.* The *ṣalāt* is obligatory when one attains the age of reason, usually deemed to be seven years of age, but certainly once one has reached the age of puberty. An individual must be of sound mind to perform *ṣalāt,* which is an act of personal choice and self-conscious submission to God's will. There are both obligatory (*farḍ*) and voluntary (*nafl*) *ṣalāt.* The obligatory *ṣalāt* is one of the five (or seven) pillars of Islam and the foundation of faith. Punctuating the day and night with deliberate prayer acts as a reminder that life is a gift from God and that time itself is sacred. All schools are in agreement that the obligatory *ṣalāt* must be performed in Arabic, a regulation which was essential in preserving the identity and solidarity of the early Arab Muslim communities in the context of the new lands and cultures in which they lived.

Conditions for *ṣalāt.* In addition to being clean and sober, proper clothing must be worn during *ṣalāt.* Shoes or sandals are removed, although some *imāms* wear special slippers in the mosque. The earliest regulations on dress were primarily concerned with decency, humility, and sobriety. This applied to men and women, both of whom are equally obliged to perform the *ṣalāt* and other pillars. In Muḥammad's time, it is clear that women prayed alongside men and participated fully in the religious and political life of the community. However, numerous *ḥadīth* linking women to the concept of disorder, or *fitnah,* came into circulation after Muḥammad died, partly as a result of historical events (such as Muḥammad's youngest wife ʿĀʾishah's battle against ʿAli, which started the first civil war between Muslims) and partly in reaction against Muḥammad's reforms to improve women's status. These *ḥadīth* have been used to discourage women from praying in public spaces. Arguing that the very presence of women is disruptive because they arouse sexual desire in men, Sunnī jurists in particular have allowed women permission to attend mosques only under strict conditions: they may not wear perfume; they must be fully covered; they may not interact with men; they must sit separately or at the back of the mosque; they must ask permission from their husbands or male guardians to attend prayers. Additionally, women are not allowed to pray or fast during menstruation. Generally, among the Shīʿah and Sufis, women have had greater latitude to engage actively in communal prayers and religious life. Muslim women's actual participation in the mosque and the practice of segregation and seclusion, however, has varied in different historical periods and regions of the world. In contemporary times, patriarchal restrictions on women's full religious participation have been called into question by both Muslim men and women, but normative gender roles and practices remain relatively unchanged.

Place for *ṣalāt.* Ṣalāt may be recited individually or in congregation. It is recommended that the ritual prayer be performed collectively if possible, although nonobligatory *ṣalāt* (*nafl*) may be offered individually. Congregational prayers are led by a leader (*imām*) selected from the assembly by virtue of his piety and religious knowledge. If a male is not present, a woman may lead a group of only women in prayer. Although all schools of law permit women to attend mosque, in practice they are encouraged to pray at home. Ṣalāt can be performed anywhere as long as the place is clean. Usually, if a mosque is accessible, Muslim men pray there, but if they are on the street or elsewhere at the prescribed time for prayer, they roll out prayer rugs to perform the *ṣalāt.* The word *masjid* means, literally, a "place of prostration." A key requirement when performing the *ṣalāt* is to face in the direction of Mecca. A typical mosque has a *qiblah* wall with an arched recess or prayer niche called *miḥrāb* which indicates the direction facing Mecca. Worshipers make straight rows behind the *imām* facing the *qiblah.* Mosques may also have a pulpit, or *mimbar,* to the right of the *miḥrāb* where the *imām* gives his *khuṭbah*, or sermon; a minaret from which the call to prayer (*adhān*) is recited; a fountain or other public facility for ablutions (*wuḍūʾ*); and a central prayer hall. Mosques do not have chairs of pews and seldom have figural images and murals on the walls. Instead, the interior and exterior of mosques are usually decorated with delicate geometric designs and inscribed with Qurʾanic verses rendered in the splendid styles of Islamic calligraphy.

Times for *ṣalāt*: Qurʾān and *sunnah*. The five times of *ṣalāt* in current practice are not named in the Qurʾān. Rather, the number of times to perform *ṣalāt* was established and given legal force by the *sharīʿah.* The rich vocabulary used in reference to times of day for prayer in the Qurʾān indicates that such matters were still at an evolutionary stage during Muḥammad's life. The Qurʾān mentions three essential times for *ṣalāt,* to which a middle prayer was added in the Medinan period. Verses describing the three times of prayer include: "And establish prayer at two ends of the day and the first hours of the night" (11:114); "Establish prayers at the setting of the sun till the darkness of night, and the recital of the Qurʾān at dawn. Verily, the morning recital is witnessed" (17:78). Nightly prayers and vigils (*tahajjud*) were closely associated with the first Muslim community in Mecca: "Truly, the vigil by night is most keen and most certain for words [of prayer]" (73:6). In the Medinan period, emphasis upon the nocturnal prayer appears to have decreased, but a midday prayer, possibly influenced by the practice of the Jews, was added: "So glorify God in the evening and the morning; to Him be praise in the heavens and the earth at the sun's decline and at midday" (30:17–18).

In addition to the Qurʾān, jurists drew on *ḥadīth* to settle upon the requirement for performing *ṣalāt* five times a day. According to tradition (*sunnah*), the divine injunction to pray five times was received during Muḥammad's famous night journey, the *Miʿrāj.* The original account is very terse and is tied to the Qurʾānic verse 17:1–2, which refers to a journey from the holy sanctuary to the further mosque (later interpreted to be the Kaʿbah in Mecca and Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem). Tradition and the Muslim literary imagination has furnished details and embellished the story over the centuries. Muḥammad is depicted as being transported to Jerusalem (*isrāʿ*) and thence on to the heavens (*miʿrāj*) by the angel Gabriel on a winged beast called Burāq. During his ascension to heaven, he meets the biblical prophets Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. Upon reaching the summit, God commands Muḥammad that his community must perform fifty *ṣalāt* every day. When Moses hears this he tells Muḥammad to return to God, make a plea of mercy, and beg for a lighter obligation. Muḥammad goes back and forth between God and Moses several times until God reduces the number of obligatory prayers to five. The traditions offer an origin for the *ṣalāt* while at the same time linking it to the biblical prophets, and establishing a heavenly bond between the Peoples of the Book (*ahl alkitāb*). The symbolism connecting the Kaʿbah, Jerusalem, biblical prophets, and the throne of God to the *ṣalāt* anchors it in an ancient genealogy of monotheism. The five-times prayer thus acquires the quality of a fixed duty.

The five *ṣalāt*. The five daily prayers have specific requirements. The dawn prayer (*ṣalāt al-subh or al-fajr*) is performed between daybreak and the actual rising of the sun, and requires two cycles of prostration (*rakaʿāt*). The noonday prayer (*ṣalāt al-ẓuhr*) is performed anytime from midday until afternoon, and requires four *rakaʿāts.* The late afternoon prayer (*ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr*) must be performed between the *ẓuhr* prayer and sunset, and requires four *rakaʿāts.* The evening prayer (*ṣalāt al-maghrib*) is performed after sunset and before dusk, and requires three *rakaʿāts.* The night prayer (*ṣalāt al-ʿishaʾ*) is performed after darkness sets in but before the middle of the night, and requires four *rakaʿāts.* A missed prayer can be made up at a later time. The Shīʿah perform the five obligatory prayers thrice a day by joining the noon and late afternoon prayers and the evening and night prayers. As noted earlier, the three times of prayer are mentioned in the Qurʾān, and this practice was prevalent in Muḥammad's time as well.

Call to prayer: adhān and iqāmah. Each prayer time is announced by the call to prayer (*adhān*) from a mosque. About fifteen minutes before the *ṣalāt* begins, a muezzin ascends the minaret—a tower adjoining the mosque—or stands at the door of the mosque to recite the call. These days, the *adhān* is often recorded and broadcast over loudspeakers located atop the minaret or mosque dome. Muslims living outside Islamic countries can also use electronic *ṣalāt* clocks which announce prayer times. These "global Bilals" (named after the first muezzin in Medina, known for his powerful voice) display the *ṣalāt* times and play the *adhān* before each *ṣalāt.* Some timepieces also come equipped with compasses showing the *qiblah,* or direction to Mecca. Just prior to starting the *ṣalāt*, another call to prayer (*iqāmah*) is repeated, ending with the phrase, "the prayer has begun." The text of the *adhān* in translation is as follows:

> God is Great! [recited four times]; I bear witness there is no God but God; I bear witness that Muḥammad is God's messenger; [after this phrase, the Shīʿah add: "I bear witness that ʿAli is the friend of God and the

> prophet's viceregent"]; Come to prayer [twice]; Come to salvation [twice]; [the Shīʿah say: "Come to the best of deeds"]; God is Great [twice]; There is no God but God. [Sunnīs add, "And prayer is better than sleep" prior to the *takbīr* in the early morning *adhān*.]

The slightly different phrasing of the *adhāns* helps to differentiate between a Shīʿah and Sunnī mosque.

Preparations for *ṣalāt*: ablutions. Ritual purity (*ṭahārah*) is a prerequisite for prayer. To perform *ṣalāt*, one must be clean. An oft-quoted *ḥadīth* reports that Muḥammad said "Purity is half of faith." Before touching the Qurʾān, performing *ṣalāt*, going on pilgrimage, and participating in religious festivals, a Muslim must be ritually clean. As with other faiths, concepts of purity and impurity play a role in many areas of Islamic life. There are two types of purification rituals; their use depends upon the degree of one's impurity. Major impurities require a complete bath (*ghusl*) to wash the whole body. The *wuḍūʿ* (lesser ablution) is performed to remove minor impurities. To indicate which is required, *wuḍūʿ* or *ghusl*, the *sharīʿah* specifies in great detail various actions that cause minor and major impurity. Opinions vary on what constitutes major and minor pollution among the different schools of law. Major impurities generally include sexual intercourse, menstruation, ejaculation, childbirth, and contact with a corpse. Any emission from the body, exposure to death and decay, loss of blood, and sexual activity is ritually polluting. Minor impurities include touching one's private parts, visiting the toilet, touching a person of the opposite sex, and intoxication. In general, *wuḍūʿ* is performed in the mosque before prayer.

The washing ritual draws inspiration from Qurʾanic verses such as the following: "O ye who believe! When you rise up for prayer, wash your faces and your hands up to the elbows; and lightly rub your heads and your feet up to your ankles. And if you are unclean, purify yourselves. And if you are sick or on a journey, or one of you comes from the toilet, or you have had contact with women, and you find not water, then take some clean earth or sand and rub your faces and your hands with it" (5:6). The *wuḍūʿ* ritual is quite brief and economical, and involves a sequence of cleansing acts: washing the hands; rinsing the mouth and nose; washing the face; washing the arms and elbows; washing the feet and ankles; and wiping the ears, neck, and head. The Shīʿah usually wipe or rub their feet rather than wash them. The washing routine is repeated thrice. Mosques often have fountains and basins in their courtyards for this purpose. If water is not available, a Muslim may use sand or dust to wash using the same gestures; this is called *tayammum*. *Tayammum* is also permitted for those who are sick or are traveling. The *wuḍūʿ* is preceded by making an intention, or *nīyah*, to perform it, and is concluded with a short prayer.

Mental preparation for *ṣalāt*: intention. Repetitive rituals can become habitual and lifeless. The *sharīʿah* addresses this problem by requiring that deliberate intention (*niyyah*) precede any act of worship. Before the *ṣalāt* is performed, one must make a *niyyah*, that is, one must declare one's intention to pray. Whether the intention is to be pronounced audibly or made silently depends on the school of law one follows. Some schools of law argue that *niyyah* is an action of the heart, not the tongue, so it should be made silently. Others say it should be softly pronounced. Nevertheless, there is consensus that *niyyah* must accompany worship. Just as purification with water or sand before *ṣalāt* cleanses the body for prayer, so also intention prepares the mind and heart to pay attention during *ṣalāt*. Expressed as a decision or goal, *niyyah* is an act of recognition that one is about to do something. Thus, it gathers the mind's energies to focus on the act of obedience and worship. As an exercise of the will, it also signifies a personal choice to surrender one's destiny to God. *Niyyah* brings mindfulness and self-awareness to the performance of *ṣalāt*.

Performance of *ṣalāt*. The actual prayer ritual is quite simple and short. Each *ṣalāt* consists of two or four cycles of bowing, called *rakʿah*. A *rakʿah* (pl. *rakaʿāt*) is a cycle of movements accompanied by certain recitations. A minimum of seventeen *rakaʿāts* must be completed in the course of the five daily prayers. After making the *niyyah*, the worshiper goes through a series of steps, with slight variations according to the *madhhab*. The words of the prayer must be recited from memory.

Standing with feet slightly apart, one raises the hands to the ears palms facing outwards and recites aloud the *takbīr*: "Allāhu akbar!" ("God is Great"). In this standing position, called *qiyām*, with the hands either brought back down to the sides (Mālikī and Shīʿā) or clasped above the navel (Ḥanafī), above the heart (Shāfiʿī), or at the center of the chest (Hanbalī), the first *sūrah* of the Qurʾān, *al-Fātiḥah,* is recited. The Sunnī say "āmīn" after the *Fātiḥah*, but the Shīʿah do not. This is followed by reciting (*qirāʾah*) another passage from the Qurʾān. The Sunnī may recite any portion of a *sūrah* after the *Fātiḥah*; the Shīʿah require a complete *sūrah* to be recited, and most often it is *sūrah al-Ikhlāṣ* (112:1–4). This is then followed by a *takbīr*.

One then bows with hands placed on the knees (*rukūʿ*) and says silently three times, "Glory be to God!" (the Shīʿah add, "And praise be to God"). Standing erect again in a position called *wuqūf*, one says, "God hears one who praises Him," followed by "O Lord, Praise be to you!" and then recites another *takbīr*, "God is Great!" Then, one prostrates oneself (*sujūd*), touching the forehead to the ground with the palms flat on the ground, and silently says three times "Praise be to God Almighty, the most High!" The Shīʿah place a tiny tablet of clay from one of the holy Shīʿī shrines (Kerbala, Mashad, or Najaf) on the spot where the forehead touches the ground and add the phrase, "Glory be to God!" Then one raises oneself and says *takbīr*.

In this seated position, called *julūs*, one asks for forgiveness (Ḥanafīs), says nothing (Mālikīs), or offers petitions, or duʿāʾ, called *qunūt*. Then another *takbīr* is recited. The exact sitting posture varies: Sunnīs sit with toes touching the floor but heels upright; Shīʿah sit with their feet folded. One completes the *rakʿah* by making a second prostration and returning to the sitting position. Then one stands and the cycle is repeated again. At the end of the second cycle (or third or fourth, depending on the time of prayer), a formal greeting (*taḥiyyah*) calling for God's blessings on Muḥammad and God's servants is recited, followed by the *tashahhud* (literally, "witnessing"), in which the *shahādah* (testimony of faith) is pronounced. While reciting the *tashahhud*, it is common among Sunnī *madhhabs* to point the forefinger and move it in circles; however, this is not permitted by the Shīʿah. The text of the *tashahud* differs based on the *madhhab*; the Shīʿah add to the *shahādah* the phrase attesting to ʿAli's special position. A final prayer for peace, called *taslīm*, is said; while turning the head right and left one declares, "Peace be upon you" ("as-salāmu alaykum"). Again, there are slight variations in words among the different schools. After the *ṣalāt*, worshipers may remain seated to offer duʿāʾ, or superarogatory prayers. The Shīʿah recite duʿāʾ to keep alive the memory of their *imāms* and their spiritual link with them through devotional prayers.

Friday Prayer and Other Festivals. Although the *ṣalāt* may be performed individually, there are numerous *ḥadīth* stressing the excellence of communal prayer. A famous *ḥadīth* says: "Prayer which a man performs in congregation is worth twenty-five times the prayer performed at home or the market place." Several Qurʾanic verses provide scriptural basis for communal prayer service held on Friday. For instance: "O ye who believe! When the call to prayer is proclaimed on the day of assembly, hasten to remember God and cease your business. This is best for you if you understand" (62–9). The congregational prayer (*ṣalāt al-jumʿah*) held on Fridays is obligatory for males in most *madhhabs.* Attending Friday services is not compulsory for women and, in fact, women are not encouraged to participate. Major Muslim cities have huge congregational mosques called *jumʿah masjid* to accommodate large gatherings. *Jumʿah* is performed at the time of the noonday prayer, which it replaces. Upon entering the mosque, worshipers perform two *rakaʿāts.* Then, the i*mām* ascends to the pulpit (*minbar*) and gives two short sermons (*khuṭbah*), after which he leads the *jumʿah ṣalāt.* Generally, the sermons explain an Islamic ethical principle or practice on the basis of a Qurʾanic verse. In Islamic countries, sermons provide a means to mobilize the faithful; therefore, the ruler or state frequently maintains close control over *jumʿah* mosques. Major Muslim festivals are also held in the *jumʿah masjids,* where the whole community gathers to celebrate and offer special prayers. These festivals include the feasts that follow the end of the fast during the month of Ramaḍān (ʿĪd al-Fiṭr), and the end of the *ḥājj,* or pilgrimage to Mecca (ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā).

Significance of Ṣalāt. In conclusion, the *ṣalāt* is a focal point of Muslim religious life. At the eve of Islam, the *ṣalāt* played a crucial formative role in the transformation of religious identity, for both pre-Islamic Arabs and those who adopted Islam as it spread. Undoubtedly, the *ṣalāt* demands discipline, and the question remains as to what degree Muslims do, in fact, observe the five prayers. Over the course of Islamic history, the *ṣalāt* has enjoyed different interpretations ranging from esoteric to exoteric. Esoteric interpretations look upon *ṣalāt* as an act leading to a spiritual encounter and relationship with God, a method of transformation of individual consciousness through the disciplined practice of continual submission and self-surrender. Exoteric interpretations tend to emphasize *ṣalāt* as primarily an act of ritual observance and submission to God's law. In the former case, emphasis on *ṣalāt* performance may diminish or take on symbolic import, whereas in the latter case, faithful performance of *ṣalāt* is always essential. The two views are not mutually exclusive. They have influenced each other but also been suspicious of one another for excesses of liberalism or literalism, as the case may be. The majority of Muslims, however, affirm that *ṣalāt* is a means of purification and submission of the body, mind, and soul, and that it embodies total surrender of the human being to God's will.

See Also Dhikr; Postures and Gestures; Prayer.

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SALT has been a necessary additive to humanity's diet from the time people began cooking meat. The use of salt as a preservative and condiment became so important that it soon acquired a truly astonishing variety of symbolic meanings.

The Egyptians and Greeks used salt in certain sacrifices, but it is not clear with what intent. In Brahmanic sacrifices, in Hittite rituals, and during the New Moon festivals of Semites and Greeks, salt was thrown on fire to produce a crackling sound that may have had symbolic significance. This interesting multicultural custom, however, does not seem to be related to Mark's enigmatic saying: "Everyone must be salted with fire" (*Mk.* 9:49).

The Hebrews had a "covenant of salt" with Yahveh (*Nm.* 18:19, *2 Chr.* 13:5) and sprinkled their sacrifices with the "salt of the covenant" (*Lv.* 2:13). Though this practice probably developed from the use of salt as a preservative, for these Semites salt signified the fellowship of the table and the shared meal, just as it did for the Greeks and Romans. This association of salt (which was served as a separate dish) with the communal meal is also mentioned in *Ezra* (4:14). The Samaritans invoked their sharing of salt with the king of Persia as proof of friendship. In medieval Europe, it was considered wrong to harm someone with whom salt had been shared. Even today, Arabs offer salt to visitors as a sign of hospitality.

Furthermore, in the *Acts of the Apostles* (1:4), the Greek word *sunalizomenos,* usually translated "eating together," means literally "taking salt together." This word was adopted in the Clementine homilies (*Patrologia Graeca,* vol. 2, cols. 332, 345), and its meaning was similarly understood by the Greeks and Romans.

A very ancient ritualistic use of salt occurred in exorcisms. Some exegetes understand Elisha's throwing of salt in the bitter waters as a form of exorcism (*2 Kgs.* 2:20–22). This concept was borrowed by the church fathers, and salt was used for its apotropaic qualities in the Roman liturgy. Salt drives out the devil, according to a number of prayers for catechumens and the making of holy water that are found in the *Gelasian Sacramentary* (sixth century). This symbolic use of salt derived from its ability to preserve meat from corruption.

Similar reasoning has applied to the rubbing of salt on newborn babies, a custom among Semites, Persians, and ancient Greeks, still practiced today by such varied peoples as the Toda of South India and the Lao of Southeast Asia. Even though salt was applied primarily for medicinal purposes, its use often involved ritual to ward off evil. In fact, this apotropaic quality of salt is found in the folklore of societies all over the world. Salt is considered to have power over demons in Southeast Asia, over witches in Germanic traditions, and over the evil eye in Arab lands.

The practical use of salt to enhance the flavor of foods has evoked a number of taste-related symbolisms. The words for "tasteless" or "insipid" in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin also mean "foolish." Salt, therefore, confers wisdom, according to the rite for catechumens in the Roman liturgy. This play on words is likewise evident in the saying of Jesus: "If salt loses its savor [becomes foolish], with what will it be salted?" (*Mt.* 5:13). An extension of this theme was developed by the church fathers, who interpreted salt as God's word, spiritual discourse, and preaching. Paul thus exhorted Christians to season their language with salt (*Col.* 4:16). For the Athenians and Romans, salt stood for wit.

Especially in the Roman liturgy, salt symbolized spiritual health, unquestionably because salt was an ingredient in many medications (cf. Pliny, *Natural History* 31.102). The delicate but vital role that salt plays in the human metabolism was implicitly acknowledged in ancient times when the Roman legions were given their ration of salt and, at a later date, a *salarium* ("salary") with which to buy their own salt.

As with most other symbols, salt also has a negative aspect. In *Judges* (9:45), salt was sown on a destroyed city to signify sterility. The practice was followed by the Assyrians and Hittites and was later adopted by Attila at Padua and Frederick Barbarossa at Milan. A curse could produce a salt marsh (*Ps.* 107:34), a salt pit (*Zep.* 2:9), or a land of brimstone and salt (*Dt.* 29:23).

Salt has many other meanings that appear, for example, in Brahmanic and early Hindu literature. In the Upaniṣads, a grain of salt dissolved in water is a symbol of the reabsorption of the ego in the "universal self." In other Brahmanic texts, salt refers to cattle, seed, and the sacrificial essence of sky and earth.

References to salt among indigenous Americans are rare except in the context of ritual fasting and sacred fire. There was, however, an Aztec goddess of salt, Huixtocihautl.

The purifying and protecting virtue of salt is evoked in Japanese Shintō ceremonies. Izanagi, during the creation, constituted the first central island of Onogorojima with the help of salt extracted from the primordial waters.

In alchemy, salt had more to do with a basic principle than with actual substance. In hermetic symbolism, salt is the product and the equilibrium of the properties of its components, sulfur and mercury.

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SALUTATIONS are more or less formally ordered expressions acknowledging the presence of another. They occur generally upon meeting but also upon departure from the person met. Salutations include an enormous variety of oral and ritual forms that differ significantly in length and elaborateness and that express a range of emotions from kindness to humility or dread. Among these are bows, prostrations, ritual attack and defense, the firing of arms, the baring of the head, the clasping of hands, embracing, weeping, kissing, and smelling, as well as the utterance of short to very lengthy verbal prescriptions. The form of salutation appropriate in one civilization is very often offensive or ludicrous in another, and in any particular civilization the salutation varies with context. Most research on salutations has attempted to account for the relative elaborateness or simplicity of traditional greetings by seeing the relation of these to other aspects of religion and culture.

CEREMONIAL GREETINGS. While the salutation has been largely neglected in the study of religion and culture, it has been observed that salutations between equals tend to be brief and simple while those offered to sovereigns by their subjects or to higher ranking persons by lower ranking persons tend to be more ceremonious. Early visitors to such regions as Melanesia, Thailand, and parts of Africa reported that visitors to a chief approached him crawling on hands and knees. Ancient Egyptian and Mesopotamian sculptures show the lowly prostrations of subject kinds before a conquering monarch. Subjects, advisers, even the wives of kings of ancient Israel (*1 Sm.* 24:8; *2 Sm.* 24:20; *1 Kgs.* 1:23, 1:31) did obeisance to them with face to the ground, as did ancient personalities to God, his emissary, or his prophet (*Gn.* 17:3, 18:2; *2 Kgs.* 1:13). In the Hindu tradition, the person of inferior caste is expected to salute his superior, but the superior is not to acknowledge the greeting. On the other hand, as the historian Herodotus (485?–425? BCE) observes, in the ancient Near East the kiss was common between equals, a form of greeting that Paul recommends among the brethren of the church at Corinth (*1 Cor.* 16:20).

The above observations, of themselves, help little toward an understanding of ceremonial greetings involving the reception of visitors whose status may not be known. An early European traveler to Pemba, an island off the coast of Tanzania, observed that the otherwise friendly king ordered his musketeers to fire their arms upon his arrival in order to expel evil spirits. An early visitor to Africa reported being received with what he called war dances. Among the Maori of New Zealand, ritualized combat was performed at the arrival of visitors. In the Tonga Islands near Fiji, presents were offered to new arrivals as well as to natives who had been away. At the same time, the newcomer could be challenged by anyone to a mock fight that the rules of protocol forbade him to decline.

Material such as this evoked the view that the stranger, like the divine king, chief, or priest, was regarded as being replete with magical power that could discharge itself upon anyone with whom he came in contact. Just as taboo acts performed with respect to the king were designed to preserve his contagious spiritual force, the formalized greetings offered to strangers, according to James G. Frazer, were precautionary observations—an elementary dictate of savage prudence—intended to guard against the stranger's possibly baneful influence. Because such magical influence could infect anyone who traveled to strange and distant lands, the same observations would naturally accompany the arrival of a villager who had been traveling a distance from his home. Acknowledging this insight, Arnold van Gennep, in 1909, drew the conclusion that ceremonial greetings to strangers are rites of incorporation intended to reinforce the social cohesion of the group to whom the stranger is introduced. The length of greeting, then, understandably varies according to the extent to which the person arriving is a stranger.

These conclusions, however, do little to explain the lengthy and elaborate greeting ceremonies between persons of equal status who may even be acquainted. In ancient China such a ceremony began with the arrival of the visitor, carrying, in winter, a freshly killed pheasant, in summer, a dried one, held up by both hands, with the bird's head facing left. The visitor begins: "I have desired an interview for some time, but have had no justification for asking for it; but now his honor So-and-so orders me to an interview." To this the host replies: "The gentleman who introduced us has ordered me to grant you an interview. But you, sir, are demeaning yourself by coming. I pray your honor to return home, and I shall hasten to present myself before you." The guest replies: "I cannot bring disgrace on you by obeying this command. Be good enough to end by granting me this interview." This ceremony (which continues for several similar self-deprecating exchanges, accompanied by specified bows, and ends finally with the reception of the guest and the gift) is described in *The Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial* (c. 100 BCE), one of three ancient Chinese texts that deal with the subject of *li,* known to be the warp and woof of heaven and earth and consisting of the rules of propriety and politeness according to which all human relationships ought to be governed. The foundation of *li,* according to the Confucian tradition, is the heart that is willing to defer.

GREETINGS PRESCRIBED BY LAW. The context that determines the relative length and elaborateness of the salutation evidently reflects the view of reality perpetuated by the tradition in which it occurs. For example, an ancient formulation of Hindu law, the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra* (c. 500 BCE), provides that every day and after any absence, a student is to salute his parents, his grandparents, and his teachers with a kneeling embrace of the feet. The same salutation is to be observed for elder siblings in order of their seniority. Upon meeting an officiating priest, a father-in-law, or an uncle (even one younger than himself), the student is to offer this salutation or the salutation normally prescribed for his caste. *Brāhmana*s are to salute by extending their right hand on a level with their eye; *kṣatriya*s by extending the hand on a level with their breast; *vaiśya*s by extending it on a level with their waist. *Śūdra*s are to salute bending forward, their joined hands held low. These salutations are performed standing with shoes off, with empty hands, and with head uncovered. On the other hand, in a state of impurity students are to salute no one. They is not to salute anyone who is impure, and the impure person is not to return a salute.

GREETINGS AS TOOLS OF SPIRITUAL ACHIEVEMENT. The salutations prescribed in this system of laws reflect not only the social system that they support but attitudes underlying the social system. In ancient India, the salutation is an act productive of merit toward earthly weal, heavenly bliss, and final liberation. The person of high caste, especially the teacher, is regarded as replete with vital power, the result of the accumulated merit of present and former lives. The higher the age and caste, the greater the store of power. The higher the vital power of the person one salutes the greater the merit achieved. In this respect, a *brāhmana* of ten years and a *kṣatriya* of one hundred stand to each other as parent to child, the ten-year-old *brahmana* as the parent. Another text, the *Laws of Manu* (c. 200 BCE), states that the vital airs of a young person mount upward to leave the body when an elder approaches. By rising to meet and salute the elder, the vital powers are recovered.

The powers achieved through the merit of worthy acts, however, must constantly be guarded against depletion, since they are inclined to flow, as it were, downhill from the person of higher prestige to the person of lower prestige. A salutation to a lower-caste person or an unclean person, the acknowledgment of his salute, or an unnecessary conversation with him, can result in the loss of vital force. If conversation with a lower-caste person is necessary, one must assume a posture of psychic neutrality in order to prevent such dissipation of power. Hindu salutations also reflect the fear of the evil eye, whose untoward effects can be invited even by a careless word. In traditional Hindu society, one does not comment upon another's pleasing appearance, the attractiveness of his or her children, even the pleasantness of the day. Whatever is offhandedly declared to be good is likely to attract inauspicious elements, tempting disaster. Against this, meticulous precautions are taken.

In contrast, the salutations found in the early Buddhist tradition reflect the elevation of spiritual achievement above hereditary status and an absence of occult concerns. "No brahman is a brahman by birth; no outcaste is an outcaste by birth." This shift is neatly expressed in the story of the meeting of the Buddha with the five ascetics with whom he had spent the years prior to his enlightenment. Upon seeing the Buddha walking toward them, the five agreed not to rise in salutation, because he had abandoned his former vows and given up ascetic practice. Yet as he approached, they involuntarily rose, and in spite of their resolution they greeted him and offered the customary refreshments, although in addressing him they employed his family name. To this the Buddha responded that he was indifferent as to whether he was treated with respect, but that it was rude and careless so to address a person (i. e., by his family name) who looks with equal kindness upon all living beings: Buddhas bring salvation to the world, therefore they ought to be treated with the respect that children pay to their fathers (Aśvaghoṣa, *Buddhacarita,* vv. 1229ff.). In Theravāda Buddhist countries, the act of prostration before the image of the Buddha or the pagoda (his principal symbol) is an integral part of worship. To perform this act the worshiper kneels, places his clasped hands to his forehead, and three times touches his forehead to the ground. Similar acts are performed by a layperson upon coming into the presence of a monk, by younger monks in the presence of their senior, by young children when they meet their parents, and by adults when on prescribed holy days they visit their parents' homes to pay them special respect.

Over and against all of this, the salutations prescribed in the Muslim tradition reflect a belief in the sovereignty of God and the equality of all humanity. The Qurʾān commands: "When you are greeted with a salutation, reply with a better one, or at least return it" (surah 4:86). In the Islamic world the usual greeting is "Al-salām ʿalaykum" ("Peace be upon you"). The appropriate reply is "Wa-ʿalaykum al-salām" ("And upon you be peace"); or to this may be added "Wa-rah-mat Allāh wa-barakātuhu" ("And God's mercy and blessings"). This, according to Islamic tradition, is the greeting with which Adam was commanded to greet a group of angels when he was created. His and their reply was to be the greeting for all of his descendents. The *ḥadīth* specifies particular situations in which the salutation ought to be offered and who is to initiate it. The younger person should greet the older person. The person riding should salute the person walking. The person passing should salute the person sitting. The smaller group should greet the larger group. Regardless of the circumstances, the greeting remains the same. While forms of the peace greeting are found in other documents of the ancient Near East (e.g., *Gn.* 43:23, *Jgs.* 19:20, *1 Sm.* 25:6, *1 Chr.* 12:18), it is significant that in this tradition the act of prostration to the ground, also found in the ancient Near East, is reserved for the worship of God.

Salutations, then, seem to express and perpetuate values and sentiments about the person greeted that are appropriate to the conception of reality of the culture or tradition in which they occur and serve to preserve such sentiments and values from subversion, thereby supporting the solidarity and continuity of the culture or tradition in question. Even when it is not explicit in the prescribed words of greeting, the sentiment that is communicated in traditional salutations is often of a religious nature. To an outsider, "Al-salām ʿalaykum" uttered by a Muslim may not express any specifically religious idea. To another Muslim, however, the relation of peace, as earthly well-being, to submission to God is understood. In *Nuer Religion* (London, 1956), E. E. Evans-Pritchard observes that the most common greeting among the Nuer people of eastern Sudan is a phrase that translates as "Have you slept?" What he thinks is implied, however, is something like "Are you at ease?" This interpretation is confirmed by the question that follows, "Are you well?" implying "Are you at peace?" That this is understood to be related to the peace that comes from God is implied by the further question, "Have you prayed?" and the next, "Does smoke rise from your hearth?" which is to say, "Is everything well at home?" A final question sometimes asked is "Has it dawned?" implying "Is it well for you?" When the answers are affirmative they convey the picture of easy sleep, contentment, prayer, a person at peace with God, his neighbor, and himself.

SECULARIZATION OF SALUTATIONS. It has also been observed that salutations tend to be longer and more elaborate in ancient, primitive, and traditional societies, shorter and simpler in modern industrial civilization. Salutations reflect the processes of cultural interpenetration and secularization occurring in many parts of the world at the present time. Words and gestures of salutation are perhaps among the most commonly borrowed of customs. In India, the gesture of touching the breast, the lips, and the forehead with the fingertips, as well as the bow with the right hand over the breast, are forms of the Muslim *salām* greeting introduced to India during the Mughal empire (1526–1857), from which influence came also the custom of the close embrace. It is interesting that the *salām,* which is normally used among Muslims to greet fellow believers, but not the infidel, is sometimes used by Hindus as a form of greeting for strangers. In India, as well as in Buddhist countries, the Muslim world, and elsewhere where Western influence has been felt, the handshake is growing in acceptance despite opposition, although in rural areas it remains less adopted. Among the most striking evidence of Western influence is the recent spread of the use of the greeting card for the exchange of good wishes on occasions that would once have required a visit. This phenomenon, which suddenly grew to a grand scale in England and America in the middle of the twentieth century, is now being employed for the exchange of greetings at Jewish holidays and also on the occasion of the great annual Islamic festivals. In general, where cultural borrowing occurs, it is the simpler, shorter, and less ceremonious custom that is appropriated by persons outside the tradition, and in the exchange the more subtle religious sentiments are likely to be lost.

The effect of secularization upon salutations is evident in the presence in modern greetings of the relic of a religious sentiment. The Namaskāra, perhaps the most general of salutations in India in the early twenty-first century, was originally a *śūdra* salute. The two open hands held together accompanied by the word "Namas" or "Namaste" was originally an exclamation of homage meant for the deity. Likewise, in modern European salutations like the French "Adieu" (lit., "to God"), the Spanish "Adios" (from "Vaya con Dios," meaning "Go with God"), the remains of the religious sentiment, now barely intended, can still be seen. In others, like the French "Bonjour" and "Au revoir" or the German "Auf Wiedersehen" and "Guten Morgen," the relic is perhaps more deeply submerged. In English the word *good-bye* is taken by most etymologists as a derivative of "God be wi' ye" (i. e., "God be with you"), which appears in Shakespeare as "God buy you" (*Twelfth Night* 4.2). Likewise, "Good morning" is taken as a short form of "God be with you this morning," or "God give you a good morning." In general, the secularization process abbreviates the originally religious salutation as the religious conception within it is no longer seriously intended. As scholarship has focused upon those aspects of religion that pertain to the more enduring of institutions and social structures, salutations have been far from the center of attention. With increasing interest in aspects of religion that pertain to social and cultural change, these eminently changeable cultural forms may prove to be an important subject of research.

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SALVATION See ENLIGHTENMENT; ESCHATOLOGY; JUSTIFICATION; REDEMPTION; SOTERIOLOGY

SALVATION ARMY. The Salvation Army is described in its official mission statement as an "international movement" and "an evangelical part of the universal Christian Church." Its "message is based on the Bible," its "ministry is motivated by the love of God," and its "mission is to preach the Gospel" and to "meet human needs" without discrimination. In 2001 the organization operated in 108 countries and had 17,341 active clergy (officers) and 1,028,691 active members (soldiers). Members of any rank are called Salvationists.

Salvationists are officially required to subscribe to eleven doctrines, which are fundamentalist, evangelical, and Protestant. The army's theological position is based on that of John Wesley (1703–1791), the founder of Methodism, and is a restatement of the orthodox belief that love is the single motive for all true Christian endeavor: as God loved his children and sent his Son to die for them, so his children desire to love God and to show love to each other and to all people, especially the unsaved. Salvationists show this love through aggressive evangelism and a broad range of social welfare activities. Except for the omission of sacramental observances, the doctrinal beliefs of the Salvation Army have excited little controversy.

HISTORY AND AIMS. The doctrinal positions, objectives, and military structure of the Salvation Army have not changed since its beginning in 1878, and in many aspects even its methods of operation have changed surprisingly little. The movement was the brainchild of William Booth (1829–1912), an English evangelist, and his wife Catherine Booth (1829–1890). Members of their immediate family held important positions of leadership until the Booths' daughter Evangeline Booth (1865–1950) retired in 1939. The founders' influence over the modern army has remained strong.

The forerunner of the Salvation Army was the Christian Mission, which the Booths established in the East End of London in 1865 to evangelize the urban poor. Booth and his associates believed that this segment of the population had been ignored by the organized religious bodies of their day. While this was not true, Booth's efforts developed into the first systematic and large-scale program to reach London's poor with the gospel. A degree of social conscience was characteristic of the Christian Mission almost from the beginning. Efforts to relieve the destitution of those who attended their religious services were a natural outgrowth of the missionaries' evangelical zeal: kindness and generosity were commanded by Christ, and, on the practical level, hunger and cold kept many potential converts from paying proper attention to the gospel message. By 1867, four small-scale charitable activities, including a soup kitchen, were listed in the mission's annual report.

The military structure, by which the Christian Mission was transformed into an army, seemed to be the inspiration of a moment, although Booth and his closest associates had been dissatisfied with the conference system of governing the mission for some time. While preparing the mission's annual report for 1878, Booth deleted the term *volunteer army* in describing the work and substituted *Salvation Army.* The effect was electric. Booth became the "General"; full-time mission workers became "officers" and adopted a variety of military titles; converts and members became "soldiers." Brass bands, long popular with the English working class and especially well suited to the army's open-air evangelism, were added in 1879, along with a weekly devotional and news publication suitably called the *War Cry.* In 1880 the first regulation uniform was issued to George S. Railton (1849–1913) as he departed for the United States to establish the army's first official overseas mission. Comrades who died were "promoted to Glory," and children born into army families were hailed as "reinforcements." Since 1890, soldiers have been required to subscribe to the "Articles of War," a statement of doctrine, allegiance, and zeal for the "salvation war."

The new Salvation Army grew rapidly. Booth and his officers were driven by an overpowering sense of urgency—not to change the social structure but to save souls by any means. The great work was not revolution but rescue, while time yet remained. The army's most frequent self-portrayal, which appeared in posters, on the *War Cry* covers, and in songs, was as a lifeboat or a lighthouse, with eager Salvationists shown snatching the lost from the waves of drunkenness, crime, and vice. The thrill of losing oneself in a triumphant crusade, the military pomp, and a constantly expanding scheme of social relief proved irresistible to large numbers of the poor and to many working- and middle-class persons as well. Despite legal obstructionism from municipal authorities and ridicule from the movement's opponents, by 1887 there were a thousand corps (local units) in Great Britain, and by the end of the decade work had been started in twenty-four other countries and British colonies.

DOCTRINES AND PRACTICES. The Salvation Army held its converts at least partly on the clarity and simplicity of its doctrines, which were formally established by an act of Parliament in 1878. The army's doctrinal statement proclaims, on the one hand, both the atonement of Christ and the necessity of radical conversion and, on the other hand, the "privilege of holiness." In Salvation Army terms, *holiness* means that the sincere believer can live for love, in adoration of Christ, in joyful fellowship within the ranks of the army, and in kindly service to a dying world. Pioneer Salvationists saw religious questions in stark and simple terms; anything that was not deemed absolutely essential to salvation or helpful to evangelism, or that was regarded as inherently confusing to unlettered converts was simply jettisoned. It was partly for these reasons that the Booths abandoned sacramental observances; in addition, they had committed their movement almost from the start to the temperance (abstinence) crusade, which would not allow the use of sacramental wine.

As appealing as the doctrines of the Salvation Army may be, however, they are neither original nor unique, and they only partly explain its strength as a religious movement. The rest of the explanation has been the use to which the army puts its members, its system of discipline, and its social relief program. Converts are put promptly to work giving testimony about their own conversions, distributing the *War Cry,* praying, singing, playing a band instrument at indoor and outdoor religious meetings, or visiting the elderly, sick, and needy. Soldiers expect a lifetime of such service, and occasional natural disasters add to the ordinary demands on local army personnel. In addition, a number of entertaining and useful programs have been developed to utilize the energy of young people. Parades, military regalia, and an effective use of music augment, where they do not actually create, joy and pride in being part of the "Army of God." The Salvation Army has always made its appeal as broad as possible and is intentionally multicultural.

Salvationists are comfortable within the army's autocratic structure, which emphasizes obedience, loyalty, and efficiency. The system has changed more in practice than in spirit since 1878. The most important alteration in the absolute autocracy established by William Booth came in 1929, when the general's privileges of serving for life and naming his own successor were abolished. The generalship became an elective office at the disposal of a council of all territorial commanders, and the leader so chosen serves only until a certain age. Once a general is installed, however, his or her powers differ little in theory from those of the founder. Every subordinate officer is expected to obey without question the orders of a superior, and much the same is required of the soldiers. In practice, the principle of unquestioning obedience is tempered by many considerations. There is a growing commitment to a more consultative management style.

The army offers a "balanced ministry," which consists of its evangelistic program and a vast system of social welfare activities. There were important beginnings in the 1880s in England, the United States, and elsewhere, but the turning point in the development of the army's social welfare program came in 1890 with the publication of General Booth's manifesto titled *In Darkest England and the Way Out.* The book and the scheme it offered for relieving the sufferings of the "submerged tenth" of Victorian society attracted considerable publicity and support. An immense and varied program, marked by a quick delivery of services at the point of need, has developed. The army has sponsored food and shelter depots, industrial rehabilitation centers, rescue homes for converted prostitutes, hospitals for unwed mothers, orphanages, day-care centers, halfway houses for released convicts, programs for alcoholics and drug addicts, camping trips for poor city children, a variety of family relief and counseling services, and abuse shelters.

The Salvation Army's greatest strength is in English-speaking countries. Just over 50 percent of all active officers and 85 percent of all lay employees are in five countries: the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Although the international headquarters remains in London, the American branch is by far the largest in terms of social programs, whereas the largest numbers of active members are found in Africa, India, and Pakistan.

The army in the United States is divided into four territorial commands, each with its own headquarters and training school. The territorial leaders report to the national commander, whose headquarters is in Alexandria, Virginia. In 2003, two-thirds of the 3,647 Salvation Army officers in the United States were serving as ministers to the 1,369 local congregations (called corps), while also directing the numerous social services that flow from these local units. Other officers serve in staff and educational appointments or as administrators of the army's many social institutions. The Adult Rehabilitation Command, which offers residential alcoholic rehabilitation to both men and women, is particularly well developed.

SEE ALSO Booth, William.

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The amount of written material produced by the Salvation Army since its beginning is enormous; it is of uneven quality, but an acquaintance with at least some of it is indispensable to an understanding of the movement. Early issues of the *War Cry* (London, 1879–; New York, 1881–) portray the zeal and colorful activities of the pioneers. The serious student should begin with *Chosen to Be a Soldier: Orders and Regulations for Soldiers of the Salvation Army* (London, 1977 [earlier editions were written by the founder]) and *Salvation Army: Salvationist Handbook of Doctrine* (London, 1998). A useful and informative *Salvation Army Yearbook* (London, 1903–) is published annually. The best full-scale history of the army is a long-range project by senior officers, Robert Sandall, Arch R. Wiggins, and Frederick Coutts, and Henry Gariepy, *The History of the Salvation Army,* 8 vols. (London and New York, 1947–1994). The most comprehensive history of the army in the United States is still Edward H. McKinley, *Marching to Glory: The History of the Salvation Army in the United States of America, 1880–1992,* 2d rev. ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1995), but the serious student should consult the growing body of new scholarly works on the army. Notably useful is Diane H. Winston, *Red-Hot and Righteous: The Urban Religion of the Salvation Army* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999). The army's international, U.S., and territorial headquarters maintain copious websites that are continually updated.

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SAMĀʿ is an Arabic term for the music or listening parties arranged by Muslim mystics in the belief that music serves as spiritual nourishment (*qūt-i rūhānī*) and attunes one's heart to divine communion. The word *samāʿ*, which literally means "hearing," does not occur in the Qurʾān but was used in ancient Arabic in the sense of "singing." ʿAlī ibn ʿUthmān al-Hujwīrī (d. AH 469?/1076? CE) thought that through *samāʿ* the last of the veils between man and God could be lifted. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) and others after him believed that mystics who devoted most of their time to austere practices such as penitences, vigils, and fasts needed listening parties to relieve the heart's boredom, to infuse it with fresh energy and vigor, and above all, to channel, rather than annihilate, emotion. Criticism of this institution by orthodox theologians, however, obliged the mystics to lay down elaborate rules and conditions for its organization. As a result, the legality of *samāʿ* became contingent upon the fulfillment of four conditions: (1) the singer should not be a youth or a woman but an adult man; (2) the audience should be continuously in divine contemplation alone; (3) no obscene verses should be recited; and (4) no musical instruments should be used.

Al-Hujwīrī laid down even more detailed rules with regard to *samāʿ*: (1) it should be practiced seldom and only in response to an inner craving for it; (2) the spiritual mentor should be present at the listening party; (3) no person unfamiliar with the mystic path should be permitted to join the assembly; (4) the singer should be a like-minded person; (5) the audience should cleanse its heart of all worldly thoughts; (6) the emotions aroused by the music should not be checked; (7) a beginner should not be allowed to attend *samāʿ*; and (8) women should not look at the dervishes from house-tops.

Shaykh Abū al-Najīb ʿAbd al-Qāhir Suhrawardī (d. 1167), the founding saint of the Suhrawardī order, distinguished three groups who listen to mystical music: (1) those who are with their creator while listening to songs and who attain the vision (*mushāhadah*) of God, (2) those who listen to music with their hearts fully absorbed in it and achieve the benefits of spiritual seclusion (*murāqabah*), and (3) those who listen with their lower self (*nafs*) involved in it and need spiritual penitence (*mujāhadah*) to achieve their objective, because *samāʿ* is "for one whose heart is alive and whose *nafs* is dead." Suhrawardī considered music a means of igniting the fire of love in the heart of a mystic. Like al-Hujwīrī, he made the legality of *samāʿ* conditional. *Samāʿ*, he said, is like rain: it fertilizes the productive land but has no effect on barren fields. He also quoted Mimshad-i Dinawar (d. 911), who was told by the Prophet in a dream that there was nothing objectionable if the *samāʿ* meetings began and ended with the recitation of the Qurʾān. Suhrawardī considered that in music heart, soul, and the lower self (*nafs*) are all involved. Its effect, however, varies from individual to individual; it is spiritual nourishment or medicine for some and poison for others. The early Islamic mystic Dhū al-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 861) used to say, "Audition is a divine influence which stirs the heart to seek God: those who listen to it spiritually attain unto God, and those who listen to it sensually [*bi-nafs*] fall into heresy." For perfect spiritual enjoyment through *samāʿ*, the Iranian mystic Rūzbihān (d. 1209) considered three things to be essential: fine odor, a beautiful face to look at, and a lovely voice. He regarded the beauty of the singer as a prerequisite for spiritual happiness.

Saints of the Chishtī, Bektāshī, and other Ṣūfī orders constructed *samāʿ khānah*s (music halls) in their *khānqāh*s (lodges) for the exclusive purpose of holding listening parties. While listening to music, mystics often fell into ecstacy and stood up to dance, weep, and cry. Sometimes they gave everything they possessed, including the clothing they wore, to the musician. According to the rules pertaining to such ecstatic conditions, if any verse stirred up the emotions of a listener, the singer was expected to continue reciting the same couplet until the emotional storm had passed. It was said that Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (d. 1235) listened to a verse of Aḥmad Jām for several days and finally gave up the ghost while the verse was still being recited.

Mystics have adopted special types of behavior in *samāʿ*. Some of them have controlled their emotions in such a way that, except for fleeting expressions on their faces and tears trickling down their cheeks, there is no physical movement. By contrast, however, the Ṣūfīs belonging to the Mevlevi order of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī dance with amazing abandon. In India, disciples of Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb (d. 1337?), who came to be known as Burhānīs, also danced in a special manner. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, the renowned world traveler of the fourteenth century, refers to the *samāʿ* of the Rifāʿī dervishes which had its own unique features.

The Arab jurist and theologian Ibn Taymīyah (1263–1328) was a bitter critic of the institution of *samāʿ*, and under his influence contemporary and later generations of religious scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*) severely criticized the practice. The followers of Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (1703–1787), founder of the Wahhābī movement in Arabia, were equally vehement in their opposition to this practice. Though some of the mystic orders, such as the Qādirīyah and the Naqshbandīyah, did not take to *samāʿ*, they rarely joined the *ʿulamāʾ* in their criticism of it. Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naqshband (1317–1389) is reported to have remarked about *samāʿ*: "Neither do I practice it nor do I refute it." This remained the general attitude of those mystics who did not themselves arrange *samāʿ* meetings. However, Shāh Walī Allāh (1703–1762), a leading Naqshbandī saint of Delhi, went a step further and arranged *samāʿ* in his religious college, or *madrasah*, for the visit of the famous Chishti saint Shāh Fakhr al-Dīn (1714–1785).

The mystics who advocated *samāʿ* defended their position by referring to the Qurʾanic verses that attribute a sonorous voice to the prophet Dāʾūd (34:10; 21:79; 38:18–19, as explained by Mawdūdī in light of the traditions of the Prophet), to the tradition of the Prophet in which he is reported to have listened to the songs of girls on the eve of his return from a victorious campaign, and to the tradition that the Prophet did not allow people to disturb girls who were singing on a feast day. In the fourteenth century, Mawlānā Fakhr al-Dīn Zarrādī wrote a brochure, *Uṣūl al-samāʿ* (Principles of *Samāʿ*) to refute the arguments of the *ʿulamāʾ* at the court of the Indian ruler Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughlaq.

While there could be no method of testing the subjective state of a mystic's mind when listening to music, the other, outward conditions were strictly enforced and deviations sternly dealt with. Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ of Delhi (1238–1325) reprimanded those who used musical instruments, and Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad ʿAlī of Khayrabad (d. 1849) expressed his condemnation of mystics who allowed recitation of verses by women.

However, these restrictions were not always kept in mind by the mystics, especially during the later centuries when the mystic orders lost their centralized structure and many of them became specific to their geographic setting. A corollary to this process was the trend through which saints, using mystic channels and idiom to convey their message to the common people, failed, unlike their predecessors, to check the reverse flow of popular superstitions, distortions, and accretions to their own ways. *Samāʿ* was no exception to this tide, and conditions regulating it were flouted. The orthodox criticism of *Samāʿ*, which had never really subsided, only became more poignant.

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SAMĀDHI.

The Sanskrit term *samādhi* (from *sam,* "together," the intensifying particle *ā,* and the verbal root *dha,* "place, put") literally means "placing together." It hints at the merging of subject and object, the essential characteristic of the mystical state of unification to which it refers. It is most frequently rendered by *ecstasy,* but because of the emotive charge of that Greek loanword, the neologism *enstasy*—from the Greek for "standing in [oneself]"—was suggested (Eliade, 1969) and is gaining increasing acceptance.

The earliest mention of *samādhi* is in the Buddhist Pali canon, where it stands for "concentration." Buddhist authorities define it as "mental one-pointedness" (*cittasya ekāgratā;* see, e.g., Buddhaghosa's *Aṭṭhasālinī* 118). This is not, however, the sporadic concentration of the conventional mind, but the creative yogic process of abstracting attention from external objects and focusing it upon the inner environment.

Slightly later than the Buddhist references is the mention of *samādhi* in the *Bhagavadgītā* (2.44, 53, 54) in the sense of one-pointedness as communion with the divine being. This enstatic and transformative experience of the divine is said to be fostered through strict meditational practices (see, e.g., *Bhagavadgītā* 6.12–15), but also through disinterested action (see, e.g., *Bhagavadgītā* 12.10) and simple devotion to the personal God (see, e.g., *Bhagavadgītā* 12.11). Prior to these usages is the employment of the past participle *samāhita* ("collected") in reference to mental concentration (see, e.g., *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 4.4.23).

As "perfect concentration" *(samyaksamādhi),* the term figures in Hinayana Buddhism as the last limb of the Eightfold Path of the Buddha. As such it comprises all the techniques of meditative introversion known as *dhyāna* (Pali, *jhāna*), of which eight stages of progressive simplification of the contents of consciousness are distinguished. The first four stages pertain to the category of "meditation with form" (*rūpa dhyāna*), the last four to that of "formless meditation" (*arūpa dhyāna*). Beyond these mystical realizations lies the unconditional, transcendental reality, *nirvāṇa.*

The most elaborate metapsychology of *samādhi* states, modeled in part on the Buddhist schema, is found in the literature of classical Yoga. According to the *Yoga Sūtra* (2.11), *samādhi* ensues when the five types of fluctuations (*vṛtti*)—perceptual or inferred knowledge, error, conceptualization, sleep, and memory—are perfectly suspended. That suspension (*nirodha*) is achieved by means of sensory inhibition (*pratyāhāra*), concentration *(dhāraṇā),* and meditation (*dhyāna*), even though the state of suspension is only a sufficient, not a necessary, condition for the occurrence of the enstatic consciousness (grace motif).

In classical Yoga, *samādhi* designates the *technique* of mystical identification with the intended object, whereas the underlying *process* is more properly expressed by the term *samāpatti* ("coincidence"), which is reserved in Buddhism for the four states of formless meditation. Similarly, the expressions *dhāraṇā* and *dhyāna* represent types of yogic technique, while their essential processes are more accurately referred to as *ekāgratā* ("one-pointedness") and *ekatānatā* ("one-flowingness"), respectively.

The *Yoga Sūtra* (1.42–44) mentions four levels of enstatic coincidence: (1) *savitarka samāpatti,* or "cogitative coincidence"; (2) *nirvitarka samāpatti,* or "transcogitative coincidence"; (3) *savicāra samāpatti,* or "reflexive coincidence"; and (4) *nirvicāra samāpatti,* or "transreflexive coincidence." The first two levels are practiced in relation to an intended object pertaining to the "coarse" dimension, whereas in the latter two the yogin's consciousness merges with a "subtle" (psychic, unmanifest) object. These four progressively "higher" stages belong to the category of *saṃprajñāta samādhi,* or "enstasy with [object-]consciousness."

In the *Yoga Bhasya* (1.17) two further levels are mentioned: (5) *ānanda samāpatti,* or "blissful coincidence" (according to Vācaspati Miśra's *Tattvavaiśāradī* 1.17, the intended object is here a sense organ), and (6) *asmitā samāpatti,* or "coincidence with the sense of individuation." Vācaspati Miśra makes a further distinction between (7) *nirānanda samāpatti,* or "coincidence beyond bliss," and (8) *nirasmitā samāpatti,* or "coincidence beyond the sense of individuation," but the existence of these types is adamantly denied by Vijñānabhikṣu in his *Yoga Vārttika* (1.17).

The evidence of the *Yoga Sūtra* itself suggests that the highest form of enstasy associated with object-consciousness is *nirvicāra vaiśāradya,* or "autumnal-lucidity in the transreflexive (state)." In this condition the transcendental Self (*puruṣa*) is intuited over against the nonself or ego-mechanism of nature (*prakṛti*). When even that "vision of discernment" (*viveka khyāti*) is suspended, there occurs a sudden, unpredictable switch-over into *asaṃprajñāta samādhi,* the enstasy devoid of object-consciousness in which only subconscious activators (*saṃṣkara*) are operative. As this state is cultivated over a period of time, these activators neutralize each other, ultimately leading to *dharmamegha samādhi,* the "enstasy of the cloud of *dharma* [constituent, truth]." That condition is nowhere clearly defined, but it appears to be the terminal phase of *asaṃprajñāta samādhi,* being responsible for the cessation of the five causes of affliction (*kleśas*) and all *karman* (see *Yoga Sūtra* 4.30), thus giving rise to final emancipation (*apavarga, kaivalya*).

The dualist ontology and metapsychology of classical Yoga suggest that emancipation coincides with the demise of the finite body-mind. This goal of "disembodied liberation" (*videhamukti*) contrasts with the ideal, in nondualist traditions like Advaita Vedanta, of "liberation in life" (*jīvanmukti*). Whereas the abovementioned forms of enstasy represent realizations based on the introversion of attention, the enstasy associated with liberation in life is founded on the transcendence of attention itself. It is known as *sahajasamādhi* or "spontaneous [i. e., natural] enstasy"—the enstasy "with open eyes" (Da Free John, 1983), transcending all knowledge and experience, both secular and esoteric.

SEE ALSO Yoga.

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SAMARITANS. The Samaritans are an ethno-religious group in Palestine and in Israel. Their religious center is Mount Gerizim in the vicinity of Nablus. Half of the community lives on the mountain, half lives in Ḥolon, a southern suburb of Tel Aviv. In the early twenty-first century the community comprises approximately 660 members. The Samaritan religion is an outgrowth of the Israelite-Jewish religion as it existed around the beginning of the common era. It therefore has many features in common with Judaism, above all the belief in the first five books (the Pentateuch) of the Bible. As opposed to Judaism, though, the Samaritans never developed the institution of the rabbinate but are led by priests and a high priest.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE. As a group the Samaritans have always lived in Palestine; that is, from their inception in antiquity to the present there have been Samaritans in the Holy Land. Their numbers have varied from tens or even hundreds of thousands in the early period to barely over one hundred in the nineteenth century. For this reason it has often been assumed that they preserved biblical traditions that were lost in Judaism. Although it can be shown that certain elements of Samaritanism go back to antiquity, such as the recitation of the Torah, not all their beliefs and practices necessarily continued unbroken from antiquity to modern times; each case has to be judged on its own merits. Due to the lack of sources for long stretches of Samaritan history, it cannot be ruled out that certain rituals were revived by going back to the text of the Torah. Nevertheless, Samaritanism represents an important nonrabbinic tradition of ancient biblical religion.

MAJOR THEORIES OF THE ORIGIN OF THE SAMARITANS. According to traditional Samaritan beliefs (as expressed in chapters 9 and 10 of the chronicle of Abū al-Fath and in chapter 43 of the Samaritan *Book of Joshua*; see below), their origin goes back to a schism in the time of Eli, a priest at Shiloh during the period of the Judges (*1 Sam.* 1:9, 2:11). Eli is said to have left the sanctuary on Mount Gerizim and erected a schismatic sanctuary in Shiloh that ushered in the Era of Divine Disfavor, or *Pnwth* (pronounced Fanūta)—God turned away (Aramaic, *pny*) his face from his people. The Samaritans consider themselves to be those Israelites who remained faithful to Gerizim. In Judaism it was believed—beginning with Josephus (*Antiquities* 9:288–291) and up to modern times—that the Samaritans originated in the pagan or the mixed population (Israelite and pagan) of the northern kingdom, Israel, after the Assyrian conquest in 721 BCE, as told in *2 Kings* 17:24–41. On the basis of this account, Jewish sources then pejoratively called the Samaritans "Kutim" after one of the peoples settled in Israel by the Assyrians. Since the Samaritan religion contains no traces of syncretism, and since not all inhabitants of the northern kingdom were deported by the Assyrians, it is thought by some modern authors that the Israelites that were left in the country are the ancestors of the Samaritans.

Another view of the origin of the Samaritans is the assumption that the Samaritans developed from dissident Jews of the southern kingdom, Judah, breaking away from Judaism in the fifth or fourth century BCE, a belief based on certain passages in the Bible (*Ezr*a 4:1–5; *Neh.* 13:28) and in Josephus (*Antiquities* 11:302–347). The discoveries in Qumran and recent archaeological excavations (those undertaken since 1984), however, suggest a different reconstruction. It is now virtually common opinion among scholars of Samaritanism that the origin of the Samaritans as a distinct religion has to be sought in Maccabean times. The tensions between the YHWH-worshiping northern Israelites and the Judeans that surfaced after the Babylonian Exile resulted in a break between the two groups in the second century BCE. In the time before the break the northern Israelites who worshiped YHWH can be called proto-Samaritans—Israelites from Samaria who were in the process of developing into a religious community independent from Judeans. Decisive for the split was the rejection of Jerusalem as a relevant place of worship and the establishment of Gerizim as the only legitimate sacred place by the northern Israelites (or proto-Samaritans) who thus became the Samaritans. Both form and recitation of the Samaritan Pentateuch, the oldest extant Samaritan writing, reflect precisely this time period.

EVIDENCE FOR THE COMMUNITY'S HISTORY. There are no early Samaritan sources relating their own history. The most important extant Samaritan chronicle was written by Abū al-Fath ibn Abī al-Hasan al-Sāmirī al-Danafī in the fourteenth century, the *Kitāb al-Tarīkh.* Although Abū al-Fath used older sources for his compilation, it is only to a limited extent that his work can be used for the reconstruction of Samaritan history. In the main it is necessary to rely on non-Samaritan sources, such as Josephus, Greek and Roman authors, early Christian authors, rabbinic writings, Byzantine laws, Muslim sources, travel accounts, and archaeology. For any reconstruction the origin and *Tendenz* (or bias) of the writings must of course be taken into account. In the case of the rabbinic literature the different layers of redaction and the chronology must be established to arrive at a proper interpretation. Furthermore, there is the question of how far rabbinic passages concerning the Samaritans are reflections of actual situations or attempts at Jewish self-definition vis-à-vis others. Mutatis mutandis such criteria are to be applied to all literary sources. Archaeology of Samaritan sites, in particular on Mount Gerizim, as well as the excavations of several synagogues have come to play an increasingly vital role in the exploration of early Samaritan history.

HISTORY OF THE SAMARITANS. As mentioned above, the Samaritans originated in the Maccabean period. A crucial event in the relations between northern Israelite YHWH worshipers and Judeans was the destruction of the Samaritan sanctuary on Mount Gerizim by John Hyrcanus I (134–104 BCE) at the end of the second century BCE. According to Josephus, the temple on Mount Gerizim was built at the beginning of the Hellenistic period. Josephus's account, however, must be treated with caution. Excavations on the top of Mount Gerizim have unearthed a large city with an extensive, fortified sacred precinct in the center, dated by the excavator, Yitzhak Magen, to the Hellenistic period. In the center of the sacred precinct stood (most likely) a sanctuary. According to Josephus (*Antiquities* 11:310, 13:256), this was a temple similar to the one in Jerusalem. But some scholars think it may well have been an open-air sanctuary with an altar as described in *Exodus* 24–40. The archaeological finds, on the other hand, convinced the excavator that it was in fact a temple building. Due to Roman and Byzantine building activities on the very spot, however, many of the earlier installations have been destroyed. The Hellenistic sanctuary appears to have been preceded by a sanctuary from the Persian period built, according to the excavator, in the first half of the fifth century BCE. Mount Gerizim was certainly a holy place from ancient times on (see *Deut.* 11:29, 27:11–13; *Josh.* 8:33–35; *John* 4:20). Definite judgments about the buildings on the mountain can only be made after all the excavated material has been assessed. The Samaritan tradition is silent on the city as well as on the temple except for a few scattered passages in medieval chronicles that briefly refer to a temple (Abū al-Fath, *Kitāb* 63, 79, 80, 102, 183; Stenhouse, 1985).

Despite the breach between Jews and Samaritans in Maccabean times, the two communities continued to interact. This becomes clear from the discussions in rabbinic literature that presuppose such relations and from archaeological excavations that have brought to light *miqvaʾot* (ritual baths) and synagogues just like those of the Jews. In the Middle Ages the Samaritans incorporated Jewish *midrashim* into their own compositions and even adopted (with adaptations) whole Jewish writings.

Early in their history as a distinct religion, Samaritans experienced the rise of divisions. It seems that the Samaritan heresiarch Dositheus arose in the first century CE and still had followers, the Dositheans, in later centuries. The third and fourth centuries CE were a period of religious reform and literary creativity. The person credited with this reform, Baba Rabba, is known only from later Samaritan sources. He strengthened the lay element and reorganized the Samaritans by establishing a "Council of Elders" and installing leaders who, together with priests, presided over newly established districts into which he divided the area inhabited by the Samaritans. During Baba Rabba's lifetime lived some of the greatest poets and writers of the Samaritans, including Amram Dāre and Mårqe, both authors of many hymns. Mårqe is also author of the Samaritan *midrashic* work *Memar Marqah* (*Mīmār Mårqe*), or *Tībåt Mårqe.* The Samaritan sources also ascribe the building of synagogues to Baba Rabba.

The fortunes of the Samaritans sharply declined over the course of the Byzantine period. The Byzantine emperors persecuted them more than they persecuted the Jews, as becomes clear from Byzantine legislation. This maltreatment at the hands of the Christian authorities provoked the Samaritans into several uprisings during the fifth and sixth centuries CE described in Christian sources. The revolts left the Samaritans weak and severely decimated at the end of the period. A great number perished, and some converted, genuinely or otherwise, to Christianity. In the wake of the first revolt in 484 CE, Emperor Zeno built a church to the Virgin Mary on the site of the former Samaritan sanctuary, the ruins of which are still visible. The church's enclosure was reinforced by Emperor Justinian I (527–565 CE) after the Samaritan revolt of 529 CE. Little wonder that the Samaritans, like other populations repressed by the Byzantines, were ready to cooperate with the conquering Muslims in the seventh century CE, although the Byzantines forced them to fight the Muslims. While the Umayyad rulers (661–750 CE) treated the local population well, the situation changed under the Abbasids (750–1258). Higher taxes and cruel local rulers made life difficult for the Samaritans and other non-Muslims. Extreme economic hardships imposed by Muslim rulers caused many families to convert to Islam. Thus the numbers of Samaritans decreased further in the Muslim period. From the eleventh century on, Arabic was used for their writings, and there is even an Arabic translation of the Pentateuch.

During the crusader period (1099–1291) the Samaritans seem to have suffered less, although some Samaritan buildings were destroyed. A note by the Jewish traveler Benjamin of Tudela from approximately 1170 indicates that in all of Palestine there lived fifteen hundred Samaritans (or Samaritan families), one thousand of whom lived in Nablus. There were also small numbers of Samaritans in Damascus and in Egypt. Although, similar to the other local population of Palestine, the Samaritans were of inferior social status, they were allowed to continue their cult on Mount Gerizim and to regulate their own affairs. They did suffer, though, from Muslim violence.

The crusaders were driven from their last Syrian and Palestinian possessions in 1291 by the Mamluks. For the Samaritans the following period was one of relative calm, and in fact the fourteenth century saw a Samaritan renaissance with many new writings, among them the chronicle of Abū al-Fath. Samaritans continued to live in Nablus, Gaza, Cairo, and Damascus. Their numbers, however, dwindled further, until they counted only a few hundred. In 1517 the Mamluks were overthrown by the Ottomans when Sultan Selim I (1512–1520) defeated their troops in Syria and in Egypt. Palestine was now governed by Turkish officials. Despite their small numbers and persecutions by Muslims in the seventeenth century, the Samaritans survived and even experienced a flowering of religious literature. Toward the end of the sixteenth century European scholars obtained Samaritan manuscripts and began a long correspondence with the Samaritans. Gradually, Samaritan communities outside of Nablus, in particular in Cairo, Gaza, and Damascus, ceased to exist, and the one in Nablus counted barely two hundred individuals. This number dropped further until the mid–nineteenth century, when there were only slightly more than one hundred Samaritans left. Late in that same century some Samaritans began to marry Jewish women, and the numbers of the Samaritans increased. This trend continued into the twenty-first century. Around 1900, Samaritans began to settle outside Nablus again. Eventually the Samaritans living in Israel concentrated in Ḥolon, so that two Samaritan centers, Kiryat Luza (the Samaritan settlement on Mount Gerizim) and Ḥolon, developed.

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES. The foundation of Samaritan beliefs and practices lies in the Pentateuch that the Samaritans have in common with the Jews. Thus the basic monotheistic outlook of Samaritanism is the same as in Judaism. Specific to the Samaritans is the belief, based on a slight difference in the text of the Samaritan Pentateuch, that the place chosen by God for his worship is Mount Gerizim rather than Jerusalem; it is on this mountain that the only legitimate sanctuary was to be built. The only prophet was, according to the Samaritans, Moses. He is the subject of extraordinary praise and admiration in Samaritan literature. In the end-times a prophet like Moses (*Dt.* 18:15, 18:18), the Taheb (the "returning one," from the Aramaic *twb*), will appear and bring back the Era of Divine Favor, or *Rhwth*—God will again be pleased (Aramaic *rd'y*) with his people. The concept of the Taheb underwent a development in the course of Samaritan history from a prophetic to an eschatological figure.

Samaritan eschatology also underwent changes, in particular the idea of the resurrection of the body. Early Christian as well as rabbinic sources accuse the Samaritans of not believing in resurrection. The rabbinic tractate *Massekhet Kutim* even makes the acceptance of resurrection by the Samaritans one of two conditions on which the latter will be "taken back" by the Jews, the second being the renunciation of Mount Gerizim and the acceptance of Jerusalem. A gradual change began in the eleventh century and was completed by the fourteenth century, so that modern Samaritans believe in resurrection. The concept of the Day of Vengeance and Recompense, on the other hand, has existed in all epochs of Samaritan religion. Its basis in the Samaritan Bible is *Deuteronomy* 32:35. Whereas the Jews read "vengeance is mine," the Samaritan Pentateuch (as well as the Septuagint) reads "for the day of vengeance." It is the day of the final judgment.

Samaritan practices, like their beliefs, have much in common with those of the Jews. Samaritans celebrate the feasts based in the Pentateuch but not festivals introduced into Judaism later, such as Purim and Ḥanukkah. The feast of Passover is observed by the Samaritans as it is described in *Exodus* 12—that is, sheep are slaughtered, roasted, and eaten on Mount Gerizim. Three times a year—at Pesaḥ-Massot, Shavuʿot, and Sukkot—the Samaritans make a pilgrimage (*Ex.* 23:14–19) to the top of Mount Gerizim. In the course of the pilgrimage they visit a number of sacred sites on the mountain, including the place where Abraham was to sacrifice Isaac, and conclude the pilgrimage on the so-called Eternal Hill, a flat rock that the Samaritans associate with the most significant events in their religious history. For the festival of Sukkot, or Tabernacles, the Samaritans build *succot* within their houses, using the "four species" mentioned in the Bible (*Lv.* 23:40) to make roofs, a custom that may date from the period of Byzantine persecutions.

The liturgy, other than the pilgrimage, is held in synagogues. Women attend synagogues on Yom Kippur only; at other times, including the Sabbath, they pray and read the Scripture at home. The leaders of the community are the priests, headed by a high priest, now the oldest priest. Circumcision is always performed on the eighth day after the birth of a boy. Sabbath is strictly observed through prayers and abstention from work; prepared food can only be kept warm in thermo dishes. Men perform the Sabbath prayers in the synagogue. Samaritan synagogues have no pews, so the worshipers pray on carpets spread on the floor; shoes are left at the entrance. A special Sabbath dress, a long striped robe, is worn by men during Sabbath; the prayer shawl of a long, white cloth is worn over the Sabbath dress in the synagogue. Men's heads must be covered during prayer.

LITERATURE. The oldest and most important writing is the Pentateuch. Except for a small number of readings specific to the Samaritan version and variations in spelling, it is the same text that the Jews have. The oldest extant copies date from the tenth or eleventh century. The most revered Torah scroll is the so-called Abisha Scroll, believed by the Samaritans to have been written by the great-grandnephew of Moses. In the third or fourth century CE the Samaritans translated the Hebrew Bible into Aramaic, the Samaritan Targum. Numerous liturgical compositions date from the fourth century CE to the present. One of the major works is *Tībåt Mårqe* by the third- or fourth-century Samaritan poet and scholar Mårqe, mentioned above. It is a *midrashic* work in six books on passages of the Pentateuch. Samaritan scholars also wrote *halakhic* works, the oldest extant compilations dating from the eleventh century; no authoritative collections similar to those in Judaism were made. In the twelfth century Munajja b. Sadaqa authored a *halakhic* compendium that outlines the differences between Samaritan and Jewish *halakhah*.

There are a number of so-called chronicles, that is, accounts of events in Samaritan history, sometimes ranging from the creation of the world to the time of the author or copyist. They were written in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic. The earliest chronicle is called *Tūlīda* (Chronicle). Its oldest part dates from the twelfth century, although the main portion of the text was written in the fourteenth century, and it was continued by later scribes until 1859. In the thirteenth century the Samaritan Arabic *Book of Joshua* was written or compiled from earlier sources, originally covering the time from the death of Moses to Alexander the Great; it too was later expanded.

There is also a list of Samaritan high priests, the so-called *Shalshāla* or Chain of the High Priests, whose date of origin is unknown. It extends from Adam to the compiler, Jacob b. Aaron, in the nineteenth century. The oldest complete chronicle is Abū al-Fath's chronicle, the *Kitāb al-Tarīkh*. Composed in 1355 CE, it is the most important Samaritan source for their history. A *Continuatio* of this chronicle is a firsthand source of the impact of early Islam (seventh to tenth centuries) on the Samaritans. A more recent chronicle is the *Chronicle Adler*, so named after its publisher, Elkan Nathan Adler. In addition to the above literature, Samaritans also wrote grammatical, lexical, and exegetical works.

THE SAMARITANS IN THE IDEOLOGY AND SELF-IMAGE OF JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY. From the time of Josephus, Judaism applied *2 Kings* 17 to the Samaritans, seeing in them a semipagan group that was only superficially close to Judaism. Rabbinic writings were ambiguous, sometimes admitting that the Samaritans are scrupulous observers of the law, sometimes considering them as outright Gentiles, and sometimes placing them somewhere in between Jews and non-Jews. In 1985–1986 the Israeli chief rabbinate and rabbinical courts declared that the Samaritans are Gentiles. Contemporary Jewish scholars, on the other hand, are divided. Some see the Samaritans as a branch of the Jewish people, others underline the introduction of foreigners into Samaria in biblical times. The state of Israel regards the Samaritans as a branch of the Jewish people and applies the Law of Return to those Samaritans who want to move from Nablus to Israel.

Christian authors of antiquity saw the Samaritans as a sect of Judaism. Later Christianity lost sight of the Samaritans until they were rediscovered in the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century the first copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch was acquired and published. It was subsequently used in disputes between Catholics and Protestants; the former thought it supported the Septuagint version against the Masoretic text favored by the Protestants. Most Christians associate Samaritans primarily with the New Testament parable of the Good Samaritan (*Luke* 10:29–37).

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REINHARD PUMMER (2005)

SAṂGHA

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
SAṂGHA AND SOCIETY IN SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA
SAṂGHA AND SOCIETY IN TIBET

SAṂGHA: AN OVERVIEW

Saṃgha (or *saṅgha)* is a common noun meaning "multitude" or "assemblage" in Sanskrit, Pali, and the various prakrit languages. Buddhists have adopted the word to describe their religious community; followers of Jainism and other contemporary religious groups also use the term in this sense.

The Buddhist saṃgha consists of four "assemblies" (Skt., *pariṣad;* Pali, *parisā);* they are the monks *(bhikṣu;* Pali, *bhikkhu),* the nuns *(bhikṣuṇī;* Pali, *bhikkhunī,* the male lay followers *(upāsaka),* and the female lay followers *(upāsikā).* Jain sources also include a similar wider understanding of the term "fourfold *saṃgha."* In the narrower sense of the word, *saṃgha* refers to the community of monks and nuns only.

The first Buddhist *saṃgha* was established by the Buddha himself, Siddhārtha Gautama (c. 563–c. 483 BCE), when he accepted as his disciples five men before whom he had preached his first sermon in a park near Vārāṇasī. During his lifetime, the community grew considerably, and the Buddha is credited with having regulated its life and organization in a rather detailed manner.

SOURCES OF RULES. The first part of the Buddhist scriptures forms the law book for the Buddhist *saṃgha.* This collection, called the Vinaya Piṭaka (Basket of monastic discipline), or Vinaya, has been handed down in a number of different recensions, each belonging to a particular "school" *(nikāya)* of early Indian Buddhism. The rather close similarity of the main parts of these texts clearly points to a common source. The complete text of the Vinaya Piṭaka of the Mahāvihāra (the main tradition of the Theravāda school of Buddhism in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia) has been preserved in Pali. Most other versions were originally composed in Sanskrit, but only parts of the original texts have been preserved. Several complete recensions are available in Chinese translation, and the Mūlasarvāstivāda version is available in Tibetan translation. Chinese translations exist of nearly complete manuscripts of the Vinaya Piṭakas of the Sarvāstivāda, Mūlasarvāstivāda, Dharmaguptaka, Mahīśāsaka, and Mahāsāṃghika schools. Parts of the Vinaya texts of the Lokottaravāda, Kāśyapīya, and Sammatīya schools are also extant.

Most versions of the Vinaya Piṭaka consist of three main sections: the *Vibhaṅiga* (Pali, *Vibhaṅiga* or *Suttavibhaṅga)* or *Vinayavibhaṅga* (in certain traditions, *Prātimokṣavibhaṅga),* the *Skandhaka* (Pali, *Khandhaka)* or *Vinayavastu,* and the *Parivāra* (partly corresponding with *Kṣudrakavastu, Muktaka Prakīrṇaka* sections in other versions of the Vinaya collection). The essential part of the *Vibhaṅga* is represented by the group of rules known as the *Prātimokṣa* (Pali, *Pātimokkha),* injunctions regulating the behavior of monks and nuns; all of these rules are believed to have been issued by the Buddha himself. Their number is slightly different for each of the various early Buddhist schools, ranging from 218 rules for the Mahāsāṃghikas to 263 rules for the Sarvāstivādins. These rules are also handed down as a separate work serving as the confession formula to be recited at the regular confessional ceremonies of the *saṃgha.* In the *Vinayavibhaṅga,* all these rules are listed, along with an account of the occasion upon which the Buddha issued each one, with casuistry and additional explanations. The work is divided into two parts, the first of which lists regulations for monks and the second gives rules for nuns. Since each rule is an injunction whose transgression is followed by a particular sanction, the *Prātimokṣa* and *Vibhaṇga* represent a compendium of the penal laws of the *saṃgha.*

The *Skandhaka,* or *Vinayavastu,* functions as the procedural law of the *saṃgha.* This section describes regulations for admission to the order, the confessional ceremony, and various aspects of monastic life, such as the behavior prescribed for monks and nuns during the rainy season, what possessions they are permitted to own, the use of medicines, and so forth. Most versions of these Vinaya texts contain as an appendix an account of the first two Buddhist councils *(saṅgīti* or *saṅgāyanā).* The *Parivāra* contains additional material in the form of mnemonic summaries, explanations, and so on.

RULES AND PROCEDURES IN THE LAWS OF THE *SAṂGHA*. The term *saṃgha* may be used in a general sense denoting "the *saṃgha* of the four directions" (i.e., the Buddhist monastic communities as a whole), but in the context of the juridical prescriptions of the Vinaya Piṭaka, it designates the saṃgha of a particular place that may perform a "Vinaya act" *(vinayakarma* or *saṅghakarma)* within an established "boundary" *(simā)* in accordance with the regulations of Buddhist law.

Admission to the *saṃgha* by the Buddha himself was a rather informal process, but detailed formalities were prescribed in the Vinaya for the admission by the monastic community after the Buddha's death. Two steps are required in the complete transformation of a lay person to a fully ordained monk or nun. The first step is *pravrajyā* (Pali, *pabbajjā),* the "going forth" by which a candidate becomes a novice *(śrāmaṇera;* Pali, *sāmaṇera).* The second step is *upasaṃpad* (Pali, *upasampadā),* the "obtaining" of ordination, whereupon the novice is admitted as a *bhikṣu,* a full-fledged member of the *saṃgha.* Admission as a *śrāmaṇera* requires a minimum age of eight years. The novice remains under the guidance of a preceptor and a spiritual master even after ordination, for which the minimum age is twenty years. *Śrāmaṇeras* and *bhikṣus* are expected to follow the respective rules of monastic discipline *(vinaya).* The novice obeys ten precepts *(śikṣāpada;* Pali, *sikkhāpada),* whereas a *bhikṣu is* expected to obey all injunctions listed in the *Prātimokṣa.* These regulations are divided into seven groups according to the seriousness of offenses against them. Violation of the four *pārājika* injunctions, which forbid sexual intercourse, theft, the intentional taking of human life, and falsely or self-interestedly claiming superhuman powers, is cause for permanent expulsion from the *saṃgha.* A monk who transgresses the rules of the second group is subject to temporary demotion in the *saṃgha.* For minor offenses, confession is considered a sufficient punishment.

Further procedures of the *saṃgha* include the *poṣadha* (Pali, *uposatha),* or confessional ceremony, which is held on the days of the new moon and the full moon, during which time the *Prātimokṣa* is to be recited. All procedures must strictly follow the established rules in order to be valid. They must be performed by a complete saṃgha within an established boundary *(sīmā)* by using the particular *karmavācanā* (Pali, *kammavācā),* or prescribed formula. All monks living within a particular place defined by such boundaries that have been fixed by a formal act of the *saṃgha* must meet and act together. The minimum number of monks who may perform valid acts of Vinaya is four, but for particular legal acts, a larger number of monks must be present; for example, ten monks are required for the performance of an ordination in India, but only five are required in the borderlands. For most formal acts, a unanimous decision is necessary; for less important decisions, a majority vote may be permissible.

In order to be valid, an ordination must go back in an uninterrupted succession to an ordination obtained from the Buddha himself and all ordinations in this lineage must be valid. If this is not the case, the particular person may not be considered a Buddhist monk or nun. He or she may still join the Buddhist community, however, as an *upāsaka* or *upāsikā.*

As mentioned before, the Buddha also admitted women to be members of the *saṃgha.* Therefore, the nuns have similar rules, viz. the *Bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga* (Pali, *Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga).* The particular procedural laws for the *bhikṣuṇis* in the Theravāda tradition are formulated in a particular section of the *Cullavagga* (second part of the *Vibhaṅga),* whereas the texts of some other schools contain separate collections of regulations for nuns.

In nearly all Buddhist traditions, the lineage of the ordination of nuns has been uninterrupted; the only exception is in the tradition of the Dharmaguptaka school. Most Buddhist nun communities demonstrate great vitality, particularly in Taiwan and Korea. Recently, engaged Buddhist women undertook reestablishing the *saṃgha* of nuns in the Theravāda tradition, but as of the early twenty-first century, most Buddhist monks had not accepted their claim.

If the *saṃgha* of a particular place fails to assemble in full, or if it cannot agree, *saṃgha bheda* (division in a *saṃgha*) has occurred; such a schism is considered a grave offense. Devadatta, the adversary of the Buddha, created the first *saṃgha bheda* by unsuccessfully trying to replace the Buddha and make himself the head of the Buddhist community.

LIFE OF THE MONKS. Early *saṃghas* were communities of mendicants. The tradition states that, upon leaving worldly life, the candidate must give up all possessions and thenceforth depend on the laity for his or her subsistence. The number of requisites he or she owns is prescribed. Members live on the food that is placed in their begging bowls during the daily alms round. They are allowed to accept personal invitations for meals, but not to eat after midday.

As a community, however, the *saṃgha* may accept most kinds of donations, including property, and generous contributions to the *saṃgha* by laity are considered highly meritorious acts. In this way, some monastic communities became wealthy, and the way of life of their members came to differ from original doctrinal and canonical ideals. Therefore, the application of the formal rules of monastic discipline grew more imperative, and the degree of strictness in the fulfillment of these regulations was considered a measure of the moral standard of a Buddhist monastic community.

The original *saṃgha* had practically no hierarchical organization. During his lifetime, the Buddha was the highest authority, but he declined to appoint a successor, saying that his doctrine alone should guide his followers. The only hierarchical principle accepted by the early *saṃgha* was that of seniority, counting from the day of ordination. An elder monk is called *sthavira* (Pali, *thera).* In principle, all monks have equal rights and equal obligations. In practice, however, the *saṃgha* elects particular monks to serve in various roles, including dispute resolution, ecclesiastical jurisdiction determinations, and various administrative duties in the monastery. As the *saṃghas* evolved from groups of mendicants into residential monastic units, the importance of these responsibilities grew.

THE PLACE OF THE *SAṂGHA* IN THE TEACHING OF THE BUDDHA. The structure of the saṃgha as described above characterizes it as a legal system with formal regulations. The Buddha, however, stressed that he proclaimed all of his teachings for the exclusive purpose of guiding his disciples on their way to final enlightenment. The texts make it clear that monastic discipline and the *saṃgha* represent only the outer form, created in order to allow people to abandon their secular responsibilities and worldly connections in order to concentrate on enlightenment. Monastic discipline is the formal aspect of morality *(śīla;* Pali *sīla),* which is the right mode of mind and volition and, as such, the first foundation of the way to liberation. Morality in this sense is practiced through self-restraint; thus, the observance of the Vinaya is an integral part of the spiritual training of the Buddha's disciples.

In relation to the laity, a member of the *saṃgha* is legitimized as a disciple of the Buddha by his adherence to the laws of Vinaya. The *saṃgha* is worthy of respect and donations because it follows and perpetuates the Buddha's law, thereby embodying the "highest field of merit." On the other hand, the existence of the saṃgha is a precondition for the continuation of Buddhism, inasmuch as it hands down the teaching of the Buddha. The Buddha ordered his monks to preach his *dharma,* but in a decent, restrained manner, and only if asked to do so.

HISTORY OF THE *SAṂGHA.* Immediately after the death of the Buddha, a first "council" *(saṃgīti* or *saṃgāyanā)* of Buddhist monks assembled in Rājagṛha and collected the words of the Buddha, thereby compiling the Buddhist scriptures. Although the extant scriptures are of later origin, the ancient record seems to reflect an historical event. It is likely that the earliest version of the Prātimokṣa and the most important sermons of the Buddha were collected during this meeting. A second council assembled at Vaiśāli one hundred years later to resolve certain disputes on monastic discipline. The division of the Buddhist tradition into various schools or groups *(nikāyas),* which are often wrongly termed "Buddhist sects," began at this time. In the first period, the formation of these groups was based mainly on the geographic diversification of local *saṃghas* and on different views about details of monastic discipline. The texts were handed down orally; their written codification began only in the first century BCE. In most cases, the formation of the "schools" took place in such a way as to avoid the formal violation of the above-mentioned injunction against *saṃgha bheda.*

The *nikāyas* handed down separate recensions of the scriptures, and they also organized additional councils or convocations to collect and correct them. These collections of the scriptures arose in different parts of India and were originally transmitted in Middle Indo-Aryan dialects. Most of them were translated later into Sanskrit, with the exception of the scriptures of the Theravāda school, which remained in Pali, a dialect originating from central India.

Historical accounts of several schools contain traditions on a third council, held during the reign of King Aśoka (272–231 BCE), but from the rather contradictory accounts it becomes clear that the diversification of the schools was already far advanced by that time.

Mahāyāna Buddhism came into existence around the beginning of the common era, yet its presence did not affect the organization of the early *nikāyas*, precisely because the *nikāyas* differed by their acceptance of a particular version of the Vinaya texts and not by dogmatic opinions. Therefore, in some instances, monks who held Hīnāyāna views could live together and perform *vinayakarmas* together, along with followers of Mahāyāna. In contrast, monks belonging to different *nikayas* rarely formed a common *saṃgha*, though they might accept similar dogmatic views. In the course of time, new *nikāyas* emerged on the basis of dogmatic dissensions. Each Buddhist monk, regardless of school, accepts and (at least theoretically) follows one particular recension of the Vinaya Piṭaka; consequently, each monk can be connected with one of the *nikāyas* of early Buddhism.

THE *SAṂGHA* IN THERAVĀDA BUDDHISM. As mentioned above, the validity of a monk's ordination depends on an uninterrupted line of valid ordinations going back to the Buddha himself. Since *pārājika* offenses incur mandatory expulsion from the *saṃgha*, the validity of an ordination can be assured only if the monks who belong to the particular *saṃgha* lead an irreproachable life. Whenever the discipline in the *saṃgha* deteriorated, its legal existence was in danger, whether or not the transgressors continued to wear the monks' robes.

Originally, the Buddhist *saṃgha* was an autonomous body; its original laws did not permit interference by the laity. In this respect, the Jain order was different; there, the laity exercised a considerable degree of control over the *saṃghas.* King Aśoka, however, acted in order to achieve a purification of the Buddhist *saṃgha* in conformity with Vinaya rules. This tradition shaped the history of Theravāda Buddhism in Sri Lanka from the time of its introduction during the reign of King Aśoka. Several purifications of the Sinhalese *saṃgha* under royal patronage occurred. Later, additional law books, termed *katikāvata,* regulated the affairs of the saṃgha, supplemented by a hierarchical system. Parallel developments occurred in the history of the *saṃgha* of the other Theravāda communities in Burma, Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia. Buddhism in these countries introduced ordination traditions from other countries that were deemed superior to the local tradition on the occasions of *saṃgha* purification. Moreover, royal patronage of the monastic institutions went far beyond that of ancient Indian rulers; in fact, in some countries, such as Thailand, the administration of the monasteries developed into a kind of government department. After the breakdown of royal patronage of the *saṃgha* in Burma and Sri Lanka, monks in these two countries interfered in secular affairs during the colonial and postcolonial eras. Since 1978, however, the people of Burma (now called Myanmar) have attempted to form an autonomous hierarchical organization of the *saṃgha* under the patronage of the government.

Theravāda countries continue to support the old tradition that the *saṃgha* should be devoted solely to its spiritual aims. To this end, monks in these areas formed groups of forest dwellers *(araññavāsm).* Eventually, the forest dwellers were integrated into the structure of the official *saṃgha* organization; other monks decided to leave the established ways of fully organized monasticism and retreat into solitude. Membership in the *saṃgha* always implies, of course, minimal relationships with other monks in order to perform the prescribed *vinayakarmas.*

New schools *(nikāyas)* of Thervāda have emerged at various times. In ancient Sri Lanka, the Abhayagirivihāravāsin formed a separate *nikāya* in the first century BCE, as did the Jetavanavihāravāsin in the fourth century CE. In the twelfth century, King Parākramabāhu I ordered the three *nikāyas* to reunite and declared the Mahāvihāra tradition authoritative. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, the *saṃgha* of Sri Lanka has again split into a considerable number of *nikāyas.* In Burma, the first great schism arose about 1165 CE when Chapaṭa and his disciples established the *Sīhaḷa saṅgha* (based on a tradition of ordination introduced from Sri Lanka), in contrast to the local *Mrammasaṅgha.* From the early eighteenth century, until a royal decision that was issued in 1784, the Burmese *saṃgha* was divided over the correct way of wearing the monastic robes. During the nineteenth century, a number of new *nikāyas* were established there. In Thailand and in Cambodia, the *saṃgha* currently comprises the Mahānikāya and the reformist Dhammayuttikanikāya (founded in 1864 by King Mongkut while he was still a *bhikkhu).* These divisions prevent monks belonging to different *nikāyas* from performing *vinayakarmas* together, but they do not prevent them from cooperating in many other ways, including performing other rituals. Most of these divisions have arisen, not from dissensions about dogma, but from controversies about the validity of *vinayakarmas.* For the Buddhist laity, such divisions are largely irrelevant.

Naturally, the *saṃgha* became involved with communal life in many ways, particularly in areas where nearly everyone identified with Buddhism. The study of the holy scriptures *(pariyatti)* and the realization of the road to salvation *(paṭipatti)* remained the traditional tasks of the monks, but religious practice largely concentrated on the gaining of merit, which is accomplished through the cooperation of monks and lay people. The everyday relationship between *saṃgha* and laity is characterized by copious gifts from ordinary people to the monks and monasteries, and invitations to the monks to participate in important functions, such as funerals. The monks give religious addresses, readings of sacred texts, and ceremonial recitations of *paritta,* texts from the Buddhist scriptures providing protection from evil forces and disaster. Until the creation of modern school systems, monks also acted as teachers, giving general education to the laity in their monasteries. A highly sophisticated system of monastic schools and ecclesiastical examinations and titles still functions in Sri Lanka, Burma, and Thailand.

As mentioned above, there have always been monks who have concentrated almost exclusively on asceticism and meditation, and a living tradition of meditation masters still exists in a number of Burmese and Thai monasteries. In recent years, famous monk-teachers have opened meditation centers to instruct laity interested in the practice.

THE *SAṂGHA* IN MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHISM. Many of the ancient *nikāyas* survived in India until the final destruction of Buddhism by Islamic conquerors. The Buddhist monasteries housed both Hināyāna and Mahāyāna monks; the situation was similar in eastern Turkestan. Mahāyāna Buddhism prevailed in China, Korea, Japan, and Tibet, but the *saṃgha* as an institution continued to be based on one of the old Vinaya traditions. The Chinese monks follow the Vinaya of the Dharmaguptaka school, and this tradition has been adopted in other countries where Buddhism was introduced from China, including Vietnam. The Tibetans follow the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition, and this version of the *Prātimokṣa* is still recited today in their monasteries. Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna Buddhism encompass other forms of religious initiation, and religious communities outside the structures of traditional monasticism have come into existence. The histories of Chinese and Tibetan Buddhism recount several successful efforts to revive the ancient monastic discipline, and, as a rule, the formal distinction between monks and laity is still observed. This, however, does not apply to all forms of Central Asian and East Asian Buddhism. Particularly in Japan, the ancient monastic tradition has lost much of its original importance, and a majority of Buddhist communities there no longer form monastic institutions.

THE *SAṂGHA* AND THE INTERNATIONAL BUDDHIST MOVEMENT. Buddhist monks played a leading role in the formation of the international Buddhist movement, which was created in order to bring together Buddhists of all schools and of all countries. Although the movement began at the end of the nineteenth century, an international *saṃgha* organization did not come into being until 1966. The World Buddhist Sangha Council met that year in Colombo, created by delegates from the following countries: Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Malaysia, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Nepal, Cambodia, Korea, Pakistan, India, Singapore, Thailand, England, and Laos, and a special delegation of the Tibetan *saṃgha* in exile. In a declaration made at its third congress (Taipei, 1981), this organization stated that more than one million Buddhist monks practice their faith in the world today.

SEE ALSO Councils, article on Buddhist Councils; Monasticism, article on Buddhist Monasticism; Priesthood, article on Buddhist Priesthood.

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SAṂGHA: SAṂGHA AND SOCIETY IN SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

The Sanskrit word *saṃgha* (Pali, *sangha*) denotes the Buddhist monastic order, although in its early usage (c. 500 BCE) in North India the word referred to the gatherings of the tribal republics of the time. The *saṃgha*'s relationship to society can best be prefaced with a consideration of its historical origins. Because the *saṃgha*'s significance is inseparable from that of Buddhist thought and philosophy, this will include a consideration of the social origins of that philosophy as well.

The details of ancient Indian history are controversial, but the major outlines are generally accepted. Accordingly, this article can focus on the material and social background immediately preceding the rise of Buddhism in the region of its birth, the area known as the Middle Country (*madhyadeśa*), in northeastern India. The eastward-moving Aryans, who entered India around 1500 BCE, seem to have established themselves in the region by the sixth century BCE, the time of the Buddha's birth. The demographic picture, however, is far from simple, for the area also seems to have been populated by people who were of Tibetan and Burmese extraction. This period was one of extensive development of settled agriculture, a change from the nomadic type of existence ascribed to the predominant Aryans. Along with other developments such as crafts and industry, this economic progress led to surpluses, the rise of cities, and changes in political organization from ancient tribal republics to monarchies. Six great cities figure prominently in the Buddhist texts: Sāvatthī (Śrāvastī), Sāketa, Kosambi (Kauśāmbī), Kāsī (modern Vārāṇasī), Rājagaha (Rājagṛha), and Champa (Campā). Smaller cities such as Kapilavastu, Mithilā, Vesālī (Vaiśālī), and Gayā are also mentioned frequently. The cities seem to have had high population densities and to have developed a complex division of labor.

The replacement of the collective rule of the tribal republics by a monarchial form of rule reflected the centralization of power in one person, the rise of cities, and the division of labor, which emphasized the worth of the individual specialist. These factors are understood by some scholars to be indicative of a fundamental change in the evaluation of the individual within society. From a status of submergence in the group the individual gradually achieved a relative independence somewhat analogous to that of the individual in the modern West. Furthermore, many hold that the rise of the individual during this period, with the complementary need to competitively foster that individuality, set in motion potentially anomic forces that tended to minimize traditional social values of mutuality in favor of an egoistic construction of the self.

It therefore comes as no surprise that Buddhism, a tradition that is conspicuous for its early association with urbanism, should conceive of the problem of existence as one caused by an exaggerated notion of the ego or "self." The visible, tangible misery caused by excessive individualism in the realm of politics or economics (or wherever competitiveness and the display of egoism are dominant) is easily translated into the sphere of the transcendental as the idea that the malaise of the individual being is the exaggeration of the ego or the individual self. According to this analysis, the source of tranquillity must be sought in a devaluation of that self. This step is accomplished by the philosophical formulation that the self is an illusion. It is not that those who adopt this view attempt to reduce Buddhist philosophy, in particular its central doctrine of *anātman* (Pali, *anatta,* "no-self"), to a sociological phenomenon; rather, what is suggested is merely a correspondence.

If humanity's suffering stems fromits exaggerated perception of an ego and from clinging to its desires, then suffering can be alleviated only by the denial of that ego and its desires. Just as the ego grew out of all proportion within the social context, the same social mechanism can be used to vitiate it, to realize that there is no immutable soul, but only process created by the perceiving aggregates. This realization must ultimately be a personal one, but it is facilitated by social organization. That facilitating social organization is the *saṃgha,* a unique idea in Indian religious thought. Groups of wandering ascetics existed before and after the founding of the Buddhist *saṃgha,* but none was so organized and institutionally complex. Unlike previous groups, the *saṃgha* was structured around a sophisticated code of discipline and monastic etiquette, the Vinaya. Although the pursuit of mental cultivation by withdrawal to the forest or cave persisted, it appears that this "rhinoceros [i.e., solitary] ideal" was a survival from pre-Buddhist practice. Religious quest within a well-organized social group, the *saṃgha,* was a specifically Buddhist innovation. Although the ideals of the *saṃgha* were spiritual, its nonegoistic, socialistic, and republican features made it a model for a secular society at peace with itself, just as the uncompromising commitment of the renouncer was a virtue to be emulated by the individual layperson.

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE SAṂGHA. Although some Western interpreters have maintained that Buddhism is concerned with the salvation of the individual renouncer, from its inception the tradition also clearly had a ministerial component. The Buddha's instruction to the seekers who heard his message was to carry it far and wide "for the good of the many, the comfort of the many." Yet alongside this purely missionary function grew functions of a pedagogic and parish nature arising out of the *saṃgha*'s scholastic bent and the instructional needs of the laity. Thus in the *saṃgha* two divisions grew, the "bearing of contemplation" (*vipassanā dhura*), or meditative development of one's own spirituality, and the "bearing of the books" (*gantha dhura*), the scholastic and parish functions. Eventually, the latter would gain in valuation, indicating the close relation the *saṃgha* was expected to maintain with society. At the same time, society took on the obligation to support and maintain the *saṃgha.* This arrangement, however, can be considered a consequence, albeit an early and a necessary one, of the rise of Buddhism within a social context.

There was a more basic reason why the economic life of the *saṃgha* could not exist apart from the munificence of the laity. An individual member of the *saṃgha,* the *śramaṇa* (f., *śramaṇā*), or renouncer, renounced what belonged to him or her in order to tread the path of purity and spiritual release. Providing such renouncers with their needs was an excellent opportunity for those who must remain within the bounds of household life to gain stores of merit (*puñña*) that would bear them fruit in the form of good fortune and good future births. The poverty of the *saṃgha* thus perfectly suited a laity in search of opportunities to perform good deeds (*puñña kamma;* Skt., *puṇya karman*), for it was held that no deed was so good in its potential for generating merit as the support of the *saṃgha.* The *saṃgha*'s economic dependence on the laity for subsistence is, therefore, no mere necessity, but, as more than one scholar has observed, an outward token of the renouncer's abandonment of personal resources to depend on those of the community that he serves. Thus, early in the development of Buddhism, the renouncer's needs were confined to the *catu paccaya* ("four requisites"), namely food, clothing, shelter, and medication. An individual monk ideally owns nothing privately but the *aṭṭha parikkhāra* ("eightfold items"), robes, begging bowl, and other basic personal accoutrements.

During the historical development of Buddhism, especially in the Buddhist kingdoms of Sri Lanka, Thailand, and Burma, the economic life of the *saṃgha* went through radical transformations. Extensive monastic properties grew, paradoxically arising from the sacred poverty of the *saṃgha.* Similarly, it was the fundamentally nonhierarchical nature of the *saṃgha,* among other reasons, that led to its being closely allied with the political order. In Sri Lanka, Buddhism was established as the state religion from its very inception: According to tradition, the king was the first Buddhist. Thus it was incumbent upon the king to endow the *saṃgha* generously, as did successive kings of all Buddhist polities, to bring under the purview of the *saṃgha* vast properties in the form of land. The king's act was exemplary and was followed by his patrimonial bureaucracy, down to the petty chiefs. Thus, paralleling the political hierarchy grew a hierarchy of monasteries owning vast stretches of property. The ideal of monastic poverty, however, was never abandoned, even though individual monks may have had access to considerable economic resources. This ideal was maintained in two ways. First, although land grants were made to the monasteries, their administration was separated from them and entrusted to lay officials. Second, lands granted to the monasteries, especially by the king, could in theory be taken away, although in fact this hardly ever occurred. However, in Sri Lanka sectarian schisms occasionally prompted monarchs to transfer properties of one monastic sect to another. The policy of making large-scale land grants contributed enormously to the longevity of the *saṃgha* and to its ability to survive economic adversity. In those agricultural societies that depended on the vagaries of rainfall for the cultivation of crops, especially the staple rice, prosperity could not be taken for granted, and often war and famine made it difficult for the laity to continue unbroken their pious donations. Indeed, the Sinhala term for famine, *durbhikṣa,* literally means the "absence of shares [i.e., food given as alms]." Thus the wealth of the monasteries can be considered to have played no small role in the viability of the *saṃgha* in the Buddhist polities of South and Southeast Asia.

The king's munificence toward the *saṃgha* served a politically legitimizing function. In addition, the land grants had a more direct political use, arising from the king's choice of their location. The king in Sri Lanka, for example, sometimes donated areas of property located in a province too distant for his immediate control (and hence potentially rebellious) and placed it under the control of a loyal subordinate. The tract of land thus demarcated, often extensive in size, essentially constituted a pocket of royal authority that acted as a counterforce to the threat posed by the provincial ruler.

A related point of great interest is the argument that monastic properties gave rise to monastic social structures. This intriguing theory has an important kernel of truth, especially when viewed in the context of the absence of hierarchical organization in the *saṃgha.* It can plausibly be argued that certain monastic social structures are indeed a function of the management of properties. The weakness of the theory lies in its very limited explanatory potential. Monastic properties, although in theory granted to an idealized *saṃgha* unbounded by time and space, are in fact granted to actual worldly institutions. It is in the context of particular space- and time-bound social structures that such properties must be understood. Even here it is doubtful whether the holding of property preceded evolution of the social structure, for the simple reason that it was an existing institution that received the property, an institution whose sociological structure could, of course, be modified by virtue of the new acquisition. At the broadest levels, and in the long run, it is difficult to maintain the materialist view that social structures are the product of property relations, although certain dynamic interrelations between the two are undeniable.

SAṂGHA AND POLITICAL AUTHORITY. One of the striking contrasts presented by early Buddhism is that whereas the *saṃgha* was ordered according to the political principles of the ancient tribal republics of India, its preferred political ally was clearly the monarchy. This may be explained by several factors. As has been indicated, Buddhism has been viewed as a reaction to a spirit of individualism that it perceived as the cause of social and individual suffering. Because the rise of the monarchical principle epitomizes that same individualism, it would seem appropriate for the *saṃgha* to organize itself on nonindividualist, nonmonarchical, nonhierarchical lines. However, Buddhism, always realistic in spirit, seems to have accepted the likelihood that the propagation of its message would be better facilitated by good relations with the monarchy. It must not be supposed, however, that this was a one-way process. The benefits were mutual. As Buddhism was from its very inception a movement that appealed most to urban strata, the task of controlling the powerful urban centers and sub-centers was rendered easier for the political authority, the monarch, once he espoused the religious ideology of the socially and economically dominant urban strata.

The affinity of Buddhism and its *saṃgha* to kingship is expressed in diverse ways, including myths and symbols of Buddhist kingship. Buddhist literature and lore have elevated the Buddha's father, the Sakyan ruler of a small kingdom, to the status of a monarch of imperial stature. The close relations between the Buddha and the kings of the Middle Country such as Kośala and Bimbisāra are no doubt characterized by some literary embellishment, but the historicity of the Buddha's affinity with contemporary monarchs of the region cannot be doubted. The most elaborate correlations between Buddhism and kingship are perhaps those in the symbolic sphere, in particular the identity between the Buddha and the *cakravartin* ("wheel turner"), the universal monarch. The auspicious bodily marks of the Buddha and the *cakravartin* are considered in Buddhist lore to be the same. The *cakravartin* turns the wheel of political conquest while the Buddha turns the wheel of the Dharma, the philosophy of Buddhism as well as its moral law of righteousness. The obsequies of the Buddha are considered in Buddhist literature to be those appropriate to a *cakravartin.*

The absence of hierarchy in the *saṃgha* has already been noted. Although this does not by any means make the *saṃgha* a democracy in the modern political sense—distinctions of senior and junior, teacher and pupil, ordained and novice are definitely observed—the *saṃgha* had no effective encompassing organization with laws, edicts, and codes smoothly flowing down a hierarchy of *saṃgha* officials. Because the *saṃgha* had no effective coercive authority within the bounds of its own organization, it had to look elsewhere for the sustenance and objectification of its moral and political integrity and for the adjudication of its conflicts. The preeminent repository of these functions was the king. Thus the *saṃgha* was politically as well as economically dependent on the king. This dependence most often took the form of "purification of the order" (*śāsana viśodhana;* Pali, *śāsana visodhana*), that is, by the staging of periodic purges of the *saṃgha* to free it from monks who violated the code of discipline. In addition, the purifications signified public reaffirmation of the *saṃgha*'s purity, on which depended its high esteem in society. The general public welcomed the purges because they guaranteed a virtuous and exemplary *saṃgha,* donations to which surpassed, in popular belief, all other acts of merit. The purifications were thus generally beneficial to all parties. Hence it is possible that these were regularly staged in Buddhist polities, as the historical record illustrates, whether or not an objective purificatory need existed. Apart from purifications, the king's organizational role in relation to the *saṃgha* was also manifest in the codification of doctrine and other acts that would enhance the *saṃgha*'s collective integrity. Historically, then, the king was indispensable to the *saṃgha.* Today, in Buddhist societies bereft of monarchy, this role is performed by the state.

Often, the integration of the *saṃgha* was historically effected by a hierarchy, imposed on it by the king, a hierarchy that duplicated the hierarchy of his secular patrimonial bureaucracy. The effectiveness of such imposed hierarchy, however, depended on the king's firm exercise of authority. At such times, the *saṃgha* may be considered to have had a more-than-usual political integration. In fact, it is more accurate to say that at all other times the *saṃgha* was merely a collection of politically disparate and inarticulate local communities. A king, however, was only able to integrate the *saṃgha* if he were an able ruler who integrated the secular polity itself, which in these systems was in a chronic state of tension between centripetality and centrifugality. Thus the king's integration of the *saṃgha* by the imposition of a hierarchy was no more than an extension of the integration of his secular power. Paradoxically, when the *saṃgha* was most politically integrated, and therefore most powerful, it was most dominated and regulated by the secular authority. At the same time, the king, while dominating the *saṃgha,* dared not alienate the monastic order lest it strike at the source of his legitimacy. Acceptance by the *saṃgha* was politically crucial for the king. It was part of the general cultural ideology of the Buddhist polity that the religion was the true sovereign over the land. Thus in Sri Lanka, kingship was described as being conferred by the *saṃgha* in order to maintain the religion. Kings periodically enacted symbolic abdication in favor of the Three Jewels (Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha), and the *saṃgha* "in keeping with custom" restored the kingship to the king, accepting in return a token of its overlordship, such as a land grant made on the occasion by the king.

One of the fundamental dilemmas of the association between kingship and the *saṃgha* is their respective ideal representation of two divergent realms, the temporal and the spiritual. The tension between the two spheres becomes reality when, as is the case with the Buddhist polity, righteousness is declared the foundation of the state. Statecraft necessitates not only the maintenance of internal law and order ultimately backed by coercive means but also the suppression of external enemies by bloodshed, not to mention more covert Machiavellian (or, the Indian context, Kautilyan) acts by means of which the state's ends are maintained. Such practices are far from "righteous."

Two resolutions of this dilemma are discernible in the history of Buddhist polities. First, the ruler's reign is divided into two periods, an unrighteous period followed by a righteous period, with the implication that the sins of the former are washed away by the pure waters of the latter. The empirical prototype of such a king, and indeed of all Buddhist kingship, is Aśoka (268–231 BCE), who, as Caṇḍāśoka ("Aśoka the cruel"), ruthlessly expands the empire bequeathed him by his Mauryan ancestors; his reign climaxed in the bloody conquest of Kalinga. Later, as Dharmāśoka ("Aśoka the righteous"), he proclaims the end of conquest by the sword and the dawn of the reign of *dharma* alone. The emperor's inner transformation thus serves as the resolution of the might-versus-right conflict.

The second resolution of the king's dilemma, like the first, is initiated by the personal remorse of the conqueror, although the process takes a less ethicized form. Apprehensive of the moral retribution that may befall him in future lives, the conqueror grows afraid of the demerit of bloody conquest overtaking the merit column of his moral balance sheet. The resolution of this conflict involves a diminution of the universal perspective, for it takes the form of personal reassurance granted the conqueror that the bloodshed he caused was for the purpose of protecting from alien threat the *dharma* and maintaining its dominance. Thus in the Sri Lankan chronicle *Mahāvaṃsa,* the hero Duṭṭhagāmaṇī is assured by the *saṃgha* that of the thousands massacred during the conquests, the number of human beings killed amounts to a mere one and a half (the rest being heathen whose extinction has little consequence for the king's moral state). This second resolution, in which elements less than universalist are apparent, can be further evaluated as ethically inferior in its relative valuation of human life (believers are truly human, heathens fit for slaughter).

This tension between the ideals of the *saṃgha* and those of the king are meaningfully characterized precisely because the two are in relation. Had they been fully and completely separate from each other, as in the case of a hypothetical fully secular king and an equally hypothetical forest-dwelling ascetic having no relations with the society of people, there would be no occasion for this dilemma to arise. However, in the actual world, the spiritual and the temporal, though ideally separate, are in fact coexistent. In the case of the Buddhist polity this "dialectical tension," as Stanley J. Tambiah has called it, is generated by the location of the *saṃgha* in society even while the *saṃgha* is not of the society. Such tension is based not so much on any social relationship between king and *saṃgha* or on the king's role as conqueror and converter of the heathen as on the indistinguishability of the spiritual and the temporal in the office of the sovereign as conceived in the Buddhist notion of kingship. Furthermore, this indistinguishability forces on the king the paradoxical obligation to deal with schisms in the *saṃgha.* This obligation involves the use of force against members of the *saṃgha* who are deemed offenders against orthodox purity. But such a judgment can by no means be objectively assured. Not infrequently in the history of the Buddhist polities "purges" of the *saṃgha* constitute a "unification" of the church, the meaning as well as durability of which may be dubious. Yet at least at the time of its accomplishment the act itself would appear to represent a victory both for the king and the section of the *saṃgha* he supported, and, in its "unified" sense, for the *saṃgha* as a whole. In principle, the king, now armed with the force of a purified and unified *saṃgha,* gains important political and religious prestige through his action, although such action presupposes considerable political power in the first place.

The relationship between kingship, that is, political authority, and the *saṃgha* has been so close in Buddhist polities that it is sometimes said that the existence of the *saṃgha* presupposes Buddhist kingship. The functional complementarity of the two parties centers around the *saṃgha*'s dependence on the king for economic and organizational sustenance and the king's need of the *saṃgha* to legitimize his authority. *Saṃgha*-society relations are, however, broader than *saṃgha*-king relations, for the whole of society includes a third crucial party that makes up the whole, the mass of the lay population. Thus, it has been observed that the Buddhist polity consists of a triadic relation between *saṃgha,* king, and people. In time, such a polity could develop a strong identity fortified further by a common language and a real or imagined common ethnicity. Such an entity could grow to possess considerable integrative potential submerged in its chronic tension between centripetality and centrifugality. This potential could manifest itself with vigor at times of crisis, such as the external threat of some alien religion, language, and/or ethnic group. At such times, an ordinarily dormant and structurally vague *saṃgha* might awaken, assume formidable solidarity, and inspire the people to heightened states of patriotic fervor. Characteristically, it would return to its structural somnolence at the abatement of the crisis. The Buddhist polity is thus capable of producing two remarkable phenomena: (1) a unification of the *saṃgha* from within, inconceivable during normal times, when unification is achieved only by state imposition, and (2) a sense of political unity and identity, rare in the traditional world, which becomes historically ubiquitous only with the rise of the modern nation-state. Clearly, this crisis-triggered phenomenon represents neither a true unification of the *saṃgha* nor political centralization.

SAṂGHA SECTS AND SECTARIANISM. It is sometimes observed that there are no doctrinally differentiated sects in Buddhism. Yet Theravāda and Mahāyāna can both be considered sects in this sense. So can the numerous schools that developed within Theravāda in the early period of Buddhism. But throughout most of the history of Buddhist kingdoms, sects in this sense did not survive. As the schisms, purifications, and unifications show, however, differences of opinion and their corresponding social manifestations as sects (*nikāya*) were an integral part of the history of Buddhist kingdoms.

It is possible to posit two kinds of sects as ideal types. First are those sects that have as their basis some doctrinal difference. Ideology here determines the social categorization. Second are *saṃgha* sects derived from or influenced by secular social organization. The term *ideal type* is used because empirically neither type is found in pristine form. The ideologically determined sects have social factors contributing to their genesis; the socially determined ones often have ideological differences (however hairsplitting they may be), or at least cover the social origins of their differences in ideological apparel.

Present in both modern times and antiquity are sects that express the tension in the *saṃgha* between eremitical and cenobitic ideals, forest dwelling and village dwelling, "bearing of contemplation" and "bearing of the books." Although Buddhist liberation is an act of personal endeavor, it has been noted above that from its inception Buddhism conceived of the greater facility with which this end can be reached within a community framework; hence the vast importance in Buddhism of the *saṃgha* as the "third jewel." At the same time, the pre-Buddhist orthodox means of salvation by resorting to solitary confinement in forest or cave, the rhinoceros ideal, continued to be followed by some, if only a minority. Perhaps because the very solitariness of the search suggested greater purity and commitment, free from any obligations either to fellow members of the *saṃgha* community or to the laity, the solitary ideal was always held in high esteem. Sects or breakaway groups in the history of the *saṃgha* that were founded on doctrinal differences exemplify the ascetic/monastic tension and have invariably proclaimed their departure from the fold of orthodoxy as a movement toward greater purity and a renunciation of the comforts and social involvement of monasticism. Undoubtedly, such proclamations are idealizations; the true picture is more complex and allied with less lofty causal variables. Nevertheless, in terms of the renouncing group's own conceptualizations, movements toward asceticism can be viewed as purifications generated within the *saṃgha* itself, as opposed to those imposed upon it by the political authority.

In the history of the *saṃgha* such rebel movements, often inspired by and centered upon charismatic leadership, have in time succumbed to the very monastic organizational structures (and their secular economic, political, and adulatory accompaniments) that they denounced to begin with. Eventually, they have been lured back to the fold of worldly monasticism within which they may either rejoin the original parent group, remain within it as a distinct subgroup, or form a new sect altogether. Whichever of these forms the newly returned group assumes, its organizational form will normally be identical with that of the established sects. This "routinization of charisma" is neatly expressed in microcosmic form in the rite of ordination, in which the neophyte takes extreme vows of asceticism and, at the end of the ceremony, emerges with a higher status in the monastic establishment. Just as the rite of ordination is no more than a reaffirmation of high and pure ascetic ideals, so ascetic movements are periodic reminders of the true path of renunciation.

When confronted with cases in which elements of the secular social order have played a decisive role in the formation of Buddhist sects (as was true of the role of the Sinhala caste structure in the formation of certain nineteenth- and twentieth-century sects), some sociological observers have seen no more in these movements than the intrusion of society into the *saṃgha.* While this view is not wholly without merit, to assert it unequivocally is to reduce to social form phenomena that are ideologically autonomous and irreducible to social or other causal factors. To have recourse to this deterministic view is also to ignore the role of symbolic classification in the generation of sects. The evidence from Sri Lanka in particular suggests that certain sectarian divisions followed successive binary differentiations.

SECTS, SAINTS, AND MILLENNIAL BUDDHISM. The forest dwellers, a group that either came into being as a result of the self-purifying tendency within the *saṃgha* or arose anew from the laity (a less likely possibility), symbolically represent physical distance from the established secular order. They also typify a politically peripheral status in their habitation of the traditional sanctuary of the politically rebellious, namely the untamed forest. Hence, their appeal to the established political center can be vast. Furthermore, forest dwelling is synonymous with virtue and purity, and in the Buddhist polities of East Asia in particular, forest dwellers are often attributed great miraculous powers. As Tambiah's study of Thai Buddhism illustrates, the forest saints not only exemplify true asceticism as described in the classic text on the subject, the *Visuddhimagga,* but are also sometimes considered by the laity to have actually reached liberation by achieving "the winning of the stream" in the voyage to *nirvāṇa* (Pali, *nibbāna*). The politically central personalities—kings, prime ministers, generals—are thus forced by both spiritual and temporal interests to recognize and pay homage to them, a task that temporarily forces them out of their central fortresses to make uneasy journeys to the physical and political periphery where saints coexist with rebels. In general the saints are not interested in politics; their concern is spiritual commitment and the spiritual welfare of their immediate disciples and votaries. Nor is it possible for the political center to devote its sole energy to the veneration of the saints. In Thailand a happy medium is struck in medallions and amulets blessed with the saint's miraculous powers. In these cultic metal objects, which are made available to those who inhabit and control the political center, spiritual and temporal interests are welded together in much the same way as they are in the saint of the forest, whose path of purification also leads to the cosmic mountain symbolic of world conquest.

Today as in the past, a group surrounding such a forest saint is a potential threat to the political center, a threat to which the latter typically reacts in either of two ways. First, as already observed, it can make peaceful and devoted overtures and invoke the power of the miraculous objects blessed by the saint. Second, if the group surrounding the saint turns hostile, the center may resort to military action, against which the rebels, armed more with millennial expectations than military hardware, are no match. The forest saint's implicit premise that the established *saṃgha* and polity are corrupt may become the rallying point of rebellion, although this need not necessarily be so. In the established realm, *saṃgha* and political authority are separate but bound in reciprocity and mutuality, whereas in millenarianism, one possible rallying point of which is the forest-dwelling exemplar, the roles of renouncer and ruler tend to fuse together. This brings back full cycle, however fragile and illusory, the ideal unification of world renunciation and world conquest.

SEE ALSO Aśoka; Buddhism, overview article, and article on Buddhism in Southeast Asia; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism; Cakravartin; Duṭṭhagāmaṇī; Kingship; Monasticism, article on Buddhist Monasticism; Priesthood, article on Buddhist Priesthood.

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The Mahāyāna monastic orders of Japan and Tibet are vastly different from the Theravāda *saṃgha*s of Sri Lanka, Thailand and Burma, which constitute data for the analysis presented in this article. For Tibet, there is little scholarly focus from a social science point of view, the bulk of the work being textual and religio-philosophical. Authoritative though brief discussions on Tibetan monasticism ("Lamaism") are found in Giuseppe Tucci's *The Religions of Tibet* (Berkeley, Calif., 1980) and Rolf A. Stein's *Tibetan Civilization* (Stanford, Calif., 1972). Daigon and Alicia Matsunaga's *Foundations of Japanese Buddhism,* 2 vols. (Los Angeles and Tokyo, 1978), deals with, among other things, the development of scholastic Buddhism as a magical agent of the Ritsuryo government, and the generalization of Buddhism from an aristocratic religion to one embracing all strata, and suggests the cyclically regenerative and reinterpretive nature of Japanese Buddhism. For a historically based discussion of the relationship of church and state in early Chinese Buddhism, see Erik Zürcher's *The Buddhist Conquest of China,* 2 vols. (Leiden, 1972).

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SAṂGHA: SAṂGHA AND SOCIETY IN TIBET

In general, monasticism is based on the creation of a form of life separate from the confusion of the world to allow for the full expression of the religious vocation. In the Indian context, this monastic separation finds its standard expression in the phenomenon of world renunciation (*saṃnyāsa*). However, this analysis of monasticism as based on an ideal of world transcendence intended for virtuosi does not come close to capturing the historical reality of Buddhist monasticism. Even ideal-typically, Buddhist monks and nuns are not just virtuosi renouncers who live the homeless life prescribed by the Vinaya. They also play the role of priests, operating as the functionaries of the cult for the service of lay people to whom they provide ritual services in exchange for support. It is difficult to say when this priestly function developed, but it is clear that it started very early on, perhaps even earlier than the reign of Aśoka (c. 270–230 BCE). This transformation of the monastic ideal has affected all Buddhist traditions, and in this respect Tibet is not very different. This is not to say, however, that Tibetan monasticism does not have particularities of its own. In order to understand those, it may be helpful to start with a brief historical overview of the development of monasticism in Tibet and its relation to society before examining its institutional structures.

THE HISTORY OF THE TIBETAN *SAṂGHA*. Traditional Tibetan and modern scholars agree that the first Tibetan *saṃgha* was established during the second half of the eighth century. Prior to that period, there had been Buddhist monks in Tibet, mostly from Central Asia, but no indigenous *saṃgha*. This changed when the great Indian thinker Śāntarakṣita (c. 725–790) was invited to Tibet by the emperor Tri Song Detsen (740–798) to establish the first monastery at Bsam yas (Samye). Since at first it was not clear whether Tibetans would take to the monastic life, Śāntarakṣita ordained a trial group of seven Tibetans representing some of the prominent families. The trial was successful and other ordinations followed. Thus the *saṃgha* developed rapidly during the late period of the Tibetan empire, receiving the backing of some of the more important families and gaining the ability to exercise political influence over the court. During Tri Ralpacen's (817–838) reign, monks seem to have received further marks of favor from the ruler and to have increased their power, assuming even ministerial functions. It is also during this time that the first system of taxation was set up to support monks and monasteries. It is this situation that seems to have created a strong opposition leading to Ralpacen's assassination and his replacement by his brother, Lang Darma, the (in)famous last emperor. Traditional historians describe him as a persecutor of Buddhism, but modern scholars have argued that his target was less Buddhism than the sociopolitical influence of the *saṃgha*. Regardless, it is clear that his reign, and the events that followed his assassination by a Buddhist monk in 842, created a very confused situation that ultimately led to the disintegration of the empire.

As is often the case in Buddhist history, the demise of central power created considerable difficulties for the *saṃgha*, which seems to have disappeared from Central Tibet. A handful of monks found refuge in Kham in Eastern Tibet. There a young man, later known as Lhacen Gompa Rabsel, asked for ordination, but the five fully-ordained monks required for the ordination ritual could not be found until two Chinese monks agreed to participate. Several people were then ordained, and this allowed this lineage of ordination, which traces its source to Śāntarakṣita, to survive and later reestablish itself in Central Tibet, particularly among some of the Bka' gdams (Kadam) monasteries, such as Snar thang (Narthang).

This reestablishment of monasticism in Central Tibet took place during the second diffusion of Buddhism, particularly between the end of the tenth century and the beginning of the thirteenth century. It is during this period that the new schools (*gsar ma*), which take the second diffusion as their point of reference, emerged in opposition to the old school (*rnying ma*), which focuses on the earlier transmission. During this period, two other lineages of ordination came to Tibet, the first from Western Tibet, initiated by the king of Purang, Lha Lama Yeshe Öd, who, after ordaining himself, decided to seek a more proper ordination lineage from two Indians, Dharmapāla (963–1058) and Prajñāpāla. This line of ordination later spread to some Bka' gdams and Sa skya (Sakya) monasteries and included Rendawa and Gyeltsap. The last line of ordination to come to Tibet was brought by the famous scholar Śākya Śrībhadra (c. 1127–1225), who ordained his student, Sa skya Paṇḍita (1182–1251). This lineage became popular, and it came to include the great scholar Tsong kha pa (1357–1419) and most of his disciples. All three lineages derive from the Mūlasarvāstivāda and have been considered equally valid by Tibetan Vinaya masters. Belonging to a different school of ordination (Mahāsaṃghika), Atīśa (982–1054), the great Indian teacher whose synthesis of exoteric and esoteric traditions provides the basic structure of Tibetan Buddhism, decided not to participate in any ordination to avoid splitting the *saṃgha* in Tibet.

The monasticism of this later period, however, developed differently from that of the earlier period, in large part due to the historical circumstances. Whereas during the earlier period the authority of the state had been strong and relatively stable, the later period was marked by the collapse of such authority and the proliferation of local hegemonies. This political vacuum contributed to many of the characteristics of Tibetan monasticism, particularly the large intra- and intersectarian differences between monasteries and the role of non-ordained practitioners. It also partly explains the large political role that monastic groups have played in Tibetan history.

It is mostly among the new traditions that monasticism first redeveloped. The first school was the Bka' gdams school, which was established by Atīśa's disciple Drom dön ba (1005–1064), who, though himself a lay person, emphasized monasticism and the practice of the exoteric aspects of Buddhism. This emphasis on monasticism was imitated by other groups, such as the Sa skya and several Bka' brgyud (Kagyu) traditions, which were then forming. These schools followed some of the Bka' gdams ideas but also emphasized the importance of esoteric Buddhism. It was also during this period that Tibetan monasteries started to create their own indigenous scholastic culture. During the earlier period, Bsam yas had been a scholastic center, but it had fallen apart with the disintegration of the empire. From the end of the eleventh century, new centers started to emerge, the most famous being Sangpu, created in 1073 and further developed by Ngok Lotsawa and Chaba Chöki Sengge during the next hundred years. Many others, such as Sagya, Snar thang and Kathog, followed, introducing an important intellectual component within Tibetan monasticism.

Monasticism received a spectacular boost from Tsong kha pa, who after training in the monastic centers of his time, proposed his own synthesis. His approach strongly stressed the role of monasticism and emphasized the value of scholastic training. In 1409, Tsong kha pa founded the monastery of Dga' ldan (Gaden), followed by two powerful monastic centers, 'Bras pung (Drepung) and Se ra. Together they constitute the three monastic seats (*gdan sa*) and have come to play a central role in Tibetan monasticism, particularly in the last three centuries.

***SAṂGHA* AND SECTARIAN DEVELOPMENTS.** The rise to prominence of these three monastic seats was the result of the spectacular growth among Tsong kha pa's followers. Although this group was initially well accepted as one among many, the situation quickly changed. Tsong kha pa's views became the target of numerous criticisms, and his followers gradually came to see themselves as forming a separate tradition, the Dge lugs (Geluk). The sectarian process was further strengthened by the political climate of the time, particularly the power struggle between the forces of Gtsang (Tsang) supported by the Sa skya and Bka' brgyud, and the forces from Central Tibet supported by the Dge lugs. This struggle lasted until the forces of Central Tibet, with Mongol support, won and established their hegemony in 1642, imposing their leader, the fifth Dalai Lama, as the supreme authority in Tibet. Under the protection of his government, the Dge lugs school became the most powerful, and its monasteries grew exponentially, particularly 'Bras pung, Dga' ldan, and Se ra. At the same time, restrictions were imposed on other schools. Some monasteries were converted, while others were limited in their scholarly activities and the range of material that monks could study. Not all non-Dge lugs schools, however, were equally affected. The Rnying ma (Nyingma), which remained separate, flourished during this period, creating monasteries and thus starting a move toward monasticism. This move gained impetus during the second half of the nineteenth century, when under the guidance of several nonsectarian teachers, all three non-Dge lugs schools started a revival, revitalizing their monastic centers and recreating their scholarly culture.

It is during this period of intense sectarian confrontation that two features of Tibetan monasticism became well established. The first is the role of reincarnated lamas, or *tulkus,* as leaders of monastic communities. The first example of such a unique Tibetan institution seems to have been the third Karma pa, Rang byung rdo rje (Rangjung Dorje, 1284–1339), who presented himself as the reincarnation of his illustrious predecessor, Karma pakshi (1204–1283). But prior to the fifteenth century, this mode of transmission of authority remained limited to a few lamas. The number and role of *tulkus* started to grow during the fifteenth century, a time of intense sectarian confrontation. This phenomenon is clear in the Dge lugs school, where authority over the tradition was at first transmitted following monastic lines of succession. But the effective leadership of the school gradually shifted to *tulkus*, particularly to the Dalai Lamas, who emerged during the sixteenth century as the de facto leaders of this tradition. This preeminent role was reinforced by the victory of 1642, which propelled the Dalai Lama to the rulership of the country. Henceforth, Tibet was going to be ruled, at least nominally, by a Buddhist monk, a unique occurrence in the history of Buddhist monasticism.

The rule of the Dalai Lama did not mean that monks held all the power, but it did imply that monasteries had a preeminent place and that their support became a governmental priority. As a result, starting from the seventeenth century, the number of monks and nuns grew, leading to what Melvyn Goldstein has aptly described as *mass monasticism*—the inclusion of a significant proportion of the population in the monastic order. Some estimate that before the invasion of Tibet by the People's Republic of China in 1950, up to 20 percent of the population may have been ordained, a proportion that appears to be without historical precedent. The consequence of this increase was the lowering of monastic standards. Monasteries placed few severe restrictions on comportment and allowed their monks extensive freedom to chose their lifestyle. This was particularly true of larger monasteries, where one could find a variety of monastic vocations, from that of great scholars and meditators to that of monks involved in trade and politics, or even that of punk monks (*ldab ldob*), who maintained order, collected taxes from recalcitrant payers, and defended monastic officials during their travels.

THE TIBETAN MONASTIC INSTITUTION. It would be wrong, however, to exaggerate the consequences of mass monasticism, for the lowering of standards did not affect all monasteries equally. In fact, when one surveys pre-1950 Tibetan monasticism, one fact dominates: the enormous diversity of organizational forms, disciplinary strictness, and institutional structures.

One of the intriguing aspects of this diversity is that monasticism in Tibet is not the only form of renunciate religiosity. Since the early period, there have been many nonordained *tantrikas* (*lngags pa*), often forming smaller communities that could compete with monasteries for resources. During the early stages of the second diffusion, these wandering or home-based practitioners often came into conflict with monks, who advocated a more established and exoteric form of Buddhism. A solution to this conflict developed gradually, starting with Atīśa's synthesis of Mahāyāna ideals and Tantric practices. This synthesis received further institutional implementation with the development of the Sa skya and Bka' brgyud schools, where Tantric rituals became integrated within monasticism. In this by now prevalent model, the community abides by the monastic discipline but practices Tantric rituals. It is often led by a lama, reincarnated or hereditary, who acts as the Tantric master and guides the community. This formula has allowed monasteries to provide the kind of rituals requested by the laity and thus successfully compete with non-ordained practitioners.

There were also major differences in disciplinary strictness among monasteries. Some monasteries were extremely lax in the enforcement of discipline, with monks often staying only occasionally in the monastery and spending most of their time working with their families. But other monasteries maintained very strict discipline. In the Tantric Monastery of Higher (Lhasa), for example, monks had to follow fairly strict Vinaya rules. They also had to spend the first three years of their careers in difficult conditions under close supervision. Even within a single monastery, variations existed. In general, the large central monasteries tended to be much stricter than the smaller local monasteries. Among those, there were also significant differences according to location. Monasteries in central areas tended to be stricter than those in more marginal areas. This diversity in monastic discipline is typical of a traditional society where the normalizing power of the state is limited. But such diversity seems to have been more accentuated in Tibet, in part due to the geography of the country, which makes communication difficult, but mostly because of the persistent weakness of the state throughout the formative period of Tibetan monasticism.

This diversity is enshrined in the local monastic constitution (*bca' yig*) of each monastery. This is, in fact, the central normative document of Tibetan monasteries, where life is less regulated by the canonical Vinaya than by the local constitution. Each monastery has its own (written or oral) constitution, a condensed body of customs, oral lore, and traditional documentation woven together with aspects of the Vinaya. This constitution addresses the governance of the monastery; the duties, responsibilities, and dress of monastic officers; the order of priority among members; the judicial procedures through which decisions are made; and the calendar for ritual observances. Thus, the role of the Vinaya became greatly reduced. Instead of providing the socio-juridical basis of monasticism, it became reduced to the definition of the monastic ethical code.

The monastic constitution also defines the monastery as a corporate entity, an association of the individual monks (or nuns) who are parts of the monastery, and who own and govern it in accordance with the rules prescribed by the constitution. Hence, a Tibetan monastery is not just a residence for monks or nuns, but a corporate body whose identity is maintained across generations and is enmeshed in politico-economical relations that can involve complex bureaucratic structures, mandatory activities, and onerous duties. As such, a monastery in pre-1950 Tibet often had considerable land holdings with a significant number of tenants. It was to manage this socio-economical involvement that monasteries were set up as associations.

Since a monastery is typically an association, to reside in that monastery as an ordained person is not enough to qualify as a member. A monk must be formally accepted by the monastic authorities after fulfilling the criteria for admission, which varies from monastery to monastery, the basic requirement being the ability to read and memorize the monastery's rituals. After being admitted, a member acquires certain rights and privileges. He has, for instance, the right to partake in the resources distributed by the monastery and to participate in the decisions governing the life of the community. Together with these rights come certain duties. He must attend the rituals of the monastery, and he may be appointed by the association to any of the monastic offices, tasks that can be at times extremely demanding.

One of the central activities of such an association is the practice of rituals. It is not an exaggeration to say that Tibetan monasteries are first and foremost ritual communities, which reflect the priestly role that monks have assumed throughout the history of the tradition. Even in large monasteries that have fostered the growth of a scholastic culture, life revolves around the practice of rituals, which take precedence over any other activity, studies included. Moreover, each monastery is identified by its own ritual material, which differentiates it from other monasteries. The monastic rituals of most monasteries are, however, similar, ranging from the ceremonies prescribed by the Vinaya to elaborate Tantric practices, often done at the request of sponsors.

INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES AND ECONOMIC LIFE. The diversity of Tibetan monasticism is also evident in its institutional structures. Some monasteries are very small, with perhaps as few as the four monks necessary to form a *saṃgha*, often staffed by monks who live at home. Others are large institutions with thousands of permanent residents and hundreds of highly trained scholars. To make sense of this variety it may be helpful to distinguish heuristically between local and central monasteries. Local monasteries are devoted almost exclusively to the practice of ritual and provide little training to their members. Or at least they do not function as training centers for monks from other monasteries. This is the role of central monasteries, where monks of a particular tradition can receive scholastic training.

Each school of Tibetan Buddhism has its own central monasteries, which also function as political, social, and economical centers. Each central monastery is at the heart of an extended network of affiliated local monasteries, which may be regional or may cover all of Tibet. This network brings the central monastery considerable resources, extending its pool of supporters and sponsors, and ensuring considerable influence. Although the difference between local and central monasteries is not always clear and has changed historically, it is usually accepted that there are six central monasteries in the Dge lugs tradition: the three seats (Dga' ldan, 'Bras pung, and Se ra), Tashi Lhunpo (bkra shis lhun po) in Shigatse, and Tashi Gomang (bkra shis sgo mang) and Kumbrum (sku 'bum) in Amdo. In the Rnying ma six monasteries function as centers: Mingdröling (smin grol gling) and Dorje Drak (rdo rje brag) in Central Tibet, plus Ka-thok (ka thog), Dzokchen (rdzogs chen), Payül (dpal yul), and Zhechen in Kham. Each of these large central monasteries has its own institutional structure. Since Dga' ldan, 'Bras pung, and Se ra are the largest monasteries ('Bras pung is said to have had more than ten thousand monks), a glimpse at their complex structures gives us some idea of the Tibetan premodern monastic institution.

First, the three seats each consisted of several monasteries, sometimes mislabeled in the secondary literature as "colleges." For example, 'Bras pung had four monasteries: Loseling, Gomang, Ngakpa (i.e., Tantric Monastery), and Deyang. Each of these entities was a monastery (*gwra tshang*), with its own assembly hall, administrative and disciplinary structures, economic basis, monastic constitution, scholastic manuals, and internal subdivisions into regional houses. The monastic seat was administered by a council composed of the representatives of the monasteries and regional houses, the present and former abbots of each monastery (the seat did not have an abbot), and important monastic officials. The council was in charge of deciding questions of discipline, arbitrating conflicts between monasteries, and relating to the outside world. Its decisions were implemented by two head disciplinarians whose authority was backed up by considerable disciplinary resources. The council and the head disciplinarians had no say, however, in the religious activities of each monastery.

Each monastery had its own administrative, disciplinary, and religious structure. It was administered by a council composed of the abbot, the representatives of each of the regional houses of the monastery, and important monastic officials. The religious activity of the monastery was directed by the abbot, who headed the monastery. Discipline was enforced by the disciplinarian, who had considerable authority, though less than the seat's head disciplinarians. A prayer leader led the monastic assembly in its ritual performances, and the director of studies oversaw aspects of the scholastic routine.

At the lowest level were the regional houses (*khang tshan*), where monks from the different regions were grouped. Each monastery had several regional houses. For example, in 'Bras pung, Gomang had sixteen regional houses, and Loseling had twenty-three. The regional houses were ruled by a council, which appointed a house teacher to administer the house. He was in charge of the discipline of the house, and of making sure that the schedule was respected, that young monks memorized their texts, that scholars went to debates, and so on. The house administrator also ensured that monks did not keep knives in their rooms, a reminder of the heteroclite nature of the monasteries, where the best scholar could lived side by side with the worst punk. As with the other monks in charge of monastic discipline, the house administrator could not be criticized while in office, even by the house's council. However, once he had stepped down after a fixed term (often a year), he could be criticized, and even penalized, by the council for his actions as house teacher. This system allowed officers to have sufficient authority over a large group of people who were often rowdy and difficult to control. It also provided checks and balances, since the officers were retroactively accountable for their actions and had to be mindful not to overstep their authority.

This description of the monastic chain of command does not even begin to communicate the complexity of the bureaucracies involved in the administration of the three seats. Each corporate entity (i.e., the seat, the monasteries, and the regional houses) was managed financially by a complex administration headed by several stewards. Even a single regional house had at least one steward and several grainkeepers and treasurers in charge of commercial transactions. Each corporate entity also had large estates where its subjects (*mi gser*) lived, bound to the land. The stewards and their administration would collect taxes (paid in the form of grain or butter rather than money) from these tenants. 'Bras pung (the seat, not the monasteries) is said to have had 185 estates with twenty thousand subjects, three hundred pastures, and sixteen thousand nomads. These resources would then be used by monastic officials to engage in a variety of trade and lending operations. For instance, grain might be lent to the peasants and collected back with a yearly interest as high as 20 percent. Butter would be sold, either on the market or as barter against other goods.

The administration of these monastic entities in Tibet required real political, administrative, and financial skill in the hands of monks who devoted their lives to these tasks. There was a kind of *cursus honorum* for those interested in the politico-administrative side of monastic life. Monks moved from lower to higher echelons, reaching important jobs that were a source of honor and considerable power. Often, but not always, the important jobs were monopolized by monks from aristocratic backgrounds, or by those belonging to one of the large households (*shag tshang chen mo*) of the monastery, which functioned like small dynasties of monastic administrators.

This administrative system illustrates the evolution of monasticism in Tibet, exemplifying the corporate nature of monasteries and their socioeconomic involvement. But it should be remembered that this system is not only a Tibetan development, but is also the result of an evolution within the overall trajectory of Buddhist monasticism. The existence of large monastic centers was made possible by the transformation of the role of monks, who were not just renouncers, but also performed priestly duties. It is this basic transformation that is reflected in the very structure of Tibetan monasteries, which are corporate entities organized in large part around the performance of this priestly function.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Tibet; Buddhist Books and Texts, article on Canon and Canonization—Vinaya; Dalai Lama; Karma pas; Rnying ma pa (Nyingmapa) School; Tsong kha pa.

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SAMI RELIGION.

The term *Sami* is an ethnonym used by the Sami people to describe themselves. They are also known by the term *Lapp,* which refers to their nomadic way of life, not to ethnicity, in accordance with the Swedish phrase "leva som lapp," which translates as "to live in the Lapp (i.e., nomadic) way," but the Sami find this expression to be pejorative. The Sami are popularly called "the people with four countries" because they make up an ethnic unit inside the borders and under the jurisdiction of four countries: Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia. From the Greek and Roman historians of antiquity to scholars of the present day, the Sami (also called Fenni and Finner) have excited the interest of historians (from the Greeks and Romans of antiquity to scholars of the present day), by virtue of the Old Norse sagas and as the people of Ultima Thule, occupying most northern territories of Northern Europe.

Within the Uralic language family, the Sami belong to the Finno-Ugric group, and are thus linguistically related to many of the peoples who live on the southern and eastern borders of their territories (e.g., the Baltic Finns: Finns, Karelians, and Estonians). Anthropologically, however, they are quite distinct from all but the Ob Ugric peoples (the Khanty and Mansi) and the Samoyed speakers who live at approximately the same latitude on either side of the Uralic Mountains in Russia. This kind of linguistic and anthropological diversity has given rise to a lively but as yet inconclusive scholarly debate as to the location of their original homeland. Present theories based on interdisciplinary research in archaeology, philology, anthropology, ethnography, and comparative religion suggest that the ancestors of contemporary Sami people probably came from diverse backgrounds and they spoke several different languages. Some of these ancestral languages must have died out without ever having been written down, so that now their cultures can only be hypothesized from archaeological evidence and their oral traditions, as well as through genetic analysis of blood types and other molecular research.

Today there remain about nine distinct Sami languages. These may be classified into two main groups. The Eastern group includes Inari, Skolt, Akkala, Kildin, and Ter; the Western group includes Mountain or Norwegian Sami, and includes the languages of Lule, Pite, and southern Sami dialects. The Sami languages share the same basic structure but are otherwise quite distinct; so much so that Sami speakers—many of whom are not only bilingual but rather tri- or even quin-lingual—must often resort to Finnish, Swedish, or Russian to understand each other. The linguistic situation is further complicated by the fact that a variety of competing orthographies have been employed to render the languages in written form.

Since the medieval era, from the twelfth century onwards, the Sami-occupied territories have been the most northerly point at which the Eastern and Western branches of Christianity meet. Beginning at that time and continuing until the seventeenth century, missionaries of the Russian Orthodox Church made converts among the Skolt, Akkala, Kildin, and Ter Sami of Kola peninsula and neighboring areas in North Russia. The Sami peoples in the West, on the other hand, had their earliest contacts with the Roman Catholic Church, but in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries most of these were baptized into the Evangelical Lutheran Churches supported by the states in which they lived: Denmark (including Norway), and Sweden (including Finland). The earliest written document, the *Historia Norwegiae* from the twelfth century, describes an early encounter between Kristiani (Christians) and the "heathen" Sami *noaiddi.*

Most written texts that deal with non-Christian Sami religion date to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These texts concentrate primarily on the beliefs of the nomadic reindeer breeders of Finland and Scandinavia (other Sami groups are less well represented). Many of the texts were written by clergy and missionaries, and often take the form of "confessions of heathenism" that were held in front of ecclesiastical courts. From the Sami of the east we have only ethnographic and linguistic notes dating to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. By this time, the native religion had already been relegated to "the old custom" or "memories," and belief in the old gods had fallen away. However, there are good reasons to suppose that there existed, and still exists, a set of shared structures of belief, common to the whole Sami area, in which shamanism and ritual sacrifice are the dominant characteristics.

RELATIONS BETWEEN HUMANS AND ANIMALS. As is common among many of the peoples of the arctic and sub-arctic regions, the earliest Sami economies were based on hunting and fishing. Consequently, their most important rituals revolved around the hunting, killing, and burial of animals. They developed an elaborate conceptual, mythical, and ritual world in which animal spirits and divinities, that is supernatural beings whose zoomorphic forms and features have been taken from the animal kingdom, figure prominently.

The Sami in Finland called these spirits *haldi* (from the Finnish *haltija*, derived from an old Germanic word meaning "to own, to control, to protect"). They believed that all animals, as well as certain important geographical locales such as lakes, had their own protective *haldi*, and that people were obliged to show their respect for these spirits through such tokens as sacrificial offerings.

Of all the animals of the sub-polar region, the bear was regarded as the most sacred animal, and the rites connected with the bear hunt clearly reflect the reverence people felt for these special animals and for all other living creatures. Pehr Fjellström (writing in 1755) and Lars Levi Laestadius (a clergyman writing in the mid-1800s) provide detailed descriptions of the ceremonies performed at the start of a bear hunt. When someone found a hibernating bear, he led the rest of his group in a procession to the den. A ritually important person known as "the drummer" followed immediately behind him, after whom came the hunters, arrayed in a predetermined order. Once the animal had been killed, the hunters sang songs of thanks both to the bear and to the *Leibolmai* (alder-tree man), who is described as the god of the hunt or the lord of the animals. This divinity may be described by the German concept "Herr der Tiere," since his most important role was as the lord of the species of the bears and the largest representative of the zoomorphic world, with control and guardianship over all prey animals.

In their songs the hunters assured the bear that they had not intended to cause him any suffering. Indeed, they sometimes tried to shift the blame from themselves to others. In some of their songs they sang that "men from Sweden, Germany, England, and all foreign lands" had caused the bear's death, and when they returned home from the hunt their waiting women welcomed them as "men from all foreign lands." The meat was prepared by the men in a special place and brought into the *kota* ("tent" or "hut") through a special door. This was the *boassio-raikie*, the holy back door situated opposite the ordinary door. Arrayed in festive dress, the women sat waiting inside and spit chewed alder bark at the men as the meat was carried in. This custom of spitting should probably be regarded as a purification rite. Once the meat was eaten, all the bones were collected and buried in the order in which they are found in the body. The bear was thus given a proper funeral so that it could migrate to its celestial domain as the Great Bear (*Ursa major*). In accordance with Arctic astral mythology, the individual bear was regarded as the representative of its entire species, with the primordial mother of the clan as his spouse; by showing it due respect, the hunters hoped to secure the good will of all bears. This good will would work to their advantage during the next hunt.

The skeletons of other animals were occasionally treated with the same reverence. At certain times of the year, for example, all the bones of a reindeer were placed before a holy image at the place of sacrifice after the assembled men had eaten the meat (women were permitted to participate in the holy meal only on special occasions). The idol was smeared with the blood and grease of the sacrificial animal. It was believed that the god to whom the reindeer was offered would then resurrect the animal in his kingdom and derive benefit from it there.

IDOLS AND HOLY SITES. The word *seite*, or *siei'di* (also spelled *sieidi*), identifies a central phenomenon in Sami religion. In scholarly usage it has become a standard term for designating a phenomenon defining a particular type of sacred landscape found throughout the Sami area. A *seite* was a naturally formed stone found on a place that was regarded as *passe* ("sacred," "holy") and to which sacrifices were made by a clan, a reindeer herding community called *siida,* or a family. An unusual cliff could have the same function, and a whole mountain, called Ailigas, of which there are several throughout the Laplands (from Scandinavian *helig*, meaning holy), may have been regarded as a *seite.* Although we do not know their exact symbolism, we do know that *seite*-places were situated at certain points along Sami migration routes between different territories and that, as they passed such markers, people laid sacrificial offerings to bring them luck with their reindeer. There were also *seite*-stones or wooden idols with anthropomorphic forms at the good fishing spots on the shores of many lakes, and presumably sacrifices were made there to ensure good fishing.

SOUL CONCEPTIONS AND LAPP *NOAIDDI;* SAMI EXPRESSIONS ON SHAMANISM. The Sami notion that animals have guardian beings that must be respected by humans is based on the idea that every living being has at least two souls: a corporeal soul and a "free" soul. The free soul can manifest itself outside the body, and is regarded as a guardian spirit and a manifestation of a dual personality. Animals are regarded as the equal of humans and are treated as such. In dreams or in trancelike states such as ecstasy, the human free soul can leave the body and assume a concrete form.

Occasionally, a malicious being captures a soul, posing a mortal threat to the bearer. It was believed, for example, that serious illness occurred when someone, perhaps a dead relative, wanted to summon the ailing person to the realm of the dead, and had therefore captured the soul of the afflicted. In such cases the *noaiddi* (shaman) intervened. Shamans underwent a long and painful period of apprenticeship, and were believed to possess extraordinary psychic powers. As a result, the *noaiddi* could enter a state of ecstasy and, under this trance, send his soul to the home of the dead (*Jabme-aimo*), to negotiate with the dead or the goddess of the dead (called *Jabme-akka* in certain places) about the return of the soul. Sometimes the soul could be recovered through the promise of a sacrifice, in which case the sick person got well. One finds similar beliefs that the dead influence the well-being of the living among other peoples of the sub-polar region, with the shaman cast in a similar redemptive role.

The main role of the *noaiddi* is that of a mediator. However, he could not undertake his journeys to *Jabme-aimo* unassisted. During his apprenticeship he acquired relationships with supernatural beings who could aid him when necessary. Paramount among these helpers were the sacred animals: birds, fish (or snakes), and bull reindeer. The *noaiddi* recruited his assistants from *Sájva-ájmuo*, the dwelling place of the holy spirits. (*Sájva-ájmuo* corresponds to *Bâsse-Passevare*, the sacred mountains in the northern Sami territory.) Other spirits could also help the *noaddi* in the performance of his office. Legends tell of deceased *noaiddi* who provide a new *noaiddi* advice or provide other assistance.

The *noaiddi's* ability to go into an ecstatic trance made him a general intermediary between human beings, who lived in the middle world, and the supernatural beings of the other (upper and nether) worlds. This belief in the triadic division of the universe has been shared with many peoples of northern Siberia who practiced shamanism. In addition to regulating relations between the middle world and the divinities and spirits of the other worlds, the *noaddi* also regulated the relationship between people and the powers of nature.

DEITIES. The Sami were not only aware of their dependence upon the rulers of places and animals; they also worshipped heavenly and atmospheric divinities. These superterrestrial beings had no part in immediate, everyday concerns, but rather they were powers to be reckoned with and were given sacrifices on special occasions. Among the eastern Sami, there was the popular divinity, *Tiermes*, who manifested himself in thunder and has been linked to the Ob-Ugric god of the sky, *Num-Turem*, and to the Samoyed god of the sky, *Num*. Among the western Sami, *Radien* (or *Rariet*: the ruler) was chief of the gods. In some places he was also called *vearalden Olmai* (man of the world, or cosmos) and *Mailman Radien* (the ruler of the world). The cult dedicated to him was primarily concerned with furthering reindeer breeding, but he was also the god who sustained the world. This was symbolized by a pillar, known among some of the Sami as the world's *stytto*, which was erected beside the ruler's idol at the sacrificial site. It was believed that the North Star was attached to the uppermost point of the pillar.

The mighty thunder god *Horagalles*, also known as *Attjie* (father), and *Bajjan* (he who is above), could demolish the mountains with his hammer and scatter and injure the reindeer. Sacrifices were offered to him in appeasement. The sun, *Beivie*, was vital to plant life, and sacrifices were made to him to ensure good grazing for the reindeer and rich vegetation in general. One observer writes that offerings to *Beivie* were burned to symbolize the heat of the sun. *Beivie* was also believed to help in curing mental illness. The moon, *Aske* or *Manno*, also received sacrifices, particularly during midwinter. *Bjiegg-Olmai* (wind man), also known as *Ilmaris*, controlled the winds and weather and was worshipped throughout the Sami region. The Sami celestial sphere, which was painted on drums, was centered around the Sun and the Moon, the Polar Star, the Great Bear and its Hunter (Orion) as well as the horned elk or reindeer (*Perseus* constellation) on their route to the Milky Way.

In traditional Sami beliefs and practice, women were under the special protection of the goddess *Madder-Akka* ("old woman of the tribe") and her three daughters, *Sarakka*, *Ugsakka*, and *Juksakka*. These goddesses were considered to be intimately connected with the household and domestic life.

SEE ALSO Finno-Ugric Religions.

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Eighteenth-century missionary reports contain greater details on the religious beliefs of the Scandinavian Saami, but few of them are available in a major language. Exceptions are Pehr Högström's *Beschreibung des der crone Schwweden gehörenden Lapplanders* (Copenhagen and Leipzig, 1748) and translations of Knud Leem's *Beskrivelse over Finmarkens Lapper, deres tungemaal, Leve-maade og firrige Afgudsdyrkelse* (*A Description of the Finnmark Lapps, Their Language, Customs, and Former Idolatry*; Copenhagen, 1767).

Lars Levi Laestadius published a valuable manuscript *Fragmenter i lappska Mythologien* that provides an ethnographical survey on Sami mythology. Written in five parts from 1840 to 1845, it was published by Juha Pentikäinen in Swedish in 1997, Finnish in 2000, and in English in 2002.

More recent and valuable sources dealing with the Sami of Finland and Russia include Arvid Genetz's *Wörterbuch der Kola-lappischen Dialekte nebst Sprachproben* (Helsinki, 1891), a survey of traditional religion among the Russian Sami. Also

important is Toivo Immanuel Itkonen's *Heidnische Religion und späterer Aberglaube bei den finnischen Lappen* (Helsinki, 1946), a collection of accounts of earlier beliefs among the Sami of Finland. Nickolai Kharuzin's *Russkie Lopari* (Moscow, 1890) contains extensive materials on myths, but the cult he describes derives largely from the materials of Scheffer and Högström—that is, from Scandinavia.

The Sami religion has mainly attracted Scandinavian scholars, and the first surveys were published in one or another of the Nordic languages. Such scholars as Uno Holmberg (Harva after 1927) in *Lappalaisten uskonto* (Porvoo, Finland, 1915), and Rafael Karsten, in *The Religion of the Samek* (Leiden, Netherlands, 1955), were strongly influenced by the evolutionism popular at the time, which they supplemented with theories on cultural borrowings. Holmberg's later survey of Finno-Ugric and Siberian mythology in *The Mythology of All Races*, vol. 4 (Boston, 1927), is methodologically much more modern. The most recent survey is Åke Hultkrantz's "Die Religion der Lappen," in *Die Religionen Nordeurasiens und der amerikanischen Arktis*, edited by Ivar Paulson et al. (Stuttgart, Germany, 1962). Among more recent scholars on Sami religion and mythology may be mentioned Louise Bäckman, Hans Mebius, Juha Pentikäinen and Håkan Rydving. *Sami Folkloristics* (2000) is an example of cooperation between Sami and non-Sami scholars and a model of a new approach to Sami studies that seeks to understand and interpret the oral and written sources on Sami folklore and folk belief.

There are some eighty preserved shaman drums in the museums around Europe, the oldest dating from the mid-seventeenth century. These have been described in detail by Ernst Mauritz Manker in *Die lappische Zaubertrommel,* vols. 1-2 (Stockholm, 1938–1950).

Various aspects of Sami religion, such as the bear ceremony, sacrifices, the shaman, rites of the dead, conceptions of the soul, the sun cult, the notion of the lord of animals, and the origin of the Saami, have also received extensive scholarly treatment.

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ŚAṂKARA SEE ŚAṄKARA

SĀṂKHYA, a Sanskrit word meaning "enumeration," "categorization" is derived from the substantive *saṃkhyā* ("number") and is the name of one of the earliest Hindu philosophical schools.

THE TEACHINGS OF THE SCHOOL. As the name implies, the Sāṃkhya school relies on distinct and recognizable patterns of enumeration as methods of inquiry. The different patterns of enumeration can be grouped into three main separate divisions according to their overall function in the system: the principles of twenty-five (constitutive), the dispositions of eight (projective), and the categories of fifty (effective).

Basic to an understanding of the Sāṃkhya school is the importance it places on the distinction between contentless consciousness *(puruṣa)* and materiality *(prakṛti)*, two completely different principles. Nothing exists apart from these two principles. This distinction caused the Sāṃkhya school to be labeled "dualistic." Contentless consciousness is the opposite of materiality in that it is inactive, yet conscious, and therefore not subject to change. Materiality, on the contrary, is potentially and actually active, but unconscious. Materiality is both unmanifest and manifest. The unmanifest materiality may also be called the "original materiality" because it is from this that the whole manifest universe emerges.

The universe undergoes cycles of evolution and absorption. During absorption, the original materiality is dormant, and the three constituents of materiality (the *guṇa*s: *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*) are in a state of equilibrium. On disturbing this equilibrium of the three constituents, the original materiality starts to reproduce itself. Unmanifest transforms into manifest materiality and keeps on transforming from one principle to the other until the original materiality has manifested itself in twenty-three principles. This is the constitutive pattern of enumeration, which is an extension of the fundamental duality. According to some accounts, the first principle to emerge is "the large one" (*mahat*); other accounts maintain that intellect (*buddhi*) emerges first. Either of these two principles produces ego (*ahaṃkāra*). Ego, in turn, produces ten faculties: five sense faculties (*buddhīndriya*) and five action faculties (*karmendriya*); ego also produces the mind (*manas*) and the five subtle elements (*tanmātra*). These subtle elements produce five gross elements (*bhūta*). Figure 1 (fashioned after the Sāṃkhya classic, the *Sāṃkhyakārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa) gives an overview of the twenty-five principles that constitute the universe: the twenty-three produced principles and the two basic principles, contentless consciousness and original materiality.

All twenty-three principles of manifest materiality are a transformation of one thing, namely, the original materiality. These principles, in fact, are not new products or effects; their effects already exist in their causes. The essence of this theory of causality (*satkāryavāda*) is that an effect must be connected to preexisting necessary conditions, otherwise anything could be a cause of anything else; in other words, there must be a dependent relation between cause and effect, such that milk alone, for example, and not water, produces yogurt.

The Sāṃkhya school postulates that materiality is one, and that the evolution of a number of things out of that one materiality is understood as causation. The numerous things in this world are different from the original materiality, and yet they are the same. The things of everyday reality, ourselves, our minds, egos, and intellects are materiality. Mental functions are transformations, too. Contentless consciousness itself gets mixed up, as it were, with these transformations, although in reality contentless consciousness is merely a witness to them. But since contentless consciousness does not undergo any change and does not produce any activity, this confusion must be rooted in materiality. If anything is

Contentless Consciousness *(puruṣa)*		(1)
Original Materiality *(prakrti)*		(1)
The Large One *(mahat)*/Intellect *(buddhi)*		(1)
Ego *(ahaṃkāra)*		(1)
Ear	Five sense faculties *(buddhīndriya)*	(5)
Skin		
Eye		
Tounge		
Nose		
Voice	Five action faculties *(karmendriya)*	(5)
Hand		
Foot		
Anus		
Genitals		
Mind *(manas)*		(1)
Sound	Five subtle elements *(tanmātra)*	(5)
Touch		
Color		
Taste		
Smell		
Air	Five gross elements *(bhūta)*	(5)
Wind		
Fire		
Water		
Earth		
		(25)

FIGURE 1. The Constitutive Pattern: The twenty-five principles that constitute the universe.

to be effected, it has to happen in materiality. It is not clear from Sāṃkhya literature how the two basic entities interact, if indeed they do.

It is here that metaphysics and epistemology merge. The confusion of contentless consciousness with materiality gives ground to epistemology. How does one remove this confusion, this ignorance that keeps the world in the repeating cycle of existence? Bondage in the cycle of lives is contingent upon ignorance of the distinction between materiality and contentless consciousness. The removal of confusion and ignorance is achieved by particular knowledge which differentiates or discriminates contentless consciousness from materiality. By means of this knowledge, one wins liberation. Thereby one ceases transmigrating from life to life.

Intellect, ego, mind, the five sense faculties, the five action faculties, and the five subtle elements together form the subtle body. This subtle body is attachable to, and detachable from, the gross body; by attaching itself to the gross body, it animates it. On the other hand, by detaching itself from the gross body at the time of death, the subtle body transmigrates. This subtle body includes the eight dispositions inherent in the intellect that form the projective pattern of enumeration, shown in figure 2. With respect to liberation, the left-hand column lists four dispositions that are constructive, and the right-hand column lists four dispositions that are destructive. Their composition changes depending on which disposition is predominant.

The effective pattern of enumeration results from the interaction between the eight dispositions of the intellect (the projective pattern) and the twenty-five principles that constitute the universe (the constitutive pattern). This effective pattern lists fifty categories of creations of the intellect: five misconceptions; twenty-eight incapacities of the sense, action, and mental faculties; nine contentments; and eight spiritual attainments.

These categories have still further subdivisions. At the same time, this pattern is interpreted in terms of four created forms of life: plants, animals, gods, and humans.

Patterns of enumeration were designated as a scholarly system that employs methodological devices (*tantrayukti*) based on a careful enumeration of subjects, features, and topics of things organized according to the different disciplines of the intellectual tradition in ancient India. These devices developed in various branches of learning, such as medicine and statecraft. According to the *Yuktidīpikā*, a commentary of the Sāṃkhya school of the latter half of the first millennium CE, the list of methodological devices of the scholarly system begins with mnemonic verses, followed by the instruments of knowledge, the members of inference, the complete set of the sixty topics of the Sāṃkhya system, doubt and proof, brief and detailed explanation, the order of topics as known in the evolution of the universe, and the description of things by name.

As is apparent from this enumeration of methodological devices, there is an emphasis on philosophical devices. These were employed to establish knowledge of things as they are, for the purpose of acquiring knowledge to attain liberation. Knowledge must be acquired by proper devices or methods of knowing, namely, perception, inference, and verbal testimony. The Sāṃkhya school gives special attention to inference since it is through inference that one can know the two principal entities: contentless consciousness and original materiality, both are beyond immediate sensory perception.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW. The Sāṃkhya school grew out of naturalistic concerns. In the earliest articulation of Sāṃkhya ideas in the Upaniṣads (600 BCE to the first centuries of the common era), the most prominent ideas were often those characterized by the enumeration of various principles, such as elements of nature.

The *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* and the *Chandogya Upaniṣad*, two of the oldest Upaniṣads, contain numerous explanations of the world in terms of sets of three constituents (*guṇa*s), sometimes in the form of colors (black, white, and red), basic necessities of life (food, water, and heat), or seasons (summer, rains, and harvest), and so on. Obviously these oldest Upaniṣads represent layers of various thought structures. There seemed to be two elements, opposites, beneath the triple system: black and white, food and water, summer and rains, and so on. By adding a third element, such as the color red, the necessity of heat, or the season of harvest, the tension between the opposites was removed; and thus the triad lent itself to endless combinations. These triplings form the origins of the three constituents of materiality.

The analysis can continue by breaking this triad down into a dyad and the dyad into a single thing (the first Being). This process recalls the one-by-one involution of the twenty-three principles of the manifest materiality into the unmanifest original materiality at the time of reabsorption of the universe.

The polarity of contentless consciousness and materiality is characterized by the tension inherent in opposites. These two things cannot be combined. At most, they appear to interact; and in order to describe their relationship the Sāṃkhya teachers gave figurative illustrations. For example, a lame man can be of use to the blind man, and vice versa.

At the beginning of the common era, syncretism found its way into most intellectual environments. The names *Sāṃkhya* and *Yoga* might not refer at this time to philosophical schools. *Sāṃkhya* may be a name for any set of ideas explaining metaphysics, the knowledge of which leads to liberation. *Yoga* may be a name for meditative and postural practices that also were employed for spiritual advancement toward liberation.

Sāṃkhya and Yoga are often considered sibling schools, yet it is not clear whether their origins were symbiotic. Their origins are obscure. Both exhibit ideas of dissent from the Vedic sacrificial tradition which have been fully articulated in the anti-Vedic śramaṇic traditions, such as that of the Buddhists. In fact, Yoga was a practice of breathing, meditation, and postures used by a variety of religious traditions, yet not identified by any one in particular. Thus Yoga often existed alongside the newly formulated ideas that constituted the beginnings of the Sāṃkhya teachings. Since both, Sāṃkhya and Yoga, were some of the most extensively articulated teachings of the time, both found acceptance. The tendency toward interrelatedness of Sāṃkhya and Yoga was reflected in such works as the *Bhagavadgītā* (most prominently in the second chapter) and the *Mokṣadharma*, both of which are parts of the great epic the *Mahābhārata* (compiled in the period between the last centuries BCE and the first centuries CE). The adoption of Yoga in varied environments is echoed by Sāṃkhya in that that the Sāṃkhya doctrines became a substratum to many intellectual endeavors since the Upaniṣadic times for about one and half millennium. It can be said that where the Vedic tradition could not support new ideological developments, it was Sāṃkhya which paralleled as an alternative system to provide a base to intellectual activity. This substratum is evident in the medical treatises, such as *Caraka Saṃhitā* as well as in aesthetic compendia, such as the *Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra*, not to omit later the Tantra movement where Sāṃkhya tenets provided the ontological, metaphysical, and ethical basis.

Constructive	Destructive
Merit	Demerit
Knowledge	Ignorance
Nonattachment	Attachment
Power	Impotence

FIGURE 2. The Projective Pattern: The eight dispositions of the intellect.

The time of syncretism was also clearly marked by theistic tendencies. References to the Sāṃkhya school indicated two directions, one theistic, the other atheistic, despite the fact that the school of Sāṃkhya, unlike that of Yoga, explains the creation and the existence of the universe in the absence of God. In discussions of Sāṃkhya and Yoga, reference to "the theistic school" usually means Yoga. Historically, Sāṃkhya and Yoga were closest to each other during the period of syncretism. It seems that from this time the two schools went their respective ways until the medieval period, when they again merged.

There is no independent work of the Sāṃkhya school's teachings from the first centuries of the common era. In later philosophical literature, there are references to *ṣaṣṭitantra* as a system of Sāṃkhya teachings. Again, it is not clear whether *ṣaṣṭitantra* was originally a name for a system of teachings or the title of a written work. When the fourteenth-century Jain scholar Guṇaratna mentions a revision of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*, he is presumably referring to a work of the Sāṃkhya school. Apparently, just as Sāṃkhya and Yoga originally were names for teachings and only later became the designations of the schools, so also *ṣaṣṭitantra* was likely first a name for a system of teachings and only later a title of a work.

As the name indicates, *ṣaṣṭitantra* refers to "sixty topics" of a system. These topics are the ten basic topics characterizing the two entities (contentless consciousness and materiality) and the fifty categories mentioned above as intellectual creations. The date and authorship of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*, either the original or the revised work, are difficult to verify. Estimated dates range between the first and fourth centuries CE. Authorship is attributed variously to Pañcaśikha or Vṛṣagaṇa or sometimes to the founder of the Sāṃkhya school, Kapila.

The list of Sāṃkhya teachers points to a rich intellectual heritage; unfortunately, none of their works has survived. One of these teachers, Vindhyavāsin, won a reputation as an ardent opponent of the Buddhists. He is also renowned for his statement that the mind is the sole instrument of the cognitive processes, as opposed to the assertion of the mainstream Sāṃkhya school that cognitive processes result from the internal instruments of intellect, ego, and mind. Vindhyavāsin thus expressed the understanding of the Yoga school, that is, the idea of only one internal instrument, the mind. Another Sāṃkhya teacher, Madhava, diverged from the mainstream of the Sāṃkhya school by interpreting the three constituents in terms of atoms, quite likely under the influence of the Vaiśeṣika school.

LITERATURE. The first extant independent written work of the Sāṃkhya school is the *Sāṃkhyakārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa. This work has been variously dated but will be best placed at c. 500 CE. The *Sāṃkhyakārikā* is a sort of codification of the Sāṃkhya teachings; it deals with the various patterns of enumeration and sets forth the purpose of the teaching, that is, liberation through discrimination between contentless consciousness and materiality. This work marked the Sāṃkhya school with a philosophical emphasis because its goal, which can be described as religious experience, is accomplished through a cognitive process employing logic and epistemology.

A number of commentaries were written about this classic work over subsequent centuries: the *Suvarnasaptati* (preserved in the Chinese translation of Paramartha), *Sāṃkhyavṛtti*, *Sāṃkhyasaptativṛtti*, *Gauḍapādabhāṣya*, *Māṭharavṛtti*, *Jayamangalā*, *Yuktidīpikā*, and *Sāṃkhyatattvakaumudī*. With the exception of the *Yuktidīpikā* and the *Sāṃkhyatattvakaumudī*, the commentaries are mostly rephrasings and glossings on the mnemonic verses of the *Sāṃkhyakārikā*.

The *Yuktidīpikā*, which was made available in its first published edition in 1938, is the main source of information on many aspects of the Sāṃkhya teachings that have not been accessible otherwise. The *Yuktidīpikā*'s date and authorship are unclear. Moreover, Albrecht Wezler has shown that it contains two types of commentaries. One commentary, the *Rājavārttika*, is written in concise nominal statements (*vārttika*); the other is a commentary on these concise statements rather than on the *Sāṃkhyakārikā* itself. Thus it will be necessary to determine the dates and authors of the *Rājavārttika* and the *Yuktidīpikā*, respectively. The *Yuktidīpikā* proper deals with philosophical issues of the Sāṃkhya school in an argumentative style. The author presents a series of challenges posed by opponents (primarily Buddhist) and uses them to explain and prove the Sāṃkhya position.

The *Sāṃkhyatattvakaumudī*, a commentary written by Vācaspati Miśra I (c. eighth to ninth century CE), was the most important commentary on the *Sāṃkhyakārikā* before the discovery of the *Yuktidīpikā*. After this, there was no significant work until the sixteenth century, when the Sāṃkhya teacher Vijñānabhikṣu wrote the *Sāṃkhyapravacanabhāṣya* and the *Sāṃkhyasāra*. The *Sāṃkhyapravacanabhāṣya* is a commentary on the *Sāṃkhyasūtra*. Vijñānabhikṣu's interpretation of the Sāṃkhya teachings was influenced by the Vedānta school, at that time the most widespread philosophical school. This work represents the fusion of Sāṃkhya and Yoga.

The Sāṃkhya teachers continued into modern times to write commentaries on earlier Sāṃkhya works. Of the twentieth-century commentaries, the one of Bālarāma Udāsīna on the *Sāṃkhyatattvakaumudī* called *Vidvattoṣiṇī* is considered by the traditional scholars of India to be a fresh and lucid explanation of the Sāṃkhya teachings. The twentieth-century Sāṃkhya ascetic and teacher Hariharānanda Āraṇya followed the example of the old teachers: he spent most of his life meditating in solitude, only occasionally emerging to teach or to write such works as *The Sāṃkhyasūtras of Pañcaśikha* and *The Sāṃkhyatattvāloka*. Finally, the late Pandit Ram Shankar Bhattacharya, a Sāṃkhya teacher and scholar, has reedited significant old Sāṃkhya works and contributed articles to various journals.

SEE ALSO Indian Philosophies; Yoga.

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SAṂNYĀSA.

SAṂNYĀSA. The Sanskrit term *saṃnyāsa* commonly means "renunciation of the world." It refers both to the initiatory rite at which a renouncer (*saṃnyāsin*) formally breaks all his ties with society and to the way of life into which he is so initiated. The term is absent from the Vedic texts and from the Buddhist and Jain literature. It is used exclusively in the Brahmanic tradition and the Hindu sectarian traditions deriving from the medieval period; it refers to renunciation as practiced only within these traditions. The word entered the Brahmanic vocabulary probably around the second century BCE.

RENUNCIATION AND BRAHMANISM. There is no consensus among scholars regarding the origin of world renunciation in India. Given the fragmentary nature of the evidence, this is an issue that is likely to remain unresolved. Recent scholarship, however, has shown that the claim once made that the renunciatory ideal originated exclusively among the non-Brahmanic or even the non-Aryan population is unfounded. The earliest available evidence shows that by the sixth century BCE the institution of world renunciation formed an important part of the entire spectrum of religious traditions and sects of North India, including Brahmanism. Renunciation, nevertheless, questioned the value of major Brahmanic institutions such as marriage, sacrificial rites, and the social hierarchy of castes. Because it proclaimed the path of renunciation, divorced from ritual and society, as the acme of religious life, the way of renunciation posed a special challenge to the society-centered Vedic religion, which recognized only one socioreligious role for adult men, that of the married householder with his social, procreative, and ritual obligations. The Brahmanic tradition, however, has always demonstrated the ability to absorb the new without discarding the old. Attempts were made to find theoretical legitimations for the lifestyles of both the renouncer and the householder, the most significant of which was the system of the four *āśrama*s (orders of life). Renunciation was sometimes redefined to accommodate life in society. The devotional traditions *(bhakti)*, for example, considered true renunciation to be the inner quality of detachment from the world and from the results of one's actions rather than the physical separation from society. Some of these traditions defined renunciation as surrender to God. Despite such efforts at synthesis, a tension between these two ideals has continued to exist within Brahmanism.

LIFESTYLE AND GOAL. The main features of the renunciant life are substantially the same in all sects at least within the ideal rules presented in the textual traditions. Renouncers are homeless. Except for the four months of the rainy season (June through September), they are required to wander constantly. Their ideal residence is the foot of a tree. Renouncers shave their heads and either go naked or wear an ocher robe. They practice celibacy and poverty, obtaining their food and the other few necessities of life by begging. Several terms for a renouncer, such as *parivrājaka* ("wanderer") and *bhikṣu* ("mendicant"), reflect these aspects of his life. All these features, moreover, need to be understood not merely as ascetic practices but as symbolic rejections of social customs and institutions. A significant feature of the renouncers' style of life is the abandonment of fire. It symbolizes their separation from Vedic society and religion, and in a special way their rejection of the Vedic sacrifice. Though it is present in all renouncer traditions, the abandonment of fire occupies a central position in Brahmanic renunciation, which is often defined as the abandonment of all ritual actions. The absence of fire gave rise to two other customs. Unable to cook for themselves, renouncers beg cooked food daily. After death they are not cremated like other people but are buried either on land or in water, for cremation is performed with the sacred fires of the deceased and constitutes his last sacrifice (*antyeṣṭi*). The greatest transformation of renunciation occurred in early Buddhism with the establishment of permanent monastic communities and the consequent abandonment of the itinerant lifestyle. Monastic orders were not organized within Brahmanism until a much later period. The best known among them is the Order of Ten Names (Daśanāmis), reputedly founded by the Advaita philosopher Śaṅkara (788–820 CE). In spite of the reality of settled monastic living, however, it was never accepted either as law or as ideal. The rule of homeless wandering was maintained at least theoretically both within and outside Brahmanism. Although lower goals, such as attaining a heavenly world, are often mentioned, liberation (*mokṣa*) from the constant cycle of births and deaths (*saṃsāra*) is considered the goal of renunciation. Many sects regard it as a precondition for liberation. Saṃnyāsa, therefore, is often referred to as *mokṣāśrama* or simply as *mokṣa.* Brahmanism establishes a hierarchy among renouncers based on the degree of their removal from the world and from social norms. The lowest is called a *kuṭīcaka.* He lives a life of retirement in a hut and receives food from his children. The next is a *bahūdaka*, who begs for food and adopts a wandering life. A *haṃsa* carries a single staff, and is thus distinguished from the first two, who carry three staffs tied together. The fourth and highest type of renouncer is a *paramahaṃsa.* He breaks all social ties, discarding the sacrificial thread and the tuft of hair on the crown, the two basic symbols of his former ritual and social status.

INITIATION. All renouncer sects devised some form of initiation, and Brahmanism was no exception. In fact, one of the earliest usages of the term *saṃnyāsa* was with reference to the Brahmanic rite of renunciation. No uniform rite, however, evolved within Brahmanism, and even the medieval handbooks give different versions. On the major features, nevertheless, there is agreement. The rite takes two days, although most of the major ceremonies are performed on the second. On the first day the candidate performs nine oblations for the dead (Śrāddha), the last of which he offers for himself. The following day he performs his last sacrifice and gives away all his worldly goods. He then symbolically deposits his sacred fires within himself by inhaling their smoke, burns his sacrificial utensils, and extinguishes his sacred fires. The abandonment of fire and ritual is interpreted as an internalization; a renouncer carries the fires within himself in the form of his breaths (*prāṇa*) and offers an internal sacrifice in these fires every time he eats. He then utters three times the Praisa, or renunciatory formula: "I have renounced" ("Saṃnyastaṃ mayā"), and gives the "gift of safety" (*abhayadāna*) to all creatures with the promise never to injure any living being. He is now a renouncer. He ceremonially takes the requisites of a renouncer, such as staff and begging bowl, the emblems of his new state (*yatiliṅga*).

QUALIFICATION. The rite of renunciation results in the ritual abandonment of all rites. Paradoxical as this seems, it enabled the socioritual norms of Brahmanism to control the entry into the very state that aims at transcending them. The question of qualification precedes any discussion of a ritual action, including the rite of renunciation. Only the three twice-born classes (*varṇas*) are qualified to perform rites, and, therefore, to renounce. Opinion, however, is sharply divided as to whether only brahmans or all three upper classes are so qualified. A person, moreover, has to pass through the *āśramas* of student, householder, and forest hermit before renouncing, although with the obsolescence of the hermit's state this rule was interpreted to mean that a person should be free from the three debts incurred at birth, namely Vedic study, sacrifice, and procreation, which are paid by fulfilling the obligations of the first two *āśramas.* One view, however, holds that these provisions apply only to ordinary people; one who is totally detached from the world may renounce immediately. The position of women is also ambiguous. Orders of nuns exist in Buddhism, in Jainism, and in some medieval Hindu sects. Female renouncers are referred to frequently in Sanskrit literature, and their position is recognized in Hindu law. Brahmanic authorities generally deny the legitimacy of female renunciation, although occasionally dissenting voices are heard in this regard.

RITUAL AND LEGAL EFFECTS. The renunciatory rite is regarded as the ritual death of the renouncer. Although dead, he is nevertheless visibly present among the living and occupies an ambivalent position within Brahmanism. He is excluded from all ritual acts. His status as far as ritual purity is concerned is unclear. Although theologically he is often considered the acme of purity, within ritual contexts his presence is feared as a cause of impurity. In Hindu law, the renouncer's ritual death constitutes also his civil death. The renunciation of the father, like his physical death, is the occasion for the succession of his heirs. It also dissolves his marriage, and some authorities, such as the *Nāradasmṛti* (12.97), would permit his wife to remarry. Renouncers, moreover, cannot take part in legal transactions and are released from previous contractual obligations and debts. They are not even permitted to appear as witnesses in a court of law. Renunciation is considered an irreversible state, both ritually and socially. A renouncer who reverts to lay life (*ārūḍhapatita*) becomes an outcaste (*cāṇḍāla*) and is excluded from all ritual and social contact.

CONCLUSION. Renunciation was one of the most significant developments in the history of Indian religions. It influenced the post-Vedic worldview based on the central concepts of *saṃsāra* and *mokṣa.* The founders of almost all major Indian religions and sects were renouncers. The mentality of the renouncer influenced even the religious life and the value system of people within society. The society-centered and the world-renouncing ideologies represented by the householder and the *saṃnyāsin* continued to exist side by side within Brahmanism. As Dumont (1960) observes, "The secret of Hinduism may be found in the dialogue between the renouncer and the man-in-the-world" (pp. 36–37). Hinduism in general and Brahmanism in particular cannot be understood adequately if the researcher ignores either of these two poles and their interaction.

SEE ALSO Bhakti; Mokṣa; Monasticism, article on Buddhist Monasticism; Rites of Passage, article on Hindu Rites; Śaivism, articles on Kāpālikas, Pāśupatas; Saṃsāra.

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SAMOYED RELIGION. The Samoyeds are the indigenous peoples of the tundra, taiga and mountainous territories in northern Eurasia who speak a systematically related set of languages. Most live in western Siberia, in the region extending from the Yamal and Taimyr peninsulas at the Arctic Ocean in the north along the waterways of the Yenisei River to the Sayan Mountains in the south; a few live in northeasternmost Europe on the Kola Peninsula and near the Pechora River. As a linguistic group, Samoyed is related to Finno-Ugric; together they form the Uralic language family.

Currently numbering about thirty-five thousand, the Samoyed peoples are broadly divided into the northern Samoyeds and the southern Samoyeds. Northern Samoyed groups include the Nentsy (also called the Yurak Samoyeds or the Yuraks), who, with approximately thirty thousand members, are by far the largest Samoyed group, extending their territory from the Kola Peninsula crossing the Urals and over the Yamal Peninsnula to the Yenisei; the Nganasani (or Tavgi), with about 800–1000 members at the Taimyr Peninsula; and the Entsy (or Yenisei Samoyeds), with about 200–400 members. Of the southern Samoyeds, only one group survives, the Selkup (formerly called the Ostiak Samoyeds), with some 3,500 members.

Some extinct southern Samoyed groups, such as the Kamassians, the Koibal, the Motor, and the Taigi are now known only from notes and records made by such scholars as M. A. Castrén and Kai Donner. The Kamas language became extinct in 1991 with the death of its last speaker and singer, Klaudia Plotnikova, who lived in Krasnoyarsk on the Yenisei River.

Before the formation of the present Samoyed languages and groups, a proto-Samoyed group presumably existed some 3,500 years ago, when it seceded from the larger proto-Uralic parent group.

The neighbors of the Samoyed are, or have been in the course of history, the Khanty and the Komi at the Ob River, the Sami and the Komi on the Kola Peninsula (Finno-Ugric peoples), various Siberian Turkic peoples, the Evenki (a Tunguz people), the Ket (sometimes classified as a Paleosiberian group), and most recently the Russians. After the colonialization of the Soviet period from the 1920s and the intensive gas production of the 1960s, the Samoyeds had the whole multitude of peoples from the former Soviet Union as their neighbors.

Samoyed traditional culture is based primarily on hunting for fur-bearing animals, gathering, fishing, and reindeer breeding. Collectivization was introduced into the Samoyed economy by the Soviet government in the 1920s.

THE SPIRIT WORLD. The principal Nentsy deity is Num, the creator of the world, of human beings, and of inanimate objects. His role is ambiguous: in general he distances himself from human beings and abstains from interference in their affairs except when they call on him explicitly for help in the struggle against Nga, the god of evil, death, and hell. In Nenets religion, Nga is Num's son, but this father-son duality is not found among other Samoyed groups, in which the high benevolent gods and their opposites are considered to be independent of one another. Sacrifices are made to Num twice a year, at the beginning of winter and again in the spring. These sacrifices are either bloody, involving the killing of dogs or reindeer; or bloodless, involving the offering of money, clothing, and food.

Another inhabitant of the spirit world is Ilibemberti; in Nenets religion he is reported variously as a spirit who grants good fortune in the pursuit of reindeer and foxes and alternately as a protector of reindeer. He does not have the status of a god, which is reserved for Num and Nga. Freely translated, the name Ilibemberti means "the spirit that gives riches or sustenance (in reindeer or game)." The significance of this supernatural personality lies in the fact that Ilibemberti is involved in the concrete here and now, and is as such opposed to Num, the highest god and creator, who is shapeless and transcends time. The Samoyeds also recognize an earth mother deity who is sympathetic to humans, especially to women in childbirth.

The Nentsy are reported to worship stones and rocks. Properly speaking, this finding means that certain mountains and rocks, as well as some rivers and lakes, were considered to have individual spirits deserving reverence. The Nganasani are said to have believed that some artifacts of human manufacture could understand human language. The Nganasani grouped supernatural beings into a hierarchy of three classes: benevolent master spirits associated with fire, water, forests, hunting, and fishing; evil anthropomorphic spirits; and the shaman's auxiliary spirits, who were mostly zoomorphic. Among the Selkup, the master spirits were sometimes considered repositories of good fortune. In general, the spirits were regarded as intermediaries between Num and humans, and as being in contact with shamans. Each person was thought to have a corresponding star in the heavens—a belief that brings people closer to Num than Num's disinterested attitude mentioned earlier would suggest.

SAMOYED RITUALS. Besides the cyclic sacrifices to Num mentioned above, other sacrifices are made at specific sacred sites, where wooden or stone representations of certain spirits are erected. Among the Selkup these sites are phratrilocal. Of the rites of passage celebrated by the Samoyed groups, the most important are the shaman's initiation, rites after childbirth that primarily involve purification of the tent, and ritual ceremonies for the dead.

It is believed that the dead continue to live as shadow souls—varieties of lower spirits—in the underworld. Among the Entsy, the deceased person is left in the tent, wrapped in hides for a number of days, while family life continues unchanged. After a sacrifice involving bread placed in a pot with a lid, brick tea, and some of the belongings of the deceased, the corpse is transported to the burial site and placed in a coffin constructed with iron nails, with the corpse's feet pointing north. Before the coffin is lowered into the freshly dug grave, it is loaded with the gifts that have been prepared earlier, as well as with utensils used in the processing of animal hides. The nearest surviving relative chants laments. Later, sticks are placed over the footprints leading to the burial site while the mourning party, pointing to the north, exhorts the deceased not to return.

The Nentsy also deposit a dead man's broken sledge near his grave and slaughter reindeer on the occasion of the funeral ritual. Infants who die soon after birth are wrapped in bundles and suspended from trees or poles. After the death of an adult male, his wife makes a wooden amulet or doll-effigy in the shape of her husband; she clothes and feeds it, and sleeps with it for six months after his death; she may not remarry during this period. Among some groups this amulet is kept for three years. Amulets are generally kept on a specially designated shelf in the rear part of the tent, which is considered sacred.

Specialized rites among the Samoyeds include tent-cleaning ceremonies (in February among the Nganasani). Among the Nentsy, loon skins are burned to ensure good weather, or locks of someone's hair or clippings of his fingernails are burned in order to cause that person misfortune.

RELATIONS BETWEEN HUMAN BEINGS AND ANIMALS. Only one animal is expressly singled out as evil among the Samoyed: the wolf, which is the reindeer's most dangerous foe. Some fish, such as the pike, are revered. The reindeer is regarded as a pure animal; white reindeer, in particular, are associated with the sun and considered sacred. As elsewhere in Siberia, the bear is accorded special respect. Bear meat must be chewed in a prescribed manner and may not be consumed at all by women. Women are also forbidden to eat the heads of reindeer or of certain fish, such as pike or raw sturgeon.

Certain Samoyed clans associate their origins or ancestors with specific clan-protector spirits envisaged as animals. Such beliefs are usually defined by historians of religion as totemistic. These beliefs govern specific attitudes and behavior patterns (especially taboos) in regard to particular animals. As has already been implied, many taboos were traditionally engendered by attitudes toward women. Because women were considered unclean, they were forbidden to step over hunting equipment.

SHAMANHOOD. Broadly speaking, the Samoyed shaman's functions and roles in society are quite similar to those in other societies in the long shamanistic belt that stretches geographically over northern Eurasia from Scandinavian Lapland to the Kamchatka Peninsula. The Nganasan concept of a shaman, *öt*, was later replaced by the non-Nganasan term *cacäpä*. According to Janhunen (2004), *cacäpä* is a noun derived from the otherwise unattested verbal stem *cacä-* and possibly refers to the act of shamanizing. The shaman has been the prime religious functionary in various Samoyed cultures. He mediates between human beings and the supernatural: he treats the ailing (disease is considered the temporary absence of the soul from the body); predicts the future; summons protection and help in hunting and fishing; finds objects that have disappeared; and officiates at funeral rites. The shamans are ranked in native concepts in accordance with their expertise and skills. There are three categories of Nenets shamans: the most powerful, who can work miracles on all three levels of the Samoyed universe; an intermediate class; and "small" or lesser shamans. (There is also a class of soothsayers, but these are not, properly speaking, shamans. They have no shamanic power, but even natives often confuse them with shamans.)

The shaman's office is passed down from one generation to the next along clan lines as well as on a spiritual basis. Traditionally, each kin group (clan or phratry) had its own shaman who tried to transmit his office to a successor in a traditional ritual of instruction and initiation, usually during his own lifetime. The shamanic séance was a collective act led by the shaman, who was usually a male, although he was often accompanied by his wife or another elderly woman who led the singing and fed the spirits with whom he communicated. Female shamans, however, are said to have existed among the Samoyed of the Turukhan area in the south.

Reports on the Samoyed shaman's initiation vary. Essentially, the shaman-to-be—who might be a boy of fifteen—is selected and trained by an older kinsman. Training may involve such ordeals as blindfolding and beating, and the candidate may declare that he has had dreams in which he has traveled to distant forests and settlements or communicated with supernatural beings. It is believed that during the process of selecting a new shaman all of the ancestor-shamans' spirits, as well as such other spirits as those of water and earth, are present. These spirits are asked to assist the candidate in his future office.

The shaman officiates during a séance when, as one of them has reported, he sees "a road to the north." Another report equates the séance with a trip to the south. The shaman is accompanied by his assistant spirits during the journey; his locomotion is provided by an animal, generally a reindeer. During the séance, the shaman addresses questions to Num, and if contact is established, he reports Num's answers. His primary accessories are his drum—round, broad-rimmed, covered with skin on one side, from thirty to fifty centimeters in diameter—and his drumstick. The noise that results from the drumming represents both the voyage to the other world and the shaman's interaction with Num and his assistants. During the séance the shaman's eyes may be covered with a kerchief so that he may concentrate on the journey more effectively.

Shamans' costumes have survived among most Samoyed groups, although not among the Nentsy. Nganasan shamans each have three costumes because it is believed that shamans are born three times. The name of the Selkup shaman's headgear is said to have been borrowed from the Tunguz; this fact suggests relatively recent cultural contacts in the sphere of religion. It is also known that Nenets shamans occasionally visit Evenk shamans.

Payments for the services of a shaman range from a pair of mittens to a deerskin or several reindeer. If a shaman's successor has already been chosen at the time of his death, the shaman is buried in his everyday clothes. After the death of a Nenets shaman, a wooden replica of a reindeer is made and is wrapped in the hide of a reindeer calf; the reindeer represents the shaman's assistant spirits.

SAMOYED RELIGION IN TRANSITION. The Russians, in their expansion toward the east, reached the Yenisei River in 1603 and brought about a gradual revolution in the economic and spiritual life of the Samoyeds. Although there was planned missionary activity, it was superficial. Samoyed Christianity was quite nominal, and autochthonous beliefs survived. Contact with Europeans brought the Samoyeds new weapons, tools, and goods in exchange for furs, but it also introduced alcohol, syphilis, and smallpox. Thus the Samoyeds developed an ambiguous relationship with the Europeans. Although in one sense traditional religion was weakened, in another it was strengthened because it served as a rallying point for ethnic self-awareness and survival. This contradiction is inherent in the general cultural history of Siberia's native populations.

A second radical change came with the Russian Revolution of 1917, but even this change preserved and perpetuated the older contradiction in a new garb. On the one hand, the ideology of the new Soviet regime dictated a protective attitude toward the natives, guaranteeing the right of tribal self-assertion, which had been inhibited or stifled during tsarist rule. Thus the Nenets and Selkup languages were systematically reduced to writing for practical everyday purposes after 1917. An institute for the study of the peoples of the North was founded in Leningrad and provided higher education for young natives. On the other hand, the new government was explicitly committed to atheism and therefore to the destruction of the social apparatus that underlay the native religion. The natives were again caught in the proverbial middle.

This ambiguous situation has continued, with one or the other tendency prevailing at a particular point in time. During the last quarter of the twentieth century, Soviet ethnographers, benefiting from a tolerant attitude on the part of their government, uncovered many aspects of shamanism (such as séances, with texts and music) that had been thought extinct. Shamanic repertoires by Turbyaky Kosterkin, a Nganasan Shaman from Taimyr District, with his wife Valentina Kosterkina, were recorded and studied by Lennart Meri, the President of Estonia from 1991 to 2003, Eugene A. Helimski, and other scholars.

SEE ALSO Castrén, Matthias Alexander; Donner, Kai; Finnish Religions; Num; Shamanism, overview article; Taboo; Totemism.

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SAṂSĀRA is a Sanskrit word meaning "to wander or pass through a series of states or conditions." It is the name for the theory of rebirth in the three major indigenous Indian religions, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism. *Saṃsāra* is the beginningless cycle of birth, death, and rebirth, a process impelled by *karman.* Taken together, *Saṃsāra* and *karman* provide Indian religions with both a causal explanation of human differences and an ethical theory of moral retribution.

The term *saṃsāra* is also applied to phenomenal existence in general to indicate its transient and cyclical nature.

Saṃsāra is the conditioned and ever changing universe as contrasted to an unconditioned, eternal, and transcendent state (*mokṣa* or *nirvāṇa*). In all three Indian religions, the soteriological goal is defined as liberation from *saṃsāra,* that is, as release from bondage to the cycle of rebirth through rendering the process of *karman* inoperative.

The origins of the theory of rebirth in India are disputed. Some scholars trace the belief to the ancient Aryan religion of fire sacrifice known as Vedism. The Vedic view that a sacrificial act produces a future result is regarded as the precursor to the *karman* theory, and the Vedic notion of "redeath" in heaven (*punar mṛtyu*) is seen as the forerunner of "return" (*punar avṛtti*) to new life on earth. Other scholars believe that the rebirth doctrine had its origin among the non-Aryan tribal peoples of ancient India. Still others think it was produced by one or another of the mendicant and anti-Vedic groups of the ancient Gangetic regions. In any case, by the sixth century BCE, the time of the rise of early Buddhism and Jainism on the one hand and of the Upaniṣads on the other, the theory of rebirth was nearly universally accepted. Since then all Indian religions, sects, and philosophies, save only the Cārvākas or materialists, have assumed the doctrine of *karman* and rebirth.

There is no one all-embracing view of the nature of *saṃsāra* and the process of rebirth. Each religion has a distinctive position and within each religion there will be sectarian variations. Some generalities, however, may be stated. In general, all traditions concur in characterizing *saṃsāra* by suffering and sorrow, as well as by impermanence. The source of those intentional acts leading to perpetual rebirth is usually found in desire (and especially the desire for continued individual existence) and in ignorance of the true nature of reality. One may be reincarnated in various heavens, as a human or an animal on earth, or in hells of one sort or another, depending on one's *karman.* Some traditions also claim that rebirth as an insect, a plant, or even a rock is possible, though obviously not desirable.

The predominant theory of Hindu traditions regards the rebirth process as similar to the movement of a caterpillar from one blade of grass to another. The eternal and universal self (*ātman*) is totally unaffected by *karman* and rebirth. The transmigrating entity is the individual self (*jīva*), which is endowed with a "subtle body" and encumbered with karmic residues that determine the direction it takes as it leaves the body at death. There are three possible paths it may take. The "way of the gods" leads to the highest heaven, equated with final liberation, from which there is no further rebirth. The "way of the ancestors" leads to the moon, where the soul is converted to rain and brought back down to earth, where it attaches itself to a plant. When eaten by a human or animal, the transmigrating soul is then transformed into semen, which subsequently brings new life to the individual self. The third possible course results in rebirth in hell or on earth as a small animal, insect, or plant.

Buddhist theories of rebirth are distinguished from others in that they postulate no enduring entity that moves from one existence to another. The problem that has exercised the minds of Buddhist philosophers over the ages is how to explain "transmigration" in light of the central teaching of "no-self" (*anātman*). The Pudgalavādins, or Personalists, came very near to contradicting the *anātman* doctrine with their concept of a personal entity (*pudgala*). Other schools posited an "intermediate being" (*antara bhāva*) that, impelled by *karman,* goes to the location where rebirth is to take place and attaches itself at the juncture of its future parents' sexual organs. The Theravādins, however, strongly denied the existence of the "intermediate being," preferring to identify consciousness with its karmic dispositions as the link between death and rebirth. There is not a transmigration of consciousness but only a causally connected series of discrete moments. To illustrate this notion, Buddhist writers often rely on similes. The rebirth process is likened to the lighting of one lamp with the flame of another, the lamp representing the body and the flame standing for consciousness, or to the transformation of fresh milk to curds. The milk is not the same as the curds (i.e., there is no enduring essence), but the latter are produced out of the former (as one existence is karmicly related to its predecessor).

Saṃsāra, artistically represented as a "wheel of life," is analyzed into its twelve preconditions (the doctrine of "dependent origination," or *pratītya samutpāda),* which express the Buddhist law of cause and effect and explain on what suffering depends and the points at which the chain may be broken. In Theravāda Buddhism the conditioned realm of *saṃsāra* is opposed to *nirvāṇa,* while in Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna Buddhism the two are ultimately equated, both considered equally "empty" (*śunya*) of essence.

Jainism is centered around the belief in an originally pure and perfect soul *(jīva)* that is trapped in *saṃsāra* because of the *karman* that accumulates on it. *Karman,* here regarded as a kind of substance, forms itself into a "body" that is constantly attached to the soul until liberation. There are four categories of *karman* responsible for the mechanism of rebirth. *Nāmakarman* determines different aspects of the future body, including its class (human, animal, or other) and its sex. *Gotrakarman* produces the spiritual quality of the new life. *Vedanīyakarman* determines the pleasant or unpleasant tone of that life, and *āyuḥkarman* its duration. Jain texts do not explain how the soul enters the womb but emphasize that there is no interval between death and rebirth. Reincarnation occurs instantaneously after death as the karmic body conveys the soul to its predetermined destination.

Although all three religions officially declare *saṃsāra* to be bondage and recommend the cultivation of knowledge in order to attain liberation from it, in practice many followers engage in what has been called "samsaric" forms of religion, that is, good works designed to procure a better birth in the next life. Gift giving, acts of devotion, vows of austerity, and other methods of merit making are designed not to obtain release from the cycle of rebirth but rather to achieve a better position within it.

SEE ALSO Karman; Mokṣa; Reincarnation.

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SAṂSKĀRAS SEE RITES OF PASSAGE, *ARTICLE ON* HINDU RITES

SAMSON, or, in Hebrew, Shimshon; legendary Israelite hero who flourished, according to tradition, circa the twelfth century BCE. The thirteenth to sixteenth chapters of the *Book of Judges* recount the adventurous life of Samson, a charismatic leader, or "judge," of the tribe of Dan. His name, *Shimshon,* means "one of the sun." Endowed with superhuman strength, an impetuous nature, and a penchant for verbal wit, Samson delivered the Israelites from their enemies to the west, the Philistines, in a series of personal vendettas. While biblical traditions may have crystallized around an actual figure, the present narrative is encrusted with mythological (especially solar), folkloristic, and literary motifs and patterns that obscure whatever historical facts underlie the story.

Samson was born to a childless Israelite couple. His birth was announced by a messenger from God in the manner of other traditional heroes. He performed a number of feats, all of them paralleled by such heroes of the ancient world as the Mesopotamian Gilgamesh and the Greek Herakles. Samson ripped apart a lion with his bare hands, burned Philistine fields by unleashing three hundred foxes with torches fastened to their tails, slew a thousand Philistines with the jawbone of an ass, and hoisted the city gates of Gaza. He succumbed to a lust for Philistine women three times. The third woman, Delilah, tricked him into revealing the secret of his strength—his unshorn hair—and sold him to his Philistine adversaries. In the end, blinded by his captors, he collapsed the temple of the Philistine god Dagon upon himself and upon a crowd of the enemy who were taunting him and the God of Israel.

As the primitive saga took on its biblical shape, the unshorn Samson was transformed into a Nazirite, a person dedicated to God by vows, chief among which was abstention from cutting or shaving one's hair (see *Nm.* 6:2–6). His story follows the pattern of the people Israel as described in *Judges:* bound to God by vows, enjoying the divine spirit, he broke vow after vow and lost divine favor, but in a final moment of returning to God, he regained his strength.

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SAMUEL (twelfth century BCE), or, in Hebrew, Shemuʾel, was a judge and prophet of Israel. The story of Samuel's birth and the account of his youth present him as a Nazirite, dedicated to God's service through his mother's vow and raised in the sanctuary at Shiloh to be a priest (*1 Sm.* 1–2). While still a youth in this priestly service he is called to be a prophet to deliver a message of judgment to the house of Eli, and in one scene (*1 Sm.* 19:18–24) he appears as the head of an ecstatic band of prophets and the protector of David in his flight from Saul. The prophetic role predominates in the rest of the narratives about him. In addition, however, Samuel is considered by the author of *1 Samuel* to be a judge and is included in his scheme of a succession of judges—charismatic leaders—who ruled in Israel before the rise of the monarchy (*1 Sm.* 7:15–17, *Jgs.* 2:16–19). As such Samuel is depicted as a transitional figure, the last of the old order and the one who consecrates the new. This variety of roles in the tradition makes it difficult to reconstruct his historical role in early Israelite society.

The story of Samuel's birth follows a common folktale pattern of explaining a hero's name and future destiny from the circumstances of his birth. Yet because the story seems to involve a wordplay upon the name Saul (see Ackroyd, 1971 and McCarter, 1980) it has often been taken as a story about the birth of Saul that was later transferred to Samuel.

The difficulty with this view is that none of the story's details fits with Saul's known origins, nor does the birth announcement presage a royal destiny. Instead, the announcement leads directly into the account of Samuel's youth, so that *1 Samuel* 1–3 must be taken together. In this *vita* of Samuel's birth, dedication, and prophetic calling, the historian marks out Samuel as one of the major figures of his history.

In *1 Samuel* 7, Samuel is a spokesman of religious reform, calling the people to repentance. At the same time, as judge he saves the people from their enemies, not by feats of military prowess but by intercessory prayer and sacrifice. When the people raise with Samuel their desire for a king to replace the institution of judgeship (*1 Sm.* 8), the author of the book uses the speeches of Samuel to express his own feelings of ambivalence about the monarchy, both as a source of social and religious sins (*1 Sm.* 8, 12) and as a divinely instituted political order (*1 Sm.* 10:17–27, 11:12–15).

In the folktale of Saul's search for his father's donkeys (*1 Sm.* 9–10:16) Samuel is only a local seer with clairvoyant powers. But the historian has transformed his role by adding an account of the secret anointment of Saul by Samuel, identifying him as the divinely chosen king in anticipation of his later public acclamation. In a similar fashion, Samuel anoints David (*1 Sm.* 16:1–13) and thus assures his destiny.

Samuel is also a prophet of judgment to Saul. The scene of Saul's secret anointment is linked directly to an act of disobedience in which Samuel announces God's rejection of Saul's kingship in favor of another, David (*1 Sm.* 13:8–15; cf. *1 Sm.* 10:8). In a second episode (*1 Sm.* 15), in which Samuel commands Saul to exterminate the Amalekites, Samuel again declares God's rejection of Saul, this time for not completely carrying out all of the prophet's instructions; this episode leads directly to the account of the secret anointment of David as Saul's replacement. This rejection scene also anticipates the final episode of Samuel's appearance, as a ghost (*1 Sm.* 28), at which point rejection is reinforced and Saul's imminent death along with that of his sons is predicted.

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SAMUEL THE AMORA SEE SHEMU'EL THE AMORA

SANCTIFICATION SEE BLESSING; GRACE; JUSTIFICATION

SANCTUARY.

As etymology suggests, a sanctuary is a sacred place, a place set apart from the space of ordinary existence (LL, *sanctuarium,* from *sanctus,* "sacred, holy," by analogy with *sacrarium,* "shrine," from *sacer*). Thus, the term implies a distinction between "the sacred" and "the profane" that may not be universal; consequently, "sanctuaries" may, strictly speaking, be found only in a limited if significant number of religious traditions.

Virtually any place can serve as a sanctuary. It is essential, however, that a sanctuary be marked off, that is, that the distinction between sacred and profane be perceptibly indicated, whether by natural means (e.g., a cave) or by artificial means. The latter may range from the technologically simple (a ring of stones) to the technologically elaborate (ornate Buddhist stupas). In addition, the shapes that a sanctuary's construction assumes generally carry symbolic meanings appropriate to notions of the sacred found in the community by which the sanctuary has been constructed. European cathedrals have taken the form of a cross, Mesopotamian ziggurats represent the sacred mountain, and so on.

But the term *sanctuary* usually carries one (or both) of two more specific meanings, one cultic, the other social. In the first case, it denotes a place of worship. The place where the sacred dwells or manifests itself becomes the place where human beings encounter it. Such a sanctuary may be used by groups of varying size, from individual dwelling units (e.g., shrines in Nuer dwellings, the *pūjā* room in Hindu households) to large communities (e.g., city temples). If it stands separately, it may be called, somewhat ethnocentrically, a *domus dei* ("house of god"). Harold W. Turner isolates four dimensions of the *domus dei:* It is the center with reference to which life is oriented, the point at which heaven and earth meet, the microcosm of the heavenly realm, and the locus of the divine presence, often signaled by a cult object or image.

The sanctuary as *domus dei* invites a great deal of specialization and elaboration. The result may be large buildings and complexes of buildings containing areas of varying sanctity, including one or more sanctuaries in a more specialized sense: particularly isolated areas or chambers where the sacred is most powerfully present, such as the "Holy of Holies" in the Jerusalem Temple or the *aduton* of Greek temples. Access to this sanctuary is limited, often to only the highest religious functionaries (e.g., the chief priest) at very specific, cultically significant times.

Besides the *domus dei,* there is another sort of religious sanctuary, not the place where the sacred dwells but the place where the religious community (itself sacred) worships. This type, which lacks the four dimensions of the *domus dei* isolated by Turner, may be designated by the parallel term *domus ecclesiae* ("house of the gathered assembly"). Its paradigmatic form is the Jewish synagogue, on which the Muslim mosque and various Christian houses of worship are patterned (such as the meetinghouse of the Society of Friends).

In the social sense, a sanctuary is a place of refuge or asylum, a place set apart from the regulations of ordinary social intercourse. Places of refuge are found widely in conjunction with religious sanctuaries. For example, in Greek mythology Orestes was safe from the Erinyes (the Furies) so long as he remained in contact with the *omphalos* ("navel"), a sacred stone at Delphi. Just as entire cities can be set aside as religious sanctuaries (e.g., Kasi/Banaras in India), so too entire cities have been set aside as social sanctuaries, as were the cities of refuge in ancient Israel. In the West, the right of sanctuary was formulated by law as early as the end of the fourth century, and in time specific provisions became quite complex. But movements to curb rights of sanctuary began in the early modern period (sixteenth century), and by the end of the eighteenth century such rights had virtually disappeared in western Europe.

The sanctuary as legal asylum finds an intriguing antitype in an institution that arose as the right of sanctuary disappeared: the penitentiary. As it developed in religiously valorized form in the early nineteenth century, the penitentiary, too, was a place set apart from ordinary social intercourse. But in the penitentiary the guilty were not protected from punishment by the presence of the sacred. Instead, the guilty had to come to terms with themselves and their misdeeds. That is, they had to repent (hence the name) and "convert"—convicts were forced to listen to sermons—before emerging from confinement as new persons.

SEE ALSO Ḥaram and Ḥawṭah.

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Revised Bibliography

SANHEDRIN, a Hebrew and Jewish-Aramaic loanword from the Greek *sunedrion,* is believed to be the name of the supreme autonomous institution of the Jews of Palestine during the Roman and early Byzantine periods (63 BCE to the fifth or sixth century CE). The generally accepted view of the Sanhedrin is as follows. Composed of seventy or seventy-one members, it possessed administrative, judicial, and quasi-legislative powers that were also recognized by the Jews of the Diaspora. Until 70 CE the Sanhedrin met in the precincts of the Jerusalem Temple. Following the destruction of the Temple in that year, a reconstituted Sanhedrin met at various sites in Palestine.

HISTORICAL EVIDENCE. The historicity of the Sanhedrin is the subject of much disagreement in modern scholarship. The disagreement results from inconsistencies among the sources used to reconstruct the history of the institution. Strictly speaking, the Sanhedrin is mentioned only in Hebrew and Aramaic sources, of which the most important is the rabbinic literature of the first five centuries CE. In addition, scholars adduce evidence from references to the word *sunedrion* in Greek sources relating to the Jews of Roman Palestine. The most important of these are the writings of the Jewish historian Josephus Flavius (37–c. 100 CE) and the Gospels and *Acts of the Apostles* in the New Testament. The use of the Greek sources poses two problems. First, the word *sunedrion* exhibits a variety of meanings: "place of assembly, session, assembly, council, court." Thus not every mention of the word in Josephus or in the New Testament necessarily refers to *the* Sanhedrin. Second, even when *sunedrion* seems to refer to the supreme Jewish institution, that institution is rather different from the Sanhedrin of rabbinic sources. The latter is an assembly of Torah scholars presided over by the leader of the Pharisees. The Jerusalem *sunedrion* of the Greek sources is an aristocratic council presided over by the high priest. The attempt to resolve this inconsistency has produced three basic approaches. Some simply reject one set of sources, usually the rabbinic, as unhistorical. A second approach posits the existence of two Sanhedrins in Jerusalem. The Greek sources describe a political Sanhedrin closely associated with the Roman provincial authorities, while the rabbinic sources describe a purely religious Sanhedrin that dealt with issues of Jewish law. Since none of the sources hints at the simultaneous existence of two supreme assemblies, a third approach attempts to harmonize the sources by less radical means. Some argue that the composition and competence of the Sanhedrin varied over time. Others suggest that it comprised subcommittees, each with its own chairman, that dealt with different types of issues. All three approaches appear in current scholarship. In the following sections this article shall summarize the evidence of each set of sources in the light of historical criticism.

Evidence in rabbinic literature. Since relatively few rabbinic traditions explicitly mention the Sanhedrin, they may be supplemented by other traditions, more numerous and more detailed, that use the Hebrew term *beit din* (pl., *batei din*), meaning "court." These two sets of traditions, one referring to the Sanhedrin and one to the *beit din,* overlap in many details and appear side by side in rabbinic documents. That the terms *Sanhedrin* and *beit din* refer to the same institution emerges clearly from the overlap of their function and structure recorded in rabbinic literature. According to these traditions, each town with a certain minimum population could establish a "small Sanhedrin" or *beit din* of twenty-three scholars, competent to try even capital cases. Matters that the local institutions could not resolve were referred to the "Great Sanhedrin" or "Great Beit Din" (*beit din ha-gadol,* i.e., "great court") of seventy-one members. This latter body, meeting in the Chamber of Hewn Stone in the Jerusalem Temple, would resolve the matter on the basis of precedent or by majority vote. Some traditions that speak of the *beit din* describe a "four-tier" system, interposing two additional bodies of three members each between the local and supreme bodies (e.g., Tosefta *Ḥag.* 2.9; *Sheq.* 3.27, San. 11.2–4). Membership in a lower body was a prerequisite for appointment to a higher one. The supreme body, whether called the Great Beit Din as in Tosefta *Ḥagigah* 2.9 or the Great Sanhedrin as in Mishnah *Middot* 5.4, had authority over the priesthood. It possessed political as well as religious powers: declaring offensive wars, playing a role in the appointment of kings, and so forth. The sources also allude both to Sanhedrins and to *batei din* of the tribes (e.g., *San.* 1.5; cf. *Hor.* 1.5) and to the possibility of small Sanhedrins outside of Palestine (Tosefta *San.* 1.5). The most important feature of the rabbinic account of the Sanhedrin is that it describes an idealized and admittedly distant past, which will be renewed only with the full restoration of the Israelite polity. The tradition of the four levels of courts (Tosefta *Ḥag.* 2.9) relates how at first this system prevented dissension by resolving all questions of law. But then, in the generation after Hillel and Shammai, dissension was rampant. Thus, the source implies that the system had broken down by the beginning of direct Roman rule in 6 CE, for Hillel and Shammai are generally considered contemporaries of King Herod. Further, the rabbinic account is replete with details that concern things the sources admit did not exist in the Roman period, such as the tribal system and prophecy. Moreover, rabbinic traditions on events from the Roman conquest (63 BCE) onward assign no role whatsoever to the Great Sanhedrin or Great Beit Din. By contrast, rabbinic literature does mention Sanhedrins of the biblical period, from the time of Moses to the Babylonian exile. In sum, the rabbinic sources on the Sanhedrin make no claim to describe an institution of the Roman period.

Evidence in Josephus Flavius. Jewish literature in Greek from before 70 CE never mentions a supreme Jewish institution called the *sunedrion.* The word does occur, but only in the general sense of "assembly, council, court." The same situation prevails in the writings of Josephus. In almost every case Josephus uses the word to denote what the Romans called a *consilium.* This was an ad hoc assembly of friends and advisers convened by an official to assist in policy decisions or in trying a case. In only three instances does Josephus use *sunedrion* to designate a formally constituted ongoing institution. In one instance he refers to the leadership of the Jewish revolt against Rome in 66 CE as "the *sunedrion* of the Jerusalemites" (*The Life 62*). But elsewhere (in *The Life* and in *The Jewish War*) he designates this body by a variety of names, most commonly *koinon* ("corporation, community"). Hence, s*unedrion* was not the formal or usual name. More apropos is the second instance, concerning Aulus Gabinius, the Roman governor of Syria in 57 BCE. Gabinius stripped the high priest John Hyrcanus II of his political powers and divided the Jewish state into five districts, each ruled by what Josephus calls a *sunodos* in one place (*War* 1.170) and a *sunedrion* in another (*Jewish Antiquities* 14.96). One of these bodies sat in Jerusalem. This recalls the measures taken by Rome in Macedonia in 168 BCE. The latter kingdom was divided into four regions, each administered by a council of senators that Livy calls a *synhedros* (Annals 45.32.2). In any case, Gabinius's arrangements lasted no more than ten years, for in 47 BCE Julius Caesar restored Hyrcanus to nationwide political power. The third instance of Josephus's mention of the term is the closest parallel to the rabbinic Sanhedrin. His *Jewish Antiquities* (14.158–184) reports the trial of the future king Herod before "the *sunedrion*" in Jerusalem in 47/6 BCE. From this account it emerges that the latter was an ongoing institution with nationwide jurisdiction and unique competence in capital cases. However, in a parallel account of these events in his earlier history, *The Jewish War* (1.204–215), as well as in a brief reference to them in *Jewish Antiquities* (15.3–4), Josephus does not mention the *sunedrion.* The version in *Antiquities* 14 has a close parallel in rabbinic literature (B.T., *San.* 19a–b), but with no mention of the Sanhedrin. The *sunedrion* as described in *Antiquities* 14 does not reappear in the writings of Josephus. Given the rabbinic parallel (one of several in *Antiquities*) and the fact that the hero of the story is a Pharisee, it appears that Josephus transmits here a Pharisaic version of the trial of Herod—a version whose historicity is not certain. Josephus also mentions three judicial or administrative bodies of seventy members each, all from around 66 CE, but does not call any of them a *sunedrion.* These are (1) the assembly established by Josephus himself when he assumed command of Galilee in the revolt against Rome, (2) the deputation of the leading men of the colony of Babylonian Jews in Batanaea, and (3) a jury convened in the Jerusalem Temple to try a charge of treason. Josephus's arrangements in Galilee reflect his interpretation of *Deuteronomy* 17:8–9 in *Antiquities* 4.214–218, where he calls the assembly of priests, Levites, and the judiciary a *gerousia* (council of elders). The number seventy obviously derives from the seventy elders assembled by Moses according to *Numbers* 11:16. But aside from the regional *sunedrion*s (or *sunodose*s) established by Gabinius and the *sunedrion* that tried Herod (according to a unique version of this event), Josephus does not mention any continuing institution by this name.

Evidence in the New Testament. The New Testament includes several instances of the word *sunedrion,* usually translated as "council" (RSV). In a few cases the word refers to local Jewish courts (certainly in *Mark* 13:9 and parallels in *Matthew* 10:17 and possibly in *Matthew* 5:21). However, in the accounts of the passion of Jesus and the trials of the apostles, *sunedrion* seems to designate the supreme Jewish institution in Jerusalem. Closer analysis reveals several uncertainties. The Synoptic Gospels and *Acts of the Apostles* frequently allude to the Jewish leadership as composed of "the chief priests, elders, and scribes" or the like. As is generally agreed, this means the priestly and lay aristocracies along with a professional class of experts in Jewish law. In certain passages these three elements constitute some sort of *sunedrion.* In some of these passages, the term *sunedrion* can be interpreted in its general meaning of "assembly" or "session." This is the case in *John* 11:47 (cf. *Mk.* 11:48 and *Lk.* 19:47), *Luke* 22:66 (cf. *Mk.* 15:1 and *Mt.* 27:1), and *Acts* 4:15. In other instances *sunedrion* appears to be a proper name. Thus in *Mark* 14:55 and *Matthew* 26:59, "the chief priests and the whole council [*sunedrion*]" conduct a formal trial of Jesus on the night following his arrest. In *Mark* 15:1 (but not *Mt.* 27:1; cf. *Lk.* 22:66–23:1) "the chief priests, with the elders and scribes, and [Gr., *kai*] the whole council [*sunedrion*]" reconvene the following morning. Presumably, here the *kai* is explanatory, to be translated as "that is." *Acts,* attributed to the author of *Luke,* refers to the *sunedrion* in connection with the second arraignment of Peter and the arraignments of Stephen and Paul (e.g., *Acts* 5:21, 6:12, 23:1). But the terminology of *Luke* and *Acts* is not consistent. According to *Luke* 22:66, the consultation on the morning following the arrest of Jesus was attended by "the assembly of the elders of the people [*presbuterion*] . . . , both chief priests and scribes." Similarly, in *Acts* 22:5 Paul calls on "the high priest and the whole council of elders [*presbuterion*]" to attest his earlier persecution of the believers in Jesus. And *Acts* 5:21 has Peter brought before "the council [*sunedrion*] and [*kai*] all the senate [*gerousia*] of Israel." The word *kai* here may be explanatory, or it may reflect the author's belief that the *sunedrion* was more exclusive than the *gerousia.* It may be noted in passing that only *Mark* and *Matthew* report a trial of Jesus before the *sunedrion. Luke* reports only a morning consultation of the *presbuterion,* chief priests and scribes. And *John* merely has "the Jews" accuse Jesus before Pontius Pilate. In the present context one can ignore the much-debated questions of whether the trial is a Markan invention and whether *Luke* or *John* relies on independent sources. What is consistent in the Synoptic Gospels and *Acts* is the characterization of the Jewish leadership in Jerusalem as composed of the priestly and lay aristocracies and the scribes. This much is confirmed by Josephus, as is the New Testament picture of these groups consulting and acting in consort. But the institutionalization of these consultations and joint actions in the form of a regularly meeting assembly called the *sunedrion* is not clear from the New Testament evidence itself. And Josephus, who was born in Jerusalem within a decade of the crucifixion of Jesus and still lived there during the troubles of Paul, makes no mention of the *sunedrion* as an ongoing body in his account of this period.

THE SANHEDRIN AFTER 70 CE. Some scholars posit the existence of a Sanhedrin at Yavneh after 70, at Usha (in the Galilee) after 135, and still later at other locations. Whatever the nature of the institutions that existed at these places, they are never called Sanhedrins in the ancient sources. In fact, two second-century traditions refer to the Sanhedrin as a thing of the past: Mishnah *Sotah* 9.11 explicitly and *Makkot* 1.10 implicitly. A single post-70 reference to a contemporary "Great Court," at Tosefta *Ohalot* 18.18, is probably only rhetorical. A relatively late and probably non-Palestinian tradition in the Babylonian Talmud (*R. ha-Sh.* 31a–b, with parallel at *Gn. Rab.* 97) lists a number of towns, mostly in Galilee, as consecutive sites of post-70 Sanhedrins. This tradition probably reflects the fact that these towns served as the residence of Jewish patriarchs (sg., *nasi*ʾ and the site of rabbinical conclaves. The sources do mention groups of rabbis meeting together to resolve questions of law, fix the calendar, and make similar decisions, but these meetings are never called Sanhedrins. (See, for example, *Shabbat* 1.4, *Ohalot* 18.9, *Yadayim* 4.1; Tosefta *Ohalot* 18.18; B.T., *Berakhot* 63 b; J.T., *Ḥagigah* 3.1, 78d; *Song of Songs Rabbah* 2.5.) The reference in a law of Theodosius II from 429 to "the *sunedrion*s of the two Palestines" probably refers to local Jewish courts and reflects New Testament usage. Finally, a Babylonian source, perhaps from the eighth century, mentions a Sanhedrin in Tiberias in 520, but this source probably misconstrues an earlier text that does not mention this institution.

CONCLUSION. The accounts of the Sanhedrin in these sources neither overlap chronologically nor confirm one another. Moreover, each account is problematic. The rabbinic is idealized, and the New Testament is inconsistent. Josephus describes in one case a short-lived system imposed by the Romans, and in the other case his own parallel accounts know nothing of the *sunedrion.* So there is no unequivocal historical evidence for the Sanhedrin. What is probably in the Greek sources are the historical realities from which the rabbinic account of the Sanhedrin was created: an aristocratic council (*gerousia* or *presbuterion*), judicial or administrative bodies of seventy, and possibly a municipal council (*boulē*) in Jerusalem. One should also note that unlike other Greek administrative terms borrowed in the Semitic vernaculars of the Roman East, *sunedrion* is a loanword only in Hebrew and Jewish-Aramaic (apart from a very few instances in Syriac, probably from writers who knew Greek). This unique borrowing, especially as a term for an important Jewish institution, suggests that some Jewish body of Roman times was called *sunedrion* in Greek. But as has been seen, the evidence does not establish what that body was. Thus the existence of a supreme governing body in Jerusalem called the Sanhedrin cannot be proven by the sources, and if it existed, it cannot be described.

SEE ALSO Pharisees.

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DAVID GOODBLATT (1987)
Revised Bibliography

ŚAṄKARA (c. 700 CE), also known as Saṃkara or Śaṅkarācārya, was a Hindu metaphysician, religious leader, and proponent of Advaita Vedānta. Śaṅkara is generally acknowledged to be the most influential of all Hindu religious thinkers. The many modern interpretations and popularizations of his uncompromisingly intellectual metaphysics represent the dominant current of contemporary Hindu religious thought. For scholars of Sanskrit his compositions, above all his famous commentary (*bhāṣya*) on the *Brahma Sūtra* of Bādarāyaṇa, serve as models of philosophical and literary excellence.

Śaṅkara's dates remain a matter of scholarly controversy. Many accept the traditional dates 788–820; in recent years, however, several scholars have argued for a longer life span centered around the beginning of the eighth century. The considerable number of Sanskrit hagiographical accounts of the life of Śaṅkara all appear to be comparatively recent compositions. It is difficult to judge to what extent they embody factual historical traditions. The most influential of these hagiographies is the *Śaṅkaradigvijaya* or *Saṅkṣepa Śaṅkarajaya* of Mādhava, composed sometime between 1650 and 1800 and possibly reworked about the middle of the nineteenth century. This is a composite text that includes verses taken from a number of somewhat earlier works, notably those of Vyāsācala and Tirumalla Dīkṣita. The *Śaṅkaravijaya* of Anantānandagiri is another important hagiography representing an independent tradition associated with the Advaita center at Kanchipuram, Tamil Nadu.

According to Mādhava, Śaṅkara was born to a brahman family of the brahman village of Kālaṭi in Kerala, South India. Mādhava states that his parents had long been childless, but that the god Śiva finally agreed to become incarnate as their son to reward their devotion and penances. This son, Śaṅkara, was a miraculously precocious student: By his sixth or seventh year he had already resolved to bypass the householder stage of life (*gṛhasthāśrama*) and become a religious ascetic (*saṃnyāsin*). With the reluctant consent of his widowed mother he left home and became a disciple of a Govindanātha or Govindapāda somewhere on the river Narmada. In some of his own works Śaṅkara identifies his guru's guru (*paramaguru*) as Gauḍapāda, and tradition claims that Govindanātha was a disciple of this earlier Advaita thinker. Govindanātha later sent Śaṅkara to Varanasi (Banaras), where he acquired his first important disciple, Sanandana, later called Padmapāda. After some time Śaṅkara moved on to Badarī in the Himalayas, where he wrote (at the age of twelve, according to Mādhava) his famous *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya.* While at Badarī he also composed commentaries on various Upaniṣads and on the *Bhagavadgītā,* and produced other commentaries and independent treatises such as the *Upadeśasāhasrĭ.* The rest of his life he spent traveling from place to place defending the views of Advaita Vedānta against opponents from a variety of different religious sects and philosophical schools.

Where Śaṅkara spent his final days is disputed by his biographers. Mādhava says that toward the end of his short life Śaṅkara was afflicted with a debilitating rectal fistula occasioned by the evil magic of Abhinavagupta, a Tantric opponent. Śaṅkara was allegedly cured of this ailment but died not long afterward at Kedarnath in the Himalayas. Anantānandagiri places his death at Kanchipuram, while other sources mention still other locations.

According to traditions not preserved by either Mādhava or Anantānandagiri, Śaṅkara established four or five monastic centers for the spread of Advaita Vedānta: one at Badarī in the Himalayas (north); one at Dvāraka in Gujarat (west); one at Puri in Orissa (east); one at Śṛngerī in Karṇataka (south); and another, not considered to be of equal status by some, at Kanchipuram. Through these centers an extensive network of Advaita teachers and monasteries was organized that did much to establish the dominance of Advaita over rival sects and schools. The religious ascetics who belong to this network are divided into ten (*daśa*) monastic orders, the members of each order taking a distinct final name (*nāma*). For this reason they are collectively called Daśanāmīs.

The study of the enormous number of Advaita works attributed to Śaṅkara has long been handicapped by the inability of critical scholarship to distinguish his genuine compositions from works falsely attributed to him. Recently, however, Paul Hacker, Mayeda Sengaku, and others have established criteria that have largely resolved this problem. They conclude that the works that may be reliably attributed to Śaṅkara are (1) the *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya;* (2) the commentaries on the *Bṛhadaraṇyaka, Taittirīya, Chāndogya, Aitareya, Īśa, Kaṭha, Kena* (two), *Muṇḍaka,* and *Praśna* Upaniṣads; (3) the commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā;* (4) the commentaries on the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* with the *Gauḍapādīyakārikā;* and (5) the *Upadeśasāhasrī.* All other works, including the many devotional hymns attributed to Śaṅkara, are probably compositions of later authors.

In these works Śaṅkara generally subordinates philosophizing to the goal of liberation (*mokṣa*) from the bonds of transmigratory existence (*saṃsāra*), which arise from the consequences of one's action (*karman*). Unlike some of his more scholastic successors, Śaṅkara often prefers to leave certain perplexing, and perhaps insolvable, philosophical problems unanswered. In his view, the sole means to achieve this liberation is right knowledge (*jñāna*) leading to an instantaneous spiritual illumination that somehow dissolves all except the residual effects of past deeds (*prārabdhakarman*). After death, liberation is complete and final. The alternative religious paths of devotion (*bhakti*) and moral or religious works (*karman*) may lead to a better rebirth either in this world or in the world of the gods, but they are of no use whatsoever for the illumination that is absolute liberation. For this the sole prerequisites are nonattachment to the things of this world; mental and emotional restraint and tranquillity; a suitable guru; and the study, under his supervision, of the "knowledge portion" (*jñānakāṇḍa*) of the Vedas, especially the Upaniṣads. Since this last prerequisite is permitted only to members of the higher castes, *śūdra*s are explicitly ineligible for this illumination.

The word *advaita* means "non-dual." In contrast to the rival school called Sāṃkhya, which assigns a separate but full reality to both spirit (*puruṣa*) and matter (*prakṛti*), Advaita Vedānta asserts that absolute (*paramārthika*) reality, called *brahman,* is non-dual. The manifold visible world around one (*saṃsāra*) has merely a functional (*vyāvahārika*) reality. It is considered to be a transformation (*pariṇāma*) or, more commonly in Advaita, a mere appearance (*vivarta*) that somehow arises from *brahman.*

A central doctrine of Śaṅkara's thought claims that from the point of view of the supreme truth (*paramārthataḥ*) one's inner self or soul (*ātman*), the essence of consciousness (*cit*), is identical with the essence of being (*sat*), *brahman* itself. This doctrine, Śaṅkara believes, cannot be fully established by rational discourse alone. In the final analysis its truth rests on revelation, namely the texts called Upaniṣads, which form the "end of the Vedas" (*vedānta*). The Upaniṣads, the *Brahma Sūtra,* and the *Bhagavadgītā* constitute the threefold scriptural foundation of all schools of Vedānta. Although each school interprets these texts in often radically different senses, the texts do establish definite parameters within which the discussion must operate. These include the ideas that *ātman* and *brahman* are entities somehow closely related to each other and to individual living beings (*jīva*s) and to God (Īśvara) respectively, and that these living beings are subject to *karman* and the pains of transmigratory existence until they somehow manage to win liberation.

How and why does *saṃsāra* make its appearance? According to Śaṅkara it is ignorance (*avidyā*), sometimes called illusion (*māyā*), that occasions the appearance of *saṃsāra* through a process known as superimposition (*adhyāsa*). Through this process *ātman-brahman* becomes reflected as many individual conscious beings (*jīva*s) on the one hand and as God (Īśvara) on the other. God in turn becomes the cause, both efficient and material, of the physical universe, which evolves indirectly from a primal "substance" called "name-and-form" *(nāma-rūpa).* In this psychophysical cosmology, liberation is nothing but the removal of ignorance, the deep realization that from the point of view of the ultimate truth *ātman* and *brahman* are identical and represent the only reality, the very substance of being and consciousness. All else—the physical universe, one's individual self, even God—are things conditioned by ignorance and hence ultimately unreal.

But how does this process of superimposition operate? On this subject Śaṅkara elaborates a series of sophisticated and often controversial epistemological arguments based in part on a set of analogies drawn from everyday experience. The most famous is that of the rope and the snake. When in a dim light one mistakes a rope for a snake, one is making a superimposition of false attributes derived from memory.

Once one realizes the error, the real object, the rope, eliminates and replaces one's false perception of a snake. In an analogous way one superimposes false attributes on *ātman-brahman.* If one eliminates ignorance, this superimposition is dissolved and *ātman-brahman* alone shines forth. Transmigratory existence and one's bondage to it are immediately broken. One becomes liberated. It is as simple, and as difficult, as that.

SEE ALSO Avidyā; Bādarāyaṇa; Bhagavadgītā; Brahman; Jñāna; Māyā; Sāṃkhya; Upaniṣads; Vedānta.

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DAVID N. LORENZEN (1987)
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SAN RELIGION See KHOI AND SAN RELIGION

ŚĀNTARAKṢITA (c. 725–788 CE), an Indian Buddhist scholar and monk also known as Śāntirakṣita and the Great Abbott Bodhisattva, was renowned for his synthesis of diverse streams of Mahāyāna Buddhist philosophical thought and for his seminal role in the early transmission of Buddhism to Tibet. Scholarly consensus and Tibetan tradition maintain that Śāntarakṣita made two visits to Tibet, both during the lifetime of the Tibetan king Khri srong lde btsan (c. 740–798). There, Śāntarakṣita supervised the construction of Bsam yas, the first Buddhist monastery in Tibet, where he ordained the first Tibetan Buddhist monks and taught Buddhist meditation, ethics, and reasoning to the king and his entourage. According to tradition, when the king and his court converted to Buddhism, local Tibetan spirits were upset and caused floods and other calamities throughout Tibet. Śāntarakṣita advised the king to invite an Indian Buddhist Tantric adept, Padmasambhava, to pacify the spirits. Padmasambhava arrived, and through his great spiritual power summoned the troublesome gods and demons, taught them the Buddhist doctrine of karma and rebirth, converted them to Buddhism, and bound them with oaths to protect the new state religion. As a result, King Khri srong lde btsan, the Great Abbot Bodhisattva Śāntarakṣita, and the Precious Guru Padmasambhava are very often depicted together as protectors of Buddhism in the monasteries and temples of Tibet.

Little is known of Śāntarakṣita's earlier life in India. Tibetan sources indicate that he was from Zahor—a locale identified variously by modern scholars with sites in Bengal, Bihar, and Pakistan—and that he had been the abbot of the famous Nālandā monastic university. Although this cannot be confirmed, there is no doubt that Śāntarakṣita was a remarkably erudite scholar who was deeply versed in a wide range of Indian dialectical traditions. The lengthy citations and refutations of non-Buddhist as well as Buddhist positions on epistemological, logical, and metaphysical topics in the verse treatise *Tattvasaṃgraha* (Collection of Realities), Śāntarakṣita's major work preserved in Sanskrit, reveals the extent of his learning. Drawing on the theories of his predecessors, Dignāga and (especially) Dharmakīrti, Śāntarakṣita in this work attempts to lead his readers through a series of arguments designed to whittle away at philosophical notions of essence or intrinsic identity (*svabhāva*). To accomplish this aim, Śāntarakṣita employs the "sliding scale of analysis" (a technique used earlier by Dharmakīrti) whereby under certain conditions a philosopher may be rationally justified in arguing from diverse and even contradictory metaphysical premises within the confines of a single work. In brief, this technique allows for the construction of provisional arguments aimed at particular audiences with the understanding that certain premises of the arguments may be subsequently challenged at a higher level of philosophical analysis.

Most of the arguments in the *Tattvasaṃgraha* are adduced at the lowest level of analysis, identified by Śāntarakṣita's disciple Kamalaśīla in his commentary as Sautrāntika. This level of analysis operates with an ontology in which causally functioning real particulars, some of which exist outside the mind, produce mental images that are then known by awareness. Śāntarakṣita uses this level of analysis to advance arguments against various versions of intrinsic identity, including the notions of an unchanging creator God, a permanent self or soul, irreducible substance, and intrinsically existent relations. He also stays mostly on this level of analysis when explicating his interpretation of inference and perception, the two instruments of correct knowledge (*pramāṇa*) accepted in the Buddhist epistemological tradition.

The shift to the next level of analysis occurs only once Śāntarakṣita has judged the reader to have been convinced of some basic Buddhist truths, namely, that all things are impermanent, that there is no creator god nor any soul, that words cannot refer directly to real things, and that viable religious teachings must be demonstrable through inference and perception. This next level of analysis, identified by Kamalaśīla as the Vijñānavāda or Yogācāra, operates with an ontology in which real particulars do not exist outside the mind. Images arise in awareness due to the causal functioning of an imprint or "seed" contained within the beginningless mind itself. The shift from the Sautrāntika to the Vijñānavāda is rationally justified because one can demonstrate that it is impossible to know particulars outside the mind.

A third level of analysis, the Madhyamaka, operates in an important sense with no ontology, in that neither the particular known nor the awareness that knows is held to be intrinsically real. Although this level remains only nascent in the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, it is fully developed in Śāntarakṣita's other famous work, the *Madhyamakālaṃkāra* (Ornament of the Middle Way) together with his own commentary on it. Here, Śāntarakṣita uses the sliding scale of analysis to integrate the Madhyamaka perspective he may have inherited from his reputed teacher, Jñānagarbha, with his logical and epistemological training, so as to create a place for philosophical analysis within a larger path that ultimately denies the validity of all instruments of knowing.

Later Tibetans classify Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla as followers of Yogācāra-Svātantrika-Madhyamaka. This classification indicates, first, that Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla accept as an accurate description of conventional reality the basic Yogācāra position that objects of knowledge do not exist outside the mind, and second, it indicates that, unlike the followers of the allegedly superior Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka of Candrakīrti, they fully endorse the logical apparatus of the Buddhist epistemological tradition, especially the so-called autonomous (*svatantra*) inferences. For many Tibetans, this second element of their philosophical thought renders Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla inferior proponents of Madhyamaka, because it obliges them to accept a measure of intrinsic identity, even if they deny doing so. Despite this censure, however, many Tibetans, such as the nonsectarian (*ris med*) scholar Mi pham rgya mtsho (1846–1912), have upheld Śāntarakṣita as a brilliant philosopher, model Buddhist, and national hero.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Tibet; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism; Kamalaśīla; Padmasambhava; Tibetan Religions, overview article.

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SANTERÍA is a religious tradition of African origin that developed in Cuba and that was spread throughout the Caribbean and the United States by exiles from the revolution of 1959. Santería began in the nineteenth century when hundreds of thousands of men and women of the Yoruba people, from what are now Nigeria and Benin, were brought to Cuba to work in the island's booming sugar industry. Despite brutal conditions, some were able to reconstruct their religious lives through a fusing of the traditions remembered from their homeland and from their encounter with the folk piety of the Roman Catholic church.

The Cuban Yoruba often used the iconography of Catholic saints to express their devotions to Yoruba spirits called *orishas.* The name *Santería,* "the way of the saints," is the most common Spanish word used to describe these practices, and the word *santero* (m.) or *santera* (f.) indicates an initiated devotee. Later generations of *santeros* would construct elaborate systems of correspondences between *orishas* and saints, leading observers to see this Caribbean religion as a model for understanding religious syncretism and cultural change. Despite the frequent presence of Catholic symbols in Santería rites and the attendance of *santeros* at Catholic sacraments, Santería is essentially an African way of worship drawn into a symbiotic relationship with Catholicism.

Santeros believe that every individual, before he or she is born, is given a destiny, or road in life, by the Almighty. It is the responsibility of the individual to understand his or her destiny and to grow with it rather than to be a victim of it. *Santeros* recognize a pantheon of *orishas* whose aid and energy can bring devotees to a complete fulfillment of their destinies. The basis of Santería is the development of a deep personal relationship with the *orishas,* a relationship that will bring the *santero* worldly success and heavenly wisdom. Devotion to the *orishas* takes four principal forms: divination, sacrifice, spirit mediumship, and initiation.

For the ordinary devotee, Santería serves as a means for resolving the problems of everyday life, including problems of health, money, and love. Divination can reveal the sources of these problems, and it points the way to their resolution. Santería has preserved several Yoruba systems of divination in a hierarchical ranking according to their reliability and the amount of training required to master them. The most complex system of divination in Santería, Ifa, can be "read" only by male priests called *babalawos.* In response to a querent's problem, a *babalawo* will throw a small chain *(ekwele)* that has eight pieces of shell, bone, or other material affixed to it. Each piece is shaped so that, when thrown, it lands either concave or convex side up. This arrangement results in 256 possible combinations, each representing a basic situation in life. The combination that falls at any particular time is the purest expression of fate, and thus of the God-given destiny of the querent. Most of the patterns refer to stories that tell of the problems faced by the *orishas* and heroes in the past, and that relate the solutions that were found. These solutions become the archetypes used by the querent to resolve the problem that he or she has brought to Ifa.

Nearly all problems are resolved by deepening the devotee's relationship with the *orishas.* There is no firmer way for the devotee to show this relationship than through the symbolism of shared food—that is, through sacrifice. The *orishas,* like all living things, must eat in order to live. Although they are immensely powerful, they are by no means immortal, and for continued life they depend on the sacrifice and praise of human beings. Each *orisha* enjoys certain special foods, ranging from cakes to stews, fruits, or drinks. If an *orisha* requests, *santeros* will sacrifice fowl, sheep, or other animals. The slaughter is always performed quickly and cleanly according to ritual rules, and the flesh is nearly always cooked and consumed by the congregation as part of the *orisha*'s feast.

The most dramatic form of devotion to the *orishas* is ceremonial spirit mediumship. At certain ceremonies called *bembes, guemileres,* or *tambores,* a battery of drums calls the *orishas* to join the devotees in dance and song. If an *orisha* so chooses, he or she will "descend" and "seize the head" of an initiate. In this state the incarnated *orisha* may perform spectacular dances that the human medium would be hard put to imitate in ordinary consciousness. More important, an incarnated *orisha* will deliver messages, admonitions, and advice to individual members of the community, bringing their heavenly wisdom to bear on their devotees' earthly problems.

As a devotee grows in these ways of devotion, one particular *orisha* may begin to assert itself as the devotee's patron, and the love of this *orisha* will provide the devotee with his or her basic orientation in life. When this *orisha* calls for it, the devotee will undergo a demanding and irrevocable initiation into the mysteries of the patron *orisha.* The initiation ceremony is carried out with great solemnity and care in the home of an initiate of long experience. During a lengthy period of isolation and instruction, the devotee is brought to a spiritual rebirth as a true child of the *orisha.* During this ceremony the *orisha* is "enthroned in the head" of the devotee, seated and sealed as a permanent part of the devotee's personality.

As the initiate grows in this new level of devotion, his or her relationship with the seated *orisha* becomes increasingly fluid. The sacrificial exchange between them comes to be seen as the outward manifestation of an inner process. Thus Santería culminates in a mysticism of identity between human and divine, where the road of life is the way of the *orishas.*

Santería continues to grow in the late twentieth century. Its popularity in Cuba seems to have been little affected by the socialist revolution, and thanks to nearly one million Cuban exiles, it is thriving in Venezuela, Puerto Rico, and the United States. The number of full initiates is difficult to determine because of the tradition of secrecy that *santeros* have maintained in order to survive a history of oppression and misunderstanding. The presence of Santería in a given neighborhood may be gauged by the profusion of *botánicas,* small retail stores that sell the herbs and ritual paraphernalia of Santería ceremonies. In 1981, there were at least eighty *botánicas* in Miami, Florida, and more than a hundred in New York City.

SEE ALSO Afro-Brazilian Religions; Journalism and Religion; Vodou; Yoruba Religion.

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ŚĀNTIDEVA (seventh and eighth centuries CE) was an Indian Buddhist monk and scholar at the great Buddhist monastic center of Nālandā in northern India. He was a follower of Mahāyāna Buddhism and has been traditionally associated with the Mādhyamika philosophical lineage, especially that of the Prāsaṅgikas, although his precise philosophical affiliation remains a matter of debate among scholars. Śāntideva is famous for his eloquent Sanskrit treatises on the Mahāyāna bodhisattva ideal.

Sanskrit and Tibetan biographies portray Śāntideva as both a Mahāyāna monk renowned for the composition of erudite texts and a Tantric *siddha* noted for performing miracles. For this reason, some scholars have speculated that his biography may represent an amalgamation of two different persons. According to his biographies, Śāntideva was a crown prince and devotee of Mañjuśrī or Mañjughoṣa, a bodhisattva associated with wisdom who appeared to Śāntideva in visions and dreams. Upon his father's death, Śāntideva fled the kingdom in order to pursue religious practice. Śāntideva became a monk at Nālandā, where he was called Bhusuku, a name indicating that he appeared to do nothing but eat, sleep, and stroll about for the sake of his digestion. Some biographies, however, state that Śāntideva secretly composed Buddhist treatises and contemplated the teachings he had received from Mañjuśrī. Śāntideva was threatened with expulsion from Nālandā because he appeared unable to memorize any sūtras. When put to the test, Śāntideva asked those assembled whether they wanted to hear something they already knew or something new. Asked for something new, Śāntideva astounded the assembly by reciting his most famous composition, the *Bodhicaryāvatāra.* Demonstrating both his erudition and supernormal powers, Śāntideva rose into the air and disappeared when he reached the ninth chapter (on wisdom). His voice, however, could still be heard reciting the text to its conclusion. Thereafter Śāntideva left monastic life. His biographies recount the performance of numerous miracles, such as restoring sight, bringing animals back to life, feeding the hungry, and converting heretics.

Sanskrit and Tibetan biographies credit Śāntideva with three Sanskrit works: the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (Compendium of training), the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (Understanding the way to awakening), and the *Sūtrasamuccaya* (Compendium of scriptures). The *Sūtrasamuccaya* does not appear to have survived. A work of this title, extant in Tibetan and Chinese, has been attributed by most modern scholars to another Indian Mahāyāna scholar-monk named Nāgārjuna, whom scholars have variously placed between the late first and third centuries CE. The *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, of which there are two recensions of differing length, is written entirely in verse. The *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, which quotes extensively from approximately one hundred Buddhist sources, combines verse and prose.

The *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* provide a broad overview of Indian Mahāyāna beliefs and practices, particularly from a male monastic perspective. Both texts describe the path of a bodhisattva, a being who has generated the *bodhicitta*, or aspiration for buddhahood. Bodhisattvas embody the Mahāyāna twin ideals of compassion and wisdom because their aspiration for buddhahood is motivated by a desire to help others. The cultivation of *bodhicitta* and its accompanying compassion are among the most important themes in Śāntideva's works, because these define the path to buddhahood as one of compassionate service to others. Another important theme is that of emptiness (*śūnyatā*), a Mahāyāna philosophical concept used to describe the ultimate nature of reality. The wisdom a bodhisattva seeks is the ability to perceive all phenomena as lacking, or empty of, intrinsic, independent, and permanent existence. The ninth chapter of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra,* on wisdom, contains Śāntideva's most famous discussion of emptiness. In this chapter, which reflects a well-established tradition of scholastic debate in medieval India, Śāntideva asserts the correctness of his view of ultimate reality over and against those of other Buddhist and non-Buddhist philosophical schools.

For all their erudition, Śāntideva's works were intended as practical handbooks for religious practitioners committed to the bodhisattva ideal. Thus his works also contain extensive instruction on Mahāyāna ethics and ritual. Key ethical concerns include cultivating the six perfections (*pāramitās*) of generosity, morality, forbearance, vigor, concentration, and wisdom; eradicating the defilements (*kleśa*) of greed, anger, and delusion, which bind living beings to *saṃsāra*, or the cycle of rebirth; and generating the mindfulness (*smṛti*) and awareness (*saṃprajanya*) needed to refrain from committing sinful deeds.

Śāntideva's works prescribe a wide range of rituals known in his day; however, the two most commonly associated with him are a liturgy called the supreme worship and a meditation called exchanging self and other. The supreme worship (*anuttara-pūjā*) is a complex liturgy that includes, among other practices, praise and worship of buddhas and bodhisattvas, confession of sinful deeds, and dedication of merit to other living beings. Its purpose is to cultivate *bodhicitta* and merit. Exchanging self and other is another means of cultivating *bodhicitta.* The meditation begins with the reflection that all living beings are fundamentally alike because they share the same desire for happiness and the same fear of suffering. Hence there is no reason to privilege one's own concerns above those of others. As the meditation progresses, one comes to reflect that, because others are infinite in number, their concerns, taken as whole, should matter more than one's own. By performing this meditation, bodhisattvas increase their compassionate regard for living beings and their commitment to attaining buddhahood for the sake of others.

Śāntideva holds an important place in Indian Mahāyāna history. His works have been studied and commented upon by many Indian and Tibetan Buddhist scholars. Śāntideva's influence remains particularly strong in Tibetan Buddhism. His works continue to inform the beliefs, practices, and teachings of leading contemporary Tibetan Buddhist figures, such as the Dalai Lama.

SEE ALSO Mādhyamika.

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SAOSHYANT. The Avestan term *saoshyant* ("future benefactor"; MPers., *sōshans*) designates the savior of the world, who will arrive at a future time to redeem humankind. The concept of the future savior is one of the fundamental notions of Zoroastrianism, together with that of dualism; it appears as early as in the *Gāthās.* Zarathushtra (Zoroaster), as prophet of the religion, is himself a Saoshyant, one who performs his works for the Frashōkereti, the end of the present state of the world, when existence will be "rehabilitated" and "made splendid."

Later Zoroastrian tradition developed this notion into a true eschatological myth and expanded the number of Saoshyants from one to three. All the saviors are born from the seed of Zarathushtra, which is preserved through the ages in Lake Kansaoya (identified with present-day Lake Helmand, in Seistan, Iran), protected by 99,999 *fravashi*s, or guardian spirits. The greatest of the awaited Saoshyants, the victorious Astvatereta ("he who embodies truth"), the son of the Vīspataurvairī ("she who conquers all"), is the third, who will make existence splendid; he appears in *Yashts* 19. Upon his arrival humankind will no longer be subject to old age, death, or corruption, and will be granted unlimited power. At that time the dead will be resurrected, and the living will be immortal and indestructible. Brandishing the weapon with which he kills the powerful enemies of the world of truth (that is, the world of the spirit, and of *asha*), Astvatereta will look upon the whole of corporeal existence and render it imperishable. He and his comrades will engage in a great battle with the forces of evil, which will be destroyed.

The name *Astvatereta* is clearly the result of theological speculation (Kellens, 1974), as are those of his two brothers, *Ukhshyatereta,* "he who makes truth grow," and *Ukhshyatnemah,* "he who makes reverence grow"; the names of the three virgins (*Yashts* 13) who are impregnated with the seed of Zarathushtra when they bathe in Lake Kansaoya and give birth to the Saoshyants, are equally speculative. Each of these Saoshyants will arrive in the last three millenia, initiating a new age and a new cycle of existence; Astvatereta will appear in the third and final millennium to save humankind.

The doctrine of the future savior had already taken shape in the Achaemenid period (sixth to fourth centuries BCE). It was not, perhaps, the principal element in the formation of the messianic idea, but it was certainly a determining factor, one that enjoyed great success in the Hellenistic period beyond the confines of the Iranian world. A similar concept, that of the future Buddha, Maitreya, was most likely indebted to it, and Christian messianism can trace its roots to the same source.

SEE ALSO Frashōkereti.

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GHERARDO GNOLI (1987)
Translated from Italian by Roger DeGaris

ŚĀRĀDA DEVĪ (1853–1920) was the wife of Śri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa (1836–1886), a highly regarded Hindu spiritual master from Bengal, India. She is called the Holy Mother (*Śrima*) by the followers of Ramakrishna, who worship her along with her husband as a manifestation of the divine. By the end of Ramakrishna's life, his followers included some leading Bengali intellectuals. As he wished, Śāradā Devī became the chief source of spiritual and emotional support for his disciples after his death, when they began to establish a spiritual order in his name. Up to this point she had led her life in accordance with the Indian cultural ideal of a quiet and dutiful wife; however, she played a pivotal role in the burgeoning order with her piety, pragmatism, and motherly qualities. In the early twenty-first century Śāradā Devī receives the highest degree of honor in the order's many centers throughout the world, along with Ramakrishna himself and his most famous disciple Swami Vivekananda (1863–1902).

Śāradā Devī was born to a poor Brahmin family in Jayrambati, a tiny village in West Bengal, in 1853. As a child Śāradā—then known as Saradamani—was fascinated by Indian folklore and Hindu narratives. She did not receive any formal education but learned to serve others as she helped her mother run a large household. During the terrible famine of 1864, Śāradā worked ceaselessly as her family served food to hungry people. Service to others remained her chief occupation throughout life. At the age of six she was married to Gadadhar Chattopadhaya—who later took the name of Ramakrishna—from a neighboring village. Chattopadhaya, who was eighteen years her senior, was the priest of Kālī's temple in Dakshineshwar, a town near Calcutta, and engaged in intense spiritual practices. His frequent ecstasies and unorthodox ways of worship led some onlookers to doubt his mental stability. Śāradā joined her husband on her own accord when she was eighteen, after hearing these rumors about his mental health. She found her husband to be a kind and caring person; however, he never consummated the marriage. Instead, he began to give her spiritual instruction. Śāradā complied with her husband's wish to lead the life of a celibate spiritual seeker.

Even while leading the life of a married virgin at Dakshineshwar, Śāradā Devī served her husband, who was now also her *gurū*, her living god. Except for her hours of meditation, most of her time was spent in cooking for Ramakrishna and the growing number of his devotees. While Śāradā Devī remained completely in the background, her unassuming but warm personality attracted some female devotees to become her lifelong companions. She also welcomed in her circle some women of low status and questionable character whom her husband had admonished. Ramakrishna then declared that Śāradā was the Mother of the Universe and performed an elaborate ritual of worship for her. He also asked his disciples to address her as the Holy Mother. While this exalted status fulfilled Śāradā Devī's maternal dreams in some ways, it did little to change her daily work routine, which became even more grueling when Ramakrishna was diagnosed with terminal cancer.

After Ramakrishna died in 1886, Śāradā Devī moved to his village of Kamarpukur and bravely endured poverty verging on starvation for a year. When Devī was invited to return to Calcutta by Ramakrishna's disciples, who had begun to form the Ramakrishna order, her spiritual ministry began in earnest. She did not lead the secluded life of a traditional Hindu widow after 1887. Moving back and forth between Jayrambati and Calcutta, she initiated disciples with *mantras,* advised them in spiritual and practical matters, and provided the community with motherly warmth. Her ministry was markedly different from that of Ramakrishna. While the latter instructed his disciples in the intricacies of meditation and mystical experiences, she taught them devotion to the master, simplicity in living, and loving service to others through her own example. Following Vivekananda's visit to America, his Western followers also came to regard her as the Holy Mother.

Śāradā Devī was among the earliest Hindu spiritual personalities to have Western devotees. She accepted the divine status accorded to her and the adoration of the devotees without much concern. Even with her changed status, she continued to cook for and feed her disciple-children and took care of her younger siblings' families. She welcomed low-caste devotees and showed a special concern for women. Though uneducated herself, she advocated education for women. Her contemporary devotees emphasize the theme of forgiveness in her teachings. Her saying, "No one is a stranger. The whole world is your own," is considered her most valuable message to the world. When Devī died in 1920, the growing circle of Ramakrishna's followers around the world regarded her as the Holy Mother in her own right, a manifestation of God's maternal love.

Unfolding during the heyday of British rule in India, Śāradā Devī's life demonstrated the strength of simplicity and motherly affection—a quality that was considered a distinctive characteristic of Mother India in the nationalist discourse of the early twentieth century. In Devī's ability to combine traditional values with a liberal outlook and to transform mundane work into spiritual practice through selfless service, she provided a model of inspiration for modern Indian women. Even though some contemporary critics of Ramakrishna view Śāradā Devī as a helpless victim of exploitation and imposed spirituality, her quintessential motherly qualities and piety made her the leader of one of the most successful spiritual orders of modern India that has attracted followers around the world.

SEE ALSO Gender and Religion, article on Gender and Hinduism; Hinduism; Ramakrishna.

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SARAH was the wife of Abraham and mother of Isaac. Abraham's self-serving presentation of her as his sister when they were visiting foreign lands (*Genesis* 12:11–13 and 20:2) may be an attempt to justify his self–serving statement, "And Abraham said of Sarah his wife, She [is] my sister" (*Genesis* 20:2). According to the Bible, Sarah was originally called Sarai until her name was changed as part of God's blessing to Abraham, formerly Abram. The two forms are generally regarded as dialectal variants of the same name, probably meaning "princess"; however, their rendering in the Septuagint (*Sara* and *Sarra*) does not conform to the traditional Hebrew pronunciation. Sarah was married to Abraham in Mesopotamia and migrated with him to Canaan, where they wandered until her death at the age of 127; she was buried in the cave of Machpelah, near Hebron.

The narratives of Genesis focus on Sarah's beauty and infertility. Sarah's beauty is also praised in rabbinic literature and greatly elaborated in the *Genesis Apocryphon,* a pre–Christian text found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. Twice the Bible recounts Abraham's fear that her desirability would lead foreign kings to have him killed so they could marry Sarah. To avoid this fate, Abraham presents Sarah as his sister (*Gn.* 12:10–20, 20:1–18). Documents from fifteenth–century Nuzi (modern-day Yorghan Tepe) have sometimes been interpreted as suggesting that especially honored wives in this North Mesopotamian culture were granted the title "Sister;" however, these texts can be interpreted in other ways, and this theory has come to be generally regarded as unlikely.

Sarah's infertility is noted the first time she is mentioned in the Bible (*Gn.* 11:30). In accordance with a widespread ancient Near Eastern practice, attested in both Nuzi documents and the Code of Hammurabi, Sarah gave Abraham her slave girl Hagar with the intention that the offspring of this union be credited to her as owner of the slave. However, it is clear in Genesis that the chosen line was to proceed through Sarah, a point the New Testament emphasizes (*Gal.* 4:21–31). When, in accordance with God's promise, Sarah herself conceived and bore Isaac, she insisted that Hagar and her son Ishmael be expelled from their home (*Gn.* 21); another version of this incident suggests that Hagar fled while still pregnant because of mistreatment at Sarah's hands (*Gn.* 16).

Rabbinic tradition ascribes prophetic powers to Sarah and identifies her with Iscah, Abraham's niece (*Gn.* 11:29), perhaps because the Bible provides no explicit genealogy. In the New Testament, Sarah is regarded as a symbol of faith (*Heb.* 11:11) and wifely submissiveness (*1 Pt.* 3:6).

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SARASVATĪ is a goddess of pan-Indian importance best known as the patron of learning and the fine arts. Her name means "flowing, watery," and indeed, she first appears in the

Ṛgveda as a sacred river. Since Ṛgvedic times Sarasvatī has been associated with knowledge and learning, and quite early she developed a special connection with music, as is shown iconographically by the lute (*vīṇā*) that she often holds. In texts beginning with the Yajurveda she is identified with Vāc, a female personification of sacred speech.

Sarasvatī's primary mythic association is as the wife (or sometimes the daughter) of the god Brahmā; as his cult waned, she came increasingly to be represented, along with Lakṣmī, as a spouse of Viṣṇu. Although she has been assimilated in this way to various deities of the Brahmanic tradition, her primary religious importance is as a goddess in her own right. Thus, in spite of her frequent consort status, she is popularly viewed as unmarried, and she is commonly worshiped alone. Images characteristically portray her as fair, wearing white garments and many ornaments, sitting with one leg pendant, and playing the *vīṇā* with two of her four arms while holding one or more other objects, such as a manuscript, a white lotus, a rosary, or a water vessel. A ruddy goose or swan (*haṃsa*), her usual mount (*vāhana*) and emblem, is often represented at her feet; less commonly, she has been depicted with a ram.

MYTHOLOGY. From the *Ṛgveda* onward, Sarasvatī's mythic associations have been various and complex. As one form of the sacrificial fire, she is conceived of as the wife of Agni, whose mount is also a ram. In the Āprī hymns of the *Ṛgveda* she is praised together with Iḷā and Bhāratī as the triple tongue of the sacrificial fire. Yet her closest Vedic associations are with Indra and with the twin Aśvins, the physicians of the gods. Vedic accounts portray her as healing, refreshing, and giving strength to Indra, either as a river or by the power of her speech, and she is sometimes said to be Indra's wife and sometimes the wife of the Aśvins. Her banks were considered the most sacred place for sacrifices, and her waters alone were deemed capable of purifying humans from that most heinous of crimes, brahmanicide.

In the later tradition, Sarasvatī's river aspect gradually diminished, perhaps at the same time that the actual river by that name receded and eventually disappeared; certain epic and Puranic myths do, however, retain a sense of her earlier identity. In a *Mahābhārata* story she preserves the Vedas during a twelve-year drought by feeding her son Sārasvata on her fish when other brahmans have become too weak to remember the sacred texts; she is also praised in the Purāṇas and in inscriptions for bearing the virulent Aurvā fire to the sea. Yet increasingly she is conceived of as an anthropomorphic goddess, whose beauty and quick temper cause problems for those around her. In a Puranic elaboration of a Vedic kernel, Brahmā so desires to keep his lovely daughter in view as she circumambulates him that he grows a face in every direction. Other Purāṇas tell of a quarrel among the three wives of Viṣṇu—Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī, and Gaṅgā—which becomes so fierce that Viṣṇu gives Sarasvatī to Brahmā and Gaṅgā to Śiva.

Although Sarasvatī has continued to be associated with Brahmā, she early developed connections not only with Lakṣmī and Viṣṇu but also with Durgā and Śiva. Images of Viṣṇu from the ninth century CE or earlier in eastern India represent her, together with Lakṣmī, at Viṣṇu's side. In Bengal, Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī are popularly viewed as the daughters of Śiva and Durgā, and their rivalry is proverbial. In certain Purāṇas and images Sarasvatī is herself assimilated to the great goddess Durgā and is provided with Durgā's mount, a lion.

CULT. Although the worship of Sarasvatī has been as various as her mythology, there are notable points of continuity. The ram, the he-goat, and the ewe are prescribed in Vedic texts as sacrificial offerings to her, and this custom has continued into the twentieth century in the district of Dacca, Bangladesh, where a ram fight has also served as entertainment on the day of her worship. Rice and barley, which are also among her offerings from Vedic times, suggest a connection with fertility, as does early spring, the season of her festival in Bengal. Prosperity and cure, as well as success in marriage and procreation, are chief among the boons requested of her since ancient times.

Sarasvatī's continuing importance for scholars is attested to by her prominence in the invocatory (*maṅgala*) verses of Sanskrit manuscripts, in which she appears more frequently than any other deity except Gaṇeśa. Her role as the goddess of learning is prominent in her worship in homes, where students place their books before her image on her festival day. On that day, too, the family priest puts chalk in the hand of the youngest child and guides the child's hand in writing his or her first letters. Musicians, especially in South India, place their instruments before her shrine and worship them—with fruits, coconut, cloth, incense, and lighted oil lamps—as the very body of the goddess.

BUDDHIST AND JAIN TRADITIONS. Sarasvatī as the goddess of learning has also figured prominently in both the Jain and the Buddhist traditions. She has been worshiped by the Jains since ancient times as Śrutadevatā, the deity who presides over the sacred teachings, and in later Vajrayāna Buddhism she became the female counterpart and consort of Mañjuśrī, the *bodhisattva* of wisdom. Through Indian Vajrayāna her cult spread to Nepal, Tibet, and Mongolia, as well as China and Japan, and it has remained popular among Buddhists of those lands.

SEE ALSO Ganges River; Goddess Worship, article on The Hindu Goddess; Indian Religions, article on Mythic Themes; Rivers.

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The almost exclusively textual approach of the above studies of Sarasvatī requires correction by a careful examination of her extant images. T. A. Gopinatha Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography,* 2 vols. (1914–1916; 2d ed., New York, 1968), treats her briefly, showing certain simple correlations between descriptive and prescriptive texts and selected images. The studies of Nalini Kanta Bhattasali and Jitendra Banerjea offer fuller analyses and more imaginative interpretations of the data. Bhattasali's landmark work, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmānical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum* (Dacca, 1929), is unique in its effective juxtaposition of textual and iconographic evidence, especially regarding the connection of Sarasvatī with Viṣṇu. In *The Development of Hindu Iconography,* 2d ed. (Calcutta, 1956), Banerjea shows the influence of popular iconographic types—represented by terracotta figurines from the Maurya and Śuṅga periods—on early images of the goddess. Curt Maury's provocative *Folk Origins of Indian Art* (New York, 1969) provides evidence that Sarasvatī is a regional variant of an ancient lotus goddess, called also Śrī and Lakṣmī.

Art-historical studies are themselves incomplete without a knowledge of the contexts in which the images have been used. In the case of Sarasvatī, these contexts have not been sufficiently explored. Also needed is a close investigation of her contemporary cult, especially in the villages. It is likely that further research will identify other indigenous elements that have coalesced with the more readily traceable Brahmānical ones to form her composite character. A thorough historical study of the interplay among popular and literary conceptions and practices should thus yield a more accurate and balanced view of the religious significance of this major Indian goddess.

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SARMATIAN RELIGION. The Sarmatians were Iranian-speaking nomadic tribes that formed in the middle of the first millennium BCE in the southern Urals. In the last centuries before the common era they spread from there in a westward direction—to the lower Volga region, the Ciscaucasus, and the northern Black Sea shore—where they were still dominant in the first centuries CE. In language and culture, the Sarmatians were close to the Scythians. Their ethnonym is similar to that of the Sauromatians, who inhabited the left bank of the Lower Don in the middle of the first millennium BCE. Classical tradition often treated both these names as identical, but in contemporary scholarship the question of the degree of relationship between the Sauromatians and the Sarmatians remains debatable.

The Sarmatians' lack of a written language has severely limited the scope of available data about their religion. The only evidence about their pantheon is the indication by a writer of the fifth century CE that in the language of the Alani (a tribe of the Sarmatian group) the name of the town Feodosia in the Crimea was Ardabda ("seven gods"). This is a reflection of the tradition, common among the ancient Indo-Iranians, of worshiping seven gods, a practice also characteristic of Scythian religion. The actual makeup of this Sarmatian pantheon is unknown. Perhaps it was about one of the gods of this pantheon that Ammianus Marcellinus (31.2.23) wrote, comparing him to the Roman Mars and relating that the Alani worshiped him in the form of an unsheathed sword driven into the ground. This ritual may be interpreted as the erection of the *axis mundi,* which joins the world of people with the world of the gods. Such an interpretation is confirmed by information about the Scythians, who had a similar ritual; but the Scythians performed it on special stationary altars, whose complete absence among the Sarmatians (and of all other monumental religious structures as well) was specifically noted by the classical writers. Hence the religious practices of the Sarmatians had a more nomadic character, entirely suited to their mobile way of life.

The ancient writers also indicate that the tribes living along the Don worshiped that river (the ancient Tanais) as a god and that, moreover, they called the Sauromatians "fire worshipers." The worship of fire and water as gods is an ancient tradition of all Iranian peoples, and it may be assumed that the deities of these elements were part of the Sarmatian pantheon of seven gods, as was the case among the Scythians.

These sparse data constitute the sole written evidence on the religion of the Sarmatians. To some extent they have been correlated with archaeological findings, the basic sources for the reconstruction of this religion. It is true that, owing to the nomadic character of the Sarmatian way of life, the only monuments left by them are burial mounds. Thus they reflect only those aspects of Sarmatian religion that focus on Sarmatian burial practices. For example, data on Sarmatian fire-worship have something in common with their extensive use of fire in one form or another in their burial practices. The Sarmatians did not practice cremation of the dead or the burning of the grave construction, but quite often they covered the graves with the remnants of the ritual bonfire, which sometimes led to the combustion of the grave's wooden covering and even to the scorching of the corpse. The earth tempered by such fires was sometimes spread in a ring around the grave or was admixed with the soil from which the burial mound covering the grave was formed. Traces of such fires are often found in the burial mound itself, not far from the grave. It is not clear whether the fire in these rituals was considered as an element to which the dead person was consigned or only as a purifying principle.

Also connected with the worship of fire are the stone or ceramic censers, used for burning aromatic substances, that have frequently been found in Sarmatian graves. Archaeologists also consider fragments of a red mineral dye, realgar, often found in Sarmatian graves, to be a substitute for fire in a burial. The same interpretation for chalk—another mineral commonly found in Sarmatian graves—is more debatable. But its purifying function is completely obvious. Chalk was either put in the grave in pieces or strewn on the bottom of the grave. The latter custom, like the tradition of laying grass under the burial, was evidently meant to prevent the corpse from coming into direct contact with the earth and thus being defiled. This custom was a prominent characteristic of Zoroastrian burial practice, which developed from ancient Iranian beliefs.

The Sarmatian custom of placing burial mounds around one of the oldest mounds may be interpreted as evidence of the worship of ancestor graves and, in the final analysis, of an ancestor cult. In some burial mounds in which persons of high social rank were interred, there have also been found the bodies of people who were deliberately killed—servants, swordbearers, and so forth—indicating that the Sarmatians practiced human sacrifice. Far more widespread was the custom of placing in the graves food for the dead, in the form of parts of the carcass of a horse or a sheep. A typically Sarmatian feature is the placing in the grave of a specially broken mirror, or of its fragments, perhaps indicating that the Sarmatians regarded the mirror as the person's "double," who died together with him.

There is no doubt that animal-style art, widespread in Sarmatian culture, is connected with the religio-mythological concepts of the Sarmatians. Zoomorphic motifs were used to decorate ritual objects and to adorn the trappings of horses and warriors. However, no study has yet been made of the Sarmatian animal style, and the iconography remains obscure.

Among the objects most frequently decorated with zoomorphic images are the Sauromato-Sarmatian portable altars—small stone dishes with or without supporting feet—used for grinding chalk and realgar, for igniting fires, and, probably, for other ritual activities. The small size of these altars again bears witness to the mobile nature of Sarmatian religious practice, which had been adapted to a nomadic way of life. An interesting feature of these altars is that they are found exclusively at female burials. Evidently, the rituals connected with them were the monopoly of priestesses. This fact is usually related to the information from Herodotus and other classical authors about the high position of women in Sauromato-Sarmatian society. It is not by chance that ancient authors connected the origins of these people with the Amazons, and even called them "woman-ruled."

The rather sparse data cited here on the Sauromato-Sarmatian religion are constantly being supplemented with archaeological investigations of the monuments of this people. In time these will enable a much more detailed and well-grounded reconstruction of the Sarmatian religion.

SEE ALSO Inner Asian Religions; Prehistoric Religions, article on The Eurasian Steppes and Inner Asia; Scythian Religion.

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Revised Bibliography

SARTRE, JEAN-PAUL (1905–1980), French philosopher and man of letters, is generally regarded as the chief exponent of the atheistic branch of existentialism. Soon after World War II, Sartre wrote in *Existentialism and Humanism* (London, 1948): "Atheistic existentialism, of which I am a representative, declares . . . that if God does not exist there is at least one being whose existence comes before its essence, a being which exists before it can be defined by any conception of it. That being is man" (pp. 27–28). Sartre's existentialism, given its most sophisticated expression in *Being and Nothingness: An Essay on Phenomenological Ontology* (New York, 1956), is a philosophy of human reality that views human beings without recourse to any divine creator, that is, without appeal to God. Neither a virulent nor a polemical atheist, Sartre is not interested in the traditional philosophical or theological proofs for the existence of God. It would be more precise to say that Sartre is concerned with other matters, for, according to him, even if God did exist, his existence would be irrelevant to Sartre's fundamental project: to draw the final conclusions of a view of reality in which human beings define themselves through the choices that they make of their lives and that form the portraits of their being. In *Existentialism and Humanism* Sartre quotes Dostoevskii's statement that "if God did not exist, everything would be permitted" and adds: "that, for existentialism, is the starting point" (p. 33). Whether or not God does exist, it might be said, in Sartrean terms, "everything is permitted"—and that means that human beings are the source of value, choice, and responsibility. At the same time, Sartre holds that the individual's choice is not a solitary event but a moment of responsibility in which the chooser chooses an image of existence for everyone

Although Sartre considers the existence of God irrelevant, he "finds it extremely embarrassing that God does not exist, for there disappears with Him all possibility of finding values in an intelligible heaven" (*Existentialism and Humanism,* p. 33). That "embarrassment" is explored more cautiously and profoundly in *Being and Nothingness,* where Sartre maintains that the basic polarities of being, the "For-itself" and the "In-itself," are incapable of synthesis. The For-itself, or the human reality, is understood as consciousness (both pre-reflective and reflective), a continually nihilating movement of temporality that arises, absurdly, from being In-itself. The In-itself is simply that which it is: an opaque plenum. The In-itself is underivable from God or from any divine act of creation; in its utter density, the In-itself, according to Sartre, "is never anything but what it is" (*Being and Nothingness,* p. lxviii). The For-itself is empty and seeks to fill itself, to ground itself in the fullness of the In-itself. But a paradox ensues: The more human beings endeavor to become "something," stable, fixed, assured in their status, the more they are In-itself-like, the more they lose their freedom and choose "bad faith," a negation of human authenticity. Yet the primordial ontological project of the For-itself is to achieve a stable synthesis with the In-itself. That synthesis, for Sartre, would be God. "To be man means to reach toward being God. Or, if you prefer, man fundamentally is the desire to be God" (*Being and Nothingness,* p. 566). What Sartre calls the "passion" of the human being to unite itself with the plenum of being In-itself and become For-itself-In-itself is from the ontological outset doomed to defeat. Sartre writes:

> Every human reality is a passion in that it projects losing itself so as to found being and by the same stroke to constitute the In-itself which escapes contingency by being its own foundation, the *Ens causa sui,* which religions call God. Thus the passion of man is the reverse of that Christ, for man loses himself as man in order that God may be born. But the idea of God is contradictory and we lose ourselves in vain. Man is a useless passion. (*Being and Nothingness,* p. 615)

The striking feature of Sartre's atheism is that it remains so closely in touch with—even in ontological terms—the concept of God. The anguish of human beings, ultimately, is that they cannot be God and that in consequence they are forced back upon themselves—utterly and without recourse. But it is evident that however "religiously unmusical" Sartre's writings may be, there is not only in *Being and Nothingness* but in later works, such as his book on Genet and his study of Flaubert, the intransigent recognition that fellow human beings *believe.* The faith of others haunts the human reality. In his autobiographical study *Words* (London, 1964), Sartre explores the complex religious background of his childhood. The harsh and thorough repudiation he has given his Protestant-Catholic heritage has negated its essentials; but he has not succeeded altogether in ridding religious nuances from his writing: "I depend only on those who depend only on God, and I do not believe in God. Try and sort this out" (ibid., pp. 172–173). Sartre's atheism is not a state of being or a fixed condition. Rather it is a provocative affirmation that "*becoming-an-atheist* is a long and difficult undertaking" ("The Singular Universal," in *Kierkegaard: A Collection of Critical Essays,* Garden City, N.Y., 1972, p. 264).

In contrast to Camus, a writer whose honey of the absurd has attracted many theistic readers—that is, believers—Sartre's bitter gift to the faithful and the theologians is a replication of Hegel's "unhappy consciousness" (see Sartre, *Being and Nothingness,* p. 90). Viewed in religious terms, Sartre is an aberrant supplicant to a shattered God.

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MAURICE NATANSON (1987)
Revised Bibliography

SARVĀSTIVĀDA. The school of Sarvāstivāda was one of the so-called Eighteen Schools (*nikāya, ācariyavāda*) of early Buddhism. The term *Sarvāstivāda* is also used to designate the body of doctrine and literature associated with this community. The sociological nature of the group, however, remains unknown.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT. Although it is customary to refer to the Sarvāstivāda as a Hīnayāna "sect," it seems evident that it was primarily a monastic and intellectual movement—thus the term *sect* might be inappropriate. The term *Hīnayāna* is equally problematic, and in this case it must be taken to establish only a definition by exclusion—"that which is not Mahāyāna." The Sarvāstivāda was one of the parent lines in the genealogic tree of the Eighteen Schools, consistently identified in traditional doxography as one of the earlier Sthavira groups. From the Sarvāstivāda arose in turn, according to most accounts, the schools of the Sautrāntika and the Mūlasarvāstivāda, and perhaps that of the Dharmaguptaka.

Existing knowledge of the history and teachings of the early schools is based on late sources, and there is little agreement among scholars as to the true affiliation of the sects mentioned in these sources. It is not clear, for instance, whether the Mahīśāsaka school should be classified under the Sarvāstivāda or under "mainline" Sthaviras. There is, nevertheless, agreement among the classical sources on the derivation of the Sarvāstivāda from a main Sthavira trunk, most probably after the great schism that separated the early Sthavira from the Mahāsāṃghika. The separation of Sarvāstivāda from its trunk of origin is supposed to have taken place at the Third Buddhist Council, held under King Aśoka. They separated from the Sthaviras according to some accounts, from the Mahīśāsaka, according to others.

It is known from inscriptional evidence that the area of greatest strength of the Sarvāstivāda was the Northwest, from Mathura to Afghanistan and the Central Asian desert. But they also were known in East and South India. Their influence extended to Indonesia, and, indirectly, to China.

The Sarvāstivādins received the royal patronage of Kaniṣka (second century CE). According to tradition, the Tripiṭaka of this school was finally closed during his reign. But it is not clear whether this legend is due to a confusion between the writing of their Abhidharma and the compilation of the canon. It is more likely that most of the Sarvāstivādin Tripiṭaka was redacted earlier, and that by the second century CE Sarvāstivādin scholars were engaged in exegetical work. This was the time for the major systematic works, and the beginning of the work of synthesis such as would develop into the *Mahāvibhāṣā.*

As a school of philosophy Sarvāstivāda was gradually absorbed by the Sautrāntika and the Mahāyāna. But it remained a strong monastic institution, especially in the Northwest. Sarvāstivāda survived at least into the ninth century CE through the Mūlasarvāstivāda subschool. By counting Mūlasarvāstivādin texts as works of Sarvāstivādin imprint, one can form an approximate idea of the greater part of the Tripiṭaka of this school. The combined literature of both groups almost constitutes a complete canon, preserved mostly in Chinese and Tibetan translation, but also in several Sanskrit fragments from central Asia. This body of literature is an important source for the study of the so-called Hīnayāna schools, eclipsed in this respect only by that of the Theravāda tradition.

LITERATURE. The Sarvāstivādin canon is a Tripiṭaka only in the sense that it was conceived as having three parts. But it is characteristic of this canon that in addition to the three traditional Piṭakas (Sūtra, Vinaya, and Abhidharma), it eventually developed a Kṣudraka Piṭaka to accommodate miscellaneous works of late origin. Also characteristic of this canon was the exclusion of texts such as the *Dharmapada* (considered paracanonical) and the composition of extensive commentaries on the Abhidharma Piṭaka.

A good part of the Sarvāstivādin canon survives in Chinese translation. The *Madhyama Āgama* found in the Chinese canon is definitely Sarvāstivādin; some scholars also regard the Chinese translation of the *Saṃyuktāgama* as of Sarvāstivāda origin, although this collection is probably a Mūlasarvāstivāda work. The Dharmaguptaka *Dīrghāgama* may be quite similar to the corresponding Sarvāstivāda collection, now lost. The Sarvāstivāda Vinaya is also preserved in Chinese in several versions, including a short, early version, and an expanded version accompanied by a commentary, the *Vinaya-vibhāṣā.* This last text became the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, which is also preserved in Tibetan. Another recension has been recovered in Sanskrit manuscripts from Gilgit and Afghanistan. The Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivāda is preserved in its entirety in the Chinese canon (some books in more than one translation). Only fragments remain in the original Sanskrit.

Fragments of the Sarvāstivādin canon have been found in Central Asia (the Tarim Basin). These Sanskrit manuscripts include parts of the Vinaya, the *Bhikṣu-* and *Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa,* and the Sūtra Piṭaka. The same region has yielded several manuscripts of the *Udānavarga* (a collection similar to the Pali *Dhammapada*). One of the seven books of the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma, the *Abhidharmasaṃgītiparyāya,* has been found in Afghanistan (Bamiyan). A Sanskrit manuscript of a postcanonical work of Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma, the *Abhidharmadīpa,* was recovered in Tibet. It is believed that this is the work of Saṃghabhadra (fourth century) or one of his disciples.

The greater part of the remaining Sanskrit works of the school belong to the *avādana* literature and are for the most part late compositions or redactions. The *Lalitavistara,* for instance, a biography of the life of the Buddha (up to his enlightenment), shows strong Mahāyāna influence. Two other important works of this genre, the *Avadānasataka* and the *Divyāvadāna,* are probably associated with the Mūlasarvāstivādin subsect. To this same group belongs the Vinaya discovered at Gilgit and some of the fragments from Turfan (e.g., the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*).

THE SARVĀSTIVĀDIN ABHIDHARMA. The Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma Piṭaka is divided into six treatises and a seventh work of synthesis ("the six feet and the body" of Abhidharma): (1) *Prakaraṇapada,* (2) *Vijñānakāya,* (3) *Dharmaskandha,* (4) *Prajñāptiśāstra,* (5) *Dhātukāya,* (6) *Saṃgītiparyāya,* and (7) *Jñānaprasthāna.* Each of the works has a putative author, but sources vary on their attribution (e.g., Mahākauṣṭhila or Śāriputra for the *Saṃgītiparyāya,* Śāriputra or Maudgalyāyana for the *Dharmaskandha*). However, the last (and latest) of these seven books, the *Jñānaprasthāna,* is consistently attributed to Kātyāyanīputra; his authorship is generally accepted as factual, although the *Mahāvibhāṣā* claims that he was merely the redactor of the text and that its real author was the Buddha. Three of the works in the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma reflect the style and content of earlier catechistic (*mātṛkā*) and cosmological sūtras, found in the Sūtra Piṭaka of other schools. In all probability these form the original core of the Abhidharma and explain the Sarvāstivādin claim that the Abhidharma was also the word of the Buddha (*buddhavacana*).

The most influential text of the school was the fruit of its dedication to Abhidharma studies, a collective work of exegesis, the *Mahāvibhāṣā* (150–200 CE), purporting to be a commentary to Kātyāyanīputra's *Jñānaprasthāna.* But this work is more than a commentary; it provides invaluable information on the earlier traditions of Abhidharma (e.g., the doctrines of the "four great masters," Vasumitra, Dharmatrāta, Ghoṣa, and Buddhadeva), and on rival schools, including some non-Buddhist philosophical schools (e.g., Sāṃkhya). Apart from its value as a major source of information on Buddhist scholastic traditions, this work influenced the development of other schools, including the Mahāyāna. Even when criticized (as in the *Abhidharmakośa* of the Sautrāntika philosopher Vasubandhu, or in the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-upadeśa Śāstra* of the Mahāyānist pseudo-Nāgārjuna), the *Mahāvibhāṣā* continued to provide the basic model for intellectual order and spiritual typologies. Moreover, the two above-mentioned critical works contributed to the diffusion of Sarvāstivādin ideas in East Asia. Because of the central role of this text in defining Sarvāstivādin orthodoxy, mainline Sarvāstivādins are sometimes known as Vaibhāṣikas, that is, followers of the (*Mahā*) *Vibhāṣā.*

CHARACTERISTIC DOCTRINES. A characteristic doctrine of this school, the one from which the school derives its name, is the theory of time. According to this doctrine—summarized in the phrase *sarvam asti* ("everything exists")—all of the three dimensions of time (past, present, future) exist; that is, the present continues to exist when it becomes the past, and so forth. This doctrine seems to have been developed as a way to protect the laws of causality (especially as they apply to karmic or moral retribution) from the potentially undermining effect of the doctrine of impermanence.

Dharma theory. Another means of insuring continuity and order in the philosophical world of Sarvāstivāda was the doctrine of *dharma*s. According to the Sarvāstivāda understanding, although all things are impermanent, the basic building blocks of reality including even some attributes and relations, are substantial and real. These substantial entities (*dravyasat*) are known as *dharma*s. With the exception of three elements of reality, all things are compounds of *dharma*s; they can be broken into their component parts and are in that sense impermanent. Some compounds and the *dharma*s that compose them are pure, others impure. Only *nirvāṇa* is both pure and permanent (as well as uncompounded). There are, however, two other *dharma*s that are uncompounded: cessation without conscious discrimination, and space.

Karman and no-self. The Sarvāstivāda theory of *karman* is based on the *dharma* theory. All actions resulting from human intention affect the constituents of the personality—that is, they change its *dharma* composition. This effect of action is made possible by a relational *dharma* called "appropriation" or "acquisition" (*prāpti*). *Prāpti* was a key concept in the attempt to establish the rationality of moral responsibility in an impermanent world; that is, it was meant to account for karmic continuity in the absence of an agent, or self. But the key term used in formulating a rational account of the element of continuity in the empirical self was *santāna* ("series"). The term *self* was considered a misnomer for a series of *dharma*s. With no lasting element or underlying substance, this series is held together only by the laws of causality. The doctrine of *prāpti* was criticized by the Sautrāntikas—mainly in the work of Vasubandhu (c. fourth century CE)—but the concept of *santāna* remained a central tool of philosophical explanation in later Buddhist philosophy.

Buddhology. In soteriology and in their theory of the Path, the Sarvāstivāda developed perhaps the most complex and complete of the Buddhist maps of spiritual growth. They were concerned with the path of the *bodhisattva* as well as that of the *arhat,* although they still perceived the former as a rare occurrence. Their Abhidharma literature considers the goal of arhatship the only ideal to which one could aspire, but the *avādana* literature (possibly of late Mūlasarvāstivādin composition) gives numerous legendary accounts of faithful taking the vows to "become a buddha" in a future life. In the same way, although the Sarvāstivāda had a doctrine of the "perfections" (*pāramitā*) of a *bodhisattva,* a theory of the two bodies of the Buddha (*rūpakāya* and *dharmakāya*), and a belief in the Buddha's "great compassion" (*mahākaruṇā*), and although they accepted the mythology of the vow and the prophecy (*vyākaraṇa*) in the career of the Buddhas, they do not seem to have developed these ideas as possible models for religious life.

SECTARIAN OUTGROWTHS. A number of important subgroups appear to be related to the Sarvāstivāda. Unfortunately, the sources offer contradictory information. Two movements are definitely derivative schools: the Sautrāntikas and the Mūlasarvāstivādins, both of which were especially active in Central India. The Dharmaguptaka school may also be derived from Sarvāstivāda, although this case is more problematic than the other two. They were concentrated in South India. Another important subgroup of the Sthaviras, the Mahīśāsaka, must be related to the Sarvāstivādins; but the nature of the relationship remains unclear. They had monasteries in the Punjab and Andhra.

Tradition has it that after the council at Pāṭaliputra a Sarvāstivādin scholar by the name of Madhyāntika took the teachings of the school to Kashmir, where it flourished. He is believed to belong to the spiritual lineage of Ānanda and to have been originally from Mathurā. The latter region was the missionary province of Upagupta. Both locations were important cultural centers in the empire of the Kushans and provided the base for imperial patronage of the Sarvāstivāda under Kaniṣka. The Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang, who visited India between the years 629 and 645, reported the existence of Sarvāstivādin monasteries only in the Northwest and in the upper Ganges River valley. Another pilgrim, Yijing, who was himself a Sarvāstivādin, visited India half a century later (671–695) and reported a much wider distribution of monasteries under Sarvāstivādin influence. Although he found Sarvāstivādins in almost all parts of India, they were the dominant group only in Northwest India and in the Indonesian archipelago.

Sautrāntikas. A subgroup of the Sarvāstivādins, the Dārṣṭāntikas—followers of Kumāralāta's *Dṛṣṭāntapaṅki*—gave rise to a new movement in reaction to Sarvāstivādin emphasis on the Abhidharma. Whereas the Sarvāstivādins were of the opinion that the Buddha had preached the Abhidharma at Sravasti, this new group maintained that the Abhidharma was not the word of the Buddha. Only the sūtras had canonical authority for them. They claimed that the term *Abhidharma Piṭaka* could refer only to those sūtras belonging to the *mātṛkā* genre. Therefore, they called themselves Sautrāntikas ("followers of the sūtra or *sūtrāntā*"). Their first great master was Śrīlāta, a disciple of Kumāralāta (both from around the first century BCE). But their most distinguished scholar was the independently minded Vasubandhu (fourth to fifth century), whose major Abhidharmic work, the *Abhidharmakośa,* championed certain Sautrāntika doctrines. Vasubandhu's work, however, had its critics, among whom the most famous was Saṃghabhadra, whose *Abhidharmanyāyānusāra* was written as a polemic against the *Abhidharmakośa.*

The Sautrāntikas opposed the Sarvāstivādin belief in substantial entities and what they saw as surreptitious ways of retaining notions of permanence. They denied that the unconditioned or uncompounded *dharma*s have any existence, preferring instead to regard them as bare nonexistence or absence (*abhāva*). They asserted that some of the *dharma*s of the Sarvāstivāda are mere denominations or conceptual constructs (*prajñāpti*). Among the *dharma*s whose reality they criticized in this way was the concept of appropriation (*prāpti*). In order to explain the process of *karman,* the Sautrāntikas brought to prominence an old concept shared by most Buddhist schools, the concept of karmic seeds (*bīja*). These Sautrāntika theories were first proposed by Śrīlāta and developed by Vasubandhu. The doctrine of *bīja* became one of the cornerstones of Mahāyāna idealistic philosophy.

The Sautrāntikas also formulated a radical theory of impermanence known as the doctrine of *kṣaṇikavāda* ("momentariness"). This doctrine denied the Sarvāstivādin theory of the displacement through time of a permanent entity or essence (*svabhāva*). It also contributed to the development of a theory of knowledge that would have a major impact on the formation of Mahāyāna epistemology. They proposed that the senses cannot apprehend an object directly (among other reasons, because of its momentary existence); accordingly, perception is the arising of mental images or representations that are only analogical or coordinated with their objects (*sārūpya*). In this way the Sautrāntikas became the first Buddhist phenomenalists, perhaps the first in the history of world philosophy. Their influence continued to be felt in the Buddhist logicians and in the metaphysics of Mahāyāna idealistic philosophy until the end of Buddhist monasticism on Indian soil; it continues today in Tibetan philosophical speculation.

Mūlasarvāstivādins. This school seems to have been a late development in the Sarvāstivāda tradition. It was dominant in North India from the seventh to the ninth century and became the main source of non-Mahāyāna texts for the Tibetan canon. The Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya is preserved in Tibetan translation (early ninth century, now incorporated into the Bka' 'gyur) and has also been recovered in a Sanskrit manuscript from Gilgit. Some scholars would consider this Vinaya an early compilation, but others believe the work is late.

Although their doctrines do not seem to have differed significantly from those of the Sarvāstivādins, their literature—at least what remains of it—contains some materials that must derive from non-Sarvāstivāda sources. In addition to their Vinaya, several works from their *avādana* literature have survived; these include the *Divyāvadāna, Avadānaśataka,* and *Aśokāvadāna.*

Dharmaguptakas. It is not clear whether the Dharmaguptakas should be regarded as a subset of the Vibhajyavādins (through the Mahīśāsaka line) or a subset of the Sarvāstivādins. They tended to emphasize Vinaya and Sūtra more than Abhidharma. Their Vinaya is preserved in Chinese translation (the *Sifen Lü*) and became the model for monastic rules in China. Another work of great importance for the study of early Abhidharma, the *Śāriputrābhidharmaśāstra,* is of Dharmaguptaka provenance. This text also shows strong influence from the Mahāsāṃghika school. The connection of this school with the development of Mahāyāna is confirmed not only by the eclectic nature of this text but also by their frank criticism of the limitations of the *arhat* ideal, by their addition of Bodhisattva and Dhāraṇī Piṭakas to their canon, and by their role in the formation of Chinese monasticism, the connection of which to Mahāyāna thought owes much to the exegesis of the Chinese monk Daoxuan (596–667), founder of the Southern Mountain (Nanshan) tradition of Chinese Vinaya (Lü) studies.

INFLUENCE. The geographical expansion of Sarvāstivāda represents only one of the aspects of its influence, for the sophistication and maturity of its philosophy clearly won many followers, even among those who disagreed with its basic presuppositions. Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma was a standard element in the classical curricula of Indian universities, not only at their centers in Puruṣapura (Peshawar) and Valabhī (Kathiawar), but in Mahāyāna centers of learning as well.

Sarvāstivāda as Hīnayāna. The study of Sarvāstivāda as the representative doctrine of Hīnayāna philosophy continued in India long after the school had declined. Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* became the standard textbook and was the object of numerous commentaries (those of Guṇamati, Sthiramati, Vasumitra, and, above all, the *Sphuṭārtha-abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā* of Yaśomitra). Buddhist and Hindu doxography to this day recognizes four main schools of Buddhist philosophy, among which Sarvāstivāda and Sautrāntika are the only representatives of non-Mahāyāna philosophy. This is still the basic model even among contemporary scholars in Japan and the West, where the *Abhidharmakośa* continues to be required reading for the Buddhist scholar.

The Sarvāstivāda school also provided the model for Hīnayāna in the Far East. In China, it was transmitted mainly as part of the Jushe (Abhidharmakośa) school. Of Sautrāntika inspiration, this school was the main competitor of the other two Abhidharmic schools, the Chengshi (Satyasiddhi) school (perhaps Bahusrutiya), and the Faxiang (*dharmalaksana,* that is, the Mahāyāna Yogacara school, which has Mahīśāsaka roots).

As a source for Mahāyāna. The evident role of the Mahāsāṃghika school in the formation of Mahāyāna tends to eclipse the contribution of other Hīnayāna schools. The Sarvāstivāda in particular was a decisive element in the formation of the higher doctrines and philosophy of Mahāyāna. The first developments in the *bodhisattva* theory—especially as it is supposed to fit in the map of the Path—were probably those found in Sarvāstivādin literature. The basic structures of Mahāyāna soteriology and Abhidharma are clearly derived from Sarvāstivāda and Mahīśāsaka sources, and so is much of their philosophical terminology. The Sarvāstivāda also contributed, through Vasubandhu and the Sautrāntikas, the underpinnings for Mahāyāna epistemology.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, Schools of; Buddhist Philosophy; Dharma, article on Buddhist Dharma and Dharmas; Indian Philosophies; Sautrāntika; Soul, article on Buddhist Concepts; Vasubandhu.

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ŚĀSTRA LITERATURE.

The Sanskrit term *śāstra* means, first, "precept, command, rule"; hence, a treatise in which precepts on a particular topic have been collected; and, finally, any branch of technical lore. *Vāstuśāstra,* for example, refers both to a treatise on *vāstu* ("architecture") and to the science of architecture generally; *Cikitsāśāstra* indicates both a treatise on medicine and the science of medicine; and so forth.

This article will be primarily concerned with the *śāstra*s connected with the three goals (*trivarga*) that a Hindu is supposed to pursue during life: *dharma* ("spiritual obligations"), *artha* ("material welfare"), and *kāma* ("pleasure, enjoyment"). It is worth noticing that the texts in each of these three categories, to a greater or lesser extent, also recognize the importance of pursuing the other two goals. In fact, a harmonious pursuit of the *trivarga* is a necessary condition to reach a Hindu's ultimate goal: *mokṣa,* final liberation from the cycle of deaths and rebirths (*saṃsāra*).

Most important—and most voluminous—are the Dharmaśāstras. They basically cover the same material as the Dharmasūtras, but they are more detailed and better organized, are mostly in verse (the thirty-two syllable *anuṣṭubh,* or *śloka*), and are considered to be more recent. Like the Dharmasūtras, they are attributed to ancient sages or "seers" (*ṛṣi*), the most important of whom was Manu. The date of the *Manava Dharmaśāstra* (Laws of Manu) is uncertain, but falls somewhere between about 200 BCE and 100 CE. It was followed, probably in this order, by the Dharmaśāstras attributed to Yājñavalkya, Viṣṇu, Nārada, Bṛhaspati, Kātnāyana, and others.

The Dharmaśāstras, together with the *sūtra*s, constitute what is known as the *smṛti* (from the root *smṛ,* "to remember"); hence the titles *Manusmṛti* (the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra*), *Yājñavalkyasmṛti,* and so forth. The *smṛti* is considered to be a form of revelation based on the Vedas, which in turn form the *śruti* (from the root *śru,* "to hear"). The *śruti* is the only more authoritative body of writings than the *smṛti;* the *śāstra*s themselves state that, in case of a conflict between *śruti* and *smṛti,* the former shall prevail. Although all *smṛti*s theoretically have equal authority, in practice the *Manusmṛti* is recognized as being superior to the others.

The *Manusmṛti* represents the Indian ideal of a Dharmaśāstra. After an introductory section on the creation, the text devotes five chapters to the description of the *saṃskāra*s, that is, those ritual performances that mark off the successive periods in a Hindu's life, and of the duties to be performed in each of the four principal stages (*āśrama*s). The next three chapters concentrate on the *dharma* of one individual: the king. He is to protect those among his subjects who adhere to their own *dharma* against those who do not. The section on the king's *dharma* (*rājadharma*) naturally includes those passages for which the text first became known to Westerners, those on Hindu law. (Hence the title *Laws of Manu.*) Among the miscellaneous topics treated in the last three chapters are the duties and occupations of the different castes (*varṇa*) including "mixed castes," expiations of sins, and the rules governing specific forms of rebirth.

The beginning of this century witnessed the discovery—and publication—of the text of the *Arthaśāstra* attributed to Kauṭilya (or Kauṭalya; occasionally Cāṇakya or Viṣṇugupta). Even though minor Arthaśāstra texts had been known before that time, and even though some Arthaśāstra materials also appear in the Dharmaśāstras, until 1905 the text called *Arthaśāstra* was known from a few quotations only. Kauṭilya, unlike the composers of the Dharmaśāstras, is a historic figure. If he was indeed a minister of the Maurya king Candragupta, he must have lived at the end of the fourth century BCE. Some scholars, however, do not believe in Kauṭilya's authorship; based on detailed comparisons of elements in the *Arthaśāstra* with their appearance in various other works of Sanskrit literature, they assign the text later dates, down to the fourth century CE.

The *Arthaśāstra,* in prose occasionally mixed with verse, is a manual for the king and for the successful administration of his kingdom. It provides detailed prescriptions on the various administrative departments, the duties of their heads, and their internal organization. Perhaps the text has become even better known for its ideas on foreign policy. Each king is considered a potential world conqueror (*cakravartin*), and the *Arthaśāstra* provides him with various ways to achieve that goal. Kauṭilya's view that one's neighbor is, by definition, one's enemy who must be defeated with the support of his neighbor (who is, again by definition, a temporary ally), and his ruthless instructions on how to use spies and secret agents, are some of the reasons why he has been labeled "the Indian Machiavelli."

Within the area of Kāmaśāstra literature the principal text is undoubtedly the *Kāma Sūtra* attributed to Vatsyayana. The *Kāma Sūtra* shares a number of important characteristics with the *Arthaśāstra:* The *Kāma Sūtra* is also mostly in prose, interspersed with verses; like Kauṭilya, Vātsyāyana repeatedly quotes the opinions of predecessors, some of whom are the same as those named by Kauṭilya; and most important, both texts exhibit a number of passages that correspond, word for word. There seems to be general agreement that Vātsyāyana lived after Kauṭilya; his date, therefore, varies according to the individual scholar's opinion on the age of the *Arthaśāstra.*

The *Kāma Sūtra* instructs the *nāgaraka,* the prosperous citizen, on how to enjoy life to its fullest. Even though this involves, to a certain extent, the *nāgaraka*'s relationship with women—including married women and courtesans—the

Kāma Sūtra also treats numerous other topics that shed light on the way of life and worldview of one section of ancient Indian society.

The true nature and purpose of the Indian *śāstra*s is still the object of much discussion among scholars. Contrary to the early belief of Westerners—which led to the adoption, in 1772, of "the shaster" as the main source of Hindu family law in British India—it was soon recognized that, at least as far as the Dharmaśāstras are concerned, they may very well have painted an ideal picture that did not necessarily correspond to real life situations. Hence the high expectations on the occasion of the discovery of the *Arthaśāstra;* scholars believed, and wrote at length, on the extent to which a book on *artha* was bound to provide a more realistic description of classical Indian society. The author of this article prefers to look upon the *śāstra*s as—no doubt highly stylized and systematized—compendia of existing customs and practices. They provided the overall theoretical framework that authorized each individual—mostly groups of individuals—to engage in the practice (*prayoga*) of their traditionally recognized ways of behavior.

SEE ALSO Cakravartin; Dharma, article on Hindu Dharma; Law and Religion; Manu; Mokṣa; Saṃsāra; Sūtra Literature.

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SATAN. Although the name *Satan* sometimes has been connected with the Hebrew verb *suṭ*, which means "to roam" (perhaps suggesting that Satan acts as God's spy), it is more commonly derived from the root *saṭan*, which means "to oppose, to plot against." The word thus basically connotes an adversary. Its use in the Hebrew scriptures (Old Testament) covers three types of beings as opponents: (1) a human being, as in *2 Samuel* 19:22, (2) an angelic being, as in *Numbers* 22:22–35, and (3) a particular adversary, as in *Zechariah* 3:1–2, where *saṭan* functions as a common rather than a proper noun and does not refer to "the Satan," but where the idea of a being having a distinct personality is still conveyed. This supernatural being not only acts as an adversary: his name itself means "an obstructor" (Russell, 1977, p. 190). In the New Testament, Satan as the Devil is called the "great dragon" and "ancient serpent" (*Rv.* 12:9). However, while echoes of a Canaanite myth of God's conflict with the dragon and the sea may be found in the Old Testament, Satan is not associated with these references but is clearly mentioned in three contexts (except for *Psalms* 109:6, in which he is inferred). The first of these contexts is in the *Book of Job*, where Satan belongs to the court of God and, with God's permission, tests Job. By contrast, in a second occurrence (*Zec.* 3), Satan, on his own initiative, opposes Joshua. The third passage in the Old Testament in which Satan figures (*1 Chr.* 21:1) is, according to George A. Barton (1911),

> A further witness to the fact that Satan is now held to be responsible for evil. The chapter gives an account of David's census and of the punishment for it, and is dependent on 2 Samuel 24; but whereas it is said in Samuel that Jahweh said to David, "Go, number Israel" because he was angry with the people, it is said in Chronicles that Satan "moved David to number Israel." Satan is clearly a development out of the group of spirits which were in earlier days thought to be from Jahweh's court, members of which were sent upon errands of disaster to men. (p. 598)

Scholars seems somewhat divided on the question of the extent to which evil may be associated with Satan in the Old Testament. It has been argued that Satan "was not evil but became evil by identification with his functions" in the course of time (Robbins, 1966, p. 130). One might distinguish here between two approaches toward Satan in the Old Testament. According to one approach, represented by Giovanni Papini, Jeffrey Burton Russell, John Noel Schofield, Gustav Davidson, and others, Satan is still not quite God's adversary, only his minion. Other scholars, such as Edward Langton and Ronald S. Wallace, see a more definite movement toward an association of evil with Satan. But the transition from the *saṭan* of the Old Testament, which pre-figures the Devil in some way, to the *Satanas* of the New Testament, who *is* the Devil, is clear enough.

The figure of Satan in noncanonical Hebrew literature intensifies his identification with evil. He not only emerges as an adversary of God, but, as such apocalyptic works as *Jubilees*, the *Testament of Reuben*, the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch (2 Enoch)*, and the Qumran documents show, he is also the leader of the fallen angels. It should be noted, however, that although Satan comes to stand for evil, in "Hebrew thought in the Old Testament there is no suggestion of any dualism, whether temporal, spatial or ethical. . . any philosophy of evil culled from the Bible must find room for evil within the concept of God and within his purpose." This also holds true for much apocalyptic literature; signs of temporal, spatial, and ethical dualism begin to emerge only in later Judaism. At the temporal level, the view is developed that history consists of two ages. The present age is marked by the Devil's power, which will be nullified at the end of the present age when the divine age is ushered in. At the spatial level, the kingdoms of the Lord and Satan are contrasted as being in cosmic opposition; at the ethical level, humans are seen as being affected by sin, which will be overcome in a divine denouement. Persian influence has been traced in this movement toward dualism. But Hebrew and Christian thought stopped short of specifying that the Devil is entirely evil in essence. This tension between explicit monotheism and implicit dualism became characteristic of Judaism and Christianity, as contrasted with Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, and gnosticism. "The Devil," as Luther said, "is God's Devil."

Christianity synthesized Greek and Jewish concepts of the Devil. The word *devil* is actually derived from the Greek *diabolos*, which has the dual sense of "accuser" and "obstructor." If the Old Testament, according to later tradition, implicates Satan in the fall of humankind, the New Testament refers clearly to the fall of Satan himself in *2 Peter* 2:4 and in *Revelation* 12:7–9. Again, in contrast with the Old Testament, the power of the Devil is often mentioned (e.g., *Lk.* 4:6). He is also identified with other names: *Beelzebul* ("lord of flies"), *Beelzebub* ("lord of dung"), and, with somewhat less critical certainty, *Lucifer*.

In the ministry of Jesus Christ, "there is a constant campaign against Satan from the temptation after Jesus' Baptism until his death on the cross, and, in each act of healing or exorcism, there is anticipated the ultimate defeat of Satan and the manifestation of the power of the new age," as is the case of Mark's gospel, the central part of which calls upon Jesus' disciples "to participate through suffering in his own confrontation with the power of Satan" (Davis, 1984, p. 952). Indeed, Mark and Paul are more inclined to use the name *Satan*; other New Testament writers prefer other forms. Nevertheless, the motif of both the original (*Rom.* 16:20) and the ultimate and eschatological fall of Satan (*Rv.* 20:2, 7–10) undergirds the New Testament, though the latter is more prominent. The Devil is the lord of both *aion* and *kosmos*, words used in the context of sinful human society and probably suggestive of the dichotomy of spirit and matter in Greek thought. Russell summarized the chief characteristics of the Devil in the New Testament as follows (1977, p. 256): (1) he is the personification of evil; (2) he physically attacks or possesses humans; (3) he tempts people to sin in order to destroy them or recruit them in his struggle against God; (4) he accuses and punishes sinners; (5) he leads a host of evil spirits, fallen angels, or demons; (6) he has assimilated many evil qualities of ancient destructive nature spirits or ghosts; (7) he will rule this world until the coming of the kingdom of God, and in the meantime will be engaged in constant warfare against Christ; (8) he will be defeated by Christ at the end of the world. Above all, he is identified with temptation and death, like his counterpart Māra in Buddhism.

In early Christianity it was believed that the death of Jesus redeemed humankind from the Devil, who had been overcome in his own house by Christ's descent into hell (*Mt.* 12:29). Thus, although the idea of the final conquest of evil or the Devil is not unique to Christianity but is also present in Zoroastrianism and Judaism, "the unique note in the Christian message is the announcement that Satan is already being defeated in Christ" (Ling, 1961, p. 102). Despite this general picture, however, Russell notes that the position of the Devil remains anomalous in the New Testament, and the "elements of cosmic dualism in the synoptic gospels are much stronger in Luke than in Mark and Matthew and stronger in John than in any of the synoptics" (1977, p. 232).

Satan's name appears as *Shayṭān* in the Qurʾān, although it is not clear whether the name is Arabic or not. Shayṭān shares certain functions of the Judeo-Christian Satan, such as leading people astray (4:83), but there is a significant extension of this view in that Satan is accused of tampering with divine verbal revelation (22.52). However, it is in his role as Iblīs (2:34, etc.) that al-Shayṭān is most striking (Watt, 1970, p. 155). He is deposed for refusing to bow before man as the other angels had done, but is allowed, after his refusal, to tempt mortals. According to an established tradition, "Satan sits in the blood of Adam's children" and thus "could be equated with *nafs*, the lower principle, the flesh" (Schimmel, 1975, p. 193). In Islam, the figure of Satan achieves a mystical dimension not found in Judaism and Christianity, where the devil is more or less exclusively associated with evil and the underworld. This association may help "account for the Western tradition that Satan is not only Lord of evil and of death but is also associated with fertility and sexuality, a trait evident in the witches' orgy and in the horns the Devil often wears" (Russell, 1977, p. 64).

Satan plays an important role in the folklore of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Already by the end of the apocalyptic period he had been identified with the following mythological themes in Jewish demonology and folklore: darkness, the underworld, and the air, sexual temptation and molestation, the goat, the lion, the frog or toad, and the serpent or dragon. In rabbinic folklore, Satan is not linked with the legend of Lilith, but he appears to Eve as a beautiful angel, and tempts Rabbi ʿAqivaʾ (ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef, first-second century CE) in the form of a woman. According to the Talmud he was created on the sixth day of creation. His great rival was Michael, the leader of the angels. Satan was deemed capable of assuming any form, and there are accounts in hagiographic literature of his grappling physically with Christian saints.

Both similarities and differences may be noted between Christian and Islamic perceptions regarding Satan. One difference, according to A. J. Wensinck (1971, p. 669) lies in the fact that "Muslim thought remains undecided as to whether he was an angel or a *djinn* and does not pronounce an opinion on the possibility of his being 'a fallen angel.'" A similarity is found in Satan's characteristic ability of assuming any shape, or none at all. His ability to appear as an angel, the dreaded "midday Devil" of the *Psalms*, was what made Mary fearful at the Annunciation. As a *hātif* (one who is heard but not seen), Satan similarly almost beguiled ʿAlī into not washing the body of the Prophet, until ʿAli was corrected by another *hātif.* Thus the imperative of distinguishing between good and bad spirits due to Satan's operations is common to both Christianity and Islam.

The serpent or snake is perhaps the best-known symbol associated with Satan. *Genesis* (3:1ff.) mentions the serpent but not Satan; in *Romans* (16:20), however, Paul suggests that the serpent was Satan, an association already made in apocalyptic literature. This would imply that Satan tempted Adam, but the consensus of early Christina tradition was that Satan fell after Adam (Russell, 1977, p. 232). There may be good reason for believing that not until Origen in the third century CE was it clearly established that Satan's sin was pride, that he fell before Adam's creation, and that he was the serpent in the garden of Eden. Agobard of Lyons (ninth century) saw him as becoming the serpent. In a Jewish text, the *Apocalypse of Moses*, it is written that the serpent who tempted Eve was merely the tool of Satan, who, as a sinning angel, tempted the serpent to share his envy of Adam and Eve. In later Jewish literature, the identities of Satan and the serpent coalesce, or are closely associated with one another.

Satan is referred to by two different names in the Qurʾānic account of creation: he is called Iblīs when he refuses to bow down before Adam, and *al-Shayṭān* ("the demon") when he is the tempter (Wensinck, 1971, p. 669). Although there is no allusion to the serpent in the creation account in the Qurʾān, the term *shayṭān* was probably applied by the Arabs to serpents (Lagton, 1969, p. 9). Once Satan had been identified with *nafs*, or a human's lower appetites, according to Annemarie Schimmel, the *nafs* was seen as taking the form of a snake. "This serpent can be turned into a useful rod, just as Moses transformed serpents into rods. More frequent, however, is the idea that the power of the spiritual master can blind the snake; according to folk belief, the snake is blinded by the sight of an emerald (the connection of the pīr's spiritual power with the green color of the emerald is significant). Thus, his influence renders the *nafs*-snake harmless" (Schimmel, 1975, p. 113). The contrast with the *kuṇḍalinī* in some forms of yoga is very striking.

Satan is persistently, if not consistently, associated with the serpent. Leaving aside the question of the actual nature of Satan as formulated by the Council of Toledo (447), or the tendency to consider him an imaginative personification of evil, the association with the serpent needs to be accounted for. Several views have been advanced. At a homiletic level, the serpent has been taken to represent cunning. At a psychoanalytic level, the serpent has been associated with emergent sexuality. From a broader, history of religions approach "the serpent is the symbol of the Gods of vegetation; without being the representative of sex as such, he represents the temptations of the divinities that sacralize sex" (Ricoeur, 1967, p. 249). But perhaps in the end one inclines toward the hermeneutic suggested by Ricoeur that the serpent

> Represents the aspect of evil that could not be absorbed into the responsible freedom of man, which is perhaps also the aspect that Greek tragedy tried to purify by spectacle, song, and choral invocation. The Jews themselves, although they were well armed against demonology by their intransigent monotheism, were constrained by truth, as Aristotle would say, to concede something, to concede as much as they could without destroying the monotheistic basis of their faith, to the great dualisms which they were to discover after the Exile. The theme of the serpent represents the first landmark along the road of the Satanic theme which, in the Persian epoch, permitted the inclusion of a near-dualism in the faith of Israel. Of course, Satan will never be another god; the Jews will always remember that the serpent is a part of the creation; but at least the symbol of Satan allowed them to balance the movement toward the concentration of evil in man by a second movement which attributed its origin to a prehuman, demonic reality. (Ricoeur, 1967, pp. 258–259)

Although Satan has come to symbolize evil so closely as to become synonymous with it, he has also been associated with some positive concepts. He was worshipped in certain Gnostic circles for enabling knowledge to be brought forth. The Ṣūfī tradition has tended at times to see in him the ultimate monotheist who would bow down before naught but God, even in defiance of God's own command. It is also worth noting that there is no such fixed focus of moral evil as Satan in Hinduism (but see O'Flaherty, 1976), notwithstanding its shared cultural matrix with Buddhism, which did produce the figure of Māra. Despite the nuances of difference in Jewish, Christian, Greek, and Islamic conceptualizations of Satan, they may all share a common heritage.

Interest in Satan has intensified in the past decade, even before President Bush began to speak of the "axis of evil." Elaine Pagels (1995), who phenomenologically brackets the question of the existence of Satan, has carefully delineated the rise of Satan as it were in her works, drawing special attention to how the cosmological split implied by his existence also became a social split in the hands of sectarian groups like the Essenes between "Sons of Light" and "Sons of Darkness," which then runs like a dividing line throughout the history of Christianity in which enemies, both within and without, are identified as "agents of Satan," with Ayotollah's characterisation of U.S.A. as "the Great Satan" representing the inversion of this legacy. Others, such as Whitney S. Bodman (2003) have probed more deeply the sublimely positive role Satan comes to enjoy in Islamic mysticism at times, far beyond Rābiʿah's refusal to denounce him because she was too preoccupied with praising God.

SEE ALSO Antichrist; Devils; Dualism; Evil; Job; Māra; Theodicy; Witchcraft, article on Concepts of Witchcraft.

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ARVIND SHARMA (1987 AND 2005)

SATANISM has assumed a variety of forms through human history. Allegations of organized worship of Satan can be traced to Europe during the Middle Ages. Fears of Satan worship surfaced during the fifteenth-century witch-hunts, and Christian manuals were produced for depicting and combating Satanism, most notably the *Malleus maleficarum* (c. 1486) and *Compendium maleficarum* (c. 1620). Historians suggest the existence of a satanic cult in the royal court of Louis XIV that conducted "Black Masses" to mock the Catholic Mass. There were also a few practicing satanists in Europe during the late nineteenth century, triggering Satanism fears. In America, colonial-era New England experienced a period of witchcraft allegations and witch-hunting. Beyond the colonial witchcraft episode, satanic imagery has been perpetuated throughout American history by conservative Christian groups that believe that Satan is an active, personal presence in human affairs. Satan serves the function of explaining evil and misfortune, identifying heretical faiths, and bolstering Christian solidarity. This essay describes the more recent incarnations of Satanism, the 1960s countercultural satanic churches, and the 1980s Satanism scare by reviewing the history and organization of satanic churches, the current outbreak of satanic subversion fears, and the relationship between them.

CHURCHES. Satanic churches began forming, first in California and then gradually spreading across the United States and to Europe, during the late 1960s. These churches achieved popularity in the 1970s as part of the counterculture movement of that period. The Church of Satan and Temple of Set are the largest and most visible existing satanic churches. A number of other satanic churches also appeared, but most were small and short-lived organizations that originated as schismatic offshoots of the Church of Satan. Although the Church of Satan claimed hundreds of thousands of members during its heyday, the total active membership of all the satanic churches never exceeded a few thousand. The Church of Satan is the more significant of the two groups; it is the first contemporary church devoted to the worship of Satan, it gave rise to most other satanic churches, and practicing satanists typically trace their beliefs to Anton LaVey's thought. Interest in satanic churches, although not Satanism, declined dramatically with the demise of the counterculture.

The Church of Satan was founded in San Francisco in 1966 by Anton Szandor LaVey (1930–1997), born Howard Stanton Levey. The details of LaVey's life remain contested, but evidence has mounted that most published accounts are in error and that major elements of LaVey's life were fabricated by sympathetic biographers who created a legendary persona for LaVey. In the legendary account, LaVey's grandmother was a Transylvanian gypsy who introduced him to the occult as a child. LaVey then ran away from home at age sixteen and worked successively in jobs such as an oboe player in the San Francisco Ballet Orchestra, lion tamer with the Clyde Beatty Circus, stage hypnotist, nightclub organist, and police department photographer. He also claimed romantic affairs with Marilyn Monroe and Jayne Mansfield. Most of this colorful personal history has now been challenged. Nonetheless, LaVey did become something of a celebrity during the 1960s when he pronounced himself the Black Pope, officiated at both the first satanic wedding and the first satanic funeral, and conducted a satanic service at which a nude woman served as the altar. His persona included a shaven head and black robe, a coroner's van as a car, and a pet Nubian lion.

LaVey's version of Satanism is presented in *The Satanic Bible* (1969), whole sections of which were drawn rather directly from several other writers' works. The iconoclastic philosophy contained in *The Satanic Bible* is decidedly hedonistic and is premised on self-preservation as the most basic instinct of human beings. LaVey inverts traditional Christian values, such as sexual constraints, pride, and avarice, and he elevates their opposites, such as indulgence, self-assertion, and sexual freedom, as satanic virtues. For LaVey, Satan is not an anthropomorphic being but a source of power that humans can control and that, once unleashed, can make humans gods. The major rituals conducted at Church of Satan "grottoes"—sex magic, help and healing, and destruction—reflect satanic values. LaVey's thought has been more influential than the small church membership might suggest; his *Satanic Bible* has sold hundreds of thousands of copies in a number of languages and it continues to serve as the primary scriptural source for satanists.

The Temple of Set was founded by Michael Aquino (b. 1946), who holds a Ph.D. in political science from the University of California at Santa Barbara and who rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel in the army before his retirement in 1994. Aquino and his wife joined the Church of Satan in 1969, and Aquino quickly rose in the leadership ranks. Over the next several years the relationship between LaVey and Aquino deteriorated, however, and Aquino, along with several dozen Church of Satan leaders and members, left to form the Temple of Set. Aquino served as high priest of the Temple of Set from its inception in 1975 to his retirement in 1996.

Aquino reports that he invoked Satan during his 1975 dispute with LaVey and received a visitation from Set, the Egyptian god of night. According to Aquino, Set is a metaphysical being formerly known under the Hebrew misnomer *Satan.* Set has used his power over the millennia to alter the genetic makeup of humans and to produce a species possessing an enhanced, nonnatural intelligence and potential. Although humans are not destined for immortality, they have the potential to achieve it through Setian beliefs and practices. The objective of the Temple of Set is to realize full human potential through self-creation and empowerment. In their quest for self-creation, initiates can progress through the following six degree levels: Setian, Adept, Priest or Priestess of Set, Master of the Temple, Magnus, and Ipsissimus. Total membership in the Temple of Set's local chapters ("pylons") has never exceeded several hundred.

SATANIC CULTS AND THE SATANISM SCARE. The "Satanism scare" swept the United States, Canada, and Europe during the 1980s. Satanic cults were thought to exist in an underground network that was involved in a variety of nefarious activities, including ritual sacrifice of children. According to the groups that mobilized to combat satanists, the outbreak of Satanism was simply the latest in a series of incursions by evil forces through human history. The incursion was inevitable, it was argued, even if its timing and form were not predictable. Because putative satanists operate underground, it was believed that they were able to penetrate major social institutions and engage in considerable destructive activity before their presence was detected. By some estimates, satanists were ritually sacrificing fifty to sixty thousand children annually in the United States alone during the 1980s. Satanists allegedly are motivated by a quest for personal power, which they seek to enhance by appropriating the life energy of children at the moment of their deaths in ritual sacrifices.

Proponents of satanic cult theory claim that Satanism is organized at four levels, with involvement often beginning at lower levels and subsequently graduating to higher-level activity. At the lowest level are "dabblers," typically adolescents who are lured into Satanism through experimentation with heavy metal music and fantasy games containing embedded satanic themes. More sinister are the "self-styled satanists" who employ satanic imagery in committing antisocial activity and are thought to be members of satanic cults. The public face of Satanism belongs to "organized satanists," consisting of the satanic churches, which publicly engage in the worship of Satan. Orchestrating the entire range of satanic activity are the "traditional satanists," who are organized into an international, secret, hierarchically structured, tightly organized cult network that engages in ritual abuse and sacrifice of children. Satanists procure children through abduction of missing children, purchase of children on the black market, and control over child-care institutions. Some children are abused, some sacrificed, and others raised as "breeders" to produce babies for later rituals. Intimidation, drugs, hypnosis, and brainwashing are employed to maintain power over children in satanists' hands and prevent them from revealing the existence of the satanic cults. Outsiders rarely discover well-concealed, secret satanic activity; those who do are intimidated into silence by satanists in positions of power.

A variety of evidence was offered in the 1980s to demonstrate the existence and active operation of satanic groups. There were widespread reports of mutilated animal remains that were thought to have been killed for body parts used in satanic rituals. Communities across the country mobilized to repel satanic cult incursions upon discovering satanic graffiti or rumors of impending satanic abductions of children for ritual sacrifice. Satanic churches, such as the Church of Satan, were cited as evidence of the public presence of satanists. Several high-profile criminals, such as Richard Ramirez ("The Night Stalker") who committed a series of murders in Los Angeles and San Francisco before being captured in 1985, openly flaunted satanic loyalties. Most compelling were the horrific personal testimonies of young children and adults who recalled satanic abuse in the course of therapeutic treatment. Therapists reported threats to their safety if they revealed the accounts of their clients.

In response to these various occurrences public opinion began to reflect heightened concern with Satanism. Mass media reports of satanic activity burgeoned, therapists treating individuals diagnosed as ritual abuse victims warned of the catastrophic impact of the abuse on their clients, special training and therapeutic procedures were developed for law enforcement and mental health professionals, police excavated the sites where ritual abuse victims were believed to be buried, and child protection agencies investigated preschools where child abuse allegedly occurred. In addition, legislatures conducted hearings on Satanism and passed laws facilitating the testimony of ritual abuse victims, and a number of high-profile trials resulted in the conviction of individuals on child-abuse charges.

The extraordinary claims of satanic cult subversion gradually were discredited, however, as evidence of satanic networks was challenged. Investigations of unexplained animal deaths led to the conclusion that they were the product of roadkills, trapping, disease, poisoning, and predators. Local panics over impending satanic abductions of adolescents turned out to be instances of urban legends with a satanic theme. Graffiti with satanic symbolism was found to be the work of isolated, alienated adolescents. No cases of satanic messages embedded in heavy metal music were documented. No connection between satanic churches or sociopathic criminals and a satanic cult network was ever established. Nor was any trace of the satanic cults themselves produced: no organizational records, documents containing doctrines or rituals, physical implements or equipment, meeting places, or defectors. Repeated official investigations of purported ritual sites yielded no supporting evidence. Most compellingly, not a single death attributable to a ritual sacrifice was documented. By contrast, disconfirming evidence steadily mounted.

The primary evidence supporting the existence of satanic cults was the testimony of children and adults who recalled abuse while in therapeutic treatment. However, the validity of these accounts was undermined by discoveries that biographical accounts by individuals claiming to be ritual abuse victims were fraudulent and that satanic material was introduced by therapists rather than raised by clients. A succession of reports by scholars, investigative journalists, police agencies, and governmental commissions unanimously concluded that there was no plausible support for the satanic cult claims.

CONCLUSIONS. The social creation of satanic forces has a long history in Western societies. In contemporary Western societies, Satanism has assumed two marginally related forms. The satanic churches constituted one element of the 1960s countercultural rebellion in which Satanism represented a rejection of traditional Christian morality in favor of hedonistic, individualistic values. The Church of Satan in particular was more culturally significant than its small peak membership might suggest. Many thousands of individuals held brief memberships in the church, and *The Satanic Bible* became the primary scriptural source for countercultural satanists who never maintained any organizational affiliation. While the Church of Satan and Temple of Set were swept up in the Satanism scare of the 1980s, no connection between these churches and underground satanic cults was ever produced. The Satanism scare of the 1980s was a reaction to rapid social changes that reconstituted home and workplace relationships in North America and Europe. Satanism symbolically represented a widely experienced sense of vulnerability and danger by American families. The threat was symbolically constructed as satanic cults, organizations that exploited the vulnerability of American families by so abusing and terrorizing young children as to permanently impair their capacity for full expression of selfhood. What the satanic churches and Satanism scare had in common, then, was the creation of social evil symbolized in satanic forms, one reacting against historical Christian morality and the other the emerging individuation of modern and postmodern society.

SEE ALSO Anticult Movements.

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DAVID G. BROMLEY (2005)

SATI. The difficulties encountered in the study of sati—the death of a woman on her husband's funeral pyre, or on a separate pyre soon afterwards—are reflected in the terminology used. The term coined by the British in India (*suttee*) suggests the oppression of widows and the woman as victim, both reinforced by the term *widow-burning.* The same word in its original Sanskrit (*satī*, a feminine noun derived from *sat*, meaning "goodness" or "virtue") denotes not the practice but the practitioner: the "good woman" who, by choosing to join her husband in death, refuses to become an inauspicious widow. In its traditional context, the term *satī* conveys supreme virtue, personal strength, and religious autonomy. The most common Sanskrit terms for the practice are *sahagamana* ("going with"), *anugamana* ("going after"), and *anumaraöa* ("dying after"). In this article, the practice is denoted by the modern term *sati*, and the Sanskrit word *satī* ("good woman") is reserved for the person. (There is no parallel notion of the "good man" who chooses to burn on the pyre of his dead wife, a fact that suggests that this one-sided practice is rooted in the male desire to control the sexuality of women; by contrast, the widower is encouraged to remarry.)

Outside India, sati was practiced in one form or another (that is, not always by fire) by the ancient Greeks, Germans, Slavs, Scandinavians, Egyptians, and Chinese. Although there is evidence of the custom in the Indo-European period, by the time the Indo-Aryan language reached India, only traces of an archaic practice remained. The earliest indisputable reference to sati in a Sanskrit text is found in the *Mahābhārata*, the great epic which evolved between 400 BCE and 400 CE, reaching its present form by the sixth or seventh century. An account is also given by the Greek author Diodorus Siculus (first century BCE) in his history of the Panjab in the fourth century BCE. Physical evidence in the form of "sati stones," memorials to women who died as *satī*s, is found in many parts of India, dating from as early as 510 CE. In the Muslim period, the tenth to the eighteenth centuries, the Rajputs practiced a form of collective ritual suicide termed *jauhar* (denoting a construction made of combustible materials for the purpose of burning people alive); that is, to avoid dishonor at the hands of the (Muslim) enemy and to encourage their menfolk to fight, Rajput women burned themselves before their husbands' expected death in battle (as, for example, in the three celebrated occasions of the mass suicides of women at Chitorgarh in Rajasthan in 1303, 1535, and 1568). In the medieval period in general, the hardships experienced by Hindu widows (such as severe restrictions on diet and dress, and the stigma of inauspiciousness) probably encouraged the spread of sati. The further increase in the practice among the brahmins of Bengal, especially during the period from 1680 to 1830, is ascribed by some scholars to the fact that the system of law prevailing there gave inheritance rights to widows: although some widows enjoyed the powers this conferred, others succumbed to a greater familial pressure to die. Other scholars argue that, by destabilizing traditional Hindu values, the British were partly responsible for the increase.

Although the number of women who died as *satī*s is statistically small, the ideal is revered throughout traditional India even today. The ideology behind this belief is debated in the texts of Sanskrit religious law (*dharmaśāstra*) in the section devoted to the proper behavior of women (*strīdharma*). The issue is usually raised in the context of widowhood: some texts (such as *Manusmṛti*) describe only the duties of the widow for the woman whose husband has died; some allow a choice between widowhood and sati; few recommend sati. The standard objection is that sati is a form of suicide, and suicide is prohibited; the standard riposte is that ritual death is not suicide. Other objections include that ritual death, appropriate in the legendary period of ancient India, no longer applies in the "degenerate era" (*kaliyuga*) of recorded history; that sati, traditionally a warrior or Rajput custom, is prohibited to brahmin women; and that the ritual applies only rarely and only to exceptionally virtuous women. The arguments in favor of sati focus on the rewards accruing to the "good woman," further evidence that this form of ritual death was optional; that is, the ritual is open to those women who actively seek the rewards described. By about 700 CE, however, the merit bestowed by sati was so great that it cut across the usual implications of *karma* for both wife and husband. The *satī* is credited with the power to rescue even a bad husband from hell, taking them both (and, according to some sources, seven generations of ancestors on either side) to heaven. There is even some scriptural justification for persuading, even forcing, a "bad" woman to burn herself: whatever her reasons for joining her husband on his pyre, her sacrifice purified them both.

Ethnographic evidence is somewhat different. Among traditional communities in Rajasthan even today, the *satī* is no longer a woman: she is worshiped as a goddess, a deified eternal wife. According to belief, the pyre ignites solely by the power of the *satī*, that is, by the inner heat of *sat*, the force of virtue at her core. Fire is thus not so much the cause of her death but the essence of her being. There are three stages in the life of the *satī*: as a married woman, she is the devoted wife (*pativratā*); when she takes a vow to become a *satī*, she is termed a *satīvratā*; when she ends her life in spontaneous combustion, she has become a "*satī*-mother" (*satīmātā*). The paradoxical notion of the "living *satī*" is applied to saintly women who are believed to be possessed by *sat*, who have taken the vow to become *satī*s, but who are unable to fulfill those vows because sati is illegal. Such women are worshiped as liminal beings, living on the cusp of the human and divine realms.

There has always been resistance to sati, even within orthodox and traditional Hinduism; hence the debates in Sanskrit and vernacular texts. The Mughal rulers Humayun and Akbar both tried to abolish the practice. In the British colonial period, a vigorous campaign against sati—headed by the governor-general of India, Lord William Bentinck, and supported by Hindu reformers such as Rammohun Roy—culminated in the Suttee Regulation Act of 1829. When the British left India, the independent Indian government reaffirmed the illegality of sati. Despite the efforts of both British and Indian governments, however, instances of sati continued to occur, and the respect and devotion paid to the memories of those women remained unchanged.

The reemergence of sati in north India since the 1970s—including the celebrated sati of Roop Kanwar in Deorala, Rajasthan, in 1987—has prompted renewed interest in the topic among activists (both for and against sati) and commentators. As early as 1983, for example, the Rani Sati Sarva Sangh (largely funded by the Marwari community) launched a campaign to popularize sati, to administer sati shrines, and to promote the building of additional sati temples. Pro-sati activism of this kind is consistently met by anti-sati campaigns, both giving rise to a complex debate among students of Indian religion, political and cultural commentators, and Indian and Western feminists.

SEE ALSO Gender and Religion, article on Gender and Hinduism.

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JULIA LESLIE (2005)

SATIRE SEE HUMOR AND RELIGION

SAUL, or, in Hebrew, Sha'ul, son of Kish, a Benjaminite, was the first king of Israel (c. 1020 BCE). The beginning of the monarchy under Saul, and with it the creation of a national state out of a loose association of tribes and clans, is attributed in the tradition to external threats from east and west. Saul's kingship is presented in *1 Samuel* as a transition from the time of the judges, temporary charismatic leaders of individual tribes or regions, to that of a more unified and permanent military rule.

Saul's ability to rally support from the Israelite tribes in order to relieve Jabesh-gilead from the Ammonite siege and achieve a victory for the Transjordanian tribes (*1 Sm.* 11) was the actual occasion in the oldest tradition for making him king. In subsequent military activity his forces also had some success against the Philistine garrisons in the central hill country (*1 Sm.* 13–14), but in a major encounter between the two armies Saul and his sons lost their lives in battle (*1 Sm.* 31).

The length of Saul's reign (cf. *1 Sm.* 13:1) and the exact extent of his domain are not known. His authority probably did not include Judah. His residence, in Gibeah of Benjamin, did not include an elaborate court. Yet he did much to pave the way for David's later success (*1 Sm.* 14:47–51).

The older traditions about Saul's monarchy, including a folktale about his youth (*1 Sm.* 9–10:16), have been expanded by the historian of *Samuel* and *Kings* in order to depict the prior divine election and designation of Saul as king (*1 Sm.* 9:15–17, 10:1, 17–27) and his later rejection (*1 Sm.* 13:8–15; cf. *1 Sm.* 15) through the prophet Samuel. The author also expresses his ambivalence about the monarchy as both a divinely sanctioned institution and a possible source of religious waywardness, injustice, and corruption (*1 Sm.* 8, 12). Finally, in his account of David's rise to power, the rejected Saul is used as a foil for the virtues of David, God's chosen successor.

SEE ALSO David; Samuel.

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JOHN VAN SETERS (1987)
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SAULE. Written historical sources about the pre-Christian religion of the ancient Latvians are fragmented and often unreliable, but concur in condemning it as pagan idolatry and the worship of natural phenomena. In 1199 this attitude was consecrated in a papal bull from Pope Innocent III, who had conferred upon the conquest and Christianization of the Baltic region the status of a crusade.

Nature worship was attributed to the ancient Baltic tribes in a variety of historical documents, many of which were compiled and analyzed by Wilhelm Mannhardt in his impressive *Letto-Preussische Gőtterlehre* (left unfinished at his death in 1870, and only published in Riga in 1936). The earliest is a 1326 chronicle by the Christian knight Peter von Duisburg, in which he pithily states that Baltic peoples worshipped the sun, the moon, the stars, and four-legged animals. Later documents include occasional observations by travelers to the region, but mostly consist of records of witch trials or reports of ecclesiastical inspections, aimed at eliminating pre-Christian rites and beliefs—which seem to have survived many centuries of merciless persecution by both the Catholic and Protestant churches. The Romantic movement caused a radical reversal in attitude by kindling scholarly interest in popular antiquities and in oral traditions containing archaic elements.

Evidence of a cult of the *saule* ("sun"; pron. *sow-leh*) as part of an archaic nature religion, as well as prehistoric cosmogonic concepts linked to the sun may be found in Latvian folk legends, magical formulae, traditions, and beliefs, but most of all in the hundreds of thousands of variants of lyrical folk-song, or *daina,* texts.

Within the most recent and complete collection of over 4,000 *daina* texts (Vīķe-Freibergaand Freibergs, 1988) containing words with the root form for "sun," around 2,500 texts refer literally to the sun as a celestial body or physical phenomenon, either in its chronological or its meteorological aspect (Vīķe-Freiberga, 1999; 2002). But even this physical sun—which shimmers, glitters, glimmers, glares, blazes, shines forth, and conveys its presence in a dozen more ways for which there are Latvian words but no English equivalent—has a profoundly magical and beneficial influence on all aspects of human life. Thus, for a man to be born in the summer while the sun is shining ensures that his rye will grow tall, his barley will thrive, and his bay horses will breed vigorous and strong.

Around 1,500 numbered *type-songs* (some having over 100 variants) refer to the clearly personified, feminine figure of Saule, and contain motifs that are both mythological and cultic in nature. This mythical Saule appears as a resplendent, richly dressed, generous, compassionate, and also playful being: she dances "on a silver mountain, with golden slippers on her feet," she "strums her psaltery *[kokles],* while sitting in the East," she plays with golden apples. Saule rides in her chariot across the Hill of Heaven or sails in a boat that she leaves behind after setting into the sea. She sits on a hill, with golden reins in her hand, while her horses bathe in the sea.

Finally, a few hundred texts are "cosmological" in the sense of reflecting a "mental model" of the universe, both in its structural and in its dynamic aspects (Vīķe-Freiberga, 1997). The sun is a major point of reference in the spatial bisection of the Cosmos along the vertical plane between above and below, in which the world (the earth and everything on it) is *pasaule,* literally "the place under the sun." The sun also governs the temporal opposition between the brief limited span of a human life on earth *(mūžs)* and eternity as expressed in the concept of the "life span of the sun" *(saules mūžs).* Finally, a third cosmological dimension combines temporal with spatial aspects in distinguishing between temporal life in "this sun" *(šī saule)* and eternal life in "that sun" *(viņa saule).* The "other sun" or "nether sun" is the realm in which the sun sleeps at night. Each new dawn demonstrates anew that the sun has not been destroyed by darkness, but has only retired for a while into a different plane of existence, for "Does the sun rise in the same spot where it has set?" By being reborn every day, Saule becomes not just a symbol of immortality, but also the main mediator between Life and Death. Saule is the one who knows the path of transition between them, passing through double gates on the horizon, each marked by a verdant tree. The red tree of sunrise is the tree of life, youth, health, and beauty, and magically projects these qualities unto the East:

> The sun rises every morning In a scarlet tree; Young lords grew old While seeking that tree. (Saules dainas, p. 175, song nr. 33786)

The other Sun Tree grows at the gate through which the sun exits at the end of her daily path, entering the "other sun" of night and death:

> Stately grows the oak tree At the end of *Sun's path;* There Saule hangs up her belt Each evening at sunset. (*Saules dainas*, p. 186, song nr. 33827v4)

The setting sun has lost the hale hues of morning and has grown pale, wan, and tired, just like a person who in old age has lost the rosy bloom and vigor of youth. As she leaves our world, Saule takes along with her everything that has fulfilled its mission in this world and has come to the end of its cycle. As shown in magical formulae and incantations, the setting sun takes with her our sighs and our sorrows, our mishaps and misfortunes; she carries away blight, illness, disintegration, and decay. Most important of all, the main task of the setting sun is to bring along with her the souls of all those whose mortal bodies have been lain to rest that day:

> My dear mother has left Along with the sun. I called out, but she couldn't hear, I ran after her, but in vain. (*Saules dainas,* p. 91, song nr. 4110)

Several texts stress the importance of completing burials before sunset, for Saule carries away the keys to the gates to the World of the Shades, which then become locked for the night. Saule (just like the ancient Greek god Hermes) is thus clearly a *psychopompos* or leader of the souls of the dead. For this reason, the period just after sunset each day had to be celebrated by interrupting all work in honor of the sacred "path of the Sun," "under-the-sun's steps," or the "grey hour." Women in labor (and their husbands), however, also pray to Saule not to take away the keys. This suggests that Saule may hold the entrance key to "this sun" as well as the exit keys.

In many texts the Sun Tree that stands at the entrance gate between the worlds has clearly become the World Tree, or *Axis Mundi.* It grows on a stone in the middle of the sea—the Cosmic ocean—or, paradoxically, it may be a mere reed on which the sun rests at night. Or again, the live tree is replaced by the axle of a celestial hand-mill:

> Whose is this waxen mill At the crown of a clear oak? The son of Dievs is the owner, The daughter of Saule the miller. (*Saules dainas,* p. 181, song nr. 33796)

Each night the constellations make a full circle around the pole star, the only one to remain in a fixed position, as if it marked the tip of a cosmic axis around which everything turns. The sons of Dievs (the supreme deity and sky god) are linked (among other things) to the constellations. The daughter of Saule acting as a miller, turns the axle of a heavy, stone hand-mill like those formerly used by women on Latvian farms. Yet a vision of the Sun Tree may also refer to a purely subjective state, acting as the symbol of a moment of spiritual revelation. A number of longer songs describe a marvelous oak tree suddenly discovered on a holy morn, with its roots of copper, golden branches, and silver leaves. This tree becomes a symbol of the dual nature of mankind: with the roots of its physical existence deriving from Mother Earth, the human soul in its evolution grows with arms stretched up like the branches of a tree, with fingers like leaves reaching for the sky.

The status of Saule as a cult object becomes evident in such motifs as that of the goddess in the tree, the numerous variants of which interchangeably describe Saule or Laima (the goddess of fate) or Māra (a form of the earth goddess) as sitting in a tree (willow, apple tree, or other), and bestowing gifts upon humans (on the tree and gift-giving, see Bynum, 1978). Saule as benefactor is also a rich godmother, "Reaching out her hands across the river, All fingers of both hands Covered with gold spiral rings" (*Saules dainas*, p. 228, song nr. 33932). In her generosity, Saule (just like Dievs and Laima) singles out the dispossessed and the needy, and even stands in for her dead mother at the wedding of an orphan girl, just like Mēness (the Moon) stands in for her father. In contrast, the maiden crown (i.e. the coronet that was the traditional head-gear of unmarried women) of a girl who had died was to be hung to bleach in a tree on the grave as a sort of offering to Saule.

A major function of Saule is to produce vegetal fruitfulness, which is the central focus of the numerous all-night rituals of Jāņi, the celebration of the midsummer solstice. The bright vernal sun is not just an icon of growth and general fertility; like the Greek goddess Demeter and the Roman Ceres, Saule is also the special patroness of grain crop fertility:

> What shines, what shimmers, Back yonder field? It's Saule sowing silver Among stumps in the clearing. (*Saules dainas*, p. 183, song nr. 54924)

The gray cloud of pollen hovering over a rye field in bloom becomes a manifestation of Saule in her aspect as provider of fruitfulness:

> Saule walks over the rye field, Wearing her grey skirts.
> Oh Saule, lift up your hem, Take care of the blossoms. (*Saules dainas*, p. 212, song nr. 32532v6)

As the primal cause of the fertility of the earth, Saule best embodies the boundless generosity of the Cosmic, scattering her gifts over the earth as from a bottomless cornucopia: "Dear Mother Saule, What are you doing in the granary?— I'm sifting silver, I'm filling the bins" (*Saules dainas*, p. 231, song nr. 16566).

As inhabitants of a cool and frequently damp climate, the Latvians feel an especial affinity with the sun as giver of warmth, who lightens the burden of all those who have to labor in the open, exposed to the elements. To the young children sent out at dawn to herd the flocks, the sun that dries the morning dew and dissipates the mists is just like a human mother who comforts her child by drying its tears and warming it on her lap. Shepherd children and orphans become a metonym for the dispossessed and the destitute in general, who have only Dear Mother Saule as their patroness and protector:

> Saule, dearest mother, Wearing your golden cloak! Take pity on all orphans, Dry (all) their tears. (*Saules dainas*, p. 230, song nr. F17,28624)

With its measured and rhythmical daily and yearly course across the vault of heaven, the sun serves not just as a heavenly timepiece, but also becomes a visible embodiment of divine law, order, regularity, and justice. On the social plane, these are translated as norms of social equity, fairness, and justice. Any transgression against these social norms then becomes a contravention of divine law as well, a threat to the harmonious equilibrium of the Cosmos. Thus, brutal masters, who require their serfs to work in the fields even past sundown, represent an abomination in both a social and a cosmic sense. The consequences of such transgressions are symbolized by the Black Snake that grinds its grain on a stone in the middle of the sea. Evildoers are meant to taste of this bitter meal of divine retribution, for the white Sun is also the all-seeing eye and ever-present witness. One turns to Saule with a prayer for help both in suffering and with regard to social injustice:

> Dear, white Saule in your course, Please "even out" this earth: The rich are quite ready To bury the poor alive. (*Saules dainas*, p. 226, song nr. 31244)

The solar myth of the celestial wedding is not a narrative fixed in any canonical form, but rather a large corpus of variants on a number of wedding themes. Either Saule herself or her daughter is enjoined to dress in silver, for their drivers have come with "water horses, a stone carriage, a silvery sleigh," or with "Dievs' carriage, the horses of the wind." The link of myth to metaphor can best be seen in the motif in which Saule as the bride's mother distributes gifts *(veltīdama)* from her daughter's dowry by handing patterned mittens or a woven belt to the oak tree, a woolen cloak to the linden tree, and golden or green copper rings to the slim alders, just as the setting sun simply gilds *(zeltīdama)* the treetops in other song variants. The Daughter of Saule *(Saules meita)* is variously described as being courted by the Sons of Dievs *(Dieva dēli;* clear analogues of the Vedic *Ashvins* and the Greek *dioskuroi*), by Auseklis (the Morning Star, or by Pērkons (Thunder). Many poetic texts picture the Sons of Dievs as looking at the daughter of the sun through blossoms or branches, as heating the bathhouse for her (think of mists swirling on summer evenings), as tangling up the golden cloth that they are weaving in the sky, or as teasing her or even doing her violence. A separate motif involves the wrath of Pērkons over the abduction of the Daughter of Saule; he strikes the Sun Tree standing at the gate and smashes it to pieces. Saule weeps for three years while picking up the pieces and only picks up the tip of the tree during the fourth year. In other variants, Pērkons as the heavenly smith is forging a golden brooch or belt for the dowry of the Daughter of Saule.

In parallel to the purely celestial wedding, another motif has the sun shining during rainfall as a sign that the Daughter of Saule is getting married. But rather than coming from heaven, her suitor comes from the land of the dead: "my brother died young, he is now taking a bride." This motif ties in with the concept of Saule as the gatekeeper to the land of the dead.

SCHOLARLY DEBATES. In spite of the richness and diversity of oral materials about Saule, no major study on the Latvian Sun-myth is available in the English language. The first serious study of the Latvian Sun-myth is to be found in Wilhelm Mannhardt's monograph of 1875, in which he analyses a corpus of ninety Latvian Sun-songs. Mannhardt points to the numerous analogies with the folklore and mythology of other peoples found in Latvian Sun-songs, which he terms a "rich treasure trove of mythological poetry" (*reiche Schatzkammer mythologischer Poesie*). Referring to the then popular theories of Adalbert Kuhn, Mannhardt concludes that the Latvian folk songs contain genuine fragments of the original Indo-European Nature religion in its still nascent, "precrystallized" form. Eduard Zicāns (1936) has expanded this approach by analyzing the motif of the solar wedding in the *dainas,* along with its Indo-European parallels. A fascination with the Indo-European Sun-myth culminated in the nineteenth century with the wildly popular scholarship of Max Müller, who came to see solar motifs or a "solar hero" in practically every myth and tale ever recorded. After decades of unbridled enthusiasm, however, the mid-twentieth century (at least in North America) saw not just "an eclipse of solar mythology" (Dorson, 1955), but also a veritable scholarly taboo on interest in the Sun-myth as well as in Indo-European studies.

The thread was picked up again within the Swedish sociological school of religious studies by Haralds Biezais (1972), in an extensive and detailed study of Saule as a member of *"Die himmlische Gőtterfamilie der alten Letten"* (The Heavenly Family of God of the Ancient Latvians). Biezais stresses the "sociological background" of gods or mythological figures, whereby their functions are expressed mainly in terms of the family relationships among them. The feminine Saule is presented as a heavenly farm wife *(die himmlische Hausfrau)*, married to the masculine Mēness (Moon) and living in what is essentially the projection upon the Hill of Heaven of a prosperous Latvian farmhouse, with all its tools and implements. Similarly, under the influence of Émile Durkheim and the Swedish school of interest dominance among historians of religion, the German scholar Bauer, in his 1972 doctoral dissertation, stresses the importance of "technomorph concepts" in Baltic (i.e., Latvian and Lithuanian) mythology.

The concrete objects and activities linked to Saule in the Latvian *dainas* are certainly such as would be known from the singers' everyday life experiences and circumstances, only richer and shinier. Saule has servants who have to mow silver meadows and plough golden mountains. She has silken skirts which she puts out to air in the evening. The Daughters of the Sun *(Saules meitas)* in turn, may be washing tankards, bleaching cups, scrubbing linden tables, knitting mittens, weaving shirts, herding cows, sweeping paths, grinding meal, cooking dinner, and altogether as busily engaged in womanly tasks as any farmer's daughter ever could be. But do these poetic images derived from the "poorly differentiated life of the Latvian peasants" reflect a religious experience that is equally undifferentiated, narrow, limited, and obtuse, when it is not outright incoherent and irrational (Biezais, 1972, p. 391; Bauer, 1972, p. 194)? I would argue that they do not.

Along a different line of thought, some scholars have argued that the Latvian *dainas* contain little of what could be called "mythical" in the narrow sense of the word (adopted by Mircéa Eliade, among others): that is to say they do not form a coherent, solemn narrative about the birth, life struggles, and adventures of gods or superhuman heroes. By taking *narrative* as a central defining characteristic of what is mythical, Albert Lord (1989), for example, concludes that we should not talk of "mythical" *dainas* just because they refer to a god or mythological figure, but should treat them instead as courting, wedding, funeral, or other kinds of songs, according to their content or performance context.

Yet the very principle that narrative is a major defining characteristic of myth may be seriously questioned. Narrative involves character as well as plot, like two sides of the same coin, while lyrical poetry puts the accent on characterization. In his seminal work of 1875, Mannhardt offers a useful, broader definition of myth, proposing to treat "hymns, songs of praise, adoration and respectful prayers" as genuine mythical materials. In other words, the attitude expressed toward the mythological figure should be a crucial component of our understanding of its significance.

With respect to the Latvian Saule, Ludis Adamovičs (1956, pp. 567–568) has noted that, along with undeniably mythic and cultic elements in the Latvian materials, there are evident nature metaphors that may be merely the subjective products of poetic fantasy. This implies a questionable dichotomy between myth that is "real," that has some literal meaning in the prosaic sense, and poetic imagery or metaphor that is an "unreal" product of the imagination. In the same vein, the Lithuanian folklorist Jonas Balys (1953, pp. 7–9) claims that Latvians tend to overestimate the importance of their own songs for mythological studies. According to Balys, folk poetry is much more unreliable than prose narrative in that regard, and he quotes with approval an assertion by Emil N. Setälä (1934) that poetry, after all, is only poetry, and contains precious little of religion in the proper sense of that word. But if religion should be prosaic in order to be taken seriously, one wonders what to make of so many books of the Old Testament?

Along the same lines, the famous Finnish scholar K. F. Karjalainen (1921, pp. 20–21) has criticized the studies of Bernát Munkácsi on Vogul mythology (based on Vogul folk poetry), claiming that the corpus examined by Munkácsi needed a serious weeding out of images of poetic fantasy and random contributions by individual singers before such a "song religion" could be placed on an equal footing with "true" (prosaic?) folk beliefs. Even Biezais, who unconditionally accepts Saule as part of the "heavenly enlarged family" of ancient Latvian divinities, sees the poetic fantasy aspect as a sort of contamination in the otherwise valuable and rich source of materials of the Latvian *dainas.* Poetic images are said to appear without "rationally meaningful" motivation (Biezais, 1972, p. 264) or details that are difficult to interpret are treated as the meaningless products of poetic fantasy, due to confusion (or worse) on the singers' part (Biezais, 1972, pp. 270–271).

To proponents of the sociological school of religion, the fact that the personified Saule appears dressed and equipped in gold and silver is sufficient proof "that she belongs to the celestial realm and is divinised" (Biezais, 1972, p. 214). This, however, cannot be the sole criterion, since such ornamental or "focusing" epithets (Vīķe-Freiberga, *Mosaic* 6, 1973) are applied to everything in the *dainas,* starting with the humblest blade of grass. The metaphorical personification of a natural phenomenon is a legitimate step in its divinization, but not the ultimate one. The personified mythological figure must also have divine powers and functions attributed to it and must be linked to metaphysical and cultic concepts. In the case of the Latvian materials, where sociological reductionism would see Saule and her entourage as a projection unto the Hill of Heaven of the ordinary ancient farmstead, one could argue for the very contrary psychological process. Personified nature metaphors, in this view, are the expressions of individual subjective experiences of the numenous, of epiphanies linked to moments of religious revelation or of Cosmic illumination. The mythopoetic metaphor is an attempt to express the inexpressible by encoding it in images derived from everyday experience. In the Latvian *dainas,* the whole of nature and its phenomena are seen as manifestations of divine forces, as the incarnation of the divine spirit in matter. It is the divine or the spiritual that is projected downward into matter, not the sociological or the meteorological that is projected upward. One could go even further and claim that a nature divinity such as Saule is seen as consubstantial with its analogue in physical nature.

SEE ALSO Baltic Religion, overview article; Sun.

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VAIRA VĪĶE-FREIBERGA (2005)

SAURA HINDUISM is the branch of Hinduism in which the sun is worshiped as the principal deity. The first clear evidence of sun worship in India comes from the Vedas, the collections of ritual hymns produced by the Aryans who entered India around 1500 BCE. Several *deva*s ("powers" or "deities") praised in the Vedas had solar qualities, and the sun was also a *deva* in his own right as Sūrya or Āditya, the visible sun, and as Savitṛ, the stimulator of life. Vedic ritual practice honored the sun with daily recital of the Gayātrī *mantra* to Savitṛ and sacrifices to Sūrya. Despite this recognition, however, the sun was never considered the most important *deva* during the Vedic period.

Vedic sacrificial religion was basically aniconic. The only visible solar *deva,* Sūrya was represented in some Vedic rituals by symbols such as a twelve-petaled lotus, a wheel, or a golden disc, but the first anthropomorphic images of the sun god were stone reliefs of Sūrya in a one-wheeled chariot from Buddhist sites at Bodh Gayā and Bhaja in the first century BCE. These images indicate the emergence of Sūrya as a popular, but subsidiary, deity, a status that he maintained throughout southern India. In the North, however, Sūrya worship was transformed by foreign influence into Saura Hinduism.

The context of this transformation was the conquest of northern India late in the first century CE by the Indo-

Scythian empire of the Kushans, which extended from Central Asia through Bactria to its capital at Mathura. Contact with the neighboring Parthian empire opened the way for Iranian as well as Scythian influences during the century and a half of Kushan rule. Together, these influences changed the earlier solar religion into a popular theistic sect with distinctive foreign features.

The first change was the iconographic remodeling of Sūrya to look like a Kushan ruler with a close-fitting Scythian tunic and boots, an iconography that was preserved in all subsequent images of Sūrya in northern India. The second development, as described in the main text of Saura Hinduism, the *Sāmba Purāṇa,* was the creation of a major center of Sūrya worship at Multan in the Punjab by Sāmba, a son of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa, who also brought magi from Iran to serve as priests. A major concern of the *Sāmba* was thus not only to exalt the worship of Sūrya as savior but to justify the use of magi as brahmans in the cultic ritual.

There was already a major temple at Multan by the time the oldest portion of the *Sāmba* was written early in the sixth century; the text mentions further centers of Sūrya worship in Mathura and Orissa. Expansion continued throughout northern India for many centuries, but the sect went into rapid decline after the fifteenth century. The temple at Multan has not survived, and most Sūrya temples show the effects of long neglect. The eighth-century Sūrya temple at Martand in Kashmir and the eleventh century temple at Modhera in Gujarat, however, show the range of Saura influence, and the great thirteenth-century Sun Temple at Konarak in Orissa proves the grandeur of its vision.

SEE ALSO Sun.

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SAUTRĀNTIKA. Most available sources agree that the Sautrāntika school separated from the Sarvāstivāda perhaps some four centuries after the death of Śākyamuni Buddha. Its followers were called Sautrāntika, meaning those who take the sūtras as the last word, because although they accepted the two main parts of the Buddhist canon (the Tripitaka), namely, the Vinaya and the Sūtras, as the true word of the Buddha, they rejected the third part, the Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivāda tradition, considering it later philosophical disquisition, which for them had no binding authority. However, the Sautrāntikas must have remained effectively a branch of the Sarvāstivāda, as they continued to follow the same Vinaya, or monastic discipline, and their differences remained not so much practical as philosophical. They are sometimes referred to by such variant names as *Sūtrāntavādins* or *Sūtrapramāṇikas* (meaning the same as *Sautrāntika*), or as *Saṃkrāntivādins,* referring to their theory of rebirth or transmigration (*saṃkrānti*). Names such as *Saurodayika* ("like the sunrise," perhaps a reference to one of their famous teachers) and *Dārṣṭāntika* ("users of similes") are also applied to them. As a philosophical movement deriving from the Sarvāstivāda school, they distinguished themselves primarily from the Vaibhāṣikas, namely, those who adhered to the *Vibhāṣa* (Philosophical disquisition), a text based upon the (Sarvāstivāda) Abhidharma literature, and who maintained the reality of *dharma*s in all three times: past, present, and future.

According to the Chinese monk Xuanzang, who visited India between the years 627 and 645, the Sautrāntika recognized Ānanda, the closest disciple of Śākyamuni, as their chief master. According to another Chinese scholar their founder was called Uttara. Some Tibetan sources say that this school was called Uttarīya ("superior") in recognition of its superiority with regard to Dharma. Bhavya relates that the Saṃkrāntivāda was also called Uttarīya and that its founder, Uttara, seceded from the Sarvāstivāda. Tāranātha maintains that the names Saṃkrāntivāda, Uttarīya, and Tāmraśatīya all referred to the same school. A Chinese source asserts that one Pūrṇa, who propagated the Vinaya and Abhidharma teachings, encountered opposition from some monks who thereupon took Ānanda, the master of the Sūtras, as their patron. Vasumitra believes that the Sautrāntika and the Sarvāstivāda held similar teachings, but Vasubandhu and Saṃghabhadra concentrate mainly on the polemics between these two schools. In the Abhidharma literature there are references to four people who are said to have been the "four suns" of the Sautrāntikas: Kumāralābha, reputed as the founder of this school, Dharmatrāta, Buddhadeva, and Śrīlābha. Some modern scholars assert that such well known Buddhist thinkers as Vasubandhu, Dignāga, or even

Dharmakīrti were adherents or sympatizers of the Sautrāntikas.

Like the teachings of several other early Buddhist schools whose writings have been lost, Sautrāntika theories are known mainly from the surviving literature of other philosophical schools, Hindu as well as Buddhist, who most often refer to the Sautrāntikas in the process of refuting views at variance with their own. Although such references are bound to be partisan, it is nonetheless possible to gain a fair idea of Sautrāntika doctrines from them. In that these doctrines clearly serve as a link between the realistic atomizing theories of the earlier schools and the "mind only" (*cittamātra*) theories of the Yogācāra tradition, such an endeavor is all the more rewarding.

While the Sautrāntika adhere to the fundamental Buddhist "dogma" of *anātman* ("no-self," i.e., no transmigrating element) they reinterpret the earlier theory of *dharma*s (elemental particles), of which the five components (*skandha*s) of individual personality are said to be composed. Individual personality is essentially a nonentity (a "no self"), definable as a constant flux of elemental psychophysical particles, momentarily composing themselves under the effect of *karman* as form or matter (*rūpa*), feelings *(vedanā)*, perceptions *(saṃjñā)*, impulses *(saṃskāra)*, and consciousness *(vijñāna)*, namely as the five components. The main point at issue between the Vaibhāṣikas and the Sautrāntikas concerns the operation of *karman* upon the elemental particles resulting in a new interpretation of their nature. According to the Sarvāstivāda, all elements exist in past, present and future; hence their name, coined from *sarvāsti* ("everything exists"). An individual personality is therefore an ever-changing flow of real elements, the components of which vary from moment to moment in accordance with its *karman.* The Sarvāstivāda argue that every action projects its eventual effect upon the fluctuating stream of elements in the form of a fresh type of elemental particle known as *prāpti,* literally "acquisition" or "appropriation." Although itself of momentary existence like all other particles, *prāpti* continues to remanifest itself in the general stream of elements until an appropriate combination with other elements, themselves the effects of subsequent actions, produces the "fruit" or retribution of that particular action. Thus, *prāpti* may be regarded as the force that acts within a particular stream of elements (i.e., an individual personality) keeping it united as a seemingly coherent entity, not only within a single life-stream but also in the passage from one life to the next.

Since personality is also regarded under the threefold aspect of body, speech, and mind, action (*karman*) is definable as physical, vocal, or mental. Probably all Buddhists agree that mind or thought predominates in some way, but the extent and manner of its predominance presented a major area of discussion and disagreement among the early schools. Applying the theory of real elemental particles to everything, the Sarvāstivāda identified mental action as "volition" *(cetanā)*, while vocal and physical action, treated as an "expression" (*vijñapti*) of volition, were classed as elements within form or matter (*rūpaskandha*). Thus, mental action would cause the arising of vocal or physical action according to the normal process of *karman* throughout past, present, and future, and all elements in the process remain equally "real." The Vatsīputriyas, on the other hand, argued that vocal and physical acts are not real elements or "things in themselves" but a mere "process" or "motion" *(gati)* provoked by mental *karman* or volition, which receives expression *(vijñapti)* thereby.

The Sautrāntikas rejected the concept of action as operative in the past, present, and future; thus, strictly speaking, an action cannot result in an effect in the future, since neither past nor future can exist simultaneously with the present. The past *has* existed and the future *will* exist in relationship to the ever passing present, but only the present can actually exist and its existence is momentary (*kṣaṇika*). Thus bodily and vocal action resulting from mental action (i.e. thought) cannot exist in the manner envisaged by the Sarvāstivāda or Vaibhāṣika, and their concept of *prāpti* as a holding force can have no meaning. Likewise, *vijñapti* as the "expression" of thought has no real existence in itself; indeed, it is only the mental action as volition that exists, possessing moral value as good, bad, or indifferent. The Sautrāntikas analyze volition under three aspects: "deliberation" (*gaticetanā*), "decision" (*niścayacetanā*), and "impulsion" (*kiraṇacetanā*). It should be noted that all three terms include *cetanā,* "mentation," or the process of thinking. The first two constitute the "action of thinking" (*cetanākarma*), which in effect is volition, manifest as mental reflection (*manaskāra*) or thoughts (*caitta*). They both represent the "action of thought" (*manaḥkarma*). The third aspect, "impulsion" (*kiraṇacetanā*), is twofold: that which impels bodily movement and that which impels speech. This explanation reduces the actions of body and speech, conceived by the Vaibhāṣikas as realities (classed within the *rūpaskandha*) that succeed mental action throughout a time process, to mere aspects of volition, which alone is a reality, manifesting itself momentarily in what is always effectively the present. It is thus thought alone that has moral value as good, bad, or indifferent.

The Sautrāntikas claim that the maturing of *karman* as the "fruit" or effect of morally qualifiable volition can be explained by the manner in which the mental series evolves. An action, being a thought associated with a particular volition, is momentary (*kṣaṇika*). It disappears the very moment it is committed (and thus has no real duration as explained by the Sarvāstivāda) but it impregnates (*vāsanā*) the mental series (*cittasaṃtāna*) of which it forms a starting point with a particular potentiality (*śaktiviśeṣa*). The impregnated series undergoes an evolution (*pariṇāma*) of varied periods of time and culminates in the final transformation-moment (*viśeṣa*), which constitutes the state of retribution. The evolution of the series is compared to a seed and its gradual transformational growth until it matures as a fruit.

The Sautrāntikas had to answer certain objections as to what happens when the series is interrupted, as for instance in suspended meditation. A primitive interpretation, as represented by the Dārṣṭāntika view, assumed the theory of two simultaneous series, one mental, constituted by the six consciousnesses, and one material, constituted by the corresponding sense organs. When the mental series is interrupted it resumes in due course its evolution from its seeds or germs (*bīja*) that are preserved in the material series. Similarly, the material series, when it is interrupted (in death or in the meditative trances of the *ārūpyadhātu),* becomes reborn from its seeds preserved by the mental series. But where, it may be asked, is the continuity of the series as such? How are the germs retained? The answer of the Sautrāntikas is to assert the existence of a subtle thought (*sūkṣmacitta*) underlying the mental series and constituting its continuity.

Subtle thought was defined by the Sautrāntika thinkers in two different ways: some said it was mental consciousness (*manovijñana*) free of concepts (*saṃjñā*) and feeling (*vedanā*); others envisaged it as mental consciousness (*citta*) free of mentations (*caitta*). Both groups agreed that its objective sphere (i.e., its real nature) is "imperceptible" (*asaṃvidita*). This subtle consciousness was known by such other names as *ekarasaskandha* ("aggregate[s] of one flavor or nature"), *mūlāntikaskandha* ("origin and cause of the five *skandha*s"), and *paramārthapudgala* ("true and real person"). Later, the nature of "subtle consciousness" was explained by distinguishing two kinds of thought: a multiple or complex mind (*nānacitta*) as represented by the six kinds of active consciousnesses, and a store or subtle thought (*ācayacitta*). The complex mind and the elements (*dharma*s), all of which evolve simultaneously, impregnate the subtle thought with their seeds or germs.

The complex mind functions through different objects (*ālambana*), aspects (*ākāra*), and modalities (*viśeṣa*). The Sautrāntikas argued that when these functions of complex mind are absent, as in, for instance, a state of suspended meditation, the state is deprived of thought in the sense that the series is interrupted, but that in fact this absence does not indicate total interruption because subtle thought continues to exist, serving as a repository of all the seeds (*sarvabīja*) deposited by the complex mind. As the series evolves, the seeds mature and produce their "fruit" (retribution), which consists of a new (good or bad) complex mind and elements. As the subtle consciousness is the sustainer of these new or matured seeds, it is also called the "consciousness of retribution" (*vipākaphalavijñāna*). From the time of birth until the moment of death the subtle mind constitutes the continuity of the series and it transmigrates (*saṃkrāmate*) from one existence to the next, assuming different manifestations (reincarnations). Once it reaches the moment of passing into *nirvāṇa* (final retribution or deliverance) it is cut off and completely extinguished. This interpretation was criticized but also adopted with modifications by the Vijñānavāda and Mādhyamika schools.

The Sautrāntika rejected the existence of the unconditioned elements (*asaṃskṛta*). For them, these elements were not real or distinct entities but represented mere denomination of absence. Thus, space (*ākaśa*) represented an absence of tangible bodies (*spṛṣṭavya*) and *nirvāṇa* denoted the nonmanifestation of passions and adverse psychophysical elements. They also denied the reality of the fourteen "unassociated" elements (*cittaviprayuktasaṃskāra*), among which origination, duration, decay, and impermanence in particular were viewed not as entities but as mere denominations of the flux of the elements.

The Sautrāntika maintained that the objects of the external world are not really perceived because, being momentary, they disappear before they can be perceived. Thus, the object of cognition, being already passed as soon as it appears, is not perceived directly; it leaves behind an image that is reproduced in the "act of cognition." Such a process gives the impression that it exists, while in fact it only did so in the now nonexistent past.

In opposition to other schools, which maintained that only a person who was advanced on the path toward arhatship might possess the potentiality (*anāsravaskandha*) of liberation, the Sautrāntika maintained that ordinary people (*pṛthagjana*) had the same potentiality. Finally, they also asserted that apart from the Noble Eightfold Path (*āryāṣṭāṅgamārga*) there was no other way to destroy the *skandha*s; meditation and other practices can suppress the passions (*kleśa*s) but cannot eradicate them completely.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, Schools of; Buddhist Philosophy; Dharma, article on Buddhist Dharma and Dharmas; Indian Philosophies; Sarvāstivāda; Soul, article on Buddhist Concepts; Vasubandhu; Yogācāra.

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SAVONAROLA, GIROLAMO (1452–1498), was a Dominican preacher, reformer, and prophet. Savonarola was born in Ferrara, Italy, and under the eye of his grandfather, the distinguished court physician Michele Savonarola, was educated in religious and liberal studies before going on to medicine. A story that he was disappointed in love, and his early poem *De ruina mundi* give some insight into his decision to enter the Order of Friars Preachers in 1475. In Bologna he completed his novitiate and attended the Dominican Studium Generale. In 1482 he went to Florence as reader in the Observant Dominican convent of San Marco. The recently rediscovered Borromeo Codex, containing Savonarola's sermon notes, poetry, and other writings from this period, shows a young reformer in process of development rather than the born prophet portrayed by his hagiographers. The moralizing, ascetic sermon drafts contain none of the spectacular visionary themes, still less the millenarian themes, of Savonarola's later preaching. Still under the influence of Scholastic homiletics with its labored, allegorical exegesis, he was just beginning to find a more personal and direct, if as yet unflamboyant, style.

In 1484, ruminating on the wickedness of the world, he conceived "on the basis of scripture" that the church had imminently to be scourged and reformed, and he announced his new apocalyptic reading of scripture in his Lenten sermons in San Gimignano in 1485 and again in 1486. He was appointed *magister studiorum* in Bologna in 1487, and in the next few years he gained attention as a preacher in various north Italian cities. In 1490 he was reassigned to San Marco at the request of Lorenzo de' Medici, unofficial ruler of Florence, who may have been prompted by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, one of the friar's admirers. Elected prior, he briefly considered taking his friars into the woods of a nearby mountain valley, but instead he concentrated upon reforming San Marco and preaching in the city. He began to criticize tyrants as corrupters of the people, and he warned of coming tribulations. He was aware that he might share the fate of other preachers, most recently Bernardino da Feltre, who had been expelled from Florence for stirring up unrest; but the city's rulers made no effort to pluck this latest thorn from the flesh of the body politic, perhaps because they were pleased by Savonarola's fruitful efforts to create a new Tuscan congregation of Dominican houses with San Marco at its center, perhaps because they knew it would be difficult to dislodge him without scandal among his widespread following. With Piero de' Medici, who succeeded Lorenzo in 1492, he seems to have been on good terms.

By the 1490s rumbles of the earthquake that was to destroy Italy's facade of collective security were beginning to be heard. Charles VIII (1483–1498) was heralded as the new Charlemagne, who would restore French imperial glory, cross the sea to conquer "the Infidel," and convert the world into a single sheepfold under one shepherd. To Savonarola he was the *flagellum Dei* who would scourge the church and carry the children of Israel into captivity. Florence, that den of iniquity, would suffer with the rest. In the fall of 1494 Charles invaded Italy, and his opposition melted away as he marched to the frontiers of Tuscany. A frightened Piero de' Medici hurried to the king's camp and surrendered the key Florentine strongholds. Returning to Florence, Piero encountered a city in revolt, and he fled. After sixty years of Medici domination Florence had recovered its liberty.

Savonarola's standing as a popular champion and prophet gave him unrivaled authority. Holding no civic office, he exercised his influence through preaching (now supported by visions), through meetings with civic leaders, and through political allies in the city's councils. He charted a course between direct democracy and narrow oligarchic reaction, the chief feature of which was a new Great Council with hereditary qualifications for admission and sovereign powers on the model of Venice. In the city's religious institutions he changed little, but he sought to introduce a spiritual revolution through moral reform. Ascetic conduct was urged from pulpits and enjoined by new laws and by youthful vigilantes organized from San Marco. Religious processions replaced secular festivals; bonfires of "vanities" consumed the tokens of "worldliness"; specially written lauds celebrated the millennial glories of a spiritually revitalized Florence. The Jews, tolerated by the Medici regime, were expelled, and a public loan fund (Monte di Pietà), advocated by Franciscan preachers, was set up. Ignoring his earlier warnings of tribulation and doom, Savonarola now envisioned Florence as the New Jerusalem, center of liberty and virtue, from which would radiate the new era, when Florence would be "richer, greater, more powerful than ever."

Inevitably, however, Savonarola's insistence that the French king was Florence's divinely elected champion led to the city's political isolation in Italy, and the longer Charles put off his return, the lower Savonarola's credit dropped. His avoidance of the pope's summons to Rome and his disobedience to a command of silence led to his excommunication, and a papal interdict for harboring him threatened the city. All this created a situation that Savonarola's enemies could exploit. He was unable to block a Franciscan's challenge to a trial by fire, and he bore the brunt of the blame when this eagerly awaited test failed to take place. A mob attacked San Marco, and Savonarola and two other friars were imprisoned, interrogated, and tortured. Altered versions of Savonarola's confession to false prophecy and political conspiracy were published. On May 23, 1498 the three friars were hanged and burned on a specially constructed scaffold in Florence's main civic square.

The Savonarolan republic survived until 1512, when the Medici were restored by Spanish troops. It was revived by a revolt in 1527, in which *piagnone,* or Savonarolan, ideology played a fundamental role. Once again revolutionary millenarianism and puritanical republicanism flowed from San Marco. Once again the Jews were expelled. Prostitutes were banned. Pro-Medicean utterances were made a capital offense. Enemies of the regime were exiled. Blasphemers and sodomites were put to death. Such uncompromising fanaticism alienated republican moderates and strengthened the hand of the Medici, who came back to the city in 1530. As a political movement "piagnonism" was finished, although the cult of Savonarola thrived and has been revived periodically up to the present day. Its traces can be discerned in the Risorgimento biography by Pasquale Villari, the Catholic modernist life by Joseph Schnitzer, and the cinquecentennial biography by Roberto Ridolfi. Hagiography apart, Savonarola's sermons and devotional works continued to be printed and read in Italy, Spain, France, and Germany. Savonarolan piety, with its emphasis upon individual religious experience, charity, and the way of the cross of Christ, was admired by Martin Luther. A statue of the Dominican was erected in Wittenberg, although Savonarola surely belongs more to the Catholic than to the Protestant reformation.

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ṢAWM in Islam signifies fasting, an act of worship that consists of religiously intended abstention from eating, drinking, and sexual intercourse from dawn until dusk. Muḥammad introduced it in AH 1 (622 CE) by fasting and asking his followers to fast on ʿĀshūrāʾ, the tenth day of the month of Muḥarram, in deference to the Jewish practice. The following year came the Qurʾanic revelation (surah 2:183ff.) whereby the ʿĀshūrāʾ fast was replaced by the fast of Ramaḍān.

The Qurʾān indicates that fasting is an inalienable part of the religious life of people, since it was prescribed for Muslims as well as "for those before you," in order "that you become pious" (2:183). The earmarking of Ramaḍān, the month in which "the Qurʾān was sent down" (2:185), for fasting seems to be a recognition of the centrality of the Qurʾān in Muslim religious life and an attempt to reinforce it. In Muslim understanding, fasting is a means of fostering piety, of celebrating the glory of God, and of thanking him for revealing the Qurʾān, "a guide for mankind, and clear signs for guidance, and judgment" (2:185).

Except for a very few days of the year, Muslims may fast whenever they wish to as an act of supererogation. Fasting is so meritorious that in addition to obligatory fasting pious Muslims frequently observe voluntary fasting (*ṣawm al-taṭawwuʿ*), seeking self-purification and spiritual growth. Certain days and months have been specially recommended for voluntary fasting.

Fasting is obligatory for anyone who makes a vow to fast. In certain circumstances fasting has been prescribed as an alternative means of atonement. In addition, those who miss any days of the Ramaḍān fast (apart from the elderly or incurably sick) must make up the fast at a later date.

RAMAḌĀN. As one of the "Five Pillars" of Islam, the fast of Ramaḍān has a special position in Muslim religious life. All Muslims who have attained puberty and are in full possession of their senses are obliged to fast. Persons who are sick or traveling, and pregnant or nursing women, are exempted. Women in their periods of *ḥayḍ* ("menstruation") or *nifās* ("bleeding on the childbed") are not allowed to fast, although they are required to make up later for those days missed. The elderly and the incurably sick are totally exempted from fasting, but for every day of fasting missed they should feed one poor person.

Each day's fast commences when "the white thread of dawn appears to you distinct from the black thread" (2:187), and fasting restrictions remain applicable until sunset. This poses a problem in the polar regions, where days and nights are sometimes indistinguishable; it has been suggested, therefore, that the times of sunrise and sunset at the forty-fifth parallel be considered standard for determining times for fasting for places lying between the forty-fifth parallel and the pole.

It is recommended that those who fast should have a meal (*saḥūr*) before dawn, preferably as late as possible. Likewise, it is highly recommended that after sunset one should hasten *ifṭār*, the breaking of the fast. Any food or beverage may be taken for *ifṭār*, although dates or water is preferred. *Ifṭār* is usually a light meal and is taken hastily, since the *maghrib* ("sunset") prayer is performed minutes after sunset. It is considered highly meritorious to provide *ifṭār* to others, especially to the poor. It is common among Muslims to have *ifṭār* together in the neighborhood mosque and to invite friends, relatives, and neighbors to *ifṭār* parties.

Infractions of fasting such as eating, drinking, smoking, sexual intercourse, or indulgence in love play leading to seminal emission invalidate the fast. Such infractions variously necessitate *qādāʾ* ("restitution") alone, or *qādāʾ* and *kaffārah* ("atonement"). *Qādāʾ* consists of fasting one day for each day of invalidated fasting, whereas *kaffārah* necessitates the liberation of one Muslim slave, two months of consecutive fasting, or the feeding of sixty of the poor. Both *qādāʾ* and *kaffārah* are necessary when the fast of Ramaḍān is deliberately and voluntarily broken without extenuating reasons such as travel or sickness. The jurists are agreed that sexual intercourse necessitates both *qādāʾ* and *kaffārah*. In cases of eating and drinking, the Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbalī schools prescribe only *qādāʾ*, whereas the Ḥanafī and Māliki schools prescribe *qādāʾ* and *kaffārah*.

Ramaḍān is a month of concentrated worship and charity. Muslims have been urged to perform special prayers in the evening called *tarāwiḥ*. These consist, according to most Muslims, of twenty *rakʿah*s, or prayer sequences; they are generally performed in congregation, with the whole of the Qurʾān recited over the month. The last ten days of Ramaḍān, especially the nights, are considered highly blessed, since one of them is Laylat al-Qadr, the Night of Power, which is "better than a thousand months," the night in which "angels and the spirits descend and it is peace till the rising of the dawn" (97:4–6). Devout Muslims spend the better part of these nights praying and reciting the Qurʾān. It is also recommended that Muslims observe *iʿtikāf* ("withdrawal") during Ramaḍān, especially in its last ten days. *Iʿtikāf* consists of withdrawing to a mosque and devoting oneself exclusively to worship. Moreover, following the example of the Prophet, whose charitableness and philanthropy were heightened during Ramaḍān, Muslims show much greater propensity to charity at this time.

The end of Ramaḍān, signaled by the sighting of the new moon, is celebrated in the ʿĪd al-Fitr (the festival marking the end of fasting). The religious part of the ʿĪd consists of two *rakʿah*s of prayers in congregation and payment of a fixed charity, *ṣadaqat al-fiṭr*. The ʿĪd, however, also has an important social dimension. Muslim cities and villages take on a festive look, people usually wear their best clothes, and friends, relatives, and neighbors meet in mosques or on streets, congratulating, embracing, and kissing each other. The exchange of visits is also quite common.

SIGNIFICANCE AND INNER DIMENSION OF ṢAWM. The legal minutiae associated with *ṣawm* sometimes prevent appreciation of its religious significance and inner dimension. Religiously sensitive Muslims are not satisfied merely with observance of the outward rules, which serve as an assurance against the invalidity of the fast but not of its acceptance by God. The Prophet is reported to have said that "he who does not abandon falsehood and action in accordance with it, God has no need that he should abandon his food and drink." The desire to make one's fasting acceptable to God has led devout Muslims to emphasize the qualitative aspect of fasting. Al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), for instance, emphasized that abstention from food, drink, and sexual satisfaction is only the elementary level of fasting. At a higher level fasting means keeping one's ears, eyes, tongue, hands, and feet free from sin. And at a still higher level fasting means a withdrawal of the heart and mind from unworthy concerns and worldly thought in total disregard of everything but God.

A major object of fasting, in al-Ghazālī's view, is for humans to produce within themselves a semblance of the divine attribute of *ṣamadīyah*, freedom from want. Another scholar, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah (d. 1350), viewed fasting as a means of releasing the human spirit from the clutches of desire, thus allowing moderation to prevail in the carnal self. Shāh Walī Allāh (d. 1762), one of the most famous South Asian theologians, viewed fasting as a means of weakening the bestial and reinforcing the angelic element in humans. A contemporary Muslim thinker, Sayyid Abū al-Aʿlā Mawdūdī (d. 1979), emphasized that fasting "for a full month every year trains a man individually, and the Muslim community as a whole, in piety and self-restraint; enables the society—rich and poor alike—to experience the pangs of hunger; and prepares people to undergo any hardship to seek the pleasure of God."

SEE ALSO Islamic Religious Year; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Muslim Worship.

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The impact of *ṣawm* on the lives of people, especially the ways in which Ramaḍān has been and is being observed in different Muslim lands, is a subject worth exploring. Good sources are travel accounts written by Muslims as well as outsiders.

ZAFAR ISHAQ ANSARI (1987)

SAXO GRAMMATICUS (c. 1150–after 1216) was a Danish historian whose writings (*Gesta Danorum*) constitute one of the few important early sources on Germanic mythology and religion. Saxo studied in France and later became secretary to the Danish archbishop Absalon, who suggested that he write a history of Denmark. By 1200 he had completed seven books covering the monarchy from Harald II (known as Bluetooth) to Knut IV (a period from c. 950–1086.) During the next decade, he wrote nine more books on the mythical traditions of antiquity prior to Harald II. He drew upon all available sources, both oral and written, and wrote excellent Latin, including verse in various classical meters. He was well acquainted with Norse saga traditions, which he had either heard as a boy or learned from Icelandic poets. He wove the legendary material into a continuous narrative, taking liberties as he pleased. Book 3 contains the earliest mention of the Hamlet story.

Saxo's importance is threefold. Much of his material provides corroboration of other mythological documentation, in particular the works of Snorri Sturluson. Furthermore, some of Saxo's material is all that exists on certain topics, because of the loss of original texts. Finally, his legendary tales demonstrate his euhemeristic method of transforming myths into history. A fine example of all three points is the saga of Hadingus (*Gesta Danorum* 1.5–8). The main character, Hadingus, is none other than the god Njǫrđr transformed into a hero. The parallels are striking. Both figures have two relationships with women. The earlier relationship in each case is incestuous (Njǫrđr with his sister and Hadingus with the giantess Harthgrepa, who had nurtured him as a child). The later relationship for each comes about when the woman uses a special method of selecting her mate (Skađi chooses Njǫrđr on the basis of his beautiful feet, while Regnilda picks out Hadingus by his legs). In this saga, Saxo corroborates the information provided by Snorri on Njǫrđr. Like Njǫrđr, Hadingus is a master of the ocean, having power over the winds and familiarity with the seas. Saxo provides copious detail on how Hadingus acquired this mastery; such detail in respect to Njǫrđr is completely lacking in other sources. There are many other examples of Saxo's euhemerization of the Norse pantheon, such as his transformation of Freyr to Frothi, Baldr to Balderus, and Skađi to Høtherus. Saxo and Snorri used the same sources, but Snorri's rendition of the old myths is more adept.

SEE ALSO Germanic Religion; Njǫrðr; Snorri Sturluson.

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JOHN WEINSTOCK (1987 AND 2005)

SAYERS, DOROTHY L. (1893–1957) was a writer whose theology found expression through many literary genres. Sayers began her education in languages at the age of seven when her father, a Church of England clergyman, began teaching her Latin. She gained first-class honors at Somerville College, Oxford, in 1915, and in 1920 was among the first group of women allowed to take their B.A. and M.A. degrees from Oxford. She earned her living as an advertising copywriter while establishing herself as a poet and as a writer of detective fiction, inventing her character Lord Peter Wimsey. Her novel *Gaudy Night*, published in 1935, is both a detective story and an unabashed defense of academic and intellectual work as undertaken by women, for whom she was a provocative advocate throughout her life. In her detective fiction she explored the emotional cost to Wimsey and others of establishing the truth about the circumstances of the various deaths of her fictional characters, and she also explored the mediation of impartial divine justice through the relatively imperfect procedures of the rule of law in the society of her day.

Thoroughly familiar with the Book of Common Prayer and the Authorized Version of the Bible, and with her beliefs formed and framed by the demanding theology of the Church of England's matins and evensong, Sayers made outstanding contributions to the development of religious drama, from works written for radio broadcast to plays written for performance in cathedrals. Outstanding were her twelve radio plays—the first broadcast on December 21, 1941—collectively titled *The Man Born to Be King*. These broke new ground in having the portrayed voice of Jesus of Nazareth "on the air," and Sayers thus helped to open the door to depicting the Gospel in various ways on stage and screen.

In 1941 Sayers published a significant (and unjustly neglected) work on Trinitarian theology, *The Mind of the Maker*, elaborating her conviction that human creativity provides clues to divine creativity, and exploring the analogy of human and divine creativity via the concepts of "Creative Idea," "Creative Energy," and "Creative Power." Sayers also gave valuable stimulus to thinking again about the integrity of the arts and about their neglect in her day, despite their roots in Christian tradition. Her work was of considerable interest to authors as different as T. S. Eliot (1888–1965), C. S. Lewis (1898–1963), and Charles Williams (1886–1945).

Sayers owed a particular debt of gratitude to Williams, himself a writer and editor of poetry, novels, essays, and theology. In 1943 he published *The Figure of Beatrice*, which plunged Sayers back into reading Dante Alighieri's *Divine*

Comedy in its original Italian. She and Williams exchanged an ecstatic series of letters during what turned out to be the last nine months of Williams's life. Sayers found in Dante someone whose love for and recollection of a living human person, Beatrice, enabled him to symbolize the full humanity of women, for Dante's Beatrice was a mistress of philosophy and science as well as of theology. He represented her as the perfect integration of the intellectual, the emotional, and the bodily in her own great beauty, supremely well fitted for teaching Dante whatever he needed to know, as well as being for him the sacramental mediator of grace and salvation.

The reading and appreciation of Dante reinvigorated Sayers's own theology, and through her lectures and publications on Dante she brought theology to a wide audience. Her translation and commentary in 1949 of *Cantica I: Hell*, the first section of *The Divine Comedy*, led to the only academic honor she accepted after her first degrees: a doctorate of letters given to her in 1950 by England's University of Durham. After Sayers's unexpected death in 1957, Barbara Reynolds completed Sayers's translation of *Cantica III: Paradise*—a tribute to years of collaboration with her.

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ANN LOADES (2005)

SCANDINAVIAN RELIGION SEE GERMANIC RELIGION

SCAPEGOAT.

Scapegoat rituals are among the oldest known rituals. A more rudimentary form is already found in two texts from Ebla dating to the later third millennium BCE, but the first full-fledged descriptions come from outlying parts of the Hittite empire, Kizzuwadna, Hapalla, and Arzawa (i.e., city-states in southeast Anatolia and northern Syria). The prescription of Ashella, a man of Hapalla, which dates to the thirteenth century BCE, reads:

> When evening comes, whoever the army commanders are, each of them prepares a ram—whether it is a white ram or a black ram does not matter at all. Then I twine a cord of white wool, red wool, and green wool, and the officer twists it together, and I bring a necklace, a ring, and a chalcedony stone and I hang them on the ram's neck and horns, and at night they tie them in front of the tents and say: "Whatever deity is prowling about (?), whatever deity has caused this pestilence, now I have tied up these rams for you, be appeased!" And in the morning I drive them out to the plain, and with each ram they take 1 jug of beer, 1 loaf, and 1 cup of milk (?). Then in front of the king's tent he makes a finely dressed woman sit and puts with her jar of beer and 3 loaves. Then the officers lay their hands on the rams and say: "Whatever deity has caused this pestilence, now see! These rams are standing here and they are very fat in liver, heart, and lions. Let human flesh be hateful to him, let him be appeased by these rams." And the officers point at the rams and the king points at the decorated woman, and the rams and the woman carry the loaves and the beer through the army and they chase them out to the plain. And they go running on to the enemy's frontier without coming to any place of ours, and the people say: "Look! Whatever illness there was among men, oxen, sheep, horses, mules, and donkeys in this camp. And the country that finds them shall take over this evil pestilence." (Cited in Gurney, 1977, p. 49)

The ritual is clearly an ad hoc purification performance and not tied to the calendar. It is applied in times of pestilence, combines both a decorated human and an adorned animal, and finally, it is offered by the king and the army commanders to the hostile deity who has caused the pestilence. Interestingly, the ritual was appropriated from northern Syria by both the Greeks and the Israelites, each in a specific manner that fitted their own particular religion.

THE GREEK UNDERSTANDING. In the Greek world, the rituals surface for the first time in the writings of the sixth-century Ionian poet Hipponax of Colophon, a city on the western coast of modern Turkey, where Anatolian religious influence is well attested. According to Hipponax, somebody was thrown down on a meadow and whipped with fig branches and squills "like a scapegoat" to purify the city. The scapegoat also received dried figs, bread, and cheese and even reappears in the context of the Thargelia, a two-day festival of first-fruit offering and seasonal renewal. According to other descriptions, especially from Athens and Massilia, the scapegoats were often people of low standing in the community but temporarily treated very well and dressed up in nice clothes. At a certain day they were led out of the city—sometimes carrying food, such as loaves and beer or dried figs, bread, and cheese—in a procession in which probably the whole of the population had to take part and during which pipers played a specific, undoubtedly unharmonious tune.

Origen (c. 185–c. 254) even compared the Greek scapegoats with Jesus: "They [the apostles] not only dared to show to the Jews from the words of the prophets that he was the prophesied one, but also to the other peoples that he, who had been recently crucified, *voluntarily* died for mankind, like those who died for their fatherland, to avert plague epidemics, famines, and shipwreck" (*Contra celsum* 1.31). Voluntariness of a victim was an important part of Greek sacrificial ideology, which stressed that a victim was pleased to go up to the altar, sometimes could even hardly wait to be sacrificed. This voluntariness is also stressed in Greek scapegoat rituals.

Finally, the scapegoats were expelled from the city through stoning and pelting. Yet it is clear (whenever sufficient information is available) that they were not killed. However, the effect must have been a social death and the corresponding myths always speak of a real death, which classical scholars long, if erroneously, translated into a former human sacrifice. The myths, especially as given shape in the tragedies of Euripides (c. 480–406 BCE), often mention a cult for those scapegoats whose death had saved the city. In other words, those who had given their lives for the community also received a special honor from that community. Finally, the location of the scapegoat ritual on the Thargelia shows that the Greeks had incorporated the ritual into their festival calendar, but as pestilences always strikes unexpectedly, they also performed the ritual if need arose.

In these Greek scapegoat rituals, there is a clear difference with those of the Hittites. Whereas among the latter the king and the army commanders play the main role in the ritual, in Greece it is the city that needs to be cleansed, as is stated by Hipponax. This element gained in importance in the classical period, when the polis became the center of a Greek's life. Strikingly, the city is reportedly saved by girls, perhaps in their capacity as the more expendable parts of the household. In these myths, the element of purifying, which was so prominent in the ritual, has receded, whereas the saving effect has come to the foreground. Although the ritual probably stopped being performed in the fourth century, this aspect stayed alive through the telling of the myths, just like the expendable quality of the scapegoats: Several of the terms to denote the victim (e.g., *pharmakos*, *perikatharma*, or *peripsema*) long remained in use as insults.

THE JEWISH INTERPRETATION. Whereas several notices from all over Greece exist about the scapegoat ritual, knowledge of ancient Israel is limited to chapter 16 of the *Book of Leviticus,* which describes the day of atonement. The date of the final redaction of the chapter is much debated, but it seems safe to date it to the postexilic era before the arrival of Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE). The chapter is a complicated mixture of several rituals. There is first the expiation for the sins of the high priest, Aaron, and his house through the sacrifice of a young bull (*Lev.* 16:3). Regarding the scapegoat proper, Aaron had to select two goats (*Lev.* 16:5), the cheapest of the domesticated animals. After a lottery, one of them was assigned to Yahweh, and the other was meant for Azazel, a still obscure deity or demon (*Lev.* 16:7–10). Second, Aaron then had to transfer the sins of the Israelites onto the goat by laying his hands on the goat (*Lev.* 16:21), an archaic means of transfer that could still derive from the Hittite rites but that is absent from the Greek material. Finally, somebody (not further specified) had to take the goat to the desert (*Lev.* 16:21), which was clearly structurally similar to the enemy in the Hittite texts or the area beyond the borders in the Greek traditions. As was the case with the Greek scapegoats, the Israelite goat apparently escaped with its life, which gave it its English name, (e)scapegoat, whereas the German Reformer Martin Luther wanted to emphasize the transfer of the sins and therefore introduced the word *Sündebock* (sin-goat) into the German language.

The day of atonement also occurs in the Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran dated to the period around the times of Jesus, even though the ideas about atonement in the Qumran community have not yet been satisfactorily studied. The beginning of the ritual is related in an *Apocryphon of Moses* (4Q375), but the *Temple Scroll* (11Q19 25) mentions an expansion of the initial sacrifices. Instead of the bullock as sin-offering and the ram as burnt-offering, it describes a burnt-offering for Yahweh consisting of a bullock, a ram, and seven yearling lambs; a sin-offering of a goat; and a burnt-offering of two rams for the high priest with the house of his father (and presumably for the people, but the text is corrupt at this place). Further details are given about the exact treatment of the various parts of the offerings and the catching of their blood in a golden sprinkling bowl, but the expulsion of the scapegoat resembles that of *Leviticus.*

A few additional details can be gleaned from the Mishnah treatise *Joma*, even though it was written after the destruction of the Temple. According to the text, the position of the high priest within the ritual had become more important, because his role was dramatized: The preparations had been intensified (*Joma* I) and instead of linen clothes, he now wore golden ones (*Joma* III 4a). Also noted is the participation of members of the Sanhedrin (*Joma* I 3a) and the aristocracy of Jerusalem (*Joma* VI 4b)—apparently, the upper class of Israel had deemed it necessary to become visibly involved in its most important religious ritual. The goat was adorned with a crimson thread around its head (*Joma* IV 2a, VI 6a), very much like the Hittite scapegoat.

Evidently, Israel had also appropriated the Anatolian scapegoat ritual, although the date and route of derivation are still totally unclear. However, like the Greeks, the Israelites did not take over the ritual unchanged. Whereas the Hittites used both animals and humans as scapegoats, the Greeks only selected humans and the Israelites, only animals. Moreover, in the postexilic period at the latest, they had integrated the ritual into the temple service and thus fixed it at a specific date, even though its archaic origin still remains visible.

EARLY CHRISTIAN UNDERSTANDING. An intriguing problem remains the influence of the scapegoat ritual on the birth of the early Christian idea of the atonement. Clearly, Jesus himself did not yet interpret his coming death as an atoning sacrifice for the salvation of humanity. Moreover, attempts at finding a Jewish background for the doctrine have also been unsuccessful. This does perhaps suggest an influence from the Greek mythological tradition as inspired by the scapegoat ritual, because only here do people voluntarily die to save the community from a catastrophe. Unfortunately, the exact road along which the early Christians came to this interpretation has remained obscure, but Palestine was already highly Hellenized in Jesus' time and Euripides' tragedies, which often treat the theme of the saving human sacrifice, were also well known to educated Jews. Still, there is much uncertain here, and no consensus has been reached in this field.

The notice of Origen quoted previously suggests that scapegoat rituals could also be performed at sea. Undoubtedly, he thought in this connection of the story told in the homonymous *Book of Jonah.* The prophet Jonah is en route to Nineveh when storms threaten to engulf his ship. The crew concludes that one man is culpable and should be thrown into the sea. Jonah is saved only by a great fish (traditionally known as a whale), which spits him out after three days. The story exemplifies the principle that the death of one person can save the whole of the community. It is undoubtedly an old principle. The Babylonian epic of creation *Enuma elish* already mentions in a sentence of a guilty god: "He alone shall perish that mankind shall be fashioned." And indeed, parallels from all over the world show that this principle (i.e., to give up one or a few persons to save the group) is very widespread and seems to be part of the human makeup. It was sometimes even ritualized in a very similar manner to the scapegoat rituals previously discussed (e.g., in Tibet).

SCAPEGOAT AS SOCIAL PHENOMENON. On a more general level, it is clearly also a very widespread phenomenon that people consider that crises (economic, political, social) have been caused by a specific person or minority. As a rule, people do not like to blame themselves and would rather accuse others. This mechanism is already in place in the great European witch-hunts from the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries. Here the culprits were especially looked for among old women (a very vulnerable group in earlier times), free masons, Jews, and heretics. As these people must be considered guilty of some act, normally in these cases they are accused of the most horrific crimes, such as incest, sodomy, or the killing of children. Such accusations were even put into writing as in the notorious nineteenth-century anti-Semitic fake *The Protocol of the Elders of Zion* and used to legitimate the murder of the Jews by the Nazis. As the elimination of the scapegoats often goes concomitant with the restoration of some social order, the link between the two processes can be easily argued, and thus the scapegoat mechanism perpetuates itself. Politicians who take the blame in a crisis may even receive special praise and return to the political stage at a later date. In other words, the mechanisms of the scapegoat pattern are observable in contemporary society.

These observations led the French literary critic René Girard (b. 1923) to formulate a theory about the scapegoat that was enormously influential in the last decades of the twentieth century. Girard noted the elements that have been previously mentioned: (1) a crisis, (2) the selection of victims not because of real crimes but because they belong to a social (e.g., Jews, heretics, old women) or physical (e.g., disabled) minority, (3) the restoration of the social order through the violence against the scapegoats. In this process, the community lets one member—preferably an outsider so that there will be no revenge and the violence perpetuated—die for the whole. Girard has long been fascinated by the problem of violence, and his views have to be seen against this background. According to him, society is driven by a mimetic desire: People long to have what other people long to have. These desires often result in violence, and the death of the scapegoat that can eliminate this violence. Only religion is able, according to Girard, to keep a lid on human violence by its disciplining character. Girard's work is very stimulating, and his anthropological insights illuminating. Yet he evidently often confuses mythical stories and history, and his grand theory should be taken as an incitement to reflect about violence rather than as a resolution of a problem that plagues human existence.

SEE ALSO Atonement; Sacrifice; Violence.

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JAN N. BREMMER (2005)

SCARIFICATION See BODILY MARKS

SCHECHTER, SOLOMON (c. 1847–1915), was a Talmud scholar and educator. A product of four distinct European cultural ambiences, Solomon Schechter came to New York in 1902 to lead a reorganized Jewish Theological Seminary of America. During the thirteen years of his presidency he exerted a formative influence on an emergent American Judaism by facilitating the gradual transfer of the academic study of Judaism from the old to the new world and by creating the institutions, leaders, and rhetoric of a movement for Conservative Judaism.

Born in the still largely traditional Jewish society of eastern Romania, Schechter came to Vienna in his mid-twenties with a formidable mastery of classical Jewish texts. A four-year stay in the 1860s at the rabbinical school founded by Adolf Jellinek gave him rabbinic ordination, command of the new Western methods of Jewish scholarship, and a lasting affection for his teacher, Meir Friedmann. In 1879 Schechter moved on to Berlin to continue his training as a Jewish scholar at the recently opened Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, where he came under the influence of Israel Lewy, the outstanding critical Talmudist of his generation. In 1882 he received an invitation from Claude Montefiore, whom he had befriended at the Hochschule, to come to England as Montefiore's tutor in rabbinic literature. Five years later he gave resounding evidence of his scholarly abilities with a model critical edition of an early homiletical rabbinic text, *Avot de Rabbi Natan.* Dedicated to Montefiore, it combined Friedmann's love of *midrash* with Lewy's critical method.

By 1890 Schechter had achieved academic respectability, though not financial security, with a lectureship (later a readership) in rabbinics at Cambridge University. During the next decade he moved quickly to the forefront of a lackluster generation of Jewish specialists ensnared by the pulpit and polemics. His scholarship was marked by a sweep, competence, and originality usually associated with the polymaths who had founded the *Wissenschaft des Judentums.* Prior to his departure for America, Schechter published the first fruits of his eventual synthesis of rabbinic theology (1894–1896), a collection of popular essays on Jewish history and literature (1896), a good part of the Hebrew original of *Ben Sira* (1899), and the first volume of a large Yemenite *midrash* on the Pentateuch (1902). Of still greater consequence was Schechter's dramatic foray in January 1897 into the long-abandoned *genizah* of Cairo, where he was compelled "to swallow the dust of centuries" in order to exhume and bring to Cambridge an inexhaustible trove of manuscripts from ancient and medieval sources related to Jewish society and culture.

A scholar of international renown, a superb expositor of Judaism in English, a charismatic personality, a religious moderate, and a man of culture—these were the qualities that made Schechter so attractive to the plutocracy of American Jews of German descent who were eager to revitalize the Jewish Theological Seminary. For his part, Schechter wished to escape the growing burdensomeness of his religious isolation and inadequate salary at Cambridge.

Once in New York, Schechter moved to replicate the academic model pioneered in Breslau, Vienna, Berlin, and Budapest: a nonpartisan rabbinical school free of outside rabbinic control whose graduates would be immersed in the academic study of Judaism. Schechter insisted that every applicant have the B.A. degree, "bearing evidence of his classical training," and recruited a young, largely European-trained faculty of great promise to challenge the often unsympathetic Christian scholarship on Judaism.

Religiously, Schechter articulated an inchoate conception of Judaism that was anti-Reform, pro-Zionist, while remaining open to all historical expressions of Judaism, all-embracing, and responsive to change. He rejected Reform's excessive rationalism, eagerness to "occidentalize" Judaism, preoccupation with Judaism's mission, and minimal commitment to the Hebrew language. His own broad embrace is best documented in his inimitable three-volume *Studies in Judaism* (London, 1896, 1908; Philadelphia, 1924), which cherishes every historical expression of Judaism. Choice and change are ultimately effected "by the collective conscience of Catholic Israel," and history supplements scripture as a medium of revelation. Despite the implicit historicism of this view, Schechter failed to enunciate a procedure for sanctioning change and, indeed, dedicated most of his energy to defending what the past had sanctified. In 1906 he dared to defy his own benefactors, the wealthy and anti-Zionist Jews who had brought him to the United States, by avowing Zionism as an antidote to the erosion of Jewish identity.

The persistent weakness of the seminary forced Schechter by the end of his first decade of leadership to consider building a congregational base that would provide additional support. After protracted deliberations, the United Synagogue of America was founded in 1913 with Schechter as its first president. The occasion, however, did not provide for further ideological clarification. The omission of any reference to "Conservative" in the organization's preamble epitomized the reluctance of Schechter and his associate Cyrus

Adler to form a "third party in Israel." The coalescence of a religious movement was to be the achievement of others during the interwar period, after Schechter's death.

SEE ALSO Conservative Judaism.

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SCHELER, MAX

SCHELER, MAX (1874–1928). German philosopher. Scheler was born in Munich on August 29, 1874, and died, after a dramatic life filled with personal misfortunes, in Frankfurt on May 19, 1928. He taught philosophy at the universities of Jena, Munich, and Cologne.

His thought is divided into two periods. In the first, up to 1921, he concentrated on value ethics and the strata of human emotions; in the second, he was occupied with metaphysics, sociology, and philosophical anthropology. Both periods are characterized by numerous studies in religion, culminating in the thought of the "becoming" Deity that is realizing itself in human history.

The first period centered on three major works: *Wesen und Formen der Sympathie* (1913), *Der Formalismus in der Ethik und die materiale Wertethik* (1913–1916), and *Vom Ewigen im Menschen* (1921). It is characterized by Scheler's phenomenology and, extrinsically, by Roman Catholicism, to which he had been converted in his early life. Scheler's phenomenology is distinct from Husserl's in that (1) Scheler, unlike Husserl, did not conceive consciousness to be absolute but, rather, dependent on the "being of person," and also because (2) for Scheler all regions of consciousness through which entities are given in their particular nature (e.g., as animate or inanimate, etc.) are ultimately based in the region of the absolute, in which each person relates to what he holds to be absolute. This made Scheler the forerunner of phenomenology of religion.

In *Vom Ewigen im Menschen* and other works Scheler showed how this region of the absolute can be "filled" by various gods, fetishes, or even nihilism. Therefore, he posed a basic question: What is it that gives itself adequately—and how does it accomplish this—in this region of the absolute of human consciousness? His answer: God as person. For Scheler, God is experienceable only through "love" of divine personhood, not through rational acts. Love itself is an emotive act and prior to perception and knowledge. Love reveals an order *(ordo amoris)* in which values are "felt." The highest value is the "holy." The human heart, as the seat of love, has its own "logic" (as Pascal held). In the heart, and not in knowledge, God as person is phenomenologically "given."

In his second period, Scheler abandoned this form of theism, without however abandoning the primacy of love. He now conceived the deity as unperfected, becoming, and in strife with itself. He explained this process in terms of two opposite divine attributes: urge (*Drang*) and spirit (*Geist*). Scheler reached his conclusion about the deity through a "transcendental elongation" of humanity's own nature, that is, by setting humanity's own vital urge, which posits reality, in opposition to the human mind, which bestows ideas on reality. The vital urge is humanity's self-moving, self-energizing life center in which the deity's urge also pulsates. Without urge and drives the mind would remain "powerless" and "unreal." There is no mind unless it is "in function" with the self-propulsion of life. Hence, God's spirit also requires divine urge for its realization. The theater of this divine process is human and cosmic history, in which deity "becomes" as it struggles for its realization. Humanity is called upon to "co-struggle" with this divine becoming.

Scheler died without resolving the question whether or not the theogenetic process would ever reach completion. He held, however, that the uncreated process of the becoming of human, world, and deity had reached a "midpoint" toward both spiritualization and divinization of both humanity and life. In 1926, Scheler envisioned the future as a new, long, and perilous "world era of adjustment" between the too-intellectual and active West and the more passive East. The future, thought Scheler, would reflect gradual balance and less struggle between spirit and urge; history will become "less historical" as God ever more "becomes" in it.

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Man (London and New York, 1960), is not always an acceptable rendition of the German original. It should be read in conjunction with part 2 of Scheler's *Der Formalismus in der Ethik und die materiale Wertethik,* 6th ed., vol. 2 of his *Gesammelte Werke* (Munich, 1980), translated as *Formalism in Ethics and Non-Formal Ethics of Values* (Evanston, Ill., 1973) by myself and Roger L. Funk. Scheler's *Wesen und Formen der Sympathie* (Bonn, 1931) has been translated by Peter Heath as *The Nature of Sympathy* (London, 1954). Recommended as general introductions are *Process and Permanence in Ethics: Max Scheler's Moral Philosophy,* by Alfons Deeken, S.J. (New York, 1974); and *Max Scheler,* by Eugene Keely (Boston, 1977); as well as my own book, *Max Scheler: A Concise Introduction into the World of a Great Thinker* (Pittsburgh, 1965). Scheler's thought of the second period is available in his *Erkenntnislehre und Metaphysik,* in his *Gesammelte Werke,* vol. 11 (Munich, 1979). *Metaphysik des einen und absoluten Seins* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1975) by Bernd Brenk, and my study "Gott und das Nichts: Zum Gedenken des fünfzigsten Todestages Max Schelers," *Phänomenologische Forschungen* 6/7 (1978): 118–140. A list of currently available English translations of Scheler's works can be found in the *Journal of the British Society for Phenomenology* 9 (October 1978): 207–208.

MANFRED S. FRINGS (1987)

SCHELLING, FRIEDRICH (1775–1854), German philosopher. Born at Leonberg in Württemberg, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling received his early education at the preparatory seminary at Bebenhausen, where his father, a Lutheran minister, was professor of Old Testament studies. From an early age, Schelling was exposed both to Lutheranism and to the Swabian mystical pietism of Bengel and Oetinger. Precociously entering the University of Tübingen at fifteen, he enthusiastically espoused (with his comrades G. W. F. Hegel and Friedrich Hölderlin) the ideas of the French Revolution and the philosophy of Kant. At the time of his first professorship in 1798, at Jena, Schelling had met J. G. Fichte, had published in significant journals, and had offered a synthesis of the new philosophy and the new natural sciences.

Schelling's philosophical career unfolded in four major periods: Fichtean transcendentalism (to 1796); systems synthesizing the history of consciousness and nature (to 1806); explorations of the ground of freedom and consciousness in the mode of mysticism (to 1820); and the final system, whose second and third parts describe the unfolding of idealism in the history of religion (1827–1843). Because of the years of friendship with Hegel at Jena after 1800 and their years of enmity after Hegel's first publications, we can only suspect Schelling's creative influence in ideas that today are associated with Hegel.

Of the great philosophers of the early nineteenth century, Schelling remains comparatively little known, and his thought is usually falsely presented as a sterile, unwieldy structure of mental forms drawn from his early works. Despite his youthful break with church and orthodoxy, Schelling's philosophy by 1802 had reexamined religion; his move first to Würzburg and then to Munich was crucial, for these cities placed him in contact with Franz von Baader, the rehabilitator of Meister Eckhart and Jakob Boehme, and with the vigor and sacramental mysticism of the Bavarian renaissance under Ludwig I. Stimulated particularly by Boehme, Schelling, in his important *Essay on Human Freedom* (1809), led German philosophy from the consideration of structures of consciousness to the enterprise of will. Beyond necessity and freedom, good and evil, a ground of the divine being in its longing for its own identity sets in motion an exoteric process. This process realizes itself in a triad of powers that guides the universe, human history, and God's own life.

After some years at the University of Erlangen, Schelling returned to join Baader, Joseph von Görres, Johann von Döllinger, and Johann Möhler at the new University of Munich. There, in 1827, he announced his final system, one that was not an exploration of transcendental concepts but a presentation of the birth of God in a trinitarian dialectic: a vast but real extension of dialectic into history, into religion, and then into the incarnation and kenosis of Christ. Although Schelling presented this system for over fifteen years, the final section on the age of the Holy Spirit and the church—the synthesis in the Johannine church of the dynamics of both Peter (Catholic) and Paul (Protestant)—was never developed beyond a few pages.

Theologically, Schelling was influenced by Neoplatonism, Lutheran Christianity, and forms of mysticism; he read extensively in the theological writings, Protestant and Catholic, of his time. From 1798 to 1830 he was the mentor of progressive Catholic theologians in the south, while Protestant theologians such as Karl Daub were initially impressed with his work. Schelling influenced Russian philosophy and theology and, through Coleridge, English culture; although rejected by the young Kierkegaard and Engels, in thinkers such as Paul Tillich and Gabriel Marcel the existentialism of his final thought touched the twentieth century. The centenary year of his death, 1954, began a new interest in Schelling, while the 1970s saw mature works on him as well as the initiation of a critical text.

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Work on the critical text is reaching the writings done after 1800, and the previous volumes have been accompanied by a series of specialized studies on areas touching the volumes published by Frommann-Holzboog in Stuttgart. The basic text of Schelling was republished by the Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft in 1976. There are some recent translations into English, including four early works translated by Fritz Marti, three works published by Thomas Pfau including the "Stuttgart Seminars," a translation of *Die Weltalter* by Judith Norman, and one by Victor Hays of segments of the philosophies of myth and revelation.

Thomas F. O'Meara (1987 and 2005)

SCHENIRER, SARAH (1883–1935), was a pioneer in religious education for Jewish females and founder of Baiś Yaʿaḳov educational institutions. Born to a Belzer Hasidic family in Kraków, descendant of rabbinic scholars, Schenirer was a devout Jew who worked as a seamstress by day and spent her evenings in the private study of biblical texts and rabbinic legends, a discipline begun in her youth. This was unusual for a woman in her times and even as a child she was affectionately teased as "the little pious one."

In 1914, inspired by a sermon, Schenirer conceived the idea of Jewish classes for women. Until that time, Jewish education in eastern Europe was designed exclusively for men, inasmuch as rabbinic tradition interpreted the commandment to study Torah as incumbent upon males only. But Schenirer's religious fervor and love of sacred texts, combined with her fear of the inroads of cultural assimilation, secular Zionism, and Polish feminism, led her to radical innovation: the creation of a school that would both increase the knowledge and strengthen the faith of young Jewish women.

Despite initial setbacks, Schenirer persisted. Securing the blessings of the influential *rebe* of the Belzer Ḥasidim, in 1918 she opened her first school in her home, with two young aides whom she sent off after a year to establish schools in other communities. In 1919, the Orthodox Agudat Yisraʾel movement adopted and expanded the network of Baiś Yaʿaḳov (Yi., House of Jacob). By 1925, twenty schools were operating, including several high schools. In combining religious studies with secular and professional training, Baiś Yaʿaḳov represented a synthesis of Polish Hasidic piety and Western enlightenment.

Schenirer soon relinquished executive duties but remained a central figure in the movement, a role model and personal source of inspiration to the students. She also founded the Baiś Yaʿaḳov Teachers' Seminary and established the Bnoś (Daughters) Youth Organization for religious females.

Little is known of her personal life. Her first marriage ended in divorce; a primary factor in the couple's incompatibility was that her husband was less religiously committed and observant than she. She had no children and died of cancer at the age of fifty-two.

The Baiś Yaʿaḳov movement suffered a terrible blow in the Holocaust. Most of the students and teachers who had been involved with Baiś Yaʿaḳov between 1918 and 1939 did not survive. After the war, Baiś Yaʿaḳov and Bnoś were reestablished and expanded in the United States, Israel, and Europe—with more of an eye, however, to conserving tradition than to bridging tradition and modernity, as was its aim in Schenirer's lifetime.

See Also Agudat Yisraʾel.

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SCHIMMEL, ANNEMARIE. Annemarie Schimmel (1922–2003) was a German Orientalist and historian of religions. Born in Erfurt to a Protestant family, she started learning Arabic at the age of fifteen and studied Arabic, Persian, and Turkish beginning in 1939 in Berlin, where she completed her Ph.D. in 1941 at the age of nineteen, with a doctoral thesis on "Calif and Cadi in Late Medieval Egypt [i.e., in the late Mamluk period]." Schimmel then prepared her *Habilitation* on the military class in Mamluk Egypt and finished it, after World War II, in Marburg in 1946. While teaching Islamic languages and literature she prepared another thesis in *Religionswissenschaft* under the guidance of Friedrich Heiler, and she completed the newly established doctor of science in religion degree in 1951 with a thesis on the concept of love in Islamic mysticism. Although Schimmel was not a Muslim, she was given a five-year appointment as full professor of history of religions in the Islamic theological faculty of Ankara University in Turkey, a position she held from

1954 to 1959. She later taught Islamic languages at the universities of Marburg (1959–1961) and Bonn (1951–1967) and at Harvard University (1967–1992), where she was given the newly founded Chair of Indo-Muslim Cultures.

Schimmel lectured in Bonn after her retirement from Harvard in 1992, and continued there until shortly before her death. She also lectured in universities around the world, addressing audiences of all levels in Asia, Europe, and America. The various prestigious posts she held included serving on the editorial board of Mircea Eliade's *Encyclopedia of Religion* (1987) and as president of the International Association for the History of Religions (1980–1990). Schimmel also received many honorary doctorates and was highly decorated by academic and cultural institutions in both Western and Islamic countries. Among her many awards was the 1995 Peace Prize of the German Book Trade, which caused some political controversy due to a television interview in which she expressed some sympathy with the Muslims who were offended by Salmon Rushdie's *Satanic Verses.* Because of this episode, and because of meetings she had with Pakistan's Zia lu-Haq and other dictatorial Muslim leaders, this award was criticized. Though reports often circulated in the Islamic world about her conversion to Islam, in her will she requested a Protestant funeral, which was held in Bonn.

Schimmel's work concentrates on Islamic mysticism (*Mystical Dimensions of Islam,* 1975); on mystic poetry (*As Through a Veil,* 1982; *A Two-Colored Brocade,* 1992); on individual mystic writers (*I Am Wind, You Are Fire: The Life and Work of Rumi,* 1992; *Gabriel's Wing: A Study into the Religious Ideas of Sir Muhammad Iqbal,* 1963); on forms of Islamic veneration (*And Muhammad Is His Messenger,* 1983); on everyday Muslim practice (*Islamic Names,* 1989); and on other cultural expressions, such as calligraphy (*Islamic Calligraphy,* 1970; *Calligraphy and Islamic Culture,* 1984); as well as on surveys on specific literatures (*Islamic Literatures of India,* 1973; *Sindhi Literature,* 1974; *Classical Urdu Literature from the Beginning to Iqbal,* 1975) and on Islam in India and Pakistan (*Islam in the Indian Subcontinent,* 1980; *Islam in India and Pakistan,* 1982).

In the phenomenology of religion, Schimmel's inspiring Gifford Lectures, "Deciphering the Signs of God: A Phenomenological Approach to Islam" (1994), attempt to apply Heiler's categories of "Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion" (Forms of manifestations and the essence of religion) to a specific religion, and to thus present a phenomenological introduction to a religion. The main thesis of her book *Wie universal ist die Mystik? Die Seelenreise in den grossen Religionen der Welt* (How universal is mysticism? The journey of the soul in the world's great religions, 1996) is that behind all the dogmatic differences in religious teachings there is a common ground accessible through mystic experience. These works explain why Schimmel distanced herself more and more from *Religionswissenschaft,* for which methodological approaches from such human sciences as the sociology of religion or the psychology of religion were more important than sympathy with religious experience.

In the field of Islamic mysticism, Schimmel follows the German tradition represented by Hellmut Ritter, Fritz Meier, and Richard Gramlich, and she used the vocabulary of German Christian mysticism as the prototype for translation of Islamic terms. Schimmel was one of the few representatives of this type of research. Along with Friedrich Max Müller, Schimmel was an important pioneer on research into the Indo-Muslim and Sanskrit Indian context. In the phenomenology of religion she was loyal to Heiler's approach, despite the development of new approaches in the study of religions.

Schimmel's numerous books and articles show a remarkably wide range of knowledge in all kinds of cultural phenomena, both Islamic and Western. Her works are equally appreciated by both Muslim and non-Muslim academics. She is one of the rare non-Muslims whose work has found uncontested acceptance in the world of Islam, and her writings have helped make Muslim thought known across Islamic cultures. The fact that Schimmel quotes from Sindhi, Pashto, Punjabi, Urdu, Persian, Turkish, and Arabic sources allowed her to widen the horizons of Muslims, as well as non-Muslims, to the great variety of religious expression within the Islamic world. Since she translated many of her books herself from her native German into English, and vice versa, most of her work is available in both languages. Moreover, she published works in several other languages (Asian and Western) so that her research could be understood in various linguistic contexts. In addition, many of her works have been translated into countless languages around the globe.

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PETER ANTES (2005)

SCHISM

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
CHRISTIAN SCHISM

SCHISM: AN OVERVIEW

Schism is the process by which a religious body divides to become two or more distinct, independent bodies. The division takes place because one or each of the bodies has come to see the other as deviant, as too different to be recognized as part of the same religious brotherhood. Often disputes over doctrine or organization brew for years before some triggering incident incites the final break. During that preparatory period, groups of adherents slowly come to understand their procedures and convictions as being fundamentally different from those of the opposing group. The psychological and sociological process of separation is often complete before an organizational break occurs.

TYPES OF SCHISMS. One way to classify schisms is to look at who defines whom as deviant. Either the parent group or the departing group, or both, may see the other as having diverged from the true faith. In the first instance, when the parent group defines the schismatic group as deviant, the charge against it (or more often against its leader) is usually heresy. Ironically, such heretics do not usually set out to leave the parent body. Rather, they have new ideas about how the faith should be practiced or how the religious body should be organized; but in the course of promulgating their ideas, these reformers are found intolerable by the parent body and forced out. Such a process was most visible in the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century. But it also occurred within Protestantism as, for instance, when Puritan dissidents such as Anne Hutchinson and Roger Williams were cast out of the Massachusetts Bay Colony as heretics, forcing them to form new schismatic groups. Although reformers may declare the current leadership and practice of their body to be corrupt, in this kind of schism the body itself is not usually condemned until the separation is imminent.

In the second instance, schism may occur when a departing group declares the parent body to be illegitimate, and the parent body seeks to retain the schismatics within the fold. Such an occurrence is most common when the schism parallels clear political or ethnic divisions. The parent body seeks to retain a broad definition of itself and its power, and the schismatics seek more local, independent control. For instance, the Philippine revolution of 1897–1898 was followed in 1902 by a schism of many local churches away from the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Because the church had become a symbol of imperial rule, religious schism followed political independence. Throughout their history, the Sikhs of the Punjab have claimed that their way of life should be both politically and religiously independent of Hindu India, whereas India has taken a more inclusive (some would say imperialistic) stance. In the United States, various nineteenth-century Protestant schisms resulted from ethnic and cultural differences introduced by immigrants. As in the 1963 split in the (American) Serbian Orthodox church, these schismatic groups came to see the parent body as unresponsive to their needs and probably irredeemable. Schisms took place despite protests from the parent group.

The third kind of schism is probably the most common. Here each side comes to see the other as having deviated from the true path. Although each may try for a time to convert the other, their final separation is a recognition that they can no longer work and worship together. This pattern has been typical for American Protestantism, from the regional divisions of the mid-nineteenth century to the fundamentalist departures of the 1920s. Since no single Protestant body monopolizes religious authority, charges of heresy can be made by almost anyone. When the charge has found fertile ground in popular discontent, Protestant doctrinal disputes have often led to schism.

IDEOLOGICAL FACTORS. Religious schism, of course, by definition is an ideological matter. Differences in belief and practice are almost always at stake. In Eastern cultures, the scale is likely to tip toward differences in religious practice as the source of division, whereas in Western society, dogma assumes a more central role. The ultimate values of most groups are vague enough to allow for differences in practical interpretation. In religious groups those practical differences can create divergent paths to salvation and opposing definitions of good and evil, with each side nevertheless seeking to justify its beliefs in terms of the same core of sacred values.

Even organizational and political disputes, when they occur within religion, are infused with sacred meaning. In *The Religion of India* (1958), Max Weber argues that the original division between Hinayānā and Mahāyāna Buddhism was more organizational than dogmatic. The Mahāyāna tradition began to allow more leniency in relationships to worldly affairs, the laity, and money. Today, leaders of religious organizations are not just subject to accusations of inefficiency and poor administration but to charges of violating a sacred trust. When dissidents seek to reform a religious organization, they often charge that those in power have corrupted the true ideals of the group. Typical bureaucratic intransigence can become proof of evil intent. The battle cries of religious conflict originate in arguments about ultimate truth, and for that reason they must be taken seriously as factors in the divisions that occur from time to time.

SOCIAL FACTORS. It is, however, impossible to treat religious schism exclusively as a theological matter. The ideas over which believers fight and divide make sense only as a part of the lives of people in a given time, place, and social position. When social change occurs, people's understanding of the religious life changes as well. Separation occurs not only because people come to hold incompatible views about salavation but because those views are born of different life experiences. The kinds of social differences that can lead to religious schism fall into three broad, interrelated categories.

Economic differences. H. Richard Niebuhr claims that "the division of the churches closely follows the division of men into the castes of national, racial, and economic groups" (1929, p. 6). Although class divisions are rarely a perfect predictor of religious schism, they often play an important role. Niebuhr's argument is that sects (that is, schismatic groups) arise as the socially disinherited seek a religion that more nearly meets their needs. They are more concerned with emotion, informality, ethical purity, and the coming new age than more established, well-to-do believers either need or wish to be.

More recently, Dean R. Hoge (1976) has demonstrated that the class base for current divisions is not so much in objective differences in income, occupation, or region as in the degree to which individuals perceive middle-class values to be threatened by change. At a theological level, the differences are seen in disagreements over the dualistic nature of humanity. At an organizational level, the two parties differ on how the church should order its priorities. The result is an incipient schism across American Protestantism that pits the traditional conservatism of the upper class and of the lower middle class against the innovation of those in the upper middle class who are neither so entrenched nor so insecure as to feel threatened by change.

Beyond these divisions within advanced capitalist societies, changes in the world economic order as a whole can also create a climate for schism. When either masses or elites find themselves in a new economic context, displayed from old loyalties, living in a world that operates by different rules, religious revolutions are possible. In medieval Japan, political and economic chaos provided the setting in which the Pure Land and Nichiren sects were formed within Buddhism. It was no accident that the Protestant Reformation occurred in the context of declining feudalism and rising nationalism. It is also no accident that the independent churches in Africa today have arisen with the decline of imperialism. Again in Japan, cultural change since the middle of the nineteenth century has been enormous, and there has been a parallel proliferation of new religious movements. Changes in the economic and political order create new religious questions and leave spaces into which new religious solutions can fit.

Modernization. Much of the social change that leaves people open to religious reorganization and schism can be seen as part of the longterm process of modernization. To be modernized is, among other things, to learn new skills for encountering and manipulating the world, among the most important being literacy. Having personal knowledge of sacred texts often distinguishes a schismatic group from its parent body. As early as the fourteenth century, reformers such as John Wyclif were teaching their followers to read and thereby sowing the seeds of the revolt from Catholicism that would follow. More recently, David B. Barrett (1968) has demonstrated that African independent churches are springing up most predictably in the areas where the Christian scriptures are available in the vernacular. Having personal access to scripture is part of a climate of individualism that is neither necessary nor possible in an unmodernized world. It is also part of the social process of religious schism.

Modernization not only creates social dislocation and encourages individualism, it also creates a world in which there are multiple versions of truth, in which there is pluralism. Ironically, one of the factors most important in predicting schism is a preexisting state of division. Where differences are already an everyday fact of life, religious schism is more likely and more easily accomplished. For this reason, it is not surprising that in the Philippines, Protestantism was most successful in precisely the same areas that had first experienced schism from the Roman church as part of the development of the Philippine Independent Church. When Islam began to dominate India in the fifteenth century, one of the responses to its spread was new religious differentiation within Hinduism. Likewise, Barrett has documented that schism in Africa is more likely where independent African churches have been established in neighboring tribes, where the culture is not dominated by Islam, and where there is a relatively large Christian population. Where monolithic religious authority is absent and examples of divison are at hand, schism is more likely.

Political differences. Religious schisms also occur because religious life cannot be separated from the political circumstances in which people exist. The Donatist schism, among the earliest divisions in the Catholic church, happened in part as a result of political tensions between North Africa and Rome. Later, during the Middle Ages, the formal schism between the Eastern and Western churches had its greatest practical reality in places like Russia, where religious schism followed the lines of political animosity between Russians and Poles. The Protestant Reformation might have taken very different form but for the rivalries among various heads of state and between them and Rome. Likewise, the shape of Protestantism in America has been undeniably affected by divisions among ethnic and immigrant groups, divisions over slavery, and divisions between frontier and city, local and cosmopolitan.

In most of Asia, religion and communal life have been so inextricably intertwined that political change has, by definition, meant religious change, and vice versa. The nineteenth-century Daibing rebels in China adopted a religious synthesis of Christian and Confucian thought that propelled them into military conflict with the Manzhu rulers. Today, religious divisions often parallel political ones within the Indian subcontinent. The prejudices and divisions of everyday life are more often reflected in religious separation than overcome by religious unity.

ORGANIZATIONAL DYNAMICS OF SCHISM. All of the theological, cultural, economic, and political factors that give rise to schism are necessary causes, but they are not sufficient causes in themselves. They cannot explain why one missionized culture experiences schism and another does not, why some ethnic groups share a religious heritage, and others see each other as religiously alien. To explain those differences, one must take into account the organizational structures in which divisions are encountered. Some organizations make schism likely, whereas others prevent division from occurring. Those who have studied social movements have identified various ingredients in organizations that may make schism possible. The factors they list may be divided into two broad categories.

Conditions in the parent body. Most basically, conditions that produce cohesiveness also inhibit schism. If there are strong incentives of loyalty and reward binding people to the parent body, splinter groups will have difficulty forming. Likewise, when the members have few competing ties to other organizations, their religious commitments are more central and less likely to be disturbed.

However, since conflict is always a possibility in the application of religious values to everyday life, organizations that learn to control conflict can avoid schism. Often this means simply hearing and responding to grievances. It may mean establishing structures in which disagreements can be contained and made useful (e.g., the establishment of monastic orders in Catholicism). When organizational hierarchies are too authoritarian to change or to allow diversity, they may be confronted by schism.

Conversely, organizations that have too little dogma, too loose an identity, are equally vulnerable. The incredible diversity of Hinduism can in part be accounted for by the lack of concrete dogma, organized clergy and congregations, or any central group giving it limits of belief and practice.

Equally important, the form of authority in the organization provides the raw materials out of which schisms can occur. The more democratic the group's polity and the more autonomous its constituent units, the more it is susceptible to division. As authority is dispersed, it is more easily claimed and protected by dissident groups. Schism is, after all, at least in part a struggle for organizational power. It is an attempt to impose one group's views on the whole. That imposition can take place only as long as the instruments of power are also under the group's control. Decentralized religious organizations provide niches of power that can be used by dissidents mobilizing a revolt.

An implication of the foregoing is that parent bodies with effective means of social control are less likely to experience schism. When organizational hierarchies know what their members are doing and are able to apply effective sanctions, dissidents are less able to mobilize. Heretics who are banished or burned only occasionally become the inspiration for later schisms.

Conditions in the dissenting body. To achieve a successful withdrawal from a parent body, dissenters must mobilize a variety of resources. They must make it rewarding for people to participate in their movement by offering them opportunities to lead, to be recognized, and to feel they are defending important values. Followers must be promised not only a more sure path to eternal salvation but a way to achieve more tangible goals as well. Where punishment seems more immediately likely than reward, reformers must be able to turn even that to their advantage.

Most especially, dissenters must be able to manipulate symbols of good and evil so as to define the conflict in cosmic terms. A dissenting group must therefore develop effective means of communicating its ideas and overcoming the counterarguments of the parent body. The emphasis on literacy in schismatic groups nicely serves this purpose.

All of these undertakings require resources of time, money, and skill. Often it is those at the bottom of the social structure who can contribute time, a powerful benefactor who can contribute money, and trained people on the fringes of the parent organization who can contribute skill.

Finally, most schismatic movements need a charismatic leader. One person provides the ideas and inspiration that motivate others to follow.

CONCLUSION. Schism, then, is a division in a religious body in which one or each of the separating groups defines the other as having departed from the true faith. It always involves conflict over what is ultimately true and how that truth should affect human lives. Yet schism also occurs in a social context in which economic divisions and changes, the process of modernization, and political differences impinge on the way people organize themselves into religious bodies. Those structural conditions provide the background and raw materials of schism, and specific organizational conditions provide the means by which a separation is finally accomplished.

SEE ALSO Heresy; Modernity; Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy; Orthopraxy.

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SCHISM: CHRISTIAN SCHISM

In ecclesiastical contexts, *schism* is both a technical term and a general term referring to a split or division within a segment of the Christian church or between segments of the Christian church. It is a category of ecclesiology that is basic to understanding the history of the Christian church, because the church, in its understanding of itself as an institution, has placed great emphasis on the unity and integrity of structure, order, and dogma.

Schism appeared early in the history of Christianity and took a variety of forms, which makes it difficult to apply any one legal or canonical definition to the phenomenon or the term. Schisms were noted in the earliest documents of the church, including the New Testament. The first and second letters of John note the centrality of ecclesiastical harmony and the danger of heretical distortions of the teaching handed down. The same fear of divisions (*schismata*) is noted in other letters, such as Paul's letters to the Corinthians.

Historically, the notion of schism has been and continues to be important to a large part of the Christian community because of its emphasis on theological and eucharistic unity as fundamental to the nature of the church. But schisms are inherent in any society that claims to have access to the truth and believes that truth is essential to salvation. Schism makes sense only in communities that have the will and the agency—whether pope, council, or Bible—to establish norms of behavior and parameters of belief without excluding the possibility of diversity in theological emphasis.

The foundational nature of this unity was made evident from different perspectives in the writings of Ignatius of Antioch in the first century and Irenaeus in the second century in response to confrontations with heresy. Ignatius emphasized the centrality of the local bishop, and Irenaeus stressed the importance of the canon of scripture and apostolic succession. In addition to the theological affirmation, the birth of the church within the Roman empire and its expansion in the Byzantine milieu heightened this sense of institutional and dogmatic unity within the context of the diversity encouraged by geography and distance. In an empire as multinational as the Byzantine empire, it is easy to understand how schism came to be a political threat and why, as in the example of Constantine and the Donatists, immediate imperial intervention was called for.

While schisms have had a variety of causes, they did exhibit similar sociological dynamics. For instance, they tended to be aggravated as the initial causes and antagonists became lost in the phenomenology of the separation itself. In fact, it is not unusual in Christian history to find that the original factors and personalities causing a schism were forgotten as each party to the dispute forced its own position to a logical extreme in opposition to the other. Hence the very diversity that the early church and even the medieval church demonstrated became perverted as differences in emphasis became dogmas in opposition, as in the cases of monophysitism and Nestorianism.

EARLY SCHISMS. Among the earliest schisms of any significance were those related initially to historical phenomena and ecclesiastical discipline. Such was the case with the Donatists in North Africa and the Meletians in Egypt during the early fourth century. These two cases, as well as the Novatian schism in Rome in the third century, demonstrate the historical conditioning of schism (in these cases persecution) and that questions of order and discipline can and did develop into theological and ecclesiological issues.

The first significant schisms to affect the Christian church were those based on heresy or a one-sided emphasis on a particular, albeit accepted, aspect of Christian belief. These were the withdrawals of Nestorian Christians in Persia in 431 as a result of the Council of Ephesus, and the so-called monophysite Christians in Syria, Egypt, Armenia, and Ethiopia in 451 after the Council of Chalcedon. Political and cultural factors would crystallize these churches in their isolation from the mainstream of Christianity, consisting of Latin and Greek portions of the empire.

Unity was not guaranteed between the two largest geocultural portions of the Christian church—the Latin West and the Greek East. The efforts of Emperor Zeno (474–475; 476–491) to reconcile the monophysites to the official church by publication of the *Henoticon* (482) occasioned the thirty-five-year schism between Rome and Constantinople. The *Henoticon,* compromising the Chalcedonian formulations, was opposed by Felix II, who excommunicated both Zeno and his patriarch, Acacios. The schism lasted from 484 to 519, when it was brought to an end by Emperor Justin I and Pope Hormisdas (514–523). The churches of Rome and Constantinople continued to experience minor and short-lived conflicts based on theological and political issues in the seventh-century Monothelite Controversy and the eighth-century Iconoclastic Controversy.

ROME AND CONSTANTINOPLE. Relations between the churches of Rome and Constantinople continued to degenerate during the eighth century as these churches grew increasingly hostile as well as distant in their ecclesiology and politics. The most notable feature of the ecclesiastical developments of the eighth century was the new alliance that the papacy forged in mid-century with the new Carolingian kings. The logical result of the geographical and cultural isolation to which Rome was subjected was its turn toward the Franks, consummated by Pope Stephen II's alliance with Pépin III in 754. The Franks could give the papacy the military support that the Byzantine emperor could not supply. The crowning of Charlemagne in 800 by Leo III was both a symptom and a cause of the growing ecclesiastical hostility between Rome and Constantinople.

In the ninth century, through the agency of the Carolingians, the issue of the *filioque* was thrust into the already hostile relations between Rome and Constantinople. The *filioque,* Latin for "and the Son" (asserting that the Holy Spirit proceeds from both God the Father and from God the Son) had been inserted into the Nicene Creed in sixth-century Spain to protect the divinity of the Son against residual Arianism and adoptionism. Charlemagne welcomed, endorsed, and adopted the *filioque* officially at the Council of Frankfurt (794) and used its absence among the Byzantines as the basis for charges of heresy. By the mid-ninth century, the two main issues that would characterize East-West ecclesiastical disputes, the *filioque* and papal primacy, were defined.

Photian schism. In 858, Photios assumed the patriarchate of Constantinople on the occasion of the deposition and later resignation of Patriarch Ignatius (847–858). Ignatius's partisans appealed to Rome for his restoration. Their cause was taken up by Nicholas I, who was looking for an opportunity to intervene in Eastern ecclesiastical affairs to enhance his authority. A Roman council in 863 excommunicated Photios as a usurper and called for the restoration of Ignatius, but the council had no way of enforcing its decisions in the East, and the Byzantines bitterly attacked the move as an uncanonical interference in their affairs.

During the same period, the Byzantines had collided with the Frankish missionaries operating in central Europe and Bulgaria over the question of adding the *filioque* to the creed as well as its theological propriety, both of which Photios was to attack in his *Mystagogia.* In 867, Photios held a council and excommunicated Nicholas. In the same year he addressed a letter to the Eastern patriarchs, condemning Frankish errors being propagated in Bulgaria.

The schism, though short-lived, was significant in that it embodied two of the main issues that would poison ecclesiastical relations until the fifteenth century. In 867, Photios was deposed and then, in 877, restored to the patriarchate. The schism ended when the Latin church, through the attendance of three papal legates at the council of 879/880, endorsed by John VIII, confirmed Photios's restoration and the end of the internal schism between the Photians and the Ignatians.

Fourth marriage controversy. The next schism between the churches of Rome and Constantinople concerned the fourth marriage of Emperor Leo VI (886–912). Though married three times, Leo had failed to produce a male heir. When he did sire a son, it was with his mistress, whom he wished to marry so that he could legitimize his son as his successor, Constantine VII. Because Byzantine canonical tradition grudgingly permitted only three marriages, Patriarch Nicholas I refused to permit the emperor to marry a fourth time. Leo appealed to the Eastern patriarchs and to the pope, Sergius III, for a dispensation. In 907 a council approved the fourth marriage, partially on the basis of the dispensation of Sergius. Nicholas I resigned and was replaced by the more cooperative Euthymios. A schism resulted within the Byzantine church between supporters of Nicholas and supporters of Euthymios.

When Leo VI died in 912, his successor, co-emperor Alexander I reappointed Nicholas to the patriarchate. Nicholas addressed a letter to Pope Anastasius III (911–913), optimistically informing him that the schism within the Byzantine church had ended and asking him to condemn the authors of the scandal, but he did not name either Leo or Sergius. The letter was never answered, and Nicholas removed Anastasius's name from the diptychs, the ecclesiastical document maintained by each church that records the names of legitimate and recognized hierarchies, effecting thereby in 912 a formal schism whose significance depends on the value accorded the diptychs.

In 920 a council in Constantinople published a tome of union, which condemned fourth marriages and restored harmony to the two Byzantine factions. By 923, John X sent two legates to assent to the 920 agreement and anathematize fourth marriages. The formal schism between Rome and Constantinople ended in 923 with the restoration of the pope's name to the Constantinopolitan diptychs.

The Great Schism. The issue of the *filioque* was to arise again in the eleventh century. In 1009, Pope Sergius IV (1009–1012) announced his election in a letter containing the interpolated *filioque* clause in the creed. Although there seems to have been no discussion of the matter, another schism was initiated. The addition of the *filioque* was, however, official this time, and the interpolated creed was used at the coronation of Emperor Henry II in 1014.

As the papacy moved into the mid-eleventh century, the reform movement was radically altering its view of the pope's position and authority. This movement, as well as the military threat of the Normans to Byzantine southern Italy, set the stage for the so-called Great Schism of 1054.

The encounter began when Leo IX (1049–1054), at the Synod of Siponto, attempted to impose Latin ecclesiastical customs on the Byzantine churches of southern Italy. Patriarch Michael Cerularios (1043–1058) responded by ordering Latin churches in Constantinople to conform to Byzantine usage or to close. Michael continued this attack on an aggressive reform-minded papacy by criticizing Latin customs, such as the use of azyme (unleavened bread) in the Eucharist and fasting on Saturdays during Lent. The issues of the eleventh-century crisis were almost exclusively those of popular piety and ritual; the *filioque* played a minor part.

Michael's reaction did not suit Emperor Constantine IX (1042–1055), who needed an anti-Norman alliance with the papacy. Michael was forced to write a conciliatory letter to Leo IX offering to clarify the confusion between the churches, restore formal relations, and confirm an alliance against the Normans. Leo sent three legates east. Seeing the legates as part of a plot to achieve a papal-Byzantine alliance at the expense of his position and the Byzantine Italian provinces, Michael broke off discussions.

The attacks of Humbert of Silva Candida (c. 1000–1061), one of the legates, on the Byzantine church made clear for the first time the nature of the reform movement and the changes that had taken place in the Western church. In his anger at Byzantine opposition to papal authority, Humbert issued a decree of excommunication and deposited it on the altar of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. In it he censured the Byzantines for permitting married clergy, simony, and removing the *filioque* from the creed. The value of the excommunication is questionable, because Leo had died several months earlier. A Constantinopolitan synod, giving up hopes for an alliance, excommunicated the legates.

By the mid-eleventh century, it became clear to the Byzantines that they no longer spoke the same ecclesiological language as the church of Rome. This was to become even more evident during the pontificate of Gregory VII (1073–1085), whose *Dictates of the Pope* could find no resonance in Byzantine ecclesiology.

What is interesting about the mutual excommunications of 1054 is their insignificance. As John Meyendorff notes in his *Living Tradition* (Tuckahoe, N.Y., 1978), "One of the most striking facts about the schism between the East and the West is the fact that it cannot be dated" (p. 69). In fact, when in December 1965 Pope Paul VI and Patriarch Athenagoras lifted the anathemas of 1054, they noted that nothing had actually happened. The anathemas were directed against particular people, not churches, and they were not designed to break ecclesiastical communion. In addition to this, Humbert had exceeded his power when he excommunicated Michael and his supporters in the name of a deceased pope.

The equivocal nature of the events of 1054 was made evident in 1089 when the emperor Alexios I (1081–1118), seeking the West's assistance against the Turks in Anatolia (modern-day Asia Minor) as well as papal support against Norman designs on Byzantine territory, convoked a synod to consider the relations between the two churches. An investigation produced no documentary or synodal evidence to support a formal schism. Patriarch Nicholas III (1084–1111) wrote to Pope Urban II (1088–1099), offering to restore the pope's name to the diptychs on receipt of an acceptable confession of faith. There is no evidence that the pope responded to this offer. What is clear is that what was lacking in the relationship between East and West could have been rectified by a simple confession of faith. The theological issue of the *filioque* was considered by Byzantine theologians to revolve around a misunderstanding stemming from the crudeness of the Latin language.

Effect of the Crusades. If the intensity of the reform movement in the West accelerated the process of schism, the

Crusades were the factor that formalized it on a popular level. Early in the crusading enterprise, Pope Urban II was able to maintain harmonious relations between the Crusaders and the Christians of the East. With his death in 1099, however, relations between Latin and Eastern Christians in the Levant degenerated after the appointment of Latin-rite patriarchs in Jerusalem and Antioch in 1099 and 1100, respectively. It is with the establishment of parallel hierarchies that one can first pinpoint a schism on the structural level. The close contacts between Latin and Greek Christians made differences immediately obvious; not only were they two different peoples, they were also two different churches.

The Fourth Crusade painfully brought the reality of the schism home to the Byzantines with the Latin capture, sack, and occupation of Constantinople and the expulsion of Patriarch John X Kamateros. Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) established a Latin hierarchy and demanded an oath of allegiance from Byzantine clergy. With the Fourth Crusade the central issue of the developing separation of the Eastern and Western churches came to the fore: the nature of the church itself—the universal jurisdiction of the papacy and the locus of authority within the church. The existence of parallel hierarchies in Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem, the centers of Eastern Christendom, marks the fruition of the schism. The dating of the schism, therefore, depends on the locale.

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, both the Latin West and the Greek East formalized their theologies in two radically divergent schools of thought: Thomistic scholasticism and Palamite hesychasm, respectively. Thus, by the fourteenth century the schism was formalized on popular, doctrinal, and methodological planes.

There were several noteworthy efforts to heal the schism between the churches of Rome and of the East, but it is ironic that it was the union efforts of Lyons (1274) and Florence (1439–1441) that formalized the schism, crystallized Byzantine opposition, and provoked schisms within the church of Constantinople itself. Union efforts failed during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries because there was no agreement on the locus of authority in the church and because the Eastern and Western churches had developed not only different theologies but also divergent methods of doing theology. Rome sought submission and Byzantine military assistance against the Turks. With the capture of Constantinople by Mohammed II in 1453, all possibility for union was lost.

THE GREAT WESTERN SCHISM. The church of Rome, for which centralization was essential, underwent one of the most significant schisms in the history of Christianity. Its beginnings lay in the opening of the fourteenth century, when Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303) lost the battle with Philip IV (1285–1314) over nationalization of the French kingdom. In 1305, the cardinals, divided between Italians and Frenchmen, elected Clement V (1305–1314) to succeed Boniface. Philip pressured Clement, a Frenchman, to move the papal residence from Rome to Avignon in 1309. It remained there, in "Babylonian Captivity," until 1377. The stage for the Great Western Schism was set in the corruption and decadence of an exiled papacy.

The papal thrust for independence from the French kingdom came in the context of the need to protect its Italian holdings. The Romans threatened to elect another pope should Gregory XI (1370–1378) not return. Gregory arrived in Rome in January 1377.

When Gregory died in 1378, the cardinals elected the Italian Urban VI (1378–1389). Although the majority of the cardinals in Rome were French and would have gladly removed the papacy to Avignon, the pressure of the Roman popular demands forced the election. Urban immediately went about reforming the Curia Romana and eliminating French influence. The French cardinals proceeded to elect another pope, Clement VII (1378–1394), who after several months moved to Avignon. The schism within the Western church had become a reality.

This second election would not have been so significant if Urban and Clement had not been elected by the same group of cardinals and had not enjoyed the support of various constellations of national interests. The schism severely compromised papal universalism. The Roman line of the schism was maintained by the succession of Boniface IX (1389–1404), Innocent VII (1404–1406), and Gregory XII (1406–1415). The Avignon line was maintained by Benedict XIII (1394–1423).

In the context of the schism, it was difficult to maintain even the appearance of a unified Western Christendom. The schism produced a sense of frustration as theologians and canonists searched for a solution. In 1408 the cardinals of both parties met in Livorno and, on their own authority, called a council in Pisa for March 1409, composed of bishops, cardinals, abbots, heads of religious orders, and representatives of secular rulers. The council appointed a new pope, Alexander V (1409–1410; succeeded by John XXIII, 1410–1415), replacing the Roman and Avignon popes, who were deposed.

The newly elected Holy Roman Emperor, Sigismund (1410–1437), and Pope Alexander V called a council to meet at Constance in 1414. Voting by nations, the council declared that it represented the Roman Catholic church and held its authority directly from Christ. John XXIII and Benedict XIII were deposed, and Gregory XII resigned. With the election of Martin V (1417–1431), Western Christendom was united once again under one pope. But the papacy had to contend with the challenge of the council that had settled the conflict.

By 1441 the schism between the Latins and the Greeks was declared ended, and conciliarism was effectively eviscerated by the success of Eugenius IV (1431–1447) in uniting the Greeks, who sought union as well as military assistance against the Turks, and other Eastern Christians with Rome.

For many modern historians, however, the tragedy of the period was the failure of the councils and the papacy to face the need for ecclesiastical reform. This failure laid the foundation for the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

THE REFORMATION. The Reformation of the sixteenth century was the second great split to strike Christianity. The same issues that determined the relations between Rome and the East figured in the separation of a large number of the Christians in Germany, Scotland, and Scandinavia. Martin Luther gradually moved from objecting to specific practices of the church of Rome to challenging papal authority as normative. Authority does not reside in the papacy, but rather in scripture; *sola scriptura* became the hallmark of his reforms.

The Reformation was a schism in the Western church and had nothing fundamentally to do with the Orthodox East. It was not, however, uncommon for Western ecclesiastical dissidents to use the Eastern church as an example of an ancient "popeless" Christianity. For many contemporary Eastern Christians, however, the reformers were but another example of the heresy spawned by the schism in the Roman church. As late as the nineteenth century, Eastern Christians, such as Aleksei Khomiakov, noted that all Protestants were but cryptopapists, each Protestant being his own pope.

The history of schism, particularly the schism between the churches of the East and the West, may be considered from the perspective of social, cultural, and political factors. While these are necessary to an adequate understanding of conflict in Christianity, they are not sufficient. Only a consideration of theological and ecclesiological factors allows full appreciation of the roots of schism in Christian history.

SEE ALSO Crusades; Donatism; Heresy, article on Christian Concepts; Iconoclasm; Icons; Monophysitism; Nestorianism; Papacy; Reformation.

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SCHLEGEL, FRIEDRICH

SCHLEGEL, FRIEDRICH (1772–1829), was one of the leading figures of the German Romantic movement. Schlegel's personality was influenced by various poets and thinkers, including Schiller, Goethe, Kant, Fichte, Schleiermacher, Leibniz, and Spinoza. It was not unusual for him first to be attracted by a philosopher or poet and then to turn vehemently against him. Thus Schlegel's personal development was marked by a constant search for new intellectual horizons. He never developed a system of thinking as such, but rather turned ultimately, in 1805, to Roman Catholicism. Hence his concern with general religious history was limited to particular phases of his life.

After studying law, classical philology, and philosophy at Göttingen and Leipzig, Schlegel devoted himself to Greek classicism. In his first publications he propounded the idea that the Greek image of humanity was the most perfect expression of the human ideal of harmony and totality. Yet soon, in turning to Romantic poetry, he rejected the notion that the classical ideal was universally valid, emphasizing instead the necessity for a continuing development of the human spirit.

Of Schlegel's various intellectual activities, the most interesting for the historian of religions is his concern with Indian religion. While at Paris from 1802 to 1804, he studied Sanskrit, for he sought in India the source of human wisdom. The writings of the Indians, which he initially found dignified, sublime, and significant in their reference to God, would point, so he believed, to an original revelation of the true (i.e., Christian) God, one that might be perceived despite the superstition and error that had crept into the Indian tradition. In Schlegel's view, one of the major errors of Indian thinking was the lack of a pronounced ethical conception of the divine; another was the idea of emanation, the idea that God continually unfolds himself to create the world. Feeling a strong aversion to the pantheistic belief that God and the universe are identical in substance, he yet saw pantheism as having a provisional value in that it formed an essential stage in the development of religion, which culminated in Christianity.

Increasingly, however, Schlegel came to believe that the religion of the Indians, whose language he believed to be the world's oldest, did not yield evidence of an original, pure faith. After the publication of *On the Language and Wisdom of the Indians* (1808), which contains a linguistic analysis of Sanskrit, a discussion of various Indian systems of thought, and translations of portions of Indian scriptures, Schlegel abandoned Indian studies. Yet his enthusiasm for things Indian had been communicated to his brother August Wilhelm, who was to become the first professor of Sanskrit in Germany. Despite his prejudices, Friedrich Schlegel can be regarded as a pioneer in the Western study of Indian religions.

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SCHLEIERMACHER, FRIEDRICH

SCHLEIERMACHER, FRIEDRICH (1768–1834), German Evangelical theologian, philosopher, and pedagogue. His reappraisal of the task and content not only of Christian dogmatics but also of the whole of Christian life, faith, and theology earned him the title "church father of the nineteenth century." His distinctive approach to Christian doctrine also gave him an importance for the beginnings of nontheological ways of studying religion, and as an eminent figure in church, academy, and society he influenced public life and culture in Germany well beyond the circle of professional theologians.

LIFE AND WORKS. Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher was born on November 21, 1768, in Prussian Breslau, Lower Silesia (now, as formerly, Wrocław, in southwestern Poland). His father, Gottlieb Schleiermacher, was a Reformed pastor and a chaplain in the army of Frederick the Great. Previously a thinker of the "enlightened" variety, Gottlieb Schleiermacher encountered the Herrnhutian community (stemming from the Moravian movement) at Gnadenfrei and underwent a spiritual reawakening. Five years later (1783) his fourteen-year-old son Friedrich attended the Herrnhutian Pedagogium at Niesky (1783–1785) and then the community's theological seminary at Barby (1785–1787).

The impress of Herrnhutian Pietism on Schleiermacher was permanent. Many years later (in 1802) he recalled that in the Brethrens' circles he first awoke to humanity's relationship with a higher world, acquiring the religious tendency that carried him through all the storms of skepticism. He professed himself "a Herrnhutian of a higher order" (Schleiermacher, *Kritische Gesamtausgabe,* sec. 5, vol. 5, 1999–, p. 392). But the time of his experience among the Herrnhutians ended in crisis and break. In the seminary he and a group of friends smuggled in forbidden works of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Immanuel Kant, Christoph Martin Wieland, and others. Doubts grew about the truth of the dogmatic doctrines of community until Schleiermacher confessed that he could no longer believe in the divinity of Christ and in his vicarious sacrifice (Schleiermacher, *Kritische Gesamtausgabe,* sec. 5, vol. 1, 1985–, p. 50).

Schleiermacher moved on to a period of study at the now rationalist University of Halle (1787–1789), followed by a brief stay (1789–1790) with his maternal uncle Samuel Stubenrauch, who had exchanged a professorship at Halle for a pastorate in Drossen (Osno). Schleiermacher took the first theological examination prescribed by his church, doing well or excellently in all subjects except dogmatics, and he accepted a post as tutor in the family of Count Dohna in Schlobitten, East Prussia (1790–1793). After the second and final examination, in which Schleiermacher's performance in dogmatics was again undistinguished, he assumed an assistant pastorate at Landsberg (Gorzów Wielkopolski, 1794–1796), where he remained until his move to Berlin.

Direct evidence of Schleiermacher's thought in the period between matriculation at Halle and arrival in Berlin (1787–1796) is provided not only by sermons and letters published later, but also by a series of unpublished manuscripts, mainly on ethical subjects. They remained virtually unknown until Wilhelm Dilthey included them in part in an appendix to his life of Schleiermacher, published uin 1863. They subsequently became accessible in the first volume of *Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (1983). They show Schleiermacher above all struggling with Kantian philosophy, discussing key ethical issues as the highest good, freedom, and the value of life. Against Kant he contends that moral experience may ground the ideas of God and immortality. He particularly maintains that "transcendental" (as distinct from merely psychological) freedom is not contained within the requirements of morality. Moreover, through Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi's writings on Barukh Spinoza and the following debate on pantheism, Schleiermacher had become acquainted with the philosophical perspectives of Spinoza. This reflection led him to some of his earliest thoughts on the concept of the "individual," on the notion of feeling or self-consciousness, and to the first shape of the "paradigm of inherence" that joins together Kant's transcendental perspective and Spinoza's ontological view. This philosophical frame increasingly formed the striking features of Schleiermacher's intellectual world.

It is not difficult to trace lines of continuity from these early philosophical beginnings to Schleiermacher's first books. And one must not underestimate the extent to which he was also drawing inspiration, like so many of his contemporaries, from the ancient Greek philosophers. Yet in his *Monologen* (1800) he viewed his intellectual progress after leaving the Herrnhutian community almost as a second conversion brought about by a revelation that did not come to him from any philosophy but from his experiences and views he encountered within the Romantic circle of Berlin. Indeed he had fallen in with the group of intellectuals that gathered around Friedrich Schlegel (1772–1829), with the journal *Athenäum* as the organ of their new Romanticism. "I discovered humanity," Schleiermacher wrote, "and knew that henceforth I should never lose it" (Schleiermacher, *Kritische gesamtausgabe,* sec. 1, vol. 3, 1988, p. 16) His first two major books, written when he was Reformed chaplain at the Charité Hospital in Berlin (1796–1802), were the fruits of this revelation.

The first book, *Über die Religion: Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern* (1799; *On Religion: Speeches to Its Cultured Despisers,* 1988), introduces a radical shift in the comprehension of religion, understood as an indispensable aspect of full humanity. The second one, *Monologen: Eine Neujahrsgabe* (1800; *Soliloquies: A New Year's Gift,* 1926), is its ethical counterpart in the form of the author's deep meditations on the course of his own inner life. Herein the conviction finds expression that each person is meant to represent humanity uniquely in his or her own way. Not the outward, physical world but the free spirit within is the primary reality, and the world is its creation. Those who have learned to look within, to the domain of the eternal and the divine, can even enjoy in imagination what they cannot attain in fact. For those who instead are acquainted with merely looking outside, old age itself is only a self-inflicted evil, and Schleiermacher promises that he at least will remain young until the day he dies.

Because of tensions and personal splits within the Romantic circle, Schleiermacher moved from Berlin and, for two years (1802–1804), served as pastor in the East Pomeranian town of Stolp (Slupsk), in what was then West Prussia. He began to carry out alone the project previously agreed upon with Schlegel of translating Plato's dialogues (the first volume, containing an important programmatic introduction, appeared in 1804), and he published his first strictly philosophical work, *Grundlinien einer Kritik der bisherigen Sittenlehre (Outlines of a Critique of Previous Moral Philosophy)* in 1803. Schleiermacher then received a call for the first, brief stage of his career in the academy. A previous call to the new University of Würzburg, in Bavaria, lost all attractiveness when the Prussian authorities invited him to return as professor and preacher at his own university, Halle. In his lectures at Halle (1804–1806), which ranged widely from philosophical ethics and hermeneutics to theological encyclopedias, New Testament exegesis, church history, dogmatics, and Christian ethics, Schleiermacher's intellectual system began to take shape. His little book *Die Weihnachtsfeier: Ein Gespräch* (1806; *Christmas Eve: A Dialogue,* 1967) gave clear evidence of a fresh approach to traditional Christian beliefs, taking its point of departure neither from dogma nor from the biblical story, but from the fact of the Christian community and its experience of redemption.

The work begun in Halle had to be resumed in Berlin. In 1806 Halle was taken by Napoleon's troops, and its university was closed. Schleiermacher remained for a while, preaching, translating Plato, and writing a commentary on *1 Timothy.* But the next year (1807) he went back to Berlin, where he became active in politics as a German patriot and a constitutional monarchist. In a succession of appointments he became a civil servant in the Department of Education (1808), Reformed pastor at Trinity Church (1809), and finally professor at the new University of Berlin (1810). At various times in the climactic stage of his career (1810–1834) he also served as a member of the commission for organizing the University of Berlin, columnist for *Der preussische Correspondent,* dean of the theological faculty (four times), rector of the university, and secretary of the Prussian Academy of Sciences (of the philosophical section, which then was changed by Schleiermacher into the historical-philological section). In addition, as a leading ecclesiastical statesman, he became embroiled in controversies over the union between the Lutherans and the Reformed, and over the liturgy, constitution, and confession of the union church.

The thirty-three volumes of Schleiermacher's collected works (*Friedrich schleiermacher's sämmtliche Werke,* 1834–1864) disclose the extraordinary breadth of his intellectual activities. In his lectures at Berlin he continued all the subjects he had taken up at Halle and ventured into so many new ones (including dialectics and life of Jesus research) that every branch of theology except Old Testament is represented in the first division of the collected works and every branch of philosophy in the third. Ten volumes of sermons make up the second division. Schleiermacher's correspondence and the incomplete translation of Plato's dialogues (six volumes) were not included, and a great deal of manuscript material remained unpublished, some of which is included in the new edition of his works *(Kritische Gesamtausgabe).* And yet Schleiermacher did not leave a completed system. He died of pneumonia in the midst of his labors on February 12, 1834. Besides, he always felt more at home in speech than in writing. Most of the volumes in the *Sämmtliche Werke* had their origins in the spoken word; many of them represent lectures never revised for publication by Schleiermacher, who neither preached nor lectured from a full manuscript. Of the finished works most important for religious studies, the first book, *Über die Religion,* was cast in the form of addresses, and *Der christliche Glaube* (1821–1822/1830–1831; *The Christian Faith,* 1928), the ripest fruit of the mature period, grew out of his lectures on dogmatics.

INTERPRETATION OF RELIGION. In *On Religion: Speeches to Its Cultured Despisers,* Schleiermacher pursues an anthropological theory of religion, aiming at recognizing the transcendental constitution of religious experience. According to this theory, religion is constituted as a specific region of human experience. Religion is an experience that men and women have; the whole subject takes part in an experiencing that is not enclosed within the circle of subjectivity but is referred to another term (as it were, outside the subject himself or herself), namely to a reality that gives up itself to be experienced. Eighteenth-century debates between deists, skeptics, and rational theists commonly presupposed on all sides that religion is a system of factual beliefs alleged to have immense moral significance. At issue was which beliefs are essential to religion, whether or not the essential beliefs are rationally defensible, and whether or not they really have the beneficial consequences attributed to them. The Christian apologist was expected to show that Christian beliefs were essential and true, or at least could not be refuted, and that civic virtue would collapse without them. Kant's critical philosophy undercut the debate by moving the idea of god out of the domain of theoretical knowledge and giving it the status simply of a moral postulate. But against traditional paradigms for the comprehension of religion (fundamentally, the rationalistic and the supernaturalistic ones), Schleiermacher introduced two theoretical shifts.

The first shift contends the supernaturalistic stance. With this shift Schleiermacher states that religion is essentially an experience; that is, a lived experience. It involves the subject with his or her innermost fibers. Therefore it cannot be brought back to external, extrinsic motives or factors, like news or information (a *notitia Dei),* doctrines or a doctrinal corpus, moral or social patterns, traditions or communities. As experience religion deals with reality, namely with the unique reality an individual is dealt. It has to do primarily neither with the conceptual order nor with projections of one's moral striving. It brings one into direct contact with a peculiar reality; that is, a specific region of reality different from all other regions. Religion then does not endure any other purpose or being in function of other realities than that it brings about. Instead, it owns an inner principle, a proper ground, of which one has to highlight the peculiar constitution. With the second shift, Schleiermacher contends the rationalistic stance. Therewith he states that religion is essentially and ultimately demarcated from any other relationship with reality within human experience. It is a specific, peculiar way to get in touch with reality, a way a person cannot generate out of himself or herself. It is so specific and peculiar that it encloses, carries, and establishes the contact with a "total other" reality. In this alternative understanding one seeks religion within an original connection of existence; that is, within a fundamental, existed connection. In this connection, two existing subjects or terms relate to each other in an asymmetrical relationship. It is then an experience that decentralizes the human subject engaged in it. This originally existing relationship makes up a peculiar experience of reality that is provided with an irreducible intentionality of its own.

Consequently, what the cultured despisers despise, according to Schleiermacher, is not religion but dogmas and usages—only the husks and not the kernel, a mere echo and not the original sound. But what the defenders of religion defend is not religion either, since they make of it a mere prop for morals and social institutions. Religion has a sphere of its own, which it can maintain only if it renounces all claims on anything that belongs either to knowledge or to morality. To make the idea of God the apex of science, for instance, is not the religious way of having God. And to make religion a matter of good behavior is to miss its true, passive nature: it is not human activity but being acted upon by God. If human nature is not to be truncated, religion must be allowed to take its place as an indispensable third alongside knowing and doing.

Two results of great importance stem from this paradigm constructed by Schleiermacher. First, it allows one to overcome the critical judgment; that is, the judgment that affords the suspicion with which rationalism (or the despisers of religion) approaches religion and its manifestations. In this perspective the reality of religion is brought back to what does not actually constitute it. In contrast, Schleiermacher sets to work and enhances a "heuristical reason," one that establishes, or tries to focus on, the genealogical instance that constitutes religious experience and accounts for its peculiar reality and the specific mode of its experiencing as well. It highlights the framework of religion as an actual experience of humans, and thus explains why religion is a decisive, indefeasible component of the human, historical world. Second, it takes into account historical, positive, inidividual religions—religions that are provided with a *principium individuationis* of their own; it distinguishes them from each other and shows them as ethical realities that belong to the lived experience of individuals. This includes two peculiar features of this comprehension of religion. On the one hand, one is engaged in accounting for the historicity and individuality of religions. In other words, it is a question of understanding why the framework of religious experience is contracted into the historical plurality of religions and into a complex phenomenology of the individual religions themselves. According to Schleiermacher they are all entitled to equal dignity insofar as they all fulfill the original structure of religious experience and contract it into a specific historical province of human ethos. On the other hand, one sets up an exercise of critical reason that is able to discriminate, within the complex phenomenology of individual religions, what is authentic in them and what is inauthentic—that is, mixed up in them, substituting or surrogating some of their authentic elements.

In this paradigm for comprehending religion, Schleiermacher points out four main moments or steps. The first step leads to the comprehension of the historical-positive elements that occur at the heart of religious experiences. It includes the exercise of both critical and heuristical reason. The first aims at discriminating authentic from inauthentic elements. It is an inescapable moment of every investigative approach to religions. The second aims at an insight into the individuality and essential features of a given historical form of religious experience. If one does not grasp the proper core, the essence, of an individual historical religion—of a historically lived religion—one cannot get appropriate criteria for testing how its features are shown to be authentic or inauthentic, or even for assessing its historical development. This is the criterion the fifth speech points out as decisive for determining the nature and content of a given religion and, specifically, of Christianity as an historical religion.

The second step consists of a comparative theory of religions. Given the historical-positive individuality of religions, as well as the transcendental structure of religious experience (according to the paradigm established by Schleiermacher with the *Speeches on Religion),* a comparative approach is necessary in understanding religion. Still it gets neither a leveling nor a competitive meaning. Its purpose, rather, is to set out the values (not only in doctrines but also in worships, morals, and experiences of salvation) embodied in the single religions compared. While this approach makes use of analogies between religious phenomena, it does not establish a premier rank or subalternity among religions. It has, rather, at the same time a critical and an evaluating function. The first allows one to recognize specific differences that prelude the highlighting of the individuality of each historical-religious formation. The second is engaged in recognizing the elements that validate the specificity of a religious formation, thus clarifying its essential character that makes up its historical reason for being. The latter accounts for its very historical trajectory or evolution, for the history of a religion is precisely connected with the circumstances of its actual evaluation. Within the third speech such a comparative approach is based upon the effort to tackle the main factors influencing the historical life of religion, namely creativity and free communication of one's own religious life. At the same time it leads to a threefold typology of religions, which anticipates the one worked out in the introduction to *The Christian Faith.*

The third step focuses on the thematization of the essence of religion. This is perhaps the most specifically philosophical feature of this paradigm for understanding religion. It encloses two moments. First is the highlighting of the constituting structure of religious experience (namely the religious a priori) that accounts for such an experience—that is, for the constitution of that region of human experience underlying the historical phenomenology of religious facts. Second is the focusing on the reasons why such a structure is contracted into a plurality of individual formations; they are all constituted by that transcendental structure but still are different from each other as inalienable and untransferable individuals. Uniquely, in this context, religion (as a condition of possibility that warrants such an experience as the one of the relationship with the *Universum*) shows itself to be meaningful for human beings and their history. This is indeed the main argument of the second speech. Here Schleiermacher argues that religion, in its transcendental core (insofar as it is the "function" that brings about and determines the "systems" of religious experience and belief) sets up a relationship with a term (called *Universum*) that withdraws from humans' finite experience and accordingly calls into question what people do and are and experience, even though it is to be apprehended as that which makes sense of the ultimately human condition—as that which fulfills human existence.

The last step unfolds a theory of religious communication. Within this human experience, religion is linguistically set up in a communication. This brings about a community that is shaped by both symbolizing and organizing elements, though with the prevalence of the former. Communication is not an accidental, superfluous, accessory moment of religious experience, but communication belongs to religion's innermost nature and is enclosed within the sources of its concrete constitution. This is the constituting reason of the particular formation of religious experience that is community (church, generally speaking). Community accounts for both the individuality of a religious formation and its historicity. It also accounts for free, responsible, and creative adhesion, or membership, of single individuals who, within community, are linked up by bonds of reciprocal communication. As is well known, community and communication are the main theme of the fourth speech.

Schleiermacher's first book offered much more than a shrewd, ad hominem defense of Christianity; it inaugurated a fresh stage in the critical analysis of religion. The importance of his search for a distinctive religious category is acknowledged even by those who reject his findings. He not only exposed the urgent need to reconceive the task of theology, he also opened the way to more profound and sympathetic treatments of the psychology and history of religion than either traditional theology or freethinking critiques had been able to achieve. Christian theologians and freethinkers had agreed in treating the study of world religions as the anatomy of a sickness (the difference being that the freethinkers were not inclined to make Christianity an exception). Schleiermacher looked at religions as manifestations of human wholeness. Misunderstandings of Schleiermacher's position have sometimes been occasioned by his own language. He did not really mean to move religion out of the domains of knowledge and morals and to confine it within the domain of the emotions. He expressly denied that he intended any such separation. By "intuition and feeling" he meant the immediate, prereflective self-consciousness that cannot be confined to any single department of human selfhood but underlies the whole of it. Neither did he fall into a psychologism that would shut the religious subject up in its own subjectivity. For all his interest in the imagination, his theory of religion is marked by a strong sense of the reality of the transcendent, even though he thought it impossible to have the transcendent as an object.

HERMENEUTICS. The impressive influence of Schleiermacher's hermeneutics was first brought out by Dilthey. Hermeneutics is a twin discipline of criticism, each a sort of technical skill (i.e., they rule a practice). Both are conceived and practiced by Schleiermacher not only in his exegetical work within the field of the New Testament; they rule his whole effort in the field of ancient philosophy, as witnessed by his translation of Plato. That is why hermeneutics falls within the fields of both philosophy and theology. Fundamentally, it understands the spoken or written word as free creative expression of the union between nature and reason (the core of the ethical process). Thus hermeneutics is based upon general principles (that pertain to philosophy) and induces special trends, according to the philological or exegetical treatment of texts handed over by tradition. "Hermeneutics as art of understanding does not exist yet generally, but only in several hermeneutical practices" (Schleiermacher, 1974, p. 75). Schleiermacher's contribution aims at framing a general hermeneutics as ground for special hermeneutical practices. Therefore he puts this general frame into shape through two theses. The negative one states, "Misunderstanding grows out by itself and in every point one must want and strive for understanding" (Schleiermacher, 1974, p. 82). The positive one says we have to "reconstruct *[Nachkonstruiren]* the historical and divinatoric, objective and subjective of a given speech" (Schleiermacher, 1974, p. 83).

Thus Schleiermacher articulates both theses into four canons ruling hermeneutical practice. He distinguishes between grammatical and psychological or technical interpretation (Schleiermacher, 1974, p. 77) that on the other side is open to comparative or divinatory methods (Schleiermacher, 1974, p. 105). Every oral or written witness is a subjective act of speakers, but at the same time is embedded in an overindividual, objective, linguistical context. The grammatical interpretation (Schleiermacher, 1974, pp. 86–103) discloses the objective sphere of language. The psychological interpretation (also called "technical," because a skill is involved) aims at the subjective act and attempts to grasp "the principle that causes the writer to be in motion" (Schleiermacher, 1974, p. 103). This double hermeneutical approach is joined together with another double perspective. One might address a linguistic act in its peculiarity by approaching it through comparative means; that is, in comparison with other similar (semiotic) phenomena. This is a comparative process. Texts might also be grasped from the inside—that is, in a congenial way—inasmuch as they are caught in an immediate act of understanding. Here the divinatory approach is at stake.

These four perspectives of interpretation are connected with each other, even though they show specific affinities. The grammatical interpretation matches to a greater degree the comparative approach, while the psychological matches the divinatory. The ultimate purpose of interpretation is "to better understand an author than he was able to give account of himself" (Schleiermacher, 1974, p. 138). Since, to an author, a lot remains unconscious that must be set out to understand his work, the interpreter brings a surplus of understanding in his or her interpretation. That is why the process of interpretation remains unfinished and is able to achieve its goal only approximatively. Even the hermeneutical "circle" (Schleiermacher, 1974, p. 86) is to be solved only at the initial stages. Indeed the comprehension of a single point always presupposes an understanding of the whole, but this is to be gained only by working through the single points (Schleiermacher, 1974, p. 144).

In connection with general hermeneutics, Schleiermacher constantly gave lectures on criticism. In comparison with hermeneutics, criticism gets its start in the suspicion that what is present does not meet the original state of matter. This disagreement took place either through mechanical errors or through free actions. Consequently, Schleiermacher articulates criticism into two main parts (doctrinal and historical) that echo the traditional distinction of a lower and a higher criticism. Critical endeavors aim at determining the original state of matter both from a historical viewpoint (the historical event witnessed) and through philological means. Both philological and historical criticism make use of external and internal signs to ascertain the congruence with the original state. Schleiermacher held that it is difficult to draw a boundary between higher and lower criticism. The first one determines—largely by approximation, and therein seeks the congruence of internal and external evidence—what pertains to the original fact or state historically witnessed. External evidence probes for the closeness of analyzed elements to its core. Internal evidence probes for their agreement with such a core. The task of lower criticism is to separate out, as accurately and convincingly as possible, the original reading of a text. It is actually an endless task. Exactly the same sort of criteria is to be applied to any kind of text. The critical specialist uses every scrap of available evidence. Even in service of a theological aim, criticism does not rely on dogmatic rules. Exegetical inquiry is comprised of both hermeneutics and criticism. According to Schleiermacher they are thoroughly interdependent. Hermeneutic, as the craft of interpretation, is a historical and philological enterprise, and as such is conditioned by linguistics and criticism. At the same time hermeneutical principles exert a decisive influence both upon the operations of criticism and upon the finer perceptions of linguistics. The effect is on the operations of criticism. In no way does proper hermeneutical effort obviate critical principles. Indeed Schleiermacher suggests that, as a form of historical criticism, while making its own distinctive contributions, hermeneutics relies upon the exact standard of textual criticism.

Schleiermacher's importance within the field of hermeneutics goes back to his conception of a general theory of interpretation. This had considerable influence on philosophical discussion. He constantly thought of New Testament hermeneutics and criticism as a special case of general doctrine and method; within this frame he exercised his manifold exegetical and philological practice concerning both New Testament and ancient philosophy. In the context of the revival of hermeneutical issues in the twentieth century, above all through Martin Heidegger's "hermeneutics of Dasein," Schleiermacher's hermeneutics gained new importance. Schleiermacher was acknowledged as a "classic of hermeneutics," even though more of a philosophical than of a theological sort. Still the influence of his hermeneutical theory and activity persevered, along with some reductive perspectives. Already Dilthey had laid stress on the psychological interpretation. His emphasis brought about misunderstandings, causing the loss of the connection between hermeneutics and criticism, grammatical and psychological interpretation, and the link that united general with special hermeneutics applied to the New Testament. Under the heading of "doubtfulness of Romantic hermeneutics," (Gadamer, 1965, part 2, sec. 1) Hans-Georg Gadamer holds that Schleiermacher lays all the stress on the psychological interpretation, and consequently, gets rid of the objective understanding. On this point the subsequent investigations brought about necessary corrections, pointing to Schleiermacher's contribution in linking up general and special hermeneutics, hermeneutics and criticism, grammatical and psychological interpretation.

PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEM. It is worth highlighting Schleiermacher's philosophical thinking, as it provides the framework of his intellectual activities. In his doctrine of science, the *Dialektik* (Schleiermacher, *Kritische Gesamtausgabe,* sec. 2, vol. 10, 2002–, pp. 1–2), Schleiermacher is searching for the highest knowing as a transcendental ground that has to function as the condition of possibility for the unity of thinking and being. The relation of thinking with being has to rely on this transcendental ground. On the other hand, the original unity of thinking and being accounts for the various representations that are different in their content. Here Schleiermacher refers to the immediate self-consciousness (or feeling, in this precise meaning) and understands it as showing an analogy with the transcendent ground. This is the pivotal point of his research, even though it withdraws from every knowing effort. In the second, formal part of his search, Schleiermacher investigates which technical rules are needed to overcome, still only approximately, the difference in thinking toward the unity of knowing. Basing his work upon a theory of construction and combination, he develops the rules of connection from which he derives a system of sciences: ethics, physics, and historical and natural sciences.

Moreover Schleiermacher has addressed ethics, setting out the principles and structures of reason's action upon nature. Here he does not stick to individuals and their faculties but also encompasses the sound forms of ethical process in their framework. In this manner he articulates ethics as a doctrine of goods, virtues, and duties. While the doctrine of goods treats the objectivations of reason that are brought about by ethical subjects, the doctrine of virtues has to show the "forces" on which individual activities rely, and the doctrine of duties treats the resultant modes of human behavior. Schleiermacher understands every unity of reason and nature as "good"; accordingly the variety of goods is formally divided into four spheres: political community (state), social community, science community, and religious community (church). Only the set of all four spheres together makes up the "highest Good," which in its turn is approached in our ethical endeavors as the end of the ethical process.

REINTERPRETATION OF DOGMA. The ethical notion of church, as one of the four "goods," provides the formal framework for Schleiermacher's theology. Religiosity (or piety, *Frömmigkeit*) then gets its natural place within the development of ethical life. Some of the ground traversed in the *Speeches* is covered again in the introduction to his theological masterwork, *Der christliche Glaube (The Christian Faith).* In this work, Schleiermacher began with religiosity as a general human phenomenon and defined the irreducible essence of religion as "the feeling of absolute dependence" (§ 4). A little introspection will show, according to Schleiermacher, that consciousness of self and world are a reciprocal relationship, that is, a mutual or relative dependence. But a second look reveals one's own immediate self-consciousness as coming in its entirety "from somewhere else" (§ 4.4). This deeper consciousness cannot arise from the influence of the world because humans exercise a counterinfluence upon the world and consequently are relatively dependent on it; it is precisely an immediate self-consciousness that encompasses both self and world together as absolutely dependent. God is then the origin (the "out of") of this immediate self-consciousness or feeling. In the feeling of absolute dependence, God is actually experienced in the only possible way, and to be conscious of being absolutely dependent is to be conscious of being in relation to God.

Schleiermacher explained it in a letter on *The Christian Faith* to his friend Friedrich Lücke, "What I understand by 'religious feeling' . . . is the original attestation of an immediate existential relationship" (Schleiermacher, *Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, sec. 1, vol. 10, 1990, p. 318). This feeling, however, simply draws the transcendental frame of religious experience. Actually, it comes about concretely in the manifold elements or "stimulations" *(Erregungen)* of lived experience, which show themselves within the context of objective or sensible consciousness in its ever different features. That is why, among other things, the limits of one's own consciousness of God have to be overcome through a reciprocal communication that forms the base of a religious community (church). The *religious community* is defined as the community in which, within determined limits, an ever-renewed circulation of religious self-consciousness takes place and an orderly, harmonious promotion of religious stimulations is made possible. The task of a philosophy of religion (in Schleiermacher's meaning) is then to set out the individual differences of each single church and each religion. In this frame Schleiermacher understands Christianity as a teleological trend of religiosity that belongs to Monotheismus. *Teleologic* means here that in Christianity the concern with ethical tasks dominates with the idea of the kingdom of God. All the features of Christian religiosity are referred to the impulse originally caused by Christ, the founder, each time linked up with further historical development.

In his *Kurze Darstellung des theologischen Studiums: Zum Behuf einleitender Vorlesungen* (1811/1830; *Brief Outline of Theology as a Field of Study,* 1966), Schleiermacher exemplarily presents his views of what Christian theology is and how the work of theology as science can be seen as a whole. Here *theology* is defined as "positive science" that directly refers to actual historical experience within a set of given social relations (church) and to serve a practical function (the leadership of the Christian Church). Every theological discipline may be regarded as a contribution to the understanding of the essence or distinctive nature of Christianity. The general form of this understanding, as compared with the nature of other religious communities, is supplied through "philosophical theology." Such a discipline points to the features that distinguish community both from outside (apologetics) and within itself (polemics). The norm or the essential core of this understanding is clarified through a series of historical studies, whose whole is called "historical theology," which begins with "exegetical theology," continues with "church history," and ends with "historical knowledge of the present condition of Christianity" (dogmatics and statistics) (Schleiermacher, 1811/1830, § 85, 2: 1, 2, 3). The application of this understanding is contained in "practical theology." The whole of Christian theology is contained in these three overlapping areas.

Dogmatics then is a feature of historical theology focusing on the present state of the Christian community and its actual experience. Thus the object of the knowledge that constitutes *The Christian Faith* is the particular way of being conscious of God that takes its bearing from the central historical fact of the "redemption accomplished by Jesus of Nazareth" (§ 11). Most properly, dogmatics is about religious consciousness, but it is also the theologian's task to develop out of religious consciousness such conceptions of God and the world as are implicit in it and can be understood as representations of it. Schleiermacher executed the task in two parts: the first presents the religious self-consciousness that is presupposed by the specific mode of Christian faith, and thus does not yet set forth the opposition on which pivots the experience of redemption; the second presents such a self-consciousness taking into account the opposition upon which turns the whole experience of redemption. They are respectively the doctrine of creation-preservation and the doctrine of redemption. Here Schleiermacher pioneered a genuinely modern reconstruction of Christian belief immune from the devastating effects of eighteenth-century natural science and historical criticism.

The doctrine of creation, which Schleiermacher takes up in part one of *The Christian Faith,* is reconceived as an attempt to thematize the feeling of absolute dependence. "Creation" is not about a particular divine act (or series of divine acts) in the primeval past, but is instead about the creature consciousness that is a universal phenomenon of human existence in every time and place. The doctrine of creation is therefore indistinguishable in content from the doctrine of preservation: it is concerned with what can be said of the continuous divine activity on the basis of the religious consciousness of absolute dependence. The question of a temporal beginning of the world and humankind is irrelevant to dogmatics. If it nevertheless intrudes, it tends to give rise to misrepresentations of God's activity, as though it were akin to the activity of a human craftsperson. Schleiermacher finds a corresponding misrepresentation in the interventionist view of Providence, which pictures God as one cause or one agent (albeit preeminent) interacting with others, arbitrarily suspending the progress of natural events or undoing the effects of human behavior.

Schleiermacher's God does not intervene in the closed causal system of nature (as viewed by modern natural science) but is identified as its timeless and spaceless ground—this is the meaning of the eternity and omnipresence of the divine causality. That God is "omnipotent" does not mean that he can do whatever he pleases—that he can even interrupt a course of events he did not approve and make things turn out differently than they otherwise would. This would imply that, even if only for one fleeting moment, some chain of events had slipped outside the divine causality, whereas the proper sense of "omnipotence" is exactly that God's power does and effects all—not, however, in the same way finite causes do and effect things. God is omnipotent in the sense that the entire system of nature rests on his timeless and spaceless causality; the world is as it is solely by virtue of "the divine good-pleasure" (§ 120.4). Schleiermacher supplies similar treatment for other divine attributes. One does not call the divine omnipotence "omniscient" or "spiritual" because God has a consciousness like one's own or because he is a kind of sentient world soul, but because the feeling of absolute dependence is unlike a feeling of dependence on blind and dead necessity. There is simply no better way to denote this difference than to contrast the dead and the blind with the living and the conscious, conscious life being the highest thing humans know.

Schleiermacher held that the consciousness of absolute dependence is present in every actual religion and that the doctrine of creation articulates it in a monotheistic form that is not peculiar to Christianity. In Christianity, however, creature consciousness is contained within the consciousness of redemption through Christ: it is as believers in Christ that Christians are aware of themselves as God's creatures. In this experience of redemption, according to Schleiermacher, the purpose of divine omnipotence is made known as the purpose of omnipotent love. The kingdom of God established by Christ must extend its influence throughout the world.

The figure of Christ makes up the core topic of the second part of *The Christian Faith.* He was the second Adam, the completion of the creation of humanity, and there was an actual existence of God in him. To be sure, the way Christ works upon Christians, as Schleiermacher sees it, may be compared to the personal influence of a strong, historical personality—except that his influence is now indirect, mediated through the community he established. But the work of Christ, which is nothing other than the imparting of his own sense of God, is nonetheless unique, because it radiates out from one who possessed a uniquely powerful, indeed perfect, consciousness of God. Only this affirmation answers to the Christian consciousness that dogmatics seeks to describe. And although Schleiermacher did not shirk the historical problems of the New Testament, as his lectures on the life of Jesus demonstrate, he clearly believed that dogmatics could and should deduce its Christological affirmations directly from the Christian consciousness: he asked what Christ must have been like if one is to account for his perceived effects upon the Christian community.

SCHLEIERMACHER'S LEGACY. The historical importance of Schleiermacher is hardly in question, but, from his own day on, it has been hotly disputed whether or not his approach and his positions amount to permanently fruitful gains in the history of religious thought. Theologically he has been assailed from both the left wing and the right. The left-wing critics have been more impressed with his approach to historical science. In his focusing on the Christological problem from the Jesus of history to the Christ of faith, as David Friedrich Strauss pointed out, in *Der Christus des Glaubens und der Jesus der Geschichte. Eine Kritik des schleiermacherschen Lebens Jesu* (1865), Schleiermacher seems to have known in advance what he wanted to find in the Gospels, namely the Savior of his Herrnhutian piety.

The theological right objects that Schleiermacher made the initial methodological blunder of beginning with human experience and then moved on to force the Christian revelation into a preconceived theory of religion. Historians of religion, on the other hand, are more likely to reverse this line of criticism and object that, despite his good intentions, Schleiermacher's treatment of religion remained incorrigibly Christian and dogmatic. All this, of course, would not necessarily imply the unfruitfulness of his approach as a venture in the fields of religious studies, Christian theology, and, last but not least, philosophy. One might sum up his contributions in these areas in the following way: he introduced a new paradigm for understanding religion, made experience into the principle of theology, and settled dialogue as the basic condition of human, truth-productive efforts.

SEE ALSO Empiricism; Hermeneutics; Phenomenology of Religion.

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SCHMIDT, WILHELM (1868–1954), German anthropologist and Roman Catholic priest, was born on February 16, 1868, in Hörde (now Dortmund-Hörde) Germany, the son of a factory worker. In 1883 he entered the missionary school in Steyl, Netherlands, that served as the motherhouse of the Societas Verbi Divini (the Society of the Divine Word), which was founded in 1875. There he completed his secondary philosophical and theological studies, and he was ordained a priest in 1892. He studied Semitic languages at the University of Berlin from 1893 to 1895. In 1895 Schmidt was appointed professor of several theological disciplines at the Society of the Divine Word Mission Seminary of Saint Gabriel in Mödling, Austria (established 1889).

Various questions and problems of missionaries (especially from New Guinea) prompted Schmidt to undertake studies in linguistics, ethnology, and comparative religion. In 1906 he founded *Anthropos*, as international review of ethnology and linguistics, and in 1931 he established the Anthropos Institute in Mödling, an organization affiliated to the Society of the Divine Word, and he served as the institute's director until 1950. (In 1962 the institute relocated to Sankt Augustin, near Bonn.) From 1921 until 1938 Schmidt was a professor at the University of Vienna.

Schmidt directed the establishment of the Missionary Ethnological Museum in Rome (1922–1926) under the authorization of Pope Pius XI, and from 1927 to 1939 Schmidt was director of the museum. After the Anschluss of Austria in March 1938, Schmidt resettled with the Anthropos Institute in Switzerland and became a professor at the University of Fribourg (1939–1951). On February 10, 1954, Schmidt died in Fribourg, Switzerland; he was buried at the seminary in Mödling. Schmidt was a member of many scholarly societies and held honorary degrees from six universities.

SCHMIDT'S WORKS. Schmidt began his linguistic studies by examining the native languages of New Guinea, but he soon expanded his field of research to include all of Oceania. He showed the relationships between the Austronesian languages and a certain group of the Southeast Asian mainland that Schmidt called "Austroasiatic" languages. His study *Die Mon-Kmer-Völker: Ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern Zentralasiens und Austronesiens* (The Mon-Khmer peoples: A link between peoples in central Asia and Austronesia, 1906) was of particular importance.

Schmidt's interest gradually shifted to ethnology. In 1910 he published a book on Pygmy peoples, *Die Stellung der Pygmäenvölker in der Entwicklungsgeschichte Menschen* (The place of Pygmies in the historical development of man), and in 1924 he published *Völker und Kulturen*, which he wrote with Wilhelm Koppers. The latter is an attempt at a worldwide presentation of cultural history based on a system of "culture areas" (*Kultukreise*). Schmidt's interest in this direction came from the work of the anthropogeographer Friedrich Ratzel and the ethnologists Leo Frobenius and Fritz Graebner.

According to Schmidt's system, the oldest culture of humanity (what he called the *Urkultur*) was that of the hunter-gatherers, remnants of which are found among the Pygmies and pygmoids as well as in the Arctic-American area and in southeastern Australia. From this *Urkultur* there arose, independent of one another, the three "primary cultures": (1) a culture based on the cultivation of plants and associated with matriarchy, developing out of the plants-gathering of women; (2) a "higher hunting culture" controlled by men and associated with totemism; (3) a patriarchal pastoral culture based on nomadic animal husbandry.

Each one of the three primary "culture areas" identified by Schmidt arose, in his view, only once in a given geographical area and then spread through migration. This idea forms the basis of his so-called diffusionism.

Through the intermingling of the primary cultures, secondary and tertiary cultures took shape that in turn grew into the high cultures. The aforementioned changes in the economic bases of culture also had an effect on society as well as religion. In his work *Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde* (Linguistic families and linguistic circles of the world, 1926) Schmidt attempted an ethnological-linguistic synthesis. Later Schmidt sought to elaborate on Graebner's culture-historical method in his *Handbuch der Methode der kulturhistorischen Ethnologie* (1937; published in translation as *The Culture Historical Method of Ethnology*, 1939) and at the same time to organize his own ideas into a thoroughly systematic form. With his overview of the development of cultures, Schmidt wanted to substitute a historically grounded system for the evolutionist position, which had been influenced by the natural sciences. Schmidt's critics, however, realized that this new approach was too rigid and schematic. Although the cultural forms he identified cannot be considered historical realities, for his followers they were nevertheless valuable as tools for classification.

Soon after 1900 the main objective of Schmidt's research became the elucidation of the development and the origin of religion. This problem has now been abandoned by scholars, because it is not possible to provide an adequate scientific response. Schmidt's interest in this topic was decisively aroused by Andrew Lang. In 1898, in *The Making of Religion*, Lang contradicted the then influential theory of E. B. Tylor that animism was the origin of all religion. Lang pointed out the overt presence of belief in a Supreme Being among Australian Aborigines and other simple peoples. Relying on his own studies, Schmidt published, from 1908 to 1910, a series of articles under the general title "L'origine de l'idée de Dieu" in the journal *Anthropos.* In these articles Schmidt took issue with existing theories of the origin of religion and thoroughly examined the material available on southeastern Australia, disregarding the significant problem of the structure of religious thought, which is now at the center of anthropological considerations, especially cognitivist anthropology (Boyer, 1994). Schmidt wrote this work in French to support the struggle the Catholic Church was then waging against Modernism, a movement particularly prevalent in France.

The German original of "L'origine de l'idée de Dieu" was published in revised form in 1912 as volume one of *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* (2d ed., 1926). Volumes two through six (1929–1935) of this work deal with the religions of "primeval peoples" (*Urkulturvölker*). Volumes seven through twelve (1940–1955) treat the nomadic peoples of Africa and Asia.

Schmidt arrived at the following conclusions in *Der Ursprung der Gotteidee*. First, he noted that monotheism is the religion of the extant hunter-gatherer peoples investigated by him; their Supreme Being, the creator of the world, is tied to their ethics and is venerated with a cult. Second, he argued that because these peoples represent the oldest accessible form of human culture, it stands to reason that monotheism is the oldest religion of humanity. Third, he declared that because the religions of these peoples, especially their representations of the Supreme Being, display so many characteristic points of agreement, one must concede that they have a single historical origin. Fourth, Schmidt speculated that the image of the Supreme Being held by primitive peoples is so sublime that it could not have been acquired from human experience and therefore it must be traced back to a divine primitive revelation. Finally, he postulated that, in the course of later developments, progress in external culture was achieved by many peoples, yet decadence often occurred in religion and ethics.

According to Schmidt, the original idea of God is conserved with the greatest relative purity in nomadic peoples' belief in a heavenly God; in other cultures the idea lost ground. Sun worship and magic came to prevail in totemistic cultures, and the matriarchal planting cultures made room for earth and fertility cults, lunar mythology, and worship of the dead.

CRITICAL DEBATE CONCERNING SCHMIDT. In the world of anthropologists and religious historians, the work of Schmidt finds particular support among those scholars who, certain criticisms and objections notwithstanding, refer to the historical method, share the same concept of the world as the Austrian anthropologist, and appreciate the wide scope of his scientific undertaking (cf. Demarchi, 1989). Among other scholars, as Alan Barnard writes (2000), the theory of diffusionism, which forms the basis for spatial dislocation and the structure of different cultural environments, is not particularly popular, even if some of its ideas survive in the debate between archaeologists and physical anthropologists on the question of cultural similarity. Notwithstanding this, it is impossible to disagree with Barnard when he states that diffusionism has been important in the development of the idea of "cultural area," an element of modern anthropological thought.

To fully understand the figure of Schmidt and the influence his thinking has retained in some intellectual circles, one should not overlook his association with the cultural and political outlook developed by the Catholic Church in the 1920s and still prevalent in some parts of it. His indefatigable organizational role stemmed from his embodiment of the Catholic political mission, explicitly stated in the encyclical *Maximum Illud* of 1919. This encyclical of Pope Benedict XV had certain important objectives: (1) to reorganize the missions in the Third World that had been weakened by World War I; (2) to win over, once again, colonial peoples, who had often seen the Catholic Church as an instrument of colonial penetration; and (3) to reaffirm the principle of the supranationality and universality of the church, which had been questioned by many (Leone, 1980, p. 124).

Certainly Schmidt was the driving force behind this restructuring process, in which his *Weeks* on religious ethnology (international meetings organized for making known the Catholic idea of this science) also played an important part, but he was more than that. On many issues (the family, nationalism, sex) he represented the viewpoint of the good Catholic. It is no coincidence that, for example, as Ernest Jones (1953) recalls, Sigmund Freud regarded him as an enemy for this reason and held him responsible for the suppression of the *Rivista Italiana di Psicoanalisi.*

Methodologically speaking, one may say that Schmidt's concept of cultural diffusionism harked back to what George W. Stocking (1987) has termed "biblical paradigm." Used by various scholars in different historical contexts, this is a method of interpretation that considers history as the result of a hereditary process, the origins of which are recoverable by applying linguistic methodology to cultural phenomena, finding the roots of different linguistic expressions by comparative means. In this process changes have occurred as a result of degeneration, and human beings, who are placed within it, have become inured to and live in a patriarchal society.

The stress upon the hereditary aspect above all and the failure to examine the system of internal relations between cultural environments have led anthropologists to take little interest in the thinking of Schmidt, especially because functional and structural analysis, which have become established in this discipline, have been so fruitful. This has allowed the development of a productive relationship with natural science, which the followers of the culture-historical method had opposed. The patchy interest in the works of Schmidt has also resulted from a lack of knowledge of German on the part of scholars.

In short, biblical paradigm, characterized by diffusionism, consists of taking the Bible as a tool for the interpretation of human history, the origins of which are identified with the institutions of monogamy and monotheism and are the product of a single source. Such paradigms form the basis of the anti-evolutionism of Schmidt, even if many scholars, such as Marvin Harris (1968), regarding him as a follower of Joseph François de Maistre and thus a reactionary thinker, have emphasized the evolutionary nature of some of his theories.

The belief of Schmidt that involved going back to so-called primordial religion derived from the human tendency to seek out the origins of religion (and to seek it in a probable divine revelation) is the aspect of his thinking that is most discussed. On this topic there was a heated debate (*Man*, 1910) between Schmidt and Alfred R. Radcliffe-Brown, in which Lang also became involved, concerning the figure of the Andaman Island god Puluga. In essence, Radcliffe-Brown accused Schmidt of interpreting Andaman religion in a prejudiced manner by referring it back to his own religious beliefs. Other scholars repeated the charge, against which he was in part defended by Ernest Brandewie (1990), who could not, however, help linking the philosophical outlook of Schmidt to Thomism and the Scholastics, and thus to the traditional view of the Catholic Church regarding the origin of religion and the relation between faith and reason. Brandewie (1990) also recognized in Schmidt's work an objective of apologetics as well as science. Henryk Zimón (1986), on the other hand, holds that Schmidt was not motivated solely by a desire to reconcile Catholic dogma with ethnological research, especially since some Catholic theologians did not support his degenerationist views or his ideas regarding monotheism and primordial revelation.

The critical advance of Raffaele Pettazzoni (1957), in which he held that true monotheism stems from an antipolytheistic revolution instigated by a religious reformer, is also important. The sociological critique developed by Guy E. Swanson (1960) is often neglected. Swanson opposed the Austrian anthropologist by holding that monotheism was not the actual religion of the simplest and most archaic societies. For monotheistic belief to surface required the existence in society of at least three dominant groups, which in his opinion consisted of an organization exercising independent authority in a given social sphere.

Another important methodological problem has been raised by another follower of Schmidt, Joseph Henninger, who wonders whether the similarities between the Supreme Beings of different peoples demonstrates the unique historical origin of belief in a Supreme Being (see first edition of *Encyclopedia of Religion* [1987]). Furthermore, he observes that Schmidt, in claiming that revelation is proved by the presence of a belief in a Supreme Being among such peoples, oversteps the bounds of the historical study of religions and makes philosophical and theological statements. The complex nature of the figure of the Supreme Being in different cultures has been documented by Edward B. Tylor, who thought that in all probability the missionaries themselves had interpreted the religious ideas of the native peoples so as to extract the figure of a monotheistic god from them.

Schmidt has also been criticized for his failure to clearly define the categories he used, such as Supreme Being and monotheism. For this reason even if one accepts his assumptions (which were not been critically evaluated by him), they cannot be easily harmonized with his own theories because they are subject to ambiguous interpretation. Besides, as Zimón stated (1986), when returning to this subject and analyzing the religion of the Bambuti Pygmies, it is always best to make clear in concrete terms the nature of the monotheism of the group being studied. In this case it seems not to have been a clear and unequivocal idea of a Supreme Being called upon under various names and identified as a god of heaven, a god of the forest, or a god of hunting. Contrary to what Schmidt thought, it is a Supreme Being who is dualist in nature, that is, both chthonic and celestial.

One more general aspect of the historical ideas of Graebner and Schmidt, which has even been criticized by those who make reference to the culture-historical method, is the notion of the fixed, permanent nature of cultural elements, which would allow one to go back to primordial cultural forms. For example, Fritz Bornemann (1982), director of the Anthropos Institute from 1950 to 1955, stated that this was an a priori assumption that took for granted what the culture-historical inquiry needed to prove, namely the chronological collocation of the culture being studied. This consideration convinced him to avoid using the term *Urkultur*.

This and other more detailed criticisms of the culture-historical method led some of those who had originally supported Schmidt and Koppers (for example, Josef Haekel) to distance themselves from the theory of "culture areas." If the theory of the origin of monotheism proposed by Schmidt were accepted, it would make meaningless all the research conducted by historians who have sought to reconstruct accurately the course and historical contexts (Mesopotamia, Egypt, ancient Israel) in which—according to Marcel Gauchet (1985), via the influence of a complex series of factors, such as the idea of an absolute Lord as a counterpoint to an earthly ruler—the monotheism that characterizes modern Western civilization emerged.

SEE ALSO Frobenius, Leo; Graebner, Fritz; Kulturkreiselehre; Pettazzoni, Raffaele.

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SCHNEERSON, MENACHEM M.

Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson (1902–1994) was the seventh-generation leader of the Habad-Lubavitch Hasidic movement in the period following World War II who played a significant role in the modern Jewish world. He was born in Nikolayev, Ukraine, to Rabbi Levi Yitzhak Schneerson (1878–1944) and Chana Yanowsky (1880–1964). In 1909 the family moved to Yekatrinoslav (Dnepropetrovsk) where Rabbi Levi Yitzhak, a noted Talmudic and qabbalistic scholar, was appointed Hasidic chief rabbi.

Menachem Mendel was named for his paternal ancestor the third Lubavitcher Rebbe (1789–1866), grandson of Rabbi Schneʾur Zalman of Liadi (1745–1812), the founder of the Habad-Lubavitch school of Hasidism. He was given a traditional Jewish education with private tutors and also studied at the Talmudic Academy (*yeshivah*) in Yekatrinoslav, headed for a time by the Vilna Talmudist Rabbi Haim Ozer Grodzinsky (1863–1940). Menachem Mendel was regarded as a brilliant scholar with a wide grasp of languages and general studies as well as of Jewish thought. He came in contact with the leading Talmudist Rabbi Joseph Rozin (1858–1936), the *gaon* (genius) of Rogachov, whose writings he would often quote.

In the 1920s he began to associate closely with his relative Rabbi Joseph Isaac Schneersohn (1880–1950), the sixth Lubavitcher Rebbe, who was endeavouring to preserve traditional Jewish observance in the secularist USSR, and was consequently arrested in 1927 and expelled from Russia. Menachem Mendel married Schneersohn's daughter Chaya Mussya (1901–1988) in 1928.

The couple lived in Berlin and, from 1933, in Paris. In both cities Rabbi Menachem Mendel attended university courses, earning a diploma in electrical engineering from the Ecole Speciale des Travaux Publiques engineering college in Paris. He was also involved in editing the Habad rabbinic journal *HaTamim,* published in Warsaw from 1935 to 1939. This combination of secular study with traditional Torah knowledge was unusual in the Eastern European Hasidic movement, which championed the exclusive study of the Talmud and related literature. The Habad branch of Hasidism had always emphasized rationality. The term *Habad* (popular spelling: *Chabad*) is an acronym of three Hebrew words meaning wisdom, understanding, knowledge. The combination of "worldly" knowledge with intensive religious concern was to characterize Rabbi Menachem Mendel's later work as a religious leader.

When World War II broke out Rabbi Joseph Isaac was trapped in Poland and Menachem Mendel in France. Eventually the U.S. branch of Habad managed to rescue both rabbis and some of the members of their families; other relatives perished in the Holocaust. Rabbi Menachem Mendel and his wife reached New York in 1941.

ASSIMILATION. In the United States, based in Brooklyn, Rabbi Joseph Isaac tried to promote traditional Jewish education and practice among American Jews, with the motto: "America is not different." His older son-in-law Rabbi Samarias Gurary (d.1989) headed an advanced Talmudic Academy (*yeshivah*) and a network of Jewish schools. This endeavour was paralleled by similar work undertaken by other Jewish leaders who had escaped from Europe, although the Lubavitch *yeshivah* included qabbalistic Hasidic teachings in its curriculum.

Rabbi Menachem Mendel, with the support of his father-in-law, embarked on a different course, undertaking the singular task that was to dominate the remainder of his life: the attempt to turn the tide of Jewish assimilation; to regenerate traditional Jewish values and practice; and to find "lost Jews" wherever they might be. His father-in-law created for him, or appointed him to lead, publicist and activist organizations with goals such as promoting religious education for American Jewish children, including those in the public school system; setting up Jewish schools for girls; providing spiritual outreach to Jewish farmers and soldiers; and making contact with Jewish men and women in outlying communities. Thus during the 1940s a number of Lubavitch emissaries were sent from Brooklyn to work as rabbis and teachers in locations around the United States.

In January 1950 Rabbi Joseph Isaac passed away and was succeeded, after a period of uncertainty, by Rabbi Menachem Mendel, who became the seventh Lubavitcher Rebbe. Over the next four decades he became known for his outreach work, which was creating a global phenomenon of unparalleled proportions in the Jewish community. Through his many emissaries (some three thousand before his death) he aimed to address assimilated Jews and also those who felt staunchly Jewish but did not observe all the distinctive *mitsvot* (traditional observances).

OUTREACH. Many traditional Orthodox Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe tried to protect themselves from the secularization of their new society by living in closed, homogenous communities. Rabbi Schneerson, through his rabbinic teachings, appealed to this group to open its borders to less observant Jews. In 1952 he wrote an open letter addressed to students at all *yeshivot* asking them to befriend and communicate with other Jews less observant than themselves. Over the years he repeatedly claimed that the Jewish people are one, despite apparent differences in observance and belief. A favorite image was the idea that the individual members of the Jewish people are like the letters of a Torah scroll: if one letter is missing, the entire scroll is unfit for use; each individual is essential.

To help foster Jewish religious identity, he established Lubavitch outreach organisations, which made contact with Jews on college campuses and in less-traditional communities. Adult education programs were created, including special *yeshivot* providing supplementary Jewish education for hitherto acculturated Jews. Kfar Chabad, a large village of Chabad followers in Israel, presented itself as a welcoming showcase of tradition for many Israelis.

A key issue for Schneerson was combating the widespread idea that modern science had displaced traditional Jewish belief. In a 1952 letter addressed to a scientist in Israel he employed the concept of axioms to argue that science provides what he called a narrative, but not truth. Science generates a narrative in that if you agree to such-and-such a set of axioms, factors *x* and *y* are likely to result in *z*. However, if you change the axioms, a different result may ensue. He contrasted this relativistic view of science with what he saw as the truth of the Torah. He also claimed that scientific advances and Torah teachings, especially as interpreted in Hasidic thought, were approaching the same goal. He encouraged artists and writers to believe that their creative talent could strengthen Judaism. Through letters and personal contact he maintained close relationships with thousands of individuals in many walks of life, including academics, military figures, politicians, and members of the wider public, as well as prominent rabbis, always endeavouring to increase people's religious observance and, more particularly, to encourage them to become spiritual leaders themselves.

This effort, combined with other factors, such as the moral turbulence of the sixties and the 1967 Six-Day War, which brought the Temple site in Jerusalem back into Jewish hands, contributed to the creation of a Return to Judaism movement. In talks and letters Menahem Mendel presented the outreach ideal as a central facet of Orthodoxy, citing an early Hasidic motif (with strong messianic connotations) of "spreading the wellsprings to the outside" in an effort to combat what he saw as the imminent dissolution of traditional Jewish values and practice among most Jewish people. Traditional Lubavitch values such as love of your fellow and accepting people despite their spiritual failings were important in this process. The Return to Judaism movement eventually grew far beyond Lubavitch and is now a major focus in the work of many other Jewish movements.

Rabbi Schneerson also addressed the non-Jewish world. Controversially, he campaigned to promote a moment of silence for spiritual reflection in the U.S. public schools, and drew attention to a statement by Maimonides that the Jews have the duty to communicate the Seven Noahide Laws—the basic elements of biblical religious morality, including respect for the sanctity of life and traditional sexual ethics—to the larger society around them.

At the same time he campaigned for adherence to the traditional formulation of Jewish identity: one born of a Jewish mother or converted in accordance with strict Jewish law. He thus tried to present the controversial and almost self-contradictory idea that a Jew should be a person who lives according to seemingly exclusivist traditional laws, but at the same time feels a sense of responsibility to Gentile society.

Scholarly work. In Hasidic gatherings Rabbi Schneerson would frequently give scholarly talks which were transcribed by a team of rabbis. His edited writings fill more than a 150 volumes in Hebrew and Yiddish and include commentary on the Pentateuch, discussions of the Talmud and Zohar, qabbalistic Hasidic discourses, and some thirty volumes of letters.

His teachings expound traditional Jewish-Hasidic ideals such as the spiritual virtues of loving one's fellows, Torah study, and prayer and fulfilment of the *mitsvot.* He discusses issues particularly relevant to modernity, such as faith versus reason, the role of the woman, and the significance of the individual. Negative aspects of people ("sins") are viewed as an opportunity for repentance, and this and all other positive values are presented as leading to the redemption of the individual and ultimately of the whole world.

Chabad houses. During the 1980s Rabbi Schneerson developed the concept of Chabad House. This is a house run by a rabbi and his wife sharing the role of spiritual leadership, which aims to combine the hospitality of the home with the sanctity of the synagogue. A Chabad House can be seen as rivaling the more formal synagogue on the one hand and the less religiously rigorous Hillel House or Jewish Center on the other. Rabbi Schneerson's emissaries run Chabad Houses in almost every country where there are Jews. In some cases, his Jewish outreach work had to be more discreet. During the Cold War he maintained secret contact with the Jews of the USSR. After the fall of Communism Lubavitch schools and other institutions have flourished throughout the former Soviet Union.

A central feature of Rabbi Schneerson's teaching was the empowerment of women, claiming that each woman has the ability—in some ways greater than that of a man—to change the world. This contrasts with conventional Jewish Orthodoxy and especially Hasidism, which are often described as casting women in a secondary role. Women continue to have a key place in the Lubavitch movement.

MESSIANISM. The founder of Hasidism, Rabbi Israel Baal Shem Tov (d.1760), had been told in a visionary experience that the Messiah would come when his Hasidic teachings had spread to "the outside." Rabbi Schneerson hoped that the global attempts by his followers to strengthen Jewish observance and spread Hasidic teachings would indeed lead to the messianic Redemption. After the passing of his wife in 1988, Rabbi Schneerson wrote a legal, anticipating his own demise, will but also began to teach that the messianic transformation was imminent. His messianic teachings intensified during his last years. In 1991 he interpreted the Gulf War in messianic terms. He described yearning for the Messiah as a key element in the spirituality of Judaism.

A highly controversial result of these teachings was to generate a movement focused on him as the potential messianic redeemer. Observers are divided as to whether this was his deliberate intention. A faction of his followers initiated a poster campaign depicting him as the Messiah, which still continues, undeterred by his death in 1994. The campaign has been repeatedly condemned by the official leadership of Lubavitch, and, in his lifetime, by Rabbi Schneerson himself. Many voices have been raised against these messianists from various sectors of the Jewish community, some comparing them with Jewish messianists of the past, such as the followers of the seventeenth-century Shabbatai Tzvi. Others point out that unlike the Shabbatians they are in no way antinomian and that the phenomenon underlines the messianic element in Hasidism, of which there are several examples in the nineteenth century. Within the Habad movement the more extreme messianists are seen as negating Menahem Mendel's outreach ideal. They are accused of promoting only the overtly messianic teachings communicated in his talks from 1990 to 1992, and ignoring the main body of his writings.

Despite the internal and external controversies this final messianic thrust produced, since his death the Lubavitch movement has continued to grow. He left no children and no designated successor and, seemingly by unanimous consent among his followers, none has been appointed. His will designated the central committee of the Chabad movement as the trustees of his affairs. That body, based in Brooklyn, provides the centralized focus for the worldwide outreach movement he created.

His life combined contrasts: Talmudic and Jewish mysticism combined with secular education; a miracle-working Hasidic rebbe who reached out to the Reform Jew and the unaffiliated; a practical organizer and activist who was also seen as a mystical Messiah. He sought to bring Jewish spirituality out of its self-imposed ghetto enclave and into the public domain. His voluminous teachings, many recorded on audio-tape and video, remain as evidence of a rare combination of Jewish law, tradition, mysticism, and modernity.

SEE ALSO Hasidim, article on Habad Hasidism; Messianism, article on Jewish Messianism.

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SCHOLARIOS, GENNADIOS (c. 1400–1478), born Georgios Scholarios and also known as Georgios Kourtesios, was a patriarch of Constantinople (1454–1456; 1463; 1464–1465), educator, philosopher, theologian, and defender of Orthodox Christianity. Born in Constantinople, Scholarios began as a student of Mark Eugenikos, metropolitan of Ephesus, an opponent of the papacy. Later, Gennadios schooled himself in the humanities, philosophy, and theology. Unlike most Greeks of the time, Gennadios also learned Latin and was an admirer of Thomas Aquinas, some of whose works he translated into Greek. While still a layman, he preached regularly at court, taught in his own school, and served the Byzantine emperor John VIII (1425–1448) as imperial secretary and Judge General of the Greeks.

Gennadios has usually been pictured as a supporter of the union of the Latin and Greek churches at the abortive Council of Florence (1438–1439), but he subsequently made an about-face following the death of his teacher, Mark of Ephesus, and became the leader of antipapal forces during the last days of Byzantium. In fact, his complete change in attitude had caused some scholars to believe that there was more than one person named Georgios Scholarios. Recent scholarship, however, has unanimously discarded the latter notion. Moreover, the latest substantive study on Scholarios questions the authenticity of some of the pro-Latin writings attributed to him, so that according to this view, Scholarios was consistent in his opposition to Latin theology, and, therefore, to the union of churches based on the acceptance of Latin doctrines.

Shortly before the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks (1453), Scholarios became a monk, and according to tradition changed his name from Georgios to Gennadios. Taken captive following the capture of the city, he was released at the instigation of Sultan Mehmed II, who saw in Gennadios, because of his antipapal views, the ideal candidate for the vacant patriarchal throne. Enthroned on January 6, 1454, Patriarch Gennadios maintained a friendly relationship with the sultan, and together they worked out the terms under which Orthodox Christians would live under the Ottomans for the next five centuries.

Despite the friendship of Mehmed II, however, Gennadios's tenure as patriarch was a stormy one. He strove to retain order within the Orthodox church, and in order to prevent conversions to Islam attempted to relax marriage canons; however, he was opposed by those who demanded strict adherence to the letter of the law. Gennadios was successful in reorganizing the Patriarchal Academy in Serres (present-day Serrai, Greece), recognizing the important need of a higher institution of learning for the training of the future leaders of the Greek people and church. After serving as patriarch for three brief terms, he finally abandoned the throne and took up residence in the Monastery of Saint John the Baptist at Serres.

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SCHOLASTICISM.

An abstract noun formed from the Latin-Greek stem *scholastic-,* pertaining to "school," scholasticism signifies principally the type of training used in the schools, and secondarily, the doctrine given, usually in the universities of the Latin Middle Ages. In a pejorative sense, it connotes dictatorial or authoritarian methods, or a hidebound and unimaginative view, much like the "correct" answer that a schoolmaster would demand from his pupil in the classroom.

METHOD. Principally Scholasticism indicates a method of training and learning that developed in Christian schools between about 1000 and 1650 and reached its peak in the thirteenth century. It arose naturally and spontaneously in the early Middle Ages as teachers lectured on a fixed text, pausing to explain a difficult passage by posing a question and lining up authorities pro and con, *sic et non.* Divergent resolutions of difficulties were often written in the margins of the Bible or lawbook. Abelard's work *Sic et non* is both a collection of seemingly contradictory theological texts and a reasoned methodology for resolving such apparent contradictions. The underlying supposition was the commonly held conviction that truth cannot contradict itself and that all truth is from God. Thus, logic, coupled with a respect for antiquity, was always considered the chief instrument of Scholastic teaching in the Middle Ages.

From its earliest beginnings in the classroom two distinct elements appeared, which developed independently into two Scholastic functions by the thirteenth century: the lecture (*legere*), or explanation of the text, eventually restricted to the morning sessions; and the academic disputation (*disputare*) of a special point, eventually restricted to the afternoon sessions and to special days. In the patristic period only the bishop or a qualified delegate could expound the sacred text or settle disputes; in the Middle Ages these became the formal functions of a "master" (*magister*). Thus a medieval commentary is the master's statement (*sententia*) of the meaning intended in the text; and a medieval "disputed question" is the master's resolution (*determinatio*) of the debate.

When universities (*studium generale,* in the singular) were founded in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the association of masters established rules for the induction of new masters into the guild. The basic liberal arts studies, prior to theology or other higher faculties and required of all, took about eight years and led to the master of arts degree at the age of twenty-one (minimum), followed by two or more years of teaching the arts. There were three higher faculties: theology (the minimum age for the master being thirty-five), law (civil and canon), and medicine. Each faculty had its own masters with chairs, required textbooks, and agreed upon statutes by which the faculty was governed by a chancellor, dean, or rector. The preferred term for a qualified teacher in the Middle Ages was "master," but by the thirteenth-century Bolognese lawyers preferred to be called "doctor."

By 1230, in the faculty of theology, there were apprentices called "bachelors," who assisted the master in the performance of his duties by reading the text to the younger students in a cursory manner and by responding to questions raised by the students. Soon the subordinate role of the bachelor was subdivided into that of the *cursor biblicus,* who did the preliminary reading of the Bible, and that of the *bachelarius sententiarum,* who lectured on the *Sentences of Peter Lombard* (1100–1160), a collection of patristic texts organized according to doctrinal points.

In all scholastic training the chief instrument of learning was logic, the purpose of which was to acquire scientific knowledge (*scientia*) through definition, division, and argument. For this art the fundamental source was Aristotle, originally in the version of Boethius (d. 524). Before all of Aristotle was known in the late twelfth century, studies preliminary to the study of Bible or any of the higher subjects consisted in studying the seven liberal arts (logic, grammar, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy), with special emphasis given to logic and grammar. Organization of universities at Bologna, Paris, and Oxford took place just as the "new learning" made its appearance in the Latin West from Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew sources in the twelfth century. New works of logic (the rest of Aristotle's *Organon*) and Ptolemaic and Arabic astronomy were simply worked into the known seven arts, but other books—namely those on natural philosophy, moral philosophy, and first philosophy, or metaphysics—could only be added to the arts as "the three philosophies" to make up the faculty of arts and sciences.

The method of teaching these new sciences, although basically the old method, was perfected by these books of "the new logic," especially *Posterior Analytics.* A distinct philosophical content was given to medieval teaching in arts, which inevitably flowed over to theology, thus creating a diversity of scholasticisms.

The Scholastic method, therefore, was universally one and the same throughout the Middle Ages: (1) it was always in Latin, of varying proficiency and elegance on an approved text universally acknowledged as worthy of study; (2) it was structured according to the Aristotelian logic of defining, dividing, and reasoning in its exposition of the text and its resolution of difficulties; and (3) all studies, even the related field of law, led to theology as the "Queen of the Sciences," that is, to the understanding of the Bible. But considering the great diversities that existed among outstanding masters and their followers in terms of loyalties and priorities, it is possible to speak of various schools, movements, and -isms among Scholastics of different periods.

TEACHINGS. Scholasticism as a doctrine is usually divided into three periods: (1) medieval, up to the Reformation; (2) second scholasticism, or the renewed Thomism of the sixteenth century; and (3) a revival of Thomistic philosophy from around 1850 to the Second Vatican Council, or Leonine Thomism. Medieval Scholasticism is also divided into three periods: early medieval, before the introduction of Aristotle to the universities around 1200; high medieval, a vigorous assimilation of Aristotelian thought despite strong opposition in the thirteenth century; and late medieval, usually considered as declining around 1350, after the Black Death.

In early Scholasticism special emphasis was given to grammar and logic during training in arts prior to a long study of the scriptures. Among its outstanding masters were Alcuin at York; Lanfranc and Anselm, first at Bec, then at Canterbury; Anselm and his brother Ralph at Laon; Ive and his successors at Chartres; Peter Abelard in and around Paris; and the canonist Gratian at Bologna. Although the problem of "universals" ranked high, the principal theological problems concerned the Eucharist, the trinity of persons in one God, and the incarnation of the Son of God.

High Scholasticism, incorporating the works of Aristotle in the universities and assimilating his thought, notwithstanding a background of Augustinian Platonism, necessarily includes the vast works of Albertus Magnus, Robert Grosseteste, Bonaventure, Thomas Aquinas, Henry of Ghent, John Duns Scotus, William of Ockham, Thomas Bradwardine, and their contemporaries—with all their philosophical differences and similarities. This was the age of assimilation and of new syntheses of thought, such as Thomism, Scotism, and nominalism (Ockham). Within these syntheses one should note the varying influences of Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), Ibn Rushd (Averroës), and certain pseudo-Aristotelian works, such as *Liber de causis.*

Late Scholasticism, depending on where one makes the division (some put it at 1277, others around 1315), is generally considered to be a period of intellectual and spiritual decline before the Italian Renaissance (fifteenth century) or the Protestant Reformation (sixteenth century). Wherever its bounds, the period witnessed the rapid spread of universities, a special stirring of popular devotion (Devotio Moderna) in prayer, hymns, and sermons, and a widespread interest in the spoken word of God (the Bible), especially in the vernacular. Heiko Oberman sees this period as the ripening of medieval thought preparatory to Luther's harvest of Christianity. While one must recognize the flowering of art, the spread of printing, the expansion of global exploration, and a growing literacy among the laity, one must nevertheless admit that as far as Scholasticism is concerned, the period yielded a sterile and barbarous formalism performed with perfunctory brevity.

Second scholasticism is a term given to the brief spring of scholastic thought in the sixteenth century, when the *Summa theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas replaced the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard in major Catholic universities. This change was accomplished mainly by Dominicans such as Peter Crokaert in Paris, Thomas de Vio Cajetan at Pavia, Konrad Koellin at Heidelberg and Cologne, and Francisco de Vitoria at Salamanca. All of these men had many disciples with considerable influence later. This revival was given special impetus when the Council of Trent (1545–1563) redefined much of Catholic doctrine, utilizing Thomistic as well as traditional patristic teaching, and when the prestigious Society of Jesus (Jesuits) was founded by Ignatius Loyola in

1534, pledging to follow the teaching of Thomas Aquinas and subsequently renovating Catholicism throughout the world. The revival found expression not only in official documents like the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent, but also in its *Catechism of the Council of Trent,* issued by order of Pius V in 1566, and in the innumerable textbooks of scholastic philosophy and theology (*iuxta mentem S. Thomae*) for use in colleges and seminaries established under the Tridentine reform. The leading Jesuit scholastics of this period were Roberto Bellarmino, Francisco de Toledo, Francisco Suárez, Luis de Molina, professors of the Collegio Romano founded by Ignatius in 1551, and the Complutenses, namely, teachers at the Jesuit college at Alcalá, founded by Cardinal Francisco Ximénes de Cisneros in 1508.

The scholasticism of this period was not simply a repetition of older views, but its theology was substantially invigorated by clashes with the reformers and its philosophy by a renewed interest in the science of nature. Its theology is best seen in the polemical literature and the great number of exceptional commentaries on Thomas's *Summa.* Its philosophy is best seen in treatises on motion and in thoughtful commentaries on Aristotle's *Physics, De caelo,* and other books on nature, notably by Domingo de Soto, Diego de Astudillo, and Juan de Celaya at Paris, and the Jesuit professors, notably Christopher Clavius (1538–1612), at the Collegio Romano. One should distinguish these progressive Artistotelians from the textual type, who were more interested in editing and translating from books than from nature.

Within the context of this revivified philosophy must be seen the astronomy and the two new sciences of Galileo (1564–1642), and to a much lesser extent, the new philosophy of René Descartes (1596–1650). Galileo's early writings depend heavily on the lecture notes of Jesuit professors of philosophy at the Collegio Romano; the butt of his gibes turns out to be the parrots who would not look at the heavens, but only at the text. Descartes, on the other hand, had a less venturesome scholasticism from the Jesuits at La Flèche (1609–1613). While later Descartes sought to replace their teaching with entirely new first principles, their roots, as Étienne Gilson has shown, were medieval and scholastic. Nevertheless both Galileo and Descartes dealt the deathblow to scholasticism and laid the foundation of modern thought.

Meanwhile Catholic theology, which felt the greatest impact from this revival, experienced a second spring. Under Pius V, Thomas Aquinas was declared a doctor of the church, the first so considered since the patristic age; and the first edition of his multivolume *Opera omnia* was published in Rome (1570–1571). Notable commentaries on Thomas's *Summa* began to appear, such as those of Thomas de Vio Cajetan (Lyons, 1540–1541), Conrad Koellin (Cologne, 1512), and Franciscus Silvester Ferrariensis on the *Summa contra gentiles* (Paris, 1552). The original constitution of the Jesuits (1550) obliged its members to study and promote the teaching of Thomas alone. But in the bitter controversy over grace (*De auxiliis,* 1597–1607) that broke out with the Dominicans over the publication of Molina's *Concordia* (1588), a new Thomism emerged in the writings of Francisco de Suárez (1548–1617), that tried to reconcile Thomism with Scotism. After 1607 theology was reduced to repetition and division into diverse specialties, courses, and tractates; and moral theology bogged down over probabilism and, later, Jansenism. For all practical purposes, scholasticism was dead by 1650.

A third appearance of scholasticism occurred in more recent times, when there was a revival of solely the philosophical aspects of Thomism, blessed and fostered by Pope Leo XIII in his encyclical *Aeterni Patris* (1879). Dissatisfaction with the inadequacy of contemporary philosophy to solve pressing problems had been expressed in Italy early in the nineteenth century by teachers of philosophy in Catholic colleges and seminaries. These professors were concerned primarily with future priests and the state of the world vis-à-vis philosophy. Seminary textbooks were often thoroughly Cartesian, and "Christian" only by reason of a few biblical quotations and references to Augustine or Bossuet without a mention of Thomas Aquinas or the Middle Ages. In the Rhineland the distinguished Georg Hermes (1775–1831) sought to adjust Roman Catholic principles to the supposed requirements of Immanuel Kant; his adjustment was condemned in 1835. In Vienna the prolific Anton Günther (1783–1863) sought to do the same for Hegel; his works were placed on the Index of Forbidden Books in 1857. The principal errors of the day were listed in the *Syllabus of Errors* of Pius IX (1864), ranging from pantheism and liberalism to communism and indifferentism. In the eyes of many only the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas could bring humankind back to sanity.

Small beginnings were made by Vincenzo Buzzeti in Piacenza, Joseph and Joachim Pecci (later Pope Leo XIII) in Perugia, and the Sordi brothers and Taparelli among the Jesuits in Naples and Rome. By 1850 the ideas of Thomas were again familiar to readers of *Civilità Cattholica* and the five-volume *Philosophia Christiana* (Naples, 1853) by Gaetano Sanseverino (1811–1865). These beginnings were augmented in Germany by Josef Kleutgen, in France by Henri Lacordaire, in Spain and the Philippines by Zeferino Gonzales, and in Italy by Tommaso Zigliara. The first major encyclical issued by Leo XIII*, Aeterni Patris,* called for "the restoration in Catholic schools of Christian philosophy according to the mind of St. Thomas, the Angelic Doctor." In all subsequent encyclicals Leo promoted the teaching of Thomas applied to the modern world, with the result that by the time of his death in 1903 Leo had rehabilitated Thomas.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Scholastic philosophy of Thomas began to take root in all the main centers of the Catholic world. In this revival, philosophy, not theology, was the central issue, since reason seemed to be common to Christianity and the secular world. In this case scholasticism was identified with Thomistic philosophy, somehow conceived as perennial (*perennis*) and common to all great minds of all ages. For Leo XIII this philosophy was to be found in the *Summa theologiae* of Thomas. When cries were raised about other philosophies, such as those of Bonaventure and Suárez, the reply from Rome (1907–1950) was that all others were to be evaluated by the standard of Thomas. This did not mean that other philosophies were wrong, but rather that only the philosophy of Thomas was to be promoted urgently for the church in the modern world. Throughout this same period there were many Catholics who were unconvinced and impatient, insisting that a more modern and relevant philosophy was needed. These were known as "modernists," eager to secularize Christian principles in order to be accepted.

Before the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) almost all Catholics were exposed to some shades of Thomistic philosophy, especially through seminaries and colleges, despite the specter of modernism. During the first half of the twentieth century a large number of distinguished Thomists, both Catholic and non-Catholic, addressed important issues in almost every field of human interest: historical, philosophical, sociological, psychological, scientific, and political. Countless journals were founded throughout the world claiming to be scholastic or Thomistic, and the names of Gilson, Maritain, Adler, Grabmann, and Chenu became household names. For many reasons, none of them philosophical, the Second Vatican Council served as a watershed for Leonine scholasticism.

SEE ALSO Modernism, article on Christian Modernism; Nominalism; Trent, Council of.

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On Scholastic method, the standard work by Martin Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der scholastischen Methode,* 2 vols. (1909–1911; reprint, Basel, 1961), can serve as a starting point for the early period, or even Anders Piltz's *The World of Medieval Learning* (Oxford, 1981). For clarification of its technical meaning, one should consult Artur M. Landgraf's "Zum Begriff der Scholastik," *Collectanea Franciscana* 11 (1941): 487–490; M.-D. Chenu's *Toward Understanding Saint Thomas* (Chicago, 1964); and *Les genres littéraires dans les sources théologiques et philosophiques médiévales: Définition, critique et exploitation* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1982).

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JAMES A. WEISHEIPL (1987)
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SCHOLEM, GERSHOM (1897–1982), was the founder of a school of rigorous historical and philological study of Jewish mysticism (Qabbalah). Although earlier Jewish historians had treated Qabbalah, they generally regarded it either as disreputable or, at best, as a part of Jewish philosophy. Scholem showed that the mystical tradition was a discipline in its own right, and, by the discovery and dating of hundreds of manuscripts, he established its textual and intellectual history. A prolific writer, he issued his findings in numerous publications.

Scholem was born in Berlin to a family of printers. Although his parents were partly assimilated, Scholem became a passionate Jew and a committed Zionist. He taught himself Hebrew and acquired a Jewish education while still in secondary school. Opposed to World War I on Zionist grounds—that it was against the interests of the Jews—he was expelled from school for circulating a pamphlet against the war.

Scholem was initially influenced by Martin Buber but broke with him over the question of the war. He criticized Buber for using mystical categories to support the German war effort. Later, he developed this criticism of Buber into a polemic against Buber's ahistorical treatment of Jewish sources, especially Hasidism.

In 1919, Scholem decided to write his doctoral dissertation on Qabbalah, and he chose as his subject the early qabbalistic text *Sefer ha-bahir.* Completing this work in Munich in 1922, the following year he emigrated to Palestine, where he found a position as librarian in the emerging Hebrew University. When the university opened in 1925, he was appointed lecturer in Jewish mysticism and was promoted to professor several years later. He served in this capacity until his retirement in 1965.

Scholem's studies of the history of Jewish mysticism can be found in 579 entries in his bibliography. His most important works include *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (first published in 1941), *Sabbatai Sevi: The Mystical Messiah* (Hebrew ed., 1957; rev. English ed., 1973), *Ursprung und Anfänge der Kabbala* (1962), and *The Messianic Idea in Judaism: And Other Essays on Jewish Spirituality* (1971).

At the heart of Scholem's historiography is the belief that myth is crucial to the vitality of a religious tradition, an idea that betrays the influence of German romantic thinkers such as von Baader. Scholem identified the central myth of Qabbalah as Gnostic. He argued that already in late antiquity, Jewish mystics had developed a monotheistic version of Gnostic dualism. This Jewish Gnosticism persisted in underground traditions and made its way from Babylonia via Italy and Germany to southern France, where it surfaced in *Sefer ha-bahir.* In a number of important books and articles, Scholem described how these ideas sparked the development of the qabbalistic movement of Provence and Spain in the thirteenth century. He showed how this movement culminated in *Sefer ha-zohar* (The book of splendor), which he demonstrated to have been the work of Mosheh de León at the end of the thirteenth century.

Scholem traced the history of the Gnostic myth of Qabbalah through sixteenth-century Lurianic Qabbalah to the Shabbatean messianic movement of the seventeenth century. His work on Shabbateanism argued that this heretical movement was not a marginal phenomenon in Jewish history but instead the central event of the seventeenth century. By undermining the hegemony of the rabbis, Shabbateanism became the great watershed between the Middle Ages and modernity and foreshadowed the rise of antinomian secularism. Thus, Scholem argued that the rise of modern Judaism was a consequence of an event within the Jewish religious tradition and not simply the result of outside influences. Secularism, rather than constituting a break from Jewish history, was a product of a dynamic within Jewish history itself.

Scholem's history of Jewish mysticism sweeps from late antiquity to the threshold of modernity, and in his hands, Qabbalah became the key to the history of the Jews during this long period. Scholem argued that Judaism is not a monolithic tradition but consists instead of a dialectical interplay of conflicting forces. Only by understanding this tradition in its anarchistic entirety can one grasp the "essence" of Judaism.

Behind Scholem's historiographical achievement lay a philosophy of modern Judaism that combined Zionism with a kind of religious anarchism. Scholem held that only in a Jewish state could nonapologetic history be written, and only there could the Jews again become the subjects of their own history. He saw the Judaism that would come out of the Zionist movement as something different from either Orthodoxy or the rationalism of the nineteenth century. Similar to his version of historical Judaism as a dynamic conflict between opposing forces, the new Judaism would be pluralistic rather than monolithic.

SEE ALSO Qabbalah; Zohar.

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DAVID BIALE (1987)
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SCHWEITZER, ALBERT (1875–1965), was philosopher, theologian, musicologist, and humanitarian physician. Schweitzer was born in a Lutheran parsonage in Kaysersberg, Upper Alsace, which was then in Germany. This locale, which included his childhood hometown of Günsbach, and his university city, Strassburg, later became part of France.

In 1899 Schweitzer received a doctorate in philosophy and in 1900 a doctorate in theology from Strassburg. Yet philosophy and theology could not contain all his energies, some of which he directed to music. Between 1905 and 1911 he began making intensive studies and contributions to the literature on Johann Sebastian Bach, whose organ music he also edited. Regarded by his teachers and critics as a man with sufficient talent to be world-renowned as an organ performer, he chose instead to write on the almost mystical spirituality of Bach. Schweitzer later took a zinc-lined organ with him to the damp climate of equatorial Africa and occasionally returned to his Günsbach bench and performed elsewhere in Europe to raise funds for his African ventures.

It was these African endeavors that made a world citizen out of Schweitzer and that led to his winning the Nobel Peace Prize in 1952. After having shown his ability to excel in philosophy, theology, and music, Schweitzer felt a call to become a physician so that he could address human suffering. He recognized a vocation to this role after having been moved by a Strassburg statue of an African, and he chose for his work a site called Lambaréné in Gabon, in French Equatorial Africa. There he went with his wife, physician and researcher Hélène Bresslau, after he received the M.D. degree in 1913, and there he spent most of his remaining fifty years.

Schweitzer became one of the best-known figures in the world, a pioneer in a form of humanitarianism that was to know no boundaries of ideology, nation, or religion. Although the administration of his hospital clinic was often arbitrary, patriarchal, and paternalistic, and although his attitude toward African blacks was so condescending as to be regarded as racist by critics, Schweitzer gained and held credentials because of his ability to serve suffering natives. He attracted volunteers from all over the world, and for decades Lambaréné was a goal for pilgrimages. Visitors ordinarily brought back enthusiastic, almost unrestrained, reports of Schweitzer's motivation and a humane spirituality that emanated from his work and life. Lambaréné was an easy image to grasp, one that left a much bigger stamp on the religious world than did anything Schweitzer was to write or say.

Yet the physician also had much to say in philosophy and religion, and some of his writings on the New Testament found a permanent place in the canons of biblical criticism. It is clear that Schweitzer wanted to make his mark through a multivolume *Kulturphilosophie* (1923), which was translated as *Philosophy of Civilization.* He worked on its third volume for many years between surgical operations in Africa. Its first volume, with its survey of history, has had little impact and would be little read were it not for curiosity about the author.

The second volume, however, includes Schweitzer's personal religious philosophy, identified by his famous phrase "reverence for life." One day in 1915 on a boat on the Ogooué River, Schweitzer had an almost mystical revelatory experience. This led him to concentrate his disparate energies on the notion and ethos of reverence for all life. It was this passion that made the doctor well known, sometimes notorious, because he did not want to kill mosquitoes or bees or any other living things, even though they add to misery by spreading diseases. He felt that reverence for life, for which he presented little philosophical justification but toward which he assembled all his religious energies, made its own claims on humans, whose future depended upon how they regarded all life.

Schweitzer's more vivid theological work concentrated on radical studies of Jesus. Gradually his Lutheranism was transformed into a reverent attention to the "spirit of Christ," and some thought of him as a Unitarian. His *Die Mystik des Apostels Paulus* (1930) elaborated on some of these themes, but *Von Reimarus zu Wrede* (1906), translated as *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* (1910), had epochal significance. The book traces the history of biblical criticism, chiefly in Germany, through a century of liberal efforts to establish a revitalized Christianity around the figure of "the historical Jesus."

Schweitzer devastated the reputation of many predecessors by showing that their search for the historical Jesus was not sufficiently historical. There was no "historical Jesus" to be found, he said, since the biblical records left such figures irretrievable, and he showed that German scholars had usually stopped their quest short, at the point where they found a Jesus who projected their own liberal ideals. The evidence, Schweitzer said, reached instead to a Jesus who turned out to be virtually useless for such purposes. Jesus was an apocalyptic zealot who had thought that God would break into world history and usher in his Kingdom after Jesus began his ministry. When God failed to do this, Jesus by his own sufferings tried to bring on that divine action. There was no way such an eschatologically minded figure could be anything but alien to moderns.

Paradoxically, this did not mean the end of following the spirit of Christ. Schweitzer often wrote in almost mystical terms about following Jesus. In the eyes of many he successfully promoted a search for the divine will in the path of this remote and mysterious Jesus. While Schweitzer's positive theology held limited appeal, serious biblical scholarship has subsequently had to build its New Testament historical research on new foundations.

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SCIENCE AND RELIGION.

During the final third of the twentieth century an interdisciplinary field arose that claims the name science and religion. By science it refers to natural sciences such as physics, cosmology, evolutionary biology, genetics, and the neurosciences; and it includes supporting disciplines such as history of science and philosophy of science. Although on occasion scholars in this field will dip into one or another social science, for the most part the field limits itself to the natural sciences. By religion it refers to two regions of religious thought. The first is generically spiritual, wherein research scientists are asked to explore ways in which their understandings of nature emit evidence or lack of evidence of transcendence. The second is doctrinally conceptual, wherein Christian systematic theology, as well as the philosophical or conceptual components to traditions such as Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Chinese traditions, are placed in dialogue with the sciences to reconceive God's relation to the world in creation, providence, moral guidance, and related interactions. Science and religion is a field of academic study that invites contributions from a variety of sciences and a variety of religious commitments; it is not itself a religious tradition or homogeneous school of thought.

The science that is relevant here is primarily modern science. Contemporary heirs to ancient religious traditions face upsetting challenges from the revolutionary spirit of the modern world, and science marches as the vanguard of modernity. Its ruthless dedication to empirically derived truth renders science brutal in its disregard for previous beliefs, even sacred beliefs. No appeal to traditional religious authority can stand in the face of repudiation by modern scientific theory or its companion, technology. Awareness of this threat occasionally precipitates defensive religious reactions. Such reactions are frequently temporary, however, and eventually most religious leaders find ways to make peace with the new apprehension of reality heralded by science.

ANCIENT ASIA. Science as the world knows it today was born in western Europe in the sixteenth century and has migrated around the globe challenging traditional societies with a materialistic and humanistic view of reality. However, ancestral examples of quizzing nature to learn its secrets and of ingenious technological innovation can be found in many parts of ancient Asia. For example, the decimal system, including place notation using zero, first appeared in ancient India. As knowledge traveled to central Asia, algebra developed, advancing to second degree equations.

The Chinese were gifted with social organization and, like other ancients, developed sophisticated weapons for war. Other Chinese craft achievements included the compass, gunpowder, ceramics, block printing, and the stirrup. Renaissance Europe imported East Asian porcelain, and even today westerners calls their dishes "china." Yet what the moderns know as the method of scientific discovery and technological innovation seems inimical to the mystical and occult practices of Daoism and Buddhism and to the hierarchical social philosophy of Confucianism. Thus, from the beginning of the twentieth century through the Communist revolution to century's end, many Chinese intellectuals embraced a Chinese form of scientism. Science, it was thought, could do what the previous philosophical and religious traditions had failed to do, namely, restore China to its proper place on the world stage and provide liberation from poverty and backwardness.

Buddhism retains its ancient roots and is showing buds that could flower in contemporary discussions with science. Buddhism is open to three types of relationship with science. First, a supportive relationship is possible where existing science and technology can be employed to support Buddhist projects, such as employment of engineering to construct shrines and statues. Second, a more integral relationship can be found in the five fields of monastic knowledge: linguistics, logic, speculative philosophy, medicine, and creative arts. One of the central philosophical issues has been causality, already raised in Buddhism's four noble truths, where unsatisfied craving is the cause of suffering. This opens Buddhism to integration with physical causality as science investigates it. Third, a consequential relationship obtains when Buddhists, who believe in reincarnation, find themselves fascinated with such sciences as embryology. If an extensive dialogue with science develops among Buddhists, it can be expected to look different from the dialogue between science and Western theists (Richard Payne, "Buddhism and the Sciences," in Peters and Bennett, 2002, pp. 153–172).

ANCIENT GREECE AND ANCIENT ISRAEL. It is widely assumed that for science as a method of discovery to arise three things must be affirmed. First, the natural world must be structured rationally if not mathematically. Second, the rational structure of the human mind must correspond to the structure of nature itself. That is, human beings need the capacity to understand the world of nature. Third, the natural world must be contingent, not eternal or divine or capricious. It must be the case that the world as it is known is not necessary—it could have been different than it is. Hence, the pursuit of knowledge of this world must follow a specific course of research based upon observation of specific phenomena in order to discern specific causal connections.

The correspondence between the rational structure of the world and that of the human mind was discerned in ancient Greece. From the Greek *logos* we derive our concepts of logic and terms ending in *logy,* meaning "study of." Euclid gave us geometry. Pythagoras saw the physical world organized according to number. Hipparchos discovered the precession of equinoxes. Archimedes analyzed the lever. Aristarchos of Samos proposed a heliocentric picture of the universe, while Ptolemy's universe, with the earth at the center, won the day temporarily and dominated Western thought until Nicolaus Copernicus in the sixteenth century. Aristotle set the stage for biology, physics, and metaphysics, all celebrating human rational capacity.

What ancient Israel contributed was reflection on its experience with contingency. The world created by its covenanting God could have been different, but this world exists because the God of Israel freely decided to make it this way. Contingency could be combined with Greek reason. God has "arranged all things by measure and number and weight" (*Wis.* 11:20). The God of eternity and power can be "understood and seen through the things he has made," says Saint Paul (*Rom.* 1:20). Many scholars believe that the fertilization of reason by contingency provided the embryonic beginning of what would eventually gestate into modern Western science.

Stanley L. Jaki theorizes that the role of the incarnation in Christian theology was decisive. Because the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ is a one-time-only event, the created world in general is rendered nondivine. As a result, understanding the world requires direct physical examination rather than indirect idealist speculation. "A created universe had to be rational and consistent, but also contingent, that is, only one of an infinite number of possibilities available to an infinite creator who cannot but be infinitely powerful and rational" (Jaki, 1987, vol. 13, p. 129). This leads to *a posteriori* rather than *a priori* reasoning and, hence, the experimental method of research.

ISLAM AND MEDIEVAL EUROPE. Islam's history is long, covering a broad sweep of civilizational development; therefore, one should expect considerable diversity of approaches to the relationship of science to faith. The root question throughout Islamic history is the relationship between science internal to Islam—that is, within the purview of the Qurʾān or *ʿulūm al-ʿArab* (science of the Arabs)—and science that is external—that is, deriving from either the natural human capacity to reason or from pre-Muslim traditions. The early Abbasid rulers in the late eight and early ninth centuries vigorously promoted the rational and pre-Islamic sciences. They funded the House of Wisdom (Bayt al-Ḥikmah) to retrieve ancient wisdom and enhance it through translations into Arabic of works in Greek, Syriac, Pahlavi, and Sanskrit. Included in these translation projects were the works of Aristotle and, of course, Ptolemy's *Almagest.* In addition to reading Ptolemy, Muslim scientists engaged in solar and stellar observations and created astronomical tables. Abū Yaʿqūb al-Kindi (800–870) articulated the philosophy of the era by affirming an appreciation of the truth wherever it comes from, even if it comes from races distant and nations different from the Arabs.

Without a unifying orthodoxy, a variety of Islamic approaches developed to deal with *ʿilm,* or systematized knowledge, that included not only the natural sciences but also philology, lexicography, philosophy, jurisprudence, and theology. The study of nature was pursued on an intellectual soccer field with religious law (*sharī ʿah*) at one end and philosophical theology (*kalām*) at the other. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (1058–1111) distinguished *sharīʿah* (sciences derived from divine law and coming from the Qurʾān and the prophets) from the *ghayr sharī ʿah* (sciences not having to do with divine law, such as arithmetic, which comes from reason, and medicine, which is produced by experiment). Some proponents of religious law insisted that it should govern all spheres of life, including personal and public conduct; they also argued that religious law should set the parameters for what science can and cannot do.

A significant intellectual development at the *kalām*, or philosophical, end of the field is indirectly relevant for any future dialogue Muslims might take up with modern science. *Kalām* theologians concerned themselves with understanding God (Allāh) as the creator and sustainer of all that is in the material world. The school of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī (874–935) contended that God is the only and direct cause of all events in the material world, even human actions. Causal agency is restricted to God. This doctrine, sometimes called *occasionalism*, has the consequence of eliminating reliance upon efficient causation in the physical realm. Without assuming the world to be consistent due to unbreakable causal efficacy or to reliable consistency in divine action, science has nothing to investigate.

Turning to medieval Europe, long before the advent of Islam, Christian theologians had been wrestling with Greek knowledge in the form of natural philosophy. Although Tertullian (160–220) had exclaimed rhetorically, "what has Athens to do with Jerusalem?!" indicating the independence of theology from pagan thought, Augustine of Hippo (354–430), in contrast, absorbed as much Greek learning as possible, declaring science and philosophy to be a welcome handmaid to theology. This affirming attitude prevailed through the Middle Ages with the development of the Two Books doctrine, according to which the book of nature reveals God as creator and the book of Scripture reveals God as redeemer. Medieval Christians read both books, for the scientists and the theologians were typically the same people.

One of the central theological tasks of the early Middle Ages was to reconcile Platonic philosophy, especially the *Timaeus*, with biblical pictures of creation. This task changed sharply in the eleventh and twelfth centuries when, with Islam as the conduit, new translations appeared of the entire corpus of ancient Greek learning. Now, instead of Plato, it became Aristotle who interviewed for the job of theology's handmaid. Islamic scholars such as Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna, 980–1037) and Ibn Rushd (Averroës, 1126–1198) provided texts and commentaries for Latin Christians to examine, reflect on, question, and integrate.

Both Muslim and Christian theologians found problematic Aristotle's assumption that the elements of creation were eternal, thereby challenging biblical notions of creation from nothing (*creatio ex nihilo*), as well as divinely promised eschatological transformation. Aristotle's notion of the soul as the form of the body, which denied the soul's independent existence, seemed incompatible with previously Platonized Muslim and Christian anthropologies. Methodologically, Aristotle's rationalized universe seemed to threaten reliance upon specially revealed knowledge. The exhaustive scope of the causal nexus and sense of determinism seemed to preclude miracles (Peters, Iqbal, and Haq, 2002, pp. 18–27; Ferngren, 2000, p. 263). Initial attempts to exclude Aristotelian philosophy eventually gave way to embrace and intellectual celebration, however, culminating in the synthetic achievements of Albert the Great (1193–1280) and Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274).

Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologica* Christianized Aristotle and Aristotlianized Christianity. On the one hand, this synthesis also scientized Christianity, insofar as Aristotle's view of nature amounted to the reigning science of the day. The historian David C. Lindberg reports that "the late-medieval scholar rarely experienced the coercive power of the church and would have regarded himself as free (particularly in the natural sciences) to follow reason and observation wherever they led. There was no warfare between science and the church" (Ferngren, 2000, p. 266). On the other hand, permanent reliance upon this synthesis rendered Christian thought vulnerable to the challenges of what would later become modern science, which replaced much of the Aristotelian cosmology with empirically derived knowledge.

THE COPERNICAN REVOLUTION AND THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION. The Copernican revolution and the Protestant Reformation were siblings, sharing the same century and exhibiting together a momentary youthful rebellion within the Western Latin church. Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543), who was a cathedral canon in Cracow, Poland, surmised that the worldview he had inherited, namely the Ptolemaic worldview of ancient Greece, needed revision. The Ptolemaic or geocentric understanding held that the earth is immovable and that the sun and the other planets orbit the earth. Copernicus, relying upon his own observations (without a telescope), plus his own mathematical calculations, wrote *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* (On the revolutions of the heavenly bodies) in 1543, advancing the hypothesis that the sun, not the earth, stood at the center of the universe. The Copernican heliocentric view held that the earth—like the other planets—revolves around the sun. The evidence Copernicus raised was not decisive, yet it did provide a hypothetical scheme for calculating what could be observed in the night sky with the unaided human eye.

Copernicus was a devout Roman Catholic; his sixteenth-century counterpart was Protestantism. For the most part, Martin Luther (1483–1546) and John Calvin (1509–1564) paid little attention to the incipient revolution begun in natural science. Luther heard tales of Copernicus's new thought but apparently had no serious engagement. One offhand remark appears in 1539—four years prior to the astronomer's major book—in *Table Talk*, where Luther ponders a rumor that Copernicus believes the earth moves rather than the sun and the sky. Luther is said to have quipped that this would be comparable to somebody riding on a cart or in a ship and imagining that he was standing still while the earth and the trees were moving. Luther added that it was the sun that was commanded to stand still, not the earth, in the biblical description of Joshua fighting at Jericho (*Jos.* 10:12–14). Such remarks did not come from Luther's own authored writings but from students who took notes. Spoken in jest, such items ought not be interpreted as indicating any general opposition to science.

While Luther was attending to the interpretation of scripture and reforming the church, his own Wittenberg Reformation colleagues, a mathematician named Georg Joachim Rheticus and a pastor named Andreas Osiander, in 1543 executed an agreement with Copernicus to publish the first edition his major work, *De revolutionibus.* Twelve hundred copies appeared from a Nuremburg printing press. The anonymous preface, written by Osiander, includes the controversial line: "It is not necessary that these hypotheses should be true, or even probable; but it is enough if they provide a calculus which fits the observations." Significant here are two items: first, the acceptance of hypothesis as a component to developing new ideas; and, second, that this work has scientific value even if not true. What may have motivated such a prefatory statement in anonymous form was most likely a desire to make it easier for Roman Catholics to adopt Copernicus's ideas by softening the conceptual threat and by deleting any references to Lutheranism. Copernicus saw his book and the preface only on his deathbed in 1543 (Owen Gingerich, "The Copernican Revolution," in Ferngren, 2000, pp. 334–339).

Both Luther and Calvin distinguished between astrology and astronomy, and both rejected astrology as idolatry while celebrating astronomy as science. Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560) wrote on astrology, and this annoyed Luther, who trusted the more scientific and less superstitious approach to the stars. For Calvin as well as Luther, sciences such as astronomy and medicine provide valuable knowledge of this world, while human minds are asked to rise beyond this world to appreciate the glory of the God who made it. The historical bridge figure between Copernicus and Galileo, the Lutheran astronomer Johannes Kepler (1571–1630), advanced heliocentrism and suggested that scripture is written for common-sense understanding and should not be taken as a textbook in science.

It is frequently assumed in contemporary discussion that the so-called Copernican revolution consisted of decentering the earth and changing the place of human beings in the hierarchy of the cosmos. Historical evidence does not confirm such an interpretation. That Copernicus's theory led to a significant change in scientific cosmology is indisputable. That his heliocentric view upset a prevailing religious view that allegedly relied upon earth centrism and human centrism is disputable. For the most part, the new cosmology elicited relatively little theological attention and certainly no discernable religious excitement. Some Jesuit scholars in England were working in the 1570s to relocate heaven among the stars in light of Copernicus's new cosmology, but this only testifies to the absence of any initial dismay or disorientation on the part of the church's theologians.

GALILEO'S CONDEMNATION. A modern myth perpetuated by those wishing to see warfare between science and religion is to list martyrs for scientific truth who were allegedly persecuted by an atavistic and dogma-bound ecclesiastical authority (White, 1896, chap. 3). Although this interpretation is exaggerated, a kernel of truth in the condemnations of Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) fuels the fire of scientific-martyr remembrance.

The central issues had to do with interpretations of biblical passages such as *Psalms* 104:4 and *Joshua* 10:12–14, which picture a world with a stable earth and movements by the sun, moon, and other heavenly bodies. Both the authority of the Bible and the authority of the papacy to interpret the Bible seemed to be at stake, not loyalty to Ptolemy per se.

Galileo defended Copernicus against Ptolemy in his *Dialogo sopra i due massimi sistemi del mundo* (Dialogue concerning the two chief world systems) of 1632, buttressing the earlier argument for heliocentrism with telescopic observations as evidence. During nearly two decades of controversy, Galileo argued that biblical allusions to a stationary earth and a moveable sun should be seen as the cosmological frame rather than the theological focus of the Bible's message. Such a principle of interpretation would permit changes in scientific worldview while holding to biblical authority in matters of faith. During the controversies, Cardinal Cesare Baronius (1538–1607) bequeathed to history the famous aphorism, "The Bible tells us how to go to heaven, not how the heavens go."

Such a hermeneutic of Scripture failed to win the day, however, and papal condemnations in both 1616 and 1632 defended a stable earth and a moveable sun on the grounds that the Bible presumes this; that is, heliocentrism would amount to a violation of scriptural authority. Copernicus's *De revolutionibus* was placed on the *Index Expurgatorius* in 1616, and Galileo's *Dialogo* was added in 1632, meaning that Catholics were forbidden to read these works. Curiously, Jesuits in China, who had already begun to teach the Copernican cosmology, had to reverse themselves and begin teaching earth centrism, a pedagogical change that created confusion among their Asian students.

THE NEWTONIAN AND EINSTEINIAN WORLDS. As the story of astronomy winds through Western intellectual history, the advance in Copernicanism was accompanied by a retreat of Aristotelianism, especially a retreat from the sacredness or divinity ascribed to natural objects or forces. Once divine capriciousness was removed from the nexus of natural causation, scientists were ready to plot with confidence the mechanics of the world machine. Thus, the mechanistic model—the model of the natural world as a clock—could establish itself. This is what Newton provided and what became the Western worldview until Einstein.

Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727) authored influential scientific works such as *Philosophia naturalis principia mathematica* (1687), *Opticks* (1704), and *Arithmetica universalis* (1707). He is remembered and applauded for unifying the heavens with the earth in a single mathematical concept of nature united by the laws of mechanics and the law of gravity. By invoking the idea that all bodies everywhere operate with mutual gravitation, he ascertained that the forces that keep the planets in their orbits must be reciprocally the squares of their distances from their centers. Newton applied what was known about terrestrial mechanics to the heavenly bodies and thereby erased any previously presumed gulf of difference. Arrival at such knowledge is through experiment with mathematical calculations. Scientific knowledge became mundane and objective, liberated from subjective projections of transcendental value or moral bias.

Following fellow English scientist Robert Boyle (1627–1691) in likening the natural world to a well-designed clock, Newton emphasized that the world needs God as the clockmaker—that is, it needs a divine first cause. In addition, the world clock also needs God for frequent adjustment and repair. Newton was a theist with Unitarian rather than Trinitarian leanings, believing in an active God whose *concursus* with nature performed necessary tasks, such as determining the actual paths of planets in their orbits. Historians of science view this as a mistake on Newton's part, as later research would provide a scientific explanation for actions he had thought to be divine. When asked by Napoleon (in an alleged conversation) about God's intervention into planetary orbits, Pierre-Simon, the Marquis de Laplace, answered, "I have no need of that hypothesis." What subsequent scientific history would carry beyond Newton is the image of nature as a universal and mathematizable mechanism, dependable and discernible, with no need for divine intervention (Dillenberger, 1960, p. 125).

Sparked by the publication of five extraordinary scientific papers by Albert Einstein (1879–1955) in 1905, people in the twentieth century began to think of the natural world as much more mysterious than the Newtonian clock model might allow. Einstein's special theory of relativity made both duration and length relative to motion, undercutting the assumption that the universe is framed by a stable or absolute container of time and space. Incorporating gravity into this theory in 1915 to produce his general theory of relativity, Einstein showed that space and matter act on one another so as to deform space itself: space tells matter how to move, and matter tells space how to curve. In Einstein's non-Euclidian world of diverging and intersecting parallel lines, the shortest path from one point to another in the presence of a gravitational field can become a curved line. Thus gravity is said to "bend" light.

Perhaps the most pervasive sense of mystery was introduced with what became known as quantum theory in physics, according to which nature's smallest particles, such as electrons, do not behave mechanistically. Rather, their behavior seems indeterminate and unpredictable; only over the long run, or statistically, do lawlike or mechanical patterns emerge. Still further, the act of observing subatomic behavior influences such behavior, thereby compromising the Newtonian sense of objectivity or nonparticipatory observation in scientific method. Subjectivity seems constitutive of the reality being observed (Ravindra, 1987, 5.72).

One of the implications of Einstein's early work was the concept of an expanding universe, a concept that by the time of its definitive confirmation in 1965 became broadly accepted as Big Bang cosmology—the notion that all of physical reality could be traced back to a singularity 13.7 billion years ago, when time and space began—sent intellectual shock waves through the religious imagination. With the Big Bang, the physical world appears to have an edge, something beyond time and space; with this edge, questions of transcendence arose within physical cosmology. Even Saint Augustine's forbidden question—what was God doing before there was time?—could be re-asked, now by physicists. The mysteries of the quantum world along with the Big Bang led physicists such as Paul Davies to suggest that now "science offers a surer path to God than religion" (Davies, 1983, p. ix).

THE FIELD OF SCIENCE AND RELIGION. What is known today as the field of science and religion gained its present definition during the 1960s. The American Scientific Affiliation, founded in 1941 by evangelical scientists, set a precedent. Yet the 1960s marked a significant transition in intellectual culture.

Three factors in the intellectual environment of evolutionary adaptation led to the emergence of the new field. First, from within the new science, as reported above, questions of transcendence arose. The confirmation of Big Bang cosmology in 1965 was perhaps the most decisive. Continuing debates over quantum indeterminacy and complementarity began to place physics on the theological agenda. Although the double-helix structure of DNA had been discovered earlier (in 1953) the development of molecular biology in the 1960s, accompanied by startling new prospects in genetic engineering, raised questions of human nature for philosophers and questions of ethics for religious leaders. Science seemed to be asking for religious involvement and interpretation.

The second intellectual factor was the turn taken in the field of philosophy of science. The strict empiricism, positivism, and reductionism that had held sway for the first two thirds of the twentieth century was challenged by a new awareness of historical relativity and the sociology of knowledge. Philosophers such as Michael Polanyi, Norwood Hanson, Thomas Kuhn, Stephen Toulmin, and Imre Lakatos placed scientific knowing into historically conditioned communities of knowing. This challenged alleged scientific objectivity. The result was a new picture of scientific knowledge that began to look like humanistic knowledge, and even like theological knowledge.

The third intellectual factor was a ripening for dialogue within theology. The reign was coming to an end for the giants of neo-orthodox and existentialist Protestant theology—Karl Barth, Emil Brunner, Paul Tillich, Reinhold Niebuhr, H. Richard Niebuhr, Anders Nygren, Gustaf Aulen, and others. This school of thought had immunized theology from science by embracing the Two Language model, according to which science and faith each speak a different language. Science speaks of facts, whereas religion speaks of meaning. Because the languages are untranslatable, so it was assumed, science could have no relevance for matters of faith. Science and faith are allegedly separate realms. One disciple of Paul Tillich and Reinhold Niebuhr, Langdon Gilkey, flooded theological discussion in the 1960s with published works calling attention to the cultural impact of science, making science a theological issue because it is a cultural issue. Science was knocking at the theological door, even if it was not being invited in.

In Roman Catholic theology, the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) had taken *aggiornamento* as its theme—that is, opening the windows of the church so the winds of the modern world could blow through. The mood of the mid-1960s was one of exuberant openness, and this openness soon included openness to science.

It was in this intellectual environment that a new vision for the interaction of science and religion evolved. For convenience, this emergence is marked with the 1966 publication of *Issues in Science and Religion* by Ian G. Barbour (b. 1923). Barbour grew up in China with a scientist father and theologian mother, and he was present the day in 1929 when Jesuit paleontologist Pierre Teilhard de Chardin arrived with the skull of what would later be called Beijing Man. Educated in both physics and theology, Barbour's first book defined the nascent field for four decades to follow. Barbour's publications, including his Gifford Lectures (1989–1991), have continued to shape it.

Barbour inspired a youthful colleague, Robert John Russell (b. 1946), a United Church of Christ pastor with a Ph.D. in physics, to establish in 1981 the Center for Theology and the Natural Sciences (CTNS) at the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley, California. CTNS has sought the creative mutual interaction between science and faith. The center also publishes the journal *Theology and Science*. Pope John Paul II exonerated Galileo early in his pontificate, and from 1987 to 2003 the pope sponsored a sustained research program dealing with "scientific perspectives on divine action," conducted cooperatively by the Vatican Observatory and CTNS.

Beginning in the 1970s, centers and societies for the study of science and religion sprang up around the world. At Oxford University the biologist-theologian Arthur Peacocke organized the Society of Ordained Scientists and, followed by historian John Hedley Brooke, nurtured the Ian Ramsey Centre for research in this field. German-language discussions were prompted by the Karl Heim Gesellschaft, founded in 1974, which publishes an annual summary of research. At the Lutheran School of Theology in Chicago, the Zygon Center for Science and Religion, founded by Ralph Wendel Burhoe and supported by the Center for Advanced Study in Religion and Science and the Institute for Religion in an Age of Science, was directed (as of 2004) by Antje Jackelen, with Philip Hefner serving as editor of *Zygon: Journal of Religion and Science*. The European Society for the Study of Science and Theology meets biennially on the European continent. The Association of Science, Society, and Religion in India, the Australian Theological Forum, and the Center for Islam and Science in Islamabad and Edmonton, are examples of centers that draw scientists and religious leaders into academic conversation and generate publications that expand the field.

In the 1990s the John Templeton Foundation of Radnor, Pennsylvania, whose leaders believe interaction with science will facilitate "progress in religion" began funding numerous individuals and organizations. The Templeton Foundation was financial midwife at the 2002 birth of the multi-religious International Society for Science and Religion centered at Cambridge University, with the physicist-theologian John Polkinghorne as its first president. The annual Templeton Prize for contributions to religion are frequently given to scholars in the field of science and religion; recipients have included the physicists Freeman Dyson, Paul Davies, and John Polkinghorne; the philosophers Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Homes Rolston III; as well as Barbour and Peacocke.

WARFARE AND NONWARFARE MODELS OF INTERACTION BETWEEN SCIENCE AND RELIGION. The idea that natural science and Christian faith are locked into perpetual warfare derives from the late-nineteenth-century controversy over Darwinian evolution (Draper, 1874; White, 1896). This reinterpretation of previous history served the agenda of some scientists in England and North America who at that time were seeking to dislodge disciplines such as theology from university accreditation. However, the "warfare thesis," sometimes called the "conflict" model, is but one way to think of the relation of science to religion. The agenda of the field of science and religion is to find a nonwarfare or cooperative pattern of interaction (Peters, 1998, pp. 13–22; Barbour, 1990, pp. 3–30). At the beginning of the twenty-first century, eight patterns of interaction are discernable, four fitting the warfare interpretation and four that embrace peaceful cooperation, if not integration.

Scientism. In the contemporary West, the term *scientism* refers to naturalism, reductionism, or secular humanism—that is, the belief that there exists only one reality, namely, the material world, and that science provides the only trustworthy method for gaining knowledge about this material reality. Science has an exhaustive monopoly on knowledge, rendering all claims by religion about knowledge of supernatural realities as fictions or pseudo-knowledge. All explanations are reducible to secularized material explanations. Religion is defeated in the war by ignoring it.

Here, *scientism* does not mean exactly what it did a century ago in China. Science then appeared as a potential savior, an antireligious and anti-traditional force of revolution that would liberate modern people from their oppressive past. In contemporary intellectual debate, *scientism* still connotes liberation from oppressive religion, but it is restricted to methodology rather than politics and economics.

Scientific imperialism. This is scientism that does not ignore religion; rather, it uses materialist reductionism to explain religious experience and reassess theological claims. Scientific imperialists grant value to religion and religious values, and may even grant the existence of God, yet they claim that science provides a method for discerning religious truth that is superior to that of traditional theology. In contemporary discussion this approach is taken by some physical cosmologists when explaining creation or eschatology, and by sociobiologists or evolutionary psychologists proffering a biological explanation for cultural evolution including religion and ethics. Here religion is defeated in the war by conquering and colonizing it.

Ecclesiastical authoritarianism. According to this model, which defends the reverse of the previous two models, modern science clashes with religious dogma that is authoritatively supported by ecclesiastical fiat, the Bible, or in Islam by the Qurʾān. The 1864 *Syllabus of Errors*, promulgated by the Vatican, asserts that scientific claims must be subject to the authority of divine revelation as the church has discerned it. The Second Vatican Council affirmed academic freedom for natural science and other secular disciplines, removing the Vatican from warfare and placing it in the Two Language model.

The battle over Darwinian evolution. A war is currently being fought between the Darwinian theory of evolution, especially the concept of natural selection, on the one side, and scientific creationists, Intelligent Design advocates, and some factions within Turkish Islam, on the other side. The scientific creationists are heirs to fundamentalist Protestantism; they argue that a fair assessment of the science will show the inadequacy of natural selection to explain what appears to be evolution from one species to another, and this failure to provide a satisfactory scientific explanation indirectly supports the biblical description of creation. Intelligent Design advocates similarly criticize the explanatory adequacy of natural selection, arguing that evolution from one species to another constitutes a leap in complexity, and that advances in complexity require intervention by a transcendent intelligent designer—in other words, materialist explanations are inadequate. Some Muslims in Turkey are showing interest in these two Christian groups because of their desire to combat the secular orientation toward education in a traditionally religious society. That a war is being fought is clear. However, because the actual points at issue deal specifically with the explanatory adequacy of natural selection, it would be misleading to simply dub this a war between science and religion. The evolution battlefield is primarily North America, Australia, and Turkey, with little or no notice in Europe or in other discussions of science and religion.

The Two Languages. The notion that science speaks one language, the language of facts, and religion speaks a different language, the language of values, is the dominant nonwarfare model. The Two Language model—sometimes referred to as the "independence" model—is the prevailing view of both scientists and theologians in Western intellectual life. Science attends to objective knowledge about objects in the penultimate realm, whereas religion attends to subjective knowledge about transcendent dimensions of ultimate concern. Modern persons need both, according to Einstein, who claimed the following: "Science without religion is lame and religion without science is blind" (*Nature* 146 [1940]: 605–607). This Two Language model should not be confused with the classic model of the Two Books, according to which the book of Scripture and the book of nature each provide an avenue of revelation for God. The difference is that the Two Books model sees science as revealing truth about God, whereas the Two Language model sees science as revealing truth solely about the created world.

Hypothetical consonance. Going beyond the Two Language view by assuming an overlap between the subject matter of science and the subject matter of faith, *consonance* directs inquiry toward areas of correspondence between what can be said scientifically about the natural world and what can be said theologically about God's creation. Even though consonance seems to arise in some areas, such as the apparent correspondence of Big Bang cosmology with the doctrine of creation out of nothing, consonance has not been fully confirmed in all relevant shared areas. Hence, the adjective *hypothetical* applies to theology as well as science. The central hypothesis of this model is that there can be only one shared domain of truth regarding the created world, and science at its best and faith at its best both humble themselves before truth; one can therefore trust that consonance will eventually emerge. Hypothetical consonance provides the warrant for what some call "dialogue between science and theology," and others the "creative mutual interaction of science and theology."

Ethical overlap. Building on the Two Language model, wherein mutual respect between scientists and religious leaders is affirmed, some exhibit a strong desire for cooperation on public-policy issues deriving from science and technology. The ecological crisis and human values questions deriving from advances in biotechnology both enlist creative cooperation.

New Age spirituality. Having left the conflict or warfare model behind, synthetic spiritualities, such as those found in the New Age movement, seek to construct a worldview that integrates and harmonizes science with religion. Evolution becomes an overarching concept that incorporates the sense of deep time and imbues the development of a global spiritual consciousness as an evolutionary advance for the cosmos. Many here are prompted by the visionary theology of Teilhard de Chardin (1881–1955), although this Jesuit forerunner could not himself be categorized as New Age. Others in the New Age movement seek to integrate the experience of mystery with advanced discoveries in physics, such as indeterminacy and quantum theory.

Whereas these final four models take us beyond conflict or warfare, the Two Language view presumes independence, while hypothetical consonance, ethical overlap, and New Age spirituality seek a fuller integration. When it comes to research, publication, and conferencing within the field of science and religion, most frequently the assumptions of hypothetical consonance prevail with dialogue pressing toward creative mutual interaction.

THE PROBLEM OF "PLAYING GOD."

The two models of hypothetical consonance and ethical overlap provide the framework for assessing one particular pattern of interaction of science with the larger culture, namely, public-policy controversies that invoke abhorrence to "playing God." The phrase "playing God" refers to the power that science confers upon the human race to understand and control the natural world.

When the phrase "playing God" is used, it may connote one of three overlapping meanings. The first meaning is associated with basic scientific research, wherein one may "learn God's awesome secrets." Some research elicits a sense of awe and wonder over the complexity and majesty of the natural world that the human mind is apprehending. Science is like a light shining down into the hitherto dark and secretive caverns of natural mystery, revealing what previously was hidden. It is the revelatory power of science that leads us to think we are gaining godlike powers. Few would ask us to cease our investigation, because "learning for learning's sake" remains the morality of scientific knowledge.

The second meaning of "playing God" belongs to the field of medicine, where doctors seem to have gained power over life and death. In a medical emergency, the patient feels helpless, totally dependent upon the scientific training and personal skill of the physician attending. The surgeon, and the scientific training he or she has been exposed to in medical school, stands between the patient and death. Similarly, large-scale research programs dedicated to finding a cure for cancer or AIDS provide the larger society with hope in the face of helplessness. Here, "playing God" takes on a redemptive or salvific connotation. The genre of jokes about doctors who think of themselves as gods reflects the wider anxiety people have about their helplessness, as well as their dependence upon doctors and their skills.

This medical meaning of "playing God" makes two assumptions. First, that decisions regarding life and death belong to God's prerogative. The second follows from the first: a human being with the power of life and death is thought of in a godlike role. This elicits additional anxiety—namely, worry that the person in the godlike role will succumb to the temptation of pride, of hubris. The concept of hubris articulates the more inchoate fear that we will presume too much, overreach ourselves, violate some divinely appointed limit, and reap destruction. Anxiety over hubris marks the overlapping transition from the second to the third use of the phrase "playing God."

The third use of "playing God" connotes the human ability to alter life and influence human evolution. Here, science and technology team up so that understanding leads to control. Genetic engineering, wherein we alter the DNA and perhaps alter our own essence, is the primary area of science that provokes fears of playing God. Yet such fears also arise in nuclear physics and ecology. The scientific community becomes a microcosm of the entire human community, expressing excessive pride over human powers at the expense of God. Humans substitute their own judgment and powers to determine what nature will be, placing themselves where only God belongs.

The God of "playing God" is not necessarily the God of the Bible. Rather, it is divinized nature. In Western culture, nature has absorbed the qualities of sacredness, and science and technology risk profaning the sacred.

Today's fear of "playing God" is reminiscent of the ancient Greek myth of Prometheus. When the world was being created, according to the myth, the sky god Zeus was in a cranky mood. The Olympian decided to withhold fire from earth's inhabitants, leaving the nascent human race to relentless cold and darkness. The Titan Prometheus, whose name means "to think ahead," could foresee the value of fire for warming homes and providing lamplight for reading late at night. He could anticipate how fire could separate humanity from the beasts, making it possible to forge tools. So Prometheus craftily snuck up into the heavens where the gods dwell and where the sun is kept. He lit his torch from the fires of the sun, and then he carried this heavenly gift back to earth.

On Mount Olympus the gods were outraged that the stronghold of the immortals had been penetrated and robbed. Zeus was particularly angry over Prometheus's impertinence, so he exacted merciless punishment on the rebel. Zeus chained Prometheus to a rock where an eagle could feast all day long on the Titan's liver. The head of the pantheon cursed the future-oriented Prometheus: "Forever shall the intolerable present grind you down." The moral of the story, which is remembered to the present day, is this: human pride or hubris that leads us to overestimate ourselves and enter the realm of the sacred will precipitate vengeful destruction. The Bible provides a variant: "Pride goes before destruction" (*Prv.* 16:18).

For modern people who think scientifically, no longer does Zeus play the role of the sacred. Nature does. It is nature who will strike back in the Frankenstein legend or its more contemporary geneticized version, Michael Crichton's novel *Jurassic Park* (1990) and the subsequent movies. The theme has become a common one: the mad scientist exploits a new discovery, crosses the line between life and death, and then nature strikes back with chaos and destruction.

Some religious leaders have spoken out in theological language to plead for caution in the face of human pride. A 1980 task-force report, *Human Life and the New Genetics*, includes a warning by the U.S. National Council of Churches: "Human beings have an ability to do Godlike things: to exercise creativity, to direct and redirect processes of nature. But the warnings also imply that these powers may be used rashly, that it may be better for people to remember that they are creatures and not gods." A United Methodist Church Genetic Science Task Force report to the 1992 General Conference stated similarly: "The image of God, in which humanity is created, confers both power and responsibility to use power as God does: neither by coercion nor tyranny, but by love. Failure to accept limits by rejecting or ignoring accountability to God and interdependency with the whole of creation is the essence of sin." In sum, humans can sin through science by failing to recognize their limits and, thereby, violate the sacred.

Genetics is the field of research that elicits the most anxiety regarding the threat that scientists will play God. This is because DNA has garnered cultural reverence. The human genome has become tacitly identified with the essence of what is human. A person's individuality, identity, and dignity have become connected to his or her DNA. Therefore, if people have the hubris to intervene in the human genome, they risk violating something sacred. This tacit belief is called by some the "gene myth," by others "the strong genetic principle" or "genetic essentialism." This myth is an interpretive framework that includes both the assumed sacrality of the human genome plus the fear of Promethean pride.

Systematic theologians find themselves questioning the gene myth, doubting the equation of DNA with human essence or human personhood. A person is more than his or her genetic code. The National Council of Churches of Singapore put it this way in *A Christian Response to the Life Sciences* (2002): "It is a fallacy of genetic determinism to equate the genetic makeup of a person with the person" (p. 81). Such a theological anthropology combats the gene myth and opens the door for ethical approval of cautious genetic engineering.

Cautious employment of genetic technology to alter human DNA leads to considerations regarding the distinction between therapy and enhancement. At first glance, therapy seems ethically justifiable, whereas enhancement seems Promethean and dangerous. The term *gene therapy* refers to directed genetic change of human somatic cells to treat a genetic disease or defect in a living person. With four to six thousand human diseases traceable to genetic predispositions—including cystic fibrosis, Huntington's disease, Alzheimer's disease, and many cancers—the prospects of gene-based therapies are raising hopes for dramatic new medical advances. Few if anyone find ethical grounds to prohibit somatic cell therapy via gene manipulation.

The term *human genetic enhancement* refers to the use of genetic knowledge and technology to bring about improvements in the capacities of living persons, in embryos, or in future generations. Enhancement might be accomplished in one of two ways: either through genetic selection during screening or through directed genetic change. Genetic selection may take place at the gamete stage, or more commonly as embryo selection during preimplantation genetic diagnosis (PGD) following in vitro fertilization (IVF). Genetic changes could be introduced into early embryos, thereby influencing a living individual, or by altering the germ line, influencing future generations.

Some forms of enhancement are becoming possible. For example, introduction of the gene for IGF-1 into muscle cells results in increased muscle strength and health. Such a procedure would be valuable as a therapy, to be sure, yet it lends itself to availability for enhancement as well. For those who daydream of so-called designer babies, the list of traits to be enhanced would likely include increased height or intelligence, as well as preferred eye or hair color. Concerns raised by both secular and religious ethicists focus on economic justice—that is, wealthy families are more likely to take advantage of genetic enhancement services, leading to a gap between the "genrich" and the "genpoor."

The most ethical heat to date has been generated over the possibility of germ line intervention, and this applies to both therapy and enhancement. The term *germ line intervention* refers to gene selection or gene change in the gametes, which in turn would influence the genomes of future generations. Because the mutant form of the gene that predisposes for cystic fibrosis has been located on chromosome four, a plan to select out this gene and spare future generations of the suffering caused by this debilitating disease is easily imaginable. This would constitute germ line alteration for therapeutic motives. Similarly, in principle, one could select or even engineer genetic predispositions to favorable traits in the same manor. This would constitute germ line alteration for enhancement motives.

Both of these are risky for the same reason. Too much remains unknown about gene function. It is more than likely that gene expression works in delicate systems, so that it is rare that a single gene is responsible for a single phenotypical expression. If one removes or engineers one or two genes, it might unknowingly upset an entire system of gene interaction that could lead to unfortunate consequences. The prohibition against "playing God" serves here as a warning to avoid rushing in prematurely with what appears to be an improvement but could turn out to be a disaster. Ethicists frequently appeal to the precautionary principle—that is, to refrain from germ line modification until the scope of our knowledge is adequate to cover all possible contingencies.

It is important to note that the precautionary principle does not rely upon the tacit belief in DNA as sacred. Rather, it relies upon a principle of prudence that respects the complexity of the natural world and the finite limits of human knowledge.

The limits of scientific knowledge include two extrascientific yet relevant areas, namely, values and transcendence. The problem of playing God deals primarily with values, ethics, and public policy. Questions of transcendence also appear on the agenda of the growing field of science and religion.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS IN THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN SCIENCE AND RELIGION. Because science raises some questions that only religion can answer, dialogue largely consists of shared exploration of issues emerging from science and treated by both disciplines. Questions regarding the grounding of values, and especially questions of transcendence, set the dialogue agenda.

Physics. In the field of physics, quantum theory affirms contingency and perhaps even indeterminism at the subatomic level, giving rise to questions regarding rationality in the universe and the possibility of noninterventionist divine action in the physical realm. Newtonian physics led to a mechanistic picture of nature wherein the universe appeared like a clockwork, as a closed nexus of cause and effect. The rational structure of a clock provided the model for the rational structure of nature. If the universe is causally closed, then divine action within the world seems forbidden. Divine action would require God to intervene as an outside cause, perhaps in the form of a miracle, and this would upset the nexus. With the advent of quantum theory, natural events are now viewed as contingent. The world no longer looks like a clockwork but more like a history of natural events. For scientists such as Albert Einstein, beyond physical contingency God provides the universe with its rational structure, making it understandable to the human mind. For theologians of science such as Robert John Russell, quantum theory designates a fundamental realm of physical activity where God can act creatively and providentially in an objective yet noninterventionist way (Russell et al., 2001, pp. 293–328). In sum, physics raises philosophical and theological questions that transcend what science alone can address.

Indian Buddhists are finding that their own questions of causality provide a point of contact with both Newtonian and post-Newtonian physics. The classic scholastic system of speculative philosophy and psychology, *abhidharma,* dealt with multiple theories of causality. Discussions of physics among such Buddhists begin with religious questions and move toward possible integration with science.

Scientific cosmology. This field also raises questions that place physics and theological doctrines of creation and providence into dialogue. Two areas are worth special mention: Big Bang cosmology and the anthropic principle.

The standard Big Bang model of the beginning of our universe posits an original singularity and an apparent original moment for the onset of time, $t = 0$ (time equals zero). Physical time seems to have its own beginning. Although debates continue regarding just how old the universe actually is, estimates based upon observations by the Hubble Space Telescope cluster around 13.7 billion years. Before the moment of the Big Bang, before time and space existed, what was the nature of reality? No known physical experiment can test for this, nor can any theory regarding contemporary physical reality be extrapolated backward more than 13.7 billion years. Time and space seem to have an edge, and philosophers and theologians rightly ask what lies beyond the edge. Might we have here scientific confirmation for the classic Jewish and Christian doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo*? (Russell et al., 1987, pp. 273–296; Peters and Bennett, 2002, pp. 55–56).

Since the Big Bang, the universe has been steadily expanding. A key scientific question is this: is the universe open or closed? If it is open—that is, if the amount of mass is insufficient to stop the process, then it will continue to expand until the principle of entropy overtakes it. All the original heat will dissipate, and any remaining matter will fall into a state of equilibrium—in short, it will freeze out of existence. However, if the universe is closed—that is, if the amount of mass is above the relevant threshold, then at some point expansion will stop. Gravity will cause its motion to reverse, and all matter will reconverge on a central point, heating up on the way toward its doom in an unfathomably hot fireball—in short, it will fry. Whether freeze or fry, the future of the cosmos is finite. Might this be scientific disconfirmation of the biblical promise of an eschatological new creation?

The anthropic principle was formulated within physics, not theology. Because of the appearance of complex life forms on planet earth, physicists have been asking the following: what must have been the initial conditions at the moment of the Big Bang to eventually make life possible, or even inevitable? Such factors as the amount of mass, energy, rate of expansion, and so on could not have been different in fractions such as one to a million, or life would have been impossible. The universe seems to be fine-tuned for the appearance of life. Fine-tuning raises questions of intelligent design. The weak anthropic principle asks: Was the universe designed to make life possible? The strong anthropic principle asks: Was the universe designed to make life inevitable? (Peters and Bennett, 2001, p. 57).

Evolutionary biology. In evolutionary biology, scholars in the field of science and religion curiously avoid the public controversy with creationism and Intelligent Design, at least for the most part. Rather, assuming the validity of Darwinian theory, what drives the dialogue are questions regarding discernable purpose or direction within biological processes. The field of sociobiology has prompted widespread discussion regarding the influence of genetic determinism on human culture and religion. Special attention is given to the possible biological origins of human evil and suffering from evil, with a concomitant study of reciprocal altruism in both the animal and human realms.

Even if the evolution controversy is marginal to scholars in the field of science and religion, the controversy looms large in the public debate. Five positions are discernable, making it much more complicated than the image of a simple war between science and religion might connote. The first position would be that of evolutionary biology strictly as science without any attached ideological commitments. The reigning theory is neo-Darwinian, combining Charles Darwin's original nineteenth-century concept of natural selection with the twentieth-century concept of genetic mutation to explain the development of new species over 3.8 billion years. Defenders of quality science education in the public schools most frequently embrace this "science alone" approach.

The second position combines neo-Darwinism with materialist ideology, including repudiation of any divine influence on the course of evolutionary development. Spokespersons for sociobiology, such as E. O. Wilson or Richard Dawkins, are aggressive and vociferous. Evolution here provides apparent scientific justification for scientism, scientific imperialism, and in some cases atheism.

The third position is scientific creationism. During the fundamentalist era of the 1920s, biblical creationists appealed to the authority of the Bible to combat the rise in influence of Darwinism. Since the 1960s, creationists have based their arguments not on biblical authority but rather on counterscience—hence their label, *scientific creationists.* They argue, for example, that the fossil record will contradict standard appeals to natural selection over long periods of time. Those known as "young earth creationists," such as the leaders of the Institute for Creation Research near San Diego, California, hold that the planet earth is less than ten thousand years old and that all species of plants and animals were originally created by God in their present form. They deny macroevolution—that is, they deny that one species has evolved from prior species; although they affirm microevolution—that is, evolution within a species. Key here is that creationists justify their arguments on scientific grounds.

The fourth position is Intelligent Design. Advocates of Intelligent Design sharply attack neo-Darwinian theory for overstating the role of natural selection in species formation. They argue that slow incremental changes due to mutations are insufficient to explain the emergence of new and more complex biological systems. Many of the life forms that have evolved are irreducibly complex, and this counts as evidence that they have been intelligently designed. Intelligent Design scholars such as Michael Behe, Philip Johnson, and William

Dembski posit that appeal to a transcendent designer is necessary for the theory of evolution to successfully explain the development of life forms. Here, scientific questions lead to theological answers.

The fifth position is theistic evolution, according to which God has employed evolutionary processes over deep time to bring about the human race and perhaps even carry the natural world to a redemptive future. Theistic evolution first appeared in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, even in the work of conservative Princeton theologian B. B. Warfield, for whom God's *concursus* with nature brought about the human race, just as God's *concursus* wrote the Scripture with human minds and hands. Teilhard de Chardin is perhaps best known for his evolutionary cosmology directed by God toward a future "Point Omega." Among contemporary scholars at work in the field of science and religion, the roster of theistic evolutionists includes Arthur Peacocke, Philip Hefner, Robert John Russell, Nancey Murphy, Kenneth Miller, John Haught, Martinez Hewlett, and Howard van Til. This school of thought is not occupied with defending evolution against attacks by advocates of scientific creationism or Intelligent Design; rather, it seeks to work through questions raised by randomness and chance in natural selection in light of divine purposes and ends.

Genetics. In genetics, especially molecular biology, new discoveries regarding the life of the early embryo, as well as proposed medical technologies employing cloning (somatic-cell nuclear transfer) and embryonic stem cells, have given rise to intense public-policy debates. Behind these public debates are religious anthropologies. Questions arise regarding the rightness or wrongness of using genetic technology to alter inherited human nature; the question "should we play God?" is asked when contemplating the power of the present generation to influence the future of human evolution. Ethical questions also arise over the use of early embryos for medical research. In sum, genetic science gives rise to questions regarding human nature and the grounding of human dignity.

Public-policy controversies over what is permissible in genetic research have appeared superficially to be warfare between science and religion, although a closer look will find both scientists and theologians lining up on both sides of each debate. The gene patenting controversy of 1995, the cloning controversy of 1997, and the stem-cell controversy at the turn of the twenty-first century led to widespread public-policy debates that incorporated multiple religious considerations. Two specific issues are worth mentioning. One involved the question of playing God. Should scientists receive intellectual property rights (patents) on information gained about the human genome, something nature placed within human beings? Should scientists enter the human genome and alter it, thereby altering essential human nature? Would technological intervention into something so essentially human as DNA be such a mark of Promethean hubris or pride that it might backfire—that is, would nature take out revenge upon us Frankenstein style? Would such scientific activity mark a trespassing of something sacred? Should DNA be treated as sacred?

A second and related issue became the moral status of the human embryo. In both the cloning and the stem-cell controversies, the early embryo would be subject to genetic engineering and, in some experimental situations, destroyed. Does the engineering of the embryo constitute playing God? Does the destruction of an engineered embryo constitute abortion?

The most articulate theological voice and the most forceful ethical voice in the public debate has been that of the Vatican. The way the ethical question gets formulated everywhere on the world scene has been influenced by the formulation of Rome. In its "Declaration on the Production and the Scientific and Therapeutic Use of Human Embryonic Stem Cells" (2000), the Vatican states the issue this way: "Is it morally licit to produce and/or use human embryos for the preparation of ES [embryonic stem] cells? The answer is negative." Further, "the ablation of the inner cell mass of the blastocyst, which critically and irremediably damages the human embryo, curtailing its development, is a gravely immoral act and consequently is gravely illicit." The U.S. National Conference of Catholic Bishops has argued that any intentional destruction of innocent human life at any stage is inherently evil, and that no good consequence can mitigate that evil.

Roman Catholic bioethicists appeal authoritatively to two precedents, *Donum Vitae* (1987) and *Evangelium Vitae* (1995). The central tenet is that morally protectable human personhood becomes applied to the zygote, the egg fertilized by the sperm. These two documents contend that the result of human procreation, from the first moment of its existence, must be guaranteed the unconditional respect that is morally due to the human being in his or her totality and unity in body and spirit: the human being is to be respected and treated as a person from the moment of conception; therefore, from that same moment his or her rights as a person must be recognized, among which in the first place is the inviolable right of every innocent human being to life.

The ethics is supported by metaphysics. Morally protectable dignity is derived from the presence of the immortal soul within the mortal body. In a 1996 elocution on evolution, Pope John Paul II affirmed that it is by virtue of the spiritual soul that the whole person possesses such dignity, even in his or her body. Not reducible to biological evolution, the spiritual soul is immediately created by God. This makes John Paul II an adherent to *creationism*, an ancient view that God creates a new soul for the birth of each new child (not to be confused with scientific creationism described above). What is significant for the controversy is this: the biological sciences cannot on their own discern the presence or absence of an immaterial and immortal soul, only theologically informed philosophy can. Furthermore, belief in the presence of the soul justifies morally protectable human dignity. The ethical implication of this view is that early embryos may not be destroyed for purposes of stem cell research, nor may they be produced through cloning or other artificial means.

Bioethicists do not uniformly agree with the Vatican. Most Jewish ethicists have made their peace with the abortion controversy by dating morally protectable human dignity at birth, relieving them of the pressure to protect the preimplantation embryo in research. Because they argue that God has commissioned the human race to engage in healing, and hence in the practice of medicine, they endorse medical science, including human embryonic stem-cell research.

Some Protestants have drawn upon the distinction between nonmalificence and beneficence. The Vatican proscription depends upon nonmalificence, that is, doing no harm to the embryo. Those countering the Vatican make their appeal to beneficence, that is, the biblical mandate to pursue the good—loving one's neighbor—creatively. Our ethical mandate is to improve human health and well-being, and supporting the advance of medical science, including stem-cell research, treats existing and future suffering people with care as well as dignity.

Neuroscience. The neurosciences raise questions of biological determinism and reductionism. Speculative hypotheses are being asked about the prospect of explaining complex human behavior, including religious experience, in terms of genetic determinism and neural firings in the human brain. As with evolution and genetics, questions are raised: Is religion a form of adaptive behavior that developed when the human brain was expanding in capacity? Is there a "God spot" or region of brain activity in which the potential for religious experience is physically prepared? If so, is it reducible to biological determinism, or does it mark an opening to transcendence? (Herzfeld, 2002; Peterson, 2003; Russell et al., 1999).This is a new field within the sciences, and to date its relevance for religion is the least cultivated.

For the theological or philosophical dimensions of each of the world's religious traditions, the question of truth is a driving force. The theological motivation to engage in dialogue with natural science is an inherent impetus rising out of religious consciousness, out of what Mircea Eliade called "ontological thirst," or thirst for reality. The scientific motivation to engage in dialogue with religion rises out of the realization that questions of transcendence cannot be avoided in physics and cosmology, nor can questions of value and meaning be avoided in genetics and evolutionary biology. The emerging field of science and religion plays host to this dialogue.

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SCIENTOLOGY is a spiritual movement that grew out of the ideas and practices advocated by Layfayette Ronald (L. Ron) Hubbard (1911–1986), a writer and former U.S. naval officer. After his discharge from the navy, Hubbard became a writer of popular fiction, but even before he left the service he dedicated himself to determining both the cause of the human situation and the means of correcting it. His efforts led him to author several book-length manuscripts in the late 1940s and to publish several articles. Then in 1950 his book *Dianetics*, released by a small publishing house, jumped onto the *New York Times* best-seller lists.

Dianetics was the name Hubbard gave to the system of thought and practice that grew out of his concentrated exploration of the human mind. He believed humanity's problems were caused by mental aberrations (called *engrams*); he proposed a form of counseling termed *auditing* as the means to rid the self of the engrams. Dianetics teaches that the human mind has a twofold structure: the *analytic mind* and the *reactive mind*. The analytic mind thinks, plans, observes the world, and records memories. However, at particular moments, especially at times of severe distress or pain, the analytic mind recedes, and the reactive mind takes over. The reactive mind simply observes, records, and stores memories at times when the analytic mind is not functional. Such memories are generally not available to the conscious self but may be the source of irrational and dysfunctional behavior. Dianetics was designed to rid people of the effects of the reactive mind and bring them to a state of *clear*.

When Dianetics became a popular movement, Hubbard gathered his most enthusiastic supporters, including a number of physicians, into a board and founded several organizations to structure the movement. He continued to observe people undergoing Dianetic counseling or auditing, which explored individuals' memories. During these processes Hubbard began to encounter memories that seemed to reach to a time prior to birth and even to a previous existence in a different body. This experience and other factors led him to refocus his primary concern from the mind to the human spirit, that permanent part of the self that he believed could continue past death and into reincarnation, a different physical existence in a new body.

Speculation on the human spirit seemed to be suggesting the movement toward religion, a direction that many of Hubbard's associates (including some board members) rejected. Hubbard persisted in developing his thought, however, which as early as 1952 he called Scientology. The first Church of Scientology was founded in Los Angeles in 1954; another opened in Washington, D.C., the following year, with Hubbard serving as its executive director. Other churches soon emerged in New Zealand, South Africa, England, and Ireland.

SCIENTOLOGY BELIEFS. Scientology most closely resembles a Western esoteric-Gnostic system. In the early 1950s Hubbard posited the existence of a spiritual being called a *thetan* that was neither body nor intellect. He hypothesized that the thetan could live apart from the body (a phenomenon he called *exteriorization*) and had existed in other bodies prior to the present one. Further, he concluded, it was the essential nature of the thetan to survive, and it attempted to do so around a set of ever more inclusive concerns that he termed the *eight dynamics*. First, it seeks to survive as an individual—finding expression in creativity, sexuality, and family life. It then seeks to survive by identification with various human groupings, humanity as a whole, all life-forms, and eventually larger concerns—the universe, spirituality, and the infinite or Supreme Being. Hubbard's discussion of the infinite aligns with both Eastern and Western mystical speculations.

Scientology is structured toward grasping the eight dynamics sequentially, beginning with the seemingly mundane issues of individual and social issues, gradually reaching levels at which (in Western eyes) more traditional religious concerns are addressed. The church teaches that until the basic issues of life are set right, the larger issues of spirituality and God are difficult to bring into focus.

Hubbard also set the thetan's path to enlightenment into a fairly familiar myth of entrapment and escape. Thetans are thought to have come into existence billions of years ago. Along the way, they fell into the universe of matter, energy, space, and time (MEST). Although thetans had created MEST, they eventually forgot they were the creators and became imprisoned in their own creation. The thetans as a group also went through several horrendous cosmic events that further stripped them of their abilities and even the conscious memory of what had happened to them. Their various adventures have led them to the present time on earth.

As with other forms of esotericism (alchemy, Qabbalah, hermetics), Scientology proposes an explanation of the human condition, a means of escape, and a way to return to the spiritual world of the pre-MEST thetan. When individuals reach the state of clear, they are no longer bound by the reactive mind and are ready to confront the barriers to complete freedom—those products of the early cosmic events that still affect their lives. Scientology literature describes the cosmic career of the thetans in mythic stories similar to those in ancient Gnostic and Hindu myths. The full content of these myths are revealed only to the church member as they move through the upper levels of church life.

By the time they reach the higher or operating thetan (OT) levels of church membership, members have become intimately familiar with auditing, the basic counseling technique that rids them of engrams and the reactive mind. At the higher levels, auditing is also used to confront additional encumbrances on the thetan produced by its cosmic history. Auditing uses an instrument called an e-meter, a modified whetstone bridge that measures subtle changes in the electrical current moving through the body. In the hands of a trained auditor, it is believed that the e-meter can register changing states in the thetan and greatly assist the process of gaining awareness.

Church Organization. The Church of Scientology is organized hierarchically. At the lowest level are the local churches and missions that introduce people to the church and provide members with basic teachings and auditing leading to clear. Local churches are tied together by the Church of Scientology International, which operates similarly to the Mother Church of the Church of Christ, Scientist. Local churches and missions are autonomous but are bound to the international body by a set of licenses that grant the use of Scientology copyrights and trademarks. Local churches also agree to follow the procedures (called the *technology*) laid down in Hubbard's writings in all of the classes and auditing they provide for members. The copyrights and trademarks are held by a unique church structure, the Religious Technology Center, whose chair is considered the true head of the church.

In addition to local churches, there is a set of special church facilities designed to provide the materials, teachings, and services for operating thetans. The basic OT levels (I-V) are provided at the several Advanced Organizations (in Los Angeles, Sydney, Copenhagen, and East Grimstead, United Kingdom). OT VI and VII are delivered through the Flag Service Organization in Clearwater, Florida. OT VIII, the highest level available to church members in the early twenty-first century, is offered aboard an oceangoing vessel, the *Freewinds.* Additional levels are expected to be offered, but their release awaits enough members having attained OT VIII.

Auditors—ministers found in every church facility—are trained at the Saint Hill organizations in Los Angeles, Sydney, and East Grimstead, which function as seminaries. In addition the church has developed a special concern to serve individuals in the arts, many of whom lead public lives. To allow such members the privacy to pursue their own spiritual advancement, the church supports a number of celebrity centers where they may go for auditing and other Scientology course work. A number of Hollywood entertainers have joined the church, and a few, such as Tom Cruise, Isaac Hayes, John Travolta, and Kirstie Alley, have served as spokespersons.

In 1967 Hubbard created a fraternity of dedicated Scientologists to whom he assigned the exacting task of delivering the higher OT levels to the membership. The group, known as the Sea Organization, evolved into an ordered community (analogous to monastic orders) of men and women who committed their lives to working for the spread of Scientology worldwide. Following the reorganization of the church in the early 1980s, the Sea Organization assumed leadership of the church internationally; everyone who holds policy-making and administrative positions at the continental and global levels is a Sea Organization member.

Controversy. Controversy has plagued Scientology from its earliest days. Many early participants rejected the change from secular Dianetics to religious Scientology. Many early observers, noting the difference between Scientology and the more dominant Western religions, missed the many religious trappings with which they were familiar. Controversy reached a new height in 1963, when U.S. government agents seized the church's e-meters and accused it of practicing medicine without a license. This action had international repercussions. Scientology was banned for a time in parts of Australia, and other governments began to limit the church's activities. The Guardian's Office was established in 1966 to handle attacks on the church.

Controversy peaked in 1979, when members of the Guardian's Office, in their attempt to locate government records about the church, infiltrated government offices and made copies of official documents. After the arrest and conviction of the office's leadership, the church was completely reorganized under the Religious Technology Center and the Church of Scientology International.

Much of the ongoing controversy concerning the church concerns its structure as an esoteric organization (in which teachings are only revealed to the higher-level members) and its finances. The church works on a basis of reciprocity—that is, members give of their time and energy, and the church delivers its services. Most often members donate money for which they receive auditing or classes. This structure, though widely used among esoteric groups, has caused many, including some governments, to question the church's religious nature and brand it a business operation. Before granting the church tax-exempt status in the early 1990s, for example, the U.S. Internal Revenue Service conducted the longest investigation in agency history to that date.

As the anticult movement emerged in the 1970s, critics of Scientology labeled it a cult and published a number of books and shorter writings attacking it. The church fought back in the courts, and while frequently winning, gained a reputation for litigiousness. In subsequent years, critics have contested every aspect of the church's life, while the church has aggressively defended its founder and program.

In spite of ongoing problems with several European countries and its frequent court appearances, the Church of Scientology experienced steady growth through the first half-century of its existence. Since 1954 congregations and missions have opened in more than seventy countries around the world, and the basic text *Dianetics* has been translated into more than fifty languages. The church sponsors a spectrum of social programs to combat illiteracy, drug abuse, crime, and the breakdown of social ethics.

SEE ALSO Anticult Movements; Hubbard, L. Ron.

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J. GORDON MELTON (2005)

SCRIPTURE is the generic concept used in the modern West and, increasingly, worldwide, to designate texts that are revered as especially sacred and authoritative in all of the largest and many smaller religious traditions.

AS A GENERAL CONCEPT. In popular and even in scholarly use today, the term *scripture* is commonly used as though it designated a self-evident and simple religious phenomenon readily identifiable anywhere in the world, namely the idea of a "sacred book." However, as a concept adequate to encompass the functional roles of the great sacred texts of history, *scripture* is a term of considerable ambiguity and complexity.

In the first instance, the specific form and content of scriptural books vary sharply from tradition to tradition and even within a single scriptural corpus. Ritual books, legal maxims and codes, myths and legends, historical accounts, divine revelations, apocalyptic visions, ecstatic poetry, words of teachers and prophets, and hymns or prayers to a deity can all be found in scriptural texts. The love lyrics of the *Song of Songs* in the Hebrew Bible, the talismanic prayers against evil in the last two surahs of the Qurʾān, Kṛṣṇa's self-revelation in chapter 11 of the *Bhagavadgītā,* and the Buddha's parable of the burning house in chapter 3 of the *Lotus Sutra* have had significant roles as scripture, yet they have little or nothing in common in their style, form, subject matter, or intent. Such disparity makes any reasonably comprehensive yet still simple definition of *scripture* as a literary genre impossible.

Second, a major obstacle to delimiting the phenomenon of scripture definitionally is its very medium of expression. The term *scripture* is usually reserved for religious texts that have been committed to the written or printed page, as the word itself and its common equivalents (e.g., "holy writ") suggest. Yet in most religious traditions, sacred texts were transmitted orally in the first place and written down only relatively late. Nor do written sacred books exhaust the full range of texts that function clearly as scripture. The Hindu tradition, for example, presents a major problem for defining "scripture" in terms of the written word. Its holiest texts, the Vedas, have been orally transmitted for three millennia or more—for most of that time in explicit preference to (and even firm rejection of) writing them down. Despite their great length, they were not committed to writing but instead preserved in memory and verbatim recitation until comparatively recent centuries. It may also be argued that nonliterate communities have oral texts that function in similar ways to written sacred texts in literate societies, insofar as these cultures use traditional recitations in cultic practice or hold certain myths or other oral texts sufficiently sacred to be worthy of transmission over generations. For these reasons, a descriptive distinction between oral and written scriptures (or oral and written uses of the same scripture) may on occasion be necessary, even though etymologically "oral scripture" is a contradiction in terms and "written scripture" a redundancy.

A further ambiguity of "scripture" as a conceptual category lies in the wide variety of texts that might be classified as "scriptural." A key problem in this regard involves those "classic" texts in literate cultures that have many cultural, social, and often even religious functions usually associated with more overtly "religious" texts. Examples would be the

Iliad of Homer in later antiquity; the five (or six, nine, twelve, or thirteen) "classics" (*jing*) and the four "books" (*shu*) in traditional Chinese culture; the great Sanskrit epics, the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana,* in India; and the *Nihongi* (Chronicles of Japan) and *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters) in Shintō tradition. Such texts do have "scriptural" qualities, such as the veneration they inspire and the authority they command, and thus might be treated as "scripture" in certain contexts.

Another problem in delimiting and defining "scripture" is distinguishing the primary sacred text(s) of a religious tradition from others that are also sacred but secondarily so. Such distinction between a community's preeminent scripture(s) and the rest of its sacred texts is helpful in understanding many religious traditions, but others not at all: in some cases, the panoply of texts revered is so great and the relative distinctions of authority and sacrality among them so unclear or unimportant that all have some legitimate claim to the title of scripture. In the Mahāyāna Buddhist tradition as a whole, the number of texts treated as sacred is so vast that it is not possible to single out some as more deserving of the title *scripture* than others, save in particular segments of the tradition where one *sūtra* is given extraordinary status (e.g., Nichiren Buddhist veneration of the *Lotus Sūtra* in Japan). Even in a community with a scriptural book or canon that is clearly more sacred than other revered texts, the decision to reserve the status of "scripture" only for the former can be a debatable one. For example, the Purāṇas function scripturally across a wide spectrum of Indian society even though they are not *śruti;* in rabbinic Jewish tradition, the Mishnah is held to be the oral Torah, also revealed at Sinai; the *ḥadīth* serve in Islam not only to clarify and to explain but to supplement the Qurʾān as a religious authority, especially in matters of practice; and in Therāvada Buddhist traditions, texts such as Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* are greatly revered even though they do not report the "word of the Buddha" (*buddhavacana*) in the strict sense.

As a Relational Concept. As these considerations indicate, neither form nor content can serve to identify or to distinguish scripture as a general phenomenon. It is true that the form, content, or other specific attributes of a text may be perceived by the faithful as the guarantee of the extraordinary character of their major scripture (note, for example, Muslim faith in the literary "matchlessness" *[iʿjāz]* of the Qurʾanic style). Nevertheless, from the historian's perspective, the sacrality or holiness of a book is not an *a priori* attribute but one that is realized historically in the life of communities who respond to it as something sacred or holy. A text becomes "scripture" in living, subjective relationship to persons and to historical tradition. No text, written, oral, or both, is sacred or authoritative in isolation from a community. A text is only "scripture" insofar as a group of persons perceives it to be sacred or holy, powerful and meaningful, possessed of an exalted authority, and in some fashion transcendent of, and hence distinct from, other speech and writing. That which is scripture for one group may be a meaningless, nonsensical, or even perversely false text for another.

This relational, or contextual, quality is of paramount importance for the study of "scriptural" texts in the history of religion. The "scriptural" characteristics of a text belong not to the text itself but to its role in a community. "Scripture" is not a literary genre but a religio-historical one.

Origins and Development of the Concept. Whatever the subtleties and difficulties of defining it, scripture is a major phenomenon in the history of religion and thus an important concept in the study of religion. Whence it came and how it has come to serve as a general as well as a culture-specific concept are questions basic to understanding and using it intelligently and adequately as a descriptive term.

The idea of a heavenly book. The development of the concept of a scriptural book is often linked to the notion of a heavenly book. The idea of a heavenly book containing divine knowledge or decrees is an ancient and persistent one found primarily in the ancient Near Eastern and Greco-Roman worlds and in subsequent Jewish, Christian, and Islamic traditions. As Leo Koep points out in *Das himmlische Buch in Antike und Christentum* (Bonn, 1952), it can take one of several forms, typically that of a book of wisdom, book of destinies, book of works, or book of life. References to a celestial book or tablet of divine wisdom appear in ancient Babylonia and ancient Egypt and recur in almost all subsequent Near Eastern traditions, apparently as an expression of divine omniscience. Geo Widengren argues (*The Ascension of the Apostle and the Heavenly Book,* Uppsala, 1950; *Muhhammad, the Apostle of God, and His Ascension,* Uppsala, 1955, esp. pp. 115–139) that such a book was coupled in the ancient Near East, in Judaism, and finally in Islam to a messenger figure to whom the book is given in a personal encounter with God or validated through such an encounter (e.g., Moses at Sinai, Muḥammad on his ascension). The idea of a book of destinies or fates, in which the allotted days and assigned end of human lives are written down, was known, as art and textual evidence show, in ancient Babylonia, Egypt, Greece, Rome, and especially late antiquity. Israel also knew this motif (see *Ps.* 139:16–17), and the sealed book mentioned in *Revelation* 5:1ff. may well be a Christian instance of it. The similar notion of a book of works, in which a heavenly record of human deeds is kept, was also widely known of old. References to the writing down of good and bad deeds, often in connection with a last judgment, are found among the ancient Babylonians, Egyptians, Persians, and Hebrews, as well as Greek, Roman, Jewish, and Christian writers of later antiquity. However, it is in the biblical traditions of Judaism and Christianity (cf. *Ex.* 32:32, *Phil.* 4:3) that the notion of a book of life, in which the names of God's elect are inscribed, finds a special place.

While the precise relationship of these ideas to that of a revealed scriptural book remains to be clarified, elements of all of them do appear in the developed concepts of Jewish and Christian scripture and the Qurʾān, and all of them do reflect the antiquity and strength of the idea of a written book as the repository of divine knowledge or divine decrees.

The idea of a sacred book. The quintessential "book religions" are those that trace their lineage in some fashion to the Hebrews, the prototypical "people of the book." It is not yet fully understood how Judaic ideas of the sacred or heavenly book joined historically with influences from other sectors of the ancient Near Eastern world and the growing status of the book in later antiquity to set in motion the "book religion" that plays so large a role in Christianity, Manichaeism, and, most spectacularly and pronouncedly, in Islam. Wilfred Cantwell Smith has, however, pointed to the gathering strength in the period after Alexander the Great, and especially from the second century CE, of the idea of a sacred book or "classic," a text that carries ultimate authority. Christianity's increasing emphasis on authoritative writings, the point of departure for which was Jewish reverence for the Torah, was especially decisive in this development. Mani's self-conscious effort to produce books of scriptural authority reflects the degree to which by his time (third century CE) a religious movement had to have its own scripture or scriptures to be legitimate. The fourth century in particular seems to have been a time when scriptures, notably the Christian and Manichaean, were coming into their own. But it was the Qurʾān's insistence upon the centrality of the divine book, given now in final form as a recitation of divine speech, that carried the development of book religion to its apogee in the early seventh century. Later developments such as Sikhism's veneration of its "book" (*Granth*) have to be seen as but new variations on a theme already fully articulated in Islam, the book religion *par excellence* (Smith, 1993, ch. 3, pp. 45–64).

Semantic background. The most basic meaning of *scripture,* as of its Indo-European cognates (Ger., *Schrift;* Ital., *scrittura;* Fr., *écriture;* etc.), is "a writing, something written." It is derived from the Latin *scriptura,* "a writing" (pl., *scripturae*). The Latin word translated the Greek *graphē* (pl., *graphai*), which corresponded in Classical and Hellenistic usage to the postexilic Hebrew use of *ketav* (pl., *ketuvim/kitvei*) as a term for a writing: a letter, inscription, written decree, or a holy writing. These terms could even refer to the written law (Plato, *Laws* 11.934)—in the Septuagint, specifically to the Mosaic law, or Torah (*1 Chr.* 15:15). In the Mediterranean world of later antiquity, pagan, Jewish, and Christian writers used these words (or their plurals) to refer to various kinds of written texts in the Hebrew Bible, the Greek Septuagint, and the Old Testament books of the Latin Vulgate (e.g., *Ex.* 32:16, *Tob.* 8:24, *Ps.* 86:6). By the time of the Christian New Testament writers, however, the terms had gradually come to be used especially for sacred books, above all the three divisions of the Hebrew scriptures, the Pentateuch (Torah), Prophets (Neviʾim), and (other) Writings (Ketuvim). In early Christian usage, they were extended also to the Gospels, Pauline epistles, and other texts that eventually formed the New Testament.

In Jewish and Christian usage, the singular forms were applied primarily to a particular passage or particular writing, and the plurals were used in a collective sense for the whole. For example, *Daniel* 10:21 employs *bi-khetav emet* (Septuagint, *en graphē alētheias;* Vulgate, *in scriptura veritatis*), "in a true writing/scripture"; *Luke* 4:21 employs *hē graphē autē* (Vulgate, *haec scriptura*), "this [passage of] scripture" (referring to *Is.* 61:1f.), and *Matthew* 21:42, *Acts of the Apostles* 17:11, and other passages employ *hai graphai* (Vulgate: *scripturae*), "the [Old Testament] scriptures." The Christian fathers used both singular and plural forms collectively to refer to the Old and New Testament books (e.g., *Epistle of Barnabas* 4.7, 5.4; Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 2.24.3, 2.27.1). Although in the New Testament these terms in singular or plural refer uniformly to scriptural as opposed to other kinds of writings, there is some dispute as to whether the singular *graphē* (*scriptura*) ever refers collectively to the whole of the scriptures or only to one or a part of one of them (as in *Jn.* 10:35 or *Rom.* 11:2).

Other terms, usually also associated with writing or books, were used in like fashion to refer to sacred, authoritative writings. In Greek, *grammata* (sg., *gramma,* "what is written; writing"; Lat., *littera*), used generally for literature or documents (as in the Septuagint, where it usually translates the Hebrew *sefarim/sifrei,* plural of *sefer,* "writing, book"), came in Hellenistic times, in pagan as well as Jewish and Christian contexts, to refer especially to any sacred text (e.g., *2 Tm.* 3.15, *ta hiera grammata;* Vulgate, *sacras litteras*). Scriptural citations in the New Testament and early Christian works are commonly introduced by the formula used in the Septuagint: "(As) it is written," (*Kathōs*) *gegraptai* (*Mt.* 4:4, 4:6, 21:13; *Rom.* l:17, 2:24; *1 Cor.* 2:9, etc.). The Greek *biblos* ("book"), or, more commonly in the Septuagint and New Testament, its diminutive form, *biblion* (pl., *biblia*), referred originally to any type of written document—scroll, codex, book, or letter. In the Septuagint and subsequent Jewish and Christian Greek sources (for example, the Greek preface to *Ben Sira, 1* and *2 Maccabees, 1 Clement,* and the writings of Philo Judaeus, Josephus Flavius, and Origen), although not in New Testament writings, terms like *hiera biblos,* "sacred book," and (*hierai*) *bibloi,* "(sacred) books," were used for the Pentateuch or the entire Hebrew scriptures. From the earliest days of the Christian church, in which "the books" (Heb., *ha-sefarim;* Gk., *ta biblia*) of Hebrew scripture were "the bible of the church" (Hans von Campenhausen, *Aus der Frühzeit des Christentums,* Tübingen, 1963, pp. 152–196), the Greek neuter plural *biblia* or the Latin *biblia* (a neuter plural formed from the Greek) was used in Christian contexts to refer specifically to the Hebrew scriptures. It appears that by the end of the second century, or at least by the end of the fourth, the generally recognized writings of the emerging New Testament were also included in "the books" (Harnack, 1928). In the Middle Ages (certainly from the twelfth century and probably earlier), *biblia* came to be treated commonly as a feminine singular, whence such modern singular forms arose as *the Bible, die Bibel,* and *la Bibbia.*

In the New Testament (e.g., *Rom.* 1:2, *2 Tm.* 3:15) and in the works of the Christian fathers, and as well as in Philo and Josephus, various adjectives were added to the words for "scripture(s)" and "book(s)" to emphasize their special, holy character: for example, *hieros, hagios, sanctus* ("holy"); *theios, divinus* ("divine"); *theopneustos* ("divinely inspired"); *kuriakos* ("of the Lord"). Such usage had much earlier precedents, such as the use in Ptolemaic times of *ta hiera grammata,* "the holy writings," to refer to the sacred Egyptian hieroglyphic literature in contrast to the demotic writings, or the use of the Hebrew equivalents, *kitvei ha-qodesh* ("the Holy Scriptures") in rabbinic writings, or *sifrei ha-qodesh* ("the sacred books") in later, medieval writings, for the sacred scriptures.

Generalization of the concept. In these ways, the Jewish and Christian worlds gradually appropriated the use of such terms as *scripture, holy scripture(s), books, sacred books,* and so forth, primarily as proper-noun designations for their own holy texts. In particular, as Christian culture and religion triumphed in the Mediterranean, especially in southern Europe, *(sacred) scripture* came to mean specifically the Christian Bible. Such limitation of the idea of scripture to a proper noun referring only to the Old and New Testaments continues even today in many Christian circles. Apparently the use of *scriptura(e)* and *scriptura(e) sancta(e)* (or their European-language equivalents) to designate sacred texts in general was until recently, chiefly in the past century or two, unusual at best. *Scriptura* could, of course, always be used as a neutral term for any writing, and it is not a giant step from such usage to a generalized concept of religious writings in other cultures. For example, such a concept may be present when Peter the Venerable (d. 1156) contrasts "sacra scriptura," or Christian scripture, with Muḥammad's "nefaria scriptura," the Qurʾān (*Summa totius haeresis saracenorum,* cited in James Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam,* Princeton, 1964, p. 206). A clearer example of the notion of "scripture" as something appearing in many cultures can be found as early as the mid-thirteenth century. In 1254, at the Mongol capital in Inner Asia, the Franciscan traveler William of Rubrouck warned a group of Nestorian Christians about tactics in their coming debate on religion with Buddhists and Muslims before the Great Khan: "They do not have faith in [our] Scriptures; if you recite one [scripture], they will recite another" (in Anastasius van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana,* Florence, 1929, vol. 1, p. 294).

Such Western generalization of the concept of scripture was, to be sure, hardly novel. In the Muslim world, the concept of sacred "scripture" (*kitāb*) had already been generalized in the Qurʾān, where especially Jews and Christians are spoken of as "people of scripture" (*ahl al-kitāb*). The term designates those communities that have previously received "books" or "scriptures" (*kutub*) sent by God, which were then eclipsed in the perfection of his final "sending" of *the* Scripture [*al-kitāb*], the Qurʾān, through Muḥammad. *Ahl al-kitāb* status was early extended to Zoroastrians and Mandaeans, and later even in some cases to Hindus because of the Veda. There seems, however, to be no evidence of direct influence of the Muslim use of *kutub* on modern Western generic usage. It appears rather that it was the growing Western awareness in the eighteenth century of the Indian Veda in particular, and the Chinese "classics" to some degree, that led to wider acceptance of the idea that there were other scriptures and books of wisdom beyond the Bible that could claim great antiquity as well as importance in their own cultures in much that way the Bible has in the West.

In English, clearly generic use of *scripture* can be found at least as early as the eighteenth century. George Sale wrote in the introduction to his Qurʾān translation of 1734 that the Qurʾān shares things with "other books of scripture" (*pace* the *Oxford English Dictionary,* which can cite no use of *scripture* to refer to non-Christian religious texts before 1764). By the nineteenth century, the generic use of the term or of approximate equivalents like *sacred writings* was much more common. The ambitious series of translations of the great scriptures of the world that was inaugurated in 1879 by Max Müller under the title "The Sacred Books of the East" reflects a clear recognition by this time in the modern West of the worldwide existence of texts that function "scripturally" in ways analogous to those of the Hebrew or Christian Bible.

The extended use of the term *scripture* (or its linguistic equivalent in languages other than English) for any particularly sacred text is now common in modern Western usage and widely current internationally. Even the word *Bible* has been used, albeit less often, in a similarly general sense to refer to any sacred scripture (e.g., Franklin Edgerton's reference to the *Bhagavadgītā* as "India's favorite Bible" in *The Bhagavad Gītā, or Song of the Blessed One,* Chicago, 1925). However, *scripture* is the term that today is most commonly and properly used as the generic term for particularly sacred texts.

CHARACTERISTIC ROLES.

Scriptural texts function in a variety of ways in a religious tradition. Some of their major functions can be categorized as follows.

Scripture as Holy Writ. The significance of the written word of scripture is difficult to exaggerate. If the etymology of *scripture* and its common association with the written or printed word have strengthened the tendency in Judeo-Christian culture (and even more in modern, print-dominated society) for Westerners, especially scholars, to treat sacred books primarily or even exclusively as written documents, there is good historical cause for this practice. With the important exception of the Hindu world, the writing down of the major religious text(s) of a community has been typically an epochal event in its history, one often linked to the crystallization of religious organization and systematic theological speculation, as well as to the achievement of a high level of culture. The written scriptural text symbolizes or embodies religious authority in many traditions (often replacing the living authority of a religious founder such as

Muḥammad or the Buddha). Such authority is well expressed in the aforementioned formula, "(As) it is written," which typically prefaces a biblical citation (whereas in the more orally-oriented Islamic and Buddhist worlds, respectively, "God says" introduces a Qurʾānic citation, and "Thus I have heard" is the traditional introduction to a *sūtra*).

Although the fixity and authority of the physical text have been felt particularly strongly in the last two thousand years in the West, the idea of an authoritative sacred writing is not limited to one global region. The "book religion" that Siegfried Morenz contrasted with "cult religion" has flourished notably in the Mediterranean (Morenz, 1950) and, later, the wider Western and Islamic worlds, yet veneration for the sacred word as book has also been important, if not always central, in most of the Buddhist world of Southeast and East Asia. It has been suggested, for example, that there was an early Mahāyāna cult of the book (*sūtra*) that vied with the *stupa* relic cult (G. Schopen, in *Indo-Iranian Journal* 1[1975]: 147–81), and high esteem for the written *sūtra*s has been generally prominent in Mahāyāna tradition. Furthermore, it was in India, not the West, that the veneration of the written text reached one of its historical heights in the Sikh movement (the Sikh focus on the sacred book reflects, to be sure, considerable Muslim influence, much as the emphasis of the Mormons on the book reflects Judeo-Christian attitudes to Holy Writ). It is also in Asia that some of the more recent book religions have appeared, as for example, Babism in Iran and Tenrikyō in Japan.

One of the overt ways in which the importance of the written text is evident is in the religious valuation of the act of copying and embellishing a sacred text. Christian, Jewish, and Islamic traditions boast especially strong calligraphic traditions for their scriptures. In the Islamic case, for example, where a considerable iconophobia has held sway in the public sphere, magnificent calligraphic renderings of the Qurʾanic word have been not only the favorite expression of the art of the book but also the chief adornment of mosques and most other monuments. Mani (d. 277), the founder of Manichaeism, placed great importance on painting pictures to illustrate his own canon of sacred books, and Manichaean missionary concerns led to the production of beautifully embellished calligraphic texts as well as a picture volume on the teaching. Here holy book and holy image come together (Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, *Manichaean Art and Calligraphy,* Leiden, 1982). Besides furthering fine calligraphy and manuscript illumination, Christians have extensively cultivated rich illustration of the Bible, notably in early medieval Byzantium and late medieval western Europe (Ernst von Dobschütz, *Die Bibel im Leben der Völker,* Witten, 1954, pp. 82f., 123f.). In Tibetan Buddhist monasticism, the zealously careful production of the Bkaʾ-ʾgur (Kanjur) and Bstan-ʾgur (Tanjur), whether by hand copying or block printing, is yet another example of the great attention paid to the form of a sacred written text.

Scripture as spoken word. Whatever the central place of the written word, the oral roles of scripture in religious life are equally striking. Morenz (1950) touched upon the oral dimension of every sacred text when he traced the creative genius of "book religion" to the Israelite capacity for "hearing," in contrast to the "seeing" that dominates "cult religion," such as that of ancient Greece. Scripture's importance rests ultimately on the perceived importance of the sacred word that the memorized or written text seeks to fix forever (Heiler, 1979, pp. 339ff.). However much the written text dominates in any form of book religion, its presence in a community is still primarily realized orally and aurally. Historically, all but a small minority of those who have "had" a scripture have been illiterate, and even in highly literate communities the scriptural text is regularly "heard" in worship, teaching, and preaching even more than it is "seen" in silent reading. It is only relatively recently that any kind of reading has become a silent rather than an oral activity (Balogh, 1926–1927; Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy,* London, 1982).

Recitation or reading aloud of scripture is a common feature of piety, whether in Islamic, Sikh, Jewish, or other traditions. Many scriptures have primary or secondary schemes of division according to the needs of recitation or reading aloud in the community (e.g., the 154 divisions of the Torah for synagogal reading over a three-year span). Great esteem is given to the person who knows all of the sacred scripture "by heart"—in the Muslim case, such a person is honored with the special epithet, *ḥāfiẓ,* "keeper, protector, memorizer [of the Word]." In the early synagogue and in the early Christian church, the reading aloud of scripture in worship was fundamental to religious life (Ismar Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst,* Leipzig, 1913, chap. 3; Paul Glaue, *Die Vorlesung heiliger Schriften im Gottesdienst,* Berlin, 1907; but cf. Walter Bauer, *Das Wortgottesdienst der ältesten Christen,* Tübingen, 1930), just as it was in pagan cults of the Hellenistic Mediterranean, such as that of Isis (Leipoldt and Morenz, 1953, p. 96). The Jews call both the reading of scripture and the passage read *miqraʾ* (*Neh.* 8:8), "what is recited, read aloud, a reading." In Talmudic usage, the term came to refer to the Torah (Pentateuch), the Prophets, and the Writings that make up the Tankakh, or Hebrew scriptures. An ancient Greek synogogal inscription in Jerusalem reads, "The synagogue is for the reading aloud (*eis anagnosin*) of the Law" (*Theologischer Begriffslexikon zum Neuen Testament,* ed. L. Coenen et al., Wuppertal, 1967–1971, vol. 1, p. 153). The Greek *anagnosis* or *anagnosma* (Lat., *lectio*) was also used in the same sense in the early Christian context for public scripture reading on the Jewish model. The Arabic word *qurʾān,* which is not attested in pre-Qurʾanic sources, probably derives from *qeryānā,* the Syriac equivalent of *miqraʾ,* and is likewise a verbal noun meaning "reciting, recitation" (Graham, 1984).

In other traditions, notably the Islamic and Buddhist, the recitation of the sacred word is even more central to religious practice, despite the frequently massive importance of veneration of the written text in the same traditions. In

Hindu practice, the oral, recited word completely eclipses the importance of any written form of it and presents the most vivid instance of the all but exclusively oral function of scripture. It appears that until the coming of Islam stimulated the writing down of the Avesta as a book, the most sacred Zoroastrian texts, those in Old Persian, were similarly transmitted and used only orally, in recitation, while the less sacred commentaries *(Zand)* and other religious books in Pahlavi had long been written (Geo Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans,* Stuttgart, 1968, pp. 245–259).

Oral use and even oral transmission of scripture should not be confused with folk oral tradition in which verbatim accuracy is not aspired to (i. e., in which "formulaic composition" predominates: see, for example, Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales,* Cambridge, Mass., 1960). The technical mnemonic methods of oral transmission have sometimes been so highly developed for sacred texts as to render the oral text more reliable than the manuscript tradition—notably in the Islamic and Hindu cases. In any event, few if any scriptural books have the verbatim uniformity popularly associated with the written and especially the printed word. Even the "fixation" of a sacred canon in writing has rarely meant that one definitive documentary text is universally recognized or that variant texts disappear.

Scripture in public ritual. Whether the written or the oral text of a scriptural book predominates, the most visible religious role of a scripture is in public worship. In some instances a scripture is explicitly a ritual text that orders and explains the rite itself, as in the case of the Brāhmaṇas in Vedic tradition. In other cases it is a sacred text either recited in ritual acts (e.g., the Qurʾān, the Zoroastrian *Gāthās,* the Vedic *mantras*, and the Shintō *norito,* or ritual prayers taken from the Engi-shiki) or read aloud from a written copy in communal worship, as in Jewish or Christian practice. Such recitation or reading is often a major, if not the central, element in worship. In some traditions, particularly initiatory sects, the sacred character of a text has led to its being kept secret from the masses and read or recited only by and for initiates. Leipoldt and Morenz (1953, pp. 88ff.) have treated this scriptural "secrecy" in the Mediterranean world in some detail.

Sometimes, perhaps most prominently in the case of the *Ādi Granth* of the Sikhs, a sacred exemplar of the holy scripture even plays a functionally iconic role in the liturgical setting. Ritual veneration of the physical sacred text is also seen in the Tibetan monastic practice of circumambulating the *sūtra* collection of the monastery, the solemn procession of a copy of the Qurʾān in some Muslim funerary rites (Edward W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians,* 5th ed., London, 1860, p. 514), and Jewish ritual handling of Torah rolls in the synagogue.

Scripture also characteristically provides the fundamental elements of ritual language, the basic vocabulary as well as texts for hymnody (as in the Christian Psalter), sermon (e.g., the marketplace preaching, or "speaking about *sūtras*" *[shuo-ching],* of Buddhist monks in Sung China; see Overmyer, *Folk Buddhist Religion,* Cambridge, Mass., 1976, p. 179), and especially prayer (as in the Lord's Prayer, the Psalms, the Shemaʿ, the Fātiḥah, or the Triratna). Its words frequently form the texts used for recitation in the major rites of passage and other important festival and ritual occasions of a tradition: for example, surah 36 (*Yā Sīn*) is recited especially on 15 Shaʿbān (the Muslim "Night of Quittance") and at Muslim funerals, as is the *Lotus Sutra* in mortuary and ancestral ritual in Nichiren Buddhist practice in Japan, or the Gāyātri *mantra* (*Ṛgveda* 3.62.10) at the Upanayana ritual of Hindu initiation.

Ritually important passages of a scriptural text are sometimes pulled together into special anthologies or collections that serve the liturgical needs of the community, as in the Christian breviary, psalter, lectionary, or evangeliarium; the Pāṭimokkha selection from the Vinaya that is recited as a regular part of Buddhist monastic life; or the *Blue Sutra,* an abridgement of the *Lotus Sutra* that is used in the ritual of the modern Reiyūkai Buddhist sect in Japan (Helen Hardacre, *Lay Buddhism in Contemporary Japan,* Princeton, 1984). Whether it is read or recited aloud, given physical prominence as a ritual object, or cited or paraphrased in prayers, homilies, hymns, or litanies, a scriptural text plays one of the most visible and important parts in worship in many traditions.

Scripture in devotional and spiritual life. Closely tied to public ritual, and equally or more important to religious life, is the role of scripture in personal devotion and in mystical, ascetic, and other traditions of spiritual discipline and realization. Aspects of the devotional role of scripture have been treated in the preceding sections, but some further points bear mention.

Recitation and reading aloud are not only central to formal worship (see above), but also to private devotion and the practice of diverse spiritual disciplines. *Meditatio* in the Christian tradition was from the start basically an oral activity of learning the text "by heart" through reciting with concentrated attention and reflection. In turn, as Jean Leclercq has eloquently articulated in *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God* ([1957] 1974), meditation formed the basis of the monastic *lectio divina,* the active, oral reading of and reflecting on scripture upon which the monk's discipline was based in Pachomian, Benedictine, and other rules. Buddhist monastic discipline similarly focuses upon constant meditation upon scripture through reading and recitation, whether in monasteries of Sri Lankan Therāvada, Tibetan Vajrayāna, or Chinese Mahāyāna. Study of the Vedas which centers on recitation and memorization—is said in the *Laws of Manu* (2.166f.) to be the highest austerity, or ascetic discipline. In Islam, Qurʾanic recitation (*qirāʾah*) is a public and private form of devotional practice that also demands mindfulness of and meditation on the meaning of the sacred text as well as recitative technique (cf. K. Nelson, *The Art of Reciting the Qurʾān* [Austin, Tex., 1985]).

Closely related to meditative practices involving scriptural texts are the recitation of and meditation upon formulas derived from scripture. The chanting of Hindu and Buddhist *mantras* and of Buddhist *dhāraṇīs*, as well as the recitation of Ṣūfī *dhikr* litanies (many of which are Qurʾanic) are major examples of formulaic use of scripture in devotional life.

Other uses of scripture in devotional and spiritual life abound. The setting of scriptural texts to music has been important in diverse traditions of piety. Chant and hymnody are prominent foci for scriptural use in both public and private worship in Jewish, Christian, Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, Sikh, and other traditions. Similarly, reverence for the physical text of scripture and ritual copying or illumination of it have also been important parts of piety in many scriptural traditions. Nor is it by chance that most reform efforts in religious communities with a scripture mandate a "back to the book" piety that seeks (usually literal) authority in the pages of scripture. Where human beings may prove changeable, the sacred word stands secure for every generation as the unchanging guide to individual as well as group morality and action.

Magical and superstitious use of scripture. All of the previously discussed uses of scripture can tend at times toward bibliolatry—the treatment in an extreme fashion of scripture as an object of worship or a locus of supernatural power. Such treatment of scriptural texts results from the power associated with the written and spoken word. Bibliolatry can take many forms, from doctrinal emphasis on the infallibility of the literal text to overt bibliomancy, the superstitious or magical use of scripture. The answer to a problem or guidance for any occasion is often sought through scripture divination. Thus turning to sometimes random, sometimes specific pages of scripture in times of adversity, uncertainty, bereavement, or the like is a time-honored but little-documented use of scripture in Christian, Jewish, Islamic, Buddhist, and many other traditions. Similar examples of bibliomancy as a protective or empowering device are placing a Bible in the bed of a sick child as a curative, using a tiny Qurʾān or Bible as a protective charm or talisman, seeking omens in scriptural verses, or dissolving slips of paper with words of scripture on them in a drink to make a medicine (Rühle, 1941; Bertholet, 1949).

Quasi-magical notions of scripture can even be seen in "orthoprax" religious life. The proper chanting or reading aloud of scripture is commonly seen as efficacious in a variety of situations. In Theravāda Buddhist practice, collections of scriptural texts known as *parittas* are recited by the monks to ward off the actions of demons and to bring prosperity, health, and other blessings (Lynn de Silva, *Buddhism: Beliefs and Practices in Sri Lanka,* Colombo, 1974, pp. 81–90). In Vedic sacrifice, the efficacy of the rite depends upon the absolutely accurate recitation of the sacred text. Talmudic literature contains many statements about the proper biblical passage to be used for protective or other magical purposes (M. Grunwald and Kaufmann Kohler, "Bibliomancy," *The Jewish Encyclopedia,* 1901–1906). In Nichiren Buddhism, the sacred formula of adoration of the *Lotus Sūtra,* the Daimoku, is said to encapsule the whole of truth in a single invocation. Protestant doctrines of the literal inspiration of every word of the Bible have been used to justify very diverse ideas and practices. Numerology and alphabet mysticism connected with a scriptural text are as prominent in such traditions as those of the qabbalists and the Ṣūfīs and well known in virtually every religious tradition (cf. Bertholet, *op. cit.,* 1949, pp. 14–17, and Schimmel, *The Mystery of Numbers,* 1993).

CHARACTERISTIC ATTRIBUTES OF SCRIPTURE. The scriptures of any given religious tradition possess a number of characteristic attributes. Some of the most important are as follows.

Power. The major functional attributes of scripture are bound up with the power felt to be inherent in scriptural word. Both the written and the spoken word carry a seemingly innate power in human perception. At the most basic level, a word is an action: words do not signify so much as they perform. Hence to speak a name ritually is in some measure to control or to summon the one named. For the faithful, a sacred word is not merely a word, but an operative, salvific word. Its unique, transformative power often rests upon its being spoken (or written) by a god (as in Jewish, Christian, or Muslim tradition). In other cases, the sound itself is primordial and holy (as in India), or the message or teaching embodied in the scriptural word is considered to be salvific truth, with little or no reference to a divine origin (as in many Buddhist traditions).

The power inherent in the spoken word is vividly seen in the idea of a divine, creative word. Many traditions have cosmogonies in which a god creates the world or men or animals through speech: as, for example, the Memphite cosmogony of ancient Egypt (in which the god Ptah creates by thought and speech), *Genesis* 1:3 ("God said, 'Let there be light . . .'"), Qurʾān 40:68 ("[God] said, 'Be,' and it was"), or tribal mythologies, such as those of the African Dogon and South American Witóto peoples, in which the gods create with a spoken word (Marcel Griaule, *Conversations with Ogotemmêli,* London, 1965, pp. 16–40; Konrad T. Preuss, *Religion und Mythologie der Uitoto,* Göttingen, 1921–1923, pp. 633–634).

The power of the spoken word of scripture also appears in a variety of other religious contexts, most prominently in worship (see above; the most extreme case may be that of Veda recitation in Brahmanic ritual). Also noteworthy are the aforementioned practices of *mantra* recitation in Hindu and Tantric traditions, where the sound of the Vedic formula or hymn enables the worshiper or meditator to appropriate the power of a particular divinity *(devatā)*; the *dhikr,* or "remembrance," practiced in Ṣūfī tradition in Islam, in which Qurʾanic or other phrases or texts are chanted or sung as a means of focusing consciousness and being upon God; and Buddhist chanting and singing of *sūtras* (and *mantras*) as a meditative practice or act of worship.

The power of the written word has already been touched upon. The Jewish designation of holy books as “that which renders the hands unclean” expresses well the widespread sense of the power latent in every copy of scripture. In most scriptural traditions, such perceived power manifests itself within both “orthoprax” and “popular” spirituality in tendencies towards bibliolatry—the treatment of scripture as an object of worship or as a locus of supernatural power. Magical notions of the power that lies in a copy of a sacred scripture are an extreme extension of religious sensibility to the presence of divine wisdom or ultimate truth in a scriptural text. Even the laying of the hand upon a copy of the Bible in swearing a legal oath of truthfulness echoes such notions.

Authority and sacrality. The power of scripture is clearly expressed in its most common attributes as well as its most common uses. Of all those attributes, the most essential ones are the extraordinary authority and sacrality of scripture vis-à-vis other texts. In both theocratic and nontheocratic religious traditions, scriptural books possess a supramundane authority and degree of holiness for the faithful that no other texts can command.

The authoritative character of scripture is most vivid in those cases in which a sacred text provides the legal basis of communal order. This is especially evident in the Jewish tradition, where the written Torah is the pediment upon which the entire edifice of Jewish life is built, and in the Islamic tradition, where the minimal legal prescriptions and much larger body of moral injunctions found in the Qurʾān are viewed as the ultimate bases of the *sharīʿah.* It is also evident in the role of the Vinaya (“discipline”) section of the Tripiṭaka, the “law” of Buddhist monasticism.

The extraordinary sacrality of scripture is seen in almost every facet of its use in communal life. The way in which a scriptural text is handled, the formulas of respect that accompany its mention, citation, recitation, or reading, and the theological doctrines that are developed to set it apart ontologically from all other texts are common evidence of such sacrality. Among many examples that reflect this kind of holiness of scripture are the enshrinement of the ornate Torah scrolls in their special cabinet, the ark, in the synagogue; the tokens of homage paid to the *Ādi Granth* in Sikh worship; the “Little Entrance” procession in Eastern Orthodox churches (or, in Anglican divine service, standing) to honor the reading of the Gospel; the ritual purification required for recitation of the Qurʾān; the merit held to accompany recitation of Buddhist *sūtra*s; the virtue attached to copying or memorizing sacred texts such as the Bible or the Qurʾān; the aforementioned folk traditions of the healing power of scripture; and the stress placed upon the eternal, transcendent nature of the Veda, the Torah, the Qurʾān, the Buddhist *sūtra*s, and so on.

There is often more than one level or degree of sacred texts in a community. As already noted, it is possible in most traditions to distinguish among various sacred books one text or corpus of texts that is the scripture *par excellence* (e.g., the Qurʾān, Hebrew Bible, Avesta, or Veda). Other texts or groups of texts (e.g., the ḥadīth, Mishnah, Pahlavi books, or Purāṇas) may, however, achieve a quasi-scriptural status as sacred books of nearly or effectively equal importance in the life of the tradition. While, strictly speaking, such texts may be denied fullest scriptural status, they often function in a community in remarkably similar ways to the major scripture of other traditions. Conversely, the supreme scripture in a tradition may play a functionally less important role or less visible role in piety than a theoretically second-order sacred text. India offers the best example of this in the major Vedic Saṃhitās, or collections, which are recognized as the supreme holy texts in all Hindu traditions yet functionally are virtually a *scriptura abscondita* for many Hindus, who make greater active use of non-Vedic or later Vedic texts. In Hindu tradition, an explicit distinction is made between *śruti* (“what is heard,” the product of the *ṛṣi*s’ revelatory experience) and *smṛti* (“what is remembered”), the former applied to the whole of the diverse corpus of Vedic texts, the latter to later sacred texts. Yet in many Hindu sectarian groups, especially those of a devotional (*bhakti*) bent, the most sacred scriptural texts in actual use are *smṛti* texts such as the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. Such popularity of a *smṛti* text takes nothing away from the sacrality of the Veda; rather, it indicates the tendency to elevate ever more texts to the functional status of sacred scripture in everyday piety.

Unicity. A further quality of scripture is its perceived unicity of source, content, and authority in the community involved with it (see especially Leipolt and Morenz, 1953). No matter what the historical origins or textual development of its constituent parts, and no matter how diverse those parts, a scriptural corpus is commonly conceived of as a unified whole, both in its ontological origin as sacred word and its internal consistency and authoritativeness as sacred truth. The many originally separate texts that were collected into the Egyptian *Book of Going Forth by Day,* the diverse “holy scriptures” of the Hebrew or Christian Bible, the myriad *sūtra*s of the Chinese Buddhist canon, or the various kinds of Vedic texts revered as *śruti*—these and other bodies of sacred texts are each conceived as an ontological and conceptual unity, whether that unity is one of God’s holy word (as in ancient Egypt or Islam), the Buddha-word, or the “sound” (Skt., *śabda;* Chin., *sheng*) of ultimate truth or wisdom heard by the ancient Indian and ancient Chinese sages. If scriptural texts such as the Qurʾān or the *Book of Mormon* can boast a single-source origin with considerable historical justification, the greatest number of scriptures in the world represent collections of material put together not by one person or even one generation but by a gradual process of recognition of sacred texts usually referred to as “canon formation.” Nevertheless, once the community has reached general agreement about which texts it accepts as sacred, it is common for it to affirm unity of origin as well as message in its scriptural corpus.

Inspiration and eternality/antiquity. The tendency to see one’s own formal or informal canon of scriptures as a unified whole is closely linked to the characteristic development of a theory of inspiration, revelation, or some other kind of suprahuman and primordial origin for its words. All of the prophets and teachers whose words become part of scripture are held to have been inspired in their speech (as with the Hebrew prophets), to have been given God's direct revelation to their fellows (as with Muḥammad and Mani), or to have had an experience in which they transcended the contingent world to grasp ultimate reality (as in the Buddha's enlightenment). Whether the sacred word is vouchsafed to them in a vision or an auditory experience, or given to them as heavenly tablets or books, the earthly bringers of the holy word have been chosen to be, or have become through their own special power, a bridge between the transcendent and the mundane.

The divine word is also commonly held to be eternal, as in the role of Vāc ("speech") as primordial being or goddess in Vedic thought, in the Hindu concept of the eternal Veda (cf. *Laws of Manu* 12.94, 12.99), in the Muslim doctrine of the uncreated, eternal Word of the Qurʾān (which, as God's very Word, is an eternal divine attribute), in the Sikh concept of the *bani* ("word") that preexists and extends beyond the gurus and the *Ādi Granth* (W. Owen Cole and Piara S. Sambhi, *The Sikhs,* London, 1978, p. 44), and in Buddhist ideas of the eternal Dharma or the *buddhavacana* ("Buddha word") in Mahāyāna thought.

A scripture is virtually always conceived to be, if not eternal, at least of great antiquity. The Japanese *Kojiki* and *Nihongi,* the Avesta, the Veda, and the Five Classics of China are all prime examples of sacred texts to which hoary antiquity is ascribed. The authority of a scripture is guaranteed both by its divine or otherwise supramundane origin and by its venerable character as an age-old, if not eternal, word that has been preserved by unbroken and faithful transmission through every generation. These characteristics hold whether the sacred text embodies revelation from a god, preserves the teaching of a master or the wisdom of ancient sages, reports the sacred myths or history of a community, or records the inspired utterances of seers and prophets.

RELATED DEVELOPMENTS. When a scripture emerges in (or helps to create) a religious community, its presence engenders a variety of new phenomena and its influence extends beyond the specifically cultic or confessional sphere into the wider culture as well. A development tied to the emergence of scripture in some traditions is the delineation of an authoritative "canon" of scripture to set it apart from other texts. Traditionally thought of as basic to scripture, the idea of a canon of sacred texts is historically a secondary development in which a community reaches some kind of consensus about the texts that have made it what it is and that loom most important in the tradition and life of that community.

Another development is the growth of traditions of scriptural interpretation by means of which scripture is appropriated as a continuing authority in new circumstances. New circumstances often raise the question of translating the sacred word of scripture, which can pose a dilemma for theories of scripture in the community. Finally, the importance of scripture in religious life has important consequences for culture more broadly. Some of the most evident of these are in the spheres of language, literature, and the arts.

Canon formation. The perceived unicity of scripture leads often to a felt need for an authoritative "canon" (from the Greek *kanōn,* "rule, measure"), or "list," of texts that properly belong to sacred scripture—properly, that is, in the view of those who want to prescribe authoritative as opposed to less authoritative or nonauthoritative texts. Nowhere in the history of religion has the process of canon formation been a clear or unequivocal one, dependent as it usually has been upon the pressure of defining one "orthodoxy" against one or more competing interpretations of faith. In most cases, it is finally not the fiat of a council or individual religious authority seeking to forge a canon in order to delimit orthodoxy, but rather the usage of the majority that determines any canon of sacred and authoritative scripture. This has been especially true of the three traditions in which "canonical" lists of scriptural books have received the most attention: the Christian, Jewish, and Buddhist traditions.

In other cases, such as the Manichaean, Islamic, and Sikh traditions, the early recognition of a single scriptural corpus has meant that the problem of diverse texts eligible for admission or exclusion from a "canon" has hardly arisen. In the Hindu case, the general reverence for the four major Vedic collections, which together with subsequent related texts like the Upaniṣads are given the status of *śruti,* has been complemented by the popular veneration and use of a variety of other texts that strictly rank only as *smṛti* (e.g., the Puraṇas; see Coburn 1984) but whose sacrality and centrality in Hindu religious life is indisputable. In general, the vast array and diversity of functionally sacred texts, as well as the tendency to be inclusive rather than exclusive in defining even *Veda* or *śruti,* have worked against the elaboration of any clear idea of a canon in the Hindu case.

The influence of ideas of a designated canon of scripture such as one finds in Christianity in later antiquity or in classical Therāvada Buddhist thought has been undeniably great. An excellent example is the Chinese Buddhist (as also Daoist) recognition of a *zang,* or "basket," of scriptural texts on the original model of the "Three Baskets" (Tipiṭaka) of Pali scripture. What modern scholarship often rather glibly calls a "canon" in traditions as diverse as the Jain or the classical Chinese (Confucian) would not be recognized uniformly in these traditions—or at least not until relatively recent times, and then often under the influence of Western scholarly conventions—as a body of scripture (or "classics") analogous to a biblical canon.

Interpretation. Every text that achieves scriptural status in a religious community elicits extensive popular and scholarly exegesis and study of its contents. The varied kinds of scriptural interpretation are fundamental elements in a community's relationship to its sacred book, for they provide a bridge between the text and its application to life and between the era in which the text originally arose and all subsequent ages in which it must serve changing needs in new situations. Every application of a scriptural text, from superstitious, talismanic use to use in theological argument, is in some degree an act of interpretation and must be considered a part of scriptural *Rezeptionsgeschichte,* the history of the text as scripture. Even some scriptural books themselves are actually interpretation and elaboration of previous scripture: thus the Abhidhamma segment of the Pali Tipiṭaka is a philosophical expansion on the basic teaching of the Buddha in the Sutta Pitaka, much as the speculation of the Upaniṣads is built upon the earlier Vedic texts.

All scriptural communities boast impressive formal traditions of scholarly interpretation, many of which form the basis of all learning in their respective traditions. The imposing knowledge of a good Talmudic scholar, a learned Therāvada *bhikkhu,* or a first-rate Muslim *ʿalim* is focused upon knowledge of the interpretive tradition tied to the Torah, Tripiṭaka, or Qurʾān, respectively, and its vast oral traditions and written literature. Most esoteric and mystical traditions also rely heavily upon various forms of scriptural exegesis to buttress their ideas. Less formally, the preaching or teaching of a religious message normally relies heavily upon more or less sophisticated and overt forms of exegesis of a scriptural text, just as visual or musical artistic rendering of scriptural themes provide commentary on and interpretation of the meaning of scripture.

Translation and resistance to translation. A common phenomenon related to the role of scripture in changing circumstances is the development of the idea that a scripture cannot be translated from its original, sacred languge: only the original form is felt to carry the inspired and exact meaning or sound. This idea is very old: Ancient Egyptian sacred texts were not translated, even when Nubians ruled Egypt in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE (Leipoldt and Morenz, 1953, pp. 66f.). Resistance to translation of the "Arabic Qurʾān" (surah 12:2, 41:3, et al.) has been especially strong in Islamic tradition. Even when translated by Muslims, the Arabic text is customarily still written or printed beside (or interlinearly with) the translated text of the Persian, Turkish, Swahili, Malay, or other language, since the Arabic text alone is the speech of God *ipsissima verba.* (It should, however, be noted that vernacular translations of the Qurʾān in many of the diverse lands where Muslims abound have long been circulated and used for the necessary business of comprehending the text; this has not diminished appreciably the reverence for the Arabic Qurʾān, but it has facilitated the tranmission of the meanings of the text.) Translation of Vedic texts is unheard of in Hindu tradition, and Jews similarly have placed overwhelming importance upon retaining the original Hebrew text of the Bible in worship (with the major exception of the several centuries in later antiquity when the Septuagint translation was the text used by hellenized Jews).

It is, nevertheless, also the case that translations can come to be viewed as themselves inspired, and their texts as sacred. Salient examples can be found in later antiquity, where the Septuagint was considered an inspired text by hellenized Jews and later by Origen and the other Christian fathers. The Latin translation of Jerome (d. 419) that later developed into the "Vulgate" has been treated as an inspired text by the Roman Catholic church (and was used exclusively for mass until Vatican II), and the major Protestant vernacular translations have been widely held to carry the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. (Resistance to the vernacular mass and resistance to acceptance of the Revised Standard Version of the Bible are recent evidence of just how effectively sacred a translation can be.) Another important example is the Buddhist case, in which the Chinese translations of Sanskrit *sūtra*s became the holy texts still used in Chinese and Japanese Buddhist traditions as the scriptural canon.

Some traditions, however, have little or no objection to the translation of scripture into vernaculars accessible to diverse peoples. As one might expect, such an attitude is most often found in explicitly "missionary" and "universalistic" traditions such as the Christian, Buddhist, and Manichaean, and that of the Mormons. The Mormon case is doubly interesting in this regard, as Joseph Smith himself claimed to have translated the *Book of Mormon* from its original "reformed Egyptian" (*Mormon* 32) idiom into English. Here even the earthly "original" of the scriptural "prophet" is a translation of the original golden tablets of the angel.

CULTURAL CONSEQUENCES. The influence and importance of a scriptural text extends far beyond the specifically religious sphere in a culture. One of the most obvious ways that scripture leaves its imprint upon culture and society is through its effect upon language. A scriptural text, whether in its original language or a translation, may provide a major standard for the "classical" grammar and style of an entire language, as in the case of the Qurʾān for Arabic, the "Classics" for Chinese, the Authorized ("King James") Version of the Bible for English, or the *Lutherbibel* for German. In any culture with an important scripture, the linguistic influence of scriptural vocabulary, metaphors, similes, linguistic conventions, and so forth, can be pervasive. Examples from English phrases and images from the Bible alone make this vivid: "hardening of the heart," "a land of milk and honey," "wise as Solomon," "a good Samaritan," "the patience of Job," "the meek shall inherit the earth", or "killing the fatted calf."

Scripture also serves as one of the richest sources for later literature in a cultural tradition. Nowhere is this more evident than in Western Christendom, where one need only think of Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, or Goethe to recognize the generative influence of the Bible upon this tradition's greatest authors. Scripture is, in the first instance, immensely influential as the ultimate proof text in most traditional cultures. This is especialy vivid in Muslim writing and speaking, where the Qurʾān is the final word to be quoted as the seal to any argument, large or small. Western Protestant traditions are also traditionally rife with this kind of use of the Bible. Scripture usually provides the great symbols and lasting images in a culture, whether it is the figure of Abraham in Jewish, Christian, and Muslim cultures (in each case with different emphasis and textual basis), Agni (Fire) in Hindu culture, or the Buddha's great "going forth" to seek enlightenment in Buddhist cultures.

Scripture also has considerable influence upon the arts in most cultures. The most obvious areas of influence are two: the elaborate calligraphy, referred to above, that is commonly developed for the scriptural text itself and manuscript illumination and illustrations that depict scriptural stories and ideas. The massive importance of the calligraphic art in Islam, the scriptural tradition *par excellence,* deserves particular stress. In Islamic culture, calligraphy and abstract (e.g., "arabesque") design associated with calligraphy extend far beyond the scriptural text to provide even the central forms of decoration in Islamic architecture. Prime among the calligraphic subjects used on Islamic buildings is the Qurʾānic word.

In Western culture, traditions of Bible illustration expanded well beyond the biblical text itself to become major strands in all of the visual arts. The stained-glass masterpieces of western and eastern Europe and the Byzantine mosaics of Ravenna and Balkan Europe are major religious examples. The masters of Western art all employed scriptural themes and events in their works, whether explicitly in icons or the Sistine Chapel ceiling, or more subtly in the works of a Chagall or Rouault. In India, iconographic presentation of scriptural figures and stories has always been a vastly important part of the Hindu scene. In the Buddhist world, the most striking example of scriptural representation in the arts is probably the vast stupa of Borobudur, around whose facade stretch hundreds of stone reliefs telling in pictures myriad scriptural stories of the Buddha. The *maṇḍala* in Tibetan and East Asian Buddhism often presents a pictorial condensation of a major event or teaching from the *sūtra*s.

The scriptural books of a culture also often provide the themes and even the literal text for musical compositions of all kinds. This is very familiar in the great works of European music, but it is also evident in the music of Hindu, Islamic, and other cultures as well—especially since the line between "secular" and "sacred" music is if anything less clear in most other cultures than it is in the West. "Religious" chant and hymnody (largely drawn from or based on scripture) remain in many of these traditions the most popular forms of musical performance. The Hindu and Islamic worlds provide numerous examples of this.

The cultural consequences and influences of scripture go far beyond these few examples. Even these suggest, however, the immense importance of scripture in human affairs. In and of themselves, scriptures can be forces for good or evil—as Shakespeare noted, "The devil can cite Scripture for his purpose." What is ultimately significant about scripture as a concept and a reality is its role in expressing, focusing, and symbolizing the faith of religious persons and their communities around the globe, both for the faithful themselves and for the outsider who seeks a glimpse into another world of faith and discourse.

SEE ALSO Biblical Exegesis; Biblical Literature; Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas; Buddhist Books and Texts, article on Exegesis and Hermeneutics; Calligraphy; Canon; Epics; Literature, article on Literature and Religion; Qurʾān; Śāstra Literature; Sūtra Literature; Upaniṣads; Vedas.

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SCYTHIAN RELIGION.

The Scythians were predominantly nomadic, Iranian-speaking tribes inhabiting the steppes of the northern Black Sea region from the seventh to the third century BCE. Owing to their lack of a written language, what is known of Scythian religion has been reconstructed on the basis of archaeological sources and information from Greek and Roman authors. This reconstruction is partly corroborated by data on the religion of Indo-Iranian peoples kindred to the Scythians.

The basic Scythian pantheon included seven gods. Their functions, which are not always clear, have been determined chiefly on the basis of their identification with Greek gods by Herodotus (4.59) and sometimes on the basis of the etymology of their Scythian names. It is clear, however, that the pantheon was divided into three ranks. In the first rank was Tabiti (the Greek Hestia), in the second were Papaeus (Zeus) and Api (Gaia), and in the third were Oetosyrus or Goetosyrus (Apollo); Artimpasa, or Argimpasa (Aphrodite Ourania); and two gods whose Scythian names are not known but who have been identified with Herakles and Ares. It is possible that the first of these unnamed gods is identical with the primeval figure of Scythian mythology, Targitaus (Herodotus, 4.5–10), who was also identified in the classical tradition with Herakles.

The structure of the Scythian pantheon is not so much a system reflecting the cultic hierarchy of the gods as it is a system mirroring the structure of the universe. The very number of gods reckoned in the Scythian pantheon corresponds to ancient Indo-Iranian tradition. The predominant position of the goddess of fire and the hearth, Tabiti (Iran., Tarayati, "the flaming one, the burning one"), corresponds to the Indo-Iranian concept of fire as the primeval substance and the basis of the universe. The conjugal couple, Papaeus ("father"?) and Api (from the Iranian *ap-*, "water"), personifies the concept, common among the Indo-Iranians, of the marriage of heaven and earth (or water) as a cosmogonical act. From their union was born Targitaus, the forefather of the Scythian people and of the Scythian royal dynasty. His mythological birth may be interpreted as the formation of the middle zone of the cosmos—"the world of people," between the heavenly and chthonic worlds.

The inclusion in the third rank of the pantheon, on a level with this Scythian "Herakles," of three additional gods corresponds to the archaic cosmological conception of the four sides of the world as a structure regulating the universe, and of four gods as their custodians. Of these Scythian gods, Artimpasa (if this reading of her name is accepted) is conjectured to be the Iranian Arti (Ashi), a deity connected with the idea of material abundance, which conforms to her identification with Aphrodite, as proposed by Herodotus. The Scythian "Ares," who was venerated in the form of an ancient iron sword (Herodotus, 4.62), is, evidently, predominantly a war god, corresponding to the Iranian Vere-thragna. The meaning of the figure of Oetosyrus, the Scythian "Apollo," is still highly debatable.

Besides the seven gods of the basic pantheon, other personages of the Scythian religio-mythological system are also known. For example, a myth noted by Herodotus tells of the three sons of Targitaus, in whom, according to the most valid interpretation, can be seen the personification of the three zones of the cosmos and the ancestors of the three strata into which, corresponding to Indo-European tradition, Scythian society was divided: warriors, priests, and agriculturalists. However, in the specific interpretation of each of these personages, there is divergence among scholars. Besides the gods common to all the Scythians, there were also deities that were venerated by separate tribes. For example, the Royal Scyths, the most powerful of the Scythian tribes, worshiped Thagimasadas, identified by Herodotus with Poseidon.

Data on cult leaders among the Scythians are highly fragmentary. The most complete information is on the Enarees, a group of priests connected with the worship of Artimpasa. Divination was among their ritual functions, and sexual transvestism was apparently a feature of their cultic practices. It is not entirely clear whether membership in this group was hereditary; according to some sources, the Enarees came from the Scythian aristocracy. About other Scythian priests there is almost no information. Undoubtedly the Scythian king himself was an important, if not the chief, performer of cultic practices. The most significant evidence of this is the abundance in royal burials of ritual objects, including those having complex cosmological and social symbolism.

Although Scythian religious beliefs, originating in the main in the Common Iranian period, do not specifically express the values of a nomadic people, such values are manifested distinctly in the forms of Scythian cultic life. For example, according to Herodotus—and this has been confirmed archaeologically—the Scythians had neither temples nor monumental images of their gods, a fact connected, apparently, with the mobility of their way of life.

However, certain cultic structures did exist in Scythia. Thus, in the center of each of the districts of Scythia, huge brushwood altars were heaped up in honor of the Scythian "Ares," in the form of square platforms, accessible on one side. At the top of the platform a sword personifying the god was placed vertically, and domestic animals and every hundredth prisoner were sacrificed to it (Herodotus, 4.62). This structure may be interpreted as a cosmogram mirroring the form of the "four-sided universe," and the sword as one of the equivalents of the *axis mundi,* uniting the world of the gods and the world of people. Also known is the existence in the area between the Dnieper and the Southern Bug rivers of a place called Exampaeus, whose name Herodotus translates as "holy ways." Here, according to legend, there was a huge copper caldron cast from arrowheads brought by all the inhabitants of Scythia. This caldron was unquestionably a sacred object for all the Scythians and may be interpreted as one of the symbols of the center of the world.

It is possible that precisely in this Common Scythian cultic center was held the annual Scythian festival connected with the worship of golden sacred objects: a yoked plow, an ax, and a cup that had fallen, according to Scythian myth, from the sky, and that symbolized the cosmic and social order. This festival is one of the few Scythian ritual activities about which relatively detailed information has been preserved. The golden sacred objects, which had a fiery nature and were, perhaps, connected with the goddess Tabiti, were carefully guarded by the Scythian kings and were annually venerated with rich offerings.

According to Herodotus (4.7), during the festival a man would sleep among the golden sacred objects, and he would die less than a year afterward (it is obvious that a violent killing took place); meanwhile, he was allotted as much land as he could cover on horseback in a day. The meaning of this story is not entirely clear, but most probably reference here is to a temporary ritual "deputy king" and his imitation "kingdom." Insofar as the horse in the mythology of the Indo-Iranian peoples is connected with the sun, the method of determining the size of the "kingdom," and also the life span of its "owner," allows one to reconstruct the existence among the Scythians of the concept of the solar nature of the king, and to interpret the festival as calendrical, connected with the yearly cycle of the sun.

Most probably, in the course of this festival was repeated the fate of Targitaus's youngest son, the mythical first king of the Scythians, Colaxais. (The Soviet Iranologist V. I. Abaev has proposed that this name derives etymologically from the Iranian *hvar-xšaya,* "sun king.") The golden sacred objects, obtained, according to the Scythian myth, by this Colaxais, served as proof of the god-given nature of the power of the Scythian kings. This idea also found embodiment in the different investiture ceremonies practiced in Scythia, about which there exists, unfortunately, only highly obscure evidence.

There is information about the methods of sacrifice among the Scythians. Animals (most commonly horses) were asphyxiated while a salutation was made to the god to whom the sacrifice was offered. The flesh was then boiled, and the part intended for the god was thrown on the ground, in front of the sacrificer. There also were ecstatic rituals, in particular purification rituals, during which hemp seeds were burned and wine imported from Greece was used.

The most complete existing information on any aspect of Scythian culture—which has been confirmed, moreover, by archaeological data—is on burial rituals. When a man died, his corpse (apparently embalmed) was carried by cart on a round of visits to the homes of his friends; after forty days the body was buried. The form of the grave (usually a deep chamber-catacomb) and the collection of objects accompanying the dead man were quite uniform and were regulated by tradition. When a king died, his body was carried through the territory of all the tribes subject to him, and this journey was accompanied by various mourning rites. Together with the king were buried retainers of various ranks, and royal horses, and over the grave a monumental burial mound was erected. The graves of ancestors and especially of kings were considered national holy sites and were carefully protected from profanation.

In the early stages of their history, the Scythians (in conformity with the aniconic traditions characteristic of many Indo-Iranians) had virtually no images of gods. During the period of the campaigns in the Near East from the seventh to the early sixth century BCE, they attempted to adapt ancient Eastern iconography for the depiction of personages of their own pantheon. Such depictions were not large-scale monuments but were, rather, decorative elements on ritual objects; however, even these were not widespread in Scythia.

From the sixth to the first half of the fourth century BCE, Scythian art was dominated by the animal style, employing motifs of animals connected to the religio-mythological concepts of the Scythians. The strictly canonical depictions of only certain animals served as a symbolic system for the description of the Scythian mythological model of the world. A definite connection has been established between the repertoire of the animal forms of Scythian art and the archaeological evidence of sacrificial animals found in Scythian monuments. In the fourth century BCE anthropomorphic motifs based on Scythian myths and rituals played an important role in Scythian religious life. These motifs ornamented various ritual objects that were made by Greek artisans from colonies on the northern coast of the Black Sea. In the rich Scythian burials of this time, objects with motifs from Greek mythology have also been found. These most probably reflect not the adoption of Greek cults by the Scythian aristocracy, but yet another attempt to adapt another culture's iconography to embody local religio-mythological concepts.

The religion of the steppe peoples of Asia who were related to or similar in culture to the Scythians was evidently close to that of the Scythians, but data on it are almost completely lacking. The sum of the data on the religious life of the Scythians leads to the conclusion that the overall aim of their ceremonies and rituals was above all to ensure the stability, going back to mythic times, of the cosmic and social order and to guarantee the well-being of the community.

SEE ALSO Inner Asian Religions; Prehistoric Religions, article on the Eurasian Steppes and Inner Asia.

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SEASONAL CEREMONIES.

In all parts of the world and in all ages, it has been the custom to mark the beginning of a year, season, or agricultural cycle by a series of public ceremonies. These were designed originally to dramatize the conclusion of one lease on life and to procure, by quasi-magical procedures, fertility, prosperity, sunshine, and rainfall for the next. They fall into a standard pattern. First the rites of mortification, symbolizing the temporary eclipse of the community. Next the rites of purgation, by which all noxious elements that might impair the community's future welfare are eliminated. Then the rites of invigoration, aimed at stimulating the growth of crops, the fecundity of humans and beasts, and the supply of needed sunshine and rainfall throughout the year. Finally, when the new lease is assured, come the rites of jubilation; there is a communal meal at which the members of the community recement their bonds of kinship by breaking bread together, and at which their gods are present. For this occasion, the shades of their ancestors and deceased relatives temporarily rejoin them.

RITES OF MORTIFICATION. The initial stage of mortification is exemplified principally in the form of fasts, abstinences, and the suspension of public offices and routine business. Thus the Babylonians regarded the first ten or sixteen days of the year in some of their cities as a lenten period, and the Israelites prefaced their autumnal Ḥag ha-Asif ("feast of ingathering") by Yom Kippur ("day of purgation"), on which the sanctuary and its vessels were purified, members of the community ritually aspersed and "cleansed," a fast observed, and all normal activity suspended. In Rome, a fast preceded the feast of Ceres (goddess of crops) in April. In the present day, the Choctaw, Cherokee, and Creek of North America fast at New Year, and among the Mao of Manipur a *genna,* or period of taboo, is observed for four days at the commencement of the harvest. The month of Muḥarram, at the beginning of the year, is a time of abstinence in Morocco, and the Ossets of the Caucasus keep a daily fast during the month before harvest. These examples could be readily multiplied. The Christian Lent and the Islamic Ramaḍān, it may be added, are, in the main, reinterpreted survivals of this usage.

The annual or seasonal eclipse of communal life is exemplified also by the deposition, execution, or temporary humiliation of the king or chieftain, by whom that life is personified and epitomized. In Babylon he was formally degraded on the fifth day of the New Year (Akitu) festival. A major priest stripped him of his robes, slapped his face until he wept, and forced him to his knees. He was then obliged to recite a penitential prayer before he was reinstated. In Cambodia, the king was formerly required to abdicate annually for three days in February, and, in Thailand, he was confined to his palace in late April or early May.

In many cases, the new year did not follow immediately upon the close of the old; there was an intervening "vacant" period, reckoned as outside the calendar. Among the Aztec, for example, it was known as *nemontemi* ("the days unfit for work"); all religious ceremonies and civil activity were then suspended. Similarly, the Maya of Yucatán had a period of *xma kaba kin* ("nameless days") at the end of the year, during which they abstained from all heavy work and even from personal ablutions. In the central provinces of India, this period was actually termed *malmas* ("excreta"), and the institution survives in European popular custom in the abstinences and restrictions imposed during the twelve days between Christmas and Epiphany. During this time, when the real king was temporarily out of office, a substitute was (and is) installed. This was the practice, for instance, in the kingdom of Jambi in Sumatra, among the Kwotto of northern Nigeria, the Kitara of Uganda, and the Bastar of the Central Provinces of India. Such a temporary king, or *interrex* (Gr., *zōganēs*), in the person of a slave, is reported also to have held sway at the ancient Iranian feast of Sacaea, and it has been suggested that the so-called flight of the king (*regifugium*), recognized in ancient Rome as an institution associated with February 24, was a lingering relic of the earlier expulsion of the temporary monarch at the end of his brief term.

Another popular method of symbolizing the expiration of one lease on communal life is to bury a puppet that personifies it and to subsequently disinter it when the succeeding lease begins. Thus, in Romania, a clay doll called *kalojan* (from Gr. *kalos Ioannēs,* "beautiful John") is buried on the Monday preceding Assumption (August 15) and later dug up; in the Abruzzi, the same ceremony is performed with a similar figure named Pietro Pico ("little Peter"). In both cases, these are but Christianized versions of an older pagan usage known to us from the burial and disinterment of the god Attis in Phrygia and of Osiris in Egypt. In parts of Russia, an effigy named Kostrobunko was similarly buried on Saint Peter's day and later disinterred.

The buried spirit of life and fertility is ritually bewailed, usually by women (as regular practice at funerals). Such wailing is attested, on a mythological level, in the cults of Dumuzi in Babylonia, of Attis in Asia Minor, of Osiris in Egypt, and of Adonis in Syria, and in the *iouloi* ("howls") uttered in the cult of Demeter and Persephone in Greece. In this connection, however, it is pertinent to observe that tears are regarded in several cultures as regenerative. The Egyptians are said to have shed them while they sowed the first seeds, and at Great Bessan, in Guinea, oxen are slain and made to weep at an annual ceremony designed to ensure a good harvest. Indeed, it has been suggested that the familiar words of Psalm 126:5, "They that sow in tears shall reap in joy," were inspired by such a custom, and it is significant that the wailing cry, *eleleu,* was a feature of certain Greek seasonal festivals. Hence, it is not impossible that what came eventually to be interpreted as weeping for the slain or buried spirit of fertility was originally functional shedding of tears.

Rites of Purgation. Ceremonies of purgation, or the ritual removal of noxious elements and of the contagion of latent sin, such as might jeopardize the continued life and health of the community or evoke retribution from the gods in the form of blight, drought, plague, war, or other calamities are likewise virtually universal. In Babylon, a ceremony called *kuppuru* (clearance, purgation), involving the cleansing and renovation of the temple, was part of the New Year ceremonies, and as stated above, a similar ceremony, Yom Kippur, was observed among the Israelites before the autumnal harvest. In Rome the month preceding the new year, March, was characterized as the period of *februatio* (whence the month of February), fields and human beings being then lustrated and temples scoured. Such rites of purgation often include a collective confession of sins. Examples of these are the semiannual Japanese ceremony of Ofuharahi ("purification"), at which the Mikado or a member of the Nakatomi order of priests shrives the people, and the Ashanti festival called Odwira. It was similarly a prominent feature of the ancient Israelite Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement), a usage that survives in Jewish ritual to this day.

Latent sins that remain unconfessed are removed in many cases by being loaded symbolically on a scapegoat (either animal or human) who is ceremonially dispatched from the community. This was a prominent feature of the aforementioned Babylonian and Israelite ceremonies, while in Greece it was observed at the feast of Thargelia, in May.

Sometimes the latent evil is removed by expelling an effigy called "Death" or the like. The Inca of Peru, for example, drove out disease before the rainy season in this manner, and in Thailand noxious spirits are ceremonially banished on the last day of the year. In Cambodia the rite is performed in March, and among the Inuit (Eskimo) of Point Barrow, Alaska, the same ceremony is performed as soon as the sun reappears and ushers in a new lease on life. The modern practice of ringing bells, clanging gongs, blowing whistles, and cracking whips on New Year's Eve is a relic of such expulsion of evil and disaster, designed originally to scare away demons—raising, as it were, a pandemonium surpassing theirs.

Finally, evil is often removed by lighting bonfires at such crucial times of the year as New Year, midsummer, and midwinter. This ritual is too familiar to require documentation. It is common not only in most parts of Europe but also among Muslims at the ʿAshūrāʾ festival among the Berbers; and it was observed in antiquity at the Isia (the festival of Isis) in Hellenistic Egypt. Here, however, a word of caution is in order. Fire is also used in popular custom to lustrate fields in order to stimulate crops and also to relume the sun when it reemerges from its winter sojourn underground. Hence, some of the rites that have been interpreted as designed to burn up evil may really be directed toward these alternative purposes.

Rites of Invigoration. The elimination of the old leads naturally to the inauguration of the new, that is, to rites of invigoration. The most widespread of these is the staging of a ritual combat between Fertility and Blight, Rainfall and Drought, Summer and Winter, or simply Life and Death, the positive protagonist (the one who personifies renewal) being always the winner. This seasonal usage is attested among the ancient Hittites of Asia Minor and in reliefs on the walls of an Egyptian temple at Deir al-Bahri. Similarly, among the Iroquoian-speaking tribes of North America, a ritual battle was fought annually in late January or early February between the god of summer or life (Teharoniawagon) and the god of winter or death (Tawiskaron). Often the combat comes eventually to be explained as the commemoration of a historical encounter. The Hittites, for instance, identified the antagonists respectively as themselves and a neighboring people, the Masa, and Plutarch tells of a periodically recurring joust between characters popularly called Alexander and Darius. In the English Mummers' Play, which is really a survival of the same usage, the combatants are sometimes likewise identified as Saint George and the Turkish knight (probably a distortion of Saladin), or as King George and Napoleon, or even (in more recent times) as Churchill and Hitler.

Sexual license is another popular rite of invigoration. Among the Pipils of Central America, it is observed when the first seeds are sown, and in the Ukraine it is (or was) a popular method of stimulating the growth of crops on Saint George's Day (April 23). The Garos encourage sexual intercourse at seasonal festivals, and it is held by several scholars that the familiar stories of the rape of the Sabine women at a festival and of the women of Shiloh (*Jgs.* 21:19–23) reflect the same custom.

The usage was mythified in the "sacred marriage" of god and goddess at the New Year in various ancient Mesopotamian cities and in the marriage of the god Horus and goddess Hathor at an annual celebration at Idfu (Beḥdet) in Egypt; the mating of the god (impersonated by the pharaoh) with a divine bride is portrayed on reliefs at Deir al-Bahri. Similarly, Aristotle tells us that a marriage between Dionysos and the king's consort took place annually in the Bucolicon (*boukolikon*) at Athens. A burlesque of this ritual is a feature of the festival plays still performed in northern Greece. The offspring of the "sacred marriage"—the spirit of the new life—is often introduced as a baby in a crib and thus finds its echo in present-day New Year cards. The famous passage in the *Book of Isaiah* (9:6), "Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given," is believed by many modern exegetes to have been inspired by this usage.

New members of the tribe or community, especially children, are often initiated at seasonal festivals. This initiation is (or was) carried out, for instance, by Muslim Arabs before the spring harvest and by bedouin at Mecca and at the Nebi Musa (Eastertide) festival at Jericho, as well as by the Haida Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands at an annual potlatch. Significant in this connection is the statement in the *Book of Joshua* (5:2–8) that when members of the new generation were formally received into the community after the Exodus from Egypt, the initiating rite of circumcision was performed before the festival of Passover. The initiation is sometimes represented as a rebirth. Indeed, among certain people of the lower region of the river Kongo it is termed *kimbasi* ("resurrection"), and the neophytes have first to fall as though dead at the feet of the officiant.

RITES OF JUBILATION. The seasonal program concludes with a communal feast, at which the ancestral dead are also present ("our founders are with us in spirit"). Thus to cite but a few examples, the Greeks supposed that these "ghosts" returned temporarily at the festival of Anthesteria, and the Romans, at the festival of Lemuria; the Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran hold a feast of the dead at the beginning of the year. In the Trobriand Islands, the dead rejoin the living at an annual festival called Milmala; in Thailand, at the New Year festival in April; among the Huzul of the Ukraine, at Easter and Christmas; and among the ancient Celts, at the feast of Samhain. This return of the dead, which survives in the folklore of Halloween, is, of course, the counterpart of the initiation ceremonies; past and future are alike involved in the renewal of corporate life, since both are constituent elements of its continuum. The gods, too, often attend the banquet, either as guests or as hosts, because they too belong to the "kindred."

All of the seasonal rites here described—the initial period of disorder and chaos, the combat, the defeat of the powers of evil and disaster, the installation of the victor as king, the resurrection of the dead, and the inauguration of a new era of the world, sometimes also a "messianic banquet"—are retrojected mythically into cosmogony and projected into eschatology. What happens at the end of each periodic lease on life is held to have happened also at the beginning of the present cycle of the world's existence; the supreme god vanquished a contumacious monster, was installed as king, promulgated a new dispensation, and tendered a banquet to his divided subordinates and sometimes also to ancient heroes. When this era ends, he will do so again. The process is cyclic; as Vergil puts it, "the great order of the centuries is born afresh." Seasonal ceremonies, originally functional means of renewing life from year to year, thus become paradigms of human existence throughout time.

SEE ALSO Agriculture; Fasting; Hieros Gamos; Mortification; Purification; Tears.

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SECRET SOCIETIES. The term *secret society* can be used to describe all groups whose membership or very existence is unknown to nonmembers, or that keep certain of their practices or conceptions hidden from nonmembers, no matter how public or recognized they are as a group. Within these broad limits one could include subversive political groups, criminal gangs, and some professional guilds. There may be a religious dimension to these organizations, perhaps in ritual behavior, legends about their origins, or other counterparts to phenomena typical of religious groups. In this article, however, attention will be given to groups that are more clearly religious, as determined by their recognition of supernatural powers or their subscription to certain values and ideals.

It must be admitted, however, that there is no clear border between those secret societies that definitely celebrate religious matters and those that are secular. Of course, secret societies that are both very secret and religious can change into societies that have few secret elements and little specifically religious language. The aura of the past and the persistence of generic or Deistic religious language can nevertheless make such societies seem like rival religions to some people. A prominent indication of this problem is the prohibition of membership in the Freemasons for Roman Catholics and some Lutherans, despite the claim of many Masons that they are not a religion in any way, especially today.

DISTINGUISHING FEATURES. The secret society is characterized first by its being a voluntary or selective group within a natural community. Although there may be times and places in which nearly everyone of a certain gender, age, and status may be included, there is always the theoretical possibility that some otherwise eligible person will not be elected to join the group. The possibility of exclusion is a powerful factor in the sociopsychological dynamics of a secret society. The pool of potential members is also restricted, usually to men beyond puberty. There are few secret societies that include women or children, although secret societies restricted to women are known, such as the Bundu society among the Mende people of Sierra Leone.

Obviously, another primary characteristic of the secret society is secrecy. It is not characteristic of religious secret societies, however, that their very existence or their membership is secret. Instead, it is knowledge of their activities, rituals, texts, doctrines, myths, and offices that is restricted to the group. Some argue that such secrets are new, dangerous, or deep matters that demand the protection of secrecy; in this light it might be said that the secret society is humankind's nursery for new insights and new political or social structures. No matter what the depth or the power of the secrets, however, there is always a measure of artificiality in keeping them secret. Furthermore, at least in some cases, the secrets so carefully guarded are actually trivial and assume importance only because they are shared secrets. At the base of secrecy lies not so much a set of hidden facts as a group of experiences—any group of people that works or performs rites together shares memories that others do not have.

A third major feature of the religious secret society is initiation. There is a logical necessity that entrance into the group be clearly marked so that the group and the individual can be sure exactly who is and who is not included. Many of the initiatory practices can be understood as means by which the simple fact of inclusion in the group is emphasized and reinforced. There are other dimensions to these often elaborate initiation practices, however. In their use of ordeals and trials, the symbolism of death and rebirth can become apparent: one does not merely join an organization, but undergoes a transforming experience and achieves deeper contact with the meaning of life and the world.

Closely related to the phenomenon of initiation is the hierarchical structure of the secret society. Often the society seems to be an outgrowth and extension of puberty-initiation practices. As such, it is based on the notion that human life does not merely grow into maturity, but that a distinctive, new kind of existence or ontology must be attained in the transformation from child to adult. Likewise, then, it is reasonable to recognize still higher stages of life with other initiations. The secret society itself represents such a stage beyond the status of simple adulthood, and within the secret society there may be other stages or levels of advancement. Role differentiation within the society is, from this perspective, not merely a differentiation in function, but a manifestation of degrees of metaphysical weight or height.

Finally, the religious secret society regularly posits a myth concerning its origins that is central to its self-consciousness. Such myths are probably not historically accurate, but should be read as indications of the concerns or mindset of the group. Many primitive secret societies, for example, tell a story in which their secrets were derived from a woman, but subsequently kept from other women. This does not necessarily mean that the male secret society was a device by which the men in a previous age wrested control from the women in a matriarchal society. It does, however, indicate a tension in the men's psychology: they are keeping from the women something in which the women also have, or have had, a stake.

THEORIES CONCERNING ORIGIN AND FUNCTION. Many suggestions concerning the basic motivation for secret societies have been proposed. One theory emphasizes the sexual element. In this view, secret societies constitute an attempt by men to establish a life independent of women, a rejection of feminine power and influence. Secret societies that are not exclusively male are reluctant concessions or counterreactions to this motive. Other theories on the all-male composition of so many groups include suggestions of homoerotic attraction and the observation that many male animals cultivate activities limited to their gender. This pattern of male bonding can be as casual as the camaraderie incidental to the hunt or the neighborhood bar, or it can take the highly organized form of the secret society. Patterns of gender grouping in work, war, and play also may have their roots in male bonding and thus contribute to the strength of the secret society phenomenon.

A second kind of analysis emphasizes the social and political functions of the societies. On the one hand, the secret society may be consonant with the existing social and political order and may reinforce that order through the fear it inspires. On the other hand, a secret society may be an agency for change, rebellion, or reform. In this situation, it will be opposed by the dominant forces in society, and its need for secrecy will be greater. Its membership and its very existence will be kept secret if possible. Certainly, such groups will be labeled criminal by the dominant society, but they may also be understood as supporting an alternative political or social structure.

In many historical situations, the phenomenon of secrecy has given rise to the attitude that every secret organization is a conspiracy against the welfare of the rest of humankind. The rest of society, if sufficiently distressed, might blame all social ills on a real or even a supposed secret society. It is unlikely that many secret societies have been as powerful or as conspiratorial as public opinion has, on occasion, conceived them to be. Especially pernicious when used as a basis for discrimination and repression is the supposition that subversive secret societies exist among minority populations. The threat, real or imagined, that a secret society represents to the total community is an important factor in the social dynamics of such a group.

A third theory about secret societies stresses more positive social functions. It is argued that secret societies foster a person's sense of identity. In tribal societies they afford some people a sense of privacy in the midst of proximity, and in modern societies they give the individual a special status in the midst of pressures for conformity. It is clear that in some societies the secret group is a primary means of education and socialization. Insofar as the desire to improve oneself or to achieve greater power and status can be considered a beneficial motivation in human life, the secret society has had the positive function of offering people a way to advance their programs of social and financial success.

Such aspiration to greater significance and fuller existence brings us to the religious motivations and functions of the secret society. There is a style of being religious in which the reason and goal of religious activities is the improvement of one's strength or ontological status. By performing certain ritual, ascetic, or ethical acts, or by thinking certain thoughts and controlling the mind, this kind of religion seeks to promote one's career in this or another world. In light of this kind of religious motivation, the secret society is a major arena for structuring, formulating, and traveling a path toward that goal.

The goal, as well as the path, varies from society to society, of course. Among tribal peoples the attempt to progress beyond the stage of adulthood achieved through puberty initiation often takes the form of more and more rigorous physical ordeals. It may involve learning magical techniques. The goal may be conceived in terms of transcending the ordinary human condition, especially by identifying with the dead and the spirits who occupy the next higher rung in the hierarchy of being and power. Many masked dancing rites performed by secret societies are understood to represent the return of the dead to the world of the living. Some of the most shocking practices of secret societies—for example, the eating of raw human flesh in a secret society of the Kwakiutl Indians of North America—can be seen as a way of demonstrating the transhuman (and certainly nonhuman) nature of the life of a secret society member (members of this kind of secret society think of themselves as being something else, superior to humans; the cannibalism demonstrates that they are no longer human because they do something no normal human being would do). The right of secret society members to frighten or steal also derives from this supposed superior existence.

The higher status and power bestowed through the secret society might be conceived as benefiting the fertility of the earth, improving one's health or wealth, giving greater power to the tribe, or enhancing one's interior life. When the secret society is seen as a school for attaining ecstatic states or mystical knowledge, its similarity to monasticism becomes apparent. The element of secrecy is not so prominent in the conventional monastic community, hence the connection between monasticism and secret societies has seldom been recognized. Nevertheless, monastic communities do cultivate religious advancement and identify with a stage of humanity beyond the ordinary, as do many secret societies.

There is also a religious function ascribed to the secret society in those theories that see such societies as the nurseries or nursing homes of religions. The secret of some groups may be a new religious insight that is protected from persecution or ridicule by restricting its rites to believers' eyes. This theory may have been persuasive to those who interpreted the semi-secrecy of early Christian ritual in this way. It has also been argued, however, that secret societies can preserve for a small group some outmoded religious ideas and practices that the rest of a population has abandoned. Through secrecy and mystification, ancient religious patterns might retain some attraction that they would not enjoy in the full light of public scrutiny. Thus, the secret society could embody the first or the last stage in the history of a religious movement.

There is nothing inevitably good or bad in the form of the secret society itself. It is a powerful human phenomenon that can be turned to purposes either beneficial or harmful to its members, the larger society, or both. Of course, many of the factors listed here can be operative at the same time; thus they can strengthen the attraction of a secret society for its members by fulfilling many expectations, both religious and secular.

PROMINENT EXAMPLES. One of the richest areas for research into secret societies in tribal or primitive cultures has been the islands of the South Pacific. The Melanesian Dukduk society and others like it provide classic examples of their type. There is some problem, however, in distinguishing the voluntary secret society from the secret rites performed at puberty on all boys of the tribe, transforming them into men of the tribe. The important distinction lies in the selective nature of membership in the secret society, no matter how similar the society's initiation is to the general puberty initiations. Also, the activities of the secret society tend to take place in special grounds or in buildings away from the village and not in the centrally located "men's houses" that are often found in these cultures.

West Africa has witnessed a proliferation of secret societies. Some of them, such as the Poro society in Sierra Leone, existed among aboriginal cultures, and apparently are unconnected with specific modern religious traditions. Other secret societies in this area are Muslim, or contain a mixture of Muslim and native elements, and may have been influenced by the Ṣūfī orders of North Africa. There are also some women's secret societies and some with members of both sexes, but these are not as old as the all-male groups.

In the history of Kenya, the Mau Mau secret society has figured prominently. It was mainly derived from the large Kikuyu population and emerged in the 1940s as a reaction to the distress this group was experiencing under colonial administration, modernization, and Christian evangelism. The link between nostalgia for the old ways and political aspirations is especially clear in this example.

The secret societies of China are well-known examples of this type of political group, although in many of them the religious factors do not seem to have been prominent. These groups have been known since the first century CE and bear such names as White Lotus, Dragon Flower, and Big Swords. It is thought that they provided those people who did not have a strong family with an alternative affiliation by which to promote their interests. They also provided some authority and order in situations where social and political structures were weak or absent. Where political structures were strong, however, they often constituted the chief form of political opposition or religious dissent. At the beginning of the twentieth century the Boxers, a xenophobic secret society, became known worldwide because of the rebellion that bore their name. More recently, the Triad societies have gained notoriety in Hong Kong and elsewhere for their criminal activities.

In North America, secret societies existed first among Native American groups—for example, the Kwakiutl. Settlers from Europe and Africa brought secret societies to America, or created them after they arrived. An example of an African American secret society was the Moorish Science Temple, established in 1913 in Newark, New Jersey. It provided some unchurched African American men with a semireligious lodge community and presaged the role of Islam in later African American history.

From Italy, the United States inherited another type of secret society, the Mafia. It is unusual in many ways, including its family connections and economic (protection racket) functions. Its specific religious character is not obvious, except in the dedication that it inspires and requires. Ethnic or nationalist secret societies clearly exhibit the role of such organizations in protecting and promoting historical identities in a new world dominated by peoples of other races and religions.

In the Ku Klux Klan the United States saw another kind of motivation for secret-society organization. Founded in the southern states following the Civil War, the Klan was a reaction to the distresses of change experienced by the white population. Again, it is impossible to ascertain to what degree religious factors were used superficially to bolster the organization's strength and to what degree these factors indicated a real religious fervor, however misguided. There was a resurgence of Klan activity during the 1930s when the objects of Klan fear and opposition were expanded beyond blacks and northern white politicians to include Jews and Roman Catholics. The Klan remains in the United States as an organization ready to provide a format for revolt against any social or religious change that some segment of the population does not affirm.

Freemasonry was a prominent example of the secret society in the United States. There are now five million or more Freemasons in the world, about two-thirds of them in the United States. Today their membership is not secret, and the secrecy of the rituals is not a defining factor. The fact that modern U.S. Masonic lodges are often assumed to be primarily social organizations demonstrates that secret societies can dramatically change over time. Mozart's opera *The Magic Flute* (1791) reflects a period, however, in which spiritual aspirations and ideas were more than relics or playful references. Mozart seems to have taken very seriously the humanistic side or interpretation of Masonic symbolism, making his opera into a kind of morality play for serious human aspiration and ideals.

The Masonic orders may not have been founded before the seventeenth century, although in their mythology they claim ancient origins. The same suspicion of a fabricated ancient and medieval past attaches to the Rosicrucians. Many people have taken seriously the idea that ancient religions were preserved in these organizations. In the eighteenth century, Freemasonry was linked to various programs of political and religious reform that emphasized freedom of thought, worship, association, and the press that may have contributed to the French and American revolutions. Insofar as humanistic ideals and deistic beliefs are deemed to be religious, Masonic fraternities constitute at least semisecret, semireligious groups.

Other examples of secret societies include the medieval Knights Templar, the Thugs of India, and the Assassins of Persia. A complete list of secret societies would include many feared groups whose programs were and are condemned by the rest of society. Even in these instances it is nevertheless possible, if not probable, that religious motivation of some sort lay at the foundation of each society and provided it with its major source of dedication and devotion. It is perhaps nowhere clearer, therefore, that a phenomenon worthy of the designation "religious," according to most definitions, need not be good or true in the opinion of most people. The structure of the secret society, with its religious characteristics or dynamics, is in itself a neutral form, but it may embody and promote thoughts or acts deemed wonderful or horrible.

SEE ALSO Assassins; Freemasons; Millenarianism, article on Chinese Millenarian Movements; Rosicrucians.

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GEORGE WECKMAN (1987 AND 2005)

SECULARIZATION. The term *secularization* came into use in European languages at the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, where it was used to describe the transfer of territories previously under ecclesiastical control to the dominion of lay political authorities. The term *secularis* was already in use, and the distinction between sacred and secular, roughly equivalent to the differentiation of Christian conceptions of the supernatural from all that was mundane or profane, was widely invoked to assert the superiority of the sacred. Furthermore, the church had long distinguished between those priests called "religious" and those designated as secular priests, that is, between those clergy who functioned within a religious order and those who served the wider society. Later, the term *secularization* was applied in a different, though related, sense, to the dispensation of priests from their vows. The term was applied in even more diverse ways once the concept acquired a more general, sociological connotation in the twentieth century. Sociologists have used this word to indicate a variety of processes in which control of social space, time, facilities, resources, and personnel was lost by religious authorities, and in which empirical procedures and worldly goals and purposes displaced ritual and symbolic patterns of action directed toward otherworldly, or supernatural, ends.

The term was later applied to denote a pattern of social development that earlier sociologists, including Auguste Comte (1798–1857), had already recognized before the term *secularization* was in general sociological use. In the process thus described, the various social institutions become gradually distinct from one another and increasingly free of the matrix of religious assumptions that had earlier informed, and at times had inspired and dominated, their operation. Prior to this change, social action over a very wide field of human activity and organization (including work, decision-making, social and interpersonal relationships, juridical procedures, socialization, play, healing, and life-cycle transitions) is regulated in accordance with supernaturalist preconceptions. The process of structural differentiation in which social institutions (the economy, the polity, morality, justice, education, recreation, health maintenance, and familial organization) become recognized as distinctive concerns operating with considerable autonomy is also a process in which conceptions of the supernatural lose their sovereignty over human affairs, a pattern broadly identified as secularization. Conceptions of the supernatural are gradually displaced from all social institutions except those specifically devoted to cultivating knowledge about, and maintaining relationships with, the posited supernatural order. While those agencies still seek to influence other areas of social life, they become recognized as separate and increasingly circumscribed religious institutions.

DEFINITIONS. This brief discourse already indicates the changing nature of the concept of secularization and the difficulty of providing a fully encompassing definition for it. The concept is distinguishable from secularism, with which it is sometimes confused. Secularization relates essentially to a process of decline in religious activities, beliefs, ways of thinking, and institutions that occurs primarily in association with, or as an unconscious or unintended consequence of, other processes of social structural change. Secularism is an ideology; its proponents consciously denounce all forms of supernaturalism and the agencies devoted to it, advocating nonreligious or antireligious principles as the basis for personal morality and social organization. Secularism may contribute in some degree to processes of secularization, but the evidence, even from officially secularist societies such as those of the former Soviet Union, suggests that it does so only very gradually and much less fundamentally than do broad processes of social structural change such as industrialization and urbanization.

Definitions of secularization are intimately bound to definitions of religion. As long as religion is defined substantively, as beliefs, orientations, attitudes, activities, institutions, and structures pertaining to the supernatural (the definition assumed in this article), it is possible to assess the extent to which religion declines or loses significance for the operation of society. Some sociologists, however, have defined religion in functional terms, that is, as any set of beliefs, ideas, and activities that fulfills certain social functions. (The use of functionalist analysis, which is a standard sociological method, does not, of course, imply commitment to functional definitions; indeed, the combination may produce circular arguments.) Where religion is defined functionally, a wide variety of ideologies and activities that have no reference to the supernatural, to morality, faith, destiny, ultimate meaning, or final purposes, may sometimes be held (by definition) to be religion. Insofar as certain functions are regarded as indispensable for the continuance of society or for its cohesion, it becomes difficult, if not impossible, once functionalist definitions are used, to speak of secularization, since religion is identified by definition with whatever supplies certain indispensable functions. The very discussion of secularization and of the social processes that lead to the decline of supernaturally orientated activities and beliefs implies that a substantive definition of religion is being employed. When reference is made not to religion but to specific religions or religious systems, the definitional problem (itself partly an artifact of the sociological penchant for abstract universalistic concepts) disappears.

The concept of secularization lacks a standard definition. The associated phenomena to which it refers occupy a wide social range. What those phenomena have in common is a pattern of diminishing recourse to supernaturalist explanations, diminishing resources employed for supernatural ends, and diminishing support of agencies or activities that promote relationships with, or dependence on, supernatural forces. Other, somewhat narrower terms that allude to some of the same developments include *desacralization, laicization,* and *dechristianization. Desacralization* refers specifically to the loss of the sense of the sacred as it pertains particularly to places, properties, and activities; it has less relevance to religious organization and is less applicable to thought processes. This essentially negative term fails to specify the character of what replaces the dislodged sense of the sacred once sacrality disappears. As a concept, it allows less gradation than does secularization. *Laïcisation* in French is sometimes used as synonymous with *sécularisation,* but the English term *secularization* has a narrower connotation: It refers specifically to the abrogation of priestly offices and functions or to the transfer of certain functions, such as judicial roles, teaching, and social work, to specialists for whom theological qualifications are no longer deemed necessary or appropriate. *Laicization* refers also to the disavowal of the explicitly sacerdotal claims of religious professionals. *Dechristianization* is clearly more concerned with the decline of only one religious tradition, particularly in its control of institutional activities. As a term it lacks the ethical neutrality of the term *secularization.*

Briefly defined, secularization is the process in which religious consciousness, activities, and institutions lose social significance. It indicates that religion becomes marginal to the operation of the social system, and that the essential functions for the operation of society become rationalized, passing out of the control of agencies devoted to the supernatural.

INDICES OF SECULARIZATION. Analysis of social structure will reveal in broad terms to what extent the order and operation of society depend on conceptions of the supernatural and activities related to it; that is, the extent to which a society is secularized. Short of a complete analysis of the social system, various social facts may serve as indications of secularization, although these vary in specificity and relevance from one social and cultural context to another. Broadly, it may be said that the increasing specialization of function and role entailed in structural differentiation has invariably reduced the influence of religion over other social institutions. Religion in the West has generally become merely a department of the social order rather than the pervasive, or even determinant, influence it once was.

One may say that religious consciousness declines as empirical and matter-of-fact attitudes develop. Depictions of the supernatural become increasingly abstract, and its operation is regarded as remote, while individual convictions concerning obligation, dependence, and remorse appear to be less compelling. Recourse to the supernatural declines, whether as a means for the cognitive understanding of the world or for personal emotional support. There is less allusion to God's will as the guide for attitudes, comportment, and action, and resort to prayers or curses is less frequent. Religious symbols lose their vibrancy and meaning, and charms, rosaries, and crosses become largely decorative items, while magic—for example, in the form of popular astrology—becomes a titillating amusement. Everyday life is negotiated by pragmatic attitudes and cause-and-effect thinking.

As religious action (action directed toward the supernatural) is regarded as less effective in relation to worldly experience, so it diminishes in scope and scale. Religious observances cease to be obligatory to members of society and become entirely voluntary; this indicates, at the least, a diminished regard for such practices by state authorities. While the abandonment of obligatory religious practice may eliminate one set of extraneous motivations for religious action, it does not eradicate others; for example, traditional habits of life, conformity with custom, or the search for social prestige may continue as possible extrareligious inducements for participation in religious rituals and collective performances. The same social act, for instance churchgoing, baptism, or religious marriage or burial, may be prompted by different motives and carry widely different meanings in different cultural contexts. However, despite these considerations, church attendance, church memberships, *rites de passage,* grace at meals, public prayer, pilgrimages, votive offerings, fasting, penances, religious festivals, and church weddings all decline in incidence and in the depth of their sacrality.

To be significant in modern society, religion must be public and organized, a potential resource for all collective and public concerns, influencing the social system to operate in conformity with religious principles and with due regard to the supernatural. In the early evolution of modern societies, religious institutions occupied just such a position, but that influence has waned everywhere throughout the Christian West. This loss of social significance is manifested most explicitly in the diminishing proportion of social resources (taken, for instance, as a proportion of the gross national product) devoted to religion and to the maintenance of the personnel and property that serve supernaturalist goals. Labor, energy, skill, wealth, and time are increasingly employed for other than supernatural ends. Relative to population, the number of churches declines, as does the number of religious functionaries. The monetary remuneration and social status of clergy diminish relative to those of other professions. Ancillary agencies (schools, colleges, hospitals, social welfare facilities) pass from religious to lay, secular, and state control.

The application of the concept of secularization to society at large has an analogue in the process of change occurring within religious institutions per se. Not only is the wider society less influenced by religion, but religious institutions and behavior are themselves increasingly influenced by values and standards that prevail in the secular society. As society increasingly orders its affairs in accordance with technical and scientific criteria, religious institutions themselves are affected. The sacramentalist and sacerdotal orientations of religion become less congruous with the assumptions of everyday life, and the tendency in religious performance is for the distance between sacred and secular to diminish. The special language of liturgy is changed to accommodate secular understanding, organization is increasingly rationalized, economies of scale are sought through ecumenism, and activities necessarily adjust in duration, scheduling, style, and tenor to accommodate external secular constraints and preferences. Church leaders become less certain about the nature of the supernatural, less committed to dogma or the formal creeds to which on induction they subscribe, and increasingly devote themselves to good works, general moral exhortation, community activities within their congregations, fund raising for their churches, and occasional commentary on political issues. This pattern of change has been designated as the internal secularization of the churches.

SECULARIZATION AS A HISTORICAL PROCESS. Secularization has occurred throughout history, unevenly but in a broadly discernible pattern. In preliterate societies, apprehensions that may be considered supernaturalist were both ubiquitous and inextricably intermingled with empirical knowledge and rational techniques. Explanation invoked superempirical entities, social goals were confused with symbolic acts, and magical means were intermixed with pragmatic procedures. Steadily, the process, which Max Weber designated *die Entzauberung der Welt* ("the disenchantment of the world"), drained natural phenomena of their magico-religious meaning as people acquired more matter-of-fact, positivistic orientations.

In this analysis, magic may be subsumed with religion under the general rubric of supernaturalism; indeed, the establishment of a distinction between them may in itself be regarded as one aspect of the process of secularization. The development of monotheistic religions involved the rationalization and systematization of conceptions of the supernatural. This process, very evident in the history of Judaism, steadily extinguished the preexisting plethora of random, local magical ideas and local deities; it introduced a more universalistic spirit, made religious apprehensions ethical, and gradually established a coherent conception of an increasingly transcendent and universal deity. The monotheistic religions were themselves agencies of rationalization, and hence, insofar as they reduced the belief in supernaturalism, they were agencies of secularization. Magical beliefs and practices were not immediately eradicated; they sometimes persisted as subterranean currents reappearing periodically. Judaism and Protestantism were generally more effective secularizing agencies than Roman Catholicism, for although all three formally excoriated magic and folk belief, and sought to disseminate orderly, internally consistent teachings and practices, the Roman Catholic Church sometimes countenanced, absorbed, or accommodated pagan elements.

It is sometimes objected that to regard secularization as a cumulative, long-term historical trend necessarily implies the existence at some unspecified time of an unparalleled age of religious faith. Against this implication, it is argued that Christian history reveals the recurrent complaints of clerical authorities about unbelief, laxness in religious observances, and a variety of contingent derelictions. The historical evidence cannot be denied, but religiosity should not be equated with Christianity. Paganism and heresy were often indicted in the complaints about laxity, but these are manifestations not of the secularity of society but rather of its religiosity. Further, church religion and attendance are only two among many indicators of relative secularity; they intimate nothing either of religious consciousness or of the significance of religion (and its institutions) for the operation of the social system. As long as supernaturalist conceptions (of whatever sort) were effective in everyday life, or as long as religious institutions were sustained by the secular authorities and fulfilled functions as agencies of legitimation, official ideology, and social control, society had not yet experienced any radical modern process of secularization.

In recent Western history, dissociation of religious and political institutions, seen most conspicuously in the separation of church and state (now generally effective despite vestigial links that persist, for example, in England, Scotland, and the Scandinavian countries), implies the secularization of society. At times, ethnic and regional minorities have reinforced their distinctive identity and their political dissent by reasserting religious differences (as in Northern Ireland throughout this century, as in Lebanon in the 1970s and 1980s, or, much less dramatically, as in the Netherlands). In this same manner, societies in which religion has been associated with national independence have found religion to be a conveniently available means of rallying opposition to politically oppressive regimes (as in Communist Poland). Religion may, then, become a form of surrogate politics, but the continuing vigor of religion in such circumstances is artificially sustained by the prevailing political, ethnic, or regional situation. Where no such conditions prevail, the general course of secularization results in the increasing separation of religion from other institutions, most rapidly and markedly from those on which societal arrangements depend (law, politics, economics, and, eventually, education) and more slowly from those rooted in local community life (marriage, the family, and personal morality).

Against the dominant trend, there are occasional revivals of religion. What such movements achieve has not always been contrary to secular tendencies. Reform movements that seek to purge religion of cultural, traditional, or superstitious accretations may be almost explicitly secularizing in their impact. Even religious revivals that seek a return to what are taken to be pristine ideas and single-minded dedication may have the incidental consequences of eliminating elements of folk religiosity, of widening the gap between religion and other social institutions, of more narrowly specifying religion's social role, and of encouraging privatization by emphasizing personal piety. Reform movements such as Renaissance Humanism, Lutheranism, Calvinism, Deism, and Unitarianism were all secularizing forces within Christianity, purging faith and practice of immanentist conceptions of deity, progressively applying the canons of reason to doctrine, and reducing mystical, miraculous, sacramental, and sacerdotal claims. Revivalism, recurrent in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Christendom (in Methodism, Holiness movements, and Pentecostalism, for example), ostensibly sought to enhance individual emotional commitment and certainly not to put religion to the test of rationality. Yet, expressive religiosity also came to demand discipline and order. When such movements, unencumbered by traditional liturgy and ritual, sought to socialize and organize their followings, they tended to do so by systematic rational procedures, sometimes adapting these from the secular society. Worship assumed forms closer to everyday styles, and the emphasis on subjective awareness, rather than on the supposed objective power of external ritual forms, led to a systematic demand for sustained and calculable performances from individual members. Arcane elements were replaced by goal-oriented methods of propaganda, mission, education, and mobilization. The demand for consistency, methodical regularity, and self-sustained individual responsibility conformed fully to the nature of demands being made in the context of secular employment. Even revivalist religion channeled secularizing tendencies into sections of the population as yet unsocialized.

CONTEMPORARY MANIFESTATIONS. Just as religious institutions have ceased to be central in society, and just as society no longer endorses religious goals as its primary ends, so religious consciousness, although less visible as a phenomenon, appears also to have diminished. These different aspects of religiosity reveal varying degrees of persistence. Thus, the formal civic representation of the church in public life is more evident in societies, such as England, with established national churches than in the United States or Germany. Religious schools are more numerous in France and in Belgium (where state and church institutions are alternatives in many departments of social organization) than in England or the United States. Church attendance is significantly higher in North America than in northern Europe, and church membership in the United States is significantly higher than in England. Such national variations reflect different patterns and degrees of secularization. They do not predicate specific consequences (such as, for instance, a growth of atheism) or a determinate loss in church affiliation or in religious observance, even though these consequences often occur. Nor do they preclude the endurance of enclaves of persisting spirituality or the emergence of new expressions of religious commitment. The patterns vary and, despite other indicators of secularization, spiritual survivals and new religious initiatives do occur.

Even so, none of these manifestations of religiosity refutes the evidence of general secularization. Indeed, as religion loses significance in the public arena, it may expected that it will appear correspondingly more conspicuous in private life, commitment becoming more distinctive as it becomes more exceptional. Again, in some societies, involvement in church life may fulfill cultural or social functions little related to intrinsic religiosity, and its persistence at relatively high levels of participation (for example, in the United States) may relate more to traditions of voluntarism, the need for community identity, or a generalized search for surrogate national ideology than to the societal, or even the personal, significance of religious faith. Numerous new religious movements have emerged in recent decades, and these may even be seen as a response to general secularization: Because they provide meaning, purpose, association, and support for particular sections of the population, their appearance testifies to the inadequacy, irrelevance, or ineffectiveness of the mainstream churches, at least for this particular clientele. Given the traditional exclusivism of Christianity, religious pluralism, to which these new movements are conspicuous testimony, occurs only where secularization is relatively far advanced.

Causes. To unravel completely the complex tissue of causal agencies contributing to secularization would be tantamount to reconstructing the entire web of social history. Any trend as pervasive and persistent in the course of human affairs as this one must be extensively related to all other facets of social change. This article has noted the way in which conceptual order was developed and rationalized within the evolution of religion itself. Intellectuals (who themselves were often religious functionaries) were responsible for early secularization, but the initial marginalization of all supernaturalism is attributable to a deepening and more reflective apprehension of the natural order. The beginnings of science and, more generally, the development of empirical inquiry, detachment in observation and experimentation, and the sensed need for ordered, general concepts (incipient universalism) introduced new assumptions about nature and society. The rational and systematic coordination of empirical knowledge led both to the confutation of received supernaturalist conceptions and to an enhanced awareness of humankind's own capacity to harness nature and to organize its own economic and social well-being. Eventually, skepticism became steadily institutionalized in science, providing an implicit challenge to untested and untestable hypotheses, even though many early scientists such as Roger Bacon, Johannes Kepler, Isaac Newton, and Michael Faraday were persons whose thought encompassed both rationalist and mystic concerns.

The application of science, particularly to productive activities, and the evolution of new techniques reduced humans' sense of dependence on the divine. As society became industrialized and urbanized, increasing proportions of the population came to live their lives and make their livelihoods in ways more removed from nature. The possible intervention of the supernatural into everyday life became less plausible except in the interstices of social organization, that is, in marginal pursuits and interests, and even here only for the minority. New ways of thinking evolved as humans came to inhabit an environment that was progressively more and more a product of their own making. Magical, mystical, and metaphysical patterns of thought became steadily less congruous, particularly in all manifestly functional activities, which are governed by well-articulated structures of specific roles. Humanity's increased capacity to assess and supply its own needs led to the assumption that social well-being depended not on God's providence but on social planning. Whereas in earlier epochs the past had dominated the present—a past sacralized by the supposedly timeless truths of religion—modern society was future-oriented, and that future was mundane and material, no longer the future of postmortem salvation in some supraterrestrial existence.

Social and geographic mobility, which occurred with increasing intensity in order to accommodate the productive demands and distributive rewards of technological society, promoted individualism and detached people from the stable communal contexts and the settled order of past generations in which religious predilections had themselves been rooted. Simultaneously, social organization became less dependent on the local community. The role-articulated social system necessarily made human beings into its calculable parts, while the social environment, following the natural environment before it, became increasingly human-made. Its rational structures elicited, through the role system, rational patterns of instrumental and impersonal action and neutralized, in relations with others, those personal, affective dispositions that religion had traditionally sought to summon and sustain. Eventually, even personal and intimate relationships became invaded by impersonal techniques—for example, in the matter of birth control—so that issues once thought to be very much in the realm of the sacred became matters of rational, calculated planning. Thus, the wider course of social change produced secular contexts and induced patterns of rational social action, as well as changes in individual consciousness that expunged ideas and assumptions about the supernatural and its derivative dispositions.

Secularization in Other Contexts. Secularization is a Western concept descriptive principally of a process that has occurred in Western society, most conspicuously during this century. Certainly, all the world religions in some degree disciplined and systematized immanentist conceptions and magical apprehensions and practices, but they did so with varying persistence and effectiveness. Hinduism and Buddhism, unlike Judaism and Christianity, absorbed or tolerated more primitive supernaturalism rather than excluding or eradicating it. Islam, although theoretically even more rigorously monotheistic than Christianity, lacked effective centralized organization with which to regulate local magical dispositions, which have widely persisted in Muslim societies into the present day. The long-term historical processes favoring secularization—the extension of rational principles to all areas of social life—were less intense and persistent in the Middle East and in Asia. Nonetheless, as industrialization occurs in developing societies, similar pressures accumulate toward the routinizing and rationalizing of work roles, social relationships, and the framework of social and civic order. Technological development brings similar consequences by reducing the significance of religion for the operation of the social system. Yet, since so many local manifestations of immanentist religiosity persist in these contexts, the paradox of a close juxtaposition of overtly magical practices alongside sophisticated industrial techniques is often found. The course of secularization follows a different path and occurs in different sequence from that familiar in the West.

In Latin America, profound religious changes have occurred with the still incipient process of technologization, and developments that were sequential in Europe have been contemporaneous on that continent. Thus, in recent decades there has been a rapid spread of Protestantism (apparently still carrying many facets of the work ethic); political radicalization has occurred (affecting the Roman Catholic church in significant respects); some separation of the Roman Catholic church from the dominant political structure has been effected; and quasi-magical movements (such as Umbanda and Kardecism in Brazil) have significantly rationalized their teaching and organization. Supernaturalism is being relocated within the social system by diverse patterns of change of a secularizing kind.

Some Islamic countries (e.g., Turkey, Egypt, and Tunisia) have undergone considerable secularization, but in others (e.g., Iran) the resurgence of fundamentalist movements indicates the strains accompanying this process and the extent to which, in the least sophisticated sections of society, religious dispositions can still be mobilized against modernization. A religion in which a specific and concrete system of law occupies so important a place cannot but find itself compromised by the exigencies of modern life. A similar situation, which is a source of conflict between orthodox and liberal (or nonreligious) parties, prevails in Israel, a secular state in which religion retains a unique ideological significance as the locus for a people so often exiled from its mythically promised land. In both Islam and Judaism, religiously enjoined behavior is subject to growing challenge from certain indispensable elements of a modern social system: a rational framework of law (both as an agency of social control and as a regulative instrument for contract); a systematic use of economic incentives and deterrents (whether through a free market or by socialist controls); the use of education to disseminate empirical knowledge, inculcate pragmatic attitudes, and teach rational procedures; and a political system concerned with economic well-being rather than with the implementation of religious principles. Nor is private life exempt from such challenges; for example, a prerequisite of rational social organization, in contradiction of Muslim and Jewish assumptions of male superiority, is equal rights for men and women, an idea that affects such matters as divorce, birth control, custody of children, remuneration for work, and even such customary matters as dress and comportment.

If secularization implied that what had decayed was necessarily a well-integrated and coherent religious tradition, then it might be maintained that this term was inappropriate to Japan, where diverse, loosely related, symbiotic religious traditions never constituted anything remotely equivalent to the "age of faith" of Christian Europe. Nonetheless, it is apparent from the plethora of its traditional magico-religious practices that Japan was eligible for secularization. The Japanese social system operates with only token reference to supernatural assumptions: The emperor is no longer divine. Most Japanese are only loosely attached to Buddhist temples or Shintō shrines. Ancestor worship has sharply declined in recent decades, and in the homes of young people, both the god-shelf (*kamidana*) and the memorial altar (*butsudan*) have become less common. Japan's technological advance has been so rapid, however, that magico-religious dispositions are still far from eclipsed; various magical practices continue in healing, fortune-seeking, and propitiatory acts, some of them institutionalized by the temples or in new religious movements. These phenomena occupy the interstices of institutional life, but they are as little accommodated to the increasingly rational socioeconomic order as is the Confucian precept of filial piety, which, today, is challenged by the premium that modern technology puts, not on age, but on youth.

In the largely village-centered society of India, religious dispositions remain perhaps more powerful than in most other parts of the world, even if they have less hold in the centers of population and industry. In a society with such strong religious and mystical traditions, the secularizing effects of social change are slow. Even so, the state now stands above religious particularism, declares itself to be a secular state, and has acted against religious tradition in official disavowal of the caste implications of Hinduism. Nor is secularization very apparent in Africa, where christianization and islamization are still proceeding and magic is far from displaced. If the term is to be applied to Africa, it must refer to a relatively early stage of a long-term historical process. Even among the dominant social strata in African states, not everyone has renounced magic, but as the echelons of technical and administrative personnel proliferate, education and experience of urban life are likely to make bush witchcraft less common. Christianity is still growing and still plays a significant role in various institutional spheres, particularly education and health, despite secularization of facilities by some states. Churches remain a powerful focus of voluntary allegiance and provide important links between local, poorly organized communal life and the incipient secularized societal system.

See Also Modernism; Modernity; Politics and Religion; Society and Religion.

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BRYAN R. WILSON (1987)
Revised Bibliography

SEDNA. The concept of an owner, or master, of the animals appears in many hunting and fishing societies. For the Inuit (Eskimo) of Canada and Greenland, for whom sealing was of vital importance, this powerful being was the mistress of seals and other sea animals. Franz Boas, in his monograph about the Inuit on Baffin Island (1888), gave her name as Sedna, which probably means "the one down there." Other Inuit groups referred to the Sea Woman under different names, such as *Nerrivik* (Polar Inuit, "the place of the food") and *Nuliajuk* (Netsilik Inuit, "the lubricious one").

An origin myth tells how Sedna was once a girl who was thrown overboard from a vessel. While she tried to hang on, her fingers were cut off at the joints. She sank to the bottom of the sea, the segments of her fingers turning into sea mammals, and she became the Sea Woman, who was in control of these animals. According to some Iglulik Inuit and Baffin Islanders, she also ruled over the souls of those who had gone to the undersea land of the dead.

Variants of this myth have been recorded from many localities in Greenland and Canada, but from Alaska only a single reference exists. In some variants an orphan girl is thrown overboard, but more often the myth begins with the story of a girl who was fooled into marrying a petrel that had taken on human form. When her father tried to rescue his unhappy daughter and to take her away, the petrel pursued them and stirred up a heavy storm. The father tried to pacify the petrel by throwing his daughter overboard. When she tried to cling to the side of the boat, her father cut off her fingers at the first joint. Her fingertips fell into the sea and became small seals. When she again grasped the side of the boat, her father cut off her fingers at the next joint; these segments fell into the sea and became big, bearded seals. When she still clung to the side of the boat with the stumps of her fingers, her father cut them off at the last joint, and these segments turned into walruses. Sometimes the order of the creation of the sea animals is different, with whales being created first (the girl's nails are associated with baleen), followed by small seals and bearded seals.

In some variants the girl's father forces her to marry a dog because she has refused to marry. Her children become Indians, white people, and so on. In this way the mother of the sea animals is made the mother of men as well; as such, she represents the female principle of the world.

According to Inuit belief, the Sea Woman had the power to withhold the sea animals when certain hunting, birth, and death taboos had been broken. In Greenland it was told that the transgressions would materialize as dirt in the Sea Woman's hair, making her feel uncomfortable; because she had no fingers, she was unable to comb her hair. During a séance, the shaman, whose job it was to rectify this situation, would undertake a journey to the Sea Woman while the others attending the séance would sit silently in the darkness. Before the shaman could comb Sedna's hair he had to fight her. Afterward, she would set the sea animals free, and the shaman would return—that is, wake from his trance—and make the good result known.

In Greenland, ritual wife-exchanges were sometimes held in order to please the Sea Woman and to ensure good hunting, but otherwise the Sea Woman's ritual role was less important there than in Canada, even if myths about shamans' dangerous travels to her undersea house were well known.

In Canada, powerful shamans would draw the Sea Woman up and make her promise to send seals, or the shamans would themselves visit her in the sea. Among the Copper Inuit a shaman might be possessed by the Sea Woman and during a séance tell what caused the lack of seals. Then the participants would quickly admit the taboos they had broken. The dangerous situation was neutralized when its cause was made known.

The Inuit on Baffin Island held great feasts, lasting several days, in which Sedna was ritually killed. These calendar feasts took place in the autumn when sealing was prevented by storms that broke the ice open. Sedna was harpooned through a coiled thong on the floor, which represented a seal's breathing hole. A shaman followed her and stabbed her, thereby cleansing her of the transgressions of taboos that had taken place the previous year (and thereby securing that she no longer would withhold the sea animals). When the lamps were lit again after the séance, blood was seen on the harpoon point and the knife; the blood was an omen of good hunting in the future.

One of the rites that took place as part of the Sedna feast at this change of season was a tug-of-war between those born in the summer and those born in the winter. The result predicted the weather. During the Sedna feast of Baffin Island, normal social bonds were temporarily dissolved when a ritual wife-exchange took place under the leadership of disguised figures representing spirits. These figures were later ritually killed and then revived with a drink of water in the same way as killed seals were given a drink.

Seals and other sea animals were the basis of the existence of nearly all Inuit. The relationship with the Sea Woman was therefore important but very sensitive: she not only controlled these animals, they originated from her.

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INGE KLEIVAN (1987)

SEFER YETSIRAH (Book of creation) is an ancient Jewish cosmogonical and cosmological treatise that forms part of the literature of Qabbalah; falsely attributed to Abraham the patriarch and to ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef, a second-century tanna. Composed of six short chapters, it describes God's creation of the world by means of the ten cosmic numbers (*sefirot*) and the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet.

The date of composition of *Sefer yetsirah* is the subject of controversy among scholars. Gershom Scholem assigns it to the tannaitic period (second to third centuries CE), whereas N. Aloni argued that it is a work of the eighth or ninth century, written under the influence of Arabic linguistics. The treatise is extant in two main versions, one short and one long, without major divergences in ideas between them. It has been translated into several European languages.

A major contribution of *Sefer yetsirah* is its discussion of the magical properties inherent in combinations of letters and the use of these combinations in the creation of the universe. The book's explanation of the proper pronunciation of the letters was the earliest phonetic theory introduced in Judaism. *Sefer yetsirah* also develops a system of correspondence between the Hebrew letters and the limbs of the human body.

The influence of the treatise was felt strongly in several trends in Jewish thought. It affected the development of early Jewish philosophy as in the case of Saʿadyah Gaon (882–942) and his contemporary Dunash ibn Tamim. Avraham ibn ʿEzraʾ wrote a commentary on it, although it has since been lost. Ashkenazic Hasidism, or German Pietists, of the early thirteenth century produced several commentaries, of which three are still extant: the first by Elʿazar of Worms, the second falsely attributed to Saʿadyah Gaon, and the third by Elḥanan ben Yaqar. Almost all the early qabbalists of Provence and Spain wrote commentaries in a theosophic vein; the important ones are those of the thirteenth-century qabbalists Yitsḥaq Sagi Nahor (also known as Yitsḥaq the Blind), ʿAzriʾel of Gerona, and Moses Nahmanides. According to the German pietists and some qabbalists, the permutations of letters and holy names discussed in *Sefer yetsirah* may be used by initiates to create a *golem,* or humanoid creature. The medieval qabbalists also developed elaborate theories of the *sefirot* as divine manifestations.

In the second half of the thirteenth century, *Sefer yetsirah* became the starting point of the ecstatic Qabbalah of Avraham Abulafia, who was influenced by Barukh Togrami's highly esoteric commentary *Maftehot ha-Qabbalah* (Keys of the Qabbalah). The most important of Abulafia's several treatises on *Sefer yetsirah* is *Otsar ʿeden ganuz* (Bodleian Manuscript 1580). The techniques of letter combination described in *Sefer yetsirah* were developed by Abulafia and his school for use in ecstatic practices.

The commentary of the fourteenth-century Spanish qabbalist Yosef ben Shalom Ashkenazi, erroneously attributed in print to Avraham ben David of Posquières, is a classic work that influenced the "practical Qabbalah" of Isaac Luria. Meʾir ibn Avi Sahula compiled in 1331 a lengthy and eclectic commentary (Rome-Angelica Manuscript 45). Since the fifteenth century only a few commentaries have been composed, notably those of Mosheh Cordovero in the sixteenth century and Eliyyahu ben Shelomoh Zalman (known as the Vilna Gaon) in the eighteenth century.

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MOSHE IDEL (1987)

SEIDEL, ANNA KATHARINA. Anna K. Seidel (1938–1991) was an eminent sinologist and international authority on Daoism. Seidel was born in Berlin and raised primarily in Munich. Although the family was Roman Catholic, one of Seidel's grandparents was Jewish and her parents sheltered two Jewish friends amid the dangers of Nazi Germany. This made a strong impression on Seidel, shaping a commitment to tolerance and to an international, rather than specifically national, identity. Her family was also the setting for her first, albeit informal, introduction to Chinese culture: a Korean boarder in the Seidel home taught Anna to write Chinese characters and rigorously drilled her on correct forms. Formal sinological training began at the University of Munich (1958–1960) and the University of Hamburg (1960–1961). Seidel was the recipient of a prestigious Studienstiftung des Deutschen Volkes scholarship award, and in 1961 she moved to Paris for graduate studies. She trained from 1961 to 1968 at the École Pratique des Hautes Études at the Collège de France. In 1969 Seidel was made a member of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient in Kyoto, Japan. She moved to Kyoto and lived there until her death twenty-two years later, with interludes in the United States as a visiting professor at the University of Hawai'i in 1978 and at the University of California, Santa Barbara, in 1988.

In Kyoto, Seidel worked at the École Française d'Extrême-Orient's Institut du Hōbōgirin with colleague Hubert Durt, where they continued Paul Demiéville's work redacting the *Hōbōgirin*, a multivolume encyclopedic work of Sino-Japanese Buddhist terms. In addition to her editorial work, Seidel contributed several articles to this encyclopedia, a testament to her expertise and interest in Buddhism. Seidel originally had been attracted to Buddhist studies as a topic for her graduate training. However, when she arrived in Paris she found that the most dynamic and relatively untouched field in Sinology was Daoism, and Paris had become the center of Daoist studies. It is for her work in Daoism that Seidel achieved her international reputation. Seidel's mentors, Max Kaltenmark and Rolf A. Stein, were leaders in this field, and Seidel quickly became a key figure in securing the preeminence of the French school in Daoist studies.

Seidel's contributions were made in conjunction with a radical redefinition of Daoism. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Daoism was understood to have two forms. One was the much admired, pure "philosophical Daoism" of Laozi and Zhuangzi, consisting of whimsical, engaging stories and a poetic, mystical vision of the cosmos. The other was deemed superstitious, the "religious Daoism" of imperial China, with esoteric ritual and "demon worship," which scholars disdained to study. Frequently this "debased Daoism" was not distinguished from the loosely organized and largely illiterate popular religious tradition. Beginning with the pioneering work of Henri Maspero in the 1920s, which was based on careful study of the hitherto ignored Daoist canon, Daoism came to be seen as a complex, coherent, integrated religion in which both religious and philosophical aspects were intertwined, forming what Seidel later called the "native high religion of China." Seidel's doctoral thesis, "La divinisation de Lao-tseu dans le taoïsme des Han" (The deification of Laozi in Han dynasty Daoism, 1969) is a powerful and influential study based on Han documents that demonstrates this approach. It shows a pivotal development in the history of Daoism: the transformation of the sage Laozi into a god. In addition to revealing the importance and centrality of Laozi as a deity, Seidel wrote seminal articles about another key but unstudied aspect of Daoism, the messianic teachings and millenarian appeal of Daoist schools. Seidel described the elaborate organization of the "Taocracy" of early imperial China that combined Daoism with the workings of state, as well as the important role of Daoism throughout imperial China as a more personal, often salvific religion that provided a means to cope with death and uncertainty.

Seidel's fresh approach was captured in the entry on "Taoism" in the fifteenth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1974). In addition to demonstrating the important developments in Daoism, the article emphasized the complementary, rather than antagonistic, relationship of Confucianism and Daoism. Seidel showed that both drew on an ancient Chinese cosmology and religiosity that posits the harmonious, organic working between the human realm and heaven and earth, mediated by the ruler; the cyclic nature of change and transformation of the cosmos; and the veneration of and protection afforded by ancestors. Other aspects of Daoism, such as the ecstatic states described in the *Zhuangzi* and the meditation and self-perfection exercises of later schools, had roots in ancient shamanic practices and ideas of bodily and mental self-perfection. In her work, Seidel demonstrated the profound but often subtle influence of Daoism on Chinese culture, including Daoism's interaction with the imported Indian tradition of Buddhism. Seidel's work was based on a thorough examination of documents that she analyzed in the appropriate historical and cultural context, occasionally drawing connections to contemporary phenomena.

Seidel not only promoted Sinology, but was passionate about cooperation between colleagues of different nationalities and the formation of a truly international scholarly community. To that end, her residence in Kyoto was famous as a haven and meeting place for young scholars from Europe, North America, and Asia. Seidel would encourage and assist young colleagues, often lending materials from her private library. She participated in the Bellagio conference on Daoism in 1968, and the Tateshina conference in 1972, events that saw a gathering of Daoist experts from around the globe. With Holmes Welch, to whom she was briefly married, Seidel co-edited a volume of essays that grew from the Tateshina conference, *Facets of Taoism* (1979). In 1985, Seidel founded *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, a highly regarded French and English bilingual journal published by École Française d'Extrême-Orient. An express aim of this journal was to bring together the scholarly communities from various continents. Seidel exemplified this in her own work, writing eloquently in German, English, French, and Japanese. She continued making scholarly contributions up until the end of her life, despite serious illness. Her "Chronicle of Taoist Studies in the West 1950–1990" was issued in print weeks before her untimely death in San Francisco in 1991 at age 53; "Mountains and Hells: Religious Geography in Japanese Mandara Paintings" and other articles were published posthumously.

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JENNIFER OLDSTONE-MOORE (2005)

SELK'NAM RELIGION. The Selk'nam (also known as the Ona) inhabited the largest island of the Tierra del Fuego archipelago, the Isla Grande. The population of the Selk'nam and their neighbors the Haush (Mánekenka), who lived in the southeastern tip of the island and had a similar culture, was estimated by Martin Gusinde (1931) at approximately four thousand in 1880. During the final decades of the nineteenth century most of the Indians either were slaughtered by the white colonizers or died of diseases brought by them. In 1919 Gusinde (1931) counted 279 Selk'nam and Haush. Fifteen years later, following several epidemics, there were fewer than one hundred. When this author first went to Tierra del Fuego in 1965 there were about fifteen Selk'nam and Haush, including the mestizos. In 1985 there were four, all of whom spoke fluent Spanish and three of whom also had some knowledge of the Selk'nam language. This author had the privilege of working, as an ethnologist, with the last woman shaman, Lola Kiepja, who died October 9, 1966, and during the years that followed with many of the remaining Selk'nam.

The Selk'nam and the Haush were strictly a land-bound people. They were seminomadic hunters. Their most valued game was the guanaco, genetically related to the llama, vicuña, and alpaca. As the Indians were frequently on the move, they used guanaco skins lashed to poles and trees for shelter, though on occasion they built log huts in the form of tipis. They divided their island into a number of territories, called *haruwen*, that were occupied by patrilinear and patrilocal exogamic lineages. Each *haruwen* was associated with one of the four cardinal points, called *shó'on* ("sky"). These were also exogamic units. Although the boundaries of each *haruwen* were well known, they were not always respected. Trespassing was one of the main causes of conflict among the Selk'nam. Another cause for contention was vengeance for the death of a kinsman alleged to have been killed by the supernatural power of a shaman of some other *haruwen*.

The Selk'nam language is related to that of the Tehuelche Indians, former inhabitants of the Patagonian mainland just north of the Strait of Magellan. The language spoken by the Haush has not yet been classified.

The oral tradition of the Selk'nam and Haush was extremely rich and vital. What is termed mythology and shamanism were to them not only explanations or symbolic interpretations of the why and how of "being in the world," but were also inspirations that generated inquiries, stimulated new questions, and revived debate on old ones in the group's constant search for comprehension of the ordering and contradictions of the intangible cosmos and its tangible earthly manifestations.

MYTHOLOGY. It is not surprising that Selk'nam and Haush mythology concerns itself with origins, of which the fountainhead is Pémaulk, or Témaukel, whom Gusinde identified with the supreme being. Unlike the God of the Judeo-Christian tradition, Témaukel is an abstract concept. Though Témaukel is the source of all that exists, it is not an anthropomorphic deity, and therefore it is not accessible to expressions of human aspirations and feelings.

Some of the more tangible subjects of the oral traditions are personages of the previous, prehuman epoch (*hóowin*); these superhuman immortals subsequently became transformed into elements of nature. Moon, as a mighty shaman and incontestable leader of the matriarchy, is the dominant figure of the prehuman epoch; she survives as the actual moon, the symbol of the female threat to the male domination of society, that is, of the dangers of a revival or resurgence of the mythological matriarchy of the *hóowin* epoch.

Because the world has become what it is, Moon has not forgiven the men for provoking her downfall and the destruction of the matriarchy over which she reigned as the all-powerful matron. Even as late as the nineteenth century when the moon entered into an eclipse, the men were wary, frightened, and even fraught with anguish. The reddish tint of the moon was interpreted as a sign of the blood of the men who were to be killed in coming battles and whose deaths were part of her vengeance. The shamans were thought to know by means of their dreams when such an eclipse was to occur. The spirits (*wáiuwen*) of the shamans soared into the heavens to visit her and to discover upon whom her wrath was to fall. Male shamans were in special danger of being "seized by the Moon," for she considered them to have caused her disgrace.

During an eclipse the people who lived nearby gathered to appease Moon's anger. If there were no shaman in camp during an eclipse, the people extinguished the fires in their dwellings and simply huddled under their guanaco capes until the danger passed, remaining silent or speaking only in whispers. When a shaman was present he ordered them to extinguish the domestic fires and to gather around him. The shaman daubed a red circle of paint on each cheek to represent the moon. He also donned a special headdress made of the feathers of a certain hawk. Meanwhile the women painted their bodies red and drew a white stripe across their faces from ear to ear, under the nose. While the women made sweeping movements toward the moon with long sticks or with their guanaco capes to drive away the eclipse, to appease Moon they chanted, "Beautiful heart. Ample face." Then the shaman sang to prepare his spirit to soar to Moon's sanctuary, imitating the call of the hawk as it flies high into the sky, just as the shaman's spirit traveled through the nocturnal heavens to Moon's abode. As he felt his spirit soaring, he repeatedly chanted, "Let us go to the Daughter of the Sky." Moon awaited the arrival of the shamans' spirits. If she disdained a shaman, his spirit would be drawn into her shadow, beneath her knees, and the shaman on earth would know that he was doomed to perish in an approaching combat. He would lament his fate, chanting, "Moon has my headdress beneath her knees." In protest, the women would insult her, singing, "Moon—burnt face. Moon—face full of rage" (Chapman, 1972, chants nos. 5 and 32, and 1982, p. 73).

RITUAL. During the great ceremony called Hain, which sometimes lasted a year or even longer, the young men (*klóketen*) were initiated into adult life. All the men had to be initiated and were obliged to submit to the ordeals and hardships of at least one, or even two or three, separate ceremonies—that is, until the elders were satisfied with their outward and inward signs of maturity. The Hain ceremony also sought to reinforce male dominance over the women. The men's power, the patriarchy, was thought to derive not from legitimacy of any kind, but rather from the fact that the men were in control of the secret that the superhuman men of legendary times (of *hóowin*) had wrested from the women. This had taken place at the time when the formidable male shamans shattered the matriarchy, forcing the great female leader and shaman, Moon, to flee to the heavens and killing all the women in the ceremonial hut, that is, all the females except for the young uninitiated girls and babies who were not in the hut.

The "secret" the men thought they were keeping from the women was that the spirits who appeared in the Hain ceremony were not supernatural, but only men disguised by masks and paints. All the spirits, male and female alike, were impersonated by the men except for the terrifying female from the underworld, Xálpen, a being reputed to be half flesh and half rock, human-eating, voracious, and raging. From within the ceremonial hut the men voiced her cries and the groans she made when she gave birth to a beautiful creature, the baby K'terrnen. Only rarely did Xálpen emerge from the ceremonial hut onto the "stage" in view of the women, and then always as an effigy (constructed of bows tied together to form a large oblong shape that was filled with branches, grass, and weeds to give it body and covered with guanaco hides). The men would push this "monster" onto the stage to overawe the women. But all was not frightening to the women. For instance, they chanted with joy when the baby K'terrnen (in reality a slim *klóketen* disguised with down pasted to his body and to his mask) appeared on the stage. They also were much amused by other frequently repeated scenes, such as that of the faithless wife, the lovely Kula (also a young *klóketen*), who descended from the heavens to be wooed by excited admirers, much to the chagrin of her pitiful husband, Koshmink, whose frenzies of jealousy provoked laughter and derision among the women.

The religious content of this ceremony may not be apparent from this very brief description, nor in the long, minutely detailed account of it provided by Gusinde (1931), but it is implicit in his study and is revealed by the information given the author of this article by some of the last Selk'nam (Chapman, 1982). It consists in the conviction of the women that the Hain spirits were real, even though they may well have known that the men were impersonating them (they were very cautious not to reveal their knowledge to the men). And the men also believed in the spirits. In the case of one very important spirit—Shoort, the husband of Xálpen—the "actor" had to perform certain rituals before disguising himself. That is, the ceremony was not simply an initiation ritual and a hoax to fool the women and justify the patriarchy, it was also an enactment, a representation, of sacred nature, and it was taken very seriously by all the participants, despite its moments of profane hilarity. The Hain ceremony is a beautiful example of the immense range of feelings and sentiments, of ritual and dramatic actions, a symbolic system can create.

The mourning ritual was another expression of religious faith. As the living grieved the loss of a beloved one, they darkened their bodies with black paint made from coals of the fire and chanted laments that each adult inherited from a near kinsman. Moreover, mourners had the right to chant a lament of the "sky" (*shó'on*) with which they were associated. While chanting, mourners at times would lacerate their bodies with sharpened stones or mussel shells until they bled profusely. Another sign of mourning was the shaved crown of the head. Individuals might chant and lacerate themselves for months or even several years following the death of a loved one, especially a son or daughter. When someone well known died, fires would be lit as signals to neighbors to come and participate in the ritual, and if the deceased had been a renowned shaman or hunter, part of the bush or forest would be set on fire to show that his land too was mourning.

The corpse was usually buried near the dwellings, but with no external evidence of the tomb on the surface of the ground. The site was respectfully avoided for some time. Also, the name of the deceased was not pronounced for years following his or her death. Although Gusinde (1931) states that the soul *(kaspi)* of the dead joined the supreme being, Témaukel, beyond the stars, my informants declared that the soul achieved a new being in the realms of the "skies" of infinity, the sky with which the deceased had been associated in life.

The last Selkʾnam shaman, Lola Kiepja, sang these words the year she died: "I follow the trail . . . of those who departed. . . . I want to speak of the *cordillera* [Span., "mountain range"]. . . . Those of infinity gave it [power] to me. I receive it. . . . They speak beautifully, they of infinity of Ham-nia [the *cordillera* of infinity of the western sky]" (Chapman, 1972, chants nos. 1 and 3).

SHAMANISM. The shamans (*xo'on*) were held in great esteem for their curing abilities and supernatural power, called *wáiuwen.* But they were also feared, especially those reputed to possess the faculty of throwing a sickness a great distance or provoking instant death simply by staring at a victim. Although all the shamans could cure by drawing sickness out of the body of the patient, not all could "kill" or inflict illnesses. Very few female shamans had such power, and most were exclusively dedicated to curing.

Before beginning to perform, the shamans would don special headgear made of guanaco hide adorned with feathers of certain birds and decorate their faces with painted designs. Supernatural power, *wáiuwen,* took possession of them only when they achieved a trance state, which was induced by self-hypnosis, through chanting and concentration. No stimulants were employed. Once they were in a trance, their singing and body movements would become almost automatic. Experienced shamans would usually require thirty to forty minutes to produce this state of mind. During the séances, they would jump and leap about, pounding their feet and even fists on the ground, vigorously shaking their fur capes to increase the excitement and as a kind of accompaniment to their chants. This sort of extreme tension, however, did not last for the entire period of the trance. In order to cure, the shamans had to pay strict attention to their patients.

Other than provoking death and curing, the shamans were expected to control the weather. Moreover, the male shamans were solicited to predict the outcome of a feud or combat and to aid in the hunt. Certain shamans achieved great fame by attracting whales to shore and killing them with invisible arrows. Others could bewitch guanacos, certain birds, and seals, and even create an abundance of mussels or fish.

The shamans were highly competitive and challenged one another to ordeals, each attempting to demonstrate the superior power of their *wáiuwen.* There were several sorts of ordeals, but only the most expert and daring male shamans would venture to perform the ordeal of the arrow called Kuash-metchen. The shaman, having achieved a trance state, concentrates on his body, more specifically, on "preparing" the canal through which he is to insert the arrow (made entirely of wood and smaller than those used in the hunt). Completely naked, he massages himself as he chants. When he feels ready, he pierces himself with the arrow just below the collar bone and cautiously draws the arrow under his skin, diagonally across his chest, removing it at his waist. Or he might insert the arrow on one side of his waist and move it across his body, extracting it at the opposite side. While performing the feat he chants repeatedly "My body is in darkness. I am myself piercing it with an arrow." (Lola Kiepja recorded this chant; see Chapman, 1972, chant no. 22.) Though the competing shamans would not necessarily meet nor perform at the same time, this feat had to be witnessed by a public. Of the three shamans whom my informants had seen or heard about performing the ordeal, one died from the wounds shortly thereafter.

The shamans, even the most renowned, did not form a privileged sector of society, and neither did the "fathers and mothers of *láiluka*" (the sages) nor the "fathers [*chan-ain*] and mothers [*chan-am*] of the word" (the prophets). The sages were specialists in the tradition called *láiluka,* which consisted of the myths of origin, accounts of supernatural heroes, and of other "events" that took place during the *hóowin* epoch. The prophets had knowledge of the more mystical tradition, which was concerned with the more abstract symbols, such as the "skies" and the "invisible *cordilleras.*" Moreover, they were deemed capable of predicting the future of the local group and of the society as a whole. According to my data, in the last half of the nineteenth century, the prophets were also shamans or sages and some were both. The prophets were at the summit of the prestige hierarchy, but like the shamans and the sages they received little or no material compensations, and they performed the same tasks as others of their sex. The societies of the Selk'nam and the Haush, though highly individualistic and competitive, were, on this level, egalitarian.

The religion (mythology, shamanism, and rituals) can be analyzed in terms of a coherently articulated symbolic system. Though constantly modified, their religious system maintained a traditional structure and also the basic concepts that probably formed part of a millenarian tradition characteristic of other indigenous groups in America, and in Asia as well, and of archaic cultures the world around.

SEE ALSO Tehuelche Religion.

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SEMANTICS conveniently divides into two branches, the theory of designation and/or denotation and the theory of meaning. The former constitutes *extensional,* the latter *intensional* semantics. Both branches are thus parts of the modern trivium of syntax, semantics, and pragmatics, which is often called "logical semiotics" for short. Semiotics is in fact modern logic in full dress, and is thought by many, especially perhaps at Oxford University, to occupy a central place in the study of the liberal arts. Syntax is the theory of signs as such and how they are interrelated to form longer signs, phrases, sentences, texts, and so on. In semantics, signs are interrelated in one way or another with the objects for which they stand. And in pragmatics the user of language is brought in fundamentally, as well as the various relations that he or she bears to signs and combinations of signs in particular occasions of use.

Signs are often understood in a broader, nonlinguistic sense to allow for "natural" signs, human artifacts, and the like. Thus a weathercock is a sign that the wind is blowing in a certain direction, smoke is a sign of fire, a stop sign on the highway is a sign to the driver, and so on. The study of nonlinguistic signs harks back to the medieval period and in the nineteenth century was given a considerable boost by the work of the American philosopher C. S. Peirce. Even so, it has not yet achieved the exactitude of logical semiotics and, pending such a development, remains somewhat controversial.

Designation is the fundamental relation between a sign and what it stands for. In the theory of meaning, much more is taken into account. Thus, in Frege's famous example, the phrases "the morning star" and "the evening star" designate the same object, the planet Venus, but differ considerably in meaning. What is meaning? No easy answer is forthcoming. In any adequate theory of it, however, account should surely be taken of the contexts, linguistic and nonlinguistic alike, in which signs or expressions are used, including, where needed, reference to the user.

A detailed history of semantical concepts, and of the broader domain of semiotical concepts, has not yet been written. Especially important here is the material in book 2 of Augustine's *On Christian Doctrine* and book 4 of Peter Lombard's *Book of Sentences* that sustains the doctrine of sacramental theology even to the present day. The contributions of the Scholastic logicians also constitute a rich mine of material that has not yet been sufficiently studied from a modern point of view. Logical semiotics, including semantics, has an important role to play in the study of the languages of theology, both those of fundamental theory and of particular religions.

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SEMIOTICS SEE STRUCTURALISM

SEN, KESHAB CHANDRA (1838–1884), Indian social and religious reformer. Sen represented for many the prototype of the Indian intellectual who adjusted to the intrusion of the West into Indian society in the second half of the nineteenth century. He graduated from Hindu College, Calcutta, in 1856, and shortly thereafter came under the influence of Debendranath Tagore, the leader of the Brāhmo Samāj. Sen became one of the most ardent advocates of social and religious change, arguing for the eradication of untouchability, the breaking of caste barriers, the education of women, and the ending of child marriage. He was also an advocate of vocational education as a means for improving the economic condition of the people. One of his innovations was the use of cheap, popular literature to spread his ideas; he started at least a dozen journals, including magazines for women, a children's paper, and a daily newspaper. It was, however, as an orator on religious themes and as an organizer of branches of the Brāhmo Samāj throughout India that he was best known.

In 1870 Sen went to England, where he met many of the great figures of the time, including John Stuart Mill, William Gladstone, and Queen Victoria. His popularity in England rested in part on two themes that became central to his preaching and writing. One was an emphasis on Christ as the greatest of religious teachers; the other was his declaration that the British conquest of India was intended by God to help India "in the path of moral, social, and political reformation." He was, however, one of the first to suggest that the West must also learn from India: "Let modern England teach hard science and fact; let ancient India teach sweet poetry and sentiment."

Sen gradually came into conflict with Tagore and the older members of the Samāj, for whereas they insisted that it was a movement within Hinduism and did not involve a break with traditional values and customs, he argued that the Samāj was outside Hinduism and was meant to unite all people in a universal brotherhood. In 1866 he took many of its members into a new organization which he called the Brāhmo Samāj of India. In 1878 the group divided again when Sen, who had preached for years against child marriage, married his thirteen-year-old daughter to the Hindu prince of Cooch Behar, a small princely state. Many of Keshab's followers left him to form a new organization, the Sādhāran Brāhmo Samāj.

For years Sen had been studying the teachings of the world religions, and in 1881 he proclaimed what he called the New Dispensation, which was a synthesis of Hindu Tantrism, *bhakti,* and Christian rituals, with an emphasis on divine revelation. The New Dispensation was the successor, Sen declared, of the earlier revelations—the Hindu, the Jewish, the Christian. Another theme of his preaching during this period was that the image of mother was a better symbol for the divine than the image of father, since a mother is "tenderhearted and indulgent."

After his death in 1884 little remained of Sen's many enterprises, but his importance is to be seen in the enormous appeal of his views to his generation, particularly young people. His vision of a new spirituality that encompassed both Christianity and Hinduism made it possible for Indians to believe, as he put it, that there could be a "European Asia and an Asiatic Europe, a commingling of oriental and occidental ideas and principles" and that he had summoned "ancient India to come into modern India."

SEE ALSO Brāhmo Samāj.

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SENG-CHAO SEE SENGZHAO

SENGZHAO (373–414), Chinese Buddhist monk of the Eastern Jin period (317–420) and scholar of the first Chinese Mādhyamika tradition. According to the standard biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan* (Biographies of eminent monks), Sengzhao was born in the vicinity of Chang'an (modern Xi'an) and as a young man earned his living as a transcriber and copyist. Exposed in this way to the Chinese classics, he initially acquired a secular education. He developed a liking for the writings of Daoism, the *Dao de jing* and the *Zhuangzi.* However, his biography states that upon reading the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra*, a text expressing the Buddhist concepts of emptiness (*śūnyatā*) and nonduality, he was converted to Buddhism and became a monk. Although his reputation in the Buddhist community of his day was initially established as a debater, Sengzhao's mark on Chinese Buddhism and his stature as a leading Buddhist literary figure were fixed as a result of his association with the famed Kuchean translator of Indian Mahāyāna Buddhist literature, Kumārajīva (344–413). From 401, when Kumārajīva arrived in Chang'an, Sengzhao served as one of his personal disciples and translating assistants. A gifted stylist, the author of a commentary on the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* and the writer of prefaces to Indian sūtras and *śāstra*s, Sengzhao was one of the most prolific Buddhist writers of his age. His fame as an independent thinker, however, rests primarily on four seminal essays, now collected as the *Zhao lun* (The treatises of Sengzhao): "Wisdom Is Not Knowledge," "Things Are Immutable," "The Emptiness of the Unreal," and "Nirvāṇa Is Nameless." Through these essays Sengzhao interpreted for his contemporaries the Mādhyamika teaching that Kumārajīva brought to China for the first time. Historically, the essays were formative in the thinking of the Perfection of Wisdom (Prajñāpāramitā) tradition during the sixth century, which later came to be known in East Asian Buddhism as the Sanlun (Three-Treatise) tradition. These essays also show that Sengzhao, while remaining true to the core of Buddhist teaching, utilized the insights of Daoism to expand and clarify certain problems in Buddhist texts and, conversely, utilized Buddhist texts to answer fundamental problems posed for him in Daoist writings. His use of a basic Daoist paradigm of "origin and end" (*benmo*) and its variants (*benji*, "root and trace," and its later cousin, *tiyong*, "essence and function") eventually became the basic framework for the analysis of Buddhist doctrine beginning in the Northern and Southern Dynasties period (420–589). Because of his innovative attempts to bridge Indian Buddhist and Chinese concepts and ideals, Sengzhao remains a pivotal figure in the transmission of Indian Buddhism to China as well as in the transformation of Buddhism into its Chinese form.

SEE ALSO Mādhyamika.

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SEPTUAGINT SEE BIBLICAL LITERATURE, *ARTICLE ON* HEBREW SCRIPTURES

SERAFIM OF SAROV (1759–1833) was a Russian Orthodox priest, monk, mystic, and renowned spiritual elder (starets); born July 19, 1759 in Kursk, central European Russia, and died January 2, 1833 at the Monastery of Sarov in the forests to the north. Serafim is regarded as the preeminent example of Eastern Orthodox spirituality in modern times. In a troubling time of westernization in Russia, he lived during and was himself part of a remarkable flowering of spirituality in Russian Orthodoxy centered around monastic communities such as Sarov and Optina, a spirituality that had deep roots in the Bible, the writings of the Greek fathers, the celebrated *Philokalia* (a collection of ascetic and mystical writings of the fourth to the fifteenth century), and the sacramental life of the Orthodox church. Serafim's impact on his contemporaries and his immense popularity with later generations won him canonization as a saint in 1903.

There is ample information about Serafim's life (including testimonies by eyewitnesses, fellow monks of Sarov, nuns of Diveevo Convent of which he was spiritual patron, and confidants such as N. Motovilov), but no critical edition of the primary sources has been published. Born Prokhor Moshnin, Serafim was attracted to the highly spiritual life of monasticism by virtue of a miraculous healing and other religious experiences in his youth. During a pilgrimage to the Monastery of the Caves at Kiev, he was advised by a starets to enter the Monastery of Sarov, at which he subsequently became a novice (1778), was later tonsured as monk Serafim (1786), and ordained a deacon in the same year. After his ordination to the priesthood (1793), he embraced the life of a hermit in absolute simplicity and spent most of his remaining forty years in various degrees of seclusion both without and within the Monastery of Sarov. However, during the period from 1815 to 1825, he was led by what he regarded as divine revelation to welcome visitors and to give counsel to numerous people, whom he often greeted with the words "My joy!" and "Christ is risen!," and thus himself became an influential starets.

A man of profound prayer and rare spiritual gifts of discernment, healing, and prophecy, Serafim's presence was marked by radiant joy, peace, and love that does not seek its own. He was a child of traditional monasticism and yet "transcended monasticism" (Paul Evdokimoff). His spirituality was thoroughly biblical, trinitarian, and Christocentric, based on the Jesus Prayer and the reading of the Gospels. Although he adopted austere monastic disciplines, he counseled others to practice ascetic labors according to their strength and to make the flesh a friend in performing virtues. He valued devotional practices and good works, but he taught that the essence of the Christian life, which he insisted was one and the same for all, was the experience of the grace of the Holy Spirit enkindling the heart with divine fire.

His brief work, *Instructions*, consisting of notes set down by the monks of Sarov, reflects the traditional teachings of the Eastern church fathers on such subjects as prayer, guarding the heart from evil, solitude, silence, and the active and contemplative life. His most sublime expression of Orthodox spirituality, as the remarkable *Conversation with N. Motovilov* shows, was his own personal testimony to the radiant presence of the Holy Spirit.

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SERGII (1867–1944), born Ivan Nikolaevich Stragorodskii, was a Russian Orthodox theologian and patriarch of Moscow, was one of the leading advocates of church reform in tsarist Russia. Among his earlier writings are *The Question of Personal Salvation* (Moscow, 1895), *Eternal Life as the Highest Good* (Moscow, 1895), and contributions to *Meetings of the Religious Philosophical Society* (Saint Petersburg, 1901–1903) and to *Responses of the Diocesan Bishops* (Saint Petersburg, 1905–1906). In 1927 Sergii formally acknowledged the U. S. S. R. as the true motherland of the Orthodox people and was enthroned as patriarch in 1943 with the approval of Joseph Stalin.

Sergii's purpose in accommodating himself to the Soviet regime was to enable the church to achieve at least a minimal visibility during the time of the Soviet holocaust. In signing the controversial Declaration of Loyalty in 1927, he agreed to publish a clear and unambiguous statement of loyalty to the Soviet regime, to exclude from church administration those hierarchs and clergy whom the government deemed unacceptable, as well as those who had emigrated abroad, and to establish defined relations with organs of the Soviet government. His declaration immediately caused confusion and schism within the church in Russia, for millions of the faithful, together with many leading bishops and clergy who were not yet in prison, refused to accept it.

The regime did not repay Sergii with freedom for the church. Instead, the church was subjected to repeated waves of persecution (1929–1930, 1932–1934, and 1936–1939), each more devastating than the last. By 1940, when Russia lay broken and exhausted by the Stalinist revolution, only a few of the prerevolutionary churches remained open and only a fraction of their clergy remained alive and at liberty.

Sergii gambled that the Soviet system would either collapse or moderate enough to permit the church to function as an autonomous institution in accordance with canonical norms. In the meantime, he publicly denied that the church was being persecuted and became a subservient supporter of Soviet propaganda.

Soviet attitudes toward the church softened in 1939 and 1940 for two reasons. In 1939, as a result of the Stalin-Hitler pact of mutual nonaggression, the U.S.S.R. annexed eastern Poland, which contained a substantial Orthodox population. Persecution diminished as the regime sought to utilize the church in integrating the newly acquired population into the U.S.S.R. Further, in 1941, Germany attacked the U.S.S.R. and quickly overran large land masses. In the occupied areas the church speedily revived, and Stalin knew that Sergii was the only one who might be counted upon to defend Moscow's interests behind German lines.

In 1942, Sergii published *The Truth about Religion in Russia* in which he denied that there was any persecution in the U.S.S.R. In September 1943, he was summoned by Stalin and granted permission to formally reestablish the patriarchal administration. Churches were reopened on the Soviet side of the war frontier, and plans were laid to reestablish a network of seminaries and theological academies. Most of the surviving schismatic bishops recognized Sergii's administration before his death in May 1944. Although he died before the details of his agreement with Stalin could be accomplished, Sergii had outwaited the regime and had ensured a period of revival and stabilization for the church that lasted until the outbreak of the persecution by Khrushchev (1959–1964).

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SERGII OF RADONEZH (1322?–1392) was a Russian Orthodox monastic saint and founder of Holy Trinity-Saint Sergii Monastery (in present-day Sergiyev Posad). The life of Sergii is known largely from two fifteenth-century hagiographical accounts, supplemented by Russian medieval chronicles. Sergii himself wrote nothing.

Sergii (in secular life known as Bartholomew) was born in the principality of Rostov, but early moved with his family to the Muscovite village of Radonezh. In search of the ascetic life, he persuaded his already tonsured brother Stephen to venture with him into the neighboring forests. The severity of their life as hermits caused Stephen to withdraw within the year. For the succeeding two or three years (c. 1345–1348), Sergii tested his vocation alone. However, news of the solitary spread, and he attracted a company of independent monks around the wooden Trinity Church he had erected with his brother. In about 1353 Sergii accepted abbacy and the priesthood.

Soon Sergii received a missive from the patriarch of Constantinople urging him to establish a community rule and thus to transform an essentially idiorrhythmic monastery into a cenobitic one. Although Sergii's monastery may not have been the first Russian monastery of the early Muscovite period to accept such a transformation (c. 1356), it was to be the most influential in so doing. It provided the model (and the founding fathers) for thirty such monasteries in Sergii's lifetime, and perhaps five times that number by the middle of the following century.

The establishment of community life at the Trinity Monastery encouraged not only its spiritual but also its economic development; perhaps for this reason the Muscovite state acted both as Sergii's patron and his client. Sergii's spiritual authority was seen to fit him for several demanding diplomatic tasks. The blessing that he gave Grand Prince Dmitrii (1380) to proceed against the Mongol horde acted as a vital spur to the Muscovite troops and helped to ensure their victory in the battle of Kulikovo, a watershed in Russian history.

But Sergii cannot be described simply as a political saint. When he was offered elevation to a bishop's (and in due course to the metropolitan's) chair he refused it firmly. Regardless of office held or proffered he continued to dress in the roughest of robes and persist with the most menial of tasks. His humility was deep seated: It informed his prayer and predisposed him to visions. These visions were several and various. A number were centered on light or fire, and two of these were linked with the celebration of the Eucharist. But the one most carefully described in the lives of Sergii involved the appearance of the Mother of God, who assured Sergii that his monastery was under her direct protection.

Such visions had no precedent in Russian hagiography, and even elsewhere precise parallels are difficult to find. It may be that they are among the first fruits of that school of mystical (hesychast) prayer that was beginning to make inroads into Russia from Mount Athos in Greece.

Sergii died in 1392. His relics were exposed for veneration in 1422. The monastery (soon to be renamed the Trinity-Saint Sergii Monastery) expanded, and by 1561 it was designated first among all Russian monastic communities. Catherine the Great confiscated much of its great landholdings, but it was the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 that challenged its very existence. However, the revival of church life during the war years (1941–1945) eventually promoted the reopening of the monastery and the restoration of the relics to the church (1946). The tomb of Saint Sergii once again attracts countless pilgrims year after year.

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SERGEI HACKEL (1987)

SERPENTS SEE DRAGONS; SNAKES

SERRA, JUNIPERO (1713–1784), was a Spanish founder of Franciscan missions in California. Educated at the Royal and Pontifical University of Palma in Spain, Serra was a tenured professor of philosophy there when in 1749 he volunteered to go to Mexico as a missionary. There he served his apprenticeship among the Pamé Indians of Sierra Gorda (1750–1758) and in Baja California (1767–1769).

In 1769, when Spain decided to occupy Alta California to prevent Russian or English encroachments, Serra established his first mission there at San Diego, on 16 July. In all, he began nine missions on carefully selected sites after first obtaining the consent of the natives concerned.

After a careful survey of the territory from San Diego to San Francisco, he formed a plan for the development of the whole area. It was a vision not of isolated missions and military presidios but of an interrelated system of ports, presidios, towns, and missions. In 1773 Serra traveled the 1,500 miles to Mexico City to consult with the viceroy, Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúla. In a series of meetings, Serra discussed his plan and his needs with Bucareli and his staff. At their suggestion he wrote a brief in thirty-two sections. Serra's vision was to become the catalyst of the official program.

First, there was a need to regulate relations among the ruling military, the missionaries, the Indians, and the townspeople. This regulation was formulated in the Reglamento Echeveste (July 1773), which was to become the basic law of the state of California. Next, a supply system had to be invented, with the procurement and shipping office in Mexico through the port of San Blas, for a fleet to transport people, animals, and goods to and from California. Such a system was established by the end of the year 1773. Serra also needed mules and oxen to put his California society on wheels. He was granted 150 mules; it was hoped that more animals would be shipped on the hoof via an overland route, then being explored. In January 1776 the first overland expedition arrived at Mission San Gabriel from Tubac, Arizona, bringing 244 people together with provisions and herds of horses and cattle. Later arrivals permitted the founding of four towns, among them San Francisco and Los Angeles.

Above all, Serra needed role models for his neophytes, to train them in the crafts and in Christian living. Five artisans were granted to each mission for this purpose. Only married couples would be accepted as settlers: This set an example of a Christian family as the foundation of a stable society. The money for all these expenditures was to come from the Pious Fund of expelled Jesuits. California remained within the Spanish empire until it became part of the United States in 1850. In 1931, the state of California placed a statue of Serra in Washington, D. C.

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ANTOINE TIBESAR (1987)

SERVETUS, MICHAEL (1509?/11?–1553), born Miguel Serveto y Conesa was a Spanish biblical scholar, physician, and theologian. Servetus was born in Villanueva, Spain.

By the time he was fourteen, Servetus had learned Latin, Greek, and Hebrew and was ready to participate in the burgeoning new field of biblical scholarship. Spanish clerics were in the forefront of the movement, Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros having published an edition of the Bible in three ancient languages, using the oldest available manuscripts, in 1522. Though extreme religious intolerance prevailed, it was still remembered in Spain that at one time Christians, Jews, and Muslims had lived and studied side by side, producing great works of literature, science, and mysticism. As Jews were crowded out of Spanish life, some became Christian. Not fully accepted, they were called *conversos.* According to Roland H. Bainton's *Hunted Heretic: The Life and Death of Michael Servetus, 1511–1553* (1953), it was Bishop Paulus of Burgos, a *converso,* who had secretly and illegally instructed the young Servetus in Hebrew. The dream of a future when religious differences were again tolerated and the vision of a Christianity purified by going back to its roots guided Servetus's work as biblical scholar and theologian. The humanistic style of scholarship, based on observation and argumentation, served not only his theological inquiries but also his study of medicine.

Miguel Serveto y Conesa went to Toulouse at the age of seventeen to study law. Very soon he discovered biblical studies and theology, latinized his name, and began to develop his own ideas about the way Christianity had been before the Council of Nicaea (325). During his studies in Toulouse, he became convinced that the dogma of the Trinity is not based on Scripture.

Another turning point occurred when he traveled with his patron, Juan de Quintana, to the coronation of Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor in 1529. Seeing the splendor and temporal power of the pope, he abruptly left the service of Quintana, going to Basel, Switzerland, where the Reformation was already under way. The toleration he sought, however, did not exist there, either. His first book, *De Trinitatis erroribus* (1531), was written as a coda to a long argument with his host in Basel, Oecolampadius.

DE TRINITATIS ERRORIBUS* AND *DIALOGORUM DE TRINITATE. In *De Trinitatis erroribus,* he argued that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God by nature (not by adoption), and that he is God by grace, whereas the Father is God by nature. Servetus emphasized a distinction between the Word and the Son. The Word had existed from eternity as one mode in which God expresses himself. When the Word was completely incarnated in the man Jesus, the Son came into being. The Holy Spirit is another mode in which God expresses himself among humans, but it is not a separate person. Servetus believed that Scripture speaks of the three persons of the Trinity as the varying appearances of God. This heretical view has been called modalistic trinitarianism, with a subordinationist Christology. Both in *De Trinitatis erroribus* and in later works, Servetus drew on passages from the ante-Nicene fathers Irenaeus and Tertullian to support his views.

Servetus's book aroused so much opposition that in 1532 he published *Dialogorum de Trinitate,* in which he made some conciliatory changes without altering his basic conclusions. Pursued by the Inquisition, he assumed the name Michel de Villeneuve and found work as an editor in Lyons, France. In 1538 he began medical studies in Paris, upon completion of which he became physician to the archbishop of Vienne, France, still under his assumed name. Both his editorial and medical careers were distinguished. Among his editorial contributions, the 1535 edition of Claudius Ptolemy's second century *Geography* and the 1540 edition of the Santes Pagnini *Bible* were particularly noteworthy.

CHRISTIANISMI RESTITUTIO. In 1546 Servetus sent parts of an early draft of *Christianismi restitutio* to John Calvin; the revised book was published anonymously in 1553. In *Christianismi restitutio,* Servetus modifies and supplements the views expressed in his previous works. He adds an emanationist philosophical context, a millenarianist historical view, and a celestial flesh Christology. In his emanationist philosophy, he sees God as above light, above essence, and as describable only in negative terms. According to Servetus, God relates to the world through a continuum progressing from God's hiddenness to his participation in the world. Servetus uses light symbolism to describe this continuum. Everything in this unfolding emanation is part of God, including the Logos (God's internal reason), Wisdom (ideas that are the exemplars of things), and the Word (through which God made the visible world appear). The Word forms a bridge between the invisible world and the visible world, for it is both immaterial and physical. Thus, the essence of God is in everything. This view is not pantheistic, for in it the world is dependent on God for its being; yet God in his being extends beyond the world—God is not dependent on the world.

The millenarian theme appears in the conflict between God's modalistic presence in Christ and Satan's modalistic presence in the Antichrist. This conflict, pursued throughout five ages of world history, began in the garden of Eden when God's creation, including humankind, came under the control of the serpent, and God withdrew. The conflict continued when, after the incarnation, the Antichrist came to the papal throne, whereupon Christ withdrew from the world. All Christian history since the time of Constantine has been under the reign of the Antichrist. In the imminent fifth age, the archangel Michael will destroy Satan, releasing Christ's power.

Prior to the incarnation, Christ was prefigured in the Word. In the incarnation the divine nature mixed with (not united with) Christ's human nature, the mortal body of the man Jesus. Christ came through Mary, but he did not receive Mary's substance, for his divine nature and his human nature or flesh were both of heavenly origin. After the resurrection, Christ was again the Word with a celestial nature, that of God's heavenly substance.

All persons receive a first grace, which comes through the air as the spirit of God (to be distinguished from the Holy Spirit). Receiving the first grace makes it possible to live in accordance with codes of morality but is not sufficient for divinization. Christ's celestial nature makes possible a second grace, by which humanity is regenerated and physically transformed.

Servetus relates these themes to his view of the sacraments. In baptism the soul receives illumination, a wisdom from the Holy Spirit that combats Satan's serpentine wisdom. Baptism is a covenant with God and a commitment on the part of the person; hence, it is not for infants. The Lord's Supper is a sacrament involving the real presence (not only a symbolic presence) of Christ's celestial flesh in the bread and wine. This sacrament effects in the faithful both a spiritual and a physical change. Participants are changed to the nature of God, divinized.

Christianismi restitutio contains Servetus's discovery of the pulmonary circulation of the blood, a result of his medical dissections. This discovery is presented in theological terms to illustrate how each person receives God's spirit just as air circulates through the body. (A thirteenth-century Arab, Ibn al-Nafis, preceded Servetus in his medical discovery, but Servetus's description was more explicit.)

A copy of *Christianismi restitutio* fell into the hands of a Catholic named Guillaume de Trie, who suspected that Servetus was its author. Soon the Inquisition had arrested both Servetus and the printer. Servetus escaped but was apprehended in Geneva. He was tried, condemned for antitrinitarianism and opposition to infant baptism, and burned at the stake on 27 October 1553 at Champel, near Geneva.

Despite the attempts by the publisher and the Roman Catholic Inquisition to destroy every copy of *Christianismi restitutio,* a few copies survived. Servetus's execution gave rise to an important controversy among Protestant church leaders over religious toleration, initiated by the publication in 1554 of *De haereticis, an sint persequendi,* written principally by the French Protestant theologian Sébastien Chateillon under a pseudonym, and by other publications. Servetus's antitrinitarian views influenced prominent leaders in the antitrinitarian movements in Poland and Transylvania, but these leaders did not accept his emanationist philosophy or his celestial flesh Christology. These latter themes were not among the sections of *Christianismi restitutio* that were reprinted in 1569 in *De regno Christi.*

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JOHN C. GODBEY (1987)
MARY WELLEMEYER (2005)

SETH. In Egyptian mythology Seth figures prominently, usually as a villain. He was the son of Geb and brother of Osiris. Jealous of Osiris' rule of the earth, he tricked and slew him, dismembered his body, and scattered the parts. Isis, the sister of both and consort of Osiris, bore Osiris' son, Horus, who had to avenge the death of his father. According to late mythological stories, the case was judged by the tribunal of gods with some contests that showed that the cleverness of Horus was certainly more than a match for the strength of Seth. From earlier mythical allusions in mortuary texts, it is known that Horus emasculated Seth and lost his eye in the conflict. For his role in this drama, Seth became a symbol for evil, trickery, blundering, and blustering. He was identified with the Mesopotamian storm god and was a supporter of Egypt's Asian enemies.

The animal representation of Seth is readily recognizable from its tall, upright, flat-topped ears and long, upright tail divided at the top, but it is not certainly identifiable. It usually appears to be some sort of hound or jackal, but is occasionally more like a hippopotamus, a pig, or an ass. If one single animal were intended, perhaps it would be a feral hog.

From earliest times there seems to have been some connection between Seth and Ash, a Libyan deity. Even before the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt there were probably shrines to Seth in both south and north. Ombos was his principal cult center, but it has provided almost no information about the god or his cult. He is usually associated with the north, and his defeat by Horus represents the conquest of Lower Egypt (the north) by Upper Egypt (the south). The myth of the conflict between Horus and Seth may also have been associated with a struggle over the right of succession, that from father to son winning out over that from brother to brother.

Apparently Seth was not always an evil figure in Egyptian history. During the second dynasty one king identified himself with Seth rather than Horus, and another identified himself with both gods. Later the kings of the fifteenth and sixteenth dynasties were regarded as Sethian, but this is easily explained by their foreign origin. In the New Kingdom Seth was regularly shown as one of the gods accompanying the sun god, Re, on his bark sailing through the day and night skies. In this case Seth clearly assists Re, and the evil being to be opposed by spells or force is Apopis, the serpent who threatens to devour the sun. In the nineteenth dynasty, not only were divisions of the Egyptian army named for Seth, but two kings also took Sety as their throne name.

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LEONARD H. LESKO (1987)

SETON, ELIZABETH (1774–1821), was the first American-born Christian saint, and first founder of a sisterhood in the United States. Elizabeth Ann Bayley Seton was born probably in New York City, the second daughter of Richard Bayley by his first wife, Catherine Charlton. Little is known of her formal education save that she attended a school called Mama Pompelion's, learning to play the piano and to speak French.

On January 25, 1794, at the age of nineteen, she married William Magee Seton, a young New York merchant. The union produced five children. In 1797 she cooperated with Isabella Marshall Graham in forming a society to aid destitute widowed mothers. In 1800 she came under the influence of John Henry Hobart, an assistant at Trinity (Episcopal) Church in New York City, and under his guidance her spiritual life deepened perceptibly.

The next nine years tested these spiritual resources to the full. Her husband's business failed, along with his health. He died while on a trip to Italy in 1803. While waiting for passage back to New York, she was befriended by Antonio and Filippo Filicchi and their wives, who introduced her to Roman Catholicism. On her return to New York on June 4, 1804, she entered a period of religious indecision, torn between the entreaties of Hobart and her Protestant friends and relatives, and the urgings of the Filicchis and the American Catholic clergy enlisted by them to sway her. On March 14, 1805, she became a Roman Catholic.

Unable to earn support for herself and her five children in New York, she agreed to the proposal made by William Valentine DuBourg that she come to Baltimore to start a Catholic school for girls. Having already placed her two sons in Georgetown Academy, she embarked for Baltimore with her three daughters on June 9, 1808. Her year there as mistress of the Paca Street School confirmed her vocation to educate girls and found a community, the Sisters of Charity of Saint Joseph. In June–July 1809, she moved both the school and the sisterhood to Emmitsburg, Maryland, where she spent the remainder of her life.

In Emmitsburg, Saint Joseph's School for boarders from more prosperous families soon furnished sufficient income to extend free schooling to needy girls of the local parish, which later earned Seton the title "foundress of the parochial school system in the United States." Adopting a modified rule of the Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul in 1812, her sisters rapidly extended their work to include nursing the sick, caring for orphans, and aiding the poor. The community spread to Philadelphia (1814), New York (1817), and Baltimore (1821) under her guidance. Since her death on January 4, 1821, her work has been spread by her spiritual daughters not only at Emmitsburg but also by the New York Sisters of Charity of Mount Saint Vincent-on-the-Hudson, the Cincinnati Sisters of Charity of Mount Saint Joseph, the New Jersey Sisters of Charity of Convent Station, the Pennsylvania Sisters of Charity of Seton Hill at Greensburg, and, in Nova Scotia, the Sisters of Charity of Halifax.

On February 28, 1940, the Roman Congregation of Rites formally introduced her cause for canonization. On December 14, 1961, the validity of two miracles was confirmed, and on March 17, 1963, John XXIII beatified her. On September 14, 1975, Paul VI proclaimed her Saint Elizabeth Ann Seton.

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ANNABELLE M. MELVILLE (1987)

SEVENERS See SHIISM, *ARTICLE ON* ISMĀʿĪLĪYAH

SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISM.

The origins of Seventh-day Adventism run back to the interdenominational Millerite movement in the United States in the early 1840s, when William Miller, a Baptist lay minister and farmer, sought to rekindle a "second awakening" by predicting that Christ would soon return to earth. On the basis of *Daniel* 8:14 ("Unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed"), he calculated that the end would come "about the year 1843"—2,300 years after Artaxerxes of Persia issued a decree to rebuild Jerusalem. Following a series of failed time-settings, Millerites fixed their hopes for the second advent of Christ on October 22, 1844, the Day of Atonement, which, according to the Jewish calendar, fell on the tenth day of the seventh month. The "great disappointment" that resulted from this miscalculation splintered the movement into several factions. The majority, including Miller, admitted their exegetical error but continued to expect Christ's imminent return; eventually they coalesced into the Evangelical Adventist and Advent Christian churches. A much smaller number embraced the suggestion of Hiram Edson, an upstate New York farmer, that only the event, not the date, had been wrong: "that instead of our High Priest *coming out* of the Most Holy of the heavenly sanctuary to come to this earth on the tenth day of the seventh month, at the end of the 2,300 days, he for the first time *entered* on that day the second apartment of that sanctuary and that he had a work to perform in the Most Holy before coming to this earth." Millerites of this persuasion formed the nucleus of what, in the early 1860s, evolved into the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

THE FORMATIVE YEARS: 1844–1863. Edson's sanctuary doctrine, which held that Christ in 1844 inaugurated a new era in the history of salvation, became one of the most distinctive and central tenets of Adventist theology. However, other beliefs—for example, belief in the "shut door," the seventh-day Sabbath, and the gift of prophecy—brought them their greatest notoriety and earned them the name "sabbatarian and shut-door" Adventists.

Early beliefs that October 22 marked the date when God shut the "door of mercy" on all who had rejected the Millerite message gradually gave rise to an open-door theology and to evangelization. The observance of Saturday as the Sabbath, as required by the Ten Commandments and practiced by the Seventh Day Baptists, became the most obvious symbol of Seventh-day Adventist distinctiveness and served as a means by which legalistic members sought to attain the higher morality expected of God's people at the close of history.

Shortly after the "great disappointment," Ellen Gould Harmon, a sickly, introverted adolescent ecstatic from Portland, Maine, began having visionary experiences that validated the sanctuary, shut-door, and Sabbath doctrines. The Millerite movement produced numerous mystics and trance mediums, and the believers in Portland were especially infamous for what Millerite publicist Joshua V. Himes called their "continual introduction of visionary nonsense." Thus, Ellen Harmon would probably have been lost in the crowd of enthusiasts had she not been discovered by James White, a young Adventist preacher and teacher, who became her protector, her promoter, and, in 1846, her husband. Together, James and Ellen White built the Seventh-day Adventist church, James serving as organizer and entrepreneur, Ellen as exhorter and visionary. The Adventist brethren, under James's leadership, functioned as the sect's theologians and biblical exegetes, frequently relying on Ellen's "gift of prophecy" to support their doctrinal positions. Committed to *sola scriptura* biblicism, Adventists regarded Ellen White's charismatic role as confirmatory rather than initiatory; her testimonies related to the Bible as a "lesser light to the greater light." Despite sporadic questioning of her authority, even by her husband, her visions helped to identify Adventists as God's end-time people and thus assured her of a singularly precious place in Adventist history.

In many respects, Seventh-day Adventism developed as a typical nineteenth-century American sect, characterized by millenarianism, biblicism, restorationism, and legalism. Its Old Testament orientation, its self-image as the chosen people, its sabbatarianism, and its sense of cosmic destiny all betrayed the influence of eighteenth-century American Puritanism, while its Arminianism (which rejected Calvinist predestinarianism in favor of free choice of salvation), its doctrine of soul-sleep (asserting that human beings have no separate "spirit" and therefore the dead have no consciousness until the resurrection), its concern for religious liberty, and its adoption of medical and educational reforms also revealed it to be a product of antebellum evangelicalism. Adventists, however, especially during their early years, stressed their distinctiveness and separateness rather than their many points of similarity with the religious landscape of nineteenth-century America.

By 1850, sabbatarian Adventists, still looking for the imminent appearance of Christ, composed a "scattered flock" of about two hundred loosely structured sectarians who sought to restore such primitive Christian practices as foot-washing, greeting with the "holy kiss," and calling each other "brother" and "sister." As time passed uneventfully, their radical millenarianism, which had led some to predict the end in 1845, 1847, and 1851, gave way to a more realistic attitude. As early as 1848 Ellen White had had a vision in which she saw Adventism spreading "like streams of light. . .clear round the world," a scene that implied long-range involvement in earthly affairs. In 1850 her husband began editing *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald,* which became the official Adventist organ. In 1855 the Whites moved on to the fresher evangelistic pastures of southern Michigan, where the church eventually enjoyed enough material prosperity to elicit, in 1857, a notable jeremiad from the prophetess on its "Laodicean condition," a phrase referring to the "lukewarm" church described in *Revelation* 3:14–18.

By the late 1850s the institutionalization of Seventh-day Adventism was well under way. In 1859 the Adventists adopted a plan of "systematic benevolence" to support a clergy; the next year they selected the name Seventh-day Adventist; by 1863 there were 125 churches with about 3,500 members. That year they organized a General Conference and invited James White to serve as their first president, an honor he temporarily declined. In 1866, in the wake of an epidemic of sickness among church leaders and Ellen White's discovery of the virtues of the "water cure" and vegetarianism, the Adventists established a sanatorium at Battle Creek, Michigan—the Western Health Reform Institute—and began publishing the *Health Reformer,* a monthly magazine. John Harvey Kellogg, who became the leading force in Adventist health reform, developed several new food products, among them ready-to-eat dry cereals. His brother, Will Kellogg, established the company that created a mass market for this new way of eating breakfast.

YEARS OF TRANSITION: 1863–1915. The years following the formal organization of the Adventist Church and its emergence as an established sect saw American Protestantism split into modernist and fundamentalist parties, divided by such issues as evolution and higher criticism. Not surprisingly, Adventists in this period generally, but idiosyncratically, followed the fundamentalists. Because the Adventists observed the seventh-day Sabbath as a memorial of creation, and because Ellen White insisted on a recent six-day creation, they rejected all compromises with evolutionary biology and geology. They also rejected higher criticism in favor of biblical inerrancy, but they displayed less concern about the integrity of the scriptures than about the writings of Ellen White, whose apotheosis occurred during this period. For years Ellen White had lived in the shadow of her husband, providing visionary endorsement for the opinions of the founding fathers of Adventism. But after James's death in 1881 she assumed a more assertive role, directing the activities of a younger generation of male leaders, who quickly learned to clear matters of doctrine, development, and policy with the prophetess. By the time of her death in 1915 she had, despite disclaimers to the contrary, become the real authority for Adventists in matters of behavior as well as belief.

Acceptance of Ellen White's prophetic role set Adventists apart from other fundamentalists, as did their peculiar doctrines regarding the sanctuary and the Sabbath. In fact, nothing distinguished Adventists as a separate religious community as much as their Sabbath-keeping, which led them to distrust not only evolutionists (who undermined belief in a literal Sabbath) but Catholics (whom they blamed for changing the Sabbath from Saturday to Sunday), labor unionists (who, they feared, would force them to work on Saturday), and blue-law-minded evangelical Christians (who, the prophetess said, would pass a national law requiring Sunday observance). Efforts to enact such legislation in the 1880s, coinciding as they did with hard-labor sentences for up to fifty church members who violated blue laws in the South, proved to the Adventists that they were indeed living in the "last days."

Adventist theology shifted in the 1880s, when two West Coast editors, Ellet J. Waggoner and Alonzo T. Jones, both still in their thirties, challenged the legalistic emphasis that had come to characterize the sect. In opposition to General Conference leaders, who maintained that salvation depended upon observing the Ten Commandments (especially the fourth), Waggoner and Jones followed evangelical Christians in arguing that righteousness came by accepting Christ, not by keeping the law. At a pivotal general conference in 1888, Ellen White broke with the Battle Creek administrators—and the view of her late husband—to endorse this controversial "new light," a move that symbolized her "coming out" as the Adventists' matriarch. But despite her pronouncements in favor of "righteousness by faith," the issue of grace versus law remained a sensitive one within Adventism.

For decades Adventists confined their evangelistic efforts almost exclusively to North America. In the early 1870s, however, church leaders became convinced that they had an obligation to carry their message "into all the world" (*Mk.* 16:15), and in 1874 they sent J. N. Andrews, a former General Conference president, to Switzerland as the first Adventist missionary. Other appointments followed in quick succession, first to the large white, Christian populations of Europe, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and, later, to the nonwhite peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. By 1900 the Adventists were supporting nearly five hundred foreign missionaries, and over 15 percent of the more than seventy-five thousand Adventists lived outside North America. In part to provide for the growing needs of its foreign missions, as well as to shield its youth from worldly influences, the church developed an extensive educational system. By the second half of the twentieth century, Adventists were operating one of the largest Protestant school systems in the world.

In 1895, in order to train medical personnel for service at home and abroad, Adventists opened the American Medical Missionary College, with campuses in Battle Creek and Chicago. The school's dominant force was Dr. John Harvey Kellogg, a former protégé of the Whites. In his mid-twenties Kellogg became superintendent of the Western Health Reform Institute (later the Battle Creek Sanitarium) and after 1893 headed the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association, the Adventist body responsible for operating medical institutions around the world. By the early twentieth century the association's two thousand workers considerably outnumbered General Conference employees, an imbalance that aggravated the friction between the imperious and imperialistic Dr. Kellogg and the equally ambitious ministers who ran the General Conference. In 1906 the latter arranged for the doctor and his cohorts to be disfellowshipped for questioning the authority of Ellen White; thus, for the first time, making the acceptance of her testimonies a "test of fellowship." When Kellogg, the most prominent Adventist in the world, left the church, he took the medical college and Battle Creek Sanitarium with him, forcing loyalists in 1909 to open an orthodox medical school, the College of Medical Evangelists (which developed into Loma Linda University), in southern California.

In the years since the Whites moved their fledgling church to Michigan, Battle Creek had grown into the administrative, publishing, medical, and educational center of Adventism. Such centralization and concentration of power concerned Ellen White, who recommended dismantling the Battle Creek colony. As a result, Battle Creek College (now Andrews University) was moved in 1902 to rural southwestern Michigan, and administrative and publishing activities were moved to the outskirts of Washington, D.C., which became the international headquarters.

CONTEMPORARY ADVENTISM. Ellen White died in 1915, leaving a church of more than 136,000 members. By 2001 membership had swelled to over twelve million, roughly 92 percent of whom lived outside of North America. Despite the preponderance of third-world believers, and the fact that recent growth in North America had come to a great extent from Hispanics and blacks, the administrative and economic power of the church remained largely in the hands of white, male leaders. In the mid-1940s the General Conference created segregated black conferences in North America, but it later rejected demands for separate unions that accompanied the civil rights movement of the 1960s. Similarly, as the feminist movement gathered momentum in the 1970s, Adventist women, long relied upon for cheap labor, began demanding equal pay for equal work—but they won their case only after resorting to the courts.

As their church grew and prospered, Adventists felt increasingly uncomfortable with their sectarian identity. Thus, they were greatly cheered in the 1950s when such prominent evangelicals as Donald G. Barnhouse and Walter R. Martin, after studying Adventist beliefs, certified them to be Christians rather than cultists. Many Adventists, nevertheless, continued to live in tension with the church's teachings on the sanctuary and the authority of Ellen White. Dissident voices became increasingly audible in the 1960s, especially after a group of Adventist academics and professionals created the independent Association of Adventist Forums (AAF) in 1967 and began publishing a lively journal, *Spectrum.* During the 1970s and early 1980s, Adventism was torn by claims of Adventist scholars that they had uncovered evidence that the writings of the prophetess not only contained historical and scientific errors but, in many instances, paralleled the prose of other authors—discoveries that forced a rethinking of White's role in the community. During the same period an Australian biblical scholar, Desmond Ford, announced to an AAF group that the church's distinctive view of the sanctuary derived more from White than from the Bible and that it infected Adventism with an unhealthful and unbiblical legalism. Although Ford and a number of his ministerial colleagues were promptly defrocked for their heresy, they still effected a subtle recasting of the sanctuary doctrine, orienting it more toward the atonement than toward last-day events and bringing it more into conformity with evangelical Protestantism. Some sectors of the church, often called "historic Adventists," opposed these developments, but Seventh-day Adventism generally continued to move haltingly along the path from radical millenarian sect to conventional denomination as it entered the twenty-first century.

SEE ALSO White, Ellen Gould.

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JONATHAN M. BUTLER (1987)
RONALD L. NUMBERS (1987)
GARY G. LAND (2005)

SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH (c. 465–538) was a rhetorician, theologian, and monophysite patriarch of Antioch (512–518). Severus was born in Apollonia, Thrace (modern-day Sozopol, Bulgaria), most likely in 465. He studied philosophy in Alexandria and rhetoric in Berytus (present-day Beirut), where, under the influence of Zacharias the Scholastic, he also acquired an interest in religious questions. After his baptism in Tripoli in 488, Severus became a monk at the monastery of Peter of Oberian, at Maiouma, near Gaza. In an attempt to live a more ascetic life, he left the monastery for the desert. But this soon proved harmful to his health, so he eventually returned to Maiouma.

There he established his own monastery and was ordained presbyter and archimandrite. The monophysite monks sent him to Constantinople in 508 to protest the subversive activities of the Orthodox monk Niphalios, who had managed to turn the Maiouma monks against Severus. Once in Constantinople, Severus gained the favor of the emperor Anastasius I (491–518) for the persecuted monophysite monks. Severus bided his time in Constantinople writing polemical works against the Council of Chalcedon. It was during this period that he wrote his most important work, the *Philalethes.*

In 512 Severus left Constantinople for Antioch where he was subsequently elected patriarch. As patriarch he attempted to strengthen monophysitism through the election of bishops, but his efforts failed. The death of Anastasius I in 518 precipitated a drastic change in ecclesiastical policy. With the ascendancy of the pro-Chalcedonian emperor Justin I (518–527), monophysitism lost favor, and Severus was eventually deposed as patriarch and expelled from Antioch. Severus fled to the Monastery of Ennaton in Egypt and lived for a time with Timothy IV, the monophysite patriarch of Alexandria. He encouraged the Copts at Ennaton to oppose the orthodox patriarchs. Severus also came into conflict with the former follower, Julian of Halicarnassus, whom he had known since his first visit to Constantinople in 508, over his colleague's extreme monophysitism. Severus was an intelligent thinker who sought a middle ground between the orthodox position and monophysitism.

In 535 Severus received (through the ministrations of the empress Theodora) an invitation from the emperor Justinian to come to Constantinople; there he worked with the patriarch Anthimus in an effort to restore monophysitism. Opposition arose to their proposals, and Anthimus was deposed and Severus condemned by the Synod of Constantinople (536).

He was once again forced to flee to Egypt, where he continued to write until his death in Alexandria in 538. Jacobite Syrians and the Copts venerate him as a saint; his feast day is celebrated on February 8.

Severus wrote a great number of works in Greek, but only a small portion of them is extant. A homily is preserved under the name of Gregory of Nyssa (*Patrologia Graeca* 46.627–652). Most of his writings are preserved in Syriac, such as the *Philalethes,* in which Severus refutes 244 chapters from the work of Cyril of Alexandria. He also wrote five treatises against Julian of Halicarnassus; three discourses against the orthodox patriarch Grammaticus; four letters against the extreme monophysite Sergius; and two letters against the orthodox Niphalios. A collection of his letters has been preserved as well as the homilies he delivered on various feasts. He is incorrectly identified as the author of a Syriac anaphora. Many liturgical hymns are also attributed to him, and he is regarded by many as the author of the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite (Pseudo-Dionysius). Many modern scholars have concluded that his teachings approximate those of Cyril of Alexandria. He continues to influence the thought of non-Chalcedonian Syrians and Copts.

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THEODORE ZISSIS (1987)
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SEXUALITY

This entry consists of the following articles:
AN OVERVIEW [FIRST EDITION]

AN OVERVIEW [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]
SEXUAL RITES IN EUROPE

SEXUALITY: AN OVERVIEW [FIRST EDITION]

In many archaic and traditional societies, sexuality is imbued with religious significance. Myths and rituals exhibiting overt sexual symbolism are often concerned with fertility, both on a cosmic and human level; they are associated with certain religious conceptions, such as divine androgyny, or with the reintegration of the primordial, beatific state that existed before the creation of the world and its social institutions and moral order.

Female sexuality and fertility were important concepts even in the earliest sedentary agricultural societies, which appeared in the Mediterranean region around 7000 BCE. With the development of agriculture, gender roles were differentiated and became more specialized. The question of whether preliterate cultures were aware of the causal relationship between sexual intercourse and pregnancy is still controversial. However, one finds a recurrent identification between woman and furrow (soil), man (phallus) and plow, and intercourse and the act of plowing. Thus human sexuality was associated with the fertility of the natural order.

One can distinguish several general trends in religious attitudes toward sexuality. A "positive" or "naturalistic" attitude may manifest itself in fertility rituals or ritual orgies; a "negative" one, in asceticism and techniques of sexual self-control like those practiced by the Daoists of ancient China. Sexuality may also be perceived as a means for spiritual development, as in the Hindu and Buddhist Tantric tradition.

The sacred character of the ritual orgy is especially evident in some preliterate cultures, where collective rituals followed by intercourse illustrate the religious value of sexual activity. The Aranda and other tribes from central and northwestern Australia practice brief intervals of ritual orgy, during which all sexual proscriptions are suspended. The Aranda believe that they thus return to the freedom and beatitude of their mythical ancestors. Likewise, in Arnhem Land, initiations into the secret cult of the Kunapipi (Gunabibi) emphasize the sacrality of sexual experience and the mystery of feminine fecundity. The final rituals consist of a ceremonial exchange of wives. Ritual license is believed to establish goodwill, friendship, and group cohesiveness.

Also for the Ngaju Dayak of Borneo, sexuality has a sacred character. According to their mythology, the world was created by a godhead conceived as two divine adversaries who engaged each other in violent battle. During the collective annual ceremonies, there is a return to this precosmic sacred time, when as a result of the fighting between the two divinities the world has ceased to exist and social rules and moral interdictions are suspended. While waiting for a new creation, the community lives in the presence of the godhead, which is depicted as the primordial water-snake or the tree of life. Through ritual, its members participate in a sacred orgy, which takes place in accordance with divine commandments (Schärer, 1946, pp. 94ff.).

Another significant sacralization of sexual activity is found in the concept of androgyny. Among the Australian Aborigines, sexual symbolism and activity are considered sacred; only through collective orgies or ritual androgynization can the unity and totality of the primordial time be reenacted. This androgynization is accomplished first through circumcision and then through subincision, an operation that symbolically supplies the initiate with a vulva. The subincised member then represents both the female and male organs. The ritual symbolism of androgyny results in the integration of opposites that constitutes the Australian Aborigines' idea of religious perfection. Ritual practices that transform the male initiate into a "female" are found in societies in Africa, South America, and New Guinea.

In many creation myths, the sexual intercourse or masturbation of a solitary primordial being results in the genesis of the cosmos. In an ancient Egyptian cosmogony, the primeval god is said to have intercourse with his own hand (see Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1952, p. 676). This theme is more abstractly stated in a Gnostic myth (Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 1.30.2) where the "lightdew" emanating from the primordial Father fecundates the Mother and represents a sort of seed. In the myth of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (1.7.4), a part of this seed (light) falls below.

Intercourse between gods and mortal women is a common mythological theme. In several cultures, the mythical event is repeated in recurrent rituals that result in the transfer of spiritual "power" from a deity to a human being. During a ceremony of the Cheyenne Indians called "intercourse with the buffalo," married women have intercourse with the elders of the tribe in order to transfer "power" (*xo'pini*) to their own husbands. This rite reenacts the myth of the primordial intercourse between a woman and the Great Spirit, who probably appeared as a buffalo. The Great Spirit's power was further sexually transmitted to the first shaman (see Duerr, 1984).

Horse sacrifices in Ireland and India also reenact a mythical intercourse between a mortal and a god in animal form, through which a transfer of power takes place. According to Gerald de Barri (c. 1146–1223), an Irish king copulated with a mare, after which the mare was killed, cut into pieces, and boiled. The king bathed in this broth, drank it, and ate the boiled meat. This rite is connected with the Celtic equine goddess Epona (from Proto-Indo-European **ekwos*, "horse"). In India, the horse sacrifice (*aśvamedha*) consists of a simulated copulation between the queen and a dead stallion. The queen (*mahiṣī*) lies down beside the stallion and entwines her legs with the hind legs of the horse. The ritual suggests that the force of the white stallion will be received by the queen and transmitted to the king.

One aspect of the sacrality of sexuality is expressed in fertility rites; another, in religious techniques of self-control and asceticism. These techniques, however, are not necessarily based on a dualistic tension between "spirit" and "flesh."

Chinese sex manuals of the Eastern Han dynasty (25–220 CE) hint at a Daoist technique of sexual control. This technique was one of the procedures for "nourishing the vital principle" by which a Daoist would achieve immortality. In addition to this sexual practice, two other procedures ("embryonic respiration" and dao-yin, "gymnastics") have been brilliantly described by Henri Maspero (1937). Essentially, practice was that of *coitus reservatus*: ejaculation was stopped by pressure on the seminal duct, while the seed was supposed to turn back and rise to the brain, which was thus "restored." The "female fluid" (vaginal secretions) was "reabsorbed" and contributed toward prolonging life. During one ritual, it was recommended that the participant change partners as frequently as possible (texts mention as many as one hundred partners, but ten seems to be the standard). Despised by Confucians for being both immoral and ruinous to one's health, this practice nevertheless continued until the seventeenth century.

In India, sexuality has played a significant role in religious life and thought since the Vedic period (cf. Eliade, 1969, pp. 254ff.). But it was not until the emergence of Tantrism that sexual practices were considered a means of obtaining spiritual perfection and absolute freedom or immortality. Ritualized sexual union, *maithuna*, is the last and most important of a series of yogic bodily techniques and meditations. Such a union can be realized either spiritually (i.e., with a divine image mentally constructed and projected in front of the practitioner) or physically with one's wife. In contrast to this "right-hand" Tantrism, the "left-hand" schools require as rite partner a *ḍombī* (lit., "washerwoman"), a girl from a lower class or a courtesan. The more depraved and debauched the woman, the more fit she is for the rite. In accordance with the Tantric doctrines of the identity of opposites, the "noblest and the most precious" is hidden precisely in the "basest and most common."

Tantric texts are often composed in an "intentional language" (*sandhyā-bhāṣā*), a sacred, dark, ambiguous language in which a state of consciousness is expressed by erotic terms and sexual meanings. For example, *bodhicitta* ("thought of awakening") means also *semen virile*; *padma* ("lotus") is interpreted as *bhaga* ("womb"); *vajra* ("thunderbolt") signifies *liṅga* (*membrum virile*). But in certain sectarian movements (such as the Sahajīyā, for example), *vajra* also means *śūnya* "emptiness" and *lalanā* "woman" means *iḍā* (one of the "veins" of the Indian mystical physiology), *abhāva* ("nonbeing"), *candra* ("moon"), *prakṛti* ("nature"), "the Ganges," "vowels," and even *nirvāṇa* (cf. other examples in Eliade, 1969, pp. 253ff.). Thus, a Tantric text is to be read on several different levels. For instance, the verse "The woman and the tongue are immobilized on either side of the sun and the moon" can be understood to refer to the arrest of breath but also the arrest of seminal emission.

Sexual union, *maithuna*, serves to make respiration rhythmical and to aid concentration. The final goal of *maithuna* is the simultaneous "immobilization" of breath, thought, and seminal emission. To lead to this paradoxical state, which surpasses the structure and the limits of the human condition, sexual activity must be radically transformed. The instruction and yogic preparation of the disciple are long and difficult. Even the young female partner is duly instructed by the *guru*; she consecrates her body by *nyāsas* (ritual "projections" of divinities). Thus, sexual union becomes a ritual through which the human couple is changed into the divine pair Śiva and Śakti. The texts emphasize the idea that *maithuna* is above all the integration of the two divine principles: for example, the *Kūlārṇava Tantra* (5.111–112) states that "the true sexual union is the union of the *parāśakti* with the *ātman*; other unions represent only carnal relations with women." The "sacralization" of sexuality through rituals and specific types of meditations is strongly and frequently emphasized. "By the same acts that cause some men to burn in hell for thousands of years, the yogin gains his eternal salvation" (Indrabhuti, *Jñānasiddhi* 15).

According to Vajrayāna mythology, the Buddha himself set the example; by practicing *maithuna*, he succeeded in conquering Māra, and the same technique made him omniscient and the master of magical powers (see Eliade, 1969, pp. 263ff.). The ideal of a final reintegration of opposites is a common goal in both Hindu and Buddhist (Vajrayana) Tantrism. *Mahāsukha*, the "great bliss" (i.e., the beatitude of realizing one's Buddhahood), is the paradoxical state of absolute nonduality (*advaya*); it cannot be known dialectically but can be apprehended only through actual experience. In esoteric Vajrayāna, *mahāsukha* can be obtained by the unification of *prajñā* (wisdom) and *upāya* (the means to attain it), *śūnyatā* (emptiness) and *karuṇā* (compassion), and other pairs of opposites that designate "female" and "male." These terms are often represented iconographically by a couple in sexual embrace. Such a union (*yoga*) is known as *advaya*. Sometimes the two deities are combined into one body. The transcending of sexuality is expressed thus in the form of the androgyne.

The idea that semen contains a vital force is common to the Chinese, Indian, and Greek traditions. For the Chinese, the "vital essence" (*ch'i*) is to be spared and increased; in the Indian tradition, the fire of asceticism (*tapas*) produces supernatural powers (*siddhi*); in Greek medicine, sperm contains "spirit" (*pneuma*), a substance whose loss would diminish the vitality of the whole organism. On the contrary, the accumulation of *pneuma* is an essential requisite for those who perform magic. The Indian follows the same logic: an *apsara*, or heavenly nymph, caused the great ascetic Dadhīca (*Mahābhārata*, *Śalyaparvan* 1) to lose his semen, rendering him powerless (see David N. Lorenzen's *The Kāpālikas and the Kālāmukhas*, New Delhi, 1972, pp. 91–92).

In my article "Spirit, Light, and Seed" (1971), I have analyzed Gnostic evidence within a broad religious context in which semen plays an important role. It has been recently demonstrated that Gnostic experiences are connected with the Greek theories of the *pneuma* (see Giovanni Filoramo's

Luce e Gnosi, Rome, 1980). The original Gnostic testimonies (preserved in Coptic) portray gnosis as a meditative and ritual process in which the strenuous efforts of the adept are intended to achieve a sort of ecstasy. These testimonies belong to ascetic trends of gnosis. They contain polemic undertones directed against the followers of libertine trends. Unfortunately, the original testmonies of the latter have not survived.

See Also Androgynes; Asceticism; Hierodouleia; Hieros Gamos; Homosexuality; Phallus and Vagina; Tantrism; Virginity; Yoni.

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Mircea Eliade (1987)

SEXUALITY: AN OVERVIEW [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

The theme of human sexuality lies behind much of the most significant, influential, and revolutionary theorizing of the modern study of religion. From Jean-Martin Charcot's early speculations on the remarkable similarities between female hysteria and traditional forms of religious rapture to Sigmund Freud's reflections on the culturally and personally defining mechanisms of Oedipal desire and the sexual dynamics of dreams, literature, and religious phenomena and from the radical ethical critiques of the patriarchal dimensions of these same motifs within nineteenth- and twentieth-century feminist theory to the latest transformations of this ethical-critical discourse within contemporary queer theory, gender studies, and trauma theory, human sexuality, as Michel Foucault so famously observed, has become a central preoccupation of critical thought and is now commonly approached as "the secret" of human identity and behavior, including—and especially—religious identity and behavior.

Certainly such an approach needs to be balanced by other methods and insights, particularly those involving the crucial issues of race and class (themselves inevitably gendered and sexualized), as considerations of the sexual never exhaust the impossibly full semiotic range of religious phenomena. Moreover, sexual motifs in the history of religions hardly signify simple "sexuality" as that category is commonly used today (that is, in a strictly biological, materialistic, or socialized sense), but rather almost always simultaneously connote other specifically transcendent potentialities of the human being and the universe. Despite modern and postmodern doubts about positing ontological meanings, the historical religions have consistently connected human sexuality with cosmic energies and powers that extend far beyond what is meant today by "sexuality." Moreover, they have seen in human sexuality—which they have either repressed, expressed, or, more commonly and complexly, sublimated, symbolized, or displaced—some of the deepest dynamics, even causes, of cosmic creation, community, religious authority, sanctity, aggression, violence, sin, bondage, suffering, salvation, enlightenment, and liberation. The sexual is indeed, even in the religions, one of "the secrets" around which human identity in all its social, political, economic, biological, and religious complexity is constructed (and so also deconstructed).

Ever since Foucault famously reconceptualized "homosexuality" (by asserting that the idea of a stable homosexual identity developed in tandem with modern Western medical and psychological discourses, and that cultures that lacked such linguistic categories could not have produced such identities), it has been tempting to suggest, as many have in fact done, that these allegedly ancient and universal connections between the sacred and sexual are primarily a function of modern language games—that is, that we see such things in history because modern forms of social experience and consciousness, embodied in modern technical vocabularies and economic arrangements, encourage us to do so. This is no doubt partly true. And even if some of the most recent writing on the history of sexuality suggests that such a Foucauldian thesis, at least in its strongest forms, should probably be abandoned now—as it appears that ancient cultures not only knew about what we might call "sexual orientations" but actually created categories of persons and identities to express and classify these, sometimes in an explicitly medical register (see especially the texts of John Boswell and Bernadette J. Brooten for Christianity and the collaborative works of Murray and Roscoe on Islamic homosexualities, Sweet and Zwilling on the early Buddhist and Jain categorizations of sexual identities, and Vanita and Kidwai on same-sex love in Indian literature), this same methodological constructivism has had an immensely creative and positive effect on scholarship since the 1970s, by forcing it to become more self-reflexive about its categories and more critically aware of its histories.

Still, given that every human being throughout history has "had" a body (the English expression is misleading, as it already presumes a questionable dualism) that was presumably created, developed, and defined by the same genetic, hormonal, and developmental processes that largely determine our own, it seems doubtful indeed that one can err too far in positing a broadly construed sexuality as a universal determinative of the history of religions. At the same time, onemust recognize that the range of culturally determined sexual expression and identity, along with their attendant religious and metaphysical meanings, probably far exceeds the capacities of imagination, not to mention of analysis.

Sexual Transgressions and Social Utopias. As any number of ancient mythologies and legal systems can show, sexuality has often, if not always, been perceived as a difficult force to control and define. Indeed, much of the religious concern with sexuality boils down to the question of how sexuality can be canalized into the acceptable lineage and inheritance flows of family, clan, tribe, or community.

The inevitable flip side and necessary structural opposite of this social control is found in two phenomena, either as they are actually practiced or as they are imagined: the orgy and the carnival. In both, sexuality is (or is thought to be) ritually used—sometimes symbolically, sometimes quite literally—to break down, at least momentarily, carefully constructed and maintained structures of social control. Such phenomena have played an especially important role in modern theories about religion, particularly via the works of Georges Bataille, Mikhail Bakhtin, and Victor Turner. Bataille's philosophical reflections on taboo and transgression as the psychological keys to the experience of the sacred as personal dissolution into a cosmic continuity, Bakhtin's notion of the carnival and the creative uses of ritual transgression, and Turner's famous reflections on ritual liminality and *communitas* (that unique form of social bonding that is created in moments of ritual transition and transgression) all point to the essentially charismatic power of sexuality and its abilities to transform human religious and social structures, either temporarily or permanently.

Certainly the religions themselves have often considered transgression as a path to a kind of momentary utopia or as a means of social experiment or even revolution. One thinks immediately, for example, of any number of Hindu or Buddhist Tantric traditions, in which the structures of caste, purity, and moral code are systematically violated, often through sexual acts, in an attempt to reveal the illusory nature of all dualisms and expose the deeper nondual or empty nature of reality. One thinks also of the Daoist sexual yoga that was practiced to build up and preserve enough biophysical energy to power spiritual flight toward immortality, a pursuit often in considerable tension with the more mundane Confucian concerns about family and state. Similar patterns can also be seen in Western cultural history. Hence the reports of "deviant" sexual acts so prominently featured in attacks against heresy throughout the history of Christianity, from early claims that Christian Gnostics used sexual fluids as sacramental substances to modern reports of sexual abuse among the Branch Davidians. So too the early modern European concern over witchcraft, which was often expressed through sexual motifs such as the witch's intercourse with the devil, the physical nature of Satan's semen, stolen penises, and the occult orgy—a collective obsession Walter Stephens has read as a late medieval attempt to salvage the supernatural in the face of an early modern skepticism by "proving" it through the physicality of the witch's sex with her "demon lovers." One might also point to another bearer of cultural instability and change, the 1960s American counterculture, which was defined largely by an efflorescence of alternative religious experiments (many of them, interestingly enough, of an Asian, and often Tantric, extraction) and by the triply transgressive mantra, "sex, drugs, and rock and roll."

"Deviant" forms of sexuality and radical social change, in other words, often go hand in hand for the simple reason that social structure (who is who, who is related to whom, who has power over whom) is determined largely by sexual practices and definitions (who penetrates whom and with what meanings). Alter either those practices or those definitions and one alters that structure. In other words, the oft-cited claim that human identity and religious truth are socially constructed, often taken as nihilistic or relativistic, can also be read as implying a kind of golden lining, for what has been constructed can always be reconstructed (after it has been deconstructed). And human sexuality, both because of its ecstatic, emotionally "dissolving" capacities and its dramatic powers to express, violate, or affirm intimate social meanings, is a uniquely powerful site for the realization of these deconstructions and reconstructions.

This socially creative function of religious sexuality is illuminatingly examined in Lawrence Foster's 1984 study of three significant nineteenth-century American religious experiments, each of which arose shortly before the Civil War: the Shakers, the Oneida Perfectionists, and the Mormons. Each of these new religions advanced their utopian visions through alternative sexual practices (interestingly, all based largely on an identical New Testament passage, *Matthew* 22:23–30) that their contemporaries ridiculed, feared, and, in many cases, actively combated. All three traditions, in their responses to the radically new social and economic conditions of an industrializing and individualizing America, shared the conviction that religious life needed to be radically reformed around new theologies, although each community developed a very different sexual embodiment of its respective utopian vision. Thus the Shakers opted for complete celibacy, the Oneida Perfectionists practiced both a kind of "male continence" *(coitus reservatus)* and group marriage in which sexual partners were shared among the community, and the early Mormons turned to polygamy. Sexual experiment, social experiment, and religious revelation were thus all intimately linked.

THE GODDESS, THE ANDROGYNE, AND THE FEMALE MYSTICAL GUIDE: IDEALIZATIONS AND INTERPRETED REALITIES. One of the most oft-noted features of the religions studied in contemporary scholarship is their virtual erasure of the feminine from the divine and, subsequently, from the public social order. It is indeed striking just how absent actual women are in the textual records of the history of religions. This has led, among many other pursuits, to a quarter-century flurry of studies of goddess cults, much of which has been driven by a single question: does the presence of female deities necessarily, or even usually, result in the greater social empowerment of women "on the ground"? The question has been endlessly debated, but one general conclusion, reached around the turn of the twenty-first century, is rather surprising: not only do female deities generally not result in the greater social empowerment of women, there is increasing evidence to suggest that strong goddess cults often correlate negatively with such empowerment; that is, traditions (such as Roman Catholicism or Brahmanic Hinduism) that display dramatic interest in feminine figures tend to disempower women more than traditions that do not display such an interest. There does seem to be some general relationship between symbolism and sociology, then, but that relationship is not always what one might first expect and is by no means stable.

Whatever one chooses to make of such debates, one thing seems beyond question: namely, that women have been generally denied access to scriptural texts and their interpretation, to leadership roles in the community, and to the sacred itself. In recent scholarship, different versions of this thesis have been argued literally thousands of times, in fields ranging from biblical studies to Buddhology. Two very different cases will be sufficient to make our point here: medieval Jewish Qabbalah as studied by Elliot Wolfson in his *Through a Speculum That Shines* (1994), and the *tulku* system of Tibetan Buddhism as analyzed by June Campbell in her *Traveller in Space* (1996).

Much earlier work on the feminine in Qabbalah, focused primarily on the *Shekhinah* or female manifestation of the Godhead, appears to have been driven, implicitly or explicitly, by either a type of Jungian enthusiasm for identifying the *Shekhinah* as the *anima* or "female soul" of Jewish mysticism or by an Eliadean idealization of divine androgyny as a *coincidentia oppositorum,* or "coincidence of opposites." Such readings of androgyny as expressing a kind of spiritual wholeness or gender balance still have much to offer, and no doubt capture part, maybe even much, of the truth, but they need to be deepened and qualified by later, more critical work. More recent scholarship in both Jewish Studies and Indology, for example, has demonstrated that androgyny is often actually a kind of "male androgyny" that admittedly includes but does not grant equal semiotic weight to the feminine, much less to actual women. Ellen Goldberg's 2002 study of the Hindu deity Ardhanārīśvara, the "Lord Who Is Half Woman" (and not, the Goddess Who Is Half Man), is a powerful example of this recent trend, as is Hugh Urban's 2001 study of Tantric rituals in which the female essence is absorbed into the male practitioner, who then stands in for the perfect unity of the god and goddess. One also thinks of Douglas Wile's eloquent and astonishingly detailed studies of Daoist sexual yoga, which show that even though heterosexual intercourse was used by Daoists to reconstitute the primordial "androgyny" of the *dao* as *yin* and *yang,* its primary purpose was to allow the male practitioner to "steal" the mystico-erotic energies of the woman in order to reconstitute that unity in himself.

Wolfson's work on medieval Jewish mysticism has demonstrated something similar, namely, that what the male qabbalists were after finally was a vision of the divine phallus perceived through the cloud-like or amorphous feminine energy, or *Shekhinah,* of God. Jewish mysticism, in other words, employs feminine symbolism and even actual sexual ritual (medieval qabbalists were required to have sex with their wives on the eve of the Sabbath in order to help redeem the divine and human worlds) not in order to establish the centrality, agency, or importance of women or to effect some kind of perfectly symmetrical gender balance, but to arouse the essential and final maleness of God. In structural terms, Qabbalah is both phallocentric (that is, it centers on the phallus of God) and homoerotic (for what we ultimately have are male mystics uniting, through women, with a male God). As in Indian or Chinese sexual yoga, the actual woman is a ritual means toward this end, but her own subjectivity and agency are hardly concerns for the qabbalist, at least as he is represented in the mystical texts themselves.

June Campbell's feminist analysis (itself deeply indebted to the earlier psychoanalytic analyses of Robert A. Paul) of the different institutional, symbolic, and ritual structures of Tibetan Buddhism that work to remove, silence, or literally threaten female agency shows us something similar again. Campbell's intellectual and autobiographical account of her heartfelt search for the *ḍākiṇī*—that female "traveler in space" who mystically guides the spiritual quests of Buddhist meditators by synchronously appearing in their dreams, visions, and scriptural readings—turns out to be both poignant and, ultimately, tragic. Put too simply, Campbell doesn't find her. As part of a wide-ranging analysis, Campbell turns, for example, to the well-known *tulku* system—in which an infant boy is taken away from his mother by an all-male monastery after being identified through ritual and parapsychological means as a dead lama's reincarnation—in order to demonstrate convincingly how "woman" is removed almost entirely from the institutional system in an attempt to create a mythology in which men reproduce and raise themselves independently of women. In the *tulku* mythology, the reincarnated lama's mother is a reproductive organ, but little else; she is a means to an end, not a person in her own right with inalienable rights to her own son and a crucial role to play in his upbringing. Campbell's analysis, moreover, has a personal dimension, as she draws on her experience as a Tantric consort of one of the highest-ranking lamas of contemporary Tibetan Buddhism to demonstrate how secrecy and threats serve to silence women and preserve a false front of celibate authority. Here Tantric ritual practice, far from being a sacralization of human sexuality or a mark of sexual liberation (as it is often presented in apologetic sources) is essentially abusive. By means of secrecy, public denial, and threats, it denies "woman" the very place where Tibetan iconography so dramatically places her: on the lap of the Buddha. Recent work, particularly that of Judith Simmer-Brown, has sought to qualify or soften Campbell's analysis, but the very existence of the debate suggests that the problems of feminine identity and the abusive charismatic guru in Tibetan Buddhism are real ones that will likely not disappear, as the *ḍākiṇī* herself so often does, for a very long time.

GENDER, SPIRITUAL ORIENTATION, AND THE SEXUAL PRODUCTION OF SANCTITY. As historians of religion have studied the feminine since the 1970s, they have grown increasingly aware that the meanings of religious symbols and rituals shift, even reverse, when the gender perspective from which they are observed is switched. In other words, one cannot presume that, say, the experience of animal sacrifice (almost always a male activity), ascetic practice, or even meditation are the same for men and women within a particular religious tradition. Sexual renunciation in early Christianity, for example, no doubt worked very differently for many women—whose lives in Roman society would have been dominated by early and life-long child-rearing and the lack of social opportunities—than it did for most men. And certainly the innumerable misogynistic elements of scriptural and ascetic texts are now read as products of the male psyche and its projections, and not as an accurate representation of "woman" in a particular society. Put simply, we now commonly "read" religion through the lens of gender.

Somewhere around 1980, another major hermeneutical shift occurred within religious studies, this time directing attention toward the category of sexual orientation. In the wake of studies such as John Boswell's magisterial *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality* (1980), it was no longer sufficient to ask about the gender of a particular perspective or phenomena, as if every male ascetic who had "renounced" sexual contact with a woman in order to enter an all-male community or love a male deity was conquering his sexual desires instead of finding a cultural outlet more attuned to his particular sexual-spiritual inclinations. Sexual sublimation, from Plato's *Symposium* to Freud's *Three Essays,* is hardly simply about sex; it is also about the sublime and the mystical, and it is often decidedly homoerotic. Suddenly, everything—from David and Jonathan's intimate friendship and Jesus' "beloved disciple," to Catholic clerical celibacy and Buddhist monasticism—looked different.

Foucault's late work on the history of sexuality (which relies on the earlier pioneering essays of K. J. Dover) is foundational here, particularly as it was picked up, developed, qualified, and corrected by such writers as John Boswell, Daniel Boyarin, Howard Eilberg-Schwartz, Mark Jordan, and Bernadette J. Brooten. Developed and advanced most fully in Greek, Christian, and Jewish contexts, this body of theory eventually was applied to other cultural arenas as well, particularly the Sambia of New Guinea and the Zuni of the American southwest via the pioneering ethnographic work of Gil Herdt and Will Roscoe; Islam through the coedited volumes of J.W. Wright Jr. and Everett K. Rowson and Stephen O. Murray and Will Roscoe; Hinduism via the textual studies of Jeffrey J. Kripal (1995), Giti Thadani, Ruth Vanita and Saleem Kidwai, and Devdutt Pattanaik; and Buddhism through the work of José Cabezón, Michael Sweet and Leonard Zwilling, and Bernard Faure. Recently, moreover, now turning the lens back on itself, a similar erotic hermeneutic has been used to study the psychosexual production of critical theory in the study of religion through an examination of the mystico-erotic experiences of the scholars themselves (see Kripal, *Roads of Excess*).

Certainly one of the most dramatic (and culturally relevant) facets of this scholarly history has been the sexual analysis of Roman Catholicism, particularly as developed in the work of the medieval historian, ethicist, and contemporary cultural critic Mark Jordan. In *The Invention of Sodomy* (1997), Jordan studied the theological origins and rhetorical uses of the category, concept, and term *sodomy.* In his *Silence of Sodom* of a few years later, Jordan demonstrated convincingly (well before the Catholic sex scandals became public in the spring of 2002) that modern Catholicism, despite its vehement public condemnations of homosexuality as a moral and psychosexual "objective disorder," actually produces some stunningly rich and complex homoerotic subcultures within its very heart, in effect defining sanctity as a form of repressed and sublimated (homo)sexuality. Theologically, liturgically, and institutionally, Catholicism privileges an all-male structure whose goal is to encourage and nurture, through a series of male-controlled practices and beliefs, a profound love for another male (deity). In the process, the tradition manages to feature any number of typically "gay" or "queer" practices, from the formation of same-sex communities to liturgical cross-dressing and the adoration and consumption of the male body, all under the normalizing guise of a very large and venerable religion. In effect, the gay Catholic cleric passes as straight in public even as he flaunts his queerness through a series of traditional religious practices that Jordan calls "clerical camp."

This might be a particularly extreme (and so particularly instructive) argument, but the ubiquitousness of celibacy, male imagery, and same-sex communities within religious contexts certainly suggests that the sexual production of sanctity—through the control of theological definition and institutional authority, and through the simultaneous repression and sublimation of erotic energies—is a process very much worth exploring. Here, it seems, one begins to approach one of the secrets of sanctity itself.

TRAUMA AND TRANSCENDENCE. In the broad twentieth-century attempt to understand the altered states of consciousness commonly labeled "mystical"—historically described by the religions themselves in sexual and violent terms (sexual ecstasy and death are arguably the two most common tropes of mystical literature)—scholarly and philosophical discourse eventually had to confront the difficult question of contemporary trauma theory and the related and vexing question of sexual abuse. From the early pioneering speculations of Joseph Breuer, Sigmund Freud, and Jean-Martin Charcot, that "master diagnostician of the supernatural" (Mazzoni, 1996, p. 9), through the literary and philosophical writings of Georges Bataille, Judith Herman, and Judith Butler, to the modern psychiatric studies of Robert Jay Lifton and Bessel A. van der Kolk and the philosophical and textual studies of Amy Hollywood, theorists have consistently read specific types of altered states as psychological responses or symptomatic responses to a previous shattering experience of physical or sexual trauma.

Human beings, these theorists argue in a wide variety of psychological and theological keys, routinely experience life events that are mentally and physically shattering. These may occur in dramatic contexts such as war, political persecution, rape, the death of a loved one, spousal abuse, or a terrorist act, or in the context of less obviously dramatic life events (for example, a divorce, car accident, or witnessed crime) that are nonetheless psychologically damaging. The key is not necessarily the external "objective" nature of the event but the way the human mind responds to it.

A central feature of the conceptualization of trauma is the metaphor of the broken or invaded body-container. In her classic 1966 study *Purity and Danger,* the anthropologist Mary Douglass pointed out the centrality of this metaphor in the construction of purity systems around the world. Purity here is constituted and performed by those substances or acts that preserve both the world order as it is imagined by the community and the body-container of the individual/community—the "social body," as it were. Any substance that oozes or flows from a break in this social(ized) body, or any act that effects such a break, is by definition impure. Tellingly, eating and sex are associated with the classic cases of taboo and impurity, because in each of these activities substances flow in and out of the body-container. Interestingly, trauma theorists have turned to the same symbolism to make sense of what happens when psychic and bodily integrity is lost and boundaries of all sorts are violated, are penetrated, or simply disappear. A specifically traumatic response occurs when something from the outside, something "impure," breaks through the container, denies those boundaries so carefully set up by society in the mind, and possesses the victim as something alien and external. Following such experiences, the mind often returns to the traumatic event through memory, nightmare, obsessive thoughts, or compulsive ritual behavior. Many contemporary theorists and analysts believe that healing can occur only when the traumatized individual is able to recover the event (which he or she may not even remember—forgetfulness or repression are central to trauma) and incorporate it into some sort of narrative or creative response. It is necessary, in other words, to tell a story, to speak the unspeakable, to give witness to the traumatic event, to quite literally re-member the integrity of one's body and soul before the abyss of forgetfulness, denial, and silence.

All of this has profound, and profoundly ambiguous, implications for readings of the trance, ecstatic, and possession phenomena so common in the history of religions. From the account of Jesus' healing ministry recorded in the New Testament (see Davies, 1995), to the repetitive ritual cycle of the Christian liturgy with its meditative focus on a politically tortured man, to the latest scandals involving Catholic priests or charismatic gurus, sexual trauma and altered states of consciousness—and their sacralization—appear repeatedly and seem remarkably ripe for critical analysis and reinterpretation. If there is yet another edge to the "cutting edge" of scholarship on sexuality and the history of religions, this is likely it.

THE ETHICAL AND THE ONTOLOGICAL. Consideration of the relationship between trauma and religion is inherently provocative because it raises very serious questions about many precritical idealizations of religious forms of sexuality, and about the different ways in which religious traditions draw on sexuality and its traumatization to create numinous phenomena. Certainly many early forms of scholarship and most forms of religious belief erased, transformed, or simply did not see such sexual and traumatic dimensions. Happily, such tendencies have been corrected or reversed in recent scholarship. Bernard Faure's examination of Buddhist sexuality, for example, has not hesitated to isolate and question ethically problematic, even abusive, elements of the Buddhist traditions. What to do, for example, with an Indian tantric ritual in which the practitioner has sexual intercourse with a twelve-year-old "maiden" (Faure, 1998, p. 51)? And what should we make of the widespread sexual (ab)use of young boys in Japanese Buddhism that Faure has studied in such detail? Catholic Boston is hardly the exception, it turns out, and might best be understood within a broad comparative study of celibacy, misogyny, sexual sublimation, charisma, secrecy, and altered states of consciousness. Certainly, the *eros* of the mystical as it has been developed and experienced within any number of religious systems appears to be, if we are to believe its many diverse witnesses, ontologically primordial, that is, rooted deeply and blissfully in (human) being, even as its effective access usually requires strategies of sexual repression, moral condemnation, and social suffering that are, by many modern standards, ethically problematic, to say the least. Perhaps it is this same double message, this same mysteriously attractive fear *(mysterium tremendum),* that gives such experiences their enduring numinous power, their conflicted energies, their sacrality.

Although such thoughts certainly honor modern and postmodern discourses about sexuality as the most adequate entry into the topic, it also remains true that, if we are going to remain faithful to our sources, we must be prepared to move beyond our own, perfectly legitimate, ethical, and political concerns to ask the most basic question of all: from the various perspectives of the historical religions, what is sexuality? In the end, this is an ontological question that cannot be answered here, and it may very well have absolutely nothing to do with our or anyone else's ethical concerns. But it is still very much worth asking, as its very asking exposes what will otherwise remain hidden—that is, our own generally naturalistic ontologies of the sexual that can only erase from view what the religions themselves have revealed in so many different ways—namely, that there is something else here, something at once terrific and traumatic, something of mythological proportions that only religious, mythical, poetic, or mystical language can begin to express. The Chinese Daoists ridiculed those who used their sexual yoga merely to increase sexual pleasure or prolong foreplay. This was not what it was ultimately about, at least to the esotericists themselves, who saw their elaborate sexual techniques primarily as a means to effect a mystical alchemy that would transform their physical bodies into a state of winged immortality (remember Plato's *Phaedrus*?). One may or may not share their views on the possibility of such things, but one would do well to at least listen to their hermeneutical complaints and not collapse mystical forms of eroticism—from John Humphrey Noyes's "male continence" to the Daoist's sexual yoga—into modern Western notions of an entirely natural or material sexuality. Sexuality and the sacred are certainly connected, and intimately so, but they do not appear to be the same thing, and their ethical dilemmas are many, at least if one is to take seriously the elaborate sexual witness of the history of religions.

SEE ALSO Phallus and Vagina.

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SEXUALITY: SEXUAL RITES IN EUROPE

Religiously motivated sexual rites date back to the early years of humanity's existence. Since the beginning of farming, the woman's sacral position shifted into the foreground and her secret fertility has been compared with that of the earth, as the planting of the field has been compared to the sexual act. Orgiastic rites aimed at increasing the earth's fertility, therefore, probably date to humanity's early period as well.

Already historically ascertained, however, are the great feasts in honor of Dionysos, who appears as Bakchos (Bacchus) in his orgiastic-mystic perspective. Their distinguishing characteristic was the frenzy, in which men and women—filled with God—stepped outside of themselves. According to Plutarch, the orgiastic feasts were celebrated at night on mountaintops, accompanied by torchlight and music. The wild flock of maenads (bacchantes), who in their frenzy ripped apart young animals and devoured the raw flesh, was accompanied by nymphs, satyrs, and sirens, who performed openly obscene acts. In the train of the Magna Mater cult, these rites entered Rome in the third century BCE. Followers of this cult not only performed sexually excessive acts, but also criminal deeds, which, according to Titus Livius, caused the Roman Senate to intervene in 186 BCE, and to cease the practice of the cult in the entire empire. This cult already exhibited some of the fundamentals of later sexual rites, up to (or including) modern sexual magic.

GNOSTICISM. These fundamentals can be seen even more clearly and are theoretically better formulated in the first centuries CE in Gnosticism. In various Gnostic systems, as in many ancient mythologies, the highest divine being is androgynous, just as Anthropos, the primal human, is. In order to return to this original wholeness and thereby escape death, which only occurred, according to the *Gospel of Philip,* after the separation of the two sexes, man and woman should sexually unite. In a much broader sense, according to these teachings, with this union other fundamental polarities of the world also become resolved in a *coincidentia oppositorum.* Even the Aeons, as primordial emanations of the supreme being, are said to have come together in sexual intercourse in order to achieve wholeness. For humans, the so-called bridal chamber rite (*thalamos, nymphon*), which was mainly used by the Valentinians, was also a way to reestablish the original divine androgyny; a man as earthly representative of the redeemer (*soter*) and a woman as representative of wisdom (*sophia*) performed the hierogamy (holy wedding), whereupon the present believers copied their actions.

According to an account of Epiphanius from the fourth century (which is not completely above doubt), the Barbelo Gnostics engaged in a prototype of a practice that was also performed in sexual-magical groups of the twentieth century: the ingestion by participants of the rite of the male seed as "body of Christ" and of menstrual blood as "blood of Christ." In this rite, these substances are not used for earthly conception, seen negatively from a Gnostic standpoint, but rather are ingested to achieve self-apotheosis. In Gnosticism as a whole there existed two different ways to achieve this: sexual freedom, but also ascetic tendencies, whose advocates thought to strengthen their spiritual powers by abstaining from sex. A strong proponent was Saturninus, or Satornil, who attempted through strict asceticism (also vegetarianism to a degree) to rescue from Satan's power or influence the part of light in the human being that consisted of light. In a later version, men's sexual proximity to women was permissible, but only in order to strengthen their spiritual power of resistance. This proximity could even extend as far as sexual intercourse, but was not allowed to reach orgasm. This is consistent with ideas that also occur in Indian Tantrism and are similar to the ones ascribed to the medieval Fedeli d'Amore.

CHRISTIANITY. In the first centuries of the Common Era, the repression of sexuality was a common theme within Christianity, contrary to its Jewish origins and the habits of its pagan neighbors. The Desert Fathers were usually converts with a stormy past whose temptations sometimes led them to the brothels in Alexandria. However, the desert standards of asceticism were very repressive, comparable, as far as sexuality was concerned, to the well-known rule of Mount Athos. The sight of a female, even a hen, was regarded as a great spiritual danger. Another example is Macarius, who as a young man was compelled to marry in order to please his parents. By feigning illness, he escaped the marital bed. When his wife died shortly after, he was very relieved and thanked God (see Leloir, 1982). The apostles Andrew and Thomas exhorted rich women to avoid intercourse with their husbands.

A particular importance for the restrictive aspect of sexuality in Christianity is accorded to the influential church father, Augustine of Hippo (354–430). For him, sexual desire was not something "natural," thus being originally willed by God, but rather a punishment for Adam's original sin, which also had sexual connotations for him. Abstinence was thus seen as a path to spiritual freedom from sin.

Sexuality was sometimes even violently repressed by self-mutilation. Castration was practiced by the priests of Cybele, called Galli. It has been suggested that their practice of emasculation could have had an influence on the Christian rejection of sexuality, which is exemplified by Origen's act of self-castration.

FEDELI D'AMORE. When considering the Middle Ages, the so-called Fedeli d'Amore should be mentioned, even if their historical existence as a movement is not firmly established. However, the importance of the movement arises from the fact that Dante Alighieri (1265–1321) is supposed to have been the main proponent of this secret group, which allegedly lasted up to Boccaccio (1313?–1375) and Petrarch (1304–1374). The aim of the Fedeli d'Amore was to free men (and only men) from their earthly limitations and to lead them to divine wisdom through the all-transcending love for a woman (who need not necessarily be a real one, in which case the term *woman* was to be understood as an allegory for the female principle). Dante called this *trasumanar*, which means "going beyond a purely human existence." This practice could lead to erotic trials, whereby the man lay naked next to his "woman" for an entire night, but was not allowed to touch her (*asag*). Through this "love" that transcended all other powers, he lost his "memory" (his usual human individuality), according to Dante, and reached a higher level of awareness. Thereafter, a so-called "exchange of hearts" is said to have occurred, which may suggest the attainment of a kind of androgynous state.

RENAISSANCE MAGIC. In the sixteenth century, in a cultural context in which the ancient theories concerning *pneuma* or *spiritus* were still popular (see Daniel Walker, 1958), the philosopher and magician Giordano Bruno (1548–1600) achieved a spectacular synthesis between the love theories of Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), the art of memory (see Yates, 1972), and magic. The result, found in two manuscripts probably written in Wittenberg (*De vinculis in genere*), is an erotic magic aimed at the total sexual self-control of the adept. The adept, acquainted with the practices of the art of memory, is instructed to learn to keep his fantasies under control. The images or phantasms produced are under certain circumstances transmitted to the individual or group that is to be magically "bound" (this is the meaning of the verb *vincire,* from which the noun *vinculum*, "bond," is derived). The images consciously produced by the adept are intended to correspond to the erotic expectations of the subjects to be "bound." The magician operates with phantasms that are sometimes sexual, yet he is at the same time completely immune to sexual stimuli. Bruno recommends that the adept never release sperm, for sperm retention represents the correct way to make "bonds" *(vincula)*. But Bruno does not seem to have any particular exercise of semen retention in mind. His practices, which are meant to control sexuality through imagination, are similar in principle to Indian Tantric practices.

THE SKOPTSY ("the castrated"), a sect that originated in Russia in the eighteenth century as a dissenting group of the Russian Orthodox Church, resumed the practice of self-mutilation. They still existed in Russia up to 1930, and even later in eastern Romania, where they traditionally exerted a monopoly on coach driving. The Skoptsy are representatives of a view of the world in which the spirit is strongly opposed to the flesh; they believed that only through contempt and mortification of the flesh could the spirit be fully developed. Their efforts to suppress physical lust led in extreme cases to the excision of genitalia. It was said that, in one of their ceremonies, the left breast of a girl aged fifteen or sixteen was excised in a warm bath, after which the assembly took communion by eating the raw flesh that had been cut into fine pieces (Gehring, 1898, pp. 149–150). Even if this story was invented by their detractors, gruesome practices were common among the Skoptsy. Women sometimes had parts of their external genitalia and even one or both breasts cut off. For men, emasculation took place in several stages called *seals:* in the first, the testes were removed; in the second, the penis. In some cases also the pectoral muscles were cut into. And even mutilations on the shoulders, the back and the legs are attested. One could thus become an "angel with five (or six) wings."

THE KHLYSTY. The Skoptsy derived from an earlier sect whose members called themselves *Christy*, that is, "apt to become Christ themselves." They were contemptuously nicknamed the *Khlysty* (whips, or flagellants). Constantly persecuted by the authorities but secretly supported by the fervent nuns of the Ivanovskii cloisters in Moscow and by several merchants, the sect was active until 1762. The Khlysty were ascetic puritans who abstained from meat, alcohol, and tobacco; they fasted, prayed, and performed severe penances. They were said to have practiced infanticide and cannibalism in their secret meetings and to have performed a Black Mass on the naked body of a woman called *bogoroditsa* (bearer of God), whose child had been sacrificed.

The Khlysty were also said to have practiced a kind of *lucerna extincta* rite, in which men and women came together at night and, turning off the lights, had intercourse. They were sometimes alleged to have indulged in incestuous or homosexual intercourse. For the Khlysty, promiscuous intercourse took place after lengthy dances and after forty to fifty strong clashes between groups of men and women gathered in opposite corners of the room (Gehring, 1898, pp. 153–154). Even Grigorij Rasputin (1869–1916), who had great influence at the court of Tzar Nicolas II, propagated individual neo-*khlystic* guidelines. However, he most probably did not belong to such a sect himself.

LUCERNA EXTINCTA. The rite of *lucerna extincta,* as practiced by the Khlysty, has a long history. Livy attributed its origin to the Dionysiac (or Bacchic) groups in Rome. Justin Martyr was the first one (in 150 CE) to accuse heretics of engaging in sexual orgies with the lights extinguished. On the other hand, according to the apologists Minucius Felix and Tertullian, enemies of the church attributed these rites to Christians in the second century CE. Clement of Alexandria mentions them in his description of the Gnostic Carpocratians. In 719 John of Odzun accused an Armenian Adoptionist sect of practicing *lucerna extincta;* in 1050 Michael Psellus accused the Bogomils in Thrace; and in 1090 Paul of Chartres said the heretics of Orléans performed it. In 1180 Walter Map stated that French heretics practiced this rite; Pope Gregory IX, in his bull *Vox in Roma* (1233), attributed it to heretics in Germany and to the Waldensians. Several fifteenth-century sources report that the Franciscan "Fraticelli" were involved in *lucerna extincta* practices.

There are also more recent cases of *lucerna extincta* rites, including those practiced by the followers of the Russian peasant Daniil Filippov (d. 1700). In 1645 Filippov convinced several people that God the Father had come to abide in Filippov's own "pure body." Thenceforth, Filippov called himself Sabaoth and gained several followers. Seven years later, he recruited the peasant Ivan Timofeevich as son and Christ. Suslov was said to have been miraculously born in 1616 (a purely fictitious date) from 100-year-old parents. The trinity was completed by a young girl who bore the titles of "bearer of God" and "daughter of God." Twelve apostles completed the picture. Suslov was repeatedly arrested and tortured, and, though his followers claimed that he was resurrected twice, it seems more probable that he was eventually released. He lived his last thirty years in Moscow and died in 1716 at the age of one hundred, a mythical age attributed to many founders of sects in Russia.

In addition to *lucerna extincta,* fornication and debauchery were also attributed to other heretics of the Middle Ages. The followers of Tanchelm of Antwerp (d. 1115), for instance, were said to have organized revels in which young girls were deflowered in the presence of their mothers; wives and children were offered to Tanchelm's lust (see Russell, 1965, p. 65).

In *Europe's Inner Demons* (1975), Norman R. C. Cohn analyzes the histories of groups that were said to engage in esoteric sexual practices. In dealing with the period from 186 BCE to the end of the fifteenth century, Cohn found that in all allegations of promiscuous intercourse there was a suspicious pattern of uniformity. Promiscuity was frequently associated with more gruesome practices, the most common of which was infanticide. He noted that testimonies of *lucerna extincta* and other practices are directed against groups that seem to form a direct threat to the state or the church and are meant to discredit these groups. These testimonies present a regular pattern, whether they describe Bacchanalia in 186 BCE or witch-hunts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; they belong to a stereotype of detraction used by several power groups against their opponents. Cohn admits that the idea of sexual promiscuity is consistent with the dualistic view of the world held by groups like the Gnostics, Manichaeans, Paulicians, Bogomils, and Cathari. But the first four groups were ascetic, and even the sexual freedom of the Cathari "believers" (in contrast to the asceticism of the "perfect") found its expression in individual deeds, not in collective rites.

WITCHES' SABBATH. Reports of the so-called witches' Sabbath have always been a central theme in the history of sexual rites. What these rites really embody has been answered in different ways by research. As Mircea Eliade wrote, today it is difficult, almost impossible, to determine what was real and what was imaginary when it comes to the witches' confessions. The persecution of witches began in the middle of the fifteenth century, reached its climax in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and subsided around the middle of the eighteenth century. In total, there are said to have been around sixty thousand male and female victims of these witch-hunts; female victims are more numerous, despite extensive regional differences. As Brian Levack states in his book *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe* (1987), the massive witch-hunt came about because belief in the reality of the witches' Sabbath was widespread. Such a Sabbath was said to involve several witches, who performed blasphemous, obscene rites, which included worship of the devil and which ended in sexual orgies. Therefore, when one witch was condemned, others had to be sought as accomplices.

The English Egyptologist Margaret Murray attempted to prove in *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* (1921) that the descriptions of the witches' Sabbath given by the witches indicated that they were not torture-induced phantasms, nor drug-induced hallucinatory experiences. The witches' Sabbath was more likely the relic of a pre-Christian peasant fertility cult, which continued to exist into modern times, even supplying the roots of the modern witch movement (Wicca) of the twentieth century. This theory, however, no longer has many followers in scientific circles. On the contrary, the sexual researcher R. E. L. Masters, in his book *Eros und Evil* (1962), argues that the confessions, which contained every imaginable type of sexual debauchery, can be traced to the witch-hunters' morbid erotic fantasies, as well as the victims' hysteria and drug dependency.

Eliade, on the other hand, in *Occultism, Witchcraft, and Cultural Fashions* (1976), emphasizes that the witches' radical protest against the reigning societal and religious circumstances were expressed through the witches' Sabbath. One did not become a witch in order to indulge one's sexual desires, but rather in the hope that these rituals would lead to redemption from the difficulties of everyday life and to bliss as it was once allegedly experienced by humankind in its primeval state in "paradise." Eliade considered it proven that the witches' Sabbath could not have been about sexual desires, because witches often described coitus with the devil as being extraordinarily painful, and this voluntary suffering indicated that the Sabbath was a severe initiation rite.

Carlo Ginzburg in *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witch's Sabbath* (1989/1992) addresses the witches' sabbath in a particularly comprehensive and well-documented manner. Ginzburg's earlier *The Night Battles* (1966/1985), a groundbreaking work, had attempted to uncover a core of truth in Margaret Murray's unverifiable statements. With the use of court files, he was able to prove the existence of a pagan agrarian cult called *benandanti* among farmers living in northern Italy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Ginzburg also investigates the true background of the witches' Sabbath. In doing so, he takes the witches' statements during their trials very seriously and does not consider them to be fantasies or torture-induced confessions, in contrast to many authors of mainly feminist bent, who directed their attention almost exclusively to the cruel persecution of women by men. Nevertheless, Ginzburg does not find proof that such events actually took place. Instead, he suspects a more than 1000-year-old residuum of Euro-Asiatic myths and rituals related to shamanism to be the basis of the witches' Sabbath.

In *Demon Lovers* (2002), Walter Stephens delivers a precise investigation, based on early texts on the persecution of witches between 1430 and 1530, describing sexual intercourse between hellish demons and earthly women. The great interest that the inquisitors, judges, and experts at that time had in this question is not considered by Stephens to be based on hostility towards women or on misguided erotic desires on the part of the men. He is convinced, rather, that these men were concerned with serious metaphysical problems. If actual sexual intercourse between supernatural demons and terrestrial women could be proven, then the existence of demons and their interaction with our world would be proven as well. And if there were demons, then there existed also an order beyond our world, and thus a God. In this way, doubts in God, which mainly arose from Aristotle's writings, could be put to rest.

BLACK MASS. By the end of the seventeenth century, fears of witchcraft were replaced by a more skeptical attitude. Obscene rituals and satanic cults were only being celebrated in very small circles, in which individual moments were more central, as Gerhard Zacharias writes in *Satanskult und Schwarze Messe* (1970, p. 106). In 1682 King Louis XIV of France transferred all responsibility for prosecuting witchcraft from ecclesiastical to secular tribunals, effectively ending the witch-hunts in France. Witches were to be prosecuted only if they had committed crimes against civil law. During such legal proceedings by a special police commission against a group of people accused of poisonings, it was discovered that Black Masses being held in Paris were accompanied by erotic practices and infanticide, and Louis XIV's mistress, the Marquise de Montespan, was involved in the affair. Police reports of the time claim that her naked body served as an altar upon which the Black Mass was performed. Intercourse with the celebrating priest usually followed the profanation of the wafer. The performers of the mass were priests; infant sacrifices seem actually to have been performed.

In the seventeenth century, sexual repression in French nunneries in some cases manifested itself in the form of a sexual frenzy which seized the nuns and spread under the guise of a demonic and diabolic possession inside the convent but also to other nunneries. Several priests, including Louis Gaufridy, Urbain Grandier, and Jean-Baptiste Girard, are connected to these cases. The old Gnostic idea that sin could only be conquered by sin was central to these cases, and the nuns became involved in orgies and peculiar sexual behavior. The most famous cases involved Madelaine de Demandolx de la Palud (Aix-en-Provence, 1611), Jeanne des Anges (Loudun, 1633), Magdelaine Bavent (Louviers, c. 1644), and Catherine Cadière (Aix-en-Provence, 1731). One story of diabolic possession involved Elizabeth de Ranfaing (Nancy, 1618–1625), an attractive woman who subjected herself to self-mortification in an attempt to make herself ugly. In 1617 she succumbed to attacks of uninhibited sexual frenzy that lasted until 1625. After the male doctor who was accused of causing this sexual frenzy was executed, de Ranfaing founded a spurious monastic order noted for its emphasis on iron discipline and sexual repression. This order was, however, condemned by the Holy Office in 1644 and Pope Innocence X in 1649.

FRANKISTS. Sexual rituals were also performed under the leadership of the qabbalist Jakob Leibowicz (1726–1791), known as Frank (Davidowicz, 1998, pp. 343, 354-356). Frank hoped that these rituals would enable him to reach the hidden harmonizing *Sefira Daat* of the qabbalistic tree of life on the terrestrial plane. By performing a "holy wedding," the cosmic harmony would be reestablished. It is not clear how exactly the rituals were performed or how often (probably seldom). At any rate, the sexual acts were performed according to precise directives from Frank, with Frank's followers as witnesses. It is also reported that Frank would suck on women's breasts for "nourishment." Davidowicz advises against judging the Frankists as simple heretics, but rather sees a meaningful link to the latter Qabbala in their teachings. It would be just as misleading to label the Frankists a spin-off of the Shabbateans. In the case of their founder, Shabbetai Tsevi (1626–1676), the practice of sexual rituals is uncertain, even if erotic mysticism and sexual permissiveness were indisputably an aspect of this group after Tsevi's conversion to Islam (Scholem, 1973, pp. 669, 880). In later Shabbatean circles, this sexual permissiveness is much more strongly pronounced.

MAGIA SEXUALIS. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, sexual rites became central to the ceremonies of erotic "satanic" clubs. Members of these clubs were usually wealthy young men, such as the English dandy Francis Dashwood of the so-called Knights of Saint Francis of Wycombe, more commonly called the Hell-fire Club. In 1753 Dashwood formed his own sexual brotherhood in Medmenham Abbey, adopting the motto "Fais ce que tu veux" ("Do What Thou

Wilt") from the Thelema Abbey of François Rabelais. In 1763 the English public was shocked to learn that even its prime minister, its chancellor of exchequer, and other cabinet ministers had been masquerading as "monks" and celebrating sexual rites with "nuns."

The founder of modern sexual magic is undoubtedly Pascal Beverly Randolph (1825–1875), an African American writer who rose from poverty to become a trance medium and occultist serving the very high aristocratic, literary, scientific, and occult circles in America, Europe, Asia, and Africa. Randolph became acquainted with the founder of the Theosophical Society, H. P. Blavatsky, though a bitter hostility later arose between the two due to occult rivalry. In his travels Randolph collected vast knowledge of magical mirrors, narcotics, and sexuality as an access to occult knowledge. Around 1870 he founded the Brotherhood of Eulis, through which he published manuscripts on sexual magic. Randolph's teaching reached Europe through the English bookseller Robert H. Fryar, who marketed Randolph's manuscripts in Great Britain. After Randolph's death, the Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor emerged from among Fryar's friends. The brotherhood expanded Randolph's teachings under the leadership of Max Théon (the pseudonym of Louis Maximilian Bimstein, Binstein, or Beinstein; 1848?–1927), Peter Davidson (1837–1915), and Thomas Henry Dalton (1855?–1895?), better known by the name of Thomas H. Burgoyne.

Sexuality stood at the center of the entire metaphysical system and spiritual experience of the Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor. Male-female polarity was seen as the original principle of the universe and the primary driving force for evolution. Consequently, the sexual union of a man and woman became a practical path to unity, the divine self, and a state equal to that of an angel. The "vital secretions" or "seminal fluids" that are created by sexual intercourse were seen as fundamental elements for the construction of a "spiritual body." Sexuality was the only thing that could bring the neophytes into contact with higher spiritual spheres and powers of a heavenly hierarchy.

Another important factor for the emergence of modern sexual magic was the fact that Tantric teachings became known in the West. The Victorian pornographic writer and amateur mythologist Edward Sellon (1817/8–1866) is said to have played a key roll with his *Annotations on the Sacred Writings of the Hindus* (1865), which interpreted Tantrism in a one-sided way as purely erotic magical teachings.

Twentieth-century sexual magic. The influence of the Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor on all subsequent occult groups in Europe and the United States cannot be overestimated; sexual magic became the most intimate central mystery of many of these groups. It is, however, not entirely clear how these ideas were transferred to them. The Hermetic Brotherhood of Light, which was founded in Chicago or Boston in 1895, seems to have played a major role. Seemingly it was from this brotherhood that the irregular German Mason Theodor Reuss (1855–1923) adopted the secret. Reuss in turn initiated the best-known "black magician" of the twentieth century, Aleister Crowley (1875–1947). Reuss was an opera singer and journalist, who founded an entire series of irregular lodges, including the Ordo Templi Orientis (OTO), which he established between 1906 and 1912. Its sexual teachings, which had undergone much further development since Randolph, found expression especially in its seventh, eighth, and ninth degrees, based, respectively, on autoerotic, heterosexual, and homosexual practices. The Austrian chemist Carl Kellner (1850–1905) was an important predecessor to Reuss.

Crowley's OTO rites differed from Reuss's, from which they had emerged. Crowley, whose well-known motto "Do What Thou Wilt" can be traced back to "Fais ce que tu veux" of Rabelais's Thelema Abbey, but which is primarily directed towards discovering the "true will" of one's own personality, expanded his OTO hierarchic structure to twelve degrees. The eighth degree mainly consisted of masturbating on the symbol or sigill of a spirit or demon that was to be called forth. The ninth degree consisted of heterosexual intercourse in which the sexual secretions were consumed or used for evoking a spirit. The eleventh degree was fundamentally homosexual, whereby bleeding caused by anal intercourse was to call up the spirits, whereas the sperm kept them alive.

The basic premise in this form of sexual magic was the fixation of the spirit and will during orgasm solely on some spiritual or material goal, rather than on emotional climax. In this way the spiritual and astral world would be so strongly influenced that this goal would become material reality. Crowley strived for money and success with women through these activities, but he also sought the path to the "conversation with his Holy Guardian Angel," which must be seen as a type of divine self.

The OTO, which still maintains branches in numerous countries, inspired a series of new movements, which also saw themselves as obliged to perform sexual magic in the most varied forms. Examples include the Great Brotherhood of God and the OTOA (A stands for "Antiqua") under Michael Paul Bertiaux, as well as the Typhonian OTO under Kenneth Grant. One might also include the well-known Californian Church of Satan led by Anton LaVey, among whose members was the actress Jane Mansfield, although their beliefs were less esoteric and more directed towards material and social success. The sexual magic of Crowley's OTO also had a major influence on the modern witch movement (Wicca), a fact which can be attributed to Gerald Gardner (1884–1964). Gardner, who met Crowley before his death, founded one of the first modern English covens and propagated the ideas of Margaret Murray, according to which modern witchcraft relates back to an ancient pagan folk religion.

The Russian "Priestess of Satan," Maria de Naglowska (1883–1936), settled in Paris after having spent time in Egypt, Italy, and Switzerland. In Paris, she probably summarized and translated into French several of Randolph's sexual magic manuscripts and books, and published them in his name with the title *Magia Sexualis*. Naglowska also celebrated so-called satanic masses and private séances in Paris; these were actually only preliminaries for *messes d'or* (golden masses) in which seven couples were simultaneously to engage in public sexual intercourse. Self-strangulations in order to enhance the sexual stimulus were practiced in high initiations of men. In her teachings, De Naglowska pleaded for a future matriarchal culture.

In the German-speaking world, the Fraternitas Saturni emerged in 1928 in Berlin from an offshoot of the Panosophic Lodge of Heinrich Tränker (1880–1956), who also led the German branch of Crowley's OTO for a time. The leader of the Fraternitas Saturni was Eugen Grosche (Gregor A. Gregorius 1888–1964). Gregorius, who composed a substantial portion of the lodge's extensive magical material, was mainly interested in creating astral entities with the help of the male and female sexual secretions, which would then be available as spiritual aides when performing other magical operations. The astrological positions of the stars were important for this group—the stars even determined individual coital positions when performing the rites. The famous eighteenth degree of the fraternity's hierarchy, the so-called Gradus Pentalphae, was purely sexual-magical, but most likely it was seldom performed.

Rituals of sexual magic may have also been practiced around 1928 by the Viennese lodge Hekate under the Austrian Orientalist Franz Sättler (1884–c. 1942; fraternal name Dr. Musallam), and by their Berlin branch. Wilhelm Quintscher (1893–1945), who was in contact with Sättler, was also involved with sexual magic in his Orden Mentalischer Bauherren (roughly translates as "Order of Mental Architects"). The Belgian Kymris lodge, which was founded in the 1920s under the Chevalier Clément de Saint-Marcq, was engaged in the ingestion of sexual secretions for purposes of magical rejuvenation. This group considered the devouring of sexual secretions as the actual secret meaning of the Christian last supper.

Italy, too, has witnessed (and is still witnessing) orders that are concerned with sexual magic. The best-known movement is the Fratellanza Terapeutica e Magica di Myriam, which stood under the leadership of Giuliano Kremmerz (the pseudonym of Ciro Formisano, 1861–1930) and based its teachings on an ancient Italic school, to which Count Cagliostro is said to have belonged. The Myriam was connected to a certain Ordine Osirideo Egizio, which allegedly practiced the most secret part of the sexual-magical teachings. However it is not completely clear to what extent the order's manuscripts, first publicly circulated in 1985, contain falsifications. The purpose of the sexual-magical operations described in the manuscripts was to separate a person's solar "spirit" from his physical, astral, and mental bodies in order to autonomize this spirit and to construct around it a body of glory totally independent from earthly constraints, which was supposed to have the ability to survive even physical death. Following exact astrological calculations and long periods of fasting, male and female sexual secretions had to be ingested in a particular order. These procedures were known as *Arcana Arcanorum*, and they formed a type of "internal alchemy," similar to what has been known in India and China for centuries.

Kremmerz' beliefs were also known to the Italian cultural philosopher, Dadaist, and esotericist Julius Evola (1898–1974), who led the magical Group of Ur from 1927 to 1929. This group also espoused teachings from sexual magic. For Evola, sexuality was the only remaining direct path to transcendence for modern humans. According to the order's documents, followers strove to free the spirit from terrestrial constraints by building a body of glory as an instrument for overcoming physical death. This was to happen by conquering the general elementary "principle of life," which reigns over the earthly world and which was said to hide behind the sexual drive. This principle of life, whose flipside is death, was goaded to increasing degrees through sexual encounters, until it would present itself "uncloaked" in a paroxysm. In that moment this spiritual principle had to be permanently overcome in a sudden and dangerous tour de force. Among the practitioners of the Group of Ur (in contrast to Crowley, the OTO, and Kremmerz), the male sexual magician had to resist orgasm at all costs. If he gave in to the elementary powers hidden behind the whipped-up sexuality, they would overwhelm him and he would be driven to death or madness. This path to immortality was, however, only open to men, because women were considered to be the earthly representatives of the previously mentioned principle of life. Evola, who was friends with the reputed Orientalist Giuseppe Tucci, provided probably the most interesting presentation of the connections between religion, esotericism, and sexuality in his book *Metaphysics of Sex* (1958), even if it is marked by his so-called traditional idiosyncrasies.

SUMMARY. What constitutes the power of religiously motivated sexual rituals, which have been in existence since the dawn of humanity? George Bataille (1897–1962) sees excessive eroticism and orgies as a transgression of borders that hit human individuality in its most intimate core. Bataille compares this crossing with death, because the same abyss into transcendence opens up in both cases. Individuality ceases to exist and something deeper comes into being: a *mysterium tremendum*, that which is "holy" in the sense of Rudolf Otto.

For Michel Maffesoli, the orgy and the Dionysic festival satisfy the desire to be together, only on a much larger scale, and they form thereby a necessary counterpart to the ossified rules of everyday life. The arising orgiastic life-emotion becomes then a fundamental structure for society. Maffesoli points out that the orgiastic element is always attributed to darkness, chaos, and night, and thereby it balances out regular daily activities. The divinely social element already represented by community in itself is, according to Maffesoli, celebrated by the chaos of the orgiastic bodies embracing each other in darkness. In the course of this process, one's own body is expanded into a collective body and is thus strengthened.

In conclusion, one must ask whether the term *rite* is even appropriate in this context. *Rite* stems from the Latin term *ritus*, which means "legitimate, regular action." *Ritus* in turn is connected with the Sanskrit *ṛta*, which means "cosmic order" or "truth." Is it not the case that the aim of all the sexual rites discussed in this entry is to question and thwart precisely this general cosmic order and legitimate action?

SEE ALSO Castration; Clitoridectomy.

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SEYMOUR, WILLIAM.

William Joseph Seymour (May 2, 1870–September 28, 1922) is regarded as the founder of Pentecostalism, a movement characterized by the experience of what members refer to as "speaking in tongues." This movement has roots in the Holiness and Perfectionist traditions that emerged in Methodism during the mid-nineteenth century.

Seymour was born in Centerville, Louisiana. In 1900 he moved, via Indianapolis, Indiana, to Cincinnati, Ohio, where he came under the influence of the Holiness minister Martin Wells Knapp. Seymour answered the call to ministry after recovering from a bout of smallpox in which he lost vision in his left eye. He was ordained in 1902 and relocated to Houston, Texas, in 1903, where he became the interim pastor of a Holiness church during the absence of the permanent pastor, Lucy Farrow.

In December 1905, Seymour began attending the Bible school Charles F. Parham had opened in Houston, although racial prejudices forced him to audit classes and sit outside the classroom. Parham taught that Christians needed to be baptized not only with water but also with a second baptism of the Holy Spirit that would be accompanied by speaking in unknown tongues.

Seymour absorbed Parham's doctrines. In 1906 he was invited to either pastor or conduct a revival at a Holiness church in Los Angeles that had broken away from its Baptist affiliation. Although Seymour's Holiness preaching was rejected by those in control of the Holiness congregation, who barred him from the church, several key persons were converted to his view and began meeting with him at a home on Brae Street. Under the influence of Seymour's preaching, people began speaking in tongues at an evening meeting on April 9, 1906. The group grew in numbers and moved to an abandoned building on Azusa Street that formerly was the First African Methodist Episcopal Church. News of the movement spread rapidly through Seymour's periodical, the *Apostolic Faith,* and the street preaching of newly ordained ministers. In 1907 Seymour's ministry was incorporated as the Azusa Street Apostolic Faith Mission of Los Angeles. People from all racial and ethnic affiliations, such as Charles H. Mason, who founded the Church of God in Christ, flocked to Azusa Street from 1907 through 1908.

Three things have been credited with bringing about a decline in Seymour's influence in Pentecostalism after 1908. First, his administrative assistant moved to Portland, Oregon, and joined the ministry of Florence Crawford, who continued publishing the *Apostolic Faith.* Second, one of Seymour's white ministers, William H. Durham, split the movement along racial lines when he parted company with Seymour to found the Apostolic Faith Mission Church of God. Third, Seymour's wing of the movement lost most of its remaining members in 1913 when the Trinity was rejected at a Pentecostal camp meeting.

Seymour traveled around the country preaching to predominately black audiences during the last years of his life. His wife assumed leadership of his branch of the movement—the Apostolic Faith Mission Church of God—after his death in Los Angeles from a heart attack in 1922. Every major form of Pentecostalism must acknowledge its indebtedness to Seymour.

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JAMES ANTHONY NOEL (2005)

SGAM PO PA (GAMPOPA).

Sgam po pa Bsod nams rin chen (Gampopa Sönam Rinchen, 1079–1153), also known as Dvags po lha rje, "the doctor from Dvags po," was the figure most responsible for systematizing the doctrines and founding the institutions of the Bka' brgyud (Kagyu) sect of Tibetan Buddhism.

According to traditional biographies, he was born in Gnyal, in south-central Tibet, one of several sons of a local doctor. He became a physician in his teens, and later married; he may have fathered one or more children. When he was barely twenty, however, his immediate family died in an epidemic, and he turned his back on worldly affairs. At twenty-five he joined the Buddhist monastic order under the ordination name Bsod nams rin chen, and went to Central Tibet to study with masters of the Bka' gdams (Kadam) sect, founded a half-century before by the great Indian reformer Atiśa (982–1054). Although Bka' gdams pas taught and practiced the Tantras, they placed special emphasis on the proper observance of monastic discipline and traversing the path to enlightenment in gradually ascending steps that began with a spirit of true renunciation, extended to development of the wisdom and compassion of a *bodhisattva*, and only at the end included Tantric methods. Sgam po pa became an accomplished scholar and meditator, but was not fully satisfied with his experiences.

Hearing of the renowned Tantric yogi and poet Mi la ras pa (Milarepa, 1028/40–1111/23), Sgam po pa traveled to the Mount Everest region to meet him in 1109. He remained with him for eleven months, studying a variety of practices that Mi la ras pa had received from his teacher, the farmer and translator Mar pa (Marpa, 1012–1097), who had studied with the Indian scholar and adept Nāropa (c. 966–1040), himself a disciple of the mysterious Tantric master, Tilopa. The practices included complex Tantric meditations in which enlightenment is approached through visualization of oneself in divine form, as well as manipulation of the physical and mental processes in the subtle body. Of these, Mi la ras pa specially prescribed for Sgam po pa the procedure for generating *gtum mo*, or "inner heat," one of the "Six *Dharmas* of Nāropa." He also learned the "great seal" (*mahāmudrā*; Tib., *phyag rgya chen po*), a perspective on reality and a meditative procedure in which enlightenment is reached by direct contemplation of the empty, luminous, blissful nature of the mind. After leaving Mi la ras pa, Sgam po pa spent a decade in various parts of Central Tibet, mostly engaged in meditative retreat, the outcome of which was realization of the nature of his own mind and attainment of an enlightened state.

In 1121, he went to live on Sgam po mountain, in the Dvags region of south-central Tibet. He built a small temple there, offered instruction, and began to attract disciples. He spent most of his remaining years at Sgam po, lecturing to groups of followers and giving individual advice. In the process, he began to systematize the doctrines and establish the institutional base of what would soon be known as the Bka' brgyud (Oral Lineage) sect. A number of his students, most notably Phag mo gru pa (Pakmo Drupa, 1110–1170), Dus gsum mkhyen pa (Dusum Khyenpa, 1110–1193), and Dvags po sgom tshul (Dakpo Gomtsul, 1116–1169), became themselves (or through their disciples) the founders of nearly all subsequent Bka' brgyud monastic centers and teaching lineages—lineages that, because of their common source in Sgam po pa's center in Dvags, generally are referred to as the Dvags po Bka' brgyud (Dakpo Kagyu).

Sgam po pa's collected works consists of approximately forty texts, most of which appear to be compilations of notes taken by his disciples or compositions by later members of the tradition. Besides three biographies of Sgam po pa written long after his death, his corpus includes lecture series in which he interweaves teachings on Mahāyāna, Tantra, and *mahāmudrā*; dialogues on difficult points with a number of his important disciples; instructions on Tantric deities, rituals, and meditations; discussions of *mahāmudrā* theory and practice; and Bka' gdams pa inspired writings on the ascending stages of the path to enlightenment.

Among the latter are two well-known works probably composed by Sgam po pa himself, the *Lam mchog rin po che'i phreng ba* (Precious garland of the supreme path) and the *Thar pa rin po che'i rgyan* (Jewel ornament of liberation). The former is a collection of numbered lists of things to practice, things to avoid, and things to transcend or understand on the path to enlightenment. The latter is Sgam po pa's longest work and magnum opus, an influential systematic exposition of the entire non-Tantric Buddhist path, from gaining a basic appreciation of our capacity for enlightenment; through developing renunciation by recognizing the perils and vicissitudes of *saṃsāra*; to cultivating the compassion, wisdom, and other virtues of a *bodhisattva*; and finally to achieving perfect buddhahood.

Equally important are Sgam po pa's writings on *mahāmudrā*. There are few texts in which he does not address this crucial term, which connotes the empty nature of reality and of the mind and the perfect, blissful realization of it through meditative insight. He gave systematic analyses of various ways in which *mahāmudrā* might be categorized in relation to the different vehicles of Buddhism; tailored to the needs of gradual or "instantaneous" practitioners; divided along the lines of view, meditation, action, and result; and practiced through such procedures as the four yogas (one-pointedness, nondiscursiveness, single taste, and nonmeditation). Sgam po pa's signal contribution to the discussion of *mahāmudrā*, however, was his insistence that it need not exclusively be associated with complex Tantric practice, but might also be taught as an independent topic, suitable even for those who lacked initiation, but had faith in and the blessings of their lama. Sgam po pa saw *mahāmudrā* as both transcending and pervading all vehicles of Buddhism, and his focus on it helped to establish it as a central concern for all subsequent Bka' brgyud pa masters, as well as a topic of discussion and sometimes debate for scholars in nearly all Tibetan traditions.

Because of his dual focus—on monastic purity and a gradual approach to enlightenment on the one hand, and on *mahāmudrā* as a view, technique, and realization crucial for all practitioners on the other—Sgam po pa was renowned for having "combined the two streams of Bka' gdams and *mahāmudrā*." This dual focus established the doctrinal and institutional ethos for most subsequent developments in the Bka' brgyud sect, setting it apart as a tradition that placed a premium both on Tantric and non-Tantric meditative realization and on adherence to an ascetic—if not always monastic—approach to religious life.

See Also Mi la ras pa.

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SHABBAT. The Hebrew word *shabbat* is from a root meaning "to desist" or "to rest," that is, from work and labor. The Sabbath is the day of rest each week after six days of work. The resemblances to the ancient Babylonian *shapattu*, the day of the full moon, as well as the biblical juxtaposition of the Sabbath with the new moon festival (Roʾsh Ḥodesh) in the Bible, have often been noted, and it may well be that originally there was some connection between the Babylonian and the Hebraic institutions. In the biblical narrative (*Gn.* 1:1–2:4), God rests on the seventh day from his creative activity and thereby sanctifies and blesses this day.

The command to keep the Sabbath holy is found in both versions of the Decalogue (*Ex.* 20:8–11, *Dt.* 5:12–15), but the reasons given for Sabbath observance differ. In *Exodus* the creation motif is stressed: "For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth and sea, and all that is in them, and he rested on the seventh day; therefore the Lord blessed the sabbath day and hallowed it." This does not necessarily mean, as Philo of Alexandria understood it, that man must imitate God by resting as he did on the seventh day. It may mean that by resting on the day on which creation was complete, man acknowledges God as creator. In *Deuteronomy* the social motivation is prominent. Man must rest on the Sabbath and allow his slaves to rest with him so that the slaves are released from the burden of unceasing toil. A slave, subordinate to his master, cannot rest when he wishes. Therefore, by resting on the Sabbath, the Israelite demonstrates that he is free to rest because he has been redeemed from bondage.

The nature of the "work" (*melaʾkhah*) that is forbidden on the Sabbath has received many different interpretations in the course of Jewish history. The only types of forbidden work specified in the Pentateuch are baking and cooking (*Ex.* 16:23), kindling fire (*Ex.* 35:3), and gathering wood (*Nm.* 15:32–36). From the sudden interposition of an injunction to keep the Sabbath into the narrative in which the Israelites are instructed by Moses to build the Tabernacle (*Ex.* 35:1–3), the Talmudic rabbis (B. T., *Shab.* 49b, *B.Q.* 2a) deduced that all the types of work required for the building of the Tabernacle are those forbidden on the Sabbath. This led to a listing (*Shab.* 7.1) of thirty-nine main categories of work, from which many others were derived by analogy.

In addition, various restrictions were introduced by the rabbis, as on the handling of money or of objects normally used for work, and all business activities. According to the rabbis it is forbidden to carry even the smallest object from a private into a public domain. But in cities like Jerusalem and Tel Aviv it is permitted to carry objects within the confines of the city by means of the *ʿeruv* ("mingling" of domains), an elaborate arrangement of posts and wires encircling the city that, by a legal fiction, converts the whole area into a private domain within which it is permitted to carry.

Reform Judaism largely ignores the rabbinic rules governing acts forbidden on the Sabbath, preferring to understand "work" as gainful occupation alone, and the spiritual atmosphere of the Sabbath as generated chiefly by means of rituals in the home and services in the synagogue. Orthodox Judaism follows the traditional regulations in their entirety. Where new inventions create problems, these are solved by a process of analogy. For instance, Orthodox rabbis have considered whether switching on electric lights falls under the heading of "kindling fire" since there is no combustion of the filament. The consensus today among Orthodox rabbis forbids the use of all electrical appliances on the Sabbath. A rationale for the Orthodox understanding is that work does not mean physical effort as such, but the creative manipulation of the physical world. Moving heavy objects, for example, does involve effort but is not creative, as is writing a letter or lighting a cigarette (since the ability to make fire was man's first great step toward civilization). By refraining on the Sabbath from creative manipulation of the world, people demonstrate that they enjoy their talents as gifts from God, the creator. They are theirs not by right but by permission. People have a stewardship for which they will be called to account by God. Conservative Judaism in the United States follows the traditional view of the Sabbath laws, but Conservative rabbis generally permit switching on electric lights, using a microphone and telephone, and riding in an automobile to the synagogue.

The positive aspects of the Sabbath as a day of spiritual and physical refreshment, as a day of delight (based on *Isaiah* 58:13), are constantly invoked in Jewish literature. In the poetic rabbinic statement (B.T., *Shab.* 119b), man has an additional soul on the Sabbath, and when he comes home to the Sabbath meal he is accompanied by angels. The thirteenth-century Spanish exegete Nahmanides, in his commentary on the *Exodus* version of the Decalogue, sees the prohibition of work on the Sabbath as an instance of the fear of God, whereas the positive injunction to celebrate the Sabbath as a sacred day is an instance of the love of God.

The ideas of honoring the Sabbath and taking delight in it are expressed in the wearing of special clothes, having a well-lit home, forgetting worldly worries and anxieties (for this reason petitionary prayers are not recited on the Sabbath), the study of the Torah, the three meals (instead of the two eaten on weekdays in ancient times) of good food and wine, and the union of husband and wife. This last emphasis would seem to be in reaction against sectarian opinions that sexual congress on the Sabbath is sinful as a creative act. The Karaites have interpreted the prohibition of kindling fire to mean that there must be no fire or light in the home. In all probability the rabbinic emphasis in the Middle Ages on the Sabbath lights is in conscious reaction to this view and an attempt to make the Sabbath a day of joy and tranquillity rather than a day of gloom. At the festive Sabbath meals joyous hymns (*zemirot*) are sung by the family.

Just before the advent of the Sabbath on Friday evening, the mistress of the house prays for her family as she kindles two candles in honor of the day: one candle represents the prohibition of work, the other the positive injunction of Sabbath joy and tranquillity. The festive meal begins with the Qiddush (sanctification), a praise of God in which he is thanked, over a cup of wine, for granting Israel the precious boon that is the Sabbath. The grace before meals is recited over two loaves of bread, covered with a white cloth, representing the manna of which a double portion fell to the Israelites before the Sabbath (*Ex.* 16:22–27).

At the beginning of the synagogue service on Friday night, the Sabbath is welcomed with song. The mystics of Safad in the sixteenth century used to go out into the fields before the Sabbath to welcome the Bride Sabbath. Based on this is the now-universal custom of singing the hymn *Lekhah dodi* (Come My Beloved), composed by Shelomoh Alkabets, a member of the Safad circle. At the termination of the Sabbath the *havdalah* ("distinction") benediction is recited over a cup of wine. In this ceremony God is praised for making a distinction between the holy and the profane, light and darkness, the people of Israel and other peoples, and between the Sabbath and the six working days. He is also thanked for the gift of light over a special candle kindled after the Sabbath. Sweet spices are smelled to restore the soul, which is sad at the departure of the Sabbath.

The central feature of the synagogue service on the Sabbath is the reading of the Torah from a handwritten scroll—the Sefer Torah (Book of the Law). The Torah is divided into portions, one section (*sidrah*) of which is read each Sabbath. The whole Torah is completed in this way each year, and then the cycle begins anew. In ancient times the seven persons called up (to the platform where the reading is done) read from the scroll itself, but nowadays they only recite the benedictions praising God for giving the Torah to his people, and the actual reading is carried out by the rabbi or cantor, who uses a traditional chant. In Reform congregations only a part of the weekly *sidrah* is read, and there is no chanting. Before the reading begins, the Sefer Torah is taken out of the ark that houses it and is borne ceremonially around the synagogue, adorned with a richly embroidered cloth, silver bells, and a silver pointer. After the reading, the Sefer Torah is held aloft with its columns open for all to see while the congregation sings in Hebrew: "This is the Torah which Moses set before the children of Israel by the mouth of God at the hand of Moses." In addition to the Torah reading, a member of the congregation reads from one of the books of the Prophets. This portion is known as the *haftarah* ("conclusion"). The choice of the Prophetic readings was made to coincide in theme with that of the weekly Torah reading.

There are a number of special Sabbaths marked by additions to the standard liturgy and by relevant Prophetic and extra Torah readings. The earliest of these are the four Sabbaths of the weeks before Passover. These are Shabbat Sheqalim (Sabbath of Shekels), a reminder of the practice in Temple times of beginning the annual collection of money for the sacrifices at this period (based on *Exodus* 30:11–16 and 2 *Kings* 11:17–12:17); Shabbat Zakhor (Sabbath of Remembering), a reminder of Amalek (based on *Deuteronomy* 25:17–19 and *1 Samuel* 15:1–34); Shabbat Parah (Sabbath of the Red Heifer), a reminder of the purification rites in Temple times in preparation for Passover (based on *Numbers* 19:1–22 and *Exodus* 36:16–38); and Shabbat ha-Ḥodesh (Sabbath of the New Moon), the declaration that the "first month," Nisan, is the beginning of the new annual cycle for the festivals (based on *Exodus* 12:1–20 and *Ezekiel* 45:16–46:18). The *hafṭarah* for the Sabbath immediately preceding Passover is from the third chapter of *Malachi*, concluding with a reference to the great (*gadol*) day of the Lord, after which this Sabbath is called Shabbat ha-Gadol (the Great Sabbath).

The Sabbath on which the weekly *sidrah* includes the Song of Moses (*Ex.* 16:1–21) has for the *hafṭarah* the Song of Deborah (*Jgs.* 4–5) and is known as Shabbat Shirah (Sabbath of Song). On the three Sabbaths preceding the fast of the Ninth of Av, commemorating the destruction of the Temple, the *hafṭarot* consist of Prophetic readings dealing with calamity, and the seven Sabbaths following the fast have portions from the second part of the *Book of Isaiah*, dealing with the theme of consolation. Since the *hafṭarah* of the Sabbath preceding the fast begins with the word *ḥazon* ("vision," *Is.* 1), this Sabbath is called Shabbat Hazon; the *hafṭarah* of the Sabbath immediately after the fast begins with the word *naḥamu* ("comfort ye"), and this Sabbath is called Shabbat Naḥamu. The Sabbath between Roʾsh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur falls during the penitential season. Its *hafṭarah* is from *Hosea* 14, beginning with the words "*shuvah Yisraʾel*," hence this Sabbath is called Shabbat Shuvah.

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SHABBETAI TSEVI [FIRST EDITION] (1626–1676)

Jewish messianic pretender (in the definition of those who did not believe in him) and founder of the messianic movement known as Shabbateanism. The Shabbatean movement is in many ways unique, yet it is also representative of the forces at work in Jewish history and of the interaction of external and internal factors.

Background. With the expulsion of the Jews at the end of the fifteenth century from Spain and Portugal, a new phase began in Jewish history. The magnitude of the disaster and sufferings seemed to indicate the "birth pangs" of the messianic age as foretold by tradition. Messianic expectations and speculations were rife, and false messiahs arose and disappeared, but still salvation tarried, and new and greater afflictions followed instead, reaching a climax in the Cossack massacres led by Bogdan Khmel'nitskii. Tens of thousands of Jews were slaughtered in these massacres between 1648 and 1658 in Poland and the Ukraine; the decade was a peak of suffering in the postmedieval period, unparalleled until the twentieth century. But now at least every Jew knew that the Messiah was coming, for he had to come. By that time the doctrine of the sixteenth-century qabbalist Isaac Luria had come to dominate Jewish thought and piety, not least because of its profoundly messianic orientation. The qabbalists focused all their religious fervor and asceticism, their power of prayer and meditation, on the imminent advent of redemption. And it was indeed from the circle of qabbalists that the messiah appeared.

Life. Shabbetai was born in 1626 into the prosperous Tsevi family of merchants living in Smyrna (Izmir), a city in Asia Minor situated within the Ottoman empire. There, Jews—because of their knowledge of languages, their international connections, and their familiarity with local conditions—were much in demand as agents and brokers by English, Dutch, and other merchants and companies that operated in the Levant. As was customary in Jewish families, Shabbetai, the gifted son, did not go into business but devoted himself to study, first of the Talmud and then of Qabbalah. He seems to have been not only gifted as a scholar but also endowed with a magnetic personality. He soon exhibited eccentric behavior and strange fantasies, which probably also included messianic elements. To avoid scandal, the rabbis and the family made him leave his hometown, and after some wandering through Turkey, he came to Jerusalem. There the winsome young ascetic did not fail to attract attention, not least because of his strange behavior. Nevertheless, he seems to have been sufficiently respected to be sent as emissary of the community to Egypt to collect alms for the Holy City. On his return to Palestine he met in Gaza another young rabbi from Jerusalem, Natan (henceforth known as the prophet Natan of Gaza), who claimed that during the Shavu'ot vigil in May 1665 he had experienced a vision in which it was divinely revealed to him that Shabbetai was the Lord's anointed one, the Messiah of Israel.

Some historians argue that this proclamation was the climax of a messianic plan carefully laid and hatched by Shabbetai and his supporters, who had long cultivated messianic fantasies. Gershom Scholem, on the other hand, maintains that the event was sudden and unpremeditated, that its explosive result was due to a combination of circumstances: the messianic mood of the age, Shabbetai's peculiar character, and Natan's charismatic and prophetic personality. Shabbetai's erratic behavior, diagnosed by Scholem as a manic-depressive condition (an interpretation contested by others), proved to be of theological significance. In his manic states, which would indeed account for his eccentric actions, Shabbetai invented new rituals, at times involving deliberate and highly ritualized transgressions of Jewish law. These instances of messianic antinomianism would occasionally be accompanied by a blasphemous pun. For the traditional liturgical formula "thou who loosenest [*mattir*] those in bonds [*asurim*]," Shabbetai would substitute, when transgressing the law, the benediction "thou who permittest [*mattir*] all prohibitions [*issurim*]." This incipient messianic antinomianism would prove a major factor in the subsequent development of the movement.

After disciplinary floggings had failed to quench Shabbetai's antinomian behavior, he was eventually excommunicated by the rabbis of Jerusalem in 1665. Nevertheless, the glad tidings of his coming quickly spread. Whereas earlier messianic movements had been outbreaks of short duration, leaving no permanent traces, the Shabbatean message spread throughout the Diaspora, and within a short time Shabbetai was venerated as "our lord and king" from Cairo to Hamburg, from Salonika to Amsterdam, from Morocco to Yemen, from Poland to Persia. With few exceptions the skeptics kept their doubts to themselves, not daring to speak out and risk the wrath of popular enthusiasm. Returning triumphantly to his hometown, Smyrna, Shabbetai was riding high on a wave of manic exaltation and messianic enthusiasm that did not shrink from terrorizing his opponents. By then the Turkish authorities felt that things were going too far, and when Shabbetai continued his royal progress from Smyrna to the capital, Constantinople, he was arrested and imprisoned in the fortress of Gallipoli.

Yet the faith continued to spread; after all, everyone knew that the Messiah would have to suffer tribulations before revealing himself with miracles and in all his power and glory. Since the Turkish prison guards were amenable to bribes, Shabbetai lived in captivity like a king, receiving embassies that came to pay him homage and celebrating his bizarre new rituals. The Turkish authorities handled the matter with remarkable restraint. In due course Shabbetai was summoned to the Diwan (the sultan's privy council) and faced with the choice between death under torture and apostasy to Islam. From the palace there emerged shortly afterward not the rabbi Shabbetai Tsevi but a turbaned Mehmet Effendi. But he continued to play a double game: a Muslim in his relations with the Turks (he also persuaded some of his followers to apostatize) and the Messiah to his Jewish believers. This duplicity finally led the authorities to exile him to Albania, where he died in 1676.

AFTERMATH. Now only did the well-nigh incredible happen. Betrayed and disillusioned, Jews had to choose once more. Many of those who had believed—not with an easy faith without works but with great sacrifice, flinging aside their chattels to meet and follow the Messiah—now recognized, shamefacedly and with heavy hearts, that they had been duped. There had been no change in the world and no salvation: they had to go on waiting for the true Messiah.

But not all were ready to submit to the verdict of history. They had experienced salvation and the thrill of renewal within their hearts, and nothing would undo this change. The reality of messianic experience could not be invalidated by outward history, at least for those who saw with eyes of faith. Whereas the majority of those originally gripped by the wave of messianic frenzy slowly returned to the traditional forms of belief and observance, a considerable number, the self-designated *ma᾽aminim* ("believers"), continued for some time to persevere in the "faith," living outwardly as orthodox Jews but inwardly as believers in the mystico-messianic mission of Shabbetai Tsevi, which in the fullness of time, they trusted, would be fully vindicated. Shabbetai's apostasy was held to be part of the mystery of the Messiah's unique mission and hence not to be imitated. (The prophet Natan, among others, was a forceful spokesman for this view.) A more extreme wing, however, held that the faithful had to follow in the footsteps of the Messiah also in this respect, especially as Shabbetai had occasionally pressured followers to apostatize.

These groups subsequently gave rise to a Shabbatean "heresy" and sectarian theology that first went underground and subsequently partly dissolved and partly left Judaism altogether, thus vanishing as far as Jewish history is concerned. The Shabbatean Dönmeh sect, which adopted the outward guise of Islam, survived clandestinely in Turkey until the twentieth century. A somewhat similar development took place in Poland, where Yaʿaqov Frank (1726–1791), an antinomian and megalomaniac nihilist who donned the messianic mantle of Shabbetai Tsevi as his incarnation, having first converted to Islam, subsequently led his followers to conversion to Catholicism, although they remained crypto-Jews. The members of the Frankist movement were gradually assimilated into Polish society and possibly influenced the "messianic" character of nineteenth-century Polish nationalist ideologues such as the poet Adam Mickiewicz (1798–1855), whose mother was descended from a converted Frankist family.

Gershom Scholem has argued that the mystico-theological rationalizations of the messiah's apostasy were in a way prepared and prefigured by Shabbetai's antinomian behavior in his youth and during his messianic heyday. Of interest to the historian of religions is the analogy, in certain respects, with Christianity. Since with the death of Jesus of Nazareth history had proved a disappointment, there developed a theology of paradox that turned the rational and moral stumbling block and *skandalon* into its cornerstone. Both Christianity and Shabbateanism owe part of their emotional appeal to their very paradoxicality. Because the messiah had seemingly failed so shockingly, the belief arose in his divine nature and in his second advent (in later Shabbateanism, also in his reincarnation). Since salvation was not manifest to those who saw with eyes of flesh, a distinction had to be made between an invisible redemption, accessible to the eyes of faith only, and the final consummation when all things, and especially the messianic mystery, would become manifest. Because the messiah had ended his earthly career in disgrace, a theology evolved that explained how and why this disgrace actually constituted the climax of the messianic ministry. In the case of Jesus the paradox took a metaphysical form: by dying he had overcome death. For Shabbatean believers the paradox was of a mystico-moral kind: Shabbetai had had to accept worse than death (after all, Jews were dying a martyr's death in every generation), namely, the most abominable sin, apostasy. By descending into the abyss of impurity, sin, and evil, he had vanquished impurity, sin, and evil. The details of this doctrine were elaborated in the technical terminology of Lurianic qabbalistic theology.

Other aspects of Shabbateanism are of greater relevance to Jewish history. After the Shabbatean outbreak and its ignominious debacle and aftermath (Dönmeh, Frankism), there were no more "automessianic" movements (Martin Buber's term for messianic movements headed by a leader who claims to be the Messiah). The subsequent spiritual disarray prepared the way for the Hasidic revival in eighteenth-century eastern Europe. The collapse of the last great messianic outburst also contributed (according to Scholem) to the process of modernizing assimilation. Brief but violent, the messianic dream had destroyed, for some believers, the traditional structure of faith; the bridges had been burned and there was no way back. Yet, even though the Shabbatean dream had failed in its original form, it had stimulated new dreams: those of redemption as successful entry into modern society.

SEE ALSO Messianism, article on Jewish Messianism; Qabbalah.

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R. J. ZWI WERBLOWSKY (1987)

SHABBETAI TSEVI [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS].

A number of important new approaches and documents concerning the Shabbatean movement have appeared since the 1970s. Most are concerned with correcting aspects of Gershom Scholem's standard work, *Sabbatai Sevi: The Mystical Messiah* (1973). This supplementary article will follow the structure of R. J. Zwi Werblowsky's entry for the first edition of *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (1987), dealing with new developments in the background, life and movement, and aftermath of the Shabbatean outbreak.

BACKGROUND. Scholem's insistence on the centrality of Isaac Luria's Qabbalah in preparing the ground for Shabbetai's success has been widely criticized. Among the problems raised are Scholem's near monocausal explanatory scheme, the presence of various other factors of obvious importance, and the fact that, whereas Shabbetai was indeed a qabbalist, he was not at all a follower of the Lurianic doctrine. Indeed the very notion that Lurianic Qabbalah was well known in even the major communities of the Jewish world by the 1665 to 1666 period has been questioned.

A broader historical perspective recognizes the importance of motivating forces from outside the Jewish world. Foremost among these, well known to Scholem but given little weight in his story, was the widespread Christian millenarianism and Muslim Mahdism that permeated the early modern world. Events such as the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453, the end of the *reconquista* in Spain, European voyages of discovery, the Protestant Reformation, and the scientific revolution all stoked the fires of messianic expectation among Jews, Christians, and Muslims. All three faiths dealt with a plethora of messianic pretenders in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Many Christian millenarians in particular expected the year 1666 (the number of the Beast added to a millennium) to be a date of redemption. The movement that grew up around Shabbetai can hardly have done so in isolation from these larger trends.

Another important factor is the significance to Shabbetai's movement of the *conversos,* descendants of Jews converted in Spain and Portugal during the fifteenth century. The *conversos* and former *conversos* (those who had returned to their ancestral Judaism after escaping Iberia), coming from a strong Christian background, were especially concerned with matters touching on the messiah. They had their own important messianic movements and ideas. Most of the Mediterranean and western European centers of Shabbatean activity, including İzmir, Livorno, Venice, Amsterdam, and

Hamburg, were also centers of former *converso* Jews. Many of Shabbetai's strongest supporters came from this group, including the theologian Abraham Miguel Cardoso. This can help explain the strong strain of Christian ideas and parallels in Shabbatean thought mentioned by Werblowsky.

LIFE AND MOVEMENT. Scholem's views on Shabbetai's personality, which were very controversial early on, have become widely accepted by scholars, including Scholem's diagnosis of Shabbetai as manic-depressive. More has been written about the dynamics of the movement surrounding Shabbetai, especially the social aspects of the movement, relations between Shabbateanism and other contemporary trends, and Shabbatean theology.

The *converso* influences on Shabbateanism include the messianic agitations of Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel of Amsterdam in the previous decade and the reprinting of Menasseh's tract *Hope of Israel* in İzmir in 1659 by a group of former *conversos* who would shortly become major supporters of Shabbetai. Several of the prophets supporting Shabbetai's mission were demonstrably from this background as well, including the aforementioned Cardoso.

Christian and Muslim messianism, and the interest shown by particular Christians in the Shabbatean movement, have come to be seen as critical to Shabbetai's success. The Dutch divine Petrus Serrarius became a major conduit of news about the movement to the curious Christian world. The manifestation of religious ecstasies and popular prophecy among both contemporary Christians and Muslims has been tied to the outbreak of prophecy among ordinary Jews, often women and children, that accompanied Shabbetai's travels in Turkey. Altogether scholars have begun to look at the public phase of Shabbateanism in 1665 and 1666 less as an internal Jewish development, connected strictly with the Spanish expulsion and rise of Lurianic Qabbalah, than as an integral part of the larger European and Ottoman messianic enthusiasm of the time.

The role of women in Shabbateanism has received increased attention. Sarah, the wife of Shabbetai at the height of the movement, is a fascinating figure who may have helped shape aspects of Shabbetai's activities. Many other women were found among the Shabbatean prophets, exerting their influence through the persuasive medium of ecstatic trance states. Women continued in important roles after Shabbetai's apostasy as well.

Though Scholem exploited all the sources available to him, more documents have surfaced. Some of these have influenced debates about Shabbetai's acceptance in various regions. Scholem's contention that most of the Ashkenazi (German- and Yiddish-speaking) world quickly became believers has been questioned, thought not disproved, in light of new evidence. Other sources throw light on the reception of the movement (generally enthusiastic) in Yemen, Morocco, Egypt, and elsewhere. The impact of the printing press and improvements in transportation on the spread of Shabbateanism have also been discussed.

Shabbatean theology has received much attention as well. The influence of astrological ideas, both qabbalistic and more general, centers around the name *Shabbetai*, which also means "the planet Saturn," symbolizing both melancholy and genius. Qabbalistic interpretations of Shabbetai as the "divine androgyne," embodying certain relationships between the mystical *sephirot*, are among many complex ideas scholars have explored concerning Shabbetai's persona, name, and antinomian rituals. Several studies explicate the role of faith in Shabbetai as a redeemer, sometimes considered almost divine, in the theology of Natan of Gaza.

Finally, questions have been asked about the opposition to Shabbetai, both before and after his apostasy. It is unclear why there was not more vocal protest at Shabbetai's many ritual irregularities and why opponents met resistance even after Shabbetai's apostasy. Discussions of these topics have revealed larger rifts in the stability of rabbinic culture at the time.

AFTERMATH. This is perhaps a misnomer, for in the view of Scholem and others interested in the heretical Qabbalah of the movement, Shabbateanism really only becomes important and interesting after Shabbetai's apostasy. Extensive studies have appeared that, while objecting to certain tenet's of Scholem's approach, see the convoluted mystical reasoning of Shabbetai, Natan, Cardoso, and their followers as the "real" significance of the movement.

Shabbetai's apostasy, like the Crucifixion of Jesus, has come to be the most important moment of the messianic drama. Because it is a great paradox, the thing that should never have been able to happen to the messiah, its explanation challenges the theologians to produce their best efforts. Natan explains that the messiah must be reviled and go down into the realm of the evil husks (that is, the Gentile world) in order to mystically redeem the holy souls that are trapped there; only then can the messianic age become manifest. Cardoso purports that the messiah must become a *converso* like himself, just as Queen Esther had to abandon her people and marry King Ahasuerus in order to save the Jews. Later Shabbatean theologians developed a secret mystical language, recognizable almost exclusively to other believers, with which to describe their Shabbatean Qabbalah. Important studies focus on how Shabbetai saw the meaning of his own apostasy and on the instructions he gave his followers after the apostasy.

With the confirmation of Shabbetai's conversion to Islam, some die-hard believers converted to Islam in imitation of Shabbetai's decision. These apostates, the Dönmeh, left considerable records of their beliefs and practices, many of which were published in the years following Scholem's monograph. Perhaps most surprising is the continued existence of a recognizable cast of Dönmeh in modern Turkey. The silence surrounding their identity was broken in the 1990s by Ilgaz Zorlu, a Dönmeh member who wrote a controversial book about what it meant to be part of that group at that time.

A much larger group followed the other possible path for believers, that of secret adherence from within the Jewish world. Studies suggest that the cells of underground Shabbateans were more active, organized, and long-lived than was previously suspected. They existed in Turkey, Greece, Italy, and the Ashkenazic lands. Prophetic conventicles left notebooks and other evidence of their Shabbatean activities. Rabbis of major communities well into the eighteenth century were counted among those who kept faith with Shabbetai (or his memory). Some of these believers committed ritual transgressions of Jewish law, whereas the adherence of others to the sect can be detected only through telltale terms and ideas in their mystical writings. Major crusades were undertaken to uproot these secret Shabbateans, but they often failed to achieve their purpose, partly because the opponents could not convince other Jews that such subtle evidence was meaningful.

In Poland the Frankist movement grew out of Jacob Frank's manipulation of older Shabbatean traditions and his own charismatic personality. Several extremely important new documents from the Frankists turned up in the twentieth century, allowing for a much more complete view of the movement's dynamics. These include fuller versions of Frank's *Dicta*, which suggest that his self-portrayal as a *prostak*, an uneducated Jew whose gifts are strictly divine, is disingenuous. Other studies are slowly unraveling the various groups and layers within Frankism that were often conflated in earlier research.

Finally, Scholem's early suggestion that Shabbatean antinomianism prepared the way for the Jewish Enlightenment (Haskalah) and reform movement by accustoming Jews to nonobservance has continued to be debated. Most scholars appear to discount this thesis because there is not enough evidence. Others have shown that the Shabbateans and *Maskilim* (proponents of Jewish Enlightenment) were hostile to each other. However, certain authors have attempted to recast Scholem's idea in more convincing ways.

SEE ALSO Dönmeh; Frank, Jacob; Messianism, article on Jewish Messianism.

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SHABISTARĪ, AL- (d. AH 720/1320 CE), more fully Saʿd al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Yaḥyā al-Shabistarī; celebrated Ṣūfī author and Persian poet. He was born in the second half of the thirteenth century at Shabistar (Cabistar), a village near Tabriz in Azerbaijan, but spent the greater part of his life at Tabriz, then capital of the newly established Mongol (Il-khanid) empire. Little is known about him, except that he was married, probably at Kirman, and devotedly attached to one of his disciples named Shaykh Ibrāhīm.

In both the Islamic world and the West, his fame rests on the *Gulshan-i rāz* (Rose Garden of Mystery), a versified compendium of Ṣūfī teachings discovered by European travelers about 1700. In 1838, J. F. von Hammer-Purgstall published a Persian text along with a German verse translation. In 1880, E. H. Whinfield critically edited what has become the standard Persian text with an annotated English translation and an abstract of its contents.

The *Gulshan-i rāz* (in the meter *hazaj*) was al-Shabistarī's reply to fifteen questions posed by Mīr Fakhr al-Sādāt Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī (1273–1323), a Ṣūfī friend from Herat. Its 1,008 rhyming couplets, cast in the form of questions and lengthy answers on a variety of mystical topics, focus on the unity of being and the perfect human being, the central concepts of Ṣūfī theory after the time of Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1240).

Many of the same topics are treated in al-Shabistarī's Persian prose works: *Ḥaqq al-yaqin* (Certain Truth), published in little-known miscellanies (see Maʿārif al-ʿawārif, Shiraz, 1283/1867, pp. 1–44, and ʿAwārif al-maʿārif, Shiraz, 1317/1938, pp. 4–54); *Mirʾāt al-muḥaqqiqīn* (The Mirror of the Mystics), published in the same miscellanies (pp. 44–81 and section 2, pp. 1–46 respectively); *Kanz al-ḥaqāʾiq* (The Treasure of Realities), edited by Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī-i Ṣafīr (Tehran, 1344/1965); and possibly *Risālah-i shāhid* (Epistle of the Witness), apparently no longer extant. Al-Shabistarī is also said to be the author of the

Saʿādat-nāmah, a collection of three thousand couplets, and a Persian translation of the *Minhāj al-ʿābidīn* by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111).

Al-Shabistarī's *Gulshan-i rāz* became a traditional handbook of instruction in the Niʿmatullāhī Ṣūfī affiliation, and its influence was further enhanced because of the numerous commentaries written on it in Shīʿī Iran for four centuries. One outstanding commentary, *Mafātīḥ al-iʿjāz fī sharḥ-i Gulshan-i rāz* (ed. Kaywān-i Samīʿī, Tehran, 1337/1958), was compiled in 1473 by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Lāhījī (d. 1506), a follower of Nūrbakhsh (d. 1465). The best-known nineteenth-century commentaries are the lithograph of Mirzā Ibrāhīm al-Sabzawārī (Tehran 1314/1898 and 1330/1912) and *Sharḥ-i Gulshan-i rāz* (Tabriz 1334/1955) by Mirzā ʿAbd al-Karīm Rāyiḍ al-Dīn al-Zinjānī (d. 1882), a Dhahabī shaykh of Azerbaijan known as ʿĀrif ʿAlī Shāh Uʿjūbah. The anonymous extract of an Ismaʿīlī commentary (*Taʾwīlat*) discovered by W. Ivanow and edited by Henry Corbin (Trilogie ismaelienne, 1961, pp. 131–161, with an introduction, section 3, pp. 1–196), documents a survival of Ismaʿīlī ideas under the mantle of Sufism long after the destruction of Alamut in 1256.

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SHĀFIʿĪ, AL- (AH 150–208/767–820 CE), more fully Muḥammad ibn Idrīs, was the founder of a school of law and the author of several works of Islamic law (*sharīʿah*). Perhaps more important, he wrote the first treatise of jurisprudence in Islam, in which he discussed the nature and sources of law and developed a legal methodology for the systematic study of the *sharīʿah.*

Al-Shāfiʿī flourished in the early Abbasid period, a time of consolidation for the Islamic empire. Even before the Abbasid dynasty had been established, Muslim jurists were grappling with legal problems resulting from the rapid expansion of the empire and the absorption of new elements of law and local tradition. As a consequence, the Islamic community abounded in legal doctrines, and several schools of law had emerged in response to the new conditions and demands. At this point, the need for a synthesis of divergent legal doctrines became apparent, and in order to derive underlying norms and principles to resolve legal problems, several jurists began to examine the problems that the prophet Muḥammad and his immediate successors had dealt with. It devolved upon al-Shāfiʿī to provide a method of legal reasoning that would make it possible to resolve problems and develop the law into a coherent system. He was the first jurist to examine the *sharīʿah* in accordance with jurisprudential method, and the impact of his method, to which his successors added only refinements, has remained permanent.

LIFE. Little is known of al-Shāfiʿī's childhood and early life. The earliest biographies are very brief, while the detailed accounts given by classical biographers are mixed with legendary stories. The authorities disagree on whether al-Shāfiʿī was born in Gaza, a small town on the coast of Palestine, or in Ashkelon, a larger town not far away. His ancestors belonged to the Banū Hāshim, the clan of the prophet Muḥammad. Some of them, it seems, went with the Arab armies in the early days of the Muslim conquests and stayed in the eastern Mediterranean region. When al-Shāfiʿī was about ten years old, his father died, and his mother took him from Palestine to Mecca. Traditional stories, legendary for the most part, state that he learned the Qurʾān by heart at the age of seven, committed Mālik's *Muwaṭṭaʾ* (a digest of law) to memory at the age of ten, and was declared fit to give legal opinions at the age of fifteen.

After his arrival in Mecca, al-Shāfiʿī studied under several jurists, then went to study in Medina under Mālik ibn Anas (d. 796), the leading jurist of the Hejaz and founder of the school of law bearing his name. Al-Shāfiʿī was then probably twenty years of age. In Medina, he studied Mālik's *Muwaṭṭaʾ* and became a follower of the Mālikī school of law, soon distinguishing himself as a student of the *sharīʿah.* He attracted the attention of the governor of Yemen, who was on a visit to Medina and who helped him to enter government service at the age of thirty. But al-Shāfiʿī was soon to become involved in local controversies, and this led not only to dismissal from his post but also to his deportation in chains to Iraq on the allegation that he was a follower of the Zaydī imam Yaḥyā ibn ʿAbd Allāh, a pretender to the caliphate and an opponent of the Abbasid dynasty in Baghdad. Al-Shāfiʿī appeared before the caliph Hārūn al-Rashid with other conspirators in 803 but was pardoned after eloquently defending his loyalty to the caliph on the grounds that his great-grandfather was related to the great-grandfather of the caliph himself. It is said that al-Shaybānī (d. 804), the leading jurist of the Ḥanafī school and a court counselor, defended him and said that he was a well-known jurist, and this incident brought al-Shāfiʿī into contact with al-Shaybānī, whose books he had studied. Despite the outcome, al-Shāfiʿī was never again to seek government service.

Until his deportation to Iraq, al-Shāfiʿī was known as a follower of Mālik. His study of Ḥanafī doctrines, which filtered to him through al-Shaybānī's works and contacts with Ḥanafī followers, seems to have broadened his knowledge of the law, and he began to see points of strength and weakness in both the Mālikī and Ḥanafī positions. Although he held his own legal opinions, he had not yet emerged as the leader of a new school of law.

In 804 al-Shāfiʿī suddenly left Iraq. The authorities differ on his subsequent travels: Some state that he went to Syria and the Hejaz and returned to Iraq in 810; others do not mention his visit to the Hejaz, reporting that he left Iraq in 814 and went to Egypt after stopping in Syria. But they all seem to agree that he left Iraq for Egypt and that his departure from the Mālikī and Ḥanafī schools had become so pronounced that he preferred to settle in a country where he could discuss his own legal doctrine with greater independence.

In Egypt, al-Shāfiʿī found himself in a congenial position. He was on good terms with the governor, who seems to have encouraged him to leave Baghdad and to develop his teachings in Egypt, far from the center of court intrigues and rival doctrines. During the five years he lived there, al-Shāfiʿī devoted all his time to teaching and dictating his works to his students. But it was still not without difficulty that he preached his own doctrines, and his disagreement with Mālikī teachings brought him into conflict with some Mālikī followers. According to one authority, after a particularly heated controversy al-Shāfiʿī was attacked by an opponent who had lost the argument. Al-Shāfiʿī was already suffering from an intestinal illness that kept him frail and ailing during the later years of his life; seriously injured in the attack, he was taken to his house and died a few days later.

WORKS. Al-Shāfiʿī's legal system is to be found in his collected works, the *Kitāb al-umm* (The Mother Book). It is said that his leading disciples, especially al-Rabīʿ al-Murādī (d. 880), al-Būwayṭī (d. 845), and al-Muzanī (d. 877), were in the habit of transcribing al-Shāfiʿī's lectures, and that al-Shāfiʿī would correct the text when it was read aloud to him. Al-Shāfiʿī's disciples in Egypt, therefore, are responsible for all the books that have survived, whether copied or dictated from his original writings. Doubts have been raised as to whether the *Kitāb al-umm* was not actually composed by a disciple. Even if some words have been changed or rephrased, the book as a whole contains al-Shāfiʿī's own ideas and legal reasoning, and al-Shāfiʿī's biographers agree that his works were handed down to us as recorded by his disciples. Al-Shāfiʿī's book on jurisprudence, *Al-risālah fī uṣūl al-fiqh* (Treatise on the Sources of the Law), was originally written in Iraq, long before he settled in Egypt, but it was revised and rewritten after he left Iraq, and it was also dictated to and put into writing by his disciples. Although al-Shāfiʿī wrote or dictated several other works, including a book on the Qurʾān called *Kitāb aḥkām al-Qurʾān* (Treatise on the Legal Precepts of the Qurʾān), and a compilation of traditions called *Al-musnad* (Collected Traditions), his legal doctrines and methodology are to be found mainly in the *Risālah,* a book on jurisprudence and legal method, and the *Kitāb al-umm,* a book on the law, in which his own system is set forth in accordance with his legal reasoning. The *Risālah,* in particular, is a novel work in the literature of Islamic law, dealing essentially with the sources of the law (*uṣūl al-fiqh*). The *uṣūl* ("roots" or "sources") of the law had been discussed by earlier jurists, each stressing a particular derivative source (in addition to the Qurʾān and traditions, which are agreed upon by all as the primary sources), which distinguished him from other jurists; but none seems to have dealt with the subject in so coherent and systematic a way as al-Shāfiʿī, who discussed the nature and relative significance of each source, and how legal rules are derived from it.

Before al-Shāfiʿī, there were two predominant schools of law: the Mālikī school in the Hejaz and the Ḥanafī in Iraq, each representing local traditions and interests, although they were in agreement on fundamental principles. Both recognized the primacy of the Qurʾān and the traditions as sources of law, but they diverged on other sources, such as custom and local practice (sanctioned by their inclusion in the *sunnah* and the traditions ascribed to the Prophet) as well as the use of personal reasoning *(ijtihād)* and consensus (*ijmāʿ*). In the *Risālah,* al-Shāfiʿī tried to define and set the limits for each source and indicate how it should be used.

According to al-Shāfiʿī, the Qurʾān, as the embodiment of divine revelation, and the traditions, consisting of the Prophet's practices and decisions, are equally binding as sources of law, on the ground that the traditions, though not revelation in the literal sense, are based on divine wisdom inspired in the Prophet. God has imposed on believers the duty of obeying his prophet as they would obey God himself, and he has given evidence that he regards disobedience to the Prophet as disobedience to himself. "When God and his apostle have decreed a matter," says God to the Prophet in a revelation, "it is not for a believing man or woman to exercise a choice in that matter; whoever opposes God and his Apostle has deviated into manifest error" (surah 33:36). In law, therefore, the Prophet's traditions are as valid and binding as the Qurʾān. However, in raising the Prophet's *sunnah* to the level of revelation, al-Shāfiʿī warned that the traditions (consisting of the *sunnah*) must be authentic, since the Prophet's authority had often been invoked by the citation of traditions of doubtful authenticity. In the *Risālah,* al-Shāfiʿī devoted two chapters to a study of the nature and scope of traditions and laid down rules on how to distinguish between authentic and inauthentic traditions. Once a tradition is proved authentic, it must be binding. For this reason, he disagreed with Mālik, who considered the practice *(ʿamal)* of Medina as representing the traditions of the Prophet irrespective of authenticity (on the grounds that the practice of the city of the Prophet was assumed to be equal in validity to the Prophet's traditions). Al-Shāfiʿī also disagreed with Abū Ḥanīfah, representing the Iraqi school of law, who applied *istiḥsān* (juristic preference) to his choice of traditions as a basis for legal decisions without distinguishing between the traditions of the Prophet and those of his companions.

The other sources of the law, based essentially on the exercise of *ijtihād* (legal reasoning), may be called derivative sources because they must have a certain basis in one of the textual sources (Qurʾān and traditions). Al-Shāfiʿī rejected the use of unlimited *ijtihād*, save in the form of *qiyās* (analogy), since this form of legal reasoning presupposes the existence of a general principle in the Qurʾān or a precedent in the traditions. He rejected all other forms of *ijtihād—istiḥsān* (juristic preference), *istiṣlāḥ* (common good), and others—because they permit the use of sources for legal decisions outside the framework laid down in the Qurʾān and traditions. In pursuing this method of legal reasoning, al-Shāfiʿī sought to idealize the law by insisting that it must be derived ultimately from divine revelation and divine wisdom, and to islamize it by confining its sources to the sacred texts of Islam—the Qurʾān and the traditions—and not to other sacred sources (see Khadduri, 1960, pp. 42–45).

Finally, al-Shāfiʿī discussed *ijmāʿ* as another derivative source, one with which he was familiar as a former follower of Mālik. But Mālik's doctrine of *ijmāʿ* was limited to the agreement of the scholars of Medina, because he held that only the scholars of the Prophet's city understood what the Prophet's *sunnah* really meant, and that by their consensus on all matters of law they could make decisions in conformity with precedents set in the *sunnah.* Other jurists outside Hejaz, especially in Iraq, maintained that they were as competent to exercise *ijmāʿ* as the scholars in Medina, and claimed that they were no less familiar with the Prophet's *sunnah* than their peers in Hejaz. But the Iraqi jurists, especially those of the Ḥanafī school, considered *ijmāʿ* to be secondary to *qiyās* as a derivative source. Al-Shāfiʿī went beyond both Mālikī and Ḥanafī jurists by investing *ijmāʿ* with higher authority as an expression of public action. The concept of vox populi vox Dei implied in al-Shāfiʿī's formulation of the *ijmāʿ* of the community is based on the tradition of the Prophet that states: "My people will never agree on an error," although al-Shāfiʿī did not cite the tradition in this form. By investing *ijmāʿ* with high authority, he ranked it higher than *qiyās* as a source of law and second only to the textual sources.

Al-Shāfiʿī's doctrine of the ijmāʿ of the community was opposed by other scholars, including his own followers, but al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) supported the doctrine by confining it to fundamental principles and leaving matters of detail to the agreement of the scholars. Al-Shāfiʿī's doctrine of *ijmāʿ*, though sound in principle, suffers from a procedural weakness in that it provides no adequate method for the community to arrive at an agreement. Some of the jurists offered a corrective measure by proposing that if a few scholars reached an agreement and no objection was raised by others, or if the majority of the scholars agreed and only a few raised an objection, agreement should be binding upon the community. The process remained undefined until modern times, however, when Shaykh Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1935) proposed in his book on the caliphate, *Al-khilāfah aw al-imāmah al-ʿuẓmā* (The Caliphate and the High Imamate; Cairo, 1924), that an elected assembly, composed of members including men knowledgeable in the *sharīʿah*, should exercise *ijmāʿ* on behalf of the community of believers. This device seems to satisfy al-Shāfiʿī's call that on all important matters the action of the community should prevail. At the end of the chapter on *ijmāʿ* in the *Risālah* he stated: "He who holds that which the Muslim community holds shall be regarded as following the community, and he who holds differently shall be regarded as opposing the community he was ordered to follow. So the error comes from separation."

Al-Shāfiʿī probably never intended to found a school bearing his name, for he warned against *taqlīd* (conformity to one school of law) and encouraged independent legal reasoning; but his legal methodology, which laid restrictions on the use of the sources of the law, necessarily limited differences of opinion on legal questions. After he settled in Egypt, his disciples became active in writing down and spreading his teachings, not only there but also in other lands. Within a century after al-Shāfiʿī's death, his doctrine began to spread to the Hejaz, Syria, and Central Asia. Although it was diminished in Egypt under Fatimid rule, it again became predominant under Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (known to the West as Saladin, d. 1169). By the time of the Ottoman occupation of Arab lands, the Shāfiʿī school had become the most widespread. Despite the official adoption of the Ḥanafī school by the Ottoman empire and the spread of Shiism in Iran after the rise of the Safavid dynasty at the opening of the sixteenth century, the Shāfiʿī school remains dominant to the present day in Egypt, Syria, the Hejaz, western and southern Arabia, parts of the Persian Gulf, East Africa, the Malay Archipelago, Dagestan, and parts of Central Asia.

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SHAHĀDAH is a term used in Islam to denote the all-important confession or affirmation of the unity of God and the apostleship of Muḥammad. It derives from the Arabic root *shahida,* meaning "to attest," "to give decisive word," hence "to acknowledge as true," and is used in referring to eyewitness testimony or other dependable evidence. The same root yields one of the names of God in Islam, *al-Shahīd,* "the one whose word is authentic," a term used in the Qurʾān in contrast to *al-Ghāʾib,* "the one in hiddenness" or simply "hiddenness."

For Muslims, the term *shahādah* means giving open, verbal evidence of what is incontestably true. "I bear witness," the phrase runs, "that there is no god but God, and Muḥammad is the messenger of God." The Arabic reads "Ashadu an lā ilāha illā Allāh: Muḥammadun rasūl Allāh." Witness is always in the singular. It is a corporate faith, but the witnessing unit is the person.

These words constitute the vital first "pillar" of Muslim religion; the other four are *śalāt* (prayer), *zakāt* (alms), *ṣawm* (fasting), and *ḥajj* (pilgrimage). As with all of the Five Pillars, the *nīyah,* or intention, has to be present in the recitation of the Shahādah if it is to avail as a genuine confession; its casual citation, as, for example, in a classroom discussion, would not amount to confession as faith.

The precise words in the ritual form do not, in fact, occur verbatim in the Qurʾān. But the theme of the sole lordship of Allāh was germinal to Muḥammad's mission, and his prophethood (*rasūlīyah*) was the sole agency entrusted by God with the Qurʾān. Muḥammad's prophethood therefore came to be conjoined inseparably in the Shahādah with the theme of God.

The word *Allāh* is precisely equivalent to the English word *God,* capitalized and without the definite article. *Allāh* is not a happy English usage, though it is sometimes employed in translations of the Shahādah. Care should be taken not to capitalize the word *ilāha* since it is a different term and should be translated as "god" with lowercase *g.* To write "There is no God but God" is without meaning. *Ilāha* is certainly capable of being pluralized ("gods many and lords many"). Not so *Allāh.* The core of Muḥammad's mission was this affirmation of divine unity. The term *Allāh* was already current, and well known to the Meccans, in Muḥammad's day. His own father (who died before his birth) was called ʿAbd Allāh, meaning "servant of God." Thus it was not the existence of Allah that the Prophet proclaimed, but his *sole* existence. All other deities, agencies, or powers intervening between humanity at the base of a hierarchical pyramid and Allāh at its apex, were nonentities, fictions, leaving God and humanity in unmediated relation.

The force of the word *lā* in the Shahādah is, as the grammarians say, that of absolute negation: "There does not exist any deity except . . ." The seven *l*s of the Shahādah (i. e., occurrences of the Arabic letter *lām*) make the recitation lyrical poetry, and serve, in their simple verticals (eleven verticals plus two rounded letters), as a favorite calligraphic device. Numerous passages in the Qurʾān cite the phrase "There is no god except he" (e.g., 2:163, 2:255, 3:2, 3:6, 3:18, 4:84, 6:102). "There is no god but thou" occurs once (21:87), and surah 16:2 reads "There is no god save I." Clearly more than a bare propositional monotheism is meant, as is evident in surah 6:164: "Say: 'Shall I desire as lord any other than God when he is lord of everything?'" Here the confessing "theist" is brought close to Psalm 73:25: "Whom have I in heaven but thee?"

That Muḥammad is the *rasūl,* the "messenger" or "sent one" of God is axiomatic and fundamental in Islam. *Rasūl Allāh,* "apostle of God," is his constant designation in the Qurʾān and in tradition. Indeed, the personal name Muḥammad occurs only four times in the Qurʾān (3:144, 33:40, 47:2, and 48:29). This is indicative of how the personality is absorbed into the vocation. *Rasūl* conveys a higher dignity than does *nabī* ("seer, prophet-seer"), though this term also is sometimes used of Muḥammad. Whereas earlier prophets and apostles had limited messages or areas of meaning and of vocation to particular people or situations, Muḥammad's mandate was final and universal as "a mercy to the worlds."

Within Islam, the brevity and simplicity of the Shahādah are seen as great assets, inasmuch as it avoids the complexities or subtleties attached to the Christian confession of "God in Christ." The theologians in Islam were, of course, involved in subtle issues when they developed their sophisticated *ʿaqidah*s, or creeds. But ordinary believers find ready assurance in what is terse, direct, and uncomplicated. Faith is not so much an exploration of mystery as an acknowledgement of that which warrants submission.

One theological complexity that cannot be avoided, however, is the question whether confession in itself, apart from behavior, constitutes Muslim adherence. In the Umayyad period and beyond, a form of Islam emerged in which Muslims, even caliphs, were utterly ready to recite with intention the confession, or *kalimat al-Shahādāh* (the "words of witness"), even as they lived profligate or negligent lives. Were they, then, true Muslims? Was a measure of ethical attainment and allegiance necessary? Was a faith without works enough? If not, who was to assess the modicum of acceptable conduct? The questions had political implications where rulers were unworthy. Some interpreters insisted that works were vital, that standards were not merely verbal. Others, frightened by the toils of assessment, preferred to leave the question with God and stay hopeful.

It is not clear when the form of the Shahādah was established, but it was certainly well within the Medinese period of Muḥammad's mission, when accessions to Islam used this formula. The formulation probably belongs to a very early period, the time when Muḥammad's status as the sole recipient of the Qurʾanic revelation had become assured to his followers. As in the other Semitic faiths, in Islam the concepts of "witness to faith" and "witness unto death" were closely linked by a single cognate term, here *shahīd,* meaning both "testimony giver" and "martyr." During the definitive early expansion of Islam the Shuhadāʾ (from the plural form of *shahīd)* were warriors in battle.

Ṣūfī, or mystical, Islam has its characteristic dimension for the Shahādah as for the *tawḥīd,* or unity, of God to which the Shahādah witnesses. The formula "Lā ilāha illā Allāh" in Ṣūfī rhythmic recitation, accompanied by bodily swaying and at gradually increasing tempo, serves to induce ecstatic experience of what Ṣūfīs call the unitive state. *Shahādah* in this esoteric sense may be said to contain "all metaphysics. . . . It negates all relativity and multiplicity from the Absolute and returns all positive qualities back to God. . . . Through its repetition this Unity comes to leave its permanent imprint upon the human soul and integrates it into its Center" (Seyyid Hossein Nasr, *Islam and the Plight of Modern Man,* London, 1975).

SEE ALSO Worship and Devotional Life, article on Muslim Worship.

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SHAHRASTĀNĪ, AL-

SHAHRASTĀNĪ, AL- (1086–1153), more fully, Abū al-Fath Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī, was a Muslim theologian, heresiographer, and historian of religions. His extant biographical profile, derived from the thirteenth-century biographical dictionary of Ibn Khallikān, remains thin. He was born in 1086 in the town of Shahrastan in Khorasan (Iran). There he obtained his earliest education, studying both jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and theology (*kalām*) under accepted masters. He aligned himself with the dominant Ashʿarī school of *kalām,* although his independent intellect led him to declare the shortcomings as well as the benefits of al-Ashʿarī's system.

The formative period in his life began at age thirty. On his return from the pilgrimage to Mecca, he stopped in Baghdad for three years to pursue further theological studies. His presence was forceful: By his interaction with some of the finest religious minds of his generation he gained respect as the most articulate exponent of Ashʿarī *kalām* at the prestigious Baghdad Niẓāmīyah. After leaving Baghdad he briefly engaged his theological peers in debate at Jurjānīyah and Nishapur then resettled in Shahrastān, where he spent the remainder of his life as a teacher and author until his death in 1153.

Among al-Shahrastānī's several writings, only one, *Kitāb nihāyat al-iqdām fī ʿilm al-kalām* (The height of daring in the science of theology), has been critically edited and translated into English. His most influential work is *Kitāb al-milal wa-al-niḥal* (The book of sects and creeds). In it al-Shahrastānī attempts, as its title implies, an extended investigation into religious sects and philosophical groups. It has been frequently cited, by both Muslim and non-Muslim scholars, as the most significant Muslim heresiography of the premodern period. It surpasses its predecessors—al-Baghdādī's *Farq bayn al-firaq* (Difference among differences), al-Isfarāʾinī's *Tabṣīr fī al-dīn* (Clarification in religion), and Ibn Ḥazm's *Fiṣal fī al-milal* (Distinctions among sects)—in objectivity and insight as well as detail and scope.

Al-Shahrastānī's scholarship rests on the shoulders of his Muslim predecessors; he interprets what they only report. Among the novel aspects of his eclectic methodology is his reliance on a group of Neoplatonic spiritualists known as the Sabians, with whom he probably came into contact while in Baghdad and to whom he ascribes both a limited concept of prophecy and a rational system of statutes and ordinances. By upgrading the theological status of the Sabians, he is able to stretch the category of *ahl al-kitāb* ("people of the Book") to accommodate non-Muslims such as the Sabians, including Indian Brahmans, Buddhists, and even some enlightened idolaters, into an ecumenical Muslim worldview.

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BRUCE B. LAWRENCE (1987)

SHĀH WALĪ ALLĀH SEE WALĪ ALLĀH, SHĀH

SHAIVISM SEE ŚAIVISM

SHAKERS. Members of the American religious group the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing were popularly called Shakers. One of the longest-lived and most influential religious communitarian groups in America, the Shakers originated in 1747 near Manchester, England, in a breakaway from the Quakers led by Jane and James Wardley. The group may also have been influenced by Camisard millenarians who had fled from France to England to escape the persecutions that followed revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. The nickname Shaking Quaker, or Shaker, was applied to the movement because of its unstructured and highly emotional services, during which members sang, shouted, danced, spoke in tongues, and literally shook with emotion. Under the leadership of Ann Lee, a Manchester factory worker who became convinced that celibacy was essential for salvation, the core of the Shakers emigrated to America in 1774 and settled two years later near Albany, New York. Until Lee's death in 1784 the Shakers remained a loosely knit group that adhered to Lee's personal leadership and to what they viewed as a millenarian restoration and fulfillment of the early Christian faith.

During the 1780s and 1790s under the leadership of two of Ann Lee's American converts, Joseph Meacham and Lucy Wright, Shakerism developed from a charismatic movement into a more routinized organization. Meacham and Wright oversaw the establishment of parallel and equal men's and women's orders. Adherents lived together in celibate communities and practiced communal ownership of property inspired by the Christian communism of *Acts* 2:44–45. Supreme authority was vested in the ministry at New Lebanon, New York, usually two men and two women, one of whom headed the entire society. Each settlement was divided into "families"—smaller, relatively self-sufficient communities of thirty to one hundred men and women living together under the same roof but strictly separated in all their activities. By 1800, eleven settlements with sixteen hundred members were functioning in New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Maine. A second wave of expansion, inspired by the Kentucky Revival and drawing heavily on the indefatigable Richard McNemar, a new light Presbyterian minister who converted to Shakerism, led to the establishment of seven additional settlements, in Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana, by 1826.

The high point of Shaker membership and the last major effort to revitalize the society came during the decade of spiritual manifestations that began in 1837. Frequently called "Mother Ann's work" because many of the revelations purportedly came from the spirit of Ann Lee and showed her continuing concern for her followers, the period saw a rich outpouring of creativity in new forms of worship, song, and dance, including extreme trance and visionary phenomena. Following the great Millerite disappointments of 1843 and 1844 when the world failed to come to a literal end, hundreds of Millerites joined the Shakers, bringing membership to a peak of some six thousand by the late 1840s. Thereafter the group entered into a long, slow decline. The loss of internal momentum and the changing conditions of external society led the Shakers to be viewed increasingly not as a dynamic religious movement but as a pleasant anachronism in which individuals who could not function in the larger society could find refuge. As late as 1900 there were more than one thousand Shakers, but by the beginning of the twenty-first century, only Sabbathday Lake, Maine, remained as an active community, with very few people living as Shakers there.

As the largest and most successful religious communitarian group in nineteenth-century America, the Shakers attracted the attention of numerous visitors, writers, and creators of more ephemeral communal experiments. The Shakers were known for their neat, well-planned, and successful villages; their functional architecture, simple furniture, and fine crafts; their distinctive songs, dances, and rituals; and their ingenuity in agriculture and mechanical invention. They also were sometimes criticized because of their sophisticated and highly unorthodox theology, which stressed a dual godhead combining male and female elements equally; perfectionism and continuing revelation; and the necessity of celibacy for the highest religious life. They were unique among American religious groups in giving women formal equality with men at every level of religious leadership, and they created a fully integrated subculture that has increasingly come to be viewed with interest and respect.

SEE ALSO Lee, Ann.

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Revised Bibliography

SHAMANISM

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW [FIRST EDITION]
AN OVERVIEW [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]
SIBERIAN AND INNER ASIAN SHAMANISM
NORTH AMERICAN SHAMANISM
SOUTH AMERICAN SHAMANISM
NEOSHAMANISM

SHAMANISM: AN OVERVIEW [FIRST EDITION]

Shamanism in the strict sense is preeminently a religious phenomenon of Siberia and Inner Asia. The word comes to us, through the Russian, from the Tunguz *šaman*. Throughout the immense area comprising the central and northern regions of Asia, the magico-religious life of society centers on the shaman. This, of course, does not mean that he is the one and only manipulator of the sacred, nor that religious activity is completely usurped by him. In many tribes the sacrificing priest coexists with the shaman, not to mention the fact that every head of a family is also the head of the domestic cult. Nevertheless, the shaman remains the dominating figure, for throughout the vast area of Asia in which the ecstatic experience is considered the religious experience *par excellence*, the shaman, and he alone, is the great master of ecstasy. A first definition of the complex phenomenon of shamanism—and perhaps the least hazardous—is that it is a technique of ecstasy.

As such, shamanism was documented and described by the earliest travelers in the various regions of Siberia and Inner Asia. Later, similar magico-religious phenomena were observed in North and South America, Indonesia, Oceania, and elsewhere. Because of their shared characteristics, there is every reason to study them together with Siberian and Inner Asian shamanism. But the presence of a shamanic complex in one region or another does not necessarily mean that the magico-religious life of the corresponding people is crystallized around shamanism. This can occur (as, for example, in certain parts of Indonesia), but it is not the most usual state of affairs. Generally, shamanism coexists with other forms of magic and religion. As is well known, magic and magicians are to be found more or less all over the world, whereas shamanism exhibits a particular magical specialty, such as mastery over fire, or magical flight. By virtue of this fact, though the shaman is (among other things) a magician, not every magician can properly be termed a shaman. The same distinction must be applied in regard to shamanic healing; every medicine man is a healer, but the shaman employs a method that is unique to him. As for the shamanic techniques of ecstasy, they do not exhaust all the varieties of ecstatic experience documented in the history of religions and religious ethnology. Hence not every ecstatic can be considered a shaman; the shaman "specializes" in the trance state, during which his soul is believed to leave his body and to ascend to the sky or descend to the underworld.

A similar distinction is also necessary to define the shaman's relation to spirits. All through the primitive and modern worlds we find individuals who profess to maintain relations with spirits, whether they are possessed by them or control them. But the shaman controls his helping spirits, in the sense that he is able to communicate with the dead, demons, and nature spirits without thereby becoming their instrument. To be sure, shamans are sometimes found to be possessed, but these are rather exceptional cases. In Inner and Northeast Asia the chief methods of recruiting shamans are (1) hereditary transmission of the shamanic profession and (2) spontaneous vocation ("call" or "election"). There are also cases of individuals who become shamans of their own free will (as, for example, among the Altaic Turkic peoples) or by the will of the clan (as with the Tunguz), but these self-made shamans are considered less powerful than those who have inherited the profession or who have obeyed the call of the gods and spirits.

However selected, a shaman is not recognized as such until after he has received two kinds of teaching: (1) ecstatic (dreams, trances, etc.) and (2) traditional (shamanic techniques, names and functions of the spirits, mythology and genealogy of the clan, secret language, etc.). This twofold course of instruction, given by the spirits and the old master shamans, is equivalent to an initiation. Sometimes the initiation is public and constitutes an autonomous ritual in itself. But absence of this kind of ritual in no sense implies absence of an initiation; the latter can perfectly well occur in a dream or in the neophyte's ecstatic experience. The syndrome of the shaman's mystical vocation is easily recognized. Among many Siberian and Inner Asian tribes, the youth who is called to be a shaman attracts attention by his strange behavior; for example, he seeks solitude, becomes absentminded, loves to roam in the woods or unfrequented places, has visions, and sings in his sleep. In some instances this period of incubation is marked by quite serious symptoms; among the Yakuts, the young man sometimes has fits of fury and easily loses consciousness, hides in the forest, feeds on the bark of trees, throws himself into water and fire, cuts himself with knives. The future shamans among the Tunguz, as they approach maturity, go through a hysterical or hysteroid crisis, but sometimes their vocation manifests itself at an earlier age—the boy runs away into the mountains and remains there for a week or more, feeding on animals, which he tears to pieces with his teeth. He returns to the village, filthy, bloodstained, his clothes torn and his hair disordered, and it is only after ten or more days have passed that he begins to babble incoherent words.

Even in the case of hereditary shamanism, the future shaman's election is preceded by a change in behavior. The souls of the shaman ancestors of a family choose a young man among their descendants; he becomes absentminded and moody, delights in solitude, has prophetic visions, and sometimes undergoes attacks that make him unconscious. During this period, the Buriats believe, the young man's soul is carried away by spirits; received in the palace of the gods, it is instructed by his shaman ancestors in the secrets of the profession, the forms and names of the gods, the worship and names of the spirits. It is only after this first initiation that the youth's soul returns and resumes control of his body (see the examples quoted in Eliade, 1964, pp. 13ff.). This hereditary form of the transmission of the vocation is also known in other parts of the world (ibid., pp. 21ff.).

A man may also become a shaman following an accident or a highly unusual event—for example, among the Buriats, the Soyot, and the Inuit (Eskimo), after being struck by lightning, or falling from a high tree, or successfully undergoing an ordeal that can be homologized with an initiatory ordeal, as in the case of an Inuit who spent five days in icy water without his clothes becoming wet.

SHAMANISM AND PSYCHOPATHOLOGY. The strange behavior of future shamans has not failed to attract the attention of scholars, and since the middle of the past century several attempts have been made to explain the phenomenon of shamanism as a mental disorder (ibid., pp. 25ff.). But the problem was wrongly put. On the one hand, it is not true that shamans always are, or always have to be, neuropathics; on the other hand, those among them who had been ill became shamans precisely because they had succeeded in healing themselves. Very often in Siberia, when the shamanic vocation manifests itself as some form of illness or as an epileptic seizure, the initiation is equivalent to a cure. To obtain the gift of shamanizing presupposes precisely the solution of the psychic crisis brought on by the first symptoms of election or call.

But if shamanism cannot simply be identified with a psychopathological phenomenon, it is nevertheless true that the shamanic vocation often implies a crisis so deep that it sometimes borders on madness. And since the youth cannot become a shaman until he has resolved this crisis, it is clear that it plays the role of a mystical initiation. The shock provoked in the future shaman by the discovery that he has been chosen by the gods or the spirits is by that very fact valuated as an "initiatory illness." His sufferings are exactly like the tortures of initiation. Just as, in puberty rites or rites for entrance into a secret society, the novice is "killed" by semidivine or demonic beings, so the future shaman sees in dreams his own body dismembered by demons. The initiatory rituals peculiar to Siberian and Inner Asian shamanism include a symbolic ascent to Heaven up a tree or pole; in a dream or a series of waking dreams, the sick man chosen by the gods or spirits undertakes his celestial journey to the world tree. The psychopathology of the shamanic vocation is not profane; it does not belong to ordinary symptomatology. It has an initiatory structure and significance; in short, it reproduces a traditional mystical pattern.

Once healed of his initiatory psychopathological crisis, the new shaman displays a strong and healthy constitution, a powerful intelligence, and more energy than others of the male group. Among the Buriats the shamans are the principal guardians of the rich oral literature. The poetic vocabulary of a Yakut shaman contains twelve thousand words, whereas the ordinary language—the only language known to the rest of the community—has only four thousand. The same observation applies to the shamans of other regions, such as North and South America, Oceania, and Australia (see some examples in Eliade, 1964, pp. 29ff.).

INITIATORY ORDEALS OF SIBERIAN SHAMANS. Relating their ecstatic initiations, the Siberian shamans maintain that they "die" and lie inanimate for from three to seven days in their yurts or in solitary places. During this time, they are cut up by demons or by their ancestral spirits; their bones are cleaned, the flesh scraped off, the body fluids thrown away, and their eyes torn from their sockets. According to a Yakut informant, the spirits carry the future shaman's soul to the underworld and shut him in a house for three years. Here he undergoes his initiation; the spirits cut off his head (which they set to one side, for the novice must watch his own dismemberment with his own eyes) and hack his body to bits, which are later distributed among the spirits of various sicknesses. It is only on this condition that the future shaman will obtain the power of healing. His bones are then covered with new flesh, and in some cases he is also given new blood. According to another Yakut informant, black devils cut up the future shaman's body and throw the pieces in different directions as offerings, then thrust a lance into his head and cut off his jawbone. A Yurak Samoyed shaman told Toivo Lehtisalo that spirits had attacked him and hacked him to pieces, also cutting off his hands. For seven days and nights he lay unconscious on the ground, while his soul was in Heaven.

From a long and eventful autobiography that an Avam Samoyed shaman confided to A. A. Popov, I shall select a few significant episodes. Stricken with smallpox, the future shaman remained unconscious for three days, so nearly dead that on the third day he was almost buried. He saw himself go down to Hell, and after many adventures he was carried to an island, in the middle of which stood a young birch tree, which reached up to Heaven. It was the Tree of the Lord of the Earth, who gave him a branch of it to make himself a drum. Next he came to a mountain. Passing through an opening, he met a naked man plying the bellows at an immense fire on which was a kettle. The man caught him with a hook, cut off his head, chopped his body to bits, and put the pieces into the kettle. There he boiled the body for three years, and then forged him a head on an anvil. Finally he fished out the bones, which were floating in a river, put them together, and covered them with flesh. During his adventures in the otherworld, the future shaman met several semidivine personages, in human or animal form, each of whom instructed him in the secrets of the healing art. When he awoke in his yurt, among his relatives, he was initiated and could begin to shamanize.

A Tunguz shaman relates that, during his initiatory illness, his shaman ancestors pierced him with arrows until he lost consciousness and fell to the ground; then they cut off his flesh, drew out his bones, and counted them before him; if one had been missing, he could not have become a shaman. According to the Buriats the candidate is tortured by his shaman ancestors, who strike him, cut up his body with a knife, and cook his flesh. A Teleut woman became a shamaness after having a vision in which unknown men cut her body to pieces and boiled it in a pot. According to the traditions of the Altaic shamans, their ancestral spirits open their bellies, eat their flesh, and drink their blood (see examples in Eliade, 1964, pp. 42ff.).

The ecstatic experience of the initiatory dismemberment of the body followed by a renewal of organs is also known in other preliterate societies. The Inuit believe that an animal (bear, walrus, etc.) wounds the candidate, tears him to pieces, or devours him; then new flesh grows around his bones. In South America, during the initiation of the Araucanian shaman, the master makes the spectators believe that he exchanges the novice's eyes and tongue for others and puts a stick through his abdomen. At Malekula, in the South Pacific, the initiation of the medicine man includes, among other things, the novice's dismemberment: the master cuts off his arms, feet, and head, and then puts them back in place. Among the Dayak, the *manangs* (shamans) say that they cut off the candidate's head, remove the brain, and wash it, thus giving him a clearer mind. Finally, cutting up the body and the exchange of viscera are essential rites in some initiations of Australian medicine men (ibid., pp. 59ff.).

One of the specific characteristics of shamanic initiations, aside from the candidate's dismemberment, is his reduction to the state of a skeleton. We find this motif not only in the accounts of the crises and sicknesses of those who have been chosen by the spirits to become shamans but also in the experiences of those who have acquired their shamanic powers through their own efforts, after a long and arduous quest. Thus, for example, among the Inuit group known as the Ammasilik, the apprentice spends long hours in his snow hut, meditating. At a certain moment, he falls "dead" and remains lifeless for three days and nights; during this period an enormous polar bear devours all his flesh and reduces him to a skeleton. It is only after his mystical experience that the apprentice receives the gift of shamanizing. The *angakkoqs*, or shamans, of the Iglulik Inuit are able in thought to strip their bodies of flesh and blood and to contemplate their own skeletons for long periods. Visualizing one's own death at the hands of demons and final reduction to the state of a skeleton are favorite meditations in Indo-Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism. Finally, it is worth noting that the skeleton is quite often represented on the Siberian shaman's costume (ibid., pp. 62ff., 158ff.).

PUBLIC RITES OF SHAMANIC INITIATIONS. Among the public initiation ceremonies of Siberian shamans, those of the Buriats are among the most interesting. The principal rite includes an ascent. A strong birch tree is set up in the yurt, with its roots on the hearth and its crown projecting through the smoke hole. The birch is called *udeši burkhan*, "the guardian of the door," for it opens the door of Heaven to the shaman. The birch will always remain in his tent, serving as the distinguishing mark of the shaman's residence. On the day of his consecration, the candidate climbs the birch to the top (in some traditions, he carries a sword in one hand) and, emerging through the smoke hole, shouts to summon the aid of the gods. After this, the master shaman, the apprentice, and the entire audience go in procession to a place far from the village, where, on the eve of the ceremony, a large number of birches have been set upright on the ground. The procession halts by a particular birch, a goat is sacrificed, and the candidate, stripped to the waist, has his head, eyes, and ears anointed with blood, while the other shamans play their drums. The master shaman now climbs a birch and cuts nine notches in the top of its trunk. The candidate then climbs it, followed by the other shamans. As they climb they all fall—or pretend to fall—into ecstasy. According to G. N. Potanin, the candidate has to climb nine birches, which, like the nine notches cut by the master shaman, symbolize the nine heavens (*Ocherki severo-zapadnoi Mongolii*, 4 vols., Saint Petersburg, 1881–1883).

In the initiatory rite of the Buriat shaman, the candidate is believed to ascend to Heaven for his consecration. The climb to Heaven by the aid of a tree or pole is also the essential rite in the séances of the Altaic shamans. The birch or pole is likened to the tree or pillar that stands at the center of the world and that connects the three cosmic zones—Earth, Heaven, and Hell. The shaman can also reach the center of the world by beating his drum, for the body of the drum is supposed to be made from a branch taken from the cosmic tree. Listening to the sound of his drum, the shaman falls into ecstasy and flies to the tree, that is, to the center of the world (see Eliade, 1964, pp. 115ff.).

TECHNIQUES OF ECSTASY. Whether he is chosen by superhuman beings or himself seeks to draw their attention and obtain their favors, the shaman is an individual who succeeds in having mystical experiences. In the sphere of shamanism the mystical experience is expressed in the shaman's trance, real or feigned. Shamanistic ecstasy signifies the soul's flight to Heaven, its wanderings about the earth, or its descent to the subterranean world, among the dead. The shaman undertakes these ecstatic journeys for four reasons: first, to meet the celestial god face to face and bring him an offering from the community; second, to seek the soul of a sick man, which has supposedly wandered away from his body or been carried off by demons; third, to guide the soul of a dead man to its new abode; or fourth, to add to his knowledge by frequenting higher nonhuman beings.

Through his initiation, the shaman learns what he must do when his soul abandons the body—and, first of all, how to orient himself in the unknown regions that he enters during his ecstasy. He learns to explore the new planes of existence disclosed by his ecstatic experiences. He knows the road to the center of the world: the hole in the sky through which he can fly up to the highest heaven, or the aperture in the earth through which he can descend to the underworld. He is forewarned of the obstacles that he will meet on his journeys, and knows how to overcome them. In short, he knows the paths that lead to Heaven and Hell. All this he has learned during his training in solitude, or under the guidance of the master shamans.

Because of his ability to leave his body with impunity, the shaman can, if he so wishes, act in the manner of a spirit: he flies through the air, he becomes invisible, he perceives things at great distances; he mounts to Heaven or descends to Hell, sees the souls of the dead and can capture them, and is impervious to fire. The exhibition of certain *faqīr*-like accomplishments during ritual séances, especially the so-called fire tricks, is intended to convince spectators that the shaman has assimilated the mode of being of spirits. The ability to turn into an animal, to kill at a distance, and to foretell the future are also among the powers of spirits; by exhibiting such powers, the shaman proclaims that he shares in the spirits' condition.

CELESTIAL ASCENTS AND DESCENTS TO THE UNDERWORLD. The Buriats, the Yakuts, and other Siberian tribes speak of "white" shamans and "black" shamans, the former having relations with the gods, the latter with the spirits, especially evil spirits. Their costumes differ, being—as among the Buriats—white for the former and blue for the latter. The Altaic "white" shaman himself sacrifices the horse offered to the god of heaven; afterward, in ecstasy, he conducts the animal's soul on its journey to the throne of Bai Ülgen, lord of the upperworld. Putting on his ceremonial costume, the shaman invokes a multitude of spirits, beats his drum, and begins his celestial ascent. He laboriously mimes the difficult passing through heaven after heaven to the ninth and, if he is really powerful, to the twelfth or even higher. When he has gone as high as his powers permit, he stops and humbly addresses Bai Ülgen, imploring his protection and his blessings. The shaman learns from the god if the sacrifice has been accepted and receives predictions concerning the weather and the coming harvest. This episode is the culminating moment of the ecstasy: the shaman collapses, exhausted, and remains motionless and dumb. After a time he rubs his eyes, appears to wake from a deep sleep, and greets those present as if after a long absence.

The Altaic shaman's celestial ascent has its counterpart in his descent to the underworld. This ceremony is far more difficult, and though it can be undertaken by both "white" and "black" shamans, it is naturally the specialty of the latter. The shaman makes a vertical descent down the seven successive subterranean levels, or regions, called *pudak*, "obstacles." He is accompanied by his dead ancestors and his helping spirits. At the seventh "obstacle" he sees the palace of Erlik Khan, lord of the dead, built of stone and black clay and defended in every direction. The shaman utters a long prayer to Erlik, then returns to the yurt and tells the audience the results of his journey.

THE SHAMAN AS PSYCHOPOMP. These descents to the underworld are undertaken especially to find and bring back a sick person's soul, or to escort the soul of the deceased to Erlik's realm. In 1884 V. V. Radlov published the description of a séance organized to escort the soul of a woman to the underworld forty days after her death. The ceremony takes place in the evening. The shaman begins by circling the yurt, beating his drum; then he enters the tent and, going to the fire, invokes the deceased. Suddenly the shaman's voice changes; he begins to speak in a high-pitched falsetto, for it is really the dead woman who is speaking. She complains that she does not know the road, that she is afraid to leave her relatives, and so on, but finally consents to the shaman's leading her, and the two set off together for the subterranean realm. When they arrive, the shaman finds that the dead refuse to permit the newcomer to enter. Prayers proving ineffectual, brandy is offered; the séance gradually becomes more lively, even to the point of the grotesque, for the souls of the dead, through the shaman's voice, begin quarreling and singing together; finally they consent to receive the dead woman. The second part of the ritual represents the return journey; the shaman dances and shouts until he falls to the ground unconscious (*Aus Siberien: Lose Blätter aus dem Tagebuche eines reisenden Linguisten*, Leipzig, 1884).

MEDICAL CURES. The principal function of the shaman in Siberia and Inner Asia is healing. Several conceptions of the cause of illness are found in the area, but that of the "rape of the soul" is by far the most widespread. Disease is attributed to the soul's having strayed away or been stolen, and treatment is in principle reduced to finding it, capturing it, and obliging it to resume its place in the patient's body. The Buriat shaman holds a preliminary séance to determine if the patient's soul has strayed away or if it has been stolen from him and is a captive in Erlik's prison. The shaman begins to search for the soul; if he finds it near the village, its reinstallation in the body is easy. If not, he searches the forests, the steppes, and even the bottom of the sea. Failure to find it indicates that it is a prisoner of Erlik, and the only recourse is to offer costly sacrifices. Erlik sometimes demands another soul in place of the one he has imprisoned; the problem then is to find one that is available. With the patient's consent, the shaman decides who the victim will be. While the latter is asleep, the shaman, taking the form of an eagle, descends on him and, tearing out his soul, goes with it to the realm of the dead and presents it to Erlik, who then allows him to take away the patient's soul. The victim dies soon afterward, and the patient recovers. But he has gained only a respite, for he too will die three, seven, or nine years later.

SURVIVAL AND METAMORPHOSIS OF SOME SHAMANIC TRADITIONS. Shamanic symbolism and practices were well known in Tibet, China, and the Far East (see Eliade, 1964, pp. 428ff.). The Bon shamans were believed to use their drums as vehicles to convey them through the air. Their cure included seeking the patient's soul, a shamanic ceremony popular also with the Tibetan exorcists. In the Tantric rite named Gcod, the practitioner offers his own flesh to be eaten by demons: they decapitate him, hack him to pieces, then devour his flesh and drink the blood. Since sickness is interpreted as the flight of the soul, the Lolo shamans of southern Yunnan, as well as the Karen "doctors" of Burma, read a long litany imploring the patient's soul to return from the distant mountains, forests, or fields. Among the Lolo and the Mea of Indochina, the shamans climb a double "ladder of knives," symbolizing their ascent to Heaven. A great number of shamanic symbols and rituals are to be found among the Tibeto-Burmese Moso (or Na-hsi) inhabiting southwestern China: ascension to Heaven, accompanying the soul of the dead, and so forth. In China, "magical flight" or "journeying in spirit," as well as many ecstatic dances, present a specific shamanic structure (see examples quoted in Eliade, 1964, pp. 447–461). In Japan shamanism is practiced almost exclusively by women. They summon the dead person's soul from the beyond, expel disease and other evil, and ask their god the name of the medicine to be used. According to Charles Haguenaur, the essential functions of a female shaman consist in causing a soul to descend into a house support (a sacred post or any other substitute) and incarnating a soul in order to make it serve as intermediary between the dead and the living, and then sending it back (cited in Eliade, 1964, p. 464).

A number of shamanic conceptions and techniques have been identified in the mythology and folklore of the ancient Germans (ibid., pp. 379ff.). To quote only one example: Óðinn descends on his eight-hoofed horse, Sleipnir, to Hel and bids a long-dead prophetess rise from the grave and answer his questions. In ancient Greece, Abaris flies through the air on his arrow. Hermotimos of Clazomenae had the power of leaving his body "for many years"; in his long ecstasy he journeyed to great distances (see other examples, ibid., pp. 389ff.). Shamanic practices are also to be found in ancient India as well as in the traditions of the Scythians, Caucasians, and Iranians (ibid., pp. 394–421). Among the aboriginal tribes of India, of particular interest is the shamanism of Savara (Saura), characterized by an "initiatory marriage" with a "spirit girl," similar to the practice of the Siberian Nanay (Goldi) and Yakuts (ibid., pp. 72ff., 421ff.).

SOME CONCLUSIONS. It is as yet impossible to reconstruct the prehistory and earliest history of different shamanisms. But we can appraise the religious and cultural importance of the shamans in those archaic societies dominated by a shamanistic ideology. To begin with, the shamans have played an essential role in the defense of the psychic integrity of the community. They are preeminently the antidemonic champions; they combat not only demons and disease, but also the "black" magicians. In a general way, it can be said that shamanism defends life, health, fertility, and the world of "light," against death, disease, sterility, disasters, and the world of "darkness."

It is as a further result of his ability to travel in the supernatural worlds and to see the superhuman beings (gods, demons, spirits of the dead, etc.) that the shaman has been able to contribute decisively to the knowledge of death. In all probability many features of funerary geography, as well as some themes of the mythology of death, are the result of the ecstatic experiences of shamans. The lands that the shaman sees and the personages that he meets during his ecstatic journeys in the beyond are minutely described by the shaman himself, during or after his trance. The unknown and terrifying world of death assumes form and is organized in accordance with particular patterns; finally, it displays a structure and, in the course of time, becomes familiar and acceptable. In turn, the supernatural inhabitants of the world of death become visible; they show a form, display a personality, even a biography. Little by little the world of the dead becomes knowable, and death itself is evaluated primarily as a rite of passage to a spiritual mode of being. In the last analysis, the accounts of the shamans' ecstatic journeys contribute to a "spiritualizing" of the world of the dead, at the same time that they enrich it with wondrous forms and figures.

There are certain likenesses between the accounts of shamanic ecstasies and certain epic themes in oral literature (see Eliade, 1964, pp. 213ff., 311ff., 368ff.). The shaman's adventures in the otherworld, the ordeals that he undergoes in his ecstatic descents below and ascents to the sky, suggest the adventures of the figures in popular tales and the heroes of epic literature. Probably a large number of epic subjects or motifs, as well as many characters, images, and clichés of epic literature, are, finally, of ecstatic origin, in the sense that they were borrowed from the narratives of shamans describing their journeys and adventures in the superhuman worlds.

It is likewise probable that the preecstatic euphoria constituted one of the universal sources of lyric poetry. In preparing his trance, the shaman drums, summons his spirit helpers, speaks a secret language or the "animal language," imitating the cries of beasts and especially the songs of birds. He ends by attaining a "second state" that provides the impetus for linguistic creation and the rhythms of lyric poetry.

Something must also be said concerning the dramatic structure of the shamanic séance. The sometimes highly elaborate staging of this session obviously exercises a beneficial influence on the patient. In addition, every genuinely shamanic séance ends as a spectacle unequaled in the world of daily experience. The fire tricks, the "miracles" of the rope-trick or mango-trick type, the exhibition of magical feats, reveal another world—the fabulous world of the gods and magicians, the world in which everything seems possible, where the dead return to life and the living die only to live again, where one can disappear and reappear instantaneously, where the laws of nature are abolished and a certain superhuman freedom from such structures is exemplified and made dazzlingly present.

It is difficult for us to imagine the repercussions of such a spectacle in a "primitive" community. The shamanic "miracles" not only confirm and reinforce the patterns of the traditional religion, they also stimulate and feed the imagination, demolish the barriers between dream and present reality, and open windows upon worlds inhabited by the gods, the dead, and the spirits.

SEE ALSO Ascension; Buriat Religion; Descent into the Underworld; Dismemberment; Ecstasy; Flight; Spirit Possession.

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MIRCEA ELIADE (1987)

SHAMANISM: AN OVERVIEW [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

The cross-cultural concept of shamanism promoted by Mircea Eliade (1907–1986) has stood the test of time and has been extended and refined. Eliade's conceptualization of shamanism has promoted the cross-cultural and interdisciplinary application of the term *shaman*. Systematic cross-cultural research has validated a universal (etic) concept of the shaman, illustrating the substantial similarities among spiritual healing practices found in hunter-gatherer societies worldwide. Archaeological research has established a deep prehistorical depth for shamanism, illustrating its central role in the emergence of modern human culture. Perspectives from evolutionary psychology have helped explain the emergence and cross-cultural distribution of shamanism in terms of adaptive psychological, social, and cognitive effects that contributed to human evolution. The worldwide distribution of shamanism reflects its basis in innate brain processes and modules and in biologically based cognitive and representational systems. Modern perspectives reject the earlier pathological characterizations of shamanism, instead recognizing it as a primordial spiritual healing practice that managed psychosocial processes and fundamental aspects of brain function. The role of the hunter-gatherer shamans, with their biological basis in altered states of consciousness, was transformed by sociocultural evolution, producing a universal manifestation of "shamanistic healers" who entered ecstatic states in order to interact with spirits on behalf of the community and clients.

CROSS-CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SHAMANS. Eliade emphasized shamanism as "preeminently" of Siberia, but he recognized similar practices around the world. Dissension concerning whether shamanism was strictly limited to Siberia or was found worldwide has been resolved through cross-cultural research by Michael Winkelman (1986, 1990, 1992) that illustrates empirically the existence of similar magico-religious practitioners in many hunter-gatherer and simple agricultural and pastoral societies. Michael Harner refers to this worldwide phenomenon as "core shamanism." Shamans were charismatic social leaders who engaged in healing and divination for the local community. In addition to *ecstasy*, or an altered state of consciousness (ASC), spirit world interaction, and community relations, other beliefs and practices associated with shamans include:

- an ASC experience known as *soul journey* or *magical flight;*
- the use of chanting, drumming, and dancing;
- training through deliberately induced ASC, producing visionary experiences;
- an initiatory crises involving a death-and-rebirth experience;
- abilities of divination, diagnosis, and prophecy;
- therapeutic processes focused on *soul loss* and recovery;
- disease caused by spirits, sorcerers, and the intrusion of objects or entities;
- interaction with animals, including control of animal spirits and transformation into animals;
- malevolent acts, or sorcery; and
- hunting magic.

CROSS-CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN SHAMANISTIC PRACTICES. One characterization of shamanism offered by Eliade was the practice of entering ASC (Eliade used the term *ecstasy*) to interact with spirits on behalf of the community. This characterization led to the extension of the concept of shaman to include many different practices, including those that do not exhibit the other characteristics of the shaman emphasized by Eliade, such as soul flight, animal allies, death-and-rebirth experiences, hunting magic, and the capacity for sorcery. Other practitioners that engage in ASC to interact with spirits on behalf of their communities have some different characteristics that differ from those of the core shamans. Winkelman has suggested the term *shamanistic healers* for this universal manifestation of the shamanic potential involving ASC, community ritual, and spirit interaction.

Differences in shamanic practices were explored by Anna Siikala, who proposed that the breakdown of the clan structure along with stratification of the community led to different types of shamanism, particularly professional shamans. She distinguished between the following:

1. small-group shamans, characteristic of the nomadic northern ethnic groups of Siberia;
2. independent professional shamans, prevalent among paleo-Asian groups, such as the Chukchee;
3. clan shamans, found in Altaic groups; and
4. territorial professional shamans, found in Central Asia and southern Siberia.

Winkelman's cross-cultural research, however, indicates that different types of shamanistic healers developed in different places as a consequence of the effects of sedentary residence and agricultural and political integration. These effects are illustrated in the following characterizations of the distinctive aspects of core shamans, shaman/healers, healers, and mediums.

Core shamanism. Shamans are found worldwide in nomadic or seminomadic hunter-gather, horticultural, and pastoral societies. Shamans were predominantly male, but most societies also had female shamans. In the past, shamans tended to come from shaman families, but anyone could become a shaman if selected by the spirits. Early in life, shamans undertook deliberate activities to enter ASC, undertaking a "vision quest" in which they developed personal relationships with spirits who provided direct training. The developmental experiences of shamans included death-and-rebirth experiences involving dismemberment and reconstruction by the spirits. This provided shamans with powers, especially animal allies that could provide assistance in healing, divination, hunting, and the ability to use sorcery to harm others. A shaman's all-night ceremony involved the entire local community in dancing, drumming, and chanting. A central aspect involved the shaman recounting ASC experiences called *soul journey* or *magical flight*, in which an aspect of the shaman departs the body and travels to other places. Shamans were not normally possessed by spirits; rather they controlled spirits and were believed to be able to fly and transform into animals. Therapeutic processes involved removal of objects or removal of spirits sent by other shamans through sorcery, as well as soul journeys to recover lost souls and engage in relationships with "power animals" (aspects of the shaman's personal essence and powers).

Shaman/healers. Shaman/healers are found in agricultural or pastoral societies at all levels of social complexity. They share characteristics with other types of shamans, but they differ from shamans in important ways. The shaman's direct tutelage by spirits and affirmation by the community is replaced in shaman/healers with instruction by elder practitioners, as well as public ceremonial recognition of the successful initiate, marking their entrance into the profession. In addition, shaman/healers are subordinated to religious practitioners called priests. Shaman/healers also engage in agricultural rituals and often use instruments, such as Tarot cards, with established interpretative systems for divination.

Shaman/healers are generally characterized by extensive role specialization, and the practitioner engages in a limited subset of professional activities associated with the position. For instance, a shaman/healer may perform divination but not healing or agricultural rites. Their ASC experiences are similar to those characteristic of meditators and mystics, although the shamanistic healer's ASC may involve soul journey.

Mediums. Mediums are often referred to as "shamans" (Lewis, 1988), but they were in most respects distinct from core shamans. Historically, Most mediums have been female, and their call to the profession has generally been a possession episode in early adulthood. Possession is interpreted as a "take over" of the person's personality by a spirit. The possession ASC generally involves tremors, convulsions, seizures, and amnesia (these characteristics are often interpreted as evidence of the spirits' control of the medium). Mediums do not usually engage in malevolent acts but instead are called upon to act against sorcerers, witches, and other evil entities. Mediums may worship their possessing spirits, and they often maintain relationships with superior deities to whom they make sacrifices.

Mediums may be more powerful than ordinary women, but, in contrast to the social leadership role of shamans, they tend to appear in complex societies with political hierarchies and religious practitioners, such as priests and healers, who are more powerful than the medium.

Healers. Healers are not usually referred to as shamans. They are almost exclusively male and generally have high economic status and political power. Healers' professional organizations provide training, which is generally expensive, but the profession is remunerative, enabling healers to be full-time specialists. Most healers do not engage in the ASC practices characteristic of shamans, but healers sometimes use rituals and incantations to induce ASC in clients. A principal healing activity is exorcism. Healers also perform life-cycle activities, such as naming ceremonies, marriage rituals, and funerals. Healers often identify sorcerers or witches, and take action against them.

PSYCHOBIOLOGICAL FEATURES OF SHAMANISM. The shamanistic practices found in hunter-gatherer societies around the world, and the universal distribution of shamanistic healers, reflect ecological and social adaptations to human biological potentials. The psychobiological bases of shamanism include basic brain processes, operations of innate representational modules, and neurological structuring of fundamental structures of consciousness (Winkelman, 2000, 2002a, 2002b). Neurological foundations underlie the principal characteristics of shamanism that Eliade emphasized—ecstasy, spirits, and community—as well as other universal characteristics of shamanism (e.g., the visionary journey, the use of music and dance, and animal allies).

Shamanic rituals activate brain structures and processes that elicit integrative psychological and social processes and produce visual and metaphoric representations. This integration of brain functions involves physiologically based brain integration induced by ASC, as well as cognitive synthesis based in integration of specialized representational functions, producing symbolic thought in animism, animal spirits, totemism, and soul flight. The primary neurological features of shamanism are discussed below in terms of the underlying physiological bases and functional dynamics of the following:

- ASC, or operations of consciousness that produce cognitive and personal integration;
- visionary experiences, manifesting a cognitive capacity for presentational symbolism;
- fundamental structures of human consciousness reflected in spirits (animism);
- self-objectification processes reflected in soul journey and death-and-rebirth experiences;
- metaphoric representations using animal and body relations, which is manifested in animism, animal powers, and totemism;
- community bonding processes that elicit attachment dynamics and opioid mechanisms, including mimetic expression, chanting, and dance to produce social coordination; and
- physiological healing processes based in the relaxation response, anxiety management, and elicitation of opioid and serotonergic neurotransmitters.

ASC: THE INTEGRATIVE MODE OF CONSCIOUSNESS The ecstasy, or ASC, that is central to the selection, training, and professional practice of shamans typically involves singing, chanting, drumming, and dancing, followed by collapse and apparent unconsciousness but accompanied by intense visual experiences. This ASC involves a natural brain response that produces physiological, functional, and psychological integration. Arnold Mandell has argued that the physiological dynamics of ASC involve slow-wave discharges from the serotonin circuits of the limbic brain, which produces synchronized waves across the brain. Auditory driving (singing, chanting, drumming, and music) is a primary mechanism for producing ASC and brain-wave synchronization. Dancing, fasting, and other austerities, most psychoactive drugs, and social and sensory isolation reinforce the response. Shamanic ASCs activate the autonomic nervous system to the point of exhaustion, and it collapses into a parasympathetic dominant state that evokes the relaxation response. Skilled shamans may directly enter this state of relaxation through an internal focus of attention, as in meditation. The relaxation response is one of the body's natural healing processes, with adaptive advantages in stress reduction and physiological restoration.

The shaman's ASC elicits the "integrative mode of consciousness" (Winkelman, 2000), a normal brain response to many activities (e.g., chanting, drumming, fasting, meditation) with synchronized brain-wave patterns in the theta and alpha range. These slow-wave patterns are produced by activation of serotonergic linkages between the limbic-brain system (the "emotional brain" or paleomammalian brain) and lower-brain structures. These connections produce coherent theta brain-wave discharges that synchronize the frontal areas of the brain, replacing the normal fast and desynchronized brain-wave activity of the frontal cortex. The integrative mode of consciousness integrates preverbal behavioral and emotional information into the cultural and language mediated processes of the frontal cortex.

Visionary experience as presentational symbolism. An intense visual imagery, what Richard Noll refers to as "mental imagery cultivation," is central to the shamanic ASC experience. These experiences reflect an innate representational system referred to as "presentational symbolism" by Harry Hunt. Visionary experiences provide analysis, analogic synthesis, diagnosis, and planning. Shamanic visions are natural brain phenomena that result from release of suppression of the visual cortex; the visions involve the same brain substrates used for the processing of perceptual information.

Images are a form of psychobiological communication experienced in a preverbal symbol system. Imagery plays a fundamental role in cognition, providing a basis for metaphoric expression and the formation of relations between different levels of information processing. Mental imagery integrates unconscious psychophysiological information with emotional levels, linking somatic and cognitive experience and recruiting and coordinating muscles and organic systems.

SPIRITS AND HUMAN CONSCIOUSNESS. The fundamental features of shamanism—animism, totemism, and animal spirits—are representations of self, intrapsychic dynamics, and social groups. These representations are produced through integration of specialized innate processing modules for natural history intelligence (recognition of animal species) with modules for self-conceptualization and mental attributions regarding social "others" (mind reading). The shamanic role in managing these modules is exemplified in certain characteristics of shamans: (1) social intelligence—being group leader and mediator of intergroup relations; (2) natural history knowledge—being master of animals; and (3) self-conceptualization exemplified in identity shifts developed through animal familiars, soul flight, and death-and-rebirth experiences. These representations reflect preverbal structures of consciousness and the thought processes of lower-brain structures. These specialized forms of knowledge production are combined in metaphoric processes to produce the shamanic features of animism, totemism, and animal spirits. Anthropomorphism and interaction with the spirit world (animism) use the brain's innate representation modules for understanding the self and social others, and for attributing human mental and social characteristics to animals, nature, and the unknown. The phenomena of totemism, animal allies, and animal powers involve the natural history intelligence, employing capacities for distinguishing animal species to understand and mold personal identity and produce differentiation of self and social groups.

Animism and animal allies. Animism involves the use of innate representation modules for understanding self and social others, and for attributing human mental and social capabilities to animals, nature, and the unknown. Stewart Guthrie discusses animism as a human being's use of self-characteristics as a model for the unknown; it is a natural projection of a human being's own qualities in relationship to the environment. Spirit concepts are based in social intelligence, the ability to infer the mental states of others. This intuitive psychology and "theory of mind" attributes mental states to others through the organism's use of its own mental states to model the mind and behaviors of others. This attribution underlies the spirit world.

Animal allies, guardian spirits, and totemism involve a process that is reciprocal to animism and represents humans through the use of the natural-history module's capacity for organizing knowledge about animal species. This universal analogical system for creation and extension of meaning uses natural-history intelligence to differentiate personal and social identities. Animal species provide natural symbol systems for differentiation of self and social groups and have psychosocial functions in empowering people, as illustrated in the guardian spirit quest discussed by Guy Swanson. Spirits are "sacred others," the integration of the spiritual and social worlds in cultural processes, which Jacob Pandian characterizes as the production of the symbolic self. Spirit beliefs exemplify social norms and psychosocial relations, structuring individual psychodynamics and social behavior. Spirit beliefs protect from stress and anxiety through management of emotions and attachments. Spirits provide variable command-control agents for mediating conflict between the different instinctive agents and aspects of self. This facilitates the operation with respect to a hierarchy of goals and the use of problem-solving modules for nonroutine tasks.

Death and rebirth. Transformations of self are also illustrated in a universal feature of shamanic development, the death-and-rebirth experience. This involves illness, suffering, and attacks by spirits, leading to the experience of death and dismemberment, followed by a reconstruction of the body with the help of spirit allies and powers. Roger Walsh characterizes the death-and-rebirth experience as a natural response to overwhelming stress and intrapsychic conflicts. This breakdown of ego structures reflects neurognostic processes of self-transformation, experienced in "autosymbolic images" of bodily destruction. Charles Laughlin, John McManus, and Eugene d'Aquili (1992) discuss these experiences as involving the activation of innate drives toward psychological integration and the restructuring of ego and identity through activation of holistic imperatives to produce a new self-identity and higher levels of psychological integration.

Soul flight as self-objectification. Soul-flight experiences involve natural symbolic systems for self-representation. The shaman's soul journey is structurally similar to ASC found cross-culturally in out-of-body and near-death experiences. The homologies reflect their innate basis in psychophysiological structures as forms of self-representation that are a natural response of the human nervous system. Charles Laughlin (1997) discusses the universality of a body-based metaphor that is manifested in shamanic cosmology and a natural body-based epistemology. Soul flight involves "a view of self from the perspective of other," a form of "taking the role of the other" in presentational symbolism (Hunt, 1995). These self-representations provide forms of self-awareness referenced to the body, but, apart from the body, they produce the altered consciousness and transcendence experienced by shamans.

COMMUNITY RITUALS AND PSYCHOSOCIAL DYNAMICS. Shamanic activity is accomplished on behalf of the community and requires community participation. Soul loss, the most fundamental shamanic illness, is healed by reintegration of the patient into the community. Community rituals produce both psychosocial effects (community cohesion, positive expectation, and social support) and psychobiological effects (the elicitation of attachment and opioid mechanisms).

Opioid-mediated attachment processes. Ede Frecska and Zsuzsanna Kulcsar illustrate how communal rituals elicit attachment bonds and other psycho-socio-physiological mechanisms that release endogenous opiates and produce psychobiological synchrony in a group of people. Shamanic rituals release endogenous opiates through a variety of mechanisms, including austerities, fasting, water restriction, strenuous exercise, and emotional hyperstress (Winkelman, 1997). Shamanic rituals elicit responses from the brain's opioid systems by tapping into social attachment and conditioned cultural symbols (Frecska and Kulcsar, 1989). Emotionally charged symbols elicit the opioid system and permit ritual manipulation of physiological responses in the linking of the psychic, mythological, and somatic spheres. Opioids stimulate the immune system; produce a sense of euphoria, certainty, and belonging; and enhance coping skills, pain reduction, stress tolerance, environmental adaptation, group synchronization, and maintenance of bodily homeostasis (Valle and Prince, 1989).

Mimetic expression and emotional vocalization. Community bonding involves chanting, music, and dance, which can elicit an ancient communicative system that Merlin Donald discusses as mimesis, an imitative communication channel that evolved to enhance social bonding and communication of internal states. Music, chanting, singing, and dancing have origins in mimetic modules that provide rhythm, affective semantics, and melody (see Wallin, Merker, and Brown, 2000). Chanting and music provide a nonlinguistic channel for communication that induces healing states by engaging theta and alpha brain-wave production and by promoting cohesion, coordination, and cooperation among the group. The shamanic practices of drumming, dancing, and ritual imitation are based in operations of this innate mimetic controller and the unique human ability to entrain the body and community to external rhythms.

SHAMANIC THERAPIES. Shamanism is the original psycho-socio-physiological therapy in that it uses rituals and cultural processes to manipulate health from physical through symbolic levels. Therapeutic mechanisms of shamanism include:

- inducing relaxation and the parasympathetic dominant responses that elicit organic healing;
- reducing the physiological effects of stress and anxiety by providing meaning and assurance;
- integrating dissociated aspects of the self and the spiritual-social models into identity;
- enhancing the mammalian bonding-attachment process;
- producing individual psychosocial development and social integration;
- synchronizing and integrating the information processes of the brain's subsystems;
- activating opioid and serotonergic neurotransmitter systems; and
- producing ritual elicitation and cultural programming of neurological processes.

Hypnosis in shamanic healing. James McClenon discusses how an inheritable hypnotizability provided foundations for shamanistic healing. Hypnotic susceptibility provided mechanisms for enhancing recovery from disease, as well as innovations derived from access to the unconscious mind and its creative visions. Hypnotizability produces physiological and psychophysiological responses that facilitated shamanic healing. Hypnotic and ritual behavior among other animals provides mechanisms for adaptation to the social environment by reducing stress and promoting intragroup cohesion, which is experienced by humans as "union" or "oneness." Shamanic healing potentials exploit the co-occurrence of hypnotizability, dissociation, fantasy proneness, temporal lobe lability, and thin cognitive boundaries to enhance connections between the unconscious and conscious mind. This access provided survival advantages by facilitating the development of creative strategies, enhancing suggestibility to symbolically induced physiological changes, and inducing ASC experiences to facilitate psychosomatic healing.

Soul loss. Jeanne Achterberg and Sandra Ingerman discuss soul loss as a central shamanic illness that involves injury to the essence of one's being and damage to crucial aspects of the self, fundamental aspects of personal identity, and the essence of self-emotions. This injury to one's essence is manifested as despair, a loss of meaning in life, and a loss of one's sense of belonging and connection with others. Soul loss results from trauma that causes an aspect of one's self to dissociate, making reintegration of these dissociated aspects of self central to healing. Soul recovery involves regaining the sense of social self that was alienated by trauma. Community participation is central to soul retrieval because social support is vital for the reintegration of the self.

THE EVOLUTIONARY ROOTS OF SHAMANISM. Jean Clottes, David Lewis-Williams, Robert Ryan, and Michael Winkelman have reconstructed the prehistorical emergence of shamanism, which occurred more than forty thousand years ago in the earliest manifestations of modern human culture in the Middle to Upper Paleolithic transition. The similarity in shamanism around the world derives from human nature; it is an aspect of an evolved psychology. Several lines of evidence point to a biogenetic origin for shamanic ritual: (1) continuity with animal ritual and hominid group activities involving vocalizations for interpersonal communication and group coordination, as well as drumming, dancing and mimesis; (2) the direct correspondences of the central features of Paleolithic cave art to the universals of shamanism; and (3) the ability of shamanic ritual processes to provide psychological and social integration processes; that is, the group needs that characterize the changes associated with this period of transition in human history (Winkelman, 2002a).

The central role of shamanic elements in Middle to Upper Paleolithic cave art is seen in the elements and style of these artistic depictions, the nature of the representations of animals and humans, and the ritual use of natural cave features (Winkelman, 2002b; Ryan; Clottes, and Lewis-Williams, 1998; Lewis-Williams, 2002). This art is key evidence for the cultural cognitive revolution, with shamanic ritual, beliefs, practices, and cosmology characterized by cross-modal cognitive integrations that typify the emergent features of Paleolithic thought.

This role of shamanism in the Middle to Upper Paleolithic transition can be understood from psychosocial and psychobiological perspectives that illustrate how shamanic ritual practices and beliefs facilitated adaptations to the ecological and social changes of the Upper Paleolithic, and thus facilitated cognitive evolution. Shamanism produced social bonding mechanisms, self-transformation processes, and analogical thought processes that provided integrative visual and emotional syntheses. Shamanism contributed to cognitive and social evolution through production of visual symbolism and analogical thought processes, and through the ritual activities that promoted group bonding and the identity formation that was central to managing the consequences of the Middle to Upper Paleolithic transition.

The triune brain and shamanic healing. Human evolution produced a fragmentation of consciousness in the modular structure of the brain (Mithen, 1996), the diversification of personal and social identities, and the habitualization of brain processes (Laughlin et al., 1992). Shamanistic activities use ASC, visual symbols, and group rituals to produce psychological, social, and cognitive integration, which serves to manage relationships among behavioral, emotional, and cognitive processes, and between physiological and mental levels of the organism.

One aspect of this shamanic integration involves linkages across the evolutionary strata of the brain. Paul MacLean has proposed that the brain involves three anatomically distinct yet interconnected systems—the reptilian brain, the paleomammalian brain, and the neomammalian brain—that provide the basis for behavioral and emotional "subsymbolic" information. These communication systems employ a visual presentational symbolism (Hunt, 1995) that mediates interactions across levels of the brain and social, affective, and visual symbolic information. The hierarchical management of behavior, emotions, and reason is mediated both physiologically and symbolically. The relationships among innate drives, social attachment, and cultural demands create many different kinds of health problems, including chronic anxiety and fear, behavioral disorders, conflict, excessive emotionality and desire, obsessions and compulsions, dissociations, and repression. The paleomammalian brain mediates many of these processes to promote an integration of the self within the community, thus accommodating the instinctual responses of the reptilian and paleomammalian brain systems to the cultural demands mediated by the frontal brain systems.

CONCLUSIONS. Shamanism is now getting recognition as the original basis of human spiritual and religious practice, a part of human nature that played a significant role in human cognitive and cultural evolution. As a biologically based spiritual and healing system that played a significant role in human survival, social relations, and cosmology, shamanism was humanity's original neurotheology. As human societies became more complex, the original biological basis of shamanism that was manifested in hunter-gatherer societies was substantially modified, eventually emerging in the form of mediumship and possession. Ethnography and cross-cultural studies have, however, helped revive shamanism and have reintroduced it to the modern world, enabling shamanism to reemerge as a natural religious and spiritual form.

SEE ALSO Healing and Medicine, overview article.

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MICHAEL WINKELMAN (2005)

SHAMANISM: SIBERIAN AND INNER ASIAN SHAMANISM

Shamanism is a fundamental and striking feature of Siberian and Inner Asian cultures. The religions of these regions have therefore been described as shamanistic. Shamanism itself is not, however, a religion, but rather a complex of different rites and beliefs surrounding the activities of the shaman connected with very different religious systems. Shamanism is founded on a special technique for achieving ecstasy by means of which the shaman enters an altered state of consciousness, and on the idea that the shaman is accompanied by helping spirits who assist him in this state. While in a state of trance, the shaman is regarded as capable of direct communication with representatives of the otherworld, either by journeying to the supranormal world or by calling the spirits to the séance. He is thus able to help his fellow men in crises believed to be caused by the spirits and to act as a concrete mediator between this world and the otherworld in accompanying a soul to the otherworld, or fetching it from the domain of the spirits. The shaman acts as a healer and as a patron of hunting and fertility, but also as a diviner, the guardian of livelihoods, and so on.

THE ORIGIN OF SHAMANISM. The ecological and cultural differences among the peoples of Siberia and Inner Asia are considerable. The way of life of the Arctic sea-mammal hunters and reindeer breeders differs greatly from that of the nomads of the steppe or the hunters and fishermen of the taiga. It follows that, despite certain basic similarities, the shamanistic complexes are not uniform either. There are variations in the shaman's status in the community, as there are differences, for example, in his ritual accessories or the tradition of beliefs he represents. Tracing the history of shamanism is thus a complicated matter. Shamanism is generally thought to be founded on the animistic concepts of the northern hunting peoples. On the other hand, soul flight, the ability of the shaman to journey to the otherworld, a striking feature of northern and western shamanistic complexes, has led scholars to regard a dualistic concept of the soul as the ideological basis of shamanism. According to this belief, man has one soul confined to the body and a second soul, or part soul, capable of leaving the body freely during sleep, trance, or sickness.

The word *shaman* comes through Russian sources from the Tunguz word *šaman* (*xaman*). There are such varied names for the shaman in Siberia and Inner Asia that these names cannot be used to throw light on the origin of shamanism. A theory was put forward in the nineteenth century that the word derived from the Pali *samaṇa* (Sanskrit, *śramaṇa*) and Chinese *shamen*. Although this theory has been disproved (Németh, 1913–1914; Laufer, 1917), the cultural-historical foundations of shamanism have been sought in Buddhism or others of the great scriptural traditions of the East. It is indeed a fact that Buddhism and Lamaism had a significant effect on the development of shamanism among the Evenki (a Tunguz people), the Mongols, and the Buriats. The wide distribution of the phenomenon of shamanism and the endemicity of certain of its basic ideas—soul flight, soul dualism, the link with animal ceremonialism—in Arctic and sub-Arctic cultures do, however, support the view that the roots of shamanism lie in the Paleolithic hunting cultures. In his fundamental work *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (1964), Mircea Eliade regards the ideas of ecstatic experience and soul flight as the basis of shamanism, and asserts that shamanism grew out of the ancient Paleolithic inheritance, fertilized by Buddhism, Lamaism, and even more ancient East and South Asian influences.

THE SHAMAN IN THE COMMUNITY. The small hunting and fishing communities of northern Siberia have provided a setting for shamanism completely different from that of the agrarian cultures of Inner Asia rooted to one locale. Both the status of the shaman in the community and his tasks depend on the supporting culture, its economy, the nature of its social structure, and its practice of religion as a whole. Variations in the status of the shaman and the importance of shamanism as an institution spring from the relationship between the shaman and the group supporting him as well as from the nature of the particular group.

The clan shaman. The Yukagir and the Evenki retained their clan system until relatively recent times, and their shamanism is clearly connected with the organization of the clan. Even at the end of the nineteenth century the Yukagir, a Siberian tribal people, lived off deer hunting and reindeer breeding, the latter having been assimilated from the Evenki. The population, consisting of the remains of formerly larger clans, lived in camps or villages of related families. The shaman, who had to be related to the clan by ties of blood, was one of the leaders of the clan and acted as its general patron. It was also his job to maintain contact between the living and the dead members of the clan and to arrange the shamanizing connected with the calendrical hunting rites. It was during these rites that the shaman would retrieve the souls of the animals to be hunted from the keeper of the species in the otherworld store. The shaman helped individual members of the clan by curing diseases and infertility, by prophesying, and by preventing misfortune threatened by the spirits.

A highly advanced clan system existed among the Evenki, who were spread over a wide area and were divided into different occupational categories: hunters and fishermen, reindeer breeders, and hunters breeding horses and cattle. Their chief social unit was the clan, which had its own area or "river"; the clans were in turn grouped into larger tribes. One of the leaders of the clan was a shaman. Such special status among the Evenki living along the Podkamennaia Tunguska is illustrated by the belief that the shaman's hair may not be cut because it is the dwelling place of the souls of the members of the clan. As the protector and leader of his clan, their shaman set up a *marylya* (a fence made of spirits) around the clan's lands; he also possessed knowledge of the mythical clan river leading to the otherworld. The clan shaman held séances on behalf of his supporters, shamanizing in the course of hunting rites and helping individual members of the clan. At the end of the nineteenth century there also were professional Evenk shamans who would shamanize on behalf of members of a different clan for a fee. These "false" shamans were not accorded the honored and important position of the clan shaman.

The small-group shaman. The shamans in circles of neighbors and relatives among the hunters of northwestern and northern Siberia had a relationship with their supporters comparable to that of the clan shaman. For example, the Nganasani (a Samoyed people) were spread over such a wide area that the clan was of no significance as an economic or local unit. It retained its significance mainly in religious connections, such as in annual rituals. On an occasion such as the clean-tent festival of the Nganasani, held in February when the sun began to rise again, the shaman might act as representative of the clan. He did not, however, achieve a status symbolizing clan unity and the welfare of the clan. He was equipped by his own small community, the tent community or village whose members he assisted as a healer, a bringer of success in hunting, a guardian at difficult births, and so on.

The professional shaman of the north. The relationship between the shaman of the north and his supporters was not as close as that described above in northeastern Siberia.

The Chukchi and the Koriak—small tribal peoples indigenous to Siberia—fell into two occupational categories interacting closely with one another: reindeer breeders and sea-mammal hunters. They showed no signs of a clear clan system, their basic social unit being the hunting communities and nomad camps made up of relatives and neighbors. The annual occupational rites were handled by the family or occupational unit, one typical feature being family shamanism. In this type of shamanism, which cannot be considered shamanism proper, anyone attending a festival could drum and dance in the manner of a shaman. Since the occupational and other important rites were performed among the family or kin, the shaman was not tied to any clearly defined band of supporters. He was a healer and a resolver of various incidental crises. The status of the shaman who was able to choose his clients freely depended on his personal skills. Thus the performance of various tricks played a considerable part in the competition between shamans.

Shamanism in the south. The hierarchical community of the nomads and farmers of southern Siberia and Inner Asia (e.g., the Yakuts, the Buriats, the Tuvin, the southern Altais, the Khakasy, and the horse-breeding Evenki of Transbaikalia) and the rise in status of the area to an administrative unit (called "patriarchal feudalism" by Soviet scholars) above the clan provided a background to shamanism that differed from that of the northern hunting communities. Under the influence of the Lamaism and Buddhism of the south, the ritual aspects of shamanism and the beliefs concerning the supranormal world here developed in a richer and more complex form than shamanism in the north.

While contact with the clan may be significant, regional factors often determine the shaman's sphere of activities. Since becoming a shaman and the passing down of the shamanic tradition is under the strict control of older shamans, shamanism in the south clearly has more institutionalized forms than in the north. Among the Buriats, for example, a large number of initiated shamans join the new candidate in taking part in the shamanic initiation ceremony, thus demonstrating the importance of control from within to the institution of shamanism. In addition to acting as a healer and a diviner and carrying out other conventional tasks, the shaman may also assume the role of sacrificial priest. Practices such as the sacrifice made by the Altaic Tatars of a horse to the god in the sky rely on the ability of the shaman to accompany to the otherworld the soul of the animal sacrificed.

CATEGORIES OF SHAMANS. In addition to the fundamental differences in the status of shamanism as a whole, shamans differ in their nature and prestige from one ethnic group to another. The Hungarian expert on shamanism Vilmos Diószegi observed on interviewing former Tofa shamans in the late 1950s that they fell into different categories according to clan, the color symbolism of their accoutrements, their power, their skill, and ultimately also their own personal characteristics.

The categories of shaman used by different ethnic groups themselves are evident in the names for types of shamans. For example, the most highly respected shaman among the Entsy (a Samoyed people) was the *budtode*, who is in contact with the spirits who live in heaven. The less highly regarded *d'ano* was able to protect humans from evil spirits, and the least respected *sawode* shaman could contact the dead. In the same way the lowest category of shaman among the Nanay (Goldi) was the *siurinka*, shamans who cure the sick. *Nemati* shamans were able both to cure the sick and to perform the shamanizing at the first festival in memory of the dead. Among the shamans with the greatest prestige were the *kasati* shamans, who had command of all shamanic knowledge and who are capable of the most important task of the Nanay shaman, that of accompanying the souls of the dead to the otherworld.

The Yakuts believed that the shaman's prestige was determined by the status of the god who granted him his chief spirit helper, and by the height of the branch on the mythical shaman's tree on which the shaman was instructed by the spirits during his initiation. The division of shamans into black and white, encountered among the Yakuts and elsewhere (e.g., among the Altaic peoples) points to the nature of the spirits with whom the shaman came into contact. White was the color of the sky, black that of the earth. According to the shamanic tradition, the shaman's nature and rank are determined by the spirits initiating him. In practice the distinguishing features were probably the skills and ability to achieve ecstasy of the initiate and the nature of the tradition that he assimilated. A shaman could also rise to a higher category as his knowledge increased. A great shaman often bore the epithet "old."

INITIATION. Gaining command of the shamanic tradition and the ecstatic rite technique called for special training on the part of the beginner. The nature and length of the initiation period depended on the position of the shaman in his community and the importance of shamanism in the culture in question. The length of the apprenticeship, the amount and nature of the tradition to be internalized, the initiate's instruction, the number of initiation rites, and the control of the initiate's abilities varied from one region to another. Two features common to all areas were the shaman's meeting of spirits and winning of spirit helpers while in a state of ecstasy and the recognition of a new shaman by his supporters.

The shaman's disease. A potential shaman could be recognized by an abnormal, often highly nervous, disposition. All over Siberia and Inner Asia, selection was often preceded by the shaman's sickness. The first symptoms might be states of mental unbalance, fits of hysteria, periods of seclusion, unusual visions and the hearing of voices, or states of physical torment. Usually the sickness struck at adolescence, but people stricken as adults might also become shaman initiates. It is impossible to give any specific account of the illness from reports of the symptoms, The point is that shamanizing was the only recognized cure. Often a shaman called in to cure the sufferer would teach him how to shamanize.

Scholars such as Waldemar Jochelson, an expert on the tribal peoples indigenous to Siberian and Inner Asia, have compared the shaman's initiatory sickness to hysteria. The healing effect of shamanizing would then mean that the novice, under the instruction of an older shaman, learned to control his ego functions and the regression of hysteria became an ego-controlled regression during the initiation stage. It is significant that shamans suffering from a preliminary sickness have found that repeated shamanizing is a condition for remaining healthy.

The shaman's sickness was interpreted as the call of the spirits to become a shaman; since the task was so dangerous, shamans say they often resisted the call to the very end. Internal compulsion was not the only reason for selection; there could also be external reasons. A young Chukchi, for example, might choose to become a shaman in the hope of gaining wealth and prestige. Among the Evenki the clan elders or clan shaman might select a child of suitable temperament for training as a shaman.

The position of shaman was handed down within the family, especially in the areas of clan shamanism and the professional shamanism of the south. A. F. Anisimov, an expert on the shamanism of the Podkamennaia Tunguska Evenki, observed that shamans deliberately tried to keep this important position within the family. The inheritance of shamanism is founded on shamanistic ideology. In the northern regions, where selection as shaman was often a matter of incidental vocation, the spirits encountered by the novice were chiefly spirits of nature. The principle of inheritance within the family is a reflection of the notion that the spirits preparing the initiate to become a shaman were ancestor shamans or spirits of nature undertaking the task at the request of the ancestor spirits.

The initiation period. At the start of the initiation period the initiate retired in solitude, learned how to use the drum in seeking ecstatic experiences, and steeped himself in the shamanic tradition. One of his main tasks was to compose his own shaman songs. The songs for calling the spirits sung at séances of Chukchi shamans, for example, were products of the initiation period. In the shamanic view the novice is taught by the spirits; there are, however, reports of situations in which older shamans guide the novice in the art of shamanizing.

The next phase of the initiatory period is one of visions and the hearing of voices, during which the novice undergoes his initiation by the spirits. During these experiences the novice feels that the spirits are actually destroying his old ego, dissecting or boiling it, after which he is to be reassembled as a new shaman, capable of seeing that which is hidden to ordinary men. Thus is repeated the theme of death and rebirth. Despite individual differences the visions follow traditional patterns. For example, among the Samoyeds, the novice is given his spirit helpers by the initiating spirits, and he promises to follow his calling. The handling of his bones, the dismembering and reassembling of his skeleton by the spirits, plays a significant part in the visions describing the shaman's rebirth. In the background here is the idea also found in animal ceremonialism that the bones are the point of attachment for the soul.

Following his initiation by the spirits the shaman still had to prove his powers to his community. He did so at various test shamanizings and through public rites. The small-group shaman of northwestern Siberia acquired his attributes gradually in the course of annual rites. His dress and ritual objects were made by neighbors and relatives who were among his supporters and who also took part in the shamanizings at which these objects were first used. Similarly, great test shamanizings were held in the clan shamanism region and were attended by the entire clan. Through prayers and sacrifices, an ancestor shaman might be asked to indicate a suitable animal for making the shaman's requisites. As we have seen, the rituals surrounding the initiation of the shaman were most richly developed in the shamanism of the southern regions. The Buriat shaman, for example, promised during a great initiation festival to fulfill the obligations of his profession.

The shaman's initiation was less formal among the tribal peoples of Siberian and Inner Asia than elsewhere. The mysteries surrounding the call of the spirits and the experience of meeting them were paramount; as there were few requisites, the ritual announcement of the new status was not of itself significant. The shaman's later actions proved whether or not he was capable and whether he had gained any supporters.

THE SHAMANISTIC BELIEF TRADITION. Some indication of the nature of the shamanistic belief tradition is provided by the visions of the initiation period and the shaman songs describing, for example, the shaman's journey to the otherworld. Although the cosmographic concepts vary greatly over Siberia and Inner Asia, and although the influence of Lamaism and Buddhism is very much in evidence among the southern peoples, there are certain structural features shared by all and of wide distribution. Among these are concepts of a multilevel cosmos, the world above, the middle world inhabited by man, and the world below, which is divided into three, seven, or nine levels. The layers are connected either by the world stream (among the Ket, it is by holy water), which begins in heaven and flows through the earth to the underworld, or by a hole at the North Star in the center of the globe through which the Chukchi, among others, believe it is possible to pass from one layer to another. Besides believing in a multilayered cosmos, the northern peoples in particular believe in the concept of a tentlike upper world, the firmaments spanning a round or square world. Supporting it in the center is the cosmic pillar. Phenomena parallel to the cosmic pillar are the cosmic mountain and the cosmic tree. The latter's counterpart in the shamanistic belief tradition is the shaman's tree, by means of which the shaman might travel from one world level to another.

During his initiation period the novice had to study the structure of the cosmos and above all learn the topography of the otherworld: the paths and rivers leading to the otherworld and the dwellings of the various gods, the guardian spirits, the demons of disease, and the dead. The way to the otherworld was usually described as being fraught with difficulties and dangers. The Nanay shaman, for example, was able to list the landmarks along the road to the kingdom of the dead and the dangers in store along the way.

At the séance the shaman turned to various gods and spirits as it became necessary. Linked directly with the shamanistic complex were the spirits of his initiation and his ecstatic experiences. In some cases the shaman enters the service of these spirits; at other times, they are at the shaman's command.

The spirits influencing a shaman's initiation in northeastern Siberia were mainly spirits of nature. One Koriak shaman described how spirits of the wolf, the raven, the bear, the sea gull, and the plover appeared before him in the forest, sometimes in human form, sometimes in the form of an animal, demanding that he enter their service. The Chukchi believed that "everything lives," that even inanimate objects have some sort of soul principle. Thus the shaman's band of spirits might also include various objects, stones, or household utensils. It is significant that there is no difference between the guiding spirits of the initiation period and the spirit helpers proper: the spirits appearing before the novice become his spirit helpers when he is a shaman.

In the small-group shamanism of northwestern Siberia, too, the spirits influencing a shaman's initiation are mainly spirits of nature. The initiation visions of the Nganasani demonstrate that the novice meets a number of spirits who help him in different ways. The selection of a shaman might be made by spirits of nature, such as the spirit of water, who give the novice zoomorphic guides on his journey to the otherworld. The shaman's initiation is performed by special smith spirits, who forge a new shaman on their anvil. The guiding spirits leave the shaman after his ecstatic initiation, by which time he has gotten to know his spirit helpers proper.

The spirits of ancestor shamans play an important part in a shaman's initiation in clan shamanism and the professional shamanism of the south. For example, the Transbaikalia Evenki say that a dead shaman appears before a prospective candidate and orders him to follow. The spirits of ancestor shamans may appear as candidate selectors, as the novice's supranormal teachers, or as initiators carrying out the dissection process, as in the Lower Tunguska region. The spirit of an ancestor shaman usually remains as the shaman's spirit helper proper. Although most of the spirit helpers of, for example, the Evenk shaman are in the form of an animal or a bird, he is usually also supported by shaman's spirits in human form.

Another inherited spirit is the Nanay *ajami*, the tutelary spirit of the novice period, who instructs the novice in matters of the otherworld and provides him with the spirits necessary for shamanizing. The relationship between the *ajami* and the shaman is erotic, the spirit in question being a spirit wife or husband handed down from one shaman to another within the family. Similar marriagelike relationships between spirit and man are also reported elsewhere. The transvestite shamans among the tribal peoples indigenous to Siberia and Inner Asia, for example, might have a spirit lover.

An important part is played in the initiation tales of Yakut shamans by the Animal Mother and the spirits of ancestor shamans, the evil *abaasy* spirits that may perform the novice's initiation mysteries. The Animal Mother, who is the incarnation of the shaman's *kut* soul, his invisible double, was thought to show itself on the birth or death of a shaman and during his supranormal initiation. The Animal Mother, in the form of a bird with iron feathers, was thought to sit on a branch of the shaman's tree, incubating an egg containing the soul of a novice until the soul hatches from the egg.

The nature and number of spirit helpers proper varies from one ethnic group to another. Among the Ob-Ugrians (i. e., the Khanty and Mansi), the shaman might have seven spirit helpers, most of them in the form of an animal, such as a bear, a deer, a wolf, a horse, a snake, a fish, or a bird. Birds common to the northern regions were the eagle and the owl, as well as various waterfowl, in whose form the shaman was said to travel the underwater routes to the otherworld. The beliefs concerning the relationship between the shaman and his spirits are complex. The shaman might travel in the form of the animal accompanying him; the Yakut shaman, for example, fights other shamans in the form of his Animal Mother, as an elk or a deer. On the other hand, the spirit helpers may accompany him as outside assistants. For example, the Evenk shaman of the Podkamennaia Tunguska region had command over a large band of spirits on his journeys to the underworld.

THE SHAMAN'S ACTIVITIES. The shaman's public activities took place at the séance, a ritual performance. While there were many reasons for calling a séance, there was a need to make direct contact with representatives of the spirit world in all cases. All the vital elements of shamanism were present at the séance: the shaman and his assistant, those in need of assistance, an interested audience, and representatives of the spirit world called on by the shaman.

The shaman's attributes. The ritual objects and the shaman's attributes symbolize the shamanistic worldview. The most important item is the drum. Names for the drum are usually connected with the idea of the shaman's journey. For example, the Transbaikalia Evenki call the drum a boat, while the Yakuts, Buriats, and Soyot call it a horse. In this case the drumstick is a "whip." By means of his drum the shaman "rides" or "flies"; in other words, he achieves an altered state of consciousness. The frame of the drum is made from a special tree—a representative of the cosmic tree—

indicated by the spirits, and the membrane from the skin of an animal also chosen by the spirits. The drum-reviving ceremonies in the Altaic regions indicate that the drum animal represents one of the shamanistic spirits: during these ceremonies the animal from whose skin the membrane was made "comes to life again," telling of its life and promising to help the shaman. The motifs carved on the drum frame or drawn on the skin likewise symbolize shamanistic spirits and express cosmological concepts.

Although the shaman's dress, along with the drum, is one of the most striking features of shamanism in northern and Inner Asia, the number and type of attributes varies from one area to another. There is no shaman's dress proper among the Chukchi. While preparing for a séance the shaman was, like the Inuit (Eskimo) shaman, stripped to the waist. Similarly, the only item that identified the shaman among the Nentsy (a Samoyed people) in the northwest of Siberia was the headdress that he wore. The dresses with the greatest number of symbolic ornaments are to be found in central and southern Siberia and in Inner Asia.

The shaman's dress is made of leather or cloth, and onto it are sewn pendants of metal, bone, and cloth depicting spirits in animal or human shape or phenomena associated with the supranormal world. On the back of the Yakut shaman's dress are metal disks, the shaman's sun and moon, providing light on the dark route to the otherworld. Despite the variety of symbolic emblems, the basic idea behind the shaman's dress is clear. The feathers attached to the headdress, the winglike or furry appendages on the sleeves, the antlers or bear's snout on the headdress show that the dress basically represents some kind of animal. The most common type is a bird, found not only in the Altai-Sayan region but also in northern Mongolia and different parts of Siberia. In the Altaic region the dress most often imitates an owl or an eagle, in northern Siberia a deer. The Samoyeds and the Ket also wear a dress reminiscent of a bear.

In addition to the pictures associated with the spirits or the otherworld, the shaman's dress also has iron or bone appendages resembling a human or animal skeleton. These symbolize the death and rebirth experienced by the shaman during the ecstatic visions of his initiation period. The dress represents the mysteries experienced by the shaman and is the dwelling place of the spirits. Thus the dress itself is thought to possess supernormal power. In the areas of clan shamanism the dress could not be sold outside the clan, because the shaman's spirits belonging to the clan were attached to it. A worn-out shaman's dress might be hung on a tree in the forest, so that the spirits could leave it gradually and enter a new dress.

The shamanic séance. The shamanizing séance requires that both the shaman himself and the setting for the rite be meticulously prepared. The séance is often preceded by a period of time during which the shaman goes into seclusion, fasts, meditates, and recalls the details of the rituals he must perform during the séance. He transfers to the role of shaman by putting on the ritual dress and by tuning the drum.

The actual séance is usually held inside after dark, in a dwelling with a fire burning in the center. Because the spirits are thought to be afraid of light, darkness is a prerequisite for shamanizing. The settings for séances varied greatly, depending on the status of the shaman and the importance of his task. In the Podkamennaia Tunguska region the shaman and protector of the clan held his séance in the *sevenčedek*, a tent specially erected for the purpose. Here he acted out the fundamental features of the shamanistic world concept: the middle world inhabited by humans, the upper and lower worlds with their spirits, and the cosmic stream and cosmic tree as landmarks along the shaman's route in the otherworld. The séance was attended by the entire clan, members helping with the preparations. Similar large séance settings are found among the Nanay, whose shaman, being the representative of his clan, transported the souls of the dead to the otherworld. It seems that the higher the status of the shaman and the bigger the group he represented, the richer were the symbolic requisites of the dress and the setting for the séance and the more theatrical the course of shamanizing. The imposing settings of the séance in the southern areas are probably a later development influenced by the great scriptural traditions of the East.

Before the séance, the shaman's assistant, those in need of the shaman's help, and the audience would assemble. At the start of the séance the shaman concentrates on calling his spirit helper by singing and drumming. The themes of the shaman's songs are the calling of the spirit helpers, a description of the spirits' journey, an account of the shaman's own journey to the otherworld, and a description of the topography of the supranormal world. In the songs calling the spirits, during which the shaman might imitate the sounds of his zoomorphic spirit helpers through whistles, shouts, and growls, the shaman invites the spirits to the séance and may also give a step-by-step description of their journey to the séance from their dwelling in the otherworld.

The calling of the spirit helpers is the trance-induction stage. The rhythmic drumming, dancing, and singing gradually become louder and more frenzied as the shaman, while concentrating on the world of the spirits, achieves an altered state of consciousness. This phenomenon, similar to Western hypnosis, is brought about by rhythmical stimulation of the nervous system, growing concentration, motivation on the part of the shaman, and the emotional charge produced by the expectations of the audience. The effect of rhythmical stimulation was further enhanced among the Ob-Ugrians and the tribal peoples indigenous to Siberian Asia by, for example, eating amanita mushrooms. Other common means were the burning of various herbs producing intoxicating smoke, and, more recently, smoking tobacco and consuming alcohol. The use of hallucinogens and other intoxicants is not, however, essential to or even a vital factor in the shaman's trance technique.

The ecstatic climaxes of the séance come at the point where the shaman meets his spirit helpers, journeys with them to the otherworld, or banishes, for example, a disease demon that has taken up residence in a patient. The biggest cultural differences in the shamanistic rite technique are manifest at precisely this stage. The forms of meeting the spirits are based on different belief traditions.

Common to the central and eastern parts of Siberia, for example, among the Yukagir, the Evenki, the Yakuts, the Manchus, the Nanays, and the Orochi is the possession séance, during which the shaman's chief spirit helper enters his body and speaks through him. The shaman fully identifies with the spirit; he in fact turns into the spirit and manifests this change in his gestures, movements, and speech. Another person present at the séance, usually the shaman's assistant, then becomes the shaman, talking to the spirit. In regions where this type of possession-trance is common, the usual explanation for disease is that a demon has entered a person. It is then the shaman's task to banish the demon, and to do this the shaman takes the disease demon upon himself after his spirit helper; in other words, he turns into the demon. There are also complex possession-trance séances at which the shaman, having manifested various spirits, travels with his spirit helpers to the otherworld—when banishing a demon, for example.

The shaman may also create an illusion that the spirit helpers are present at the séance without identifying with them. The Chukchi display great skill in the manifestation of the spirits by the technique of ventriloquism. The shaman brings one spirit after another to the séance, and the audience can hear the spirits speak outside the shaman's body. Meetings of shaman and spirits at séances without possession are also known in western Siberia and Inner Asia. Among the Minusinsk Tatars, for example, the shaman's assistant sprinkles water around for the spirits to drink, so that they will not come too close to the shaman.

If the main idea of the séance is soul flight, or the shaman's journey to the otherworld, the manifestation of the spirits is not as dramatic as at séances of the possession type. Typical séances in the western and northern parts of Siberia—among the Samoyeds and the Ob-Ugrians, for example—are those at which the shaman is imagined as traveling to the otherworld with his spirit helpers. The emphasis is not on role-changing and talking to the spirits but on the description of the shaman's journey. At this type of séance the shaman's trance usually deepens steadily and ends with loss of consciousness. At possession-type and ventriloquist séances the shaman often calls his spirits again after his return, by singing and drumming. In other words, the depth of the trance moves in waves. Since concentration on the spirit world leads to a change in consciousness and focusing his attention on the audience brings the shaman back to his waking state, the depth of shamanic ecstasy depends upon the extent to which he must allow for the audience's wishes during the séance, and thus ultimately on the relationship between the shaman and his supporters.

The séance usually ends with an episode during which the shaman sends his spirit helpers away, answers questions from the audience, and issues instructions on the sacrifices or required propitiations to be made. The basic structure of the séance is thus relatively uniform, regardless of the object of shamanizing, showing variation according to the way in which the spirits are encountered. The various rites, manifestation of the presence of or banishing of spirits, and tricks or demonstrations of skill proving the supranormal abilities of the shaman do, however, vary from one area to another. Despite cultural differences, the basic features of the shaman's technique of ecstasy, his main requisites, the concept of the spirits helping the shaman, and the part played by the audience as a chorus assisting at séances are elements of shamanism common throughout northern and Inner Asia.

SEE ALSO Arctic Religions, overview article; Buriat Religion; Khanty and Mansi Religion; Samoyed Religion; Southern Siberian Religions; Tunguz Religion; Yakut Religion.

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SHAMANISM: NORTH AMERICAN SHAMANISM

In the general literature on native North Americans, every sort of priest, healer, ritual specialist, and sorcerer is somewhere called a shaman. Here the term is synonymous with some unarticulated notion of "primitive religious specialist." A clearer understanding of shamanism can be discerned from those scores of descriptions of Native American religions and cultures where romantic and primitivist biases are less influential, although the statement of what distinguishes shamanism from other phenomena is necessarily complicated because of the diversity of shamanism in North America.

In broad terms, North American shamans are individuals with extraordinary access to spiritual power. Shamans must not be simply equated with priests, although they may serve priestly functions. Shamans must not be equated with the recipient of a guardian spirit through vision quest or dream, although they frequently find access to spiritual power in vision and dream experiences. Shamans must not simply be identified with healers, for not all healers are shamans, and further, there are numerous shamanic functions other than healing.

SHAMANIC TRAITS. Given the ambiguity of these broad criteria of North American shamanism, a fuller presentation may take the form of an outline of shamanic traits. This outline is a set of features no one of which is, by itself, distinctive or adequate and no set or single combination of which constitutes an exclusive definition of shamanism. This approach has advantages over the attempt to define North American shamanism in terms of a single necessary distinguishing feature. The outline establishes a framework in which to investigate and study a variety of often complex religious phenomena that may be interrelated around the idea identified by the term *shamanism*.

North American shamans invariably have extraordinary spiritual power, that is, the capacity to influence the world through spiritual forces. Thus a central element of North American shamanism is spiritual power—its nature, acquisition, accession, use, and loss. Native American spiritual concepts are very difficult for the outside observer to comprehend, and herein lies what is both a major obstacle and a challenge to the study of North American shamanism.

Spiritual powers are usually identified in some way that allows them to be humanly conceivable. The spirit forms vary widely; some are identified with animal (or other natural) forms, others with mythological figures and deities. Even the ghost of an ancestor or the soul of some living thing may be identified as a shaman's spirit power.

Individuals initially gain access to spiritual powers in a variety of ways, including inheritance, personal quest, purchase, election by society or by the spiritual power, and extraordinary experience accompanying the suffering of a malevolence. In North America quests for power only rarely involve the use of hallucinogenic drugs; these quests more commonly involve fasting and isolation. The quest for shamanic power and the quest for a guardian spirit are usually distinguishable, although the techniques may not be. In some cultures there is continuity between guardian spirit practices and shamanism. Initiatory experiences, as well as the periods of training that usually follow initiations, may be brief or may extend over a considerable period of time. Initiatory experiences may include images of skeletonization, death, and rebirth or images of magical flight with extended revelatory scenarios, but more often they contain none of these elements.

The acquisition of power is commonly accompanied by the revelation of a power object or other means by which to objectify, display, and make contact with spiritual power. There are endless varieties of power objects held by North American shamans. They are often referred to by native terms commonly translated as "medicine." Power and access to power may also take the form of formulas, charms, and songs. Objects of power and special songs are also commonly held by those who are allied with a guardian spirit. The presence of power is demonstrated by its use in any of the many shamanic functions and, occasionally, in highly dramatized power performances using legerdemain.

Throughout North America, healing is the most central function and use of spiritual power. The most common and widespread theories of disease are those of object intrusion and soul loss. According to the first theory, illness results when a health-obstructing object enters the body. Object intrusion is most commonly believed to be a consequence of malevolent intent and is ascribed to sorcery and witchcraft, but sometimes it is simply an objectification, even personification, of an illness. The corresponding treatment usually involves a technique of sucking, in which the curer, entranced or not, sucks the object from the body using an instrument such as a tube, horn, or his or her mouth directly on the person's body at the place where the object is diagnosed to exist. The object, once removed, may or may not be presented in material form to demonstrate to those present the success of the treatment. Soul loss, the other common theory of disease, is based upon a variety of often complex theories of soul or life forms that may depart the body or be drawn or stolen from the body. Entranced magical flights, dramatized spirit journeys, and prayer recitations are techniques used to retrieve and return the soul or life form, thus restoring health and life.

Several other functions are common among North American shamans: weather control; hunting-related functions, such as game divination, game charming, and intercession with master or mistress of animals; war-related functions; and general clairvoyant and divinatory practices, such as diagnosing disease, foretelling the future, and finding lost objects. These functions are usually, but not always, secondary to healing. While most shamanic actions are clearly understood as having a benevolent intent in societal terms, the shaman is commonly seen within his or her society as potentially, if not actually, malevolent. Shamanic powers may thus be used for sorcery, witchcraft, or revenge, either on the shaman's initiative or at the behest of another.

Shamanic performances occasionally include the use of esoteric languages through which shamans communicate with spirits. In some cultures shamans employ speakers or assistants who interpret shamanic speeches to those present.

The shaman's characteristic attraction to the mystical is often a distinguishing feature of his or her personality. The role of the shaman in society varies widely, from reclusive eccentric on the fringes of society to leader and teacher at the very center of the authority and political structure of the society. Very commonly a community expresses a sense of ambivalence toward its shamans. While they are sought after and held as highly important individuals, they are feared and avoided because of the powers they control. Few North American cultures totally exclude females from shamanic roles, and in some cultures, particularly those found in northern California, females even predominate; nonetheless, throughout the region shamans tend to be more frequently male.

CULTURE AREAS. Shamanism and related beliefs and practices occur widely throughout North America. The following brief review of culture areas presents some of the major religious phenomena in North America that may be considered shamanism or closely related to it.

The Inuit (Eskimo) tribes, both along the coast and in the interior, have figures that most closely resemble Siberian shamans, with whom there is a likely historical connection. Inuit shamans, working individually or in groups, use techniques of ecstasy as well as dramatic performances and clairvoyance to serve individuals in need of curing, and they serve the community by controlling weather and procuring game for the hunt. Magical flights and transformations into spirit beings are characteristic of Inuit shamans; they are also conduits through which the spirits speak. Spiritual power is demonstrated through combats between shamans and the use of legerdemain in dramatic performances.

Tribes along the Northwest Coast have complex shamanic practices. The experience of trance is common to both initiatory experiences and shamanic performances, although techniques of ecstasy are not used everywhere in the region or by all shamans in any one community. While curing is their most important practice, shamans also perform other functions, such as locating food supplies and, in former times when wars were fought, weakening the enemy. The great ceremonial periods in the winter include shamanic festivals during which groups of shamans demonstrate their spiritual powers. Groups of Coast Salish shamans perform dramatizations of canoe journeys into dangerous spirit worlds where they struggle to win back the lost soul of a sufferer. Throughout the area sucking techniques are used to remove malevolent objects. Considerable variation occurs within this area.

The shamanic practices of the Northwest Coast exhibit some continuity with those of the adjacent Basin, Plateau, and northern California areas. Sucking techniques are common, and there is some use of ecstatic techniques. The costume of the shaman is believed to be very powerful, and is a vehicle through which the shamanic tradition is passed from one person to another.

In the Plateau area male and female shamans using song and formula in ritual performances serve a variety of needs. Illness is commonly attributed to witchcraft and ghosts, and shamans act to combat these malevolent forces. The prophetic and millenarian movements that arose in the nineteenth century, which culminated in the Ghost Dance movement of 1890, developed from a shamanic religious heritage. Elements of shamanism also influenced the Indian Shaker religion that arose in this area.

On the Plains and the Prairies, there are many kinds of medicine and holy persons. Fasting and praying in quest of spiritual power is widespread, and while most tribes in this region distinguish between the individual recipient of a guardian spirit and the shamanic figures, there is a continuity between them. Evidence of spiritual power can manifest itself in various forms, such as a public ritual, a tipi or lodge decoration, special garments, and medicine bundles. Medicine bundles are especially important as the residence of spiritual powers; the bundles are kept by a community and passed from generation to generation.

The shamans of these tribes perform many functions, acting either individually or in groups and societies. Besides curing, they were at one time important for success in war, and during the hunt they charmed and called game. Their powers of clairvoyance and prophecy are still widely exercised in various forms of spirit lodges or the Shaking Tent ceremonies. In these ceremonies, the shaman enters a lodge and reads the messages communicated by the spirits through the shaking of the lodge or the appearance of little flashing lights.

The Midewiwin, or Great Medicine Society, is an important part of the religious, social, political, and economic systems of central Algonquin and other tribes in the Great Lakes region. The initiation practices of the Midewiwin call for the ritual shooting and killing of the initiate, who is then revived as a newly born member of the society. The Midewiwin includes graded levels of shamanic figures. The curing performances are complex and involve many in the community.

A variety of shamanic activities are important to the tribes in the Northeast and Southeast Woodlands areas. The earliest records of some of these activities were set down by Jesuit missionaries in the seventeenth century. For some tribes in the eastern portion of this area, shamans served the needs of family groups. Costumes and paraphernalia were elaborate in the shamanic practices of many of these tribes. Shamans tended to specialize according to function: curing, weather control, and hunting. "Societies of affliction," that is, societies composed of all those treated, exist among the Seneca.

The North American Southwest is culturally and historically complex. Among Pueblo cultures there are both shamans and priests, although their roles sometimes overlap. Shamans may either participate in or remain aloof from the dramatic ceremonial performances distinctive among the Pueblo tribes. The integration, yet distinction, of shamanic activities and functions in intensely communal contexts is important to the understanding of these cultures and their religions.

Navajo religion centers on conceptions of health. Extraordinarily complex curing ceremonials that last as long as eight days and nine nights are performed by individuals who learn through apprenticeship the many songs, prayers, and ritual procedures as well as the accompanying story traditions. Many ceremonies are directed toward associated classes of disease etiology.

Among the Pima of the Southwest, shamans treat many kinds of illnesses attributed to spirit forces identified with animals and other natural forms. The treatment is private and includes sucking, blowing, and singing.

In recent decades in Oklahoma and other areas where Native Americans have experienced significant intertribal contact, as well as contact with non-natives, innovative forms of shamanism have resulted that are directed toward the complexities and dangers associated with an acculturative environment.

The development and widespread practice of the peyote religion, legally organized in the twentieth century as the Native American Church, are rooted in an older shamanic tradition. This religious movement commonly serves some of the same needs as does shamanism; its techniques and practices are often similar to those of shamanism.

This brief survey is perhaps adequate only in suggesting the extent, complexity, and importance of shamanism among tribal peoples throughout North America. In many respects the study of shamanism in North America is undeveloped. The publication of Mircea Eliade's *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (1951; Eng. ed., New York, 1964) widely expanded the interest in the study of shamanism as a worldwide religious phenomenon but has had relatively little impact on the study of North American shamanism. Conversely, the consideration of the North American religious practices we have called "shamanism" has had little impact on the broader study of shamanism. North American shamanism therefore raises many important issues that constitute an enriching challenge to the study of the phenomenon worldwide.

SEE ALSO Ghost Dance; North American Indian Religions, article on New Religious Movements; North American Indians, article on Indians of the Plains.

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The principal definitional discussions of shamanism that take North America into consideration are Åke Hultkrantz's "Spirit Lodge, a North American Shamanistic Séance," in *Studies in Shamanism*, edited by Carl-Martin Edsman (Stockholm, 1962), pp. 32–68, and Hultkrantz's "A Definition of Shamanism," *Temenos* 9 (1973): 25–37. In the later article "techniques of ecstasy" is put forward as a necessary criterion, thus leading to the conclusion that most North American practices are pseudoshamanism, since ecstasy is not widespread. Kenneth M. Stewart's "Spirit Possession in Native America," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 2 (1946): 323–339, attempts to show that ecstatic and other entranced states, which the author loosely terms "possession," existed widely throughout North America, but close examination of his data reveals that ecstasy in shamanism occurs rarely beyond the sub-Arctic and the Northwest Coast.

Surprisingly few widely comparative studies of shamanism exist. Leonard L. Leh's "The Shaman in Aboriginal North American Society," *University of Colorado Studies* 21 (1934): 199–263, is a relatively extensive survey by geographic area. Willard Z. Park's study *Shamanism in Western North America* (1938; reprint, New York, 1975) compares Paviotso (Northern Paiute) shamanism with shamanic practices throughout western North America.

The great resource for the study of North American shamanism is the ethnographic record. Although uneven in most respects, it often includes extensive material on shamanism. Exemplary studies that focus on shamanic practices of a single tribe are Park's work on the Paviotso; *Piman Shamanism and Staying Sickness* (Tucson, 1974) by Donald M. Bahr and others; the section on shamanism in Franz Boas's *Religion of Kuakiutl Indians*, vol. 2, *Translations* (New York, 1930); and David E. Jones's *Sanapia, Comanche Medicine Woman* (New York, 1972).

SAM D. GILL (1987)

SHAMANISM: SOUTH AMERICAN SHAMANISM

In particulars of cosmology, ritual, and paraphernalia, shamanism in South America has obviously been shaped by, and has adapted to, local environments and local historical and cultural processes. Nevertheless, in its mental universe and its dialectics and techniques of the sacred, South American shamanism exhibits similarities not only within the subcontinent but to shamanism in North America, the Arctic, and Siberia, indicating historical relationships that must date back to the early peopling of the Americas. This suggests that the basic ideology of shamanism may be sufficiently fundamental to the human condition to have favored its survival over enormous distances in time, space, environment, and social context.

GENERAL MOTIFS OF ECSTASY. Shamanism and religion among the Selk'nam (Ona), Yámana (Yaghan), and Halakwalip (Alacaluf) of the Tierra del Fuego, on the southernmost edge of South America—all presumably descended from the earliest migrants to the subcontinent—appear to represent survivals of archaic ideological systems. But many of the same archaic traits also appear—sometimes attenuated or overlaid with elaborations resulting from outside influences or internal dynamics, often little modified from their ancestral forms—across the whole South American continent, not excluding the high culture areas of the Andes. These common traits include familiar motifs of Siberian and Inuit (Eskimo) shamanism: mystic vocation; initiatory sickness; skeletonization, dismemberment, and contemplation by the shaman of his or her own bones; recruitment of supernatural helpers; rock crystals as manifestations of helping spirits; marriage to spirit wives, or, in the case of female shamans, spirit husbands; "rape" of the soul; sickness through soul loss or intrusion of illness projectiles into the body by magical means, and, conversely, restoration of health, in the first case through retrieval of the patient's strayed or abducted soul by the shaman, and in the second by sucking out the disease-causing foreign object; stratified upperworld and underworld through whose levels the shaman travels in celestial flight or in descent into the chthonic regions; world trees as sky supports with both phallic and uterine associations; great ancestral First Shamans and culture heroes as shaman/transformers; and divination of future events, weather, or favorable hunting conditions.

Of first importance everywhere is the ecstatic trance, mainly attained through the use of botanical hallucinogens, during which the shaman projects his or her soul into otherworlds, and returns with word of the departed, the wishes of the greater powers, and enhanced knowledge and confirmation of the sacred geography and cosmology by which the community orders its social and supernatural environment. This knowledge makes the shaman indispensable to the maintenance of the social and metaphysical equilibrium, and accounts for the shaman's chieflike role in societies that otherwise lack chieftainship. As demonstrated by Johannes Wilbert's work among the Warao, a fishing people of the Orinoco Delta, even among preagricultural peoples and incipient horticulturalists, shamanic cosmologies and cosmic models constructed on the common foundations of a pan-Indian, archaic shamanistic worldview can reach extraordinary heights of complexity. Wilbert's and other recent studies (e.g., Swiss ethnologist Gerhard Baer's work among the Matsigenka of eastern Peru) confirm the shaman's central role across the whole spectrum of indigenous life, from religion, ritual, and curing to social organization and politics.

SPECIFIC FEATURES. Notwithstanding shared motifs in pan-South American shamanism that seem to be survivals of a common archaic substratum, shamanism in the subcontinent exhibits culture-specific tropical New World traits that are at least as significant.

The rattle. Among these distinctive features is the replacement of the drum by the gourd rattle as the indispensable percussion instrument in the shamanic arts over most of South America. Even where the shaman's drum persists, as among the Mapuche, or Araucanians, of Argentina and Chile, it is generally used in combination with the rattle. The symbolism and functions of the rattle are complex and varied. But, in general the rattle's functions parallel the functions of the shamanic drum, including the connection with the world tree as *axis mundi.* Indeed, even more obviously than the iconography of the Siberian shaman's drum, the hollow gourd represents the cosmos; the staff that pierces it and serves as handle symbolizes the world tree as cosmic pathway. The small stones or seeds inside the rattle, in turn, are ancestral souls and spirits whom the shaman activates when he shakes the instrument. The sound of the rattle, in combination with the chants the shaman has been taught by the spirits, enables the shaman to concentrate his or her powers for the flight or descent to otherworlds. Despite the extraordinary prominence and complex ideology of this instrument in South and Central American shamanism, the literature on the subject is poor, with Wilbert's study of the feathered *hebumatarao,* the "spirit rattle" of the Warao shaman (1973), the outstanding exception.

The jaguar. Another trait specific to the American tropics is qualitative identification between the shaman and the jaguar (*Felis onca*). This dominant motif cuts across linguistic, geographical, and cultural boundaries on the subcontinent. In pre-Columbian times it extended into the high cultures of Mexico. Still another leitmotif is the widespread use of one or more potent psychoactive plants as a "technique of ecstasy," not only by shamans but, in specified ritual contexts, a wider adult community under the shaman's direction. Jaguar transformation and the use of plant hallucinogens, in turn, are ideologically and experientially linked.

In the belief systems of many South American Indians, shamans, alone among their fellows, can transform themselves at will into jaguars, whose inherent qualities they share; conversely, jaguars may not actually be animals but transformed shamans, or soul bearers of deceased shamans. Hence, killing a jaguar is fraught with supernatural risk. Reported by early travelers, these beliefs persist to the present day. Thus, the Tacana of eastern Bolivia told the German ethnologist Karin Hissink in 1952 that their *yanaconas* (shamans) regularly transform themselves into their jaguar alter egos through such techniques as somersaulting or taking hallucinogenic snuff. Theodor Koch-Grünberg, who traveled widely among the Indians of northern Brazil and Venezuela (1911–1913) reported that all the shamans he met or heard of identified themselves with the jaguar. All had techniques of jaguar transformation, including the donning of jaguar pelts, claws or teeth as well as intoxication with psychoactive plants. Maquiritaré (Yecuana) shamans believed that specialized benches carved in the likeness of their jaguar counterparts were indispensable to their magic art.

The conceptional identification of shaman and jaguar is confirmed by linguistics. Koch-Grünberg found all Betoi-speaking groups using the same or closely related words for "shaman" and "jaguar." The Dätuana, for example, call the shaman *djaika* and the jaguar *dzaja.* Even though the approximately thirty tribes belonging to theTucanoan language family are separated into a western division and an eastern division, with little contact between the two branches, all identify shamans with jaguars and most use the same or a closely related term for both. Ute Bödiger reported in 1965 that the common term for shaman and jaguar among the Siona was *yái* and among the Coreguaje, *dyái.* Since Siona shamans are themselves jaguars in human form, no jaguar ever attacks them; all they have to do to protect themselves when encountering a jaguar is call out, "My name is Yái!" The Huitoto, whose language is identified by linguists as independent and whose culture is intermediate between Paleo-Indian hunters and Neo-Indian tropical forest cultivators, call their shamans *ikodyai,* a term derived from two Tucanoan words, *dyái* ("jaguar") and *iko* ("soul"). Irving Goldman (1963) reports that the Tucanoan Cubeo differentiate between two kinds of shaman, the *pariékokü,* meaning "man of power," and the *yaví,* meaning "jaguar." The latter has greater prestige: every *yaví* is a *pariékokü,* but not every *pariékokü* is a *yaví.*

Bird symbolism. Several other animal species also play a more or less important symbolic role in shamanism, alongside the great jungle cat. Outstanding among these is the harpy eagle (*Harpia harpyja*) and its close relatives. Its role as shaman's alter ego was first examined in detail in 1962 by the German ethnologist Otto Zerries; in 1977 his student Hildegard Matthäi followed with a study of the general role of raptors among extra-Andean South American Indians, with particular attention to the harpy eagle and the king vulture, *Sarcoramphus papa.* The ecology of these high-flying, carrion-eating birds clearly fits them especially well for a shamanlike role as mediators between the celestial and chthonic spheres. The brilliant plumage of parrots, macaws, and other spectacular tropical forest birds is widely used for feather crowns and wands or prayer sticks, and here the symbolism extends beyond that of shamanic flight to that of "light." Thus, Gerhard Baer (1978) reports that the Matsigenka shaman's feather headdress "gives light and brightness" during the nocturnal séance, just as the feather crowns of the personified sun, moon, star beings, and spirits do. Light, which the shaman can also activate with hallucinogens and chants, in turn, is potentiated communication between the human and extrahuman spheres. The Matsigenka shaman numbers many birds among his or her spirit helpers, and one, the swallow-tailed kite, *Elanoides forficatus*—or, more correctly, its female spirit (*i'nato,* "its Mother")—is the most important tutelary. This bird is nown as *i'vanki,* meaning "his wing." On the other side of the subcontinent the Venezuelan Warao credit the same bird with having established *bahana* shamanism, one of the major orders of shamanism whose main concern is human reproduction and its attendant biological, psychological, and social concerns (Wilbert, 1986).

Still, it is the jaguar that predominates in the imagery of South American shamanism, perhaps because like the shaman, and unlike most other species, it seems not to be confined by its nature to one cosmic realm or one ecological niche. It is nocturnal and inhabits caves, behaviors that associate it with the underworld. It hunts principally on land but is so well adapted to water and so expert a swimmer in pursuit of fish and aquatic game that many Indian mythologies tell of powerful "water jaguars" that spend their lives in the watery underworld to which only shamans have access. Finally, in the manner of the shaman ascending the tree as metaphorical world axis, the jaguar is an agile climber of the great forest trees. Among some tribes it also has powerful, dualistic sexual associations. Like its human counterpart, the jaguar is thus a mediator *par excellence.* The most detailed studies of the shaman-jaguar complex are those of the Colombian anthropologist Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff among the Tucanoan Desána of the Vaupés in the northwest Amazon of Colombia. His 1975 work, *The Shaman and the Jaguar,* presents the jaguar-shaman transformation complex and its interrelationship with hallucinogenic plants in a specific social and ideological context.

Plant hallucinogens. Reichel-Dolmatoff found that among the Desána "practically all shamanistic attitudes and practices" are based on the ecstatic trance induced by powerful plant hallucinogens, notably *yagé,* an infusion of the *Banisteriopsis caapi* vine. The same drink is called *ayahuasca* by Quechua-speakers in the Andes. Especially in the Peruvian Amazon, *ayahuasca* is often used in conjunction with one or more species of *Brugmansia* (an arboreal form of the well-known shrublike daturas traditionally used by Indians in Mexico and, in North America, by native peoples in California, Nevada, Virginia, and the Southwest), as well as with thickened tobacco juice. The Matsigenka shaman may use either or all in curing rites. Like *Banisteriopsis,* the different species of *Brugmansia* have their spirit "Mothers," whose "sons" are recruited by the shaman as helpers (Baer, 1978).

Along with *yagé,* South American Indians have discovered the psychoactive properties of many other species that are employed alone or as admixtures to heighten or, otherwise, modify the metaphysical experience. The ethnobotanist Richard Evans Schultes and his collaborators have identified up to two hundred different plant hallucinogens used now or in the past by American Indians, the greater part in South America. Of special interest are several kinds of potent snuffs, including those based on the seeds of *Anadenanthera peregrina* and its sister species *A. colubrina,* and on the inner bark of trees of the genus *Virola,* with admixtures of other plant materials. The former are legumes related to the acacias and mimosas; the latter, like nutmeg, a popular spice of Old World origin, are related to the *Myristicaceae.* Snuffs made from *A. peregrina* were being used in the shamanistic rituals of Arawakan Indians when Columbus first landed in the Antilles; he and his men mistakenly identified the potent powder as tobacco. *Anadenanthera colubrina* was, and is still, employed by Andean Indians as the ritual intoxicant known as *huilca. Huilca* is presumably the snuff used by the ancient preagricultural inhabitants of coastal Peru, where Junius Bird excavated the oldest snuffing paraphernalia thus far known from South America—a whalebone snuff tablet and bird-bone snuffing tube dating from the second millennium BCE.

Such Indian populations as the several subgroups of the Yanoamö of the upper Orinoco, until recently one of the last pure hunting and gathering societies in South America, employ intoxicating snuffs derived mainly from scrapings of the inner bark of *Virola,* whose effects on the central nervous system are activated by the addition of certain other plant materials. Such sophisticated knowledge of the properties of plants suggests long experimentation.

Archaeological and iconographic evidence has also established a time depth of more than three thousand years for the ritual use and deification of yet another important South American plant hallucinogen that remains in use to this day, the mescaline-containing San Pedro cactus, *Trichocereus pachanoi* (Sharon, 1978). Now widely used by a class of mestizo folk healers whose practice includes symbols and techniques inherited from traditional indigenous shamanism, San Pedro is depicted on ancient Peruvian pottery and painted textiles of the Chavin culture, significantly in association with the jaguar, from the late second millennium BCE. Somewhat later the ceramic sculptors of the brilliant Nazca culture of the early first millennium CE personified San Pedro as a supernatural being with the columnar cactus projecting, hornlike, from his forehead and from his shoulders. Like other hallucinogens of Amazonia, the San Pedro beverage is used in conjunction with tobacco juice, which is usually administered through the nostrils. Indeed, tobacco (*Nicotiana,* especially *N. rustica* and *N. tabacum,* both native to South America) plays an important role in ritual intoxication, most often in conjunction with another psychoactive species that is considered of first importance to the ecstatic experience. Less commonly tobacco is *the* consciousness-transforming plant of choice. A prime example is the tobacco shamanism of the Venezuelan Warao, a phenomenon of which Wilbert (1972, 1975, 1987) is the outstanding student. But even where tobacco is not the primary activator of the ecstatic shamanic trance, it is conceptually linked to the shaman. Thus, the Matsigenka term for tobacco is *seri,* and that for the shaman *seripigari* (Baer, 1976).

Hallucinogens and the shamanic vision quest. To the question why the Indians of South America, and also those to the north, should have developed such an extraordinary interest in botanical hallucinogens, the hypothesis of anthropologist Weston La Barre provides an elegant answer: their ancestors, as carriers of an archaic Asiatic shamanistic tradition that valued the ecstatic trance experience, arrived in the New World predisposed toward exploration of the environment for plants capable of triggering that experience. American Indian religions, La Barre proposed in 1970, including those of the great pre-Columbian civilizations of South and Mesoamerica, are or were essentially shamanistic, and so may be seen as extensions into the New World of Mesolithic and even Paleolithic antecedents in northeastern Asia. Shamanism values the ecstatic vision quest.

In some areas of North America the preferred techniques for the vision quest apparently were sensory deprivation, lonely vigil, self-torture, and other nonchemical "techniques of ecstasy." In others, especially the tropics, shamans must have searched their new environments from the start not only for potentially therapeutic flora but for species capable of altering consciousness, and, as among the Colombian Desána, at least temporarily and in strictly structured ritual settings, conferring even upon ordinary persons capabilities otherwise reserved for the religious specialist. Universally the special power of these plants was, and is, attributed not to chemicals but to the divine nature of the species, that is, to the male or female spirit believed to inhabit the individual plant. In a sense the communal use of sacred psychoactive plants represents, like the North American vision quest, a "democratization" of the shamanic experience, akin to the occasional communal ritual consumption by Siberian natives of the fly agaric mushroom, *Amanita muscaria,* under the leadership of the shaman. However, even where a relatively high proportion of adult males lays claim to some shamanic powers, or where, as among the Desána or Yanoama, most men ritually partake of the ritual hallucinogen, those individuals who have been mystically recruited as religious specialists and "technicians of the sacred"—the true shamans—remain uniquely the indispensable mediators between the world of humans and the greater powers of the natural and supernatural environment and of the larger universe.

SEE ALSO Jaguars; Tobacco.

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SHAMANISM: NEOSHAMANISM

Neoshamanism (also known as urban shamanism) denotes a set of notions and techniques borrowed from traditional peoples and adapted to the life of contemporary urban dwellers. The essence of these techniques lies in attaining a shift of consciousness in which practitioners experience being transported to other worlds—to "non-ordinary reality"—where they interact with spiritual beings, enlisting their help to solve problems of this world. Neoshamanism became a part of urban alternative spirituality during the flower power and the human potential movements of the 1960s and 1970s. This was a period marked by heightened environmental awareness, interest in non-Western religions, and attempts to find alternative ways to organize spirituality and community that were modeled on an idealized image of "traditional peoples."

One basic idea of the counterculture of the 1960s was that alternative realities could be explored in altered states of consciousness, achieved through mind-altering drugs. When the dangers of this approach became evident, and when drugs were delegitimized in Europe and North America, neoshamanism offered drug-free ways of altering consciousness through monotonous percussion (such as that of a drum or rattle), through dancing and chanting, and through the practice of varieties of the Native American vision quest, such as sitting out in the woods without food, or exposure to intense heat, as in a sweat lodge.

These techniques were brought to Western urban spiritual seekers through descriptions by travelers and anthropologists, as well as through lectures and courses by teachers who claimed to be native or partly native—or to have done their apprenticeship with native shamans or medicine men. The anthropologist and writer Carlos Castaneda, who claimed to have done field research with a Yaqui medicine man called Don Juan, described in his books his experiences of shamanic apprenticeship involving explorations of non-ordinary reality under the effect of native mind-altering plants. Castaneda had a strong impact on the broad audience of spiritual seekers by introducing into the popular imagination an archetype of "native shaman," a figure of power and wisdom.

Another founding father of neoshamanism was the American anthropologist Michael Harner. Harner studied shamanic practices in the Americas and Northern Europe (in Saamiland), and he received shamanic training among the Jivaro people of Ecuador, where, under the influence of "teaching plants," he underwent dramatic experiences of alternative reality. Harner brought to fruition the idea of the historian of religions Mircea Eliade (1907–1986) that in the diverse magico-religious practices of traditional cultures there was some common core, which scholars called *shamanism.* Harner devised methods for peeling away cultural garments from these various "techniques of ecstasy" to provide safe and speedy ways for urban dwellers to acquire the experiences that could be called "shamanic," and to achieve altered states of consciousness in which one could enter alternative realities and interact with the spiritual beings encountered there. The main element of these techniques was the *drum journey* (Harner, 1980; Bowie, 2000).

DRUM JOURNEY. A drum journey often serves as a first occasion for spiritual seekers to encounter neoshamanism and to get a taste of what it has to offer. To the monotonous beat of the drum, participants are invited to experience what in the literature on shamanism is known as "a magic flight of the soul," a journey to non-ordinary reality. Drum journeys are performed at courses or lectures, and at New Age fairs, festivals, cafes, and retreat centers. By way of introduction, the aspirants are given instructions as to how to perform their journey, while at the same time they are offered a generalized shamanic worldview. The world of "traditional peoples," it is usually said on these occasions, consists of the lower world, where one meets power animals; the upper world, where one meets spiritual teachers, and the middle world, which is the ordinary world in its non-ordinary aspect. To reach the lower world, the students are asked to imagine a hole in the ground and, to the sound of drumming, enter it, journey through the tunnel that follows, come out in the lower world, and interact with the beings they encounter, engaging with them through all their senses. Some of these beings become their allies or spirit helpers, also known as *power animals.* When the drumming ends and people wake up from the trance-like state they have been in, they are expected to write about their experience, then share it with the teacher and the rest of the group.

Prior to the journey, people are given instructions as to which spirit helpers they are supposed to meet. These are wild animals that in Western popular culture are associated with the desirable "natural" qualities of freedom, body harmony, and physical prowess—such as lions, tigers, pumas, eagles, and dolphins, but not such animals as hens, cows, hyenas, or skunks. There is a high degree of uniformity in the power animals that people meet, even though spirit helpers are supposed to be individual, and even though some people meet idiosyncratic creatures that resemble the aliens in movies or fantasy literature, or even abstract shapes, such as "egg-shaped pyramids." The same is true for the spiritual teachers of the upper world, which may include brave Indian chiefs and warriors, wise medicine women, saints and angels, prophets and spiritual masters, Asa gods (for those engaged with Scandinavian mythology), or even Christ and Buddha. In the words of one neoshamanic teacher, "spirits are chunks of universal energy presented to us in a form that we can understand and accept." The repository of images that people encounter on drum journeys is their shared cultural imagination (Lindquist, 1997, p. 75–77).

This drum journey can be used to meet and address such spiritual beings, in whatever form, and to seek their answers to various questions, from the concrete and practical to the abstract and existential, and to ask their help in accomplishing various tasks, such as quitting smoking, finding a job, or dealing with deep psychological traumas, diseases, and even death and dying. Physical healing modeled on traditional methods of removing foreign intrusions and retrieving a lost or stolen soul are also taught at courses and performed for urban clients by individuals who practice shamanic techniques for physical and psychological healing. Other forms of therapy devised by Harner on the basis of drum journeys include power animal retrieval, wherein a healer makes a journey to meet a power animal on behalf of another person; and shamanic counseling, where a client narrates his or her journey as it unfolds, then analyzes the narrative with the counselor in terms of the client's initial questions. This latter technique closely resembles other types of psychotherapy that are based on mental imagery. Such therapy is used, for example, in transpersonal psychology and psychosynthesis (Assagioli, 1965), in Neuro-Linguistic Programming, in the religious healing of Christian charismatic groups (Csordas, 1997), and in the guided meditation employed in Western high magic (Luhrmann, 1989; Greenwood, 2000).

SEIDR. The seidr ritual is another practice associated with neoshamanism that took root in North America and northern Europe. Seidr was developed by people who were accustomed to working with consciousness-altering techniques of drumming and chanting, and with mental imagery associated with drum journeys, but who were also well acquainted with pre-Christian Scandinavian sources, notably the Edda (a poetic collection of ancient Scandinavian epics) and Icelandic sagas. The Edda describes the outward form of seidr as follows: A sorceress or wise woman, Voelva, is invited to farms to deal with failing harvests. Holding a staff, she climbs onto a platform (or, as modern practitioners call it, a "high seat") and covers her face with a hood. She falls into trance, journeys to the other worlds, meets the spirits, and interacts with them on behalf of the community in order to answer questions and magically secure the desired goals.

The seidr was adopted by Neopagans and neoshamans in North America and northern Europe and developed into several versions of a communal ritual that can be performed for a variety of goals. The ritual always involves the "seiding" individual, who acts as Voelva, and a group of fellow practitioners who play an auxiliary role. The landscapes evoked in the seidr's guided meditation (recited by a member of the group) are based on Scandinavian mythology and on the cosmologies of Asatror. In a trance-like state both the participants and the Voelva make a magical soul flight to non-ordinary reality, but it is only Voelva who enters its innermost realms. The spiritual beings Voelva meets are chiefly the gods and other figures of ancient Nordic cosmology. This form of seidr, practiced extensively by North American and British neo-heathens, can be used for divination; while the Voelva is in a trance, people approach the high seat and ask questions, which the Voelva answers, consulting whatever spirits she or he confronts, or aided by other signs encountered in the otherworld (Blain, 2002; Lindquist, 1997).

The trance state in seidr can also be attained by drumming and chanting performed by the group standing around the platform. The rhythmic songs used on these occasions are special *galdrar.* The drummers are understood to send to the Voelva their "energies," their special intensities or intentionalities, which the Voelva accumulates as if he or she were a sort of battery cell. These energies are then directed toward communal aims, spelled out at the outset of the ritual and dictated by shared normative social morality. The aims might include global or local environmental problems, such as bringing health and strength to the earth and saving rivers, seas, forests, and wild animals. Such local tasks as stopping the cutting down of woods for residential or road construction or healing a local population from disease, may also be set. Alternatively, the goal may be to stop a war, a famine, or a natural calamity in a faraway country, or to offer healing to a specific individual who may or may not be present among the group. In addition to this kind of "instrumental" seidr, the ritual can be performed to receive information on times past or to "see" what a place of historical or archeological significance looked like in ancient times.

Most seidr consist of several runs of the ritual, and several people are given an opportunity to act as Voelva. All those present are welcome to try, and all who do try are duly attended to. As in drum journeys, the ability to journey to non-ordinary reality and meet the inhabitants there is considered to be an innate human quality that is available to all. However, people are endowed with varying abilities to "see," and to convey what they have "seen" to other participants. Individuals gifted in this respect become informal leaders of the community, performing rituals in what becomes an internal tradition, creating new rituals, and inspiring new occasions for rituals that can reinforce community cohesion and the community's normative morality and values.

Both the drum journey and seidr (as well as other methods of entering non-ordinary reality) are methods of consciously working with the mental imagery that one encounters in altered states. This imagery can be used for divination and therapy, but also for creative endeavors in the visual and performance arts, and many neoshamanic practitioners are actively engaged in arts and crafts. Indeed, a person often appropriates the cultural attitude of neoshamanism when he or she starts to use this imagery as a source of creativity, information, and pragmatic action in everyday life. The reality of the journeys becomes integrated into the overall reality of an individual and, sometimes, of a community.

AIMS, IDEOLOGICAL PREMISES, AND WORLDVIEW. Controversy exists among practitioners as to how to regard non-ordinary reality: Is it an independently existing ontological realm (a position that is extremely important for some practitioners), or does it refer to concealed spheres of individual or group consciousness, the realm of imagination and creativity, the subconscious? The drum journey is more geared to the individualistic practice of interacting with the images that make up alternative realities. The cosmology and the pantheon of non-ordinary reality do not need to be shared, although they often are shared. For many, non-ordinary reality becomes most real in interaction with fellow practitioners—through sharing narratives of journeys, through discovering other people's spirits in one's own non-ordinary realities, and through sharing the effects of these interactions in real life.

The ritual of seidr, by contrast, is premised on the community, on shared cosmology, and on the ritual division of labor between people who are willing and capable of "seeing" and conveying the seen, and others who ask questions and direct their intentions toward shared goals. Drum journeys may exist as purely therapeutic, nonembedded practices, anchored in a broadly shared Western cultural imaginary, yet otherwise independent of a specific place and a more narrowly defined communal identity. Seidr, however, can and often does become embedded in the projects of the community.

Both seidr and drum journey are neoshamanic rituals that were devised by Westerners, although both refer to the authentic "other," distant in space and time. Both have a goal that can be conceived as universally shamanic—to connect the non-ordinary reality with the social, lived reality of this world, and to engage the inhabitants of non-ordinary reality, the spirits, as social beings. Seidr, however, is more suitable as a means to reiterate shared values and normative moral premises. Seidr is better for enacting "magical activism" that is focused on furthering the goals that worldly activists pursue, notably environmental and peace activism, activities in which many neoshamans are involved. Magical or shamanic activism is a supplement, or perhaps a substitute, for other, more conventional kinds of activism, mostly because people perceive the latter as lacking in efficiency, as corrupted, or as ensnared in bureaucracy. Seidr thus fits better as a shamanic form for more active political and social engagement, while drum journeys are more suitable as a means of self-realization and self-healing, along with other methods of New Age and human potential therapies.

The goals for which seidr is performed reflect ideas and values that underlie neoshamanism as a coherent cultural system. Internal literature, such as do-it-yourself books, course handouts, and books and articles written by academics who are also practitioners, presents these norms and values with even greater clarity. One of the attractions of neoshamanism is its power to democratize spirituality and broaden the realm of the sacred. Drawing on the animistic worldview of traditional peoples, neoshamanism declares that everything in nature—animals, plants, and even stones—is alive and all life is sacred. This ethos of democratic spirituality, which includes "nature" into the realm of human morality, makes neoshamanism particularly appropriate for spiritual and ideological movements that affirm the sacredness of nature while pursuing the empowerment of subaltern groups (e.g., varieties of feminist spirituality, postcolonial national identity construction).

Shamanism also serves as a metaphor for alternative, nonmainstream modes of creativity, such as those engendered by female and native artists. More generally, shamanism is used as a trope for a visionary mode of creativity in which both artist and shaman are seen as tapping the wellspring of an archaic "mythic imagination" that had previously been suppressed by patriarchal or colonial domination (Orenstein, 1990; Balzer Mandelstam, 1993).

The democratic ethos of neoshamanism is reiterated in the experience of the non-ordinary that is induced primarily by drum journeys, but also by seidr. The tacit understanding among practitioners is that every person has shamanic abilities, everybody has access to non-ordinary reality, and the experiences and narratives of every journeyer are of equal worth. Normative neoshamanic literature often repeats the premise that "shamanism is not a religion; one does not believe in anything in shamanism, not even that it works." There are no dogmas in neoshamanism, no priests; everybody is her or his own priest and everyone is expected to create her or his own cosmology and pantheon through individual experiences of the non-ordinary. Thus, neoshamanism, especially in Scandinavia, is defined as anarchistic spirituality, with no rules to adhere to, no authorities to follow.

The practice, however, sometimes contradicts these ideological premises, especially within more structured religious communities, such as those found in Neopaganism. As in every movement, there are charismatic teachers and leaders who set the tone and formulate the canons. For example, the ontological reality of the non-ordinary and the spirits is treated by some devout practitioners as near dogma, while others prefer to regard the non-ordinary as the Jungian unconscious and the spirits as archetypes. This theoretical discussion, however, is limited to ideologists, who articulate it in written and oral discourse, and often act within and near academic circles. Other practitioners are not concerned with this ontological discussion and continue to engage in neoshamanic practices as long as they work, and as long as they give meaningful answers to their questions. As a rule, practitioners of high engagement are more concerned with these questions than those of low engagement.

NEOSHAMANISM AMONG SHAMANISMS. The practices that are broadly labeled *shamanic* are highly contextual (Atkinson, 1992), and comparisons between neoshamanism and traditional forms of shamanism can be problematic. Insofar as shamanism comprises a set of practices where the non-ordinary and its inhabitants become relevant for, or even a part of, the this-worldly human community, some highly engaged communities of Western neoshamans become more comparable with so-called traditional societies. The most obvious difference is the democratic appeal of neoshamanism, as compared to the widespread view that traditional shamans are special individuals who are chosen by spirits. In traditional societies, shamanic vocation is often a heavy duty, borne by an individual because she or he cannot avoid it. In addition, traditional shamanic initiations often involve real ordeals, such as the periods of physical and mental suffering that are known in Siberian societies as "shamanic illness." Here, the interaction with spirits resembles combat, and the shaman's victory leads to relationships with spirits that are spelled out in the idiom of mastery and control (Jakobsen, 1999). As a person of power, the shaman in many traditional societies is feared as well as respected; he or she is expected to be able to harm as well as to heal. In most neoshamanic contexts, the process comparable to the traditional shamanic initiation may be an overwhelming experience, but it is rarely reported to be frightening or traumatic, nor is it expected to entail any physical or psychological pain.

In Western neoshamanism, spirits are strict but benevolent allies whose lessons are to be embraced, rather than fierce opponents to be conquered and tamed. This neoshamanic construction of spirits as entirely benevolent beings tends to be associated with low-engagement practice and the use of neoshamanism for therapy and self-enhancement. It should be recalled that neoshamanism organized around drum journeys was originally marketed as a safe alternative to drugs, so it is no wonder that its dangerous aspect was downplayed before it became a major popular movement. The innocuousness of the spirits, however, is contested by the accounts of some high engagement practitioners who act as professional shamans or seidr workers for clients or communities (Blain, 2002).

Native American neoshamanic practices are most widespread in North America, but they are also practiced in northern Europe and Scandinavia and have became a part of the global neoshamanic repertoire. This appropriation of Native American spiritual practices by mainstream spiritual seekers has been controversial and has generated indignation among some Native Americans, who themselves hope to restore their indigenous traditions. Native American spiritual leaders have blacklisted some teachers whom they accused of selling sacred ritual knowledge at courses and lectures. However, such Native American practices as the vision quest, sweat lodge, and Sun Dance are now firmly established as neoshamanic practices.

Whether the revival of local shamanisms in postcolonial and post-Soviet regions should be considered neoshamanism will not be discussed here (but see Vitebski, 1995; Humphrey 2002). The shamanic traditions of many indigenous peoples, especially those of Siberian Russia after the fall of Communism, were rediscovered in the 1990s and have been adopted into local medical practices and the political discourse on new identity construction. These projects have been heavily influenced by global flows of information and people, including Western seekers of shamanic spirituality and exotica, metropolitan neoshamans searching for traditional wisdom, and local shamans traveling abroad and becoming acquainted with Western neoshamanism and with renewed native shamanisms in, for example, North America. Russian metropolitan scholars tend to label new local shamans as *neoshamans*. This labeling implies that such local practitioners are to be explicitly distinguished from (possibly imagined) others who are supposed to have survived hidden away from local urban centers and to represent a putatively authentic local shamanism. Such terminology causes chagrin among local practitioners who claim legitimacy in terms of their belonging to an unbroken tradition of direct initiation. Many Western practitioners are also uncomfortable with the label *neoshaman*, since this term implies that their practices are separate from the "traditional" practices they claim as their prototypes. What in the West can be seen as a struggle for the primacy of representation, however, in postcolonial contexts can have serious consequences for the practitioners' reputations and careers.

SEE ALSO Spirituality.

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SHAMASH See UTU

SHAME See SIN AND GUILT

SHANDAO (613–681), eminent Buddhist scholar and major figure in the Chinese Pure Land (Jingtu) movement. Shandao was born in the village of Linzu (Shandong province) and was ordained while still a youth. Eventually, his study of Buddhist scripture led him to the *Guan wuliangshou jing* (Meditation on the Buddha of immeasurable life sūtra), a text that teaches devotion to the Buddha Amitābha as a means of universal salvation. Profoundly impressed by the message of this text, Shandao retired to Mount Zhongnan to pursue his religious career. Later, he became a disciple of the Pure Land scholar Daochuo (562–645) at the latter's monastic home at the Xuanzhong Si. Through him, Shandao became convinced that the deliverance of ordinary sentient beings was possible through the power of the Buddha Amitābha, and thus he gave himself up to the practice and propagation of Pure Land Buddhism. His lifelong practice of recitative *nianfo* (the recitation of the name of the buddha Amitābha) began when he was in his thirties.

In addition to being a learned scholar, Shandao was known as a charismatic preacher. After his conversion to Pure Land belief he devoted his life to propagating *nianfo* practice among clergy and laity alike. Owing to his ardent belief in Amitābha's saving grace and his strict adherence to the Buddhist precepts, Shandao came to be popularly regarded as an incarnation of the Buddha. According to legend, whenever Shandao recited the name of Amitābha a beam of light issued from his mouth. Tradition has it that he copied the "smaller" *Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra* (Chin., *Emituo jing*) over ten thousand times and painted some three hundred scenes of Amitābha's Pure Land. Between the years 672 and 675 he supervised, at the insistence of the empress Wu, the construction of a great image of Mahāvairocana Buddha in the caves at the Longmen escarpment, presiding over the inaugural service upon its completion. Among his many writings are a commentary to the *Guan jing*, the *Guan wuliangshou jing shu* (T.D. no. 1753), and four books treating practical rules for devotions to Amitābha.

Like many of his Buddhist contemporaries, Shandao believed that the era of *mofa* (Jpn., *mappō*: the "latter days of the law" or "era of the decadent Dharma"), a degenerate age foretold in scripture in which few devotees would be able to observe Buddhist principles faithfully and attain salvation through their own efforts, was at hand. Shandao's writings are infused with the deep conviction that he was a common mortal, thoroughly immersed in ignorance and delusion and possessing only a minimal capacity to attain enlightenment. Shandao argued that it was precisely for these reasons that one must place faith in Amitābha Buddha, who, in a series of vows made at the beginning of his religious career, had promised to create a Pure Land in which beings might win salvation. One of these vows, number eighteen in the most common Chinese translation of the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra*, promises birth in the Pure Land for all those who, with undistracted mind, direct their thoughts to Amitābha up to ten successive times. This practice (represented by the Chinese term *nianfo*) was variously interpreted by Buddhist exegetes, but by Shandao's time was held to include the verbal recitation of Amitābha's name.

Shandao's originality lay in his claim that the recitation of the name of Amitābha was the *single* direct cause of the attainment of supreme enlightenment. Prior to Shandao, the tradition of *nianfo* devotion had encompassed a range of practices—meditation on the Buddha's body, circumambulation of his image, and recitation of his name. In most Buddhist sects *nianfo* was done in conjunction with other practices, including the chanting of sūtras, observation of Vinaya precepts, repentance of sins, and praise of the adornments of the Pure Land. But in most cases, the recitation of Amitābha's name was considered an inferior, expedient, or merely provisional method for achieving rebirth in the Pure Land. It was Shandao who first elucidated the notion of recitative *nianfo* as an independent and soteriologically decisive action that would assure birth in the Pure Land in its own right. Shandao attributed the efficacy of recitative *nianfo* to the inconceivable power of Amitābha's vows.

For Shandao, the most important element in *nianfo* devotion, and thus the sole requisite for rebirth in the Pure Land, was a profound faith in Amitābha's saving grace. Acknowledging the frailty of human nature, Shandao taught that the devotee should first become fully convinced he or she has been, from time immemorial, possessed of sinful passions and subject to the cycle of birth and death. He must then believe, with the deepest sincerity, that Amitābha's forty-eight vows embrace him and all other sentient beings, and that such belief assures him of birth in the Pure Land as a *bodhisattva.*

Shandao's reputation spread with the fame of his religious parable known as the "Two Rivers and a White Path." This parable relates the story of a lone traveler who suffers the attacks of bandits and wild animals, successfully crosses a narrow path between the River of Raging Waters (symbolizing greed) and the River of Blazing Flames (symbolizing anger), and finally reaches the safety of the opposite bank (the Pure Land). The traveler finds the White Path by following the instructions of his two teachers, Śākyamuni Buddha and Amitābha Buddha. According to Shandao, the bandits and wild animals represent the human hindrances to enlightenment (e.g., the six sense organs and six corresponding kinds of defilements), while the White Path signifies Amitābha's salvific power as expressed in his vows. The parable, with its ultimate resolution of these obstructions, acts as a guide to Buddhists who desire to faithfully follow Amitābha's teachings.

In general, Shandao's many disciples advocated the practice of recitative *nianfo* as the principal cause of rebirth in the Pure Land. They did, however, endorse a variety of adjunct disciplines, including meditation. Therefore, from the middle of the Tang dynasty (618–907), Pure Land devotion gradually synthesized and unified the three practices of meditation, monastic discipline, and invocation. Shandao's notions of recitative *nianfo* and faith, however, continued to be recognized in later Pure Land Buddhism as the purest and the most essential means to winning rebirth in the Pure Land.

After its introduction to Japan, Shandao's teachings enjoyed wide acceptance. There, the notion of recitative *nianfo* (Jpn., *nenbutsu*) underwent further development and refinement, culminating in doctrines expounded by Hōnen (1133–1212) and Shinran (1173–1263), the founders of the Jōdoshū (Pure Land sect) and Jōdo Shinshū (True Pure Land sect), respectively. Shandao's emphasis on recitation and absolute faith became the hallmarks of Japanese Pure Land devotion.

SEE ALSO Daochuo; Hōnen; Jingtu; Nianfo; Shinran; Tanluan.

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SHANGDI.

During the Shang dynasty (c. 1550–1050 BCE), prayers and sacrifices were offered to a large number of gods, collectively referred to as *di*. Regarded as the deified ancestors (real or putative) of the Shang royal clan and high aristocracy, the *di* were worshiped at regular intervals in accordance with a liturgical calendar. At appropriate times they were also consulted for aid and advice by means of the cracking of oracle bones (i.e., the practice of scapulimancy).

The Shang kings also worshiped a more powerful god, known as Shangdi (High God, or God Above). Owing to the absence of plural forms in Chinese, it is not certain that there was only one god known as Shangdi—the phrase could also mean, collectively, "high gods." But most authorities agree that it was a single deity. Shangdi might also have been regarded in some sense as an ultimate human ancestor; however, the deity was not included in the regular liturgical round of ancestral sacrifices and oracular consultations.

There is no mythic account of Shangdi's origins, nor does he appear in the mythic accounts of the founding personages (whether gods, culture heroes, or sage-emperors) of Chinese high antiquity, such as Yao, Shun, and Yu the Great. There is, however, reason to suppose some correspondence between Shangdi and Huangdi, the Yellow Thearch (a name that first appears in texts long postdating the Shang), the mythic culture hero, patron of metallurgy, and god of the center.

Unlike the lesser *di*, who had authority over such human-centered affairs as the king's health and his fortunes in marriage, warfare, and the hunt, Shangdi had jurisdiction in larger-scale natural and cosmic matters. According to surviving oracle-bone inscriptions, Shangdi had the power to prevent, or put an end to, plagues, drought, floods, violent storms, and other such phenomena. Shangdi apparently was never consulted directly by means of scapulimancy, and only rarely were prayers offered to him directly. Rather, when necessary the lesser gods were consulted to learn his will; they could also be asked to intercede with him on behalf of the king and his people.

While the surviving evidence does not permit a very exact description of Shang theology, it seems probable that Shangdi was thought of as a cosmic god, dwelling in or above the sky at the apex of the rotating heavens. Indeed, Shangdi might have been a deified embodiment of the pole star itself. It is certain that a few centuries after the fall of the Shang dynasty gods were thought of as being, in part, personifications of stars, planets, and astral configurations.

With the conquest of the Shang state by the Zhou dynasty around 1050 BCE, Shangdi's place as the paramount deity of the royal cult was usurped by the Zhou high god, Tian ("heaven"). Tian was not simply Shangdi under another name, but the two high gods were similarly regarded as conscious but relatively impersonal cosmic forces.

The term *Shangdi*, however, survived the fall of the Shang dynasty and continued to appear in religious and cosmological texts for centuries thereafter. In such texts it is not so clear that the reference is always to a unitary high god; in some contexts it seems preferable to construe the term as "high gods." In some texts of the Warring States period (481–221 BCE) a near-synonym, *taidi* ("great god"), is substituted for the term *Shangdi*. Regardless of which term is used, it is clear that the reference is to a celestial god (or gods) dwelling at or around the celestial pole. According to chapter 4 of the *Huainanzi* (139 BCE), "If the height of the Kunlun [cosmic] mountain is doubled . . . [and redoubled, and again redoubled], it reaches up to Heaven itself. If one mounts to there, one will become a demigod. It is called the abode of the Great God [Taidi]." In his commentary to the *Huainanzi*, Gao You (fl. 205–212) states that "the Changhe Gate is the gate [through which] one begins an ascent to Heaven. The Gate of Heaven is the gate of the Purple Fortified Palace [i.e., the circumpolar stars] where Shangdi dwells."

With the development of the organized religion of Daoism around the end of the Latter Han dynasty (third century CE), the term *Shangdi* took on new prominence. As a Daoist term, however, it rarely appears alone; rather it has the general meaning "high god" in the elaborate compound titles given to the numerous divinities in the hierarchical, bureaucratically organized Daoist pantheon. *Yuhuang Shangdi* ("jade sovereign high god") is a characteristic example of such a divine title of nobility.

Meanwhile, the old sense of *Shangdi* was preserved through the officially sponsored study of classical texts by the Confucian bureaucratic elite. Every examination candidate knew by heart such stock phrases from the classics as "[King Wen] brilliantly served Shangdi and secured abundant blessings." With the development of the state cult of Confucianism and the imperial worship of and sacrifice to Heaven (Tian), *Shangdi* came to be regarded as a virtual synonym, perhaps somewhat more concretely conceived, of *Heaven.*

Finally, the term *Shangdi* was adopted by Protestant missionaries, and their Chinese converts, to designate the Judeo-Christian God. More commonly, however, that deity is known in Chinese by a name that was coined by the early Jesuit missionaries, *Tianzhu*, "Lord of Heaven."

SEE ALSO Chinese Religion, article on Mythic Themes; Huangdi; Yuhuang.

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SHANGO SEE CARIBBEAN RELIGIONS, *ARTICLE ON* AFRO-CARIBBEAN RELIGIONS

SHANG-TI SEE SHANGDI

SHANKARA SEE ŚAṄKARA

SHAN-TAO SEE SHANDAO

SHAPE SHIFTING can be defined as the alteration in form or substance of any animate object. There seems no limit to the kinds of objects susceptible to such alteration. Examples abound of the shape shifting of plants, animals, humans, and gods. Shape shifting can be caused either by the object changed or by an external force; it can occur for good or for ill and for reasons simple or profound.

Shape shifting is found in essentially every religion and mythological tradition. By no means is it a phenomenon restricted to unsophisticated cultures remote in history and geography from the dominant civilizations. An enduring fascination with shape shifting is easily detected in modern popular culture as well as in the major religions: Comic-book and cartoon characters such as Superman and Spiderman are typical shape-shifters, and shape shifting is certainly an element in the deepest spiritual insights of Christianity, Hinduism, and Buddhism as these religions are currently practiced.

Because of the rich variety of contexts and levels of subtlety in which it is found, it is impossible to assign shape shifting a universal meaning. Zeus's appearance as a swan and Christ's transfiguration are both instances of shape shifting, but they have quite distinct meanings and importance. It is possible, however, in a survey of the phenomenon in its manifold occurrence, to distinguish between types of shape shifting and to find within those types a common meaning and function.

The most frequent type of shape shifting involves strategic deception. Strategic shapeshifters change themselves for reasons of aggression, seduction, or trickery. A second class of shapeshifters are those who use the device for escape from another's aggression or seduction. A third type has the simple function of punishment, and a fourth rewards or compensates the changed object, usually by immortalization. A frequent but often subtle kind of shape shifting seeks liberation from bondage or punishment. A somewhat murkier, though widely found, type may best be described as instances of borderline or confused identity, where one mode of existence is so much like another that the two are repeatedly exchanged. Finally, by far the most profound variety of shape shifting is that which has revelation as its design.

STRATEGIC DECEPTION. Stealth is so essential an ingredient in any conflict that it is in the interest of all contestants to be something or somewhere else than their opponents expect them to be. Kuloscap, for example, the major god of the Micmac Indians of the Maritime Provinces of Canada, overcomes a series of enemies by clever ruses and rapid shape shifting. His power to change himself includes the power to change others, for he will occasionally grant immortality, in the form of a tree or stone, to those who request it. The Maruts, bellicose deities in the service of the Hindu god Indra, can enter undetected into the presence of their enemies by such means as changing themselves into apparently helpless infants. Perhaps the most prodigious of all the shapeshifters of this type is another Hindu god, Viṣṇu, who assumes a great number of incarnations, or avataras, in his battle against evil. The best known of the avataras of Viṣṇu are Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, each of whom is remembered for epic struggles involving shape shifting.

Seduction is probably as usual a reason for shape shifting as is aggression, and it certainly takes more colorful and ingenious forms. At its most basic level seductive shape shifting consists in taking the appearance of another's beloved. Thus the magician Merlin gives Uther Pendragon the form of the duke Gorlois, that he may satisfy his sexual longing for Gorlois's wife. The fruit of this union based on deception is Arthur, king of Britain. So too Zeus, the foremost of the Greeks' Olympian deities, appears to Alcmena in the form of her beloved Amphitryon. But Zeus is usually more inventive, coming to his unsuspecting lovers as a satyr, a shower of gold, a white bull, a swan, and once even as the goddess Artemis. Seductive shape shifting can sometimes be reversed, as commonly happens in Arthurian legend, for example, where the seducer appears as an irresistible young woman but is in fact an agent of evil or death in disguise.

Trickery is the theme of an enormous body of folk tale and myth. Tricksters, displaying remarkably similar characteristics, can be found in a diversity of cultures. They typically take the form of animals but can also be such borderline beings as dwarfs, elves, imps, and trolls. Not always, but frequently, tricksters carry out their mischief through shape shifting. A trickster may, for example, present himself as a person of supernatural powers in order to win a bride or change himself into a snake to steal meat hidden in a skull. A common feature of trickster stories is that these deceptions either are exposed or they backfire on the trickster. The false bridegroom is revealed as a malevolent fox, the trickster finds that his own head has grown onto the snake's body he has assumed, making it impossible for him to draw it out of the skull. Tricksters very often suffer, and even die, for their blundering misdeeds, but they nonetheless return miraculously for more adventure, changing from death back into life—the ultimate feat of the shapeshifter.

The line between trickery and evil is often fuzzy. Satan, for example, has a great supply of tricks, many of which involve shape shifting, but he is certainly no mere trickster. Similarly, the great mischief-maker of Norse mythology, Loki, capable of assuming such diverse forms as bird, flea, milkmaid, or fish, sometimes seems to be the originator of evil itself and not just another divine trickster.

ESCAPE. If stealth is valuable to the aggressor, it is no less valuable to the intended victim. The Greek goddess Daphne is changed into a laurel tree to elude the amorous advances of Apollo. Zeus transforms Io into a heifer to protect her from the wrath of Hera. But such shape shifting is filled with risk. The Celtic god Cian transforms himself into a boar to escape his pursuing enemies. They in turn become greyhounds, hunt down their quarry, and kill him. When Demeter, in the shape of a mare, flees Poseidon, he accomplishes the seduction by taking the shape of a stallion.

PUNISHMENT. Shape shifting has such obvious utility for pursuit and flight that examples of it have little inherent intellectual or religious weight. When it takes the form of punishment it becomes considerably more nuanced. There are, to be sure, numerous simple instances of direct retribution. Thus, Lot's wife is transformed into a pillar of salt for violating the command not to look back at Sodom; in Roman mythology Picus pays for his rejection of Circe's sexual advances when she transforms him into a woodpecker.

In its more refined form shape shifting as punishment emerges in a number of traditions as the transmigration, or reincarnation, of souls. In Hinduism, where the concept is most thoroughly developed, the reincarnated soul has a new shape determined by the quality of its spiritual life in previous existences. There is no end to this serial shape shifting until the soul is able to cleanse itself of all attachment to the changeable. In other words, the soul will be punished by shape shifting until it has no shape left whatsoever. This idea persists in Buddhism, though with much less emphasis. Plato gives the idea considerable authority in the West. In the *Phaedo,* for instance, he has Socrates argue that souls will go through an indefinite number of rebirths but with appropriate transformations. Those who are gluttons in this existence will be asses in the next; the unjust and tyrannical will become wolves and hawks; and those who practice the civil and social virtues will be bees or ants, if they are not changed "back again into the form of man." Elsewhere Plato suggests that humans have fallen into this earthly shape from one more desirable.

LIBERATION. For every tale of punishment by shape shifting there is one of liberation. The princess of one of the tales of the brothers Grimm must weave six shirts out of flower petals and keep silence for six years in order to break the witch's spell that has changed her six brothers into swans. Cinderella must be found by the prince, the café waitress by the movie producer, each thus to be freed from her humiliating bondage.

The shape shifting of liberation, since it must always come from without, grants unusual, often unknown or hidden, powers to the changers. Pygmalion, a Greek sculptor of great skill, innocently shapes a statue, then finds he has fallen in love with it; Aphrodite secretly brings the statue to life as the woman Galatea. Just as innocently a child in another Grimm tale takes a frog to dinner and then to bed, acts of affection that transform him back into the prince he really is.

There is often the assumption in this kind of shape shifting that the change from one state to another is the liberation of a being from its false to its true nature. The water-jar boy of the Indian tale not only springs into human form; he leads his mother into a secret well where she is joined with the supernatural beings who are her true family. The Christian thinker Boethius, tortured to death by the Ostrogoth ruler of Rome Theodoric in 524 CE, wrote that Philosophy, in the shape of a woman, entered his cell to console him with the message that he suffered from his punishment only because "you have forgotten what you are." As long as he could remember that he was in truth pure soul he would be freed from the torment suffered by his earthly shape. The idea that humans are liberated from a false existence to a true one is widely found in mystical literature. Islamic mystics, for example, declare that it is their desire "to be who I am before I was."

A highly sophisticated and extreme form of liberation by shape shifting is found in classical Daoism. For the ancient Daoists the spiritual goal was not a transformation from one kind of being into another, but continuous transformation. All that is, they taught, is in the process of change. Therefore, the path (or dao) of the liberated person does not have a goal; it is a path of endless change. Zhuangzu, a Daoist philosopher who lived several centuries before the common era, wrote that the liberated person "rides on the flow of heaven and earth and the transformation of the six elements and wanders in the infinite" (*Zhuangzsu,* trans. Jane English and Giafu Feng, New York, 1974, p. 9). In other words, the liberated person is an eternal shapeshifter, possessing no shape that is truly his or her own.

IMMORTALIZATION. A relatively small number of shapeshifting tales and beliefs fall into the category of immortalization. At the simplest level are the stories in Greek mythology of Hyacinth, a lover of Apollo who was changed into a lily; of Narcissus, a lover of his own image who also became a flower; and of Echo, a lover of Narcissus, who was cruelly immortalized in the disembodied form of a voice that could never speak for itself.

It has been a common belief in many cultures that gods and heroes have taken permanent places in the night sky. This belief enters into Plato's philosophical speculation, in the *Timaeus,* that the stars are the souls of those liberated from their earthly shapes. The Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body also shares in the general character of immortalization by shape shifting. "Lo, I tell you a mystery," Paul wrote; "we shall not all sleep but we shall all be changed." It is a change in which "this mortal nature must put on immortality" (*1 Cor.* 15:51–53). This more philosophical, or theological, understanding of shape shifting, it should be noted, is the precise opposite of that of the Daoists, in which all possibility of immortality is rejected.

BORDERLINE AND CONFUSED IDENTITIES. There is a large class of shapeshifters who seem to be existing in two realms at the same time, who seem to be both human and animal, or both deity and natural phenomenon.

The best example of this kind of shape shifting in Greek mythology is Dionysos, a god of multiple origins and traits. There is only one continuous characteristic of Dionysos through all his often contradictory manifestations: He is always closely associated with natural process. His usual dwelling place is in the wild, physically and psychically far from civilized human existence. The natural order from which he is inseparable usually causes social disorder. He is widely known as the god of wine and revelry. Even his birth has a strange ambiguity about it: He was born twice, once prematurely of the goddess Semele, and once from the thigh of Zeus. This double birth may account for the fact that he can sometimes be found in female form. He can assume a great number of shapes, as though the line between his divinity and natural process has no restraining effect. Dionysos is as closely associated with death as he is with life. He was raised in the forest by the satyr Silenus, who was fond of saying that the only happiness in life is to die and leave it as soon as possible. Dionysos dies by being pulled apart by women in an ecstatic ritual and is thus also known by the name Zagreus, the Torn. Once dead, however, he comes back to life, a symbol of the natural process itself, which requires death for the regeneration of life.

Other Greek deities, notably Artemis, Poseidon, and Demeter, have identities bound up with nature, though none so closely as Dionysos, whose origins are, in any case, more Middle Eastern than Greek. The ancient religions of Mesopotamia and Egypt included the worship of a great many gods who changed their shapes in a manner imitative of nature. Ishtar, the Assyro-Babylonian goddess of love and voluptuousness, performs an annual ceremonial killing of her lover Tammuz, "lord of the wood of life," who vanishes into the earth like the threshed and planted grain, only to rise again in the spring into the arms of Ishtar, who then repeats the process. This particular kind of agricultural shape shifting has distant but unmistakable echoes in many other mythological and religious traditions. Note the parallels in the story of Christ: Scourged and crowned in a mock ceremony, he is executed and buried at the time of a spring festival, shortly to rise in the midst of women as a new food for the life of the community.

There are instances of the elusive sort of shape shifting that seem at once to be both divine and natural. Equally elusive is the shape shifting caused by the intimate identity of the human with the animal. Popular Chinese legend commonly has the trickster fox posing as a respected citizen, often without anyone ever seeing his fox form. In Europe werewolf legends are found everywhere. Indeed, until the eighteenth century it was widely believed that some human beings could periodically pass into the form of a wolf; the belief even encouraged a quasi-scientific study of such creatures, thought to be afflicted with a form of insanity called lycanthropy (from the Greek words for "wolf" and "human").

REVELATION. Finally, there is the shape shifting that appears to have as its principal function the awakening or enlightening of observers to an otherwise unnoticed reality.

Þórr (Thor), the hero-god of Norse mythology, was once admitted with his companions to a magical castle where they had to prove themselves by such feats as racing with a giant who seemed to reach the finish line as soon as he started, lifting a cat whose single paw Thor could not raise from the floor, and wrestling with an old woman of frail appearance but astounding strength. When they had lost these contests it was explained to them that they had been competing with thought, the world serpent, and time, as though these were realities about which the heroes needed instruction.

The Greek god Proteus offers an interesting variation on this theme. Because he possessed the gift of prophecy, Proteus was often asked to reveal what the future held for a person. As though to impress his suppliants with the anguish that comes from such revelations, he would change himself into monstrous forms meant to terrify them. To those who refused to be intimidated he offered the requested knowledge.

Revelatory shape shifting does more than simply occur in Christianity; it is its central affirmation. The doctrine of the incarnation is properly to be understood as the revealing self-transformation of God. "In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God. . . . And the word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory," the *Gospel of John* begins. Only once, however, does one find in the Gospels an event in which something of Jesus' divine form is revealed. Jesus took several of his disciples up a mountain "and was transfigured before them." His face shone as the sun and his raiment was of a brilliant light. The disciples fell on their faces in fear and reverence.

A remarkably similar event can be found in one of the best-known works of Hindu literature, the *Bhagavadgītā.* This text is the account of a conversation between the famed warrior Arjuna and the god Kṛṣṇa, who was in the form of Arjuna's chariot driver. Near the end of this discourse Arjuna begged Kṛṣṇa to show himself in his true divine form. When Kṛṣṇa did so his face shone with the light of a thousand suns, and Arjuna "beheld the universe, in all its multitudinous diversity, lodged as one being within the God of gods." Like the disciples of Jesus, he was both terrified and worshipful before this transformation.

In referring to Jesus and Kṛṣṇa as shapeshifters it may seem that their spiritual importance has been trivialized, that they have been placed in the company of tricksters and seducers. On the contrary, these self-transforming powers of Jesus and Kṛṣṇa show how immensely varied the phenomenon of shape shifting is. What the many shapeshifters have in common is only an external resemblance. When one looks into the inner meaning of each instance of shape shifting and try to understand it in its context, similarities rapidly disappear. Shape shifting is a universal phenomenon to which no universal meaning can be applied. To cite an event as an example of it is not, therefore, to state its meaning, but to encourage inquiry into its meaning.

SEE ALSO Monsters; Therianthropism; Tricksters.

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JAMES P. CARSE (1987)
Revised Bibliography

SHARĪʿAH SEE ISLAMIC LAW, *ARTICLE ON* SHARĪʿAH

SHARPE, ERIC J.

SHARPE, ERIC J. Eric John Sharpe (1933–2000) was born in Lancashire, England, into a family of straitened circumstances during the Great Depression. The first in his family to undertake tertiary studies, he was fortunate to secure a studentship at the University of Manchester. Sharpe seemed destined for the Methodist ministry, yet, when choosing between two eminent supervisors for his masters thesis, evangelical New Testament specialist F. F. Bruce and the more adventurous liberal scholar of comparative religion S. G. F. Brandon, he chose the latter, researching "the Doctrine of Man" in New Testament and early Vedic thought. Thereafter Sharpe's primary attention was on the business of analyzing and comparing different religions. In 1958 a World Council of Churches award took him to Uppsala, Sweden, where he began doctoral studies within the Faculty of Theology. Interestingly, he did not opt to study under Geo Widengren, a continental equivalent to Brandon, but under the brilliant historian of mission and church in southern Africa—Bengt Sundkler. Sharpe's doctorate, published under the title *Not to Destroy but to Fulfil* (1965), centered on the missiological approach to Indian religions by John Nicol Farquhar (one of Brandon's predecessors). With the rise of the Uppsala school of New Testament criticism at the time, with its stress on oral transmission, young Sharpe also accepted the honor of translating works by such scholars as Birger Gerhardsson (on the remembrance of the *rabbi* Jesus' sayings) and Bertil Gärtner (on the Jesus *logia* in the *Gospel of Thomas*).

By the time he returned to Britain with his Swedish wife Birgitta in 1966, Sharpe had become extremely well-informed in the history of different Western approaches to the critical study of the world's religions. The traditions of particular interest to him were the Hindu and the Germanic, but he kept abreast of studies in the history of ancient and modern Christianity (with special concern for ecumenics). Brandon wanted him back in Manchester, and the Sinologist Howard Smith deferred his retirement until Sharpe returned from a temporary appointment in Indiana. Consolidating his research interests in the encounter between Christianity and Hinduism (and other traditions), Sharpe was eventually enticed into a research and lecture tour to India itself during 1969. The next year he secured a senior lectureship in religious studies at the new University of Lancaster, collaborating with Ninian Smart in the public forum for a better understanding of religious diversity in Britain and for the teaching of world religions. Visiting professorships to North America came his way (Northwestern; Manitoba), and in 1975, serving his last year as the organization's acting general secretary, he and his wife organized the Thirteenth Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions. After Brandon's unexpected death in Egypt, Sharpe reconnected with Manchester. There he kept up a close collegial friendship with John Hinnells, leading to the co-authored book *Hinduism* (1972).

Ambitious for a professorship, Sharpe was forced to look to Commonwealth countries for opportunities, and in 1977 he won the Foundation Chair in religious studies at the University of Sydney, the first of its kind on the Australian continent. This success was mostly due to the publication of his finest book, *Comparative Religion: A History* (1975)—on modern theories and methods in the study of the world's religions. After recovering from ill health, Sharpe settled down at Sydney. While being allowed to test the waters in Sweden, where for a time he held the coveted professorship in the history of religions (within the humanities faculty) at Uppsala, Sharpe committed himself to Australia, and was bent on consolidating a vigorous (if small) department at Sydney until his retirement in 1996. His weakening condition restricted his role in public life during his last years.

Sharpe was one of the world's leading methodologists in the comparative and historical study of religions. If one admits a certain competition between his claims and those of other doyens (e.g., Mircea Eliade, Ninian Smart, and Jacques Waardenburg) at least Sharpe emerged as the world's foremost authority on how one should best orient oneself for understanding other religions. His personal academic experience gave him a distinct advantage in accounting for British evolutionist and diffusionist theories, the myth and ritual school in both English and Scandinavian scholarship, continental phenomenology, and the German *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* associated with Wilhem Bousset and Richard Reitzenstein. Other books confirming this status were *Understanding Religion* (1983) and *Nathan Söderblom and the Study of Religio*n (1990), even if both exposed his flanks to theorists of a different bent.

Although Sharpe primarily self-inscribed as a historian of religions (and religious ideas), and remained loyal to the historically rooted agenda followed in Manchester and Uppsala, he was always intrigued by Christian and Western images of the East (thus *Faith meets Faith* [1977] and *The Universal Gita* [1985]), and he was concerned with understanding Christian missionary interpretations of the "other" (e.g., *Karl Ludwig Reichelt* [1984]). These missiological interests could be misunderstood, and, in the last stages of his career, Sharpe fell subject to criticism by younger methodologists that his work carried a hidden theological agenda. In *Understanding Religion*, admittedly, he appeared strident in separating the new discipline of religious studies from divinity (because at Sydney his department was initially launched through the Board of Studies in Divinity). Yet in his critics' eyes he looked to be a man with plenty of theological proclivities himself. Had he not received a doctorate in theology from Uppsala? And had not he occasionally engaged in Christian theology?

These questions were brewing at the so-called Sharpe Symposium, hosted by the American Academy of Religion in Chicago in 1988. If some wanted to accuse him of "closet theology," however, Sharpe could maintain against his detractors that only a warped methodological orientation would arise if a theorist had rejected his own natal tradition. In any case, Sharpe's approach to theology was more nuanced than met the eye. Certainly, he denied the possibility of eluding theological values. The phenomenology of religion, in his view, could never be an act of pure objectivism per se; it inevitably involved "charity," or the concession of goodwill that gave someone else the chance to voice their commitments. He also held that studies in religion should not be willfully secularized, and that the scholar of religion did best with a "dual citizenship" between his or her own and another's tradition. In private notes, however, Sharpe recognized how, "professionally speaking, [theology] may be one of the narrowest and most inbred [disciplines]." Only when one's attitudes were broadened, "Faith could best meet Faith" in generous interreligious dialogue; yet dialoguers would lack integrity and demean the other if they did not represent their own faith (or faith background) existentially, so that believers, including willing theologians, are essential in the dialogical process.

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GARRY W. TROMPF (2005)

SHAVUʿOT, or Pentecost, is the Jewish festival that falls on the sixth day of the month of Sivan (and also on the seventh day, outside Israel). In the Pentateuch (*Ex.* 34:22, *Dt.* 16:10) the festival is called Shavuʿot ("weeks") because it falls after seven weeks (forty-nine days) have been counted from the "morrow of the Sabbath" (*Lv.* 23:15) of Passover. In the Talmudic literature a debate is recorded between the Sadducees and the Pharisees: the former understood the word *Sabbath* in the verse to mean literally the Sabbath of Passover (so that, for them, Shavuʿot always fell on Sunday), while the latter, whose view is accepted, understood "the Sabbath" to be the first day of Passover. It is difficult to know what doctrinal issues really lie behind these two opinions, since, if the report is accurate, it is unlikely that the debate was purely exegetical.

In the Pentateuch the festival appears to have been a purely agricultural one. The rabbinic name for the festival, ʿAtseret ("assembly"), the term used in *Numbers* 29:35 for the additional festival of Sukkot, suggests that originally the festival was no more than an adjunct to Passover. But beginning no later than the second century CE a vast transformation of the festival took place. The arrival at Mount Sinai of the people coming from slavery in Egypt (*Ex.* 19:1) occurred in the third month from the Exodus (the month of Sivan, as it came to be called). Through examination of the texts, a view developed that the theophany at Sinai had taken place on the sixth of Sivan, and Shavuʿot was then celebrated as the anniversary of the giving of the Torah. (Although the passage speaks only of the Decalogue being given at Sinai, later Jewish tradition held that the whole of the Torah was given to Moses at that time.)

The liturgy of the day contains references to the Torah and the 613 commandments (the rabbinic figure for the sum total of positive precepts and negative injunctions of the law). A feature found only on this festival is the recital of an Aramaic hymn on the first day in praise of the Torah. It is generally held that these hymns are vestiges of introductions in Aramaic to the Targum, the Aramaic translations of the texts that, in ancient times, were always read in the synagogue. The Pentateuchal reading is from the Sinai narrative (*Ex.* 19–20), and the Prophetic reading from *Ezekiel* 1, the vision of the heavenly chariot. The link between the two is that of revelation, to the people as whole and to the individual prophet. The *Book of Ruth* as well is read in the synagogue. Ruth, the prototype of the righteous proselyte, took upon herself the observance of God's laws, as did the Israelites at Sinai.

There are no special Shavuʿot rituals, in view of the late origin of the festival in the form in which it is now celebrated. However, there are a number of customs, such as decorating the synagogue with plants and flowers (because beautiful plants are said to have flowered on the barren mountain when the Torah was given) and eating dairy dishes at the festive meal (because, like milk, the Torah nourishes young and old). The sixteenth-century mystics of Safad introduced the all-night vigil on Shavuʿot night, a practice that has been widely adopted by all Jews. During this night an anthology of readings from all the classical sources of Judaism is studied.

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LOUIS JACOBS (1987)

SHAYKH AL-ISLĀM

SHAYKH AL-ISLĀM (Turk., *şeyhülislam*) is a title associated with Islamic religious figures; it was used most commonly in the period of the Ottoman empire, when it denoted the chief jurisconsult, or *muftī*, of Istanbul, who was the supreme religious authority in the empire and the administrative head of the Ottoman hierarchy of religious scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*). The title seems to have come into use in the Islamic east in the late tenth century. From that time it served to distinguish individuals who had achieved prominence in some branch of the faith. Although pre-Ottoman biographical literature mentions the title in connection with Ṣūfī notables, it was even then more commonly, and later almost exclusively, applied to specialists in Islamic holy law, the *sharīʿah*.

The transition of the term form an honorific to an actual office defies charting. However, from the tenth century certain local religious officials are known to have held office under the title (although not necessarily performing the same functions) in such disparate lands as Seljuk Iran and Anatolia, Mamluk Egypt and Syria, the Delhi sultanate of India, Safavid Iran, Timurid Transoxiana, and the Muslim regions of China. It was under the Ottomans, however, that the office achieved both its full definition and its preeminence.

According to Ottoman tradition, the first shaykh al-Islām was Şemseddin al-Fenari (d. 1431), a celebrated *sharīʿah* scholar and *qāḍī* ("judge") appointed by Sultan Murād II (1421–1451). With the conquest of Constantinople (Istanbul) in 1453, the *shaykh al-Islām*, always chosen from among the noted jurists of the day, thereafter resided in the capital city as its chief *muftī*.

Like any *muftī*, the *shaykh al-Islām* was responsible for issuing written opinions (*fatwā*s), based on established *sharīʿah* authorities, in response to legal questions submitted for his expert interpretation of the law. Such opinions were not binding. The petitioner was under no legal obligation to follow a *muftī*'s findings, or even those of a *shaykh al-Islām*. Nonetheless, a *fatwā* delivered by the *shaykh al-Islām* possessed compelling moral authority. A *shaykh al-Islām* presumably earned his post as much through a reputation for integrity as for scholarship. Moreover, he was the only officer in the realm entitled to pronounce on the sultan's fitness to rule. The subordination of the worldly to the spiritual was more in theory than in practice, but many *shaykh al-Islām*s did not hesitate to issue opinions at odds with their sovereign's wishes. In any case, for the entire span of the empire, the *shaykh al-Islām*'s *fatwā* was the emblem of legitimation, required for the deposition of the sultan as well as for the undertaking of any major imperial policy.

During the tenure of the post's most renowned incumbent, Mehmed Ebussüud (d. 1574), the *shaykh al-Islām* came to control the examination and appointment of the major judges and professors in the empire. As a result, the independence of the office was further compromised, and subsequent holders of the past became increasingly subject to political pressures, including summary dismissal.

With the secularizing reforms of the nineteenth century, the *shaykh al-Islām*, with the entire body of Ottoman *ʿulamāʾ*, was systematically deprived of authority and importance. In November 1922, the last *shaykh al-Islām* left office when the nationalist Turks under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (d. 1938), founder of the Turkish Republic, abolished the Ottoman sultanate. The post was never reconstituted, but local officials in Muslim countries outside Turkey have occasionally used the title in the modern era.

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SHAYKHĪYAH. Shaykhīyah was a controversial school of theology within Twelver or Imāmī Shiism, originally inspired by the teachings of Shaykh Aḥmad al-Ahsāʾī (1753–1826), a leading scholar of the early Qājār period, and his immediate followers. His thought is a creative synthesis of considerable merit and complexity, selectively drawing from the mystical philosophy (*ḥikmat-i ilāhī*) of Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī (1579–1641) and other famous Shīʿī heretics, from certain elements of the Akhbārī school of Shīʿī scholarship with its emphasis on the exclusive authority of the words of the *imāms,* and apparently from Ismāʿīlī eschatological theories. Though advancing several criticisms of the *ḥikmat* tradition and of Sufism, the Shaykhīyah may be regarded as the most powerful expression of spiritual dissent from the theology and claims to authority of the dominant Uṣūlī *ʿulamāʾ* of Iran and Iraq during the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. As a strong movement toward the charismatic individual and his or her access to direct inner revelation from the *imāms*, the early movement was originally called the Kashfīyah. The condemnation of their doctrines as heretical and splits within the movement alongside the development of Bābism from its midst led to a variety of responses, most of which led to the two main branches of the Shaykhīyah reconciling themselves to the dominant theology and jurisprudence of Twelver Shiism.

SHAYKH AḤMAD: LIFE AND THOUGHT. Shaykh Aḥmad was born in the eastern Arabian province of al-Aḥsāʾ in 1753. From an early age he showed an inclination toward learning and an ascetic form of spirituality. In his autobiography he relates how as a child and a young man he experienced a series of initiatory dreams and visions in which certain of the twelve Shīʿī *imāms* and the Prophet Muḥammad taught him esoteric knowledge. These visionary experiences later became central in the formation of his philosophical and religious teachings on the nature and functions of the *imāms* in creation (al-Aḥsāʾī, 1957).

In the early 1790s Shaykh Aḥmad left his native country for Iraq. There he came into close contact with the controversies then stirring among the Twelver *ʿulamāʾ*. In religious debates dominated by questions of juristic authority, the *ʿulamāʾ* were largely divided into two camps: Uṣūlīyah and Akhbārīyah. The Uṣūlī triumph of the eighteenth century (the result of a mixture of power politics, rational argument, and intimidation) successfully raised the Uṣūlī *mujtahid*s (the preeminent jurists) to a dominant position within Shiism through their doctrine of *taqlīd*, which dictated that the Shīʿah must follow the rulings of a living *mujtahid* on all matters of ritual practice. For their part the Akhbārīyah held that only the now-hidden twelfth *imām* is infallible, immune from sins, and therefore worthy to be followed; all persons, including learned scholars, are to follow the *imām.* Consequently they held that the Qurʾān and traditions reveal the will of God and provide sufficient guidance for the practice of Shiism; in the absence of explicit proof texts, the believer must forgo judgment on a ruling.

Shaykh Aḥmad remained uncommitted to either party. In Iraq he studied under leading representatives of both schools, but his philosophical worldview kept him aloof from identification with either Uṣūlī rationalism or Akhbārī conservatism. He quickly established a reputation for piety and learning and attracted a large following of students and admirers. In 1806 he ventured to Iran, where he gained increasing fame not only among the clerics but also with a large number of Qājār royalty, including Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, and powerful merchants.

In Iran Shaykh Aḥmad wrote his most important works dealing with the spiritual exegesis of Shīʿī traditions, discussing *al-Ziyārah al-Jāmiʾah* (1861), and critiques of the philosophical systems of Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī, *al-Mashāʾir* and *al-ʾArshīyah* (1861), and of Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī, *al-Risālah al-ʾilmīyah* (1856). His writings appear to have been widely circulated and commented on. Although he expressed his views cautiously and frequently resorted to *taqīyah* (pious dissimulation of one's true beliefs), his growing popularity and seeming unorthodox beliefs soon made him the target of fierce attacks from certain *mujtahid*s.

Al-Aḥsāʾī was accused of holding that the *imāms* are the creators and sustainers of the cosmos (the notion of delegation, or *tafwīḍ*), a charge that arose from his understanding of certain traditions of the *imāms* dealing with ontology and the mystery of the emergence of being. Shaykh Aḥmad advanced a strict apophatic theology in which God remains forever beyond human comprehension and indeed beyond being as the essential divine ground (*kunh al-dhāt*). Yet other traditions and Qurʾanic verses indicate that the very purpose of human existence is to know and love a God who is closer to one than one's life vein. The bridge between the transcendence and immanence of God is the primordial Muḥammadan reality (*ḥaqīqah muḥammadīyah*), which is, for Shaykh Aḥmad, none other than the pleroma of the Fourteen Immaculate Ones (*chahārdah-i maʾṣūm*, namely Muḥammad, Fāṭimah, and the twelve Shīʿī *imāms*). Here the *imāms* are held to be eternal spiritual realities who, in their unity, are the creative primal will of God and the means through which God is known to persons. In Shaykh Aḥmad's hierarchy of being, the Fourteen Immaculate Ones are also designated as the "Light of Lights" (*nūr al-anwār*). It is only through the *imāms* in their reality as the primal will that a manifestation (*maẓhar*) of God occurs. On this point al-Aḥsāʾī differs with the Ishrāqī school of Shīʿī Neoplatonism, which sees the Light of Lights as the originating source of being.

Shaykh Aḥmad maintains that the *imāms*' nature as spiritual beings demands, in contrast to the dominant theology of Shiism, that the *imāms* exist within spiritual bodies situated in the visionary, mediate realm of Hūrqalyā, an intermediate world of archetypal figures *(ʿālam al-mithāl).* Within this imaginal world, the soul encounters the *imāms* and is transformed through a divine anthropomorphosis designated as a second or spiritual birth (*al-walādah al-rūḥānīyah*). It is in this archetypal region of being that the night journey (*miʾrāj*) of the Prophet and the final resurrection occur, a belief that undermines the insistence upon the physicality of these experiences in the dominant theology of Shiism (see Corbin, 1977, chaps. 9–11, for translations of Shaykhī texts on this theme).

Shaykh Aḥmad's rejection of the *mujtahids*' claims to authority also caused conflicts. As with the Akhbārīyah, Shaykh Aḥmad denies that believers must submit to the rulings of some *mujtahid*. Instead, he advances his doctrine of the Fourth Support (*al-rukn al-rābiʿ*). Shaykh Aḥmad logically reduces the traditional five bases of Shiism to three: the unity of God, prophethood, and the imamate. In addition there must always exist the "perfect Shīʿah": Shīʿī saints who serve as intermediaries between the *imāms* and believers. The perfect Shīʿah partake of the grace of the *imāms* through spiritual vision and not through the fallible discursive reasoning of the *mujtahids*. Consequently their knowledge of religious truths is immune from error by virtue of their intimacy with the *imāms*. Although Shaykh Aḥmad did not specifically claim to be the "bearer" of this Fourth Support, his description of the attributes of the perfect Shīʿī appears to be a self-portrait. Thus he distinguishes himself from earlier philosophers and theologians by asserting that he is at variance with both these groups because of his unique spiritual relationship with the *imāms*. Unlike the former, he "does not speak without being guided by the *imāms*" (al-Aḥsāʾī, 1957, p. 14).

In about 1822 an undistinguished *mujtahid* from Qazvin, Mullā Muḥammad Taqī Baraghānī, accused him of the heresies of *tafwīḍ* and the denial of bodily resurrection. Most of the leading *ʿulamāʾ* and philosophers remained sympathetic or neutral toward Shaykh Aḥmad, and it was not at this point that his close followers were considered to be heretics outside Shiism. Nevertheless this controversy prompted the *shaykh* to leave Iran for Iraq. There too Shaykh Aḥmad found himself at the center of debate with many *ʿulamāʾ* antagonistic to his views. Deciding that it was wiser to move once more, he set out for Mecca but died in 1826 at the age of seventy-three before he reached the holy city.

THE SHAYKHĪ SCHOOL. Al-Aḥsāʾī designated Sayyid Qāʿim Rashtī (d. 1843) as his successor. Under Rashtī's leadership, the Shaykhī school emerged as a separate and organized movement within Shiism. Rashtī clearly formulated the Shaykhī doctrine of salvation history and the evolutionary cycles of revelation that had been ambiguously expressed by his master (al-Aḥsāʾī, 1956, vol. 1, p. 103). Possibly influenced by Ismāʿīlī ideas, Rashtī held that there are two ages of the dispensation of Muḥammad: the period of outward observances (*ẓawāhir*) and perfection of the *shariʿah*, followed by the period of inward realities (*bawāṭin*) and the disclosure of esoteric truths. The first age ended at the close of the twelfth Islamic century (eighteenth century CE), and Shaykh Aḥmad is held to be the first promulgator of the new age of inward realities. These views, not widely circulated but well known among Rashtī's closest followers, heightened a sense of millenarian hope among some Shaykhīyah for the full disclosure of the new age through the guidance of the perfect Shīʿah or possibly even the long-expected return of the Hidden *Imām.*

Despite opposition, the Shaykhīyah attained its greatest successes under Rashtī's leadership. Indeed the Shīʿah in Karbala became divided into Shaykhī and Uṣūlī factions. When Rashtī died without designating a successor, the movement splintered into several antagonistic parties, of which the three most important were the conservative Tabrīzī Shaykhīyah led by Mīrzā Íasan Gawhar (d. 1849), the Kirmānī Shaykhīyah led by the powerful Qājār notable Ḥājj Muḥammad Karīm Khān Kirmānī (1810–1870), and the Bābī movement led by Sayyid ʿAlī Muḥammad Shīrāzī (1819–1844), known as the Bāb.

The Tabrīzī Shaykhīyah later led by the Māmaqānī family played a central role in the trial and execution of the Bāb and reached a reconciliation with the Uṣūlīs. Henceforth they remained undistinguishable in outward practice and appearance from the rest of the Shīʿī community. Their only distinguishing feature was their championing of the character and thought of Shaykh Aḥmad.

The Bābī movement's millenarian fervor and eventual rejection of Shīʿī orthodoxy forced Karīm Khān to adjust Shaykhī teachings in order to distance himself and his party from the Bābīs. In contrast to the Bābīs, he emphasized the continuing role of the *imāms* and accepted the Uṣūlī legal method. Karīm Khān denied that either Shaykh Aḥmad or Sayyid Kāẓim was to be regarded as the Fourth Support of their day, for this is a general category of guides consisting of all Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ* (Kirmānī, Al-rukn al-rābiʿ, Kirman, 1949). Eventually the Kirmānī Shaykhīyah returned to the more mystical position that the Fourth Support is an unnamed spiritual hierarchy of saints who, like the Hidden *Imām,* remain unknown to the general populace. The Kirmānī Shaykhīyah came to regard themselves as an elite minority within Shiism, preserving and deepening the esoteric dimensions of Shiism through the guidance of their *shaykhs* (see Corbin, 1972). The leadership of the school remained in the Ibrāhīmī family, descendents of Karīm Khān. After the assassination of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Riḍā Khān Ibrāhīmī in the aftermath of the Iranian revolution of 1979, the school moved to Basra, where it is led by Sayyid ʿAlī al-Mūsawī. Kirmānī Shaykhī groups are found in the early twenty-first century in Iran and Iraq (particularly in Basra). Tabrīzī Shaykhīs (although unlike the Kirmānīs they never use the term) relocated to Karbala at the beginning of the twentieth century to rekindle the original Shaykhī community there under Rashtī. They are well integrated in the Twelver scholarly community (their leader is described as a *marjaʾ*, a source of emulation using the Uṣūlī term) and are based in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Karbala, and Damascus, led in the early twenty-first century by Mīrzā ʿAbd Allāh Íāʾirī Iḥqāqī.

See Also Bābīs.

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SHCHERBATSKII, FEDOR See STCHERBATSKY, THEODORE

SHEEP AND GOATS appear frequently in the history of religions, from prehistoric times down to the present, and across a wide geographic area. Both appear most commonly as animals of sacrifice, but the ram and especially the goat have also served as symbols of sexual virility and so are often associated with fertility cults.

Prehistoric Times. Evidence of the symbolic importance of sheep and goats in prehistoric times comes primarily from their representation in art. Their importance as totemic animals among some contemporary tribal peoples also presumably reflects much more ancient beliefs.

Prior to their domestication in the Neolithic period, wild sheep and goats were hunted as game and seem to have become cult objects quite early. In Upper Paleolithic art, for instance, 7 percent of the animal representations consist of images of rams. From the Neolithic period to the Bronze Age, depictions of both goats and rams (most commonly the former) are encountered quite often in the art of Mesopotamia, Iran, Afghanistan, and Central Asia. It may be assumed that beliefs and myths connected with these animals underwent a considerable development at this time.

On a diadem from Hissar III (Iran, first half of the second millennium BCE) images of rams and goats are arranged in mirrorlike symmetry. In Çatal Hüyük (Asia Minor, seventh and sixth millennia BCE) ram heads are depicted on the walls of sanctuaries. Rams seem to have been associated with the goddess who is also depicted there as a kind of proprietress of human beings and of both wild and domestic animals. On a wall of the Leopard Sanctuary, also at Çatal Hüyük, there is a depiction of a stylized tree with a goatlike animal on either side. This general motif, a tree or a plant with flanking sheep or goats, is very common in pottery decoration and glyptic art from this period. Symbolic representations of water (perhaps rain) and of snakes are also found in connection with it. These mythologems became very widespread and existed up to modern times in Central Asia.

More indirect evidence for the religious importance of sheep and goats in Neolithic times comes from the practices of various tribal peoples. Their survivals of worship of sheep as totemic animals up to the modern period may represent a practice that goes back to very ancient times. One such practice was the prohibition against eating mutton among some tribes of Madagascar, who believed that tribal members were descended from sheep. The sheep was also a totemic animal for the Kharia of Bengal, the Kalanga of South Africa, the Batoro of Uganda, and the tribes of the Altaic region, among others. The fact that the word for "ram" is contained in the Greek family name Krioid (from the Greek *krios*) may hint at an earlier totemic belief in Greece as well. Finally, it should be noted that the goat has served as a totemic animal among some San (Bushmen) tribes of southern Africa.

HISTORICAL TIMES. In historical times one begins to find more differentiated notions of the symbolic importance of sheep and goats and are thus able to discuss each in more detail.

Sheep. Because of the innate traits and behavior of sheep, such qualities as gentleness, timidity, inoffensiveness, and passivity have been consistently attributed to them. These qualities have also been interpreted as expressions of innocence, mildness, simplicity, and love, and, consequently, as a willingness to be sacrificed. The sheep's defenselessness against predators (some animals are actually called "sheep eaters") also made a deep cultural impression. Considering such perceptions of sheep, and taking into account their relatively high fecundity (and hence their availability and expendability), it becomes easy to understand how the idea of the sheep as a sacrificial animal came into being and became widespread in Judaism, ancient Greece, ancient China, and elsewhere.

Numerous examples of sheep as sacrificial animals can be found in the Judeo-Christian tradition. A lamb was slaughtered in the Israelite Passover rite (*Ex.* 12:21–24, *Nm.* 8:8–12). In the New Testament, in both the *Gospel of John* and the *Book of Revelation,* Christ is referred to as the Lamb of God who redeems the sins of the world (*Jn.* 1:29, 1:36; *Rv.* 5:6–14, 6:1): that is, the killing of Christ is directly compared to the slaughtering of a sacrificial sheep in order to take away sins (compare the motif of the scapegoat). Lamb is the traditional meal during Christian celebrations of Easter; marzipan and chocolate lambs holding flags—to represent Christ victorious—are also popular at Easter time.

Sheep have been sacrificial animals among many other peoples as well. In the Islamic world, the ritual slaughter of a sheep is called for during the feast of the pilgrimage. Just as in the Judeo-Christian tradition a ram is sacrificed in the place of Isaac, in the Islamic tradition a ram is substituted for Ishmael.

Among the ancient Greeks sheep were sacrificed to Aphrodite and Zeus, and also to the chthonic gods. For sacrifice to the last a black sheep or ram was used and was allowed to be completely consumed by fire, whereas when sacrifices were made to other gods most of the animal's flesh was reserved to be eaten. The most important sacrifice was the Kriobolion ("slaughter of sheep"), an orgiastic and mystical event associated with the cult of Attis.

In addition to their use in sacrifice, sheep have also been associated with weddings and thus with fertility. In ancient Athens, for instance, the fleece of a sacred sheep (*aegis*) was brought by a priestess to newly married women. The ram, viewed primarily as a symbol of sexual power, played an even more important role in Classical Greece. It was associated mainly with the cult of Hermes but also with the cults of Aphrodite, Zeus, Poseidon, Cybele, Hera, Hephaistos, the sileni, and the satyrs. Although Hermes was often depicted next to sheep or riding a sheep, particular emphasis was placed on the ram and especially on its connection with virility. The size and weight of the ram's sexual organ were commented upon, and it was believed that a good ram could cover fifty ewes. Such beliefs are reflected in mythology: Hermes, burning with love for Persephone, decided to approach her in the form of a ram. It was thought that a god could have much more amorous enjoyment in the form of a ram than as a human. The ram was also connected with gold and the sun, both symbols of vital power.

In Rome there were similar beliefs and practices. Sheep were favored as sacrificial animals and were offered to Mars, Faunus (the protector of sheep and flocks), Pales, and Dea Dia. They were also associated, as in Greece, with weddings: A bridegroom and his bride were required to sit on a sheepskin that was specially sanctified for the occasion. Finally, sheep also seem to have acquired a chthonic meaning in

Rome: They were used in the cult of the *lares* and *manes,* sacrificed to the dead, and depicted on tombs.

In ancient Egypt the cult of the ram was widespread. On the island of Elephantine the ram was believed to embody the local god Khnum. Excavations there have revealed the burial ground of the sacred rams of Khnum's temple, and actual mummies of sacred rams have been found. In Mendes (which means "ram"), the ram embodied Osiris, the Egyptian god of the underworld, and in Thebes the sun god Amun was depicted as a ram.

Various Hindu deities are associated with the ram as well. Indra, the warrior god, is called a ram in the *Ṛgveda* (1.10.2, 1.51.1), and one of the forms of the god of fire, Agni, was that of a ram.

The ancient and modern peoples of Iran and Central Asia have many beliefs concerning sheep. Among the Pamiri of Central Asia, sheep are believed to have a divine nature and are associated with the sun. A story is told of a sacred sheep, illumined by a sacred flame, descending from the mountains. In the Islamic version of this story, the sheep is said to have been sent by the Prophet. In the Pahlavi-Sasanid work *Karnamag* (eleventh century), an enormous ram symbolizes the happiness (*farr*) of the king and his dynasty, and more broadly the happiness and well-being of any man. In Iranian Sasanid art, rams are depicted with ceremonial ribbons around their necks, for sheep were believed to bring happiness and health; if one walked through a flock of sheep one would free oneself of disease. There is a striking parallel to these Iranian themes in the Chinese tradition, where the term for happiness consists of the graphs for "man" and "ram." For the Kalmuks, a Mongolian people, the ram is a symbol of fertility and abundance, and a white ram is believed to be a creature from heaven. The connection of the ram with fertility is found in Hittite and Russian rituals as well. The mountain Tajiks annually attach drawings of a ram's horn to the front walls of their houses in order to increase fertility.

Many ancient beliefs and practices were connected with the chthonic nature of the ram. The late Bronze Age cemeteries of northern Afghanistan and southern Uzbekistan contain separate burials of goats and rams isolated from the human graves and supplied with a large number of vessels and even funeral food—part of the carcass of a ram! Evidently the animals were substituted for human corpses that for some reason could not be buried here. Much later, in graves in Ferghana (Central Asia) dating from the seventh and eighth centuries CE, rams were buried equipped with saddles and bridles, evidently as substitutes for horses. The mountain people of the Iagnob River valley in Tajikistan held a funeral feast for a dead sheep as though it were human. The Tajiks believed that if a person killed a ram for a purpose pleasing to God, a ram would meet that person in the next world to carry him or her across the bridge leading to paradise; similiar beliefs are found in Islamic culture generally and among the Turkmens, who thought it necessary to slaughter a ram at the moment when a corpse was brought out of the house for burial. Zoroastrians have also believed that one could be helped to cross the Chinvat Bridge leading to Heaven by the ritualistic sacrifice of a ram.

Goats. In religious practice and mythology, goats have been important as symbols of extraordinary virility and fecundity and as animals associated with the profane. Like the sheep, the goat has also long been a favorite animal of sacrifice.

Many references to goats can be found in the ancient Near East. A Babylonian hymn compares Ishtar to a goat and Tammuz to a kid. Also in Babylonia, a goat was sacrificed in order to rid a person of disease. The goat was killed while a tamarisk knife was drawn across the person's throat, and the goat was then buried as if it were a person. Among the Hittites, the parts of the body of a newborn child were homologized to the body of a sacrificed goat. In a Sumerian tradition the goat was linked with the god Enki, who had the form of a goat in front and a fish's tail in back and who was crowned with the head of a ram. This bizarre combination reflects Enki's nature as ruler of both water and plants.

In the Israelite religion the goat was the preferred sacrifice to Yahveh. Here is also found the institution of the "scapegoat." A goat was brought before a priest, who placed his hands upon its head while enumerating the sins of the people. A special envoy then took the goat into an impassable wilderness and let it go. Upon return the envoy had to undergo a ritual purification (*Lv.* 16:3–28). The practice was not limited to the Israelites alone, however, but was common to many peoples, although the expelled animal was not always a goat.

The goat was less important to the Greeks. Nevertheless, depictions of goat-demons appeared at a very early period in Greek art. In Classical Greece this was Pan, with hooves and horns but with a man's body and head. His Roman analogue was Faunus, who was called the "goat god," although he was originally worshiped as a wolf god.

The Olympian god most closely associated with the goat was Dionysos. According to one legend, Zeus changed the young Dionysos into a kid, which Hermes brought to the nymphs at Mount Nysa. Dionysos was able to assume the form of a goat and was sometimes regarded as a goat. His progeny were often seen as goatlike; goats were offered to him in sacrifice, and the goat was his attribute. Such beliefs and practices were doubtless connected with the cult of vegetation and fertility, which is also the link between the goat and the cult of Aphrodite. The goat was her sacred animal, which she was often portrayed as riding. The goat also played a role in the cults of Zeus, Hera, Apollo, Artemis, and Hermes, and the Greeks had the institution of the scapegoat as well. In Rome, goats were sacrificed during the Lupercalia and were also associated with the storm deities.

Goats appear in ancient Indian religion in several connections. The god Agni sometimes had a goat as his mount.

The Asvins were compared to two goats (*Ṛgveda* 2.39.2–3). The deity Pusan, who was associated with the sun and with roads, rode on a chariot harnessed to goats (*Ṛgveda* 6.58.2), and during the Asvamedha (the horse sacrifice) a goat was sacrificed to him. The goat's connection with fertility is also apparent in ancient India; a woman wanting a child had to eat the ritually cooked flesh of a red goat (*Kausitaki Sankhayana* 35.17ff.). The milk of a red goat was believed to protect one from misfortune.

In Zoroastrianism, Verethraghna, the god of victory, is sometimes described as a "beautiful wild goat with sharp horns" (*Yasht* 14.8.25). In Mithraic reliefs the goat symbolizes a mortal being at the peak of vitality and power.

A cult of the goat was widespread from ancient times in Central Asia. The depiction of a goat on a figurine dating from the beginning of the third millennium BCE establishes the existence at that period of a goddess in whose cult a goat figured importantly. Traces of this cult can still be found among the inhabitants of the Pamir and among the Nuristani, inhabitants of the Hindu Kush. The latter have even retained the altars of this goddess, Markum, to whom women annually sacrifice a goat. For the Pamiri this goddess has become a peri, or fairy, who is recognized as the sole owner and proprietress of the mountain goats. When a hunter kills a goat, his kill is believed to be the gift of the heavenly owner of goats, the peri.

Ancient beliefs about goats have survived in the folklore of various modern peoples. The sacrifice of a goat figures in the Russian fairy tale about Alenushka and her brother Ivanushka, for instance, and the goat Schmierbock appears in Norwegian folk tales as the owner of a treasure of gold. Goats are often described as sources of light and milk and are associated with the Milky Way. The goat Heiðrún gives mead in Valhǫll, while in Indian stories the goat gives neither milk nor mead but coins. An Estonian folktale features a serpent king with a golden cup that contains the milk of a heavenly goat and has the properties of a magic mirror. Modern-day mummers continue to link the goat with the ancient cult of fertility when they sing "Where the goat goes, there the wheat grows" and when they portray the mock death of a goat and its subsequent resurrection.

As in ancient times, the goat continues to be associated in various traditions with the netherworld and with chthonic power. In this respect the goat is opposed to the "pure" lamb. A Slavic popular belief holds that a water sprite can be appeased with the pelt of a black goat; among the Slavs a black goat was sometimes sacrificed to a deceased person. In Slavic and Germanic folklore the Devil has the hooves of a goat.

Finally, it should be noted that the goat figures importantly in astrological symbolism (Capricorn the Goat is a sign of the zodiac, as is Aries the Ram), folk medicine, heraldry, and the interpretation of dreams.

SEE ALSO Scapegoat.

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Revised Bibliography

SHEKHINAH. The term *Shekhinah*, generally translated as "presence," was coined by rabbinic sages in the formative period (first through sixth centuries) to denote the manifestation of a transcendent God in the world of space and time. On balance, there is little evidence in classical rabbinic literature that *Shekhinah* denotes a hypostatic entity ontically distinct from God, a secondary or demiurgical being akin to the Logos in the writings of Philo or in the prologue to the *Gospel of John.* As a number of scholars have noted, in most instances, *Shekhinah* is used interchangeably for the supreme divine being, though it is evident that the reference is, more specifically, to the appearance of God in history and nature, a mythopoeic expression of divine providence related especially to Israel. This theme is epitomized in a dictum that has instilled hope in the hearts of pious Jews through many a dark moment, *Shekhinah* accompanies the Jewish nation into exile (Babylonian Talmud, *Megillah* 29a). The implication of this promise is clearly that the deliverance of Israel from exile heralds the redemption of God, a bold mythical idea that a number of rabbis insist must be accepted since Scripture sanctions it explicitly.

The word *shekhinah* is derived from the root *shkn*, which means to dwell, to abide, and thus it is functionally synonymous with *kavod*, the scriptural expression used to designate the divine glory, the revelatory aspect of God that assumes material form—most often of a luminous nature—in relation to the people of Israel. Related to *shkn* is *mishkan*, the priestly designation of the Tabernacle, the temporary abode of God's indwelling that accompanied the Israelites on the sojourn through the desert (*Ex.* 40:34-38), the prototype of the Jerusalem Temple built in the time of Solomon, which is described in similar language as the place where God shall abide if the Israelites uphold the covenant and obey the commandments (*1 Kgs* 6:13). In the Solomonic account, a paradox that has plagued the religious sensibility of Jews from time immemorial is made explicit: on one hand, God describes himself as dwelling in the darkness of the thick cloud, *lishkon ba-arafel* (*1 Kgs.* 8:12; cf. *Ex.* 20:18; *Dt.* 5:19; *2 Sm.* 22:10; *Ps.* 18:10, 97:2; *Jb.* 38:9; *2 Chr.* 6:1), an image that conveys the inherent inscrutability and hiddenness of the divine, and yet, on the other hand, it is the will of God that summons Solomon to build a "stately house" *(beit zevul)* to serve as a place for his dwelling eternally (*1 Kgs.* 8:13), a domicile to give shelter to the name (*1 Kgs.* 20), a locution that resonates with the Deuteronomistic emphasis on the abiding of the divine name (*shem*) in the sanctuary (*Dt.* 12:5, 11; 14:23-24; 16:11). The glory inhabits the earthly temple through the agency of the name, presumably the tetragrammaton, a conception that is related to the widespread belief in the ancient Near East concerning the magical power of divine or angelic names. The query placed in the mouth of Solomon when he addresses God as he stands before the altar reflects the anxiety that lies at the core of this paradox: "But will God really dwell on earth? Even the heavens and the heaven of heavens cannot contain You, how much less this house that I have built" (*1 Kgs.* 8:28). In the continuation of Solomon's remarks, the reader confronts one of the axiomatic principles of theistic faith that persists to this very day:

> Turn, O Lord my God, to the prayer and supplication of Your servant, and heed the song and prayer that Your servant offers before You this day. May your eyes be open night and day toward this House, to the place of which you have said "Let My name be there," to heed the prayer that your servant prays toward this place. And You will listen to the supplications of Your servant and Your people Israel that they pray toward this place, and You will give heed in Your place of dwelling in heaven (*el meqom shivttekha el ha-shamayim*), You will listen and pardon (*1 Kgs* 8:28-30).

This archaic text captures the insight that the possibility of prayer within a theisitic context, that is, a religious setting that presumes a personal deity attentive to human needs, is dependent on the representation of God in embodied form, which, in turn, necessitates the construction of a physical place where this form will reside—even though it is forbidden to depict it iconically—and become accessible to the worshipper. From the aforecited verses readers learn, moreover, that the sacred space below corresponds to the imaginal construct of the heavenly Temple, an idea well attested in ancient Near Eastern mythologies and reaffirmed in different cultural settings throughout Jewish history; it is precisely the offering of prayer in the former that activates God's forgiveness in the latter. Solomon cannot logically resolve the paradox of how a God so vast that he cannot be contained by the heavens will reside in the earthly Temple. Interestingly, there is a rabbinic text, transmitted in the name of Rabbi Yoḥanan by Rabbi Judah bar Simon, that expands on Solomon's wonder by placing an analogous question in the mouth of Moses. Perhaps the theological significance of the midrashic text lies in the fact that it deepens the scriptural mystery and comes close to offering the rabbinic version of a kenotic incarnation: When Moses is commanded to build the Tabernacle, he trembles and asks God how the presence can reside in the Tabernacle when all the heavens cannot contain him, recalling that when Solomon built the Temple, a physical space larger than the Tabernacle, he posed a similar question to God. The divine response is instructive: "Moses, it is not as you think, rather twenty planks on the north, twenty planks on the south, eight on the west (*Ex.* 26:18-25), and I will descend and constrict my presence in your midst below (*ered u-metsamtsem shekhinati beineikhem lematan*)" (*Pesiqta' Rabbati* 2:10; compare *Exodus Rabbah* 34:1). Paradoxical though it may be, God has the capacity to delimit his presence to a constricted physical space, whether the Tabernacle, the Temple, or the Synagogue; the spiritual calling of liturgical worship within a theistic framework demands this very possibility. Lest there be any misunderstanding, it must be stated emphatically that the rabbinic text does not employ the language of emptying and suffering the humility of death, hallmark features of the kenotic orientation, scripturally anchored in *Philippians* 2:7-8. This use of the term "kenosis" to depict the midrashic theme is limited to the theme of God constricting his presence to a space with distinctive and measurable boundaries, an occurrence that would necessitate self-limitation on the part of the seemingly limitless divine being.

A crucial verse that doubtlessly informed the rabbinic conception is the command uttered by God to the Israelites through Moses, "They should make a sanctuary (*miqdash*) for me and I will dwell (*shakhanti*) in their midst" (*Ex.* 25:8). This surmise regarding the rabbis is supported by the rendering of the verse in Targum Onkelos, one of the ancient Aramaic interpretative translations of the Torah: "And they shall make a sanctuary before Me and I shall cause My *Shekhinah* to dwell among them (*asherei shekhinetti beineihon*)." The disclosure of the divine presence requires an enclosure—the root of the word *miqdash*, "sanctuary," is *qdsh*, which means, primarily, "to set aside" and, secondarily, "to consecrate," to separate holy from mundane—initially the transient Tent of Meeting *(ohel moʿed)* and later the stationary Temple (*beit miqdash*). In accord with some of the Jerusalem priests responsible for the section of Torah demarcated by biblical scholars as P, the priestly stratum, identified more recently by Israel Knohl as the "Holiness School," a distinct layer within this stratum, the theological rationale for the narrative of Israel's sacred history is linked especially to the *mishkan*, the edifice that provided an enclosure to both shelter the glory and facilitate its disclosure in the community of the holy people (*Lv.* 15:31, 28:11): "I will dwell (*shakhanti*) amidst the children of Israel, and I will be their God. And they will know that I am the Lord their God who brought them out of Egypt that I might dwell (*leshokhni*) in their midst, I am the Lord their God" (*Ex.* 29:45-46). The demand for ritual purity contained in the priestly interdictions, particularly salient in the holiness code (*Lv.* 18), which had a profound impact on the religious sensibility promulgated by the rabbis in their construction of a halakhic framework, was in no small measure dependent on the mythopoeic belief in the material abiding of the divine presence in the midst of the Israelites (*Nm.* 5:3, 16:3).

In general terms, the rabbinic conception of *Shekhinah* is phenomenologically on a par with the priestly notion. To be sure, the rabbis formulated their ideas after the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE, and thus, in contrast to the priests whose views are preserved in Scripture, the abiding of *Shekhinah* is not restricted to the physical space where the sacrificial cult is performed. The Temple, tellingly referred to by Onkelos as the "house of His presence," *beit shekhintteih* (*Dt* 12:5), is replaced by the rabbinic institutions of the schoolroom (*beit midrash*), the synagogue (*beit keneset*), and the domestic space of the family, as these are the main locations wherein one can access the indwelling of the divine presence through the cultivation of a life of holiness by means of the performance of ritual. Rabbinically, the two primary ways of worshipping God in the absence of the sacrificial cult were Torah study and prayer. Concerning the former, a classic formulation of this sentiment is found in the respective dicta of Rabbi Hananyah ben Teradyon and Rabbi Halafta from the village of Hananyah. According to the former, if two men sit down together to study Torah, *Shekhinah* resides with them (Mishnah, *Pirqei Avot* 3:2); according to the latter, *Shekhinah* dwells amidst ten men who sit together, occupied with Torah, though he eventually acknowledges that *Shekhinah* is found even with the solitary individual engaged in study (Mishnah, *Pirqei Avot,* 3:6; compare Babylonian Talmud, *Berakhot* 6a).

The rabbinic emphasis on the indwelling of *Shekhinah* should not be taken as a mere figurative expression, or as a circumlocution to avoid an anthropomorphic conception of the deity, but rather as signifying an encounter that approximates the intensity of mystical experience. The view that *Shekhinah* dwells with the man who studies Torah by himself is supported by the prooftext "In every place where I cause my name to be mentioned I will come to you and bless you" (*Ex.* 20:21). Implicit in the homiletical use of this verse is the presumption that the name of God is symbolically interchangeable with Torah, an idea that became a cornerstone for various forms of medieval Jewish esotericism. It is reasonable to suppose, moreover, that underlying the rabbinic belief that study of Torah facilitates the indwelling of *Shekhinah* is a presumption regarding the congruence of the hermeneutical enterprise and religious experience that may even be on the level of prophetic revelation. Such an interpretative possibility is supported by a Talmudic pericope that begins with a comment attributed to the third-century Palestinian Amora, Avdimi of Haifa: "From the day the Temple was destroyed, prophecy was taken from the prophets (*nevi'im*) and given to the sages (*ḥakhamim*)." The anonymous redactor interposes the rhetoric query, "Is it not the case that a sage (*ḥakham*) is a prophet (*navi*)? Thus it is said even though it is taken from the prophets it is not taken from the sages." At this juncture the redactor transmits the teaching of Ameimar, a fifth-century Babylonian Amora, "The sage is preferable to the prophet (*ḥakham adif mi-navi*), as it says 'and the prophet wise of heart' (*Ps.* 90:12). Who is dependent upon whom? I would say the lesser one is dependent on the greater" (Babylonian Talmud, *Baba Batra* 12a). Ameimar's exegetical proof rests on an intentional misreading of the Masoretic text from *Psalms* 90:12 (also attested in the Targum to the verse), *we-navi levav hohkmah*, part of the psalmist's appeal to God, *limnot yamenu ken hoda we-navi lev hokhmah*, "Instruct us to number our days that we might gain wisdom of the heart." Ameimar reads *wenavi* (*nun-bet-alef*), "and we might gain," as *we-navi (nun-bet-yod-alef)* "and the prophet," a textual change—and not simply an eisegetical interpretation masked as exegesis—that lends support to his claim that the sage is more worthy than the prophet. The strategy reflected in the dictum of Avdimi is not to deny the efficacy of prophecy nor is it based on the supposition that the institution of prophecy ended at a certain period in the past. On the contrary, prophecy endures, but since the destruction of the Temple it has been entrusted to the sages, an insight that affirms not only that prophetic vision serves scholastic wisdom, but also that scholastic wisdom is inherently visionary. This, one suggests, is the intent of Ameimar's dictum "The sage is preferable to the prophet"—textual study, the principle task of the sage, is not merely on a par with prophecy, but it is itself a prophetic undertaking.

The juxtaposition of Torah study and the indwelling of *Shekhinah* points to the influential role assigned by rabbinic authorities to the imagination in actively configuring the semiotic body of God. The key source that articulates the contemplative practice of visualization is a passage wherein the dictum "It matters not whether one augments or one diminishes if only one orients one's heart to heaven" (Babylonian Talmud, *Berakhot* 5b) is applied to Torah study. The proper intention, *kawwanah*, required by study entails that one direct one's heart to God, *she-yekhawwen libbo la-shamayim.* The word *kawwanah* is derived from *kiwwen* (from the root *kwn*), to turn or to face a particular direction, to orient oneself, to find one's spatial bearings. Despite the many embellishments and transformations of this critical term through the course of the history of Jewish thought and religious philosophy, something of its etymological foundation is retained, for *kawwanah* involves an orientation in space, an intentional facing, a directing of the heart to the other. But what is it to face the other when the face of the other is not visible, to turn one's gaze upon that which cannot be seen? Here one arrives at the phenomenological mystery of the rabbinic notion of incarnation: By directing the heart through study heavenward, the celestial habitation of the transcendent other (the word *shamayim*, which literally means "heaven," is one of God's appellations in rabbinic thought), the individual provides the mental space wherein the incorporeal God is embodied. The body of *Shekhinah* is composed of the letters of Torah, which is the name, but that body is apprehended only when Torah is contemplated with the appropriate intention.

In a similar manner, the rabbinic conception of *kawwanah* in prayer, at least according to one trajectory discernible in the landscape of rabbinic texts, entailed the visual apprehension of the divine presence in the imagination. In this context, the term *kawwanah* refers to an internal state of consciousness by means of which the worshiper creates a mental icon of God. Although one must speak of this as an "internal" state, the phenomenal boundaries of inside and outside dissolve, for only by means of the internal image does the worshiper experience the divine as external. The conception of mental imaging is epitomized in the teaching attributed to Simeon the Pious, reported by Hana ben Bizna: "The one who prays must see himself as if *Shekhinah* were opposite him, as it says, 'I have set the Lord always before me' (*Ps.* 16:8)" (Babylonian Talmud, *Sanhedrin* 22a). Prayer requires a visualization of that which cannot be visualized, a process predicated on the assumption that God can assume incarnate form. The word "incarnate" refers to the ontic presencing of God in a theophanic image, a form that should be distinguished from both the embodiment of God in human flesh and the metaphorical representation of that which cannot be represented in a rhetorical trope. The specific form that this image assumes is suggested by the prooftext cited by Simeon the Pious, *shiwwiti yhwh lenegddi tamid*, "I shall place the tetragrammaton before me constantly." The image that the worshiper must set in his mind is that of the ineffable name, the sign of that which cannot be signified, for only through the name is the invisible rendered visible. Rabbinic discussions on the intention in prayer are based on the notion of an imaginal body attributed to God. The form that the body of *Shekhinah* assumes, which inheres in human imagination, is constituted by the letters of the unutterable name (un)spoken in the sacred space of prayer.

The symbol of *Shekhinah* continued to play a decisive role in the various genres of medieval Jewish religious creativity, to wit, rabbinic homilies, biblical commentaries, philosophical treatises, mystical compositions, and liturgical poetry. In the minds of qabbalists, in particular, *Shekhinah* is accorded a significance, both quantative and qualitative, unparalleled in earlier texts. As the theosophic system of the qabbalah crystallized in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, *Shekhinah* routinely was associated with the last of the ten *sefirot*, the luminous attributes that constitute the revealed aspect of the hidden God, although one also finds evidence in some sources, including *Sefer ha-Bahir*, one of the earliest documents that expounds a theosophic conception, a distinction (which can be traced terminologically to pre-qabbalistic texts) between *Shekhinah* above and *Shekhinah* below; interpreted qabbalistically, the former is associated with the third *sefirah*, *binah*, and the latter with the tenth, *malkhut*. Needless to say, qabbalists absorb many of the older rabbinic portrayals of *Shekhinah*, but what is most distinctive about their approach is the explicit representation of the divine presence in a litany of female images, to wit, matronae, bride, daughter, sister, mother, community of Israel, heavenly Jerusalem, throne, temple, tabernacle, moon, sea, and earth, just to mention a few of the salient examples.

To appreciate the gender valence associated with *Shekhinah*, it is necessary to contextualize the matter in a broader hermeneutical and cultural perspective. Undeniably, one of the great contributions of qabbalists to the history of Judaism is the explicit utilization of gender images to depict the nature of God and the consequent application of erotic symbolism to characterize the divine-human relationship. In line with earlier rabbinic tradition regarding the two main attributes of God, but explicating the sexual implications far more openly, qabbalists envisage the unity of God in androgynous terms as the coupling of male and female, which are respectively aligned with the attributes of lovingkindness and judgment, the right and left side of the divine economy. Gender symbolism in traditional qabbalistic literature is dynamic, presupposing, as it does, crossing of boundaries and intermingling of identity, male in female and female in male, one containing the other within which the other is contained. In spite of the flexibility of gender transformation, however, the process is determined by an inflexible structure, and hence while one may legitimately speak of variability in qabbalistic gender symbolism, it is not helpful to introduce the notion of ambiguity. Male and female are correlated consistently with the activity of projection and the passivity of restriction: the potency to overflow is masculine, the capacity to withhold feminine. The religious obligation imposed traditionally on the Jewish man to unify God is interpreted as the harnessing of male and female, a pairing of right and left, the will to bestow and the desire to contain. But, just as the entirety of the Godhead is androgynous, so each of the *sefirot* exemplifies the dual capacity to overflow and to receive, and *Shekhinah* is no exception. In relation to the *sefirot* above her, *Shekhinah* receives the divine efflux and is thus engendered as feminine; in relation to the worlds below her, *Shekhinah* overflows and is thus engendered as masculine. The sovereignty or governance over this world—in virtue of which the name *malkhut*, "kingship," is attributed to *Shekhinah*—is not indicative of a positive valorization of the feminine, as some have maintained, but rather it marks the capacity of *Shekhinah* to be transformed into a demiurgic being, which is masculine in relation to the worlds beneath the realm of divine emanations.

In spite of the symbolic representation of God as male and female, the gender orientation of medieval qabbalists was androcentric in nature, and, consequently, both the male and female elements, active bestowal and passive reception, were interpreted as features of the male. The simplest way to express the matter is to note that qabbalists read the account of God having created Adam male (*zakhar*) and female (*neqevah*) in the first chapter in Genesis in light of the second account wherein the derivative ontic status of woman (*ishshah*) from man (*ish*) is made explicit, the woman having been constructed from the body of man. Accordingly, the proto-human, *adam*, is conceived as a male androgyne, the single gender that contains its other as part of itself, a typical patriarchal construction. For qabbalists, therefore, one can speak properly of an Edenic state of the androgynous prelapsarian man, a condition to be retrieved in the end of time. In the *conjunctio oppositorum*, two sexes are unified and woman is restored to man, the ideal unification that tolerates no difference. Representations of *Shekhinah* as feminine, and especially as the erotic object of male desire, bespeak the sexual dimorphism characteristic of a state of exile wherein the unity of the male androgyne has been severed, and as a consequence the male seeks his other, to restore the part of his self that has been taken and rendered independent. Redemption entails the overcoming of this dimorphic condition, the reconstitution of the androgynous male, expressed by the image of the ascent of *Shekhinah* as the diadem (*atarah*) that rises to the head of *keter*, the first of the *sefirot*. By virtue of this ascent *Shekhinah* is transformed into the crown of the male and the unity that was rendered asunder in the beginning of creation is repaired.

SEE ALSO Attributes of God, article on Jewish Concepts; Qabbalah.

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ELLIOT R. WOLFSON (2005)

SHEMBE, ISAIAH (c. 1870–1935), was the founder of the Zulu amaNazaretha church and the most outstanding figure in the independent church movement in South Africa. The large majority of the three thousand African independent churches are either "Ethiopian" or "Zionist." The Ethiopian churches are carbon copies of mission-related churches (mainly of a Methodist or Congregational type) that have seceded from white mission churches over the issue of apartheid in the church. The Zionist churches, whose name implies an identification with the holy mountain of Zion in the Old Testament, are largely charismatic prophet-led healing groups. Worship in the Zionist churches is an African variant of Pentecostal spirituality. Shembe is the outstanding personality associated with a very small group of churches, often referred to as African "messianic" churches, where the leader is ascribed by his followers with supernatural powers.

Fountains and mountains are the holy places where these prophets generally receive their calling. Shembe was told by a voice to climb a mountain, and it directed him to a cave where he had a dream. From this lofty position he was invited by the voice to survey the earth, and he there discovered his own putrefying corpse. The voice warned him against sexual sins, and he woke up exclaiming, "I have seen Jehovah." This experience on the mountain was to remain with him as a determinative factor throughout his life. By a divine call he had been set apart for a prophetic task on behalf of the Zulu.

These were turbulent times in Zulu society and South African politics, and Shembe was closely related to Meseni Qwabe, one of the militant leaders of the Zulu "reluctant rebellion" of 1906. At the same time he met W. M. Leshega, a leader of a newly formed African Baptist church, who was also one of the leaders of the "Ethiopian" movement. In 1911 Shembe founded his own organization, the amaNazaretha Baptist Church, which differed from Leshega's organization on one elementary point: Saturday rather than Sunday was observed as the holy day of the week.

In 1912, Shembe once again had a revelation and was compelled to climb a particular mountain, called Inhlangakazi, located inland from the city of Durban. This mountain retreat lasted twelve days. During that time Shembe felt that he was being challenged by mysterious and supernatural powers, but he met all their temptations with the answer, "No, I am waiting for Jehovah." Angels then brought him heavenly food in the form of bread and wine; having received these gifts, he knew that he had acquired a new identity and was now a new man. When he returned to his people he also discovered that he had received a new and surprising power, one which he interpreted as the characteristic gift of Jesus of Nazareth: that of driving out demons and healing the sick. To Shembe, these were fundamental experiences: the pilgrimage to the mountain with its asceticism and its nearness to God, the identification with Moses who had climbed another mountain and was then received as the liberator of his people, and the acquisition of the power of healing. He was now ready for his task as a prophet to his people.

Compared with other African charismatic church leaders, Shembe's originality stands out on a number of points. Especially noteworthy is his creative use of traditional Zulu culture in the life of worship within the church. During church festivals the whole congregation, divided into different gender and age-groups and arrayed in traditional Zulu dress, expresses its collective religious experience in a slow-moving, dignified, and solemn dance. The annual pilgrimage to the Inhlangakazi mountain provided an opportunity for intense group cohesion of the multitude arriving from near and far.

Hymns in other independent and mission-related churches are sometimes just mechanical translations of Anglo-Saxon revival songs or ancient ecclesiastical rhymes. Shembe's hymns, on the other hand, convey the very heartbeat of Zulu religious experience from birth to death. Shembe was highly auditive; new hymns—both lyrics and melodies combined—often came to him while he was sleeping. This was, indeed, his strongest motive for learning the art of writing. Having remained illiterate until he was roughly forty years of age, Shembe acquired this new ability in order to commit to writing these irresistible songs that would well up from his unconscious: solemn, simple, and searching. His congregation—probably without exception—shared the feeling of being healed by the prophet, by his incisive exorcism, and his healing hand, mesmerizing the expectant crowd with his mystical black veil.

Shembe's Zulu hymn book, John L. Dube's biography of Shembe in Zulu, and Absalom Vilakazi's recent work (1986) are the main sources for a study of Shembe's faith and spirituality, and they remain a unique testimony that provides insight into the mind and spirit of an independent church leader of that period. The title Shembe claimed for himself was that of "the Servant," sent by the Lord to his deprived and despised Zulu people: "But I alone come from afar, / Sent by the Lord among you."

Just as Moses and Jesus had been sent to the Jews, so the Servant was sent to the Zulu. What once was biblical experience had now become a Zulu reality. "So it is also today / on the hilltops of Ohlange" (Ohlange being the place where Shembe built his church center called Ekuphakameni). In a manner that can easily be misinterpreted, he draws a comparison between himself and the biblical archetypes Moses and Jesus. One of his hymns comes close to being a creed for the amaNazaretha church. It begins "I believe in the Father and the Holy Spirit / and the communion of saints of the Nazaretha." Here the Son is omitted so as to provide room for the Servant of the Spirit. But it is important to emphasize that while referring to his own role as a servant, healer, and helper, he is at the same time aware of Christ on the throne in heaven. Shembe knew that he himself, "having come with nothing and leaving with nothing," would stand before the judgment seat of God.

In order to understand Shembe's relationship to Jesus the Christ one must recall that in hierarchial Zulu society, a visitor could not directly approach the king but first had to turn to junior chiefs whose task it was to introduce the visitor to the ultimate authority. According to Nazaretha belief, this is the task of Servant Shembe in heaven, concerning the approach to the King of Kings on the throne. The Zulu prophet is seen as having a mediating role. In the words of Shembe's hymns there is ambiguity and richness of meaning. And those words, no less than the totality of Shembe's religious practice, must of course be understood in the context from which they emerged: in the worship and struggle of the Nazaretha community.

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BENGT SUNDKLER (1987)

SHEMINI ʿATSERET See SUKKOT

SHEMUʾEL THE AMORA (c. 180–c. 263), called Mar Shemuʾel, was a first-generation Babylonian amora, son of Abbaʾ bar Abbaʾ. With his contemporary, Rav, Shemuʾel spread the Mishnah—edited in Palestine—and thus laid the foundation for the rabbinic movement outside the Land of Israel. He learned the Palestinian tradition primarily from masters who had been in Palestine and combined it with the native Persian Jewish heritage.

Shemuʾel's influence as a teacher was enhanced by his authority as a judge in the Jewish court of Nehardea, a city on the Euphrates River. He probably functioned not as a head of an actual academy but rather as a rabbi with a circle of disciples. The prestige he enjoyed is reflected in the portrayal of him as a master devoted to Torah study, extremely honest, enjoying divine protection, friendly with the exilarch and the Sasanid king Shāpūr, an expert in monetary law, and unusually well versed in dreams, medicine, astronomy, and other natural sciences (B.T., *Ber.* 18b, 19a, 56a, 58b; *Shab.* 129a; Goodblatt, 1975).

Shemuʾel played a pivotal role in the history of Judaism in that he enabled the Mishnah to become not only a central work of study but also a source of guidance in the actual life of Jews. The present arrangement of his and Rav's dicta in the *gemaraʾ* is probably the result of a decision to use them as a literary framework for post-Shemuʾel traditions. Many of Shemuʾel's teachings in their original, oral form may have consisted of brief explanatory glosses to individual *mishnayyot.* Longer traditions of Shemuʾel used the Mishnah as a point of departure for extending its teachings. Although Shemuʾel comprehensively treated the Mishnah, including those laws inapplicable in the Diaspora, he especially responded to topics relevant to a third-century Babylonian audience.

Following the rise of the new Sasanid empire in 226 and the disruption of the existing relationship between the Persians and the Jews, Shemuʾel worked out a *modus vivendi* with King Shāpūr I (r. 241–272?) and thereby provided guidelines for a Diaspora Jewish life. He declared that for certain matters, "the law of the kingdom is the law" (B.T., *Giṭ.* 10b), and he offered a "realistic" definition of the messianic age as entailing the end of political subjugation for the people of Israel and not a supernatural transformation of the world (B.T., *Ber.* 34b). He drew from the *Book of Esther* the message that Jews can live peacefully in the Diaspora.

He was concerned with establishing the proper prayer texts and, especially, with the need for the right intention in praying (e.g., J.T., *Ber.* 2.4). By asserting that the divine presence is found in the whole world, he made traditional liturgical and other religious language applicable in the Diaspora.

Shemuʾel believed that learning the Mishnah lengthens one's life, that explicating one's Mishnaic learning gives one peace of mind (B.T., *ʿEruv.* 54a, *Hag.* 10a), and as seen in his formulation of a blessing that is to be said before Torah study (B.T., *Ber.* 11b) that studying enables a person to achieve an experience of the sacred.

See Also Amoraim; Mishnah and Tosefta.

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Baruch M. Bokser (1987)

SHENOUTE. This early Christian monastic leader and outstanding Coptic author is often referred to as "the Great" or "the Archimandrite," a title equivalent to "abbot" and given to him by Cyril of Alexandria (412–444) in order to distinguish him from later namesakes in the Coptic Church. Born in southern Egypt c. 347 CE, Shenoute became a monk while still in his youth and was chosen c. 385 to head his monastery. His death is commemorated on July 14 (Coptic Epēp 7 = Julian July 1), and probably he died on that date in 465. The tradition that Shenoute lived to be 118 years old can be at least approximately confirmed from statements in his own and his immediate successor's writings. Unknown in the West until the late seventeenth century, Shenoute has emerged only gradually as a significant historical figure. His writings provide invaluable glimpses into the development of Egyptian monasticism during its second and third generations, as well as information about Christianity during the period when it became the dominant, state-sanctioned religion of the Roman Empire.

Shenoute was the third head of his monastery, which was founded by his uncle, across the Nile from Panopolis (modern Akhmīm), on the model of Pachomius's monastic system, although it was never formally a part of that system. Shenoute's native language was Coptic (the Egyptian language during the centuries after the rise of Christianity), but he learned Greek while he was still an ordinary monk, when he also acquired a profound knowledge of the Bible in both languages. His earliest writings are two long open letters to his community (written c. 380) exposing sin and hypocrisy in the monastery, criticizing its leadership, and announcing his intention to depart and live as a hermit. Subsequent events revealed Shenoute as gifted with penetrating insight, for which reason he was made head of the monastery when his disgraced predecessor died.

Shenoute was the ultimate authority over two men's communities and one for women. He himself spent most of his time in isolation in the nearby desert, communicating with the three communities through trusted, older male monks, who carried letters back and forth. Over the years of his leadership, Shenoute compiled his own letters into a set of nine volumes of "canons," which served as a set of rules for the monastery during Shenoute's lifetime and then for centuries afterwards. Shenoute's *Canons* provide detailed information about the carefully regulated life of the male and female monastics (covering nearly every aspect of life, from prayer to defecation), as well as insight into the personality of this remarkable late antique monastic figure.

Despite living as a hermit, Shenoute visited the monastery regularly to worship with his fellow monks (typically perhaps only four times each year). On these occasions he might also preach, and his appearance could attract large crowds of laypeople. The predominant theme of Shenoute's preaching was the urgent need for repentance, but his sermons often provide fascinating vignettes from the everyday world of late antique Egypt. This information is supplemented by Shenoute's treatises and letters, the latter addressed either to specific individuals, including local authorities from the provincial governor on down, or to entire communities, including Panopolis and nearby villages.

This part of Shenoute's corpus is particularly illuminating of the conflict between Christianity and paganism in the late Roman Empire. Shenoute was among those fanatic Christians who were willing to use every means, including violence, to destroy the physical basis of pagan worship (temples, images) and to convert nonbelievers. The relevant dossier of texts from Shenoute is without parallel elsewhere and throws extraordinary light on events and people in and near Panopolis around the end of the fourth century, especially a confrontation between Shenoute and a former governor (Flavius Aelius Gessius) who apparently was trying to disguise his pagan sympathies in a world that was becoming overwhelmingly Christian.

Shenoute's writings also provide information about socioeconomic circumstances (he championed the poor against oppressive landowners), ecclesiastical politics (he was an unquestioning supporter of Alexandrian theology and church politics, although refusing to be made a bishop; in 431 he accompanied Archbishop Cyril to the Council of Ephesus), efforts to establish a unified orthodoxy and orthopraxy (he opposed Arians, Melitians, Origenists, magicians, and Manichaeans, among others), and Christian spirituality (particularly interesting themes in Shenoute's works are demonology, proper interpretation of the Bible, appropriate forms of worship, and the role of prophetic insight and visions).

Near the end of his life, Shenoute took up residence again within the monastery walls. After his death, "our holy and prophetic father Apa Shenoute" quickly became a revered saint in the Coptic Church. His sermons, treatises, and letters were assembled in volumes alongside his *Canons* and served as a source of liturgical readings, at least in his own monastery. Later, some of these lections were added to the standard Coptic Holy Week liturgy.

Although Shenoute's name and reputation were known all over Egypt during his lifetime, the Arab Conquest (641) heralded the end of the transmission of his writings. In subsequent centuries very little of his corpus was translated into Arabic, so that when his monastery collapsed in the fourteenth century, little remained of Shenoute's writings except a large heap of deteriorating parchment books within the monastery's spectacular mid-fifth-century church (the only monastery building that remained standing, whose brilliant white limestone walls gained it the designation "White Monastery"). Shenoute's continuing fame and veneration in the Coptic Church has depended almost entirely on the liturgical tradition, based on a hagiographic "Life of Shenoute," with roots in an ancient encomiastic tradition, but to which legends continued to accrue even after it was translated into Arabic.

Although Shenoute's great literary achievement marks the high point of Coptic literature, his corpus must now be reconstructed from thousands of manuscript fragments that in modern times became scattered in dozens of museums and libraries from Egypt across Europe to North America. Recent progress in this task of reconstruction has led to a renewed effort to edit and translate his works systematically.

SEE ALSO Coptic Church; Monasticism, overview article; Pachomius.

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STEPHEN EMMEL (2005)

SHERIRAʾ GAON (c. 906–1006), Babylonian halakhist and head of the academy at Pumbedita for some thirty years. Sheriraʾ was a major league authority whose many *responsa* circulated throughout the whole Jewish Diaspora. He combined his legal preeminence with a rational attitude toward Talmudic legend, thus setting the pattern that was followed by his son and successor, Hʾai.

The single most influential work by Sheriraʾ is the book-length *Iggeret* (Epistle), sent as a response to the community of Kairouan in North Africa. Yaʿaqov bar Nissim had asked on behalf of his co-religionists that the gaon explain how the oral law had reached its present form in the Talmud, how and when the various rabbinic works had been compiled and edited, and what was the import of the frequent disagreements among the Talmudic rabbis. This series of questions doubtless reflected the anxiety felt among rabbinites confronted by the Karaite claim that the Talmud was a human product anchored in history rather than a divine oral law. In the *Epistle,* which Salo Baron has called the "outstanding historiographic contribution of the geonic era," Sheriraʾ provided indispensable literary and historical data on the process by which the Talmud evolved; indeed, he defined the terms of much future discussion of this topic, both medieval and modern. The *Epistle* divides into two parts: the first traces the history of Talmudic literature through the pioneering inductive use of selected source materials, while the second is a history of exilarchic and geonic leadership probably based on the academy's archives. The basic ideological position of Sheriraʾ is that the oral law had a literary history but did not substantively develop through the Mishnaic and Talmudic periods. The Mishnah and the Talmud are authoritative crystallizations of the law possessed by the earlier generations, and even Talmudic discussion simply recaptures, on the whole, the knowledge of the ancients. This conservative theory of Talmudic law, much of it based on statements and materials found in the Talmud itself, has remained the ideological basis of Orthodox Judaism until present times.

SEE ALSO Hʾai Gaon; Halakhah, article on History of Halakhah; Judaism, article on Judaism in the Middle East and North Africa to 1492.

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GERALD J. BLIDSTEIN (1987)

SHIISM

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
ISMĀʿĪLĪYAH
ITHNĀ ʿASHARĪYAH

SHIISM: AN OVERVIEW

Shiism is a major branch of Islam with numerous subdivisions, all upholding the rights of the family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt*) to the religious and political leadership of the Muslim community. The name is derived from *shīʿat ʿAlī,* the Arabic term for the "party" of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, cousin of the prophet Muḥammad and husband of Muḥammad's daughter Fāṭimah.

ORIGINS AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT. Historically, the Shīʿah emerged in support of the caliphate of ʿAlī (AH 35–40/656–661 CE) during the First Civil War, which followed the murder of the third caliph, ʿUthmān. The Shīʿah see the foundation of Shiism, however, in Muḥammad's appointment of ʿAlī as his successor, a choice that the Prophet is claimed to have made at Ghadīr Khumm not long before his death, and one that the Muslim community ignored in recognizing Abū Bakr as the first caliph. After the murder of ʿAlī and the abdication of his eldest son, Ḥasan, in 661, the Shīʿah continued a latent opposition to the Umayyad caliphate from their center in ʿAlī's former capital of Kufa in Iraq. Their attachment to the family of the Prophet, and especially to ʿAlī's sons and descendants, reflected local resentment of both the loss of the caliphate to Damascus and the Umayyad denigration of ʿAlī and his caliphate. Reports about the activity of one ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sabaʾ, who in some anti-Shīʿī sources is described as the founder of Shiism and as having denied ʿAlī's death and taught his divinity, are legendary. If such beliefs arose at this early stage, they remained marginal.

Kufan revolts. The violent death of ʿAlī's second son, Ḥusayn, at Karbala, Iraq, in 680 led to the formation of a radical wing within the Shīʿah. After the death of the caliph Muʿāwiyah, the Kufan Shīʿah invited Ḥusayn from Medina, promising to back his claim to the caliphate. The Umayyad governor gained control of the situation, however, and it was a Kufan army that met Ḥusayn and killed him together with many of his relatives. A Penitents movement arose in Kufa; they lamented the death of the Prophet's grandson at his grave in Karbala and sought revenge from those responsible. In 685 the leadership of the Penitents was taken over by al-Mukhtār ibn Abi ʿUbayd, who revolted in Kufa and proclaimed another son of ʿAlī, Muḥammad, to be the imam and Mahdi, the messianic Restorer of Islam. Unlike Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, Muḥammad was not the son of Fāṭimah, and he was known, after his own mother, as Ibn al-Ḥanafīyah. The movement backing him was called the Kaysānīyah after Abū ʿAmrah Kaysān, chief of al-Mukhtār's guard and leader of the non-Arab clients (*mawālī*) in Kufa. These clients, local Semites and Persians, now joined the Shīʿah in large numbers for the first time, although the leading role in the movement was still played by Arabs.

The Kaysānīyah movement, which survived the collapse of al-Mukhtār's revolt and the death of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah in 700, elaborated some of the beliefs and doctrines that came to distinguish the radical wing of the Shīʿah. They condemned the first three caliphs before ʿAlī as illegitimate usurpers and considered ʿAlī and his three sons, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, and Muḥammad, as successive, divinely appointed imams endowed with supernatural qualities. Many of them denied the death of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah, the Mahdi, in the belief that he was hiding and would return in glory to rule the world. They taught *rajʿah,* the return of many of the dead at the time of the coming of the Mahdi for retribution before the Resurrection, and *badāʾ,* the possibility of a change in the decisions of God.

Abbasid revolution. A branch of the Kaysānīyah known as the Hāshimīyah continued the line of imams to Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah's son Abū Hāshim, who, in contrast to his father, took an active part in the leadership and organization of the movement. After his death in about 717/8 the Hāshimīyah split into several groups over the succession. The majority recognized Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī, a descendant of the Prophet's uncle ʿAbbās, as the imam after Abū Hāshim; they became historically important as the core of the revolutionary movement in Khorasan that overthrew the Umayyad dynasty and established the Abbasid caliphate in 750. The Abbasids initially espoused the Shīʿī cause, establishing the reign of the family of the Prophet and demanding revenge for ʿAlī and his wronged descendants. Soon, however, they distanced themselves from their mostly extremist Shīʿī followers to seek broader support in the Muslim community, while the Shīʿah increasingly confined their backing to the descendants of ʿAlī and Fāṭimah. After the collapse of a widely supported Shīʿī rebellion in favor of the ʿAlid Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakīyah, Caliph al-Mahdī (775–785) pressed the Abbasid Shīʿah to trace the line of divinely invested imams back to ʿAbbās through his own ancestors, thus denying that the Abbasids had inherited their title from Abū Hāshim and ʿAlī. The Abbasid Shīʿah disintegrated soon afterward.

Extremists and moderates. Other minor offshoots of the Hashimīyah were notable for their extremist doctrine. Bayān ibn Samʿān (killed 936) taught in Kufa that Abū Hāshim, who had conferred prophethood on him, would return as the Mahdi. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muʿāwīyah (d. 748/9), a descendant of ʿAlī's brother Jaʿfar and recognized by some as the successor of Abū Hāshim, claimed that the Divine Spirit had devolved upon him through the prophets and imams and that he was able to revive the dead. To ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥārith, one of his followers in al-Madāʾin (Ctesiphon), Iraq, is ascribed a major role in the elaboration of key doctrines including metempsychosis, the preexistence of human souls as shadows (*aẓillah*), metaphorical interpretation of the resurrection, judgment, paradise, and hell, and a cyclical history of eras (*adwār*) and aeons (*akwār*) initiated by seven Adams. Such teaching became characteristic of many groups of extremists (*ghulāt*) excommunicated by the mainstream Shīʿah in the following centuries. The Kaysānīyah as a whole was repudiated by the more conservative, moderate Shīʿah in Kufa. All of its branches rapidly disintegrated after the rise of the Abbasid caliphate and virtually disappeared by the end of the second century AH. Its place in the radical wing of the Shīʿah was taken by the Imāmīyah, who traced the line of imams after ʿAlī through Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, and the latter's descendants.

The increasing prominence of the Husaynid imams within the Shīʿah was connected with a shift in the function of the imam. With the rise of legal and theological schools espousing conflicting doctrines in the late Umayyad period, many of the Shīʿah sought the guidance of the imam as an authoritative, divinely inspired teacher rather than as a charismatic leader. The first to perform this new role was Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 735?), a grandson of Ḥusayn who was widely respected for his learning among both the Shīʿah and non-Shīʿah. His teaching of religious law and Qurʾān exegesis attracted a large number of the Kufan Shīʿah. Keeping aloof from revolutionary activity, he laid the foundations of Imāmī Shīʿī law. A few years after his death his brother Zayd ibn ʿAlī came to Kufa and was persuaded to lead an anti-Umayyad revolt. Although he was widely supported by the Kufan Shīʿah, including some prominent former followers of his brother, the more radical followers of al-Bāqir refused to back Zayd ibn ʿAlī after he declined to condemn the first two caliphs unequivocally as unjust usurpers. They turned instead to al-Bāqir's son Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, who, like his father, strictly refused any involvement in armed rebellion. Zayd's revolt ended quickly in failure, and he was killed in 740. The movement backing him survived, however, and formed a Shīʿī sect known as the Zaydīyah. They were moderate both in defining the religious rank of their imams and in condemning the rest of the Muslim community for its failure to do so, yet they were militant advocates of armed uprising against the illegitimate rulers. In contrast to the Zaydīyah, the Imāmīyah exalted the rank of the imams and broke radically with the Muslim community at large, accusing it of apostasy for failing to accord the imams their proper rank and rights. Politically, however, they remained quietist. They were called Rāfiḍah, "rejectors," by the followers of Zayd because of their refusal to support his revolt. The term became a pejorative nickname among Sunnī Muslims, who used it, however, to refer to the Imāmīyah's repudiation of the three caliphs preceding ʿAlī. Those Shīʿī moderates of Kufa who shrank back from the Zaydī commitment to revolt were soon absorbed into Sunnīsm as ʿAlī came to be accepted generally as the fourth of the "Rightly Guided" (Rāshidūn) successors of Muḥammad.

THE IMĀMĪYAH AND TWELVER SHĪʿAH. The Imāmīyah became a significant religious community with a distinctive law, ritual, and religious doctrine under Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 765), the foremost scholar and teacher among their imams. Jaʿfar elaborated the legal pronouncements of his father into a comprehensive doctrine; in recognition of his role, Imāmī law is sometimes called the Jaʿfarī legal school. In theology, some of his statements upheld intermediate positions on controversial questions such as human free will versus predestination, and the nature of the Qurʾān. These were developed into systematic theological thought by certain contemporary Imāmī scholars who took a prominent part in the intercommunal theological debates of his time. Jaʿfar enjoyed a high reputation as a teacher of esoteric and mystical thought, though his actual role in this field is obscure.

The imamate. The constitutive element of the Imāmī community is its doctrine of the imamate, which was definitely formulated in this age. It was based on the belief that humanity is at all times in need of a divinely appointed and guided leader and authoritative teacher in all religious matters. Without such a leader, according to Imam Jaʿfar, the world could never exist for a moment. In order to fulfill his divine mission, this leader must be endowed with full immunity (*ʿiṣmah*) from sin and error. Following the age of the prophets, which came to a close with Muḥammad, the imams continue their prophetic mission in every respect except that they do not bring a new scripture. The imamate is thus raised to the rank of prophethood. Rejection, disobedience, or ignorance of any of the divinely invested imams constitutes infidelity equal to rejection of the Prophet. The great mass of the companions of Muḥammad had thus apostatized from Islam when they accepted the caliphate of Abū Bakr and ignored the Prophet's divinely inspired designation of ʿAlī as his legatee *(waṣī)*, and the majority of the Muslim community continued to live in a state of apostasy. After ʿAlī, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn, the line of legitimate imams had passed through Ḥusayn's descendants to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, the sixth imam. It would continue to be handed down by designation from father to son until the end of time. Although the imam was the only legitimate ruler of the Muslim community, his imamate did not depend on his actual reign or an active attempt to gain it. Imam Jaʿfar did not aspire to rule and forbade his followers from engaging in revolutionary activity on his behalf. He predicted that the imams would not regain their rightful position until the emergence of the Qāʾim (lit. "riser," i.e., the *mahdī)* from among them to rule the world.

The succession to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq was disputed and led to a schism among the Imāmīyah. His eldest son and designated successor, Ismāʿīl, had died before him. A group of his followers considered the designation as irreversible, however, and either denied Ismāʿīl's death or recognized Ismāʿīl's son Muḥammad as the imam. They became the founders of the Ismāʿīlīyah. In the absence of a new designation, the majority of Jaʿfar's followers at first recognized his eldest surviving son, ʿAbd Allāh al-Afṭaḥ. When ʿAbd Allāh died a few months later without sons, they turned to his brother Mūsā al-Kāẓim, the seventh imam of the Twelver Shīʿah. Some of them, however, continued to recognize ʿAbd Allāh as the rightful imam before Mūsā. They were known as the Faṭḥīyah and constituted a sizable sect in Kufa until the late fourth century AH (tenth century CE). Mūsā was arrested later in his life by Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and died in prison in Baghdad in 799. His death was denied by many of his followers, who considered his position as seventh imam to be of momentous significance and expected his return as the Mahdi. They did not recognize ʿAlī al-Riḍā, the eighth imam of the Twelver Shīʿah, although some of them considered him and his successors as lieutenants (*khulafāʾ*) of the Mahdi until his return. They also formed a sizable sect known as the Wāqifah and competed with the group that was to become the Twelver Shīʿah. In the Sus region of southwestern Morocco they gained a following among Berber tribes that survived until the sixth century AH (twelfth century CE).

The Abbasid caliph al-Maʾmūn attempted to bring about a reconciliation between the ʿAlid and Abbasid branches of the family of the Prophet by appointing ʿAlī al-Riḍā as his successor in 817, but this move ended in failure. ʿAlī al-Riḍā died two years later, and the caliph was widely accused of having poisoned him. The succession after al-Riḍā down to the eleventh imam, Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī, produced only minor schisms, but the death of the latter in 874, apparently without a son, left his followers in disarray. The main body, henceforth known as the Twelver Shīʿah (the Ithnā ʿAsharīyah in Arabic), eventually came to affirm that a son had been born to him before his death but had been hidden. This son had become the twelfth imam and continued to live in concealment. Identified with the Qāʾim and the Mahdi, he was expected to reappear in glory to rule the world and make the cause of the Shīʿah triumphant. The time of his absence (*ghaybah*) falls into two parts. In the age of the lesser *ghaybah* he was in regular contact with four successive agents (sg., *wakīl* or *safīr*) who represented him among the community of his followers, communicating their questions and requests to him and his answers and instructions to them. In 941, the fourth intermediary died without appointing a successor, and the greater *ghaybah* began. During this *ghaybah* no one can claim to be in regular contact with the Hidden Imam. He continues to live unrecognized on earth, however, and may occasionally identify himself to one of his followers or otherwise intervene in the fortunes of his community.

Intellectual currents. The absence of the imam strengthened the position of the scholars *(ʿulamāʾ)* in the Shīʿī community as transmitters and guardians of the teaching of the imams. They now undertook to gather, examine, and systematize this teaching. For the most part, the first transmitters of the statements of the imams had been Kufans, while the compilation and sifting of the traditions into more comprehensive collections was the work of the school of Qom in northwestern Iran. Some Kufan Shīʿī families had settled early in this town, and it became a bastion of Imāmī Shiism, adhering to the imamate of ʿAlī al-Riḍā and his descendants in the ninth century even though the Imāmīyah had been eclipsed in Kufa by the predominance of the Zaydīyah, Wāqifah, and Faṭḥīyah. The traditionist school of Qom reached its peak in the works of Abū Jaʿfar al-Kulaynī of Rayy (d. 941) and Ibn Bābawayhi al-Ṣadūq of Qom (d. 991/2).

A rival school in Baghdad progressively adopted the rationalist theology of the Muʿtazilah, who espoused human free will and an anti-anthropomorphist, abstract concept of God in sharp conflict with the predominant theology of Sunnī Islam. The Baghdad school rejected Muʿtazilī doctrine, however, where it clashed with the basic Imāmī beliefs about the imamate; thus it repudiated the Muʿtazilī thesis of the unconditional, eternal punishment of the unrepentant sinner in the hereafter, affirming the effectiveness of the intercession of the imams for sinners among their faithful followers. In fact, faith in the power of the imams' intercessions was a vital motive for the visits to their shrines that have always been a major aspect of popular Shīʿī piety. Twelver Shīʿī theologians also maintained, against the Muʿtazilī position, that the opponents of the imams occupied the status of infidels and that the imamate was, like prophecy, a rational necessity, not merely a revealed legal requirement. The leading figures of the theological school of Baghdad were Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 1022) and Sharif al-Murtaḍā ʿAlam al-Hudā (d. 1044). Their student, Shaykh Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī (d. 1067), became the most important early systematizer of Twelver Shīʿī law; his work has remained fundamental for all later developments.

The Twelver Shīʿah today constitute the great majority of the Shīʿah and are often referred to simply by the latter name. Most of the people of Iran and southern Iraq are Twelvers. There are sizable Twelver Shīʿī communities in Bahrein, in al-Ḥaṣā and Qaṭif in eastern Saudi Arabia, in southern Lebanon, in Aleppo in northern Syria, and in parts of Afghanistan. On the Indian subcontinent Twelver Shīʿah are widespread, especially in Punjab, Delhi, and Baroda, as well as in the Deccan, where the first Shīʿī missionaries appeared in the fifteenth century, and where the majority of the Quṭbshāhīs of Golconda and the ʿAdil-shāhīs of Bijapur were Shīʿī. In recent years, a considerable number of Pakistani families have also joined the Twelvers.

EXTREMIST SECTS. On the fringe of the Imāmīyah and the Twelver Shīʿah there arose numerous minor sects of varying nature classed generically as *ghulāt* ("extremists") and frequently excommunicated by the mainstream. Common grounds for the charge of extremism were deification of the imams and antinomianism.

Imāmī *ghulāt*. The most prominent figure among the early Imāmī *ghulāt* in Kufa was Abū al-Khaṭṭāb al-Asadī, who was excommunicated by imam Jaʿfar and killed together with seventy of his followers, the Khaṭṭābīyah, about 755. The Khaṭṭābīyah recognized Abū al-Khaṭṭāb as a prophet sent by Jaʿfar, whom they viewed as God. Al-Mufaḍḍal ibn ʿUmar al-Juʿfī, who is sometimes described as the head of an offshoot of the Khaṭṭābīyah, but who became a trusted agent of Imam Mūsā al-Kāẓīm, appears to have played a major role in the transmission of gnostic teaching about the preexistence and transmigration of souls and the cyclical history earlier associated with the Kaysānī ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥārith.

The heresiographers speak of two complementary currents among the *ghulāt* in the second half of the eighth century. The Mukhammisah (Pentadists) believed in a divine pentad consisting of Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn. The five were united in meaning (*maʿnā*) but distinct in name (*ism*) and had manifested themselves throughout history in the form of prophets and imams. The Mufawwiḍah (Delegationists) taught that the Eternal One, whose name is unknowable, had delegated the creation of the world to the divine pentad. At the beginning of the *ghaybah,* the *ghulāt* of this tradition coalesced into two rival sects, the Isḥāqīyah and the Nuṣayrīyah. The Isḥāqīyah was founded by the Basran Isḥāq al-Aḥmar (d. 899), who disputed the position of the second *safīr* of the twelfth imam. The sect spread from Iraq to Aleppo and the Syrian coast. In Syria it was wiped out by its Nuṣayrī rivals in the thirteenth century and disappeared in Iraq about the same time.

Nuṣayrīyah and ʿAlawīyūn. The Nuṣayrīyah took their name from Muḥammad ibn Nuṣayr al-Namīrī, a companion of the ninth and tenth imams. They became a fully constituted sect under his successors, especially al-Ḥusayn ibn Ḥamdān al-Khaṣībī (d. 957 or 969), who carried the sect's teaching to northern Syria and was buried in Aleppo. It was extinguished in Iraq after the Mongol invasion but has survived to the present in Syria, especially in Latakia and the Jabal al-Anṣārīyah region to the east and in the regions of Alexandretta and Cilicia (Adana and Tarsus). In modern times the Nuṣayrīyah are commonly referred to as ʿAlawīs or Alawites.

The name *ʿAlawī* (Turk., *Alevi*) is frequently also applied to other extremist Shīʿī communities in Anatolia. Similar groups in Iran are often pejoratively called ʿAlī-Ilāhī ("ʿAlī deifiers"). Such groups generally have their roots in the late Mongol age (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) and represent a mixture of popular extremist Shiism and Sufism. Strong pro-ʿAlid sentiments on a popular level were already widespread among Türkmen tribes during the great Turkish expansion into Iran and western Asia in the Seljuk period. These sentiments were reinforced during the Mongol period by the Sufism spread by some of the great religious orders that were themselves moving toward Shīʿī beliefs. In the fifteenth century the Kizilbash Türkmen federation and religious order adopted such extremist Shīʿī doctrine under the leadership of the Safavids, who now claimed ʿAlid descent. After the foundation of the Safavid state, however, the rulers furthered orthodox Twelver Shiism as the official religion and gradually divested themselves of the religious veneration and backing of the Kizilbash. Under the Ottomans, the Bektāshi dervish order, which became closely associated with the Janissaries, embraced a similar mixture of Ṣūfī and extremist Shīʿī beliefs.

A major sect among the so-called ʿAlī-Ilāhīs are the Ahl-i Ḥaqq ("people of the truth"), whose origins apparently go back to the fifteenth century and whose main centers are in the Kurdish regions of western Iran and eastern Iraq and in Azerbaijan. They represent a syncretism of popular Ṣūfī rites, legends, and folklore superimposed on an extremist Shīʿī foundation. While ʿAlī is recognized as one of the seven avatars of the divinity, he is completely overshadowed by the figure of Sultan Seḥāk (Isḥāq).

Shaykhīyah. In modern times Shaykh Aḥmad al-Ahsaʾī (d. 1826), the author of a Twelver Shīʿī theosophical doctrine, has been charged with extremist views and excommunicated by the *mujtahid*s in Iran. He was specifically accused of denying the physical resurrection and the physical nature of the ascension of the prophet Muḥammad. He thus became the founder of the Shaykhī sect, which, besides espousing his theosophical teaching, also opposes the authority of the *mujtahid*s, in accordance with the Akhbārī position. The sect is scattered throughout Iran and Iraq, with its center in Kirman. Out of it also developed the Bābī and, indirectly, the Bahāʾī religions, but these fall outside the pale of Shiism.

THE ISMĀʿĪLĪYAH. An offshoot of the Imāmīyah, the Ismāʿīlīyah first became historically important after the middle of the ninth century as a secret revolutionary movement promising the impending advent of Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, grandson of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, as the Mahdi. The movement soon split into two. One of its branches recognized the hidden leaders of the movement as imams descended from Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl. With backing of this branch, the leaders rose to rule as the Fatimid caliphate (909–1171). The other branch, commonly known as the Qarāmiṭah, broke with the leadership and refused to recognize the imamate of the Fatimid caliphs. Their most conspicuous success was the establishment of a Qarmaṭī state in eastern Arabia that lasted from 899 until 1076.

The Fatimid branch was rent by a schism during the caliphate of al-Ḥākim (996–1021), whose divinity was proclaimed by a group of enthusiastic followers. The sect arising from this deviation is known as the Druze. After the death of the caliph al-Mustanṣir in 1094 the Persian Ismāʿīlī communities recognized his eldest son, Nizār, who did not succeed to the caliphate, as their imam. Known as the Nizārīyah, they established their headquarters, and later the seat of their imams, in the mountain stronghold of Alamūt in the Elburz mountains. In Syria, where they also occupied some mountain fortresses, they became known to the Crusaders as *ḥashīshīyīn* ("hashish addicts"), a name that was then deformed to "Assassins." The main line of Nizārī imams has continued down to the Aga Khans in modern times. A second line, which split off soon after the Mongol conquest of Alamūt in 1256, came to an end in 1796. The branch continuing to recognize the Fatimid caliphs was further split after the death of al-Amir in 1130. The majority of the Ismāʿīlīyah in Yemen and India now recognized as their imam al-Ṭayyib, the caliph's infant son, about whose fate nothing is known. In his absence the spiritual leadership of these sectarians, known as Ṭayyibīyah, became vested in their *dāʿī muṭlaq*. As the line of these spiritual leaders became divided in 1591, the Ṭayyibīyah split into two communities, the Dāʾūdīyah and the Sulaymānīyah. That part of the Ismāʿīlī community adhering to the Fatimid caliphate until its fall disintegrated thereafter.

THE ZAYDĪYAH. Retaining the politically militant and religiously moderate attitude predominant among the early Kufan Shīʿah, the Zaydīyah developed a doctrine of the imamate distinctly at variance with Imāmī beliefs. They neither accepted a hereditary line of imams nor considered the imam as divinely protected from sin and error. Rather they held that any descendant of Ḥasan or Ḥusayn qualified by religious learning could claim the imamate by armed rising against the illegitimate rulers and would then be entitled to the allegiance and backing of the faithful. Thus there were often long periods without legitimate Zaydī imams. The list of recognized Zaydī imams itself has never been entirely fixed although there is general agreement on many of them. In the absence of any claimant possessing the high qualifications of religious learning, the Zaydīyah often supported ʿAlid rulers as mere *dāʿī*s ("summoners," i.e., imams with restricted competence). Although they, like the Imāmīyah, generally affirmed that ʿAlī, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn had been invested as imams by Muḥammad's designation (*naṣṣ*), they maintained that the designation had been obscure so that its meaning could be discovered only by investigation. Thus they minimized the offense of the companions of the Prophet and the Muslim community in ignoring that designation and in backing the early caliphs. In theology, the Zaydīyah from the tenth century on mostly accepted Muʿtazilī doctrine.

For more than a century after the revolt of Zayd, the Zaydī movement remained based in Kufa near the center of Abbasid power, where various ʿAlid rebellions backed by it were quickly suppressed. In the second half of the ninth century, however, two Zaydī reigns were founded in remote regions protected by mountain ranges. In Ṭabaristān (modern Mazandarān) on the southern coast of the Caspian Sea, the Hasanid Ḥasan ibn Zayd rose to power in 864. This first Zaydī state lapsed in 900 but was restored in 914 by the Husaynid imam al-Nāṣir al-Uṭrūsh, who had converted to Islam many of the natives of Daylam and Gīlān living west of Ṭabaristān. He was also the founder of a legal school doctrine to which his converts adhered, although the older Zaydī community in the region followed the legal doctrine of the Ḥasanid imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm (d. 860). The two communities, known as the Naṣirīyah and the Qāsimīyah, were often at odds, and, although eventually recognizing each other's doctrine as equally valid, for long periods supported different ʿAlid imams or *dāʿīs*. They survived until the sixteenth century, when the Caspian Zaydīyah converted to Twelver Shiism under pressure from the Safavid shah Ṭahmāsp.

In Yemen the imam Yaḥyā al-Hādī ila al-Ḥaqq, a grandson of al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm, established Zaydī rule in 897. He introduced the legal and theological doctrine of his grandfather, which he elaborated and modified in his own writings. The unity of the Zaydī community in Yemen was rent in the eleventh century by the rise of two heterodox sects, the Muṭarrifīyah and the Ḥusaynīyah. The former was opposed to some aspects of the Muʿtazilī doctrine espoused by the Caspian Zaydī imams and elaborated a distinctive theory of nature that it attributed to al-Hādī and his sons. The Ḥusaynīyah denied the death of the imam al-Ḥusayn al-Mahdī in 1013 and expected his return as the Mahdi. Both sects disappeared by the fourteenth century. Relations with the Caspian community were intermittently close for some centuries, and much of its religious literature was transferred to Yemen in the twelfth century. Only exceptionally, however, was an imam ruling in either region able to extend his control to the other. The Zaydī community in Yemen, living mostly in the northern highlands, has survived to the present, although the last imam, Muḥammad al-Badr, was overthrown by the revolution of 1962.

SEE ALSO Aga Khan; ʿAlawīyūn; Assassins; Druze; Ghaybah; Imamate; ʿIṣmah; Qarāmiṭah; Shaykhīyah.

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Revised Bibliography

SHIISM: ISMĀʿĪLĪYAH

A major branch of the Shīʿah, the Ismāʿīlīyah traces the line of imams through Ismāʿīl, son of Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. AH 148/765 CE). Ismāʿīl was initially designated by Jaʿfar as his successor but predeceased him. Some of Jaʿfar's followers who considered the designation irreversible either denied the death of Ismāʿīl or accepted Ismāʿīl's son Muḥammad as the rightful imam after Jaʿfar.

The Pre-Fatimid Age. The communal and doctrinal history of the Ismaʿilīyah in this period poses major problems that are still unresolved for lack of reliable sources. The Muslim heresiographers mostly speak of two Ismāʿīlī groups after the death of Imam Jaʿfar: The "pure Ismāʿīlīyah" held that Ismāʿīl had not died and would return as the Qāʾim *(mahdī)*, while the Mubārakīyah recognized Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl as their imam. According to the heresiographers, al-Mubārak was the name of their chief, a freedman of Ismāʿīl. It seems, however, that the name (meaning "the blessed"), was applied to Ismāʿīl by his followers, and thus the name Mubārakīyah must at first have referred to them. After the death of Jaʿfar most of them evidently accepted Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl as their imam in the absence of Ismāʿīl. Twelver Shīʿī reports attribute a major role among the early backers of Ismāʿīl to the Khaṭṭābīyah, the followers of the extremist Shīʿī heresiarch Abū al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 755?). Whatever the reliability of such reports, later Ismāʿīlī teaching generally shows few traces of Khaṭṭābī doctrine and repudiates Abū al-Khaṭṭāb. An eccentric work reflecting a Khaṭṭābī tradition, the *Umm al-kitāb* (Mother of the book) transmitted by the Ismāʿīlīyah of Badakhshān, is clearly a late adaptation of non-Ismāʿīlī material.

Nothing is known about the fate of these Ismāʿīlī splinter sects arising in Kufa in Iraq on the death of Imam Jaʿfar, and it can be surmised that they were numerically insignificant. But about a hundred years later, after the middle of the third century AH (ninth century CE), the Ismāʿīlīyah reappeared in history, now as a well-organized, secret revolutionary movement with an elaborate doctrinal system spread by missionaries called *dāʿī*s ("summoners") throughout much of the Islamic world. The movement was centrally directed, at first apparently from Ahwaz in southwestern Iran. Recognizing Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl as its *imām,* it held that he had disappeared and would return in the near future as the Qāʾim to fill the world with justice.

Early doctrines. The religious doctrine of this period, which is largely reconstructed from later Ismāʿīlī sources and anti-Ismāʿīlī accounts, distinguished between the outer, exoteric (*ẓāhir*) and the inner, esoteric (*bāṭīn*) aspects of religion. Because of this belief in a *bāṭīn* aspect, fundamental also to most later Ismāʿīlī thought, the Ismāʿīlīyah were often called Bāṭīnīyah, a name that sometimes has a wider application, however. The *ẓāhir* aspect consists of the apparent, directly accessible meaning of the scriptures brought by the prophets and the religious laws contained in them; it differs in each scripture. The *bāṭīn* consists of the esoteric, unchangeable truths (*ḥaqāʾīq*) hidden in all scriptures and laws behind the apparent sense and revealed by the method of esoteric interpretation called *taʾwīl,* which often relied on qabbalistic manipulation of the mystical significance of letters and their numerical equivalents. The esoteric truths embody a gnostic cosmology and a cyclical, yet teleological history of revelation.

The supreme God is the Absolute One, who is beyond cognizance. Through his intention (*irādah*) and will (*mashīʾah*) he created a light which he addressed with the Qurʾanic creative imperative, *kun* ("Be!"), consisting of the letters *kāf* and *nūn.* Through duplication, the first, preceding (*sābiq*) principle, Kūnī ("be," fem.) proceeded from them and in turn was ordered by God to create the second, following *(tālī)* principle, Qadar ("measure, decree"). Kūnī represented the female principle and Qadar, the male; together they were comprised of seven letters (the short vowels of Qadar are not considered letters in Arabic), which were called the seven higher letters (*ḥurūf ʿulwīyah*) and were interpreted as the archetypes of the seven messenger prophets and their scriptures. In the spiritual world, Kūnī created seven cherubs (*karūbīyah*) and Qadar, on Kuni's order, twelve spiritual ranks (*ḥudūd rūḥānīyah*). Another six ranks emanated from Kūnī when she initially failed to recognize the existence of the creator above her. The fact that these six originated without her will through the power of the creator then moved her to recognize him with the testimony that "There is no god but God," and to deny her own divinity. Three of these ranks were above her and three below; among the latter was Iblīs, who refused Kunī's order to submit to Qadar, the heavenly Adam, and thus became the chief devil. Kūnī and Qadar also formed a pentad together with three spiritual forces, Jadd, Fatḥ, and Khayāl, which were often identified with the archangels Jibrāʾīl, Mīkhāʾīl, and Isrāfīl and mediated between the spiritual world and the religious hierarchy in the physical world.

The lower, physical world was created through the mediation of Kūnī and Qadar, with the ranks of the religious teaching hierarchy corresponding closely to the ranks of the higher, spiritual world. The history of revelation proceeded through seven prophetic eras or cycles, each inaugurated by a speaker (*nāṭiq*) prophet bringing a fresh divine message. The first six speaker-prophets, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muḥammad, were each succeeded by a legatee *(waṣī)* or silent one *(ṣāmit)* who revealed the esoteric meaning hidden in their messages. Each legatee was succeeded by seven imams, the last of whom would rise in rank to become the speaker of the next cycle and bring a new scripture and law abrogating the previous one. In the era of Muḥammad, ʿAlī was the legatee and Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl the seventh imam. Upon his return Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl would become the seventh speaker prophet and abrogate the law of Islam. His divine message would not entail a new law, however, but consist in the full revelation of the previously hidden esoteric truths. As the eschatological Qāʾim and *mahdī,* he would rule the world and consummate it. During his absence, the teaching hierarchy was headed by twelve *ḥujjah*s residing in the twelve provinces (*jazāʾir*). Below them were several ranks of *dāʿī*s. The number and names of these ranks given in early Ismāʿīlī texts vary widely and reflect speculative concerns rather than the actual organization of the hierarchy, about which little is known for either the pre-Fatimid or Fatimid age. Before the advent of the Qāʾim, the teaching of the esoteric truths must be kept secret. The neophyte had to swear an oath of initiation vowing strict secrecy and to pay a fee. Initiation was clearly gradual, but there is no evidence of a number of strictly defined grades; the accounts of anti-Ismāʿīlī sources that name and describe seven or nine such grades leading to the final stage of pure atheism and libertinism deserve no credit.

Emergence of the movement. The sudden appearance of a widespread, centrally organized Ismāʿīlī movement with an elaborate doctrine after the middle of the ninth century suggests that its founder was active at that time. The Sunnī anti-Ismāʿīlī polemicists of the following century name as this founder one ʿAbd Allāh ibn Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ. They describe his father, Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ, as a Bardesanian who became a follower of Abū al-Khaṭṭāb and founded an extremist sect called the Maymūnīyah. According to this account, ʿAbd Allāh conspired to subvert Islam from the inside by pretending to be a Shīʿī working on behalf of Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl. He founded the movement in the latter's name with its seven grades of initiation leading to atheism and sent his *dāʿī*s abroad. At first he was active near Ahwāz and later moved to Basra and to Salāmīyah in Syria; the later leaders of the movement and the Fatimid caliphs were his descendants. This story is obviously anachronistic in placing ʿAbd Allāh's activity over a century later than that of his father. Moreover, Twelver Shīʿī sources mention Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ and his son ʿAbd Allāh as faithful companions of Imams Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 735?) and Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq respectively. They do not suggest that either of them was inclined to extremism. It is thus unlikely that ʿAbd Allāh ibn Maymūn played any role in the original Ismāʿīlī sect and impossible that he is the founder of the ninth-century movement. The Sunnī polemicists' story about ʿAbd Allāh ibn Maymūn is, however, based on Ismāʿīlī sources. At least some early Ismāʿīlī communities believed that the leaders of the movement including the first Fatimid caliph, al-Mahdī, were not ʿAlids but descendants of Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ. The Fatimids tried to counter such beliefs by maintaining that their ʿAlid ancestors had used names such as al-Mubarak, Maymūn, and Saʿīd in order to hide their identity. While such a use of cover names is not implausible, it does not explain how Maymūn, allegedly the cover name of Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, could have become identified with Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ. It has, on the other hand, been suggested that some descendants of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Maymūn may have played a leading part in the ninth-century movement. The matter evidently cannot be resolved at present. It is certain, however, that the leaders of the movement, the ancestors of the Fatimids, claimed neither descent from Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl nor the status of imams, even among their closest *dāʿī*s, but described themselves as *ḥujjah*s of the absent imam Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl.

The esoteric doctrine of the movement was of a distinctly gnostic nature. Many structural elements, themes, and concepts have parallels in various earlier gnostic systems, although no specific sources or models can be discerned. Rather, the basic system gives the impression of an entirely fresh, essentially Islamic and Shīʿī adaptation of various widespread gnostic motives. Clearly without foundation are the assertions of the anti-Ismāʿīlī polemicists and heresiographers that the Ismāʿīlīyah was derived from various dualist religions, such as Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, Bardesanism, Mazdakism, and the Khurramdīnīyah.

The movement was rent by a schism about 899 after ʿAbd Allāh (ʿUbayd Allāh), the future Fatimid caliph al-Mahdī, succeeded to the leadership. Repudiating the belief in the imamate of Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl and his return as the *mahdī,* al-Mahdī claimed the imamate for himself. He explained to the *dāʿī*s that his predecessors in the leadership had been legitimate imams but had concealed their rank and identity out of caution. They were descendants of Imam Jaʿfar's son ʿAbd Allāh, who had been the rightful successor to the imamate rather than Ismāʿīl; the names of Ismāʿīl and his son Muḥammad had merely been used to cover up their identity as the imams.

This apparently radical change of doctrine was not accepted by some of the leading *dāʿī*s. In the region of Kufa, Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ and ʿAbdan broke with al-Mahdī and discontinued their missionary activity. Qarmaṭ's followers were called the Qarāmiṭah, and the name was often extended to other communities that broke with the Fatimid leadership, and sometimes to the Ismāʿīlīyah in general; it will be used here for those Ismāʿīlīyah who did not recognize the Fatimid imamate. ʿAbdān was the first author of the movement's books. He was murdered by a *dāʿī* initially loyal to al-Mahdī, and Ḥamdan Qarmaṭ disappeared. On the west coast of the Persian Gulf, the *dāʿī* Abū Saʿid al-Jannabi followed the lead of Qarmaṭ and ʿAbdan, who had invested him with his mission. He had already seized a number of towns, including al-Qaṭīf and al-Aḥsā, and had thus laid the foundation of the Qarmaṭī state of Bahrein. Other communities that repudiated al-Mahdī's claim to the imamate were in the region of Rayy in northwestern Iran, in Khorasan, and in Transoxiana. Most prominent among the *dāʿī*s who remained loyal to al-Mahdī was Ibn Ḥawshab, known as Manṣūr al-Yaman, the senior missionary in the Yemen. He had brought the region of Jabal Maswar under his control, while his younger colleague and rival, ʿAlī ibn al-Faḍl, was active in the Bilād Yāfiʿ further southwest. The *dāʿī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī, whom Manṣūr al-Yaman had sent to the Kutāmah Berber tribe in the mountains of eastern Algeria, and probably also the *dāʿī* al-Haytham, whom he had dispatched to Sind, remained loyal to al-Mahdī. Some of the Ismāʿīlīyah in Khorasan also accepted his claim to the imamate. Residing at this time in Salāmīyah, al-Mahdī then left for Egypt together with his son, the later caliph al-Qāʾim, as his safety was threatened because of the disaffection of the leading Syrian *dāʿī.* At first he intended to proclaim himself as the *mahdī* in the Yemen. Increasing doubts about the loyalty of ʿAlī ibn al-Faḍl, who later openly defected, seem to have influenced his decision to go to the Maghreb, where Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī, having overthrown the Aghlabids and seized Tunisia, proclaimed him caliph and *mahdī* in 910.

THE FATIMID AGE (910–1171). With the establishment of the Fatimid countercaliphate, the Ismāʿīlī challenge to Sunnī Islam reached its peak and provoked a vehement political and intellectual reaction. The Ismāʿīlīyah came to be condemned by orthodox theologians as the archheresy of Islam. The Fatimid Ismāʿīlīyah was weakened by serious splits, first that of the Qarāmiṭah and later those of the Druzes, the Nizārīyah, and the Ṭayyibīyah.

The Qarāmiṭah. The Ismāʿīlī communities that repudiated the claim of the Fatimid al-Mahdī to the imamate were initially left without united leadership and in doctrinal disarray. Soon after the rise of the Fatimid caliphate they recovered some organizational and doctrinal unity on the basis of a reaffirmation of the belief in the imamate of Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl and in his expected return as the Qāʾim. This belief was also espoused by the Transoxianan *dāʿī* Muḥammad ibn Ah-mad al-Nasafī in his *Kitāb al-maḥṣūl* (Book of the yield), which gained wide authority among the Qarmaṭī Ismāʿīlīyah. The book itself is lost, but numerous quotations from it and discussions in later works attest to its importance and make it possible to reconstruct its contents. Al-Nasafī introduced in it a Neoplatonic cosmology that superseded and partly replaced the earlier cosmolgy and became basic to much of Ismāʿīlī esoteric doctrine throughout the Fatimid age.

In this cosmology Kūnī and Qadar were replaced by the Neoplatonic Universal Intellect and Soul. God, who is beyond any attribute and name and even beyond being and non-being, has originated (*abdaʿa*) the Intellect through his divine order or volition (*amr*). The Intellect is described as the first originated being *(al-mubdaʿ al-awwal)* since the *amr* has become united with it in existence. The Universal Soul emanated from the Intellect, and from the Soul in turn issued the seven spheres of the heavens with their stars. These spheres revolve with the Soul's movement, producing the mixture of the four single natures—dryness, humidity, cold, and warmth—to form the composites of earth, water, air, and ether. Out of the mingling of the composites arise the plants with a vegetative soul, which in turn give rise to the animals endowed with a sensitive soul. Out of the animal realm arises the human being with a rational soul that seeks to ascend through the spiritual hierarchy and to rejoin its origin in the Intellect.

Proclamation of the mahdī. The *dāʿī* of Rayy, Abū Hatim al-Rāzī (d. 934), claimed superior authority among the Qarmaṭī *dāʿī*s as the lieutenant of the absent *imām.* He succeeded in converting a number of powerful men in the region, sent his *dāʿī*s throughout northwestern Iran, and maintained a correspondance with Abū Ṭāhir al-Jannābī, who had succeeded his father, Abū Saʿīd, in the leadership of the Qarmaṭī state in Bahrein. The Qarmaṭī *dāʿī*s were at this time predicting the advent of the *mahdī* after the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the year 928, an occurrence that they believed would bring the era of Islam to an end and usher in the seventh and final era. As the date approached, Abū Ṭāhir carried out daring attacks ever farther into southern Iraq and finally threatened the Abbasid capital of Baghdad itself. In 930 he sacked Mecca during the pilgrimage season, slaughtered pilgrims and inhabitants, and carried off the Black Stone of the Kaʿbah as a sign for the end of the era of Islam. In 932 he proclaimed a young Persian from Isfahan as the expected *mahdī.*

Events now took a different course than had commonly been predicted by the Ismāʿīlīyah for the coming of the *mahdī.* According to the erudite expert of the chronology of nations, al-Bīrūnī (d. 1050?), the date was chosen to coincide with the passing of fifteen hundred years after Zoroaster, the end of the year 1242 of the era of Alexander, for which prophecies ascribed to Zoroaster and Jāmāsp had predicted the restoration of the reign of the Magians. The Persian was said to be a Magian and a descendant of the Persian kings. His hometown of Isfahan had long been associated by the astrologers with the rise of a Persian dynasty which would conquer the Arab caliphate. The Persian is reported to have ordered the worship of fire and the cursing of all the prophets and to have licensed the most outrageous abominations. After the Persian put some Qarmaṭī leaders to death, Abū Ṭāhir felt compelled to kill him and to avow that he had been duped by an impostor.

The significance of this episode must be judged with caution. The Persian, anti-Arab aspect was evidently a spontaneous development among the leaders of the Qarmaṭī community of Bahrein. It does not confirm the assertions of the Sunnī polemicists that the Ismāʿīlī movement originated in an anti-Islamic and anti-Arab plot of Persian dualists, but it may have given rise to them. More deeply rooted in the movement were the antinomian sentiments radically expressed in the cursing of the prophets, the founders of the religious laws. Antinomian tendencies were naturally inherent in religious thought which looked for an esoteric spiritual meaning concealed behind the exoteric surface of scripture and law. Though sometimes latent for a long time, they manifested themselves powerfully at various stages in the history of the Ismāʿīlīyah.

The ignominious course and outcome of the affair led to massive defections of adherents and shocked the leading *dāʿī*s. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-iṣlāḥ* (Book of correction), in which he criticized and "corrected" various points of al-Nasafī's *Kitāb al-maḥṣūl,* appears to have been written in reaction to the events. Abū Ḥātim in particular objected to the antinomian tendencies apparent in some of the teaching of al-Nasafī. Arguing that all esoteric truth inevitably requires an exoteric revealed law, he affirmed against al-Nasafī that both Adam, the first speaker prophet, and Jesus had brought a religious law. While admitting that the seventh speaker prophet, Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, would not bring a law but reveal the spiritual truths, he insisted that the era of Muḥammad had not come to an end with the first presence and disappearance of the seventh imam. There was in each prophetic cycle an interval (*fatrah*) between the presence of the seventh imam and the advent of the speaker prophet who would inaugurate the new era, during which time the seventh imam was represented by his lieutenants (*khulafaʾā*).

Abū Ḥātim's ideas failed to rally the Qarmaṭī communities around his leadership as the lieutenant of the imam. In his *Kitāb al-nuṣrah* (Book of support), the younger *dāʿī* Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī consistently upheld al-Nasafī's views against Abū Ḥātim's criticism and categorically rejected Abū Hatim's thesis that esoteric truths could be attained only through the religious law. In Khorasan and Transoxiana in particular the authority of al-Nasafī's *Kitāb al-maḥṣūl* seems to have remained paramount after the author's death in 944. The *dāʿīs* in Iraq continued to recognize the authority of ʿAbdān, in whose name they composed numerous treatises tinged with popular philosophy. After repudiating their pseudo-*mahdī,* the Qarāmiṭah of Bahrein again claimed to be acting on the orders of the hidden *mahdī.* Abū Ṭāhir soon reached an agreement with the Abbasid government under which he guaranteed the safety of the pilgrimage to Mecca in return for an annual tribute and a protection fee paid by the pilgrims. The Black Stone of the Kaʿbah was returned to Mecca in 951 after payment of a high ransom.

Decline of the movement. In preparation for his conquest of Egypt and the East, the fourth Fatimid caliph, al-Muʿizz (953–975) strove to win the dissident eastern Ismāʿīlī communities for the Fatimid cause and to this end made some ideological concessions to them (see below). His efforts were partly successful, and he gained the allegiance of Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī, who in his later works fully backed the Fatimid imamate. Other *dāʿīs*, however, resisted his overtures. Most important, he failed to persuade the Qarāmiṭah of Bahrein, who even allied themselves with the Abbasid caliphate and fought the Fatimid conquerors in Syria and Egypt. Although they later concluded a truce with the Fatimids and at times officially recognized the Fatimid caliphate, they never accepted its religious authority. In the later tenth century they lost their military prowess and were reduced to a local, self-contained power while the Qarmaṭī communities elsewhere either were absorbed into the Fatimid Ismāʿīlīyah or disintegrated. The Qarmaṭī state in Bahrein survived until 1077/8. Little is known about the specific religious beliefs of the sectarians there. Muslim law and rites such as prayer and fasting were not practiced, and all mosques were closed. Much property was owned communally, and some of the revenue from tributes and imposts on sea trades was distributed among the members of the community. Such institutions were, however, not directly founded on the religious teaching, which promised a rule of justice and fairness but did not develop a social program.

The Brethren of Purity. Much discussed and still unresolved is the question of the relationship of the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al- Ṣafāʾ* (Epistles of the Brethren of Purity) and their anonymous authors to the Ismāʿīlīyah. This encyclopedia of fifty-two treatises on all sciences of the ancients pervaded by an esoteric religious message was, according to two authors of the later tenth century, composed by a group of secretaries and scholars in Basra about the middle of the century. Later Ismāʿīlī tradition, however, claims that it was written by one of the hidden *imāms* and his *dāʿīs* a century earlier. The treatises speak of the *imām* as in hiding, though accessible, and foresee his appearance. Some modern scholars have argued that a part or most of the encyclopedia was composed in the pre-Fatimid Ismāʿīlī community and that quotations and references in the text that belong to the tenth century are later additions. Others consider it as essentially non-Ismāʿīlī though influenced by Ismāʿīlī thought; this judgment is usually based on a comparison with Fatimid Ismāʿīlī literature. It is evident that the authors, if they did live in the tenth century, could not have been adherents of the Fatimid imamate. Yet the thought and terminology of the treatises are pervasively Ismāʿīlī and must have originated in an Ismāʿīlī environment. In the middle of the tenth century Basra was dominated by the Qarāmiṭah of Bahrein. It is not unlikely that the authors undertook their project with the approval of the Qarmaṭī leaders, but nothing definite is known about their relationship and the attitude of the later Qarāmiṭah to the encyclopedia.

The Fatimid Ismāʿīlīyah. The first Fatimid caliph rose with the claim of being not only the imam but also the expected *mahdī.* This claim inevitably raised questions concerning the acts and the eschatological role ascribed to the *mahdī* in apocalyptic traditions. Al-Mahdī answered such questions by maintaining that the prophecies concerning the *mahdī* would be gradually fulfilled by himself and by the *imāms* succeeding him. He gave his son and successor the caliphal title al-Qāʾim, another eschatological name that usually had been considered to refer to the *mahdī.* In one basic respect he uncompromisingly countered the Ismāʿīlī expectations for the advent of the *mahdī*: While the pre-Fatimid teaching affirmed that the *mahdī* as the seventh speaker prophet would abrogate the law of Islam and make the esoteric spiritual truths public, al-Mahdī insisted on strict observation of the religious law of Islam and severely punished some *dāʿīs* who ignored it and published esoteric teaching. Official Fatimid doctrine always emphasized the equal validity and necessity of the *zahir* and the *bātīn,* of religious work *(ʿamal)* in accordance with the law and esoteric knowledge *(ʿilm).*

Ismāʿīlī law. Under al-Mahdī began the career of Qāḍi al-Nuʿmān (d. 974), the founder of Ismāʿīlī law and author of its most authoritative compendium, the *Kitāb daʿ āʾim al-Islām* (Book of the buttresses of Islam). In the absence of an Ismāʿīlī legal tradition, Qāḍi al-Nuʿmān relied primarily on the legal teaching of Imāms Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, transmitted by Twelver Shīʿī traditionists, and secondarily on Zaydi traditions. As a former Mālikī jurist, he was evidently also influenced by Mālikī legal concepts. In substance Ismāʿīlī law naturally agrees closely with Twelver Shīʿī law, it prohibits, however, the temporary marriage (*mutʿah*) allowed in the latter and nullifies bequests to a legal heir except when consent of the other legal heirs is obtained. It gives the imam authority for determining the beginning of the month without regard to the sighting of the new moon as required by all other Muslim legal schools. Since the early Fatimid period the beginning of the months was generally established in practice on the basis of astronomical calculation and thus often fell one or two days earlier than for other Muslims; this discrepancy often caused intercommunal quarrels about the beginning and end of the fasting month of Ramaḍān.

Esoteric doctrines. The Ismāʿīlī law codified by Qāḍi al-Nuʿmān was adopted by the fourth Fatimid caliph, al-Muʿizz, as the official law of the Fatimid empire to be applied to all its Muslim subjects. Al-Muʿizz also substantially reformed the Fatimid esoteric doctrine with the clear aim of making it more acceptable to the dissident Qarmaṭī communities in order to gain their backing for the Fatimid imamate. Thus he reaffirmed the early belief that Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl as the seventh imam was the seventh speaker prophet and the Qāʾim and ignored al-Mahdī's claim that ʿAbd Allāh rather than Ismāʿīl had been the legitimate imam after Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq. In his view, the acts of the Qāʾim in the physical world would, however, be carried out by his lieutenants (*khulafāʾ*)—a term familiar to the Qarāmiṭah, who also spoke of the lieutenants of the Qāʾim who were to head the hierarchy during his absence. For al-Muʿizz, however, these lieutenants were *imām*s and descendants of Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, who would not return to the physical world but would head the spiritual hierarchy at the end of the world. The lieutenants of the Qāʾim formed a second heptad of imams in the sixth era, which the prophet Muḥammad had been granted as a special privilege. Following the earlier Fatimid caliphs and three hidden imams descended from Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, al-Muʿizz was the seventh *imām* of this heptad. He seems to have envisaged an early end of the physical world and is quoted to have affirmed that there would not be another heptad of imams after him.

Al-Muʿizz also opened the door to the Neoplatonic cosmology of al-Nasafī, which so far had been rejected by the Fatimid Ismāʿīlīyah. Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī, who was converted to the Fatimid Ismāʿīlīyah, became their main representative of Neoplatonic thought. Many of his books and treatises are extant. The esoteric teaching, severely restricted under al-Mahdī, was now organized in formal lecture sessions (*majālis*) held twice weekly. The lectures were prepared by the official chief *dāʿī* and submitted to the imam for approval. Attendance at the lectures was restricted to the initiates, who were required to pay religious dues. The Ismāʿīlī communities remained a small minority throughout the Fatimid reign.

The Druze. During the later reign of the sixth Fatimid caliph, al-Ḥākim (996–1021), the eschatological expectations that al-Muʿizz had incited gave rise to a new schismatic movement. Encouraged by al-Ḥākim's abnormal conduct, some of the Ismāʿīlīyah came to speculate that he might be the expected Qāʾim. While the official teaching hierarchy strove to counter these speculations, an enthusiastic follower, Ḥasan al-Akhram, publicly proclaimed al-Ḥākim's divinity in 1017. He told his Ismāʿīlī audience that their resurrection (*qiyamah*) had occurred and that the era of their concealment had come to an end. In spite of the favor shown him by the caliph, Ḥasan was murdered a few months later. In 1019 the movement reemerged, now led by Ḥamzah ibn ʿAlī, the true founder of its doctrine.

Its adherents were called *durūz* (Druze) after al-Dar(a)zī, an early rival of Ḥamzah who caught the eye of the public. Ḥamzah claimed to be the imam, the Qāʾim of the Age (*qāʾim al-zamān*), and the embodiment of the Universal Intellect. He identified some of his assistants with the Universal Soul and other ranks of the spiritual hierarchy of the Ismāʿīlīyah: Al-Ḥākim and his ancestors back to the second Fatimid caliph, al-Qāʾim, were held to be manifestations of the transcendent godhead. Ḥamzah proclaimed the abrogation not only of the exoteric religious law but also of the esoteric teaching of the Ismāʿīlīyah through the appearance of God on earth in royal dignity. He defined his own message as the pure doctrine of unity *(tawḥīd)* that renewed the message of the Adam of Purity (*Ādam al-ṣafāʾ*), who had opened the cycle of humanity. The six prophets of the following eras from Noah to Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl had each brought a blameworthy law ordering the worship of nonbeing and the unity of the idol (*ʿibādat al-ʿadam wa-tawḥīd al-ṣanam*). Ḥamzah thus employed many Ismāʿīlī concepts but transformed them so radically that the Druze religion is usually considered to be outside the Ismāʿīlīyah. After the death of al-Ḥākim the new sect was persecuted and quickly suppressed in Egypt. It has survived to the present, however, in the mountains of Syria and Lebanon.

Leading figures. A prominent part in the initial fight of the official Fatimid teaching hierarchy against the founders of the Ḥākim cult was played by the *dāʿī* Ḥamid al-Dīn al-Kirmānī. Active in Baghdad and Basra, he came to Cairo about 1015, presumably invited to assist in the struggle against the heretics. Recognizing that the heresy was essentially rooted in the fervent hopes for the advent of the Qāʾim with its antinomian implications raised by traditional Ismāʿīlī teaching, al-Kirmānī reacted sharply against them. In a letter addressed to Ḥasan al-Akhram he scornfully repudiated the idea that the resurrection had occurred with the appearance of al-Ḥākim and that the era of the prophet Muḥammad had come to an end. The resurrection would not occur before the signs predicted by Muḥammad had appeared. The era of Muḥammad and the validity of the law of Islam would continue under the reign of al-Ḥākim's successors. Ignoring the traditional Ismāʿīlī theories about a limited number of heptads of *imām*s, al- Kirmānī envisaged the triumphant rule of the hundredth imam in the era of Muḥammad.

In one of his larger works, the *Kitāb al-riyāḍ* (Book of meadows), he critically reviewed the controversy between Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī and Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī over al-Nasafī's *Kitāb al-maḥṣūl.* Almost invariably he backed the position of Abū Ḥātim but went even further in his affirmation of the indispensibility of the law. The belief that the Qāʾim would abrogate the law was faulty, for spiritual knowledge could never be based on anything but the prophetic laws and their rules for worship. Rather the Qāʾim would restore the laws in their original form and abolish the teaching hierarchy, which would no longer be needed because knowledge would become actual and general while ignorance would be reduced to potentiality. Abū Yaʿqūb, he argued, was mistaken in asserting that after the Qāʾim a time of pure spiritual knowledge without work and law would begin like the great era before Adam. Rather, before Adam pure ignorance had reigned among the creatures since they did not know the hierarchy, and likewise, after the Qāʾim ignorance would be gradually actualized again and knowledge would become potential because of the abolition of the hierarchy.

Although al-Kirmānī thus maintained, against Abū Yaʿqūb, the absolute priority of the law over spiritual knowledge, he also made a major contribution to the esoteric teaching. In his most famous work, the *Kitāb rāḥat al-ʿaql* (Peace of mind), he propounded a new cosmology evidently influenced by the Muslim philosophers of al-Fārābī's school. He replaced the pair of the Intellect and the Soul ruling the spiritual world by a hierarchy of ten Intellects. The place of the Soul thus was taken by the Second Intellect or First Emanation *(al-munbaʿith al-awwal)*, which proceeded from the higher relation of the First Intellect. From the lower relation of the First Intellect proceeded the Third Intellect, or Second Emanation, which is the first potential being, equated with matter and form and thus the basis of the physical world. Seven further Intellects originated jointly from the First and Second Intellects. The tenth one is the Active Intellect *(al-ʿaql al-faʿʿal)*, the demiurge governing the lower world. The structure of the astral world and of the religious hierarchy was described by al-Kirmānī as closely paralleling that of the spiritual world. Al-Kirmānī's cosmology had little impact on Fatimid doctrine, which mostly preferred the older cosmology of al-Nasafī and Abū Yaʿqūb. It was later adopted by the Ṭayyibi Ismāʿīlīyah in the Yemen.

A prominent *dāʿī* during the long caliphate of the Fatimid al-Mustanṣir (1036–1094) was Nāṣir-i Khusraw, well known as a Persian poet and as the author of a travel narrative. Because of his activity as a Fatimid *dāʿī,* he was forced to leave Balkh and found refuge in a Badakhshān mountain village in the upper Oxus valley, where he wrote and taught until his death about 1088/9. He became the patron saint of the Ismāʿīlī community of Badakhshān, which has preserved many of his Ismāʿīlī works. Some of these are Persian translations and adaptations of earlier books in Arabic; most important is his *Kitāb jāmiʿ al-ḥikmatayn* (Book joining the two wisdoms), in which he analyzed agreement and disagreement between the views of the Muslim philosophers and the prophetic wisdom of Ismāʿīlī gnosis.

Another leading figure in the contemporary Fatimid teaching hierarchy was al-Muʾayyad fī al-Dīn of Shiraz, the son of an Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* active at the Buyid court. Al-Muʾayyad succeeded his father and converted the Buyid emir Abū Kālījār and some of his Daylamī troops to the Ismāʿīlīyah but was forced to leave because of pressure on Abū Kālījār from the Abbasid court. He fled to Cairo where he was appointed chief *dāʿī* in 1058. Although he was soon dismissed and exiled for a time, he regained wide influence as a *dāʿī* before his death in 1077. His early career is described in his autobiography. His poetry, gathered in a *dīwān,* is strictly doctrinal. The most massive of his numerous works is an eight-volume collection of eight hundred of his teaching sessions (*majālis*). His doctrine was later considered highly authoritative, especially among the Ṭayyibi Ismāʿīlīyah in the Yemen and India.

Later schisms. During the latter part of the caliphate of al-Mustanṣir the Ismāʿīlī movement in Iran was spurred to revolutionary activity by the teaching and leadership of Ḥasan-i Ṣābbāḥ, who in 1090 seized the mountain stronghold of Alamūt northwest of Qazvin and made it his headquarters. He had earlier visited Cairo when Nizār, al-Mustanṣir's eldest son, was the designated heir. After the death of al-Mustanṣir, the powerful vizier al-Afḍal put the youngest son, Ahmad, on the throne with the caliphal name al-Mustaʿlī and captured and immured Nizār, who had resisted. Ḥasan-i Ṣābbāḥ, however, continued to recognize Nizār as the legitimate imam and claimed that Nizār had escaped and broken with the Ismāʿīlī leadership in Cairo. He gained general support among the Ismāʿīlīyah in Iran and northern Syria and thus became the founder of the Nizārī branch. Al-Mustaʿlī was recognized by most of the Ismāʿīlīyah in Egypt, the Yemen, India, and by many in Syria and Palestine.

A further split among the Ismāʿīlīyah still backing the imamate of the Fatimid caliphs occurred after the assassination of al-Mustaʿlī's son and successor, al-Āmir, by a Nizārī in 1130. Eight months earlier al-Āmir's newborn son, al-Ṭayyib, had officially been proclaimed his prospective heir, but a cousin of al-Āmir, ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Ḥāfiẓ, was now put on the throne. First merely appointed regent, he was later proclaimed caliph and *imām.* Some Ismāʿīlī communities, especially in the Yemen and India, repudiated his claim and continued to recognize al-Ṭayyib, about whose fate nothing is known, as the rightful successor of al-Āmir. They were led by the Sulayhid queen al-Sayyidah residing in Dhū Jiblah in central Yemen. Most of the Ismāʿīlīyah in Egypt, southern Syria, and southern Yemen, where they were led by the Zurayʿid rulers of Aden, accepted the imamate of al-Ḥāfiẓ in spite of the irregularity of the succession of a cousin. They were known as the Ḥāfiẓīyah or Majīdīyah. The Fatimid caliphate was now in full decline and was overthrown in 1171 by the Ayyubid Ṣālaḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), who restored Sunnism as the official religion in Egypt. Ḥāfiẓī communities survived chiefly in Upper Egypt and continued to recognize as their *imāms* certain descendants of the last Fatimid caliph, al-ʿAdid, who were kept prisoners in Cairo. Under official persecution the Ḥāfiẓī communities gradually disintegrated; the last mention of them occurs in the late thirteenth century.

THE POST-FATIMID ISMĀʿĪLĪYAH. With the disintegration of the Ḥāfiẓī branch, only the Nizārī and Ṭayyibī communities, which had separated from the official Fatimid Ismāʿīlīyah before the fall of the Fatimid dynasty, remained. Both branches, though further divided by schisms, have survived to the present.

The Nizārīyah. With the seizure of Alamūt, Ḥasan-i Ṣābbāḥ initiated a policy of armed revolt against the seljuk sultanate. The Nizārīyah captured and fortified numerous mountain castles in the Elburz range, towns in Quhistān in northwestern Iran, and later also mountain strongholds such as Qadmūs and Masyāf in northern Syria. In the face of the overwhelming military superiority of their opponents they relied on intimidation through the spectacular assassination of prominent leaders by *fidāʾī*s, self-sacrificing devotees. Because of their apparently irrational conduct they were commonly called *ḥashīshīyīn*, hashish addicts. Stories that the *fidāʾī*s were in fact conditioned for their task by the use of hashish are legendary. Their designation as *ḥashīshīyīn* was taken over by the Crusaders in Syria and entered European languages as "assassins."

Ḥasan-i Ṣābbāḥ also elaborated an apologetic missionary doctrine that became known as the "new preaching" (*daʿwah jadīdah*) of the Ismāʿīlīyah. At its core was the thesis of humanity's permanent need for *taʿlīm,* divinely inspired and authoritative teaching, which was basic in much of Shīʿī thought. Ḥasan-i Ṣābbāḥ developed it in a series of arguments establishing the inadequacy of human reason in gaining knowledge of God and then went on to demonstrate that only the Ismāʿīlī *imām* was such a divinely guided teacher. The Nizārīyah came to be commonly called the Taʿlīmīyah after this doctrine, and Sunnī opponents such as al-Ghazālī concentrated their efforts on refuting it. Ḥasan-i Ṣābbāḥ further stressed the autonomous teaching authority of each imam in his time, independent of his predecessors, thus paving the way for the Nizārī radicalization of the doctrine of the imamate as compared with Fatimid doctrine.

Among the Sunnīs apparently attracted by the "new preaching" was the heresiographer and Ashʿarī theologian al-Shahrastānī (d. 1143). Although he kept his relations with the Nizārīyah secret, they were revealed by his student al-Samʿāni. Among his extant writings are some crypto-Ismāʿīlī works including an incomplete Qurʾān commentary in which he used Ismāʿīlī terminology and hinted at his conversion by a "pious servant of God" who had taught him the esoteric principles of Qurʾanic exegesis. Most notable, however, is his refutation of the theological doctrine of the philosopher Ibn Sinā (Avicenna) from a concealed Ismāʿīlī point of view, entitled *Kitāb al-muṣāraʿah* (Book of the wrestling match). Here he defended the Ismāʿīlī thesis that God, as the giver of being, is beyond being and nonbeing, rejected Avicenna's description of God as the involuntary necessitating cause of the world, and suggested that the Active Intellect which brings the human intellect from potentiality to actuality is the prophetic intellect rather than the intellect of the lunar sphere as held by the followers of Avicenna.

Qiyāmah doctrine. After his death in 1124, Ḥasan-i Ṣābbāḥ was succeeded as lord of Alamūt and chief of the Nizārī community by his assistant Buzurgummīd. On Ramaḍān 17, 599 (August 8, 1164) the latter's grandson, known as Ḥasan ʿalā Dhikrihi al-Salām, solemnly proclaimed the resurrection (*qiyāmah*) in the name of the absent imam and declared the law of Islam abrogated. He interpreted the spiritual meaning of the resurrection as a manifestation of the unveiled truth in the imam, which actualized paradise for the faithful capable of grasping it while condemning the opponents to the hell of spiritual nonexistence. Two years later Ḥasan was murdered by a brother-in-law who objected to the abolition of the Islamic law. His son Muḥammad (1166–1210) further elaborated the *qiyāmah* doctrine. While Ḥasan seems to have indicated that as the *ḥujjah* of the imam he was spiritually identical with him, Muḥammad maintained that his father had been the imam by physical descent; apparently he claimed that Ḥasan was the son of a descendant of Nizār who had secretly found refuge in Alamūt.

According to the *qiyāmah* doctrine, the resurrection consisted in recognizing the divine truth in the present imam, who was the manifestation of the order to create (*amr*) or word (*kalimah*) and, in his revelatory aspect the Qāʾim. The *imām* thus was raised in rank above the prophets. There had been *imām*-Qāʾims also in the earlier prophetic cycles: Mechizedek (Malik al-Salām), Dhū al-Qarnayn, Khiḍr, Maʿadd, and, in the era of Muḥammad, ʿAlī. They were recognized by the prophets of their time as the manifestation of the divine. In the *qiyāmah,* the spiritual reality of the *imām*-Qāʾim manifests itself openly and directly to the faithful. The teaching hierarchy intervening between them and the imam thus had faded away as unnecessary in accordance with the earlier predictions about the advent of the Qāʾim. There remained only three categories of humanity: the opponents of the imam adhering to the law of Islam, his ordinary followers known as the "people of graduation" (*ahl al-tarattub*), who had advanced beyond the law to the esoteric (*bātīn*) and thus had attained partial truth, and "the people of union" (*ahl al-waḥdah*), who see the imam plainly in his spirtual reality discarding outward appearances and have therefore reached the realm of pure truth.

Muḥammad's son Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan (1210–1221) repudiated the *qiyāmah* doctrine and proclaimed his adherence to Sunnī Islam. He publicly cursed his predecessors as infidels, recognized the suzerainty of the Abbasid caliph, ordered his subjects to follow the law in its Sunnī form, and invited Sunnī scholars for their instruction. Thus he became commonly known as the New Muslim (*naw-muṣūlmān*). His followers mostly obeyed his orders as those of the infallible imam. Under his son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad (1221–1255) the application of the law was again relaxed, though it was not abolished.

During, ʿAlaʾ al-Dīn's reign the philospher and astronomer Naṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 1274), originally a Twelver Shīʿī, joined the Ismāʿīlīyah and actively supported the Nizārī cause, though he later turned away from them and wrote some theological works backing Twelver Shīʿī belief. In a spiritual autobiography written for his Ismāʿīlī patrons he described his upbringing as a strict adherent of the law and his subsequent study of scholastic theology and philosophy. While he found philosophy intellectually most satisfying, he discovered that its principles were shaky when the discourse reached its ultimate goal, the knowledge of God and the origins and destiny of humanity, and recognized the need for an infallible teacher to guide reason to its perfection. He then chanced upon a copy of the sacred articles (*fuṣūl-i muqaddas*) of Imam Ḥasan ʿalā Dhikrihi al-Salām and decided to join the Ismāʿīlīyah. While some of Ṭūsī's works written in this period, such as his widely read Nasirean Ethics (*akhlāq-i Nāṣīri*), show traces of Nizārī thought, he also composed some religious treatises specifically addressed to the Nizārīyah. The contemporary Nizārī teaching is primarily known through them, particularly his *Rawḍat al-taslīm* (Meadow of submission) or *Taṣawwurāt* (Representations).

Return to concealment. The restoration of the law by Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan was now interpreted as a return to a period of precautionary dissimulation (*taqīyah*) and concealment (*satr*) in which the truth is hidden in the *bāṭīn.* The resurrection proclaimed by Ḥasan ʿalā Dhikrihi al-Salām had come at about the middle of the millennium of the era of the prophet Muḥammad and had set the pattern for the final resurrection at the end of it. In the era of Muḥammad, the times of concealment and of resurrection might alternate according to the decision of each *imām,* since every *imām* was potentially a Qāʾim. The contradictions in the conduct of the imams were merely in appearance, since in their spiritual reality they were identical and all acted in accordance with the requirements of their time. In the time of concealment the state of union with the *imām* was confined to his *ḥujjah,* who was consubstantial with him. His other followers, the "people of gradation," were divided into the strong (*aqwiyāʾ*) and the weak (*ḍuʿafāʾ*) according to their closeness to the truth.

Post-Alamūt developments. In 1256 ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad's son and successor Khūrshāh surrendered Alamūt to the Mongol conquerors and was killed soon afterward. The Nizārī state was thus destroyed, and the Persian Ismāʿīlī communities were decimated by massacres. Thereafter the *imām*s lived mostly in concealment, and there is considerable uncertainty about their names, number, and sequence. Following a disputed succession their line soon divided into two branches, one continuing with Muḥammad-shāh, the other with Qāsim-shāh. Of the Muḥammad-shāhī imams, Shāh Ṭāhir Dakanī (d. 1549?) achieved fame as a religious scholar and leader. The popularity of his teaching aroused the suspicion of the Safavid shah Ismāʿīl, who exiled him to Kashan. Later he was forced to leave Iran and eventually found refuge in Ahmadnagar in the Deccan, where he became an adviser of the ruler Burhān Niẓām Shāh, whom he encouraged to proclaim Shiism as the official religion. His writings consisted mainly of commentaries on Twelver Shīʿī and philosophical treatises, although he also maintained relations with his Ismāʿīlī followers. The last known *imām* of the Muḥammad-shāhī line was Amīr Muḥammad Baqīr, with whom his Syrian Ismāʿīlī followers lost all contact after 1796. After a vain search for a descendant of his, a section of the Syrian community changed allegiance in 1887 to the Qāsim-shāhī line represented by the Aga Khans. A smaller section, known as the Jaʿfarīyah, is at present the only community that continues to adhere to the Muḥammad-shāhī line.

*Imām*s of the Qāsim-shāhī branch are known to have lived in the later fifteenth and again in the seventeenth century in the village of Anjudān near Maḥallāt in Iran, where their tombs have been found. They were in this period, and until the ninteenth century, commonly associated with the Niʿmatullāhī Ṣūfī order. With the appointment of Imam Abū al-Ḥasan Shāh as governor of Kerman in 1756 they rose to political prominence. His grandson Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh Maḥallātī married a daughter of the Qajar king of Persia, Fatḥ ʿ Alī Shāh, who gave him the title of Aga Khan, which has since been borne hereditarily by his successors. Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh moved to India in 1843 and after 1848 resided in Bombay. Opposition to his authority in the Ismāʿīlī Khoja community led to court litigation ending in 1886 in the judgment of Sir Joseph Arnould in his favor. It recognized the Khojas as part of the wider Nizārī Ismāʿīlī community. The fourth Aga Khan, Karīm Khān, succeeded his grandfather in 1957.

Religious literature. The wide dispersal of the Nizārī communities, language barriers among them, and their often tenuous relations with the concealed imams led to largely independent organization and literary traditions. In Persia conditions after the fall of Alamūt encouraged the imams and their followers to adopt Ṣūfī forms of religious life. Ṣūfī ideas and terminology had already influenced the *qiyāmah* and late Alamūt doctrine; now Ismāʿīlī ideas were often camouflaged in apparently Ṣūfī poetry, the *imām* being revered as the Ṣūfī saint. Doctrinal works, written again from the sixteenth century on, essentially reflect the teaching of the late Alamūt age with its emphasis on the role of the *ḥujjah* of the imam as the only gate to his spiritual essence and truth. Interest in the traditional Ismāʿīlī cosmology and cyclical prophetic history waned as the religious literature of the Fatimid age was no longer available.

The community of Badakhshān, which accepted the Nizārī imamate probably before the fall of Alamūt, remained attached to the writings, both genuine and spurious, of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, although many Persian Nizārī works of the Alamūt and post-Alamūt age also found their way there. It also transmitted and revered the *Umm al-Kitāb,* the anonymous Persian work sometimes erroneously described as proto-Ismāʿīlī. It reflects some of the gnostic thought of the Kufan Shīʿī *ghulāt* of the eighth century, but its final redaction may be as late as the twelfth century.

The literature of the Nizārī community in Syria, written in Arabic, developed independently of the Persian literature even in the Alamūt period. There is no evidence that Persian works were translated into Arabic. Although the resurrection was proclaimed in Syria, apparently with some delay, the *qiyāmah* and post-*qiyāmah* doctrine of the Persian Nizārīyah with its exaltation of the imam as the manifestation of the divine word made practically no impact there. The Syrian community preserved a substantial portion of Fatimid and Qarmaṭī literature, and scholarly tradition continued to concentrate on the traditional cosmolgy and cyclical prophetic history. In some religious texts of a more popular character, Rashīd al-Dīn Sinān (d. 1193?) the leader of the Syrian Ismāʿīlīyah, known to the crusaders as the "Old Man of the Mountain," is celebrated as a popular hero and assigned a cosmic rank usually reserved for the imam.

The Indian subcontinent. The origins and early history of the Nizārī community on the Indian subcontinent are largely obscure. The Nizārīyah there are often collectively referred to as Khojas, although there are other, smaller Nizārī groups such as the Shamsīyah and Momnas, while some Sunnī and Twelver Shīʿī Khoja groups have split from the main body of the Nizārīyah. According to their legendary history, the Nizārī faith was first spread by pir Shams al-Dīn, whose father is said to have been sent as a *dāʿī* from Alamūt. The community was ruled thereafter by pirs descended from Shams al-Dīn. Pir Ṣadr al-Dīn, who can be dated with some likelihood in the later fourteenth century, is credited with the conversion of the Khojas from the Hindu caste of the Lohanas and to have laid the foundation of their communal organization, building their first *jamāʿat-khānah*s (assembly and prayer halls) and appointing their *mukhi*s (community leaders). The center of his activity was in Ucch in Sind. A substantial section of the community seceded in the sixteenth century under the pir Nar (Nūr) Muḥammad Shāh, who broke with the *imām*s in Iran claiming that his father, Imam Shāh, had been the imam and that he had succeeded him. This community, known as Imam-Shāhīs or Satpanthis, has further split on the issue of leadership and lives chiefly in Gujarat and Khandesh. It has tended to revert to Hinduism but shares much of its traditional religious literature with the Nizārī Khojas.

This literature, which is known as Sat Panth (True Path), consists of *ginān*s or *gnān*s, religious poems composed in, or translated into, several Indian languages and meant to be sung to specific melodies in worship. Most of them are attributed to the early pirs but cannot be dated accurately and may have undergone substantial changes in the transmission. They include hymns, religious and moral exhortation, and legendary history of the pirs and their miracles, but contain no creed or theology. Islamic and Hindu beliefs, especially popular Tantric ones, are freely mixed. While idol worship is rejected, Hindu mythology is accepted. ʿAlī is considered the tenth avatar (incarnation of the deity), and the imams are identical with him. The Qurʾān is described as the last of the Vedas, which are recognized as sacred scriptures whose true interpretation is known to the pirs. Faith in the true religion will free believers from further rebirths and open paradise, which is described in Islamic terms, to them, while those failing to recognize the *imām*s must go through another cycle of rebirths. The Arabic and Persian Ismāʿīlī literature has been virtually unknown among the Khojas except for the Persian *Pandiyāt-i jawānmardī,* a collection of religious and moral exhortations of the late fifteenth-century Nizārī imam al-Mustanṣir which was adopted as a sacred book. Khojas live chiefly in lower Sind, Cutch, Gujarat, Bombay, and in wide diaspora, particularly in East and South Africa, Arabia, Ceylon, and Burma.

Further Nizārī communities are found in the mountains of Chitral, Gilgit, and Hunza in Pakistan, in parts of Afghanistan, and in the region of Yarkand and Kashgar in Chinese Turkistan. Organization, religious practices, and observance of *sharīʿah* rules vary among the scattered communities. The recent Aga Khans have stressed the rootedness of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīyah in Shīʿī Islam and its continued bonds with the world of Islam.

The Ṭayyibīyah. After breaking with the Fatimid teaching hierarchy, the Ṭayyibīyah in the Yemen recognized the Sulayhid queen as the *ḥujjah* of the concealed *imām* al-Ṭayyib; with her backing they set up an independent teaching hierarchy headed by a *dāʿī muṭlaq* ("unrestricted summoner") whose spiritual authority since her death in 1138 has been supreme. The second *dāʿī muṭlaq,* Ibrāhīm al-Ḥamidī (1151–1162), became the real founder of the Ṭayyib i esoteric doctrine, which he elaborated especially in his *Kitāb kanz al-walad* (Book of the child's treasure). The position remained in his family until 1209, when it passed to ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad of the Banū al-Walīd al-Anf family, which held it for more than three centuries with only two interruptions. The political power of the Yemenite *dāʿī*s reached a peak during the long incumbency of Idris ʿImād al-Dīn ibn al-Ḥasan, the nineteenth *dāʿī muṭlaq* (1428–1468). He is also the author of a seven-volume history of the Ismāʿīlī imams, *Kitāb ʿuyūn al-akhbār* (Book of choice stories) and of a two-volume history of the Yemenite *dāʿī*s, *Kitāb nuzhat al-akhbār* (Book of story and entertainment), as well as works of esoteric doctrine and religious controversy. While the Yemenite *dāʿī*s had been able to act relatively freely with the backing or protection of various rulers during the early centuries, they usually faced hostility from the

Zaydī *imām*s and in the sixteenth century suffered relentless persecution. In 1539 the twenty-third *dāʿī muṭlaq* appointed an Indian, Yūsuf ibn Sulaymān, as his successor, evidently in recognition of the growing importance of the Indian Ṭayyiī community. Yūsuf came to reside in the Yemen, but after his death in 1566 his successor, also Indian, transferred the headquarters to Gujarat in India.

Doctrines. The Ṭayyibīyah preserved a large portion of the Fatimid religious literature and generally maintained the traditions of Fatimid doctrine more closely than the Nizārīyah. Thus the Ṭayyibī *dāʿī*s always insisted on the equal importance of the *ẓāhir* and *bātīn* aspects of religion, strict compliance with the religious law and esoteric teaching. Qāḍi al-Nuʿmān's *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* has remained the authoritative codex of Ṭayyibī law and ritual to the present. In the esoteric doctrine, however, there were some innovations which gave the Ṭayyibī gnosis its distinctive character. The *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafā* were accepted as the work of one of the pre-Fatimid hidden imams and were frequently quoted and interpreted.

The cosmological system of al-Kirmānī with its ten higher Intellects replaced that of al-Nasafī predominant in the Fatimid age. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī changed its abstract rational nature by introducing a myth that Henry Corbin has called the Ismāʿīlī "drama in heaven." According to it, the Second and Third Intellects emanating from the First Intellect became rivals for the second rank. When the Second Intellect attained his rightful position by his superior effort, the Third Intellect failed to recognize his precedence; in punishment for his haughty insubordination he fell from the third rank behind the remaining seven Intellects and, after repenting, became stabilized as the Tenth Intellect and demiurge (*mudabbir*). The lower world was produced out of the spiritual forms (*ṣuwar*) that had also refused to recognize the superior rank of the Second Intellect, and out of the darkness generated by this sin. The Tenth Intellect, who is also called the spiritual Adam, strives to regain his original rank by summoning the fallen spiritual forms to repentance.

The first representative of his summons (*daʿwah*) on earth was the first and universal Adam, the owner of the body of the world of origination (*ṣāḥib al-juththah al-ibdaʿīyah*), or higher spiritual world. He is distinguished from the partial Adam who opened the present age of concealment (*satr*), in which the truth is hidden under the exterior of the prophetic messages and laws. After his passing the first Adam rose to the horizon of the Tenth Intellect and took his place, while the Tenth Intellect rose in rank. Likewise after the passing of the Qāʾim of each prophetic cycle, that being rises and takes the place of the Tenth Intellect, who thus gradually reaches the Second Intellect.

Countless cycles of manifestation *(kashf)* and concealment alternate in succession until the great resurrection (*qiyāmat al-qiyāmāt*) that consummates the megacycle (*al-kawr al-aʿẓam*) lasting 360,000 times 360,000 years. The soul of every believer is joined on the initiation to the esoteric truth by a point of light; this is the believer's spiritual soul, which grows as the believer advances in knowledge. After physical death the light rises to join the soul of the holder of the rank *(ḥadd)* above the believer in the hierarchy. Jointly they continue to rise until the souls of all the faithful are gathered in the light temple (*haykal nūrānī*) in the shape of a human being which constitutes the form of the Qāʾim (*surah qāʾimīyah*) of the cycle, which then rises to the horizon of the Tenth Intellect. The souls of the unbelievers remain joined to their bodies, which are dissolved into inorganic matter and further transformed into descending orders of harmful creatures and substances. Depending on the gravity of their sins they may eventually rise again through ascending forms of life and as human beings may accept the summons to repentance or end up in torment lasting the duration of the megacycle.

Indian communities. The Ṭayyibīyah in India are commonly known as the Bohoras. There are, however, also Sunnī and some Hindu Bohoras; they are mostly engaged in agriculture, while the Ismāʿīlī Bohoras are generally merchants. The origins of the Ṭayyib i community in Gujarat go back to the time before the Ṭayyibī schism. According to the traditional account an Arab *dāʿī* sent from the Yemen arrived in the region of Cambay with two Indian assistants in 1068. The Ismāʿīlī community founded by him, though led by local *wali*s, always maintained close commercial as well as religious ties with the Yemen and was controlled by the Yemenite teaching hierarchy. It naturally followed the Yemenite community at the time of the schism. From Cambay the community spread to other cities, in particular Patan, Sidhpur, and Ahmadabad. In the first half of the fifteenth century the Ismāʿīlīyah were repeatedly exposed to persecution by the Sunnī sultans of Gujarat, and after a contested succession to the leadership of the Bohora community, a large section, known as the Jaʿfarīyah, seceded and converted to Sunnīsm.

After its transfer from the Yemen in 1566, the residence of the *dāʿī muṭlaq* remained in India. The succession to the twenty-sixth *dāʿī muṭlaq,* Dāʾūd ibn ʿAjabshāh (d. 1591), was disputed. In India Dāʾūd Burhān al-Dīn ibn Quṭbshāh was recognized by the great majority as the twenty-seventh *dāʿī muṭlaq*. However, Dāʾūd ibn ʿAjabshāh's deputy in the Yemen, Sulaymān ibn Ḥasan, a grandson of the first Indian *dāʿī muṭlaq* Yūsuf ibn Sulaymān, also claimed to have been the designated successor and after a few years he came to India to press his case. Although he found little support, the dispute was not resolved and resulted in the permanent split of the Dāʾūdī and Sulaymānī factions recognizing separate lines of *dāʿīs.*

The leadership of the Sulaymanīyah, whose Indian community was small, reverted back to the Yemen with the succession of the thirtieth *dāʿī muṭlaq,* Ibrahim ibn Muḥammad ibn Fahd al-Makramī, in 1677. Since then the position of *dāʿī muṭlaq* has remained in various branches of the Makrami family except for the time of the forty-sixth *dāʿī,* an Indian. The Makramī *dāʿīs* usually resided in Badr in Najrān. With the backing of the tribe of the Banū Yām they ruled Najrān independently and at times extended their sway over other parts of the Yemen and Arabia until the incorporation of Najrān into Saudi Arabia in 1934. The peak of their power was in the time of the thirty-third *dāʿī muṭlaq,* Ismāʿīl ibn Hibat Allāh (1747–1770), who defeated the Wahhābīyah in Najd and invaded Ḥaḍramawt. He is also known as the author of an esoteric Qurʾān commentary, virtually the only religious work of a Sulaymānī author published so far. Since Najrān came under Saudi rule, the religious activity of the *dāʿīs* and their followers has been severely restricted. In the Yemen the Sulaymānīyah are found chiefly in the region of Manakha and the Ḥarāz mountains. In India they live mainly in Baroda, Ahmadabad, and Hyderabad and are guided by a representative (*manṣūb*) of the *dāʿī muṭlaq* residing in Baroda.

The *dāʿīs* of the Dāʾūdīyah, who constitute the great majority of the Ṭayyibīyah in India, have continued to reside there. All of them have been Indians except the thirtieth *dāʿī muṭlaq,* ʿAlī Shams al-Dīn (1621–1631), a descendant of the Yemenite *dāʿī* Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn. The community was generally allowed to develop freely although there was another wave of persecution under the emperor Awrangzīb (1635–1707), who put the thirty-second *dāʿī muṭlaq,* Quṭb al-Dīn ibn Dāʾūd, to death in 1646 and imprisoned his successor. The residence of the Dāʾūdī *dāʿī muṭlaq* is now in Bombay, where the largest concentration of Bohoras is found. Outside Gujarat, Dāʾūdī Bohoras live in Maharashtra, Rajasthan, in many of the big cities of India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Burma, and the East Africa. In the Yemen the Dāʾūdī community is concentrated in the Haraz mountains.

After the death of the twenty-eighth *dāʿī muṭlaq,* Adam Ṣafī al-Dīn, in 1621, a small faction recognized his grandson ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm as his successor and seceded from the majority recognizing ʿAbd al-Ṭayyib Zakī al-Dīn. The minority became known as ʿAlia Bohoras and have followed a separate line of *dāʿīs* residing in Baroda. Holding that the era of the prophet Muḥammad had come to an end, a group of ʿAlias seceded in 1204/1789. Because of their abstention from eating meat they are called Nagoshias (not meat eaters). In 1761 a distinguished Dāʾūdī scholar, Hibat Allāh ibn Ismāʿīl, claimed that he was in contact with the hidden *imām,* who had appointed him his *ḥujjah* and thus made his rank superior to that of *dāʿī muṭlaq.* He and his followers, known as Hibtias, were excommunicated and persecuted by the Dāʾūdīyah. Only a few Hibtia families are left in Ujjain. Since the turn of the century a Bohora reform movement has been active. While recognizing the spiritual authority of the *dāʿī muṭlaq* it has sought through court action to restrict his powers of excommunication and his absolute control over community endowments and alms. All of these groups are numerically insignificant.

SEE ALSO Aga Khan; Assassins; Druze; Ginān; Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ; Nāṣir-i Khusraw; Qarāmiṭah.

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Wilferd Madelung (1987)

SHIISM: ITHNĀ ʿASHARĪYAH

The Twelver Shīʿah, known also by their Arabic name, Ithna ʿAshariyah (and also Imaniyah), constitute the largest group within Shī ʿī Islam, and their moderate juridical and theological doctrine has always placed them at the center of the entire Shī ʿī spectrum, to the extent that they are often identified with Shiism as such.

Centrality of the Imam. For all the Shīʿah, the being of the imam is necessary for the continuation of the world and of human history; according to a famous Shīʿī *ḥadīth,* "The earth shall never be destitute of the proof (*ḥujjah*) of God," namely the imam. In the words of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, the sixth imam in the line of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, the imams are God's witnesses on earth, his "signs" (*ʿalāmāt*), and those who are "firm in knowledge" (*al-rāsikhūn fīʾlʿilm*) according to the Qurʾanic dictum. They are the gates (*abwāb*) toward God and his vicegerents (*khulafāʾ Allāh*) on earth. They possess perfect knowledge not only of the Qurʾān but of all revealed books in both their outward (*ẓāhir*) and inward (*bāṭin*) aspects. They also possess knowledge of God's supreme name (*al-ism al-aʿẓam*) as well as the "books" containing all esoteric knowledge, including the science of the symbolic meaning of the letters of the Arabic alphabet (*al-jafr*). On the Night of Power (*laylat al-qadr*), commemorating when the Qurʾān was first revealed, God revealed to them knowledge of all events of the year to come. The imam is chosen by God and the Prophet or by the previous imam through clear designation (*naṣṣ jalī*) and possesses "initiatory" power (*walāyah/ wilāyah*), while the Prophet possesses the powers of both prophecy (*nubūwah*) and "initiation" (*walayāh*).

The twelve imams. The various branches among the Shīʿah separated from each other on the question of the number of imams that they accepted; the Ithnā ʿAsharīyah are so called because for them the twelfth imam is that last in the chain that goes back to ʿAlī and Fāṭimah. (For the general evolution of the different Shīʿī subdivisions, see the overview article, above.)

The twelve imams of the Ithnā ʿAsharīyah are as follows:

1. ʿAl ibn Abī Tālib (d. AH 40/661 CE)
2. al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī (d. AH 49/669 CE)
3. al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (d. AH 60/680 CE)
4. ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn, Zayn al-ʿAbidīn (d. AH 95/714 CE)
5. Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. AH 115/733 CE)
6. Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. AH 148/765 CE)
7. Mūsa al-Kāẓim (d. AH 183/799 CE)
8. ʿAlī al-Riḍā (d. AH 203/818 CE)
9. Muḥammad Jawād al-Taqi (d. AH 220/835 CE)
10. ʿAlī al-Naqī (d. AH 254/868 CE)
11. al-Hasan al-ʿAskari (d. AH 260/874 CE)
12. Muḥammad al-Mahdi, al-Qaʾim al-Hujjah (entered major occultation in AH 329/941 CE)

The Shīʿī emphasis upon the imam is to be seen not only in the central role accorded to esoteric hermeneutics (*taʾwīl*) in relation to the power of *walāyah* possessed by the imam, but also in the central function of the imam in daily religious life and his eschatological significance. Shīʿī Muslims must know their imams in order to be saved, and the imams, as well as the Prophet, of course, can and do intercede for believers before God at the hour of judgment. The imam continues to be a living presence in religious life, a link between believer and God, the source of grace and the fountain of knowledge. Endowed with a transhistorical reality, he is not experienced simply as a figure belonging to religious history.

The Hidden Imam. The ever-present reality of the imam is felt especially in the case of the twelfth imam or the Mahdi who is, according to the Twelvers, in occultation (*ghaybah*). The imam went into minor occultation (*al-ghaybah al-ṣughrā*) in 872, during which time he had direct representatives (*bāb*) among his followers; beginning in 941 he went into the major occultation (*al-ghaybah al-kubrā*), which has lasted until today and during which the institutionalized channels to him are no longer accessible. The major occultation is not simply a state of being hidden. Rather, it signifies the miraculous mode of life of the imam, who, while being alive and participating in the worldly experience, also resides in the higher planes of existence. He is real the ruler of the word and the Lord of the Hour (*ṣaḥib al-zamān*). He is the pole upon which religion stands (*qāʾim*) and the guarantee for the preservation and perpetuation of the tradition. He is also the guide to the spiritual world and appears in person to those possessing the necessary spiritual qualifications to see him. Devout Twelvers pray continuously for a vision of him, and sites where such visions have taken place have often become sanctuaries and sacred precincts to which the faithful make pilgrimage in the same way that they visit the tombs of the other imams.

The twelfth imam is also the Mahdi who will come out of occultation at the time when oppression and inequity in the world reach their peak. He will destroy evil, establish the rule of justice according to the divine law, and reveal the inner unity of religions. He will prepare the second coming of Christ with which the history of present-day humanity will come to an end. All Twelvers pray for his coming, and as a result of this belief, there exists a strong messianic view in Shiism, a current which has manifested itself in many political and nonpolitical forms over the centuries. While most Sunnīs also believe in the coming of the Mahdi, such a belief is not a necessity for Sunnī Islam, while among the Twelvers the identity of the Mahdi is known, and the expectation of his coming colors the whole ethos of the religion and influences all its manifestations from the theological to the political.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT. The historical development of Twelver Shiism can be envisaged both from the viewpoint of its involvement in sociopolitical events of history and from that of the development of Shīʿī thought. The two are certainly interrelated but not identical. In either case, however, the period during which the imams were alive and functioning as living leaders of the community provides the model which different forces and groups among the Twelvers have sought to emulate in one way or another in all later ages.

Twelver Shiism in Islamic History. The participation of the imams in Islamic history was certainly not uniform, nor was it based on a single pattern. The imams all acted on the basis of the same principles but, in accordance with the circumstances and situations confronting them, sometimes followed the path of quietism and other times that of activism.

Origins. Two events in the formative period, however, stand out as crucial to the later history of the Twelvers and in fact all of Islam: the Battle of Ṣiffīn at the end of the caliphate of ʿAlī (661) and the uprising of Imam Ḥusayn against the Umayyad caliph Yazīd (680). The nearly five and a half years of ʿAlī's rule remain of course an ideal to which the Shīʿah have referred over the centuries, for these years constitute the only period during which a Shīʿī imam actually held political power. The Battle of Ṣiffīn, which marked the first open breech in the Muslim community (*ummah*), was fought between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah, the governor of Syria who had refused to pay allegiance to ʿAlī as caliph on the pretext that the death of the third caliph, ʿUthmān, had not been avenged. That ʿAlī was murdered by the Khārijīs after the battle, that Muʿāwiyah survived to found the Umayyad caliphate with its capital in Damascus, and that henceforth the followers of ʿAlī were persecuted all helped to consolidate the Shīʿah and cement them together as a distinct group within the Muslim community.

It was the death of ʿAlī's son, Imam Ḥusayn, that made this cleavage definite and final and helped to crystallize the distinctive ethos of Shiism. Imam Ḥusayn had refused to pay allegiance to Muʿāwiyah's son Yazīd and, rather than suffer humiliation, decided to move from Medina to Kufa, where he had been promised help to confront the mighty Umayyad military power against overwhelming odds. Surrounded in the desert of southern Iraq, he and his family—all the nearest descendants of the Prophet—were killed after a valiant fight, while the female members, along with Imam Ḥusayn's son, the fourth imam, Zayn al-ʿĀbidin, who was then ill, were taken prisoner and brought to Damascus. The severed head of Ḥusayn was sent to Yazīd in Damascus where Ḥusayn's sister, Zaynab, protested violently before the general public and spread the news of the tragedy that had befallen the Prophet's favorite grandson. The event shook the conscience of the community at large, but it was especially effective in consolidating the Shīʿah, and it resulted in many proto-Shīʿī political movements that finally brought about the downfall of the Umayyads and made possible the coming of their political successors, the Abbasids. Yazid himself had been aware of the danger that Zaynab posed for the Umayads and exiled her to Cairo where she buried the head of her brother in a site known to this day as Raʾs al-Ḥusayn (the Head of Ḥusayn). The whole city of Cairo grew around this holy site. From the purely religious point of view, the event at Karbala was all-important in providing the element of suffering and "redemption" through participation in the tragedy of the imams so characteristic of Shīʿī piety.

Political quietism. Imam Zayn al-ʿ Ābidin, witness to the indescribable tragedy that befell his father and other members of his family, withdrew from active life to devote himself to the dissemination of inner knowledge as had his uncle Ḥasan, the second imam. The events of Karbala had a special effect upon Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidin in that they brought out an exceptional poetic eloquence in his words and sayings; his *Ṣaḥīfah,* a collection of prayers and litanies in exquisite Arabic, is called the "psalm of the Family of the Prophet."

With the weakening of Umayyad power, the Shīʿī imams received a greater degree of freedom to dissemminate their teachings; thus, the great majority of Shīʿī traditions come from the fifth, sixth, and seventh imams. The fifth imam, Muḥammad al-Bāqir, was in fact called Bāqir al-ʿUlūm, "garden of knowledge," and his sayings are a major source of both the law and the esoteric sciences, while the sixth imam, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, played such an important role in the formulation of Shīʿī law that as a school of law it is known as the Jaʿfarī school. He influenced Sunnī jurisprudence as well, and the great Sunnī jurist Abū Hanīfah is said to have studied with him. Imam Jaʿfar was not only a master of the Islamic esoteric sciences and the author of the first extant esoteric commentary upon the Qurʾān, but also knowledgeable in the natural and occult sciences. Many treatises in these fields, especially in alchemy, are attributed to him. Imam Jaʿfar trained a vast number of students and is the father of formal Shīʿī religious education and of the *Sharīʿah,* the Shīʿī school of law being known to this day as Jaʿfarī. In fact he must be considered as the founder of the first "circle of learning" (*ḥawzah-yi ʿilmīyah*), which was to develop later into the well-known medieval universities.

Imam Riḍā, the one imam who was close to the Abbasid court, was especially important as a source of Ṣūfī teachings in both Shīʿī and Sunnī Islam but also had a particularly royal aspect to him. To this day he is referred to as the Shah of Khorasan, and throughout history the Persian rulers have been custodians of the vast endowments which manage the architectural complex of his mausoleum in Mashhad.

After the death of Imam Riḍā, the Abbasids resumed a close watch on the activities of his successors, who mostly remained imprisoned or under heavy surveillance until the disappearance of the twelfth imam, Muḥammad al-Mahdī. During his minor occulation he continued to discourse with the Shīʿī community through his "gates" (*abwāb,* sg., *bāb*), four revered men who were highly respected by the community, but with the death of the last *bāb* the major occultation began and Twelver Shiism entered into a new phase.

During the next six centuries Shiism remained a quietist movement from the political point of view, but its influence and numbers continued to grow in Persia and India, and it waxed and waned in Syria. During the later tenth century, with most of Persia and Syria ruled by the Twelver Shīʿī Buyids and Egypt and North Africa controlled by the Ismāʿilī Fatimids, Sunnī Islam seemed to be fighting a defensive battle. It was only with the help of Sunnī Turks, supported by the weakened Abbasid caliphate, and with the defeat of the Fatimids by the Crusaders that the political power of Shiism began to wane.

Although the Shīʿī Buyids were Persian, the Sunnī Ghaznavids and Seljuks were Turks, and the Abbasids were Arabs, it is wrong to conclude simply that the Persians were Shīʿī and the Arabs and Turks Sunnī. The situation is much more complex. While it is true that most of the great Twelver Shīʿī scholars have been Persian and that with the Safavids Persia became mostly Shīʿī, it is also a fact of Islamic history that during the tenth and eleventh centuries the intellectual defense of Sunnī Islam also came from the Persian province of Khorasan with such figures as al-Juwaynī and al-Ghazalī. Moreover, while the Turks of Sunnī persuasion helped to prevent the spread of Shiism in the eleventh century, five centuries later Shīʿī Turkish tribes brought Shah Ismāʿīl to power in Persia and helped make Twelver Shiism the state religion of Safavid Persia.

In any case, with the destruction of both Seljuk and Abbasid power by the Mongols, Shiism began to gain ground once again. The period following the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century marks a rapid spread of Twelver Shiism thanks to both the appearance of such outstanding Shīʿī statesmen and scholars as Naṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī and ʿAllāmah Ḥillī and the spread of certain Ṣūfī orders such as the Nūrbakhshī, which prepared the ground for the consolidation of Safavid power in Persia through the spread of their Twelver tendencies.

The Safavid state. With the advent of the Safavids in the sixteenth century, Twelver Shiism identified itself for the first time with a distinct political power, as the Ismaʿiliyah had done centuries before with the establishment of the Fatimid caliphate in Cairo and the Zaydiyah with their own imamate in Yemen. (On a lesser scale the same event was taking place in India with the establishment of small Twelver kingdoms in the South.) Paradoxically enough, the Twelvers, who were the most numerous among the Shīʿah, were the last to enter the political arena.

Ruling with the help of Twelver Shiism, the Safavids in turn helped it spread within Persia while supporting Shīʿī communities outside their borders. An alliance was created between the Persian monarchy and the Twelver *ʿulamāʾ* (sg., *ʿālim:* "scholar"). While the central authority of the kings remained strong, an equilibrium was maintained between the state and the Twelver establishment, and in fact, certain religious offices, such as those of the *ṣadr* (chief religious authority) and *imām jumʿah* (Friday prayer leader) were filled by the monarch. However, as the power of the state began to wane, the class of Shīʿī *ʿulamāy,* led by such figures as Mullā Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī (d. 1700), sought to assert greater power and authority as representatives of the Hidden Imam, to whom all real authority, political as well as religious, belonged. Still, when the Safavid state was destroyed as a result of the Afghan invasion in 1722, far from taking power into their hands and fighting for the preservation of a Shīʿī state, nearly all of the outstanding Twelver *ʿulamaʾ* chose the path of quietism, with many retiring to Najaf in Iraq and devoting themselves to purely religious concerns.

Renewed activism. For several decades from the rule of Nadir Shāh (r. 1736–1747) and Karim Khān Zand (r. 1750–1779) to the establishment of the Qajars in 1779, Twelver Shiism remained politically quiet and somewhat peripheral. It was only during the long reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh in the beginning of the nineteenth century that the power of the Twelver *ʿulamāʾ* began to rise again. The king favored and even encouraged religious courts and ceased to appoint judges as had been done in the Safavid period. The religious scholars came to be favored directly while the privileged position of the descendants of the Prophet (the *sādāt*) so emphasized by the Safavids weakened.

This new period of ascendancy of Twelver political power resulted in the participation of the *ʿulamāʾ* in many major political events, culminating in the Tobacco Rebellion of 1891–1892 and finally the Constitutional Revolution of 1906, in which the role of the *ʿulamāʾ* was central. Despite the direct participation of the Twelver establishment in political power, however, at no time during the Qajar or, for that matter, the Safavid, period does one see a widely accepted Twelver doctrine of the illegitimacy of the government or the state. Occasionally one does see a figure such as Mullā Aḥmad Narāqi, who in his *ʿAwāʾid al-ayyām* (Benefits of the Times) argues for the strengthening of the juridical power of the jurisprudent (*faqīh*), a view that some scholars have interpreted as the historical antecedent of Ayatollah Khomeini's thesis of the "rule of the jurisprudent" (*vilāyat-i faqīh*). But even if such a doubtful interpretation is accepted, such views remained rare and indeed anomalous. The almost unanimously held position was that of perhaps the most celebrated Twelver juridical scholar of the age, Shaykh Murtaḍā Anṣāri, who continued to the end of his life to remain piously opposed to all activity in the political order, even to the administering of justice according to the *sharīʿah.*

During the Constitutional Revolution the Twelver *ʿulamāʾ* were leaders on both sides of the debate about a parliamentary system and constitutional monarchy. While those who opposed such a system rallied behind Shaykh Faḍl Allāh Nūrī, the leading Twelver *ʿālim* of the day, the pro-

Constitution forces, although often partly secularized and imbued with Western, liberal ideas, also rallied behind and were supported by leading figures among the class of *ʿulamāʾ,* such as Sayyid Muḥammad Ṭabāṭabāʾī and Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Bihbahānī. As a result of this participation, with the final victory of the pro-Constitution forces the power of the "liberal wing" of the *ʿulamāʾ* grew even more than before, and they remained, despite the modernization which was to follow during the next seven decades, the most politically powerful body of *ʿulamāʾ* in the whole of the Islamic world.

Pahlavi rule. From the time of the Constitutional Revolution through the Pahlavi period, the power of the *ʿulamāʾ* decreased in relation to what had existed in the Qajar era but nevertheless remained considerable. As the state became more powerful during the reign of Riḍa Shāh Pahlavi (1925–1941), juridical power was taken out of the hands of the *ʿulamāʾ* and bestowed on the government once again. Education was taken out of their hands as well, but the traditional educational institutions were allowed to survive and Qom was made a major center for Shīʿī studies. Shīʿī centers of learning were in fact strengthened during the rule of Muḥammad Riḍa Shāh (1941–1979), who had a more lenient attitude toward the *ʿulamāʾ* than had his father.

During this period the erosion of the power of the *ʿulamāʾ* did not, however, come so much from direct government action (although such measures as land reform did affect the *ʿulamāʾ* adversely) as from the general process of modernization. But because the government did not oppose religious activity in any way, religious reaction to secularization and modernization also thrived. It manifested itself first and foremost in a veritable revival of Shīʿī learning and religious thought and finally by sociopolitical action seeking to oppose the process of modernization. In this domain not all the voices of Twelver Shiism were by any means in accord nor were all the voices of dissent of a religious character. The majority of Twelver authorities continued to preach the traditional doctrine of abstention from direct involvement in politics, while those who spearheaded political opposition in the beginning were often forces of the secular left, although they used images, symbols, and slogans of a Shīʿī coloring. In the end, however, the minority Shīʿī voice that preached direct political control and rule of society won the day, destroying its secular partners and silencing at least for now and at least within Iran those Twelver voices which preached the traditional political doctrine of quietism and withdrawal from worldly activity.

Islamic Revolution. Twelver Shiism thus entered another new phase of its history with the Revolution of 1978–1979 in Iran. While the nature, direction, and outcome of that history cannot as yet be judged or evaluated from a religious point of view (whatever one might be able to say of its immediate political, economic, and social consequences), the one fact that is certain is that this event will have a deep effect not only upon the future role of Twelver Shiism within Iran but also upon the destiny of Shiism in those countries with Shīʿī majorities (such as Iraq) or minorities. It will also bear upon the question of the preservation of unity or the possibility of further segmentation within Shiism itself.

The development of Shīʿī thought. Although intertwined with the development of Islamic thought in general, Twelver Shīʿī thought possesses a distinct historical development of its own. For the sake of convenience in this analysis it is possible to divide that development into five periods.

First period: the era of the imams. The first period, which is unique in that it contains at once the root and inner content of all later Twelver thought, spans the life of the Prophet and the imams to the occultation of the twelfth imam. This seminal period of three centuries saw not only the sayings of the Prophet and the imams (*aḥādīth*), which, along with the Qurʾān, serve as the source for all Shīʿī thought from law to theology and philosophy, collected and assembled, but also the earliest distinct schools of Shīʿī thought became crystallized, especially around the fifth and sixth imams. By the ninth century Jaʿfarī law was already formulated, theological and theosophical thought received their earliest formulations, and other intellectual and occult sciences began to be cultivated within the Twelver worldview.

Second period: ninth to eleventh centuries. This period, which coincides with the rise of the Buyids in Persia and Iraq, produced the first group of important Twelver scholars who codified the teachings of the imams and brought Shīʿī learning to its first golden age. Especially noteworthy is Muḥammad al-Kulaynī (d. 941), the author of *Kitāb al-kāfī* (The sufficient book), perhaps the most influential of the four canonical collections of Shīʿī *ḥadīth.* Al-Kulaynī, born and educated near Qom, taught in Baghdad, where he lies buried. The *Kitāb al-kāfī* consists of three major parts: the *uṣūl,* dealing with theology, prophetology, theodicy, and similar subjects; the *furūʿ,* dealing with jurisprudence; and the miscellaneous articles at the end.

Al-Kulaynī was followed successively by the other two major Shīʿī scholars of tradition, Ibn Bābūyah (or Ibn Bābawayhal, known also as Ṣadūq, d. 991/2) and Muḥammad al-Tūsī (d. 1067/8), who was also the founder of the Twelver university at Najaf, which survives to this day as the most important and ancient Shīʿī center of learning. Another eminent Twelver scholar of the period was Sayyid Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 1016), who assembled the sayings of ʿAlī in the *Nahj al-balāghah* (The path of eloquence), which many Western scholars, in contrast to traditional and contemporary Twelver views, believe to have been written by Sayyid Sharīf al-Raḍī himself.

A student of Ibn Bābūyah and Sayyid Sharīf, Shaykh al-Mufīd, marks the beginning of rational Twelver theology. Although the Nawbakhti family had begun employing certain Muʿtazili theses in ninth-century Twelver thought, it remained for Shaykh Muḥammad al-Mufīd (d. 1022) to inaugurate the full employment of rational arguments in religious debates.

Third period: eleventh to thirteenth centuries. The third period of Twelver thought stretches from the fall of the Buyids and the temporary eclipse of Shiism to the Mongol invasion. By and large the Seljuk opposition to Shiism had the direct effect of diminishing the intense Twelver intellectual activity of the two previous centuries. Nonetheless, there were some notable figures in this period, including Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī (d. 1068), the author of the famous *Kitāb al-istibṣār* (Book of examination) and *Tahdhib al-aḥkām* (Purification of principles), and Abū ʿAlī Ṭabarsī (d. 1153/4), well known for his Qurʾān commentary, *Majmaʿ al-bayān* (Compendium of discourse).

Fourth period: thirteenth to sixteenth centuries. The Mongol invasion, despite its ravaging effects, also marked the beginning of a new phase of widespread Islamic intellectual activity. This fourth period of Twelver thought begins with the towering figure of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 1274), who not only revived Avicennian philosophy in the matrix of Twelver thought but also wrote the *Kitāb al-tajrīd* (The book of catharsis), which is considered as the first systematic work of Twelver theology and which is without doubt the most widely read work on the subject. Naṣīr al-Dīn was also responsible for the revival of Twelver learning, the consequences of which stretched over the centuries into the Safavid and even later periods. His contemporary Najm al-Dīn Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī (d. 1277) was an expert on the principles of Twelver jurisprudence *(uṣūl)*, for which he wrote the authoritative work, *Kitāb al-maʿārij* (Book of scales), while also developing the science of the application of these principles (*furūʿ*) in his equally famous *Sharāʿiʾ al-islām* (Laws of Islam).

Ṭūsī's successor and student, Jamāl al- Dīn ʿAllāmah al- Ḥillī (d. 1325), was one of the most prolific and many-faceted intellectual figures of Twelver Shiism, at once a theologian, jurisprudent, philosopher, and political thinker. He also acted directly upon the political scene by being instrumental in the conversion of the Il-khanid ruler Öljeitu to Twelver Shiism and participated in religious polemics by answering Sunnī criticisms against Shiism and attacking Sunnīsm himself. His polemical *Minhāj al-kirāmah* (Ways of munificence) was in turn refuted by Ibn Taymīyah. Al-Ḥillī is also especially known in the annals of Twelver thought for his *Kashf al-murād* (Discovery of the desired end), a commentary upon Ṭūsī's *Tajrīd* and the first of a long list of commentaries and glosses written upon this work over the next seven centuries.

This period is also marked by the continuation of Islamic philosophy in a specifically Twelver climate in the hands of such figures as Ṣaʾin al- Dīn ibn Turkah Iṣ-fahānī (d. 1427), the Dashtakī family, and Jalāl al-Dīn Dawānī (d. 1502/3), the theologian and philosopher who began as a Sunnī Muslim but was later converted to Shiism. Most of these philosophers were at once followers of the Peripatetic school of Ibn Sīnā as revived by Ṭūsī and Qutb al-Dīn Shīrazī (d. 1310/11 or 1316/7) and the Illuminationist or *Ishrāqī* school of Suhrawardī (d. 1191).

The gnostic teachings of the Andalusian Ṣūfī Muḥyi al-Dīn ibn ʿArabī (d. 1240), who was himself a Sunnī, also began to penetrate Twelver circles and to become integrated with Shīʿī gnosis (*ʿirfān-i Shīʿī*) during this period. Such Twelver gnostics as Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī (fourteenth century), author of *Jāmiʿ al-asrār* (Sum of secrets), one of the *summa*s of Shīʿī gnosis, and Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsaʾi, author of *Kitāb al-mujlī* (The book of that which makes manifest) (d. after 1496), were disciples of both the school of Ibn ʿArabī and the gnosis that issued from the teachings of the Twelver imams. Other figures of Twelver Sufism during this period include Ibn Ṭāʾūs (fifteenth century), Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh (d. 1464), and Muḥsin Kāshifī (d. 1500/1 or 1504/5), all of whom were of considerable importance for the subsequent conversion of Persia to Twelver Shiism. In this process the Kubrawīyah order played an important role, but more significant still was that of the Ṣafavīyah. This Ṣūfī order, founded by Safi al-Dīn Ardibīlī, which was to become specifically Shīʿī, was to inaugurate a new phase in the history of Shiism with the conquest of Persia by Shah Ismāʿīl Ṣafavī in 1499.

Fifth period: sixteenth to twentieth centuries. The fifth and final phase of the history of Twelver thought begins with the Safavid declaration of Twelver Shiism as the state religion of Persia and lasts to this day. The state support of Shiism naturally caused a major revival of Twelver thought in nearly every field. Jurisprudence and theology began to thrive with such scholars as ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn Karakī, who was already well known before the advent of the Safavids. Other jurisprudents and theologians were brought by the rulers to Isfahan and other major Persian cities from Jabal ʿĀmil, Bahrayn, and Ḥillah in Iraq.

Among the most colorful of these figures was Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀmilī, the religious leader (*shaykh al-islām*) of Isfahan, who was at once jurisprudent, theologian, Ṣūfī, mathematician, architect, and poet. He helped popularize Twelver jurisprudence by writing the *Jāmiʿ-i ʿabbāsi* (The ʿAbbāsī summa) on jurisprudence in Persian while composing several Ṣūfī poems in simple Persian that could be understood by people in the streets and bazaars. His friend and contemporary, Mīr Dāmād (d. 1630) was the founder of the new school of Islamic philosophy that has come to be known as the "School of Isfahan"; he wrote numerous works in Arabic and Persian, of which the *Qabasāt* (Sparks of fire) is perhaps the most important. His student Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī (Mullā Ṣadrā, 1640) is certainly the greatest of the later Islamic philosophers; he wielded immense influence not only upon Persia but also in India, where his monumental *Al-asfār al-arbaʿah* (Four journeys), which summarizes his theosophical teachings, was translated into Urdu only during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Although his most famous immediate students, Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī (d. 1680) and ʿAbd al-Razzāq Lahījī (d. 1661/2), turned mostly to the religious sciences, *kalām,* and Sufism, the "transcendent theosophy" (*al-ḥikmah al-mutaʿāliyah*) of Mullā Ṣadrā began to gather followers from near and far and soon became the central intellectual school of Twelver Shiism.

Toward the end of the Safavid period the onset of an antiphilosophical and anti-Ṣūfī trend caused Sufism to go underground and partially eclipsed the school of Mullā Ṣadrā. This was the age of Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī, the author of the monumental Twelver encyclopedia *Biḥar al-anwār* (Seas of light) and many other juridical and theological works. This period was also witness to treatises on popular piety.

After an interim period of uncertainty and chaos marked by the Afghan invasion, the conquest of Persia by Nādir Shāh, and the rule of Karīm Khān Zand, the establishment of the Qajars in 1779 marked once again a revival of Twelver thought. The nineteenth century was witness not only to the major jurisprudents and theologians already mentioned, but also to several notable philosophers such as Mullā ʿAlī Nūrī (d. 1831), Mullāʿ Alī Zunūzī (d. 1889), Āqā Muḥammad Riḍā Qumshaʾī (d. 1888), and the most famous of the Qajar philosophers, Ḥājjī Mullā Hādī Sabziwārī (d. 1871), whose *Sharḥ al-manẓūmah* (Commentary on the bean) remains a favorite philosophical text to this date. These men revived the teachings of Mullā Ṣadrā as well as those of Ibn ʿArabī in its Twelver form. Their disciples were in turn the direct teachers of the outstanding Twelver philosophers of the late Qajar and Pahlavi periods such as Sayyid Abū al-Ḥasan Rafīʿī Qazwinī, Sayyid Muḥammad Kāẓim ʿAṣṣar, and ʿAllāmah Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Tabāṭabāʾi, all of whom died in the second half of the twentieth century. This period marks in fact a most active and fecund era during which the Twelver intellectual tradition encountered the challenges of the modern West for the first time, traditional Twelver thought was revived, and Islamic modernism began to penetrate into certain strands of Twelver Shiism. The last few decades have been marked by as strong interest and renewal of this tradition.

TWELVER SHĪʿĪ DOCTRINES IN RELATION TO SUNNISM. Twelver Shiism shares with Sunnī Islam the acceptance of the unity of God, the text of the Qurʾān, and the prophetic function of the Prophet, including the finality of his prophetic function and belief in eschatological events described in the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth.* It differs from Sunnīsm in its emphases upon the quality of justice *(ʿadl)* as innate and intrinsic to the divine nature and upon the significance of the imam with all the consequences this doctrine entails as far as esoteric knowledge, the role of *ʿaql* or intellect, and attitude toward intellectual sciences are concerned. Also in contrast to Sunnīsm, for which *ḥadīth* means the sayings of the Prophet, Shiism also includes in its *ḥadīth* collections the sayings of the imams, although it does distinguish clearly between prophetic traditions *(al-ḥadīth al-nabawī)* and the traditions of the imams *(al-ḥadīth al-walawī).* As far as the prophetic traditions are concerned, the lines of transmission are usually different for Sunnī and Shīʿī Muslims, but the content of most of the sayings are the same.

Twelver Shiism possesses the same sacred law (*sharīʿah*) as Sunnī Islam, with small differences in the ritual aspects which are practically no greater than differences between the four Sunnī schools themselves. Injunctions concerning transactions are also similar in most instances, the most important exceptions being the Shīʿī acceptance of temporary marriage (*mutʿah*), certain aspects of the laws of inheritance, and also a religious tax (*khums*) in addition to the general religious tax (*zakāh*) accepted by Sunnīs. Altogether, despite many polemics with Sunnīsm, over the ages, Shiism represents an essential aspect of Islamic orthodoxy and has its roots in the Qurʾanic revelation and the soul of the Prophet as does Sunnīsm.

The doctrines of the Twelvers are summarized in the "principles of religion" (*uṣūl al-dīn*) as stated in the sayings of the imams. These principles include *tawḥīd* (attesting to God's unity); *ʿadl* (accepting that God is just by nature); *nubūwwah* (prophecy or accepting the prophetic function of all the prophets beginning with Adam and ending with the prophet of Islam); *imāmah* (accepting the twelve imams from ʿAlī to the Mahdī); and *maʿād* (accepting the immortality of the soul, the responsibility of human beings for their actions, divine judgment and the paradisal, purgatorial, or infernal states that humans experience in accordance with the fruits of their actions and divine mercy).

The Twelvers understand these principles, as well as the whole Qurʾān and *ḥadīth,* according to not only their outward meaning but also their inner sense and reality. Thus *taʾwīl,* this process of going from the outward to the inward, is emphasized in every aspect of Twelver Shiism, whether it be the Qurʾanic sciences or the interpretation of religious rites. Through the Twelver understanding of the meaning of the imam and the power of *walāyah/wilāyah,* there exists an esoteric character even within the exoteric aspects of the religion. It might in fact be said that whereas in Sunnī Islam the exoteric and the esoteric are clearly separated (and the latter identified with Sufism), among the Twelvers, in addition to the presence of Sufism in its Shīʿī form, esoterism flows into the exoteric domain and bestows a mystical aspect on the whole manifestation of Shiism, including popular piety.

Jurisprudence. Twelver Shiism, like Sunnī Islam, emphasizes the importance of the divine law (*sharīʿah*) and the necessity of following its injunctions, most of which are in fact like those of Sunnī Islam. Twelver jurisprudence, or *fiqh,* although related to the Sunnī schools of *fiqh* in accepting the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth* as the two basic sources of law, also differs from them in certain important ways. Most of the four Sunnī schools of law accept with different degrees of emphasis the use of *ijmāʿ* (consensus of the community) and *qiyās* (analogy) as sources for drawing legal injunctions where the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* do not provide direct guidance.

Divine injunction. For the Twelvers, however, every event that occurs in the world comes as a result of divine injunction (*ḥukm*), which includes for them the sayings and actions of the imams. Basing themselves on the famous saying of the Prophet (the *ḥadīth al-thaqalayn*) according to which the Prophet mentioned to his companions that after his death he would leave Muslims the Qurʾān and his family, the Twelvers base their *fiqh* completely on the Qurʾān injunctions issued by the Prophet and the imams and consider both *ijmāʿ* and *qiyās* to be inadmissible for juridical decision-making. For them there are but two sources for juridical injunctions: the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* understood in their Shīʿī sense. *Ḥadīth,* in fact, is also seen by the Twelvers as being nothing but commentaries upon the Qurʾān and the extension of Qurʾanic teachings by the Prophet and the imams so that the Qurʾān becomes ultimately the sole source of the *sharīʿah.*

Juridical authority belongs exclusively to the Prophet and the imams, and ultimately to God. According to the *Furūʿ al-kāfī* of al-Kulaynī, this authority was transferred by Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq to the jurisprudents (*fuqahāʾ*), who, in the absence of the imams, receive their authority from the Hidden Imam, or the Mahd*ī*. Judges, in fact, should be chosen by the imam and according to Twelver belief, one should not accept judges chosen by political authorities unless it is necessary and under conditions that necessitate *taqīyah* "dissimulation."

Ijtihād. The Twelver concept of *ijtihād* (use of legal reasoning) implies, therefore, not drawing conclusions from and on the basis of the Qurʾān, *ḥadīth, ijmāʿ,* and *qiyās,* but seeking answers to problems facing the community or the individual from the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth* (including the sayings of the imams) alone, and relying completely on the emulation of the Prophet and the imams and their understanding of the teachings of the Qurʾān. In this sense the range of *ijtihād* among the Twelvers is more limited than among the Sunnīs, but from the point of view of the actual practice of *ijtihād,* it can be said that it occupies a more central and living role in Twelver Shiism. In Sunnī Islam the gates of *ijtihād* are said to have been closed since the establishment of the widely accepted schools of law a thousand years ago, whereas for the Twelvers, the gate of *ijtihād* has always remained open. In fact, a Twelver is supposed to imitate and follow a living *mujtahid,* the person who has the qualifications to practice *ijtihād.* Each person who reaches the degree of *ijtihād* must derive the injunctions of the law afresh from the traditional sources, and the *mujtahid*s have always exercised greater power and influence in Twelver Shiism than *multīs* in Sunnī Islam, especially since the late Safavid period.

Another unique feature of Twelver jurisprudence is the institution of the "source of imitation" or *marjaʿi taqlīd.* In the middle of the nineteenth century, as the power of the *mujtahid*s grew, there came into being the office of the supreme *mujtahid* whom all Twelvers were to imitate. This transformation was brought about by Shaykh Murtaḍa Anṣārī (d. 1864), who formulated the doctrine in his *Farāʾiḍ al-uṣūl* (Precious Pearls of Uūl). The institution continued for more than a century until 1962, the year of the death of Ayatollah Burūjirdī, who was the last *mujtahid* to be universally accepted as the supreme head of the Twelver hierarchy and who was imitated by all Twelvers.

The importance of *ijtihād* as used currently by Twelvers has not, however, been always the same for all segments of the community. During the Safavid period there existed a fierce struggle between the Akhbārīyah, who relied solely upon the sayings (*akhbār*) of the Prophet and the imams as incorporated in the four canonical collections of Shīʿī *ḥadīth,* and the Uṣūlīyah, who relied upon the use of reason in the understanding of the principles *(uṣūl)* of jurisprudence and their application on the basis of the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth.* The founder of the Akhbārī school was Muḥammad Amīn Astrābādī (d. 1623/4), who, in his *al-Fawāʾid al-madanīyah* (Civil Benefits), attacked the *mujtahid*s strongly and accused them of destroying Islam. During the early Qajar period, when the Russians were fighting against Persia, an Akhbārī religious leader named Mīrzā Muḥammad Akhbārī of Bahrein promised the ruler Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh the head of the Russian general if he were to ban the Uṣūlīyah. When Mīrzā Muḥammad kept his promise and brought the head, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, fearing his power, exiled him to Iraq. Henceforth Akhbārī influence, which had been paramount in the Zand period, began to wane, and soon they were totally eclipsed as a result of the works of the Uṣūlī Muḥammad Bāqir Waḥīd Bihbahānī (d. 1792). The nineteenth century became, as a result, the golden period for the science of principles of jurisprudence, *uṣūl al-fiqh,* and the period when the *mujtahid*s rose to power.

The Akhbārī-Uṣūlī debate that has characterized much of Twelver thought during the past few centuries resembles in many ways the earlier Muʿtazilī-Ashʿarī debate in Sunnī Islam, but of course in the context of elements and factors that are typical of Twelver Shiism. The Uṣūlīyah emphasize the competence of reason in interpreting the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth* and the necessity of *ijtihād.* They do not accept uncritically the four canonical codices of Shīʿī *ḥadīth* and rely heavily upon the ever-renewed and living interpretation of these sources of law to the extent of forbidding the imitation of a decreased *mujtahid.* The Akhbārīyah oppose the Uṣūlīyah on all these counts, criticizing them especially on the role they allot to reason in the interpretation of the injunctions of the divine law.

Philosophy and theosophy. The Twelver attitude toward the so-called intellectual sciences (*al-ʿulūm al-ʿaqlīyah*) was from the beginning more positive than that of the school of theology (*kalām*) that came to dominate Sunnī Islam from the fourth century AH (tenth century CE). This more open attitude can be found in some of the sayings of the sixth and eighth imams, not to speak of the metaphysical discourses of ʿAlī contained in the *Nahj al-balāghah.* As a result, philosophy or theosophy (*al-ḥikmah al-ilāhīyah*) also constitutes an important aspect of Twelver religious thought and is far from being only Greek philosophy in Arabic or Persian dress.

Philosophy. While many of the early Islamic philosophers, such as al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), were either Twelvers or had Twelver tendencies, from the Mongol invasion and the advent of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī onward, Islamic philosophy took refuge for the most part in the Shīʿī world (although it also had a long life among some Sunnīs), and some of the greatest of the later Islamic philosophers following Ṭūsī, such as Ibn Turkah Iṣfahāni, Mīr Dāmād, and Mullā Ṣādra, were also Twelver thinkers.

Later Islamic philosophy following Suhrawardi and Ṭūsī also drew directly from specifically Twelver sources, especially the *Nahj al-balāghah* and the *Uṣūl al-kāfī* of al-Kulaynī. One cannot study a work such as the *Asfār* of Mullā Ṣādra without becoming aware of the central significance of the teachings of the Qurʾān as interpreted by the Prophet and the imams and the Shīʿī *ḥadīth* corpus in the development of later Islamic philosophy. Some of the most significant pages of Shīʿī theological and religious thought as ordinarily understood are to be found in such late works.

Religious sciences and theology (kalām). From the beginning Shiism emphasized the importance of religious knowledge. While cut off from worldly power, the early Shīʿah, including of course the imams, devoted most of their energy to the dissemination of religious knowledge as transmitted by the Prophet through the chain of the imams. This knowledge included Qurʾānic commentary, *ḥadīth,* and law as well as the esoteric sciences. Gradually there developed a sizable body of specifically Twelver religious works in nearly every field. After the *Nahj al-balāghah* and the *Ṣaḥīfah al-sājjadīyah* (Scroll of Sajjād) of Imam Zayn al-ʿAbidīn, the most important specifically Shīʿī religious works are the four codices of the sayings of the Prophet and the imams assembled in the tenth and eleventh centuries: the *Kitāb al-kafī* of al-Kulaynī, *Manā yaḥḍuruhu al-faqīh* (Everyone his own jurist) of Ibn Bābūyah, and *Kitāb al-tahdhīb* (The book of refinement) and *Kitāb al-istibṣār* (The book of scrutinization) of Muḥammad al- Ṭūsī. Henceforth all Twelver religious thought from the philosophical and theological to the juridical and political drew from these four canonical collections or *al-kutub al-arbaʿah.*

Kalām, as the discipline dealing with the rational defense of the tenets of the faith, developed much later in Twelver Shiism than it did in either Sunnī Islam or Ismaʿīlī Shiism. The Twelvers began to develop *kalām* in a systematic sense with Nasir al-Din Ṭūsī, whose *Kitāb al-tajrīd* is the first and most important Twelver *kalām* work, commented upon by generations of theologians starting with the author's own celebrated student ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī. Shīʿī *kalām* was rejuvenated during the Safavid period when such figures as ʿAbd al-Razzāq Lāhījī wrote major works devoted to this discipline. During this period, however, the philosophers (*ḥukamā-yi ilāhī* in Persian) strongly opposed the whole discipline of *kalām* and claimed that the "science of God" or theology in its universal sense was the subject of their discipline rather than the science of the *mutakallimūn,* those who followed the field of study known technically as *kalām.*

Political and social thought. During most of its history Twelver Shiism has followed the example of Imam Ḥasan and most other Imams in remaining aloof from the everyday world and its political entanglements, shunning even the ministering of justice and turning temporal defeat into spiritual victory by placing before itself a political ideal identified with the rule of the Hidden Imam and the *parousia* he will bring about. The imams themselves shied away from direct political activity even when the opportunity arose, as in the case of Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq who was offered the caliphate by Abū Muslim, or else they were prevented from doing so, as in the case of Imam Riḍā who was poisoned after being chosen successor of the Abbasid caliph al-Maʾmūn.

Relation to power. Nonetheless, the case of Imam Ḥusayn, who arose against the Umayyad caliph Yazīd, presents the other strand in Shiism, which is that of political protest against iniquity and injustice. After the occultation of the twelfth imam, practically all the major Twelver jurists and scholars reiterated the political theory according to which the Sunnī caliphate was illegitimate, the real ruler of the world was the Hidden Imam, and in his absence the ruler or sultan who was just and who supported or at least permitted the practice of Shiism should be conditionally supported, although there were also occasional Shīʿī revolts against established authority. With the Safavids' establishment of a Shīʿī Twelver kingdom of Persia, or on a smaller scale with the establishment of Twelver states in Bijapur and other states in the Deccan in India, this agreement between the Shīʿī authorities and the state in a sense became formalized and served as the basis of a pact between religion and the state upon which the sociopolitical order functioned. In Qajar Persia this theory was on one or two occasions repudiated in favor of the theory of direct rule of the jurisprudents as in the case of Mullā Aḥmad Narāqī (d. 1828/9) as he has been interpreted by certain later figures, while others such as Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir Shaftī (d. 1844) took the administration of justice into their hands. But it was not until the declaration of the rule of the jurisprudent (*vilāyat-i faqīh*) by Ayatollah Khomeini that the classical Shīʿī theory was rejected in Iran in the name of the direct rule of the jurisprudent and the latter view was put into practice. This view has, however, been contested by many Shīʿī authorities even within Iran as can be seen in Mahd ī Hāʿirī Yazdī's *Hikmat wa ḥukūmat.*

Socioeconomic issues. As far as social thought is concerned, Twelver ideas are not very different from those of the Sunnīs, with the emphasis upon the family as the most important social unit. Twelver Shiism permits temporary marriage (*mutʿah*), which, although definitely practiced at the time of the Prophet, was banned in Sunnī Islam under the caliphate of ʿUmar. It also emphasizes inheritance for the female members of the family and the children rather than brothers and sisters more than do Sunnī schools of law.

As far as the economic order is concerned, although the craft guilds and orders of chivalry have existed throughout the Islamic world, because these orders traced their origin to ʿAlī, they were easily integrated into the Twelver religious world and its piety and possessed a more open and organic link with the formal, exoteric aspects of the religion than was the case among the Sunnīs. In fact, even in the Sunnī world the religious ambience of the orders of guilds *(aṣnāf)* and those of chivalry (*futūwāt*) have resembled that of Shiism, since these organizations have been linked to the Ṣūfī orders, most of which trace their chains of transmission (*silsilahs*) back to ʿAlī. (Even in Shiism, however, where these organizations have been linked to the formal and exoteric dimension of the religion, there have been important Ṣūfī orders such as the Khāksār that have linked the guilds and the chivalric associations to the general religious framework.)

Religious practices. The Twelvers share with the Sunnīs the belief in the performance of the obligatory rites of canonical prayer (*ṣalāh* or *namāz*), fasting (*ṣawm*), and pilgrimage *(ḥājj)*, although in each case there are small differences with the four schools of Sunnī law. In the case of the prayers, for example, the postures, numbers, and times are the same, but the Twelvers add two formulas to the call to prayers (*adhān*) and usually group together the noon and afternoon prayers, as well as the evening and night prayers, rather than waiting for an hour or two between them. Again, the fast is usually begun a few minutes earlier and terminated a few minutes later than in Sunnī practice, and there are likewise minor differences in the *ḥājj* ceremonies, the most important of which is an extra circumambulation of the Kaʿbah performed by the Shīʿah.

Special rites. What is more distinctive of Twelver religious practices, however, is the performance of certain rites in addition to the obligatory ones. In the case of prayer, the Twelvers invoke many long litanies and chant many prayers derived totally from the sayings of the imams, a practice that occurs in the Sunnī world only in the climate of Sufism. Among the most famous of these prayers are the *Duʿaʾ* (Supplication) *of Kumayl* and the *Duʿāʾ of Ṣabaḥ* by ʿAlī, the *Scroll of Sajjād* by Imam Zayn al-ʿ Ābidīn, and the *Jawshan-i kabīr* (Great Armor), attributed to the Prophet and usually recited during the nights of Ramaḍān. There are also numerous other prayers by the imams that are recorded in al-Ku-laynī's *Uṣūl al-kāfī* and Majlisī's *Biḥār al-anwār* and form part of Twelver devotional life; these range from the most contemplative and metaphysical statements on the doctrine of the divine nature to intimate yearnings of the soul for the love of God. Twentieth-century compilations such as the *Mafātīḥ al-jinān* (Keys of paradise) of ʿAbbās Qummī assemble prayers that, woven around the cardinal rites of canonical prayer, fasting, and pilgrimage, punctuate the whole calendar of the life of the Twelver community.

Pilgrimages. The tombs of all the imams are considered extensions of the supreme centers of Mecca and Medina, and thus, pilgrimage to these sites, not to speak of the authentic *imām-zādahs*, or tombs of the imams' descendants, are strongly encouraged by the jurists and the official religious hierarchy and play a very important role in Shīʿī religious life. The most important of these holy places are Najaf, where ʿAlī is buried (although Mazār-i Sharīf in Afghanistan is claimed by some to be his tomb); Karbalāʾ, where Imam Ḥusayn and his family are interred; Kāẓimayn, the tombs of the fifth and ninth imams; Mashhad, the mausoleum of Imam ʿAlī al-Riḍā; and Samarrāʾ, where the tenth and eleventh imams are buried and where the twelfth imam went into occultation.

Some of these major sites, such as Mashhad, feature distinguished monuments of Islamic art; others, including Najaf and Qom, have become important university centers over the centuries, and pilgrimages there have also involved the dissemination of religious knowledge through both oral transmission and written works.

In addition to the major sites, other important Shīʿī pilgrimage centers include the tomb of Sayyidah Zaynab, the sister of Imam Ḥusayn, outside of Damascus (she is also honored with a *maqām,* or "station," in Cairo, which many consider to be her tomb), and that of Haẓrat-i Maʿṣūmah, the sister of the eighth imam, in Qom. A unique pilgrimage site sacred to both Shīʿī and Sunnī Muslims is the Raʾs al-Ḥusayn in Cairo, where the head of Imam Ḥusayn lies buried; the mausoleum remains to this day the spiritual pole of the city of Cairo.

Popular practices. Among the many popular Shīʿī observances, the commemoration of the martyrdom of Imam Ḥusayn at Karbalāʾ on the tenth day of the month of Muḥarram marks the peak of the religious calendar in terms of emotional intensity and commitment. Outside of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, there is no more impressive religious ceremony in the Islamic world than the vast ʿĀshūrāʾ processions in Persia and the Indian subcontinent. From the fifteenth century on, there developed the practice of *rawẓah-khvānī,* the chanting of the story of Karbalāʾ, and soon after, the *taʿziyah,* or passion play in which the same tragedy is acted out. There are many other Shīʿī observances, ranging from such religiously commendable acts as sacrificing animals to ward off evil, paying a sum of money (*ṣadaqah*) to the poor for the same reason, or serving a religious meal (*sufrah*), the remains of which are given to the poor, to different forms of magic and popularized occult sciences that are given a religious garb and have become part of popular religious tradition despite official religious opposition to them.

SEE ALSO ʿAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib; ʿĀshūrāʾ; Domestic Observances, article on Muslim Practices; Falsafah; Folk Religion, article on Folk Islam; Ghaybah; Ḥadīth; Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī; Imamate; Ishrāqīyah; Ijtihād; Islamic Law; Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq; Kalām; Rāwẓah-Khvānī; Taqīyah; Taʿziyah; Walāyah; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Muslim Worship.

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SHIMʿON BAR YOḤʾAI (second century CE) was a Palestinian tanna, rabbinic leader, mystic, and ascetic. Shimʿon was one of the two most prominent students of ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef (the other was Meʾir); he was the student who provoked the deposition of Gamliʾel from the position of *nasiʾ* of Israel (cf. B.T., *Ber.* 28a). Shimʿon was one of the five rabbis ordained by Yehudah ben Bavaʾ during the Hadrianic persecutions that followed the Bar Kokhba Revolt. After the Sanhedrin was reestablished in the Galilean city of Usha, Shimʿon taught in nearby Tiberias and Meron. According to several legends, he was responsible for locating many lost tombs and removing these sources of ritual uncleanness from Tiberias, thereby restoring its prominence in the region.

Shimʿon is the subject of many rabbinic legends. The best known of these recounts how he and his son hid in a cave after he was sentenced to death by the Romans; according to some versions, when he emerged from the cave after twelve years and saw people who were engaged in farming rather than in the study of Torah, he set their fields afire by only a glance in their direction (B.T., *Shab.* 33b). As a punishment Shimʿon and his son were sent back to the cave by God for another year. Shimʿon demonstrated magical powers in other stories as well: He filled a valley with gold coins (J.T., *Ber.* 9.2, 13d) and exorcised a demon from the daughter of the Roman emperor (B.T., *Meʿil.* 17b).

Shimʿon is one of the most frequently mentioned authorities in the Mishnah, where he is referred to without patronymic; his rulings cover most of the major topics taken up in rabbinic sources. One of the more famous sayings attributed to him declares that if the Jews properly observed two consecutive Sabbaths, they would be redeemed immediately (B.T., *Shab.* 118b). There is no systematic critical study of his traditions. Jacob Epstein believes that the corpus of his traditions was one of the primary documents used in the redaction of the Mishnah.

The Talmud considers Shimʿon to be the paradigm of the scholar who is totally immersed in the study of the Torah. A rabbi of his caliber was not required to interrupt his study even for the important daily recitation of the Shemaʿ (J.T., *Ber.* 1.2, 3b). Concerning the study of Torah, he said: "If I had been at Mount Sinai at the time the Torah was given to Israel, I would have asked God to endow man with two mouths, one to talk of the Torah and one to attend to his other needs. . . . But the world can barely withstand the slander of [persons with] one [mouth]. It would be all the worse if [each individual] had two" (J.T., *Ber.* 1.2, 3b).

Shimʿon himself believed that he was the holiest person ever to have lived: If one individual were to merit entering heaven, he said, it would be Shimʿon (J.T., *Ber.* 9.2, 13d).

Shimʿon is assigned authorship of several Midrashic compilations: the *Sifrei* on *Numbers* and *Deuteronomy* (B.T., *San.* 86a) and the *Mekhiltaʾ de-Rabbi Shimʿon bar Yohʾai,* a midrash on the Book of Exodus. Several short apocalyptic mystical compilations are also linked with his name. Medieval mystics credited him with the authorship of the *Zohar,* one of the most important texts of the Qabbalah (an attribution still considered valid by many contemporary mystics despite evidence to the contrary).

The holiday of Lag ba-ʿOmer, on the eighteenth of Iyyar, is thought to be the anniversary of his death; it is celebrated at his traditional place of burial in Meron.

See Also Tannaim; Zohar.

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SHIMʿON BEN GAMLIʾEL II (second century CE) was a Palestinian tanna. He held the hereditary office of *nasiʾ*, or president, of the Sanhedrin. It is said that he studied Greek and that he supported a policy of peace with Rome.

According to a Talmudic source, two of his rabbinic colleagues—Meʾir, the *ḥakham* of the Sanhedrin, and Natan, its *av beit din*—sought to oust Shimʿon from his position as *nasiʾ* during a power struggle within the ranks of rabbinic leadership. In the Talmudic account, the two masters became angry when Shimʿon decreed that the students in the academy at Usha should not stand in their honor when they entered. Meʾir and Natan then conspired to test Shimʿon on an obscure tractate of the law in order to bring him to disgrace. Shimʿon was coached by one of his supporters, passed the test, and banished Meʾir and Natan from the academy. Nonetheless, they continued to send the scholars advice about problems in the interpretation of the law and they were eventually readmitted (B.T., *Hor.* 13b).

On the basis of a reference in this story to a ceremonial sash worn by Natan, Jacob Neusner (1969) suggests that Natan was the head of the Jewish community in Babylonia, son of an official in the Parthian government, and that he had come to Palestine to advance the influence of the Parthians in preparation for their struggle against Roman authority. Shimʿon's sympathy to Roman interests, Neusner says, may have made him the primary target of a conspiracy by Natan. It is equally plausible, however, that the events were part of a struggle within the Palestinian community as Shimʿon tried to restore authority to the office of *nasiʾ* after some of its powers were usurped by the scholars.

Many legal rulings in Shimʿon's name appear throughout the major rabbinic compilations, and his views are almost always decisive: The Talmud declares that the law follows Shimʿon ben Gamliʾel in all but three instances (B. T., *Ket.* 77a). His statement that not all who wish to recite God's name in the prayers may do so (*Ber.* 4.8) is an example of his restrictive views regarding the use of divine names for liturgical purposes. Shimʿon sometimes cites precedents for religious prescriptions and rulings; for example, he refers to several customs for fellowship meals in Jerusalem (Tosefta, *Ber.* 4.9). He also serves as a transmitter of teachings by his contemporaries Yehudah, Meʾir, and Yose.

See Also Tannaim.

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SHIMʿON BEN LAQISH was a third-century amora, generally known in the Jerusalem Talmud by his full name and in the Babylonian Talmud by the acronymic form ReSH (Rabbi Shimʿon) Laqish. Although Shimʿon may have had some early training in rabbinic learning (see J.T., *Kil.* 9.4, 32b), he eventually became a circus gladiator, perhaps out of financial distress (see J.T., *Git.* 4.9, 46a–b; *Ter.* 8.5, 45d). Later, a chance encounter with Yoḥanan (bar Nappaḥaʾ) led him to marry that sage's sister and enter the world of the rabbinate. He settled in Tiberias, the site of Yoḥanan's academy, and there became his colleague and close companion. The Talmud refers to them as the "two great[est] men of the world," that is, of their time (J.T., *Ber.* 8.6, 12c; and see B.T., *Ket.* 54b).

As a scholar Shimʿon was noted for the encyclopedic breadth of his learning, his faithful loyalty to received tradition, and his dialectical acuity (J.T., *Git.* 3.1, 44d; B.T., *San.* 24a). In his teaching he emphasized the importance of regular study of Torah (J.T., *Ber.* 9.5, 14d) and was reputed to review each day's lesson forty times in advance of presenting it before his teacher (B.T., *Taʿan.* 8a). Shimʿon defended the honor and privileges of the learned elite against patriarchal pressures for a more monarchial structure in rabbinic leadership (J.T., *San.* 2.1, 19d–20a; *Gn. Rab.* 78.12). While he condemned the Romans as more cruel than all previous oppressors combined (*Lv. Rab.* 13.5), he also praised them for enforcing justice in the land (*Gn. Rab.* 9.13; to be sure, he also spoke in defense of flattery, B.T., *Sot.* 41b). He was noted for his custom of avoiding anyone whose personal honesty was subject to question and, perhaps as a result of his earlier career, he was noted for his personal bravery.

Some of Shimʿon's aggadic opinions are interesting for their counter-traditional stand. For example, he is said to have claimed that the Jews borrowed the names of the angels from the Babylonians during their enforced stay in that land and that the events described in the *Book of Job* never took place (J.T., *Sot.* 5.6, 20d).

Shimʿon is said to have died of grief after his dear friend Yoḥanan made mocking reference to his martial skill during a halakhic argument (B.T., *B.M.* 84a). Yoḥanan himself, it is said, thereupon wasted away of remorse.

SEE ALSO Amoraim; Yoḥanan bar Nappaḥaʾ.

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SHINGONSHŪ.

The Japanese esoteric Buddhist tradition of Shingon takes its name from the Chinese term *zhenyan*, which literally means "true word" and is the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit term *mantra*, meaning spoken phrases taken to have extraordinary powers. The practice of reciting *mantras* is taken as characteristic of this tradition and points to the continuity of the tradition's practices from its Indic origins through to its modern Japanese instantiation. The centrality of *mantra* recitation is evidenced by two early names for the tradition, *Mantranaya* (path of *mantras*), and *Mantrayāna* (vehicle of *mantras*). Shingon is an esoteric tradition, meaning that its practices are only to be transmitted by a qualified teacher (Jpn., *ajari;* Skt., *ācārya*) to a student who has undergone the appropriate initiations. When speaking of the Shingon tradition, it refers primarily to a lineage of ritual practice.

Other key terms that amplify the character of the Shingon tradition include *tantra*, which originates as a bibliographic category but which is now used as a synonym for the esoteric tradition within Buddhism, and *Vajrayāna,* which means the thunderbolt vehicle, referring to the speed of attaining full awakening. In some systems of classification, Mantranaya and Pāramitānaya (path of perfections) are paired as two parts of Mahāyāna, while other systems consider Vajrayāna to be a third vehicle superceding Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. *Mikkyō* is also often used in association with Shingon and means esoteric teachings. While Shingon is predominantly esoteric in character, an esoteric element is also found in the Tendai tradition. This latter is often referred to as *Tendai mikkyō* (usually abbreviated as *Taimitsu*), and is contrasted with *Tōji mikkyō* (usually abbreviated as *Tōmitsu*), named for one of the earliest Shingon temples, Tōji (Eastern Temple) in Kyoto.

INDIAN ORIGINS. The Tantric tradition of Buddhism originated in medieval India following the demise of the Gupta empire, around 550 CE. While there are a variety of theories about the origins of esoteric Buddhism and its relations to other Indian religious traditions, it seems clear that there was no one particular origin. Rather, a wide variety of reinterpreted practices and doctrinal developments went into the making of what only later took on an identity as a movement, school, or tradition.

The two main texts for the Shingon tradition are the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (Jpn., Dainichikyō, T.D. no. 848) and the *Sarvatathāgata-Tattvasamgraha Sūtra* (T.D. no. 865, a portion of the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*, Jpn., *Kongochogyō*, by which name it is commonly known in contemporary Shingon), and are thought to have been composed in Northwest India early in the eighth century. Others have suggested, however, that the *Sarvatathāgata-Tattvasamgraha* was composed in Southern India in the late seventh century, while the *Mahāvairocana* was composed in Western India in the middle of the seventh century.

CHINESE TRANSMISSION. While Tantric texts and practices were known in China from as early as the third century CE, the Shingon lineage itself traces its origins to the rise in the Tang dynasty (618–907) of an esoteric Buddhist school. This school is taken to have originated in the work of three figures: Śubhākarasiṃha (637–735), Vajrabodhi (671–741) and Amoghavajra (705–774). Also important was Śubhākarasiṃha's disciple Yixing (683–727), who not only assisted Śubhākarasiṃha in the translation of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, but also wrote an important commentary on it.

There are three Chinese translations of the *Sarvatathāgata-Tattvasaṃgraha Sūtra*. Vajrabodhi's (T.D. no. 866), Amoghavajra's (T.D. no. 865), and Shihu's (T.D. 882). Of these, it is Amoghavajra's that is most widely used in the Shingon tradition. This version, completed circa 754, is based on a text that Amoghavajra brought back to China from Sri Lanka or South India, where he travelled and studied in 744–746 CE.

Although these two texts—the *Mahāvairocana* and *Sarvatathāgata-Tattvasaṃgraha*—are considered to be foundational for Shingon, other texts are also important. The *Adhyardhaśatikāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (Jpn., Rishukyō, *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra in One Hundred Fifty Verses*) is part of the Tantric Prajñāpāramitā literature, and is frequently recited as part of daily services in Shingon temples. The version used is the Chinese translation by Amoghavajra (T.D. no. 243), another of the texts he acquired during his travels in Sri Lanka and South India. The other important works are the *Yugikyō* (T.D. no. 867, reconstructed Sanskrit title: *Vajraśekhara vimāna sarvayogayogi Sūtra*, translator indeterminate), and the *Sussidhikara-Sūtra* (T.D. no. 893, Jpn., *Soshitsuji kyō*), translated by Śubhākarasiṃha in 726 CE.

TRADITIONAL LINEAGE OF PATRIARCHS. The Shingon tradition traces its teachings back to the Buddha Mahāvairocana (Jpn., Dainichi), who is considered to be the Dharmakāya Buddha. In Mahāyāna thought there developed a theory of three Buddha bodies. These are the nirmāṇakāya (form, or manifestation body), saṃbhogakāya (reward, or celestial body), and dharmakāya (dharma, or actual body). In contrast with most of the Buddhist tradition, Shingon holds that the Dharmakāya actively teaches.

According to an early lineage of patriarchs given by Kūkai, Mahāvairocana transmitted the teachings to Vajrasattva, who was then succeeded by Nāgārjuna, Nāgabodhi, Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra, Huiguo, and finally by Kūkai himself. There are, however, several variations in the lineages recorded by different masters. These variations result from differing interpretations of who had received which of the main two ritual transmissions, the Vajradhātu and Garbhakośadhātu. For example, the lineage recorded by Shūkaku (1150–1202) only has seven patriarchs. He removes Vajrabodhi, asserting instead that Amoghavajra had received transmission directly from Nāgabodhi when Amoghavajra travelled to India. Other lineage records also add and delete various figures, including Samantahadra, Mañjuśrī, Vajrapāṇi, Dharmagupta, Śubhākarasiṃha (637–735), and Xuanchao.

KŪKAI, THE FOUNDER. Kūkai (774–835, posthumously titled Kōbō Daishi, commonly referred to in honorific form as O Daishi sama) is considered to be the founder of Japanese Shingon. He was born on the island of Shikoku, into an aristocratic family, the Saeki, a branch of the Ōtomo clan. At fifteen, in 788, he went to the capital, Nara, where he began to study the Confucian classics under the guidance of a maternal uncle. Three years later, he entered the Confucian College (Jpn., *daigaku*) that served to recruit and train court officials. Within the next few years, however, he showed increasing interest in Buddhism, and at some point left the college.

He is known to have engaged in various ascetic practices during this period. For example, on Mt. Kinbu he practiced the Kokūzō Gumonji hō, a ritual dedicated to Kokūzō bosatsu (Skt., Ākāśagarbha bodhisattva), intended to improve the practitioner's memory. This practice involves reciting the *mantra* of Ākāśagarbha one million times over a period of one hundred days. This indicates an early contact with esoteric Buddhism, as the Gumonji hō practice is based on the *Kokuzōgumonjinohō* (T.D. no. 1145) translated by Śubhākarasiṃha. It appears that this work was brought to Japan by Dōji (d. 744 CE) of the Nara temple Daianji, and that Kūkai received transmission of the practice from Gonzō (758–827), a leading cleric of the times.

Although it is unclear who recommended him, Kūkai was chosen as a state-sponsored student to accompany the envoy Fujiwara Kadonomaro to China in the years 804 to 805. After some difficulties, Kūkai eventually reached the Green Dragon Monastery (Qing-long si) in the Chinese capital of Chang'an. He reports having been initiated into the dual lineage of ritual practice by his master Huiguo (746–805, Jpn., Keika). Kūkai portrays this very dramatically, explaining that Huiguo was only clinging to life in order to transmit the teachings to a worthy disciple. Shortly after Kūkai's initiation, Huiguo encourages Kūkai to return to Japan, and then dies.

By 806 Kūkai had returned to Kyushu, the southern island of Japan, but he had to wait an additional three years until he was given permission to proceed to the capital, Heian (today's Kyoto), by the new emperor, Saga. He was directed to reside at Takaosanji, a temple in the suburbs of the capital. This would be the center of his activities until 823, when he was given authority over Tōji, one of the two temples built to flank the entrance to the city. In 816 he was granted permission to establish a training center specifically for Shingon Mikkyō on Kōyasan (High, Wild Mountain), where he eventually retired due to illness in 831. Still active in the promotion of Shingon within the court, he received permission to establish the Shingon chapel (Jpn., Shingon-in) on the grounds of the palace, providing a base for Shingon to play a part in services for the court, such as the Buddha Relics Offering. Early in 835 he died while residing on Kōyasan. Tradition has it, however, that he did not die, but rather passed into an unbroken meditation (Skt., *samādhi*).

In contemporary Shingon the difference between the Tantric texts and practices already extant in Japan during the Nara period (known as Nara Mikkyō) and the dual system introduced by Kūkai is taken for granted. The tradition itself describes Nara Mikkyō as incomplete, unsystematic, and impure, categorizing it as zōmitsu (mixed or heterogenous esotericism). Kūkai's form is said to be mature, systematic, and pure, and it is categorized as junmitsu (pure esotericism).

The zōmitsu/junmitsu distinction, however, appears to be relatively late, dating perhaps only from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Like all such scholastic categories it simultaneously serves both organizing and polemic ends.

RELATION BETWEEN KŪKAI AND SAICHŌ. The other major figure of Heian Japan is Kūkai's elder contemporary Saichō (767–822). Saichō also travelled to China in the same ambassadorial entourage as Kūkai. Saicho's main interest was Tiantai (Jpn., Tendai), but after his studies on Mt. Tiantai, he did receive initiation into an esoteric Buddhist lineage. This was shortly before his return to Japan, however, so he did not have any opportunity to pursue this further. Following Saichō's return to Japan, in 806 he was directed by Emperor Kanmu, Saga's predecessor, to establish the Tendai tradition at Enryakuji on Mt. Hiei, still the main center of Japanese Tendai today. The imperial edict establishing the Saichō's new school specified the two dimensions of training. One portion of the curriculum was centered on the Mo-ho chih-kuan, the foundational Tendai work by the Tiantai patriarch Chih-i (538–597), and is known as *shikangō* (from the Japanese pronunciation of *chih-kuan* as *shikan*). The second portion of the curriculum was to be esoteric in character, focusing on the Mahāvairocana Sūtra. This track was known as *shanagō* (*shana* being an abbreviated form of *Birushana*, the Japanese pronunciation of *Vairocana*).

Initially relations between Saichō and Kūkai went smoothly. While Saichō worked to establish a Mikkyō element within his Lotus Sūtra based Tendai, he needed Kūkai's assistance, having himself only received the most rudimentary introduction to esoteric Buddhism while in China. Saichō regularly borrowed texts from Kūkai, until finally in 816 a breach occurred between the two. The schism resulted from a fundamental difference in the way the two understood the place of mikkyō. Saichō wanted to integrate Mikkyō into his Tendai Lotus school. Saichō saw Tendai as foundational to, and therefore encompassing of all forms of, East Asian Buddhism, including Shingon. Kūkai, on the other hand, understood Shingon to embody the highest, most effective teachings of Buddhism, and therefore to supercede all other forms, including Tendai.

SHINGON DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD. Kakuban (Kōgyō Daishi, 1095–1144) played a key role in the medieval development of Shingonshū, being involved both in a revivalist movement, known as "shingi shingonshū," and in articulating Shingon conceptions with Amidist ones. Devotion to the Buddha Amida (Skt., Amitābha) became increasingly popular during the medieval period of Japanese Buddhist history. While Amida played an important role in the Tantric Buddhism transmitted from India through China to Japan, this new popularity stimulated Shingon practitioners to draw on those resources, giving greater prominence to Amida and his Pure Land of Bliss (Skt., Sukhāvatī; Jpn., Gokuraku Jōdo), described in the Larger *Sukhāvatīvyuha Sūtra* (Skt *Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra;* Jpn., *Daimuryōju kyō*, T.D. nos. 360–364). Kakuban also gave great emphasis to the buddha realm of Mahāvairocana Buddha, the Pure Land of Esoteric Grandeur (Jpn., Mitsugon Jōdo), described in the Mahāyāna Sūtra of Mystic Grandeur (Skt., *Ghanavyūha Sūtra;* Jpn., *Daijō mitsugongyō;* T.D. nos. 681, 682). Mahāvairocana's Pure Land of Esoteric Grandeur became identified not only with Amida's Pure Land of Bliss, but also with Vairocana Buddha's Lotus Womb World (Jpn., Kezōkai, also Garland World, Jpn., Kegon sekai), described in the *Garland Sūtra* (Skt., *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, Jpn., *Kegon gyō*, T.D. nos. 278, 279, 293).

Kakukai (Nanshōbō, 1142–1223) was the thirty-seventh superintendent of Kongōbuji, the main temple of the Chuin ryū on Mt. Kōya. Like Kakuban, Kakukai also responded to the rising popularity of Amida, arguing that the Pure Land was to be realized in this world rather than after death. This extended the idea of becoming awakened in this incarnation formulated by Kūkai. This immanentist interpretation is seen in the identification of Mt. Kōya with the Pure Land of Bliss. Today, the last train station before entering the mountain is called Gokurakubashi—Bridge to the Land of Bliss.

In medieval Japan, self-identified Shintō lineages began to develop. The Watarai clan, which served the Ise shrine, assimilated many esoteric elements into its interpretation of the Shintō tradition. Drawing Shingon's dual *maṇḍala* (Jpn., *ryōbu mandara*), this became known as Ryōbu Shintō. Similarly, Yuiitsu Shintō ("one and only Shintō," also Yoshida Shintō after its founder Yoshida Kanetomo, 1435–1511) drew on Shingon symbolism, ideology, and practice. The latter includes a Yuiitsu Shintō *goma* (votive fire) clearly modeled on the Shingon *goma.* A late medieval Japanese development within Shingon was another reform movement known as Shingon ritsu, which emphasized adherence to the rules of the order (Skt., *vinaya*, Jpn., *ritsu*). This sect was established by Eizon (Shiembō, 1201–1290), and was centered at the Saidaiji temple in Nara.

KEY DOCTRINES. Shingon teaches that one can achieve complete, full awakening in the present through esoteric practice. *Sokushin jōbutsu* (being awakened in this body) is a key doctrine of Shingon. Although later interpretations in light of the idea of inherent awakening (Jpn., *hongaku*) have tended to conflate the two ideas, the Shingon doctrine predated the idea of inherent awakening in Japan.

The path to awakening in Shingon is based on the idea that the practitioner is already identical with the Buddha. Ritual practice in which the practitioner actively identifies with the Buddha, experiencing the world as a buddha, actualizes the inherent bodhicitta. An exposition of this is found in the *Ihon Sokushin jōbutsu-gi* attributed to Kūkai, which presents three perspectives on the nature of the relation between the practitioner and the Buddha. In principle (ri) a person is already identical with the Buddha. This is called *rigu jōbutsu.* Although already inherently awakened, because of obscurations (Skt., *kleśa*, Jpn., *bonnō*), it is necessary to engage in practice to actualize one's awakening. This is called *kaji jōbutsu.* Buddhahood is actualized in a two-fold pattern of revealing (Jpn., *ken*) and acquiring (Jpn., *doku*), called *kendoku jōbutsu.* Thus, the idea of already being inherently awakened as understood in Shingon does not preclude the necessity for practice, as some antinomian interpretations of the inherent awakening doctrine developed in medieval Japan would suggest.

The role of ritual practice is to realise the three-fold identity of the practitioner and the buddha. This identity is between the three mysteries (Skt., *triguhya*, Jpn., *sanmitsu*), referring to the body (Skt., *kāya-guhya*), speech (Skt., *vāg-guhya*) and mind (Skt., *mano-guhya*) of the Buddha, and the three actions (Skt., *trikarma*) of ritual practice, the bodily (Skt., *kāya-karma*), oral (Skt., *vāk-karma*) and mental (Skt., *manaḥ-karma*) of the practitioner. The formation of hand gestures (Skr. *mudrā*) manifests the unity of the practitioner's body with that of the Buddha. The recitation of *dhāraṇī* and *mantra* manifests the unity of the practitioner's speech with that of the Buddha. And, the visualizations prescribed in ritual texts constitute the unity of the practitioner's mind with that of the Buddha.

Two strains of ritual practice were introduced to China by Śubhākarasiṃha and Vajrabodhi, the Garbhakośadhātu based on the Mahāvairocana and the Vajradhātu based on the *Sarvatathāgata-Tattvasaṃgraha*, respectively. The Shingon tradition considers these two to have been unified by Kūkai's teacher, Huiguo. Each of the two sūtras describes a set of buddhas, *bodhisattvas*, and other deities, organized in various assemblies and portrayed in *maṇḍala*. The Diamond World *maṇḍala* (Skt., *Vajradhātu maṇḍala;* Jpn., *Kongōkai mandara*) represents the assemblies described in the *Sarvatathāgata-Tattvasaṃgraha*, while the Womb World *maṇḍala* (Skt., *Garbhakośadhātu maṇḍala,* Jpn., *Taizōkai mandara*) represents those of the *Mahāvairocana* (specifically the second chapter). Thus the two strains of ritual practice relate to the different assemblies described in the two sūtras, and portrayed in the two *maṇḍalas.*

SHINGON PRACTICES: KŌMYŌ SHINGON, AJIKAN, AND THE TRAINING IN FOUR PARTS. Kōmyō Shingon, or Clear Light Mantra, is one of the most common contemporary practices, being promoted for lay practitioners and found not only among Shingon adherents but also among adherents of other Japanese Buddhist traditions as well. Recitation of the *mantra* was promoted particularly by Myōe Kōben (1173–1232) at the beginning of the thirteenth century, perhaps in response to other simplified practices, such as *nembutsu* recitation. The *mantra* is "*on abogya beiroshanō makabotara mani handoma jimbara harabaritaya un*" (Skt., *oṃ amogha vairocana mahāmudrā maṇi padma jvāla pravarttaya hūṃ*, "Praise be to the flawless, all-pervasive illumination of the great *mudrā*, turn over to me the wish-fulfilling jewel, lotus, and radiant light"). Traditionally, it was believed that recitation of this *mantra* over pure sand would empower it, so that it spread over an ill person or corpse, and that person would be healed or reborn in Amitābha's Pure Land.

There are three preliminaries to the training sequence to become a Shingon priest. These are Susokukan (breath counting meditation), *Gachirin kan* (visualization of the full moon), and Ajikan (visualization of the syllable A in the Siddham script). In contemporary Shingon, Ajikan has become an independent practice in itself. It takes the form of a short ritual (Skt., *sādhana*), structured like other Shingon rituals. The symbolism of the syllable A is rooted in Indian theories of language. As the first letter of the Sanskrit syllabery, it is creative. At least implicitly present within each syllable of the syllabery, it is omnipresent. And, as the negative prefix, it is destructive.

The training sequence (Jpn., *shidō kegyō,* "training in four parts") involves performance of four different rituals over a hundred day period. It begins with a relatively simple ritual called the Juhachidō, or Eighteen Paths. Originally this involved the recitation of eighteen *mantras* with their accompanying *mudrās*, though the contemporary form is more complicated, involving more *mantras* and *mudrās.* This practice establishes a karmic connection between the practitioner and the five central buddhas of the Karma Assembly of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*: Mahāvairocana (Jpn., Dainichi, center), Akṣobhya (Jpn., Ashuku, East), Ratnasambhava (Jpn., Hōshō, South), Amitāyus (Jpn., Amida, West), and Amoghasiddhi (Jpn., Fukūjōju, North).

The second ritual is the Kongōkai, which continues to develop the relation to the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*, expanding now beyond the five central buddhas to include an additional thirty-two deities. Each of the four buddhas who form Mahāvairocana's retinue have their own retinue of four attendant *bodhisattvas*, known collectively as the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas. There are then an additional four groups of four: the Four Pāramitās, the Four Inner Goddesses of Offering, the Four Outer Goddesses of Offering, and the Four Gatekeepers.

The *Taizōkai* is the third ritual in the training sequence, and it is focused on the eleven assemblies of the *Garbhakośadhātu maṇḍala.* These eleven are the Mind of All Buddhas (or Universal Knowledge, Jpn., *henchi*), All Bodhisattvas (or Mantra Holders, Jpn., *jimyō*), Avalokiteśvara (Jpn., Kannon), Vajrapaṇi (Jpn., Kongōshu), Acalanātha (Jpn., Fudō), Mañjuśrī (Jpn., Monjushiri), Sarvanīvaraṇa-viṣkambhin (Jpn., Jokaishō), Kṣitigarbha (Jpn., Jizō), Ākāśagarbha (Jpn., Kokūzō), Śākyamuni (Jpn., Shakamuni), and the External Vajras (Jpn., Gekongōbu). Indicative of the Indian roots of Shingon is the *Taizōkai*'s evocation of one group of the Exterior Vajras, the Worldly Deities. These are twelve deities known from the Vedic and Brahmanic traditions, ten of whom have directional associations: Īśāna (or Maheśvara; Jpn., Ishanaten, or Daijizaiten, Northeast), Indra (Jpn., Indara, also Taishakuten, East), Āditya (or Sūrya; Jpn., Nitten), Brahmā (Jpn., Bonten, Zenith), Agni (Jpn., Katen, Southeast), Yama (Jpn., Emma, South), Rākṣasa (or Nirṛti; Jpn., Rasetsu, or Niritei, Southwest), Varuṇa (Jpn., Suiten, West) Pṛthivi (Jpn., Jiten, Nadir), Candra (Jpn., Gatten), Vāyu (Jpn., Fū, Northwest) and Vaiśravaṇa (Jpn., Bishamon, also Tamon, North).

The fourth and final ritual is the Fudō Myōō Sokusai Goma, or Fire Offering to Acalanātha Vidyārāja for Pacification. Although largely structured like the Kongōkai ritual, the goma integrates deities from both *maṇḍalas* in its performance. Within the standard format of the ritual, the goma adds five sets of fire offerings. These are to Agni (Jpn., Katen); the Lord of the Assembly (i.e., Prajñā Bodhisattva); the Chief Deity (Jpn., honzon—i.e., Acalanātha Vidyārāja; Jpn., Fudō Myōō); the thirty-seven deities of the Karma Assembly of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* (discussed above); and, finally, the Twelve Worldly Deities, the Seven Astral Lights (sun, moon, and five visible planets), and the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions (the twenty-eight days of a complete lunar cycle).

KŌYASAN. The most prominent contemporary center of Shingon in Japan is Mount Kōya (Jpn., Kōyasan), located in a valley between eight mountain peaks, representing an eight-petalled lotus flower expressing the compassionate nature of the Garbhakośadhātu. Originally established as a training center, it also serves today as the administrative center for the most prominent Shingon lineage, the Chūin ryū. The main temple of the lineage is called Kongōbuji.

On Mount Kōya there are two complexes that today attract the most attention. The first of these is known as the Garan, which serves as the main ritual center for the Chuin ryū sect. The Garan includes the Kondō, or Golden Hall; the Western and Eastern (or Great) Pagodas; shrines to the *kami* of the mountain; and various other halls and temples. The interior decoration of the two pagodas represents the interpenetration of the Vajradhātu and Garbhakośadhātu. The Eastern Pagoda, for example, has Mahāvairocana of the Garbhakośadhātu in the center, surrounded by the four buddhas that form his retinue in the Vajradhātu.

Okunoin is a cemetery where the remains of Kūkai are entombed. According to legend, when the posthumous title of Kōbō Daishi was awarded, an entourage from the court came to the mountain to read the Imperial proclamation at the tomb. The tomb was opened at that time and it was discovered that Kūkai's hair and nails had continued to grow. It was declared that he had not died, but rather had entered into a state of perpetual meditation. The ashes of many of Japan's most important historical figures have been entombed along the pathways leading to the tomb of Kūkai. The form of the majority of these tombs is the five-element stupa (Jpn., *gorinhoto*). The five elements are earth (represented by a cube inscribed with the Siddham script syllable A), water (a sphere with the syllable VA), fire (a four-sided pyramid with the syllable RA), wind (a demilune with the syllable HA), and space (represented by a maṇi-jewel with the syllable KHA). These five elements constitute the world of the known, the objective. A sixth element, consciousness, represents the knower, the subjective, which has the known as its object. The five elements are identified with the Garbhakośadhātu, while consciousness is identified with the Vajradhātu, and the unity of knower and known is identified with the Dharmakāya Buddha, Mahāvairocana.

RELATION WITH SHUGENDŌ AND THE NEW RELIGIONS. The indigenous tradition of Shugendō (also, Yamabushi) involves the practice of austerities in the mountains of Japan. Kūkai is thought to have associated with groups of mountain ascetics, as exemplified by his practice of the Kōkūzo Gumonji ho at Mount Kinbu, one of the main centers of Shugendō. It is also thought that he was already familiar with Mount Kōya from his period before travelling to China, and it was on the basis of this prior familiarity that he chose it for his training center.

Shugendō, with its open syncretism of Buddhist (particularly Tantric) and Shintō elements, was abolished by the Meiji government in 1872 as part of the government's efforts to purify Shintō. Because of the existing connection between Tantric Buddhism and Shugendō, Shugendō sects chose to affiliate themselves with either Shingon or Tendai. With the return of religious freedom under the postwar constitution, the institutional affiliations between Shugendō sects and either Shingon or Tendai have lapsed. This has been accompanied by a decline in the use of Buddhist interpretations for Shugendō practices. In contemporary Japan, Shugendō practitioners often conduct large, outdoor fire rituals (Jpn., *saitō goma*). The *saitō goma* is a Shugendō adaptation of the Tantric fire ritual (Skt., *homa;* Jpn., *goma*). Evidencing perhaps a return to traditional syncretic practices, *saitō goma* conducted by Shugendō practitioners are performed today not only at specifically Shugendō sites, but also at Shintō shrines and Buddhist temples.

In contemporary times various of the "new religions," such as Agonshū, Shinnyoen, and Gedatsukai, have based their teachings or practice on various aspects of Shingon. Agonshū, for example, on the one hand claims to be a return to the original teachings of the Buddha Śākyamuni as found in the *agamas* (Jpn., *agon*), but draws heavily on esoteric Buddhist symbolism and practice, particularly as mediated by the Shugendō tradition. Agonshū conducts goma performances on the first day of each month (Jpn., *tsuitachi goma*) at its center in Tokyo. Agonshū also draws on Shugendō symbolism, for example, sponsoring large-scale *saitō goma* in celebration of the Hoshi Matsuri (Star Festival) in February of each year.

SHINGON IN THE WEST. Like other forms of Japanese Buddhism, Shingon was brought to the West by Japanese nationals in search of work during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1909 Reverend Shutai Aoyama came to San Francisco intending to provide religious services to the immigrant Japanese community. Due to illness and lack of funds, his mission did not actually start until 1912, when a temporary temple was established in Los Angeles. In the Hawaiian islands, lay practitioners began as early as 1902 to establish informal temples, particularly devoted to miraculous cures attributed to the power of Kūkai. These came under the scrutiny of Shingon officials in Japan, who then dispatched Reverend Eikaku Seki to establish an official branch of Kongōbuji in Honolulu. In 1940 a new, permanent temple was completed to house the mission in Los Angeles, but within a year war broke out between Japan and the United States. As leaders of the Japanese community, ministers were among the first to be arrested and imprisoned for the duration of the war. The new temple building came to be used as a storehouse for the belongings of the Japanese families interned in the relocation camps scattered throughout the western United States. After the end of the war, the temple community was able to reestablish itself, with the temple building serving as housing for returning families. The Shingon Mission of Hawai'i in Honolulu held its centennial celebration in 2002, and the Kōyasan Buddhist Temple in Los Angeles celebrates its centennial in 2012.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Japan; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Japanese Buddhism; Mahāvairocana; Nirvāṇa.

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SHINKŌ-SHŪKYŌ SEE NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS, *ARTICLE ON* NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN JAPAN

SHINRAN (1173–1262) was the founder of the Jōdo Shinshu, or True Pure Land school, of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Born in Japan during a period of social turmoil and religious change, Shinran became a Tendai monk at age nine and followed that discipline on Mount Hiei. At age twenty-nine, moved by a deep spiritual disquiet, he meditated for one hundred days in the Rokkakudō Temple in Kyoto, where he had a vision that led him to become a disciple of the Pure Land teacher Hōnen in 1201. He later received Hōnen's permission to copy his central work, the *Senchaku hongan nembutsu shū* (Treatise on the Nembutsu of the select primal vow), and to make a portrait of the master. Because of strong criticism voiced by the monks of Mount Hiei and Kōfukuji in Nara and the indiscretions of certain of his disciples, Hōnen and his leading disciples were exiled. Shinran went to Echigo (now Niigata prefecture) in 1207 under the criminal name of Fujii Yoshizane.

During the next period of approximately seven years of exile and residence at Kokubu in Echigo, Shinran married Eshin-ni and fathered six children. Shinran is particularly noted for establishing marriage among the clergy and abandoning monastic precepts as a religiously justified act. He was inspired by a dream vision of the *bodhisattva* Kannon (Skt., Avalokiteśvara, Bodhisattva of Compassion), who promised to take the form of a woman to be his helpmate in his mission to spread Pure Land teachings to the masses.

Pardoned in 1211, Shinran left Echigo in 1213 bound for the Kantō. There he gradually created a sizable community by establishing small *dōjō* (meeting places) in followers' homes throughout the region. Upon his return to Kyoto in 1235 or 1236, Shinran engaged in correspondence with his disciples, answering questions on doctrine and giving advice about various issues raised by the nascent community. Among his literary efforts, he completed and revised the *Kyōgyōshinshō,* wrote various commentarial texts such as the *Yuishinshō-mon'i* and *Ichinentannenmon'i,* and composed collections of *wasan* (hymns) expressing basic themes of his teaching or praising the texts and masters of the Pure Land tradition. For the most part, Shinran wrote in the language of the common people.

Variant interpretations of Shinran's teachings inevitably led to conflicts among his followers. These issues were a persistent theme of Shinran's later letters, and continued to plague the community after he died. However, in Shinran's last years, Zenran, his eldest son, created conflict and misunderstanding among the disciples by claiming to have received a special teaching and authority from Shinran. After Shinran dispelled these misunderstandings by disowning his son, peace returned to the community. Shinran expressed some of his deepest insights in his final letters and writings. Among these are his assertion that believers are "equal to the Tathagata" and his expression of faith in the absolute "other power" (*tariki*) of Amida (Skt., Amitabha) Buddha. In 1262 Shinran died peacefully at the home of a brother.

Shinran's spiritual disillusionment with monastic discipline and his experience of faith in Amida Buddha's Primal Vows (*hongan*) under the guidance of Hōnen became the basis and inspiration for the development of the Jōdo Shinshū as a major and distinctive expression of Pure Land teaching in Japanese history. Influenced by *hongaku* ("primordial enlightenment") thought in Tendai philosophy, as well as by contemporary Chinese Pure Land scholarship, Shinran expanded the vision of the meaning of Amida Buddha's compassion stressed in the Pure Land tradition.

Shinran maintains that there are two stages in the salvation process established by the virtue of Amida Buddha. These are *ōsō,* "going to the Pure Land," and *gensō,* "returning." *Ōsō* refers to the elements of religious experience that lead to rebirth in the Pure Land. *Gensō* indicates the altruistic end of salvation whereby we become part of the salvation process guiding all beings to enlightenment. Shinran analyzes the first stage, that of going to the Pure Land, into four dimensions, discussed in the four sections of the *Kyōgyōshinshō.* These are Teaching, Practice, Faith, and Enlightenment.

The section on teaching refers to the *Daimuryōjukyō* (Larger Pure Land Sūtra), which narrates the story of how, ten *kalpa*s ago, the *bodhisattva* Hōzō (Dharmākara) completed five *kalpa*s of religious training and became Amida Buddha in the Western Pure Land through the fulfillment of his forty-eight Primal Vows.

The section on practice establishes that the recitation of Amida's name (the Nembutsu, from Chin., *nianfo*) is the way provided by the eighteenth vow for the salvation of all beings. Shinran maintained that the Nembutsu is the great practice praised by all Buddhas, for the name itself is the embodiment of Amida's virtue.

The section on faith reveals Shinran's most distinctive understanding of Pure Land teaching. Here he shows that faith is the true and real mind of Amida Buddha expressed in human consciousness. Against the background of the Mahayana tradition, he asserts that faith itself is the realization of Buddha nature *(shinbusshō).*

In developing this interpretation, Shinran went beyond the limited conception of Amida portrayed in the *sūtra* myth narrative. He understood Amida as the sole reality of the cosmos, joining Pure Land teachings to the concept of Primordial Enlightenment (Jpn., *hongaku*) of the Tendai philosophy. Amida Buddha was no longer merely one Buddha among others, limited in time to his Enlightenment ten *kalpa*s ago. Rather, he is the eternal Buddha (*Jōdo wasan* no. 55). According to the *Jinenhōnishō,* Amida, as the ultimate, formless body of Dharma (Skt., *dharmakāya*), takes form in order to manifest his essential nature, which is beyond all comprehension and definition. Amida Buddha is the symbol for eternal life and light, the compassion and wisdom that makes salvation possible for every human being, no matter how evil and corrupt. The power of his vow is manifest in human history through the name, formulaically expressed in the words "Namu Amida Butsu" ("Hail to Amida Buddha"), which serve as the external cause of salvation.

The Light (*kōmyō*) is the inner condition of salvation experienced as undoubting faith in the name and vow and the simultaneous exclamation of the Nembutsu. Faith is not a human act but ultimately the bestowal of Amida's true and real mind within the human consciousness as the immediate awareness both of one's own spiritual incapacity and of the unfailing embrace of Amida's compassion. In that moment, the assurance of salvation is attained as a deep inner movement of total reliance on the vow. It is for this reason that Shinran emphasized the "power of the other" (*tariki*), that is, the salvific power of Amida, rather than one's own effort (*jiriki*), as essential to salvation. The awareness received in that moment indicates that the disciple has attained the level of the truly assured (*shōjōjū*). All the causes, and therefore also the fruit, of salvation have been perfected. The believer's spiritual status in the life is "equal to the Tathagāta," although his actual enlightenment awaits him in the future as the causal basis for this final attainment has been established through his presently experienced faith in Amida's vow.

According to Shinran, the recitation of the Nembutsu is not performed as a means to gain rebirth in the Pure Land through one's own merit. Rather, it is a spontaneous outflow of gratitude for the assurance of salvation received. The section designated Enlightenment teaches that the final destiny of beings is birth in the Pure Land, which is identified with *nirvāṇa.* It is also to become a Buddha and, after the manner of the *bodhisattva,* to return to this defiled realm to save all beings.

The community initiated through Shinran's efforts and teaching eventually differentiated into several branches. Among them, the most significant have been the Takada Senjūji and the Honganji, which latter would later divide into East and West branches. At first a relatively minor movement within Japanese Buddhism, Jōdo Shinshū was transformed into a powerful religious and social institution through the eloquence, simplicity, and determination of the eighth patriarch, Rennyo (1415–1499). Despite internal divisions, it has remained a major popular religious force in Japan.

SEE ALSO Amitābha; Hōnen; Jōdo Shinshū; Mappō; Nianfo; Pure and Impure Lands; Rennyo.

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Revised Bibliography

SHINTŌ.

Shintō is a Japanese term often translated as "the way of the gods." Broadly, it refers to the worship of the multifarious Japanese *kami* (gods). In modern Japan, it signifies forms of ritual practice and belief focusing on Shintō shrines (*jinja,* literally "*kami*-places") which are institutionally separate from Buddhist temples. However, the worship of *kami* in Japan is not restricted to Shintō, and those who worship the *kami* at Shintō shrines are nearly all Buddhists and/or members of Japanese new religions. A narrow definition of Shintō might restrict it to only those elements in Japanese religious history that have explicitly identified themselves by the term *Shintō,* while broad definitions of the term sometimes see Shintō as coterminous with the entirety of Japanese culture, past and present.

The meaning of the term *Shintō* has undergone many changes in the course of Japan's history. The most radical took place as recently as the mid-nineteenth century, when Japan resumed full contact with the outside world after two and a half centuries of seclusion. Immediately after taking office in 1868, the modernizing Meiji government issued decrees dissociating *kami* from buddhas. Up to this time, *kami*-worship throughout Japan had largely taken place at shrine-temple complexes run by Buddhist clergy. Buddhas, *kami,* and other well-known divinities were understood to form part of a common pantheon also revered by numerous Shūgendō (mountain ascetic) practitioners and other specialized religious groups and movements. In the years following 1868, a nationwide system of shrines, priests, and doctrines relating only to non-Buddhist divinities (mainly these were *kami* stripped of their Buddhist titles) was developed with government support. At the apex of this system was the shrine of Amaterasu the sun goddess, deity of the shrine of Ise and divine ancestress of the imperial line now back in power following the collapse of the shogunate. Until the end of World War II, this new, dissociated form of Shintō was regarded under Japanese law as "nonreligious." The divinity of the emperor and the unique status and mission of the land of Japan since the Age of the Gods were not religious ideas preached by shrine priests but historical facts transmitted by schoolteachers. Generations of Japanese children were taught that Shintō represented an ancient, unchanging tradition; an idea also promulgated quite successfully outside Japan, where modern Shintō is often believed to be a survival of Japan's "primal" religion. Since 1946, under postwar laws guaranteeing personal religious freedom and the separation of religion and state, this understanding of Shintō is no longer sponsored by the government nor taught in schools, and Shintō teachings and practices are now regarded in law as "religious." Nevertheless, what is usually meant by Shintō today is essentially the same nationwide system of shrines, priests, and *kami*-rituals that was dissociated from Buddhism in the mid-nineteenth century and for the first eighty years of its existence regarded as nonreligious. The study of Shintō as religion therefore raises many interesting questions.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE STUDY OF SHINTŌ. The study of Shintō underwent radical changes in the late twentieth century as modern critical methods were brought to bear on a subject that had been neglected for many years. Until the 1980s, serious modern scholarship on Shintō hardly existed inside or outside Japan. In the minds of most academics, the term *Shintō* evoked a discredited system of state-sponsored emperor worship, heavily implicated in the ultranationalism that had culminated in Japan's defeat in 1945. Japanese scholars with impressive but possibly compromising expertise in prewar Shintō studies were out of favour, and few postwar scholars were interested in studying customs and traditions relating to *kami* performed mainly by the older generation at decaying local shrines. Within Japan, the study of Shintō as a system of religious meaning was largely the preserve of conservative scholar-priests connected with shrines and seminaries whose view of Shintō had changed little since 1945, and in some cases since the nineteenth century. While some major shrines prospered as the Japanese economy expanded, no intellectually respectable Shintō worldview emerged in the decades following World War II that could compete for international scholarly attention with the new-found appeal of Zen and other forms of Japanese Buddhism or the shifting fortunes of the dynamic, self-promoting new religions.

In the 1980s, however, new questions about Shintō and new understandings of Shintō began to emerge among both Japanese and non-Japanese academics. The critical study of Shintō rapidly developed as a field of vibrant international scholarship, and the question of Shintō became highly significant, indeed central, within the study of Japanese religions. Because new understandings of Shintō developed so quickly, books and articles published at different times present widely varying views of Shintō. Readers who consult different works may be confused about whom and what to believe on the topic. Before embarking on the study of Shintō in more detail, it is thus necessary to understand what the main views of Shintō are and why the study of Shintō is now such a contested, problematic, and interesting area of enquiry.

TWO VIEWS OF SHINTŌ. Broadly speaking, there are two extreme views of what Shintō is, as well as an emerging middle ground within which increasingly sophisticated debates are taking place. At one extreme is a view of Shintō that holds that it is Japan's ancient and enduring indigenous religion. This view dominated understandings of Shintō inside and outside Japan throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It was succinctly stated, for example, in the opening sentence of the scholar-priest Hirai Naofusa's 1987 article on Shintō in the first edition of the *Encyclopedia of Religion.* "Shintō," wrote Hirai, "is the name given to the traditional religion of Japan, a religion that has existed continuously from before the founding of the Japanese nation until the present." This view, which might best be described as neo-traditionalist, celebrates Shintō both as a religion and as something quintessentially Japanese, implicitly contrasting an ancient, native Shintō spiritual heritage with later "foreign" religions and ideologies such as Buddhism or Western thought. This presentation of Shintō as a kind of Japanese natural phenomenon is consistent with the prewar understanding of Shintō as a unique and enduring attribute of the Japanese "race," and hence the Japanese nation-state. It also fit well with popular postwar *nihonjin-ron,* or "theory of Japaneseness," literature, which claimed a unique character and identity for the Japanese as opposed to other human beings. This understanding of Shintō is essentialist and ahistorical. Historical transformations in *kami*-worship are read as temporary departures from a pure Shintō core, while to account for the plethora of contradictory beliefs and practices related to *kami*, types or subdivisions of Shintō are proposed, such as Imperial Household Shintō, Shrine Shintō, Sect Shintō, or Folk Shintō, although Shintō means something different in each case. Because the national morality doctrines of pre-1945 Shintō were jettisoned at the end of the war, neo-traditionalists have tended to present Shintō ideas as matters mysteriously beyond the realm of doctrine. Thus the Shintō scholar Ono Sōkyō declared of the notion of *kami* in *Shintō: The Kami Way* (1960), "it is impossible to make explicit and clear that which fundamentally by its very nature is vague" (p. 8). Above all, the neo-traditionalist construction of Shintō as a separate, self-contained religious tradition comprehensively marginalizes the role of Buddhism, which was officially introduced from Korea in the sixth century and in one way or another has dominated Japanese religious life, including *kami*-worship, ever since.

At the other extreme is the radical view of Shintō associated with the Japanese historian Kuroda Toshio, who in his 1981 article "Shintō in the History of Japanese Religion" threw down a major and controversial challenge to the prevailing neo-traditionalist understanding of Shintō. Kuroda declared that the idea of an ancient, enduring, indigenous tradition of Shintō was "no more than a ghost image produced by a word linking together unrelated phenomena" (Mullins et al., p. 27). Kuroda's argument, stated simply but based on detailed research into early and medieval Buddhism, was that throughout most of Japan's history the shrines, shrine rituals, priests, concepts of *kami,* and other key elements of what are now called Shintō were really Buddhist through and through. The idea of an ancient Shintō tradition, native to Japan and separate from Buddhism, Kuroda argued, is nothing but a modern invention, a supporting pillar of nineteenth-century nationalism meant to sustain the ideology of emperor worship. The notion of Shintō as an ancient, unchanging tradition was designed by Meiji bureaucrats to persuade Japanese people to comply with the will of their divine emperor in pursuit of rapid industrialization at home and imperial expansion abroad. Kuroda preferred to reserve the term *Shintō* for those relatively rare occasions from the late Heian period onward when the term was actually used. Instead, he referred to pre-Meiji Japanese *kami* beliefs and practices as elements in what he called the *kenmitsu taisei,* or exoteric-esoteric system, a complex and variegated worldview founded on prevailing esoteric Buddhist patterns of belief and ritual practice that incorporated *kami* alongside other Buddhist divinities. Kuroda's claim that "ancient Shintō" was entirely a Meiji period invention, if correct, has profound implications for the modern study of Shintō. Above all, it means that *kami*-worship, at least before 1868, can only properly be understood within the context of Japanese Buddhism; Shintō would thus become a nonsubject.

EMERGING ISSUES. Following Kuroda's radical challenge, the study of Shintō gained a new lease of life as scholars debated the key question of whether Shintō has existed uninterruptedly throughout Japanese history or, conversely, emerged as an independent religion only in modern times. Some critics of the Shintō establishment took the opportunity to dismiss today's Shintō as "merely" a nineteenth-century invented tradition. This was not a new charge; the Victorian Japanologist Basil Hall Chamberlain, who witnessed the process at first hand, described it in an essay titled "The Invention of a New Religion" (reprinted in *Japanese Things,* Tokyo, 1971). Others have pointed out that all successful traditions require periodic reinvention, and Shintō may be no exception. Even if Shintō as it is known today was invented at the time of the Meiji restoration in 1868, all scholars agree that there have been systems of shrines dedicated to *kami* in Japan throughout recorded history and perhaps before, so an ancient, continuous tradition of *kami*-worship, whether it be called Shintō or not, must surely be acknowledged in any analysis of Shintō past and present. Moreover, the Japanese imperial line is undeniably ancient, continuous, and bound up with *kami* beliefs. Thus, the debate has shifted from a simple either/or issue (either Shintō is a modern invention or it is an ancient enduring tradition) to detailed enquiries into such topics as the past and present use of the term *Shintō;* ways of discerning and discussing continuity and change in *kami* worship within an overarching Buddhist context; the relations between the imperial institution, *kami,* and shrines over long periods of time; and the role of Shintō within contemporary Japanese religion and society.

As a result of Kuroda's work, the term *Shintō* is now used with great caution by scholars, especially when dealing with premodern eras. Studies of Japanese religion now consciously seek to avoid making false distinctions between Shintō and Buddhism as if these have always represented separate spheres of life. Even in contemporary Japan, where Shintō shrines and Buddhist temples have been institutionally separate since 1868 and it might seem to make sense to speak of Shintō and Buddhism as different religions, most people who visit shrines to the *kami* also visit Buddhist temples, and often for similar purposes, namely to seek "practical benefits" (*genze riyaku, kubosa*) such as easy childbirth, safe travel, true love, or success in examinations. Many, though not all, of the successful new religions of Japan also incorporate both Shintō and Buddhist themes into their rituals and beliefs. Shintō and Buddhist discourses, therefore, continue to be integrated in various ways within the lived experience of Japanese people. Kuroda's dismissal of an imagined past in which a distinctive, indigenous Shintō tradition persisted separately from Buddhism has thus highlighted continuities, as well as discontinuities, between pre- and post-Meiji Japanese religion.

SHINTŌ IN JAPANESE HISTORY. Since Shintō has meant different things at different times, it makes sense to approach the study of Shintō historically, so that themes which emerge can be treated within their historical context rather than as features of a timeless Shintō. The major systems of belief and practices relating to *kami* and shrines can then be considered without prejudging the issue of whether in a particular time and place these are best described as *Shintō.* For convenience, Japanese history will be divided into five periods, approximately as follows:

- Early Japan (prehistory–ninth century CE).
- Medieval Japan (tenth–sixteenth centuries).
- Edo period (1600–1868).
- Meiji restoration to World War II (1868–1945).
- Contemporary Japan (1945–present).

Early Japan. Neo-traditionalists assert that there was an unnamed, indigenous religion in Japan focusing on the worship of *kami,* and that this tradition was obliged to name itself Shintō in order to distinguish itself from the Buddhism later introduced from China and Korea. In practice, it is very difficult to disentangle different strands of ritual and belief and to identify one element as indigenous and another as imported. Archaeological evidence suggests that in prehistoric Japan (before 400 CE), spiritual powers related to water supplies, agriculture, seafaring, and other precarious undertakings were worshipped at various sites. The introduction of rice culture from the mainland encouraged hierarchical forms of community, whose leaders' authority was reinforced by rituals for the *kami.* Chinese accounts provide the earliest written information on Japan, reporting among other things that spiritual forces could be deployed by powerful women. The *Weizhi,* a Chinese text from the late third century CE, famously describes a Queen Pimiko who maintained her rule by what the Chinese called "magic and sorcery." Fifth-century Chinese histories tell of five Japanese kings who, like their Korean counterparts, sent tributes to China and received mirrors, ceremonial swords, and other gifts from the Chinese emperor in return. Such prized items evidently came to be used widely for ritual purposes.

The "kings" known to the Chinese were probably the rulers of the Yamato clan, which by the late fourth century had already achieved political dominance over other powerful clans in eastern, central, and western Japan. The main site of the Yamato court was at Mount Miwa in central Japan, where Ōmononushi, the protective deity of the Yamato, was worshipped as "the spirit of the land." Around the fifth century, Chinese-style notions of an all-embracing imperial rule meant that the competing clans progressively converged under a central authority, adopting common myths of origin. Huge burial tombs constructed for the Yamato rulers at this time attested to their military and political dominance. Royal funeral and succession rites were developed that involved pacification of the deceased king's spirit through a recitation of his genealogy and accomplishments. Members of immigrant clans with expertise in writing were in charge of these rituals. They developed methods of recording names and other Japanese terms using Chinese characters phonetically. The two earliest such writings, the *Kojiki* (Record of ancient matters, 712 CE) and *Nihonshoki* (Chronicle of Japan, 720 CE) affirm the divine ancestry of the Yamato line and provide detailed accounts of "the age of the gods," including the creation of the world and the descent of certain *kami* to the land. Sub-narratives chronicling the subordination of descendants of "earthly *kami*" appear to symbolize the conquest of previously independent clans. The founding myths (*engi*) of great seafaring shrines such as the Sumiyoshi Taisha (in modern Osaka) are also retold, locating established sites of ritual power within the Yamato story.

Through such narratives, influenced heavily by Chinese themes and first written down almost two centuries after Buddhism came to Japan, the Yamato claimed the sun deity Amaterasu as their ancestor, enshrining this important *kami* at Ise in the direction of the sunrise and dedicating a succession of imperial princesses to officiate at the Ise shrines. While the cult of Amaterasu became increasingly important to the preservation of the emperor's mystique, the removal of Amaterasu's shrine from the Yamato court and the delegation of worship at Ise to female members of the imperial family at this time suggest that female ritualists who, like Queen Pimiko, had previously played an important ritual-political role at the center, were now to be marginalized.

Court offerings and the registering of shrines. Under Yamato rule, regular offerings of "divine treasures" made to the court symbolized the fealty of subordinate clans. Archaeological findings show that certain ancient ritual sites of strategic importance to Yamato rule attracted thousands of offerings from the Yamato court over many centuries. An example is Oki no shima, a small island off the coast of northwest Kyushu dedicated to the deity Munakata, a *kami* revered by local clans with important links to the continent. The implication is that the Yamato made ritual offerings to raise the status of selected shrines in order to secure relations with important subordinate clans. Such exchanges, and subsequent systems of registering and ranking important shrines by the central authority served to reinforce the Chinese-style notion of the Japanese emperor as absolute lord of "all under heaven." Under the Ritsuryō system of Chinese law, introduced in the seventh century, the notion of Japan as a single realm controlled by the emperor was reinforced by the propagation of Buddhism from the center and the appropriation of local *kami* cults by the central government. Imperial rites such as the mysterious *daijōsai* ritual of imperial succession involved offerings from representative shrines, while seasonal court rituals following the agricultural cycle, such as the *niiname* (ritual of new rice), and official *norito* prayers to the *kami* were replicated in major shrines throughout Japan.

The management of these ritual activities was the province of several lineages of court ritualists, including the influential Nakatomi clan, who in 669 divided into two branches. One branch retained the Nakatomi name and responsibility for ritual affairs, while the members of the Fujiwara branch rose to an unparalleled position as the controlling political family of Japan in their roles as ministers, advisers, regents, and heirs to the imperial line. Like other leading clans based in the capital, the Fujiwara now sought to affirm a continuing inherited right to political power by developing a cult of their own clan deity (*ujigami),* a powerful ancestral *kami* to be worshipped exclusively by their own clan. Since the Fujiwara had no such deity, the thunderbolt *kami,* Takemikazuchi, originally enshrined at Kashima in the east, was ritually "invited" to the court capital, along with the divine ancestor *kami* of the Nakatomi. From the eighth century these deities occupied the Kasuga shrine, which thus became the tutelary shrine of the Fujiwara clan, part of the Kofukuji-Kasuga temple-shrine complex around which the Nara capital developed. Subsequently, the Fujiwara's clan rites at Kasuga became part of the official ritual calendar, thus blurring the distinction between public, Ritsuryō-style state ritual at recognized shrines and "private" observances at important independent shrines.

While court histories and chronicles provide a wealth of data about the view from the center, there is scant information from this period about nonregulated cults and practices pursued at provincial shrines and no evidence that these shrines shared a common theology or ritual practice that could be called Shintō. Local records (*fudoki*) indicate that rites were performed by local clan chiefs doubling as ritual specialists—to propitiate angry *kami,* for example. These rites were normally held in *yashiro,* open places of assembly, rather than in shrine buildings. The growing influence of Buddhist and Daoist ideas gave shape to some local rites, while the increase in offerings to and from the court and registered shrines required more permanent shrine buildings to provide storage. The court policy of making grants of money, land, and official rank to local communities through officially registered shrines encouraged the creation of such shrines in virtually every community. Most major shrines developed from the eighth century as *jingūji,* or shrine-temples. These were sites of veneration of buddhas and *kami* which acquired considerable economic and political power as well as religious significance. The Ritsuryō understanding of power as something distributed from the center and transmitted by heredity fostered claims by leading provincial clans for recognition as branches of the major clans already established at court. Applications for shrines to be registered and ranked ever higher on the basis of the power or miracles of their *kami* proliferated. By the tenth century the *Engishiki* (Procedures of the Engi era) recorded nearly three thousand officially recognized shrines throughout Japan, far too many for the Ministry of Kami Affairs (Jingikan) to cope with. In practice, a few hundred "national official shrines" in the central provinces and some shrines of particularly powerful deities throughout the country remained under the aegis of the ministry, while the majority of local shrines developed in their own ways, increasingly under the influence of Buddhism. The ambitious project of regulating shrines and temples according to the Ritsuryō system did not achieve its goal, but more than a thousand years later, in 1868, it was to provide a reference point for the "restoration" of supposedly Shintō institutions such as the Jingikan.

Early references to the term Shintō. Most early references to the *kami* connected with the Yamato court and the imperial line allude to them as *jingi,* a high-status term for the heavenly deities drawn from Chinese Confucian vocabulary. Thus laws relating to *kami*, called *jingi-ryo,* were administered by the Jingikan. However the *Nihonshoki* also contains the earliest rare occurrences of the word *Shintō.* At the time, this term was pronounced "*jindō*" (equivalent to the term *shen-dao* in Chinese, meaning "spirits"). The *Nihonshoki* records that Emperor Yomei "had faith in the *buddhadharma* and 'revered' *jindō*" while Emperor Kotoku "revered the *buddhadharma* but 'scorned' *jindō*" (he is said to have cut down the trees at a shrine). Interpretations of these brief references to *Shintō* vary; some scholars find in them evidence that Shintō was recognized at this early stage as a religion separate from Buddhism; others have proposed the meaning "Daoism." Because these references relate to the two emperors' contribution to the establishment of Buddhism in Japan, *jindō* most probably just means "spirits" and refers to individual, potentially troublesome, local *kami* who could be pacified by Buddhist rites (a usage of the term *shen-dao* well-attested in Chinese Buddhist sources) rather than to a system of religious thought and practice regarded as an alternative to Buddhism.

Medieval Japan. The medieval period witnessed a variety of developments in systems of *kami*-worship, stimulated by social and political changes and the spread of Buddhism and other Chinese religious influences. It is often said that an "amalgamation of *kami* and buddhas" (*shinbutsu shūgō*) took place in the medieval period or earlier. The phrase *shinbutsu shūgō* is regularly encountered in modern writing; it is the antonym of *shinbutsu bunri* or "dissociation of *kami* and buddhas." This dissociation did occur (though it was not at the time called *shinbutsu bunri*) and can be dated to a specific point in time, 1868. However, there is no comparable moment in early Japan where *kami* and buddhas came together fully formed; rather, the various notions of *kami* encountered in Japanese history were developed through interaction with continental modes of thought, including Buddhism, itself susceptible to a degree of adaptation in the new context. As we have seen, early representations of the imperial *kami* as *jingi* owed something to Chinese ideas, while the notion of *jindō* construed *kami* as spirits within a Chinese-style Buddhist worldview. An example of amalgamation is the god Hachiman, in some respects the greatest divinity in Japan. Hachiman was already strongly identified with the propagation of Buddhism before he rose to prominence at court in the early eighth century, having been ceremonially transported from western Japan to Nara to endorse the building of the Great Eastern Temple (the Todaiji). Until 1868 this divinity was normally referred to as Great Bodhisattva Hachiman; after the dissociation of 1868 he became, and still is now, Great Kami Hachiman.

Buddhism has a long history of assimilating local spirits into its own cosmology and soteriology. Already in China there existed well-developed theories of "temporary appearance" (in Japanese: *keshin*) and "original source–trace manifestation" (*honji-suijaku*; the idea that local divinities emanate from the original Buddha). These theories accounted for the various outward forms manifested by cosmic, ultimately formless, buddhas and *bodhisattvas* to accomplish the liberation of all beings from this world of illusion. By the medieval period a richly articulated international Buddhist worldview, fifteen hundred years in the making and transmitted through esoteric lineages of monastic masters and disciples, predominated in Japan. The key question was how a particular shrine or *kami* was to be incorporated within a religious discourse that was overwhelmingly Buddhist. There was no single answer to this question, and we find shrine and temple priests offered a wide range of explanations, from the view that *kami*, like other sentient beings, need to receive Buddhist teaching in order to attain salvation (these were referred to as "real" *kami* or *jisshin,* literally "they are merely what they seem"), through the notion favored particularly at court that the *kami* are the special guardians of Buddhism (and therefore of Japan as a Buddhist kingdom), to declarations by the new Shintō medieval cults that the *kami* are not only fully enlightened but, in a reversal of the Buddhist formula, are really the foundational entities underlying the temporary forms of the buddhas and *bodhisattvas* worshipped in India, China, and Japan. Some *kami* were also identified as angry spirits (*goryō*) of notable historical figures who had been unfairly disgraced or died in tragic circumstances. They expressed their anguish through curses (*tatari*) which took the form of epidemics, and cults were developed for their pacification; once appeased they could evolve into benign and powerful *kami.* Even *jisshin,* or "real" *kami,* could actually be buddhas who had temporarily "dimmed their light and mingled with the dust" (*wakō dōjin*), the more effectively to teach the *buddhadharma* in human or animal forms. In general, the status of miscellaneous *kami* rose within the Buddhist hierarchical cosmos during the early and medieval periods to the point where identifying either a buddha or a major *kami* as the focus of worship became a matter of style rather than substance; a situation which still prevails today.

The twenty-two shrines. Attempts under the Ritsuryō system to establish central control of local shrines through registration, award of ranks, reciprocal offerings, and unification of rites had come to an end by the eleventh century. Only a small elite group known as "the twenty-two shrines," with close ties to the emperor and the Fujiwara, now received court offerings and shrine visits from members of the court. These great shrines, more accurately shrine-temple complexes, came to possess significant economic and political power. Through donation of lands they developed extensive, tax-free estates able to support a full-time clergy. The priests developed intricate and often secret rationales and rituals designed to conserve and reinforce the close associations between the shrine-temple complex, its various deities, and the ruling elite. Such associations involved systems of equivalences, identifying local divinities with named buddhas and *bodhisattvas.* This precious knowledge, which coupled the fortunes of the ruler to the well-being of the cultic site, was recorded in documents which came to acquire the status of sacred texts, comparable to Buddhist esoteric manuals.

The secret teachings of the shrine-temple complexes incorporated yin and yang theory, Confucianism, and other elements derived from continental thought, and they provided a point of departure for new "Shintō" theories about the sacred sites and their divinities. This in turn fostered popular devotion to the shrine-temples in the form of worship, pilgrimage, and donations. Pilgrimage became increasingly popular as a religious practice among the court aristocracy of the late Heian period. In the Kamakura period (1185–1333), the practice spread to lower orders of society, with a consequent increase in both the numbers of pilgrims and their economic importance to the shrine-temple complexes. The teachings available to devotees underlined the importance of visiting the shrines, which came to be understood as reservoirs of spiritual purity, endowed with the power to enlighten. The teachings also identified the combinatory divinities at each shrine. At Ise, for example, the sun goddess Tenshōdaijin (Amaterasu) was the Buddha Vairochana (Jap., Rushana, Dainichi-nyorai) or according to another source the Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara (Jap., Kannon bosatsu). These divinities, endowed with magical and healing powers, offered advantages to all who came within their ambit in quest of miracles, religious merit, or enlightenment.

Late medieval developments. Most shrines throughout the country were obliged to seek new supporters from near or far, and the steady decline of the court meant that by the fifteenth century even the twenty-two shrines were receiving negligible imperial support, though their reputation as top shrines persisted. Provincial governors, meanwhile, founded civic shrines in local capitals to host public rituals for the landowning elite, featuring military, theatrical, and agricultural rites and displays. In a context of political instability, military clans originally formed by warring landowners rose to power, eventually eclipsing the resources and ritual status of the court and promulgating their own forms of religiosity. The Minamoto military clan, which provided Japan's first shogun in 1192, adopted as their ancestral and tutelary deity Hachiman, the *bodhisattva-kami* long associated with both military conquest and Buddhist merit.

The new combinatory cults, based at shrine-temple complexes but propagating their teachings to a wider audience, therefore viewed both *kami* and Buddhist divinities as enlightened beings. They offered specific means of salvation to individuals, in the manner of esoteric Buddhist lineages. The combinatory cults drew in different proportions on Buddhist, Daoist, Confucian, and *kami* beliefs, and during the Kamakura period came to dominate the medieval religious landscape. Although some of these combinatory cults may be described as Shintō and others as Buddhist, this is not a particularly helpful way of understanding their nature and role in the medieval context. From the perspective of a modern Shintōist, movements such as Watarai Shintō or Yoshida Shintō might be construed as the first tentative shoots of a later revival of "pure" Shintō, but in the context of their time they were creative religious movements that, like the "new Buddhisms" of the Kamakura period, drew inspiration from images, rituals, and doctrine selected from a variety of sources. Their founders and systematizers added new elements and interpretations, sometimes presenting these as ancient truths, to provide a meaningful and authoritative path to salvation for contemporary worshipers faced with a range of religious possibilities.

The leadership of these combinatory cults was exclusively male, as was the perspective of their writings. Where a public religious role relied on heredity this was patrilineal, with adoption of a suitable male heir where necessary. Religious institutions and movements in medieval Japan, whether interpreting native, Chinese, or Buddhist strands of thought, shared and thereby reinforced a long-established view of women as lesser beings, subject to various "hindrances" such as blood pollution and turbulent emotions that rendered them unfit for any responsible public role within a religious hierarchy, or indeed any other field of governance. Although women were encouraged to participate in the expanding popular cults as ordinary pilgrims, supplicants, or worshipers, and some of the new Buddhist movements such as Pure Land and Nichiren asserted their theoretical spiritual equality, the contributions that women undoubtedly made to the development of the medieval combinatory cults remain largely invisible to history.

Ryōbu, Watarai, and Sannō Shintō. Among the most successful cults developed by the twenty-two shrines were Ryōbu Shintō and Watarai Shintō, both focusing on the Ise shrines; and Sannō Shintō, based at Mount Hiei. As imperial support declined, popular ritual activities based on these teachings provided significant economic support for the major complexes. The success of these cultic centers formed the popular and enduring conception of *kami* as enlightened beings at least equal to buddhas, and they redefined pilgrimage and other shrine rituals as techniques of individual purification and enlightenment.

Ryōbu (Dual) Shintō developed as an aspect of Shingon Buddhist thought, both to account for the existence of two shrines at Ise (one dedicated to Amaterasu, the other to the food deity Toyouke) and to explain the place of these important imperial *kami* within esoteric Buddhist cosmology and ritual practice. Buddhism had been taboo within the Ise shrine ever since a notorious bid in 768 by the priest Dōkyō to succeed his protégée, the nun-empress Shōtoku, as emperor. Had he been successful, Dōkyō's accession to the throne would have destroyed the principle of heredity on which not only the imperial succession but also the power and status of the Fujiwara and other major clans at court relied. Once Dōkyō had been thwarted, thanks to an oracle from the *bodhisattva-kami* Hachiman at Usa, which rejected Dōkyō's claim to the throne, Ise was reconstituted as an inviolable symbol of the hereditary imperial line, out of bounds to Buddhist priests, Buddhist raiment, and even Buddhist vocabulary. Nevertheless, Buddhism thrived at Ise, and it was priest-monks associated with the Ise estates who produced the medieval texts underpinning Ryōbu Shintō. *Dual,* in the context of Ryōbu Shintō, refers to the two *maṇḍalas* of Shingon esoteric Buddhism and their correspondence to the two Ise shrines. Texts such as the *Nakatomi Harae Kunge* (Exegesis of the Nakatomi Purification Formula) produced by Ise monks explained that the taboo on signs of Buddhism within the precincts of the shrine resulted from a pact made in the Age of the Gods between Amaterasu and the demon king, who feared that Japan, once created, would become a Buddhist country. Amaterasu cleverly offered to ban Buddhism at her shrine if the demon king promised not to destroy the land. Thus the Ise taboo existed to guarantee, not to oppose, the spread of Buddhism in Japan.

On the basis of such theories and other "secret" texts, which later became known as the Five Books of Shintō (*Shintō gobusho*), priests of the Watarai lineage in charge of the Ise Outer Shrine argued, on the basis of Chinese yin-yang theory, quotations from the *Nihonshoki,* and other sources, that the shrine of Toyouke was equal, and in fact superior, to that of Amaterasu, deity of the Inner Shrine. These debates, which on occasion generated bitter lawsuits between the two shrines, had more than scholastic implications; the success of the Watarai pilgrimage trade depended on pilgrims' confidence that to visit the Outer Shrine of Toyouke was to visit the real Ise shrine. Although the Watarai declined in influence after supporting the losing Southern side in the contest of the Northern and Southern courts (1336–1392), Ise Shintō theories were subsequently taken up by the Arakida family of Inner Shrine priests and by various Buddhist sects, while elements of these Ise Shintō teachings, such as the notion of a God of Great Origin, were also disseminated through Yoshida Shintō.

While Ise Shintō was closely though not exclusively derived from Shingon Buddhist theories, Sannō Shintō (Shintō of the Mountain King) was a complex tradition of cosmology, ritual, and art flowing from the great Tendai temple-shrine complex on Mount Hiei outside Kyoto, originally founded in the ninth century by Saichō. Worship of seven indigenous and invited deities, including the combinatory deity Hie Sannō, formed the focus of the Sannō cult, whose intricate theoretical basis was developed by specialist monastic chroniclers (*kike*) drawing on a great variety of Buddhist and other sources. The wealth of equivalences, correspondences, and cross-references in the theoretical systems underpinning the cultic complexes meant significant overlap and integration between the different systems; so, for example, Sannō was also Amaterasu, deity of Ise, and an emanation (*gongen*) of the Buddha Shakyamuni.

Japan as a land of the gods (shinkoku). The period from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries saw a post-Ritsuryō structure emerge in which Japan was conceived not as a reflection of the ideal Chinese state but as a separate Buddhist land, and indeed as a center for the spread of Buddhism. The imperial line secured its future by defending Buddhism and the power of Buddhism protected the country. Esoteric Buddhism reached the peak of its ritual influence at court, while the "new Buddhisms" of the Kamakura period, emphasizing the perils of *mappō* (the degenerate age of the *dharma*) and the corresponding need for "easy" methods of liberation, vied to offer techniques of salvation designed by the buddhas for the special time and circumstances of Japan. Nichiren (1222–1282), for example, argued that the *kami* who protected Buddhism (and hence the country) had abandoned Japan because of neglect of the *Lotus Sūtra.* The popular notion of Japan as a *shinkoku,* or land of the *kami,* at this time relied on the *honji-suijaku* understanding of *kami* as emanations, traces, or local appearances of the cosmic buddhas and *bodhisattvas*, or as guardians of the *dharma.* The existence of these pro-Buddhist divinities throughout the country provided conclusive evidence that Japan, as a *shinkoku,* or divine land, was, along with India and China, one of the three great centers of the Buddhist world. This notion reinforced the legitimacy of the emperor as protector of Buddhism and validated the activities of numerous cults performing religious rituals and maintaining sacred sites. Subsequently, following the abortive Mongol invasions of the late thirteenth century, the notion of *shinkoku* began to change, implying Japan's superiority to her neighbors, a tendency later encouraged in the Edo period by the rise of National Learning. By the Meiji period, under the influence of nationalist thought and the dissociation of *kami* and buddhas, the Buddhist significance of *shinkoku* was entirely lost, so that to the modern ear the phrase can mean nothing more profound than "the *kami* are on our side."

Yoshida Shintō. Following the catastrophic Ōnin War of 1467–1477 and the final collapse of the system of imperial support for the twenty-two shrines, a new religious movement known, among other names, as Yui-itsu Shintō (the one and only Shintō) emerged in Kyoto. Its founder was the religious entrepreneur Yoshida Kanetomo, a priest at the Yoshida shrine originally founded by the Fujiwara as the Heian branch of their tutelary Kasuga shrine. Kanetomo ostensibly rejected Buddhism in favor of his Yui-itsu Shintō, though the new teachings that he promulgated about the *kami* of the Yoshida shrine struck a chord with his audience precisely because they offered an attractive synthesis of the prevailing forms of religious knowledge, arranging Buddhist, Confucian, and Daoist or yin-yang ideas according to principles of Chinese numerology. Kanetomo secured the endorsement of the emperor for his interpretation of Shintō, even for the bold claim that all the major divinities of Japan, including the deities of Ise, had migrated to the Yoshida shrine, so that a pilgrimage or offering to the Yoshida shrine was now the only effective way to benefit from the power and blessings of these deities. Although the rise of Yoshida Shintō inevitably provoked opposition from other cultic sites, Kanetomo's version of Shintō was outstandingly successful. It grew to the status of a nationwide cult, spreading elements of Ryōbu and Watarai Shintō along with Kanetomo's ideas.

Yoshida Shintō used for its own propagation an image known as "the oracles of the three shrines" (*sanja takusen*). This took the form of a scroll inscribed with the names of the top three shrines in Japan (Ise, Kasuga, and Iwashimizu Hachiman; these three were seen as representing all shrines) and three brief oracular statements affirming the virtues of honesty, purity, and compassion. These three shrines also represented, according to Fujiwara tradition, a covenant made in the Age of the Gods between the Fujiwara (Kasuga), the shogunate (Hachiman), and the imperial house (Ise) to cooperate in the rule of Japan. Copies of the scroll formed a kind of virtual shrine at which the deities of the Yoshida shrine could be revered. By such means, followers of Yoshida Shintō were encouraged to identify all shrines as signifiers of the parent Yoshida shrine in Kyoto.

Edo Period (1600–1868). Following many decades of civil war and the sudden appearance, and almost as sudden disappearance after a century, of Catholic Westerners, the Edo period saw the growth of cities and the rise of a prosperous merchant class, the government's incorporation of all Buddhist sects, regardless of religious differences, into a single nationwide system of local temple registration, and the favoring of neo-Confucianism as a political philosophy for the military elite. A massive expansion of popular pilgrimage to cultic sites founded on local religious associations, or *kō,* was accompanied by the spread of syncretic religious movements involving *kami* worship. This period witnessed several developments that turned out to be crucial to the formation of modern Shintō. These included the establishment of a viable national system of shrine ranking and registration under the Yoshida and Shirakawa houses; the increasing conceptualization of Shintō as an anti-Buddhist, or at least non-Buddhist, native tradition; the association of Shintō with Confucian ethical thought; and the rise of the most important intellectual tradition behind modern Shintō, that of *Kokugaku,* or National Learning.

Neo-Confucianism. The military leaders who emerged to unite Japan during the sixteenth century following the Warring States period were unable to claim ancestral legitimacy as the rulers of Japan, and they therefore adopted the neo-Confucian notion of *tendō* (the way of heaven) to legitimise their violent appropriation of power. In addition, the first Tokugawa shogun, Ieyasu, was enshrined after his death in the magnificent purpose-built mausoleum of Nikkō, where he was venerated according to Sannō Shintō rites as a *daigongen,* or great emanation of the Buddha. Successive Tokugawa shoguns made official pilgrimages to the Nikkō shrine, symbolically affirming that the enshrined spirit of their ancestor Ieyasu was equivalent in status to the imperial deity of Ise, and a Buddhist divinity.

Under the Tokugawa *bakufu* (government) the influence of Confucian ideas expanded—in particular the neo-Confucianism of Zhu Xi (1130–1200), and to a lesser extent that of Wang Yangming (1472–1529). Neo-Confucianism encouraged "the investigation of things"; an activity which could take the form of rational enquiry or Zen-like methods of contemplation. Confucianism encouraged the study of the ancient past, the days of Confucius, as the template for an ideal society. Originally this meant China's past, but among Japanese scholars interest shifted towards that which was specifically Japanese: the Age of the Gods as documented in native Japanese literature. Neo-Confucianism in China already had an anti-Buddhist character, and this too was transferred to Japan. The combination of anti-Buddhist sentiment and interest in ancient Japanese texts led some thinkers in the Tokugawa period to distinguish Buddhism as a separate category from Japan's indigenous tradition, which some identified as Shintō.

Attempts to separate out a form of Shintō that would be independent of Buddhism required a radical rethinking of key Shintō concepts in non-Buddhist terms. Here again, Confucianism provided an alternative philosophical legitimation, in this case for Shintō notions such as *kami.* A number of influential theorists of the early Edo period sought an intellectual rapprochement between Confucianism and Shintō. Hayashi Razan (1583–1657) was an independent scholar and advisor to the *bakufu* who developed a theory of *kami* as *ri* (principle). He undertook extensive studies of major shrines and their cults with the aim of showing that they were, or should have been, distinct from Buddhism. Yamaga Sokō (1622–1685) argued that the ethical ideals exemplified in ancient Shintō predated Chinese ethics, and therefore Japan, not China, should be regarded as the Middle Kingdom, an idea later taken up by proponents of National Learning. Yoshikawa Koretari (1616–1694) modernized Yoshida Shintō teachings by linking them to neo-Confucianism, focusing on the virtue of self-denial (*tsutsushimi*) to be achieved by purification (*harae*). Yamazaki Ansai (1616–1682) developed an extremely influential system which he called Suika Shintō, based on a reference to an oracle in a thirteenth-century Ise Shintō text which declares: "To receive divine beneficence (*sui*), give priority to prayer; to obtain divine protection (*ka*), make uprightness your basis." In Ansai's Confucian reading of the Shintō scriptures, *kami* were again identified with the principle (*ri*) that unites heaven and man. *Kami* inheres in the human heart or mind (*kokoro*) and should be united and venerated there through sincerity and prayer. Elaborating on Confucian notions of respect and self-denial, Ansai interpreted the *Nihonshoki* and *Kojiki* narratives as documenting eternal relations between imperial line, lord, and vassal. The intellectual and esoteric aspects of Suika Shintō came to influence the imperial court, to the extent that some ancient court rites were revived in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Ansai's ideas were subsequently developed in different ways by his numerous disciples and their schools. The idea that Confucian ethics and Shintō rites are natural bedfellows continued into the modern period in the post-Meiji emperor system (exemplified, for example, in the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education) and in prewar teachings on national morality.

Shrines and temples in the Edo period. In order to control the shrines, the Tokugawa *bakufu* restricted the land holdings of the twenty-two shrine complexes and placed them under the control of local *daimyō* (feudal lords). In 1665 they granted to the Yoshida family and to certain court families, notably the Shirakawa, the power to grant licenses (ranks) to shrine priests. The intention was to give the Yoshida, as servants of the *bakufu*, an effective monopoly over licensing. Although disputes continued well into the Edo period between the Yoshida and Shirakawa over the boundaries of their respective influence, the system provided the government for the first time with meaningful central control over the activities of virtually all shrines and their priests in Japan. Meanwhile, as one of the measures designed to expel Christianity, Buddhist temples throughout Japan had been organized into parishes where local families, including those of shrine priests, were required to register and to conduct their family's funeral rites. As the economy grew during the Edo period, the family system that required the eldest son to perform ancestral rituals spread to all levels of society and led to an increasing need for the services of Buddhist temples. Many Buddhist temples prospered, but their position as administrative agencies of the *bakufu* and their monopoly over funeral rites became a cause for resentment, not least among the rising class of professional shrine priests licensed by the Yoshida and Shirakawa, some of whom wished to conduct funerals of their own. These factors contributed to anti-Buddhist feeling, which in some cases took the form of a pro-Shintō movement. As early as 1666, for example, the government of the Mito domain closed more than a thousand Buddhist temples, ordered all Buddhist objects to be removed from shrines, and ordered a shrine to be built for each village. Overall, however, throughout the Edo period the popular view remained that Shintō and Buddhist institutions, rites, and practices complemented rather than competed with each other.

Increasingly, shrines and temples in prosperous urban areas competed to attract visitors with festivals, entertainments, food, and cultural activities, while popular preachers connected with the Yoshida school, such as the renowned Masuho Zankō (1655–1742), drew large crowds with down-to-earth sermons on Shintō topics. Many festivals developed into their modern forms during the Edo period. The annual calendar was standardized by the Edo *bakufu*, the *gosekku* (five seasonal days) were declared national holidays, and festivals were celebrated on these numerologically significant days. For example, the third day of the third month was *jōshi*—rites of purification in which impurity was transferred to dolls, which were then cast into the water (the origin of today's *hina matsuri,* or doll's festival)—while on the seventh day of the seventh month the *tanabata* star festival was celebrated. From their origins as communal agricultural rites for the *kami*, annual festivals increasingly became spectacles in urban areas, drawing large crowds to view the rituals and processions rather than to participate directly in them.

Religious confraternities. Many local or more widespread religious confraternities (*kō*) developed in this period, some independently of any religious establishment and most often with the goal of pooling funds to enable representative members to travel on pilgrimage to great shrines or sacred mountains. Some of these groups evolved into the Sect Shintō organizations of the Meiji period. The focus of devotion might be pilgrimage (to Ise, the Shikoku circuit, or a host of other venues), or religious practices relating to particular divinities such as Inari, Konjin, or Jizō. Pilgrimage, a predominantly urban phenomenon in the Edo period, offered one of the few legitimate grounds for travel under the Tokugawa regime and provided an essential source of income for major religious institutions. Encouraging and enabling groups and individuals to undertake pilgrimage became a preoccupation of all the important cultic sites. This was particularly true of the Ise complex, which hosted a constant round of regular pilgrimages organized by the shrine's countrywide network of enterprising *oshi* (pilgrim-masters). A popular jingle ran, "You should visit Ise at least once in your life," while another, mindful of the many worldly distractions available to wide-eyed pilgrims, advised "When you go to Ise, don't forget to visit the shrine!" Remarkably, several apparently spontaneous mass nationwide pilgrimages to Ise, some involving millions of people, occurred at intervals of about seventy years throughout the Edo period. Reflecting the changing meaning of the shrine and the requirements of the pilgrimage trade, the oracles of the three shrines (*sanja takusen*) scroll, which in the late medieval period had signified the enshrinement of the top three deities at the Yoshida shrine in Kyoto, now displayed personified images of the gods as combinatory divinities. With Amaterasu at its center (in male Buddhist garb; the gender of Amaterasu became fixed only after the Meiji period) the scroll came to be regarded primarily as a souvenir of pilgrimage to Ise. According to the beliefs and values of the particular *kō* involved, and the nature of the shrines and temples visited *en route,* the pilgrimage itself might be conceived as embodying acts of religious merit-making, purification, expiation, petition, intercession, or healing.

Prominent among mountain-worship *kō* were those focusing on Mount Fuji. Mountains in Japan represent "otherness" for agricultural communities and have often been the site of encounters with buddhas, *kami,* and other spiritual beings. Agricultural rites commonly celebrated the descent of *kami* to the rice fields and their return to the mountains. Shūgendō religious specialists conducted elaborate combinatory rituals in which participation in the ascent of the mountain represented a spiritual birth, death, purification, and enlightenment. Edo-period mountain cults became eclectic and adapted to the interests of the common people. *Fuji-kō,* religious associations focusing on Mount Fuji, were inaugurated in the early seventeenth century by Hasegawa Takematsu, or Kakugyō, whose spiritual powers derived from ascetic practices performed at the mountain. Around eight hundred Fuji sects developed, attracting worshippers mainly from Edo and the surrounding area. To follow just one thread: in 1688 after an ascent of Mount Fuji inspired by Kakugyo's teachings, Ito Jikigyō (1671–1733) revealed himself to be an emanation of the Bodhisattva Miroku (Maitreya, the coming Buddha). Jikigyō's *Miroku-ha* (Maitreyism) teachings emphasizing faith in Mount Fuji attracted a wide following. They were subsequently reinterpreted, first by Kotani Sanshi Rokugyō (d. 1841) who taught that the whole world was under the care of the *kami* "mother and father of all" (*moto no chichi-haha*) who resided on Mount Fuji, and again after the Meiji restoration by Shibata Hamamori (1809–1890), who erased Buddhist elements, emphasized emperor worship, and is now regarded as the founder of the modern Jikkyō-kyō. The movement was recognized as a Shintō sect and named Shintō Jikkyō-kyō in 1882. Shibata's son attended the 1893 World Parliament of Religions in Chicago. The teachings today emphasize cheerfulness and sincerity; thousands of members dressed in white ascend Mount Fuji in August shouting "*rokkon shōjō*" ("purification of the six sense-organs") originally a phrase found in the *Lotus Sūtra*, though the group maintains a strong Shintō identity. The ascent of sacred mountains was normally denied to women before the Meiji restoration.

National Learning (Kokugaku). From the early eighteenth century, as economic growth, increasing literacy, and the spread of printed literature extended opportunities for scholarly study among the lower levels of society, Confucian interpretations of Shintō began to be overtaken by rationalist and philological studies of native literature. Rather than seeking arcane correspondences between Shintō and Chinese systems of thought, scholars interested in Japanese ancient customs began to approach the study of Japanese literature in a critical and empirical manner, examining in painstaking detail different recensions of texts and the forms of writing used in different periods of Japanese history. These researches led, among other things, to the debunking of much of the literature produced by medieval Shintō. Yoshimi Yoshikazu, for example, compared the Watarai's *Shintō gobusho* (the Five Books of Shintō) with texts of the Nara period to prove that the Watarai "ancient" texts were in fact the product of medieval minds. Similar devastating critiques were aimed at the Yoshida and Suika Shintō sacred books.

These methodological advances underpinned the development of what came to be known as *Kokugaku* (National Learning or Japanese Studies). Initially this was an academic discipline that sought to uncover the forms of Japanese culture that existed before any influence from outside, in particular before the introduction of Buddhism and Chinese thought. Favorite topics were early Japanese collections of poetry such as the *Man'yōshū* and *Kokinshū* and the narratives relating to *kami* in the *Nihonshoki* and *Kojiki.* Kada Azumamaro (1669–1736) was perhaps the first writer to offer a nonliteral account of the Age of the Gods in the *Nihonshoki,* arguing that the myths depicted an ethical ideal to which humans should aspire. His disciple Kamo no Mabuchi (1697–1769) took a similar approach to the *Man'yōshū,* identifying desirable "Japanese" qualities of masculine vigor and spontaneity which, he argued, were later obscured by the introduction of undesirable "feminine" literary and aesthetic values imported from the continent.

In the late eighteenth century, National Learning developed from an academic discipline into a significant socioreligious movement made up of scholars with large followings whose goal became the "restoration" (*fukko*) of Shintō. The major figure in this movement and a towering figure in Japanese intellectual history was Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801). Inspired by Kamo no Mabuchi to turn his attention to ancient Japanese literature in search of the original Japanese "way," Norinaga's remarkable critical scholarship and relentless schedule of lecture tours gained him hundreds of dedicated disciples and nationwide recognition. His major commentary on the *Kojiki* remains an authoritative work. In terms of literary theory, Norinaga argued that the truth of things was set out in the ancient texts; though obscure it could be grasped by the sincere Japanese heart. He elevated unmediated feeling and the "movement of the heart" over Confucian and Buddhist scholastic moralizing and identified these suprarational qualities as unique to the Japanese way, thus providing his contemporaries with a new nativist lens through which to view the classics of Japanese literature. In the narratives of the Age of the Gods he found both a literal account and an ideal of ethical behavior manifested in the inviolable imperial line.

Hirata Atsutane and restoration Shintō. Norinaga's approach was thoroughly Japanocentric, and it is this aspect of his thought that became most prominent in the teachings of Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843). Atsutane was inspired by Norinaga's writings and later came to be regarded as Norinaga's successor in *Kokugaku,* though the two never actually met. Atsutane's approach was more religious than literary, and as a scholar he proved eclectic and populist, without the intellectual rigor of Norinaga. Drawing on the notion of an original "Japanese way" superior to the continental philosophies, Atsutane developed the theory that Shintō was a universal religion that lay at the root of all religious truth, wherever found. This enabled Atsutane to incorporate popular Buddhist ideas such as karma, ancestor worship, geomancy, and the spirit world into his teaching on the grounds that these were elements of original Shintō that had also found their way into lesser, foreign religions. His approach was actually not very different from that of the medieval Shintō theorists who sought correspondences between the Age of the Gods, Buddhism, and yin and yang. Perhaps because of this, and the fact that he had acquired a large following in several areas of Japan, Atsutane was commissioned first by the Yoshida and then by the Shirakawa to teach Shintō to shrine priests. Atsutane's adopted son Kanetane successfully expanded the movement after his father's death and in the 1850s, as Japan reopened to the West, the Hirata school's pro-Japanese and antiforeign views attracted new followers from all classes, including influential samurai concerned about Japan's fragile international position. To secure the "Japanese way" in the face of the foreign threat, the Hirata faction envisaged a restored Shintō in which the Yoshida and Shirakawa would play a prominent role.

The influential restoration ideologue Ōkuni Takamasa (1792–1871) held Atsutane in high esteem and used some of Atsutane's ideas on comparative religion in his own attempts to accommodate Christianity, speculating that Adam, Eve, and Cain were *kami* sent from Japan to open up the Western world, while the Virgin who bore Jesus may have been the *kami* Hiruko. However, despite the Hirata school's passion for the restoration of Shintō and Okuni's regard for Atsutane's theories, it was not the Hirata vision of Shintō that was "restored" when the emperor came to power in 1868. Instead, a refurbished system of imperial ritual was introduced, controlled from the court. Devised by Ōkuni and colleagues from the Tsuwano fief, it offered no role to the Yoshida and Shirakawa families, nor to any other schools of Edo-period Shintō. In one major respect, however, it fulfilled a major aim of the Hirata school by instituting a form of Shintō that was regarded as both unique to the Japanese race and separate from Buddhism.

Meiji restoration to World War II. The Meiji restoration of 1868 led to profound changes in every aspect of Japanese life, and the transformation of Shintō has to be understood in this context. The new Meiji government's broad aim was to create as rapidly as possible a modern state out of what had been a feudal society. While the ultimate goal of modernization—a rich, powerful, industrialized empire at least equal to those of the European powers—was hardly in dispute, there was less consensus over the means of achieving the goal and, in particular, the price to be paid for it in terms of loss of meaning and cultural identity. Debates on these topics occupied some of the best minds of the early Meiji period. The first objective of the new Meiji government was to make a break from Tokugawa traditions and to mobilize an unprepared populace to pull in one new direction rather than many. Like other emerging European nations, the Japanese regime sought to build public confidence and cohesion by wrapping radical new ventures in symbols of the past. In the case of Japan, the process perhaps went further than in any other modern nation and was, arguably, more successful.

In the realm of religion, developments in the first few years of the Meiji period were propelled principally by ideology, but also by bureaucratic, political, and economic considerations. With hindsight, a process of trial and error is evident. In regard to local shrines, one of the first acts of the new government, heavily influenced by National Learning ideologues, was to restore the Jingikan (Ministry of Kami Affairs) and assign to it, instead of to the Yoshida and Shirakawa houses, responsibility for all shrines. In an edict of 1871 the shrines were designated as sites for state ritual, abandoning completely any association with the Edo-period schools and theories of Shintō that the authorities regarded as unsuited to the new age. As early as March and April 1868, *shinbutsu hanzen* (clarification of *kami* and buddhas) decrees were issued requesting accounts of the identity of *kami* worshipped at shrines, temples, and festivals nationwide. Priests serving *kami* within Buddhist temples (many such priests combined Buddhist and Shintō clerical roles) had to choose either to become dedicated shrine priests or remain Buddhists; they could not be both. This ruling was particularly damaging to Shūgendō ritualists who occupied the middle ground, even before Shūgendō was banned altogether in 1873. The Buddhist names and identities of *kami* were no longer to be used, which meant that legions of *kami* required new or amended names. *Kami* shrines could no longer contain Buddhist symbols, so statues, paintings, inscriptions, sacred texts, vestments, and other ritual items all had to be removed. This was in many cases a destructive process, marked by hooliganism toward both shrines and Buddhist temples under the slogan "*Haibutsu kishaku!*" ("Expel the Buddha; destroy Shakyamuni!"). Many priceless shrine treasures were destroyed or discarded. The process also entailed the closure of Buddhist temples; between 1868 and 1874, perhaps thirty thousand temples disappeared, and more than fifty thousand Buddhist clerics were returned to lay life.

Meiji Shintō and the Great Teaching. The intention of these initial reforms was not to destroy Buddhism but to redefine Shintō from the center as a state cult, and the consequences of this radical bureaucratic process for local shrines and for those who remained their priests in the early years of Meiji were almost as severe as for Buddhists. During 1869–1870, bitter disputes among Shintō factions in the new Jingikan over the proper rituals to be conducted at shrines paralyzed decisions about the instructions to be issued to shrine priests. Meanwhile, government bureaucrats issued orders for the wholesale rationalization (the merging and closing) of thousands of lesser shrines, in order to leave only one shrine for each administrative area. This shrine would become the focus of a new system of shrine registration (*ujiko shirabe*) intended to supplant the Tokugawa Buddhist temple registration system. Both the notion of shrines as the private property of priests and the principle of heredity for shrine priests were abolished, so that the livelihood of priests hung in the balance. Shrines were first asked to perform funerals, widely regarded as defiling and formerly the preserve of Buddhism, then following the so-called pantheon dispute of 1875 they were forbidden from doing so. These rapid developments left many shrine priests in a state of disarray, justifiably fearful for their own careers, unsure of the nature and status of their shrines, and unclear too about the appropriate teachings they should give and rituals they should perform.

Meanwhile, initiatives were afoot in Tokyo to spread a National Teaching suitable for the new era. This new unified teaching was intended to underpin the concept of shrines as sites reserved exclusively for imperial state rites and not, as had been the case in the Edo period, ritual centers offering a multiplicity of Buddhist and Shintō teachings. Underpinning the promulgation of the National Teaching was a logic that equated the National Teaching with Shintō, and Shintō with the uniquely Japanese "way of humanity" exemplified in the narratives of the Age of the Gods, preserved eternally in the traditions of the imperial house and manifest in codes of government. Shintō, according to this way of thinking, was explicitly distinguished from mere "religions" (such as Christianity, Buddhism, Edo forms of Shintō, and sectarian teachings) which rested on the theories of fallible human founders. The new national creed, referred to as the Great Teaching (*taikyō*) formed the substance of the Great Promulgation Campaign (*taikyō senpu undō*) launched in 1869. Initially the Jingikan sought to employ exemplary individuals as *senkyōshi,* Shintō missionaries, to spread the "three great teachings" (*sanjō no kyōsoku*) to the people at large. *Senkyōshi* of the right calibre, however, proved extremely hard to find, and in 1872 the failing project was transferred to the new (and short-lived) Ministry of Religion, which recruited and trained, though it did not itself finance, a new army of "national evangelists" (*kyōdōshoku*) drawn from many different walks of life to propagate the national creed. These evangelists included Buddhist and Shintō priests, actors, comedians, storytellers, and clergy of new religious movements such as Konkōkyō and Kurozumikyō. The Great Teaching comprised a threefold instruction to the people:

1. Revere the deities and love your country.
2. Make clear the principles of heaven and the way of man.
3. Reverence the emperor and abide by the will of the court.

Inevitably, the various *kyōdōshoku* gave their own slant to the Great Teaching. Experienced Buddhist teachers took the opportunity to integrate the ideas and practices of their own sects, while clergy of semiofficial religious movements welcomed the opportunity to become *kyōdōshoku,* in part to shield their group from possible persecution. Shrine priests, though restricted in that role to the performance of approved state rituals, could earn extra revenue by conducting funerals and other religious functions in the role of national evangelist; such work also financed their evangelism. The three great teachings were of course capable of different interpretations. Official commentaries on the teachings issued to the *kyōdōshoku* encouraged activities such as payment of taxes, the development of a "rich country, strong army," the importation of Western science and culture, and compulsory education.

Shrine Shintō and Sect Shintō. The difficulties of spreading the National Teaching using unpaid intermediaries and problems with persistent doctrinal disputes among shrine factions convinced the Meiji government that the dissemination of national doctrines should not be entrusted to shrine priests, who held many different views on the meanings and purposes of their shrines. Shrine priests were therefore prevented from evangelizing and increasingly confined their activities to state-approved ritual matters, while also maintaining the cults of local tutelary deities on behalf of their parishioners. A new calendar of rites was introduced early in the Meiji period that emphasized rituals for emperors in the "unbroken lineage" and for the first time synchronized the annual ritual cycle of shrines throughout the country with that of the imperial household, thus ascribing to the emperor the role of priest of the nation. Increasingly, Shrine Shintō came to be seen as nonreligious, in the elevated sense of being supra-religious or nondenominational. Some Shintō priests had created independent religious fraternities supportive of the National Teaching while acting as national evangelists, and from the late 1870s these groups were awarded the new status of Shintō sect, a category falling somewhere between Shintō and religion that recognized both their popular religious appeal and their affinities with the national cult. The Shintō sects also included revelatory new religions such as Kurozumikyō and pre-Meiji confraternities such as Shintō Jikkyō-kyō. Up until 1945, the number of Shintō sects was restricted to thirteen, with additional groups such as Ōmoto classed for administrative reasons as sub-sects.

By the first half of the nineteenth century, several new independent religious movements had emerged, each founded by a charismatic shamanic figure spontaneously possessed by a deity that revealed itself to be the parent or universal *kami*: God. These movements, which have been termed "vitalistic," included Tenrikyō, Konkōkyō, and Kurozumikyō. None of these movements initially saw itself as a Shintō movement, but each was eventually recognized by the Meiji authorities as a Shintō sect. The survival of these large and widespread religious movements indicates that they were able to adapt successfully to prevailing sociopolitical circumstances, including the radical changes of the Meiji restoration. Kurozumikyō adapted relatively easily to the National Teaching, and Kurozumikyō clergy took a full part in the great promulgation campaign. In order to evade persecution under the shogunate, Konkō Daijin (1814–1883), the founder of Konkōkyō, obtained a shrine licence in 1864 from the Shirakawa, but after the Meiji restoration in 1873 he renounced any association with Shintō, refusing to take any part in the great promulgation campaign. Fearing for the future of the organization, his close disciple and successor, Satō Norio, studied the National Learning and became a national evangelist, along with more than a hundred other Konkōkyō ministers. He developed a creed for Konkōkyō that presented the movement as a form of national Shintō. By the 1880's Satō had became an avid proponent of the three great teachings and the "spirit of the national polity" (*kokutai seishin*). Tenrikyō's redoubtable female founder, Nakayama Miki (1798–1887), also courted persecution and imprisonment by rejecting national Shintō, and recognition of Tenrikyō as a Shintō sect was granted only in 1906 under the leadership of her grandson. Tenrikyō formally rejected its Shintō identity in the 1970s and remains uneasy about this apparent compromise with the Shintō establishment.

The emperor system. With Shrine Shintō broadly distinguished from religion, Meiji bureaucrats turned their attention to the promulgation of Shintō imperial mythology as historical fact. The Meiji Constitution of 1889 resulted from seventeen years of secret debates and drafts over such issues as the relations between religion and state and freedom of religion, with full awareness of European models. The constitution affirmed the "sacred and inviolable" person of the emperor and made a key distinction between private religious belief and public activity. Article 28 stated that "Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief." After 1889 it therefore became unconstitutional to withdraw from emperor-centered Shintō rites, since these were civic duties rather than religious ritual. The constitution was swiftly followed in 1890 by the Imperial Rescript on Education (*Kyōiku chokugo*), which became, in effect, a sacred text, enshrined in schools alongside a picture of the emperor and reverently recited. It set out the basic tenets of the emperor system as well as the Confucian five relationships, exhorting loyalty and filial piety to the emperor as the divine descendant of the imperial *kami* Amaterasu. As an expression of National Teaching, the issuing of the rescript to schools signaled that schoolteachers would henceforth be responsible for conveying the doctrinal aspects of the state cult, while shrine priests contributed the shrine-based ritual dimension; after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905 rites were introduced in schools too. The binding relationship established at this point between, on the one hand, the ideology of the emperor system transmitted through schools and other organs of the state such as local government and the armed forces and, on the other hand, the emperor-worshipping rites performed at Shintō shrines, formed the heart of the prewar "national faith" of Japan.

Between 1906 and 1929 the number of shrines throughout Japan was once again radically reduced by a generally unpopular program of shrine mergers *(jinja gappei)* designed to streamline shrine parishes and match the remaining major shrines with local administrative areas. The policy resulted in the destruction of more than eighty thousand shrines, about half the national total. Many were small unrecognized shrines but some were venerable *shikinai-sha* (shrines registered in the *Engishiki*).

The question of State Shintō. In 1945, the nexus of state, shrine, and emperor-worship relationships built up over nearly eighty years by various means was referred to by the postwar Occupation authorities as State Shintō. This neologism (in Japanese *kokka shintō)* first appeared in the Directive for the Disestablishment of State Shintō issued by the Supreme Commander of Allied Powers (SCAP) in December of 1945, and it subsequently shaped debates about whether Shintō should be seen as the main architect or an innocent casualty of prewar imperialistic nationalism. State Shintō was defined in the 1945 directive as "that branch of Shintō (*kokka shintō* or *jinja shintō*) which by official acts of the Japanese government has been differentiated from the religion of Sect Shintō (*shūha shintō* or *kyōha shintō*) and has been classified a non-religious cult commonly known as State Shintō, National Shintō, or Shrine Shintō." SCAP staff found the precise referent of the term "State Shintō" difficult to pin down. The focus on Shintō diverted attention somewhat from the fact that by this time the ideology and values of the emperor system were embraced by virtually all religious groups: Buddhist, Christian, and sectarian. Devotion to the emperor was by no means an exclusively Shintō phenomenon; it was, after all, instilled into every Japanese child in school. The term "State Shintō" subsequently came to be interpreted in a number of very different and incompatible ways. As a concept, it captures a historical moment rather than providing a useful analytical category. Debates continue about the extent to which Shintō, more than other religions, was implicated in the discredited emperor cult and "national ethics" teaching which demanded subjugation to the *kokutai* (body of the state). Clearly, much depends on the definition of Shintō.

Shintō in contemporary Japan. The Occupation authorities certainly did not believe that state-sponsored teachings and rites relating to a divine emperor and the age of the gods could be nonreligious. They felt the need to distinguish what was religious from what was not so that a clear line could be drawn between religion and state in the new constitution. It was because Shintō was religious, not because it was Shintō, that it had to be separated from the state. From the SCAP perspective, separation of religion and state was axiomatic. The relationship between religion and state is, of course, a cultural variable and there are as many ways in which the two are related in the modern world as there are states and religions. However, the fact is that in 1945 an eighty-year relationship between Shrine Shintō and the Japanese state apparatus ended overnight. Under the 1947 constitution, religion and state were separated and individual religious freedom guaranteed. Shrine Shintō therefore entered the postwar period as a voluntaristic religion (strictly speaking Shintō is a multitude of such religions, since under the Religious Juridical Persons Law of 1951 each Shintō shrine is registered as a separate religious body). Under the new constitution, Shintō's formal relationship with the state could be no closer than that enjoyed by Christianity, Buddhism, the Shintō sects, Jehovah's Witnesses, or indeed any other of the hundreds of religious organizations, new and old, native and foreign, to be found in contemporary Japan. The repositioning of Shintō as one religion among many presented a serious challenge to the shrines and their priests and put the very survival of Shrine Shintō in question.

Change and continuity. The changes wrought to Shrine Shintō by the Occupation administration were significant but limited in scope. A review of the continuities and discontinuities between prewar and postwar Shintō shows that the concept of Shintō established in the Meiji period survived more or less intact. The emperor remained monarch, though belief in his divine ancestry was now unnecessary. Very little destruction of Shintō resources occurred. The Shintō Directive removed war memorials, which had attracted ultranationalist sentiments, but these were not Shintō shrines as such. Devotional images of the emperor, copies of the Imperial Rescript on Education, and ultranationalist ethics textbooks such as *Cardinal Principles of the National Entity (kokutai no hongi)* were removed from schools, but shrines built since the Meiji restoration of 1868 to promote the emperor system were untouched. The single most important element of Meiji Shintō, the 1868 dissociation of *kami* and buddhas, went unchallenged as far as Shintō shrines, Buddhist temples, and their respective priests were concerned, though new syncretic religions were now free to develop. In place of central government, the independent *jinja honchō* (literally "Shrines HQ" though the official name in English is "The Association of Shinto Shrines") was established to administer the nationwide network of shrines under "the spiritual leadership of the Ise shrine." Though some major shrines opted for independence, and others may yet follow, the *jinja honchō* oversees virtually all shrines in Japan, managing shrine ranks and priestly qualifications and providing modern-day equivalents of Meiji court messengers and imperial offerings to shrines.

A residual notion of the Meiji shrine parishes remains, reflected in the expectation that shrines should receive financial support from local residents. Shintō priests still overwhelmingly carry out rites rather than preach doctrine, and very few of the tens of thousands of shrines destroyed by shrine merger have been restored, so the current shrine (and temple) landscape of Japan remains characteristic of the Meiji period rather than previous eras. The Yasukuni shrine to the war dead, chief of the provincial *gokoku* (nation-protecting) shrines, stands as a powerful symbol of Meiji values. It is controversial in Japan and among Japan's neighbors since it, more than any other Shintō institution, appears to challenge the boundary constructed in 1945 between religion and state. The imperial family's rites remain exclusively Shintō in style, with no reversion to former Buddhist practices. Finally, and despite the postwar legal status of Shintō as religion, the Meiji idea of Shintō as nonreligious still prevails, at least to the extent that Shintō practices are widely regarded as custom or tradition rather than religion. As a consequence, legal battles have been fought over the propriety of participation by government officials in Shintō rituals such as the blessing of new buildings. For most Japanese, seasonal shrine visits, rituals, and festivals relating to particular shrines and *kami* are seen as part of a broad spectrum of "given" customary practices.

Shintō has changed in some ways since 1945. After a difficult postwar period of austerity, increased spending power resulting from the Japanese "economic miracle" from the 1970s onward helped restore the fortunes of many shrines. Shrines with a nationwide reputation continue to attract substantial numbers of pilgrims and tourists, particularly at the New Year, when some 80 percent of the population makes a shrine visit. Many major shrines have survived and some have prospered by effectively marketing the benefits of their *kami* (traffic safety, examination success, business success, safety at work, and many others) or the beauty and tranquillity of their surroundings. Most shrines have their own annual ritual calendar with special purification ceremonies and festivals at key points in the year. Family rituals such as "seven-five-three" (*shichi-go-san*) when children of three, five, and seven visit the shrine with their parents, have increased in popularity with the rise of modern family units. Travel companies and shrines have cooperated to attract participants to new or revived pilgrimage routes. While the constitution prevents public funds from being spent on religious events, local authorities in many areas have been keen to support colorful festivals that attract visitors and benefit the local economy. Consequently, many festivals have come to be seen as cultural rather than religious events. While rural depopulation led to the decline of many agricultural traditions in the postwar period, some have been revived as a result of city dwellers returning to rural areas. However, Shrine Shintō lacks a strong sense of identity and purpose in modern Japan, and there are real concerns within the Shintō establishment that, as communities become increasingly fragmented and lifestyles more individualistic, many shrines will fade away. Some observers have suggested that Shrine Shintō will continue to decline until it can offer women real opportunities to achieve leadership within the priesthood and in other important roles currently occupied only by men. This represents a considerable challenge since Shintō is, among other things, a powerful symbol of conservatism in a society where seniority in many occupational fields is still a male preserve.

Shintō new religions. While some shrines may be struggling, an area of growth throughout most of the postwar period has been that of new religions with a Shintō identity. Shintō-related new religious movements in Japan account for a significant proportion of religious activity, with the largest groups counting their adherents in hundreds of thousands. However, the many different groups involved have their own histories and disparate aims. They seldom if ever act in concert, and do not regard themselves as parts of a greater Shintō whole. On the contrary, members of new religious movements are often encouraged to think of their own group as possessing the special truth of Shintō. Beliefs and practices of the Shintō-style new religions vary considerably. To take just a few examples: Tenshō kōtai jingū kyō (literally "the religion of the imperial shrine of Amaterasu," known also as the dancing religion) connects with Shintō mainly through its name. The movement was founded in 1945 by a remarkable woman, Kitamura Sayo (1900–1967). She endured marriage as the sixth bride of a man who, on the orders of his stingy mother, divorced each wife after using her as cheap labor for a season. Kitamura experienced possession (*kami-gakari*) by a spirit snake who then revealed itself as the god Tenshō kōtai jingū and commissioned Kitamura to save the world. Dressed as a man, performing the "dance of no-self" in streets, parks, and railway stations, and denouncing Japan's rulers as "maggots and traitors," Kitamura traveled widely in Japan and overseas, attracting many devoted followers. Known to her disciples as Ōgami-sama, or great goddess, she taught that passions and attachment were the cause of suffering and was credited with numerous miracles and healings.

Sekai kyūsei-kyō ("religion for the salvation of the world," known also as M.O.A.) was founded by Okada Mokichi (1882–1955), a member of the prewar Ōmoto Great Origin sect, following a revelation by the Bodhisattva Kannon. In 1928 Okada set up the Great Japan Association for the Worship of Bodhisattva Kannon, which practised healing and communion with spirits. Forced by the government to focus on the healing aspect, the movement was renamed Japan Association for Healing through Purification. After the war the revived movement split and Okada formed the group now called Sekai kyūsei-kyō. His followers see Okada as a living *kami* (*ikigami*) and combine Shintō-style rites and symbolism with a reverence for fine art, both Western and Japanese. Members are wary of modern medicinal drugs and promote an organic diet and "light-healing" (*jōrei*), in which healing rays are transmitted from the palm of the hand towards the patient. Several major evangelical Shintō-style healing movements that use similar methods trace their origin to (and regard themselves as the real heirs of) Okada's teaching, the best-known being Sūkyo Mahikari, founded in 1978. Many other smaller groups embracing Shintō symbolism have been founded by men and women offering healing, prophecy, revelation, or psychic powers and adopting a Shintō or Shintō-Buddhist idiom. Worldmate (originally known as Cosmomate) is a New Age Shintō movement whose success has been founded on the best-selling publications of its energetic creator, the business guru Fukami Toshū. Worldmate teaches that a proper relationship with the right *kami* is the key to worldly success.

Through his International Shintō Foundation however, Fukami has also provided significant philanthropic support for academic research in the field of Japanese religions, including the critical study of Shintō in all its forms.

CONCLUDING REMARKS. It is relatively easy to ask questions about Shinto, less easy to summarize it. By adopting a wider definition of Shintō, as *kami* belief, for example, the scope of discussion could be extended to include a multitude of Japanese folk traditions and miscellaneous practices relating to *kami*. Alternatively, one could adopt an aesthetic approach and explore Shintō readings of Japanese literature in the manner of the pioneers of National Learning. An ethnographic approach would illumine the infinitely varied details of festivals and shrine rituals in many places and eras. Here, Shintō has been considered in terms of systems of *kami* worship over time. Shintō has been construed in many different ways in the course of Japan's history, and this process will no doubt continue. In the late twentieth century, new directions in Shintō theology emerged, some adopting a robust response to the charge that Meiji Shintō is an invention and asserting that yes, Shintō is a modern religion, it regards both the emperor and the land of Japan as sacred, and this is its strength. Others have argued for an environmentalist reading of Shintō as a forest tradition or a nature religion. Yet others have drawn comparisons with Western Neopaganism.

The approach adopted in this survey to the study of Shintō has been historical, since it is the changing, historically conditioned aspect of Shintō that is most often and most obviously neglected in textbook presentations of Shintō as an ageless, unchanging, primal tradition. It has also been well argued, however, that while Shintō may not be "primal" in the ordinary sense, it should nevertheless be seen an "adjusted" primal religion; that is, the deliberately rough archaism of contemporary Shintō rituals reflects choices made by sophisticated religious actors who are well aware of their historical positioning and of alternative ways of being religious. This approach perhaps best captures the worshiper's point of view, which should never be forgotten.

SEE ALSO Amaterasu Ōmikami; Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Japan; Kami; Priesthood, article on Shintō Priesthood.

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BRIAN BOCKING (2005)

SHIPS SEE BOATS

SHĪRĀZĪ, MUḤAMMAD ṢADRĀ SEE MULLĀ ṢADRĀ

SHIVAISM SEE ŚAIVISM

SHNEʾUR ZALMAN OF LYADY (1745–1813)

was the founder of the Habad school of Hasidism. Born into a prominent Jewish family in Liozno, Belorussia, Shneʾur Zalman had an extensive rabbinic education before he became associated with the Hasidic movement. At the age of twenty he joined the circle of students around Dov Ber of Mezhirich (Międzyrzecz, Poland) and was immediately recognized as a person of unusual intellectual abilities. Dov Ber encouraged him to continue with his legal studies as well as to cultivate his developing mastery of the *Zohar* and the Lurianic mystical writings. Legend has it that he was the teacher of Dov Ber's son, Avraham "the Angel" (1739/40–1777), in exoteric matters while the latter initiated him into the secrets of Qabbalah. Shneʾur Zalman's profound legal knowledge is reflected in the *Shulhan ʿarukh shel ha-Rav* (1814), an updating of the code of Jewish law.

As the major theoretician of the Hasidic movement, Shneʾur Zalman is author of a number of works that are classics of the movement's thought. His popular *Liqquṭei Amarim* (*Tanyaʾ*), published anonymously in 1797, is the most important systematic theological treatise that Hasidism produced. His collected homilies (*Torah Or,* 1836; *Liqquṭei Torah,* 1848) detail the system first laid out in that work, deftly reinterpreting the entire prior corpus of qabbalistic writings.

Shneʾur Zalman was also an important political figure in the spreading Hasidic "empire." After the emigration of Menahem Mendel of Vitebsk, the leading Hasidic figure in Belorussia, to the Holy Land in 1777, Shneʾur Zalman became, de facto, the leader of Hasidism in that area. This authority was formally recognized in 1788 when he was appointed leader of *kolel Reisin,* the institution responsible for that district's support of the Hasidic efforts in the Land of Israel.

As leader in the district closest to the anti-Hasidic stronghold of Lithuania, Shneʾur Zalman undeservedly bore the brunt of the sharp anti-Hasidic polemics of the 1780s and 1790s. A moderate who certainly believed in Torah study, respect for sages, and other matters that concerned the *mitnaggedim* ("opponents" of Hasidism), his efforts at peacemaking between the warring camps ended in failure. In 1798 he was arrested and imprisoned in Saint Petersburg, after leaders of the *mitnaggedim,* including the rabbi of Pinsk, accused him of disloyalty to the tsar and of leading a dissenting sect. He was released on the nineteenth of the Jewish month of Kislev in that year, a day still celebrated by Habad Ḥasidim as a festival. Imprisoned again in 1801, it seems likely that his notoriety in the eyes of the Russian authorities increased his popularity as a leader among the Ḥasidim.

After settling in Lyady in 1801, Shneʾur Zalman was established as a major figure in the Hasidic world. His distinctive personal style, combining rigorous intellectuality and a detached, self-negating mysticism, cast its stamp on the religious life of his disciples and made Habad a unique subculture within Hasidism. He devoted himself fully to the education of these disciples, and Lyady became the major center of study in the Hasidic world.

Shneʾur Zalman left two disciples who continued to develop a mystical theology along the lines of his thought. These were his son Dov Ber of Lubavitch (1773–1827), who became the leader of the Habad community upon his father's death, and Aharon Horwitz of Starosielce (1766–1828), a profound scholar whose previously little known work has recently been the object of much scholarly interest.

SEE ALSO Hasidism, article on Habad Hasidism.

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SHONA RELIGION.

Bantu-speaking peoples first moved into the central area between the Limpopo and Zambezi rivers (what is now Zimbabwe) some two millennia ago. Over the centuries, small polities formed and combined into a number of complex states, which in turn divided in the face of internal and external pressures. The term *Shona* is relatively new and is applied to the indigenous inhabitants of this region, excluding only the small ethnic groups at the northern and southern peripheries and the nineteenth-century Nguni invaders from the south, namely, the Ndebele, who now occupy southwest Zimbabwe, and the Shangane in the southeast. The Shona peoples are often classified according to four main dialect groups: the Zezuru in the center, the Korekore to the north, the Manyika to the east, and the Karanga to the south. The Shona are the dominant ethnic group in contemporary Zimbabwe, comprising about eight million people, or four-fifths of the population of the country.

At the time of colonization at the end of the nineteenth century, the Shona comprised a large number of independent petty chiefdoms. They lived in scattered villages based on patrilineages. They subsisted primarily on agriculture and kept some livestock—especially cattle, which had significance in marriage payments and for religious purposes. There was considerable internal trade in such goods as agricultural products, ironwork, and tobacco; the earlier external trade in gold and ivory had fallen to a mere trickle by this stage. Now, a century later, even rural Shona benefit from the technology and consumer comforts bought from the proceeds of wage labor and cash cropping. At least a quarter of the Shona population now claim affiliation to some Christian denomination, and Christian beliefs have infiltrated the thinking of professing traditionalists. Traditional beliefs and practices are, however, still dominant, even among many professed Christians.

TRADITIONAL RELIGION. Shona religion traditionally focused on relations with spirits of the dead. These include spirits of strangers, spirits of deceased ancestors, spirits of the land, and spirits of ancient heroes. Most Shona also acknowledge a high god (known by a variety of names) who is too remote to be concerned with the affairs of humans; he was, however, accessible through the cult in southern Shona country and is becoming more widely accessible through the influence of Christianity.

Superficially, the Shona believe in a clear hierarchy of spirits, with the high god at the top, followed by spirits of heroes, of the land, of ancestors, and finally of strangers. Indeed, to many Shona, the spiritual world appears fixed in a permanent and ancient hierarchy. In practice, however, the relative status of different spirits often varies with locality and changes over time. The relative importance of different spirits often depends on the activities of their mediums.

Spirits of all levels may be associated with mediums or hosts. When a man or woman is about to become a medium, the first sign is usually sickness, often accompanied by mental disturbances, which a diviner interprets as a call by a spirit for the sick person to become its host. The patient is initiated as a medium and from time to time is possessed by the spirit. In the state of possession, the medium goes into a kind of trance during which he or she is supposed to lose consciousness, and the spirit is believed to speak and act through the medium. Mediums of the more important spirits are the major religious specialists in traditional Shona society.

Divination is most frequently performed by a possessed medium, although certain mechanical means, especially the use of various types of dice, are also used. Most ritual activity takes place in response to illness or other misfortunes, and mediums who have been through similar sufferings themselves are often best able to help others to cope with their problems. Misfortune is usually explained in terms of the influence of spirits, although occasionally it may also be explained in terms of the evil machinations of a witch.

Shona maintain that certain persons, aided by evil spirits, have perverted values and delight in their esoteric powers to do harm. This belief is likely to come into practice only when there are severe social tensions, and accusations of witchcraft may be used to justify rifts in a formerly close-knit community.

The ancestral cult. When illness or other misfortune is sufficiently worrying for a diviner to be consulted, the most common result of divination is that the trouble is attributed to the spirit of a deceased ancestor who wishes to be honored. The deceased head of a family is believed to be responsible for the well-being of all his descendants. A deceased mother or maternal grandmother may also be considered influential, especially in matters concerning the fertility of girls. It is said that not even a witch can attack a member of a family without the cooperation of aggrieved ancestral spirits.

When a man dies, his spirit is believed to wander around restlessly until it is settled in the family homestead by a ritual normally performed a year or more after death. After this, his spirit is frequently invoked in the homestead, particularly when any important event takes place within the family. He may have a bull dedicated to him from the family herd of cattle, which may be sacrificed in his honor should divination reveal this to be his wish. At any ritual in his honor, descendants must gather together with their spouses to reaffirm their unity as a group and the necessity of cooperation between them. The same is true for a female ancestor. The spirits of family ancestors are seen as spirit elders who continue to control and to care for the family groups for which they were responsible during their lives. Many such ancestral spirits are believed to preside over important family gatherings through a possessed medium, who is a member of the family. As the extended kinship system weakens, especially in urban areas, the ancestral cult becomes a more private affair, providing a means of explaining and coping with personal misfortune.

Spirits of the land. Ancestors of chiefly lineages are responsible for all the people living in their territorial domains.

The domain for which any chiefly spirit is responsible may be the chiefdom as a whole or a section of the chiefdom particularly associated with the spirit. Such a spirit is, in most of Shona country, called *mhondoro* ("lion") and frequently will have a medium who has high status in the community as a whole.

Where there is a history of invasion of one people by another, a differentiation of function has often developed between the cult of the chiefly spirits, which is concerned with political power, and the cult of the defeated autochthonous spirits, which concerns rainfall and the fertility of the land. In such cases, the autochthonous spirit might be considered equal to, or even more powerful than, the chiefly lion spirits.

Rituals are held in honor of territorial spirits to request good rains before a harvest and to give thanks after the harvest. Such rituals principally involve the brewing of millet beer, to which all families in the spirit's domain should contribute, and singing and dancing over a couple of days in honor of the spirit, often at a tree shrine in the veld. At the directions of the possessed medium, rites may also be held to avert threats to crops through drought or pests. Certain days are considered holy to the spirit guardians of the land, and on these days no traditional work may be done in the fields.

Mediums of territorial spirits preside at all rituals in honor of their spirits. They may also preside at the trial of someone accused of a crime against the spirit, such as incest or working on a holy day. In many parts of Shona country, the possessed mediums of chiefly spirits are responsible for electing a new chief, who is to be their representative in the government of the country. Chief and mediums are subsequently expected to consult with one another and to cooperate on important issues. Since the territorial spirits are responsible for all people in their land, a possessed medium may be consulted over the private difficulties of residents and may acquire a reputation for divining and healing beyond the territorial limits of the domain.

A medium's reputation depends on the ability to convince people at séances and to acquire a large clientele. In practice, if the medium is to acquire and maintain a position of influence, the medium's oracular pronouncements, whether in private divination or concerning the election of a chief, must accord with public opinion. In many situations, therefore, mediums serve to crystalize and to voice public opinion. More generally, spirit mediums represent great figures of the Shona past and have frequently become symbols of rejection of white dominance.

Regional cults. Certain spirits spread their influence beyond the territorial domain of any political authority. Such spirits may be associated with powerful political figures of the past, symbolizing conglomerations of chiefdoms that for a period may have been subject to a single ruling dynasty. Or they may be conceived as spirits of ancient heroes who lived before the establishment of any present dynasties. The mediums of such spirits are consulted by clients from a number of neighboring chiefdoms on private problems and on public issues such as drought and chiefly inheritance. Some of these spirits, such as Chaminuka and Nehanda, have become national figures on account of the activities of their mediums in successive wars against the Ndebele and against white settlers.

The most widespread regional cult is that of the high god, Mwari, which is centered on a number of shrines in southern Shona country. In the past, this was the dominant religious cult among most Karanga and Kalanga peoples, and it received some attention from the invading Ndebele. The main shrines in the Matopo Hills are maintained by a hereditary priesthood. There, sacrifices for rain are offered and a voice from a cave utters oracles for those who wish to consult Mwari. Selected young boys and girls dedicated to Mwari live for a time at the center to help maintain the shrine and dance at rituals; often they become important spirit mediums when they return home on reaching maturity, thus maintaining close contacts between the cult center and outlying traditional cults. Mwari was accepted as the Shona name for God by early Christian missionaries, and through Christian influence it has now been accepted far beyond the sphere of influence of the traditional cult centers.

Peripheral cults. Throughout Shona country, certain spirits are believed to be the concern of their hosts only. These are usually conceived as spirits of aliens, or occasionally of animals, who died away from home and so wander about, unsettled and restless, until they find a human host they can possess. Such a spirit may confer special powers on the host, particularly those of divining and healing, as well as such skills as hunting or playing music. Often, however, alien spirits are said only to want to dance, and they possess their hosts only at dances held in honor of such spirits, when a number of hosts of similar spirits are likely to be present and to become possessed simultaneously. These séances, usually held in response to illness in one of the hosts, allow persons who are undergoing some kind of strain to find relief in the attention they receive and in the dramatic dancing they perform.

CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE SHONA. Christian missionaries, active in Shona country for nearly a hundred years, have strongly influenced contemporary Shona religion. Initially, conversion to Christianity was largely associated with the acquisition of wealth, mainly through education and consequent employment but also through access to improved agricultural techniques. For many, Christianity was a symbol of the new ways of life that colonization introduced and, in particular, of the comforts that the new technology made possible; for others it became a symbol of white oppression.

Different mission churches were located in different rural areas; branches of these churches in the cities were able to provide places where migrants could meet others from their home areas. They also established accessible means of communication with the rural areas. With its emphasis on the high god rather than on local cults, Christianity was better adapted than traditional religion to cope with the new situation of high mobility and intermingling of people from different regions, especially in the urban centers.

Christianity does not, however, incorporate mechanisms for coping with tension at the family and local level, and as presented by missionaries it retains an impersonal approach to illness. Consequently, professed Christians still frequently revert to ancestral and local cults when faced with persistent illness and other personal problems, particularly when these reflect social tensions.

Since the early 1930s, many Shona have joined the new independent churches, which have adopted forms of Christianity but are free from foreign control. These pay more attention to traditional cosmologies, and particularly to the belief in afflicting spirits and in witchcraft as causes of misfortune, but like the mission churches they provide a means of overcoming the boundaries of family and local cults. These churches tend to attract many disparate peoples, although most of their followers are relatively uneducated. Faith healing, a central activity in most of them, is a major means for attracting converts. Afflicting spirits are exorcised, rather than being accommodated as in traditional religion or simply dismissed as in the mission churches.

Although in ritual and belief independent churches are much closer to traditional religion than are the mission churches, the antagonism between them and traditional cults is much greater than in the case of mission churches because their adherents are drawn largely from a common body of people. For those outside positions of leadership, however, there is an easy intermingling of religious systems. Individuals may move in and out of the various religious groups depending on the circumstances of the moment, and most Shona see nothing wrong in such religious mobility. For most Shona, the various forms of Christianity together with the various traditional cults all provide a pool of religious responses from which an individual can choose, depending on his or her needs of the moment.

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SHOTOKU TAISHI (574–622), or Prince Shotoku, was a member of the Japanese imperial family during the sixth and seventh centuries CE. He was responsible for Japan's first constitution as well as the spread of Buddhism in Japan. He is also known as Umayado no Miko, Toyotomimi, and Kamitsu Miya. The name Umayado is derived from the legend that Shotoku was born to Princess Anahobe no Hashihito when she was walking in front of the door of a stable (*umayado*). According to Kume Kunitake, this legend might have been influenced by the story of Jesus' birth, which had been brought to China by Nestorian Christians during the Tang dynasty (618–907). The name Toyotomimi, or "wise ears," refers to the fact that Shotoku was considered to be so learned that he could listen to ten lawsuits simultaneously and decide them without error. The name Kamitsu Miya is derived from the location of his palace. The name Shotoku (saintly virtue) was given to him after his death to honor him for his contribution to the prosperity of Buddhism in Japan.

YOUNG SHOTOKU AND HIS ERA. Shotoku was born in 574 (572 or 573 according to some scholars) as the second son of Prince Tachibana no Toyohi, who ascended the throne as Emperor Yomei in 585. Yomei, whose short reign ended when he died of natural causes in 587, is also known as the first Japanese emperor to declare his faith in Buddhism, which had been officially introduced into Japan from Korea in 538—or 552, according to the *Nihonshoki* (*Chronicle of Japan*), which was compiled in 720. The emperor's official acceptance of Buddhism caused a division among the imperial courtiers, so that the Mononobe family, which was opposed to the new religion, and the Soga family, which supported Buddhism, fought over the succession after Yomei's death. Young Shotoku, whose grandmothers both came from the Soga family, followed their loyalty to Buddhism. According to one legend, he carved a statue of Shitenno, or the four heavenly kings regarded as protectors of Buddhism, to pray for victory. After the Soga family defeated the Mononobe family in 587, Shotoku constructed the Shitennōji temple in Osaka, which later became the first official Buddhist temple in Japan.

Emperor Sushun, who ascended the throne in 587, plotted to murder Soga no Umako, the head of the Soga family, which had become tyrannical after their defeat of the Mononobe clan; however, Umako succeeded in assassinating Sushun. It was under these unstable conditions that Empress Suiko, the first female ruler of Japan, ascended the throne in 593. Suiko, who was the sister of Emperor Yomei, designated Shotoku as her regent shortly after she became empress, and she delegated secular authority to him.

SHOTOKU AS REGENT. Shotoku governed as prince regent on behalf of Empress Suiko from 593 until his death in 621 or 622. His administration was conspicuous for instituting many of the policies that became foundational for the Japanese state and culture. In 604 Shotoku instituted the *kan'i junikai*, literally "twelve grades of cap rank," which was the first system of courtly ranks in Japan. The *kan'i junikai* designated twelve grades of courtiers, each with a distinctive colored cap. The ranks were named after the six Confucian virtues, each of which was subdivided to make twelve ranks in all. Instead of the former ranking system, which had been based on hereditary clan membership, Shotoku's system was intended to reward talented individuals and promote loyalty to the court.

In the following year, Shotoku promulgated the Seventeen-Article Constitution, which was really a set of moral precepts and service regulations for public servants rather than a constitution in the modern sense of the term. The contents of the constitution were based primarily on Confucian and Buddhist thought. For example, the high praise of harmony, solidarity, and cooperation in Article 1 reflects Confucian influence, while the respect for the Three Treasures—Buddha, Buddha's teaching, and the Buddhist community—expressed in Article 2 honors the new faith that Shotoku wished to encourage. Although some scholars doubt that the document was actually composed by Shotoku, this first constitution has had a significant influence on later Japanese legal codes.

Shotoku had three aides from three rival kingdoms in what is now Korea: Eji came from Koguryŏ, Kakuka is thought to have come from Paekche, and Hata no Kawakatsu came from a family from Silla. Although the three kingdoms fought among themselves during Shotoku's lifetime, the three advisers cooperated in supporting the prince regent, who was eager to introduce the political systems, art, and religions of the Asian mainland into Japan. Shotoku also sent ambassadors, scholar-monks, and students in the years 600, 607, 608, and 614 to the rulers of the Sui dynasty, which had unified China in 589. One of the main purposes of these diplomatic embassies was to collect writing materials, commentaries, and other reference works to bring back to Japan.

In 601 Shotoku began the construction of a new palace in Ikaruga, which lies halfway between Asuka (the residence of Suiko as well as the stronghold of Umako) and Naniwa (Osaka), where an international port was located. In 605 Shotoku moved into Ikaruga no miya (the palace at Ikaruga). There he built a famous Buddhist temple, the Hōryūji, to pray for the repose of his father's soul.

SHOTOKU'S ATTITUDE TOWARD RELIGION. With the penetration of Sino-Korean civilization and Buddhism into Japan from the fifth century onward, the country was destined to undergo a series of social, political, and cultural changes. In addition to the cosmological theories of the Yin-Yang school, two universal principles—Dao and *dharma*—were introduced by Confucianism and Buddhism, respectively. These principles stood in tension with the indigenous Japanese religious worldview, which was later called Shintō. The first serious attempt to deal with this tension was made by Shotoku, attempting to affirm Shinto, Confucianism, and Buddhism simultaneously by holding them in balance, as it were, in the Seventeen-Article Constitution.

Regardless of Shotoku's devotion to Buddhism and his advocacy of Confucian virtues, however, the *Nihonshoki* indicates that he was dedicated above all to unifying the Japanese nation by upholding the divine prerogatives of the throne through appropriation of the teachings of Buddhism and Confucianism. On the other hand, he was eager to continue the tradition of his imperial ancestors who had venerated the *kami*. In short, what Shotoku envisaged was the establishment of a multireligious policy that harmonized Shintō, Confucian tradition, and Buddhism. This synthesis was to serve as the bulwark of a strongly centralized nation ruled by the imperial family.

Shotoku himself, however, was a Buddhist. In the early days of Japanese Buddhism, some powerful clan leaders looked for salvation in this world from the newly-introduced foreign religion, as well as protection for their country. In contrast to this line of thought, Shotoku accepted the internal and spiritual dimensions of Buddhism. According to the *Nihonshoki*, he lectured to Empress Suiko on the *Shomangyo*, or *Śrīmālā Sūtra*, and the *Hokekyo*, or *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*, in 606. He also wrote commentaries or *gisho* on three sutras: the *Shomangyo gisho*, the *Yuimagyo* (the *Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa Sūtra*) *gisho* and the *Hokekyo gisho*, all of which are estimated to be the oldest written documents in Japan. Scholars disagree, however, about whether they were written by Shotoku himself, and if so, to what extent they originated with Shotoku.

POPULAR VENERATION OF SHOTOKU. According to Tamura Encho, more than a hundred biographies were written about Shotoku by the end of the Tokugawa era (1600–1868), most of which were based on, or at least influenced by, the *Shotoku-taishi-denryaku*, or *Denryaku,* which was supposedly written in the early tenth century. This text became increasingly popular among the Japanese people as the founders of Japanese Buddhist sects, particularly Shinran (1173–1262), venerated Shotoku as the founder of Japanese Buddhism. The *Denryaku* is full of legendary or mythological episodes, one of which introduces Princess Anahobe's strange dream of a golden monk (who introduces himself as *kuse no bosatsu* [bodhisattva of salvation]), which caused her to become pregnant. Shotoku came to be regarded as an incarnation of Kannon, the god or goddess of mercy (Avalokiteśvara in Sanskrit) on the basis of this story. During the two centuries between the *Nihonshoki* and the *Denryaku*, Shotoku was transformed in the popular imagination from a hero to a savior.

What is significant is that Shotoku was not only a historically important person but also a paradigmatic figure. That is to say, Shotoku was stereotyped, and as such, his personality and career were interpreted by later tradition as embodiments of attributes and qualities that later Japanese Buddhists admired. Once Shotoku was idealized in this way, he was further glorified in pious legends and popular literature. The various attributes of buddhas and bodhisattvas as well as the virtues of King Aśoka and the ideal Buddhist layman Yuima (Vimalakīrti) were incorporated into the sacred traditions about Shotoku. It is not surprising, therefore, that very shortly after his death Shotoku became the object of the Taishi (Prince) cult, which was in effect similar to the veneration of Sakyamuni (Prince Siddhārtha) and Maitreya (Prince Ajita).

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Japan; Japanese Religions, overview article.

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SHRINES are places or containers of religious presence. One of the distinctive features of religion is that its objects do not "exist" in the ordinary sense of the word. Deity, spirit, soul, afterlife, and other familiar categories of religion lie outside the realms of everyday objects in time and space. However, human beings across multiple cultures experience the presence of these religious realities at particular times and places and in relation to material objects. Much of the work of shrines is to provide habitations for sacred presences within the everyday world. As places having a particular shape and materiality, shrines give particular density to complex sets of religious associations, memories, moods, expectations, and communities. Shrines may be seen as sites of condensation of more dispersed religious realities, places where meanings take on specific, tangible, and tactile presence.

The English word *shrine* is derived from the Latin *scrinium*, meaning a box or receptacle. The shrine is the receptacle within the material world for the religious association that believers experience when they come into the presence of these receptacles. Many shrines are unambiguously religious, linking events, persons, and places central to religious traditions. Mecca (Saudi Arabia), Jerusalem (Israel), Canterbury (United Kingdom), Nara (Japan), and Varanasi (or Benares, India) are sites that immediately come to mind as centers of religious density, hosting many places of sacred value to various religious communities. Other shrines may be more open-ended, not tied to particular religious traditions but linked strongly to a particular regional or national identity. In the United States, for example, sites such as Niagara Falls or the Vietnam Veterans Memorial draw pilgrim-tourists out of motivations and meanings that may be closely tied to religious ones.

SHRINES AND SACRED PERSONS. Shrines are often associated with the physical remains of persons understood to have been exemplary in spiritual attainment. The bones and teeth of the body of the Buddha that remained after his cremation have become objects of great veneration because they enable the devotee to link the meaning of the Buddha's message (*dharma*) with the trace of his physical presence in the world. In medieval Europe, fragments of wood believed to have been part of the cross on which Jesus was crucified took on a similar status of veneration. In South Asia the graves (*dargahs*) of Muslim saints serve as centers of access to spiritual presence for Muslims and non-Muslims because they are understood to be magnets for transformative power from which the devotee may draw for various life-enhancing purposes such as health, wealth, and success in the ordinary world. Across much of the landscape of Europe, Christian shrines from the medieval and early modern periods located within or near churches contain the graves of saints and martyrs, persons who exemplified the highest achievement of religious values.

In Durham Cathedral in the north of England, the body of Saint Cuthbert (635?–687), a preacher, healer, and leader, lies behind the altar. When the cathedral was completed in 1104 and Saint Cuthbert's body was exhumed, it was reported that the body had not decomposed. Hence, the deceased but intact body, located in close proximity to the altar, reinforces the Christian belief in the resurrection of the exemplary leader of the church, whose body remains suspended between a natural deceased state and a transformed resurrected state. The cathedral, and the shrine to Saint Cuthbert within it, marks a place for Christians where the religious configuration of reality overtakes ordinary experience. A visit to the site reinforces the pilgrims' hopes and confidence in their religious commitments.

A secular version of a shrine and sacred persons may be seen in the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C. Located on the Mall (the open corridor that extends from the Capitol to the Lincoln Memorial) the Vietnam Veterans Memorial is a simple, black marble, V-shaped wall that gradually extends down from ground level to a depth of six feet. Visitors file past the wall, descending to grave depth and then ascending back to ground level as they see the names of the 58,000 American men and women who died in the Vietnam War. The polished black marble serves as a mirror to those who gaze at the wall reading the names even as they see their own reflections. The Vietnam Memorial carries no explicitly religious symbolism. Instead, its minimalist aesthetic creates an open space for grief and awe into which visitors may bring their own religious understandings. While the shrine is not located on the site of the events commemorated, it is located on the site of the nation's center, symbolized by the markers of its progenitors: George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, and Thomas Jefferson. In this way the particular meanings of the Vietnam War's history reside surrounded by the associations of national identity and the collective sense of the "soul" of America.

SHRINES AS THRESHOLDS BETWEEN NATURE AND CULTURE. In some religious traditions, shrines may be located at important intersections of nature and culture. In the north of India, for example, shrines at Yamunotri and Gangotri mark the places where the two sacred rivers, the Yamuna and the Ganga (Ganges) emerge from the Himalayan glacier and begin their descent to the sea. These temples house the images of the goddesses and link them to the rivers that are their embodied forms in the world. Hence, pilgrims make the arduous journey to the sources of these rivers in order to fulfill vows of devotion and to be in the presence of the goddesses at their most primordial moments of appearance in the ordinary world. At the temples, Hindu priests provide a variety of ritual services and record the visits of pilgrims in temple archives.

In the United States, some extraordinary geological sites have taken on a religious or quasi-religious significance for visitors. Niagara Falls, the Grand Canyon, and Yellowstone and Yosemite National Parks offer sites that fit into an American sensibility about nature that endows it with religious meaning. The National Park Service, an administrative unit of the federal government, maintains access to these natural sites. While no specific religious meaning within a particular tradition is referred to, the pamphlets and brochures published for visitors evoke the language of awe and reverence that resembles more traditional religion.

SHRINES AS MARKERS OF HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE. Events occur in particular places, and events that later take on meaning for religious communities become important sites for shrines. For Jews the remaining wall of the Temple in Jerusalem, destroyed by the Romans in 70 CE, remains a sacred place of pilgrimage. To stand at the wall, facing the temple, for prayer and meditation brings additional intensity for Jews as they remember the sacred history and the hope for the coming of the Messiah. Visitors write prayers on small pieces of paper, roll them up, and place them in the cracks between the stones. It is said that all prayers placed there will be answered. Close by is the Muslim shrine called "The Dome of the Rock," an octagonal structure built by the Umayyad Caliph Abd al-Malik in 691. The site marks the place where the Prophet Muḥammad ascended into heaven. For Muslims, visiting and praying at the shrine connects them to the person of the Prophet. A bit farther away is the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, which marks the site of Jesus' burial and resurrection. Pilgrims often walk the streets through Jerusalem that are said to be the route Jesus walked on his way to his crucifixion, the Via Dolorosa, and end their journey at this church. Such a journey enables the pilgrims to take the story of Jesus into a temporal and spatial intensity by being in the places where these events that have become formational for Christian religious identity occurred.

Shrines may also mark places where one religious history displaces another. In the town of Chimayó in northern New Mexico, there is a small church, El Sanctuario de Chimayó, which has become an important pilgrimage center for Spanish-speaking Americans and Native Americans. The foundational story is that in the early nineteenth century a Spanish peasant, Bernardo Abeyta, came across a healing site used by the local Tewa Indians. The site consisted of a hole within a rock surface that was filled with dirt. As he passed by, a white light that came out of the hole blinded Abeyta. Then there appeared a crucifix of Christ that resembled one that was venerated in Guatemala. Abeyta took the crucifix to the nearest church, but miraculously the cross returned to the site where Abeyta had found it. Subsequently, Abeyta and a group of Catholic laymen established a shrine there. Over the following two centuries, El Sanctuario has become an important pilgrimage and healing center. During Holy Week, the week preceding Easter, thousands of pilgrims walk the road to Chimayó, many fulfilling vows for having been healed. In a room next to the sanctuary there is a display of prosthetic devices, photographs, letters, and works of art presented by grateful devotees. The hole that contains the sacred healing dirt, El Posito, remains an important part of the pilgrims' journey, for pilgrims gather a handful of the dirt to carry back home. The site combines Catholic traditions of saint veneration and pilgrimage with a Native American emphasis on healing power that comes from the earth itself.

A site of a very different sort that has taken on characteristics of a shrine is the Nazi death camp at Auschwitz, in Poland. During World War II the Nazi regime set up many sites for mass extermination of Jews and others by applying the modern technology of gas chambers and crematoria. Many Jews and others have made visits to Auschwitz, the most notorious of the camps, to come face-to-face with the place of horror that took so many lives. Many groups of Jewish young adults make pilgrimage visits to Auschwitz and other sites of Jewish life in eastern Europe that were destroyed during the Holocaust and complete their journey in Israel. In this way the groups move together through the historical nightmare of the recent past and enter into the place of present and future hope for the Jewish people as a community bound together by religiously shaped memory and anticipation.

SHRINES AS CENTERS OF SERVICE AND COMMERCE. Because shrines anchor the worlds of religious belief and material location, they frequently double as centers that provide various services and commodities. Shrines associated with sacred substances may offer medical and therapeutic as well as spiritual services. In the southwest of France, a healing center grew up around the site of a natural spring where a young woman had visions of the Virgin Mary in 1858. The shrine at Lourdes has become a major center in which religious and medical services are provided for pilgrims.

Indeed, stalls and shops surround many shrines, with vendors offering ritual supplies, food, and memorabilia that enable the visitor to perform important ceremonial obligations and take away mementos of the experience. In India, family descendants of a saint whose shrine has become a center of pilgrimage are frequently the heirs to the income from donations and sales of commodities at the site. In this way the shrine provides for both the religious and material benefit of the descendants.

SHRINES AS DESTINATIONS. An important function shrines serve is to provide points of destination to groups of pilgrims who join together on the road and forge temporary bonds of solidarity under the umbrella of shared beliefs and attitudes. The shrine may be located at the end of the road, or a network of shrines may serve as nodal points along the way, but often the migration of the pilgrims is as important, or more so, than the shrine itself. Pilgrims may walk for several days to reach a shrine, only to stay just a few hours. The journey may be more important than the destination, yet without the destination and what lies waiting for the pilgrims' arrival the journey would have no compelling rationale.

The examples discussed here suggest some of the ways in which shrines occupy the location between the worlds of religious belief and understanding and the material, spatial, and economic aspects of life. As places grounded solidly in the natural and constructed world of material objects, the shrine also grounds the more elusive and other-worldly dimensions of religion, the dimensions that lie beyond, in the realms of belief, longing, and wonder.

SEE ALSO Center of the World; Jerusalem, overview article; Pilgrimage; Relics.

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SHUGENDŌ

SHUGENDŌ is a distinctive Japanese tradition combining both indigenous and imported traditions, particularly Buddhism, and featuring the mastery of magical and ritual techniques to be practiced in and around sacred mountains. The name *Shugendō* means literally "the way [*dō*] of mastering [*shu*] extraordinary religious power [*gen*]"; the connection with sacred mountains is not included in the term but is implicit. Practitioners were called *shugenja,* "persons [*ja*] who master extraordinary religious power," but the more common name by which they have been known is *yamabushi,* "those who sleep [or lie down, *bushi*] in the mountains [*yama*]"—in other words, those who make mountains their home. Shugendō arose in part out of the ancient Japanese tradition of sacred mountains, but also features some Taoist influence, and especially ritual, divinities, symbolism, and doctrine from Buddhism.

Although Shugendō groups trace their origin to the late seventh- and early eighth-century tradition of En no Ozunu, the institutional organization of Shugendō did not take place until about the eleventh century. Eventually more than a hundred mountains were headquarters for a number of main traditions and many local variations of Shugendō, which was never unified on a national basis by a single teaching or a single authority. *Shugendō* is the general term referring to all aspects of this way—the mountain headquarters, the ecclesiastical organization, the teachings and practices, and the overall ethos of gaining magico-religious power through special training in sacred mountains.

This pervasive movement, which spread rapidly throughout all areas of Japan except the island of Hokkaido (which was developed later), was one of the main channels for disseminating religious teachings (such as elements of Buddhism) to the common people. It flourished until shortly after the feudal period, when in 1872 the government abolished Shugendō (partly in the attempt to "purify" Shintō and separate Buddhism from Shintō). With complete religious freedom in 1945 after World War II, some Shugendō groups have been able to reorganize, but they do not compare in size or vigor to the flourishing movement that existed from the eleventh through the nineteenth century.

FORMATION. The two main formative elements for Shugendō are the prehistoric Japanese heritage of sacred mountains, and imported traditions (from Korea and China) of religious realization. Although these two sets of elements eventually became almost imperceptibly intertwined, it is important to distinguish them in order to understand the emergence of Shugendō.

Sacred mountains—including particular beliefs and practices associated with them—have been so important in Japanese religious history that scholars have used the terms *sangaku shinkō* (mountain beliefs or cult) and *sangaku shukyō* (mountain religion) to refer to this nationwide but unorganized, highly localized phenomenon. Prehistoric practices surrounding sacred mountains were shaped by the character of the *kami* associated with a site and the type of worship accorded that spirit.

The claim has been made that in prehistoric times, before rice agriculture was introduced to Japan, there was a "pure hunting culture" and that the "original" mountain *kami* was a hunting divinity worshiped on the summit of the mountain. The significance of this theory is that, if substantiated, it would point to a hunting culture and a mountain *kami* related to hunting as the first Japanese precedent of religious practices on the mountain peak. However, there is insufficient evidence to support the claim, and because prehistoric conditions are so poorly documented, it is unlikely that such evidence will be found.

The earliest form of religious practices at Japanese sacred mountains for which there is archaeological evidence is related to the ptotohistorical period just before and after the common era, and closely associated with agriculture. These archaeological finds occur at the foot of mountains (rather than at the peak), often in conjunction with large boulders. Some of the finds are the stone representations of jewels, mirrors, and swords—the so-called imperial regalia, important to the imperial family and in Shintō. The ritual bowls and mortars also found there have led some scholars to conclude that the boulders (often venerated even today as the temporary dwelling place of *kami)* were the altars on which offerings were made. The mortars and ritual bowls may well have been for brewing and offering a special "overnight" sake (rice wine) that is mentioned in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi,* early chronicles of Japan. The protohistorical evidence for sacred mountains shows that *kami* were believed to dwell within the mountains and that they were worshiped at the foot of mountains, probably in connection with fertility (offering of rice wine in connection with the rice harvest, a venerable tradition still honored in Shintō).

The second set of formative elements for Shugendō was the host of beliefs, symbolism, and ritual imported to Japan from the Asian continent. Especially Buddhist—but also some Taoist—notions and techniques of religious realization interacted with the indigenous Japanese phenomenon of sacred mountains to create the peculiar blend of traditions that coalesced into Shugendō. One of the major changes brought about by the imported traditions is that it shifted interest in sacred mountains from the foothills to the peak. The primary influence for this change seems to have been Buddhism, whose practitioners viewed sacred mountains as ideal locations for practicing Buddhist austerities and mastering ritual and magical techniques. Taoist notions were added to the mystique of Japan's sacred mountains, so that they came to be viewed as the dwelling place of "mountain wizards" (*xian* in Chinese, *sen* or *sennin* in Japanese).

The legendary figure En no Ozunu is viewed by Shugendō followers as having established the precedent of practicing Buddhist austerities, overlaid with a Taoist mystique, in Japanese mountains. He is first mentioned in the *Shoku nihongi* record of 699, when he was banished on the charge of misusing his magical powers to control people. This simple notice connects his practice of magic with a sacred mountain, Katsuragi. The ninth-century account of the *Nihon ryōiki* contains the full-blown tradition of En no Ozunu used by Shugendō leaders to glorify their legendary founder: here he is treated as a miraculous figure who exemplified the ideals of Buddhist asceticism and Taoistic mysticism, in the context of sacred mountains. Following these ideals, En no Ozunu withdrew into a mountain cave and practiced the Buddhist magical formula of the Peacock King (Kujaku-ō), thereby gaining magical powers such as the ability to fly through the air. After competition with a jealous *kami,* he became a Daoist wizard and ascended to Heaven. In this account he is called En no Ubasoku (*ubasoku* is the Japanese rendering of the Sanskrit term *upāsaka,* "unordained Buddhist practitioner"); in Shugendō he is honored as En no Gyōja, in other words, En the Ascetic. Legends developed proclaiming that En no Gyōja had opened up the mountains of Yoshino, Ōmine, and Kumano, some of the earliest institutional centers of Shugendō.

There is no substantial record of the life and activities of En no Ozunu, but his tradition of gaining special religious powers by practicing Buddhist and Daoist techniques of religious realization within the precincts of sacred mountains became the precedent for a host of practitioners on many sacred mountains. Especially during the Heian period (794–1185), unorganized wandering ascetics developed such practices. There were various names for these practitioners: *ubasoku* (Skt., *upāsaka*) drew heavily on Buddhism; *hijiri* ("wise man, holy man") and *onmyōji* ("master of *yin* and *yang,*" fortuneteller) utilized especially the techniques derived from Onmyōdō ("the way of *yin* and *yang*"); *genja* ("person of extraordinary religious power") used various techniques. These practitioners conducted austerities and pilgrimages within sacred mountains while practicing specific techniques (such as reciting Buddhist *sutras* and magical formulas) to gain special religious powers; some of them used this power to provide rituals of blessing and healing to laypeople. Gradually some sacred mountains became centers for organizing these practitioners into institutional groups. One of the foremost was Kumano, which from about the eleventh century had become popular as a pilgrimage site for the imperial family and, increasingly, for the nobility and other people as well.

Shugendō was a major channel for unifying and continuing such diverse practices. Prominent sacred mountains became Shugendō centers that attracted large numbers of practitioners and molded their beliefs and practices into distinctive blends of doctrine and action. While revering En no Gyōja as the founder of Shugendō and generally accepting all the diverse elements within this tradition, local centers revered a specific person who founded practice at that mountain (usually called the one who "opened the mountain") and developed a particular pattern of holy sites, symbolism, doctrine, and ritual.

DYNAMICS AND SIGNIFICANCE. By about the thirteenth century, Shugendō had become a highly organized tradition with many well-established local variations. Although each center emphasized its own particular blend of teachings and practices, some features were common to most groups. Distinctive forms of dress and ritual tools were arranged in sets of twelve or sixteen items: several characteristic items by which Shugendō practitioners were recognized are the small black cap (of Buddhist origin), the seashell or conch, the priest's staff, and a portable altar. The set of twelve or sixteen items had its own symbolism, as did each aspect and measurement of a particular item. For example, the portable altar, which contained a few Buddhist scriptures, tools, and maybe a small statue (such as Fudō) for worship while the practitioner was on pilgrimage in the mountains, symbolized the cosmos from which the initiate was reborn as a result of his mountain practice.

Such complex symbolism could also occur on a grander scale. For example, worship at Kumano featured a pattern of three sacred mountains viewed as three interrelated cosmic worlds (*mandara,* from Skt. *maṇḍala*): one mountain represented the Womb World Mandala (*taizōkai*), a second mountain represented the Diamond World Mandala (*kongōkai*), and the third represented the higher union of these opposites in a Womb and Diamond World Mandala. In doctrinal terms, the three *maṇḍalas* express the teaching of Esoteric Buddhism of a higher reality; in practical terms, the *maṇḍala*s and Japanese sacred mountains became permanently interrelated, so that the pilgrim who visited these sacred mountains and followed prescribed rules of purity and training was sure to realize the attainment of Buddhahood. Similar patterns of three sacred mountains, with local variations, are found at other Shugendō headquarters throughout Japan.

The most conspicuous religious performances within Shugendō are the ascetic procedures followed by pilgrims during periodic retreats on sacred mountains, tracing a Buddhist pattern of ten stages from hell and beastly existence to heaven and the enlightened status of Buddhahood. The formal pattern of ten stages is common to Buddhism generally, but Shugendō centers gave dramatic turns to such doctrinal teachings. For example, the first stage of hell, which meant weighing one's *karman,* or past (here, evil) conduct, was acted out in some Shugendō traditions by lowering a *yamabushi* over a precipice with a rope, in which position he was required to confess all his sins. This is typical of the Shugendō emphasis on asceticism in concrete and experiential terms. Perhaps the outstanding ritual performance of Shugendō is the fire rite called Saitogōma, which may derive in part from indigenous Japanese fire rites. (The word *goma* is related linguistically to the Indian terms *soma* or *homa.*) The immediate precedent of Saitogōma is the heritage of fire rituals in Esoteric Buddhism, but the Shugendō rite, an outdoor night ceremony performed as the culmination of a period of religious realization, combines the notion of attainment of Buddhahood with the general sense of gaining power from ritual association with sacred mountains.

By participating in successive mountain retreats (often called "peaks"), a Shugendō initiate acquired the ability to minister to laypeople, and the veteran *yamabushi* increased in rank in the local organization. Each center had its own complex rules of training and sets of ranks. As Shugendō became more highly institutionalized, especially from about the thirteenth century, the older tradition of wandering, unorganized practitioners gave way to the establishment of a central headquarters that trained and controlled individual *yamabushi.* These *yamabushi* lost their status as individual wandering ascetics, and although they continued to be viewed as possessing the mystique and power of sacred mountains, they spent more of their time in an itinerant ministry, dispensing charms and blessings from the sacred mountain to common people. There emerged complex networks of parish relationships between Shugendō headquarters and many families in the surrounding area, with itinerant *yamabushi* both carrying blessings from the mountain to the people and also guiding individual believers on pilgrimages to the mountain. As *yamabushi* leaders called *sendatsu* guided their parishioners on the pilgrimage, walking from outlying areas to the sacred mountain, they stayed each night at specially designated lodging houses.

At times the competition between rival Shugendō groups erupted into violence and disputes that had to be settled by secular authorities. In their role as itinerant ministers, sometimes accompanied by wives who assisted in rites of possession and exorcism, *yamabushi* were very influential in spreading religious traditions to the populace; they taught practical versions of Esoteric Buddhism, and disseminated the Kōshin cult (derived in part from Daoist tradition). As they mingled with the people, *yamabushi* came to be associated with the long-nosed mountain goblin called *tengu;* they were also suspected of abusing their right of free travel by acting as military spies. By Tokugawa times (1600–1867), people viewed *yamabushi* more as popular exorcisers than as mountain ascetics, and *yamabushi* frequently appeared in plays as pseudoreligious or comical characters. In short, the institutionalization of the *yamabushi* career led to their popularization at the expense of their ascetic and religious character.

The proscription of Shugendō by the Meiji government in 1872 was due primarily to the desire of the new rulers to "restore" Shintō to a pure state, free from foreign—that is, Buddhist—influence, in order to support the notion of the emperor as head of the nation and its indigenous religion (Shintō). Shugendō, being a patent amalgam of Shintō and Buddhism, was an obvious obstacle to such a program. The moral and financial corruption that had plagued Shugendō since the late Tokugawa period was another possible reason for the proscription, which resulted in the splitting of Shugendō centers into independent Buddhist and Shintō elements. With the enactment of freedom of religion in 1945, however, some Shugendō traditions surviving in Buddhism and Shintō were revived and new Shugendō organizations appeared.

Shugendō is significant as a good example of the emergence of Japanese religion from the interaction of indigenous and imported traditions. Most of the elements that make up Shugendō are found throughout Japanese religious history, even to the present day: indeed, several founders of Japanese new religions have been connected with Shugendō, or have displayed similar patterns of religious behavior, such as retreat on sacred mountains for the practice of austerities and the attainment of sacred power.

SEE ALSO En no Gyōja; Onmyōdō.

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Western-language publications on Shugendō are still relatively few. The first modern work on Shugendō is Gaston Renondeau's *Le Shugendō: Histoire, doctrine et rites des anachorètes dits Yamabushi* (Paris, 1965), which emphasizes historical documents and treats Shugendō mainly in terms of doctrinal developments out of Tendai and Shingon. Hartmut O. Rotermund has written two major works on Shugendō. His earlier work, *Die Yamabushi: Aspekte ihres Glaubens, Lebens und ihrer sozialen Funktion im japanischen Mittelalter* (Hamburg, 1968), traces Shugendō as viewed in Japanese literature. His later work, *Pèlerinage aux neuf sommets: Carnet de route d'un religieux itinérant dans le Japon du dix-neuvième siècle* (Paris, 1983), is a detailed study of the travels and experiences of one *yamabushi* through his writings. In *A Religious Study of the Mount Haguro Sect of Shugendō: An Example of Japanese Mountain Religion* (Tokyo, 1970) I have utilized my fieldwork with a contemporary Shugendō group to interpret its religious worldview.

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SHUGS LDAN (SHUGDEN).

In modern times, Tibetan Buddhism, and the Dge lugs (Geluk) school in particular, has been agitated by an intense dispute concerning a controversial deity, Rdo rje shugs ldan (Dorje Shugden). Some of the questions raised by this dispute are common to many Buddhist traditions, where the integration of local deities within a normative Buddhist framework is often delicate. This dispute also raises more particular questions concerning competing conceptions of the Dge lugs tradition.

Buddhists understand themselves to be bound by taking refuge in the Buddha, *dharma*, and *saṃgha*. As such they are not supposed to worship other deities. But this restriction creates difficulties—particularly, but not only, for those involved in the world. What are they to do with the deities who have, they believe, a large influence on their welfare, health, and prosperity? The standard answer has been that Buddhists may propitiate these lesser mundane deities (asking them respectfully for help) but may not entrust them with their long-term spiritual welfare, an attitude they can adopt only toward supramundane beings, buddhas, *bodhisattvas,* or *arhats.* This normative line, however, is often blurred in practice, where respectful propitiation shades into worship. As a result some of the most popular mundane deities have tended to rise toward the supramundane status, at times leading to protracted conflicts.

Tibetan Buddhism has had to deal extensively with such problems. One of the ways various deities (often but not always the indigenous non-Buddhist gods and goddesses) have been integrated in the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon is through the notion of *dharma* protector, a deity who has taken an oath to protect the Buddhist teachings. This type of deity, already known in India, has often been used in Tibet to integrate local deities into the Buddhist pantheon. Based on the model of Padmasamabhava's activities, many of the local gods are understood to be bound by an oath to protect the *dharma* and are propitiated as such. But this activity has also tended to elevate the status of these gods, leading to controversies. This scenario is quite clear in the case of Shugs ldan.

Shugs ldan's Dge lugs followers claim that their tradition goes back to a rather obscure and bloody episode of Tibetan history, the violent death of Grags pa rgyal mtshan (Drakba Gyeltsen; 1618–1655), an important Dge lugs lama rival of the fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682). Because of his premature death, Grags pa rgyal mtshan is said to have transformed into a wrathful spirit bent on the protection of the doctrinal purity of the Dge lugs tradition. He is also said to have been particularly irked at the Dge lugs lamas, such as the fifth Dalai Lama, who studied and practiced the teachings of other traditions. It is even suggested that the deaths of several of these less orthodox lamas can be attributed to this spirit.

As often occurs, however, historical realities are somewhat different. It was only during the early part of the twentieth century that the systematic connection between Shugs ldan and Grags pa rgyal mtshan appears to have been clearly established. This seems to have been due to Pabongka (1878–1941), a charismatic teacher who spearheaded a revival movement within the Dge lugs tradition, a movement in part motivated by the success of the nonsectarian revival among the other schools. The connection with Grags pa rgyal mtshan seems to have been a way for Pabongka to justify the adoption of Shugs ldan, originally a non-Dge lugs deity, as the main protector of his movement. In this way Pabongka created a new understanding of the Dge lugs tradition focused on three elements: Vajrayogini as the main meditational deity, Shugs ldan as the protector, and Pabongka as the *gūru*. Pabongka's vision was also strongly exclusivist. Not only was the Dge lugs tradition considered supreme, its followers were warned of dire consequences in case they had any interest in other traditions. Shugs ldan would take care of them, as illustrated by the story of several eclectic Dge lugs lamas who died prematurely at Shugs ldan's hands.

Shugs ldan appears to have originally been a local deity associated with a small pond in Dol, an area near the junction of the Zangbo and Yarlung Valleys. This deity seems to have been adopted first by the Sagya tradition, where he was considered a minor and yet powerful protector who could be dangerous. He appeared in the Dge lugs tradition as early as the first half of the eighteenth century, when he was propitiated by several important lamas, but they do not seem to have made any connection with Grags pa rgyal mtshan. Moreover, there was no claim for Shugs ldan to be anything but a minor worldly protector used for his power to help in matters of wealth, disease, and protection from spirits. This changed with Pabongka, who made him into one of the main protectors of the tradition. Pabongka's disciple Trijang (1901–1983), the fourteenth Dalai Lama's charismatic teacher, stressed this practice among his disciples and pushed the glorification of Shugs ldan even further, insisting that this deity is ultimately a fully enlightened buddha who merely appears as a mundane deity.

The novelty of this deity and his exclusive character could not but irritate some Dge lugs teachers, particularly the Dalai Lamas, who have often presented their rule as inclusive of other schools. There was already some tension between Pabongka and the thirteenth Dalai Lama, but the conflict came to the fore only in the 1970s, when the fourteenth Dalai Lama started to make pronouncements against this deity and the accompanying practice. The Dalai Lama seems to have been particularly irritated by a small book about Shugs ldan published by Dzemay, a learned Dge lugs lama. But the main source of opposition seems to have been the Dalai Lama's perception that the Shugs ldan practice undermined the ritual basis legitimizing his rule.

The Dalai Lama institution is not just political. It also rests on an elaborate ritual system that is not limited to Dge lugs practices but includes the deities of other schools, particularly those associated with the early Tibetan Empire. Hence, this ritual system has close ties with the Rnying ma (Nyingma), the Buddhist school most closely associated with the early Empire. This link is particularly visible in the role played in this ritual system by Padmasambhava and by Dorje drakden (Nechung), a Tibetan god who is said to protect the Dalai Lama and his government. The propitiation of Shugs ldan threatened this eclectic system. By presenting Shugs ldan as an exclusive deity in charge of visiting retribution upon those Dge lugs pa who have adopted practices from other traditions, the cult of Shugs ldan undermines the ritual system underlying the Dalai Lama institution as conceived by the present incumbent (the fourteenth Dalai Lama).

Shugs ldan's followers would protest that their practice is primarily not directed at anyone in particular but stems from their religious commitments, particularly their devotion to their teachers Pabongka and Trijang. Nevertheless, the threatening tone of this tradition and its divisiveness are hard to ignore.

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SHUN See YAO AND SHUN

SHUNNING See EXCOMMUNICATION; EXPULSION

SIBERIAN RELIGIONS See ARCTIC RELIGIONS; PREHISTORIC RELIGIONS, *ARTICLE ON* THE EURASIAN STEPPES AND INNER ASIA; SHAMANISM, *ARTICLE ON* SIBERIAN AND INNER ASIAN SHAMANISM; SOUTHERN SIBERIAN RELIGIONS

SIBYLLINE ORACLES. In Greek tradition (accepted by the Romans not later than the fourth century BCE and by the Jews not later than the second) a sibyl is an old woman who utters ecstatic predictions of woe. The etymology of the name is unknown. In Greece the earliest mention of the term is found in the writings of the philosopher Heraclitus about

500 BCE, though the figure of the sibyl and perhaps some kind of oracles attributed to her were probably known from the eighth century BCE on. In the following years the tradition of sibylline oracles became well established (and was caricatured by Aristophanes in late-fifth-century BCE Athens).

The sibyls were thought to wander through the world and to attain an extraordinary age—as much as a thousand years. But Delphi, Samos, Erythrae in Ionia, Marpessus in Troas, and Cumae and Tibur in Italy each had its own resident sibyl. Other individual sibyls were known respectively as Persian, Chaldean, Phrygian, and Egyptian, and there were less-famous sibyls elsewhere. According to the Christian apologist Lactantius, the Roman Varro (first century BCE) gives a list of the ten aforementioned sibyls, which became the canon in the Middle Ages, enlarged to twelve in the Renaissance. The first mention of the Hebrew Sibyl in classical sources is in Pausanias (10.12.9) in the second century CE, but such a figure was associated with oracles long before then. Like other sibyls, she had a personal name, which Pausanias gives as Sabba (a variant is Sambethe). She is referred to in extant oracles as a pagan daughter-in-law of Noah.

Places in which sibyls were supposed to deliver their oracles, such as the cave in Cumae, were revered and visited by pilgrims. Few people, however, claimed to have seen a living sibyl. In Petronius's *Satyricon* (chap. 48), Trimalchio does, but he is not meant to be believed. In reality people were primarily acquainted with collections of ancient (or allegedly ancient) oracles that were attributed to individual sibyls and that seemed to be relevant or could be applied to given situations. In fact the origin of the Greek figure of the sibyl is more literary than real, based on the influence of the oriental tradition of ecstatic prophecy intermingled with the old epic characters of inspired women, such as Cassandra (a kind of prototype of the sibyls).

The oracles were written in Greek hexameters, and their content was often protected by acrostics. Latin sibylline oracles appear only late (for instance, in Procopius, concerning the Goths of the sixth century CE). The oracles of the Cumaean Sibyl were supposed to have been originally inscribed on palm leaves.

THE NATURE OF SIBYLLINE INSPIRATION. In Greece and Rome inspired (or natural) prophecy was considered the attribute of women, whereas technical and induced divination was a man's territory. Of course both were considered of divine origin (either from the god Apollo or the God of Jews or Christians), but the division is an interesting testimony of the assessment of gender roles.

Not all inspired women were reducible to a unique type, but sometimes the differences were blurred. So the first testimony of the performance of the sibyl (Heraclitus) describes her in a clear state of possession and domination by the god, uttering prophecies "with maddened mouth" in a rough and not embellished way (as opposed to elaborated inspired poetry). However, one must differentiate three types of inspired women: the Pythia, the sibyl, and other heroines whose characteristics are assimilated to the two first. The Pythia (and generally speaking all the priests and priestesses of Apollonean sanctuaries), as a mortal, is supposed to utter divine messages and be a mere voice of the god, responding to questions concerning the future. The sibyl (who sometimes introduces herself as half divine, half mortal) has a universal and omnitemporal knowledge, historical as well as eschatological, though she speaks as urged by divine pressure and even violence. Paradoxically, despite the frequent allusion to a verbal message, these prophecies are always transmitted as written poetical texts. As for the mantic heroines, they share some traits with the two former but are often amplified or even overdone.

There is no precise description of the way the sibylline inspiration was conceived. The discussions in Plutarch's Pythian dialogues concerning the inspiration of the Delphic prophetess are only partially appropriate for the sibylline predictions because of the different kind of prophetic performance. The most interesting coincidence would be the definition of the sibyl's role as an instrument (Greek, *organon*) of Apollo and later of the God of Jews and Christians. As noted above, in some ancient descriptions the sibyl is assimilated to some mythical figures, Daphne, Manto, Cassandra, who are linked to Apollo and who suffered the violence of the god for having refused his sexual pursuits. In all theses cases the punishment is a transformation that implies either aphasia or the incredibility of the prophecies or, conversely, the transformation into a mere voice after her physical extinction. In the collection of *Sibylline Oracles* the sibyl complains of being incessantly urged by God to utter prophecies. Later, in the most genuinely Christian tradition, she is assimilated to the biblical prophets, and the theme of divine violence disappears.

HISTORY OF THE ORACULAR TEXTS. The Romans claimed to have received a partial collection of the prophecies of the Cumaean Sibyl under one of the two Tarquinian kings in the sixth century BCE. What is certain is that a collection of such books (the so-called *Libri sibyllini*) existed in Rome and was preserved in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus during the Republic. These books were entrusted to a special priestly commission, composed first of two, then of ten, then of fifteen members, who could consult them only when ordered to do so by the senate in times of recognized emergency. When the temple of Jupiter burned in 83 BCE, the Sibylline Books were destroyed and were ultimately replaced by a new collection. Augustus transferred these oracles to the newly built temple of Apollo on the Palatine and ordered a severe pruning of the texts.

Rome seems to have been unique in making the sibylline oracles a monopoly of the state. However, though the text of these *Libri* is not known exactly, the references given by the sources indicate that they were mostly prescriptions regarding cultic practices and expiations in time of crisis and not properly prophecies of the kind known from other texts.

Only the oldest examples cited by the historians contain a formulation similar to the ordinary sibylline prophecies. Most probably then the legend of the arrival of these books in Rome in the time of the Tarquinian kings, despite its (seemingly) late and fictitious nature, points to an influence in origin of the Greek tradition (via the contacts with the Greek settlers) but modified and amplified by important Etruscan ritual elements and finally mixed with their own Roman religious traditions and institutions.

Elsewhere sibylline books seem to have circulated openly. Being authoritative everywhere, the sibylline texts were of course controversial and often suspected to be forgeries. Unfortunately only scattered examples of pagan sibylline oracles exist. The most famous are perhaps those preserved by Phlegon of Tralles (early second century CE). One seems to belong to 125 BCE, another perhaps to Sulla's time, and a third certainly refers to the celebration of the Secular Games under Augustus, though it may incorporate older texts. Roman tradition attributes, perhaps correctly, to sibylline oracles the initiative for building the first temple to Ceres, Liber, and Libera in Rome, for introducing the cult of Asklepios from Epidaurus, for the human sacrifices of 226 BCE, for the consultation of Apollo at Delphi in 216 BCE, and for the introduction of the cult of Magna Mater in 205 BCE. In Rome there seems to have been steady collaboration between Apollo and the Cumaean Sibyl; elsewhere Apollonian divination and sibylline prophecy did not always agree.

A Roman law against reading Sibylline Books is mentioned in an obscure context by Justin Martyr in his first *Apology* (44.12) from the middle of the second century CE. The sibylline texts remained authoritative in Rome until the fourth century CE, when they were still consulted by Julian. According to the contemporary account of Rutilius Namatianus, these texts were destroyed by Stilicho not later than 408 CE. But the authority of Vergil, who had given such prominence to the Cumaean Sibyl in his fourth *Eclogue* and in the *Aeneid*, saved the prestige of the sibyls among the Christians, as one can clearly see in the writings of Lactantius, Eusebius, and Emperor Constantine. The Christians found in Vergil and in other sibylline texts prophecies of the annunciation of Christ. Independently of the Christians, and in fact before Christianity existed, the Jews produced sibylline texts that purported to convey divine expectations and reactions from a Jewish point of view and invited recognition of the true God. The Christians accepted these Jewish texts, occasionally interpolated them, and added to them other texts of unequivocally Christian character. The collection of Sibylline Books that has reached survived is thus of mixed Jewish and Christian authorship, but the extant manuscripts are all of Christian origin. Collectively they are known as the *Sibylline Oracles.*

These manuscripts can be roughly divided into two groups. Some, published as early as the sixteenth century, contain the first eight books. Others, made known chiefly by Cardinal Angelo Mai in the early nineteenth century, include books numbered from nine to fourteen, but books nine and ten contain material already included in the first eight books, whereas books eleven to fourteen add new material. In modern editions, beginning with that by Charles Alexandre (1841–1856), the two series are conflated, and therefore books nine and ten are not present. Books three, four, and five were already known in some form to Clement of Alexandria; books six, seven, and eight were known to Lactantius in about 300 CE. Some Christian fragments of sibylline oracles are to be found outside the present collection in quotations by ancient writers.

CONTENT OF THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES. As is evident from Vergil's reference to the "final age" in his fourth *Eclogue,* the division of world history into periods was a feature of pagan sibylline prophecies. This is confirmed by a pagan literary test, Lycophron's *Alexandra* (third or second century BCE), which is influenced by pagan sibylline texts. The authors of the Jewish and Christian Sibylline Books developed the universal aspect that distinguished them. The influence of the *Book of Daniel* is unmistakable. Like the *Book of Daniel*, the sibylline authors embraced the theory of the four monarchies. They combined with it the division of history into ten "generations." The note of hostility toward Rome (and toward the Hellenistic rulers as long as they existed) is quite clear but not ubiquitous. As such, these texts belong to the resistance literature of the Near East against foreign domination. As in the *Book of Revelation*, the return of Nero at the head of the Parthian army figures prominently in books four, five, and eight. The fate of people after death is reflected in the Christian texts of books two, seven, and eight but not in the Jewish texts. Given the poor knowledge of the Greek-speaking Jews in the Diaspora after the first century CE, these sibylline oracles are perhaps altogether more important for the history of the Jewish Diaspora than for early Christianity.

The order in which the *Sibyllin Oracles* have been preserved was established by a late compiler, and therefore it does not fit the chronology of each book. The oldest core of the collection is in book three, roughly dated between 163 and 145 (or 140) BCE, but it was reworked and enlarged after 31 BCE (and perhaps also in the first century CE).

The first two books (not clearly separated in the manuscripts) are Jewish in origin but were elaborated and reworked by Christians. The present text assumes the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE, and its curious interest in Phrygia may point to its place of origin. A Christian origin has been proposed for these books, because they are not mentioned before the speech attributed to Emperor Constantine entitled *Oratio ad sanctorum coetum.* Nevertheless a Jewish origin for some parts is unquestionable. Their position in the whole collection is based on the fact that book one describes the creation of the world and the succession of human generations, whereas book two has more apocalyptic and eschatological elements.

Book three, perhaps the most important historically, contains texts of ideological orientations dating from various periods. Lines 1–96 seem to be later than Cleopatra and the Battle of Actium (31 BCE) and perhaps even later than Nero; lines 350–380 seem to refer to anti-Roman movements of the first century BCE; and lines 466–469 seem to refer to the era of Sulla. The main corpus is a messianic prophecy involving Jews and Greeks with special attention given to Egypt. Three allusions to a seventh king of Egypt (ll. 193, 318, 608) in all likelihood refer to Ptolemy Philometor (180–145 BCE). There is a reference to the *Book of Daniel* in line 396, but its implications are doubtful. In lines 194–195 there is a reference to the resurgence of the Jews after some catastrophe, possibly the reign of Antiochus IV. In lines 388–400 and following a strange oracle about a king of Asia presents problems. Finally, in lines 653–656 and following there is a prophecy about a savior from the East or from the sun. It is by no means obvious that this king should be identified with the seventh king of Egypt. The book as a whole, though at certain points strongly anti-Roman and anti-Macedonian, is not radical in its hostility and seems to hope for and to wish to foster good relations between Jews and Egyptian Greeks.

Book four seems to be based on pagan sibylline oracles of the end of the fourth century BCE. The text (ll. 49–101) knows of four empires and ten generations and identifies the tenth generation and the fourth empire with Macedon. This part, it has been suggested, belonged to an ancient chronological level (prior to the collection), perhaps the fourth century BCE. The Jewish elaboration presupposes the rise of Rome and the end of the Temple of Jerusalem, the legend of Nero's flight to the Parthians, and the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE. It insists on baptism as a prerequisite of salvation and on the rejection of the Temple cult. This points to some Jewish sectarian groups, not necessarily to a Judeo-Christian sect.

Book five, which has a Christian allusion in lines 256–259, knows of the destruction of the Temple and the legend of Nero, and Hadrian is still favorable to the Jews. A date before 132 CE seems probable, but line 51, with its reference to Marcus Aurelius, must be treated as a later interpolation. The text is strongly hostile to Rome and Egypt and contains a mysterious allusion to a temple in Egypt destroyed by the Ethiopians (ll. 501 and following).

Book six is a short Christian text known to Lactantius in the form of a hymn. Book seven is Christian in its present form, with possible but puzzling Jewish, Gnostic, and even Neoplatonic traits. Book eight seems to be a combination of Jewish and Christian texts with a puzzling reference to an eschatological queen (l. 194) in the Jewish section (ll. 1–216), which is hostile to Rome and was probably written before 195 CE. The Christian part is, at any rate, earlier than 300 CE. It includes a famous acrostic (ll. 217–243, with a later addition in ll. 244–250), whose Latin translation is frequently quoted by Christian authors and was adopted into liturgical texts of the Middle Ages.

Books eleven through fourteen, taken together, are an apocalyptic outline of world history since the Flood. Book eleven is Jewish and may not be much later than Vergil's death in 19 CE, alluded to in line 171. Lines 160–161, however, seem to point to a later date and are perhaps interpolations. It is not an anti-Roman book. Moreover the author seems to be familiar with the Augustan laudatory ideology. Book twelve is Jewish with Christian interpolations and was written not long after 235 CE (though it could also have been composed with the following book). It reflects a time and milieu (Egypt) in which Jews were inclined to accept the Roman Empire. Book thirteen is Jewish with Christian interpolations, is dated around 265 CE, and contains propaganda for Odenathus of Palmyra. Both books twelve and thirteen probably circulated independently, alongside book eleven, as a kind of imperial chronicle. Book fourteen, a confused text of Jewish origin that awaits satisfactory interpretation, seems to end with the Arab conquest of Alexandria and with Jewish collaboration in it in the middle of the seventh century CE. If this is correct, it shows Jews composing sibylline texts in Greek at a late date.

Christians maintained an interest in sibylline oracles and composed new ones throughout the Middle Ages. The queen of Sheba was sometimes identified with the sibyl Sabba. The Tiburtine Sibyl became especially popular both in the West and in the East. Some of her texts, though now in medieval redactions, probably go back to the fourth century CE. As late as the thirteenth century Thomas of Celano alludes to her in his *Dies irae.*

SEE ALSO Oracles.

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SIDDHĀRTHA SEE BUDDHA

SIDDHAS SEE MAHĀSIDDHAS

SIDDUR AND MAḤZOR.

The *siddur* and the *maḥzor* (pl., *siddurim* and *maḥzorim*) are the prayer books used in Jewish public worship. The term *siddur* ("order"; from the Hebrew root *sdr,* "order, arrange") signifies an order of prayer and generally denotes weekday and Sabbath liturgy. The term *maḥzor* ("cycle"; from the root *ḥzr,* "return, come around again") denotes the annual cycle of prayer for holidays that come but once a year; the *maḥzor* is therefore usually subdivided nowadays into separate volumes for each holiday: that is, the *maḥzor* for Passover, Sukkot, or Shavuʿot (the Pilgrimage Festivals) or for Roʾsh ha-Shanah or Yom Kippur (the Days of Awe, or High Holy Days). Surprisingly, the determination of a standardized text for these volumes is a relatively late phenomenon and, in fact, is still open to editorial discretion. Even though there now exists authorized wording for all standard prayers, and even though one can anticipate generally what basic prayers each *siddur* or *maḥzor* will contain, many *siddurim* published today also contain selections drawn from the *maḥzor,* and different editions vie with each other to be more comprehensive.

HISTORY. No comprehensive textual standardization seems to predate the ninth century. Until then, and particularly before the promulgation of the Mishnah (c. 200 CE), the very nature of early rabbinic liturgy militated against prescribed texts for prayer, in that a single authorized set of fixed wording was avoided. Instead, prayer leaders were given a certain order of mandated themes that they were encouraged to express creatively as worship proceeded; they thus combined the complementary principles of structural fixity (*qevaʿ*) and linguistic spontaneity (*kavvanah*). After the close of the tannaitic era (c. 200), there are isolated individual orders of prayer (called *seder tefillot*), and the very act of saying prayers is often described by the verb meaning "to order" them, as if an official "order," or *siddur,* were in existence; but except for specific prayers attributed to the personal taste of individual rabbis, there is evidence against the existence of authoritative, generally accepted, inalterable sets of wording such as are found in the *siddur* or *maḥzor* of today.

This principle of freedom within structure is particularly evident in the prayers of Palestinian Jewry where it continued in force even beyond the amoraic (or Talmudic) age (after c. 500), at least until that community's partial destruction by the Crusades, at which time Palestinian spiritual independence was interrupted. True, there are Palestinian orders of service from that time with their own typical linguistic preferences, but these are marked by enormous poetic variation, both within the basic prayers themselves and in the insertions or additions for special occasions.

Babylonian Jewry, on the other hand, favored ever-increasing linguistic fixity, particularly after the middle of the eighth century, under the leadership of its newest scholarly elite, the geonim. In their attempt to standardize worldwide Jewish practice, these authorities initiated the practice of sending *responsa* to outlying Jewish communities, in which they described their own liturgical preferences and declared them as universally binding. By the middle of the eleventh century, they had penned at least two complete orders of prayer, and it is from these compositions (especially the first one) that today's *siddur* and *maḥzor* eventually evolved. Later sources mention a third prayer book, compiled by Hʾai Gaon (d. 1038), but it has not survived.

The first of these comprehensive compendiums of prayer, and the most influential to this day, is *Seder Rav Amram,* sent by Amram Gaon (d. 871) to a Jewish community in Spain, whence it circulated widely to become the model for all western European rites. In content, it is Amram's prescribed wording for a comprehensive set of prayers—both *siddur* and *maḥzor* combined—along with detailed legal instructions regarding how worship is to proceed. Extant manuscripts of *Seder Rav Amram* are somewhat undependable with regard to the text of the prayers, which scribes did not always copy accurately, but the accompanying legal commentary is preserved faithfully enough to ascertain that Amram relied on Babylonian precedent and was motivated, in fact, by the desire to universalize its practice at the expense of Palestinian alternatives that were vying for cultural influence in newly established Jewish settlements of North Africa and western Europe. So Amram sought to demonstrate a clear chain of authority going back to the Babylonian Talmud, via Geonic interpreters, such as his predecessor in office, Natronai (d. 858), who had tried to accomplish the same goal by recording a list of daily blessings incumbent on every Jew, and whose list Amram now borrowed for inclusion in his *Seder.*

The second Geonic prayer book is *Siddur Saʿadyah,* the work of Saʿadyah Gaon (d. 942). In an introduction thereto, Saʿadyah states his intention: to help the average worshiper differentiate the proper from the improper in the baffling array of liturgical customs then extant. Like *Seder Rav Amram, Siddur Saʿadyah* is comprehensive, being at once both *siddur* and *maḥzor.* But it differs from *Seder Rav Amram* in at least five ways: (1) it contains only short, uncomplicated instructions on the conduct of worship, rather than lengthy excurses; (2) these are recorded in Arabic, not Aramaic; (3) Saʿadyah incorporates Palestinian material; (4) he favors *piyyuṭim* (poetic insertions in the standard body of prayers); and (5) in general, he displays a mastery of the Islamic liturgical aesthetic typical of his day, particularly in his preference for logical order, grammatical purity, linguistic precision rooted in scripture, and philosophy (see his two *baashot,* petitions, following the Tefillah, for example).

By the tenth century, the center of the Jewish world had shifted to western Europe. There, each nascent community proceeded to define its own liturgical identity, paying special heed to Amram's paradigmatic *Seder,* but in some cases showing familiarity also with *Siddur Saʿadyah* or other independent Geonic precedents, and also with decisions reached by earlier authorities in North Africa (especially in Kairouan) and in Palestine itself. Thus every community developed its own liturgical rite, which amounted in each case to a local modification of Geonic prototype, in which Amram's prayer book predominated. All such European variations eventually became classified as rites common either to Ashkenaz (Franco-Germany) or to Sefarad (the Iberian Peninsula), but in either case, the resulting liturgical corpus did not yet differentiate its material calendrically, so that daily, Sabbath, and holy day prayers were all combined indiscriminately in one volume called variously *maḥzor* or *siddur* (or even *seder,* as in *Seder Rav Amram*). By the fourteenth century, however, the liturgy had expanded to the point where its unmanageable bulk resulted in a subdivision into several works. In Ashkenaz, these were the *siddur,* for daily and Sabbath prayers; the *maḥzor,* for holiday liturgy; and a further subdivision of the *maḥzor,* which more and more frequently appeared as a separate work, the Haggadah, a Passover Eve home devotional "order," or *seder.*

By the 1520s both the *siddur* and the *maḥzor* appeared in printed form, with the result that mass-produced standardized texts began to whittle away at long-standing local points of diversity. These texts, however, were often the work of printers whose competence lay in the new technology and its business-related affairs, not in rabbinic scholarship relevant to the rigorous reproduction of authentic texts. Consequently, texts from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century featured efforts to emend their errors. Especially noteworthy in this regard is Shabbetai Sofer, a prominent Polish grammarian and qabbalist, who (from 1613 to 1618) attempted to fix a scientifically accurate rite. Wolf Heidenheim (1757–1832) extended his critical spirit into the modern age by printing scientifically annotated editions; and in 1868, Heidenheim's disciple, Seligman Baer, summarized critical opinion up to his time in *Seder ʿavodat Yisraʾel.*

By then, the Sephardic rite had been carried throughout the Mediterranean, Holland, England, and even the New World by Spanish émigrés and their descendants, where it evolved further according to liturgical canons of these lands. The Ashkenazic rite was carried eastward across northern Europe to Poland and Russia, and then to North America where it now predominates. Qabbalists after the sixteenth century and their spiritual descendants, Polish Ḥasidim, combined the two rites.

In the 1800s, liturgical reform based on theological, academic, political, and aesthetic considerations was the norm for much of European Jewry, particularly in Germany, but increasingly also in America. The most significant works, perhaps, are the 1819 *Hamburg Prayer Book,* which first introduced comprehensive and theologically based liturgical reform to Germany, and David Einhorn's *ʿOlat tamid* (1858), which became the model for the Reform movement in the United States and Canada, where a standardized *Union Prayer Book* has existed since 1894/5.

Alongside those of the Reform movement, the most numerically significant liberal prayer books in America are those of the Conservative movement. The original series emerged in the 1940s as the Conservative movement sought to delineate its own ideological specificity. But the appearance of its *Maḥzor for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur* in 1972 heralded a major liturgical renaissance, in which all Jewish communities now find themselves, and the older books are being replaced.

Since the work of Leopold Zunz (1794–1886), prayer books have been studied according to geographic provenance, so that rites are assumed to correlate with the rise and fall of Jewish communities around the world. Actually, the determining factor is not geographic, but social, distance; prayer books today reflect ideological positioning of specific Jewish groups and their consequent social distance from each other. Prayer book preference derives from a prior communal self-definition—as British Reform, or Hasidic (according to this or that sect), or American Conservative, and so on. A few years after publication of the American Conservative movement's new *maḥzor* in 1972, a new Reform *siddur, Gates of Prayer,* appeared in 1975, and its companion *maḥzor, Gates of Repentance,* was published in 1978. These were patterned to some extent after *Service of the Heart* (1967) and *Gate of Repentance* (1973), the twin volumes issued by Great Britain's Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues. Clearly, world Jewry is in the process of defining a new post–World War II identity, replete with remarkable liturgical creativity, including a proliferation of alternative prayer books that replicate on the level of whole books the very principle of "freedom within structure" that has marked rabbinic liturgy from its earliest days.

STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS. Every *siddur* and *maḥzor* is identical in that the public liturgy consists of a specified core of daily prayers, which are elaborated on holy days so as to reflect their relevant calendrical themes and moods. This normal daily structure calls for three services: morning (Shaḥarit), afternoon (Minḥaht), and evening (ʿArvit, or Maʿariv); the latter two are generally combined, in practice, and recited together just before and just after nightfall. On holy days, an additional service (Musaf) is appended to the morning one. On Yom Kippur (originally, on all fast days) a concluding service (Neʿillah) is recited.

Daily service. Traceable in part to pre-70 days, before the destruction of the Temple, are two central rubrics: (1) the Shemaʿ (*Dt.* 6:4–9, 11:13–21; *Nm.* 15:37–41) and its blessings and (2) the Tefillah (lit., "the prayer"), also known as the ʿAmidah (The Standing Prayer) and as the Shemoneh ʿEsreh (The Eighteen Benedictions). Derived from *Deuteronomy* 6:7, "You shall speak of them . . . when you lie down and when you rise up," the Shemaʿ approximates an evening and morning creed that asserts the unity of God. Its accompanying blessings further define God as creator of light; loving revealer of Torah to the convenanted chosen people, Israel; and redeemer in history (at the paradigmatic salvific event, the Exodus from Egypt, and by analogy, ultimately, for final redemption at the end of days).

The subsequent Tefillah presents nineteen benedictions of which the middle thirteen constitute the basic liturgical petitions. Gamliʾel of Yavneh (c. 90 CE) is credited with arranging eighteen of them. Until then, numerous alternative sets of benedictions—"proto-*tefillot,*" so to speak—were the norm, and these varied in both number and content. Those who accept the authenticity of chapter 51 of the *Book of Ben Sira* consider it the earliest known example of such a proto-*tefillah* (c. 280 or 180 BCE). But Gamliʾel's standardized formulation superseded local usage, and (perhaps a century or two later, in Babylonia) the single petition for a messianic rebuilding of Zion was divided into two separate requests, so that the "Eighteen Benedictions" now number nineteen.

Theologically speaking, the Tefillah's first three benedictions assert (1) the continuity of Israel's covenant with God, in that the merit of the biblical patriarchs is said to warrant messianic deliverance to their descendants ever after; (2) God's power, particularly, to resurrect the dead; and (3) God's sanctity. The last three blessings may have originated in the Temple cult, as they (1) anticipate a restoration of that cult (in messianic times), (2) offer God thanksgiving, and (3) pray for peace. Some scholars see a further theological message in Gamliʾel's arrangement of the middle blessings, which are said to reflect the classical Jewish doctrine of salvation, beginning with knowledge of God, repentance, and divine forgiveness; and culminating in the ingathering of the exiles, establishing a system of justice for the appropriate meting out of reward and punishment, and rebuilding Zion under messianic rule.

Not every current liturgy includes all these classical theological statements. Since the *Hamburg Prayer Book,* Reform Jews in particular have modified some of these positions in one way or another, and even Orthodox prayer books that hew faithfully to the received texts have often emended their literal message by the inclusion of running commentaries that accompany the prayers in question.

In time, other rubrics were added to the Shemaʿ and the Tefillah. Personal prayer within the context of public worship, for example, originally followed the final blessing of the Shemaʿ; but with Gamliʾel's mandate to say the Tefillah in that place, it was postponed until the Tefillah's conclusion. The current *siddur* includes an ideal example of personal prayer attributed to one of the rabbis of the Babylonian Talmud, instead of calling for personal devotion from individual worshipers upon conclusion of the Tefillah. Similarly, a Talmudic tradition that as much as an entire confession is appropriate after the recitation of the Tefillah led, by the Middle Ages, to a series of fixed supplications called Taḥanun, which beg God to act graciously despite humankind's paucity of good works. So today's *siddur* appends to the Tefillah first the "private prayer" from the Talmud and then the Taḥanun. On Mondays and Thursdays a scriptural reading then precedes the conclusion of the service (a practice ascribed by tradition to Ezra).

Concluding prayers include the ʿAleinu and the Qaddish. The ʿAleinu is a second-century composition intended for Roʾsh ha-Shanah, but by the fourteenth century it was recited here too, where it provides a daily reminder of two polar attitudes in Judaism: universalism (in that God is sovereign over all), and particularism (in that God selected Israel as the chosen people). The Qaddish resembles Christianity's "Our Father" (the Lord's Prayer), in that both it and the Qaddish date from the first century and request "the coming of the Kingdom." Originally, the Qaddish was intended as the conclusion to a daily study session that culminated in a sermonic exposition on the theme of God's promise, but by the eighth century it had become associated with death; it was known in Austria, some five hundred years later, expressly as a mourners' prayer. It is said as such today, though it appears elsewhere in various forms to divide the sections of the service.

These expansions—"private prayer," Taḥanun, reading of scripture, the ʿAleinu, and the Qaddish—after the second major rubric, the Tefillah, are balanced by comparable additions before the first one, the Shemaʿ. A second-century practice of preparing for formal prayer by the informal recitation of psalms, grew by the ninth century (at least) to become an entire rubric called Pesuqei de-Zimraʾ (Verses of Song). Its essence is *Psalms* 145–150, followed by a benediction known as Birkat ha-Shir (Blessing of Song). These psalms are known as the Daily Hallel, and thus form one of three *hallel*s in the *siddur* and *maḥzor,* the other two being the Great Hallel (*Ps.* 136) and the Egyptian Hallel (*Ps.* 113–118), which, in general, characterize holy day worship.

Even these introductory Verses of Song are now prefaced by another lengthy unit known as Birkhot ha-Shaḥar (Morning Benedictions). It arose as private home devotion but was included as public worship in Amram's *Seder,* and it has remained so despite centuries of debate. Birkhot ha-Shaḥar contains (1) several blessings, generally predating 200 CE, relevant to awakening and preparing for the new day and (2) study material devoted in the main to recalling the Temple cult.

The afternoon service consists primarily of a Tefillah. The evening service presents the nightly Shemaʿ with, however, an additional blessing requesting divine protection at night (the Hashkivenu). There then follows a Tefillah, which was originally optional but has been treated as obligatory since at least the twelfth century. Both services conclude wtih the ʿAleinu and the Qaddish.

Sabbath prayers. The basic core just outlined is altered for special days, by (1) a variety of linguistic changes in standard prayers and (2) the inclusion of new material befitting the Sabbath theme. For example, the Sabbath is treated as a foretaste of the perfect messianic age, so the thirteen intermediary Tefillah petitions, which imply a lack, and therefore imperfection, drop out. Instead, one finds a single benediction affirming the day's holiness, "Qedushat ha-Yom" ("Sanctification of the Day"). The morning Torah reading is supplemented by a correlated reading from the Prophets called the *hafṭarah,* and the Torah alone is read again on Sabbath afternoon.

The *siddur* calls also for introducing the Sabbath at home by another Qedushat ha-Yom (known as Qiddush) that accompanies the drinking of wine and the lighting of candles; these practices date from the first century, if not earlier, though the benediction accompanying the Sabbath lights is a later addition (c. ninth century). At Sabbath's end, the Havdalah prayer asserts Judaism's fundamental binary dichotomy of reality into opposite realms of sacred and profane.

In the sixteenth century, a service of welcoming the Sabbath (Qabbalat Shabbat) was added to the *siddur* for Friday evening. Rooted in qabbalistic theology, it portrays creation as a series of continually advancing stages of divine emanation, so that creation and creator are one and the same entity seen from two different perspectives, both of which eventuate in the Sabbath. *Sabbath* (Heb., *shabbat*) thus signifies not only the last day of creation but also the final emanation of the godhead, the female part, so to speak, of an androgynous God who is pictured as if its masculine and feminine aspects are in exile from each other, paralleling the fragmentation of this, the unredeemed world. Accordingly the Qabbalat Shabbat service welcomes the Sabbath not only as the seventh day of creation but also as the female aspect of the creator, God, personified as the Sabbath bride. The service progresses through the recitation of six psalms, representing the first six days of creation, after which the Sabbath arrives and is greeted with the sixteenth-century poem *Lekhah dodi* (Come, my beloved), in which the masculine aspect of God is invited to greet his feminine counterpart, or bride, in preparation for divine union.

Holy day liturgy. Like the Sabbath prayers of the *siddur,* the holy day *maḥzor* demonstrates the principle of relevant thematic expansion of a basic liturgical core. But it differs in that it is rich in *piyyuṭim* (sg., *piyyuṭ*). These are highly stylized poems initiated in Byzantine-ruled Palestine from the fourth or fifth to the seventh century and composed continually thereafter elsewhere, until the dawn of modernity. Scholars do not agree on an explanation of the phenomenon: Some see *piyyuṭim* as a form of natural creativity, akin to surrounding Byzantine church hymnody; others follow medieval etiology and explain this poetry as a Jewish response to persecution. Whatever the case, some *piyyuṭim* were somehow selected for retention in the versions of the *maḥzor* that survived history to become the extant rites actually practiced, and thousands more are still being uncovered in manuscript caches. *Piyyuṭim* are categorized and named according to their poetic form and function, and the liturgical place they occupy. The most important *piyyuṭim,* for example, are *qerovot,* by which one designates those interwoven in the benedictions of the Tefillah.

The mood and message of specific holy days are implicitly imparted by their *piyyuṭim.* Sukkot *piyyuṭim,* for example, focus on the booths (*sukkot*) and the taking of the *lulav* and the *etrog* (the "four species" commanded in *Leviticus* 23:40); and, following rabbinic interpretation of Sukkot as a day of judgment, the Sukkot *maḥzor* features *piyyuṭim* called *hoshanot* that implore God to save. Shavuʿot, the holiday that celebrates revelation on Sinai, includes *piyyuṭim* called *azharot,* which list commandments. Passover is recognizable from *piyyuṭim* regarding the Exodus and related traditions, such as the law and lore pertinent to the making of *matsah* (unleavened bread). Passover has also a home Seder with its accompanying liturgical Haggadah. Its contents and structure are largely recognizable by the first or second century, though many passages now in use are medieval, and some reach back only a few hundred years.

The two minor festivals of Purim and Ḥanukkah, which celebrate divine redemption as reported in the *Book of Esther* and in *Maccabees,* respectively, are marked liturgically by a special Tefillah insertion acknowledging thanksgiving "for the miracle." Purim also features public liturgical recitation of the scroll of *Esther,* a practice paralleled since the Middle Ages by the reading of four other biblical "scrolls": *Lamentations,* on Tishʿa be-Av; *Ecclesiastes,* on Sukkot; *Song of Songs,* on Passover; and *Ruth,* on Shavuʿot. The Ḥanukkah home ritual of kindling lights for eight days contains two blessings, one that interprets the practice as being derived from divine command and another that affirms the Ḥanukkah miracle. Both blessings are Talmudic, and the second one is used by later authorities as a paradigm for the benediction over the Sabbath lights.

Like the other holy days, Roʾsh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur present their own *maḥzorim.* The former is marked by a service for the blowing of the shofar (ram's horn) on two separate occasions. The more important of the two asserts the trifold doctrine of *malkhuyot, zikhronot,* and *shofarot,* that is, (1) God's sovereignty, (2) God's abiding remembrance of the covenant with Israel, and (3) the significance of the shofar sound as, first, an evocation of the covenant at Sinai and, second, its role in foreshadowing the messianic era. *Malkhuyot* ("sovereignty") seems to have been added only in the second century; the other two elements are observable in pre-70 fast-day liturgy.

Two of the many Roʾsh ha-Shanah *piyyuṭim* deserve mention. First, *Unetanneh toqef* posits the grand imagery of judgment before God, and a book of life in which human deeds are recorded, such that one's fate is written down on Roʾsh ha-Shanah and sealed on Yom Kippur; but (it concludes) penitence, prayer, and charity affect atonement. Legend ascribes this poem to an era of persecution in medieval Germany, but its actual origin lies in Byzantine Jewish hymnody centuries earlier. Second, *Avinu malkenu* begs for grace despite one's lack of works. It began as a brief prayer for rain by ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef (second century), but it is today a much expanded litany, each line beginning with "Avinu malkenu" (lit., "Our father and king"; today often rendered "Our parent and ruler").

The *maḥzor* for Yom Kippur, the climax of the penitential season, contains a suitably day-long compilation of prayer, which begins with the famous Kol Nidrei, an Aramaic liturgical legal formula, deriving either from post-Talmudic Palestine or from Babylonian magical folk-traditions. It became popular despite the condemnation of authorities, and in Ashkenazic worship it became known for its chant, which bears traces of the oldest stratum of synagogue music (called *mi-sinai,* "from Sinai"), traceable to twelfth- or thirteenth-century northern Europe. The Yom Kippur *maḥzor* repeats some Roʾsh ha-Shanah liturgy too, notably *Avinu malkenu,* certain alterations in the Tefillah that emphasize the themes of divine judgment in the year ahead and the inscription of one's fate in the book of life, and *Unetanneh toqef.*

A short and a long form of communal confession are embedded in the services for Yom Kippur Day. The rabbinic concept of *con*fession *(viddui),* implied originally *pro*fession as well, that is, recognition of human failure and virtue alike. Thus, for example, pilgrims bringing their second tithe (*Maʿas. Sh.* 5.10–13) *pro*fess their successful fulfillment of covenantal responsibility and call on God to respond in appropriate measure. But *con*fession of shortcomings was emphasized on Yom Kippur, as can be seen from the formula recited by the high priest in the Temple then (*Yomaʾ* 3.8, 4.2, 6.2). That formula later entered the synagogue service, along with spontaneous personal confessions, a format favored at least until the sixth century (B.T., *Yomaʾ* 87b). But by the eighth century, standardized communal confessions had become the norm.

The Yom Kippur *maḥzor* is known also for the ʿAvodah and for Yizkor. The ʿAvodah is a lengthy poetic saga detailing sacred history from creation to the appointment of Aaron and his descendants as hereditary priests. The Temple cult is then portrayed in loving detail, drawing heavily on rabbinic recollection of what once transpired there on Yom Kippur

Day. Yizkor (more properly, Hazkarat Neshamot) is a memorial rubric consisting largely of prayers composed in the wake of massacres by Crusaders in central Europe, and the Khmel'nitskii persecutions in seventeenth-century Poland. Liberal liturgies have expanded these two rubrics, so that their ʿAvodah sometimes extends sacred history up to the present and anticipates the future; their memorial services regularly include explicit reference to the Holocaust. (Indeed, the Holocaust and the subsequent birth of the modern state of Israel have emerged as newly celebrated holy days—Yom ha-Shoʾah and Yom ha-ʿAtsmaʾut—with their own liturgical insertions in some *siddurim* printed today.)

Finally, it should be noted that both the *siddur* and the *maḥzor,* even though they are intended primarily for public worship, contain home prayers as well. In addition to those already mentioned—Sabbath lights, Qiddush, and Havdalah; Ḥanukkah lights; Passover Seder; the *sukkah* and waving the *lulav* and *etrog*—the *siddur* contains regular table liturgy—blessings over diverse foods and grace after meals—which go back to first-century strata, if not earlier.

SEE ALSO Shabbat.

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LAWRENCE A. HOFFMAN (1987)
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SÍDH. Various occasional titles are used to designate the otherworld in early Irish, but the normal generic term for it is *sídh* (pl. *sídhe*). Its common currency in this sense is confirmed, if that were necessary, by the fact that it was borrowed by the author of the Old Welsh poem *Preideu Annwn* (The spoils of Annwn). The poem tells of a raid by Arthur and three shiploads of his followers on the otherworld stronghold of Kaer Sidi (from the Old Irish genitive *sídhe*) with the aim of carrying off the magic caldron of abundance which belonged to the lord of the otherworld. *Annwn* is a common term in Welsh for the otherworld, conceived in this instance as somewhere reached after a journey by boat but more generally described as somewhere beneath the ground. Similarly the Irish otherworld, whether designated by *sídh* or by another word, is occasionally envisaged as being overseas but much more frequently as being underground.

It is said that when the Gaels (the Irish Celts) came to Ireland and defeated the divine Tuatha Dé Danann, their poet and judge Amhairghin decreed that Ireland be divided in two and that the underground half be given to the Tuatha Dé Danann and the other half to the Gaels. So it was done, and the Daghdha, the senior of the gods, assigned to each of the chiefs of the Tuatha Dé his own fairy dwelling. As Marie-Louise Sjoestedt has commented, this division "marks the end of the mythical period when the supernatural was undisputed master of the earth, and the beginning of a new period in which men and gods inhabit the earth together. From that moment the great problem of religion becomes important, the problem of the relationship between man and the gods" (*Gods and Heroes of the Celts*, London, 1949, p. 47).

But while the otherworld was generally associated with the subterranean regions, it was not confined to them. Transcending as it did the limitations of human space as well as time, its location was perceived with considerable flexibility: it could be under the sea as well as under the ground, in nearby or distant islands, in houses which may disappear as suddenly as they first appeared, or it could be coextensive with the secular world. It could be reached through a cave, the waters of a lake, a magic mist, or simply through the acquisition of heightened insight. But it was not merely a spiritual world, which is presumably why the creators of Celtic mythic narrative sought in many instances to give it a clear geographic identity: Lucan in his *Pharsalia* (5.452) wrote that the continental Celts had no fear of death since it was for them only the middle of a long life. According to him, their druids taught them that after death human souls continued to control their bodies in another world (*alio orbe*)*; mutatis mutandis*, this would also be a fair summary of the view of the afterlife implicit in early Irish and Welsh tradition.

Very frequently in Irish tradition the subterranean location of the otherworld is identified with certain hills and mounds, whether natural or manmade—so much so, in fact, that the word *sídh* commonly means simply "fairy or otherworld hill," in other words, an ordinary hill, usually modest in size, within which a whole world of supernatural beings live their own varied lives. Sometimes the *sídh* is a megalithic burial mound, as in the case of the great tumulus of Newgrange at Bruigh na Bóinne, which was pre-Celtic but was assimilated to Gaelic mythology and considered to be the home of the god Mac ind Óg, the Irish equivalent of British and continental Celtic Maponos. The related Welsh term, *gorsedd* ("mound"), had similar supernatural associations, though these are less fully or clearly documented. But evidently this denotation of "hill" was not the primary meaning of **sedos*, the Celtic form from which Irish *sídh* derived. Based on the Indo-European root *sed-* ("sit"), its semantic evolution seems to have moved from "residence in general" to "residence of the gods," that is, the otherworld, and then to those hills within which the gods were believed to reside. Nor does its evolution end there, for by semantic transference Irish *sídh* came to refer also to the supernatural beings who inhabit the *sídh* residence, and in modern spoken Irish the generic term for an otherworldly being or fairy is *sídheog*, the diminutive of *sídh*.

SEE ALSO Annwn.

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PROINSIAS MAC CANA (1987 AND 2005)

SIḤR SEE MAGIC, *ARTICLE ON* MAGIC IN ISLAM

SIKHISM.

The word *Sikh* means disciple or student (from Sanskrit *śisya*, Pali *sikha*). Sikhism is traced to the person and ideology of Gurū Nānak, who was born in the Punjab in 1469. The religion developed through Nānak's nine successor *gurūs* within the historical and geographical parameters of Hinduism and Islam. In the early twenty-first century there are twenty million Sikhs. The vast majority lives in the fertile plains of the Punjab, with agriculture as a major occupation. But with their spirit of adventure and entrepreneurship skills, many have migrated to other parts of India and around the globe. Sikhs follow the teachings of their ten gurūs—from Nānak to Gobind Singh. They believe in the oneness of reality. They revere their sacred text, the *Gurū Granth*. They conduct public worship in a *gurdwara*, with the *Gurū Granth* as the center of all their rites and ceremonies. Both Sikh men and women keep their hair unshorn and identify themselves in the code given by their tenth gurū.

HERITAGE: GURŪ NĀNAK AND THE ORIGINS OF SIKHISM. Sikhism began with the religious experience of Nānak. When he was twenty-nine years old, he had a divine revelation. Thereafter Nānak traveled extensively, spreading his message of the singularity of the ultimate reality and the consequent unity of humanity. Poetry was his medium of expression. At the end of his travels, he settled on the banks of the river Ravi, where a community of Sikhs gathered. Several institutions that are vital to Sikh spirituality and morality in the twenty-first century had their genesis in this first community established by Nānak.

Sevā, voluntary service, was for Nānak an essential condition of moral discipline. Through service to their community, Sikh believers cultivate humility, overcome egotism, and purify their body and mind. *Sevā* may take the form of attending to the holy book, sweeping and dusting Sikh shrines, or preparing and serving food. It also includes helping the larger community by building schools, hospitals, orphanages, and charity homes.

Langar is both the community meal and the kitchen in which it is prepared. In Gurū Nānak's time, the idea of different castes eating together was revolutionary. It has evolved into a central practice of Sikhism. Eating together in a *gurdwara* complex means a lot to Sikhs, especially in diasporic communities. So long as they cover their heads, non-Sikhs are welcomed too. *Langar* testifies to the social equality and familyhood of all people.

Sangat is a sacred gathering of Sikhs. Gurū Nānak welcomed everyone who wished to follow his teachings. It is an egalitarian community without priests or ordained ministers. Members of a Sikh congregation sit on the floor as they sing hymns, listen to scriptural readings, and pray together without restrictions of gender, race, creed, or caste. According to Sikh scripture, *sangat* has transformative powers: "Just as iron rubbed against the philosopher's stone turns into gold, so does dark ignorance transform into brilliant light in company of the good" (*Gurū Granth* 303).

A gurū, for Nānak, is someone who reveals the divine. The role of the gurū is to apply the eyeliner of knowledge (*gyān anjan*) to enhance vision so one can see the transcendent One (*Gurū Granth* 610). Before Gurū Nānak passed away, he appointed Angad as his successor, bequeathing him his inspired utterances.

The second gurū continued the tradition of sacred poetry, which he felt was important for the knowledge it brought to human life. The transference of guruship from Nānak to Angad was repeated successively until the installation of the tenth gurū, Gobind Singh. The ten gurūs are:

Gurū Nānak (1469–1539)
Gurū Angad (1504–1552)

Gurū Amar Das (1479–1574)

Gurū Ram Das (1534–1581)

Gurū Arjan (1563–1606)

Gurū Hargobind (1595–1644)

Gurū Har Rai (1630–1661)

Gurū Har Kishen (1656–1664)

Gurū Tegh Bahadur (1621–1675)

Gurū Gobind Singh (1666–1708)

For the Sikhs the same light is reflected in these ten different bodies, and the same voice speaks through all ten.

Before his death in 1708, the tenth gurū ended the line of personal gurūs by investing the *Granth* with guruship. From that time on, Sikhs have revered the *Granth* as their ever present gurū and derived their guidance and inspiration from this sacred book. There is no other gurū. Thus the message and the mission begun by Gurū Nānak continued through nine more gurūs and culminated in the *Gurū Granth*. Sikhs celebrate the identity between their gurūs and their poetic utterances: "Bani [voice] is the *gurū*, the *gurū* is Bani, within Bani lie all elixirs" (*Gurū Granth* 982).

GURŪ ARJAN AND THE CRYSTALLIZATION OF SIKH RELIGION. Gurū Arjan, the fifth gurū, was the son of Bibi Bhani (daughter of Gurū Amar Das, the third gurū) and Gurū Ram Das (the fourth gurū). During his guruship, Sikhism acquired strong scriptural, doctrinal, and organizational foundations. Gurū Arjan gave Sikhism its scripture, the *Gurū Granth*, and its sacred space, the Golden Temple (Harī Mandir). He encouraged agriculture and trade and organized a system of financial support for the Sikh religion. During this period Sikhs traded in Afghanistan, Persia, and Turkey. Gurū Arjan articulated a distinct Sikh identity that was clearly different from Hinduism and Islam: "I do not make the *ḥājj* nor any Hindu pilgrimage, I serve the One and no other. I neither perform Hindu worship nor do I offer Muslim prayers, I have taken the formless One into my heart. I am neither Hindu nor Muslim" (*Gurū Granth* 1136). Arjan's compilation of the *Granth* and his building of the Harī Mandir were both vital phenomena for the construction of Sikh psyche and Sikh identity.

The *Gurū Granth*. With Bhai Gurdas as his scribe, Arjan compiled the *Gurū Granth* in 1604. He gathered together the passionate expressions of the Sikh gurūs, Hindu *bhaktas*, and Muslim saints. The Sikh gurū's editorial lens did not demarcate boundaries between Sikh, Hindu, or Muslim: the spiritual language was common to them all. Whatever resonated philosophically and artistically with the verse of the founding gurū, he included it in the *Granth*. But Arjan did not model the Sikh text on either Muslim or Hindu scriptures, nor did he include passages from either of their revered scriptures. Against a divisive backdrop in which God was either *Rām* or *Rahim*, the worship was either *namaz* or *puja*, the place of worship *mandir* or *masjid*, and the language of scripture either Sanskrit or Arabic, the Sikh gurū brought together voices that expressed a common spiritual quest. What governed Gurū Arjan's choice was not a syncretism or synthesis of concepts and doctrines from prevailing religious traditions but rather his penetrating insight into the divine. Like his predecessors, Gurū Arjan believed that knowledge of the transcendent is attained neither through servitude to a god of the Hindu pantheon (*sevai gosain*) nor through worship to Allah (*sevai allāh*). It is received through an active recognition of, and participation in, the divine will (*hukam*):

> Some address Rām, some Khuda, Some worship Gosain, some Allah . . . . Says Nānak, those who recognize the divine will It is they who know the secret of the transcendent One. (*Gurū Granth* 885)

Arjan was a prolific poet and reiterated Nānak's metaphysical formulation, *"Ik Oaṅkār"* (literally, "1 Being Is") in vivid imagery and from a variety of perspectives. The *Granth* contains 2,218 hymns by him, including his popular hymn *Sukhmani* (The pearl of peace).

Once the *Granth* was complete, Gurū Arjan set most of its hymns to thirty-one classical Indian *rāgas*. In this way he harmonized the verses with the natural rhythm of the day, season, region, and inner moods and emotions. But he did not limit the musical measures to the classical *rāga* system; he also utilized folk musical patterns with elemental beats as well as regional *bhakti* and *kafi* forms with their own primal rhythms and other musical styles extending from Afghanistan to the south of the Indian Peninsula. Rather than construct theological treatises or list ethical injunctions, he gave the Sikhs a body of literature, which he wanted them to eat (*khavai*) and savor (*bhunchai*). In his epilogue to the *Granth*, Arjan offers the *Granth* as a platter: "they who eat this, they who relish it / they are liberated."

The *Gurū Granth* is a *thal* (large metal dish) on which lies truth (*sat*), contentment (*santokh*), and contemplation (*vicaru*). The epistemological value of these dishes is savored and absorbed by the body. The fifth gurū made Nānak's aesthetic experience the quintessential practice for the growing Sikh community.

The Harī Mandir. On August 16, 1604, Gurū Arjan ceremoniously put the *Granth* in the inner sanctuary of the Harī Mandir in Amritsar. He had built the *gurdwara* in the center of a pool his father had begun. The gurū-architect's structural plans and designs concretized the philosophical message and the literary patterns of the sacred verse. Later patrons, including Māharājā Ranjit Singh, employed Muslim, Hindu, and Sikh craftspeople to build upon and embellish the unique Sikh ideals cherished by Gurū Arjan. Emerging from the shimmering waters, Gurū Arjan's structure appears to stand without any solid borders or boundaries. The innumerable abstract patterns on its walls set the imagination in motion. The panoramic view of the building merging at once with transparent waters and radiant sunlight sweeps the visitor into a sensory swirl. Here the Sikhs visually encounter Gurū Nānak's perception of the infinite One.

The entry into the Golden Temple complex requires a downward motion. The physical descent ensures that the precincts are entered with a sense of humility. Gurū Nānak had said, "Getting rid of ego, we receive the word" (*Gurū Granth* 228). In order to absorb the divine, the selfish, egotistical "I" must be emptied. Gurū Arjan reiterated the pathogenic effects of egocentricity: "By getting rid of arrogance we become devoid of hatred" (*Gurū Granth* 183). The poison of arrogance and egocentricity fills arteries with hostility toward the human family and the mind with inertia and ignorance.

The four doors of the Harī Mandir were Arjan's architectural translation of his ethical injunction: "*kṣatriya*, *brahman*, *śūdra*, and *vaiśya*, all four classes have the same mandate" (*Gurū Granth* 747). Rejecting societal distinctions, the *Granth* declares that religion succeeds "when the entire earth becomes one color" (*Gurū Granth* 663). "Color" (*varna*) is the standard Indian word for the four classes, so by calling for the world to be of "one color," it is demanding an end to class discrimination. The four doors opened up to welcome people from all castes and complexions. Walking through the doors, Sikhs could understand what Nānak meant: "accept all humans as your equals, and let them be your only sect" (*Japu* 28).

GURŪ GOBIND SINGH AND THE CULTIVATION OF SIKH IDENTITY. The tenth gurū, Gobind Singh, created the Khālsā (Community of the Pure) in 1699 and translated Nānak's metaphysical ideal of the singular divine into an effective social reality. Gurū Tegh Bahadur (the ninth gurū and father of Gurū Gobind Singh) gave up his life for religious freedom. The tenth gurū was barely nine at that time. His mother, Mata Gujari, brought him up courageously. Sikhs pay homage at the two shrines dedicated to her near the town of Sirhind: Gurdwara Mata Gujari, where she spent the last four days of her life and, just a mile away, Gurdwara Joti Sarup, where she was cremated.

The Khālsā was born when Gurū Gobind Singh invited the first five initiates to sip *amrit*, the sacred nectar, from the same bowl. By sipping from the same bowl, these five people from different castes boldly denounced the divisions of caste, class, and hereditary profession. Gurū Gobind Singh had prepared the drink by stirring water in a steel bowl with his double-edged sword while sacred hymns were recited. His wife, Mata Jitoji, added sugar puffs, intermingling the strength of steel with the sweetness of sugar. The drink nourished the initiates physically and psychologically to fight against oppressive and unjust leaders and uphold the values of liberty and equality.

The *amrit* initiation is open to both Sikh men and women, and both are equally enjoined to wear the emblems of the Khālsā, popularly known as the "five K's":

1. *kesha*, uncut hair,
2. *kangha*, a comb tucked in the hair to keep it tidy,
3. *kara,* a steel bracelet worn around the right wrist,
4. *kacha*, long underwear,
5. *kirpan*, a sword.

These five K's have become an essential part of their individual and communal identity. Furthermore all Sikh men have the surname Singh, meaning "lion," and all women have the surname Kaur, meaning "princess." Thus Sikh men and women abandon their former castes, hereditary occupations, belief systems, and rituals and join the new family. Women are liberated from tracing their lineage to their father or adopting a husband's name after marriage.

Gurū Gobind Singh was also a superb poet. He composed heroic and martial poetry to inspire bravery and infuse the hearts of men and women with self-confidence and love for the divine. His verses are included in the collection known as the *Dasam Granth* (Tenth book).

MĀHARĀJĀ RANJIT SINGH (1780–1839) AND THE SIKH KINGDOM. By the middle of the eighteenth century Sikhs had become a major political force, and at the end of the century they established a state of their own. In 1799 Ranjit Singh, the nineteen-year-old leader of a Khālsā band, seized power peacefully in the city of Lahore. Guided by Sada Kaur (1762–1832), his mother-in-law, Ranjit Singh integrated twelve warring Sikh bands into a sovereign state. In 1801 the Sikhs crowned him māharājā of the Punjab. Known as the "Lion of the Punjab," Ranjit Singh ruled for forty years. He created a formidable army and added Multan, Kashmir, and Peshawar to his kingdom. His court represented unparalleled pageantry and brilliance. He wore the world's largest diamond (the Kohinoor) on his right arm.

The māharājā remained a devout Sikh who built and renovated many shrines. Even his foreign employees had to live by the Sikh code: they had to wear their beards long and refrain from eating beef and from smoking tobacco. A decade after his death, Sikhs lost their enormous and splendid kingdom to the British in 1849. Ranjit Singh's wife, Maharani Jindan (1817–1863), was famous for her sharp intelligence, and the British referred to her as the only courageous "man" in the area. The Sikh māharājā's Kohinoor diamond was cut down to fit Queen Victoria's crown, and his young son Dalip (1838–1893) was converted to Christianity and exiled to England. Generations of heroic Sikhs began to serve the British army, valorously fighting in Europe, Africa, and Asia. Sikhs formed a major part of the imperial army in World War I.

SINGH SABHA AND THE REDISCOVERY OF SIKH IDENTITY. Māharājā Ranjit Singh loved pomp and ceremony, and at his court he reintroduced many of the Brahmanic rites that had been discarded by the Sikh gurūs. Later, under colonial rule, Christian missionaries started to make conversions among the Sikhs. In response to this loss of Sikh identity, the Singh Sabha movement was founded in Amritsar in 1873. Its goal was to reform and renew Sikh philosophy and culture. Similar movements were founded by Hindus and Muslims to counteract Christian missionary activity. The Singh Sabha promoted the building of Sikh schools and colleges; one of its greatest achievements was the founding of the Khālsā College at Amritsar in 1892. The Singh Sabha also encouraged the production of books and newspapers to help bring Sikhs back to the teachings of their ten gurūs. Bhai Vir Singh, the most prolific and inspiring Singh Sabha author, created vivid female characters like Sundari, Rani Raj Kaur, and Subhag Kaur as paradigms for Sikh morality.

The Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, established in 1920, continues to be the highest Sikh executive committee. With its headquarters in Amritsar, the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee sets up rules and regulations for Sikhs to follow throughout the world.

In an attempt to formalize the message of the gurūs, the *Sikh Rahit Maryada* (Sikh code of conduct) was published in 1950. This thirty-seven-page document was produced after years of deliberation and consultation amongst eminent Sikhs both in India and abroad. It is used as the standard guide by Sikhs in their performance of personal (*shakhsi*) and organizational (*panthak*) duties. The *Sikh Rahit Maryada* forbids both men and women to cut or trim their hair. It also forbids them to eat meat from an animal that has been slowly bled to death in the *ḥalāl* method (Sikhs may only eat *jhatka* meat—from an animal killed in one stroke). It prohibits adultery and the use of tobacco and narcotics. This important Sikh manual also tries to combat female oppression. Sikh women should not veil their faces; female infanticide is forbidden; and widows are free to remarry. It also abolishes the old Punjabi custom whereby a widow was shamefully wrapped in a sheet and carried away to the brother of her dead husband.

WORSHIP: *GURŪ GRANTH.* Reading their sacred verse, hearing it, singing it, or sitting in its presence constitute the core of Sikh ritual. To have a room in their homes enshrining the *Gurū Granth* is the aspiration of most Sikhs. Both at home and in public places of worship, the *Gurū Granth* is treated with the highest respect and veneration. It is draped in cloth (called *rumala*), placed on quilted mats, and supported by cushions. A canopy hangs over it for protection, and a whisk is waved over it as a sign of respect. Sikhs everywhere bow before the *Gurū Granth* and seat themselves on the floor. They remove their shoes and cover their heads in the presence of their holy book. The *Gurū Granth* is opened at dawn. This act of opening the holy book is called *prakash*, "making the light manifest." *Vak,* or "the order of the day," is obtained by opening the book at random and reading the passage on the top of the left-hand page. After dusk, the *Gurū Granth* is closed. The closing ritual is called *sukhasan*, which means "to place at rest." The *Gurū Granth* is read for all rites of passage, for any family celebration (e.g., a new house, a new job, an engagement), and for all times of uncertainty and difficulty (e.g., sickness or death). The reading at these events may be *saptah*, a seven-day reading, or it may be *akhand*, a forty-eight hour, nonstop reading of its 1,430 portfolio pages, during which several readers take turns. Any Sikh, male or female, who can read Gurmukhi script may read the *Gurū Granth. Kirtan* is the singing of the scriptural verses. Harmonium and *tabla* (a set of drums) are the most common musical accompaniments.

Special social functions and rites of passage are marked by the *bhog* ceremony. The word *bhog* literally means "pleasure." In Sikhism it signifies the gratification attained by having concluded a reading of the scriptures. It has similar connotations to the Greek word *eucharist*, which means "thanksgiving" and refers specifically the Christian sacrament of Holy Communion. *Bhog* involves reading the concluding pages of the *Gurū Granth*, saying *ardas* (the Sikh counterpart of the Lord's Prayer in Christianity), and partaking of the Sikh sacrament of *karahprashad*, which concludes every religious ceremony. *Karahprashad* is a sweet sacrament consisting of equal portions of butter, flour, sugar, and water. During its preparation, Sikh men and women keep their heads covered and their feet bare and recite the verses of the gurūs. When the *karahprashad* is ready, it is put in a large flat dish and placed on the right side of the *Gurū Granth*. After scriptural readings, the warm and aromatic sacrament is distributed to the entire congregation.

GURDWARA. In public, Sikh worship is conducted in a *gurdwara*; literally, the doorway (*dwara*) to the gurū. The shrines serve as a central point for the local Sikh community: they are its source of information, assistance, food, shelter, and fellowship. The *gurdwaras* are designed on the open and inclusive architectural patterns of the Harī Mandir. There is no central chamber from which any male or female is excluded, for the *Gurū Granth* is the focal point to which everyone has equal access.

Besides the Harī Mandir, there are five places that are particularly important for the Sikhs. They are called the five *takhts*, the five seats of temporal authority. The Akal Takht in Amritsar faces the Golden Temple and is regarded as the supreme seat of religious and temporal authority. The other four are associated with the tenth gurū: Patna Sāhib in Bihar, where he was born; Keshgarh, in Anandpur, where he created the Khālsā; Hazur Sāhib in Nander, where he died; and Damdama, near Bhatinda, which later developed into a center of Sikh learning.

CELEBRATIONS. True living for Sikhs involves remembering the one reality as often and as intimately as possible. The daily spiritual routine (*nit nem*) consists of recitations of hymns from the various gurūs, including Gurū Nānak's *Japu*, which is read, recited, or heard on tape in the morning.

Annually Sikhs celebrate *gurpurabs* (the days of the gurū). These days commemorate the birthdays of their gurūs, important historical events, and the martyrdom of their heroes. All over the world Sikhs joyously celebrate the birth of Gurū Nānak, the installation of the *Gurū Granth* in the Harī Mandir, and the birth of the Khālsā. *Baisakhi*, which is also the first day of the Sikh calendar and commemorates Gurū Gobind Singh's creation of the Khālsā. During *gurpurabs*, uninterrupted readings of scripture take place, intellectual symposiums are held, and musical performances are organized. *Gurpurab* celebrations also include huge Sikh processions with colorful floats carrying the *Gurū Granth* and depicting different aspects of Sikh life. Throughout the *gurpurab*, Sikhs will stop fast-moving cars and buses on the road and offer langar (food and snacks) to the travelers.

The Punjabi folk dances, *gidda* and *bhangra*, are popular performances during Sikh celebrations. *Gidda* is choreographed by women in gentle and lithesome movement. Together they celebrate nature and its bountiful gifts through the seasons of spring, summer, monsoon, autumn, and winter. Amid sparkling agrarian scenes, *gidda* captures simple activities: how they milk cows, cook mustard seeds, do needlework, fan in the summer, buy glass bangles, churn milk in the morning, carry water in earthenware pitchers sturdily balanced on their heads, and help with plowing and harvesting. *Bhangra* is traditionally performed by a group of men. It dates back to the fourteenth century, originating in West Punjab (now a part of Pakistan). But in modern times *bhangra* has become extremely popular with both Sikh men and women. Dressed in bright colors, the group dances in an elemental rhythm to the beat of a large drum, and everybody joins in songs celebrating Punjabi village life. With the migration of Sikh communities to the West, this Punjabi folk dance has become popular with young music lovers in Britain, Europe, and North America. The modern form of *bhangra* combines North Indian folk music with a kaleidoscope of contemporary styles, including reggae and Western pop.

RITES OF PASSAGE. In Sikhism there are four rites of passage: name giving, *amrit* initiation, marriage, and death.

Name Giving. Sikh children are named in consultation with the holy book. While the spine of the book rests on the cushions, a reader (a family member if the rite is held at the home, an official reader if it is at the *gurdwara*) holds the *Gurū Granth* closed with both hands and then gently lets it open at random. The child is given a name that begins with the first letter appearing at the top of the left-hand page where the *Gurū Granth* opens. Sikhs do not have different names for boys and girls. The addition of the name *Kaur* or *Singh* indicates the gender of the child. The child also receives his or her first *kara* or steel bracelet. The recitation of *kirtan* (hymns of praise) readings from the *Gurū Granth*, the recitation of *ardas* (the daily prayer), and the partaking of *langar* are the central activities, just as they are for all Sikh rites of passage.

***Amrit* initiation.** No particular age is prescribed for *amrit* initiation. It may be as soon as a boy or a girl is old enough to be able to read the scripture and comprehend the articles of the Sikh faith. The initiation is open to all. According to the *Rahit Maryada*, "Any man or woman of whatever nationality, race, or social standing, who is prepared to accept the rules governing the Sikh community, has the right to receive *amrit* initiation." It follows the pattern established by Gurū Gobind Singh on Baiskahi 1699. Sikhs firmly believe that during Baisakhi (the first day of the Indian New Year) festivities in Anand pur that year, the guru and his wife prepared amrit and five men from different castes sipped it from the same bowl. The drink purified them of all mental constraints, ending centuries of hereditary oppressions of caste, class, and profession. Zealous proselytization is alien to Sikhs.

Weddings. Anand Karaj (from *anand*, "bliss," and *karaj*, "event") is the Sikh rite of marriage. No words or gestures are directly exchanged between the bride and groom, nor are any legal formalities performed between their families. The wedding takes place either in a *gurdwara* or in the home of the bride, with everyone seated on the floor in front of the *Gurū Granth*. Anand Karaj begins with the father of the bride handing one end of a scarf (about two and a quarter yards in length) to the groom and the other to his daughter. Through the auspiciously colored scarf (pink, saffron, or red), the couple is bonded together. Each holding one end of the scarf, the groom and the bride then walk around the holy book four times. The four circumambulations by the couple correspond to the four *lavan* (circle) passages read by the official reader of the *Gurū Granth*. After each circling of the book, the bride and the groom touch their foreheads to the ground and rejoin the congregation by seating themselves on the floor in front. Bowing together to the *Gurū Granth* marks their acceptance of each other. They are solely—and equally—bound to the sacred word rather than to any legal or social authority. The rite concludes with Gurū Amar Das's rapturous hymn *Anand*, the name of the wedding ceremony itself. This popular scriptural hymn by the third gurū is liturgically recited at the conclusion of all Sikh congregational services and joyful ceremonies. But with its focus on the bliss that results from the union of the individual with the divine, *Anand* is particularly appropriate for the wedding ceremony.

Death. Life and death are regarded as natural processes, and just as each day that dawns must set, so must all people depart. The dead body is carried on a stretcher by the closest male relatives and friends of the family to the funeral grounds, where it is cremated. As customary from ancient times, the pyre is lighted by the oldest son. The body returns to the elements it is made up of: the fire of the person merges with the crematory flames, his or her breath merges with the air, his or her body merges with the body of the earth, and his or her ashes and bones (*phul*; literally, "flowers") are immersed in the flowing waters of a river or stream. Death in the family is marked by a reading of the *Gurū Granth*. A *bhog* ceremony takes place on the tenth day, with the final prayers recited for peace to the deceased. At the death anniversary, the family will supply *langar* to the community.

POPULAR MORALITY. Sikhism validates normal activities: "While laughing, playing, dressing up, and eating we attain liberation" (*Gurū Granth* 522). Its strong work ethic is summed up in a popular maxim: "Work hard [*kirat karni*], remember the divine [*nām japna*], and share your enjoyment with others [*vand chhakna*]." Sikhs bring the divine into the daily rhythms of their lives, and they even exalt the divine in their everyday greetings: whenever they want to say hello or goodbye, they join their hands and say *"sat sri akal"* (truth is timeless). Their frequent exclamation—*waheguru*—surges with a sense of wonder and echoes Gurū Nānak's awe (*wah*) when he first experienced the transcendent One.

SEE ALSO Ādi Granth; Dasam Granth; Hindi Religious Traditions; Nānak; Singh, Gobind.

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NIKKY-GUNINDER KAUR SINGH (2005)

SIKKIMESE RELIGION SEE BUDDHISM, SCHOOLS OF, *ARTICLE ON* HIMALAYAN BUDDHISM

ŚĪLABHADRA

ŚĪLABHADRA (c. 529–645; Tib., Ngang tshul bzan po; Chin., Jiexian; Jpn., Kaiken) was an Indian Buddhist dialectician belonging to the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda school, a master of the Nālandā monastic university, a disciple of Dharmapāla, and the teacher of Xuanzang. Several accounts of Śīlabhadra's life are extant. The Tibetan sources are fragmentary, but, owing to the fact that Xuanzang gives an account of him in his writings, those in Chinese are more informative. From the Tibetan biographers, such as Taranatha and Sum pa mkhan po, one learns only that Śīlabhadra was contemporary with Śākyamati, Yaśomitra, and Saʾi rtsa lag. But Chinese biographies such as those found in Xuanzang's *Xiyu ji* (viz. T.D. 51.914c–915a) and Yiqing's *Nanhai jikgui neifa juan* (T.D. 54.229b) enable one to construct an outline of his religious career.

Śīlabhadra belonged to the royal family of Samatata in East India and was a member of the brahman caste. Fond of study even as a child, he traveled through several countries of India in search of religious teachers and arrived finally at the monastic university at Nālandā. There he studied under, and was ordained by, the Yogācāra master Dharmapāla, attaining the highest level of scholarship under his guidance.

During this period, a non-Buddhist teacher from South India, jealous of Dharmapāla's scholarly and religious attainments, wished to challenge him to a doctrinal debate. At the request of the local king, Dharmapāla accepted this challenge. When Śīlabhadra heard of this he volunteered to debate in his master's place. Although only thirty years old, Śīlabhadra was victorious in the debate and was rewarded with a town, where he then built a monastery. He succeeded Dharmapāla as head of the Nālandā monastic university and became known by the respectful epithet Zhengfa Zang ("treasury of the good law").

The Vijñānavāda theory of Dharmapāla insisted on distinguishing among five categories of people: (1) those destined to be *bodhisattva*s, (2) those destined to be *pratyekabuddha*s, (3) those destined to be *śrāvakas*, (4) those of undetermined spiritual destination, and (5) those who can never be emancipated (*icchantika*). His theory that there exist people who will never attain Buddhahood is in clear contrast to the One Vehicle teachings (*ekayāna*), according to which everyone has a Buddha nature and will eventually become emancipated. It was Śīlabhadra who transmitted the Vijñānavāda theory of Dharmapāla to Xuanzang. Although Śīlabhadra was 106 years old when Xuanzang met him, he taught the Vijñānavāda theories to Xuanzang for about five years. Xuanzang in turn transmitted Dharmapāla's theory to Kuiji (632–682), who founded the Faxiang sect in China.

A notable doctrinal disputation between Śīlabhadra and Jñānaprabha (unattested; Chin., Zhiguang; Jpn., Chiko) was held at Nālandā. Fazang (643–712) gives an account of this conflict in his works *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* (T. D. 35.111c–112a), *Shiermen lun zongzhi yiji* (T.D. 42.213a, b), and *Dasheng qixin lun yiji* (T.D. 44.242a–c). This account was related to him by Divakara, an Indian Dharma master and translator, at the Dayuan Si in Chang'an.

The topic of the debate was the "three times," or "three steps," of the Buddha's teaching. Śīlabhadra, who was of the Vijñanavadin line based on the *Saṃdhinirmocana Sūtra* and the *Yogācārabhūmi,* expounded the Three Steps as follows: (1) the teaching of the Hīnayāna principles regarding the Four Noble Truths and the emptiness of the self (*pudgalanairātmya*), (2) the teaching of the imaginary nature of things (*parikalpitasvabhāva*) and the emptiness of things (*dharmanairātmya*), and (3) the teaching of "consciousness only" (*cittamātra*). On the other hand, Jñānaprabha, who was of the Mādhaymika (Madhyamaka) line based on the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* and the Mādhyamika *śāstras,* interpreted the Three Steps as (1) the teaching of the Lesser Vehicle (Hīnayāna), (2) the teaching that the external world does not exist but that the mind does, and (3) the teaching that neither the external world nor the mind exists. Each thinker regarded the third step as the highest. It is interesting that this ideological difference was stated so clearly by the seventh century, because the same kind of hermeneutical discussion is found later in Tibetan Buddhism, in the *Drang nges legs bshad snying po* of Tsong kha pa, for example. Unfortunately, as there are no sources other than Fazang's report regarding this conflict between Śīlabhadra and Jñānaprabha, its historical credibility remains uncertain. In Xuanzang's biography, for example (T. D. 50.261a, b), Jñānaprabha appears as a disciple of Śīlabhadra, and there is no mention of this doctrinal dispute.

The only extant work by Śīlabhadra is the *Buddhabhūmivyākhyāna* (a commentary on the *Buddhabhūmi Sūtra*). This work is preserved in the Tibetan canon (Derge edition no. 3997; Beijing edition no. 5498).

See Also Dharmapāla; Xuanzang; Yogācāra.

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Mimaki Katsumi (1987)

SILVER See GOLD AND SILVER

SIMA CHENGZHEN

SIMA CHENGZHEN (647–735; adult style, Ziwei; name in religion, Daoyin) was an eminent court Daoist and Shangqing patriarch of the Tang period (618–907). A native of Wen County in modern Henan province, Sima Chengzhen was a descendant of the Sima ruling family of the Jin dynasty (265–420) and of high regional officials under the Sui (581–618) and early Tang. Sima Chengzhen received his Daoist initiation from the Shangqing patriarch Pan Shizheng (587–684) at Mount Songshan, the Central Peak, in Henan. Pan, a counselor on Daoist doctrine to Emperor Gaozong (r. 650–684), transmitted to Sima the inspired fourth-century writings of the Shangqing scriptural corpus, as well as meditational and physiological techniques practiced by that movement. Sima Chengzhen succeeded his master as the twelfth patriarch of the Shangqing lineage. After a period of wandering, he lived in seclusion on Mount Tiantai in Zhejiang, where he assumed the epithet Boyun zi, Master White Cloud.

Sima Chengzhen was successively summoned to the court by three sovereigns: the empress Wu Zetian (r. 684–704) and the emperors Ruizong (r. 710–712) and Xuanzong (r. 712–756). Ruizong, who engaged in discussions on cosmology and governance with the Daoist, in 711 founded the temple Tongbo guan for Sima Chengzhen near the master's earlier retreat on Mount Tiantai. Among Sima's surviving writings is a richly illustrated hagiography of Wangzi Jin, the resident saint of the Tongbo temple site, titled *Shangqing shi dichen Tongbo zhenren zhen tuzan* (*Daozang* 612). Responding to Emperor Xuanzong's invitation in 721, Sima once again undertook the journey to the capital Chang'an. The patriarch conferred a Daoist ordination on the emperor and was in turn granted numerous honors and court titles. Xuanzong adopted Sima's counsel regarding the reform of China's principle mountain cults and commissioned the Daoist, a renowned calligrapher, to establish a standard text of Laozi's classic "The Way and Its Power" (*Dao de jing*) to be engraved in stone. Sima also presented Xuanzong with designs for Daoist swords and mirrors, of which an illustrated description has come down in the *Shangqing hanxiang jianjian tu* (*Daozang* 431). Xuanzong finally ordered the construction of a new temple as a retreat for Sima. It was situated on Mount Wangwu, on the border between Shanxi and Henan provinces, where the emperor's sister Princess Yuzhen, an ordained Daoist nun, was also active. According to the commemorative inscription *Tang Wangwu shan Zhongyan tai Zhengyi* [read *Zhenyi*] *xiansheng miaojie* (*Daozang* 970), Sima Chengzhen settled on Mount Wangwu in 724 and died there in 735. His posthumous title, bestowed by Emperor Xuanzong, was Master Zhenyi. Among his more than seventy disciples were Li Hanguang (683–769), the thirteenth Shangqing patriarch, and Xue Jichang (d. 759), who became a prominent master of the Southern Peak (Mount Heng in Hunan) and Tiantai (Zhejiang) lineages.

Although the subject of continuous official attentions, Sima was drawn to a life of seclusion. His best-known works are concerned with Shangqing methods of personal cultivation and meditation, elucidating the Daoist stages of transcendence. The meditation guide "On Sitting in Forgetfulness" (*Zuowang lun* [*Daozang* 1036]), attributed to Sima Chengzhen, outlines a program in seven steps identified as faith, detachment, renunciation through mental concentration, stoicism, discernment, oblivion, and finally, attainment of the Dao. The title of this guide features again as one of five stages (purification, seclusion, contemplation, sitting in forgetfulness, liberation) in "The Master Concealed in Heaven" (*Tianyin zi* [*Daozang* 1026]), commentated by Sima Chengzhen. Sima's program and precepts for adepts affirm that the goals of deliverance and physical immortality were attainable through sheer application. This belief was famously advocated by Sima's younger Daoist contemporary, Wu Yun (d. 778), who has also been credited with a work titled "Sitting in Forgetfulness." Sima's essay on "The Quintessence of Swallowing Breath" (*Fuqi jingyi lun* [*Daozang* 830]) discusses the absorption of *qi*-energy, dietary regimens, and physical exercises for prolonging life and curing diseases.

Highly appreciated by leading literati and statesmen of his time, including Zhang Yue (667–731), Sima contributed to the esteem in which Shangqing writings were held in literary circles under the Tang. In addition to ancient Daoist concepts of meditation (especially in the *Zhuangzi*), Sima's teachings on purification, quietude, and the universal attainability of transcendence assimilated doctrines current in Confucianism and Buddhism on the subject of inborn human nature, the rectification of an individual's moral purpose, and mental discipline and tranquility. In these areas, Sima Chengzhen in turn exercised an influence on the subsequent development of Daoist inner alchemy and neo-Confucian thought and practices under the Song (960–1279).

SEE ALSO Daoism, article on The Daoist Religious Community.

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FRANCISCUS VERELLEN (2005)

SIMEON BAR YOHAI SEE SHIMʿON BAR YOḤAʾI

SIMEON BEN GAMALIEL II SEE SHIMʿON BEN GAMLIʾEL II

SIMEON BEN LAKISH SEE SHIMʿON BEN LAQISH

SIMONS, MENNO (1496–1561). Dutch priest, the major northern European leader of an Anabaptist group that later came to be known as the Mennonite church. His firm leadership and numerous writings helped to consolidate the pacifist wing of early Dutch Anabaptism and to make it normative, after the ill-fated attempt of some to establish the kingdom of God by force in the northern German city of Münster in 1534–1535.

Simons was born of peasant stock in Witmarsum, in the province of Friesland, in 1496 and was enrolled in a monastic school at an early age. Since Friesland was dominated by the Premonstratensian Order at that time, and since Simons was installed in 1524 by that order as a priest in Pingjum as well as in his home parish of Witmarsum in 1531, it may be assumed that he was a member of that order and received his training in it, perhaps in the nearby monastery of Vinea Domini. The order was known for its excellent libraries and the emphasis it placed upon education.

Simons's religious struggle began early in his career as a priest, in connection with his celebration of the Mass. His doubts about the real presence of Christ in the bread and wine indicate that Reformation ideas had reached Friesland. He wrote later that he had searched the writings of the reformers in vain for answers to the question of infant baptism, which became his second concern. His problem with the Mass was most likely inspired by the antisacramental movement in the Netherlands, as well as by Erasmian humanism and the teachings of the Brethren of the Common Life. Questions about the validity of infant baptism may have arisen when Simons heard that an Anabaptist tailor named Sicke Freerks had been publicly executed in nearby Leeuwarden for having himself baptized a second time, but it appears also that Simons had already encountered literature on the subject before this event.

In his search for answers Simons eventually turned to the scriptures, which he had apparently not read during his days as a student at the monastery. Yet he must have held the scriptures to be a significant authority, for he expressed deep disappointment at not finding in them the kind of support he felt necessary for the practice of the Mass and infant baptism. He continued to serve in his priestly office, but his new studies must have begun to change his emphasis, for by 1528 he had become known as an "evangelical preacher." According to Simons's own account, his spiritual pilgrimage was a gradual transition, lasting eleven years, from a routine reliance on tradition to a deep personal faith in Christ and reliance on the scriptures as final authority in matters of faith. Gradually his views became known, and by January 1536 he had found it prudent to go into hiding. He used this time for spiritual exercises and writing. After nearly a year had elapsed he accepted a call from a representative Anabaptist delegation to be the spiritual leader of the scattered groups of believers. He was baptized and ordained by Obbe Philips. Sometime during this interim period Simons also married a woman about whom little more than her name, Gertrude, is known.

Simons's personal and theological point of departure was the new birth. His first major treatise, entitled *The Spiritual Resurrection* (1536), was followed a year later by a restatement of this theme under the title *The New Birth* (1537). This emphasis on conversion occurs centrally in his subsequent writings, particularly when he refers to his own spiritual struggle before 1536.

Intimately related to this theme was his emphasis on the nature of the church. Simons was convinced that the church had fallen from its apostolic purity in both doctrine and life. Reformation of the present structures was no longer possible; a new beginning patterned after the church in the Bible was called for. This was, in large part, the content of his three writings of 1539: *Foundation of Christian Doctrine, Christian Baptism,* and *Why I Do Not Cease Teaching and Writing.* Grace and ethics were to go hand in hand. The true church is the bride of Christ and must, therefore, be without spot or wrinkle (*Eph.* 5:27). Simons did not believe in sinless perfection, but rather that Christians must help each other achieve the fullness of life in Christ through both faith and obedience.

This vision of the church, as well as cultural acceptance and economic prosperity, led to a dynamic witness at all social levels. But it also led to numerous divisions that were to trouble the later years of Simons's work. Because of these tensions, many of his writings came to be unduly defensive and polemical. Circumstances, and his co-workers, forced him into a harsher stand on excommunication and the ban (exclusion from membership) than he had taught earlier.

The doctrine of a pure church also forced him into polemical exchanges with Reformed theologians and others on his view of the incarnation. A pure church required a pure Savior. Hence Simons believed that Jesus had received both his divine and his human nature directly from God, and that Mary was as passive as a glass of water through which a ray of sun passes. Although this Christology of heavenly flesh was not new by that time, and was also taught by others, it brought ridicule to Simons as he tried, with increasing bitterness, to defend the doctrine.

Simons led a harried and persecuted life. In 1542 a bounty of one hundred guilders was offered by Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1500–1558) for his capture; this did not seriously disrupt his travels, even though some who had given him lodging and food were executed. His journeys extended from Friesland to the Cologne area, and east to Danzig (present-day Gdansk). He was eventually permitted to settle in Holstein, northeast of Hamburg, perhaps because he had broken with earlier Anabaptists in expressing his belief that a Christian could also be a magistrate, provided that he lives in obedience to Christ. Extensive writings continued to flow from his pen and press in Holstein until his death on January 31, 1561.

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Cornelius J. Dyck (1987)

SIMON THE NEW THEOLOGIAN See SYMEON THE NEW THEOLOGIAN

SIN See NANNA

SIN AND GUILT.

The human being, as *homo religiosus,* is a creature that worries. This worrying is both a burden and a distinction. In the dark age of mutation to *Homo sapiens,* at the turning point between animality and humanity, the human intuition of the presence of the surrounding numinous tipped the balance toward humanness. As soon as this ape could stand on its feet, its glance could lift itself from the earth, the source of food, and direct itself toward the stars, that is, to a sphere higher—not only spatially—than that of the satisfaction of its bodily needs and functions. In this way humans discovered the universe and, concomitantly, the existential problem of their place in the cosmos, assigned to them by some power, for some particular reason, toward some goal. They thus invented an entire mythical universe in answer to the questions evoked by this fundamental anxiety.

Mircea Eliade has shown time and again that the central characteristic of myth is a narrative of origins. If one knows how things started and why they went awry, one finds some kind of solace, as does the patient upon learning from a physician the name of his or her disease. This reassurance is, however, partial at best: The essentials for living are the most precarious for humans among all the creatures of the earth. Reflecting on the origins of his human condition, humans came inevitably and universally to the conclusion that this present life is not what it was meant to be by the god(s) *in illo tempore.* In short, from being anxious, humans became unhappy, stricken with guilt feelings about an initial accident that is repeated endlessly throughout human existence and can be called "sin."

Sin and guilt, however, come in a great variety of shades, according to the various sensitivities represented by the great number of religious and philosophical feelings and systems. In this article the classification of the different approaches to the issue is of primordial importance. The article shall attempt to distribute the material from a phenomenological point of view, starting with the cosmological apprehension of humans as surrounded by taboos and continuing with the tragic conception that to live at all is a sin. In a second major section, the transition from such a naturalistic understanding to an ethical conception will be assessed. The third area of investigation concerns the Judeo-Christian tradition and its antitaboo, antideterministic, antinaturistic notion of sin as a breach of a personal covenant with God and humanity. A brief excursus discusses the very different notions of sin and guilt among the ancient Greeks. Finally, a particular case is made of Islam as another branch of the monotheistic tradition.

THE COSMOLOGICAL VISION. Martin Heidegger in his *Sein und Zeit* (1929) speaks of the "fall" of humans into the world. This is a felicitous rendering of the basic feeling that developed as soon as humans became aware of being part of the vast cosmos. From the dawn of consciousness, humans felt impotent, an unbearable condition. That is why they resorted to magic. When all rational response to reality becomes pent up and frustrated, the only alternative to passive inaction is the biological function of magic. Magic is the manipulation of occult forces in nature; it is a way of participating in cosmic functions. Here specific acts are wrought as mimesis of their archetypal models; they deal with objects that are never indifferent, although some are of common use and, so to speak, tolerated by the gods, while others are taboos, that is, reserved by the gods for themselves. Humanity's manipulation of a taboo is a dangerous business and demands ritual reparation. But it is not *sensu stricto* a sin, and there is here no true guilt. The violation of a taboo is often absolutely unavoidable, like everything pertaining to sexuality or the return home of the victorious warrior. Making reparation to the numinous consists in magically purging the offender through specific magical acts, sometimes through death. It is not a punishment however, for that would imply personal culpability, that is, violation of a commandment expressing a divine will. What is dreaded by the "primitive" is not offending a transcendent being but upsetting the cosmological order. Thanks to myth, the primitive knows what is taboo, and thanks to magical rites, knows what to do and how to do it: the primitive confesses and expiates.

If one follows Raffaele Pettazzoni (*La confessione dei peccati,* 1929–1936) and picks up the one conception of sin that he calls magical (in contrast to theistic), one is struck by the biological aspect of what is called sin in confessions. They tend to focus, for example, upon sexuality, but more generally, in agrarian cultures, they are clearly oriented toward a cosmobiology. The appropriate expiation transfers to another object the threat of biological evil. It is so little a matter of guilt on the part of the confessant that he lists sins that he obviously never committed. Sin, in this context, is not a personal but a material object.

One must therefore complement what has been said above about purgation of the offender with a more objective aspect of the ritual. As Robert Hertz has noted, more often than not the point is not only to purge the transgressor of the mystical substance he unduly appropriated, but to bring it back to its original focus. The personal participation in upsetting the cosmos is, of course, not ignored. But it is not the center of concern, for humanity finds itself living after a cosmic catastrophe whose "culprit" is anonymous. Death is no punishment but belongs to life structure and to world order. Everything is here determined before the anthropogony occurs. Later, when humans discovered agriculture, they applied to themselves its cyclical resurgence, the "eternal return," and so were born the initiation rites whose center is the symbolic death of the initiate followed by the symbolic return to life. Again on this score, death does not imply any consciousness of a guilt to be atoned for.

At this point, one can discern two variants in the treatment of the presence of evil in the world according to the cosmological view. The second variant will be reviewed below in the section on Mesopotamia. This first division may be concluded with the mention of the first variant, namely, the conception of individual life as being by itself already an offense, an injustice, an arrogance, to be atoned for. Such a view is found in geographical areas as remote from one another as Central America and Greece. According to the Maya and Aztec myth, this world is the last extant in a series of creations destroyed by cataclysms. This one endures only on account of the sacrifices of human hearts offered to the gods, who themselves made the first oblation (see K. Garbay, *Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas,* 2d ed., Mexico City, 1973).

Thus, the most archaic form of fault is defilement, that is, "a strain or blemish that infects from without" (Ricoeur, 1967, p. 8). The focus is on the world rather than humanity, and the ethical sin is confused with the material evil, for all failure upsets the cosmological order and brings with it defilement, thus drawing between sacred and profane a dividing line that often makes no sense to modern humans. This, however, constitutes what Ricoeur calls "our oldest memory," for which the concept of retribution is central. That is why it took no less than the questioning of this foundational myth to dissociate ethical sin from physical evil and suffering.

MESOPOTAMIAN RELIGION. This second variant to the cosmological conception mentioned earlier is found in Mesopotamia. There for the first time, the anonymity of evil was felt intolerable. The phenomenology of evil had to find a language by which a responsible agent could be incriminated as the bearer of guilt. Two ways were open: either through demonizing powers and forces manipulating humans as pawns on a chessboard or through designating human culprits, thus making them the bearers of guilt. Both solutions are found in Mesopotamian mythologies. The former, however, is fundamental. It gives expression to the all-important human sentiment that evil was already present before the anthropogony. Before becoming guilty through participation, the human is a victim. This tragic conception found expression in the text *Ludlul bel nemeqi,* where the so-called Babylonian Job cannot make sense of his misfortune. Similarly, in *A Dialogue about Human Misery,* the so-called Babylonian Qohelet concludes that one cannot know the divine intentions. But already a Sumerian confessional says, "Whether man has acted shamefully, whether he has acted well, he knows not at all."

One is struck by the pessimism of the Mesopotamian myths. The cosmological myth *Enuma elish,* for example, resembles a Greek tragedy. Humanity falls into sin as it falls into existence. In the background of all Babylonian and Assyrian penitential psalms, the free will of humans is never up to the demands of the divine standards of purity: "Mankind as many as there be [commit] sin . . . the food that belongs to God I have eaten." So people are naturally sinful, and this can be explained by a kind of generative transmission of that status. "The penalty of my father, of my grandfather, of my mother, of my grandmother, of my family, of relations through brothers and sisters, may it not come nigh me" (Langdon, 1927).

If the defilement of sin is "our oldest memory," the inexorability of sin is also very much present today, to the extent that people have maintained a dualistic view of reality. This finds expression in phylogenetic laws (Darwin), in the psychological fabric of humanity (Freud), and in societal structures (Marx). But until now the word *sin* has been used here only by approximation, for it is only when the fault is put in the context of a covenantal relation with God that one can speak, *sensu stricto,* of sin (against an expressed divine will). Here, taboos and magic have no role to play. If they are still found in the documents, they are reduced to the state of traces. This article thus turns to the next religious venture; it has been characterized by some as a process of demythologization.

THE RELIGIONS OF ISRAEL. Starting with those remnants of the fault as defilement, one may observe with Ricoeur (1967, p. 70f.) the customary positive character of the stain; purity's characteristic, on the other hand, is negative. When, as in the Bible, sin becomes a breach in the living relation with God, there is conversion of the positive to the negative. Sin is "the loss of a bond, of a root, of an ontological ground" counterbalanced by the positive "fundamental symbolism of the return." One has entered another world, but not one isolated from the rest of the universe.

One central characteristic of the Hebrew scriptures is that they are polemical in reaction to the ways of thinking of the neighboring world. It is clear that such documents cannot be read in isolation from their environment. Taking issue, for example, with the ontological dualism present everywhere, Israel understands the profane as being in analogy with the sacred. Humans have been created in the image of God (*Gn.* 1:26f.). Something of the kind existed in Mesopotamia, where the king was the image of the divine, in contradistinction to all other human beings. Israel "demythologized" this notion through a process of democratization. Not the king only, but human *qua* human is *imago Dei.* The creator has granted humans creative faculties: speech, sexuality, conscience. Conscience is here no intrinsic human quality but a gift of God; it is the Hebrew *lev* (*Ex.* 35:21–22, 29). It makes the individual an ethical being. For the first time, one meets a vivid consciousness of sin: Abel's blood cries out from the ground (*Gn.* 4:10); Joseph's brothers acknowledge their guilt (*Gn.* 42:21ff.); the psalmist laments "my sin is ever before me" (*Ps.* 51:5). Sin is now assessed within a context of interrelationship between God and man, that is, of the covenant. It is thus no longer just an ethical fault. Neither is it a juridical offense only. Being in covenant with God entails an existence in holiness; sin therefore is deviation (*ʿavon*), a straying from the norms of holiness, understood as the very dynamism of life. It is a crime against God's sanctity, and it is only to be expected that it would occasion the far-ranging disturbance of life. For God's holiness and the holy human response to it keep the cosmos and humanity in *shalom* (peace, integrality, wholeness, sanity.) Far from the face of God, there can be only disease and catastrophe (*Lv.* 26:1ff.; *Dt.* 28:1ff.).

Thus is the notion of sin oriented toward a liturgical understanding. To the microcosmic concentration of the liturgy in the Temple of Jerusalem corresponds the macrocosmic liturgy of the world with humans at its center. This, which is especially true of the Priestly source, is also fundamental for Yahvism in general (*Is.* 6:3, 6:5). Pushed to the extreme, sin becomes a *peshaʿ,* that is, an apostasy, an abandonment of rectitude, of justice, of fidelity—in brief, of Torah. Thus there is in the Bible no theory of sinfulness, but, very practically, there are sins, a thousand and one ways to go astray from an existence whose whole *raison d'être* is to be holy. Here the realism is such that sins corrupt the whole "heart," which therefore must be replaced by a pure heart, and not only on the individual level but, eschatologically and actually, on the communal level when all Israel is made "new," "whole," "holy."

Thus, for Israel, since humanity is created coresponsible for the governance of creation and indeed is high priest in the cosmic temple (*Gn.* l:26ff. and the whole literary Priestly "layer" in the Pentateuch), it is also ultimately responsible for the presence of evil in the universe and in history. The known world is a perverted "garden" where even the generative and the creative powers of humans are twisted in their process and their aim, and diverted from their natural bliss. In sorrow are people to produce their food amid a plantation that is the reverse of the one of Eden, as it is full of thorns and thistles. Ultimately everyone returns, not to "paradise," but to dust (*Gn.* 3:16–19).

That deviation is the product of both the human "heart" (internal) and an external power, personified in *Genesis* 3 as the "serpent," which is an evil spirit according to other texts. There is between the two a correspondence. The serpent's discourse is immediately intelligible to humans, evoking in them favorable echoes. For humanity is inclined to do evil (*Gn.* 6:5). Later this inclination is conceptualized in the Apocrypha and rabbinism as the *yetser ha-raʿ* (*4 Esd.* 7:118, *2 Bar.* 40:42f.). Thus there is present here a trace of a tragic anthropology, insisting upon the passivity and the alienation of humanity. The point these texts want to make is that by birth, the status of humanity is to be separated from God. Before any human act, sin is already there. It follows from this that the divine covenant is a gracious gift, undeserved and productive of a second birth, the birth of a "circumcised" life (i. e., marked by the intimate relationship with God).

As, however, the *yetser ha-raʿ* is no radical evil but a permanent temptation, there is here no *servum arbitrium* or original sin in the sense of an inherited corrupt nature. Sin is a kind of second nature in humans (*Jer.* 13:23); it is human obstinacy to alienate oneself. Ezekiel speaks of the human *niddah* (impurity), and Paul, later, uses the Greek term *hamartia* in the singular.

From the pragmatic concern with sins one has now passed to the reflective elaboration of a theory of sin that underscores humanity's congenital weakness. Humans are "flesh"; they are born sinners (*Ps.* 51:7). They are capable of only relative justice (*Is.* 51:1). Sinning has become an attitude connatural to humans, a permanent blemish (*Is.* 6:5). This realism leads the New Testament to the conclusion that the world is ruled by evil (*Rom.* 3:9, *Col.* 1:13, *1 Jn.* 5:19), because humans have enthroned it.

Sin is not only a fault before God, it is also an act wronging one's neighbor. David claims that he did not sin against King Saul (*1 Sm.* 19:4; 24:12); in return, Saul would be committing a sin against David in attempting to kill him, something Saul acknowledges later (*1 Sm.* 26:21). Time and again the prophets, in particular, equate the one aspect of humanity's sin with the other. No one denounces more forcefully than Amos social ills as sins against humans and against God. When, later, Jesus is asked which is the greatest commandment, he replies by equating the commitment to love God with that to love one's neighbor, i.e., one's fellow human beings (*Mt.* 22:36–40; cf. *Dt.* 6:5, *Lv.* 19:18).

Sin entails the curse. A classic description of the latter is found in *Deuteronomy* 28 (cf. *Lv.* 26). As Johannes Pedersen writes, "Sin breeds the curse, and the curse breeds sin" (1959, vol. 1, p. 441). "The sinner is charged with a curse, for the curse is a dissolution which takes place in the soul of the sinner" (ibid., p. 437). This is why there is an intimate relation between sin and disease or other misfortunes. In the first case as in the second, one "is stricken in the soul" (*1 Kgs.* 8:38). Human-made evil includes military defeat, drought, famine, and so forth (8:33–40). There are thus three possible causes of illness: one's own sin, the curse of others, or the sinfulness of humanity in general (cf., *Ps.* 32:1ff., 38:3ff., etc.; *Sir.* 38:1–15).

The Israelites did not distinguish between performance and performer, sin and sinner. Sin is the doing of the sinner; the sinner sins. There cannot be a judgment of the deed that would not be a judgment of the doer. Beyond illness and disease, death is the ultimate punishment of sin. But death is not just the final accident ending human existence. As has been seen, sin is the dissolution of the soul; life is torn apart by sin (*Dt.* 27:15–26). It is really the presence of death in the midst of life, and suffering is its foretaste. As Paul is later to proclaim, "death is the wages of sin" (*Rom.* 6:23).

Being phenomenologically a movement of radical reform within Judaism, one deeply influenced by apocalypticism, early Christianity crystallized the notion of sinfulness into a state of universal corruption (*Mt.* 7:11). In contrast to the rabbis, Paul emphasized the unavoidability of sin. It is due to Adam's "fall" (*Rom.* 5:12ff.), on the one hand, and to an equation made between weakness of the flesh and its antagonism to God (*Rom.* 8:3, "the flesh of sin"), on the other. Moreover the law has brought human sinfulness to a paroxysm, for the law makes sin real and sanctionable (*Rom.* 4:15). It is this very paroxysm that expresses itself in the crucifixion of the just *par excellence,* its total reversal by the grace of God making Christ's death atone for humankind's sins. Paul writes, "Christ died for our sin" (*1 Cor.* 15:3), and further, "Christ was innocent of sin, and yet for our sake God made him one with the sinfulness of men, so that in him we might be made one with the goodness of God himself" (*2 Cor.* 5:21). Thus "in Christ" (a favorite expression of Paul) it has become possible to lead a saintly life, which as was seen above is, according to the Hebrew Bible, the goal of creation. In summary, the final answer to humanity's guilt, according to the New Testament, is given by the death of Christ which overcomes the human state of sin and guilt and thereby inaugurates the kingdom of God on earth.

THE GREEKS. For the sixth-century philosopher Anaximander, being itself is already evil. One finds in Greece other echoes of such pessimism. Tragedy is, after all, a Greek invention. According to this conception of existence, humanity's fault (not sin) is a blindness sent by the gods, a fatal error that the Greeks called *hamartia.* In Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus,* the hero says, "In me personally you would not find a fault *[hamartias]* to reproach me with to having thus committed these crimes against myself and against my kin" (ll. 967f.). One may observe that Oedipus is the ambivalent symbol of crime and excusable fault. For Aristotle, *hamartia* is the terrible and tragic fault made by distinguished individuals, by heroes. He insists on their nobility. In sum, there is more fascination in Greece with hero worship than with hamartology. As E. R. Dodds has shown, in the Greek tradition one is dealing more with a "shame culture" than with real guilt. The Homeric hero "loses face"; his public reputation (*timē*) means everything to him. Although with time there occurred a moralization process whereby shame became guilt, the ground for feeling guilty remained murky. It is tied with *hubris;* still, the sixth-century poet Theognis says, "No man . . . is responsible for his own ruin or his own success: of both these things the gods are the givers. No man can perform an action and know whether its outcome will be good or bad" (ll. 133–136). So, despite the protest of the fifth-century philosopher Heraclitus that "character *is* destiny" (frag. 119), one's *daemon* was in general more important, for an ancient Greek, than one's character.

Plato adopts the opinion of Socrates that "no one sins willingly," for wrongdoing is an error of judgment. No one who knows what is good (which is also happiness), would choose not to imitate it. *Ananke* (necessity) exists, but it operates within the kind of life freely chosen by the soul. "He who chooses is responsible, not God" (*Republic* 10.617e). The only sin is to shift from the voluntary to the involuntary. When this is avoided, the soul can be assimilated to God by contemplating the world of the Forms, which is divine and well ordered. By imitating such a world the soul becomes divine and well ordered as well.

Aristotle takes issue with Socrates' optimism that no one sins voluntarily. For, in the first place, people are responsible for the way they figure out what is good for them. Second, once a goal is set, human reflection decides what are the appropriate means to reach it, and the means selected makes one guilty or innocent. The human soul disposes of a power of choice (*proairesis*); it is the root of liberty, but the passions can overcome intellection. There is indeed a guilty *lack* of knowledge, which, for an alcoholic, for instance, is self-inflicted. Euripides has Medea say, "I do realize how terrible is the crime I am about, but passion overrules my resolutions, passion that causes most of the misery in the world" (*Medea* 1078–1080). Happiness, however, is submission to intellection (*nous*), that is, to what is most divine in humans. There is a veritable rational determinism concerning the ends of such submission. To obey *nous* assures contact with the immortal. But there is no notion here of sin in the sense of a breach in a personal relationship with God. For God is a Thought thinking itself and is totally indifferent to humanity and the world.

The Stoa puts the emphasis on individual autonomy within a human communion *(koinonia, philia, oikeiosis)* whose cement is Reason which permeates the whole. In the second century CE, Marcus Aurelius wrote:

> All things are implicated with one another, and the bond is holy; and there is hardly anything unconnected with any other thing. For things have been coordinated, and they combine to form the same universe [order]. For there is one universe made up of all things, and one God who pervades all things, and one substance, and one law, one common reason in all intelligent animals, and one truth; if indeed there is also one perfection for all animals which are of the same stock and participate in the same reason. (*Meditations* 7.9)

Here universal laws are identical with divine laws, so that human life is conceived by the Stoic thinker Epictetus (c. 55–c. 135) as a divine service (*huperesia* or *diakonia*). The ideal is to live according to nature, for the world order is totally rational and anything that happens must therefore be accepted. Providence is another name for necessity. Sin is error, the violation of the cosmic laws.

Finally, a more clearly religious solution is proposed by Orphism. In Orphic thought, the root of evil is the body; it is a prison for the soul. The soul is punished in the body for earlier sins. If these sins are not expiated during one incarnation, the soul transmigrates to another body. This doctrine of reincarnation provided an elegant solution to the moral dilemma of divine justice and human suffering. The way to purify the soul of sin is to emancipate the individual from group solidarity and its corollary, vicarious suffering for another's fault. The goal is to escape from the wheel of deaths and rebirths through rituals that bring *katharsis,* that is, a cleansing from the old taint of carnality.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. This article will deal here—all too briefly, to be sure—with three Christian theologians chosen for their towering stature in the history of the Eastern and the Western churches and for their lasting influence on Christian thinking and philosophy until the present day. Irenaeus (c. 120–202), with whom this discussion shall start for reasons of chronology, has a conception of humanity before the Fall that Augustine found himself incapable of sharing. For Irenaeus, the time before the Fall is that of Adam's immaturity. He has been created in the "image of God" but is still to be brought to the stage of the "likeness of God." The Fall delayed the process of maturation, but on the other hand, it also marked a kind of human weaning from the parental God. Only a relatively independent being can enter a meaningful relationship with the creator. Human history consists of the vicissitudes of that relationship. It would however end in total failure were it not for the incarnation. Christ is his father's manifestation *(manifestatio, phanerōsis),* thus making God visible. To see God in Christ is the way for humans to be divinized. God came down to humans, and humans climb up to God.

When turning to Origen (c. 185–c. 254), one finds humanity at the crossroads of two diverging theologies: the theology of Justin and Clement, "Greek" and indifferent to the role of the flesh, and the theology of Irenaeus, deeply biblical and christological. In *On First Principles (Peri archōn)*, there is no mention of an original sin committed by Adam. Rather Origen emphasizes the fall of souls. These are preexisting pure spirits that strayed from their creator and fell into human bodies. They are in pilgrimage back to God. This process of salvation is also a process of restoration, of mending, of putting the world back in order. This is possible because there is between God and the world a kinship the trace of which in humans is the *nous.* There is here no autonomous existence of darkness. Evil is simply a turning away from God.

It is thus with no surprise that one finds Origen focusing upon Christ's work rather than on his person. Christ is the great educator who brings humanity from deficiency to perfection. The goal (*teleiōsis*) is the perfection of human nature by the Logos, the divinization of humanity. The means is obedience to God, which Christ teaches by his word and by his death: "The Son . . . made himself obedient unto death to teach obedience to those who could reach salvation only by way of obedience." Salvation is *apokatastasis pantōn* (a restitution of all things and a definite achievement). Even Satan will be saved. But until the eschaton, the movement of drawing near to God is endless. All has been revealed; but all is to be discovered. Christ has come; but he ceaselessly comes.

The church father Augustine (354–430) is without rival as regards the theology of the West. Augustine inaugurates a "new type of discourse, that of onto-theology," says Ricoeur. The question *unde malum* would be legitimate only if evil were substantial, as the Manichaeans teach. But it is not so. Already Basil of Caesarea (330–379) had stated that there is no ontological reality to evil (*Hexaemeron* 2.5). Augustine follows suit and says that the problem is rather *unde malum faciamus,* stressing more forcefully still that evil is no substance, no creature. All creatures participate in being and are therefore good. It is only through his free choice that humans bring sin from potential to real, from nothingness to an act. Evil is negative. It is *amissio boni* or *privatio boni.* It is a deficiency of the created that makes freedom possible and hence human history.

Augustine had the opportunity to underscore this theologoumenon of the gratuitousness of God's grace in his polemics against Pelagius (fl. c. 400–418). This British monk taught that humanity can reach perfection in holiness by the practice of virtues and asceticism. Humans therefore bear the sole guilt for their sins, as they are endowed with free will. "If sin is innate, it is not voluntary, if it is voluntary, it is not innate." Pelagius of course chooses the second proposition. Children are in the situation of Adam before the Fall. Some of them imitate Adam; others become perfectly washed of all sin.

In response to Pelagius, Augustine considerably hardened his stance. He developed the "original sin" theory (inaugurated by Cyprian, 200–258, and by Ambrose, c. 330–397) and stated that all humans are born sinful and guilty, meriting eternal damnation. With the Fall, the human spirit has been victimized by the rebellion of the body, which should have been its servant. (By contrast, the animal, although under the dictum of nature, is not guilty, because it has no reason, no spirit.) Originally nature was *natura sana,* but it has become *natura vitiata.* This explains why sin is transmitted from one generation to another, making sin as unavoidable as life itself. This inherent nothingness in humans impairs their liberty. Evil is an act; it has an existential character and can be described as a *defectus,* an *aversio a Deo, conversio ad creaturas* (*Against Secundinus the Manichaean* 17). For this, which is a perversion, God is not responsible. He is responsible for the musical instrument, not for its discord.

Augustine's theories are not exempt from ambiguities. They have remained so in the church for sixteen centuries (Tresmontant, 1961, p. 611). For the freedom and the culpability of humans is on the other hand predestined by God. Augustine developed the doctrine of double predestination, which had such a powerful impact on Calvin and on so many Christian theologians. The seminal transmission of sin and guilt was Augustine's way of counterbalancing the culpability of the individual. Humanity finds evil already present before actualizing it itself. But the fact that perverted nature is inherited considerably relativizes humanity's ultimate responsibility, for Augustine attributed to evil a quasi-nature through a continuous contingency.

ISLAM. In the Qurʾān, sin is essentially pride and opposition to God. The model of such misbehavior is given by Iblīs (Satan), who refused to prostrate himself before Adam.

Human sin is minimized to the level of a weakness that has become a kind of habit: "the heart is prone to evil" (12:53). In fact, the original mistake of Adam proved beneficial for humanity, for through this mistake the world became populated and God worshiped by a great number of people. Besides, the forgiveness of sin is within easy reach for all (57:28 and passim). Repentance does not require atonement, and the pilgrim on the *ḥājj* to Mecca returns home as innocent as a newborn child. Prophets and saints are delivered in this life from moral and physical evils. Believers are further delivered from eternal punishment. However, good works as well as faith are necessary for salvation.

The power of God stands at the center of Muslim faith. That power is such that it can even be arbitrary. For example, God commands reprehensible acts from Muḥammad. The Qurʾān (35:9) declares that God leads astray those he chooses (cf. 42:12, 40:36). If God willed, everyone in the land would believe. But God does not impose his will on humans so that they may be responsible for themselves (10:99f., 18:28). This does not detract from the fact that all has been decreed beforehand by God, including humanity's failings.

SEE ALSO Confession of Sins; Evil; Magic.

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SINGH, GOBIND (1666–1708), the last of the ten *gurūs* ("teachers") of Sikhism. After his death the Sikh *gurū* was understood to be the *Ādi Granth,* the sacred book. Until Gobind Singh, the Sikh community, whose religious ideals and practices were a North Indian combination of Vaiṣṇava devotional movements from South India and elements of Islamic Sufism, had been led by a series of *gurūs* beginning with Nānak (1469–1539) and passing through to Gobind Singh's father, the ninth *gurū*, Tegh Bahādur.

Gobind Singh (originally Gobind Rāi) is known as the paradigm of the chivalrous, proud, martial, and loyal religious ideal to which members of the Sikh Khālsā, "the community of pure ones," aspire. In fact, it was Gobind Singh who established the Khālsā, and gave all male Sikhs the surname Singh ("lion") and Sikh women the name Kaur ("lioness"). Gobind Singh is further known as the reported author of the *Dasam Granth* (Tenth Volume), an epic work that stands second only to the *Ādi Granth* in prestige in the Sikh community. Under Gobind Singh's rule (1675–1708) Sikhism was transformed from a persecuted sect to a powerful religious community that has stood as the political and economic mainstay of the Punjab ever since.

Gobind Singh was born at Patna (in the Indian state of Bihar) on December 26, 1666, the only child of Tegh Bahādur and his wife Gujari. He spent the first few years of his life in Bihar before returning to his ancestral home, Anandpur, in the foothills of the Himalayas. He was nine years old when his father was summoned by the Mughal emperor to answer charges of extortion, and was executed in Delhi on November 11, 1675. Before he died, he proclaimed Gobind as his successor. Fearing further reprisals, the young *gurū* and his entourage moved farther back into the mountains and set up their camp at Paonta, on the banks of the Yamuna River. Here Gobind was taught Sanskrit and Persian (in addition to the Punjabi and Braj he had learned at Patna) and the arts of war. He spent much time hunting and composing poetry. His favorite themes were based on Hindu mythology, notably the exploits of the goddess Caṇḍī, the destroyer of demons.

In his autobiography, *Bicitra nātak* (The wonderful drama), Gobind wrote, "I came into the world charged with the duty to uphold the right in every place, to destroy sin and evil . . . that righteousness may flourish: that the good may live and tyrants be torn out by their roots." As he grew into manhood Gobind decided to organize his followers into a fighting force. Soon he raised a small army that came into conflict with neighboring Rajput chiefs. Gobind defeated their combined forces at Bhangani in 1686 and those of the Mughal governor of Punjab at Nadaun a year later. His increasing strength alarmed the Mughals, and the emperor Aurangzeb sent his eldest son, Prince Moazzam, against him. The prince discreetly decided to leave Gobind alone and directed his generals to reduce the hill chieftains. Gobind utilized these years to fortify Anandpur by building a chain of fortresses. He married three wives, who bore him four sons.

Gobind gave religious sanction to practices introduced by his father, Tegh Bahādur, and his grandfather, the sixth *gurū*, Hargobind. Early in 1699 Gobind sent out *hukumnāmah*s (orders) to the Sikhs to present themselves at Anandpur on the Hindu New Year's day with their hair and beards unshorn, as was customary among certain ascetic sects.

On April 13, 1699, after the morning service, Gobind drew his sword and asked for five men to offer their heads for sacrifice. He took them behind a tent and reappeared before the congregation, his sword dripping with blood, but then revealed that instead of the men he had slaughtered five goats. He addressed the volunteers as the "five beloved," *panj piyāre*, who were destined to become the nucleus of a new community, the Khālsā (from the Persian *khāli*s, "the pure ones"). He baptized the five men (who came from different Hindu castes) by making them drink, from a single bowl, *amrit* (nectar) he had churned with a double-edged dagger. He gave them a new family name, Singh ("lion"), and after his own baptism changed his name from Gobind Rāi to Gobind Singh. Five emblems (*kakkār* or the "five *k*s") were prescribed for the Khālsā: to wear their hair and beards unshorn (*kais*); to carry a comb (*kanghā*) in their hair to keep it tidy; to wear the knee-length breeches (*kachhā*) then worn by soldiers; to wear a steel bracelet (*karā*) on their right wrist as a symbol of poverty and pledge to their *gurūs*; and always to carry a saber (*kirpān*) to defend their faith. In addition to these five emblems, the converts were forbidden to smoke or chew tobacco, to consume alcoholic drinks, to eat the flesh of animals slaughtered by being bled to death (as was customary among Jews and Muslims); they were permitted only *jhatkā* meat, that of an animal dispatched with one blow. Because their adversaries were largely Muslims, the Khālsā were forbidden to molest their women. The idea, in short, was to raise an army of *sant sipāhi*s (soldier-saints).

The vast majority of the *gurū*'s followers underwent baptism and became hirsute Kesādhāri Khālsā, as distinct from the Sahajdhari Sikhs ("those who take time to adopt"). The eruption of this militant force alarmed the neighboring Hindu chieftains as well as the Muslim Mughals. Gobind was compelled to evacuate Anandpur. No sooner had he left than his two youngest sons were captured and executed. The *gurū* was left with forty men who stockaded themselves at Chamkaur. In the skirmishes that ensued the *gurū* was able to escape, but his two elder sons fell in battle. Tradition holds that despite these adversities Gobind sent the emperor a defiant poem entitled *Zafarnāmā* (The Epistle of victory). There he wrote, "What use is it to put out a few sparks when you raise a mighty flame instead?"

Gobind eluded his pursuers and found safe refuge at Muktsar. He spent a year in the region baptizing large segments of the Hindu peasantry, including those of the Phulkian States: Patiala, Nabha, Jind, and Faridkot. With the assistance of a disciple, Manī Singh, he prepared a definitive edition of the Sikh scripture, the *Ādi Granth*, compiled by the fifth *gurū*, Arjun, in which he inserted compositions of his father, Tegh Bahādur. He also collected his own writings in the *Dasam Granth*.

It is not clear whether or not Gobind intended to complain to the emperor against Wazir Khan, governor of the

Punjab, about the murder of his infant sons, but he was on his way to the Mughal capital when he received news of the emperor's death and the conflict over succession between his sons. The *gurū* decided to back Prince Moazzam, and a detachment of Sikh soldiers fought a victorious battle on his side at Jajau on June 8, 1707. Later Gobind visited the new emperor at Agra and stayed on for several months. The emperor did not take any action against his governor of the Punjab, and when he marched to his southern domains against his rebellious brother, Kam Baksh, the *gurū* followed him as far as Nander (now in Maharashtra). At Nander two young Pathans who were in his entourage entered his tent and stabbed him. It is most likely that the assassins were hirelings of the Punjab governor. Before he succumbed to his wounds on October 7, 1708, Gobind proclaimed an end to the succession of *gurū*s and exhorted the Sikhs to look upon the *Ādi Granth* as the symbolic representation of their ten *gurū*s.

Gobind Singh remains the *beau ideal* of the Khālsā Sikhs, the paradigm of chivalry combined with valor, poetic sophistication, and generosity. He is referred to as *dasam padshāh* ("tenth emperor"), *nīle ghorey dā asvār* ("rider of the roan stallion"), *citiān bājān vālā* ("lord of white hawks"), and *kalgi dhar* ("wearer of plumes").

SEE ALSO Ādi Granth; Dasam Granth; Nānak; Sikhism.

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SINHALA RELIGION.

The Sinhala of Sri Lanka are for the most part Buddhists, yet their practical religion is a composite system derived from a variety of sources, including pre-Buddhist indigenous beliefs, Indic astrology, popular Hinduism, Brahmanism, and Dravidian religion, especially that of South India. Over many years these seemingly non-Buddhist beliefs have been incorporated into a Buddhist framework and ethos. The religious beliefs that have derived from non-Buddhist sources have been labeled "spirit cults." This is a heuristically useful label if one does not make the mistake of defining them as non-Buddhist or anti-Buddhist. Some aspects of the spirit cults, such as the beliefs in *preta*s, or the malevolent spirits of departed ancestors, are very ancient popular beliefs that have been assimilated by Buddhism. Furthermore, Buddhist canonical texts are full of references to pious laypersons who on death have become reborn as gods, which means that, as Marasinghe puts it in *Gods in Early Buddhism* (Colombo, 1974), the *karman* theory is a kind of machine that can create its own gods. The theory of *karman* can, at the very least, easily justify the creation or continuing existence of the many kinds of supernatural beings that inhabit the behavioral universe of Buddhist nations in South and Southeast Asia. The crux of the issue is not whether these beliefs are Buddhist or non-Buddhist: It is that one can remain a Buddhist, and a citizen of Sri Lanka or Burma or Thailand, *without* subscribing to a belief in the spirit cults. The latter is not a necessary condition to being a Buddhist. Being a Buddhist is necessary for one's ethnic and national identity in the Theravāda societies of South and Southeast Asia, whereas the spirit cults have little or no bearing on one's larger identity. One is not a "heretic" if one rejects the popular religions; indeed, in some instances it may indicate affirmation of Buddhist orthodoxy and the ideal cultural values of the group.

To place the Sinhala spirit cults in a larger perspective it is useful to begin with a consideration of Vädda religion as described by C. G. Seligmann and Z. Seligmann in *The Veddas* (Cambridge, 1911). These aboriginal inhabitants of Sri Lanka speak a Sinhala dialect and were at least peripherally part of the traditional political system, owing allegiance to the king of Kandy. Although they were Sinhala-speaking, and their spirit cults showed considerable overlap with that of Sinhala Buddhists, most Väddas never converted to Buddhism. An examination of Vädda religion will help us understand more fully the nature of the Sinhala spirit cults and their relationship with Buddhism.

CULT OF THE NÄ YAKKU.

The Väddas, unlike the Sinhala Buddhists, had as the basis of their religion a system of ancestor worship. Väddas who die are said to become deities known as *nä yakku* (sg., *yakā*), literally "kinsmen deities"; the transformation of a person's spirit to a *yakā* occurs a few days after his or her death. Ancestral spirits help the living but show wrath if neglected.

Complementing the spirits of the recently dead is a pantheon of major Vädda deities. This pantheon is headed by Kandē Yakā ("lord of the mountain"). Ancestral spirits are considered to be feudal attendants of Kandē Yakā and have his warrant to assist or punish the living. The concept of permission or warrant (*varan*) and the system whereby the higher gods engage lower deities as attendants are identical with Sinhala beliefs.

Kandē Yakā then is a benevolent deity who brings prosperity and wealth to Vädda society. He is sometimes propitiated as Kandē Vanniya (Lord Kandē). Several other major deities are propitiated in Vädda collective rituals. There is Bam̆bura Yakā, a grim spirit who presides over yams, and for whom a mimetic ritual of the boar hunt is performed; Iňdigolle Yakā, also called Galē Yakā ("lord of the rock"), who is often propitiated with his spouse Iňdigolle Kiri Ammā; and Biliňdi Yakā, an infant deity also widely propitiated in Vädda country (nowadays in parts of the Eastern and Uva provinces). In addition there is a whole class of female deities called *kiri ammā* ("milk mother, grandmother"). These *kiri ammā* are the spirits of eminent Vädda women, generally the wives of Vädda headmen or chiefs, many of whom are thought to haunt mountain springs and rocky hillsides. A few of these *kiri ammā* are prominent enough to have individual names. These named *kiri ammā* are often invoked for curing children's diseases and for sickness in general. In addition to these major deities are minor deities, all of whom are the spirits of prominent deceased Väddas. Thus, the Vädda religion recognizes a pantheon that is comprised of individual ancestors as well as a special class of deities who are deified heroes. Although these deified ancestors and heroes are an important element in Vädda worship there are also Vädda deities such as Iňdigolle Yakā, who are believed to have come from across the oceans. These latter beliefs—those of deified ancestors and foreign deities—directly link Vädda religion with that of their Sinhala neighbors, at least in parts of the Northwestern and North Central Provinces, and in Uva and in the Central Province (the Kandyan region).

The Sinhala Buddhists have no system of ancestor worship like that of the *nä yakku,* but they do believe in a cult of deified ancestors and foreign deities, which Parker, in his *Ancient Ceylon* (London, 1904), has labeled the *baṇḍāra* cult. *Baṇḍāra* means "chief," and this cult is that of a group of deities who are viewed as "lords" or "chiefs." Parker has called this a form of ancestor worship, but this is an erroneous identification, for the Sinhala do not deify their immediate ancestors. Rather, deified heroes or leaders of a local area or region constitute a major part of the cult. The striking feature of the *baṇḍāra* cult, however, is that all deities, both local and foreign, were originally human beings who have been deified. Many of them have the title *baṇḍāra* ("lord"); all of them are viewed as lords or chiefs and are subordinate to the great gods or *deva*s of the Sinhala Buddhist pantheon, who are viewed as kings or world rulers (*cakravartin*s).

THE BAṆḌĀRA CULT AMONG THE SINHALA. The *baṇḍāra* cult has been formalized in many parts of the Kandyan region into a cult of the Dolaha Deviyo ("twelve gods"). The Twelve Gods are individually and collectively propitiated in group rituals. The operative pantheon in most parts of the Kandyan region thus consisted of the *baṇḍāra* cult, formalized into a numerological category of the Twelve Gods. Many of these gods have in fact demonic attributes and are often referred to in rituals as *devatā* ("godling"), a composite of the demonic and the divine. The Twelve Gods are associated with most of the social, economic, and personal needs of the worshiper—hunting, animal husbandry, and rice cultivation, as well as individual afflictions such as illnesses due to demonic incursions.

There is, then, a striking similarity between the Vädda gods and the Sinhala pantheon of the *baṇḍāra.* The deities in both pantheons are chiefs or lords (but not kings); they are euhemerized beings, often ancestral heroes. In collective rituals the Väddas propitiate their gods with meat offerings; among the Sinhala, however, only some of these deities (those possessing demonic qualities, like Gange Baṇḍāra) are offered meat (impure) offerings. Furthermore, and this is of crucial significance, both Vädda and Sinhala pantheons show considerable overlap. Thus, Kiri Ammā is the operative female deity among both the Vädda and the Kandyan Sinhala. The Vädda god Kandē Yakā, the benevolent deity of the hunt, is perhaps none other than Kandē Deviyō of the Kandyans. In Kandyan rituals Kandē Deviyō also appears as the god of the hunt. The Vädda term *yakā* appears to have been transformed into *dēviyō* ("god") by the Sinhala, since *yakā* clearly means "demon" in Sinhala. Several other deities are shared by both Vädda and Sinhala. In addition, many ritual terms are common to both cultures: *haňgala* (priest's robe), *ayuda* (arms, ornaments of the deity), *kapurāla* (priest), *aḍukku* (meal served to the deity), *doḷa* (offering to demons), and *puda* (offering to gods). These terms, as well as the *baṇḍāra* cult itself, are not confined to the Kandyan area exclusively but constitute (or historically constituted) a series of overlapping circles covering most of Sinhala-speaking Sri Lanka. Even when the numerological category of twelve was not used (as in the North Central Province), there was throughout Sri Lanka a system of local village worship of *baṇḍāra*s, or lords, who constituted a pantheon of euhemerized ancestors or heroes.

Both Vädda religion and the *baṇḍāra* cult of the Kandyan Sinhala show striking resemblances to the *nat* cultus of the Burmese and the Thai cult of the *phī*. Worship of both *nats* and *phī* constitutes an indigenous cult of ancestors, having a role similar to the cult of the Kandyan *baṇḍāra.* Note that *baṇḍāra* means "lord," which is exactly what *nat* (from the Sanskrit *nātha*) means. Furthermore, the *nat*s are associated with natural phenomena, as are many Kandyan and Vädda deities. It is indeed likely that a form of euhemerism was the old indigenous, pre-Buddhist religion, not only of Sri Lanka, but of other Theravāda nations of this region. The full significance of *nat* or *baṇḍāra* comes out clearly in relation to the great, often Brahmanic-derived *deva*s, who constitute the upper level of the pantheon. These *deva*s are kings or *cakravartin*s; the *baṇḍāra*s are lesser beings and thus are chieftains or lords who owe formal suzerainty to the "god-kings."

As institutionalized at the village and tribal level, the form of village religion described above is intrinsically associated with that of the inspired priest acting as a medium or mouthpiece of the apotheosized ancestor or hero. The Seligmanns and other anthropologists writing on tribal India refer to him as "shaman." This designation is somewhat misleading since "shamanism" in South and Southeast Asia is different from the classic Siberian type. In the latter the soul of the shaman leaves the body. In the South Asian type this rarely happens; the deity possesses the priest and the god is thus physically "present" in the human community. Furthermore, the extreme individualism of classic shamanism is not found here. The possessed priest activates a formal, publicly accepted pantheon of deities; he rarely has personal guardian gods or individual spirits as in classic shamanism.

Traditional Sinhala religion probably coexisted, as it does today, with other forms of religious belief and practice, such as witchcraft, sorcery, and divination. When the great historical religions like Buddhism were introduced into this region the older religion had to adapt itself to the new situation. The basic mechanism whereby non-Buddhist beliefs were incorporated into Buddhism was the theory of *karman.* Deified ancestors could easily be incorporated through the theory of *karman* so that the death of the ancestor and his subsequent rebirth as a deity could be explained in terms of his good and bad actions in previous births. Over and beyond this, the older system of spirit cults had to be integrated with those of the great traditions, which included the great Brahmanic *deva*s and the Buddha himself. This relationship between the older spirits and the *deva*s and Buddha was expressed in the political idiom of the secular state.

THE BAṆḌĀRA CULT AND THE WORSHIP OF DEVAS. The *baṇḍāra* cult, or the cult of the Twelve Gods, was the operative folk religion of many villages in the Kandyan kingdom for many centuries. But the cult of the *baṇḍāra*s was in turn enveloped in the cult of the *deva*s, the superordinate god-kings of the pantheon. What then is the relationship between the *baṇḍāra* cult and the great *deva*s, most of whom derived historically from Brahmanism? To appreciate the full significance of this relationship one must shift one's ground from the narrow perspective of Vädda or Kandyan religion to the larger perspective of a Sinhala Buddhist nation. The *baṇḍāra*s were local or regional deities, and although some of them, such as Maṅgara and Devatā Baṇḍāra, were widely dispersed they were viewed as chieftains, not kings. The *deva*s by contrast were national deities, viewed as kings, holding jurisdictional sway over Sri Lanka; they were protectors of that Sinhala Buddhist nation. The *baṇḍāra*s are subservient to the *deva*s, and the latter, according to popular religion, are in turn subordinate to the Buddha. The *deva*s have a warrant (*varan*) from the Buddha himself, whereas the lesser *baṇḍāra*s generally exercise their authority with permission from the *deva*s.

The concept of divine protectors of the secular and sacred realm is an ancient one in Sri Lanka. First, there was the ancient Buddhist doctrinal notion of the guardians of the four quarters of the universe. In addition to this there developed in Sri Lanka the idea of four guardians of the state. If the Buddhist guardians protected the cosmos the *deva*s were protectors of the nation, and therefore were of great significance in the practical religion. The concept of the four gods *(hatara dēviyō)* and the four shrines *(hatara dēvāle)* were clearly established in the kingdoms of Kōṭṭe (fifteenth century) and in Kandy. In popular usage the term *hatara varan dēviyō* ("gods of four warrants"), which should in theory have referred to the four Buddhist guardians of the universe, came to be synonymous with the concept of the Four Gods—the guardians of the kingdom.

In relation to the concept of the Four Gods, numerology is once again very important. There have always been four guardian gods, but the deities occupying these positions show considerable variation. In general one would say that the positions of the Four Gods from the fifteenth century onward were filled from the following list of *deva*s: Viṣṇu, Nātha, Vibhiṣaṇa, Saman (Lakṣmaṇa), Skanda, and the goddess Pattinī. If the *baṇḍāra*s were part of the operative village religion, the *deva*s, in particular the Four Gods, were part of the state cultus. In the Kandyan kingdom, for example, the Four Gods were paraded in the annual state procession along with the tooth relic. The king, the chiefs, and their retinue also participated in this event. The procession reflected in microcosm the larger macrocosmic structure of the Kandyan state.

Underlying the organization of the pantheon is a political idiom, very much like that found in the *nat* cultus in Burma as described by Melford Spiro in *Burmese Supernaturalism* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1967): The Four Gods are the kings and guardians of Buddhism and the secular state and the Twelve Gods are the chiefs, attendants, or ministers or the god-kings. The order in the pantheon is based on the idea of order in the political state. Crucial to the feudal idiom underlying the pantheon is the notion of *sīmā* ("limit, boundary"), which has several meanings in the political sphere. First, in relation to territory, it indicates the boundary or border of a kingdom, province, or village; second, in relation to authority and control, it is the limit of a political domain, for example, the king has *sīmā* over the kingdom, the chief over a province, and the headman over a village; third, in relation to time, it means a "time limit" (*kāla sīmāva*) on the exercise of political authority, that is, the *kāla sīmāva* for the king is the king's lifetime, for a chief only a year. All these meanings of *sīmā,* so important in the political idiom, are transferred intact to the religious context. Thus, the deities in the pantheon all have their *sīmā* in terms of territory, authority, and time. The *baṇḍāra*s have the village, region, or province as their *sīmā*. However, these boundaries are not permanently fixed: A regional deity may eventually come to have a national reputation and worship, as in the case of Kiri Ammā and Maṅgara, and more recently of Dēvatā Baṇḍāra. Nevertheless the ideology that the *baṇḍāra*s are regional chiefs is important in that it defines their status in the overall religious system of the Sinhala. The Four Gods by contrast have as their *sīmā* the whole of Sri Lanka, but they also have their special *sīmā* over which they have more direct control. These generally are the regions surrounding the pilgrimage center(s) of each deity.

DEMONS, GODS, AND THE BUDDHA. At the lowest level of Sinhala religion are such demons and evil spirits as *preta*s, who are viewed as the malevolent spirits of dead kinsmen. All these evil spirits embody Buddhist notions of spiritual and ethical hindrances, such as craving *(taṇhā)*, hatred *(krodha)*, greed *(lobha)*, defilements *(kleśa)*, and enmity *(vaira)*. Evil beings, like good beings, are *karman*-bound creatures who, because of their propensity to cause harm, are caught in a situation where salvation is difficult if not impossible. They cause illness, both physical and psychic, and may possess people, especially women. They are born in blood and violence, and they must be propitiated with meat and other impure substances. In the western and southern parts of Sri Lanka they are propitiated in elaborate ritual dramas, described by Paul Wirz (1954) and more recently by Bruce Kapferer (1983).

The demons are under the authority of the *deva*s (i.e., the great gods of the pantheon), who must control them to ensure a just social order. The *deva*s are essentially rational and just deities, viewed by Sinhala Buddhists as future Buddhas or *bodhisattva*s. These *deva*s (as well as the lesser *baṇḍāra*s) are bound to the worshiper in a nexus of mutual obligation: The god protects humans, their cattle, and their crops, and ensures the common weal; humans in turn expresses their gratitude by transferring the merit they have earned to the gods and thus hastening the *nirvāṇa* and Buddha-aspiration of the latter. These transactions are formally expressed in the annual post-harvest thanksgiving rituals where the myths of the gods are sung, where ritual dramas celebrating their lives are enacted, and where thanks are offered to them by the village community.

Over and above the cults of the gods and demons is the worship of the Buddha. The Buddha himself is viewed as the supreme deity and totally benevolent, reigning over the rest of the pantheon. In his role as overlord of the pantheon he is referred to as "king"; in his role as the teacher of salvation he is "monk." In public parades known as *perahära,* the Buddha's role as king is predominant; in the rituals and prayers addressed to him inside the *vihāra,* his role as monk comes to the fore. These latter prayers and rituals in the Buddhist temple are standard throughout the nation, whereas there exist regional variations in the cult practices associated with the gods and demons. If the rituals to the gods and demons have to do with this world (health, wealth, fertility), the Buddhist rituals have to do with the next world, or with one's rebirth and the eventual realization of *nirvāṇa.* The unity of the Sinhala Buddhists as a moral community is expressed in *Buddhist* symbolism. The omnipresence of the Buddha in Sri Lanka is expressed in the symbolism of his sacred footprint embedded at Srī Pada Mountain (known also as Adam's Peak), the visible presence everywhere of monks and *dagoba*s or *stūpa*s containing relics of the Buddha or the saints of the early Buddhist church, and the sacred places of Buddhist pilgrimage where people from different regions come together to celebrate their collective unity as Buddhists. Sinhala religion as a totality has been adapted, through its long history, into a Buddhist framework.

CHANGE IN SINHALA RELIGION. Changes in the religious beliefs of the Sinhala have occurred in a variety of ways without radically affecting the formal structure of the pantheon, which has the Buddha at the apex, followed by four guardian gods of the realm, followed by the regional and village gods and godlings (*baṇḍāra*s), followed by the malevolent demons, spirits, and ghosts. The most common forms of change are as follows.

(1) Migrations of peoples and cults from South India are a common phenomenon to this day. Hindu gods and deities are, however, incorporated into the Buddhist pantheon and given Buddhist legitimation. For example, Hindu gods like Viṣṇu and Saman (Laksmana) appear with their consorts in early Sinhala iconography. When they are converted into *bodhisattva*s in Sinhala religion they lose their consorts as befits good Buddhist salvation aspirants.

(2) Sociopolitical and economic conditions may favor the rise or decline of a god. This the cult of the god Nātha, who was in charge of the sovereignity of the Kandyan kings, dramatically declined after the British conquest of Kandy in 1815. Similarly, a god may rise into prominence and eclipse others in terms of public popularity.

(3) The external changes mentioned above are rationalized in terms of a dialectic of internal change in the pantheon. The more popular a deity, the more favors he grants his devotee; this in turn means that the devotee transfers merit to him, thereby bringing the god closer to his goal of Buddhahood. But the closer the god is to the Buddha model the less he is interested in the affaris of the world. Consequently, he must eventually become otiose, and more world-involved—even demonic—beings from the lower reaches of the pantheon move up to take his place. Thus, the logic of *karman* and the transfer of merit govern internal mobility in the pantheon.

(4) Finally, social changes may produce radical changes in the formal structure of the pantheon. In *The Cult of the Goddess Pattini* by the author of this aritcle (pp. 290–291), it is noted that the politcal conditions of the Kōṭṭe Kingdom (1410–1544) in Sri Lanka resulted in the extension of the jurisdictional sway of the major guardian gods into the *baṇḍāra*s. Similarly, modern sociopolitical conditions, including the centraliza-

> tion and democratization of the state and the development of modern communications, have tended to erode the spheres of influence of minor gods and demons. Today, some gods are coming into especial prominence, while other gods and their cults are declining.

It is likely that modern socioeconomic and political conditions may produce radical changes in the formal structure of the pantheon as sketched above. Nevertheless, Sinhala religion will retain its basic core. The pantheon headed by the Buddha and the system of worship associated with him are not likely to change. Even if the cult of the Four Gods and the Twelve Gods should collapse, some deities will continue to preside over humanity's "this-worldly" destiny—and so will the belief in named demons and *preta*s, the spirits of dead ancestors. All deities will continue to embody Buddhist values and remain bound to each other and to humans by the ethics of *karman* and the transfer of merit.

SEE ALSO Folk Religion, article on Folk Buddhism; Merit, article on Buddhist Concepts; Nāgas and Yakṣas; Nats; Saṃgha; Tamil Religions.

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SIOUX RELIGION SEE LAKOTA RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS

SIRHINDĪ, AḤMAD (AH 971–1034/1564–1624 CE),

an eminent Indian Muslim Ṣūfī, known also as *mujad-did-i alf-i thānī* "renewer of the second millennium [of the Islamic era]"). He was a prolific writer on Islamic mysticism and theology. His celebrated collection of letters, addressed to his fellow Ṣūfīs as well as to a few officials of the state, was repeatedly hailed as a landmark in the development of Muslim religious thought in India.

Sirhindī's religious activities were conducted within the Naqshbandī order of the Ṣūfīs, which was introduced into the subcontinent bySirhindī's spiritual mentor, Muḥammad al-Bāqī Billah. Sirhindī became a prominent personality in the order, brought about an expansion of its influence in India and elsewhere, and attracted numerous disciples, whom he instructed in the Naqshbandī mystical doctrine. He devoted a great deal of attention to the spiritual progress of the believer toward perfection. His works reflect an unrelenting effort to integrate the basic concepts of Islam into a comprehensive Ṣūfī outlook. True to the classical Ṣūfī tradition, he endeavored to analyze Islamic concepts in a two-fold fashion in order to discover in each of them the inner and secret (*bātin*) aspect in addition to the outward (*ẓāhir*) one. In other words, all things have form (*ṣūrah*) and essence (*ḥaqīqah*), and the highest achievement lies in understanding the inner, essential aspect of commandments and articles of faith.

The most original contribution of Sirhindī to mystical thought seems to be his description of the spiritual transformation that occurred at the end of the first millennium of the Islamic era, following intricate changes in the structure of the mystical "realities" (*ḥaqāʾiq*), the spiritual condition of the Muslim community improved in a substantial manner. Prophetic perfections, which had been fading away since the death of Muḥammad, regained their splendor. The person in possession of these perfections was the *mujaddid,* the renewer or revivifier of the second millennium. It is likely that Sirhindī considered himself to be fulfilling this religiously crucial role; his disciples certainly saw him in this light.

Most scholars of medieval Muslim India maintain that Sirhindī performed a crucial role in the history of Indian Islam. Indian Muslims have always faced a dilemma concerning the attitude that they should adopt toward Hindu civilization, and two streams of thought developed among them: some held that Indian Muslims should take into account the sensibilities of the Hindus and seek a common ground for the two civilizations, while others maintained that the Muslim minority, in constant danger of assimilation into the polytheistic Hindu environment, must preserve the pristine purity of Islam and reject any local influence. Sirhindī appeared on the Indian scene during the reign of the Mughal emperor Akbar (1556–1605), who systematically attempted to make Islam and the ruling dynasty more acceptable to the non-Muslim Indians. The most conspicuous step in this direction was his abolition of the *jizyah,* a tax that Islamic law imposes on the non-Muslim inhabitants of a Muslim state. Sirhindī strongly opposed Akbar's conciliatory policy toward the Hindus. He made devastating attacks on Hinduism and maintained that the honor of Islam required the humiliation of the infidels and the resolute imposition of Islamic law upon them. Because Sirhindī expressed these views in letters to officials of the Mughal court, numerous scholars have credited him with reversing the heretical trends of Akbar's era and with restoring pristine purity to Indian Islam.

Recent research has shown, however, that this interpretation is far from certain. It is true that Sirhindī wrote to state officials and suggested changes in the imperial policy, but there is no evidence that the Mughal empire changed its attitude toward the Hindus as a result of his activities. Sirhindī was first and foremost a seeker after religious truth. The overwhelming majority of his epistles deal with typically Ṣūfī issues. The concepts of prophecy (*nubūwah*) and sainthood (*wilāyah*), the relationship between religious law (*sharīʿah*) and the mystical path (*tarīqah*), the theories of unity of being *(waḥdat al-wujūd)* and unity of appearance (*waḥdat al-shuhūd*)—these command Sirhindī's attention in most of his works. In dealing with these matters, Sirhindī belongs to the stream of mystical thought established by Ibn al-ʿArabī, though they differ in certain aspects. Questions of the relationship between the Islamic state and its Hindu population, which have acquired tremendous importance in the modern period and have therefore been central in numerous modern interpretations of Sirhindī's thought, do not seem to have been in the forefront of his interests.

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SISTERS OF CHARITY SEE SETON, ELIZABETH

ŚIVA [FIRST EDITION]. The ancient name of Śiva is *Rudra*, the Wild God. His seminal myth is told in the most sacred, most ancient Indian text, the *Ṛgveda* (c. 1200–1000 BCE; hymns 10.61 and 1.71). When time was about to begin he appeared as a wild hunter, aflame, his arrow directed against the Creator making love with his virgin daughter, the Dawn. They had the shape of two antelopes. Some of the Creator's seed fell on the earth. Rudra himself as Fire (Agni) had prepared the seed, from which mankind was to be born. From a rupture of the undifferentiated plenum of the Absolute some of the seed fell on the earth. Rudra's shot failed to prevent its fall; time, which was about to begin, came in between, in the shape of the flight of his arrow. The Creator, Prajāpati, terribly frightened, made Rudra Lord of Animals (Paśupati) for sparing his life (*Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* 4.2.12; after 1000 BCE). The gods, as they witnessed the primordial scene, made it into a *mantra*, an incantation, and out of this *mantra* they fashioned Vāstoṣpati, "lord of the residue (*vāstu*)," "lord of the site (*vāstu*)," or "lord of what is left over on the sacrificial site." However, Paśupati—"lord of animals," "lord of creatures," "lord of the soul of man"—is Rudra-Śiva's most significant name.

Fundamental pairs of antitheses inhere in the primordial Ṛgvedic myth of Rudra Paśupati and Rudra Vāstoṣpati. As Fire he incites Prajāpati toward creation; as the formidable hunter he aims at the act of creation, meaning to prevent the "incontinence" of the Creator, the shedding of the seed. Rudra acts as hunter and yogin in one. The scene has for its background the plenum of the uncreated or the Absolute that was and is before the mythical moment of the inception of the life.

In the Vedic sacrificial ritual, Vāstoṣpati receives as an oblation the remainder of the sacrifice. The power of the completed sacrifice is left in the remainder and magically ensures the continuity of the rites, of the entire tradition—and of the order and rhythms of art. Vāstoṣpati is the guardian and protector of the site, the buildings and their content, in later Hinduism.

Jan Gonda, in his article "The Śatarudriya," in the festschrift *Sanskrit and Indian Studies* (Dordrecht, 1980, p. 75), considers Rudra "the representative of the dangerous, unreliable and hence to be feared nature." Looking at Śiva from another angle, Daniel H. H. Ingalls, in "Kālidāsa and the Attitudes of the Golden Age" in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1976), sees that "Śiva represents the reconciliation of good and evil, of beauty and ugliness, of life and death—the vision solved all problems and could transmute a man's suffering into joy." Neither of these views refers to the primordial and central myth of Rudra, in which Rudra acts as consciousness of metaphysical reality or the Absolute in its relation to life on earth.

In Vedic times, the fierce hunter had the power over life and death, to afflict a mortal wound or to heal it. He was worshiped with the words "Do not hurt me" and also invoked as "lord of songs, lord of sacrifice, bringing cooling remedy, radiant like the sun, like gold" (*Ṛgveda* 1.43.4–5). He was praised as the lord of the high and the low, of robbers, of the ill-formed, but also of craftsmen working in wood, metal, and clay. Praise went to him in the flux of waves, in young grass and the desert, in soil and air, house and palace. This is how the *Śatarudriya* hymn of the *Yajurveda* (after 1000 BCE) invokes him, an omnipresent power whose shape reverberates in uncounted Rudras like him who are his retinue. Rudra's color is copper red, his throat deep blue; one of his names is the Blue-Red One. His home is everywhere, but particularly in the North, in Himalayan caves but also on crossroads, cremation grounds, and the battlefield.

The gods meant to exclude Rudra from the Vedic sacrifice. This is mythically accounted for by the primordial flight of his arrow. Rudra, though he had been made lord of animals, was not himself born yet as a god. The story of Rudra's birth has several versions. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (9.1.1.6; c. mid-first millennium BCE) tells of Prajāpati, from whom all the gods departed except Manyu (Anger). Prajāpati cried. His tears fell on Manyu, who became thousand-headed, thousand-eyed, hundred-quivered Rudra. Rudra was hungry. Prajāpati asked the gods to gather food for Rudra, who stood there flaming. The gods appeased Agni-Rudra. By the *Śatarudriya* offering and hymn they drove out his pain, his evil. The *Śatarudriya* sacrifice was the first to be performed on completion of the Vedic sacrificial altar. Rudra, as soon as he was born from Prajāpati, was given this place in the Vedic sacrifice. To this day the *Śatarudriya* hymn is recited in Śaiva temples every morning.

On being born, Rudra was invested with the cosmos by Prajāpati. His eightfold domain consisted of the five elements—earth, water, fire, air, and space—together with sun and moon, the measurers of time, and the sacrificer, or initiate. Rudra is the totality of manifestation. He did not create the cosmos. He became and is the cosmos. God and the world are one. As the cosmos is a product of Śiva's eight forms, so is the human being, the microcosm.

The *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (c. late first millennium BCE), like the *Ṛgveda*, implores Rudra not to injure man or beast. The formidable hunter is everywhere, he merges with the ogdoad and transcends it, he rules over all the worlds, makes them appear and withdraws them at the end of time. In him at the beginning and at the end the universe is gathered. The dweller in the mountain resides in the cave of the heart of man. He is immanent and transcendent, the one supreme God. Though he has a face, a hand, a foot on every side, no one can see him; he is seen only with the mind and heart. Those who know the Lord by introspection, yoga, and loving devotion (*bhakti*) are freed from the fetter (*pāśa*) of worldly existence, for he is the cause of worldly existence and of liberation. In his auspicious, unterrifying form he is the Lord, the omnipresent Śiva, hidden in all beings.

Rudra, the "wild god," is one with Śiva, the auspicious, supreme god whose splendor encompasses his primordial form. His being in manifestation is to be meditated upon as a river of five streams from five sources (*Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* 1.5). They are the five senses with their objects "an impetuous flood of five pains." If Rudra as the ogdoad is the cosmos, as the pentad he is the five senses, the sense perception and experience of the cosmos. Five is Śiva's sacred number in particular. His *mantra*, "Namaḥ Śivāya," has five syllables, and his "body" is said to be constituted of five *mantra*s (*Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* 10.43–47; c. third century BCE). They evoke the body of God in the five directions of space, in the five elements, in the five senses.

Vedic Rudra, the fierce hunter, is clad in the skins of wild animals. In the *Mahābhārata* (c. 400 BCE–400 CE), Śiva is seen by the hero Arjuna, in a vision, as an archer and an ascetic. A hymn of the *Ṛgveda* (10.136), on the other hand, celebrates Rudra drinking from one cup with an ascetic. The *Mahābhārata* sums up the relation of Śiva to yoga, saying that "Śiva is yoga and the lord of yogins; he can be approached by yoga only."

In post-Vedic times Prajāpati's role as creator was taken over by Brahmā. Rudra decapitates his father, Brahmā. Various reasons are given in the Puranas (fourth through fourteenth centuries CE); one of them, the lusting of Brahmā for his daughter, recalls the primordial scene. The head of Brahmā clings to Śiva's hand. Śiva as a penitent beggar, the skull his begging bowl, goes on a pilgrimage of expiation. After twelve years the skull falls from Śiva's hand in Banaras, and Śiva is released from his sin. His pilgrimage takes the god to a hermitage in a forest of deodar trees. The hermits believe that the young, naked beggar has come to seduce their women—and Śiva's phallus (*liṅga*) falls from his body, by his own will or by a curse of the sages; it then arises as a flaming pillar. These events are part of the play (*līlā*) of Śiva in this world to enable his devotee to recognize God in the guises he assumed. The sages apparently fail to identify the begging bowl, Brahmā's head or skull (*brahmaśiras*), in the beggar's hand. Brahmaśiras is also the name of Śiva's most formidable weapon, the Pasupata weapon.

Most of Śiva's myths are known to the *Mahābhārata*. The myth of Śiva the ascetic, paradoxically, is the theme of his marriage to Pārvatī, daughter of Parvatarāja, "Lord Mountain." In it is included the story of the destruction—and resurrection—of Kāma, the god Desire, an archer who aimed his arrow at Śiva but was reduced to ashes by a glance from Śiva's third eye. Fire and ashes belong to Śiva as much as serpents and the moon's crescent, for Śiva's nature is twofold: he is fierce as fire, yet cool and calm as the moon. He is the reluctant bridegroom, the indefatigable lover, and the ascetic. He is the savior of the world; he swallowed its poison, and it left a dark blue mark on his throat. He destroys demons or shows them his grace. He defeats death; he is the death of death, for he is time and transcends time as eternity. He is the teacher who in silence expounds to the sages music, yoga, gnosis, and all the arts and sciences. He is a dancer, Lord of Dancers, who dances the world in and out of existence. He is a male god inseparably united with his female power (*śakti*). One image shows him half male, half female. His theriomorphic form is the bull called Nandin (Joy). His main attributes are trident, skull, and antelope. His symbol is the *liṅga*, the (phallic) pillar, the most sacred object of worship—although none is known in India prior to the third to second century BCE. The *liṅga* stands erect in its double significance; full of creative power, and also of the yogic power to withhold the seed. Its symbolism is akin to the meaning of the primordial scene.

Whereas the relation of Śiva to Brahmā-Prajāpati is crucial, that of Śiva to Viṣṇu is one of coexistence or subordination but also of amalgamation and interchange. Viṣṇu sometimes carries the name of Śiva or Rudra; Viṣṇu is conjoint in one type of image with Śiva as Harihara; in one painting Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa carries Śiva's insignia, trident and serpent, whereas Śiva holds Kṛṣṇa's flute. Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism are complementary, although sectarian rivalry led to the conception of the gruesome Śarabheśa. To each of the three great Hindu gods is assigned one of the three tendencies (*guṇa*) of cosmic substance (*prakṛti*), that of Śiva being *tamas* (darkness), the disruptive tendency that precedes every new creation.

In the darkness of the flood between the dissolution of the universe and the beginning of a new world, the flaming pillar of Śiva's *liṅga* arose and was worshiped by Brahmā and Viṣṇu. This is celebrated by vigil, vows, fast, and worship on Mahāśivarātri, the Great Night of Śiva, the climax of the religious year, on the fourteenth lunar day of the dark half of the last month of the lunar year. The last night of each month is Śiva's Night (Śivarātri) and the evening of each day throughout the year is the time for his worship.

SEE ALSO Indian Religions, article on Mythic Themes; Rudra; Śaivism; Tantrism.

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ŚIVA [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS].

Classical Sanskrit images of Śiva found in Vedic texts and epic mythology influentially inform, but do not encompass, Hindus' imagination of the great god Śiva in both the past and present. Certainly the classical Sanskrit texts contribute images of the authority and majesty of the Lord, as well as his divine play (*līlā*). They provide a sacred rationale for his worship, but it is other kinds of texts in Sanskrit and in the regional languages of India that foreground the practice of his worship, especially those focusing on the accessibility of the Lord to humankind. These other texts illustrate how Śiva is imagined and embraced in ritual, devotional, philosophical, and political communities in India, and in Hindu communities abroad; how he is given a home in the practices, hearts, and minds of his devotees.

RITUAL DIMENSIONS. Granite temples across India, striking in their majestic size and antiquity, are homes of Śiva. Many of the temples were built according to the Āgamas, philosophical and ritual manuals from medieval times written in Sanskrit. *Śaiva* temples were constructed according to a philosophy of emission (*sṛṣṭi*) and reabsorption (*samhāra*). The main enclosed sanctum in the temple, where only priests can normally enter, contains the most subtle image of Śiva, the *liṅga.* It is considered to be the most subtle because it does not have any distinguishing marks; as such, it is the source of the emission of Śiva's divine substance. As his divine emission radiates outward, it undergoes a process of densification. Thus, the images of Śiva around the outside of the temple walls and visible to all are personified, with distinctive iconographies related to the Sanskritic mythologies; for example, popular images on temple walls are those of Ardhanārīśvara (the Lord who is half woman), Dakṣīṇāmurti (the Teacher), and Naṭarāja (the Lord of the dance).

The philosophy of emission and reabsorption also applies to the rituals performed in the temple. According to the Āgamas, worshippers are classified into two main groups: those who seek liberation (*mokṣa*), such as priests and renouncers, and those who seek worldly enjoyments (*bhoga*), such as householders. The focus of the former is on reabsorption; the latter, emission. Priests undertake elaborate rituals to spiritualize their bodies by placing *mantras* on their body parts; thus they become subtle like Śiva and are fit to perform his worship. Laypeople, who stand outside the sanctum, make offerings of material gifts (*pūjā*) and mental and devotional prayers to Śiva.

One of the most important ritual festivals held at the temple is Mahāśivarātri, the Great Night of Śiva, which occurs on the fourteenth lunar day (*tithi*) of the dark half of the lunar month of January/February or February/March, according to classical texts. The fourteenth *tithi* of the dark half of the lunar month is the last day of the moon's waning cycle, or the new moon, just prior to the commencement of its waxing period, which culminates in the full moon. Thus, there is actually a Śivarātri every lunar month; however, Mahāśivarātri is especially important because it is said to be favored by Śiva himself, because it comes at the end of the lunar calendar, and because of its status as a major *vrat* (vow) in the Hindu calendar. Devotees fast all day, then go to the temple at night to view the ritual bathing of the Śiva *liṅga* and to hear religious discourses and engage in singing devotional songs; the most devout stay awake all night in contemplative devotion to the Lord.

DEVOTIONAL DIMENSIONS. The heart is the most important home of Śiva in the devotional traditions of Śiva-*bhakti*. To a great extent, *bhakti* traditions are a response to the formality of temple worship: They validate laypeople's direct participation in the worship of the Lord by insisting that a committed, loving attitude towards God is all that is needed to maintain a good relationship with God. *Bhakti*'s thesis provided a justification for laypeople to worship images of God themselves, without priestly mediation. For example, villagers who are not in the priestly caste can conduct their own *pūjā*s at village shrines. Families in villages and cities can worship at home in special *pūjā* rooms, where one can offer traditional prayers and *mantras* or else just offer one's own prayers to God. In contrast to temple worship, where by tradition the priests are all male, at home the worship is most often offered by the mother of the household. *Bhakti* also provided a way for laypeople to characterize their role in temple worship as essential, direct, and meaningful.

Medieval *bhakti* poetry exists in all the major regional languages of India. Some of the most famous poetry that is dedicated to Śiva was written by the three male leaders (*nāyaṉmār*) of Tamil Śiva-*bhakti*—Campantar, Appar, and Cuntarar (seventh to ninth centuries CE); a female poet from Karnataka, Mahādēviyakka, who wrote in Kannada (twelfth century CE); and a female poet from Kashmir, Lallā Dēd (also known as Lal Ded, Lalli, and Lalleshwari; c. 1320–1391 CE), who wrote in Kashmiri. Their *bhakti* poetry was not simply a humanizing of God; that had already been done in mythology and iconography. It was the human response to God in all vicissitudes, from awe to love, that the *bhakti* poets foregrounded. *Bhakti* validated the relationship possible through embodiment.

Consider this stanza from Appar, as translated by Indira V. Peterson:

> If you could see the arch of his brow, the budding smile
> on lips red as the *kovvai* fruit, cool matted hair, the
> milk-white ash on coral skin, and the sweet golden foot
> raised up in dance, then even human birth on this wide
> earth would become a thing worth having.

In Appar's vision, God is alive; his lips are red, emerging into a smile, and the colors of his body are vivid. His dance has cosmic significance, as per the classical mythology, but it is also personally meaningful. The poet addresses his fellow humans with "if you could see," and he assures them that their unmediated vision of the living Lord is worth the price of birth in this world. Drawing on the powerful mythological image of the cosmic dance of the Lord, the poet foregrounds the live encounter with the Lord.

Even though Mahādēviyakka and Lallā Dēd lived centuries apart in very different regions of the subcontinent and are claimed by distinctive traditions (the former by Vīraśaivism, the latter by Kashmir Śaivism), a pattern emerges in what is understood to be their life stories. With some support from their poetry, the hagiographies of Mahādēviyakka and Lallā Dēd present the saints as having been married, but problematically so, since they were both determined to follow a spiritual, and not a worldly, path. Both of them eventually extricated themselves from this overdetermined social path, and each set out on her own, eschewing even clothing. The way they imagined their spiritual path, as revealed in their poetry, is distinctive. Mahādēviyakka was completely in love with "the lord white as jasmine" (a form of Śiva), and imagined herself married to him. Lallā Dēd tended to refer to Śiva in more abstract terms, such as "Supreme Principle" and "Consciousness," and expressed her desire to experience unity with him through identification with his divine essence.

PHILOSOPHICAL DIMENSIONS. The mind is also a home of Śiva. In many Indian languages, there are no separate terms for *mind* and *heart*; they are inextricably tied together in the same word. Both *bhakti* and philosophy involve emotional commitment to, and intellectual engagement with, God. However, the earliest Hindu philosophical texts, the Upaniṣads, and then medieval and later philosophies that drew on them, tended to frame the path of spiritual liberation in epistemological terms, emphasizing knowledge and experiences of the mind. On the occasions when these texts do suggest that the true self resides in the heart, they convey the notion that true knowledge is not necessarily rational according to common understanding, for a critique of ordinary dualistic knowledge is in the fore of these influential philosophical sources.

Philosophies of Śiva are embedded in both mythology and iconography. The classical story of Śiva's game of dice, which pervades Sanskrit-language mythology, regional-language epics, and major sculptural traditions (such as the caves at Ellorā and Elephanta), provides an intriguing image of Śiva's power of creation. As Śiva plays, his nature as a subtle yet dense unity increasingly devolves into fragments of externalized form, pushed into shape by gaps created by the uncertainty of the game; these fragments become elements of the known world, including humankind. This basic pattern informs the dynamics of the temple, as discussed earlier, but the story highlights the role of chance, and it dwells on the plurality of possible outcomes and then paths to restore Śiva's wholeness, so the dicing can begin again.

Gender is a key symbol of the process, as Śiva devolves from self-containment to the androgyne (Ardhanārīśvara, the Lord who is half woman), to an independent, iconic Śiva and his wife Pārvatī. The androgyne thus stands as a mediating term, important because it instantiates gender while simultaneously offering a critique of it. Through spiritual practices such as *haṭhayoga*, one can access the critique to transcend the duality of gender and of consciousness.

These philosophical ideas were codified in one of the most important medieval schools of Śaiva philosophy, Kashmir Śaivism. The major classical exponent of this school, which claimed Lallā Dēd, was the philosopher Abhinavagupta (c. 975–1025 CE). Emphasizing nondualism (*advaita*), this school maintains that the ultimate (*paramārtha*) and ordinary (*vyavahāra*) levels of reality are both real and true simultaneously. Śiva is the oneness of reality that appears as the manifest universe through his power of *śakti*, and he is thus the origin of all apparent distinctions. The yogi participates in true Śiva-nature by the experience of the relationships among God's unified essence and multiple forms. Through the vibration (*spanda*) of awareness, the yogi is attuned to three simultaneous levels of consciousness: division (separation among objects), unity-in-division (the link between the unity of the subject and diversity of the objects), and undivided unity (of all things in the divine subject).

The other important classical Śaiva school of philosophy is the medieval Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta school (originated twelfth to fourteenth centuries CE), which sought to locate itself as the culmination of Tamil Śiva-*bhakti* by characterizing the poets' hymns as emotional and spontaneous, a preliminary stage leading towards the knowledge revealed in its own philosophical canon. This school views the world as composed of three irreducible realities, Lord (*pati*), soul (Tamil, *uyir*; Skt., *paśu*), and bond (Tamil, *iruḷmala*; Skt., *pāśa*). The soul is located between Lord (Śiva) and bond. Through knowledge and devotional action, the soul loosens the grip of the aspects of the bond that are *karma* and *māyā*; then, through the Lord's grace, the soul achieves the attainment of the Lord and experiences bliss and pure knowledge in a relationship where "the two are as one."

POLITICAL DIMENSIONS. Through ideology and practice, Śaivas construct a home for Śiva as a ruler. In its extended sense, politics is the attempt to gain authoritative power, and the staking of one's claim involves defining oneself in opposition to others. This dynamic is found in Tamil Śiva-*bhakti* and Kannada Vīraśaiva hymns, many of which contain explicit invectives against Buddhists and Jains, and implicit claims to superiority among the many streams of Hinduism, especially Vaiṣṇavism. The sectarian impulse also informs the medieval philosophical schools, the texts of which include detailed discussion of and argumentation with perspectives of other schools, towards demonstrating the preeminence of their own teachings.

In terms of practices, in addition to family-oriented worship services, Śaivism has a side in which a masculine, militant identity is promoted. Robert Gardner and Ákos Östör's film, *Sons of Shiva* (1985), captures a celebration of the Śaiva folk festival Gajan by village male householders, who join together for three days to perform rituals of penance to the Lord. The Naga Sadhus, nude male ascetics who organize themselves into regiments (*akhara*s) as in an army and carry the weapon-like trident, embody this form of Śaivism, as do other secretive male sects, including the Nath Babas (Gorakhnathis) and the Aghoris.

Since the late 1960s, this masculine, militant side of Śaivism has been used to define a political party that has sought and intermittently achieved governmental authority, the Shiv Sena, whose name translates to "army of Śiva." This party, which is based in Mumbai (Bombay), was founded by Bal Thackeray and promotes an extreme Hindu nationalist (Hindutva) agenda, which links it to the Bharatiya Janata Party and Rashtriya Swayamseval Sangh. A potent symbol for the party is the historical figure of Shivaji (1627–1680), a Maratha king who is understood in many contrasting ways; the Shiv Sena understands him to have been an incarnation of Śiva and a warrior defender of Hindus against Muslims. The party has been definitively identified as an instigator of the violence that rocked Mumbai in 1992 and 1993.

ŚAIVISM ABROAD. Śiva is at home in many Western countries, including the United States. As Vasudha Narayanan once wittily remarked, Śiva and other major Hindu gods and goddesses received visas to come to the United States from India, whereas many of the more local deities did not. The pan-Indian gods have been favored in terms of the public Hindu temple culture that has been emerging in the United States since the late 1970s, for that realm, especially in the immigrant context, demands negotiation and consensus. In contrast, home shrines (*pūjā* rooms), which are a central part of Hindu practice and exist in Hindu homes across the United States, have considerably more flexibility according to personal tastes and resources.

In the United States, Śiva usually shares a temple with Viṣṇu, with both being central deities therein; this is not common in India, where temples were and are constructed along sectarian lines. Lacking a dominant Hindu context, the temples in the United States have had to be more inclusive to attract the kind of attendance and material resources required for their construction and maintenance. Daily and major festivals are held at the temples, with Mahāśivarātri being a popular annual festival.

Two temples in Hawai'i are especially devoted to Śiva, and their central images are viewed as manifestations of the god: the Iraivan/Kadavul temple at Kauai, Hawai'i, and the Viswanatha temple at Wahiawa (Oahu). Śiva is said to have appeared to the founder of the Kauai temple, Swami Sivaya Subramuniyaswami, who was born in the United States and initiated in Sri Lanka, and in 1987 a crystal Śiva-*liṅga* was found in Arkansas and brought to the Kauai temple. The Wahiawa temple has a "Sacred Healing Stone" as its Śiva-*liṅga*, a manifestation of Śiva that is also understood with respect to local mythologies such that it is also said to be an embodiment of the Hawaiian god Lono, as well as an embodiment of two sisters from Kauai who were turned into rocks. The adaptability of Śaivism is demonstrated in the historical and ongoing relationship between tradition and creativity.

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KAREN PECHILIS (2005)

SKANDHAS See SOUL, *ARTICLE ON* BUDDHIST CONCEPTS

SKEPTICS AND SKEPTICISM.

The term *skeptic* comes from the Greek words *skeptikos* ("an inquirer, one who reflects") and *skeptesthai* ("to view, to consider"). Philosophical skepticism arose from some of the observations made by early Greek philosophers. Heraclitus said that the world is in such flux that "one cannot step twice in the same river." The only truth, he asserted, was that everything changes. Cratylus went further and said that, since everything changes, people change, and their language changes, so that knowledge and communication are not really possible. The Sophists Protagoras and Gorgias asserted additional skeptical views. Protagoras argued that humanity is the measure of all things; by implication, each person measures the world individually, so there are no general human truths. Gorgias is said to have argued that nothing exists, but even if it did one could not know it, and even if one did know it one could not communicate it. The culmination of these early skeptical comments was Socrates' remark, at his trial, that all he knew was that he knew nothing.

Systematic accounts of human inability to gain accurate knowledge about the world were first rendered by Arcesilas (c. 315–241 BCE) and Carneades (213–129 BCE). They developed arguments, directed primarily against Stoic and Epicurean opponents, to undermine any claims of knowledge and to establish that nothing can be known. This view, termed "Academic skepticism," presented a series of arguments against the truth of purported sense and rational knowledge, and against any standard that could be employed to distinguish between truth and falsity. Cicero presented this view in his *De Academica* and *De natura deoreum.*

A more skeptical group claimed that the Academic skeptics were really negative dogmatists, as they indeed asserted that nothing can be known and that "all assertions are merely probable." Following the legendary Pyrrho of Elis (360–275 BCE), who would not make any judgment, a movement called Pyrrhonism developed about 100 BCE. Its theoretician, Aenesidemus (100–40 BCE), and his successors set forth a series of "tropes," or ways of suspending judgment on all questions, scientific, mathematical, metaphysical, theological, and ethical. The Pyrrhonian materials were gathered together by Sextus Empiricus in his *Outlines of Pyrrhonism* and *Against the Dogmatists* (c. 200 CE) and were to play a most important role in the rise of modern skepticism.

Both the Academic and Pyrrhonian skeptics offered their doubts as ways of finding peace of mind and of conforming with popular religion. Their opponents claimed to know what the world was like, and to base their way of life on such knowledge. However, if these opponents were to find they were mistaken in their knowledge they would become mentally disturbed and uncertain as to how to live. The skeptics, however, by suspending judgment, would attain peace of mind. They would live undogmatically, doing what was natural and/or conventional. They would behave normally and accept the laws of their society and its customs, including religious ones. Others might scoff at popular religion because it did not conform to their "knowledge" of the world. The Academics and Pyrrhonians suspended judgment on such questions as "Do the gods exist?" and simply followed the religious customs of their communities undogmatically, without committing themselves to any theological claims. The skeptics thus could say that they were no threat to accepted religion.

The Greek skeptics, from Arcesilaus to Sextus, had apparently little effect on Judaism or Christianity (although Pyrrhonism flourished principally in Alexandria, Athens, and Rome). In Jewish postbiblical writing, the word for "skeptic" is *aipikuros.* Obviously derived from the name *Epicurus,* the term denotes both a general doubter and one who doubts crucial features of Judaism. Criticisms of *aipikurosim* indicate some awareness of skepticism in the Jewish community.

Church fathers occasionally comment on skeptical views, although only Augustine appears to have taken them very seriously. He had read Cicero's account. When he became a Christian, he wrote various dialogues about the status of religious knowledge; one of them, *Contra Academicos,* showed how faith and grace aided in overcoming problems of skepticism.

During the Middle Ages ancient skeptical views were little known or discussed, except through Augustine's rebuttal. Some Muslim and Jewish philosophers, however, pointed to basic skeptical problems in the acceptance of revealed religion. Ibn Rushd (Averroës) had shown that Aristotle's philosophy conflicted with certain revealed claims, such as the statement that the world was created and the individual soul is immortal. Maimonides argued that some religious claims could be proved and also disproved by reason and therefore had to be accepted on faith. The Muslim mystic al-Ghazālī sought to show that science and reason could not lead to satisfactory knowledge about the world and that God's omnipotence prevents people from being able to know God or God's handiwork. The skeptical implications of these Jewish and Muslim views appeared in discussions in the late Middle Ages, especially among the Latin Averroists and in the writings of Nicholas of Cusa.

In the sixteenth century a new period in skepticism began, partly as a result of the humanist revival of the classics (including the rediscovery of Cicero's accounts of Academic skepticism and the writings of Sextus Empiricus), partly as a result of new data about the geographical, human, and astronomical world that contradicted previously accepted theories, and partly because skeptical arguments were employed in theological conflicts between Roman Catholics and reformers. Erasmus, disputing Luther, appealed to ancient skeptical arguments to deny that one could tell if people had free will. Erasmus suspended judgment on theological issues while accepting on faith the views of his church. Montaigne, after reading Sextus Empiricus, modernized the ancient skeptical arguments into a thorough attack on the science and theology of his time. He showed how attempts to know the world led to contradictions and absurdities. He also introduced a fideistic note, that humans should turn to God and accept on faith whatever knowledge God gives humans. In view of all the doubts about religious claims to knowledge (of such subjects as the nature of God, God's relationship to humanity, and humanity's spiritual nature and religious destiny), one should accept the faith into which one is born. Changing faiths would require knowledge of the merits of various faiths, whether they are true, or truer than one's own.

Whether or not Montaigne was sincere in his fideism, his position was adopted by various Counter-Reformers in France who sought to show that the Calvinists made indefensible claims about the source of religious knowledge and the nature of such knowledge. These Catholics sought to reduce the Calvinists to complete skeptics. The Calvinists, in turn, tried in a similar way to reduce the Catholics, by arguing that it was uncertain who the pope was, what he and church councils had said, and so on.

Montaigne's presentation of the new Pyrrhonism brought about a general skeptical crisis among many intellectuals in the seventeenth century. Descartes's philosophy was designed to overcome all doubts by pushing skepticism even further than Sextus or Montaigne. By finding one fundamental truth ("I think, therefore I am"), one could then establish a general criterion of truth and discover truth in mathematics, physics, and theology. Others, faced with the same skeptical crisis, sought a solution in the interpretation of biblical prophecies (Joseph Mede and Henry More), in a desperate appeal to faith (Pascal), or in moderating one's quest for knowledge to a kind of probabilism (Gassendi, Chillingworth, and the English latitudinarian theologians).

Many sought to undermine Descartes's optimistic answer to skepticism, and to cast doubts on any metaphysical foundation to modern science and any rational basis to theology. This attempt was coupled with skeptical criticism of scripture as a collection of books containing special indubitable knowledge—criticism launched by La Peyrère in his *Men before Adam* and by Spinoza in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus.* The French Protestant philosopher, historian, and theologian Pierre Bayle joined these skeptical strands together in his massive *Historical and Critical Dictionary* (1697–1702), casting doubts on the new philosophies of the seventeenth century, from Descartes to Locke and Leibniz, as well as on older philosophies. Bayle's only advice to his readers was to abandon reason for faith. Voltaire and Hume developed the more irreligious implications of Bayle's attacks. Voltaire called Bayle's work "the arsenal of the Enlightenment," and used it to undermine any confidence in the Judeo-Christian tradition. Hume used Bayle's skepticism to show that one has no rational basis for one's beliefs in any area whatsoever. One's beliefs in science or religion are based on natural factors, on animal faith. Kant developed Hume's skeptical criticism of arguments about the nature of God, contending that knowledge of the nature and existence of God is beyond the capabilities of pure reason and that all theological arguments about the existence and nature of God are faulty.

Hume's naturalistic skepticism and the limitations placed on human reason by Kant's analysis would seem to have led modern thought into an unconquerable skepticism. Many more recent philosophies have suggested ways of avoiding, overcoming, or living with skepticism: ways that others, in turn, have shown to be impracticable. Hume and Kant ended a tradition of seeking rational knowledge about the existence and nature of God. This skepticism about theological knowledge produced a vital form of fideism. J. G. Hamann, a religious friend of Kant's, argued that Hume was actually the greatest voice of orthodoxy. By eliminating any appeal to reason or evidence in religion, he showed it rested on faith. Hume had said skepticism is the first step toward becoming a true and believing Christian. It is doubtful, however, that Hume was any kind of Christian but, rather, was a deist or an agnostic. Hamann, however, used Hume's writings to urge Kant to turn to faith. Kierkegaard found the basis of his fideism in Hamann's interpretation of Hume and developed the total skepticism that he regarded as inherent to religious belief.

Modern skepticism from Montaigne onward eroded confidence in traditional metaphysical and theological systems, a process that is reflected in the accommodation of its tenets in pragmatism, positivism, and existentialism. This process also led to radical expressions of fideism as the basis for religious belief, such as those of Pascal and Kierkegaard, and to various forms of Neo-orthodoxy in the twentieth century.

SEE ALSO Doubt and Belief; Existentialism; Neoorthodoxy; Positivism.

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RICHARD H. POPKIN (1987)
Revised Bibliography

SKOBTSOVA, MARIA. Mother Maria Skobtsova (1891–1945) became a very unusual sort of Russian Orthodox nun in 1932. She did not join a monastic community or withdraw from her secular milieu, the Russian émigré community of France. Instead, she defined her way as "monasticism in the world."

For a nun, this lifestyle had little precedent in modern Orthodoxy and Mother Maria did not intend to set a new trend for others to follow. She needed and demonstrated a great deal of dedication, responding pragmatically to people's suffering rather than simply accepting a convent rule. As she put it, she saw "the true image of God in the human being [. . .] the very icon of God incarnate in this world" in each of the individuals she helped.

Mother Maria often criticized traditional Russian convents as inward-looking and defensive. This criticism provided the basis for her mystery play, *Anna*, composed in the late 1930s.

Mother Maria believed that monasticism should be reconsidered as a part of the revival of the Russian Church abroad, newly liberated from its former state-imposed constraints. She wrote, "we have no enormous cathedrals, no encrusted gospels or monastery walls." Rather, her Church had been granted "awe-inspiring freedom,'" which could compensate for every kind of earthly deprivation.

She addressed this topic in vivid lectures, many of which were published. One 1937 discourse, not published until sixty years later, provoked much comment, both among Russian émigrés as well as among residents of the former Soviet Union.

Mother Maria's disdain for tradition appears all the more curious, however, considering that her childhood friend K. P. Pobedonostev (1827–1907) promoted conservative values in his role as the Over-Procurator of the Church's synod. Mother's Maria's relationship with Pobedonostev resulted from her family's elevated social position. But her social standing did not cause her to value her lifestyle and privileges of which the Russian revolution, as well as her impending exile, would eventually deprive her. Early in 1917, even before the state required it, she had donated a significant proportion of her lands to meet her former tenants' needs. This action supported her membership in the Socialist Revolutionary Party, which she had joined that year. In 1918 she was elected mayor of Anapa, a tribute to her respect in the community. Although the Russian civil war of 1919 ended this appointment, her moderate socialism and her Christian concern for the needy survived. Both those attitudes comprised "Orthodox Action," the movement that she founded and led in 1936 and that later sustained her work in France.

Mother Maria was always concerned with individuals. She feared the most efficient organizations might lose that emphasis: "I would say that we should not give away a single hunk of bread unless the recipient means something as a person for us." Although she was consistently compassionate, she eschewed sentimentality.

Throughout the 1930s, Mother Maria housed and supported people who were "restless, orphaned, poor, drunk, despairing, useless, lost whichever way they went, homeless, naked, [and] lacking bread." She founded a series of homes to provide food and shelter. Perhaps her principal achievement, however, was to counteract despair. As she noted, such endeavors required her to experience what the other feels, "to become all things to all people," to work long hours, and to maintain a rich reserve of good cheer.

In this way, Mother Maria became "a mother for all, for all who need maternal care, assistance or protection." She had expressed this intention after the youngest of her three children died in infancy in 1926.

She was married twice, in 1910 and in 1919. During her first marriage, Mother Maria aspired to a literary career. Her poetry became popular in the literary world of St Petersburg, and her poems that were published in 1912 and 1916 are again in print. She continued to write poetry during the Russian emigration. From 1916 on, her concerns were largely religious, yet after she became a nun, she did not want her poems to be published. The death of her elder daughter in 1936, however, prompted the publication of her later verse, much of which contains revealing statements of devotion that are convincingly her own. She continued writing in this vein, on stray scraps of paper, for years afterwards.

In addition to writing poetry, she also created art using canvas and wood, furnishing the chapels she founded with her unconventional embroideries and icons. The German occupation of France (1940) exacerbated past social problems and imposed unprecedented limitations on the Jewish population. Mother Maria and her colleagues sheltered Jews at her homes and safeguarded many of them by listing them as members of her parish. She also arranged to transport them to safer destinations.

The Nazis arrested Mother Maria and her colleagues in February 1943. But her confinement to the Ravensbrück concentration camp enabled her to minister to companions in distress. Her work was unalloyed by any fear of death. On Good Friday, 1945, although she was not chosen for extermination, she volunteered to take a fellow prisoner's place and was executed.

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SERGEI HACKEL (2005)

SKY

This entry consists of the following articles:

THE HEAVENS AS HIEROPHANY
MYTHS AND SYMBOLISM

SKY: THE HEAVENS AS HIEROPHANY

The concept of a close relationship between the starry heavens and human beings is ancient, multifaceted, and widespread. The changing colors of the sky, the alternation between night and day, different weather patterns and seasons, eclipses, the appearance and disappearance of the sun, moon, and stars, all contribute to the interest, awe, and attraction humans feel for the sky and sky-related phenomena. Throughout human history, this fascination with the celestial world has given rise to a great many myths, rituals, and monuments. For heuristic purposes this association between the cosmic and the human may be divided into two categories: technomorphic representations and anthropomorphic representations. Anthropomorphic representations may be further divided into two classifications: heavenly divinities, often considered to be personifications of the sky and/or the heavenly bodies, and human beings of celestial essence or those who have been transferred to the heavens.

TECHNOMORPHIC REPRESENTATIONS. Since very ancient times, people have tended to construct cosmologies based on an analogy between the structure of the heavens and human activies. Such cosmologies are sometimes called technomorphic representations (from the Greek *technē,* "craft"). The sky was often imagined as a solid object (vault, bucket, etc.) made of iron, stone, wood, or other material. The stars might be simply holes or windows in the solid sky, or they might be torches, flames, lights, nails, flowers, plants, or animals. Naive ideas were not infrequent, such as the notion that stars are shards of the old sun and moon broken off by the spirits and continually polished by them.

The shapes formed by an arbitrarily selected number of stars give rise to the constellations. The free play of imagination made one great cluster of stars into the Milky Way and another group into an animal (the Great Bear) or a wagon: the first wagon made by a human, the wagon of Óðinn (Odin), Icarus, Jason, Philomelus, Abraham, David, Elijah, Peter, Mary, or Jesus, a wagon whose wheels creak at midnight and whose tremblings produce snow.

In these naive cosmologies, the North Star often plays an important role, being one extremity of the *axis mundi* on which the heavenly vault turns. Thus Estonians call the

North Star, "nail of the firmament" (*põhja nael*), around which the heavenly dome turns. The Saami (Lapps) have similar representations. They also believe that if the nail is not in place, the sky would fall to earth; this will happen at the end of the world when everything will be consumed by fire. The Finns say that the sky is the lid of the earth. In contrast, the Buriats see it as a big turning bucket. The Yakuts thought it was made of several animal skins spread over one another. The Buriats added to this that the Milky Way was the place where the skins were sewn together. A great number of representations relating to the "cosmic mantle" and to the "heavenly tent" have been analyzed by Robert Eisler in his *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* (1910). Influenced by the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule, Eisler looked for Oriental prototypes for all Mediterranean astral beliefs. At the same time, he related sacred kingship to the idea of a cosmic ruler whose attribute was usually a starry mantle, and showed that this tradition was carried over by Christianity down to the present times.

The idea that the stars are the signs of a mysterious heavenly writing is related to the shapes of the constellations. The "heavenly book," or the celestial vault in its entirety, may be a register kept by a specific deity (e.g., the Babylonian god Nabu). This register contained the past, present, and future of the entire universe. In all probability, this concept forms the background of astrology.

The sun and the moon, the largest heavenly bodies, are also the object of technomorphic representations. In Manichaeism, for instance, they are simply two boats navigating in the sky, whose role is to aid in the transfer of the light kept prisoner into the material world.

ANTHROPOMORPHIC REPRESENTATIONS. Personifications of objects and natural phenomena have allowed people in all times and cultures to explain and understand the world around them. In this context, the personification of the heavens has been an essential element of human concepts as projected in myths, legends, and theologies. The personification of the heavens is expressed essentially as divinities or as purified people who have been translated there.

Heavenly deities. In many cultures the sky, the sun, the moon, and the known planets were conceived as personal gods. These gods were responsible for all or some aspects of existence. Prayers were addressed to them, offerings were made to them, and their opinions on important matters were sought through divination.

It is known that many world mythologies—including some of those considered the most ancient from a historico-cultural viewpoint—make a distinction between a primordial divinity of the sky (such as the Greek Ouranos) and an active divinity (such as Zeus), head of a pantheon of gods. The sky divinity usually tends to become remote and otiose. E. O. James has shown that a sky god was known among various groups of both Indo-European and Semitic people. This sky god ranged from a tribal supreme being, often remote and ineffectual, to an active creator and ruler of the universe.

Among the astral gods, the sun god is one of the most important. He was very prominent in the Nile Valley as Re-Atum but less prominent both in Mesopotamia (where Shamash had a subordinate position) and among the Indo-Europeans. The sun divinity may also be female.

A moon goddess (or god, usually in those cultures where the sun god is female) is also very important in several cultures. In Mediterranean religions, the moon goddess could be featured as a Great Mother responsible for fertility. The Iranian Anāhitā had a moon crescent as her attribute. Artemis of Ephesos was a lunar divinity. Later on, the Greek Artemis and the Roman Diana were definitely identified with the moon.

On the other hand, Anāhitā's own name was related to the name of the planet Venus. In Pahlavi, *Anāhid* is Venus's name. Other Venus goddesses are the Babylonian Ishtar, the Phoenician Astarte, Aramean ʿAttar-ʿatteh, and the Arabian ʿAttar or Astar. Venus as morning and evening star often may be represented as a male god.

In late Babylonian religion, the planetary gods had precise identities. They were divided into two groups: the beneficent (Marduk, Ishtar-Sarpanïtu, and Nabu) and the maleficent (Ninib and Nergal). Marduk was Jupiter and together with Venus/Ishtar, the principle of creation, he gave life to Mercury/Nabu, the representative of the happy destiny of humanity. Mars/Nergal, the war god, and Saturn/Nergal, the death god, were destructive powers. Among the Babylonians, the moon god—Enzu of Lagash, Sin of Akkad, or Nanna of Ur—was more important than the solar god, Shamash, Babbar, or Nigirsu.

The relationship between humanity and the stars. Catasterism, the transfer of human beings to heaven, usually in the shape of a constellation, is related to the very ancient beliefs that dead children become stars, that a falling star foretells the death of a relative, and that even the human soul is a star. Less naively expressed, the last statement is attributed to Heraclitus by the fourth-century Neoplatonist Macrobius: "Anima scintilla stellaris essentiae."

As early as the fifth century BCE, the playwright Aristophanes mocked catasterism in his comedy *Freedom.* Alcmaeon of Croton, a physician, thought that the soul was immortal like the endless movement of the divine stars. The playwright Euripides reported that Helen of Troy was translated to the "palace of Zeus" beyond the starry sky. Even according to the "materialists," Leucippus and Democritus, the fiery soul was cognate with the sun and the moon.

Catasterism was also attested to in Egypt in the third century BCE. According to the Pyramid Texts, the king follows Orion and Sirius to the sky. During his heavenly ascent, Sothis/Sirius is his sister. According to Wilhelm Gundel, the idea that humans continue to live after death in the stars (and were stars in heaven even before their birth) is Egyptian in origin. Walter Burkert also emphasizes the differences between Babylonian and Egyptian astral religion: Whereas the divinity of the astral bodies is particularly important in Babylonia, the Egyptians stress the idea of a correspondence between humans and the stars. The belief in an astral immortality, already featured by Plato as a possibility of posthumous reward, became commonplace among his disciples Xenocrates, Crantor, and Heracleides Ponticus. Later, mythology and science converged toward impressive representations such as those of the eschatological myths of Plutarch (c. 46–c. 119 CE). These representations cannot be ascribed to an uninterrupted Pythagorean tradition, as the French scholar A. Delatte and his school suggest. The most prominent representative of this school was L. Rougier, who defended the Pythagorean thesis against Franz Cumont, defender of the Oriental thesis of the German Religionsgeschichtliche Schule. During the Hellenistic period and late antiquity, the underground hell of the platonic myths was transferred to a place in heaven.

In no religious tradition except gnosticism did all the astral gods become evil demons. A strong polemic against astrology is implicit in gnostic mythology. Astrology, based on an ancient Babylonian and Egyptian inheritance, took shape in the third century BCE. In astrology, a particular relationship between human destiny and the heavenly bodies is expressed. This relationship takes on complicated forms, which can often be retraced to basic representations such as the "heavenly book" and the heavenly figures, or constellations. Astrology also put into mathematical language some methods of divination, which probably were based on the idea of the influence of the planets upon human individual and collective history.

SEE ALSO Astrology; Cosmology; Moon; Stars; Sun; Supreme Beings.

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SKY: MYTHS AND SYMBOLISM

> But when the stars of Orion and Seirios have climbed up into midheaven and rosy-fingered Dawn is facing Arkturos, then, Perses, pluck and bring home all your clusters of grapes. Set them to dry in the heat of the sun for ten days and nights, and in the shade for five days, and then on the sixth day draw off the blessings of glad Dionysus into your jars. (Hesiod, *Works and Days* 609–617)
>
> Moctezuma, having observed the comet since midnight, went the next day to Netzahualpilli to seek its meaning. Replied the king of Texcoco, "Your vassals, the astrologers, soothsayers and diviners have been careless! That sign in the heavens has been there for some time and yet you describe it to me now as if it were a new thing. I thought you had already discovered it and that your astrologers had explained it to you. Since you now tell me you have seen it I will answer you that that brilliant star appeared in the heavens many days ago. (Durán, 1964, pp. 247–248)

Diverse as they are both in interpretation and cultural origin, these epigraphs capture the essence of why ancient people turned to the sky for direction and meaning. Their queries were immediate: "When shall I plant?" "When shall I hunt?" And they were deeper: "Will the child I am about to bear be born healthy?" "Will the gods repay my offering to them by sending gentle rain and a good crop?" But why look upward and outward to commune with the transcendent? Of all the numinous forces in nature's domain that can serve as paragons of order in the world—cycles of plants, animals, the running of the stream, the first rain, the last frost—only what happens in heaven offers the precise predictive power that enables people to cast their eyes around the corner of time into the future.

Sunrise, sunset, the phases of the moon, the annual appearance and disappearance of the constellations—all occur with undeviating regularity. Harness the power of the sky and one opens the doorway of time to come.

When Greek poet Hesiod spoke the *Works and Days* (the first quotation), he was using the sky as a rational guide for how to run a farm. If one desires the optimum vintage, pick the grapes only when the brightest star in the constellation of Böotes, the Ploughman, makes its first annual predawn appearance. People have been aware of the clockwork sky since Paleolithic times. Alongside cave drawings of antelope and bison, one finds tally marks indicating the direction of the light of the moon and the course of the sun. Such practical concerns involved in the making of calendars constitute the earliest forms of exact science.

The second quotation offers a somewhat less rational perspective on the sky. The early seventeenth-century chronicler Torquemada's account of the celestial omens cast by Netzahualpilli, king of Texcoco, a rival state of the Aztecs, pertains to the appearance of a comet in the skies over ancient Mexico in the early fifteenth century. He tells of King Moctezuma's retort, in which the ruler boasts of his prior knowledge of the same phenomenon. Torquemada goes on to give details of the frightful omens concerning disasters that indeed later befell the unfortunate monarch. If it seems odd to find the occult art of astrology attached to scientific comet watching, one should keep in mind that until well after the Western European Renaissance the principal reason for charting the heavens was to interpret messages sent by celestial spirits. As the Babylonian cuneiform tablets in the Old World and the Maya codices in the New World demonstrate, mathematical predictions about the positions of celestial bodies have long been strongly wedded to religious concerns.

"As above, so below." The logic of the credo of astrology, a form of divination, developed quite naturally out of the realization that the movement and position of the sun could be closely correlated with seasonal cycles of life and that the moon governed both the tides and the menstrual cycle. Might not other celestial forces influence tides in the affairs of men and women? Sky objects became deified. They were worshipped, revered, even compensated for the good that they brought, and they were offered sacrifice as a means of averting misfortune. We may not think of Hesiod's poetry as science, nor of Moctezuma's astrological ruminations as religion, but both pursuits are foundational in worldviews undivided by Enlightenment thinking. In the symbolic sphere of sky-meaning dealt with in this entry one confronts the unfragmented world of an alien *other* open to dialog with tangible cosmic forces that constitute a living, breathing reality.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE UPPER WORLD. Early records from the Middle East offer a common if not universal concept of the arrangement of things in the firmament (literally a "thin plate"). Consider these Old and New Testament cosmological speculations: "He set a circle upon the face of the deep" (*Prv.* 8:27); "He sitteth upon the circle of the earth" (*Is.* 40:22). Both suggest a god in heaven who looks down upon the edge (horizon) of a flat disk. But the earth rests on pillars: "For the pillars of the earth are the Lord's and He hath set the world upon them" (1 *Sm.* 2–8). Above the disk lies the water than makes rainfall and below the water that wells up from artesian springs: "God spread forth the earth above the waters" (*Ps.* 36:6); "Above the earth is the solid firmament supporting the upper waters" (*Gn.* 1:6–7).

Elsewhere, *Exodus* 20:4 speaks of a tripartite universe: the heavens, the earth, and the watery abyss beneath the earth; or, as in *Psalms* 115:16, the heavens, the earth, and She'ol. As a rule the Bible imagines the physical sky to be a vast hemisphere, sometimes, as in *Psalms* 104:2, stretched out over the earth. In the *Book of Job* the sky is a building supported by columns (26:11), a storehouse for snow and hail (38:22), the winds (37:9), and water (38:37). In *Genesis* 7:11 the sky has windows through which rain falls to the earth.

The Egyptian cosmos depicted in tomb paintings consists of a rectangular box with Egypt at the center. A flat sky was supported by columns on high mountains. The Nile surrounded all and continued its course into the heavens as a celestial river—the Milky Way. The stars were lamps hung by ropes or painted on the body of Nut, the feminine sky deity. For the Inca the Milky Way is also a sky river, for the Maya it is a road; both are extensions of terrestrial parallels. Among the Egyptian sky lamps roamed deities and spirits. The sun god Ra traveled the sky in a boat. Reference is made to a ladder connecting heaven and earth whereby spirits could ascend to heaven upon death.

Diné Bahane, the Navajo story of creation, describes the smooth hard shell of the sky overhead. There is a hole on its eastern side through which ancient ancestor spirits could enter into a second world. Other entries led to successive upper worlds, each of a different color, in a layered universe. Each layer is inhabited by different kinds of animal deities.

In some cosmologies, the layer-cake concept continues in the world below. In the Western tradition, it offers the spatial polar opposite to the good found in heaven above. The first mention of hell in Western history appears in Hesiod's *Theogony*, where it is called Tartaros, the lower deck of a three-story cosmos. Influenced by the Greeks and the New Testament, the Italian poet Dante (1265–1321) would later tell of a hell that came equipped with nine decks, each of which offered inverse luxury accommodations commensurate with the sin in which one indulged. Gluttonous, lustful, and slothful people sat near the top; murderers, blasphemers, and self-robbers (those who committed suicide) resided in the middle; and grafters, simonists (those who committed fraud), soothsayers, and a variety of traitors occupied the upside-down penthouse at the lowest level of hell.

While Maya heaven consisted of thirteen layers, the lower was composed of nine. Like the Dantean lower realm, it was populated with evildoers: the Lords of the Underworld, each in charge of his own particular pestilence. In most instances then, unknown transcendent space seems to be modeled after terrestrial parallels.

WHY SKY GODS BEHAVE AS THEY DO. Myths are stories that try to give answers to life's big questions: Where did I come from? Why must I die? What will happen to me when

I die? This section will attempt to convey how some of the celestial metaphors that lie behind particular asterisms derive from the discovery of perceived likenesses between the actions of celestial bodies and particular aspects of life for which people sought meaning.

Designating the planets by name and seeking omens from their behavior lay at the foundation of astrally based religions practiced by nearly all our cultural predecessors. The drama overhead constituted a parallel plane of existence—a stage on which people here on earth could reflect and examine human behavior. The gods of the ancient Near East, for example, were not personages who guided nature's forces or programmed its laws. These "attribution deities" began with the actual properties of the material elements that gave them their names. Thus, Esharra, an earth god, was the manifest fruitfulness of the land that made for a bountiful harvest and fat cattle. The rubescent sky god Nergal (Mars) was the red feverishness of the summer sun that destroyed crops; Merodach the youthfulness of the spring equinox sun; Dumuzi the sun at the beginning of summer; and Ishtar (Venus) the returning greenness of the grass after winter's frost and summer's scorching heat.

Venus. Venus, for example, was given a host of names. She was called Ishtar in Chaldea, Nabu in Babylonia, Anāhīta by the Persians, Benu by the Sumerians, Astarte and then Aphrodite by the Greeks—all feminine appellations. The Greeks recognized Venus's dual aspect, referring to the planet as Phosphoros in the morning and Hesperos in the evening. Later the Romans named these aspects Lucifer and Vesper. In ancient Mesoamerica, Venus was a male, Quetzalcoatl (feathered serpent); to the Maya he was Kukulcan. Hawaiians named the planet Hokuloa, the Tahitians Ta'urua. Wasp Star, Red Star, Great Star, Lone Star, Lord of the Dawn, Home of the Love Goddess, Proclaimer, Companion to the Royal Inebriate, Bringer of Light, Satan himself—all these titles were given this single celestial source of light by imaginative people from various epochs and corners of the world.

What did these names mean? Bringer of Light and Lord of the Dawn are understandable enough, for Venus always precedes the rising sun. But why has Venus variously been linked with the highest ideal of feminine beauty, love, and sexuality, as in the Western tradition, or with death and resurrection, as in the Mesoamerican tradition? In the ancient Middle East, where Venus was called Ishtar, there is a long history of worship of the goddess who evoked the power of the dawn. The first syllable of Ishtar's name is probably derived from the Sanskrit *ush,* meaning "a burning" or "fire." *Ush* also came to mean "east," the direction to which worshipers turned their faces in order to feel the rays of the bright sun god, both powerful and nurturing. Later, east became the cardinal axis about which most early Old World maps were constructed. It marked where the sun rose on the equinoxes, the first days of autumn and spring. The English word *orientation* means "easting," and most old European cathedrals face that direction. Concerning Ishtar, the pre-Christian worshipers upon whose pagan temples these edifices now stand needed to be sure that every time they faced the cosmic axis and uttered her name they would soon feel within their breasts the power of dawn, of fire, of creation and fertility. When the Sumerians spoke to Ishtar they drew out her feminine sensuousness:

> Ishtar is clothed with pleasure and love
> She is laden with vitality, charm and voluptuousness
> In lips she is sweet; life is in her mouth.
> At her appearance rejoicing becomes full.
> She is glorious; veils are thrown over her head.
> Her figure is beautiful; her eyes are brilliant.
> (Pritchard, 1955, p. 383)

Unlike the other planets, Venus always remains close to the sun, close to the surface of the earth. Thus Ishtar descends into the underworld with the sun at night, only to return the morning after her lustful affair with Shamash, bringing with her omens related to the fertility of the land and of women.

Like Ishtar's descent and return, the death and resurrection of Quetzalcoatl are visibly manifest every time Venus disappears in the western sky in the evening and reappears in the eastern sky in the morning. According to the *Annals of Cuauhtitlan,* a colonial document from Central Mexico, after an eight day disappearance into the underworld, Venus is resurrected in the eastern sky as Lord of the Dawn.

For the ocean-bound people of ancient Hawai'i, the planets were sustainers, supporters or pillars of a giant celestial round house built on the model of the houses in which they once lived. They were placed in the sky to help people—to warn them of coming events. To learn the warning system, one needed to pay close attention and follow the movement of the planets among the stars from year to year. Some planetary deities paid special attention to fishermen, others to tattoo artists—one cannot explain why in every case. Like the stars, the planets could intermarry and breed children. Bright Venus, as one might expect, was by far the most prominent. It was variously known as Dog of the Morning, Star of Day, and Forerunner of the Morning, a status similar to that of the Greco-Roman Phosphoros-Lucifer.

When Hawaiian Venus was the Great Star, its name was Hokuloa, which placed it in the same class as the sun and moon, but when it dodged unsteadily from side to side, like Mercury, it was dubbed the Royal Inebriate. For seafarers like the Hawaiians, weather prediction ranked high in importance alongside astrological affairs of war and state. Naholoholo, literally "swift-moving," like the storms in this region, is one old Hawaiian name given to Venus. In one tale, the Great Guide Star of the Evening deviates from his course to suppress the fury of a hurricane and, as a result, loses his balance and falls out of his canoe.

Venus's habit of dogging the rising and setting sun also had its effect on Chinese celestial imagery. In eighth-century China, for example, white was the color of ghosts, and the brilliance of Venus also mocked the flash of swordly metal. This is probably why the Chinese called the planet the Grand White and the Executioner's Star—a planet that portended deadly plots and cutting edges. When Venus crossed the constellation of the Battle Ax (part of Gemini), it foretold the clash of weapons; when it entered the Ghost constellation, it was time to execute the vassals. Warriors once stood on the Great Wall following the movements of the Grand White, even at the expense of neglecting to observe the maneuvers of their enemies. When the planet was especially bright—for example, if it could be seen in the daytime—its spotlight aspect indicated an omen of special importance. Perhaps the yin principle would strongly override the yang so that a lower-order vassal could rise up against the Emperor of the Sun.

Other attribution deities. Other planets exacted their own metaphors. For example, the red planet Mars—planet of blood and fire for the Tang of sixth-century China—was regarded as the punishment star. It was especially potent when it passed its namesake constellations of Virgo and Scorpio. Curiously, Antares, the bright red star in Scorpio, also means "rival of Mars" in the Western tradition. Its hot, rosy radiation also warned of drought.

Because they once were earth gods, all the planets in the Sumerian pantheon had terrestrial dwelling places. The dwelling place of Mars (Nergal) was a violent domicile that generated the malevolence associated with the war god. The names the Assyrians gave to Mars suggest anything but beneficence and dependability. He was the pestilential one, hostile and rebellious. War was another of the aspects of Mars, which, some Assyriologists contend, may have been associated with the planet's blood red color, especially when it lies low over the land. Or is it the erratic motion Mars exhibits, well beyond that of the other planets?

Slowest moving of all the planets, Saturn was Ninib to the Sumerians, a phlegmatic old man who lumbered ever so slowly across the celestial vault. Saturn also received the designation Lu-Bat, the steady one, for it could be counted upon, more than any other so-called wanderer (the Sumerians likened the planets to errant sheep who strayed from the flock) to be present in the night sky just as the sun ruled the day. Because it moves thoughtfully, steadily, and deliberately, Saturn's character reflects wisdom and intelligence more than speed and vigorous activity. By inhibiting the uppermost realm, a result of the extreme length of time it takes the planet to complete its cycle around the zodiac, Saturn occupied the biggest sphere and was therefore accorded the highest power in divinatory astrology.

Nearer to the sun than the cold, remote location of Saturn, yet farther than fiery Mars, lies Jupiter—Greek Zeus. Jupiter is commonly associated with justice. He became a moderator and, consequently, most fit to rule the celestial gods. He alone held the power to create storms, floods, and earthquakes. As Marduk he was elevated to the position of tutelary, or protective, deity of the city of Babylon. He also rose to the godhead position in the later Babylonian astral religions as a consequence of that city having gained prominence over its rivals.

To fleeting Mercury, ancient people applied terms such as *burner* or *sparkler*, terms that visually depict the way the planet twinkles at the horizon. Animals associated with Mercury, the stealthy fox and the leopard, characterize its aspect as a trickster, for Mercury would always foil one who tried to follow him by hiding and disappearing frequently.

CELESTIAL IMAGERY. Conditioned to believe that myth can have no basis in observed fact, the modern mind might seem content to sweep such detail under the rug of superstition and irrational mysticism. But by appealing to natural phenomena that actually took place in land and sky—by paying attention to qualities peculiar to each planet—one can begin to piece together an empirical side of the mythic coin that complements and enriches the seemingly strange logic behind sky myths. Moreover, if the listener to whom the story is being told knows the celestial imagery that goes with each chapter, the greater its efficacy. The tale truly begins to come to life in the real world.

Culture structures nature. And so people order the stars as well as the planets into patterns in the sky. The most common set is the zodiac, literally a circle of animals, usually twelve or thirteen in number, that circumscribe the sky. The Egyptian zodiac consisted of twelve constellations, the Maya thirteen, the Chinese twenty-eight. The zodiac constitutes the roadway along which the sun, moon, and stars pass. Its stars play a major role in acquiring astrological predictions.

Among the Desána of Colombia, hexagonal shapes and outlines (e.g., a number of bright stars centered on the Belt of Orion rather than a sky band) provided the ordering principle. Hexagons indicate life's creative-transformative energies concentrated and at work. The Desána see these recurring shapes in the structure of rock crystals, which are common shamanic power objects. They see them in honeycombs, wasps' nests, the womb, ritual enclosures, and the plates on the back of a tortoise.

The Aztecs viewed in their star patterns the sustainers of life—the gods they sought to repay with the blood of sacrifice for bringing favorable rains, for keeping the earth from quaking, for spurring them on in battle. Among the gods was Black Tezcatlipoca, who ruled the night from his abode in the north, with its wheel (the Big Dipper). He presided over the cosmic ballcourt (Gemini), where the gods played a game to set the fate of humankind. He lit the fire sticks (Orion's belt) that brought warmth to the hearth. And at the end of every 52-year calendrical cycle, Black Tezcatlipoca timed the rattlesnake's tail (the Pleiades) so that it passed overhead at midnight—a guarantee that the world would not come to an end and that humanity would be granted another epoch of life. The priests in Tenochtitlan, the Aztec capital, climbed to the top of their sky watchers' temple on the Hill of the Star to witness this auspicious sign. These indigenous cultures lived their sky, knowing that everything that happened on earth was destined in the cosmos.

THE SKY IN CREATION NARRATIVES. *Genesis* means "origination," and every genesis myth begins with a sense of time. The modern scientific genesis began more than thirteen billion years ago in a Big Bang from which all events and things have spun. But this, unlike all other cosmologies, is decidedly nonparticipatory—a story without a purpose as one modern cosmologist has characterized it.

In the Old Testament *Genesis*, the purpose seems to be to demonstrate that all things were intended to be good. Perhaps all people need to believe in a world that can be conceived as orderly, intentional, purposeful, and, above all, created specifically with them in mind—a good world. The orderly creation by word in *Genesis* stands in stark contrast to the early Greek *Theogony* and the earlier Babylonian *Enuma Elish* from which it undoubtedly derived. These militaristic states portray a present world that emerges in the aftermath of a battle among cosmic forces. In the *Theogony*, the history of the world is characterized as the history of the descent of the orderly government of Zeus by succession from his godly predecessors.

The Babylonian creation myth, also acted out in heaven, follows a similar might-is-right storyline with Marduk, the analog of Zeus and Jupiter, battling Tiamat (Typhoeus in the *Theogony*), the raging force of the untamed waters. Out of Marduk's victory in battle comes a common motif in stories of creation, the raising of the sky:

> He shot off an arrow, and it tore her interior. It cut through her inward parts, it split her heart. When he had subdued her, he destroyed her life. He split her open like a mussel in two parts; Half of her he set in place and formed the sky therewith as a roof. He fixed the crossbar and posted guards; He commanded them not to let her waters escape. (Heidel, 1942, p. 42)

The idea behind this fantastic imagery is that divine kingship lies at the root of the state, and it must be established authoritatively once and for all through compulsive force. In like manner, a violent process also was necessary to create an orderly universe.

The concept of raising the sky is especially prominent in the cosmogonies of Polynesia and Micronesia, as well as in Nigeria and the Malay Peninsula. One story conceives of the sky as a vessel suspended over the earth by a cord. Once it hung so low to the earth that one of the first humans accidentally bumped against it while raising his pestle to grind rice. He raised the sky higher up with his hands to its present position.

The further back one traces creation myths, the more hazy they become on the issue of whether man or woman came first in the genealogy. Perhaps this only reflects the magnitude of the problem about where the principle of sexual union originates. For example, in the Babylonian *Enuma Elish,* the blending of the male and female principle is manifested in the commingling of fresh and salt waters where the Tigris and Euphrates meet the Persian Gulf. Before this time the universe was a watery chaos not unlike that in the biblical *Genesis.* Likewise Ometecuhtli, the creation deity of the Aztecs who resides in the uppermost layer of heaven, is bisexual.

The *Popol Vuh*, the Quiché Maya story of the creation of "all the sky earth," features twin heroes (usually depicted as the sun and moon, or the sun and Venus) who go into the underworld to battle the lords of pestilence. One brother defeats the evil lords by tricking them into offering themselves for sacrifice. He demonstrates his power over time by sacrificing his twin brother, tearing out his heart; then, by voice command, he reverses time and brings him back to life. So ecstatic are the lords with such legerdemain that they plead to Venus: "Do it to us!" Venus indulges them, but, cleverly, only completes the first half of the process. Were it not for Venus's cunning actions in the netherworld before the dawn of history, the Maya say, the world would be far worse off with disease than it is today. Cunning and trickery are qualities of sky gods in many Native American narratives.

The Chinese think about their past in terms of three ages: the mythological, the ancient, and the modern. The first two are of special concern. Creation was an event that, by most accounts, took place close to half a million years ago. It began just as the sages in many other cultures tell it: by the opening of heaven and earth. This was not a creation *ex nihilo* (out of nothing), but rather a stepwise fabrication fired up by the Dao, an unknowable principle that resulted in the sorting out of an originally undifferentiated chaos.

First there was a One, and out of that One, the Two was produced, the yin-yang principle that constitutes the makeup of everything conceivable. As in the biblical *Genesis*, there is also an anthropic version of the fabrication of the universe. Pangu, a creator god, goes about his work with hammer and chisel as he sculpts masses of chaotic matter into the correct shape. They say his labors lasted eighteen thousand years; day by day as he worked along, he increased in stature, and the heavens rose and the earth expanded around him. Once he made the stage ready, he died. But even his death benefited humans directly, for his body parts became the entities that fill up earth's basin: his head became the mountains; his left eye, the sun; his right eye, the moon; his beard, the stars; his limbs, the four quarters; his blood, the rivers; his flesh, the soil; his breath, the wind and clouds; his voice, the thunder. His limbs were the four directions; metals, rocks, and precious stones were made from his teeth, bones, and marrow. His sweat became the rain, and the insects that stuck to his body were the people.

Sky gods usually appear to be both unique religious creations and products of history. At one end of a broad continuum lie deities who display characteristics related to rulership of the world and moral oversight (e.g., the Indian Varuṇa and Iranian Ahura Mazdā); at the other end are deities whose chief traits mark them as creators, bringers of rain and fecundity, and likely to develop into more specialized storm gods (e.g., Zeus, Jupiter, Thor, and possibly the Inca Viracocha and the Teotihuacan storm god). In the middle of the array would stand the figure of a cosmocrat like Mahāvairocana, the cosmic buddha of the Shingon school in Japan.

MAKING SACRED SPACE ON EARTH. As the Roman *urbs* was the place of assembly, *civitas* was the religious and political association of tribal families. Both translate as "city." The Etruscans founded the city all at once rather than by gradual degrees. A white bull drew a plough in one direction, a black bull in the other as circular furrows were plowed to circumscribe the intended location of the heart of the city: the *templum*, whence the modern English word *temple*.

Knowing which way to face lies at the basis of rules of communication between people and their gods. Which way must a priest or worshippers turn in order to perform correctly a private or public ceremony, a consecration or sacrifice? For the Etruscans the setting of directions was not according to humans but rather to the world itself. There was a front and a back to Etruscan ritual space, a left and a right in the early *templum*—this human-built representation of the celestial *templum*, the home of the gods who lived in the sky. "Four parts did it have: that toward the east *antica*, *positca* that toward the west: the northern part on the left, the southern on the right," wrote the Roman historian Isidorus. Thus, gates to the city were placed at four cardinal interruptions in the furrow. A foundation sacrificial ritual honoring the ancestors, ancient gods, and heroes, then took place at the center. "There is no place in the city not impregnated with religion and not occupied by some divinity," wrote Livy.

Historians of religions have sorted out a number of reasons that motivated ancient cultures around the world to seek divine plans for the arrangement and orientation of ceremonial architecture. Paul Wheatley, in discussing the spatial arrangement of buildings in the Chinese city, suggests that those religions that specifically associated the creation of the universe with the origin of humanity tend to dramatize the cosmogony by attempting to reproduce on earth a miniaturized version of the cosmos. On the other hand, those that relate divine revelation to the meaning of human existence often abstract their gods from the landscape; the attendant rituals appear to bear little connection to the environment. Thus, in eastern Asia and particularly in Mesoamerica, where creation hypotheses are heavily mythologized, one can expect religion to have played a decisive role in the planning of ceremonial space.

Historian of religions Mircea Eliade gave an account of cosmic hierophanies, which he considers to be sacred phenomena revealed at different cosmic levels. His discussion of architectural hierophanies emphasizes the cohesive bond between ancient religion and cosmology. The use of ceremonial architecture to convey celestial messages to a throng celebrating a ritual seems to have flowered in the classic Maya world (200–900 CE). There are numerous examples of important events—inaugurations, celebrations of victories in battle, great royal turning points—being commemorated on days when some important celestial event occurred. Such elaborate theatrical stagings reveal Maya beliefs about the essence of heavenly power in a direct and forceful way. The goal of specialized Maya ceremonial architecture seems to have been to instill in the viewer-participant the same sort of passion that might have welled up in the breast of the medieval Christian pilgrim who for the first time saw the sun shine through the stained glass windows of, say, the cathedral of Chartres. For the ancient Maya, the cosmos carried powerful messages and their delivery occurred, as one might expect in the tropics, in the open outdoor space of the royal court.

Among the cosmo-magical principles of place-making cited by Wheatley are the location of major ceremonial structures over caves or springs, natural openings to the underworld, and the orientation of such structures to prominent points in the land and skyscape. Thus, the great pyramid of Cholula, Mexico, the largest Native American structure, faces the sunset at the summer solstice between the twin volcanoes Popocatepetl and Ixtaccíhuatl. Likewise, Teotihuacán's Pyramid of the Sun, built over a cave, is oriented to a mountain on the north, as well as toward the west to the setting point of the Pleiades star group, the first annual appearance of which marks New Year's day, when the sun passes directly overhead.

Shrines often mark connection points with the sky-earth. For example, a small chapel on the side of Cholula's pyramid is positioned over a natural spring that connects to the underworld. The radial *ceque* system of the Inca capital of Cuzco is delineated by *huacas*, sacred places (many of them natural springs) where worshippers feed the earth mother, Pachamama. The Hopi marked the solstices, which the elders referred to as "houses" where the sun stops in its travels along the horizon. At these places along the high mesa, the priests erected small shrines. There a sun priest in charge of the calendar would deposit prayer sticks, an offering to welcome the sun and to encourage it on its celestial journey. Some of these shrines have special openings that allow shafts of sunlight to penetrate particular directions, thus serving as another way to mark the appropriate time. Sometimes the sun priest would gesture to the sun, whirling a shield decorated with sun designs to imitate the sun's turning motion, hastening away any malevolent spirits who might impede the great luminary.

Celestially motivated structures might be classified as theaters, as well as observatories. The modern preoccupation with precision and exactitude in assessing ancient building alignments often undervalues the symbolic significance of sky phenomena. (A modern example is the proposed design of the new World Trade Center complex in New York, which incorporates a colossal shadow casting device to mark the precise moment of the September 11, 2001, event.) Cosmic hierophanies often translate into light and shadow phenomena in architectural space dedicated to worshipping the ancestor creator gods. One example of a hierophany involving the subtle influence of light and shadow on Mesoamerican Maya architecture occurs at the ruins of Chichén Itzá. About an hour before sunset on the vernal equinox, the nine platforms that make up the pyramidal base of the Temple of Kukulcan cast thin shadows on the balustrade wall of the north stairway in such a way as to form an undulating line. The union of this line with the large serpent head at the base of the northern staircase presents a striking picture of a serpent of light. Here was an appropriate event to take place on a temple dedicated to Quetzalcoatl-Kukulcan, the feathered serpent god of creativity and reservation—and it seems to have been designed to take place at the right time.

Toward the end of the last millennium, the Chichén hierophany was appropriated by the government as a national holiday when it was realized that the event also takes place on the birthday of the nineteenth-century Mexican liberator Benito Juárez. Today, the world New Age community descends on the serpent on equinox day to find salvation and renewal by seeking the ancient truths and lost wisdom of the Maya, which they believe are revealed on this special day. Thousands of people attend the annual event, which has its European parallel in the Stonehenge pilgrimage on the summer solstice. Thus, the ruins of antiquity become the contested ground for the ownership of sacred time and place—between native and foreigner, between scientific expert and New Ager, between local commoner and national bureaucracy.

Like all seasonal rituals in the round of cyclic time, the serpent hierophany is really about hope—the return of a desired past that elevates the present above the mundane. The descending serpent offers food for a spiritually starved society possessed by a longing to recreate a glorious past superior to an unfulfilling present. Whether a descending serpent, a wandering planet, or a conspicuous star group that calls to mind a parallel in the earthly realm, whatever emerges out of the sky seems ever-present, all-powerful and, above all, stable and reliable. The heavens are the hallmark of a collection of living entities that command reverence, exude wisdom, and, with an aura of mystery and wonderment, offer the prospect of human salvation.

SEE ALSO Ascension; Cosmology; Heaven and Hell; Moon; Stars; Sun.

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SLAVIC RELIGION.

The exact origin of the Slavs, an indigenous European people, is not known, but by about 800 BCE pockets of Slavs were scattered in a region east of the Vistula and the Carpathians and west of the Don. Some six hundred years later the Slavs inhabited a large area in central and eastern Europe. Over the centuries they were driven north, south, and east by successive migrations of Germanic and Asiatic tribes.

Around the sixth century CE the Slavs began separating into three groups, the West, South, and East Slavs. Proto-Slavic, an Indo-European language, was spoken in an area extending from the north of Russia to the south of Greece, and from the Elbe and the Adriatic coast to the Volga. By about the tenth century, Proto-Slavic had separated into three subgroups, the ancestors of the West Slavic, South Slavic, and East Slavic language groups.

The West Slavs lived in a region reaching beyond the Elbe and were bounded on the west by Germanic tribes. The language they spoke developed into modern Polish, Czech, Slovak, and Wendish. (The Wends settled between the Elbe and the Oder, in what is now Germany, and their descendants today are entirely surrounded by Germans.) The South Slavs, covering the area east of the Adriatic, south of the Danube, and west of the Black Sea, had the Magyars and Vlachs as their northern and eastern neighbors. Their language was the forerunner of Slovenian, Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian, and Bulgarian. The ancestors of today's Russians, Belorussians, and Ukrainians, the East Slavs lived in an area bounded by Lake Ladoga, the upper Volga and Don, and the Dnieper. To the southeast were the Khazars and Pechenegs, Asiatic steppe dwellers; to the north and east were Finno-Ugric peoples; and to the northwest were Balts.

FORMATION OF SLAVIC RELIGION.

The term *Slavic religion* can be used to refer to the mythology and cultic life common to all Slavs from the sixth to the tenth century. The basic structure of Slavic mythology, composed of Old Euopean and Indo-European elements, stems from the proto-Slavic culture in the Slavic homeland. Strong affinities with the mythology and religious nomenclature of the early Slavs have been found among their close neighbors, the Balts, the Iranians, and the Thracians.

Three important factors must be borne in mind in regard to Slavic religion. First, literacy came to the Slavs in the aftermath of Christianization. As a consequence, there is no pagan literature as such. However, songs, fairy tales, and oral epics such as the Russian *byliny*, which survived among peasants, are representative of pagan religious traditions.

The worship of pagan gods did not disappear immediately with the arrival of Christianity. Descriptions of pagan temples, idols, and practices can be found in early church chronicles. Later, with the advance of Christianity, many pagan practices found new manifestations that were compatible with the new religion. This was especially true in the Byzantine sphere of influence, and, in fact, the best examples of pagan prototypes that merged with Christian figures are found in Russia.

The second important factor in the formation of the Slavic religion was the close contact of the Slavs with neighboring peoples, especially the Balts and Indo-Iranians. This contact is attested by some common Slavic words pertaining to religion that have clear affinities with Iranian.

The third and most essential factor is the heritage of mythological images. In the tradition of Celtic, Baltic, Greek, and other related mythologies of Europe, Slavic beliefs strongly preserved very ancient pre-Indo-European images typical of an agricultural, matrifocal, and matrilinear culture. (This oldest substratum is called Old European.) Slavic paganism as described by Christian missionaries, however, was clearly dominated by male gods of Indo-European origin. Their names and functions can be reconstructed by means of comparative Indo-European mythology and linguistics. These gods belonged to a pastoral, patriarchal, and warlike people of the Eurasian steppes who superimposed their social system and religion upon the Old European culture about 3000 BCE.

The stratigraphy of Slavic religion and mythology thus contains the following levels: (1) Old European, rooted in a local Neolithic culture; (2) Indo-European, derived from the pastoral; patriarchal culture of the Eurasian steppes; and (3) Christian, in which pagan prototypes fused with Christian figures, producing a "double faith." (Christianity was introduced into Moravia in 863, Bulgaria in 885, Poland in 966, and Russia in 988.)

SOURCES.

Written sources begin with the sixth-century Byzantine historian Procopius, who wrote that the Slavic Sclavenian and Antes tribes worshiped a thunder god as "lord of the whole world." They sacrificed bulls and other animals to him, and they made other offerings at times of death, illness, or war to ensure salvation. They also venerated and made sacrifices to rivers, nymphs, and "other demons." Divination and sacrifice were carried out together.

Scarcely any other reliable written information is available for the sixth through the tenth century. In the East Slavic area, the only Slavic pantheon on record is that set up by Vladimir I in 980. Eight years later he cast down the pagan deities and forcibly baptized the population of Kiev. The Russian *Primary Chronicle* (compiled c. 1111) says: "And Vladimir began to rule Kiev alone, and he set up idols on a hill outside the palace court—a wooden figure of Perun, and his head was of silver and his mouth was of gold; Khors and Dazhbog and Stribog and Simargl and Mokosh—and he and his people made sacrifice to the idols." Simultaneously, "Vladimir also placed Dobrynja, his uncle, in Novgorod, and after Dobrynja came to Novgorod, he set up an idol of Perun above the river Volkhov, and the people of Novgorod revered him as a god."

The descriptions that we have of Slavic idols and temples, it must be remembered, come from the writings of the very people who destroyed them. The most reliable sources on the religion of the West Slavs are provided by Otto, a twelfth-century bishop of Bamberg, whose war with the pagan gods of the Slavs in northern Germany was recorded by this three biographers, Ebbo, Herbord, and Monachus Prieflingensis, as well as by Thietmar, bishop of Merseburg, who wrote firsthand accounts of eleventh-century Wendish paganism (see Palm, 1937). Early sources on the pre-Christian religion in Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, Bulgaria, Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia are either biased or very scant. Slavic religion and mythology cannot be reconstructed on the basis of written records alone. Of utmost importance are archaic motifs in folklore, linguisitic reconstructions, and archaeological monuments. In the past, very few scholars drew upon all these sources; in this respect, much research is yet to be done.

TEMPLES AND IDOLS. The most precise descriptions of temples and idols come from the eleventh through the thirteenth century in the area of the northwestern Slavs, present-day Germany. The best-documented site is Arkona, a citadel-temple of the god Sventovit, which was destroyed in 1168 by Christian Danes when they stormed the island of Rügen. According to Saxo Grammaticus (*Gesta Danoraum* 14), Arkona was a red-roofed log structure of consummate workmanship, encircled by a yard and protected by a splendidly carved wooden fence bearing various symbols painted in "heathen" style. The fence had a single entrance. In the inner chamber of the temple loomed the awe-inspiring statue of Sventovit, larger than life and with four heads that faced the cardinal directions. Carl Schuchhardt's excavation in 1921 proved the existence of the temple. Repeated excavations in 1969 and 1970 revealed an earlier layer of the sanctuary dating to the tenth century, and possibly to the ninth.

After conquering Arkona, the Danish armies took Garz (Karentia), also on the island of Rügen, which Saxo describes as a castle hill with swamps on all sides. Of its three temples, the largest had an inner room consisting of roof, posts, and purple hangings. In the middle of this room stood an oaken statue of Rugievit—whose name, according to Saxo, meant "god of Rügen [Rugia]"—having seven heads, with seven swords hanging from his girdle and an eighth sword held in his hand. Saxo says the other temples belonged to "Porevit" and "Potenut," respectively.

The earliest source, Thietmar (1014), describes a similar temple on the castle hill of Riedegost or Radigast (Rethra). It was made of timber, and the exterior was adorned with sculptures to which animal horns were attached. It contained several hand-sculpted idols dressed in helmets and armor and each dedicated to a god, the most important being that of Zuarasici (Svarozhich).

Carl Schuchhardt, who excavated Rethra in 1922, concluded that the temple, presumably built about 1000 CE, was destroyed by fire about 1068, but that its floor plan was square. Thietmar said that Riedegost was principal among all the local temples. People came to it with homage before going to war, and with offerings on their return. The priests determined reconciliation offerings by means of dice and horse oracles. it was apparently the sanctuary for the entire Lutici confederation, of which the Retharii were one tribe.

Bishop Otto of Bamberg went twice to Szczecin (Stettin), where there were two temples (according to Ebbo) or four (according to Herbord). The most important of these temples stood upon one of the three hills and was dedicated to Triglav, the three-headed "summus deus" (Ebbo, 3.1). It was richly sculptured inside and out, and its interiors were decorated with war booty. On his first trip there (about 1124), Otto cut off the idol's three heads and sent them to Pope Calixtus II. Another idol of Triglav was destroyed in Brandenburg, probably by Albrecht the Bear (Albert I), sometime between 1150 and 1157.

At Wolin, according to Monarchus Prieflingensis, Otto found a temple with a sacred spear that, as legend had it, had been placed there in memory of Julius Caesar. According to Ebbo, there was also an outdoor cultic center with idols, which became the site of the new Adalbert Church. The practice of building a church on the site of a pagan sanctuary was one of the most effective, and most commonly employed, methods of combating paganism all over the Slavic area. It attracted the people to whom the place itself was still holy, and it removed all traces of the worship previously performed there.

Otto's mission of 1128 destroyed the temple at Wolgast. According to Ebbo, when Otto's men entered the temple in search of idols, they found only a gigantic shield hanging on the wall. Fearing the crowd that had gathered outside, they carried the shield with them for protection, whereupon the crowd fell to the ground, thinking it was an appearance of the war god Gerovit (Iarovit). Herbord describes the shield as covered with gold leaf, and he equates Gerovit with Mars.

Helmold of Bosau, writing of the pagan revival among the Wends in 1134, mentions "Prove deus Aldenburgensis terrae." On his trip with the bishop Gerald to Oldenburg and to the interior between that city and Lubeck in 1156, he saw a grove where an oak tree was enclosed within a courtyard surrounded by a fence of stakes. It was dedicated to the god of that land, Proven, for whom no idol was present. The monk Herbertus describes a sacred grove where a large tar-covered idol stood leaning against a tree (presumably an oak). Most likely, the name *Proven* is a distortion or variant of *Perun*, the name of the Slavic thunder god.

According to the Russian *Primary Chronicle*, when Prince Igor made a peace treaty with Byzantium at Kiev in 945, he and his men went to a hill where there was a statue of Perun. There they laid down their arms and swore to keep the treaty. In his treaty with Byzantium in 971, Prince Sviatoslav made a similar oath, stating that those who would not respect the treaty would be cursed by Perun and Volos and that they would become as yellow as the gold of their ornaments and be destroyed by their own weapons.

A ruined temple, perhaps of Perun, was discovered in 1951 near Novgorod in a place called Peryn. The wooden structure itself was not preserved, but the floor plan, an octagonal rosette shape, was clearly evident. In the center was charcoal, indicating where the idol and a place for fire had probably been located. Nearby was a flat stone, apparently a part of an altar. In 1958, at Staraia Ladoga, a wooden effigy of a god with mustache and beard and wearing a conical helmet was found in a layer dated to the ninth or tenth century.

From all that is presently known of East Slavic temples, wooden idols stood on hills within temples for which there are no descriptions. On the analogy of the excavated temples of the Balts in the Smolensk area dating from the fifth to the seventh century, such hills were fortified and had wooden structures on the inner side of the ramparts. A round temple containing a wooden idol stood in the center or at the end of the hill fort.

A tradition going back millennia is evidenced by carved images of gods, produced throughout proto-Slavic periods and later times, that are similar to those of early history. A number of stone statues, some with three or four heads, others holding a drinking horn, wearing a conical cap, and decorated with incised horse figures or sun symbols, are known from excavations. Similar idols from Stavchany in the upper Dniester Valley date from the fourth century CE (see Gimbutas, *The Slavs*, 1971, fig. 61).

Idols were dedicated to various gods. In the West Slavic area, the richest temples belonged to the warrior god of "heavenly light" in his various aspects (Svarozhich, Iarovit, Sventovit), whereas the thunder god (Perun) was worshiped outdoors, in a grove where an oak tree stood. The East Slavs also erected temples for Perun.

It is clear that at the time when Christianity arrived, the official religion was dominated by warrior gods of Indo-European heritage. Following the destruction of their temples, these gods sank into the subculture so that only vestiges of their earlier glory survived.

GODS OF INDO-EUROPEAN HERITAGE.

Three divine archetypes of the Indo-European religious tradition are clearly represented in the Slavic pantheon: the god of heavenly light, the god of death and the underworld, and the thunder god. The first two stand in opposition to each other, but the relationship of the three deities is triangular, not hierarchical.

The god of heavenly light, also known as the white god, and the god of death and the underworld, also known as the black god, form a fundamental polarity in the Slavic religious tradition. This opposition of mythological figures is reflected in the semiotic system of Slavic languages, based on the arrangement of oppositions such as day and night, light and dark, life and death, good and evil. The white and black gods are mentioned in Helmold's twelfth-century *Chronica Slavorum*, pertaining to the West Slavs: "They expect a fortunate lot from the good god and from the evil one an unfortunate [lot]; for this reason is the evil god called devil in their language, or 'black god.'" The *Gustinskii Chronicle* of 1070 reports that ancient sorcerers were convinced that "there be two gods: one heavenly and the other in hell." The white god is the deity of daylight while the black god is the god of night. Both have close analogies in the Vedic Mitra-Varuna and the Baltic Dievas-Velinas oppositions.

The Slavic thunder god, Perun, deity of justice and fecundity, stands close to the god of heavenly light; he was the chief adversary of the black god. Although described as the "lord of the whole world" by Procopius and listed first in Vladimir's pantheon, Perun was never addressed as "summus deus" ("highest god") as was the god of heavenly light (Sventovit).

The god of heavenly light. Many different names identify the god of heavenly light: the forms *Belobog*, *Belbog*, and *Belun* (all meaning "white god") are common in Slavic place-names and folklore. Close relatives in the Kievan pantheon are the sun gods Dazhbog, Khors (an obvious borrowing of the Iranian name for the personified sun, *Khursīd*), and possibly Stribog (whose name is perhaps related to the Iranian *srira*, "beautiful"). The personified sun appears throughout Slavic folklore: each morning he rides out from his golden palace in the east in a two-wheeled chariot drawn by horses. He begins the day as a youth and dies each night as an old man. He is attended by two lovely virgins (the morning and evening stars), seven judges (the planets), and seven messengers (the comets). As a "year god," this deity ages with each season. The polycephalic images, three- or four-faced gods, known as Triglav or as Chetyregod, represent different faces of the year god.

Among the West Slavs, Iarovit, Porovit, Sventovit, and Svarozhich, described in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, repesent various aspects of the year god: spring, summer, autumn, and winter. Several of these names had calendrical significance. *Iaro* was connected with *iaru*, meaning "young, ardent, bright," and *Porovit* may have been related to *pora*, "midsummner." Sventovit, whose name is from *svent-*, "light" and "holy," was worshiped in October, during the harvest. Svarozhich was worshiped in the temple at Radigast. Judging from his name (a diminutive of *Svarog*, signifying that he was a son of Svarog, the heavenly smith), Svarozhich probably represented the aspect of the newborn winter sun. However, Svarog (glossed as Hephaistos in thirteenth-century records) and Svarozhich could also be a single god, since the diminutive form of addressing deities is a characteristic Slavic phenomenon. (For instance, *bozhich*, "little god," is a form frequently used instead of *bog*, "god.") As in all other Indo-European religions, this deity was portrayed as a warrior, dressed in armor and a helmet, carrying a sword and shield, and accompanied always by a horse. Weapons and horses were manifestations of his powers.

In Christian times, the god of heavenly light fused with the Christian God and Saint John (Ivan). Up to the beginning of the twentieth century, the spring aspect of the god survived in Belorussia and Russia in the image of Iarilo, who was worshiped in the week following Whitsuntide. Folklore preserves the image of Iarilo riding upon a white horse: he wears a white cloak, is crowned with wildflowers, and carries a sheaf of wheat. Girls honored Iarilo by performing choral dances upon newly sown fields. In the eighteenth century, the Orthodox bishop of Voronezh is central Russia proscribed a pagan festival and "satanic" games centered on an idol called Iarilo. In Kostroma, until 1771, people buried an idol with exaggerated male attributes. The burial of a phallic idol typifies the year god's cycle. The death of the year god, symbolized by submerging his image in water or by burning a birch tree, was commemorated in Belorussia until the early twentieth century.

Reminiscent of the Indo-European archetype of the divine twins—the Dioscuri of Greek myth, the Asvins of the Vedas, the Dievo Suneliai of Lithuanian folk songs—are the saints Boris and Gleb, Cosmas and Damian, and Flor and Lavr. The emblem of Boris and Gleb, the youthful martyrs, was a young shoot. They sometimes appear as *bogatyri* ("knights") who have vanquished a dragon and harnessed him to a plow, and on Serbian icons they are depicted as doctors holding the tools of their trade. In Russia, Flor and Lavr were the protectors of horses. Their holiday was August 18, at which time animals were sacrificed to them and the flesh cooked for a feast in their honor.

The cult of the dawn was common among all Slavs. The Slavic deity Zoria, or Zaria, is the heavenly bride, the goddess of beauty, the dawn. At daybreak she is greeted, like Usas of India, as "the brightest maiden, pure, sublime, and honorable."

Certain Slavic myths give an anthropomorphic interpretation to the relationship between the sun and the moon. The Russian word for "moon," *mesiats*, is masculine, but many legends portray the moon as a beautiful young woman whom the sun marries at the beginning of summer, abandons in winter, and returns to in spring. In other myths, the moon is the husband and the sun is his wife, as in Baltic mythology. In folk beliefs, Mesiats is addressed as *kniaz'* ("prince") and is believed to have powers over the growth of plants. In Polish, the word for "moon," *księżyc*, is the diminutive form of the word meaning "prince" or "lord."

The god of death and the underworld. The names *Veles* and *Volos* apparently represent two aspects of the same god: (1) a sorcerer god of death, related to music and poetry, and (2) a god of cattle, wealth, and commerce. The etymology suggests ancient functions: *vel-* is connected with "death," "the dead," and "giant" on one hand and with "sight, foresight, insight" on the other. *Volos* has connections with "hair, fur" and with "disease, evil spirit." The original name of the god must have been *Veles*, not *Volos*.

Veles was degraded to a devil at the beginning of Christian times. All that remains of this god are such expressions as *k Velesu za more* ("to Veles in the otherworld") and the formula "*Velesov vnuk*" ("grandson of Veles"), apostrophizing the musician and prophetic poet Boian of the Old Russian epic *Slovo o polku Igoreve*. Place-names incorporating *Veles* imply sites where this god was worshiped, such as Titov Veles in Macedonia.

Volos was merged with the image of Saint Blasius (Vlasii) and also partly with that of Saint Nicholas (Nikola), the patrons of flocks and crops. He was honored as such up to the twentieth century on his holiday, 11 February. Such forms as *Volosovo* and *Volosovskii* were frequently used as names for monasteries and churches in Russia. According to legend, they were founded on the spots where the idols of Volos stood in pre-Christian times.

Idols and places of Volos worship are mentioned as late as the eighteenth century. Of utmost importance is the description of the sacrifice of the priest Volkhv in *Skazanii o postroenii grada Yaroslavlia* (Legends about the Founding of Yaroslavl), published in 1876 and based on a manuscript of 1781. Having burned the sacrificial victim and prophesied in the name of Volos, the priest was himself sacrificed to the god. This is a parallel to the self-sacrifice of the Germanic god Óðinn (Odin).

The thunder god. Overseer of justice and order, purifier and fructifier, and adversary of the devil, Perun is feared to this day in some Slavic areas. His presence and actions are perceived in lightning and thunder. His animals (the bull and the he-goat), his birds (the dove and the cuckoo), and his weapons (the ax and the arrow) are pervasive symbolic motifs in Slavic folk beliefs and songs.

Parallels in other Indo-European mythologies, such as the Baltic Pērkons and Perkūnas and the Germanic Þórr (Thor), attest to the antiquity of this god. The root *per-/perk-* ("to strike, to splinter," "oak, oak forest," "mountaintop") is common to Indo-European languages. The oak was Perun's sacred tree. Oak forests and mountaintops—where a god of storms might easily alight—are attested by literary sources as places of veneration. The name *Peryn*, known from Russia and the Balkans, must have preceded the name *Perun*. The original name of the god is likely to have been **Perkyn*, which conforms to the Baltic *Perkūnas* and to Indo-European words for "oak" (Latin *quercus*, from **perkus*) and "oak forest" (Slavic **pergynja*, Celtic *hercynia*); hence the origin of the designation "oak god" (Brückner, 1980, p. 106).

With the onset of Christianity, Perun gradually merged with Saint Elijah (Il'ia), who is portrayed in Russian icons crossing the heavens in a chariot. Bull sacrifice and a communal feast on Saint Il'ia's Day, July 20, were recorded in northern Russia in 1907. Saint Il'ia's Day was most reverently celebrated into the mid-twentieth century in the Rhodope Mountains of Bulgaria. The festival, during which a bull was sacrificed and prepared for the communal feast, took place on a hill or summit.

Household guardians. Slavic names for household guardians—Russian *ded*, *dedushka* (dim.), and *domovoi*; Ukrainian *did*, *didko*, and *domovyk*; Czech *dedek*; and Bulgarian *stopan*—have the meaning "grandfather" or "house lord," suggesting their origins in ancestor worship within a patrilineal culture. The guardian is commonly represented as an old man wearing a fur coat, or as an animal (a dog, bear, or snake). He was believed to live behind or beneath the oven. He cared for animal herds and protected the entire home and its occupants from misfortune. If not honored, Domovoi might leave the house, his departure bringing on illness or the death of householders or cattle. There is a related belief among the Slavs that well-being cannot establish itself in a newly built house until after the death of the head of the family, who then becomes its guardian. If the family moves into a new home, it takes its guardian with it.

The Russian forest spirit, Leshii or Lesovik (from *les*, "forest"), also appears as an old man or an animal. His principal function is to guard forests and animals.

Ancestor worship, a prominent practice among all pre-Christian Slavs, is evidenced in gifts presented to the dead. A strong belief in life after death is indicated by prehistoric and even modern burial rites. Food offerings are made in cemeteries to this day. Everything deemed necessary for the afterlife—weapons, tools, clothing, wives, slaves, horses, hunting dogs, food—was buried in the grave or was burned if the deceased was cremated. The richer one was in life, the more pompous the burial. Slavic royal tombs of prehistory and early history are as elaborate as those of other Indo-European groups: Phrygian, Thracian, Baltic, or Germanic.

The Arab traveler Ibn Faḍlān stated (922) that when a Slavic nobleman died, his body was laid provisionally in a grave for ten days while his property was divided. The deceased, who was dressed in rich garments and equipped with weapons, food, and drink, was seated in a boat. His wife (who chose death voluntarily in order to enter the afterworld with her husband) was killed by stabbing and seated next to him. Then all was consumed by fire. A funeral banquet (*trizna*) continued for days and nights.

Thereafter, the deceased was commemorated and offered food on the third, seventh, twentieth, and fortieth days after death. Similar observances took place six and twelve months after death. In addition to these family observances, general festivals commemorating the dead occurred three or four times a year. These feasts, called "holy *dziady*," were offered in the home and in cemeteries. The holy *dziady*—the word literally means "ancestors"—show that the Slavs looked upon their forefathers as guardians.

MYTHIC IMAGES ROOTED IN OLD EUROPEAN RELIGION.

The primary figures of the oldest stratum of Slavic culture are predominantly female: Fates, Death, Baba Yaga, Moist Mother Earth, and a host of nymphs and goblins (water, mountain, and forest spirits) largely preserved in folklore and attested by written records. In all these feminine figures may be discerned features of the goddesses of Old Europe: the life-giving and life-taking goddess, the goddess of death and regeneration, and the pregnant earth goddess.

Life-giving and life-taking goddesses and their associates. Mokosh is the only female deity mentioned in the Kievan pantheon of 980. In folk beliefs, Mokysha, or Mokusha, has a large head and long arms; at night she spins flax and shears sheep. Her name is related to spinning and plaiting and to moisture. The life-giving and life-taking goddess, or Fate, was the spinner of the thread of life and the dispenser of the water of life. Mokosh was later transformed into the East Slavic goddess Paraskeva-Piatnitsa, who was associated with spinning, water, fertility, health, and marriage.

Up to the twentieth century, it was believed that fate took the form of birth fairies who appeared at the bedside of a newborn baby on the third or the seventh day after birth. In anticipation of the fairies, the baby was washed and dressed in new clothes while a special dinner was prepared. Bread, salt, and wine were put out for the fairies. Three Fates of different ages were believed to appear. They determined the infant's destiny and invisibly inscribed it upon his or her forehead. If the parents feared the Fates, they hid the infant outside the home, a practice common among the South Slavs.

Fate was given various names by the Slavs. To Russians she was Rozhenitsa or Rozhdenitsa ("birth giver"); to Czechs she was Sudička; to Serbs and Croats she was Sudjenica or, earlier, Sudbina (cf. Russian *sud'ba*, "fate"); and to Bulgarians she was Narechnitsa (from *narok*, "destiny"). Both Rozhenitsa and the male Rod, to whom offerings were made, are mentioned in a thirteenth-century Russian text, *Slovo Isaia proroka*.

The Russian *dolia* and the Serbian *sreča* represent the fate of a person's material life. There were good and bad *dolia*s and *sreča*s. The benevolent spirit protected her favorites and served them faithfully from birth to death. The malevolent spirit, *nedolia* or *nesreča*, usually personified as a poor and ugly woman, capable of transforming herself into various shapes, bestowed bad luck. The person who attracted an evil *dolia* would never succeed, and all efforts to shake bad fortune would be in vain.

Fate could also appear as two sisters, Life and Death. Her deathly aspect was known as Mora, Marà, or Smert' ("death"). She was perceived as a tall white woman who could change her shape. When chased by dogs, she turned into a stick, a block, a bat, or a basket. The plague was personified as a slim black woman with long breasts who sometimes had the legs of a cow or horse and the eyes of a snake.

To Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs she was known as Kuga; to Bulgarians and Russians she was Chuma.

Associates of the life-giving and life-taking goddesses were female spirits filled with passionate sensuality, who mingled with humans and dwelt in forests or in mountain caves. They helped with household chores, spun hemp, and reaped grain and tied it into sheaves. They worked rapidly and produced crops that never diminished. The Bohemians called them *divoženky*, the Poles *dziwożony*, the Slovaks *divja davojke*, and the Bulgarians *divi-te zheny* ("wild women"). Tall and naked, they had long breasts and long hair, which they flung over their shoulders. They were distinguished by short feet or chicken legs. They yearned for motherhood, and they often took care of neglected babies and punished bad mothers. Sometimes they substituted their own ugly offspring for handsome human children. In response to an injury or malicious joke, they could kill by touch or tickle. Being half human, they could marry and become model wives and housekeepers, but if their true identity became known, they disappeared instantly.

Another related spirit, Paludnitsa ("midday spirit"), had the appearance of an airy white lady or of an old woman who wandered at noon in the fields during harvesttime. She also floated upon violent gusts of wind. Whomever she touched died a sudden death. Her most common victims were young women who either already had children or were in childbed.

Baba Yaga and Ved'ma. The Old European goddess of death and regeneration is reflected in the Slavic deity Baba Yaga, who has been preserved in folk tales as a witch. She was said to live in darkness and to devour humans, but she was also believed to have a gift for prophecy. She was usually old and ugly, with bony legs, a long nose, and disheveled hair, but she might also appear as a young woman, or as two sisters. Baba Yaga was represented as a bird or a snake, and she could turn herself into an animal or even into an inanimate object. The first half of her compound name, *baba*, suggests "grandmother" and "pelican"; the second, *yaga*, from Proto-Slavic **(y)ęga*, means "disease" or "fright." The word *baba* can also mean "block," or "woodpile," which connotes destruction, death, and decay.

In East Slavic tradition, Baba Yaga has a male counterpart: Koshchei Bessmertnyi, "Koshchei the Immortal." His name, from *kost'* ("bone"), suggests the notion of the dying and rising god, that is, a deity who cyclically dies and is reborn. In folk tales, Baba Yaga is either the mother or the aunt of Koshchei. Another male equivalent of Baba Yaga in her role of the "mother of the winds" is Morozko ("frost").

Ved'ma ("witch") is a demonized goddess. She can be seen flying beneath the clouds and over the mountains and valleys on a broom or a rake. She departs from the house through the chimney as a bird or a fiery snake. She can produce rain or cause a storm simply by touching an object with her broom. She possesses a magical ointment, the source of water, which she sprinkles on herself before flying. Ved'ma can be old and ugly or very beautiful. She can make herself invisible, turn into a ball of yarn, and move rapidly. She knows the magical properties of plants and is the keeper of the water of life and death.

Moist Mother Earth and Corn Mother. The sacred deity known as Moist Mother Earth (Mati Syra Zemlia) was perceived as pure, powerful, and pregnant. Up to the twentieth century peasants believed that in springtime it was a grave sin to strike the earth with anything before March 25, because during that time the earth was pregnant. Plowing and digging were forbidden on the holidays of this deity. For centuries, peasants settle disputes over property by calling upon Mother Earth to witness the justice of their claims. Marriages were confirmed by the participants' swallowing lumps of earth (a tradition recorded in nineteenth-century northern Russia). Oaths were taken in a similar manner (attested as late as 1870 in the Orel district of central Russia) or by putting earth on one's head.

The corn (i.e., grain) spirit was personified as the Corn Mother or as the Old Rye (Barley, Wheat, or Oat) Woman. She made crops grow. At harvest, it was believed that she was present in the last stalks of grain left standing in the field. In Pomerania, the person who cut the last stalks of grain fashioned them into a doll, which was called Corn Mother or Old Woman and was brought home on the last wagon. In some areas, the Corn Mother, in the form of a doll or a wreath, was symbolically drenched with water (drowned) and was kept until the following spring, when some of its grain was mixed with the new seed grain at planting time. The agricultural cycle of death (harvest) and rebirth (planting) was thus ensured, life-taking and life-giving in turn.

Nymphs. Two types of nymph were known to the Slavs: *vila*s and *rusalka*s. Both are usually depicted as beautiful young women, although *rusalka*s are also described as children or as old women.

Vilas. Many Slavs believed that *vila*s originated like blossoms with the morning dew or that they were born when the sun shone through the rain. Others said that *vila*s were born from meadow grasses whose roots resembled garlic bulbs; still others believed that they were born of the mountains.

The *vila* is depicted as a very beautiful young girl who wears a thin white dress and whose long, loose, red or gold tresses fall over her back and breasts. She is distinguished from a human maiden by her feet, which resemble the hooves of a donkey or a goat. She can turn into a horse, a swan, or a falcon. Because she is so beautiful, she cannot tolerate the presence of anyone more beautiful than she or anyone who laughs at the sight of her feet. Possessed of supernatural strength, she can, with a single glance, kill anyone who displeases her.

There are three kinds of *vila*, associated with mountains, with water, and with clouds. The mountain *vila* helps care for children and orphans, the water *vila* can poison springs, and the cloud *vila*, who has wings, can fly. Well known throughout the South Slavic area is the story of the Swan Maiden: she was a cloud *vila* forced to become the wife of a mortal when he stole her wings; later she finds her wings and flies off to the clouds. The water *vila* lives near water, either by mountain lakes and springs or on the seacoast, sometimes in caves or pits in the earth. All the *vila*s can understand the languages of fish and birds. They often gather near water where they dance in a *kolo* ("circle"). If a human interrupts their *kolo*, they may blind him or make him dance until he drops dead. Sometimes, the *vila*s dance their *kolo* in the clouds.

In Slavic folklore *vila*s are associated with diseases and injuries. Nevertheless, they can also heal wounds with herbs and can cure grave afflictions, especially blindness and barrenness.

Rusalkas. Descriptions of *rusalka*s vary from region to region. They are sometimes said to live in the forest, but in most accounts they are reported to live at the bottom of lakes and rivers, in the deepest water. The *rusalka* is seen as the mistress of water, the female counterpart of the male spirit of water, the *vodianoi*. In early Russian religion, water itself was personified and venerated, often in the form of a female spirit.

The *rusalka* is depicted as a beautiful young woman with a white body and long, loose, green or gold hair that she combs while sitting on a riverbank. Always naked, she loves to swing on branches and to play, sing, and dance. She entices men off forest paths or lures them into her dance so as to tickle them to death and carry them into the water. In some accounts, the *rusalka* is said to have a tail like a fish; in other accounts, she is a seven-year-old girl. In northern Russia, the *rusalka* was believed to be an ugly, hairy old woman with long, sagging breasts.

Many narratives attest to the human origin of *rusalka*s. They were believed to be the spirits of drowned or strangled women, young female suicides, or the souls of unbaptized dead children (sometimes drowned by their mothers); in other words, they originated from unclean deaths.

Goblins. In the West and South Slavic areas, goblins were perceived as little men (dwarfs) who, if they were fed and cared for, brought good harvests and money. The Bohemian *šetek* or *šotek* stayed in sheep sheds or hid in pea patches or wild pear trees. The Slovak *škratak*, Polish *skrzat* or *skrzatek*, and Slovene *škrat* (cf. German *Schrat*) appeared as a small bird emitting sparks. The Polish *latawiec* ("flying goblin") took the shape of a bird or a snake. A close parallel is the Lithuanian *aitvaras*, who usually appeared as a bird (rooster) or a fiery snake and who brought forth milk products and grain. It was generally thought that goblins could be hatched from an egg carried for a certain length of time in one's armpit.

CONCLUSION. Except in the northwestern Slavic area (present-day Germany), Slavic religion can today be studied only at the folkloristic level. In the northwestern Slavic area, eleventh- and twelfth-century records describe temples housing warrior idols of Indo-European heritage and religious ceremonies presided over by a priestly order. Enough evidence has been preserved to give a fairly clear picture of Slavic religion in that area.

In Christian times, peasants amalgamated Old European and Indo-European goddesses and gods with Christian figures and saints into a typically Slavic folk religion. They preserved those heathen images that were best suited to their agrarian way of life. Strongly preserved are Mother Earth and Corn Mother; Iarilo, the stimulator of crops; Perun, a stimulator of slumbering vegetation and purifier of evil powers; and personifications of the moon and the dawn. Of these, Mother Earth was revered most of all; even in the field of law her powers were great. The thunder god, Perun, remains influential to this very day, appearing in the battle with cosmic chaos in the shape of a serpent or dragon hiding in whirlwinds.

SEE ALSO Baltic Religion; Germanic Religion; Indo-European Religions.

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SLEEP

SLEEP, as a periodic, recurrent state of inactivity and altered consciousness, marks a boundary line in human experience. However sleep is culturally evaluated and understood, it is a state quite different from ordinary, waking life. As such, it has been a universal object of religious interest and imagination. The various traditions, symbolisms and rituals of sleep are closely related to religious understanding of night and the role of dreams, to assessments of death, and to themes associated with its apparent opposites: dawn and awakening.

MYTHOLOGIES OF SLEEP.

Figures and notions associated with sleep appear in numerous mythologies and folk traditions.

Personifications of sleep. While personified figures of sleep appear in mythology, poetry, and artistic representations, they are rarely themselves the focus of cultic activity. The personifications often reveal the ambiguous assessment of sleep: it is peaceful and restorative, and it is like death. For example, while the early Iranian *Vispe Ratavo* (7.4) can enjoin the worship of sleep, sleep is more usually understood within that tradition to be a negative force controlled by the demon Bushyasta; in India, the ambivalent deities Rudra (*Kaivalya Upaniṣad* 6–9) and Śiva (*Uṇādi Sūtra* 1.153) are identified as lords of sleep.

The most developed personification of sleep occurs within the Greco-Roman tradition with the archaic figure of Hypnos (Lat., Somnus). Schematically, the poet Hesiod (eighth century BCE) located Hypnos and his brother, Death (Thanatos), along with the race of Dreams, as the asexually produced children of Night. Sleep is the friend of man; Death, his pitiless adversary (*Theogony* 211–213, 756–766). In other poetic and artistic materials, the fraternal relations of Sleep and Death are further developed; they are twin brothers (*Iliad* 14.231). Hypnos or Somnus is personified as a small winged bird, an infant, or a young warrior. In some traditions, Sleep carries a horn or a poppy-stalk from which he drips a liquid that causes slumber. The only recorded instance of a regular cult of sacrifice to Hypnos is at Triozen (Pausanius, 2.31.3); rather it is Hermes, in his role as conductor of dreams, who was the object of nightly libations and petitions for a good sleep.

Sleeping gods. At its most complex level, the notion of sleeping gods is tied to cosmic cyclical patterns of the periodic dissolution and recreation of the world. Thus Viṣṇu falls asleep on the back of the cosmic serpent (Śeṣa or Ananta) at the end of each world-age. In late Puranic texts, Nidrā, the personified goddess of sleep, is depicted as entering Viṣṇu's body. Visnu sleeps until Brahmā commands Nidrā to depart so that Viṣṇu might awake and recreate the cosmos (*Mārkaṇḍeya Puraṇā* 81.53–70). Viṣṇu also is represented as undergoing an annual period of sleep. During the monsoon months, beginning in June and July, Viṣṇu—and therefore the world—sleeps (*Padma Puraṇā* 63, 125). In late traditions, Indra is thought to perform Viṣṇu's functions during this period (*Harivaṃsá* 50.26).

The notion of a deity undergoing periodic durations of sleep is not uncommon and may be expressed in ritual as well as myth. Thus there was an annual Syrian ritual of the "awakening" of Melqart-Herakles (Josephus Flavius, *Jewish Antiquities* 8.146), while, from earliest times through the Roman period, the daily Egyptian temple service began with a hymn awakening the sun (Pyramid Text 573).

However, gods are most commonly celebrated for being sleepless and hence all-seeing. YHVH (Psalm 121:3–4), the Adityas (*Ṛgveda* 2.27.9), Mitra (*Ṛgveda* 3.59.1), Ahura Mazdā (*Vidēvdāt* 19.20), Sraosha (*Yasht* 11.10–12), and others are praised for never sleeping. A special motif is that of a god with multiple eyes, some of which are always open, while others are asleep, thereby guaranteeing their omniscience (for example, Argos and El-Kronos in the account of Philo of Byblus). The opposite motif, that of the sleeping and therefore powerless deity, is represented by Elijah's taunts to the priests of Baal (*1 Kgs.* 18.27–28) and east European Christian dualistic creation myths that have the Devil working while God sleeps during the sabbath that followed creation.

Sleep in heroic tales and folklore. One of the more persistent folkloristic themes is that of a lengthy sleep, a Rip Van Winkle motif in which sleep serves as a sort of suspended animation for a period of years. While occasionally the emphasis is on perpetual sleep, conferred as either a punishment or a boon (both are claimed in different accounts of the Greek hero Endymion), there is, more frequently, a terminus. Best known is the widely distributed eschatological tale of the Sleeping Emperor, asleep within a cave or mountain. Frederick Barbarossa is held to be asleep within the Kyffhäuser, seated at a marble table surrounded by his knights, awaiting his awakening, when he will lead Germany in a glorious battle and usher in a golden age. The same sort of claim is made for Charlemagne asleep in a hill near Paderborn, Wittekind in Westphalia, Siegfried in Geroldseck, Henry I in Goslar, Thomas of Erceldoune in the Eildon Hills, and others. These beliefs may at times fuel apocalyptic movements, as in the case of the flagellants of Thuringia, led by Konrad Schmid in the fourteenth century. The same motif occurs in the hagiography of wise men: Epimenides sleeping fifty-seven years in the Dictaean cave near Knossus, Shimʿon bar Yoḥʾai in Palestine for twelve, Zalmoxis in Thrace for three.

The widespread legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, first recorded in a Western language by Gregory of Tours in the sixth century, has also found its way into the Qurʾān (18.8–25); the legend narrates how the seven Christian anti-idolators slept in a cave for 367 years before being awakened during the reign of Theodosius II. Subsequently, they returned to sleep, not to be awakened again until the general resurrection. Related, but different from this motif of cave hibernation, are the Jewish legends of two figures who sleep during a period of tribulation: Abimelech the Ethiopian, who slept for sixty-six years from the destruction of the Temple by the Babylonians; Ḥoni ha-Meʿaggel ("the circle maker"), who slept for seventy years, in one account from the destruction of the Temple, in another, from the period of the conflict between Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II.

Equally persistent, although not well organized into a narrative scheme, is the motif of magical sleep most familiar from tales such as that of Sleeping Beauty, wherein a potion, a spell, or an object causes unnatural sleep that either cannot be undone or must be undone by countermagic or by an act of accidental or innocent intervention.

In heroic quest-sagas, the hero is often put to a test, one of which is that sleep is forbidden until the quest is accomplished. The best known instance is a negative example: Gilgamesh's failure to stay awake. In such sagas, the hero frequently confronts a sleepless adversary, such as the dragon in the *Argonautica* who guards the Golden Fleece until it is overcome by Jason through the intercession of Medea and her magic song invoking "Sleep, highest of gods" (Apollonius Rhodius, 4.146).

Soul loss and transformation. A tradition of exceedingly wide distribution is that the soul becomes separated from the body during sleep and that death will result if the individual is awakened or the body moved before it returns. So ubiquitous is this belief that E. B. Tylor thought it one of the basic human experiences that gave rise to religion and James G. Frazer devoted the third volume of *The Golden Bough* to its ramifications.

Closely related to the theme of the separable soul is the notion that sleep is a time of shape-changing (often expressed in folklore in accounts of were-animals). These traditions are most fully elaborated in shamanism. The shaman is, among other things, an expert in the retrieval of lost souls by being able to achieve a sleeplike trance and pursuing them. In South America, one of the tests for shamanic abilities is that the candidate frequently experiences lengthy periods of deep sleep. Throughout shamanism, the return of the shaman from an ecstatic journey is most commonly described as an "awakening." During his journey, the shaman will frequently change shape. Snorri Sturlson's description of the shamanic attributes of the Norse god Óðinn (Odin) is representative of this related set of elements: while his body lay "as if sleeping or dead," he assumed the form of a bird, animal, fish, or snake and traveled to far lands "on his own or other men's errands" (*Ynglingasaga* 7).

RITUALS OF SLEEP. Religious practices related to sleep or the interruption of sleep are characteristic of many traditions.

Social location. Who sleeps with whom is a central question of religious etiquette. This is not only a matter of sanctioned sexuality. Within many societies, a mark of male adulthood is residential segregation in the men's house, a location of secret rituals forbidden to women. Elements of rituals of initiatory separation focus on this shift in social location. In other societies, the blueprint of a domestic house represents a map of such social and sexual relations. For example, in central Thailand, only certain members of the family sleep in the bedroom; other close relations may enter the room but may not sleep there; guests are restricted to an entrance room, separated from the sleeping room by a clearly demarcated threshold.

Incubation. Going to a particular sacred place to sleep in order to gain a religious end is common. Most frequently such incubation is for the purpose of gaining a revelation or a cure. The former is to be related to similar phenomena such as the American Indian dream quest; the latter, to the general ideology of shrines. Perhaps the most extensive record of incubation is that by Aelius Aristides in the second century who has left, in his *Sacred Teachings,* a report of his experiences in a variety of Asklepian shrines over a twenty-seven year period.

Sleep interruption or deprivation. The regular interruption of sleep is a common practice in religious asceticism, especially in monastic communities. Thus the Christian "canonical hours" in which monks would be aroused at either midnight or 2:00 AM for prayer. Similar interruptions figure in other spiritual regimens such as the Daoist practice of the "expulsion of the breath" that must be undertaken at least five times during the period of midnight to noon.

Sleeplessness is an often recurring feature of religious asceticism and vision quests. In the lists of five sins that must be "cut off" by a yogin, sleep appears (*Mahābhārata* 12.241.3). Like the sleeplessness of the hero, sleep deprivation is the mark of a spiritual athlete. The hagiographies of holy persons frequently celebrate either their ability to sleep far less than ordinary people or to do without sleep entirely. For example, the pre-Christian Syrian Stylites were said to resist sleep for seven days while perched on columns. According to legend, if they fell asleep, a scorpion would sting them awake (Lucian, *Syrian Goddess* 29). In the traditions of the Christian Desert Fathers, preserved in texts such as Palladius's *Lausiac History,* monks such as Doretheus, Macarius of Alexandria and Pachomius are praised for never sleeping. All-night vigils, spending days and nights immersed in cold water, and sleeping only in a sitting position were frequent ritual means for achieving sleep deprivation. Sleeplessness is also a feature of initiatory ordeals. In Australia, novices are prevented from sleeping for periods of up to three days. The goal in these varied practices appears to be twofold: to transcend the normal bodily processes and to achieve heightened consciousness.

METAPHORS OF SLEEP IN RELIGIOUS SPEECH. References to sleep in myth and religious literature reflect its metaphorical significance as the state of death, ignorance, or enlightenment.

Sleep as death. In many languages, sleep is a metaphor for death. While this may serve as a euphemism, the connection, as the Greek myth of Death and Sleep as twin brothers suggests, is deeper. At one level, there is the physical resemblance of a sleeping body to a corpse. This association is heightened by burial ceremonies that treat the grave or receptacle as a bed and place the corpse in a position of repose (either prone or sitting). The parallel is stronger in cultures that hold that the soul escapes from the sleeper's body just as it does from the corpse at death. Finally, there is the view that the land of the dead is a land of sleep. To return from the dead is to be awakened.

Some myths of the origin of death lay emphasis on the sleep motif. For example, the Selk'nam of Tierra del Fuego tell of the repeated attempts of the ancestors, who were tired of life, to achieve a deep sleep. After many failures, another group of ancestors wrap them in blankets and teach them the way of "transformation sleep." After a few days of such sleep (i. e., death), they will either be reborn on earth or, if they do not wish to return, they will be reborn as another kind of being or take up a celestial existence.

Sleep as ignorance. The understanding of sleep as a cessation of consciousness leads readily to the use of sleep as a metaphor for ignorance. In gnostic traditions within a diversity of religions, sleep, forgetfulness and oblivion have become characteristics of earthly existence. Salvation consists of awakening and recollection. In these traditions, the archaic language of the darkness and sleep of the land of the dead has been transferred to ordinary, mundane existence. The waking world of light and consciousness has been transferred to the "beyond."

Sleep as enlightenment. While enlightenment is most frequently expressed in terms of awakening (as in the root *budh,* "to wake, be awake," which has given rise to such words as *Buddha, bodhisattva,* and *bodhi,* "perfect knowledge," all reflecting the sense "to be awake from the slumber of ignorance and delusion"), it can, at times, be expressed in the language of sleep. This is especially the case in mystical systems where lack of consciousness of the world and contact with the supramundane is emphasized. In her various writings, Teresa of Ávila uses terms such as *sleep, falling asleep, being numb, repose, languishing,* and *stupor* to describe ecstasy. This builds on the Augustinian tradition that ecstasy is a state midway between sleep and death, more than sleep, less than death, where the soul is withdrawn from the bodily senses (Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 12.26.53). In the Indic Upaniṣadic tradition, the language of sleep in relation to enlightenment is further developed. The brief *Mandukya Upaniṣad* presents the common fourfold schematization: (1) waking consciousness, (2) dream consciousness, that is, ordinary sleep, (3) deep sleep (*susupti*), a sleep without consciousness or dreams, and, the goal, (4) pure consciousness. Deep sleep is the realm of the "Knower"; the only danger is to confuse this penultimate stage with the true gnosis of the fourth state.

SEE ALSO Asklepios; Consciousness, States of; Dreams; Shamanism; Shape Shifting.

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Material on sleep can be gleaned from monographs on related topics—for example, the classic study of incubation by Ludwig Deubner, *De incubatione* (Leipzig, 1900)—and from the large body of literature on dreams, of which Ernesto de Martino's *Il sogno e le civiltà umane* (Bari, 1966) is most useful. Still, there is no reliable cross-cultural overview of sleep. The chapter on the interrelationships of sleep, death, and the erotic titled "On the Wings of the Morning: The Pornography of Death" in Emily Townsend Vermeule's *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley, 1979) is an exemplary study that needs to be matched for other cultures.

JONATHAN Z. SMITH (1987)

SMART, NINIAN. Roderick Ninian Smart (1927–2001)—usually cited without his first name—was one of the most influential religion scholars of the twentieth century. Combining academic and personal leadership with a generosity of spirit and gracious personality, he was loved and cherished by many people all over the world. Praised by colleagues and students as an imaginative, inspiring teacher who possessed both lightness of touch and depth of learning, he enjoyed a high academic profile and wide international influence, especially in the English-speaking world. His prolific output established his worldwide reputation, based on an immense range of knowledge and a compassionate concern for humane and universal values. His careful attention to the intricate details of different religions, philosophies, and cultures was always set within a larger global vision transcending narrow tribal and national boundaries. Intent upon promoting personal and social well-being, he authored, edited and co-edited more than forty books (which were translated into many other languages) and over 250 articles, essays, chapters, and encyclopedia entries. His writings on the study of religion have influenced generations of students and scholars and also a wide general readership eager to learn about world religions and philosophies.

BIOGRAPHY AND SCHOLARLY ACHIEVEMENTS. Born in Cambridge, England, to Scottish parents on May 6, 1927, Smart was educated at Glasgow Academy after his father had become Regius Professor of Astronomy at the University of Glasgow. Both his father and mother, a published poet and woman of means, deeply influenced him. Ninian and his two brothers all grew up to become professors in different disciplines. After school, Smart joined the British Army Intelligence Corps (1945–1948) and after infantry training was sent to learn Cantonese at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Postings to Singapore and then Sri Lanka provided his first extended contact with Buddhism. After demobilization, he joined Queen's College, Oxford, in 1948 to study classics, ancient history, and philosophy, while continuing his interest in Chinese and Asian studies, later supplemented by Sanskrit and Pali at Yale. Graduate studies at Oxford in the philosophy of religion were combined with the comparative study of religions. Working with J. L. Austin and R. C. Zaehner, Smart presented the first postwar dissertation in philosophy of religion at Oxford, later published as *Reasons and Faiths: An Investigation of Religious Discourse, Christian and Non-Christian* (1958).

At Oxford he met Libushka Baruffaldi, and they were married in 1954, Libushka providing loving support that sustained him and their four children throughout his long career. Smart's first post was a lectureship in philosophy at University College of Wales, Aberystwyth (1952–1956), followed by appointments in the history and philosophy of religion at King's College, London University (1956–1961), and then as first H. G. Wood Professor of Theology at Birmingham University (1961–1967). In 1967, Lancaster University appointed Smart as founding professor of religious studies, a position he held till 1982. Together with his colleagues, Smart brought the Lancaster Religious Studies Department to great international renown, promoting the historical, phenomenological, and social-scientific study of religion. During his time there, more than twenty Sri Lankan students obtained a doctorate in religious studies at Lancaster, and more than one hundred Lancaster religion graduates later held posts in higher education worldwide. He also served as pro-vice-chancellor of Lancaster University (1969–1972). Later, Lancaster University awarded him its highest honor as honorary professor of religious studies, and he became emeritus in 1989.

From 1976 on, Smart was also professor of religious studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara, dividing his time for some years between Lancaster and California. In 1986 he became the first J. F. Rowny Professor in the Comparative Study of Religion, a position he held until his retirement in 1998. In 1996 he was named the Academic Senate's research professor, the highest academic honor of the University of California for its faculty. Smart chaired departments at the Universities of London, Birmingham, Lancaster, and at Santa Barbara. He was elected president of the major learned societies in his field, the British Association for the History of Religion (1981–1985), the American Society for the Study of Religion (1984–1987), and the American Academy of Religion (1998–2000). He was awarded seven honorary doctorates, including degrees from Loyola University, Chicago, and the Universities of Glasgow, Stirling, Kelaniya (Sri Lanka), Lancaster, and Middlesex. In 1999, Queen's College, Oxford, where he had studied, made him an honorary fellow.

Smart was frequently invited as guest lecturer and visiting professor at, among other institutions, Yale, Wisconsin, Princeton, Banaras, Queensland, Otago, Cape Town, Bangalore, and Hong Kong. His Heslington Lectures at the University of York (1966) were published as *Secular Education and the Logic of Religion* (1968). His Gifford Lectures at the University of Edinburgh (1979–1980) appeared as *Beyond Ideology: Religion and the Future of Western Civilization* (1981/1982), and his Drummond Lectures at the University of Stirling (1985) as *Religion and the Western Mind* (1987). Other prestigious lectures included the Stewart Seminars at Princeton University (1971), resulting in a major theoretical work, *The Science of Religion and the Sociology of Knowledge* (1973/1978); the Chavara Lectures at the Center for Indian and Inter-Religious Studies, Rome (1993); and the Dharma Endowment Lectures at Dharmaram College, Bangalore (1997).

Smart was strongly committed to wider issues in religious education. He was prominent in setting up the Shap Working Party on World Religions in Education (1969), aimed at helping teachers in English schools to introduce the study of world religions into the curriculum. As one of its founding co-chairs and a subsequent president, Smart provided significant leadership and, in 1969, was appointed director of the Schools Council Project on Religious Education in Secondary Schools, which he was instrumental in establishing in Lancaster. The related Project on Religious Education in Primary Schools was set up under his direction in 1973. Through his close collaboration with the acclaimed BBC television series *The Long Search* (1974–1977), dealing with the religions of the world (though not those of Africa), and through his association with the popular Open University religious studies program in Britain he exercised extensive public influence. With several British colleagues Smart was also, in 1971, cofounder of the internationally known journal *Religion: A Journal of Religion and Religions*, now edited in Lancaster and California.

An extensive traveler, Smart attended innumerable conferences and meetings, always encouraging younger scholars. His friends knew him as a keen cricket and tennis player who greatly enjoyed family life, conviviality, and good conversation; and as someone who doodled, wrote limericks and poems (some published as *Smart Verse*, 1996), drew cartoons, and painted with water colors. Smart was looking forward to a long, active retirement but, soon after his permanent return to Lancaster, he died unexpectedly on January, 29, 2001. This tragic loss occasioned warm tributes from former colleagues, friends, and students around the world. The many memorial celebrations and colloquia honoring this eminent scholar seem already to have moved his life and work into the realm of legend.

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF RELIGIONS. Smart wrote extensively—and, in the eyes of certain critics, sometimes too superficially—on most religious traditions in the modern world. He became well known through the five editions of his widely used textbook, *The Religious Experience* (first published as *The Religious Experience of Mankind*, 1969), later superseded by *The World's Religions: Old Traditions and Modern Transformations* (1989). His early work in the philosophy of religion dealt with questions of truth and dialogue, combined with an interest in the study of Buddhism and Hinduism. Smart went on to develop a phenomenologically grounded, multidisciplinary, cross-cultural approach to the comparative study of religious traditions ancient and modern, what he later called the study of "worldviews" and "ideologies." He also spoke of religious studies as "aspectual," "dealing with a vital aspect of human institutions and experience," exploring the power that religion exercised over the human mind, imagination, societies, and cultures. Without denying the necessity of philology, he emphasized the need for clear conceptual analysis and attention to "religion on the ground," requiring a social-science approach.

Smart's work has made important contributions to theory and method in the study of religion, comparative ethics, religious education, sociology of religion, and studies in politics and religion. Much of the theoretical orientation of his vast program is lucidly summarized in his two inaugural addresses, "The Principles and Meaning of the Study of Religion" (1968) and, twenty years later, "The Study of Religion as a Multidisciplinary and Cross-cultural Presence among the Human Sciences" (1989), where he also announced his intention to undertake a future study of a universal human "grammar of symbolism," once he had completed his work on world philosophies. Unfortunately, his early demise prevented this promising plan from coming to fruition.

His second book, *A Dialogue of Religions* (1960/1981) presents an imaginary dialogue between six different people (a Christian, a Jew, a Muslim, a Hindu, a Sri Lankan Buddhist, and a Japanese Buddhist), covering topics from rebirth and salvation to the worship of God, incarnation and history, Buddhism, and the Trinity. The book reflects Smart's sympathetic imagination and his capacity to understand the dialogical process. Many consider his early *Doctrine and Argument in Indian Philosophy* (1964/1992) to be his finest and technically most accomplished work. It showed an excellent grasp of complex issues in Indian philosophy and was innovative in not using Sanskrit or Pali words in the text, but instead giving their English translation, supplemented by an annotated glossary explaining the original Pali and Sanskrit words. Another helpful but less well-known study on Indian thought is *The Yogi and the Devotee: The Interplay between the Upanishads and Catholic Theology* (1968), based on his Teape Lectures given in Delhi and Calcutta in 1964.

Smart's writings on education date mainly from the late 1960s to the mid-1970s. *Secular Education and the Logic of Religion* (1968) was influential in shaping the form and content of British religious education by arguing: (1) the pluralist nature of society; (2) the neutrality of the state with regard to religious matters; and (3) the need for a disinterested, rather than confessional, study of religion at all levels of education. This book championed a nondogmatic, multi-faith approach through the use of a phenomenological method that promoted empathetic understanding and objectivity. It also first introduced Smart's account of the multidimensional character of religion, later widely diffused through *The Religious Experience* and subsequent publications, such as *Worldviews: Crosscultural Explorations of Human Beliefs* (1995/2000) and *Dimensions of the Sacred: An Anatomy of the World's Beliefs* (1996). These dimensions are the doctrinal or philosophical, mythic or narrative, ethical or legal, ritual or practical, experiential or emotional, and social or organizational, to which he later added the artistic or material and the political or economic. These describe religions as they exist rather than reducing them to their origins and functions. It is wholly appropriate to speak, as some do, of a Smartian six- (or eight-) dimensional approach to the study of religion, which many have found illuminating in reaching conceptual clarity and empathetic understanding of religious traditions and secular ideologies.

Among Smart's last books were an *Atlas of the World's Religions* (1999) and *World Philosophies* (1999), which begins with the "one world" theme and shows his continuing exploration of philosophical diversity, including that of African philosophies, within a new worldview of global pluralism. Described as "the heaviest book he has written," its impressively wide sweep and inclusiveness are its great strengths, reflecting immense learning, though it has been judged as "too ambitious and too reductive," pleasing neither the specialist nor the general reader. Others assess it more positively, for it shows Smart's continuing preoccupation with important philosophical issues, his clarity of perception and acuity of mind, and an astute observation of a fast-changing global scene.

SIGNIFICANCE AND LEGACY. Smart was a great pragmatist, but also a pioneer, prophet, and visionary. The newly emerging global civilization was for him "an age of opportunity" requiring a balance between personalism and pluralism. Speaking of "a creative critical pluralism" arising out of the interactive encounter of different cultures, and a new "transcendental humanism," he affirmed: "It is the mutual interpenetration of cultures through empathy that the comparative study of religion offers as a major ingredient in the formation of a peaceful global city" (*Beyond Ideology*, 1981, p. 312). He strongly opposed the ghettoization of religious studies and dispassionately pleaded for treating all symbolic systems or worldviews together, calling for a deeper conversation between the different religions through the creation of a new umbrella organization, a global academy of religion.

It is too early for a full critical assessment of Smart's contribution to the study of religion. Only time will tell which of his numerous works and ideas will be of lasting influence in the comparative study of religion, in philosophy of religion, or in education. His writings can be seen as mirroring some of the important developments in the modern study of religion without including more recent theoretical issues developed by poststructuralist, postcolonial, and feminist critics. Although sometimes criticized as too broad-ranging, Smart's work advocates a strong pluralist position and possesses a genuine inclusiveness, reflecting the ability to represent "the other" through a deep empathy that is rare among scholars. Although one might not always agree with a particular thesis, his ideas throw light on many different problems in the study of religion.

Smart carried his brilliance and learning lightly, advocating that "the understanding of religion is not only important in itself, but it can be fun." He also maintained that being religious is more important than studying religion. His scholarly achievements and the wide diffusion of his work owe much to his effective use of the media. Described as a peripatetic scholar of religion, philosopher, comparative theologian, poet, and global citizen, Smart's personality was in many ways as important as his approaches to the study of religion. He once wrote, "the study of religion is a science that requires a sensitive and artistic heart," and he embodied this more than most. A more nuanced interpretation of his achievements and the historical significance of his oeuvre is still to come, but it is imperative that all that is most original, innovative, and best in his work will be carried on by others for whom his legacy remains both inspiring and challenging.

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Extensive bibliographical references to Smart's works, though not complete, can be found in the two *Festschrift* publications that appeared during his lifetime (giving him great pleasure): *Aspects of Religion: Essays in Honour of Ninian Smart*, edited by Peter Masefield and Don Wiebe (New York, 1994), and *The Future of Religion: Postmodern Perspectives, Essays in Honour of Ninian Smart*, edited by Christopher Lamb and Dan Cohn-Sherbok (London, 1999). Lancaster University is developing the Ninian Smart Archive and a bibliography, which will list all of Smart's publications, from the strictly academic to the merely flippant and entertaining. A good overview of Smart's wide research can be gained from John J. Shepherd, ed., *Ninian Smart on World Religions: Collected Works*, 2 vols. (Aldershot, UK, 2005), which brings together key articles in the theory and method of the study of religion, religious education, philosophy of religion, interfaith dialogue, comparative ethics, Buddhism and Hinduism, religious traditions in the modern world, and religions and worldview analysis. Smart himself published two collections of selected articles: *Concept and Empathy: Essays in the Study of Religion*, edited by Donald Wiebe (London and New York, 1986), a compilation of previously published articles that contains his Lancaster University inaugural address, "The Principles and Meaning in the Study of Religion"; and *Reflections in the Mirror of Religion*, edited by John Burris (London and New York, 1997). Smart's approach to religious experience has been analyzed by Jose Kuruvachira, *Religious Experience Buddhist, Christian, Hindu: A Critical Study of*

Ninian Smart's Interpretation of the Numinous and the Mystical (New Delhi, 2003).

Smart's work was referred to several times in the first edition of *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, edited by Mircea Eliade (New York, 1987), to which he contributed the articles on "Soteriology" (vol. 13, pp. 418–423) and "Comparative-Historical Method" (vol. 3, pp. 571–574), themes that are also discussed in his *The Science of Religion and the Sociology of Knowledge* (Princeton, 1973).

In addition to the publications cited in the entry above, other books by Smart include *Philosophers and Religious Truth* (London, 1964/1969); *The Philosophy of Religion* (New York, 1970/1979); *The Phenomenon of Religion* (London, 1973/1978); *New Movements in Religious Education*, co-edited with Donald Horder (London, 1975); *The Phenomenon of Christianity* (London, 1979), also published as *In Search of Christianity: Discovering the Diverse Vitality of Christian Life* (San Francisco, 1979); and *Sacred Texts of the World: A Universal Anthology,* co-edited with Richard D. Hecht (New York, 1982), wherein Smart's different dimensions of religion are used for the arrangement of selected texts, including passages from new religions and secular worldviews. Smart's interests in comparative theology and what some call his "theological intentions," are evident from *The Concept of Worship* (London and New York, 1972); his *Christian Systematic Theology in a World Context*, coauthored with Steven Konstantine (London and Minneapolis, 1991); and *Buddhism and Christianity: Rivals and Allies* (London and Honolulu, 1993). Smart's Gifford Lectures were published as *Beyond Ideology: Religion and the Future of Western Civilization* (London, 1981; San Francisco, 1982). His own religious beliefs are perhaps most clearly delineated in "An Ultimate Vision" in *Ultimate Visions: Reflections on the Religions We Choose*, edited by Martin Forward, pp. 257–265 (Oxford, 1995).

Themes relating to religion, politics, and nationalism are taken up in many of Smart's writings, but are especially focused on in *Mao* (London, 1974); *Religion and Politics in the Modern World*, co-edited with Peter H. Merkl (New York and London, 1983/1985); and in *Religion and Nationalism: The Urgency of Transnational Spirituality and Toleration* (Rome, 1994). Personal appreciations of Ninian Smart as a colleague, scholar, teacher, and friend are found in "Tributes to Ninian Smart (1927–2001)" in *Religion* 31, no. 4 (2001): 315–386.

URSULA KING (2005)

SMITH, HANNAH WHITALL (1832–1911), author, evangelist, and social activist, was born to birthright Quaker parents in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania on February 7, 1832. Frustrations with her slow spiritual progress as a young Quaker girl immersed in the troubled Quakerism of her time cast the only shadows over what she otherwise describes as her "sunshine years." Her early journals give strong intimations of the concepts that later became the central themes of her ministry as a spiritual guide. The unfailing provision of loving— even doting— parents shaped her understanding of the "unselfishness" of the loving God of the Bible, whose unfailing care for humankind she portrayed in both its fatherly and motherly expressions. The love and bounty of her childhood milieu later defined the pivotal point of her understanding of the mature Christian's experience of God: "God is enough!" With these givens, early in her life as an evangelical believer, Smith also concluded that God's infinite love and power would ultimately bring all errant humankind back into his family. The heretical tones of this "restitutionism" sometimes threatened Smith's standing within the evangelical community. However, her adherence to an early promise she had made to a group of English evangelicals to never promote her "heresy" publicly allowed her to develop and maintain the spiritual authority she came to command in these circles.

Smith married Philadelphia Quaker Robert Pearsall Smith (1827–1898) in 1851. Her plans to pursue higher education came to an abrupt end with the birth of the first of their six children (only three survived into adulthood). The rise of spiritual renewal movements within American and British Protestantism in 1859 led the Smiths to embrace the evangelical understanding of the authority of the Christian scriptures over the priority the Friends traditionally had given to the more mystical guidance of each individual's "inner light." The Smiths both professed evangelical conversion and resigned from the Society. After rejecting the rigid biblicism of the Plymouth Brethren, Smith turned to the Wesleyan Holiness revivalism sponsored by a group of Methodist ministers called the National Holiness Association, which shaped her theology and message for the next twenty years. The openness of Wesleyan churches and camp meetings to women's public ministry allowed Smith to quickly become a favored teacher and evangelist. The nonsectarian nature of the revival opened up similar engagements for Smith within the parallel Calvinist-oriented Holiness movement, which was rising in many Presbyterian and other Reformed churches.

European sales of Smith's brief account of the life of her son Frank (1854–1872), who died while a student at Princeton, introduced her to the Protestant communities of England and Europe. The enthusiastic reception of the 1875 publication of her spiritual manual *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life* assured her a prominent role in the European revival. (The devotional classic became one of the best-sellers of all nineteenth century publications and remains one of the most widely read guides to evangelical spirituality.) Smith became known as "The Angel of the Churches." She played the central role in an eclectic group of participants at the annual holiness camp meetings held at the Broadlands estate of Lord and Lady Mount-Temple, along with author George Macdonald (1824–1905), African American evangelist Amanda Smith (1837–1915), who had accompanied Hannah to England, and hundreds of Oxford and Cambridge students caught up in the continuing holiness renewal movement. At the Brighton Convention for the promotion of Christian holiness in May 1875, where more than 8,000 English and Continental clergy and lay persons gathered to discuss the theology and life advocated by the Smiths, her teaching sessions on the higher Christian life regularly attracted 5000 attendees.

At the height of the revival's influence, questions arose as to her husband Robert's moral and doctrinal integrity, and Hannah and he abruptly returned to the United States. The work of the previous two years, however, left a formative and lasting imprint on world Protestantism. In Germany, Scandinavia and Switzerland the old pietistic "Fellowship Movements" in the established Lutheran and Reformed churches were revived. In Germany, the Inner City Movement was activated to urban social reform. The Wesleyan free churches on the continent were strengthened and new nondenominational holiness associations were formed, which by the turn of the twentieth century became the source of new European holiness and Pentecostal bodies. The most influential of all such associations was the Keswick Convention, through which missionary and student volunteer programs spread the Holiness/Higher-Life message throughout evangelical Protestantism.

After their return to America Smith and her husband both turned their energies to new interests: he to a position with her family's glass business, and she to raising her children, her writing, and active involvement in social reform while still maintaining a lifetime ministry as counselor to the constant stream of inquirers who contacted her. She was the first president of the Pennsylvania chapter of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in 1874 and was influential in electing her friend Frances Willard (both women had deep roots within the Holiness revival movement) as president of the Union in 1879 on a reform platform which supported women's suffrage as well as temperance. Smith later became the director of the evangelism division of the WCTU, a training ground for women evangelists who were denied a public platform by their denominations. She also introduced Frances Willard to the leaders of the British temperance movement, leading to the organization of the World Christian Temperance Union.

The Smiths moved to England in 1888 to be near their daughter Mary (1864–1945) and her children. Hannah quickly became a featured speaker on behalf of various reform causes in Anglican Churches, free churches, public festivals, and even at Westminster Abbey. The Smiths previous contacts with William and Henry James, Walt Whitman, family members closely connected with Johns Hopkins and other American colleges and universities, along with a circle of social contacts associated with the marriages of her children, placed the Smith family in regular contact with a celebrated circle of artists and intelligentsia. Mary's first husband was Frank Costello (1855–1899), a member of Parliament. Her second husband was Bernard Berenson (1865–1959) celebrated art historian. Her daughter Alys (1867–1951) was the first wife of Bertrand Russell (1872–1970). Hannah negotiated Russell's first American lectureship through her brother-in-law, a director of Johns Hopkins. Her views on women's higher education strongly influenced her niece Martha Carey Thomas, the first dean and second president of Bryn Mawr College, who became Hannah's surrogate in fulfillment of the educational ambitions that had been denied her. Both of Mary's children whom Hannah reared, Ray Strachey (1887–1940) a social activist, and Karin Stephen (1887–1953), one of the first Freudian psychoanalysts, married into the Bloomsbury circle. William Lloyd Tennyson, George Bernard Shaw, Sydney Webb, Lytton Strachey (1880–1932), Vanessa Bell (1879–1961) and Virginia Woolf (1882 –1941) among many others, were frequent visitors at Smith's home. Her children and their spouses and guests didn't hesitate to talk with Smith about her rigid adherence to her Quaker and evangelical mores. An invalid for the last seven years of her life, she remained alert and involved. Her granddaughter Ray Strachey took her in her wheel chair to demonstrate at the Parliament building before a critical vote on women's suffrage. Ray also published Hannah's last work: *Group Movements of the Past and Experiments in Guidance* (1934), which presented her views and concerns for the numerous religious renewal movements she has participated in or observed for over half a century.

Smith's son Logan (1865–1946), Oxford professor of literature and author of the trivia genre in English literature, shared his home with Smith until her death in 1911.

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MELVIN E. DIETER (2005)

SMITH, JOSEPH (1805–1844), the founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, popularly known as the Mormons. Joseph Smith, Jr. was perhaps the most original, most successful, and most controversial of several religious innovators—including Ellen Gould White (Seventh-day Adventists), Mary Baker Eddy (Christian Science), and Charles Taze Russell (Jehovah's Witnesses)—who created important religious movements in nineteenth-century America.

Born in Sharon, Vermont, on December 23, 1805, Smith was the third of the nine children of Joseph and Lucy Mack Smith. He grew up in the unchurched and dissenting, but God-fearing, tradition of a New England Protestant biblical culture, which attracted many of those whose economic standing in established society had been eroded. In 1816, plagued by hard times and misfortune, the sturdy, self-reliant, and closely-knit Smith family left New England for western New York in search of economic betterment; they settled in the village of Palmyra, along the route of the Erie Canal.

During the 1820s, as the Smiths continued to struggle against economic reversals, the religiously inclined young man had a number of visions and revelations. These convinced him that he was to be the divinely appointed instrument for the restoration of the gospel, which in the opinion of many of his contemporaries had been corrupted. Under the guidance of an angel he unearthed a set of golden plates from a hill near his parents' farm. He translated these golden plates with divine aid and published the result in 1830 as the *Book of Mormon.* Smith claimed that this book, named after its ancient American author and compiler, was the sacred history of the pre-Columbian inhabitants of America, migrants from the Near East, some of whom were the ancestors of the American Indians. In 1829 divine messengers had conferred the priesthood—the authority to baptize and act in the name of God—on Smith and his associate Oliver Cowdery. Shortly after the publication of the *Book of Mormon,* Smith and Cowdery officially organized the Church of Christ in Fayette, New York, on April 6, 1830. In 1838 the name was changed to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Prominent among those attracted to Smith's teachings was Sidney Rigdon, erstwhile associate of Alexander Campbell. Rigdon invited Smith and his New York followers to establish a Mormon settlement in Kirtland, Ohio. It was there that Smith greatly amplified and broadened his theological and organizational principles in a series of revelations (first published in 1833 as the *Book of Commandments,* and later enlarged into the current, canonical *Doctrine and Covenants*). The Saints were enjoined to gather in communities as God's chosen people under an egalitarian economic system called the Law of Consecration and Stewardship. They were also directed to build a temple as the sacred center of the community. These revelations initiated a patriarchal order that harkened back to Old Testament traditions. Another ancient source was Smith's translation of some Egyptian papyri published as *The Book of Abraham* in 1842. This work became a source of some controversy when a modern translation published in 1968 suggested that these papyri were ordinary funerary documents—though the Church has continued to accept *The Book of Abraham* as canonical.

In the meantime, Smith also established settlements in Missouri, which he regarded as the center of a future Zion. In 1838 economic difficulties and internal dissension forced Smith to give up the Kirtland settlement. His intention of gathering all the Saints in Missouri, however, had to be deferred after the Mormons were ruthlessly driven from the state in 1839. It was in Nauvoo, a settlement founded in 1839 on the Mississippi River, that Smith further expanded his ambitious vision of a Mormon empire that was to be both spiritual and temporal. By 1844 Nauvoo had become the largest city in Illinois, with a population of about eleven thousand. This city was under the full religious, social, economic, and political control of the Mormon kingdom, with Joseph Smith as its charismatic leader.

Some historians suggest that he may have become touched by megalomania; he assumed leadership of the Mormon militia in the resplendent uniform of a lieutenant general and announced his candidacy for the presidency of the United States. Smith ostensibly made his gesture toward the presidency in order to avoid making a politically difficult choice between the two major parties, but he was also imbued with the millennial belief that if God wanted him to be president and establish Mormon dominion in the United States, no one could hinder him. Innovative ordinances, such as baptism for the dead, and especially plural marriage—with Smith and his closest associates secretly taking numerous wives—offended the religious sensibilities of some Mormons. Likewise, controversial doctrines such as preexistence, metaphysical materialism, eternal progression, the plurality of gods, and the ability of humans to become divine through the principles of Mormonism, failed to gain universal acceptance among the Saints. A group of alarmed anti-Mormons effectively capitalized on internal dissent and were able to organize a mob that killed Smith and his brother Hyrum on June 27, 1844.

History has shown the killers of the Mormon prophet wrong in thinking that they had delivered a mortal blow to Mormonism, although their crime was an implicit recognition of Smith's crucial role in creating and sustaining the new religion. It was his spirituality, imagination, ego, drive, and charisma that not only started Mormonism but kept it going in the face of nearly insurmountable internal and external opposition. At the same time, these were the very characteristics that had generated much of that opposition. Smith's was a multifaceted and contradictory personality. Reports of encounters with him by both non-Mormons and believers give the impression of a tall, well-built, handsome man whose visionary side was tempered by Yankee practicality, geniality, and a sense of humor that engendered loyalty in willing followers. Though after his death his followers could not all agree on precisely what he had taught and split into several factions, they all accepted Smith's central messages of the restoration of the gospel and the divine status of the *Book of*

Mormon, continuing revelation by prophets, and the establishment of the kingdom of God with Christ as its head.

See Also Mormonism.

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Klaus J. Hansen (1987 and 2005)

SMITH, MORTON. Robert Morton Smith was born in Philadelphia on May 28, 1915, the son of the physician Rupert Henry Smith and his wife Mary (Funk). He received a B.A. from Harvard in 1936, with a major in English. Thereafter he continued at Harvard Divinity School (S.T.B. 1940), where he studied the New Testament (NT) under Henry Cadbury, Judaism under Harry A. Wolfson, and Greco-Roman religions under Arthur D. Nock. At Wolfson's urging he learned rabbinic Hebrew as background to NT studies. He was awarded a travel fellowship for study at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, where he was stranded by the outbreak of World War II, but he used the time to complete a doctoral dissertation, written in Hebrew, submitted in 1945, accepted in 1948, and published in English translation as *Tannaitic Parallels to the Gospels* (1951). From 1948 to 1950 he returned to Harvard Divinity School, where he eventually earned a Th.D. in 1957 with a controversial thesis, eventually published in 1971 as *Palestinian Parties and Politics That Shaped the Old Testament.* His first teaching appointments were as instructor and then assistant professor in biblical literature at Brown University (1950–1955), followed by a year as visiting professor in the history of religions at Drew University (1956–1957). In 1957 he was appointed successor to Elias J. Bickerman as professor of ancient history at Columbia University. He held this chair until his retirement in 1985, though he continued to teach at Columbia, in the Department of Religion, until shortly before his death on July 11, 1991.

Smith was ordained an Episcopal priest in 1946 and served in parishes in Baltimore (1946–1948) and Boston (1949–1950). Though he never officially left the priesthood—he continued to be listed in the *Episcopal Clerical Directory* until the end of his life—he held no subsequent church-related positions. During his later life many considered him an atheist, but it would probably be more accurate to call him an agnostic.

Throughout his life, one of Smith's principal scholarly interests remained the question of boundaries between disciplines, groups, and religions. On the one hand, he endeavored to show the inadequacies of commonly accepted boundaries. On the other hand, he undertook with equal passion to highlight the overlooked distinctions between separate groups within ancient Judaism and early Christianity. He was equally at ease in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and his work frequently involved more than one discipline from among biblical studies, classics, rabbinics, and patristics. Several of his articles, even early in his career, were devoted to breaking down conceptual barriers between Israelite and other ancient Near Eastern religions, such as his 1952 essay "The Common Theology of the Ancient Near East" in *Studies in the Cult of Yahweh* (vol.1, pp.15–27). In his works on Second Temple Judaism, too, he castigated those who, in his opinion, lacked due regard for context as well as due precision in terminology ("Terminological Boobytraps," in *Studies in the Cult of Yahweh* [vol. 1, pp. 95–103]). Smith emphasized affinities across disciplines but also the distinctive character of groups: the "syncretists" and the "Yahweh-alone party" in the biblical period, the Pharisees as a less-than-dominant "sect" in first-century Judaism, the Zealots and the Sicarii as two distinct groups, Pauline Christianity as a minority phenomenon.

Smith is probably remembered most for his publication of a letter attributed to Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–before 216 CE). In 1958 he discovered what appears to be an eighteenth-century copy of this heretofore unknown letter in the library of the desert monastery of Mar Saba, about twelve miles southeast of Jerusalem. This letter contains substantial quotes from a "secret gospel" (*mustikon euangelion*) of Mark, which combines elements of the raising of Lazarus in *John* 11:1–44 with the story of Jesus' encounter with a rich young man (*Lk.* 18:23 and parallels in *Mk.* 10:22; *Mt.* 19:22) inserted in the context of *Mark* 10:34. The most controversial part of the secret gospel—and of Smith's interpretation of it—is an allusion to nocturnal teaching, interpreted by Smith as an initiation rite with baptismal and sexual implications (*Clement of Alexandria,* 1973, pp. 91, 167–188; *Secret Gospel,* 1973, p. 113). It was suggested or insinuated that the letter was a modern forgery, or even that Smith himself was responsible for such a forgery. The most explicit accusations were brought by Quentin Quesnell in "The Mar Saba Clementine: A Question of Evidence" (*Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 37, no. 1 [1975]: 48–67), to which Smith responded in the same journal (38, no. 2 [1976]: 196–199). No tests have been carried out on the manuscript, which has been available to most researchers only through the photographs taken by Smith. The manuscript was seen in Mar Saba in 1976 by several scholars, including David Flusser and Guy G. Stroumsa, in the context described by Smith. On that occasion it was taken from Mar Saba to the Orthodox patriarchate in Jerusalem. Since then, it has not been made available to scholars.

Stroumsa (2003) notes that a perusal of the extensive correspondence between Smith and Gershom Scholem, the foremost scholar of his generation in the field of Jewish mysticism, reveals the gradual development of Smith's thought about the letter and the gospel as his studies progressed. Although it took Smith fifteen years between discovery and full publication, he had described his Mar Saba manuscript finds in the patriarchate's journal, *Nea Sion,* as early as 1960. His interpretation of the gospel and the letter have not found wide acceptance, and even the discovery itself remains highly controversial (Ehrman, 2003). The continued popular as well as scholarly interest in Smith's discovery is evidenced by the space devoted to it on the internet (see http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/secretmark.html) and by a special issue of the *Journal of Early Christian Studies* (11, no. 2 [2003]) devoted to "The Secret Gospel of Mark: A Discussion." The work on the Mar Saba manuscript strengthened Smith's interest in magic, which led to his equally provocative and controversial book *Jesus the Magician* (1978). This interest had been stimulated by his early contacts with Gershom Scholem's work on Jewish mysticism and magic. It is evident already in Smith's seminal 1956 essay "Palestinian Judaism in the First Century" (*Studies in the Cult of Yahweh,* vol. 1, p. 108), which highlights the diversity of Jewish groups, the Pharisees being only one among many. His continued interest in magic found expression in several articles on the subject (*Studies in the Cult of Yahweh,* vol. 2, pp. 208–256). His catalogue of the British Museum's collection of magical gems remained unfinished at his death but has since been published by Simone Michel, Peter Zazoff, and Hilde Zazoff (*Magische Gemmen im British Museum,* 2001).

While Smith's fame (or notoriety) was based on his unconventional and, to many, uncomfortable ideas, the questions he raised—if not the answers he proposed—have profoundly influenced scholarship in the fields he dealt with.

SEE ALSO Jesus; Judaism; Magic; Pharisees; Scholem, Gershom.

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JOSEPH SIEVERS (2005)

SMITH, WILFRED CANTWELL. Wilfred Cantwell Smith (1916–2000) was a historian of religion, a comparative theologian, and an ordained minister of the United Church of Canada. In 1949 Smith founded the Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill University in Montreal, where he matched Muslim and Christian appointments. He later succeeded R. L. Slater as director of the Center for the Study of World Religions at Harvard University (1964–1985), quitting Harvard for Dalhousie University in Halifax, Nova Scotia, to dissociate himself from U.S. militarism during the Vietnam War years. While at Harvard, Smith coordinated the university's first undergraduate concentration in religious studies.

After majoring in oriental languages at the University of Toronto, Smith studied theology under H. H. Farmer and Islamics under H. A. R. Gibb in Great Britain. In 1941 he joined the faculty of Forman Christian College in Lahore (in present-day Pakistan), then a center of multireligious dialogue. An admirer of Jawaharlal Nehru more than Mohandas Gandhi, Smith deplored the 1947 partition of India because he considered nationalism to be morally bankrupt.

As president of the Student Christian movement in Canada following the Depression era, Smith embraced John Macmurray's personalist philosophy and the Social Gospel movement. Smith's first book (rejected for a doctorate by Cambridge University) stressed class-based socioeconomic determinants in religion and politics. Stalinism, however, cured his enthusiasm for Marxist immanentism. Concluding that self-criticism requires a transhistorical referent, Smith linked issues of justice to a prophetic sense of transcendence. Thereafter, he vehemently challenged the practice of restricting the humanities and religious studies to a social science orientation.

A Princeton University doctorate (1948) led to publications on Islamic modernism, in which Smith juxtaposed "objective" cultural history and "subjective" faith. He noted the conflict in Islam between secularly educated professionals, who are needed to run a state, and traditionalists, who define statehood according to conservative interpretations of *sharīʿah* (theocratic law).

Islamic insistence on divine transcendence and its ban on idolatry reinforced Smith's polemic against reifying conceptions in and of religion. He gained international attention with a call to abandon the word *religion* as an academic category. This proposal was rejected, but his terms for construing the data—cumulative tradition and personal faith—were widely adopted. The former can be studied by any observer; the latter requires participation in the evolution of a tradition.

Smith's typical method was to analyze the changing meanings of key words, illustrating lost nuances by citing original senses in other languages (e.g., Arabic words for *truth*) and ruminating on shifts from verb to noun and singular to plural forms. To him, singular usage of *religion* and *scripture* resists reifying phenomena. From failures to adduce universally accepted definitions of such terms, Smith concluded not that linguistic essentialism is wrong but that misconstruals show insensitivity to necessarily tentative, metaphorical references to transcendence. A liberal, Smith's fundamentalist Calvinist upbringing was apparent in his assumption that earlier meanings are truer, later meanings being distorted by rationalization.

A major trilogy on faith, comparative history of religion, and world theology (published in 1977, 1979, and 1981) linked early *believing* to *beloving*, denied that belief (in the sense of hypothetical opinion) is what religion is about, and argued that existential trust is what relates human beings to the transcendent, however named. Among Ernst Troeltsch's categories, Smith emphasized the mystical-poetic.

Smith rejected as positivistic contemporary faith in pseudoscience and condemned the technocrats who dismissed humanizing concerns as irrelevant for decisions leading to the bombing of Hiroshima. Without sacrificing the scholarly rigor of historians of religion (often criticized for antiquarian fixation on texts), he emphasized living religion and dialogue, not just for gathering information, but as essential to becoming true to others and oneself in plural affirmations of transcendence.

Unrepentant over using Christian theological categories, Smith insisted that religious studies are about people responding to God Buddhistically, Christianly, secularly, and so on, focusing on different paradigmatic symbols. He pointed out that the Muslim homologue to Jesus is not Muḥammad but the Qurʾān. His final major work, written with his wife Muriel, was a study of scriptural dialogue through texts.

Dubbed an "experiential-expressivist," Smith considered himself primarily a historian in the global tradition of Arnold Joseph Toynbee, appealing to knowable but not fully describable "facts" of human relationship. In Smith's view, comparative, personal data are intuitively grasped and cogent if expressible in terms derived from two or more starkly contrasting traditions, such as Hinduism and Islam in India. Against academic fragmentation, he essayed a world history of religion as the cultural product of humanizing faith, of which the faithful are the final arbiters. According to Smith, true relationships are only validated by participant observers through "colloquy." Beyond both objective and subjective approximations is the truth and goodness, which the "critical corporate self-consciousness" (Smith, 1997, p.123) of spiritual and intellectual peers discerns.

Critics among philosophers of religion (e.g., John Hick, Ninian Smart) and later deconstructionists challenged the insider-outsider dichotomy intrinsic to Smith's conception of faith and tradition and his privileging of insiders. His hermeneutic of recovery rather than suspicion obscured how radical his insistence was that truth is dialogical. In global politics, Smith expected Muslims, Christians, humanistic atheists, and others to converge on the truth that matters. Mark Heim argues that, theologically, this was not pluralism, as Hick and Smith supposed, but ecumenical inclusivism, which wrongly assumes that religious ends are the same for all. In theology, Smith was more Muslim-Methodist than Trinitarian, foregrounding Jesus' humanity, not claims concerning his divinity.

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PETER SLATER (2005)

SMITH, W. ROBERTSON. William Robertson Smith (1846–1894) was a celebrated Scottish biblical critic and a theorist of both religion and myth. Smith's accomplishments were multiple. He brought higher biblical criticism from Germany to the English-speaking world and then developed it far beyond its continental origins. Although his German mentors reconstructed the history of Israelite religion from the Bible itself, Smith ventured beyond the Bible to Semitic religion and thereby pioneered the comparative study of religion. Whereas others viewed ancient religion from the standpoint of the individual, Smith approached it from the standpoint of the group and thereby helped pioneer the sociology of religion.

As an original theorist of religion, Smith asserted that ancient religion was centrally a matter of ritual, not creed. Practice, not belief, counted most. Religion was initially communion between god and humans, not a prescientific explanation of the world. As an equally original theorist of myth, Smith similarly maintained that myth was initially an explanation of ritual, not of the world. Since Smith's time, the ritualist theory of myth has found adherents not only in biblical studies but also in classics, anthropology, and literature.

Smith was educated at home by his father, a minister of the breakaway Free Church of Scotland. Intellectually precocious, Smith was as brilliant in science and mathematics as in classics and Hebrew. He studied divinity at the University of Edinburgh, where he excelled. In 1870, at the young age of twenty-three, he was appointed to the professorship of Old Testament at the College of the Free Church in Aberdeen. He began teaching a day after his ordination as a minister in the Free Church.

Smith's professional troubles began with the publication in 1875 of the article "Bible" for the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, then published in Scotland. On the basis of that article, he was in 1876 formally charged with heresy. The main issue concerned the authorship of the *Book of Deuteronomy,* which Smith, following the older, continental scholars with whom he had become acquainted, deemed not Moses' farewell address to Israel but instead a work composed long after Moses' time. Smith's Free Church critics assumed that in denying Mosaic authorship, Smith was denying the divine authority of the Bible. On the contrary, argued Smith, revelation itself was gradual and progressive, so that the denial of Mosaic authorship was simply the denial that the advanced, prophetic views expressed in *Deuteronomy* had been revealed to Moses himself. After four years, during which Smith was suspended from his chair, he won his case and was reinstated. But the appearance of subsequent articles reopened the charge, and though never convicted of heresy, he was in 1881 removed from his professorship.

Embittered but undeterred, Smith had already begun to offer public lectures on his views to huge audiences in Edinburgh and Glasgow. From these lectures came his first two books, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (1881) and *The Prophets of Israel and Their Place in History to the Close of the Eighth Century* (1882).

While still a minister (as he had not been convicted of heresy), Smith sought no pastoral post. Instead, to support himself he became coeditor and eventually sole editor of the same edition of the *Britannica* that had caused his undoing. He enlisted J. G. Frazer (1854–1941) to write the entries that began the transformation of Frazer from stuffy classicist to pioneering anthropologist.

In 1883 Smith was appointed lord's almoner reader in Arabic at Cambridge University. In 1885 he was elected a fellow of Christ's College. In 1889 he became Sir Thomas Adams Professor of Arabic at Cambridge. He utilized his knowledge of Arabic to root Israelite religion in the religion and culture of ancient Arabia, where for him lay the origin of Semitic culture. His studies culminated in his final and fullest work, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, which was delivered as three series of Burnett Lectures at the University of Aberdeen from 1888 to 1891.

Smith had been a sickly child, but in adulthood he became remarkably fit for prolonged periods. Still, like other family members, he eventually succumbed to tuberculosis. He died in Cambridge at the age of forty-seven. He proved well enough to publish only the first series of the Burnett Lectures (in 1889). Only in the last decade of the twentieth century were the notes of the second and third series of lectures discovered and published.

Whereas Émile Durkheim (1858–1917), in *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1912), focused on Australian Aborigines as the most primitive and therefore presumably clearest case of religion per se, Smith in the *Lectures* turned to "heathen Arabia" as the earliest and therefore presumably clearest case of Semitic religion. Smith's fundamental assumption is that the Semites were initially at a "primitive" stage of culture, so that the key to understanding them is to see them as akin to primitives worldwide. He thus uses the terms *primitive* and *ancient* (or *antique*) almost interchangeably. Unlike Frazer, who was concerned with only the similarities among primitives the world over, Smith was concerned with the differences as well as the similarities between early Semites and other primitives, just as he was concerned with the differences as well as the similarities between early Semites and later ones. But it was his focus on the similarities that was revolutionary and controversial.

The basic religious divide for Smith is that between primitives and moderns. Whereas the heart of modern religion is its beliefs, the heart of primitive religion is its rituals. Smith's focus on practice rather than belief as the core of primitive and ancient religion was revolutionary. Yet on ritual, as on other aspects of religion, his revolution stops abruptly short. He does not propose that modern religion likewise be looked at from the side of ritual foremost. He draws a rigid hiatus between primitive and modern religion. Modern religion he approaches no differently from others of his day. It is creedal first and ritualistic second—no doubt a reflection of Smith's antiritualistic, Protestant viewpoint. Whereas twentieth-century theorists of religion tend to stress the similarities between primitive and modern religion, Smith stresses the differences. If on the one hand Smith gives equal attention to the differences and the similarities between primitives and early Semites, on the other hand he emphasizes the differences between both of them and modern Christianity.

In place of creed in ancient and primitive religion there was myth. Whereas in modern religion creed prescribes ritual, in ancient religion myth explained ritual. Unlike the practice of ritual, the belief in myth was not obligatory. In connecting myth to ritual, Smith was again revolutionary. Whereas others viewed myth as an explanation of the world, he proposed myth as an explanation of ritual. But here too he stops short. Myth for him plays a minor role, arising only after the original reason for a ritual has somehow been lost. The importance wrongly attributed to mythology is for him part of the importance that is wrongly accorded to belief. Since Smith's time other myth-ritualists have given myth far more significance. For Frazer, myth is indispensable to ritual from the start, providing the script for the magical ritual.

To drive home the point that in primitive and ancient religion ritual precedes belief, Smith compares religion with politics and indeed makes religion a part of politics. Religious duty was civic duty. But "so long as the prescribed forms [of practice] were duly observed, a man was recognised as truly pious, and no one asked how his religion was rooted in his heart or affected his reason" (Smith, 1894, p. 21). Practice alone counted.

Once again Smith was revolutionary—here in seeing ancient and primitive religion as collective rather than individual. Because Smith takes for granted that modern religion really is a matter of the individual, his bold approach once again stops abruptly. Where notably Durkheim argues that religion by definition is collective, Smith's "sociologizing" is confined to ancient and primitive religion.

Another equally fundamental difference for Smith is that whereas modern religion is spiritual, primitive and ancient religion is materialist. God is conceived of as the biological father of worshippers. That conception of God has moral consequences as well, with "the parent protecting and nourishing the child, while the child owes obedience and service to his parents" (Smith, 1894, p. 41). Yet again Smith was original—this time in placing morality within rather than outside primitive religion.

For Smith, the key relationship between god and his or her worshippers in any religion is that of communication. Therefore the key function of the key ritual, sacrifice, is as a "means of converse between God and man" (Smith, 1894, p. 216). Sacrifice constitutes not "a gift made over to the god"—the conventional view of his time—but "an act of communion, in which the god and his worshippers unite by partaking together of the flesh and blood of a sacred victim" (Smith, 1894, pp. 226–227). Sacrifice as gift comes only later. A gift is intended to alleviate guilt and to secure forgiveness, but originally there is no guilt to be alleviated or forgiveness to be secured, for worshippers have in no way fallen short.

In primitive religion misfortunes like plague and famine were initially attributed to the weakening of the bond between god and the community. Sacrifice served to restore the bond. Only eventually was the weakening attributed to sin. Sacrifice then came to be taken as atonement. Nevertheless the ultimate aim of even atonement was the restoration of the bond between god and community.

In its fullest, Christian form, God sacrifices himself to atone for the sins of the worldwide community, though Jesus' death still serves primarily to restore the fellowship between God and humanity. Indeed Smith increasingly downplays the atoning aspect of Jesus' death, for which he never found a satisfactory place in his irenic characterization of Christianity. The ineluctable link between atonement and fear, in contrast to that between communion and love, could not but push religion based on fear in the direction of, by Smith's own criteria, magic rather than religion. Frazer attributed Smith's reluctance to acknowledge the place of fear in religion to his own belief in a God of love rather than of fear.

Despite Smith's insistence on the presence of both communion and atonement in primitive and higher religion alike, the gulf between these stages of religion remains wide because primitive religion still conceives of both materially, whereas higher religion conceives of both spiritually. In primitive religion the goal is physical contact with god—achieved through the shared eating of a sacrifice, which in its earliest form is the eating of the totemic god itself. At first little attention is paid to the cause of the separation from god or to the justification for it. The materialist conception of religion clouds the recognition of spiritual concepts like ethics, sin, and atonement.

Consequently "to free the spiritual truth from the husk was the great task that lay before the ancient religions" (Smith, 1894, p. 439). The Prophets were the first to sever communion from material sacrifice—Smith taking the Prophets as uniformly antiritualistic. Once communion with God came to be conceived of spiritually, separation from God came to be conceived of ethically, as a matter of the justification for the separation and of the amends needed for overcoming it. But the subsequent, postexilic restoration of material sacrifice conflated anew the spiritual with the material. Only with Christianity was the spiritual fully disentangled from the material.

To explain the evolution of sacrifice, Smith appeals to God. Israelites and Christians on their own could never have made the leap from a material conception of sacrifice to a spiritual one. Only God's intercession, undertaken indirectly through inspiration, can account for the jump.

Smith is rightly viewed as a pioneering, perhaps even the pioneering sociologist of religion. He shifted the focus of the study of primitive and ancient religion from beliefs to institutions and from the individual to the group. For him, the function of primitive and ancient religion is the preservation of the group, even if he does not, like the more relentlessly sociological Durkheim, make group experience the origin of religion, let alone make the group the object of worship.

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SMOKING. Plants whose properties when consumed place the user in an unusual state have always been looked upon as being endowed with supernatural power. Such plants play an important part in both religious ceremonies and in healing. In such a context, these plants have been either used as symbols or consumed in different forms, including smoking. The one plant that has consistently maintained such religious association is tobacco, a New World contribution to the world's flora. Other plant products that can be smoked, such as hashish and opium, both of which originated in the Near East, have never had significant functions in religious ritual, although most recently some midwestern sects in the United States claim hashish smoking as part of their religious rituals.

The genus *Nicotiana* (tobacco) consists of seventy-four species, all but two of which are native to the North American continent. The latter two, *N. fragrans* and *N. suaveolens,* grow wild in Australia but were not used for smoking before the arrival of the white people. The most popular species are *N. rustica* and *N. tabacum.* Several others, such as *N. bigelovii* and *N. attenuata,* grow wild in the western Unites States. Indian tribes of California, the northern Plains, and the Northwest Coast are known to have planted these as their only agricultural effort.

Ancient Native American and European reports describe tobacco as a strong and addictive herb smoked with apparent hallucinogenic effects. Tobacco as it is known today produces no such effects. The indigenous people of the American continent may have been using more potent admixtures, or tobacco may have only induced a state that allowed its user to ease into altered states of consciousness.

It is possible that the use of tobacco was at first confined to shamans, priests, and medicine men. Data indicate that the tobacco plant and products derived from it were held in high esteem and those who grew or could obtain the plant used it as a precious offering to both worldly and supernatural rulers. Later, due to the interchange of ritual customs, the abundance of tobacco in some areas, and European influence, tobacco smoking became a worldwide custom; but its sacrosanct character among the natives of the Americas survived.

NORTH AMERICA. Tobacco initially grew wild. Gathered as a cultivated plant, it made its appearance with maize in North America. The two primary modes of tobacco consumption were smoking pipes and cigarettes and chewing. Tobacco pipes have been found in archaeological excavations of basket making culture sites (some as early as 2500 BCE) in the Southwest.

The Plains Indians developed considerable skill and ingenuity, as well as aesthetic sensitivity and care in making pipes. As Peter T. Furst points out,

> No object, no matter how splendidly proportioned or complex in iconography, can convey the enormous depth of feeling, ritual and belief, the very conception of the universe and how it came to be, the mutuality and interdependence of the sexes, and, indeed the whole relationship of human beings to the holy earth and sky, which are embodied in these traditional Native American smoking instruments. (Furst, 1982)

The famous Plains pipes are made of catlinite, thought to represent the flesh and blood of dead ancestors and dead buffalo, poured together and turned to stone. Catlinite had been mined in southwestern Minnesota by the Oto and Iowa tribes, who were replaced in the seventeenth century by Siouan-speaking groups, who became sole owners of the sacred material and compelled all other tribes to buy the stone from them.

Bowl and stem of the ritual pipe were carried separately when not in use. Apart, the instruments had no supernatural power. In many tribes women carved or decorated the stems, which had male attributes, and men fashioned the bowls, which were considered to have female attributes. The Plains Indians undertook no ceremony or ritual act without smoking pipes, which were kept in their medicine bundles. When an Indian died, his tobacco and pipe were placed with him in his burial place.

Kinnikinnick was the native name for the smoked material. This term means "mixture" to the Algonquin. They mixed their tobacco with different plant materials, such as sumac, bearberry, manzanilla, and dogwood bark. Though they used plants other than tobacco for smoking, none had the sacred nature attributed to tobacco.

The Indians of the Northwest Coast were introduced to smoking by Western explorers, who found them chewing their tobacco with lime. These tribes limited tobacco to important rituals, especially to commemorative feasts for the dead. Their pipes were carved out of wood or ivory and decorated with pictures of animals or mythological scenes. The shamans smoked pipes primarily to communicate with their guardian spirits and also during healing ceremonies. For them, tobacco was the symbol of the equilibrium of the universe and of divine benevolence from generation to generation.

SOUTH AMERICA. Both *N. tabacum* and *N. rustica* were modified by selection or by hybridization in South America, probably in Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, and northern Argentina. Even today, tobacco is used by many native tribes, but is rarely smoked by them. The preferable form of consumption is chewing or drinking in the form of a syrupy juice. Tobacco juice is taken either by mouth or through the nostrils, or administered as an enema. The last method has been documented for the Inca and Tihuanaco of the pre-Conquest periods.

Smoking tobacco for the purpose of divination was practiced by Venezuelan tribes, who also offered tobacco as a gift to their gods. The Guajiro of Colombia, the Kumaná of the Orinoco River, and the Warao and the Shipibo-Conibo on the Ucayali River also celebrate healing ceremonies by smoking, or smoke in preparation for other drug use. The Piro and the Machiganga of Peru inhale tobacco snuff through tubes made of bird bones as medicine against colds. This old remedy was adopted by Europeans in the sixteenth century.

MESOAMERICA. The most extensive depictions of smoking and the oldest and most abundant data on the pre-Columbian use of tobacco (mostly in the form of cigars) are found in Maya art. The word *cigar* is Maya in origin; the word *tobacco* might be derived from an Arawak word for "cigar." The Maya also depicted cigarette smoking, for which there are no early records elsewhere. Pipe smoking did not appear in Maya art, and it is doubtful that it was a custom. Early Spanish reports describe the coating of cigars with a varnish of clay, which was then decorated, and the stuffing of small tubes of cane, clay, and other materials with shredded tobacco, which was either smoked or used to blow smoke.

Besides smoking, the Maya also chewed, licked, ate, and drank tobacco, social customs reported frequently from Conquest times to the present day. Tobacco as a form of incense, however, had an exclusive and important role in ceremonial healing. The Maya attributed most diseases to supernatural intervention, and native healing was, and still is, a predominantly religious act of communication with supernatural forces in which religion and medicine remain inseparable.

The pre-Columbian Maya often depicted their divine rulers, nobles, and gods smoking. Among the deities, god L appears to be a heavy smoker; the death god, the rain god, god D of the creation, and the ancestral god N could be characterized as only occasional indulgers. God K not only smokes on occasion but he is shown with a smoking cigar stuck through his forehead. Some of the mythological animals, usually representing gods, are also shown smoking: Monkeys have a strong lead, with jaguars second, and frogs or toads third. All of these animals are also patron deities of days or months.

Noble Maya lords were also frequently shown smoking or handling cigars or cigarettes either alone or in the company of others. Apparently no women participated in these rituals, although they are sometimes shown on ancient paintings and monuments in proximity to smokers. The context of these scenes is varied and not always clear. There are processional scenes with supernaturals and their impersonators, and there are scenes with offerings of human victims or other sacrifices. Other smoking scenes commemorate ancestors and still others show smoking to be one of several ways to achieve a state of trance.

The Lacandon, a few hundred Maya Indians still living in the Chiapas rain forest, continue to cultivate tobacco in the ancient ways. They believe that the Nohoch Yum Chacob, the white-haired, bearded servants of the god of rain and thunder, live in the second highest level of the heavens and smoke cigars. Comets or meteorites are thought to be the glowing butts they throw away. Until recently the Lacandon placed cigars as offering to their gods in the holy area. There is a special ceremony of thanksgiving during their tobacco harvest: Thanksgiving is offered to the deity depicted on a "god pot," who is usually smoking, seated on the hieroglyph for "earth."

The Maya of Yucatán believe that the Balams, the gods of wind and the four directions, are heavy cigar smokers. When the gods light the cigars by pounding heavy rocks together to create a spark, there is thunder and lightning on earth. Tobacco smoking also has an important role in a number of milpa (corn patch) ceremonies.

The Tzeltal Maya of Oxchuc offer thirteen calabashes of tobacco in their celebration of the New Year. The Tzotzil tribe attributes magical power to tobacco and uses it as a defense against evil forces, such as Pucuh, the demon of death. Tobacco in all its forms is considered by most Maya tribes as the most effective agent against the numerous underworld threats, evil spirits, demons, and any form of witchcraft that may cause illness or death. The healing shaman uses tobacco to divine the exact cause of the illness and to find out how to help the patient. Maya travelers protect themselves from evil influences by chewing tobacco and by carrying gourds filled with tobacco. In many of the Mesoamerican areas, tobacco and smoking paraphernalia are placed in graves to accompany the spirit of the dead as a protection during the journey to the underworld and as a gift the dead can offer to the gods.

The main body of data on tobacco use among the Aztec comes from observations and reports by Europeans. Torquemada (1615) wrote that the old earth goddess, Cihuacoatl, female warrior and creator of humankind, had a body composed of tobacco, and she was the incarnation of the plant. Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón (1629) described rites to honor the war god, Huitzilopochtli, to whom an offering of tobacco is as pleasing as one composed of other drugs. Fray Diego Durán (c. 1581) reported that the fire god, Xiuhtecuhtli, received tobacco, incense, and pulque daily, sprinkled onto the fire in his temple. The priests who prepared victims for sacrifice to the goddess Toci (old earth or moon goddess, patron of the day named Jaguar) wore small tobacco gourds on their backs, as did the priests serving Tezcatlipoca, the counterpart to the Maya god K. Both in the Codex Mendoza and in the Codex Florentine several of the figures participating in sacrificial rites are pictured carrying tobacco gourds *(yetecomatl)* and pouches (*yequachtli*) or incense ladles *(tlemaitl)*, the insignia of Aztec priesthood. Tobacco was carried in powder form or shaped into balls and used as a form of incense. When actually smoked it was mixed with other herbs, among them jimsonweed (*Datura stramonium*). During a beautiful ceremony called Dance of Flowers, the vegetation goddess Xochiquetzal invited other gods to sit with her; they smoked together and were entertained by her court.

Among the Mexicans tobacco was a protection against witchcraft or wild animals, but it could also be used to cast spells. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún (1569–1582) described a hunt for snakes, which were enfeebled and stunned when powdered tobacco was hurled at them.

The Totonac of Papantla de Olarte believed that tobacco protected them not only against snakes but also against the dead, and they offered it to the supernatural rulers of the forest. The Cuicatec used wild tobacco in rituals conducted on hilltops or in caves. Among the Mazatec the healer used a paste of powdered tobacco and lime to render pregnant women invulnerable to witchcraft. The Tlaxcalan offered tobacco to their war god Camaxtli. Bowls of tobacco, eagle feathers, and two bloodstained arrows were sent to the enemy camp by the cacique of Michoacán to announce the outbreak of war. The Huichol regarded tobacco as a prized possession of Grandfather Fire. They made small tobacco balls, touched them with feathers, and wrapped them in corn husks. During pilgrimages, these "cigarettes" were carried in small gourds tied to their quivers to symbolize the birth of tobacco. After completion of the pilgrimage, they burned and smoked tobacco in honor of Grandfather Fire.

These ancient and recent reports show that tobacco was used by the Aztec and numerous tribes living between the Maya and North American Indians in the form of incense, as a drink, or by smoking. Smoking of the sacred herb was also practiced by the gods. Tobacco in all its forms and modes of consumption was regarded as a substance of pervading holiness, a gift from the gods, an offering to the supernatural forces of the heavens and the underworld, and a means to communicate with them.

SEE ALSO Tobacco.

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SNAKES. Because of their shape and their relation to the environment, snakes play an important role in the beliefs of various peoples. Their swiftness and peculiar locomotion, along with the periodical sloughing of their skin, their glistening beauty, and the venom of some species have given them a place apart in the animal world. Their supposedly sinister character and dangerousness cause fear; their enigmatic and ambivalent nature has led human beings to contradictory assessments of them: On the one hand, they are thought of as evil and as a cause of death; on the other, they are believed to embody beneficial and even divine powers. As a result, in some religions they may be both accursed and worshiped. The serpent Apophis was regarded by the ancient Egyptians as the worst enemy of Re, the sun god; yet Re is also protected by the serpent Mehen on his journey through the underworld. In the Bible the scaly reptile can be a symbol both of death (the fall of humanity, *Gn.* 3) and of life (the brazen serpent, *Nm.* 21:6–8). In Indian mythology Kāliya, the prince of serpents, is the embodiment of evil and is overcome by Kṛṣṇa; yet the serpent Śeṣa is companion and couch for Viṣṇu.

THE SERPENT AND ORIGINS. In the mythology of many peoples a serpent is linked to the origin of the world and to creation; it is the primordial material or the primordial being. According to an ancient tradition of the druids (priests among the Celtic peoples) the world originated from an egg that came from the mouth of a serpent. Various of the oldest Egyptian gods were thought of as serpents: as, for example, Atum before he ascended from the primeval ocean, and Amun of Thebes, who was also called Kematef ("he who has fulfilled his time"). In the philosophical speculations of the ancient Near East on creation, serpents and dragons symbolized that which had not yet been made manifest: the still undivided unity that held sway before the creation of the world. Only after the Babylonian god Marduk had overcome the dragonlike monster Tiamat could he form heaven and earth from the latter's body. In the Old Testament one frequently finds the motif of God's struggle against the serpentlike or dragonlike monster of chaos that lives in the water; it is with the victory over Rahab that the mighty waters of the primeval deep are dried up (*Is.* 51:9–10). Indra's victory over the monster Vṛtra, who has neither feet nor hands, is a cosmogonic act by which water and light are liberated from the embrace of the forces of chaos. Also among the Indian sagas of creation is the story of Vāsuki, the world serpent, who is pulled this way and that by the gods and demons (*asuras*) so that Mandara, the world mountain that stands in the ocean of milk, is set in motion like a creative whisk. According to a myth of the Nahuatl (ancient Mexico), in primordial times there existed a formless mass of water in which a great female monster lived; the gods Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca transformed themselves into serpents, tore the monster into two parts, and from these formed heaven and earth. Ceremonies carried out by American Indian tribes of the Northwest Coast (Kwakiutl, Haida) in the winter, when there is little sunlight, commemorate the primordial time when the sun was imprisoned by the powers of darkness and water, which are symbolized by the serpent Sisiul. The inhabitants of Rossel Island (Louisiade archipelago, Melanesia) used to believe that Wonajö, who had the form of a serpent, created their island and the stars. Among the Ungarinyin (Aborigines of northwestern Australia), the primeval serpent Ungud is linked to the origin of the earth; from its eggs emerged the Wandjina, the ancestors of humans.

The Serpent, Ancestors, and Souls. It is likely that representations of serpents on monoliths from the Neolithic age in France were connected with the veneration of ancestors. A belief in the Mediterranean world is that a snake that lives in the house embodies the soul of the family's first ancestor; among the Romans, the serpent embodied the *paterfamilias.* Thus the Roman poet Vergil (*Aeneid* 5.83ff.) tells how Aeneas visits the tomb of his father, Anchises, and how the sacrificial foods offered to Anchises are accepted by a speckled serpent. Many murals at Pompeii show vipers protectively surrounding an altar as symbols of the *genius loci,* or tutelary deity of the place. In Greece, ancestors such as Kekrops and Erechtheus, who had been transformed into heroes, were venerated in the form of serpents. A serpent and a vessel on ancient Greek tombstones depicts a libation to the dead. The ancient Scythians who lived north of the Black Sea regarded themselves as descendants of Targitaus, a son of the god of heaven and of the half-human, half-snakelike daughter of Dnieper, the river god. In some gnostic writings of the Hellenistic period there is the notion that the first human beings crawled on the ground like snakes. In New Guinea and the Admiralty Islands there is a legend that the first human beings were born of a serpent. Among the Australian Aborigines the moon is regarded as ancestor of the tribe; his totem is a serpent. Many chieftains among the Paiwan (east coast of Taiwan) claim descent from the "hundred-step serpent." The Zulu (South Africa) look upon certain snakes as divinized ancestors who have the power to return to earth in this form. In Southwest Asia a serpent-princess is supposed to have been the founder of particular dynasties.

In Africa, Asia, and Oceania the snake is often associated with the soul. According to the beliefs of the Maasai (East Africa) the souls of chieftains and medicine men turn into snakes after death and live on in this form. The Melanesians identify their ancestors with this reptile, and it is frequently found as a totem, in New Britain and New Ireland, for example. In Chinese fairy tales the dead may reappear as serpents. In Europe, too, one finds the idea that the soul can leave the body in the form of a serpent, not only after death but even in dreams (cf. the saga of Guntram, the Frankish king). Various Slavic peoples believe that the souls of deceased ancestors dwell in snakes, which guard the homes of their human descendants.

Protector of the House and Bestower of Happiness. According to widespread popular belief, snakes should not be killed, because they protect the house and bring good fortune; if they are supplied with milk, they bring health and prosperity. In fairy tales the toad may replace the serpent in this role; both animals are accounted to be of chthonic origin and are numbered among the life-giving powers that contribute to the welfare of those who maintain contact with the earth and its forces. In the Alpine regions, for example, there is a familiar tale of a serpent with a golden crown; as long as the serpent is treated well, it brings happiness to the house and its inhabitants. Finns regard the ring snake as a sacred domestic animal and give it food; they believe that if it should be killed, the death of the family's best cow or even of the stockbreeder himself will follow. In Sweden a white snake is treated as a beneficent protector of the home and cared for with reverent awe. Among the ancient Prussians (a Baltic people), at a certain season of the year, food was set out for serpents living in the house; it was a bad omen if they did not take the food. In India even poisonous snakes were fed as protective spirits; there are areas even in modern times where every house has had a protective serpent (*vāstusarpa*). Among the Suk and Bari of East Africa, who live as nomadic shepherds, the serpent is called "child of God," fed with milk, and looked upon as a bringer of good fortune. Serpents, dragons, and toads are widely considered to be protectors and bearers of treasures and riches. In central Europe there are still place-names (e.g., Drachenfels, "dragon-rock") that allude to local sagas built around the idea of a Lindwurm (from the Old Norse *linn-ormr,* "serpent-dragon") who protects a treasure; Fáfnir, who guarded the treasure of the Nibelungs, was such a dragon. In the cultural orbit of India the *nāga*s are the guardians and givers of the vital forces stored up in springs and wells and of the coral and pearls deposited in the sea. The Buddhist Jātaka tales tell of a Nāga prince who possesses a pearl that grants his every wish. The charitable Chinese dragon that brings good fortune is said to have the head of a horse or a camel and the body of a serpent, while his beard often contains a pearl. In the cults and customs of the Ivory Coast (West Africa) the snake is regarded as a bringer of wealth and fame; in Benin the python in particular is a symbol of happiness and prosperity. In Melanesia the snake plays the part of culture hero; in many sagas he gives human beings the edible plants, fire, and frequently simple tools like the shell knife and stone ax as well.

Wisdom and Power. The serpent knows all mysteries; if a person eats its flesh (or the heart of a dragon, as the Germanic hero Siegfried did), many things are revealed to him; in particular, he can understand the speech of the birds. In Greek myths if a serpent licks the ears of a human being, the human will understand the languages of animals (cf., e.g., the story of Melampus and the sons of Laocoön). The children of Hecuba, queen of Troy, were licked by a serpent and received the gift of prophecy. Snakes were associated with Athena, the Greek goddess of wisdom, and in the Middle Ages with Prudentia, the personification of prudence or practical wisdom. Then there is the well-known saying of Jesus: "Be wise as serpents" (*Mt.* 10:16). The serpent represented on the croziers of Coptic and Byzantine bishops symbolizes the prudence with which the faithful are to be guided. The Aztec god Quetzalcoatl ("feathered serpent") was the founder of the body of priestly wisdom; high priests bore the title "Prince of Serpents." Animals that were superior to human beings in certain abilities became symbols of power: Thus the prophet Isaiah (*Is.* 27:1) describes the great powers threatening the people of God as a leviathan (Babylon?) and a dragon (Egypt?). The representation of an asp known as the uraeus that the pharaohs wore on their foreheads was a symbol of their sovereignty; the uraeus was also worn by Horus, the royal god; the serpent on the brow of Re, the sun god, was said to annihilate all enemies. The horned serpent on the seals of scrolls from ancient Mesopotamia is probably a sign of divine power; it is sacred to the god Ningishzida, the guardian at the door of heaven. Among more primitive peoples, too, the serpent can be a symbol of power and sovereignty; thus it is part of the decoration on the festive garb of the Paiwan chieftains of Taiwan. Iconographically related to the serpent is the dragon—it was the emperor's sign in China, and the Anglo-Saxons painted it on royal banners. The power inherent in the serpent was also thought to be apotropaic; thus the serpent protected temples (Egypt), tombs (classical antiquity), and the thresholds of homes (Sweden).

REPRESENTATIVES OF COSMIC POWERS. In classical antiquity the serpent Uroboros, which swallows its own tail, is able to embrace the entire universe. Various Indian paintings and sculptures show the dancing god Siva inside a cosmic ring that is clearly recognizable as the body of a serpent with a head at each end. In Germanic mythology the Miðgarðsormr ("world serpent"), with which Þórr (Thor) does battle, is wound like a belt around the world. In some mythologies, the struggle between the storm god and a serpent symbolizes the antagonism between the uranian powers above and the chthonic powers below; this is true, for instance, of the battle between the Hittite storm god and Illuyanka. In the conflict between the two principles of being (between good and evil at the ethical level) the place of the divinity may be taken by an eagle. The enmity between the divine bird and the snake is a theme in the mythology and art of many peoples: It is found on seals from ancient Mesopotamia; in Homer's *Iliad;* in India, where the bird Garuda is known as "the serpent-slayer" (*nāgāntaka*); and in Christian contexts, where the eagle is a symbol of Christ and the serpent, dragon, and basilisk are demonic animals.

The serpent belongs not only to the water and the earth; it can also be associated with the heavens. In Melanesian, Finnic, and Aztec mythologies, snakes represent the lightning; among the Babylonians, in India, and in ancient Mexico the Milky Way was associated with a serpent. The motif of the rainbow as a snake is found in Oceania and tropical Africa; the Dogon of West Africa, for example, think of the rainbow as the serpent of the water god Nommo. Australian tribes regard the rainbow snake, under the name of Yulunggul, as a creative divinity and bestower of culture. Above all, however, the serpent has a lunar significance; Mircea Eliade speaks of it as "an epiphany of the moon" (*Patterns in Comparative Religion,* New York, 1958, p. 165). Like the moon that is gradually diminished and then gradually renews itself, so the serpent sheds and renews its skin and becomes a symbol of death and resurrection. The Ngala tribe (central Kongo) believes that the moon at one time lived on earth as a python. Also to be interpreted in lunar terms is the horned serpent of the pre-Columbian Nazca culture (Peru); the horn is a widespread symbol of power. The double serpent—one with a head at each end—can simultaneously symbolize both moon and sun, as among the Kwakiutl tribe of Indians. In addition to Quetzalcoatl, the serpent of the nocturnal sky, the Aztec believed in a turquoise serpent of the diurnal sky, which was associated with the solar god Huitzilopochtli. The Egyptian uraeus, like the serpent that is equated with Helios in Greek magical papyri, was certainly solar in character.

DEATH AND THE UNDERWORLD. Serpents frequently play an important role in religious conceptions about the origins of sin. A striking parallel to the story in the *Book of Genesis* of the fall of Adam and Eve is to be found in a myth of the Basari (northern Togo); here the serpent misleads the first human beings into eating certain fruits that until then only God (Unumbotte) had eaten. According to a story of the Dusun (northern Borneo), Kenharingen, the creator, said that those who shed their skins would not die; human beings paid no heed and are therefore snatched away by death, but snakes remain alive forever because they listened to God and shed their skins. After the Babylonian hero Gilgamesh at last found the plant of immortality, he was robbed of it by a serpent while he was bathing, thus forfeiting eternal life to the snake. Persian tradition tells of a plant called *haoma* that bestowed immortality; but Ahura Mazdā's adversary, Ahriman, created a serpent to harm the miraculous plant.

The figure of the serpent also stands for the threatening forces that bring death. In the Finnic concept of the next world, the traveler into the realm of the dead is threatened by an ever-vigilant serpent. The Norse Edda tells of a hall in the kingdom of the dead that has walls made of the bodies of serpents; poison drips from its roof. Etruscan iconography displays various demons of the underworld accompanied by serpents. Bronze Age statuettes found in Crete show a female figure with a serpent in each elevated hand and two serpents rearing up at her breasts; these statuettes are probably connected with the chthonic cult of the goddess of the earth and of the dead. The Erinyes (Furies) of Greek mythology are subterranean goddesses of vengeance; heads covered with writhing snakes, they pursue all evildoers. The Hindu goddess Kālī, the great "devourer" who destroys life, has as her attributes skulls and serpents. In Aztec lore the earth goddess Coatlicue, the "Lady with the Skirt of Serpents," is also the goddess of death; in Mictlen (the realm of the dead) poisonous snakes serve as food. The Egyptians believed the underworld to be inhabited by, among other things, fire-breathing serpents armed with knives; some sayings in the *Book of Going Forth by Day* are meant as protection against them (7.33–35). In Christianity the serpent is often associated with sin, death, and the Prince of Darkness who rules over the damned.

LIFE AND IMMORTALITY. The serpent has possession of the plant of immortal life (*Epic of Gilgamesh*); in various fairy tales and in some Greek sagas (Glaucus, Tylon) snakes restore the dead to life by means of a plant known only to them. In Melanesian and South American traditions the snake gives human beings the knowledge of edible plants; in ancient Egypt, Renenutet, "mistress of the fertile land" (the goddess of agriculture), was worshiped in the form of a serpent. The serpent is closely associated with the fruit of life and the water of life; in Southwest Asia and in China it is considered to be the giver of rain. Among the Hopi Indians (Arizona) a feast of serpents is celebrated in August in order to obtain rain; during the dancing at this celebration the participants carry live rattlesnakes between their teeth. The (East) Indian *nāga*s are givers of fertility; sacrifices associated with the *nāgakal* (a cobra idol of stone) erected in Indian villages are supplications for the birth of children. Snakes have phallic significance in the most varied of cultures: classical antiquity, the ancient Near East, India, and Melanesia; some American Indian cultures employ the double symbol of the serpent (phallus) and the rhombus (vulva); according to an association made in ancient Mexico (Codex Borgia) the penis is controlled by a serpent-demon. The snake thrown into a cave in the worship of the Greek goddess Demeter also had a phallic significance: The snake was expected to promote the powers of growth present in the earth. Many peoples have believed that the snake obtained long life and even immortality by shedding its skin; as a result the serpent became an attribute of Shadrapa (ancient Syria) and Asklepios (Greece), who were gods of healing; the latter was taken over by the Romans as Aesculapius, and the staff of Aesculapius with snakes wound around it is still the symbol of the medical profession (the caduceus). In the Egyptian *Book of Going Forth by Day* transformation into a serpent will give new life to the dead person (chap. 87). The snake that in the mysteries of the Thracian-Phrygian god Sabazios was drawn across the bosom of the initiate, gave hope for the attainment of immortality. The bronze serpent that Moses displayed on a standard became a prefiguration of the Savior's death on the cross and of redemption (*Jn.* 3:14f.).

THE DEMONIC AND THE DIVINE. Because of the ambivalence with which they are regarded, serpents may be associated either with devils or with gods. On cylinder seals from ancient Mesopotamia multiheaded serpents embody the forces hostile to the gods. Even as a small child, Apollo, the Greek god of light, killed the python of Delphi, which was persecuting his mother, Leto. In a similar manner the apocalyptic serpent threatens the celestial virgin (*Rv.* 12:1–5). Among the more generally known demonic serpents are Apophis (Egypt), the Miðgarðsormr (Germany), Kulshedra (Albania), and the numerous *kaia* (Melanesia).

In the belief of the ancient Greeks the Agathos Daimon, frequently thought of as a winged serpent, played the role of a good spirit. As bringer of salvation and giver of life the serpent became a divine animal; it was associated with Anat, the goddess of war venerated at Ugarit (modern-day Shamra, Syria), and, in the form of a dragon, with Marduk, the principal Babylonian god. The figure depicted by worshipers of Mithra as having the head of a wolf and a body entwined by serpents is usually interpreted as representing Aion, the god of time. The cobra was sacred to Uto, the regional goddess of Lower Egypt. The Hindu snake goddess Manasa is invoked even today against snakebite. One of the terrifying divinities of Buddhism is Bhutadamara, who combats demons: His adornment consists of eight serpents. In the Kalderash gypsy tribe (France) there are still traces of a cult of serpents that reaches back to ancient India; thus in the spring the tribe celebrates the day of the snake or divine serpent. An explicit worship of snakes was practiced by the Lombards (sixth to eighth centuries in Italy) and by the Lithuanians; but in this context mention must be made of various sects of gnostics in late antiquity generally grouped together under the name of Ophites: They adored the godhead in the form of a serpent. The cult of snakes indigenous to West Africa (especially Dahomey) came to America with the slaves and acquired a new form in the magical and religious Voodoo of Haiti.

SEE ALSO Dragons.

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SNORRI STURLUSON

SNORRI STURLUSON (1179–1241) is Iceland's greatest historian. His writings include the *Prose Edda* and the *Heimskringla*, which along with the *Poetic Edda* are the major primary sources for Germanic mythology and religion. Snorri was sent at a young age to a settlement in southern Iceland called Oddi to be fostered by Jón Loptsson, grandson of Sæmund Sigfússon and of Magnus III of Norway. Jón Loptsson was the most powerful chieftain in Iceland at the time, and his farm was a center of learning without equal. Snorri received the best education possible; his power and stature increased, and he was elected law speaker in 1215. After one term, ending in 1218, he journeyed to Norway to visit its rulers, the regent Earl Skúli and the young King Hákon. For several years Snorri traveled widely throughout Norway and Sweden. He thwarted a scheme to force Iceland to submit to Norwegian rule and left Norway in great honor, promising to work for Norway's cause in Iceland. Snorri was re-elected law speaker for three terms (1222–1232), and it was during this period that he found the time to produce his greatest writings. Ever a ruthless and opportunistic leader, Snorri was involved in many disputes, even with his own relatives, and in 1241 he was murdered by one of his enemies.

Upon his return from Norway, Snorri composed the *Háttatál* (List of Verse Forms), a poem in praise of Earl Skúli and King Hákon that became the final section of a three-part handbook for skaldic poets now known as the *Prose Edda.* The *Háttatál* consisted of three poems in 102 stanzas demonstrating possible verse forms for Old Norse skaldic poetry. By itself it would have been difficult for Snorri's contemporaries to understand, despite its explanatory prose commentary, for there were many complicated metaphors with allusions to long-forgotten mythological material. Snorri therefore went on to write a second part (the *Skáldskaparmál*) on poetic diction that supplied the rules for the formation of kennings (compound metaphors) and *heiti* (poetical nouns). Many of the examples of kennings contain mythological information not found elsewhere. Moreover, there is an extensive introduction (the *Bragarœður*), according to which the god Ægir, during a visit to Valhǫll, entertained his table companion Bragi with old tales of the gods, including important myths, such as the theft of Iðun's apples, the adventures of Þjazi, and the story of how Óðinn (Odin) obtained the poetic mead.

Since much of this mythological material, too, would have been unfamiliar to the readers of his time (who, like Snorri, were Christians in a country that two centuries earlier had accepted the Christian faith), he prefaced it with an introduction to Norse mythology, the *Gylfaginning* (The deluding of Gylfi). In this section he presents Gylfi, a fictional Swedish king who, disguised as an old wanderer, travels to Ásgarðr to find out about the ancient pagan gods and meets Óðinn, also in disguise, who answers his questions. Óðinn describes the Norse mythological world from its beginning to its end in the Ragnarǫk (the destruction of the cosmos and its rebirth), noting important facts about the various gods, Valhǫll, Yggdrasill (the cosmic tree), and more. It was presumably Snorri who also wrote a prologue with a euhemeristic derivation of the Norse gods as kings descended from King Priam of Troy. As sources, Snorri used Eddic and skaldic poetry and oral tradition.

Snorri then proceeded to compose the *Heimskringla* (Orb of the world), his monumental history of the Norwegian kings from their mythical origins through Magnús V Erlingsson (r. 1162–1184). The first part, the *Ynglingasaga*, traces the origins of the kings back to their mythical ancestor Yngvifreyr, and before him to Njǫrðr and ultimately Óðinn. The purpose of the *Ynglingasaga* was to provide a meaningful connection between the traditional and Christian periods and to provide the Norwegian kings with an illustrious ancestry that confirmed their sacred right and ability to govern. As a source on Norse mythology, the *Ynglingasaga* is the most important of the *Heimskringla* sagas, though others contain mythological material as well.

SEE ALSO Eddas; Loki; Óðinn; Sagas; Saxo Grammaticus.

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SNOUCK HURGRONJE, CHRISTIAAN

(1857–1936), was a Dutch Islamicist and colonial adviser. At the University of Leiden, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje studied theology and initially intended to become a minister. His early interest in literary and historical criticism of the Bible, a field then still regarded as suspect by some conservative Christians, contributed to his decision in 1878 to renounce the ministry and pursue a scholarly career in Arabic and Islamic studies. In 1880 he defended a doctoral thesis on the origins of the traditional pilgrimage to Mecca. In August 1884 he traveled to Jidda, where he was invited by Meccan religious scholars and notables to visit Mecca. Although he dressed as a Muslim and adopted a Muslim name, ʿAbd al-Ghaffār, Snouck Hurgronje did not conceal his identity as a non-Muslim from his hosts; he remained in Mecca from February to August 1884. In 1889 he published, with photographs, a detailed ethnographic account of contemporary Meccan social and intellectual life, translated as *Mecca in the Latter Part of the Nineteenth Century* (1931). A chapter of this work is devoted to Mecca's Javanese colony.

Snouck Hurgronje's interests as a historian of religions were strongly informed by ethnography. For Snouck Hurgronje, both historical and contemporary religious beliefs and movements had to be understood in terms of the social and political contexts in which they occurred. After his return to Europe from Mecca, he continued to lecture and write on general themes in Islam and Islamic jurisprudence but he became increasingly interested in the Dutch East Indies (present-day Indonesia). In 1889 he was sent to Batavia (present-day Djakarta), where he served as a colonial adviser while remaining an ethnographer and a religious scholar. In 1892 he was posted at Aceh, a region of Sumatra in frequent rebellion against Dutch rule since 1873. Living like a Muslim (though again not concealing his European identity) and reestablishing ties with Acehnese he had first met in Mecca, his comprehensive reporting on Islamic political and religious movements began to shape colonial policy. He recommended that the government co-opt the secular chieftains, while suppressing the Islamic leaders who were the instigators of the rebellion. His advice was informed by his view of the Islamic leadership as alien agitators intent upon imposing norms and values contrary to local customs. Snouck Hurgronje continued his role as Islamicist and colonial adviser to the Dutch government from his return to Leiden in 1906 until his retirement in 1927.

SEE ALSO Acehnese Religion.

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SOCIALLY ENGAGED BUDDHISM SEE ENGAGED BUDDHISM

SOCIETY AND RELIGION [FIRST EDITION].

Relations between religion and society are fundamental to the nature of religion and, according to longstanding intellectual claims, are intrinsic to the nature of society. Indeed, societies are characterized by the values they embody, the individual and collective motivations they encourage, the incentives they inspire and sanction, and the ideals by which belief, attitude, and behavior are established and secured. Accordingly, religion can hardly be identified or defined except in terms of human social relations. Religion offers prescriptions for social order, individual behavior, and collective action. Thus, all religious traditions give expression to the relationship between what are acknowledged and understood to be the most compelling objectives of human life and day-to-day conduct. To a remarkable extent, the religions of the world can be distinguished from each other on the basis of their selective interpretations of this fundamental relationship and in terms of the attitudes toward society that they prescribe and honor. And yet, while the religious traditions of the world can be distinguished from each other on these grounds, they also share some common convictions about this fundamental relationship and what it entails.

RELATIONS BETWEEN SOCIETY AND VARIOUS RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS. All religious traditions seek a measure of congruence between the ideals they espouse and the societal ordering of life in which such ideals are meant to be expressed. As a consequence, a society is known by its collective aspirations—aspirations to which religion attributes sanction. Similarly, all religious traditions have mechanisms to inspire their adherents toward objectives that their societies have not yet attained. The relationship between these ideals and the collective behavior that religion sanctions is always subject to correction and modification, given the more comprehensive sense of the world's well-being to which the teaching of the world's religions attest. All religious traditions provide some means by which individuals and communities can establish (or reestablish) their lives on a basis that is distinct from the social and cultural status quo. That is, all religious traditions sanction forms of withdrawal from the world or release from the social status quo. In so doing, they certify that religious ideals and the day-to-day ordering of common life are not fully congruent, but rather are characterized by conflict and tension. The effective resolution or mediation of such conflicts requires deliberate spiritual and practical strategies.

Given the complex nature of their relationship to society, religious traditions often find it useful to invoke a distinction between sacred and secular, and to apply this distinction in establishing the status of society. While there is an inviolable tendency within religious consciousness to affirm that all of life is sacred, there is also the recognition that what is sacred is determined in relation to what is reckoned to be profane. Sacred and secular are dichotomous terms that can only be defined in relationship to each other. Thus, the intrinsic dynamism of each religious tradition issues from its comprehension of how all can be sacred when sacred is known and perceived only in contrast to the profane. The teachings of the religious traditions are drawn from knowledge and experience of how individual and collective human life ought to be ordered, and how human aspirations are to be accorded privilege, in light of the complexities of this fundamental relationship between the sacred and the profane. Consequently, the religious traditions offer tested formulas by which the boundaries and contours of the sacred can be discerned in relation to the boundaries and contours of the profane. But all of them seek to affirm that life itself is sacred, and that its societal forms and expressions can and must be infused by such perceptions and convictions.

Confucianism. Confucius (552?–479 BCE) traveled from state to state throughout China in order to awaken the social responsibility of the populace and to generate social and political reforms. Indeed, the teachings of Confucius are designed to create the moral context sufficient to encourage a harmonious family life, a state that is governed equitably, and a world with sufficient spiritual resourcefulness to allow its inhabitants to live in peace. In Confucius's eyes, individual character and a just social and political order are both consequences of moral cultivation. His emphasis upon the cultivation of individual moral character as well as a harmonious social order prompted his followers to point his teachings in two directions. The first, represented by the *Great Learning* (*Daxue*), from the fifth century BCE, emphasized the social implications of Confucian teaching. The second, represented by the *Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhong yong*), attributed to Zisi (483–402 BCE), Confucius's grandson, lays stress on the harmonization of emotion, temperament, and intelligence, as the means of achieving full realization of one's individual nature. The *Doctrine of the Mean* affirms that it is through the realization of individual natures that more comprehensive forms of social and political harmony can occur. Because Confucian teaching carried this twofold capacity, to provide individual moral incentive while prescribing the bases for harmonious social and political order, it became the prevailing school of thought in China, and, in 136 BCE, was proclaimed official state doctrine. Through the centuries, Confucianism has exercised a fundamental formative role throughout Chinese social and cultural life, and particularly in the spheres of government, jurisprudence, education, music, and the ritual life of the people. While both Daoism and Buddhism have had enormous impact on Chinese religion and philosophy, the fundamental cohesiveness of traditional Chinese society can be attributed to the capacity of Confucian teaching to identify compatibilities between individual moral imperatives and the dictates of social order.

Islam. The Islamic religion offers a clear example of societal order that is prescribed by religious doctrine. Indeed, within regions where Islam dominates, it is just as appropriate to refer to Islamic states as to Islamic religion. The Islamic ideal is meant to be developed into community-states; the individual's relationship with God is interdependent with relationships among human beings in social settings. Thus, there are Islamic peoples, a Muslim empire, and indeed an Islamic civilization, all of which originated from the insights and teachings of the prophet Muḥammad in Arabia in the seventh century CE. Understanding that a Muslim is identified as one who "surrenders" to the will of God and who confesses "There is no god but God and Muḥammad is his prophet" establishes a strong basis for social and political cohesiveness. Islamic doctrine and Islamic law are conceived as aspects of the same will. The characteristic Islamic ethos blends the spiritual with the temporal, the public with the private, and individual religious aspiration with the affairs of the state. Because there can be no fundamental distinction between the religious and temporal spheres of life, Muslims understand Islamic states to have come into being in accordance with the divine will. Thus, from the beginning, the Muslim world has been populated by theocratic states. Indeed, much of the tension that exists within that world today derives from the power of modern educational and social reform and of increasing political democratization to upset the religious and social harmony that was explicit in traditional Islamic law.

Shintō. The indigenous culture and ethos of Japan, Shintō offers an example of interdependency between spiritual and temporal elements that are virtually impossible to distinguish. Having come to expression through the ancient folk tales, myths, and rites of the Japanese people, Shintō developed in close correspondence to the emerging and ongoing Japanese collective identity. Thus, Shintō came to describe those beliefs and practices that were distinctively and inherently Japanese. It has no single founder, no authorized sacred scripture, and no set of prescribed doctrines. The myths to which it lays claim are in many respects similar to those that have been found among the peoples of Southeast Asia. Yet, the attitude to life that Shintō espouses is distinctively Japanese, and its influences are to be felt in myriad ways throughout Japanese social and cultural life. In its encounter with religious and cultural traditions whose origins lie elsewhere—Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism, in particular—Shintō has displayed both its adaptive and resistive sides. Its presence among the people always has been associated with respect for ancestors that through the centuries has translated into respect for the emperor and the imperial line. This connotes a devotion to the power (*kami*) from which life flows, by which human conduct must be guided, and by means of which the people are united.

Hinduism. The religion (as well as civilization) of India presents a more complicated picture. Within Hindu civilization, religion functions much less in correspondence with national objectives, and much more as a way of life or mode of consciousness. The Hindu perception that human life consists of an endless series of births and rebirths, together with Hindu belief in *karman*—namely, that previous acts are factors that determine present and future circumstances—leads to a stratification of social classes as well as to a hierarchical ordering of religious values. Individuals are enjoined to perform the laws and duties (*dharma*) that are expected and required of the class, or caste, to which he or she belongs. Indeed, the distinctions between classes correspond to the fundamentally distinguishable estates of human beings. *Brahmāṇa*s (brahmans), judged to be in the preeminent positions, are understood to be the guardians of the divine power. *Kṣatriya*s, the nobility, exist to protect the people. *Vaiśya*s, members of the third estate, are obliged to do the necessary work, that is, to tend farmland, to conduct trade, to care for cattle, and so on. The fourth estate, that of the *śūdra*s, a kind of servant class, is supposed "to serve meekly." Hindu teaching justifies social stratification insofar as it understands such stratification to be sanctioned by cosmic action. The social system is a necessary complement to the power of *karman*, and it is through *karman* that individuals can hope for an eventual release from the perpetual cycle of birth and rebirth. Thus, in Hindu understanding, there is a strong duality between spirit and matter. And while the existing social matrix is acknowledged and upheld, it sustains conditions that are deplorable. But such interpretation occurs within perceptions and convictions that affirm the world to be a single reality, and thus affirm religion and society to be complementary.

Buddhism. Originating from a keen perception of the pervasiveness of suffering and spiritual ignorance in human life, Buddhism gives expression to the relationship between religion and society via the conviction that worldly life cannot ensure lasting or final happiness. Its founder, Siddhārtha Gautama (c. 563?–483? BCE), counseled his hearers and followers to resist a life of indulgence in sensual pleasure as well as a life of perpetual self-mortification. The "middle path" between these two extremes was designed to encourage true knowledge, tranquility, and enlightenment, pursued via a process that, as in Hinduism, works through a succession of lives toward an ultimate goal, *nirvāṇa*. This final goal is conceived as a transcendent state in which the individual is free from craving and sorrow and over which suffering has no effective control.

The deliberate character of spiritual formation, under Buddhism's auspices, has required a strong monastic movement. The purpose of monastic life is to provide the context and spiritual nurture so that aspirants, guided by the dictates of the famous Eightfold Path, might progress toward *nirvāṇa*. Within the monastic order (*saṃgha*), life was to be lived simply; however, extreme ascetic practices were not condoned. Indeed, Buddhism can be described as a monastic religion, to be supported as well as followed by the laity. Thus, Buddhism has come to influence, but not to define, the societies within which it has become prevalent. In India, China, Japan, Tibet, Burma, Sri Lanka, and indeed, throughout Southeast and Southwest Asia, and even within the United States, it has been pliable and adaptive. It teaches a way of life that is exemplified by the monks, who are regarded as moral leaders, and is both respected and practiced by the laity. Buddhism specifically teaches that the response to suffering humanity should be active compassion, and the direct result of this has been the formation of social service ministries (i.e., hospitals, schools, orphanages, and other benevolent institutions). Compassion also dictates such individual virtues as generosity, morality, patience, vigor, concentration in meditation, and wisdom. But these virtues belong to a fundamental emphasis upon the primacy of individual consciousness; this is understood in stricter Theravāda Buddhism as communion with the Buddha and in Mahāyāna Buddhism as the vow of the human spirit to become a Buddha.

Daoism. Rooted in a response to the transition from feudalism toward a new social order in sixth-century BCE China, Daoism has had a formative influence on Chinese culture in all of its aspects. Associated with Lao-tzu, the reputed author of the *Dao de jing*, Daoism teaches a practical way of life (the natural way) as well as an attitude that enables its adherents to dispose themselves peacefully in the presence of the unity of the universe. It counsels harmony, simplicity, and peacefulness, which are expressed in artistic and cultural forms, such as landscape painting, tea drinking, and so on. Although it was never raised to official governmental status, as was Shintō in Japan, it has been the source of a collective attitude toward life in traditional Chinese society and was influential up to 1949, when the Communist government came to power.

Judaism. Within Judaism, complexities in the basic relationship of religion to society are mediated in a variety of ways. The Hebrew scriptures attest, for example, that creation (the world that was made by the one true God) is good and is intended for enjoyment. At the same time, the goodness and sanctity of life are interpreted in light of strong and abiding convictions regarding the special status and character of a people whose way of life is ordered according to precise and specific covenantal sanctions. In Jewish understanding, the covenant promise, "If you hear my words and obey my commands, I will be your god and you shall be my people" (*Ex.* 19:5), is not given to everyone. Thus, while Judaism affirms the propriety of all of life, it is particularly attentive to what has been properly consecrated and sanctified. Understanding the relation between God and his people to be delineated through the convenant, Judaism also places great emphasis upon the conditions—through laws and ritual practices—by which the covenant is honored and protected. The primacy of the covenant insures that those who are bound to a sovereign deity according to its dictates possess a collective identity. It also implies that this identity will distinguish them from all other peoples who are not so bound. Thus, the relationship between religion and society, in Jewish thought and understanding, must be depicted from two standpoints, that is, from outside and from within the covenantal relationship. In the more comprehensive sense, God established the pattern for harmonious existence between himself and all peoples when the world was created. And in establishing the covenant, God chose a people through which the redemption of that same world was to be carried out. From either vantage point, Judaism understands the world, and thus society, to be the environment in which divine activity occurs. From both vantage points, salvation involves the realization of the creator's purpose for his creation. Thus, Judaism affirms a basic compatibility between religious ideals and social reality, a compatibility that through the centuries has been invested in the idea of the nation of Israel, a nation of both religious and political circumscription.

Christianity. Beginning as a movement within Judaism, Christianity has inherited its predecessor's emphasis upon the primacy of the covenant as well as its singularly monotheistic understanding of the nature of deity. However, informed by the life of Jesus Christ and giving a triune formulation to its belief in the one true God, Christianity, even in its initial stages of development, made appeals not only to Jews but to all inhabitants of the Greco-Roman world. As a consequence, adherence to the covenant was reinterpreted in terms more spiritual and less juridical than otherwise prevails in Judaism.

Indeed, the Christian revision of the understanding of the covenant required the formulation of a new covenant, which would be the basis of a revised collective identity. This new covenant made it possible to conceive of Christianity in universal terms and to identify followers of Jesus Christ. Thus, basic convictions about the goodness of the created order as well as the need for redemption—convictions Christianity shares with Judaism—have to be applied and understood contextually. It is possible to apply such convictions to mean that there should be a Christian state and to cite the same convictions as providing a rationale for conceiving of Christians as "the salt of the earth," whose task it is to bring and/or discover the presence of God wherever they find themselves. And when these basic religious convictions are combined with insights derived in large part from Greek and Hellenistic influence, it is also possible to approach society both in transcendent and ideal terms, as in the Christian understanding of the kingdom of God.

Thus, it can be demonstrated that particular prescriptions regarding the relationships between religion and society are inherent in the basic and formative dispositions by which each of the religious traditions is motivated. Indeed, in every instance, one can anticipate the attitude that a religion will take toward society by knowing how that religion portrays the human condition, what value it places on human community, and how it delineates what is expected of the individual in light of its more comprehensive understanding of the cosmic order.

THE STUDY OF SOCIETY AND RELIGION. Though the relationship between religion and society did not become an object of concentrated study in the West until the nineteenth century, the subject has formed the basis for perennial intellectual exposition from the time that questions arose concerning the ingredients of an ideal society, as, for example, in Plato's *Republic*. The way in which ethical and moral ideals contribute to effective social and community life are also explored in the writings of Aristotle (particularly in his *Nicomachean Ethics*), Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, and other Epicureans and Stoics. The subject also appears in medieval Christian literature, wherein Greek contentions and categories of thought are utilized to lend expression to biblical affirmations. Syntheses were formed through a combination of Greek formulations of the relationships of permanence to change and of being to becoming with the Judeo-Christian understanding of the relationships between the creator and creation. Plato's question in *Timaeus*, "What is that which always is and has no becoming, and what is that which is always becoming and never is?" was answered in classical Christian theology in terms that described the relation between God and the world. Under such formulas, the world—and, by extension, society—was accorded a secondary, subordinate, and derivative reality in contrast to God, the seat of all permanence, or of "that which always is and has no becoming." And the theological task for the medieval writers, under dictates of the relationship between sacred and profane, was to affirm the intrinsic goodness and propriety of the subordinate reality in full recognition of the fact that its status could only be conceived in contrast to what was acknowledged to be primary.

The normative exposition of this relationship was offered by Augustine (354–430), in his *City of God*, in which the temporal order was conceived in the likeness of the eternal order and yet accorded an intrinsic positive status. Whereas Augustine utilized Platonic philosophical categories to spell out these interdependencies, Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) employed an Aristotelian mode to affirm compatibilities between heavenly and earthly realms as well as between ecclesiastical and civil orders. At the time of the Protestant Reformation, Martin Luther (1483–1546) developed a doctrine of "two kingdoms," as, for example, in his *Christian Liberty*, so that both temporary and permanent obligations and services could be distinguished and rightly ordered. And there are many examples within Christian theological literature of attempts to create earthly or civil societies in close approximation to the heavenly or permanent ideal. John Calvin (1509–1564), the author of *Institutes of the*

Christian Religion, wished this for his city of Geneva. The Cambridge Platform of 1648 outlines the plan of the Massachusetts Bay Puritans to order their community life on biblical principles, supported by both divine and natural law. All of these formulations conceived of the relationship of religion to society to be modeled according to the interdependencies between the ideal and the actual and sought to mediate the distance between such states by exploring the relationships between theory and practice.

Comte and Saint-Simon. The subject became an object of analytical (as distinct from theological) scholarly interest in the nineteenth century, with the birth of the science of sociology. Auguste Comte (1798–1857), the acknowledged founder of sociology, built upon the influence of Claude-Henri de Rouvroy, Comte de Saint-Simon (1760–1825) in developing an evolutionary conception of the growth of intellectual consciousness. In Saint-Simon's view, human sensitivity had already passed through the religious stages of polytheism and monotheism, as well as through the philosophical stage of metaphysics, and had just embarked upon the era of positive science. Having come to this new stage, it was man's task to identify the conditions necessary to create an effective rapprochement between intellectuals and the society as a whole. Comte, sharing Saint-Simon's aspiration to improve social and political conditions, also approached theology as an antecedent and provisional mode of human intelligence that had been superseded by both philosophy and science. Each held that the theological mode identifies humankind's first way of coming to terms with experience. But as human knowledge became more exact and progressively more certain, all previous stages or forms of understanding became obsolete.

Lévy-Bruhl and Durkheim. Comte's views were highly respected within nineteenth and early twentieth-century French thought, specifically by Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (1857–1939) and Émile Durkheim (1858–1917). Lévy-Bruhl, sharing the widespread enthusiasm for "the law of three stages," worked particularly to distinguish the mental reasoning processes of archaic (first stage) and more civilized (third stage) human beings. In his *How Natives Think* (1910) and *Primitive Mentality* (1922), which he described as "one and the same work in two volumes," he concentrated on the distinctive mental habits of primitive (or rudimentary) peoples in order to characterize religious consciousness. He contended that the mode of intelligence that is exercised among archaic human beings can be described as being mystical, prelogical, and pervaded by a sense of "affectational participation." To call it mystical is to recognize that it is "at all times oriented to occult forces." To call it prelogical is to describe it as being "indifferent to the laws of contradiction." "Affectational participation" is the phrase Lévy-Bruhl used to describe the way in which, in rudimentary apprehension, the data of experience tend to flow together and associate with each other in complex ways. His intention was to isolate fundamental differences between human beings of contemporary scientific disposition and those of a previous religious stage of intellectual development by comparing and contrasting the mental habits that lend form to knowledge in the two instances.

It is clear, however, that the same analytical strategy can be employed for alternative purposes. Instead of simply focusing on the coordinated mental habits of so-called rudimentary peoples for purposes of sketching a possible primitive world of thought and experience, the scholar can decipher and describe the prevailing mental habits ("collective representations") wherever they occur. This, in brief, describes the analytical intentions of Durkheim, whose work illustrates a methodological shift from evolutionary to organic conceptions of the relationships between religion and society. Indeed, it was Durkheim who first defined religion as "something eminently social." His *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1912) stands as a landmark in the development of both sociological theory and the academic study of religion. The study registers in both contexts because Durkheim's intention to identify "the religious nature of man" by seeking to explain "the most primitive and simple religion" was a part of his preoccupation with man's relation to society. He contended that "religious representations are collective representations." That is, they give expression to the manner in which intellectual life is formed and constituted. To be sure, knowledge is shaped by the intellect, which bestows order, offers pattern, lends arrangement, and seeks coherence. And yet order, pattern, arrangement, and coherence do not derive from an isolated intellect, but from intellects in social association. The collective ideal is always socially conceived and formulated. Thus religion becomes associated with the collective social vision, apart from which the social context cannot be understood.

Weber. It was left to Max Weber (1864–1920) to break with the evolutionist model, and to place an analysis of the interdependencies between religion and society within a cross-cultural framework. Weber's primary intention was to understand how cultures are formed. Noting the self-evident compatibilities between Protestant-religious and capitalist-economic incentives in those nations and societies that have been influenced by the Reformation, Weber worked to identify the interrelationships between motivations and intentions, on the one hand, and acts and events, on the other, within whatever society came under his analytical scrutiny. He observed that religious ideas possess independent causal significance in all systems of social action or processes of social change. The interdependence of Protestant theology (motive) and capitalist economics (action) is Weber's chief example of the dynamics of social integration. But the same principles will apply to the place, status, and function of all religious traditions within their respective sociocultural environments. In general terms, religion, standing as ideology and as conceptual system, supplies motivation within a society. In more specific terms, the prevailing conception of deity within a society influences individual and collective actions as well as the significance that is attributed to social relationships. For example, conception of deity in Hindu religion both affects and is in keeping with the socioeconomic situation of Indian culture. So, too, the way in which the cosmos is depicted in Hindu scriptures bears causal relevance to the socioeconomic theory of those peoples whose life has been influenced by Hindu religious principles. Similarly, there is sanction within the Judeo-Christian doctrine of creation to make the world acceptable; this doctrine is implicit in the economic theory sanctioned in Judeo-Christian theology. In all of these instances, religion can be seen to lend constitutionality to the social order.

Weber's influence. The method Weber devised was intended to be used on a cross-cultural basis and, where possible, comparatively. He himself was eager to test his methods and theories on as many traditions as he had time and energy to study. Weber left the way clear for others to inquire into the social characteristics of individual religions, whether or not they wished to insert their findings into comparative cultural contexts.

Indeed, one would expect that significant sociocultural analyses of the major religious traditions would be inspired by Weber's pioneering work and would approach religion and society as formative cultural elements, to be described and defined in relation to one another. In this regard, the work of Gustave von Grunebaum, Wilfred Cantwell Smith, and Clifford Geertz on Islam should be cited. Notable, too, are the studies of William Theodore de Bary, James B. Pratt, and Charles Norton Eliot on the religions of India. Also significant are the more specialized analyses of Melford E. Spiro, Edward Conze, and Richard F. Gombrich on Buddhism; Oscar Lewis's *Life in a Mexican Village* (1963); Ch'ing-K'un Yang's *Religion in Chinese Society* (1961); Henri Frankfort's work on the religions of Egyptian antiquity; W. E. H. Stanner's portrayal of Aboriginal life in Australia; Vittorio Lanternari's *The Religions of the Oppressed* (1963), which analyzed religion functioning as protest movement; and Gerhard Lenski's *The Religious Factor* (1961), a comprehensive analysis of modern American socioreligious interaction.

Weber's interest in comparative cultural analysis was forwarded by Joachim Wach (1898–1955), a German-born scholar who taught at the University of Chicago from 1944 until his death. Wach is probably the first prominent historian of religion to approach the major religious traditions of the world as instances of organic coordination, for which the societal element is both formative and constitutive. It was Wach's conviction that religion could be studied properly only if ideational, cultic, and social components were approached as interdependent. He contended that it is through the instrumentation of religion that such elements become integrated within a culture. The comparative history of culture, as Weber had recommended, is the context within which these integrative processes are best studied.

Perhaps the most straightforward of attempts to approach the major religious traditions of the world as examples of organic coordination has been provided by Ninian Smart in his book *The Religious Experience of Mankind* (1969). Unlike Weber, however, Smart does not arrive at the religious traditions after engaging in complex theoretical analyses of the components of more comprehensive sociocultural ideological stances. Nor does he treat the religious as a testing ground for more extensive methodological or cultural issues. Instead, without flourish or methodological brocade, Smart contends that religions consist of strands of dimensions (John Henry Newman might have called them "notes") that are present in various degrees of emphasis in the religious traditions. Although Smart does not insist that the list be taken as exhaustive, there are six strands or dimensions: doctrine, mythology, ethics, ritual, social institutions, and religious experience. As noted, not all dimensions are present to the same degree in all religions. Indeed, not all of the dimensions are present in every religion. But some are present in all religions, and the way in which they are present and interact with society gives a religion its internal dynamism as well as its morphology. In *The Phenomenon of Religion* (London, 1973), Smart writes:

> For instance, the shape of a particular myth may be in part determined by the exigencies of the kinship-system in the society in which it is recited. More sweepingly, the dominance of mother-goddesses in certain phases of religion might be at least partially ascribed to the emergence of agriculture. Conversely, some features of a society may be heavily influenced by religion itself, in which case the direction of the explanation runs the other way. (p. 44)

In Smart's view, such examples illustrate the "mutual dynamic," that is, the ongoing "dialectic in which a religion and its society help and shape one another." It is on this basis that Smart subsequently referred prominently to religion, in its social setting, as being "worldview," and the study of religion "worldview analysis" (see Smart, *Worldviews: Crosscultural Exploration of Human Beliefs*, New York, 1983).

Other contributions. The methods and insights of Durkheim and Weber were instrumental in establishing the dominant theoretical framework to identify and clarify relationships between religion and society. Yet, along the way, there were numerous additional contributions that became accepted as belonging to the subject's permanent intellectual legacy. In 1864, for example, N. D. Fustel de Coulanges (1830–1889) published his seminal study, *The Ancient City*, which traced the impact of religious beliefs and customs upon the social institutions of classical Western civilization. At approximately the same time, Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) utilized a theory of evolution to describe the processes by which religious ideas develop in correspondence with the development of social institutions. In 1889, W. Robertson Smith, in his *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, portrayed Jewish worship and belief against the background of the customs and folkways of Semitic nomads. In 1887, Ferdinand Tönnies (1855–1936) published his *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (translated as *Community and Society*, 1957), which traced the shift from a "communal, status-based concentric society of the Middle Ages to the more individualistic, impersonal and large-scale society of the democratic-industrial period." In so doing, Tönnies illustrated the intricate relations that religion and society have had in selected historical periods.

Focusing his Weberian sensitivities on the influence the Christian religion has had on Western culture, Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923) identified two prominent forms of social organization, church and sect, in correspondence with two formative dispositional factors. In his *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* (1912), Troeltsch argued that the two forms of social organization have been dominant within Christianity because the religion has fostered two distinctive and not always congruent attitudes toward the world. Churches reflect an intention to accept the social order and lend credibility to its status; sects are motivated by the desire to disassociate from the societal status quo. Troeltsch's analyses, illustrating an application of Weberian inquiry to a specific religious tradition, also fostered linkages between sociological study and theological reflection. Bernhard Groethuysen, in his study of the development of the middle class (*Die Entstehung der bürgerlichen Welt- und Lebensanschauung in Frankreich*, 1927), illustrated that the bourgeois outlook developed in eighteenth-century France when the traditional dogma of the Roman Catholic church, removed from the formative environment of religious ritual and practice, had become "abstract." Gustav Mensching, who trained under Rudolf Otto at Marburg and became professor of the history of religions at Bonn, developed an approach that treated religions as instances of social coordination, motivated along the two distinctive dispositional lines of folk religion and universal religion (see his *Die Religion*, 1959).

The field of anthropology contributed several studies that are basic to an understanding of the relations between religion and society. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown (1881–1955), for example, portrayed religion as belonging to the complex social machinery that enables human beings to live harmoniously and collectively. Paul Radin (1883–1959) investigated the beliefs and attitudes of primitive societies in light of his theory that religion has roots in fear and that the basis of fear is insecurity; Radin's intention was to isolate the psychological origins of religious sensitivity. Bronislaw Malinowski (1884–1942), drawing much of his evidence from analyses of the collective behavior of the Trobriand Islanders, approached religion as one of the primary social institutions that is produced and shaped in response to the need for cultural survival. Durkheim's nephew Marcel Mauss (1872–1950) saw religion as belonging to that range of entities that deserved to be classified as "total social pheonomena." Such analyses provided corroboration of the contention that religion and society could be approached, described, and defined in relation to one another.

Contemporary research. One direct line of succession from Weber to present-day sociology of religion is an extended commentary on social-action theory as modified, tempered, and extended in the work of Thorstein Veblen (1857–1929); John R. Commons (1862–1945); Robert M. MacIver (1882–1970); Karl Mannheim (1893–1947), who is important for his treatment of the influence of utopian ideas within selected societies; Alfred Marshall (1842–1924); Vilfredo Pareto (1848–1923); and, perhaps most significantly, Talcott Parsons (1902–1979). Parsons is important not only because of his own contributions to the field—his translation of Weber's *Protestant Ethic* (1930) may have been the single most important event in bringing the work of the German sociologist to the attention of the English-speaking world—but, in addition, because of the remarkable influence he has had on other scholars who have become leaders in the field. Because of his translation of Weber's book, Parsons is associated with the legacy of Weber, but he must also be given credit for reviving interest in Durkheim's view and for making Durkheim into something more than an analyst of primitive societies. In exploring the congruences between Weber's and Durkheim's interests, Parsons was influential, too, in establishing associations between the German and French schools of social theory. By combining Durkheim's insight regarding the influence of social constraints with Weber's interest in discerning the way in which religious values are translated as social sanctions, Parsons was led to a new view of the structure of social action. He contended that the social milieu possesses a set of conditions that are beyond the control of each individual, but not outside the mastery of collective human agency. Interweaving Durkheim's and Weber's insights and working to give due respect to both scholars, Parsons offered this summary in *The Structure of Social Action* (New York, 1937):

> Durkheim called attention to the importance of the relation of symbolism as distinguished from that of intrinsic causality in cognitive patterns. . . . Weber integrated the various aspects of the role of non-empirical cognitive patterns in social action in terms of his theory of the significance of the problems of meaning and the corresponding cognitive structures, in a way which preclude, for analytical purposes, their being assimilated to the patterns of science. (p. 715)

Parsons worked to give due respect to both scholars.

Parsons was a nestor. His reworking and fusing of Weberian and Durkheimian themes was so comprehensive and detailed that he inspired a host of students to take up the same or related investigatory causes. Indeed, one of the most significant paths of intellectual influence within religious studies is that initiated by Talcott Parsons and his associates at Harvard. They insisted that social thought be pursued in a methodologically sophisticated cross-cultural and interdisciplinary manner.

The anthropologist Clifford Geertz, one of the most influential of Parsons's students, is known not only for his studies of Islamic religion and culture but also for his proposal that religion should be viewed as a "cultural system." In his highly regarded article "Religion as Cultural System," first published in *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*, edited by Michael Banton (New York, 1966), Geertz defined religion in organic terms:

> Religion is (1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.

The role assigned to religion befits Geertz's conception of culture as "an historically transmitted pattern of meaning."

Similar combinations of interests are reflected in the work of Thomas Luckmann and Peter L. Berger, who were influenced by Karl Mannheim, Robert Merton, continental philosophical phenomenology, and, in particular, the work of Alfred Schutz (1899–1959). Luckmann and Berger share concerns about the fate of the individual within a "socially construed" context. In *The Invisible Religion* (New York, 1967), Luckmann identifies religion as "symbolic self-transcendence," and he sketches the process by which the human organism transcends its particularities by constructive objective, all-embracing, and morally binding universes of meaning. In describing the way in which this process is effected, Luckmann wrote of "the social construction of reality." For Berger, all religious propositions are "projections grounded in specific infrastructures," and religion itself is that "human enterprise by which a sacred cosmos is established." Without an awareness of the presence of the sacred in human consciousness, according to Berger, it would likely not have been possible "to conceive of a cosmos in the first place." Berger writes:

> It can thus be said that religion has played a strategic part in the human enterprise of world-building. Religion implies the farthest reach of man's self-externalization, of his infusion of reality with his own meanings. Religion implies that human order is projected into the totality of being. Put differently, religion is the audacious attempt to conceive of the entire universe as being humanly significant. (Berger, 1967, pp. 27–28)

Both Luckmann and Berger acknowledge that religion is present in institutions, that is, in readily identifiable religious organizations such as churches, synagogues, and temples. But they are unwilling to restrict the social reality of religion to these institutional forms. They observe that a sociology of religion that deals only with such organizations is a sociology of churches that may be concentrating upon already "frozen" forms of religion. In the larger sense, religion (Luckmann's "invisible religion") legitimates the fundamental values of a society by constructing symbolic universes of meaning. Berger understands the process of legitimation to require two important steps: first, "religion legitimates social institutions by bestowing upon them an ultimately valid ontological status, that is, by locating them within a sacred and cosmic frame of reference" (Berger, 1967, p. 33); and, second, "religion . . . serves to maintain the reality of that socially constructed world within which men exist in their everyday lives" (ibid., p. 42).

What Berger and Luckmann divined in theory, namely, the dynamics of the interdependence of religious patterns of meaning and the social construction of reality, Robert N. Bellah has disclosed as a certifiable American fact under the concept of *civil religion*. In so doing, Bellah discerns a systematic, organic form of religious understanding in the collective American consciousness that he believes has existed since the founding of the nation:

> What we have, then, from the earliest years of the republic is a collection of beliefs, symbols and rituals with respect to sacred things and institutionalized in a collectivity. This religion—there seems no other word for it—while not antithetical to and indeed sharing much in common with Christianity, was neither sectarian nor in any specific sense Christian. At a time when the society was overwhelmingly Christian, it seems unlikely that this lack of Christian reference was meant to spare the feelings of the tiny non-Christian minority. Rather, the civil religion expressed what those who set the precedents felt was appropriate under the circumstances. It reflected their private as well as their public views. Nor was the civil religion simply "religion in general." . . . because of its specificity, the civil religion was saved from empty formalism and served as a genuine vehicle of national religious self-understanding. (Bellah, 1967, p. 9)

So far I have traced a line of inquiry, from Durkheim and Weber forward, that attests that religion gains concrete expression and possesses meaning within the context of social reality. This conviction can be interpreted as a refinement and extension of Weber's analyses of the interrelationships between motives and acts in the constitution of a culture. It belongs to Durkheim's more comprehensive observation that religious conceptions always reflect prescribed patterns of social organization. But how do scholars respond when the interrelationships are not clear or when expected correlations between motivation and action are in a state of disarray? Their recourse is to study the lack of correspondence as well as the dysfunctions that have become apparent. The term used to denote the ineffectiveness of religious meaning (because such meaning no longer corresponds with one's experience within the social reality) is *secularization*. Secularization means that some prior prevailing pattern of religious and ideological order is no longer functioning characteristically as a viable source of motivation or behavior. The work of Bryan Wilson, Thomas F. O'Dea, Charles Y. Glock, Rodney Stark, Guy Swanson, and Harvey Cox, among others, was directed toward making sociological and religious sense of this pervasive development. As a consequence, scholarly analyses of the relation between religion and society that appeared in the mid-1980s focused increasingly on the function and status of the sacred in a secular society. I refer specifically to two anthologies: Mary Douglas and Steven

Tipton's *Religion and America: Spiritual Life in a Secular Age* (1982) and Phillip E. Hammond's *The Sacred in a Secular Society* (1985). The ingredients are the same as they were when Durkheim, Weber, and the others constructed the dominant paradigm. But there have been significant shifts, and necessary conceptual readjustments, in every chronicle that has attempted to correlate analyses of the relationship between religion and society with a more extensive portrayal of the evolution or development of Western intellectual history.

RELIGION AND SOCIETY IN THE CONTEMPORARY ERA. Contemporary discussion of the relationship between religion and society is framed by widespread social and cultural change. Societies affected by complex processes of modernization are having difficulty deciding whether, under the new circumstances, traditional religion exercises benevolent or malevolent social influence.

In many quarters, the fundamental issue has to do with whether traditional religious aspirations are congruent or compatible with Marxist political theory and practice. In those areas of the world where Christianity has been the dominant religious tradition—and where, historically, it has been identified with the interests of colonial powers—there is a fascination with liberation theologies that sometimes advocate social and political revolution. Within these settings, the relations between religion and society are being shaped by the responses that the traditions are making to new formulations of faith that are tailored to facilitate transitional or revolutionary activity. The dominant responses have been of two contrasting kinds. One of these kinds of responses condones (sometimes radical) change and appears to its enemies to be in league with the very secularizing forces that traditional religions oppose. The other, fundamentalist, response calls for a return to the purity of the tradition at its origins and has shown itself willing at times to adopt a militant, antirevolutionary stance. Within the United States, in particular, this conflict is implicit in the controversy surrounding the rise of a radical religious right. It has found expression, too, in court cases and legislative debate concerning abortion, prayer in schools, and the status of public religious observance.

Yet even in the present situation, perennial ingredients have been made explicit. In its social manifestations, religion still presents itself as the guardian of sensitivities concerning distinctions between the sacred and the profane. And in its religious dimensions, society continues to be known by the collective aspirations to which its sanctioned activity lends expression.

SEE ALSO Comte, Auguste; Durkheim, Émile; Fustel de Coulanges, N. D.; Law and Religion; Lévy-Bruhl, Lucien; Malinowski, Bronislaw; Marxism; Marx, Karl; Mauss, Marcel; Otto, Rudolf; Political Theology; Radcliffe-Brown, A. R.; Radin, Paul; Revolution; Smith, W. Robertson; Sociology; Spencer, Herbert; Tönnies, Ferdinand; Troeltsch, Ernst; Varṇa and Jāti; Wach, Joachim; Weber, Max.

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WALTER H. CAPPS (1987)

SOCIETY AND RELIGION [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS].

As Walter Capps observed in his essay on this subject, "relations between religion and society are fundamental to the nature of religion and, according to long-standing intellectual claims, are intrinsic to the nature of society." There is a great deal of support for this general assumption, but defining its basic terms—*society* and *religion*—can be problematic. Contemporary theorists think of both as constructed realities and therefore privilege the role of symbols, ritual, and discourse in their analyses. Religion tends to be defined in terms of its relation to collective life, yet how and in what ways religion fulfills its classical task of binding people into a common universe of meaning, as was articulated early in the twentieth century in the sociologist Emile Durkheim's study of the totemic system in Australia, are issues of continuing debate and discussion.

TOWARD CULTURAL ANALYSIS. At the end of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first theorists moved away from conceptions of culture as a simple set of vague and broad value orientations. Today culture is viewed less as a coherent system of signs and meanings, and more focus is placed on its fragmented, malleable, and internally contradictory features. Anthropologists, sociologists, and social historians have lost some of their earlier confidence in explanations that focus narrowly on social class or social structure and have attempted instead to explore more deeply the meanings that underlie those categories. Commentators recognize that no consistent meanings can be attributed to the effects of social position and social relationships; instead, meanings are grounded in the acts of individuals and groups in a particular time and place. Victoria E. Bonnell and Lynn Hunt underscore this fundamental insight when they write: "Social categories—artisans, merchants, women, Jews—turned out to vary from place to place and from epoch to epoch, sometimes from year to year" (Bonnell and Hunt, 1999, p. 7).

A forerunner of this so-called cultural turn was the work on linguistics of the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss. His attention to systems of signs and symbols contributed to the rise of semiotics, with the implication that culture can be analyzed much like a language, with its own distinctive codes of meaning embedded within it. Other French scholars made significant contributions that advanced a "poststructuralist" mode of analysis, especially Michel Foucault, Roland Barthes, and Jacques Derrida, all of whom emphasized a lack of fixed structures of meaning and the ways in which language shapes conceptions of reality. Bonnell and Hunt summarize the intellectual impact of those contributions as follows:

> In the poststructuralist view, language or discourse did not mirror some prior social understanding or positioning and it could never penetrate to the truth of existence; it itself configured the expression of social meaning and functioned as a kind of veil between humans and the world around them. Despite their differences, structuralism and poststructuralism both contributed to the general displacement of the social in favor of culture viewed as linguistic and representational. Social categories were to be imagined not as preceding consciousness or culture or language but as depending upon them. Social categories only came into being through their expressions or representations. (Bonnell and Hunt, 1999, p. 9)

In the United States, several scholars have made more recent contributions to the cultural analysis of religion. Jonathan Z. Smith's work on ritual (1987) merits mention in this respect. Rather than examine ritual in terms of its legitimating function within a collectivity, Smith proposed another function of ritual that often is overlooked: provoking thoughtful reflection about the nature of the social order and its maintenance. Ritual in this sense implies not just expressive but also communicative processes involving moral obligations and the ways they form and re-form society. Robert N. Bellah, another major contributor to the study of religion, put forth a very general argument about the constitutive power of ritual, as suggested by the title of his essay, "The Ritual Roots of Society and Culture" (2003). He traced the beginnings of human solidarity in language and music, arguing that they are a product of ritual. In keeping with the work of Erving Goffman (1967) and Randall Collins (1998), Bellah regards ritual as fundamental to understanding social action in a general sense throughout society; he quotes Roy A. Rappaport as saying that ritual is "humanity's basic social act" (Rappaport, 1999, p. 107).

More generally, others have emphasized the importance of viewing culture as an expression of social behavior. Ann Swidler (1986, pp. 276–277) views culture as a "toolkit" with a "repertoire" of "strategies of action." Robert Wuthnow (1987) and Pierre Bourdieu (1990) both privilege "practice" as a key component. Trying to establish some balance between culture as system and culture as practice, William H. Sewell conceives culture as a "dialectic between system and practice" (1999, p. 47). Viewed in this manner, culture (and ritual in particular) is a means of organizing social action.

Along the same lines, Bruce Lincoln (2000) proposed a polythetic model of religion with four components:

1. A discourse that claims that its concerns transcend the human, temporal, and contingent while claiming for itself a similarly transcendent status.
2. A set of practices informed and structured by that discourse.
3. A community whose members construct their identity with reference to the discourse and its attendant practices.
4. An institution that regulates discourse, practices, and community, reproducing and modifying them over time while asserting their eternal validity and transcendent value.

Reminiscent of Durkheim's classic definition, Lincoln looks upon all four elements—discourse, practice, community, and institution—as interdependent and thus constituting a system, though one that is always malleable and in process. Rather than seeing religion as a fixed form, he emphasizes its variability with respect to its relationship to ethics and aesthetics. He makes use of the philosopher Søren Kierkegaard's three categories of aesthetics, ethics, and religion yet interprets them not in a personal, subjective sense but as an integrated triad of interpersonal social relations. In his view culture necessarily involves the domains of aesthetics and ethics, but religion as a third domain is more variable in its form and its relationship to the other two. "Of particular interest," he writes, "is the way religion connects to the other domains of culture: specifically, the capacity of religious discourse to articulate ethical and aesthetic positions in a uniquely stabilizing fashion. What religion does—and this, I submit, is its defining characteristic—is to invest specific human preferences with transcendent status by misrepresenting them as revealed truth, primordial traditions, divine commandments, and so forth. In this way, it insulates them against most forms of debate and critique, assisting their transmission from one generation to another as part of a sacred canon" (Lincoln, 2000, p. 416).

Noteworthy in this conceptualization is the lack of attention to personal religious experience or the response of individuals to manifestations of the sacred; also, there is no mention of psychological needs or drives. Instead, the focus is on religion in its social formation and the way it gives transcendent status to other domains of culture. Thinking along similar lines, Burton L. Mack (2000, p. 289) poses a crucial question when he asks, "What might a theory of religion look like when fully integrated into the human enterprise of social construction?"

A comprehensive theory of religion would presuppose that at least since the Enlightenment the power of religion to maintain hegemony over the ethical and the aesthetic has been reduced considerably. There is indeed considerable contestation between religion and the latter two domains in contemporary Western societies, yet the religious element in the construction of social formations has not disappeared. This is true partly because as contemporary theorists such as Collins (1998) emphasize, ritual is at the core of any kind of social action; hence, as Bellah says, there is "an element of the sacred" at the very basis of social life whether or not it is defined explicitly as such (Bellah, 2003, p. 32). Drawing on Goffman's notion of interaction ritual, Bellah elaborates further:

> In this process of ritual interaction the members of the group, through their shared experience, feel a sense of membership, however fleeting, with a sense of boundary between those sharing the experience and those outside it; they feel some sense of moral obligation to each other, which is symbolized by whatever they focused on during the interaction; and, finally, they are charged with what Collins calls emotional energy but which he identifies with what Durkheim called moral force. (Bellah, 2003, p. 32)

Thus at every level of social formation, from the smallest group to total societies, ritual operates, varying only in its degree of complexity. Whether ritual will become infused with religious symbolization and therefore give rise to a full-blown religious discourse is an open question. If one accepts Smith's argument that ritual functions to inspire reflection on what people regard as common social practice, chances are that a more explicit religious ritual will evolve. Its capacity for transcending the human, temporal, and contingent meshes with fundamental human efforts implicit in elementary ritual to bring order and legitimacy to life. However, in the Enlightenment tradition, in which the aesthetic and ethical domains have come to be removed from the religious, efforts at restructuring culture in religion's favor often face serious challenges. Under these circumstances religion certainly exists and often flourishes but does so largely in a state of contestation with other cultural domains.

The persisting presence of religion in relation to other aspects of culture lies in the power of myth and ritual to stretch the human imagination in the direction of creating and maintaining a social formation. Myth and ritual function in human life by placing ordinary experience in an extraordinary perspective and thus generate a larger narrative that transcends time and space. Religion is critical if for no other reason than that, as Mack says, "the process of social formation creates and draws upon interests in and agreements about forces and features of social experience that are difficult to name and locate in the daily round of activity" (Mack, 2000, p. 290).

Precisely because the mythic world is more encompassing and expands the horizons of human imagination, it encourages creative and unlimited responses that can be employed for the symbolic restructuring of everyday life. Mack explains this when he says, "The gap between the social world and the mythic panoply, and the fact that the imaginary world is so richly disordered, may be thought of as creating a space for play, experimentation, thoughtful meditation, cheating, winking, and/or calling one another to task" (Mack, 2000, p. 291).

Religion and Institutional Differentation. In light of the fact that the creative capacity of religious symbols, discourse, and practice is coordinated through social institutions, it is necessary to consider the general process of social differentiation. This process often is viewed as being peculiar to the West, yet the sociologist Peter Beyer (2003) cautions that it would be a mistake to assume that the word *religion* has always had a distinct meaning for Europeans or that people other parts of the world have not adopted a somewhat similar meaning of that term. Differentiated religion as it is known today is largely a product of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe, brought on in part by the Protestant Reformation but also by the political conditions that gave rise to nationalism.

Nation-states within Europe came to be closely associated with distinctive religious traditions, Catholic or Protestant, and thus incorporated religion as a significant component of their identity. With increased global expansion in the colonizing era, Europeans encountered other peoples elsewhere in the world whose religions and cultures were strikingly different and, by the nineteenth century, had formed totalizing conceptions for those entities, such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Islam. Also important in that period was the growing awareness of the distinction between religion and nonreligion. Hence, societal identities not only are enmeshed in religious traditions but involve juxtapositions of one religion against another and against whatever is presumed to be nonreligion.

In this differentiated state religion takes on a more specified set of social functions in relation to society and to other institutions within society. It is driven by a logic that applies to all institutions; that is, it is driven toward greater rationalization of its procedures, elaboration of its distinctive teachings, and clarity about its spheres of authority and influence. Religion becomes more of a symbolic world unto itself as it loses control over some of the historical functions it once served. Social theorists have interpreted this trajectory of religious change in varying and opposing ways, such as the upgrading of levels of autonomous personal responsibility in keeping with religious values (Parsons, 1963), "secularization" (Wilson, 1985), and religious privatization (Berger, 1967). Simply put, Parsons sees religious values as increasingly diffused within society through a process of transformation, Wilson points to the loss of significance of beliefs and values in the public arena and the resulting marginalization of religious organizations, and Berger argues for a shift in the social location of religion away from the society as a whole and toward smaller, more limited worlds of social experience.

However viewed, religion's boundaries in the modern world are very much at issue. Privatized religion implies a continuing subjective world of meaning cut off from broader institutional sectors, such as the economy and politics, or a reduced space in which the mythic imagination can operate. Commentators generally agree that religious privatization is discernible particularly in Europe and the United States. At the same time there are countermovements that attempt to infuse religious and spiritual meaning into the so-called secular spheres. This process of dedifferentiation, or attempts at reenchanting the public sphere, is evident in the holistic health movement, the search for spirituality in the workplace, and the significance attached to meditation and prayer in healing within the medical establishment. The extent to which these efforts have succeeded in achieving a unity of public and private experience or even in fulfilling what might be called a traditional religious function is a matter of debate.

Important in understanding the interplay between society and religion are the differing social forms of religion. Those forms define the boundaries of religion's mythic space and the locus of its social formations. Among those social formations are organized religion, state religion, and movement religion (Beyer, 2003). Individualistic, communal, popular, and transnational forms of religion are equally important but are not germane to this discussion.

Organized religion functions, at least in modern democratic societies, in a pluralistic environment of competing alternatives. Rational-choice theorists applaud the absence of a religious monopoly with authority over society and underscore the role of competition as a source of organizational innovation. They argue that these conditions encourage a higher level of religious mobilization and societal engagement because religious organizations have a clearer notion of their purpose: what they are and what they have to offer to recruits. It seems reasonable to assume that energies arising out of a religiously pluralistic context offer some reinforcement of broader societal values, particularly competition and innovation, but rational-choice theory is limited in explaining religious dynamics in relation to society. There are differing types of rationality, as the sociologist Max Weber understood; moreover, the way in which rationality functions within religion is not uniform across societal contexts, an observation that led the comparative sociologist David Martin to conclude that "it is probably worth putting a question mark over the presumed effects of rationalization" (Martin, 1996, p. 42). In keeping with the preceding analysis, any comprehensive analysis of religion and society must allow for the nonutilitarian aspects of social formation, that is, the constitutive power of ritual, symbol, and discourse.

State religion refers to a form of religion in which the state plays a critical role in defining or enforcing its dogma, its practice, or both. The rise of militant religious nationalism in Muslim countries and elsewhere early in the twenty-first century signals a fusion of state identities with particular religions, or what has come to be called religious nationalism with its highly charged symbols and mythic formulations (Friedland, 2001). Milder forms of state religion are found elsewhere and in varying degrees of vitality, such as in the United Kingdom and the Scandinavian countries. What all these religions have in common is that they are "top-down," much in the sense of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's "civil religion" imposed by the state with an emphasis on presumably unifying dogmas. In contrast, as N. J. Demerath observes, civil religion in the United States is more a "bottom-up" phenomenon in the Durkheimian sense; in his words, "our civil religion is a kind of religious common denominator that bubbles forth from our long-standing 'Judeo-Christian tradition' and underscores the religious significance of the nation as a whole and its government. It is more of a passive cultural legacy than the result of an activist political decision" (Demerath, 2003, p. 354). The role of civil religion in integrating society is complicated, especially when, as often happens, there are competing interpretations of its meaning.

Social movement religion, as the name implies, is the most fluid and malleable of the three social forms. Religiously based movements are common in modern societies, addressing a broad spectrum of issues across the liberal-to-conservative ideological spectrum. They funnel energies and galvanize commitments to a variety of causes by selectively appropriating religious symbols and teachings that serve their particular interests. Many are special-purpose organizations that attempt to convince people of the significance of a singular moral or ethical cause in what amounts to an effort to raise levels of social consciousness. Others are more truly sectarian movements in the classical sense, aimed at reforming established religious bodies or advancing an explicit religious concern. Because all such movements typically seek to bring about social change through persuasion, they must strike a delicate balance between religious and ideological purity and sensitivity to public values and interests. Thus, religion of this type takes on a populist, negotiated quality, and society is likened to an arena of continuously competing movements trying to reshape it.

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WADE CLARK ROOF (2005)

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS SEE QUAKERS

SOCIETY OF JESUS SEE JESUITS

SOCINUS SEE SOZZINI, FAUSTO PAVOLO

SOCIOBIOLOGY AND EVOLUTIONARY PSYCHOLOGY

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
DARWINISM AND RELIGION

SOCIOBIOLOGY AND EVOLUTIONARY PSYCHOLOGY: AN OVERVIEW

Sociobiology and evolutionary psychology are related fields, both of which claim that biology is the principal determinant in human affairs. Sociobiology was initially, and by some accounts is entirely, the study of the genetic bases of animal behavior. Sociobiologists regularly also attempt to explain human behavior. Sociobiology is, as the term suggests, the biology of animal *and* human society. Sociobiology preceded and developed into evolutionary psychology, which features mental dispositions more than genes as the evolutionary determinants. The relationship of the two disciplines is both congenial and contested.

Even more contested, by biologists, social scientists, and humanists alike, is how far either discipline succeeds. Edward O. Wilson, the founder of sociobiology, calls it a "new holism," even, with capitals, "the Modern Synthesis" (1975, pp. 7, 4). But critics see it as genetic reductionism. Evolutionary psychologists claim that humans have what Jerome H. Barkow, Leda Cosmides, and John Tooby call an "adapted mind," and call for a "conceptual integration" of all the diverse academic disciplines studying humans, their behaviors, minds, cultures under this biological "view of a single, universal panhuman design" (1992, pp. 4–5). Critics see this too as biological imperialism.

SOCIOLOBIOLOGY. Wilson opened his 1975 *Sociobiology* with auspicious claims: "Sociobiology is defined as the systematic study of the biological basis of all social behavior. It may not be too much to say that sociology and the other social sciences, as well as the humanities, are the last branches of biology waiting to be included in the Modern Synthesis" (p. 7). He concludes his massive study: "Scientists and humanists should consider together the possibility that the time has come for ethics to be removed temporarily from the hands of the philosophers and biologicized" (p. 562). A quarter century later, the "temporary" is becoming more permanent. Only in a biologically based "consilience" is there any hope of "the unity of knowledge" (Wilson, 1992).

A frequent motif in the claims of both sociobiology and evolutionary psychology is that the basic thrust of all life is "selfish." Richard Dawkins titles an influential book *The Selfish Gene*, and opens: "We are survival machines—robot vehicles blindly programmed to preserve the selfish molecules known as genes" (1989, p. v). Philosophers, especially ethicists, object that biologists are labeling genes with a word borrowed from the cultural phenomenon of morality. A less pejorative theory could avoid reading back objectional features from culture into nature, and avoid speaking as though animals and genes were ethical agents in conditions of only superficial similarity.

Sociobiologists reply that the words *selfish* and *altruistic* as they use them in genetic biology have nothing to do with motivation, only with behavior. These replies are not always convincing, because Wilson does propose to "biologicize" ethics, and Dawkins does begin his *Selfish Gene* with the injunction: "Let us try to *teach* generosity and altruism, because we are born selfish" (1989, p. 3).

Critics of this selfishness at the root of sociobiology claim that there is, even in biology, more than one way of framing this behavior. After all, biologists claim that organisms are quite interrelated, living in communities, ecosystems, with myriad coactions, cooperations, interdependencies. Genes are spread around; that is the only way they can be conserved. Organisms are selected for their capacities to leave more of their genes in the next generation, which, if it can be thought of as the survival of the "selfish," can as easily be thought of as the survival of the "senders." Organisms are tested for their capacities to bequeath what they know genetically to their offspring. Sociobiology needs also to be about shared identity, kinship. William D. Hamilton in a founding paper develops the idea of "inclusive fitness" (Hamilton, 1964).

Biologists could be committing what Alfred North Whitehead called the fallacy of misplaced concreteness (Whitehead, 1967, p. 51). Selecting out one feature of a situation, one forgets the degree of abstraction involved from the real world, and mistakenly portrays the whole by overenlarging a factor of only limited relevance. An even more insistent criticism is that sociobiology fails to recognize the novel, nonbiological dimensions of human culture. Culture "denotes an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms, by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life" (Geertz, 1973, p. 89). Although animal ethologists use the word *culture* in reference to animals with capacities for communication and imitated behaviors, culture in the sense of ideas passing from mind to mind is peculiarly human. Human language is elevated remarkably above anything known in nonhuman nature; the capacities for symbolization, abstraction, grammar, vocabulary development, teaching, literary expression, and argument are quite advanced. The determinants of animal and plant behavior are never anthropological, political, economic, technological, scientific, philosophical, ethical, or religious.

Humans have lived in cultures for perhaps a million years, reproducing across thousands of generations. There is every reason to expect that those humans will do best reproductively who do best culturally, and, vice versa, that a genotype will be selected to produce a culturally congenial phenotype. But the question remains whether this emergence of culture introduces behaviors that, however much they continue to require biology, also transcend it with a distinctive human genius.

Sociobiologists insist that biology is dominant in human culture. Wilson puts this in a bold, if somewhat loose, metaphor: "The genes hold culture on a leash. The leash is very long, but inevitably values will be constrained in accordance with their effects on the human gene pool" (1978, p. 167). This is "the general sociobiological view of human nature, namely that the most diagnostic features of human behavior evolved by natural selection and are today constrained throughout the species by particular sets of genes" (1978, p. 43). Michael Ruse agrees: "I argue that Darwinian factors inform and infuse the whole of human experience, most particularly our cultural dimension. . . . Human culture, meaning human thought and action, is informed and structured by biological factors. Natural selection and adaptive advantage reach through to the very core of our being" (1986, pp. 140; 147).

Earlier versions of sociobiology supposed that the genetic shaping of beliefs was rather direct and one way. In later versions, more attention is given to gene-culture coevolution. The genes are still in control, however; cultural variations are selected and persist only when the genes can use them the better to reproduce, although the detail of such innovative practices will be transmitted to the next generation culturally and nongenetically.

The genes build what is called an epigenetic mind. *Epigenesis* conveys the idea of a secondary genesis, ancillary to the primary genetic determinants, a sort of epiphenomenon. Ruse and Wilson put it this way: "Human thinking is under the influence of 'epigenetic rules,' genetically based processes of development that predispose the individual to adopt one or a few forms of behaviours as opposed to others" (1986, p. 180). Humans have innate mental dispositions, such as to avoid incest, or fear strangers.

Critics reply that human beliefs can differ radically. The ancient Scythian nomads in southern Siberia believed that when their chieftains die they should bury their concubines with them, along with their horses and other necessities for the next life; modern Americans believe in women's rights, and doubt that horses ought to be treated this way. Which of these beliefs one comes to hold depends more on one's education than on genes. If the new ideas are contagious enough culturally they can spread indefinitely through the population.

Significant cultural changes can occur within a century, even a decade. Genetic changes can only be transmitted to offspring, which disseminate slowly through a population. Entire cultures rise and fall in less than a thousand years, the minimum period of time in which biologists estimate there might be significant changes in the genetic pool of a human population. The millenarian genes cannot track the ephemeral cultural changes. Individual persons can gain new information constantly throughout a lifetime. Cultural practices get borrowed, traded, adapted; they intermingle across genetic lines. When oral cultures evolve to become literate cultures, people can transmit ideas to thousands who read books a thousand miles away or a thousand years later. This accelerates the pace of cultural information transfer by orders of magnitude over that of genetic information transfer. It is difficult to yoke horses and jet planes in coevolution and have them travel anywhere together.

Cultural options can operate without modifying the genetics. In computer imagery, the same "hardware" (biology) supports diverse programs of "software" (culture). Sociobiologists may reply that the hardware does limit what sorts of software can run on it. Critics counter that the metaphor overlooks how the infant brain is synaptically unfinished and is to a considerable extent "wired up" during the child's education into its culture. The evolved brain allows many sets of mind: one does not have to have Plato's genes to be a Platonist, Darwin's genes to be a Darwinian, or Jesus' genes to be a Christian. The system of inheritance of ideas is independent of the system of inheritance of genes.

EVOLUTIONARY PSYCHOLOGY. *Evolutionary psychology* is a descendent of sociobiology, with more attention to mind and its cultural capacities, but retaining the underlying biological determinants. Jerome H. Barkow realizes that there is a "complex psychology" in humans, with genes and culture interacting, sometimes working together, sometimes pulling in opposite directions. Nevertheless, it remains basically correct "to speak of the genes anchoring the psychological predispositions that tend to pull our cultures back to fitness-enhancing orbits" (Barkow, 1989, p. 8).

Humans have what John Tooby and Leda Cosmides call an "adapted mind" made up of a set of "complex adaptations" that, over our evolutionary history, have promoted survival (Barkow, Cosmides, and Tooby, 1992, p. 69). These form a set of behavioral subroutines, selected for coping in culture, by which humans maximize their offspring. The mind is more like a Swiss army knife, with tools for this and that, rather than a general-purpose learning device. Humans have needed teachability, but they have also needed channeled reaction patterns. The adapted mind evolved a complex of behavior-disposition modules, each dedicated to task-specific, survival-specific functions such as obeying parents, or being suspicious of strangers, or ostracizing noncooperators. In picking mates, men are disposed to select younger women, who are likely to be fertile. Women are disposed to select men of social status, who are likely to be good providers.

Critics find that some more or less "automatic" behavior is desirable. Subroutines to which we are genetically inclined are shortcuts to survival, reliable modes of operating whether or not persons have made much rational reflection over these behaviors. Nevertheless, the mind is not overly compartmentalized, because behaviors interconnect. If women are prone to choose men of status, that requires considerable capacity to make judgments about what counts as status economically, politically, and religiously. They will have to judge which one of their suitors, who often are still relatively young, is most likely to attain status in the decades of their child rearing. Behavioral modules seem unlikely for the detail of such decisions under changing cultural conditions. Capacities to select such a mate are perhaps somewhat "instinctive," but they are unlikely to be an adaptive mechanism isolated from general intelligence and moral sensitivity.

Any such articulated behavioral modes need to be figured back into a more generalized intelligence. Those who advocate evolutionary psychology need to integrate many disciplines: evolutionary biology, cognitive science, behavioral ecology, psychology, hunter-gatherer studies, social anthropology, biological anthropology, primatology, and neurobiology. These are not disciplines in which one becomes expert by behavioral mechanisms using a Swiss-army-knife mind. Educators, whether scientists or humanists, need broadly analytical and synoptic minds. Evolutionary psychologists seem to be arguing that we can and ought be able to re-adapt by critical thought these adapted minds we inherit.

In overall assessment, many conclude that humans live under what Robert Boyd and Peter J. Richerson call "a dual inheritance system" (1985). Humans have some dispositions to which they are genetically disposed, and other dispositions into which they are culturally educated. Their actual behavior is an interactive resultant. Human behaviors fall within an ellipse with two foci, one genetic and one cultural, and, depending on where one is within the ellipse, behaviors may be dominantly under the pull of genes, or culture, or various hybrids with components of both. In the "leashing" analogy, the leashing can be of culture by nature, or nature by culture, or each keeping the other leashed with various lengths of leash.

How individuals behave in fact is often determined by their learning experiences, or by social trends. Choices depend on parents, teachers, peers, advertising pressures, fads and fashions, social policies and institutions. Even in behaviors regarding biological reproduction, cultural beliefs can override any genetic dispositions to maximize offspring. L. L. Cavalli-Sforza and M. W. Feldman (1981) show that fertility has declined in Europe in the last century, and that Italian women, for example, do not maximize their offspring, differing in their beliefs and behavior from their mothers and grandmothers. The fertility rate per woman in the United States fell from 7 in 1800 to 2.1 in 1990, in a period in which resources rose at a rate matching the fall in fertility. The reasons for the changes must be cultural, not genetic.

Richard C. Lewontin, a Harvard biologist, concludes: "The genes, in making possible the development of human consciousness, have surrendered their power both to determine the individual and its environment. They have been replaced by an entirely new level of causation, that of social interaction with its own laws and its own nature" (1991, p. 123). Marshall Sahlins, an anthropologist, concludes: "Biology, while it is an absolutely necessary condition for culture, is equally and absolutely insufficient: it is completely unable to specify the cultural properties of human behavior or their variations from one human group to another" (1976, p. xi). Biology determines some outcomes but underdetermines many others.

Sociobiologists claim to give a scientific account of the "human qualities . . . insofar as they appear to be general traits of the species," the human "biogram" (Wilson, 1975, p. 548). Likewise, the evolutionary psychologists, though distancing themselves from too simplistic a genetic determination of culture, are hoping for "universal mechanisms" in the plural behavioral routines of their "adapted mind." Explanations should be based on "the underlying level of universal evolved architecture. . . . One observes variable manifest psychologies or behaviors between individuals and across cultures and views them as the product of a common, underlying evolved psychology, operating under different circumstances" (Barkow, Cosmides, and Tooby, 1992, p. 45).

Kenneth Bock complains: "Human culture histories here emerge as fortuitous meanderings of people within bounds set by a human nature produced by organic evolution" (Bock, 1980, p. 118). Blacks were slaves in the southern United States and freed in 1863 during the Civil War. Long segregated, in the second half of the twentieth century they became quite integrated into American life, and the great-grandchildren of slaves became legislators, mayors, college presidents, and military generals. A generic theory common to all *Homo sapiens* cannot explain the struggle from slavery to freedom by applying a universal theory to variant initial cultural conditions. The allegedly universal explanation is not robust enough to tell the particular critical stories of the exodus from slavery to freedom. The critical difference lies in the historically emergent ethical conviction that slavery is wrong and freedom is right, and that blacks are, in morally relevant respects, to be given equal opportunities and responsibilities with whites.

These newfound convictions have little to do with selfish genes or instinctive adaptive mechanisms. Persons with essentially the same genetic makeup are being converted from one ethic to the other. The biological theory is not explaining this cultural development.

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HOLMES ROLSTON III (2005)

SOCIOBIOLOGY AND EVOLUTIONARY PSYCHOLOGY: DARWINISM AND RELIGION

A number of scientists argue that biology has much greater scope of application than previously thought, and they are ready to apply evolutionary theory (and other theories of biology) to all aspects of human existence, and to develop a new Darwinian social and human science. They hold that evolutionary biology can yield profound consequences for our understanding of human thought and behavior. This research program used to be called *sociobiology* but since the 1980s it often has been called *evolutionary psychology.* It is a disputed question whether sociobiology and evolutionary psychology are basically the same, or two different research programs in biology. What they do have in common is that both attempt to demonstrate the impact of biological evolution on the human mind, behavior, and culture, including the phenomena of religion.

Evolutionary psychology seeks to apply theories of evolutionary biology in order to understand human psychology. The basic strategy is to link evolutionary biology to psychology and psychology to culture. The working hypothesis is that operating beneath the surface of cultural variation is a human mind which contains universal, psychological mechanisms or species-typical information-processing programs which evolved in the Pleistocene period to solve adaptive problems regularly faced by our hunter-gatherer ancestors—problems that directly or indirectly affected reproduction, such as finding mates, or problems of protecting offspring, fleeing predators, communicating, and cooperating. The core idea is that if we want to understand culture, including religion, the best way to do this is to understand first that humans are not born with empty minds, a tabula rasa, or blank slate, which can be inscribed at will by society or individuals, but creatures whose minds are partly hardwired at birth. This hardwiring probably underlies many human universals, that is, forms of behavior and psychological characteristics shared by people in all cultures, such as incest avoidance, feelings of guilt, sex-role differences, and religious mythmaking. There is an inherent human nature driving human events, but it is shaped to cope with Pleistocene conditions rather than modern conditions.

THE SCOPE OF BIOLOGICAL EXPLANATIONS OF HUMAN AFFAIRS. Few scholars would dispute that human beings have evolved out of nature. It is also very probable that the main cause of evolutionary change is natural selection. But how much and how far natural selection has affected and shaped human thinking, behavior, and institutions is the subject of a very heated debate. The defenders of evolutionary psychology say that people have seriously underestimated the extent to which natural selection has shaped human thought and behavior; the critics claim that it is easy to overstate the extent to which evolutionary theory can give us detailed insights into human nature.

It might therefore be helpful to think about a scale of views about the appropriate application of evolutionary theory to humans, or about how much that can successfully be explained in Darwinian terms. We could then at least distinguish between:

1. *Anti-Darwinists* who maintain that evolutionary explanations are invalid when it comes to explaining both nature and culture.
2. *Non-Darwinists* who maintain that evolutionary—in contrast to cultural—explanations can tell us very little or perhaps nothing about human thought, behavior, and society.
3. *Moderate Darwinists* who maintain that evolutionary explanations can tell us important things about human thought, behavior, and society, and must therefore be treated as a supplement to and a possible correction to cultural explanations.
4. *Ultra-Darwinists* who maintain that evolutionary—in contrast to cultural—explanations can tell us very much or perhaps everything we need to know about human thought, behavior, and society.

We here have a continuum, and thus there are no clear lines of demarcation between these four views. Creationists exemplify the first extreme, and at the other end of the scale are people such as Daniel C. Dennett, who in *Darwin's Dangerous Idea* (1995) maintains that Darwin's dangerous idea (evolution by natural selection) bears "an unmistakable likeness to universal acid: it eats through just about every traditional concept, and leaves in its wake a revolutionized world-view, with most of the old landmarks still recognizable, but transformed in fundamental ways" (p. 63). Evolutionary psychologists belong more or less to the ultra-Darwinian camp. Anthropologists, sociologists, and scholars of religion, on the other hand, typically could be classified as non-Darwinians. Evolutionary psychologists have called their view the "standard social science model" and maintained that the understanding of the human mind present in this model—as basically passive, as a basin into which the local culture is gradually poured—has distorted the study of human beings and culture.

The crucial difference is that non-Darwinists (or standard social scientists) believe that we have now evolved to a state of being so much creatures of our culture that our evolutionary origins can tell us little or nothing about what we are now, whereas ultra-Darwinists (or Darwinian social scientists) think that an understanding of the evolutionary process that made us what we are is essential—it provides the key—for understanding who we are and why we behave and think the way we do.

This difference can be illustrated by focusing on, for instance, male polygynous behavior—men wanting to have sex with a lot of women. A non-Darwinian explanation of male philandering understands it as rooted in particular cultural backgrounds, which implies that in a different kind of cultural situation the behavior would not exist. A Darwinian explanation understands this kind of predisposition as hardwired into the male psyche, which implies that male polygynous behavior would likely manifest itself no matter what the cultural environment was like: it is genetically hardwired because such behavior increased the reproductive success of males (but not of females) in the environment in which the male psyche evolved.

How strong this male polygynous predisposition (or any other human psychological trait) is supposed to be is a point on which evolutionary psychologists disagree. Although they predict that most men would have a predisposition to philander, they might hold different views about whether males could control this desire fairly easily, or whether it is like hunger—something that must be fulfilled. Moreover, the strength of the psychological mechanisms in males for philandering does not have to be the same for all males. Various aspects of our character are deep in our genes, but they can vary between individuals. The extent to which a male philanders depends not only on the strength of this predispostion in the individual, but also on the social environment he inhabits, the prevailing social conventions, his attachment to his partner, and his religious beliefs.

Evolutionary psychologists, consequently, do not deny that the environment or culture as well as genetic factors play roles in determining human thought and behavior. The weaker the psychological trait is, the more space there is for cultural influence to shape human thought and behavior. But changes in society and human behavior could be very difficult and take a very long time if Darwinians are right. Given that (1) human genes change very slowly, and (2) the human brain is genetically hardwired to have a certain content, that is, particular species-specific psychological mechanisms that cause thought and behavior, it follows that (3) humans are actually adapted for living a life of the late Stone Age, because that is the historical period in which our genes and psychological mechanisms were formed, and consequently (4) we cannot with great success change certain things in human society, because in general, biological forces cannot be manipulated as easily as cultural forces. The last implication provides the breeding ground for the politically sensitive debate about any biological explanation of human behavior. Evolutionary psychology can have profound social, political, and religious implications.

EVOLUTIONARY PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGION. Religion constitutes a great challenge to evolutionary biology, because religion is one of the major categories of behavior undeniably unique to the human species. Whereas in morality we can find some similarities between animal behavior and moral behavior (for instance, in respect to reciprocal cooperation), this is not true when it comes to religious behavior. There exist no prayers, religious rituals, or beliefs in God or gods among members of other species living on this planet.

The standard Darwinian explanation of the existence of religion is that religion emerged and spread because it secured the reproductive success of those of our distant ancestors who embraced it. Tribes who developed religious beliefs, myths, and rituals had a better chance of surviving and reproducing than those tribes who failed to do so. Above all they congeal identity. Religious practice provided these individuals living in a harsh and dangerous environment with unquestioned membership in a group claiming great powers, and by this means gave them a driving purpose in life compatible with their self-interest. The beliefs, myths, rituals, and the institutional structures of different religions may differ greatly, but this is not crucial, because the function of all religions is ultimately the same—to protect the genes and secure the fitness of the individuals. The standard explanation of why religion is selectively advantageous is because it justifies and reinforces moral precepts. Religion indirectly, and morality directly, secured the genetic fitness of our distant ancestors, and for *Homo sapiens*, it continues to do so today. In fact, the most radical ultra-Darwinians hold that everything in culture serves the reproductive success of individuals and, ultimately, the success of their genes. Natural selection regulates everything of any importance in both nature and culture.

Some scientists such as Edward O. Wilson have concluded from the fact that religion is selectively advantageous that religion is probably an ineradicable part of human nature whose sources run much deeper than those of ordinary habits. Therefore, if people want to abandon traditional religions, they need to find a replacement. Wilson's controversial suggestion is that perhaps science can become our new religion—a secular religion he calls "scientific naturalism." Others, such as Scott Atran, deny the existence of a genetic religious inclination and maintain that humans merely have the capacity to become religious. This difference of opinion arises from the fact that Atran claims that religiosity is not an adaptation and has no evolutionary function as such. Another alternative evolutionary explanation of religion holds that religions are a byproduct of natural selection rather than a direct adaptation. Religion is not directly promoted by natural selection, but merely made possible by other features of the human organism, which gives it a survival advantage. Human intelligence, for instance, is an adaptation, but science is not; science is rather a byproduct of a big brain.

This second explanation of religion (and of other cultural phenomena) is of course something non-Darwinians also accept. The crucial difference, however, is that evolutionary psychologists maintain moreover that natural selection has framed universal human psychological mechanisms, stemming from our long-enduring existence as hunter-gatherers, which impose a particular substantive content on culture, or in this case, on religious representation. Consequently, evolutionary psychologists use evolutionary theory not only to explain why and when religion arises but also to explain recurrent patterns in religious thought and behavior. For instance, Pascal Boyer maintains that ideas about gods, spirits, and ghosts pervade religions because humans are endowed with species-typical psychological mechanisms which evolved in the Stone Age for reasoning about the behavior of human agents. It is because of these structural developments of the brain that ideas about supernatural agencies became and continue to be culturally widespread. Evolution by natural selection gave us a particular kind of mind so that only particular kinds of religious notions can be acquired.

CRITICISM OF EVOLUTIONARY PSYCHOLOGY. Evolutionary psychology is still in its early phase, and any well-grounded verdict about its fruitfulness and adequacy when it comes to understanding religion will have to wait for its further development. Nevertheless, a variety of critical responses against evolutionary psychology have emerged from biologists such as Stephen Jay Gould and Richard Lewontin, philosophers such as Holmes Rolston and Mikael Stenmark, and religionists such as John Bowker and Keith Ward. Their charges include that evolutionary psychology—in some or all of its versions—contains a naturalist-atheistic bias; that it presupposes scientism (the idea that all genuine knowledge is to be found through science and science alone); that it is self-refuting; that it is unrigorous (data are skimpy); that it neglects alternative hypotheses; that it does not take seriously the fact that there are many alternative evolutionary forces besides direct adaptation that affect the establishment of characters; and that it fails to explain religious missionary activity, which helps to ensure the replication of genes unlike the missionaries' own.

Although it would be undeniably interesting to reach a general verdict about the prospect of evolutionary psychology, it is important to consider its merits and demerits on a case-by-case basis. Perhaps some elements of religious thought and behavior can best be explained in Darwinian terms, whereas others require instead cultural explanations. We should not accept evolutionary psychology because it is sometimes correct, nor should we reject it because it is sometimes mistaken. The future will tell whether evolutionary psychology will be of great or minor importance for the study of religion.

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MIKAEL STENMARK (2005)

SOCIOLOGY

This entry consists of the following articles:

SOCIOLOGY AND RELIGION [FIRST EDITION]
SOCIOLOGY AND RELIGION [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]
SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION [FIRST EDITION]
SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

SOCIOLOGY: SOCIOLOGY AND RELIGION [FIRST EDITION]

The discipline of sociology has been closely associated with the study of religion ever since sociology emerged as a distinct field in the mid-nineteenth century; only psychology is similarly close. Indeed, Auguste Comte, the social philosopher who coined the word *sociology,* saw his new science equally as religion and as science. In his *Positive Philosophy* (1830–1842), and again in *Positive Polity* (1851–1854), Comte envisioned sociology (which he first named social physics) not only as the queen of the sciences but also as the scientific basis of the new religion of Positivism, which would gradually push all existing religions out of sight. There were some excellent thinkers of the nineteenth century—among them Harriet Martineau and Frederick Harrison in England—who took Comte's religion very seriously. But the real and enduring relationship between sociology and religion was established by those, including Comte, who saw religion as one of the vital constituents of the social bond and thus necessarily a matter for careful study by sociologists.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE DISCIPLINE. A significant change in attitude toward religion took place from that adopted by the eighteenth-century French *philosophes* to that represented by the nineteenth-century founders of sociology. The critical rationalists of the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century had seen religion essentially as a mental or intellectual phenomenon, for the most part a tissue of superstitions, and therefore capable of eradication once the truth was told the people; but the sociologists from the beginning saw religion as a nearly inseparable aspect of social organization, a necessary window to understanding the past and present. Karl Marx, no lover of religion in any form, was not denigrating religion when, in a famous phrase, he declared it the "opium of the people." What he meant, as the context of his essay on Hegel's *Philosophy of Right* shows, is that in a world of human exploitation, religion is necessary to man; it is at once "the expression of real distress and the protest against real distress." Religion would not be banished, Marx stressed, until all of the social conditions of religion had been removed by revolution. Friedrich Engels, after Marx's death, went even further. He found many analogies between the infant socialism of his day and the infant Christianity of imperial Rome. Those who wished to understand the foundations of Christianity, Engels advised, needed only to look at "a local section of the International Workingmen's Association." He even advanced the idea that socialism, when it eventually drove out Christianity, would itself take on some of the attributes of religion. In this prophecy he has been proved largely right. As socialism became a mass movement in Europe in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a prominent element was the apostasy of socialists from Judaism or Christianity and their turning to a surrogate. The longer socialism lasts in the Soviet Union, the more intense the reverence for Lenin and the more numerous the festivals and ceremonies in honor of great personages and events of the past.

Ludwig Feuerbach's *The Essence of Christianity* (1841) must be seen (despite Marx's assault on it) as a profoundly sociological work in its dominant theme of religion as alienation and etherealization of powers belonging in man alone, and also in the structural character of his treatment of dogma, liturgy, and symbol. Too often the political purpose of Alexis de Tocqueville's classic *Democracy in America* (2 vols., 1835–1840) leads us to overlook the cultural and social content of the work, especially in the second volume. Religion fascinated Tocqueville, and along with analyses of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism based upon the social-status groups to be found in each, there are treatments of the patterns that spiritual fanaticism and of pantheism tend to take in democratic society. Frédéric Le Play's monumental work *The European Workers* (1855), although directed primarily to family structures, contains a significant amount of insight into religion and the worker.

The attention these early sociologists gave religion in their studies of the social order was magnified in the works of the European sociologists at the end of the nineteenth century who are the true founders of contemporary sociological theory. Max Weber, Émile Durkheim, Ferdinand Tönnies, Georg Simmel, and Ernst Troeltsch all made the study of religion a crucial aspect of their systematic theories of society and of a human's relation to society. We shall come back to these seminal theorists, for they are still very much a part of current sociology. For the moment suffice it to say that in the aggregate they subjected religion to precisely the same kind of study that went into their explorations of politics, morality, science, and other major phenomena of modern society. Durkheim's *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1912), without question his greatest book, richly represents the application to religion of the modern sociological concepts of community, role, social interaction, and hierarchy. Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904–1905) and, above all, his *Sociology of Religion* (1920–1921) demonstrated the functional role of Calvinist belief in the seventeenth-century rise of the Protestant work ethic and illuminated the interaction throughout history of major forms of religion and the prevailing currents of social hierarchy and of bureaucracy. In his *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (Community and Society; 1887) Tönnies stressed religion as well as family as crucial elements of the "community" that he counterposed to "society," the former close and cohesive, the latter tending toward impersonality and anonymity. It was Troeltsch who, in his *Social Teachings of the Christian Church* (1912), made the fundamental distinction between "churches" and "sects" a fertile basis for insight into the effects of structural characteristics in religion upon matters of faith and dogma. Simmel, primarily interested in the social elements of capitalism and also of human personality and its intimate recesses, chose to make what he called "autonomous religious values" central elements of all forms of social interaction. Whether it is the tie between child and parent or that between citizen and nation, there is, Simmel declared, an ineradicable "religious key" to be found.

A kind of symbiotic relationship existed in the nineteenth century between sociology and religion. It should not be overlooked that in many areas religion, quite independently of currents in the social sciences, took on a strong social consciousness, manifest in the Social Catholic tradition in France and Germany and in the Social Gospel of some of the Protestant churches, especially in England and the United States. Interest in the study as well as the possible relief of social problems—delinquency, family breakdown, alcoholism, and poverty—is first manifest in the United States, not in the colleges and universities, but in religious seminaries; the study was thought by seminary leaders to be vital to any clergyman's pastoral work. Many of the sociologists active in the early part of the twentieth century began their careers as clergymen or seminarians. It is not at all surprising that, during its first half-century, American sociology, lacking the kind of strong philosophical and historical influences that guided sociology in Europe, chose social problems as its primary subject matter. The American public may thus be forgiven for sometimes confusing sociology with socialism. From the beginning, the character of sociology in America was, and in some measure still is, more pragmatic, problem-oriented, and policy-directed than in Europe.

This close and reciprocal relationship between religion and sociology calls attention to another important aspect of their common history. Both areas of thought, sociology and the distinctively social cast of religion in the West, may be profitably seen as intellectual responses to the two great revolutions of modern times: the industrial and the democratic. Beginning in England and France in the eighteenth century, these massive disturbances of the social landscape spread in the nineteenth century to all of Europe and in the twentieth to the whole world. The growth and mechanization of the factory system, the mushrooming of villages into cities, the multiplication of population, the development of more egalitarian democracies and wider electorates—all of these, together with some of their by-products such as science and technology, the spirit of secularism, and an ever growing political bureaucracy, were bound to have profound impact upon the traditional social structure of Western nations. Everywhere the forces of political and economic modernism resulted in the fragmentation of ancient loyalties—of nation, community, kin, and religion. In sum, the rise and spread of sociology in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries are part and parcel of the dual revolution that overcame first the West, then the world.

SOCIOLOGICAL ANTINOMIES. More than any other social science, sociology is the almost immediate intellectual result of the two revolutions. This fact is abundantly illustrated by the broad antinomies of the new discipline, which either encompass or loom over its more concrete concepts. In the sociological tradition five major antinomies arose in response to the great social changes of the past two centuries; each embodies a perspective that focuses upon a particular dialectic.

1. *Community versus Society* is the first of these antinomies, the opposition that Tönnies referred to as that between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft:* the smaller, more cohesive, communal, and durable social relationships contrasted to the larger, looser, and more impersonal relationships of the marketplace and to the equally large and impersonal ties inherent in the national state. From the beginning, sociologists tended to see conflict between the two types of relationship. This conflict increasingly is resolved in modern society by the triumph of the latter over the former, with consequent reduction in the necessary nurturing conditions of personality, morality, and social order.

2. *Authority versus Power* is the second antinomy. Authority is the natural accompaniment of any kind of organization, whether small and informal or large and impersonal. Authority inheres in the very roles of the members of such groups; in some degree it is natural to the very fabric of social life. Power, however, as the term is used by the pioneering sociologists, is characteristically perceived through its manifestations in the state and in large, corporate industry. Power tends to be more coercive than authority; more important, it is impersonal, rule-bound, office-centered, and expansive. In modern sociological writing, *bureaucracy,* whether in government, large industry, or profession, is most commonly made the focus of power, rather than authority. Here too an intrinsic conflict is perceived, and there is a wide conviction that in modern history the forces of bureaucratic power are winning out against traditional types of social and moral authority.

3. *Status versus Class,* the third antinomy, is a dichotomy emphasized in the work of Max Weber. But, like the other antinomies, it is found almost everywhere in sociology. Here

traditional systems of hierarchy such as those spawned by Western feudalism, systems characterized by an almost universally perceived and accepted structuring of populations into upper, middle, and lower classes, are sharply distinguished from the diverse, variegated, and highly specialized statuses held by individuals in modern society as the result of the atomization of traditional classes under the blows of the two great revolutions. This antinomy, too, reflects a contrast between modern society and the whole social order devastated or made largely obsolete by industrialism and democracy.

4. *Sacred versus Secular,* the fourth antinomy, is where religion as the subject of sociological study most obviously comes to mind. From the sociological point of view, the large trends in modern history—impersonalization of social relationships, bureaucratization of authority, and the fragmentation of traditional classes—are accompanied by the secularization of society: the replacement of sacred values by others based upon utility, pragmatism, and hedonism.

5. *Membership versus Alienation* is the fifth and final member of my list of sociological antinomies. Throughout sociology, especially among the pioneers from Comte to Durkheim, there is the clear sense that modern society reflects a widespread alienation of individuals from their accustomed memberships in family, community, religion, and social class. More than any other social science, sociology is responsible for the image of "the masses," of large aggregates of people wrenched from their traditional roles and made into a standardized, homogenized, and faceless multitude. For sociology, the very essence of alienation is the estrangement of individuals from community and other primary forms of association—estrangement even from self.

CENTRAL CONCEPTS. With this historical background in mind, it is possible to understand more clearly the patterning of central concepts in contemporary sociology. We shall confine ourselves to those that have virtually universal acceptance by sociologists and that, taken together, constitute the theoretical structure of sociology today. All have been widely useful in understanding religion and the other major institutions of society. The concepts are primarily analytical, but they also take on significance as tools in social synthesis and the making of social policy. Although these concepts originated in the several great moral perspectives outlined above, their value to sociology and the other social sciences lies solely in their scientific utility in the study of human behavior.

Social interaction. All social structures are compounds of certain fundamental, universal patterns of social interaction. Social interaction among human beings differs from all other types of interaction in nature in that it is *symbolic:* that is, organized around signs and symbols that carry distinct meanings to those involved in the interaction. Animals interact; so do atoms and molecules; but symbolic interaction is limited to human beings. They alone fashion arbitrary symbols, reflected in language, thought, morality, religion, and other spheres—all of which constitute human culture, which has its own paths of evolution through time. Human thought is purposive, searching for meanings, responding to nature only through the acquired "filters" of values, norms, and meanings passed on from generation to generation. Our interactions are all influenced by the "pictures in our heads" (Walter Lippman), by our "definition of the situation" (W. I. Thomas). We never react to others or to the environment at large in a direct, unfiltered way. No matter who or what is before us, we perceive it as part of a larger context of meaning, one that we usually have experienced before. The really crucial episodes of symbolic interaction with other people take place during infancy and childhood. That is when, precisely through such interactions, the individual's self begins to take shape. The early American sociologist Charles H. Cooley referred to the self as "the looking-glass self," meaning that the reflection of ourselves we see in the responses of others to us has a strong influence upon what kinds of selves—passive, aggressive, diffident, demonstrative, inward- or outward-turning—we are likely to be throughout our lives.

Social aggregates. When we look out on the world, we do not see masses of discrete individuals. We see social groups, associations, and organizations—or rather, we see individuals who are nearly inseparable from such aggregates. Man, as Aristotle wrote, is a social animal. What I have noted in the paragraph above about social interaction supports this claim. Interaction not only takes place in terms of meanings ascribed by the individuals concerned; it also tends to fix these meanings through symbols as elements of the culture that is transmitted through social mechanisms from one generation to the next. Social groups are composites of basic types of social interaction: cooperation, conflict, conformity, coercion, exchange, and so forth.

A great deal of contemporary sociological theory deals with analyses of social groups and organizations of all kinds and sizes. The reason for such analysis is not only the intrinsic interest of the structures themselves but the variable effects different types of groups have upon individual behavior. One of the most famous and by now deeply rooted typologies of social aggregates was referred to above: Tönnies's *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft,* or what Cooley called *primary* and *secondary groups.*

The sociological theory of groups, communities, and associations has been widely applied to religion in the literature of sociology. Émile Durkheim declared that religion originated in primitive man's absolute dependence upon his community and therefore his worship of it. Durkheim demonstrated through examples how the primitive worship of tribe and totem has become transmuted into many of the more ethereal symbols of the advanced and universal religions. Troeltsch and Simmel showed the close correlation between the size of a religious organization and the type of doctrine held: in small sects it is easier to insist upon a strict, undeviating dogma and code of conduct than in the larger, more cosmopolitan, and relatively impersonal churches. Every belief that is in any way tinged by religious passion suffers in strictness and purity as the number of its adherents grows. As Simmel pointed out, the history of socialism illustrates this as well as does that of Christianity.

Sociologists have recently given much attention to the *reference group.* This may be family, school class, church group, or neighborhood, or it may be a street gang or other manifestation of deviant or delinquent behavior. Whatever its nature, the group is by definition the social entity—complete with values, symbols, and role models—to which one tends chiefly to refer in self-appraisals. One's assessments of one's own actual or potential bravery, cowardice, honesty, loyalty, team play, or betrayal are formed by observation and experience with one's dominant reference group. At any given time we may, especially in complex modern society, have not one or two but many reference groups of varying importance. But generally one group is supreme at any given time: in civil life it may be one's professional group; in war, however, it is likely to be composed of other, comparable, soldiers.

Social authority. The study of authority follows from the study of groups. No group, however small and informal, is without some degree of authority. It may proceed from the dominant personality in the group, from ready consensus, from cooperation necessary to the achievement of some end, or from mere custom and tradition. But no form of social life exists without authority, from the mother's domination of infant to the state's sovereignty over its citizens.

The most famous theorist of authority is Max Weber, who identifies three types: the *charismatic,* the *traditional,* and the *rational-bureaucratic.* The first is the kind of authority that emanates directly from the great individual, whether a Jesus in religion, a Caesar in warfare, or a Napoleon in war and government. Such authority is inseparable from that individual. Often, as in Judaism, Christianity, and Buddhism, the charismatic authority of the founder becomes "routinized," as Weber put it, through disciples and followers. Words spoken by the founder become writ, tradition, dogma, and liturgy. Most traditional authority is the result of cumulation through the centuries of certain injunctions or admonitions or simple ways of doing things originally prescribed by some leader of charismatic power. The third great type of authority for Weber was bureaucracy—a rationalized, calculated, designed structure in which the office or function rather than the individual is crucial. Weber and his followers see a large part of history as involving the passage of authority from the charismatic to the traditional to, finally, especially in the modern Western world, the rational-bureaucratic. Weber saw educational, charitable, military, and political organizations, as well as churches, undergoing this development in time.

Some sociologists, such as Robert K. Merton, building on Weber's base, have studied the impacts upon personality of these types of authority, especially the traditional and the bureaucratic. When Weber, citing the poet Schiller, wrote of "the disenchantment of the world," he had in mind the relentless supplanting of the purely spontaneous and the traditional or customary by the forces of bureaucracy in the modern world. A bureaucratization of the spirit as well as of organizations takes place; sociologists following Weber have brought insights into the sheer power of bureaucracy—power to bend men's wills, power to alter the very ends of an organization. Thus the church, the hospital, the university, or the army may grow so large that the organization becomes its own reason for being, where devotion to organizational processes may crowd out many of the original motivating goals.

The structure of authority has played an immense role in the histories of religions. The authority of Hinduism lies chiefly in the Indian caste system, and it was revolt against caste and its forms of punishments for infractions of caste inviolability that as much as anything inspired the Buddha's renunciation of Hinduism and his founding of a new religion flowing directly from his charismatic being. Struggles over the legitimacy of priestly and ecclesiastical authority have been the substance of a great deal of Christian history: Indeed, the Reformation was largely a challenge to the legitimacy of the authority wielded by the pope and the Curia Romana. It would be difficult to find any religion in which boundless authority is not attributed to some divine being or principle, but as to the mediation by men on earth of that authority, religious sects and churches, like political and economic organizations, differ vastly, ranging from the self-immured anchorite to an organization as huge and complex as the Roman Catholic church.

Social roles. "All the world's a stage," wrote Shakespeare, "and all the men and women merely players. / They have their exits and their entrances; / and one man in his time plays many parts." Natural man is a myth, although that fact has not prevented people through the ages from wondering what an individual would be were he totally isolated from all the social and cultural forces that shape our lives and assign us our varied roles. It is as true to say that human beings are roles as it is to say that all roles are human beings. We do not know people except in their near infinity of roles, but on the other hand any study of roles must be of individual persons.

Roles are, at bottom, ways of behavior, most of which have been handed down through the ages. There is no recognized role that is without norms from the social order to give it direction and meaning; nor can there be a social role that is not a part of some social union or interaction. Even Simeon Stylites occupied a role in the desert that, although physically isolated, was nevertheless part of a religious organization. Very strong in any role is the element of legitimacy. We will accept from individuals in their role capacities as police, physicians, clergy, teachers, and parents obligations we might be loath to accept from others. We do not consider the most intimate examination of our bodies offensive or immoral if done by a physician, nor do we think the close observation of our minds disturbing if it is carried out by a priest or psychiatrist. Role, in short, confers legitimacy. Killing other human beings is widely deemed immoral, but most people do not hold the same act as immoral when done by a soldier in fulfillment of his legitimate role.

There is also a strong element of duty inherent in every recognized role. To occupy the role of mother or father, teacher or lawyer, cleric or police officer, or any other of the multitude of roles in society means to accept the various values and norms that define or identify these roles. When we find ourselves saying "It is my duty to" perform certain acts of social character, we are only acceding to the implicit demands inherent in every social role. To assume the role of parent is to assume certain duties and obligations, starting with the care and feeding of the infant. Roles are often reciprocal and complementary. Obviously there cannot be a teacher without a student, a physician without a patient. Our culture, drawn from the ages, is the source of the diverse prescriptions for what we think of as normal role-behavior. Illness may be physical in origin, but the actual *roles* of the sick—self-regard and regard by others—are cultural and vary from people to people, age to age.

We must not overlook the phenomenon of *role conflicts.* In simple societies these are few, but they are numerous in a society that is as filled with specializations and alternatives as modern Western society. Essentially the feminist revolution of the past century in the West has been a series of assaults upon previously unchallenged roles of women. Much social history is in essence the history of roles—their persistence, their alterations, their conflicts, and their erasure by negative forces.

Nor should we overlook the history of the *prestige* of given roles. Roles are statuses: any role can be evaluated by its rank in a social order's scale of values. Whenever we ask about anyone's status, we are asking about his position in a social hierarchy. When one is born to or achieves a given role in society, he also, willy-nilly, has the status of that role. A given role—for example, physician, businessman, scholar, or leather worker—can be of very high or low status, depending upon the social order or age in history. But despite the relativity and diversity of status rankings of roles, there are certain universal criteria of the kind of status of a given role—namely, gender, age, wealth, power, education, job, ethnicity, and kinship. Thus, in Western society, a middle-aged, economically or politically powerful, Caucasian, college-educated, professional man of "good family" has historically been accorded high status.

Social classes are coalescences of people who have low, medium, or high "amounts" of the various kinds of status by which a society ranks its members. Karl Marx declared social class to be the dominant key to the understanding of history, and further believed that in due time the lower class—the proletariat or working class—would overthrow the upper class by revolution, thus inaugurating socialism and a classless society. For Marx, social class, whether low or high, was the crucial determinant of social behavior. But Max Weber, the principal architect of the contemporary sociological theory of status and stratification, realized that in modern, developed Western society, the single concept of class was inadequate to define the complexity of social life. He thus distinguished between power (chiefly political), economic level, and status—the last meaning the ranking an individual may receive in society by factors independent of power and wealth—for example, ancestry, family, breeding, schooling, mental acuity, talent, and so forth. Sociologists have come to realize that, in Western society, social classes are not the distinct, homogeneous entities they once were. The forces of modernization have fragmented social classes as they have kinship systems and certain religions. It is much more accurate today in the West to refer to *minorities* and *elites,* all of highly variable status, all dependent upon numerous spheres of values in our complex society. The number of elites is almost beyond count, and they are to be found in sports, theater, movies, television, and even crime as well as in politics, industry, professional groups, and universities. The large number of roles generated by liberal democracy, a highly technological society, and an increasingly secularized and relativist moral order carry with them the inevitable prestige-ranking that results in their being statuses, ascribed and achieved, as well as roles.

Deviance and change. From its beginnings in the nineteenth century, sociology has been closely concerned with the phenomena of deviance and change in human behavior. Few human beings live their lives in perfect accord with the rules and norms governing social interaction, social groups, social authorities, and social roles. Always there is at least an infinitesimal variance between role perfection, ideally defined, and actual role performance. When such variance becomes pronounced, we refer to it as deviant behavior, that is, behavior that violates the normative rules, codes, and stereotypes of a given social order. From a universal point of view, relativity is the very essence of moral behavior; behavior that would be regarded as deviant in a middle-class U. S. suburb might be acceptable in an urban ghetto or in an utterly foreign culture. Headhunting would be regarded as deviant, to say the least, in America and most parts of the world, but it is far from being perceived as deviant in certain primitive cultures. The same holds for cannibalism and a host of other practices. What defines deviant behavior is the flouting or bypassing of rules and norms in a specific social order or system. Killing, robbing, arson, mutilation, and assault are almost universally regarded as deviant *within* the social order, but they are not so regarded when they are the acts of legitimate soldiers at war with external enemies.

Émile Durkheim is probably the preeminent pioneer in the study of social deviance, and his most basic principles continue to undergird its study and conceptualization. From Durkheim, especially his famous *Suicide* (1896), we have learned that deviance is at one and the same time abnormal and normal. Suicide, crime, desertion of family, arson, and the like are all abnormal in that they are recognized as violations of a given moral and social code and are punished or deplored accordingly. But, Durkheim continued, certain incidences of these acts of deviance are to be expected—are to be considered *sociologically* normal—when certain social, economic, and political conditions are present. Thus, sudden and high rates of urbanization, industrialization, and secularization in a population are almost certain to induce processes of community disorganization that in turn lead to erosions of social authority and of traditional social roles. Deviant behavior almost always increases in such circumstances. Durkheim concluded that the high rates of suicide he observed in the Western nations resulted from the alienation of people from traditional moral values and from the ties of close social cohesion—family, church, village, neighborhood, and so on.

When we consider change, we often find that it is the continuation and cumulation of deviant acts that will in time lead to changes in the social groups and roles by which deviant behavior is identified. One need think only of the changes that have occurred in the last century in the public definition of what is proper behavior in a "lady." There is no need to list the behavior patterns now almost universally accepted as respectable in women that even a half century ago would have raised the eyebrows of the conventional. It suffices to say that in very large degree the change in the criteria of female respectability over many decades is the cumulative consequence of a multitude of at first minor, then major deviances from the norm.

Religion is, of course, a fertile field for the study of deviance in the strict sociological sense. Many of the mainline religions have undergone extraordinary changes in creed and liturgy during the last century, and although we cannot ignore the calculated, planned nature of many of these changes, we are obliged to note the small but increasingly significant deviations of religious people from the strict codes of their forebears.

But not all social change is gradual, continuous, and cumulative. When we turn to the more notable historical changes in social systems and social organizations, we are forced to deal with the discontinuous—with the major conflict, the sporadic event, and the sudden, unforeseeable intrusion of an alien system. Nor can we overlook the immense force of charismatic human beings in religion, politics, science, or other social systems. Most change is slow and incremental, often so slow as to be more nearly persistence and fixity than change. But there are periods when changes are great, sudden, and explosive, inducing myriad consequences in thought and action in the population. Wars such as the two great ones of the twentieth century, spectacular revolutions such as the French and the Russian, spiritual awakenings such as that associated with John XXIII and the Second Vatican Council, major epidemics, rapid scientific and technological advance—these and other great interruptions of the normal have to be taken into consideration when we deal with social change.

There is one more preoccupation with change that has sociological as well as ethnological or anthropological aspects: *social evolution.* At the same time that anthropologists such as E. B. Tylor, Lewis Morgan, and James G. Frazer were constructing their patterns of social and cultural evolution, such sociologists as Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, and Lester Ward were engaged in almost identical pursuits. Inevitably religion figured large in social-evolutionary schemes. There was search for, and wide disagreement about, the natural origin of religion: some found it in psychic states such as animism, others in ritual acts like totemism, still others in awe of celestial bodies and terrestrial phenomena such as the changes of seasons. There was similarly universal interest among anthropologists and sociologists, and again wide disagreement, about the natural stages of development that religion has gone through from its origins to the development of the great world religions such as Christianity and Islam. For the most part, contemporary sociology has dismissed the kind of interest in social and religious evolution that was rife in the nineteenth century. Both unilinear and multilinear patterns of the supposed development of religion in the human race have come under wide attack as being more nearly philosophical and speculative than scientific. Unlike their forebears, today's sociologists do not foresee the demise of religion and its succession by the scientific and secular. Religion, it is now generally believed by sociologists, answers certain psychosocial needs in human beings, and until or unless these needs become casualties of biological evolution of the human species, religion in one or another form will remain a persisting reality of human culture.

Sociological interest in religion is as great today as it ever has been during the past two centuries. Once the orientation toward universalist schemes of religious evolution faded, much more concrete, empirical, and scientific studies of religious behavior began to proliferate in all Western countries. Numerous sociological studies are to be found on such topics as the relation of religious thought and behavior to social class, to ethnicity, and to wealth and poverty; the systems of authority, stratification, and role formations in religion; religion and political ideology; and religion as a mainspring of social integration, but also of social change and revolution. These are but a few of the problems concerning religion that present-day sociologists consider significant. The general development and refinement of sociological methods of investigation—survey, case history, statistical, and mathematical, among others—have occurred as often in inquiries into religious behavior as in studies of other dimensions of human existence. There is no reason to suppose that the close relation between religion and sociology, now close to two centuries old, will dissolve soon.

SEE ALSO Comte, Auguste; Durkheim, Émile; Evolution, article on Evolutionism; Marxism; Modernity; Society and Religion; Study of Religion; Tönnies, Ferdinand; Troeltsch, Ernst; Weber, Max.

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On social and symbolic interaction, the classic work is George H. Mead's *Mind, Self, and Society* (1934; reprint, Chicago, 1963). All of the concepts of interaction through symbols and of the directive force of these upon the development of individual personality are to be found in this work. More recent studies of social interaction are *The Self in Social Interaction,* edited by Chad Gordon and Kenneth J. Gergen (New York, 1968), and George C. Homans's *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms* (New York, 1974).

Two works are fundamental historically in the sociological theory of communities and associations. First, Ferdinand Tönnies's *Community and Society* (1887), translated by Charles P. Loomis (New York, 1963), wherein the contrast between traditional, communal society and large-scale, impersonal society is made central, and Charles H. Cooley's *Social Organization* (1909; reprint, New York, 1962) in which the concepts of the primary and the secondary groups in the social order are advanced systematically. More recent works along this line are David Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd: A Study in the Changing American Character* (New Haven, 1950), and my own work, *The Quest for Community: A Study in the Ethics of Order and Freedom* (Oxford, 1953). George C. Homans's *The Human Group* (New York, 1950) is also valuable.

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Following are a few of the more notable sociological studies of religion not mentioned above in the text. Joachim Wach's *Soci-*

ology of Religion (1944; reprint, Chicago, 1962) and J. Milton Yinger's *The Scientific Study of Religion* (New York, 1970) are excellent presentations of the broad perspectives of the subject. Peter L. Berger's *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (Garden City, N.Y., 1967) is distinctive in its command of both the theoretical and empirical aspects of the sociological study of religion. Close to it in importance, and giving greater scope to the methodologies involved, is Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark's *Religion and Society in Tension* (Chicago, 1965). Gerhard Lenski's *The Religious Factor: A Sociological Study of Religion's Impact on Politics, Economics, and Family Life* (Garden City, N.Y., 1961) is valuable for the author's own inquiry and also for his wide coverage of other scholarly works. Books on religion as an integrative and stabilizing force are legion; Guenter Lewy, in *Religion and Revolution* (Oxford, 1974), emphasizes the immense role of religion as a force for social change since ancient times. Finally, the monumental work of Werner Stark, *The Sociology of Religion: A Study of Christendom,* 5 vols. (New York, 1966–1972), must be recommended strongly.

ROBERT NISBET (1987)

SOCIOLOGY: SOCIOLOGY AND RELIGION [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

Robert Nisbet's article is a summary of his lifelong views, expressed most fully in *The Sociological Tradition* (1966). According to Nisbet, the core of classical sociology—evinced in the work of Karl Marx (1818–1883), Alexis de Tocqueville (1805–1859), Émile Durkheim (1858–1917), Max Weber (1864–1920), Ferdinand Tönnies (1855–1936), and Georg Simmel (1858–1918)—is a set of five polarities or "antitheses." Together the antitheses spell out the difference between traditional and modern societies: community versus society, authority versus power, status versus class, sacred versus secular, and membership versus alienation. Sociology, for Nisbet, arose in response to the two great revolutions that brought about the change from tradition to modernity: the industrial revolution, beginning in England, and the democratic revolution, beginning in France.

It would be simplistic to say that for Nisbet classical sociology preaches conservativism. Nisbet is aware, for example, of Durkheim's liberalism and of his concern for the rights of individuals. Nisbet notes that Engels compares modern socialism with early Christianity and with recurrent millenarian movements. Still Nisbet's main concern is to show how religion was seen by classical sociologists as a conservative force, the loss of which, combined with the loss of the other bulwarks of tradition, led to the travails posed by modernity.

CONTEMPORARY SOCIOLOGICAL INTEREST IN RELIGION. Nisbet's article prompts three questions. First, is it truly the case that "sociological interest in religion is as great today as it ever has been since the past two centuries?" The question is not whether there are prominent sociologists of religion in the early twenty-first century but whether religion itself is still as central a topic for sociologists generally as it once was. Surely it is not, and surely the course of secularization that Nisbet stresses as a preoccupation of classical sociologists would lead one to expect a decline in interest.

CLASSICAL AND CONTEMPORARY SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION. Second, while Nisbet emphasizes the continued influence of classical sociology, he acknowledges differences between it and contemporary sociology of religion. He notes that

> unlike their forebears, today's sociologists of religion do not foresee the demise of religion and its succession by the scientific and the secular. Religion, it is now generally believed by sociologists, answers certain psychological needs in human beings, and until or unless these needs become casualties of biological evolution of the human species, religion in one form or another will remain a persisting reality of human culture.

But is it true that contemporary sociologists, in contrast to classical ones, do not predict the end of religion? Surely there is scant census. If sociologists like Grace Davie deny the end of religion, sociologists like Steve Bruce (2002) predict it. Some critics of what is called "the secularization thesis" maintain that religion has taken new, less institutionalized forms—itself a challenge to the sociology of religion. Often it is said that religion, which is thereby defined as organized, is being replaced by a more free-floating "spirituality." Durkheim himself defined religion as organized and on that ground contrasted it to magic. But Durkheim, unlike Weber, argued that religion would never die out. There was then no consensus among classical sociologists either.

Is it true that contemporary sociologists deem religion eternal because they attribute it to "psychosocial needs"? If so, has there been a shift from religion seen as serving society to religion seen as serving the individual?

The classical sociologist who best fits Nisbet's characterization is indisputably Durkheim, for whom religion grandly serves society. For Durkheim, the function, or effect, of religion is the instillment or intensification of a sense of dependence on society. Members of society are beholden to it for everything, not least for their morality, language, tools, values, thoughts, categories of thought, and concept of objectivity. Knowing that none of these phenomena is their individual creation, members ascribe them to something external, on which they are therefore dependent. Everyday life confirms their dependence, but religion, which for Durkheim means above all religious gatherings, confirms it most intensely. Members feel "effervescent," as if possessed. The state they attribute to God in fact comes from the experience of the group. From dependence on God, and therefore on society, comes loyalty and therefore unity—the ultimate effect of religion. The society that prays together stays together.

However much religion shapes society, it itself is a social product. The origin of religion is not individual because there is no individual—more precisely no innate one. In primitive society members are occupationally alike and therefore have no distinctive identity and so no individuality. This relationship of members to one another Durkheim calls "mechanical solidarity." Only in modern society is there a division of labor and therefore the specialization that constitutes individuality. This relationship of members to one another Durkheim labels "organic solidarity." But even individuality is a social phenomenon: its cause is the division of labor, and its operation requires formal recognition of the individual by society.

Durkheim denies individuality any place in traditional religion, which deals entirely with the mechanical, preindividualistic side of social life. In modern society that side, and so traditional religion, will continue to diminish as organic solidarity grows. But Durkheim proposes the creation of a religion worshiping not God but the individual. Yet by the individual he means the nonegoistic individual, who reveres rather than violates the rights of others and who thereby promotes rather than threatens the group. Coinciding with the harmonious individuality of organic solidarity, Durkheim's new, secular religion would thus serve society no less fully than traditional religion has done. In short, no variety of sociology of religion could be more directed to the need of the group than Durkheim's.

By contrast, the need religion serves for Max Weber, Durkheim's fellow great classical sociologist of religion, is that of the individual. In "primitive" religion, which for Weber amounts to magic, the needs served are immediate and physical, such as food and clothing. In "higher" religion the need served is existential: a desire for "meaning" or "meaningfulness." Whether or not this need, which for Weber is the key one fulfilled by religion, qualifies as "psychosocial," it is conspicuously the need of an individual, not of a group.

Yet for Weber the group remains indispensable not only to the fulfillment of the need for meaning but to the very existence of it. A magician is like a plumber. He or she is self-employed and is hired anew each time. Not until there emerges a stable clientele of worshipers—a congregation or cult—do full-time religious officials or priests come into being. Not until priests succeed magicians does metaphysics (a comprehensive explanation of the world) emerge in place of mere techniques. Likewise not until priests arise do ethics (ends achieved through obedience) emerge in place of coercion (ends achieved through techniques). The combination of metaphysics and ethics makes religion "rational" and constitutes the stage of religion after magic. Finally, not until a cult emerges does the concept of a fixed god (singular, powerful, named, personal, and involved) emerge in place of the magical concept of multiple, weak, nameless, impersonal, and uninvolved fleeting gods. Only with the development of rational religion—a comprehensive explanation of the world, a prescribed means of securing long-term rewards, and a universal god permanently involved in human affairs—does there develop not so much a discrepancy between expectation and experience (there is a discrepancy whenever magic fails) as a desire to resolve that discrepancy systematically. That desire is for meaning.

A sufficient explanation for the failure of magic is that the technique has been misapplied. But rational religion must explain the failure of the gods to respond to the behavior they themselves have dictated. The gods have failed to prevent or withhold suffering, so the explanation sought is a theodicy. Since all human beings for Weber recognize the discrepancy between their expectations and their experiences, all harbor the potential desire for meaning. But its emergence depends on rational religion, the emergence of which itself depends on a particular kind of religious leader (a priest) whose emergence depends in turn on a particular kind of social organization (a cult). In short, the group provides the indispensable means to individual ends.

Undeniably Weber, like Durkheim, is also concerned with the impact of religion on society. For him, that impact, or effect, is unintentional. To cite Weber's most celebrated case, the role of ascetic Protestantism in creating capitalism was wholly coincidental.

For the contemporary sociologist of religion Peter Berger, as for Weber, a meaningful experience is a justified experience, and the experiences most requiring justification are suffering—death above all. But in contrast to Weber, for whom the need for meaning is implanted, for Berger the need is innate: "Men are congenitally compelled to impose a meaningful order upon reality" (Berger, 1969/1967, p. 22). If the need is innate, then society, hence sociology, plays no part in accounting for it. Berger epitomizes the shift, called "de-sociologizing," that Nisbet observes (Segal, 1989, pp. 109–135). Contemporary sociologists see religion as much less of a social phenomenon, and therefore much less of a subject for sociology, than classical ones did. If the need for meaning is innate and if in addition religion either best fulfills or even alone fulfills that need, then religion for contemporary sociologists is indeed eternal, as Nisbet declares.

Because religion for Berger justifies suffering, the meaning it provides constitutes, as for Weber, a theodicy. The justifications, or "legitimations," provided by religion are the staunchest possible ones because they carry the unassailable authority of divinity. In Berger's pet terms, religion confers on experience a "sacred canopy" or "plausibility structure."

Berger grants that religion serves not only the individual function of giving meaning but also the social function of securing obedience. Here he is like Durkheim. But he concentrates on the individual function and, more, deems the social one a consequence of it. Unjustified suffering threatens to trivialize even the most firmly sanctioned social life.

For Berger, as for both Durkheim and Weber, society is indispensable to the establishment and perpetuation of religion—no matter what the function of religion is. No Robinson Crusoe could either invent or sustain the legitimations that religion provides. Social support is, as for Durkheim, mandatory for validating those legitimations.

In his earlier writings Robert Bellah, like Durkheim, is primarily concerned with the effect of religion on society, not on the individual. Like Berger, he is concerned with how religion provides meaning as a way of securing obedience rather than as an end in itself.

Dealing with changing societies, Bellah investigates specifically how religion either spurs or retards modernization. Tokugawa religion, he argues, constitutes the Japanese counterpart to Weber's Protestant ethic:

> Japanese religion never tires of stressing the importance of diligence and frugality and of attributing religious significance to them, both in terms of carrying out one's obligations to the sacred and in terms of purifying the self of evil impulses and desires. That such an ethic is profoundly favorable to economic rationalization was the major point of Weber's study of Protestantism and we must say that it seems similarly favorable in Japan. (Bellah, 1957, p. 196)

Bellah calls his later approach to religion "symbolic realism" and distinguishes it from various other approaches. In so doing he is seemingly shifting the issue from the origin and function of religion to the truth of religion. As he declares: "If we define religion as that symbol system that serves to evoke . . . the totality that includes subject and object and provides the context in which life and action finally have meaning, then I am prepared to claim that as Durkheim said of society, religion is a reality *sui generis.* To put it bluntly, religion is true" (Bellah, 1970, pp. 252–253). But the truth of religion for Bellah is in fact its accordance with human experience of the world, not necessarily with the nature of the world itself. Because religion for Bellah makes no truth claims about the world itself, it is "beyond belief." Though Bellah refers to the "expressive" function of religion, religion for him functions to instill, not merely to articulate, attitudes toward the world. Religion functions primarily to give humans a secure, clear place in the world.

Later Bellah is asserting that religion functions primarily to serve not society but the individual. Because he, unlike Weber, makes the meaning-giving function of religion the function of religion from the start, he may, like Berger, be deeming the need for meaning innate. In that event he too would be "de-sociologizing" religion. He simply never says. Even so his focus on the bestowal of meaning as the chief function of religion at any stage makes him akin not only to Berger but also to other contemporary social scientists, notably the anthropologists Mary Douglas, Clifford Geertz, and Victor Turner and the psychoanalyst Erik Erikson.

SOCIOLOGY AND RELIGIOUS STUDIES. Third, the "close relation between religion and sociology" that Nisbet claims continues into the present is different from the relation between religious studies and sociology. Certainly it is often argued that contemporary sociologists of religion like Berger and Bellah are even closer to "religionists" in their approach to religion than their classical predecessors were. But are they in fact? Are the individual needs stressed by Berger and Bellah the same as those touted by religionists like Mircea Eliade (1907–1986)? For Berger and Bellah, the need for meaning, even if innate, is not a need for religious meaning itself. The need is more general and is itself secular. Even if for Berger and Bellah religion is the best way of securing meaning, religion is still a means to an end, where for Eliade it is the end itself. For Eliade, human beings need contact with God because they need contact with God. By contrast, for Berger and Bellah, humans need meaning that at most contact with God best provides. The need would remain secular even if contact with God were the sole way of fulfilling it. In the lingo of the field, even contemporary sociology of religion remains reductionistic. Nisbet notes that classical sociologists "all made the study a crucial aspect of their systematic studies of society and of man's relation to society. . . . [T]hey subjected religion to precisely the same kind of study that went into their explorations of politics, morality, science, and other major phenomena of modern society." In so doing they and their contemporary successors have approached religion antithetically from the way that it has—or had—traditionally been approached within religious studies.

Yet in the past few decades most scholars within religious studies have abandoned the rigidly antireductionistic, antisocial scientific stance of Eliade. Within religious studies, not just outside it, religion has come to be recognized as a multifaceted phenomenon to be accounted for by an array of disciplines. The defensiveness toward sociology and the other social sciences has diminished. One can therefore say that religious studies and sociology have become even closer—not merely because of changes on the part of sociology, as Nisbet would stress, but equally because of changes on the part of religious studies.

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SOCIOLOGY: SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION [FIRST EDITION]

The systematic and objective study of the relations between religion and society existed long before Auguste Comte (1798–1857) coined the word *sociologie.* Xenophanes (c. 560–c. 478 BCE) was already dabbling in the discipline of sociology when he noted that the gods of the Ethiopians were black and had snub noses, while those of the Thracians had light blue eyes and red hair. Similarly, the Muslim philosopher Ibn Khaldūn (1332–1406 CE), in the *Muqaddimah*, or introduction (1377), to his *Kitāb al-ʿibar* (History of the world), displayed a keen understanding of the concept of social solidarity (*ʿaṣabīyah*) in his analysis of the role of religion in the rise and fall of the kingdoms of North Africa. In modern times, classicists, historians of religion, and "secular" historians have undoubtedly written more, and probably better, studies of religion than have professional sociologists. The true strength of sociology as a discipline seems to lie in its more explicit use of models, theories, and, more recently, statistical methods, that collectively make for a coherent approach of broad, or even universal significance. In contrast to more idiographic modes of scholarship, the sociology of religion makes its mark by treating religion and society nomothetically, that is, by searching for their regularities as interrelated networks, or systems, of thought, feeling, and behavior.

The appearance of the sociological study of religion in modern times is closely related to the rise of capitalism, cultural pluralism, religious tolerance, and the liberal state. The discipline therefore cannot claim to be a "natural" way of looking at religion and society. On the contrary, it is a cultural artifact produced by unique historical developments in Western social thought that enabled, or compelled, researchers to distance themselves from the normative claims made by the religions and societies they studied. In effect, the sociology of religion is the product of one of its own seminal concerns, that is, the secularization of religious thought and institutions. In contrast to the sociology of religion, the related discipline of religious sociology has sought closer ties with theology and institutional religion, primarily with the Roman Catholic Church in France and Belgium.

The history of the sociology of religion can be roughly divided into four periods: traditional social thought, skepticism and speculation, conservative and romantic reaction, and modern social theory.

TRADITIONAL SOCIAL THOUGHT. The body of thought that was first transformed and secularized as modern sociology began to take shape can be called traditional social thought. Far from being a unified system of ideas, it included divergent and even contradictory elements: Platonic idealism, Aristotelian teleology, Stoic natural law, Augustinian social realism, and the various social theories of the medieval Schoolmen. What especially characterized traditional social thought was its synthesis of social and ethical analysis. Because society, like nature, was thought to have a goal or purpose, the "is" of social analysis was not separated from the "ought" of values in the era of traditional social thought. In Christian hands, the study of social institutions was ultimately subordinated to soteriological ends. Traditional social thought stressed the cosmological and divine provenience of all rightly established social values and institutions. Regarding man as a social and political creature, it taught the existence of an objectively real "common good" that could be known by "right reason" and realized by goodwill. As do other religions, Christianity defined this common good in terms of a transcendent order of things that included society and the universe alike. The mainstream of traditional social thought expressed the organic unity of society in the language of natural law. According to this theory, institutions could be philosophically justified or condemned—and not only legitimated mythologically—to the degree they reflected the law that God had given to nature itself.

Traditional social thought bequeathed to the sociology of religion some of its basic concepts: society, religion, obligation, and the basic regularity or lawfulness of existence. Transformed as a secular concept, its notion of natural law would become the foundation of the early natural and social sciences.

SKEPTICISM AND SPECULATION. The lawful order of society that theorists in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance sought was one that invited the spiritual perfection of the human race. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, thinkers continued their search for order. But the order that now seemed to concern them was one that would explain the diversity of languages, mores, and religions in terms of some simple, natural uniformities. The role played by reason in all of this was magnified by some, including the rationalists, while it was minimized by others, especially the empiricists.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, traditional social thought came under intellectual attack and—after the publication of Richard Hooker's *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* in 1600—was increasingly on the defensive. The challengers, who were no more united than the defenders of tradition, included many Renaissance and Enlightenment thinkers: political critics such as Niccoló Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes, satirists such as Bernard Mandeville, the Italian jurist Giovanni Battista Vico, and the *philosophes* (better called *sociologues* according to Crane Brinton) of the

French and Scottish Enlightenments. The intellectual inspiration behind this criticism of traditional social thought was also quite diverse. It included Isaac Newton's mechanical philosophy, the anthropocentric epistemology of René Descartes, Francis Bacon's empiricism (and his attack on teleology), and various speculative systems of thought that aimed at putting both society and the economy on more "realistic" foundations, that is, less religious or moral ones. Equally important was the rise of the nation-state and the appearance of the commercial or middle classes, a new element in society that would take over the writing of social and economic theory from the clergy.

Attack on Natural Law. Speaking for the bourgeoisie and proclaiming the triumph of the commercial revolution, a number of seventeenth-century thinkers launched an attack on the traditional concept of natural law. Hugo Grotius and Samuel Pufendorf, both Protestant laymen, showed that natural law could be divorced from God. Thomas Hobbes went much further and reduced natural law to "convenient Articles of Peace," that is, to a simple, utilitarian device. The "nature" that interested him was not a reflection of a divine order, but the psychobiological nature of insecure, "masterless men" living in a world no longer held together by traditional bonds of loyalty and deference. Even John Locke, who seemed to have boundless respect for Hooker's traditionalism, conceded that the law of nature was merely "a creature of the understanding." These philosophical efforts, which often were undertaken to sanctify property rights, secularized the idea of natural law and extended it from jurisprudence (where the Schoolmen had left it) to moral philosophy, which laid the foundation for the emerging social sciences.

Throughout the eighteenth century, writers of a secular or "enlightened" persuasion blamed religion and superstition for many of society's ills. Anticlericalism became a routine feature of nearly all social criticism. Convinced that religion had failed to curtail the endemic chaos of European life, a search was launched for new sources of social order. As a result, the traditional idea that society should be constructed according to the preordained blueprints of divine and natural law was replaced by the notion that society was, or could be, constructed by man's own "artifice" or "contrivance." A secular, social humanism thus came into being that, in turn, would beget most of the philosophical and sociological theories of the modern world. In order to create a richer and safer society, thinkers such as Hobbes, Mandeville, d'Holbach, Helvétius, Spinoza, and Hume sought to harness or manipulate self-interest and other passions formerly repressed or held in check by traditional social thought.

One of the most important results of this speculation was the discovery of what today would be called social systems. What fascinated thinkers of this period was the possibility of developing impersonal networks of interaction that—without the intervention of religion, morality, or the state—would "naturally" generate order and prosperity. The idea of social systems owed much to literary irony and social satire. It was broached early in the eighteenth century by Bernard Mandeville, who fondly commented on the "publick Benefits" that result from the proper cultivation of "private Vices." Later in that century, Adam Ferguson developed the concept still further when he described institutions that are "the result of human activity, but not the execution of any human design." Adam Smith explained the idea in terms that would soon dominate Western social thought when he said that "systems in many respects resemble machines." As time went on, each of the "systems" developed by social thought—mechanical, organic, cybernetic, and, finally, semiotic—would be used, one after the other, in the sociological analysis of religion.

Unlike his more skeptical colleagues, Smith based his idea of economic and moral systems firmly on natural law and divine providence (i.e., his famous and influential "invisible hand"). Together with Locke's political philosophy, Smith's economics provided a groundwork for the unique synthesis of religious piety, political liberalism, and capitalism that would flourish in the Anglo-Saxon world through the twentieth century. The success of this cultural synthesis probably accounts for the fact that religious scholarship in the United Kingdom and North America has been less anticlerical and antireligious than the social thought of the continent.

Birth of sociology of religion. It was perhaps at this juncture, when "laical social science"—as twentieth-century economist Joseph A. Schumpeter terms it—began to apply the idea of natural law to social and economic phenomena, that the sociology of religion was born. While professing to take an empirical approach, most studies of religion during this period concentrated on the historical or the psychological origins of religious belief, raising questions that could be answered only by speculation. Generally, the effect was to reduce religion to a dependent variable of some more obvious reality such as climate, fear, ignorance, or ecclesiastical legerdemain. One of the most brilliant, but still speculative, essays in the early sociology (and social psychology) of religion was written by Adam Smith himself in the *Wealth of Nations* (5.1.3). There the great economist, applying his notions of economic competition and psychological approbation to the problem of sectarian rivalry, produced one of the earliest theories of denominational pluralism.

Among the more valuable contributions made by the scholarship of this period to the sociology of religion was the analysis of religion's role in social control. Pioneers in this area included figures as diverse as Montesquieu (Charles-Louis de Secondat), who studied the relation between religion and law, and Mandeville, who was interested in religion and social values. The most important contribution of the age of skepticism and speculation was probably its elaboration of the idea of secularization itself. For many eighteenth-century writers, the decline of religion was simply a corollary of the idea of progress. Most were convinced that as science and enlightenment advanced, religion and superstition would inevitably succumb to the forces of reason. Because changes in religion, social institutions, science, and technology were thought to be closely related, it seemed only natural that changes in one area would bring about automatic improvements in others. Furthermore, because of the alleged universality of the laws of development (denied only by J. G. Herder, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and a few others), the historical progress and secularization of one nation could be taken as a paradigm for the transformation of any other. These assumptions conspired to make the process of secularization appear to be as indubitable as the laws of nature itself.

The thinkers of the age of skepticism and speculation challenged some of the deepest convictions of traditional social thought. In place of the divine origin that tradition had assigned to law, morality, and institutions, these thinkers stressed society's conventional nature. Whereas tradition had given "right reason" the task of conforming society to its natural or sacred patterns, David Hume argued that "reason is and ought to be the slave of the passions." The teleology of the common good taught by traditional thinkers was discarded as a "wild goose chase" (as Mandeville put it), and was finally replaced by utilitarian self-interest, Kantian individualism, and the faith that social and economic systems could operate "naturally"—that is, without direct governmental, religious, or moral support. Skeptical philosophers of the age therefore sought to undo the classical synthesis of the sacred and the social. Their various attempts to design an autonomous, secular morality seemed to leave religion with only a minor—or a negative—role to play in the affairs of humankind. For the first time, the office of the moralist was separated from that of the *moraliste*, that is, the detached observer of social mores. The *moraliste's* disengagement from religious belief and commitment would later become a hallmark of the social-scientific approach to religion.

CONSERVATIVE AND ROMANTIC REACTION. Speculation ultimately ran afoul of the empiricism of the age, especially when it resulted in futile discussions about the origin of religion, or about man's essential instincts in the "state of nature." The havoc caused by the industrial revolution and the French Revolution (and the reign of terror that followed in its wake) brought into question the Enlightenment's optimistic belief that man could make or improve his society simply through his own artifice or contrivance. The conservative and romantic reactions that ensued significantly altered attitudes toward society and religion alike.

Romantics bewailed the dehumanizing effects of the industrial revolution and the French Revolution on individuals and communities. They also taught that religion—which played a large role in their discussions of *Volksgeist* and *Volksseele* ("the spirit and soul of the nation or folk")—could no longer be arrogantly dismissed as a vulgar superstition of the past. Conservatives, on the other hand, insisted that society was not merely the artificial creation of individual contractors, but that, on the contrary, the individual was formed by society, and society by God. In effect, they had rediscovered the organic interrelations between community, religion, tradition, authority, and the individual. For conservative thinkers like Louis de Bonald (1754–1840) and François René de Chateaubriand (1768–1848), religion was no longer just a matter of dogma or faith; it was a social phenomenon. As monarchists and spokesmen for the aristocracy, they rejected the idea that self-interest, once it had been set free in the marketplace, would automatically produce social order. Bonald, along with Friedrich Karl von Savigny (1779–1861) and Justus Möser (1720–1794), attacked the abstract universalism of contemporary theories of natural law and the individualism implied by the eighteenth century's doctrine of natural rights. In their eyes, these teachings were the philosophical offspring of the political and industrial revolutions that had deformed European civilization.

Through their influence on Saint-Simon and Durkheim, the conservatives deeply influenced later discussions about religion and its role in the formation of institutions and individual life. Their work provided an inspiration for later sociologists who stressed the integrating or stabilizing function of religion. Their analysis of religion as a *corps intermediaire* standing between the individual and the state was a topic that would emerge again in the discussions of intermediate associations, mediating structures, and guilds in the writings of sociologists from Durkheim to Peter L. Berger.

MODERN SOCIAL THEORY. The development of modern social theory has been characterized by a clearer understanding of the secular foundations of sociology, a determination to move research beyond mere speculation, a professionally cultivated tension between empathy and detachment in fieldwork, sophisticated efforts to relate religious studies to the models and theory-building of the social sciences in general, and ongoing debates over materialism, reductionism, behaviorism, positivism, evolutionism, and the hermeneutics of religious symbols. The anticlerical diatribes of the *philosophes* yielded to a more or less dispassionate analysis of the role of religion in the maintenance of social solidarity and in the promotion of social change.

Although modern social theory really begins in the eighteenth century with David Hume, Adam Ferguson, Adam Smith, and the Scottish Enlightenment, most sociologists today trace the founding of their discipline to Claude-Henri de Rouvroy, Comte de Saint-Simon (1760–1825) and his onetime secretary, Auguste Comte (1798–1857). Sociology does indeed owe much to these two Frenchmen. In Auguste Comte's work, especially in his evolutionary schema purporting to trace history through its religious, metaphysical, and scientific stages, sociology discovered its own mythological charter. For both Marxist and liberal thinkers after Comte, the demise of religion would be taken as the prerequisite of progress and as an axiom of the social and natural sciences. Herbert Spencer dogmatically proclaimed that since moral injunctions were losing their sacred origins, a deliberate secularization of morals was imperative. From the beginning, the controversy over secularization was couched in extreme terms. Some—including Weber, Marx, and later Sorokin—argued that the decline of religion was inevitable. More recently, Talcott Parsons, Robert N. Bellah, Mary Douglas, Thomas Luckmann, and others have maintained that secularization is ultimately impossible. Arguing on empirical grounds, more cautious scholars have suggested that while religion may decline or disappear in specific areas of society, "the secularization process" is not necessarily universal, inevitable, or irreversible.

Contributions of Émile Durkheim. There have been only two truly great figures in the sociology of religion in the modern period, Émile Durkheim and Max Weber. Between them, they set the problems and parameters of the field, leaving the theoretical integration of their insights to others. Durkheim was influenced not only by Saint-Simon and Comte, but by W. Robertson Smith's writings on Semitic religion and by his own teacher, the classicist N. D. Fustel de Coulanges. Durkheim's primary contribution to the sociology of religion was his analysis of the role played by religion in the generation of the *conscience collective*, the collective moral conscience and consciousness of society. Although he shared the common assumption of his time that religion was bound to play an ever-smaller role in modern life, he focused not on the demise of religion but on its transformation. He called the religion of modern societies the "cult of the individual."

Durkheim's analysis of this concept paved the way for modern sociology's interest in diffuse or parainstitutional forms of religiousness, for example, Thomas Luckmann's "invisible religion," Talcott Parsons's "privatization of religion," and Robert Bellah's "civil religion." As a "theologian of civil religion," as Bellah once called him, Durkheim was vitally interested in using sociology to heal the wounds of the acquisitive individualism he found in modern industrial society. While his moralism, his naive faith in altruism, and his interest in guilds seem rooted in the concerns of traditional social thought, the core of Durkheim's doctrine was thoroughly secular. Although he held that there are no false religions, divinity for him was never more than "society transfigured and symbolically expressed." His analysis of religion rested on a basic confusion between the meaning or content of religious symbols (their sacrality) and one of the functions of religion (the unifying of society). This confusion caused him to underestimate the dysfunctional or disruptive capacity of religion, and to overemphasize its role in the generation of social solidarity.

The strengths and the weaknesses of Durkheim's sociology of religion were inherited by the functionalist school. As it developed in the hands of A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, Bronislaw Malinowski, and others, functionalism sought to interpret religion in terms of its contribution to the total social system, or to the psychobiological well-being and integration of the individual. Some functionalists speculated as freely about the psychosocial functions of religion (e.g., about its fear-reducing function) as did their skeptical predecessors in the eighteenth century. Although widely criticized for the tautological vacuousness of its implicit teleology, whereby religion is nearly reduced to its own consolidating function, functionalism continues to pervade the sociology of religion today as received wisdom, if not as explicit theory.

Influences of German scholarship. German scholarship in the history of religions (*Religionsgeschichte*) and the cultural sciences (*Geisteswissenschaften*) evolved ways of conceptualizing religion that went far beyond the narrow, cognitive approach of Comte, Spencer, and E. B. Tylor. Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834) had insisted that religion was grounded in feeling *(Gefühl)* rather than in the intellect. Consequently, religion must be more than a primitive attempt to "figure out" the world. Wilhelm Dilthey (1833–1911), working under the influence of Schleiermacher, pointed out the unique nature of religion and the need to understand it sympathetically, or from within (*Verstehen*), a point that would be developed in a significant way in the sociology of religion by Max Weber.

In 1917, Rudolf Otto, in his epochal book *The Idea of the Holy*, made a frontal attack on Protestant liberalism that, since Kant, tended to reduce the religious experience to ethics. Otto showed, quite to the contrary, that the essence of religion was the experience of standing before the holy in dread, awe, and fascination. The holy, far from being a way of "figuring out" the world, was a mysterious experience that both attracts and repels. Otto called it the *mysterium tremendum et fascinosum*. These developments in German theology and religious studies paved the way for a much more sophisticated and sympathetic understanding of religion than was common in most parts of Europe at that time.

In Germany, the scholars who influenced the sociology of religion most decisively were Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923) and Max Weber (1864–1920). Working in philosophical and theological traditions dominated by Immanuel Kant, G. W. F. Hegel, J. G. Fichte, Friedrich Schleiermacher, and Albrecht Ritschl, Troeltsch emphasized the interaction of spiritual and material forces in religious history. He saw in the history of Christianity a continuous dialectic between movements and institutions that are willing to compromise with the world, and ones that refuse to do so. This became the basis for his typology of church (the compromising religious institution), sect (the rejectionist position), and mysticism (the religious outlook of individuals concerned more about the experience of religious ecstasy than about religious institutions per se).

This simple scheme, modified by the subsequent work of others on denominations, cults, and parainstitutional religions, became the basis for the taxonomy of religious affiliations in the West. Although he finally concluded that Protestantism had been more deeply affected by the modern world than vice versa, Troeltsch seemed to hold—with his friend Weber—that there was a significant relationship between ascetic Calvinism and the rise of capitalism. What primarily set apart the writings of these distinguished scholars was Troeltsch's historicism and Weber's ideal-typical, sociological approach to religion.

Contributions of Max Weber. While Troeltsch was deeply perplexed by the theological implications of his own historicism, Weber described himself as a "religiously unmusical" individual primarily concerned about facing up to reality "like a man." His methodological divorce of facts and values (i.e., "value-free social science") seemed to be a secular transformation of the relationship between the Creator and the creation, which Weber described in his study of ancient Israel. Likewise, his emphasis on the "ethical personality" seems to have been deeply influenced by the disenchanted Calvinism of his own family. Both the existentialism of his political commitments and his social hermeneutics call to mind the voluntarism of the Calvinist tradition. In short, he was, in many ways, a religious thinker in spite of himself. In the sociology of religion he is known primarily for his thesis that ascetic Protestantism decisively influenced the rationalization of the world in general, and the rise of capitalism in particular.

While others before him had pointed out that modern capitalism developed primarily in the Protestant countries of northern Europe, Weber provided a sociopsychological explanation for the correlation. According to Weber, the Calvinist doctrine of predestination generated a deep anxiety among Protestants—English Puritans in particular—over their own salvation. Believing that wealth was a sign of their election, the Puritans turned to work "in their callings" as though their souls depended on it. In other words, the Puritans' religious anxiety was the irrational goad behind their rationalization and disenchantment of the world. Believing that his thesis could be proven or confirmed by comparative research, Weber wrote a series of detailed studies on ancient Israel, India, and China. While his basic contentions have been severely criticized by historians, Weber's thesis continues to be widely debated. Even now, it continues to inspire sociological and historical research. Mastery of the conceptual tools he fashioned is still part of apprenticeship in the sociology of religion (e.g., legitimation, theodicy, charisma, routinization, and so on).

Working as contemporaries, Durkheim and Weber made contributions to the sociology of religion that were as different as they were monumental. While Durkheim stressed the role of religion in the consolidation of society, Weber was interested primarily in the part it played in social change. For Durkheim, collective "effervescence" was the *fons et origo* of religious concepts and power; for Weber the concepts and power of religious systems originated in the charisma of individual founders and prophets. Durkheim believed that sociological analysis began with "social facts"; Weber held that the interpretation of social action ultimately rested on an understanding of the intentionality of individual actors. Durkheim sought to reunite sociology and philosophy; Weber insisted on their separation. The divorce of the "is" and the "ought to be" that runs throughout Weber's work on religion grew out of a conviction that there could be no philosophical justification of values. Beneath values he finds nothing but sheer will, prejudice and tradition. Later twentieth-century thinkers as diverse as Herbert Marcuse, on the left, and Leo Strauss, on the right, have sensed in Weber's work a deeply entrenched nihilism. This nihilism seems to be rooted in his romantic conviction that the secularization and disenchantment of the world are the fate of Western civilization.

Contributions of Karl Marx. Although he is remembered for his pithy and often insightful remarks on religion, Karl Marx's own contributions to the sociology of religion were negligible. His real impact on the discipline has been made indirectly through the diffusion of his theory of the interaction of the superstructure and infrastructure of society. Marx drew attention to the cultural and functional similarities between religion, law, politics, and ideology—all aspects of the superstructure. While insisting that superstructures are ultimately determined by the "relations of production" at work below, Marx did seem to recognize the relative autonomy of religious concepts, and their ability to function as independent variables. He sought to abolish religion by actualizing its eschatological hopes in this world with revolutionary praxis. Nevertheless, he held that the real secularizing force in modern society is not the revolutionary proletariat, but a bourgeoisie that had "drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervor . . . in the icy waters of egotistical calculation."

Since the Enlightenment, many thinkers have tried to develop a general "sociology of history," that is, a nomothetic alternative to the historian's idiographic approach to social change. Vico, Turgot, Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, Lord Kames (Henry Home), John Millar, Hegel, Herder, Tönnies, and many others sought to explain the complex transition from traditional society to enlightened civilization in terms of some basic dynamics or all-encompassing *Weltplan.*

Applied to religious studies, most of these schemes were highly conjectural. This was especially true of the evolutionary theories of nineteenth-century writers like Herbert Spencer, John Lubbock, and E. B. Tylor. Speculative as their ideas were, the evolutionists soon became enormously influential. Men like Durkheim, Weber, and Tönnies, who did not openly align themselves with evolutionism, nevertheless conceived developmental typologies that were clearly evolutionistic. Marx's analysis of history was couched in terms of a "dialectical" process, a materialistic variation on Hegelianism that turned history itself into a set of unfolding internal relations.

A number of bourgeois theorists sought to discuss social change without falling prey to the determinism of the Marxists or the positivism of the historicists. Weber had an "approach-avoidance" reaction to the rationalization process that, for him, was the key to historical development. While Weber did not share the naive optimism of most nineteenth-century evolutionists, behind his complex, ideal-typical analysis of the rise of capitalism, one senses a kind of subtle, evolutionary movement at work. In a deliberate attempt to counter Tönnies's treatment of modern society *(Gesellschaft)* as characterized by a weakening of social bonds, Durkheim insisted that the "organic solidarity" that holds modern society together is just as effective as the "mechanical solidarity" of the past. Applied to the study of religion, the nineteenth century's preoccupation with conjectural schemes of development had the unfortunate effect of reducing all questions about religion to the question of its place in evolution or history.

Contributions of Talcott Parsons. In the twentieth century, Talcott Parsons (1902–1979) directed the attention of sociology to the place of religion in the general system of social action. In order to solve the "Hobbesian problem of social order," Parsons devised a number of encompassing systems that combined the insights of Durkheim, Weber, Freud, the Cambridge economist Alfred Marshall, and the Harvard biochemist L. J. Henderson (a disciple of Vilfredo Pareto). Parsons granted to culture, and *a fortiori* to religion, a place of "cybernetic" sovereignty. From its exalted place in the system of action, religion could create values, shape norms, inform social roles, and provide overall guidance to the "systems" of society, personality, and behavior. Among his more important contributions to the sociology of religion and culture were his discussions of "value-generalization," "denominational pluralism," "the privatization of religion," "liberalism," "fundamentalism," and the "instrumental activism" of the neo-Calvinist tradition. In his later work, Parsons gave more attention to the structure of systems and less to "action" as such. Objective factors influencing action received more attention, and the subjectivity of the actor received less. Under his aegis, a revised form of evolutionism enjoyed a brief recrudescence in the social sciences. Although "neoevolutionism," as it was called, sought to avoid the excesses and ethnocentrism of social Darwinism, its basic categories and dynamics were quite similar: adaptation, sociocultural differentiation, and integration. Out of this period of Parsons's work came the widely read essay by his student, Robert N. Bellah, entitled "Religious Evolution."

Because of the ascendancy of religion, ideas, and values in Parsons's "pattern maintenance," many criticized him as an idealist, or even as an ideological defender of the status quo. Ironically, some criticized his later work for its "behaviorism" and "positivism." Whatever the case, toward the end of his life Parsons began to speculate more freely about the "ends of man," the "telic environment," and the "human condition." These interests prompted some to wonder whether, like Bellah, Parsons was trying to go beyond the social sciences, or whether he was about to turn into a theologian himself. For all of his scientific (or scientistic) rigor, Parsons—like Durkheim and Bellah—was deeply concerned about the perennial issues of classical social thought.

Contemporary influences. The sociology of religion has received considerable stimulation from literary criticism (Kenneth Burke), contemporary studies in semiotics and hermeneutics (Hans-Georg Gadamer and Paul Ricoeur) and phenomenology (Alfred Schutz). Edmund Husserl's advice to go back "to the things themselves" has been broadly interpreted by some sociologists as a challenge to take the reported experience of informants more seriously. Thus, phenomenology seems to have inspired in some quarters a renewed interest in a qualitative, humanistic sociology. In religious studies, the term *phenomenology* has come to be applied quite diversely (1) to a nonconfessional, value-free approach to religion; (2) to cross-cultural, comparative studies; and (3) to a descriptive, nonexplanatory orientation toward the sacred that "brackets" both the ultimate reality "behind" it and all influences of this world on its manifestation in society. The phenomenological approach has often encouraged a secular orientation to the study of religion that, in turn, has facilitated the development of religious studies in nontheological circles. It has shown itself antithetical to a sociological orientation only when its "bracketing" puts the investigation of the secular and social influences on religion off-limits.

One of the sociologists responsible for introducing phenomenology into religious studies is Peter L. Berger. Berger's work has been influenced by the sociological phenomenology of Alfred Schutz and by the work of such figures as Durkheim, Weber, Marx, George Herbert Mead, and W. I. Thomas. Holding with other social scientists (such as Talcott Parsons, Robert N. Bellah, Clifford Geertz, Thomas Luckmann, and Arnold Gehlen) that humankind creates culture—and religion—in order to compensate for the limitations of its genetic patterns, Berger treats religious symbols as psychosocial projections generated by a process of objectification, reification, and internalization. Religion functions primarily as a "plausibility structure," legitimating human existence and providing a theodicy to explain its misery. In exceptional cases, such as biblical prophecy, religion may even serve to delegitimate social structures. While Berger's theory of religion rests upon a philosophical anthropology that may be more graphic than real, he has managed to put together a theoretical vocabulary that many sociologists of religion find useful.

In American sociology, community studies conducted by William Lloyd Warner, Liston Pope, Robert and Helen Lynd, and others have taught us a great deal about the relationships between religion and society. Until the 1940s, the guiding lights of the sociology of religion in the United States were not Durkheim and Weber, but Herbert Spencer, Lester Frank Ward, William Graham Sumner, and W. Robertson Smith; the theory that these thinkers applied to religion was remote from a theological approach. While James H. Leuba in his book *The Belief in God and Immortality* (1916) found that only 19 percent of the "greater sociologists" believed in religion, most of the practitioners of the sociology of religion continued to be believers. Many of these scholars were liberal followers of the Social Gospel movement. Later on, when this movement came under attack by fundamentalism, neoorthodoxy, and the secular academic world, interest in the sociology of religion itself began to wane. (Significantly, this took place at about the same time "value-free" sociology was divesting itself of social work.) H. Richard Niebuhr's *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (1929) went nearly unnoticed by the major sociological journals. By the 1940s, the sociological study of religion in North America had largely passed into the hands of the newly formed Catholic Sociological Society. By the mid-1980s, the Association for the Sociology of Religion had absorbed the Catholic group in a wider, ecumenical organization. Another professional organization called the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion is associated with a more statistical, and sometimes with a more positivistic, approach to the subject.

CONCLUSIONS. By about 1920, the sociology and anthropology of religion had generated the concept of culture as it is known in modern social science. Because interest in this field has subsequently shifted from religion to culture itself, the study of religion currently plays a minor part in the sociological curriculum. Although religion made vital contributions to modern social theory (providing even Karl Marx with clues for the demythologizing of exchange value), religious data are now often used merely as illustrations of general theories. Students of the subject spend a great deal of their energy on correlational research ("religion-and- . . ."), that is, studying the interrelations between religion, social mobility, racial prejudice, voting patterns, divorce, family planning and so on. While these studies have greatly expanded our knowledge of the relations between society and religion, they have seldom contributed to the building of theories as such.

Sociologists of religion have "revisited" Troeltsch, Weber, and the other notable theorists, refining the work of these writers into typologies that seldom have the vigor or the historical perspective of earlier formations. Another indication of the impoverishment of the field is the neglect of comparative, cross-cultural studies. By default, the sociology of religion has become an adjunct to the study of the Christian religion, and not only in the hands of the "Christian sociologists." Although the discipline came to its maturity in the richly comparative work of Durkheim, Weber, and others (who were perfectly at home in philosophy and the humanities in general), historicism, positivism, and the exigencies of academic careers have conspired to reduce comparative studies in the field to a cautious manipulation of easily quantified variables. Because of this lack of historical and comparative depth, few sociologists working on religion have been able to make contributions that are of interest to the rest of sociology or religious studies. The few sociologists who have made their mark in this field (e.g., Bellah, Berger, David A. Martin, and Bryan R. Wilson) have made abundant use of comparative and historical materials. While the study of religion owes much to the social sciences in general, currently anthropology—represented by the work of such writers as Clifford Geertz, Mary Douglas, Claude Lévi-Strauss, and Victor Turner—seems to have had a greater impact than sociology itself.

In the modern period, a number of scholars have tried to rebuild the bridges traditional social thought had built between facts and values, namely, the religious engineering of Saint-Simon and Comte, the secular moralism of Durkheim, and various practical studies of the Christian sociologists in North America or the followers of *la sociologie religieuse* in France and Belgium. Nevertheless, because of the limited cultural significance of the sociology of religion today, only a few alienated theologians would say, with Marx, that the critique of society begins with the critique of religion.

In order to alleviate the cynicism that seemed to attend the analysis of religion in conventional sociology, Bellah has called for a more liberal suspension of disbelief ("symbolic realism"). This, in effect, would mark a return to Durkheim's idea that no religion is false. Unfortunately, symbolic realism seems to have led only to an uneasy and inauthentic reconciliation of the social sciences and religious faith. It is rather ironic that the prestige of the sociology of religion has never been higher among the theological disciplines than it is currently. Theologians, biblical scholars, and church historians are turning to a sociological approach to their fields, though sometimes without fully digesting it or realizing its theoretical costs.

Because its roots lie in such far-flung places as idealism, materialism, skepticism, literary satire, and romantic and conservative protest, the sociology of religion appears to be all things to all people. To put the best face on the fact, some methodologists refer to the discipline as a "multiparadigm" field that, unlike the natural sciences, does not advance by sequentially isolating and falsifying disjunctive paradigms. It does not confront its subject matter head-on with a proud phalanx of unified theory, but from all sides with scattered guerrilla bands armed only with piecemeal models and "polymethodic" tactics. Since the sociology of religion has failed to realize the nomothetic goals it once set for itself, some have legitimately wondered how it differs from the humanities and their idiographic approach.

Today, widespread criticism of the positivism of conventional social science, new interest in semiotics and the cybernetic control of shared cultural symbols, and ongoing investigations into the intentionality of the individual social actor may be paving the way for some interesting changes in the sociology of religion. These changes may bring the discipline into closer and more fruitful relations with the humanities and with the history of religions. The work of Parsons, Bellah, Berger, and others has generated a more sophisticated, less dogmatic attitude toward the theory of secularization itself. A growing number of researchers would probably agree with Saint-Simon that "religion cannot disappear; it can only be transformed."

SEE ALSO Anthropology, Ethnology, and Religion; Christian Social Movements; Civil Religion; Durkheim, Émile; Functionalism; Modernity; Political Theology; Politics and Religion; Psychology; Secularization; Society and Religion; Structuralism; Study of Religion; Weber, Max.

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WINSTON DAVIS (1987)

SOCIOLOGY: SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

In the late twentieth century sociology of religion has been marked by three trends, all of which represent a broadening of the field. The standard focus on the origin and function of religion has been broadened into a concern as well with, first, the propriety of religion and, second, the truth of religion. Peter Berger and Robert Bellah best represent these dual trends. The third trend has been the supplementing of an explanatory approach to religion with a hermeneutical, or interpretive, one. This trend is best represented by Clifford Geertz. Though Geertz is, formally, an anthropologist, he has been more influential than any sociologist in pioneering this approach to religion and to culture as a whole. By no coincidence his key work, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973), won the Sorokin Award of the American Sociological Association.

THE PROPRIETY OF RELIGION. In his earlier writings, Berger rails against the life made easy by religion (see, for example, 1961a, 1961b, 1967 [with Luckmann], and 1969). He denounces religion for accepting rather than challenging seculardom. He denounces his own Christianity for supporting rather than questioning such American values, processes, and institutions as financial success, class and racial divisions, the Cold War, capital punishment, and the family unit: "We are saying nothing new. We would refer the reader to Kierkegaard's attack on the 'Christendom' of his time or to Barth's assault on a later model of which theological liberalism was the expression. . . . In the American religious-secular continuum of values, Christianity appears embedded in taken-for-granted reality. It does not stand out from the rest of the culture, at least not in its middle-class Protestant forms. Consequently, it can offer no challenge to all that is taken for granted. As we have seen, commitment to Christianity thus undergoes a fatal identification with commitment to society, to respectability, to the American way of life. Under these conditions, the encounter with the [true] Christian message is rendered extremely difficult, to say the least" (1961a, p. 116). Religion that seeks to justify society constitutes what Berger, employing Jean-Paul Sartre's famous phrase, calls "bad faith."

The earlier Berger considers as bad faith not only the use of religion to sanction seculardom but also, reciprocally, the use of seculardom to justify religion. He denounces as improper what Geertz, in his own analysis of religion, ironically applauds as effective: the meshing of a conception of reality with a way of life. For Berger, when religion fits society snugly, the affirmation of it requires no effort. Everybody accepts it as conventional wisdom: "The religious institution does not (perhaps one should say 'not any longer') generate its own values; instead, it ratifies and sanctions the values prevalent in the general community. There is little if any difference between the values propagated by the religious institution and those of any secular institution of equivalent status in the community (such as the school)" (1961a, pp. 40–41).

In his later writings, Berger stresses the shaky rather than solid foundation of modern religion in particular (see, for example, 1970, 1973 [with Berger and Kellner], and 1980). Whereas the earlier Berger emphasizes the ease with which religion is affirmed, the later Berger stresses the difficulty involved. The source of the difficulty is the existence of competing religions, themselves in competition with secular worldviews. Competing claims to certainty render any claim tenuous. Bereft of certainty, one must leap unto faith: "Faith is no longer socially given, but must be individually achieved—be it by a wrenching act of decision along the lines of Pascal's 'wager' or Kierkegaard's 'leap'—or more trivially acquired as a 'religious preference.' Faith, in other words, is much harder to come by in the pluralistic situation" (Berger, Berger, and Kellner, 1973, p. 81). Put more mundanely, "It is relatively easy, sociologically speaking, to be a Catholic in a social situation where one can readily limit one's significant others to fellow Catholics, where indeed one has little choice in the matter, and where all the major institutional forces are geared to support and confirm a Catholic world. The story is quite different in a situation where one is compelled to rub shoulders with every conceivable variety of 'those others,' [where one] is bombarded with communications that deny or ignore one's Catholic idea, and where one has a terrible time even finding some quiet Catholic corners to withdraw into. It is very, very difficult to be cognitively *entre nous* in modern society, especially in the area of religion" (Berger, 1970, p. 44). Having come to accept as legitimate the subjective basis of religion, Berger also comes to see the legitimacy of the use to which religion is put: giving meaning to life.

When, in his later writings, Robert Bellah turns from Japan and the rest of the world to America, he changes his focus from analyzing religion to preaching it. His claim that there exists a "civil religion" in America seems a mere restatement of Émile Durkheim's fundamental claim that every society worships itself (see Bellah, 1975, 1976). Yet Bellah is interested less in the social function of civil religion than in the obligation that civil religion imposes. He is not concerned, as Durkheim is, with the dependence on society that religion instills. Instead, he is concerned with the sense of duty that religion inculcates. That duty is not to society but to God. Whereas for Durkheim duty to God means duty to society, for Bellah duty to society means duty to God. For Bellah, religion does not, as it does for Durkheim, serve to weld people into a nation, at least as an end in itself. Rather, it welds them as a means of fulfilling the nation's ideals—for example, of peace and equality. The fulfillment of these ideals constitutes a duty not only to the nation but even more to God, whose chosen nation America believes itself to be. This duty is therefore less social than truly religious: serving one's country in order to serve God, who is the inspiration of society rather than, as for Durkheim, the projection of society.

Whereas for Berger the normative question is whether a religion that sanctions the proverbial status quo is proper, for Bellah the normative question is whether a religion that serves society alone is proper. Put another way, for the earlier Bellah (1957) the question is what religion *does* do. For the later Bellah, the question is what religion *should* do.

THE TRUTH OF RELIGION. The earlier Berger views sociology and, in general, the social sciences as unable either to deny or affirm the truth of religion. The later Berger, beginning with *A Rumor of Angels* (1970), reverses this position and comes to view the social sciences as able to affirm the truth of religion. The earlier as well as the later Berger is intent on reconciling the social sciences with religious truth, but the earlier Berger does so by declaring the issue of truth beyond the social scientific ken: "[I]t is impossible within the frame of reference of scientific theorizing to make any affirmations, positive *or* negative, about the ultimate ontological status of this alleged reality. Within this frame of reference, the religious projections can be dealt with only as such, as products of human activity and human consciousness, and rigorous brackets have to be placed around the question as to whether these projections may not also . . . *refer to* something else than the human world in which they empirically originate. . . . In other words, every inquiry into religious matters that limits itself to the empirically available must necessarily be based on a '*methodological* atheism'" (1969, p. 100).

The later Berger reconciles the social sciences with religious truth in the opposite fashion: by arguing that the social sciences can establish the existence of god, or of the transcendent. Berger has come to oppose the view that he had formerly espoused: that the truth of religion is beyond the social scientific ken. He thus has come to believe that the social sciences can catalogue "signals of transcendence": those experiences of hope, humor, and above all order that entail, because they presuppose, the existence of the transcendent. "Thus man's ordering propensity implies a transcendent order, and each ordering gesture is a signal of this transcendence" (1970, p. 57). "Man's propensity for order is grounded in a faith or trust that, ultimately, reality is 'in order,' all right, 'as it should be'" (1970, p. 54). Whereas the earlier Berger spurns any evidence for belief as bad faith, the later Berger solicits evidence for belief.

Bellah calls his later approach to religion "symbolic realism" and distinguishes it from three other approaches: "historical realism," "consequential reductionism," and "symbolic reductionism." Historical realism deems religion cognitive, literal, and true: religion is a true explanation of the physical world. Historical realists are, presumably, fundamentalists. Consequential reductionism considers religion cognitive, literal, but false: religion is superstition. But consequential reductionists are concerned less with the falsity of religion than with the effect of religion on society when it is believed true. Consequential reductionists include social functionalists like Bronislaw Malinowski and A. R. Radcliffe-Brown.

Symbolic reductionism also considers religion false when taken cognitively and literally but considers it true when taken noncognitively and symbolically: as the disguised expression of something real within individuals, society, or the physical world. The ranks of symbolic reductionists include many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century social scientists—among them E. B. Tylor, J. G. Frazer, Karl

Marx, Durkheim, and Sigmund Freud. One exception is Max Weber, who for Bellah is rather a consequential reductionist because he is interested less in the reduction of religion to something underlying it than in the effect of religion on society. Bellah would presumably classify his own earlier self as a consequentialist, as he would at least partly his then-mentor, Talcott Parsons.

In contrast to historical realism, which also seeks the meaning of religion for believers, symbolic realism deems that meaning symbolic rather than literal, and deems it experiential rather than explanatory. Religion for believers is not a scientific-like account of the world but an encounter with it: "For religion is not really a kind of pseudogeology or pseudohistory but an imaginative statement about the truth of the totality of human experience" (Bellah, 1970, p. 244). "These [religious] symbols are not 'made up' by the human ego or deduced by rational reflection. They are born out of the tragedy and the suffering, the joy and the victory of men struggling to make sense out of their world. They tell us nothing at all about the universe except insofar as the universe is involved in human experience" (Bellah, 1970, p. 95).

Because religion for Bellah expresses humans' experience of the world rather than explaining the world itself, it is true: "If we define religion as that symbol system that serves to evoke . . . the totality that includes subject and object and provides the context in which life and action finally have meaning, then I am prepared to claim that as Durkheim said of society, religion is a reality *sui generis.* To put it bluntly, religion is true" (Bellah 1970, pp. 252–253). In this respect Bellah, just like Berger, goes beyond the issue of origin and function to that of truth.

THE HERMENEUTICAL APPROACH TO RELIGION. Like that of both Berger and Bellah, Clifford Geertz's focus has shifted over time. Beginning with his first collection of essays, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973), he has turned from an explanatory approach to religion to an interpretive one. Inspired by the philosopher Paul Ricoeur, he has come to view all of culture, including religion, as akin to a literary text, which therefore requires the equivalent of exegesis.

All interpretivists equate explanation with cause and interpretation with meaning. They differ over how they distinguish causes from meanings. Geertz adopts not only the distinction but also the example drawn by the philosopher Gilbert Ryle, who contrasts twitching to winking. Writes Geertz: "The two movements are, as movements, identical; from an I-am-a-camera, 'phenomenalistic' observation of them alone, one could not tell which was twitch and which was wink, or indeed whether both or either was twitch or wink. Yet the difference, however unphotographable, between a twitch and a wink is vast; as anyone unfortunate enough to have had the first taken for the second knows. The winker is communicating, and indeed communicating in a quite precise and special way: (1) deliberately, (2) to someone in particular, (3) to impart a particular message, (4) according to a socially established code, and (5) without cognizance of the rest of the company" (Geertz, 1973, p. 6).

In the familiar senses of the terms "cause" and "meaning," a twitch is causal, or meaningless, because it has no purpose. It is involuntary and therefore unintentional. It is not inexplicable, for its cause explains it, but it is purposeless. A wink is meaningful because it has a purpose as well as a cause—more accurately, a purpose rather than a cause. It is voluntary and therefore intentional.

In the more technical sense of the terms, following the usage that Geertz adopts from Ryle, a wink is meaningful rather than causal not just because it is purposeful, or intentional, but also because the purpose is inseparable from the behavior: Winking is not caused by a prior contraction of the eyelids; it *is* the intentional contraction of the eyelids. The purpose cannot therefore be the cause of the behavior, for a cause must be separate from its effect. The purpose and the behavior are two aspects of a single action rather than, as in causal explanation, two actions: the cause and the effect. If the contraction were the effect of winking, winking would be the cause. But because the contraction is the expression of winking, winking is the meaning.

To describe only the behavior would be to give what Geertz, following Ryle, calls a "thin description." To describe the meaning expressed by the behavior is to give what Geertz, again following Ryle, calls a "thick description." By a thick description Geertz means an interpretation.

When the earlier Geertz asserts that humans strive to make sense of life, he is arguing that that striving causes them to engage in religious and other sense-making activities. When the later Geertz makes the same assertion, he is simply saying that humans engage in religious and other sense-making activities, which express rather than effect humanity's sense-making character.

If the later Geertz's concern with the meaning rather than the cause of human behavior puts him within the interpretive, or hermeneutical, tradition, his concern with the public rather than private nature of that meaning puts him within the Wittgensteinian branch of that tradition: "The generalized attack on privacy theories of meaning is, since early Husserl and late Wittgenstein, so much a part of modern thought that it need not be developed once more here. What is necessary is to see to it that the news of it reaches anthropology" (Geertz, 1973, p. 12).

While Geertz never cites him, he is closest to the Wittgensteinian philosopher Peter Winch. Where other interpretivists, such as the philosophers R. G. Collingwood and William Dray, use empathy alongside evidence to reconstruct the meanings of actors' behavior, Winch uses a knowledge of the rules of the public activities, or "forms of life," in which actors participate to decipher the meanings of their behavior. For Winch, behavior has meaning because the activities in which actors participate have rules, which they follow in order to achieve their ends. Rules are like the grammar of a language. Because Winch seeks meanings through public rules rather than private deliberations, he employs, or would employ, fieldwork far more than empathy. His approach is far more anthropological than that of either Collingwood or Dray and so is closer to Geertz's.

For Geertz, as for Winch, the meaning of culture is public and is expressed in the rules of public activities: "culture is best seen not as complexes of concrete behavior patterns—customs, usages, traditions, habit clusters—. . . but as a set of control mechanisms—plans, recipes, rules, instructions . . . for the governing of behavior" (Geertz, 1973, p. 44). "Cultural forms . . . draw their meaning from the role they play (Wittgenstein would say their 'use') in an ongoing pattern of life" (Geertz, 1973, p. 17). Practice rather than belief, ritual rather than myth, "ethos" rather than "world view" is the key to the meaning of culture, and fieldwork, not empathy, is the key to unraveling that meaning.

Despite the later Geertz's insistence on interpretation rather than explanation, Geertz can be read as offering either an explanation or an interpretation. When, in an essay in *The Interpretation of Cultures* that originally appeared in1957, he writes that "the drive to make sense out of experience, to give it form and order, is evidently as real and as pressing as the more familiar biological needs" (Geertz, 1973, p. 140), that drive can be taken not only as the definition of religious and other cultural expressions but, alternatively, as the cause of religious and other cultural effects. Religion would thereby be, as for Max Weber, the fulfillment of a need to make sense of life rather than, as for interpretivists like Collingwood, Dray, and Winch, one possible expression of humanity's sense-making nature.

Indeed, even in "Thick Description," the one new essay in *The Interpretation of Cultures* and the programmatic interpretive statement (1973, ch. 1), Geertz declares that anthropology should no more be exclusively interpretive than exclusively explanatory. Interpretation should supplement, not supplant, explanation. Anthropology should be an "interpretive science."

Just as Geertz's model of pure interpretation is literary criticism, so his model of interpretive science is medicine. According to Geertz, interpretation in medicine merely classifies behavior: A medical diagnosis identifies a set of symptoms as belonging to, say, the category *measles.* By contrast, according to Geertz, explanation goes beyond interpretation to account for both the source and the effect of behavior: While symptoms themselves are part of the definition of a disease rather than either its origin or even its consequence, a diagnosis also gives or suggests both the origin and the consequences of the disease. Diagnosis combines interpretation with explanation, as otherwise in "Thick Description" interpretation by itself does.

Applied to anthropology, categories identified by Geertz have included *revolution, kinship, ethos, worldview, myth, ritual, religion, art,* and *cultural system.* In the category *revolution,* for instance, one "symptom" of revolution might be political protests. One source might be inequality. One consequence might be equality. The "double task" in "diagnosing" revolution would therefore be both "to uncover the conceptual structures [i.e., interpretive categories] that inform our subjects' acts, the 'said' of social discourse, and to construct a system of analysis [i.e., explanation] in whose terms what is generic to those structures, what belongs to them because they are what they are, will stand out against the other determinants [i.e., causes] of human behavior" (Geertz, 1973, p. 27). One would fully have deciphered an instance of revolution—or of religion—only by having first identified the phenomenon as a case of the category and then having accounted for it.

When Geertz follows the model of medical diagnosis, interpretive science is generalized: The doctor seeks the category into which the patient's symptoms fall. But when otherwise in "Thick Description" Geertz pits interpretation against scientific explanation, by *interpretation* he means the primacy of the particular over the general. Geertz opposes generalizations on multiple grounds. They invariably prove inaccurate or tendentious. They are somehow inseparable from the particulars that yield them and, when separated, turn out to be banal or empty: "Theoretical formulations [i.e., generalizations] hover so low over the [particularistic] interpretations they govern that they don't make much sense or hold much interest apart from them. . . . [S]tated independently of their [particularistic] applications, they seem either commonplace or vacant" (Geertz, 1973, p. 25).

Above all for Geertz, generalizations miss the distinctiveness of the particulars they are derived from: "Within the bloated categories of regime description, Feudalism or Colonialism, Late Capitalism or The World System, Neo-Monarchy or Parliamentary Militarism, there is a resident suchness, deep Moroccanicity, inner Indonesianness, struggling to get out. Such a conception of things is usually called nationalism. That is certainly not wrong, but, another bloated category, grouping the ungroupable and blurring distinctions internally felt, it is less definite than it seems. Every quiddity has its own form of suchness, and no one who comes to Morocco or Indonesia to find out what goes on there is likely to confuse them with each other or to be satisfied with elevated banalities about common humanity or a universal need for self-expression" (Geertz, 1995, p. 23).

For Geertz, it is in the particular and not in the general that the significance of any cultural phenomenon lies: "The notion that the essence of what it means to be human is most clearly revealed in those features of human culture that are universal rather than in those that are distinctive to this people or that is a prejudice we are not necessarily obliged to share. Is it in grasping such general facts—that man has everywhere some sort of 'religion'—or in grasping the richness of this religious phenomenon or that—Balinese trance or Indian ritualism, Aztec human sacrifice or Zuñi raindancing—that we grasp him? Is the fact that 'marriage' is universal (if it is) as penetrating a comment on what we are as the facts concerning Himalayan polyandry, or those fantastic Australian marriage rules, or the elaborate bride-price systems of Bantu Africa?" (Geertz, 1973, p. 43).

Geertz's insistence on the superiority of the particular to the general helped pioneer the postmodern approach to culture, including religion, throughout the social sciences. Yet Geertz himself has never gone as far as his avowedly postmodernist successors, who reject generalizations as but one part of their rejection of a scientific approach to religion and the rest of culture. Geertz continues to employ general categories and continues to account for them. Furthermore, he does not dismiss the possibility of an objective analysis of religion and culture. Most important, he does not set an interpretive, or hermeneutical, approach to religion against a scientific one. His advocacy of an interpretive social science akin to medical diagnosis evinces the middle ground that he seeks. He strives to make social science interpretive, not to replace social science with interpretation.

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SOCRATES (c. 469–399 BCE) was a Greek philosopher. Commonly regarded as the father of philosophy, Socrates' influence on Western thought has been huge throughout history. Almost every epoch saw in him a precursor of its own ideas and values, and a model of wisdom and morality.

SOURCES. Socrates is the only Western philosopher who wrote nothing. Hence all first-hand information on his life, personality, and thought derives from reports by those who knew him personally. Among those, a special role is played by his friends and associates who, in a series of dialogues commonly referred to as the *Sokratikoi logoi*, portray him in discussion with prominent intellectuals and politicians. These writings spread immediately after Socrates' death, becoming a popular literary genre in the first half of the fourth century BCE. Unfortunately, from a *corpus* of hundreds of conversations only those reported by Plato (428/427–348/347 BCE) and Xenophon (430–355 BCE) survive complete; the Socratic dialogues of other authors are lost except for some fragments. The most substantial of these fragments are from Aeschines of Sphettus; the fragments of Antisthenes, Aristippos, Euclides of Megara, and Phaedo of Elis are scarce.

Plato, the most important among Socrates' associates, wrote almost solely dialogues in which Socrates is the main speaker. Although in these writings Plato seems to present his own philosophy, this happens often under the strong influence of his master. Especially in Plato's earlier dialogues, written soon after 399 BCE, it is possible to make out many traits of Socrates' own philosophical thoughts. These dialogues include *Apology*, *Crito*, *Laches*, *Charmides*, *Euthyphro*, *Hippias Minor*, *Ion*, *Republic I*, and *Protagoras* from Plato's first period; and *Lysis*, *Euthydemus*, *Hippias Major*, *Menexenus*, *Meno*, and *Gorgias* from his second period. The middle dialogues (*Symposium*, *Cratylus*, *Phaedo*, *Republic II–X*, *Phaedrus*, *Parmenides*, and *Theaetetus*) and the late ones (*Timaeus*, *Critias*, *Sophist*, *Statesman*, *Philebus*, and *Laws*) are much closer to Plato's own than to his master's philosophy. Unlike Plato, Xenophon was not present at Socrates' trial and death and wrote his *logoi* many years after 399. His Socratic works are *Apology, Symposium, Oeconomicus,* and *Memorabilia.*

Other primary sources outside the Socratic circle are supplied by the Attic comedy. Socrates was used as a comic character in Ameipsias' *Connus* and Aristophanes' *Clouds*, two of the three comedies performed for the first time in Athens in 423 BCE. Of these dramatic works only *Clouds* survives complete, though in a revised edition. This version, like most of the evidence coming from the comedians after 423 BCE, gives a caricature of Socrates as an atheistic natural philosopher who is both an ascetic moral teacher and a sophist (for instance, in Aristophanes' *Birds* and *Frogs*).

Among the writings of authors who were not personally acquainted with Socrates, most important are those of Aristotle (384–322 BCE), who probably learned of him from Plato and others while attending the Athenian Academy. Aristotle's interest in Socrates was aimed at assigning to him a precise place in the history of philosophy, distinguishing the elements in Plato's oeuvre actually belonging to Socrates from those constituting Platonic interpretations of Socratic thought. Major evidence of this is to be found in several passages of *Metaphysics*, *Nicomachean* and *Eudemean Ethics*, and *Magna Moralia*.

Since all of the later Socratic sources of antiquity rely on the writings of the mentioned authors or on works which were lost, they are far less able to convey the real philosophical thoughts of Socrates. But since in some cases these testimonies contain information that is not elsewhere preserved, they should nevertheless be taken into account. The major Socratic texts occur within a variety of literary genres:

1. the philosophers (Cicero, Plutarch, and others);
2. Diogenes Laertius;
3. the apologetic writers (Aelius Aristides, Libanius, and others);
4. the antiquarian writers (Aulus Gellius, Aelian, Athenaeus, and others);
5. the anthologists, the lexicographers, and the *Suda;*
6. the early Christian writers.

LIFE The only certain fact about Socrates' life is the year in which he was condemned and put to death, in 399 BCE. All other circumstances reported about him have no historical reliability, although in many cases their symbolic and philosophic meanings are of great interest.

Some sources report that Socrates, of the Antiochid tribe and the deme of Alopeke, was born on the birthday of the goddess of midwives, Artemis, the sixth Tragelion. He was the son of the midwife Phaenarete and the statuary Sophroniscus, with whom he worked during his youth. His family was likely wealthy, since he served several times in the heavy infantry, where he had to provide himself weapons and armor. During his later life, however, it seems that he became extremely poor, probably due to his absorption in philosophy, which left him no time for attending to his personal affairs. It is reported that he married Xanthippe, famous for her bad temper. His three sons Lamprocles, Sophroniscus, and Menexenus were still young at the time of his death, and were probably sons of another wife named Myrto, whose marriage to Socrates is variously described as preceding, following, or bigamously coinciding with his union to Xanthippe.

Throughout the literary and the iconographic sources of antiquity Socrates is renowned for the ugliness of his physiognomy. He had a snub nose, broad nostrils, protruding eyes, and an overly-dimensioned mouth, with extremely thick lips. Furthermore, he was bald, his neck was short and thick, and his belly was huge. His appearance was thus compared to that of a satyr or silenus. His physical toughness and endurance were known to be exceptional: he was able to practice extreme continence or abstemiousness as well as to outdrink anyone without ever getting drunk himself. He bathed infrequently and wore ostentatiously simple clothing, always went barefoot, and never became ill; he could go without sleep for days and sustain prolonged, trance-like spells of intense mental concentration. During the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BCE) he gave proof of his bravery in the campaigns of Potidaea (432–429 BCE), where he saved the life of Alcibiades (432 BCE); Daelium (424 BCE); and Amphipolis (422 BCE).

Except for these military campaigns and two other trips to Samos and the Isthmian games, Socrates stayed always in Athens. Due to his extraordinary charisma he gathered around him a circle of friends and associates, who saw in him a "truly divine and marvelous man" (Plato, *Symposium* 219c). In 423 BCE he was a well-known personality in Athens, portrayed in Aristophanes' *Clouds* as a leading representative of a new kind of education. His fame reached even Archelaus of Macedonia, Scopas of Krannon, and Eurylochus of Larisa, whose invitations to their courts he declined.

In 406 BCE Socrates belonged to the Athenian Council of Five Hundred when the so-called trial of the Arginusae took place. In it, the generals of the Athenian fleet faced charges of neglect of duty following the naval battle of the Arginusae Islands during the Peloponnesian War. Athens won, but a storm wrecked several ships afterward, and the officers failed to rescue the survivors. In Socrates' tribe the assembly made the illegal proposal to condemn the generals to death collectively instead of individually, as required by law. Whereas the other members all accepted the proposal, Socrates refused, thus demonstrating loyalty to the laws of his city. Two years later, when the Thirty Tyrants attempted to involve him in criminal political activities by securing his complicity in the arrest of Leon of Salamis, he refused, for which he would have been put to death, if the Thirty had not been overthrown in time (Plato, *Apology* 32d and Xenophon, *Memorabilia* IV, 4, 3).

Five years later Anytus, a prominent politician of the restored democracy, together with the obscure Lycus and Meletus, brought the following indictment against Socrates: "Socrates is guilty of not recognizing the gods which the city recognizes, and of introducing other, new divinities. Further, he is guilty of corrupting the young. The penalty is death" (Favorinus, in Diogenes Laertius II, 40). Found guilty on both counts (by votes of 280-220 and 360-140), he was sentenced to death by hemlock. Having declined the alternative penalty of exile, and the opportunity to escape from prison (as his associates urged him to do), he was executed in 399 BCE.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION. As was common in Athenian wealthy families, Socrates was educated in the traditional disciplines of *mousike* ("education of the spirit") and *gumnastike* ("education of the body") and in Ionian natural sciences. The sources report that he became a disciple of the physicist Archelaus, through whom he was introduced to the theories of Anaximenes and Anaxagoras. Though he was apparently fascinated by them, the more he deepened his studies, the more he became aware of the limits of natural philosophy. He noticed that this discipline was not able to obtain any certain knowledge of the natural phenomena because of its mechanistic character—that is, its habit to explain one cause with another—without ever finding a supreme principle of being capable of "holding together any other thing" (Plato, *Phaedo* 99c). Disappointed, he left his studies in Ionian science and started looking for a "second sailing" in research (Plato, *Phaedo* 99c).

The direction of this new approach was indicated to Socrates by a religious experience which marked a turning point in his life. According to Plato's account, around 430 BCE Socrates' friend Chaerephon went to the oracle of Apollo in Delphi and posed the question whether anyone was wiser than Socrates. The oracle answered that no one was. When Chaerephon went back to Athens and told his friend of this response, Socrates was puzzled, since he thought that he possessed no expertise at all. In order to decipher the oracle's meaning, he set about to find someone wiser than himself among people with reputations for their wisdom. Upon questioning them systematically he realized that they in fact lacked the knowledge they claimed, and were therefore less wise than he, who at least *knew* that he knew nothing. He thus understood that the wisdom meant by the oracle consisted exactly of this peculiar knowledge, the awareness of ignorance. He came also to understand that the oracle had chosen him to propagate this knowledge by showing every human being that his claims to substantive wisdom were unfounded. From that moment until the last day of his life Socrates felt compelled to fulfill this "divine mission" in honor of Apollo, the god who praises the virtues of humility and restraint (as is evident in the famous Delphic inscription, "Know thyself!").

This enterprise of questioning, examining, and refuting other people in order to make them aware of their ignorance is commonly known as the Socratic *elenchus.* Its most important achievement consists of understanding and in making others understand the fallible, that is the human nature of wisdom (*anthropine sophia*), juxtaposed to the absolute wisdom of the gods (*theia sophia*), which is altogether unreachable for humankind. To this philosophical acknowledgment everyone is compelled, since "the unexamined life is not worth living for a human being" (Plato, *Apology* 38a). Elenchus is the only possible source of intellectual and moral well-being, since it improves the most valuable part of man, the seat of all his virtue and knowledge: the soul (*psuche*). Unlike the traditional conceptions of the Orphics, the Pythagoreans and the Ionians, Socrates is the first to identify the *psuche* both with the entire and real self and the "Igo" of consciousness and personality. The supreme duty of a human being is to "care for it" (Plato, *Apology* 29e and Xenophon, *Memorabilia* I, 2, 4–5), a task best accomplished by "purifying" it through intellectual training and elenchtic testing.

Though aimed at improving the soul, the practice of elenchus is not merely destructive. Socrates' disavowal of scientific knowledge implies that from a practical point of view he knows exactly what knowledge is. As Aristotle points out, this knowledge is of a "different kind" if compared to that of the experts or the physiologists (*Eudemean Ethics* 1246b 36). It has a non-epistemic character, since it is confined to make out what is good (*agathon*) for the soul in an immediate, concrete, and practical sense. Both in Plato and Xenophon, Socrates identifies this good with what is beneficial (*ophelimon*, *chresimon*). Virtue, as the real application of this good, is thus founded on knowledge that is the goodness of the soul. Once the soul knows what is good in a given situation, it has the correct focus for its actions, a focus that eventually turns out to be beneficial as well.

Major evidence for Socrates' firm faith in the practical effects of the knowledge of the good is provided by his theodicy. As shown by Xenophon, Socrates believes in unwritten laws that have a divine origin (*Memorabilia* IV, 4, 19–25). Unlike the human laws, which can be violated without necessarily incurring punishment, the unwritten laws contain the punishment within themselves. They are a cosmic rule, deeply rooted into the profundity of reality. This conception occurs also in Plato's *Apology*, when Socrates replies to the menaces of his accusers by saying that "the goddess Themis will not allow that a good man will be hurt by a worse one" (30c), or when, immediately after he has been sentenced to death, he declares that "a good man cannot suffer any harm, neither in his life nor after his death, because the gods take care of him" (41d).

Socrates' conception of the divine is closely linked to his search for the goodness of the soul. This becomes clear in the teleological proof of God's existence reported by Xenophon (*Memorabilia* I, 4, 1–19 and IV, 3, 1–18; cf. Plato, *Gorgias* 507e–508a): since everything that is good is beneficial, it has to be necessarily the product of intelligent design; this entails the existence of one or more intelligent designer-creators possessing the wisdom and the power necessary for producing the orderly and beautiful universe; therefore, these beings must have an entirely benevolent and caring attitude toward the world they created, ruling it in a fashion analogous to the way the human soul rules the body. And because of its intrinsic theoretical capacities this very soul "partakes of the divine" more than any other thing in the universe (*Memorabilia*, IV, 3, 14), and the man who practices its capacities through philosophy is at the same time "virtuous" and "pious" (*Memorabilia* IV, 3, 16–18). Piety itself is strongly connected to morality, since it is a service to the gods that helps them to promulgate goodness in the universe (Plato, *Euthyphro* 14b). For Socrates there is no split between philosophy, ethics, and religion; they all call for acts directed to improve both the human soul and the universe.

The interdependence between the human and the divine sphere in Socrates' teleology was thus eminently practical and non-epistemic. With it Socrates tried to reform religion from an ethical point of view. This meant rejecting the moral imperfections of the Homeric gods, foremost their enmities and lies. The chasm between human and divine ethics had to be eliminated, in order to restore the lost faith in the nobility of the gods and to make them thus more believable. Socrates' anthropocentric teleology was perhaps the last attempt in Greek history to achieve this. In an epoch characterized by an increasing number of particular cults often in open conflict with each other, he gave a new impulse to Greek religion, establishing homogeneous criteria for mortals and gods. He did this while remaining on the solid ground of tradition: his "moralized" gods were still the gods of the city, whom he called to witness his oaths and worshipped with prayers and sacrifices, communicating with them through dreams, divination, and even poetic inspiration. Despite the orthodoxy of Socrates' religious behavior, however, in 399 he was tried, convicted, and condemned to death for impiety.

Socrates was first accused of not recognizing the gods of the city. According to Socrates' own account of the reason he was charged, this indictment was not for having moralized the gods, but mainly because the accusers assimilated these gods to the natural elements which were studied by the Ionian physiologists during those years (Plato, *Apology* 18b–c, 19a–d, 23c–d, 26d, and Aristophanes' *Clouds*). Since few years earlier Anaxagoras had already been declared guilty of the same charge due to his affiliation with the Periclean circle, it is likely that the accusers against Socrates also had a political rather than a religious background.

The second charge was that of introducing "new divinities" (*hetera daimonia kaina*: Plato, *Apology* 24c, and others). It is probable that the target was the *daimonion* of Socrates, although the use of the generic plural form *daimonia* may indicate that the accusers wanted to include in the charge also other divinities, or that they themselves did not have a clear idea of which gods exactly were worshipped by Socrates. The *daimonion ti* (literally: the "daemonic something") was one of the most peculiar traits of Socratic religion. According to the sources, Socrates regarded it as a divine "sign" or an "interior voice" which had been his companion since childhood. It gave him advice which was merely dissuasive, particular, personal, and practical (according to Xenophon the *daimonion* also prescribed advice to Socrates' friends). Since Socrates considered the counsel of the *daimonion* unfailingly correct, he always followed it, even if it urged him against something of which he was fully convinced. This particular circumstance showed that in Socrates' view the *daimonion* could be stronger than discursive thinking, but was perfectly compatible with it: Although its advice sometimes seemed to contradict the elenchus, eventually it turned out to be perfectly rational. The privilege of Socrates' exclusive relationship with the *daimonion* was likely considered suspect by his accusers; still, in the religious context of ancient Athens, which was extremely tolerant towards the introduction of new or even foreign divinities, this alone could hardly have led to a prosecution.

It seems therefore probable that the reason for Socrates' conviction was merely political, since the religious accusations were unfounded. In fact, the most serious charge brought against Socrates was that of corruption of the youth. The practice of elenchus entailed a new education, which could subvert social morality. This was evident in the Socratic circle, where men like Critias and Alcibiades were famous for their antidemocratic political attitude. To the newly restored democracy Socrates and his circle were a danger to be eliminated as soon as possible. This may have been the reason why the pious Socrates, who believed in the goodness of the gods, was eventually condemned for impiety.

SEE ALSO Apollo; Aristotle; Atheism; Delphi; Plato; Theodicy.

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A comprehensive survey on the most important Socratic testimonies in English translation is delivered by John Ferguson, *Socrates: A Source Book* (London, 1970); see also the complete editions of Xenophon, Aristophanes, and Aristotle in the Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.). The ancient sources can be divided into primary (A), that is the texts of authors who knew Socrates personally or could hear from him indirectly, and secondary (B), which consist of later writings, mostly founded upon the primary sources.

(A) The major primary source are Plato's dialogues, edited in Greek by John Burnet (*Platonis Opera*, Oxford, 1900–1917; reprinted 1976). The English translations are numerous, one of the most recent being the *Complete Works* edited by John M. Cooper and D. S. Hutchinson (Indianapolis, Ind., 1997). The most accessible English translation of Xenophon's Socratic writings is that of Hugh Treddenick and Robin Waterfield, *Conversations of Socrates* (London, 1990). For a scholarly edition of Aristophanes' *Clouds* see Kenneth J. Dover, Oxford, 1968. Aristotle's references to Socrates have been collected by Thomas Déman, *Le témoignage d'Aristote sur Socrate* (Paris, 1942).

(B) The Greek and Latin texts of all the Socratic sources except Plato, Xenophon, and Aristophanes are to be found in the *Socratis et Socraticorum Reliquiae*, edited by Gabriele Giannantoni (Naples, 1990).

Modern scholarship on Socrates starts with Friedrich Schleiermacher's "The Worth of Socrates as a Philosopher" (1815), translated by Connop Thirlwall, *The Philological Museum* 2 (1833): 538–555. In this essay arises for the first time the question of which sources, if any, can be reliable for a reconstruction of Socrates' thought. This question, commonly referred to as the "Socratic problem," has been answered in many different ways, spawning a vast amount of literature. Useful guides to it are: *Der historische Sokrates*, edited by Andreas Patzer (Darmstadt, Germany, 1987), and Mario Montuori, *The Socratic Problem* (Amsterdam, 1992). For a survey on the reception of Socrates throughout history see Herbert Spiegelberg, *The Socratic Enigma* (New York, 1964).

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SÖDERBLOM, NATHAN

(1866–1931). Swedish churchman, theologian, Luther scholar, ecumenical pioneer, and historian of religions. Lars Olaf Johnathan Söderblom was born into a deeply religious family in Trönö, Hälsingland Province, Sweden. His father, a fervent evangelical preacher, was pastor of the Trönö parish and led his family in a life of devotion, study, discipline, and hard work. In 1883 young Nathan entered the university at Uppsala as a candidate in classical and Oriental languages but later changed to work for a degree in divinity. The theological faculty in Uppsala at the time was immovably conservative and literalist; it had been little touched by the German theology reigning on the European continent. Söderblom in consequence was disappointed with his divinity studies.

The outstanding events of the university years for him were the discovery of biblical criticism, his acquaintance with the theology of Albrecht Ritschl, and his participation in the Student Missionary Society. The new biblical criticism posed an acute crisis for Söderblom; while he enthusiastically welcomed its methods and insights, it threatened the conservative Swedish view of the Bible as a literal revelation. Söderblom resolved his difficulties through Ritschl's broad view of a dynamic revelation not confined to the literal words of the book. His attitudes in these matters earned him a reputation as a dangerous liberal, an accusation that would plague him all his life and that probably accounts for his failure to become a docent upon graduation. It was his participation in the Student Missionary Society and a consuming concern for Christian missions that first stimulated Söderblom's interest in non-Christian religious experience and laid the basis for his work as historian of religions.

In 1893 Söderblom was ordained and served for a time as chaplain in the Uppsala mental hospital, but in 1894 he accepted an appointment as pastor to the Swedish legation in Paris. In addition to pastoral duties, Söderblom cemented a close relationship with the Protestant Theological Faculty of the Sorbonne. Auguste Sabatier, A. and J. Réville, and Léon Marillier in particular exerted strong influence on his thinking, and he continued the study of Iranian languages that he had begun earlier. In 1899 he published in Paris *Les fravashis,* a short but erudite study of a type of spiritual beings in ancient Iranian religion; his Sorbonne doctoral dissertation, *La vie future d'après le Mazdéisme,* followed in 1901, establishing him among the leading Iranologists of Europe.

In 1901 Söderblom was invited to a professorship in Uppsala. The chair was in theology, but under Söderblom it became, practically speaking, one in the history of religions. The strong Swedish tradition in history of religions had its beginning with this appointment. Söderblom was a popular teacher who also rapidly became a decisive influence in the church as a leader of a general revival of religion and theology in Sweden. In 1912 he was appointed to the new chair of the history of religions in Leipzig which he held jointly with that of Uppsala. His most important contribution to the theory of the nature of religion, *Gudstrons Uppkomst* (2d ed., Stockholm, 1914), and his books *The Nature of Revelation,* translated by Frederic C. Pamp (Oxford, 1933), and *Natürliche Theologie und allgemeine Religionsgeschichte* (Stockholm, 1913) belong to these years. The German connections also enabled him to carry out his work of reconciliation among Christians of the belligerent nations during World War I.

In 1914 the Swedish king chose Söderblom to replace J. A. Ekman as archbishop of Sweden. The first four years of his tenure coincided with World War I, and even while the fighting continued, Söderblom pleaded for a conference between Christians of the two sides. His interest in ecumenical matters had begun in his student days, and it continued through the Lambeth Conference of 1905 and the agreement between Anglicans and Swedish Lutherans concluded in 1922. The culmination for Söderblom was the great Stockholm conference of 1925 on life and work, of which he was a principal mover. His work among the combatants in World War I and his efforts toward Christian unity were the principal bases for the award of the Nobel Peace Prize that he received in 1930. The last of many honors bestowed on him was the Gifford lectureship for 1931–1932. He delivered the lectures for 1931, published as *The Living God* (1933; reprint, 1962), but he died before he could complete the series.

The central element in Söderblom's thought, as apparent in his work both as theologian and as historian of religions, was the concept of revelation. He held that revelation is dynamic, not confined to the words of the Bible but also to be seen in nature, history, and genius. Neither is it the exclusive possession of Christianity, for he believed there to be revelation wherever genuine religion is found. Nevertheless, he also held to the inherent religious superiority of Christianity over other traditions and believed that he could prove this superiority through purely disinterested and scientific study of the history of religions. His effort was thus to gain a concrete grasp of the world's religions in all their historical diversity and richness but also to demonstrate the merits of Christianity as the climax of the revelation of the living God to human beings.

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CHARLES J. ADAMS (1987)
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SOFER, MOSHEH (1762–1839), a Jewish religious leader, was known as the Ḥatam Sofer (Ḥasam Soyfer in

Ashkenazic pronunciation) and as Moses Schreiber in governmental documents. Born in Frankfurt, Mosheh Sofer studied there under the chief rabbi, Pinḥas Horovitz, and under Natan Adler, a qabbalist known for his strict and unusual ritual practices. When in 1782 Adler became the rabbi of Boskowitz, Moravia (now in the Czech Republic), Sofer left with him. He married in Prossnitz, Moravia, in 1787 and later served as rabbi of Dresnitz, Moravia (1794–1798), and of Mattersdorf, Hungary (1798–1806). From 1806 until his death he was the chief rabbi of Pressburg (now Bratislava, Slovakia), then one of the chief cities of Hungary, where he established a large and influential *yeshivah* (Talmudic academy). After the death of his first wife he married the daughter of ʿAqivaʾ Eger, one of the leading Talmudists of the age. His descendants (all by his second marriage) include a number of important Talmudic scholars and Orthodox leaders.

The Ḥatam Sofer is generally viewed as the intellectual leader of the "Old Orthodox" opposition to Reform Judaism. One of the last great Talmudic scholars educated in Germany, he differed from later German Orthodoxy in that he opposed not only all ritual and liturgical innovations but also any changes in traditional education and style of life. Coining the slogan "The Torah forbids what is new," he vehemently fought the Mendelssohnian Enlightenment (Haskalah), the use of German in sermons, and even the slightest innovation in custom. He wished to retain Jewish national and cultural separateness and to strengthen the moral and coercive powers of the rabbinate and Jewish community to prevent innovation. He viewed the legal emancipation of the Jews as a poor substitute for messianic redemption and a return to Zion.

A charismatic and energetic leader, the Ḥatam Sofer aroused both intense admiration and violent opposition. His influence in western Hungary on Orthodoxy, especially non-Hasidic Orthodoxy, remained intense into the twentieth century; his example helped give Hungarian Orthodoxy its zealous, uncompromising imprint. Outside the Hungarian cultural area, his influence was felt mainly in the realm of traditional Talmudic and halakhic (religious-legal) scholarship. Though the Ḥatam Sofer published very little during his lifetime, the immense corpus of his posthumous works includes almost twelve hundred *responsa* (legal opinions), *novellae* on the Talmud, sermons, biblical and liturgical commentaries, and religious poetry.

See Also Orthodox Judaism.

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Relatively little has been written on Mosheh Sofer in English, and some of this work is marred by a polemical bent. A great deal more is available in Hebrew, including the corpus of his own works. Probably the most balanced assessment is Jacob Katz's "Contributions toward a Biography of R. Moses Sofer" (in Hebrew), in *Studies in Mysticism and Religion Presented to Gershom G. Scholem* (Jerusalem, 1967), edited by E. E. Urbach and others, pp. 115–148.

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SOHM, RUDOLF (1841–1917), was a German Lutheran jurist and church historian. Rudolf Sohm was a member of the law faculties at Göttingen, Freiburg, Strassburg, and Leipzig universities and published in the fields of Roman and Germanic law and of canon law and church history. As a renowned jurist he entered into the controversy regarding the character of authority and organization in the primitive Christian community. In 1892 he published the first volume of his masterwork, *Kirchenrecht* (Canon law); the second volume was published posthumously in 1923. Sohm was politically active and in 1896 he helped Friedrich Naumann found the National-Sozial Partei (not to be confused with the later Nazi Party).

In *Kirchenrecht*, Sohm argued that the early church had no legal constitution. He claimed that "ecclesiastical law stands in contradiction to the nature of Ecclesia." Legal concepts, he believed, are completely inappropriate when considering the early church, which was informed by a power of a different order. This power he called "charisma" (from Gr., *charis*), which is "a gift of grace" imparted by the Holy Spirit. In Paul's view (*1 Cor.* 12:4–28), the gifts of grace are manifest in the congregation as well as in apostles, prophets, and teachers. The congregation had the "gift" of acknowledging charismatic leaders; the community was not a democracy but rather a "pneumatocracy." In his interpretation Sohm found that the community gave special status to the teacher whose charismatic gifts were exercised in conjunction with scripture and sacraments.

The development of a legal order within the church was a "fall" away from authenticity. This "fall" brought about the heresy, or apostasy, of Roman Catholicism and of bureaucratized Lutheranism. The fall away from the authentic church appeared in the development from the charismatic power of the individual Christian leader to the authority of the Christian official (in possession of legal and tenure rights), thence to a Christian corporation with legal and coercive control over individual salvation. This "fall" occurs because the unregenerate "natural man" is a "born Catholic" who seeks legal authenticity and a guarantee of salvation and who desires what is tangible and visible, providing pomp and circumstance that appeal to the senses. This "natural man" relies upon "small faith" bound to ecclesiastical law, that is, bound to the past. The true church is invisible and, as Martin Luther asserts, is oriented to the believers' life with God through Christ and the Holy Spirit, a regenerating power. Faith in the invisible church is a protection of the freedom of the gospel and against the absolutizing of the authority of the visible church.

Sohm has been severely criticized for having no concept of church order, for example, by his admirer Ernst Troeltsch in *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen* (1912). On the other hand, Emil Brunner was considered Sohm's disciple (see Brunner's *Missverständnis der Kirche,* 1951); Karl Barth spoke scornfully of Brunner as "only a follower of Sohm." Sohm's work has exercised a significant influence on biblical studies and on studies in ecclesiology and in the critique of tradition. Max Weber appropriated, generalized, and secularized Sohm's concept of charisma, thus almost entirely transforming it.

SEE ALSO Leadership.

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SŌKA GAKKAI is a large religious organization that rapidly increased its strength after World War II. Official membership figures in December 2003 included approximately 8,210,000 households in Japan and 1,502,000 individuals in other countries. Makiguchi Tsunesaburo (1871–1944), the founder of Sōka Gakkai, was a primary school teacher who sought to establish an educational movement based on a new educational method. In 1928 Makiguchi became a follower of an exclusive subsect of the Nichiren sect of Buddhism, which promoted the merger of his educational and religious movements. In 1930 Makiguchi and Toda Jōsei (1900–1958), his chief disciple, published *Sōka Kyoikugaku Taikei* (The system of value-creating pedagogy). By 1941 the number of sympathizers had increased to approximately two thousand; at this time the activities of the Sōka Kyoiku Gakkai were inseparable from the activities of lay groups belonging to the Nichiren Shōshū sect. The movement was disbanded in 1943 by the government, but in 1945 it resumed activities under a new name: Sōka Gakkai. The decade of the 1930s was a period of consolidation; 1945 marked the resumption of previous activities; and the 1950s and 1960s were decades of explosive growth.

Makiguchi Tsunesaburo, while serving as a primary school teacher and principal, sought a type of education that would lead his pupils to voluntarily make efforts to develop their abilities and live a better life. After his efforts failed in a public school setting, he began to search for religious values upon which he could realize his ideal form of education. The deaths of family members led him to Nichiren Shōshū Buddhism, a lay-oriented and people-centered subsect of Nichiren Buddhism. Makiguchi embraced the idea that the nation would be saved by true Buddhism and that every person could be a bearer of belief and could guide others to salvation. Sōka Gakkai succeeded in developing a modern Nichiren Buddhism with the goal of enhancing the well-being of people in this world through their self-reforming efforts.

Before its explosive expansion period, its predecessor Sōka Kyoiku Gakkai suffered severe persecution. Makiguchi was jailed in 1943 for refusing to venerate the symbol of the Ise Shrine. He died in prison in 1944. Only twenty or so persons attended the service for the one-year memorial of his death in November 1945.

In 1951 Toda Jōsei reactivated the movement under the new name Sōka Gakkai and became its second president. The membership soon increased to five thousand. By 1956, Toda's long-cherished desire to obtain 750,000 households as followers had been achieved. Toda died in 1958 and was succeeded in 1960 by Ikeda Daisaku (b. 1928). Sōka Gakkai reported that its membership had reached three million households in 1962, and 7.5 million households in 1970. This period marked the peak of its growth.

The main religious practice of Sōka Gakkai followers is the chanting of the Daimoku, a repetition of "*Nam-Myōhō-renge-kyō*" ("the *Lotus Sūtra* is the important and superb sūtra"), chanted while facing a holy *maṇḍala* chart upon which this phrase is written. Called *Gohonzon* (the sacred object for worship), it is believed that Nichiren designated this chart as the sacred image of the *dharma.* Through this practice, followers can become united with the Buddha and live a happy life in which the eternal life of the Buddha is embodied. Sōka Gakkai changed the focus of traditional Buddhism from enlightenment and salvation in another world to a focus that is more oriented toward this world.

Sōka Gakkai emphasizes group activities and meetings ranging from small neighborhood gatherings to mass assemblies. During Sōka Gakkai's initial development period, small gatherings called roundtable meetings were held at followers' homes. At a meeting, members study the teachings of the leaders, report on their religiously interpreted daily practices, and mutually encourage one another's efforts. Reports that an individual has succeeded in his or her life thanks to Sōka Gakkai practices are praised by other members with a clapping of hands. Members discuss personal problems and comment on their experience of having participated in a joint program. A sense of community is nurtured in this way. Sōka Gakkai seeks to effect a human revolution by enhancing individual and societal well-being.

Having begun as an educational movement, Sōka Gakkai became a religious organization heavily engaged in society. Utilizing the democratic representative system of government in Japan, Sōka Gakkai members stood for election at all levels. The traditional doctrine of Nichiren Buddhism included a mission to save the state and the world through the wisdom of Buddhist Dharma. This tradition was lost during the Edo period (1603–1867), but it was revived in Japan's modernization process and was later united with nationalism.

The various movements for national salvation initiated by Nichiren Buddhists in modern Japan can be summarized as *Nichirenism.* Sōka Gakkai developed the mission of modern Nichirenism most effectively in postwar Japan. Sōka Gakkai leaders believed that one way to save Japan would be to increase Sōka Gakkai's influence gradually in the national parliament and local assemblies by winning many seats and by advocating policies based on such concepts as Buddhist democracy, Buddhist neutralism, the Third Civilization, and so on. By 1955, Sōka Gakkai had won several seats in local assemblies; three members were elected to the House of Councilors in 1956. Initially, the goal was to make Nichiren Shōshū the national religion. However, in 1964, the Kōmei Party (Kōmeitō) was established to separate the political activities from the religious activities of Sōka Gakkai. In 1970 it was disclosed that Sōka Gakkai had prevented the proposed publication of a book criticizing the movement. As a result the group was exposed to fierce public criticism. Sōka Gakkai was forced to make a public commitment to follow the rule of "separation of politics and religion" by structurally separating the Kōmei Party from the Sōka Gakkai religious organization and forbidding a person from holding office in both organizations.

As membership peaked in Japan, Sōka Gakkai made inroads into other countries and saw remarkable growth outside Japan. In the United States, an initial group was formed in 1960; it developed rapidly, reporting a membership of 200,000 in 1970. After the 1970s, as the Sōka Gakkai expanded in many regions of the world, it began to place its weight behind peace movements and United Nations activities. Sōka Gakkai was authorized as an NGO (nongovernmental organization) with advisory status to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in 1981 and to the United Nations Information Office in 1982. The third president, Ikeda Daisaku (honorary president since 1979), impressed the public with his activities on the global level. He held numerous dialogues with prominent figures in various countries, and, utilizing various media, emerged as a charismatic spiritual leader in the contemporary world. Through this process, the nationalistic tendencies observed in Sōka Gakkai during the 1960s have gradually waned.

One of the more difficult problems for Sōka Gakkai after the latter half of the 1970s was its relations with the Nichiren Shōshū sect, its parent group. Nichiren Shōshū, as one of the traditional Buddhist sects in Japan, had a body of followers amounting to around fifty thousand. Sōka Gakkai, though an affiliated organization, grew in strength under the Nichiren Shōshū umbrella until its membership was more than one hundred times the membership of the parent organization. There had earlier been serious conflicts with Nichiren Shōshū over traditional doctrine and the authority of monks after Sōka Gakkai emphasized new styles of lay religiosity and the authority of the Sōka Gakkai president. Nichiren Shōshū and Sōka Gakkai finally split from each other in 1991.

Another difficult problem involved strong criticism from political rivals. The Liberal Democratic Party had kept its position as the ruling party in Japan for many years and sensed a potential threat from the Kōmei Party. Relations between the Kōmei Party and Sōka Gakkai provoked controversy over whether this was a violation of the principle of separation between politics and religion. Over time, however, the Liberal Democratic Party and the Kōmei Party strengthened ties, and in 1998 they formed a coalition government.

Sōka Gakkai has been characterized by its aggressive propaganda asserting that its teachings alone are correct and criticizing other religions and other Buddhist sects. The *Shakubuku Kyoten* (Manual for forcible persuasion), first published in 1951, clearly demonstrated Sōka Gakkai's exclusiveness, and few religious organizations have had a long-term friendly relationship with Sōka Gakkai. Since the 1980s, however, when Ikeda Daisaku began to place value on dialogue with prominent leaders of the world, more organizations have shown an interest in establishing friendly relations with Sōka Gakkai. The founder, Makiguchi Tsunesaburo, had valued people's sense of voluntarism and self-initiative, and Sōka Gakkai promoted democracy as one of its primary values after the 1960s, directing its policy toward strengthening international cooperative activities. As such, the organization has strengthened its capacity to adapt to a pluralistic democracy.

Sōka Gakkai is representative of new religious organizations that developed rapidly from the 1920s to the 1960s. In particular, the history of religions in the 1950s and 1960s in Japan cannot be told without referring to Sōka Gakkai. Many factors contributed to this new religious organization's rapid growth. Most important was perhaps the creation of a Buddhist belief system with a modern code of behavior in a time when traditional Buddhist organizations and new religious groups were competing with one another. The Sōka Gakkai thought system encouraged people to act on their own initiative, to participate in community activities, and to pursue happiness in this world.

SEE ALSO New Religious Movements, article on New Religious Movements in Japan; Nichiren; Nichirenshū; Nikkō.

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SHIMAZONO SUSUMU (2005)

SŎ KYŎNGDŎK (1489–1546), was a leading neo-Confucian philosopher of Yi-dynasty Korea (1392–1910). In Korea he is best known by his honorific name, Hwadam. During the Yi dynasty, neo-Confucianism supplanted Buddhism as Korea's main spiritual and intellectual tradition. Among the many neo-Confucian thinkers in Korea during this five-hundred-year period, three are honored above all others: Hwadam, Yi Hwang (T'oegye, 1501–1570), and Yi I (Yulgok, 1536–1584). These three philosophers are credited with bringing the Korean assimilation of the complex neo-confucian system of thought to complete maturity and with developing a characteristic Korean problematic.

Hwadam, the earliest of the three, is renowned as an original and seminal thinker. He came from a relatively poor gentry family and was largely self-educated. Although he was repeatedly offered posts in government, he never accepted, choosing instead to lead an impoverished life in the mountains or countryside, where he devoted himself entirely to study and teaching. There are many anecdotes concerning his inquisitiveness regarding natural phenomena, but his most serious work was devoted to fundamental metaphysical questions and to the complex system of the *Book of Changes* (Kor., *Yŏkgyŏng;* Chin., *Yi jing*).

Hwadam strongly proclaimed his independence of judgment and his originality; the small body of his writings that have come down to us, however, bear a marked resemblance to the monistic metaphysics of material force (Kor., *ki;* Chin., *qi)* developed by the early Chinese Neo-Confucian, Zhang Zai (1020–1077). Like Zhang, he taught that material force was the sole component of all existence. In its ultimate, formless, pure condition, material force is without beginning or end; this he referred to as the Supreme Vacuity (Kor., *t'ae ho;* Chin., *tai xu*). By a process of condensation the distinct forms of the beings of the phenomenal world emerge from the Supreme Vacuity, and to it their stuff returns at death. Thus he argued that in the strict sense there is no death, only transformation.

Korean neo-Confucianism is especially known for its exclusive adherence to the orthodox tradition of Chinese neo-Confucianism derived from the thought of Zhu Xi (1130–1200). Hwadam lived at the end of Korea's fluid appropriation period. However, his thought is bold and deviant in a tradition that soon after became both more judicious and more authoritarian. Most later scholars followed the apparent dualism of the Zhu Xi school, but, among them, one school of thought tended to emphasize the role of material force; this school traces its immediate ancestry to Yi I, and ultimately to Hwadam. A distinctive characteristic of Korean neo-Confucian thought is its thorough exploration of the implications and tensions in Zhu Xi's dualism of principle (Kor., *i;* Chin., *li)* and material force. Hwadam's philosophy expressed a pure polar position that permanently established one of the extreme parameters of Korean neo-Confucian thought. As such it became a constant reference point for later generations of thinkers.

SEE ALSO Confucianism in Korea.

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MICHAEL C. KALTON (1987)

SOL INVICTUS. Worship of the sun god, Sol, was known in republican Rome, but it was of minor importance. In imperial Rome, however, in the third century CE (the last century of pagan Rome), the cult of the sun god became a major and, at times, dominant force in Roman religion. The cult of the Syrian sun god from Emesa, installed at Rome under the emperor Elagabalus (218–222), was short-lived, but in 274 the emperor Aurelian began a vigorous campaign of propaganda celebrating the sun god as the exclusive protector of Rome's imperial might. Under the epithets *oriens* ("the rising one"), *invictus* ("the invincible one"), and *comes Augusti* ("comrade of Augustus"), Sol was hailed as "the rising sun who dispels the forces of evil," as "invincible conqueror of Rome's enemies," and as the "companion and guardian deity of the emperor."

Numismatic iconography, the primary source for this propaganda campaign, portrayed Sol wearing the radiate crown and holding the globe, symbol of world rule, in his hand, while the vanquished enemy cowered at his feet. This campaign was continued with particular force by the emperors Probus (276–282) and Constantine (306–337). As late as 324, coins of Constantine celebrated Sol as the grantor of imperial power to the emperor. Only thereafter, in the last thirteen years of Constantine's reign, did references to Sol and to all other pagan divinities disappear from the coins.

A variety of influences contributed to the importance of Sol Invictus, the Invincible Sun, in imperial ideology of the third century CE. It was an age of religious syncretism and growing monotheism, when philosophers and common people alike increasingly viewed all divinities as emanations of one supreme divine force. Sol was equated with Mithra, and as Sol Invictus Mithra was regarded as the most powerful and most immediate divine mediator between humans and the invisible majesty of the supreme god. Thus Sol Invictus was the natural associate of the emperor, who ruled the earth as the vicegerent of the supreme god. The symbolism of the Pantheon built by the emperor Hadrian (117–138) had already intimately linked the emperor and Sol as the visible manifestations of the beneficent and omnipotent supreme god. The cult title *Invictus* was a natural outgrowth of this relationship. First attested for Sol in 158 CE, it was almost certainly borrowed by the god from the emperor's own panoply of titles.

The pervasive influence of imperial propaganda, together with the popularity of Mithraism in the third century, assured Sol Invictus an influence upon other divine formulations, Christian as well as pagan. A vault mosaic of the third century in the tomb of the Julii under Saint Peter's portrays Christ as Sol, rising in his chariot. The words of the Christmas Mass in the *Missale Gothicum* hail Christ as Sol Iustitiae ("sun of justice"), while the traditional date of Christmas, first attested in the fourth century, is hardly unrelated to the fact that December 25 was celebrated as the birthday of Sol Invictus Mithra.

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J. RUFUS FEARS (1987)
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SÖLLE, DOROTHEE.

Dorothee Nipperdey Sölle (1929–2003) was born in Cologne, Germany, to a bourgeois family whose religious attitudes were formed by liberal Protestantism. She was a Lutheran and remained a member of the Lutheran Church throughout her life. In her family, culture was defined by familiarity with German philosophers and poets such as Immanuel Kant and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. Until the last year of World War II, when food became scarce, Dorothee was preserved from the ugliness of the war. As an idealistic adolescent her deep sense of patriotism was overwhelmed by Germany's defeat. Following the war, she began to read the existentialists, especially Martin Heidegger and Jean Paul Sartre and entered into a period of nihilism. At university she studied post-Enlightenment philosophy. The works of Blaise Pascal, Søren Kierkegaard, and Simone Weil led her to the study of theology, which became the basis of her life's work. In 1954 she married Dietrich Sölle. That marriage produced two children, a son and a daughter. After ten years, the marriage ended in divorce. In 1969 she married a former Benedictine priest, Fulbert Steffensky. That marriage produced a daughter and lasted until her death in 2003.

Sölle states that Kierkegaard seduced her into religion, but that she found her entrance into faith through studying with Rudolf Bultmann and Friedrich Gogarten. Intellectually, she was unable to leave behind the tenets of the Enlightenment to embrace faith, and through these two teachers she discovered this was not required. From this time onward she began her personal theological development. Characteristic of her theology was the conviction that the reading and writing of theology should make a practical difference not only in an individual's life, but also in the life of the nation, the hemisphere, and the planet. Symbolic of this belief was the formation of an ecumenical group in Cologne (1968–1972) named Political Evensong. Built upon the conviction that every robust theology has political implications, each meeting was marked by information, meditation, and action. The marriage of theology and political activism that was to become a hallmark of Sölle's theology was ill-received by both Catholics and more conventional Protestants.

Initially, Sölle's theology was deeply Christocentric. She regarded Christ as God's clearest voice. Although she never left behind this personal conviction, her later theology became more theocentric. In this way, she felt she was better able to embrace and include in her theology all the peoples of the earth. In the mid-1970s, Sölle began the move from designating her theology as *political* to designating it as *liberation theology*. She did this for several reasons, the primary one being her conviction that political theology had ambiguous beginnings in the works of some German ideologues. Her espousal of liberation theology, however, grew from her firm belief that its methodology was accurate. Theological reflection upon praxis became the basic characteristic of all of her subsequent writing.

As Sölle continued her practice of liberation theology, she concerned herself with various forms of praxis that reinforced the subjugation of women, that saw value in war, and that led to the ecological destruction of the planet. Subsequently, her reflection upon these practices in the light of the Gospel led her to become a feminist, a pacifist, and an ecological theologian. These interests led to her involvement in the conciliar process, the goal of which was to work for reconciliation in the areas of justice, peace, and the integrity of creation.

Sölle's allegiance to the church did not blind her to its moral inadequacies nor to the sometime ineptness of its doctrinal proclamations. In a conversation with the Jesuit Daniel Berrigan, she concurred with his image of the church as an umbrella. It provided protection against the elements, sometimes better protection than at other times. She argued that the proper stance toward the church was one of affirmation and critique. In attempting to live a radical Christianity and in the endeavor to love God above all things, it was at times necessary, she contended, to distance oneself from the church and to break with certain traditional teachings, at least as they were commonly presented. Still, the church played an important role in her development: it passed on the tradition of Jesus and his "political" invitation to establish the kingdom. Sölle considered it a mistake of contemporaries who proposed that without tradition people are freer.

Sölle's entire life was marked by teaching and writing. She was a prolific writer. Her first book, *Stellvertretung: ein Kapitel Theologie nach dem 'Tode Gotles' (Christ the Representative)*, was published in 1965. Her final book, *Gegenwind (Against the Wind: Memoir of a Radical Christian)* was published in 1999. In between, she wrote over twenty books, some of which included poetry, that addressed her liberation concerns. Among the most significant is *Gott Denken (1990; Thinking about God)*. In this book, Sölle reveals her command of classical theology. She explains how theology is done within a certain paradigm or set of presuppositions and subsequently explicates the orthodox, liberal, and liberation theological paradigms. Then, she demonstrates how each of the basic tenets of Christian faith is understood within each paradigm. Finally, she concludes with two chapters on her approach to an understanding of God. In her mind, the question "Do you believe in God?" was superficial and close to meaningless. Instead, she insisted, the question is "Do you live out God?" According to her, the answer could only be derived from one's involvement in the works of justice demanded by the kingdom of God.

Sölle taught religion and theology at longer or shorter intervals throughout her life, beginning with a six-year period teaching at the Gymnasium for Girls in Cologne-Mulheim. Her longest engagement was as professor of systematic theology at Union Theological Seminary in New York (1975–1987).

Sölle died of a heart attack in 2003 in southern Germany at a conference at which she and her husband were keynote speakers.

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NANCY C. RING (2005)

SOLOMON, or, in Hebrew, Shelomoh, was the son of David and third king of Israel and Judah (c. 960–920 BCE). During Solomon's reign the united kingdom reached its greatest extent and height of prosperity. The account of this reign, in *1 Kings* 1–11, is in its present form a collage of various historical and literary sources. Solomon's accession to the throne (*1 Kgs.* 1–2), portrayed as the result of palace intrigue and a struggle for power between two sons of David and their supporters, is part of the so-called court history of David. The hand of the Deuteronomistic historian, the author of the larger history of the monarchy in *Kings,* may be seen in his treatment of the theophany in *1 Kings* 3:1–15 and its parallel in 9:1–9, in the account of the building of the Temple and its dedication (chapters 5–8), and in Solomon's failures and God's rejection of his rule over the northern state of Israel (*1 Kgs.* 11). This historian did make use of an earlier source, the "book of the deeds of Solomon" (*1 Kgs.* 11:41), which probably contained information on building activities and other royal undertakings gleaned from royal inscriptions. The basic history by the Deuteronomist was also embellished by later additions having to do with the greatness of Solomon's reign. The treatment of Solomon in *2 Chronicles* 1–9 depends upon *Kings,* with some omissions and additions. The sources cited by the Chronicler, however, namely books by the prophets Nathan, Ahijah, and Iddo, are most likely fictitious.

Solomon's greatest achievement, according to the historian of *Kings,* was his building of the Temple and palace in Jerusalem (*1 Kgs.* 5–8). Originally the Temple was built as a royal sanctuary, one of many temples throughout the realm, but through the centralization reform of King Josiah (*2 Kgs.* 22–23) it became the only legitimate cult place in the kingdom, and it is from this perspective that the Temple's significance is treated in *Kings.* Solomon is also credited with the construction of major fortifications at Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer for the consolidation of his realm, and this building activity seems to be confirmed by archaeology. The Bible also suggests that the state prospered greatly from various commercial ventures, a fact attested by a marked rise in the level of the material culture of the land as evidenced by archaeological finds. Nevertheless, one must be cautious in accepting all that is attributed to Solomon's reign, for it is unlikely that he had political control over the whole region from the Euphrates to the border of Egypt or that his court and military force were as large as *1 Kings* 5:1–8 (EV 4:21–28) states.

The biblical tradition celebrates Solomon's wisdom. The historian of *Kings* tells the story (*1 Kgs.* 3) of how Solomon experienced a dream theophany at Gibeon in which God granted him his request for wisdom in order to govern his people aright and, along with wisdom, gave him long life and prosperity. This gift of wisdom is then illustrated by a folktale in which Solomon makes a successful judgment between two mothers who claim the same infant. This theme of Solomon's wisdom is greatly expanded by later additions, including the story of the queen of Sheba's visit and other remarks about Solomon's great wisdom and wealth (*1 Kgs.* 10).

The Deuteronomist regards the decline of Solomon's realm and the ultimate division of the kingdom as the result of Solomon's marriages to many foreign wives. While these may have been diplomatic marriages made as a matter of state, the historian viewed them as encouraging the importation of foreign deities into the kingdom, thereby compromising the exclusive worship of Yahveh. A more immediate cause of political unrest and division of the kingdom is attributed to Solomon's heavy taxation of the Israelites, from which no relief was given by his successor, Rehoboam, a condition that led to Israel's revolt (*1 Kgs.* 12). The Chronicler refrains from any criticism of Solomon's reign.

On the basis of the statement about Solomon's composition of many proverbs and songs (*1 Kgs.* 5:12 [EV 4:32]), later editors of the Bible attributed to Solomon much of the *Book of Proverbs* as well as the *Song of Songs.* It also led to the composition of works in Solomon's name. The author of *Ecclesiastes* calls himself "the son of David," thereby suggesting his identity with Solomon. Two later Jewish works using Solomon's name are the *Wisdom of Solomon,* written in Greek in Alexandria, and the *Psalms of Solomon,* probably written in Hebrew in Roman Palestine. An early Christian work ascribed to Solomon is the *Testament of Solomon.*

Both the New Testament and the Qurʾān (*sūrah* 21:78–81) make reference to Solomon's wisdom, but it is especially in Jewish *aggadah* (Ginzberg, 1956) that his wisdom and career receive the fullest amplification. Solomon is made an expert in many fields of science as well as in occult and hidden wisdom. Many additional stories are told in the *aggadah* to illustrate Solomon's ability to judge wisely. Special attention is given to the building of the Temple and to Solomon's throne, which later becomes a prize of war transmitted from one invading kingdom to another down to Roman times. The aggadic tradition also tells about a period of humiliation that Solomon endured for his sins against the Law. During this time he was an outcast, and an impostor reigned in his stead until he eventually regained the throne.

The Solomonic tradition embraces the whole wisdom tradition, both in its worldly aspect and in its piety, and embodies all the fantasies about the past glory of the united kingdom of Israel and Judah at the height of its power.

SEE ALSO Biblical Temple.

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John Van Seters (1987)
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SOLOMON ISLANDS RELIGIONS.

Peoples of the Solomon Islands have been somewhat arbitrarily divided by convention into "Melanesian" (Guadalcanal, Malaita, Isabel, San Cristobal or Makira, Gela, New Georgia, Choiseul, Shortlands, Santa Cruz) and "Polynesian" (Rennell, Bellona, Tikopia, Anuta, Sikaiana, Ontong Java). The Melanesians of Bougainville and Buka, in the northern Solomons chain, are often included, although they are separated by a political border and by gulfs of language (because Papuan languages, as opposed to Oceanic- Austronesian languages, are mainly spoken in the northern Solomons). Solomons religions may be mapped for convenience onto "Melanesian" and "Polynesian" features, despite modern linguistic and ethnographic evidence showing close relationships between the Oceanic languages and cultures of the Solomons and those of eastern Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia.

The so-called Polynesian Outliers in the Solomons have religions of the western Polynesian type, of which Raymond Firth, Richard E. Feinberg, Ian Hogbin, and Torben Monberg have given good descriptions. Firth's detailed studies of Tikopia ritual and belief provide some of the best evidence on traditional Polynesian religion.

The Melanesian religions of the Solomons were preeminently concerned with mediating relations with ancestral ghosts and nonhuman spirit beings, soliciting and manipulating their support (*mana*) and deploying powers of magic for success in fighting, feasting, gardening, fishing, curing, and other pursuits. Through human sacrifice, sacrifice of pigs and other offerings, elaborate rituals, and prayer, the living sought the support and potentiation without which human efforts alone could not succeed.

For most parts of the Solomons there is limited evidence on the pre-Christian past: Christianity took early hold on Gela, Isabel, the New Georgia group, Choiseul, the Shortlands, and most areas of Guadalcanal and San Cristobal. Douglas L. Oliver's important prewar study (published in 1955) of the Siuai of Bougainville gives good evidence on the religion of a Papuan-speaking people, and A. M. Hocart's early texts from Simbo (Eddystone) as well as C. G. Wheeler (Mono-Alu, northwest Salomon) are useful in reconstructing a western Solomons religious system. Some modern ethnographers of Malaita (among others, Roger Keesing, Pierre Maranda and Elli Köngäs Maranda, Ben Burt, Sandra Revolon, and Christine Jourdan) have worked in areas where the ancestral religions are still practiced. The more recent studies shed new light on old problems of the Solomon Islands religion.

Ghosts, Gods, and Spirits. The pioneer student of Melanesian religions, R. H. Codrington, observed that Solomon Islanders and New Hebrideans worshiped two broad categories of invisible beings: ancestral ghosts and spirits that were never human. Whereas New Hebrides (Vanuatu) religions focused on spirits, according to Codrington, those of the Solomons focused on ghosts.

If we look at the western and northern Solomons as well as the southeastern islands that Codrington knew best, this generalization fades. In the New Georgia group and Choiseul, ancient beings, which Hocart (1922) and Harold Scheffler (1965) refer to as "gods," were accorded a central place. These gods differed in their powers, nature, and mythic origins; they were often ranked hierarchically as more or less powerful, as intervening in different ways and degrees in human affairs, and as having introduced different customs and skills. The *bangara* of Choiseul and the *tamasa* of Simbo are relatively well documented. From Papuan-speaking Bougainville, we have Oliver's account of the Siuai *kupuna* spirits, some of which affected the lives of all, while others affected only local descent groups.

In all parts of the Solomons, including the areas where higher spirit beings were believed to exercise the greatest powers, ancestral ghosts were thought to be ever-present participants in daily life, propitiated by, watching over, and occasionally chastising their living kin. The *manuru* ghosts of Choiseul and the *tomate* of Simbo are counterparts of the *tindalo* of Gela and the *akalo* of Malaita.

Other classes of spirits, of forest and sea and sky, were recognized by Solomon Islanders. These spirits were of nonhuman origin. Some were malevolent, others, especially female spirits, were benevolent, and others merely capricious. Some were involved in human life; others were distant. Snakes, birds, sharks, and other animals were often seen as messengers from or manifestations of these spirits. Representations in folk art and in drawings collected by early ethnologists suggest that the spirits were often conceived as having (invisible) forms that combined animal and human features. Food taboos prevented the members of a clan from eating the "totemic" plants or animals in which they grounded their identities

Shades, Souls, and Abodes of the Dead. Most Melanesians of the Solomons recognized two or more nonphysical components of a human being. Commonly a distinction was made between "breath" and "shadow" (or "reflection") as component souls. Souls of the dead were generally believed to go to an afterlife, a land of the dead where souls lived in villages and gardened and fished in an existence parallel to corporeal life. These abodes of the dead were usually associated with particular islands. Marapa in Marau Sound, Guadalcanal, and Ramos Island, between Malaita and Isabel, were commonly thought by peoples in surrounding areas to be abodes of the dead. But whereas one soul component went off to the village of the dead, an ancestral shade, all-seeing though usually invisible, remained around the living.

A number of Malaitan myths have to do with the resurrection of dead culture heroes, others belong to the Orpheus myth category (a culture hero accessing the land of the dead to bring his wife back to life and losing her irremediably through his own fault upon their return home), and several are variants of a "Myth of the Original Sin" (see below), widespread in the south Pacific, staging a snake, a woman, and a man, in which an end is put to the "Golden Age" by the failure of the man to understand the true—chtonian—nature of his wife.

Dream experiences were and still are taken as the wanderings of one's shade among the shades of the dead and of the living: reports by those who recovered from coma were taken as experiential evidence on the fate of the dead (in Oceanic languages, the term *mate* commonly refers to states of unconsciousness, coma, and death). Communication with the dead, in the form of dreams, divination, omens, and prayer, infused daily life with religious significance.

Yet although many Solomonese were deeply religious in the sense that they saw everywhere the signs of ghosts, deities, and spirits, their concerns were pragmatic rather than theological, focused on this world rather than on the invisible world lying behind it. Thus, most peoples of the Solomons had relatively undeveloped ideas, other than those expressed in myths of origin or of ancient times, about the nature of the spirit world and about how spirits intervened in human life. Ghosts, according to the Kwaio of Malaita, are "like the wind" in manifesting their effects in many places at once and in going beyond the constraints of time, space, and agency that bind the living. But how these spirits do whatever it is they do is beyond human ken and even beyond human interest. The living are concerned not with explaining unseen forces but with using them to practical ends: with interpreting and manipulating the will of spirit beings, propitiating them after the infringment of a taboo, enlisting their support, and deploying their magical powers (*mana*). Whether the ghosts or spirits have done their part can be discovered by divination, read in omens, or known retrospectively in the outcomes of human effort: success or failure in fighting, feasting, and other enterprises.

***MANA* AND TABOO.** Retrospective pragmatism and relative unconcern with theological explanation and all-embracing cosmology are manifest in the ancient Oceanic concept of *mana.* Interpretations from Codrington's time onward have viewed *mana* as an invisible medium of supernaturally conferred power, manifest in sacred objects. Chiefs or warriors "had" *mana* by virtue of supernatural support; others gained it temporarily through sacrifice or magic. Thus C. E. Fox in his *The Threshold of the Pacific* (1924), writing of San Cristobal, likened *mana* (there *mena*) to a liquid in which weapons or sacred objects were immersed; E. S. Craighill Handy in his *Polynesian Religion* (1927) likened *mana* to electricity.

According to Roger Keesing (this encyclopedia, previous edition),

> contemporary ethnographic studies and reexamination of linguistic evidence suggest that *mana* as an invisible medium or substance or energy may be more a creation of European than of indigenous imagination. *Mana* in the religions of the Solomons referred to a process, retrospectively interpreted, and to a state or quality manifest in results, rather than to an invisible spiritual medium of power.

However, in north Malaita at least, many landscape features are considered to have *mana* (*mamana*) by their very nature: imposing rocks, some majestic trees that are honored by hanging shell-money spans on their branches, and the like. In Malaita, *mamana* also means "truth" as well as "power." In Ben Burt's words, "Kwara'ae translate *mamana* as 'true,' which is quite appropriate since it entails not only reality and veracity but also 'true' in the archaic English sense of effective and faithful. For Kwara'ae traditionalists, ghosts are 'true' in that they can and will actually do what is expected of them" (1993, p. 54).

Evidence that *mana* was conceived primarily as a process and quality, and not as a "substance," comes both from modern ethnographic accounts, especially in Keesing's studies of the Kwaio of Malaita, and from linguistic evidence. In the Malaita languages and in Roviana in the western Solomons, *mana,* when used as a noun, is marked with a nominalizing affix that shows that it is an abstract verbal noun: "*mana*-ness" or "*mana*-ization." In all the Solomons languages where cognates of *mana* occur, we find the word used as a verb (the ghosts—and female spirits or female "gods" as well—"*mana* for" or "*mana*-ize" the living) and as a verbal adjective (magic is *mana,* that is, potent or effective), in addition to its uses as a noun. Comparative evidence suggests that these uses of *mana* as a verb are ancient and basic in Oceanic-Austronesian languages. Although more evidence is needed, it at least seems clear that in the religions of the Solomons, ideas about *mana* were not expressed in systematic theological interpretations but were concerned with controlling and retrospectively interpreting the interventions of spirits or gods in human life. Ian Hogbin noted, of his research on *mana* (there *nanama*) on Guadalcanal, that "nobody knows how *nanama* works, and I gathered that the thought had never occurred to anyone before I made inquiries" (1936, pp. 241–274).

In contrast to Hogbin's view, it should be pointed out that many Malaitans other than those he wrote about do know how *mana* works and how to to acquire it. According to them *mana* validates a good life, prosperity, and the like, and one obtains it through proper social behavior and adequate ritual practices. Although it has been ignored by many if not most anthropologists who have worked in the Solomons—a notable exception being Ben Burt's documentation of women priests (1993, pp. 58, 138, 145, 271)—it is noteworthy that the traditional religion recognized beneficient female spirits, like the *'ai ni asi* or *'ai la matekwa,* the "woman" (or "goddess" as some Solomonese have it) "of the sea" can bestow *mana* on people. And the same obtains with the *geo* (brush turkey, megapod), a female deity worshipped in the Maliata hills, in Guadalcanal, and generally in the central province of the Solomons (Gabriel Maelaasi, from Funafou, Lau Lagoon, north Malaita, Personal Communication, April 2004). Furthermore, in connection with the power of women, it is significant that when possessed by a spirit, a woman may very effectively counter the decision of a chief and cancel all his plans.

On the other hand, *mana* is closely asssociated with what could be called its mirror image, *taboo* (or *abu*). Actually, someone infringing a taboo will not only lose whatever *mana* one has but one will also incur severe punishment unless offering a generally momentous neutralizing compensation to the spirits. In that way taboo functions as inverted or negative *mana,* depriving the person at fault of all dignity and "social truth." In the words of Burt, who sharpens up the converging interpretations of Keesing and of the Marandas, "For tabu is ultimately about the control of power [*mana*], a way of socializing the 'strength' of both spiritual and human beings and controlling it by the rules which should govern relationships in society" (1993. pp. 64–66).

An important source of taboo relates to the ontological power of women, frightening to men (Maranda and Köngäs Maranda, 1970; Burt 1993; Maranda 2001; see also www.oceanie.org, which has multimedia data on *mana,* taboo, sacrifices, ancestor worship, the position of men and women, and other topics). As a matter of fact, the life-giving power of women fragilizes the cosmological status of men in the Solomons as well as in many other societies of the South Pacific. Consequently, men have invented elaborate mythical and ritual scripts to try to override their culturally characterized inferiority as regards procreation. Among such stratagems figures the role of high priests who, on behalf of all the men of their clans, act as "mothers," giving funeral birth to the dead—a mimicry of biological reproduction.

The ontological power of women—their *mana*—stems from their association with Mother Earth, embodied in the snake (worshiped by women priests; Burt, 1993, p. 145) of which woman is a daughter. And since, in Oceania, everything connected with the earth (stability, fecundity, and the like) is female and "low," while "high" (instability, barrenness, and the like) is male, and since vaginal blood flows from the lower part of the female torso, that fluid becomes lethal if it gets in contact with men. Hence the stringent taboo that surrounds the areas where women menstruate and give birth (Maranda and Köngäs Maranda, 1970; Keesing, 1982; Burt, 1993; Maranda, 2001). Thus, whereas men strive to acquire *mana* from the spirits and not to lose it, women are *naturally* endowed with a similar but extremely dangerous power, that of *faasua,* of "defiling."

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND RELIGION. In tribal societies, we can discern close structural relationships between sociopolitical organization and the nature, scope, and powers of supernatural beings. For Malaita, Keesing's (1982) account of the religion of the Kwaio and the Marandas' (1970, 2001) publications on the Lau illustrate the close fit between hierarchies of ancestors, the structure of descent groups, and rituals focused on ancestral shrines. For the western Solomons, Scheffler (1965) analyzes a similar close relationship between the propitiation of gods and spirits by descent-group congregations and the social structure of the living.

Peoples of the mountainous interiors (like the Kwaio) generally had small, autonomous descent groups and relatively egalitarian social systems. Correspondingly, ritual was localized in small congregations, and cosmologies and myths were relatively undeveloped. Peoples with maritime orientations tended to have more hierarchical sociopolitical systems (with hereditary chiefs in some areas), more centralized and elaborate ritual systems, and more fully elaborated cosmological beliefs and myths. Thus, the Lau of the northern Malaita lagoon, with an elaborate cosmology positing a series of heavens and an extensive body of myths, contrast somewhat with the Baegu of the nearby mountains, despite the cultural heritage they clearly share.

In none of these Melanesian societies of the Solomons were there full-time ritual specialists. The priests referred to in the literature served as ritual officiants on behalf of their groups. Succession to such duties was in some places hereditary; but in everyday respects, these officiants lived and worked as other men did.

CULTS AND INDIGENOUS CHURCHES IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD. Cargo cults of classic Melanesian type apparently emerged in the Solomons only in parts of Bougainville and Buka, in the sphere of German and Australian influence. Thus, the Lontis movement of southern Bougainville, in 1913–1914, and cargo movements in the 1930s show continuity through to the anticolonialist cultism of the Hahalis Welfare Society of Buka in the 1960s. More politically oriented movements with millenarian overtones (Keesing, 1982) have continued into the 1980s.

On Small Malaita an early syncretic religious cult was reported in 1896, and there is some evidence of a prophetic cult in north-central Malaita somewhat earlier. In the 1920s syncretic movements that combined elements of traditional and Christian theology and ritual were reported from the same area; sporadic cult activity with anticolonial overtones continued in the 1930s. European reports of millenarian fantasy notwithstanding, the Maasina Rule movement, which took shape in the aftermath of the Guadalcanal campaign of World War II, was solidly political—a challenge to colonial rule—although it had religious trappings.

Since the 1960s two strong indigenous movements have commanded widespread allegiance. On New Georgia a leader named Silas Eto, called the Holy Mama, created an indigenous religious movement combining elements of Methodism and folk belief and ritual. The movement remained strong into the 1980s. On Guadalcanal, the Moro movement has institutionalized a synthesis of traditional custom, Christianity, and capitalism that has adapted successfully to political and economic changes. The Remnant Church has experienced fluctuation since the 1970s in Malaita.

Figures compiled from different sources from 1997 to 1999 (see www.adherents.com) provide an approximate distribution of Solomon Islanders according to religion: Christians would number some 93 percent; pagans (traditional) some 4 to 6 percent; individuals with no religion, some 3 percent. The film *The Lau of Malaita* (Granada Television, "Disappearing World" series, 1987) presents a lively account of the endeavors by pagans to keep their traditions and culture alive despite the unquestionable impact of Christianity.

The Christians are mostly only nominally so, which Terry Brown, the Anglican bishop of Malaita recently deplored in his Bishop's Address to the Diocese of Malaita Diocesan Council in Auki (the capital of Malaita Province) on May 22, 2003:

> Another emerging problem in ministry in the Diocese seems to be an increase in various questionable and uncritical syncretistical practices. Examples include the Melanesian Brothers' blessing of piles of stones to protect villages from evil influences, persons' revealing through dreams and visions those causing sickness through sorcery, cargo-cult-like movements involving stones and walking sticks, neo-Israelite movements of discovering the ancient sites of the Lost Tribe of Israel in the Malaita bush, inappropriate *aenimoni* payments to control God's grace, "sucking out" of evil ancestral blood, special holy water combinations including special ingredients such as kerosene—the list goes on. Unfortunately, some clergy and Melanesian Brothers seem to be involved in a lot of these activities. Generally I am quite open to the integration of Christianity and Melanesian culture (and syncretism generally) but some of these practices seem to go well over the line. They are dividing communities and causing people to relapse into magic and superstition. Unfortunately, many people seem to need these magical rites and visions and are unable to trust simply in God's loving grace.

SEE ALSO Cargo Cults; Mana; Tikopia Religion.

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ROGER M. KEESING (1987)
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SOLOVEITCHIK, JOSEPH BAER. Joseph Soloveitchik (1903–1993) was the most widely influential Orthodox Jewish theologian of the twentieth century and one of Orthodox Judaism's key American religious leaders. Alone among the handful of major Jewish theologians of that period, Orthodox or otherwise, he combined extraordinary erudition in the vast corpus of Talmudic literature with broad and deep knowledge of Western philosophy and theology. This gave him an unparalleled opportunity to interpret the world of Jewish law, rabbinic scholars, and scholarship—so central to Judaism throughout its history—to outsiders, at the same time giving him the ability to interpret to insiders the sophisticated elements of modern theology and religious life.

LIFE AND ERA. Soloveitchik was born in Pruzhan, Poland, on February 27, 1903 to one of the most prominent rabbinic families in eastern Europe. Reversing family tradition, he left home and rabbinical studies in 1925 to enroll at the University of Berlin, receiving a doctorate in philosophy six years later, with a dissertation on the neo-Kantian philosopher Hermann Cohen. Soloveitchik immigrated to the United States in 1932, assuming the position of Chief Rabbi of Boston, his home until his death in 1993. In 1941 he succeeded his father as the senior Talmudist at Yeshiva University, where he remained until disabled by illness in 1985. During those years he taught and ordained more rabbis than any other Talmudist in the United States, deeply influencing American Orthodoxy in the process.

In this period, leaders of American Orthodoxy were concerned that large numbers of Jewish immigrants were abandoning their European roots in Orthodoxy and assimilating into American society. Modern Orthodoxy saw its great challenge in adapting to the conditions of American modernity while remaining loyal to the traditions of Orthodoxy. Soloveitchik played a crucial role in making this possible by virtue of the force of his ideas, and the thousands of practicing rabbis he ordained who looked to him for ongoing guidance.

His admirers saw in him a combination of three personas: traditional halakhic authority, charismatic teacher, and theologian. Paradoxically perhaps, traditional halakhic authority was especially important to his success in helping Orthodoxy adapt to America's modernity, for authority in that community rests in no small measure in the hands of its rabbinic scholars. The traditionalist elements in Soloveitchik's ideology and life included his vigorous and influential opposition to mixed pews in synagogues; his traditional rabbinic garb and demeanor; his daily schedule revolving almost entirely around the study and teaching of rabbinic texts; and his distinguished eastern European heritage—about which he often told nostalgic and moving stories.

The more modern elements of Soloveitchik's ideology and life included his positive orientation to secular education and aspects of Western culture; his spiritual leadership of American religious Zionism; his progressive attitude towards women's education (he founded a coeducational Jewish school in Boston in which male and female students studied Talmud together); and his approval of interdenominational cooperation. Many of Soloveitchik's most distinguished traditionalist Orthodox rabbinic colleagues vigorously opposed some or all of these positions, and they remain controversial in Orthodox circles to this day. Soloveitchik's progressivism in these areas shaped what has come to be called "Modern Orthodoxy," helping prevent what some feared would become the complete decline and marginalization of Orthodoxy in America.

WRITINGS. Soloveitchik's writings fall into two categories: the halakhic and the theological. Although he spent most of his daily schedule in the study and teaching of Talmud, he wrote relatively few works in this field. In these halakhic works Soloveitchik applies and expands the innovative and rigorous method of Talmudic analysis first developed by his distinguished grandfather, Rabbi Haim Soloveitchik. However, the younger Soloveitchik did apply this methodology far more fully and systematically than any of his predecessors or contemporaries to Jewish law governing the spiritual life, such as laws concerning repentance and prayer. This is an emphasis thought to be reflective of his particularly deep spiritual and theological nature.

Beyond illuminating the world of halakha and of the Talmudist, as mentioned above, Soloveitchik's theological works are important for their sheer creativity and theological insight, as well as for their insight into Soloveitchik's inner spiritual and intellectual world. Many of his writings are highly personal and reveal the inner struggles of a man caught between the cerebral life of the Talmud scholar and the passionate life of the spirit, between the traditionalism of his eastern European rabbinic heritage and the claims of modernity.

Throughout his theological oeuvre, Soloveitchik uses a typological method whereby different ideal types of persons contend within each individual in dialectical tension. This method, derived in part from Eduard Spranger and Karl Barth (1886–1968), is consistent with the method of Talmudic analysis developed most fully by Soloveitchik's grandfather. There is thus an interesting methodological similarity between the two domains of Soloveitchik's intellectual pursuits, the halakhic and the theological.

***Halakhic Man* and *Lonely Man of Faith*.** Soloveitchik's reputation as a Jewish thinker was first established in 1944 with the publication of his first major work, *Halakhic Man*, which explicates the inner world of the Talmudist. Soloveitchik distinguishes here between two ideal types of humans, which he calls "Cognitive Man" and "Religious Man." Drawing heavily on neo-Kantian philosophy, Soloveitchik states that Cognitive Man is best exemplified by the mathematician-scientist who constructs abstract, mathematically formulated models to explain and thereby demystify the cosmos. Religious Man, in contrast, cultivates that mystery, and seeks to transcend the physical bonds of the universe in search of God. "Halakhic Man"—the Talmudic virtuoso—combines elements of both and is thus portrayed as the ideal type. In the key turn of this argument—and a surprising one it is—Halakhic Man is most similar to the neo-Kantian hero Cognitive Man, for Halakhic Man also constructs abstract theoretical models. But these models are normative, representing halakhic concepts governing human behavior. Thus, through the Law, Halakhic Man brings God into a world in need of repair, whereas Religious Man travels in the opposite direction, seeking refuge in God, away from this troubled world.

Whereas *Halakhic Man* draws from rationalist neo-Kantian thought and focuses on the world of the Talmudist, *Lonely Man of Faith* (1965), Soloveitchik's second major published work, speaks in the language of existentialism and focuses on the inner world of the religious person living in the conditions of modernity. The monograph is hauntingly personal as well. Once again Soloveitchik—now working with the two creation stories in *Genesis*—distinguishes between two ideal types, Adam I, or "Majestic Man," and Adam II, or "Covenantal Man." Adam I, created in the image of God, carries out the mandate to rule the world and is functionally oriented and outer-directed, seeking to master the universe through science and technology. Adam II, on the other hand, is submissive, inner-directed and nonutilitarian. Most importantly, Adam II is, in Soloveitchik's terms, "ontologically lonely": he experiences radical uniqueness as a human being and seeks to redeem that loneliness in a covenantal community with God and fellow humans. Soloveitchik argues this can only be achieved through a Kierkegaardian sacrificial gesture to God that redeems Adam II from loneliness. Although Soloveitchik clearly identifies with Adam II, one of the central points of the work is that both Adams are biblically mandated modes of existence. Each individual must live both these lives, oscillating dialectically between the submissive covenantal life of Adam II and the practical, dominating life of Adam I, between the life of prayer and the life of technological and scientific majesty.

Halakha, Soloveitchik maintains, sustains this dialectic by ensuring that the prayerful person lives the practical life so characteristic of halakha, while also ensuring the practical life always yields to prayer and sacrificial gesture when it must.

The modern condition is dominated by individuals Soloveitchik has labeled as Adam I types. The "Man of Faith" is thus doubly lonely, not only for ontological reasons, but because Adam I fails to understand the sacrificial gesture and covenantal community so central to the Man of Faith's life. Soloveitchik stresses that even modern Adam I can be religious in the decorous, synagogue- or church-going sense. But this aesthetic religiosity fails to attain the in-depth existence of true faith. Thus Soloveitchik not only affirms some of the key values of modernity, including its emphasis on science and technology, but also attempts to provide a trenchant, even postmodern critique of modernity and its religious experience.

Other writings. Two other important works, *U-Vikashtem Mi-Sham* ("But if you seek from there") and *Halakhic Mind,* appear to date back to the 1940s, although the former was first published in 1978 and the latter in 1985. In *U-Vikashtem Mi-Sham,* Soloveitchik traces phenomenologically the odyssey of the "Man of God," from the first natural stirrings in contemplating the glories of universe and reflecting upon philosophical and spiritual experiences to the Man of God's ultimate attachment to God, or *devekut.* Although this quest begins with a deep feeling of human freedom and competence, the seeker confronts obstacles as human initiative reaches its limits. Eventually, the seeker is overcome by the sheer power of God's unexpected self-revelation through the Law. The seeker oscillates between awe and love of God, between the experience of God's commanding presence as overwhelming necessity and the experience of God's presence as autonomously chosen, which can be fully realized only with the ultimate goal of *devekut.* Crucial to resolving these tensions is the halakha and the community of its observers.

Halakhic Mind, the most purely philosophical of Soloveitchik's works, offers a sustained argument for the autonomy of religion as a cognitive domain. Soloveitchik argues that the task of philosophy of religion is to reconstruct subjective inner experiences from religion's objectified expressions, which in the case of Judaism would be through analysis of its halakhic material—hence the title, *Halakhic Mind.* This work is especially noteworthy not only for its early advocacy of a form of cognitive pluralism, but also for its explicit dissociation from influential medieval and modern Jewish philosophers, on the grounds that they failed to take the full measure of halakha's autonomy.

The Voice of My Beloved Knocks (1971) is a classic essay of religious Zionism, wherein Soloveitchik first treats the problem of evil and human suffering as it emerges from reflection about the Holocaust. He then argues that the true Jewish response to all tragedy is not passive speculation but vigorous action, the betterment of the human moral and religious self, and the amelioration of Jewish suffering. To Soloveitchik, the establishment of the State of Israel represents exactly such a response.

SEE ALSO Jewish Thought and Philosophy, article on Modern Thought; Orthodox Judaism.

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MOSHE SOKOL (2005)

SOLOV'EV, VLADIMIR (1853–1900), Russian mystical philosopher. Born in Moscow, Solov'ev was educated at the University of Moscow and the Moscow Theological Academy where, in 1873, his master's thesis, "The Crisis of Western Philosophy," earned him immediate repute. Solov'ev's lifelong concerns were to demonstrate rationally the truth of Christianity and to inspire an activist Christianity that would transform the world. His dedication to the philosophical goal of synthesizing religion, philosophy, science, and art in a comprehensive system that he called "total-unity" (*vse-1edinstvo*) precluded his ever marrying. He is considered Russia's first systematic philosopher.

Solov'ev conceived of God as an all-inclusive being: that is, as absolute reality, which is progressively united with its creation through the interaction of the Logos and Sophia. The Logos is the word, reason, the active principle of creation. Sophia is the passive principle. More a symbol than a metaphysical concept, Sophia, whom Solov'ev experienced in three visions as a beautiful woman, also denotes, ambiguously, divine wisdom, the body of God, the universal church, the bride of Christ, and active love for the world and humanity. Although Solov'ev stated explicitly that his concept of Sophia was not intended to introduce a new god into the Trinity, he wrote poems to her that contain marked gnostic and erotic elements and in which she emerges almost as a female principle of divinity.

Solov'ev regarded the incarnation of the Logos in Jesus Christ as the central event in history and Jesus Christ as a "second Adam," a God-man, the prototype of the transfiguration of all humankind through love. His concept of God, not purely Christian, is somewhat pantheistic. His theology, moreover, was influenced by gnosticism; qabbalistic literature; writers such as Jakob Boehme, Paracelsus, and Franz Xaver von Baader; and by philosophical Idealism, as well as by the Slavophiles, Dostoevskii, and Nikolai Fedorov. Catholics regard him as a convert; Russian Orthodox writers argue that he remained in their faith.

Solov'ev's life and works are customarily divided into three periods. These periods are characterized by philosophical, theocratic, and ethical and apocalyptic concerns. In the first period, the 1870s, he opposed abstract philosophy, criticized Western empiricism and rationalism as inadequate for the discovery of truth, maintained the identity of being and knowing, and advocated mystical intuition and integral knowledge as the path to God.

In the second period, the 1880s, hoping to realize his ideal of a "free theocracy"—a Christian society united by internal and voluntary bonds—Solov'ev tried to reunite the Russian Orthodox and the Roman Catholic churches. Believing that it was Russia's mission to incarnate the ideal of theocracy, in 1881 he appealed to Alexander III to spare the lives of the assassins of Alexander II, the tsar's father. The tsar's refusal convinced Solov'ev that Russia was not yet a Christian state. He resigned his teaching post, declared Russian Orthodoxy to be dead, and turned to the pope to realize his ecumenical goal—a new church that would incorporate the spirituality of the East with the activism of the West and that would encompass all aspects of life, action, and thought, as well as faith. The pope did not accept Solov'ev's ideas on Sophia, nor his program for a theocratic union administered by tsar and pope. Solov'ev, for his part, could not accept Roman Catholic emphasis on obedience.

With the collapse of his theocratic hopes, Solev'ev, in his third period, turned his attention to the practical problems of building a Christian society. In *Justification of the Good* (1895; English translation, 1918) he criticized the "abstract moralism" of Tolstoi, the amoralism of Nietzsche, and the "collective immoralism" implicit in nationalism and socialism. In *The Meaning of Love* (1892–1894; English translation, 1947) he argued that the purpose of sex was not procreation but the overcoming of egoism through love for the other.

In the last decade of his life, Solov'ev became preoccupied with the power of evil and had apocalyptic premonitions. His *Three Conversations concerning War, Progress, and the End of History,* also translated as *War and Christianity from the Christian Point of View* (1900; both English translations, 1915), is a discussion of the morality of militarism, power politics, and pacifism. Appended to it is "A Tale of Antichrist." The Antichrist, depicted by Solov'ev as a godless benefactor of humanity, is overcome by a revolt led by the Jews. Evil is, at last, vanquished and the churches reunited.

Solov'ev's influence was enormous. The saintliness of his personal life led Dostoevskii to model Aliosha in *The Brothers Karamazov* after him. His works were the fountainhead of the new spiritual, philosophical, and artistic currents of the Russian Silver Age (c. 1898–1917), and the Christian idealism and political liberalism of Sergei and Evgenii Trubetskoi, Pavel Novgorodtsev, and others stemmed in part from his thought and example. His sophiology helped shape the theology of Sergei Bulgakov and Pavel Florenskii, and it inspired the poetry and prose of the Russian Symbolists. Also important to Russian Symbolism was Solov'ev's view of art as a theurgy and of beauty as an incarnation of the divine. His apocalypticism and vision of pan-Mongolism (the rule of the "yellow" races over the "white") influenced Symbolist political thought, especially after 1904.

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BERNICE GLATZER ROSENTHAL (1987 AND 2005)

SOMA is a Vedic god; a drink offered to the gods and shared among ritual participants; and the plant that yields the juice for this drink. Middle and late Vedic literature describe the classical Vedic rituals in detail, and among these rituals, the *soma* rites are among the most prestigious and complex. In these rites, stalks of the *soma* plant are soaked in water and then crushed. The extracted liquid is poured through a filter into vessels. Left plain, or mixed with milk and various oblations, it is then offered into the fire for the gods and drunk by the priests and by the sacrificer of the rite. During the principal day of a *soma* sacrifice, there are three rounds of *soma* preparation and offering, one each in the morning, midday, and evening.

The later Vedic literature and the rites they describe often continue traditions already well established in the *Ṛgveda.* Indeed, although it contains hymns created for various rites, the core *Ṛgveda* is primarily a liturgical collection for *soma* rites. The principal collection of hymns dedicated to Soma in the *Ṛgveda* is book 9, which contains 114 hymns to the Soma Pavamāna ("Soma purifying himself"). These hymns were chanted as the *soma* was pressed and poured through the filter into vessels.

In the early tradition, participation in the *soma* rite was essential for both gods and men—Goddesses and women were both excluded from drinking the liquid. Among the gods, the principal recipient, Indra, is the dominant divinity in the *soma* rite and therefore in the *Ṛgveda* itself. Receiving the *soma* strengthens Indra and enables him to perform the deeds that have made, and continue to make, life possible. Indra drinks the *soma*—three lakes of *soma* according to *Ṛgveda* 5.29.7—in order to strike down Vṛtra, the paragon and paradigm of all obstacles. "Sharpened by *soma*" (*Ṛgveda* 10.108.8), Indra, together with a band of priests, releases the cattle, the symbol of dawn and substance of prosperity in Vedic India, by breaking open the cave in which they had been imprisoned. Offered *soma*, Indra defeats the human and semi-demonic enemies of his worshippers.

Because men participate in the *soma* rite as both offerers and drinkers of *soma*, they too are transformed by it. A family lord, clanlord, or king legitimately rules because he possesses the *soma*, and together with Indra, he too overcomes obstacles and gains cattle and other forms of wealth. By performing the *soma* rite he becomes truly an Ārya, a full participant in the elite culture of Vedic India, and he enlists the help of the gods in overcoming all those who do not sacrifice, those who are not Āryas. By drinking *soma*, he extends his lifetime. Soma "knots me together in my joints," says the poet of *Ṛgveda* 8.48.5. "Let the *soma*-drops guard me from my foot slipping, and let them keep me from lameness." Soma himself is the "deathless" (*amṛta*), and therefore those who drink the liquid become "deathless." In the core *Ṛgveda*, this "deathlessness" is the prevention of premature death, although, in later hymns and in the succeeding tradition, deathlessness becomes "immortality," and *soma* becomes the drink that sustains the life of ancestors in heaven.

Soma the god is a warrior who is victorious in battle. The Pavamāna hymns describe Soma's descent through the filter as an assault or a raid. Soma overcomes all obstacles and thereby wins freedom of movement. Mixing *soma* with milk signifies the capture of cattle, and after Soma has won all such good things, he becomes the generous king who distributes them. In another image of a victorious *soma*, these hymns depict *soma* as a racehorse, which wins rich stakes for those who prepare the drink.

In the *Ṛgveda*, *soma* is also compared to the sun or even kindles it. According to various descriptions, Soma illuminates the sun (*Ṛgveda* 9.37.4), begets the sun in the waters (9.42.1), stands above like the sun (9.54.3), makes the sun shine (9.63.7), and harnesses the steed of the sun (9.63.8). *Soma*'s association with the sun reinforces its connection with kingship and with life, for the sun rules in heaven and represents life and freedom. At the end of the Ṛgvedic period, this association of *soma* and the sun began to shift in favor of an identification of *soma* and the moon. According to the later Veda, as the moon fills with *soma*, it waxes; and as the *soma* is depleted, it wanes. The *soma* in the moon sustains gods and ancestors, and even drips down to earth where it gives birth to plants and animals.

The roots of Vedic *soma* and the *soma* rite extend beyond the Veda itself. Like Indian *soma*, the *haoma*—its equivalent in the Zoroastrian ritual—is both a drink and a deity associated with well-being and deathlessness. Beyond the Indo-Iranian tradition, *soma* likely inherits Indo-European traditions of the drink of deathlessness—“ambrosia,” a word etymologically corresponding to *amṛta* “deathless”—and replaces Indo-European rit/es of offering and drinking mead. In the *Ṛgveda*, *soma* is termed *madhu* (honey), which is etymologically equivalent to “mead.” There may be a mythological link between mead and *soma* as well. According to one Ṛgvedic narrative, the *soma* plant grew on a mountain, protected by a hundred concentric fortress walls and guarded by an archer. Manu, the first sacrificer, sends a falcon to steal the *soma* and bring it back to him, so that he can offer it to Indra. The story evolved in the later Vedic and Epic traditions, according to which the eagle Garuḍa steals the *soma* from heaven and from Indra, although he eventually returns it to Indra. This narrative of the theft of *soma* may share a common ancestor with a myth of the *Snorra Edda*, according to which Odin, taking the form of an eagle, flies away with the mead of Suttung, hidden in the mountain Hnitbjorg.

One of the perennial questions in the study of *soma* has been the identity of the Ṛgvedic and Indo-Iranian *soma* plant. Already in the later Vedic period, sacrificers were using various plants to perform the *soma* rite. Such substitutions were possible because *soma* is as much the product of the words, chants, and acts of the ritual as it is the juice of a plant. The *Ṛgveda*, however, does mention a particular *soma* plant (perhaps called *aṃśu*) that grows on mountains. Of the various identifications of this *soma* plant, ephedra has been an enduring candidate and has dominated much of the recent discussion. It is a stimulant, whose effect might be suggested by the description of *soma* as *jāgṛvi* (wakeful). Other scholars, however, have argued that *soma* was a hallucinogen in part because of *soma*’s connection with light and possibly with visionary experience. Numerous other possibilities have also been suggested. Fortunately, the precise identification of the *soma* plant, while interesting and significant, is not critical for the interpretation of most *soma* hymns and of the *soma* rite.

SEE ALSO Haoma.

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SOPHIA is a Greek word that means “wisdom.” In the Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures (Old Testament), the name *Sophia* is given as a translation of *Ḥokhmah* (also meaning “wisdom”), the name of a figure with feminine features. In the Greek version of the apocryphal book the *Wisdom of Solomon* (written in Alexandria at the beginning of the common era), Sophia is said to be the emanation of God’s glory, the Holy Spirit, the immaculate mirror of his energy, nay, even the spouse of the Lord (Septuagint 8:3). In the Greek rendering of *Ben Sira,* or *Sirach,* she is depicted as a woman: To the wise man she is both a tender mother, who spoils him as if he were her favorite child, and his young mistress, who surprises him with unexpected wildness (15:2). In *Proverbs* (c. 300), Wisdom “standeth at the top of high places and cries at the gates” (8:2–3; what Oriental woman would thus expose herself?) to proclaim that the Lord had brought her forth (not “created”) before he began the creation. After he had created the world, she stood before him as his daily delight (8:30). This image was inspired by the pagan belief, represented on many excavated objects, that a goddess (either the Egyptian Maat or a Canaanite figure) stands before the godhead to please and entertain him.

In *The Thunder, Whole Mind,* one of the writings found at Nag Hammadi in 1945 and written probably during the first pre-Christian century by an Alexandrian Jew, Sophia manifests herself through a series of impressive paradoxes: as both the wisdom of the Greeks and the *gnōsis* of the barbarians, as both the saint and the whore, as the "All-Mother."

The ideas that God is female or that he has a feminine spouse lie further back still. Recently, in the Israeli Negev and near Hebron, Hebrew inscriptions have been found dating back to the eighth century that speak about "the Lord and his Asherah" (Asherah, or Athirat, was a Canaanite goddess of love, war, and fertility). On one jar bearing such an inscription, YHVH seems to be represented by the Egyptian god Bes (possessing an enormous phallus) together with a feminine figure (Athirat?). In Elephantine (near Aswan, Egypt) the Jews venerated Anat Jahu, another Canaanite deity, possibly as the spouse of the Lord. Ḥokhmah (Sophia) is the positive offprint of this photographic negative, the great goddess of the pre-Greek and pre-Hebrew Mediterranean, who, variously called Anat, Athirat, or Astarte (comparable to the later Greek Aphrodite), was considered to be a sacred prostitute, as were her devotees, and was still venerated as *dea meretrix* (goddess/whore) during classical times in the Near East.

Gnosticism integrated this Jewish myth. Simon the Magician, a first-century Samaritan (i. e., heterodox Jew), taught that the spouse of the Lord, called Sophia or the Holy Spirit, was actually "the first Idea of God" and had descended in order to produce the angels and powers that created the world. These tyrannical powers then overwhelmed her and forced her reincarnation again and again. (A contemporary version of this story is *She* by Rider Haggard.) At last she became one Helena, a prostitute in a brothel at Tyre (Phoenicia), whence Simon redeemed her. Here the cosmogonic Sophia of Hebrew lore has been combined with the Neo-Pythagorean concept of Helena as a symbol of the fallen and reascending heavenly soul.

In another Gnostic text, the *Apocryphon of John* (Alexandria, first century), Sophia is the last of the spiritual entities to come into existence. She falls into the cosmos because of her wantonness, but there she fights against the demiurge in her struggle to make man spiritually conscious. The same theme is Christianized by the greatest Gnostic, Valentinus, according to whom Sophia desires to penetrate the mystery of ultimate being, then falls through hubris (*tolma*) but is saved by Christ.

In the modern *gnōsis,* initiated around 1600 by Jakob Boehme, a similar mythology has developed. In addition to Christ, the German pietists discern the feminine Sophia, a goddess (the Holy Spirit?) and bride to the wise man. To become like Adam before the birth of Eve from his side, man must unite with his inner Sophia and become androgynous. English representatives of this tradition were John Pordage (1607–1681) and Jane Leade (1623–1704). Franz von Baader (1764–1841), a Bohemian philosopher, regarded androgyny and Sophianology as the aim and purpose of marriage. At the time of the Holy Alliance, these ideas were exported to Russia, where they were accepted by the Freemasons and such brilliant Orthodox theologians as Vladimir Solovʾev and Sergei Bulgakov.

SEE ALSO Gnosticism; Hierodouleia; Ḥokhmah.

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SORCERY SEE MAGIC; WITCHCRAFT

SOROKIN, PITIRIM ALEKSANDROVICH

(1889–1968), became controversial among his fellow sociologists after it became clear in the late 1930s that his heuristic key into social-cultural dynamics was a metaphysical distinction between a "sensate" materialism and "ideational" supernaturalism. His denunciation of the sensate materialism of Western culture emerged from spiritual commitments forged in his youth.

Born in the Vologda province of northern Russia, Sorokin was the son of a craftsman who restored icons in Orthodox churches while struggling with alcoholism, and of a mother who died three years after his birth. His early years were spent helping his artisan father, who died when Sorokin was ten. Sorokin then supported himself making icons, read widely in Russian literature and theology, and was influenced by nature mysticism.

These spiritual commitments were not explicit, however, when he arrived at Harvard University in 1929 and became founding chair of the Department of Sociology two years later. Early in his career, Sorokin was identified chiefly for his political activities. In December 1906, he was sentenced to spend four months in a czarist prison. Released in early 1907, he became a revolutionary organizer, first in the Volga region and then in Saint Petersburg. Admitted to the University of Saint Petersburg in 1910, he studied sociology and law, and graduated in 1914. In 1917 Sorokin became personal secretary to Prime Minister Alexander Kerensky and was a cabinet minister in the short-lived 1917 Russian government. With the triumph of V. I. Lenin in 1918, Sorokin, at the request of Kerensky, organized the brief effort to liberate Russia from the Bolshevik Communists. Lenin and the Bolsheviks prevailed, and after months of hiding in the forests, Sorokin turned himself over to the police. He was sentenced to death, only to be saved after several highly placed supporters appealed directly to Lenin on his behalf. Sorokin was freed on December 16, 1918, convinced that czarist jails were more humane than those of the Bolsheviks. Between 1919 and 1922 he was a professor of sociology at the University of Saint Petersburg.

In late 1922, Sorokin and his wife Elena left Russia under political persecution. They arrived in New York in 1923. Sorokin was now an émigré scholar with growing scientific credentials and an ever-deepening appreciation for the nonmaterial aspects of reality that Marxist-Leninism denied. Sorokin published *The Sociology of Revolution* (1925), after which he was able to gain speaking opportunities based on a growing academic reputation and his political experiences highlighting the coercive aspects of the Russian revolution.

In 1924 Sorokin was invited to join the University of Minnesota, where he spent six years. At age forty, he accepted a position at Harvard at the personal request of its president. In 1937 he published the first three volumes of his defining work, *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, the most widely reviewed sociological work in the United States between 1937 and 1942. Sorokin met with criticism from most social scientists for his critique of materialist cultures. He distinguished *ideational cultures*, in which ultimate reality is deemed a spiritual presence and in which the sociocultural world is centered on the supernatural, from *sensate cultures*, in which reality is deemed to be strictly material and the sociocultural world centers itself accordingly. He asserted that the sensate culture of the West was dying, and that ideational culture would emerge. A *New York Times* review by one leading sociologist described Sorokin as "a Tarter who has struck an alliance with neo-Thomism" (quoted in Johnston, 1995, p. 114). He was condemned by others for attacking progress and empiricism, for doing philosophy of history under the guise of pseudoscience, and for being prejudiced and superficial. In these pivotal years at Harvard, Sorokin's prophetic style and his sweeping sociology of history constituted an unwelcome deviation from disciplinary focus. In 1946, after a divisive battle with the American sociologist Talcott Parsons, he was forced to step down as chair of the Department of Sociology through its incorporation into the new Department of Social Relations.

CREATIVE ALTRUISM AND *THE WAYS AND POWER OF LOVE*. A new career phase began for Sorokin in 1942, with an appreciative letter from the American businessman Eli Lilly. Sorokin's critique of materialism and his writings on the sociology of war (1938–1944) were leading him to the study of what he termed "creative altruism." He was convinced that love as captured in the sermon on the mount and the Golden Rule, and understood scientifically, could serve as a means toward a better human future. With Lilly's support, he opened the Harvard Research Center in Creative Altruism in 1946. He became increasingly interested in investigating scientifically the energy of love, which he understood both metaphysically and practically.

In 1954 Sorokin published *The Ways and Power of Love*, a creative study at the interface of science, religion, and other-regarding love. Here he developed a five-dimensional measure of love. Low *intensity* love makes possible minor actions, while high intensity love requires much time, energy, and resources. Sorokin's second dimension of love is *extensivity*: "The extensivity of love ranges from the zero point of love of oneself only, up to the love of all mankind, all living creatures, and the whole universe" (Sorokin, 2002, p. 16). Sorokin added the dimension of *duration*, which "may range from the shortest possible moment to years or throughout the whole life of an individual or of a group" (2002, p. 16). The fourth dimension of love is *purity,* or freedom from egoistic motivation. Pure love—that is, love that is truly disinterested and asks for no return—represents the highest form of emotion (2002, p. 17). Finally, Sorokin included the *adequacy* of love. Adequate love achieves ennobling purposes, and is, therefore, anything but blind or unwise. Sorokin argued that the greatest lives of love and altruism approximate or achieve "the highest possible place, denoted by 100 in all five dimensions" (2002, p. 19), while persons "neither loving nor hating would occupy a position near zero" (2002, p. 19). He was impressed by the love of figures such as al-Ḥallāj, Damien the Leper, Mohandas Gandhi, Jesus of Nazareth, Dorothy Day, Simone Weil, and Teresa of Ávila. Because these individuals were able to maintain a love at high levels in all five dimensions, Sorokin posited their participation in a love energy that defines God, or is related to what he termed "the Supraconscious." Ingroup exclusivism, argued Sorokin, "has brought upon mankind more suffering than any other catastrophe" (2002, p. 461).

THE LEGACY OF SOROKIN. Sorokin rose quickly in the ranks of American sociology, and fell out of favor just as dramatically. But in the early 1960s, his work on altruism was receiving considerable attention. His lasting significance for religious studies and the global community lies in his pioneering efforts to develop a deep dialogue between science, religion, and altruistic love. His thoughts parallel those of Pierre Teilhard de Chardin with regard to love as the highest energy for personal and social transformation (King, 2004). Although his center at Harvard faded in the early 1960s, his work shaped the founding of the Institute for Research on Unlimited Love in 2001.

SEE ALSO Russian Orthodox Church; Sociology.

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SORSKII, NIL (1433–1508), also known as Nilus of Sora. Russian hesychast and saint. Nil became a monk early in life and served his novitiate at the important northern monastery of Saint Cyril at Beloye Ozero. After a journey to the monastic communities of Mount Athos and Constantinople, he returned to Beloye Ozero with a commitment to hesychast spirituality. In the 1470s or 1480s Nil made his way to the deserted banks of the river Sora. His intention was to establish a monastic community that differed from the strict and complex pattern of life at his monastery of origin and was based, instead, on the pattern of the Athonite skete: loosely structured, sparsely populated, with silence at its core, and with no one superior.

In Nil's community the flexibility of the monastics' everyday arrangements corresponded to the flexibility with which their inner life was to be regulated. Hours of weekday prayer were left to the discretion of the individual, although all were cautioned against unrelieved prayer beyond certain limits. The goal was that silence (Gr., *hesuchia*) by which communion with God would be fostered.

Nil wrote at some length about the temptations that impede prayer: avarice, anger, sadness, spiritual torpor, vanity, and pride. To counteract these, one must infuse the mind and heart with the awareness of God. To this end Nil commends the Jesus Prayer. With the constant use of such prayer the monk may even anticipate what the Greek fathers had described as *theōsis*—divinization, or union with God by grace. Regarding his own experience, Nil's retention of the first person singular in his (unattributed) quotation of Symeon the New Theologian suggests that, at the very least, it corresponds to his own aspirations. "As I sit in the midst of my cell," he wrote, "I see a light which is not of this world. Within me I see the maker of the world. I converse with him and love him. . . . God loves me, he has received me into his very being, and he hides me in his embrace" (Mariia S. Maikova, 1912, pp. 28–29).

Nil's intention was to provide authentic teaching, and for this purpose he borrowed from hesychast masters such as John Cassian, John Climacus, Isaac the Syrian, Gregory of Sinai, and Symeon the New Theologian. Nil, who knew Greek, was the first to communicate the essence of their teachings to the Russian reader.

Nil's integrity as editor and spiritual guide gained him a reputation throughout the land. In 1490 he was invited to Moscow to debate the question of the Judaizers, the followers of the contemporary Novgorod-Moscow heresy. He was certainly opposed to the persecution, still more the execution, of the heretics. Nil's followers were to be accused of sheltering, if not actually favoring, heretics in the years to follow.

But the most noteworthy appearance of Nil in public concerned the question of the secularization of monastic lands. At a council convened in 1503 by Ivan III (who favored secularization), Nil apparently rose to place before it an unexpected proposal: that monasteries should own no villages, and that monastics should live in deserted places and should gain their sustenance by the work of their own hands. The proposal was to be defeated, and Russian monasteries continued virtually unchecked as ever more prosperous landowners until the age of Catherine the Great (1729–1796). A prerequisite for Nil's type of spirituality was that monks should neither own property nor even yearn for it.

Nil's followers, the "Trans-Volgan" elders, peripheralized by the Possessor establishment of the succeeding age (for church and state alike were to follow in the footsteps of Ivan Sanin [Joseph of Volokolamsk] and to favor monastic ritualism as well as land ownership), were to live out their lives in obscurity. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, Nil acquired a remarkable heir in Paisii Velichkovskii (1722–1794), who influenced, among others, the Russian elders of the Optino Hermitage and through them the Russian world beyond. The nineteenth century thus revived the reputation of Nil and confirmed, unobtrusively, his cult as saint.

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SERGEI HACKEL (1987)

SOTERIOLOGY

The term *soteriology* means "doctrine of salvation" or, more concretely, the "way of salvation," and derives from the Greek *sōtēria,* which in turn is built on *sōtēr,* or "savior." The term is usually used to refer to the salvation of individuals, but it can also relate to the salvation of a group. The implication of the idea is that human beings are in some kind of unfortunate condition and may achieve an ultimately good state either by their own efforts or through the intervention of some divine power. Very commonly, there is belief in a savior God, that is, a God whose special concern is with the welfare of the human race. Examples of this idea are, in the ancient world, Isis, Mithra, and Christ; in the Far East, Amida Buddha in Japan and Guanyin in China; and Kṛṣṇa and Rāma in the Hindu tradition.

The notion that people need to be saved implies that a defective condition is normally prevalent, and the major religions have differing views as to the root of this problem. Thus many Indian systems ascribe a humanity's ultimate troubles to ignorance (*avidyā*). By contrast there is the Christian doctrine of original sin in which the human race is implicated through the primordial acts of Adam and Eve. Additionally, there are varying conceptions of how human life works: For instance, in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, as well as in indigenous Chinese religion and in various others, life stretches essentially from birth or conception to death, and then the question arises about the status of postmortem existence, if any. But in the South Asian framework, the condition of living beings is *saṃsāra,* which implies a potentially endless round of rebirth or reincarnation from which one escapes only through ultimate liberation, or *mokṣa.* In Western monotheisms the question is often whether there is an afterlife; in the Indian tradition the afterlife is a given, and the question is whether one can get out of it.

The conception of salvation relates most clearly to the idea of some ultimate value or being, *nirvāṇa,* God, *brahman,* and so on. It may be thought of as an identity with such an ultimate state or being, or more frequently as a kind of communion with a personal Lord in a heavenly place, that is, "the place of God." Various means may be used to gain liberation or final communion. Where God is a personal object of worship typically salvation has to be effected by the deity, and this is where doctrines of grace and their analogues come in. Even here it is assumed in some way that the human being cooperates even if only by calling on the divine name for help. Where there is no such personal God, the individual must prepare himself, often through rigorous methods, in order to be in a position to gain eternal freedom. Consequently there are typically "self-help" and "other-help" kinds of religion. There are also different emphases as to whether salvation is something that ultimately occurs after death, for instance, by one's being transferred to a heavenly state, or is something attainable in this life. Thus in a number of Indian systems there is the ideal of the *jīvanmukta,* that is, one who has gained liberation (*mukti*) while still living (*jīvan*). It is typical of "self-help" systems to postulate this kind of liberation, but even in "other-help" systems there is a prefiguring of final salvation, as indicated typically by the question asked by some Christians, Are you saved? (not, Will you be saved?).

The usual scheme of the major religions that take the idea of individual salvation seriously is to pose the question in terms of a finite series of alternatives: One either attains heaven or one doesn't. At death one is either simply destroyed, or one goes to a state that is the opposite of salvation, namely damnation, in hell. There may also be an intermediate state, such as purgatory. In the Indian scheme of things, with the doctrine of reincarnation, many variations become possible. Usually (though not in the Dvaita school of Madhva) hells are in effect purgatories, for ultimately the individual rises out of them and resumes wandering through other regions and states of the cosmos. Again, the rewards for meritorious conduct in this life are varied, because there are many levels of superior social or ontological status. Thus, there is in some systems of belief, notably in Buddhism, a system of gradations of heavens, which correspond to differing levels of moral and spiritual attainment. Generally, though there may be places of punishment, the choice is between being liberated from rebirth or not being so liberated and carrying on. The choice in Western religions tends to be starker, so that the alternative to heaven is often seen as hopeless: "Abandon hope all ye who enter here" was written above the entrance to Dante's Hell.

In addition to the major religious traditions, there are secular ideologies that have analogues to religious doctrines of salvation. This is partly because some religions hold out hopes of a renewed blessed state that is community-oriented and located on this earth: the notion, for instance, of the millennium when humans will live in harmony and glory on the earth. Such a concept is easily secularized into utopian ideals considered as practical goals, such as the truly communist society in the Marxist picture, which is thought of as a social and economic system in which class contradictions and alienation have been overcome. What is lacking from the Marxist view, however, is a precise analogue of individual salvation that has been such a prominent idea in the religious systems. Hitler's thousand-year Reich was also modeled after millenarian expectations but was essentially tribal in orientation. Democratic capitalism has had a vaguer notion of progress without any clear idea of an ultimate state of human satisfaction. On the individual level, there is no real soteriology in scientific humanism, except that a person may find satisfaction retrospectively in thinking that he or she has done his or her duty in this life and has made a contribution to the welfare of the human race. More analogous to religious ideas are those of existentialism: In Heidegger's thought individuals can live authentically in the face of, and conscious of, their own deaths and thus in a sense overcome death from within a finite existence.

The concept of "living liberation" introduces a more general way of looking at soteriology, namely seeing it as concerned with the ultimate goal of the religious or spiritual life. In addition to the achievement of certain states, such as liberation from rebirth or life in heaven, there are central experiences, such as enlightenment and gnosis, that have ultimate significance. Sometimes it is the attainment of such experiences that gives people a sense of having attained living liberation. It is possible to have such experiences (e.g., Zen *satori*) without thinking that they guarantee anything about life after death. Such a soteriology is analogous to the secular existentialist type.

A religious act that has some relation to soteriology is the act of healing. Indeed, the etymology of the word *salvation* suggests "making whole," and there are indications of the close connection between physical and spiritual health in the New Testament (e.g., the emphasis on Jesus' healing miracles), and in many small-scale societies (e.g., in African classical religions, and in the new religious movements in Africa and elsewhere). Often disease is seen as arising from some deep alienation from society as a whole, or as the result of harmful religious practices (e.g., witchcraft). Healing is thus simultaneously the restoration of the individual's right relationship with the group.

The various dimensions of religion serve to illustrate differing means of salvation. Here it is perhaps a little misleading to use the word *means,* in that according to a number of religions, salvation arises from God's act rather than from human acts, and therefore there is no way of interpreting religion as itself an instrument causing salvation. Still one can look to a number of themes. Note first of all that the nature of the salvation envisaged will depend on the way the religious ultimate is viewed. In classical China the emphasis on both Heaven and the dao as underlying cosmic and social harmony suggests that the elimination of disharmony is important; the Mahayana Buddhist emphasis on "emptiness" suggests the importance of a kind of intellectual vision, paralleling the Buddha's own enlightenment; theism of various kinds suggests the centrality of the right relationship to a personal creator, and so forth. Given the differing goals, what are the various means?

Beginning with the ritual dimension of religion, one may note that the right performance of ritual may be central to soteriology. Thus the early Christian view of the sacrament of baptism implied that the neophyte, on entering the Christian community, dies like Christ and is resurrected with Christ. Provided there are no problems in the rest of the person's life, he or she is assured of ultimate salvation because of the ritual or sacramental union with Christ as victor over sin and death. This is repeated and reinforced by the eucharistic sacrament wherein Christ's eternal life is imparted to the faithful person in the bread and wine. There are similar motifs in the old mystery religions, for example the direct participation in the ritual reenactment of the myth of Persephone at Eleusis, and in the rites of Isis.

Ritual of a rather different sort is found in ancestral cults. Here the members of the deceased's family employ ritual means (e.g., proper feeding of the deceased, the right performance of funeral rites, etc.) to ensure that the departed are sent on their way serenely, or at least treated with propriety so that their afterlives are not scenes of misery and displacement.

The most important soteriological function of ritual is to open up lines of communication with the god. These allow those who participate in the rite to tap into the living substance of the divine and so to gain some kind of blessed or eternal life. Christian sacraments, for instance, allow the faithful to participate in Christ's resurrection. Such participation remains the main motif of Christian soteriology, although many other themes are also important. These include the ideas of Christ's victory over death and Satan, his expiatory sacrifice on behalf of humanity and in recognition of human sin, and his moral example.

As well as the use of ritual means of gaining salvation, there is the importance of the mythic "score" that the ritual plays out. Christians, for instance, see their own lives as possibly reflecting the life of Christ, and more generally the life of Israel. Understanding the mythic narrative means sharing the power of the mythic dimension of the faith. This lends a special importance to scriptures and other works, both literary and oral, that expound the stories of religious founders, gods, and heroes. So the *ḥadīth* and the Qurʾān itself throw light on the life of the Prophet Muḥammad and become exemplars of the kind of actions and attitudes expected of the Muslim if he is to please God. But apart from making possible the imitation of great heroes, mythic narratives also provide assurance of the divine being's care and concern for those who worship him. The revelation to Muḥammad provides the matrix for Islamic life and so gives assurance that from within this life the faithful will gain salvation. Similarly the story of the people of Israel and of the Jewish people since biblical times gives the Jew a sense of his election by God as part of an ongoing drama of history in which both God and the Jewish people will be vindicated. The *Bhagavadgītā* gives a special view of Viṣṇu's salvific power and assures his devotees of his desire to save those who turn to him in love and *bhakti.* The *Lotus Sūtra* tells the story of the loving guardianship of Avalokiteśvara, who acts to save those Buddhists who turn to him (or her, in China) in faith and imitation.

Both ritual and the enactment or contemplation of myth help to nurture experience, and often it is a striking experience that gives people a sense of being saved. In Christianity, especially in the less sacramentally oriented forms of Protestantism, there is emphasis upon conversion-experiences, being "born again," and attaining an inner illumination concerning one's own salvation. In the Indian tradition there is much emphasis here also. In *jñāna,* or knowledge, one experiences an encounter with the ultimate, whether this be the discrimination (*viveka*) of the eternal from the noneternal in Sāṃkhya-Yoga, the attainment of the higher *dhyāna*s in Buddhism, or the realization of the identity of *ātman* and *brahman* in Advaita. While the doctrine of a personal God will suggest the spontaneity of such a being "born again," however, the more contemplative forms of Indian and East Asian religion, from Chan and Neo-Confucianism to Theravāda Buddhism and Hindu yoga, stress the greater importance of technique (methods of meditation, breathing exercises, etc.).

The institutional dimension of religion can have a double relevance to soteriology. On the one hand, organizations may claim some kind of privilege or monopoly in relation to salvation. In the Christian tradition this view has received the familiar tag, *"Extra ecclesiam nulla salus"* ("There is no salvation outside the church"), which stems from exclusivist interpretations of the sacred myth (echoing Jesus' "I am the Way"). In Islam membership in the sacred community is vital. In Buddhism one "takes refuge" in the Buddha, the *dharma*, and the *saṃgha*, the latter being the monastic community, with which the laity are closely connected. Such a doctrine of institutional exclusivity can be moderated by other doctrines, however, for instance the "baptism of desire" in Christianity, the initiation into the church in the wider sense of those non-Christians who, not having heard the gospel, yet lead a moral and holy life and so implicitly exhibit a "desire for Christ." One can compare this traditional idea with Karl Rahner's concept of the "anonymous Christian."

On the other hand, the conception of soteriology itself may be collective. Here the idea of God's saving work is applied primarily to the group as a whole—for instance, the people of Israel, who have a special destiny and a crucial role in the providential unfolding of history. In Judaism and its offshoot, Christianity, millenarian and eschatological thinking is important, though it may take on a very provisional and concrete character, for example, the coming of the Messiah in traditional Judaism, leading to the restoration of Israel. In Shīʿah Islam there is the analogous figure of the *mahdi* and the whole eschatology of the Hidden Imām. While such mythic themes help to maintain the communitarian aspect of future hope, they do not always blend well with other aspects of soteriology, such as the concept of the resurrection of the body and of the immortality of the soul. Sometimes resurrection is seen as supplying the disembodied soul with a "body," a kind of personal clothing that is in heavenly terms to what the physical body is in earthly terms. At other times it is seen as something earthly. Likewise the communal aspect of faith can be pictured in heavenly terms as in the Christian doctrine of the communion of saints, which is a kind of transcendent continuation of the church on earth.

The ethical dimension of soteriology is sometimes underplayed insofar as it is by the grace of God rather than through ethical (or ritual) efforts that one is saved. Morality may thus have an oblique relationship to soteriology: The good person in the Calvinist tradition, for example, may show some symptoms of being saved, but his or her salvation is not because of good works. Likewise in Pure Land Buddhism, especially in the teaching of Shinran, there is stress upon simple faith and calling on the name of Amida: If the virtuous person can be saved, how much more the sinner. By contrast religions of self-help give more importance to moral action as part of the means of gaining liberation or salvation. Thus virtue may at least be a precondition of study of the Ultimate, as in Advaita Vedanta or it may be integral to the Path, as in Buddhism.

Ethics may be combined with participation in the mythic career of one's exemplar. In general, the Mahayana Buddhists follow the path of the *bodhisattva:* They model their conduct on the self-sacrificial and compassionate life of the great Avalokiteśvara, or one of the other salvation-bringing *bodhisattva*s. It is not that following the path will bring salvation by itself, for it is rather by the transfer of merit from the limitless store of the *bodhisattva* that the otherwise unworthy person reaches ultimate liberation. But the mythic conception holds up an ethical and religious ideal that determines the follower's ethical perceptions. The path of the imitation of Christ in the Christian tradition has an analogous function. Similar motifs can be found elsewhere. In Hinduism, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, and other avatars serve as alternative models of conduct. In Judaism, the reading of the Hebrew Bible provides the pious Jew with the model of Abraham or one of the other great figures of the past. In Islam there is the imitation of the Prophet Muḥammad, and so on. In the Jewish case there is also a very close integration between ritual and ethical rules through the written and oral Torah. Such an integration stresses the importance of obedience to the will of God, though ultimately it is God's action that ensures the final welfare of the individual Jew.

The means of salvation may be closely tied to the figure of the spiritual leader. Thus, even in self-help religious traditions or subtraditions it may be important for the individual to receive guidance from a specialist. Meditation and yoga, for example, must be guided by a guru. In Buddhism the Buddha himself is important as the one who brings the knowledge of the Way to humans, while the Saṃgha provides the institutional framework for leading the holy life. In small-scale societies the figure of the shaman is often important in serving as the expert who provides healing and reenacts the death and resurrection of the person who has suffered evil. In ancient Greek religion there were mystagogues and leaders, such as Pythagoras and Plotinus, who served as authorities and exemplars for their followers. Such figures, whether shaman or mystic, serve as a bridge to the mythic idea of the savior God who helps humans by himself taking on human form. Thus in Zoroastrianism can be seen the theme of the future savior Saoshyant, the figure of Christ in the Christian tradition, the various mediating figures in the Hindu tradition, and the saving *bodhisattva*s of the Mahāyāna. Since such conceptions may be held to infringe on the purity of monotheism (some, of course, do not arise from a theistic background in any case) this savior-god concept cannot strictly speaking play a part in Judaism and Islam. As mediators of salvation such figures can be surrounded by other personages who have a role in helping human beings towards their ultimate welfare—for instance, the saints of the Christian tradition, above all the Virgin Mary in the Catholic and Orthodox traditions, and the lesser deities of the Hindu tradition.

In addition to the other dimensions of religion, the doctrinal too can play a role in liberation, given that a faith may stress the philosophical aspect, so that thinking about the world along certain lines may be conducive to a kind of knowledge that saves. Thus in Mahāyāna Buddhism the analysis of causation and the impermanence of things may be instrumental in attaining a new way of seeing the world that recognizes its existential "emptiness." There is a certain analogue in ancient Greek conceptions of philosophy as culminating in a sort of vision, as, for instance, in Plato. Likewise in neo-Confucianism the investigation of things has a certain meditative role that yields vital, even salvific, knowledge. Doctrine and philosophy have of course, other nonsoteriological functions. They may, for instance, help define the community. But they are also ways of depicting reality as it is, and the vision thereof can thus be facilitated by practicing philosophical argumentation. Sometimes philosophy is used in a dialectical and critical way, to uproot entrenched concepts and to subvert habitual ways of looking at the world through the screen of language. In this way it can prepare for *satori* or other direct experiences of the "way things are." On the whole, Indian philosophy has stressed (admittedly in a rather theoretical way) the importance of this practice of philosophy for *mokṣa,* or liberation.

The belief in rebirth makes some difference to soteriology. It may involve a certain elitism. In Theravāda Buddhism or Jainism, for instance, there are only a few saints at any given time, but this does not preclude a much wider group from hoping for ultimate literation in a future life. It also raises issues about identity, especially since the concept of the person in some systems is tied to the concept of rebirth. That is to say, if liberation is defined as ultimate escape from the round of reincarnation, then a kind of negative theology (or more strictly negative anthropology) is applied to the liberated "self." Thus in Buddhism various ways of speaking of the enlightened or liberated person after death are denied. Similarly, in Advaita, realization of oneness with *brahman* implies no more rebirth, since in that identity beyond final death there is no longer any individuality as it is understood in the empirical world. Even in Sāṃkhya-Yoga, where there is in theory a plurality of souls or *puruṣa*s surviving in a state of isolated freedom, there is doubt as to whether one can speak of individuality in any meaningful sense. Moreover the ultimate state, which is one of absence of pain, does not seem to differ essentially from unconsciousness. By contrast the state of liberation according to Advaita is blissful, and such a positive evaluation of postmortem *nirvāṇa* is also made.

Where God is believed to govern the cosmos, rebirth becomes an expression of his will. So in Rāmānuja's theism, for instance, a person's destiny is worked out over many, many lives, but in accord with God's will. If he saves the individual it happens in one lifetime, but the fact that an individual has reached a state where he or she calls on God is itself a sign of previous deeds. Followers of Rāmānuja split over the question of whether salvation was solely by God's grace, or whether surrender (*prapatti*) was necessary. In the latter case, a measure of human effort was necessary for salvation. Although Rāmānuja did not fully work out his doctrine of grace, he seems to have inclined more to the former view. Later, the dualist Madhva held to a doctrine akin to predestination, namely that God's sole task was to guide the cosmos in working out the results of the *karman* that already flowed from the inner nature of the individual.

Traditional cosmologies have assigned different "places" for salvation or damnation. Although heaven is conceived in theistic systems as the dwelling place of God (and vivid descriptions are given, such as in the *Book of Revelation* in the New Testament and in the Qurʾān), there are also heavens that are more fully devoted to the well-being and pleasure of the individual. Examples include the Buddhist and (to some extent) the Hindu heavens, which are attainable by the individual through rebirth but remain ultimately impermanent. The person goes thither as a reward for virtuous conduct, but however long he dwells, this is not final salvation. Some theistic forms of Hinduism postulate heavens that reflect the desires of the devotees in their longing for and adoration of God. A somewhat similar idea is found in Pure Land Buddhism. But such a heaven or paradise, though reflecting the joy of God's presence, may also incorporate many analogues to worldly pleasures. By contrast, hells reflect the deep pains of alienation from God and his love. Some systems postulate differing levels of salvation or heavenly existence in order to register the variety of possible human fates. The *Bhagavadgītā,* for instance, suggests that those who seek identity with *brahman* will attain it, but that it is a lower level than personal coexistence with Viṣṇu in Vaikuṇṭha Heaven.

Many religions conceive of release or salvation as the ultimate destiny of all humans (or of all living beings). In principle this is the case with Indian religious systems, with the exception of Madhva's dualism, which conceives of some souls as destined by their very nature for eternal punishment. But elsewhere in Buddhism and Hinduism hells are not everlasting places of punishment but in effect function as purgatories. A similar idea is found in Zoroastrianism, where the sins of the unsaved are finally burned away and all can rejoice in the victory of Ahura Mazda. But Christianity and the other Western theisms conceive of eternal punishment as the fate of some (though some Christians have believed in an empty hell and the ultimate salvation of everyone). The emphasis on divine judgment suggests the radical differentiation of the saved from the sinners. Much recent Christian theology, however, has emphasized a psychological or existential interpretation of the old pictures of heaven and hell, and stresses the sense of alienation from God or closeness to him in the events and vicissitudes of this life. There has been a corresponding decline in belief in hell, partly through the fading of the retributive view of justice. Modern cosmology has also weakened older ways of thinking of a succession of heavens above and purgatories or hells below, or of a Pure Land or other paradise "to the West." Hence there is greater emphasis upon salvation and its opposite as states of relationship to the Ultimate, or as states of mind. It has always been a characteristic of most Indian views of ultimate release, however, that such a condition is "beyond the heavens" and so not to be figured in a primarily spatial way (though there have also been disputes as to whether a soul is atomic or all-pervasive).

Finally it may be noted that some phases of traditions show a lack of interest in any radical notion of soteriology. Classical Confucianism has a picture of the ideal person or sage but not a doctrine of being saved from some pervasive evil or ignorance. In ancient Israel there was little concern with individual salvation until later on. Some modern secular worldviews such as scientific humanism do not possess the idea, and others such as Marxism do so only in an analogous sense. Classic small-scale religions, such as those in Africa, are typically more concerned with group welfare than with ultimate judgment about individuals. Nevertheless, the growth of modern individualism has highlighted the importance of thinking about how traditional patterns of soteriology might throw light on the symbols of judgment and ultimate meaning that remain vital in understanding the human condition.

SEE ALSO Atonement; Enlightenment; Millenarianism; Mokṣa; Redemption.

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NINIAN SMART (1987)
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SOUL

This entry consists of the following articles:

CONCEPTS IN INDIGENOUS RELIGIONS
ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN CONCEPTS
GREEK AND HELLENISTIC CONCEPTS
INDIAN CONCEPTS
BUDDHIST CONCEPTS
CHINESE CONCEPTS
JEWISH CONCEPT
CHRISTIAN CONCEPTS
ISLAMIC CONCEPTS

SOUL: CONCEPTS IN INDIGENOUS RELIGIONS

Whereas in a Christian context the human soul is thought about and overvalued in relation to the body, in the traditional thinking of so-called archaic societies an immanent power, a vital principle, an individualized dynamism, is usually recognized to exist not only in humans but in certain other material and biological beings as well. Whatever moves, whatever lives, is supposed to be the abode of one or many souls.

This article shall essentially deal with what is conceived of as the spiritual principle of the human being, the prototype of the "beings-forces" of nature, and not with the more or less anthropomorphized spirits, gods, or genies, nor with powers that are supposed to have a mineral, an animal, or a vegetable as a continuous substratum.

The essence of the soul is power, to the extent that power, soul, and life become interchangeable categories. But with regard to traditional societies one can really speak neither of the uniqueness of the soul nor of homogenous and always precise concepts. The linguistic equivalents in use remain very approximate. Since the idea of the soul is rarely the object of metaphysical discussion in these societies, it is difficult to really know if what is designated by the aborigines as "spirit of the man," or "spirit in the man," corresponds to separate realities, to distinct functions of the same reality, or to inherent potentialities of a determined substance. Nevertheless, the fact that primitive humans think of themselves as unlimited with regard to their physical potentialities shows that they examines themselves in order to seize their hidden essence, which extends far beyond their bodies.

In the explanations relating to the subject, one observes a constant concern about concrete detail and the rejection of abstractions, which results in a correspondence between ontological pluralism and a plurality of phenomena; but nothing is represented as either purely material or purely spiritual. The quantitative character of the power of the soul is accentuated by this plurality of personal souls and by the identification of the degree of force that each individual disposes of in their relation to evil spirits, in their generative power, and in the influence they has on their fellow citizens, for example. Each of these individual powers tends to free itself and to exert itself in an independent way: for example, through the heart in courageous deeds of battle or through the mind in the wisdom of a palaver. The soul never appears as a pure essence but is identified through props and manifestations. Its power can vary from individual to individual, and even in the same individual in the course of his or her life.

THEORETICAL ELABORATIONS. While most of the ethnologists of religion have been interested in problems relating to the soul, E. B. Tylor (*Primitive Culture,* 1871) and Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (*L'âme primitive,* 1927) were among those who formulated the principal theories regarding this subject. In *The Golden Bough,* James Frazer remained close to Tylor's concepts. R. R. Marett, criticizing both Tylor and Frazer, coined the word *animatism* to describe the tendency of the mind to consider inanimate objects as living and endowed with feelings and a will of their own.

According to Tylor, who was one of the first to propose a theory of primitive religion, the evolution of religious systems had its origin in a primitive animism, defined as a belief in spiritual beings. The notion of the soul arose from the fusion of the idea of a life principle with a double, or an impalpable phantom that could separate itself from the body it resembled. Belief in a phantom double originated in the experience of the independent double of distant or deceased individuals appearing in nocturnal dreams and diurnal fantasies.

But studies in the history of religions have not validated Tylor's hypotheses. His sequential interpretation (belief in a double, attribution of a soul to animals and then to objects, ancestor and spirit cults, fetishism, idolatry, polytheism, monotheism) has been shown to be incorrect; the importance that he gave to dream-inspired revelations in the origin of myth and religion has been contested; and the historical evidence proves that monotheism appeared much earlier than Tylor thought.

According to Lévy-Bruhl, the primitive soul must be seen as participating in a unique principle. All beings function as the vehicles, and the diversely specified incarnations, of an anonymous and impersonal force that sociology has popularized under its Melanesian name, *mana.* Participation in *mana,* which is at one and the same time substance, essence, force, and a unity of qualities, confers on things and beings a sacred and mysterious character that animates nature and maintains an interaction between all its parts. Belief in an essence common to certain beings and objects has been defined as totemism. But Lévy-Bruhl also viewed souls as variable and multiple powers, unequally located in the universe. Next to emanations-forces and powers of nature are placed the beings-forces, the personified souls, endowed both with intelligence and will.

It is, however, to be emphasized that both Lévy-Bruhl and Marett erred in concluding that the primitive conceives of everything in nature as being animated, even if there is a belief that anything can serve as a prop for an animation under specific circumstances. The idea that all is soul is a theoretical construction. The idea that the individual soul does not exist and that it fuses either with the cosmos or with the group is also erroneous, because, on the one hand, the individuals's identification with the vegetable, animal, or divine world does not exclude the differentiation of powers and, on the other hand, among many African peoples (the Kikuyu of Kenya, for example), the collective soul (or family spirit) is entirely different from the soul of the individual.

The idea that primitive thought ignores any dualism separating the body and soul also lacks validation. Numerous examples show that there exists a quite noticeable distinction between the body element and the diversity of spiritual entities that one may call "souls" for the sake of convenience, entities that may have the body as a prop or that, as the double of ego, constitute what Frazer called the "external soul."

VARIETIES OF THE SOUL. Owing to a lack of better and more varied terms, term *soul* is used here, in the singular, to refer to conceptions with greater differences than those existing between Shintō and Christianity; *soul* often designates, for a single living being, plural entities, distinguished by the autochthonous peoples themselves to account for what they judge to be independent spiritual forces. As beliefs can and do contradict each other from one ethnic group to another, it is hardly possible to imagine a typology that could be valid for a single continent or even for a large cultural area; consequently, it seems more appropriate to illustrate the diversity of souls—the complexity and ambiguity of these beliefs—with some examples.

The Fang of Gabon name seven types of souls: (1) *eba,* a vital principle located in the brain, which disappears after death; (2) *nlem,* the heart, the seat of conscience, which inspires the acts of men and also disappears at the time of death; (3) *edzii,* an individual name that retains a sort of individuality after death; (4) *ki* (or *ndem*) the sign of the individual and at the same time his or her force that perpetuates itself after disincarnation; (5) *ngzel,* the active principle of the soul as long as it is in the body; (6) *nsissim,* both shadow and soul; and (7) *khun,* the disincarnated spirit, which can appear as a ghost.

From this example, one can see that the soul is never conceived of as an amorphous substance; rather, it is represented through functional props (brain, heart), through images (shadow, ghost), through symbols (name, character sign), or by its activities. The differentiation of souls may also occur in relation to ethical or sexual criteria or their modalities of action.

The Mbua of the Rio Branco territory in Brazil (the São Paulo littoral) believe that there exists in each individual both a beneficial soul and a dangerous soul, which manifest themselves through communication, that is to say, through speech and an impulsive process comparable to telepathy. Moreover, there is a third type of soul called *ñee,* which is the initial core of the personality and plays the part of the protective spirit. This soul stands guard while humans sleep in the forest; but unlike the guardian angel, it is not a being distinct from a human. If the three souls simultaneously abandon the body, the person dies. The Mossi of Burkina Faso (Upper Volta) believe that death comes from the disunion in the soul (*siga*) of two invisible principles, one male (*hirma*) and the other female (*tule*).

Mircea Eliade has noted that the Aborigines of Australia recognize a distinction between two souls: the real ego, which preexists individuals and survives them, perhaps through reincarnation, as certain tribes believe; and the trickster-soul, which manifests itself in dreams, resists its definitive separation from the body, and may remain in the body of another person after the death of its owner. Humans have to perform special rites to defend themselves against the trickster-soul.

This last example suggests what is to many theoreticians of primitive culture a fundamental distinction: that is, the distinction between soul-substance, which animates the body and which temporarily locates itself in the vital centers or in the products relating to its force (saliva, sweat, blood, sperm, tears), and the external soul, which is also plural and whose different aspects correspond to various particular functions.

Internal soul. Wilhelm Wundt called the potentialities of particular parts of the body (head, heart, liver, eye) "organic souls." But if the soul is designated by the places where it shows its power, it is in the whole body that one finds the substance of the soul.

Among the corporal expressions of vital dynamism, a privileged place is assigned to blood and to respiration. In one of the myths of the Iurak of Central Asia, the world perishes from a fire caused by the death of a sacred tree; as it tumbles down, the tree sheds its blood, which streams over the earth, changing itself into fire as it flows. Thus, the disanimation of the center of the world produces (as a consequence) the disanimation of all beings. Respiration is conceived of as both the sign of life and its principle. Such was the power of breath among the Celts that during the Battle of Druin Damghaire the druid Mog Ruith, using only his breath, transformed his enemies into rocks.

A vital spiritual force is also supposed to reside in sperm. Sexual relations are the symbol and the means of the continuity of the vital force in humans. To say to an old African man that he does not have any more "force" is to tell him to his face that, on the one hand, he is impotent, and that, on the other, he is no longer capable of creation. Finally, it is to be noted that certain extraordinary potentialities of the body may be present as the result of its being possessed by a superior power.

External soul. This term designates the powers of the soul located outside the body. Frazer spoke at length about this in *The Golden Bough.* Discovering in themselves potentialities that appear to them to be superior to those shown by their ordinary physical performance, individuals have a tendency to conceptualize this superiority more readily outside than inside their own bodies.

Thus, what may be called external soul can leave the body during a dream or sometimes two or three years before physical death (Dogon, Serer, Kongo of Africa); habitually lives in an animal double (totem), in a human double, in the shadow; and expresses itself through speech and rhythm in relation to the "non-me" (the soul of communication).

Thus, the indigenous peoples of the Bank's Islands in Vanuatu fear that death will come to them if they see their reflection in the water of a cave. If a deceased person does not have a shadow, he or she may a shadow themself and may frighten the person who sees them as ghosts. An individual can attack another using a shadow acting as an intermediary.

The Sotho of southern Africa believe that a crocodile can seize a passerby if it catches hold of the person's shadow at the surface of the water. But in this context the word *shadow* is used figuratively to designate some inner aspect that is *like* a shadow—clearly individual and separable from the person, but at the same time immaterial despite being represented by way of material substance. This is an example of the conceptual expressing itself through objects accessible to the senses.

The "double" (which is identified with the shadow in some cultures, distinguished from it in others) is a second self, mysteriously united to an individual. It can die with the individual, or it can be seized and consumed by a witch, which action, in turn, causes a mortal sickness in the victim (a general belief in West Africa). On the island of Mota in Melanesia, the term *tamaniu* refers to a kind of double, referring to any animal that is mystically connected to human. People are forbidden to eat the *tamaniu.* Human and animal protect and influence each other in profound solidarity, but here the double does not have the exact same traits as the original.

The fact that some human powers are represented by the hair and nails that continue to grow for a short time after death, and that they are symbolically transported and buried and become the objects around which family funerals are celebrated in the case of the death of a loved one in a foreign land or of an untransportable corpse (e.g., in Benin civilization), does not mean that a soul is held to live in the hair and the nails. Rather, they are viewed in very much the same way as the placenta, which, like them, is buried in most parts of Africa—which is to say, they are thought to be relics of life and power.

The souls of animals, like the souls of things (e.g., a statuette), may also enter into symbolic and participative relationship with the human soul, but an animal—for example, a bird that flies away, a fly that enters a person's ear, a snake that kills—may also temporarily become the prop of a person's external soul. Sorcerers and witches are supposed to possess, to varying degrees, this liberty to transport themselves, to live in a double, to metamorphose in order to reach the people on whom they wish to act. Sometimes, the double (e.g., the *aklama* of the Ewe of Togo) is thought of as a sort of tutelary spirit, an adviser on matters related to the luck of the individual, one that suggests a good deed or the way to avoid an accident.

ORIGIN OF THE SOUL. The soul can originate from an almighty spirit, from Mother Earth, or from special genies; it can also be obtained as a gift, by conquest, or by choice.

Among the Ewe of Togo—who use the terms *luvo* (the "substance of the soul") and *gbogbo* (the "breath of life")—the individual, before incarnation, exists as a spirit, and together with the supreme creator Mawu-Lisa he or she chooses their own destiny. This choice is supposed to take place in the field called *bome,* the place of prenatal existence, a kind of reservoir of stagnant and infantile lives where the primordial mother, Bomeno, cuts clay from which to fashion the newborn, which she then sends into women's wombs. The myths relating to the origin of each individual introduce the notions of initial choice of their life (*gbetsi*), of reproduction of a character type (*kpoli*), and of reincarnation of an ancestor (*dzoto*).

The Bambara of Mali believe that humans possess twin souls called *ni* and *dya,* which are given by the deity Faro. The *tere,* which represents character, conscience, and force, is given to humanity by the deity Pemba. Finally, it is from the deity Mousso Koroni Koundyé that each individual obtains their *waso,* a malignant force that lives in the foreskin or in the clitoris and disappears at the moment of circumcision or clitoridectomy.

Among some peoples the generation of the soul is not the action of a divinity external to humans; rather it is through traditional methods that a soul can be obtained as a power. Thus, during their lifetime the Jivaroan people of Ecuador try to obtain a soul they call *arutam wakani,* which cannot be killed by physical violence, poisoning, or sympathetic magic. The search for this soul, which takes place around the age of six, involves a pilgrimage to a sacred waterfall, fasting, and the capture of a wandering soul during a vision of large animals in combat. The individual then feels an irrepressible desire to kill. The act of killing leads to the acquisition of the victims' souls and thus confers cumulative supernatural power. Those who have an *arutam* soul and are killed by either natural or supernatural means can, at the moment of death, form a revengeful soul called *muisak,* which leaves the corpse through the mouth in order to kill the murderer. Each individual, regardless of sex, is supposed also to possess an ordinary soul (*nekas wakan*) that is relatively passive; this soul is represented by blood, and bleeding is even believed to be a hemorrhage of the soul. But the *nekas wakan* is only of secondary interest in relation to the *arutam wakani* and the *muisak.*

The Yoruba of Nigeria believe that force can be ingested and that this food possesses the quality of a soul. Thus the new king of Ife had to consume the heart of his predecessor, once that organ had been reduced to powder, in order to incorporate in himself the substance of royalty.

DESTINY OF THE SOUL. The migration of the soul is the extreme consequence of the freedom of movement attributed to spiritual entities. Indeed, most primitive peoples believe that a form of soul becomes detached from the body in dreams, but there are some who also hope to reach a stage of personal weightlessness through ecstasy.

Thus the Tupi-Guaraní of Brazil believe that incessant dancing associated with strict fasting will make them become so light that they will reach the "land of no evil" beyond the seas, where they will remain eternally young and be free from work and life's trials.

The majority of the so-called primitive societies believe that after death their ancestors live in another world that either parallels the world of the living or is similar to it. The voluntary burial of weapons and food in tombs can be traced as far back as the Mousterian epoch, to the Neanderthals, and during the Upper Paleolithic period the dead were usually covered with red ochre, a sign of life and perhaps resurrection.

Many African peoples believe that an ancestor identified either by divination or by some distinguishing traits, although living in the country of spirits, can be reincarnated in a newborn child, and sometimes even in several newborns, especially twins.

When detached from the body after death, certain souls can disappear, and others can reach various worlds beyond. For example, one soul makes its way to the place where its ancestors live; another is transmitted as a vital force to its descendants, usually to its grandsons. The ghost remains as a double next to the corpse or appears to the living while they sleep.

Regarding forms of life after death, an example from the Dakota is illustrative. The sky god Skan attributes to each person at birth four types of souls. (1) *Nagi,* the spirit that controls the actions of human beings until their death, when it leaves the body to await Skan's judgment. If *nagi* is deserving, it joins the world of spirits (*wanagi tamakoce*); if not, it is condemned to wander endlessly. (2) *Niya,* the vital breath, which though immaterial, is visible whenever it wills. It gives vitality to the body, making it understand what is good and bad, and it helps the body to influence people. The *niya* can leave the body of the human being, and if the *nagi* abandons the body at the same time, it means death. After death, the *niya* gives testimony on the role of the *nagi,* which helps in the judgment of the latter. (3) *Nagiya,* the shadow, the external double, responsible for supernatural actions. A man possessed by the *nagiya* of a bear, for example, will have the nature of a bear. The *nagiya* also allows communication between animals and humans. (4) *Sicun,* the guardian spirit. It is never visible and is sent forth by the *wakan kin* ("superior spirits") to make humans react differently from animals. After death, it goes back to where it came from.

Almost everywhere, the voyage of the soul after death implies a gradual purification through a series of trials (e.g., crossing a stream, climbing to the sky by means of a rope). The ultimate destination is the land of the soul, depicted as a celestial space or an underground place, a glade or a desert, or a place devoid of all tangible character. In the Solomon Islands, the beyond is said to be both a distant country and a nearby cave. The idea of the dead resting in the west where the sun sets, or underground, or in marshes does not contradict the idea of their close invisible presence.

That the individual continues to exist in a new condition does not mean that the soul is conceived of as being immortal. Life can have a circular and cyclical movement that death does not interrupt, provided that the correct rites relating to burial (cremation in the Solomon Islands), lamentation, prayer for the dead, and sacrificial offerings are carried out. Primitive peoples speak not of an eternal life but of a very long life, a kind of existence resembling the one the dead have had on earth. Behavior, good or bad, as well as the manner of death, largely determines the posthumous power. Among the Fon of Dahomey, the individual whose death was caused by lightning, drowning, or leprosy can never achieve ancestorhood, and among the Tongans of Polynesia only the nobles are totally immortal. Among other peoples, some ancestors can ascend to the heights of divinity.

Here, mutilation prevents the soul of a dead human from performing harmful acts (Bering Inuit); there, the noxious powers of a sorcerer's soul are destroyed through the burning of the body (Ganda of Uganda). While continuing a life in the other world, the dead person can be present elsewhere; as a specter or a ghost (Raketta of New Guinea) or in the form of an animal (lizard among the Samoans, python among the Kamba of East Africa). Although invisible, the souls of the dead can appear in dreams or to those specialists who know their desires and so can intercept their messages.

SUMMARY. In the religions of primitive societies, the soul is not necessarily the particularized form of a general and undifferentiated supernatural force; it is neither the genie living in a material reality nor the unique prototype of the ego or of the person considered as a moral and judicial entity. Many societies believe in the existence of several souls in the same individual, each of them having a distinct function. Generally, greater importance is given to the power of animation (*anima*) than to the faculty of representation (*animus*). And the notion that some spiritual element of the person survives after death is quasi-general.

SEE ALSO Afterlife; Animism and Animatism; Blood; Breath and Breathing; Cannibalism; Death; Preanimism; Spittle and Spitting; Tears.

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SOUL: ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN CONCEPTS

Neither Sumerian nor Assyro-Babylonian cuneiform sources have left any account, however incomplete, of their psychological ideas, probably because, for these ancient peoples, such ideas were considered self-evident and did not need to be set down in writing. Scholars are thus faced with a difficult situation, which is made still more difficult by the scholars themselves projecting their own cultures onto the subject they are studying, namely their own ideas concerning the body and the soul (in this context see, for example, the title of this article, which is not particularly appropriate to deal with the cultural attitudes of the ancient peoples described here).

Using the meager information provided by the texts, the issue was initially dealt with by Oppenheim and—albeit in a less general manner—by von Soden, both in 1964 (Oppenheim, 1964; revised 1977, pp. 198–206; von Soden, 1964) but it remained a peripheral research subject for a long period, with the notable exception of Saggs (1974) and Jacobsen (1976, pp. 155–164). In the 1980s important studies finally appeared that dealt with the key aspects of the question and formed the basis for the subsequent systematic treatment (Klein, 1982; Groneberg, 1985; Jacobsen, 1989) in the years that followed.

MESOPOTAMIA. There are three obvious sources of information on Mesopotamian psychological ideas: (1) the anthropogeny of the *Atrahasis* poem and an analysis of this compared to other myths of the same sort; (2) details from exorcist rituals to banish or remove evil spirits or funerary rites; (3) the "personal god" and the literature dealing with this.

The *Atrahasis* poem draws upon traditional themes dealt with elsewhere (Kikawada, 1983) and may be dated to the Old Babylonian period (twentieth–sixteenth centuries BCE). It tells the story of the revolt of the lesser gods, who are tired of the heavy burden of work, and the resulting creation of the human race to take their place in performing this task, leaving them free to remain with the greater gods. The rapid growth of this new creature, which—like the gods—could not die from old age or sickness, resulted in a disruption of the order of the cosmos and provoked the anger of the king of the gods, Enlil, who tried to wipe out the human race with the universal flood. Ziusudra/Utanapishtim, the archetype of the biblical Noah, is saved in the ark, which floated upon the waters. The growth of the new human race, his descendants, was kept in check by old age and sickness.

The poem's composition centers upon puns, which are of fundamental importance in the anthropogenic story (Bottéro, 1982; Abusch, 1998; Alster, 2002). It should be borne in mind that the pun was a favorite device used by the schools of scribes to develop the hermeneutics of the texts, which the apprentice scribes and their teachers studied and copied (Bottéro, 1992, p. 100). This is the only literary source to deal extensively with the origin and nature of the human being, yet for a long time (the poem was published by W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard at Oxford in 1969: *Atram-hasis. The Babylonian Story of the Flood)* this source of information was not used because of its hermeneutic wordplay technique, which added to the difficulty inherent in such a poetic text and which was therefore only more clearly explained years later.

In order to create humankind, the gods killed a god with whose flesh and blood they mixed clay to form the new creature. Henceforth, as Bottéro has shown (1982), all the terms employed allow extensive wordplay, providing an interpretative key to the nature of humankind.

The ghost. Abusch (1998), developing these initial ideas, has shown a relationship between the flesh of the god and the ghost (*eṭemmu*), which remained in the underworld for a certain time after the death of an individual. This was the period of time for which the ghost retained its individual identity and that corresponded to the memory those who were still alive had of the dead person. It would clearly be difficult for this to last for more than three generations, that is, to concern older relatives known personally (*cf.* van der Toorn, 1996, p. 54; Abusch, 1995, revised 2002, p. 272; more generally Abusch, 1998, pp. 372–373); other than grandparents (or in exceptional cases, great-grandparents), there remained only the vague memory of ancestors perceived as an indistinguishable single group. The *eṭemmu* has been the subject of various articles: see Abusch, *Etemmu*, in van der Toorn, Becking, and van der Horst, 1999, pp. 309–312. It should be pointed out that many scholars, by imposing their own cultural experiences and philosophy, have identified in the *eṭemmu* an idea very like the European one of the "soul," disregarding the whole range of beings described to scholars since 1964 by Oppenheim (1964). Finally, in this line of thinking, European in outlook, for the sake of completeness we should mention the work of Chiodi (1994), a work that is inadequate in terms of the conclusions it draws as well as limited in terms of the selective nature of the sources it uses, and the work of Spronk (1986, pp. 96–125), wider in scope but with critical weaknesses.

Other terms occur repeatedly in the anthropogeny, always linked by puns: the human intellect (*ṭēmu*, *cf.* puns with *damu* and *eṭemmu*), which stems from the blood (*damu*) of the god, while the bodily element comes from the clay. Thus, the flesh of the god (*šīru*) does not produce the human body. Developing the ideas of Abusch further, we can understand the Babylonian conception of a divine being, "a high ontological density being," as Bottéro has stated (2001, p. 38), a being that, via this "density," was thought of as a luminous splendor (*melammu*). This component acted as a support (just as the human physical body, *zumru*, acted as a support for those elements making up psyche) drawn from the instincts and emotions, linked to the vital forces (and this is the nature of the *eṭemmu* ghost). The body of a god thus corresponded to part of the human psyche. This particular part of the psyche may also be found empirically in the "higher" animals (for example, dogs, donkeys), and it is perhaps in this light that an obscure passage of commentary should be interpreted ("commentaries" are notes by the scribal schools, which provide extremely concise explanations, mostly via puns, of myths, rituals, and divinatory or exorcistic texts), in which it is stated that the *eṭemmu* of some gods are animals (Livingstone, 1986, pp. 82–83, 88–89). In the human being too this element represents the individual "animal nature." We know that the ghosts of those who have not had the chance to progress in life, to attain success and maturity, the vital drives and fulfillment of those qualities belonging to an adult, those desires, loves, and emotions linked to manhood and motherhood (children, adolescents), are among the most restless and dangerous ghosts, since this part of the human psyche—whether because of inertia or unused energy—would wander and haunt the world of the living, generally seeking the fulfillment that premature death had made impossible. The dangerous nature of a ghost that had not been given proper funeral rites was probably consistent with this idea, since these would permit the ghost to pass to the underworld: the ultimate aim of this element of the psyche consisted in reaching the appropriate place, the underworld, after death.

The ability to reason: Human intelligence. Abusch (1998, p. 371) points out that the blood of the murdered god had provided human beings not only with intelligence (*ṭēmu*) but also with their life force (expressed in the poem as the heartbeat, *uppu*, symbolized by the beating of drums). Both the ego and the self, the origin of which, according to Abusch (1998, p. 378 ff.) is again passed on to mankind from the blood of the god, complete the psychological profile, fitting in with the interpretations that can be inferred from consideration of the personal god. The ego and the self are thus parallel to the flesh of the god, which for its part provides both the physical form and the ghost (that is the "animal" element), making up the death soul. Both parts of the murdered god, flesh and blood (respectively *širu* and *damu*), thus have a part to play, within the context of his divine parentage, in passing on to the new being, created by the mixing of clay, his essential characteristics. It is known that the expression *širu u* (*u* = and) *damu* was commonly used to indicate racial or family origins (van den Toorn, 1996, p. 42; Abusch, 1998, p. 370, fn. 15; Stol, 2000, p. 9), thus making even more clear to the contemporary listener the idea of the divine origin of mankind.

The anthropogeny of the *Atrahasis*—even if restricted only to certain elements, namely those that were of interest to its anonymous author—opens up the possibility of interpreting other human psychological features as well, which appear in other texts. Thanks to the information provided here, the systematic treatment of those elements that the modern Western world would define as relating to the soul or the psychological has recently become possible.

Abusch (1998, pp. 378–383) maintains, not without good reason, that the "personal god" (*ilu*) corresponds with intelligence (*ṭému*), thought of as that unique ability to think and plan, bestowed upon humans alone among all living creatures. He refers in passing to the Babylonian proverb "when you plan ahead your god is yours, when you do not plan ahead your god is not yours" (1998, p. 379).

Multiple external souls. Yet the personal god represents an even more complex set of realities. On the one hand this includes features beyond intellectual ability, while on the other it goes back to a system of male and female beings (with which it is contrasted, thus explaining its true significance), which symbolize, in the guise of discrete divine figures, fundamental human characteristics (Oppenheim, 1964; revised 1977). On a higher plane, there is the couple *ilu* ("god": male) and *lamassu* (female); they can be compared with another couple, *ishtaru* (female: translated as "goddess," a name that derives from the goddess Ishtar) and *šédu* (male).

To provide an explanation for the characteristics of these beings, Oppenheim recalls the anthropolgical theory of "multiple external souls" through which the individual finds fulfilment and relates to the outside world. In this respect he gives examples taken from the classical world, the Bible, and the Gospels in order to show how, albeit using different formulae, other cultures have managed to express psychological ideas of multiple external souls, ideas no more unusual in the Western than in the Mesopotamian world (Oppenheim, 1977, pp. 199–201). He compares the Greek *eudaimon* with the *ilu*, whose effect can be seen in a stroke of luck, in the unwitting avoidance of danger, thus leading to the adjective *ilānû* (*ilu* + adjectival indicator *ān*, + adjectival genitive ending *û*) being coined to describe a lucky person. This particular quality is linked to the reason, although from a Western perspective it is completely different in character. The *lamassu*, which is harder to relate to a specific aspect of the ego, may be compared to the Greek *eidolon*, the power that allows individual characteristics of every kind, including physical, to be displayed. *Šēdu*, the male equivalent of *lamassu*, is connected with the life force and the sexual, procreative drive of the individual. In this sense it may be compared with the Latin *genius. Ishtaru*, the counterpart of *ilu*, should be linked to *šimtu*, a word normally rendered as "destiny, fortune, fate," all of which are in fact only rough translations. Its meaning may be better understood by translating the word as "destiny," in the sense of the determination of a power (possibly, but not exclusively divine) to act and exert power in the surrounding world; it involves the allocation of personality, necessary in order to find personal fulfillment, completed only with death. We should think of the *daimon,* as described by James Hillmann in *The Soul's Code* (New York, 1996, chapter 1). Once again a parallel may be advanced with the Greek *moira*, but also *physis*, that is, "nature," "inherent quality"; *ištaru* is thus the external soul in relation to fate, in terms of the whole range of daily events, of gifts and capabilities, tasks and duties. It is this that grants a human being the *šimtu* that he will attain in his personal life (Oppenheim, 1977, pp. 201–205).

Arnaud (1996) has shown that the ancient Mesopotamians thought that the fetus was formed by epigenesis (that is by the successive accretion of different parts) rather than by germination. The soul should probably be regarded as being formed in the same way as the fetus. Along with the instinctive and emotional element, which is centered in the ghost (*eṭemmu*) after death, there is also the *zaqīqu* (dream soul: Abusch, 1998, p. 372, fn. 21; Sculock, 2002, p. 1 ff.), which, like the ghost, resides in the physical body. Two other substances should also be mentioned: *bāštu* and *dūtu*, the "life force" (*bāštu* comes from the verb *bāšu*, "to feel ashamed") and "the ability to plan," respectively (Groneberg, 1985; Saggs, 1974, p. 7).

Finally we should mention the *kūbu*, "fetus," which, despite being physical, has certain similarities with the *eṭemmu*. The *kūbu* as an unborn child lives in the underworld and individually in its mother's womb. *Kūbu* was also an underworld deity, a dangerous demon, although it could also be benign and is linked to growth (Stol, 2000, pp. 9, 29–33). The world below, acting as a womb or as Mother Earth, accepts the dead and provides energy to those who are coming into being (Abusch, 1995; revised 2002, p. 217). In a certain sense *kūbu* and *eṭemmu* may be regarded as the beginning and end of this process. In this respect the existence of necromantic rites should be noted, showing that, for witches at any rate, ghosts could be used for advantage (Finkel, 1983–1984; Tropper, 1989), since, like the *kūbu*, they also possessed certain powers.

The manner in which names are assigned to these things, these "multiple external souls," should not be regarded as an inflexible system of classification that did not change over the millennia. In popular thinking some traits and characteristics may have been understood differently, with certain features emphasized or played down, so that in considering Mesopotamian psychology, we should always allow a certain leeway within the elaborate structure set out here.

The *melammu*. The divine splendor (*melammu*) means that the gods are not only similar to, but of the same nature as, the stars (Reiner, 1995, pp. 1–24). This particular detail is significant when considering the most important divine element within the human being. The key to interpreting this lies in the *maqlû*, a complex ritual remedy against magic, by which a man who had been fallen under a witch's spell could be purified. Abusch (1995, reprinted 2002), who has provided the most complete and detailed interpretation of the nature, origin, and extent of this ritual, has pointed out that the witch's spell takes place during a dream and that the affected individual ascends to heaven and becomes one of the stars while taking part in the celebration of the ritual (which may perhaps also have ecstatic significance: Abusch, 1995, reprinted 2002, p. 285). The nature of *melammu* should be considered in this context (Cassin, 1968). The word, along with others related to it (*puluhtu*, "fear [aroused by the sight of the *melammu*]," *namirtu*, "brightness, light [that is the visible nature of the *melammu*]," *rašubbatu*, "awesomeness," *šalummatu,* "radiance"), even if reflecting different shades of meaning, has been compared with the Hebrew *kābōd*, the Greek *charis*, and the Iranian *xvarenâh. Melammu* is the splendor that illuminates a god or a temple (although Gilgamesh is also lit up in this way in the Sumerian poem *Gilgamesh and Agga*) and that envelops the person or object from which it emanates: in this sense it is a manifestation not only of divine power but also of life energy, understood in terms of charm, beauty, and attraction.

The nature of the Sumerian world. While it is correct that the Sumerian and Akkadian worlds may be regarded as parts of the same single civilization, it is, however, beyond question that the two peoples differ in certain respects, not just synchronically but also diachronically. The ghost, *eṭemmu*, is called *gidim* in Sumerian (from the Semitic *qādīm*, "ancestor": the Akkadian *eṭemmu* is also probably derived from *gidim*: Abusch, 1998, p. 373). It is not mentioned in the anthropogeny of the Sumerian myth *Enki and Ninmah*, which is directly related to the anthropogeny of the *Atrahasis* poem—this has been studied in detail by Kikawada (1983)—nor in the bilingual anthropogenic myth "KAR 4," in which the motif of killing of divine beings in order to create the human race appears (Abusch, 1998, p. 369 ff.). While there may be an exact semantic overlap between *eṭemmu* and *gidim*, in contrast we should examine the word *lil*$_2$, where the similarity with Akkadian terminology is more complicated. In general terms it may be stated that *lil*, discussed in detail by Jacobsen (1989), is a translation of the Akkadian *zaqīqu,* which, as well as signifying dream soul, also means "breeze." The term also reappears in the name of the king of the gods, *En- lil*$_2$, translated as "Lord wind." His realm is the atmosphere, the intermediate element of the cosmos, which at one extreme touches heaven (the home of his father, An), while at its other edge touches the surface of the earth (it is not by chance that the god is called a "trader"). It permits all living beings to exist, and it is indeed the presence of a special kind of wind, the breath, that distinguishes the living from the dead. Enlil is thus closely connected with the movement of air, with the wind, with gusts, and with the breath. The god is regarded as having given life to the universe (life being considered as a breath, *napištum*, Sumerian *zi).* In addition, a specific exhalation of breath consists of a word, and it is no mere chance that this is also a feature of the medium, where the spoken word makes clear to the listener the otherwise unattainable thought of the one with whom he is speaking. This idea relates directly to the sacred nature of the word, both spoken and written, and this is what is behind the use of puns by the scribal tradition when commenting on the texts.

The Sumerian and Akkadian languages both use the same term for "word" as for "matter, affair" (Sumerian *inim* = Akkadian *awātu*), and this is relevant to an analysis of the meaning of the term *lil*$_2$. The comparison with tempests and blasts of wind, even those that bring destruction (signs of the power of Enlil), and less obvious features, such as life and the word, show clearly how objectification matches subjectification and vice versa, an idea which both Oppenheim

(1964; revised 1977) and Abusch (1998, pp. 379–380) have taken as the basis for their interpretation of personal gods as objectifications of psychological realities, confirming what Eliade (1975, vol. 1, p. 96) had stated in his description of the characteristic features of Mesopotamian religion. *Lil*$_2$ is also a demon, the wind that brings sickness, developed in two demon figures, *Lilû* (male) and *Lilîtu* (female), respectively, *incubus* and *succuba.* These are two specters that emanate from those who have died before having the chance to enjoy sex and procreation (Wiggermann, in Stol, 2000, p. 227), but, in a purely internal sense, it is the mind of the sleeper, who moves in the dream while his body lies still and comes into contact with the divine world (Jacobsen, 1989, p. 274), where the name of the god of dreams, Sigsig, is mentioned (the name Sig[s]ig comes from the Akkadian Ziqīqu/Zaqīqu, the god of the "dream soul, zephyr, breeze"; Oppenheim, 1964, pp. 232–237: "the winds" or "the ever blowing one"). The dream state, like the atmosphere, has an intermediary nature, if another name of the god of dreams in a text may be interpreted as "Enlil with regards to dreams" (Oppenheim, 1964, p. 233). An evil demon lurking in the night or a benign god, which externalizes a state of mind, the dream illustrates the ambivalent nature that is also characteristic of other beings.

The literature and glyptics provide further descriptions of two protective beings, the goddess *Lama* and the god *Utug*. These went in front of and behind the individual, guiding him toward sure contact with higher divine realities, namely toward purification and health (one example taken from an exorcism: ^{d}*Udug-sig*$_5$*-ga* ^{d}*Lama-sig*$_5$*-ga he*$_2$*-en-da-sug*$_3$*- sug*$_3$*-ge-eš*, "May the good [*sig*$_5$*-ga*] *Utukku* [Akkadian for *Udug*] and the good [*sig*$_5$*-ga*] *šedu* [= *Lama*: this identification is made in bilingual texts] go with him [the patient])." The goddess *Lama* was not simply restricted to human beings alone but others also, such as, for example, cities and higher gods (Foxvog, Heimpel, and Kilmer, 1980–1983). As regards the *Udug*, this indicates a demonic, not necessarily benign, being: indeed part of the exorcistic texts clearly deals with the casting out of the *Udug-hul* (*hul*, "evil"), although it should be remembered that there is also a *dingir-hul* (*dingir* = Akkadian *ilu*, "god").

Particular attention should be paid to the personal god and goddess who are portrayed as divine parents. Klein (1982) has shown how the choice of words clearly distinguishes these two beings from natural parents. The "personal god" (Klein correctly expresses reservations as to whether this is a suitable term to use for the situation to which it refers) is the principle from which humanity originates, to whom he should refer during the course of life. This being should not be thought of as clearly defined, if, as Klein demonstrates (1982, p. 303, fn. 3), the same ruler can call upon different gods as his "parents." Even allowing for the fact that the position of rulers may represent a very special case, that of a king, it should be pointed out that the whole idea may not have been so very different as regards the ordinary individual. The expressions generally used are: (Sumerian) *dingir-sag-du*$_3$*-ni* = (Akkadian) *ilum bānišu*, "his (= the individual human being's) creator god (= the one who begat him) = the god who created him"; (Sumerian) *ama-dim*$_2$*-ma-ni* = (Akkadian) *ummu bānītišu*, "the mother (here a goddess) who produced him"; and (Sumerian) *lu*$_2$*-ulu*$_3$ *dumu-dingir-ra-na* = (Akkadian) *awīlu māri ilišu*, "man, the son of his god." These external objectifications provide evidence for the existence of a divine principle (albeit divided into two male and female opposites) essential to the human being, evidence that is confirmed by the information in the anthropogenic mythology.

SYRIA-PALESTINE, ANATOLIA. The epigraphic evidence for this region is much less abundant and much more fragmented than that found in Mesopotamia. Even literary evidence is scarcer and less widespread, and it is therefore impossible to provide a similar picture. However, both the fact that Akkadian belonged to the group of Semitic languages spoken in the region, and the geographical proximity of this region to Mesopotamia, which tended to encourage links, lead to the conclusion that the picture was not radically different. It is still not possible, given the nature of the sources, to paint a picture showing the corresponding relationship between the "multiple external souls," as there are only vague references to these. These relate to the word *nbš*, used in the sense of "soul" (van der Toorn, 1996, p. 232), referring to the soul of a Neo-Hittite king (in the eighth century BCE; del Olmo Lete, 1996, pp. 74–77), who wants to ascend to heaven and feast with the gods. *Nbš* is from the same root as the Akkadian *napištum* (see above), which Saggs (1974, p. 8) had previously linked with the Hebrew *nepeš*, taken to mean "external soul." Even a quite well-documented term, such as the Hebrew *'ob* (usually taken to mean "spirit of the dead," comparable to the Akkadian *eṭemmu*), which could be compared with Western Semitic material, contains ambiguities that make it impossible to provide a consistent interpretation (Tropper, *Spirit of the Dead*, in van der Toorn, Becking, and van der Horst, 1999, pp. 806–809). In the silence of the sources it is nonetheless possible to discern a change in the relation between body and soul (meaning by this simply the part of the human being that is not the physical body). During the second and third millennium BCE the distinction between these two elements was emphasized. In Mesopotamia this was clearly illustrated by the *Atrahasis* poem, when the two elements are mixed together, the divine ingredient, that is, the flesh and blood of the god, with the clay. This distinction is part of the common cultural heritage of the Near East region. The theory concerning this has been stated by del Olmo Lete (1996, pp. 53–80) in the context of a study investigating the continuity between Syrian culture of the second millennium and the Western Semitic world of the first millennium. In this study the particular features of the Western Semitic world of the second millennium, as set out in the texts from Ugarit, are compared with the psychological ideas of the Syria-Palestinian culture (and its Punic offshoot in the Mediterranean) in the first millennium.

To identify its distinctive important features, we should examine the Ugaritic mythological series "Baal and Anat" (del Olmo Lete, 1995). This is the broad story of the struggle between life and chaos (considered as death), which has echoes in Mesopotamian mythology, even if they are very distinct and distant, such as the poems concerning the conflict of the god Ninurta against the demon Asakku in Sumerian (called *lugal-e*) and Akkadian, and the Akkadian poem, which is derived from this, on the apotheosis of Marduk, the *Enuma elish.* It consists of three poems: "The Battle of the God Baal with the God Yam," "The Palace of Baal," and "The Battle between the god Baal and the God Mot." The mythological series as a whole is the story of the changing rule of the universe. In the first instance the three sons of the supreme god El, Baal, Yam, and Mot, divide up the three tiers of the cosmos, namely the earth, the sea, and the underworld. But the peace is short-lived. The first poem describes the victory of Baal over the god of the sea, Yam, who represents primordial chaos, like the goddess Tiamat in the *Enuma elish.* The second poem concerns the challenge of Baal, who has become the king of the gods, against his enemy Mot, following the construction of the palace that Baal has had the god of craft, Kothar, build for him as the seat of his rule of the cosmos. Baal is defeated in battle, goes down to the underworld, and is eaten by Morte (Mot). The gods all planned the disappearance of Baal, who on this occasion acts as a symbol of life of which he is patron—confined between the two extremes of birth and death. Since life on earth is struggling under the oppressive heat, his "sister" Anath goes off to look for her "brother"; he has the powers of a weather god and can make life thrive once more. The goddess, enraged, confronts and defeats Mot, tearing him to pieces. Baal is thus freed and able to escape from the stomach of his enemy. But Mot also comes back to life and the two gods confront each other once more. Finally the conflict is resolved by a judgment, handed down by the god El, that persuades Mot to return to his own realms.

This outline of the myth clearly shows, on two levels, the way that life alternates, both in an abstract sense, in contrast with death, and in terms of the cycle of the seasons, the alternating fertility of plant and animal life (W. Herrmann, *Baal,* in van der Toorn, Becking, and van der Horst, 1999, pp. 134–136). Yet the most dramatic adventure of the god Baal goes even further. He is given the epithet *rpu* ("healer"), not only because he has overcome death (Mot) but also because (it should not be forgotten that the word *baal* means "lord") he is the first of the *rpum,* the dead kings who are the ancestors of the sovereign (W. Herrmann, *Baal,* and H. Rouillard, *Rephaim,* in van der Toorn, Becking, and van der Horst, 1999, respectively pp. 135 and 692–700; see "Kingship in the Ancient Mediterranean World, Syria and Palestine. Including Israel"). These characteristics of the god Baal are clear in the texts from Ugarit (fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BCE), but their origins may be much older: some of the soteriological features of Baal can be traced back to texts from Ebla (twenty-fifth century BCE), in which Fronzaroli has managed to find the forerunner of Saint George confronting the dragon (Fronzaroli, 1997a, 1997b; on the closeness of the two divine figures, Hadda, main character in the texts examined by Fronzaroli, and Baal, see W. Hermann, *Baal,* in van der Toorn, Becking, and van der Horst, 1999, p. 132). Besides, Baal is also a *mlk* (Ugaritic = *malik*) chief "adviser" (del Olmo Lete, 1996, p. 56), leader of a group of chthonic beings called the *mlkm* (= Akkadian *mālikū,* plural). When the king dies, he becomes a *mlk* and, as such, becomes one of the group of *mlkm.* The Old Babylonian ritual *kispu* from Mari, a city on the Euphrates, refers to the *mālikū* and is consistent with the Ugaritic cultural passages in this regard. The mythological pattern in the story of the descent to the underworld and resurrection of Baal, the relationship of this god with both the kings and the *rpum* and *mlkm* too, when the kings themselves are also included in these last two groups, provides the outline of a Western Semitic idea that is clearly apparent in the Ugarit texts and with which similar information from subsequent periods should be compared. Nor should we disregard the Hittite concept of the kingship, summarized in the euphemistic expression *DINGIR*^{LIM}*-iš kišari,* "he has become a god," to indicate the death of the king. In the west, therefore, both in Syria and in Anatolia, the deification of the sovereign after his death was a distinctive cultural feature, which is only partially paralleled in Mesopotamia. In the first millennium the textual evidence becomes even more scarce; however, it is possible to employ both the archeological evidence as regards funerary rites, paying particular attention to the *tophet* of Punic cities in the west, as well as the biblical and classical sources dealing with the *molk* sacrifice and the alleged sacrifice of children (del Olmo Gete, 1996, pp. 53–61). The *tophet,* a graveyard area where the cremated remains of dead children were buried, shows that passage through fire had acquired the ability to convey to eternal life those who had not had the time to become a part of the normal life of society. The apotheosis and beatific vision of the dead kings, both the kings of Ugarit (who were not cremated in the second millennium) and those of the Hittites (who have handed down to us texts concerning funerary cremation rites in the second millennium) and Neo-Hittites (in the first millennium), were extended in the first millennium to dead children: a socially downward shift that changed eschatology, increasing the division between the physical body (which was to be destroyed by burning) and the incorporeal part of the individual, which was to be dispatched to its proper divine place (del Olmo Gete, 1996, p. 61). Yet the funeral pyres both of Melqart (Sergio Ribichini, *Melqart,* in van der Toorn, Becking, and van der Horst, 1999, pp. 563–565) in particular (Melqart, whose name, *mlk qrt,* means "king of the city," is called "Baal of Tyre"), as well as those of Dido and Hannibal, show that the fire constituted a ritual life-giving moment (Melqart is called the "Herakles of Tyre" and, like the Greek hero, he passes into the fire). One of the most important differences related to cremation: in Mesopotamia destroying the body did serious harm and could deprive the dead person of his identity (Abusch, 1998, pp. 372–378; but del Olmo Gete, 1996, pp. 68–69, interprets part of the same evidence in precisely the opposite way). The Hebrew world too developed differently. The Old Testament condemnation of these ideas, which were considered an abomination, show how the Hebrew cultural environment, consistent with its monotheist creed, did not develop in the same way as, starting from the Canaan cultural beginnings, was typical of the other peoples of the region.

SEE ALSO Baal; Canaanite Religion, overview article.

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Since Oppenheim (1964) provided a general outline of this, the subject has not been comprehensively dealt with and scholarly research has been restricted to specialist publications. An extensive bibliography is therefore necessary for the reader who wishes to assess and thoroughly examine the topics discussed here. In order to show the way in which the study of the subject has developed, the bibliography is given in chronological order.

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Translated from Italian by Paul Ellis

SOUL: GREEK AND HELLENISTIC CONCEPTS

The modern Western idea of the soul has both eschatological and psychological attributes, and the presence of the Greek word *psuchē*, or "soul," in concepts such as psychiatry and psychology suggests that the Greeks viewed the soul in the modern way. Yet the absence of any psychological connotations in the earliest extant usages of *psuchē* shows that at least the early Greek concept of the soul was different from later beliefs. Taking this difference as my point of departure, I shall first trace the development of the conception of the soul of the living, then look at the conception of the soul of the dead, and, finally, analyze the fate of the soul according to Hellenistic religions.

SOUL OF THE LIVING. The Greek conception of the soul in the Archaic age (800–500 BCE) might best be characterized as multiple. Following the widely accepted terminology developed by the Scandinavian Ernst Arbman (1926, 1927), we can distinguish in the oldest literary texts—Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (commonly dated to the eighth and seventh century, respectively)—two types of soul. On the one hand, there is the free soul, or *psuchē*, an unencumbered soul representing the individual personality. This soul is inactive (and unmentioned) when the body is active; it is located in an unspecified part of the body. Its presence is the precondition for the continuation of life, but it has no connections with the physical or psychological aspects of the body. *Psuchē* manifests itself only during swoons or at death, when it leaves the body never to return again. On the other hand, there are a number of body-souls, which endow the body with life and consciousness. The most frequently occurring form of body-soul in Homer's epics is *thumos*. It is this soul that both urges people on and is the seat of emotions. There is also *menos*, which is a more momentary impulse directed at specific activities. At one time, *menos* seems to have meant "mind, disposition," as appears from related verbs and the fact that the Vedic *manas* has all the functions of the Homeric *thumos*. As is indicated by the related Sanskrit *dhūmah* and the Latin *fumus*, *thumos* probably once meant "smoke"; it later usurped most of the connotations of *menos*. A word emphasizing the intellect more than *thumos* and *menos* is *nous*, which is the mind or an act of mind, a thought or a purpose. In addition, there are a number of organs, such as the heart and the lungs, which have both physical and psychological attributes.

In Homer, then, the soul of the living does not yet constitute a unity. The resemblance of this kind of belief in the soul to that of most "primitive" peoples strongly suggests that it belongs to a type of society in which the individual is not yet in need of a center of consciousness. Studies that relate the structural elements of Archaic Greek society to the emotional realities of that society, however, are sorely missing; in fact, studies of belief in the soul never seem to investigate this question.

In the course of the Archaic age, we hear of journeys of the soul—an important capability of the free soul that is not mentioned in Homer. Fascinating accounts tell of persons whose souls were reputed to wander away during a trance. It was told, for example, about one Hermotimos of Clazomenae, a city on the western coast of present-day Turkey, that his soul "wandering apart from the body, was absent for many years, and in different places foretold events such as great floods . . . while his stiff body was lying inert, and that the soul, after certain periods reentering the body as into a sheath, aroused it" (Apollonius, *Mirabilia* 3). Here we have a clear case of a person lying in trance whose soul is supposed to have left the body.

A similar case is reported of Aristeas of Proconnesus, an island in the Sea of Marmara. Herodotus (4.14) tells the following local legend. Aristeas entered a fuller's shop in Proconnesus and dropped dead. But, after the story of his death had spread, someone said that he had just met Aristeas outside the town. And when the relatives came to fetch the dead body from the fuller's shop, they did not find it. After six years Aristeas reappeared and composed a poem, the *Arimaspea*, in which he related a journey to the far North. A later account relates that the soul of Aristeas was seen flying from his mouth in the shape of a raven.

Aristeas's disappearance from the shop suggests that his "death" was in fact a deep trance during which his soul was believed to leave his body. The bilocation at the moment of his supposed death fits into a general pattern according to which bilocation always takes place when the free soul leaves the body—that is to say, during sleep, trance, or death. Aristeas's poem apparently used the first person to describe his journey to the Rhipaean Mountains in the North, as do the Siberian shamans when recounting their adventures during trances. Those who knew Aristeas personally would have known that he experienced his adventures only in a trance; others who knew only his poem must have concluded that he had experienced his adventures while awake. These and similar reports have been interpreted as manifestations of a shamanistic influence due to trade and colonization that had brought the Greeks in contact with the shamanistic culture of the Black Sea Scythians in the seventh century. Yet, the shamanistic parallels that have been adduced are either too general—ecstasy and the journey of the soul occur in too many places to be distinguishing traits—or cannot withstand close scrutiny. It seems more acceptable to claim these legends as valid testimonies for the existence of the free soul in Archaic Greece.

Toward the end of the Archaic age, two important developments took place. First, the gradual breakdown of the aristocratic hegemony in the later Archaic age had promoted a certain degree of individualization, and thus the idea of ending up in the unattractive and impersonal beyond that was the Homeric underworld became less and less acceptable. These changes promoted an "upgrading" of the *psuchē*, which in the middle of the fifth century even came to be called "immortal." The philosopher Pythagoras, who lived in the second half of the sixth century, introduced the speculative doctrine of metempsychosis—a doctrine probably influenced by Indo-Iranian sources. Initially, the concept of metempsychosis did not enter the mainstream of Classical Greek religion and remained restricted to marginal religious movements such as Pythagoreanism and Orphism. It was not above ridicule: a contemporary satirist relates that when Pythagoras saw a dog being beaten, he exclaimed: "Stop! Do not beat him. It is the *psuchē* of a dead friend. I recognized him when I heard his whine." However, the doctrine became very popular in post-Classical times.

The second development of the late Archaic age was the gradual incorporation by *psuchē* of *thumos*, which made the *psuchē* the center of consciousness. This transformation has not yet been satisfactorily explained, but it was most likely related to the growing differentiation of Greek society. Because of our limited sources, we can trace the course of this process only in Athens, whence, through the work of the tragedians of the second half of the fifth century, we acquire a detailed look at the changing nature of *psuchē*. Dramatic situations present persons, especially women, whose *psuchē* sighs or melts in despair, suffers pangs, or is "bitten" by misfortune—emotions never associated with *psuchē* in Homer. Characters even address their own *psuchē*, and a particular personality is referred to as, for example, a "mighty *psuchē*" or a "sweet *psuchē*." This development evidently reflects the growth of the private sphere in Athenian society, which promoted a more delicate sensibility and a greater capacity for tender feelings, such as we find more fully in the fourth century.

The culmination of the *psuchē* as the center of man's inner life was the necessary precondition for the Socratic view that a man's most important task was to take care of his *psuchē*. This view of the soul was taken up by Plato, throughout whose work concern about the *psuchē* remains axiomatic. As Friedrich Solmsen observes, "The *psyche* which he holds to be immortal and for whose fate after life reincarnation offered some meaningful answer, is now the central organ whose vibrations respond to the individual's sufferings and emotional experiences and whose decisions initiate his activities" (Solmsen, 1982, p. 474). Plato even goes so far as to include all intellectual functions in the *psuchē* as well.

Aristotle, on the other hand, almost completely discarded *psuchē*, but "care for the soul" and "cure of the soul" remained important topics for the philosophical schools of the Epicureans, the Stoics, and the Cynics. Pursuing the concept of *psuchē* in these schools, however, belongs more to the area of the history of philosophy than to that of religion.

So far, we have been concerned only with *psuchē* as the soul of the living. However, in the second half of the sixth century, the philosopher Anaximenes seems to have used the term *pneuma*, the purely biological breath, to denote the soul of the cosmos in analogy to the soul of man (the testimony is debated, however). The Pythagoreans also believed in an "infinite breath" (*apeiron pneuma*) that was "breathed in" by the cosmos. And in the course of the fifth century, various passages appear in which *pneuma* is used where we would have expected *psuchē*. Yet *pneuma* never completely lost its biological connection and it did not replace *psuchē* in designating the eschatological soul. In Hellenistic times, *pneuma* figures notably in various philosophies, but it rises to religious prominence only among Hellenistic Jewry and in early Christianity.

SOULS OF THE DEAD AND THE AFTERLIFE. The Greeks, like many other peoples, considered the soul of the dead to be a continuation of the free soul of the living. In the Homeric epic it is always *psuchē* that leaves for the underworld; the dead in the afterlife are indeed often called *psuchai*. The body-souls *thumos*, *menos*, and *nous* end their activity at the moment of death—their connection with the body is the cause of their disappearance. The *psuchē*, however, was not the only mode of existence after death; the deceased was also compared to a shadow or presented as an *eidōlon* ("image"), a word that stresses the fact that for the ancient Greeks the dead looked exactly like the living.

The physical actions of the souls of the dead were described in two opposite ways. On the one hand, the Greeks believed that the dead souls moved and spoke like the living; the image of the deceased in the memory of the living play a major part in this activity. There is a corollary of this idea in the *Odyssey* (book 11) where Orion and Herakles are depicted as continuing their earthly activities. On the other hand, the souls of the dead are depicted as being unable to move or to speak properly: when the soul of Patroclus left Achilles, he disappeared squeaking (*Iliad* 23.101). The circumstance of death was also of some importance in the formation of ideas about the soul of the deceased. Homer (*Odyssey* 11.41) describes the warriors at the entrance to Hades still dressed in their bloody armor. Aeschylus (*Eumenides* 1.103) has the *eidōlon* of Clytemnestra display her death wounds, and Plato elaborately explains this idea, refining it in a way by adding that the soul also retains the scars of its former existence. On vases, the souls of the dead are even regularly shown with their wounds, sometimes still bandaged.

The idea of the soul of the dead in ancient Greece appears, then, to be influenced by the image of the deceased in the memory of the living, by the circumstances of death, and by the brute fact of the actual corpse. These ideas were never completely systematized and could occur in one and the same description. Just after his death, for example, Patroclus can be described as appearing to Achilles exactly as he was during his life. And as long as he has contact with Achilles he speaks like a normal mortal; only when the contact is over does he leave squeaking. With the passing of time the precise memories of a specific person fade away, and it is understandable that the more personal traits gradually recede behind a more general idea of the dead as the opposite of the living. In time, the individual soul becomes just a member of the countless number of "all souls." The souls move in "swarms" in the Homeric underworld and in the tragedies; the idea of the underworld found its way even into the famous description in book 6 of Vergil's *Aeneid*.

Earlier generations of scholars freely made inferences of belief in the soul from funeral rites. Nowadays we have become much more careful, but the evidence from Homer and other sources suggests that a proper funeral functioned as a rite of passage into afterlife for the dead. This seems to be reflected, for example, in the myth of Sisyphus, who instructed his wife not to perform the proper funeral rites after death so that he could persuade the queen of the underworld, Persephone, to let him return to the land of the living.

After a proper funeral the soul went to murky Hades, (the name is perhaps best translated as "house of invisibility"), which is ruled by the king of the same name and his wife Persephone, the daughter of the goddess Demeter. The comfortless picture of Hades as "the land of no return" can hardly be separated from Babylonian and Semitic ideas as they appear in the Hebrew scriptures (Old Testament). The exact location of Hades remained vague; in the *Iliad* it was situated under the earth, in the *Odyssey* at the edge of the world. In the Homeric epics, the underworld was still reached by just crossing the river Acheron, but in the course of the Archaic age the transition between life and death became less "automatic" than in Homer. The new concern for the soul reflected itself now in the introduction of the ferryman Charon and the idea of guidance by the god Hermes Chthonios.

Not everyone, though, went to Hades. In the *Odyssey*, various heroes, such as Menelaus, went to the Elysian Fields. Others, such as Achilles, went to the so-called Isles of the Blessed, where the poet Hesiod, who lived somewhat later than Homer, also situated part of the "heroic" race, which included all the Homeric heroes. From the seventh century on, initiation into the mysteries of Eleusis becomes one of the means for the common man to share in the happiness the heroes enjoyed. As the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* (1.480ff.) says of those who have seen the secret rites: "Prosperous is that one of men upon earth who has seen them; but he who is uninitiated and has no share in the rites never has a portion of like happiness when he is dead and under the murky gloom." Any ethical requirements are still notably absent from this promise of the life eternal. At the end of the sixth century, however, clear indications of a more ethical view of the afterlife appeared, according to which the just were rewarded and the bad penalized, views especially connected with the Pythagorean and Orphic movements. These views also influenced ideas about the fate of Eleusinian initiates. However, despite the great interest in the afterlife that can be found in the literature connected with the mysteries, there is no specific mention of the soul or metempsychosis; the initiates apparently expected to arrive in the underworld in person.

On the whole, however, it must be stated that the ancient Greeks displayed only a limited interest in the life hereafter. It is in keeping with this limited interest that they did not worship their ancestors. The one festival that commemorated them had probably already ceased to be celebrated at the end of the Classical age. It is also part of this lack of interest in the afterlife that the Greeks of the Archaic and earlier Classical age rarely ever mentioned souls of the dead returning to the upperworld. Only the philosopher Plato, in the fourth century, mentions the existence of ghosts wandering around tombs and graveyards. It is true that during the Athenian festival of the Anthesteria the *kēres* were believed to appear on earth, but is is unlikely that these were the souls of the dead as earlier generations of scholars, who were strongly influenced by animistic views of Greek religion, liked to believe.

HELLENISTIC RELIGIONS. Toward the end of the fifth century the idea developed that the body remained behind on earth but the soul disappeared into the air. The celestial eschatology became highly important in the dialogues of Plato, who introduced the idea that the soul, or at least its immortal part, returned to its original abode in the heavenly area. The large-scale loss of Hellenistic writings makes it difficult to trace the idea of the soul in detail. However, a late oracle of Apollo at Claros, which contains Hellenistic views, declares:

> When someone asked Apollo whether the soul remained after death or was dissolved, he answered, "The soul, so long as it is subject to its bonds with the destructible body, while being immune to feelings, resembles the pains of that [the body]; but when it finds freedom after the mortal body dies, it is borne entire to the aether, being then forever ageless, and abides entirely untroubled; and this the First-born Divine Providence enjoined." (translated in MacMullen, 1981, p. 13)

In various of his writings, the philosopher Plutarch (c. 40–120 CE) also described the flight of the soul to the heavens, in particular to the moon, which became increasingly popular as the final abode of the soul. These views, like metempsychosis, remained popular among philosophers and the educated classes, but it is virtually impossible to establish to what extent they were shared by the lower classes.

As regards the mystery religions, which consisted of a mixture of Greek and native elements, it seems highly unlikely that the cults of Isis, the Syrian Goddess (Dea Syria), and Cybele had any specific teachings about the fate of the soul; at least there are no such indications within the considerable evidence we have regarding these cults. Rather late sources relate that the mysteries of Dionysos and Sabazios were directed to the purification of the soul, but the information is not very specific. Even the so-called Orphic Hymns do not display the otherworldly interest we might expect from hymns carrying the name of Orpheus. Mithraism is the only cult about which anything more detailed is known, that being only that the soul was supposed to pass through the seven spheres of planets after death.

When the rhetorician Menander (third century CE) composed a small handbook on oratory for such customary occasions as birth, marriage, and funerals, he also included some directions on how to speak about the afterlife: "for it is not unsuitable," he notes, "on these topics also to philosophize." He refers to Elysium,

> where Rhadamanthus, Menelaus, Achilles, and Memnon, reside. And perhaps, better, he [the deceased] now lives among the gods, traversing the heavens and looking down on life below. Perhaps even, he is reproaching those who mourn for him; for the soul is related to the divine, descends thence, but longs again to mount to its kind—as Helen, the Dioscuri, and Heracles, they say, belong to the gods' community (translated in MacMullen, 1984, p. 11).

The ambivalent view of the afterlife reflected in this passage is typical of Hellenistic religions. The gods of the Hellenistic period were generally thought of as gods effective in this life, just as the more traditional gods had been. Earlier generations of scholars have often considered the mystery cults competitors with Christianity in regard to the life hereafter, but it now appears more and more clear that the interest of most people in Hellenistic times rested firmly with this life. The inscriptions that have given us innumerable epitaphs display only a negligible interest in the soul or the life eternal. It was only with Christianity that there developed a new interest in the soul and the life hereafter, but its doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh always remained repugnant to the pagan world.

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SOUL: INDIAN CONCEPTS

The scripturally based historical religions that originated in India, including Buddhism, Hinduism, Jainism, and Sikhism, hold nuanced and distinctive perspectives on the concept of the soul. In a shared cultural environment, each tradition sought to relate itself to influential and established religious ideals, yet to distinguish its own position with respect to that ideal. The soul is one such concept. All of the traditions accept the fundamental ontological premise that there is an animating and vital incorporeal aspect of human beings, the presence of which distinguishes life from death. The status of the soul with respect to bodily life and death is a key issue, and in the Indian traditions this implicates the law of *karma*, which holds that actions have a residual force that has influence over an individual beyond the present lifetime and is thus the driving force behind the cycle of birth and death (*saṃsāra*). Notably, this residual force of *karma* is never equated with the soul in Indian traditions. Liberation from this cycle, which all the traditions define as the ultimate goal, is achieved by spiritual knowledge and practice as defined by each tradition.

It is necessary to keep strictly to the notion of the soul as an animating and vital principle when discussing Indian traditions generally, for the spiritual meanings of the term from Western classical traditions, including the immortality of the soul and its participation in an eternal afterlife, which are commonly understood as a functional definition of *soul* in the contemporary Western context, are not found in Indian traditions. Indian religions invest the concept of the soul as a life-force with their own distinctive meanings. For example, a major difference between classical Indian and Western traditions is the Indian traditions' critique of the individuated state in their visions of spiritual liberation. In Indian religions, ordinary bodily embodiment is the individuated state that acts and thus gives rise to *karma*. Since spiritual liberation is defined as the cessation of *karma*, and thus release from the cycle of birth and rebirth, the individuated state in which one produces *karma* is dissolved when spiritual liberation is achieved. This means not only that the body is dissolved, but also the individuated state of the life-force or soul. There is no philosophically developed idea of a personified, individually identifiable soul that continues to exist in an eternal afterlife in Indian religions. How the residual force of *karma* can influence successive lifetimes is a problem that the Indian traditions address and will be discussed with respect to each tradition in the sections that follow. Their common ground is that in their imagining of the achievement of spiritual liberation, which is freedom from *karma* and the cycle of birth and rebirth, the individuation characteristic of ordinary embodiment is dissolved.

The Indian traditions tend to envision the path of spiritual liberation in epistemological and devotional terms. However, there is an exception to the general rule in Indian traditions that individuality is incompatible with the achievement of spiritual liberation, and this approach adds an ontological dimension. There is a special category of the embodied, perfected being who is spiritually liberated; this category also contrasts with Western notions, which tend to view embodiment as indicative of an imperfect state. In Indian traditions, one can be perfectly spiritually realized and yet remain in the body, though it is understood that this is a rare occurrence. This is not an ordinary instance of embodiment, since perfected beings do not create *karma* and its effects, although they do act in the world. Each Indian tradition has its own nuance in describing the nature of the perfected being, but they have in common the assertion that the perfected being has a holistic vision of truth beyond the ordinary limitations of humankind. This special category of perfected, embodied being generally describes categories of religious leaders in the Indian religious traditions, including the *gurū* in Hinduism, the Buddha in Buddhism, the Jina in Jainism, and the ten *gurūs* in Sikhism.

In addition to these major differences with Western notions of the soul, the Indian traditions pose distinctive philosophical questions with respect to the concept, including whether the soul is temporary or permanent; whether it is autonomous; whether it is real or not; whether it is subject to *karma* or not; and whether it is personal or universal. The overwhelming evidence of profound differences between Indian and Western ideas of the soul has led many to question the applicability of the term to Indian traditions, to the extent that the influential classical Sanskrit term *ātman*, which is most commonly believed to correspond to the Western notion of the soul, is no longer translated as *soul* by modern translators of the Upaniṣad philosophical texts; they instead translate *ātman* as "self." The advantages of using "self " are as a marker of difference from Western notions, and as an indicator of the Indian traditions' concern with personality, *karma*, and self-awareness in defining the nature of humankind. The main drawback is the Western tendency to equate self with ego, which is unfortunate because Indian traditions offer a profound and consistent critique of the ego as a limited and materialistic obstacle to true spiritual knowledge. In this light, it seems that the connotations of the available English terms are either too transcendent or too materialistic to represent the Indian positions, which revel in explorations of the gray area in between, toward developing ideas on this mediating concept.

VEDIC CONCEPTS OF THE SOUL. The Vedas, which include the Vedic hymns (c. 1500–1000 BCE), the liturgical and mythological Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas (c. 1000–800 BCE), and the philosophical Upaniṣads (the earliest texts date to circa 700–400 BCE, the middle texts to circa 400 BCE–100 CE, with later texts written up till the sixteenth century), are some of the earliest oral and written texts in Indian religious tradition. Hinduism claims all of these texts as its own revealed canon. Buddhism, Jainism, and Sikhism reject the Vedas as a foundational scripture, but maintain dialogue with formative concepts, especially those articulated in the Upaniṣads.

In the ritualistic world of the Vedic hymns, the main concern is with transformations, especially those effected by the performance of sacrifice. An influential hymn (*Ṛgveda* 10.90) portrays the creation of the universe by the primordial, bloodless sacrifice of a Cosmic Man. This hymn may have provided a cosmic precedent for the Vedic people's central ritual practice of blood sacrifice with animals, primarily goats and horses, as represented in many Vedic hymns. The hymns preserve the sense of gravity and care with which the people approached the taking of a life, and their rationale for the ritual involved speculation on the soul. For example, a hymn on the horse sacrifice (*Ṛgveda* 1.162) proclaims that the horse is not really harmed by the slaughterer's axe; instead, the horse goes on pleasant paths to the realm of the gods as an offering, bearing the prayers of the community.

Other hymns deal with the subject of natural death outside of the ritual context of sacrifice; in these cases the body is also burned to effect a transition (*Ṛgveda* 10.14, 10.16, 10.56). The biological body (*śarīra*) is burned, but again it is asserted that the fire in a sense makes the body whole, unharmed, or "cooked fully" so that the dead person or beloved (nonsacrificial) horse can "go forth to the fathers." The hymns seem to suggest that there is then a brief, disembodied stage, in which the spirit has no body, breath, or senses, before joining with another body. This stage, which is only very briefly represented in the hymns, involves the concept of *tanū*. The *tanū* is perhaps a subtle structure that attracts various cosmic forces, such as *manas* (mind, heart, life-force; see *Ṛgveda* 10.58), *asu* (animating power), *prāṇa* (breath), and mental forces to intersect and facilitate the creation of a new body. Thus it makes individual the cosmic universal forces that are unborn (*aja*) and thus transcendental. These forces that are unborn are represented in another famous creation hymn, the *Nāsadīya* (*Ṛgveda* 10.129), in which creation is a "stirring" of vital forces such as heat and breath, presenting an important universal homology to the human microcosm. Another way that this universal dimension is expressed in the Vedic hymns is through the concept of *ṛta* (*Ṛgveda* 7.66.12–13, 1.105.12), which has been translated as "truth" and "cosmic order"; more recently, it is translated as "harmony." *Ṛta* is the subtle foundation of the universe that is distinct from, yet harmonizes, all of the elements within it, thus connecting the potentially chaotic parts into a related whole.

These ideas concerning the levels of human and cosmic reality and their intersection, which were suggested but not philosophically developed in the Vedic hymns, provided material for the central focus on metaphysical and cosmological issues in the subsequent yet connected texts, the Upaniṣads.

Interpretation of the Vedic hymns was initiated in the Brāhmaṇas and the Āraṇyakas, but it was the Upaniṣads that took up the question of knowing the knower in a sustained fashion, to the extent that the Upaniṣads were considered to be the branch of the Vedas that contained salvific knowledge (*jñānakāṇḍa*), in contradistinction to the other branches, which were considered to contain information about rites (*karmakāṇḍa*).

Upaniṣad means "hidden connection"; the texts by this name purport to describe the unseen vital forces operative in the universe, their connection to things that can be seen, including humankind, and humankind's ability to know them through a mystical as opposed to a rational knowledge. The texts' thesis is that through self-knowledge one can break through ordinary consciousness, which is most often represented in the texts as dualistic perception, and in so doing achieve the ultimate experience of unity with the foundational essence of the universe.

The Upaniṣads use the term *brahman* to indicate this foundational essence, which is a synthesis of the Vedic hymns' ideas of *aja* (unborn) and *ṛta* (harmony), yet points beyond them, since *brahman* is understood to be an ontological absolute, an unchanging ground of being that supports and pervades all things in the universe. As the primary entity, *brahman* is an undifferentiated, subtle unity; in gradual acts of self-transformation, this subtle unity experiences a densification that creates aspects of the universe. Humankind is understood to be a densification of *brahman*. In terms of ordinary perception, one cannot see the essence of *brahman* within humankind, but one can infer its presence from the necessities of living, including breath (*prāṇa*), as well as the fact that one "eats food and sees what is pleasing" (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 5.12–18); these are the specificities of name and form (*nāmarūpa*) and distinguishing marks (*liṅga*) of personal identity, and they point toward, but are not identified with, the essence of *brahman* within.

The essence of *brahman* as it relates to humankind is known as the *ātman*, or self. The *ātman* is humankind's "hidden connection" to *brahman*. While the *ātman* is seemingly individualized, since it exists in every human being, it is not stamped with the individual personality of a given person; rather, it is the agent that holds together the individual's personality, and as such it is identical in everyone. Thus it is possible to see a relationship between the concept of *ātman* and that of *tanū* from the Vedic hymns.

The *ātman* can be thought of as a "central instance of cognition" in humankind, indicating its special connection to mind, for the ordinary personality is subject to *karma* and transmigration until one achieves knowledge of the *ātman*'s identity with *brahman*. At death, "a person consisting of mind only" (that is, one who knows *brahman*) merges with *brahman*, never to return; in contrast, those who perform actions, such as sacrifices, pass into elements such as sky and wind before taking birth on earth again; and at a still lower level, "those who do not know these two paths become worms, insects, or snakes" (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 6.2.15–16). The *ātman* holds together the phenomenological personality, but it has no distinguishing marks characteristic of individuality. It is thus an agent of continuity, not a mark of personal identity. When spiritual liberation is achieved, the *ātman* merges with *brahman*; the individual marks of a person are dissolved, both in terms of the body and personality structure, and in terms of the mind, as individual self-reflective consciousness dissolves into pure, nondualistic consciousness.

HINDU CONCEPTS OF THE SOUL. As many scholars have noted, the Upaniṣads are the most influential texts in terms of subsequent developments in Hinduism. Drawing on them, several prominent philosophical schools in medieval India developed distinctive perspectives on the nature of the self, including the possibility that one could achieve spiritual liberation while in the state of embodiment.

The Advaita Vedānta school of Śaṅkara (c. 788–820 CE) posits that the phenomenal world is illusory (*māyā*), and is made up of layers or sheaths (*kośa*s). The subtle body (*sūkṣma śarīra* or *liṅga śarīra*), which preserves personal identity and is subject to *karma* and transmigration, is made up of three sheaths; breath (*prāṇamāyā*), mind (*manomāyā*), and cognition (*vijñānamāyā*). In contrast, the only reality is *brahman* and *ātman*; however, humankind does not know this due to the ignorance (*avidyā*) of reliance on sense perception. Since ignorance is the source of humankind's bondage, knowledge (*jñāna*) is the path to liberation; specifically, knowledge of the nonduality (*advaita*) of reality.

While the Advaita perspective has been understood to be uncompromisingly world-rejecting, the viewpoint does permit the thesis that one can be liberated while embodied. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* states that "He attains *brahman* even here" (4.4.7); Śaṅkara's commentary on this verse understands it to mean that "He attains *brahman*, identity with *brahman*, liberation, living in this very body." Thus, liberation is epistemological, not ontological; it requires one to transcend bodily consciousness by dissociating with the physical and psychological aspects of the body. A modern illustration of this approach would be the world famous female *gurū*, Ānandamayī Mā (1896–1982), who referred to her physical body only as "this body," and who would not feed herself, but was instead fed by her devotees.

Later medieval philosophers responded to Śaṅkara's position on the nature of humankind's relationship to *brahman* as well as the possibility of living liberation. These philosophers all have a theistic component to their philosophies. Rāmānuja (1017–1137 CE) was the chief proponent of the Viśiṣṭādvaita or Modified Nondualist school of Vedānta. In his view, the *ātman* (or *jīva*) is literally bound to the body and its psychological modalities; this is not illusory as in the Advaita system. Though the self remains untouched by the faults of humankind, it is still bound up with them, and must be liberated by exhausting the negative effects of *karma*. Thus, while Śaṅkara tended to put the emphasis on knowledge, Rāmānuja put it on action. One is to perform duties of a devotional, moral, and ritualistic nature with complete detachment (*karma yoga*) towards the results or benefits of the action. God is the focus of these activities. In Rāmānuja's thought, dedicated and unselfish action devoted to God burns off bad *karma* and increases knowledge, so that one can achieve equanimity in this life and achieve liberation when one leaves the body upon death (*videhamukti*). In this liberated state, the self reaches God's (Viṣṇu's) heaven (Vaikuṇṭha), where it resides in a *brahman*-like state in intimate association with God but not identical with God; thus the modified nondualism of this school's perspective.

Madhva (1238–1317) was the chief proponent of the Dvaita or Dualist school of Vedānta. In his philosophy, God (Viṣṇu) is the only independent, self-existent (*svatantra*) reality; all other aspects of existence are dependent (*paratantra*) on God. This is a relational, not absolute, dualism; the individualized self of humankind is a reflection of God, but this knowledge is obscured by an ignorance that is metaphysically derived from God. The self becomes deluded into identifying itself as the ego, and this creates the bond of *karma*. The will of God drives the system. In an argument that was subsequently controversial, Madhva suggested that it was God's will to liberate some selves but not others, an idea that resembles a theory of predestination. The path to liberation is through action, including (in ascending stages) detachment from the body, devotion to God, study and critical reflection on the scriptures, and meditation on the attributes of God as presented in the scriptures; all of these represent indirect knowledge of God. The final stage is the direct and immediate vision of God, which is permitted by God's grace. This is living liberation, but it is not the final state of spiritual liberation, for the body continues to exist through a special category of residual *karma* (*prārabdha-karma*). Ultimate liberation takes place when the self leaves the body at death and travels through the worlds of the gods, at last arriving at the enjoyment (*bhoga*) of God, in which the liberated self communes with God in full and blissful consciousness.

The Tamil-language Śaiva Siddhānta school, which tradition views as founded by Meykaṇṭār (thirteenth century) and whose canonical texts date from the mid-twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, shares many of its central concepts with the Sanskrit school of the same name. Śaiva Siddhānta views the world as composed of three irreducible realities, Lord (*pati*), soul (Tamil, *uyir*; Skt., *paśu*), and bond (Tamil, *iruḷmala*; Skt., *pāśa*). As described by the most prolific author in the tradition, Umāpati Civācāryār (c. 1290–1340), in his canonical text, *Tiruvaruṭpayaṉ* (The fruit of divine grace), the soul is located between Lord and bond. Through knowledge and devotional action, the soul loosens the grip of the aspects of the bond that are *karma* and *māyā*; then, through the Lord's grace, the soul achieves the attainment of the Lord and experiences bliss and pure knowledge in a relationship where "the two are as one," which is this school's distinctive take on the *advaita* theory.

Hindu Śākta Tantric tradition centralizes the Goddess in its path to spiritual liberation, understanding her to be *brahman*. While accepting the monism of *advaita*, this form of Tantrism emphasizes the relationship between one and many; *brahman* is one but is embodied in many forms, including the *ātman* in humankind. A distinctive ritual practice is to "interidentify" (*nyāsa*) aspects of the microcosm (many) with the macrocosm (one) through physical, mental, and verbal practices, creating a set of relations between them. The adept then dissolves the distinctions, creating a reunification of both the spiritual and material aspects of reality.

BUDDHIST IDEAS OF THE SELF. In early texts, the Buddha (c. 563–486 BCE) is represented as a teacher who places the greatest emphasis on the human condition as it is experienced here and now. A famous example is the metaphor of the wounded man from a middle-length discourse attributed to the Buddha, by which he contrasts the immediacy of the situation with the misguided posing of contextual questions that cannot be answered: "It is as if . . . a man who had been wounded by an arrow thickly smeared with poison . . . would say, 'I will not have this arrow removed until I have learned the name of the man [who shot him]. . .the clan to which he belongs . . . whether he is tall or short. . . .'" (*Majjhima Nikāya* 1, 428). It is this emphasis that informs a current stream of discussion in Buddhist studies, with some practitioners and scholars questioning the relevance of ideas of metaphysical import, including *karma* and rebirth, to the Buddha's original teachings. These proponents themselves acknowledge, however, that, historically, Buddhism has been understood by practitioners to involve these ideas, as evidenced by the traditional assertion that the Buddha saw his own past lives at the time of his enlightenment, and that his foster-mother saw her past lives as she passed into *nirvāṇa* (Pali, *nibbāna*), as well as the influential image of the "wheel of becoming," which pictures both pleasant and painful realms of rebirth.

The Buddha used the same lexicon of religious terms in use during his time, including those in the Upaniṣads, to distinguish his thought from others. His insistence on *anātman* (Pali, *anattā*), meaning "no *ātman*," is an example of this. There is no unchanging subtle essence to humanity, for everything arises and exists in a codependent, mutable fashion to become material phenomena, including humankind, which is composed of the five aggregates: body (*rūpa*), sensation (*vedanā*), perception (Skt., *saṃjñā*; Pali, *saññā*), mental formations (*saṃskāra*; *samkhāra*), and consciousness (*vijñāna*; *viññāṇa*). Yet with humankind, *karma* is implicated, as the following saying attributed to the Buddha suggests: "There is no 'being' found here [within oneself], only a heap of karmic constituents. Just as the word 'chariot' is used when we come across a combination of parts, so we speak conventionally of a [human] being when the Five Aggregates are present" (*Saṃyutta Nikāya* 1, 135).

What, then, is the continuity that carries forth the influence of *karma* incurred on either an individual or a social basis? Drawing on the early Buddhist text, the *Sutta Piṭaka*, Karel Werner (1988) has argued that there are several terms that suggest an idea of a personality structure in the early Pali texts that is rather like the *tanū* in the Vedic hymns. All of them are mental, not bodily, as we saw with the *ātman* of the Upaniṣads and Vedānta. One term is the "mental body" (*nāmakāya*), which controls the mental aggregates and is opposed to the body; another is the mind (*manas*), the sixth sense within the perception aggregate that controls the other senses; another is consciousness (*viññāṇa*), one of the aggregates and the one that is understood to give rise to the whole person in the chain of dependent origination; and another is the "collection of one's characteristics or habits" (*citta*). Drawing on the *abhidamma* philosophy of early Buddhism, Rupert Gethin (1994) has suggested that *bhavaṅga*, a form of consciousness that defines who one is, is determined for the next birth by the last full consciousness process of the present life. Each of these concepts denotes a way to imagine the continuity of constantly changing elements through death and into rebirth, as required by the *karma* theory. However, any confusion of these terms with an unchanging essence such as *ātman* was understood to represent ignorance, which was suffering (*dukkha*). Later texts in the Mahāyāna school emphasized the doctrine of *śūnyatā* (emptiness), that everything was empty of own-being, amplifying the message of the earliest texts that there is no unchanging essence.

JAIN CONCEPTS OF THE SOUL. Discourses attributed to the spiritual leader (Jina) Mahāvīra (c. 599–467) demonstrate his profound concern with instructing disciples in self-discipline, which is primarily understood to involve the liberation of the soul (*ātman* or *jīva*) from the bondage of *karma*. In the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, which is believed to record the final lectures of Mahāvīra prior to his liberation and is thus one of the most important texts in the Śvetāmbar sect's canon, he lists nine eternal verities that define the universe and provide the context for humankind's striving for liberation (*Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* 28.14): sentient soul (*jīva*), insentient nonsoul or matter (*ajīva*), contact of *karma* with the soul (*āsrava*), bondage of the soul by *karma* (*bandha*), meritorious forms of *karma* (*puṇya*), demeritorious forms of *karma* (*pāpa*), blockage of the contact of *karma* with the soul (*saṃvara*), dissociation of the soul from *karma* (*nirjarā*), and liberation (*mokṣa*, *nirvāṇa*).

A dualism exists at the center of Jain ontology and soteriology. Sentient souls are nonsubstantial and innumerable; they are characterized by consciousness, bliss, and energy. Insentient nonsouls are characterized by physical matter, space, motion, rest, and time. Together they make up the universe, in a connection that is constituted by *karma*. Improper karmic actions are imagined to be a fine dust that sticks to the soul. The path of liberation (*mokṣa-mārg*) is in essence the sundering of this connection; thoughts and practices that result in detachment are encouraged, so that the soul is "dry" and will not attract the dust of *karma* as would a "wet" or passionate soul. The soul is coterminous with the body in its current state of bondage (*svadehaparimāṇa*), and experiences the joys and sorrows of *karma*. For those who seriously pursue the path of purification, ultimately the soul completely releases itself from connection to matter. In the final state of liberation the soul is *kevalin* (possessing infinite knowledge), alone and autonomous, residing immobile for eternity at the highest point of the universe in Jainism's traditional cosmology. Yet even here there is a reminder of the soul's journey from the body, for the soul retains the outline shape of the body, yet it is featureless.

There are several conditions Jainism sets in terms of the possibility of achieving spiritual liberation. First, it is crucial that one has a human birth. Jains believe that animals are in the process of advancing through *karma*, which informs the Jains' cardinal practice of *ahiṃsā* (nonviolence), but only human beings can achieve spiritual liberation. Further, it is understood that mendicants, rather than laypeople, are in a position to achieve *mokṣa*. On the macrocosmic level, Jain cosmology suggests that there are only certain places and times when *mokṣa* is possible; thus, one can be born and live at a time when spiritual liberation is not possible. In this case, making progress towards *mokṣa* remains ethically enjoined. Mendicants engage in rigorous practices in order to obliterate voluntary *karma* and even involuntary bodily actions, in keeping with ideal Jain figures; for example, celebrated monks have fasted to death, and Jinas are popularly understood to have adamantine bodies. Jain laypeople focus not so much on the ideology of *mokṣa-mārg*, though they do practice five vows similar to the monks', but on devotional activities that produce good *karma* or merit, including providing material support for the mendicants, endowing temples, performing pilgrimages, celebrating festivals, and singing praises to the Jinas; these activities foster the well-being of individuals and the community of Jains.

SIKH CONCEPTS OF THE SOUL. Sikhism considers the soul (*ātman* or *jīva*) embodied in humankind to be a divine spark (*joti*): "The body belongs to the material world, but the spirit or soul in it is the essence of God" (*Ādi Granth* 695). God is known by several names in the *Ādi Granth* scripture (*Akāl Purakh*, the Timeless One; *Ik Oaṅkār*, One Being Is; *Sat Kartār*, the True Creator); God is formless and never incarnates, but is spiritually manifest in all the aspects of creation. The problem for humankind is the state of *haumai*, in which the person believes that he or she is independent and self-reliant, and is thus ignorant of God's nature and the connection between God and soul. A corollary of *haumai* is *māyā*, by which humankind is unable to see the oneness and reality of God through the veil of seemingly individualized aspects of the world. These fundamental misunderstandings influence one's *karma*, which in turn leads to rebirth.

The goal of spiritual liberation is to replace the sense of "I-am-ness" with identification with the divine will of God. A key practice is *nām-simran* or remembrance of the divine name, which as a practice is an individual or group recitation of scriptural verses. It is understood to be more than this, however, because the word (*bāṇī*) of God is the one true *gurū* subsequent to the passing on of the tenth *gurū*, and as such is what leads humankind toward God-consciousness on a daily basis, permitting humankind to experience unity with God through meditation on God's word.

According to Gurū Nānak's *Japujī*, which opens the Sikh scriptures, there are five realms of consciousness in humankind's progression towards spiritual liberation: *Dharam khaṇḍ*, awareness of the world and one's actions; *Jñāna khaṇḍ*, knowledge of the greatness of God's creation; *Saram khaṇḍ*, spiritual illumination; *Karam khaṇḍ*, innate performance of moral action; and *Sac khaṇḍ*, realization of the truth of oneness with God. The emphasis in the Sikh tradition is for all Sikhs to strive to become a *jīvanmukti*, one who experiences the fullness of God consciousness in the here and now.

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KAREN PECHILIS (2005)

SOUL: BUDDHIST CONCEPTS

It is only slightly paradoxical to say that Buddhism has no concepts of the soul: Its most fundamental doctrine teaches that no such thing exists and that the realization of this truth is enlightenment. In *The Buddha and His Teachings* (Colombo, 1957), G. P. Malalasekera, a Sinhala statesman and lay Buddhist, states this position forcefully:

> In its denial of any real permanent Soul or Self, Buddhism stands alone. This teaching presents the utmost difficulty to many people and often provokes even violent antagonism towards the whole religion. Yet this doctrine of No-soul or Anatta, is the bedrock of Buddhism and all the other teachings of the Buddha are intimately connected with it. The Buddha is quite categorical in its exposition and would have no compromise. In a famous passage He declares, "Whether Buddhas arise in this world or not, it always remains a fact that the constituent parts of a being are lacking in a Soul," the Pali word used for "Soul" being Atta. (pp. 33–34)

Of course, one must be careful about what exactly is being denied here. The closest direct equivalent to "soul" in Sanskrit or Pali is *jīva,* from the verbal root *jīv,* meaning "to live." In Jainism, it denotes an individual, transmigrating, and eternal entity; and in the Vedānta school of Hinduism, the related term *jīvātman* denotes the individual (but not universal) form of the world soul, called *ātman* or *brahman.* In one context, Buddhism uses this term to deny the existence of the soul. The questions whether such a *jīva* is identical to, or different from, the body are two of a list of "unanswerable questions"—unanswerable for the clear epistemological reason that since no *jīva* really exists, it cannot be identical to or different from anything. But in other contexts the word *jīva* and the closely related term *jīvita* are used uncontroversially to refer to animate life in contrast to inanimate objects or dead beings. One of the "constituent parts of a being," as Malalasekara called them, is termed *jīvitendriya* ("life faculty"), which has both physical and mental forms; its presence in a collection of such constituents is essential for that collection to be alive, or loosely for that "being" to "exist." What is denied by Buddhism is that any such collection contains or is equivalent to a permanent independent entity, whether individual or universal. The word standardly used in Buddhism to refer to such a (nonexistent) entity is *ātman,* or in Pali, *attan* (nominatives ātmā and *attā* respectively). In Indo-Aryan languages this (or related forms) often functions simply as the ordinary reflexive pronoun, used in the masculine singular for all numbers and genders. But since at least the time of the Upaniṣads it has also been used in religious and philosophical writing to refer to an eternal essence of humanity. By contrast, Buddhism is referred to as *anātmavāda* ("the teaching of not-self, or no-soul"). Other terms are used to refer to that whose ultimate reality Buddhism denies, but they can all, like *jīva* and *ātman*, also be used uncontroversially in other contexts. Examples are *pudgala* (*puggala*) or their synonyms *puruṣa* (*purisa*), usually translated "person," and *sattva (satta),* "being." (*Puruṣa* is the term for "soul" in the Sāṃkhya school of Hinduism.) If Buddhism denies, then, the existence of any ultimately real self, soul, person, or being, how does it account for the existence of human beings, their identity, continuity, and ultimate religious goal?

It is never denied that at the level of "conventional truth," in the everyday transactional world, there are more or less stable persons, namable and humanly recognizable. At the level of "ultimate truth," however, this unity and stability of personhood is seen to be merely a matter of appearances. Ultimately (or in some schools of Buddhism, in fact, only penultimately) there exist only collections of impersonal and impermanent elements (*dharma;* Pali, *dhamma*) arranged into temporary configurations by the moral force of past deeds (*karman*) and by self-fulfilling but self-ruinous desire and selfishness (both cognitive and affective). There are different ways of analyzing the person in terms of these elements. One of the most ancient and frequent methods used is a list of five categories, aggregates, or constituents of personality (*skandha*s; Pali, *khandha*s), which are body, or material form, and the four mental categories, namely feelings, perceptions (or ideas), mental formations (a heterogeneous class, most of which are volitional or dispositional), and consciousness. Common also is a list of twelve sense-bases (*yatanās*), comprising the six senses (the usual five plus mind, always regarded as a sense in Buddhism) and their six corresponding subjects or fields. There are also eighteen elements (*dhātus*), which are the six senses, their objects, and the six resultant sense-consciousnesses. The various schools of Buddhism went on to produce many other lists, some involving quite large numbers, which develop and elaborate this basic idea. Whatever the list, the idea behind it is explained by this excerpt from the Pali commentary to a passage in the canon in which the Buddha speaks of "an ignorant person":

> [The Buddha] uses conventional language [here]. Buddhas have two types of speech, conventional and ultimate. Thus "being," "man," "person," [the proper names] "Tissa," "Naga" are used as conventional speech. "Categories," "elements," and "sense-bases" are used as ultimate speech. . . . The fully enlightened one, the best of speakers, declared two truths, the conventional and the ultimate; there is no third. Words [used by] mutual agreement are true because of worldly convention; words of ultimate meaning are true because of the existence of elements. (*Saratthappakāsinī,* vol. 2, p. 77)

This analysis of personhood is nontemporal; personal continuity is accounted for by a theory of temporal atomism in which what appears to be a continuing and identical person or self is held to be in fact a series of discrete elements in an objectively given time sequence. Each discrete temporal particle in the succession of mental and physical elements is called a "moment" (*kṣaṇa;* Pali, *khaṇa*). Each of these moments is divided into phases or submoments, usually those of "arising," "presence," and "cessation." There is a frequent and conscious parallel in the texts between the ordinary, "conventional" events of birth, life, and death and the "ultimate" phases of each moment. The Buddha is alleged to have said, "Ultimately, as the constituents of personality are born and grow old, moment by moment, so you, monk, are born, grow old and die." Estimates of the length of these moments varied, some assuming a subliminal, even infinitesimal length, others seeing a moment as roughly the length of a perception or thought (and so resembling the notion of a sense-datum in Western philosophy). Whatever the postulated length, these moments are seen as discrete entities that are nevertheless held together in individual "streams" (a common Buddhist metaphor). This individuation is effected in two ways. First, it is effected by the simple fact of the body. Mental moments are necessarily associated in any one human lifetime with a material body (though there are in Buddhist mythology some nonhuman, nonmaterial worlds), and the body is assumed to be necessarily numerically self-identical. Second, there are held to be certain kinds of conditioning relations (loosely, "causal laws") in the process of *kar-*

man, which explain mental continuity both within one lifetime and over a series of rebirths. Among these conditioning relations are such things as contiguity between adjacent moments in a successive series and qualitative similarity between earlier and later parts of one "stream."

The two closely related problems of how karmic streams are held together and of how an act and its result are connected in one (and only one) series of rebirths, given the instantaneous arising and ceasing of momentary elements, led to a great deal of debate among Buddhist thinkers and to a great deal of new theory. One school, for example, thought that a special element, called possession or acquisition (*prāpti*), came into existence with each act in order to bind it to the stream in which it occurred, while another element, nonpossession or nonacquisition (*aprāpti*), served to keep away elements and acts not belonging to the stream. Two metaphorical terms were used by most schools to depict the process of act and retribution: *vāsanā* ("perfuming, trace") and *bīja* ("seed"). These traces or seeds were deposited in the mind by actions and remained there until their karmic result occurred. This process was called *vipāka* ("maturation, ripening"), and the result was *phala* ("fruit"); indeed, in Indian thought, *bīja* and *phala* commonly mean simply cause and effect. Sometimes particular kinds of mind, or forms of consciousness, were designated as the locus or vehicle of these traces or seeds. One school spoke of a subtle mind (*sūkṣma-citta*), another of a root-consciousness (*mūla-vijñāna*), in which the seeds of *karman* were stored. From these sorts of speculation arose a notion that was to have great importance in the Mahāyāna tradition: that of the store- or receptacle-consciousness (*ālaya-vijñāna*). Like all forms of consciousness, this was thought to be impermanent, momentary, and characterized as not-self, but it was also thought to be the place from which there arose not only the karmic results of past acts but also, in the more idealist versions, the (illusory) experience of an objective world. Many opponents of this idea, both within and without the Buddhist fold, saw this idea as amounting to a soul-in-disguise. One tradition, which seems at one point to have been very widespread in India but for which scarcely any reliable sources remain (it is known only, with one exception, through the distorting lens of others' refutations), was called the Pudgalavāda, the Personalist school, since it actually used the taboo word *pudgala* to denote what continues through the process of rebirth.

In the Māyāyana tradition, particularly in Tibet and China, another very important idea, which was often associated with the concept of the store-consciousness, was the *tathāgata-garbha* ("embryo of the Enlightened One"). This concept provided a solution not to the problem of connecting acts and their results but to that of how a conditioned, unenlightened phenomenon (or rather, a collection of phenomena) such as a human could attain the unconditioned enlightenment of *nirvāṇa.* The embryo of the Enlightened One was said to exist, pure and untarnished, in all beings; the task was to discover it. Insofar as "soul" is taken to mean something like "that which is spiritually most valuable in human beings and which makes it possible for them to transcend their ordinary psychophysical conditions and attain the religiously ultimate goal," this may be called a Buddhist notion of the soul. Certainly, in some of the developments of the idea, particularly in China and Japan, where one reads (in English) of the "Buddha mind" or "Buddha nature" inherent in all beings, one seems—although only at first sight—to have returned to the universal-essence view of *ātman* in the Upaniṣads, which the Buddha so trenchantly rejected.

Many of these ideas are technical, even scholastic, details, in the elaboration of basic Buddhist doctrine. But how does Buddhism address the question of self-consciousness, the linguistic and reflexive awareness of oneself that has led so many traditions of thought to see humans as possessing a "soul" different from the rudimentary consciousness of animals? (In Western philosophy the classic exposition of this is by Descartes.) In the philosophical schools of Mahāyāna, the conscept of *svasaṃvedanā* was developed; this may be translated "self consciousness" or "reflexivity," but Buddhist thinkers held that it was not consciousness of *a* self, or *the* self, but merely the capacity of consciousness *itself.* That is, the internatl structure of consciousness is self-refelxive, but it cannot be concluded from this that it reflects a real self or soul that exists outside the momentary arising and cessation of the mind. Another kind of account of this, which gives more of a sense of the dynamics of Buddhist thought and practice than do the details of scholasticism or the abstract arguments of philosophy, can be seen in the way in which Buddhism supposes that one's sense of self develops—and disappears—in the progression from ordinary unenlightened human to enlightened saint. The teaching of no-soul takes effet in two major ways, as one loses gradually the "fetters" that bind one to the wheel of truth.

First, on "entering the stream" bound for enlightenment, one of the fetters lost is *satkāyadṛṣṭi* (Pali, *sakkayadiṭṭhi*). Often translated as "personality belief," literally it means "the view of a really existing body," although "body" here does not denote simply the physical body but all the five constituents of personality seen as a group. "Personality belief" is the explicit view, or assumption, that what appears to be an individual person, the psychophysical conglomerate, represents or implies a real, permanent self or soul. It does not refer to the phenomenological or experiential sense of being a self, but to the use of this sense, however vaguely, as actual or potential evidence for a metaphysical theory. Losing this fetter thus constitutes a conscious allegiance to the Buddhist denial of self as a doctrine, without any immediate disappearance of the underlying subjective or "self-ish" pattern of experience.

Second, there is this underlying sense of self as the continuing subject of experience and agent of action, referred to in Buddhist thought by the term *asmimāna,* "the conceit 'I am.'" This fetter, which is necessarily part of consciousness for the unenlightened, is an experiential datum or reaction pattern that is lost at the time of enlightenment; indeed, its loss is precisely what enlightenment is. The term is made up of two parts: *asmi* is the first-person singular of the verb to be, thus "I am"; *māna* comes from a verbal root meaning to think, but it regularly has the connotations of proud or conceited thought. For this reason the translation "the conceit 'I am'" is useful, since not only can it point to the fact that the experiential datum of an "I" is taken in Buddhism to be a conception, something made up by a mental act, but also it suggests that this artificial mental construction is necessarily regarded with "conceited" pride and attachment. Thus not only is "the conceit 'I am'" a cognitive fact, or aspect of consciousness (for the unenlightened); it is also a moral (or rather immoral) event. The idea that the experiential datum of an "I" is in fact the result of an act of utterance—an act performed automatically and unconsciously, but still an act because it is operative in the process of *karman*—is embodied in the term *ahaṃkāra.* This is most often explained, by Indian tradition as well as by Western scholarship, as I-making or I-construction—from *aham,* "I," and *kāra* (from the verbal root *kṛ*), "making." It can also, complementarily, be taken as "the utterance of 'I.'" Along with *mamankāra,* "the utterance of 'mine,'" the term describes one of the seven underlying tendencies operative in unenlightened consciousness. Thus, the Buddhist view is that through the act of uttering "I" or "I am," explicitly or implicitly, a self-positing and self-creating subjectivity is constructed, to which inevitably the person in whom it occurs is attached, and through which all his forms of "selfishness" (conceptual and moral) arise.

Two stories in the ancient texts illustrate this attitude and show both the conceptual and the psychological relation between the ideas or utterances "I" and "I am" and the impersonal elements that are the "ultimate" constituents of the human person. A king, enticed by the mellifluous sound of a lute, asks his servant to bring him the sound. They bring the lute, but the king exclaims, "Away with the lute, I want the sound!" The servants explain, "This thing called a lute is made up of a great number of parts. . . . It makes a sound [the verb is *vadati,* literally, 'speaks'] because it is composed of a number of parts—that is, the box, strings. . . ." The king then takes the lute, breaks it up into smaller and smaller pieces, and finally throws it away. The moral is drawn: "In this way, monks, a monk investigates the constituents of personality. . . . But for him there is no 'I,' 'mine,' or 'I am.'"

The story of the elder Khemaka is similar. On hearing that he "does not consider there to be a self or anything belonging to a self" in the five constituents of personality, some other monks exclaim, "Is he not then an *arhat* [an enlightened saint]?" Khemaka hears of this but tells them that he is not an *arhat,* because "with regard to the five constituents, I have a sense of 'I am,' but I do not see '*this* is what I am'!" He explains by analogy with the scent of a flower: The smell is there, but it is impossible to say exactly from where it originates (whether from petals, colors, pollen or some other source). "Although, friends, a noble disciple has put away the five lower fetters (including personality belief), still there is a residue in the constituents of personality of the conceit of 'I am,' of the desire for 'I am,' of the underlying tendency to 'I am,' which is not finally destroyed." If one practices the life of meditation to the full, he says, these things (and with them all the higher fetters) will eventually disappear. When this happens, *nirvāṇa* is attained, and the teaching of no-soul has served its purpose.

See Also Ālaya-vijñāna; Buddhist Philosophy; Dharma, article on Buddhist Dharma and Dharmas; Karman, article on Buddhist Concepts; Nirvāṇa; Pratītya-samutpāda; Sarvāstivāda; Sautrāntika; Tathāgata-garbha.

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SOUL: CHINESE CONCEPTS

An early reference to the Chinese theory of the "soul" records an explanation on human life offered by a learned statesman in 535 BCE: the earthly aspect of the soul (*po*) first comes into existence as the human life begins; after *po* has been produced, the heavenly aspect of the soul (*hun*) emerges. As generally understood, *hun* is the spirit of a person's vital force that is expressed in consciousness and intelligence, and *po* is the spirit of a person's physical nature that is expressed in bodily strength and movements. Both *hun* and *po* require the nourishment of the essences of the vital forces of the cosmos to stay healthy. When a person dies a natural death, his or her *hun* gradually disperses in heaven, and the *po*, perhaps in a similar manner, returns to earth. A violent death may cause the *hun* and *po* to linger in the human world and perform evil and malicious acts.

Underlying this theory of the two souls is the *yinyang* dichotomy, which is often associated with the *Book of Changes*, one of the most ancient and philosophically sophisticated wisdom books in human civilization. *Yin* and *yang* symbolize the two primordial forces of the cosmos. *Yin*, the receptive, consolidating, and conserving female element, and *yang*, the active, creative, and expanding male element, give rise to the multiplicity of things through their continuous and dynamic interactions. The relationship between *yin* and *yang* is competitive, complementary, and dialectic. Furthermore, there is always a *yang* element in the *yin* and a *yin* element in the *yang;* the *yang* element in the *yin* also contains *yin* and the *yin* element in the *yang* also contains *yang.* This infinite process of mutual penetration makes an exclusivistic dichotomy (such as a dichotomy between creator and creature, spirit and matter, mind and body, secular and sacred, consciousness and existence, or soul and flesh) inoperative as a conceptual apparatus in Chinese cosmological thinking.

A natural consequence of the nonexclusivistic *yinyang* dichotomy is what may be referred to as the thesis of the "continuity of being." F. W. Mote (1971) has characterized the uniqueness of the indigenous Chinese cosmological thinking as the lack of a creation myth. As Mote points out, the idea of a god who creates the cosmos *ex nihilo* is alien to the ancient Chinese mode of thought about the universe. Since there is no notion of God as a creator, let alone a notion of the "wholly other" that can never be comprehended by human rationality even though it is the ultimate reason of human existence, the Chinese take the world as given, as always in the process of becoming. This becoming process, known as the "great transformation" (*dahua*), makes every modality of being in the universe a dynamic change rather than a static structure. A piece of stone, a blade of grass, a horse, a human being, a spirit, and Heaven all form a continuum. They are all interconnected by the pervasive *qi* (vital force, material force) that penetrates every dimension of existence and functions as the constitutive element for each modality of being.

Qi, which means both energy and matter, denotes, in classical Chinese medicine, the psychophysiological strength and power associated with blood and breath. Like the Greek idea of *pneuma*, or its more intriguing Platonic formulation of *psuchē*, *qi* is the air-breath that binds the world together. Indeed, its expansion (*yang*) and contraction (*yin*), two simple movements each containing infinite varieties of complexity, generate the multiplicity of the universe. This distinctively biological and specifically sexual interpretation makes the Chinese explanatory model significantly different from any cosmology based on physics or mechanics. To the Chinese, the cosmos came into being not because of the willful act of an external creator or the initial push of a prime mover. Rather, it is through the continuous interaction of Heaven and Earth, or the mutual penetration of *yin* and *yang*, that the cosmos (*youzhou*), an integration of time and space, emerged out of chaos, an undifferentiated wholeness. Implicit in the differentiating act of chaos itself are the two primary movements of *qi—yin* and *yang.* Since the cosmos is not fixed, there has been continuous creativity. Thus change and transformation are the defining characteristics of the cosmos, which is not a static structure but a dynamic process.

The "continuity of being" that exists because of the nature of *qi*, the cosmic energy that animates the whole universe from stone to Heaven, makes it impossible to imagine a clear separation between spirit and matter and, by implication, flesh and soul. Understandably, a form of animism and its corollary, panpsychism, are taken for granted by the Chinese. To the Chinese, there is *anima*, *mana*, *pneuma*, or *psuchē* in stones, trees, animals, human beings, spiritual beings, and Heaven. Precious stones, such as jade; rare trees, such as pines more than a thousand years old; unusual animals, such as the phoenix, the unicorn, and the dragon, are all, in a sense, spiritual beings. There is no matter devoid of spirituality. Human beings, spiritual beings, and Heaven are, in a sense, material. Totally disembodied spirit is also difficult to envision.

The *Problematik* of soul, in the Chinese context, must be approached by a cluster of key concepts centered around the idea of *qi* mentioned above. If we try to find the closest approximation of a functional equivalent of the notion of soul in Chinese, the word *ling* seems to work in some cases. After all, the modern Chinese translation of the English word *soul* is *ling-hun*, a compound made of *ling* and *hun*, earlier referred to as "the heavenly aspect of the soul." *Ling* is a spiritual force; the term especially refers to the inspirational content of a spiritual force. *Ling* is often joined with the word *shen*, which is commonly rendered as "spirit." In both classical and modern Chinese, the two words are, in most cases, interchangeable. Strictly speaking, however, *ling* is more localized and suggests a more specific content. *Shen* can be mysterious to the extent that its functioning in the world is totally beyond human comprehension, but the presence of *ling* is likely to be sensed and felt by those around. Soul, in the Chinese sense, can perhaps be understood as a refined vital force that mediates between the human world and the spiritual realm.

From the perspective of *qi*, the uniqueness of being human lies in the fact that we are endowed with the finest of the vital forces in the cosmos. Human beings are therefore the embodiments of soul. One manifestation of the human soul is human sensitivity. Even though the idea that man is made in the image of God is not applicable to the Chinese perception of humanity, the Christian notion that humanity is a form of circumscribed divinity may find a sympathetic echo in the Chinese concept that human beings mediate and harmonize the myriad things between Heaven and Earth. In an anthropocosmic sense, human beings are guardians, indeed co-creators, of the universe. The reason why man forms a trinity with Heaven and Earth is that his soul enables him to bring himself into a spiritual accord with the creative transformation of the cosmos. Strictly speaking, man is not the measure of all things; if he should become so, it is because he has earned the right to speak and judge on behalf of Heaven and Earth. Man's ultimate concern, then, is to harmonize with nature and enter into a spiritual communion with the cosmos.

In the spiritual realm, the idea of soul is closely associated with two related concepts, *gui* and *shen* (rendered by Wing-tsit Chan as positive and negative spiritual forces). *Shen*, commonly translated as "spirit" in modern Chinese, etymologically conveys the sense of expansion; *gui*, on the other hand, means contraction. The soul that expands belongs to the *yang* force and is associated with heaven; the soul that contracts belongs to the *yin* force and is associated with earth. In popular religion, *shen* refers to gods that are good and *gui* refers to demons (or ghosts) that are harmful. When the two words are joined together, they may simply refer to spiritual beings in general. In sacrifices, *guishen* may refer to ancestors. The flexible use of these concepts suggests the complexity of the spiritual realm in Chinese religiosity. It should not prevent us from noticing an underlying pattern that is applicable to virtually all situations.

Obviously, the negative spirit *(gui)* and positive spirit (*shen*) are manifestations of the two vital forces, *yin* and *yang*. It may not be farfetched to suggest that the negative spirit is the bodily soul (*po*) and the positive spirit is the heavenly aspect of the soul (*hun*) in us. We as human beings, according to the thesis of the continuity of being, are integral parts of Heaven and Earth and the myriad things. The two souls that are in us are microcosms of the cosmic forces. We are thus intimately connected with nature on the one hand and heaven on the other. In actuality, a person is not an isolated individuality, but a center of relationships. It is not our own souls that constitute what we are. There are numerous souls, individual and communal, that make humans active participants of the cosmic process. We, the living, are not separated (or indeed separable) from the dead, especially from our ancestors, those to whom we owe our lives. The biological nature of our existence is such that we do not exist as discrete temporal and spatial entities. Rather, we are part of the cosmic flow that makes us inevitably and fruitfully linked to an ever-expanding network of relationships. Human selfhood is not an isolated system; on the contrary, it is always open to the world beyond. The more we are capable of establishing a spiritual communion with other modalities of being, the more we are enriched as human beings.

Nevertheless, the power and potency of the human soul is determined by a variety of factors, especially political factors. For example, the soul of the emperor is the most exalted among the human souls; because of his high status he alone may offer sacrifices to Heaven and to the most sacred mountains and rivers. The soul of an ordinary person is such that he can only establish an intimate spiritual communion with his deceased parents and grandparents. However, this bureaucratic differentiation of the social functions of souls is not rigidly fixed. It is possible for people from the lowest echelons of society to cultivate themselves so that the quality of their souls can match the genuineness of Heaven, an accomplishment no worldly power, wealth, or reputation can approximate.

Before the introduction of Buddhism to China, both the Confucians and the Daoists had already developed indigenous traditions of immortality. For the Confucian, one achieves immortality by establishing one's moral excellence, by performing unusual meritorious political deeds or by writing books of enduring value. These three forms of immortality are deeply rooted in the historical consciousness of the Chinese, but they also point to a transcending dimension that makes morality, politics, and literature spiritual (or soulful) in the Confucian tradition. The individual soul achieves immortality through active participation in the collective communal soul of the moral, political, and literary heritage. Soul is not only inherent in natural objects; it is also present in cultural accomplishments.

In the Daoist tradition, immortality is attained through inner spiritual transformation. In a strict sense, what the Daoist advocates is not the immortality of the soul but longevity of the body. Yet the reason why the body can age gracefully (or elevate itself to a state of agelessness) is that it has become translucent like the soul without desires or thoughts.

The Indian notion of the transmigration of the soul that entered East Asia with the introduction of Buddhism has provoked heated debates in China since the fourth century. Partly because of the Buddhist influence, the notions of *karman*, previous lives, hells, and journeys of souls are pervasive in Chinese folk religions. Fan Chen's essay "On the Mortality of the Soul," viewed in this perspective, may have been a successful Confucian refutation of the Buddhist belief in the separation of body and soul; but as a rationalist-utilitarian interpretation of the soul, its persuasive power was greatly undermined both by sophisticated Buddhists who denied the permanence of the phenomenal self and by lay people who were under the influence of Buddhist devotional schools.

Since there has been continuous interaction between the great traditions and folk traditions in China, the folk belief that souls are spiritual beings that float around the human world, on the one hand, and the naturalistic, organicist interpretation of souls as expressions of the vital force, on the other, are not conflicting perceptions of the same reality. In fact, there are enough points of convergence between them that they can well be understood as belonging to the same religious discourse. To the Chinese, souls are neither figments of the mind nor wishful thoughts of the heart. They have a right to exist, like stones, plants, and animals, in the creative transformation of the cosmos. The malevolent, negative souls can harm people, haunting the weak and upsetting the harmonious state of the human community. However, by and large, human beings benefit from the positive aspects of the soul, for through the "soul force" they are in touch with the dead and with the highest spiritual realm, Heaven.

SEE ALSO Qi.

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SOUL: JEWISH CONCEPT

Unlike the Egyptian and Akkadian terms that have been translated as "soul" (e.g., *ba, ka, khu, shimtu, shedu, ishtaru*), the most important Hebrew words for this concept (*nefesh, neshamah* or *nishmah,* and *ruaḥ*) do not primarily refer to appearance, destiny, power, or supernatural influences, but to respiration—the inner, animating element of life. While the Hebrew Bible distinguishes between spirit and flesh, it does not accept the type of dualism of body and soul characteristic of Greek thought. Hebrew terms for the soul usually refer to an activity or characteristic of the body or to an entire living being. To "afflict the soul" means to practice physical self-denial (*Lv.* 16:29ff.).

Hebrew *nefesh,* usually translated as "soul," refers to the breath, as does the term *neshamah* (or *nishmah*), which became the most common word for the soul in postbiblical Hebrew. The verbs formed from the roots of these words *(nafash* and *nasham*) mean "to breathe." The two words are found together in *Genesis* 2:7, which narrates how the first human (*adam*) received the breath of life (*nishmat ḥayyim*) from God and became a living soul (*nefesh ḥayyah*). Another meaning of *nefesh* is "life," particularly animal life. Here the soul is a kind of material principle of vitality, which is separable from the inert substance (*basar*) of the body. *Neshamah,* on the other hand, sometimes refers particularly to conscious life or intelligence. *Nefesh* also may refer to mental states, in particular to strong emotions or physical cravings. At times *nefesh* refers to human capabilities, such as the capacity for eloquent speech.

The word *ruaḥ,* which is often rendered as "spirit," refers to powers or actions outside the body and often has the meaning of "wind." *Ruaḥ* is the mysterious vitality in the material body, which is considered a divine gift. *Ruaḥ* sometimes denotes forces external to the body that operate in or through the body or the mental faculties. These forces are states of exaltation and depression beyond normal experience that come and go "like the wind." (The clearest example of the various meanings of *ruaḥ* in a single passage is *Ezekiel* 37:1–14, the vision of the valley of dry bones.)

According to the Hebrew Bible, a dead human being remains in possession of the soul upon entering Sheʾol, a shadowy place sometimes synonymous with the grave, where the vitality and energy associated with worldly life are drastically decreased. Since both the body and the soul enter Sheʾol, the later doctrine of the resurrection (as expressed in *Isaiah* 24–27 and *Daniel* 12) indicates a reentry into life in both aspects. The first definite appearance in Jewish thought of a doctrine of personal survival of death in a general resurrection of the dead comes in the literature associated with the Hasmonean Revolt (166–164 BCE), from which time it increases in importance to become a central dogma, later a part of the basic doctrine of Christianity.

The work in the Hebrew canon that expresses the idea of resurrection most explicitly is the *Book of Daniel.* The final chapter of this Hebrew-Aramaic text of the second century BCE expands some details of the divine judgment of the nations with a "secret" revelation wherein it is made known that at some future time many of the dead will wake to everlasting life, while some will wake only to eternal suffering. References to the concept of resurrection are also found in *Isaiah* 26, which modern scholars regard as part of a late addition to the book. It alludes to personal resurrection, which, it suggests, will be restricted to certain categories of the dead and to the shades or *refaʾim.* The original nature of the *refaʾim* in Canaanite mythology is the subject of continuing debate, but in biblical contexts they are usually understood as impotent ghosts.

The "dew of light" mentioned in *Isaiah* 26, as well as in the Pseudepigrapha (e.g., *1 Bar.* 29:7, 73:2; *1 Enoch* 60:7), suggests ideas of restored fertility, and is associated in the Jewish tradition with individual resurrections as well as a general resurrection. However, the passages in *Daniel* and *Isaiah* concerning the role of the soul in resurrection are ambiguous and have allowed for extensive and often contradictory speculation. The Sadducees, in the first century CE, followed a literal reading of the accepted scriptures and denied that the idea of a general resurrection was found there. But the Pharisees and their successors, the tannaim (first and second centuries CE) and the amoraim (third through fifth centuries CE) were convinced that the scriptures, properly understood in the light of an oral instruction passed down through Moses and the later prophets, were filled with hints and allusions concerning the world to come.

RABBINIC VIEWS. A synopsis of concepts of the soul in rabbinic literature may give an overly uniform appearance to this material, which developed over many generations. Statements scattered through this vast literature may appear when cited in isolation to be pure speculation or assertions of dogma, but they often have a primarily polemic point in context. With explicit and implicit contradictions so abundant in the Talmud, no fully articulated system (or systems) can be found, but it is possible to summarize majority views and influential positions.

The close connection between soul and body characteristic of the biblical worldview is continued in the rabbinic literature. The Palestinian Talmud (J.T., *Kil.* 8.4, 31c) attributes the origin of different portions of the physical body to human parents, while the spirit, life, and soul are attributed to God. This admits a greater duality than is acknowledged in the Hebrew Bible, but the soul is regarded as the active element, and so is responsible for sin, while the body is only its vehicle. Such an attitude is contrary to Greek views known in Hellenistic Judaea whereby the body is seen as a trap that debases or hinders the soul. According to Kaufmann Kohler and Ephraim Urbach (see, respectively, *Jewish Theology* and *The Sages,)* this view of the body as the source of sin and impurity is not found in rabbinic Judaism. Urbach also concluded that neither the concept of the soul's immortality, separate from the body, nor the idea of its transmigration into other bodies, is rabbinic. The absence of early, authoritative pronouncements on such points allowed for widely variant speculations within later orthodox and heterodox thought. Talmudic Judaism, as Urbach indicates, found moral duality existing within the soul, which contains both good and evil impulses, the latter including the ambitious, self-centered, and envious impulses in human beings that must be controlled rather than extirpated. The Talmud presents the soul as a supernatural entity created and bestowed by God and joined to a terrestrial body (B.T., *Ber.* 60a). God takes back the soul at death, but later restores it to the dead body. Similar views of the soul are elaborated elsewhere in the Talmud and early *midrashim,* although not without opposing voices. Among these is the concept of the soul's preexistence, which, Urbach argues, appears in rabbinic sayings only after the third century centuries CE. According to some, all human souls came into existence during creation as parts of the "wind of God," understood here as "spirit" (B.T., *ʿA. Z.* 5a, *Yev.* 62a; *Gn. Rab.* 8.1, 24.4). Unborn souls abide in a *guf* ("a body"; commentators suggest "promptuary") among the treasures of the *ʿaravot,* the seventh heaven, where also are found the souls of the righteous and the "dew of light" with which God will resurrect the dead (B.T., *Ḥag.* 12b, *Yev.* 62a, *Shab.* 152b). The Messiah will come when the supply of souls in the *guf* is exhausted, or, according to others, when God has created those souls he has held in his intention from the beginning (B.T., *ʿA. Z.* 5a, *Yev.* 62a, *Nid.* 136; *Gn. Rab.* 24.4; cf. also *Apocalypse of Ezra* 4:35).

According to one view, God compels the selected or newly created soul to enter the womb at the time of conception. Even after the soul has entered this world, it is not entirely forgetful of its origins and is not without divine care.

It is accompanied by angels (B.T., *Ber.* 60b, end; B.T., *Shab.* 119a), and nightly, while the body sleeps, the soul ascends to heaven, from which it returns with renewed life for the body *(Gn. Rab.* 14.9; probably implied in B.T., *Ber.* 60a). On the Sabbath the body enjoys an "additional soul," which is sent forth by and returns to God, as Shimʿon ben Laqish discovered by an ingenious rendering of the word *va-yinafash* in *Exodus* 31:17 (B.T., *Beits.* 16a, *Taʿan.* 27b).

Although the soul had protested at its embodiment and its birth into the world, it also protests at the death of the body. The soul hovers about the dead body for three days, hoping that life will return (*Tanḥumaʾ,* Miqets 4, Pequdei 3; cf. B.T., *Shab.* 152a). Ultimately the soul leaves the body and awaits the resurrection, when they will reunited and judged together (B.T., *San.* 91). Concerning the fate of the soul in the meantime, one view is that the souls of the righteous will remain with God, while the souls of the wicked wander in the air or are hurled from one end of the world to the other by angels (B.T., *Shab.* 152b).

Not everyone will be resurrected. The generation destroyed in the Flood, the men of Sodom (*San.* 10.3) who were punished by complete annihilation, and, with ironic appropriateness, those who denied the doctrine of resurrection will not return to life. Attempts have been made as well to relate doctrines of the soul or of the resurrection to Jewish concepts of religious duty and piety (e.g., B.T., *Ket.* 111b), a problem that was to be taken up at length by philosophers and mystics in later centuries.

PHILOSOPHICAL VIEWS. Philosophical speculation in Judaism arose through the desire to reconcile the Jewish tradition with contemporary intellectual discourse. In medieval Jewish philosophy, the effort at reconciliation was directed at two rival forms of thought, Platonism and Aristotelianism, both of which were read under the influence of Neoplatonic commentaries and misattributed texts, such as the excerpts from Plotinus that circulated as the *Theology of Aristotle.* Isaac Husik noted (1916) that as a group, Jewish philosophers hesitated between (1) the Platonic view of the soul as a distinct entity that enters the body from a spiritual world and acts by using the body as its instrument and (2) the Aristotelian view that, as far as the lower faculties such as sense, memory, and imagination are concerned, the soul is merely a form of the physical body and perishes with it. They found biblical references to support both views, although the latter provided a clearer division between the human and the divine.

Philo Judaeus (d. 45–50 CE) sought to reconcile Greek, predominantly Platonic and Stoic, philosophy with scripture, particularly the Pentateuch. He accomplished this through a device he borrowed from the Greeks, the allegorical method of interpretation, which the Stoics had used for the Homeric epics. Philo accepted most of the Greek distinction between body and soul, including the belief that the body and its desires were the cause of the pollution of the soul, the body being a prison from which the soul must escape. Humans are related to the world of the senses through the body and the lower parts (or functions) of the soul, but through reason a human being is related to the suprasensual, or divine, realm, to which the higher portion of the soul seeks to be reunited. For Philo, the religious task is to bring about the union of the individual soul with the divine Logos, transcending both the material world and the limits of the rational soul.

In Philo's adaptation of Plato, there is a transcendent, preexistent, incorporeal Logos, a direct projection of the ideas in the mind of God, and there is also an immanent Logos, the totality of God's powers existing in the material world. The intelligible world of the transcendent Logos is the model for the human world, in which all things, including individual souls, or minds, are reflections of the ideas, or images, as these are mediated through the immanent Logos. Directly below the immanent Logos in the descent from God are the rational, unbodied souls, which have the nature of living beings. Some of these were, or will be, incarnate in human bodies; others have not and never will be so embodied. These latter beings are ranked according to their inherent level of likeness to the divine. They are found in the heavens and in the air, and are known to the Greeks as *daimones,* that is (following the etymology in Plato's *Cratylus* 398b), "knowers," but in Hebrew they are called *malʾakhim,* "messengers," because they are God's messengers in his dealings with the created world. Translators of scripture have called them "angels," that is, "heralds."

The rational, human soul, a fragment of the Logos in human form, is capable of achieving a separate existence at a new level; the angels cannot. Without the support of God, however, the rational soul would perish by dissolving into its original, undifferentiated state. This is the fate of personal obliteration awaiting the wicked. The souls of the righteous, the wise and virtuous, will be brought close to God in proportion to their merits. Not only can some reach the level of the highest angels beneath the immanent Logos, as did Elijah, but some can attain the level of the ideas of the intelligible world, as did Enoch. Moses, the most perfect man, who delivered the most perfect law by which souls are disciplined and improved, stands above all created species and genera, before God himself. Philo thus attempts to link the Platonic ascent of the soul to the Platonic ideas, using the biblical concepts of prophecy and election. No place is made for a resurrection of the body reunited with the soul.

Philosophical and systematic theological writings from Jewish sources appear again later in the ninth and tenth centuries in response to the philosophical schools of Islam. The work of Yitsḥaq Yisraʾeli (c. 850–950) is largely Platonic in origin. Yisraʾeli believed in the substantiality and immortality of the soul, of which he distinguished three kinds in every human being. The first is the rational soul, which receives wisdom, discriminates between good and evil, and is subject to punishment for wrongdoing. The second is the animal soul, which humans share with beasts. It consists of sense perception, and it controls motion, but has no connection with reality and can judge only from appearances. The third is the vegetative soul, which is responsible for nutrition, growth, and reproduction; it has no sense perception or capacity to move. These distinctions, with major and minor variations, were to become common in Jewish as well as in Muslim and Christian writings.

Yitsḥaq Yisraʾeli's younger contemporary, Saʿadyah ben Yosef, or Saʿadyah Gaon (c. 882–942), summarized his ideas about the soul in the sixth treatise of his *Book of Beliefs and Opinions* (Arabic version, *Kitāb al-amānāt wa-al-Iʿtiqādāt,* completed about 933; Hebrew paraphrases and full translation as *Sefer ha-emunot ve-ha-deʿot*). Saʿadyah follows the less widely accepted of the Talmudic and Midrashic views that the soul is formed with the completion of the body and that there is a continuous creation of souls. He accepts, however, the predetermined limit of the total number of souls. He defends the localization of the soul in the heart with a demonstration of synonymous uses of the words in biblical texts, as well as with ancient and medieval physiological theories locating consciousness in the heart. Like the celestial spheres, the soul is perfectly transparent, so that although it permeates the body through vessels leading from the heart, it is too fine to be seen. When the soul leaves the body it is stored up until the time of general retribution, when it is restored to its own body to face God's judgment. Because of their pure, celestial nature, the souls of the wise and just rise to the heavenly spheres. The souls of the wicked, however, become turbid from the impurities of their earthly lives, and after death they drift aimlessly among the lower elements. When it first leaves the body, the soul is troubled by the thought of the disintegration of its former abode. The earthbound souls of the wicked are greatly distressed by this corruption, while pure souls are much less concerned by it and soon begin their ascent.

Saʿadyah used the resources of Arabic philosophical teachings to construct a rationalized exposition of some Talmudic views of the soul. The majority of his successors were content with more general resemblances, preferring to concentrate on the assurance of personal immortality and retribution when they discussed the soul. Shelomoh ibn Gabirol (c. 1021–1058), one of the great Jewish liturgical poets of medieval Spain, connected the soul with the nature of the universe. For Ibn Gabirol, a Neoplatonist, the individual human soul is part of the world soul and contains a higher faculty than that of the rational soul, which is that of immediate intellectual intuition. The soul contains all the forms of existence in its essence and can intuit these forms. Ibn Gabirol separates the soul from God through an intricate series of emanations, but to many his views seemed to attribute too much of the divine to the human soul.

Elaboration of the concept of soul in terms of Jewish thought was attempted by another Spanish poet-philosopher, Yehudah ha-Levi (c. 1058–1141), in his Arabic dialogue *Al-Khazarī* (The book of argument and proof in defense of the despised faith). Ha-Levi argues that philosophy, which has been presented as an eclectic Neoplatonism, is not absolutely wrong in teaching men to seek communion with the divine by subduing the organic and emotional, or vegetative and animal, elements of the soul to the rational. He states that there is another faculty of the soul, the religious faculty, which is capable of grasping truths and experiences beyond the reach of reason alone, so that the immaterial substance of the higher faculties of the soul becomes indestructible and immortal by assimilating universal and eternal concepts. According to ha-Levi, rabbinic Judaism is uniquely able to foster this higher, religious faculty of the soul. By leading a temperate and moral life the soul attains immortality and closeness to God.

The Neoplatonic approach of Shelomoh ibn Gabirol was resumed in later decades by another Spanish poet, Mosheh ibn ʿEzraʾ (1070–1138), who was influenced, it is thought, by the Ṣūfīs. Ibn ʿEzraʾ believed in the preexistence of the individual soul and in the transmigration of souls until they gain sufficient wisdom to be reunited with their source in the world soul. Markedly Aristotelian, in contrast, is the work of Avraham ibn Daud (1100–1180), a Spanish historian and astronomer who argued that the soul is the form of the body, that it can grasp universal ideas and discriminate between good and evil, and that it can survive the body. Ibn Daud criticized the idea of the preexistence of the soul as illogical, arguing that if a preexistent soul died with the body their union was without purpose, while if it survived the body their temporary union was also pointless.

In the twelfth century the dominant influence was not that of Ibn Daud, however, but of Moses Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon, 1135/8–1204). In his major philosophical work, *The Guide of the Perplexed* (c. 1190), he bases his theory of the soul on Aristotelian thought as he understood it through the great Arabic commentaries of Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) and Al-Fārābī and on biblical texts interpreted by an elaborate theory of the meaning of scriptural language. For Maimonides, the complete soul, or *nefesh,* is coextensive with the physical body and is not separable from it. It has five functions, namely, (1) the nutritive, (2) the sensitive, which consists of the five senses, (3) the imaginative, (4) the appetitive, which manifests itself in desires and emotions, and (5) the rational. The rational function itself consists of (1) the reflective aspect, which acquires knowledge and makes ethical judgments, (2) the practical aspect, and (3) the theoretical aspect, which consists of knowledge of unchanging realities.

The rational faculty is twofold. The material intellect latent in all human beings can be developed into the acquired intellect by the proper use of the mind. The acquired intellect is a disposition of the soul and perishes with the body. The acquired intellect can realize correct general concepts about the world, and when these are realized the rational soul assimilates the corresponding thoughts of the Active Intellect, which is the emanation through which God governs the material world. In this manner elements of divinity enter into the acquired intellect. If the soul has been directed toward contemplation of the nature of God and the world, the acquired intellect is replaced by the actualized intellect, which consists of these general concepts received from the active intellect. When the body dies the lower faculties of the soul are destroyed, but the actualized intellect, being of divine origin, is reunited with God through the Active Intellect. Through rational contemplation, such souls are rewarded by immortality. The souls of those who indulged the senses and emotions will perish with their bodies. According to the *Treatise on Resurrection,* although Maimonides believed in resurrection, he considered it a temporary condition wherein the souls of the righteous remain before they depart from the physical world entirely.

The threat to traditional religious beliefs presented by Maimonidean intellectualism was not met successfully until the late fourteenth century, in the *Or Adonai* (Light of the Lord) of Hasdai Crescas. Crescas attacked the theory of the soul as being a form coextensive with the physical body. He also rejected the assumption that reason is the characteristic feature of the human soul. He argued that the will and the emotions are basic parts of human nature and not merely bodily distractions to be discarded with the flesh, which survive the death of the body and play a part in determining the ultimate condition and fate of the soul. He contended that religious teaching and practice are correctly directed at shaping the will and the emotions, rather than the reason.

QABBALISTIC VIEWS. According to Qabbalah, a person is a spiritual being whose body is merely an external wrapping. There are three essentially different parts of the soul in qabbalistic thought, designated by the Hebrew terms *nefesh, ruaḥ,* and *neshamah.* The *nefesh* is the vital element and enters the body at birth; it dominates the physical and psychological aspects of the self. In contrast, the *ruaḥ* and *neshamah* must be developed through spiritual discipline. The *ruaḥ* comes into being when a person can overcome the body and its desires and it is thus associated with the ethical aspects of life. The *neshamah* is the highest part of the soul and is produced through study of the Torah and observation of the commandments. Torah study awakens the higher centers, through which the individual attains the capacity to apprehend God and the secrets of creation.

According to Gershom Scholem, Qabbalah took this division of the soul primarily from Jewish Neoplatonism and introduced theosophic and mythic elaborations. In Qabbalah the *neshamah* is that part of the soul that consists of the spark of the divine and is exclusively concerned with the knowledge of God. According to the fundamental text of thirteenth-century qabbalistic literature, the *Zohar,* each part of the soul originates in the world of the *sefirot* (the emanations of God). *Nefesh* originates in the *sefirah* Malkhut ("kingdom"), the lowest emanation, which corresponds to the Congregation of Israel. *Ruaḥ* originates in Tif'eret ("grandeur"), the central *sefirah,* also known as Rahamim ("mercies"). *Neshamah* emerges from the third *sefirah,* Binah ("understanding"). The *sefirot* are assigned male and female aspects, and the soul has its origins in a union of these male and female archetypes and takes on masculine and feminine forms only in its emanations downward.

After the compilation of the *Zohar,* two additional parts of the soul were introduced, the *ḥayyah* and *ye-ḥidah* ("life" and "only one"; cf. *Psalms* 22:21). These were assigned higher levels than the *neshamah* and could be acquired only by spiritually evolved individuals. The soul of the Messiah, which was on the level of *yehidah,* had its source in the *sefirah* Keter ("crown"), the highest of the emanations.

According to Qabbalah, the *nefesh, ruaḥ,* and *neshamah* have different destinies after death. The *nefesh* hovers over the body for a time; the *ruaḥ* goes to a terrestrial realm assigned according to its virtue, and the *neshamah* returns to its home with the divine. Only the *nefesh* and *ruaḥ* are subject to punishment.

In the thought of Isaac Luria (1534–1572) and his disciples, the doctrine of metempsychosis was incorporated into concepts of the nature and destiny of creation and the mission of the Jewish people. The task of *tiun,* that is, the restoration or reintegration into the divine pattern of existence of the flawed material universe, is entrusted to human souls, who seek out and redeem the scattered sparks of divinity in the world. Most souls are given repeated chances to achieve this task, thus constituting a kind of reincarnation, which earlier Jewish mystics had considered primarily a form of punishment or expiation for sins. In the Lurianic system, ritual commandments are important for achieving *tiun,* both for the individual soul and for the whole world.

SEE ALSO Ascension; Jewish Thought and Philosophy, article on Premodern Philosophy.

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JACK BEMPORAD (1987)
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SOUL: CHRISTIAN CONCEPTS

The concept of the soul in Christian literature and tradition has a complex history. Moreover, Christian thought about its destiny is by no means uniform, nor is it always even clear.

TERMINOLOGY. The New Testament word *psuchē* is rooted in the Hebrew *nefesh,* and in English both are generally translated "soul." In primitive Semitic thought *nefesh* (Arabic, *nafs*) is a fine, diminutive replica of the body. As such it can be contrasted with *ruaḥ,* an onomatopoeic word that mimics the sound of breathing and is used to designate the spirit or principle of life that in such thought is seen in the breath, which stands in contrast to the flesh. The New Testament word *psuchē,* however, has complex overtones associated with the concept of life, sometimes also signifying what today would be called the self and often assuming a special connotation as the seat of the supernatural or eternal life, the life that cannot be destroyed by the malice of humans as can the body, yet can be destroyed by God (*Mt.* 10:39). So valuable is the *psuchē* that not even the whole of the material universe could compensate for its loss (*Mt.* 16:26, *Mk.* 8:36ff.).

When the *psuchē* is fully dedicated to God it acquires a special character (*1 Pt.* 1:22, 4:19), and in this dedication it can be anchored in God and be aware of possessing eternal life, assured of salvation from all that could alienate it from that inheritance (*Heb.* 6:19). Such is the "soul" or "self" that is under the care of Christ. Yet since the *psuchē* is spiritual, not material, it is not to be guarded as one guards an earthly mansion, nor to be placed like a precious heirloom in a safe deposit box, nor tended as one tends a delicate plant. On the contrary, Jesus urges his disciples to let go of it, abandoning it to God's care (*Mt.* 16:25, *Mk.* 8:35, *Lk.* 9:24, *Jn.* 12:25). Such is the paradox of self-giving, a concept that finds expression also in Hindu and Buddhist thought.

In the New Testament then, the *psuchē,* although fundamentally rooted in a Hebrew concept, encompasses so much of what is today understood as the "self" that it confronts one with many of the very complex problems to be found in modern discussions of selfhood. Yet the term carries also other connotations, as shall be seen later. Furthermore, in its adjectival form, *psuchikos,* it can be used to designate the natural, biological life of humans, as distinguished from the spiritual life, which is called *pneumatikos* (*1 Cor.* 2:14, 15:46; *Jude* 19). The dualistic distinction implied in this usage echoes one that is familiar to readers of gnostic literature. *Psuchē,* however, always refers to that dimension of humanity that is of eternal value and therefore contrasted with the human carnal embodiment.

In *Ezekiel* (13:17ff.) there is an echo of the primitivistic belief that the *nefesh* can slip out of the nostrils or another orifice during sleep (hence the old superstition against sleeping with one's mouth open) or, in the case of violent death, at the point of the assassin's sword. Ezekiel warns his bearers against women who sew frilly sleeves around their wrists, "the better to ensnare lives." This passage reflects both the old material concept of the *nefesh* and the ancient fear of witches, who made a profitable business out of nocturnal exploits in which they stole the *nefashot* of unwary sleepers, catching their souls like moths in handkerchiefs and then selling them to families with a member who, as one might say today, had "lost his mind." The Arabs entertained similar views about the vulnerability of the *nafs* to such evil agencies.

SOUL AND SPIRIT. The English words *soul* and *spirit* are attempts to represent the two sets of ideas found in the Bible: *Soul* is continuous with the Hebrew *nefesh* and the Greek *psuchē,* while *spirit* is continuous with the Hebrew *ruaḥ* and the Greek *pneuma.* The one set of ideas, however, cannot be entirely dissociated from the other. For example, when one thinks of the ideas of wind, breath, or spirit, one would probably attach any of them to *pneuma* rather than to *psuchē;* nevertheless, one should bear in mind that the word *psuchē* has an etymological connection with the verb *psuchein* ("to breathe"), as does the Latin *animus* with *anemos,* the Greek word meaning "wind." So some study of the concept of spirit is not only relevant to but necessary for any study of the Christian concept of the soul.

Ruaḥ, which the New Testament writers translate as *pneuma* and which is traditionally rendered "spirit" in English, does not have the quasi-physical connotation that *nefesh* has. For although *ruaḥ* is sometimes used to signify "wind" or "breath" (e.g., in *Job* 15:30), it is not accurately described as ambiguous in meaning since in Hebrew it refers simply to the principle of vital activity, however manifested. The Hebrews did not make the sharp distinction, as does Western tradition, between the physical connotations of "wind" and the spiritual connotations of "spirit" or "mind." So the effects of *ruaḥ* may be heard as one hears a hurricane, or seen as one might see breath on a mirror or the dancing of branches of trees on a windy day. Or it may be perceived in more complex ways, as one perceives the resutls of God's action in human events. Since the ancients saw in breathing the evidence of life and in its absence the lack of life, breath would seem an obvious locus for *ruaḥ.* Nevertheless, they would so see it only as they see in the brain an obvious locus for mental activity, although not even the most positivistic of contemporary analytical philosophers would identify mental activity simply with the three pounds of pinkish-gray tissue people carry in their heads. *Ruaḥ* is also the inner strength of a man or woman, which is weakened in times of despondency and is revived in times of exhilaration. Short-tempered people are short of *ruaḥ* (*Ex.* 6:9). The *ruaḥ* of God (Elohim) is uniquely powerful in its effects on humans, affecting them in all sorts of ways, not all of them benevolent. Since the Hebrews had no special word for nature as did the Greeks (*phusis*), one word had to do service for all seemingly superhuman activity. God sends plagues and earthquakes as well as gentle rain and sunshine. The *ruaḥ* of the Lord, however, is that of righteousness and love, of justice and mercy, inspiring the utterances of the prophets upon whom it falls.

Behind the New Testament use of *pneuma* lie these earlier uses of *ruaḥ.* The spirit of God is given to Jesus in baptism (*Mt.* 3:13ff.) and from Jesus to the disciples. John the Baptist distinguishes the baptism he gives from the one Jesus is to give, which is to be by the Holy Spirit (*en pneumati hagiō*) and by fire (*Mt.* 3:11). Here John is represented as anticipating the experience of the disciples on the day of Pentecost, described in *Acts* 2 as the descent of the Spirit on the assembly as if in "tongues of fire." The extent to which the New Testament writers accounted the Holy Spirit of God a separate entity, as in the trinitarian doctrine developed in later Christian thought, is, to say the least, obscure and need not be of concern here. *Pneuma,* however, is very frequently used, both in a somewhat pedestrian way (e.g., the disciples are afraid, thinking they are seeing a ghost, *Lk.* 24:37) and in more reverential senses having the full range of Hebrew meanings along with special meanings arising out of the pentecostal experience. Both Paul and John make notable use of the antinomy of flesh (*sarx*) and spirit (*pneuma*). What makes one righteous is circumcision not of the flesh but of the spirit (*Rom.* 2:29). Had not the psalmist noted that the Lord was less pleased by burnt offerings than by a humble and contrite heart (*Ps.* 51)? Christians do not walk according to the flesh but according to the spirit (*Rom.* 8:13).

Although Paul follows traditional usage in such matters, he also uses *pneuma* in several less expected ways, for example, as if he were alluding to the soul (*2 Cor.* 2:13) and as if referring to the mind as the seat of human consciousness (*1 Cor.* 7:34). He also writes as if mystically identifying the soul or conscious self of the Christian with the spiritual realm or dimension to which it has been introduced through Christ; he writes as if the Christian were so absorbed into Christ that everything he or she thought or said or did issued thence. Paul has a tendency to express his dominant sense of mystical union with Christ by coalescing all such distinctions as might lie between *psuchē* and *pneuma,* focusing upon what today would more readily be called a spiritual dimension of being, one in which the human participates in the divine.

John pointedly contrasts *sarx* ("flesh") with *pneuma* ("spirit"), as in *John* 3:5–8. Because God is a spirit, all dealings with him are in the spiritual, not the carnal, dimension (*Jn.* 4:24). The words of Jesus are the revelation of God, and as such they are to be recognized as spirit (*pneuma*) and life (*zōē*). Spirit is symbolized by the physical act of breathing: In *John* 20:22 Jesus breathes on the apostles as a symbol of his bestowal of the Holy Spirit (*pneuma hagion*). Alluding to the Holy Spirit, John uses the term *paraklētos:* the one who helps or pleads one's cause. This term had been used in classical Greek in much the same way as the Latin *advocatus* ("advocate," or the English *counsel*). As used by John, it seems to recall the notion of the spirit of truth as used in the

Qumran literature in the sense of "helper," where the typically gnostic contrast between the spirit of light and the spirit of darkness is also notable. Jesus, as God pitching his tent awhile in the carnal world of humankind, is he who can mediate between humans, in their mixed, carnal-spiritual state, and God, who is pure spirit. In the light of such modes of conceptualizing, the distinction between soul and spirit tends to evanesce. The contrast is between the carnal realm and the spiritual realm. The characteristics of the spirit (coming "like the rushing of a mighty wind" and "blowing where it listeth") become, then, descriptions of the way in which the spiritual dimension behaves; that is, it behaves otherwise than according to the "laws" of physics or biology.

To sum up: With the translation of *nefesh* as *psuchē* in the Greek version of the Bible (Septuagint), which the New Testament writers used, the ground is laid for the tendency toward the coalescence of the ideas suggested by the terms *psuchē* and *pneuma.* For both words focus on the traditional Semitic preoccupation with the idea of life. What matters to the spiritual person is not the life measured in days or years (*bios*) but the spiritual energy, the inner life of a person, his or her *zōē,* which has the capacity to become everlasting. It is to this that the soul is to be resurrected, so that resurrection then entails an ongoing, everlasting state, which Christ has made possible even for sinful men and women. Thus the struggle in this life is not so much against flesh (*sarx*) as "against the spiritual army of evil agencies" (*pros ta pneumatika tes ponerias; Eph.* 6:12). By extension, then, the soul, as the higher part of a human, becomes indistinguishable from the spiritual dimension of the human's being.

Still, one cannot easily overemphasize the fact that the New Testament Christians were heirs of a classical Hebrew view in which a human does not *have* a body or *have* a soul; he or she *is* a soul-body unity. Flesh and spirit, however, are opposed as evil and good aspects of humanity. Recognition of this may have opened the way to a later accommodation to the Greek soul-body dualism. In Hebrew thought the soul was sometimes conceived as if it were a sort of liquid in the jar of the body, one that can be diminished and also replenished. In *Genesis* 2:7 God breathed his Spirit into the very dust out of which he made humans, and the human being then "became a living soul." This imagery haunts Hebrew thought and the New Testament writers inherit the model it fostered.

ORIGIN OF THE SOUL. Within the development of Christian thought on the origin of the individual soul, three views have been maintained: (1) creationism, (2) traducianism, and (3) reincarnationism.

Creationism is the doctrine that God creates a new soul for each human being at conception. Upheld by Jerome, Hilary, and Peter Lombard, it was by far the most widely accepted view on the subject in the Middle Ages. Thomas Aquinas insisted upon it (*Summa theologiae* 1.118), and in the Reformed tradition the Calvinists generally taught it. Its consequences for certain moral questions, notably that of abortion, are clear.

Traducianism is the theory that the soul is transmitted along with the body by the parents. Forms of this view were proposed by some of the Fathers (such as Gregory of Nyssa and, notably, Tertullian), but in the Middle Ages it found little if any favor. Lutherans, however, tended to accept it, and in the early nineteenth century a modified form of it was proposed within the Roman Catholic tradition by the founder of the Rosminians, Antonio Rosmini-Serbati.

It is widely supposed that reincarnationism (a form of resurrection belief) is alien to Christian thought, but this supposition is not warranted by the evidence. The doctrine of the preexistence of the soul was certainly held by Origen and others in the tradition of Christian Platonism. Reincarnationism (not of course in its crude, primitivistic form, but in an ethical one, such as is found in Plato and in Indian philosophy) has a long and interesting, albeit partly underground, tradition in Christian thought and literature from early times down to the present day. Christian reincarnationists hold that the soul passes through many embodiments in the process of its development and spiritual growth and is judged accordingly, not on the basis of only one life of indeterminate duration. The soul, in this view, has a very long history, with origins antedating humanity itself.

DESTINY OF THE SOUL. Paul taught that because "the wages of sin is death" (*Rom.* 6:23), humans have no more entitlement to immortality than has any other form of life. Thanks, however, to the power of Christ's resurrection, every man and woman of the Christian way who truly believes in the power of Christ will rise with him (*Phil.* 3:21) in a body that will be like Christ's "glorious" body (*tō sōmati tēs doxēs autou*). The resurrection of Christ makes humans capable of personal resurrection, yet they can attain their own resurrection only insofar as they appropriate the power of Christ, which they can do through believing in its efficacy and accepting his divine gift of salvation from death and victory over the grave.

Indeed, although notions of immortality are inextricably woven into New Testament thought alongside the central resurrection theme, they are dependent on the latter in the thought of Paul and other New Testament writers. For all human beings, death has always been the supreme terror, the "final enemy"; now, Paul proclaims, it has been conquered, making possible the immortal life of the soul.

Yet one must not expect to find in the first century any clearly formulated universal doctrine of the afterlife. The expectation of the end of the age and the imminent return of Christ (the Parousia) so governed the Christian outlook during that period as to discourage speculation about the nature of the soul or whatever it is in humans that survives the physical body. Paul himself pointedly discouraged idle speculation on the precise nature of the resurrected body (*1 Cor.* 15:35–58). As, however, the hope of the Parousia gradually lost much of its urgency, the need for formulation of an answer to such questions pressed itself on theological minds. Since the biblical writers had left these questions so open, and since a variety of beliefs from throughout the Mediterranean world had consciously or otherwise affected those who were thinking seriously about such matters, different and sometimes incompatible views were brought together. Even before the Christian era the Jews had been entertaining beliefs about the afterlife that had not been in the general mold of their classical thought but had been picked up from foreign sources after the Exile (587/6 BCE). In the time of Jesus, for instance, some (such as the Pharisees) believed in a resurrection from the dead which others (for example, the Sadducees) repudiated.

In classical Hebrew thought the souls of the dead went to Sheʾol, the counterpart of the Hades of Greek mythology, a sort of nonworld, an underground place of darkness and dust so dreary that, as Homer remarked, one would rather be a poor beggar in the land of the living than a king in the land of the dead. Yet in later Hebrew thought *sophia* ("wisdom") is seen as delivering human beings from Sheʾol (*Prov.* 15:24). Unlike souls in the hell of later Christian theology, who have put themselves beyond God's benevolent power, those in Sheʾol could be the objects of God's care, for his power extends even there (*Dt.* 32:22, *Ps.* 139:8). In the New Testament, the concept of Sheʾol is sometimes replaced by that of death, for example in Paul's use of the Greek *thanatos* in *1 Corinthians* 15:55, quoting *Hosea* 13:14. However, in *Acts* 2:27, quoting *Psalms* 16:10, the term *haides* is retained.

In the rabbinical thought of the century before the advent of Christianity, *sheʾol* came to mean a place exclusively for the wicked. The righteous go to *pardes* ("paradise," or, more strictly, "garden"), a late Hebrew term derived from the Greek *paradeisos,* the Septuagint translation for "Garden of Eden." *Pardes* was understood as a celestial restoration of the original, unfallen state of humanity. Sometimes, however, it represented an intermediate state between the death of the righteous and the final judgment—hence Jesus' promise to the penitent thief that they would meet that same day in "paradise" (a passage that would otherwise present grave interpretative difficulties), and other similar usages in the New Testament.

Along with such developments comes the notion of Gehenna as a pit of fire into which the wicked are to be thrown to be burned like trash. The symbolism of this transitional, intertestamental period is, however, by no means consistent; and the confusion is carried over into the New Testament, where both *haidēs* and *geenna* (*Mt.* 18:9 and *Mk.* 9:43) have been traditionally rendered "hell" in English, although they have different connotations in the Greek text. Hades, although it can function as a storehouse for the dead who await judgment (as in *Rv.* 20:13–14) and as a destructive power like death (as in *Mt.* 16:18), can also be (as in *Lk.* 16:23) a place of punishment indistinguishable from Gehenna.

The concept of Gehenna as a dumping ground for the incineration of the wicked originates with the "Valley of the son of Hinnom," the place on the boundary between Judah and Benjamin that in later Hebrew literature had an unsavory reputation as the site of a cultic shrine where human sacrifice was offered (*2 Kgs.* 23:10; *2 Chr.* 28:3, 33:6). When reference is made in *Isaiah* 66:24 to the place where the dead bodies of those who have rebelled against the Lord shall lie, this valley is the place being alluded to. In *2 Esdras* 7:6 Gehenna has become a furnace within sight of paradise. In Jewish apocalyptic literature it was often seen as a pit of unquenchable fire in which the wicked are destroyed, body and soul, a notion echoed in *Matthew* 10:28. The writer of *Revelation* calls this destination of the wicked "the second death" (21:8). In this Gehenna imagery lies the origin of the popular medieval concept of hell, in which, however, the soul, being indestructible, cannot be extinguished by the fire but is tormented everlastingly.

In early Christian thought, such a background for the concept of the soul and its destiny resulted in a confusion that no appeal to scripture could possibly clear, since the confusion was already embedded in the Bible itself. So one finds that Tertullian, writing in his *De anima* (c. 210), assigns to the soul a sort of corporality. This tendency is to be found in other anti-gnostic writers of the period, including his contemporary Irenaeus. By contrast, Origen (c. 185–c. 254) and his influential Christian school at Alexandria taught that the soul preexisted in an incorporeal state and was imprisoned in a physical body as a result of its former waywardness. Origen probably also taught a form of reincarnationism. Gregory of Nyssa (c. 330–c. 395), Nemesius (who was bishop of Emesa toward the end of the fourth century), and the Greek theologian Maximos the Confessor (c. 580–662), all interpreted the biblical concepts of the soul along Platonic lines and in the general tradition of Origen and his school.

In the thirteenth century, Thomas Aquinas follows the doctrine of the soul presented in Aristotle's *Eudemus,* teaching that, while body and soul together constitute a unity, the soul, as the "form" of the body, is an individual "spiritual substance" and as such is capable of leading a separate existence after the death of the body. This medieval doctrine of the soul, while largely determining the official teaching of the Roman Catholic church on the nature of the soul and its destiny, also indelibly imprinted itself on the theology of the Reformation. For the classical reformers, although contemporaneous with the great Renaissance movement in Europe, were thoroughly medieval in the mold of their theological thinking. The fact that Thomas described the essence of the pain of hell as the loss of the vision of God did little to mitigate the horror of hell in the popular mind.

In popular preaching during the Middle Ages and for centuries thereafter, hell was invariably depicted as a physical fire in which the souls of the damned, being somehow endowed with temporary bodies equipped to suffer physical pain, are eventually summoned on the Last Day to have their original bodies returned and enabled to suffer everlasting torture under the same conditions. The angels, however, according to Thomas, have no physical bodies; therefore Satan and the other denizens of hell must be equipped in some other way to undergo, as they certainly must, the punishment superabundantly due to them in the place of torment over which they reign. Nor could Dante's obviously symbolic treatment and allegorical vision of hell in the *Commedia* have assuaged the horror of hell in the popular mind. After all, much of Dante's genius lay in his ability to invest his great epic with an extraordinary realism that fixed itself on the minds of even those readers whose literary education had accustomed them to the allegorical methods so dear to the medieval mind.

Out of confusion in the concept of the soul, then, had sprung an increasing confusion in the Christian view of its destiny, making eschatology the least coherent aspect of the Christian theological tradition. For example, the soul has an independent existence and is sometimes envisioned, in Platonic fashion, as well rid of the burden of its physical encumbrance. Yet in the end the whole person, body and soul, must be restored in order to enjoy the fruits of Christ's redemption. In the first century, on account of the imminent expectation of the Parousia, Christians could plausibly see the separation of soul from body as a very temporary state of affairs, as represented in the catacombs by such inscriptions as "Dormit in pace" ("He sleeps in peace") and "Dormit in Christo" ("He sleeps in Christ"). As time went on, however, such a notion, although persisting to this day in pious epitaphs, could no longer serve as a theologically satisfactory account of what happens to the soul during a waiting period between death and the general resurrection of the dead. For it would suggest, if not entail, the view that heaven and hell are uninhabited until that general resurrection shall occur. Such a view is not conformable to the standard vision of Christian piety on this subject—least of all where, as in Roman Catholic tradition, the saints are already in heaven (the Church Triumphant) interceding for and otherwise helping their fellow Christians in the Church Militant on earth. Moreover, both the words of Jesus to the penitent thief (*Lk.* 23:43) and the parable of the rich man and Lazarus (*Lk.* 16:19), with their implication of a paradisial, Garden-of-Eden bliss, surely exclude the notion of a sleep till the Day of Judgment.

Furthermore, out of the doctrine of the intermediate state, which is at least foreshadowed in late Judaism and found in early Christian thought in a rudimentary form, was gradually developed the doctrine of purgatory. The concept of purgatory is of singular importance in the Christian doctrine of the life of the soul. Abused though the doctrine of purgatory was by legalistic distortions and ecclesiastical corruption in late medieval practice, purgatory has gradually come to be seen, through the influence of developments in English Tractarian thought in the nineteenth century, as a state not so much of punishment as of purification, refreshment, and growth. This theological development is adumbrated in some medieval Christian literature, notably the *Trattato* (*Dicchiarazione*) of Catherine of Genoa (1447–1510).

The souls in purgatory have generally been regarded as disembodied (or at least lacking earthly embodiment), yet capable of the peculiar kind of pain that purgatory entails: a pain of waiting and longing. The duration of purgatory is indeterminate; but it is always assumed that some who enter it may be released comparatively soon and certainly that multitudes are to be released long before the Day of Judgment. What then happens to them on their release? Speculative theologians have made various proposals. According to Roman Catholic theology, each soul on its separation from the body is subjected to a "particular" judgment, as distinguished from the final or "general" judgment. In 1336, Pope Benedict XII, in his bull *Benedictus Deus,* specifically declared that souls, having been subjected to this particular judgment, are admitted at once to the beatific vision, which is heaven, or proceed at once to purgatory to be cleansed and readied for the heavenly state, or are consigned to hell. This teaching does not merely exclude explicitly the primitive Christian view represented by the *dormit in pace* type of epitaph; it makes nonsense of traditional Roman Catholic piety. For if purgatory be considered in any sense a state of punishment, hell a state of both torment and hopelessness, and heaven one of that joyful activity that comes with the full knowledge of God that is the reward of the righteous, then the traditional prayer for the dead ("Requiescant in pace"; "May they rest in peace") seems to express an inapposite wish for any of the three categories.

That ancient prayer echoes the primitive wish that the souls of the dead may not be inclined, because of their troubled state, to haunt the living but may instead pursue their business in peace and tranquillity and have no such harassing inclination. This primitive wish is, of course, transfigured in Catholic thought and sentiment, where it is illumined by the response "Et lux perpetua luceat eis" ("May perpetual light shine upon them"), expressing a loving concern for the progress of the souls of the dead and the belief that they are advancing toward the fulfillment of their destiny. Nevertheless, at the regular Roman Catholic burial service a beautiful prayer beckons the angels to come forth to meet the deceased and conduct him or her "into the heavenly city, Jerusalem."

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Yaeger, and Henry J. Cadbury, also merit attention. Augustine's view, articulated in his *On the Immortality of the Soul,* greatly influenced both the medieval schoolmen and the reformers. *Saint Thomas and the Problem of the Soul in the Thirteenth Century* (Toronto, 1934), by Anton C. Pegis, provides a useful introduction to the view of Thomas Aquinas as set forth in the first volume of his *Summa theologiae.* Étienne Gilson treats the subject in his study *The Spirit of Mediaeval Philosophy* (London, 1936), and John Calvin discusses the origin, immortal nature, and other aspects of the soul in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1960). For the Renaissance view of Pietro Pomponazzi, see Clement C. J. Webb's *Studies in the History of Natural Theology* (Oxford, 1915).

The soul plays a central role in the various forms of Christian mysticism. The notion of the "fine point" of the soul, a cell remaining sensitive to God despite the fall and consequent corruption of humankind, is a common topic of such literature: For example, see *The Living Flame of Love* by John of the Cross. For the Salesian tradition, see Henri Bremond's treatment in his *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France* (1915–1932), 2d ed. (Paris, 1967–1968), edited by René Taveneaux, especially vol. 7. Whether any form of reincarnationism is reconcilable to Christian faith is specifically considered in two books of mine: *Reincarnation in Christianity* (Wheaton, Ill., 1978) and *Reincarnation as a Christian Hope* (London, 1982).

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SOUL: ISLAMIC CONCEPTS

Islamic concepts of the soul vary, ranging from the traditional (and most prevalent) to the mystical. They include doctrines formulated by individual schools of Islamic dialectical theology (*kalām*) and theories developed within Islamic philosophy (*falsafah*). It is possible to classify very broadly the different types of such concepts under four categories: traditional, theological, philosophical, and mystical (Ṣufī). Differences (as well as overlappings) abound, not only between these categories, but also within them. Nonetheless, the various Islamic concepts of the soul all seek or claim a Qurʾanic base. Hence, the proper starting point of any discussion of such concepts is the Qurʾān. Before turning to the Qurʾān, however, a few preliminary remarks on the use of the Arabic terms *rūḥ* ("spirit") and *nafs* ("soul") are in order.

As in other languages, these terms relate to the ideas of breath and wind. In pre-Islamic Arabic poetry, *rūḥ* can mean "wind," "breath," or "that which one blows" (as when kindling a fire). In post-Qurʾanic Arabic, the two terms are often used interchangeably when referring to the human soul, but distinctions between them are also maintained within certain conceptual schemes. In the Qurʾān, in addition to the grammatical reflexive use of *nafs* as "self," the term is used to refer to the human soul, whereas *rūḥ* normally refers to the spirit that proceeds from God. In pre-Islamic Arabic poetry, these two terms do not have a religious or supernatural connotation. Thus *rūḥ* refers to the physical breath or wind, while *nafs* (when not used reflexively) refers to the blood, sometimes to the living body. This usage is consistent with the secular nature of this poetry, whose themes revolve around the poet's mundane loves, sorrows, heroic exploits, and concept of tribal honor. The poetry is also noted for its vivid descriptions of nature—desert scenery and animal life, wild and domestic—that convey a sense of the splendor, power (sometimes harshness), and vitality of nature, but never anything that can be construed as either teleological or mystical. There are also affirmations in this poetry that, with death, everything ends, that there is nothing beyond the grave. A seeming exception to this consists of references to the *hāmah*, a birdlike apparition resembling a small owl, which, according to pre-Islamic Arab belief, departs from the head of a slaughtered man, perches by his grave, and continues to shriek, "give me to drink," until the death is avenged. The association of this belief with the tribal law of avenging the death of a kinsman is obvious.

RŪḤ AND _NAFS_ IN THE QURʾĀN. As indicated earlier, *rūḥ* ("spirit") in the Qurʾān refers normally to God's spirit. The term appears in different contexts. It is the divine creative breath: God creates man (Adam) from clay, animating him by blowing into the clay of his spirit (15:29; 32:9; 38:72). Again, God blew of his spirit into Mary, causing the conception of Jesus (21:91; 66:12). Spirit is sent by God as a messenger: it is *al-rūḥ al-amīn* ("the faithful spirit") that comes to Muḥammad's heart (26:193)—hence the Qurʾanic commentators' identification of "the faithful spirit" with the angelic messenger Gabriel. Mary conceives when God sends his spirit to her in the form of a perfect man (19:17). Spirit is also *rūḥ al-qudūs* ("the holy spirit") which God sends to help Jesus (2:87, 2:253). Jesus himself is referred to as a spirit from God, but it is also made clear that this does not mean that he is the son of God (4:171).

Spirit relates also to the *amr* of God (16:2; 17:85; 40:15; 42:52), a term that can mean either "command" or "affair." Muslim scholars have disagreed on the interpretation of this term as well as on the referent of *rūḥ* ("spirit") in surah 17:85: "They ask thee [Muḥammad] about the spirit. Say: 'The spirit is of my Lord's *amr*; of knowledge ye have been given but little.'" Some have understood *amr* here as "affair," not "command," and *rūḥ* as referring to the human spirit. If this interpretation is correct, then the verse provides an exception to the normal Qurʾanic use of the term *rūḥ*.

The term *nafs*, when not used in the grammatical reflexive sense of "self," refers to the human soul, not God's spirit. The human soul, however, relates to the divine spirit, since, as indicated earlier, God brings life to man by breathing into him of his spirit. The equivalence of life and soul in the Qurʾān, however, is not explicitly stated. Nor is there any explicit statement as to whether the soul is immaterial or material. The Qurʾān is primarily concerned with the moral and religious orientation of the human soul, with its conduct, and with the consequences of such conduct in terms of reward and punishment in the hereafter. This concern with the moral and religious disposition of the soul is reflected in the Qurʾanic characterization of the soul as either *ammārah*, *lawwāmah*, or *muṭmaʾinnah*. The *ammārah* (12:53) is the soul that by nature incites or commands what is evil. Qurʾanic commentators have identified this with the carnal self. The *lawwāmah* (75:2) is the soul that constantly blames itself, interpreted by some commentators as upbraiding itself in the quest of goodness. The *muṭmaʾinnah* (89:27) is the tranquil soul of the virtuous believer that will return to its lord.

With death, the soul leaves the body, to rejoin it on the Day of Judgment. Thereafter the righteous go to Paradise, the wicked dwell in Hell. Two questions in particular that relate to the resurrection were to occupy Islamic religious thinkers. The first is whether or not it is the remains of the same body that is resurrected. To this the Qurʾān gives no detailed answer, only an affirmation that God has the power to bring back to life what has been decayed: "Who will revive these bones when they are decayed? Say: 'He who created them the first time will revive them'" (36:78–79). The second is the question of what happens to the soul between the time of death and the day of resurrection. There are Qurʾanic statements (8:49; 9:101; 32:21; 47:27) that suggest that wicked souls will be punished even before the resurrection and that the souls of martyrs will be in paradise: "Do not reckon that those killed in battle are dead; they are living with their Lord, provided for" (3:169). Such statements become a basis for traditional doctrines regarding the soul's fate in the interim between death and the final day of judgment.

TRADITIONAL CONCEPTS. In Islam, the most prevalent concepts of the soul can perhaps best be termed "traditional." Their immediate inspiration is the Qurʾān, interpreted literally, and the *ḥadīth*, or "tradition." A chief source for our knowledge of the traditional concepts of the soul in Islam is *Kitāb al-rūḥ* (The Book of the Spirit), by the Damascene Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah (d. 1350), a celebrated Ḥanbalī theologian and jurisconsult.

The term *rūḥ*, Ibn Qayyim maintains, is applicable in Arabic usage to both the spirit that comes from God and the human spirit. In the Qurʾān, however, it is used to refer to the spirit that comes from God. This spirit proceeds from the *amr* of God. The term *amr* in the Qurʾān, Ibn Qayyim insists, always means "command." Since the spirit proceeds from the command of God, it is a created being, although its creation antedates the creation of the human soul. The human body is created before the human soul. The latter, though created, is everlasting. Death means the separation of this soul from the body, to rejoin it permanently when the resurrection takes place. When the Qurʾān speaks of the soul that incites to evil, the soul that upbraids, and the tranquil soul, this does not mean that a human has three souls. These, Ibn Qayyim argues, are characteristics of one and the same human soul.

Ibn Qayyim gives a lengthy critique of the philosophical doctrine of an immaterial soul, incorporating in his criticism the arguments the theologian al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) had used in showing that Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna; d. 1037) had failed to demonstrate the immateriality of the human soul. Ibn Qayyim rejects the concept of an immaterial soul. An immaterial spirit or soul would be totally unrelated to what is spatial. What is unrelated to the spatial and the bodily cannot be spoken of as being in a body or outside it, or as traveling away from the body or returning to it. But this is the scriptural language expressing the activities of the soul. The human soul is hence material but "differs in quiddity [*al-māhiyyah*] from the sensible body, being a body that is luminous, elevated, light, alive, and in motion. It penetrates the substance of the body organs, flowing therein in the way water flows in roses, oil in olives, and fire in charcoal" (*Kitāb al-rūḥ*, Hyderabad, 1963, p. 310). The body, in fact, is the mold (*qālib*) of the soul. Body and soul interact, helping to shape each other's individual characteristics. Thus, when death takes place, souls leaving their bodies have their individuality and are hence differentiated one from another.

During sleep, souls leave their bodies temporarily, sometimes communicating with other souls, whether of the living or of the dead. With death, the soul leaves the body but can very swiftly return to it. The souls of the virtuous can communicate with each other, the wicked souls being too preoccupied in their torments for this. For in the interim between death and the resurrection, most souls rejoin their bodies in the grave to be questioned by the two angels of death, Munkar and Nakir. The wicked, unbelieving souls suffer punishment and torment in the grave, while the virtuous believers enjoy a measure of bliss. Ibn Qayyim equates the period of the grave with the *barzakh*, a Qurʾanic term (23:100; 25:53; 55:20) that originally meant "hindrance" or "separation." The souls of prophets are in paradise, as are those of martyrs, although there are disagreements among traditional Muslims as to whether this applies to all martyrs. These disagreements, Ibn Qayyim maintains, are reconcilable once the legal conditions governing the fate of the soul are known. To cite but one of his examples, a martyr who dies before paying a debt is excluded from entry into paradise during this interim but does not suffer torment.

The prayers of the living over the souls of the dead are heard by the latter, who are helped by them. Ibn Qayyim devotes a long section of his book to this topic. The length of this chapter indicates the importance to Muslims of the visiting of graves and the offering of prayers over the dead, for these visits are very much part of traditional Muslim piety and a source of consolation to the bereaved.

THEOLOGICAL (KALĀM) CONCEPTS. Islam's dialectical theologians, the *mutakallimūn*, no less than the more traditional Muslims, sought to uphold a Qurʾanic concept of the soul. They sought to uphold it, however, within scripturally rooted perspectives of the world that they formulated and rationally defended. Their concepts of the human soul were governed largely by two questions, one metaphysical, the other eschatological. The metaphysical question pertained to the ultimate constituents of the created world: Do these consist of indivisible atoms or of what is potentially infinitely divisible? The eschatological question arose out of their doctrine of bodily resurrection: if, in the ages between the world's beginning and its end, dead human bodies decompose to become parts of other physical entities (organic or inorganic), how can there be a real resurrection, that is, a return to life of the actual individuals who once lived and died, and not the mere creation anew of replicas of them?

Regarding the metaphysical question, most of the *mutakallimūn* were atomists. Their concepts of the soul were for the most part materialist: they regarded it either as a body, or identified it with life, which they maintained is a transient quality, an accident, that occurs to a body. But there were disagreements among them, particularly among members of the "rationalist" Muʿtazilī school of *kalām*, which attained the height of its power and influence in the first part of the ninth century. Thus, one of its leading theologians, al-Naẓẓām (d. 845), rejected atomism. Moreover, he conceived of the soul (which he identified with life) as a subtle body that is diffused in all parts of the physical body. His concept of the soul is substantially the same as that of the traditional concept defended by Ibn Qayyim. Another exception of a different type was the view of the Muʿtazilī Muʿammar (d. 835). He was an atomist and espoused a concept of the soul as an immaterial atom. Other theologians held the soul to be an atom, but not immaterial. But if it is a material atom, is life identical with it? If life is not identical with it, then could life be an accident that inheres in the single atom? The Muʿtazilah disagreed as to whether the accidents could inhere in the single atom or only in atoms that are interrelated, forming a body. They also disagreed as to whether spirit, soul, and life are identical. But the prevalent Muʿtazilī view was that the soul is material and that life, whether or not identical with soul, is a transient accident.

It is in terms of this prevalent view that the eschatological question mentioned earlier must be understood. If life is a transient accident and the dead body's atoms separate to combine differently forming other physical entities, where is the continuity that would guarantee the identity of the individual to be resurrected? Without this continuity, what appears to be the resurrected individual is only a similar being, a *mithl.* To resolve this difficulty, some of the Muʿtazilah resorted to the doctrine that nonexistence (*alʿadam*) is "a thing" (*shayʾ*) or "an entity," "an essence" (*dhāt*), to which existence is a state that occurs. Thus a nonexistent entity *A* acquires existence for a span of time, loses it during another span, and regains it eternally at the resurrection, *A* remaining *A* throughout all these stages.

The doctrine that nonexistence is an entity, a thing, was rejected by the Ashʿarī school of *kalām*. This school was founded by al-Ashʿarī (d. 935), originally a Muʿtazilī who rebelled against his school. (Ashʿarism gradually gained ascendancy to become the dominant school of *kalām* in Islam.) But while the Ashʿarīyah opposed fundamental Muʿtazilī doctrines, they were also atomists. Their atomism formed part of their occasionalist metaphysics according to which all events are the direct creation of God. Accidents are transient and do not endure for more than one moment of time and are hence constantly recreated. Life, the Ashʿarīyah held, is a transient accident created and recreated while the individual lives. It is hence not difficult to see that the eschatological problem regarding the soul that the Muʿtazilah tried to solve persisted.

For an Ashʿarī answer to this difficulty, I will turn to al-Ghazālī. His main arguments for the possibility of bodily resurrection are found in two works. The first is his criticism of the Islamic philosophers, particularly Ibn Sīnā, the *Tahāfut al-falāsifah* (The Incoherence of the Philosophers). In this work he argues in great detail to show that Ibn Sīnā has failed to demonstrate his theory that the human soul is an immaterial, immortal substance. At the same time, he argues for the possibility of bodily resurrection in terms of a theory of an immaterial, immortal soul, maintaining that God at the resurrection creates for such a soul a new body. The second work, *Al-iqtiṣād fī al-Iʿtiqād* (Moderation in Belief), written shortly after the *Tahāfut*, gives a different explanation. Significantly, in this work al-Ghazālī repudiates the theory he advocated in the *Tahāfut*, maintaining that he had advanced it only for the sake of argument, to show that bodily resurrection is possible even if one adopts a doctrine of an immaterial soul. The true doctrine, he then continues, is the Ashʿarī, namely that life is a transient accident constantly created and recreated in the living body. Resurrection is the return to life and existence of what was originally a first creation by God. God is able to recreate what he had previously created. A copy is simply a copy, never the recreation of what was actually a new creation. Al-Ghazālī does not discuss how one can differentiate between the resurrected, recreated original being, and the copy, the *mithl*, but the implication of his argument is that this is knowable to God, who is the creator of all things.

Al-Ghazālī follows substantially the line of reasoning of his predecessor and teacher, the Ashʿarī al-Juwaynī (d. 1085). Unlike al-Juwaynī, however, al-Ghazālī does not discuss whether spirit or soul is the same as life. Al-Juwaynī is more explicit on this. Spirit is a body that pervades the physical body, animating it. Life, however, is a transient accident that inheres in spirit. With the exception of this distinction between life and spirit, al-Juwaynī's concept of the soul is in harmony with the traditional concept defended by Ibn Qayyim.

PHILOSOPHICAL CONCEPTS. The theories of the soul formulated by Islam's philosophers, the *falāsifah* (sg., *faylasūf*), derive largely from Plato, Aristotle, and Plotinus. But there are other influences—Greek medicine and Stoic thought, for example. An influential short Arabic treatise on the difference between spirit (*rūḥ*; Gr., *pneuma*), and soul (*nafs*; Gr., *psuchē*) by the Christian translator, Qusṭā Ibn Lūqā (d. 912), is of interest, not only for its ideas, but also for its listing of the sources of these ideas—Plato (his *Phaedo* and *Timaeus*), Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Galen. Spirit, according to this treatise, is a subtle body. Its less refined form spreads in the body, from the heart through the veins, causing animation, breathing, and pulsation. The more refined spirit spreads from the brain through the nervous system to cause sensation and movement. Spirit, however, is only the proximate intermediary cause of these activities; its efficacy is caused by the soul, which is an immaterial, immortal substance. With death, spirit ceases, but not soul.

It was, however, in its Neoplatonic form that the doctrine of the soul's immateriality and immortality left its greatest impact on Islamic thought. This impact was not confined to philosophy proper but is discernible in the religious thought of various Islamic sectarian groups—the Ismāʿīlīyah, for example. The other most important source for the *falāsifah*'s concepts of the soul was Aristotle. The majority accepted Aristotle's definition of the soul as the entelechy of the body, his idea of its division into vegetative, sensitive, and rational and of the latter into theoretical and practical, and his description of the states of its various parts as these change from potentiality to actuality. Within the Platonic, Aristotelian, and Neoplatonic frameworks, however, there were differences in the *falāsifah*'s conceptions of the soul. An idea of these differences can be obtained by considering the conceptions offered by some representative philosophers.

Al-Kindī (d. c. 870), the first Islamic philosopher, for example, subscribes to the doctrine of the soul as an immaterial, immortal substance and at the same time defends the Qurʾanic doctrine of bodily resurrection. His surviving treatises, however, do not include anything that shows the manner in which he synthesized these two doctrines. The physician-philosopher al-Rāzī (d. 926), on the other hand, offers a theory of the human soul inspired largely by Plato's *Timaeus*. Soul is one of the five eternal principles; the others are God, atomic (disorganized) matter, absolute space, and absolute time. At a moment in time, God imposes order on matter, rendering it receptive of soul. When soul unites with matter, it becomes individuated, forming the particular living creatures. Man alone among these creatures is endowed with reason, an emanation from God. There is a lengthy but finite span of time, in which soul remains conjoined with matter and individuated. During this period there is transmigration of souls within animal and human life. The finite period ends when reason in men prevails. The individual souls then disengage from matter, returning to their original state of one soul. The initial state of the four other eternal principles resumes, continuing into the infinite future.

With al-Fārābī (d. 950) and Ibn Sīnā, we encounter two highly developed psychological theories. Both presupposed a Neoplatonic emanative scheme. The celestial world, for al-Fārābī, consists of a succession from God of dyads, intelligences, and bodily spheres; for Ibn Sīnā, it consists of a succession of triads, intelligences, souls, and bodily spheres. For both, the last successive celestial intelligence is the Active Intellect, after which our terrestrial world comes into existence. The entire process of successive emanations from God exists eternally.

According to al-Fārābī, the human rational soul is at first a potentiality in the material body. In some individuals, the objects of sensory perception, the material images, are transformed by the illuminary action of the Active Intellect into abstract concepts. These human souls that achieve abstract conceptual thought attain an immaterial status. (There are higher levels of conceptual thought, culminating with rare individuals, the philosopher-prophets, in the human soul's periodic union with the Active Intellect.) Only those souls that have attained an immaterial status are immortal. Good souls, those that have continued to live according to the dictates of reason, shunning the lower passions, live in eternal happiness, contemplating the celestial intelligences and God. Those rational souls that have betrayed their calling, surrendering to the lower passions, live in eternal misery, seeking contemplation of the celestial intelligences but unable to achieve it. The souls of the majority of mankind, however, never attain an immaterial status and, with death, cease to exist.

Ibn Sīnā, on the other hand, insists on the individual immortality of all souls. The rational soul, an emanation from the Active Intellect, joins the human body and becomes individuated by it. It is an immaterial, individual substance that exists with the body but is not imprinted in it. Souls that have lived the rational life, controlling the lower passions and remaining untarnished by vice, are rewarded in the hereafter. They live in eternal bliss, contemplating the celestial beings and God. This applies to nonphilosophical virtuous souls that have lived in accordance with the divine law, for this law is an expression of philosophical truth in the language of imagery and symbol, which the nonphilosopher can understand. Souls that have not lived the rational, virtuous life or have not adhered to the commands of the religious law are punished in the hereafter. They live eternally in torment, seeking contemplation of the celestial beings and God, but are unable to achieve this. The Qurʾanic language describing the afterlife in physical terms is symbolic. Ibn Sīnā's theory of the soul culminates in mysticism. But this is intellectual mysticism. God, for Ibn Sīnā, is pure mind. The soul's journey to God includes the inundation of the souls of exceptional individuals with all of the intelligibles from the Active Intellect. This experience is intuitive, occurring all at once.

Ibn Rushd (Averroës; d. 1198) was the most Aristotelian of the *falāsifah*. In those writings addressed to the general Islamic reader, he affirms the doctrine of reward and punishment in the hereafter, insisting, however, that the scriptural language describing the hereafter should be understood on different levels, depending on one's intellectual capacity. His more technical psychological writings, notably his commentaries on Aristotle, leave no room for a doctrine of individual immortality. These writings, however, left a much greater impact on medieval and Renaissance Europe than they did on Islam. In the Islamic world, it was Ibn Sīnā's theory of the soul that had the greater influence on subsequent *falsafah* and religious thought.

ṢUFĪ CONCEPTS. In considering this very vast subject, it is well to differentiate between three of its aspects: (1) what Ṣufīs conceived the human soul to be, (2) the soul's purification and the path of holiness it must follow as it seeks God, (3) the relation of the soul to God, particularly in its intimate experiencing of the divine. These aspects are related, but the third represents a central issue on which Ṣufīs were divided and which caused controversy in the general history of Islamic religious thought.

According to some, the Ṣufī (and Ashʿarī theologian) al-Qushayrī (d. 1074) observes, the term "soul" refers to those of man's characteristics that are afflicted with illness and to his blameworthy actions. It is possible, he maintains, "that the soul is a subtle entity [*laṭīfah*] placed in this [bodily] mold [*qālib*], being the receptacle of ill dispositions, just as spirit [*al-rūḥ*] is placed in this mold, being the receptacle of praiseworthy dispositions" (*Al-risālah al-Qushayrīyah*, Cairo, 1966, vol. 1, p. 249). The earlier Ṣufī al-Tirmidhī (fl. 894) also gives expression to the view that the soul is evil. Both, moreover, reflect traditional and *kalām* concepts of the soul as material.

Al-Ghazālī, on the other hand, often uses Avicennian language in his discussions of the soul. (This fact need not necessarily commit him to Avicennian ontology, since he frequently suggests that Ibn Sīnā's philosophical language can be interpreted in occasionalist, Ashʿarī terms.) At the beginning of his *Mīzān al-ʿAmal* (The Criterion for Action), al-Ghazālī also indicates that Ṣufīs subscribe to the doctrine of the soul's immateriality as they reject the concept of physical reward and punishment in the hereafter. Thus, within Sufism there are differences in belief as to whether the soul is material or immaterial. There is less difference (and greater emphasis), however, on the subject of its purification and the ascetic devotional course it must pursue. (Differences between Ṣufī orders here are largely a matter of ritual, not substance.)

It is, however, the relation of the human soul—the self, the "I"—to God that is at the heart of Sufism, and it was this issue that caused conflict. The mystical experience itself is both overwhelming and ineffable. Utterances attempting to convey it are symbolic, sometimes prone to overstatement, and hence prone to being misunderstood. Central to this issue is the interpretation of the mystical experience of *fanāʾ*, the "passing away" or "annihilation" of the self in the divine essence, the latter representing *baqāʾ*, "permanence."

Ṣufīs like al-Ghazālī interpreted *fanāʾ* as "closeness" (*qurb*) to God and thus helped to reconcile Sufism with the generally accepted tenets of Islam. The issue, however, remained a sensitive one, as reflected, for example, in the philosophical tale, *Ḥayy Ibn Yaqẓān*, by the Andalusian philosopher Ibn Ṭufayl (d. 1185). Ḥayy, the story's hero, who grows up on an uninhabited tropical island, undergoes a process of self-education that culminates in the mystical experience. At first he falls into the error of thinking that his soul becomes one with the divine essence; he is delivered from this mistake through God's mercy as he realizes that such concepts as unity and plurality and union and disjunction are applicable only to bodies, not to immaterial selves that have experiential knowledge of God.

The relation of the soul to God in Ṣufī thought takes on a highly metaphysical turn in the complex theosophy of the great mystic Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1240) and his followers, particularly ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī (d. 1408?). Ibn al-ʿArabī is noted for his doctrine of the unity of being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*) wherein creation (*al-khalq*) is a mirroring of the Truth (*al-ḥaqq*), the Creator. Perfect souls are reflections of the perfection of the divine essence. The prophets are the archetypes of these perfect souls: each prophet is a word (*kalimah*) of God. The perfect soul is a microcosm of reality. The idea of man as a microcosm did not originate with Ibn al-ʿArabī; it was utilized by the *falāsifah* and by al-Ghazālī. But with Ibn al-ʿArabī and those who followed him it acquires a spiritual and metaphysical dimension all its own, representing a high point in the development of the concept of soul in the history of Islamic religious thought.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED IN THIS WORK

abbr. abbreviated; abbreviation
abr. abridged; abridgment
AD *anno Domini,* in the year of the (our) Lord
Afrik. Afrikaans
AH *anno Hegirae,* in the year of the Hijrah
Akk. Akkadian
Ala. Alabama
Alb. Albanian
Am. *Amos*
AM *ante meridiem,* before noon
amend. amended; amendment
annot. annotated; annotation
Ap. *Apocalypse*
Apn. *Apocryphon*
app. appendix
Arab. Arabic
ʿArakh. *ʿArakhin*
Aram. Aramaic
Ariz. Arizona
Ark. Arkansas
Arm. Armenian
art. article (pl., arts.)
AS Anglo-Saxon
Asm. Mos. *Assumption of Moses*
Assyr. Assyrian
A.S.S.R. Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
Av. Avestan
ʿA.Z. *ʿAvodah zarah*
b. born
Bab. Babylonian
Ban. Bantu
1 Bar. *1 Baruch*
2 Bar. *2 Baruch*
3 Bar. *3 Baruch*
4 Bar. *4 Baruch*
B.B. *Bavaʾ batraʾ*
BBC British Broadcasting Corporation
BC before Christ
BCE before the common era
B.D. Bachelor of Divinity
Beits. *Beitsah*
Bekh. *Bekhorot*
Beng. Bengali
Ber. *Berakhot*
Berb. Berber
Bik. *Bikkurim*
bk. book (pl., bks.)
B.M. *Bavaʾ metsiʿaʾ*
BP before the present
B.Q. *Bavaʾ qammaʾ*
Brāh. *Brāhmaṇa*
Bret. Breton
B.T. Babylonian Talmud
Bulg. Bulgarian
Burm. Burmese
c. *circa,* about, approximately
Calif. California
Can. Canaanite
Catal. Catalan
CE of the common era
Celt. Celtic
cf. *confer,* compare
Chald. Chaldean
chap. chapter (pl., chaps.)
Chin. Chinese
C.H.M. Community of the Holy Myrrhbearers
1 Chr. *1 Chronicles*
2 Chr. *2 Chronicles*
Ch. Slav. Church Slavic
cm centimeters
col. column (pl., cols.)
Col. *Colossians*
Colo. Colorado
comp. compiler (pl., comps.)
Conn. Connecticut
cont. continued
Copt. Coptic
1 Cor. *1 Corinthians*
2 Cor. *2 Corinthians*
corr. corrected
C.S.P. Congregatio Sancti Pauli, Congregation of Saint Paul (Paulists)
d. died
D Deuteronomic (source of the Pentateuch)
Dan. Danish
D.B. Divinitatis Baccalaureus, Bachelor of Divinity
D.C. District of Columbia
D.D. Divinitatis Doctor, Doctor of Divinity
Del. Delaware
Dem. *Demaʾi*
dim. diminutive
diss. dissertation
Dn. *Daniel*
D.Phil. Doctor of Philosophy
Dt. *Deuteronomy*
Du. Dutch
E Elohist (source of the Pentateuch)
Eccl. *Ecclesiastes*
ed. editor (pl., eds.); edition; edited by

ʿEduy. *ʿEduyyot*
e.g. *exempli gratia,* for example
Egyp. Egyptian
1 En. *1 Enoch*
2 En. *2 Enoch*
3 En. *3 Enoch*
Eng. English
enl. enlarged
Eph. *Ephesians*
ʿEruv. *ʿEruvin*
1 Esd. *1 Esdras*
2 Esd. *2 Esdras*
3 Esd. *3 Esdras*
4 Esd. *4 Esdras*
esp. especially
Est. Estonian
Est. *Esther*
et al. *et alii,* and others
etc. *et cetera,* and so forth
Eth. Ethiopic
EV English version
Ex. *Exodus*
exp. expanded
Ez. *Ezekiel*
Ezr. *Ezra*
2 Ezr. *2 Ezra*
4 Ezr. *4 Ezra*
f. feminine; and following (pl., ff.)
fasc. fascicle (pl., fascs.)
fig. figure (pl., figs.)
Finn. Finnish
fl. *floruit,* flourished
Fla. Florida
Fr. French
frag. fragment
ft. feet
Ga. Georgia
Gal. *Galatians*
Gaul. Gaulish
Ger. German
Giṭ. *Giṭṭin*
Gn. *Genesis*
Gr. Greek
Ḥag. *Ḥagigah*
Ḥal. *Ḥallah*
Hau. Hausa
Hb. *Habakkuk*
Heb. Hebrew
Heb. *Hebrews*
Hg. *Haggai*
Hitt. Hittite
Hor. *Horayot*
Hos. *Hosea*
Ḥul. *Ḥullin*
Hung. Hungarian
ibid. *ibidem,* in the same place (as the one immediately preceding)
Icel. Icelandic
i.e. *id est,* that is
IE Indo-European
Ill. Illinois
Ind. Indiana
intro. introduction
Ir. Gael. Irish Gaelic
Iran. Iranian
Is. *Isaiah*
Ital. Italian
J Yahvist (source of the Pentateuch)
Jas. *James*
Jav. Javanese
Jb. *Job*
Jdt. *Judith*
Jer. *Jeremiah*
Jgs. *Judges*
Jl. *Joel*
Jn. *John*
1 Jn. *1 John*
2 Jn. *2 John*
3 Jn. *3 John*
Jon. *Jonah*
Jos. *Joshua*
Jpn. Japanese
JPS Jewish Publication Society translation (1985) of the Hebrew Bible
J.T. Jerusalem Talmud
Jub. *Jubilees*
Kans. Kansas
Kel. *Kelim*
Ker. *Keritot*
Ket. *Ketubbot*
1 Kgs. *1 Kings*
2 Kgs. *2 Kings*
Khois. Khoisan
Kil. *Kilʾayim*
km kilometers
Kor. Korean
Ky. Kentucky
l. line (pl., ll.)
La. Louisiana
Lam. *Lamentations*
Lat. Latin
Latv. Latvian
L. en Th. Licencié en Théologie, Licentiate in Theology
L. ès L. Licencié ès Lettres, Licentiate in Literature
Let. Jer. *Letter of Jeremiah*
lit. literally
Lith. Lithuanian
Lk. *Luke*
LL Late Latin
LL.D. Legum Doctor, Doctor of Laws
Lv. *Leviticus*
m meters
m. masculine
M.A. Master of Arts
Ma ʿas. *Maʿaserot*
Ma ʿas. Sh. *Maʿ aser sheni*
Mak. *Makkot*
Makh. *Makhshirin*
Mal. *Malachi*
Mar. Marathi
Mass. Massachusetts
1 Mc. *1 Maccabees*
2 Mc. *2 Maccabees*
3 Mc. *3 Maccabees*
4 Mc. *4 Maccabees*
Md. Maryland
M.D. Medicinae Doctor, Doctor of Medicine
ME Middle English
Meg. *Megillah*
Me ʿil. *Meʿilah*
Men. *Menaḥot*
MHG Middle High German
mi. miles
Mi. *Micah*
Mich. Michigan
Mid. *Middot*
Minn. Minnesota
Miq. *Miqvaʾot*
MIran. Middle Iranian
Miss. Mississippi
Mk. *Mark*
Mo. Missouri
Moʿed Q. *Moʿed qaṭan*
Mont. Montana
MPers. Middle Persian
MS. *manuscriptum,* manuscript (pl., MSS)
Mt. *Matthew*
MT Masoretic text
n. note
Na. *Nahum*
Nah. Nahuatl
Naz. *Nazir*
N.B. *nota bene,* take careful note
N.C. North Carolina
n.d. no date
N.Dak. North Dakota
NEB New English Bible
Nebr. Nebraska

Ned. *Nedarim*
Neg. *Negaʿim*
Neh. *Nehemiah*
Nev. Nevada
N.H. New Hampshire
Nid. *Niddah*
N.J. New Jersey
Nm. *Numbers*
N.Mex. New Mexico
no. number (pl., nos.)
Nor. Norwegian
n.p. no place
n.s. new series
N.Y. New York
Ob. *Obadiah*
O.Cist. Ordo Cisterciencium, Order of Cîteaux (Cistercians)
OCS Old Church Slavonic
OE Old English
O.F.M. Ordo Fratrum Minorum, Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)
OFr. Old French
Ohal. *Ohalot*
OHG Old High German
OIr. Old Irish
OIran. Old Iranian
Okla. Oklahoma
ON Old Norse
O.P. Ordo Praedicatorum, Order of Preachers (Dominicans)
OPers. Old Persian
op. cit. *opere citato,* in the work cited
OPrus. Old Prussian
Oreg. Oregon
ʿOrl. *ʿOrlah*
O.S.B. Ordo Sancti Benedicti, Order of Saint Benedict (Benedictines)
p. page (pl., pp.)
P Priestly (source of the Pentateuch)
Pa. Pennsylvania
Pahl. Pahlavi
Par. *Parah*
para. paragraph (pl., paras.)
Pers. Persian
Pes. *Pesahim*
Ph.D. Philosophiae Doctor, Doctor of Philosophy
Phil. *Philippians*
Phlm. *Philemon*
Phoen. Phoenician
pl. plural; plate (pl., pls.)
PM *post meridiem,* after noon
Pol. Polish
pop. population
Port. Portuguese
Prv. *Proverbs*
Ps. *Psalms*
Ps. 151 *Psalm 151*
Ps. Sol. *Psalms of Solomon*
pt. part (pl., pts.)
1Pt. *1 Peter*
2 Pt. *2 Peter*
Pth. Parthian
Q hypothetical source of the synoptic Gospels
Qid. *Qiddushin*
Qin. *Qinnim*
r. reigned; ruled
Rab. *Rabbah*
rev. revised
R. ha-Sh. *Roʾsh ha-shanah*
R.I. Rhode Island
Rom. Romanian
Rom. *Romans*
R.S.C.J. Societas Sacratissimi Cordis Jesu, Religious of the Sacred Heart
RSV Revised Standard Version of the Bible
Ru. *Ruth*
Rus. Russian
Rv. *Revelation*
Rv. Ezr. *Revelation of Ezra*
San. *Sanhedrin*
S.C. South Carolina
Scot. Gael. Scottish Gaelic
S.Dak. South Dakota
sec. section (pl., secs.)
Sem. Semitic
ser. series
sg. singular
Sg. *Song of Songs*
Sg. of 3 *Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men*
Shab. *Shabbat*
Shav. *Shavuʿot*
Sheq. *Sheqalim*
Sib. Or. *Sibylline Oracles*
Sind. Sindhi
Sinh. Sinhala
Sir. *Ben Sira*
S.J. Societas Jesu, Society of Jesus (Jesuits)
Skt. Sanskrit
1 Sm. *1 Samuel*
2 Sm. *2 Samuel*
Sogd. Sogdian
Soṭ. *Soṭah*
sp. species (pl., spp.)
Span. Spanish
sq. square
S.S.R. Soviet Socialist Republic
st. stanza (pl., ss.)
S.T.M. Sacrae Theologiae Magister, Master of Sacred Theology
Suk. *Sukkah*
Sum. Sumerian
supp. supplement; supplementary
Sus. *Susanna*
s.v. *sub verbo,* under the word (pl., s.v.v.)
Swed. Swedish
Syr. Syriac
Syr. Men. *Syriac Menander*
Taʿ an. *Taʿanit*
Tam. Tamil
Tam. *Tamid*
Tb. *Tobit*
T.D. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō,* edited by Takakusu Junjirō et al. (Tokyo,1922–1934)
Tem. *Temurah*
Tenn. Tennessee
Ter. Terumot
Ṭev. Y. *Ṭevul yom*
Tex. Texas
Th.D. Theologicae Doctor, Doctor of Theology
1 Thes. *1 Thessalonians*
2 Thes. *2 Thessalonians*
Thrac. Thracian
Ti. *Titus*
Tib. Tibetan
1 Tm. *1 Timothy*
2 Tm. *2 Timothy*
T. of 12 *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*
Ṭoh. *ṭohorot*
Tong. Tongan
trans. translator, translators; translated by; translation
Turk. Turkish
Ukr. Ukrainian
Upan. *Upaniṣad*
U.S. United States
U.S.S.R. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Uqts. *Uqtsin*
v. verse (pl., vv.)
Va. Virginia
var. variant; variation
Viet. Vietnamese

viz. *videlicet,* namely
vol. volume (pl., vols.)
Vt. Vermont
Wash. Washington
Wel. Welsh
Wis. Wisconsin
Wis. *Wisdom of Solomon*
W.Va. West Virginia
Wyo. Wyoming
Yad. *Yadayim*
Yev. *Yevamot*
Yi. Yiddish
Yor. Yoruba
Zav. *Zavim*
Zec. *Zechariah*
Zep. *Zephaniah*
Zev. *Zevaḥim*
* hypothetical
? uncertain; possibly; perhaps
° degrees
+ plus
– minus
= equals; is equivalent to
× by; multiplied by
→ yields

images and the body

IMAGES AND THE BODY

One of the few generalizations about religion that may be safely declared is that the practice of belief is always, in one way or another, a firmly embodied affair, transpiring in the medium of the human body. Even in the hands of the most zealously ascetic or scholastic adherents, religion's deep register is the body that is denied, cloaked, disciplined, or scorned. In less repressive religious cultures, the body is celebrated as the vessel of memory, the bearer of social status, the medium of divine presence, and the richly adorned display of fecundity, transport, joy, or sexual union.

The human body offers manifold possibilities to act as the medium of belief. Costume for ritual occasions such as prayer or recitation of holy writ **(a)** shapes personal performance by investing the individual with the solemnity of public display. More permanent changes to the body, such as tattoos, make personal statements that link the individual to a variety of communities—some of them ethnic or racial, but also the associations of tattoo wearers linked through tattoo shops, clubs, newsletters, and magazines. Religious iconography, such as

(a) A Jewish boy reads from the Torah at his bar mitzvah. *[©Nathan Nourok/ Photo Edit]* that displayed on the back of the woman shown here **(b)**, operates across the lines of many subcultures.

In addition to the decoration of the body itself, artists everywhere have made use of the human form in objects and images that allow endless permutations of meaning. The Luba people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo carve figural stools **(c)** for the complex array of seating arrangements that structure the hierarchy of the privileged members of the Luba court. The stools consist of female figures (but can also be abstract forms) upholding the sitter, which is a male chief or a member of the royal court. The female body possesses the power of birth-giving and serves as the vessel containing the spirit of the king. Past kings remain invested in their stools. The features of the female figure, particularly the patterns of scarification, are material texts that encode royal history. Luba women are believed to hold the taboos and restrictions of kingship within their bodies and as such serve as the figures symbolically holding up the kings.

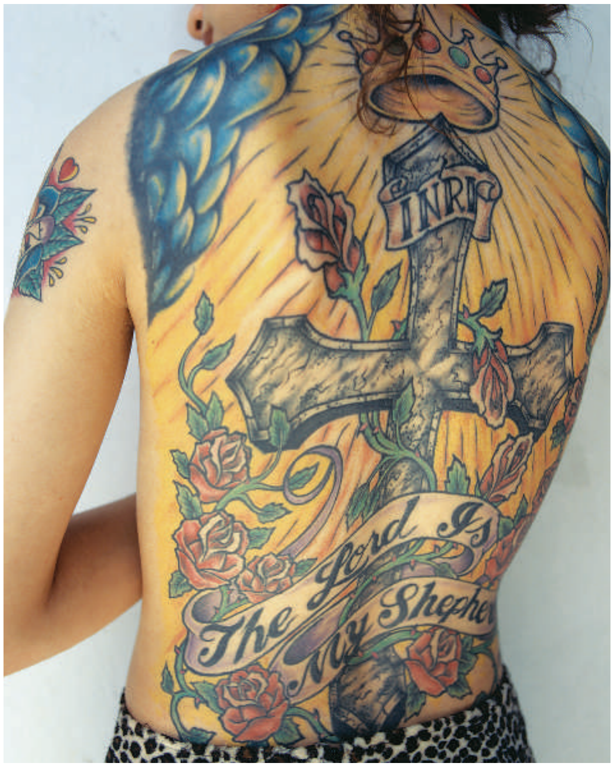

(b) Above. A cross and the opening words of *Psalm 23* tattooed on a woman's back. *[©Steve Chenn/Corbis]* **(c) Right.** Luba caryatid stool of carved wood, Democratic Republic of the Congo. *[©Christie's Images/Corbis]*

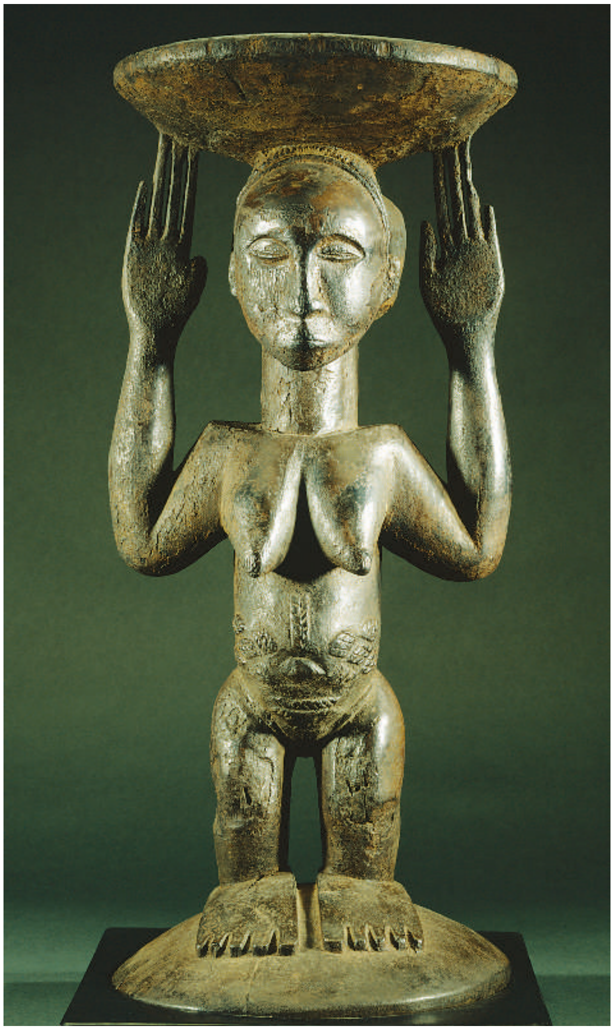

The material forms of religious practice are found to address all aspects of human embodiment. Four objects from South Pacific societies make this clear. Drumming is part of the liturgical life of peoples as far apart as Oceania, native North America, Africa, and Mongolia. As an accompaniment to song and dance, the drum helps to celebrate key ritual occasions, such as funerals or the completion of a house or canoe among peoples in Papua New Guinea **(d)**. The steady beat of the drum structures chant and resonates through the body, harmonizing the group that sings clan songs, initiates youth, or performs the lamentation of burial. The drum is an instrument that evokes bodily participation in the social life of ritual. No less a part of ceremony is the painting of the body. Dishes such as the one reproduced here **(e)** were used in Papua New Guinea to mix pigments. It has been suggested that since the figures on such dishes represent clan animals and ancestors, using them for the mixing of colors applied to the body may have been part of a ritual absorption of clan

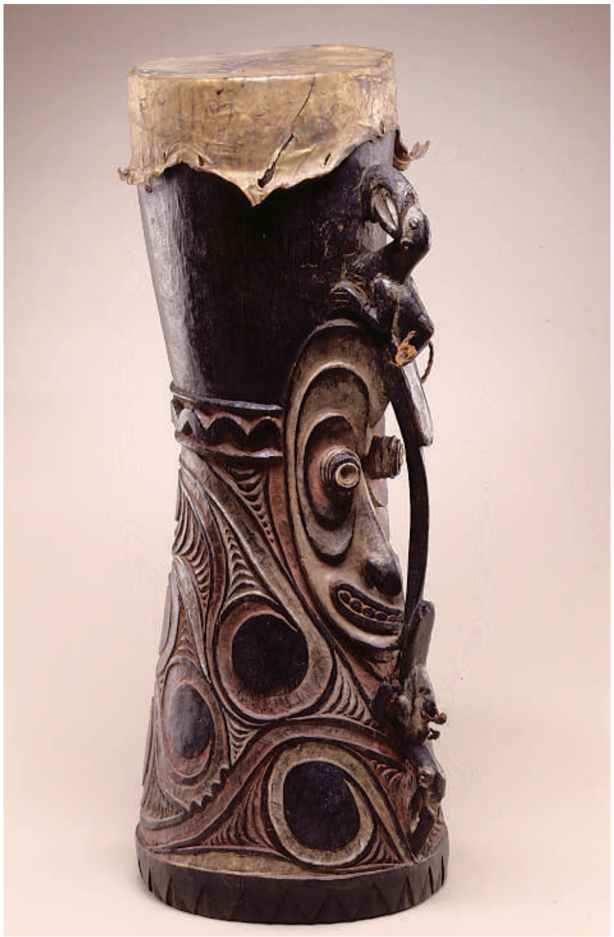

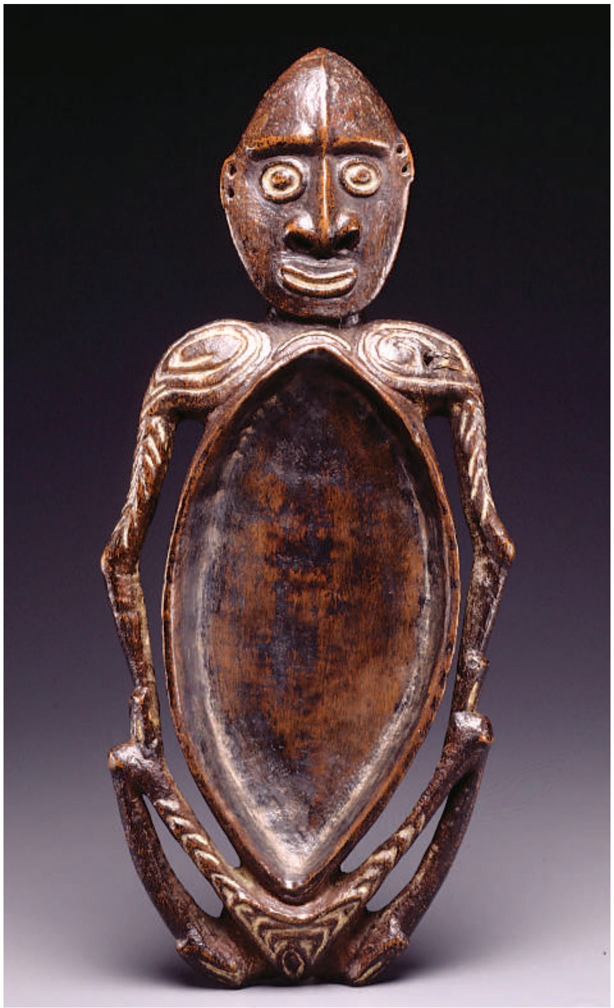

(d) ABOVE. A hand drum from East Sepik province in Papua New Guinea, wood, fiber, shell, animal hide, and pigment. *[Masco Collection; photograph by Dirk Baker]* **(e) LEFT.** A pigment dish from East Sepik province in Papua New Guinea, wood, fiber, and pigment. *[Masco Collection; photograph by Dirk Baker]*

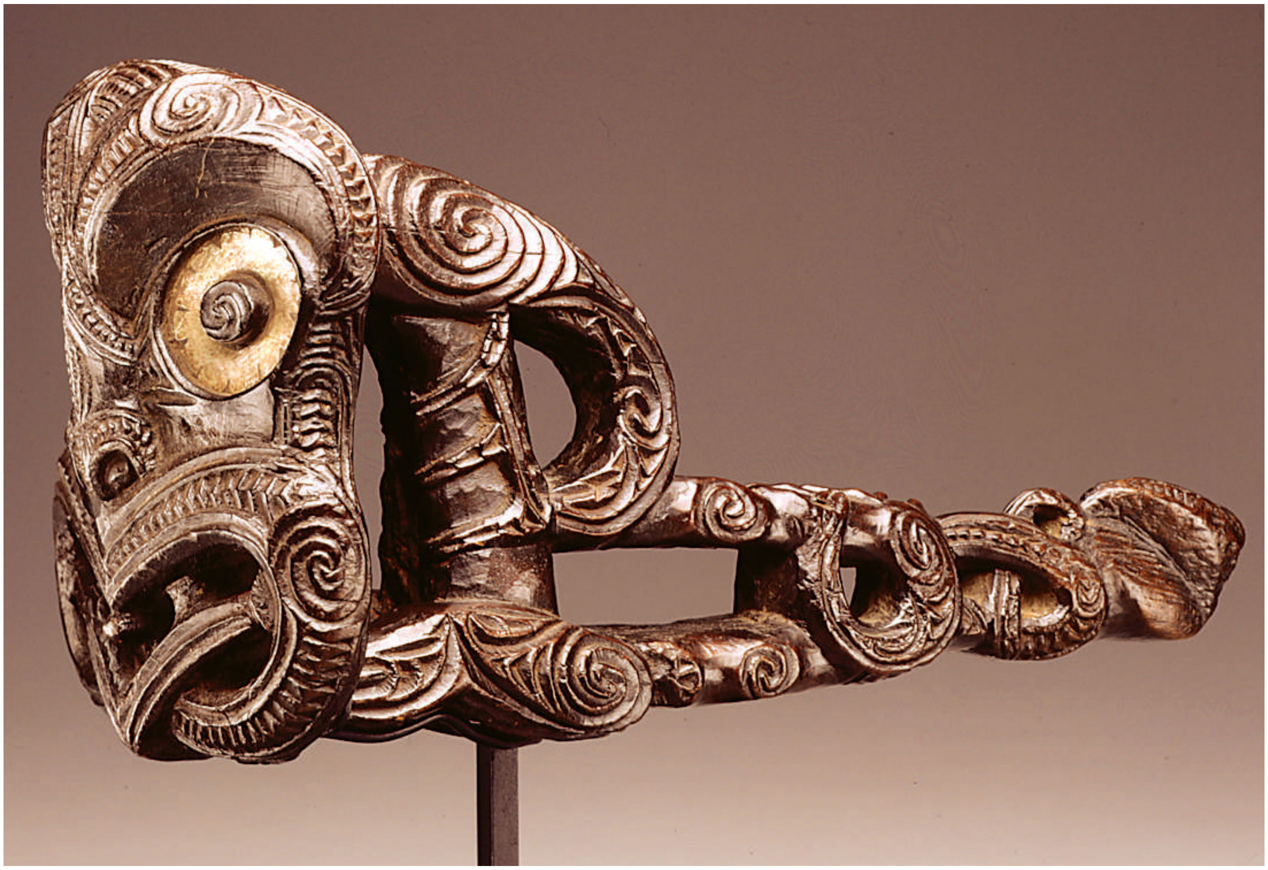

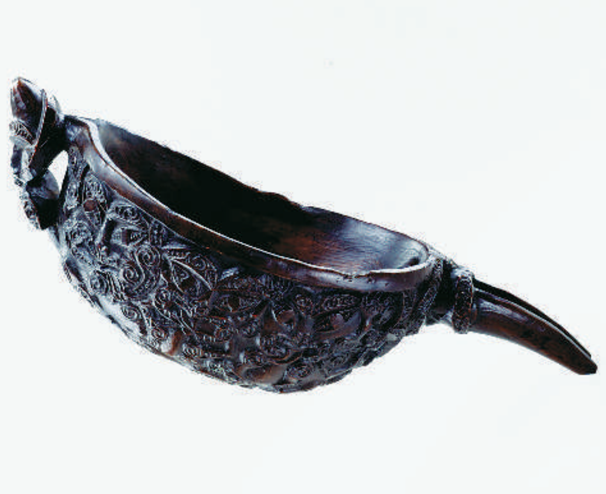

or ancestral spirits into the very body of the participant. On the island of New Zealand, richly carved objects were used to attend to other aspects of the body. A carved wooden bar, called *paepae* **(f)**, may have been part of the ritualizing of excreting waste. It has been suggested that such a device was bitten by someone using a latrine as the final act of elimination, providing a cleansing of taboo caused by excretion. The Maori also used another type of carved device, the feeding funnel **(g)**. It was forbidden for food to touch the lips of chiefs while they healed from the application of tattoos. The feeding funnel allowed the chief to eat semi-liquid food. The elaborately tattooed faces on the outside of the funnel may correspond to the power the funnel seeks to preserve in the tattooed face of the chief who ate with the funnel.

(f) **Top.** A *paepae* of carved wood and haliotis shell, New Zealand. *[Masco Collection; photograph by Dirk Baker]* **(g)** **Left.** A Maori feeding funnel (*koropata*) of carved wood and haliotis shell, New Zealand. *[Masco Collection; photograph by Dirk Baker]*

Religious practices mine the human body for its rich metaphorical significance. Olmec artists produced marvelous ceramic figures of infants **(h)**, whose interpretation remains inconclusive, but which have been linked to funerary practices, shamanistic rites, and fertility ceremonies. For example, small figures shown in the care of old women have led some to believe that the infant figures helped shamans perform rites effecting cures or healthy births. Other forms of evidence associate the sculptures of infants with sacrificial rites that transformed the infants into rain and vegetation, thus procuring seasonal regeneration and agricultural fertility. One authority indicates that the ceramic figures themselves may have been used in such rites, or may represent the children who were sacrificed. In either case, infancy meant rebirth and the remarkable skills of Olmec artists at naturalistic rendition of the infant's gesture and fleshy forms no doubt enhanced the efficacy of the rite.

If images of infants could assist with the renewal of nature in ancient Olmec culture, a visual practice at the beginning of the Common Era among Egyptians sought to ensure an individual's life after death. The practice involved affixing realistic portrayals of individuals to their mummified bodies in order for their spirits to recognize themselves and reside in the body after death **(i)**. These portraits were commissioned during the lifetime of

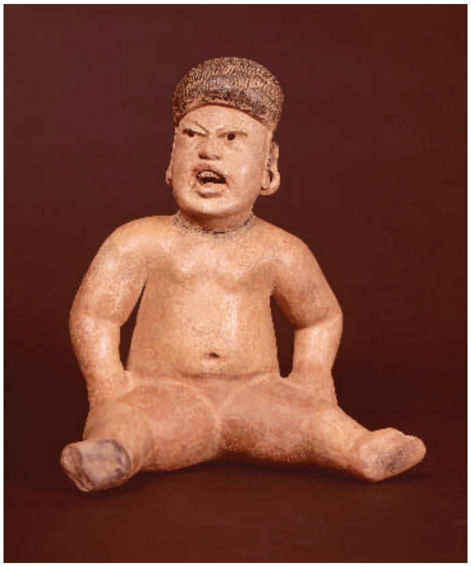

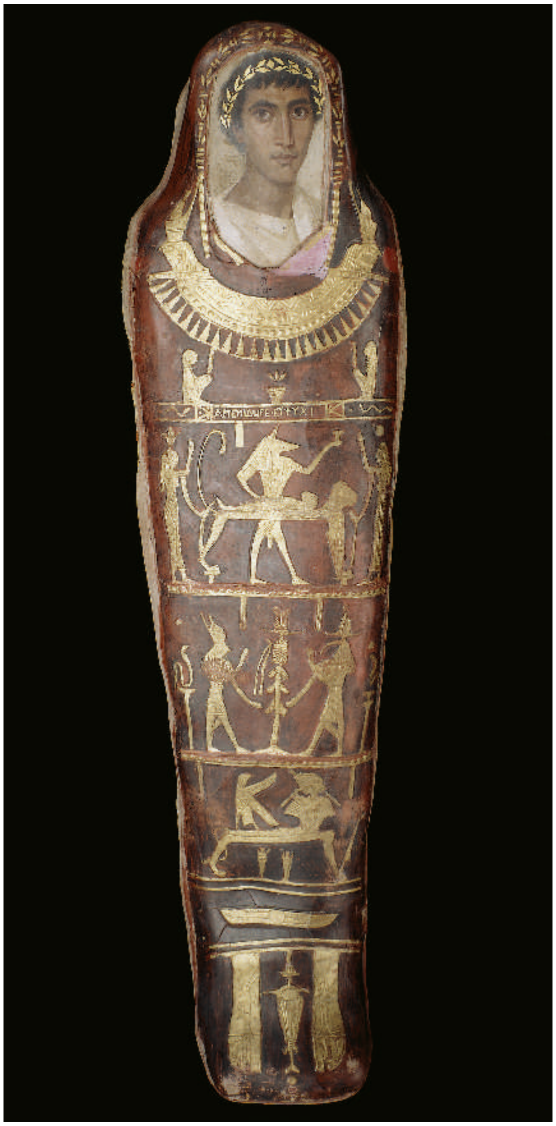

(h) Top. An Olmec figure, 1200–900 BCE, Mexico. *[©Kimbell Art Museum/Corbis]* **(i) Right.** A mummy case with a portrait of Artemidorus, Hawara, Egypt, Roman period, c. 100–120 CE. *[©HIP/Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.]*

the individual and displayed at home, then used in the preparation of the body after death. This close association of image and body may have been incorporated into Christian practice, which found an important place for the relics of saints and martyrs. The fifteenth-century bust of Saint Margaret of Antioch **(j)** recalls the early fourth-century saint who defeated a dragon, which is seen here lying docilely beneath her hand. She was martyred during the reign of Diocletian, one of the last pagan emperors of late antiquity. Now missing is the relic of the saint that occupied the compartment in the figure's chest. Margaret's dedication to assisting women in labor made her popular in the Middle Ages and the infantile size of the dragon may dramatize her power to soothe the pain of childbirth.

Another martyred woman, Daphne, was portrayed by the artist Kiki Smith in a way that recalls the torture of Christian saints. According to Ovid, Daphne was metamorphosed into a laurel tree in order to be delivered from the amorous pursuit of Apollo. When she prayed "change and destroy the body which has given too much delight," her human flesh changed to bark, limbs, and

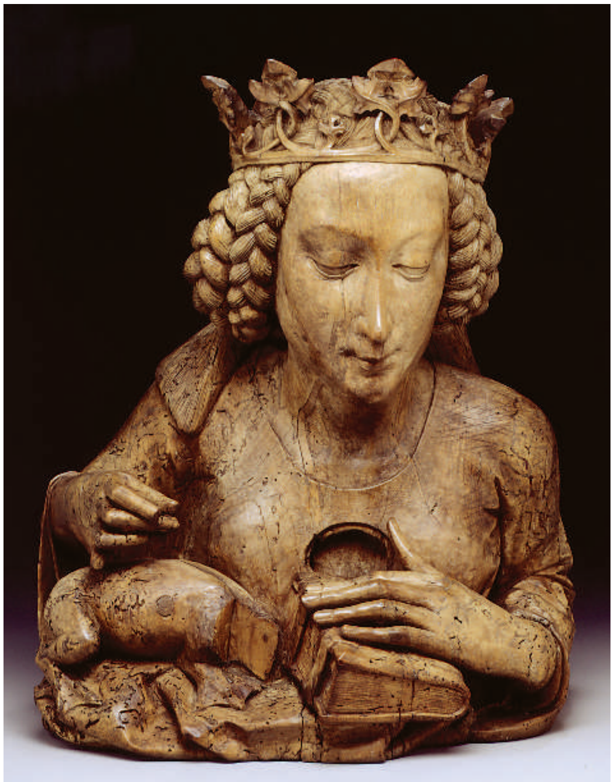

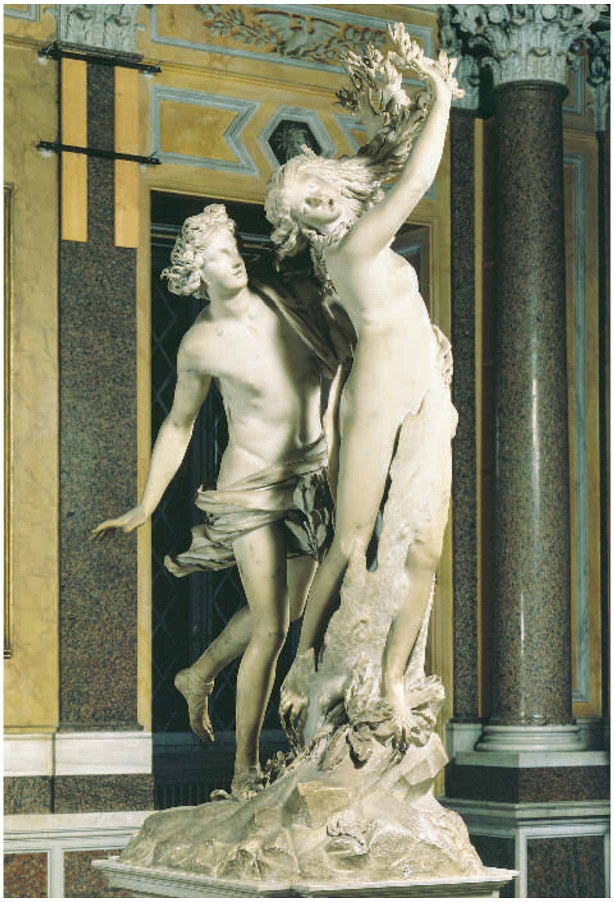

(j) **ABOVE.** Nicolaus Gerhaert and workshop, *Bust of Saint Margaret of Antioch*, c. 1465–1470, walnut. *[Lucy Maud Buckingham Medieval Collection, 1943.1001 overall; photograph by Robert Hashimoto; reproduction, The Art Institute of Chicago]* **(k)** **RIGHT.** Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Apollo and Daphne*, 1624, marble. *[©Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.]*

leaves (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, bk. 1). Smith portrays the body of the helpless nymph crucified by her own wish. Although Ovid indicates that it was the malice of Cupid that inflicted love upon the chaste girl by piercing Apollo with his fated arrow, Daphne blames her body for inciting desire. Smith leaves us to wonder why the body of a woman suffers as the victim of the male assault of desire. By contrast, the Baroque sculptor Gian Lorenzo Bernini produced a virtuoso performance in marble **(k)** in which the viewer is intended to marvel at the sensuous transformation of marble into flesh as well as marble into tree limbs and foliage, almost without pausing to consider the injustice done to Daphne.

The violent stilling of desire occupies a great deal of religious energy. Hinduism, like Christianity, possesses a long-established ascetic tradition in which practitioners deny themselves physical comforts, dress, and possessions, and take only the least amount of nutrition, as in the case of the Indian Sādhu or holy man shown here **(l)**. One of the oldest aspects of Christianity is mortification of the flesh. In the later Middle Ages and the early modern period, visual contemplation of Christ's suffering was one of the primary forms of Christian spirituality. Following the Protestant Reformation, a reassertion of images of suffering—portraying Christ, his disciples, and the saints—were designed to invite devout viewers to direct their attention and devotion to the self-effacing merits of Christ **(m)** and

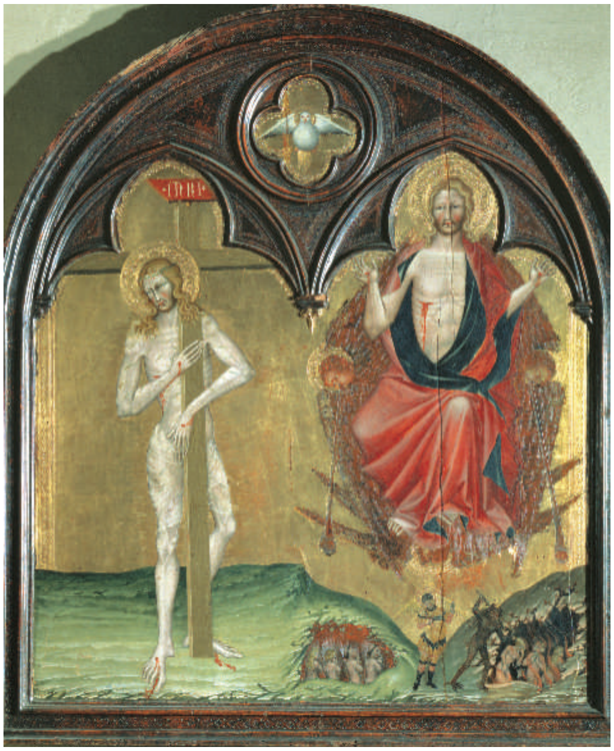

(l) **Above.** An Indian sādhu and a woman at prayer in Vārāṇasī. *[©David Samuel/Corbis]* **(m)** **Left.** Giovanni di Paolo, *Christ Suffering and Christ Triumphant*, later fifteenth century, portrays the two aspects of Christ, demonstrating the doctrine of salvation afforded by his sacrifical death on the cross and his power over death as final judge. *[©Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.]*

his martyred followers **(n)**. At times this imagery was especially graphic in order to jolt viewers to attention and to elicit from them an empathic response accompanied by remorse and self-incrimination. The sacrifice and pain undertaken by Christ and the saints were the means of human salvation and were to be regarded with solemn gratitude.

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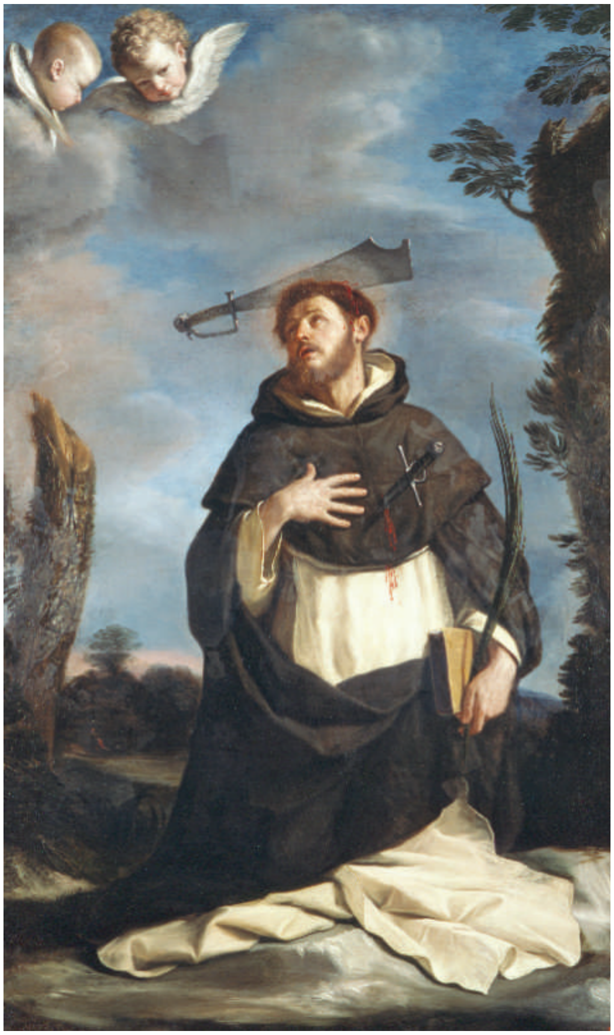

(n) Giovanni Francesco Guercino, *Saint Peter Martyr*, oil on canvas, seventeenth century. Holding the symbolic palm of martyrdom and calmly posing with the instrument of his death lodged in his head, the saint receives the reassurance of divine acceptance from two angels. *[©Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.]*

SOUTH AMERICAN INDIAN RELIGIONS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
MYTHIC THEMES
HISTORY OF STUDY

SOUTH AMERICAN INDIAN RELIGIONS: AN OVERVIEW

Since the Indians of South America do not conform culturally, there is no religious uniformity among them. Despite this inconsistency, an acceptable overview can be achieved by subdividing the continent's large, geographically distinct regions into the following cultural areas.

1. *The Andes.* This mountain range stretches from present-day Colombia to Chile. The highland regions of Peru, lying between the Pacific coast region and the valleys that cut through the mountain range, were taken over in the distant past by highly advanced agrarian cultures. Among the most significant of these cultures was the Inca empire, which extended into the dawn of historical times. Direct descendants of earlier Andean cultures, the Quechua and Aymara peoples inhabit present-day Peru and Bolivia.
2. *Amazon and Orinoco rivers.* These jungle- and savanna-covered regions were conquered by tropical farming cultures. From the standpoint of cultural history, this area also includes the mountainous sections of present-day Guyana; in early historical periods, the Amazon cultural area eventually spread to the Atlantic coast. As in the past, it is now inhabited by tribes belonging to a number of linguistic families, both small and large (Tupi, Carib, Arawak, Tucano, and Pano), and by a number of linguistically isolated tribes. Together they form cultural subareas that display religious specializations.
3. *Mountains of eastern Brazil.* This region is occupied by groups of the Ge linguistic family, who practice rudimentary farming methods; they settled in these hinterlands of the Atlantic coast region, joining indigenous hunting tribes. A few of these Ge groups have survived culturally up to the present time.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT CORNER. Sixteenth-century illuminated miniature of dancing dervishes, from the "Sessions of the Lovers." *[©Bodlein Library, University of Oxford]*; South torana at the Great Stupa at Sāñcī, India. *[©Adam Woolfitt/Corbis]*; Eleventh-century Śiva Naṭarāja from Southern India. Musée Guimet, Paris. *[©Giraudon/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; The "Wedded Rocks" at Futamigaura in Ise, Japan. *[©Werner Forman/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Angkor Vatt, Cambodia. *[Dave G. Houser/Corbis]*.

4. *The Gran Chaco.* The bush and grass steppes of this area stretch from the Paraguay River west to the foothills of the Andes. The area was initially divided among hunters, fishers, and gatherers, and these cultures came under diverse influences from neighboring agriculturists. A series of more or less acculturated groups of the Guiacurú linguistic family (the Mataco and the Mascoy) may still be encountered at the present time.
5. *The Pampas and Patagonia.* Hunting groups wandered through these flatlands of the southern regions of South America. The extinct Pampa and Tehuelche Indians were among the peoples of this region. The Tierra del Fuego archipelago, near the Strait of Magellan, is also included within this territory. Although the inhabitants of these regions—the Selk'nam (Ona), Yahgan, and Alacaluf—are considered extinct, their culture and religion were well documented before they vanished.
6. *Southern Andes.* This area, especially its middle and southernmost regions, is populated by the agrarian Araucanians of Chile, who have prospered up to the present time. Their success has been attributed to their development of a self-sufficient culture a few decades before the Spanish invasion in the early sixteenth century. This development was the result of the influence of highly advanced Peruvian cultures, as the Inca empire progressed to the Maule River in Chile. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Araucanians expanded eastward, but this part of the group, like its predecessors in the area, eventually became extinct.

Pronounced differences in religious phenomena appear within each of these cultural areas; these phenomena present certain discrepancies when seen together. The most outstanding contrast appears between the highly developed Andean religions, which are founded on priesthood and ruling cults, and the religious beliefs of the tribes in the eastern lowlands. Some typical examples of their forms and their respective beliefs should help to clarify their differences.

DEITIES, CULTURE HEROES, AND ANCESTORS. The tradition of a creator as the prime mover and teacher of mankind is universal among the Indians of South America (Métraux, 1949). In the majority of cases, the mythical person most often represented is not directly involved in the daily activities of mortals and therefore does not enjoy particular veneration. There is no fundamental discrepancy between this disinterested deity and the omnipotent creator whose cultic worship is integrated into a religious system; similar characteristics are attributed to both figures. A god previously venerated may fade to the position of a mythical figure, just as a mythical character can achieve cultic significance.

Under certain conditions, a creator, a culture hero, or an ancestor may rise to the position of a deity or supreme being. Such a case occurred in the old cultures of Peru with the religious figure Viracocha. Perhaps originally a culture hero of the Quechua or some other Andean people, Viracocha eventually ascended to the ranks of the highest pantheon as a result of speculation on the part of the Inca priesthood. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Viracocha was represented in anthropomorphic sculptures that appeared in special Inca temples and was venerated through prayers and sacrificial offerings. Inti, the Inca sun god, is portrayed with a human face within a golden disk, and as the tribal god of the ruling Inca dynasty he was embodied in the Inca emperor.

The establishment of an elaborate cult for an indigenous supreme being is a typical occurrence in highly advanced cultures, but such cults are seldom found in South America outside the Andes region. When they do appear elsewhere they are likely the result of the influence of these advanced civilizations on compatible cultural and geographical situations. A report by Karin Hissink and Albert Hahn (1961) on the cultures from the lowlands of Bolivia, near the Andes, points out that the Tacana Indians of the Beni River area maintain the belief in a supreme being known as Caquiahuaca, who created the earth, human beings, animals, and plants. An old man with a white beard, Caquiahuaca lives in a cave in a mountain that bears his name and that forms the center of the world. In temples he is represented by a small beeswax figure surrounded by a series of larger wooden statues that represent the lower gods, known as *edutzi*, who assist him. As the instructor of the priest-shamans, or *yanacona*, Caquiahuaca assists them in the performance of their office, and as their master he is responsible for their religious vocation.

In addition to this, Deavoavai, the lord of the animals, also represents a creator, culture hero, and master of the dead. In his capacity as ruler of the game, Deavoavai is rooted in an earlier cultural-historical level—that of hunters, fishers, and gatherers. Such a deity is also found among other agricultural peoples, including peoples of the Amazon lowlands. Despite their reliance on an economic subsistence that has long since undergone the transition from a hunting to an agricultural base, these groups of the Amazon Basin maintain a religious emphasis that incorporates a dependence on a powerful being who controls the game, an aspect that will receive attention below. It is sufficient here to point out that within this region a relationship exists between the master of the hunted game and the supreme being, a concept first recognized by Adolf E. Jensen (1951).

Culture hero as supreme being. Konrad T. Preuss was convinced that Moma ("father") was the paramount, indeed, the only true god of the Witóto of the Putumayo area of the northwestern Amazon and that he was identified with the moon. According to creation legends among these people, Moma came into existence from the "word," that is, he was a product of magico-religious incantations and myths that are endowed with supernatural powers. He was also the personification of the "word," which he bestowed upon human beings, and the "word" was the doctrine that represented the driving force behind all religious ceremonies that Moma introduced. The original father created the earth and all things of the world from the archetype (*naino*), the "not-substance," of each individual entity. On the other hand, in a myth that explains the creation of the organic world, Moma extracts all the plants and animals from his own body. The blossoms of the food plants used by humans are evidence of his omnipotent presence, and when the trees of the earth no longer bear fruit they go to Moma in the underworld. In addition to being the moon in the heavens, he resides below as master of the dead. He was the first being to experience the suffering of death, but in the fruits of the plants he is continually resurrected.

Among the Witóto, such a representation demonstrates intensely the character of a particular form of culture hero, that is, one who is at the same time a supreme entity. Jensen applied the term *dema deity* in describing such a culture hero among the Marind-anim of New Guinea (Jensen, 1951). The distinguishing characteristics of this deity are revealed in his slaying, which occurred in primal times, and the consequent growth of all food plants out of his body.

Warı́kyana supreme being. A supreme god is also manifested among the Warı́kyana (Arikena), a Carib-speaking tribe of the Brazilian Guianas. The highest deity in the religion of the Warı́kyana is Pura (a name that, according to the Franciscan missionary Albert Kruse, means "god"). With his servant Mura, Pura stands on the zenith of heaven's mountains and observes all things that take place below (Kruse, 1955). At the command of Pura, the rain is sent from the sky. Pura and Mura are small men with red skin and are ageless and immortal. They appeared at the beginning of the world, together with water, the sky, and the earth. In early times Pura and Mura came down to earth and created humans and animals. Because mankind did not obey the ethical precepts of Pura, he retaliated by sending a great fire that was followed by a deluge. A segment of the human race survived this catastrophe, and the Warı́kyana people believe that when the end of time comes, Pura will create another holocaust. It was therefore Pura to whom prayers were directed, and in his honor a celebration took place in which manioc cakes were offered to him.

Protasius Frikel, another Franciscan, completed Kruse's description, noting that the Warı́kyana view the supreme being as a reflection of the primal sun (Frickel, 1957). Pura continues to qualify as the superior god, and in addition he was also thought of as the world onto which the primal sun pours its blinding light. Pura also represents universal power, a belief that Frikel considers to be relatively recent among the Warı́kyana.

In another instance, Pura is considered to be a "primordial man" or culture hero (ibid.). In any case, Pura resides in heaven and reigns over all elements. His companion and servant Mura is somehow connected with the moon and displays some features of a trickster. Such dual relationships as sun and moon, god and companion, culture hero and trickster—pairs that are often represented as twins—are encountered frequently in South American mythology. According to the Warı́kyana, death is the beginning of the soul's journey to heaven, where it will be reincarnated—a journey that is modeled after the eternal cycle of the sun.

Yanoama and Mundurucú supreme beings. Kruse's work stimulated Josef Haekel to write an article about monotheistic tendencies among Carib-speakers and other Indian groups in the Guianas, as well as among those groups bordering the western areas of the Guianas (Haekel, 1958). According to Haekel's findings, reference to the name *Pura* in connection with a supreme being occurred in no other Carib-speaking tribe except the Warı́kyana. To the west of their territory in the Guianas, however, the expression is used with only slight variation, even among different linguistic groups such as the isolated Yanoama (Yanonami) on the Venezuelan and Brazilian borders. According to the beliefs of some groups in Brazil, Pore is the name of a supreme being who descended to earth (Becher, 1974). Together with the moon, who is known as Perimbo, Pore established a dual relationship composed of both sexes—male and female—that was conceptually unified as a supreme entity who controls heaven, earth, and the underworld. As the most well-informed researcher of the Brazilian Yanoama, Hans Becher considers their mode of life to be strongly influenced by myths connected with the moon; the sun, on the other hand, is entirely unimportant. The awe in which these Indians hold Pore and Perimbo is so intense that they do not call on this supreme being directly. Instead, they employ the indirect services of intermediaries in the forms of plant and animal spirits (*hekura*) that reside on specific mountain ranges. Shamans identify with these spirits and when intoxicated with snuff come into contact with them.

There are strong similarities between the supreme being, Pura, of the Warı́kyana and the figure of Karusakaibe, the "father of the Mundurucú" (an expression coined by Kruse, who was also a missionary among this central Tupi tribe). Karusakaibe once lived on earth and created human souls, the sky, the stars, game animals, fish, and cultivated plants, together with all their respective guardian spirits, and he made the trees and plants fruitful. Karusakaibe is omniscient: he taught the Mundurucú how to hunt and farm, among other things. He is the lawgiver of the tribe and the originator of its dual social structure. Karusakaibe is immortal. Because he was treated badly at one time by the Mundurucú, he went off to the foggy regions of the heavens. He is also credited with having transformed himself into the bright sun of the dry season. When the end of the world comes, he will set the world and all mankind on fire. But until that time he will look after the well-being of his children, the Mundurucú, who direct their prayers and offerings to him when fishing and hunting and in times of sickness. Martin Gusinde (1960) is of the opinion that Karusakaibe was once a superior god among the Mundurucú. Later his status changed to that of a culture hero.

Tupi-Guaraní supreme beings. Resonances of a supreme being concept among the Tupi-Guaraní linguistic groups are mentioned by Alfred Métraux, who was the most important specialist in their religious systems (Métraux, 1949). Among these groups, the creator often has the characteristics of a transformer, and as a rule he is also the lawgiver and teacher of early mankind. After he fulfills these tasks, he journeys westward to the end of the world, where he rules over the shades of the dead.

Among the ancient Tupinamba of the Atlantic coast and the Guarayo of eastern Bolivia, traces were found of a cult devoted to the creator, Tamoi. In Métraux's opinion, the various culture heroes, including Monan and Mairamonan) were derived from a single mythical figure—the tribal grandfather, Tamoi. The occurrence of an eclipse of the sun or the moon is a signal that according to the beliefs of the Tupinamba relates directly to the end of the world, and the men must sing a hymn to Tamoi. These eschatological beliefs are characteristic of the Tupi-Guaraní and may be connected to the messianic movements of the Tupinamba at the beginning of the Portuguese colonization period. Such movements frequently led to mass migrations in search of the mythological land of Tamoi, a region perceived as a paradise where the inhabitants share immortality and eternal youth. A similar cult devoted to the worship of the great ancestor among the Guarayo was coupled with messianic movements at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In this case, Tamoi was considered the ruler of the celestial western kingdom of the dead as well as the dominant figure at burial rites and in beliefs about the afterlife.

The most revered god of the Guaraní-Apapocuvá according to Curt Nimuendajú, the outstanding authority on this tribe at the beginning of the twentieth century, is the creator Nanderuvuçu ("our great father"). Nanderuvuçu has withdrawn to a remote region of eternal darkness that is illuminated solely by the light that radiates from his breast (Nimuendajú, 1914). He holds the means to destroy the world but retains the privilege of using this power for as long as he pleases. Because he is not concerned about the daily activities that occur on earth, no cultic practices are directed toward him. His wife Nandecy ("our mother") lives in the "land without evil," a paradise that at one time was believed to be in the east and then again in the west; this paradise also became the goal of various messianic movements of the Guaraní-Apapocuvá.

Ge solar and lunar gods. In the eastern Brazilian area, the majority of the northwestern and central Ge tribes (Apinagé, Canella, and Xerente) hold that the Sun and Moon are the only true gods. Both Sun and Moon are masculine. Though not related to each other, they are companions; the Sun, however, is predominant.

The supremacy of a solar god among the Apinagé led Jensen to the conclusion that here the mythical concept of a sun-man has a secondary identity, that is, he is also a supreme god (Jensen, 1951). To support this theory, Jensen directs attention to the fact that human begins alone have the privilege of addressing this deity as "my father." He finds additional support for this theory in the prayers that are offered to the solar god and in the role he plays in visions. An Apinagé chief spoke of an encounter he once had on a hunting expedition in which he met the sun-father in human form. The Apinagé consider the establishment of the dual organization of the tribe, as well as the placement of the two moieties within the circular settlement, to be the work of the Sun. A final supporting element observed by Nimuendajú (1939) is the Apinagé's consumption of round meat patties, which are eaten at feasts and are said to represent the sun.

At the beginning of the harvest season, a four-day dance festival is celebrated in honor of the Sun at which the dancers apply red paint to themselves in patterns representative of the sun. The Canella also publicly implore the heavenly gods, the Sun and the Moon, for rain, the safety of the game animals, the success of their harvest, and an abundance of wild fruit. In a similar manner, the Xerente call the sun "Our Creator" and pay the same devout tributes to the Sun-father as do the Apinagé. The Sun and the Moon themselves, however, never appear, but the Xerente receive instructions from these solar and lunar bodies through other celestial gods (the planets Venus, Mars, Jupiter) who are associated with the Sun and the Moon moieties. The most important ceremony of the Xerente is the Great Feast, at which a pole is erected so that the tribe members may climb to the top and pray to the Sun. At the end of the celebration, the master of ceremonies climbs this pole. Once at the top, he stretches his hand outward to the east and receives a message from a star within the constellation Orion, who acts as a celestial courier. In most cases, satisfaction is expressed and rain is assured.

The ceremonial pole as a link to the heavenly world is also believed to have been employed by the Botocudos, who were among the hunting tribes that once lived near the Atlantic Ocean but are now extinct. Their religion was apparently characterized by a belief in a supreme being in heaven, named White Head because of the image he created (the top of his head is white and his face is covered with red hair). He was also the chief of the heavenly spirits, who were known as *maret*. The *maret* spirits could be called to earth by the shaman, but in a form that is visible only to him; they also had to return to heaven in the same way. They took on the function of intermediaries between mortals and the supreme being when the shaman, through prayers and songs, turned to them in times of sickness or in an emergency. No one ever saw Father White Head face to face; although he was sympathetic toward mankind, he punished murderers and was responsible for sending rain storms.

Mother goddesses. As Métraux (1946) pointed out, the missionaries who searched for belief in a supreme being among the Indians of the Gran Chaco were not at all successful. The only mythical personality who comes close to the concept of a superior god, in Métraux's opinion, is Eschetewuarha ("mother of the universe"), the dominant deity among the Chamacoco, a Samuco group in the north Chaco region. She is the mother of numerous forest spirits as well as of the clouds. As the controller of all things, Eschetewuarha ensures that mankind receives water. In return for this favor, she expects her people to send songs to her nightly, and when such expectations are not fulfilled she punishes them. Herbert Baldus (1932), who provided in-depth information about Eschetewuarha, compares her with the universal mother of the Cágaba (Koghi), a Chibcha tribe in Colombia that had been influenced by more advanced cultures. This comparison facilitates postulating at least a phenomenological relationship between the two.

The obvious characteristics of a supreme god are apparently present in Kuma, the goddess of the Yaruro, who subsist on fishing, hunting, and gathering along the Capanaparo River, a tributary of the Orinoco in Venezuela. She is considered to be a moon goddess and consort of the sun god, who is unimportant. Kuma created the world with the help of two brothers, the Water Serpent and the Jaguar, after whom the tribal moieties were named. Although she apparently created the first two human beings herself, her son, Hatschawa, became the educator and culture hero of mankind. Kuma dominates a paradise in the west in which gigantic counterparts for every plant and animal species exist. Shamans are capable of seeing the land of Kuma in dreams and visions and are able to send their souls there. As a reliable informant explained, "Everything originated from Kuma and everything that the Yaruro do has been arranged so by her; the other gods and cultural heroes act according to her laws" (Petrullo, 1939). Métraux drew attention to the typological affinities between Kuma and Gauteovan, the mother goddess of the Cágaba, who in turn is connected with Eschetewuarha of the Chamacoco (Métraux, 1949).

Supreme beings of Tierra del Fuego. Among the people living in the southern regions of the continent, a belief in a supreme being is common in hunting and fishing tribes, especially the Selk'nam (Ona) of Tierra del Fuego and the Yahgan and Alacaluf of the Tierra del Fuego archipelago. Despite many years of European influence in this area and the astonishing similarities of their beliefs to aspects of Christianity, Métraux believed that the religion of these three tribes remained substantially independent of Christianity (Métraux, 1949). Martin Gusinde, a member of the ethnological school of Wilhelm Schmidt, provided us with research information about these tribes shortly before their cultural extinction (Gusinde, 1931, 1937, 1974). The Selk'nam, the Yahgan (Yámana), and the Alacaluf (Halakwulip) maintain belief in a supreme being who is an invisible, omnipotent, and omniscient spirit living in heaven, beyond the stars. He has no physical body and is immortal; having neither wife nor children, he has no material desires. Among the Alacaluf, the creator god is named Xolas ("star"), and despite the great distance that separates him from the earth, he concerns himself with the daily life of human beings. Through his initiative a soul is allowed to enter the body of a newborn baby; it remains in the human being until death, at which time it returns to Xolas. The Alacaluf were obliged to abstain from any form of veneration of this perfect supreme being, since any attempt to influence his will would have been fruitless. For this reason, it is not known what formal prayers were addressed to Xolas nor whether cultic practices associated with him were performed.

Watauineiwa ("ancient one, eternal one") behaved quite differently, according to the beliefs of the Yahgan. He preferred to be addressed as "my father," and he was reputed to be the lord of the world and ruler over life and death. He was an astute observer of the actions of humans and punished violations of the laws he had established in relation to morals and customs. Such rules were inculcated into the young (boys and girls concurrently) during initiation rituals, which formed the core of Yahgan religious life. In seeking contact with Watauineiwa, the individual Yahgan could draw upon numerous established prayers. A person would implore Watauineiwa, who was the controller of the game animals and of all food plants, to help him to secure his subsistence needs and would turn to Watauineiwa to ensure his continued health, to cure him of sickness, and to protect him from inclement weather and from drastic environmental changes. But Watauineiwa was also the target for harsh complaints in cases of ailments and misfortune, and in the event of death he was accused with the words "murderer in heaven."

The supreme god of the Yahgan maintained a closer contact with human beings than did Témaukel, the Selk'nam's supreme god. Témaukel ("the one above in heaven") was considered to be the originator and protector of mankind's moral and social laws, although he was otherwise uninterested in daily life on earth. Témaukel had existed from the beginning of time, but he entrusted Kenos, the first ancestor, with the final configuration of the world and the institution of social customs. In spite of the respect they accorded Témaukel, the Selk'nam prayed to him less frequently than did the Yahgan to their supreme god. Contrastingly, the Selk'nam meticulously observed the practice of throwing the first piece of meat from the evening meal out of their huts with the words "This is for him up there," an action that can be considered a form of sacrificial offering. The dead were also believed to travel to Témaukel.

Supreme beings of the Pampas, Patagonia, and the southern Andes. Although our knowledge of the religious practices and beliefs of the earlier inhabitants of the Pampas and Patagonia is sparse and relatively superficial, it is almost certain that the Tehuelche had a supreme being. Like Témaukel of the Selk'nam, the god of the Tehuelche was characterized by his lack of interest in worldly activities; he was also lord of the dead. This supreme being was, in general, sympathetic toward human beings, but there is no proof of a public cult devoted to him. Traditionally he was called Soychu. A benevolent supreme being of the same name was also found in the religious beliefs of the Pampa Indians, at least after the eighteenth century.

It would appear that the tribal religions of the southern areas of South America were, in general, marked by a belief in a supreme god. The Araucanians of the southern Andes, and in particular the Mapuche, have left behind traces of the concept of a superior god, as well as a devout veneration of him that survived well into the eighteenth century. In most instances the supreme being is referred to as either Ngenechen ("lord of mankind") or Ngenemapun ("lord of the land"). Other, more feminine descriptions may reveal an androgynous character. Ngenechen is thought of as living in heaven or in the sun and is credited with being the creator of the world as well as the provider of life and of the fruits of the earth. Although he is responsible for the well-being of mankind, he is not associated with the moral laws. An individual would turn to Ngenechen in personal emergencies with prayers, the sacrifice of an animal, or an offering of the first fruits of the harvest. A public ritual known as the Ngillatun, which has survived up to the present time among the Araucanians, consists of offering the blood of a sacrificial animal to him. Two important objects employed at this feast are the rewe, a thick, step-notched pole, and a sacrificial altar, both of which are circled by the participants at the beginning of the ceremony. In addition to the master of ceremonies, the female shaman *(machi)* takes over some of the most vital functions at the Ngillatun. With a flat drum (*kultrun*), she climbs the ceremonial pole and upon reaching the top turns to Ngenechen, who is now symbolically nearer. Métraux (1949, p. 561) and John M. Cooper (1946, pp. 742–743) have both come to the conclusion that in this instance the older features of god among the Araucanians have been conceptually modified through the centuries to conform with the concepts of the conquering Western civilization.

Earlier Spanish chroniclers viewed the thunder god Pillán as the central, if not the supreme, being of the Araucanians. Ewald Böning, in a more recent account, pointed out convincingly that the Mapuche describe Pillán in general as a powerful, extraordinary, and tremendous apparition (Böning, 1974, p. 175). Pillán primarily represents an impersonal power, but he can also manifest himself in a personal form. The concept of impersonal power seldom occurs in the mentality of the South American Indians. The Nambikwára of the Mato Grosso, for example, believe in an abstract power, known as *nande*, that is present in certain things and that contains a magic poison or a real poison. Although any individual can, to a certain extent, achieve contact with *nande*, it is the shamans above all who can manipulate this power.

NATURE SPIRITS, HUNTING RITUALS, AND VEGETATION RITES. In dealing with beliefs in a superior god, I have mentioned how the lord, or master, of the animals is one way in which the supreme being is conceptualized among South American tribes. Owing to the fact that hunting belongs to one of the oldest phases of human history, gods who are associated with this category of subsistence represent archaic beliefs. Not only do the Indians of South America believe in a master of all animals but they frequently display a belief in supernatural protectors of the various animal species. Such nature spirits characteristically display strong individualistic tendencies and are often considered to be demons (Métraux, 1949). From the standpoint of cultural history, they are related to the lord of all beasts and have affinities with him that stem from the same hunting and fishing mentality.

Tupi master of the animals. The most important representation of a master of the animals in the tropical lowlands is the forest spirit Korupira, or Kaapora, of the ancient eastern Tupi and a few primitive isolates of the Tupi tribes, as well as of the *caboclo*, or mixed race, people of Brazil. A series of recorded myths and verbal descriptions have facilitated a reconstruction of this deity.

Although the use of two names creates the impression that Korupira and Kaapora are two separate mythical figures, they are so closely related as to be nearly indistinguishable. Korupira, the master of the animals, is the protecting spirit of the beasts as well as of the forest; he punishes those who maliciously destroy the game and rewards those who obey him or those on whom he takes pity. For a portion of tobacco, Korupira will lift the restrictions that he places on the killing of his animals. Encounters in recent times with a small isolated Tupi tribe, the Pauserna Guarasug'wä, who live in eastern Bolivia, have shown that the belief in Korupira/Kaapora has survived. Kaapora originated as a human being—that is, he was created from the soul of a Guarasu Indian. He is the lord of all animals of the forest and has put his mark somewhere on each of the wild animals, usually on its ear. A hunter must turn to him with a plea to release part of the game, but he is only allowed to kill as many as he will absolutely need for the moment. In thanksgiving for his success, the hunter will leave the skin, the feet, or the entrails of the slain animal behind when he leaves the forest: by doing so he begs forgiveness from the animal for having killed it. After such reconciliations, the soul of the animal returns home to Kaapora. Presumably this tribe, like others, believes either that the spiritual owner of the game will create an entirely new animal or that the soul of the animal itself is capable of reproducing a new material form from the remains the hunter leaves behind. (The preservation of the bones of game in the so-called bone ritual appears to be widely distributed throughout South America.)

Kurupi-vyra of the Guarasug'wä is a part-animal, part-human forest spirit, but not a lord of the animals. He is, however, a possible source of help for hunters in emergencies. At such times he will lend his miraculous weapon, a hardwood wand that he himself uses to kill game, and in return he demands total obedience. Evidence of a master of the animals and a helping spirit is well documented in other regions of the South American subcontinent.

Mundurucú protective mother spirit. In the Amazon region, the idea of a lord of all animals is sometimes replaced by the belief in a lord or master of each individual animal species, and sometimes both concepts occur. Starting from the basic Tupi premise that every object in nature possesses a mother (*cy*), the Mundurucú, a Tupi-speaking group, recognize and venerate a maternal spirit of all game. She is the protector of the animal kingdom against mankind and maintains a mother-child relationship between herself and the beasts. Although she possesses a homogeneous character, she does not have a definite external form, nor does she exist as an independent personal goddess. The shaman alone knows and understands the methods for approaching her. In an ecstatic frenzy, he will feed her sweet manioc when she manifests herself in any one of her various forms (for example, as a specific type of land tortoise). The Mundurucú also attribute to each individual animal species a mother spirit that serves as a species protector.

Formerly the Mundurucú held a reconciliation ceremony at the beginning of the rainy season in honor of the guardian spirits of the game and fish. At the climax of this ceremony, two men sang songs devoted to the spirit of each animal in order to call on the spirit mothers. They performed this act while sitting in front of the skulls of numerous animals that had been taken in the hunts of the previous year. These skulls were arranged in parallel rows, according to species, in front of the men's house. Additionally, a bowl of manioc porridge was offered to the mothers of the animals to eat. When the shaman was convinced that the spirits had arrived, he blew tobacco smoke over the skulls and then, using a bamboo tube, proceeded to symbolically suck out arrowheads or bullets that had entered the spirits. Through this action the animals were pacified and the dancing could begin. Such dances, performed by the men, consisted of pantomimes of a herd of peccary, followed by representations of the tapir and other animals. This organized presentation by the Mundurucú was the most pregnant and illuminating of such ceremonies in the Amazon region.

Hunting dances. The concept of a lord, or master, of a particular species also plays an important role in the religious systems of the Carib-speaking tribes of the Guianas. This is exemplified by the frequent use of the term *father* or *grandfather* when speaking of a certain type of animal. The Taulipáng and the Arecuná of the inland regions of the Guianas believe that each individual animal type has a father (*podole*), who is envisioned as either a real or a gigantic, legendary representative of that particular species, and who displays supernatural qualities. Two "animal fathers" are especially meaningful for their hunting ritual: the father of the peccary and the father of the fish. Both of these figures were originally human shamans who were transformed into spiritual beings and became incorporated into the opening dances of the Parischerá and the Tukui, the magical hunting dances of the Taulipáng. In the Parischerá, a long chain of participants, wearing palm-leaf costumes and representing a grunting peccary herd, dance to the booming of cane trumpets or clarinets. Performing the Parischerá ensures a plentiful supply of four-legged animals, just as the Tukui dance guarantees a sufficient supply of birds and fish. Starting with a dance performed by the neighboring Maquiritaré that is similar to the Parischerá of the Taulipáng, Meinhard Schuster classified the ritual hunting dances devoted to the peccary, including those of other Carib-speaking tribes of the Guianas; he concluded that a relationship existed between these and the peccary dances of the Mundurucú (Schuster, 1976).

Animal dances devoted to the attainment of game and fish are found among other tribes of the Amazon area and the Gran Chaco. Instead of focusing on the controlling master of the animals, however, they are often directed at the soul of the animal itself. Dances in which the animals, or their spiritual master, are depicted with masks made from bast fiber, straw, or wood frequently do not belong to hunting rituals as such. Instead, they are used in conjunction with rites of passage, especially initiation and mourning feasts. This applies to the animal-mask dances of the northwestern Amazon, the tribes of the upper Xingu River, and the northwestern Ge tribes of eastern Brazil.

The jaguar. The predatory jaguar occupies a special position in the religious practices of peoples inhabiting an extensive area of South America that stretches from the coast of Brazil to the central Andes. The religious life of these peoples is dominated by activities related to the jaguar. The tribute paid the jaguar takes a number of forms: in some cases, attempts are made to pacify or to ward off the spirits of captured jaguars; in others jaguars are ceremonially killed; in yet others, the jaguar is venerated as a god.

Among the ancient Tupinamba, the cadaver of a jaguar was ornamented and then mourned by the women. The people addressed the dead animal, explaining that it was his own fault that he had been captured and killed since the trap into which he had fallen had been intended for other game. He was implored not to take revenge on human children. Among the western groups of the Boróro tribe of the Mato Grosso, who are included in the eastern Brazil cultural area, there is a dance of reconciliation performed for the slain jaguar. Such dances take place at night and consist of pantomimes of the jaguar acted by a hunter who wears a jaguar skin and is decorated with its claws and teeth. These Boróro groups believe that the soul of the jaguar will in this way be assimilated into the hunter. At the same time, the women mourn and cry emphatically to pacify the soul of the animal, which might otherwise take revenge by killing the hunter. The eastern groups of the Boróro tribe attach quite a different significance to their rites for the dead jaguar. Here the ceremonies are held in conjunction with the hunting rituals that accompany the death of an individual, and in this sense they belong to mourning rites.

Up to the beginning of the twentieth century, the Shipaya and Yuruna, Tupi-speaking tribes located on the middle Xingu River, knew of a cult dedicated to the creator of their tribe, who was known as Kumaphari. In the beginning Kumaphari had a human form, but in a state of anger he divorced himself from human beings and settled in the northern end of the world, where he became an invisible, cannibalistic jaguar. Through the shaman, who acted as a medium, the jaguar god occasionally demanded human flesh, whereupon a war party was organized for the purpose of acquiring a prisoner. The victim was shot with arrows and a portion of the body was consumed by the participants in the ritual; the remaining part was presented to Kumaphari, the jaguar god. The ceremonies practiced in this cult apparently maintained ritual cannibalistic elements found among the Tupinamba of the sixteenth century, although at that time the offering of a captured warrior to a deity was not recorded.

An active jaguar cult was also known to the Mojo, an Arawakan tribe in eastern Bolivia. The killing of a jaguar, which automatically bestowed great prestige on the hunter, was accompanied by extensive rites. During the entire night, a dance was held around the slain animal. Finally the animal was butchered and eaten on the spot. The skull, paws, and various other parts were then placed within a temple of the jaguar god, and a sacrificial drink for the benefit of the hunter was presented by the jaguar shaman. The shaman was recruited from among those men who were distinguished for having escaped alive after being attacked by a jaguar. They alone could summon and console the jaguar spirit and could allegedly turn into jaguars, a transformation known to many other Indian tribes of the Amazon region. It is justifiable to view the jaguar god of the Mojo as a "lord of the jaguars" in the same sense that the concept "master of the animals" is applied among hunting groups.

This feline predator also played a part in the religion of ancient Peru. Either a particular god possessed attributes of the jaguar, or the jaguar was an independent deity who served as the lord of the earthly jaguars and who appeared in the constellation Scorpius.

Protection from slain animals. Rituals established around various slain animals are especially obvious in eastern Brazil and Tierra del Fuego. Among the Boróro of eastern Brazil, the shaman enters a state of ecstasy after big game has been killed. In this condition he performs various activities related to the game—for example, breathing over the meat. He may also sample it before the rest of the members of the tribe partake of the meal. In this way he bestows a blessing that will protect against the revenge of the slain animal spirit (*bope*). When the Kaingán-Aweicoma (Xokleng) in the state of Santa Catarina in southern Brazil have killed a tapir, chopped greens, which are particularly favored by this animal, are spread over its head and body, which is supported upright. At the same time, the spirit of the animal is addressed with friendly words. It is asked to give a favorable report to the other animals of its kind, to report how well it was treated, and to persuade them that they too should let themselves be killed. Similarly, when a hunter of the Selk'nam of Tierra del Fuego removed the skin from a slain fox, he spoke apologetic phrases, such as "Dear fox, I am not evil-minded. I have respect and don't wish to harm you, but I am in need of your meat and your fur." By this means, the entire fox society was expected to be pacified after the loss of one of its members. The offering of such deceptions and fabrications to the slain animals is a typical archaic ritual that also finds expression among hunters in the Old World.

Plant fertility rites. I now turn to those religious rites that center around the theme of fertility, not only of planted crops but also of wild edible plants. The most impressive religious celebrations of the tribes in the lowlands of the Amazon are those held for the vegetation demons by the peoples in the northwestern section of this region. Such demons are usually, though incorrectly, identified with the worst of all demons among the ancient eastern Tupi, which demons (and their cults) are known as *yurupary* in the local vernacular (Métraux, 1949).

Among the Tucanoan and Arawakan groups of the upper Rio Negro and the basin of the Uaupés River, the Yurupary rites take place at the time when certain palm fruits particularly favored by the Indians are ripe. At the beginning of the festival, baskets of these fruits are ceremonially escorted into the village by men blowing giant trumpets. These sacred instruments, which represent the voices of the vegetation demons, are hidden from the women and children, who must therefore remain within the huts at this time. During the first part of the ceremony, in which the men scourge one another with long rods, the women are also obligated to remain within their houses. After the secret part of the ritual has ended, however, the women may join the men in feasting and drinking, which continues for several days. The purpose of this feast is to thank the demons for a good harvest and to beg them to provide a rich yield in the coming season. In former times, the so-called Yurupary rites of the Arawakan groups, the Tariana and their neighbors, incorporated the use of two matted "mask suits" made from the hair of monkeys and women. These suits, worn by a pair of dancers, were also not allowed to be seen by the women.

The underlying meaning of the Yurupary rites involves the son of Koai, the tribal hero of the Arawakan groups. Milomaki of the Yahuna (a Tucano group), on the other hand, is a sun hero with an amazing talent for singing who was responsible for having created all edible fruits. He gave these gifts to mankind, although he himself was burned to death by men for having killed members of the tribe. From the ashes of his body sprang the palm tree that provides the wood for making the large trumpets used at the feasts. The trumpets allegedly have the same tones as his voice.

Sacred wind instruments. The reproduction of the voices of supernatural beings through the use of sacred wind instruments, including wooden flutes and trumpets made from rolled bark, is an element that is, or at least was, widespread over much of tropical South America. Their use is most often connected with the expansion of the Arawakan peoples from the north to the south. In the area north of the Amazon, these instruments are utilized in cultic activities devoted to vegetation deities, whereas south of the Amazon they are a central aspect of autonomous cults that have an esoteric character, but have little connection to fertility rituals. They appear in the Flute Dance feast of the Arawakan Ipurina of the Purus River as a representation of the ghostly *kamutsi*, who reside under water and are related not only to the sun but also to the animals. The Paresi-'Kabishi, an Arawakan tribe in the western Mato Grosso, have a secret cult in which the snake demon Nukaima and his wife are represented by a huge trumpet and a smaller flute. The Alligator Jump dance of the old Mojo (an Arawakan group) is considered to be the equivalent of the snake cult of the Paresi. At the climax of this alligator cult feast, a procession is formed in which twelve men play nine-foot-long bark trumpets. Women and children are not allowed to see the proceedings; were they to do so, they would allegedly risk being swallowed by an alligator. The cultural wave responsible for the use of sacred wind instruments in the reproduction of the voices of spiritual beings apparently died out in the upper Xingu cultural area.

The flutes, which are taboo for women, are stored in special flute houses like those of the Arawakan Mehináku. They are associated with a mother spirit (*mama'e*) who has the form of a bird, the jacu (*Crax spp*), and is represented by masked dancers during the ceremonies. Among the Camayura (a Tupi group), the Jacu feast was organized for the purpose of obtaining help from three manioc *mama'e* whose assistance was needed to guarantee success with a new manioc field.

Human and plant fertility. Among the Kaua (an Arawakan group) and the Cubeo (a Tucano group) in the northwestern Amazon region, fertility rites are obviously connected with a human generative power. At the end of the masked dances, in which the dancers represent animals, the participants unite to perform the Naädö (phallus dance). They hold artificial phalluses made of bast fiber in front of their bodies, and with coital gestures they mimic the scattering of semen over houses, fields, and forests.

Farther to the west, we encounter the primal father Moma of the Witóto, a superior god who has a strong influence on the fertility of all useful plants. Moma is responsible not only for the flourishing of the planted crops, including manioc and maize, but also for useful wild fruits. In his honor, the Okima, the festival of yuca (manioc) and of the ancestors, is performed. Those under the earth are invited to participate in the festival by their worldly descendants above, who stamp their feet or beat rhythmically on the ground with "stamping sticks" that are fitted with rattles. In the ball game festival known as Uike, the soul of Moma is believed to be present within the ball, which is bounced back and forth on the knees of the persons participating. Additionally, this ball symbolically represents the fruits that are brought to the feast, the idea being that the bouncing ball makes the same movements as the fruits in the branches of the trees.

Among the Jivaroan people in Ecuador, the cult of the earth mother Nunkwi is restricted to those cultivated plants whose soul is believed to be feminine—for example, manioc. The soul of the earth mother resides within a strangely shaped stone (*nantara*) that has the power to summon Nunkwi. The association between fertility of human females and the growth of plants considered to be feminine receives obvious expression through the rule that every woman who plants a manioc cutting must sit on a manioc tuber. The same theme is expressed in the ritual for the first manioc cutting that is taken from a field whose yield is intended to be used at the Tobacco festival. The cutting is painted red, and the woman to be honored places it against her groin.

Even the *tsantsa*, the fist-sized shrunken head trophies of the Jivaroans, are connected with the fertility of the fields. The power that resides within these heads is expected to be transferred into the crops as the successful hunter, wearing the trophy around his neck, passes the fields. From the trophies the hunter also receives information concerning the fields, which he passes on to the women who tend them. The Quechua and Aymara peoples of the central Andes region frequently call upon Pachamama, the goddess of the earth, who is essentially responsible for the fertility of plants and who is believed to live underground. In addition to being connected with many celebrations, she is also associated with many daily rituals. The cult devoted to her originated in pre-Hispanic times. It has survived to the present, a persistence that is undoubtedly related to Pachamama's identification with the Virgin Mary.

For the cultural areas of eastern Brazil, the Gran Chaco, the Pampas, and Patagonia (including Tierra del Fuego), information concerning gods or spirits related to the fertility of cultivated plants is partial, has little significance, or is completely lacking.

THE SOUL, THE DEAD, AND ANCESTORS. Most of the Indian groups of South America believe that a human being has several souls, each residing in a different part of the body and responsible for numerous aspects of life. After death, each of these souls meets a different fate. One of the most interesting examples of this idea is found among the Guaraní-Apapocuvá (Nimuendajú, 1914). One soul, called the *ayvucue* ("breath"), comes from one of three possible dwelling places: from a deity in the zenith, who is the tribal hero; from "Our Mother" in the east; or from Tupan, the thunder god, in the west. In its place of origin the soul exists in a finished state, and at the moment of birth it enters the body of the individual. It is the shaman's task to determine which of the three places of origin each soul comes from. Soon after birth the breath soul is joined by another soul, the *acyigua* ("vigorous, strong"). The *acyigua* resides in the back of a person's neck and is considered to be an animal soul responsible for the temperament and impulses of that person, which correspond to the qualities of a particular animal. Immediately after death the two souls part company. The *ayvucue* of a small child goes to paradise, the "Land without Evil." The destination of the *ayvucue* of adults is another afterworld that lies just before the entrance to paradise. The animal soul or *acyigua* transforms itself into a much-feared ghost, called *angéry*, that persecutes mankind and must therefore be fought.

Research on a number of Indian tribes indicates that meticulous preservation of the bones of the dead is a widespread practice. Such action, which is similar to the preservation of the bones of hunted game, can be traced to the belief that residual elements of the soul remain in the bones after death. The conceptualization of a "bone soul" has led to the ritual consumption of bone ash from dead family members. This form of endocannibalism is practiced at the present time by different groups of the Yanoama and appears to have been relatively widespread in western South America. Among the Yanoama, we find a perception of a soul that resides outside the body of a living individual, a concept seldom documented in South America. Such a soul most often dwells in an animal, but sometimes also in plants. This type of soul may reside, for example, in a harpy eagle if the soul is that of a man, or in an otter if it belongs to a woman. The predominant element of such a concept is that of an identical life pattern: when the respective animal dies, its human counterpart will also die, and vice versa. An animal soul, usually referred to as a "bush soul," represents the alter ego of a specific individual.

Some of the fundamental beliefs in an alter ego prevalent in South America stem from within the shamanic domain. The Araucanian female shaman *(machi)* possesses an alter ego in the form of an evergreen canelo tree *(Drimys winteri)* that she tends in the forest and whose fate is intimately linked to her own. If someone discovers this tree and destroys it, the *machi* invariably dies.

Honoring the dead was an essential component within the religions of old Peru, as exemplified by the care that mummies of the ancestors were given by priests (Métraux, 1949) and by the sacrificial victims brought to them. Mummies were also taken on procession at certain festivals.

One of the few cases of a developed cult of the dead in the tropical woodlands is exemplified by the ghost dance of the Shipaya of the lower Xingu, which is the most significant religious celebration of this Tupi tribe. The souls of the dead, which are well disposed toward mankind, express a desire to the shaman—through the words of the tribal chief—that the celebration known as the Feast for the Souls of the Dead should be held. It is believed that the souls of those long dead will take possession of the shaman, who is covered with a white cotton mantle; in this form, the soul can participate in the dancing and drinking enjoyed by the living in the center of the village. When souls have borrowed the body of the shaman, his own soul lies idle in his hut. The ceremony continues for eight or more nights, during which other men who have also become the embodiment of dead souls appear in similar dance mantles.

An ancestor cult is also the focal point in the religion of the Cubeo who live in the northwest Amazon region. The soul of a dead person proceeds to the abode of the benevolent ancestors, which is located near the dwelling place of his sib, where all its dead are reunited. The ancestors are represented by large trumpets that are used not only at funeral rites but also at the initiation ceremonies for the boys of the tribe, who are whipped as these trumpets are played. The ancestors, represented by the trumpets once again, are also guardian spirits at sib gatherings. The sound they emit is believed to be a source of male strength when played during a men's bath in the river.

Among the Mundurucú in central Brazil, the large wind instruments are the embodiment of the sib ancestors when played at a particular men's feast. Like the trumpets of the Cubeo, they are not allowed to be seen by the women. At the end of the Mundurucú ceremony, a special drink made from manioc is poured into the instruments and is collected in a calabash bowl as it comes out the other end; it is then drunk by the participants. This ritual, which is looked upon as a form of spiritual communion with the ancestors, is intended as an act of reconciliation that will win their favor and help their descendants.

The combination of a memorial service for the recently dead and a commemorative ceremony for the legendary tribal ancestors can be seen in the Kwarup ritual of the Camayura, a Tupi group of the upper Xingu. The Kwarup (from *kuat*, "sun" and *yerup*, "my ancestor") centers around a number of posts, each about three feet high, outfitted and ornamented as human beings and carved from the sacred camiriva wood from which the creator, Mavutsine, allegedly fabricated the first Camayura. The chant given as people dance around these posts is the same one that Mavutsine sang as he created mankind. In the Kwarup ritual the ancestors return symbolically for the purpose of welcoming those who have recently died.

Death cults and ancestor worship also play an important role in the eastern Brazilian cultural area, particularly among the Boróro. This tribe makes a sharp distinction between nature spirits and spirits of the dead. The Boróro believe that the souls of their ancestors (*aroe*) hold a close relationship to mankind that influences and maintains its daily life. On certain social occasions, the spirits of the dead are ceremonially invoked by special shamans to whom the spirits appear and whom they enlighten in dreams. As a result of this important attachment to the spirits, the funeral rites of the Boróro are highly developed and complex. After a ceremonial hunt, the successful hunter becomes the representative of the dead man at the funeral proper, which consists of a series of established rites. Among these is a dance in which the most interesting elements are large disk-shaped bundles of wood that represent the dead person. At the same time that the dance is being performed, the deceased person's bones, which have been buried for two weeks, are exhumed and painted red with *urucú*. Feathers associated with clan colors are glued to the bones. The specially decorated skull is then displayed to the mourners. After a period of safekeeping in the house of the deceased, the basket in which the bones have been placed is sunk in a deep section of the nearby river.

Among the Ge-speaking Canella (eastern Timbira), it is the medicine men who usually establish contact with the spirits of the dead, since they are omniscient. But even those members of the tribe who do not possess particular spiritual abilities seek advice from their ancestors in emergencies. In the first phase of the initiation ceremonies for young boys in which religion is emphasized, the initiates learn how to contact the dead. This knowledge is acquired in a race in which each person to be initiated carries a wooden block that is said to be the ghost of a dead ancestor. In the funeral rituals, the men carry much larger blocks in a similar race.

The cult of the dead is not only an impressive ritual but a basic foundation of the culture of the Kaingán, the southernmost Ge tribe. The objective that lies at the core of this ritual is the elimination of the ties that connect the living and the dead. This ritual insures that the souls of the deceased will finally arrive at the resting place in the underworld, located in the west.

A cult of the dead among the indigenous people in the southern regions of South America, including the Gran Chaco and the southern Andes, contains few authentic religious elements. At a funeral, the surviving family members sponsor a large feast in honor of the dead relative. The various ceremonies that take place during this feast—for example, eating and drinking bouts, lamenting, playing of music, feigned attacks, riding games, and speeches—are intended to drive from the village the dreaded spirits of the dead or the death demons, who are responsible for the death of the tribal member, to prevent them from causing more harm. Among the people in the Gran Chaco, an attempt is made to console the dead and to pacify them in their anger at having passed away. The mourning ceremonies, which begin immediately after a person dies, are meant to serve this end. Often an invalid is set outside or buried before having actually died. Little has been recorded regarding beliefs about life of the soul after death among the peoples of the Gran Chaco.

INITIATION RITES. Among the Indians of Tierra del Fuego there is no trace of a cult of the dead to be found in the funerary practices. In this region, socioreligious emphasis was placed on rites that are generally associated with the initiation of members of both sexes and particularly on those rituals connected with the acceptance of young males into men's organizations (the Kloketen of the Selk'nam and the Kina of the Yahgan). During these rites, a chain of men came out to frighten the women. The participating men wore conical masks made from bark or animal skin that covered their heads and faces. Their bodies were painted black, white, and pink in various patterns. Although they represented specific demons and spirits of the sea, forest, and animals, there was apparently no ghost of the dead among them.

The appearance of masks so far south is correctly attributed to the extensive influence of the Tropical Forest cultural areas. Between the Tropical Forest and Tierra del Fuego, there are no gaps in the appearance of masked dances in connection with initiation celebrations, as for example the Anapösö, or Forest Spirit feast, of the Chamacoco. In this region of the Gran Chaco, the performers representing the forest spirits were elaborately decorated with feathers. These spirits are believed to have been ruled by the dog demon Pohitschio, who was the consort of the great mother, Eschetewuarha. Formerly the performers wore artistically intricate feather masks that were later replaced by sacks worn over the head with eyeholes cut in them. In either case, the women were not allowed to discover that these spirits were in reality men from their own tribe.

The Lengua of the Gran Chaco use a masked dance to represent symbolically the supernatural danger that threatens women at the onset of menstruation. In this dance, the single men, wearing rhea-feather belts and masks, approach the young women during a typical female puberty celebration. The young women believe them to be the bad spirits. They are eventually driven away by the adult women after they harass and threaten the young girls.

CONCLUSION. Because of the extreme variety of time periods from which information about these tribes is drawn, the only perspective that can be achieved in such an overview is of a diachronic nature. To close this survey of the various forms of religion, I shall briefly indicate phenomena that are particularly characteristic of the individual cultural areas.

The central Andes of pre-Columbian times is characterized by a belief in high gods and their respective cults, by the worship of ancestors and of the dead, and by agrarian rites directed to a female earth deity. The peoples of the region of the Amazon and Orinoco rivers occasionally display signs of high-god worship (Witóto, Tupi-Guaraní). Along with the vegetation cults (northwestern Amazon) that are typical of crop-cultivating peoples, there is a markedly large number of ceremonies and rites associated with deities of the hunt and of wild animals (including fish). The Ge of eastern Brazil exhibit clear signs of worship of astral deities—the Sun and Moon. The cults of the dead and of ancestors dominate much of their religious life. The Gran Chaco, by contrast, is noticeably lacking in religious ceremonies and rites in the narrow sense. First-fruit ceremonies related to hunting and fishing predominate; there are no agrarian rites. In the Pampas and Patagonia region a number of socioreligious rites are attested. The Selk'nam and Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego Archipelago believe in a high god, but there is little indication of cult worship. The regions of southern and central Andes share many aspects of religious life. The high-god cult (Ngenechen) is associated with a cultivation and fertility ritual. A highly developed form of shamanism is also prominent. Throughout South America outside the Andean region, the shaman remains the pillar of the religious life.

SEE ALSO Amazonian Quechua Religions; Ethnoastronomy; Ge Mythology; Inca Religion; Inti; Jaguars; Lord of the Animals; Mapuche Religion; Selk'nam Religion; Shamanism, article on South American Shamanism; South American Indians, articles on Indians of the Andes in the Pre-Inca Period and Indians of the Gran Chaco; Supreme Beings; Tehuelche Religion; Viracocha; Yurupary.

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SOUTH AMERICAN INDIAN RELIGIONS: MYTHIC THEMES

South American mythology is a vast field whose purview extends linguistically and archaeologically beyond the continent proper to include the oral traditions of Panama and eastern Costa Rica as well as those of the autochthonous inhabitants of the West Indies. This article will consider myths from the point of view of religious studies and will emphasize the cosmological patterns and sacred symbolism in narratives from nonliterate South American societies of both ancient and modern times.

Since the early sixteenth century more than one thousand languages, representing a variety of linguistic stocks and many unrelated tongues, have been listed for this area—a fact that suggests that South America was populated over a great number of centuries by successive migratory groups that trekked down from Siberia, North America, and Central America. One classification of South American languages attempts to reduce hundreds of mutually unintelligible tongues to only three groups: Macro-Chibchan, Andean-Equatorial, and Ge-Pano-Carib. This classification, however, is admittedly provisional and, in the case of the last two groups, very uncertain. These migrations began more than twenty thousand years ago. The majority of early South American archaeological sites date from between twelve and fourteen thousand years ago, but quartz tools found in Brazil in 1983 have been dated at about twenty-five thousand years before the present.

The higher civilizations of ancient South America occupied the Andean region and the Pacific coast from northern Colombia to central Chile. From the point of view of mythological studies the more or less "primitive" cultures are at least as important as the higher civilizations because the less developed societies usually possess abundant collections of sacred stories. The exceeding diversity of South American aboriginal peoples has precluded the formation of a common pantheon or mythico-religious system for the whole continent. Nevertheless, since many societies have been in contact at one time or another, more than a few myths are common to several tribes. Moreover, a large number of motifs are not only found in the mythologies of different South American groups but are also known to peoples of other continents, leaving room for speculation as to whether these motifs spread through diffusion or originated independently.

MYTHS OF ORIGIN. South American sacred stories about how the world originated do not, as a rule, conform to the pattern of creation out of nothing by the will of an omnipotent god. Rather, they commonly depict the coming into being and unfolding of a primordial spirit. In many cases little is said about the actual genesis of the world, but a detailed description of the structure of the universe is given. This description points out the universe's tiered levels, the *axis mundi* (often in the shape of a cosmic tree), and the heavenly bodies (whose existence is mostly conceived as the product of the transformation of heroes, animals, or other creatures).

Many myths deal with characteristics of the sky, and not a few with those of the underworld. There are also many stories about the origin of night. Even more abundant than myths of world creation are those about the destruction of the world, the recurrent agents of destruction being water or fire or both.

Creation of the world. The Piaroa, who live on the south bank of the Orinoco and speak a language of the Sáliva-Piaroan family, believe that everything was created by the powers of imagination. In the beginning, they say, there was nothing at all. The first thing to appear was the sky, and then the air and the wind. With the wind, words of song were born. The words of song are the creative powers that produce thoughts and visions. Out of nothing they imagined and created Buoko, the first being, who developed in the words of song. Then Buoko imagined his sister Chejaru, and Chejaru was born. Because of this, humankind also has the power of imagination. The Piaroa say that thought is actually the only thing humans have.

The Koghi, speakers of a Macro-Chibchan language who live in the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, have a creation story that also underscores the spiritual nature both of the first beings and of the essence of the universe. According to this myth, creation took place in nine stages, from the bottom up. Each stage is both a cosmic level and a spiritual being called the Mother, who is sometimes accompanied by a Father or another spiritual being. The first level, which lies in darkness, is also the Sea; the second, the spiritual Tiger; the fifth, the first House of Spirit. Finally, the Fathers of the World find a huge tree and make a temple in the sky above the water. They call it the House of Spirit.

The Muisca (Chibcha) lived in the highlands of Colombia at the time of the arrival of the Spanish, and spoke a language of the Macro-Chibchan family. According to their creation myth, before there was anything in the world, it was night, and light was kept inside a great thing that, according to the Spanish chronicler who recorded the story, is the same that Europeans call God—an omnipotent, universal, ever-good lord and maker of all things. The great being began to dawn, showing the light that he had in himself, and he commenced, in that primordial light, to create. His first creations were some black birds that he commanded to go everywhere in the world blowing their breath from their beaks. That breath was luminous and transparent, and, the birds' mission accomplished, the whole world remained clear and illumined as it is now.

Cosmic levels. In many South American myths, the universe is conceived as a series of layered planes—three or four in many cases, but sometimes more. The Mataco, whose language is a member of the Mataco-Mataguayo family and who live in the Gran Chaco between the Pilcomayo and Bermejo rivers, distinguish the levels of earth, sky, underworld, and (according to some) that of another earth farther down. Originally the sky had been joined to the earth, but the Owner of the Sky separated them. Afterward, a tree grew to connect the sky and the earth. People of the earth used to climb the tree and hunt in the sky, but an old man who had been given a miserable portion of the game meat avenged himself by burning the tree. The hunters could not return; they became the Pleiades. The children of the hunters, who remained on earth, received from their mother, who was also stranded in the sky, a deerskin full of honey that she dropped from above. They grew up and became the ancestors of the present-day Mataco.

The Macuna of the Lower Pira-Parana River in the Vaupés region of Colombia, who speak a language of the Tucanoan family, think that the earth is the shape of a disk. A subterranean river is united with the earth by a whirlpool. The river is inhabited by monsters and bad spirits. Over the earth is a hot-water lake on which the sun sails from east to west in his boat every day. Over Sun Lake there is a house where the Lord of the Jaguars lives, a place that only shamans, in their flights to heaven, can reach. On top of the cosmos is a layer that covers all others like a lid. Nothing beyond it is known. The earth disk consists of several concentric zones, the innermost being the Macuna homeland. At the center, just below Sun Lake, stands a sacred mountain, which supports the firmament. No stone is taken from this mountain lest it fall, taking the sky with it. At a certain point on the earth's level is the House of the Dead. The outer zones are occupied by other Indian tribes, whites, and blacks.

Sky and underworld. The sky and the underworld are cosmic levels of special interest. They appear in myths influenced by the shamans' narratives of their ecstatic trips to the upper and lower worlds. The Marikitari, a Carib-speaking people living in the Upper Orinoco area, say that in the beginning the whole world was sky. There was no separation between heaven and earth. There was only light. In the sky dwelled good, wise people who never died; nor did they work: Food was always available. In the highest sky was Wanadi, who is still there. He gave his light to the people and they were happy. One day he said that he wanted to make people on that part of the sky called "earth." He sent a spirit who made the first people and brought them knowledge, tobacco, the maraca, and the shaman's quartz power stones. Later, an evil spirit called Orosha introduced hunger, sickness, war, and death.

The sky and the cosmic tree. Some of the myths so far recounted show a close connection between the cosmic levels and the *axis mundi,* often represented by a gigantic tree. In the Mataco myth the danger of the sky falling down is clearly pointed out. The same motif appears in many other myths of tropical forest tribes. The Ge-speaking Kayapó of central Brazil say that in the east there was a gigantic tree called End of the Sky. It supported the heavens, which in those days were parallel to the earth. After several tries, a tapir succeeded in gnawing the trunk until it broke. Then the sky drooped down at the edges, forming the celestial vault. At the place where the tree has its roots all kinds of strange beings live. When a group of people went to explore the east, they found it so frightening that they fled back home with no desire to return to the End of the Sky.

Sky, light, and darkness. Myths in which the sky, usually associated with light, is related to the origins of night are also common. The following story is told by the Cuiba, who live in the western plains of Colombia and speak a language of the Guahiboan family. In ancient times there was no night, only an endless daytime. People could not sleep. A woman who had gone out of her mind wanted to break the sky. Her husband, who was a shaman and had had a dream, warned her to be careful and not to damage the sky, which belonged to the locusts. But she paid no attention and hurled a stone that broke the sky, which was made of mud. Directly it became dark and the earth was invaded by locusts as big as iguanas. They ate the eyes of everybody except the shaman. Then the swallows, who are able to carry heavy loads, brought all the necessary mud and repaired the sky again.

Other stories about the origin of the night suggest that it was created because girls, or wives, would not grant their favors to their lovers, or husbands, since it was always daytime. A Tupi myth from central Brazil indicates that night was kept in a coconut that was opened against the formal prohibition to do so.

Sun, moon, and stars. The sun and moon play important roles in many South American myths. Their origins, like those of stars and constellations, are due in many cases to the transformation of humans at turning points or denouements in the mythical stories. Many versions of the widespread myth of the "twins and the jaguar" end with the heroes' ascending to the sky to become the sun and moon. This is perhaps the most ubiquitous myth of South America, found from Panama to the Gran Chaco and from the eastern coast of Brazil to the Amazonian forests of southern Peru, among dozens of tribes that speak mutually unintelligible languages. Different versions of this story diverge considerably, but the following summary contains a number of essential points common to a great number of stories known to widely scattered groups. A mysterious god or a civilizing hero impregnates a woman and then abandons her. While walking alone in the forest carrying twins in her womb, she is killed by one or more jaguars, but the jaguars' mother takes care of the babies and raises them. A bird or other animal tells the twins how their mother died. The twins determine to avenge their mother and prepare themselves to do so through several ordeals. They finally kill all the jaguars except one, which escapes and becomes the ancestor of present-day jaguars. After some quarreling, the twins climb to the sky, where they can be seen as sun and moon. As an example of the differences between many versions of this story, it may be mentioned that in the rich Mashco account of this tale the twins do not appear; in this case the extraordinary boy Aimarinke kills the jaguars and then goes up to heaven and becomes Yuperax, the god of lightning.

The pre-Columbian Carib of northern South America, speakers of one or another language of the extensive Carib family, were skilled navigators of the Caribbean Sea and had a rich lore about stars and constellations, some of which has survived to the twentieth century. One of their stories tells about a newly married girl who was seduced by a man in the shape of a tapir who asked her to follow him eastward to the place where earth and sky meet. Serikoai, her husband, accidentally cut off his leg with an ax and, after being cured by his mother, set out in search of his wife. He finally found her in the company of Tapir, whom he shot, severing Tapir's head. He implored his wife to return, saying that if she refused he would follow her forever. She hurried on, chased by her lover's spirit and her husband. On arriving at the earth's steep edge, she threw herself into the deep blue sky. On a clear night, one can still watch her; she has been turned into the Pleiades, with Tapir's head (the star cluster Hyades, the star Aldebaran being Tapir's red eye) close behind, and Serikoai (Orion, with Rigel indicating the upper part of her husband's sound limb) in pursuit.

MYTHS OF DESTRUCTION. Stories about the destruction of the world and humankind by a deluge—be it from excessive rain, or by high tides, or both—are fairly common in most regions of South America. Another type of myth of wholesale destruction is that of the world fire. In some cases these stories may recall actual catastrophes, but their significance seems to be symbolic of divine punishment for transgression of traditional taboos. Often, the destruction is believed to have occurred in the past; sometimes, however, the world fire is projected into the future.

The Deluge. The earliest recorded American myth of the deluge comes from the Taino, whom Columbus met on his first voyage of discovery. According to this version of the myth, a young man who wished to murder his father was banished and later killed by him. The old man kept his son's bones in a calabash where he and his wife could see them. One day they accidentally overturned the gourd and the bones turned into fish. Another day, as the man was out in the fields, four brothers, whose mother had died at their birth, took the calabash and ate all the fish. Hearing that the father was returning, they hurried to hang the vessel back in place, but it fell to the ground and broke. The water from the calabash filled the whole earth and from it also came the fish in the sea. The theme of the Deluge as a consequence of killing forbidden fish is still present among the contemporary Mataco of Argentina and southern Bolivia. In the Andean countries, Deluge myths are generaly associated with a magic mountain where humankind takes refuge. As the waters rise, the mountain also rises, thereby saving the lives of those who have reached the top. One of the best-known examples of this motif was recorded as early as the seventeenth century; its memory persists to this day among the speakers of dialects of the Araucanian language.

In the native traditions of the Huarochiri area of Peru that were collected from Quechua speakers early in the seventeenth century, the Deluge is caused by a god whose presence is not recognized by people who are reveling. Enraged, he advises a young woman who has tended him and won his friendship to take refuge on a high mountain nearby. Soon afterward, heavy rain carries the village away, leaving no one alive. Among the Kaueskar-speaking Alacaluf of southern Chile, who were once supposed to have preserved no mythology, an increasing collection of mythic tales has been gathered since the late 1970s. Among these stories is one about a devastating flood caused by the breaking of a taboo forbidding the killing of an otter. Only a young couple is saved, again by climbing a mountain.

The World Fire. The Carib-speaking Taulipáng of Venezuela connect the deluge with the world fire. They say that after the great flood, when everything had dried up, there was a great fire. All the game animals hid in an underground pit. Fire consumed everything: people, mountains, stones. That is why big chunks of coal are sometimes found in the earth. The Zapiteri, of the Mashco ethnic group of the southwestern Amazon, say that in the beginning of time it rained blood, but later the sun began to heat up and there was a great fire. The tribes of the Gran Chaco have a rich repertoire of myths about the world fire. One of these myths, from the Mataco, says that long ago the Mataco lived in great disorder. One day black clouds broke into lightning and rain began to fall. The drops were not water but fire, which spread everywhere. There were only a few survivors, among them Tokhuah the trickster, who went underground for the duration of the fire.

Many fragments have been collected of what is thought to have been a widely diffused myth of the destruction of the world by fire. According to the Tupi-speaking Apocacuva Guaraní, the World Fire was the first of four cataclysms that annihilated almost all creatures, and it will be repeated when the creator removes from under the earth the crossed beams that hold it in place. Then the earth will catch fire, a long-lasting night will set in, and a blue tiger will devour humankind.

Such Ge-speaking tribes as the Apanyekra, Apinagé, Craho, and Ramkokamekra tell stories about the beginnings, when only two persons existed, Sun and Moon, both of them male. One day Sun obtained a beautiful plumed headdress that looked like fire. Because Moon also wanted one for himself, Sun got another and threw it to Moon, warning him not to let it touch the ground; but Moon was afraid to grab it and let it fall to earth, and it immediately started to burn, consuming all the sand and many animals.

MYTHIC ANCESTORS. Different South American myths place the origin of humans at distinct levels of the universe and variously depict the human race as being born from minerals, plants, or animals. Women are sometimes assigned a separate origin. The Urus of Lake Titicaca, speakers of a language of the Uro-Chipaya family, relate that in the time of darkness the universal creator made the Chullpas, who were the first men. They were destroyed by a cataclysm when the Sun appeared, and their survivors became the ancestors of those who now call themselves Kotsuns ("people of the lake"), but are more commonly known by the name of Urus ("wild animals"), as they are called by their Aymara neighbors. The Carib-speaking Waiwai of Guyana say that before humankind existed there were on earth sky spirits, which now have the form of birds and which fly in the second heavenly layer. Some of them, however, have human form. Present-day humankind descends from the children of a woman who was one of these spirits and who, surprised while alone in the forest, was impregnated by a grasshopper-man.

The Quechua-speaking Inca of Peru had several myths of their origins that were recorded by Spanish chroniclers. According to one of these stories, the high god Vi-racocha created Alcaviza, a chieftain; and told him that after his (Viracocha's) departure the Inca noble would be born. Alcaviza resided at the place that would later become the main square of Cuzco, the capital of the Inca empire. Seven miles away, at a place called Paccaritambo ("lodge of dawn"), the earth opened to form a cave, from which the four Ayar brothers emerged, dressed in fine clothing and gold. Fearing the colossal strength of the one who had come out of the cave first, his brothers asked him to go back into the cave and fetch some golden objects that had been left behind. While he was inside, the others immured him there forever. Ayar Manco, who had come out last, took the prisoner's wife for himself. Another brother displayed big wings, flew to the sky, and from high above told Ayar Manco that the sun had ordered that he should change his name to Manco Capac ("Manco the Magnificent") and take the winged man's wife for himself. Finally the winged man turned into a stone. In the company of his only remaining brother and their wives, Manco Capac walked to Cuzco, where Alcaviza recognized from their garments that they were indeed the children of the Sun and told them to settle at whatever place they liked best. Manco Capac, the first Inca ruler, chose the site where later the Coricancha, or court of the sun, would be built. His brother went away to settle another village.

HIGH GOD. The belief in a high god conceived as omniscient and benevolent to humans rather than as an omnipotent and perfect creator (which in some cases he also is) is documented in many South American myths. It was first reported by Fray Ramón Pané in the earliest ethnological study of American Indians. He wrote that the Taino of Haiti believed in the existence of an immortal being in the sky whom no one can see and who has a mother but no beginning. At the the southernmost extreme of South America, the belief in the existence of a high god has been acknowledged among the tribes of Tierra del Fuego. The Tehuelche of Patagonia seem to have believed in a supreme being conceived as a good spirit who was also the lord of the dead. From the Araucanians (Mapuche) come testimonies of a belief, possibly autochthonous, in a supreme celestial being, Nguenechen. Very early reports say that the Tupí believed in a being they called Monan, and that they attributed to him the same perfections that Christians attribute to their God: He is eternal, and he created the heavens and the earth as well as the birds and animals.

The most famous of all South American high gods is the Andean deity Viracocha. Several etymologies have been proposed to explain the meaning of his name, among them "sea of grease" (as a rich source of life) and "lord of all created things." In any case the belief in a high creator god among the Andean peoples probably goes back to early prehistoric times. It has been suggested that Viracocha is none other than the same world creator and culture hero found in the mythology of many tribes from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego. Apparently, the ancient high god was obscured for a time by his conflation with the Inca sun god, but later the Inca were obliged to revert to the ancient high god of archaic mythologies in order to secure the support of their allies when Cuzco was threatened by other peoples. Another important Andean high god is Illapa, lord of rain, lightning, and thunder. As do some other Andean deities, Illapa hierophanically presents himself in trinitarian form comprising Illapa the Father, Illapa the Elder Son (or Brother), and Illapa the Younger Son (or Brother). Illapa's name is related to the Quechua word *illa,* meaning both "protective spirit" and "light" or "lightning."

While Illapa is a god of the Andean highlands, Con and Pachacámac belong to the Peruvian coast. Con is said to have created the sky, the sun, the moon, the earth with all its animals, the Indians, and the fish by means of his thought and breath. After having made everything, he ascended into the sky. Con was followed later by a more powerful god called Pachacámac ("world maker," or "the god who gives orders").

ORIGINS OF PLANTS AND CULTURE. The introduction of seeds for agriculture and the origins of certain staple plants and their fruits are recounted as etiological motifs in many South American myths. In Peru, several sacred personages of legendary times are credited with the creation of produce. According to an ancient story, the god Pachacámac transformed the sacrificed body of a divine being into the basic food plants of the Andean peoples.

In the traditions of the Ge-speaking Apinagé, Kayapó, Craho, and Xerenté, among the tribes of the Tropical Forest, as well as among the Mataco of the Gran Chaco, many fruits of the earth came from the heavens as gifts brought by Star Woman for her lover and his people. That is the way the Apinagé first came to know of sweet potatoes and yams and learned to plant maize and make maize cakes. The Kayapó obtained manioc, sweet potatoes, yams, and bananas through the good offices of Sky Woman, who was the daughter of Rain. Maize, however, was revealed by a little mouse who showed it to an old woman. Among the Waiwai it is said that an old woman allowed herself to be burned, and from her charred bones sprouted cassava plants of the type still in use today. In a Witóto myth an old woman who was ascending the sky in pursuit of a handsome youth fell down, transforming herself into the bitter yuca, while the young man became the sun.

In many tribal societies there are traditional stories teaching how artifacts and social intitutions first came into being. Among the Ayoré of western Paraguay and eastern Bolivia, who speak a language of the Zamuco family, there is an origin myth (or sometimes several) for every single object, whether natural or manmade. According to the Ayoré, most things originated through the transformation of an ancestor. In many cases, however, cultural objects were in the beginning owned by the ancestor who, at a certain point, gave them to humankind.

ORIGINS OF FIRE. Fire, the natural element required to transform the raw into the cooked, separates humans from animals and establishes the basis of culture; as such, it is the subject of many mythic stories, which can be broadly divided into myths about the origin of fire and myths about the origin of the techniques for fire-making. Most stories of the former group recount how, in the times of the beginnings, humans first obtained fire, either as a gift from a god or as an element stolen by a culture hero.

The greatest variety of myths about fire among South American societies probably occurs in the traditional oral literature of the Mataco. According to one of these stories, Raven was the owner of fire, and Toad, in an unsuccessful attempt to steal it, almost extinguished it. But Tokhuah, the trickster, did succeed in getting it, and, when chased away, waved his burning stick in all directions. The branches of all the species of trees that caught fire are now gathered to make drills for producing fire by friction. In another Mataco myth, Vulture, the guardian of fire, flapped his huge wings from time to time to fan the live coals. If someone attempted to take a burning piece of wood, however little, Vulture would flutter his wings with such force that the fire would flare up and the would-be thief would be burned to ashes. But according to the most widely reported version of the Mataco myth, the owner of the fire is Jaguar. In this story, Jaguar loses his fire to Rabbit, who puts live coals under his chin and runs away. Later Rabbit throws the embers in a meadow and the world begins to burn. People were thus able to obtain fire and to cook their meals, but Jaguar had to learn how to hunt and to eat his game raw. Then Tokhuah put the spirit of fire into the wood of the *sunchu* tree, which the Mataco use to make their fire-drills.

ORIGINS OF DEATH. Several types of myths about the origin of death have been noted among South American tribes. One of these may be called the "waxing and waning moon" type. The Ayoré of the Gran Chaco say that instead of following Moon, who waxes again after waning into nothing, their ancestor followed Tapir, who dies and never rises again.

The Warao of the Orinoco delta have several traditional stories representing different types of myth about the origins of death. One type concerns the "serpent and his cast off skin." It says that people lived happily on earth until one of them fell ill and died. He was buried, and the Master of the Palm-Leaf Fiber said that they should wail for their dead. The snakes immediately cried and shed their skins. That is why snakes do not die, but people do.

Another type of myth, and a very common one, attributes humanity's fate to its disobedience of a divine commandment. It is said that death and sickness came to the Warao as a punishment inflicted by the Master of Water Spirits because his daughter, who had married a Warao, had been obliged to go into the menstruation hut when she had her menses, according to the customs of her husband's village but against her will, and she died. To castigate the Indians, the water spirits caused accidents, sickness, and death.

Yet another myth type, the "ill-timed answer," is found not only among the Warao but also in Guyana and elsewhere. Once, when the world was young and animals could talk, a chief announced that Death would pass by that night. The chief added that Death would call to them first, and that a good spirit would call afterward. If they answered the second call, people would never die, but if they answered the first call, all would surely die. The chief asked everybody to stay awake, but a young man went to sleep. Night came and all was quiet. About midnight they heard a voice that they did not answer, but the young man who was sleeping woke up and answered it. From that time, people began to die.

The "malevolent decision" motif and the "shouting at and scaring away the revenant" motif sometimes overlap, as in the Mataco myth according to which there was a time when everybody lived for five hundred years and died only of old age. Three days after death they would return to life again, rejuvenated. Nevertheless, when Tokhuah, the trickster, saw Moon, who was a handsome young man with an oversized member, beginning to shine again, Tokhuah was frightened, shouting "Go away!" and threatening Moon with a stick. Moon fled upward until he reached the sky. Tokhuah did the same to those who returned from the dead, and it is surmised that because of his actions the dead do not come back to life any more.

Another widely scattered motif is the "resurrection ritual that fails." The Selk'nam of Tierra del Fuego used to say that when their hero Kenos reached old age and seemed to die, he rose up again, and caused other men who died to come back to life by washing them. Subsequently, when he decided at one point not to rise again and went into the sky and became a star, he instructed Cenuke, a powerful sorcerer, to wash old people and make them young again. But Kwanip, another powerful sorcerer, ordained that no person should be raised from the sleep of age. He hurried up to the sky where he also became a star. Since then nobody comes back from the grave.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MYTH AND RITUAL. According to a well-known theory, myths recount rituals and rituals perform myths. Although this idea will hardly hold if applied to all myths and rituals, it is true that some myths relate the origins of certain rites. The southern Barasana, speakers of a Tucanoan language, tell a story of their culture hero Warimi, who in his childhood was called Rijocamacu and who always succeeded in escaping when pursued by the daughters of the supernatural Meni. One day the youngest daughter of Meni caught Rijocamacu, who instantly turned into a little baby. The girl put him to her breast. Her father approved of what she was doing, and kindled some wax, blowing on the smoke in order to chase away the spirits of the dead so that they could not frighten the baby and make him cry. Since that time, when a woman gives birth, the chief blows on the household fire and only then are the people allowed into the house. In many tales, Meni is said to have been the first to do the things that the Barasana do now.

The close relationship between myth and ritual has been established in the case of the complex of sacred stories, holy performances, and tabooed musical instruments and other items that are associated with the name *Yurupary,* known to many tribes in the western Amazon region. The stories about Yurupary differ from one tribe to another. One of these stories, told among the Macuna, was that Yurupary was an old jaguar-shaman whose female companion was Romi Kumu, another powerful being. Since he devoured many men, two ancestors decided to kill him, and they did. Afterward they burned his body; but his ashes produced a palm tree that shot quickly into the sky. The ancestors cut the palm to pieces and these became musical instruments: three male trumpets and one female flute that did not give out any sound until a hole was made to imitate the vagina of Romi Kumi. When the ancestors found Romi Kumi on an island, they stuck the flute between her legs, and that was the origin of menstruation. They gave the instruments to men, who at that time performed the agricultural work that is now performed by the women. In the Yurupary ceremonies, females are not allowed to see the instruments.

MODERN MYTHS. The myths mentioned above are ancient stories exhibiting the characteristics of South American cultures before contact with European civilization, but the creative forces of native imagination were not totally withered by the impact. Old myths were recast in new molds, making allowance for the presence of the whites and their ways. Hundreds of legends—that is, myths with some historical component— were coined in colonial times, and the process is still alive today in many areas where indigenous and foreign cultures meet. One such legend is the so-called myth of Inkarri, which has been traced to several localities in the vicinity of Cuzco, but has also been found in other areas of Peru. Its gist is that the Spanish conqueror Pizarro imprisoned and beheaded Atahuallpa, the Inca king (Span., *Inca rey* = Inkarri), but the head, which is secretly kept somewhere, is not dead, and is growing a body, which when completed will shake off the chains and fetters that hold the Inca people in bondage. Eventually, Inkarri will reestablish justice and bring back the ancient culture of the vanquished.

SEE ALSO Atahuallpa; Yurupary.

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SOUTH AMERICAN INDIAN RELIGIONS: HISTORY OF STUDY

Systematic study of South American indigenous religions began with the arrival of the first Europeans. Almost immediately after landing in the New World, scholars, priests, scribes, and soldiers began describing and assimilating the Indians' peculiar and, to them, outlandish practices for their Old World sponsors and public. The confrontation between these early explorer-chroniclers and their indigenous subjects established the basis of a religious opposition between Christian reformer and "pagan" Indian; and it is no exaggeration to say that these early accounts set the stage for all later scholarly and scientific studies of the continent's diverse religious traditions.

All early accounts of religion were driven by the practical needs of empire. For the Spaniards, the political importance of understanding and analyzing native religious belief first arose through their encounters with the powerful Inca state of highland Peru. Chroniclers such as Juan de Betanzos (1551), Pedro Cieza de León (1553), and Cristóbal de Molina (1572) among others provided vivid accounts of imperial religion and Inca state mythologies. Two concerns tempered their descriptions and choice of subject matter: the spectacle of Inca rituals and the parallels they imagined to exist between their Christian millenarian and apostolic traditions and the natives' own beliefs in a "creator god" whose prophesized return coincided with—and thus facilitated—the initial Spanish conquests in Peru. Similar messianic beliefs among the Tupi-Guaraní of eastern Brazil attracted the attention of the explorers Hans von Staden (1557) and Antonie Knivet (1591). Their writings provide fascinating accounts of Tupi religion as part of an argument intended to prove the presence of the Christian apostle Thomas in South America long before its sixteenth-century "discovery." Such early accounts inevitably strike the modern-day reader as ethnocentric. The tone of these writings is understandable, however, since their purpose was to make sense of the new cultures and peoples they met within the historical and conceptual framework provided by the Bible. Within this framework, there was only one "religion" and one true God. All other belief systems, including those encountered in the Americas, were judged as pagan. For some early theologians, the pagan practices of the South Americans placed them well outside the domain of the human. Others, however, believed the Americans were humans who had once known the true God and then somehow fallen from grace or were innocents with an intuitive knowledge of God. Early accounts of religious practices were driven by this desire to uncover evidence of the Indians' prior evangelization or intuitive knowledge of God. Catholic writers thus often interpreted the indigenous practices they observed by comparing them to such familiar Catholic practices as confession. In what is perhaps the most sympathetic account of a native religion, the Calvinist Jean de Léry made sense of the religious practices of the Brazilian Tupinambá Indians by comparing their ritual cannibalism to the Catholic Communion, in which Christians partook of the body and blood of Christ. De Léry's account suggests the extent to which all early inquiries into South American religions were inevitably colored by the religious and political lines drawn within Europe itself by the Reformation.

For Iberians, however, it was the *Reconquista* or Liberation of Catholic Spain from Moorish rule that lent the study of religion an urgent, practical tone. If Indian souls were to be recruited to the ends of the "one true religion," it was necessary to isolate and eradicate those aspects of the indigenous religions that stood in the way of conversion. Priests had to be instructed, catechisms written, and punishments devised for specific religious offenses. The ensuing campaigns to extirpate idolatries produced the first true studies of religion in the Andean highlands. Combining knowledge of Christian doctrine and missionary zeal with an increasing practical familiarity with indigenous life, theologians and priests such as José de Acosta (1590), José de Arriaga (1621), Cristóbal de Albornóz (c. 1600), and Francisco de Ávila (1608) set out to define in a rigorous and scholarly way the parameters of indigenous religion.

A few indigenous and mestizo writers sought to vindicate their culture and religion from the attacks of these Catholic campaigners, in the process contributing greatly to the historical study of Andean religion. Among the most interesting of the indigenous chronicles is an eleven-hundred-page letter to the king of Spain written between 1584 and 1614 by Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, a native of Ayacucho, Peru, who had worked with the extirpation campaigns. Other native accounts include the chronicle of Juan de Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua (c. 1613) and the monumental *History of the Incas* (1609), written by the half-Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. These native writers defended the goals but not the cruel methods, of Christian conversion and defended many native beliefs and practices as more just and rational than the abuses of the Spanish colonizers.

Other chronicles record European reactions to religions of the Amazonian lowlands; these include among others the travel accounts of Claude d'Abbeville (1614) and Gaspar de Carvajal, a priest who accompanied the first exploratory voyage up the Amazon River system in 1542. But if what the Europeans understood by "religion"—that is, hierarchies, priests, images, and processions—fit in well with what they found in the Andean state systems, it differed markedly from the less-institutionalized religions of the tropical forest region. Accounts of lowland religions were accordingly couched in an exaggerated language stressing atrocity, paganism, and cannibalism. Such emphases had more to do with prevailing European mythologies than with the actual religious beliefs of tropical forest peoples.

This early literature on Andean religion provided irreplaceable data about ritual, dances, offerings, sacrifices, beliefs, and gods now no longer in force—including, in the case of Guamán Poma's letter, a sequence of drawings depicting indigenous costume and ritual and, in the chronicle of Francisco de Ávila, a complete mythology transcribed in Quechua, the native language. But these colonial writings also provided a powerful precedent for religious study thereafter.

From the time of the extirpators on, religion was the salient element or institution by which indigenous peoples were judged in relation to their Christian or European conquerors. Religion, in short, became the principal index for defining the cultural and social differences separating two now adjacent populations. Such religious criteria helped shape as well the unfortunate stereotypes applied to Amazonian peoples and cultures.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY TRAVEL AND EXPEDITIONARY LITERATURE. The interval between the seventeenth-century campaigns against idolatry and the early-nineteenth-century independence period was marked by an almost complete absence of religious studies. In Europe itself the accounts of Garcilaso de Vega, de Léry, and others provided the raw materials from which eighteenth-century philosophers crafted their highly romanticized image of the American Indian. While Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) and others looked to the Tupinambá as a model for the "noble savage," other French philosophers held up Inca religion as an example of what an enlightened monarchy and nonpapal deist religion could look like. Although far removed from South America itself, these writings continued to influence the study of South American religions for many future generations.

With their independence from Spain in the early nineteenth century, the new South American republics became once again available to the travelers, adventurers, natural historians, and scientists who could provide firsthand observations. Whereas earlier colonial observers had approached the study of religion through the political and theological lens of empire and conversion, these nineteenth-century travelers used the new languages of science and evolutionary progress to measure the Indians' status with respect to contemporary European cultural and historical achievements. While none of these travelogues and natural histories was intended as a study of indigenous religion per se, many of them include reports on religious custom. Among the most important of these are the travel accounts of Ephraim George Squier (1877), Charles Wiener (1880), Friedrich Hassaurek (1867), and James Orton (1876) for the Andean highlands and Johann Baptist von Spix and Carl von Martius (1824), Henri Coudreau (1880–1900), Alcides d'Orbigny (1854), and General Couto de Magalhães (1876) for the Amazonian lowlands. Such descriptions were augmented, especially in the Amazon, by detailed and often highly informative accounts of "pagan" practices written by missionary ethnographers such as José Cardus (1886) in Bolivia and W. H. Brett (1852) in British Guiana (now Guyana).

This nineteenth-century literature tended to romanticize the Indians and their religions through exaggerated accounts of practices such as head-hunting, cannibalism, blood sacrifice, and ritual drinking. In these "descriptions" of religion emphasis is placed on the exotic, wild, and uncivilized aspects of the Indians' religious practices—and on the narrator's bravery and fortitude in searching them out. Such romanticizing and exoticizing, however, tended to occur unevenly. Thus whereas religions of the Amazon Basin were subject to the most exotic and picturesque stereotypes of what a tropical primitive should be, the less-remote Andean Indians were described primarily in terms of their degeneration from the glories of a lost Inca religion that was considered to be more enlightened or "pure."

EARLY- TO MID-TWENTIETH-CENTURY STUDIES. The twentieth century ushered in new forms of scientific inquiry and scholarly ideals. Departing from the narrative, subjective styles of the chroniclers, travelers, and natural historians, modern writers sought to describe indigenous religion independently of any personal, cultural, or historical biases about it; subjectivity was to be subsumed to a new ideal of relativism and objectivity. These writers conform to two general yet interrelated disciplinary fields: (1) the anthropologists and historians of religion, who use a comparative and typological framework to examine the universal, phenomenological bases of religious belief, and (2) the area specialists, or Americanists, who are interested in defining the specificity and social cultural evolution of religions in the Americas.

The first group included such early scholars of lowland religions as Paul Ehrenreich (1905), Max Schmidt (1905), and Adolf E. Jensen (who later founded the Frankfurt ethnographic school, home to such important modern scholars of South American religions as Otto Zerries and Karin Hissink). Their comparativist theories proved an impetus for the later field studies of Martin Gusinde (1931–1937) in Tierra del Fuego, William Farabee (1915–1922), and Günter Tessmann (1928–1930) in the Northwest Amazon, Konrad T. Preuss (1920–1930) in both highland and lowland Colombia, and Theodor Koch-Grünberg (1900–1930) in the Orinoco and in Northwest Brazil. These field-workers wrote detailed general accounts of lowland or Amazonian religions and placed special emphasis on the analysis of iconography, mythology, and animism.

Studies of highland religion during this early-twentieth-century period tended to focus almost exclusively on antiquities. The most important of these studies are the linguistic treatises of E. W. Middendorf (1890–1892) and J. J. von Tschudi (1891) and the archaeological surveys of Max Uhle and Alfons Stubel (1892). Both Incaic and contemporary Andean materials, however, were included in the broad surveys done by the scholars Adolf Bastian (1878–1889) and Gustav Brühl (1857–1887), who were interested in comparing the religions and languages of North, South, and Central America to establish a theory of cultural unity.

The Americanists' interdisciplinary studies of indigenous religion drew on the early twentieth-century German studies and on at least three other sources as well. The first was the fieldwork during the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s by European ethnologists such as Alfred Métraux, Paul Rivet, and Herbert Baldus as well as by American anthropologists from the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of Ethnology. Beyond describing the general social organization, religion, ritual, and mythologies of the Indians, these men were interested in classifying the cultures and religions they found by tracing their interrelationships and linguistic affiliations. In their writings therefore a detailed account of religion is often subordinated to an overriding interest in linguistic data and material culture. For example, detailed studies of shamanism were produced by the Scandinavian ethnographers Rafael Karsten, Henri Wassen, and Erland Nordenskiöld as part of a broader comparative examination of the material culture of South America. Of these early ethnographers, the German anthropologist Curt Nimuendajú stands out both for the extent of his fieldwork among the Ge, Boróro, Apinagé, Tucano, and Tupi tribes and for the degree to which his interests in describing these groups focused on their religious and ritual life. Other important sources on religious practices during this period are provided in the accounts of missionaries and priests, such as Bernadino de Nino (1912) in Bolivia, Gaspar de Pinelli (1924) in Colombia, and Antonio Colbacchini and Cesar Albisetti (1907–1942) in Brazil.

A second group that influenced early Americanist approaches to religion was composed of ethnohistorians and archaeologists. Often hailed as the first true Americanists to work in the Southern Hemisphere, the archaeologists left a distinctive imprint on South American studies by the nature of their specialty: the study of the pre-Spanish Andean past. Excavations, surveys, and analyses of previously unstudied sites in both coastal and highland Peru by Max Uhle and Adolph Bandelier were followed by the more detailed chronological studies of Alfred Kroeber, Junius Bird, Wendell Bennett, and John Rowe. Although the chronologies and site inventories constructed by these archaeologists did not focus on religion per se, the temple structures, burials, offerings, textiles, ceramics, and other ritual paraphernalia they unearthed provided new data on the importance of religion in pre-Columbian social organization and political evolution. Interpretation of this material was facilitated by the work of ethnohistorians such as Hermann Trimborn and Paul Kirchoff. Their historical investigations of both highland and lowland religions contributed inmeasurably to an overall working definition of South American religious systems and their relation to systems of social stratification, state rule, and ethnicity.

A third and final group that helped shape Americanist studies was composed of South American folklorists, indigenists, and anthropologists. In attempting to resurrect indigenous culture and religion, *indigenista* writers of the 1930s and 1940s differed from the foreign ethnologists of these formative Americanist years. Their work was motivated largely by an explicit desire to record South American lifeways and religions before such practices—and the people who practiced them—disappeared completely. The emphasis of the *indigenista* studies on the vitality of living religious systems also served as an important counter to the archaeologists' initial influence on Americanist thinking. The prodigious group of national writers influenced by *indigenismo* subsequently compiled a vast archive of oral traditions, "customs," and ritual practices. Notable among these folklorists and anthropologists are Antonio Paredes Candia and Enrique Oblitas Poblete of Bolivia, Roberto Lehmann-Nitsche of Argentina, Gregorio Hernández de Alba of Colombia, and Jose-María Arguedas, Jorge Lira, and Oscar Nuñez del Prado of Peru. Unique among them was the Peruvian archaeologist-anthropologist Julio C. Tello. One of the most creative archaeologists working in Peru, Tello was also the only one interested in exploring the relation of the religious data he unearthed to modern-day Quechua beliefs and practices. His ethnographic publications of the 1920s are landmarks in the study of Andean religion, and his archaeological investigations of the 1930s and 1940s extended knowledge of the Andean religious mind into a comparative framework interrelating highland and lowland cosmologies and religions.

The major work to appear out of the formative period of Americanist studies is the seven-volume *Handbook of South American Indians* edited by Julian H. Steward (1946–1959). Though somewhat outdated, the *Handbook*'s articles, which cover aspects of prehistory, material culture, social organization, and ecology, still provide what is perhaps the most useful and accessible comparative source for beginning study of South American religions. Its interest for a history of religious studies, however, also lies in what it reveals about the biases informing Americanists' treatment of religion. These are (1) a preoccupation with relative historical or evolutionary classifications and the description of religious systems in terms of their similarity to, or degeneration from, a pre-Columbian standard, (2) a lowland-highland dichotomy informed by this evolutionary mode and according to which tropical forest religions are judged to be less "complex" than the pre-Hispanic prototypes formulated for the Andes by archaeologists and ethnohistorians, and (3) the comparative framework used by scholars who were more interested in discovering the cultural affinities and evolutionary links that connected different religious practices than they were in describing and analyzing the function and meaning of religious practices on a local level. The shortcomings of this dispersed and comparative focus are intimated by many of the *Handbook*'s authors, who lament the inadequacy of their data on specific religious systems.

FUNCTIONALIST AND FUNCTIONALIST-INFLUENCED STUDIES. The next group of scholars to address religious issues set out specifically to remedy this situation by studying indigenous religion in its social context. The manner in which local religious systems were treated was, however, once again tempered by the theoretical orientations of their observers. Thus the first group of anthropologists to follow the *Handbook*'s lead during the 1950s and early 1960s was influenced by the functionalist school of British anthropology. According to this theory, society is an organic whole whose various parts may be analyzed or explained in terms of their integrative function in maintaining the stability or equilibrium of a local group. Religion was considered to be a more or less passive reflection of the organic unity of a total social system. Examples of this approach are the monographs of William W. Stein (1961) on the Peruvian Andes, Allan R. Holmberg (1950) on the Siriono of lowland Bolivia, and Irving Goldman (1963) on the Cubeo of Brazil. In several cases more detailed monographs were written that focused specifically on the role of religion in indigenous social organization; these include works by Robert Murphy on the Brazilian Mundurucú, Segundo Bernal on the Paez of Colombia, David Maybury-Lewis on the Akwe-Xavante, and Louis C. Faron on the Mapuche, or Araucanians, of coastal Chile.

One variant of this functionalist approach brought out the role of religion as a means of achieving or maintaining balance between social and ecological systems. Prime examples of this approach are Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff's brilliant, Freudian-influenced treatments of mythology, shamanism, and cosmology among the Koghi Indians of Colombia's Sierra Nevada highlands and the Desána (Tucano) of the Northwest Amazon. Other studies of shamanism, cosmology, and hallucinogens have been carried out by the anthropologists Douglas Sharon in coastal Peru and Michael Harner in eastern Ecuador.

STRUCTURALIST STUDIES. During the 1960s and 1970s scholars began to question the passively reflective, or "superstructural," role to which much of functionalist anthropology had relegated religion as well as the simplistic and ultimately evolutionist dichotomies between the Andean and tropical forest cultures. The major theoretical impetus for this new approach came from structuralism, which proposed to analyze the affinities connecting mythologies and ritual practices and the societies in which they occurred by referring all to a pervasive symbolic or cognitive structure based on dual oppositions and on diverse forms of hierarchical organization. The pioneering works of this tradition were Claude Lévi-Strauss's studies of social organization and mythology in the Amazon basin and his four-volume *Mythologiques* (1964–1971), which presented a system for analyzing mythic narratives as isolated variants of an organizational logic whose standardized structure he invoked to explain the commonality of all North and South American modes of religious expression and social organization.

The structuralist approach has been particularly important for the study of religion. For the first time a mode of thinking—evidenced by religion and mythology—was not only taken as the principal index of cultural identity but was also seen to influence and even partly to determine the organization of other spheres of social and economic life. In its renewed focus on religion, structuralism inspired myriad studies of lowland ritual and mythology, including those by Jean-Paul Dumont, Michel Perrin, Terence Turner, Jacques Lizot, Anthony Seeger, Stephen Hugh-Jones, and Christine Hugh-Jones. These structuralist studies of mythology and social organization were completed—and often preceded—by collections of mythologies and descriptions of cosmologies (or "worldviews") by ethnographers such as Johannes Wilbert, Marc de Civrieux, Darcy Ribiero, Roberto DaMatta, Egon Schaden, Neils Fock, and Gerald Weiss. Though departing from the structuralists' methodologies, these anthropologists shared with the structuralists an interest in studying religion as an expression of social organization, society-nature classifications, and broad cultural identities.

In the Andes, where mythologies and religion were judged to be less pristine and less divorced from the ravages of historical, social, and economic change, Lévi-Strauss's theories generated interest in the study of social continuity through examination of structural forms. These studies of underlying structural continuity were based on extensive fieldwork by ethnographers and ethnohistorians such as Billie Jean Isbell, Juan Ossio, Henrique Urbano, Gary Urton, John Earls, and Alejandro Ortíz Rescaniere. These scholars have argued for the existence of a constant and culturally specific religious (as well as mythological and astronomical) structure by means of which indigenous groups have retained their cultural identity over time. Their studies of postconquest religious continuity drew on ethnohistorical models of Andean social organization, in particular R. Tom Zuidema's complex structural model of Inca social relations and ritual geographies and María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco's studies of pre-Hispanic coastal societies. Both of these ethnohistorians have emphasized the role of mythology, ritual, and religious ideology in the shaping of Andean economic and political history.

Structuralist methodology also motivated a new type of comparative study focusing on the similarities linking Andean and Amazonian religions. For example, Zuidema's structural model for Inca socioreligious organization pointed out the important similarities between this elaborate highland state system and the equally complex modes of ritual and social organization found among the Ge and Boróro Indians of Brazil. D. W. Lathrap's archaeological model for the evolution of South American social organization used similar comparative techniques to establish a common heritage of lowland and highland cosmologies. By combining this comparative insight with the historical dynamics of archaeology and ethnohistory and by assigning to religion a determinative role in the evolution of social systems, such models not only questioned but in many ways actually reversed the prevailing stereotypic dichotomy between "primitive" Amazon and "civilized" Andes.

HISTORICAL AND POSTSTRUCTURALIST VIEWS. In the final decades of the twentieth century anthropologists and other students of religion began increasingly to question the notions of unity, coherence, and continuity that had characterized much earlier work on indigenous religion. Structuralists had intepreted myth as the partial expression or transformation of mental structures that endured over time and ritual as the symbolic performance of the formal, structural principles that lent meaning to a particular culture's cosmology or worldview. Through such forms of analysis, structuralists emphasized the coherency and mobility of the structural principles expressed in the many different domains of social life. In so doing they also made important claims concerning the pervasive character of "religion" and the impossibility of drawing a definite boundary between religious and secular activities in indigenous societies.

Poststructuralist work has built on and expanded this methodological and theoretical claim that "religion" must be studied in many different and overlapping domains of social life. At the same time scholars working in the 1980s and 1990s used historical methodologies to question structuralism's claims regarding the coherency and stability of mental and symbolic structures. Because the study of indigenous societies often depended on the use of documentary sources written by Spaniards and other nonindigenous authors, history or ethnohistory has been a foundational methodology for many South Americanists. For example, Zuidema and other structualists built their models of pristine Inca and Andean religious systems through the creative, critical use of Spanish chronicles and archives. The new historical work on religion by Tristan Platt, Thomas A. Abercrombie, Joanne Rappaport, and others has drawn on ethnohistorical methods in their search for an indigenous "voice" in the colonial archive. Unlike the earlier structuralists, however, their goal was not to reconstruct the elements of a precontact society but to understand the complex role played by religion in the political worlds formed through the interaction of indigenous and European societies.

In part because of their heavy debt to structualist methodologies and perspectives, early historical anthropologies tended to approach religion as an inherently conservative domain of belief whose persistence in colonial times could be read as a form of resistance to colonial rule. Of particular importance in this respect were the studies of messianic movements as forms of religious conservatism coupled with situations of social resistance or even revolution. In the Andes such work was stimulated largely by ethnohistorical studies of colonial messianisms by the Peruvian anthropologists Juan Ossio, Franklin Pease, and Luis Millones. Other studies interpreted indigenous religious beliefs and practices as strategies for consolidating ethnic identities threatened by the encroachment of "modern" national societies. These include studies by Norman E. Whitten Jr. in Amazonian Ecuador, the mythology collections of Orlando Villas Boas and Claudio Villas Boas in the Brazilian Xingu River area, Miguel Chase-Sardi's studies of ethnicity and oral literatures in Paraguay, and William Crocker and Cezar L. Melatti in the Brazilian Amazon.

Through its emphasis on contingency, political complexity, and intrigue, subsequent work has tended to complicate the category of resistance itself, along with the dual-society models that were often implied by the concept of resistance. Stefano Varese's groundbreaking work on the Peruvian Campa or Ashaninka, based on fieldwork conducted during the late 1960s and early 1970s, provides an early example of a political anthropology of religion that emphasized the political economic contexts in which messianic movements and indigenous political resistance took shape. Other examples include the work of anthropologists Robin M. Wright and Jonathan Hill on northern Amazonian religious movements and political organization; Xavier Albó, Platt, Olivia Harris, Abercrombie, and Roger Rasnake on the colonial origins and rationality of the sacred landscapes, social practices, and authority structures through which Aymara religious practices engage issues of politics and power; and Jean Jackson and Alcida Ramos on ethnic relations and indigenous politics in the Colombian and Brazilian Amazon. Although the concept of a religious syncretism between colonial (usually Catholic) and indigenous belief systems has long been a central issue in anthropological treatments of religion, these new historical studies move well beyond the notion of syncretism to paint a more complex picture of how individuals, groups, and political movements strategically manipulate and conceptualize the semantic and epistemic divides that ideally differentiate "native" and "colonial," Indian and mestizo, resistance and accommodation.

Ethnographers have also begun to question the models of culture and meaning through which early anthropologists once defended the unity of indigenous cultural systems and the interpretation of ritual and myth. Rather than looking for the inner "meaning" hidden within religious words and practices, these ethnographies build on poststructuralist models of language and practice to explore how meaning accrues to words and practices as they unfold in time. Though focused on different areas of social production, these ethnographies hold in common the idea that "religion" is best studied across different domains of social practice rather than as a discrete symbolic system that functions to give "meaning" to other domains of indigenous experience. Thus ethnographers such as Catherine J. Allen in the Peruvian Andes have examined etiquette and sociality as lived domains in which religious belief takes hold not as an extant symbolic system but as the moral and ethical perspective that is played out through the many small routines and interactions of daily life.

Studies of Andean spatial practices and aesthetics by Urton, Nathan Wachtel, and Rappaport among others emphasized how "religious" meanings are woven into such collective material practices as wall construction and territorial boundary maintenance. Other anthropologists, such as Greg Urban and Jackson, have looked at the linguistic practices through which myths are recounted and interpreted in local social life. Finally, Michael T. Taussig's important work on the Colombian Putumayo and modern Venezuela has explored shamanism as a lens on the working of power, fear, and memory in the shaping of Colombian modernity. Taussig's work has been particularly important in that it takes the claims of indigenous religious belief and historical narrative seriously as a force in the shaping of modern Latin America. Taussig thus succeeds in questioning the spurious distinction between magical and rational thought and with it the categories of myth and history that permeated so much earlier work on South American religion.

CONCLUSION. Taken together historical and poststructuralist approaches have had the singular effect of undermining the integrity and coherency of the very categories "religion" and "indigenous" that animated so much earlier anthropology in the region. For a majority of the anthropologists and historians working in South America, it is no longer possible to speak of indigenous communities, practices, identities, or beliefs without situating them in broader regional and national histories. As the notion of indigenous religion becomes unhinged from its original location in the pristine, or supposedly pristine, life of the "Indian community," it has become possible for scholars to think critically and historically about the place of different Christian belief systems in South American indigenous life. Anthropologists have begun to study the Protestant evangelical and Catholic charismatic sects that have become so prominent in many indigenous communities of South America. Wachtel, Antoinette Fioravanti-Molinié, and others have analyzed the persistence of indigenous religious beliefs regarding threatening *ñakaqs*, or spirits who extract body fat, in contexts of uncertainty and change, including among urban indigenous groups. Similarly the category of "popular Catholicism" that was first introduced by Liberation theologists in the aftermth of Vactican II has become a stable of anthropological writing about indigenous religion, allowing for a similar extension of the category of indigenous religion to encompass a broader array of ritual practices and beliefs that are more consonant with the actual experiences of modern indigenous people living in nation states.

An important inspiration for studies focused on subaltern or indigenous groups is the new work by historians such as Sabine MacCormack on the philosophical and theological origins of South American notions of idolatry, redemption, and the miracle and Kenneth Mills on the complex political and religious forces behind the sixteenth-century campaigns against indigenous "idolatry." Through such works it becomes possible to appreciate the long route that has been traversed from early scholarly obsessions with locating a pure indigenous religion to the more historically grounded scholarship in which religious practices are at once seen as fully, even paradigmatically modern, without for that reason ceasing to be any less "indigenous."

SEE ALSO Ge Mythology; Jensen, Adolf E.; Preuss, Konrad T.; Structuralism.

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SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

This entry consists of the following articles:

INDIANS OF THE ANDES IN THE PRE-INCA PERIOD
INDIANS OF THE COLONIAL ANDES
INDIANS OF THE MODERN ANDES
INDIANS OF THE NORTHWEST AMAZON
INDIANS OF THE CENTRAL AND EASTERN AMAZON
INDIANS OF THE GRAN CHACO

SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS: INDIANS OF THE ANDES IN THE PRE-INCA PERIOD

The Andean region is formed by the Andes mountain range, which extends the entire length of western South America. This region can be divided into three geographically contrasting subareas: the highlands, the coast, and the eastern cordillera. In the highlands the intermontane valleys lie at altitudes of between three and four thousand meters. These valleys were the places in which the Chavín (tenth to first centuries BCE), Tiahuanaco-Huari (eighth to tenth centuries CE), and Inca (fifteenth century CE) cultures flourished. In the region along the Pacific coast, composed mostly of low-lying desert plains, life was concentrated out of necessity in the valleys formed by the rivers that drain from the highlands into the ocean. The coastal valleys in the Peruvian sector of the Andes region were the cradles of cultures such as the Moche (second to eighth centuries CE), the Paracas-Nazca (second to eighth centuries CE), and the Chimú (twelfth to fifteenth centuries CE), who devised colossal irrigation works that enabled them to bring extensive areas of desert under cultivation. The dramatic, abruptly changing topography of the eastern cordillera is covered by dense tropical vegetation. Peoples of the intermontane valleys entered this region and built the cities of Machu Picchu and Pajatén, and they terraced vast areas of the rugged, wooded hillsides to gain land for cultivation and to prevent erosion.

The sheltered agricultural cultures of the Andes have interrelated since ancient times. The areas where such cultures did not develop, although geographically "Andean," are not considered part of the Andean cultural region. The territory of the central Andes—basically equivalent to present-day Peru—became the center of the Andean cultural process. The northern Andes (parts of present-day Colombia and Ecuador) was the scene of the Quimbaya and Muisca (Chibcha) cultures and of the earlier Valdivia culture, which may have given the initial impulse to the entire high-Andean culture.

More than ten thousand years have passed since human beings first trod the Andes. The earliest settlers were hunters and Neolithic agriculturalists. By the third millennium BCE there appear incipient signs of complex cultures, such as that of Aldas on the northern coast of Peru, whose people built monumental temples. During the second and first millennia BCE, the appearance of Valdivia and Chavín represented the first flowering of developed culture, which set the foundation for the developments that eventually culminated in the Inca empire. By the time that Europeans arrived in the Americas, the Inca empire stretched for more than four thousand miles along the western part of South America, from southern Colombia in the north to Maule, in south central Chile, in the south. The empire passed into Spanish dominion in 1532, when Atahuallpa, the thirteenth and last of the Inca sovereigns, was beheaded. From then on, the breakdown of indigenous Andean cultural values is apparent.

SOURCES OF DOCUMENTATION. Study of Andean religion rests on two principle sources: the reports of early chroniclers and the archaeological documentation that presents a visual record of Andean civilizations. A number of chronicles exist that were written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by Indians, mestizos, and Spaniards (who based their accounts on the reports of native informants). There are also other reports—files relating to the prosecution of cases of "witchcraft"—that remain scattered in archives, mostly unedited. The detailed reports composed by the "eradicators of idolatries" are of special value. For the most part, the chroniclers' accounts are interwoven with evident prejudices of divers origin.

Even though the archaeological and iconographic evidence is scanty, it may be that the conclusions drawn from it are founded on a firmer basis than are those derived from chroniclers' reports. Naturally, study of iconography requires specific hermeneutic methods, especially when drawings are heavily loaded with symbols or are confusingly executed. Present-day Andean religious practices (especially in rural areas), which in many cases represent survivals of the pre-Conquest Andean religious world, represent a third source of documentation.

SUBSISTENCE AND RELIGION. The peoples of the Andes are predisposed toward mysticism and ceremonial; even today, Andeans are steeped in an elaborate religious tradition. A significant part of their intense religiosity may be explained by ecological factors: No other agricultural society in the world has had to face a more hostile environment than that of the Andes region, with its vast areas of desert, its enormous wastes, and the heavy tropical vegetation that covers the mountains' rugged eastern flanks. All physical effort, all organization of human labor, and all technological solutions are insufficient to counter the environment, to whose ordinary harshness are added nature's frequent scourges, especially droughts. This endemic state of crisis could only be exorcised, it seems, through intense magico-religious practices; only through manipulation of supernatural powers have Andean peoples believed it possible to guarantee their existence.

The dramatic situation imposed by the environment perhaps explains why Andean religiosity appears to have been unencumbered by the moralizing of other religious traditions. Rules such as "Thou shalt not steal" and "Thou shalt not commit adultery" were of course enforced, but theft and adultery were considered social offenses: It was the duty of the administrators of state law to punish offenders. There was no concept of a future expiation. The relationship between religion and morality was closest in regard to behavior toward the deities; if their worship was not properly carried out, they were affronted, resulting in a series of calamities that could be checked through prayers, weeping, and sacrifices. The hostility of nature in the Andes led to a permanently febrile state of religiosity.

GODS OF SUSTENANCE. Andean deities jointly governed both individual and collective existence by providing sustenance. Soil fertility plays a significant role in Andean religion, as demonstrated by the profuse worship given to the deities that personified and controlled the forces of nature. The gods, though individualized, form a hieratic unit and share one focus: the economic state of the people. They are conceived in the image of nature, which simultaneously separates and conjoins the creative forces, masculine and feminine. Thus the first basic division appears in the opposition of Inti-Viracocha-Pachacámac and Quilla-Pachamama. Both of these deity-configurations are creative forces, but in accordance with the social order of the sexes, the supremacy of the former, masculine element is asserted. The powerful Illapa ("thunder, weather") is also integrated into the sphere of Inti-Viracocha-Pachacámac, but, above all his other functions, Illapa directly provides life-giving rain.

Viracocha. Glimpses of a culture hero on whom divine attributes have been superimposed can be seen in the figure of Viracocha, and therefore Pierre Duviols (1977) and María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco (1983) correctly deny him the character of a creator god. Because of these same divine attributes, however, Viracocha was thought by the sixteenth-century Spaniards to resemble the God of Christianity, although Christian-Andean syncretism preserved some aspects of Viracocha's indigenous origin. Thus, according to the stories told about him, Viracocha molded humans in clay or sculpted them in stone. (They finally spring from the womb of Pachamama, "mother earth," which is sometimes represented as a cave.) On the other hand, stories about Viracocha also portray him as entering into confrontations with other divine beings and as engaged in other tasks ordinarily associated with culture heroes (for example, "teaching the created people"). Evidence of Viracocha's original character as a god of sustenance may be found in the prayer to him that was transcribed by the seventeenth-century chronicler Cristobal de Molina, in which Viracocha is presumed to be based "in thunder and tempests." Franklin Pease (1973) assigns to him outright solar and fertility attributes.

Pachacámac. The myth of Pachacámac ("animator of the world") links this Andean deity even more strongly than Viracocha with the creation of the first generation of human beings. This deity is characterized, above all, as bringing to humankind the food necessary for survival as a result of the entreaties of a primordial woman, Mother Earth. The provision of edible plants is shown in other myths: In one of these, Pachacámac disguises himself, taking the form of the sun (in some instances, the son, the brother, or even the father of Pachacámac, according to the chronicler Francisco Lopez de Gómara), who with his rays fertilizes the primordial woman, perhaps the incarnation of Pachamama. In another myth, Pachacámac kills what he has created, and this action may be interpreted as the institution of human sacrifice to nourish the food and fertility deities. When the victim is buried, his teeth sprout maize, his bones become manioc, and so on.

Inti. According to both the surviving mythic literature and the images discovered by archaeologists, the masculine creative force was incarnated in Inti, the sun. He offers heat and light, and his rays possess fertilizing powers, as is evident in the myth of Pachacámac. Mythic literature testifies to the Andeans' reliance on the power of the sun and to their anxiety that he may disappear, causing cataclysm and the destruction of humankind (an event that would be followed by the creation of a new generation of humans). This anxiety explains the redoubled prayers and supplications during solar eclipses—rituals that ended with loud cries and lamentations (even domestic animals were whipped to make them howl!). Archaeological evidence of another form of magico-religious defense against this premonition of the tragic disappearance of the sun is found in stone altars called *intihuatanas,* a word revealingly translated as "the place where the sun is tied." Inti was also associated with fertility through water, as when the sun ceases to give light, yielding to clouds and rain (which would seem a contradiction were it not for the fact that the thunder and weather god Illapa was conjoined with the sun). In visual representations, particularly those at Chavín and Tiahuanaco, Inti appears with big teardrops that surely symbolize rain. Gold was the symbol par excellence of the sun, and the robes of head shamans were covered with oscillating metal disks that reflected the sun's rays and imitated its radiance.

Pachamama-Quilla. Pachamama ("mother earth") symbolized the feminine element of divinity for the Andeans. Pachamama is incarnated as the primordial mother of mythic literature, and she is personified as Quilla, the moon. In this connection she is symbolized by silver; with this metal many representations of Pachamama were made, especially in the form of the half-moon (called *tumi*), which was one of the most important religious symbols of the Andes. The cult of Pachamama was, and still is, extensive (Mariscotti de Görlitz, 1978). Pachamama was held to be the producer of food, animals, and the first human. As primordial mother, she creates through the fertilizing action of the Sun, and she later becomes co-donor of food plants, especially maize.

The mythological literature tells of several female supernatural beings. These are likely regional versions of Pachamama. Among them are Chaupiñanca, the primordial mother of Huarochirí mythology; Illa, who appears in the mythic traditions of the Ecuadorian Andes; and Urpihuáchac, sister and wife of Pachacámac, who seems to be an expression of Cochamama, the marine form of Pachamama. To Cochamama is attributed the creation of fish and of seabirds such as the guanay, which latter act is in turn related to agricultural productivity because of the use of guano to fertilize crops.

Ancient documents show that Pachamama was individualized *ad infinitum* to guarantee the abundance of specific produce—maize, for example. Andean iconography offers representations of Pachamama incarnated in specific vegetable forms: multiple ears of maize, for instance, or groups of potatoes. In other instances these agricultural products metaphorically acquire human aspects, and they are also portrayed as being fertilized by a supernatural, anthropomorphic personage. Pachamama in her Cochamama aspect also appears to symbolize the presence of abundant water—essential for fertilizing the agricultural fields.

The symbolism of Pachamama has implications regarding the social status of women: As compared with the male element of divinity, Pachamama, the female, is clearly a passive and subaltern being. Her dependence on the male is established in the mythological literature. She uses her feminine attributes to win from the male gods favors, such as irrigation canals, that are beneficial to the collectivity. Pachamama also enshrines the modesty and passivity in sexual matters that characterizes the Andean woman to this day. The attitude of sexual modesty is to be seen in the many representations that appear to show versions of Pachamama, from the archaic terracotta figures of Valdivia to those of the late Chancay civilization of the central coast of Peru. In all these, sexual characteristics are not pronounced: The figures seem to represent almost asexual beings, and they remind one of the existence of non-Christian sexual taboos (see Kauffmann Doig, 1979a). Not only do these figures rarely stress sexual characteristics, but, curiously, they seldom portray pregnant women or women giving birth. Perhaps the anthropomorphic figures with birdlike attributes that appear on the walls of Pajatén—which figures are shown in crouching positions with spread legs—are in fact female procreators (Kauffmann Doig, 1983, p. 531). Except for the cases of sexual representations from Vicus and, especially, in Moche art (both from the northern coast of Peru), images of women found throughout the Andean culture region seem to underscore that female sexuality was marked by modesty.

Pachamama continues to play an important role in the deeply rooted peasant magic of today's Andean people. She is even venerated in Christian churches. In the Peruvian village of Huaylas, for example, Saramama (a version of Pachamama) is venerated in the form of two female saints who are joined in a single sculpture—like Siamese twins—to give visual representation to a pathetic fallacy: the symbolization of abundance that is identified in the double or multiple ears of grain that maize plants often generously produce.

Illapa. The deity Illapa (generally translated as "thunder," "lightning," or "weather") occupies a preferential place in the Andean pantheon. Much of the mythological literature makes reference to Illapa, who takes on regional names and is expressed in varying forms: Yaro, Ñamoc, Libiac, Catequil, Pariacaca, Thunapa (possibly), and so on. To refer to these beings as if they were separate would be artificially to crowd the Andean pantheon by creating too great a number of distinct deities—a trap into which many interpreters, both early and recent, have fallen. Illapa may be seen as the incarnation of Inti, the sun, in Illapa's primary mythic form of a hawk or eagle (*indi* means "bird" in Quechua), a form to which were added human and feline attributes; thus Inti-Illapa may be said to be a true binomial in the Andean pantheon.

Associated with meteorological phenomena such as thunder, lightning, clouds, and rainbows, Illapa personifies rain, the element that fecundates the earth. As the direct source of sustenance—giving rains to the highlands and rivers and rich alluvial soils to the coastal valleys—Illapa is revered in a special and universal way. Yet he is also feared: for the crash of his thunder, for lightning that kills, for catastrophic hailstorms, severe floods, and even perhaps earthquakes. The worst of his scourges is drought. Proof of Illapa's prestige is the major temple to him (individualized as the ruler of atmospheric phenomena) that stood in Cuzco, the Inca capital; according to the plan of Cuzco drawn by Guaman Poma and the description written by Molina, Illapa's temple was rivalled only by the Coricancha, the temple of the sun.

After the Conquest, Andeans fused Illapa with images of James the Apostle, a syncretism perhaps suggested by earlier Spanish traditions. In the realm of folklore, Illapa's cult may be said still to flourish in the veneration of hills and high mountains, which are the nesting places of the *huamani* (falcons) sacred to this deity. Also associated with Illapa are the *apus,* the spirits of the mountains, and the spirits of the lakes, which, if they are not worshiped, make the waves rise destructively, and which are offended if approached by someone not protected by the sacred coca leaf.

When he appears as an incarnation of, or as joined to, Inti, Illapa may be represented by a male feline with human and avian attributes. According to iconographic studies, Illapa's image as the "flying feline," or "tiger bird" (Kauffmann Doig, 1967; 1983, p. 225) is still current in the Andes, as witnessed in the oral documentation collected by Bernard Mishkin (1963) regarding Qoa, a god who is ruler of meteorological phenomena. Qoa still appears as a flying cat, his eyes throwing out lightning and his urine transformed into fertilizing rain. Pictorial representations of the "tiger bird," which have been made since the formative period, especially in Chavín and allied art (see below) have recently been related to Qoa by Johan Reinhard (1985, pp. 19–20).

ANDEAN ICONOGRAPHY. Iconographic portrayal of supernatural beings is abundant and dates back more than three thousand years. In iconographic representations, supernatural beings are configured in complex ways; their hierarchal aspects are emphasized, and some achieve the status of gods. Supernatural beings other than gods are the figures represented in Sechín and in some Chavín art. Beings with the rank of gods are found in Chavín and related cultures—Vicús, Moche, Paracas-Nazca, Tiahuanaco, Huari, and others (especially Lambayeque).

Mythological literature indicates that those male beings who fertilize Mother Earth form the topmost division of the hierarchy of the Andean pantheon, which, again, is made up of deities of sustenance. One of the most obvious expressions of the Andean gods' character as providers is the anthropomorphic wooden figure of Huari style adorned with symbols referring to basic food products that was found in the temples of Pachacámac near Lima.

The image of a conspicuously superior being is found in the initial stages of high Andean civilization (especially in Chavín and related cultures). This image, typically a human form with feline and raptorial-bird attributes, is repeated in practically all the Andean cultures that succeeded Chavín, with variations of secondary importance. At Chavín, such hierarchal figures of the highest order appear on the Raimondi Stela; although lacking human elements, the figures on the Tello Obelisk and the Yauya Stela, both Chavín in style, may also be considered as representations of the highest level of being, because of their monumental stature and fine execution. The central figure of the Door of the Sun at Tiahuanaco is an almost anthropomorphic representation of the highest-ranking god. Attributes of a culture hero are perhaps also incorporated here.

A frequently encountered image of what was perhaps the same god as the one described above (but represented in a clearer and more accessible form) is that of a hybrid being that also had a form somewhere between a feline and a bird of prey (a falcon?), represented naturalistically, in which elements of human anatomy are sometimes completely absent. This "winged feline" may be the most ancient and authentic representation known to us of an Andean god. The convoluted, baroque style of Chavín art is responsible for the fact the the "winged feline" has sometimes been identified as a caiman and sometimes as a lobster, a shrimp, or even a spider. These animals, however, do not appear in relation to the divine sphere at any later stage of Andean culture.

Supernatural beings of the highest category are to be found in representations of the culture-heroes/gods Ai-apaec and Ñaymlap and of the gods at Tiahuanaco and Paracas-Nazca. All are anthropomorphic beings that combine traits of both bird and feline; in this context they imply an evolutionary development of the older "winged feline" of Chavín. In the archetypical versions of Ai-apaec, the figure bears wings (Kauffmann Doig, 1976; 1983, pp. 362, 624). At Paracas-Nazca, one figure seems to represent an evolution from a purely birdlike body into one that incorporates human elements (Kauffmann Doig, 1983, pp. 303, 325, 331–332). Feline and ornithomorphic ingredients are evident in the large figures at Tiahuanaco and Huari; from their eyes fall large tears in the form of birds, which, since Eugenio Yacovleff (1932) and even before, have been interpreted as symbolic of the fertilizing rainwater of Pachamama (Mamapacha).

Connubial gods in which the male element radiates fertilizing solar rays are found especially in the iconography derived from Huari and, more particularly, in the valleys of Huara, Pativilca, and Casma on the coast of Peru (Kauffmann Doig, 1979a, pp. 6, 60). The examples of Inca art that have survived have but scant votive content. But both the feline and the falcon continue to occupy their place of honor among iconographic elements, as may be seen in the "heraldic shield" of the Inca rulers drawn by Guaman Poma.

FORMS OF WORSHIP. Through acts of worship, the sphere of the sacred could be manipulated to benefit humankind. The effectiveness of human intervention into the realm of the supernatural powers depended on the intensity with which the rites were performed. In the Andean world, where natural factors put agricultural production and even existence itself to a constant test, worship assumed an extraordinary intensity and richness of form. The calamities that endangered personal and collective welfare were believed to have been caused by offenses to supernatural beings and especially to a lack of intensity in worship. Offerings to the gods of sustenance and to other supernatural beings related to them complemented the cultic display. Cruel sacrifices were necessary to worship's efficacy; in times of crisis they were performed lavishly and included human sacrifices.

The diversity of forms of worship in this region was due in part to the variety of forms of divine or magical conditions that these people perceived. These conditions were in general denoted by the term *huaca,* which can be translated as "holy." *Huaca* could refer to various unusual geographical features (including special stones, hills, lakes, etc.), heavenly bodies, atmospheric phenomena, mummies, amulets, idols, and even the Inca (i.e., the ruler) himself in his capacity as a living god.

The popular form of communication with *huaca* (i.e. the entire supernatural world) was effected through the *muchay* ("worship, reverence"). *Muchay* was performed by removing one's sandals, gesticulating, throwing kisses, murmuring supplications, bowing one's shoulders in humility, puffing out one's cheeks to blow in the direction of the object worshiped, and so on. Other forms of contact with supernatural beings were made through oracles, whose traditions go back to early forms of Andean cultures, such as the Chavín. Oracles were represented in the form of idols located in sanctuaries such as the famous one of Pachacámac, near Lima; these oracles rendered predictions about important future events to shamans and priests.

To make an offering was an act of paying tribute. Offerings were made voluntarily, but they were also collected in the form of compulsory tribute, the administration of which was centralized in temples. A widespread, popular offering was *mullo,* a powder made of ground seashells, which by association was linked to fertility through water; another was coca (*Erythroxylon coca*) in the form of a masticated wad. Stone cairns in the high passes were places of worship; wads of coca would be thrown in a ritual act called Togana. The mummified dead were offered special jars containing grains, fruits, and liquids. Guinea pigs and llamas served as important sacrificial offerings.

Among sacrifices, that of young boys and girls was the most important; sometimes human sacrifice was performed by walling up a living female person. It appears that among the Inca the sacrifice of boys and girls was received as a form of tribute, called the *capaccocha,* from the provinces. The person who was to serve as the *capaccocha* was delivered to the capital city of Cuzco in great pomp; after his death, his remains were returned to his homeland and mummified; the mummy acquired votive rank and was the object of supplications for health and agricultural welfare. Necropompa (Span., "death rite") was a special type of human sacrifice that consisted of immolations (voluntary or not) that were performed on the occasion of the death of an illustrious person (Araníbar, 1961). Decapitation of human sacrificial victims had been performed since ancient times: The Sechín stone sculpture of northern Peru depicting this practice is over three thousand years old. Head shrinking was rare and there is no evidence of cannibalism in the Andean region. (Though in the myths there are a number of supernatural beings, such as Carhuincho, Carhuallo, and Achké, who are anthropophagous.) Human sacrifice, performed to achieve greater agricultural fertility, drew its rationale from the principle that the Andeans believed governed nature: Death engenders life.

The dead, mummified and revered, were expected to implore the supernatural powers for sustenance, soil fertility, abundant water, and the multiplication of domestic animals. Often bodies were buried in the cultivated fields in order to enrich them. As has recently been reported from Ayacucho, Peru, this practice survives in secret, isolated cases even to the present day: A mentally ill person is selected, intoxicated with liquor, thrown into a pit, and buried alive. Such "strengthening" rites were, according to sixteenth-century chroniclers, also practiced in laying the foundations of houses and bridges, and traces of these rites also have been recently reported from the central Andes.

Funeral rites included expressions of grief such as loud sobbing intermingled with chants in praise of the deceased; a practice that also survives in isolated areas of the Andes. The dead were mummified and taken to their tombs on stretchers. Peoples of the arid coast practiced earth burial, but in the highlands mummies were placed—singly or in groups—in *pucullos,* or *chullupas* (mausoleums that were built on almost inaccessible outcrops of rock). Individual or collective tombs were also hollowed out of extremely steep mountainsides. With few exceptions (e.g., among the Moche), bodies were buried in seated positions. Frequently the hands held the head, perhaps to simulate the fetal position. These "living" corpses were surrounded with food and drink, weapons, and other belongings meant to serve as provisions in the hereafter; some were buried with their mouths open, both to express the terror of sacrifice and to voice supplications to the gods for success in agriculture.

Religious festivals were celebrated continuously in the great plazas of Cuzco and at temples such as the Coricancha, the temple of the sun. Festivals dedicated to specific themes, especially in the context of food production, were held monthly with great pomp; the sovereign Inca presided, and guests were invited at his expense. Great quantities of *chicha* (maize beer) were consumed, drunk from ceremonial wooden vessels (*queros*).

Andeans have made pilgrimages since the remote times of Chavín, and one of the favorite *huacas,* or shrines, was the sanctuary of Pachacámac. "Natural" shrines such as those on the peaks of high mountains were also popular with pilgrims. The Collur Riti festival, a celebration that coincides with the Feast of Corpus Christi, follows ancient rites in which to this day people climb to heights of almost five thousand meters. Some of the pilgrims dress as "bear men," imitating the gestures of animals and speaking in animal-like voices; they act as intermediaries between other pilgrims and supernatural beings. Originally, the Collur Riti was dedicated to water, and even today pilgrims return to their homes with pieces of ice carved from the mountain glaciers, symbolizing the fertility imparted by water. In the past, pilgrims fasted for variable periods of time, abstaining from maize beer, *ají* (*Capsicum anuum*), and sexual intercourse.

MEDICINE AND MAGIC. Shamans use maracas in their healing rites, a practice carried on into the present by Andean *curanderos* (Span., "healers"). The *curanderos* also use hallucinogenic substances to cause them to enter the trance state.

The San Pedro cactus *(Trichocereus pabhanoi)* is a powerful hallucinogen used particularly on the Peruvian coast; it gives the *curandero* the ability to discover the cause of an illness. In the highlands the diagnosis is still made by rubbing the body of a sick person with a guinea pig or with substances such as maize powder. The cure was effected through the use of medicinal plants. Today, *curanderos* complement their ancient remedies with modern pharmaceutical products.

Divination was often performed under the influence of hallucinogens or coca. Several studies, among them those of Alana Cordy-Collins (1977) and Ralph Cané (1985) speculate that the intricate art of Chavín originated in hallucinogenic experiences.

Institutionalized worship gave rise to a rich range of folk magic. Thus, for example, there were magic love-stones *(guacangui)*. Small stone sculptures of domestic animals, used to propitiate the spirits of abundance, are still produced. Ceramic figures representing vigorous bulls *(toritos de Pucará)* are still placed on rooftops, where they signify prosperity and fertility and offer magical protection of the home.

MESSIANISM. Andean mysticism and ritual experienced a vigorous rejuvenescence some thirty years after the Spanish conquest in the form of the nativistic movement called Taqui Oncoy (see Duviols, 1977; Millones, 1964; Ossio, 1973; Curatola, 1977; Urbano, 1981). The aims of this sixteenth-century messianic movement were to drive the white invaders from the land and to reinstate the structures of the lost Inca past. The movement's power was based on the worship of *huacas,* the popular form of Andean religiosity after the Sun had lost its credibility with the defeat inflicted by the Christian God. By a kind of magic purification, Taqui Oncoy sought to free the land from European intrusion after it was no longer possible to do so by force of arms. The movement's adherents believed that, with intensified supplications and increased offerings, the *huacas* could become powerful enough to help reestablish the old order. This movement declined after ten years, but the hope of a return to the Inca past is still alive, although it is confined more and more to middle-class intellectual circles in Peru and Bolivia.

The messianic myth of Inkarri (from Span., *Inca rey,* "Inca king") should also be mentioned here. Originally recorded by José María Arguedas (1956), the myth centers on a figure, Inkarri, who is the son of the Sun and a "wild woman." According to Nathan Wachtel (1977), this archetypal "vision of a conquered people," although of native extraction, seems to be immersed in syncretism. The cult of Inkarri lacks the action that characterized the Taqui Oncoy movement. Inkarri is not an Andean god but rather a pale memory of the deified sovereign of ancient times, who after patient waiting will rise to life to vindicate the Andean world.

SEE ALSO Atahuallpa; Inca Religion; Inti; Viracocha.

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SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS: INDIANS OF THE COLONIAL ANDES

A number of promising points of entry beckon the student of emerging religious systems among people of indigenous descent in the colonial Andes. These beginnings include transformations within native ritual specialists' repertoires, customs surrounding death and the dead, and the expansion of elemental Catholic Christian catechization within families (and of sacramental life in general). But no feature of colonial religiosity was more vital and dynamic than the emergence of the cult of the saints as reconfigured and understood by native Andeans. The acceptance of images of Christ, the Virgin, and the other saints into the Andean religious imagination in colonial times challenges us to understand why and how new understandings emerged and developed. The capacity for mobility, inclusion, and reimagination inherent in beliefs and practices surrounding images of Christ and the saints offers up colonial Indian religion's central trunk and an analytical space from which other branches of colonial religiosity and culture can be productively studied.

Consider, first, an Andean system of meaning that appears to have encouraged native reception and understandings of Christian images: beliefs surrounding, and the interrelationships between, Andean divinities known as *huacas* (material things that manifested the power of ancestral personalities, cultural founders, and also wider sacred phenomena [Mills, 1997, chap. 2; Salomon, 1991]). There is no escaping the fact that one reads postconquest reflections upon these older phenomena, and that, as with much about the Andean past, any process of learning involves an appreciation of the needs of authors in a series of colonial presents (Graubart, 2000; Julien, 2000). Yet the fact that most understandings of *huacas* became "hybridic"—that is to say, authentically native Andean *and* influenced, to one degree or another, by the thought worlds and vocabularies of Spanish Catholic Christianity—is integral to the colonial processes and realities to be explored here. As will become abundantly clear, ideas about *huacas* and saints were soon shared not only among Spanish and Hispanicized Andean commentators, but among native devotees around sacred images. Two originally disparate systems ceased only to repeat themselves and were instead finding shared territories and conjoining to generate new understandings and religious forms (Sahlins, 1985). It is a case in which even the exceptions suggest the rule. By midcolonial times in the Andes, steadfast native opponents of the growing presence of Christian images in the hearts and minds of Indian commoners tellingly incorporated within their rejections and counterteachings the very characterizations employed against their *huacas* (Mills, 1994, pp. 106–107, *passim;* Cummins, 2002, pp. 159–160).

And one can turn, finally, to the ways in which key Christian personalities such as Christ, the Virgin Mary, and other saints were brought inside Andean imaginations and societies in colonial times. Space does not allow the concrete exemplification required, but by sampling colonial Andean transformations, a key to understanding religious change appears. It lies in doing two things simultaneously: appreciating the novelty and seriousness of the early modern Catholic project, namely total and obligatory Christianization, in the Andes as elsewhere in Spanish America; and allowing the many consequences of this enterprise of "spiritual conquest" to slip the noose of official intentions, expectations, and prescriptions. My explorations build upon what has already been proposed by others and myself about the contest and compatibility of Andean ways with aspects of Catholic Christianity; selectively, and in somewhat chronological order, these include Kubler (1946), Millones (1969, 1979), Duviols (1971, 1977), Marzal (1977, 1983] 1988), Barnadas (1987), Sallnow (1987), Platt (1987); MacCormack (1991), Dean (1996, 2002); Mills (1997, 1994, 2003), Salles-Reese

(1997), Saignes (1999), Cussen (1999), Cummins (2002), Gose (2003), and Estenssoro Fuchs (2003, 1996).

Evidence for the convergence between what one can surmise about an Andean *huaca* complex of beliefs and practices and those of the Catholic cult of the saints is compelling, especially in accounting for early transformations. But such convergences are not confining, as if pre-Hispanic understandings of *huacas* had to dictate an entire colonial aftermath of belief and action. What stands out, rather, is the unremitting dynamism of that which came to converge, a thrilling capacity for localized adaptation and translocal reproduction shown both by *huacas* (Urton, 1990; Taylor, 1987; Salomon and Urioste, eds., 1991) and by Christian images in the hands and minds of native Andean people. Saints, like *huacas,* were many and various, and they were reproducible in ways that defy simple notions of how copies and peripheries relate to originals and centers. Evidence of the often unofficial and overlapping diffusion of saintly cults and their devotional communities turns up everywhere and in ways that ought to revise not only elderly presentations of a "spiritual conquest of Indians" but also the most unidimensional portrayals of indigenous cultural agency and resistance. This brief entry emphasizes colonial Indians' complex motivations and continuing kinds of receptivity to ideas and practices that, whether sparked by non-Indian mobilizers or not, often became operative in shared and transforming colonial terms.

A PROLIFIC PAST IS PERCEIVED. An exploration of the ways in which the originally foreign power of saints was brought within and became vital parts of a colonial Andean cultural and religious system begins with conquest-era perceptions. One of the first in a series of perceptions glides past the Andean phenomena whose divine personalities and webs of relations would guide early indigenous understandings of Catholic Christian saints.

When Hernando Pizarro and other members of his advance raiding party wrote about their time in the coastal valleys of Peru just south of what became the Spanish capital of Lima in January 1533, theirs were among the first European minds with an opportunity to engage with fundamental native Andean religious forms and meanings.

Their encounter with Pachacámac, a venerable divine force of pan-Andean proportions, reveals Spanish instincts in the period immediately after the seizure of the Inca Atahuallpa in Cajamarca. Despite learning from Andean informants and from one of Pachacámac's attendants of the divinity's long oracular tradition, and of an awesome world-making and world-shaking might that had been taken carefully into account by the Incas, Pizarro and his companions were otherwise concerned. Accumulated offerings of gold and silver to Pachacámac caught their attention. They admired, too, the jewels, crystals, and corals bedecking a door at the very top of the pyramid structure.

Pachacámac himself struck the treasure seekers both as hideous and as a sad indication of the native people's gullibility. In crossing over the final threshold at the top of the pyramid, the Spaniards faced what their Judeo-Christian tradition and experience had fully prepared them to identify as an "idol." Here was a male figure carved at the top of a wooden pole. It took no effort and less theology to perceive Pachacámac as Miguel de Estete did, as a thing beneath contempt, a vile material form crafted by human hands and pilfering the adoration human beings ought to reserve only for the Christian God. The precious offerings, reportedly piled around the figure and adorning the site, showed only how much Andean peoples had been hoodwinked by an active devil who "appeared to those priests and spoke with them," conspiring to siphon "tribute" from up and down the entire coast and demanding a respect that in Incan times was rivaled only by the Temple of the Sun in Lake Titicaca (Pizarro, [1533] 1920; Estete, [c. 1535] 1924). It mattered particularly to establish whether the famous voice and oracular utterings of Pachacámac were the handiwork of the devil speaking through him or, as Hernando Pizarro sought to prove through interrogation of an Indian minister, artifice worked by the false god's attendants.

It was not long, however, before Pachacámac gave pause to different minds. Pedro de Cieza de León, who blended his own observations and inquiries with information about the coastal region gained from the Dominican Domingo de Santo Tomás, among others, can represent an uneasy transition. While still content to label his subject the "devil Pachacámac" and fascinated by tales of the vast quantities of gold and silver the "notables and priests" of Pachacámac were said to have spirited away in advance of Hernando Pizarro's arrival, Cieza also pushed harder and uncovered more (Cieza de León, [1553] 1995, pp. 214–215). His closer examinations and those of others beginning in the 1540s and 1550s began to reveal the *huacas*' multifaceted natures and interrelationships with other divine figures.

Pachacámac's divine personality offers one of the more majestic but still broadly illustrative cases in point. While consistently described across coastal and Andean regions as a predominant creative force "who gives being to the earth" (Castro and Ortega Morejón, [1558] 1938, p. 246; Santillán, [1563] 1968, p. 111b; MacCormack 1991, pp. 351–352, 154–159), he coexisted with other divine figures. The other *huacas*, too, were sometimes creative founders, oracular voices, and otherwise translocally significant. In some cases, sacred oral histories recounted these ancestral beings' origins, featured their contributions to local and regional civilization, in many cases told of their lithomorphosis into the regional landscape, and, importantly, explained their interrelationships and coexistence with other divine beings. Explanations of the natural environment and entire histories of interaction between human groups were encapsulated within the durably fluid form of the *huacas'* narratives, which themselves were remembered by ritual tellers, singers, and dancers (Salomon, 1991).

In Pachacámac's midst, Dominican friars from the convent at Chincha in the 1540s and 1550s learned much about one of these other regional ancestors and "creators," a divine figure named Chinchaycama. He was revered by the Yunga people at a certain rock from which the divinity was said to have emerged. And Chinchaycama had hardly been the only *huaca* of the Yunga. He was, rather, one of a number "who responded" to the requests and entreaties of his people. According to what the Dominicans learned and could express about this set of relationships, the Yunga made choices and assigned precedence according to their own changing requirements (including economic and environmental stress, and also political necessity). They effectively moved between *huacas* "who responded" and "this not always but only when they had need of them." This apparently selective horizontality did not much impress Spanish commentators, and it has struck at least one modern historian as an approach that treated "matters of religion somewhat casually" (Castro and Ortega Morejón, [1558] 1938; MacCormack, 1991, p. 155).

In fact, such glimpses of Chinchaycama's place within a broader picture, and of Yunga attitudes towards their *huacas,* suggest fundamental Andean religious notions. When the Incas entered this coastal region in force, with settlers from other zones, they built a shrine to their principal divinity the Sun and impressed upon others the importance of this divinity's attributes and consecration of themselves as his children. But Inca expansionism tended to incorporate rather than erase existing cults, effectively smoothing over necessary conflict and injecting themselves into longer regional mythohistoric trajectories. Cieza found that the cult of Chinchaycama continued for the natives of Chincha, operating alongside those of other divinities, including those favored by the arriving Incas (Cieza de León, [1553] 1995, p. 220). Later fragments of learning, while steadily reflecting more Cuzco-centered understandings of the historical and spiritual interrelationships between Andean divinities and the Sun, point in similar directions. Plastic and practical relationships between divine beings and between *huacas* and their peoples marked something of a ruling principle.

One such multiply informative bit of colonial learning was produced by the lawyer Hernando de Santillán amid a 1563 response to a royal *cédula* inquiring about Inca taxation. Along his purposeful way, Santillán rendered an oral tradition about Topa Inca Yupanqui on the eve of Inca expansion into the coastal valleys of the Yunga. While Mama Ocllo was pregnant with the child who would become Topa Inca, his voice was said to have issued from within her belly to inform her that a great "creator of the earth" lived on the coast, in the "Irma valley" (today the valley of Lurín, south of Lima). When Topa Inca was older, his mother told him of the experience, and he set out to find this creator. His wanderings led him to the sacred place of Pachacámac. Once in the presence of the great *huaca,* the story stresses, the Inca's gestures were those of a respectful supplicant, for he spent "many days in prayer and fasting."

After forty days, Pachacámac was said to have broken the silence, speaking from a stone. He confirmed that he was the "maker of the earth" whom Topa Inca sought. Yet Pachacámac also explained that he was not alone as this kind of force. He explained that while he had made (literally "given being") to all things "down here," that is to say on the coast; the Sun, who "was his brother," had performed the same creative function "up there," in the highlands. Delighted to hear that such an understanding had been struck, the Inca and his traveling companions sacrificed llamas and fine clothing in honor of Pachacámac. Their tone, according to Santillán's report, continued as gratitude, "thanking him [Pachacámac] for the favour he had bestowed." The Inca even asked Pachacámac if there was anything else he particularly desired. The great coastal divinity replied that since he had a "wife and children," the Inca should build him a house. Topa Inca promptly had a "large and sumptuous" house for the *huaca* constructed. But the gifting in the interests of his progeny had only begun. Pachacámac also spoke of his "four children." They, too, would require houses, shrines. One was in the valley of Mala just to the south, another in Chincha, and there was a third in the highlands, in Andahuaylas near Cuzco. A fourth child of Pachacámac was conveniently portable and would be given to Topa Inca for his safekeeping while he traveled about so that he could "receive responses to that for which he asked" (Santillán, [1563] 1968, p. 111; Rostworowski, 1992; Patterson, 1985).

Santillán's story merits both caution and close attention. Notably, privilege is granted to an Incan point of view, and to the origin of relatively recent Incan constructions at an oracular cultic center that was over half a millennium old. One is being treated to an explanatory narrative of political and religious incorporation in the interest of Incan overlordship. Scholars from a variety of disciplines have added different perspectives to show this kind of action to have been representative of how the Incas adopted certain oracular *huacas* in accordance to their need for effective regional influence and advice (Patterson, 1985; Gose, 1996; Topic et al., 2002). Yet there is a simultaneous demonstration here of the corresponding benefits of Inca sponsorship for Pachacámac and his cult: alliance and support were the surest ways to ensure that Pachacámac's "children," or new expressions, would spread across the land. In Pachacámac's case, one such expression needs no place and is to be carried about by the traveling Inca, ready to be consulted if the ruler should require a response.

The story invites us to contemplate what Andean *huacas* were and how they related to one another (Julien, 1998, esp. pp. 64–65). The matter of just how *huacas'* multiple personae, diffusions, and relationships with other divine figures might remain operative in colonial times—in cases where *huacas* endure and especially where Christian personalities enter the picture—must simply hover about us for the moment. Pachacámac's power continued to spread well beyond the regional landscape in which he was revered as a founder and creator because of developing relationships of cultic interdependence and his ability to replicate himself across time and space. Evidence of this prolific quality struck and clearly troubled Hernando de Santillán. He explained it to himself and his imagined readership in the following way: "The Devil, who speaks through them [the *huacas*], makes them believe that they [the *huacas*] have children," Santillán wrote. "And thus," he continued,

> they [native Andeans] built new houses for them, conceived of new forms of worship to the *huacas* from whom they believed themselves descended, and understood them all to be gods. Some they worshipped as men, others as women, and they assigned devotions to each one according to a kind of need: they went to some in order to make it rain, to others so that their crops would grow and mature, and to [still] others to ensure that women could become pregnant; and so it went for all other things. What happened with so much multiplication is that soon almost every thing had its *huaca*. And through the *huacas* the Devil had them [the Indians] so thoroughly deceived that herein lies the chief obstacle in that land to lodging the faith firmly among native peoples . . . to make them understand the deception and vanity of it all [reverence for these *huacas*]. (Santillán, [1563] 1968, pp. 111–112)

Other Spanish commentators reported similarly upon the Andean *huacas*' ability to enjoy multiple selves, propagate beyond original territories, take over new specializations, and win local loyalties by making themselves indispensable. Santillán himself noted the findings of his contemporary and fellow lawyer Juan Polo de Ondegardo, who claimed in 1561 to know of more than four hundred temples [*adoratorios*] within one and a half leagues of Cuzco at which offerings were actively made (Santillán, [1563] 1968, p. 112 and n. 1). Expressions of alarm were often followed by attributions of diabolic authorship seen in Santillán's account. More than a decade later, for instance, the Jesuit José de Acosta claimed to have received a priest's report in Chuquisaca (today Sucre, Bolivia) about a *huaca* named Tangatanga, whom that region's Indians believed represented three divine identities in one and one in three, like the Christian holy Trinity. "When the priest shared his astonishment at this," Acosta wrote,

> I believe I told him that the Devil always stole as much he could from the Truth to fuel his lies and deceits, and that he did so with that infernal and obstinate pride with which he always yearns to be like God (Acosta, [1590] 1962, p. 268).

Writing almost two decades later, El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega went to some trouble to point out the fragility of the evidence upon which Acosta relied. But what stands out instead is his conviction that this understanding of an Andean divinity was a "new invention" of the Indians of Chuquisaca in colonial times, "constructed after they had heard of the Trinity and of the unity of Our Lord God" (Garcilaso de la Vega, [1609] 1985, p. 54). While Garcilaso disapproves of what he depicts as a blatant effort to impress Spaniards and gain from a supposed resemblance, he raises the distinct possibility that such colonial "inventions" were commonplace among native Andeans, and without the cunning he implies.

Quite convinced of the devil's wiles, but much closer to the ground of an early colonial local religiosity than either Acosta or Garcilaso, were the Augustinian friars stationed in Huamachuco in the northern Andes in the 1550s. They met and attempted to destroy a number of provincial *huacas* in what had clearly been a bustling pre-Hispanic religious landscape but found themselves particularly embedded within the realm of a divinity named Catequil. As with Pachacámac on the central coast, the oracular fame of Catequil had been fanned by close association with the Inca dynasty and, in his case, with Huayna Capac. Despite the fact that this Inca's son, Atahuallpa, had turned against this *huaca* after unfavorable news and attempted his destruction, Catequil's essence in a large hill and high rocky cliffs proved impossible to extinguish. Because the children or expressions of Catequil had already begun to spread, sometimes with resettled people and as part of Incan political policy in the time of Huayna Capac, he had other ways to endure (Topic et al., 2002, p. 326). What is more, his pattern of cultic diffusion appears only to have continued as Catequil's tangible "pieces," or children, were spread by mobilizing devotees. A perplexed Fray Juan de San Pedro, writing on behalf of the divinity's newest enemies, the Augustinians, claimed to have discovered some three hundred of Catequil's "sons" arrayed through various towns and smaller settlements in the region. Most were particularly beautiful stones that seemed easy enough to confiscate and grind into dust, but in other ways Catequil seemed to be everywhere at once. San Pedro believed that this multiplication of "idols" had continued "after the arrival of the Spaniards in the land" (San Pedro, [1560] 1992, pp. 179–180).

As the words of these post-Pizarran commentators acknowledged, in one way or another *huacas'* cults were various and overlapping. While one divine being might remain rooted in a precise physical landscape and connected to a certain association and responsibility (often as a founding ancestor), others developed multiple roles and personalities that allowed them to transcend local beginnings and associations. In the cases of Pachacámac and Catequil, translocal significance and power were augmented by their association with members of the Inca line. Yet as the unparalleled narrative evidence collected in the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century province of Huarochirí would prove in the case of the cult of Pariacaca, not every important regional *huaca* with multiple identities and a vibrant supporting cast of mythohistoric "relatives" who had been important in the times of Tawantinsuyu was so actively promoted by the Incas (Taylor, ed., 1987; Salomon and Urioste, eds., 1991). In fact, Pariacaca can stand as a most famous representative for legions of other *huacas* not only in his region but across the Andes. While regionally powerful, these ancestral divinities were not so completely adopted (or rejected) by the Incas. Their intricate regional networks and transforming roles and significance for indigenous people continued deep into colonial times, especially in rural areas, where they were investigated and harassed sporadically by inspectors of native Andean religious error through the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (Mills, 1994; Mills, 1997).

Spanish churchmen who were commissioned as inspectors of "idolatry" in the seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century archdiocese of Lima sometimes found precisely what an earlier Santillán or Acosta might have guessed they would find among so persistently credulous a people. They found the latest, elastic work of the devil. Did it ever seem too easy to these inspectors when Indian witnesses who appeared before them sometimes confessed that they ministered to figures whom they called the devil? Part of what the devil represented in this emerging religious reality was evidence of self-Christianization, that unpredictable by-product of uneven Spanish evangelization. After all, diabolic explanations for the *huaca* complex of beliefs and practices in pre-Hispanic and emerging colonial Andean religious life had, for generations, been broadcast in Quechua in schools for the sons of regional nobles, during confession, and from the pulpits in Andean churches. Not surprisingly, the *huaca*-like appearance, nature, and competences of these reported "devils" were unmistakable and continued to change (Mills, 1997). While the wild omnipresence of these Andean devils only served to confirm many Spanish churchmen in their understanding of who had spoken through the *huacas* and made them seem so powerful to indigenous people all along, it should signal rather more to us.

What remains pertinent is the fact that the devil was an originally Spanish Christian idea that, through persistence of association and gradual processes of selective appropriation and reinvention, had been reconstituted and internalized by Indians. If reconfigured Andean "devils" had lodged inside a transforming *huaca* complex, what other originally foreign, extraordinary things encouraged by Spanish Christian efforts, and simultaneously attractive and useful to native Andeans, had also been brought within the ordinary?

A NATURALIZATION OF IMAGES AND INSTITUTIONS. Some of the ways in which colonial Catholic Christianity was lived in the Andes recalled older indigenous forms and purpose, and thus encouraged a gradual transformative process. For example, when new population centers and administrative districts coincided or approximated older territorial understandings, this integrative process began with the settling of extended kin groups (*ayllus*) in new towns (*reducciones de indios)*. It is impossible to generalize about the consequences. Proximity to *huacas,* and the bodies of *mallquis* too, combined with a sporadic or unevenly demanding Catholic clerical presence, encouraged everything from survivals through coexistence to innovative fusions (Mills, 1994, 1997; Gose, 2003). Even when such "new" communities failed in the wake of the late sixteenth-century epidemics, or were abandoned because of excessive tribute exactions or Spanish and mestizo interlopers, the more remote places and hamlets into which Indian families settled reflected changes. The churches and chapels that went up in very small and remote places suggested more than a hankering for "annex" or secondary parish status. "Arguments in stone," or at least in adobe blocks, could be made by native Andean Christians as well as by hopeful church officials (Brown, 2003, pp. 29–32).

Sacred images and the voluntary lay religious associations (*cofradías*, confraternities) around them sometimes coaxed new religious allegiance directly out of older ones, as in the cases in which confraternities of Indians took over the herds and lands dedicated to the kin groups' *huacas* and *mallquis.* Like Andean people at the sacrament of baptism, and like Indian towns themselves, members of the lay associations took on a saint as an advocate and protector, and these became new markers of identity and difference. But if the rise of an image-centered, confraternity Christianity was encouraged by a striking convergence of Andean needs with the arriving European institution (Celestino and Meyers, 1981; Garland Ponce, 1994), the reimagination of what came together, and the answers *cofradías* proferred to colonial lives, were just as crucial. The *cofradías* facilitated new kinds of belonging especially for displaced individuals and kin groups in parts of the colonial world where older kinship ties had fragmented or where resettlements and work regimes kept people far from their home territories. In these conditions, new generations were born. A parish and, even more, a *cofradía,* appears to have offered spaces in which members might come together for each other and themselves. Indian *cofradías* emerged in such great numbers by the late sixteenth century that churchmen worried openly about their lack of supervision. Prelates from at least the time of the Third Provincial Council of Lima (1582–1583) attempted to discourage new foundations among Indians (Vargas Ugarte, 1951–1954, vol. 1, p. 360). The discouragement was not always observed by churchmen, let alone by indigenous *cofrades,* nor did thriving lay associations of Indians fall obediently into decay. According to the Jesuit provincial Rodrigo de Cabredo, the principal Jesuit-sponsored confraternity of Indians in Potosí, that of San Salvador (sometimes called Santa Fe), boasted "more than 1,000 Indian men and women" in 1602. Contemporary observers wrote admiringly of the religious leadership of female confraternity members in particular and of the care they gave the image of the Baby Jesus in the Jesuit church ("Carta anua del año de 1602," [1603] 1986, pp. 231–233; Ocaña, c. 1599–1608, fol. 181r).

Catholic Christianity's convergence, through the saints, with structures that had guided the operations of an older *huaca* complex do not offer straight and easy answers or a singular "way" in which change occurred. In the middle of the seventeenth century, the indigenous parishioners in the town of San Pedro de Hacas, Cajatambo, revealed something of the complexity of the colonial religiosity and culture at hand. In testimonies before an investigator of their "errors" between 1656 and 1658, they explained how their local *huaca,* Vicho Rinri, was annually consulted on the eve of the Catholic festival of the town's eponymous patron. What was more, their celebrations had come to feature sacred dances, indigenous ritual confessions, and Andean offerings to Saint

Peter in the home of his standard's honorary bearer. While the officiating Spanish judge and his notary insisted that the *huaca* was being asked permission (as the devil might wish) and that the activities of the saint's guardians and the intimate sacrifices before the representation were the height of irreverence, our interpretative options should not close so readily. It seems more likely that for at least some of the parishioners of Hacas, Saint Peter had been brought within an emerging system in ways that altered but did not interrupt older religious allegiances and understandings (Mills, 1994).

Reproducibility offers another critical theme to consider. Just as important *huacas* developed multiple personalities and specializations, generating expressions of themselves in other places, so too was it common for saints to transcend their original forms, functions, and places through networks of image "copies" and shrines. In this sense, the local religious enthusiasms of Spanish Christianity for images, newly defended and refortified at the Council of Trent (Christian, 1981a, 1981b) were planted in most fortuitous soil. In some cases, *huacas* themselves were Christianized, morphing into saintly personages as their places became sacred shrines in the Catholic system (Sallnow, 1987, p. 54). Like ambitious *huacas* who, through their ministers and often out of necessity, tied their fortunes to Inca rulers or speculated through "children" in widening locations, Christ, Mary, and the other saints were amenable to being co-opted, copied, and reenergized in new environments. Many sacred images, either brought originally from Europe or made in the Andes but based upon Old World models, both capitalized on their curious novelty and shed their identity as foreigners, becoming "localized and . . . renewed" in the Andes, as elsewhere (Dean, 1996, p. 174; Gruzinski, 1990). Whether "new" expressions or faithful copies, saints became local originals, favoring a horizontal approach to religious matters similar to that which Santillán, the Dominicans, and others had so worried over among the Yunga. William B. Taylor's words on the character and development of "devotional landscapes" in colonial Mexico apply just as usefully to our understanding of how saints appealed to and worked for the colonial descendants of the Yunga and their Andean neighbors: "People were likely to be interested in more than one shrine or saint," Taylor writes, "and felt a more intense devotion to one or another at a particular time, as the array of saints' images available in most churches suggests; and devotees may never have actually visited the shrine of a favourite image or relic" (Taylor, 2004).

The working of saints' images and their copies can be partly explained through the "familiar" language and associations used most often to elucidate divine connections and expansion. Spanish, Indian, and mestizo descriptions of *huacas* as ancestors, husbands, wives, and progeny, and of themselves as the children of these beings, abound. Idioms of kinship and marriage that had symbolized interrelationships and subtle hierarchies between *huacas* and their peoples offered affectionate titles and also a vocabulary for characterizing associations between the images of saints and Christ and their colonial groupings of people. Early-seventeenth-century Aymara speakers on the shores of Lake Titicaca, for instance, were said to have bestowed the title of *mamanchic* (*mamancheq*), "mother of all," upon Francisco Tito Yupanqui's sculpture of the Virgin of the Candlemas at Copacabana (Ramos Gavilán, [1621] 1988; Salles Reese, 1997, p. 162). Similarly, their contemporaries, indigenous mineworkers and their wives and families in Potosí, flocked to a miraculous painting of Our Lady of Guadalupe from Extremadura in the church of San Francisco whom they called the *señora chapetona*, "the new lady in the land" (Ocaña, c. 1599–1608, fols. 159r). Such familiar and localizing designations abound for images of Mary (Dean, 2002, pp. 181–182), but they were not confined to her. As Thierry Saignes has found, the inhabitants of main Andean towns sometimes included (and subordinated) the sacred images of annex hamlets in a remarkably similar fashion: "the crosses and statues that decorated the village chapels were considered the 'sons-in-law' of those belonging to the church in town" (Saignes, 1999, p. 103).

The Marian images featured above are, of course, only two of many. They offer illustrative examples of the significance of multiplication and circulation and of a wider range of devotional networks across the Andean zone and early modern world. It is to ponder only an inviting surface to note that Tito Yupanqui's Our Lady of Copacabana from the early 1580s both was and was not an Andean "original." Her Indian maker famously modeled his Virgin of the Candlemas on a statue of Our Lady of the Rosary brought from Seville to the Dominican convent and church in Potosí, an image that had caught his eye and fired his devotion when he was learning his art in the silver-mining center (Mills et al., 2003, pp. 167–172). The miraculous image at Copacabana herself quickly spawned many sculpted and portrait "copies" that were enshrined in chapels across the Andes. These local copies grew more compelling to devotees by signaling their connection to the divine presence of their originals. Some began to sweat, others moved, and many were judged responsible for interceding with God to produce miracles, the narratives of which spread in the street and were broadcast from the pulpits and pages of clerical promoters and patrons. In the case of a copy of the Virgin of Copacabana among a group of disgruntled, resettled Indians in Lima's Cercado, the image reportedly cried for attention and devotion, prompting decades of contest not only over the purported miracles but over her rightful place and constituency. The intersecting roles of different Indian groups, African slaves, prelates, secular clergy, and Jesuits in this case defy simple explanations.

The image of the Virgin of Guadalupe de Extremadura painted by Ocaña in Potosí can seem a more straightforward case, that of an official purveyor's painstakingly faithful expression of a Spanish original being transplanted in the Andes. Yet the localization and rooting of a new expression here also repays closer inspection. The image's creator, the Jeronymite Diego de Ocaña, claimed to have rendered the image with the Indians' self-identification and affections foremost in mind: "Since I painted her a little dark, and the Indians are like that, they said that That Lady was more beautiful than the other images, and [that] they loved her a lot because she was of their colour." Among other aspects of his orchestration of new devotions around this image in Potosí, Ocaña quickly mobilized the Franciscan preacher Luis Jerónimo de Oré to preach to the Indians in their tongue about the history of the original Virgin of Guadalupe and about the transfer of this celestial advocate's powers through the new image to their place. (Ocaña, c. 1599–1608, fols. 159r, 163v; Mills, 2003). A miraculous narrative tradition was being added to and reshaped in Potosí as new Andean stories were being spun.

AN ANDEAN CHRISTIAN INTERCULTURE. The cult of the saints offers an aspect of the Catholic Christian system that appealed to colonial native Andeans as much for its familiarity as for its access to new local powers. In highly interactive regions such as the Andean zones on which Spanish Christians began to impinge in the 1530s, that which was foreign was not unexpected. The foreign and novel might—like a new *huaca,* like the concept of the devil—require understanding initially in terms that would allow definition within emerging systems of meaning and practice. But the allure and utility of unfamiliar expressions of sacred power were tied to their perceived ability to summon valuable powers from "outside" (Helms, 1993). In time, visual expressions of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and other saints appear to have offered this kind of power for many native Andeans. Closer studies need to be made of a variety of divine personalities and sacred territories over time to understand whether the associations and competences of particular *huacas* are related in any way to the specializations of saints as advocates and if a tendency away from highly localised and specificist saints and toward generalist advocates such as the Virgin and Christ proposed by William Christian (1981) for contemporary rural Castile plays out in cultic developments in the colonial Spanish Americas. But what is clear is that the saints became principal inhabitants and powers within what Thomas Cummins has called a contested but mutual "cultural area between Catholic intention and Andean reception" (Cummins, 1995; 2002, p. 159).

Discovering how the thoughts of contemporaries can inform us on such matters—and, more often than not, interpreting their silences—offers a constant challenge. This is as true of representations of saints and their developing domains as it is of renderings of the *huacas'* pre-Hispanic natures and what had been their catchment areas. Yet even triumphant declarations about the saints that seem to skate over difficulties and ignore complex possibilities hold promise for our project. For instance, when considering the fact that the seventeenth-century Augustinian Creole Antonio de la Calancha carved up Peru into three devotional zones watched over by miraculous images of Mary that just so happened to be nurtured and championed by his religious order, it can be tempting to throw in the towel. It was, he wrote, as if the Virgin of Guadalupe in the north coastal valley of Pacasmayo, the Virgin of Copacabana in Chucuito, and the Virgin of Pucarani (toward La Paz) were divinely linked and spread apart so as "to bless [*beatificar*] the different territories in which they are venerated, and so as not to tire travelers and pilgrims when they go in search of them" (Calancha, [1638] 1974–1982, p. 1362). Yet we must view this as more than Augustinian pride and claim-making against the encroachments of other religious, and more, too, than simply a solemn register of God's designs in these friars' favor. Calancha's appeal is arguably also to native Andean devotees who he knows from experience had once moved across these very territories according to earlier divine markers and divisions.

The representations of the Jesuit provincial Rodrigo de Cabredo in 1600 as he described the work of *padres* from the Jesuit college at Cuzco in towns and villages in the region of Huamanga (modern Ayacucho) in 1599 offer an even more illuminating example for our purposes. In one place (probably San Francisco de Atunrucana), the Jesuits had set to building a new church to replace one struck by lightning and burned to the ground. In the presence of many people, including the *kuraka,* sacred images of the town's patrons San Francisco and the Baby Jesus had been enshrined and a sermon was given in commemorative thanks that local people had been freed from their blindness and the clutches of the devil. According to Cabredo:

> One of the principal fruits of this mission was teaching the Indians about the veneration (*adoración*) of images, telling them [first] not to worship (*adorar)* them as Indians do their *huacas,* and [second] that Christians do not think that virtue and divinity resides in them [the images] themselves but, rather, look to what they represent. . . . [Teaching] this [matter] is of the utmost importance, because a bad Christian with little fear of God had sowed a very pernicious and scandalous doctrine in this *pueblo,* saying many things against the honor and reverence that the images deserve.

Cabredo's emphasis falls ultimately on what was needed to "remedy the poison the Devil had sown through his minister" ("Carta anua," [1600] 1981, pp. 73–76). The notion of a wandering "bad Christian" as the devil's instrument, leading Indians astray with "pernicious and scandalous" confusions about images and *huacas,* does not fail to raise questions and suggest complications. For even if this "bad Christian" did exist, he or she appears to have found a ready audience for comparative thoughts about saints' images and *huacas,* an audience of Indians at the dawn of the seventeenth century about whom the Jesuits in Huamanga and well beyond had grown concerned.

Cross-cultural thinkers and mobilizers—contemporary people who conceptualized, influenced, and reflected religious in-betweens in the colonial Andes—offer perhaps the most remarkable indications of why and how the cult of the saints came to underpin local Andean Christianities. As dismissive as the mestizo humanist El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega had found himself in thinking over the possible interpretative needs of colonial Indians in Chuquisaca, as noted above, he did concoct a definition of the concept of *huaca* with considerably more paths into emerging colonial understandings than dead ends. At its center was a denial that people in Incan times had understood *huacas* to be gods and a hint that the appeal of Christian images and miracle stories to a native Andean might follow on naturally (Garcilaso de la Vega [1609] 1985, pp. 51–55, pp. 45–55; MacCormack, 1991, pp. 335–338). Saints, like the extraordinary ancestral beings, might be represented in forms, and stories of their deeds might be conveyed, collected, and retold by special humans.

Luis Jerónimo de Oré, the experienced Franciscan Creole whom Diego de Ocaña had recruited to preach about the Virgin of Guadalupe in Potosí in 1600, was a figure who approached such matters of possible congruence directly, in the course of evangelization. Engraved images of the Virgin begin and end his *Symbolo Catholico Indiano* of 1598, accompanied by words to guide contemplation. Mary was also a principal concern in the book itself, as Oré translated her and his faith through prayers and hymns, expounding doctrine and mysteries for Quechua-speaking Christians (Oré, [1598] 1992). The so-called anonymous Jesuit of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century—possibly but not certainly the mestizo Blas Valera (Jesuita Anónimo [c. 1594] 1968, BNS ms. 3177; Urbano, 1992; Hyland, 2003), offers another rich case in point. He was an author immersed in a project of interpreting the Incan past as an ordered and moral anticipation for Catholic Christianity, particularly as directed by the Jesuits in structured environments such as Lima's resettled enclosure for Indians, Santiago del Cercado. Yet he had also had much else to say en route.

The Jesuit held, for instance, that the only mode of entry into Christianity that was working for native Andeans in his day amounted to self-Christianization sustained by a regular experience of the sacraments. Certainly the people benefited from priests fluent in the Quechuan language to administer to them, and they required good examples to excite their faith, just as his contemporary Acosta insisted more famously. "But when they lack someone to instruct them," the anonymous Jesuit added, "they look for ways to pick up what is required and teach it to their children." Like Oré, this Jesuit believed that native Andeans were inclined toward Catholic Christianity by their pre-Hispanic understandings and that their depth in the faith depended most upon Christianity being enlivened by careful formulations in the Quechuan language. Most Indian Christians were new and vulnerable, in his view, but this did not make them any less genuine additions to the fold. The arrival at a moment when the pace and character of religious change would depend upon the Indians' own efforts and controls was already at hand in some places, he implied, even if further work was needed on communicating key aspects of the faith.

Near the heart of such further efforts, in this Jesuit's opinion, should be "historical narration and . . . personal conversations in which the saints' lives are told and matters of virtue are treated." Picking up on what his contemporaries the Creole Oré and the peninsular Ocaña also believed and were putting into action, the anonymous Jesuit wrote that if an evangelizer's skills were such that he could translate Christian narratives into the Indians' languages, then so too could the articles of the faith, the commandments, the works of mercy, and the sacraments be rendered, allowing the arriving religion, finally, to be deeply understood. His emphasis upon the gains which might come from "*conversaciones particulares*" about the saints captures his understanding both of the intimate and horizontal manner in which the cult of the saints had already begun to enter the hearts and minds of native Andeans, and of the way that self-Christianization—daily ritual activity, communication, and developing understandings among Indian women and men, within families and lay sodalities, and between friends and acquaintances—would see this process continue. Saints could take on new Andean lives in Quechua. Only the older generation of Indians and their oral traditions seemed to present an obstacle to this vision. But for this too, the Jesuit had a suggestion. Indian children could begin "to sing before them [the adults] so that in this way they forget the ancient songs" (Jesuita Anónimo, [c.1594] 1968, pp. 80–81).

The "ancient songs" stand in here for the *huacas* and, in a certain sense, for the pre-Hispanic religious complex as a whole. This Jesuit's optimistic view of his colonial present and his faithful glimpse into the future sees a gradual substitution of one set of songs, beliefs and practices for another, the old for the new. But students of these matters are not obliged to think so instrumentally. The author's acknowledgment of what one might call a "creative tension" between modes of religious understanding and ritual remembrance in operation in the colonial Andes is more telling. He believes that a fundamental Andean religious aptitude and enthusiasm for the saints, and for their hagiographic narratives and edifying stories, had come from somewhere elastic and enduring in native Andean cultural tradition. Evidence of the survival of *huaca* cults, and their relationships and sacred histories, exists into the eighteenth century and beyond and suggests that he was correct. But what can be understood about *huacas* should not stop just here, split off, as if the study of pre-Hispanic phenomena, much less colonial "idolatry," can be separated from the culturally dialogic reality of evangelization and response and from the emergence and fruition of Andean Christianities. *Huacas,* with their multiple personalities and translocality, provided Spanish and Hispanicizing minds with ways of thinking and expressing religious relationships, and they provide colonial indigenous people with ways of understanding the images of saints and their "copies" as newly local repositories of beneficence and power.

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KENNETH MILLS (2005)

SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS: INDIANS OF THE MODERN ANDES

The Quechua and Aymara Indians of the Andes mountains are the largest group of Indians still existent in the New World. Approximately 28 million Indians and mestizos (persons of mixed Spanish and Indian descent) live along the Pacific coast and in the Andean highlands. About one-fourth of these Indians live and speak as they did before the Spanish conquest in the sixteenth century. Six million speak Quechua and approximately 1 million speak Aymara. For the purposes of this article, the religious systems of both the Quechua and the Aymara will be treated together, and both groups will be referred to, collectively, as "Andeans."

Although some Andeans have moved to large urban centers, such as La Paz, Bolivia, and Lima, Peru, the majority live in small communities (from twenty to five hundred families) scattered throughout the Andes, with a population density of three hundred persons per square kilometer of habitable and arable land. Indians live in rectangular, single-family, adobe huts with thatched gable or hip roofs. The Aymara group their huts in extended-family compounds surrounded by a wall with a central patio. For both Aymara and Quechua, marriage is monogamous, with trial marriages lasting several years. Residence is patrilocal, with bilateral inheritance among the Quechua and patrilateral inheritance among the Aymara.

Andeans practice intensive agriculture using crop rotation, irrigation, dung fertilization, and terracing of fields. They cultivate more than fifty species of domesticated plants, in a number of ecological niches: Potatoes, quinoa, and oca are grown at the highest levels of cultivatable land; corn (maize) at lower levels; and beans, squash, sweet manioc, peanuts, peppers, fruit trees, and cotton in the deep valleys and along the coast. Herders graze alpacas, llamas, and sheep on fallow fields and in high, nonarable tundra regions (14,000–17,000 ft.). Although Andeans live dispersed over wide areas, resource exchange unifies the people of different communities. The ecological band narrows as the altitude increases, so that there are many distinct communities, each utilizing the natural resources characteristic of its altitude. Because of ecological specialization, exchange of resources is very important. Andean civilization arose through these efforts to utilize many vegetational zones to furnish communities with a variety of resources.

Andeans have also adapted to this mountainous region by means of a religion that is essentially a system of ecological symbols. They use their ecological setting as an explanatory model for understanding and expressing themselves in mythology and ritual. Andeans are very close to their animals, plants, and land. Their origin myths tell how in times past llamas herded humans; in present times humans herd llamas only because of a linguistic error when llamas misplaced a suffix in Quechua, saying "Humans will eat us" instead of "We will eat humans." Andeans consider coca (*Erythoxylum coca*) a divine plant: "The leaves are like God. They have wisdom." Diviners learn about nature by chewing coca and reading its leaves. Andeans see themselves as part of nature, intrinsically affected by its processes and intimately linked with plants and animals. Moreover, Andeans believe they originated in the earth and will return to it.

PACHAMAMA AND ACHACHILAS. Earth and mountains provide two principal Andean symbols, Pachamama and the *achachilas. Pachamama* means "mother earth," but *pacha* also refers to time, space, and a universe that is divided into heaven, earth, and a netherworld. For Andeans, time is encapsulated in space. *Pacha* is an earth that produces, covers, and contains historical events, and Pachamama symbolizes the fertile nature of the earth, which provides life. Pachamama is a universal deity, referring to all the earth and the universe because she represents the principle of nature that recycles life from death, and death from life. Pachamama is unlike the *achachilas,* the mountain spirits who represent certain peaks.

Ritually, Andeans libate Pachamama with drops of liquor before drinking and present her with three coca leaves before chewing coca. The husband places coca leaves daily into the male family members' earth shrine, an indentation within the adobe bench surrounding the inside of the patio, and the wife puts leaves under her household shrine, a table within the cooking house, so that Pachamama will provide the family with food. Diviners also offer ritual meals (*mesas*) to Pachamama during August, before Andeans begin planting. Andeans believe that the earth is open at that time and needs to be given food and drink.

Roman Catholic missioners attempted to replace Pachamama with the Blessed Mother, but this resulted in beliefs that associate the Blessed Mother with the bountifulness of the earth. For example, two major pilgrimage sites in the Bolivian Andes are La Virgen de Copacabana and La Virgen de Urkupiña. Nominally, these shrines refer to the Blessed Mother, but Andeans associate them with Pachamama and the earth (Urkupiña means "rock hill"). People travel to these shrines in August to feed Mother Earth and thus ensure an abundant harvest and an increase in flocks, offspring, or, more recently, money. This illustrates how Catholicism became syncretized with the ecological symbols of the Andean religion.

Achachilas are mountain spirits, indistinct from the mountains themselves, who are the masculine protectors of the earth and ancestors of the community. Diviners feed achachilas with ritual meals. Every Andean community has certain bordering mountains that are considered sacred: For example, the *achachilas* of La Paz, Bolivia, are the snow-crested mountains (16,000–20,000 ft.) of Illimani ("elder brother"), Mururata ("headless one"), and Wayna Potosi ("youth-Potosi"). A more traditional Aymara community, Cacachaqa, near Oruro, Bolivia, has eleven *achachilas* that together encircle it and separate it from neighboring communities. Each peak symbolizes an aspect of nature—a mineral, plant, animal, bird, or person—that is suggested by its shape and its particular resources and natural environment. Condo, a neighboring community north of Cacachaqa, shares with Cacachaqa two *achachilas,* which shows how neighboring communities are united by *achachilas.*

Throughout the Andes, there are hierarchical relationships among the *achachilas.* Ancestral *achachilas* are related to tutelary peaks of the community, the community's tutelary peaks to the region's, and the region's to the nation's. Traditionally, the metaphor for this relationship is a kinship pyramid: At the apex is the chief of the clan, followed by the heads of the major lineages and then the leaders of the local lineages. Although clans are no longer found in the Andes, lineages are important, and Andeans refer to *achachilas* in kinship terms—*machula* ("ancestor"), *apu* ("leader"), *awqui* ("grandfather"), and *tío* ("uncle"). In sum, mountains exhibit a hierarchy that is analogous to social and political systems. The worship of these mountains, then, made Andeans conscious of social, political, and natural systems.

EARTH SHRINES. Diviners are responsible for naming and feeding earth shrines (*huacas*), which are pre-Columbian in origin and are still ritually important. Earth shrines are natural openings or small holes dug into the ground through which the earth is ritually fed. They are found near passes, water holes, knobs, and rocks. Alongside the hole is usually a rock pile, where Indians place their coca quids before fresh leaves are put inside the hole. A shrine's many names may express history, humor, geography, and social relationships. For example, one earth shrine is called Jilakata's Recourse, because it was once a rest stop for Indian officials on their journey to pay tribute to the Spanish. This shrine's knob suggests its other names: Goat Corral, Bachelor's Haven, Coitus, and Chicha (corn beer) Bubble. Another earth shrine was formed, according to legend, when a certain leader expelled his sister-in-law from his land and set her upside down alongside the road. She became a rock shaped in the form of buttocks and a vagina. Today, Andean travelers place coca in the crotch of this earth shrine. Other earth shrines are dedicated to irrigation canals, agricultural fields, and livestock. An *apacheta* is an earth shrine at a mountain pass, that is, the highest point of the trail. Travelers rest at these sites, discard their coca, and pray, "With this quid may my tiredness leave me, and strength return."

Earth shrines are stratified according to ecological levels, social groupings, time, and historical epochs. Individuals have their own earth shrines; an Andean baby receives an earth shrine at birth, and must reverence it throughout his or her life. If they move from their natal village, they will periodically return to pay homage to their shrines, which continually beckon for their return until they die and are buried with their ancestors near their sacred mountain. The patrilineage has its household shrines dug into the inside and outside of the house; the community has its shrine corresponding to its level on the mountain; and the ayllu, an economically and religiously related group of communities, has its shrines up and down the mountain. Certain irrigation canals have earth shrines that are associated with the Inca civilization, and, in many villages, the chapel in the plaza is often interpreted as another earth shrine, reminiscent of the Spanish conquest. Yet the earth is the center that perdures through time, and that unifies the different places and earth shrines.

RITUALISTS. Ritual specialists of the Andes fall into two categories: diviners and sorcerers.

Diviners. Andeans frequently consult with diviners, the principal ritualists of the Andes. All Andean communities have diviners. Although they are identified from within the group by being associated with some extraordinary natural event (commonly, a bolt of lightning), they are selected as individuals for their divining skills. A typical diviner reads coca leaves by first selecting twelve perfect leaves. He marks them with insectlike bites and designates the significance of each: good luck, bad luck, community, road, a person's name, enemies, or whatever concerns the person paying for the divination. He then casts the leaves, like dice, upon a cloth to see which leaves pair with good luck and which with bad luck. If the cast is unfavorable, the participants often argue about the outcome and require another cast. Because coca leaves usually do not fall in a conclusive way, diviners are free to suggest their insights. There are many kinds of diviners: Some read the signs of nature and predict when to plant and harvest, others are skilled in social dynamics and redress conflicts, and still others understand human problems and treat mental illnesses. A few possess mystical knowledge and can reveal the inner nature of the Andean universe. Such people are highly esteemed, and Andeans travel long distances to seek them out.

Diviners conclude divinations with ritual meals (*mesas*), which are the basic rituals of the Andes. Although *mesas* vary regionally, they follow a similar pattern. A diviner sets a table (*mesa*) with a ritual cloth and scallop shells for plates, each of which is assigned an *achachila* and an earth shrine. He places a llama fetus at the head of the table for Pachamama. Next, the diviner places white llama wool, coca, llama fat, carnation petals, and animal blood on the scallop shells, beseeching the invited deities to accept the offerings. The participants imitate the diviner. There are other ritual foods, depending upon the ecological zone, but the three principal foods are coca, which symbolizes knowledge, fat, symbolizing energy, and blood (preferably from the llama), symbolizing vitality. Finally, the diviner wraps the food with the wool to make about twelve bundles (*kintos*) and ties them to the back of the llama fetus. The diviner places this in an earth shrine, and burns it, which symbolizes the consumption of the food. Andeans say that if the fire sparkles and crackles, then Pachamama and the *achachilas* have enjoyed the meal and will repay them with a good harvest.

Sorcerers. Sorcerers are different from diviners. Diviners are usually male and feed the earth shrines with llama fat, llama fetuses, and white llama wool at specific times—Wednesday and Thursday nights. They are ritualists for *achachilas,* Pachamama, and earth shrines. In contrast, sorcerers are often female and feed the wind and river with pig fat, rat fetuses, and black sheep wool on Tuesday and Friday nights. They are ritualists for the *supaya,* a term that has often been equated with the Spanish concept of the devil, although it actually refers to certain of the dead who either have not completed something in this life or have died in a strange fashion. The *supaya* belong to the netherworld of the dead (*ura pacha*), but they act in the world of the living (*kay pacha*) as living shadows. *Supaya* enter the world of the living to gather companions for the netherworld. Symbolically, they represent the consumptive forces of nature, such as death and decay, which are necessary to renew life. When someone is sick and a *supaya* is implicated, sorcerers attempt to appease him by killing and substituting the life of a llama for that of the sick person. They also offer pig fat and rat fetuses at *mesas de contra* ("misfortune tables"), so called because the ritual items are contrary to those employed by diviners in a *mesa de suerte* ("good-luck table") or *mesa de salud* ("health table"). Pig fat is inferior to llama fat because Andeans consider the pig a tropical animal that lives on fecal matter and garbage. Rat fetuses, symbolizing destructive rodents, are inferior to llama fetuses, which symbolize an animal very beneficial to Andean society.

Andeans select sorcerers by their reputation for either removing or inflicting misfortunes. Some sorcerers claim responsibility for as many as seven deaths, but others are secretive about their reputation because sorcerers are occasionally killed in revenge by victims of unsuccessful sorcery. Sorcery takes many forms in the Andes, but one way sorcerers curse people is by placing nail filings or hair of the victim inside the skulls of a cat and a dog, whose teeth are locked as if in battle, which symbolizes that husband and wife are fighting. (The breakdown of the household is a major tragedy in the Andes because it is the unit of production and subsistence.) The sorcerer hides the skulls inside the thatched roof of the victim. If the victim is aware of this, he can remove the curse by having another sorcerer perform a *mesa de contra.* Sometimes the victim has the sorcerer brought before the magistrate, who fines her and makes her take an oath not to do it again. Sorcery is taken seriously and is often the attributed cause for loss of livestock, crops, money, health, and even life.

THE AYLLU AND ITS EARTH SHRINES. The *ayllu* is basic to Andean social organization. Although *ayllu*s are often based on kinship ties, they are also formed by religious, territorial, and metaphorical ties. One contemporary example is Ayllu Kaata of the Qollahuaya Indians, who live in midwestern Bolivia. Ayllu Kaata is a mountain with three major communities: Niñokorin, Kaata, and Apacheta. The people of Niñokorin are Quechua speakers who farm corn, wheat, barley, peas, and beans on the lower slopes of the mountain (10,500–11,500 ft.). The people of Kaata, who also speak Quechua, cultivate oca and potatoes on rotative fields of the central slopes (11,500–14,000 ft.). In the highlands (14,000–17,000 ft.), the Aymara-speaking people of Apacheta herd llamas and sheep. The three communities use the metaphor of the human body to understand their *ayllu:* Apacheta corresponds to the head, Kaata to the trunk, and Niñokorin to the legs. Just as the parts of the human body are organically united, so are the three levels of Ayllu Kaata.

The thirteen earth shrines of Ayllu Kaata are understood in relation to the body metaphor and to ecological stratifications. The three community shrines are Chaqamita, Pachaqota, and Jatun Junchʾa. Chaqamita, a lake located to the east near the legs, is related to the sun's birth, fertility, and corn, making it a suitable shrine for Niñokorin, whose Corn Planting rite reverences this site. This lower lake is also a shrine for Curva and Chullina, neighboring *ayllu*s. Earth shrines, when shared by several *ayllu*s, religiously unite separate mountains, and so Qollahuaya Andeans claim that they are one people because they worship the same shrines. Pachaqota, a large lake at the head of the mountain, is the "eye" into which the sun sinks; it symbolizes death, fertilization, and llamas. On the shores of the lake, the herders of the highland community of Apacheta celebrate the All Colors rite for the increase of llamas. Pachaqota is also associated with the lakes of uma pacha (at the top of a mountain), from which animals and humans derive their existence and to which they return after death.

The Great Shrine (Jatun Junchʾa), associated with the liver and the central community of Kaata, is a major shrine of Ayllu Kaata because of its central location and physiography. The Great Shrine rests on a spur, which rises from the slopes and resembles a small mountain. The Great Shrine is nourished at the rite of Chosen Field, in the middle of the rainy season, and it is also the site of a mock battle (*tinku*) between the elders and clowns during Carnival. The clowns, who sprinkle people with water, are symbolically put to death by the elders slinging ripe fruit at them.

Similar ritual battles are fought throughout the Andes: The Aymara of the Bolivian Altiplano, for example, wage theatrical warfare between the upper and lower divisions of the community. *Tinku* emphasizes the importance of contrasting pairs, and in the Andes almost everything is understood in juxtaposition to its opposite. Earth shrines, also, have meanings corresponding to binary opposition. Chaqamita and Pachaqota, for example, correspond to life and death, as well as to the rising and setting of the sun, and each term explains the other; moreover, each leads to the other.

The highlands, central altitudes, and lowlands of Mount Kaata have community shrines reflecting their ecological zones, but from the viewpoint of the *ayllu,* the community shrine is only one part of the body of the mountain. In some way every level must feed all the mountain's shrines during the *allyu* rites, such as the New Earth rite. The people of Apacheta, Kaata, and Niñokorin come together during New Earth to recreate the mountain's body. The upper and lower communities send leaders to Kaata for this rite, each bringing his zone's characteristic product: a llama or some chicha (corn beer). The llama's heart and bowels are buried in the center fields, and blood and fat are sent by emissaries to feed the earth shrines of the mountain. The body awakes to become the new earth.

The New Earth rite is one illustration, of which there are many others throughout the Andes, of how Pachamama, the *achachilas,* and earth shrines are holistically understood in terms of metaphor, ecology, and *ayllu.* The New Earth rite expresses how levels of land are understood in terms of a body with a head, heart, bowels, and legs, through which blood and fat circulate when ritualists feed the earth shrines. Specific earth shrines not only refer to specific ecologial zones but also symbolize parts of the body that holistically constitutes the *achachila* and symbolizes the social and political unity of Mount Kaata. Andeans experience the solidarity of their mountain and *ayllu* similarly to the way they experience the organic unity of their corporeal bodies. The individual's corporeal life is dependent on environmental life. Thus, the New Earth rite assures the individual's organic life by awakening Mother Earth to provide a good harvest.

RITUAL CALENDAR. Andeans insert themselves by ritual into the cycles of nature—not to control them, but to experience them and be in harmony with them. New Earth, for example, is the second of three rites dedicated to the rotative field of the year. Through these three rites the earth is gradually awakened. One year before planting, the community leaders study the fertility of the fields lying fallow to see which one is ready to begin another growth cycle of potatoes, oca, and barley. A diviner observes nature's omens and asks the neighboring mountains (*achachilas*) for their assistance. Once a field is picked, the people of the *ayllu* celebrate the rite of Chosen Field (Chacrata Qukuy) in the middle of the rainy season. Leaders dance across the field's terraces to the music of flutes, and they offer a llama fetus to the earth shrine of the selected field. The fetus brings new life to the soil, and thus the field becomes the anointed land for the year. Andeans later fertilize their plots by spreading sheep dung along the furrows where they will plant potatoes.

The rains continue to soak the anointed field, and near the end of the rainy season, in April, Andeans prepare to plow. But before the earth can be entered, it must be nurtured by the sacrifice of a grown llama during the rite of New Earth. With this rite the land is vitalized; it is opened for water, air, dung, and blood, until the time of Potato Planting, when it is covered over again. Potato Planting (Khallay Papa Tarpuna), in mid-November, is the field's final ritual, celebrated after the Feast with the Dead. According to Andean legends, the dead push the potatoes up from the inside of the earth. Also in November, people of lower levels celebrate Corn Planting (Khallay Sara Tarpuna), and at Christmastime herders sponsor their herding rituals, All Colors (Chajru Khallay). Although each rite is concerned with the animal and plant life of its zone, collectively the rites influence the corporate life of the *ayllu* and region, and leaders from the various communities participate in all of the rituals of the *ayllu* and the region.

Between the cycle of the seasons there is a day when ancestors return to the community—2 November, the Feast with the Dead. Ancestor worship remains an important part of Andean religion. Prior to the conquest, Andeans mummified the dead by wrapping them in cloth and seating them in *chullpas,* which are rock monuments above subterranean cists. The Incas dressed the mummies of their kings in fine textiles and kept them in the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco, where they were arranged in hierarchical and genealogical relationships. Today, Andeans dress the dead person for a journey, provide him or her with coca, potatoes, corn, and a candle, and bury the deceased in a cemetery near the community. Traditionally, many Andeans believe that people originate from and return to the highland lakes of the mountain. They compare death to the eclipse of the sun: Death is ecliptic, hiding the dead within the earth, where they journey with the movements of the sun, seasons, and land.

The Feast with the Dead is an annual rite of passage from the dry to the wet season and from the activity of the dead to that of the living. The dry season connotes resting; the wet season, growth. The living invite the dead to a meal when the harvest and festive times have ended and planting rituals begin. At this pivotal point in the Andean year, the dead visit the living, and then they are sent on another year's journey with their share of the harvest.

At noon on November 1, the leader of the community awakens the dead with dynamite, and for twenty-four hours the dead are served food on tables that usually have three tiers, symbolizing highlands, central altitudes, and lowlands. The arrival of a fly or the flickering of a candle signals to the living that the dead are present. The living and dead share in a meal and communicate with each other by laments and prayers. At noon the next day, everyone returns to the cemetery to place more food near the graves. Relatives of the deceased distribute food to friends, who pray for the dead relatives. Later the same afternoon, the fiesta ends with a meal and drinking.

COSMOLOGY. For Andeans, the finality of death is alleviated by their ecology. During life, Andeans become part of the land that they work: As their bodies get older, their land increases. When they die, they enter into the mountain, journey upward, and have access to the land of the dead. Moreover, the decay of their bodies enriches the land of the living. The visible levels of the living are only half of the mountain; the other half consists of the subterranean waterways of the dead.

The Andeans' worldview is an extension of the three mountain levels; they divide their universe into the heavens (*janaj pacha*), this world (*kay pacha*), and the netherworld (*ura pacha*). Each place has an ancient, a past, and a present time, to which specific beings correspond. The heavens are where the elders of lightning, sun, and stars have dwelled since ancient times; where God, Jesus, and Santiago have roamed since past times; and where dead baptized babies are descending to the *uma pacha* in present times. By their permanent and cyclical features, the heavens suggest origination and restitution, whereas the experiences of this world are temporal and consecutive. The three times of this world are symbolized by *chullpas,* the cross, and the graveyard, which refer respectively to the ancestor mummies, Jesus, and the recent dead (those who have died within three years). The ancestor mummies and the past and recent dead journey to the highlands within the subterranean waterways of the netherworld, which is the recycling area between death and life. The *supaya* are dead unable to travel because of some unfinished business. They bridge the gap between the netherworld and this world. The earth shrines denote being, space, and time, the metaphysical concepts for the universe, which are intertwined in each of the three gradient levels; thus the mountain serves as an expression of Andean cosmology.

The *uma pacha* is the point of origin and return for traditional Andeans. The highlands are the head (*uma*) of the achachila. Bunchgrass grows near the summit of the mountain, as hair on the head. The wool of the llamas that graze on this grass resembles human hair. As human hair grows after cutting, so llama wool and bunchgrass grow continually in the highlands. In a manner similar to the regeneration of hair, humans and animals originate in the highland lakes, or the eyes *(nawi)* of the *achachila.* The sun dies into these eyes of the highlands, but from the reflections within the lake come all living creatures. The lake's reflections (*illa*) are the animals and people returning from inside the earth to this world.

Animals and people originate in and return to the head of the mountain. It is the place of origin and return, like the human head, which is the point of entry and exit for the inner self. The dead travel by underground waterways to the mountain's head, the *uma pacha,* from whose lakes they can arise to the land of the living. The living emerge from the eyes of the mountain (the lakes of the *uma pacha*), journey across its head, chest, trunk, and legs (high, center, and low levels), and die in the lowlands. They are buried and return with the sun to the *uma pacha,* point of origin and return.

SICKNESS AND HEALTH. Western medicine ascribes sickness to internal disorders of the body or to the malfunctioning of organs within it, whereas Andean curing looks outside the body to the malfunctioning of the social and ecological order. Bodily illnesses are signs of disorders between the person and the land or between the person and his lineage. The diviner's role is to reveal this conflict and to redress it by ritual, which resolves the dispute or reorders the land. Diviners cure not by isolating the individual in a hospital, away from his land, but by gathering members of a sick person's social group for ritual feeding of the earth shrines of the *achachila,* because if their lineage and mountain are complete, then their body will also be complete (healthy). Community and land are inextricably bound to the physical body, and disintegration in one is associated with disorder in the other.

One illustration of how diviners interrelate environmental and social factors with sickness is the *mesa de salud* ("health table"), a commonly performed ritual in the Andes. This ritual begins with a preliminary divination session in which the diviner casts coca leaves to determine the causes of an illness. Relatives of the sick person attend and contribute to the analysis of the causes. Diviners then redress social conflicts within the lineage. If the sick person, for example, has fought with her mother-in-law, the diviner delves into the cause of this conflict and instructs the patient to gather some ritual item from the mother-in-law's household. The participants then spend several days gathering ritual items symbolic of the various altitudinal levels: chicha (corn beer) and carnations from the lowlands, potatoes from the central lands, and llama fat and a fetus from the highlands. The gathering of the ritual items reinforces the concept that health is related to the utilization and exchange of resources from different levels. Indirectly, the ritual affects health by reinforcing the need for a balanced diet. In this way, Andean ritual promotes holistic health rather than merely removing disease.

Traditionally, Andeans distinguish between *curanderos,* who cure with natural remedies, and diviners *(yachaj),* who cure with supernatural remedies. Andeans have many classes of *curanderos,* revealing a striking knowledge and classification of anatomy and an enormous list of medical paraphernalia. Because they have excelled in the practice of native medicine, Andeans have adapted to an environment that produces many stresses (hypoxia, hypothermia, malnutrition, and epidemics). Qollahuaya herbalists, for example, use approximately one thousand medicinal plants in curing. Andeans visit both diviners and herbalists for treatment of a disease, because both kinds of specialist are needed to deal with all the physical, social, spiritual, and ecological factors involved.

CHRISTIANITY. Andeans have incorporated Catholicism into their traditional way of life by stratifying it according to place and time and thus allowing it to function in ways analogous to the function of an earth shrine. For many Andeans, Catholicism is a state religion that replaced the Inca religion. Every Andean community has a chapel with a statue of a saint who is the patron protector of the village. Sculptors mold a realistic statue from plaster of paris, and seamstresses dress it with velvet and gold cloth. These statues appear almost alive, like waxworks. For some Andeans, the saint represents a white rock; for others, the saints are transformations of the dead ancestors whom they venerated during Inca times.

Annually, each village celebrates a fiesta to its saint, whose statue is paraded around the four corners of the plaza while brilliantly costumed groups dance to the music of flutes, drums, and trumpets. The official sponsor, the *preste,* walks alongside the saint, for which privilege he provides the participants with alcohol, coca, and food. Ritual and natural kin, as well as people in debt to the *preste,* contribute supplies and sponsor dance groups. For the first day or two, the fiesta is a celebration of great beauty and festivity, but by the third day it often degenerates into drunkenness and brawling. One reason is that during recent times raw alcohol has replaced the traditional beverage, *chicha,* which has a much lower alcohol content. However, alcohol and coca also relax the participants, making them susceptible to the liminal meanings of the fiesta—the basic Andean meanings being expressed in the dance, music, and ritual. These elements are highly structured and communicate underlying symbolic patterns important to Andean culture.

Although the cult of the saints reflects the importance of Catholicism in contemporary Andean culture, Andeans are only nominal Catholics: They baptize their babies primarily to prevent hailstorms and to obtain *padrinos* ("godfathers"), who provide social and political connections. Sometimes couples marry in the church, but only after a trial marriage (*iqhisiña*) to see whether the wife is fertile. Catholic catechists and Protestant missionaries have recently been converting Andeans to an evangelistic Christianity opposed to earth shrines, fiestas, and traditional Andean beliefs. Many evangelistic Protestants emphasize literacy and the reading of the Bible. Protestantism cannot be incorporated into the traditional Andean system because it tends to be comparatively barren of symbols and ritual. Consequently, converts to certain Protestant sects have radically changed their traditional cultural patterns. In sum, Catholicism has been adapted peripherally to traditional Andean religious practices, whereas evangelistic Protestantism has been very effective in changing traditional belief systems. This is because many Andeans see traditional religious practices, which reflect verticality, resource exchange, *ayllu* solidarity, and ecology, as being unimportant to modernization, with its emphasis on literacy, horizontal links, competition, and individuality.

Nevertheless, the traditional religion retains a strong hold on Andeans, who continue to look to earth and nature for their identity. Their land and their mountains continue to be their deities—not as abstract symbols but as real entities with whom they live and work and with whom they share important relations of reciprocity. For these reasons, the Andeans built a high civilization in a mountainous land that they came to worship.

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JOSEPH W. BASTIEN (1987)
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SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS: INDIANS OF THE NORTHWEST AMAZON

In principle, the Northwest Amazon includes, as its southern limits, the region from approximately the Middle Amazon, around the mouth of the Rio Negro, to the Upper Solimões; all of the Rio Negro and its northern tributaries, including the Parima mountain range, up to the upper Orinoco Valley; and an arc connecting the Upper Orinoco to the Upper Solimões. Historically, the societies that inhabited this vast region, at least at the time of Spanish conquest in the sixteenth century, were far more numerous than they are today, and far more complex in terms of their social and political organization and interrelations amongst each other. Undoubtedly, their religious organizations and institutions were more complex as well. Sixteenth-century chroniclers left tantalizing notes describing the existence of chiefdoms and priestly societies in the Amazon floodplains region that were similar to those of the circum-Caribbean region.

The usefulness of these notes for understanding native religions at the time of conquest is, however, limited and subject to much guesswork. Scholars are not even certain which languages many of these societies spoke, much less what their religious beliefs were. Modern archaeology is just beginning to uncover the rich complexity of these societies and may, in the future, provide important elements for understanding their religions. In any case, it is certain that the vast majority of the societies of the Rio Negro, the main northern tributary of the Amazon that connects with the Orinoco via the Cassiquiare Canal, were Arawak-speaking peoples. There were also significant numbers of Tukanoan-speaking peoples in the region of the Uaupés River and its tributaries; forest-dwelling Makuan peoples in a vast region from the lower to the upper Negro; Cariban-speaking peoples on the tributaries of the upper Orinoco; and Yanomami populations in the mountainous forest regions north of the Rio Negro.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE REGION. A survey of the first historical sources and the earliest recorded traditions of the societies of Northwest Amazon indicates the widespread distribution of a ritual complex involving the use of sacred flutes and trumpets, masked dances, and the practice of ritual whipping, associated with a mythology the central themes of which included initiation, ancestors, warfare, and seasonal cycles marked by festivals. Early observers noted that this ritual complex was of central importance, and that the guardians of the sacred trumpets formed an elite priestly class with a supreme leader who was also a war chief. There are indications of ceremonial centers where rituals were celebrated among societies of different language groups.

The evolution of this complex was drastically truncated and transformed by the advance of the Portuguese and Spanish slaving commerce in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Many of the most powerful chiefs were co-opted into destructive wars to obtain slaves, thus irremediably fragmenting political-religious formations, as well as leaving vast parts of the Northwest Amazon region depopulated, as people were herded into mission-run settlements, where they were forced to adapt to Western culture. By the late eighteenth century, even with a brief respite in the advance of colonization, many of the surviving societies had been introduced to Christianity and had adopted its calendric festivals, if not its belief system, into their religious patterns.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, as an early reaction to exploitation by merchants, pressures from missionaries, and the waves of epidemics that decimated the Indian population, a sequence of prophetic movements and rebellions broke out in the Northwest Amazon region. Dressing as priests and identifying themselves with Christ and the saints, prophet-shamans led the people in the "Dance of the Cross," a fusion of traditional rituals with elements of Catholicism that promised freedom from white oppression and relief from the "sins" that were believed to be causing the epidemics. While many of these movements suffered repression, the prophetic tradition continued among both Tukanoan- and Arawak-speaking peoples until well into the twentieth century in areas that escaped the attention of missionaries and government officials.

CONTEMPORARY PEOPLES AND THEIR RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS. For the indigenous peoples of the Northwest Amazon today, religion is not an institution differentiated from other aspects of their lives. When they use the term *religion*, they are generally referring to the Christian religions introduced among them in their long history of contact with nonindigenous society. When they wish to refer to their own beliefs and practices that have to do with the sacred, they generally use such phrasings as "our tradition" and "the wisdom of our ancestors." To understand these traditions, it is useful to consider four dimensions that characterize all religious traditions: cosmogony (the meaning of the beginning); cosmology (spatial and temporal structures of the universe); anthropology (the relations among living beings, including "specialists" who mediate relations with the spirits and divinities); and eschatology (the meaning of the end). This entry will seek to provide a minimum understanding of these dimensions from the rich and complex contemporary traditions of the Tukanoan-speaking peoples, the Arawak-speaking Baniwa and Kuripako, and the Maku of the Rio Negro region and its main tributaries, the Uaupés and Içana; the Yanomami of the Parima highlands on the border of Brazil and Venezuela; and the Carib-speaking Makiritare of the upper Orinoco Valley.

Tukanoans. Tukanoan-speaking peoples inhabit the rainforest region on the border of Brazil and Colombia. Although they are divided into numerous linguistic groups, they nevertheless share a body of broadly identical mythology. Religious life revolves around these myths; the importance of sacred flutes and trumpets representing the ancestors of each group; shamans and chant specialists; and a cosmology centering on the themes of mortality and immortality, death and rebirth, and the conjunction of male and female principles in the creation and reproduction of culture.

The myths explain the origins of the cosmos, describing a dangerous, undifferentiated world with no clear boundaries of space and time and no difference between people and animals. They explain how the first beings created the physical features of the landscape, and how the world was gradually made safe for the emergence of true human beings. A key origin myth explains how an anaconda-ancestor entered the world-house through the "water-door" in the east and traveled up the Rio Negro and Uaupés with the ancestors of all humanity inside his body. Initially in the form of feather ornaments, these spirit-ancestors were transformed into human beings over the course of their journey. When they reached the center of the world, they emerged from a hole in the rocks and moved to their respective territories. These narratives give the Tukanoan peoples a common understanding of the cosmos, of the place of human beings within it, and of the relations that should pertain between different peoples and between them and other beings.

The universe consists of three basic levels: the sky, earth, and underworld. Each layer is a world in itself, with its specific beings, and can be understood both in abstract and in concrete terms. In different contexts, the "sky" can be the world of the sun, the moon, and the stars; the world of the birds who fly high; the tops of mountains; or even a head adorned with a headdress of red and yellow macaw feathers, which are the colors of the sun. In the same way, the underworld can be the River of the Dead below the earth, the yellow clay below the layer of soil where the dead are buried, or the aquatic world of the subterranean rivers. In any case, what defines the "sky" or the "underworld" depends not only on the scale and context, but also on the perspective: at night, the sun, the sky, and the day are below the earth and the dark underworld is on top.

In symbolic terms, the longhouse is the universe, and vice versa. The thatched roof is the sky, the support beams are the mountains, the walls are the chains of hills that seem to surround the visible horizon at the edge of the world, and under the floor runs the River of the Dead. The longhouse has two doors: the one facing east, called the "water door," is the men's door; the other, facing west, is the women's door. A long roof beam called the "path of the sun" extends between the two doors. In this equatorial region, the underworld rivers run from west to east, or from the women's door to the men's door; completing a closed circuit of water; the River of the Dead runs from the east to the west.

The longhouse is likewise a body—the "canoe-body" of the ancestral anaconda—which, according to the myth of creation, brought the ancestors of humanity, the children of the ancestral anaconda, inside it, swimming upriver from the Amazon to the Uaupés in the beginning of time. These children are the inhabitants of the longhouse, replica of the original ancestor, containers of future generations and they themselves are future ancestors. But if the longhouse is a human body, its composition is also a question of perspective. From the male point of view, the painted front of the longhouse is a man's face, the men's door his mouth, the main beams and side beams his spinal column and ribs, the center of the house his heart, and the women's door his anus. From the female point of view, however, the spinal column, ribs, and heart are the same, but the rest of the body is inverted: the women's door is her mouth, the men's door her vagina, and the inside of the house her womb.

In the Tukanoan life cycle, there is a notion of reincarnation shared by all Tukanoans: at death, an aspect of the dead person's soul returns to the "house of transformation," the group's origin site. Later the soul returns to the world of the living to be joined to the body of a newborn baby when the baby receives its name. People are named after a recently dead relative on the father's side. Each group owns a limited set of personal names, which are kept alive by being transmitted back to the living. The visible aspect of these name-souls are the feather headdresses worn by dancers, ornaments that are also buried with the dead. The underworld river is described as being full of these ornaments and, in the origin story, the spirits inside the anaconda-canoe traveled in the form of dance ornaments.

Buried in canoes, the souls of the dead fall to the underworld river below. From there they drift downstream to the west and to the upstream regions of the world above. Women do not give birth in the longhouse, but in a garden located inland, upstream, and behind the house—also the west. The newborn baby is first bathed in the river, then brought into the longhouse through the rear women's door. Confined inside the house for about a week with its mother and father, the baby is again bathed in the river and given a name. Thus, in cosmological terms, babies do indeed come from women, water, the river, and the west.

In the Tukanoan view, *masa*, the word for "people," is a relative concept. It can refer to one group as opposed to another, to all Tukanoans as opposed to their non-Tukanoan neighbors, to Indians as opposed to whites, to human beings as opposed to animals, and finally to living things, including trees, as opposed to inanimate objects. In myths and shamanic discourse, animals are people and share their culture. They live in organized longhouse communities, plant gardens, hunt and fish, drink beer, wear ornaments, take part in intercommunity feasts, and play their own sacred instruments. All creatures that can see and hear, communicate with their own kind, and act intentionally are "people"—but people of different kinds. They are different because they have different bodies, habits, and behaviors and see things from different bodily perspectives. Just as stars see living humans as dead spirits, so also do animals see humans as animals. In everyday life, people emphasize their difference from animals, but in the spirit world, which is also the world of ritual, shamanism, dreaming, and ayahuasca visions (ayahuasca being a psycho-active liquid that is drunk on ceremonial occasions), perspectives are merged, differences are abolished, the past is the present, and people and animals remain as one.

In Amazonia, ritual specialists with special powers and access to esoteric religious knowledge are often referred to as "shamans." In order to operate successfully in the world, all adult men must be shamans to some extent. But those who are publicly recognized as such are individuals with greater ritual knowledge and a special ability to "read" what lies behind sacred narratives; they are individuals who choose to use their skills and knowledge on behalf of others, and who acquire recognition as experts. With rare exceptions, ritual experts are always men, but the capacity of women to menstruate and to bear children is spoken of as the female equivalent of shamanic power.

Tukanoans distinguish between two quite different ritual specialists, the *yai* and the *kumu.* The *yai* corresponds to the prototypical Amazonian shaman whose main tasks involve dealing with other people and with the outside world of animals and the forest. The shaman is an expert in curing the sickness and diseases caused by sorcery from vengeful creatures and jealous human beings. *Yai* means "jaguar," a term that gives some indication of the status of the shaman in Tukanoan society. The *kumu* is more a savant and a priest than a shaman. His powers and authority are founded on an exhaustive knowledge of mythology and ritual procedures, knowledge that only comes after years of training and practice. As a knowledgeable senior man, the *kumu* is typically also a headmen and leader of his community and will exercise considerable authority over a much wider area. Compared to the sometimes morally ambiguous *yai,* the *kumu* enjoys a much higher status and also a much greater degree of trust, which relates to his prominent ritual role. The *kumu* plays an important role in the prevention of illness and misfortune. He also officiates at rites of passage and effects the major transitions of birth, initiation, and death, transitions that ensure the socialization of individuals and the passage of the generations, and which maintain ordered relations between the ancestors and their living descendants. The *kumu*'s other major function is to officiate at dance feasts, drinking parties, and ceremonial exchanges and to conduct and supervise the rituals at which the sacred instruments are played, rituals that involve direct contact with dead ancestors.

The yearly round is punctuated by a series of collective feasts, each with its own songs, dances, and appropriate musical instruments, which mark important events in the human and natural worlds—births, initiations, marriages, deaths, the felling and planting of gardens, the building of houses, the migrations of fishes and birds, and the seasonal availability of forest fruits and other gathered foods. The feasts take three basic forms: *cashirís* (beer feasts), *dabukuris* (ceremonial exchanges), and rites involving sacred flutes and trumpets. The rituals involving sacred musical instruments are the fullest expression of the Indians' religious life, for they synthesize a number of key themes: ancestry, descent and group identity, sex and reproduction, relations between men and women, growth and maturation, death, regeneration, and the integration of the human life cycle with cosmic time. (For a complete description and analysis of these rites, and the symbolism of the sacred instruments, see Hugh-Jones, 1979.)

Effective missionary penetration among the Tukanoans began towards the end of the nineteenth century with the arrival of the Franciscans. The Franciscans, and the Salesians who followed them, saw native religion through the lens of their own closed religious categories. Without knowing or caring about what Tukanoan religion meant, the missionaries set about destroying one civilization in the name of another, burning down the Indians' longhouses, destroying their feather ornaments, persecuting the shamans, and exposing the sacred instruments to women and children. They ordered people to build villages of neatly ordered single-family houses and send their children to mission boarding schools, where they were taught to reject their parents' and their ancestors' ways of life.

If the missionaries were resented for their attack on Indian culture, they were also welcomed as a source of manufactured goods, as defenders of the Indians against the worst abuses of the rubber gatherers, and as the providers of the education that the Indian children would need to make the most of their new circumstances. From the 1920s onwards, the Salesians established a chain of outposts throughout the region on the Brazilian side of the frontier. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the growing body of evangelicals apart, most Tukanoan Indians would consider themselves to be Catholics. As more and more people now leave their villages and head for urban centers in search of education and employment, life in the longhouses and the rich variety of ritual life that went with it now persists only in the memories of the oldest inhabitants. On the Colombian side of the border, the more liberal Javerians preach tolerance of Indian culture and accommodation with its values and beliefs, allowing the Tukanoans to conserve much of their traditional religion and way of life to this day.

Baniwa and Kuripako. The religious life of the Arawak-speaking Baniwa and Kuripako of the Brazil/Venezuela/Colombia borders was similarly based on the great mythological and ritual cycles related to the first ancestors and symbolized by sacred flutes and trumpets, on the central importance of shamanism, and on a rich variety of dance rituals called *pudali*, associated with the seasonal cycles and the maturation of forest fruits.

Baniwa cosmogony is remembered in a complex set of numerous myths in which the main protagonist is Nhiãperikuli, beginning with his emergence in the primordial world and ending with his creation of the first ancestors of the Baniwa phratries and his withdrawal from the world. Many of these myths recount the struggles of Nhiãperikuli against various animal-tribes who seek to kill him and destroy the order of the universe. More than any other figure of the Baniwa pantheon, Nhiãperikuli was responsible for the form and essence of the world; in fact, it may even be said that he *is* the universe.

Another great cycle in the history of the cosmos is told in the myth of Kuwai, the son of Nhiãperikuli, and the first woman, Amaru. This myth has central importance in Baniwa culture for it explains at least four major questions on the nature of existence in the world: (1) how the order and ways of life of the ancestors are reproduced for all future generations, the Walimanai; (2) how children are to be instructed in initiation rituals about the nature of the world; (3) how sicknesses and misfortune entered the world; and (4) what is the nature of the relation among humans, spirits, and animals that is the legacy of the primordial world. The myth tells of the life of Kuwai, an extraordinary being whose body is full of holes and consists of all the elements of the world, and whose humming and songs produce all animal species. His birth sets in motion a rapid process of growth in which the miniature and chaotic world of Nhiãperikuli opens up to its real-life size.

The myth of Kuwai marks a transition between the primordial world of Nhiãperikuli and a more recent human past, which is brought directly into the experience of living people in the rituals. For that reason, the shamans say that Kuwai is as much a part of the present world as of the ancient world, and that he lives "in the center of the world." For the shamans, he is the Owner of Sicknesses and it is he whom they seek in their cures, for his body consists of all sicknesses that exist in the world (including poison used in witchcraft, which is still the most frequently cited "cause" of death of people today), the material forms of which he left in this world in the great conflagration that marked his "death" and withdrawal from the world. The shamans say that Kuwai's body is covered with fur like the black sloth called *wamu.* Kuwai ensnares the souls of the sick, grasping them in his arms (as the sloth does), and suffocating them until the shamans bargain with him to regain the souls and return them to their owners.

In Baniwa cosmology, the universe is formed by multiple layers associated with various divinities, spirits, and "other people." According to one shaman, it is organized into an enormous vertical structure of twenty-five layers or "worlds"(*kuma*), there being twelve layers below "this world" *(hliekwapi)* of humans, collectively known as Uapinakuethe, and twelve above, collectively known as Apakwa Hekwapi, the "other world." Each one of the layers below the earth is inhabited by "people" or "tribes" with distinctive characteristics (people painted red, people with large mouths, etc.). With the exception of the people of the lowest level of the cosmos, and one other underworld, all other peoples are considered to be "good" and assist the shaman in his search for the lost souls of the sick. Above our world are the places of various spirits and divinities related to the shamans: bird-spirits who help the shaman in his search for lost souls; the Owner of Sicknesses, Kuwai, whom the shaman seeks in order to cure more serious ailments; the primordial shamans and Dzulíferi, the Owner of Pariká (shaman's snuff) and tobacco; and finally, the place of the creator and transformer Nhiãperikuli, or Dio, which is a place of eternal, brilliant light, like a room full of mirrors reflecting this light. The sun is considered to be a manifestation of Nhiãperikuli's body. With the exception of the level of Kuwai, all other levels are likewise inhabited by "good people." Some may "deceive" or "lie" to the shaman, but only the "sickness owner" possesses death-dealing substances used in witchcraft.

This world of humans is, by contrast, considered to be irredeemably evil. Thus, of all the layers in the universe, four are considered to be comprised of wicked people. It is remarkable how, in the context and from the perspective of the most elaborate cosmic structure thus far recorded amongst the Baniwa, the theme of evil in this world of humans clearly stands out. In shamanic discourse, this world is frequently characterized as *maatchikwe* (place of evil), *kaiwikwe* (place of pain), and *ekúkwe* (place of rot [due to the rotting corpses of the dead]), contrasting it with the world of Nhiãperikuli, which is notable for its sources of remedies against the sicknesses of this world. This world is considered to be contaminated by the existence of sorcerers and witches. Shamanic powers and cures, by contrast, are characterized in terms of the protective, beneficial, and aesthetically correct: to make the world beautiful; to make this world and the people in it better and content; to not let this world fall or end (meaning, to be covered in darkness and overrun by witches); to retrieve lost souls and make sick persons well—all are phrases that appear in shamanic discourses about journeys to the other world. In all phases of this journey, the beauty, goodness, unity, order, and truth—in a word, the "light"—of the other world (with the exception of the places of Kuwai) stand in contrast with this world of multiple pain and evil. In one sense, then, the shaman's quest would seem to be one of "beautifying" this world by seeking to create order and preventing the darkness of chaos.

In the 1950s, the majority of the Baniwa converted to evangelical Protestantism, introduced by missionaries of the New Tribes Mission. Their mass conversion was historically continuous with their participation in prophetic movements ever since the mid-nineteenth century; however, evangelicalism provoked a radical break from their shamanic traditions, as well as serious divisions and conflicts with Catholic Baniwa and those who sought to maintain their ritual traditions. Today, after half a century, evangelicalism is now the predominant form of religion in over half the Baniwa communities, although there is a growing movement among non-evangelicals to revitalize the initiation rituals and mythic traditions.

Maku. The universe of the nomadic Maku Indians of the interfluvial region in the Northwest Amazon takes the form of an upright egg, with three levels or "worlds": (1) the subterranean "world of shadows," from where all the monsters come, such as scorpions, jaguars, venomous snakes, the river Indians, and whites; (2) "our world"; that is, the forest, and (3) the "world of the light" above the sky, where the ancestors and the creator, the Son of the Bone, live. Light and shadow are the two basic substances from which all beings are composed in varying proportions. Light is a source of life. Shadow is a source of death. In "our world," leaves and fruit are the beings with the highest concentration of light, while carnivores have the highest concentration of shadow. For this reason, it is better to avoid eating carnivores and restrict one's diet to herbivores. In the world of light after death, people nourish themselves with delicious fruit juices and become eternal adolescents.

The main mythological cycle of the Maku relates the epic tale of the Son of the Bone, whose name varies with the subgroup. The myth describes the survivor of a fire that put an end to the previous creation. His attempts to recreate the world resulted in a series of blunders: conflicts, sickness, and death, all resulting from the mess left behind. After his wife is abducted by his youngest brother, the Son of the Bone leaves this world behind forever, going to live in the world of light, above the sky and the thunder, from where he sometimes emits an expression of revenge. Coincidence or not, in real life, brothers often fight among themselves, in dispute over the same women, or with their affines, in accordance with the clan system.

Yanomami. The Yanomami comprise four linguistic subgroups inhabiting the mountainous rainforests of northern Brazil and southern Venezuela. Accounts of creation vary considerably among the groups, although a common theme holds that after the destruction of the primordial world by a cosmic flood, humans originated from the blood of the Moon. The souls of deceased Yanomami, whose bone ashes are consumed during the rituals of *reahu*, are incorporated into the blood-lakes of the Moon, where they are regenerated and later reincarnated, through falling rain, to a new existence on earth.

The Yanomami word *urihi* designates the forest and its floor. It also signifies territory or the region currently inhabited. The phrase for "the forest of human beings," the forest that Omama, the creator, gave to the Yanomami to live in generation after generation, is "Yanomami land" or "the great forest-land." A source of resources, for the Yanomami, *urihi* is not a simple inert setting submitted to the will of human beings. A living entity, it has an essential image and breath, as well as an immaterial fertility principal. The animals it shelters are seen to be avatars of mythic human/animal ancestors of the first humans, who ended up assuming their animal condition due to their uncontrolled behavior, an inversion of present-day social rules. Lurking in the tangled depths of the *urihi*, in its hills and its rivers, are numerous malefic beings, who injure or kill the Yanomami as though they were game, provoking disease and death. On top of the mountains live the images of the animal-ancestors transformed into shamanic spirits, *xapiripë*. The *xapiripë* were left behind by Omama to look after humans. The entire extent of *urihi* is covered by their mirrors, where they play and dance endlessly. Hidden in the depths of the waters is the house of the monster *Tëpërësiki*, father-in-law of Omama, where the *yawarioma* spirits also live; their sisters seduce and enrage young Yanomami hunters, thereby enabling them to pursue a shamanic career.

The initiation of shamans is painful and ecstatic. During initiation, which involves inhaling the hallucinogenic powder *yãkõana* (the resin or inner bark fragments of the *Virola sp.* tree, dried and pulverized) for many days under the supervision of older shamans, they learn to "see" or "recognize" the *xapiripë* spirits and to respond to their calls. The *xapiripë* are seen in the form of humanoid miniatures decorated with colorful and brilliant ceremonial ornaments. Above all, these spirits are shamanic "images" of forest entities. Many are also images of cosmic entities and mythological personae. Finally, there are the spirits of "whites" and their domesticated animals.

Once initiated, the Yanomami shamans can summon the *xapiripë* to themselves in order for these to act as auxiliary spirits. This power of knowledge, vision, and communication with the world of "vital images" or "essences" makes the shamans the pillars of Yanomami society. A shield against the malefic powers deriving from humans and nonhumans that threaten the lives of members of their communities, they are also tireless negotiators and warriors of the invisible, dedicated to taming the entities and forces that move the cosmological order. They control the fury of the thunder and winds brought by storms, the regularity of the alternation between day and night, or dry season and rainy season, the abundance of game, and the fertility of gardens; they keep up the arch of the sky to prevent its falling (the present earth is an ancient fallen sky), repel the forest's supernatural predators, and counterattack the raids made by aggressive spirits of enemy shamans. Most importantly, they cure the sick, victims of human malevolence (sorcery, aggressive shamanism, attacks on animal doubles) or nonhuman malevolence (coming from malefic *në waripë* beings).

Makiritare. The Makiritare, Carib-speaking peoples of the upper Orinoco Valley, recount the story of their creation in the great tradition called *Watunna.* According to this tradition, the primordial sun brought the heavenly creator Wanadi into being. Through his shamanic powers, Wanadi created "the old people" and then, in his desire to place "good people" in houses on the earth, he dispatched three aspects of himself to earth. The first buried his own placenta in the earth, which gave rise to an evil being, called Odosha, who then sought to destroy every creative effort and introduced death into the world. The second aspect of Wanadi was sent to teach the people that dying is an illusion and that dreaming holds the true power of reality. He brought good people, as sounds, inside a stonelike egg to earth, where they would be born, but Odosha prevented this from happening. Wanadi then hid them in a mountain to wait until the end of the world and the death of Odosha. Wanadi's third aspect, Attawanadi, then came to earth to create the enclosed structure of the earth, which was then shrouded in the darkness created by Odosha. A new sky, sun, moon, and stars were created in this house, village, universe. Then there ensued a struggle between Odosha and Attawanadi in which Odosha is initially victorious, but Attawanadi outsmarts the evil being by assuming elusive guises. As trickster, Attawanadi thwarts Odosha's constant attempts to destroy existence in a sort of negative dialectic of the sacred. Thus cosmic history was set in motion.

Other episodes of this important cycle relate the destruction through deluge of the primordial beings and their world, and the origins of periodicity, differentiation, and bounded spaces. The deluge was the result of the killing of a primordial anaconda-monster. After this destruction, Wanadi decided to make houses and "new people," who live in a symbolic world in which, through song, ritual, and weaving, they recall these primordial events. The landscape of the Makiritare world provides constant reminders of the primordial times. The center of the universe is a lake in Makiritare territory where, in ancient times, waters poured forth from the cut trunk of the tree that originally bore all fruit. This lake contains the sea that once flooded the earth and is now bounded at the edges of the world.

Although numerous Makiritare communities converted to Protestant evangelicalism in the 1980s, many others rejected conversion, maintaining firm belief in the Watunna tradition.

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ROBIN M. WRIGHT (2005)

SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS: INDIANS OF THE CENTRAL AND EASTERN AMAZON

The vast region covered by the central and eastern Amazon may, for the purposes of this entry, be delimited by the Río Negro at the western end, the mouth of the Amazon to the east, the Guyana highlands to the north, and the central plateau of Brazil to the south. Within this region many of the great language families of South America are represented: Arawak, Tupi, Carib, Ge, and Timbira. Besides this diversity the area is also notable for some of the most complex prehistorical cultures, such as Marajoara and Santarém. This entry provides an overview of the religious systems of prehistoric and contemporary indigenous peoples as well as of peasants or *caboclos.*

PREHISTORIC CULTURES AND RELIGIOUS MANIFESTATIONS. Archaeological excavations at Marajó Island in the Amazon Delta reveal the existence of a complex society of Mound Builders spanning the period from roughly 500 to 1300 CE. The abundance of ceremonial and funerary remains on the higher mounds attests to the existence of political and ceremonial centers. Differential burials, houses for the dead, and possibly temples indicate ancestor cults. Marajoara ceramics are marked by the use of animal motifs with clear supernatural and mythical connotations that modern studies have sought to interpret in terms of Amerindian perspectivism. The symbolism of death and rebirth, shamanic motifs, binary images, abstract geometric patterns, and bodily images are all characteristic of Marajoara ceramics, indicating a complex religious system (see Schaan, 2001). Similarly the prehistoric Santarém culture at the mouth of the Tapajós was the center of a great chiefdom from the tenth century to the sixteenth century. Female fertility is a predominant element in ceramic motifs; the famous caryatid vessels display bicephalous humanlike zoomorphic figures (especially the king vulture), recalling the transformations experienced in shamanic trance or in great collective rituals using psychoactive substances in which great trumpets representing the divinities were played. Finally, mention should be made of the many cemeteries with large funerary urns discovered near the Maracá River on the lower Amazon. These urns display anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figures, with the anthropomorphic figures, often female, being seated, decorated, and painted. It has been suggested that the Maracá culture was linked to early Arawakan populations that were possibly ancestors of the Palikur.

BRIEF HISTORY OF CONTACT. The size and complexity of Amazon floodplain societies astonished the first European explorers in the mid-sixteenth century. Their populations were dense, internally stratified, and settled in extensive villages capable of producing surpluses for a significant intertribal commerce. The sociopolitical organization of what observers called "provinces" was far more elaborate than any indigenous society since then, with reports of local chiefs subordinate to regional chiefs endowed with sacred qualities, hierarchically organized lineages, sacrifice of concubines at the deaths of chiefs, ancestor cults with the preservation of the corpse through rudimentary techniques, and other evidence of social and ritual stratification.

None of this resisted the advance of the European slave hunters, spice collectors, diseases, and missionaries who, by the end of the seventeenth century, had penetrated well into the Amazon Valley. Their advance resulted in the dispersion and captivity of a majority of the riverine peoples such that the eastern Amazon was practically depopulated and infested by diseases, as mission industries and towns struggled to survive. With the depopulation of the main tributaries, expeditions penetrated ever farther into the interior to "persuade" whole populations to relocate to ethnically mixed, mission-run settlements. This process led to the formation of a neoindigenous stratum of the population, whose original cultural and linguistic differences had been neutralized, dissolving ethnic diversity into the homogeneity of generic Indians that eventually gave rise to the *caboclo* or mixed population of the region.

With the decline of colonial control by the end of the eighteenth century, many peoples withdrew from colonial settlements to reorganize and reconstitute their societies, often in new territories and with new sociopolitical and religious forms of organization. From the mid–nineteenth century until well into the twentieth, rubber extraction and exportation became the dominant form of labor organization in the Amazon, and with the severe droughts in northeastern Brazil at the end of the nineteenth century, there was a massive influx of northeastern migrants into the Amazon region. By the late twentieth century even the most isolated regions of the central and eastern Amazon, which until then had served as a refuge for many indigenous peoples, were invaded by highways, miners, and ranchers.

CONTEMPORARY INDIGENOUS RELIGIONS. The religions of several peoples will be briefly considered. Those included are the Palikur (Arawak) of the state of Amapá; the Araweté and Juruna (Tupian) of the state of Pará; the Kayapó and Xikrin (Ge) of the state of Pará; the Canela and Krahó (Timbira) of Maranhão; and the Arara (Carib) of Pará.

Palikur (Arawakan). For the contemporary Palikur, the creation and structuring of the universe and all that is part of it is the work of the Christian God. They usually disparage the beliefs of their ancestors, declaring that they were superstitions, and cite as an example the constitution of the universe in layers. In the early twenty-first century they "know that the world is round." Nevertheless they possess a vast repertoire of myths that reveals a good part of their ancient cosmology.

The myths can be divided into two categories: cosmogonic myths that tell of the emergence of the Palikur and their relations with the environment or with other ethnic groups of the region, and those myths that speak of the relation with the "beings of the other world." The myths are generally further classified into two types: "stories of the old times, of the past, a long time ago" and "false stories." They always refer to a time past, in which the "true" belief, the Christian religion, was unknown. At times, however, narrators reflect and point out that the fact in question is real and still occurs, revealing the ambiguity with which the Palikur regard the myths. It is exactly this ambiguity that has allowed for the coexistence of indigenous mythology with Christian religion, but that has not occurred with the rituals, for which reason they are no longer held. Myth is consciously relegated to an inferior position in relation to the Christian religious system.

The mythical universe appears to be divided into three layers: the world below, the terrestrial plane, and the celestial plane. The first is the mythical space par excellence, for in it dwell the supernatural spirits. Located just below the surface of the earth, its parallel position in relation to the terrestrial level facilitates contact between the two worlds, a necessary condition for the existence of the mythical world, since this plane only makes sense in connection with the world of humans. The representation of the passage between the two worlds is physical: there is a "hole" in the terrestrial level that allows for displacement from one sphere to another. The switch from one plane to another is marked by the transformation of supernatural beings that, in their world, have human form but, to come up to the terrestrial level, need to "clothe themselves" with a "cloak" that gives them animal form.

On the terrestrial level live human beings, plants, animals, and occasionally supernatural beings. This level has a topography that is analogous to this earth, about which there are many mythical narratives; however, geographical locations are fluid and vary from one narrative to another.

Finally, the celestial plane seems to be a space that is dominated exclusively by Christian cosmology—represented as Eden, inhabited by the Trinity, and reserved for the chosen, meaning those who have "accepted Jesus" before the "end of time." In terms of Palikur myths, heaven appears to be empty. But even while fragmentary, several aspects of indigenous cosmology still occupy space in this domain. The Palikur believe there are six unnamed levels. Among these, two have notable inhabitants: on the second level lives the two-headed king vulture and on the sixth is Jesus Christ, awaiting the chosen "in the celestial Eden made of gold." The other levels are described as "display windows" of purgatory, in which one sees the souls of those who do not attain eternal life. These souls are anthropomorphic, with a human body up to the neck dressed in a white cloak and the head of an animal (monkey, alligator, and so on).

In 1926 Curt Nimuendajú mentioned the existence of three heavens: Inoliku, the lowest, Mikene, and Ena. Just above the first there was a special heaven, Yinoklin, inhabited by the Yumawali spirits (or "demons," as Nimuendajú called them) of the mountains. This division of the sky by named levels does not exist now, but with small alterations, the names given to the heavens are confirmed.

Araweté and Juruna (Tupian). The guiding thread of Araweté religion is the relationship between humanity and the Máï, the immortal beings who left the earth at the dawn of time and now live in the sky. Humans define themselves as the "abandoned ones," or "forsaken," meaning those who were left behind by the gods. Humans and Máï are related as affines, for the souls of the dead are married to the gods. The Máï may, and in the long run will, destroy the earth by causing the sky to crash down. The ultimate cause of all deaths is the will of the Máï, who are conceived as being at once ideal Araweté and dangerous cannibals. The Máï are not thought of as creators, but their separation from humanity produced old age and death. Among the hundreds of types of Máï, most of which have animal names, the Máï *hete* (real gods) are those who transform the souls of the dead into Máï-like beings by means of a cannibal-matrimonial operation. That is, following its arrival in the celestial realms, the soul of the dead is killed and devoured by the Máï, after which it is resurrected by means of a magical bath and made into a godlike being who will be married to a Máï and live forever young. Besides the Máï, there are also Ani forest spirits, savage beings who invade settlements and must be killed by the shamans, and the powerful Master of the River, a subaquatic spirit who delights in kidnapping women's and children's souls, which must then be retrieved by shamans.

The most important shamanic activity is bringing down the Máï and the souls of the dead to visit the earth and partake of ceremonial meals. In these ceremonial banquets collectively produced food (honey, fish, and *cauim*, a fermented corn beverage) is offered to the celestial visitors before being consumed. The *cauim* festival is the climax of ritual life and contains religious and warrior symbolism. The leader of the dances and songs that accompany the consumption of *cauim* is ideally a great warrior, who learned the songs directly from the spirits of dead enemies. Singing is thus the heart of ceremonial life. The "music of the gods" sung by shamans and the "music of the enemies" sung by warriors are the only two musical genre known to the Araweté, and both are formed by the words of "others" quoted in complex ritual formulas.

The souls of the recently deceased often come to earth in the shaman's chants to talk to their living relatives and tell them of the bliss of the afterlife. After two generations they cease to come, for there will be no more living contemporaries who remember them; they are not ancestors, however.

Juruna cosmology has three basic coordinates. First is the opposition between life and death. This is far from being a drastic dichotomy as in Western cosmology, because there are various transitions, such as minor temporary "deaths," as in sleep, that typically take the form of dreams. The relation between life and death involves not so much the notion that if someone is dead he or she cannot be alive but rather that someone can be dead in one place but alive in another or that he or she may be alive here but already dead somewhere else. In other words, the relation is one of relative disjunction, which allows for important conjunctions. Juruna shamans used to be masters at such transitions.

Second, the world axes are formed by the oppositions between river and forest and sky and earth, each being articulated with the opposition between the presence and absence of cannibalism. The river and the sky have a positive link with cannibalism. One can say that all existence can be divided into these oppositions: human beings (river peoples and forest peoples), spirits of the dead (those living in the cliffs on the banks of the Xingu, who do not like human flesh, and those living in the sky), mammals (forest species and those living on the river bed), and so on. In addition the Juruna believe everything that exists on earth also exists in the sky, which is a kind of earth resembling that of humans. Even though the Juruna do not consider the river to be a copy of the forest, they say it can be viewed by some river inhabitants as a copy of the earth, except that the forest in their earth resembles human gallery forests, and their gardens are portions of land broken off from the river banks. Finally, there is an opposition between the viewpoints—or perspectives—of living, conscious human subjects and alien beings, such as animals, spirits, and the dead. The dynamism and complexity of Juruna cosmology depends on the confrontation between these discordant viewpoints.

Juruna shamanism used to be composed of two systems, each related to a society of the dead. Rarely was it possible for a shaman to practice both types of shamanism. The spirits of the dead inhabiting the river cliffs fear those living in the sky, whose society is composed of the souls of warriors and their leader. Indeed the Juruna fear these spirits of the sky the most, and thus this form of shamanism was considerably more powerful, dangerous, and difficult to perform. Each system of shamanism was associated with a great festival in honor of its particular category of the dead. The festival for the dead of the river cliffs was accompanied by the sound of flute music and songs performed by the dead through the mouth of the shaman. Another festival was accompanied by the music of a set of trumpets. When the Juruna offered food to the souls of warriors during their festival, they said they would rather eat the flesh of roasted Indians brought from the other world; they also refused to drink manioc beer, saying they were already drunk enough. By contrast, the spirits from the river cliffs would drink plenty after eating the meal from their hosts, spicing up the manioc beer made by Juruna women with a dose of beer brought from the other world. The last of these celebrations was held in the 1970s. Despite the changes in their ritual life, the Juruna continue to celebrate beer parties and two major festivals every year, each held for approximately one month.

Ge-Timbira. Ge-Timbira religiosity is marked by a strong dualism. That characteristic divides creation, nature and society, and the groups that make up society.

Canela. A Canela origin myth recounts that Sun and Moon walked over the land, transforming the world that already existed and thus creating the norms for social life. Sun established the norms favorable to life, whereas Moon modified them to test its imperfections. Sun created ideal men and women, whereas Moon created those with twisted hair, those with dark skin, and those seen as deformed. Sun allowed machetes and axes to work by themselves in the gardens, whereas Moon made them stop. Consequently people had to work hard to make their gardens—the origin of work. There are at least a dozen episodes of this myth that recount the beginning of death, floods, and forest fires, why the *buriti* palms are tall, why the moon has its spots, and other conditions.

Other Canela myths explain the origin of fire and corn. A boy brought fire for his people after having stolen it from the hearth of a female jaguar. Star Woman fell in love with a Canela and so came down to live for a while among his family members. During her stay she indicated that corn would grow in the forest, and she taught them that it was good to eat. This was the origin of gardens. She then returned to the sky with her mate and both transformed into twin stars, known as Castor and Pollux.

Krahó. Krahó origin myths are similar to those of the Canela. Indeed these myths seem to suggest that everything in Krahó culture, even shamanism, came from the outside. Like the Canela, the Krahó believe all of their culture was created by the twins Sun and Moon. The Krahó disapprove of the actions of Moon not only because he was less skilled than Sun but also because he insisted that Sun do what he requested, for it was from these requests that the evils that afflict humans entered the world.

Other myths tell how the Krahó studied agriculture, obtained fire, and learned the rituals and songs. Generally the myths tell the story of an individual who leaves the village and, in the world outside, learns something important, later returning to the village where he or she transmits the new knowledge. In the case of agriculture, however, a being from nature brings the knowledge of planting to the villagers and then withdraws to the outside world. The myth of Auke, which is important for understanding Krahó participation in messianic movements in the 1960s, follows the same pattern. But Auke, on entering the village, is not given the opportunity to teach the Indians what he knows, for they are afraid of him and end up violently expelling him from the village. Auke then creates white humans. Several other myths tell of individuals who, having been expelled from the village, do not return with new things that could be used by its inhabitants; rather, they stay in the world outside, transforming themselves into animals or monsters.

The Krahó have many rituals. Some are short and linked to individual life crises (such as the end of seclusion after the birth of a first child, the end of a convalescence, and the last meal of a deceased person) or to occasional collective initiatives (such as exchanges of foods and services). Others are associated with the annual agricultural cycle, for instance, those that mark the dry and wet seasons, the planting and harvesting of corn, and the harvesting of sweet potatoes. Yet other rites form part of a longer cycle, associated with male initiation, that must take place in a certain order; nowadays this cycle is difficult to reconstitute, in part because one of the rites has been abandoned. Various rites related to the annual and initiation cycles have myths that explain their origins. However, there is not a strict correspondence between the sequence of myths and that of rites, although they overlap in some ways.

The first human who acquired magical powers was carried up to the heavens by vultures, where he was cured and received powers from the hawk. There is apparently no trance among Krahó shamans, which might suggest that they are not true shamans. But each shaman explains how, like the man who went up to the sky in a myth, he was initiated through a sort of spontaneous rite of passage. He became sick and was abandoned, he was rescued by an animal (or other being) that cured him and gave him magical powers, which he tested, and then he was sent home with his new powers. In some cases there seems to occur a transformation of the shaman into the being that gives him powers, for example, the animal puts parts of his own organism into the body of the shaman, makes him eat the same food, and so on.

Kayapó. As among the Timbira, the village is the center of the Kayapó universe and the most socialized space. The surrounding forest is considered an antisocial space, where humans can transform into animals or spirits, sicken without reason, or even kill their relatives. Beings who are half-animal, half-people dwell there. The farther one goes from the village, the more antisocial the forest becomes, and its associated dangers increase. As there is always the danger that the "social" may be appropriated by the natural domain, escaping human control, the Kayapó engage in a symbolic appropriation of the natural, transforming it into the social through curing chants and ceremonies that establish a constant exchange between humans and the world of nature.

The section of forest in which the village population hunts, fishes, and cultivates land is first socialized by the attribution of place names. Thereafter human modifications of the natural world are accompanied by rituals. The opening of new gardens is preceded by a dance presenting many structural similarities to the war ritual. Opening up new gardens can be interpreted as a symbolic war against a natural rather than human enemy. Returning from the hunt, men must sing to the spirits of the game they themselves have killed in order for the spirits to remain in the forest. Each animal species designates a song that always begins with the cry of the dead animal.

Kayapó rites express basic values of their society, reflecting the image the group has of itself, the society, and the universe. Each rite translates a part of this cosmological vision and establishes a link between humans and nature, in which above all the human-animal relationship is reinforced. Kayapó rituals are many and diverse, but their importance and duration varies greatly. They are divided into three main categories: the large ceremonies for confirming personal names; certain agricultural, hunting, fishing, and occasional rites, for example, performed during solar or lunar eclipses; and rites of passage. The last are frequently solemn affairs, though short and only rarely accompanied by dances or songs. Examples of rites of passage include all ceremonies qualified by the term *merêrêmex* (people who extend their beauty), a reference to the highly elaborate way in which people decorate themselves on such occasions. Such ceremonies are group-based activities whose goal is to socialize "wild" or antisocial values. This applies to the attribution of names, a central theme of most Kayapó ceremonies; in fact personal names are borrowed from nature. Shamans enter into contact with the natural spirits and learn new songs and names from them, introducing them into culture through the large naming ceremonies.

On these occasions most of the ritual sequences take place in the village's central plaza, where an inversion of ordinary social space may be noted. The center of the village, normally organized on the basis of friendship and nonkinship, is converted into the domain of activities in which both personal family bonds and natural—and therefore "wild" elements, such as the personal names or those of killed prey—are central. The true nature of "beauty" is not only visual but also refers to an inner beauty that results from the group's activity, from the common effort required to "socialize" the names of people or of other precious objects.

Xikrin. For the Xikrin, the center of the world is likewise represented by the center of the circular village plaza, where rituals and public life in general unfold. The symbol of the center of the world and the universe is the rattle, a round, head-shaped musical instrument, played as the Indians sing and dance following a circular path that accompanies the solar trajectory. The Indians say that, when dancing, they return in time to their mythic origins, thereby recreating the energy required for the continuity and stability of the environment and the resources needed for survival, the continual reproduction of life, and the different social institutions that ensure the equilibrium indispensable to life in the community.

The Xikrin define distinct natural spaces of their universe: the earth, divided into open tracts and forest, the sky, the aquatic world, and the subterranean world. These are thought to possess distinct attributes and inhabitants, though related among themselves in different ways. The forest is home to different ethnic sets of enemies, terrestrial animals, and plants. Disrespectful appropriation of the animal world causes the fury of the spirit owner-controller of the animals who, through sorcery, regulates the predatory activities of humans. On the other hand, the forest is also the source of important attributes of Xikrin sociability, for there, in mythical times, the Indians acquired fire and ceremonial language. Clearings—places formed by the village or the swiddens—are the site for kinship and alliance relations and for the individual's socialization, in other words, for the definition of Xikrin humanity. The aquatic domain provides the possibility for strengthening physical and psychological aspects of the individual, because water causes rapid maturation through ritual immersions yet without altering the being's substance. Water is a creative element in contrast to fire, which is a transformative element. An owner-controller also exists in the aquatic domain whose relationship with humans is one of solidarity. It was the owner-controller of the waters who taught humans to cure sicknesses. Medicinal plants come from the terrestrial domain, but their knowledge and the rules for manipulating them were acquired in the aquatic world through the mediation of a shaman. The subterranean world is linked with blood, raw food, and cannibalism, representing a truly antisocial condition in which humans are prey rather than predators. It represents all that humans do not want to be. In the celestial domain, the East is the place of humanity par excellence, the place where the Xikrin originated. The Xikrin have two myths that consecrate them as inhabitants of the earth, in opposition to the sky where they originated and in opposition to the subterranean inhabitants, whom they succeeded in eliminating forever.

In Xikrin society an individual becomes a shaman after he survives an ordeal, in which he climbs a giant spider web and reaches celestial space with its eternal light, where the nape of his neck is symbolically perforated by a large harpy eagle and he thus acquires the capacity to fly. As in other native societies, the shaman has the power to transit between the human world and the natural and supernatural worlds. In life humans accumulate over time attributes from different cosmic domains, but the shaman lives, shares, and constantly communicates with these domains. In his role of intermediary, he lives in human society, shares the social world of animals and the supernatural, and has the capacity to manipulate the different domains. He negotiates with the owner-controllers of the animal world for plentiful game or an abundant catch of fish. He has the capacity to "see" in the widest sense, perceiving what is invisible to humans.

When a community has enough people and thus human resources, the cycle of rituals is continuous. During rituals individuals acquire knowledge of aspects of social organization and reproduction. Song, choreography, and decorations, which humans acquired in mythical time, are reproduced in ritual as manifestations of the present situation of humanity in the cosmos. The most important rituals are those focused on male and female naming and male initiation, consisting of five phases, each of which is symbolically related to one of the particular cosmic domains. These rituals are sometimes inserted within others, such as the new maize festival or *merêrêmei*, "beautiful festival," which takes place during the transitional period between the dry and rainy seasons; the festivals incorporating new members of a ceremonial society, such as the armadillo society; the marriage ritual or mat festival; and the funerary rituals and ritual fishing using *timbó* vine poisons. There are also newly introduced rituals, such as *Kworo-kango*, or the manioc festival, which comes from the Juruna people. At certain periods, the ritual cycle attains its climax and develops over several days with high intensity and lavish style. Ceremonial life also acts as a crucial context for the expression of the ways in which the Xikrin reflect on the relationships developed with the white world.

Arara (Carib). The history of the formation of the Arara cosmos states that the primordial cosmos was shattered after a fight occurred between two people related as *ipari* (matrilateral cross-cousins or, more generally, affines). The land on the terrestrial level now is said to be what was left over from the primeval cosmological floor that broke up and fell from the sky after the combat. That floor was also the edge of the domain where all benign beings used to live. Outside that domain, there were only malicious beasts who constantly fought, living a horrifying existence. With the shattering of the cosmos, the coexistence of all types of living beings became a necessity. Consequently extraordinary and evil creatures even now can appear on the terrestrial plane. To distinguish what is ordinary and beneficial from what is extraordinary and vicious, one must develop expertise through shamanic experiences.

As an institution Arara shamanism is dispersed, diffused, and generalized among the men. Acting as healers and agents for mediating with powerful metaphysical beings, all the men are initiated and practice at least some part of the shamanic techniques and arts. They are also responsible for ensuring, with metaphysical beings, the conditions for the hunts and rites that in turn ensure the circulation of game meat and beverages among the various subgroups. Game meat and drink make up an integral part of a system whose main axis is the native doctrine concerning the circulation of a vital substance called *ekuru.* Passing from the blood of killed animals to the earth and from there to the liquids that nourish and stimulate the growth of plants, this vital substance is the main object of desire—not only of human beings, but also of all beings who inhabit the world. Humans seek to acquire *ekuru* through the deaths of animals during the hunt and the transformation of plants into a fermented drink called *piktu*—a primordial source for acquiring these vital substances for humans.

The capacity of the earth to reprocess vital substances, transforming them into plant nutrients with which humans produce beverages, also shapes Arara funeral practices. In general the Arara do not bury their dead but construct a platform for them in the forest inside a small funeral house built especially for the occasion. Raised above the earth, the deceased gradually dries out, losing the body's vital substances that are absorbed by metaphysical beings that lurk around corpses and feed on the elements that previously gave life to the deceased. The Arara funeral is thus a kind of an eschatological exchange or reciprocity with the world's other beings. On the other hand, the circulation of *ekuru* takes place among the living through the exchange of meat for drink in the rites that follow the return of the hunters. Consequently rituals are the mode through which the circulation of vital substance conjoins various subgroups through reciprocity and mutual dependence. Through their overall symbolism, the prominent rites associated with the collective hunting trips are an efficient mechanism through which ethical and moral values become manifest and serve to constitute a native idea of their own collectivity. An intricate network of values and principles of interaction related to good conduct, kindness, solidarity, and generosity finds its primary medium of expression in the rituals.

***CABOCLO* RELIGION.** The *caboclo* population lives in communities from the mouth of the Amazon to its headwaters and on many of its tributaries. *Caboclos* are the mixed descendants of Indians and whites, and their religiosity consists of an intermixture of the rituals and beliefs of indigenous shamanism and popular Catholicism. Both forms are ways of explaining and dealing with the powers of the universe.

The shamanic universe is populated by "enchanted beings," which were left by God as guardians of the forest, the waters, game animals, and so on. They are entities with powers of enchantment, metamorphosis, and hypnosis and can be either generous or vengeful. They include the "father" or "*caboclo* of the forest," protector of the forest; the *caipora*, responsible for game animals; and the "*caboclos* of the water," which can take humans to the bottom of rivers and streams. There are also animals (snakes, deer, and turtles) with human features that can protect, deceive, hypnotize, or make pacts.

The presence of these entities in nature makes the relations of the *caboclo* to the forest, rivers, and game highly ritualized. Daily activities, such as going into the forest or fishing, are marked by prayers or requests from the spirit entities to hunt or fish; the failure to do so could bring *panema* (bad luck), a force that infects humans, animals, or objects and makes them incapable of action. As there are procedures to cure *panema*, there are also procedures to enhance the power of the hunter, sometimes called "pacts," in which, for example, the hunter exchanges the blood of the animal for greater productivity in the hunt. The relation of the *caboclo* to nature is thus one of dependence that is kept in balance by respecting norms of relations with its inhabitants and the exploitation of its resources.

The other aspect of *caboclo* religiosity is popular Catholicism, which, far from being opposed to the supernatural beings, consists of entities and practices that are integral parts of a single religious field. In general appeals are made to the Catholic saints to deal more with human affairs, whereas the enchanted beings and pacts have relatively more to do with relations to nature. As in other regions of Brazil, popular Catholicism involves saint day festivals, collective reciting of the rosary, novenas, devotion to patron saints, and making vows. The actual presence of church representatives (priests) is infrequent in this region, as it is restricted to annual visits to administer the Sacraments.

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SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS: INDIANS OF THE GRAN CHACO

The Gran Chaco (*chaco,* derived from Quechua, means "hunting land") is an arid alluvial plain in the lowlands of south-central South America. Approximately 725,000 square kilometers in area, it lies between the Andes in the west and the Paraguay and Paraná rivers in the east, and between the Mato Grosso to the north and the Pampas to the south. The scrub forests and grasslands of the Gran Chaco, though sparsely populated, were the home of numerous indigenous groups. In the main they were hunters, fishers, and gatherers, moving seasonally in search of food and practicing supplementary farming. Few still follow their traditional way of life.

The religion of the indigenous groups of the Gran Chaco can be understood through an examination of their mythic narratives, which contain their primary structures of meaning. These myths give an account of a primordial time in which an ontological modification was produced by the actions of various supernatural beings who shaped present-day cultural reality. This rupture may be caused by a lawgiver (who frequently has the appearance of a trickster), or it may be the result of infractions by ancestors or by the transformations of ancestors. Numerous supernatural beings with avowedly demonic characteristics monopolize the realm of fear and danger; their ambivalent intentions toward human beings are usually resolved through malevolent action that manifests itself in illness, culminating in the death of the individual. The general notion of power, such as the *la-ka-áyah* of the Mataco, or specific powers, such as the *uhopié* of the *Ayoré,* are the structures that ontologically define the supernatural beings as well as people who have been consecrated by them.

The spectrum of supernatural beings encompasses everything from shamans and witches, in the cases of the Guiacurú or the Mataco, to the state of "amorous exaltation" known to the Pilagá. For an integral understanding of the peoples of the Chaco it is important to consider the contributions of these special personages and states of being, which contribute a unique cultural identity to each group's cosmology. In almost all the ethnic groups of the Gran Chaco the shaman occupies the central role in religious tasks, sometimes defending and protecting, and, at other times, injuring. When engaged in healing practices, he can combine various techniques, such as singing, shaking rattles, blowing, and sucking, and can command the collaboration of familiar spirits who are generally powerful owing to their demonic nature. An important aspect of Gran Chaco religions is the idea that one or many souls are incarnated in an individual. Once the individual is dead, these souls, or spirits, enter a demonic state. Although they are directed to an established underworld, they continue to prey upon human communities.

THE ZAMUCO FAMILY. The two members of the Zamuco language group are the Ayoré and the Chamacoco of Paraguay, in the northeastern Chaco.

The Ayoré. The religion of the Ayoré (Ayoreo, Ayoreode) is expressed primarily in an extensive set of myths. All natural and cultural beings have their origins related in mythic tales, and in certain cases in various parallel myths. The morphology of the myths centers upon the metamorphosis of an ancestral figure into an entity of current reality. Each tale narrates events that occurred in primordial times and is accompanied by one or more songs, which may be used for therapeutic *(sáude)* or preventive *(paragapidí)* purposes.

Despite the abundance of tales, it is possible to classify the Ayoré myths in different cycles as they relate to a particular supernatural being or theme:

(1) *The cycle of ancestors.* Each tale in this cycle recounts events in the life of an ancestor *(nanibahai).* These generally end with the ancestor's violent transformation into an artifact, plant, animal, or some other entity of the cosmos, and with the establishment by the ancestor of cultural prescriptions (*puyák*) governing the treatment of the new being and punishments for ignoring these prescriptions.

(2) *The cycle of Dupáde.* A celestial supernatural being, Dupáde is associated with the sun; he causes the metamorphosis of the ancestors.

(3) *The cycle of the Flood.* The tales of the Flood (*gedekesnasóri*) describe an offense inflicted on lightning by the *nanibahai,* their punishment in the form of a continual rain that inundated the world, and the survival of a few Ayoré, who became the first aquatic animals.

(4) *The cycle of "water that washes away."* These tales describe a flood (*yotedidekesnasóri*) similar to that that appears in the preceding cycle, which was caused by Diesná ("cricket"), the ruler of water.

(5) *The cycle of the Asohsná bird.* This bird (*Caprimulgidae spp*) is surrounded by numerous *puyák.* The central tale of this cycle relates the life of the female ancestor who created this bird. Asohsná is a supernatural being who established the annual ceremony that divides the year into two segments, one of which is characterized by an incalculable quantity of restrictions.

(6) *The cycle of Asningái.* This cycle relates the courage of an ancestor named Asningái ("courage"), who threw himself onto the fire, transforming himself into an animal with certain morphological characteristics. It also established the meaning of slaughter, an important institution among the Ayoré, since an individual could rise to the status of chief *(asuté)* through contamination by spilled blood.

Illness is thought to be caused in almost all cases by the individual's violation of *puyák.* The cure is entrusted to the *igasitái,* those who have knowledge of *sáude,* whose power can undo the illness through the powerful word of the ancestors. The shaman, or *daihsnái,* arrives at this state through an initiation that involves the ingestion of a strong dose of the juice of green mashed tobacco, which enables him to assume a special potency called *uhopié.* When an individual dies, the body *(ayói)* and mind *(aipiyé)* are destroyed; the soul *(oregaté)* moves to the underworld (*nahupié).*

The Chamacoco. The narrative of the Chamacoco, which recounts sacred events, is called "The Word of Ešnuwérta." This tale constitutes the secret mythology of those men who have undergone initiatory ordeals and contains the social and religious knowledge of the group. Ešnuwérta is the primordial mother. The myth is connected to the women of primordial times who were surprised by harmful supernatural beings (*axnábsero*). "The Word of Ešnuwérta" includes the actions of these *axnábsero,* characters to whom Chamacoco reality is subordinated. The physiognomy of these supernatural beings is similar to that of the Ayoré ancestors in that current reality originates from their transformations and their deaths. The distinctive characteristic of the *axnábsero* is their malignant power (*wozós*) over people.

The foundation of the social order is presented in this myth, since Ešnuwérta instituted the clans as well as the male initiation ceremonies in which the participants identify themselves with the principal deities of the myth.

The Chamacoco shaman (*konsáxa*) exercises a power appropriate to a specific region of the cosmos; for this reason there are shamans of the sky, of the water, and of the jungle. The shaman initiation begins with a vision of Ešnuwérta, who reveals the cosmos as well as the practices appropriate to the work of the shamans. Another custom originating from Ešnuwérta is called *kaamták* and has to do with a ritual offering of food; it relates to the impurity of blood, among other themes.

The Tupi-Guaraní Family. The Tupi-Guaraní language family includes the Chiriguano of Bolivia and the Tapuí of Paraguay.

The Chiriguano. The tale of the mythical twins Yanderú Túmpa and Áña Túmpa is the most prevalent myth among the Chiriguano (Miá) and appears in conjunction with lunar mythology. The celestial supernatural being Yanderú Túmpa made the cosmos and bestowed its goods on the Chiriguano, at the same time instructing them in cultural practices. He conceived and made Áña Túmpa, who, because of envy, attempts to undermine all Yanderú Túmpa's works. Áña Túmpa received from his maker power (*imbapwére*), which he in turn gives to other beings (*áñas*) who aid him in his malignant activities. As a result the world has undergone a profound alteration. It is now the actions of the áñas that determine the condition of the Chiriguano world, and they have introduced calamities such as illness and death. The expression *túmpa* is difficult to comprehend, but it appears to designate a quality that transforms the various entities into "state beings." The terms *áña* and *túmpa* define the supernatural nature of these beings, that is to say, they emphasize that they are extraordinary.

The shaman and the sorcerer are both initiated by the acquisition of power from the *áñas.* The initiation itself is centered on the *áñas.* Due to their ambivalence, an initiate can become a shaman (*ipáye*) if their intent is benevolent; if their intent is malevolent, the initiate receives only malignant power that causes misfortune to the people and the community.

Tapuí and Guasurangwe. The religion of the Tapuí and the Guasurangwe, or Tapieté (an offshoot of the former), does not differ essentially from that of the Chiriguano; the same structures of meaning and the same supernatural beings may be observed.

Lengua-Mascoy Family. The Lengua-Mascoy language group of Paraguay includes the Angaité, Lengua, Kaskihá, and Sanapaná peoples.

The Angaité. The religious nature of the Angaité (Chananesmá) has undergone syncretism owing to their proximity to the Mascoy and Guaranian groups. Their mythology makes reference to three levels—the underworld, the terrestrial world, and the celestial world—all of which are inhabited by supernatural beings characterized by their ambivalent actions toward humans. The deity of the dead, Moksohanák, governs a legion of demonic beings, the *enzlép,* who pursue the sick, imprison them, and carry them to the "country of the dead," which is situated in the west. At night it is even possible for them to overpower passersby. The *gabioamá* or *iliabün* act as the spirit familiars of the shaman, and with him their role is ambivalent in a positive sense. For example, they are in charge of recapturing and restoring the souls of the sick.

According to Angaité myth, fire was obtained by a theft in which a bird was the intermediary; it was stolen from a forest demon, one of the *iek'amá,* who are anthropomorphic but have only one leg. Also anthropomorphic is the soul-shadow (*abiosná*), whose eyes are its distinguishing feature. The concept of corporal material as such does not exist, except for the *iek'amá* ("living cadaver" or "skeleton"), which is what remains after death.

During the initiation process, the shaman goes into the depths of the forest or to the banks of the river, where the familiar spirits (*pateaskóp* or *enzlép*) come to him in a dream. He communicates with the familiars through ecstatic dreams and songs. His therapeutic labors include sucking harmful agents from the bodies of the sick and applying vegetable concoctions whose efficacy resides in their "bad smell." There are shamans with purely malignant intentions, such as the *mamohót,* who are responsible for tragic deaths among members of the group. The benevolent shaman is responsible for discovering the identity of the bewitching shaman and for quartering and burning the body of the victim as a restorative vengeance. The Angaité do not have "lords" or "fathers" of the species; the figures closest to this theme are Nekéñe and Nanticá, male and female supernatural beings respectively, who are anthropomorphic and whose realm is the depths of the waters.

The Lengua. The anthropogenic myth of the Lengua (Enlhít, Enslet) attributes the formation of giant supernatural beings and the ancestors of the Lengua to Beetle, who utilized mud as primary material. After giving these beings a human form, he placed the bodies of the first *enlhíts* to dry on the bank of a lake, but he set them so close together that they stuck to one another. Once granted life, they could not defend themselves against the attacks of the powerful giants, and Beetle, as supreme deity, separated the two groups. Eventually the inability of the *enlhíts* to resist pursuit and mistreatment by the giants became so grave that Beetle took away the giants' bodies. The giants' souls gave birth to *kilikháma* who fought to regain control of the missing bodies, and it is for this reason that they torment present-day humans.

The important Lengua myths include the origin of plants and fire and the fall of the world. Ritual dramatizations of the myths are part of the celebrations for female puberty (*yanmána*), male puberty (*waínkya*), the spring and autumn equinoxes, the summer solstice, war, the arrival of foreigners, marriage, and mourning.

Human reality consists of a "living soul" (*valhók*), whose dream existence is important. At death, a person is transported to *vangáuk,* which is a transitory state that leads to the *kilikháma* state. The *apyoxólhma,* or shaman, receives power (*siyavnáma*) through visions and apprenticeship to the song of the plants, whose ingestion, though lacking hallucinogenic properties, produces ritual death. Once he obtains *siyavnáma,* the shaman commands the *kilikháma,* who control numerous beings and realms of the universe. The territory of the dead *(pisisl),* situated toward the west, is the destination of the souls of the dead, although some remain close to the living.

The Kaskihá. The "masked celebration" of the Kaskihá is of particular interest. It is based on a myth that describes the origin of the festive attire following the quartering of the water deity Iyenaník. The practice of *kindáian,* which is a dance, is the only medium for invoking the power of such deities.

The Sanapaná. The rich mythic narrative of the Sanapaná focuses on the war between the heavenly world, inhabited by the ancestors (*inyakahpanamé*), and the terrestrial world, inhabited by the fox (*maalék*). The ancestors, who differ morphologically from present-day humanity, introduced the majority of cultural goods. Among the fundamental structures distinguished by the Sanapaná is the "dream," the soul's life in its wanderings separate from the body. Death is understood as theft of the soul by demonic forces, the souls of the dead that stalk during the night in forests and marshes. The demonic spirits are anthropomorphic. Some are malignant, including those whose mere appearance can cause immediate death. There are also benevolent spirits who are the familiars of shamans *(kiltongkamák)*. The shaman's initiation involves fasting and other tests.

Mataco-Makká Family. The Mataco-Makká language family of the central Chaco includes the Mataco, Chulupí, Choroti, and Makká.

The Mataco. The religious universe of the Mataco *(Wichí)* centers on the notion of power (*la-ka-áyah*), which is the property of innumerable supernatural beings of demonic (*ahát*) or human *(wichí)* nature, personifications of such phenomena as the sun, moon, stars, and thunder. The Mataco recognize a dualism of body (*opisán*) and spirit (*oʾnusék*) in humans. Death changes the *oʾnusék* into a malevolent supernatural being.

The central character in Mataco mythic narrative (*pahlalís*), Tokhwáh, is the one who imposes cosmic and ontological order on the present-day world. The actions of this supernatural being, who has a demonic nature, are incorporated in his trickster aspect; nonetheless, he is perceived by the Mataco as a suffering and sad being. In his lawgiving role he introduces economic practices and tools; humanizes the women who descend from the sky by eliminating their vaginal teeth; institutes marriage; and teaches the people how to get drunk, to fight, and to make war. He also introduces demonic spirits who cause illnesses (*aités*) and establishes the shamanic institution (*hayawú*) and death. The most important Mataco ceremony is carried out by the shamans, in both individual and communal form, with the objective of expelling illnesses according to Tokhwáh's teachings.

The shamanic initiation includes possession (*welán*) by a demonic spirit (*ahát*) and the consequent separation of the initiate's soul (*oʾnusék*), which undertakes journeys to the different realms of the cosmos. When the initiation is complete, the shaman has achieved an ontological alteration in the state of his soul—he has been transformed into a demonic being. The smoking or inhalation of the dust of the sumac (*Anadenanthera macrocarpa*) is a frequent shamanic practice.

The Chulupí. The mythology of the Chulupí (Nivaklé, Aslusláy) comprises three narrative cycles on the deities who acted in primordial times, but who then distanced themselves from humanity and the earthly world. The Xitscittsammee cycle describes a supernatural being comparable to an almost forgotten *deus otiosus.* The cycle of the supernatural being Fitsók Exíts includes prescriptions for the rites of female initiation; myths recounting the origin of women, of the spots on the moon, and of honey, among other things; and the tale of the expulsion from the universe of the supernatural creator. The Kufiál cycle relates the cataclysmic events accompanying the fall of heaven and the subsequent actions of the demiurge Kufiál, to name a few of its themes.

A structure essential to the Chulupí religion is *sičʾee,* or ultimate power, which defines and dominates a vast group of beings and actions. In effect, *sičʾee* is the strange made powerful, which can manifest itself in unexpected guises—in human or animal form, by means of a sound or a movement like a whirlwind, or as master of the spirits of the forest. The *sičʾee* plays a significant role in the initiation of the shaman (*sičʾee*): He appears to the shaman in the guise of an old man, for example, who offers the shaman power and grants him the spirit familiars called *watʾakwáis.* By fasting, enduring solitude in the woods, and drinking potions made of various plants, the initiate achieves a revelatory experience rich in visions, many of which are terrifying. The Chulupí idea of animistic reality is extremely complicated and varied, given that the soul can appear in any number of manifestations.

The Choroti. The principal cycles of the Choroti are five in number. The cycle of Kixwét describes a supernatural being, of human appearance but gigantic, whose role comprises the duplicity of both the demiurge and the trickster. The cycle of Ahóusa, the Hawk, the culture hero *par excellence,* recounts how he defeated the beings of primordial times, stealing and distributing fire and teaching humans the technique of fishing and the making of artifacts. The cycle of Woíki, the Fox, who partakes of the intrinsic nature of Kixwét and is a very important figure in indigenous cultures, contains myths describing his creation of various beings and modalities of the present-day world. The cycle of Weʾla, the Moon, relates the formation of the world. The cycle of Tsematakí alludes to a feminine figure characterized by her ill will toward men and her uncontainable cannibalism.

The Choroti shaman (*aíew*) receives power *(i-tóksi)* from the supernatural beings *(thlamó)*, and the strength of his abilities depends on the number of familiars (*inxuélai*) he has.

The Makká. The Makká mythology can be classified as eclectic, as it demonstrates cultural contact with almost all the other indigenous groups of the Gran Chaco. The Makká cycle of the fox is similar to the narrative cycle surrounding the Mataco supernatural being Tokhwáh and demonstrates similar themes, such as the origin of women and the toothed vagina. The Makká hero Tippá, who possesses an immense penis, is somewhat reminiscent of Wéla, the Mataco moon deity.

In earlier times, power (*t’un*) was obtained by capturing a scalp, after which a complex ceremony was held in which the scalp was discarded but the soul *(le sinkál)* of the dead enemy was retained as a personal familiar, or spirit helper. This familiar would manifest itself during sleep by means of a song that even today is sung during drinking bouts. Ceremonies of drinking bouts among adults permit the regulation of power among people. The ceremony of female initiation is also important, as is true throughout most of the Gran Chaco.

The organization of the traditional religious universe was altered through the introduction of Christianity by General J. Belaieff, who brought the Makká from the interior of the Chaco to the outskirts of Asunción. The icon of Belaieff is now a central theme in Makká shamanism. Just as among the Mataco, the shaman (*weihet’x*) is charged with controlling the demonic supernatural beings (*inwomét*).

GUIACURÚ-CADUVEO FAMILY. The Guiacurú-Caduveo language family of the Gran Chaco and Brazil includes the tribes known as the Pilagá, the Toba, the Caduveo, and the Mocoví.

The Pilagá. Certain mythic cycles may be distinguished in the Pilagá mythology. One cycle describes the celestial deity Dapiči, to whom is attributed the inversion of the cosmic planes and the transference of some animals and plants to the sky. In the past, prayers were offered for his help in the most diverse activities. Another cycle describes Wayaykaláciyi, who introduced death, made the animals wild, and established hunting techniques, modifying the Edenic habits of an earlier time. Among the eminent supernatural beings is Nesóge, a cannibalistic woman who determines the practices of the witches (*konánagae*). Such characters and themes as the Star Woman and the origin of women appear in Pilagá myths.

Among the significant structures, the *payák* is the most important. This notion defines nonhuman nature, which is peculiar to supernatural beings, shamans (*pyogonák*), animals, plants, and some objects. Relations with the *payák* determine conditions in the indigenous world. Either people acquire *payák*s as familiars who aid them in their customary activities, or the *payák*s inflict suffering on them in the form of illness, the death of domestic animals, the destruction of farms, or a poor harvest of fruit from wild plants. Such concepts as the "master-dependent" (*logót-lamasék*) and the "center-periphery" *(laiñí-laíl)* allow the Pilagá to classify beings and entities according to a hierarchy of power.

The initiation of women takes place at the onset of menses. The young girl is locked in a corner of her hut and forced to fast rigorously. When males reach adolescence, they submit to scarification of their arms and legs by a shaman, and the young man is given the characteristics of the species of animal whose bone was used as a scarifier. Throughout entire lives, men continue to scarify themselves, especially when preparing for the hunt or going into battle.

The Toba. The principal themes of Toba (Kom) narrative are celestial cosmology and mythology, which appear in stories about Dapiči and the Pleiades; cataclysms; the origin of specific entities; stories of animals; stories of the trickster Wahayaka’lacigu, the lawgiver Ta’ankí, and Ašien, a supernatural being with a repulsive appearance; and encounters between Toba people and the supernatural being Nowét. The morphology of these characters, all of whom were powerful in the primordial times, fluctuates between the human and the animal.

For the Toba, the central structure of the cosmology is *nowét,* which appears in the forms of the masters of animals and of the spheres. Nowét, as a supernatural being, initiates the shamans (*pi’ogonák*) and grants them power that can be used equally to heal or to harm. Outside the shamanic sphere, all special skills—hunting, fishing, dancing, and so on—derive from power given by Nowét. Dreams are structures that have importance in the relations between humans and Nowét. Shamanic power is established by the possession of spirit familiars (*ltawá*), who help shamans cure serious illnesses, which are considered intentional and also material. Therapy combines singing, blowing, and sucking as methods of removing the harmful agent from the victim's body.

Some of the important ceremonies of the Toba are name giving, the initiation of young boys, the offering of prayers to Dapiči, matutinal prayers to the heavenly beings, and the supplications of the hunters to some supernatural being in a nowét state.

The Caduveo. Go-neno-hodi is the central deity of Caduveo mythology; he is maker of all people and of a great number of the cultural goods. His appearance is that of a Caduveo, and he is without evil intention. In his benevolence, he granted the Caduveo, in ancient times, an abundant supply of food, clothes, and utensils, as well as eternal life, but the intervention of Hawk, astute and malicious, made Go-neno-hodi modify the primordial order. Nibetád is a mythical hero identified with the Pleiades; he greeted the ancestors during the ceremony celebrating the annual reappearance of this cluster of stars and the maturation of the algaroba (mesquite).

The shamanic institution is actualized in two different individuals: the *nikyienígi* ("father"), who protects and benefits the community, and the *otxikanrígi,* the cause of all deaths, illnesses, and misfortunes in the group. Celebrations that are particularly worthy of note are the lunar ceremonies, the rites celebrating the birth of the chief's son, and the initiations of young men and women.

The Mocoví. Prominent in the scattered Mocoví material is the myth of an enormous tree that reached to the sky. By climbing its branches, one ascended to lakes and to a river. An angry old woman cut down the tree, extinguishing the valuable connection between heaven and earth.

Gdsapidolgaté, a benevolent supernatural being, presides over the world of the living. His activity contrasts with that of the witches. Healing practices among the Mocoví are the same as those of the other shamans of the Gran Chaco, with the addition of bloodletting. The Mocoví, like all the Guiacurú, believe in the honor of war and value dying in combat as much as killing. When they return from a battle they hang the heads of the vanquished on posts in the center of town and they sing and shout around them. The horse plays an important role in daily life and in the hereafter; when the owner of a horse dies, the horse is sacrificed and buried beside the owner to bear him to his final destination in the land of the dead.

ARAWAK FAMILY. The extensive Arawak family of languages includes the Chané of Argentina. Fundamental distinctions cannot be made between the corpus of Chané myths and that of the Chiriguano; similarities abound between them, particularly with respect to the figure of the shaman. There are two kinds of shamans: one with benevolent power (the *ipáye*) and another dedicated exclusively to malevolent actions that cause death (the *ipayepóci*). The *mbaidwá* ("knower, investigator") has dominion over the individual destinies of humans.

One of the most important aspects of Chané religion is the carnival of masks (also celebrated by the Chiriguano). Some of the masks are profane, representing animals and fantastic anthropomorphic characters. The sacred masks represent Áña, and these are deadly playthings that cannot be sold to travelers. When the carnival is finished, the masks become dangerous and must be destroyed.

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SOUTHEAST ASIAN RELIGIONS

This entry consists of the following articles:

HISTORY OF STUDY
MAINLAND CULTURES
INSULAR CULTURES
NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN INSULAR CULTURES

SOUTHEAST ASIAN RELIGIONS: HISTORY OF STUDY

Southeast Asia straddles one of the two trade routes linking East Asia and the Mediterranean. For many centuries, merchants traveled through the Straights of Malacca to points further east, bringing spices, gold, and other precious commodities, and with them came religious texts, modes of ritual practice, iconographies, and other religious systems. A consequence of this strategic location is that virtually all of the major religions of the world can be found in Southeast Asia. Today by far the most common religious traditions are Theravāda Buddhism, Islam, Roman Catholicism, and the Vietnamese variant of traditional Chinese religion. Yet there are also communities of Balinese and Tamil Hindus, Protestant Christians, Sikhs, and Zoroastrians. Prior to the Second World War there were significant Jewish communities. One can also find a vast array of indigenous religions in traditionally isolated portions of the region that are either upland or on remote islands far from the trade routes.

The diversity of religion in Southeast Asia has attracted area specialists in almost all religious traditions to study the region, and the theoretical orientations and methodologies employed in the study of religion in the region are nearly as diverse as the religions of the region itself. The academic study of religion in Southeast Asia began in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The earliest works are largely descriptive. Most of them were written by colonial officials or Christian missionaries. Stamford Raffles, John Crawfurd, and Christiaan Hurgronje were among the colonial officers who made enduring contributions to the study of religion in Southeast Asia. Among the most important works by missionary scholars are Hans Scharer's studies of the indigenous religions of Kalimantan (Borneo) and Paul Bigandet's study of Burmese Buddhism. Subsequent scholars have employed a variety of philological, archeological, historical, literary-critical, political-science, and anthropological approaches. Many more general works provide important data for scholars of religion. Among the most important of these are district gazetteers and other publications of colonial governments. These often provide the only available materials for the study of the history of religion at the local level. James Scott's *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States* (1900–1901) and John Crawfurd's *History of the Indian Archipelago* (1820) are outstanding examples. Novels and other works of fiction can also provide valuable information. A clear example is Pramoedya Ananta Toer's four-volume novel *Buru Quartet* (1996), which is a fictionalized account of the religious and cultural forces that contributed to the rise of Indonesian nationalism.

Despite this double diversity, one can detect the following general themes and questions that have shaped the academic study of religion in Southeast Asia:

- Links between scholarly agendas and the agendas of colonial and postcolonial states.
- Relations between religion and politics in traditional Southeast Asian states.
- The development of increasingly nuanced understandings of the nature of religious traditions.
- The emergence, in the last decades of the twentieth century, of a symbiotic relationship between religious studies and the social sciences, particularly cultural anthropology.

These four factors interact in very complex ways in the academic discourse about religion in Southeast Asia.

POLITICAL AGENDAS. The political agendas of colonial and postcolonial states did much to shape the development of scholarly traditions. They have influenced the topics scholars have chosen to investigate and the interpretation of their findings. The academic study of religion in Southeast Asia dates back to the early decades of the nineteenth century at a time when the British, French, Dutch, and Spanish were consolidating colonial empires. Edward Said has argued that in the Middle East, colonial scholarship was among the means through which Europeans sought to dominate and domesticate potentially hostile religious elites. Much the same can be said of colonial scholarship on Southeast Asia.

Such works as compilations of customary law and gazetteers describing local customs and periodic rituals were of immediate value to colonial officials and other resident Europeans. They remain valuable resources for scholars concerned with religious change, and are particularly important for scholars of the indigenous religions of tribes of the region. An overwhelming number of these groups converted to Christianity in the first half of the twentieth century. As their traditional religions were orally transmitted, European writings provide the only available information about those early religions.

The study of religion also provided instruments for domination in a more subtle sense. Many of the monumental works of colonial scholarship, including Stamford Raffles's *History of Java* (1817) and Paul Mus's *Barabuḍur* (1935), locate the greatness of Southeast Asian cultures in the distant past. These studies provided support for colonialist apologetics, a major theme of which was that Southeast Asian cultures had become decadent and corrupt and that benevolent Europeans were assisting these cultures with colonial rule. While intended for a European audience, these works were also read by many Southeast Asians and are in part responsible for the sense of cultural dislocation so vividly described by Toer in his novels.

Islam and Buddhism were equally misrepresented, though in very different ways. Raffles and Theodore Pigeaud went to great lengths to deny the Islamic character of Indonesian and particularly Javanese civilization. For them, Islam was a threat to colonial authority. Portraying Indonesia as a Hindu culture was part of a strategy of colonial domination. Indonesian elites educated in Dutch schools were taught that their culture and religion were an amalgamation of Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism, and were discouraged from learning more than the rudiments of Islam. Christiaan Hurgronje, the greatest Islamicist of the colonial era, also contributed to this agenda. His studies of the Achehnese and the Southeast Asian community in Mecca were as much political briefings as they were scholarship. The Dutch were involved in a bitter war with the Achehnese and regarded Mecca as a dangerous source of rebellion.

Buddhism was misrepresented in a different way. Many of the early works on Theravāda Buddhism in Southeast Asia were written by scholars who, if not Buddhists themselves, were extremely sympathetic towards a particular understanding of Buddhism. James Scott, Harold Fielding-Hall, and others understood Buddhism as an abstract rational science of the mind with little use for spirits, gods, or what they understood as superstitious practice. They regarded what are now clearly understood as Buddhist ritual practices as either the superstitions of the lower classes or remnants of a heathen past. Like many other earlier European interpreters of Buddhism, they imagined Buddhism as they wished it to be.

The academic study of religion continues to be politically significant in the region. This is especially true of scholarship published in the languages of the region. Religious studies are not well developed in the region, but with the expansion of modern education since the end of the colonial era, studies of religion by Southeast Asian scholars have become increasingly common. Many Southeast Asian scholars of religion are trained in history; others in area, Buddhist, or Islamic studies. In many instances the lines between academic and committed scholarship is a fine one. In Southeast Asia many scholars of religion are actively engaged in political causes, movements, or parties. In addition to more traditional academic venues, intellectuals regularly publish in daily papers and weekly news magazines. Among the issues of concern to these scholars are economic development, ecological degradation, human rights, social justice, and democratization. There are no systematic studies of the writings of scholar-activists in European languages. In the Islamic societies of the region, questions concerning banking and finance are also important because of the traditional Islamic prohibition on interest. Most of this literature is inaccessible to nonspecialists because there are very few translations.

More conventional scholarship may also be pointed. Muslim Indonesia provides a cogent example. Indonesian scholars are familiar with Western scholarship that has depicted traditional cultures as being only trivially Muslim. Islamists often cite the works of Clifford Geertz as proof that their own critiques of religious traditionalists are valid. To establish the orthodoxy of their positions, traditionalists have produced countertexts that can be read simultaneously as history and theology. Zamakhsyari Dhofier's *The Pesantren Tradition* (1999) is a ready example. In this way academic scholars of religion are drawn into Southeast Asian religious discourse.

Political considerations have also influenced which communities are studied and which are not. Politically significant communities receive greater attention than minorities. Scholarly neglect of Southeast Asian Christianity, traditional Chinese religion, and Tamil Hinduism is especially apparent. Neglect of Southeast Asian Christianity is among the most serious problems confronting the field. The conversion of many tribal and Chinese people to Christianity has fundamentally altered the religious landscape of Southeast Asia. In general, there has been very little research on the interaction of religious communities in any Southeast Asian country. The religions of Myanmar (Burma) have also suffered from scholarly neglect, but for a different reason: very few scholars have been able to conduct research there since the middle of the twentieth century.

RELIGION, POLITICS, AND CULTURE. Many scholars of Southeast Asian religions have been concerned with the role of religion in indigenous political systems and the interrelation of religion and culture. Archeologists and historians have attempted to discern the religious foundations of Southeast Asian statecraft. Of the few manuscripts that have survived from the precolonial period, a substantial number concern theories of kingship. This concern is also found in nineteenth-century texts, many of which are preserved in libraries and archives in Holland, Great Britain, and France, as well as Southeast Asia. Other important sources of the role of religion in politics include Chinese texts, inscriptions on monuments, and archeological sites, such as Pagan, Angkor, Ayutthaya, and Borobudur. George Coedes, Robert Heine-Geldern, Stanley Tambiah, and others have found that Southeast Asian kingdoms were structured as representations of Hindu or Buddhist cosmologies and that kings were often described as divine or semidivine beings. Muslim kingdoms retain some of the symbolism of the Hindu and Buddhist past and also describe Sultans as descendants of the Prophet Muhammad and as representatives of God on earth.

A substantial body of scholarship focuses on the role of traditional religious concepts in contemporary Southeast Asian politics. Benedict Anderson, Clifford Geertz, and others suggests that traditional concepts of power and authority continue to inform political discourse and the conduct of politics throughout the region. In modern Southeast Asia, religion has been used to legitimize the political programs of states, leaders, and parties, be they authoritarian or liberal.

ON THE NATURE OF RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS. For most of its history, the academic study of religion has looked to ancient, philosophically complex texts for the essence of religious traditions and has assumed that popular and contemporary variants of these texts are in some sense corrupt. This understanding of world religions is apparent in many important studies of contemporary Southeast Asian religions, including Melford Spiro's *Buddhism and Society* (1982) and Clifford Geertz's *The Religion of Java* (1960). As Boone observes, this has lead to the construction of artificial canons recognized only by Western or Western-trained scholars. The tendency to understand world religions as philosophical systems embodied in ancient texts has contributed to the view that Southeast Asian Buddhists, Hindus, and Muslims are only superficially such and that indigenous animisms remain the most important of Southeast Asian religions. This view was articulated by Raffles in the early nineteenth century and has been subject to serious criticism only since the mid-1970s.

As scholars of religion have become increasingly concerned with religion as lived experience, many have come to question the assumptions of traditional philological scholarship. As a result, there is a greater appreciation of noncanonical texts and the relation of religion to daily social life. This has lead to a creative convergence of religious studies and cultural anthropology.

RELIGIOUS STUDIES AND CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY. Since the 1970s the distinction between cultural anthropology and religious studies has been muted by developments in both disciplines. Earlier generations of anthropologists generally focused on exclusively oral traditions. Even those who studied Buddhists, Muslims, and other adherents of literary religions paid scant attention to religious texts. This state of affairs began to change in the 1960s and 1970s as anthropologists became increasingly concerned with systems of symbols and meanings and as scholars of religion turned their attention to contemporary versions of world religions. This convergence began in communities of scholars focused on Theravāda Buddhism and Balinese Hinduism and has progressed to the point where works by cultural anthropologists and scholars of religion are difficult to distinguish. Its greatest impact is seen in the study of Southeast Asian Islam, which has moved from the margins to the mainstream of scholarly discourse on Southeast Asian religion and the Islamic tradition more generally.

CONCLUSIONS. Southeast Asia offers a wealth of research opportunities for scholars of many disciplines concerned with the study of religion. Scholars can study particular variants of most of the major religions of the world or social and cultural systems comprising multiple religious communities, with their different religious traditions and languages.

SEE ALSO Anthropology, Ethnology, and Religion; Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Southeast Asia; Fiction, article on Southeast Asian Fiction and Religion; Hinduism in Southeast Asia; Islam, article on Islam in Southeast Asia.

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SOUTHEAST ASIAN RELIGIONS: MAINLAND CULTURES

Mainland Southeast Asia has been termed the "crossroad of religions," for in this region, today divided into the countries of Burma, Thailand, and Laos, Cambodia (Kampuchea), and Vietnam, a large diversity of autochthonous tribal religions are intermingled with Hinduism, Theravāda and Mahāyāna Buddhism, Daoism, Confucianism, Islam, and Christianity, as well as the modern secular faith of Marxist-Leninism. Beneath this diversity there are many religious practices and beliefs that have common roots in the prehistoric past of peoples of the region. This is not to say, as have some scholars, that the historic religions are merely a veneer and that those Southeast Asians who adhere to religions such as Buddhism have been, as Reginald LeMay said of the Northern Thai, animists from time immemorial. Although certain beliefs and practices can be seen as linking peoples of the present to ancient Southeast Asian religions, they have often been reformulated to make sense within worldviews shaped by historic religions. The processes of religious change have, moreover, intensified in the wake of radical shaking of traditional orders taking place throughout the twentieth century.

Mainland Southeast Asia is not only a region of religious diversity; it is also a veritable Babel. Insofar as historical linguistics permits a reconstruction of the past, it would appear that most of the earliest inhabitants of the region spoke Austroasiatic languages ancestral to such modern-day descendants as Khmer and Mon. Many of the tribal peoples living in the highlands of central Vietnam and Laos, as well as a few groups found in northern Thailand and as far distant as Assam in India and Hainan Island belonging to China, speak Austroasiatic languages. Speakers of Austronesian languages, whose major modern-day representatives are the peoples of Indonesia, Malaysia, Micronesia, and Polynesia, as well as parts of Melanesia and Madagascar, were also present from prehistoric times in what is today southern Vietnam and the Malay Peninsula. Cham living in southern Vietnam and in Cambodia, as well as tribal peoples such as the Rhadé and Jarai in southern Vietnam, speak Austronesian languages. In the northern uplands of the region and in what is today northeastern India and southern China most peoples in prehistoric times appear to have spoken languages belonging to the Tibeto-Burman language family. The present-day Burmans and such tribal peoples as the Chin, Kachin, Lisu, Akha, and Lahu all speak Tibeto-Burman languages. Speakers of Tai (or Daic) languages seem to have originated in southern China and did not begin to settle in mainland Southeast Asia until much before the tenth century CE. Today, however, Thai (or Siamese), Lao, Northern Thai (or Yuan), and Shan—all speakers of Tai languages—constitute the major peoples of Thailand, Laos, and the Shan state of Burma, and Tai-speaking tribal peoples such as the Tho, Red Tai, Black Tai, and White Tai are found in northern Vietnam as well as northeastern Laos. Modern-day Vietnamese, which linguists assign to the distinctive Viet-Muong language family, is believed to have evolved from an Austroasiatic language that was transformed under the influence of Chinese. The distinctive Karennic languages spoken by peoples living on the eastern border of Burma and in parts of western Thailand are thought by linguists to be descendants of Tibeto-Burman stocks. Speakers of Miao-Yao languages, distantly connected to Tibeto-Burman and Sinitic language families, have migrated from southern China into mainland Southeast Asia only within the past century or so. Major migrations from China and India, spurred by the economic changes during the colonial period, also led to the introduction into the region of large numbers of speakers of Sinitic, Dravidian, and Indo-European languages.

PREHISTORIC FOUNDATIONS. People have lived in mainland Southeast Asia for as long as there have been *Homo sapiens,* and there is evidence of *Homo erectus* and even earlier hominid forms in the region as well. Paleolithic hunting-and-gathering peoples must have constructed their religious understandings of the world out of images drawn from their experiences in their environments and from the workings of the human body. Beyond this, little can be said, for there is no mainland Southeast Asian equivalent of the cave paintings of Lascaux to provide insight into the world of Paleolithic humans. It would, moreover, be quite illegitimate to project the religious beliefs of the Negritos of the Malay Peninsula, the last remaining significant groups of hunter-gatherers in the region, into the prehistoric past, for these beliefs have developed through as long a period as have other religions and have, moreover, been influenced by the religions of neighboring peoples.

The first significant evidence of religious beliefs and practices in mainland Southeast Asia comes from the period when humans in the region first began to live in settled agricultural communities. The domestication of rice, which may have taken place in mainland Southeast Asia before 4000 BCE, led to the emergence of a powerful image that was to become incorporated in almost all of the religious traditions of the region. To this day, most Southeast Asians think of rice as having a spiritual as well as a material quality; rice, like humanity, has a vital essence and is typically associated with a feminine deity. The recognition of rice as fundamental to life among most peoples in mainland Southeast Asia has been intertwined in religious imagery with the nurturing attribute of a mother.

Neolithic burial sites, many only recently discovered, are proving to be sources of knowledge about prehistoric religions in Southeast Asia. The very existence of such sites suggests that those who took so much trouble to dispose of the physical remains of the dead must have had well-formed ideas about the afterlife and about the connection between the states of the dead and the living. In the mass burial sites of Ban Chiang and Non Nok Tha in northeastern Thailand, the graves contain many items, including pottery, tools, and metal jewelry. The items found in the graves may be interpreted, on the basis of ethnographic analogy, as constituting goods believed to be used by the dead in the afterlife. In communities in northeastern Thailand today, the dead are cremated in accord with Buddhist custom, but the practice of burning personal belongings of the deceased at the same time perpetuates a pre-Buddhist tradition.

In a Neolithic burial site in western Thailand, the grave of an old man was found to contain a perforated stone disk and an antler with the tines sawed off. Per Sørensen, the archaeologist who excavated the site, believes these items may represent the headdress of a shaman; if so, they would be the earliest evidence of shamanism in mainland Southeast Asia. Shamanism must have an ancient pedigree in the region because it is found among most tribal peoples. Among the most intriguing Neolithic burial sites are ones in central Laos where large stone jars were found containing cremated human remains. This discovery suggests either that cremation predates Indian influence in Southeast Asia or that the jars were used long after they had originally been constructed as depositories of remains by peoples who had adopted the Buddhist practice of cremation.

Sites mainly in northern Vietnam and southern China dating to the first millennium BCE contain bronze drums associated with assemblages termed Dong-Son after a site in northern Vietnam. Dong-Son-type drums were later distributed widely not only in mainland Southeast Asia but in the islands of the region as well, although manufacture of the drums apparently continued to be restricted to a rather small area in northern mainland Southeast Asia. In more recent times, drums have been used by tribal peoples such as the Karen in funerary rites, and some archaeologists believe that the drums were always associated with death customs. Boat designs found on some of the Neolithic drums have been interpreted as being symbols of the means whereby souls of the dead were conveyed to the afterworld. The soul-boat image is found in a number of Southeast Asian cultures today, and a prehistoric notion may have persisted also in transformed form in the Buddhist symbol of the boat that conveys the saved across the sea of *saṃsāra* to *nibbāna* (Skt., *nirvāṇa*).

The designs on the drums, including concentric circles, frogs, birds, snakes or dragons, human figures in headdresses, buildings, and in some southern Chinese drums miniature scenes of rituals, have been variously interpreted. Some understand these as indicating a type of shamanism in which the drum played a part; others have seen them as having totemic significance. It is quite probable that at least some drum designs encode a dualistic cosmology, symbolized in part by an opposition between birds and snakes/dragons. Of particular interest are the images of buildings on piles, which may probably be regarded as a type of ritual hall or perhaps a men's house, and which are clearly related both to those found in many tribal communities today and to the *dinh,* the communal ritual hall of the Vietnamese.

There was never a uniform Dongsonian culture in northern mainland Southeast Asia. Peoples of the region in late prehistoric times were often isolated from each other by the numerous ranges of hills and must have developed distinctive religious traditions. Even though drums were widely traded throughout the region, they were most certainly put to different ritual purposes by different peoples.

An older generation of scholars, best represented by Robert Heine-Geldern, posited an underlying unity of prehistoric Southeast Asian religions that stemmed from the diffusion of a cultural complex from a single European source. While there were certainly contacts among peoples widely separated in Southeast Asia in prehistoric times, and while these contacts resulted in the diffusion of some practices and beliefs, most basic similarities must be understood to reflect the ordering of similar experiences (for example, those related to death, human fertility, cultivation of rice) that follow universal modes of human thought.

Drawing on later historical data as well as ethnographic analogy, Paul Mus, a distinguished student of Southeast Asian civilization argued that the autochthonous religions of protohistoric Southeast Asia coalesced around cults he termed "cadastral." Such cults were organized around images drawn from the local worlds of everyday experience. Spirits, such as the *nat*s of various Tibeto-Burman peoples or the *phī* of the Tai, populated these worlds. Humans were able to act in their worlds because they had "vital spirits," often conceived of as multiple, as with the Vietnamese *hon,* Khmer *pralu'n,* or Tai *khwan.* These vital spirits, which only in some cases constituted souls that gained immortal states after death, could leave the body for periods of time, but unless called back and secured—a practice widely seen among many peoples in Southeast Asia—the person would weaken and die.

These cadastral cults constituted the religions of agricultural peoples who had long since made rice their staple, although some cultivated it by swidden or slash-and-burn methods and others cultivated by irrigation. Rice also was believed to possess a vital spirit. Even today, peoples as diverse as the Chin in Burma, Lawa in northern Thailand, Lao in Laos, Jarai in southern Vietnam, and Khmer in Cambodia all perform rites after the harvest to call the spirit of the rice to ensure that it will provide essential nourishment when consumed. Some peoples also believe that other beings—especially the water buffalo used for plowing in wet-rice communities and elephants used for war and heavy labor—also have vital spirits.

The cosmologies of protohistoric Southeast Asian farmers, like those of primitive peoples throughout the world, were structured around fundamental oppositions. In Southeast Asia, the oscillation between the rainy rice-growing season and the dry fallow season found expression in such religious imagery. The fertility of the rainy season is widely associated with a female deity, the "rice mother," although a male image, that of the *nāga,* or dragon, and sometimes a crocodile, is also found in many traditions. In some cases—such as among the Cham, as attested by seventh-century CE inscriptions—the female deity is a *nāgī.* The dry season finds expression in images of male creator gods associated with the sun. To this day, many peoples who have long been Buddhists still engage in rites that entail a dualistic conception of the cosmos. The Lao perform a rite toward the end of the dry season, heavy with sexual symbolism, at which they set off rockets to inform the gods that it is time to send the rains. At the end of the rainy season, when the rivers have flooded, another ceremony is held at which men compete in boat races. The boats, representing *nāga*s, serve to ensure that the earth as supreme *nāga* will accept the flood waters before they drown the rice. The concern with the power of the earth continues after the harvest when attention is turned to the Rice Mother, who is propitiated at the same time that the vital spirit of the rice is called.

The world in which protohistoric peoples lived was marked by uncertainty: Crops might fail as a consequence of late rains or devastating floods; women might be barren, die in childbirth, or lose child after child; and both men and women might die young. Hence, people wished to influence the spirits and cosmic forces that controlled fertility and life. The fundamental method of gaining the favor of spiritual powers was through sacrifices. Human sacrifice was rare in mainland Southeast Asia, although the Wa of northern Burma and southern China even in recent times took heads to offer at New Year rites. Most peoples sacrificed domestic animals, with lesser rites requiring a chicken and more important rites, a pig or even a carabao. In tribal groups such as those in Burma and northeastern India, those men who organized large-scale sacrifices and the so-called feasts of merit associated with them acquired not only the esteem of their fellows but also a spiritual quality that was believed to persist even after their death. Such tribal chiefs are assumed to be similar to what O. W. Wolters calls "men of prowess," who were the heads of protohistoric chiefdoms. What is noteworthy about the tribal chiefs, and presumably about the earlier men of the same type, is that because of the vagaries of life, their potency could never be firmly established. Attempts were made to fix this potency by making the remains of men of prowess objects of cultic attention, especially by those who succeeded them. Rough stone monuments associated with early Cham culture in southern Vietnam and upright stones found together with the prehistoric stone jars in Laos have been interpreted, by analogy with the practice by such modern tribal peoples as Chin of Burma and related groups in northeastern India, as monuments that perpetuated and localized the potency of men who had succeeded during their lifetimes in effecting a relationship between the society and the cosmos. Such monuments were to lend themselves to reinterpretation in Hindu-Buddhist terms when Indian influences began to appear in Southeast Asia.

HISTORICAL TRANSFORMATIONS. Prior to the adoption of Indian or Chinese models, there appears to have been no priesthood in any Southeast Asian society capable of enforcing an orthopraxy among peoples living over a wide area. As the ritual effectiveness of men of prowess waxed and waned, so did the relative power of the polities they headed, thus giving rise to a classic pattern of oscillation between "democratic" and "autocratic" communities found among tribal peoples such as the Kachin of Burma even in recent years. What made it possible for Southeast Asians to imagine themselves as parts of communities whose members, both living and dead, were not all known personally was the introduction of religious conceptions fixed in written texts.

Some evidence, especially from among tribal peoples in what is today southern China, suggests that writing was invented independently by Southeast Asian peoples. However, the historical fact is that the earliest written records are either in some form of Indian script or in Chinese logographs. With these borrowed writing systems came Indian and Chinese texts, rites rooted in the texts, and institutions to perform the rites and perpetuate the textual traditions.

Sinitic influences. Chinese influences appear first in conjunction with the Han conquest of what is now northern Vietnam. Between the first Han movement into the area, in 124 BCE, and 43 CE, when the Chinese suppressed a rebellion led by the legendary Trung sisters, Chinese influence appears to have lain rather lightly on the Vietnamese. From the first century CE, however, the Vietnamese came increasingly to see themselves as part of a Sinitic world, which they knew through the same texts as were used in China proper. This sense of belonging to a Chinese world remained even after the Vietnamese gained independence from China in the eleventh century.

The Chinese model was most significant for literati—the Confucian mandarinate, Mahāyāna Buddhist monks, and even some Daoist priests—who derived their cultural understanding of the world from Chinese and Sino-Vietnamese texts. As none of these literati ever attained the role of a dominant priesthood in the villages, pre-Sinitic traditions, centered on a multitude of local spirits and deities, continued to be perpetuated by spirit mediums, soothsayers, and sorcerers (*thay*). Those Vietnamese who moved out of the Red River delta in the "push to the south" that began in the thirteenth century and continued into recent times came into contact with other traditions—those of the hinduized Cham and Khmer, the Buddhist Khmer, and local tribal peoples. In part because of significant non-Sinitic influences in southern Vietnam, the impress of Chinese culture was somewhat less evident in the popular culture of that region than in that of northern Vietnam. Vietnamese in southern Vietnam have to the present often turned to non-Sinitic religious practitioners—montagnard sorcerers and Theravāda monks, for example—for help in confronting fundamental difficulties in their lives. Many of the religiously inspired peasant rebellions originating in southern Vietnam as well as some modern syncretic popular religons have drawn inspiration from non-Chinese sources. This said, Vietnamese religion in all parts of the country has assumed a distinctly Sinitic cast, being organized primarily around ancestor worship in the Chinese mode. Elsewhere in mainland Southeast Asia, only migrant Chinese and those tribal peoples such as the Hmong and Mien who have lived long in Chinese-dominated areas show similar concern with ancestor worship.

Indian influences. In those areas of mainland Southeast Asia where Indian influences first appeared in the early centuries of the common era, individuals were rarely apotheosized for being apical ancestors in a line of descent. If, however, a man (but rarely a woman) succeeded in his lifetime in demonstrating through effective action in ritual and in warfare that he possessed some charismatic quality, this quality could continue to be influential after the individual's death by giving him a cosmic body to replace his worldly one. The earliest monuments of indianized civilization in Southeast Asia appeared in significant numbers between the fourth and eighth century CE. Particular examples are Śiva *liṅgā* of the Cham in southern Vietnam, the Buddhist *semā* (Skt., *sīmā*) or boundary markers with scenes from the life of the Buddha or from the Jātakas in bas-relief found in Dvāravatī sites in northeastern Thailand, and the stupas at Beikthano and Śrīkṣetra in central Burma, Thaton in lower Burma, and Nakhon Pathom in central Thailand. These monuments can best be interpreted as having been put up to elevate a man of prowess to a divine form. Whereas an older generation of historians often associated early historical sites in mainland Southeast Asia with large kingdoms, most historians now accept that there were many petty kingdoms in the area whose power waxed and waned much as did that of the chiefdoms that preceded them. The proliferation of monuments, a pattern that climaxes in the classical civilizations of Angkor in Cambodia and Pagan in Burma, most likely represents a continuing effort by new kings, their families, and their rivals to establish their own claims to be identified with divine and cosmic power.

Influential mainland Southeast Asians who worked with Indian texts made minimal use of the Indian idea that one's place within the world was fixed at birth by some cosmic plan. The caste system did not survive the voyage across the Bay of Bengal except in a very modified form, whereby kings claimed to be *kṣatriya;* even then a man of quite lowly origins could become a *kṣatriya* by successfully usurping the throne and clothing himself in sacralized regalia.

The process of indianization in Southeast Asia included identifying a power believed to be embodied in a local shrine with divine or cosmic powers known in Indian texts. This made possible the creation of larger polities, since peoples in very different parts of a realm saw themselves as part of the same cosmos and worshiped the same gods, often gods who were also equated with the rulers. The polity was a *maṇḍala,* the "circle of a king," a domain in which a particular ruler succeeded in being viewed as the link between the world and the cosmos. The kings who founded Angkor near the Great Lake in Cambodia in the ninth century were notably successful in establishing a cult of the *devarāja,* a god-king, whose *maṇḍala* included at its height all of present-day Cambodia, the Mekong Delta of southern Vietnam, and central and northeastern Thailand. The *devarāja* cult centered on the assimilation of the king to Siva, as represented by a lingam. The capital was a place where, through erection of temples, dedicated not only to Śiva but also to Viṣṇu and other Hindu gods and to *bodhisattvas*, each king could ensure that his *maṇḍala* was a microcosm of the cosmos. While the Angkorean empire experienced a number of defeats by rulers of other *maṇḍalas,* it was not until the fifteenth century that it finally ended; by this time, the religious orientations of the populace had begun to change radically.

On the western side of mainland Southeast Asia, Burmese kings also succeeded in establishing a *maṇḍala,* that of Pagan, that between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries rivaled the splendor and power of Angkor. Although the Burmese kings promoted cults that usually equated them with the Buddha rather than with Hindu gods, the stupas and temples they built were like the Hindu and Mahāyāna temples at Angkor; they were both funerary monuments in which the kings became immortalized, albeit in this case in Buddhist terms, and recreations of the sacred cosmos. In both Pagan and Angkor, Meru, the sacred mountain that lies at the center of the universe and is also an *axis mundi,* was represented in the temple or stupa erected by a king.

The *maṇḍala* organized around a shrine that served as an *axis mundi* became the model for villages as well as capitals. In nearly every village in Buddhist Southeast Asia, a stupa has been erected. Those who contribute to its construction believe they gain merit that will ensure a better rebirth and perhaps even rebirth at the time of the next Buddha, Metteyya (Skt., Maitreya). The localized cults of the relics of the Buddha link Southeast Asians not only with early Indian Buddhism but also with the cosmographic practices of the rulers of the classical indianized states and beyond that with the cadastral cults of pre-indianized Southeast Asia.

The cult of the relics of the Buddha does not constitute the whole of Buddhism as practiced in Southeast Asia. Between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, missionary monks established a Theravāda Buddhist orthodoxy among the majority of peoples, both rural and urban, living in what are today Burma, Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia. In a sense, orthodox Buddhism made sense to Southeast Asians because of the pre-Buddhist idea that religious virtue is not a product solely of descent from particular ancestors but also a consequence of one's own religiously effective actions. In Buddhist terms, this idea was formulated so that people understood that although they were born with a certain karmic legacy of both merit and demerit they also continually acquire new merit and demerit from morally significant acts.

Those who became adherents of Theravāda Buddhism also retained pre-Buddhist beliefs in spirits and deities. These beliefs were given new significance in the context of a Buddhist worldview. Some of the supernatural beings were universalized and identified with Hindu deities also known to Buddhism. More significantly, spirits and deities were accorded a subordinate place within the Buddhist cosmic hierarchy generated by the law of *karman.* Beliefs in pre-

Buddhist concepts of the vital spirit—the *leikpya* of the Burmese, the *khwan* of the Tai, the *pralu'n* of the Khmer—also remained and continued to be part of ritual. These beliefs were, however, reformulated to take into account the Buddhist teaching that the soul is not immortal and that "consciousness" (Pali, *viññāṇa*) links one life with the next.

The Theravāda revolution in mainland Southeast Asia did not lead to the demise of the *maṇḍala;* on the contrary, it led local lords to demonstrate their effectiveness by claiming to be righteous rulers and validating such claims by asserting their independence or even embarking on military ventures to extend their domains at the expense of other lords. Despite the political fragmentation of premodern Buddhist societies, all could conceive of being part of a common Buddhist world. Such a conception was expressed, for example, in the recognition of important pilgrimage shrines—ones containing relics of the Buddha—that lay in other domains.

The success of Theravāda Buddhism led to a much sharper distinction between the religious traditions of the peoples of the western part of mainland Southeast Asia and those east of the Annamite cordillera. Not only were the Vietnamese becoming increasingly sinicized, but the Cham, who had once had an important indianized culture in southern Vietnam, turned from this tradition and embraced Islam, a religion that was becoming established among other Austronesian-speaking peoples in major societies of the Indonesian archipelago and on the Malay Peninsula.

Tribal peoples in Southeast Asia, mainly located in highland areas where they practiced swidden cultivation, did not remain totally isolated from the changes occurring in the lowlands. A myth among many tribal peoples in the northern part of the region tells of a "lost book" or "lost writing." The Kachin version of the myth is typical. Ninggawn wa Magam, the deity from whom humans acquired culture, called all the different tribes of humans together. To each tribe he gave a book to help them in their lives. Shans and Burmans received books written on palm leaves; Chinese and foreigners (i.e., Westerners) received books on paper; and Kachin received a book of parchment. The Kachin, not truly understanding the significance of the book, ate it and have been without writing ever since. The myth reveals a sense on the part of tribal peoples of being culturally deprived relative to those who have writing.

When tribal peoples have turned to expand their horizons, they have tended to do so through acquiring access to the literature of their lowland neighbors. The Lawa, an Austroasiatic tribal people in Thailand, see themselves as Buddhists, like their Northern Thai neighbors, but unable to practice the religion in the hills where they have no monks to instruct them. When they move down from the hills, however, they quickly transform themselves into Northern Thai. Mien, who are found more in southern China than in Southeast Asia, long ago developed a tradition of craft literacy, with ritual specialists being able to read Daoist texts in Chinese. An interesting variant on the myth is found among some Karen in Burma, who were converted in significant numbers to Christianity beginning early in the nineteenth century. Their myth tells how the book will be returned to them by foreign brothers who are identified with the Western missionaries. Even among Karen, however, more have become Buddhist than have become Christian.

Missionization—not only by Christians but in recent years by Buddhists—and the spread of modern systems of compulsory education have rendered tribal religions increasingly peripheral. So, too, have improved health care and secular education undermined beliefs in spirits that were previously elements of the religions of Southeast Asian Buddhists and Vietnamese. Moreover, as agriculture has been transformed by large-scale irrigation works and the introduction of new technology and new high-yield varieties of rice, peoples in the region have become less inclined to credit supernatural powers with the control over fertility. They may continue to perform traditional rites, but these are becoming more secular celebrations than sources of religious meaning. Nonetheless, even as the worlds of Southeast Asians are radically transformed by political-economic forces and cultural changes that have occurred over the past century and a half, there still remains among many the ancient idea of cultivating virtue through morally effective action.

SEE ALSO Ancestors, article on Ancestor Worship; Boats; Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Southeast Asia; Burmese Religion; Drums; Folk Religion, article on Folk Buddhism; Islam, article on Islam in Southeast Asia; Khmer Religion; Kingship, article on Kingship in East Asia; Lao Religion; Megalithic Religion, article on Historical Cultures; Merit, article on Buddhist Concepts; Nāgas and Yakṣas; Nats; Negrito Religions; Pilgrimage, article on Buddhist Pilrimage in South and Southeast Asia; Saṃgha, article on Saṃgha and Society in South and Southeast Asia; Stupa Worship; Thai Religion; Theravāda; Vietnamese Religion.

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SOUTHEAST ASIAN RELIGIONS: INSULAR CULTURES

The cultures of insular Southeast Asia are made up predominantly of peoples speaking Austronesian languages, and the traditional religions of the area, despite substantial diversity and extensive borrowing from other sources, retain significant features that reflect a common origin. Linguistic evidence indicates that the point of origin of the languages of present-day Austronesians was the island of Taiwan (Formosa) and possibly also the adjacent coastal region of southeastern China. The initial expansion of the Austronesians began in the third millennium BCE and proceeded, by stages, through the Philippines and the islands of Indonesia, then east to the islands of the Pacific, and eventually west as far as the island of Madagascar.

In the first stage of this expansion, migrating Austronesian groups possessed a basic cultural technology that included the domesticated dog and pig, a knowledge of the cultivation of rice, millet, and sugarcane, and a developing craftsmanship in pottery, weaving, and barkcloth making. At a later stage in the course of this continuing expansion, the Austronesians developed further forms of cultivation involving breadfruit, bananas, taro, and yams and the use of a variety of fruit-bearing or starch-yielding palms. By this time they also possessed domesticated chickens and had developed sails for their canoes and some of the sailing techniques that were to carry them from island to island. By about 2500 BCE they had expanded through the southern Philippines and into Borneo and had begun to penetrate the islands of both eastern and western Indonesia.

Because this expansion involved a scattering of numerous small groups through thousands of islands over several millennia, it gave rise to considerable linguistic and cultural diversity. Earlier island populations were undoubtedly assimilated, although there is very little linguistic evidence on these peoples except for those in Melanesia.

Regional variation is indicated by the various linguistic subgroups of Austronesian that are currently recognized. Formosan languages are distinguished from Malayo-Polynesian languages within the Austronesian family and the Malayo-Polynesian languages are divided into (1) a western subgroup that includes the languages of the Philippines, Borneo, Madagascar, and western Indonesia as far as the island of Sumbawa, (2) a central subgroup that begins in eastern Sumbawa and comprises the languages of the Lesser Sundas and most of the Moluccas, and (3) an eastern subgroup that includes the languages of southern Halmahera and all of the languages of the Pacific.

In the course of migration, natural ecological variation as well as numerous outside influences led to the development, emphasis, or even abandonment of different elements of a general Neolithic culture. In the equatorial zones, for example, reliance on rice and millet gave way to a greater dependence on tubers and on fruit- and starch-gathering activities. As populations moved into the interior of the larger islands some sailing skills were abandoned, but a coastal or riverine orientation was generally maintained. During most of their protohistory, Austronesian populations lived in impermanent settlements and combined shifting cultivation with hunting and gathering. The development toward centralized states began on Java, on the coast of Sumatra, and in several other coastal areas that were open to trade and outside influences. Chief among these influences were religious ideas and inspiration that derived variously, at different periods, from Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity.

The earliest Hindu inscriptions found in insular Southeast Asia date from the fourth century CE; their location and composition, however, suggest a long period of prior regional contact with Indian religious ideas. By the fifth century, Hinduism is reliably reorted to have been established on Java, and by the sixth century, there is evidence of Buddhist influence on Sumatra and Java, with the port of Srivijaya developing into a major Buddhist center of learning in the seventh century. Javanese monuments dating from the eighth to the fourteenth centuries indicate a lively development and interrelation of Saivaite, Vaisnavite, and Buddhist traditions. By the thirteenth century, Islam had begun to spread through the islands and exert a major influence. By the fifteenth century, Catholicism had reached the region with the arrival of the Portuguese and Spanish, and by the sixteenth century, Protestantism had made its appearance with the Dutch and English. In addition, the popular traditions of Taoism and Confucianism were brought to the region by Chinese traders and settlers. Both individually and together these religions have had a profound effect in shaping religious practice in the region.

At present, 88 to 89 percent of the Indonesian population is classified as Muslim, although a significant portion of this population, particularly on Java, still adheres to traditional practices that are not considered orthodox. In the Philippines, approximately 84 percent of the population is Catholic; 3 percent is Protestant; and a further 5 percent are classified as Aglipayan, followers of an independent Philippine Christian church. Muslims constitute a small minority of approximately 5 percent in the Philippines, while Christians make up about 9 percent of the Indonesian population. In Indonesia, Bali forms a traditional Hindu-Buddhist enclave but there has occurred a recent resurgence of Hinduism on Java and elsewhere. Many members of the Chinese population of Indonesia are officially considered Buddhists, although some continue to practice forms of Taoism or Confucianism. A considerable portion are also Christian. Official statistics from Indonesia and the Philippines thus indicate only a small minority of the population in either country as official adherents of some form of traditional religion. In Sarawak and Sabah, adherents of tradition constitute a high percentage of the population of their local area, but in Malaysia as a whole they are a minority. In Brunei, similar groups form an even smaller minority.

National policies of the countries of the region affect the practice of traditional religions. Indonesia gives official recognition only to Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, and Buddhism, with the result that in effect no traditional religion is regarded as a religion. In some areas a tacit tolerance of traditional practices has developed, but in general there is mounting pressure to assimilate to an officially recognized religion. On the basis of early cultural borrowings and some similarity in forms of worship, various ethnic groups have gained recognition of their traditional religion as a Hindu sect. In the Philippines, missionary efforts by both Catholics and Protestants have been directed to conversion of the remaining adherents of tribal religions. In Sarawak and Sabah, there is pressure to convert to Islam as well as to Christianity. In all the countries of the region the adherents of traditional religions are minorities whose distinct ways of life are under pressure to change. Generally, they participate only at the margins of national life.

The tribal religions of the region vary according to the groups that continue to practice them. These groups include small, often isolated peoples whose economy is based primarily on hunting and gathering with limited cultivation. Examples of such groups are the Sakkudei of the island of Siberut off the coast of western Sumatra; various wandering bands of Kubu scattered in the interior forests of Sumatra; groups of a similar kind in Kalimantan who are referred to generically as Punan; as well as a variety of other small-scale societies on other islands—the Agta and other Aeta of Luzon, the Batak of Palawan, the Da'a or To Lare of Sulawesi (Celebes), or the Alifuru groups, such as the Huaulu and Nuaulu, of Ceram in eastern Indonesia. Many of these groups, with their simplified technology, no longer possess the range of economic pursuits attributed to the early Austronesians. Other adherents of traditional religions include the unconverted members of larger, economically and socially more complex populations: some Batak, particularly Karo, from north Sumatra; Ngaju communities in Kalimantan; various Toraja peoples in Sulawesi; as well as the Sumbanese, Savunese, and Timorese in eastern Indonesia. Sumba has the distinction of being the only island in Indonesia where a majority of the population profess to follow their traditional religion.

Some of these Indonesian populations have formally established religious associations to preserve their traditional practices and some have come to be identified as followers of Hindu-Dharma, a status that affords them official government recognition. This is one possibility available to members of the Toraja "Alukta," the Batak "Pelbegu," the Ngaju "Kaharingan," and the Bugis "Towani."

In the Philippines, a majority of the indigenous peoples in the mountains of northern Luzon (among them the Isneg, Ifugao, Bontok, Ibaloi, Kalinga, and Ilongot), in Mindoro (the Hanunoo, Buhid, and Alangan), and in the interior of Mindanao (the Subanun, Bukidnon, Tiruray, Manobo, Bagabo, and Mandaya) have retained their traditional religions despite increasing missionary efforts. In Sarawak, similar tribal peoples include the Iban, Kayan, Kenyah, and Kelabit; in Sabah, the Dusun, Murut, and Lun Dayeh; all of these tribal populations and other small groups as well have undergone conversion to Christianity in varying degrees.

Other adherents of traditional religion are more difficult to classify. Some form small enclaves, often consisting of no more than a few villages, whose traditional practices represent nonacceptance of the dominant religion of their region. Such groups would include the Badui (or Kanekes) of West Java, the Tengger of East Java, and the Waktu Tiga villagers of Lombok. All of these three groups maintain special priesthoods. Badui priests are confined to an inner territorial realm, whereas among the Tengger, there is one priest for each of twenty-eight villages. Both groups claim to preserve an "Agama Budha," which refers not to a form of Buddhism but to a pre-Islamic fusion of Indic and local practice. The Tengger priests, for example, follow an ancient Saiva liturgy that is kept secret from the village population, who see their worship as an ancestral cult.

Many of the millenarian movements that have occurred in Indonesia and the Philippines can be seen as religious movements and the communities of members of these movements, such as the Kesepuhan in West Java, the Samin of Central Java, or the Rizalistas of Luzon, may also be considered as traditional religious adherents. In addition, many other individuals and groups carry on traditional rituals under nominal adherence to another formally recognized religion. On the island of Flores, for example, the people of Tana Wai Brama continue to maintain their traditional ceremonial cycle, even though they are formally classified as Catholics. The same is true for other populations, both Christian and Muslim, throughout the islands. Official statistics are therefore often misleading in assessing the extent of traditional religious adherence.

Studies of traditional religion, many of which have been written by missionaries or colonial administrators, document beliefs and practices that have since been either abandoned or modified through the process of conversion. Significant evidence on traditional religion is also derived from present practices and general conceptions that have been incorporated and retained in the major recognized religions in the course of their accommodation to the traditions of the region.

Chief among these basic conceptions and practices are the following: (1) the prevalence of complementary duality; (2) the belief in the immanence of life and in the interdependence of life and death; (3) the reliance on specific rituals to mark stages in the processes of life and death; and (4) the celebration of spiritual differentiation. All of these notions may be regarded as part of a common Austronesian conceptual heritage.

THE PREVALENCE OF COMPLEMENTARY DUALITY. Forms of complementary dualism are singularly pervasive in the religions of the region. Such dualism figures prominently, for example, in a wide variety of myths of the origin of the cosmos that combine themes of reproduction and destruction. Among the Ngaju of Kalimantan (Borneo) creation begins when the mountain abodes of the two supreme deities clash repeatedly, bringing forth the upperworld and underworld and various of its parts; in the next phase of the creation, male and female hornbills of the two deities, perched on the tree of life, renew the struggle, destroying the tree but in the process creating the first man and woman. Among the Toraja of Sulawesi the universe originates from the marriage of heaven and earth: Heaven lies upon the broad earth and, as they separate, the land is revealed and all their divine children, including the sun and moon, come forth. Among the Mambai of east Timor, a formless hermaphroditic being molds and shelters Mother Earth and Father Heaven; they separate and the pregnant Mother Earth bears the first mountain, known as the Great Father. Heaven descends upon Earth again and from their union are born the first trees and rocks and the first men and women. At each birth, the waters of the world increase, until Father Heaven eventually abandons Mother Earth, who is left to decompose and disintegrate.

Ideas of complementary duality are reflected in ideas about the principal divinity, who is often conceived of as a paired being (Mahatala/Jata among the Ngaju, Amawolo/Amarawi among the Sumbanese, or Nian Tana/Lero Wulan among the Ata Tana Ai); in ideas about categories of spirits, heroes, and other ancestral figures; in ideas about the division of sacred space: upperworld and underworld, upstream and downstream, mountainward and seaward, or inside and outside; and above all, in ideas about classes of persons and the order of participants in the performance of rituals.

Major celebrations based on this complementarity can become a form of ritual combat that reenacts the reproductive antagonisms of creation. To choose but one example, the Savunese of eastern Indonesia gather on the day preceding the night of a full moon to form male and female groups according to lineage affiliation; they position themselves at the upper and lower end of a sacred enclosure on the top of a particular hill. There they engage in ceremonial cockfighting that is timed to reach its crescendo precisely at noon. This high cosmological drama is based on a series of complementary oppositions: the conjunction of male and female, the union of the upper and lower divisions of the cosmos, and the antagonism of spirits of the mountain and sea, all of which are timed to climax when the sun is at its zenith and the moon at its fullest.

A significant feature of the traditional religions of the region is the preservation of sacred knowledge through special forms of ritual language that are characterized by the pervasive use of parallelism. Parallelism is a form of dual phraseology and, in its most canonical form, results in a strict dyadic expression of all ritual statements. The following lines, excerpted from a traditional Rotinese mortuary chant, give an idea of the parallelism of such ritual poetry:

Delo Iuk has died
So plant an areca nut at her foot
And Soma Lopo has perished
So plant a coconut at her head
Let the coconut grow fruit for her head
And let the areca nut grow flowerstalks for her feet.

This parallelism, which is a common feature of oral composition, resembles in form the parallelism that is to be found in the sacred literatures of other peoples of the world. (Both the *Psalms* and the *Popol Vuh* of the Quiche Maya provide good examples of such canonical parallelism.) Myths of the Batak, of the people of Nias, of the Ngaju, Kendayan, and Mualang Dayak, of the Toraja, and of a majority of the peoples of eastern Indonesia adhere to relatively strict forms of parallelism, whereas the myths of other traditional religious adherents follow freer forms of parallel compositions. In all cases, a form of duality is an essential part of the very process of composition.

Conceptions of complementary dualism continue to pervade even those societies that have adopted Hinduism, Islam, or Christianity. Balinese society is replete with dualism. The opposition between Barong and Rangda, which forms one of Bali's best-known dramatic temple performances, is a particularly striking example of complementary dualism. The Javanese *wayang,* or shadow theater, is similarly based on forms of dual opposition. Although the initial basis for many of the most important dramas was Indian, the Javanese have developed and extended these dramas to suit local conceptions. In the *Bhāratayuddha* (in the Javanese version of the Hindu epic *Mahābhārata*), the Pandawa heroes defeat and destroy their cousins, the Korawa. Yet according to the *Korawasrama,* an important Javanese text for which there exists no Sanskrit equivalent, the Korawa are resuscitated to continue their struggle with Pandawa for, as the text asserts: "How could the world be well ordered if the Korawa and Pandawa no longer existed? Are they not the content of the world?"

BELIEF IN THE IMMANENCE OF LIFE. Virtually all of the traditional religions of the region are predicated on a belief in the immanence of life. In the literature this concept is often simplistically referred to as "animism." In traditional mythologies, creation did not occur *ex nihilo:* The cosmos was violently quickened into life and all that exists is thus part of a living cosmic whole. Life is evident everywhere in a multitude of forms whose manifestation can be complex, particularistic, but also transitory. There are many different classes of beings, including humans, whose origin may be identified in some mythological account but the system is inherently open and other classes of beings may be recognized whose origin is unknown, even though their manifestation is evident. In many of the traditional religions there is no single origin of humankind. Commonly, humans either descended from a heavenly sphere or emerged from earth or sea; yet, often, the origin of some categories of humans is left unexplained. The openness of these systems does not necessarily involve indifference so much as a recognition of the limitations of human knowledge.

Although there exists an ultimate ground of identity to all manifestations of life, the traditional view makes no assumption of identity or equality among particular manifestations. The result is a general acceptance of a plurality of beings and at the same time, especially in the mystic traditions elaborated in Java, a recognition of the oneness of the individual with the whole in the commonality of life.

The traditional religions differ markedly, however, in their classification of categories or classes of beings. Priests of the Ifugao, for example, are reported to be able to distinguish over fifteen hundred spirits or deities, who are divided into forty classes. By contrast, the Rotinese recognize two broad classes of spirits—those of the inside and those of the outside—and are only concerned with naming the spirits of the inside. The traditional religions also differ significantly in attitudes to the spirit world. For some, all spirits are potentially malevolent and must be placated; in others, benevolent spirits are called upon to intervene against troublesome spirits. In the majority, however, attitudes vary according to types of spirits. The result is a kind of spiritual empiricism in which various ritual procedures are employed as experiments to see what occurs. Often this is highly individualistic: What works for one person may not work for another. In general, all traditional religions aim to achieve some form of ritual balance that accords each category of life its appropriate due.

Although rarely accorded philosophical justification except in the more consciously elaborate traditional religions, there exists the underlying assumption that, since all is part of a whole, any part can stand for the whole. Among the simplest but most common microcosmic representations of the macrocosm are rock and tree, whose union is variously interpreted as the primordial source of life and as the progenitorial conjunction of male and female. Other representations abound. Ceremonial space may be constructed to mirror the whole: Villages, houses, or ships may be symbolically arranged on a macrocosmic basis, or particular objects, such as the *kayon* that is held up to begin and end a *wayang* performance, the four-cornered *raga-raga* rack that hangs suspended in a traditional Batak house, or merely a flag and flagpole, can be vested with all-embracing cosmic significance. Frequently, the human body itself may represent the whole of the cosmos. All such representations have a potency that is centered, ordered, and ultimately diffused outward.

A fundamental feature of the traditional religions is their recognition that life depends upon death, that creation derives from dissolution. This is the emphatic theme of most myths of creation and is repeated in origin tales and in much folklore. In widespread tales of the origin of the cultivation of rice, millet, or of various tubers, for example, the first sprouts or shoots of the new crop come from the body of some ancestral figure. Moreover, since life comes from death, the ancestral dead or specific deceased persons, whose lives were marked by notable attainments, are regarded as capable of bestowing life-giving potency. Thus the dead figure prominently in the religious activities of the living and the tombs of the dead are often sources of religious benefit. In some areas, as on Sumba, the tombs of the dead occupy the center of the village; elsewhere they form the focal point of pilgrimage.

The chief sacrificial animals in the traditional religions are the chicken, the dog, and the pig (although among those populations that keep them the water buffalo is by far the most important sacrificial animal). Sacrifice generally involves creative analogies on an ordered scale. The people of Nias, who perform spectacular pig sacrifices, describe themselves as "God's pigs." In the mortuary ceremonies of the Toraja, the sacrificial water buffalo is identified with the deceased but, in other contexts, can represent the entire descent group. Among the Rotinese, as among other peoples of Southeast Asia, the water buffalo can also be analogically identified with the whole of the cosmos and sacrifice can thus be conceived as a reenactment of creation.

The entrails of chickens and the livers of pigs frequently provide a means of divination within a sacrificial context. These forms of divination, as well as others, such as the augury of birds or divination by spear, together with spirit possession form part of a complex revelatory process by which humans seek to interpret the wishes and intentions of the spirit powers.

RITUALS OF LIFE AND DEATH. The rituals of the different traditional religions of the region invariably constitute part of a continuing process or cycle and are primarily concerned with the enhancement of life, either the life of particular persons or the life of large collectivities, including that of the cosmos as a totality. Life-cycle rituals mark the process of life and death. They may be seen to begin with marriage—the union of male and female—and proceed through specific stages. Prominent among these rituals are those that mark the seventh month of a woman's pregnancy, haircutting, tooth filing, circumcision (which may have had a pre-Islamic origin but has been given increased significance through the influence of Islam), the coming of adulthood through marriage, and the formation of an autonomous household, which in many societies centers on the celebration of the completion of a house. In numerous societies, tattooing is a physical marking of this process of development and special tattoos are used to identify individuals who can claim outstanding achievements. Often tattoos are regarded as a prerequisite for admission as well as individual identification in the world after death.

Death rituals are part of the same process as those of life and in general are celebrated throughout the region with great elaboration. Death rituals are also performed in stages commencing with burial and continuing sometimes for years. Such rituals are believed to chart, or even effect, the progress of the spirit of the deceased in its journey or elevation through the afterworld. Major celebrations often occur long after initial burial, when only the bones of the deceased remain. These bones, separated from the flesh, may either be reburied in a special sepulcher or reunited in a single tomb with the bones of other members of the descent group. Often the groups involved in performing these mortuary rituals complete and reverse the exchanges that began at the marriage ceremony of the parents of the deceased, thus ending one phase and beginning the next phase of a continuing cycle. On Bali, a Hindu cremation marks a comparable stage following a similar pattern, whereas in Java and elsewhere, despite an Islamic requirement of immediate burial, the spirits of the dead are given regular offerings and the tombs of former great rulers and leaders are prominent places of pilgrimage.

A feature of many of the rituals of life and death is their botanic idiom, which reflects a common Austronesian agricultural inheritance. The rituals describe a process of planting, growing, and ripening into old age; after the harvest comes the renewal of the cycle with the planting of new seed. Thus the rituals of the life cycle often parallel those of the agricultural cycle. Conceptually they are part of the same process.

Headhunting was once a prominent feature of the social life of many of the peoples of the region. Although this form of limited warfare was given various cultural interpretations, headhunting was frequently linked in rituals to the general cycle of death and renewal. In this sense, headhunting was a form of "harvest" in which particular individuals were able to achieve great reknown.

THE CELEBRATION OF SPIRITUAL DIFFERENTIATION. In the traditional religions of the region, there is no presumption of identity attached to any of the manifestations of life. Creation produced myriad forms of being and the processes of life that began in the past continue to the present. Generally, not even humankind is credited with a single origin or source of being. The result is an essential openness to life, a basic acceptance of life's many manifestations, and ultimately a celebration of spiritual differentiation.

The tendency in most traditional religions is to personalize whatever may be considered a manifestation of life. Included among such manifestations are the heavenly spheres—the sun, moon, and stars; the forces of nature—thunder, lightning, or great winds; points of geographical prominence—high mountain peaks, volcanic craters, waterfalls, caves, or old trees; places endowed with unusual significance as the result of past occurrences—sites of abandoned settlement, a former meeting place of some spirit, or the point of a past, powerful dream; and simpler iconic representations of life—ancient ancestral possessions, royal regalia, amulets, and other objects of specially conceived potency. Veneration for all such objects is accorded to the potency that the objects are considered to possess, but only as long as this potency is evident. Confrontation with any new source of unknown power requires a kind of ritual empiricism to discover precisely what is that power's appropriate due.

In social terms, these spiritual premises are conducive to notions of precedence and hierarchy. No society in the region is without some form of social differentiation. Even in the simplest of tribal societies the birth order of the children of the same parents becomes a means for such distinctions. In many societies—perhaps a majority of the societies of the region—forms and degrees of differentiation are endowed with considerable importance. The populations of many of these societies regard themselves as derived of different ancestral origins or even of different classes of creation. Thus, for example, the ranked class structures of the Ngaju of Kalimantan, of the Bugis of south Sulawesi, or of the peoples of Sumba or Tanimbar in eastern Indonesia are all predicated on distinct creations.

Equally, the same spiritual premises may promote notions of achievement. A recurrent image of life involves the metaphor of the "journey of achievement." Myths recount the founding journeys of the ancestors, folk tales extol the attainments of heroic journeys, and dreams and séances can take the form of a spiritual journey. Furthermore, many societies encourage a period of journeying in early adulthood as a means of gaining knowledge, wealth, fame, and experience.

Literally and spiritually, individuals are distinguished by their journeys. Rank, prowess, and the attainment of wealth can be taken as evident signs of individual enhancement in a life's odyssey, and this enhancement may be celebrated through major rituals, both in life and after death. In many traditional religions, mortuary rituals and the feasting that generally accompanies them are the primary indicators of a person's social and spiritual position and are intended to translate this position into a similarly enhanced position in the afterlife. These rituals invariably invoke a journey, often described as the sailing of the ship of the dead, and by these rituals the living act to accord the deceased a proper spiritual position. (Often heaven or the underworld are considered to have many layers through which the soul of the dead wanders to find its proper abode.)

In return for the performance of the mortuary ritual, the deceased ancestor becomes capable of returning benefits to the living. In ancient Java, these ideas were given an Indic interpretation in the mortuary elevation of rulers to identification with Śiva or the Buddha. Similar ideas still underlie major temple rituals on Bali, megalithic tomb building among the Sumbanese, the spectacular mortuary ceremonies and cliff burial of the Saʾdan Toraja, or the simple, less obtrusive rituals of rock and tree elsewhere in the archipelago.

Today throughout insular Southeast Asia, the basic premises of traditional religions are under challenge from religions such as Islam and Christianity that preach transcendence in place of the immanence of life and assert spiritual equality rather than celebrate spiritual differentiation. These religions are also under challenge from modernizing national governments that insist upon bureaucratic homogeneity and positive rationalism. Yet despite present pressures, traditional ways of thinking and acting continue to show remarkable resilience and continuity with the past.

SEE ALSO Balinese Religion; Batak Religion; Bornean Religions; Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Southeast Asia; Bugis Religion; Drama, article on Javanese Wayang; Islam, article on Islam in Southeast Asia; Javanese Religion; Megalithic Religion, article on Historical Cultures; Melanesian Religions, overview article; Toraja Religion.

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SOUTHEAST ASIAN RELIGIONS: NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN INSULAR CULTURES

Uprisings with religious content have occurred throughout insular Southeast Asian history, but religious movements show a distinctive focus. They are not anarchic protests but organized efforts, of national or international scope, to achieve reforms or some other positive objective. Such movements are apparent especially since the beginning of this century. By limiting the discussion to such movements, we can at least begin to summarize a complicated fabric of history in which local processes are as varied as they are fascinating. For the sake of simplicity, it is convenient to group the myriad insular Southeast Asian religious movements under the three streams of religious tradition from which they draw, in part, their inspiration: Buddhism and Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity. These are discussed with reference to the major island or peninsular areas of Southeast Asia: Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, and the Philippines.

HINDU-BUDDHIST MOVEMENTS. The first important twentieth-century Hindu-Buddhist movement was Budi Utomo ("high endeavor") founded in 1908 by three students from the colonial Netherlands Indies medical school (STOVIA). The movement gained early adherents in other colonial technical schools, those for veterinarians and engineers, suggesting that the Western technical training was leaving the native students without any cultural or religious grounding, and that such grounding is what they sought in movements like Budi Utomo. Budi Utomo hoped to revitalize the deeply cherished Hindu-Buddhist-Javanist core of the Indonesian identity, so that a meaningful and respectable alternative could be found to the values offered by the West. Looking to India's Rabindranath Tagore and Mohandas Gandhi as inspirations in the revival of these traditions, Budi Utomo was controlled by the aristocracy and intelligentsia and never gained a broad popular following, although it had amassed some ten thousand members within a year of its founding.

Another movement, Taman Siswa ("garden of learning"), has a cultural grounding similar to that of Budi Utomo, but, unlike the earlier movement, it emphasized education. Taman Siswa was founded by Suwardi Surjaningrat, later known as Ki Hadjar Dewantara ("teacher of the gods").

Inspired by Tagore as well as such critics of Western education as Maria Montessori, Dewantara founded schools designed to restore lost traditions and identities by combining Western and Javanist-Hindu-Buddhist values. Taman Siswa schools taught the Javanese arts to encourage the child to express its inner identity, and they encouraged a family like school community in which students and teachers were mutually involved as "brothers in learning." By 1940, Dewantara had succeeded in building some 250 schools throughout the islands, some of which survive today.

A third major Hindu-Buddhist movement is really many movements and cannot be reduced to any single date of founding. These are known as *kebatinan*, from the Javanese word (of Arabic origin) *batin*, meaning "inner." Something in the range of one thousand different *kebatinan* sects now flourish, primarily on Java, most founded since the beginning of the twentieth century but rooted in practices and beliefs that go back to the beginnings of the Javanese Hindu-Buddhist civilizations in the eighth century CE.

The aim of Javanese *kebatinan* is to mute the crude feelings and perceptions of the material world in order to experience the underlying reality that is simultaneously god, self, and cosmos. The techniques are ascetic practice (abstinence from food, sleep, or sex), philosophical and psychological speculation, and meditation. Guidance in *kebatinan* meetings is provided by a teacher who is believed to possess charismatic and sacral qualities. The objective is not only to reach ultimate truth but also to balance and unify the self and, in this way, the wider society and world. Some *kebatinan* movements, such as Subud, have established branches in the West, while others, such as Sumarah, have attracted Westerners to Java; but, on the whole, *kebatinan* movements remain a quintessentially Javanese phenomenon.

While Budi Utomo, Taman Siswa, and *kebatinan* are primarily Javanese movements, Balinese Hinduism has been an important stimulus for a revival of Hindu traditions as an organized movement spreading through Java as well as Bali. Associated with this Neo-Hinduism is a Neo-Buddhism that claims as a root the only surviving folk-Buddhist population, the Tengger, who live near Mount Bromo on Java. The Indonesian Buddhist Association claims to have built ninety monasteries and acquired fifteen million adherents since 1965 (when, following the massacre of an estimated half-million so-called Communists, all Indonesians were required to declare some explicit religion or risk being branded atheistic and, therefore, Communist). These revivals, which hold massive celebrations at such revered monuments as Lara Janggrang and Borobudur, combine indigenous Bali-Java traditions with Hindu-Buddhism.

MUSLIM MOVEMENTS. Where the Hindu-Buddhist movements of insular Southeast Asia have been confined primarily to Java and Bali, the Muslim movements have ranged more widely: throughout the three thousand miles of Indonesian islands and into Singapore, Malaysia, and the southern Philippines. The stimulus for these movements was the opening in 1870 of the Suez Canal and associated increase in steamship travel, which encouraged great numbers of Southeast Asian Muslims, many of whom remained in the Near East for study, to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. By the beginning of the twentieth century, several Malay, Indonesian, Arab, and Indian citizens of insular Southeast Asia had come under the influence of the proponent of Islamic modernism, Muhammad Abduh of Cairo's al-Azhar center of learning. Returning to Singapore or other ports of embarkation and disembarkation to the Near East, these students founded schools, journals, and associations that spread through the islands and were known as the Kaum Muda ("new faction") of Southeast Asian Islam.

Pressing for a return to the fundamental truths of text and tradition, the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth*, while rejecting the authority of teachers, scholars, and the ornate speculations of medieval Islam, modernists extolled the method of *itjihād*: analysis of the original Arabic scriptures in order to read for oneself the word of God. Paradoxically, the return to scripture stimulated an advance to modernity, at least in certain respects. Folk practices that were not in the text were excised, while proper reading was held to demonstrate an Islamic basis for modern economics, science, medicine, and law. In what they themselves termed a "reformation" *(reformasi)*, the devout Muslim could rediscover a pure identity and inspiration while equipping himself for the challenges of modernity.

Gaining impetus first in Singapore, where returning scholars founded such still-existing schools as Alsagoff, the Kaum Muda encountered resistance in Malaya but spread rapidly throughout the islands of Indonesia. Of the many Indonesian organizations standing for the Kaum Muda viewpoint, the most successful is the Muḥammadīyah, founded in 1912 by Kiai H. A. Dahlan, in the court city of Jogjakarta, Java. Muḥammadīyah worked not only to purify Islamic practice to accord with Qurʾān ic teaching but also in education and welfare, building a large system of schools as well as clinics, orphanages, and hospitals. Muḥammadīyah has been notable, too, in the strength of its women's movement, Aisjajah. Having survived periods of turmoil and repression, Muḥammadīyah now boasts some six million members.

In reaction to Kaum Muda, the so-called Kaum Tua ("old faction") took steps to cement its cherished traditions, which the reformers threatened to sweep away. In Malaya, where Islam was identified with the state, the old could be buttressed simply by stiffening the established hierarchy of Islamic officialdom. In Indonesia, lacking such an establishment, reaction took the form of a counterreformation. In 1926, Indonesian traditionalists founded the Nahdatul Ulama ("union of Muslim teachers") to withstand the threat of reformism. Ruled by a dynasty centered around a famous religious school in East Java, Nahdatul Ulama has outstripped Muḥammadīyah in gaining support from the rural masses. While Nahdatul Ulama's membership is larger, its organization is looser, and this organization has not equalled Muḥammadīyah in educational and welfare activities.

CHRISTIAN MOVEMENTS. Although significant Christian populations are found in Indonesia—especially among the

Batak, the Amboinese, the Toraja, and the Minahas—and among the Chinese throughout insular Southeast Asia, the only Christian nation is the Philippines. More than 80 percent of the Philippine population is Roman Catholic but an estimated 350 distinct Christian bodies exist there today, many of which could be termed "movements." Most significant, perhaps, is the Iglesia Filipina Independiente (IFI, or Philippine Independent Church). The foundations for this offshoot of the Roman Catholic church were laid during the Philippine revolt against Spain in 1896, but the IFI was officially founded in 1902 by Gregorio Aglipay, who became its first archbishop. When the Spanish were defeated, the Filipino priests of the IFI took over parishes held by the friars and achieved a membership of 1.5 million, or 25 percent of the Christian population. Highly nationalistic, the IFI has been known to raise the Philippine flag at the time of the consecration of the Host in the Mass.

At one time the IFI canonized José Rizal, the Filipino novelist and nationalist martyr, and other movements, too, deify Rizal as a Christ of the Malays. An example is Iglesia in Cristo, founded in 1914 by Feix Manalo and now a highly organized movement based on a special method of meditation. Another Rizalist group, Lapiang Malaya, attacked the city of Manila in 1967. Believing themselves immune to bullets, they provoked the police and military into violent reaction and thirty-three of them died. Such movements fuse Christian inspiration with nativism, nationalism, and millenarianism, often opposed to westernization, modernization, and oppression.

RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS AND CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY IN INSULAR SOUTHEAST ASIA. At different periods and in different places, these religious movements have contributed differently. Most of them, regardless of affiliation, were inspirational catalysts in giving rise to the striving for independence and modernity that led to the more directly political nationalist movements that began in the early twentieth century and culminated in the independence of these new nations soon after World War II. Since independence, their role has varied. In Indonesia, the Muslims have generally acted as an oppositional force complementing the government, while the Hindu-Buddhist streams have either fed into the Javanist-oriented national culture and government or provided personal fulfillment outside the governmental arena.

In Malaysia, the Muslims have identified more strongly with the government, while Hindu-Buddhism has not claimed a place in the national political culture equal to that of Hindu-Buddhism in Indonesia. In the Philippines, Islam has been oppositional, entrenched in the south against Christian incursions identified with the national polity; Christianity has been identified more with governmental authority, although Christianity, too (exemplified by such movements as the Christians for National Liberation and church support of Corazon Aquino during her rise to power in 1986), has had an oppositional role. In Singapore, the Muslims have played an oppositional role in relation to the dominant government party, but in this highly modernized, formally pluralistic society, religious movements have not played a postwar role equal to that in the other insular Southeast Asian nations.

In all of these countries, religious movements were dominant sources of nationalism and creative ferment in the early twentieth century. Later, as the impetus toward independence was seized by more purely political movements, the religious movements became relatively less important. After independence was achieved, the regimes in these countries (especially the two largest, Indonesia and the Philippines) have tended to become authoritarian, while religious movements (such as the Muslim fundamentalists) have eclipsed the Communists and others as the locus of aspiration independent of the government. The beginning of the twenty-first century could parallel the beginning of the twentieth, in that the stage is set for religious movements to resume their earlier role as a reformative force independent of the central power.

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SOUTHERN AFRICAN RELIGIONS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
SOUTHERN BANTU RELIGIONS

SOUTHERN AFRICAN RELIGIONS: AN OVERVIEW

There is a basic similarity in religious practice, symbols, and ideas throughout southern Africa, from Uganda to the southern sea, from the east coast to Cameroon. This is the area in which Bantu languages are spoken, and there is a link, though no absolute coincidence, between language family and religious symbolism. Some of the religious symbols of Africa also occur in Europe: The divine king of the Ganda, the Bemba, the Nyakyusa, and the Zulu appeared in the Grove of Nemi in ancient Italy and in Stuart England; but there are many other symbols of more limited provenance, such as fire, symbol of lordship or authority, and blowing out water, or "spitting," a symbol of the confession of anger and the act of forgiveness and goodwill.

Religious belief in southern Africa can best be understood through its symbolism, for religion here is expressed more through drama and poetry than through dogma or theological speculation. The invisible is embodied in tangible symbols which are bent to human purposes. Hence attention must focus on the rituals celebrated.

Among any one people there are likely to be dominant symbols which recur in one ritual after another, and full understanding of them depends upon analysis of the whole ritual cycle. Examples of such symbols are the mudyi tree (with a milky latex), which among the Ndembu represents matriliny, motherhood, and womanhood, and the plantain and sweet banana—the leaves, flowers, fruit, succoring stem—which among the Nyakyusa represent male and female respectively. These symbols are as obvious to a Nyakyusa as the skirt and trousers used to differentiate gender on washroom signs are to a European or an American.

The present tense is used for observations made during the twentieth century (with some references to earlier observers); but since rapid change is going on throughout Africa and since traditional African practice exists side by side with, and interacts with, modern Christian and Islamic practice, this article should be read in conjunction with others in the encyclopedia. What is described here is but a fragment of current religious practice in southern Africa: The symbolic systems and institutions discussed here indeed still exist widely but are not the sole beliefs or practice of whole populations.

CONCEPTS OF GOD. Throughout southern Africa there is an apprehension of God as a numinous being associated with light, brightness, and sheen. God may be represented by a high mountain glittering with snow, a tree symbolizing the mountain, or a sacred grove. There is a lively belief in the survival of the dead and in their power over the living, a power closely akin to that which living senior kinsmen have over their juniors. There is a belief in medicines—material substances which can be manipulated for good or ill, healing or murder, and which include poisons put in food as well as ointments which are rubbed on the body to make a hunter's aim true, a warrior "slippery," a candidate successful in examinations, or a choir or rugby team victorious in competition. Everywhere the power of evil is feared—a power thought to be incarnate in certain persons or familiars they control, which is called witchcraft. The notion of witchcraft involves the personification of anger, hate, jealousy, envy, lust, and greed—the negative feelings which people observe in themselves and in their neighbors. All these beliefs are general, but they appear in infinite variety, modified by kinship and political structure, by economy, and by poetic imagination, and they have changed through time.

How clearly God is distinguished from the first human, or from the founding heroes of a particular lineage, also varies with place and time. Among some peoples, at least, the distinction became clearer as outside contacts extended and the known world was no longer confined within a frame of kinship. Over many centuries Hebrew, Christian, and Islamic ideas of God, with their symbolism of monotheism and of God on high, have impinged on other ideas in Africa, notably the association of the dead with the earth; in some places a process of change may be traced over the past hundred years.

Throughout southern Africa God has been remote, approached only by exceptional priests or by the "elders." The dead are regarded as alive, and it is the shades, or ancestors, the senior dead kin, who are the mediators between humanity and divinity, communicating human needs to the divine. Prayer or direct offerings to God himself rarely occur in traditional practice, but awe of God is constantly manifested, as fear of contamination, as a distancing of humanity from God, and avoidance of such emblems of sacred power as the thunderbolt, the tree struck by lightning, and the python in the grove. One does not speak readily of God, and one speaks of him not at all if he is near. Once, when this writer was at school in London, a fellow student (later a head of state in Africa) started in his seat when this writer was so rash as to discuss lightning on a day when the Lord was muttering overhead. Unusual fecundity, such as twin birth, is also of God and fearful, hence twins and their parents are isolated from the normal village community and, because of their divine connection, they function as "herds" to drive off storms.

Gabriel M. Setiloane, himself a Methodist minister, argues cogently in *The Image of God among the Sotho-Tswana* (Rotterdam, 1976) that the first missionary to the Tswana, Robert Moffat (the father-in-law of David Livingstone), misunderstood the Tswana language (into which he translated the New Testament) and hence the Tswana experience of God. But it is John V. Taylor who shows, in *The Primal Vision*, that in Africa God is both there and not there, that he is both sought and rejected. Bishop Taylor fastens upon the "significance of this ambivalence," saying that humans have been aware of the numinous and their dependence upon it but have sought to separate themselves from it.

SHADES. Among southern African peoples shades are of two categories: the dead senior kin (male and female) of each family or lineage and the founding heroes. Family shades are relevant only for their junior kin who celebrate "rituals of kinship"; founding heroes (male or female) have relevance for political units, that is, chiefdoms, groups of chiefdoms, or regions which honor a hero and his or her descendants in "communal rituals." The ancestors of a ruling lineage, where one exists, commonly claim descent from the founding hero; or the hero may be thought of as a benefactor or prophet who left no descendants but who is celebrated in some grove or cave by a lineage or priests. The ancestors of a chief, it is believed, retain power over the country they once ruled, so in addition to rituals for founding heroes there may be a series of offerings to past chiefs.

Like God, the shades are associated with brightness, light, radiance, and whiteness. Among the Zulu and Xhosa a gray-leafed helichrysum, whose leaves and pale gold flowers both reflect light, is linked with the shades; in Pondoland "the medicine of the home" is a small, yellow-flowered senecio which gleams in the veld. The beads offered to shades and worn by a diviner, novice, or pregnant bride are white, and when an animal is slaughtered and offered to the shades, the officiants wipe their hands in the chyme, a strong bleaching agent. But again, as with God, contact with the shades is seen to be somehow contaminating. A shade must be "pushed away a little"; it must be kept from continually "brooding" over humans as a hen broods over its chicks. The dead must be separated from the living and then "brought home," that is, transformed.

Although they are numinous, the shades are held in far less awe than is God himself. To many Africans the shades are constantly about the homestead, evident in a tiny spiral of dust blowing across the yard or through the banana grove, or in the rustling of banana leaves; thought to be sheltering near the byre or in the shade of a tree, or sipping beer left overnight at the back of the great house. Their presence is so real in Pondoland that (into the twentieth century) a wife of the homestead carefully avoids the yard and the byre where men sit, even at night, lest the shades be there, and as she walks through a river associated with her husband's clan she lets her skirts trail in the water, for to tuck up her skirts would insult his shades.

The living and the dead are so closely associated in southern Africa that it is common for a man's heir (a brother, son, or sister's son) and a woman's heir (a sister, daughter, or brother's daughter) to take the property, the name, the social position, and the responsibilities of the deceased. Hence one may be told that the holder of some office—a priest, chief, king, or senior kinsman—is "Mswati the third" (or tenth, as the case may be). A founding hero frequently has a living representative in this sense, a "divine king," that is, a ruler or priest on whose health and virility the health and fertility of men, cattle, and land are thought to depend. Even into the twentieth century, a divine king who was ailing or feeble would be smothered—he must "die for the people"—and then be replaced.

Founding heroes typically are associated with a bed of reeds, from which the first man is said to have sprung; with a river source along the watershed between the Zambezi and Kongo rivers; with a pool in one of the rushing rivers of the south; with a hole in the ground (from which men and cattle emerged) on the dry edge of the Kalahari Desert; or with a grove of trees. Like family shades, heroes are of the earth and water, not of the sky. The place of celebration has moved as groups of kinsmen have moved, as chiefs have been installed and later buried, and as trees planted as boundary marks or on graves have spread into thickets.

RITUAL LIFE. Communal rituals are of various sorts, including offerings to the founding heroes, their living representatives, and chiefly descendants. Such offerings are celebrated by the leading men of the region, chiefdom, or village. The common people know little of the details; they are aware only that a celebration has taken place.

But there is also a type of purification ritual that concerns everyone. Sometimes it is linked to a celebration of first fruits; at other times it is accompanied by a military review. At the break of the rains in tropical Africa, or at the summer solstice farther south, and in any general emergency such as plague or war, the people may be called upon to purify themselves, to sweep the homesteads, throw out the old ash from hearths, and rekindle new fire. Among at least some peoples everyone is expected to "speak out," that is, to confess anger and grudges held against neighbors and kin, or against fellow priests and leading men. It is a spring-cleaning of hearts and minds as well as homesteads.

In the Swazi kingdom today—as formerly in other Nguni kingdoms and chiefdoms on the southeastern coast of Africa—all the men of the country, and many women also, gather at the time of the summer solstice to celebrate the first fruits and strengthen their king, while regiments dance and demonstrate their loyalty. The Zulu form of this ritual was powerfully interpreted by Max Gluckman (1954) as a "ritual of rebellion," but it now seems that this early analysis was based on a mistranslation. According to Harriet Ngubane (1977), a Zulu anthropologist, the key phrase used in the ritual expresses a rejection of pollution: "What the king breaks to pieces and tramples upon is a gourd that symbolizes the evil of the past year." This exactly parallels rituals farther north for "cleansing the country" in which the population of entire regions "throw out the rubbish," especially ashes from all the hearths, and distribute newly kindled fire. The Ngonde (Malawi) chant: "Let us dance, let us fight that the homesteads may be peaceful. . . . Let us throw out the ashes that death may leave the homesteads and they be at peace." Close analysis shows that such rituals symbolically cast out the anger in people's hearts. The Taita of Kenya celebrate a similar rite of casting out anger, as Grace Harris (1978) has shown.

These cleansing rites speak repeatedly of ridding the people of "the dirt" of the past year. The similarity to ancient Hebrew rituals is obvious, although published reports from southern Africa make no mention of any symbolism having to do with driving out a scapegoat. Rather, the symbols which recur here are those of heat and coolness. Heat is associated with pollution, which in turn is closely associated with anger and sexual activity; coolness is associated with rain, tranquility, and purification. These symbols are familiar to all Sotho-Tswana-speaking peoples and to others also.

Throughout southern Africa communal rituals have to do with rain, especially the dramatic "break of the rains," so eagerly awaited after the dry season. Local rituals celebrate seedtime and harvest; the firing of pasture to destroy unpalatable grass and bush which harbor tsetse flies; game drives or a fishing battue; murrain or plague; war and peace; the coronation of a chief and/or the handing over of power from one generation to the next. Details of such celebrations vary both with economy and with political structure. Regional rituals may involve the distribution of once-scarce goods, such as salt and iron tools, which in former times were brought to the shrine from beyond the boundaries of the political unit. The priests who brought the goods were sacred people: Among the Nyakyusa these priests traveled in safety, announcing their status by drumbeat. Other rituals may be connected with the growth of chiefdoms. J. Matthew Schoffeleers has written about the spread of the Mbona cult with the development of Mang'anga chiefdoms in Malawi.

KINSHIP RITUALS. Unless they concern a royal family, the rituals of kinship have no political overtones. They are celebrated on the great occasions of a person's life: at birth and death, at maturity and marriage. In southern Africa each family or lineage directs its celebrations to its own dead senior kinsmen, who are not sharply distinguished from living seniors. The living may indeed be referred to by the term for a shade as they grow old. In 1931 in Pondoland this writer heard the word *itongo* ("a shade") used in reference to an elderly father's living sister. Living as well as dead seniors are thought to bring sickness, sterility, and other misfortunes—even failure to secure a job or a residence pass—on insolent, quarrelsome, or neglectful juniors.

Family rituals vary with the economy, for the place of the shrine and the form of the offering depend upon the staple foods. Among a pastoral people the altar is the byre, the offering milk or a slaughtered animal. If the people cultivate, beer is added. Among banana-eating peoples the altar is set in a plantain grove, at the base of a succoring stem which represents the patrilineage; among hunting peoples it may be a tree or branch on which are placed trophies of the chase. To the Lele, who live on the southern edge of the equatorial forest belt, the forest is holy and is associated with men; the grassland, where villages are built, has no prestige and is associated with women. Among other peoples the cleavage is between the open pastureland or bush (the veld) and the village; or, within the village itself, between the byre and its gateway-where prayer and offerings are made and men gather—and the great hut occupied by the senior woman of the homestead. But everywhere the hearth and house, especially the doorway of the house, are sacred also, for among some peoples explicitly, and probably for all implicitly, the house represents the mother, the hearth stands for the marriage, and the doorway is the passage through which children are born. Taboos surrounding the hearth, the fire, and the whole reproductive process may be seen as an expression of the holiness of normal fertility and procreation, processes which are thought to be controlled by the shades.

Offerings to the shades consist of staple foods, especially choice foods such as a tender cut of beef eaten by the one on whose behalf prayer is made (the same cut from the right foreleg is used by peoples from Tanzania to the southern coast of Africa); a libation of fermented milk or beer; a sprinkling of flour or porridge; seeds of pulses, cucurbits, and grains. A strongly pastoral people will cling to the symbolism of slaughtering an animal—shedding blood—even when they live in a city. White goats may yet be seen grazing on the outskirts of the African quarters of Cape Town, or one may see them being led along a country road or wandering about on some modern farm where African laborers are employed. They are there to be used as offerings at times of birth or death, sickness or initiation, when meat from the butcher will not suffice; at such times informed authority turns a blind eye. The beer poured out may be made of sorghum, millet, bananas, bamboo, or even maize or cassava, which reached the coasts of Africa only in the sixteenth century and parts of the interior only in the nineteenth century.

Whatever the material used, the intention of the offering is the same: The shades are called to feast, and what is offered is a communion meal for living and dead kinsmen. If an ox has been slaughtered or much beer brewed, friends and neighbors will be asked to gather with the kinsmen, but they do not share in the sacred portions set aside for kin, who first eat and drink in a place set slightly apart from the main gathering. At an offering to the shades it is essential that kinsmen be present—the range of kin summoned depending upon the gravity of the occasion—and that they be loving and charitable to one another. Any quarrels must be admitted and resolved. This writer has heard the officiant at such a ritual urging all the kinsmen present to "drink up and speak out." Sometimes a funeral feast, or a feast celebrating the return of a prodigal son to his father, may seem like a cursing match as one after another participant admits "anger in the heart," a grudge against kinsmen. This writer heard individual women complain that they had not been received with due respect by a brother's wife when they visited and the brother's wife reply that her sister-in-law had been seen picking and stealing, taking green food from the garden as she passed through, and so forth. Unspoken anger, festering in the heart, is thought both to be the root of witchcraft and to invalidate an offering to the shades, for quarreling between kinsmen infuriates the shades.

When an offering is made, an officiant, usually the senior man of the lineage, or occasionally a dead father's sister or a grandmother of the homestead, addresses the shades, calling them by name, explaining why the offering has been made—that is, what is troubling the homestead—and requesting help. The calling of ancestors by name is in itself a form of praise, and the manner of speech is that used in the presence of a senior kinsman, or (as among the Nguni) that used to honor a chief. Prayer and praise are here barely distinguishable.

The occasions of family rituals are constant throughout the area: death and birth, especially abnormal birth such as that of twins; maturity, whether physically or socially defined; marriage; misfortune and serious illness; reconciliation after a quarrel; and the first fruits that the family celebrates after the national or regional ritual. Thanksgiving rituals also occur, particularly after escape from danger in war or hunting, or on the return home of a migrant laborer or a person released from imprisonment; and there are rituals invoking blessing for an important new tool such as a plough, but these are less general than the rituals of life crises. Everywhere the death rituals persist through time and are adapted to the new economy. In the south funeral parlors with facilities for keeping a corpse exist even in some country districts, and funerals are delayed until close kin, scattered at work centers, can gather. Sometimes the corpse of a town worker who has not visited the country for years is brought "home" to the country to be buried. Great numbers of people come to mourn, and, relative to the family's earnings, enormous sums are spent on traveling, funeral expenses, and food for guests. Many guests bring a contribution of money, but even so the family may be crippled financially. Whether a man has been buried in a Johannesburg township or a remote village, as of 1982 family status still depended on lavish expenditure just as it did among the Nyakyusa in 1935, when a hundred cattle might be slaughtered on the death of a rich chief.

Although funerals have been adapted to the new economy, they include certain traditional rites, notably a washing and purification rite after the burial and a lifting of mourning after about a year. Among the Nguni peoples of the southeast coast a commemoration dinner may replace the rite of "bringing home" the shade and implies an awareness of the continuing existence of the dead which is much greater than that experienced by many contemporary Europeans and Americans. Setiloane describes the vitality of such rites in Sotho-Tswana families of professing Christians.

All the kinship rituals, but especially funerals, are an affirmation of kinship and the unity of the extended family, and the efficacy of the ritual depends upon the presence, in love and charity, of a network of kin. Exactly who is involved varies both with the people—be they Ndembu, Bemba, Zulu, or Sotho—and with the occasion. The celebrations are a strong conservative force, for the health and well-being of the whole kinship group is thought to depend on "following the customs of the ancestors" in observing the ritual. This is evident even in a city.

Maturity rituals have many aspects; the extent to which any one aspect is stressed varies from one society to another. This article has classed maturity rituals as religious, since they are explicitly concerned with fertility, which in turn is controlled by the shades; often they involve an offering and invocation to the shades, whose blessings are sought. Frequently, perhaps always, there is a symbolic death, a period of seclusion when the novice must observe taboos associated with the world of the dead, which is followed by a rebirth after which he or she returns to ordinary life. The rituals are viewed as a proper prelude to, if not a condition of, marriage and procreation. Rituals of maturity for boys often (but not invariably) involve circumcision: Those for girls may or may not involve clitoridectomy or some lesser operation.

Circumcision is most often celebrated for a group, and those who have endured this rite together share a bond for life. The boys' group may become a unit in the army, and in areas where the political structure is based on age, its members may graduate together as elders holding legal and administrative office, and finally, as old men, share ritual functions. Where there are chiefs, a royal youth is sought to lead each circumcision group, and those circumcised with him become his closest followers. The circumcision school draws a youth out of the immediate network of kin and establishes links with scattered contemporaries and political authority, links sometimes expressed in an esoteric language known only to those initiated.

Girls' initiation, on the other hand, is most often an individual celebration at the first menstruation, and wider links with contemporaries or political authority are not treated as important. But among a few peoples, notably the Sotho-Tswana and the neighboring Venda in precolonial times, girls' initiation was a group affair with political implications; a women's regiment was linked to a men's regiment, and, like its male counterpart, it might be called out for public service.

Maturity rituals are everywhere concerned with inculcating respect for authority: respect for seniors, shades, chiefs, and respect of a wife for her husband. A man must learn to keep secrets and never reveal the affairs of his chief or the secrets of the lodge. A woman likewise must learn to hold her tongue; she must not create conflict through gossip or reveal the affairs of her husband. Often there are taboo words and riddles with a set answer, knowledge of which are taken as proof of initiation. In *Chisungu* Audrey I. Richards (1956) admirably demonstrates the use of songs, mimes, designs, and models to inculcate in a Bemba girl the proper behavior of a wife. Always the rituals instruct the novice in the behavior required of an adult man or woman, and a transformation from childish behavior to responsible behavior is expected.

The rituals assert the authority of a senior generation over a junior: The initiated secure the young novice's submission through the pain of an operation, beating, scolding, and threats, or by playing upon the novice's fear of the unseen and longing to become an honored and fertile man or woman. The ritual creates a fraternity or sorority of those who have undergone the ordeal: Those who have not undergone it are outsiders, but all who have endured are free to participate in the admonition of their juniors. A determination to use circumcision rites to bolster civil authority was made explicit in October 1981 when the Ciskei, later an "independent state" on the border of the Republic of South Africa, passed legislation empowering a chief to compel a young man to be circumcised, on the ground that "it is well known that circumcision causes irresponsible youths to behave in a responsible manner." This happened at a time when opposition by school boys and students to Ciskeian political authority was intense.

Why maturity rituals have survived among some peoples but not others, or for one sex but not the other, in fast-changing societies can only be demonstrated by analyzing historical events in particular areas. What is certain is that in some areas changes in practice have occurred since the eighteenth century, rites spreading or being abandoned; but there is also eyewitness evidence from survivors of wrecks on the southeastern coast of Africa which suggests minimal change in circumcision rites among Xhosa and Thembu peoples over three centuries.

CULTS OF AFFLICTION, SPIRIT POSSESSION, AND DIVINATION. Besides the cycle of rituals associated with families and the birth, maturity, and death of individuals, and the cycle celebrated for a chiefdom or region, there is a cycle of rituals for those individuals "called" by their shades to become diviners, or for sufferers whose sickness has been relieved by what Victor Turner has called a "ritual of affliction." Cults or guilds are formed of those who have suffered a particular travail and been cured by a particular ritual. Their experience entitles them to participate in any celebration for a sufferer of the same category. Rituals for diviners who have been called (as opposed to herbalists who learn certain medicines) and rituals of affliction are much less widespread than those for birth, maturity, and death, or those for a chiefdom or region. They are not contained within the frame of kinship or locality and seem to have proliferated with trade and travel, but of that process not much is yet known. What is certain is that among some isolated peoples (such as the Nyakyusa) these rituals do not occur at all, and among peoples with a long tradition of distant trade, such as the Shona and Tsonga, possession is often interpreted as being the work of an outsider, not that of a family shade. This phenomenon has appeared recently among the Zulu, as Harriet Ngubane (1977) has shown, and, according to John Beattie (1969), it exists among the Nyoro of Uganda as well.

Diviners are thought to be in a peculiarly close relationship with their shades, who reveal themselves in dreams and trances. Communication with the shades is fostered by cleansing and purging, observance of taboos (including sexual abstinence), fasting, isolation in the bush, offerings to the shades, and dancing to clapping or drums. The emotion is often intense when, with an insistent beat of clapping provided by a packed crowd, a novice speaks of what she has seen in dreams. In Western society the closest analogue to the diviner in this respect is the medium, and among some peoples—notably the Shona of Zimbabwe—a state of trance undoubtedly occurs. Even though it may be a stranger spirit who possesses the medium, she remains in close contact with her family shades.

Most mediums deal with the domestic problems and health of clients who come to consult them. Occasionally, however, a medium may influence public events, as did Nongqause, the Xhosa girl who in 1856 urged all Xhosa on the eastern frontier of the Cape of Good Hope to kill their cattle and destroy their grain, prophesying that when they did so the dead would rise up and sweep the whites into the sea, or the Shona medium who in 1898 urged resistance against whites in what is now Zimbabwe. During the colonial period old prophecies of the coming of whites were repeatedly recorded, and these may be seen partly as a reconciliation of old and new. To at least some Nyakyusa Christians, such prophecies were evidence of the reality—"the truth"—of ancient institutions, the prescience of past prophets. Had not the prophecy been fulfilled?

WITCHCRAFT. In southern African belief, evil does not come from the shades, who are essentially good. They discipline erring descendants, sending sickness or sterility if they have been starved (for in a real sense the shades partake of the communion meal—that is, the beer and flesh—and are satisfied by it) or neglected, not informed of a marriage, or affronted by the quarrels of their juniors. But they are concerned about the welfare of their children and are held to be the source of blessing. Rather, evil comes from another source: witchcraft. It is thought to be embodied in a serpent—a "python in the belly" (Nyakyusa), a "snake of the women" (Pondo); or it takes the form of a baboon, or a fabulous hairy being with exaggerated sexual organs (Xhosa), and so forth. Such creatures are as real in imagination as was the pitchfork-wielding Devil to the medieval European, and like him they walk the earth seeking those whom they may devour. The witch familiars (and witchcraft generally) personify the evil recognized as existing in all humans, specifically, anger, hatred, jealousy, envy, lust, greed. Even sloth appears, in the belief that certain evil people have raised others from the dead to work their fields for them.

The form of witch belief varies with the social structure, as does the relationship of victim and accused, for the points of friction in a society vary with the form of residence and economic cooperation (i.e., who lives and works together), the occasions of competition, and the location of authority. Injury is thought to come from those with whom one has quarreled: a co-wife, mother-in-law, half sibling, fellow employee, rival claimant for inheritance, affine claiming marriage cattle, litigant in court against whom judgment has been given, or fellow priest. In some societies it is mostly women, poor men, and juniors who are accused; but in societies where egalitarian values are stressed the rich man is suspect, as is the successful grower of cash crops who is thought to have attracted the fertility of his neighbors' fields to his own. The one legitimately greater than the commoner (i.e., the chief) may covet the cattle of a wealthy stock owner, who is then accused of some wrongdoing—or so outsiders have thought.

Again and again during the colonial period, "witch-finding" movements arose when some prophet would call on his people to reject evil, to purge themselves of witchcraft and medicines used for sorcery. Over large regions people in fact complied, bringing out horns of medicines or other objects to throw publicly on a pyre and implicitly or explicitly admitting evil in themselves and expressing goodwill to all. The bamucapi movement which swept through what are now Zambia, Malawi, and parts of Zimbabwe and Tanzania in 1934 was followed by a somewhat similar movement in much the same area (but with greatest influence in what is now Tanzania) between 1956 and 1964. Long before these movements arose, the Xhosa of the eastern Cape frontier had repeatedly been urged to purify themselves and reject witchcraft. In 1856 Nongqause, a sixteen-year-old medium, reported to the noted diviner Mhlakaza, her father's brother, that the shades had told her they would come to the rescue of their Xhosa descendants in their long war with whites over land on the eastern frontier, on condition that the living purify themselves and kill all their cattle. In the famine that ensued, twenty thousand people died. There is no evidence that such revivalist movements began in the colonial period: They may well have happened periodically before that, although certain characteristics of movements in colonial times, notably millennialism, were related to Christian missionary teaching.

People are known to confess to the practice of witchcraft, usually following an accusation and pressure to confess. One young mother in Pondoland explained to this writer that her baby had at first refused to nurse because she had had a witch-lover (who appeared in the form of a young man she named). The mother had then confessed, complying with the instructions of the midwives and giving her account precisely in terms of current beliefs; she was now being cleansed, and the baby was nursing all right. In some areas confessions have at times been extracted forcibly (through a poison ordeal or torture), since the recovery of the victim is held to depend upon the witch's confession and subsequent expression of goodwill toward the victim.

RITUAL, ORDER, AND THE RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE. Analysis of ritual is important in any study of religion, for ritual enshrines the dogma and values of participants. There is always a gap between the values expressed and everyday practice, but ideals and ideas of ultimate reality are embodied in ritual action. In southern Africa there is constant emphasis on fertility—of human beings, stock, and fields; on health; on goodwill between kinsmen and neighbors; on amity among the ruling men of the region; on respect of juniors for seniors and the responsibility of seniors toward their dependents; on the continuation of life after death.

Order exists in the universe, and the natural and social orders are felt to be interrelated: As in King Lear, disharmony in the world of humans is reflected both in the world of physical elements and in the tempest within a person's mind—in madness. If the divine king breaks a taboo, drought or flood may follow; if the ritual for a widow or a nubile girl is neglected, she may become distraught. Right order is expressed in traditional custom, and in their essence, rituals—whether positive action or negative avoidance—express the sacredness both of physiological processes, that is, menstruation, coition, parturition, and death, and of the approved relationships of men and women, old and young, leaders and followers. Both family and communal rituals are occasions of emotion, and the celebrations themselves arouse emotion, as is obvious to any observer who listens to the drumbeat and watches the dancing. Rituals, then, channel emotion and teach the mourner, the adolescent, or the parent what it is proper to feel. Nyakyusa mourners were required to express the passion of grief and fear to the men "fighting death" in the war dance and to widows, mothers, and sisters weeping violently and smearing themselves with ash and mud; but the rituals reveal little of the actual experience of the individual.

Any understanding of religious experience must come primarily from what individuals report of their own lives. Firsthand accounts are meager, but there is evidence that an awareness of the numinous exists. The talk of priests hints at their fear of a grove in which a founding hero or chief has been buried; at a communion meal of living and dead kinsmen, there is a sense that the shades are present and that the participants find satisfaction in their company; people speak of the comfort felt in a moment of danger when a man or woman has called on the shade of a parent or grandparent and sensed its presence; the fear aroused by a nightmare may be interpreted as the attack of a witch. Dreams are indeed the most common experience of the unseen, and so real that in recording the experiences of southern Africans I often had to ask, "Were you asleep or awake when this happened?" Those closest to their shades, and hence most aware of the numinous, are the hereditary priests, or rainmakers, and diviners who have been "called" and who practice as mediums.

SEE ALSO Affliction, article on African Cults of Affliction; Bemba Religion; Central Bantu Religions; Interlacustrine Bantu Religions; Khoi and San Religion; Kongo Religion; Luba Religion; Mbona; Ndembu Religion; Nyakyusa Religion; Shona Religion; Swazi Religion; Tswana Religion; Witchcraft, article on African Witchcraft; Zulu Religion.

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MONICA WILSON (1987)

SOUTHERN AFRICAN RELIGIONS: SOUTHERN BANTU RELIGIONS

Patrilineal herdsmen and farmers belonging to the large Bantu linguistic group, which is widely spread over central and eastern Africa, moved into southern Africa in distinct waves. They appeared in the region as distinct cultural groups probably between 1000 and 1600 CE. The Sotho (Pedi, Matlala, et al.) and the related Tswana settled on the arid inland plateau where the San were hunting and the Khoi were raising livestock. The Nguni (Zulu, Swazi, and Xhosa) spread out along the southeastern coast. The Lovedu and Venda, two closely related peoples who became strongly amalgamated with the Sotho in the twentieth century, successively broke away from the Karanga in ancient Zimbabwe; the last Venda migration may have crossed the Limpopo River after 1600 CE, but their predecessors were probably among the first inhabitants of the northeastern Transvaal. The Tsonga, or Thonga, migrated in the early nineteenth century into the Transvaal, where they ran into Sotho and Venda, but their lands still lie principally in Mozambique. In spite of these people's cultural diversity, their ceremonies as well as their conceptions of the world have sprung from the same fundamental cosmology, either through derivation from a common heritage or else from interactions.

A THERMODYNAMIC CONCEPTION OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND OF THE UNIVERSE. The opposition between hot and cold is fundamental to many different rites found among the southeastern Bantu-speaking peoples. J. D. Krige and Eileen Jensen Krige have shown the importance of this opposition among the Lovedu. In effect, heat upsets equilibrium and causes dysphoria. To end severe drought, ward off the dangers associated with premature birth, and heal sickness, a cooling treatment is applied. This is also done after the birth of twins, for the whole country risks becoming dry.

The Venda also use this dialectic. Similarly, the Zulu make a sacrificer avoid warmth before undergoing an immolation to the ancestors, who are associated with water and sperm. The day before, he has to give up drinking beer, stop making love, and keep away from fire. Communication with the ancestors is possible only if all participants are cool—neither angry nor spiteful. According to the Tsonga, sick persons give off heat, as do menstruating or pregnant women and excited warriors who have just killed an enemy. The cosmic order is threatened by the birth of twins because the mother "has gone up to the sky" during pregnancy, a period of dangerous overheating inside her womb. The Pedi even recommend that pregnant women not go outside whenever it rains. The Tswana say that the hot blood of pregnant women counteracts rain medicine. Moreover, their rainmakers and chiefs must abstain from sexual intercourse throughout most of the rainy season.

The Tsonga liken the normally born baby to a pot that has not cracked when baked. The mother and child are secluded until the umbilical cord falls off. The father cannot approach his wife because she is considered to be too hot. If the baby is male, the father runs a special risk. A series of rites gradually separates the infant from the mother's burning body and integrates him into the father's sphere. The cooling process can be clearly observed during Tsonga funerals for infants. If death follows soon after birth, the body is put inside a cracked pot that is covered with a layer of ashes. If death occurs before the Boha Puri tribal integration, which allows the parents to resume sexual intercourse and is performed when the child reaches the age of one, the body is buried in a humid place. If the child dies after this rite, the funeral is conducted like that of an adult, and the corpse is buried in dry earth.

The same thermal code underlies rites of passage that, though differing in form, are basically similar. An example is the presentation to the moon. A cooling feminine principle, the moon is responsible for watching over the child's growth and is often likened to a paternal aunt. During the first new moon visible after birth, the Pedi place the baby on the ground for a few seconds, and water, symbolizing rain, is poured through the roof and onto the infant. Three months after birth, the Tsonga present the baby to the new moon, throwing a torch toward it. Once the torch goes out, the baby is separated from his or her mother and laid on a pile of ashes. This example keenly reveals the transformational process that brings these rites within a single symbolic system: the Tsonga replace rain with an extinguished torch. Moreover, whenever twins, as "sons of the sky," assist at funerals, their fontanels are smeared with ashes because they are seen as burning, hence dangerous creatures.

THE PYTHON CULT. A major divinity known as the python spirit among southeastern Bantu-speaking peoples symbolizes the coolness that is responsible for individual, social, and cosmic equilibrium. He is undoubtedly part of the most archaic Bantu cultural substratum, and both the Swazi and Venda perform ceremonies in his honor. Among the Luba in Zaire, he has a celestial manifestation, that of the rainbow. The Zulu and Luba reverse his climatic functions. Nkongolo, the Luba python, is, like the Zulu one, associated with terrestrial waters. As the rainbow, however, he burns rain rather than bringing it. In contrast, the Zulu hold the python and rainbow to be two distinct spirits whose beneficial actions with regard to water are complementary. "Coolest of all animals" according to Axel-Ivar Berglund, Python licks the fat of the black sheep that rainmakers sacrifice to him. On the other hand, the rainbow princess, iNkosazana, is the virgin daughter of the lord of heaven (and of thunderbolts), whose changing moods are dreaded by men. She intercedes so that he regularly sends gentle, soaking rain. Her rays of light plunge into the waters. Virgin girls, disguised as warriors, offer her vegetables and beer on top of a mountain forbidden to men. The feminine rainbow cult stands opposite the masculine python rite of sacrifice. Only princes may kill this venerated animal provided that they not spill its blood. Its fat goes into medicines that specialized magicians use against thunderbolts.

The rainbow princess cult is found specifically among the Nguni. Traces of it are found among the Swazi, who inaugurate the annual Ncwala ceremony during the southern summer solstice with a quest for the waters of the world. National priests lead two separate processions, one in search of river water and the other in search of seawater. Carried on a shield at the head of each procession is a ritual calabash, called "princess." These two calabashes represent the rainbow princess. This extraordinarily complex ceremony, which principally regenerates the king's mystical force, ends with a purifying bonfire that is supposed to be put out by rain.

Although the Swazi apparently have no python cult, Venda religion honors the python, and snake cults thrive among the Karanga. According to Venda cosmogony, the whole creation took place inside Python's stomach. This primordial, aquatic demiurge vomited nine creatures who roamed over the soggy earth, which was still in darkness. They became the sun, moon, and stars. Controlling fertility and rain, Python also presides over girls' puberty rites. Killing a python during the rainy season is strictly forbidden. During the dry season, its carcass is thrown into water, although the head and tail are buried in the cattle fold in order to bring prosperity. People use its fat to protect themselves from burns and to prevent fires.

Most Bantu cosmogonies are fundamentally dualistic. Thus opposite Python is Raluvhumba, who has often been mistaken for a supreme being. His name evokes the eagle, *luvumba*. Raluvhumba's voice is thunder, and during storms he is visible as a big flame. He controls the sun, which could burn the earth if it came too near. His complementarity with Python stands out in a royal ceremony that is no longer observed. After communicating with Raluvhumba in a sacred cave, the Venda king used to order his people to perform Python's dance (*tshikona*) for two nights. Much like other, neighboring societies, the Venda believe that the universe's equilibrium depends upon the joint action of two fundamental principles—water and fire, coolness and heat. Water and coolness have the advantage of having originated first; fire and heat are always menacing because they threaten life. Therefore, the Venda put out all fires when their king dies. The Lovedu do the same because the earth is "hot" whenever their queen (who is responsible for keeping the rain medicine—and keeping it cool) passes away.

These myths and rites parallel various fragmentary tales collected among the Karanga. The Korekore, a branch of the Karanga, worship Dzivaguru ("big pool"). This rain spirit lived on earth before he disappeared into a pool on a mountaintop. He was forced to vanish by the magic of a rival chief who coveted his wealth and put on red attire (the color of fire). Like the Venda Python, this vanquished spirit was the primordial ruler of the world. By going down into water, he brought darkness over the earth. His opponent had to use a new magical trick to bring the sun back. Dzivaguru said that he would accept only sheep as offerings—the same animal that the Zulu sacrifice to Python.

This tale is apparently a variation of a Hungwe myth, taken down by Leo Viktor Frobenius, that accounts for the origin of the mighty Zimbabwe kingdom, whose stone ruins are unique in the Bantu-speaking world. In olden times, a poverty-stricken people known as the Hungwe were dwelling on a mountain. They ate food raw because their chief, Madzivoa, had lost the fire that his daughters kept in a sealed horn containing oil. Hunters from the north, the Hungwe's ancestors, came into the land. They had fire and ritually smoked a pipe to sustain their magical force. Their chief gave fire to Madzivoa, married his daughter, and became the first "king" (*mambo*). Many people united around him, and even Madzivoa became his servant. The name of this fallen autochthonous chief derives from *dzivoa* ("lake" or "pool"), also found in the name Dzivaguru. These two similarly named figures met up with parallel fates at the hands of newcomers who seized their power and wealth.

The new mythical rulers of fire had to accommodate the demiurges associated with water, as told in another Karanga story collected by Frobenius. A snake spirit used to dwell in a lake on the Zimbabwe plain. The king's daughters are thought to copulate with this spirit to keep the sacred pool and rain from disappearing. The vaginas of these princesses, who enjoyed total sexual freedom, had to be continuously moist. Victims to be sacrificed for rainfall were chosen from among them. A second group of princesses had to stay chaste. They were associated with a ritual fire kept by the king's incestuous wife, Mwiza, who represents the morning star.

The Venda myth transposes these elements. Python lived with two wives. Only the first one knew his real nature and could visit him freely during daytime. The second could draw near him only at night when she was soaked. Driven by curiosity, she broke this rule and caught her husband smoking a pipe. Angrily, Python went down into a lake. To end the subsequent drought, the guilty wife had to sacrifice herself and join her husband in the water. The Venda primordial Python clearly brings to mind Zimbabwe's aquatic serpent, of whom Dzivaguru and Madzivoa are avatars.

These variant myths relate both the incompatibility of water and fire and their complementarity. The duality of the Karanga princesses with dry and moist vaginas expresses the southeastern Bantu dialectic of coolness and heat. The Venda myth about the python who secretly smoked a pipe recounts the same theme as the Hungwe one about a mysterious foreigner who drew force out of smoking and prevailed over Madzivoa, an aquatic spirit who used to keep fire in a horn. The sacrifice of the Venda Python's second wife obviously corresponds to the sacrifices demanded of the Karanga princesses. Karanga symbolism vividly distinguishes a primordial spirit associated with both terrestrial and rain waters from a ruler of fire who was his opponent or else became his ally through marriage. The Korekore see these two spirits as rivals but ultimately invoke Dzivaguru whenever there is no rain. However, this cosmogony has been obscured by the cults of possession dedicated to regional or particularistic gods. The ubiquity of these cults, borrowed from the Shona, has distracted researchers from the still-present ancient gods. In fact, Dzivaguru is the only local spirit with no medium.

The Venda, however, have made an original transposition of the ancient dualism. Python, ruler of waters, and Raluvhumba, ruler of celestial fire, are ritually complementary. In Zimbabwe, neighboring Karanga worship Mwari, a supreme being who combines the attributes of both. This "possessor of heaven" is also called Dzivaguru. Mwari's representative, the python, is venerated as a spirit of the mountains, whereas a water snake keeps rivers and springs from going dry.

COSMOLOGY AND SACRED KINGSHIP. James G. Frazer was the first to describe as "divine kingship" a political institution whose primary function is control over fertility and natural forces. I prefer to use the term "sacred kingship" because the particular chiefs who are essential to this institution are not actual gods. The Venda and Lovedu inherited the institution of sacred kingship from the Karanga while the Sotho and Tswana did not (sacred kingship is not apparently a feature of Sotho or Tswana culture despite the existence among them of some powerful military chieftaincies). The Swazi established a political and symbolic system remarkably similar to that of the Venda. Sacred kingship is widespread throughout Africa. Surprisingly constant characteristics are thus attributed to African, particularly Bantu-speaking, kings: they are uncommon beings; they take paramountcy through transgression (often incest); they are surrounded by prohibitions; and they are condemned to die early unless other victims make it possible for them to continue reigning.

The Swazi king, master of thunderbolts and of the sun, rules along with a queen mother associated with the moon and with lush vegetation. Together they control the rains. The king has the privilege of marrying his real or classificatory sisters. While young, he succeeds his father with the title "child," and when adult he takes full power by marrying the "queen of the right hand," with whom he commingles blood to become twins. But his real so-called twin is his mother. During the summer solstice, his force weakens, and the whole nation goes through a crisis. He then performs the Ncwala ceremony, which opens with the previously described quest for water. He is proclaimed "bull of the nation" after the sacrifice of an ill-treated black ox, which represents him. Following several events that alternately show his weakness and his force, he consumes the first fruits and is then disguised as the spirit of vegetation.

According to the Venda founding myth, the first two sovereigns were Sun and Moon, his twin sister as well as incestuous wife. Paradoxically, the Venda king rules with a paternal aunt (Makhadzi, a title also used to refer to the moon); an agnatic half sister takes the aunt's place during the next reign. His principal wife, often a real or classificatory sister, belongs to the royal family. The king, "light of the world," controls rain through both Python and Raluvhumba. Although no ritual marks the summer solstice, Makhadzi presides over the first-fruit ceremony.

Venda and Swazi symbolic configurations are related through transformations. In practice, the Venda put agnatic ties in place of the incestuous uterine (or twin) ties of their myth. The Swazi, on the contrary, maintain these mythical ties through a fiction. Mirrored by a queen who is the king's agnatic half sister, the Venda queen aunt obviously fills the same ritual position as the Swazi queen mother, who is a "twin" to her son. The queen of the right hand, who is both the king's wife and fictive twin, is a substitute for the queen mother. More meaningful parallels exist. The "twin body" of the Swazi kingdom expresses a great power of life; it is completed by the male *tinsila*, the sovereign's symbolic twins associated with his right and left hands. A similar pair in the Venda kingdom corresponds to the paternal uncle and agnatic half brother, respectively Makhadzi's and the queen sister's masculine doubles.

The Lovedu's mythic and historical traditions throw light upon this structural transformation of the ideal twin model. A very long time ago, Princess Dzugudini, the daughter of the king of Monomotapa, bore a son, Muhale, to her uterine brother. Their mother kept their secret, stole her husband's rain medicine, and gave it to her daughter, who fled southward with her young son. With some supporters, they reached the Lovedu land, where Muhale, who had brought fire along, founded a kingdom. The incestuous uterine couple are thus closely associated with the ritual couple formed by a son (keeper of fire) and mother (supplier of rain medicine). The Swazi have simply combined these two images to present the queen mother as her son's twin sister. Succession in the Lovedu royal house later came into the hands of women. The first queen was born out of incest between a king and his daughter. Even though the model for perpetuating sacred kingship through the union of a brother and his uterine sister (ideally between twins of the opposite sex) has shifted agnatically, the Lovedu did not adopt the Venda solution. Their rain queen reigns alone but reputedly has intercourse with a brother in order to bear an heiress.

Lovedu traditions have kept alive the incestuous marriage of sacred chiefs in the ancient Karanga civilization. The king of Monomotapa reigned with Mazarira, his sister and wife. A later account (Frobenius) states that, in ancient Zimbabwe, Mazarira was the monarch's own mother. The heir apparent lived in incest with a sister who became his principal wife with the name Mwiza (in Monomotapa, Nabwiza). When enthroned along with her brother, she lit the new ritual fire for her keeping.

Unlike the Venda one, the Karanga founding myth does not mention a primordial monarchy of the Sun and Moon twins. Moon, the first king, emerged from the primeval waters. For two years he lived chastely with Morning Star, who brought him fire and bore vegetation before being taken back by Mwari, the supreme being. Moon received a second wife, Evening Star, who invited him to have sexual intercourse. She bore mankind and animals. Moon became "ruler" (*mambo*) over a large population. Two years later, Evening Star left him to go live with Snake, master of the rains. When Moon tried to take her back, Snake bit him. Moon pined away. Rain stopped falling. His children strangled him and buried him with Evening Star who had decided to die with him. After that the children chose a new king. This myth perfectly illustrates the cosmological function of sacred kingship, here under the sign of the moon. Having lost his power over nature, the weakened king was condemned to an early death. The rulers of Monomotapa were killed whenever they showed the least physical failing, whether sickness or impotence. The following ceremony clearly associated them with the moon. At the rising of the new moon, the king had to mock fight invisible enemies in the presence of the realm's dignitaries. According to several accounts, the sacred chiefs of the Karanga and related peoples were eliminated after reigning either two or four years. In the myth, this period corresponds to the Venusian cycle. Mwiza represents Venus, the morning star. Recall that Mwiza was surrounded by chaste, dry princesses. They greeted the first rising of the morning star. On the other hand, the second group of humid princesses, who had intercourse with the snake spirit of the waters, probably had to do with the evening star.

This cosmological system obviously differs from the Venda's, even though the Karanga origins of the Venda kingdom are beyond doubt. In charge of the rains, Karanga and Venda kings are related to aquatic snake spirits. In the Venda myth, both Venusian wives belonged to Python, but only the daytime one could be with her husband whenever he smoked (i.e., used fire). The morning/evening star opposition exists but is concealed. Moreover, the Venda sovereign was not lunar. The first king was none other than Sun, whom Python vomited out. Present-day rulers proclaim to be descended from Raluvhumba, who controls thunderbolts and is symbolized by the eagle. The thunderbird's role in Karanga royal cosmogony needs to be better known. Thomas Huffman, an archaeologist, has suggested that Zimbabwe's famous stone birds represent successive rulers in the form of fish eagles. In old Zimbabwe, this brightly feathered bird was the mediator between humanity and Mwari, the celestial demiurge and congener of the Venda Raluvhumba. Recall that the Hungwe, whose name literally means "fish eagle," brought fire to the destitute folk ruled by the aquatic Madzivoa. The complementarity of the eagle and serpent restores the fundamental opposition between fire and water.

Two diverging traditions relate the origin of fire, the celestial symbol of sovereignty. The Venda king is apparently associated with the second. He went ahead of Raluvhumba when the latter appeared on earth as a big, thundering flame. The stick that the king uses to stir his porridge is called "the fire lighter."

Whereas the Karanga moon kings were killed after they reigned a short time (or whenever their physical forces failed, as in Monomotapa), the Venda kings enjoy long lives provided they do not have children after enthronement. They have to take a drug that inhibits their sexuality. Comparisons with central Africa lead to the conclusion that this practice aims at containing the king's dangerous, almost sorcerous, magical power. Among the Pende in Zaire, some sacred chiefs are forced to refrain from sexual intercourse after taking office. Lovedu ritual ascribes power over the rains to a secretly incestuous queen who had to commit suicide. It has its place in the same system of symbolic transformations, which goes back to a common ideology.

THE RITUAL COMPLEX OF CIRCUMCISION. Neither the Karanga nor the Shona practice circumcision. However, all accounts agree that this custom and its related initiation are a time-honored institution among the Sotho and Tswana, who have passed it on to the Lovedu, Venda, and Tsonga. Girls' puberty rites usually correspond to male circumcision. Girls undergo a pretended circumcision that amounts to slightly cutting the clitoris (Lovedu) or upper leg (Tswana) or to placing a knife between the legs (Pedi). The southern Sotho designate both feminine initiation and masculine circumcision with the same word (*lebello*). The Pedi, a northern Sotho people, make boys go through two successive rites (Bodika and Bogwera), but girls undergo a single collective rite (Byale). The Lovedu have adopted the latter; they call it Vyali and correlate it with the second masculine initiation. Those peoples with Karanga origins initially held only individual rites (the Venda Khoba or Lovedu Khomba) at the first menstruation.

Among the Sotho circumcision enables young men to become warriors. Each new class of circumcised youths forms a regiment in their chief's service. Although chiefs lack the attributes of sacred kings, the symbolisms of Sotho initiation and of the Swazi kingdom are strikingly close. Major Pedi chiefs keep a tribal fire that neither women nor uncircumcised boys may approach. From it initiates take a brand to light the fire that will burn continuously in the center of their circular bush camp during the dry season. After being circumcised, they gather each morning around this fire, the "little lion," and stage a feigned attack. They "pierce the laws." The solar symbolism of the lion fire is indicated by its bed lying along an east-west axis. The sun symbolizes the adult Pedi man. The "spotted white hyena" represents the lunar feminine principle but also refers to a small conical tower forbidden to those undergoing initiation. Built at the camp's eastern entry with carefully polished stones grouted with cinders, it stands alongside a smaller structure, its child. At the end of initiation, the newly circumcised follow the "hyena's tracks," a trail of cinders inside the camp, from the western entry northward to the eastern one. This path depicts the moon's apparent movement eastward, opposite to the sun's. The discovery of the hyena monument by initiates brings together pairs of opposites: sun and moon, male and female. When the masculine ceremony ends, girls who have just had their first period begin collective initiation. They experience a pretend circumcision and are secluded for a month under the authority of the chief's principal wife.

The Matlala have made interesting changes in this ceremony. The fire bed, called "lion," also lies along an east-west axis. Initiates are awakened at dawn while the morning star is shining. Since looking at the sun is forbidden during the first phase of initiation, the boys turn their faces westward. During the second phase, they look eastward and expose the right half of their bodies to the fire's heat. During this "night of change," a stake is erected and its top decorated with ostrich feathers. Greeted as grandmother, this stake replicates the Pedi's lunar monument. Throughout their retreat, initiates pretend to attack the moon. The Matlala use obviously phallic metaphors to liken the waning moon to a female elephant that has to be "stabbed" and "made to fall." Pedi initiation songs also mention a mysterious elephant, an image that instructors take explicitly to mean the dangerous menstruating woman.

Just as the lion is in opposition to the elephant, so a solar fire along an east-west axis is in opposition to the moon. This Sotho symbolism can be compared to that surrounding the Swazi lion king, associated with the sun and fire, who rules along with an elephant queen mother, associated with the moon. During the Ncwala ceremony, the weakened king runs after the summer solstitial sun. He finally has sexual intercourse with the queen of the right hand, a notorious action comparable to the solar quest for virility by newly circumcised Sotho youth. During their retreat, Pedi initiates are as weak as the Swazi king during the Ncwala. They try in vain "to run past the sun." The king's successor is chosen from among his very young sons. This child king is the only Swazi male who, at adolescence, goes through a circumcision-like ceremony. Otherwise, the Nguni do not hold circumcision or related initiation ceremonies, although they might have in the past. The Swazi seemingly concentrate the symbolism of Sotho initiation within their royal institution. The Swazi king may never drink water, just as those undergoing Sotho initiation may not. At the end of initiation, the newly circumcised jump into water while their camp is set ablaze; the Ncwala ends as the Swazi king washes while a purifying bonfire is lit. Like this king, the Pedi who have completed initiation become lions and brave warriors. Just as Pedi initiation leads to the formation of new military regiments, so the Swazi military age grades actively participate in the Ncwala, under the sign of the moon. Throughout the Sotho region, circumcision camps fall under the chiefs' direct control. The Swazi Ncwala and Sotho puberty rites are variations of the same symbolic and sociological themes.

Similarities lie even closer. Recall how the lion fire in the Pedi initiatory camp is lit. The chief's principal wife has a function like that of the Swazi queen mother—to keep rain medicine. To be wedded, she appears at sunset as all fires are put out. The fire ignited in her dwelling is used to renew the tribal fire. The fire in the chief's keeping (which he gives to those undergoing initiation) and the rain medicine kept by his principal wife (who gives birth to his successor) are both complementary and opposite. The newly circumcised youth's solar/lunar quest for a woman is also a search for rain. Strictly kept apart from the opposite sex, initiates gather around the solar lion fire during the dry season. Ritual chants invite them to follow the elephant's (woman's) tracks "when it rains," for then this animal has "no more force" and can be killed easily. Such phrases mean that a man may approach a woman only after her menstrual period. The cycle of fertility is linked to the change of seasons; menstruation suspends sexual relations and, like the dry season, falls under the sign of fire.

The Tsonga and Venda use this cosmological code. They borrowed and also adapted the institution of circumcision camps from their Sotho neighbors. A feminine elephant fire replaces the masculine lion fire in initiation camps. How should this inversion be understood? For many southeastern Bantu-speaking peoples, particularly the Swazi and Sotho, the masculine sun is complementary to the feminine moon (associated with rain and lush vegetation). But in general fire is feminine and terrestrial water masculine. Menstruation and pregnancy have to do with heat. The profound symbolic changes separating Sotho and non-Sotho circumcision rites come down to a fundamental alternative: should the ritual fire be given masculine and solar attributes or the hot properties of menstrual blood? The Sotho have made the first, the lion fire, their choice; the Tsonga and Venda have opted for the second, the elephant fire.

Moreover, the Tsonga do not put political authorities in charge of initiation. Unlike the Pedi, they entrust the ritual fire to the chief's principal wife, who keeps it burning in her dwelling in order to smoke medicine objects. Furthermore, the moon is dissociated from the sun; Moon's husband is Evening Star. For all these reasons, solar/lunar symbolism sinks into the background. Instead, all symbolism related to Tsonga circumcision is dominated by the opposition between masculine water and feminine fire, as shown by the ritual formulas taught during initiation.

Three animals successively figure in these formulas. Symbol of the circumcising knife that makes boys fit for reproduction, the crocodile "moves heavily across fords and in the rushes." The hippopotamus "opens the road for elephants toward the ford." The elephant "walks slowly on dry ground" where rain will fill her tracks. These metaphors strongly contrast the aquatic, masculine domain of the crocodile with the solid ground of the female elephant. Between these two lies the road opened up by the hippopotamus, which is associated with a virgin girl whom young boys rape. They thus open the way to the female elephant, the adult woman who becomes fertile only after menstruation, which supposedly stops with the start of the rainy season. The elephant fire is a sign of both feminine sterility and the dry season. Every day, initiates confront this fire and "stab" it with a phallic stick while they sing, "Elephant, stay calm!" Significantly, they may not drink any water during their retreat. When the camp is burned down at the end of initation, they jump into a pool as they proclaim their virility. How to interpret this sequence? Circumcision, the necessary condition for procreative functioning, falls under the sign of masculine water. Separated from this element during seclusion, initiates are brought close to a feminine fire, which they cannot extinguish before the rainy season. The symbolic space around the elephant fire in the center of the initiation camp and the crocodile's watery place outside the camp are clearly delimited. The elephant fire corresponds to menstruation, dry earth, and feminine sterility; the crocodile's watery realm to circumcision, terrestrial water, and masculine fertility.

By playing on these oppositions, the Tsonga merely adjusted Sotho symbolism to the thermodynamic code with which all their rites of passage comply. Recall that newborn Tsonga children, created inside burning wombs, undergo cooling rites and that the growth of boys is placed under the sign of the moon. Just before puberty, the ritual process is reversed, for sexuality is a new source of heat to be carefully controlled. Tsonga circumcision rites are an initiation into the mysteries of feminine fire. Circumcision definitively cuts the maternal bond and marks the beginning of a young man's search for a wife. Wives are normally taken from among pubescent girls who, excessively hot during their first menstruation, undergo a collective cooling rite, which is the reverse of the masculine ceremony. Every morning during their month-long retreat, they are led, with faces veiled, to a pool and dunked into water up to their necks. Back in the hut, they are not allowed to warm themselves near the fire. During Pedi initiation, girls are also dunked into a stream to take away heat caused by menstruation, but this occurs at sunset. The Tsonga and Venda both apply cooling treatments to lower girls' temperatures.

Solar symbolism remains a vital part of the Tsonga ceremony. Initiates leave for the place of circumcision at dawn while the morning star heralds the sun, which will pull them out of the "darkness" of childhood. In addition to putting a feminine elephant fire in place of the Pedi masculine lion fire, the Venda (and probably also the Tsonga) change its direction along a north-south axis. According to a widespread conception in southern Africa, the sun travels from its northern to its southern houses between dry and rainy seasons. Like the Pedi, the Tsonga hold initiation ceremonies during the dry season. As the southern summer solstice and the first rains draw near, the newly initiated may start "following the elephant's tracks"—fearlessly approaching women. The opposition between the elephant's dry ground and the crocodile's watery place is a sign of the changing seasons. Sexuality corresponds, as among the Pedi, to the cosmic order governed by the sun's course.

Thus the symbolic system of circumcision is based upon a kind of thermodynamics that characterizes all thought among the southeastern Bantu-speaking peoples. Moreover, circumcision resembles the *mukanda* complex of rituals that is diffused among such matrilineal Bantu-speaking peoples as the Ndembu and Chokwe in western central Africa. Consequently it brings to light a particularly interesting historical problem. Did the matrilineal societies in the region that is now comprised of Zambia, Angola, and northwest Zaire maintain a very old Bantu cultural tradition that was lost by other groups (much like the patrilineal Sotho and their near neighbors did in southern Africa)? This hypothesis cannot be dismissed *a priori.* However many arguments support another interpretation (de Heusch, 1982). It seems more plausible that the southern Bantu-speaking zone should be considered as the center of diffusion of this institution to central Africa. This type of diffusion would have taken place in the land of the Lozi, or Rotse, where the Kololo conquerors (of Sotho origin) took power in 1836. They ruled until 1864 and set up circumcision camps there that were associated with the military formation of young men. Among the Ndembu these rites also make one a warrior. Everything leads one to believe that during the nineteenth century the circumcision camps inaugurated by the Sotho conquerors were gradually adopted by neighboring populations who added to the circumcision rituals their own practice of using masks. Naturally, in each case the model is transformed from one region to another, but this transformation always takes place within the logic of symbolic thought already at work in southern Africa.

SEE ALSO Swazi Religion.

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Revised Bibliography

SOUTHERN SIBERIAN RELIGIONS. Southern Siberia is a region covered by a large wooded band, called taiga, that stretches from the Ural Mountains to the Pacific Ocean and is bordered by two treeless zones, the tundra to the north and the steppe to the south. The taiga evokes an entire procession of images: It is here where images of impenetrable immensity and absolute refuge mix with the intimacy of nature alone. The dense mass of huge dark trees is penetrated only by the great rivers (Ob, Yenisei, Lena, and tributaries) that roll their vast waters toward the Arctic Ocean, flooding their valleys in the summer and offering their frozen surfaces as bridges in the winter.

Throughout history the natural environment has prohibited any concentration of population; people continue to live in small scattered groups and to devote themselves to various kinds of hunting, fishing, and harvesting, which causes population shifts, varying in number and distance, throughout the year. These forest groups (from small isloated ethnic groups like the Ket—1,100 in 1979—to much larger groups) belong to one or the other of two great families of the Siberian peoples: Uralic to the west of the Yenisei River and Altaic to the east. Moreover, the majority of both groups live in the zones bordering the forest; these areas serve as pastoral land, while the forest is a hunting ground. Hence, one finds ethnic groups divided between taiga and tundra or between taiga and steppe. It must be noted, however, that forest peoples of different families are more similar to each other than to steppe or tundra peoples of their own family; there are specific religious features associated with hunting life in the forest.

This distribution between taiga and tundra or taiga and steppe encourages a comparative approach, deliberately focusing on the specific religious implications of the forest, as opposed to the steppe and the tundra. However, in order to avoid the pitfall of ecological determinism, the form of societal organization and mode of thought must be considered with the natural environment (more precisely, the means of access to natural resources). This approach can also be hampered by the nature of the sources and facts themselves. The representations described in this article are those of the pre-Soviet period, that is, of the beginning of the twentieth century.

THE FOREST PEOPLES. The Uralic and Altaic families each may be divided into smaller units. The two Siberian branches of the former are the Ob-Ugrian and the Samoyed. The Ob-Ugrian people, essentially a forest-dwelling group, consists of the Khanty and the Mansi, known in the eleventh century as the Yugra to the Russians of Novgorod, who traded with them for skins and furs. After their entrance into the Russian empire in the seventeenth century they became known as the Ostiaks and Voguls, respectively. At the time of the 1979 census there were 21,000 Khanty and 7,600 Mansi (a minor increase from the 1926 figures of 17,800 and 5,700, respectively).

Because of their proximity to European Russia, the Khanty and Mansi were severely exposed to the impact of colonialism. Far worse than the burden of taxation, the appearance of new illnesses, and the exactions from civil servants were the appropriation of the best land, that bordering the rivers, by Russian peasants and the forced conversion to Orthodox Christianity; both actions provoked strong opposition. Nevertheless, rather than staging a revolt, which would be quickly crushed, some preferred submission and assimilation while others elected to escape into the depths of the forest. The traditional society of the Khanty and Mansi is organized in exogamic moieties—the "hare moiety" and the "bear moiety," each having descended through the male line from one clan, which eventually divided into many.

The Samoyed branch, settled primarily in the tundra, also has groups living in the forest: the Selkup, in particular, and a small group of the Nentsy. The Selkup (6,000 in 1926; 3,600 in 1979; called the Yenisei Ostiaks in the past when the Ket were included) were forced back from the Yenisei Valley to valleys situated farther west (Taz, Turukhan, and Yeloguy) with the onset of Russian farming. Here too, each exogamic moiety—"eagle" and "nutcracker crow"—includes several patrilineal clans divided into various territorial units.

The other major group of forest people, the Altaic family, is divided into the Turkic, Mongol, and Manchu-Tunguz branches; these comprise the principal population of eastern Siberia. The Turkic branch (722,500 in Siberia in 1979), the most important of the three, is barely represented in the forest. However, certain ethnic groups, while primarily settled in the tundra (Yakuts) or steppe (eastern Tuva, Tofa, southern Shor), are found in the adjacent mountainous forest area as well.

On the other hand, the Toj-Tuva of the upper Yenisei River, the Tofa of the Sayan Mountains, and the Shor of the Altaic forest still practiced the traditional kinds of hunting in the nineteenth century. The Tuva and Tofa combine this with the raising, riding, and milking of deer. Each clan of the Shor has its own hunting ground; any infraction of the system entails vengeance. Each Shor hunter is entitled to hunt in the grounds of his wife's clan and must share his booty with her father.

The Mongol branch is represented in the forest by the Ekhirit-Bulagat Buriats who are native to the Cisbai-kalian forests. These people were not influenced by the Mongolian empire. Although they did borrow animal breeding from their Mongolian cousins of the steppe in the sixteenth century, they have nonetheless retained an authentic hunting culture as well as the remaining visible traces of a social organization divided into exogamic moieties (Ekhirit and Bulagat), with each moiety further subdivided into several patrilineal clans.

Stemming from the Tunguz branch are the Eveny (12,000 in 1979), the various Tunguz groups along the Amur River, and the Evenki, the Tunguz of the taiga (28,000 in 1979 as compared to 38,804 in 1926). Contrary to the other Siberian peoples whose populations are concentrated in a particular region (albeit in scattered groups), they are scattered throughout all of eastern Siberia. Still identifiable in spite of a variety of lifestyles, the traditional Tunguz is a hunter, an unparalleled observer and indefatigable traveler who is also incessantly driven by the search for game. It was the Tunguz who were chosen as guides by all explorers of Siberia.

HUNTING, ALLIANCE, AND THE HORIZONTAL CONCEPTION OF THE WORLD. Considered in terms of the life they lead and the type of society in which they live, the Siberian hunters' conceptions are based on a series of principles that create a structural analogy between the social, economic, and religious domains and that inform the mechanism of the interaction of these domains. Hunting is conceived of as an alliance in which the game is equivalent to the woman: The exchanging partners in each case are on the same plane, thus the world is thought of as horizontal.

Natural beings that supply sustenance are thought to be organized, like humans, into clans and linked to each other as well as to human clans through relations of alliance and vengeance. To be outside the clan is anomalous, and brings illness, death, and other trouble; everything possible is done to avoid such an anomaly. This conception applies primarily to game that is consumed but is in general not applied either to fish or to game hunted for fur, an occupation that is engaged in to meet external demand, thus making the game simple merchandise. Although fishing is a traditional practice and often supplies an important part of their subsistence, fish is still thought of simply as food, and rarely involves the same ritual treatment as game. (On the other hand, marine mammals on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk are considered to be hunted and not fished; they are classified under the category of consumed game.) Nor is this concept applied to gathered products, which are not conceived of as beings and which depend on a woman's activity without symbolic value. Likewise, only game that is consumed forms the subject of sociologically pertinent collective practices (hunting, ritual of consumption) and popular discourse (myths, tales, stories).

Birds appear to be particularly rich in symbolic value, a value that derives primarily from their signaling function. Thus, birds of prey and birds living on carrion, which signal the presence of game, serve as evocations of hunting. Migrators, which signal the coming and going of the seasons, evoke the voyage to the supernatural world and the circulation of souls between the world of the living and that of the dead.

Species-specific hunting and consumption restrictions are imposed upon each clan based on the mythical animal that is regarded as the clan's founder. This system has led many writers to speak of totemism, but the theory linked with this term is outdated today and even forgotten. Such a distribution of symbolic attributes—found in other places in the world—is to be understood as the clans' way of assuring networks of relationships among themselves and the necessary complementarity for general cohesion. However, the facts are insufficient to allow a systematic establishment of the roots of the symbolic exploitation of one animal species or another, except those whose relationship can be assimilated to that of a hunter and a guide (e.g., the eagle or crow).

In the representations and the ritual treatment of the slain animal, the taking of game is reduced to a taking of meat. The bones are not destroyed but are disposed of (along with the head and other parts believed to contain the vital breath of life) in such a way that the animal will be reincarnated or that another animal of the same species will appear. Seemingly out of gratitude to the animal that came to offer its flesh, the hunter treats it as a guest of honor and invites it to return. That he symbolically takes only meat and not the animal as such prevents the hunt from being likened to the murder of a member of another clan, which would unleash a chain of vengeance. It also happens that the death of the animal is recognized, but the responsibility for it is attributed to a stranger belonging to another tribe.

Just as there is a system of matrimonial alliance that legitimizes the individual's taking a wife, there is a system of economic (or one could say "food") alliance that justifies the hunter's taking of game. These two systems are often compared in detail in mythical discourse, as are their subjects and their protagonists: wife and game, the taker of wife and hunter, giver of wife and giver of game. As opposed to the others, the giver of game is an imaginary being, generally called the "spirit of the forest" and qualified as "rich." With this title and that of "owner of hunted species," he is indeed a "supernatural" power in the etymological sense of the word.

In societies divided into two exogamic moieties, the matrimonial system is one of restricted exchange, which is realized in the marriage of bilateral cross-cousins (children of both the mother's brother and the father's sister) and which amounts to an exchange of sisters. Whereas this system is sociologically simple and efficient considering the precarious conditions of life known to the Siberian hunters, it is nevertheless lacking in the constraints (debt of one side, claim from the other) necessary for its perpetuation: Partners are released immediately through the simple act of exchange. However, the system is conceived of by people who bring it into operation as though it involves three stages or three partners, thereby preventing a person from perceiving himself as both giver and taker at the same time with respect to the same partner and delaying the obligation of exchange. Thus, the taker's and giver's positions toward the same partner alternate from one generation to the next. In this way the system becomes self-perpetuating within a patrilineal line: Compensation for the wife taken by the father is a daughter of this same woman given by the son.

The hypothesis of the analogy of hunting with the matrimonial system leads both to the discovery of what compensation the hunter gives for the game he has taken and to an understanding of what are otherwise inexplicable practices: These come from the need for a third partner to create dynamics in the exchange system. The compensation for game taken is one of the same nature as the game itself—food—and is given by the hunter's wife to small tame animals (most of which belong to species that are neither hunted nor used: eagles, swans, cranes, nutcracker crows, foxes, etc.) as well as animal representations (furs, wooden figurines, etc.). The latter (Selkup, *khekhe;* Tuva, *eeren;* Buriat, *ongon;* Tunguz, *singken, sevek*), made at the time of marriage, are "fed" pieces of meat through their mouths, smeared with blood, and anointed with animal fat. In this way, the food taken from the animal world is symbolically returned. From the point of view of a tripartite system, these tame animals or animal representations occupy the taker position with respect to the hunter and the debtor position with respect to the forest spirit, the giver of game. If they are not fed, these spirits supposedly prevent the hunter from taking game and cause him and his family to fall ill and even die.

Built on an analogous model, these two systems—matrimonial and economic—also make use of mutual compensation. Frequently, the myths and tales attribute a loss in the realm of alliance (abduction of the hunter's wife or sister while he is away hunting) to excessive hunting. In the Evenk ritual called the Feast of the Bear, the taker of a wife becomes a supplier of game for his wife's brother. The numerous restrictions concerning the hunter's sexual activity before the hunt, on the one hand, and the wife's behavior (notably concerning menstrual blood) with respect to hunting weapons on the other, may also be interpreted in terms of maintaining a balance between hunting and alliance. Furthermore, in these two systems, the act of taking requires the observance of strict rules vis-à-vis the giver, such as the giving of specific offerings and demonstrating the qualities of taker. One will note that what is offered to the forest spirit (incense, tobacco, amusing stories) is intended to put him in a good mood and make him laugh, so that he will be easily persuaded to release the game: The catch involves some cunning.

Whereas these two systems and their interaction normally function autonomously, they are dependent both structurally and functionally upon the third system, shamanism, which is built on an analogous model. Based on the idea that the life of the body is subordinate to what is conveniently called the "soul" that dwells in it, this system ensures the exchange of souls between their supernatural dispensers and their natural human and animal supports. Upon death, the souls return to the spirits (which suggests the hypothesis of their reincarnation within the same clan). The artisan of this circulation is the shaman, who, it is believed, obtains the souls of game and people from their supernatural dispensers.

From the standpoint of the system, the shaman is homologous to both the wife-taker and the hunter, a fact that is often clearly demonstrated by the idea that he has a symbolic wife who is the daughter of either the forest spirit or water spirit (Selkup), or of the earth spirit Khosedam, as the Ket believe. The office of the shaman is generally transmitted through the patrilineal line, usually from grandfather to grandson; agnatic relatives oversee the rites of investiture and control the position and the exercise of the shamanic function. Thus, among the Selkup, the death of every adult blood relative entails the destruction of the shaman's drum and its replacement by a larger one. In fact, the shaman's power increases as each soul of a deceased relative rejoins the spirit world. The very presence of the shaman in the midst of his group guarantees the existence of a relationship with the soul-giving spirits. This relationship can be reinforced by certain detailed roles, such as the Buriat shaman acting as godfather to newborns and the Tunguz shaman leading the souls of the dead to the otherworld. However, the shaman's active intervention is essential whenever there is a disturbance: scarcity of game; lack of descendants; or departure of a soul, which, by leaving the body vacant, renders it sick and soon dead. The shaman, who performs a divination procedure (throwing an object that falls on the "good" or "bad" side, answering his questions "yes" or "no"), then determines the cause of the disturbance. The two major causes considered are infractions of the rules governing the exchanges (excessive or insufficient hunting or alliances, inadequate amount of food given to tamed animals and figurines, violation of taboos concerning hunting, etc.) and the death of any animal or human surviving outside the framework of the clan and thus outside the system, which results in a wandering, unintegrated soul that is consequently harmful. Mediator *par excellence,* the shaman then negotiates a return to order with the spirits, tricking them somewhat, but also giving them offerings or a new cult (for example, by making a new figurine to be fed, zoomorphic in the event of a hunting infraction and anthropomorphic in the event of a deceased outsider to be reinstated). Thus, he symbolically secures the reappearance of game, the birth of children, the return of the soul to the ailing person's body, and so on.

The taking (or retaking) of these souls cannot be realized by the shaman without the aid of what is usually called his "auxiliary spirits," equivalent to such equally essential auxiliaries as the intermediary in the marriage and the beater or guide in the hunt. He sends these spirits to search for the soul that has strayed from the sick and to track down vengeful spirits, descended from the frustrated souls of those who died violent deaths, to keep them from doing harm. The Selkup rite involving the "dark tent" is held in total darkness in the presence of the shaman's kin and consists of the shaman's proving to them his ability to stir up his auxiliary spirits and summon their services. His power increases with their number and promptness in hastening to his call. Their remuneration is found in the type of offering given them (primarily food) and, for those descended from wandering souls, in their reinstatement.

In each system, the relationship between the taker and his auxiliary has the character of a personal contract, updatable and reversible, corresponding to an exchange of services. These services, which are not identical but complementary, are not organized into a hierarchy: Thus, hunter and beater or guide have an equivalent status and an equal part regardless of the catch. This relationship between taker and auxiliary is based on the general principle of a dualist organization of the operating units from various levels, which finds expression in the very name of the Khanty-Mansi (bear, hare) or Selkup (eagle, crow) moieties (in the myths of origin, the moieties being descended either from two brothers-in-law or from two brothers, forming separate lines), in the custom of nomadic camping set up by two allied families, and so on. The Feast of the Bear, celebrated by most of these peoples, is still the totalizing ritual *par excellence,* despite some differences. There, the organization in moieties of the different units and the three systems of exchange come into play, a fact that illustrates the exceptional symbolic versatility of the bear.

While the forest world is at once aerial and terrestrial and dominates symbolic space, the aquatic world also plays an important role. The souls of the dead descend along the course of the great rivers; boats or representations of boats appear in certain funerary or commemorative rites. Because of the orientation of the rivers, both the north and downstream water are associated with death. Symmetrically, upstream water and the south have a positive connotation. Birds that migrate from the south are offered ritual receptions upon arrival and invitations to return upon leaving, as if to materialize the rebirth of life (since it is believed that they bring the souls of newborns). The simultaneous presence of quadrupeds and birds does not really affect the uniqueness of the forest, represented by the omnipresent but indivisible element that is the tree. The declivity of the rivers there does not result in a separation of "upstream" from "downstream." "Up" and "down" are not superposed positions; rather, they are contiguous in the depth of the same horizontal plane, a plane in which forest and water are essential constituents conceived of, respectively, as giver of game and giver of fish.

CATTLE BREEDING AND THE VERTICAL CONCEPTION OF THE WORLD. The notion of superposed worlds—and correlatively of a vertical liaison between them—develops from the opposition of upstream/downstream, which is reinterpreted in terms of up/down and then divided into the oppositions of sky/earth and earth/lower (or subterranean) world. This is due to the combined influence of two factors: the adoption of animal breeding and incorporation into a state organization, the Russian empire.

In that the adoption of animal breeding (or, with a subtle difference, agriculture) creates a patrimony to be handed down (herds, fields), ties of descent filiation develop and the systems of relationships tend to become vertical. Thus the alliance increasingly attempts to postpone reciprocity and begins to follow the model of a "generalized exchange" (according to which the clan from which one takes a wife is not the same as the clan to which one gives a sister). Instead of becoming segmented, the clans organize their lineages into a hierarchy. In the economic system, alimentary compensation is given to a "consecrated" or "tabooed" reindeer (or other domestic animal), fed along with its own herd but never utilized. Whereas the ritual treatment of the bones of the game animal aimed at its reincarnation on earth, the sacrifice of the domestic animal (always slaughtered in a manner different than the hunted wild animal) is intended to increase the herds of spirits. The animal gradually becomes less a being and more a product; the proportion of zoomorphic representations decreases. This ideological change, only initiated with the animal breeding in the forest, expresses itself through the obviously production-oriented breeding found in the steppe (and, to a lesser degree, in the tundra). Associated with the hierarchical centralization, it lays the groundwork for the emergence of transcendental entities and is receptive to the adoption of a world religion with dogma and clergy, such as Russian Orthodoxy or Buddhism.

It is significant that the animal breeders living in the forest consider their own shamans as decadent and the shamans of their neighbors, who remained, for the most part, dependent on hunting, as powerful. Such is the case with the Nentsy toward the Entsy, the Entsy toward the Selkup and the Ket, and with all of them toward the Tunguz. This is because in the cattle breeders' ideology the giver is now conceived of in terms of the irreversible mode of filiation and therefore acquires the status of absolute superiority. He is no longer a partner with whom one negotiates, but a master on whom one is dependent. The shaman's capacity to act is therefore necessarily reduced in principle (since he is more dependent and has fewer opportunities to negotiate). As for the spirits, the pastoral ideology organizes them into a hierarchy, multiplies and localizes them (which leads to the notion of spirit-master of separate places), and also develops supporting myths and figures of the founders and creators over the ancestors.

The Russian empire instituted Peter the Great's idea of "only one God, only one Tsar." At the same time, the Orthodox church searched for (or created) indigenous equivalents compatible with its own concepts and refused all compromise with other beliefs. The traditional spirits were lowered to the rank of "devils and demons" and confined to the underworld. The promotion of heavenly bodies (sky, sun) to the rank of supreme being owes as much to the Christian attempt to support the idea of God as to the native effort to set up a rival against it and make more powerful their traditional view of the world (since a God is conceived of as "higher" than mere ancestors).

The case of the sun (Num, Nom) among the Uralic peoples is an example of this process. Its artificially constructed image as a supreme being is vague, fluctuating, and without ritual importance. In the myths of creation attributed to it the only constant element is its opposition to Nga, its (or his) son or brother-in-law, depending upon the case, an opposition that, rather than illustrating the Christian notion of a relationship between God and the devil, is indicative of a fundamental problem of kinship among the Uralic peoples concerning the opposition between older and younger people that is the framework of the creation myths. The same is true with the Tunguz concerning the *bugha* ("sky," derived from an earlier meaning, "moose"). Relationships with the spirits are reinterpreted. That which was nothing but a reaction by the spirits (beneficial or baleful) to the treatment received from humans is radicalized into a moral opposition of good and evil. The shaman's "voyages" to the forest and aquatic worlds are replaced by an ascension into the sky or descent to the underworld. Nevertheless, the traditional pragmatic sense remains: The icons of the saints, interpreted as the souls of the dead, are "fed" in the same way as traditional representations in order to ensure the proper continuation of domestic life.

SEE ALSO Bears; Birds; Khanty and Mansi Religion; Num; Ongon; Samoyed Religion; Shamanism; Tunguz Religion; Yakut Religion.

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SOZZINI, FAUSTO PAVOLO (1539–1604), was an antitrinitarian theologian, known in Latin as Faustus Socinus. Sozzini was born in Siena on December 5, 1539. When his uncles fell under suspicion of heresy, and the Inquisition threatened the Sozzini family, Sozzini left Italy on April 21, 1561, for Lyons, France. After the death of his uncle Lelio Sozzini on May 14, 1562, Fausto acquired Lelio's manuscripts, which decisively turned his interests from literary studies to religious studies, specifically to doctrinal reform. His *Explicatio primae partis primi capitis Ioannis* (Explanation of the First Part of the First Chapter of John's Gospel), written in 1562 during his stay in Zurich and Basel, developed more fully Lelio's view of Christ as the person who revealed God's new creation by his teachings and his life.

Sozzini returned to Italy in 1563, where he served at the court of Cosimo I, duke of Florence (later grand duke of Tuscany). In 1574, after Cosimo's death, he returned to Switzerland and spent the following three years in Basel studying scripture and theology. In his greatest work, *De Jesu Christo Servatore* (On Jesus Christ, the Savior), completed in 1578, he attacked the doctrine that God requires satisfaction for human sins, argued that Christ is savior by his teachings and exemplary life, and emphasized the importance of faith, as trust in God and in Christ, as essential for salvation. In his response to Francesco Pucci (a widely traveled Italian humanist from Florence) in 1578, *De statu primi hominis ante lapsum* (On the State of the First Man before the Fall), Sozzini argued that humanity is mortal by nature; immortality is a gift of God. He next traveled to Kolozsvár, Transylvania, to attempt to dissuade the Hungarian theologian Dávid Ferenc (Francis Dávid) from his opposition to prayer to Christ (a view known as nonadorantism—that is, a denial that either religious worship or prayers for aid should be addressed to Christ). When Dávid refused to change his stance, Sozzini went on to Cracow, Poland, in 1579.

Although he was not admitted as a full member of the Minor Reformed Church of Poland (the Polish Brethren) because he did not regard adult baptism as essential for church membership, Sozzini became the outstanding theologian of that church, uniting its various groups. He wrote numerous works defending the church against attacks on its antitrinitarian theological views and its pacifist social and political views. In *De Sacrae Scripturae auctoritate* (On the Authority of Holy Scripture), which was published under a pseudonym in 1580, Sozzini used rational and historical arguments to refute the skeptical views of those who doubted the divine authority of the Bible.

In 1586, Sozzini married Elzbieta Morsztyn, who died within a year. The Inquisition cut off his income from Italy, and university students tried to kill him as a heretic. In 1589 he moved from Cracow to Luclawice. His colloquies with his followers in 1601 and 1602 at Raków presented his mature views. Sozzini died at Luclawice on March 3, 1604.

Sozzini viewed Christ as unique, a man who is divine, not by nature, but by virtue of his office, for God instructed Christ, resurrected him, and gave him all power over the church in heaven and on earth. He opposed the nonadorantism of Dávid and others, insisting on prayer to Christ for guidance and for aid. He regarded scripture as God's revelation and denied that God can be known through a natural theology. He held that humankind is mortal by nature and that only the righteous will be resurrected. At death, sinners suffer eternal extinction.

Sozzini's theological analyses and arguments elicited intense controversies, which resulted in significant changes in the thought of some Protestant theologians, particularly on the doctrine of the atonement. The Polish Brethren modified and continued his biblical, rational theology in their famous *Racovian Catechism.*

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SPACE, SACRED SEE SACRED SPACE

SPARAGMOS SEE DISMEMBERMENT

SPEAKING IN TONGUES SEE GLOSSOLALIA

SPEECH, SACRED SEE LANGUAGE, *ARTICLE ON* SACRED LANGUAGE

SPEKTOR, YITSḤAQ ELḤANAN (1817–1896)

was an Orthodox rabbi and foremost traditional Jewish legal authority during the last half of the nineteenth century. Born in Rosh, in the Grodno district of Russia, Spektor was raised in a highly traditional milieu and as a young boy mastered the study of Talmud under the tutelage of his father, Yisraʾel Isser. After his arranged marriage at the age of thirteen, Spektor went to live with his in-laws in Volkovysk, where Binyamin Diskin instructed him in rabbinics and ordained him as a rabbi. Spektor occupied his first rabbinical post at the age of twenty and served as rabbi in several Russian towns, including Nishvez and Novogrudok, centers of traditional Talmudic scholarship. In 1864 Spektor became rabbi of Kovno, where he also headed the *kolel* (advanced rabbinic academy) until his death.

Spektor's piety, his absolute command of traditional rabbinic sources and methods, and his virtually unparalleled genius in rendering Jewish legal decisions made him the communal leader of Orthodox Jewry in Russia during his day. He participated in a host of charitable and civic affairs on behalf of Russian and world Jewry, arbitrated Jewish communal disputes throughout the world, and was a staunch supporter of Jewish colonization in Palestine. In addition, Spektor attempted to defend traditional Judaism against many of the onslaughts of modernity. He himself was unable to speak Russian and was an opponent of the Haskalah (Jewish Enlightenment); he forbade the translation of the Talmud into Russian and opposed the creation of modern rabbinical seminaries where secular subjects would be taught.

Spektor's first volume of *responsa* (Jewish legal decisions), *Beʾer Yitshaq* (1858), was published when he was thirty-one years old, a relatively young age for such a work. Two other collections of *responsa*—*Nahal Yitshaq* (1872, 1884) and *ʿEin Yitsḥaq* (1889, 1895)—further enhanced his stature. His decisions, marked by an astonishing ability to cite the whole range of rabbinic literature in arriving at a judgment, display a tendency toward leniency. They remain a valuable and authoritative source for contemporary Orthodox rabbis in dealing with Jewish legal issues. The largest Orthodox rabbinical school in the United States, the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary of Yeshiva University in New York, is named after him.

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SPELLS

SPELLS belong to the general context of magical thought. They consist of words or sets of words that issue a command that is efficacious merely because it has been pronounced. Spells represent one of the many techniques used to control nature and the evils arising in a given society. They are found universally and are probably as old as language itself, having been in existence since the Lower Paleolithic.

The basis of the power of spells is the primitive idea that nothing exists without a name and that to know the names of things is to possess them. Thus, to give orders with the appropriate words is to ensure success, made even more certain when the speaker is a witch, shaman, holy person, or anyone else whose profession it is to deal with mystery.

Stated in other terms, spells are all-powerful spoken formulas, words, or phrases of power. They are definitive: Once uttered, the desired chain of events is set irrevocably in motion. Each word, once enunciated, has a magical value and weight that none can control.

The order given in the spell, addressed to deities, spirits, or the forces of nature, can be creative, destructive, protective, or medicinal; it can demand triumph over an enemy, or the attainment of impossible powers or things. It can be used to break spells, cast spells, or obtain love.

CONDITIONS OF SPELLS. According to magical thought, only prayers can be spoken by anyone at any time and remain effective. Spells, by contrast, and other such magical activities, have many prerequisites. Spells in particular must be pronounced by a person who is initiated into the mysteries or endowed with supernatural powers, and who is sexually, dietetically, and socially pure. The person casting the spell must know with precision the words he or she will pronounce, the time when they must be uttered, the cardinal point toward which one will face, what one will stand or sit on, how his or her person must be arranged, the clothing, colors, ornaments, and objects to be used, the number of times one must repeat the words, and the psychological attitude and manners one must assume. Everything must be precise. As a part of religious and magical activities, spells sometimes require musical backgrounds, specially prepared settings, appropriate instruments, prudent timing, and attention to taboos that might be violated, such as sex, the lack of initiation, or impurity.

Spells can serve either collective ends, such as victory in battle, the banishing of plagues and epidemics, or the bringing of rain, or they can serve personal ends, such as the attainment of love, health, power, wealth, virility, fertility, finding out who has stolen something, or causing harm to an enemy. The former collective spells require a complex ceremony and initiates. The latter, usually carried out on a popular level, generally need only to be repeated continually or for a magical number of times.

As a general rule, spells accompany the preparation of potions, amulets, weapons, magical paraphernalia, scepters, and objects of sorcery. They are recited over sick people, addressed to the natural elements one wants to control, or murmured softly and continuously. Rarely are they repeated by large groups of people, although this does happen occasionally.

POWERFUL SOUNDS AND WORDS. Many scholars have concentrated on the study of the word as a symbol. These scholars include linguists, sociologists, anthropologists, philosophers, educators, psychiatrists, and occultists. Many of these researchers are inclined to give an onomatopoeic value to sounds: For example, /m/ and /n/ are related to the mother because of the sound made during breastfeeding; /g/ is related to water, because that is how it sounds when swallowed; and /a/ is an imperative for calling attention. Since ancient times, philosophers such as Plato (in his dialogue *Cratylus*) have remarked on how words somehow take on the form of the things they name.

Nevertheless, a serious analysis yields very few sounds or words that have the same value in all cultures. Greater universality can be found, perhaps, in the language of gestures: assenting by moving the head up and down, negating by moving it from right to left, beckoning with the arm and hand, pointing things out with the index finger or the eyes and brows, or threatening by raising a fist.

In Qabbalah, the interest in a knowledge of sounds, written letters, and words was intensified. Each sign was given a magical value that had a religious meaning and a numerical relationship. For example, the Hebrew letter *alef* became the symbol of humankind and the abstract principle of material objects; it is the trinity in unity and its numerical value is 1 (Scholem, 1974). Freemasonry also produced speculations in this field, but it assigned many meanings to the same letter. The letter *A* became an emblem of the first of the three faculties of divinity—creative power—in addition to being the abbreviation for the word *architect* (Powells, 1982). This association of the word with creation is found among many peoples of the world.

The history of religions has provided several words or short phrases that have been believed to be particularly powerful. The gnostics of North Africa, for instance, made an abundant use of talismans and incantations. Two words in particular have survived to this day: *abraxas* and *abracadabra.* The word *abraxas* represents the supreme deity and his supreme power. Numerically (*a* = 1, *b* = 2, *r* = 100, *a* = 1, *x* = 60, *a* = 1, *s* = 200) it adds up to 365, or the number of days in the solar year, the cycle of divine action. The word was carved into stone as a talisman and pronounced as a protective device. The word *abracadabra,* derived from the Aramaic phrase "Avreiq ʿad havraʾ " ("Hurl thunderbolts to [unto? at?] darkness"), was used to invoke the aid of the supreme spirits. Inscribed as an inverted triangle, with one less letter on each successive line, it was considered a powerful talisman.

The Jews, a people rich in esoteric and magical lore, were the inventors of Qabbalah, which includes one of the most important techniques for the numerological analysis of words and letters, intended to reveal their esoteric meaning. Four words in particular deserve mention. *Adonai,* which means "supreme lord," was spoken as an infallible invocation of aid. *Haleluyah,* translated as "hymn to the lord," also served as an invocation. *Amen* was a term that gave a full and definitive meaning to whatever was expressed. It was understood as "So be it," but with the magical sense that things could not be otherwise. Some think it was derived from invocations to Amun. *Golem* referred to the basic substance from which God created humans. When deprived of a soul, it could be used to create evil beings, who could be controlled only by pronouncing the true and secret name of God.

Within Islam, three phrases are believed by some to have a magical power. The phrase "Lā ilāha illā Allāh" ("There is no god but God") has been used to perform miracles (Idries Shah, 1968). The phrase "Allāh akbar" ("God is great") serves as a basis for white magic, and the words "Ism al-aʿẓam" are used to subjugate or subdue evil spirits.

Among Christians, the names *Christ* and *Jesus* serve to stave off evil. Roman Catholics may seek triple insurance by naming all three members of the holy family: "Jesus, Mary, and Joseph."

For Tibetan Buddhists, the phrase "Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ" contains many occult meanings. It is believed that the first word, *oṃ*, emanates from the cosmic vibration essential to creation. Some scholars maintain that it is equivalent to the *Amin* of the Muslims and the *Amen* of the Jews. It is the basic name of the creator god. The complete phrase expresses a desire to be pure and to be part of the universal spirit.

SPELLS IN THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS. Since ancient times people have uttered and written words, phrases, and formulas that they have believed to have some magic power or irresistible influence. Spells to ward off what is evil or undesirable and to bring about what is good or desirable are known in many cultures.

Egypt. The basic esoteric activity of the ancient Egyptians was preparation for life after death. For this purpose they developed high levels of art, magic, and religion. The preparation of a scarab, carved from semi-precious stone to replace the heart of the deceased, required that the artisan recite the following spell: "I am Thoth, the inventor and founder of medicine and letters; come to me, thou who art under the earth, rise up to me, great spirit." This spell was to be uttered without fail on a set number of days after the new moon (Idries Shah, 1968). Many similar spells are known to have been used, usually with apotropaic intent. In addition, the Egyptian *Book of Going Forth by Day* records spells that were to be used for each moment after a person's death.

Mesopotamia. The earliest Mesopotamian cultures have left very few records of their magico-religious thought. Later Assyro-Babylonian translations make it seem that one of the most crucial concerns of these peoples was the evil eye, the evil that surrounds people on all sides and affects them especially in the form of the envy of enemies. One spell against the evil eye went as follows:

> Let the finger point to the evil desires,
> the word of ill omen.
> Evil is the eye, the enemy eye,
> eye of woman, eye of man,
> eye of a rival, anyone's eye.
> Eye, you have nailed yourself to the door
> and have made the doorsill tremble.
> You have penetrated the house. . . .
> Destroy that eye! Drive out that eye!
> Cast it off! Block its path!
> Break the eye like an earthen bowl! (Garcia Font, 1963)

The old spells used in Assyrian medicine had something of a mythical nature. Take, for instance, this spell for toothache:

> After Anu made the heavens, the heavens made the earth, the earth made the rivers, the rivers made the canals, the canals made the swamps, and the swamps, in turn, made the Worm. The Worm, crying, approached Shamash, and he approached Ea, spilling tears: "What will you give me to eat and what will you give me to destroy?" "I will give you dried figs and apricots." "Of what use are they to me? Put me between your teeth and let me live in your gums, so that I can destroy the blood of the teeth and gnaw at the marrow of the gums. . . ." "Since you have spoken thus, O Worm, let Ea crush you with his powerful fist." (Hocart, 1975)

This was repeated until the pain disappeared.

Greece. The Greeks imagined their gods as having human form and character, and they occasionally ordered them to help the needy by means of magical formulas, as in the following spell addressed to Hekate:

> Come, infernal, earthly and heavenly one . . . goddess of the crossroads, bearer of light, queen of the night, enemy of the sun, friend and companion of the darkness; you who are happy with the barking of dogs and bloodshed, and who wander in the darkness, near the tombs, thirsty for blood, the terror of mortals, Gorgon,

> Mormon, moon of a thousand forms, accept my sacrifice. (Caro Baroja, 1964)

Medieval Europe. In Europe, the practitioners of witchcraft developed multiple spells for defense against enemies, always preceded by the name of God and the archangels. Terrible spells that try to control enemies have also been found. In the anonymous medieval work *Clavicula Salomonis* (Small Key of Salomo), one reads: "Man or woman! Young man or old! Whoever might be the evil person trying to harm me, either directly or indirectly, bodily or spiritually . . . MALEDICTUS ETERNAM EST, by the holy names of Adonai, Elohim, and Semaforas. Amen." After reciting this spell, a candle was extinguished as a sign of the finality of the curse.

Sudan. The Sudan covers a territory between Egypt and Ethiopia, where the magic of Egyptian antiquity and the later Muslims is mixed with primitive animistic magic. Popular sorcerers and magicians abound, openly offering their services. Frequently they exalt their own powers, which they obtain through their spells. For example, when a hunter hires one to obtain luck at hunting, the magician says: "I am a magician, all powerful in spells. What I say comes true. I say, 'Give victory to so and so.' He will have victory in all things." Afterward, the magician goes about filled with the desire that events might occur that will instill the hunter and the warrior with luck. This is accompanied by whistlelike sounds and by facing toward different cardinal points, whistling three times in each direction while holding a receptacle of water. The Sudanese believe that spells are more powerful when pronounced over running water.

The Sudanese also have spells to give power to certain leaves that are used in the preparation of medicines. The spells are recited over the leaves a specific number of times in order to bring about the desired effect.

To obtain the love of the opposite sex, the magician draws a magic circle within which the magician prepares a potion of herbs and feathers. In order to give the potion the necessary potency, the magician repeats the following spell: "I am a magician, O Pot, you contain the medicines of love, the spell of love, of passion. My heart throbs like the drum, my blood boils like water." This is repeated three times, and afterward another spell is intoned: "Bring my desire to me, my name is so-and-so, and my desire is the one whom I love." This spell requires solemnity and precision. To make it more effective, one has to open and close one's eyes four times, slowly, while saying it.

Such spells are not taught to laypersons, only to initiates. To be able to pronounce them one has to undertake a series of purifications, such as abstaining from food and sex for forty to sixty days (Idries Shah, 1968).

India. The sheer number of spells used in the sacred books of India is noteworthy in itself. The *Atharvaveda* in particular is full of them. Here will be mentioned only one, dedicated to obtaining a man's love: "By the power and laws of Varuna, I invoke the burning force of love, in thee, for thee. The desire, the potent love-spirit which all the gods have created in the waters, this I invoke, this I employ, to secure thee for me" (Idries Shah, 1968).

China. One result of China's use of ideograms is that its magic produces mostly written talismans, although spells abound, greatly influenced by their historical past. A spell written on the blade of a sword could make it invincible: "I wield the large sword of Heaven to cut down specters in their five shapes; one stroke of this divine blade disperses a myriad of these beings" (Idries Shah, 1968).

Mesoamerica. As in most cultures, magic in pre-Conquest Mexico was highly specialized, permitted only to initiates. The spells themselves prove this, since their language was comprehensible only to occultists of the time; for example, a spell for alleviating intestinal pain—very common in tropical countries—was recorded in the seventeenth century by Jacinto de la Serna:

> Ea, white serpent, yellow serpent, observe that you are damaging the coffer . . . the tendons of meat. . . . But the white eagle already goes ahead, but it is not my intention to harm or destroy you, I want only to stop the harm you cause by withdrawing . . . by stopping your powerful hands and feet. But should you rebel and disobey, I will call to my aid the pledged spirit Huactzin and also call the black chichimeco, who is also hungry and thirsty, and who rips out his intentines, to follow you. I will also call my sister, the one with the skirt of jade, who soils and disorders stones and trees, and in whose company will go the pledged leopard, who will go and make noise in the place of the precious stones and treasures: the skeletal green leopard will also accompany her. (de la Serna, [1656] 1953)

The serpents mentioned at the beginning are the intestinal maladies (intestinal worms, pinworms, tapeworms, etc.) that harm the stomach and intestines. They are threatened with the eagle, which represents the needle used to pierce the stomach for bloodletting. They are also threatened with the spirit of medicinal plants and liquids.

Modern-day spells. With the development of experimental science, one would expect magic and religion to decline. In fact all three remain active, although magic has certainly yielded ground. (Magic tends to gain ground in times of crisis.) One finds both ancient and modern spells disguised in the folk tales recorded by the brothers Grimm, such as the traditional "Magic wand, by the powers you possess, I command you to make me [rich, invisible, etc.]."

Mexico provides an interesting example of the survival of ancient spells. In pre-Conquest Mexico, death was believed to be a change of life, and it was thought that the god of the underworld, Mictlantecuhtli, was a disembodied, skeletal being with whom those who died natural deaths were united in burial. After the Spanish conquest, the figure was assimilated, ending up as a being who lends aid when the request is made in the appropriate fashion. Thus today, at the entrance to thousands of churches throughout Mexico, one can buy prayers and spells "To Most Holy Death." The most common of these tries to obtain the love of some indifferent person and says: "Death, beloved of my heart, do not separate me from your protection; do not leave him a quiet moment, bother him every instant, frighten him, worry him so that he will always think of me." This is repeated as often as possible, with the interjection of Catholic prayers.

The new mythology is even felt in the kitchen. For example, when there is some fear the the cooking will not turn out well, the following spell is recited: "Saint Theresa, you who found God in the stew, help my stew not to be [salty, burned, overcooked, etc.]." It must be admitted, however, that this and many other spells are usually said out of habit, not from a certainty that the words, through their intrinsic power, will bring the desired results. Nevertheless, a belief in the power of spells can still be found among marginal groups even today, as it has been found in the past.

SEE ALSO Incantation; Language; Magic; Names and Naming; Oṃ; Postures and Gestures.

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Revised Bibliography

SPENCER, BALDWIN SEE GILLEN, FRANCIS JAMES, AND BALDWIN SPENCER

SPENCER, HERBERT (1820–1903), was an English philosopher who became the most influential exponent of social evolutionism. Born in Derby, England, and educated largely in an atmosphere of religious dissent (and especially influenced by Quakers and Unitarians of the Derby Philosphical Society), Spencer combined a practical bent (for railway engineering, inventions, etc.) with a constant search for scientific principles. He became assistant editor at the *Economist* in London in 1848. After an early essay (1852) on the "development hypothesis" (concerning the laws of progress), he settled on evolution as the basic principle governing all change in the universe and began propagating a theory of evolution even before Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* appeared in 1859.

The core of Spencer's literary output was published in several volumes under the general title *A System of Synthetic Philosophy;* this huge endeavor was left unfinished at Spencer's death. Its bearing on religion was at least fourfold. First, the prefatory volume, called *First Principles* (1862), contains the earliest philosophic exposition of the position known as agnosticism. Proceeding beyond the fideism of William Hamilton and Henry Mansel, both of whom maintained that the existence of God was a matter of faith rather than certain knowledge, Spencer argued that the force behind the cosmic process of evolution was unknown and unknowable. Second, this work and his books *The Principles of Biology* (1864–1867) and *The Principles of Psychology* (1855–1870) defended evolution as a universal natural process of development from simple and homogenous to more complex and differentiated forms of life over millions of years. Thus Spencer became embroiled with Darwin, T. H. Huxley, and others in the debate with those who held to a literal interpretation of *Genesis* or who denied the simian ancestry of human beings. Spencer also used the evolution debate as a forum to attack the idea of established religion.

Social evolutionism was the third and most important of his system's implications for religious questions. In *The Principles of Sociology* (1876–1896), he presented a barely qualified unilineal account of religious evolution and also fleshed out the first "sociology of religion" (at least in English). Spencer thought that the origins of religion lay in the worship of ghosts or ancestors; he extrapolated this view from the balance of evidence found among "primitives," or what he had no hesitation in describing as "the lowest races of mankind." Although primitive religions had, according to Spencer, barely evolved, he believed that marks of progress could be found in the religions of the greater civilizations, and he tended to plot Greco-Roman and Hindu polytheisms, the "cruder" monotheisms of Jews and Muslims, and the relative refinements of Catholicism and Protestantism on an ascending scale, envisaging his own agnostic, scientific position as the pinnacle in the history of religious consciousness. Apart from suggesting that history reflected progress toward more mature insights and institutional complexity, Spencer outlined the kinds of religious activity worth investigation. He isolated ceremonial institutions, for example—a category in which he placed laws of intercourse, habits and customs, mutilations, and funeral rites, as well as ecclesiastical institutions.

Finally, his system also carried ethical implications. In *The Principles of Ethics* (1879–1893), and in various social essays (especially those in his book *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical,* 1861), he was seen as a liberal and an "individualist" who opposed punitive child-rearing, narrow biblicist morality, and state legislation that interferes in private affairs or with the entrepreneurial spirit.

Spencer's book sales were poor during his lifetime, and he eked out a frugal existence as a London bachelor until he was taken in by two elderly women in his old age. Through the later popularization of his ideas, however, his influence was immense, especially in the United States. His work and that of E. B. Tylor were crucial in conditioning the widespread preoccupation in English-speaking scholarship with the evolution of religion. Always ready for a lively interchange with other scholars and literati, Spencer struck up close intellectual friendships with George Eliot and her companion Henry Lewes and debated with Max Müller about mythology and the origins of religion. Spencer combined cautious distinctions and vitriolic attacks in an attempt to dissociate himself from Comtism and the views propounded by Frederick Harrison, an English disciple of Auguste Comte.

Spencer's written approach to religion suffered from a certain dilettantism: His knowledge of foreign languages was limited, and his educational background provided him no basis for the in-depth study of any single historical religion. He barely traveled outside Great Britain, although his encyclopedic tendencies, as well as his ability to collect data through travelers' accounts and mission reports from all over the world, made him a precursor to the armchair scholarship associated with James G. Frazer and *The Golden Bough.*

At the turn of the twentieth century, the liveliest popularizer of Spencer's ideas was W. H. Hudson, and his most cogent critic in matters of religious sociology was Émile Durkheim. His impact has waned with the decline of social evolutionism, but his influence on cosmological theory (that of Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, for instance) and on evolution-oriented educational philosophy, especially that of John Dewey, has been more durable.

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GARRY W. TROMPF (1987)
Revised Bibliography

SPENER, PHILIPP JAKOB (1635–1705), is the most widely recognized representative of early Pietism. Spener was born in Rappoltsweiler, Alsace, on January 13, 1635. He grew up in a Lutheran home in which the prevailing religious atmosphere was heavily influenced by Johann Arndt's *True Christianity,* the widely beloved devotional guide of seventeenth-century Lutheranism. Thus Spener was naturally predisposed toward Arndtian piety. Being an omnivorous reader, even at a tender age, he acquainted himself early with Puritan works that had been translated into German, as well as with those coming out of the reform party within Lutheranism, the avowed aim of which was the furtherance of religious devotion and ethical sensitivity within the Lutheran churches.

After he had completed the necessary preliminary studies, Spener matriculated at the University of Strasbourg in 1651. His student life manifested what was considered, by the prevailing standards of the day, an unusually ascetic tendency, insofar as he abstained from excessive drinking, revelry, and generally rude behavior. The dominant intellectual influence upon him during his university days was exerted by his theology professor, Johann Konrad Dannhauer (1603–1666), who, among other things, deepened Spener's lifelong interest in the teachings of Martin Luther. Upon completion of his studies, Spener spent some years in travel. That he did so largely in Reformed territories seems to say something about his appreciation of the piety found in various Reformed circles. During his itinerary he visited Basel, where he studied Hebrew under Johann Buxtorf (1599–1664). At Geneva the fiery French representative of Reformed Pietism, Jean de Labadie (1610–1674), impressed Spener so much that in 1667 he published a translation of one of Labadie's edificatory tracts. During an extended visit to Tübingen he set in motion various impulses toward the development of Swabian Pietism. Upon his return to Strasbourg (1663) he worked for his doctoral degree, taught and preached, and married Susanne Ehrhardt. They had eleven children.

Spener was called to a succession of pastorates, beginning with his appointment in 1666 to the position of senior pastor at Frankfurt am Main, where his emphasis on the catechization of children and on confirmation began to evoke critical reactions. So did his introduction of private meetings among the laity for the purpose of promoting a life of personal piety. Here, too, began his correspondence with highly placed people, which gradually helped to make him the most influential pastor in Germany during his time. Then, weary of the controversies that his activities and writings had provoked, Spener accepted a call to Dresden, in Saxony, where in 1686 he became chaplain of Elector Johann Georg III. However, the elector's lack of sympathy for Spener's concerns prompted him to move to Berlin in 1691. As rector of the Church of Saint Nicholas, as a member of the Lutheran consistory, and as inspector of churches he was now at the zenith of his effectiveness. Enjoying the confidence of the ruling house of Prussia and of a large segment of the German nobility, he was instrumental in opening up many pastorates throughout Germany to the appointment of pastors with Pietist leanings. Spener died on February 5, 1705, having expressed the wish that he be buried in a white coffin, a symbol of his hope that the church on earth might expect better times.

A prolific writer, Spener published many hundreds of letters; sermons; edificatory and catechetical tracts; works on genealogy, history, and heraldry; and writings of a polemical nature. The most famous of his literary productions was his *Pia desideria,* which appeared as a preface to Arndt's *Postil* in 1675 and later was published separately at various times. In it he proposed his program for the moral and spiritual reform of individuals, church, and society, which he followed throughout his life.

The major emphases of Spener's works are typical of Pietism, namely, natural humanity's lost estate, the necessity of its religious renewal, the possibility of its conscious experience of God's regenerating and sustaining presence, the desirability of continued spiritual nourishment through worship and appropriate literature, the holy life expressed in love for God and humans, the need for religious fellowship of like-minded people, and the hope of being able to reform the church for the purpose of reshaping a sinful world. Spener was opposed chiefly because of his often expressed vision of a better future for the church, which implied that the church was in need of renewal; for his insistence on religious instruction and on a way of life calculated to be a protest against the moral laxity of the day, which in the eyes of his opponents marked him as a zealot; and for instituting private meetings (*collegia pietatis*), which were seen as having the potential to fragment the church.

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Toward the end of his life Spener published some of his writings in his *Theologische Bedencken,* 4 vols. in 2 (Halle, 1700–1702), to which Karl Hildebrand von Canstein posthumously added *Letzte theologische Bedencken,* 3 vols. (Halle, 1711). Since then many of Spener's works have been published singly, and a long series of unsuccessful attempts have been made to bring out a complete edition of his writings. Toward the end of the nineteenth century Paul Grünberg, the noted Spener scholar, edited a modernized version of Spener's *Hauptschriften* (Gotha, 1889). The Historical Commission for the Study of Pietism (Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus) has begun publication of a multivolume edition of *Philipp Jakob Spener Schriften,* edited by Erich Beyreuther (Hildesheim, 1979–). Spener's best-known work, his *Pia desideria,* has been translated into very readable English and supplied with an introduction by Theodore G. Tappert (Philadelphia, 1964).

The classic biography of Spener is still Paul Grünberg's *Philipp Jakob Spener,* 3 vols. (Göttingen, 1893–1906); volume 3 contains an exhaustive bibliography. The major contemporary work on Spener is Johannes Wallmann's *Philipp Jakob Spener und die Anfänge des Pietismus* (Tübingen, 1970). Martin Kruse's *Speners Kritik am landesherrlichen Kirchenregiment und ihre Vorgeschichte* (Witten, 1971), and Jan Olaf Rüttgardt's *Heiliges Leben in der Welt: Grundzüge christlicher Sittlichkeit nach Philipp Jakob Spener* (Bielefeld, 1978), are important studies of Spener's attitude toward the church government of his day and of his ethics, respectively.

F. ERNEST STOEFFLER (1987)

SPINOZA, BARUCH (1632–1677; known as Bento in Portuguese, Benedictus in Latin) was a Jewish rational naturalist of Marrano descent and the author of a rigorously monistic interpretation of reality expressed through an interlocking chain of propositions demonstrated in the geometrical manner. Spinoza's relentless drive for the naked truth was of singular intensity, and his scientific assessment of traditional Jewish thought thoroughly uncompromising. His aim was to contemplate things as they really are rather than as we would like them to be. Anthropocentrism is peremptorily and unceremoniously banished from his philosophical purview. Despite Spinoza's unadorned style, considerable controversy still envelops the interpretation of the very foundations of his thought.

LIFE AND WORKS. On July 27, 1656, Bento de Spinoza was excommunicated by the ma'amad (ruling board) of the Amsterdam Jewish community into which he had been born. His father, Mikael, had been born in Vidigere (modern-day Figueira), Portugal, and had a close personal and financial relationship with the Portuguese merchant Abraham de Spinoza of Nantes, who was both his uncle and his father-in-law. Bento was the son of Mikael's second wife, Hanna Debora, who died when the child was scarcely six. Spinoza was never trained to be a rabbi, as previously thought, and was never a full-time pupil of Sha'ul Levi Morteira, a senior instructor in Talmud-Torah Ets Hayyim, although he may have attended an adult group known as Yeshivat Keter Torah that was led by Morteira. He apparently left school at age thirteen or fourteen to work in his father's business. From 1654, the year of Mikael's death, to 1656, the firm Bento y Gabriel de Spinoza was managed by Bento and his younger brother Gabriel. In March 1656, several months before his excommunication, Spinoza decided to take advantage of a Dutch law that protected minors who had been orphaned, and dispossessed himself of his father's estate, which was heavily burdened by debts.

The manuscript of the ban, written in Portuguese, the language of all documents of the Amsterdam Jewish community, is still preserved in the municipal archives of Amsterdam but contains no signatures. Other contemporary documents suggest that young Spinoza's heretical views, which led to his excommunication, were reinforced especially by Juan (Daniyye'l) de Prado. Excommunicated in 1658, de Prado was also a member of Morteira's Keter Torah circle and had attacked biblical anthropomorphism, poked fun at the idea of Jewish chosenness, and asserted that the world was eternal and the immutable laws of nature constituted the only form of divine providence. A report of Tomas Solano y Robles to the Inquisition of August 8, 1659 also indicated that Prado and Spinoza were excommunicated because they thought the Law (Torah) untrue, that souls die with the body, and that there is no God except philosophically speaking.

The precise reasons for the excommunication of Spinoza have been much discussed and debated. Steven Nadler has argued strongly that it was Spinoza's denial of personal immortality of the soul that played the key role (*Spinoza's Heresy,* 2001). In seventeenth-century Amsterdam, four community rabbis are especially prominent, and each one of them composed treatises in defense of immortality (Isaac Aboab, Sha'ul Levi Morteira, Moses Raphael d'Aguilar, and Menasseh ben Israel). Moreover, Morteira and Menasseh tended to lump together the three doctrines that seem to have played a role in Spinoza's ban: the truth of the Torah, divine providence, and immortality. Admittedly, the Dutch may not have been unduly concerned with the goings on in the Jewish community, but what is significant here is the psychology of the community that banned Spinoza, convinced as it was of the reality of such a threat.

Jonathan Israel, on the other hand, has argued eloquently and persuasively that it was Spinoza's public and provocative repudiation of the fundamentals of Rabbinic Judaism that made it impossible for the synagogue authorities not to expel him (Israel, 2001, pp. 162–174). This is reinforced by the exceptional severity of the excommunication formula used in his case. Israel points out that if the core ideas of Spinoza's mature system were already outlined in Spinoza's *Short Treatise* (1660–1661), and if he was capable of convincing Oldenburg in 1660 that he had outflanked Cartesianism, then it seems most unlikely that if one assumes, as most scholars do, that Spinoza started his philosophical odyssey around the time of his excommunication in 1656, just four years before, that he could conceivably have reached such a level of achievement so speedily. One must conclude that he had begun his philosophical phase long before this, as indicated by various strands of evidence. Thus Jarig Jelles affirms in his preface to *Opera Posthuma* that long before the ban in 1656, Spinoza had seriously engaged the Cartesian philosophy, rebelling inwardly against the teachings of the synagogue. Similarly, the eighteenth-century historian of Amsterdam Sephardic Jewry, David Franco Mendes, stresses that, even as a boy, Spinoza vacillated in his Jewish belief as a result of his philosophical excursions. But the clearest proof, argues Israel, is what Spinoza reveals in the autobiographical passage of the *Emendation of the Intellect* (1658), where he dwells on the long inner struggle he experienced before he could tear himself loose from the double existence he had been leading, in which outward conformity was uneasily joined with inner turmoil. Spinoza was finally able to cut the Gordian knot when, by 1655, his family business was ruined and his father's estate became encumbered by sizable debts.

According to Israel, the only personage who seems likely to have guided Spinoza in a radical direction was his ex-Jesuit Latin master Franciscus van den Ende. Thus was Spinoza's precocious genius caught up in the Cartesian ferment that swept the Netherlands, and the resulting identity crisis that smoldered within him since his early teens finally came to a head through a confluence of circumstances, in 1656. The ban was consequently the inevitable outcome of a long intellectual struggle that could no longer be contained.

Apart from the report in Lucas's biography of Spinoza, which elevates Spinoza to the status of a philosopher saint, there is no evidence of an appeal by the Jewish community that Spinoza be banished from the city of Amsterdam, and no legal record of any forced exile of Spinoza. In fact, says Nadler, Spinoza appears to have been in that city throughout most of the period of his excommunication in 1656 to the beginning of his correspondence in 1661 (Nadler, 1999, pp. 156–158, 163). It also appears that sometime before early 1659 he was either staying in or making periodic visits to Leiden to study at the university there. By early 1661, Spinoza was already well known as one who "excelled in the Cartesian philosophy." Nadler further suggests that it may have been his association with university life, where all instruction was in Latin, that first moved Spinoza to use the Latinized version of his first name, Benedictus.

It is to the final years of his Amsterdam period that Spinoza's earliest philosophical writings belong. According to Nadler, following Mignini, there are good reasons for thinking that the *Treatise on the Emendation of the Intellect (Tractatus de intellectus emendatione)*, an unfinished work on philosophical method and language, is the first of Spinoza's extant philosophical treatises (Nadler, 1999, pp. 175–176). Its content and terminology suggest a dating before the *Short Treatise on God, Man and His Well-Being (Korte Verhandeling van God de mensch en des zelfs welstand),* which he probably began sometime in late 1660 or early 1661.

To devote himself more fully to his philosophical investigations, Spinoza decided in the summer of 1661 to settle in the small village of Rijnsburg, a few miles outside of Leiden. This sleepy village had been the center of Collegiant activity in Holland, and Spinoza may have been directed there by his Collegiant friends, though its proximity to Leiden, with its university where he probably still had friends from the time he had studied there, must have added to its attraction for Spinoza. In the back of the house in which he lodged was a room where Spinoza set up his lense-grinding equipment, where in addition to lenses he also made telescopes and microscopes. Problems in optics were an abiding interest for Spinoza, and Christian Huygens, a scientist of international reputation, considered himself, Spinoza, and the mathematician Johannes Hudde to be the three leading specialists who were seeking to improve and extend the capabilities of the microscope. Huygens got to know Spinoza personally in the early 1660s and often conferred with him about scientific matters.

While Spinoza was still in Amsterdam, his friends soon became aware of the originality of his philosophical approach and persuaded him to provide them with a concise exposition of his developing ideas so they could study and discuss them. Acceding to their request, Spinoza composed a work in Latin probably sometime between the middle of 1660 and his departure for Rijnsburg. When his friends asked for a Dutch version, Spinoza reworked the text, while making many additions and revisions. Fully conscious of the novelty and daring of his thought, he urged them "to be very careful about communicating these things to others" (Nadler, 1999, p. 186). Spinoza worked on the *Short Treatise* throughout 1661 and into 1662, transcribing and emending it. This short work outlines most of the essentials of Spinoza's mature system as exhibited in the *Ethics*. Moreover, *Short Treatise*, discovered about 1860 and of which two Dutch versions are available, bears witness to the birth pangs of Spinoza's thought, which, with its strong pantheistic coloring, is still couched in language that is clearly theological. Spinoza hesitated to publish it for fear of the Calvinist theologians who might be deeply offended by it and, as Spinoza himself puts it, will "with their usual hatred attack me, who absolutely dread quarrels" (Ep. 6; Curley, 1985, p. 188; Nadler, 1999, p. 191).

In April 1663 Spinoza moved to Voorburg, near The Hague, thus gaining the advantage of proximity to a major city. Before leaving, however, he visited his old friends in Amsterdam, whereupon Jarig Jelles and Lodewigk Meyer prevailed upon him to expand his Euclidean exposition of Descartes's *Principia philosophiae* and allow its publication together with his *Cogitata metaphysica* (*Metaphysical thoughts*). This was the only book of Spinoza's to appear in his lifetime under his own name. In 1670, after Spinoza's move to The Hague, his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* was published anonymously under a false imprint in Amsterdam. A few months thereafter, the Reformed Church Council of Amsterdam pronounced its condemnation of the book, and a series of lesser councils and consistories swiftly followed the example. In July 1674 the Court of Holland condemned the *Tractatus* and prohibited its printing, distribution, and sale. Although the great Dutch statesman Johan De Witt seems to have preferred not to proceed to a formal provincial ban of the *Tractatus*, it is a mistake, according to Jonathan Israel, to deduce from this that he viewed it in any way favorably (Israel, 2001, pp. 277–278). A surviving fragment from a diary of the classicist Jacob Gronovius reveals that in the Dutch governing circles Spinoza was then deemed the most dangerous of the Dutch atheists and considered by De Witt a miscreant deserving imprisonment. Given the vehemence of the outcry against him, Spinoza became apprehensive when he learned that a Dutch translation of his *Tractatus* was about to be published, and he contacted his faithful friend Jelles to stop the printing. The need for caution was underlined by the trial of Adrian Koerbagh, in which the prosecutor questioned him about his relations with Spinoza and attempted to obtain from him a confession that his book contained Spinoza's teachings. Koerbagh was condemned to ten years in prison but died shortly after, in jail, in October 1669. It was Adrian's tragic end, observes Nadler, "in Spinoza's eyes a sign of collusion between the secular and the sectarian authorities, that gave him the impetus to put the final touches on his *Tractatus* and prepare it for publication" (Nadler, 1999, p. 269).

In 1672 came the French invasion of Holland and the murder of De Witt, events that cast a dark shadow on Spinoza's last years. In February 1673 he received an invitation from the elector palatine Karl Ludwig to accept a professorship at Heidelberg. Spinoza refused it for fear that it would interfere with his "further progress in philosophy," and because of his misgivings about a statement in the invitation concerning the prince's confidence that Spinoza would not misuse his freedom in philosophical teaching to disturb the public religion (Nadler, 1999, p. 313).

Late in the summer of 1675, Spinoza completed his magnum opus, the *Ethica ordine geometrico demonstrata* (*Ethics*), and went to Amsterdam to arrange for its publication. There, as he wrote to Henry Oldenburg, "while I was negotiating, a rumor gained currency that I had in the press a book concerning God, wherein I endeavored to show there is no God" (*Letter* 68, September 1675). He therefore decided to put off the publication.

Spinoza's last major work, the *Tractatus Politicus,* written in 1676–1677, abandoned the theological idiom employed in the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* and offered instead a straightforward analysis of aristocracy, monarchy, and democracy in an attempt to demonstrate how a stable government could be ensured. This work was unfortunately interrupted by Spinoza's death on February 21, 1677. Another late work that remained incomplete was his Latin *Compendium of Hebrew Grammar*, which he "undertook at the request of certain of his friends who were diligently studying the Sacred Tongue" (Bloom, 1962, p. 11). Spinoza was buried in the New Church on the Spuy, and his *Opera posthuma*, edited by Jelles, Meyer, and Georg Hermann Schuller, appeared in November 1677 with only the initials B. D. S.

BIBLICAL CRITIQUE. Spinoza's excommunication left a psychological scar that explains, partly at least, much of his subsequent bitterness toward his own people and their traditions. Although his pioneering biblical critique is frequently illuminating (for example, his view that Moses did not write the Pentateuch was already openly expressed by Isaac La Peyrère, whose work *Prae-Adamitae* Spinoza possessed), much of his writing in the *Tractatus* is marred by a onesidedness that distorts his judgment. Although it is undoubtedly true that Spinoza's intended audience was a Christian one, and that this dictated his partiality toward the figure of Christ and the Apostles, the unnecessary slurs against the Pharisees and the Rabbis and the unmistakable hostility that sometimes surfaces in a number of his formulations point to the psychological effects, conscious or unconscious, of his expulsion from the Jewish community. Spinoza characterizes his new method of investigating scripture as an empirical approach that accepts the biblical text as a natural datum. Since prophecy claims to surpass human understanding, Spinoza must somehow take it at its word. For the sake of the masses, who cannot be reached by reason alone, Spinoza is willing to grant that prophecy is possible. There may be, he says, laws of imagination that are unknown to humans, and the prophets, who received their revelations from God by means of the imagination, could thus perceive much that is beyond the boundary of the intellect. Although Moses is the chief of the prophets, his eminence consisted only in his receiving his prophecies through a real voice rather than an imaginary one. In other respects, however, Moses' imagination was not especially distinguished, for he was not sufficiently aware of God's omniscience, and he perceived the Decalogue not as a record of eternal truths but as the ordinances of a legislator. Spinoza set up the figure of Christ in contrast to Moses. If Moses spoke with God face-to-face, Christ communed with him mind-to-mind (a probable allusion to the Johanine conception of Christ as the *Logos*, as noted by Leavitt in *Christian Philosophy of Spinoza* [1991]). No one except Christ received the revelations of God without the aid of the imagination, meaning Christ possessed a mind far superior to those of his fellow men. Moreover, because Christ was sent to teach not only the Jews but the whole human race, it was not enough that his mind be attuned only to the Jews; it was attuned to ideas universal and true. If he ever proclaimed any revelations as laws, he did so because of the ignorance of the people. To those who were allowed to understand the mysteries of heaven, he taught his doctrines as eternal truths. To Spinoza, the biblical doctrine of the chosenness of the Hebrews implies on their part a childish or malicious joy in their exclusive possession of the revelation of the Bible. The doctrine is to be explained by the fact that Moses was constrained to appeal to the childish understanding of the people. In truth, he claims, the Hebrew nation was not chosen by God for its wisdom—it was not distinguished by intellect or virtue—but for its social organization. Spinoza explains the extraordinary fact of Jewish survival by the universal hatred that Jews drew upon themselves. From *Jeremiah* 9:23, Spinoza deduces that the Jews were no longer bound to practice their ceremonial law after the destruction of their state. The Pharisees continued these practices more to oppose the Christians than to please God. (Spinoza's view of the Pharisees is consistently derogatory. He attributes to them economic motives in their quarrel with the Sadducees and goes so far as to say that Pontius Pilate had made concession to the passion of the Pharisees in consenting to the crucifixion of Christ, whom he knew to be innocent. Maimonides is pejoratively termed a *Pharisee,* and Spinoza dismissed his interpretation of scripture as harmful, useless, and absurd.) Moreover, on the basis of *Ezekiel* 20:25, Spinoza finds the explanation of the frequent falling away of the Hebrews from the Law, which finally led to the destruction of their state, in the fact that God was so angry with them that he gave them laws whose object was not their safety but his vengeance. To motivate the common individual to practice justice and charity, certain doctrines concerning God and humans, says Spinoza, are indispensable. These, too, are a product of the prophetic imagination, but they will necessarily be understood philosophically by those who can do so. This universal scriptural religion is distinguished both from philosophical religion, which is a product of reason and is independent of any historical narrative, and from the vulgar religion of the masses, which is a product of the superstitious imagination and is practiced through fear alone; it consists of seven dogmas. The first four concern God and his attributes of existence, unity, omnipresence, and power and will. The other three deal with people's religious acts, and seem to derive from a Christian context: human beings' worship of God, their salvation, and their repentance. Each of the seven dogmas can be understood either imaginatively, in which case they would all be false, though useful, or philosophically, in which case they would all be true. Presumably, the average individual's score would be a mixed one.

THOUGHT. Spinoza begins and ends with God. He is convinced that upon reflective analysis individuals become immediately aware that they have an idea of *substance*, or that which is in itself and is conceived through itself. Because substances having different attributes have nothing in common with one another, and because if two things have nothing in common, one cannot be the cause of the other, then it is evident that all the entities of which humans have experience, including themselves, must, because they all have extension in common, constitute one substance. Although a human being is also characterized by thought, which has nothing in common with extension, since one is aware of one's own extension, these two attributes cannot denote two substances but must be instead two parallel manifestations of one and the same substance. Spinoza thus insists that humans have a clear and distinct idea of substance or God having at least two parallel attributes. (In *Ethics* 1.11 he defines God as consisting of infinite attributes, each one of which expresses eternal and infinite essence, but some scholars believe that Spinoza is here using the term *infinite* as a synonym for *all*, and that what he means to say in this proposition is that God exists in every possible basic way. Although he elsewhere hints that there may be more than two attributes, he stops short of saying that there are. Even more controversial is the question whether the attributes are to be understood as subjective or objective.) Although this conception of substance is ultimately derived from empirical observation, it is not dependent on any particular observation as such but follows from the analysis of ideas and is therefore a product of the power of the mind to think ideas and analyze their logical structure. It is in this sense that knowledge of substance, or God, is *a priori*, deriving essentially from an analysis of a given true definition contained within the human mind. Spinoza designates knowledges of this kind as intuitive; he ranks it as the highest form of knowledge humans have, above deductive reasoning, which is mediated by the syllogistic process, and imagination, which is based either on hearsay or random experience. For Spinoza, the only adequate or clear and distinct ideas humans possess are those related to God, simple ideas, and common notions, or axioms, and what is deduced from them. Knowledge derived from syllogistic reasoning (which yields universal knowledge) and intuitive knowledge (which represents the power of the mind itself, on which syllogistic reasoning ultimately rests) are necessarily true.

God is eternally in a state of self-modification, producing an infinite series of modes that are manifested under either of his attributes. Under the attribute of extension, there is the immediate infinite mode, motion and rest; and under thought, the absolutely infinite intellect, or the idea of God. Finally come the finite modes, or particular things. Substance with its attributes is called *natura naturans*, the creative or active divine power, whereas the entire modal system, the system of what is created, is called *natura naturata*. Spinoza's God is thus not identical with the natural world as such but only with the creative ground that encompasses it.

While others consider human actions and appetites as virtues and vices to be bewailed or mocked, Spinoza considers them natural facts to be studied and understood. Vice is impotence, whereas virtue is power. Individuals act when anything is done of which they are the adequate cause; they suffer when anything is done of which they are only the partial cause. The first law of nature (as the Stoics had already noted) is the impulse, or effort (*conatus*), by which each thing endeavors to persevere in its own being. Humans do not desire anything because they think it good, but humans adjudge a thing good because they desire it. Desire is activity conducive to self-preservation; pleasure marks its increase, pain its decrease. Spinoza offers a pioneering psychological analysis of the ways through which the human imagination acts and discusses in some detail the various laws of what he calls the association and imitation of the emotions.

Spinoza calls active emotions those which are related to the mind insofar as it acts and of which an individual is the adequate cause. Of these there are only two: desire, or the effort of self-preservation in accordance with the dictates of reason, and pleasure, or the enjoyment experienced from the mind's contemplation of itself whenever it conceives an adequate or true idea. In the conflict of emotions, weaker emotions are removed by stronger ones, as Plato had already indicated in the *Timaeus*. Knowledge of good and evil can be a determining factor only insofar as it is considered an emotion—that is, a consciousness of pleasure and pain. Inasmuch as happiness consists in humans' preservation of their own beings and they act virtuously when effecting their self-preservation in accordance with their full powers, humans must seek to maximize their power to act, which means removing their passive emotions to the greatest possible extent and substituting for them active emotions.

Spinoza suggests various remedies for the passive emotions, which he describes as mental diseases (already described by the Stoics). Since a passive emotion is a confused idea, the first remedy is to remove confusion and transform it into a clear and distinct idea. Another remedy is to realize that nothing happens except through the necessity of an infinite causal series. Humans should also endeavor to expel the many ghosts that haunt their minds by contemplating the common properties of things. Indeed, the emotions themselves may become an object of contemplation. The sovereign remedy, however, is the love of God. The mind has the capacity to cause all affections of the body to be related to the idea of God; that is, to know them by intuitive knowledge. Spinoza endeavors to demonstrate the immortality of the human mind (stripped of sensation, memory, and imagination) but insists that even during a lifetime one can experience that state of immortality which he calls blessedness and describes as union with, or love for, God. The intellectual love of God, which arises from intuitive knowledge, is eternal and is part of the infinite love with which God loves himself.

INFLUENCE ON LATER THOUGHT. Among the major philosophers, Spinoza was the only one who did not found a school. During the first hundred years after Spinoza's death, his name was connected principally with the *Tractatus*

Theologico-Politicus, and as Isreal has emphsized, "no one else rivalled his notoriety as chief challenger of revealed religion") (Isreal, 2001, p. 259). Only toward the end of the eighteenth century did Spinoza begin to arouse enthusiasm among men of letters. In 1778, Johan Gottfried Herder equated Spinoza with John himself as the apostle of love, and in 1780 Gotthold Ephraim Lessing declared to Friedrich Jacobi that "there is no other philosophy than that of Spinoza" (Vallée, *Spinoza Conversations,* 1988, p. 86). Although a follower of Christian Wolff, who directed a formidable critique against Spinoza, Moses Mendelssohn hailed Spinoza as early as 1775 as a martyr for the furthering of human knowledge. As a result of the publication of Mendelssohn's *Morgenstunden* in 1785, in which he sought to attribute to Lessing a purified form of pantheism, Jacobi countered with a work called *Über die Lehre des Spinoza* ("On the teaching of Spinoza," 1785), in which he branded Spinozism as atheism and the Jewish Qabbalah as a confused Spinozism. Goethe, on the other hand, eagerly devoured Spinoza's *Ethics*, noting that it "agreed most with his own conception of nature," and that "he always carried it with him." Goethe shared two of Spinoza's most fundamental principles, his monism and his theory of necessity (Bell, 1984, pp. 153, 168). Salomon Maimon, the first to call Spinoza's system *acosmic*, spoke admiringly in his autobiography of the profundity of Spinoza's philosophy, and his first book, *Versuch über die Transendentalphilosophie* (*An essay on Transcendental philosophy*, 1790), was an attempt to unite Kantian philosophy with Spinozism. According to G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831), there was "either Spinozism or no philosophy," and Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling (1775–1854) wrote that "no one can hope to progress to the true and complete in philosophy without having at least once in his life sunk himself in the abyss of Spinozism" (McFarland, 1969, p. 103).

Appreciation for Spinoza in England was due especially to Samuel Taylor Coleridge, who wrote in about 1810 that only two systems of philosophy were possible, that of Spinoza and that of Immanuel Kant (1724–1804). In a letter of 1881, Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) expressed his astonishment at the kinship between Spinoza's position on morality and his own, although elsewhere he is severely critical of Spinoza. Martin Buber (1878–1965) found much inspiration in Spinoza, seeing in him the highest philosophical exemplification of Judaism's unique quest for unity, but he criticized the Spinozistic attempt to depersonalize God.

In the 1850s, Shemu'el David Luzzatto stirred up a literary polemic concerning Spinoza after having been aroused by the first laudatory biography of Spinoza in Hebrew (1846), written by the poet Me'ir Letteris; by the essays of Schelling's student Senior Sachs from 1850 to 1854, in which he links together Shelomoh Ibn Gabirol, Avraham ibn Ezra, the qabbalists, and Spinoza; and by Shelomoh Rubin's *Moreh nevukhim he-hadash* (1857), which contains a positive account of Spinoza's thought. Luzzatto attacked Spinoza's emphasis on the primacy of the intellect over the feelings of the heart and his denial of free will and final causes, and called unjustified his attack on the Pharisees and on the Mosaic authorship of all of the Pentateuch. Nahman Krochmal's son, Avraham, wrote an apologetic work, *Eben ha-ro'shah* (1871), in which he defended Spinoza, whom he reverently called *Rabbenu* (Our Master) Baruch (an epithet already applied to Spinoza by Moses Hess (1812–1875) in 1837, and later also adopted by Einstein). Hermann Cohen later mounted a virulent attack against Spinoza, as impassioned as that by Luzzatto, in Cohen's "Spinoza über Staat und Religion, Judentum und Christentum" (1905; 1924, pp. 290–372).

Shortly after arriving at Sedeh Boker on December 13, 1953, in order to settle at a kibbutz in the Negev, first prime minister of Israel, Ben Gurion, published an article in the newspaper *Davar* titled "Let Us Make Amends," in which he expressed the wish "to restore to our Hebrew language and culture, the writings of the most original and profound thinker that appeared amongst the Hebrew people in the last two thousand years." The injustice that required mending was thus not the excommunication of Spinoza, since in Ben Gurion's eyes that was nothing but a historic curiosity, which in the course of time had been automatically nullified. What still needed mending was the literary cultural fact that Hebrew literature remains incomplete as long as it does not include the entire corpus of Spinoza's writings as one of the greatest spiritual assets of the Jewish nation. Ben Gurion's wish has now finally been fulfilled with the appearance of all of Spinoza's major works in Hebrew translation, and with the establishment of a Spinoza Institute in Jerusalem which holds biannual conferences devoted to Spinoza's thought. This piece of historical irony by which Spinoza's philosophical legacy has now been emphatically included in the intellectual life of Israel would undoubtedly have afforded Spinoza a measure of supreme delight. (See Dorman, 1990, pp. 154–163).

Spinoza has been regarded as the founder of scientific psychology, and his influence has been seen in the James–Lange theory of the emotions and in some of the central concepts of Freud (see Bidney, 1962). A more recent version of this kind of influence is found in the work of the noted neurologist Antonio Damasio, *Looking for Spinoza: Joy, Sorrow, and the Feeling Brain* (New York, 2003). Spinoza has also received an enormous amount of attention in the former Soviet Union. Spinoza's concept of nature as self-caused, infinite, and eternal was first singled out for comment by Friedrich Engels in his *Dialectics of Nature.* From the Soviet viewpoint, Spinoza's materialism is unfortunately wrapped in a theological garb, but his consistent application of the scientific method is seen as overshadowing "the historically transient and class-bounded in his philosophy" (see Kline, 1952, p. 33)

In America, the transcendentalists of the eighteenth century held Spinoza in very high regard. Oliver Wendell Holmes (1841–1935) read and reread Spinoza's *Ethics*, and his famous formulation that freedom of thought reached a limit only when it posed a "clear and present danger" appears to have been made under Spinoza's influence. Moreover, Spinoza had special appeal for the young American Jewish intellectuals who were children of the first wave of immigrants from eastern Europe. Morris Raphael Cohen (1880–1947) had, as a youthful Marxist, valued Spinoza the cosmopolitan who had rejected Judaism, and Lewis Feuer described Horace M. Kallen's *The Book of Job as a Greek Tragedy* (New York, 1918) as "embedded in a Spinozist matrix." Some of the greatest Jewish scientists and philosophers in modern times, such as Albert Einstein, Samuel Alexander, and Henri Bergson, also felt a deep affinity with Spinoza (see Feuer, pp. 36–79).

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SPIRITISM See AFRO-BRAZILIAN RELIGIONS; KARDECISM; NECROMANCY

SPIRIT POSSESSION

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
WOMEN AND POSSESSION

SPIRIT POSSESSION: AN OVERVIEW

Spirit possession may be broadly defined as any altered or unusual state of consciousness and allied behavior that is indigenously understood in terms of the influence of an alien spirit, demon, or deity. The possessed act as though another personality—a spirit or soul—has entered their body and taken control. Dramatic changes in their physiognomy, voice, and manner usually occur. Their behavior often is grotesque and blasphemous. Justinus Kerner, a nineteenth-century German physician and disciple of the philosopher Friedrich Schelling, describes a demonically possessed woman in his native Swabia:

> In this state the eyes were tightly shut, the face grimacing, often excessively and horribly changed, the voice repugnant, full of shrill cries, deep groans, coarse words; the speech expressing the joy of inflicting hurt or cursing God and the universe, addressing terrible threats now to the doctor, now to the patient herself. . . . The most dreadful thing was the way in which she raged when she had to submit to be touched or rubbed down during the fits; she defended herself with her hands, threatening all those who approached, insulting and abusing them in the vilest terms; her body bent backward like a bow was flung out of the chair and writhed upon the ground, then lay there stretched out full length, stiff and cold, assuming the very experience of death. (quoted in Oesterreich, 1930, p. 22)

Some of the possessed, those who suffer what the German scholar Traugott K. Oesterreich has called a somnambulistic form of possession, remember nothing of their possession. Others experience a more "lucid" form and remember it. In this case the possessed become passive spectators of an "internal" drama. Often they are said to be inhabited simultaneously or sequentially by several spirits, and their behavior varies according to the different possessing spirits. Although possession is sometimes considered desirable, as in spirit mediumship, more often, at least initially, it is considered undesirable, an affliction requiring a cure. Cures, or exorcisms, may be simple affairs involving only the exorcist and his patient, or they may be elaborate, highly theatrical performances involving the patient's whole community.

In one form or another, spirit possession occurs over most of the world. The anthropologist Erika Bourguignon found that in a sample of 488 societies 74 percent believe in spirit possession. The highest incidence is found in Pacific cultures and the lowest in North and South American Indian cultures. Belief in possession is widespread among peoples of Eurasia, Africa, and the circum-Mediterranean region and among descendants of Africans in the Americas. It occurs more frequently in agricultural societies than in hunting and gathering ones, and women seem to be possessed more often than men. However, altered states of consciousness, such as trance, are not always interpreted as spirit possession. In Bourguignon's 488 societies, 437 societies (90%) have one or more institutionalized forms of altered states of consciousness, but only 251 of these (52% of the total) understand them in terms of spirit possession.

Scholars have attempted to classify possession phenomena in many ways. Some have based their classification on the moral evaluation of the spirit. The French scholar Henri Jeanmarie argues that exorcism aims at the permanent expulsion of the possessing spirit in societies that regard the spirit as essentially evil, whereas exorcism in societies that regard the spirit as morally neutral aims at the transformation of the "malign" spirit into a "benign" one. Other scholars have looked to the cultural evaluation of the possession state itself. In *Ecstatic Religion* (1971) the anthropologist I. M. Lewis distinguishes between central and peripheral spirit possession. The former are highly valued by at least a segment of society and support the society's moral, political, and religious assumptions. In these cases possession is considered desirable, and the spirits are generally thought to be sympathetic. Peripheral possession does not support, at least directly, the moral, political, and religious order. In these cases possession is considered undesirable and requires some form of cure, and the spirits are thought to be malign. Still other scholars, such as Oesterreich, have sought the basis for classification in the phenomenology of the experience. Oesterreich divides possession into involuntary or spontaneous possession and voluntary or artificial possession.

Oesterreich's distinction plays an implicit role in many other classification systems. For example, in *Tikopia Ritual and Belief* (1967, p. 296), the anthropologist Raymond Firth distinguishes "spirit possession," "spirit mediumship," and "shamanism" on the basis of the host's control of the spirit. According to Firth, spirit possession refers to "phenomena of abnormal behavior which are interpreted by other members of the society as evidence that a spirit is controlling the person's actions and probably inhabiting his body." Spirit mediumship involves the "use of such behavior by members of the society as a means of communication with what they understand to be entities in the spirit world." The medium's behavior must be fairly regular and intelligible. Firth applies the term *shamanism* "to those phenomena where a person, either a spirit medium or not, is regarded as controlling spirits, exercising his mastery over them in socially recognized ways." In the case of spirit mediumship and shamanism, at least after the initial possession, the state of possession is often deliberately induced by inhalation of incense or mephitic fumes (as at the Delphic oracle in ancient Greece), by ingestion of drugs (as in North Africa and the Middle East) or emotionally laden substances (such as the blood of a sacrificial victim in parts of India), or by mechanical means (such as drumming, dancing, hyperventilation, or the incantation of repetitive prayers).

All these classifications impose on the reality of spirit possession a conceptual rigidity that distorts the essential fluidity of the phenomena. Often the host moves in and out of all of Firth's three states—if not in one séance then in the course of his relationship with the spirit. The anthropologist Esther Pressel found that in the African American cults of Brazil initial possessions tended to be involuntary and subsequent ones voluntary as the host gained control of his or her spirit. One Moroccan woman with whom this writer worked suffered periodic possessions in which she was very much the victim of her possessing spirit *(jinī)*. At times, however, she was able to gain some control over the spirit and convey its messages to those about her. It was rumored, though this writer never witnessed this, that she would sometimes force her possessing spirit to perform nefarious deeds for her and her secret clientele.

Too rigid a definition of spirit possession precludes recognition of its power as an authentic and believable metaphor for other conditions not usually associated by the Western observer with altered states of consciousness or with trance. For example, possession metaphors were used in Morocco to describe extreme rage, sexual excitement, love, prolonged erections, morbid depressions, and on occasion those conditions in which the subject did not want to accept the consequences of his or her own desires. In the West, possession metaphors also occur—for love, extreme anger, depersonalization, multiple personality, autonomous behavior—in short, for any experience in which the subject feels "beside himself." Such metaphors may be a residue of an earlier belief in spirit possession.

The discussion in the remainder of this article will be restricted to spirit possession as defined by Firth. Exorcisms will be divided into the permanent and the transformational. Permanent exorcisms aim at the complete expulsion of the possessing spirit; the patient is liberated from all spirit influence. Transformational exorcisms strive to change the nature of the spirit from malign to benign; as a result the relationship between spirit and host also changes. In transformational exorcisms, the patient is usually incorporated into a cult that sponsors periodic ritual occasions when the patient can again experience possession and reaffirm his relationship with his possessing spirit.

ALTERED STATES OF CONSCIOUSNESS. An altered state of consciousness refers to any mental state subjectively recognized or objectively observed as a significant deviation from "normal" waking consciousness. Sleep, dreaming, hypnosis, brainwashing, mental absorption, meditation, and various mystical experiences are all altered states of consciousness. These states are characterized by disturbances in concentration, attention, judgment, and memory; by archaic modes of thought; by perceptual distortions, including those of space, time, and body; by an increased evaluation of subjective experiences, a sense of the ineffable, feelings of rejuvenation, loss of a sense of control, and hypersuggestibility.

The altered state of consciousness most frequently associated with spirit possession is trance (Lat., *trans,* "across," and *ire,* "to go"; cf. OFr., *transir,* "to pass from life to death"), defined as "a condition of dissociation, characterized by the lack of voluntary movement and frequently by automatisms in act and thought, illustrated by hypnotic and mediumistic conditions" (*Penguin Dictionary of Psychology,* Harmondsworth, 1971, p. 38). The subject experiences a detachment from the structured frames of reference that support his usual interpretation and understanding of the world about him. The subject is, as the Balinese say, "away," quite literally dissociated (Lat., *de,* "from," and *socius,* "companion"), removed from companionship and from society.

Ritual trance, the trance of possession, is induced by various physiological, psychological, and pharmacological means. The most common techniques involve sensory bombardment (an increase in exteroceptive stimulation), sensory deprivation (a decrease in exteroceptive stimulation), or an alternation between the two. Techniques of bombardment include singing, chanting, drumming, clapping, monotonous dancing, inhaling incense and other fumes, and experiencing the repetitive play of light and darkness. Techniques of deprivation include ideational and perceptual restrictions, blindfolding, and isolation. Fasting and other dietary restrictions, hypo- and hyperventilation (during incantations, for example), and ingestion of drugs (tobacco, cannabis, and various psychedelic substances) may also be used. Psychosocial factors—group excitement, heightened expectations, theatricality, costumes and masks, a generally permissive atmosphere, and the presence of strong behavioral models—all facilitate trance.

Although trance is considered the hallmark of possession, it is important to recognize that "possession" has been used to describe nontrance states and that the experience of possession is neither continuous nor unchanging. The possessed person moves in and out of dissociation. There are some moments of ordinary lucidity, other moments when consciousness appears to have surrendered to the possessing spirit, and still other moments of complete unconsciousness. Frequently there is a "doubling of consciousness" (*Verdoppelungserlebnis*), whereby one of the two (or more) consciousnesses looks on passively at what is happening and is quite capable of remembering what Oesterreich has called "the terrible spectacle" of possession. At other times consciousness is submerged, and the actor loses all awareness and memory of the spectacle; recall of the trance experience is confused, dreamlike, and often stereotypic. The possessed person makes frequent use of mythic plots and symbols when recounting the experience, although his tales are not as elaborate as those of the shaman describing, for example, his voyage to the netherworld.

THE POSSESSION IDIOM. The interpretation of dissociation, ritual trance, and other altered states of consciousness as spirit possession is a cultural construct that varies with the belief system prevalent in a culture. Although the relationship between spirit and host has been described in many different ways, most indigenous descriptions suggest the spirit's entrance, intrusion, or incorporation into the host. The relationship is one of container to contained. Usually, in any single culture a wide variety of metaphorical expressions are employed. The spirit is said to mount the host (who is likened to a horse or some other beast of burden), to enter, to take possession of, to have a proprietary interest in, to haunt, to inhabit, to besiege, to be a guest of, to strike or slap, to seduce, to marry, or to have sexual relations with the host. In part, this variety reflects changes in the spirit-host relationship, a relationship that should not be regarded as static, well-defined, and permanent but rather as dynamic, ill-defined, and transitory.

Although it is often of analytic significance to distinguish between the psychobiological condition of the possessed (the trance state) and the cultural construct ("spirit possession"), it should be recognized that the construct itself affects the structure and evaluation of the psychobiological condition. The construct articulates the experience, separating it from the flow of experience and giving it meaning. The experience itself instantiates the interpretive schema. The process involves the subjectification of the "external" elements, the symbols, of the spirit idiom.

It is important to stress the belief in the existence of the spirits on the part of the possessed and those about him or her in order to grasp adequately the spirits' articulatory function. The spirit idiom provides a means of self-articulation that may well radically differ from the self-articulation of the Westerner. Much of what the Westerner "locates" within the individual may be "located" outside the individual in those societies in which the spirit idiom is current. This movement inward is perhaps seen on a literary level in the gradual internalization of the "double" in nineteenth- and twentieth-century European and American literature.

Spirits, as exterior to the individual, are not projections in the psychoanalytic sense of the word. For the psychoanalyst, projection is the subject's attribution to another of feelings and desires the subject refuses to recognize in him or her self. Projection occurs only after introjection. The movement is centrifugal, from inner to outer. If "external" spirits represent as "outside" what the Westerner would regard as within, then, strictly speaking, there can be no projection, for there is nothing within to project. The movement here is centripetal, from outer to inner.

A construction of human experience so radically different from that of the Westerner is difficult to convey; nonetheless, it has been suggested by many scholars who have worked with the spirit-possessed. The anthropologist Godfrey Lienhardt, for example, refers in his study of the Dinka, a Nilotic people, to "Powers" (spirits) as extrapolations or images that are the active counterpart of the passive element in Dinka experience. Since the Dinka have no conception of mind as a mediator between self and world, the images—the powers or spirits—mediate between self and world:

> Without these Powers or images or an alternative to them there would be for the Dinka no differentiation between the experience of the self and of the world which acts upon it. Suffering, for example, would be merely "lived" or endured. With the imaging of the grounds of suffering in a particular Power, the Dinka can grasp its nature intellectually in a way which satisfies them, and thus to some extent transcend and dominate it in this act of knowledge. With this knowledge, this separation of a subject and an object in experience, there arises for them also the possibility of creating a form of experience they desire and of freeing themselves symbolically from what they must otherwise passively endure. (Lienhardt, 1961, p. 170)

Of utmost significance in both projection and articulation through "external" spirits is the status accorded the vehicle within the individual's culture. A Western paranoid who believes he or she is pursued by secret agents responds to dominant cultural images, just as does an African who believes himself hounded by ancestral spirits. Both give expression to feelings of persecution and suffer the consequences of that expression. In the first instance, the secret agents are not generally thought to exist by anyone other than the paranoid. In the second instance, the ancestral spirits are generally recognized by others. The consequences of this difference are immense. The haunted person does not necessarily suffer the same social isolation, loneliness, derision, and feelings of abandonment as does the paranoid. He or she enters a new symbolic order. The paranoid learns the language of the spirits and of possession and submits to its grammar; and is afforded the possibility of therapeutic intervention.

This is not meant to suggest that the idiom of spirit possession is more conducive to cure than the "psychological" idiom of the modern Western world. Both have their successes and failures. In societies with spirit possession some individuals articulate their experiences in terms of spirits in purely idiosyncratic ways and hence do not respond to indigenous therapeutic intervention. In *Medusa's Hair* Gananath Obeyesekere compares two patients who were exorcised at a shrine in Sri Lanka:

> One woman possessed by a demonic spirit ran around the ritual arena threatening to tear her clothes off. Her behavior was perfectly intelligible in terms of the *preta* [spirits of the dead] or demonic myth model. The other patient, a male, was pulling and pinching her skin, saying that demons were residing under it. Later on he abused the gods, the very beings who should help him to banish the demons. None of this was intelligible to the exorcist and his subculture in terms of available myth models. Demons do not get under one's skin in this culture, and it is unheard of for the gods to be abused in this manner. (Obeyesekere, 1981, p. 161)

The first patient was amenable to cure; the second was not. When Obeyesekere asked the exorcist what could be done for the second patient, the exorcist suggested taking him to a Western-trained psychiatrist! Exorcists are usually clever diagnosticians and avoid treating those patients whom they cannot cure.

The spirit idiom must be flexible enough to accommodate the individual if it is to establish itself and remain powerful. It may be composed of a highly elaborate demonology, as in Sri Lanka, Brazil, or Haiti. In these cultures the spirits have attributes and make specific demands on their hosts. In Haitian Voodoo, for example, the *lwa,* or possessing spirits, have highly developed characters. Legba, the master of the mystic barrier between men and spirits, is described as a feeble old man in rags who smokes a pipe, slings a knapsack over his shoulder, and walks painfully with a crutch. He is terribly strong, however, and anyone possessed by him suffers a violent trance. Dambala-wédo, another *lwa,* is pictured as a snake; he forces those whom he possesses to dart their tongue in and out, crawl on the ground sinuously, and fall like a boa from roof beams headfirst. Ezili-Freda-Dahomey, a sea spirit, personifies feminine grace and beauty. (She has been likened to Aphrodite.) Men and women possessed by her behave in a saucy, flirtatious manner. By contrast, in other cultures, for example in North Africa, spirits are ill defined and ambiguous. Unlike their Haitian counterparts, many North African spirits have no "biographies."

While the spirits must not be so specifically characterized as to discourage individual elaboration and specification, this does not entail that they be simply random refractions of individual desires, as some scholars, notably the German classicist Hermann Usener, have argued. The spirits must resonate with both the psychological and the social circumstances of the possessed. Psychologically, they may mirror some aspect of the individual that he refuses to accept or some desire that he denies. Or they may compensate for deficiencies in his relations with others. Thus, I. M. Lewis (1971) relates the high frequency of possession among women and marginal men to their "inferior" position in society. The spirits relate to the social world of the individual. In his study of Tikopian spirit mediumship Raymond Firth writes, "The idiom in which these personal phenomena of anxiety, conflict, illness, and recovery was couched was one in which the physical and psychological syndrome of trance was described in terms of social constructs, including notions of spirit powers and spirit action" (Firth, 1967, p. 329). Whether elaborated or unelaborated, the spirits may relate to specific social groupings. In many societies that are organized into lineages, in Africa for example, the spirits are thought to be lineage members or to have some other significant relationship with a lineage. Often they are conceived of as ancestral shades or lineage or household spirits. Diagnosis of the spirit possessed involves discovering the spirit's identity, the cause of his displeasure that led to the possession, and the nature of his demands. Therapy involves the regulation of the relationship between the possessed and the spirit. (Many anthropologists have understood this regulation as symbolic of a regulation of the possessed's "real" social relations.). In societies with looser social organizations, for example in many urban centers, the spirits are not so closely related to specific social groups. They are "open" to a larger variety of social relations, but they are not devoid of symbolic social attachment.

INITIAL POSSESSION. A first possession may be conceived of as an articulatory act. The possessed is thrust into a new symbolic order. His or her initiation frequently takes the shape of a dramatic illness—paralysis, mutism, sudden blindness, or profound dissociation—or contrary behavior, such as a wild and seemingly destructive flight into the bush or, for women, nursing the feet of a newborn infant. Many psychiatrically oriented observers have considered these symptoms to be of a hysterical nature, but careful study reveals that they may be symptoms of other forms of mental disturbance or reactions to the stresses and strains inherent in the individual's social position. Even with such dramatic symptoms, the diagnosis of possession is not necessarily immediate. There may be other options within the "medical" system of the particular society. The initial symptoms may, however, be far less dramatic. The neophyte may have been attending a possession ceremony when seized by the spirit. Such "contagious possession" has been frequently described in the literature of spirit possession. (Aldous Huxley gives a particularly readable account of contagious possession in *The Devils of Loudun,* 1952, a study of demonic possession in seventeenth-century France.)

Often the initial possession is articulated in retrospective accounts in a stereotyped manner. These may be elaborate, particularly where the possessed becomes a curer, the account providing the possessed with a culturally acceptable charter for his or her profession, or they may be a simple sentence or two. Alice Morton records the story given her by an Ethiopian curer, Mama Azaletch.

> In 1936, I was caught by a certain spirit. I ran away from my home in Bale to the desert, and there I lived in a cave. I would not see anyone or speak to anyone, and I became very wild. But there was one woman of high rank there who was interested in my case, and she would send her son to bring me beans and unsalted bread. I stayed there in that place, eating very little and seeing no one, for four years and eight months. If they had tried to take me from that cave and put me in a house with other people, I would have broken any bonds and escaped back to the desert. It was the spirit that made me wild that way. (Crapanzano and Garrison, 1977, p. 202)

Morton calls attention to Mama Azaletch's stereotypic flight into the wild, her fasting in the desert, and her renunciation of family. Mama Azaletch's story was told in both public and private. Many Moroccans with whom the writer of this article had worked had less elaborate but stereotypic stories of their "slippage" into the spirit idiom. They were at a possession ceremony, mocked the possessed or possessing spirit, and were immediately struck by the spirit.

The initiatory illness itself is an eloquent symbol, for not only does it focus attention on the possessed (who must be cured!), but it also requires definition. Such definition occurs through a variety of diagnostic and healing procedures. The initiate has to learn to be possessed and undergo exorcism. This is particularly evident where possession involves incorporation into a cult. Technically, the initiate must learn to enter trance easily, to carry out expected behavior gracefully, and to meet the demands of his spirit. Almost all reports of spirit possession emphasize the clumsiness of the neophyte and the necessity of learning how to be a good carrier for the spirit. Members of the Moroccan religious brotherhood, the Hamadsha, who mutilate themselves when in possession trance, can explain how they learned to slash their scalps with knives and halberds without inflicting serious injury. Many have serious scars from their initial possession when, as they put it, they had not yet learned to hit themselves correctly. Similar stories have been reported from Sri Lanka, Malaysia, and Fiji by adepts of the Hindu god Murukan who skewer themselves with hooks and wires. For possessions involving complex theatrical behavior, dancing, and impersonification, as in Sri Lanka or Indonesia, the learning process can be quite rigorous.

The neophyte must learn to recast conflicts in the spirit idiom and to articulate essentially inchoate feelings in that idiom, feelings of persecution or inferiority, of fear or bravado, of hatred or love. This process may proceed by trial and error, or it may occur through the guidance of a curer. The Puerto Rican Espiritistas "work" their patients through various levels of possession and develop in them, when possible, mediumistic faculties. (Such development resembles the mystic's passage through various stages of ecstasy.) The movement from initial illness to accommodation with the spirit and incorporation into the cult is often accompanied by an indeterminate period during which the possessed resists the call of the spirit and suffers depression, extreme alienation, dissociation, and even fugues. Such a period, analogous in many respects to what mystics refer to as the "dark night of the soul," may be symbolized as a period of wandering or isolation. Mama Azaletch's life in the cave may refer to such a period.

EXORCISM. Spirit possession has the tripartite ritual structure first delineated by the folklorist Arnold van Gennep in 1908. The possessed is removed from the everyday world by the possessing spirit. The possessed enters a liminal world—the world of possession, dissociation, trance—and through exorcism (which replicates the tripartite structure of possession itself) is returned to the ordinary world. Exorcisms may be permanent or "transformational." In permanent exorcism, the patient is returned to the world from which the patient came, ideally as he or she was before he was possessed. Not much is known about such patients. Have they undergone some sort of social or psychological transformation through possession and exorcism? It would seem that they have been marked by the spirit: They have been possessed, and they have been cured. In transformational exorcism, the patient is explicitly transformed. He or she has undergone a change in identity and are now, to speak figuratively, more than their self; he or she is in intimate relationship with a spirit whose demands must be recognized. Usually the possessed is incorporated into a cult, which not only provides legitimate occasions for future possessions but also supplies a new social identity. Often, as a member of such a cult, the possessed becomes an exorcist or a member of a team of exorcists.

Exorcisms may comprise little more than simple prayers or incantations sung over the possessed, as happens in Christian and Islamic contexts. Sometimes exorcisms involve torturing the possessed (pulling the ear, flagellating, or burning) until the possessing spirit has revealed its identity and demands or has released the patient. In many societies that support possession cults, the exorcisms are semipublic or public occasions. Such ceremonies tend to be highly dramatic. There is music, most frequently drumming but also music of woodwind, reed, and string instruments, and dancing, which may be simple or quite complex. In Sri Lanka and elsewhere in Southeast Asia comic or other dramatic interludes often play a role. The exorcist, the possessed, and other performers may don masks, wear special costumes, and take on the part of well-known mythic and legendary figures. The ceremonies are often accompanied by sacrifices and communal meals, and last through the night. This passage from light through darkness to light again seems to parallel the tripartite ritual movement that culminates with the "rebirth" of the patient as cured or transformed.

Patient, exorcist, and other spectators may all fall into trance. There is considerable variation in the depth and style of these trances. In some the possessed fall into an ill-defined, seemingly superficial, dreamy trance. In others they become frenetic and out of control. And in still others they take on the character of the spirit that possesses them, responding only to special songs, dancing characteristic dances, talking in a distinctive language (glossolalia), and demanding special costumes, perfumes, or objects. In many parts of the world, the possessed perform uncanny feats, such as walking over burning coals (in the Greek Anastenaria), piercing themselves with skewers and pins (the followers of Murukan in Sri Lanka, Malaysia, and Fiji), slashing their heads with knives and halberds (the Hamadsha of Morocco), playing with poisonous snakes (the rattlesnake cults of Appalachia), or stabbing themselves with swords and spears without harm (in Java, Bali, and among the Cape Malay in South Africa).

The exorcisms provide an occasion for both an individual and a transcendent drama of order and disorder, of control and the absence of control. At least in societies that consider the spirit demonic, possession reveals the underside of social, cultural, and psychological order. Possession negates the "rational" order of everyday life; it displays the world in reverse. Ritual and exorcism restore order and rationality to that world. The anthropologist Bruce Kapferer has written that in Sri Lanka the demons embody human suffering and symbolize the destructive possibilities of the social and cultural order. They provide a "terrifying commentary on life's condition and individual experience in it." They cast the individual's experience into a wider social and cultural order, and the encounter with the demonic becomes a metaphor for his or her "personal struggle within an obdurate social world" (Kapferer, 1983).

Exorcisms regulate the relationship between spirit and host. Formally, spirit possession may be understood as a series of transformations of usually negative metaphorical attributions into occasionally positive and at least ritually neutral metonymic ones in a dialectical play of identity formation. The spirit often represents what the possessed is not or does not desire. The Moroccan man who is inhabited by the female spirit ʿAʾisha Qandisha is no woman; the chaste Haitian woman possessed by the promiscuous Ezili-Freda-Dahomey would disclaim any of Ezili's promiscuous desires. The host's identity and desires are here the opposite of the spirit's. During possession, however, the host becomes nearly identical with the spirits. The Moroccan man comes as close to being ʿAʾisha Qandisha, a female, as possible; the Haitian woman as close to the flirtatious, saucy Ezili as possible. A negative metaphor is transformed into a positive metonym, even to the limit of identity within a very special context.

Possession cults aim to transform the relationship between spirit and host much as the Furies were transformed into the gentle Eumenides in Aeschylus's *Oresteia.* The transformation usually involves the conversion of a "wild" possession, an illness, into an institutionalized, ritualized, and periodized possession in which negative metaphorical attributes become for the occasion metonymic ones. It is as though the host were allowed to play out in a sanctioned manner who he is not and to give expression to desires that he cannot express in everyday life. This movement from metaphor to metonymy is neither direct nor simple. The changing, essentially complex relationship between host and spirit or spirits is given a sort of theatrical representation. The two may enter into conversation with one another in a friendly or inimical manner, they may struggle with each other, or the host may succumb to the spirit. Often, as in Sri Lanka, the possession includes a comic interlude that plays an important part in the exorcism itself. The comedy of exorcism, Bruce Kapferer (1983) has suggested, displays through its very irrationality the rationality of the world and allows the host to reformulate his self in accordance with that rationality. Although this movement toward the discovery or rediscovery of the rationality of the world is not immediately apparent in many simpler possessions, even these tend to bring about a transformation of the way the possessed sees his world. He takes on the view of his cult. He is attached to the demon, who becomes a primary orientation point for his understanding of himself and the world about him.

If the exorcism is successful, the patient has to become fully possessed and then released by the spirit. To be released from the spirit's influence the possessed must meet the spirit's demands, whatever they may be. In Morocco, for example, the spirit requires the host to wear certain colors, burn special incense, make regular pilgrimages to the spirit's favored sanctuaries. Often the demand includes the sacrifice of an animal with which, as the anthropologist Andras Zempléni (1984) has suggested, the spirit's host is identified. Thus the host is separated by the power of the sacrifice from the spirit with which the host has become one. So long as the possessed follows the spirit's commands, the host is blessed, protected, and generally favored. A failure to follow the commands usually leads to a renewal of the possession crisis: The host falls ill, becomes paralyzed, or is blinded. A new exorcism is then required.

Without doubt the spirit and its commands are of symbolic import to the host, resonating with significant events in the host's biography, reflecting the host's present situation, and orienting the host toward the future. The commands may symbolize adherence to the social and moral obligations and commitments the individual has in his or her everyday life; a failure to follow the commands may represent a failure to live up to these obligations and commitments; the possession may make articulate feelings that in other "psychological" idioms are described as feelings of guilt. The roles played by the spirits and their commands, by "wild" and institutionalized possessions, differ in each individual case. Generalizations tend to become overgeneralizations. The spirit idiom is subtle and, as the existentialists would say, reflects the subtility of the individual in situation. It is, of course, important to recognize that possession also plays an important role for those who witness it, providing them with an often theatrical representation, an objectification, of their cultural presuppositions, their social situation, and their psychological conditions. For them and for the possessed, possession confirms belief in the spirits. Exorcism affirms faith in a social and cultural order, an order that gives perhaps only the illusion of mastering the "irrational forces" that surround and on occasion besiege its members.

SEE ALSO Affliction; Consciousness, States of; Demons, article on Psychological Perspectives; Devils; Enthusiasm; Exorcism; Frenzy; Glossolalia; Oracles.

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Revised Bibliography

SPIRIT POSSESSION: WOMEN AND POSSESSION

Spirit possession has largely been interpreted by scholars as a phenomenon that impacts "traditional people," the poor, the uneducated, and women. The conjunction of spirit possession with oppressed or vulnerable persons has produced theories that Susan Starr Sered has called "deprivation theories" (1994, pp. 190–191) that begin with the assumption that possessions are abnormal behaviors and result from social, physical, and mental deprivations. From a feminist perspective, deprivation theories are suspect, and a revaluation of spirit possession suggests that: (1) the cross-cultural and transhistorical prevalence of accounts of spirit possession present a familiar rather than an exotic model of religious subjectivity to most human communities across the broadest spectrum of history; (2) the capacity to be possessed by an ancestor, deity, or spirit is best approached, as Sered and Janice Boddy (1989) argue, as an ability, like musical or athletic ability, although in the case of spirit possession it is likely that the person being possessed does not choose to develop the ability to receive the spirit but rather cannot choose otherwise in the face of the spirit's demands; and (3) possession is the formal root of religious experience in general, in that spirit possession is exemplary of the situation in which humans negotiate with a will that is not of human origin. These three revaluations are examined below after attending to the translational issues involved in employing spirit possession as a category of comparative study. A survey of the thematics of power found in possession studies concludes the entry.

Spirit possession can refer to a spectrum of experiences in which the person involved negotiates with or is overcome by a force such as an ancestor, deity, or spirit that employs the human body to be its vehicle for communicating to human communities. Ann Grodzins Gold provides a useful definition and discussion of the term *spirit possession* in her study of possession in rural Rajasthan (1988, p. 35): "any complete but temporary domination of a person's body, and the blotting of that person's consciousness, by a distinct alien power of known or unknown origin." This definition highlights the problem of subjectivity and agency; the possessed person is not a conscious individual but rather has a blotted consciousness and has become an instrument for the will of an alien power. While the term *spirit possession* is rarely used outside of the Western European tradition, Gold argues that the term does not "radically violate indigenous categories and does facilitate controlled comparisons with similar phenomena in other linguistic regions" (p. 39) if, she emphasizes, regional nominations are brought to bear. Applying Gold's logic, the term *spirit possession* is used below with caution, noting: (1) the importance of translating specific linguistic terms (discussed below); and (2) that the term *possession* carries with it many overdetermined connotations regarding Western notions of property and subjectivity as epitomized in the idea of a self-possessed individual.

TRANSHISTORICAL AND CROSS-CULTURAL CONTEXT. Spirit possession exists on all continents and throughout most of Western history as well. In part because of the often spectacular nature of possession accounts and because spirit possession demands a witness or a community response, we have evidence of spirit possession in legal, medical, historical, literary, and theatrical texts. As Western missionaries and academics began recording information about other cultures, the force and vivacity of spirit possession repeatedly drew authors to describe and discuss possession, producing a tremendous volume of materials. A proliferation of spirit possession ethnographies in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries indicates that spirit possession is a major force in a globalized world because the practice survives dislocations and relocations of culture, and women predominate in these accounts. This prevalence of material is particularly important in the study of women's religious lives because the records provide information when other references are minimal or nonexistent. Important examples include the maenads of Greek antiquity who appear in Greek tragedies such as Euripides' *Bacchae;* women possessed by the *mono no ke* spirit described in *The Tale of Genji,* a masterpiece of medieval Japanese literature (Bargen, 1997); and the *dybbukim* of medieval Eastern European Hasidic Jews described in the acclaimed play *The Dybbuk,* by S. Y. Ansky. The diaspora hosts of African and syncretic spirits found in vodou, Santería, and Candomblé in all regions of the African diaspora (Brown, 1987; Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert, 1997) have figured prominently in anthropology and literature of the diaspora. Where information is scarce about women's lives in Asia and the Pacific, we have information about Korean housewives participating in *Kut* rituals (Kendall, 1985) and the *tangki* of Taiwan (Wolf, 1992). Islamic traditions in the Middle East, Saharan Africa, Pakistan, and India describe women's predisposition to possession by *jinn* and regional spirits such as the *hantu* of Malay (Ong, 1987) and emphasize how women's possession activities are tolerated, although authorities address women's need to maintain vigilance through prayer and sanctity to avoid possession. With an increased emphasis on the study of women's lives, as well as the lives of the poor and lower castes in Hinduism has come a wave of studies of spirit possession (Egnor, 1984; Inglis, 1985; Gold, 1988; Stanley, 1988) by the gods and goddesses of Hindu traditions. In most indigenous traditions some elements of spirit possession continue to appear, as with African traditional religions (Mbiti, 1991), including those regions of Africa where Muslim and Christian influences are strong (Boddy, 1989; Maaga, 1995; Stoller, 1989 and 1995).

The controlled comparison of similar phenomena across traditions allows one to identify culturally specific models of religious subjectivity. Indigenous terms for the dynamic and role of the possessed person are rich with conceptual and rhetorical depth, related to receptivity, the mandatory element of the human's agency in a possession. In many vodou traditions the possessed person is considered to be a *chwal,* or horse, who is mounted by her spirits (Brown, 1987, p. 54), an activity that is often sexualized. In her study of Hinduism, Kathleen Erndl (1984) notes that the Goddess plays those whom she possesses and that the Punjab word for a theatrical play, *khel,* is the same word used to describe a possession. David Lan (1985, p. 59) notes that among the Korekore, a Shona group in Zimbabwe, the spirits are considered to grab their mediums, who may be referred to as *homwe,* which means "pocket" or "little bag." In all of these instances, a complex model of human agency is evoked by the notion that the human will and consciousness have been overcome, and that the human body has become receptive to the intervening agency of the possessing spirit.

RECEPTIVITY TO POSSESSION AS GENDERED ABILITY. In contrast to deprivation theories, Sered argues that women's preponderance in possession traditions can be related to their roles in nonautonomous experiences such as childbirth and their receptive role in heterosexual intercourse (1994, pp. 190–191). From this perspective, receptivity to the interventions of ancestors or deities is understood as an element of a feminine-gendered ability. From an androcentric perspective, receptivity has often been negatively evaluated as passivity, but spirit possession requires a shift in perspective critical of the claims that a self-possessed, impermeable subject is the norm of human experience. Whether male or female, possessed persons are likely to be evaluated for their receptivity. The gendered configurations of spirit possession take many forms. Women are possessed by male and female deities, men are possessed by male and female deities, and in all cases gendered tropes are employed. For example, in the Hasidic tradition (Schwartz, 1994, p. 72.), the name for the possession of a male was *ibur* (pregnant), and such a possession was highly valued by the community, while possession of women was widely interpreted to be malevolent possession by *dybbukim* and was not considered *ibur.* Helen Hardacre (1992) discusses the prominent role women have had in Japanese new religious movements founded since 1800, noting the gender transformations that were central to the theology of Deguchi Nao, whom Hardacre calls a genius of Japanese religious history. Nao was a middle-aged woman whose theology, written by her younger, male colleague while she was in a trance, turned traditional Buddhist wisdom on its head, proclaiming that Nao was The Transformed Male who signaled the arrival of a new era.

SPIRIT POSSESSION AS EXEMPLARY RELIGIOUS SUBJECTIVITY. The subjectivity of the possessed woman is radically nonautonomous, but rather than seeing this as an aberration it can be viewed as exemplifying religious subjectivity in general. The broad spectrum of roles humans have played in religious history, from mystics to prophets, are all variations on this very central theme. Hence Marilyn Robinson Waldman and Robert M. Baum (1992) compare the subjectivity of a Diola woman prophetess who reached adulthood at the beginning of World War II on the border between French Senegal and Portuguese Guinea with the subjectivity of the prophet Muḥammad in that both channeled communication from an extrahuman source to oppose the status quo. From this perspective, it is not important to create categorizations in which people can be placed; rather, the spectrum in which people experience themselves negotiating with a force of nonhuman origin is the common, formal ground of religious subjectivity in general.

What makes spirit possession unique is the degree to which the human has become an instrument for the will of the intervening agency. In terms of voice, for example, Michel de Certeau (1988) makes the following observation in his study of the seventeenth-century nuns of Loudun, whose nunnery was disrupted by a series of possessions:

> That the possessed woman's speech is nothing more than the words of her 'other,' or that she can only have the discourse of her judge, her doctor, the exorcist or witness is hardly by chance . . . but from the outset this situation excludes the possibility of tearing the possessed woman's true voice away from its alteration. On the surface of these texts her speech is doubly lost. (p. 252)

If, at the formal level, we are dealing with speech that is doubly lost, we are dealing with a model of subjectivity that is radically instrumental (as with a flute that is played, or a hammer that is wielded) rather than with an individual who is speaking. As a model of subjectivity it is the instrumentality rather than the autonomy that marks the possessed person's speech and actions. Social psychologists and ethnopsychologists have suggested that the difference found in the model of subjectivity of a possessed person and the model of subjectivity employed by modern psychology (that of an individual whose sickness is located in an individual psyche) leads to different levels of community-wide mental health. In her study of possession in India and in his study of possession in African American communities, Waxler (1977) and Csordas (1987) argue that possessions often function pragmatically to heal community problems, perhaps more effectively than modern psychiatry in some instances.

The speech of possessed persons is not only doubly lost but is often replete with critical, symbolic value, leading some ethnographers studying spirit possession to employ psychoanalytical interpretations of the speech in a way similar to the analysis of dreamwork. Willy Apollon (1999), Susan J. Rasmussen (1995), and Judy Rosenthal (1998) bring contemporary French psychoanalytic theory (Jacques Lacan) to the analysis of possessed language. Postcolonial literary scholars (Cooper, 1992; Henderson, 1993) have noted the significance of the possessed woman as a literary trope that signifies the experience of having multiple languages and heritages speak through a subject, particularly women. Spirit possession metaphorically depicts the sensibility of postcolonial subjectivity, a subjectivity that is not pure but rather spoken-through by many forces. By the turn of the twenty-first century, questions of agency, voice, and body theory had coincided with a growing effort by historians and ethnographers to produce a significant number of possession studies, granting the "Third World woman" a profound position in possession studies. Signifiers of possessed subjectivity that cross the historical spectrum of case studies include nonautonomous models of agency, heteroglossia, and volatility that attracts the attention of a community and relates to gendered notions of the ambivalent power of receptivity.

THEMATICS OF POSSESSION AND POWER. From a revalued approach to the power of possession, it is the work, war, and performance of possessions that merit analysis. In each scenario the possessed body's power is exerted in ambivalent ways, deeply implicated with the social symbolic of the community. In Malaysia, for example, indigenous possession traditions have survived, and accounts of possessed women in multination free trade zones have caught the attention of news media and scholars. Possessed women work in free trade zones. The women stop work when possessed by *hantu* (ambivalent ghosts or spirits) and weretigers (akin to werewolves) in the factories. Aihwa Ong (1987) analyzes these possessions from a feminist and materialist perspective. Similarly, in *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America* (1980), Michael Taussig interprets indigenous spirits as a critical reaction to commodity fetishism in South America. The danger is that these materialist analyses dismiss the possessing ancestors or spirits as mystifications, a categorization that might be more comfortable from a materialist perspective but that elides the agency of a pouncing *hantu* or the devil in a dollar. If, on the other hand, religious subjectivity is itself understood to be a kind of work, then the efforts made by the Malay women to decrease their vulnerability to the spirits through prayer and vigilance indicates that they are working with the forces of global capitalism and the forces of possessing spirits. So also, the devils associated with the dollars of international mining companies in South America are not merely symbols to be interpreted, but rather are working forces in the religious lives of the miners.

In terms of the wars engaged by possessed women's bodies, there are two central types: gender conflict and territorial conflict. Doris Bargen (1997) argues that spirit possession was a woman's weapon in medieval Japan because a woman who was spoken-through by a possessing spirit could say things to public audiences that women were not otherwise tolerated for saying. Ann Braude (2001) discusses the spiritualism that coincided with the women's suffrage movement, noting that women who were inspired by the spirit were allowed a public forum in which to speak. These approaches can suggest that possession is a guise for political struggles. From a revalued perspective, however, the religious person is approached as a training and disciplining person, whose body is prepared to enact the will of its deity, and thus there is no viable distinction between a religious and a political struggle. In the case of the Shona in Zimbabwe, spirit possession by powerful land-governing ancestors (*mhondoro*) was largely the remit of men, but two women who were possessed by the spirit of Nehanda, a female ancestor of an early Shona dynasty, were central to the struggle for indigenous rule (Lan, 1985; Keller, 2001). In two *chimurengas,* or battles for freedom (1890 and 1950–1970), an older woman possessed by Nehanda significantly inspired and focused the fight against colonizers. The Nehanda *mhondoro* from the first *chimurenga* was tried and hung by the British, using old British witchcraft laws, but was revered for her claims that her bones would rise again to secure victory. Nehanda was revered in the songs of the socialist-inspired armies of the second, successful *chimurenga,* and the Nehanda *mhondoro* of the second *chimurenga* inherited the potent legacy of the first Nehanda. Territorial wars and gender wars have been waged through the body of a possessed woman who serves as an instrumental agency in the struggles for power that religious bodies have been trained and tempered to engage.

As Gold notes (1988, p. 37), the performative elements of possession have received great attention in Sri Lanka and across South Asia. Possessions are inherently performative. Without an audience, the possession has not effectively transpired because the possessed person is not conscious during the event to report on what has happened. Also, possessions are often violent, volatile, laden with sexual innuendo, and dramatic in the knowledge they produce. While anthropologists have invoked performance theory to explore this element of the power of possession, the question of subjectivity is again raised because performance theory largely begins with the assumption that an actor wills herself into a performative mode. Most possession traditions have rigorous tests with which they judge the validity of a possession in order to assure that it is *not* a performance by an agent. Not only are rigorous tests applied by the communities, but, as Gold notes, in Sri Lanka as well as in rural Rajasthan, the theatrical traditions of these communities show high levels of critical analysis in their employment of possessions in plays. Some plays depict fake possessions, which the entire audience recognizes as fake and laughs at, while other theatrical performances might spontaneously produce possessions that the audiences regard as authentic. Gold identifies "ethnoperformance theory" (p. 37) as the cultural backdrop against which the performative power of possession has long been analyzed by these traditions.

Viewed as a prevalent and exemplary model of religious subjectivity in general, the specific historical and geographical accounts of spirit possession provide resources for expanding the horizons against which women's religious subjectivity is understood and evaluated in the context of instrumental struggles for power and meaning.

SEE ALSO Gender and Religion, articles on Gender and African Religious Traditions, Gender and North American Indian Religious Tradition; Human Body, article on Human Bodies, Religion, and Gender; New Religious Movements; Religious Experience.

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MARY L. KELLER (2005)

SPIRITS SEE ANGELS; DEMONS; DEVILS; FAIRIES; GHOSTS; MONSTERS

SPIRITUAL DISCIPLINE.

Throughout history, religious traditions have noted that those people who long for a transformative or complete understanding of themselves and of their place in the world must somehow find a teacher or set of teachings to help them along. That guide may be a person, an idea, or a set of values; whatever it is, it establishes the orientation and outlines the procedures the seekers should follow in order to make real the transformation for which they hope. Many traditions further maintain that, having found (or having hoped eventually to find) that guide, the seeker then must practice various regimens that will help him continue along the way to ultimate transformation. Such endeavors constitute spiritual discipline, the means by which people find their fullest potential in the context of any particular religious ideology.

The practice of spiritual discipline marks the notion that one who is in search of the guide is not only a human being but also a human "becoming," one on his or her way toward an ideal. Images of such discipline, therefore, often include themes of movement or passage. Mahāyāna Buddhists describe the spiritual endeavor as *bodhicaryāvatāra,* "entering the path to enlightenment"; Jewish traditions speak of religious norms as *halakhah,* "the way to go"; and traditional Hindu literatures outline the three sacred "paths," *marga,* of proper action, proper meditation, and proper devotion. Not infrequently, religious systems refer to the sacred cosmos as a whole with terms meaning "the Way," like the Chinese *dao.*

The perfection such a person seeks may take a number of forms, each reflecting the fundamental worldview presented by the pertinent religious system. It may be the fulfillment of being or the return to nonbeing; it may be personal or impersonal; it may be the enjoyment of the good life or the release of the good death. Whatever the goal, spiritual disciplines claim to offer their adherents the means by which the religious ideal may be reached.

Without discipline, the seeker founders. The Ṣūfī mystic Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī spoke perhaps for many religious traditions besides his own when he noted that "whoever travels without a guide needs two hundred years for a two day's journey."

CONNOTATIONS OF THE TERM.

The word *discipline* is a particularly apt one. To some people it rings of punishment, which in some cases is the point. But this certainly is not the primary meaning of the term, which carries a good number of connotations. The scope of its etymological cousins shows the broad applications the term can have in the study and practice of religion.

The word *discipline* may be derived through one of two ways, or, more likely, in a semantic combination of the two ways. It may come from the Latin *discere,* "to learn," and thus be directly related to the English word *disciple,* "one who follows the instructions of a teacher." *Discere* itself reflects the Indo-European root **dek-* ("take, accept"), which also appears in the English *decent, docent, docile, dogma,* and *dogmatic; doctrine, doctor* ("one who teaches doctrine"), and thus *indoctrinate;* as well as *dignity,* "to be acceptable," and *decorous,* "elegant, worthy of respect, graceful."

Perhaps the word comes from the Latin *disciplus,* "pupil," from *discapere,* "to grasp," in the sense of "to take hold of mentally" and thus "to understand." If so, then the word *discipline* derives primarily from the Indo-European **kap-* ("grab hold of") and is related to such words as the English *captivate, capture,* and *captive; accept, precept, concept;* and *participate.* Often that sense of *reception* (a related word) is described as a safe and protected experience, as would be the sense of the Germanic derivative of the root **kap-, *hafno,* appearing in the Old English *haefen,* which leads in turn to the modern English *haven,* "place of refuge."

To be disciplined, then, is to be caught up by the teachings of a guide—whether that guide be a person, an ethic, a community, a historical tradition, or a set of ideas—and to organize one's behavior and attitude according to those teachings. The person who undertakes such discipline may be understood, then, to be a disciple of that which is felt to be true, a captive of that which is valuable. Religious traditions do not tend to view this as "punishment." Rather, they generally stress the notion that this very captivity allows one to become who he or she really is, or really could be. As Zen Buddhists have long noted, one is most free when one is most disciplined.

TYPES OF SPIRITUAL DISCIPLINE.

Just what kind of teacher the student follows and what type of relationship exists between the two varies from tradition to tradition and within each tradition itself, so any typological classification of spiritual disciplines runs the risk of oversimplification. Classed very generally, however, the different kinds of spiritual discipline may be understood as heteronomous, autonomous, or interactive in nature. (Within these types one can discern various modes of discipline, to which this article shall return.) These three should be understood as ideal types only: Analysis of different examples of actual spiritual endeavors will show that individual disciples and specific traditions practice a combination of all three.

Heteronomous discipline. In heteronomous discipline, the disciple submits in his or her search for realization, completion, or genuine understanding to the guidelines presented by an external authority. While this authority may be personal or impersonal in nature, the structure of the relationship between guide and disciple is often represented as objective and depicted in oppositional images: creator/creature; lord/subject; teacher/apprentice; parent/child; shepherd/sheep; wise one/foolish one; judge/judged. In obeying the commands or by imitating the paradigmatic actions of the central authority, the seeker finds the way to fulfillment and meaning.

One sees the ideals of heteronomous discipline in any account of a disciple who serves a master: the Chan Buddhist who sweeps the floor and washes the pots for his teacher; the American Indian who follows the instructions discerned in the tones of a coyote's call; the orthodox Hindu who obeys the social regulations prescribed by the Dharmaśāstras. Heteronomy is found in those cases where people find meaning and validity in their actions as defined by an external authority of some kind.

Sometimes the teacher is so distant, either in time or in space, that the disciple first must learn from a fellow, but wiser, seeker who knows the teachings if not the teacher and who, having traveled it, can illumine the difficult passage from one mode of being and understanding to another. Such is the case, for example, in the Jewish figure of the rabbi, the Christian *pater spiritualis,* the Buddhist *arhat* and *bodhisattva,* the Chinese sage, and the Siberian shaman—although the particular ideologies in which each of these figures present their teachings vary immensely.

A good example of heteronomous discipline appears in Islamic spiritual traditions. Muslims repeatedly hear in the Qurʾān the notion that a person's sole purpose in life is to serve the will of God (Allāh) by cultivating his or her potential in accordance with God's "command" (*amr*). This submission (*islām*) to God is the purpose for which God sends through prophets and revealed literatures the divine "guidance" (*hidāyah*). The central revelation, the Qurʾān, describes itself as an invitation to come to the right path (*hudan li-al-nās*) and is the source of the Islamic sacred law (*sharīʿah,* literally "the way to the water hole," an appropriate image for spiritual travelers in a desert region). Islamic tradition notes that examples of such guiding laws include what is known as *farḍ* or *wājib*—those duties and actions all Muslims must obey, such as daily prayer (*ṣalāt*), almsgiving (*zakāt*), and fasting during the holy month of Ramaḍān (*ṣawm*).

The paradigmatic disciple in this case is the prophet Muḥammad, who is said to have heard the sacred instructions from divine teachers and then to have obeyed the order to recite (*qurʾān*) those teachings to the community. Tradition holds that Muḥammad first received these lessons one night during Ramaḍān when he was visited by the angel Gabriel. After cleansing Muḥammad's body and spirit, Gabriel swept him up into the air, carrying him first to the sacred shrine at Mecca and then upward through the seven heavens to the throne of God. There, surrounded by mystic light, the Prophet received divine instructions on proper religious action, specifically the practice of the five daily prayers (*ṣalāt*), in which the Muslim is to cleanse himself and touch his forehead to the ground as he bows toward Mecca in the early morning, at noon, in midafternoon, at sunset, and in the evening. According to traditional stories, Muḥammad then returned from the heavens and shared those instructions with the human community on earth. "The key to paradise is *ṣalāt,*" Muḥammad is reported to have said; and the practice of the daily purification and prayer remains today one of the Five Pillars of Islamic faith. The four remaining pillars are *shahādah* (the profession of faith), *zakāt* (care for the unfortunate through almsgiving), *ṣawm* (fasting during the month of Ramaḍān), and *ḥajj* (pilgrimage to the Kaʿbah in Mecca).

According to Islamic mystical traditions, primarily those influenced by Ṣūfī ideologies and practices, a person intent on gaining a direct experience of God's presence and power first seeks out a teacher (Arab., *shaykh;* Pers., *pīr*) who guides the disciple (Arab., *murīd,* "one who wishes to enter [the path]") through the stages of the spiritual journey. The teacher then watches over the *murīd* carefully, for the path (*ṭarīqah*) is a long and difficult one. The master comes to know the disciple at the most intimate of levels. The master reads the student's mind and sees into the student's dreams in order to advise as the disciple moves through the anxiety and doubt inherent in the religious transformation. The master may make the *murīd* practice ascetic meditation for periods of forty days at a time and demand that the pupil direct all of his attention to God; or the master may require the student to live in a community of fellow seekers in order to benefit from the support a group can give. The master is careful to keep the disciple attentive to his or her spiritual duties as the disciple progresses through the "stations" (sg., *maqām*) on the path: repentance (*tawbah*), abstinence *(waraʿ)*, renunciation *(zuhd)*, fasting *(ṣawm)*, surrender to God *(tawakkul)*, poverty *(faqr)*, patience *(ṣabr)*, gratitude *(shukr)*, the cultivation of ecstatic joy *(basṭ)* through constraint of the ego *(qabḍ)*, and—finally—love *(maḥabbah)* and mystic annihilation *(maʿrifah)* into the being of God. Bringing the student through these stages, the Ṣūfī master shows the way to *fanāʾ,* in which the seeker disposes of all human imperfections and takes on the qualities of the divine.

Autonomous discipline. The typological opposite of heteronomous discipline is characterized by ideologies in which the guide is said not to live or exist somewhere outside of the seeker but, rather, to inhabit the very depths of one's personal being. There, deep within the heart, the teacher rests timelessly beneath the swirling currents of the seeker's confused identity, unaffected by the vagaries of the objective world. The adept's task is to discover that inner wisdom. The discipline that arises from this notion of the guide may be called *autonomous* in nature because the aspirant's spiritual endeavors are self-contained and independent of external authority.

A good example of autonomous discipline would be the set of practices and assumptions reflected in the stories of Siddhartha Gautama's enlightenment and subsequent life as the Buddha. According to traditional accounts, the prince led a comfortable and secure life in his father's palace until, as a young man, he was shocked and utterly disillusioned with the passing enjoyments of the material world by the sight outside the royal walls of an old person, a sick person, and a corpse, sights that his father's protection had hitherto prevented him from seeing. After encountering a wandering ascetic who seemed to have attained a certain equanimity in the world of sickness and death, Gautama at age twenty-nine left his father's palace in search of a teacher who could help him understand the nature of life. He is said to have found successively two highly respected masters, but eventually left each one, unsatisfied, because he had become their equal in wisdom and yet still did not understand. He despaired of any teachings from another person, because even the most knowledgeable people did not know the full truth.

Traditional accounts say that Gautama then went alone into the forest, where he found a quiet place to fast and to control his breathing in order to enter into a trance in which he could gain transcendent knowledge. Eventually abandoning even some of these techniques because they led to what he experienced as a debilitating and therefore counterproductive physical weakness, he developed his own kind of meditation, which was neither austere nor self-indulgent. While meditating in this "middle way," he was confronted by demonic forces who tempted him, unsuccessfully, with worldly power and prestige.

Gautama is said to have entered into four successive levels of meditation (Pali, *jhāna*), each one giving him deeper awareness of the origins and nature of suffering. Finally, at the dawn ending the night of the full moon, he gained complete understanding and stood up, alone. At that point he became the Buddha, the Enlightened One. He understood what have come to be known as the Four Noble Truths: (1) that all conditioned existence is permeated by suffering; (2) that there is a cause of suffering (namely, desire); (3) that there is a way to end suffering (namely, to cease desiring); and (4) that the way to cease desiring is to follow a set of principles that became known as the Noble Eightfold Path.

Traditional Buddhist hagiographies and commentaries note that one follows that path by maintaining and practicing the following disciplines: correct views *(sammā-diṭṭhi)* to see things as they really are rather than as one wishes them to be; correct thoughts (*sammā-sankappa*), directed only to the goal of enlightenment; correct speech *(sammā-vācā),* in which one does not say anything that would harm his or other people's integrity; correct action (*sammā-kammanta*), in which one refuses to kill another creature, take what is not given, or enjoy illicit sexual relations; correct livelihood (*sammā-ājīva*), to earn a living only by ways in which living beings are not injured; correct exertion (*sammā-vāyāma*), characterized by dispassion and benevolence; correct mindfulness *(sammā-sati)*, the remembrance of the Four Noble Truths; and correct meditative concentration *(sammā-samādhi)*, which allows one to understand the harmful nature of selfish desire. The Eightfold Path thus combines the practice of proper wisdom (namely, correct views and thoughts), morality (correct speech, action, and livelihood), and meditation (correct mindfulness and concentration).

Buddhist tradition firmly maintains that the Buddha gained this insight by himself. Records of the Buddha's first discourse after his enlightenment note that he told his followers, "No one in any of the worlds—neither the gods, nor Māra, nor Brahmā, nor ascetics or priests or gods or human beings—had ever gained this highest complete enlightenment. I [alone] knew this. Knowledge arose in me, insight that even my mind cannot shake." No teacher is said to have given this insight to the Buddha; the implicit lesson here is that other people, too, can gain such knowledge if they cultivate autonomous discipline. Gautama himself seems to have resisted the role of a master. One text records his encouragement to others that "as wise people test gold by burning, cutting and rubbing it, so are you also to accept my teachings only after examining them and not simply out of loyalty to me" *(Jñānasāra-samuccaya* 31).

Interactive discipline. In another form of discipline, the teacher is neither completely external nor completely internal to the seeker. Rather, teaching and learning occur in a continuing and flexive process. The discipline needed here centers on a dialectical way of seeing or knowing that in itself brings the seeker to the desired transformation. Outside authority exists in the form of tradition, *ethos,* or structures of the natural world; but that authority is affected in various degrees by the hopes, worldviews, and training of the disciple. Similarly, internal authority holds sway, but it is defined and given form by external structures. Interactive discipline centers on practices that arise in an open-ended or multivalent relationship between the seeker and what he seeks.

Representative examples of interactive discipline might best come from the aesthetic arena. One thinks of a New England Shaker crafting a perfectly simple wooden chair; a *sitār* player quietly practicing a morning *rāga* in the Indian dawn; an Italian sculptor lovingly fashioning an image of the Virgin Mother out of a piece of marble. In such cases the disciple undergoes experiences in which the ideal is made real through his or her own creative power, but that ideal itself determines the form in which the disciple can make it real. Not only is there disciplined action; there is also a cultivated *interaction* between the disciple and the discipline itself.

At times the artist seems to be the effective agent in the creative process who brings his or her work to fruition through bold assertion. "This is not the moment for hesitation and doubt," Vincent van Gogh wrote of the creative process, "the hand may not tremble, nor may the eye wander, but must remain fixed on what is before one." Yet, no matter how subjective or personal this creative discipline may be, it frequently is described almost paradoxically as a participation in an impersonal event that transcends the idiosyncracies of the artist. "Everything vanishes around me," Paul Klee once noted to himself, "and works are born out of the void. . . . My hand has become the obedient instrument of a remote will." The artist cultivates a vision and undertakes a discipline in which the objective and subjective worlds converge and yet remain distinct.

Interactive discipline thus involves a kind of "attentive selflessness." Or perhaps it would be better to say that it centers on an "attentive wholeness"—for one who perfects this type of discipline is said to experience himself or herself as a creative and vital participant in the larger scope of life itself. Techniques of interactive discipline are different from those of heteronomous and autonomous discipline in that the former do not revolve around conceptual knowledge. The master is both external and internal, and neither external nor internal, to the disciple.

Interactive experience, like the artistic experience, centers on what the Japanese call *myō,* the wondrous mystery and rhythmic flow of life. One who disciplines himself or herself toward this experience seeks to know eternal truths within the mysteries of the constantly changing world. Such discipline is exemplified, to choose one of any number of possibilities, in the Japanese *haiku* tradition, in which poets compose short verses in moments of sublime understanding of the world. These poems reveal the unmediated nature of the world as it exists objectively but also the fond and attentive regard the poet holds for that world. Bashō (1643–1694) is said to have set the *haiku* tradition with this verse, translated by D. T. Suzuki:

Furu ike ya!	The old pond, ah!
Kawazu tobikomu,	A frog jumps in:
Mizu no oto.	The water's sound!

Quite typically, the images presented in *haiku* come from the ordinary world, but the terseness with which they are described comes from the poet's discerning vision of that world as an entirely remarkable place. The poet Buson (1716–1783) once exclaimed:

Tsuri-gane ni	On the temple bell
Tomarite nemuru	Perching, sleeps
Kocho kana.	The butterfly, oh!

If perfected, such interactive awareness of the world is said to lead to *satori* (enlightenment), which finds its meaning in one's everyday activities such as eating, sleeping, and moving one's body. The meaning that *satori* illumines in these activities does not come from outside; it is in the event itself. It is beingness, or life itself. Better still, it is the "is-as-it-isness" of something, the quality that in Japanese is known as *kono-mama* or *sono-mama.* It is this discipline of "seeing the isness" of the world that led the *haiku* poet Jōsō (1661–1704) to find transformative appreciation in the following image:

Mizu soko no	Under the water,
Iwa ni ochitsuku	On the rock resting,
Kono ha kana.	The fallen leaves.

Or Bashō, in a moment's notice of

Nomi shirami,	Fleas, lice,
Uma no nyo suru	The horse pissing
Makuramoto.	Near my pillow.

The freedom to experience the world as it arises from such cognitive or perceptual discipline occurs only when the poet's mind is in perfect harmony with the rhythms of life itself. "Wonder of wonders!" Hō Koji exclaimed in an eighth-century verse, "I carry firewood, I draw water!"

There are no heteronomous or autonomous authorities in this type of discipline, for to distinguish between object and subject is to bifurcate the essential unity of being. Interactional discipline takes a person beyond all dualities, including the duality of "self" and "other" or "disciple" and "master." Interactive discipline in the *haiku* tradition eventually frees the disciple from the need for a teacher. Such discipline recognizes that the guide, the way, and the wayfarer are one.

MODES OF SPIRITUAL DISCIPLINE. The three types of spiritual discipline just outlined should not be understood as mutually exclusive. Despite the autonomous ideals reflected in his early discourses, for example, even Gautama's followers directed their lives according to the instructions given them by their master and subsequently codified in the Vinaya Pitaka, a canonical collection of community rules and regulations established by the Buddha and his immediate followers. Conversely, even the Ṣūfī mystic who advances through the stages of the path under the heteronomous guidance of a shaykh finally experiences *fanāʾ,* the annihilation of ego-consciousness that brings knowledge of the unity of reality in a state similar to that called *jamʿ,* "unification." The Muslim, in fact, learns from the Qurʾān itself that God is "closer to man than is man's jugular vein" (50:16) and that God has placed within each person an "inner torch" *(taqwā),* which, if allowed to burn brightly, guides that person toward fulfillment. And the Japanese notion of immediacy of *myō* is said to be taught at first by a master, who teaches the student either through example or through specific instructions how to see and to experience sublime beauty himself.

In all three types of discipline, therefore, the seeker and the path on which that seeker travels are inextricably linked. Within the general parameters of these three types of spiritual discipline, one may recognize a number of ways in which the disciple actually practices the regimens deemed necessary for movement along the path. For simplicity's sake, these modes of activity can be classified in the following categories: ecstatic discipline, constructive discipline, discipline of the body, discipline of the mind, discipline of the heart, and discipline of enduring personal relationships.

It should be stated, once again, that these categories serve typological purposes only; they are not rigid classifications but general descriptive groupings of a variety of practices and ideas.

Ecstatic discipline. Many religious traditions maintain that the desired state exists outside of the human realm. It may lie in some other place such as in the heavens, across the mountains, or at the bottom of the sea; or it may take place in some other time, typically the past or the future. Whatever the case, in order to reach that extraordinary state personally or in order to be able to communicate with spirits from that other world, the seeker must somehow cultivate the ability to move out of his or her physical body, because that body is limited by the confining structures of time and space. Such out-of-the-body experience is classified generally as "ecstasy" and is attested in a variety of religious traditions throughout history.

The discipline needed to attain ecstasy typically includes practices in which the seeker deprives himself or herself of normal bodily pleasures in order to be free of his or her physical body. Such deprivational or ascetic discipline may begin with the seeker's withdrawal into solitude and spiritual tutelage under a master. It often culminates in the visitation by a guardian spirit and subsequent transformative vision or in an experience of death and resurrection.

Ecstatic discipline appears, for example, in North American Indian practices centered on what has come to be known as the vision quest. In such a quest practiced among the Thompson River Indians, for instance, a young man observed severe dietary restrictions and fasts, cleansed his spirit with such rituals as sweat bathing and immersion in a cold river, purged his body of impurities by forcing himself to vomit or by taking sacred medicines, and camped alone on a mountaintop, where he forsook sleep for nights on end. There he hoped to be visited by a guardian spirit who would teach him sacred ways and lead him through the dangers of life. The Ojibwa Indians of the Algonquin tribe near Lake Superior demanded that a boy entering puberty set up camp alone under a red pine tree, where he was to fast and to lie awake for days, waiting for a vision that would allow him to see who he was in the context of the sacred cosmos as a whole. These visions were often described as journeys taken into the worlds of the spirits, where the seeker was introduced to divine teachers who would guide him throughout his life.

Such ecstatic practices often included the seeker's ritualized symbolic death and resurrection. Shamanic initiates among the Pomo and Coast Miwok Indians of California lay on the ground and were covered with straw as if they had died and been buried; standing up and casting off the straw, the initiate was then known to have been resurrected from the dead. Among the Tlinglit Indians of coastal Alaska, a man was recognized as a potential shaman when he fell to the ground in a deathlike trance and subsequently revived.

In some instances of ecstatic discipline, the value of an enduring, rather than temporary, out-of-the-body experience lies at the very center of religious ideology itself. Perhaps the best example is that of the Tibetan traditions based on the notion of *bar do'i sems can* (or simply *bar do*), the "intermediate stage" through which a departed soul moves over the interval of forty-nine days between death and rebirth. Tibetan priests read a series of instructions—most frequently from the the *Bar do'i thos grol* (often transliterated and simplified as *Bardo Thodal,* the Tibetan *Book of the Dead)*—to the dying or dead person to help him through the dangers of the *bar do* and to help him gain a comfortable rebirth or, ideally, freedom from the cycle of rebirth itself.

Immediately upon death—in fact, before a person even knows he or she is dead—a departed soul is said first to enter the *'chi kha* state, a realm of pure light and bliss. Reading set instructions from the *Book of the Dead,* the priest tells the deceased that this is the ultimate reality and encourages the deceased to sever all emotional ties to the world left behind in order to remain free in this state. Most spirits are afraid of such freedom, however, and turn from it toward a second state known as *chos nyid,* in which the dead person encounters wondrous and beautiful creatures. The priest tells the person that these beings are images of his or her self that have been constructed through the person's own selfishness and that the person must renounce all attachment to them because they will soon turn into demonic monsters. Fearing these terrors, the person then enters a third state, *srid pa,* in which the person panics and flees into a new birth on earth as a way to avoid the horrors that have been experienced in the intermediate realm. The priest attempts to keep the person from moving through the second two of these realms—and thereby allowing the person to remain in the state of pure light and bliss—by reciting lessons and offering encouragement in the highly structured discipline of the long funerary ritual.

Constructive discipline. This mode of discipline does not seek in general to deprive the spiritual aspirant of unwanted or harmful characteristics; rather, it helps that person perfect his or her being by building on desirable characteristics that are already there.

Such constructive discipline often takes the form of personal imitation of a paradigmatic figure or figures who are said to embody desirable qualities or to have undertaken beneficial actions. Many times, therefore, such discipline takes the form of the correct performance of a ritual. "We do here what the gods did in the beginning," the priests report while explaining why they officiate at the sacred rites of Vedic India (see *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 7.2.1.4). For those priests, all work performed as part of the ritual thus becomes a disciplined imitation of a divine model. So, for example, the artist who fashions the utensils and ritual paraphernalia expresses artistry in a religious context: "Those works of art produced here by a human being—[an image of] an elephant, a goblet, a sacred robe, a gold figure, a chariot—are works of art only because they imitate the art of the gods" (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 6.27).

But it need not be explicit ritual behavior only that embodies the ideals and techniques of constructive discipline. Such discipline appears in any system which assumes that within the seeker lie qualities that, although perhaps dormant, can be brought to the surface so that the ideal can be made real. "Be faithful imitators of Jesus, and perfect imitators of Mary," the fifteenth-century monk Thomas à Kempis wrote to his fellow Christians in his *Imitation of Mary.* "Be simple, like the simple children of God, without deception, without envy, without criticism, without murmuring, and without suspicion." In his *Imitation of Christ,* Thomas similarly taught others to "learn to turn from worldly things, and give yourself to spiritual things, and you will see the Kingdom of God come within you" (2.1).

Elements of constructive discipline may also be seen in the Chinese, specifically the Neo-Confucian, tradition of the cultivation of sagehood. Zhangzai (1021–1077) defined the sage as one who understands the harmonious and holistic nature of oneself and one's relationship to the world. According to his teachings, a human being's essential nature (*xing*) is identical with all of nature *(tiandi),* and the sage understands the principle *(li)* that unites his essential nature with all things. According to Neo-Confucian thought, transformative understanding of this unity can be obtained through various techniques reflecting the ideology of constructive discipline. Gao Pan Long (1562–1626), for example, advocated a combination of several attitudes and practices: the cultivation of an open-minded reverence *(jing)* for all things; an intuitive exploration *(ge wu)* of the unifying principle that links the inner and outer worlds; a pervasive appreciation of the natural world; a sense of one's place in history; and a practice he generally characterized as "quiet sitting" *(jing zuo)* in which the student brings the body and mind together into a whole. Gao described this latter technique as "ordinary" *(ping chang)* because it reflects the basic unified nature of being itself.

In his *Fu qi gui* Gao notes that one may practice such quiet sitting by observing some general procedures:

> Burn incense and sit in the lotus position. . . . Try not to be lazy. After eating one must walk slowly for a hundred steps. Do not drink too much wine or eat too much meat or you will stir up the muddy waters. When resting do not take off your clothes. If you feel sleepy, then lie down. As soon as you awaken, get up.

Discipline of the body. There is a general recognition among religious traditions that the body's tendency to please its own senses tends to distract the spirit from its more ethereal tasks. Therefore, most spiritual disciplines involve the seeker's control and restraint of his or her physical body.

Christian monastic traditions provide a good example of such discipline of the body. "The life of a monk should always be as if Lent were being observed" even though "few people have the fortitude to do so," wrote Benedict of Nursia in the sixth century (*Rule of St. Benedict* 49), for "monks should have not even their bodies or their wills under their own command" (33). According to Benedict, monks were to "let one pound of bread be enough for one day, whether there be one meal only, or both dinner or supper," and "wine is not appropriate for monks at all" (39–40). Benedict nevertheless admitted, "Since it is not possible these days to convince the monks of this, let us agree at least on this: we should not drink excessively nor to the point of satiation. . . . one pint of wine a day is enough for each one" (40).

Benedict's *Rule* thus reflects the value he placed on the monk's renunciation of material goods, the primary purpose of which is to satisfy the body. "He should have nothing at all as his own: neither a book, nor tablets, nor a pen—nothing at all" (33). Six centuries later, Francis of Assisi restated and modified for his fellow monastics many of Benedict's rules, telling them, for example, "to go and sell all that they have and carefully give it to the poor," and that "all the brothers shall wear humble garments, and may repair them with sack cloth and other remnants" (*Rule of St. Francis* 3.2).

It may be, however, that the best classical example of the discipline of the body comes from the *rājayoga* tradition of India, particularly as represented by Patañjali's *Yoga Sūtra* and its principal commentaries, Vyāsa's *Yogabhāṣya* and Vācaspati Miśra's *Tattvavaiśāradī.* According to that tradition, the path to the ultimate goal of meditation practices—namely, complete autonomy (*kaivalya*)—involves eight stages or "branches" (*aṅga*) and is therefore known as the "eight-limbed discipline" (*aṣṭāṅgayoga*).

The first of the eight steps given by Patañjali is known as restraint (*yama*) and is centered on injunctions not to kill, not to lie, not to steal, not to enjoy sexual contact, and not to envy other people's possessions (*Yoga Sūtra* 2.30). The second stage is comprised of the five traditional spiritual practices (*niyama*) of cleanliness, mental equanimity, asceticism, scriptural study, and devotion to a master (2.32). At the third level, the yogin masters the various limber body postures (*āsanas,* e.g., the lotus position) that strengthen the body against the rigors of severe asceticism (2.46), some of which take many years of training before they can be practiced without the risk of dangerous injury. The fourth level consists of breath control (*prāṇāyāma*) in which the adept slows down his rate of respiration, sometimes to the point of stopping his breathing altogether for long periods of time, and in so doing releases for his disciplined use all of the life force (*prāṇa*) that is said to reside within the breath itself (2.49–51).

At the fifth stage of the eight-limbed discipline, the yogin withdraws all senses from their objects in an enstatic process known as *pratyahara,* which includes in part focusing all attention thus retrieved from external distractions on a single object—such as the spot between his eyebrows—in a technique described as *ekāgratā,* the sustained concentration on one thing *(Yogabhāṣya* 2.53). Mastering this technique gives the yogin power over all of his body, which possesses an almost immeasurable amount of energy.

The sixth level, known as *dhāraṇā,* a term that might best be translated as "mental concentration," is a form of *ekāgratā* in which the yogin, under strict guidance of a master, concentrates all powerful attention on a single sacred syllable (*mantra*) or visual diagram (*yantra*) in such a way that the mind ceases to wander about in its constant fluctuations and the yogin comes to know and experience the unity of his or her soul (*ātman*) with the soul of the universe.

In these first six stages of the eight-limbed discipline, the adept subdues and controls the instincts, desires, movements, respiration, senses, and mental activities of the physical body. This is done in order to prepare for the seventh and eighth levels of discipline, which may be said to transcend corporal existence. The seventh stage is known as *dhyāna* (deep meditation) in which the adept experiences the light of the Absolute within his or her own eternal soul. The final stage, *samādhi,* brings the yogic discipline to its fruition. At this point the yogin knows pure being, absolute consciousness, and complete bliss and is released from all suffering entailed in the cycle of rebirth.

Discipline of the mind. Many religions teach that one's mind tends to distract one from the necessities of spiritual growth and that it, like the body, must be restrained. Sometimes religious masters admonish their students not to daydream. Sometimes they scold their students for being too analytical. In either case, they encourage them to retain control over the mind.

The *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* records a mythic conversation between Naciketas, a young boy desirous of sacred knowledge, and Yama, the lord of the dead. One sees reflected in Yama's teachings the notion, cited often in ancient India, that the mind must be restrained the way a charioteer must control his horses:

> Think of the true self as [riding in] a chariot
> and that the body is the chariot.
> Think of the intellect as the charioteer
> and the mind as the reins.
>
> He who has no understanding, whose mind is out of control—
> his senses are unchecked
> Like wild horses [when unrestrained by a bad] charioteer.
> He, however, who has understanding,
> whose mind is always under control—
> his senses are checked
> Like the obedient horses [of a good] charioteer. (3.3–6)

The lord of the dead continues to teach Naciketas that the search for the absolute truth residing within the self is difficult because it "cannot be known through language, nor by the mind, nor by sight" (6.12). According to Yama, one reason it is so difficult to comprehend the nature of the self is that it has no discernible qualities or characteristics: It is "without sound, without touch, without form, imperishable . . . without taste, eternal, odorless, without a beginning and without an end, beyond the great, constant." Nevertheless, Yama asserts that "by discerning That, one is liberated from the jaws of death" (3.15).

Another Upaniṣad notes that the master should accept as a disciple only a student "whose mind is tranquil and who has attained peace. He teaches in its very truth that knowledge of *brahman* [absolute reality] by which one knows the true eternal soul" (*Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* 1.2.12–13).

The adept who disciplines his or her mind undergoes here a kind of "unknowing" of all of the categories through which one's self, the world, and divine reality is normally understood. Part of this mental discipline involves the practice of seeing the essence of things as distinct from their form. In a classic teaching recorded in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad,* the Upaniṣadic sage Yājñavalkya repeatedly asserts (see 4.5.15, for example) that the eternal soul is "not this, not this."

Christian mystical traditions centered on the *via negativa* present similar teachings regarding the need in one's spiritual advancement to break down the categories to which one's undisciplined empirical mind clings. In his work *The Mystical Theology,* Dionysius the Areopagite (sixth century) taught that "the universal and transcendent Cause of all things is neither . . . a body, nor has He a form or shape, or quality, or quantity, or weight; nor has He any localized, visible, or tangible existence; He is not sensible or perceptible" (Happold, 1970, p. 212). Dionysius accordingly encouraged his followers to "leave behind the senses and the operations of the intellect, and all things sensible and intellectual, and all things in the world of being and nonbeing, that thou mayest arise, by knowing, towards the union, as far as is attainable, with Him Who transcends all being and all knowledge" (op. cit., pp. 216–217).

Discipline of the heart. Some religious traditions teach that the final universal truth centers on a profound, delicate, and enduring love. According to these traditions, everything that is real arises from and returns into love; and it is through the openhearted awareness of that love that one comes closer to divine truth. The cultivation of those attitudes and actions that help one see and know that love may therefore be called the discipline of the heart.

At times such discipline of the heart is described as a way of seeing the world in its sublime nature. As the Ṣūfī poet Muḥammad Gīsūdarāz (d. 1422) proclaimed,

> You look at the beautiful one and see figure and statue—
> I do not see anything save the beauty and art of the creator.

Jalāl al-dīn Rūmī (d. 1273) saw the structures of the natural world as expressions of universal love:

> If this heaven were not in love, then its breast would have no purity,
> and if the sun were not in love, in his beauty would be no light,
> and if earth and mountain were not lovers, grass would not grow out of their breast.

The Hebrew *Song of Songs* (whose verses date as early as the tenth century BCE) presents classic love imagery set in a dialogue between a bride and her bridegroom. Traditional commentaries have interpreted the relationship between the characters of the bride and groom in four ways: literally, as a man and a woman in love with each other; figuratively, as a model on which proper marriage should be based; allegorically, as the people of Israel and their god; and anagogically, as the account of an individual soul's perfected relationship to God. Whatever its reference, the love between these two finds vivid expression:

> Bride: Night after night on my bed
> I have sought my true love;
> I have sought him but not found him,
> I have called him, but he has not answered.
>
> Groom: How beautiful you are, my dearest, how beautiful! . . .
> Your lips are like a scarlet thread, and your words are delightful;
> your parted lips behind your veil are like a pomegranate cut open. . . .
> Your two breasts are like two fawns, twin fawns of a gazelle.
>
> Bride: I am my beloved's, his longing is all for me.
> Come, my beloved, let us go out into the fields to lie among the henna bushes. (3.1–7.11)

The Cistercian monks of twelfth-century Europe tended to see the religious quest as an ongoing apprenticeship in the ways of love. In his *Sermons on the Song of Songs,* Bernard of Clairvaux urged his readers to remember that "when God loves, he wants nothing else than to be loved; for he loves for no other purpose than that he may be loved, knowing that those who love him are blessed by that very love" (83.4). Christian mystics of that era often defined God in masculine and the soul in feminine terms and described the religious life as a relationship between the two. Richard of Saint-Victor, for example, outlined in *The Four Degrees of Passionate Charity* the stages through which the soul moves in its relationship to the loving God:

> In the first degree, God enters into the soul and she turns inward into herself. In the second, she ascends above herself and is lifted up to God. In the third, the soul, lifted up to God, passes over altogether into Him. In the fourth the soul goes forth on God's behalf and descends below herself.

Discipline of the heart carries the seeker further and further into the depths, or heights, of divine love. This is seen in India, too. As Kṛṣṇa (i.e., God) is reported in the *Bhagavadgītā* to have told his disciple, Arjuna:

> Through loving devotion [bhakti] he comes to know Me—my measure, and who, in very truth, I am.
> Then, knowing Me in that complete truth, he enters immediately into Me. (18.55)

Discipline of enduring personal relationships. According to some religious ideologies, religious fulfillment is best achieved through the observation of principles that serve to uphold the relationship between the human community and the deity or to maintain important familial and other interpersonal bonds.

A classical example of such relational discipline appears in the traditions centered on and developed from the Jewish notion of *mitsvah* ("commandment"; pl., *mitsvot*), a rule of discipline that is understood to have divine sanction. The rabbinic tradition of Judaism notes that God has given the people of Israel 613 *mitsvot* outlining the 248 positive instructions and 365 negative injunctions the people are obligated to honor. The most general and most familiar of the *mitsvot* are known as the Ten Commandments (see *Exodus* 20:2–14 and *Deuteronomy* 5:6–18), which combine strict monotheistic ideology with rules against destructive social behavior. According to these rules of discipline, the people of Israel are to believe in no other god but Yahveh, not to construct idols, to keep the commandments, not to misuse God's name, to observe the day of rest, to honor their parents, not to commit murder, not to commit adultery, not to steal, not to testify falsely against their neighbors, and not to be envious of other people's possessions. Rabbinic traditions are careful to say that the Ten Commandments do not exhaust *mitsvot,* and remind the people of Israel of the religious duty incumbent on all Jews, for example, to marry and have at least two children in accordance with the divine commandment to "be fruitful and multiply" (*Gn.* 1:22).

Such relational discipline finds similar expression in Paul's teachings to the hellenized Jewish-Christians at Thessalonica that the true disciple must "not [give] way to lust like the pagans who are ignorant of God; and no man must do his brother wrong in this matter, or invade his rights, because, as we have told you before with all emphasis, the Lord punishes all such offenses." Paul further noted to those disciples that we are "taught by God to love one another" in a selfless way and that "anyone who flouts these rules is flouting not man but God" (*1 Thes.* 4:4–9).

Discipline based on the maintenance of proper relationships also appears in another way in the classical Hindu notion of *varṇāśramadharma,* the sacred duties determined by one's vocation and stage of life. An entire science (*śāstra*) of such sacred duties developed in Brahmanic India in order to interpret and preserve those rules by which orthodox Hindus are to act in society.

According to the texts of that tradition, the Dharmaśāstras, society is divided into four classes (*varṇa*s, sometimes translated as "castes") of people. Each *varṇa* has its own particular function, and the whole system may be understood as a symbiosis in which all parts depend on the others. The priests (*brāhmaṇa*s) perform rituals that ensure the favor of the gods for specific individuals or for society in general. Warriors (*kṣatriya*s) protect the society from foreign invasions and increase its land holdings. The responsibilities of production and distribution of material goods throughout society fall to the merchants (*vaiśya*s), and the laborers (*śūdras*) perform the manual work the other classes need in order to fulfill their responsibilities.

Dharmaśāstra literatures similarly outline the four stages (*āśramas*) of one's individual life, each having its own disciplined requirements. According to a representative text, the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* (the Laws of Manu, second century BCE), a student (*brahmacārin*) must study the Vedic scriptures under the guidance of a master until he is old enough to marry. Becoming a householder (*gṛhasthin*), one must raise a family and secure its well-being. Having carried out these responsibilities long enough to see one's grandchildren grow to be adults, one leaves the demands of family life to the children and enters the stage of the forest-dweller (*vānaprasthin*) in order to offer private oblations to his ancestors and various deities. Only if one lives long enough, and has met all of these other responsibilities, can one then become a wandering ascetic (*saṃnyāsin*) who, having finally abandoned all possessions and family obligations, seeks the inner wisdom that will bring eternal release.

SEE ALSO Asceticism; Eremitism; Ecstasy; Martial Arts; Meditation; Monasticism; Mortification; Obedience; Religious Communities, article on Christian Religious Orders; Retreat; Yoga.

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SPIRITUAL GUIDE. Since ancient times, the figure of the spiritual guide has stood at the center of contemplative and esoteric traditions. It would appear that all such traditions stress the necessity of a spiritual preceptor who has immediate knowledge of the laws of spiritual development and who can glean from the adept's actions and attitudes his respective station on the spiritual path as well as the impediments that lie ahead. Furthermore, the guide is responsible for preserving and advancing the precise understanding of the teaching and spiritual discipline to which he is heir, including both a written tradition and an oral tradition "outside the scriptures," which at its highest level is passed on from master to succeeding master and to certain disciples according to their level of insight. The precarious nature of this transfer has been recognized by all traditions, but no one has described the situation more succinctly than the fifth Chan patriarch, who warned that from "ancient times the transmission of the Dharma has been as tenuous as a dangling thread" (Yampolsky, 1967, p. 133).

Hinduism is not alone in its insistence that the spiritual bond (*vidyāsambandha*) that exists between the spiritual preceptor (*guru*) and his disciple (*śisya*) is no less real than a blood relationship. Taking Socrates as the model preceptor, Kierkegaard maintained that the maieutic relationship between teacher and disciple was the highest possible relationship between man and man. Socrates, writes Kierkegaard, entered into the role of midwife, not because his thought lacked "positive content," but because he "perceived that this relationship is the highest that one human being can sustain to another" (Kierkegaard, 1962, p. 12; cf. Plato, *Theaetetus* 150).

Whether he is regarded as a midwife, *daimōn*, or *bodhisattva*, the paradigmatic feature of the spiritual guide is always his intermediate status; in a hierarchically ordered cosmos, the guide is situated in an intermediary world of subtle possibilities, between the realms of pure matter and pure spirit, between earth and heaven, or, one might say, between the exoteric and esoteric. The mythological paradigm for this idea finds expression in a variety of forms: Eros is the half-mortal, half-immortal *daimōn* of special significance to Socrates (See Plato, *Symposium* 202); in Twelver Shiism the guide is the Hidden Imām who lives unseen in the third world of the esoteric Church, a Paradise *in potentia*, between the physical and spiritual cosmos; and as Hermes, he is both the messenger of the gods and their interpreter (*hermeneutēs*), an intermediary between the terrestrial and celestial worlds who has an additional function as the "guide of the souls of the dead."

The legitimacy of the unearthly, inner guide has been vouchsafed by all traditions; but the "masterless master" who has been initiated and guided by the inner spiritual guide without first having been counseled by an outer, human guide (as in the case of Ibn al-ʿArabī, the "disciple of Khiḍr"; see Corbin, 1969) is especially rare. Hui-neng, the sixth Chan patriarch, said that if a man cannot gain awakening on his own

> he must obtain a good teacher to show him how to see into his own self-nature. But if you awaken by yourself, do not rely on teachers outside. If you try to seek a teacher outside and hope to obtain deliverance, you will find it impossible. If you have recognized the good teacher within your own mind, you have already obtained deliverance. (Yampolsky, 1967, p. 152)

On the other hand, the Indian guru Maharaj has suggested that it is the inner guru who leads the disciple to the outer guru, and it is the outer guru who reveals the inner guru (Maharaj, 1973).

ANCIENT GREECE. Pythagoras and Socrates remind us that the worthy figure of the spiritual guide is not confined to the strict forms of religion but can also be identified in various fraternities, orders, and academies whose primary concern is the self-transformation and spiritual enlightenment of their members. As is often the case with founders of religions and lineages, there are no writings that have been attributed to

Pythagoras or Socrates. The first written material on the "master" or founder of these traditions emerges often only after a long gap, so that in the instance of Pythagoras we find many of the earliest accounts idolizing and mythologizing him, attributing numerous miracles to him but remaining silent as to the essentials of his teaching.

According to Aristotle, the Pythagoreans taught that among rational beings there is that which is God, that which is man, and "that which is like Pythagoras" (Arist., frag. 192). The spiritual guide, as in the case of Pythagoras, stands between the human and the suprahuman worlds, between the mundane and the sacred; the guide is the intermediate *par excellence*, mediating energies from above and attracting disciples from below. The idea is further exemplifed by the tradition quoted by Diogenes Laertius that Pythagoras was the son of Hermes in a previous incarnation and that he received from his father a memory of all things that had happened to him (Diogenes Laertius 8.4).

The historical Pythagoras, however, remains a mystery; we have inherited a fragmentary picture of his ascetic practices, taboos, *sumbola*, and orally transmitted maxims, but nowhere does the man Pythagoras emerge.

The problem with Socrates is somewhat different. Whereas Pythagoras had no single student to organize his teaching into a "system," Socrates was followed by his disciple Plato. But the problem here is trying to separate the real Socrates, whose stature as an exemplary guide emerges even in the dialogues, from Plato's literary achievement "Socrates." Jacob Needleman's study of the *Symposium* (in *The Heart of Philosophy*, New York, 1982) reminds us of certain aspects of Socrates' personality and energy as a guide, aspects that have been long overlooked by philosophers. Socrates, as in the other dialogues, is allowed to speak for himself to the extent that he alone among Athenians admits that he does not know; he is a man who is questioning. The state of questioning once again reflects the idea of the intermediate; it represents an intermediate state of unknowing, free at least from false and unexamined views. Similarly, Alcibiades, as the "authentic" pupil of Socrates, is also alone in that, unlike the other Athenians, he is neither for nor against Socrates; many times he wishes Socrates were dead, and yet he realizes that his death should make him more sorry than glad. Alcibiades is, alas, at his "wit's end" when he enters the symposium. A glimpse of Alcibiades' estimation of Socrates is given after the former recounts his failed amorous advances:

> What do you suppose to have been my state of mind after that? On the one hand I realized that I had been slighted, but on the other I felt a reverence for Socrates' character, his self-control and courage; I had met a man whose like for fortitude I could never have expected to encounter. The result was that I could neither bring myself to be angry with him and tear myself away from his society, nor find a way of subduing him to my will. . . . I was utterly disconcerted, and wandered about in a state of enslavement to the man the like of which has never been known. (Plato, *Symposium* 219, trans. Hamilton)

Many other of Socrates' extraordinary attributes are described by Alcibiades in the dialogue, including Socrates' ridiculous and yet perfect choice of words (221), so that one might finally agree with Alicibiades that Socrates' "absolute unlikeness to any human being that is or ever has been is perfectly astonishing" (221).

JUDAISM. Although it is difficult to speculate on the figure of the spiritual guide as he might have existed in ancient Judaism, as, for example, suggested in the texts of *Psalms* and *Ecclesiastes*, the dominant figure of later times became the rabbi. The title is derived from *rav* ("master" or "teacher") and a suffix of possession; hence its literal meaning is "my master" or "my teacher." In modern times the Western world has come to regard the rabbi as a congregation leader, but his original function as a "master" is indicated in the New Testament where Jesus is frequently referred to as rabbi. Similarly John the Baptist is indicated by the title in a singular instance (*Jn.* 3:26). Jesus, when he warned his disciples not to call themselves rabbis, surely meant that this title was not to be taken lightly.

In Talmudic times the rabbi was an interpreter and teacher of the Bible and the oral law (*Mishnah*). Like many teachers in the nonmonastic traditions of the East, the rabbi derived no income from these activities but had an additional occupation that produced private income; most often he was a simple artisan or craftsman. According to doctrine, all rabbis are mutually equal, while reserving their individual freedom to give ordination to suitable disciples. However, the rabbinical mysticism of the medieval period emphasized hierarchy in other ways; to belong to the inner circle of discipleship presupposed an extraordinary degree of self-discipline. Furthermore, the most esoteric level of exegesis and transmission of teaching was reserved for the most select: "It is forbidden to explain the first chapters of *Genesis* to more than one person at a time. It is forbidden to explain the first chapter of *Ezekiel* even to one person unless he be a sage and of original turn of mind" (*Hag.* 2.1).

The title was adopted and altered to *rebe* by Hasidism in the eighteenth century. The didactic and often humorous stories told by the *rebeyim* of Poland and East Europe were passed on by tradition, so that collections exist today that faithfully reflect the scope and activity of these remarkable guides (see Buber, 1947–1948 and 1974).

CHRISTIANITY. The foundation for guidance and discipleship in the Christian tradition is naturally found in the reported actions of Christ: he called his disciples to him; they lived with him and were taught by his actions, words, and gestures.

For Christianity in general, Christ has remained the unequaled teacher, rabbi, a transcendent inner guide through whom man seeks salvation. Over and beyond this tendency toward reliance on a transcendent guide, Eastern Orthodox

Christianity has stressed the importance of the *startsy*, or elders, who guide one's spiritual and practical work. The primary texts of this tradition (called hesychasm) are contained in the *Philokalia.* They represent an unbroken tradition of practical guidance based on the teachings and disciplines of the Desert Fathers, having been written between the fourth and fifteenth centuries by spiritual masters of the Orthodox tradition. The texts show the way to awaken and develop attention and consciousness, and they describe the conditions that are most effective.

Many of the writings indicate the difficulty of accepting the vocation of spiritual guidance and attempt to discourage the false guide from destructive actions and consequences. Nilus the Ascetic (d. around 430) writes:

> But what if someone, not from any choice of his own, is obliged to accept one or two disciples, and so to become the spiritual director of others as well? First, let him examine himself carefully, to see whether he can teach them through his actions rather than his words, setting his own life before them. . . . He should also realize that he ought to work as hard for his disciples' salvation as he does for his own; for, having once accepted responsibility for them, he will be accountable to God for them as well as for himself. That is why the saints tried to leave behind disciples whose holiness was no less than their own, and to change these disciples from their original condition to a better state. (*Philokalia*, vol. l, p. 223)

Not only is there a great temptation for the more advanced monks to consider themselves as highly evolved spiritual guides or directors, but the novice must face the temptation of relying merely on himself and trusting his own judgment when he has as yet insufficient material to understand the guile and cunning of the "enemy." The monk should bring his thoughts and confessions to an elder so that he might learn the gift of true discrimination. John Cassian (d. c. 435) relates: "The devil brings monks to the brink of destruction more effectively through persuading him to disregard the admonitions of the fathers and follow his own judgment and desire, than he does through any other fault" (ibid., p. 104).

But in confessing one's thoughts and concerns there is still the pitfall of following the pseudoguide. John Cassian further encourages monks to seek out spiritual masters who truly possess discrimination and not those whose hair has simply "grown white with age." He relates: "Many who have looked to age as a guide, and then revealed their thoughts, have not only remained unhealed but have been driven to despair because of the inexperience of those to whom they confessed." *Unseen Warfare*, a text with roots in both the Western and Eastern traditions of Christianity, echoes the necessity of a qualified teacher: "A man who follows their guidance and verifies all his actions, both inner and outer, by the good judgments of his teachers—priests in the case of laymen, experienced *startzi* in monasteries—cannot be approached by the enemy" (Kadloubovsky and Palmer, 1952, p. 165).

ISLAM. It has been suggested that much of the wit, humor, and fullness of the image of the spiritual guide in the writings of the Desert Fathers and subsequent accounts of spiritual fathers in early Christianity has been gradually diluted and extracted through generations in an attempt to make the writings more generally palatable. The Ṣūfī master remains, as in the case with various Buddhist guides, a robust and vigorous man, full of life, paradox, and humor.

Shaykh or pīr. The *sharīʿah*, or divine law, is meant for all Muslims, but beyond that lies the *ṭarīqah*, or spiritual path, for the *murīd* (literally "he who has made up his will," i.e., to enter the path). In order to enter the path, it is essential that the adept find and be accepted by a spiritual master, a *shaykh* (Arabic) or *pīr* (Persian); as a *ḥadīth* (tradition) says: "When someone has no shaykh, Satan becomes his shaykh."

Many accounts are given of adepts who have undergone seeming rejection and Abūse by the master who must test the resolve and serious intent of the *murīd.* After this testing (sometimes the adept is made to wait for years), the *murīd* will only then actually begin on the path under the guidance of his master.

> The Sheikh would teach him how to behave in each mental state and prescribe periods of seclusion, if he deemed it necessary. It was well known that the methods could not be alike for everybody, and the genuine mystical leader had to have a great deal of psychological understanding in order to recognize the different talents and characters of his *murīds* and train them accordingly. (Schimmel, 1975, p. 104)

The keen attention paid by the guide to the daily activities of the adept gradually developed in the course of time to the image of the shaykh "who acutely supervised every breath of the *murīd.*" The problem of finding and dwelling in the presence of an authentic shaykh is particularly acute, for the adept must choose a guide (or be chosen by a guide) who possesses the qualifications for guiding that particular disciple. "Not every *sheikh* is a master for every disciple. The disciple must seek and find the master who conquers his soul and dominates him as an eagle or falcon pounces upon a sparrow in the air" (Nasr, 1970, p. 144).

The absolute necessity of a spiritual guide is so central to the credo of Sufism that at least one biography of the Ṣūfī master Abū Saʿīd ibn Abī al-Khayr (d. 1049 CE) reports the maxim that "if any one by means of asceticism and self-mortification shall have risen to an exalted degree of mystical experience, *without having a Pīr to whose authority and example he submits himself,* the Ṣūfīs do not regard him as belonging to their community" (Nicholson, [1921] 1976, p. 10).

In this way the transmission of doctrine, method, and exercises is secured in a continuous lineage traced back through a series of dead pirs or shaykhs to the Prophet. The appearance of Muḥammad and his son-in-law, ʿAlī, at the head of a list fits in more with necessary fiction than strict historicity; the Ṣūfīs maintained they were the legitimate heirs of the esoteric teachings of the Prophet. Abū Saʿīd's lineage is traced by his biographer through ten *pīrs* to Muḥammad; the twentieth-century Ṣūfī saint Shaykh Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī (d. 1934) is credited with a "tree of spiritual mastery" including scores of generations as well as sectarian connections complex enough to require a navigator (see Lings, 1973, appendix B).

Although the shaykh has certainly undergone the ascetic and meditative training through which he guides his pupils—*dhikr* ("remembrance" [of God]), fasting, deprivation of sleep, intense physical labors, and so on—he abides in the fullness of life, active and yet detached from his actions. "The true saint," states Abū Saʿīd, "goes in and out amongst the people and eats and sleeps with them and buys and sells in the market and marries and takes part in social intercourse, and never forgets God for a single moment" (Nicholson, 1921, p. 55). For this reason the shaykh's actions often appear paradoxical or inconsistent with Islamic doctrine. Nicholson relates yet another story of Shaykh Abū Saʿīd from the *Asrār:* when the shaykh was holding one of his lavish feasts and entertainments, an arrogant ascetic—ignorant of the shaykh's novitiate and forty years' austerities—challenged him to a forty-day fast, hoping to humiliate the shaykh before his pupils and thereby earn their respect. The shaykh accepted and ate nothing while the ascetic continued to eat the small amounts of food allowed by the practice. Throughout the forty days the Ṣūfīs continued by order of Abū Saʿīd to be served delicious food while the two looked on. Finally the ascetic, no longer strong enough to perform his obligatory prayers, confessed his presumption and ignorance.

The Perfect Human Being. The idea of the Perfect Human Being *(insān-i kāmil)* seems first to have been employed by the Ṣūfī theosophist Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1240) and somewhat later in a more technical sense when al-Jīlī (d. between 1408 and 1417) systematized his predecessor's work. Although the idea of the Perfect Human Being has received several different treatments, a general definition might describe him as "a man who has fully realised his essential oneness with the Divine Being in whose likeness he is made" (Nicholson, 1921, p. 78). The saint *(walī)* is the highest knower of God, and consequently he occupies the highest of all human degrees, saintship (*walāyah*), as the Perfect Human Being *par excellence.* Al-Jīlī maintained that the Perfect Human Being of any period was the outward manifestation of the Prophet Muḥammad's essence, claiming that his own spiritual guide was just such an appearance. According to the system of Ibn al-ʿArabī and al-Jīlī, the Ṣūfī shaykhs are "vicegerents" of Muḥammad, invested with the "prophecy of saintship" and brought back by God from the state of *fanāʾ* ("annihilation") so that they might guide the people to God. Something of this idea is reflected in the definition by Maḥmūd Shabistarī (d. 1320) of the Perfect Human Being as he who follows a twofold movement: down into the phenomenal world and upward to the divine world of light.

Mention must also be made of the Ṣūfī master's relationship to the role of the twelfth imām, who is the Hidden Imām in both Shiism and Sufism. The Hidden Imām is the pole (*quṭb*) with whom all Ṣūfī masters are inwardly connected.

As Annemarie Schimmel writes:

> The veneration shown to the *imām* and the *quṭb*, as manifested in the mystical preceptor, is common to Sufism and Shiism. The Shia teaches: "who dies without knowing the imām of his time, dies an infidel," and Jalāluddīn Rūmī (d. 1273), though a relatively moderate Ṣūfī, said: "He who does not know the true *sheikh*—i.e., the Perfect Man and *quṭb* of his time—is a *kāfir*, an infidel." (Schimmel, 1975, p. 200)

HINDUISM. The idea of a spiritual preceptor to guide one's study of religion and philosophy has been a constant influence on the religion of India since the most ancient times. Already in the *Ṛgveda* we see him referred to as the *ṛṣi* ("seer") or *muni* (a sage, or "silent one"); as such, he is the possesser of deep spiritual insights (often resulting from performing austerities) and is considered to be the "author" of the sacred hymns. In later times we find him referred to as *ācārya*, *brahmāṇa*, and *svāmi* (swami), but he has most dramatically captured the attention of the West as the *guru.*

Only knowledge that was gained from a teacher was capable of successfully leading one to one's aim (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 4.9.3). And from *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 6.4.1f., it appears that the spiritual guide is also necessary in order to cut through and disperse mundane, empirical knowledge and to become conscious of true spiritual knowledge.

There is also the prevalent concern for the secret transmission of esoteric knowledge. Hence, *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 3.11.5 states that a father can teach the esoteric doctrine to "his eldest son or to a worthy pupil, and to no one else, even if one should offer him the whole earth"; see also *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* 3.2.6.9: "Let no one tell these *saṃhitā*s to one who is not a resident pupil, who has not been with the teacher for at least a year, and who is not himself to become a teacher." That the pupil is often tested by the *guru* and admitted only sometimes after a novitiate or probation is attested to in several sources (e.g., *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 8.7.3; Praśna Upaniṣad 1.2).

It would seem that the word *guru* is used in the sense of "teacher" or "spiritual guide" for the first time in *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, but one should also point out that its original adjectival sense ("heavy one" or "weighty") is illustrative of the widespread belief that holy persons are characterized by uncommon weight, not necessarily in the outer, physical sense. Hendrik Wagenvoort and Jan Gonda have both commented on this (Gonda, 1947, 1965; Wagenvoort, 1941). Wagenvoort has shown that *guru* is etymologically related to Latin *gravis*, which is remarkable only because its derivative, *gravitas*, was frequently used in connection with the nouns *auctor* and *auctoritas.* The Latin expression *gravis auctor* ("the important or true authority") also carries the same general sense of a guru as a man of influence who takes the initiative, in other words, a man who can "do" and have an effect on others.

Although the tendency to deify the *guru* only gradually gained a doctrinal position, the idea can already be seen in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* 6.23, which speaks of a man who has the highest love and devotion for God and for his *guru* as for God. In later times this distinction is erased so that the *guru* is identified with the gods. The great poet and mystic Kabīr (d. c. 1518) taught that the *guru* should be recognized as the Lord himself; a view echoed by Caitanya (d. 1533) and his followers. This process of deification (no doubt aided by the conception of *avatāra*s) went to such extremes that the *guru* might be said to have usurped and displaced the gods in importance. Thus, the Śaiva texts teach that if Śiva becomes angry, "then the *guru* can pacify him, but if the *guru* becomes angry, no one can pacify him."

It is in relation to this theme that the idea of the "guru's grace" arose, a concept of particular force even today. Many Indian seekers feel that the mere presence of the *guru* (as in *satsang*, or keeping spiritual company) can somehow lead the pupil to liberation. This view, however, is not held universally. One can easily find numerous exceptions that suggest that the intensity of the disciple's wish for knowledge and his earnest striving are all that is necessary; the *guru*'s only true function then is to act as a messenger. Seen in this light, one can easily understand the statements that contend there is no lack of *guru*s, only of qualified and true disciples.

That the prestige and influence enjoyed by *guru*s has persisted to modern times is attested to by certain teachers of our century who possess the force and unmistakable ring of authenticity. One need only mention by way of example the writings by and about Nisargadatta Maharaj, Ramana Maharshi, and Shri Anirvan. Although in modern times there has been a great deal of speculation and criticism about the claims made by many spiritual guides of India, especially those offering their services to the West, it would be difficult and perhaps a mistake to attempt to judge those teachers on the basis of their outward actions. For no one, as Maharaj has said, could know the motives behind the actions of a truly realized *guru.* To illustrate this point, Maharaj tells the story of a *saṃnyāsin* (world-renouncing ascetic) who was told by his *guru* to marry. He obeyed and suffered bitterly. But all four of his children became the greatest saints and *ṛṣi*s of Maharashtra.

BUDDHISM.

Accounts of the Buddha's early life indicate that he retired to the forest in order to receive the teaching and guidance of various celebrated hermits and teachers. However, after practicing a series of austere yogic exercises for several years, the Buddha determined that their guidance was insufficient and set out on his own to attain enlightenment. Once the Buddha attained his enlightenment he remained in a blissful state of meditation for several days and contemplated the trouble he would cause himself should he attempt to share his vision and offer guidance to a deeply deluded and ignorant mankind. He overcame this final temptation of remaining secluded and private in his vision, resolving to share his knowledge with other seekers and to guide them towards a similar transformation. It is upon this fundamental attitude that the Buddhist tradition of spiritual guidance takes its precedence.

Unlike some Indian traditions that tend to view the *guru* as an incarnation of divinity or as an intermediary to the sacred, early Buddhism emphasized the humanity of the guide and his own attainment of spiritual knowledge. The term designated by the texts for the guide or teacher is "good or virtuous friend" (Pali, *kalyāṇamitta*; Skt., *kalyāṇamitra*). The *kalyāṇamitra* provides guidance based entirely on the insight he has gained from personal experience. In one instance the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* reports that when Ānanda suggested to the Buddha that reliance on "virtuous friends" was half the holy life, the Buddha corrected him by declaring it the whole of the holy life. The same text (1:88) relates an episode in which the Buddha describes himself as the "virtuous friend" *par excellence*, as a spiritual guide who leads sentient beings to freedom from birth, old age, suffering, and death.

Bodhisattva. At the core of the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism was the role to be performed by the *bodhisattva* ("enlightenment being"). Mahāyāna doctrine argues that the old order was decidedly individualistic and that the emphasis on desiring a personal liberation, or *nirvāṇa*, was actually a hindrance to the full development of one's spiritual potentialities, stopping the larger movement toward "complete enlightment." The *bodhisattva* relinquishes his personal enlightenment and vows to work for the enlightenment of all sentient beings. After attaining the requisite insight (*prajñā*), the final stage of the *bodhisattva*'s career is devoted to the welfare of others as practiced via skillful means (*upaya*). The doctrine maintains that *prajña* without *upaya* leads to the incomplete quietistic enlightenment, while possession of *upaya* without *prajña* results in continued bondage to *samsara*. Therefore, the skillful guidance of others toward enlightenment, as an expression of compassion, becomes paramount to the spiritual progress of the *bodhisattva*; through this process of guidance something "more" is gained by him.

The employment of skillful means or technique is essentially intended for use by those spiritual guides or masters who possess a complete and perfect knowledge of the teachings and the methods of practice and who are themselves free from the delusions of the mind and emotions. The *bodhisattva* perceives through spiritual insight (*prajña*) the inner barriers and the potentialities of the pupil and can respond to each accordingly. Candrakīrti (fl. 600–650 CE) argued that contradictory teachings would naturally arise because the Buddhas were physicians rather than teachers; in considering the mental and spiritual stations of their disciples, the Buddhas would vary their teachings accordingly. The idea that the master could teach people by playing various roles while remaining inwardly free was presented in its ultimate form by the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra*, which declared that even the Māras are all *bodhisattva*s dwelling in an "inconceivable liberation" and "playing the devil in order to develop beings through their skillful means."

Lama. In what historians have termed the "second diffusion of the teaching" in Tibet, the Buddhist masters emphasized the necessity of an authoritative tradition of teaching, the validity of which was assured by direct transmission from master to disciple. The first two schools of Buddhism to appear in Tibet were the Bka'rgyudpa (Kagyüpa) and Bka'gdamspa (kadampa), founded by Marpa (d. 1096 or 1097) and Atīśa (d. 1054) respectively. With regard to the esoteric tradition of initiation and oral transmission, both schools recognize the same Indian teachers. It is also clear that the first objective of both Marpa and Atīśa was to gather around them tested disciples who would be capable of transmitting the tradition. When asked by a disciple whether scripture or one's teacher's instructions were more important, Atīśa replied that direct instruction from one's teacher was more important; if the chain of instruction and transmission is broken, the text becomes like a corpse, and no power can bring it new life. Marpa's Indian teacher, Nāropa (d. 1100), gave him similar instruction when he declared:

Before any guru existed
Even the name of Buddha was not heard.
All the buddhas of a thousand kalpas
Only came about because of the guru.
(Nalanda Translation Committee, 1982, p. 92)

There is, perhaps, nowhere in world literature a more dramatic and haunting portrayal of the kind of guidance provided by a great master than is found in the *Life of Milarepa*, an account of Marpa's most famous disciple, Milaraspa (d. 1123). Milaraspa came to Marpa filled with remorse for the evil he had done by sorcery in his youth; he sought instruction that could free him from the karmic consequences in his future lives. But, as Lobsang P. Lhalungpa has pointed out, Marpa clearly perceived that, as a result of his previous actions, Milaraspa could not gain the desired transformation by means of any normal training. "Thus, as the condition of receiving the Dharma, Mila was required to fulfill a series of bitterly demanding and dispiriting tasks. In enforcing the great ordeals, Marpa used shifting tactics and seemingly deceitful ways" (Lhalungpa, 1977, p. x). During the so-called ordeal of the towers Milaraspa was commanded by Marpa to build single-handedly a tower. But each time Milaraspa had completed a tower, Marpa ordered him to tear it down, claiming he had not paid enough attention to the plans or that he had been drunk when he gave the "Great Magician" directions. Finally, having constructed a ten-story tower (which is still said to exist today) and at the brink of suicide, Milaraspa at last received from Marpa the secret teaching. Not just Milaraspa but Marpa's wife and several of his disciples were baffled by the apparent cruelty and irrationality of the lama Marpa, of the verbal and physical abuse he showered on Milaraspa and his seeming lack of compassion. Marpa countered the doubts of the uninitiated by saying that he merely tested Milaraspa in order to purify him of his sins.

After these trials, Marpa led his disciple through initiations and offered instruction and consultation on meditation. It is said that Milaraspa became "even greater than his teacher" and he is today remembered in Tibet as the greatest of Buddhist "saints." Later, when Milaraspa took on his own pupils, one disciple suggested that he must have been the incarnation of a Buddha or great *bodhisattva* owing to the extent of the trials and ascetic practises he had undergone and based on his great devotion to his lama. Milaraspa replied tersely that he had never heard whose incarnation he was.

Zen patriarchs and Zen masters. It has been observed that every tradition emphasizes the importance of an oral tradition of instruction for the guidance of adepts. The foundation of Chan (Jpn., Zen) Buddhism is based squarely upon this premise, as is indicated in the following verses attributed to the "founder" and first Chan patriarch in China, Bodhidharma (d. before 534):

A special tradition outside the scriptures;
No dependence upon words or letters;
Direct pointing at the soul of man;
Seeing into one's own nature, and the attainment of
  Buddhahood.
(Dumoulin, 1963)

Hui-neng, the sixth patriarch, was said to have been illiterate, and it is reported in a story that is most probably apocryphal that he ordered all of the *sūtra*s of his monastery thrown into a heap and burned in order to teach his disciples not to rely on word and texts but direct experience only.

The golden age of Chan in China (the period from Huineng's death until the persecution of Buddhism in the ninth century) was a time in which Chan masters of the most remarkable originality won the day. These were vigorous and effusive men who sought to bring their disciples to new levels of insight by demonstrating their own inexpressible experiences of enlightenment by shocking and often violent methods.

One such figure was Mazu (d. 786). A robust and unflinching presence, Mazu is described in a Chan chronicle of the period as a man of remarkable appearance: "He strode along like a bull and glared about him like a tiger." He was the first to use shouting (especially the famous cry "ho!" [Jpn., "katsu"]) as a means to shock the disciple out of his habitually duality-conscious mind. In one famous story it is related that after a typically paradoxical dialogue with one of his disciples, Mazu grabbed him by the nose and twisted it so violently that the pupil cried out in pain—and attained enlightenment.

For Mazu the important thing was not a deluded attachment to quiet sitting in meditation but enlightenment, which could express itself in everything. This was impressed upon Mazu by his own master, Huairang (d. 744). While still a student, Mazu was "continuously absorbed in mediation." On one occasion Huairang came across Mazu while the disciple was engaged in meditation and asked, "For what purpose are you sitting in meditation?" Mazu answered, "I want to become a Buddha." Thereupon the master picked up a tile and started rubbing it on a stone. Mazu asked, "What are you doing, Master?" "I am polishing this tile to make a mirror," Huairang replied. "How can you make a mirror by rubbing a tile?" exclaimed Mazu. "How can one become a Buddha by sitting in meditation?" countered the master (Dumoulin, 1963, p. 97f.).

Linji (d. 866) led his numerous disciples toward enlightenment by continuing and enlarging the use of shouting, adding to that his own favorite method of beating disciples. The "shouting and beating" Chan of Linji was not intended as punishment or random mischief. Experience had taught Linji that harsh and unexpected encounters with "reality" could lead more quickly and certainly to enlightenment than endless lectures and discourses.

An unrelenting giant among Japanese Zen masters was Hakuin (d. 1769). Born in a "degenerate" period of Buddhism in Japan, Hakuin revived the Rinzai form of Zen begun by Linji, particularly emphasizing the investigation of *kōan*s and "sitting in the midst of activity." Throughout Hakuin's life he attacked forms of "silent-illumination Zen," which he consistently referred to as "dead-sitting." In his youth, Hakuin tells us, his *kōan* meditation was poor, and as a result he engaged in dead-sitting until his Zen-sickness was cured by the instruction of an insightful teacher, the hermit Hakuyu. As a result, Hakuin was totally uncompromising in his insistence of a right understanding of meditation; his ironic and acerbic tone seems to have been inherited from the harsh patriarchs and Zen masters of the past:

> How sad it is that the teaching in this degenerate age gives indications of the time when the Dharma will be completely destroyed. Monks and teachers of eminent virtue, surrounded by hosts of disciples and eminent worthies, foolishly take the dead teachings of no-thought and no-mind, where the mind is like dead ashes with wisdom obliterated, and make these into the essential doctrines of Zen. They practice silent, dead sitting as though they were incense burners in some old mausoleum and take this to be the treasure place of the true practice of the patriarchs. They make rigid emptiness, indifference, and black stupidity the ultimate essence for accomplishing the Great Matter. (Yampolsky, 1971, p. 170)

It has been argued that the ultimate purpose of the Zen master is one thing alone: to produce a disciple who can carry on the teaching and preserve the transmission of the Dharma. The lineages of many famous monks became extinct after a generation or two because they had no disciples to hand down their teachings.

The biography of Bozhang (d. 814) states: "He whose view is equal to that of his teacher diminishes by half his teacher's power. He whose view exceeds that of his teacher is qualified to transmit the teaching." Hakuin was keenly aware of the necessity of producing a worthy disciple and in fact sanctioned several of his own pupils to carry on his teaching. Armed with spiritual powers and techniques for guiding others in their quest for enlightenment, the Zen master "smashes the brains of monks everywhere, and pulls out the nails and knocks out the wedges." With typical Zen irony Hakuin describes the worthy successor he has produced who is qualified to transmit the teaching: "Without the least human feeling he produces an unsurpassedly evil, stupid, blind oaf, be it one person or merely half a person, with teeth sharp as the sword-trees of hell, and a gaping mouth like a tray of blood. Thus will he recompense his deep obligation to the Buddhas and the Patriarchs" (Yampolsky, 1971, p. 39).

SEE ALSO Authority; Leadership.

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STUART W. SMITHERS (1987)

SPIRITUALISM is a widespread and generally unorganized movement that arose in the United States at the end of the 1840s, was influential through the nineteenth century in the United States and elsewhere, and persists at the beginning of the twenty-first century. At its core is the belief that the living can conduct conversations with spirits of the deceased through a sensitive instrument (either a mechanical or electronic device) or a human *medium.*

Spiritualism's advent was occasioned by two events. The first was the publication of Andrew Jackson Davis's visionary cosmology and universal history, *The Principles of Nature, Her Divine Revelations, and a Voice to Mankind,* in 1847. The second was the production of audible rapping that was interpreted as coded responses of spirits to questions posed by two young sisters, Margaret and Kate Fox. Others soon reproduced the sounds during "spirit circles" or séances around the country. Spiritualists later annually commemorated the rappings as having begun on March 25, 1848.

Practitioners said Spiritualism was precipitated when spirits, including that of electrical experimenter Benjamin Franklin, established a practical "spiritual telegraph" between this world and the spirit world. Those who were not Spiritualists looked elsewhere for the sources of the movement, crediting demons, mass delusion, human folly, fraud, or simply to the influence of social and religious trends in the larger culture.

SPIRITUALISM'S THEORY AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND. The "harmonial philosophy" of Davis and his sympathizers envisioned a harmonization of past, present, and future; of matter and spirit; of reason and intuition; of men and women; and of individuals and society. It provided an ostensibly rationalist stock onto which was grafted a variety of exotic psychic phenomena, such as mesmeric trance and the Fox sisters' rappings. The result was "Modern Spiritualism," as it was called, which was optimistic about the destiny of each individual after death and of human society in the long run, and egalitarian insofar as it accepted the revelations of women, children, and others who lacked education or credentials.

Spiritualism was part of the larger culture's effort to reconcile science and religion. In the United States and Europe the intersection of matter and spirit had been explored in experiments with mesmerism. Influential books included the 1845 translation of Justinus Kerner's case study of a somnambulist, *The Seeress of Prevorst,* and the 1855 translation of Louis Alphonse Cahagnet's description of conversations with entranced clairvoyants, *The Celestial Telegraph.* The term *Spiritualism* came from mesmerism and referred to the concept of an exalted expanse opened to clairvoyants traveling without the body to realms where spirits could communicate secrets to them.

The disappearance or surrender of one's identity to another was a theme of the seventeenth-century mystical writings of Madame Guyon and Francois Fénelon, who emphasized the individual's surrender of the will to divine love. These writings were popular among American antebellum Protestant intellectuals. The Romantic movement fostered a similar surrender of the self, or hypersensitivity to spiritual or psychic "impressions." Goethe had depicted such sensitivity in his novels *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (1744) and *Elective Affinities* (1809), and it was exemplified in Bohemian wanderlust, the desire to follow personal "monitions" rather than conventional expectations. The abandonment of the self to holy enthusiasm and impulse was also encouraged in the religious revivals of the time. The Gothicism of the period resulted in the enormous popularity of Catherine Crowe's 1848 collection of stories about uncanny phenomena, *The Night-Side of Nature.*

The concern with reconciling science and religion, as well as matter and spirit, coincided with a popular interest in the newly translated writings of Swedish engineer and visionary Emanuel Swedenborg, who had conversations with spirits about their lives in other worlds that intersected with this one. Transcendentalists urged a spiritualization of the natural world, and Perfectionists suggested that the earthly could be reformed into, or revealed to be, the heavenly, stimulating seekers to set up utopian communities founded on the ideas of French socialist Charles Fourier. Also influential in the birth of Spiritualism was an efflorescence of trance visions among Shakers during the late 1830s and 1840s, which presaged many of the features of Spiritualism.

Spiritualism promoted the notion of surrendering the will to the inspiration of spirits, but it simultaneously elevated the importance of the individual's perception and judgment. It assented to testing the reality of the spirits, ranking empirical experience over traditional authority. It made a "scientific" appeal to evidence available to anyone. It also adopted the individualism and anticlericalism of the Protestant dissenting tradition, evident in the Pietistic origins of the religious groups—such as the Universalists, the Unitarians, and Quakers—among whose members Spiritualism flourished. Spiritualism, by and large, was antiauthoritarian and Spiritualists valued the liberty of individual conscience. The movement was associated with progressive politics and social theory, and was most popular in the northern United States. Southerners often saw spiritualism as one strand of a twisted skein of Yankee fanaticism that also included such causes as utopian socialism, women's rights, and the abolition of slavery.

Spiritualists accepted the naturalistic idea of geological and biological change and development, and they extended the idea to religion, which they believed also evolved and progressed. Spiritualists supposed that individuals progressed as well, continuing beyond this life into the afterlife, and Spiritualism thus expanded the realm of natural law into the supernatural. They did not view the Fox sisters' rappings or other Spiritualistic phenomena as miracles in the sense of a suspension of natural law, but they saw such phenomena as the ultimately rational—although not yet understood—effects of the interaction between this world and the higher world. The clairvoyant travels of spirit mediums also resembled the travels of naturalist explorers of exotic cultures, such as, for example, A. J. Davis's travels while in "the superior state" to the afterlife, which he envisioned as "The Summerland," a socialist community of enlightened souls. The "scientific" tendencies of Spiritualists led some of their early religious opponents to refer to them as "rationalists."

Many personal accounts described conversion to Spiritualism as a joyful liberation from a bleak Calvinist belief that the soul was powerless to affect its final disposition, or even liberation from an arid materialist belief that denied life after death. Other accounts described the adoption of Spiritualism as only a small step from the beliefs of liberal churches that already had a tenuous relationship with traditional Christian doctrine. Many Spiritualists saw themselves as "come-outers," that is, as part of a group that had left Christianity, just as their spiritual forebears had left corrupted churches. Many other Spiritualists, however, believed that they were simply finding their way back to the true core of Christianity and called themselves "Christian Spiritualists." Spiritualists were early advocates of "higher criticism" of the Bible and they were convinced that apocrypha, such as Gnostic texts, contained a true picture of Jesus's life and teachings. Spiritualists generally accepted the rococo speculations of comparative religion as it was practiced by such savants as Louis Jacolliot, who believed that the biblical story of Christ was a fiction based on the Hindu myth of Kṛṣṇa.

Traditional churches vigorously opposed Spiritualism, attributing it to the devil and equating it with previous forms of necromancy. Traditional churches also opposed Spiritualism because it made revelation deliberately open-ended and subject only to individual judgment. Spiritualism moved religion from churches, which were public places subject to the control of traditional (male) authority, to home parlors, which were private places subject to domestic (female) sentiment, or, as opponents put it, dark places where people were free of restraint. Opponents also took issue with Spiritualists' equating the authority of the Bible with that of the messages and wonders produced at séances and in other religions.

Most of the public and most scientists, with a few exceptions, treated Spiritualism as delusion, fraud, or mental disorder. Some scientists attributed séance messages to the medium's ability to read the thoughts of others in the spirit circle, rather than to the medium's ability to hear the whisperings of spirits. These scientists believed this explanation was more naturalistic.

In nineteenth-century America, Spiritualism bore the marks of the progressive wing of Protestantism. Local varieties, however, sometimes drew from other sources, such as the Spiritualism of New Orleans, which incorporated Catholicism's traditions of intercessory saints and sacraments, as well as voodoo. The Spiritualism practiced in some parts of the United States incorporated Native American methods of divination, trance induction, and spirit possession, and white mediums often discovered that their spirit guides were Indians. Modern Spiritualism was largely a phenomenon of white Americans, however, with some notable exceptions, such as Sojourner Truth and Pascal Beverly Randolph. Nevertheless, Spiritualists believed that spirit contact was at the heart of all religion, and they believed they found support for this view in the Bible, in ancient accounts of the Sibylline oracles and of prophets and druids, and in historical records of witchcraft and haunting.

Some opponents of Spiritualism argued for replacing the term *Spiritualism* with *spiritism.* As they saw it, *Spiritualism* was a word with wide application but only appropriate as a contrast to *materialism.* They insisted that *spiritism* was the proper term for what was commonly called "Spiritualism," which, according to them, was merely a submission or unhealthy attachment to spirits. Their argument had little effect on popular usage, and gained no acceptance by Spiritualists.

Spiritism, however, was used by French seer Hippolyte Léon Denizard Rivail, writing under the pseudonym Allan Kardec. Kardec's publications in the late 1850s and 1860s influenced many in the French-speaking world to accept the reality of spirit contact. They also accepted the existence of reincarnation, whereas American and English Spiritualists, at least for the first decades of the movement, rejected it.

In general, European Spiritualism was more influenced than was American Spiritualism by occult traditions, such as Hermeticism, Rosicrucianism, irregular orders of Freemasonry, and ideas from the eastern lands that Europeans had colonized. Nevertheless, American spirit mediums spread their variety of Spiritualism to Europe by lecturing and holding séances there. Maria Trenholm Hayden, for example, visited England and made an early convert of socialist Robert Owen. Daniel Dunglas Home traveled throughout Europe and gave spectacular performances, some of which powerfully affected the czarist court.

Doctrinal controversies arose within the movement: Did spirits provide tangible assistance or mere comfort? In trance, was the will erased or exalted? Was Spiritualism's essence a public platform of progressive reform, or the phenomenal manifestations of the séance? Why were revelations from trance mediums contradictory? Controversies also arose on the specifics of the afterlife (Were animals reborn there? Was retrogression possible after death?) and on the interaction between spirit and body (Did sexual prompting signal an attraction of true spiritual "affinities"?).

THE FORMS AND PRACTICES OF SPIRITUALISM. Spiritualists developed their own church services, with congregational singing of hymns, lectures, and Sunday schools ("lyceums") for children. Spiritualists also encouraged the development of mediums who could conduct séances or give lectures under the influence of spirits.

The séance was meant to be a ritual communion of the saints still in the flesh with those who had left it, but the séance was also meant to be a proof test of the reality of the afterlife. The earliest Spiritualists formed spirit circles similar to those that mesmerists already used to investigate "animal magnetism," where men and women touched hands around a table, forming a "magnetic battery." Mesmeric investigators had produced trance, clairvoyance, eruptions of tics or automatisms, sometimes involving writing or speaking, and the tilting of tables and levitating of people, furniture, and musical instruments. Now sitters attributed these to discarnate spirits rather than to their own manipulations of energy.

Personal messages voiced or written by the medium from the sitters' deceased friends and family were always the main products of a séance, with the sitters conducting their conversation with the spirits through the medium. But the medium might also give voice to the spirits of famous people who corrected or supplemented the ideas for which they had been known while living. Other phenomena produced at a séance might include musical sounds, disembodied voices, floating lights and phosphorescent hands, and the materialization of coins, flowers, letters, or birds. Mediums produced spirit-inspired songs, poetry, paintings, scriptures and narratives of travel to other times or worlds, revelations of hidden treasures or lucrative business opportunities, chalk messages on slate boards, spirit images on photographic plates, and novel plans for inventions and for political or social reforms. Mediums also reported the ability to read minds, to see the future, and to escape from tied ropes or locked jail cells. At séances in the 1870s and 1880s mediums might extrude from their bodies a pale diaphanous substance eventually called "ectoplasm," or they might conduct "dark cabinet materializations" in which they were locked in a cabinet and produced spectral forms who walked among the audience.

Mediums also diagnosed disease. Their reputed clairvoyance allowed them to see into a person's body to the source of illness, and, sometimes with assistance of the spirits of famous physicians, to prescribe treatment. This often included the medium's manipulation of the energy "aura" surrounding the patient's body through the laying on of hands. Many mediums made their living through healing, rather than through conducting séances or giving lectures.

Far more women than men were spirit mediums, and male mediums often characterized their sensitivity as a feminine power. Spiritualist lecturers, on the other hand, were often men, although the exceptions—such as self-styled "trance lecturers" Cora L. V. Scott Richmond, Emma Hardinge Britten, Hannah Frances Brown, Achsa White Sprague, Lizzie Doten, Ada Hoyt Foye, and Amanda Britt Spence—drew enthusiastic audiences, thrilled to see women on a platform speaking fearlessly and authoritatively.

Spiritualists believed that one feminine aspect of Spiritualism was its focus, not on the abstract intellect, but on subjective feeling and on the body. They believed that spirits had begun to affect the biological elevation of the human race by exerting spiritual influence over the conception and development of the human embryo. They also believed the spirits could free women from undesired sex, which literally degraded their offspring. Women had to be made equal to men, and each woman had to be given sole authority over when, and how often, and with whom she would have sex and children. Some Spiritualists were the first public advocates of women's reproductive rights, and Spiritualists occupied the most radical wing of the early women's rights movement.

Spiritualists made effective prophets, perhaps, but not loyal group members. They attempted to organize, but with only sporadic successes. Many were leery of setting up a hierarchy that would judge individual practices or experiences. On the other hand, they valued communion, association, and small spirit circles as aids to amplify a medium's sensitivity. In addition, groups fortified the camaraderie of believers, inculcated children in the belief in spirit communion, trained mediums, and sponsored lecturers. Local associations licensed mediums, ministers, and lecturers to protect them from ordinances against fortune telling and "jugglery." They also investigated charges of mediumistic fraud or immorality to protect Spiritualism from abuse by con artists or from embarrassment by anti-Spiritualist opponents.

Spiritualists also formed state, regional, and national associations, with varying success, and they held conventions. Propaganda for the movement was carried out by word of mouth, by experiments with séances, by lectures from traveling mediums, and by the publication of pamphlets and books. Spiritualist newspapers connected far-flung and often isolated believers into a community of faith. The most influential were *Spiritual Telegraph*, *New-England Spiritualist*, *Herald of Progress*, *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, and *Banner of Light*.

The first Spiritualist camp meeting was held in a field outside Malden, Massachusetts, in the summer of 1866. Camp meetings became very influential in the movement, sometimes drawing as many as twenty thousand attendees to such rural surroundings as Lake Pleasant, Massachusetts, or Cassadaga, New York (the forerunner of the center for the Spiritualist movement today at Lily Dale, New York, and the namesake for another settlement in Florida).

SPIRITUALISM'S PROGRESS THROUGH THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND BEYOND. The popularity and influence of Spiritualism rose and fell. Little solid evidence exists for judging the number of Spiritualists during these years because the organizations of Spiritualism were transient, and the criteria of who counted as a Spiritualist were extremely elastic. In the United States population of thirty million on the eve of the Civil War in 1860, estimates of the number of Spiritualists have varied from a few hundred thousand to eleven million. At the time, however, both proponents and opponents of Spiritualism often accepted as reasonable the figure of two to three million Spiritualists.

By the 1880s, Spiritualism's influence had receded. Some Spiritualists defected to the newer systems of Christian Science, New Thought, and Theosophy. Some who were more politically radical were drawn into Freethought, Anarchism, and Communism, losing their religious outlook. At the same time, Spiritualism's influence had diffused through the culture, most notably in the idea of artistic and religious inspiration.

Meanwhile, Spiritualism's séance phenomena had devolved into elaborate materializations that were often indistinguishable from stage magic, inviting well-publicized exposures of fraudulent mediums by such people as magician Harry Kellar, who blazed a trail later followed by Harry Houdini. Scientists investigating Spiritualism also developed more rigorous protocols for what they began to call "psychical research," which eventually allowed the field of psychology to distance itself from the need to consider spirit as a subject for empirical research. Sigmund Freud's development of a compelling theory of the unconscious also helped render the notion of the paranormal uninteresting to psychologists, with some exceptions, notably Carl Jung. By the turn of the century, Spiritualism no longer seemed to many potential converts as a progressive, avant-garde reconciliation of religion and science, but as an antique.

Nevertheless, Spiritualism has continued throughout the world, with periodic revivals, to this day, with an umbrella organization—the National Spiritualist Association of Churches—founded in 1893, forty-five years after the Fox sisters' rappings. Interest in Spiritualism grew in England after World War I, sometimes linked to the desire by survivors for comfort and reassurance, not just concerning the fate of their loved ones who had died, but perhaps also for the old order of society. Since the late 1960s a revival of Spiritualism has taken place under the banner of the New Age movement. A strong element of theatrics, nearly always present in Spiritualism, is continued in television shows in which psychics face studio audiences in order to contact, or even "channel," the spirits.

From the beginning, Spiritualists criticized Christian miracles and superstition. Nevertheless, they also claimed as true the manifestation of physical phenomena that have yet to be empirically verified. Spiritualists sometimes said that the evidence was real but only anecdotal, and that the spirits' ability and willingness to manifest themselves were constrained by the testing requirements imposed by skeptical investigators. On the other hand, like ancient Gnosticism and present-day postmodernism, Spiritualism judged the objective, external, matter-of-fact world to be essentially devoid of truth. Truth lay instead in a dematerialized, spiritual, inner realm. One goal of Spiritualism was to demonstrate this. As a result, some Spiritualists tacitly believed that if intransigent fact had to be helped along by hidden manipulation, hoax, fiction, or impersonation in order to turn the world into, or reveal it as, or convince an observer that the world was, a magical one in which mind ruled matter, then there was little or no fault, but rather virtue, in doing so.

SEE ALSO Christian Science; New Religious Movements, article on New Religious Movements and Women; New Thought Movement; Quakers; Shakers; Swedenborgianism; Theosophical Society; Transcendental Meditation.

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JOHN B. BUESCHER (2005)

SPIRITUALITY is the concern of human beings with their appropriate relationships to the cosmos. How the cosmic whole is conceived and what is considered appropriate in interacting with it differ according to worldviews of individuals and communities. Spirituality is also construed as an orientation toward the spiritual as distinguished from the exclusively material. This entry considers classic spiritualities, contemporary spiritualities, and spirituality as an alternative to religion. By the end of the twentieth century spirituality, long considered an integral part of religion, was increasingly regarded as a separate quest, with religion being distinguished from secular spiritualities. A predilection to speak of having spirituality rather than having religion indicated a change in worldview and a transition from exclusive religious traditions to inclusive, overlapping expressions of commitment to world and community.

CLASSIC SPIRITUALITIES. Each religion has a characteristic way of living in the world. Each embraces an attitude and outlook rooted in its particular worldview and has developed a set of disciplines that assists devotees in pursuing their relationship to the cosmos. Thus, one speaks, for example, of Islamic spirituality, Christian spirituality, indigenous Australian spirituality, or Hindu spirituality. By *spirituality* one denotes the characteristic sentiments and way of life of those who were born into, or came to embrace, a particular tradition. Thus, Crossroad Publishing's series, World Spirituality: An Encyclopedic History of the Religious Quest, which treats spirituality as essential to religious traditions, has published volumes on world religions and on indigenous religious traditions. However, recognizing the trend that emerged in the second half of the twentieth century of not confining spirituality to religious contexts, the series includes volumes titled *Modern Esoteric Movements* and *Spirituality and the Secular Quest.* In a preface, the series editor, Ewert Cousins, states:

> The series focuses on that inner dimension of the person called by certain traditions "the spirit." This spiritual core is the deepest center of the person. It is here that the person is open to the transcendent dimension; it is here that the person experiences ultimate reality. The series explores the discovery of this core, the dynamics of its development, and its journey to the ultimate goal. It deals with prayer, spiritual direction, the various maps of the spiritual journey, and the methods of advancement in the spiritual ascent. (Olupona, 2000, p. xii)

Spirituality regarded as a dimension of religious expression may describe the sensibility and practices of schools, orders, or denominations within a tradition. Spiritual leaders and scholars of Christianity distinguish approaches to the spiritual life of various Catholic and Protestant groups—for instance, Jesuit spirituality, Franciscan spirituality, Anglican spirituality, and Calvinist spirituality. Each spirituality employs resources of the Christian tradition (Bible reading, sacraments, prayers, good works) to develop a life based on the example of Jesus Christ and the New Testament. Similarly, each of the schools and movements within Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam has its characteristic spirituality.

The difference between classic spirituality and those who claim to have spirituality but not religion is not so much a disagreement about what constitutes spirituality. The latter may agree with Cousins that spirituality has to do with "the deepest center of the person" and with experiences of "ultimate reality." Both see spirituality as a way of situating the self in the world. However, while the practitioners of classic spiritualities see spirituality is an aspect of religion, those on contemporary spiritual quests do not limit it in this way. Moreover, they may see their spirituality as an alternative to religion.

CONTEMPORARY SPIRITUALITIES. Contemporary spiritualities combine practices of particular religious traditions with concern for the global situation and the life of the planet. Like classic spiritualities, approaches to spirituality that were developed in the last quarter of the twentieth century are also concerned with cultivation of the self and have generated many volumes on self improvement. Contemporary spiritualities are pluralistic and diverse; they search for a global ethic, are concerned with ecology, encourage the cultivation of healthy relationships, support feminism, and pursue peace.

In *A Spirituality Named Compassion and the Healing of the Global Village, Humpty Dumpty, and Us* (1979) Matthew Fox pointed toward spirituality as an alternative to religion and, indeed, as resistance toward traditional religion. Fox was concerned with compassion as the mode of spirituality that the world needed. Aware of regional and international conflicts, some of them provoked by religious differences, he sought to discover how the members of the global community might learn to live and survive together. "Now that the world is a global village we need compassion more than ever—not for altruism's sake, nor for philosophy's sake or theology's sake, but for survival's sake" (p. 11). Thus, from within his Roman Catholic heritage, Fox began to promote what he said was "a spirituality named compassion," a spirituality that did not belong to a particular religious tradition, but that could be adopted by anyone genuinely committed to the world community. "Survival's sake," as Fox put it, is also the focus of those who, with him, advocate an ecological spirituality. For them it is not only the survival of human communities that is at stake, but also the survival of animal and plant populations and of the earth itself. "Green spirituality" has increasingly become part of religious traditions. David Kinsley, in *Ecology and Religion: Ecological Spirituality in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (1995), showed how concern with the environment becomes part of ongoing religious commitments, building on and reinterpreting the resources of existing traditions and, perhaps, adding to them. This was the concern, too, of the Harvard University Center for the Study of World Religions when in the late 1990s and early 2000s it conducted a series of conferences on "Religions of the World and Ecology." The participants reflected on the literary, doctrinal, and ritual resources that help traditions to think about and respond to the earth. Many of the contributors recognized that religions stand in need of dialogue with each other and with the disciplines of science, education, and public policy. An openness to other traditions and disciplines is a characteristic of many spiritual quests at the turn of the century.

Some, though, have sought not so much to expand traditional religious spirituality to incorporate environmental concern as to abandon traditional religious beliefs and practice in favor of commitment to the environment. Faithfulness to earth as their home, and solidarity with the creatures of the earth as their community, shape their orientation toward the world. Some call their quest and their commitment *spirituality* rather than *religion.* With a broad definition of religion, environmentally concerned spirituality could be seen as a new kind of religion—an ecological religion—but such terminology at the beginning of the twenty-first century was still in the making. All religion may have been turning to ecology as some people left behind more organized forms of religion and adopted more flexible and personal forms.

Classic spiritualities prescribed practices to help the person come closer to the ideal upheld by the religion. The self-cultivation aspect of contemporary spirituality has been presented in much popular writing, including that of Thomas Moore. In the early 1990s his trilogy on the soul—the first volume called *The Care of the Soul: A Guide for Cultivating Depth and Sacredness in Everyday Life* (1992), the second *Soul Mates: Honoring the Mysteries of Love and Relationship* (1994), and the third *The Re-Enchantment of Everyday Life* (1996)—were on the *New York Times* best-seller list. His later works have also been popular. Moore advised readers and workshop participants to attend to relationships, to cultivate a sense of place, and to make time for music. Many people who belong to organized religions and many who do not have found his nonjudgmental approach and encouragement of authenticity in daily life appealing. Yet, he has suffered scathing criticism by those who see his work as pandering to self-indulgence.

Contemporary spirituality contended with the many changes the world underwent in the second half of the twentieth century. James Conlon, the director of the Sophia Center in Culture and Spirituality at Holy Names College in Oakland, California, wrote in *The Sacred Impulse: A Planetary Spirituality of Heart and Fire* (2000) of a new vision of the world and of ways of living authentically within that vision. Expressing hope for where this would lead he asserted:

> This new vision will involve a synthesis of the wisdom of science, mystical and prophetic traditions, women, indigenous peoples, and other groups that have not previously been heard. We will strive to create a culture that will foster new energy and a zest for life, a culture based on interaction and choice, identity and purpose, images and stories, values and structures that will give renewed expression to harmony, balance, and peace. This will be a culture that celebrates diversity and pluralism at every level—pluralism revealed in the lives and stories of people and groups whose diversity is manifest in language, lifestyle, temperament, economics, and a capacity for inclusion. (pp. 30–31)

SPIRITUALITY AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO RELIGION. Among people who say that they do not have a religion but do have spirituality are some who say they once had a religion but that they outgrew it or it let them down. In North America and elsewhere, affirmation of spirituality while criticizing religion has been particularly evident in New Age groups, but has been seen, too, within traditional religions as their members search to become more attuned to contemporary circumstances. The shift in terminology that led people to say that they do not have "religion" but do have "spirituality" marked a change in consciousness, representing both a rejection of the perceived shortcomings of religion—such as inflexibility, dogmatism, and authoritarianism—and an embracing of spiritual paths that are both individual and inclusive. Moreover, this shift in terminology pointed to new visions of the world.

Those who wanted spirituality, but not religion, desired to develop themselves in their own ways. They embarked on a quest for authenticity—a quest with promise and problems. The promise lay in the potential for genuine engagement with the world in which they lived, with their own being, and with whatever they considered sacred. The problems were the dangers of self-indulgence and self-delusion against which classic spiritualities warned their devotees. The latter-day emphasis on the self may be at odds, for example, with classic Christian spirituality, which expects the Christian to be selfless in love and good works, and with the Buddhist emphasis on overcoming the self. Reflecting on the fact that many people pursue their spiritual quests without relationship to organized religion James J. Bacik urged respect for, and use of, classic religious ways when he wrote: "Individuals who pursue spiritual growth without benefit of traditional religious wisdom are in danger of adopting faddish approaches or muddling along without a clear goal or a disciplined regimen. Even those who seem to be making good spiritual progress may be missing opportunities for even greater personal growth" (1997, p. viii).

The discourses of religion and spirituality represent different, but often overlapping, understandings of self and world. The language of "religion" points to the shared past of particular groups as a basis for living now. It includes well-honed doctrines and disciplines. It tells devotees how the world is and how they should live in it. Many of the new spiritualities are eclectic, adopting texts and practices from various sources to fashion something that works for the individual. Eclecticism can be offensive to those from whom it borrows. Workshops in the United States that use Native American traditions have drawn the ire of Native people who object, for example, that their purificatory sweat lodge ceremonies have been removed from traditional social and religious contexts and inserted into the New Age seeker's repertoire. Native American scholars, including Christopher Ronwanièn:te Jocks, have called appropriators of indigenous traditions, such as Carlos Castenada and Lynn Andrews, to task for their distortion of Native traditions.

The late twentieth-century discourse of spirituality reflected the struggle of people seeking authenticity and wanting to affirm a meaning to life, but not willing to concede control over meaning to religious institutions. The disavowal of doctrine may, indeed, be a hallmark of their spirituality. Among emerging forms of spirituality were New Age, Wiccan, feminist, twelve step, and earth spiritualities. Many, too, saw spirituality expressed through sport, music, art, and other aspects of cultural life. Thus, jazz, with its improvisational direction, was seen as a manifestation of the spirit of the twentieth century. Not everyone who sought spirituality joined a group, while others went from group to group or belonged to several simultaneously. Seekers of spirituality, usually committed to authentic living, may exhibit great courage in pursuing a life that is faithful to family, friends, and environment.

At least since Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900), modern Western culture has spoken of the death of God or the absence of God. As the theologian Wolfhart Pannenberg noted in his Taylor lectures at Yale Divinity School, "Talk about the death or the absence of God points to the fact that the interpretation of the world, as well as the behavior of human beings in the everyday life of modern culture, gets along without reference to God" (1983, p. 71). Similarly, it seems that many human beings can get along without reference to religion, the system that in Western cultures is built around commitment to God. Roots of secular spirituality in Western cultures can be found both in ancient Greek philosophy and in Enlightenment thinkers who were concerned with linking the self to the larger whole without recourse to religion. While the classic usage of the term *spirituality* remains, the term has broadened so that in popular usage spirituality has become something that one might embrace not as a discipline of religion or as a characteristic style of religion, but instead of religion. Spirituality has come to denote a realm of concern with nonmaterial life that may include both religious and secular attitudes. Given the increasing scholarly attention in conferences and publications to the role of spirituality in contemporary culture, it is clear that the academy has recognized spirituality as a subject of study both within and independent of the study of religion.

SEE ALSO New Age Movement; Religious Experience.

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SPITTLE AND SPITTING.

In the past, spittle was generally believed to have magical properties. Early humans, seeing themselves at the center of the universe, perceived connections between their own bodies and cosmic bodies, gods, and demons. They related parts of their bodies to colors, plants, elements, and directions. Spittle, blood, sperm, sweat, nails, and hair became magical substances not only as a result of this unity but also because, after leaving the body, they would retain some essence of that person. Spittle could therefore be positive or negative, depending on the intent of the spitter. Spitting and blood rites have many parallels, since both involve holy fluids that signify psychic energy and are necessary for sustaining physical life. Connections are still made between body fluids and feelings: anger makes one's blood "boil"; people spit from contempt or "spit out" words in hatred; and our mouths water at the thought of some delight or become dry from fear.

In early myths, life created by spitting is equivalent to the breath of the creator or the divine word. In one version of an Egyptian creation myth, the primeval god Atum spits out his children Shu and Tefnut. Shu was the god of air (e.g., breath), Tefnut was the goddess of moisture (e.g., spittle), and the mouth was their place of birth.

In Norse mythology a being called Kvasir was formed from the spittle of the gods. To commemorate a peace treaty among them, all the gods spat into a jar, and from this mixture Kvasir was created. He was so wise that there was no question he could not answer. Later he was slain by two dwarfs who mixed his blood with honey and concocted the mead of inspiration. By cunning, the high god Odin swallowed every drop of the mead, changed himself into an eagle, and returned to the waiting gods, who were holding out vessels for Odin once again to spit out the mead. A drink of this mead bestowed the gift of poetry on men. On his flight back, however, Odin had lost some of the mead when pursued by a giant who had also assumed the form of an eagle. This part of the mead became known as the fool-poet's portion.

In this myth, the holy spittle and blood have become identical, one being transformed into the other. Mead, blood, and spittle are three familiar sources of inspiration, here combined in one myth. The Norse gods' making a covenant by spitting is related to the custom of becoming blood brothers. Similarly, to spit into each other's mouth is a way to pledge friendship in East Africa.

To transmit something of themselves, holy persons in their blessings will use some form of physical contact. Muḥammad spat into the mouth of his grandson Ḥasan at his birth. Similarly, at ordination the priest or exorcist in ancient Babylon acquired his powers by having his mouth spat into, presumably receiving the spittle of the god. Among the Luba of present-day Zaire, a candidate being initiated into the order of sorcerers drinks a brew containing spittle from each of the elders; he becomes, thereby, not only blessed with their power but also placed forever under their control.

The role of saliva as a part of healing is well known all over the world. Sometimes the emphasis is on the curative effect of the spittle itself, which is known from the fact that wounds in the mouth heal faster. The observation of wild animals licking their wounds added to this belief. Spittle of people fasting is widely reported to be particularly effective, and it has even been thought strong enough to kill snakes.

Particular significance has been attributed to the spittle of people with unique powers. In his healing, Muḥammad mixed clay with spittle. Similarly, Christ made mud of spittle and clay and anointed the eyes of a blind man, thus restoring his sight. When he spat and touched the tongue of a mute (presumably with saliva) the man could speak. Conferring power of speech on an object spat upon is found in many folk tales.

Sickness is often considered a form of possession by demons who can be exorcised by spitting. In the Babar archipelago of Indonesia, all the sick people expectorate into a bowl that is then placed in a boat to be carried out to sea. In one Buddhist tale, even sins and misfortunes vanish, if one spits upon a holy ascetic.

Spittle is also a protective agent. In southern Europe, praise is sometimes accompanied by spitting to avert the evil eye. Fear of the gods' envy makes some people spit three times, since three is a lucky number. Seeing a black cat or magpies (animals associated with witches), hearing names of dead people (for fear they might return), or smelling a bad odor (to avoid contamination) are all occasions when spitting becomes a safeguard. Before discarding hair or nails, one should spit so as to prevent their being used by witches in black magic. Because of the same belief that something of the person continues to exist in the saliva, great care was taken not to be seen spitting. Behind the custom of spitting on money found in the street lies the fear that, as a fairy gift, it might disappear.

Good luck can also be invoked by spitting. And the familiar custom of spitting on one's hands before starting a strenuous task, thus adding power, also reveals some lingering faith in the magic of spittle.

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ANNMARI RONNBERG (1987)

SPORT See GAMES; LĪLĀ; PLAY

SPORTS AND RELIGION.

Throughout human history, sports and religion have been closely linked. Like religion, sports convey important lessons about values and culturally appropriate behavior. The lessons they teach are similar, and both religion and sports use symbols as their primary means of communication. In most of the contemporary world, however, religion and sports occupy separate but complementary conceptual realms. Religion focuses on the idea that, as one anthropologist put it, "there is something more to the world than meets the eye" (Bowen, p. 4). In religion, that "something" is the domain of the divine or of spirit beings; in sport, that "something" is the triumph of the human spirit.

Scholars from a variety of disciplines typically describe religion as operating in the realm of the sacred and as addressing the relationship of human beings to the supernatural or the transcendent. In modern terms, sport is seen as a secular pursuit, concerned with the relationship of human beings to each other. In fact, sport and religion are closely related on a number of levels:

1. Historically, many sports developed as part of religious festivals;

2. Sport is often used as a metaphor for religious striving;
3. Sporting events evoke passionate commitment similar to that of religious festivals;
4. Religion and sport are symbolic systems that emphasize similar values and goals, including transcendence of limited personal desires in favor of nonmaterial achievements or experiences and an emphasis on cooperation and personal sacrifice for the good of the group;
5. Both religion and sport convey their message by means of powerful symbols.

NATIVE AMERICANS AND ANCIENT GREEKS. The Central American ball game, played by both the Aztec and Maya before the arrival of Spanish conquistadores in the sixteenth century, was associated with the ritual of human sacrifice. Ball courts were commonly located in the temple complex near the racks where skulls of human sacrificial victims were displayed. Players were sacrificed as food for the gods. The divine origins of the ball game are recounted in the Mayan creation myth *Popol Vuh*, which describes the defeat in a ball game of the underworld gods of sickness and death by the hero twins Hunter (Hun Hunahpu) and Jaguar Deer (Xbalanke). In *The Blood of Kings* (1986), Linda Schele and Mary Ellen Miller suggest that, among the Maya, the ritual ball game provided a conquering ruler with a means of validating his reign and a defeated rival with an opportunity to achieve an honorable death.

The four great games of ancient Greece—the Olympian, the Pythian, the Isthmian, and the Nemean —were associated with worship of the gods. The Olympian games were held in honor of Zeus, ruler of the sky, whose worship was centered on Mount Olympus, also the site of his marriage to Hera. The Pythian games were held at Delphi, the site of Apollo's oracle, and were said to have been established by the god as compensation for his killing of the great serpent Python. The Pythian games eventually came to include both physical and intellectual competitions, including musical, literary, and dramatic events. The stadium at Delphi was also the site of religious rituals.

The Isthmian games, held on the Isthmus of Corinth every second year, included poetic and musical competitions as well as athletic events. According to one legend, the Isthmian games were initiated by the Greek hero Theseus, who slew the Minotaur. Theseus was fabled to be the son of Poseidon, and the Isthmian games were dedicated to this god. The legendary origins of the Nemean games are traced to an event in which an army led by Polynices, a son of Oedipus, slew a serpent that had killed the infant Opheltes (Snake Man). The Nemean games, held in honor of Zeus, also included poetry and music competitions in addition to athletic contests.

Greek athletes were sometimes accorded the status of gods. Theogenes excelled both in boxing and the pankration, a virtually no-holds-barred sport that combined elements of boxing and wrestling. He was the son of a priest at a temple dedicated to Herakles in Thasos, on an island in the Aegean Sea. Theogenes, whose name means "god-born," claimed that he was the son of Herakles rather than the priest. Statues of Theogenes were erected at Olympia, Delphi, and Thasos. By all accounts, Theogenes was an arrogant and unpleasant man who earned the wrath of a number of enemies. During his lifetime his enemies were powerless against him, but after his death, one of them sneaked out at night and flogged his statue at Thasos. The statue fell on the man and killed him. Since the statue was guilty of the man's death, it was taken out to sea and thrown overboard. Soon afterwards, Thasos was plagued by crop failures resulting in famine. A consultation with the oracle at Delphi resulted in the order that Thasians should recall their political exiles. All living political exiles were duly recalled, but the famine continued. Another consultation with the oracle at Delphi produced the reminder that Theogenes remained at large. The statue of the athlete was restored to its base, and the famine ended.

Foot races were part of religious rituals among a number of Native American groups, and there were secret running societies throughout the Americas. Prior to the introduction of the horse by the Spanish, swift runners were important for carrying messages between groups and during times of battle. Within twenty-four hours of the landing of Hernán Cortés (1485–1547) on the east coast of what is now Mexico in May 1519, local runners had described his ship, men, horses, and guns to Moctezuma (1466–1520) at Tenochtitlán, 260 miles away. Ceremonial runners among the Mesquakie in Iowa took a vow of celibacy, adhered to strict dietary rules, and dedicated their lives to running. In many cases, runners represented their clans in races and in religious rituals. Zuni runners painted the symbol of their matrilineal clan on their chests and the symbol of their father's clan on their back. The ball was believed to hold magical power that pulled the runner along with it.

The Rarámuri, or Tarahumara (which may be translated as "foot runners"), of the Sierra Madre in Mexico incorporate wrestling matches in their Easter rituals, which are aimed at protecting God and his wife Mary from his evil rival the Devil. The Rarámuri were introduced to Roman Catholicism in the seventeenth century, and their Easter rituals exhibit a syncretism of Christianity and their own religious symbols. Since Rarámuri social life centers on the family, they cannot conceive of God as being a bachelor, because that would consign him to a lower social status. In "God's Saviours in the Sierra Madre" (1983), the anthropologist William L. Merrill states that the idea that Christ died on the cross to redeem the sins of the world makes little sense to the Rarámuri, so they have adapted his strange (to them) story to their own vision of the relationship between God and the Devil, which is that the Devil and his family threaten the well-being of God and his family. Ultimately, though they fight on behalf of God, Merrill suggests, the Rarámuri believe they must appease both God and the Devil.

CHRISTIAN AND PERSIAN THOUGHT. Even where sport is not a part of religious ritual, it is metaphorically linked to religion. The apostle Paul compared religious discipline to sport on several occasions. In his first epistle to the Corinthians he writes, "Do you not know that in a race all the runners compete, but only one receives the prize? So run that you may obtain it" (*I Cor.* 9:24). Later he includes the metaphor of boxing: "I do not run aimlessly," he writes, "I do not box as one beating the air; but I pummel my body and subdue it, lest after preaching to others I myself should be disqualified" (*I Cor.* 9:26–27). In summing up his evangelical career, Paul writes, "I have fought the good fight, I have finished the race, I have kept the faith" (*II Tm.* 4:7).

Sport involves an all-out effort toward achieving an elusive goal. Thus, it is an appropriate metaphor for the spiritual quest or for the often elusive goals of life itself. The Persian poet Nizami (c. 1141–1203 or 1217) compared life to a polo game: "The Horizon is the boundary of your polo ground, the earth is the ball in the curve of your polo stick. Until the dust of non-existence rises from annihilation, gallop and urge on your steed because the ground is yours."

HINDU DOCUMENTS. The *Ṛgveda*, perhaps the oldest of Hindu documents, draws on the chariot race as a metaphor for the pursuit of immortality. Hymn 3.31 of the *Ṛgveda* says: "Soon, Indra, make us winners of cows." Winners of chariot races won prizes of cows, whose milk is a symbol of immortality. This verse, which asks "Make us victors among men; make us more like you, O powerful one; and bring us immortality," can be interpreted, and no doubt was intended, to evoke multiple levels of meaning. In the *Ṛgveda*, milk is associated with seed, semen, and rain, all life-giving forms.

The *Upaniṣads* are Hindu sacred documents, the oldest of which may date from as early as the sixth century BCE. The *Mundaka Upaniṣad* urges readers to aim for unity with Brāhmaṇ, the creative energy underlying the universe:

> Affix to the Upanishad, the bow, incomparable, the sharp arrow of devotional worship; then, with mind absorbed and heart melted in love, draw the arrow and hit the mark—the imperishable Brāhmaṇ. OM is the bow, the arrow is the individual being, and Brāhmaṇ is the target. With a tranquil heart, take aim. Lose thyself in him, even as the arrow is lost in the target.

Though this translation by Swami Prabhavananda and Frederick Manchester refers to Brāhmaṇ as "him," Brāhmaṇ has no gender, since it is the source of all being, male and female.

JAPAN, THE UNITED STATES, AND EUROPE. In the preceding examples, sport is a metaphor for religious striving. However, Zen archery, or *kyudo,* is a ritual, a religious act. In the Japanese tradition of Zen Buddhism, the object of *kyudo* is to achieve a balance among mind, body, and bow, which gives rise to a unity that links the spirit to the target. Achieving this balance is more important than hitting the target, though hitting the target is expected to follow naturally from achieving a balance among mind, body, and bow. The ritual includes practicing correct breathing techniques to control the mental and physical force—or *ki*— believed to be centered below the navel. Proper technique ultimately leads to perfect serenity. Zen archery proceeds through eight smoothly executed stages which seem to flow as a single unit. At the sixth stage, the body of the archer is on a line with the target. The name of this stage is *kai*, or "meeting." Release of the arrow at the seventh stage is seen as an act of volition by the arrow rather than the archer:

> Like a heavy drop of water. . . that decides to be free,
> the arrow liberates itself.

The term for the seventh stage is *hanare,* or "release." At this point, it is believed that there is an explosion of energy flowing through the body of the archer.

The martial art of kung fu was believed to have been developed by the Bodhidharma (d. c. 530), the legendary founder of Zen (Chan) Buddhism at the Shaolin Monastery in China. It is said that the Bodhidharma meditated for long hours in a cave and developed *kung fu* as a means of keeping his body flexible after long, motionless meditation.

In his book *Mountaineering Essays* (1980), John Muir (1838–1914) describes his explorations with religious fervor, often using religious terminology. He writes of Cathedral Rock in California's Sierra Nevada Mountains:

> No feature, however, of all the noble landscape as seen from her seems more wonderful than the Cathedral itself, a temple displaying Nature's best masonry and sermons in stones. How often I have gazed at it from the tops of hills and ridges, and through openings in the forests on my many short excursions, devoutly wondering, admiring, longing! This I may say is the first time I have been at church in California, led here at last, every door graciously opened for the poor lonely worshiper. In our best times everything turns into a religion, all the world seems a church and the mountains altars. And lo, here at last in front of the Cathedral is blessed cassiope, ringing her thousands of sweet-toned bells, the sweetest church music I ever enjoyed. (p. 19)

This passage is comparable in religious fervor to writings of such mystics as Teresa of Ávila (1515–1582), who describes her feelings after a vision in which she was cautioned against her longing to escape city life for meditation in the desert:

> Here suddenly came upon me a recollection with an interior light so great it seemed I was in another world. And my spirit found within itself a very delightful forest and garden, so delightful it made me recall what is said in the Song of Songs: *Veniat dilectus meus in hortum suum.* (From Song of Solomon 5:1: I am come into my garden, my sister, my spouse. . . .)

MODERN SPORTS. In his book *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports* (1978), Allen Guttmann describes the secularization of sport as though it were a fall from grace. When it had its original close link to religion, Guttmann suggests, sport was a meaningful enterprise that upheld the noblest ideals of a group and was integral to other activities of the group. Modern sports, Guttmann writes, have become centered on the quest for quantification in the form of setting distance or other records and evaluating performance in terms of statistical data:

> The bond between the secular and the sacred has been broken, the attachment to the realm of the transcendent has been severed. Modern sports are activities partly pursued for their own sake, partly for other ends which are equally secular. We do not run in order that the earth be more fertile. We till the earth, or work in our factories and offices, so that we can have time to play. (p. 26)

In his *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture* (1950), the Dutch historian Johan Huizinga describes humans as "Homo ludens," the player, and asserted that all of culture has its origins in the spontaneous activities of play. Like Guttman, Huizinga considers the rules and regulations characteristic of sports to be antithetical to the spirit of play, and he blames what he regards as the deplorable conditions of modern sports on the English. He attributes the rise of ball games to English competitions between villages and schools; to "the specifically Anglo-Saxon bent of mind" (p. 197); to the emphasis on "association and solidarity" occasioned by English social life; to the need for physical exercise in the absence of obligatory military training; and to the English terrain, which provided ideal playing fields. Huizinga sums up the English sensibility for sport: "Everybody knows the delightful prints from the first half of the 19th century, showing the cricketers in tophats. This speaks for itself" (p. 197). He adds:

> The great competitions in archaic cultures had always formed part of the sacred festivals and were indispensable as health and happiness-bringing activities. This ritual tie has now been completely severed; sport has become profane, "unholy" in every way and has no organic connection whatever with the structure of society, least of all when prescribed by the government. The ability of modern social techniques to stage mass demonstrations with the maximum of outward show in the field of athletics does not alter the fact that neither the Olympiads nor the organized sports of American Universities nor the loudly trumpeted international contests have, in the smallest degree, raised sport to the level of a culture-creating activity. However important it may be for the players or spectators, it remains sterile. The old play-factor has undergone almost complete atrophy. (p. 198)

Huizinga acknowledges that his view of modern sport may not be a popular one: "This view will probably run counter to the popular feeling of today, according to which sport is the apotheosis of the play-element in our civilization. Nevertheless popular feeling is wrong" (p. 198).

Although Guttmann agrees with Huizinga in general, he acknowledges that even modern sport sometimes has its moments of transcendence: "It is actually one of the happier ironies of modern sports that we can lose ourselves in play and forget the creative and sustaining (and restricting) social organization and cultural assumptions that have been a central concern of this book" (p. 160).

Those who bemoan the secularization of sport do not express similar criticisms of other aspects of human social life. Modern sports, which are largely the product of western Europe, have undergone secularization at the same time as other institutions. European governments became secularized as monarchs broke away from the authority of the Roman Catholic Church. The United States was founded on the ideal of separation of church and state. This was an attempt to avoid the religious rivalries and persecution that drove a number of groups to leave their European homes and settle in the land that became the United States. The French achieved their ideal of separation of church and state only in the early twentieth century, a hard-won accomplishment that in 2004 led the French government to ban religious apparel in the public schools. Modern science emerged as such thinkers as Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543) and Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) supplanted religious dogma with empirically derived data. At the time of the Enlightenment in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, writers such as Voltaire (1694–1778) rejected the domination of ecclesiastical authority. In the process, theater, the visual arts, literature, and music became secularized.

Scholars generally regard the secularization of government, education, science, and the arts as positive, since it liberates these institutions from the constraints of dogma and subjugation to religious hierarchies. Why then, do Guttmann and some other scholars bemoan the secularization of sport? In their view, sport alone seems to call for an alliance with an institutionalized moral and religious order. In *Sport as Symbol: Images of the Athlete in Art, Literature and Song*, Mari Womack argues that the secularization of sport is commonly viewed as degradation rather than liberation precisely because sport has retained its close symbolic ties to religion, whereas the other institutional forms have drifted further away.

Athletes may no longer be viewed as gods, but they retain their role as heroes. Athletes are held to higher standards than musicians, actors, artists, or writers. Only government officials, educators, and religious leaders excite similar degrees of outrage in the wake of scandal. American sportswriters often lament the behavior of athletes who violate cultural norms, but in fact the failures of heroes in all domains often educate us as much as their successes. Could any sermon teach the perils of arrogance and hubris better than the fictional baseball hero in Ernest Lawrence Thayer's 1888 poem, "Casey at the Bat"? In a similar situation, the real-life baseball hero Babe Ruth (1895–1948) succeeded where Casey failed. The Sultan of Swat called his shot during the fifth inning of the third game of the 1932 World Series, in what has been called "the most magnificent gesture ever made on a baseball diamond." (Durant and Bettman, p. 239). It was a grudge match between the New York Yankees and the Chicago Cubs at the Cubs' own Wrigley Field:

> The score was tied at four runs each when Babe Ruth came up to bat for the Yankees. He was greeted by a barrage of abuse from the Chicago bench. He took a strike and then defiantly pointed to the centerfield

> bleachers. He took another strike and again indicated his target as Cubs players jeered from the bench. On the next pitch, he hammered the ball to the deepest part of the centerfield bleachers, the exact spot he had indicated. Unlike Casey, the mighty Babe Ruth did not strike out. (Womack, 2003, p. 150)

In this case, Babe Ruth taught a different lesson: he defied the unsportsmanlike behavior of the opposing team and demonstrated a form of valor that is undeterred by opposition. Womack writes, "The same existential conflict that lies at the heart of religion also gave rise to the sporting contest" (2003, p. 220). "Sports symbolism," she states, "usually expresses themes of epic proportions: responsibility to oneself and others, the moral choice of Right and Wrong, the dilemmas of power, and the agony of loss and betrayal. Often, it is clear that the 'game' is life itself, played out in a hazardous universe" (2003, p. 14).

In a pluralistic society, sport makes mythological themes accessible to people from many different backgrounds. It is a fact of modern life that no one religion has a secure hold on the imagination of its adherents. No matter how strongly one believes, one knows that others do not believe. This challenges the absoluteness of one's faith. The various competing religions do not provide an overarching symbolic system that explains ultimate reality, including right and wrong, for all members of the group. Precisely because it is secularized, sport provides a symbolic system that unifies rather than divides. It addresses overarching symbolic themes, not specific theological issues. It deals not with the nature of God, but with the nature of human beings.

SEE ALSO Ballgames.

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MARI WOMACK (2005)

SPURGEON, CHARLES HADDON

SPURGEON, CHARLES HADDON (1834–1892), was an English Baptist popularly known as "the prince of preachers." The son and grandson of Congregationalist pastors, Spurgeon was converted in 1850 at a Primitive Methodist chapel and joined a Baptist church in 1851. At age sixteen, circumstances compelled him to preach unprepared in a cottage near Cambridge, England. Word of his oratorical skill and evangelical fervor spread. He was called to pastorates at Waterbeach (1852) and at New Park Street Chapel in London (1854). His preaching attracted such large crowds that it was necessary to rent public accommodations seating up to ten thousand people. In 1861 the Metropolitan Tabernacle was completed in London, and there Spurgeon ministered until his death. By age twenty-two he had become the most popular preacher of his day. He established several institutions, including orphanages and a pastors' college, the latter being the matrix for the founding of numerous churches and Sunday schools.

Although throughout his career Spurgeon preached to large audiences, his greatest immediate influence was through his weekly published sermons, numbering 3,561, which are estimated to have had more than a million regular readers. These sermons eventually amounted to sixty-three volumes, entitled *New Park Street Pulpit* (1855–1860) and *Metropolitan Tabernacle Pulpit* (1861–1917). By 1899 more than a hundred million copies of his sermons had been printed in twenty-three languages. Among his many works was the seven-volume *The Treasury of David,* a commentary on *Psalms.* He also edited a monthly magazine, *The Sword and the Trowel,* for twenty-seven years.

Spurgeon's preaching was massive in scope and narrow in doctrine. Staunchly Calvinistic, he was called by some "the last of the Puritans." From his earliest ministry until his death, he consistently maintained the gospel of grace without deference to increasingly influential high-church and liberal teachings. In 1864 his sermon against "baptismal regeneration" excited a hearty controversy that resulted in his withdrawing from the Evangelical Alliance. During the last decade of his life, Spurgeon fought against what he called the "downgrade movement," that is, the rise of higher criticism, liberalism, and rationalism within Baptist circles in England. So firmly were such views entrenched there that he withdrew from the Baptist Union in 1887, remaining independent but a Baptist until his death. Although he never sought controversy, he never shied from it. In his own words, "Controversy for the truth against the errors of the age is . . . the peculiar duty of the preacher."

Within the confines of a thoroughly evangelistic Calvinism, Spurgeon's works include such an enormous variety of topics congenial to the mainstream of orthodoxy that his writings, especially his sermons, have been valued by Christians of diverse creeds. While his influence, particularly in evangelical circles, continued through the first half of the twentieth century, in the 1960s interest in Spurgeon began to grow. All sixty-three volumes of his sermons have been reprinted, and more than 150 of his other writings are in print.

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DARREL W. AMUNDSEN (1987)

SRI AUROBINDO SEE AUROBINDO GHOSE

ŚRĪ VAIṢṆAVAS

ŚRĪ VAIṢṆAVAS. The Śrī Vaiṣṇava Sampradāya, one of six major Hindu denominations devoted to Viṣṇu, is the community of those who worship Viṣṇu (also called Nārāyaṇa) in conjunction with his consort Śrī (Lakṣmī), the goddess of auspiciousness and prosperity, along with Bhūdevī, the goddess of the earth, and Nīlā, more generally known by her Tamil name of Nappinai, the human wife of the young Kṛṣṇa. The community is strongest in the South Indian state of Tamil Nadu, but it also has many adherents in the three other South Indian states and some in other parts of India. *Brahmans* are strongly represented and have most positions of leadership.

Śrī Vaiṣṇavas are adherents of the philosophy of Rāmānuja and describe their theological position as Ubhaya Vedānta, "dual theology" or "theology of the two scriptures," for, in addition to regarding as authoritative the Vedas (including the Upaniṣads) and other scriptures written in Sanskrit, the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas consider sacred the Tamil hymns of the poet-saints called the Āḻvārs (those "immersed" in God) and treat the long poem called the *Tiruvāymoḻi* as equal in value to the Upaniṣads. Both divisions of the present community trace their spiritual lineage back to still earlier *ācārya*s (teachers), and then through Nammāḻvār, the author of the *Tiruvāymoḻi,* to the Goddess, Śrī, and Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa himself.

The Sanskrit canon of the community includes, in addition to the Vedas, the two great epics, the treatises on social morality and ritual, and the summary of the Upaniṣadic teaching called the *Vedānta Sūtra.* These scriptures are themselves interpreted by a host of commentaries and didactic treatises in Sanskrit, and there is a corresponding, though much smaller, group of commentaries and treatises in Tamil. In both languages there are also a number of hagiographies of the Āḻvārs and *ācāryas*; greatest attention is given to Rāmānuja (traditional dates 1017–1137), who wrote only in Sanskrit but who is represented in the biographies as commenting on the *Tiruvāymoḻi* in Tamil and assigning his cousin and disciple Piḷḷān the task of producing a written commentary on this long poem. It was Piḷḷān who first called the members of the community "Śrī Vaiṣṇavas" and demonstrated the confluence of the Sanskrit and Tamil "Vedāntas." Three later commentaries are also considered authoritative.

By the end of the twelfth century there was an increasing shift in emphasis on works of a different kind, treatises on the secret meanings (*rahasyas*) of the three central mantras (ritual formulas) that specified the spiritual path and more fully discussed the doctrine of divine grace. These treatises stressed the indispensable role of Śrī as mediatrix (*puruṣakāra*). Since she is always full of maternal love, her favor should be sought first; she can persuade the Lord, who as a father must balance justice and mercy, to the side of mercy. Similarly one first humbly petitions one's own *gurū,* who is already connected with the chain of grace, for his recommendation in approaching the Lord.

The various stories about the twelve Āḻvārs assign them very ancient dates. Nammāḻvār, for example, is said to have lived some five thousand years ago, at the very beginning of the present, evil age, the *kaliyuga.* Modern historical scholarship places them from the sixth to ninth centuries CE. In contrast, the *ācāryas* are assigned dates that are accurate within one or two generations. The first *ācārya,* Nāthamuni (late ninth or early tenth century), received from Nammāḻvār in a yogic trance the entire corpus of hymns; he then arranged them to accompany Sanskrit verses in the temple liturgies. Still more stories are told about Nāthamuni's brilliant grandson Yāmuna (916–1036), but the largest part of the hagiographies focuses on the life of Rāmānuja.

The gradual splitting of the community into the Vaṭakalai ("northern culture") and Teṅkalai ("southern culture") subsects is only in part related to the relative emphasis on the Sanskrit and Tamil scriptures; the two groups understand differently the relation of divine grace to human response. Both groups affirm the primacy of divine grace in rescuing souls from their bondage in the world and maintain that all seekers of salvation should solemnly surrender, first to the goddess Śrī and then to Lord Viṣṇu. The great Vaṭakalai teacher Vedānta Deśika believed that the act of surrender gives the Lord a pretext or occasion (*vyāja*) for saving the soul, so that grace is not arbitrary. His contemporary, the Teṅkalai teacher Piḻḻai Lokācārya, on the other hand, considered it presumptuous for human beings to think they could make any contribution whatsoever to their salvation. Even "surrender," he taught, is not to be regarded as such an act; it is merely the acknowledgement of what the Lord has already done. The nicknames "monkey-hold" and "cat-hold" applied to the two groups come from a Teṅkalai source. The Teṅkalai claim that the Vaṭakalai theology likens the soul's position to that of a baby monkey, which has to hang on to its mother as she swings from tree to tree, while the Teṅkalai's own view makes the soul resemble the kitten, whose mother picks it up by the scruff of the neck without any effort on the kitten's part.

For neither group does the doctrine of grace lead to an antinomian lifestyle. On the contrary, the lives of Śrī Vaiṣṇavas are full of ritual injunctions and social obligations, but neither their good deeds nor scholarly attainments—not even emotional participation in intense devotion to God—can bring about their salvation. Their ritual act of surrender is the outward sign of a lifelong surrender of their worldly ambitions—even quite proper ones—to God's disposal. Having solemnly petitioned God's mercy, and having confidently expressed total reliance on that mercy, the devotee ought not to ask for anything else. This is clearly a difficult ideal to follow, the more so since the majority of their fellow worshipers at Viṣṇu temples are not initiated "surrendered ones" (*prapannas*) but Hindus from all walks of life who confidently ask the Lord and his consorts for all manner of material blessings.

Much of the spiritual leadership in the community is provided by various *maṭhas*, which are not communities of ascetics but groups of householder disciples of a *gurū* who becomes a *saṃnyāsin* after being chosen to head the *maṭha.* These *gurūs* perform the formal initiation of *prapatti,* bestow spiritual blessings and deliver courses of lectures on periodic tours to visit their followers, and frequently give individuals practical advice in private audiences.

The key words in Śrī Vaiṣṇava worship are *darśana,* the reverent beholding of the image form of the Lord; *smaraṇa,* the remembrance of the Lord's gracious deeds, and *seva* or *kaiṅkarya,* service to the Lord and to the Lord's disciples. While in their own homes Śrī Vaiṣṇavas perform the lengthy daily worship privately, in the 108 major Śrī Vaiṣṇava temples in South India (including the all-Indian pilgrimage center of Tirupati and the central temple at Śrīraṅgam), and in many more minor ones, they are part of a mixed company. Their joining in the Tamil and Sanskrit chanting of the liturgy is for them a confident anticipation of their participation, after this present earthly life, in the eternal chorus of praise in the Lord's heavenly home.

SEE ALSO Āḻvārs; Kṛṣṇaism; Piḻḻai Lokācārya; Rāmānuja; Tamil Religions.

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SSU-MA CH'ENG-CHEN SEE SIMA CHENGZHEN

STANNER, W. E. H. William Edward Hanley Stanner (1905–1981) was born in Sydney, Australia, and spent much of his childhood playing on the shores of Sydney Harbor and the surrounding bushland. On leaving school Stanner worked as a bank clerk, a job he tired of quickly, before training as a journalist. In 1926 a life-changing encounter with A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, the newly appointed foundation chair of anthropology at Sydney University, saw Stanner return to school to matriculate, eventually enrolling in a degree program with a major in anthropology and economics.

After completing his degree with first class honors, Stanner was encouraged by Radcliffe-Brown to consider a career in anthropology. He undertook his first fieldwork in the Daly River region of north Australia in 1932, and he returned to this area from 1934 to 1935 to undertake more lengthy research for his Ph.D. He would return to the Daly River region throughout his life, in the 1950s undertaking the work that would most fully inform his writings on Murrinh-pata religion.

On completing his Ph.D. at the London School of Economics under the supervision of Bronislaw Malinowski and Raymond Firth, Stanner joined an anthropological survey team in East Africa. On the outbreak of war he returned to Australia. His most noted wartime contribution was as leader of the North Australia Observer Unit. He also worked on a series of postwar reconstruction programs in Europe and the Pacific. In 1949 Stanner was appointed reader in comparative social institutions in the Research School of Pacific Studies at the newly established Australian National University, Canberra, where he remained for the rest of his working life. In the 1960s and 1970s Stanner rose to public prominence as a government adviser, and his engagements in Aboriginal affairs became more consciously political.

Stanner's works on religion, the most important being a series of essays republished in 1963 as the monograph *On Aboriginal Religion*, simultaneously serve as a broad critique of structural-functionalist approaches to the study of society and culture. He was extremely critical of earlier anthropological accounts of Aboriginal religion influenced by the work of Émile Durkheim and Radcliffe-Brown that categorized religion as merely one of a series of elements in a bounded social system. These writers had overlooked the experiential and emotional sensibilities associated with religion. Stanner argued that religion was significant in its own right, not as a subset of society or anything else. Murrinh-pata religion contained objects and symbols "beyond egotism, beyond social gain." The great symbols he observed, were "valued for their own sakes." As he sought to elucidate Murrinh-pata religious systems as "expressions of human experience of life; as essays of passion, imagination, and striving," Stanner concurrently sketched the frame of a new theoretical approach to the study of society (Stanner, 1965, p. 222). He saw human affairs not in terms of persisting social structures and enduring relations between persons in role positions, but rather as "a structure of operations in transactions about things of value." His "operational anthropology" would study real relations—"giving, taking, sharing, loving, bewitching, fighting, initiating"—and "make human sense of their cultural varieties" (Stanner, 1963, p. ii).

While seeing the definition of religion as beyond the task of anthropology, Stanner argued that Aboriginal religion must be grasped as a rich and multilayered entity: it was at once an ontological system, a moral system, a "contemporary form of thought and feeling toward the whole of reality," and "content for a devotional life" (Stanner, 1963, p. vi). He rejected Durkheim's dichotomy of secular and sacred as a framework for comprehending Aboriginal religion, arguing that it necessarily was both. Where the functionalists had offered up a desiccated view of Aboriginal religious systems as lacking imaginative and intellectual substance, or as reducible to the study of totemism, magic, and ritual, for Stanner, Murrinh-pata religious belief and practice provided a window onto all manner of aspects of Murrinh-pata being. It was in Murrinh-pata rites that one witnessed "a genius for music, song, and dance applied with skill and passion" (Stanner, 1963, p. 18). Moreover, Murrinh-pata religion was not a "dead plane of uniform changelessness" but a dynamic system, its content being enacted and articulated variably by differently gifted performers, and transformed according into the changing needs and circumstances of each generation (Stanner, 1963, p. 84).

Stanner's work contributed much to contemporary understandings of "The Dreaming," the linkage of specific Aboriginal persons, places, fauna, and flora in the present in identifiable groupings extending back to a timeless conception. Within this ontological frame, Stanner argued, there was no tension between past, present, and future. He teased out aspects of this logic and its narrative content in Murrinh-pata myth to illustrate the basis of Aborigines' acceptance of reality as a necessary connection between life and suffering. In the Murrinh-pata theory of reality, life was conceived "as a joyous thing with maggots at the centre" (Stanner, 1963, p. 37).

Critics argue that Stanner failed to fully transcend the limitations of structural-functionalism and sufficiently integrate his theoretical ideas with his ethnography. He shied away from analyzing those aspects of his material—the conjunction of religion and politics—that would have furnished the development of a theory of action. Stanner himself regarded his work as unfinished. It was a contribution to a general reappraisal of Australian Aboriginal religion that would "require the efforts of many scholars." A humanist with untiring commitment to social justice, a campaigner for land rights, a sensitive intercultural interpreter with a great gift for writing, Stanner sought to conjure up the richness and philosophical depth of Aboriginal religious systems.

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MELINDA HINKSON (2005)

STANTON, ELIZABETH CADY. Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815–1902) was a principal leader and philosopher of the American woman's rights movement of the nineteenth century. Her religious importance derives from *The Woman's Bible* (1895–1898), written and edited late in her career, and from her influence in inspiring feminism to a rational, anti-dogmatic attitude to faith.

Stanton was born in Johnstown, New York. Her father, Daniel Cady, was a prominent lawyer, congressman, and judge. When none of her brothers lived to maturity, Elizabeth wanted to become like a son to please him. Although she never succeeded in satisfying her father, her precocious intellect did gain the notice of her family's Scottish Presbyterian minister, Simon Hosack, who tutored her in ancient languages. Her father's profession also shaped her sensitivity to legal protection and political details. Shocked by women's lack of rights in divorce and custody cases, she prioritized such issues throughout her career, directly challenging traditional bastions of male authority. Her analysis and thorough articulation of structural sexism were exemplary, and they were complemented by her abilities as a polemical writer.

Stanton experienced the tumult of the Second Great Awakening preacher Charles Finney while a student at Emma Willard's school in the early 1830s. The young Elizabeth felt susceptible to his rhetoric because of her "gloomy Calvinistic training," but upon becoming one of Finney's "victims" she noted, and regretted, the "dethronement of my reason." She deemed herself saved by intellection, by science, rationality, and progress.

After her schooling was finished, Elizabeth became involved with the antislavery movement. Through her cousin, Gerrit Smith, she met her future husband, Henry Stanton (1805–1887), one of the Lane Seminary rebels and an ardent abolitionist. Though her father objected to the marriage, it went forward in 1840, with a significant change in the marriage vows: Elizabeth refused to "obey" an equal, so that command was dropped. Their honeymoon brought more substantive change, as the couple attended the 1840 World's Anti-Slavery Congress in London. Some American groups included women delegates, but the British hosts refused to seat them. However, it was here that Stanton met the Quaker Lucretia Mott, who embodied a fuller range of possibilities for women. While living in Boston, Stanton's liberal religious outlook was reinforced as she absorbed Unitarian and transcendentalist ideas, and as she met more women leaders, including Lydia Maria Child and the Grimké sisters.

Stanton's own fame blossomed with the fulfillment of plans she and Mott had formulated to hold a woman's rights conference. This finally occured in 1848, when the first

Women's Rights Convention in the United States was held in Stanton's new hometown of Seneca Falls, New York. Stanton wrote the convention's bold Declaration of Sentiments, adopting the rhetoric of the Declaration of Independence and condemning male usurpation of authority over women in matters religious, "when that belongs to her conscience and her God."

Stanton's 1850 meeting with Susan B. Anthony marked a turning point in the women's rights movement. Their ardent friendship lasted over fifty years and became one of the most productive partnerships in American political history. Due to child-care and household concerns (the Stantons had seven children), Stanton emerged as the writer of the pair, while Anthony traveled and lectured for women's rights. While they prioritized voting rights, they never made this the exclusive focus of their wider goal: recognizing women's full humanity.

During the Civil War, Anthony and Stanton formed the Loyal League, which urged the immediate emancipation of slaves. Stanton herself began to travel and speak during this period, developing into an accomplished orator. In the postwar period, however, serious splits occurred among progressive advocates of increased voting rights. Angered by what they saw as a betrayal of women by those who advanced suffrage for African American men only, Stanton and Anthony allied themselves with racist and xenophobic forces. Stanton argued explicitly for the fitness of educated white women as voters over freed slaves and immigrants, whom she caricatured as "Sambo" and "Yung Tung." Stanton's rhetoric alienated former allies, including Mott, Lucy Stone, and Wendell Phillips. This period has compromised Stanton's legacy and fueled ongoing conflict in American feminism over class and race. The woman suffrage movement broke into two competing organizations in 1869: the National Woman Suffrage Association (led by Anthony and Stanton) and the rival American Woman Suffrage Association. By the time the organizations were reunited in 1890, the woman suffrage cause was bereft of its abolitionist roots.

The visibility of the woman suffrage movement increased through the last quarter of the nineteenth century, as did its sense of its own history. With Anthony and Matilda Joslyn Gage, Stanton edited and wrote the first three volumes of the *History of Woman Suffrage* (1881–1887), an admirably exhaustive chronicle of the movement. Opposition, and occasional support, from religious leaders mark many of its pages.

Stanton had always scrutinized legal restrictions on women, but became increasingly concerned with religious limitations. In her last twenty years she wrote two major texts: her autobiography, *Eighty Years and More* (1898), and *The Woman's Bible*, which she wrote and edited. These texts reveal her religious stance. Her autobiography presents her tireless opposition to superstition and her lifelong embrace of liberal religious inquiry—her freethinking mind investigated theories of Charles Darwin, the matriarchate, and theosophy.

Stanton planned *The Woman's Bible* as a commentary and analysis on scriptural passages concerning women. She invited many women religious leaders and intellectuals to participate, but only a handful responded, fearing a backlash from a conservative religious public would damage the suffrage cause. Prominent contributors included Eva Parker Ingersoll and Gage (author of another stinging critique of patriarchal religion, *Woman, Church, and State* [1893]). In her commentaries, Stanton praises strong women (her assessment of Eve's "courage" and "ambition" is justly famous), condemns inconsistencies as "a great strain on credulity," rejects auto-validating claims of inspiration, and urges women to self-sovereignty rather than self-sacrifice. Stanton and her collaborators used humor, science, logic, common sense, and principles of justice to read against the grain of traditional biblical interpretation.

During Stanton's lifetime, *The Woman's Bible* met a chilly reception. It was parodied, denounced, or belittled by reviewers. The crushing blow came when the organization Stanton herself had led, now called the National-American Woman Suffrage Association, officially dissociated itself from the book. Despite the eloquent plea of Susan B. Anthony in her defense, this 1896 vote effectively ended Stanton's official role in the suffrage movement.

The Woman's Bible remained forgotten until the women's liberation movement of the 1970s. Feminist scholars and practitioners of religion found its method and content congenial: it was collaborative, questioned received authority, established a feminist legacy of biblical interpretation, and outlined how gender bias shaped sacred texts. However, *The Woman's Bible* has had its modern critics, particularly over its anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish biases.

At her death in 1902 many of Stanton's contemporaries memorialized her as an undaunted leader, while ignoring her analysis of belief and scripture. Yet her religious critique may well ensure her importance to future generations.

SEE ALSO Child, Lydia Maria; Gage, Matilda Joslyn; Gender and Religion.

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ing the Scriptures, 2 vols., edited by Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza (New York, 1993–1994).

Many of Stanton's works are being issued in a proposed six-volume critical edition, with Ann D. Gordon serving as editor: *The Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony*; Vol. 1: *In the School of Anti-Slavery, 1840 to 1866* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1997); Vol. 2: *Against an Aristocracy of Sex* (New Brunswick, N.J., 2000). The contemporary edition of Stanton's autobiography, *Eighty Years and More: Reminiscences, 1815–1897* (Evanston, Ill., 1993), includes essays by Gordon and Ellen DuBois.

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JENNIFER RYCENGA (2005)

STARBUCK, E. D. (1866–1947), was a prominent figure in the early academic study of the psychology of religion in the United States and the first scholar to use the phrase "psychology of religion." Edwin Diller Starbuck was born in Indiana to a devout Quaker farming family. After undergraduate work at Indiana University, he went on to Harvard University, from which he received his master's degree in 1895, and then to Clark University, where in 1897 he received his doctorate. In 1890 he was stirred by F. Max Müller's *Introduction to the Science of Religion* and decided to start studying religion. In 1893, at Harvard, he circulated two questionnaires, one on sudden conversion and the other on "gradual growth" toward religious commitment. In 1894 and 1895 he presented papers on his research before the Harvard Religious Union. After graduating from Clark University, he remained there as a fellow in the late 1890s, together with James H. Leuba.

Starbuck's 1899 book *The Psychology of Religion* was based on studies he started at Harvard under William James and continued at Clark under G. Stanley Hall; it enjoyed three editions, was reprinted several times, and was translated into German in 1909. Starbuck had the support and encouragement of James in his work, but as Starbuck himself reports in a frank autobiographical statement, there was some tension in his relationship with Hall, and mutual criticism is much in evidence.

After the turn of the century, Starbuck devoted most of his creative energy to "character training" and devised selections of fairy tales, novels, and biographies that would contribute to the moral education of the young. He taught a variety of subjects at a number of institutions, including philosophy at the State University of Iowa (1906–1930), and philosophy (1930–1938) and psychology (1938–1943) at the University of Southern California. Starbuck's important contribution remains his early survey of conversion cases, which work was immortalized by James, who used Starbuck's data in *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902). While the basic findings of the survey have been accepted, and seem to fit with classical and modern notions of conversion, the theoretical construction seems hopelessly naive today. Together with Hall, Starbuck regarded conversion as an adolescent phenomenon, and had the data to show it. His findings are still quoted today, and are beyond dispute, but his psychology and his definition of religion as an "instinct" no longer find serious adherents.

Starbuck's attitude toward religion was clearly positive, and he saw the importance of the psychology of religion as contributing to religious education. According to James, Starbuck's aim in starting his research in the psychology of religion was to bring about reconciliation in the feud between science and religion. According to Starbuck's autobiographical account, his interest in religion was very much an attempt to answer, via systematic study, both doubts and curiosities about religion. If one attempts an evaluation of Starbuck's work from the perspective of several generations, one might conclude that it will be remembered more by historians of the field than by practitioners. His work may belong with the classics of the field, but it must be numbered with the unread classics, even among scholars.

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STAR OF DAVID See MAGEN DAVID

STARS.

In all times and places, the starry night sky has both challenged and satisfied the human need to order, categorize, and standardize the unknown. In their efforts to make the night sky a familiar place, ancient civilizations imposed on groups of stars the outlines of mythical and historical figures, thus linking the celestial and terrestrial realms. The two terms used for these star groups are *constellation* and *zodiac.* Constellations are groups of stars held together by the human mind and eye. While certain of them may be related mythologically, such as the Pleiades and Orion, they are essentially autonomous and not limited in number. The zodiac is an integrated system of twelve constellations, referred to by astrological signs, that forms a backdrop to the movements of the sun, moon, and planets. Each zodiacal sign is also associated with a part of the human body and thereby serves to link the celestial and terrestrial planes. Aries, the first sign, represents the head; Pisces, the feet; the ten remaining signs between them represent other parts of the body in descending order. While scholars credit Babylonia with devising the zodiac (c. 700–420 BCE), the Babylonians themselves in their creation epic, the Enuma elish, credit the god Marduk with that invention.

The ancient Egyptians also developed an integrated system of star organization. Here, the thirty-six decans, or star groups, each ten degrees in width and each named for a deity, served two purposes. The heliacal rising (first appearance in the dawn sky) of the leading star of each decan was noted, then used to mark out the twelve-month Egyptian calendar. At night, the decans functioned as a star clock, enabling priests to know the correct time for the performance of religious observances. In this way the temporal rhythms of the earth were linked to those of the sky.

In Indian tradition the Nakṣatras, or lunar mansions, comprise another integrated system of stars. The passage of the moon through the sky was charted as the journey of the god Soma through his "resting places." Each star is thought to be inhabited by one of the twenty-eight wives with whom Soma spends one night each month.

THE SKY IN MYTH. In religions around the world, the sky symbolizes transcendence and sacrality, stretching and satisfying the human imagination. Whether it is understood as the home of the gods, the resting place of heroes, or the land of the dead, the sky is often envisioned as the transcendental model for human existence. The powers of the stars watch and guide people in life and welcome them in death. As the land of the ancestral dead, the stars represent the place of future human existence and reward. In them humans will endure forever, see and know all, thus also becoming godlike.

On the terrestrial plane, everything exists in a state of constant change. Nature is unpredictable—sometimes benign and sometimes malevolent. The sky alone remains constant, predictable, beyond change. Since the distant sky gods are usually the lawgivers of a culture, establishing order in human society, the celestial-terrestrial relationship is a reciprocal one: Humans order the uncharted night sky by imposing images on it, while the heavens, in return, impose lawful order on human society.

Catasterisms, tales in which either humans or animals achieve immortality by becoming stars, express the notion of the stars as the home of heroes. Catasterisms present a permanent image of the reward for heroic feats while providing an etiological explanation for the existence of individual stars and constellations. These tales exists in such diverse cultures as Australia, where a man becomes a star to avoid the wrath of the irate husband chasing him, and Greenland, where a group of lost seal hunters become stars. The Greeks and the Romans were the most prolific creators of catasterisms.

These stories relate that after death the soul becomes a star, a notion that originated with the Pythagoreans. The belief that only heroes become stars leads to the use of star groups such as Herakles and the Pleiades as models for heroic effort and reward. Star groups such as Andromeda and Orion, by contrast, serve as demonstrations of the lasting punishment given for the sin of hubris. The star Antinoüs was named in 132 CE in honor of Hadrian's young lover who drowned himself in the belief that he could thereby add the years allotted to him to Hadrian's life.

The Milky Way, which is frequently called the River of Heaven or the Celestial Road, is connected with the notion of the stars as the land of the dead. In Norse mythology it is the road of the ghosts going to Valhǫll; in Celtic lore it is created by Gwydion so that he can use it to seek his son's soul in the heavens; in Islam it is said that Muḥammad walked on it to reach God; in Akkad it was called the River of the Divine Lady and was traveled by ghosts; in eastern Washington state the Sanpoil Indians place the land of the dead at the end of it; the Pawnee say it is the path followed by the spirits of the dead, and the Lakota add that travel to the Spirit Land is interrupted just before arrival by an old woman who checks for wrist tattoos; those without tattoos are sent back to earth as ghosts.

TEMPLES AND THE STARS. The most concrete way to establish the importance of the stars in the ancient world is to study the alignment of temples with particular stars. As sacred structures, temples—especially those dedicated to sky gods—are designed according to a celestial pattern. In 1894 J. Norman Lockyer published his research on Egyptian temples, under the title *The Dawn of Astronomy.* With the advent of modern technology, much of Lockyer's dating has been called into question, but his general theory of celestial alignment is still operative. In England, the Americas, and the ancient Near East there is evidence of such alignment. Ancient temples were most commonly constructed in relation to the sun's position at the solstice or equinox, but there are significant instances of design with relation to individual stars.

Astral alignments are established by astroarchaeologists, who calculate the age of a site from its remains and then use computers to recreate the star patterns visible at the time the site was built. England's Stonehenge (construction started c. 2800 BCE) is a good model. There, the large standing stones were arranged against the horizon to function as foresights; smaller stones served as backsights. In order to mark the passage of the sun, the astronomer-priest would fix a spot on which to stand to observe the sunset against the foresight stones. As the sun changed its course during the year, it would set to the right or left of these stones, its extremes marking the solstice and equinox points. Stonehenge was used as an elaborate observatory for marking the important celestial events of the year. The movements of the sun, moon, planets, and important star systems such as the Pleiades and especially the heliacal risings of the stars and planets were all noted there.

The same principle was employed in Mesoamerica, most dramatically at Tenochtitlán, the political and religious capital of the Aztec, where the course of a river was altered in order to create the desired alignments for observing the rising sun at the equinox and solstice and the heliacal rising of the Pleiades. Other Mesoamerican sites were also constructed with relation to the Pleiades, as well as to the stars Capella and Sirius and the planet Venus.

Gerald Hawkins (in *Stonehenge Decoded,* Garden City, N.Y., 1965), using modern techniques, has checked Lockyer's thesis at several sites in Egypt. While disagreeing with some of Lockyer's findings, he does establish that Egyptian temples are aligned with certain stars. Edwin C. Krupp (1978) has made a connection between the alignments of the pyramids and the cult of Isis and Osiris, represented respectively by the stars Sirius and Orion. First, he notes that all stars are invisible for approximately seventy days when their light is lost in the brighter light of the sun; he finds it significant that the ancient Egyptians called this time "being in Duat" (i.e., the underworld). Krupp sees a relation between this time span and the period allotted for embalming: Seventy days were required to prepare a body for burial. Because the stars are often thought of as the land of the dead, Krupp suggests further that the shafts in the pyramids aligning with Sirius and Orion were constructed so as to allow the souls of the pharaohs to rise up to these stars, the souls' final resting place.

In North America there are few sites of astronomical interest, but where they exist the myths and legends of the people also show astronomical characteristics. The *kivas* of the Anasazi, ancestors of the modern Pueblo, show some evidence of astral alignment, and modern Pueblo rituals preserve astral timings. Among the Plains Indians, medicine wheels constructed of large and small stones arranged in the shape of a wheel with spokes establishing alignments, mark the solstices. In Saskatchewan, Canada, the Moose Mountain Medicine Wheel is also aligned to the heliacal rising of the bright summer stars Aldebaran, Rigel, and Sirius.

THE POLESTAR. Sometimes diverse cultures use similar images to describe the same star. The polestar, or North Star (the position held today by the star Polaris in Ursa Minor), because of its relative lack of motion as compared to other stars, is important for both land and sea navigation. In many cultures it is seen as the center of the universe.

Norse people believed that the gods ordered the universe by driving a spike through the earth and causing the heavens to revolve around this axis. The end of this spike was fastened to the polestar. For the Mongols, the polestar was the golden peg or nail that holds the turning heavens together. In India it is called the "pivot of the planets" and is represented by the god Dhruva, who was so immovable in his meditation that he became the polestar shining about Mount Meru, the center of the world. Because Dhruva began his meditation in a search for constancy after having been disappointed by the unsteadiness of his father's love, the star is worshiped in India as a source of constancy both in meditation and in marriage. The Mandaeans, along the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, worshiped the polestar as the central star around which all other heavenly bodies move; their sanctuaries were built so that persons entering them faced the polestar. Worshipers prayed facing it, and the dying were positioned so their feet and eyes were aligned with it.

The constancy of the polestar also led to its popularity among sailors, as the epithets Steering Star, Lodestar, and Ship Star show. (Strabo, the Greek historian and geographer of the first century BCE, attributed its use among Greek sailors to Thales, the astronomer and philosopher of the sixth century BCE.) The constant position of the polestar made it useful to land travelers as well. In Mesoamerica it was thought both to protect and to guide traveling merchants, who burned copal incense in its honor. The Arabs used the polestar to navigate across the desert and believed further that fixed contemplation of it would cure itching of the eyelids. For the Chinese, the polestar was secretary to the Emperor of Heaven and as lord of the dead punished the dead according to their deeds.

THE PLEIADES. Even in societies where little attention was paid to the stars, the movements of the Pleiades were noted. For instance, the Bantu-speaking peoples of southern Africa regulated their agricultural calendar by them, and in Bali the Pleiades and Orion were used to keep the lunar calendar. In Australia, where the first annual appearance of the Pleiades coincides with the beginning of the rainy season, the Aborigines consider these stars the source of rain and curse them if rain does not follow their appearance. In general, the last visible rising of the Pleiades after sunset is celebrated all over the southern hemisphere as beginning the season of agricultural activity.

Where myths have developed about the Pleiades, these stars are generally associated with women. In the Greco-Roman world, these stars were called the "seven daughters of Atlas," and in China they were worshiped by women and girls as the Seven Sisters of Industry. In Australia, they are seen as young girls playing instruments for a group of dancing young men, the stars of the Orion group. In the Solomon Islands they are called a "company of maidens," and among the Yurok of North America they are thought of as six women. In India they had a rich and varied identity as the nurses of Skanda, the infant god of war, and as the seven wives of the seven sages of Ursa Major. Myths in which they are depicted as wives describe the reasons for their being changed into stars as either punishment for infidelity or as a reward for fidelity. In one positive reading, the star Arundhati is considered the ideal Indian wife because her virtue was great enough to resist the god Śiva's attempt at seduction. Like the polestar, she is worshiped by married couples as a symbol of constancy.

The Pleiades also played a central role in the religious life of the Aztec. The fifty-two year cycle of their calendar was measured by the Pleiades. Indeed, legend recalls that the destruction of the world in a past age occurred at such a moment. The ceremony at the end of the cycle, the "Binding of the Years," established that the movements of the heavens had not ceased and that the world would not end but was guaranteed to last for another fifty-two years. Not only was one of the alignments of the Aztec city of Tenochtitlán to the Pleiades, but a further clue to the importance of these stars is the fact that at the time of the city's erection (c. 150 CE), the heliacal rising of the Pleiades occurred on the same day as the first of the sun's annual passages across the zenith, a day of great importance in demarcating the seasons, and the day when the sun in Mexico casts no shadow at high noon. Additionally, this was the beginning of the rainy season so important to agriculture.

The Inca called the Pleiades the "stars of summer" and believed that their appearance on the first sighting predicted the success of the crops. If the stars were large and bright when they first appeared, the crops would be successful; if they were small and dim, the crops would fail. This connection to the agricultural season in part explains the emphasis placed on the Pleiades. In Greece the Pleiades presage temperate weather: The name of one of the stars of this group, Alcyone, is connected, by derivation, with the term "halcyon days," a clement and temperate time. In ancient Greece the season safe for navigation began in May with the heliacal rising of the Pleiades and closed with their setting in late autumn. In the Hervey Islands of the South Pacific they are the favorite guides for night sailing and are worshiped by sailors.

In North America the Blackfeet use the Pleiades to regulate their most important feast, which includes the blessing and planting of the seed. The Navaho believe the Pleiades appear on the forehead of their principal deity, Black God.

SIRIUS. Regarded as one of the most important stars in ancient Egypt, Sirius played a role there similar to that of the Pleiades among the Aztec. Sirius's heliacal rising at the summer solstice coincided with the annual inundation of the Nile, thus beginning the Egyptian year. Seen as the goddess Sothis by the Egyptians, Sirius was also connected with the goddesses Hathor, Sekhet, and Isis and was generally considered to be the resting place of Isis's soul. Also called the "Nile star," Sirius had a dog for its hieroglyph and to this day is widely known as the "dog star." In ancient Rome, when the sun approached conjunction with Sirius at a festival for the protection of grain, farmers sacrificed a fawn-colored dog to the god Robigus. The Dogon of Africa also connect Sirius with a grain called po, and Po is their name for Sirius's smaller, darker companion star. That companion was first seen by Western astronomers in 1962, yet the Dogon discussed the star with Western anthropologists as early as 1940. Claiming to have known of the companion star for eight centuries, the Dogon correctly estimated that its orbit around Sirius took fifty years.

A Finnish tale explains the brightness of Sirius by the story of the lovers Zulamith the Bold and Salami the Fair: When they finally completed a bridge to each other (the Milky Way) after a thousand years of separation, they rushed into each other's arms and melted into one.

COMETS, METEORS, AND SHOOTING AND FALLING STARS. Noticeably short-lived celestial phenomena such as comets and meteors (shooting and falling stars) share in the sacred nature of the sky and add to the meaning of the "permanent" stars. The abruptness of their passage often made them seem to be omens full of meaning for good or ill. The American writer Mark Twain said of himself that he was born when Halley's comet approached the earth, and he correctly predicted his death upon its return. A comet recorded in 431 BCE gave support to the notion that Julius Caesar had become a comet upon his death a year earlier. Shakespeare made dramatic use of this idea when he wrote "When beggars die, then are no comets seen; / the heavens themselves blaze for the death of princes" (*Julius Caesar* 2.2).

In ancient Greece and Rome, comets were generally thought to portend unfortunate events. The astronomer Ptolemy (second century) said that the meanings of comets could be discerned by their individual shapes; their color revealed what they would bring (generally wind and drought), and their position in the zodiac indicated the country that would be affected. Pliny, the Roman writer of the first century CE, also believed that comets signaled disaster and specified, for example, that a comet in Scorpio portended a plague of reptiles and insects, especially locusts. Seneca the Younger, writing in the first century CE, following Aristotle, said that comets were portents of bad weather during the ensuing year.

Such ideas persisted after the rise of Christianity. In the third century CE, the church father Origen held that comets appear on the eve of dynastic changes, great wars, and other catastrophes but also may be signs of future good: He seems to have taken the star of Bethlehem, which announced Christ's birth, to be a comet. The German philosopher Albertus Magnus (d. 1280) wrote that comets signified wars and the death of kings and potentates. According to Ptolemy of Lucca (d. 1377), a comet portended the death of Pope Urban IV in 1264. The pope had sickened as soon as the comet appeared and had died three months later, on the very day it disappeared. Elizabeth I of England gained great prestige by manifesting her indifference to the comet of 1557. When her courtiers tried to deter her from looking at the dreaded object she advanced boldly to the window, declaring, "the die is thrown." Seventeenth-century Christian preachers declared that comets were sent by God to draw human beings to repentance, and as late as 1843 the Millerites thought a comet confirmed their belief in the immediate destruction of the world.

Among the Aztec similar notions prevailed. They called comets "stars that smoke" and thought they usually signified the impending death of members of nobility; the death of the ruler of Tenochtitlán followed the appearance of a comet, and another was said to have predicted the fall of Moctezuma II. The Plains Indians also connected appearances of comets with disaster and misfortune.

In the Society Islands, comets (along with meteors) were believed to be the tails of gods, and when they were seen, the people threw off their upper garments (the mark of respect shown to gods and sacred head chiefs) and exclaimed, "A god! A god!" But in Samoa comets were believed to predict the death of a chief, or some other calamity such as war or bloodshed. The Indian astronomer and astrologer Varahamihira (sixth century CE), while generally concurring with such theories, developed an elaborate system of analysis to predict the three types of events comets can bring: auspicious, inauspicious, and having mixed effects.

Shooting and falling stars, meteors, and meteorites have in common the sacred quality of having come from the heavens, whether for good or ill. Like comets they are preeminently seen as signs and portents. Ptolemy says they indicate the coming of winds and storms, while Seneca links them to violent political events. By contrast, some believed them to be connected with healing. Pliny preserved the notion that a corn may be successfully extracted at the time of a shooting star; the physician Marcellus (fourth century CE) says the same of warts, adding that if you start counting while a star is falling, the number will equal the number of years you will be free of sore eyes. In India falling stars are thought of not only as reincarnating souls traveling back to earth, but also as demons who love the night and who are connected in a negative way with the souls of the dead. Such beings are especially dangerous to pregnant women.

Among the most famous meteorites in religious history is the Kaʿbah of Mecca, which tradition says was brought to earth by the archangel Gabriel. Also important is the meteorite of the goddess Cybele of the Phrygians. It arrived in Rome in 204 BCE, when Rome was being threatened by Hannibal. The Sibylline Books, which had been consulted after a meteorite shower, foretold that a foreign army could be driven from Italy if Cybele's symbol, a meteorite, was brought to Rome. It was, and Hannibal was defeated. The Romans expressed their gratitude to the goddess by erecting a temple to her on the summit of the Palatine and held an annual celebration to commemorate her arrival.

The alignments of temples, the long history of astrological beliefs, and the abundance of myths and folktales about the stars provide ample evidence for the existence in many cultures of the notion "as above, so below." This view of the universe, in which the terrestrial and celestial realms are recognized as interrelated, has been a source of great richness to the cultural and religious experience of the human race.

SEE ALSO Astrology; Ethnoastronomy; Sky.

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SERINITY YOUNG (1987)
Revised Bibliography

STCHERBATSKY, THEODORE (1866–1942), was a Russian Buddhologist and Indologist. Fedor Ippolitovich Shcherbatskii, who signed his non-Russian writings "Th. Stcherbatsky," was born in Kielce, Poland, and died in Borovoi, Kazakhstan. He studied philology and Indology in Saint Petersburg under I. P. Minaev, Sanskrit poetics in Vienna with Georg Bühler, Indian philosophy in Berlin with Hermann Jacobi, and Sanskrit and Tibetan logic with pandits in India and lamas in Mongolia. From 1900 to 1941, Stcherbatsky taught at Saint Petersburg (later Leningrad) State University. His students included O. O. Rozenberg, E. E. Obermiller, and A. I. Vostrikov. The Russian Academy of Sciences named Stcherbatsky corresponding member (1910), academician (1918), director of the Institute of Buddhist Culture (1928–1930), and head of the Indo-Tibetan section of the Institute of Oriental Studies (1930–1942). He helped S. F. Ol'denberg produce the academy's "Bibliotheca Buddhica" series of texts, translations, and monographs (1897–), which included several of Stcherbatsky's own works.

Although Stcherbatsky wrote widely on Indology and philology, his works on Buddhist philosophy were most influential. Stcherbatsky relied on Sanskrit and Tibetan, not Pali, sources and preferred *śāstra*s (scholastic treatises) to *sūtra*s (canonical texts), considering them to be, respectively, technical and popular works, differing in style, not doctrine. Skeptical of the search for "original Buddhism," he investigated pluralist, monist, and idealist phases of Buddhism. Early Buddhist "pluralism" replaces substances (soul, God, matter) with innumerable, interdependent, momentary *dharma*s, which attain cessation in *nirvāṇa.* Stcherbatsky saw in later *abhidharma* literature, especially Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa,* the epitome of early Buddhist philosophy. (Stcherbatsky's works emphasized traditional Buddhist scholarship and Tibetan sources but neglected modern historical criticism.) He began publishing the *Abhidharmakośa* and its commentaries in the "Bibliotheca Buddhica," summarized it in *The Central Conception of Buddhism and the Meaning of the Word "Dharma"* (1923), and translated its final section as "The Soul Theory of the Buddhists" (*Izvestiia Rossiiskoi Akademii nauk,* ser. 6, vol. 13, 1920, nos. 15, pp. 823–854, and 18, pp. 937–958).

According to Stcherbatsky, Mādhyamika "monism" sees interdependent, momentary *dharma*s as unreal or empty. Emptiness (*śūnyatā*) and interdependence (*pratītya-samutpāda*) are identified as "relativity." *Nirvāṇa* is the realization of this one reality underlying an unreal plurality. Stcherbatsky's main work on Mādhyamika, *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa* (1927), was a rejoinder to *Nirvāṇa* (1925) by Louis de La Vallée Poussin (see Guy R. Welbon's *The Buddhist Nirvāṇa and Its Western Interpreters,* 1968). Stcherbatsky later reinterpreted Mādhyamika as "relativism," reserving "monism" for the Yogacara (see the preface to *Madhyānta-Vibhāṅga: Discourse on Discrimination between Middle and Extremes,* 1936).

Yogācāra "idealism" rejects pluralism and relativism. Subject and object, separately unreal, are really inseparable. Everything exists relatively, yet relativity really exists as the true nature of consciousness. This "idealism" led to the epistemology of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti (Stcherbatsky's "Buddhist logic"), which admits only two modes of valid cognition: non-conceptual "perception," and conceptual "inference." Stcherbatsky is best known for his work on this school: his earlier *Theory of Knowledge and Logic According to the Doctrine of the Later Buddhists,* and his magnum opus, *Buddhist Logic* (2 vols., 1930–1932). Stcherbatsky, admiring both philosophers, called Dharmakirti "the Indian Kant." This comparison, and the Kantian language of *Buddhist Logic,* should be taken cautiously.

Stcherbatsky lacked sympathy for Buddhism as religion but admired Indian philosophy as rigorous philosophy. Refuting the common misconception of Indian thought as vague mysticism, his works challenge Western philosophers to acknowledge their Buddhist and Indian colleagues.

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BRUCE CAMERON HALL (1987)
Revised Bibliography

STEINER, RUDOLF (1861–1925), who wrote more than 350 volumes on philosophy, science, and the arts, was the originator of an esoteric form of spiritual teaching called anthroposophy, which he defined as meaning both "knowledge of the human being" and "human knowledge." Steiner was born in Kraljevec on Murr Island, Hungary, on February 25, 1861. He was educated in Austria, lived in Germany in his middle years, and lived in Dornach, Switzerland, during the last twelve years of his life. From 1900 to 1924, in virtually every major city in Europe, he delivered over six thousand lectures, some to an audience of a dozen and others to several thousands.

From an early age, Steiner experienced access to spiritual realities, including experiences of the dead; the inner, or "etheric," forces of the plant world; and the living power of symbolic forms. At age twenty-two he was appointed editor of the natural scientific writings of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, which were published in five volumes (1883–1897).

Beginning in 1900, at the age of thirty-nine, Steiner began to teach a Western Christian-Rosicrucian esotericism. He served as the head of the Berlin branch of the Theosophical Society from 1902 to 1911. He continued to speak about H. P. Blavatsky (1831–1891), the founder of the society, with great respect, but in contrast to the primarily Hindu-Buddhist orientation of the Theosophical Society, Steiner emphasized both the central role of Christ in the evolution of consciousness and the importance of thinking for the *karma* of the West. Steiner's doctoral dissertation, published as *Truth and Knowledge* (1892), in combination with *The Philosophy of Freedom* (1894), prepared the way for the theory of cognition that characterizes his later thought. In 1904 Steiner published two of his foundational esoteric works: *How to Know Higher Worlds* and *Theosophy.* The third foundational text from that period was *An Outline of Esoteric Science* (1909). Collectively, these three works present Steiner's fourfold theory of human nature (physical, etheric, astral, and Ego), his detailed account of the evolution of earth and humanity, guidance on the path of initiation, and his description of the workings of *karma* and rebirth. Some of the ideas in these basic anthroposophical texts can be found in Hindu and Buddhist scriptures and in the esoteric teachings of Blavatsky, but Steiner sought to establish them in the Western, specifically Christian, tradition.

In response to requests from his followers for guidance, Steiner delivered more than six thousand lectures on disparate topics in the sciences, the social sciences, the arts, education, and on many of the founders and leaders of different religious traditions. In the tradition of Goethe, Steiner showed how imaginative seeing can illuminate the natural world, especially plants and the world of color. He generated myriad insights into the inner dynamics of the natural world, including metals, crystals, plants, soil, and particularly the human body. He described in detail the effects of spiritual, astral, and etheric forces on planetary bodies, the earth, and human beings.

Steiner bequeathed a host of insights concerning color theory, painting, sculpture, and architecture. Many of his contributions in these areas are exemplified in the two Goetheanum buildings in Dornach that he designed. The first Goetheanum, for which construction began in 1913, was nearly finished when it was destroyed by fire in 1922. The second Goetheanum serves as the spiritual center for the General Anthroposophical Society. In the years 1910–1914 Steiner taught several courses on speech formation that were based on his esoteric knowledge of the human larynx, and he wrote and directed four dramas in which he attempted to use those innovations in speech to express the inner realities of human and spiritual beings. In 1912 Steiner began teaching a series of lessons for a discipline of his own invention called *eurythmy.* Using his knowledge of language and sound, he showed how the human body, particularly the limbs, can express in visible form the varied meanings of consonants, vowels, and musical notes.

Steiner posited three principal divisions of society: the economic, the political, and the spiritual-cultural. He argued that these three realms should be regarded as separate but related and of equal importance. This social theory has profound implications for Steiner's approach to education, which he placed in the spiritual-cultural sphere, essentially removed from economic and political (including governmental) influence. Steiner's attempt to develop an approach to education that would be modern, spiritual, and centered on the needs of the child dates to his lecture series of 1907, *The Education of the Child in the Light of Anthroposophy*, and it finds full expression in the Waldorf approach to education.

Waldorf Schools (named after the school in Stuttgart that Steiner founded in 1919 for the children of workers in the Waldorf-Astoria tobacco factory) employ a curriculum based on what Steiner saw as the seven-year cycles through which a child develops and on the cultivation of the child's scientific and artistic imagination. On Steiner's recommendation, Waldorf teachers strive to "receive the child in reverence, educate the child in love, and send the child forth in freedom."

Steiner delivered more than a dozen lecture series on the spiritual and esoteric revelations that he gleaned from the events depicted in the Christian scriptures. Although he emphasized that the primary spiritual path for modern humanity ought to be spiritual science, or anthroposophy, in 1922, in response to an appeal for help from German and Swiss pastors and theology students, Steiner provided the spiritual foundation for a church called the Christian Community. During Christmas week in 1923, Steiner reorganized the Anthroposophical Society with the Goetheanum as its spiritual and physical center. He died at the Goetheanum on March 30,1925.

SEE ALSO Anthroposophy; Blavatsky, H. P.; Rosicrucians; Theosophical Society.

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STHIRAMATI. Although he was born in India, Indian Buddhist literature has almost nothing to say about Sthiramati (470–550). Therefore, Tibetan and Chinese sources must be relied on for information on his life. According to Tibetan Buddhist historians, Sthiramati was born in Daṇḍakarāṇya, the son of a *śūdra,* and as a child studied under Vasubandhu (c. mid-fourth to mid-fifth centuries). Both Chinese pilgrim scholars Xuanzang (600?–664) and Yijing (635–713) mention Sthiramati as one of the great Buddhist philosophers and that he was a disciple of Guṇamati (c. 420–500). In addition, in *Chengweishilun shuji,* Kuiji (632–682), a disciple of Xuanzang, gives short biographies of the ten great Buddhist masters. He includes Sthiramati and names him as a student of Guṇamati. Kuiji also reports that Sthiramati hailed from the state of Laṭā in southern India and was an older contemporary of Dharmapāla (530–561). Also, in the opening section of the Uighur translation of his *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyaṭīkā Tattvārthanāma* Sthiramati states explicitly that Guṇamati was his teacher. This is significant evidence to confirm the Chinese scholars' account that Sthiramati was a disciple of Guṇamati, not of Vasubandhu as the Tibetan historians asserted.

Both Tibetan and Chinese sources note that he dwelled at Nālandā. However, Sthiramati's name is closely associated with the city of Valabhī, and the fact that Sthiramati was one of the most renowned Buddhist masters at Valabhī is attested to by both Chinese Buddhist sources and historical documents. Regarding the dates of Sthiramati's life, Ui Hakuju suggested 470 to 550 whereas Erich Frauwallner suggested 510 to 570. Ui's date appears to be more plausible as a working hypothesis than the one established by Frauwallner because he based his calculation on Xuanzang, who, in turn relied on the dates of Dharmapāla as well as Śīlabhadra (529–645). Ui also relied on the date of Guṇamati, which he established as around 420 to 500.

EXTANT WORKS. Sthiramati is mostly known through his two extant works in Sanskrit that have been edited and partially translated into western languages: the *Madhyāntavibhāgaṭīkā* and the *Triṃśikābhāṣya.* However, the Tibetan tradition attributes thirteen works to the name Sthiramati. Among them seven are Tantric texts, although it is almost impossible to know whether the author of these works is the same Sthiramati. Of the remaining six, two are Tibetan translations of the *Madhyāntavibhāgaṭīkā* and the *Triṃśikābhāṣya,* and four are works of which the Sanskrit originals are lost, namely, *Sūtrālaṃkāravṛttibhāṣya, Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇavibhāṣa, Abhidharmakośabhāṣyaṭīkā Tattvārthanāma,* and *Ārya Mahāratnakūṭadharmaparyaya-śatasāhasrikā Kāśyapaparivartaṭīkā.* The Chinese canon also contains four works under the name Anhui (Sthiramati): *Jushelun shiyishu, Dacheng zhongguan shilun, Dacheng apidamo zajilun,* and *Dacheng guang wuyunlun.* Among these the *Jushelun shiyishu* and the *Dacheng guang wuyunlun* appear to correspond respectively to the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyaṭīkā Tattvārthanāma* and the *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇavibhāṣa* (although they are different in contents), whereas the *Dacheng apidamo zajilun* and the *Dacheng zhongguan shilun* are works extant only in Chinese translation. Thus, in all, there are eight non-Tantric works that can be attributed with some certainty to Sthiramati.

Sthiramati was primarily a commentator and did not compose any independent treatise. His most significant contribution is in the field of Yogācāra philosophy. In his commentaries Sthiramati appears as a thinker who was mainly concerned with clarifying and systematizing Yogācāra philosophy, and, although he did have his preferences, he was not particularly interested in sectarian controversy. Sthiramati's commentaries on major Yogācāra texts, including the *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra* and the *Madhyāntavibhāga,* show that one of his main intentions was to elucidate the Mahāyāna concept of enlightenment *(bodhi)* or buddhahood, expressed by the term *dharmadhātu,* and its soteriological implications as the ultimate goal of the Buddhist path. These issues are discussed at great length in his two larger works: the *Madhyāntavibhāgaṭīkā* and the *Sūtrālaṃkāravṛttibhāṣya.*

YOGĀCĀRA THOUGHT. Sthiramati's systematic understanding of Yogācāra philosophy is found most succinctly in his *Triṃśikābhāṣya.* According to this, ordinary people are inclined to impose the concepts of persons *(pudgala)* and phenomena *(dharma)* on the realities that in truth consist of moment-to-moment processes of cognitions (*citta* or *vijñapti*) caused by their own conditions. The view of self (or person) constitutes afflictive obstruction *(kleśāvaraṇa)* that hinders liberation *(mokṣa)* whereas the construct of phenomena leads to cognitive obstruction that hinders omniscience *(saravajñatva).* The teaching of mind-only *(cittamātra)* or cognition-only *(vijnaptimātra)* is to enable unenlightened people to understand the selflessness of persons *(pudgalanairātmya)* and the selflessness of phenomena *(dharmanairātmya).* The constructed duality of persons and phenomena *(grāhakagrāhyadvaya)* is of imagined nature *(parikalpitasvabhāva)* and is ultimately nonexistent. However, this dualistic concept is constructed based on the transformation of consciousness *(vijñānapariṇāma)* or cognition-only *(vijnaptimātra),* which is of a dependent nature *(paratantrasvabhāva).* To see that realities are cognition-only and free from the superimposition of the duality of persons and phenomena is to realize their true nature *(parinṣpannasvhabhāva).* Because the knowledge of the selflessness of persons is an antidote to the false view of self and because the knowledge of the selflessness of phenomena is an antidote to cognitive obstructions, to remove afflictive and cognitive obstructions is to achieve liberation and omniscience or buddhahood.

According to Sthiramati, the teaching of *vijñaptimātra* (i.e., things do not exist with intrinsic natures but are only the transformations of consciousness) is to refute the errors of the two extreme views: (1) that the objects, like consciousness *(vijñāna),* are real; and (2) that, like the objects, consciousness only exists conventionally but not ultimately.

Due to the lack of translation of his works into Chinese, Sthiramati did not get as much appreciation as Dharmapāla in the Chinese tradition. Chinese Buddhists' interpretations of Sthiramati's views on Yogācāra tend to be fragmentary and at times unfounded, and his more important contributions went unknown.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, overview article; Enlightenment; Vasubandhu; Yogācāra.

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STIGMATA SEE BODILY MARKS

STOICISM is a philosophy related to the ancient Greek Stoic school, which took its name from the painted "porch" (*stoa*) on the northern side of the Athenian Agora (now ruins partially excavated along Hadrianos Street), where teachers and students of the school initially met. Later, however, lessons were also held in more suitable public buildings (cf. Diogenes Laertius, 7.184).

HISTORICAL SURVEY. The founder of the Stoic school was Zenon (c. 335–263 BCE). Born in Cithium, Cyprus, he traveled for business to Athens in his thirties and came in contact with Socratic circles there. Zenon devoted himself to philosophy and worked out a comprehensive and ethically oriented world vision, entirely different in its ontological framework from those Plato and Aristotle had produced a few decades earlier. Having lived a successful life in Athens, whose municipality honored him with a statue, Zenon committed suicide. According to Stoic doctrine, suicide is a proper way to end one's life when circumstances (chronic illness, external pressure, etc.) prevent one from continuing to live as a wise person.

Cleanthes (c. 331–232 BCE), a student of Zenon's from Assos (not far from ancient Troy), led the school until he let himself starve to death, having reached almost one hundred years of age. Cleanthes is believed to have been interested in religion, an opinion due apparently to his famous "Hymn to Zeus" (*Stoicorum veterum fragmenta [SVF]* 1.537). In fact, Cleanthes occupied himself with a wide range of philosophical topics, including logic as well as psychology.

The third head of the Stoa was Chrysippus (c. 280–208 BCE), who came from Soli, near modern Mersin, in Cilicia (southwestern Anatolia, bordering Syria). Chrysippus was a natural scholar who wrote numerous books (only fragments are extant) by which he improved the Stoic system in all branches of philosophy. Most of what is known as Stoicism comes from him. After his death the Stoa was directed by Diogenes of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris and, later, by Antipater of Tarsus. These Stoic leaders of the first half of the second century BCE left the system set up by Chrysippus unchanged, for they were occupied in rebuking critics from rival schools, such as the Epicureans, the Peripatetics (Aristotle's followers), and especially Carneades of Cyrene, the director of the Academy (Plato's former school).

The two major Stoic figures of the following period, which August Schmekel labeled the Middle Stoa, are Panaetius of Rhodes (c. 185–c. 109 BCE) and Posidonius of Apamea, Syria (c. 135–c. 50 BCE). Both were worldly philosophers who developed friendly ties with high-ranking politicians and intellectuals in Rome. Panaetius was mainly concerned with issues of a moral and social nature; in religious matters he seems to have expressed agnostic views. Posidonius, who was endowed with an encyclopedic mind, wrote books on cosmology, geography, and history, and he restyled the Stoic system. Several tenets of Posidonius's system differed from Chrysippean "orthodoxy." For example, Posidonius accepted the existence of an "irrational" part of the soul, following a rather Platonic psychological view (*Fgm.* 150 to 169, Edelstein-Kidd). Unlike Panaetius, Posidonius also had a genuine interest in theology and religious phenomena.

During the period of Panaetius's and Posidonius's leadership, Stoicism became one of the most followed philosophical trends of late Republican and early Imperial Rome. Representative of Roman Stoicism are Vergil's *Aeneid*, Seneca's moral essays, and the emperor Marcus Aurelius's *Meditations.* All these works exhibit a consistently Stoic inspiration, although it was developed in a personal, nonprofessional way. Little is known about the internal life of the school in later times. The Athenian Stoa apparently ceased to function as a center after the mid-first century BCE, and many anonymous private teachers carried Stoic philosophy throughout the Hellenistic world. Only a few of their names have come down to us, the most famous being Epictetus of Hierapolis (Phrygia; c. 50–130 BCE), whose *Manual* was long admired as an outstanding outline of the Stoic moral attitude.

In 175 CE Marcus Aurelius established—in Athens, the cradle of ancient Greek culture—a school for the study of literature (rhetoric) and the four main philosophical trends, including Stoicism. Thus, Athens became once again the official seat of Stoicism, but no information about the names and activity of the appointed Stoic teachers has survived. This imperial school was ordered closed in 527 by the Christian emperor Justinian, after allegations that it was a haunt for pagan propaganda.

Both Jewish and Christian thinkers, including Philo, Clemens and Origen of Alexandria, Tertullian, and Augustine of Hippo, were well acquainted with Stoic philosophy and appreciated its doctrine of providence and its high ethical standards. But as a whole, Stoicism was rejected because of its alleged materialism, and Platonism seemed, for Christianity, a much better choice. Stoicism is rarely mentioned in the literature of the Middle Ages, although it should have been known through Latin sources. Additionally, it was no longer qualified as a philosophical movement or school. Only in the Renaissance did the ancient Stoa tradition find renewed appreciation. Blaise Pascal's assessment (suggested by Montaigne) of the Stoic as a person who confidently trusts in himself rather than God provoked a negative reaction from the Christian point of view. Stoic elements can be recognized in Barukh Spinoza's *Ethics* and in Immanuel Kant's moral theory.

MAIN DOCTRINES. The chief concern of ancient Stoic philosophy, as with other Hellenistic schools, was to lead human beings to happiness (*eudaimonia*), which for the Stoics consists of moral virtue *(aretē)*—that is, pursuing on every occasion what is *kalon* (good, or, originally, well-done) The wise, well-behaved person (*sophos*) enjoys perfect happiness, for he is always coherent, firm, and internally appeased (*SVF* 3.29–67; 548–588). However, the sage's art of good living (*eu zēn*, *SVF* 3.16) requires a correct understanding of the nature of things and of the place of human beings in the world.

The Stoic approach is essentially a dynamic one. Reality, or nature, is a net of mutual interactions explaining the "growth" (the original meaning of *phusis*), change, and decay of individual things. Every "real" entity must therefore be a body, because only a bodily being can act on other beings and be affected by them. The pure logical formulas are not bodily, as they do not exist anywhere (for instance, an utterance can be logically right, even though its content may never have taken place); they are simply something "one can say" (*lekton*). Yet being "bodily" does not equal being material: in this sense Stoicism is not a materialistic theory like Epicureanism. The Stoics distinguished two aspects in reality as a whole: the active and the passive. The former is a producing principle, the "force" (*dunamis*) or God—or, as Chrysippus and Posidonius put it, the "spirit" (*pneuma*). The second aspect is proper matter *(hulē);* that is, the underlying material for the spirit's activity. Both aspects are intrinsically united: the spirit includes a material component of "fire," "heat," or "ether," while matter is always pervaded and shaped by spirit (*SVF* 2.299 to 313).

As a compound of matter and spirit, the world is represented by the Stoics as an organic, harmonic, and perfect living being (*SVF* 2.633–641), in which each part has a mutual "solidarity" with all others (*sumpatheia*, *SVF* 2.475, 534, 546). The spiritual principle operating inside reality receives, in the Stoic system, various names according to its manifold functions. It is primarily the "reason" (*logos*) through which all things of the world are brought about and linked in the most rational way (*SVF* 1.85, 160, 493, 2.1051). Each phenomenon takes its own place in a serial connection of causes and effects, but the particular causal chains, heterogeneous though they may appear in detail, all hang from one single principle and deploy themselves in conformity with a world plan laid down in the Logos at the beginning; thus the interlacing of all causes displayed by reason represents the all-determining "fate" (*heimarmenē*, *SVF* 2.912–938; cf. Posidonius, *Fgm.* 377, Theiler).

Moreover, insofar as the spirit is identical with God, the Logos is the same as God's mind, and fate equals divine providence (*pronoia*). The Stoics strongly stressed the rationality of the arrangement of the world and the providential disposition of all things, aimed ultimately at the wealth of humankind; a set of Stoic arguments thereon, recycled by Christian authors, provided the bulk of what was called *theodicy* in the seventeenth century (*SVF* 2.1106 to 1186). The existing world is, for the Stoics, neither infinite nor everlasting. The same spirit that produced it once and led its development will absorb it again in its original fire in due time, by means of an all-destroying conflagration (*ekpurōsis*). Soon afterwards, another world will be shaped by it, similar to the preceding one, and so forth cyclically. This is because the spirit's Logos, and hence the resulting fate, cannot change (*SVF* 2.596–632). This theory of "eternal recurrence" is a historical antecedent to Friedrich Nietzsche's ideas.

Rival schools objected that the Stoic doctrine of fate would abolish the human freedom of the will, but the Stoics denied it. As Chrysippus explained (see Cicero, *On Fate* 18–19), fate does not have to be identified with a necessity that compels a person to do something he or she would not otherwise consent to do. Of course the environment lays down certain necessary conditions, but consent (*sunkatathesis*) to action comes from the person's own nature. Fate does not fulfill its plan automatically, but coordinates the freely chosen actions of humans with the circumstances. For instance, it was fated for Oedipus to be born, but that would not have occurred if his parents had not decided to have intercourse. Their actions were spontaneous and, at the same time, "codestined" (*suneimarmenon*) in order to accomplish fate's end (Cicero, *On Fate* 13, cf. *SVF* 2.940). Augustine's late standpoint admitting compatibility between divine predestination and human free will was heavily influenced by this Stoic concept.

From an ethical point of view, a person's behavior, either right or wrong, depends on the strength of the soul's leading principle (*hegemonikōn*), which is the spark of universal reason. The aim of human existence is to live in accordance with reason or nature (*homologoumenōs*), that is, in a rational way. Evil doings and passions are the consequence of a degenerated rationality, not of an independent irrational faculty (*SVF* 3.456 to 480), an opinion from which Posidonius diverged. Even if fate has programmed everything, the human subject remains responsible for his or her actions and should be either blamed or rewarded by social authorities (in any case, the wicked are always unhappy). The Stoics did not believe in the immortality of the soul, but they allowed souls to survive for a while apart from their bodies, before melting away into the cosmic spirit (*SVF* 2.809 to 822).

RELIGION AND THEOLOGY. The early Hellenistic religious mentality was by no means an otherworldly one; religion was rather a consolidated social institution, and philosophy had to take it into account. The Stoa, and all other schools, recognized this common heritage and recommended that traditional polytheistic cults be preserved, although the philosopher should approach them rationally, not with superstition. Chrysippus in particular was eager to save the supposed "rational" meaning of the ancient myths, giving them an allegorical explanation, in most cases as if they were hinting at natural or astronomical phenomena—a method similar to the one already applied to the interpretation of the Homeric poems (*SVF* 2.1066–1100; see also Cornutus, *Theology*). Moreover, on behalf of the concepts of solidarity, fate, and providence, the Stoics supported the reliability of forecasts of the future both by means of divinatory techniques and through superhuman revelation in dreams and visions (*SVF* 2.1187–1216). According to Posidonius (*Fgm.* 106, Edelstein-Kidd), the godhead does not simply intervene occasionally when a forecast is sought—for instance, shaping instantly the liver of every single victim in order that it may signify something—but the cosmic *sumpatheia* and the order of fate arrange things from the beginning in such a way that a determinate liver with its natural appearance will also be a sign related to a determinate incoming event.

Theology (in the Greek sense of "talking about the gods"; see Plato, *Republic* 379a) belongs to the part of the Stoic system named "physics" (the other two parts being "logic" and "ethics"), that is, to the doctrine of reality (*phusis*). The supreme God, namely Zeus, is said in religious speech to be the all-pervading and life-giving spirit of nature. Chrysippus etymologized quite falsely the two available accusatives of the God's name, *Día* and *Zēna*, respectively, from the Greek preposition *diā* (throughout) and the verb *zēn* (to live) (*SVF* 2.1069). Zeus alone represents the ruling reason, which continues shaping the cyclically recurrent worlds. He is, in a sense, a unique eternal being. All other gods are perishable beings because they exist merely in the framework of a single world and will be wiped out, as will everything else, by the final conflagration (*SVF*, 2.1049, 1055). Of course they will reappear, exactly the same, in the subsequent cosmic cycle. These gods were thought of as earthly elements and forces, or even as stars and planets (*SVF* 1.510, 2.613, 1009, 1076).

Stoic theology is a puzzling philosophical construction, as its contemporaries pointed out (see the discussion in Cicero, *On Gods*). Since spirit and matter are but two aspects of the same reality, the godhead can also be considered a simultaneously spiritual and material being. God is both soul and body of the universe—reason, mind, and fate, and also the natural substance with all its parts, phenomena, and functions (*SVF* 2.1041, 1077, cf. Diogenes Laertius, 7.147). It is not surprising that Posidonius (*Fgm.* 369, Theiler) claimed the contemplation of heavenly bodies to be the true religious act, which uncultivated people had distorted in the worship of images. Some Stoic philosophers, however, demonstrate a less abstract idea of God and a more devotional attitude. Cleanthes, for example, spoke of Zeus as a personal ruler of the universe, whose fatal law everyone had to follow willingly; Seneca's writings exhibit a deep religious feeling, which led early Christians to imagine a friendship between him and the apostle Paul.

ALLEGED SEMITIC ROOTS. Max Pohlenz (1959) raised the question of whether Stoicism may have undergone a Semitic influence due to the Eastern origin of most of its leaders. This assumption is groundless. In the globalized Hellenistic world, the Middle East did not mean what it does in today's geopolitical context, and local provenance made little, if any, difference. The only "Semite" in the history of the Stoa was Zenon, who belonged to the Phoenician Aramaic-speaking minority of the island of Cyprus; other Stoics came from Greek colonies or from highly Hellenized areas of Asia Minor, such as Cilicia. Diogenes and Posidonius were indeed Syrian, but their native cities had been founded by Seleucid kings and populated with Macedonian military settlers. In any case, all philosophers of this age, even if they were born near Palestine (e.g., Antiochus of Ascalone, Philodemus of Gadara), had an entirely Greek education and way of life.

It is even less likely that a "Semitic" background can be understood as a source of "Jewish" influence. The Stoic "spirit" has nothing to do with biblical *ruaḥ*, being rooted in the concept of warm breath as theorized by Greek medical science. Cleanthes' "Law of Zeus" is no philosophical Torah, because Stoic morality was not grounded in specific precepts or forbiddances. It is plausible that no Stoic teacher ever held a Bible in his hands. Posidonius, for instance, is assumed to have had somewhat anti-Jewish feelings (*Fgm.* 278, Edelstein-Kidd; 133, Theiler). One could more reasonably argue that some features of ancient Stoicism suggest Indian philosophy—the immanence of God in the universe, the conflagration, the imperturbability of the sage—but there is a lack of evidence to elaborate the issue.

SEE ALSO Cosmology; Hellenistic Religions; Logos; Monotheism; Study of Religion; Suicide; Tertullian; Zeus.

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ALDO MAGRIS (2005)

STONES.

Sacred stones have been known from the earliest times, and they occur all over the world in different cultures and religions. Often they are used as objects of sacrifice, elements in various magical rites, or instruments of divination. They may also serve practical purposes as witness or boundary stones, or as memorials; in such cases they may also evoke religious veneration. The unseen powers that are represented by such monuments are of as many different kinds as the reasons why people turn to them.

The general term *stone* includes many different objects, some of them characterized by names of Celtic origin: menhirs (tall, upright monumental stones); cromlechs (circles of standing stones); dolmens (table stones or large, flat, unhewn stones resting horizontally on upright ones); and cairns (heaps of stones). These four types as well as other monuments shaped like pillars or columns are all raised up or built by humankind (see Eliade, 1978, secs. 34ff.). But natural rocks that, in whole or in part, have peculiar or startling shapes or otherwise contrast with a flat or desolate landscape may also be venerated as sacred. Smaller, movable stones can serve as cult objects at home or can be carried as magical protection.

The symbolic meaning of sacred stones is not fixed. They may represent qualities such as firmness or barrenness but they also may represent fertility. Interpretation is made difficult by the fact that many sacred stones come to us from religions and cultures for which there is little or no literary evidence. Under such circumstances, it is understandable that historians of religion have applied many different theories to such ancient religions, speaking of ancestor cults, nature worship, fetishism, noniconic (nonfigurative) cults, animism, and dynamism. If written sources are lacking (as in the case of prehistoric times) or few (as generally occurs with ancient historic cultures), the field is open for sheer speculation. Oral traditions recorded from illiterate peoples who are still living—or who lived into comparatively recent times—contain much detailed and valuable information that may throw light on older times. Treating primitive material in this way means, however, that one adopts the much-criticized survival theory, although this theory seems to be more applicable in the case of sacred stones than in other cases. Altogether, the immensity and variety of the material illustrates well the difficulties of a phenomenological method (see Eliade, 1958, secs. 74ff.; Heiler, 1961, pp. 34ff.). In the following discussion, I shall restrict myself to observations on sacred stones from various cultures for which there is at least some literary evidence to guide the interpretation.

ANCIENT WESTERN TRADITIONS. Stones or stone pillars (Heb., *matstsevah,* from the Semitic *ntsb,* "to stand") figure prominently in the biblical story of the patriarch Jacob. When his wife Rachel died, Jacob erected a funerary stele on her grave (*Gn.* 35:20), probably as a memorial to keep her name alive. Such a pillar could also commemorate an important event, such as the pact between Jacob and the Arameans (*Gn.* 31:43ff.). However, the cultic use of stones was most common. During Jacob's flight from the wrath of Esau, God appeared to him in a dream, and he was struck with awe. Jacob took the stone that had served him as a pillow, raised it as a pillar, anointed it with oil, and called it *beit-El* (Bethel), the "house of God" (*Gn.* 28:16ff., 35:14). In this case, the stone appears to have signified the presence of God.

Such cultic pillars could be connected with altars as in *Exodus* 24:4. Such use was proscribed by the Deuteronomic Code (see, for example, *Dt.* 16:22) as a consequence of the polemics against the corresponding Canaanite cult that was condemned as the worship of pagan gods. Indeed, archaeologists have frequently overinterpreted large, upright stones from the early Palestinian excavations as cult pillars from ancient Canaan. More critical study has unveiled them as, for example, ruins of mortuary shrines or remnants of Iron Age house structures. Actual pillars were discovered at Beit Sheʾan and the ancient city of Megiddo in Israel, and at Jubayl, the ancient Byblos, in Lebanon; their meaning, however, is still not quite clear. The earliest pillar of this kind was discovered in 1933 at ancient Mari, a site on the Middle Euphrates, now in Syria (Tell Hariri). It dates from the Old Akkadian period, circa 2300 BCE (Kennedy and Wevers, 1963).

Light may be thrown on the cult of sacred stones in the ancient Near East by the later, rich material from pre-Islamic Arabia collected by the authority on Arab paganism Ibn al-Kalbī (737–829?). Sacrificial stones are alluded to in the Qurʾān (70:43), and they are explicitly forbidden by Muḥammad (5:490–492). Observations by ancient Greek authors confirm the existence of sacred stones among the Arabs from much earlier times (Buhl, 1936; see also Clement of Alexandria, *Proprepticus* 4, 46). The rites that take place around the Kaʿbah in Mecca represent a legitimated survival of the ancient worship of *ʾanṣāb* (stones). As elsewhere, such worship originally existed together with the veneration of trees, wooden trunks, and posts, or has been interchangeable with such veneration (Höfner, in Gese et al., 1970, pp. 359ff.).

It is uncertain whether the ancient Greek *baituloi* ("animated stones," i.e., meteorites) can be compared to the Aramaic-Hebrew *beit-El* (Fauth, 1964). But the Greek author Theophrastus (fourth century BCE) characterizes the superstitious person as one who dares not pass the already oily stones at the crossroads without prostrating himself and pouring oil on them (*Characters* 16). These quadrilateral pillars, sometimes ending in a head and surrounded by a heap of stones (Gr., *hermaios lophos*) were called "herms." This name is identical to that of the god Hermes, which etymologically means "stone." He is the stone as god or the god in stone. The various specialties of Hermes may derive from his role as god of the crossroads. As such, he is the guide of those traveling on the road and therefore a protector of commerce and illegal business. He is a messenger too, and as a guide he develops into a psychopomp who accompanies the souls of the dead to the underworld. In his connection with border stones, Hermes becomes a god of the land and thresholds and finally a patron of the entire community. The ithyphallic form of the erected stone (also observed in the Hindu *liṅgas*) represents both the fertility and apotropaic powers of the god, which in turn make him a patron of the shepherds (Herter, 1976).

There were other gods of the ancient Greek pantheon who could also be represented by either uncut or sculptured stones. To the latter belong the common sacred column, tapered to a point and called Apollo Aiguieus ("of the road"), commonly found set up in the street in front of a house door. They were anointed with oil, decorated with ribbons, and identified as altars. In the old gymnasium of Megara, the capital of the province Megaris to the west of Attica, was a small pyramidal stone that bore the name of Apollo. But the best-known sacred stone of ancient Greece was the conical stone of Apollo, the *omphalos* ("navel"), at Delphi. The poet Pindar (522–438 BCE) explains its sanctity with the belief that the sanctuary of Delphi is situated at the exact center of the earth. This interpretation might be secondary, however; the discussion of this Greek material reminds us of the difficulties of distinguishing earlier from later phases in historical development (cf. Hartland et al., 1920, p. 870, and Eliade, 1958, secs. 81f.).

MADAGASCAR. On Madagascar there exists a richly developed stone cult. The traditions explaining why these monuments were raised and the rites and practices associated with them have continued to exist right down to the present time. They present a great richness of variations, a fact that constitutes a warning against simplified reconstructions when, in other places, only archaeological memorials survive.

According to the report of a Norwegian missionary, the most common practice involving these stones takes place in the context of an ancestor cult. A man who is prominent and rich calls together his extended family before he dies and decrees as follows: "My body shall certainly die and be buried, but my spirit shall always remain with you, my children. When you are eating, set out a little food in that place where I usually eat. And what I wish for you to offer up as a sacrifice to me is the following: [At this point, he names whatever he is fondest of, such as rice, meat, liquor, eel, different kinds of fish, or honey.] And should anyone fall sick or lack for anything or suffer bad luck, then call upon us, and we shall help you. We shall protect you, sending riches, good harvests and many children." The old man lists the taboos to be observed and states where the stone or altar shall be raised and its size, which corresponds to his own importance. He himself will live in the memorial monument and accept the sacrifices. The choice of this stone, its difficult transport, and its establishment on a raised spot near the village are accompanied by many rites before the ceremonial dedication is accomplished (Ruud, 1947, pp. 117ff.). A French researcher, Charles Renel, has carefully recorded the occurrence, within the separate geographical tribal territories, of stones associated with bequests, graves, memorials, and sacrifice and the different, indigenous names that correspond to their changing appearance and varying functions. As gravestones, they are usually raised to the east on the location of the corpse's head, which is also called the grave's head. The stones are smeared with fat, flour, and the blood of sacrificed animals, and at the foot of the stone sacrificial gifts are deposited.

The older stones are generally uncut; the sculptured stones belong to more recent times. Both are called, among other things, "stone-upright" or "stone-man." Wooden scaffolding, occasionally freestanding, may sometimes have been built over them, and on these the skulls of animal sacrifices are placed. The height of the stone can vary with the social level of the deceased and sometimes directly corresponds to his physical stature; thus, the stone also acquires the character of a more or less nonfigurative statue or memorial. In this case, it may also be set up independently of the burial site. When the deceased has died in a foreign country or for other reasons has not been able to be buried, the importance of the local stone as a memorial becomes even more marked. Nevertheless, it can still be used religiously; one goes to it to make a vow, to leave a sacrificial gift, or to carry out a bloody sacrifice.

In some parts of Madagascar, wooden poles are used in place of stones and are called "intermediaries" or "transference vessels" of the spirits of the dead. A heap of stones of varying size can also be substituted for the single stone, often at the request of the deceased himself. Sometimes, passersby throw a new stone on the heap with a prayer to the unknown spirit for a fortunate journey or for protection against unknown powers reigning over the road. But most often it is relatives or fellow tribesmen who carry out this ritual piling of stones in connection with a sacrificial vow. The worship at stone heaps that are associated with particular persons is believed to promote success in love or fertility. Thus, votive gifts can consist of wooden carvings representing the male or female sexual organs, depending on the sex of the supplicant.

Other holy stones have functioned as coronation stones, for example, Stone-Holy and Stone of the Red Head in Antananarivo (formerly Tananarive). During his coronation, the king placed himself on each stone in turn to signify that his sovereignty extended over both halves of the kingdom. At the same time, the stones were associated with his ancestors, so that in touching them he assumed the strength and holiness of his forefathers. This hereditary ceremony was carried out as late as 1883 by Queen Ravanalona III, despite her conversion to Christianity.

However, not all Malagasy menhirs are connected with the dead, ancestors, or spirits. Some of them commemorate special events, certify a treaty, or mark a boundary. Such monuments are called "stones-planted." But these, too, have been dedicated with religious rituals; for example, a stone was raised in 1797 to the memory of a royal wedding that united two tribes. The king called on the Holiness of his ancestors, the Holiness of the twelve mountains, and the Holiness of heaven and earth. Then a deep pit was dug, into which the king threw a silver coin and red coral beads. After the stone had been raised, they killed a black ox with a white face and also an unruly bull. The king took their blood, smeared his forehead, neck, and tip of his tongue, and then poured the rest over the base of the stone. Meanwhile he spoke to the two tribes and commanded them to be one, just as he and his queen were one, to endure as long as the stone lasted.

Other menhirs can symbolize the royal power present and prevailing among the people. In other cases, cults center around natural cliffs of peculiar appearance that are connected with divination. For example, women come to pray for children at the "stone with Many Breasts." They smear the "breasts" of the cliff with fat, then touch their own, and throw a stone toward the protuberances of the cliff. Should it strike a large protuberance, it is said that the child will be a girl; if a small one, it will be a boy. Should the devotee come to the cliff with a health problem, a votive vow is made that is to be discharged after one has regained one's health. Hunters pray for success in the hunt to the spirit dwelling in another holy cliff said to protect wild game. Each hunter in turn whistles as he walks around the cliff; if they are all able to hold the note, it is a good omen for the presence of quarry. On their return, they sacrifice the finest wild ox as a thanks offering, burning its fat and its liver at the foot of the cliff. The meat is eaten on the spot by the hunters and their families (Renel, 1923, pp. 94–111).

THE SAMI. The holy places of the pre-Christian Sami (Lapps) in northern Scandinavia and on the Kola Peninsula have been thoroughly investigated. Five hundred and seven of them are registered in Swedish Lapland (Manker, 1957), 229 in Norway, 80 to 90 in Finland, and about 10 in Russia west of the White Sea. If restricted to the material from Sweden, the cultic sites are of various kinds: 149 hills and mountains; 108 steep cliffs, caves, springs, waterfalls, rapids, and lakes; 30 islands, skerries, peninsulas, meadows, and heaths. But the largest number consists of venerated stones or cliffs, of which there are 220. In this group, 102 examples are understood to be naturally occurring, uncut images of a deity; in only two cases are there indisputable traces of human intervention. In general, the majority are massive stones. These cult objects are called *seites*, a term of disputed meaning and origin that occurs in different dialectal forms.

Literary sources from the sixteenth century on, combined with anthropological records from the nineteenth century, provide a rich commentary on the *seite* cult, which, in some cases, has been directed toward wooden trunks, stumps, or sculptures in addition to the stone *seite.* A detailed Swedish account from 1671 describes the ritual slaughter of a reindeer behind a tent. Afterward the *seite* is approached by the Sami, who takes off his cap, bows deeply, and smears the *seite* with blood and fat from the animal. The prime cervical vertebrae, the skull, and the hoofs are offered to the deity, as are the horns, which are piled up behind the stone. In one such "horn yard" thousands of horns may be seen. The meat of the animal is eaten by the participants in the sacrifice. Then the drum tells them what kind of game they will capture and assures them of good luck with their reindeer (Manker, 1957, p. 306; cf. Holmberg, 1964, p. 109).

The god of the *seite* can also appear in human shape to his worshiper. Another seventeenth-century account tells how such a god showed himself as a tall, well-built man dressed in black like a gentleman, with a gun in his hand. A similar vision is transmitted from eighteenth-century Norway: "Then a being in human form, like a great ruler, extremely good to look at, dressed in expensive garments and trinkets, appears and sits down to take part in their meal, speaks with them and teaches them new arts, and says that he lives in the stone or mountain to which they sacrifice" (Holmberg, 1964, p. 105).

Omens are taken in connection with the sacrifice, not only with the help of the drum. From the 1670s in Finland, there is a story of a movable little stone god called Seite or Råå ("owner"). Holding this god in his hand, the Sami utters his prayers with great veneration and lists his requirements. If he then cannot lift his hand it is a bad omen, but he repeats his wishes again and again until the stone in his hand becomes so light that his hand leaps upward. When the Sami has received what he wishes, he asks the god what kind of thanks offering he wants, using the same method to get an answer (Manker, 1957, p. 314).

When compared with the stone worship of Madagascar, the Sami cult lacks a clear connection with ancestors, concerning itself instead with the "owners" of the land and the lord of animals. On the African island, the sacred stone monuments are generally erected or constructed by human hands; but in Lapland, the veneration of natural boulders, often left from the glacial epoch, predominates. The belief is common here as elsewhere that the pillars or rocks are inhabited by unseen powers, or, in Mircea Eliade's words: "The devotion of the primitive was in every case fastened on something beyond itself which the stone incorporated and expressed" (1958, sec. 74).

AMERICAN INDIANS. Sacred rocks and stones together with their spirits are highly venerated by the Indians of both North and South America. One volcano in Ecuador has even received human sacrifices by the Puruhá. The Dakota have decorated and painted great boulders, praying to them and sacrificing dogs upon them. The Crow keep small, animal-shaped stones as powerful medicine. The Algonquin around Lake Mistassini in Canada dare not cross the waters before having sacrificed to the spirit who inhabits a massive, anomalous block. Southward, in the United States, higher, personalized gods are also believed to dwell in stones. The Kiowa in Texas possess a little stone god to whom they pray during the Sun Dance. The Tao in New Mexico venerate at the foot of a sacred mountain the "stone men" who represent two war gods. The Pueblo Indians believe that the hunter's good luck depends on his possession of stones of a curious shape.

The statuettes of the West Indian Taino consist of slightly sculptured stones that are venerated in caves. Among the South American Indians of the Andes, stone worship is very common, but stone gods are found also in the tropical region to the east. The mother goddess of the Jivaroan people in northern Peru and the supreme being of the Warao of the delta of the Orinoco are both represented by stones (Hultkrantz, 1979, pp. 60ff.).

This little catalog needs a supplementary description of the modes of worship, but it can nevertheless be compared (at least in part) with the corresponding examples from the Saami. The ecological environment of North America and Lapland is the same, both with regard to natural objects of veneration and with regard to the motives for worship, primarily to ensure good hunting and fishing.

SEE ALSO Altar; Amulets and Talismans; Crossroads; Megalithic Religion, articles on Historical Cultures and Prehistoric Evidence; Phallus and Vagina.

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CARL-MARTIN EDSMAN (1987)
Translated from Swedish by David Mel Paul and Margareta Paul

STORM GODS SEE METEOROLOGICAL BEINGS

STRAUSS, DAVID FRIEDRICH

(1808–1874), German biblical critic, man of letters, and freethinker. Strauss is best known for his monumental book *The Life of Jesus* (1835). In some fifteen hundred pages, half of which are devoted to an analysis of the miracle and the death-resurrection stories in the New Testament, he argued that neither a supernaturalistic nor a rationalistic interpretation of them is credible. Rather, these narratives should be regarded as the results of a naive, primitive mentality whose natural form of expression is myth. Under the flush of religious enthusiasm, messianic fervor, and the personal influence of Jesus, the early Christians applied specifically messianic myths and legends to Jesus. In short, the "logic" of the New Testament narratives is this: "When the expected messiah comes, he will do all these miraculous things; Jesus is the messiah; therefore, Jesus must have done these things." In a concluding section of the book, Strauss explored the implications of his historical-critical work for Christian theology. He argued that it is contradictory and untenable to attribute divine predicates to a single person, Jesus, but not to the entire species, humanity. It is humanity as a whole in which the infinite incarnates itself.

The book was an immediate sensation and provoked a century-long "quest for the historical Jesus" involving much controversy over the New Testament sources and the historical inferences legitimately to be drawn from them. It is often regarded as a watershed in the development of New Testament criticism, as well as the earliest significant statement of the importance of the eschatological element in the preaching of Jesus. Even though Strauss made concessions to his critics in two later editions of the book, he bitterly withdrew these in the final, fourth edition after being denied a professorship. For a brief period in the late 1830s, he identified himself with the Young Hegelians by contributing to Arnold Ruge's journal *Hallische Jahrbücher,* but he soon became disillusioned with their political radicalism.

Even though theologically radical, Strauss was always politically conservative and unhappy with the revolutionary tendencies in German society that erupted in 1848. "A nature such as mine was happier under the old police state," he once wrote. He briefly engaged in political affairs as a member of the Württemberg Landtag but resigned after a parliamentary dispute. He wrote several biographies of well-known historical figures, and in 1864 published a more popular *Life of Jesus for the German People,* which he expected would bring him acclaim but did not. He became increasingly more nationalistic and a supporter of German unification under Bismarck.

In his last book, *The Old Faith and the New* (1873), Strauss set forward his own worldview, which he believed to be representative of his time. He argued that an educated person can no longer be Christian but can be religious in the sense of having a piety toward the cosmos. He proposed a humanistic ethic compounded with his own conservative social views. The book was attacked by Christians but even more savagely by the young Nietzsche, who thought it to be the epitome of German cultural philistinism.

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VAN A. HARVEY (1987 AND 2005)

STRUCTURALISM [FIRST EDITION].

In their widely read anthology of this topic, Richard T. De George and Fernande M. De George (1972) note that "bibliographies on structuralism can be virtually endless if one succumbs to the temptation to include everything related to the topic," but they claim that the following authors "are almost certain to be included in any list of structuralists" (p. vii): Karl Marx, Sigmund Freud, Ferdinand de Saussure, Roman Jakobson, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Roland Barthes, Louis Althusser, Michel Foucault, and Jacques Lacan. This may be so, but the term *structuralism* was not used before 1950, and each of the last three individuals named has repudiated the label. Moreover, the list need not begin with Marx; my own favorite protostructuralist is Giambattista Vico (1668–1744). My problem, therefore, is to indicate the core of the structuralist position within a very wide range of variation. The De Georges' formula can serve as a starting point: "An enterprise which unites Marx, Freud, Saussure and modern structuralists [is] . . . the attempt to uncover deep structures, unconscious motivations, and underlying causes which account for human action at a more basic and profound level than do individual conscious decisions" (p. xii).

HISTORY OF THE TERM. The word *structure* has a much longer academic history than does *structuralism.* The symposium papers edited by Roger Bastide (1972) explore the use of *structure* in linguistics, ethnology, art history, economics, politics, law, psychology, psychoanalysis, social psychology, sociology, and history throughout the present century. But that was not the beginning. The ambitious prospectus for Herbert Spencer's system of philosophy which dates from 1858 refers to "The Inductions of Sociology—General facts, structural and functional, as gathered from a survey of Societies and their changes" (Rumney, 1934, p. 300). What Spencer had in mind was that human societies are naturally existing whole units which can be directly observed out there in the real world. The sum of the individual members of such a society is not just an aggregate crowd but a self-sustaining totality, analogous to a biological organism, in which individuals are linked together in a network of person-to-person relationships. In the positivist tradition, Spencer assumed that there are discoverable general laws which apply to all such social organisms.

"Structural Functionalism." Structuralism of the sort associated with the name of Lévi-Strauss, which is central for the present discussion, developed within the general field of sociocultural anthropology in dialectical opposition to the "structural functionalism" postulated by Spencer, which in the early 1950s had become especially associated with the name of A. R. Radcliffe-Brown. At this period British social anthropologists used the expression *structural analysis* (and sometimes the term *structuralism* itself) to refer to the work of Radcliffe-Brown and his close associates rather than to that of Lévi-Strauss. Although this usage was dropped after 1960, the contrast is illuminating.

In Radcliffe-Brown's vocabulary *social structure* denoted a set of key, enduring relationships, perpetuated from generation to generation, which express the bonds of jural obligation that link together the individual members of a particular society. He maintained that these relationships are empirical phenomena which can be directly observed in the mutual interactions of individual members of the system. Social structure, in this sense, was considered to typify the morphology of the society in question, much as the bony structure of a vertebrate animal provides the principal basis for fitting a particular species into the Linnaean taxonomy of all species. Indeed, Radcliffe-Brown believed that a taxonomy of all human societies could be constructed from a comparison of their social structures, societies with similar social structures being placed in the same taxonomic class.

Lévi-Strauss's formulation. Claude Lévi-Strauss's radically different view of social structure was first formulated in 1945, but the nature of that difference was not immediately apparent. His 1953 conference paper entitled "Social Structure" was an attack on Radcliffe-Brown's position, but the printed discussion (Tax, 1953, pp. 108–118) suggests that none of the American and British anthropologists who heard it understood what was at issue. This is not surprising, since parts of the argument are notably obscure and oracular.

This has remained a characteristic, and perhaps essential, feature of Lévi-Strauss's numerous pronouncements about the nature of structuralism. There are many possible interpretations of his thesis, so that even his closest disciples are often at loggerheads with one another.

Perhaps the key point is that, whereas Radcliffe-Brown's social structure was "out there" in the world, supposedly accessible to direct observation, Lévi-Strauss's social structure was, as he put it, "a model in the human mind." The general idea was borrowed from Roman Jakobson's theory of distinctive features (Lévi-Strauss, 1945).

According to Jakobson, our human capacity to encode and decode sound patterns into meaningful speech forms depends on a capacity (which is innate in all human beings) to discriminate sounds as bundles of binary oppositions. For example, in English we discriminate the phoneme /p/ in *pin* from the phoneme /b/ in *bin* because, in the matrix of distinctive features representing these sounds, /p/ is unvoiced and /b/ is voiced, as shown in table 1.

Altogether there are about thirty such distinctive features, though any particular language makes use of only about half that number. The details need not concern us, though it is important to note that the speakers and auditors who encode and decode sound patterns in this way are quite unconscious of what they are doing or how they are doing it.

Lévi-Strauss initially adapted this theory to his anthropological purposes by claiming that many of the nonverbal elements of human culture—such as cosmologies, art styles, architectural design, the layout of villages, and rules concerning descent, residence, and the regulation of marriage, all of which were prominently featured in most ethnographic monographs published during the first half of the twentieth century—can similarly be broken down into sets of cultural distinctive features which are recognizable as binary oppositions. As in the case of phonology, it is the matrix combination of sets of such distinctive features which determines the characteristics of a cultural feature in any particular ethnographic setting.

In effect, Lévi-Strauss was maintaining that when anthropologists engage in cross-cultural comparison, it is not the contrast in manifestly observable social relationships that is of interest (as was maintained by Radcliffe-Brown), but rather the contrast of patterns of "relations between relations" which can be discovered by analysis yet are unconscious phenomena so far as the human actors are concerned. The theory seems to presuppose that at a very rudimentary level the variant possibilities of human culture are innate, or at any rate that human beings are innately predisposed to build up cultural constructs out of paired oppositions of a very simplistic kind, such as animate/inanimate, human/nonhuman, male/female, above/below, we/they, and symmetrical/asymmetrical.

There are other versions of modern structuralism, such as those of A. J. Greimas and Tzvetan Todorov, which similarly seem to require that the "sociologic" of the human mind contain a wide variety of innate (i.e., species-wide) binary oppositions of this sort, though there is a notable lack of consensus as to what they might be (see Hawkes, 1977, pp. 88, 95–96). Many critics would regard any such proposition as entirely implausible, but it cannot be dismissed out of hand. Shorn of its highly sophisticated elaborations, Greimas's version of distinctive-feature (*sémique*) theory requires only that the brain should have an innate propensity to make two associated types of discrimination, such that any entity held within the field of perception will always be associated with

Matrix of Distinctive Features of Speech

	Consonantal	Coronal	Anterior	Voiced	Nasal	Strident	Continuant
/p/	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
/b/	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
/s/	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
/k/	+	–	–	–	–	–	–

TABLE 1.

both its "opposite" and its "negation" (Greimas, 1966, pp. 18–29).

Furthermore, there is now increasing evidence that all normal operations of the brain are computer-like, in that information is passed from one part of the organism to another in a digital binary code of on/off signals. If your biological processes are controlled in this way, it seems highly probable that processes by which thoughts are generated in the brain are of the same general kind.

But while at one level Lévi-Strauss is arguing that the reality of culture is "a model in the mind" rather than out there in the world, he is also claiming that the patterns of relationship that can be recognized in cultural phenomena out there in the world are directly linked, by transformation, with this preexisting model in the mind. Human culture and human society are made by men, but what is made is a projection of a structure which already exists in the maker's mind.

Saussure's structural linguistics. This aspect of the theory was derived, through Jakobson, from the structural linguistics of Ferdinand de Saussure (1916), which included two further types of paired opposition, both of which have been adopted in one form or another by nearly all modern structuralists.

First, there is the notion of the linguistic sign, which is a totality composed of two interdependent parts: (1) the concept in the mind (the signified) and (2) the sound pattern on the breath, which is out there in the world and which constitutes the linguistic signal (the signifier). The concept is a transformation of the sound signal, and vice versa. It is a crucial feature of Saussure's argument that, where concepts form part of a system, they are "defined not positively, in terms of their content, but negatively by contrast with other items in the same system. What characterizes each most exactly is being whatever the others are not" (Saussure, 1983, p. 115).

Lévi-Strauss argues in exactly the same way both with regard to the relationship between the components of his cultural "model in the mind" and the components of objectively observable culture out there in the world, and also with regard to the significance of cultural elements stemming from differentiation. The meaning of any member of a set of components is determined by whatever all other members of the set are not.

The other type of paired opposition that Lévi-Strauss and most other modern structuralists have taken over from Saussure is the contrast between syntagmatic (metonymic, melodic) relations and associative (paradigmatic, metaphoric, harmonic) relations. In the first case the relations are those of contiguity: the links between elements are as in a chain. The sequence of words in a sentence provides the prototype of such a chain. In the second case the relations are those of asserted similarity: "My love is like a rose." All forms of linguistic utterance employ both these polar types of relationship, but whereas rational and scientific statements are heavily biased toward metonymy, poetic and religious utterances are biased toward metaphor.

In Lévi-Strauss's work these distinctions are particularly important for his analyses of myth, a concept which he discusses at enormous length but never defines. In practice, a Lévi-Straussian myth is almost invariably a story (or rather a set of stories) about "impossible" happenings, as when birds and animals talk like men, men fly like birds or are transformed into fish. Such transformations are metaphoric, but the society of birds, fish, or whatever which is then described is spoken of "as if" it were a society of human beings. The metaphor entails a transposition, as with a musical change of key. Social relations among real human beings are primarily relationships of contiguity depending upon metonymy; relationships among individual characters in myth are likewise metonymic. By implication, the stories are about men even when, in explicit terms, the characters are non-men. In many cases this is obvious, but the point about anthropological structuralist analysis is that intuitions of this sort can be systematized and shown to conform to unexpected regularities of pattern.

The question of validity. Admittedly, at the conclusion of a structuralist analysis the reader will often be left with a feeling that he has been told no more than what he knew already. But the exercise may still have been worthwhile, if what was originally no more than intuition has now become grounded in reason. Moreover, there are some occasions when a structuralist analysis will provide quite unexpected insights which are thoroughly convincing. The analogy with psychoanalytic procedures is very close.

But this immediately raises doubts about validity. In psychoanalysis the fact that a particular interpretation of dream material is acceptable to the dreamer does not mean that the interpretation has any truth outside the context of the immediate psychoanalytic session. Even the most celebrated examples of structuralist interpretation of myth are open to similar objections; they may be convincing, but they cannot be shown to be true in any objective sense. A hard-nosed empiricist can always find good grounds for rejecting the argument lock, stock, and barrel.

Part of this skepticism arises because of the form in which Lévi-Strauss has cast his argument. His enduring anthropological purpose was to engage in cross-cultural comparison on a very large scale. His book *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté* (1949) is concerned with most of the recorded kin-term systems of East Asia and Oceania, while his *Mythologiques* (1962–1971) ranges all over the Americas and even beyond. He therefore needed to assume that the "mind" in which his transformational structuralist "model" is located is a human universal, and it is precisely this which the skeptics find unacceptable. It is one thing to suppose that we are genetically endowed with the capacity to encode speech sounds, but it is quite another to claim that, at some abstract level, the elementary structures of total cultural systems are innate.

If, however, we take a more modest view of what structuralist analysis might reveal, many of these difficulties disappear. It is part of Lévi-Strauss's thesis that different manifest features of the same cultural system may be metaphorical transformations of the same internalized unconscious "model in the mind." For a proposition of this sort to make sense, it is not necessary for the mind in question to be an innate human universal. If the territorial scope of the generalization is restricted, it will suffice if the postulated unconscious model is located in the multiple individual minds of the members of a single society. It seems perfectly plausible that a set of individuals who have all been reared in the same cultural milieu might have the capacity to generate identical or very similar unconscious models in the mind in the way that the theory requires. But the innate components of such models could be very limited indeed.

My personal view is that structuralist method is ill adapted to cross-cultural comparison on a grand scale. It becomes illuminating for an anthropologist only when it is able to show that contrasted patterns in very different aspects of the same cultural system are logically consistent transformations/transpositions of the same abstract structure of ideas. Christine Hugh-Jones's *From the Milk River* (1979) provides an excellent example of an anthropological monograph which adapts Lévi-Straussian theory in this way. It provides a deep structuralist analysis of a single cultural system as opposed to a grand-scale rampage right across the map.

Lévi-Strauss's conservatism. The reader of this article should appreciate that, although most of the key doctrines of modern structuralism are to be found in prototypical form in the writings of Lévi-Strauss, many of his followers and imitators, especially those who have adapted the theory for purposes of literary criticism and the analysis of religious texts, have deviated from Lévi-Straussian orthodoxy on important issues.

Lévi-Strauss is a very conservative anthropologist. Unlike most of his contemporaries, he draws a sharp distinction between "primitive" and "modern" societies. He does not say that "primitive" societies are better or worse than "modern" societies, but he does assert that they are fundamentally different in kind, primarily in three binary dimensions. Primitive societies are nonliterate, nonindustrial, and "cold." They are like machines (e.g., clocks) "which use the energy with which they are supplied at the outset and which, in theory, could go on operating indefinitely . . . if they were not subject to friction and heating; . . . they appear to us as static societies with no history." On the other hand, modern societies are literate, industrial, and "hot." They are like thermodynamic machines, "they interiorize history, as it were, and turn it into the motive power of their development" (Lévi-Strauss, 1961, chap. 3).

Now Lévi-Strauss's structuralism is, as we have seen, heavily indebted to the linguistic theories of Saussure, who drew a sharp distinction between diachronic linguistics, which studies the changes of speech forms over time, and synchronic linguistics, which is concerned with structuralist issues such as the relation between thought and organized sound, and the contrast between syntagmatic and associative relations discussed above. In imitation of this dichotomy, Lévi-Strauss has insisted that his own kind of structuralist analysis is appropriate only for the synchronic study of cultural phenomena. He assumes that the cultural systems of "primitive" societies are sufficiently static to be studied as total synchronic systems in this way. By contrast, he assumes that the value attached to diachronic historical change in modern society implies that the cultural data of modern society fall outside the scope of structuralist analysis.

Lévi-Strauss's successors. Here, as elsewhere, Lévi-Strauss's doctrinal pronouncements, as well as his practical structuralist experiments, are elusive and inconsistent. With rare exceptions, he himself has confined his use of structuralist analysis to ethnographic data of the classic anthropological sort, but his imitators have not accepted this self-imposed restriction.

The first general handbook of structuralist method was Roland Barthes's *Elements of Semiology* (1964). In this book and in all his subsequent contributions to structuralist/semiotic analysis, Barthes concerned himself with materials drawn from contemporary Western culture and recent European literature.

In recent years structuralism, considered as a special style of analysis, has had a greater influence on literary criticism than on anthropology. Here, however, the formal structures discussed in the work of Lévi-Strauss and Greimas have been transformed into the Nietzschean exaggerations of Jacques Derrida's theories of poststructuralist deconstruction. Elaborations of this sort cannot be brought within the scope of the present article, though I shall make some reference to the way these writers discuss texts as objects to be interpreted and recreated by the reader rather than as channels through which an author communicates to potential readers.

Structuralist analyses of a quite conventional sort have been used with success in a number of other more immediately relevant fields. Marcel Detienne and his close colleagues have applied Lévi-Strauss's methodology to materials from ancient Greece (see Gordon, 1981); Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty (1973) has used an undiluted version of the theory to analyze a vast range of classical Indian texts; and Claude Chabrol and Louis Marin (1974), among others, have explored the applicability of the method to the analysis of biblical texts.

Continuity versus discontinuity. It is time to show why an essay on structuralism, primarily of the Lévi-Straussian sort, should have a place in an encyclopedia of religion. First, however, attention should be drawn to a modification of the more orthodox binary-opposition versions of structuralist theory which is particularly relevant in applications of this type of theory to religious materials.

Lévi-Strauss writes of reality being a model in the mind made up of a network of relations between discontinuous mental entities linked in binary pairs. But the reality which is out there in the world and which we perceive through our senses is certainly not of this kind. It is continuous in both time and space. It is not naturally made up of separate things and separate events; the appearance of discontinuity is imposed on our experience by the way we perceive it and, more particularly, by the way we use words to describe it. We feel that there is a disjunction between day and night because we have these two words, *day/night*, linked in binary opposition; in our ordinary experience, however, daytime just fades into nighttime and vice versa.

Structuralist theorists have handled this incompatibility between the continuities of experience and the discontinuities of conceptual thinking in a variety of ways, but several anglophone writers, including Mary Douglas (1966), Victor Turner (1969), and myself (1976) have emphasized the relevance of the arguments of Arnold van Gennep (1909).

Van Gennep originally applied his arguments to rituals marking a change of social status. In the world of experience out there, time is continuous. When a husband dies, there is no chronological discontinuity between the moment when his wife is his wife and the subsequent moment when she has become his widow. But in social time things are quite different: society imposes an intermediate stage of mourning when the wife/widow is removed from ordinary social relations and is subject to various kinds of restrictions. During this intermediate phase she is subject to taboo and is treated as a sacred person.

Van Gennep's insight can be generalized in a variety of ways. First, it is empirically the case that social transitions nearly always have a triadic structure which van Gennep himself described as (1) the rite of separation, (2) the marginal state (*rite de marge*), and (3) the rite of aggregation. Second, it is also an empirical fact that not only is the marginal state regularly marked by taboo, but that all forms of holiness, whether applied to particular persons or particular places or particular times, can be shown on analysis to be marginal; they represent an interface between two nonholy categories which we are thereby able to perceive as separated from each other. The argument is that, at the level of the model in the mind, the impression of disjuncture is achieved either by suppressing all consciousness of the ambiguities that lie at the margin or by treating the margin as belonging to a different order of reality: sacred-extraordinary-supernatural versus profane-ordinary-natural.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE STUDY OF MYTH AND RITUAL. To judge by the titles of their books, structuralist authors are quite centrally concerned with the analysis of myth, but they rarely explain what they mean by this elusive concept, and the definitions that have been offered are seldom mutually compatible. I must therefore offer my own.

To live comfortably in society, every individual must have access to a cosmology—an ordered set of topological, physical, and metaphysical ideas which make sense of immediate experience. The cosmology is not naturally known; it is given to us by the conventional assumptions of the cultural system in which we live; it is taught to us as part of the complex process by which we are transformed from animals into socialized human beings. Furthermore, as an adjunct to learning what the cosmos is like, we also learn how to behave in particular contexts of time and place and interpersonal relationship. These rules of behavior likewise derive from the process of individual socialization.

Both the cosmology and the rules of behavior have to be justified. They are justified by stories about the past which explain how things came to be as they are, and by stories of a rather similar kind which provide precedents for culturally approved behavior or, alternatively, precedents for the supposedly dire consequences of ignoring local cultural conventions. The entire corpus of such validating stories is myth.

Universal versus local applicability. Viewed in this way, myth has moral value. It is sacred for those who accept the validity of the cosmology and the associated customary rules, but in itself it is of strictly local validity. Anthropologists like me who accept the empirical evidence that there are no cultural universals which are not entirely trivial are likely to reject the view of Lévi-Strauss, Freud, and many others who argue that there is a universal human mythology associated with universal, unconscious motivations shared by all individual human beings.

It is important to notice that there is nothing in this context-restricted, functionalist definition implying that myth is fanciful or untrue in a realistic, positivist, historical sense. This point needs emphasis and exemplification.

The biblical story of the garden of Eden is a myth for devout Jews and Christians because of its cosmological and moral implications, and not because it contains such "untrue" incidents as God and the serpent both conversing with Adam and Eve. Likewise, the stories that are told about the signing of the Magna Carta at Runnemede near Windsor in 1215 are myth for all contemporary anglophone upholders of parliamentary democracy. In this case there is very little in the basic story which is obviously untrue (in the talking-serpent sense). Indeed, some parts of it are demonstrably true in a historical sense, since copies of the original document still exist. Yet the story is nonetheless a myth, because it is made to serve as a precedent for customary political conventions which are still significant in the societies in question.

In this approach to myth, the social context in which the stories are told is fundamental; a myth story isolated from its proper context is devoid of meaning. It follows that those who think about myth in this way are bound to regard Lévi-Stauss's extraordinary four-volume *Mythologiques* as largely a waste of time, since the whole exercise is devoted to the cross-cultural comparison of very abbreviated versions of manifestly untrue stories completely isolated from their very diverse original social settings.

Some of the myth analyses which Lévi-Strauss published prior to 1962 took note of a functional (contextual) factor, but in his later work he seems to assume that myth is an undifferentiated, species-wide phenomenon which the human mind is predisposed to generate, in much the same way as it is predisposed to generate speech. He seeks to show how the patterning and combination of myth stories are capable of conveying meaning, but the meaning in question is very general and not context-determined. The superficial differences between the myths of various cultures are treated as comparable to the differences of phonology and grammar in different human languages. At the level of innate capacity, the deep structure is always the same. The myths that appear in ethnographic records are all transformations of a single universal myth which, like phonology, is structured according to a system of distinctive features based on binary oppositions. It follows that the themes with which this mythology is concerned are ultimately human universals of a physiological kind such as sex, metabolism, orientation, and life/death, rather than the solution of local, culturally determined moral issues.

This view of what mythology is about will not be congenial to anthropologists who feel that their basic concern is with cultural diversity, but it is not necessarily unacceptable to the students of universalist religions who may likewise feel that the metaphysical reality to which religion responds is always the same reality, no matter what its cultural form may be. And even those who, like me, believe that myth has a local rather than a universal significance, have much to learn from Lévi-Strauss about the way the messages conveyed by myth are embedded in the patterning and structure of the presentation, rather than in the manifest content of the stories themselves.

This contrast of view among structuralists as to whether myth has universal or local significance is also found in their view of ritual. For the universalists, ritual equates with nonverbal communication; what can be said about it is not very different from what can be said about language as verbal communication. The study of ritual is seen as a branch of a more general zoological field, the study of animal behavior. By contrast, those who see ritual as a localized, culturally determined phenomenon link it quite directly to the local mythology and to particular rather than general cosmological assumptions. Myth and ritual are mutual transformations; each validates the other in its local setting. But in either case the generalizations of the structuralists concerning binary oppositions, transformations, combinations, metonymic and metaphoric associations, and marginal states can prove illuminating.

Myths and rituals as related sets. One particular structuralist proposition is especially relevant for my present purposes: the thesis that mythical stories or sequences of ritual behavior can never be decoded when considered in isolation but only when considered as related sets. A myth story does, of course, always have a manifest meaning considered as a folk tale or as a record of an incident in history. In the same way, an isolated ritual sequence can always be viewed as a dramatic performance which the local customary rules require to be performed at a particular time and place. But the structuralists assume that there is always another deeper, unconscious meaning which is of equal or perhaps greater significance. The structuralist thesis is that such deeper meanings are apprehended by the listener to a myth, or by the participant-observer in a ritual situation, at a subliminal, aesthetic or religious level of consciousness. Structuralist analytical procedures are supposed to make such hidden meanings explicit.

The structuralists' thesis is that the auditor of a myth (or the participant in a ritual) is able to take account of many other myths and rituals with which he or she is familiar. The interpretation applied to the text of any particular story will then be influenced by the moral and aesthetic implications of other such stories.

Thus, devout Jews and Christians will associate any particular story from the Old Testament with a host of other stories both canonical and noncanonical, and it is the structure of the total set of such stories which carries implication. Invariably, analyses of myth in the structuralist manner derive their inferences from a comparison of a number of different stories treated as members of a single set. At the end of the analysis, it is the differences and not the similarities among the stories that prove to have been treated as significant.

This goes right back to the grounding of structuralism in phonological distinctive-feature theory: it is finely discriminated differences between sounds which allow us to discriminate the words of which they form a part, as for instance *bin/pin*. But there are great practical difficulties. In phonology the units that are discriminated fall within a limited set of possible phonemes specified by a limited set of phonological distinctive features. But if we use this mental process as a model for the analysis of myth, we need first to agree about the units of discussion. Within any particular story, how is the overall text to be cut up into segments for purposes of comparison? And among several stories which differ in detail but which seem to have a certain overall similarity, how is the analyst to decide whether any particular story is or is not a member of the same set? The structuralists' failure to formulate any rules about how such questions should be answered seems, on the face of it, to be a very serious defect in their methodology.

In practice, the procedure is intuitive. For those who consider that a structuralist methodology is appropriate to the analysis of religious literature, one obvious set of primary units consists of all the stories in the Bible, while another such set is provided by all the stories about Śiva in the classical Vedic and Puranic literature of the Hindus. The bulk of the materials thus specified is enormous; any practical analysis would have to restrict the scope of the investigation still further by *ad hoc* criteria. But it is easier to justify arbitrary limits of this sort than Lévi-Strauss's universalist practice, which allows him to put into one set stories drawn at random from any part of the world and any cultural context.

It should be noted that the arbitrariness of structuralist analysis connects up with certain of the arguments of poststructuralist literary criticism. Myths (however defined) and sacred books and works of art in general, including music, drama, dance, and the plastic arts, can be regarded as text without authors. The message in the text is what the reader (or auditor or participant-observer) discovers. It is treated as the word of God, but it is an aesthetic response, something in the reader's own unconscious mental processes, which makes the discovery. Thus any "text" is polysemic, a multiple combination of signs; it has many possible meanings, and no particular possibility has any special authenticity that the others lack.

This is what makes sectarian diversity in literary religions so very common. The devotees may all share the same sacred book, but there are vast numbers of different ways to put an authentic interpretation on what it contains. Structuralist and poststructuralist theorizing have provided a sort of rational explanation for this all-too-obvious phenomenon of history.

Prerequisites for structural analysis. A convincing structuralist analysis of even a very abbreviated set of texts takes up a great deal of space, so that in an article of this sort exemplification is hardly possible. The following three prerequisites are essential.

1. The total text under consideration must contain a number of separate segments (stories) which differ in detail but which are also in some respects similar. Taken together, these similar stories form a set. The items in the set can be compared and contrasted. A case in point is provided by the four Gospels of the New Testament. At a certain level each of the Gospels tells the same story, yet the details differ and are in some respects radically contrasted. Whereas orthodox Christian biblical criticism has assumed that these contradictions are of minor significance, or can be satisfactorily explained away to leave a residual unitary account of what really happened in real historical time, the structuralist assumes that it is precisely in the differences that the message of the Gospels, considered as a set, is likely to be found. Within the total text thus considered, all parts of the text have equal value; it is quite inappropriate to the method to discriminate among different kinds of story element under such labels as *parables*, *historical narratives*, and *folk tales* (see Leach and Aycock, 1983, chap. 5).

2. The major segments (stories) must themselves be segmentable into elements (incidents in the stories, motifs). There is a pattern of relationships between the elements in any one story. The patterns differ in the different stories. The analysis calls for a comparison of these differences. In other words, as in phonology, the coding of the total system is assumed to be a structure of relationships between relationships.

3. The establishment of the patterns and the contrasts between them call for close attention to very fine details in the texts under consideration. Ideally, the analysis should take account of every detail; it is a presupposition of the distinctive-feature thesis that, while the text may contain redundancies, it cannot contain accidents. Every detail adds something to the cogency of the message.

Examples of structuralist analysis. Multifaceted structuralist analyses often turn out to be more interesting than those confined to a single dimension. As we have seen, the structuralist thesis is that the fundamental pattern of the structure under examination is "in the mind." The patterns that can be observed out there in the world of cultural experience—in speech or written text or musical performance or ritual sequences, in the design of works of art and buildings, or in the layout of cultural space—are all transformations of the same mental structure. Thus, at one remove, they should also be transformations of each other. If structuralist analysis has application to religious studies, its principal value might be to give unexpected insight into how the aesthetic imagination is able to carry out these transformations from one artistic medium to another.

All this is very laborious. The linguistic analogy is with the parsing of a sentence, first into words related in a grammatical structure, and then into phonemes related in a phonological structure, and then into the patterns of distinctive features that constitute the phonemes. The skeptic needs to be persuaded that the demonstration of such a fine-grain hierarchy of relations could possibly be worthwhile.

I would not myself want to suggest that skepticism should be wholly abandoned, but I recommend a close reading of O'Flaherty's *Asceticism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Śiva* (1973), taking special note of the pull-out Chart of Motifs and of the complexities of Appendix A (pp. 319–320), which together show what I mean by saying that, in structuralist analysis, it is assumed that the message is embedded in relationships between relationships. This is a one-dimensional study, but it is a very distinguished example of its kind.

My own favorite definition of myth is that of Julius Schniewind: "Mythology is the expression of unobservable realities in terms of observable phenomena" (Bartsch, 1953–1962, p. 47). This puts myth at the very core of all forms of religious expression. In the five pages of her concluding chapter, O'Flaherty provides as good an argument as any that I know for saying that a structuralist analysis of a corpus of mythology can show us how these unobservable realities become apprehensible through close familiarity with a set of stories which on the face of it are mutually contradictory.

But the determined skeptic can find reassurance in the fact that competent structuralists analyzing the same materials seldom arrive at the same conclusions. Chabrol and Marin's *Le récit évangelique* (1974) is a multiauthored structuralist monograph on the theme of the New Testament parables. Their work derives its theoretical basis from the semiotic theories of A. J. Greimas. Leach and Aycock's *Structuralist Interpretations of Biblical Myth* (1983, chap. 5) is a much shorter structuralist essay but is also concerned with New Testament parables, and the underlying theory is similar in many respects. The argument which Chabrol offers in his essay "De la sémiotique en question" (Chabrol and Marin, 1974, pp. 193–213) overlaps at many points with what I have been saying in the present article. Yet with the possible exception of Chabrol himself (see p. 135), the various French authors all agree that *parable* is a meaningful genre for structuralist purposes, while I, in the work cited above, argue quite specifically that it is not. A critical comparison of the arguments offered in these two, in some ways very similar, contributions might be of value for those who find the structuralist/semiotic treatment of religious texts too slippery to handle.

Conclusion: The Sistine Chapel. I shall conclude by offering the skeleton of part of one of my own essays showing how works of art, literary texts, and church practice can be combined in a meaningful structural pattern.

The nine main panels in the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican are of world renown. They are grouped in three sets of three, a cross-reference to the Holy Trinity. At the altar end, God as Creator and Light of the World appears alone without man; at the opposite end are three panels depicting Noah/Adam, the sinful but potentially redeemable man without God. At the center are three scenes where man and God are together: the creation of Adam, the creation of Eve, and the temptation of Adam and Eve and their expulsion from paradise.

The Sistine Chapel, which is the personal chapel of the pope, is dedicated to the Virgin Mary of the Assumption as Queen of Heaven. The Virgin in this role is the Second Eve; she also stands for the church itself. In the center panel the figure of the newly created Eve is at the exact center of the entire ceiling. In the panel depicting the Fall, the serpent coiled around the tree of life is doubled and effectively cruciform. It has two humanoid heads. One, which forms a branch to the left, is that of the temptress who grasps the voluptuous but still innocent Eve by the hand. The other, which forms a branch to the right, is that of the angel armed with the flaming sword which drives the now haggard sinners into the wilderness. The face of the serpent-temptress is like that of the newly created Eve, but it looks in the reverse direction; the face of the voluptuous, innocent Eve is that of the uncreated Eve who appears wrapped in the womb of time in the panel showing the creation of Adam. According to a medieval legend, the cross on which Christ died was cut from the tree of life that had grown in the garden of Eden.

The cruciform depiction of this tree with its double-headed serpent was originally positioned so as to be directly above the screen dividing the secular antichapel from the sacred chapel proper. In a more ordinary church of the period, this position would have been filled by a crucifix standing above the rood screen.

The theme of the double-headed serpent turned into a crucifix recurs in the corner panel to the right of the altar, where the manifest depiction is the story of the healing of the sinful Israelites smitten by a plague of serpents in the wilderness. In this case there is a direct cross-reference to the passage in the *Gospel of John* that reads: "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up: That whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life" (*Jn.* 3:14–15).

This is only a partial outline. Even in minimally convincing form, full analysis calls for an essay substantially longer than the whole of the present article. Many of the themes in this analysis have also appeared in other interpretations of Michelangelo's iconography, but some are a peculiar product of structuralist methodology. Some art historians, theologians, and literary critics find the results convincing. Such is the only justification which I can put forward for structuralism in general. If some readers of structuralist analyses feel that they have thereby gained insights which they did not have before, the exercise has been worthwhile.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

In no sense at all should the bibliography which follows be regarded as a guide to the literature of structuralism, or even to that part of structuralist literature concerned with religious studies. It simply lists references mentioned in the foregoing

article. Those who wish to pursue the fundamentals further could hardly do better than to consult the richly annotated twenty-six page bibliography and reading guide appended to Hawkes's *Structuralism and Semiology* (cited below), though since its publication there has been a further huge expansion of the relevant literature.

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EDMUND LEACH (1987)

STRUCTURALISM [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS].

In 1970, Sir Edmund Leach wrote in his book about Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908–) that structuralism was held by many to be a new philosophy. "Lévi-Strauss," he stated, "is regarded among the intellectuals of his own country as the leading exponent of 'Structuralism,' a word which has come to be used as if it denoted a whole new philosophy of life on the analogy of 'Marxism' or 'Existentialism.' What is this 'Structuralism' all about?" (1970, p. 15). Leach has answered the question himself in a number of publications. His characterization may certainly be an apt impression of what was "in the air" in the 1960s. Later this was to change, but it is not quite off the mark to say that post-structuralism—sometimes presented as postmodernism—has since been highly advertised as much more than a method or a fashion; it has been heralded as grasping the very spirit of the age. It may seem so if one discusses the latest trends in late modern societies, but when applied to religion and the study of religion, the attractiveness of the latest intellectual fashions fade. Religions and religious traditions are much more conventional, traditional, and ritualized than late modern trends and fashions, and it therefore makes good sense to study religions and matters pertaining to religion in a structuralist framework.

It is the basic premise of structuralism that human sociocultural products, such as language and religion, are sign systems in which any entity becomes meaningful only in relation to the system and its rules and against a structured background. The structures and rules are mostly followed unconsciously. Ironically, post-structural phenomena may thus also be analyzed in structuralist terms.

Thus, structuralism is by no means exhausted as an approach to human cultural and social formations. The long philosophical debate over whether the structures retrieved in analysis are preeminently to derive from minds producing culture or are to be located in the products themselves dissolves to an extent in a structuralist perspective. That is because all cultural products, be they language, symbolism, religion, or any other aspect of culture, are and must be structured if they are to be understandable by and meaningful to other humans. This leads to an evaluation of structuralism as more than simply one method among others of equal standing. It has been suggested by Peter Caws (1997) that structuralism may indeed be *the* philosophy for the human sciences. That the term *structuralism* covers a wide array of subjects is evident from the introduction by John Lechte in his *Fifty Key Contemporary Thinkers* (1996) to many of the prominent thinkers in the history of the structuralist movement, from the earliest inspirations to the later postmodernist phases.

REVISIONS AND CRITICISMS. As scholars pick up the structuralist tradition as an approach in the study of religion, they are able to review, revise, and continue to develop the structuralist approach. Although the earlier stage of structuralist scholarship was much concerned with exegeses of the most "canonical" writing of, especially, Lévi-Strauss, subsequent research has not been uncritical of the "masters," and it has also been able to advance and transform the initial inspirations and to solidify and justify the structuralist paradigm (Johnson, 2003).

One of the critical points in the early structuralist period was a rather consistent criticism concerning the validity and replicability of structural analysis and the more practical issues of method: How does one proceed and where are structures to be found? Are they part of the "native's reality"—are they in the human mind or in sociocultural products? Are they conscious or subconscious representational models or are they analytical and explanatory models made by the analyst? Leach's suspicion was quite clear:

> In all his writings Lévi-Strauss assumes that the simple first-stage "model" generated by the observer's first impressions corresponds quite closely to a genuine (and very important) ethnographic reality— the "conscious model" which is present in the minds of the anthropologist's informants. . . . It seems all too obvious that this initial model is little more than an amalgam of the observer's own prejudiced presuppositions. (1970, p.12)

Leach also remarks that Lévi-Strauss "consistently behaves like an advocate defending a cause rather than a scientist searching for ultimate truth" (1970, p. 12). Although "ultimate truth" seems outside the range of human knowledge, the implications are clear enough. On the other hand, since the days when it was necessary to defend structuralism as a new approach, analyses have proved quite fruitful in many areas of the human sciences, from social anthropology to media studies to biblical scholarship. As Stanley J. Tambiah has illustrated in his *Edmund Leach* (2002), Leach's own production is a fine example of this fruitfulness, especially in relation to cultural codes, classificatory systems, and ritual formations. Further, it should be emphasized that semiotics, discourse analysis, and a range of other approaches would have been unthinkable without the influence of structuralism.

As the structuralist theoretical inspiration has proved highly consequential for many of the human sciences, a number of works have appeared that critically review and revise the earlier reading and understandings of the groundbreaking effort of the founders. Among these, Paul J. Thibault's *Re-reading Saussure* (1997) stands out as he demonstrates how Saussure's ideas about language were not simply formal and abstract but much more concerned with how meaning is produced in social life. Thibault thoroughly criticizes the more conventional readings of Saussure. Roy Harris's work is also highly interesting for its analyses of the ways in which Saussure's intellectual legacy has been handled.

STRUCTURALISM AS METHOD AND THEORY IN THE STUDY OF RELIGION. Jeppe Sinding Jensen's article "Structure" in *Guide to the Study of Religion* (2000) traces the development of structuralism in the human sciences with a special emphasis on the ramifications for the study of religion. Hans H. Penner forcefully advocates structuralist theory for the study of religion in his *Impasse and Resolution: A Critique of the Study of Religion* (1989). Penner disproves the thesis set forth by Leach and others about the probable weakness concerning the validity and replicability of structuralist methodology. Penner demonstrates how scholarship on, for example, Buddhism and Hinduism has benefited from structuralist analyses by discovering the underlying regularities of the symbolic systems. However, the most central issue in structuralist analysis is myths and mythologies. Here, Penner agrees with Lévi-Strauss, writing that "it is very dangerous if not erroneous to view myths as symbolic representations of actual social realities or of some cultural psyche, whatever that may mean. Furthermore, it is also a mistake to study myths as concealing some hidden 'mystical' meaning. The meaning of a myth is given in its concrete relations with other versions. Thus, it is clearly a misunderstanding to call this type of analysis reductionistic" (p. 176). In his later anthology, *Teaching Lévi-Strauss* (1998), Penner took up the problem of teaching structuralism, which has been fraught with difficulties arising from the many criticisms and misunderstanding of Lévi-Strauss's work: "From my own study of this thought I believe it is fair to say that the charges of 'anti-history,' 'idealism,' and the impossibility of verifying or falsifying his work are simply false. Nevertheless, these charges were leveled at the very beginning of his publications and as usual they were then used by many who seem to have not read his publications. . . . For many in the study of religion he was simply put down as a 'reductionist'" (p. x).

Others have wanted to know how one could "prove" the existence of structures, and many simply confused structure as an abstract term for a set of relations with more empirical manifestations of systems and design, such as the structure of government or of a building, for example. Earlier structuralists were suspected by their more empiricist counterparts of being too philosophical, idealist, or rationalist, and thus of generating scholarship that was not grounded in "reality."

STRUCTURALISM IN EMPIRICAL STUDIES. Over the years, more empirical and subject-oriented research in a structuralist frame of mind has replaced the style of the earlier programmatic and more technical essays. Structuralism has become ordinary, legitimate, and mainstream in the study of religion to the extent that terms such as "structural," "structuralist," or "structuralism" do not appear in the title of works that draw on the structural heritage. There are certain traits that can disguise the fact that an argument in the study of religion has come from structuralism, including: notions of systemic relations and of synchronicity; the idea of there being no firm foundations and definite pristine historical origins; and the absence of single or direct references for meanings and semantic contents. It is also a structuralist idea that elements and meanings are neither fixed nor given but always depend on relations to other elements and meanings—that is, the notion of systemic relations between elements. A further trait of a hidden structural argument occurs when the text metaphor is extended to cover actions and institutions, which thus become "readable" because of the rules of composition (constitutive and regulatory) that govern their functions. Another keyword is *transformation,* which structualists use instead of *change* or *influence* to stress the way in which something novel is always created or produced in relation to a given structure; thus, it can also be shown that, for example, syncretism is not simply a hodge-podge of singular elements but a cultural creation with certain structural properties.

An instructive empirical example of "implicit structuralism" is given by Louise Bruit Zaidman and Pauline Schmitt Pantel in *Religion in the Greek* City (1994). In their study of the Greeks' "figuration of the divine," they point out that a remarkable feature of Greek culture is:

> the large degree to which all their systems of representation—pantheons, myths, visual images—were mutually supportive. If there was a logic at work behind the constitution of the pantheon and the elaboration of myths, this was no less true of the creation of the visual images of the divine that populated the Greek city. Moreover, these systems of representation cannot be separated from the rituals which gave expression to the underlying systemic structures. It is clearly impossible, for example, to study a statue in isolated abstraction from the ritual use to which it was put. (p. 228)

Other religions and cultures of the Indo-European language family have been subjected to various structural approaches from early on, as in the approach of Georges Dumézil concerning the relations between the ideological roles of rulers, warriors, and peasants in the mythologies of traditional Indo-European societies. However, Old Norse mythology has also proven a field well-suited to structural analysis. The value of structural analysis in the study of myth, ritual, and other sociocultural institutions in the Hindu religious traditions has also been demonstrated. Thus, whenever we talk about such issues as the Confucian concept of *li* (propriety), the Muslim system of *tahara* (purity), or similar sets of sociocultural codes of conduct, we may perceive the validity of structural approaches. E. Thomas Lawson and Robert N. McCauley demonstrate in *Rethinking Religion* (1990) that this goes for rituals as well. In a number of studies of religious traditions, implicit structuralism has made its impact. This may also be in the mode of a pragmatic structuralism working from the positions of Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu. In some areas, such as studies of the Muslim tradition, these inspirations have made an obvious impact—Talal Asad's *Genealogies of Religion* (1993) is an example. The "systematicity" argument may of course be overstated, and there is a problem if one suggests that entire systems should be present in every human actor's individual mind—and consciously so. This is not the case, for the structuralist argument presupposes that competence is largely unconscious, in the sense that speakers may talk without explicit knowledge of the linguistic rules they obey or violate.

THE SURVIVAL OF STRUCTURALISM IN SEMIOTICS AND SEMANTICS. It is frequently assumed that the advent of post-structuralism indicated the demise of structuralism. This may have been the case in literary theory and criticism, where other reading strategies have replaced structural analysis. But, there is even a "post" post-structuralism—or is there? As it turns out, post-structuralism is a continuation of structuralism, but with an emphasis on self-critical and reflexive thought. However, the field has been bursting with near-perplexing jargon, and the consequences for the human and social sciences of applying postmodernist theory have been quite uncertain to many. It is understandable when scholars of religions are uneasy with post-structuralism and postmodernist skepticism about realism and the idea that all claims to truth are but power games. Students of religion are quite sensitive to the differences between religious and scholarly discourse. The crucial questions also involve the problem of representation, that is, about who speaks how about whom, and here the "post" movements present both problems and solutions. There is the problem that profound difference makes us all different, while at the same time it also makes us all equal—and game for comparison and analysis.

Semiotics, the study of signs and signification, also arose out of the structuralist milieu, and in the French tradition it represented, as "structural semantics," attempts toward developing a formal science of meaning. In the study of religion, semiotics evolved into a more practical approach, demonstrating the heuristic capacities of the methodology. The field of biblical studies has, on the whole, proven fertile ground for structuralist and semiotic analyses, as witnessed by the appearance of journals such as *Semeia: An Experimental Journal for Biblical Criticism* and *Linguistica Biblica.* In a more general vein, Richard Parmentier's *Signs in Society* (1994) concerns semiotics in the anthropology of culture.

Semantics, the study of meaning in philosophy and linguistics, is also generally an heir to structuralist notions, as the general theory of meaning in the wake of analytic philosophy has turned towards holistic perspectives, as shown in Jensen's "On a Semantic Definition of Religion" (1999). This is also forcefully demonstrated in *Language, Truth, and Religious Beliefs* (1999), edited by Nancy K. Frankenberry and Hans H. Penner, a reader on relevant positions for this discussion. How semantics and structuralist thought have converged on the philosophy of language is also the topic of Jaroslav Peregrin's important work, *Meaning and Structure* (2001), in which a number ofpostanalytic philosophical and holist positions are reviewed. Holistic methodology is consonant with the general structuralist tenet that elements of a system (words, terms, concepts, and so on) do not have meaning in themselves but only in relation to other elements and the larger system that they constitute—such as in a language or a "form of life," as Ludwig Wittgenstein later termed the preconditions for mutual understanding. What goes for conceptual systems in general also goes for the study of religion, as the notions, models, and theories employed in that activity are also interdependently defined.

In direct relation to methodology in the study of religion, mention must be made of Gavin Flood's *Beyond Phenomenology* (1999), where the author proposes a shift in philosophical basis away from the subject and toward a philosophy of signs as the "first philosophy" for the study of religion. This idea is precisely in accordance with the fundamental tenets of the structuralist paradigm.

MEANINGS, MINDS AND SYMBOLIC WORLDS. Holistic and structuralist theory is also opposed to the "mentalist" point of view, where meanings must necessarily and only be located in individual minds. However, the thought that meanings are somehow related to what individuals "have in mind" is obvious, not only from common experience, but also on the basis of cognitive theories and research; however, the precise way in which symbolic systems, meaning, and the mental and cognitive are related is a complex question over which there is considerable controversy. The concept of the "human mind," as used by Lévi-Strauss and others, has caused consistent confusion, since in French it would mostly refer to something social and public, but in English it would refer to a mental realm. There is no doubt, however, that the "universes of the mind," as they have been called by the semiotician Yuri Lotman (1990), must not only be in minds, but must also be abstract systems of signs so that they may "circulate" between minds and thereby be involved in the creating of worlds of meaning.

All this may seem suggestive of idealism. If so, it is not a problem. For, as Peter Caws argues in his *Structuralism* (1997), "a form of idealism that may be philosophically suspect if applied to the world of nature may be exactly appropriate when applied to the world of society, since although the existence of nature cannot reasonably be supposed to be dependent on minds (the New Physics to the contrary notwithstanding), the existence of society as society can" (p. 17). It is only when humans invent, construct, and make some things "count as" other things that society, culture, and language come into existence—with art, politics, money, rules about ritual purity, and all that it takes to make human and symbolic worlds meaningful. And in making those worlds, we also make ourselves—would we be thoughtful humans if we were not full of thoughts?

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JEPPE SINDING JENSEN (2005)

STUDY OF RELIGION

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
THE ACADEMIC STUDY OF RELIGION IN AUSTRALIA AND OCEANIA
THE ACADEMIC STUDY OF RELIGION IN EASTERN EUROPE AND RUSSIA
THE ACADEMIC STUDY OF RELIGION IN JAPAN
THE ACADEMIC STUDY OF RELIGION IN NORTH AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST
THE ACADEMIC STUDY OF RELIGION IN NORTH AMERICA
THE ACADEMIC STUDY OF RELIGION IN SOUTH ASIA
THE ACADEMIC STUDY OF RELIGION IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

STUDY OF RELIGION: AN OVERVIEW

Unlike theology, the academic study of religion seeks to provide accounts of the world's religions from perspectives that have no confessional (religious) ground or agenda. As an empirical pursuit, it is concerned with understanding and explaining what people actually think and do without establishing or enforcing norms for that thought and behavior. It takes the entire universe of religions as its object of study; classically educated scholars were once fond of quoting the Roman playwright Terence (c. 186–159 BCE), a freed slave from North Africa: *"homo sum; nihil humanum mihi alienum puto"* ("I am a human being; I consider nothing human foreign to me"). It also aspires to treat all religions equally. Of course, these characterizations are subject to critical interrogation, both in terms of the degree to which individual works live up to them and the degree to which they are themselves philosophically defensible.

Despite the field's universal reach, Europeans and North Americans have tended to conceive of the study of religion ethnocentrically. Although the objects of study—religious people—have been universal, the subjects—the people doing the studying—have not. When they did not physically reside in Europe or North America, they were intellectually, if not biologically, of European or North American descent. They studied religions—as a young scholar in the Middle East recently described his professional activity in correspondence with this author—from a Western perspective.

The pervasiveness of European and North American political and economic colonialism and cultural influence gives some credence to this conception. Nevertheless, a view of the academic study of religion excessively centered on the so-called West also takes several risks. It risks ignoring antecedents of that study in various parts of the globe that predate or do not depend upon the European Enlightenment. It risks neglecting vigorous traditions of that study that are emerging in various parts of the world. And it risks impoverishing that study by looking only to Europe and North America for theoretical and methodological inspiration. In other words, it confines the academic study of religion not within the boundaries of a religious community, as in the case of theology, but within those of a culture or civilization.

The entries that follow treat the academic study of religion throughout the world. It has seemed expedient to divide the articles in terms of large geographical regions arranged alphabetically, but one should remember that these regions are themselves somewhat artificial. The entries seek to address how religious studies has come into being in different ways in different academic settings. They treat the contribution of scholars in each region to the study of religions that are found outside as well as within the regions. Thus, the entry on South Asia, for example, treats the manner in which South Asians have studied religions, not the study of South Asian religions. The remainder of this entry offers more general observations about the emergence of the study of religion, its development, and its methods.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE ACADEMIC STUDY OF RELIGION.

According to a well-worn German cliché, *Religionswissenschaft*—the comparative study of religion, the history of religions, the academic study of religion—is a child of the Enlightenment. Insofar as this cliché invites us to disregard intellectual developments outside of Europe, it issues an invitation that we should decline. But it does begin to identify the conditions under which the academic study of religion appeared in Europe, and in doing so it invites us to reflect more generally on the conditions under which that study has emerged.

There are many kinds of knowledge about religions. Before the emergence of the academic study of religion, people learned about their own religions from people such as relatives, neighbors, priests, shamans, teachers, preachers, monks, nuns, and maybe even philosophers and theologians. They learned about other religions from similar sources, along with proselytizers, apologists, polemicists, and heresiologists, who provided information about the practices and beliefs of other people but also gave reasons either to adopt those beliefs and practices, to disregard them, to fear them, or even to persecute and kill the people who adhered to them. In addition, travelers like Herodotos (c. 484–between 430 and 420 BCE), Xuanzang (602–664), and Ibn Battuta (1307–1377), at times less interested in specific religious agendas, provided knowledge of the practices and beliefs of people who lived in more remote lands. All of these people and others as well, such as foreign service officers and journalists, may provide information about religions, but that information does not in itself constitute the academic study of religion. In order for that study to emerge, at least three conditions need to be met.

First, the academic study of religion encompasses only certain kinds of knowledge, namely, those kinds associated with institutions devoted to the professional production and dissemination of knowledge, such as universities. These kinds of knowledge derive their authority in part from the application of approved procedures. Scholars self-consciously pursue methods that are presumed to eliminate mistakes and errors that plague ordinary knowledge and/or that produce accounts that have the appearance of greater-than-average sophistication. These kinds of knowledge also derive their authority in part from various forms of institutional validation: material support for those who produce and transmit knowledge by approved means; the certification of those who have mastered both the techniques and content of the produced knowledge; and the codification and preservation of the knowledge produced—either in human memory, as in the case of *sūtras* and *śāstras*, or via external media such as handwritten, printed, or, increasingly, electronic books and journals. One condition for the emergence of the academic study of religion, then, is the development of such institutions of knowledge, as has happened for example among Mahāyāna Buddhists in north India in the first few centuries CE, in the Middle East toward the end of the first millennium CE, and in Europe beginning in the thirteenth century CE.

The mere existence of institutions such as universities is not, however, sufficient for the emergence of the academic study of religion. In Europe, for example, an interval of over half a millennium intervened between the development of the medieval universities and the emergence of the academic study of religion. (By contrast, in sub-Saharan Africa that study has been a component of such institutions almost from the very beginning.) At least two other conditions are necessary.

The first of these conditions requires thinkers to class practices, claims, and forms of association together in ways similar to the ways in which they are classed together by the term "religion" in English and other European languages today, and then to view the resulting set as a proper object for study by a distinct group of scholars. Martin Riesebrodt has argued that this classification is not as culturally limited as it may at first seem. He has pointed out that people have grouped together phenomena that German (and English) speakers think of as religious even without having a generic notion of religion. For example, Aśoka's edicts treat *brāhmaṇas* (early Hindus) and *śrāvaṇas* (early Buddhists, Jains, and other renouncers) as if they belonged to the same class. Polemicists at Chinese courts during the first millennium CE also thought of Buddhist, Daoist, and Confucian teachings as of similar kind. Nevertheless, the manner in which such classes are conceptualized—whether as *dharm[a]* in Sanskrit-based languages, *din* in Arabic, *shukyō* in Japanese, or something else—may present difficulties for the emergence of the academic study of religion. For example, the traditional institutionalized study of *dharma,* whose sense in Sanskrit we might convey by terms such as *statute, ordinance, law, duty, justice, virtue,* and *morality* as well as *religion,* bears little resemblance to anything that we would know as either the academic study of religion or theology, as even a passing acquaintance with the *Dharmaśāstras* makes clear. Abrahim Khan suggests that this term's meaning has in fact hampered the emergence of the academic study of religion as a single, independent academic pursuit in India. Japanese scholars in the Meiji era and later wrestled with the meaning of the term "religion" in a somewhat different way. In order to endorse the politically desirable view that Japan was a secular state, they had to separate into religious and nonreligious spheres beliefs and practices that had customarily been classed together as Shintō. In the second half of the twentieth century, Africans, reacting to imported European concepts, questioned the extent to which the term "religion" really worked in African contexts. Although in North America and Europe the academic study of religion is fairly widely established today, some scholars in that region, too, have questioned the extent to which the category "religion" is applicable across cultures. In doing so, they have seemed to call the legitimacy of that study as a distinct field into question.

The combination of the institutionalization of knowledge and the identification of religion as a fit object of study does not inevitably lead to the emergence of the academic study of religion. It might just as well lead to apologetics, as happened in Middle Eastern and European universities during the medieval period, or to a global theology or religious philosophy, such as the *philosophia perennis* that attracts thinkers around the world today. At least one further condition is necessary for the emergence of the academic study of religion. That is the relinquishing of interest in establishing traditional religious claims and turning instead to understanding and explaining religious phenomena, regardless of provenance, through nonconfessional models. Herodotos displays something of this attitude, in the absence of the other two conditions, when he remarks that all people know equally (little?) about the gods, so he is simply going to talk about human affairs and customs.

Academic communities may adopt these pluralistic, humanistic projects via different tracks. In contexts within which one religion, such as Christianity or Islam, is considered to be uniquely true, an important step between apologetics and the academic study of religion may be the conviction that all religions share a basic core, rooted somehow in the essence of humanity. This step is transitional, because it leaves in place a tension between the concerns of a global religious philosophy or theology on the one hand, and understanding and explaining religions through nonconfessional models on the other. Europe and its cultural descendants largely followed this track. European thinkers such as Herbert of Cherbury (1583–1648) responded to the wars of religion by formulating the notion of a "natural religion" common to all people. The Romantics responded to Enlightenment rationality by celebrating universally human "intimations of immortality" and of other religious profundities. Both laid the foundations for the emergence of a comparative study of religion whose character as a global theology was expressed well in the dying words of an early Swedish scholar who also happened to be a Lutheran archbishop, Nathan Söderblom (1866–1931): "I know God exists; I can prove it from the history of religions." Tensions between the comparative study of religion as a global theology and an academic study of religion that is more self-consciously humanistic remain especially strong in North America, in part as a result of the profound influence once exercised by Mircea Eliade (1907–1986).

In contexts in which traditional claims to religious exclusivity are lacking and all religions are somehow seen as manifestations of religious truth, a different track for the emergence of the academic study of religion is probably necessary. That is because in these contexts it would simply be a task of the local equivalent of theology or religious philosophy to elucidate the common core of truth that all religions share. Precisely what forces have stimulated a shift to the use of nonreligious models in these areas remains a question for future research. One certainly cannot overlook the importance of external stimuli, especially in regions that were heavily colonized (sub-Saharan Africa) or that saw themselves engaged in military and cultural competition with Europeans and U.S. Americans (Japan). At the same time, it may not do justice either to scholars who have urged the adoption of humanistic models or to their situations simply to refer to them as "westernized." On the one hand, "Western" models of education, such as Britain introduced into colonized Africa, were actually heavily theological. On the other, some non-Westerners like early Japanese scholars of religions have criticized Westerners for blurring the distinction between the academic study of religion and theology.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ACADEMIC STUDY OF RELIGION. The preceding section contains unmistakable resonances with the thought of Max Weber, especially his notions of routinization, rational-bureaucratic authority, and the disenchantment of the modern world. Of the three conditions discussed above, however, perhaps only the second is actually distinctively modern, and that only if we extend modernity back into the immediate post-Reformation period, as historians of philosophy usually do. Nevertheless, the emergence of the academic study of religion as a result of the confluence of these three conditions is in fact a modern—or more recent—development. Individual entries will summarize regional histories in more detail. Here it may be helpful to venture a few signposts.

A tradition common in Europe and North America attributes the birth of the "science of religion," as it was called, to the comparative philologist Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900), who referred to it for the first time in the 1867 preface to his *Chips from a German Workshop.* Nevertheless, several factors complicate this birth story. First, Europeans before Müller had done philological, ethnographic, and theoretical work that might just as well be considered a part of the academic study of religion, e.g. the work of Eugène Burnouf in the study of Buddhism. Second, inasmuch as Müller's own vision of the science of religion, informed by German idealism, sought a scientific means to religious truth, it is not clear that his science is precisely what we mean by the study of religion. Third, traditions in the Middle East, Japan, and perhaps elsewhere, too, that predate Müller's talk can claim equal regional significance in moving toward a science of religions. In short, the birth of this field of study is attributable not to a single event but to an extended and complex series of events in several regions.

One major player in the European buildup to the study of religion was philology. During the humanist movement of the fifteenth century, Europeans learned Greek and Hebrew and critically edited ancient biblical manuscripts. In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they followed a similar pattern with regard to a broader range of materials. They learned the "classical" languages of the Middle East and Asia and set themselves to work on the "sacred books" written in these languages, a move that some connect with a residual Protestantism. They further deciphered ancient writing—hieroglyphics, cuneiform—and opened new vistas in what they saw, somewhat oddly, as their own antiquity, especially prebiblical civilizations in the Middle East and the linkage of European languages to Sanskrit and Old Iranian. Within Europe incipient cultural nationalisms, inspired in part by J. G. Herder (1744–1803), stimulated the collection, and at times the wholesale invention, of local folklore. At the same time, ethnographic reports of ideas and practices elsewhere—custom reserves for Bronislaw Malinowski (1884–1942) the honor of being the first actual anthropological fieldworker—poured into Europe. European thinkers filtered all this material through mental sieves that sought to retrieve the essence of religion and its earliest or primal forms, resulting in once well-known theories such as fetishism, solar mythology, totemism, animism, pre-animism or dynamism, primitive monotheism, and the magic-religion-science schema of James George Frazer (1854–1941). These theories, in turn, provided a context for the reflection of thinkers such as Emile Durkheim (1858–1917), Max Weber (1864–1920), and Sigmund Freud (1856–1939).

Alongside philological, ethnographic, and folkloristic studies, liberal Protestant theology played a major role in the development of the academic study of religion in Europe and North America. Inspired by Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834), liberal theologians attempted to rescue Christianity from the critical results of natural science, history, and ethnography by appealing to a supposedly universal religious experience of which Christianity was the supreme manifestation. The result in the first half of the twentieth century was a phenomenology of religion as developed by Nathan Söderblom, Rudolf Otto (1869–1937), Friedrich Heiler (1892–1967), Gustav Mensching (1901–1978), Gerardus van der Leeuw (1890–1950), and their associates, and, with less Christian emphasis, the similar endeavors of thinkers like C. G. Jung (1875–1961) and Mircea Eliade. While philologists, ethnographers, and folklorists were often content to work within academic units defined either by language and culture (e.g., East Asian Languages and Civilizations) or by a more general method (e.g., Cultural Anthropology), the phenomenologists generally favored the placement of the academic study of religion in a single, autonomous academic unit or department.

Although the political convictions of individual scholars varied, none of these moves happened in a political vacuum. For example, Michel Despland has discussed the relationship between the policies of the July Monarchy in France and a hermeneutically oriented study of religious texts. David Chidester has noted similarities between Britain's management of colonized peoples and its management of their religions. What Europeans and North Americans have noticed less, perhaps, is how the encounter looked from the other side.

Colonial mastery provided Europeans with ready control over an extremely wide variety of materials not so easily available to the colonized. It provided the motivation to study those materials by making knowledge of the people to whom they had belonged desirable. It also provided a safe space from which scholars could examine the materials but ignore the claims they made—or even become enamored with them without surrendering any real sense of identity or control. At the beginning of the twentieth century colonial endeavors presented Japanese scholars with similar opportunities, although their range was more limited.

For the colonized the situation was different. Quite aside from possessing different histories of the formulation and organization of knowledge, people on the receiving end of the colonial project did not need to develop academic fields to learn about the "sacred books of Europe." Missionaries were more than willing to provide that knowledge, even if colonial governments did not always appreciate their efforts. And far from being able to study the claims and practices of the colonial rulers from the detached perspective of a supposedly disinterested, value-free science, colonized people were forced to define themselves over against claims by representatives of a dominant power that threatened to undercut their traditional identity and destroy their intellectual autonomy.

The early leaders in the academic study of religion were in fact the Europeans, with help from the Japanese and North Americans. Nevertheless, it would be simplistic to see the study of religion merely as a colonialist enterprise. It may also be seen as in part a response in the arena of reflection on religion, and not always the dominant one, to fundamental infrastructural changes that made colonialism as well as nationalism possible: the increasing compression of space and time as a result of ever more rapid technologies of transportation and communication. The results of this space-time compression include increased personal contacts between peoples previously separated, closer economic, political, and cultural interdependence, and substantial increases in the scale of institutions of knowledge as well as manufacturing and trade. This compression facilitated the appearance of an academic study of religion not simply by granting greater access to data but also by making confessional frames for knowledge less convincing—although they certainly remained convincing to many—and creating a context in which knowledge of religion not limited by confessional boundaries became more desirable. It did so under the shadow of increased nationalism and colonialism, which both resulted from and enforced inequitable control of new technologies as well as intellectual and cultural activities.

From a long perspective, what may be remarkable about the institutionalization of the academic study of religion is not that it first took place in Europe, Japan, and North America but how quickly it occurred all over the world. (That occurrence should not be isolated from the simultaneous emergence of many other aspects of contemporary life, from scientific medicine to weapons technology.) The institutionalization of the study of religion came in two waves. The first wave occurred in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when Europeans along with North Americans and Japanese took the lead in establishing university positions and programs (Lausanne 1871; Boston 1873; Tokyo 1903) as well as professional societies (United States 1890 [dissolved ten years later], Europe [International Association for the History of Religions] 1900, Japan 1930) for the study of religion. (In 1905 only the Tokyo chair carried the title "science of religion.") Research and publication were, of course, the inevitable concomitants of such foundations—in one sense they were their *raison d'être*—symbolized but certainly not exhausted in the English-speaking world by the massive *Sacred Books of the East* series. The second wave, which came in the third quarter of the twentieth century in the wake of decolonization and the cold war, was much more wide-ranging. It saw the development of programs for the academic study of religion in sub-Saharan Africa; Australia, New Zealand, and Oceania; Latin America; and to a limited extent South Asia and the Middle East, along with the founding of new programs in Europe as well as a burgeoning of programs in the United States.

These efforts have met with varying success. Despite a long tradition, Japan has programs in the academic study of religion in only about one percent of its universities; by contrast, by the 1970s the corresponding number in the United States was about one third. Such efforts have also encountered a variety of challenges. For example, programs in sub-Saharan Africa have suffered from a lack of infrastructure as well as a loss of intellectual talent to more prosperous parts of the globe. In most places a primary challenge has come from dominant religions and ideologies. French institutions have been adamantly secular for over a century, but elsewhere in Western Europe dominant programs in Christian theology have outdone the academic study of religion in competition for scarce resources and public status; for example, in the United Kingdom the leading programs have been in so-called new universities (Lancaster, Manchester, Stirling), and a similar pattern is visible to some extent in Germany (Bayreuth, Bremen), despite traditions in older universities (Berlin, Bonn, Marburg, Tübingen). Programs in Eastern Europe and China have had to negotiate a state ideology antagonistic to religion, while programs in the United States, which blossomed during the cold war, have needed to negotiate a state ideology whose opposition to "godless communism" favored religious commitment. In the Middle East, space-time compression has brought about a very different relationship with the rest of the world: the rerouting of formerly vigorous, intercontinental trade either around or, in the case of air travel, over the region and a shift to oil as a source of wealth, often actually or seemingly controlled by foreigners. This context has encouraged a religiously defined cultural loyalism. Although some programs in the academic study of religion have arisen in the region, most work takes place in the context of the presumed superiority of Islam as God's final revelation.

The academic study of religion has often justified itself in terms of its public utility. For example, in Japan before 1945 some advocated pursuing it as a contribution to national unity. In postcolonial Africa scholars turned to the study of indigenous religions as a means to foster independent political and cultural identities. More broadly, Mircea Eliade aspired to revive culture through the formulation of a "new humanism."

At the beginning of the twenty-first century scholars of religions were pursuing yet another public role: providing the general public and more specifically mass communications media with reliable information about religions (Japanese scholars after the Aum Shinrikyō attacks; ReMID in Germany and INFORM in the United Kingdom; the information bureau of the American Academy of Religion). In addition, many countries have been wrestling with ways to make their traditions of religious education in schools more pluralistic. Although some have adopted a pluralistic confessional approach, as in Germany, where students choose an education in either Catholicism, Protestantism, or a more general ethical culture, others, such as South Africa, have at least proposed replacing confessionally based education with a pre-university public education in the academic study of religion.

METHODS AND ISSUES IN THE ACADEMIC STUDY OF RELIGION. There is still very little by way of a universally acknowledged theoretical or methodological canon in the academic study of religion. One positive result is that the field admits a considerable amount of creativity. Another result, however, is that the remarks that follow will inevitably be idiosyncratic, reflecting regional and personal preferences at least as much as any greater unity. They touch briefly upon commonalities that unite the academic study of religion, methods and theories of that study, and recent trends.

Commonalities. In the English-speaking world, there has been considerable uncertainty about both the name and character of the academic study of religion. In the last one hundred years scholars have called this pursuit the science of religion, comparative study of religion(s), history of religion(s), religious studies, (more colloquially) world religions, and the academic study of religion(s). The terminology used in this set of entries, "the academic study of religion," remains ambiguous. For example, in those parts of the world where Christianity is the dominant religion, biblical studies are traditionally a part of theology. As sometimes practiced, however, biblical studies might just as well be seen as a highly developed subfield within the academic study of religion.

Uncertainty about the name of this study finds a reflection in uncertainty about its character. Is it an academic discipline, united in the application of a specific method, or is it an unruly, polymethodic field, including any and every academic pursuit that somehow treats religious data? Is the object of study—"religion"—a category sui generis, which must be studied on its own terms, or does it conveniently bring together elements from different areas of life, permitting the reduction of the religious to the nonreligious? Is the goal to understand human religious insights or symbols as they come to expression in human speech and action, as one understands the meanings of books, or is it rather to provide explanations for various occurrences along the lines of the social and natural sciences? Does one require a special sympathy for religion in order to make sense out of it, or is one required to be an outsider—a "methodological" if not actual atheist or agnostic—in order to see clearly? Arguments about these and similar questions have perhaps generated more heat and smoke than they have light. Nevertheless, one might detect a trend in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries toward a conception of the study of religions that is polymethodic, explanatory, at least methodologically agnostic, and sees religion simply as a convenient category.

If the efforts of a century and a half have had uncertain results in precisely denoting or defining the academic study of religion, they have been somewhat more successful in creating a common language for it. Scholars have abandoned earlier, almost Linnaean attempts to group religions into meaningful classes—natural religions, national religions, prophetic religions, ethical religions, world religions, and so on—as a preliminary to locating them in grand developmental schemas. They have also abandoned attempts, inspired by Hegel, to identify the essence of each religion in a simple term or proposition (for example, Zoroastrianism as "the religion of struggle," Christianity as the "religion of love" [van der Leeuw]). But other efforts have been more successful. Consider the matter-of-factness with which we now speak of various religions as givens—Hinduism, Buddhism, Daoism, Shintō, and so on—where, at least from a Christian or Muslim perspective, these now distinct religions were once simply paganism and idolatry. Scholars have also created the rudiments of a technical vocabulary, in which the terms *myth, ritual, rite of passage, sacrifice,* and perhaps *symbol* may be the most widely successful terms. Other terms that were once prominent, such as *experience, numinous, sacred,* and *profane,* not to mention older creations like *totem* and *taboo,* now seem characteristic of disputed or discarded positions. Since the 1980s, however, studies have appeared that vigorously seek to deconstruct these common categories, both in terms of descriptive and conceptual inadequacy and political disutility. Although these studies often present compelling analyses, they have as yet had only a limited effect on actual linguistic usage. Scholars now seem, however, to be abandoning the term "myth."

Methods and theories. At the beginning of the twenty-first century there is some consensus that the academic study of religion is a polymethodic field. There is also some consensus about some of the "approaches" or "perspectives" that this field contains. Almost invariably mentioned, along with other approaches, are history, psychology, sociology, and comparative studies or phenomenology; the meaning of the last term varies considerably. Although one might define these approaches primarily in terms of problems and theories, in the way, for example, physicists and sociologists delineate their fields, scholars of religions have generally begun instead with the ideas of "great thinkers," for example, William James (1842–1910), Sigmund Freud, and C. G. Jung for psychology; Karl Marx (1818–1883), Max Weber, and Émile Durkheim for sociology; Gerardus van der Leeuw and Mircea Eliade for phenomenology. Work in the related field of anthropology has received similar treatment, although the "great thinkers" there may be somewhat more recent (Bronislaw Malinowski, E. E. Evans-Pritchard [1902–1973], Claude Lévi-Strauss [b. 1908], Clifford Geertz [b. 1926]).

In addition to knowing the ideas of these "great thinkers" and their epigones, the common expectation today is that scholars of religion will also know the languages of the people whose religions they study. Such expectations provide a clue to the methods that scholars of religions actually employ. Work in the field tends to depend upon textual analysis, ethnographical observation, or both, combined with a generous amount of theorizing to set the context for the application of these methods. It less frequently analyzes nonverbal artifacts with the methods of archaeology, art history, and musicology, a tendency some attribute to a residual Protestantism. Such a modus operandi assures that scholars are attuned to the richness of their data. It also means, however, that work in the field tends to consist of anecdotal observations coupled, in the best instances, with sophisticated reasoning. Scholars of religions have had relatively little interest in the formulation of generalizations based on a statistical analysis of data. They tend to regard such generalizations as overlooking complexity and to relegate them to the "social scientific" study of religion, located in other academic departments, professional associations, and journals.

Trends. Readers looking for specific topics that interest scholars in the academic study of religion probably do best to consult the topical outline of this encyclopedia, but it may be helpful here to note some broader trends. One is the increasing specialization that has taken place over the last one hundred years. The demand that scholars possess sophisticated linguistic and cultural knowledge, coupled with the increase in the number of people who have such knowledge for different languages and cultures, has resulted in specialization by areas, such as South Asian religions, Islam, and Buddhism, along with subdivisions of these larger groups, like Vedic studies, contemporary Islam, and Japanese Buddhism. Other kinds of specialized groupings—women and religion, religion and literature—exist, although they often straddle the divide between the academic study of religion and theology. Specializations defined by applying specific methods to theoretical issues, as in, for example, the distinction between physical and organic chemistry, are much less common.

A second trend has been an emerging tension between two broad orientations within the field, critical theory and science. The former is the more established, growing out of the field's traditional interpretive interests and relying heavily on the French "philosophers of 1968," such as Jacques Derrida (1930–2004) and Michel Foucault (1926–1984), as well as postcolonial thought, most notably, perhaps, the thought of Edward Said (1935–2003). These scholars have focused on the conditions in which knowledge is produced, critiquing claims to objectivity and universal validity. They embrace a wide variety of positions, but among common tendencies we might note the following: the conviction that knowledge is a culturally limited social construction; an emphasis on the inevitable distortions of translation tending to an assertion of incommensurability between languages, cultures, and communities; the interrogation of the cultural rootedness of the categories and methods of scholarship; the deconstruction of general groupings in favor of particularity and difference; an interest in the corporeal and material as opposed to the ideational that presupposes at the same time as it critiques a Cartesian dualism or Platonic idealism; a preference for the marginal, variously defined by race, gender, class, and other categories as well; the identification of political, economic, and social domination as the actual if unstated goal of social science and scholarly endeavors more broadly; an insistence upon plurivocity and an experimentation with nontraditional, non-monographic literary forms; and—despite the generalizations implicit in some of the preceding characteristics—a rejection of the possibility of formulating adequate generalizations about cultural materials.

More recently, voices have arisen claiming to produce just the sorts of knowledge that the critical theorists find untenable. This trend has been strongest, perhaps, among those who claim to have found in cognitive science a ground for universals that transcend the limitations of social construction. (Cognitive science itself arose as an alternative to behaviorism in psychology and philosophy.) When those who favor science do not simply dogmatically insist upon science as the most compelling form of contemporary knowledge, they may emphasize considerations like the following to justify their approach: the large amount of shared mental content which the intersubjective communication that we appear to observe presupposes; the evolutionary demands that require communication and commensurability for the survival of the species; the ability of controlled, cross-cultural experimentation to establish adequate generalizations about universal mental structures; the need to postulate these structures in order to explain various human abilities, such as the learning of language; the tendency of critical-theoretical accounts to overlook commonalities and overstate differences and so make generalizations seem implausible; the apparent logical fallacies, such as the genetic fallacy of rejecting categories on the basis of their prior history, and self-contradictions within the critical theorists' approach; and the tendency of critical theorists to exempt their own scholarly efforts from the scathing criticisms that they direct at others. At present the lines between critical theory and science are sharply drawn, and it is impossible to predict what the future of this tension might be.

Finally, one might note a growing awareness of the global character of the academic study of religion, as witnessed in part by the entries that follow. The International Association of the History of Religions now boasts affiliates in such diverse places as Cuba, Indonesia, Nigeria, and New

Zealand and has been very active in hosting conferences outside of Europe and North America. The International Committee of the American Academy of Religion has sought to foster connections between scholars in North America and other parts of the world. The impetus for both sets of activities remains, however, largely European and North American.

One would anticipate that a growing self-consciousness among scholars of religions in regions outside Europe and North America would lead them to explore their own traditions of knowledge about religions which predate European contact, as literary scholars have begun to do (e.g., Ganesh N. Devy, *After Amnesia: Tradition and Change in Indian Literary Criticism* [Bombay, 1992]; cf. Japan; North Africa and the Middle East). At the same time, scholars will need to reflect critically on the extent to which a regionalized view of the academic study of religion will remain expedient. For example, are South Asian scholars fascinated with Marx "Westernized," or does that label, or more broadly does the consideration of the academic study of religion region by region, obscure what may be alternative and ultimately more compelling interests uniting groups of scholars across regional boundaries?

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STUDY OF RELIGION: THE ACADEMIC STUDY OF RELIGION IN AUSTRALIA AND OCEANIA

Aside from literature reinforcing the Christian and Jewish ways of life, studies in religion in the Oceanic region began with reports on the customs and beliefs of "savage" or "native" peoples in and near European colonies. Along with the published diaries of early explorers, whose observations were highly cursory, most of the early commentators were missionaries, including the Spanish Jesuit Juan Antonio Cantova, who wrote about the Caroline Islands as early as the 1720s; William Ellis of the London Missionary Society, who documented various Polynesian cultures by 1829; and the German Lutherans Carl Ottow and Johann Geissler, who described the New Guinea Biak people in 1857. In addition, visitors who utilized missionary informants—such as the French captain François Leconte, who wrote about northern New Caledonia in 1847—also recorded events of interest to the study of religion in the region.

PIONEER MISSIONARIES' REPORTS. Although evangelization was their main priority, many pioneer missionaries were surprisingly interested in gaining knowledge of the peoples they encountered. Such concepts as *mana* and *taboo*, destined to stimulate Western theories about the origins of religion, hailed from the Pacific mission field. In the 1770s, after Captain James Cook's brief notations on the meaning of taboo in Tahiti and Hawai'i, the term became associated with biblical prohibition in evangelistic discourse and was thereafter incorporated into European vocabularies. The priest-academic Robert Codrington introduced the notion of mana as manipulated "spirit power" after investigating Banks Islander beliefs (New Hebrides, now Vanuatu) in the 1870s, at a time when he headed the Anglican Melanesian Mission. Totemism became an acclaimed feature of Aboriginal (and thereby very primitive) religion; the earliest significant account of an Australian native protecting an animal (a *goanna*) as his "brother" was made by a London Missionary Society delegate in 1834. Ideas about high gods, again important for origins theories (e.g., Andrew Lang in the 1890s), arose out of Aboriginal talk of the All-Father, which was in all likelihood an innovative indigenous concept to make sense of missionary teachings about the one God.

That Polynesia could match Europe and Asia for sacralized royalty, moreover, was made plain by the Hawaiian king Kalakaua's eulogistic *Legends and Myths* (1888). With this background, a professional competitiveness sometimes arose when secular anthropologists entered the region. There was no love lost, for example, between the Lutheran Carl Strehlow, a missionary to the Aranda in central Australia, and Baldwin Spencer, the leader of the 1894 Hort Expedition and later Chief Protector of the Aborigines (1911–1912), who divulged many secrets about Aranda religion that Strehlow had honored. In another case, Bronislaw Malinowski, allegedly the first true field anthropologist, was told nothing about the coastal Mailu by his initial host, the London Missionary Society missionary William Saville (1914–1915), who wanted to write up his own findings. Disappointed, Malinowski moved on to the Trobriand Islands. Although Oceania was home to a quarter of the world's discrete religions and research material was plentiful, this professional tension lasted through the years leading up to World War II.

In a number of places, missionary scholarship was utterly determinative. For example, the Dutch relied on church initiatives to carry missionaries into Irian Jaya, the far and dangerous frontier of Indonesia. The church also had a singular influence across equatorial Polynesia as illustrated by the work of Wyatt Gill in Rarotonga (the capital of the Cook Islands) and Father Sebastian Englert on Easter Island. Elsewhere a mixture pertained, and government-sponsored anthropology was sometimes evident. In the more colonized Polynesia, for example, the one-time British governor of New Zealand, Sir George Grey, adopted a policy of collecting Maori lore that lasted up until the 1890s, and during the 1910s the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, otherwise focused on mainland cultures, encouraged Nathaniel Emerson to document the Hawaiian *hula*. Between World War I and World War II, Francis Williams, the most reputable of all government anthropologists, worked in coastal parts of Australia's Territory of Papua (now Papua New Guinea), although his brief included cooperation with the missions. The Anglican cleric Adolphus Elkin, who served as a professor of anthropology at the University of Sydney from 1934 to 1956 and founded the journal *Oceania*, was welcomed by the Australian government as adviser on Aboriginal issues during the 1940s.

EARLY INTELLECTUALS. Interest in the wider world of comparative religion came late in the colonial histories of Australia, New Zealand, and also Hawai'i, which matched other southeast Pacific museum constructions with its own Bernice P. Bishop Museum as early as 1885, before American annexation. A key impetus to study other religions was provided by the Theosophical Society, starting in Australia by 1895 and possessing an impressive center in Sydney during the 1910s. In New Zealand during the 1920s, a circle of study formed around Elsdon Best, cofounder of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* in 1898, who likened the Maori cult of Io to a removed Gnostic-looking deity with layers of beings that separated him from the earth. At the same time, more critical scholarship emerged: The Australian surgeon Grafton Elliot Smith became a chief instigator of the Egyptocentric Diffusionist school in the 1920s, after having been anatomy professor in Cairo, and Samuel Angus of Scotland, a graduate of the universities of Princeton and Berlin (under Adolf von Harnack, 1851–1930, and Gustav Adolf Deissmann, 1866–1937), took up a professorship in New Testament and historical theology at the University of Sydney in 1915 and quickly emerged as an eminent authority on Greco-Roman mystery religions.

This coming and going of "imported" and "exported" intellectuals was typical well into the post–World War II period. Scholars writing on non-Christian traditions usually arrived from outside. Among provocative Germanics was the economist Kurt Singer, who wrote from Sydney that the Zoroastrian stress on the battle between good and evil added to problem of human conflict, and Peter Munz, who sought to better the theories of myth formulated by James G. Frazer (1854–1941) and Claude Lévi-Strauss (b. 1908) from Dunedin, New Zealand. British scholars Raynor Johnston (comparative mysticism) and John Bowman (Samaritans) went to Melbourne, and George Knight (Semitics) went first to Dunedin and later to Suva, the capital of Fiji. In return, Australia and New Zealand lost various experts in Christianity to overseas postings, including the theologian Colin Williams to Yale University, where he became dean of the divinity school; the church historian George Yule to the University of Aberdeen; the New Testament specialists John O'Neill and Graham Stanton to the University of Edinburgh and Cambridge University, respectively; and the interfaith specialist John D'Arcy May to Dublin University. Some expatriate dons came as long-term (and often highly productive) visitors; yet, as time went on, homegrown scholarship firmed up and the Pacific eventually became established on its own as a region of scholarly prowess.

EARLY ACADEMIC PROGRAMS. With university courses in Asian studies—especially on Middle Eastern and Indic civilizations—being set in place during the late 1950s and the 1960s, the time was ripe for historical and comparative studies of religions to enter the academic forum. Among the faculty of Australian National University's new oriental studies program were Indologist A. L. Basham, Buddhologist Jan De Jong, and Islamicist Antony Johns, as well as the region's leading scholar in the sociology of religion, Hans Mol. Similar studies were also implemented at the University of Melbourne, where the journal *Milla wa-Milla: The Australian Bulletin of Comparative Religion* made its appearance in 1961 and the first of the Charles Strong Lectures, designed by a liberal Protestant cleric to be on non-Christian traditions, took place. These were followed up by the publication of *Essays on Religious Traditions of the World*, initiated in 1970 by the Anglican priest George Mullens, a scholar in Japanese Buddhism. The first department of religious studies in the region, however, was not institutionalized until 1971, and then at Victoria University in Wellington, New Zealand, although New Zealand's programs at the University of Canterbury in Christchurch, New Zealand, and the University of Otago in Dunedin foreshadowed this, with Albert Moore's 1966 University of Otago lectureship in the history and phenomonology in religion being the discipline's first generically significant appointment for Australasia. The foundation professor at New Zealand's University of Wellington was Lloyd Geering, a renowned liberal Christian theologian.

Intriguingly, Geering remains the only memorable classic-looking theologian born and bred in the whole South Pacific region. Theologically engaged Australians who possess genuine international acclaim have simply not worked on mainstream matters—John Eccles's work on synaptic theory and Charles Birch's work in process thought are two obvious cases. However, Australia is a more secular country, and Eric Sharpe, the first chair of the religious studies department at the University of Sydney (1977–1996), was by no means a practicing theologian. Sharpe secured the Sydney chair primarily on the basis of his work *Comparative Religion: A History* (1975). This volume established him as one of the world's leading methodologists in the comparative and historical study of religions, a reputation that emanated from Australia and was consolidated by such later works as *Understanding Religion* (1983) and *Nathan Söderblom and the Study of Religion* (1990).

An Englishman, Sharpe had strong connections to the University of Manchester (especially John Hinnells) and Lancaster University (especially Ninian Smart) and served as chair of the history of religion department at Sweden's Uppsala University from 1980 to 1981. Although Sharpe could have been enticed back into the transatlantic center of theoretical debate, he decided to remain in Australia and consolidate his new department. He consistently published research on Western interpretations of Hinduism and brought to Sydney brahmin Indologist Arvind Sharma, who founded the journal *Religious Traditions* in 1978 and the *Journal of Studies in the Bhagavadgītā* in 1981. Sharpe also continued conducting historical studies of Christian missionary approaches to other religions. At the 1988 Chicago symposium on his opus, Sharpe acquitted himself artfully against younger critics' suggestions that he was a closet theologian, and as the years went on he defined himself more as an historian of ideas about religion than anything else. Interestingly, in 1995 his first academic appointee and protégé Garry Trompf took a chair in the History of Ideas beside him at the University of Sydney.

Trompf had previously held the first of two lectureships in religious studies in Australia, in the not-yet-independent Territory of Papua New Guinea, where he taught alongside the Semiticist and fellow Australian Carl Loeliger. Australia's north was to yield the earliest formal developments in the discipline, with the first autonomous department emerging at the University of Queensland in 1975, before Sharpe arrived in Sydney. Although begun under the early leadership of the Englishman Eric Pyle, Queensland was to wait until 1981 for an established chair. That the Australian-born Francis Andersen took the position was significant nationally, but it was also indicative of the weight of interests in the department. He was a fine biblical scholar amid others, including the American Edgar Conrad as a fellow commentator on Hebrew prophetism and the Irishman Seán Freyne and the German-Australian Michael Lattke as scholars of New Testament times. Queensland, however, was also to secure a special reputation for Buddhist studies. Buddhism had already been of wide attraction, including the popular writings by the early feminist-lawyer Marie Byles from 1957 to 1965, the founding of the *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia* in Sydney in 1963, and the various textual studies and translations, especially those of Peter Masefield. Special distinction was also given to the work of the Australian Philip Almond on the history of Buddhism's Western interpretations and Rod Bucknell's work on meditative practice.

Almond, who succeeded Andersen as professor after the latter moved to the University of California at Berkeley, can be credited with a distinctly Australian contribution to the theory of religion. He was crucial among revisionist thinkers in deconstructing Western scholarly reifications and popular representations of significant Eastern traditions. In *The British Discovery of Buddhism* (1988), he argued that Buddhism, as it is popularly defined in most textbooks, was a Western invention. At a slightly later stage, Almond went on to ponder the Victorians' invention of Islam, and his work compared with Edward Said's deconstruction of Orientalism. In other writings, especially *Mystical Experience and Religious Doctrine* (1982) and those appealing to the methodological insights of Rudolf Otto (1869–1937), Almond doubted that mysticism could be apprehended with the kinds of objectivist treatment beginning to dominate his discipline.

At the University of Sydney, research into the religions of Oceania was a forte, with Trompf returning to Australia in 1978. Like Sharpe and Almond, Trompf was, admittedly, better equipped to write on Western theoretical ideas. A practicing historian who later served as a professor of history at the University of Papua New Guinea from 1983 to 1985, he was the beneficiary of a very strong tradition of religious history in Australia, if one considers such lights as the German Hermann Sasse, the Britisher John McManners, the New Zealander Edwin Judge, and the Australian Bruce Mansfield, who founded the internationally acclaimed *Journal of Religious History* from Sydney in 1960. This background helps explain Trompf's books on Western historiography and religious ideas, particularly his volumes on *The Idea of Historical Recurrence* (1979). However, prior training in prehistory and ethnohistory and over ten years of intensive research in Melanesia (Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, and New Caledonia) allowed him to produce the first major monographs—*Melanesian Religion* (1991) and *Payback* (1994)—to address one of the most complex religious scene in the world. A distinctively homegrown contribution to the theory of religion developed from these combined interests that dealt with "the logic of retribution" (i.e., those aspects of religious life concerned with revenge, reciprocity, and the explanation of events in terms of praise and blame, reward and punishment).

Scholarship set on understanding Melanesia's religious life seems to have involved one of the largest conglomerates of social-scientific endeavor ever undertaken. Important theoretical positionings were forged out of the region's great cultural diversity: the Polish anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski's school of functionalism derived from his Trobriands research; the English proto-structuralist A. M. Hocart read Fijian chieftainship as a basic model of sacral leadership; in his studies in Houailou, New Caledonia, Lévi-

Strauss's predecessor Maurice Leenhardt framed early body theory as a self-awareness process running from cosmomorphism to anthropomorphism; the Hungarian Géza Róheim and the Englishmen John Layard tried substantiating Freudian and Jungian insights, respectively, from coastal Papua and Malekula; and Margaret Mead (1901–1978) and Gregory Bateson worked together to formulate theories of gender and social divisiveness from the Sepik area. Important contributions to particular religio-ethnologic issues have also been drawn from Melanesia, mainly by European and American researchers. Topics that have been addressed include headhunting by Jan van Baal, cannibalism by Marshall Sahlins, grand ceremonial exchanges by Andrew Strathern, initiatory disclosures by Fredrik Barth, ritual homosexuality by Gilbert Herdt, sorcery by Reo Fortune and the Australian Michele Stephen, and sacral legitimation of leadership by Jean Guiart and Maurice Godelier. Melanesian cargo cultism produced various theories, such as cosmic regeneration by Mircea Eliade (1907–1986), proto-nationalism by the neo-Marxist Peter Worsley, the dream of a perfected reciprocity by Kenelm Burridge, new explanations of a changing cosmos by Peter Lawrence, a rite of passage into modernity by Patrick Gesch, and a search for salvation by John Strelan. The conversion processes among Melanesians also attracted mission historians such as the Australians Niel Gunson on Polynesia, David Hilliard on the Solomons, and David Wetherell on Papua; missiologists such as the eminent Australian scholar Alan Tippett, as well as Theo Ahrens, Ennio Mantovani, Friedgard Tomasetti, Darell Whiteman, and Mary MacDonald; and analysts of indigenizing Christianity such as John Barker and the Australian Bronwyn Douglas. Part of Trompf's vision has been to assess Melanesian religion in all its aspects to find the means of representing all this scholarship synoptically and to facilitate indigenous scholarly writing on religion.

An early graduate of the Sydney department, Tony Swain confirmed its strength in indigenous studies by writing the first exhaustive account of theories about Australian Aboriginal religion and the first history of Aboriginal religion since outside contact in *A Place for Strangers* (1993). He questioned Eliade's stress on cosmic axis and accounted for more diffuse notions of space and one's belongingness to land. He also disputed that there were any traditional Aboriginal notions of Mother Earth and denied that high gods were honored before outside pressures from Melanesia and then white colonization. Again, Swain benefited from important predecessors that included, aside from those already mentioned, the Australians Ronald Berndt and Ted Strehlow (both with German backgrounds), W. E. H. Stanner of Australian National University, and the Victorian Max Charlesworth. Swain and Trompf's *Religions of Oceania* (1995) revealed the extraordinary international interest in the Pacific religious scene. Sometimes disproportionate group interest is found, such as Germanic scholarship on the Aborigines and Americans on Micronesia, but some unusual individual achievements by outsiders stand out. For example, the Italian Valerio Valeri wrote a detailed account of Hawaian religion; the German Hans-Jürgen Greschat wrote a thorough ethnography of taboo; and the Finn Jikka Siikala wrote an authoritative account of new religious movements in central Polynesia.

ACADEMIC PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT. Other intellectual and institutional developments within the whole Australo-Pacific region make for a complex story. In Victoria, programs for studying religion were successively established at LaTrobe University, Deakin University, and Monash University. At LaTrobe the sinologist Paul Rule researched Western images of Confucianism; Gregory Bailey studied ancient Indian ideologies; and the Australian dean of patristics, Eric Osborn, researched select pre-Nicene Church Fathers. Deakin possessed the philosophers Max Charlesworth and Ian Weeks. Charlesworth, who had already taught a religious studies course at Melbourne University as early as 1970—basically in the philosophy of religion—was to institutionalize his dream as professor at Deakin (in Geelong) and he went on to write incisively about methodology issues in *Religious Inventions* (1997). In Victoria, interestingly, there has been sympathy for the idea of a *philosophia perennis* behind spiritual traditions, revealed not only in Kenneth Oldmeadow's fine exposition, *Traditionalism: Religion in the Light of Perennial Philosophy* (2000), but also among philosophers attracted by Eastern, especially Indian, metaphysics, including Ian Kesarcodi-Watson and Purussotima Bilimoria, founder of Australian Society for Asian and Comparative Philosophy and editor of the journal *Sophia.*

Further afield in Australia, Adelaide is most important. With the change in institutional status that produced the University of South Australia came the largest department of religion studies in the country in 1991. This was spearheaded by Professor Norman Habel, the brilliant expositor of the book of Job and founder of the Earth Bible project. With liberal philosophical theologian Vincent Hayes, he founded the Australian Association for the Study of Religions in 1975, which came to oversee the Charles Strong Lectures and built up its own publications, including the journal *Australian Religion Studies Review*, first published in 1988. The Association's concern with a variety of religions demarcated it from the Theological Association of Australia and New Zealand, which is linked to the journals *Colloquium*, *Australian Biblical Review*, and *Pacifica.*

New Zealand benefited from Paul Morris, who returned to Wellington from Britain in 1993 to take over the chair from Geering. Already established in Judaic studies, Morris went on to edit impressive collections on modernity and postmodernity (and New Zealand religious verse). He worked with James Veitch, a critical thinker inspired by Geering with an eye for crises produced by environmental degradation and ideologies of terror. Also worthy of mention are the well-known Africanists Elizabeth Isichei, who was for a time at Wellington, and Harold Turner, who has worked primarily from Britain. Other New Zealand scholars of note are Albert Moore, an authority on religious art; Brian Colless, a patrologist; and Peter Donovan, an instructor in philosopher of religion. Of journals published in New Zealand, Auckland's *Prudentia* stands out, although its special issues brought together classicists, philosophers, theologians and religionists from across the Tasman Sea and were dominated by Australians, especially the patrologist Raoul Mortley and the historian of philosophy David Dockrill.

Although Mark Jurgensmeyer wrote his first book on religion and politics, *The New Cold War?* (1993), from the University of Hawai'i, in the Pacific Islands more broadly the history and phenomenology of religion has chiefly focused on traditional and changing religious life. Although they also have pastoral agendas, the Melanesian Institute's journals *Catalyst* and *Point* provide valuable information, and the Micronesian Seminar, a research institute founded by the Catholic Church in 1972, contributes to scholarship in the north Pacific. The CORAIL colloquia in Nouméa have been a key outlet for research in French dependencies, as fixtures in Hawai'i have been for American scholars, such as the East-West Center and Brigham Young University's journal *Pacific Studies*. Overall, indigenous writing in religion has been more consistently theological; major forums are the *Journal of Melanesian Theology* and *Journal of Pacific Theology*.

BIBLICAL SCHOLARSHIP. To conclude, one cannot underestimate the continuing strength and color of biblical scholarship in Australasia (e.g., authors such as Robert Maddox, John Painter, Robert Barnes, and the controversial Barbara Thiering), and their impact on religious institutions. The same may be said of regional church (and school) historians (e.g., Ian Breward, Hilary Carey, and Susan Emilsen) and public-policy philosophers (e.g., Graham Little and Robert Gascoigne). Apart from the more comparativist volume *Reclaiming Our Rites* (1994), most feminist and gender-related works about religion betray women's hopes for greater opportunities within the Christian churches. Even Aboriginal womanist writers such as Anne Pattel-Gray and Lee Skye have been theologically oriented. Although the creation of religious studies departments threatened divinity boards, theological colleges held their own, and in some universities, theological studies discovered new life (e.g., Flinders, Monash, and the Australian Catholic University). Pauline Allen from the Australian Catholic University was rewarded with the presidency of the International Patristics Association in 2003 for groundbreaking (and liturgically relevant) publications on early Christian prayer and spirituality.

Much sociology of religion has been crucial for religious organizations to ponder their constituencies and demographic possibilities. Over and above valuable theoretical work on religion as identity and anchorage—such as *Identity and the Sacred* (1976)—Hans Mol heralded the more statistical approach found with Alan Black, Gary Bouma, Trisha Brombery, and Philip Hughes. Some sociology is more internationalist: Rowan Ireland on Brazilian spirit movements; Rachael Kohn on self religions, and the Sydney branch Center for Millennial Studies on comparative chiliasm. Impressive empirical and clinical work in Australia also led to the publication of the *International Journal of the Psychology of Religion* by Lawrence Brown of the University of New South Wales in 1991. Intense research into ancient Gnosticisms by Samuel Lieu, Majella Franzmann, and Iain Gardner, and into later esoterico-theosophic currents by Gregory Tillett and John Cooper, have been reflected in the Australian cofounding of the monograph series *Gnostica* in 1997. Interest in religion and science was greatly boosted by cosmologist Paul Davies' arrival in Adelaide in 1990, and religion and politics received a boost with the introduction of the monograph series *Religion, Politics, and Society* in 2001. Clearly, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the critical study of religions is most certainly in blossom in Australia and Oceania.

SEE ALSO Australian Indigenous Religions, overview article; Christianity, article on Christianity in Australia and New Zealand; Transculturation and Religion, article on Religion in the Formation of Modern Oceania.

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GARRY W. TROMPF (2005)

STUDY OF RELIGION: THE ACADEMIC STUDY OF RELIGION IN EASTERN EUROPE AND RUSSIA

In most European countries, the study of religion developed during a period of transition between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It was a time when scholars were attempting to categorize and examine the full range of human activities. The study of religions emerged then as a specifically modernistic, empirically oriented discipline focusing on culture, and concerned first and foremost with the human being. Individual researchers gained academic standing and recognition not by reason of nationality or citizenship but rather by virtue of their academic credentials, their interests and affinities for specific schools of thought, as well as by trends within the field of religious studies—all factors that have little to do with geopolitical principles. In an examination of the course of the development of religious studies in Europe, which may be subdivided into the continent's eastern and western spheres, much depends on political developments in Europe during the Cold War period. European religious studies stands in an objectively identical context: over the course of many centuries, Europe's religious situation was determined by a single religion, and this fact also restricted, in a fundamental way, the modes of access to religion that were open to theoretical and methodological research.

In contrast, it was European expansionism that brought knowledge of non-European religions, and which consequently contributed decisively to the creation of a common material basis for research within the field of religious studies. With the exception of Soviet Russia, this religious-scientific material was appraised in the other countries now designated as "eastern European" by such methods commonly deployed by religious-studies scholars in general. These include comparative methods, religious-historical methods, religious-phenomenological methods, religious-critical methods, and others. Moreover, with these methods, similar results were also achieved. Only after 1945, when these states came under Soviet domination, did the situation change. This change was due to the application of powerful political and ideological constraints. As a result, however, no distinctively Eastern European variant of religious studies has come into existence, and Eastern Europe was also thereby prevented from becoming a place of academic self-identification. On the contrary, the academic study of religion was eradicated almost entirely behind the Iron Curtain, though it did manage to retain a certain form in Poland. It was replaced during the Cold War era by the ideology of so-called scientific atheism.

THE EMERGENCE OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES IN EASTERN EUROPE AND RUSSIA. The beginnings of religious studies in Eastern Europe, as elsewhere on the continent, occurred during the last third of the nineteenth century, when new efforts were undertaken in religious research. These new directions were influenced by new currents of thought, including positivism and evolution theory, as well as from the positive impact of new information from the ethnological, religious-historical, and archaeological spheres. However, the study of religion was not established as an institution (i.e., as a relatively independent field of academic investigation) until the period following World War I. Therefore, in the comparison to Western Europe, the scientifically ascertainable history of religious studies in Eastern European countries is shorter by approximately two generations of researchers. However, this applies primarily to Poland, the Czech Republic (formerly Czechoslovakia), and to some extent even in Hungary. But in Russia, and in a large portion of the Balkans, the academic study of religion studies was not firmly established as an institution until the political changes that came after 1989. Consequently, the development of religious studies in the eastern half of Europe must be viewed in an entirely different manner from its progress in Western Europe.

The early history of religious studies in Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary is connected with an interest in folklore that emerged in the nineteenth century. Scholars sought traces of religious traditions and mythologies in ancient folk legends. The tradition of comparative mythology—from which, in the first half of the twentieth century, the methods of the comparative study of religion arose—is rooted here. One must count among the best-known researchers of this period in Poland the ethnologist and religious historian Jan Aleksander Karlowicz, the historian of Christianity Ignacy Radlinski, and the Asian studies specialist Andrzej Niemojewski. In the Czech Republic the ethnologically oriented mythology researchers František Ladislav Čelakovský and Josef Jungmann were noteworthy pioneers. In Hungary, the academic exploration of religion was fostered from the circle of theologically educated members of the clergy, and was characterized as strongly Christian. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the study of religion had traditionally been identified with apologetics. Occupying the preeminent place among Hungarian researchers of this time are the linguist Zsigmond Simonyi, who also translated into Hungarian for the first time the work of Max Müller in 1876, and the founder of Islamic studies in Hungary, I. Goldziher. It was Goldziher who made the first mention in Hungary, in 1881, of a new discipline called comparative religious studies.

The truly formative period of religious studies occurred in the years after World War I, and developments in Eastern Europe revealed specific trends pertinent to each country. Even the conceptualizing of religious concepts proceeded in a different manner. The differences are strictly tied to the disparate historical development of these countries. For example, a long-standing Protestant tradition prevailed in the Czech Republic, but Poland was shaped by the strictest Roman Catholicism. Thus even the fundamental conception of religious studies, not to mention an understanding of other religions, differed between the two lands. Schematically expressed, in the Czech Republic religion was considered a component of public culture, and from the very beginning one devoted oneself to the investigation of religion, from differing technical points of view. Thus linguistics, historical sciences, psychology, ethnology, and religious philosophy all played a role, but this was true of theology only to a lesser degree. This diversity of approaches has exerted a profound influence, which extends down to the present time and finds expression in the quest for answers to the questions of what the scientific study of religion is, how one can classify it, and by which rationality paradigm it is sustained. The supreme embodiment of this quest is the work of the actual founder of Czech academic religious studies, the Indologist Otakar Pertold, who in 1920 published *Základy všeobecné vědy náboženské* (Foundations of the universal study of religion).

Religious studies in Poland, by contrast, tended toward a Catholicized view, which understood religion in several more distinctive forms as the phenomenon *sue generic*, and in religious history worked with the conception of Christianity as the exemplar. There also arose the so-called leizistic study of religion, that is, freethinking and anti-clerical religious studies, which attempted to examine religions objectively in their plurality, free of any religion-based bias. This inner split endured in Poland into the twenty-first century. Catholicism exerted a similarly formative influence on the development of Hungarian religious studies. The study of religion was conducted only within the theological seminaries and institutions, and efforts in the direction of a secular research, such as the suggestion by Ernst Troeltsch that an independent college for the academic study of religion be established at every university, were strictly rejected. Among those who rejected a secularized study of religion was the Catholic professor Aladár Zubriczky, who concerned himself with the parallels between Christianity and other religions, and who viewed Christianity as the veritable paragon of what a religion should be.

During the period between the two world wars, academic activities in these three countries kept apace with those in other comparable states (e.g., the Netherlands, France, and Finland), and had good prospects for further development. However, the decisive break came after World War II, when Eastern Europe came under Soviet domination. At that point, the academic study of religions was prohibited and suppressed. In places where the study of religion was already in existence in the form of established institutions—as for example in the Czech Republic—these institutions were uprooted. Scientific atheism became the sole method according to which the essential nature of religions was to be interpreted. In many cases religious-studies researchers were personally persecuted, driven from the universities by the dozens, and forced into punitive hard labor; the Czech historian of religion Záviš Kalandra, who specialized in ancient Slavic mythologies, was even sentenced to death in a sham trial and executed in 1950.

As a consequence of these developments, the academic study of religion almost totally vanished from Eastern European academic life for the next four decades, and survived only in theological seminaries and institutions, where it was pursued under the guise of the theological disciplines. Specifically, this development went forward in Poland, where internal political forces were not as thoroughly devastating as elsewhere in the Soviet bloc and where, consequently, the publication of religious-scientific works as well as translations remained a possibility. In principle, it can be said that this period entailed significant setbacks, not only because of the near-total extermination of religious studies as a field, but also because of the further theologization of religious studies in those places where it partially survived. This resulted in great difficulties in the theoretical-methodological realm and in the struggle to achieve self-understanding in which religious studies engaged after the sweeping political changes that occurred after 1990.

The time after the change was one of revival for the academic study of religion. There had been evidence that it was still nominally active, though dormant, back in the late 1960s during a period of political thaw, and again thanks to developments that occurred when Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev instituted a policy of perestroika in the 1980s. Because of this, religious studies as a discipline was able to officially establish itself relatively quickly. Religious-studies departments returned to the universities; national societies for the academic study of religion were established; magazines, books, and translations in the field of religious studies were published; attempts were also made to re-establish international academic contacts. However, the relatively long cultural isolation into which the totalitarian states had been driven, which was true of the academic research in general within these countries as well, had a lingering negative impact on the field which endured into the twenty-first century.

In Soviet Russia, the development proceeded along far different lines. From the year 1917 onwards, the doctrine of scientific atheism was regarded as sacrosanct, and its declared goal was not knowledge, but rather the total abolition of religion from social life, along with every tradition having anything in common with religion. As attested by the literature of the era, research was not supposed to have been "objective"—that is, as impartial as possible—but rather was to direct itself according to the principles of the class struggle, and thus in accordance with subjective-ideological interests. Although there were attempts at a so-called "Marxist study of religion," such as Dmitrii Modestovich Ugrinovich's 1973 work *Introduction to the Theoretical Study of Religion*, these political restrictions were not overcome until the latter part of the 1990s. However, after the formation of the Russian Federation in 1993, an entirely different set of problems arose. These involved legal measures vis-à-vis religious liberty, freedom of conscience, the position of the churches in society, and the role of churches in religious and ethical instruction within the schools. Consequently, the establishment of religious studies as a field along standard academic principles was persistently delayed.

CONTRIBUTIONS. In spite of these unfavorable conditions, a large number of religious-academic works by Eastern European scholars have been published since the first two decades of the twentieth century. Individual researchers concerned themselves with a wide range of problems from the history of religion. There also emerged highly specialized schools of Polish and Czech Arab/Islamic studies, as well as Polish, Hungarian and Czech Asian studies; moreover, both Czech Egyptology and Hungarian Tibetan studies are well-known throughout the academic world. Separate Jewish, Hindu, Buddhist, and biblical fields of study are all well developed. The psychology of religion, sociology of religion, and religious geography are also established in the field. A certain peculiarity makes for an ongoing interest in the philosophy of religion as an auxiliary discipline. Philosophy of religion admittedly belongs to the philosophical rather than religious-scientific disciplines, but it is nonetheless highly valued; this is due to its conceptual nature, and to the possibility of taking advantage of its theoretical-methodological approaches.

Among Hungarian researchers, the following should be mentioned: Károly Kerényi, *Einführung in das Wesen der Mythologie* (Introduction to the nature of mythology, written with Carl Jung, 1951); *Die Religion der Griechen und Römer* (The religion of the Greeks and Romans, 1963); Sándor Bálint, *Tamulmányok a magyar vallásos népélet köréböl* (Essays on folk religion in Hungary, 1943); Instván Hahn, *Istenek és népek* (Gods and peoples, 1968); *Hitvilág és történelem: Tanulmányok az ókori vallások köréböl* (Religion and history: Essays concerning ancient religions, 1982); Imre Trencsényi-Waldapfel, *Vallástörténeti tamulmányok* (Studies on the history of religion, 1959); and Sir Mark Aurel Stein, *Innermost Asia: Detailed Report of Exploration in Central Asia, Kansu and Eastern Iran* I–IV, 1921.

From among the many Polish contributions, the following should be mentioned: Tadeusz Margul, *Sto lat nauki o religiach świata* (One hundred years of the scientific study of religion, 1964); Franciszek Adamski, editor, *Socjologia religii* (Sociology of religion, 1983); Zgymunt Poniatowski, *Religia i nauka* (Religion and science, 1960); Jan Szmyd, *Teorie i doświadczenie* (Theory and proof, 1966); and Witold Tyloch, editor, *Current Progress in the Methodology of the Science of Religion,* 1984; *Studies on Religions in the Context of Social Sciences: Methodological and Theoretical Relations,* 1990.

In the Czech Republic there arose, among others, Josef Tvrdý, *Filosofie náboženství* (Philosophy of religion, 1921); Frantisek Lexa, *Náboženská literatura staroegyptská* I-II (Ancient Egyptian religious literature, 1921); Vincenc Lesný, *Buddhismus* (Buddhism, 1948); Josef Kubalík, *Dějiny náboženství* (The history of religion, 1984); Dusan Zbavitel, *Hinduismus a jeho cesty k dokonalosti* (Hinduism and its path to perfection, 1993); Zbynek Žába, *Les Maximes de Ptahotep,* 1956; *Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia,* 1968; Miroslav Verner, *Ancient Egyptian Monuments as seen by V. R. Prutky,* 1968; Bretislav Horyna and Helena Pavlincová, *Filosofie náboženství* (Philosophy of religion, 1999); *Dějiny religionistiky* (The history of religious studies, 2001); Dusan Lužný, *Náboženství a moderní společnost* (Religion and modern society, 1999); and Luboš Bělka, *Tibetský buddhismus v Burjatsku* (Tibetan Buddhism in Buryatia, 2001).

Works devoted to the conceptualizing of religious studies, and of religious ideas, merit careful attention. The first theoretical-methodological work in Eastern Europe was Pertold's book *Základy všeobecné vědy náboženské* (Foundations of the universal study of religion). This author considers religion to be an emotion-based awareness of dependence on that which currently transcends the limits of all possible human knowledge. Under the influence of positivism and evolution theory, he distinguished between so-called primitive religions (i.e., ancestor worship, animism, pre-animism, fetishism, shamanism), theistic religions (i.e., polytheistic and monotheistic religions), and new religious forms that come into existence through the decay of monotheism (sects, magic, folk religion). He subdivided the scientific study of religion into what he called concrete religious studies, which deals with religious facts, and so-called abstract religious studies, whose task is to classify and evaluate the knowledge gained from the history of religion.

The first introduction to religious studies after World War II appeared in Poland with Poniatowski's *Wstęp do religioznawstwa* in 1959. This work was essentially oriented toward religious theory to accommodate the interest of the Polish Academy's workgroup for religious theory, which was created in 1957. In the Czech Republic, only one introduction was written prior to 1989, *Nástin religionistiky* (Overview of the scientific study of religion) from Jan Heller and Milan Mrázek in 1988. This, however, is written from a theological point of view. The first introduction that conformed to the requirements of the academic study of religion was Horyna's 1994 work *Úvod do religionistiky* (Introduction to the study of religions). Here the scientific study of religion was represented in a manner comparable to that of other standard works of Western European scholarship; questions of religious-scientific theory were stressed, as well as questions concerning the internal structuring of religious studies, its conceptual foundations, and religious-scientific metalanguage. In Russia, theoretical problems of religious studies have been reflected with delay and with many obscurities; this was a legacy of Marxist ideology.

SCHOLARLY ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS. Colleges for the scientific study of religion first came into existence in Poland and the Czech Republic shortly after World War I. The first college for the history of religion dates back to 1918 at Poland's University of Lublin; its dean was Josef Archutowski. The first college for religious studies came into existence in 1923 at the Wolna Wszechnica Polska in Warsaw, with Stefan Czarnowski as its dean. In 1937, Wiesław Niemczyk appointed himself the first professor of religious studies in Poland at the University of Warsaw. In the Czech Republic, Pertold appointed himself the first professor of comparative religious studies at Charles University in Prague, where the College of Religious Studies was established in 1934 within the philosophy department. However, this college was dissolved by Communist order in 1948, so that no direct line of successorship exists between it and the post-1989 colleges.

Pertold attempted to incorporate Czech religious studies into international research circles, and participated in the year 1912 in the Fourth International Congress for the History of Religion in the Dutch city of Leiden. His work, however, went unrecognized until 1990 at the Sixteenth Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions (IAHR) in Rome, where the newly established Czech Society for Religious Research was admitted to the regular membership ranks. In contrast, the Polish Society for the Scientific Study of Religion dated back to 1958, and had been admitted to IAHR ranks at the Twelfth Congress in Stockholm, Sweden. In other Eastern European countries, the scientific study of religion as an institutionalized field of university education existed neither during the period of Communist rule nor prior to that time. It was only after 1990 that the scientific study of religion began to develop in a dynamic fashion. In Hungary, there are three colleges for religious studies: at the Catholic College in Vác, at the University of Pécs, and at the University of Szeged, which emerged as the center of Hungarian religious studies. The Romanian Society for the History of Religion (RAHR) is a member of the IAHR. The situation is also similar in Russia—although here the circumstances are in part unclear—and in the former Soviet Union satellite states of Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, and the Ukraine, though swift academic advances occurred during the post-1989 era.

Professional journals in the field of religious studies are published in almost all Eastern European countries. The most traditional of these periodicals is the Polish publication *Euhemer. Przegląd Religionznawczy* (Euhemer. Representation of the scientific study of religion), which was founded in 1957 and since 1991 has appeared under the title *Przegląd Religionznawczy* (Representation of the scientific study of religion). In 1991, the specialist publishing house NOMOS was established in Krakow, Poland, to issue technical literature in the field of religious studies. The leading Czech journal is *Religio. Revue pro religionistiku* (Journal for the scientific study of religion), founded in 1939; it serves as the central organ of the Czech Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, which is headquartered in Brno. At Masaryk University in the same city, the periodical *Religionswissenschaft* (Religious Studies) is also published, which brings together the most important religious-scientific works from both domestic and foreign contributors. After the break-up of the former Czechoslovakia into two independent states in 1993, the Slovak Society for Religion Research—publisher of the periodical *Hieron*—became an independent entity. At the University of Szeged in Hungary, the journal *Vallástudományi periodika* (Religious-Scientific Periodical) is available in an online version (http://www.vallastudomany.hu/liminalitas/index.php).

PERSPECTIVES. Religious-scientific cooperation in the eastern European countries—as in the whole of Europe—is hampered by enormous linguistic and cultural differences. It seems unlikely that a supra-national Eastern European religious-scientific organization could come into existence, and the individual representatives of religious studies in the former Eastern bloc countries show no initiative in this direction. The IAHR and the European Association for the Study of Religions (EASR) serve as the common foundation for cooperation. The same diversity prevails in a thematic sense. Over the course of time, the political differences that caused academic progress in Eastern Europe to lag were remedied. The research focuses on the history of religion, new religious movements in Europe, enculturation of non-European religions in Europe, which include Buddhism, Islam, Asian religions, and new religious phenomena.

The significance attached to the theory of religious studies is also constantly increasing; its identity problems, which have to do with the deficient methodological equipment; deductive procedures; object and meta-theory; principles of epistemological formalization; the logic of linguistic means of expression, particularly in religious-scientific definition procedures; criteria-formation in the realm of the semantic completeness of religious-scientific concepts; possibilities for the creation of disciplinary, fundamental, and practice-oriented religious-scientific axiomatics.

The question "What is the scientific study of religion?" is pursued with the same seriousness as is the question "What is religion?" Furthermore, the more recent history of Western religious studies is being absorbed, and instruction concerning methodological difficulties—and their possible resolution—is being sought within it. It is possible to conclude that there is no longer any significant difference between European religious studies in the eastern and western halves of the continent, or in any case that if differences do remain they are few in number. This is true as regards topics and the dynamics of development, as well as social resonance. Few seem cognizant of these facts, however. For example, in the most recent and modern introduction to religious studies, written by Hans G. Kippenberg and Kocku von Stuckrad (Munich 2003), not a single word is devoted to Eastern European religious studies.

SEE ALSO Comparative Religion; Marxism; Politics and Religion, article on Politics and Christianity; Positivism.

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BRETISLAV HORYNA (2005)

STUDY OF RELIGION: THE ACADEMIC STUDY OF RELIGION IN JAPAN

The study of religion in Japan is probably best known to Western people for D. T. Suzuki and the Kyoto School.

However, it would be too Orientalistic to assume that the modern Japanese study of religions has been predominated by Zen Buddhist philosophy with a somehow mystical method of intuition. Japanese students majoring in *shūkyōgaku* (the study of religion) have been reading classic and contemporary works that are more or less similar to those on the reading lists at Western graduate schools. Moreover, the earliest Japanese scholars of religion regarded themselves as more scientifically objective than their Western counterparts who were struggling to detach themselves from the influence of Christian theology. Although those Japanese scholars were, in reality, far from ideologically neutral, the establishment of the study of religion as a nonconfessional university department (at Tokyo Imperial University in 1905) and of an academy of religion (in 1930) were quite early in comparative terms. In addition, the ninth Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions took place in Tokyo in 1958. Nevertheless, the study of religion has never been granted a high status in Japan. Whereas the number of academy members had reached 2,000 by the end of the twentieth century, less than ten universities had departments of *shūkyōgaku*, that is, only 1 percent of all four-year universities and colleges in Japan. This paradoxical position of the Japanese study of religion reflects the sociopolitical contexts of religion in modern Japan.

PREHISTORY OF THE STUDY OF RELIGION. It is commonly accepted that the modern study of religion in Japan started in the Meiji era (1868–1912), after Japan opened its doors to the Western world. The Japanese word for religion, *shūkyō,* was also coined at the beginning of the era as a translation of the Western term. This does not mean that there were neither precursors of *shūkyōgaku* nor concepts similar to religion before Japan became fully exposed to Western culture. Nakamoto Tominaga (1715–1746) is one of the Japanese scholars who developed comparative, historical, and critical approaches to religion without Western influences. Tominaga's rational thinking derived from Confucian education, which was promoted by the Tokugawa government. Rather than defending Confucianism, however, Tominaga compared it with Buddhism and Shintō, and then attempted to present a new teaching that surpassed all three. Like the Western thinkers of the Enlightenment, he criticized existing religions by exposing the historically conditioned nature of their ideas and scriptures.

Tominaga's comparative study of religion was not unique; it was a common practice among scholars at that time to consider Shintō, Buddhism, and Confucianism as related concepts. However, there was no fixed word, like the later *shūkyō* (religion), that placed them in a single category. Sometimes people called them *kyō* ("teaching") in order to emphasize their doctrinal aspects; at other times they used a word with more practical connotations, *dō* (*tao,* "way").

This terminological ambiguity indicates that a generic category called religion was not yet needed. Japanese scholars in those days did not ask the question that was central to the Enlightenment and gave rise to the modern study of religion in the West: what is the essence of religion? Nor was there any further development in methodology, in contrast to the West, where the methodology of the humanities was polished through imitating and challenging the methods of the rapidly progressing natural sciences. Although the Japanese did access the abundant data about the various religions found within their religiously pluralistic country, they did not embark on the systematic study of comparative religion by themselves.

A drastic change to this situation came about at the outset of the Meiji era. "Religion" was developed as a formal concept, initially to serve political and juridical needs. In order to integrate the country as a nation-state, the Meiji government adopted an imperial system and chose Shintō as its moral guideline. The government then defamed Buddhism, which was once amalgamated with Shintō, while reaffirming the long-standing ban on Christianity. At the same time, however, the government strove to modernize Japan by following Western systems, and in so doing it soon realized that religious freedom was regarded as one of the requirements of a modern society. The government was pressed to permit the freedom of religion yet sought to maintain the special status of Shintō. It managed to solve this problem by making rhetorical use of the concept of religion. The concept, which was an import from the West, was modeled after Christianity, in particular belief/doctrine-centered Protestantism. In light of this definition of religion, Shintō, which mostly consisted of ritual practices, was termed non-religious. The government declared that Shintō was not a religion, but a system of state rituals superior to individual religions. "Non-religious" was promoted as a positive virtue rather than implying something less than a religion. This was the rhetoric used to legitimize what later was called State Shintō. The government insisted that it was different from state religion and thus compatible with freedom of religion. Not all Japanese were convinced by this reasoning, and a heated dispute arose when the *Kyōiku chokugo* (Imperial rescript on education) was enacted in an effort to infuse all schoolchildren with national morality shaped by Shintō ideas.

Scholars debate what other effects were caused by the conceptualization of religion in the Meiji society. The consensus is that practice-based folk religions were suppressed, being categorized as superstitions. Established religions such as Buddhism imitated the modern features of religion epitomized in Protestantism for the sake of survival. In addition, Japan was unique among the cultures encountering the modern West in the failure of Christian missionaries to expand Christianity in the country, which was supposed to be perfectly religious already, according to the newly adopted concept of religion. It was under these circumstances that the study of religion gradually took its form in Japan.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS (1905–1945). Toward the end of the nineteenth century, universities modeled after Western, particularly German, institutions began to be founded in Japan. While there were a number of private universities, some of which had either Buddhist or Christian backgrounds, a few national universities were granted a leading position in research and teaching. In 1890 Tetsujirō Inoue (1855–1944) delivered a lecture on comparative religion and Eastern philosophy at Tokyo Imperial University, Japan's first national university. In 1905 Masaharu Anesaki (1873–1949) was appointed to the first professorship in religious studies at the university, and the first department for the study of religion was established. Other national universities, which were independent of any religious organization, followed suit. The early scholars emphasized the importance of free inquiry and a comparative approach.

Nevertheless, their scholarly research was guided by significant practical concerns alongside the scientific ideal of objectivity. The fundamental question about the nature of religion had been evoked in the debate on the legitimacy of State Shintō, and the public came to expect scholars of religion not only to offer a professional definition of religion but also to present a blueprint for religion's future. Their recommendations varied. Inoue supported the Imperial rescript on education in the debate. His goal was to replace all religions with national morality and rational philosophy. He believed that existing religions would become outdated in the process of modernization.

While rationalist scholars such as Inoue thought that society would ultimately be able to dispense with religion, most scholars of religion, including Anesaki, hoped to secure the role of religion in contemporary and future society. They therefore defended religion against modern secularism. Still, it was self-evident to almost all of them that religion could serve to consolidate and expand their new nation-state, and in that aspect of national loyalty they were not much different from right-wing nationalists who promoted the Imperial rescript on education.

In this process of describing religion in comparison to other categories such as education and morality, they came to presuppose the *sui generis* quality of religion, and different scholars presented various universal definitions of religion, which were also assumed to be its origin. Their views of religion can be described, overall, as psycho- or subject-centered. For example, Manshi Kiyozawa (1863–1903) defined religion as "a mental faculty or disposition which enables man to apprehend the Infinite" (in *The Skeleton of Philosophy of Religion,* an essay in English distributed to attendees at the World Parliament of Religions held in Chicago in 1893). Many Japanese scholars, even those with religious affiliations, regarded the divine being as a projection of human feelings, desires, or life forces. Interestingly, they did not think that such views would undermine religion. They were in fact optimistic about religion, believing in its evolution. Although these tendencies were distinct, it is difficult to discern how many of them were derived from their contemporary Western thoughts or from the indigenous tradition of Buddhism or animistic Shintō.

Twenty-five years after the first department for the study of religion was established, The Japanese Association for Religious Studies was founded, the first nationwide academic organization in the field. At that time there were strong antireligious movements inspired by Marxism, which was one of the causes that led scholars of religion to unite to defend religion. During the same period Japan became an imperialistic power and started to expand its colonies from Korea to other parts of Asia. In a parallel to Western scholarship, Japanese scholars developed ethnographic studies based on fieldwork in the new colonies in Asia, aware that studying the religions of diverse ethnic groups would serve Japan's colonial policy. It is often pointed out that the Kyoto School, the well-known group of religious philosophers from Kyoto Imperial University, justified Japanese imperialism with their ideas of Buddhism as postmodern, post-Western wisdom. Scholars of religion who supported Japanese imperialism ideologically were not limited to the Kyoto School, however. Moreover, many scholars found their freedom of research being increasingly restricted.

DEVELOPMENTS SINCE 1945. With the end of the Second World War, it was publicly admitted that State Shintō was, indeed, a religion. The Shintō Directive, which specified the occupation policy on religion, was issued in 1945 to abolish the entire system of State Shintō. At the same time the imperial family was demythologized to allow a democracy to be established. In the postwar period the influence of the United States became immense, both politically and culturally. It was ironic, therefore, that many Japanese remained skeptical about religion throughout the Cold War, despite their living in a capitalistic society. Traumatic memories of religious totalitarianism continue to influence the Japanese to separate religion from politics, to an extent that they often feel uncomfortable about the religious aspect of U.S. politics, often called the civil religion of the United States. In addition, opinion polls indicate that a large number of Japanese have a strong distrust of any religious organization.

Under these circumstances, the scholars of religion in postwar Japan became more careful to maintain scientific neutrality than had been the prewar scholars, who were socially engaged in defending religion. This neutral attitude culminated in the work of Hideo Kishimoto (1903–1964), a leading postwar scholar who sharply contrasted the study of religion as a purely empirical science with the study of theology. It does not mean that the postwar study of religion had no perspectives. Many scholars took an interest in minor, or what are called "little," religious traditions, the religions of the populace, whereas prewar scholars more often investigated the religious elites. This new tendency reflected the politically liberal atmosphere that spread through the humanities and social sciences in the 1950s. It was also a result of differentiating the study of religion itself from studies of Buddhist, Shintō, or Christian religions that focused on textual studies and elitist traditions. It may also be true that cross-religious categories like folk religion were more suited to comprehending the syncretic pluralism of Japanese religions.

In these respects, the Japanese study of religion has many things in common with the history of religions, a term often used to describe a humanistic tradition within the study of religion in the West. Nonetheless, most Japanese scholars have never identified themselves as historians of religions in this sense. The reason for this may be largely institutional. Since the study of religion has been a small field, it has never become too compartmentalized; those researching new religious movements, for example, worked closely with field workers studying folk religions. In addition, Japanese scholars in other departments such as sociology used to pay little attention to religion due to the pervasive indifference to religion in Japan. Rivalry with those scholars also helped to unite the field.

Because of these factors, the Japanese study of religion developed by embracing psychology, sociology, anthropology, and other approaches to religion. In the process, Japanese scholars readily adopted Western theories such as functionalism and structuralism, but they also found Christian influences in the Western study of religion and elaborated original theories of religion from their point of view. To take a few examples, whereas the Western study of religion used to emphasize the mind or the mind-body dichotomy in religion, Kishimoto rehabilitated the aspect of the body in religion as seen in ascetic practices, and Keiichi Yanagawa (1926–1990) presented a definition of religion as human relationships, in sharp contrast to the monotheistic idea of religion.

The Japanese study of religion differs from its Western, and particularly American, counterparts in a number of other respects. The Japanese scholarly view of religion tends to be ritual-centric rather than myth-centric. Studying myth is relatively unpopular partly because of the sensitive nature of Japanese mythology, which was once believed to be the historical truth about the origins of the imperial family, and partly because of the lack of a strong tradition of Greco-Roman classical studies. Instead, the study of rituals such as festivals and shamanic practices is prevalent. It is also noteworthy that the philosophy of religion has always been much more existentialistic, as represented by the Kyoto School tradition, than Anglo-American. In addition, the study of religion in Japan used to center more on modernization than secularization. Although secularization did become a central theme in the sociology of religion, it was the problem of modernization that evoked lively cross-disciplinary discussions in postwar Japan. Scholars first ascribed the problems of the prewar political system to the immaturity of Japan as a modern society. Long discussions followed as to whether Japan had remained half feudalistic or had achieved modernization in its own unique way. It was in this context that Robert Bellah's *Tokugawa Religion,* which analyzed the relationships between Japanese religious ethics and industrialization, attracted attention.

The debate on modernization was, in a sense, a question of Japanese identity. The postwar quest for national identity was satisfied on a popular level by Japanese studies (*nihonjinron/nihonbunkaron*), which overly emphasized the uniqueness of Japanese culture, including religion, based on the stereotypical contrast of the Orient and the Occident. On a more academic level, Japanese folklore studies, a neighboring field to religious studies founded by Kunio Yanagita (1875–1962), has most often been charged with ethnocentrism. It is considered to have originated in the Kokugaku (National Learning) movement, a nativistic movement based on philological study of Norinaga Motoori (1730–1801), an apologist for Shintō. At the same time, the work of Yanagita, who had been a private scholar, was reevaluated in the context of the counter-culture movements in the late 1960s and 1970s as an alternative to the established modern sciences of the universities.

The counterculture movements led to postmodernism in the 1980s. The trend was best embodied by Shinichi Nakazawa (b. 1950), a scholar of religion who had a Carlos Castenada-like experience with a guru in Tibet and later wrote books that combined his experiences with postmodern thought like that of Julia Kristeva. Whereas the Western postmodern study of religion tended to be critical of religion from a Freudian or a Marxist perspective, its Japanese equivalent could slide into Buddhist supremacism. This echo of wartime ideology resurrected a tough question as to whether the idea of the triumph of Eastern thought over Western thought was a mere reversal of Orientalism or if it had a certain validity.

It was no accident, therefore, that the new religion Aum Shinrikyō grew during the decade. Aum's release of Sarin gas in Tokyo subway stations in 1995 profoundly shocked Japanese scholars of religion. The incident forced them to seriously reconsider what the public role of the study of religion should be. Despite the overall lack of interest in religion among the Japanese public, new religious movements had been active, and the study of new religious groups had become quite popular in the postwar period. Scholars of religion treated new religions as Western historians of religions were treating indigenous religions, reevaluating them on their own merits instead of dismissing them as primitive. Accordingly, after Aum's gas attack, they faced criticism for having been standing on the side of new religions.

The postcolonial critique also raised the same question about the social role of the study of religion. Scholars started looking closely at diversity within the minor religious traditions, particularly in terms of gender and ethnicity, and problematizing the long neglect of oppressed minorities both by society and by the academy. Japanese feminist and gender-based studies of religion derive from the second wave of Japanese feminism in the 1970s. Interest in these studies has been high despite the twin difficulties of male domination of Japanese religious traditions and the lack of interest in religion within Japanese feminist movements.

In order to study the ongoing interactions between contemporary society and religions, new scholarly organizations were established in the 1990s. The most notable is the Japanese Association for the Study of Religion and Society (JASRS), founded in 1993. The International Institute for the Study of Religion (IISR), originally set up in 1953, was also reorganized in 1993, along with the Religious Information Research Center (RIRC).

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, popular issues in the mainstream of the Japanese study of religion include religion in practice *(seikatsu no shūkyō),* globalization/localization and religion, religion and violence, and the concept of religion and Orientalism. New impulses are emerging from the question of whether the study of religion should be more socially engaged rather than assuming neutrality. The responses to this question range from critical approaches following Saidian-Foucaultian reflections about knowledge and power to religious approaches following Nakazawa's attempt to guide the individual's spiritual quest.

Last but not least, all Japanese universities have recently been asked to reform themselves structurally to become more globally competitive. This movement is represented by the Twenty-First Century Center of Excellence (COE) program, a funding system that rewards selected universities and research institutions. The program is administered by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science with the support of the Japanese government. It encourages research that will directly contribute to society, which has promoted the idea of applied sciences even among traditional humanistic disciplines; the study of bioethics is one example within the field of religious studies. With this new focus, the study of religion is once again facing a challenge to serve public and national interests without losing its critical stance.

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SAKOTO FUJIWARA (2005)

STUDY OF RELIGION: THE ACADEMIC STUDY OF RELIGION IN NORTH AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST

The academic study of religion in North Africa and the Middle East builds upon a long and rich tradition of comparison and analysis of the history, beliefs, and practices of different religious communities. Most of the major universities in the region currently teach the comparative study of religion within an Islamic studies curriculum, whether or not the university and its programs are intended to be secular. Despite the relatively limited visibility of the comparative study of religions in regional institutions, the scholarly discipline can be traced back to a vigorous and creative scholarship that flourished at least as early as the tenth century.

The disciplinary approach and institutional organization of the study of religion in the Middle East and North Africa is based largely on a scholarly tradition developed in the premodern period, particularly during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. Several well-known scholars wrote far-reaching and influential works during this period that still serve as the basic textbooks for the contemporary university study of religion.

AL-BĪRŪNĪ. Perhaps the single best example of the study of religion within Islamic civilization comes from the penetrating works of al-Bīrūnī (973–1050). Attached to the Ghaznavid court in what is today Afghanistan, al-Bīrūnī produced two important works studying ancient and contemporary religions. The first, titled *Book of the Remains from Bygone Centuries*, contains al-Bīrūnī's account of pre-Islamic civilizations. The second, titled the *History of India*, is an encyclopedic catalog and analysis of the culture of South Asia. The information in al-Bīrūnī's study of India comes both from firsthand observations in northwest India and from his extensive study of Sanskrit and related Indian languages and texts. Combing both ethnographic and textual research, al-Bīrūnī's work is primarily descriptive, though a rudimentary analytical framework utilizing more generic categories such as "ritual" and "belief" is evident from al-Bīrūnī's observations.

MILAL WA NIHAL. Most influential in many contemporary university programs in comparative religion is a body of scholarship known under the Arabic term *al-Milal wa al-Nihal*, roughly translated as "Sects and Heresies" and is often understood as heresiographical or doxographical in nature, though individual authors provide different rationales for their works. In general, this scholarship presents an overview of beliefs attributed to different groups both historically and contemporaneous with the writers. These beliefs are often grouped into three broad categories: Islamic beliefs and sects, beliefs and sects of "People of the Book" (Arabic, *ahl al-kitāb*) or "revealed" religions, and everything else, including other religions and philosophers. Sometimes this categorization is reduced to Muslim and non-Muslim beliefs, as in the work of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in which he discusses Jews, Christians, Mazdaeans, dualists, Sabians, and philosophers.

Ibn Hazm. Abū Muḥammad Alī Ibn Aḥmad, known as Ibn Ḥazm (994–1064) was one of the most prolific writers on other religions and their relationship to Islam. In his *al-Milal wa al-Nihal* work, Ibn Ḥazm discusses doctrines pertaining to Islam, Mazdaeans, Christians, Brāhmaṇs, Jews, various philosophers, dualists, and others. The book is organized according to specific topics rather than particular religious groups, but the topics themselves are loosely arranged according to what Ibn Ḥazm sees as sectarian divisions arising from adherence to certain beliefs. For example, Ibn Ḥazm has a general section on Christianity followed by more specific discussion of the nature of Christ, those who deny prophethood and the angels, and the difference between miracles and magic. In his discussion of Judaism Ibn Ḥazm mentions that the Jews reject the trinitarianism of Christians but faults them for using a Torah that does not contain an accurate record of the revelation given to Moses. Zoroastrians are faulted for insisting upon the prophethood of Zoroaster while denying the equality of other prophets.

Ibn Ḥazm spends considerable attention detailing examples of how the stories of the prophets in the Jewish Torah and the Christian New Testament contradict what is known from the Qurʾān and Islamic tradition. In addition to his criticism of the sources and redaction of the Bible used by Jews and Christians, Ibn Ḥazm wrote extensively on Islamic law. He was a strong proponent for the notion that the Qurʾān and the *sharīʿah* derived from it superseded all earlier older legal codes, to the extent that the revelation of the Qurʾān abrogated all parts of the Bible that it did not specifically confirm. Although he is apparently well informed about the different religious ideas he catalogs, Ibn Ḥazm's main interest is in a defense of Islam as providing a holistic interpretation of the world fully compatible with history and rationality. His *al-Milal wa al-Nihal* work also includes a section mentioning what is known about certain biblical prophets and the veneration due to them, followed by discussions of beliefs concerning the creation of heaven and hell, the resurrection of the dead, the punishment of the tomb, and repentance. In his final sections he treats a number of individual issues not necessarily associated with any particular group such as visions, the created nature of certain things, and the relationship of body and soul.

Abū al-Maʿālī. Abū al-Maʿālī Muḥammad bin ʿUbayd Allāh (c. 1092) produced one of the earliest Persian works in the *al-Milal wa al-Nihal* tradition. His book, titled *Explication of Religions*, treats a number of religions that came before Islam, including ancient Arab religion, Greek philosophy, Judaism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, Mazdakism, and Manichaeism. He separates this group of religions from "idolatrous" religions such as Hinduism. Abū al-Maʿālī's main focus in the book appears to be his conviction that all people, even non-Muslims, hold a belief in a creator being, which he claims proves the existence of God.

Shahrastānī. Muḥammad bin ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī (1086–1153) lived near Khurāsān and wrote a well-known *al-Milal wa al-Nihal* work. Shahrastānī states that he wrote the book in an attempt to document "the religious beliefs of all the world's people." Shahrastānī divides these religious beliefs into two main categories: ideas derived from revealed books and ideas derived from elsewhere. The first category is further subdivided into Muslims and People of the Book. People of the Book include the Jews (Kairites, Isawiyah, Samaritans), Christians (Chalcedonians, Nestorians, Jacobites), and the people of a "false book" such as the Zoroastrians and the dualists, under which category he places the Manichaeans. The second category of beliefs originating from nonrevealed sources includes the Sabians of Harran, philosophers (Greek and Islamic), pre-Islamic Arab religions, and the beliefs of Indians (Brāhmaṇs, adherents to spirits, star worshipers, and idol worshipers). He follows this by a brief discussion of philosophical ideas among the Indians.

The longest section in the book is that on the philosophers and their ideas. Shahrastānī describes the different religious ideas within the Islamic framework of revealed and nonrevealed corresponding to the general Qurʾanic notion of the People of the Book following prophets with divine messages. Shahrastānī conceives of God as a unitary being from whom creation proceeds in a fashion that gained him as reputation as adhering to Nizarī Ismāʿīlī doctrines of emanation and incarnation. This allows him to see truth in ideas derived both directly and indirectly from God. A similar approach is found in the *Ḥikmat al-khālidah* of Miskawayh and the *Ṭabaqāt al-umam* of Saʿīd al-Andalusī, where it is argued that God gave each of the world's peoples certain intellectual and civilizational gifts that they retain despite their straying from the directly revealed truths of Islam.

HISTORY. Medieval Muslim historians often write about the history of different religions. In the course of his history of the world, for example, Muḥammad bin Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923) recounts numerous traditions from both Muslim and pre-Islamic sources concerning the religious beliefs and practices of Iran, Arabia, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the Fertile Crescent. Later historians, such as Ibn al-Athīr, built upon Ṭabarī's work and repeated much of his information, sometimes with their own additions. Other historians provide detailed historical backgrounds to explain the origins of religious groups present in their time. Aḥmad b. Abd al-Qādir al-Maqrīzī (1364–1442), well-known historian of Egypt, includes an especially long section on the different groups among the Jews of his time. He uses a variety of medieval, late antique, and Hellenistic sources, including the medieval Hebrew translation of Josephus.

Stories of the Prophets. Equally important are the historical and mythological accounts pertaining to what is called the "Stories of the Prophets" in Muslim histories and Qurʾān commentaries. Although regarded as "Muslim" prophets by these writers, the cycle of stories associated with such pre-Islamic figures as Abraham, Moses, and Jesus were told often in conscious comparison to Jewish and Christian accounts of the same figures. Scholars such as Ibn Kathir specifically compare passages from the Bible and from Jewish and Christian interpretation with the Qurʾān and its interpretation by Muslims. In addition to major prophetic figures, other characters also appear in these stories, including Samson, St. George, and the Seven Sleepers. Such scholarship frequently reflects a relatively sophisticated approach to textual criticism and the burgeoning of a sort of comparative mythology.

TRAVEL AND GEOGRAPHY. The approach and content of most *al-Milal wa al-Nihal* and historical scholarship is focused on literary sources and doctrinal questions. Descriptions of practices, largely drawn from ethnographic-type observations comparable to those found in the histories of Herodotus, can be found in the large collection of travel accounts produced by Arab and Muslim scholars in the medieval period but continuing through to the nineteenth century.

One of the best-known travelers is Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1304–1368) who left from Tangiers and traveled throughout the Middle East, East Africa, Asia Minor, Central Asia, India, Sri Lanka, Bengal, Sumatra, and China. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's travel account, as well as those of many others, are expanded journals of pilgrimage journeys. During the travels described in his account, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa made pilgrimage to Mecca at least four times. Ibn al-Jubayr (1145–1217) was one of the first to leave a long account of his journeys in the Middle East while on pilgrimage to Mecca, which includes his firsthand observations on the beliefs and practices he encountered. Travel accounts and guides written for pilgrims visiting regional sites in Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine, such as those of al-Harawī and Ibn al-Ḥawrānī, constitute a valuable record not only of Muslim practices and beliefs but also myths and rituals associated with certain sites by other religious groups in the area.

Other scholarship focused on geography includes a great deal of information on religious practices and beliefs. Scholars such as Yāqūt, Ibn al-Faqīh, and al-Bakrī compiled geographical dictionaries that contain a wealth of information derived from a variety of sources on the religious traditions associated with certain cities, shrines, mountains, and places of pilgrimage. Scholars such as al-Qazwīnī produced works examining the "wonders" (*ʿajāʾib*) of the world, compiling and comparing mythologies associated with different locations, often utilizing historical, linguistic, and ethnographic approaches. Other early "wonders" accounts focused specifically on India and China. Similar approaches can be found in the large collection of works focused on the "virtues" *(faḍāʾil)* of cities such as Jerusalem, Damascus, and Mecca. These *faḍāʾil* works bring together from various types of sources historical and mythological traditions associated with the origins of sanctuaries, certain ritual practices, and beliefs connected to particular peoples and locations.

JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN STUDIES OF ISLAM. Jewish and Christian scholars also wrote extensively on Islam, and on their own religions, not always with the simple aim of discrediting others but rather in formation of their own distinct identity. This is particularly true where the Muslim majority was and is still in close contact with large non-Muslim minorities, in Spain, Yemen, Egypt, Lebanon, and the Fertile Crescent. Much of this went on in the area of comparative scriptural exegesis, with Jews, Christians, and Muslims interpreting what amounts to a common scriptural tradition, though the identity and authority of different texts (i.e., Qurʾān, Bible) was often the issue in such discussions. This sort of more direct polemic continues today and is not often overt, strongly influenced by perceptions of the political situation between Israel and the Palestinians.

MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY STUDY OF RELIGION. In the modern period, many state-sponsored and private universities include the comparative study of religion as part of the regular curriculum. There are few independent departments devoted to the comparative study of religion, with the exception of departments of *daʿwa* (proselytizing) at some regional universities. Separate departments of *daʿwa* can be found at some universities such as the Islamic University of Medina and the Department of Daʿwa and Religious Fundamentals (*uṣūl al-dīn*) founded in 1991 at the Umm al-Qura University of Mecca. The curriculum emphasizes the comparative study of religions as a means to allow students to contextualize their own religious traditions within a global religious community.

The Amir ʿAbd al-Qadir University in Constantine, Algeria has a Department of Creed and Comparative Religion (al-ʿAqīdah wa Muqārinah al-Adyān). Ain Shams University in Cairo offers the comparative study of religious traditions within the various language and literature departments in the Faculty of Arts, including the languages of Islamic nations, and Hebrew language and literature. The Center for Oriental Studies at the University of Cairo offers a number of courses and a publication series in Comparative Religion. The University of Mauritius offers a degree program in history and heritage studies that incorporates Islamic studies into a broad spectrum of cultural and religious influences on Mauritius history. Individual courses teaching Islamic studies within a comparative, liberal arts framework can also be found at the University of the United Arab Emirates, Sidi Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallah University in Fes, the American University of Beirut, Sultan Qabus University in Musqat, Bogazici University in Istanbul, and the American University of Cairo.

Uṣūl al-dīn. Other universities devote departments and colleges to the general study of religion, within the framework of an Islamic studies curriculum. The department of *uṣūl al-dīn* at the University of Jordan, for example, teaches the standard subfields within Islamic studies, including *al-Milal wa al-Nihal* studies as well as individual courses in comparative religion and Muslim-Christian dialogue. A similar curriculum exists university-wide at Omdurman Islamic University in the Sudan, and al-Quds University in Jerusalem includes an Islamic studies department within liberal arts and a separate Islamic Research Center established in 1987 with a broad, comparative scope. Within its *uṣūl al-dīn* faculty, al-Azhar University offers a comparative curriculum devoted to the study of religions (Christianity, Judaism, Hinduism, pre-Islamic Arab religions, Buddhism, Confucianism, and ancient Egyptian religions) with courses examining the origins of religion, the connections between religion and society, and the history and importance of the study of different religions from an Islamic perspective.

***Sharīʿah* colleges.** Most comparative studies of religion within the universities of the Gulf region are housed within separate colleges devoted to the study of *sharīʿah* (Islamic law) and Islamic studies. The department of *uṣūl al-dīn* in the College of Sharīʿah at the Imam Muḥammad bin Saʿud University was established in the 1950s. The faculty of *sharīʿah* and *uṣūl al-dīn* at the King Khalid University was founded in 1976, and in the 1990s Islamic studies (including the comparative study of religions under the heading of *al-Milal wa al-Nihal*) was moved into the College of Sharīʿah and Islamic Studies at Kuwait University. Iranian universities, such as the Bu Ali Sina University and Shiraz University offer degree programs in Islamic law through the faculties of law at each institution.

Despite their separate institutionalization, these colleges of *sharīʿah* and Islamic studies are often more akin to a North American "divinity school" with a more diverse curriculum than a "seminary"-style college. Other colleges of *sharīʿah* and Islamic studies are more strictly preprofessional, however. The Salahaddin University in Arbil, Iraq, was established in 2003 with the aim of preparing *imāms* for service in the Kurdistan region of Iraq. The faculty of *sharīʿah* and Islamic studies at Yarmouk University in Irbid, Jordan, was established in 1991, merging the then existing Islamic Studies Center into a college designed for professional training. A similar situation pertains to the college of *sharīʿah* at al-Ahqaf University in the Ḥaḍramawt region of Yemen.

CHALLENGES AND CURRENT TRENDS. Today the basic focus of most regional programs in the comparative study of religion is historical and doctrinal. The more differentiated conception of religion as inclusive of practices and beliefs outside of canonical texts and officially sanctioned venues has suffered in the modern period. Modern Muslim scholars of religion tend to isolate what they consider to be religion (Arabic, *dīn*) from tradition and culture (Arabic, *turāth*, *thaqāfah*). The broad view taken by premodern travelers, historians, and *al-Milal wa al-Nihal* scholars, as well as the more self-critical approach to canonical Islamic texts and doctrines, has largely been replaced by a less complex cataloging of accepted beliefs and practices.

The major challenge facing the study of religion in Arab universities is the perception that comparison and theoretical models represent a challenge to indigenous methods and approaches to the study of religion. This is particularly evident in the defensive and protective posture taken by scholars of the major foundational subjects in classical Islam, especially the historical study of the Prophet Muḥammad and the interpretation of the Qurʾān. Such a defensive stance sometimes has the unfortunate result of stifling discussion and use of the rich comparative approaches developed by premodern Muslim scholarship.

Scholars trained largely in European and North American institutions have introduced innovative approaches to regional studies of religion. This includes, for example, perspectives adopted from the history of religions, text-critical studies, philosophy of religion, and anthropology. Scholars using such approaches are not always successful given the institutional and intellectual barriers in regional universities. Reactions range from the establishment of institutions to the publication of monographs criticizing particular schools of thought and individuals, but sometimes reactions have taken the form of threats and outright violence against particular individuals. The banning of certain publications, both classical and modern, is not uncommon in the region, including the expurgation of passages from classical texts and modern textbooks for K–12 education.

Where European and American models have been most influential is in the areas of archaeology and textual-historical studies. Archaeologists from the King Saʿūd University in Riyadh, for example, have produced a number of excellent analyses of pre-Islamic Arabian religion, and indigenous scholarship on antiquities in other areas, especially Egypt and Jordan, is world class. The German approaches associated with *Religionswissenschaft* and *Religionsgeschichte* are more easily integrated into regional curricula, perhaps because of the emphasis, familiar from the classical Islamic tradition, upon history and doctrine. Within the context of other disciplines, religion is treated with more theoretical ingenuity, as a variable in anthropological, art historical, and political scientific studies.

Centers for comparative religion. Since the 1970s a number of initiatives have created regional centers and brief runs in journals and other periodicals devoted to the relations of Muslims and non-Muslims. Most of this has focused on Muslim-Christian dialogue, such as the programs at the Centre d'Études et de Recherches Économiques et Sociales in Tunis, the joint visits between the Vatican and al-Azhar officials, and the Seminar on Islamic-Christian dialogue founded in Tripoli, Libya, in 1976. These initiatives, however, appear to have been more concerned with political relations than with the academic study of religion.

More recently, as a reaction to the more insular attitude of some regional scholars, a number of regional institutions and centers specifically devoted to the comparative study of religions have been established. A prime example of this is the Royal Institute for Interfaith Studies (Arabic, Maʿhad al-Malakī li-Dirāsāt al-Dīnīyyah) founded by Prince Ḥasan bin Talal in 1994 in Amman, Jordan. The RIIFS, devoted primarily to the study of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, publishes quarterly journals in English and Arabic and sponsors lectures and visiting scholars from around the world. Other state-supported and private institutions in the region have begun to cultivate more active and creative programs in the comparative study of religion as a means to broaden both academic and popular conceptions of religious identity and civil cooperation.

Another example of this is the Department of Theology and Religions at Qum University in Iran, founded in 2001 with the stated aim of "highlighting the role of religion in dialogue among civilizations. . .for the purpose of understanding one another. . . .” Associated centers in Iran include the Institute for Dialogue among Religions in Tehran and the Bureau for Knowledge and Religions at the Research Center for Human Sciences and Cultural Studies. Since 2001, al-Azhar University has introduced an English-language unit for Islamic studies, and Tashkent Islam University implemented a revised curriculum in the study of world religions. This corresponds with the growing number of Turkish and North African universities that have begun to offer a curriculum aimed explicitly at participating in dialogue with non-Muslim societies.

Such initiatives should not be seen as novel undertakings but rather represent a reinvigoration of the fertile indigenous tradition of the comparative study of religion from the classical Islamic period.

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BRANNON WHEELER (2005)

STUDY OF RELIGION: THE ACADEMIC STUDY OF RELIGION IN NORTH AMERICA

North American intellectuals, poets, and scholars have shown considerable enthusiasm in exploring religion dating back to the nineteenth century. This spirit flourished in scholarly, theological, philosophical, and artistic investigations.

THE EARLY ROOTS OF THE ACADEMIC STUDY OF RELIGION. Academic study in the nineteenth century was often tied to Christian theological interests and institutions, but this is not to say that all religious study was simply apologetics. Early scholars in the emerging field of North American comparative religions included James Freeman Clark (Harvard Divinity School), who published *Ten Great Religions: An Essay in Comparative Theology* in 1871. Between the 1860s and 1900 several religiously oriented university chairs were appointed at places such as Harvard, Boston University, Princeton, and Cornell—Clark’s appointment as “Professor of Natural Religion and Christian Doctrine” at Harvard being one example. Although these chairs did not represent a full-fledged comparative religion such as was emerging in Europe, they did portend a trend away from singly theological reflections and apologetics. In addition to Clark, other scholars included W. D. Whitney, James Freeman Clarke, and George Foot Moore. In 1892 T. W. Rhys Davids, a British scholar of Buddhism, was invited to lecture at the newly established “American Lectures on the History of Religions,” a joint venture among several colleges and universities. In the same year the University of Chicago established a department devoted to the study of comparative religion.

Outside of universities, Ralph Waldo Emerson (and other transcendentalists), Walt Whitman, and John Burroughs represent just a few of the voices among amateur Orientalists, philosophers, poets, and theologians interested in religious experience, mysticism, religious psychology, and religious pluralism. On the level of popular culture, Chicago’s World Parliament of Religions in 1893 offered a plurality of different Christian congresses and lectures and introduced many Americans to what became the earliest understandings of Buddhist Theravāda and Zen as well as Hindu Vedānta. These events and thinkers held the common interest in religion and trust in “modern” scholarly methods to reveal the origins, meanings, and truths of the myriad human behaviors deemed religious.

These forces—as well as a plurality of religious groups examining their own theology— created a diversity of ideas, interpretations, and reflections on institutional religions (such as Christianity and Buddhism), on religious texts (such as the *Bhagavadgītā* and the Bible), and on the role of religious practices and claims in society (such as religion and law or psychology of religion).

This early phase of amateur and academic study of religion was wide-ranging, yet disciplinary identity and overall theoretical coherence were still in development. Often uneasy (even antagonistic) mixtures of theology, history, and social sciences evolved in this early academic study of religion. Even though clear disciplinary identity was lacking, active study proceeded in several areas. Unique among these was the American school of psychology of religion. Stanley Hall (1884–1924)—trained at Wilhelm Wundt's laboratory of experimental psychology in Leipzig—brought European psychology to the United States and set the stage for the development of an original American psychology of religion by James H. Leuba (1868–1946), Edwin Diller Starbuck (1866–1947), William James (1842–1910), and others. Positivism and American "pragmatism" were this new psychology's orientation, questionnaires and surveys became one of its primary methods, and the psychology of religious conversion was one of its early foci. Leuba addressed conversion from the psychological point of view and as a scientific rationalist in his 1896 dissertation in psychology (written at Clark University under Stanley Hall). Starbuck and James, from different perspectives, were more accepting of transcendental realities and distinctly "religious" experience, but nonetheless their approaches were thoroughly scholarly in Starbuck's *The Psychology of Religion* and James's *The Varieties of Religious Experience.*

Another fruitful area of research was in the emerging discourses of American anthropology. North American scholars and professional (and amateur) ethnologists had a long encounter with indigenous Americans. Franz Boas, Robert H. Lowie, Paul Radin, Alfred L. Kroeber, and Clyde Kluckhohn (to name a few) all showed significant interest in religious aspects of Native American cultures (worldviews, ceremonies, and myths). Boas (1858–1942) at Columbia University trained numerous anthropologists (Lowie, Radin, and Kroeber among them) who tended to work from the basic assumption that understanding native cultures required careful study of their "religions" (rituals, myths, and customs). The influence of Native American studies and American anthropology had wider impact than just the Americas, being of interest to both anthropologists and scholars of religion in Europe. Whereas such thinkers as the French Lucien Lévy-Bruhl tended toward the philosophical and theoretical, American anthropologists contributed a strong emphasis on empirical fieldwork and (following Boas), a keen sense of history, and even a distrust of overtheorizing the data.

One of the peculiarities of American higher education is that the major universities have not been—and arguably still are not—state institutions as they have been in most parts of the world. The development of divinity schools at such institutions as Chicago, Harvard, Yale, and Princeton led the early- and mid-twentieth-century development of the academic study of religion. Whereas social sciences (psychology, anthropology, sociology) were contributing both data and theories to the study of religion, it was often these divinity schools that led the self-conscious pursuit for an American "comparative religion" or "history of religions." Harvard and Chicago are two notable examples, training many of the historians and comparativists who populated the many departments of religious and cultural studies of the 1960s, 1970s, and following decades.

RELIGIOUS STUDIES AND RELATED DISCIPLINES. Following the lead of these divinity schools, "religious studies" emerged as an academic discipline during the 1960s and 1970s in private and state universities. Religious studies include disciplinary approaches such as anthropology, sociology, history, and philology. Other approaches are geographic or chronological, such as religion in America, East Asian cultures and religions, and ancient Near Eastern studies. Others are drawn from doctrinal or community boundaries, such as Buddhist, Hindu, Islamic, or Christian studies.

After World War II, following the earlier interests of Clark, James, and Boas and even such thinkers as John Dewey, several new voices and schools of thought spoke from within the emerging field of religious studies. Prominent among them were Erwin R. Goodenough (Yale), Wilfred Cantwell Smith (Harvard), Joachim Wach (responsible for the program at Brown and for shaping the program at the University of Chicago), Mircea Eliade (following Wach at the University of Chicago), and the Scottish-born Ninian Smart (University of California, Santa Barbara). From different perspectives, their approaches tended to treat the topic of religion as a self-generated category whose study was an act of interpretation and understanding. Their interests (philosophy, sociology, history, and phenomenology) and area studies backgrounds (Christianity, Hinduism, and Buddhism) varied. Eliade was particularly prominent among these mid-century voices. He tended to look at religious products (myths and rituals) as manifestations of sacred (or mystical) reality that originated outside of human experience. Thus he collected vast amounts of diverse cultural material into general categories, such as "myth," as exemplified in his *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (1958). Even though this kind of study brought together broadly divergent materials into overarching categories, there was also a strong sense of contextual history in the Chicago school of the history of religions. The Chicago journal *History of Religions,* begun in 1961 at the height of Eliade's prominence, has tended to publish detailed and context-rich historically grounded studies.

The approaches of these mid-century thinkers varied widely but might be described as treating religious institutions and behaviors as phenomena similar to literature, a music composition, or a performance. Following the analogy of the arts, a particular religious ritual must be interpreted (appreciated, criticized) much like a musical performance or an artifact. Study of this kind might include, for example, encouraging the practice of Zen meditation in addition to studying Zen texts on meditation or interviewing Zen monks. Ninian Smart referred to this kind of study as "participatory" and insisted that the study of religion need be polymethodic and interdisciplinary because in order to understand religion the scholar must be simultaneously inside and outside of the subject of study. Smith, Eliade, and Smart all argued that the academic study of religion needed to be a broad utilitarian and humanistic study and not some kind of strictly (and only) objective historical study of particular traditions.

The mid-century study of religion also boasted several "popular" trends in books and media. The works of the literature scholar Joseph Campbell and the Bollingen Foundation are examples of the extensive study of comparative mythology that—although occurring outside of religious studies or divinity schools—brought a vast amount of religious materials to popular audiences in books and media, such as Campbell's *Hero with a Thousand Faces* and *The Masks of God* and the PBS series *Moyers: Joseph Campbell and the Power of Myth.* While many scholars of religion view Campbell's work as "popular" and "literary" instead of historical or scholarly, this does not downplay the influence of such work in bringing comparative religious materials to large audiences (many of whom might never have studied religion in universities). The religion scholar Huston Smith, author of *The World's Religions: Our Great Wisdom Traditions* (1958) and other textbooks and general works on religion, hosted film and television presentations of religions and the psychology of religious experiences that, like Campbell's work, presented comparative religions to large popular audiences.

At the same time American social scientific studies of religion viewed religion not as self-generated phenomena understandable only on its own terms but as a cultural product. Human beings generate the varied religious practices and beliefs that they employ for a variety of contingent, political, personal, and social purposes. This kind of science is described as reductive: it examines religion not as a special subject but as a product of social life that can be explained with the same intellectual tools as other human phenomena, such as political parties, psychological pathology, or marketing trends. Although this orientation grew out of American social scientific concerns for "religion in culture," it echoed in many ways Europe's "scientific study of religion" more than the "history of religions" and "religious studies" common in North American divinity schools and religious studies departments. Some of the North American scholars who approached religion in these ways included Peter Berger, Thomas Luckmann, Bryan Wilson, and Robert Bellah as well as others in sociology who devoted significant attention to the study of religion. The works of Clifford Geertz, Mary Douglas, and Victor Turner contributed both description and theory to the anthropological study of religion.

CONTEMPORARY TRENDS. The intermixture of humanities and social sciences approaches and the additions of original approaches from cultural studies in the late twentieth- and early twenty-first centuries has led to considerable diversity in the discussions and discourses on religion. It is not possible to collect a canon of a dozen authors and thereby gain an overview of North American academic approaches to religion. In this broadly diverse and creatively rich context, all scholars share, in principle, an insistence on intellectual rigor and critical self-awareness. The lack of an all-encompassing theme in the field reflects the shared insistence on focusing on religion in specific historical contexts (regardless of the analytical and intellectual methods employed). Significant in this American trend is the plethora of critical examinations of the role of subjectivity in all productions of knowledge (in universities and popular culture). Scholars of previous generations often critically examined political authority or religious truth claims, yet they sometimes failed to use these same critical methods to examine their own productions of knowledge about complex human phenomena (whether religion, culture, or politics). Beginning from different backgrounds and presuppositions, contemporary scholars employ the principle of contesting and examining everything, not just the subject matter but also scholarship and the academy itself.

The combination of area study with the study of disciplinary history is a primary manifestation of this trend toward rigorous disciplinary self awareness. Steven M. Wasserstrom (Judaic studies), Robert A. Orsi (religion in America), Sam D. Gill (religion and cultural studies), and many others practice this new trend in their scholarship and published works. Wasserstrom's *Religion after Religion: Gershom Scholem, Mircea Eliade, and Henry Corbin at Eranos* (1999) carefully explores the mystical and poetic influences on the formation of the discipline in the works of three scholars (of Judaism, history of religions, and Islamic studies respectively). Part of understanding how to practice the study of religion is through understanding the genealogy of the study itself in North America. Gill's *Storytracking: Texts, Stories, and Histories in Central Australia* (1997) presents several aspects of the contemporary trend to careful contextual research and self-critique. *Storytracking* presents the worldview of Australian Aboriginal religion by applying the Aboriginal peoples' own methods of narrative to the study of Australian Aboriginal culture and thereby also provides critique of previous scholarship that distorted the data. As such it provides both an original study of Aboriginal culture and a critique of the academic study of religion.

Bruce Lincoln (myth, ritual, and ideology), Charles Long (religion in the contemporary world), and Jonathan Z. Smith (Judaism's myth and ritual) are prominent scholars and teachers who reflect on the topic of religions and the study of religions and contribute significant applications of these reflections and theories to area studies. These three thinkers' contributions cover extensive and detailed philological, historical, and cultural studies touching almost all aspects of the academic study of religion from ancient Israel, Africa, and Europe to contemporary religious, political, and cultural issues in North America and abroad. Diana L. Eck (Hinduism and religious pluralism) and Martin Marty (Christianity and religion in the contemporary world) continue and defend the humanistic concerns of the mid-century thinkers that religion is a kind of personal, irreducible human experience also through careful awareness and critique of previous scholarship and through specific contributions to Hindu and Christian studies.

Some scholars directly pursue this disciplinary self-awareness by addressing the theoretical basis of the academic study of religion and the constitution of the field (especially under the rubrics of method, theory, or metatheory). In many cases these approaches focus less on critiquing the discipline through specific area studies than on the academic study of religion itself as their area study. Some prominent voices are Hans Penner, Donald Wiebe, Catherine Bell, and Russell McCutcheon.

Contributions continue to come from outside of religious studies as well. Examples include Edward Said (postcolonial theory) and Talal Asad (anthropology, especially religion and secularism in the Middle East), whose writings contribute to specific study of the Middle East while also providing extensive theoretical and philosophical contributions on the study of culture. Works from such contributors include Asad's *Formation of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (2003), which is of interest to anthropologists, scholars of religion, and area specialists, and a broad general readership as well. Rodney Stark (sociology, especially rational choice theory of religion) represents different, strictly social scientific principles by offering comprehensive social scientific theories to explain religion.

At one time the study of religion could be divided into either history or sociology or according to intellectual trends, such as functionalism, structuralism, or phenomenology. There is no single or dominant trend in the contemporary study of religion, although postcolonial studies, critical theory, performance studies, religion and ecology, feminism, subaltern studies, and cognitive science inform the traditional orientations of history, philology, and the social sciences. As a field religious studies constantly battles to remain relevant to the wider public and maintain rigorous scholarly study while also being subject to intellectual, political, and cultural fads, trends, and moods.

INSTITUTIONAL TRENDS IN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES. In the late 1960s and early 1970s colleges and universities established departments of religious studies as part of larger cultural trends. The "red scare" and anticommunist political mood encouraged interest in and defense of religion as a defining feature of the democratic cultures. It was also a time of assertive revivalism, creativity, and change within traditional American religious communities. Vatican II and liberal Protestant theology revitalized Christian interests in "religion." A new conservatism that emphasized historical and textual study also emerged. The 1960s counterculture was fascinated with so-called exotic traditions, such as Buddhism and yoga, and also antitraditional explorations of occultism. Changing immigration policies and patterns, the proliferation of media, international affairs, and geopolitical interests in the Middle East and Asia all contributed to a vast increase in international and multicultural interests. U.S. and Canadian trends in higher education reflected these social and intellectual trajectories, and the result was an explosion of liberal arts and cultural studies programs (religious, women's, ethnic, and others).

By the 1970s institutional boundaries were drawn more strictly between theology and the secular study of religion. Conservative Protestant colleges remained committed to theological study of religion focused on the active promotion of their particular religious views. Roman Catholic colleges and universities tended before the 1970s to offer courses in theology but generally did not offer majors and minors in the study of religion. Since that time many Catholic institutions have developed religion programs, and although in many ways unlike the conservative Protestant colleges, they are generally aimed at preparing students for occupations within religious industries (churches and counseling). Mainline Protestant colleges developed along parallel patterns with public institutions, adopting ecumenical outlooks and secularizing trends (such as in the divinity schools mentioned above).

During the 1980s and afterward programs expanded to include a broader range of approaches, especially those of the social sciences and cultural studies. Religious studies scholars now regularly employ fieldwork, ethnography, statistical analysis, demographics, cultural criticism, and performance studies. These developments have extended the boundaries of religious studies beyond traditional categories, such as "scripture" or "Hinduism." Women's issues, the politics of religious violence, religion and medicine, and religion and the body are particular examples of these transformations.

After the 1980s some programs in religious studies continued to grow and prosper, whereas others suffered due to political changes and fiscal constraints in higher education. Changes in public and private funding and the adoption of corporate business models by many universities have caused departments and programs to defend their existences based on costs and enrollment. In these environments religious studies programs must compete with other departments for students, funding, and faculty appointments. Many programs have coped with these fiscal realities by shifting their emphasis away from competing for majors and minors through reframing their place within university-wide programs, such as providing courses for general education, multicultural and international initiatives, and other circumstances in which religious studies is not the students' major program of study.

A different trend in the study of religion is the formation of centers that focus on religious topics but draw faculty from numerous departments. Such centers capitalize on the inherent interdisciplinary nature of the field drawing on scholars from multiple disciplines. Harvard's Center of the Study of World Religions, Toronto's Department and Center for the Study of Religion, and the University of Chicago's Martin Marty Center (and institute devoted to relating the scholarly study of religion to wider public audiences) are three examples. There has also been a rise of "centers" that focus on a geographic area (culture, religions, politics, history, and languages). An example is the Center for Sikh and Punjab Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Some centers focus on an issue, such as conflict studies or women's studies, or a specific time period. For example, Trinity College's Leonard E. Greenberg Center for the Study of Religion in Public Life focuses on religion in the contemporary world. Other disciplines and cultural studies programs also contribute significant studies of religious subject matters. One example is the Department of Cultural Studies and Comparative Literature at the University of Minnesota.

PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, PROJECTS, AND PUBLICATIONS. Professional organizations in the study of religion arrange conferences (regional, national, and international), disseminate information, support various publications (books, conference volumes, and journals), and publicize the field. The American Academy of Religion (AAR), founded in 1909 and incorporated in 1964, includes scholars from several disciplines and promotes reflections and teachings focusing on a critical understanding of religious traditions, issues, questions, and values. The AAR collects and publishes data and statistics about theology and religious studies programs and sponsors the publication of the *Journal of the American Academy of Religion (JAAR).* The North American Association for the Study of Religion (NAASR), formed in 1985, is devoted to historical, comparative, structural, theoretical, and cognitive approaches to the study of religion. The NAASR is affiliated with the International Association for the History of Religions (IAHR). Its journal *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion (MTSR)* examines theoretical issues and pedagogical and research methods. The Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion (CCSR) is a consortium of several other academic societies in the field of religious studies (including the Canadian Society for the Study of Religion and the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies). It coordinates research and publications and was originally formed in 1971 to coordinate research among the different societies and to publish the bilingual (French and English) journal *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses (SR).* The Society for the Scientific Study of Religion (SSSR) was founded in 1949 by scholars in religious studies and social sciences. Its *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion (JSSR)* generally focuses on sociological approaches to the study of religion. There are additional organizations that support or publish academic studies of religion either from outside the field (such as those devoted to anthropology or literature) or from area studies within the field. Area and topical studies organizations are numerous. Examples include the Society of Biblical Literature (SBL), the American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR), and the Society for Tantric Studies (STS). Numerous other journals publish religious studies topics, such as *History of Religions*, *Religion*, and *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures.*

Publications are an intense area of academic interest. In addition to scholarly monographs, edited works, and journals, North Americans have contributed significantly to the publication of encyclopedias, dictionaries, and textbooks in the field of religion. Encyclopedias of religion, religion and nature, religion and ecology, mythology, ritual, Christianity, and many area studies works have been published in single- and multivolume sets and electronically. Textbooks arranged topically, geographically, and historically offer a broad and creative area of introductory and advanced sourcebooks for scholars and students. North America has been a leading contributor in this last area, offering, for example, Mark Taylor's edited text, *Critical Terms for Religious Studies* (1998), and Daniel L. Pals's *Seven Theories of Religion* (1996).

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JEFFREY C. RUFF (2005)

STUDY OF RELIGION: THE ACADEMIC STUDY OF RELIGION IN SOUTH ASIA

The locus for the academic study of religion in South Asia is found in a network of university departments and scholarly sites rather than in departments of religious studies or comparative religion within individual universities. The network also includes scholars located in nonuniversity settings: theological institutions, research institutes in social sciences, and specialized scholarly centers with a tradition of respected publications in academia.

The South Asian region includes at least 330 state-supported universities, of which 275 are in India, 17 in Pakistan, 18 in Bangladesh, 15 in Sri Lanka, and 5 in Nepal.

Institutions with a multidisciplinary focus in India include the National Institute of Advanced Studies (natural and social sciences and technology) and the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society in Bangalore; the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies in Delhi; and the Indian Institute of Advanced Studies in Shimla. Pakistan has the Christian Study Centre, located at Rawalpindi, an ecumenical research and fact-finding site focusing on Islamization, interfaith dialogue, women and minorities, and conflict prevention and management among different religious groups in the region. In Sri Lanka the Ecumenical Institute for Study and Dialogue, located in Colombo, offers Buddhist studies, comparative religion, and studies of church and society. Scholars at these institutions have produced distinguished comparative and interpretive studies related to the different religious traditions of South Asia.

The South Asian strand of this field, beginning in a Western historical context, has for its antecedents in South Asia a form of study expressed most notably by two North Indian rulers. One is the emperor Aśoka (c. 265–238 BCE), who sought to respect and protect all religions, and the other is the emperor Akbar (1542–1605 CE), whose religious dialogues at Fatehpur Sikri encouraged debates among different religions with a view to synthesizing them into a single religion. In modern times the South Asian strand of the academic study of religion can be usefully delineated in the context of three historical conferences held between 1960 and 2003 in Marburg in Germany and in Bangalore and Delhi in India.

THE IAHR CONGRESS, MARBURG, 1960. The International Association for the History of Religions Congress was held in Marburg, West Germany, in 1960. The prospect of holding an IAHR Congress in India was raised by Swami B. H. Bon Maharaj, the rector of the Institute of Oriental Philosophy in Vrindavan, India. In March 1960 he had founded the Indian national group that sought and obtained affiliation with IAHR. This proposal was unwelcome to some of the European members because they felt the Indian representatives were confused about the history of religion as an academic field. As R. J. Zwi Werblowsky's report on the congress noted, South Asian representatives showed what others considered to be a misunderstanding of Western scholarship in their failure to distinguish between studying religion and the study of religion. The Indian scholars felt their own tradition of philosophizing about religion and studying it as part of a religious discipline should be known to the West.

The parochial views expressed at the congress failed to do justice to the South Asian intellectual tradition, which has a long association with historical research and scientific thought. That tradition has produced monographs and scholarly papers in Indology, archeology, history, and sociology relating to functional and causal questions on matters that now fall under the category of the study of religion. Still the objective study of religion, as opposed to a moral study, has been slow to gain recognition in South Asian academia, and the region has a comparatively insignificant representation at international conferences on the academic study of religion. India's secularist politics are largely responsible and have provided a model for its universities. The Indian constitution, though tolerant of all religions and showing sensitivity to religious values, explicitly prohibits favoring any one of India's many religious traditions. This prohibition caused a reluctance among state-funded institutions to introduce religion as a subject in their curricula.

The avoidance of religion in any state-funded college curriculum can be seen as early as 1882, when a government commission recommended teaching the principles of natural theology, which favored no single religious tradition, in public and private colleges. One of the commission members objected on the grounds that this, far from satisfying the religious camp, would be a step backward on the secular side. In 1903 the Indian Universities Commission rejected the idea of introducing a course on the theology of any one religion into the state curriculum. Later commissions sought to preserve the religious neutrality of the state while becoming more sympathetic to religious studies. A commission chaired by Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan in 1948–1949 pointed out that to be secular did not mean to be religiously illiterate. The report of the Secondary Education Commission (1952–1953), headed by A. L. Mudaliar, agreed that secularism did not mean there was no place for religion. The Sri Prakasa Committee (1959–1960) report recommended an objective, comparative, and systematic study of the important religions of India. The report of the Kothari Commission (1964–1966) drew a distinction between religious education and education about religion and suggested establishing chairs in comparative religion at the universities at a time when the debate in North America was just beginning as to whether the academic study of religion should remain a secular study independent of religio-theological approaches.

THE BANGALORE CONSULTATION, BANGALORE, 1967. The study of religion in Indian universities was addressed at the

1967 Bangalore Consultation, a milestone event in the academic study of religion in South Asia. Two of the presentations were by the North American scholars John Carman and Wilfrid Cantwell Smith, who respectively considered the study of religion at Indian universities and in a global context. Presentations at the conference helped move discussion among Indian academics to a more critical and analytical level. The paper by T. M. P. Mahadevan, the director of the Centre for Advanced Study at the University of Madras, outlined principles governing the teaching of religion at the university level. One of them was the encouragement of "the method of objective criticism." He also recommended that "the stress should be on the teaching of moral and spiritual values, and not on dogmas and particular rituals" (Seminar on the Study of Religion in Indian Universities, 1968, p. 55). The effort to reconcile two opposite and contradictory approaches, the secular and the religio-theological, reverberated in presentations calling for the establishment of comparative religion as a university subject.

The prevailing view conceived of the study of religion as a means of promoting moral and spiritual values. Much-needed perspective was added by the inaugural address, presented by the vice chancellor of Bangalore University, V. K. Gokak, who pointed out that if the objective of teaching religion was to promote spiritual values, then it could not be done through either an eclectic philosophical approach dealing with "elements of reality that each philosophic system accepts" or the scientific study of religion that "refines away the essence of religion itself to vanishing point the awareness of spirit and all that it implies" (Seminar on the Study of Religion in Indian Universities, 1968, pp. 28, 30). By recalling that the scientific study of religion already operated in the context of existing departments of history and sociology, the inaugural address took the position that the study of religion should serve "secularity or tolerance, not spirituality" (Seminar on the Study of Religion in Indian Universities, 1968, p. 32). The presentation by J. L. Mehta of the Centre of Advanced Study in Philosophy at Banaras Hindu University proposed that one of the tasks of the study of religion in India was to aid in understanding the "other . . . within the complex fabric which is the heritage of the Hindu student of religion" and that for such an understanding "detached and disciplined academic energy and attention" are required (Seminar on the Study of Religion in Indian Universities, 1968, pp. 39, 40).

What is important to note about the level of dialogue that characterized the Bangalore Consultation is that it was accomplished in concert with scholars from North America and showed Indian scholars to be mindful of the Western intellectual tradition. In particular Mehta's presentation, referring to the task of coming "to closer grips with the truths of other religious traditions" and of understanding one's own religious and cultural tradition, introduced a discussion of hermeneutic as a methodology in the study of religion (Seminar on the Study of Religion in Indian Universities 1968, p. 39). In this respect, the reflections at the conference approximated the discussion occurring outside India on the direction and scope of the academic study of religion.

Comparative religion. The Bangalore Consultation involved more than theoretical discussions of the study of religion. It also marked a shift to the use of the term *comparative religion,* which implied a preference for a study of the different religions of India. That perspective introduced the element of dialogue as a methodology suited to learning about other religions' traditions from the perspective of their own adherents and representatives. The impetus for this conceptualization arose from the dialogue between Indian and Western scholars who wanted to see a recognition of India's moral and religious values. Carman and Smith stressed the importance of understanding the outward expression of a religious tradition and its inner meanings for its adherents, for whom the traditions may have supreme significance. Methodologically this approach is unlike that taken by either philosophy or theology, both of which are concerned with ideas rather than their adherents. A dialogue allows room to consider the views of the reflective and articulate practitioner. In this respect comparative religion became a method in the study of religion as well as a discipline. Ultimately, however, it did not gain any significant momentum among South Asian institutions of learning.

Smith was among the advocates of this method, and in 1965 he recommended to the Kothari Commission that chairs and degrees in comparative religion be established. The University Grants Commission and the Education Commission accepted his recommendation, which was implemented at Punjabi University at Patiala and at Visva-Bharati University at Santiniketan in its philosophy department. A comparative religion department was already in place at Osmania University as a result of a 1949 reorganization, but due to lack of support from the university, it was later divided into two independent departments: Islamics and Indology.

Radhakrishnan, chair of the 1948–1949 University Education Report, characterized comparative religion in his *East and West in Religion* as a means for different religions to share their visions, insights, hopes, fears, and purposes. He also believed comparative religion could serve as a prophylactic against claims of exclusivity by any one religious tradition. This functional view was later accommodated by Smith's conceptualization of comparative religion as both a discipline and a subject. But the momentum for establishing comparative religion as a university discipline ultimately rested on asking and finding answers to the fundamental question of what religion really is. Given that only a handful of South Asian universities offer courses on religion at undergraduate and postgraduate levels, it may well be that the question has failed to become as important to scholars in South Asia as it is to their Western counterparts.

Still the drive to have comparative religion instituted as a discipline within a university setting persists in South Asia and may perhaps be due largely to the Indological works and wider academic interests of F. Max Muller, who is associated with the founding of comparative religion as a scholarly discipline.

Hindrances to the academic field. One reason the South Asian approach to the study of religion differs from the Western approach is that the South Asian worldview sees *dharma* or religion configured in a different way. The dichotomy between the sacred and the secular does not exist in South Asia as it does in the West. Among Western academics, the study of religion is understood to deal with the outward expressions of a social reality and the production of data about it. The tendency in South Asia is to focus on understanding the inner meaning of that social reality in peoples' lives and in that respect comes to be seen and taught as an aspect of Indian philosophy. It approximates in the West that which is known as philosophical theology, having philosophy as its academic mother.

Another factor mitigates against the establishment of religious studies departments in Indian universities: aspects of religion as a subject matter are already considered by various different departments, thus making a separate department redundant. The field of anthropology, for example, is frequently occupied with aspects of the study of religion. But anthropologists generally have little interest in understanding religion as a phenomenon, and their study seldom shifts from descriptive accounts to explanatory and theoretical ones. On the other hand, there is little significant momentum in existing comparative religion departments to broaden the study as a subject matter and a discipline comparable to that found in the West.

THE IAHR REGIONAL CONFERENCE, DELHI, 2003. The Indian Association for the Study of Religion (IAHR) Regional Conference took place in Delhi, India, in December 2003. One of its aims was to restructure and strengthen the Indian Association for the Study of Religion in recognition of the fact that India was comparatively underrepresented in the scholarly study of religion on the international level. The restructuring of the existing national association was intended to encourage wider participation in the study of religion beyond a handful of scholars working in anthropology, especially on tribal and folk religions.

The conference, whose theme was "Religions and Cultures in the Indic Civilization," brought together some three hundred scholars, roughly 20 percent from the West. Many of the participants focused attention on the relevance of the study of religion and its future direction. In the inaugural session Bhikhu Parekh delivered an address titled "The Role and Place of Religion," which was followed by Ashis Nandy's "A Modest Plea for Learning the Language of Religion." In one workshop four papers dealt with teaching a basic course on the academic study of religion in an Indian context. In another session the theme was promoting the study of religion in Indian universities. Papers presented included "Political Implications of Changes in Religious Demography in India," "Language and Religion as Sites of Struggle," "Women Regaining a Lost Legacy: The Restoration of Bikkhuni Order in Sri Lanka," suggesting a shift away from a normative to a nonnormative approach as practiced at secular universities in the West. Interestingly the majority of participants came from outside departments of comparative religion or philosophy. Conference participants expressed interest in establishing an Indic studies network, raising hopes that a stronger South Asian presence will emerge to make a distinct contribution to the academic study of religion.

RELIGIOUS STUDIES IN MODERN SOUTH ASIA. Thirteen institutions of higher learning on the Indian subcontinent offer one or more courses on the study of religion as a subject either at the undergraduate or at the postgraduate level, according to the 2003–2004 *Commonwealth Universities Handbook.* India has a total of nine universities that offer degrees either at the undergraduate, masters, or doctoral level. This does not include schools focusing on a specific religion or tradition. Sri Lanka has two universities that offer courses in the study of religion at the undergraduate level. In Pakistan only the Lahore School of Management, in its social science department, offers a course at the undergraduate level. In Bangladesh there is growing interest in courses and programs on world religions. Dhaka University in Bangladesh established a Department of World Religions in 2000, offering two-year master's and master of philosophy degrees. Small private universities in Bangladesh also offer programs in comparative religion.

In the Muslim world of South Asia, the academic study of religion is comparatively slow in gaining recognition. Most teaching focuses on the classical and modern perspectives of Islamic thought and contemporary movements and issues related to the Muslim world. Interfaith dialogue is limited to Islamic forms of religious consciousness and the desire to perpetuate traditional Islamic values without going beyond a normative approach. As Smith suggested at the Bangalore Consultation in 1967, "Muslim society here is on the whole too frightened to be interested in other men's faith; and too bewildered to ask systematic questions about its own."

Religion and politics. The emergence of national politics in the postindependence era in South Asia has historicized and contextualized academic study of religion on the subcontinent. In particular religion has become intertwined with nationalist politics, resulting in religious communalism, the rejection of the concept of a modern nation-state as understood in the West, and resistance to modernization and secularization as indicators of social development. For some, religion has become a means to overcome a disenchantment with modernity and to reinstate South Asia's cultural and spiritual heritage. Neither political Islam nor political Hinduism can be discounted in the subject matter of academic studies of religion. Nor can the temper of such religious movements, linked to transcendent values, be understood solely in terms of Western democratic models of party politics or polity.

The phenomenon of religion in South Asia has become subject matter for scholars not only in political science but also in economics, geography, sociology, and cultural studies. Many have a Marxist orientation seldom found among academics in the West. Thus the study of religion in South Asia is characterized by certain broad themes reflected by contemporary scholars, such as Madhu Kishvar and Asgar Ali Engineer, and in some of the works presented at the 2003 Delhi Conference cosponsored by IAHR. Themes include women's and minority rights, nationalism and identity, diaspora and ethnicity, peace and conflict studies, rethinking of secularization and globalization with respect to Indic cultural heritage, and ethnic politics and religious empowerment.

History and the future. Historical context distinguishes South Asian concepts of the study of religion from either the North American or European approaches. As a secular state, India is impartial to expressions of religion in its secular institutions of learning. It has a history of resisting the study of religion as a subject matter but allows for the study of the phenomenon under existing departments, such as sociology and anthropology. In this unique environment South Asian scholars from different disciplinary fields will undoubtedly continue to bring their unique perspectives and worldviews to the study of religion, approaching it from a historical, phenomenological, and structural perspective. Those with a philosophical bent may move the study from descriptive accounts to explanation and theory. The inseparable connection between religion and philosophy explored by scholars such as Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, T. R. V. Murti, T. M. P. Mahadevan, Daya Krishna, and Muhammad Iqbal continues as a tradition of scholarly investigation. Methodological and theoretical studies have their antecedents in studies by scholars such as K. N. Jayatilleke, Ananda Coomaraswamy, M. N. Srinivas, Aziz Ahmad, Fazlur Rahman, and T. M. Madhan.

Though the prospect of a burgeoning rise of departments of religion in South Asia, and, for that matter, of student enrollment, seem dim, the indications are promising for an increased interest in the academic study of religion: interaction and dialogue occurring between Western and South Asian academics at international conferences, visiting scholar arrangements, and joint academic projects and publications. In such encounters each side clearly becomes exposed to the influence of the other, thereby keeping alive in the academic study of religion the idea of comparative religion as method and discipline, and providing impetus for the rethinking and reconceptualizing of the engagement between the philosophy of religion and the history of religions.

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ABRAHIM H. KHAN (2005)

STUDY OF RELIGION: THE ACADEMIC STUDY OF RELIGION IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

The academic study of religion has emerged as a vibrant discipline in some parts of sub-Saharan Africa. Although the discipline was heavily influenced by developments in western Europe and North America, it had gained a distinctive identity by the 1980s. The region made significant contributions to the overall character of religious studies, particularly in the area of method and theory in the study of indigenous religions. Scholars in sub-Saharan Africa interacted with the dominant questions that have shaped the field. Operating in a context characterized by a plurality of religions, they offered valuable reflections on the character of religion. Some scholars from outside the African context also settled in the region and used the richness of the material on religion to explicate the significance of the complex phenomenon. Notable local and regional traditions of the study of religion were established in sub-Saharan Africa by the late 1990s. Although significant differences could be identified in the execution of the task in this vast region, the emphasis on the importance of religion to Africans was a salient point uniting scholarly reflections. Most scholars in the academic study of religion devoted their resources to an analysis of the three dominant religious traditions. Studies on African traditions, Christianity, and Islam constituted the bulk of the material on religious studies in sub-Saharan Africa. Abstract methodological reflections were limited, perhaps reflecting the abundance of the data on religion.

Many scholars in the study of religion argued that religion was a critical variable in efforts to understand the lives of most Africans. The academic study of religion was predicated on the assumption that religion was central to most endeavors to establish the meaning of existence in an African context. In this pursuit, multiple methodological strategies were employed. Sociological, psychological, anthropological, and phenomenological approaches were used to locate the significance of religion to Africans. African scholars provided impressive descriptions of the major religions, alongside other migrant religions like Hinduism, Buddhism, and others. In their edited volume *The Historical Study of African Religion, with Special Reference to East and Central Africa* (1972), Terence O. Ranger and Isaria N. Kimambo bemoaned the lack of historical sensitivity in the study of indigenous religions. However, this criticism was taken seriously and African scholars produced many impressive monographs on the history of the various religions of Africa by the late 1970s. Although this review concentrates on the efforts of scholars based in departments of religious studies, it is important to acknowledge that creative writers, political scientists, and scholars based in other departments made valuable contributions to the study of religion in Africa.

THE EMERGENCE OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA. While the academic study of religion became an established academic discipline in many African universities by the latter half of the twentieth century, various categories of writers had provided useful information on the religions of Africa much earlier. Travelers, missionaries, amateur ethnologists, and other nonspecialists had written reports on various aspects of religion in Africa in the nineteenth century. Although indigenous religions suffered at the hands of casual observers, the earlier writers preserved valuable information. Missionaries like Henri A. Junod (1863–1934), who operated in Mozambique from 1907 onward, provided sound descriptions of local religious beliefs and practices. Earlier, John William Colenso (1814–1883), who was ordained as the bishop of Natal in 1853, had identified Zulu names for god in the context of a general theory of comparative religion. By the time the discipline found its way to African shores, the reality of religious pluralism had anticipated it.

The academic study of religion in sub-Saharan Africa is inextricably intertwined with the political history of the region. The experience of colonialism, from around 1880 to 1960, shaped traditions of the study of religion for most African nations. Former British colonies tended to have lively departments of religious studies because religious education was popular in secondary schools, whereas in Francophone countries such traditions were suppressed. Similarly, religious studies departments did not emerge in former Portuguese colonies like Angola and Mozambique. Zambia provided a unique case of a former British colony that did not develop a department of religious studies, although the faculty of education at the University of Zambia at Lusaka offered courses on aspects of the discipline.

Historical experiences like the struggles for political independence and assertions of nationhood in the postcolonial period are indelibly printed on the study of religion in the region. After the realization of the importance of education for Africans by both missionaries and the colonial state, colleges and universities were gradually established. Most of the universities were instituted after World War II, although Fourah Bay College in Freetown, Sierra Leone, was founded by the Church Missionary Society in 1827. In Kampala, Uganda, Makerere University, later to be influential in the study of indigenous religions, started off as a technical college in 1922. Although initially university colleges in African countries were affiliated to universities in metropolitan centers, the decolonization process in the 1960s led to the emergence of national universities in independent countries. Such universities promoted the study of religion for ideological purposes.

It is worthwhile to observe that some departments of religious studies were established in West Africa before any such departments existed in Britain. Scholars from outside Africa were influential in the setting up of nonconfessional departments of religious studies. Geoffrey Parrinder was instrumental in the creation of the religious studies department at the University College of Ibadan in Nigeria in the late 1940s. Noel King was actively involved in the emergence of the department for the study of religions at the University of Ghana, Legon. Harold Turner and Andrew Walls taught at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, before the civil war in 1967. They went on to have impressive academic careers in Europe, using their knowledge of the religious situation in Africa.

The dominance of missionaries in the field of education contributed to the greater attention that Christianity enjoyed in the study of religion in sub-Saharan Africa. Many departments concentrated on church history and theology, reflecting their earlier identity as departments of theology. Most scholars were themselves adherents of Christianity or Islam, engendering the committed approach. However, most African countries renamed departments of theology or divinity as departments of religious studies to reflect the pluralist environment that had been established in most countries. They also placed special emphasis on the study of indigenous religions in an effort to develop a distinctive African identity.

Contributions. The achievements of African scholars in the study of religion may be located in many areas. However, the most notable areas include theoretical reflections on the meaning of religion, critique of the centrality of scripture, and suggesting new approaches to the study of religion. African scholars also put the study of indigenous religions firmly on the agenda of religious studies. African scholars refined the debate on insiders and outsiders in the study of religion by insisting that they were better placed to understand traditional religions, as opposed to European scholars. In the 1960s and 1970s, African scholars like John S. Mbiti, E. B. Idowu, Kwesi Dickson, and others published significant works on various aspects of indigenous religions. Other West and East African scholars maintained that African scholars were strategically located to provide objective descriptions of the religions of their own people.

African scholars questioned the definition of religion as the opposition between the sacred and the profane. In his *African Religions and Philosophy* (1969), Mbiti remarks that such a distinction did not apply to traditional African contexts, where religion permeated all spheres of life. This initiated debate over whether the Western definition of religion satisfied the criterion of cross-cultural applicability.

Religious studies in the West have tended to emphasize scripture in the world's religions. Frederick Maximilian Muller (1823–1900) initiated the interest in scripture with *The Sacred Books of the East* (1879–1910). African scholars drew attention to the absence of sacred writings in indigenous religions, noting that these religions remained vibrant nonetheless. Thus, the presence of scripture did not accord a religion any special status, African scholars maintained. This led to some relativization of the significance of scripture in the discipline.

African scholars also highlighted the importance of oral traditions to the study of religion. While textual analysis had featured prominently in religious studies in the West, no such texts existed in most parts of Africa. The historical study of indigenous religions had to grapple with the issue of oral sources. Fieldwork became a critical aspect of religious studies in Africa. Other researchers into African Independent Churches, such as Marthinus Daneel and Gerardus Oosthuizen, also used this approach. Some African scholars who participated in indigenous religious practices, such as the traditional healer and anthropologist Gordon Chavunduka of Zimbabwe and Wande Abimbola, an Ifa priest and Nigerian scholar, also drew attention to the body of knowledge that was found in indigenous religions. They called for alternative approaches that were not dependent on Western models of scientific rationality.

In their descriptions of the various religions of Africa, scholars in Africa have also sought to discern the meaning of religion. In his *Religion and Ultimate Well-Being: An Explanatory Theory* (1984), the South African scholar Martin Prozesky concludes that the search for ultimate well-being was the driving force behind religion. Laurenti Magesa (1997) also argues that indigenous religions were inspired by the search for abundant life. Detailed descriptions of the religions of Africa and methodological reflections were part of the African contribution.

Major Challenges. The religious commitment of most African scholars resulted in theological works that sought to promote Christianity or Islam. African phenomenological scholars like Jacob Olupona and Friday Mbon of Nigeria and J. S. Kruger of South Africa protested against the encroachment of theology in the 1980s. Earlier, Okot p'Bitek had criticized the application of Christian concepts in *African Religions in Western Scholarship* (1971). The hegemony of Christian and, to a lesser extent, Islamic theology remained intact. Subservience to Western methodologies and research interests by some African scholars also stifled creativity.

The shortage of books and journals threatened the viability of religious studies in the region. Many departments operated with ill-equipped libraries. Significant journals like the *Journal of Religion in Africa* were inaccessible to most students and lecturers. Most established scholars relocated to Western countries such as Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States in search of better career opportunities. Poor remuneration and oppressive regimes contributed to such developments. The worst affected countries included Nigeria, Kenya, Zimbabwe, and others—countries that had developed impressive traditions in the academic study of religion. However, institutions in some countries, such as South Africa, Botswana, and Namibia, managed to retain their staff. In most parts of the continent, departments of religious studies have struggled to justify their relevance amid incessant calls by governments to reduce costs. Between 2003 and 2004, South African departments of religious studies were forced to merge.

Gender imbalances have also been noticeable in the discipline in the region. Few female scholars have participated, with Christian theologians dominating. Mercy Amba Oduyoye of Ghana, Isabel Phiri of Malawi and South Africa, and Musa Dube of Botswana analyzed the religious experiences of African women in the late 1990s. The shortage of scholarships in religious studies, as opposed to theology, resulted in the low numbers of African female scholars of religion.

INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE ACADEMIC STUDY OF RELIGION IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA. The study of religion took place at various levels of educational achievement during different historical periods. Arabic schools, bible colleges, and primary and secondary schools offered subjects that provided some knowledge about the religious context. Teacher training institutions introduced students to the various religions of the world by emphasizing the divergent approach, which does not seek to convert students to a specific religion. In some countries, such as Zimbabwe, the diploma in religious studies has offered graduates a number of career opportunities in the civil service and the private sector. The effects of HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa in the 1990s and beyond has led some nongovernmental organizations to recruit graduates trained in the study of religion.

Aspects of the academic study of religion were also found in some church-sponsored universities and theological colleges in the 1980s. Although Christianity received preferential treatment, comparative religion was an integral part of the curriculum. In southern Africa some theological colleges sought to establish associate status with national universities in an effort to maintain high academic standards. Courses on the history of religions exposed students to religious pluralism. Although the popularity of the discipline varied among the different countries, it continued to attract significant numbers of students.

Scholarly Organizations and Publications. The high number of lecturers in the discipline facilitated the emergence of scholarly organizations. These included the Nigerian Association for the Study of Religions, founded in 1976; the Association for the Study of Religions in Southern Africa, initiated in 1979; and the African Association for the Study of Religions (AASR), formed in 1992. The AASR has regional chapters and publishes a newsletter that keeps African scholars abreast of developments in the field. It has also sponsored a few monographs and books that are widely distributed in Africa. Other theologically oriented organizations like the Association of Theological Institutions in Southern Africa and the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians have contributed to the publication of some valuable monographs on Christianity and indigenous religions. These regional groupings have facilitated interaction across national boundaries and rescued the study of religion from narrow nationalistic agendas.

Despite the shortage of books, some impressive initiatives have been witnessed on the publication front. Following the demise of apartheid in South Africa, a number of texts that sought to describe religious pluralism in the country were published, such as Martin Prozesky and John W. de Gruchy's edited volume *Living Faiths in South Africa* (1995). Launched in the 1990s in Malawi, the Kachere book series sought to capture the religious scene in the country, covering aspects of Christianity, indigenous religions, and other themes. In Kenya, Acton Publishers, an initiative by the scholar Jesse N. K. Mugambi, was launched in 1992. Mambo Press of Zimbabwe publishes books on religion in the region. Scholars like James Amanze of the University of Botswana, Peter Kasenene in Swaziland and Uganda, and Patrick Maxwell in South Africa produce material within the discipline of religious studies. Monographs and articles on Islam, indigenous religions and churches, new religious movements, and other aspects of religion in Africa are also being produced.

Among African countries in the 1990s, South Africa had the highest number of journals that appeared consistently. These include the *Journal for the Study of Religion*, *Missionalia*, *Religion and Theology*, *Scriptura*, and others. Although some of the journals have a theological slant, they publish useful articles on the academic study of religion. In Nigeria, the journal *Orita* has defied the odds and continues to publish articles on the three dominant religions.

Contextualization. Although some scholars, such as Donald Wiebe in *The Politics of Studying Religion* (1998), have insisted on a rigid separation between the discipline and communities of faith in the region, close cooperation has existed since the 1960s. Organized religious groups have used scholarly services, with scholars responding to the felt needs of the communities among whom they operated. They have also published on those issues that were relevant to their contexts. Religious violence in Nigeria precipitated research into the role of religion in curbing extremism. The reality of HIV/AIDS in the region in the 1990s prompted research into the appropriation of religion in the struggle against the pandemic. In their pursuit of contextual relevance, most African scholars have remained in dialogue with scholars from other parts of the world through publications, conference attendance, and other modern communication facilities.

Despite major challenges, the academic study of religion in most parts of sub-Saharan Africa continue to be encouraging. In their investigations into the religions of Africa and methodological reflections, African scholars provide alternative interpretations regarding the nature and purpose of religious studies. Although they can be abrasive in the study of indigenous religions and militant in protesting against their peripheral position in global religious studies, they are contributing to the shape of the field. Their commitment to producing works of high quality in contexts characterized by resource deficiencies provides indications that a new era of promise is dawning on the academic study of religion. Often marginalized and portrayed as uncritical consumers of methodological tenets developed elsewhere, scholars in sub-Saharan Africa are taking up the challenge of interpreting the significance of religion as full members of the guild.

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EZRA CHITANDO (2005)

STUPA WORSHIP.

The Sanskrit term *stūpa* first occurs in the Vedas, where it conveys the meaning "knot of hair, top," or "summit." It is unclear how the term came to be used by Buddhists to refer to the mounds erected over the relics of Śākyamuni Buddha, but this usage can be traced back to early Buddhism, as can the practice of worship at stupas. The Jains too built stupas, but these postdate the earliest Buddhist structures. The terms *thūpa* (*thūba*) and *dhātugabbha* (Skt., *dhātugarbha*) are attested in Pali sources. This latter term derives from references to the Buddha's relics as a *dhātu* ("element") and to the dome or "egg" (*aṇḍa*) of the stupa as a *garbha* ("womb" or "treasury").

According to the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta,* after Śākyamuni Buddha achieved final *nirvāṇa* his body was cremated and stupas were erected to receive his remains. Śākyamuni's cremation and the installation of his relics in stupas are probably historical facts. The early Buddhists erected stupas because they believed that Śākyamuni had freed himself from the cycles of birth and death. Had Śākyamuni died and remained within those cycles it would have been pointless to build a stupa for him, for not only would the place of his rebirth be unknown, but one could not have expected him to act on the requests of his believers. According to the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta,* stupas could be built to receive the remains of the following four types of people (known as *thūparahā,* "worthy of stupas"), all of whom had transcended the cycles of birth and death (*saṃsāra*): *tathāgata*s (buddhas), *paccekabuddha*s (self-enlightened buddhas), *tathāgatassa sāvakā*s ("hearers of the Buddha"), and *rājā cakkavatti*s ("universal rulers").

Such sages could be enshrined in stupas because they had entered *nirvāṇa.* In the Āgamas, such people were said to have realized *diṭṭadhamma-nibbāna* ("*nirvāṇa* in this world") or *saūpadisesa-nibbāna* ("*nirvāṇa* with remainder"). *Nirvāṇa* was also called the "*dharma* realm" (*dhammadhātu*). Such terms suggest that *nirvāṇa* was not always viewed as extinction but often as an actual state or realm a person enters upon realizing enlightenment.

When the Buddha died, he was said to have entered *parinibbāna* ("complete *nirvāṇa*") or *anupādisesanibbāna-dhātu* ("*nirvāṇa* without remainder"). Thus, even after the Buddha died he was not viewed as having completely ceased to exist; rather, he was thought to exist in the realm of *nirvāṇa.* Consequently, believers could worship and offer their prayers to him through the medium of the stupa. It was at this time that the belief that the Buddha could respond to the petitions of his worshipers probably developed. If "*nirvāṇa* without remainder" had been considered a completely quiescent state, then such responses by the Buddha would have been impossible. Thus, the people who worshiped at Buddhist stupas seem to have believed that the Buddha continued to be active. This belief later led to Mahāyāna doctrines about the *dharmakāya*'s activity in the world.

During the early period of Buddhism offerings to the Buddha's relics (*śarīra-pūjā*) were made by laypeople. According to the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta,* the Buddha was asked by Ānanda what type of ceremony should be held for the Buddha's remains. The Buddha replied, "You should strive for the true goal [*sadattha*] of emancipation [*vimokṣa*]." The Buddha thus prohibited monks from having any connection with his funeral ceremonies and instead called upon wise and pious lay believers to conduct the ceremonies. According to this same text, it was the Mallas of Kusinārā who conducted the cremation. The Buddha's remains were then divided among eight tribes in central India and stupas were built.

Closely related to the stupa in functional terms is the *caitya* (Pali, *cetiya*). *Caitya*s are similar to stupas, although originally the two were distinct entities. In Buddhism, the term *caitya* referred originally to a place that was sacred. In the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta caitya*s are described as places that men and women of good families "should see so that feelings of reverence and awe will arise." Four of these are mentioned in the text: the Buddha's birthplace at Lumbinī, his place of enlightenment at Bodh Gayā, the site of his first sermon at the Deer Park (in Banaras), and the place where he entered "*nirvāṇa* without remainder" (Kuśinagara). Because the pilgrims who visited these sites were called *caitya-cārika,* the sites must have been known as *caitya*s. Sacred objects of worship that helped people remember the Buddha were both present at and themselves identified as *caitya*s. For example, in Bodh Gayā pious pilgrims could worship at the bodhi tree or the Adamantine Seat (*vajrāsana*) on which the Buddha sat when he realized enlightenment. Because the stupa was an object of worship, it too could be called *caitya.* The difference between stupas and *caitya*s is explained in the *Mohesengqi lü* (*Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya*): "If the Buddha's relics are enshrined, the site is called a *stūpa;* if the Buddha's relics are not enshrined, it is called a *caitya*" (T.D. 22.496b). This explanation suggests that by the time the Vinaya of the Mahāsāṃghikas was compiled, *caitya*s and stupas had the same exterior shape. As time passed, the Buddha's relics became increasingly difficult to obtain and other objects were enshrined when stupas were constructed. Thus, the distinction between stupas and *caitya*s gradually vanished.

After the Buddha's death, stupa worship became increasingly popular. With King Aśoka's (r. 268–232 BCE) conversion to Buddhism, stupa worship spread throughout India. Aśoka ordered that the eight stupas erected after the Buddha's death be opened and that the relics within them be removed, divided, and enshrined in the many new stupas that he had commissioned to be built throughout India. These events are described in the *Ayuwang zhuan* (*Aśokarājāvadāna;* T.D. 50.102b) and in the *Ayuwang jing* (*Aśokarājā Sūtra*?; T.D. 50.135a–b). In the records of his travels in India, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Xuanzang mentions the stupas constructed by Aśoka, many of which have been identified in modern times by archaeologists.

THE FORMATION OF BUDDHIST ORDERS AROUND STUPAS. Little is known about the history of stupa worship during the 250 years between Aśoka's reign and the rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism at approximately the beginning of the common era. However, archaeological evidence from this period indicates that stupas were built in many areas in India and that stupa worship was a growing practice. Clearly, religious orders must have formed around some of these stupas and doctrinal developments reflecting the increasing importance of stupa worship undoubtedly occurred. Although most of the stupas are in ruins today and little is known of these doctrines, the new teachings associated with stupa worship contributed much to the rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Buddhism has long been formulaically defined in terms of the so-called Three Jewels: the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Order (*saṃgha*). Apart from the Mahīśāsaka and Dharmaguptaka schools, which held that the Buddha was a part of the jewel of the *saṃgha,* most schools argued that the Three Jewels were distinct elements, with stupas belonging to the jewel of the *saṃgha.* In fact, stupas and sects (i.e., the monastic order) do seem to have developed separately. Economic considerations played a role in this doctrinal debate. Given that the Three Jewels were separate, alms donated to the jewel of the Buddha could only be used for the jewel of the Buddha (i.e., stupas), not for the jewel of the Order (i.e., Buddhist sects). Thus, monks were not allowed to use items that had been offered at stupas, that is, to (the jewel of) the Buddha.

Originally, stupas were institutions independent of the Hīnayāna schools. Archaeological evidence reveals that the stupas were constructed and administered by lay believers and were not affiliated with any particular school or sect. However, as stupas worship continued to flourish, stupas came to be constructed within monastic compounds and monks began to worship at them. Yet even after stupas came to be affiliated with sects in this way, alms given to the stupa still had to be used for the stupa alone and could not be used freely by the monks. Monks who had received the full Vinaya precepts *(upasampadā)* were not allowed to live within the confines of stupas or to take custody of their assets. Thus, although a stupa might be affiliated with a particular sect, a clear distinction was maintained between the property and site of the stupa and those of the order of monks. However, as stupa worship became more popular and more alms were offered at stupas, the schools suffered adverse economic effects. To counter this, the schools argued that little karmic merit would result from such offerings; some even openly opposed stupa worship.

Once a stupa accumulated alms, believers began to live around it and use the food and clothing that had been offered at it. These believers, who were considered religious specialists in their own right, probably assisted pilgrims who came to the stupa by finding lodgings for them, giving instructions about worship, and explaining the carvings of the Buddha's life and of the *jātaka*s ("birth tales") inscribed there. They probably preached about the greatness of Śākyamuni's personality, compassion, and power to help save sentient beings and formulated doctrines concerning these subjects that were independent of sectarian (*nikāya*) opinion. Of course, these doctrines differed from those that had been originally preached by Śākyamuni.

The religious specialists who lived around the stupas resembled monks and nuns in many ways. They served as leaders of orders, teaching lay believers and receiving alms from them. However, although these religious specialists led lives similar to those who had abandoned the life of a householder, they still were not monks (*bhikṣu*s). Because they had not taken the full set of precepts *(upasampadā),* they did not belong to the jewel of the *saṃgha* and thus were permitted to live at the stupas.

Because they felt that certain religious experiences were necessary if they were to teach others, these religious specialists not only taught lay believers but also engaged in strict religious practices. Consequently, they imitated the practices performed by Śākyamuni Buddha and strove to attain an enlightenment identical to that which Śākyamuni had experienced. Because Śākyamuni had been called a *bodhisattva* before he had realized enlightenment, they too called themselves *bodhisattva*s. The term *bodhisattva,* which had originally been used to refer to the period of practice prefatory to becoming a Buddha, was now used to refer to *all* religious practitioners who, unlike Hīnayāna devotees, aspired to realize the supreme enlightenment of the Buddha rather than arhatship.

The orders of religious practitioners that sprang up around the stupas were thus vitally interested in two major doctrinal themes: the Buddha's ability to save sentient beings and the types of practices that would enable people to realize Buddhahood. The religious activities of these *bodhisattvas* eventually led to the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive of these doctrines developing among Hīnayāna monks. Because Hīnayāna monks respected Śākyamuni Buddha as a great teacher and believed that he taught the path of the arhat for their enlightenment, they probably would not have used a term such as *bodhisattva* to refer to themselves because it would have placed them on a level equal to that of Śākyamuni. In following the practices of the arhat, they had little reason to be concerned with new doctrines about the ways in which the Buddha could save sentient beings. However, lay believers, who were unable to follow the austere regimen of the monks, would have been vitally interested in teachings about how the Buddha could save them. The new doctrines that developed in the orders around the stupas did not stress the importance of observing the full set of precepts and performing all the practices required of a monk; rather, in these doctrines, a form of Buddhism for lay believers, one that emphasized faith (*śraddhā*) in the Buddha, was described.

MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHISM AND STUPAS. At least some varieties of Mahāyāna Buddhism arose from the orders around stupas. Stupa worship continued to develop even after Mahāyāna Buddhism had begun to take form. Although the orders associated with stupas are not clearly described in Mahāyāna literature, the existence of such groups can be clearly inferred from these texts. Only a few do not mention stupa worship. The "Chapter on Pure Practices" of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra* contains a detailed description of *bodhisattva* practices, many of which focus on stupa worship (T.D. 9.430ff.). According to the *Ugradatta-paripṛcchā* and the *Daśabhūmikavibhāṣā, bodhisattvas* could practice either at stupas or in the forest (Hirakawa, 1963, pp. 94–98). They were to meditate and perform austerities in the forest, but if they became ill, they were to return to a stupa in a village to be cured. Thus, *bodhisattvas* went to stupas for many reasons besides worship, including recovering from illness, nursing the sick, making offerings to teachers and saints (*āryapudgala*), hearing discourses on doctrine, reading scriptures, and preaching to others.

Stupas were more than objects of worship. They also served as centers for Mahāyāna practitioners, with quarters for devotees located nearby. These early Mahayanists abandoned their lives as lay believers, wore monastic robes, begged food, read sūtras, and studied doctrine under the guidance of preceptors. They also meditated, worshiped, and prostrated themselves at the Buddha's stupas. An important part of stupa worship was the circumambulation of the stupa (usually three times) while chanting verses in praise of the Buddha.

Two types of *bodhisattvas* are mentioned in early Mahāyāna texts: monastic (i.e., renunciant) *bodhisattvas*, who lived and practiced at the stupas, and lay (i. e., householder) *bodhisattvas*, who made pilgrimages to the stupas in order to worship at them. Lay *bodhisattvas* placed their faith in the Three Refuges (or Three Jewels), observed the Five Precepts (*pañca śīlāni*) or the Eight Precepts (*aṭṭhaṅgikaṃ uposathaṃ*), and performed religious practices. In many ways, their practices resembled those of Hīnayāna lay believers. However, the two groups had very different objectives in their practice. While Hīnayāna lay believers (m., *upāsaka;* f., *upāsikā*) sought a better rebirth, Mahāyāna lay *bodhisattvas* strove to attain buddhahood and based their practices on the Mahāyāna position that helping others results in benefits for oneself.

Bodhisattvas often observed a set of Mahāyāna precepts called the Path of the Ten Good Acts (*daśakuśalakarma-pathā*). However, according to some later Mahāyāna texts, monastic *bodhisattvas* were to receive full monastic ordination (*upasampadā*). Thus, at a later date monastic *bodhisattvas* began to use the complete set of precepts from the Vinaya for their ordinations. In such cases, they probably did not use monks from the Hīnayāna sects as their preceptors (*upādhyāya*), because qualified preceptors could be found in the Mahāyāna orders.

According to the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra,* worshiping and making offerings at stupas were practices that led to buddhahood. In the *Upāyakauśalya-parivarta* (Chapter on expedient means), a variety of practices leading to buddhahood are discussed. These include not only the practice of the six perfections (*pāramitās*) but also the building of stupas, the carving of images, and acts of worship and offering made at stupas (T.D. 9.8c–9a). Because the realization of buddhahood was the primary goal of Mahāyāna practice, stupa worship clearly had a close relationship to Mahāyāna beliefs.

The stupa also provided a model for many elements in Amitābha's Pure Land (Sukhāvatī). The Pure Land was said to have seven rows of railings (*vedikā*); railings were an important architectural component of the stupa. Other elements of stupas were also found in descriptions of the Pure Land, including rows of *tāla* trees (*tāla-paṅkti*), lotus ponds (*puṣkariṇī*), halls (*vimāna*), and towers (*kūṭāgāra*). Thus, the portrayal of the Pure Land was apparently based on an idealized view of a large stupa. Moreover, according to the early versions of the *Emituo jing* (the smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra*), the *bodhisattva* Dharmākara vowed that anyone who worshiped or made offerings at stupas would be reborn in his Pure Land (T.D. 12.301b). This vow was eliminated in later versions of the sūtra, suggesting that, as time passed, Amitābha worship developed independently of stupa worship.

The evidence from these sūtras suggests that the relationship between Mahāyāna Buddhism and stupa worship was very close. Even the Perfection of Wisdom literature, which emphasized the memorization and copying of sūtras, did not deny that merit was produced by offerings at stupas. Rather, it maintained that stupa worship produced less merit than copying the scriptures. Thus the origins of the Perfection of Wisdom tradition as well are related to stupa worship.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, Schools of, article on Mahāyāna Philosophical Schools of Buddhism; Nirvāṇa; Relics; Temple, articles on Buddhist Temple Compounds.

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HIRAKAWA AKIRA (1987)
Translated from Japanese by Paul Groner

SUÁREZ, FRANCISCO (1548–1617), was a Spanish Jesuit philosopher, theologian, and jurist. Francisco de Suárez was born on January 5, 1548, at Granada, where his father was a wealthy barrister. Destined by his family to an ecclesiastical career, he prepared for it by studying canon law at the University of Salamanca. In 1564 he joined the Society of Jesus. From 1566 to 1570 he was a student of theology at the same university at a time when it was undergoing a lively Thomist revival.

In 1571, the year before he was ordained priest, Suárez was assigned to teach philosophy at Segovia, and over the next decade he taught both philosophy and theology at various Jesuit colleges in Castile, including Valladolid, where he delivered a set of celebrated lectures on the first part of Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologiae.* Called to Rome in 1580, he continued the series at the Roman College, where his subject was the second part and where, it is said, Pope Gregory XIII was occasionally in attendance. Uncertain health brought Suárez back to Spain in 1585, to Alcalá, and here his lectures on the *Summa,* specifically on the third part, were concluded. He transferred to Salamanca in 1592, and in 1597, at the instance of Philip II of Spain (now also king of Portugal), he went to Coimbra, where he taught until 1616. He died a year later in Lisbon.

Suárez's first published work, *De deo incarnato,* which grew out of his lectures on the third part of the *Summa,* appeared in 1590, and his last, *De defensione fidei,* a tract directed against the views on the divine right of kings held by James I of England, in 1613. In between he published eleven other works, of which the most popular and influential, *Disputationes metaphysicae* (1597), went through eighteen editions in the course of the seventeenth century. Ten more works were published posthumously before 1655, under the direction of the Portuguese Jesuits. The passage of time did not lessen interest in Suárez's writings; editions of his *Omnia opera* were published in Venice in 1747 and in Paris in 1856.

Suárez's thought was expressed always within a scholastic context, and he professed to be a Thomist. Certainly the work of Thomas Aquinas was basic to his own, but he often deviated from classical Thomism, a fact stressed particularly during the Thomist revival of the early twentieth century. Suárez, for example, did not admit the real distinction between essence and existence, and his metaphysics was more a self-contained whole than a mere elaboration of Aristotle. He viewed philosophy in any case as a basis for theological research.

In the quarrel between the Jesuits and the Dominicans over the problem of the relationship between grace and free will he took no formal part, though during the crisis of the first decade of the seventeenth century he was active behind the scenes promoting the more liberal Jesuit position. Similarly, he did much to establish the moral school of probabilism, which was later associated with Jesuit confessional practice. As a jurist Suárez did much to elaborate the notion of penal law and the juridical force of custom. He was a powerful advocate of the principle of subsidiarity in civil society, and he insisted that the powers of the state were rooted in the free consent of the governed. His doctrine of *ius gentium,* based upon the precept of universal love that transcends national or racial divisions, contributed to the development of international law.

Suárez was probably the greatest of all the Jesuit theologians, and as such he has had continuing importance within the intellectual life of the Catholic church. But he was influential far beyond his own order or his own communion. Spinoza, Leibniz, Berkeley, and Vico have all acknowledged their debt to Suárez. The title given him by Pope Paul V—Doctor Eximius ("distinguished scholar")—seems even now appropriate.

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MARVIN R. O'CONNELL (1987)

SUBALTERN STUDIES. What does it mean when a peasant resistance movement and a religious movement are one and the same phenomenon? In the last three decades, three different themes have surfaced in the interface between the study of religion and Subaltern Studies: (1) the idea of religion as a function of the Marxist/Gramscian view of early Subaltern Studies; (2) the changing debates about religion as the Subaltern Studies project became more involved with cultural studies, postmodernism, and the postcolonial project; and (3) the approach to Subaltern Studies within the study of religion.

THE IDEA OF RELIGION AS A FUNCTION OF THE MARXIST/GRAMSCIAN VIEW OF EARLY SUBALTERN STUDIES.

Subaltern Studies began in India with an explicitly but not exclusively Marxist and Gramscian focus. It analyzes and advocates for the "bottom layer of society" by challenging capitalist logic (Spivak, 2000, p. 324); thus it has both a negative task of undoing capitalist assessment of the underclass as well as a positive task of describing acts of agency and independence and resistance. Inspired in part by the work of E. P. Thompson, and carried on by the work of scholar and editor Ranajit Guha, the publication of the nine-volume series *Subaltern Studies* comprises a great bulk of the theoretical and topical work. Subaltern Studies began in the late 1970s and early 1980s with Indian, European, and American scholars who turned toward understanding peasant consciousness in India, in so far as any and all consciousness was a product of material conditions. Consciousness, here, is broadly viewed by Subaltern writers in the traditional Marxian sense as a manner of thought determined by one's place in the production system; yet at the same time, these writers also view consciousness as a form of subjectivity which can and does develop modes of resistance to that system. Since then, the concerns of Subaltern Studies have blossomed into a global phenomenon with strong institutional support from mainstream academia in Africa, South America, Ireland, and China, as well as India, Europe, and America. Moreover, Subaltern Studies' focus is no longer exclusively South Asian, but spans communities around the globe, and scholars in the field produce articles written in a large variety of vernacular languages besides English.

Subaltern Studies has been confronted from the very beginning with the problem of how to account for the ongoing role of religion, and the related issues of caste and kinship, in a nonessentializing way. Its source of intellectual inspiration, Antonio Gramsci, as well as others, were careful to point out that, in the absence of a socialist party to support the peasant class, religion was not simply self-deception or false consciousness. Rather, religion could be viewed as "a specific way of rationalizing the world and real life," and "a framework of real political activity" (Gramsci, 1971, pp. 326–327, 337). E. P Thompson, who addressed the Subaltern Studies conference in its formative stages, also reminded Subaltern Studies thinkers that one should not be surprised at the persistent role of loyalties of religion as well as of caste and kinship in shaping working–class consciousness (Thompson, 1991, p. 92). Indeed, as Rajnarayan Chadavarkar argued, the very presence of these factors made the idea of a working class in India a completely different enterprise than that of Thompson's England, inspired as it was by the artisan class and peculiarly British challenges of polity and organization (Thompson, 2000, p. 57).

In light of this Gramscian tension between acknowledging the role of religion in peasant consciousness and being careful not to reify it, early Subaltern Studies showed varying approaches to the topic. As early as 1974 R. Hilton argued in a European context that the capacity for organization in pursuit of social and political demands arose naturally from the experience of peasant. Thus, by implication, religious rites closely linked to agricultural cycles and subsistence needs, such as rainmaking ceremonies in times of drought and ceremonies to contain epidemics, gave expression to the collectivity of the Indian peasant village (Hilton, in Landsberger, 1974).

Others argued that to invest in the idea of strong primordial ties to community, religion, caste, and kinship is to obscure the complexity of the urban working classes in India. For them, it was not a matter of simple transfer, of bringing a simple, rural peasant consciousness to the factories in urban centers throughout the subcontinent. The conflicting identities, catalyzed by industrial competition as well as by the influences of urban neighborhoods, regionalisms, and nationalisms, must also be added to the mix. Such complexities demanded a culturally specific sociological discipline whereby religion could never play a primordial, but only a contingent, role (Chandravarkar).

Other Subaltern Studies scholars focused on how activists attempted to appropriate religious imagery for their own ends. Gyan Pandey's study of the *swaraj* (self-rule) movement and Shahid Anin's study of the Gorakhpurians' interpretation of Gandhi are excellent examples of this approach (Pandey; Anin). Gyan Pandey argues that peasant movements such as the Eka and the Kisan Sabha in 1921 were not Congress-inspired and therefore "top down," but rather motivated by a structure of land ownership that led to land shortages and high rents. Relatedly, Anin specifically addresses the ways popular peasant culture is made out of religious symbolism. In Anin's view, Gorakhpur villagers did not simplistically respond to the "holy man" Mahatma Gandhi, but rather developed a kind of millennialism whereby *swaraj* figured directly as a form of local political agency.

These early attempts to deal with religious aspects of peasant consciousness led to the problem of the Subaltern Studies' relationship to conventional Marxist theory. Early on, Partha Chatterjee argued that peasant modes of being cannot be called simply class consciousness, but are more complex types of consciousness and practice (Chatterjee, 1983, pp. 58–65). Rosalind O'Hanlon also put forward the view that changes in religion, as well as other essentialized categories, such as caste or nation, present the scholar with "the problem of mapping what on the surface look like fundamental transformations of mentality." She also noted that Subaltern Studies must trace the origins of such transformations in their relationship to the state or to organized religions, without slipping into a rigid teleology or a denial of historical specificity (O'Hanlon, 2000, pp. 92–93).

CULTURAL STUDIES, POSTMODERNISM, AND THE POSTCOLONIAL PROJECT. This concern grew even stronger as Subaltern Studies became deeply inflected with postmodern cultural studies, especially in the United States. Many assessments of this trend trace its beginnings to the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism,* a hugely influential work concerned with Western intellectual tradition's representation of its colonial subjects, particularly those in the Middle East. Said's *post-Orientalist* perspectives then combined with contemporary postmodern concerns with textual and discourse analysis; through this confluence *postcolonial* studies became the reigning episteme through which much of the Subaltern was then studied. Leading writers in the field of postcolonial studies, such as Homi Bhabha, Gayatri Spivak, Gyan Prakash, Dipesh Chakrabarty, and many others, are concerned with philosophical issues of cultural representation. From this postcolonial perspective, they have argued forcefully for several basic changes in the study of Third World histories: (1) explorations of cultural difference (inspired in part by Jacques Derrida's (1930–2004) idea of *differance*); (2) nonessentialized cultural categories; and (3) the writing of a postfoundationalist as well as a postnationalist historiography (Chakrabarty, 1992, pp. 1–26; Chakrabarty, 2000; Spivak, 1985, pp. 120–130 and 330–363; Bhabha, 1994; Prakash, 1992, 1994, 1996). Among many other priorities, these writers state the need for writing a history which is influenced neither philosophically by an idea of a single cultural mind which applies to all members of a society, nor anachronistically by a false idea of a unifying nation or set of origins set somewhere in a hoary past.

Given these views, many subaltern writers are overtly suspicious of disciplines and fields such as religious studies in the Western academy. Such a field is, in their view, prone to hegemonic and essentializing constructions of the *other* under a dominant institutionalized gaze. However, subaltern theorists are also concerned amongst themselves about the reification of religion in their own writings. Some later postmodern writers, such as Dipankar Gupta, have criticized the tendency in subaltern writers to attribute primordiality to the masses, or to assume a traditional consciousness, or even primordial loyalties of religion, community, kinship, and language (Gupta, 1985). Many subaltern writers have wondered aloud whether subaltern ideas of a moral community, albeit in the guise of folk religious values of peasant community, are nonetheless well on their way to yet another essentializing category. If peasant or worker consciousness can be reified and severed from history in this way, why not caste, nation, or religious community? Thus, the problem remains. As one Subaltern Studies critic put it, although many subaltern writers accept the autonomy of peasants, their accounts are ultimately not that different from the processes of Sanskritization, Islamicization, or popularization—ideas which have all come under fire for essentializing and reifying historical processes of change (Bayly, 2000, p. 122). How can subaltern writing avoid the problem of making the community an "it" with firm boundaries and, as Marxist secularists increasingly suspect, expressing a sympathy for the religious as a way of defining that community (Spivak, 2000, p. 326)?

SUBALTERN STUDIES WITHIN THE STUDY OF RELIGION. The reaction of the religious studies scholarly community to Subaltern Studies has been markedly different from the reaction of Subaltern Studies to it; one might even go so far as to say that they are "mirror images" of each other. Although the Subaltern school, even in its more marked "cultural studies" form of later years, is mostly ambivalent, if not downright hostile, to the idea of religion as a category of analysis, religious studies students have welcomed the category of the subaltern wholeheartedly. Indeed, they have embraced much of the Gramscian tradition with fairly enthusiastic vigor in two significant ways: (1) Subalternist writing can further define and criticize religious studies' own Orientalist perspectives, both colonial and postcolonial; and (2) more postcolonial writing in Subaltern Studies can help religious studies scholars to nuance their descriptions of the cultural identity of the religious groups with whom they concern themselves.

Marxist scholars of religion such as Bruce Lincoln, Timothy Fitzgerald, and Russell T. McCutcheon, would certainly embrace Subaltern Studies as part of a larger, generally Marxist perspective with which to criticize religious practices as one among many forms of cultural hegemony (Lincoln, 1994; Fitzgerald, 2000; McCutcheon, 2001, 2003). Although differing in outlook, these thinkers see this kind of critique as the primary obligation of the scholar. Others are concerned with Subaltern Studies' later, more postmodern incarnations: Richard King's work*, Orientalism and Religion: Post-Colonial Theory, India and the Mystic East* (1999), masterfully outlines some of the issues in the relationship between religious and postcolonial studies.

Many scholars of religion, such as those mentioned above, as well as their numerous area–studies counterparts, would not fundamentally disagree with the premises of later Subaltern School works on religion, such as those essays found in the 1992 volume of Subaltern Studies: Partha Chatterjee's study of the Ramakrishna movement as a religion of urban domesticity; Terence Ranger's study of the Matobo in South Africa; and Saurabh Dube's study of the construction of mythic communities in Chhattisgarh (Chatterjee, 1992; Ranger, 1992; Dube, 1992). Each of these essays attempts to combine class, caste, and religious consciousness in such a way that, even if class concerns win out, the dynamics of particularly religious world views have been thoroughly analyzed. Relatedly, many scholars of religion have used Subaltern Studies as a way to analyze the colonial strategies of missionary movements, such as Malagasy Christianity (Larson), Latin American and other Spanish Colonial Catholicisms

(Rabasa, 2000; Rafael, 1998), and the interactions of Christianity with indigenous traditions in India (Dube, 1998; Clarke, 1998).

In addition, Subaltern Studies provides a remarkably suitable framework to study the resistant practices of particular religious groups in the category of contemporary subaltern, such as South Asian Muslims in America (Mohammad–Arif, 2002), Dalit traditions in India, Native American (Arnold, 2001; Bays and Wacker, 2003) or Santeria traditions in North America (Hackett, 1999; Harding, 2000; Campbell, 1987;), or minorities in China (Dirlik, 1996; Gladney, 2003). This intellectual move has also gained institutional support, for instance with the American Academy of Religion's 2004 initiative, "Contesting Religion and Religions Contested: The Study of Religion in a Global Context." In addition to the already established Indigenous Religious Traditions group, the project's major concerns include the funding of studies from below, the representation and inclusion of Third World scholars, and the examination of the effect of the study of religion on the communities it has engaged, particularly communities from traditionally disempowered populations. Another move toward institutional support was Claremont-McKenna's initiative, "Theorizing Scriptures," inaugurated by Vincent Wimbush in 2004. In this conference, scriptural interpretation "from below" is acknowledged and engaged as a serious intellectual endeavor. Here, the view of scriptural hermeneutics held by Native-American, African American, Australian, Latino, Dalit, Chinese, Muslim, and many other less mainstream religions is given voice and careful analysis. This initiative also highlights women's voices of scriptural interpretation, thus joining critiques of Subaltern Studies that call for a more explicit focus on gender than has been the case in the past three decades (Spivak, 1991, 2002).

Whatever the nascent institutional support for the study of these forms of agency, for many scholars religion plays a central role in certain kinds of resistance—one that cannot be ignored. Indeed, one scholar, Sathianathan Clarke, has gone so far as to coin the term *Subaltern theology* to describe the particular political and religious practices of Dalit Christians against both Hindu and state hegemony. Oddly enough, this explicitly religious usage is somewhat consonant with Gayatri Spivak's rather remarkable statement that "subaltern theology" (religious thought as a form of political resistance) cannot be ignored, for if it is, then Subaltern Studies becomes a matter of law enforcement rather than "agency in the active voice" (Spivak, 1999). This historical moment represents a rather tense and at the same time fruitful crossroads between the two fields, where both Marxist and religious studies scholars struggle to understand religion when it emerges as a form of resistant and political agency in its own right.

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For a review of the turn to the postmodern, begin with Edward Said's *Orientalism* (New York, 1978), as well as the significant reviews by James Clifford (*History and Theory* 19:2 [1980]: 204–223), Victor Browbeat (*American Scholar* [Autumn, 1979]: 532–541), and J. H. Plumb (*New York Times Book Review* [February 18, 1979]: 3.28). Said's own "Orientalism Reconsidered" in *Race and Class* 7:2 [1985]: 1–15) gives some of his own thoughts about the pitfalls of the post-Orientalist project. Major monographs in the 1990s include Nicholas Dirks, ed., *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1992); Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York, 1994); Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, 2004); Gyan Prakash, *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements* (Princeton, 1995); Arif Dirlik, *The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism* (Boulder, Colo., 1997); Gayatri Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999); and Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, N.J., 2000). Numerous essays and more specialized monographs have appeared from these authors in the early 2000s as well. Major critiques of the Subalternist/postcolonial project include that of Aijaz Ahmad, *In Theory: Classes, Nations, and Literatures* (London, 1992), and Sumit Sarkar, *Writing Social History* (Delhi, India, 1997), especially "The Decline of the Subaltern in Subaltern Studies."

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ŚUBHĀKARASṂHA (637–735), Indian monk and missionary, was the founder of the Zhenyan school in China. Śubhākarasṃha (Chin., Shanwuwei) arrived in the Chinese capital, Chang'an, in 716. A missionary of Vājrayana Buddhism, he was followed in 720 by Vajrabodhi and his disciple Amoghavajra. The three *ācārya*s ("teachers") established Zhenyan as the dominant form of Buddhism at the court.

Śubhākarasṃha was born a prince in a small royal family near Magadha in North India, supposedly a descendant of Śākyamuni's uncle, Amṛtodana. The family migrated to Orissa, where Śubhākarasṃha's succession to the throne at age thirteen plunged him into a struggle with his brothers. Although victorious, Śubhākarasṃha's piety led him to renounce the throne in favor of his elder brother, and he became a monk. He led a life of wandering, seeking out teachers in the "south seas," and he learned the craft of making stupas and other castings. Making his way to the monastic university of Nālandā, Śubhākarasṃha became a disciple of Dharmagupta and was initiated into the Vajrayāna teachings of the *dhāraṇī*s, *yoga,* and the Three Mysteries. He debated with heretics and finally was sent by Dharmagupta as a missionary to China.

After his arrival in Chang'an, the emperor Xuanzong (r. 713–756) lodged Śubhākarasṃha in the Ximing Temple. There, Śubhākarasṃha translated a text aimed at the procurement of wealth, which apparently led to the emperor's order impounding the monk's Sanskrit manuscripts. Sometime later the texts were returned and the monk Yi Xing was ordered to assist in Śubhākarasṃha's translation work. The emperor was especially interested in texts dealing with magical and astronomical lore. In 724 Śubhākarasṃha accompanied the emperor to the eastern capital, Loyang, and was commissioned to translate the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (T.D. no. 848), which, along with the *Sarvatathāgatatattva-saṃgraha* (T.D. no. 866), translated by Vajrabodhi, forms the basis of East Asian Vajrayāna. Yixing composed the first six of seven volumes of the *Commentary* (T.D. no. 1796) on the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* before he died. The final volume (T.D. no. 1797) was completed by the Korean monk known in Chinese as Bukesiyi. The massive *Commentary* contains Śubhākarasṃha's oral explanations of passages in the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* and represents a creative interpretation of the Vajrayana for a Chinese milieu. Śubhākarasṃha also translated the *Susiddhikāra Sūtra* (T.D. no. 893), a compendium of rituals. In 732 Śubhākarasṃha petitioned the emperor, requesting that he be allowed to return to India, but his request was denied and he died in 735. Śubhākarasṃha's body was embalmed and a stupa erected in his honor near the Longmen caves.

Śubhākarasṃha's importance lay in his translation into Chinese of key texts of the Vajrayana tradition, including the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* and the *Susiddhikāra Sūtra,* and in his establishment of the Zhenyan school in the Chinese court. Through his oral teachings contained in the *Commentary,* Śubhākarasṃha initiated a tradition of careful adaptation of Indian Vajrayana ideas and practices for the East Asian milieu. In its original, and in its revised edition of Wengu and Zhiyan, the *Commentary* was a source of creative interpretation for both Zhiyan and, later, Japanese Shingon and the Esoteric branches of Tendai. Finally, Śubhākarasṃha applied his supernormal "powers" *(siddhi)* as a means of building political support for Zhenyan. He was a *siddha,* or "wonder-worker," as well as a translator, and his exploits caught the imagination of both courtiers and masses. Years after his death, emperors and officials visited his tomb to pray for rain.

SEE ALSO Mahasiddhas; Zhiyan.

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SUFFERING. Suffering may be defined as the experience of organisms in situations that involve physical and mental pain, usually attended by a sense of loss, frustration, and vulnerability to adverse effects. As a fact of sentient life, pain is a phenomenon concomitant to existence itself and yet, on the human level at least, it is one that is inextricably linked with the sense of one's individuality. As such, pain can only be defined subjectively, and because of its implications for the survival of the individual, the experience of pain often provokes questions about the meaning of life itself.

The effort to understand the meaning of pain is natural, as is the human attempt to mediate painful experiences through recourse to secular or religious symbol systems. A major reason for the enormous influence of science and technology and the esteem in which they are currently held lies in their success in giving human beings power, or the illusion of power, over forces that adversely affect them. However, while science, technology, and social institutions have done much to alleviate suffering, these means, even at their most beneficent, can eliminate only some aspects of pain, but not all.

Thus suffering, more than any other fact of human life, raises the philosophical questions that religion is customarily called upon to answer. When stricken with grief, we question the purpose of life and look for meaning in a universe that harbors such pain. Traditionally, religions have responded to the problem of suffering in two ways: first, by trying to place the human experience of pain within the context of an overall understanding of the universe and, second, by showing ways to overcome or transcend suffering through faith, piety, appropriate action, or change in perspective. Within this broad response, religions have worked out varied systems of answers to the questions and challenges posed by the problem of human suffering.

JUDAISM. Jewish tradition reflects a number of approaches to an assessment of the nature and meaning of suffering and offers a selection of options for transforming painful experiences in order to make them comprehensible. Basically, Judaism sees suffering as man's vulnerability to the negative effects of any number of occurrences over which he has little or no control; in other words, much suffering arises simply from being human.

In a brief review of some of the Jewish explanations for the fact of suffering, two categories emerge. The first attributes suffering either to sin or to ignorance of the right path that should be followed; the second postulates that suffering may attend spiritual progress.

It has been generally recognized in rabbinic Judaism that suffering is largely due to one's own misconduct. Numerous passages throughout both biblical and rabbinic literature indicate that suffering results from wrongdoing and is thus a punishment for sin (*Prv.* 22:8). A direct relationship exists between suffering and wrongdoing, on the one hand, and between joyfulness and right action, on the other. Suffering may also arise from a misconception about the true nature of the self, which leads to a course of action that is ultimately self-destructive rather than self-fulfilling. In the stories of Jacob and Joseph, for instance, suffering comes about because one does something fundamentally wrong or alien to one's being. In such cases, suffering may function as the means by which one comes to terms with one's true self. This view suggests that self-knowledge, as well as a proper understanding of the world and of truth, can come only through struggle and through becoming sensitized to things that one would not have been fully aware of without first having suffered.

Many rabbinic and biblical passages indicate that suffering does not simply punish, but also serves an educational purpose. For example, *Deuteronomy* 4:20 reads: "He brought you out of the iron furnace of Egypt to be his people." Here, Rashi (Shelomoh ben Yitshaq, 1040–1105) interprets "iron furnace" to mean a furnace made of iron for the purpose of refining a precious metal such as silver or gold. Samuel David Luzzatto comments that it is a furnace for smelting iron, emphasizing the purificatory purpose of suffering. We find a similar idea in *Jeremiah* 11:4 and in *Isaiah* 48:10, which states: "Behold, I have refined thee but not with silver, I have chosen thee out of the furnace of affliction." Suffering gives special insight and leads to self-transcendence and concern for others; without suffering, man is insensitive and given to self-interest and self-centeredness. As *Exodus* 23:9 admonishes: "Do not oppress a stranger, for you know the feelings of a stranger, since you, yourselves, were strangers in the land of Egypt."

There is another way in which suffering is understood in Jewish tradition: one may suffer not because one has done wrong but, on the contrary, because one has done right. Here a distinction is made between suffering that results from sin and suffering that results from acting virtuously. Having recognized one's responsibilities through one's own suffering, one is confronted with a new form of suffering that arises from the assumption of the burdens of others. In this respect, suffering is a necessary part of the burden of ascent, since it results from the assumption of tasks that the righteous take upon themselves. Acting virtuously necessarily entails suffering—not a slight, passing discomfort, but intense, agonizing suffering. The doctrine of chastisements of love affirms that God gives special burdens to those who have an unusual capacity to endure them. The righteous bear the burden of ascent; according to *Psalms* 11:5, "The Lord tries the righteous." In a rabbinical interpretation of this text, Rabbi Yonatan writes:

> The Lord tries the righteous (Ps. XI, 5). The potter does not test cracked vessels; it is not worthwhile to tap them even once because they would break; but he taps the good ones because, however many times he taps them, they do not break. Even so God tries not the wicked, but the righteous. Rabbi Joe b. Hanina said, "The flax dealer who knows that his flax is good pounds it for it becomes more excellent by his pounding and when he knocks it, it glistens the more. But when he knows that his flax is bad, he does not knock it at all, for it would split. So God tries, not the wicked, but the righteous." R. Elazar said, "A man had two cows, one strong and one weak. Upon which will he lay the yoke? Surely upon the strong. So God tests the righteous." (*Gn. Rab.*, 32.3)

The idea that those who are able to bear the burden are the ones who should carry it is interpreted by Henry Slonimsky to be the heart of the Midrashic teaching on suffering. He states: "The answer to the question why the good must suffer for the inadequacies of the world would be the fact that the world is growing, developing, and therefore inevitably defective, and there must be someone noble enough to assume the burden, as exemplification of a new insight, namely that nobility obligates, noblesse oblige" (Slonimsky, 1967, p. 39). Taking on the burdens of others can only be done by those individuals who are made capable by their own experience and understanding of suffering. Several *midrashim* indicate how dear and precious are these shattered ones of God. In the name of Rabbi Abba' bar Yudan, the Midrash states: "Whatever God has declared unfit in the case of an animal he has declared desirable in the case of man. In animals he declared unfit the 'blind or broken or maimed or having a wen' [*Lv.* 22:22], but in man he has declared the broken and contrite heart to be desirable." Also, Rabbi Yehoshu'a ben Levi said, "He who accepts gladly the sufferings of this world brings salvation to the world" (B. T., *Ta'an.* 8a).

A sublime individual response to suffering is seen in an incident in Rabbi Zusya's life:

> When Rabbi Shemlke and his brother visited the *maggid* of Mezritch, they asked him the following. "Our sages said certain words which leave us no peace because we do not understand them. They are that men should praise and thank God for suffering just as much as for wellbeing, and receive it with the same joy. Will you tell us how we are to understand this, Rabbi?" The *maggid* replied, "Go to the House of Study. There you will find Zusya smoking his pipe. He will give you the explanation." They went to the House of Study and put their question to Rabbi Zusya. He laughed. "You certainly have not come to the right man! Better go to someone else rather than to me, for I have never experienced suf-

> fering." But the two knew that, from the day he was born to this day, Rabbi Zusya's life had been a web of need and anguish. Then they knew what it was to accept suffering with love. (Buber, 1947, pp. 217–218)

Innumerable *midrashim* embrace the doctrine of vicarious suffering. With regard to the *Song of Songs*, Raba states: "As the dove stretches out her neck to the slaughter, so do the Israelites, for it was said, 'For thy sake we are killed all day long' (*Ps.* 44:22). As the dove atones for sins, so the Israelites atone for the nation."

In this process of the transformation of the world through vicarious suffering, the role of the suffering individual and that of the prophet become linked with the idea of the suffering people. This concept appears in the passages in *Isaiah* 53 on the suffering servant, who is the great symbol of vicarious suffering. The controversy over whether the phrase *suffering servant* refers to an individual or to the people as a whole can be resolved once it is seen that it stands for both: the prophet is to the people as Israel is to the nations. Just as the nations resist the witness of Israel, so the people resist the word of the prophet.

Jewish tradition affirms that there is a correlation between one's suffering and one's actions, that suffering is self-inflicted. There is, therefore, a just order of things, in the sense that evil acts bring about evil consequences. However, in late biblical and postbiblical Judaism, the doctrine of immortality and resurrection was introduced to account for the suffering of the innocent, which saves the justice of God by positing perfect retribution and reward in the world to come. It is often suggested that the wicked flourish because they are allowed to consume, while still in this world, whatever reward may be due to them, and the righteous suffer because they are exhausting whatever penalties they may have incurred. In qabbalistic (mystical) Judaism, the doctrine of reincarnation was accepted as a means of solving this problem, in that human souls were given repeated chances to atone in this world before a final judgment.

Nevertheless, Judaism finds suffering to be a very harsh, crippling, and disastrous experience—one that a person should strive to avoid whenever possible. Throughout their long history of suffering, persecution, exile, torture, and death, the Jewish people have wrestled with the perplexing problem of why they seem to have experienced such a degree of suffering. Even "the resolve to observe the commandments was, in itself, the cause of death and suffering" (Urbach, 1975, p. 442). Faced with the choice of disobeying God or submitting to the ultimate suffering of martyrdom, the rabbis refused to be swayed into any kind of masochistic fervor; they still realistically recognized how dreadful suffering is. All sufferings, as well as terrible martyrdoms, were not simply acquiesced to, but fiercely questioned.

Jewish teaching clearly acknowledges that there is great injustice in the world and great suffering on the part of the innocent. The pain and death of children is a frequent example, as is the slaughter of millions in wars, political upheavals, and concentration camps. Jewish tradition deals with this problem of mass suffering, of the undifferentiated fate of the innocent and the guilty, by claiming that this is an unfinished world in which justice and peace are not given, but have to be won. Suffering is a necessary part of completing this world, and the individuals who take up the burden of striving to perfect it also suffer.

Such a concept, however, does not explain why God would so constitute the world, nor does it fully account for the sufferings of those ordinary people who are caught up in wars, earthquakes, or other human or natural catastrophes. Therefore, a tendency can be found in the rabbinic tradition to consider the problem of suffering as one of the areas beyond full human comprehension. In the popular tractate *Avot* (c. 200 CE), a portion of the Mishnah, Rabbi Yanna'i states: "It is not in our power to explain either the prosperity of the wicked or the affliction of the righteous" (4.19). The terrible death by torture of the venerable 'Aqiva' ben Yosef at the hands of the Romans (second century CE) illustrates the point. It is said that, on Sinai, Moses was granted a vision of the learning and wisdom of 'Aqiva' in expounding Torah and then was given another vision of the rabbi's martyrdom. When Moses protested to God, "Master of the Universe, is this the Torah and this its Reward?" he was told, "Be silent, for this is the way I have determined it" (B. T., *Men.* 29b).

God also suffers: he is a God who cares for his creatures and yet is unable to prevent their suffering. He is so intimately concerned with human destiny that what men and women do affects him directly: "In their afflictions I was afflicted" (*Is.* 63:9; cf. *Ps.* 91:15, *Gn.* 6:5–6). This is also poignantly illustrated in various *midrashim* where God is pictured as weeping and needing consolation because of all the suffering and tragedy in the world: "When God remembers his children who dwell in misery among the nations of the world, he causes two tears to descend to the ocean and the sound is heard from one end of the world to the other" (B. T., *Ber.* 59a).

CHRISTIANITY. Many of the same responses to suffering found in Judaism are also quite understandably evidenced in Christian thought. For example, the statement in *Proverbs* 22:8 that one brings about one's own suffering ("He that soweth iniquity shall reap calamity") is paralleled in *Matthew* 26:52: "They that take the sword shall perish with the sword." In his letter to the Galatians, Paul concurs: "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap" (*Gal.* 6:7). Numerous passages, both in the New Testament and in other Christian writings, indicate that suffering is the just payment for sin. Such a penalty may even come in the form of a swiftly executed death sentence, as in the cases of Ananias and Saphira (*Acts* 5:1–11) and the profanation of the eucharist (*1 Cor.* 11:29–30). However, in *John* 9:3, Jesus specifically rejects the notion that suffering is always the result of sin, asserting that a man's blindness was caused neither by his own nor his parents' sin.

Explicit both in the New Testament and in other Christian literature is the secondary understanding that suffering may serve a disciplinary function. As Paul states: "Suffering produces endurance, and endurance produces character, and character produces hope" (*Rom.* 5:3–4). Such learning experiences are designed to conform the Christian to the image of Christ himself. This sense of suffering as a way in which God disciplines believers is echoed both in *Hebrews* 12:3–13 and in *James* 1:2–4. A corollary concept, which is also present in Jewish thought, holds that suffering may also be seen as a preventive dose of spiritual medicine, intended, as it were, to forestall the germination of sin.

Christianity absorbed other interpretations of suffering that are Jewish in origin. For example, in the Jewish tradition, suffering is a part of the prophetic situation that is a characteristic of the burden of ascent. In a development of this idea, *Acts of the Apostles* 20:23 states that Paul's sufferings—stonings, imprisonments, and other afflictions—resulted from his missionary activity. Paul himself states that the sufferings he endured resulted from his faithfulness to his task of bringing the Christian message to the whole world.

Upholding one's beliefs, it was acknowledged, would bring on the opprobrium of the world. The writer of *Matthew* warns: "Then they will deliver you up to tribulation, and put you to death; you will be hated by all nations for my name's sake" (*Mt.* 24:9); and, "They will deliver you up to councils and flog you in their synagogues" (*Mt.* 10:17). *Acts* relates that the apostles who had been imprisoned and beaten "left the presence of the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer dishonor for the name" (*Acts* 5:41). Not just individuals, but whole Christian communities were persecuted and suffered for their beliefs.

From a Christian perspective, suffering is something that is both inevitable and welcome—something to be confronted rather than avoided. In *2 Corinthians* 12: 9–10, Paul exults: "Most gladly therefore will I rather glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me. Therefore I take pleasure in infirmities, in reproaches, in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses for Christ's sake, for when I am weak, then I am strong." The sense that suffering is inescapable appears in Jesus' experience in the Garden of Gethsemane, where on the eve of his crucifixion, he prays: "Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me; nevertheless, not my will, but thine, be done" (*Lk.* 22:42).

In both Christianity and Judaism, the peak of suffering is reached when an individual (or a people) prefers to give his or her own life rather than transgress God's commandments or forsake and repudiate true religion. Many passages in Jewish literature are devoted to martyrologies (especially those detailing the martyrdoms of Rabbi ʿAqiva' and of Ḥanina' ben Teradyon), noting the martyrs' strong affirmations of faith at the time of their deaths. Christianity relates similar examples of the religious courage of the faithful, most notably Jesus himself. In the gospels of Matthew and Mark, Jesus asks, "My God, why hast thou forsaken me?" (*Mt.* 27:46, *Mk.* 15:34); in the gospel of Luke he adds, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do" (*Lk.* 23:24). According to all three accounts, Jesus died as a martyr to his messianic mission.

Paul's theme of the necessity of sharing in the sufferings of Christ (*Rom.* 8:15) as a prerequisite of sharing in the glories of Christ was carried to extremes by some of the early church fathers. Ignatius of Antioch went so far as to suggest that martyrdom is the only way to become an authentic Christian and thus ensure one's arrival in the presence of God. In fact, Ignatius willingly embraced his own martyrdom to the extent that he encouraged his fellow believers not to do anything that might prevent it from taking place, so convinced was he of the necessity of imitating "the passion of my God" in order to ensure his salvation.

Jesus represents the Gospel's embodiment of the concept of the suffering servant. Seeing Jesus not only as the suffering servant, but also as the Messiah, the Gospel writers fuse these two roles into a synthesis that does not, however, occur in the Hebrew scriptures, where the two remain distinct. A corollary to this fusion of the Messiah and suffering servant is the view of Christ's crucifixion as a vicarious atonement both for the sinful nature of humankind as well as for the sinful acts of each individual: "The Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life as a ransom for many" (*Mk.* 10:45; see also *Jn.* 1:29, 3:5). The writers of the synoptic gospels view Jesus as the Messiah who has been sent into the world to bring about repentance and salvation and to usher in God's kingdom. Jesus' prediction of his own passion occurs throughout the synoptic gospels: his particular passion that is depicted at the end of each gospel portrays him as the being who, by his suffering, crucifixion, and resurrection, becomes the symbol through whom human beings may hope for a similar fate for themselves.

A different and distinctively Christian (as opposed to Jewish) view of suffering can be found in the Pauline writings. In working out his theology, Paul strives to answer certain questions concerning the role of suffering. First, why is there suffering in a world created by a good God who cares for and loves his creatures? Second, why must God not only allow the suffering of his chosen, but why must the best—like Job, or the suffering servant, or the prophet—suffer such grievous fates? Most particularly, for the Christian, why must God's plan include the passion, suffering, and death of the individual designated to be the only begotten Son of God, Jesus the Christ?

In his discussion of Pauline theology in *Theology of the New Testament*, Rudolf Bultmann writes: "The death and the resurrection of Christ are bound together in the unity of one salvation-occurrence: 'he who died' is also 'he who was raised up' (*Romans* 8:34; *2 Corinithians* 5:15, 13:4). Similarly, 'as God raised Christ, so He will also raise us' (see *1 Corinthians* 6:14, *2 Corinthians* 4:14)." Bultmann then claims that the incarnation is also a part of that one single salvation process, referring to biblical assertion that "he who gave himself up to die is no other than the preexistent Son of God" (*Phil.* 2:6ff., *2 Cor.* 8:9, *Rom.* 15:3). According to Bultmann, the incarnation is never accorded a meaning independent of the crucifixion.

In fact, Christ's death is seen as the merger of propitiatory and paschal sacrifices. As a propitiatory sacrifice, Christ's blood expiates sin and achieves forgiveness for the believer (*Rom.* 3:25). That Jesus' death was viewed by the early church as such a propitiation is seen in the liturgy of the Lord's Supper (*1 Cor.* 11:24), not merely in Palestinian congregations, but also in the newly evangelized Hellenistic churches. Jesus' death is also viewed as significant for the congregation of the people of God as a paschal sacrifice (*1 Cor.* 5:7, *Heb.* 13:12). The vicarious nature of that sacrifice is reiterated in *2 Corinthians* 5:21: "He made him who was unacquainted with sin to become sin in our stead."

Christ died in the place of all, then, and for the sake of all. According to Paul's view, Christ's death is not to be seen either as a merely propitiatory or vicarious sacrifice, but as a colossal cosmic occurrence. Salvation signifies release from death and sin. This release from sin, in turn, is seen in terms of release from the law. Hence, centuries later, Bultmann could claim that the sacrifice of Christ's death does not merely cancel the guilt and punishment of sin, but also is the means of release from law, sin, and death. Bultmann believes that Paul viewed the powers of the age in a gnostic light, and in this sense the Redeemer becomes a cosmic figure and his body a cosmic entity. Thus, those who are bound up with him in one body share in a redemption from the sinister powers of this world.

For Paul, apparently, Christ Jesus is the means by which the suffering of this world, man's inherent sinfulness, and death itself can be overcome. By being at one with he who suffered, a person is able to finally achieve a state that is free both from suffering and from death. In *2 Corinthians* 1:5, Paul avers: "As we share abundantly in Christ's suffering so through Christ we share abundantly in comfort too." More explicitly, in *Philippians* 3:8–10, he asserts: "I have suffered the loss of all things . . . in order that I may gain Christ and may be found in Him . . . that I may know him and the power of his resurrection and may share his sufferings, becoming like him in his death, that if possible I may attain the resurrection from the dead." At present, he who is one with—or in the body of—Christ will indeed continue to suffer. He has the promise, however, that he will not be left to suffer continually, but will eventually overcome that suffering through his faith in Christ. Christ himself is the evidence that, as he overcame suffering and death, so may the worshiper.

In his letter to the Romans, Paul exposes man's plight—bondage to the law of sin—which makes a man a miserable wretch groaning for deliverance from the body of death. In Christ, however, man achieves true freedom through the law of the spirit of life. Thus, salvation is to be seen as an eschatological occurrence insofar as it is not merely a historic fact, but a reality that is continually being renewed in the present. Hence, the prospect of overcoming sin, suffering, and death is available to those who decide to reorder their previous self-understandng and their past existence from one of egocentrism to one of radical surrender to the grace of God through Christ.

In short, according to Paul, it was necessary for Jesus to have been incarnated, crucified, and resurrected—that is, to have suffered and died—because this is the only way in which the individual might believe that his own suffering and death can, through faith in the risen Christ, be overcome. A god who simply promises redemption cannot engender the same depth of conviction as a God who not only promises but, as it were, delivers. God's birth into a human body and his suffering, together with his resurrection, are evidence of the possibility that believers, too, can hope to transcend sin, suffering, and death.

ISLAM. Islamic views of suffering may be categorized broadly under two headings. The first is that of suffering as the punishment for sin; the second, of suffering as a test or trial. The Qurʾān repeatedly stresses that all who do evil will be punished for their actions in this world and the next. This doctrine is associated with an emphasis on the perfect justice of God, which is to be vindicated on Judgment Day, when the evildoers will be thrown into the fires of Hell (surah 52). Sin is associated with disbelief, which is the root of misconduct. Unbelievers suffer as they learn of their mistakes. Thus, the punishment of sin through suffering may serve an educational function—namely, to show unbelievers the truth of God's word. The idea that lack of belief is a root of evil reveals a central precept of Islam on the subject of suffering. This precept may be expressed as the belief that evil is found within man, and that subsequently the punishment of suffering is also found there. It is written in the Qurʾān: "God dealeth not unjustly with [unbelievers]; but they injure their own souls." Just as sin is inextricable from punishment in the moral system of Islam, the unbeliever always condemns himself to suffer, for, in the final analysis, disbelief is the greatest suffering—the suffering of the soul.

Equally important to the Muslim perspective on suffering is the idea that suffering is a test of man's belief. This concept is premised upon the belief that the true Muslim stands by his faith despite his woes. Suffering not only tests men's strength of faith, it also reveals their hidden feelings, allowing God to look into the innermost depths of their souls. The judgment of and distinction between the righteous and the impious are central to God's universe. As the Qu'ran points out, God "hath created the heavens and the earth . . . that he might prove you, and see which of you would excel in works" (surah 11). Suffering is incorporated into the fabric of the world and is instrumental to the purposes of God. Suffering both separates good and evil men and serves as the punishment and teaching for the unbeliever.

The response to suffering that Islam advises is a complex one and is essentially different from either the Jewish or Christian viewpoint. In Islam, suffering is not a welcome way of proving one's faith, as in Christianity; neither is it something that should be avoided whenever possible, as in Judaism. Rather, Islam sees suffering as a necessary though unfortunate component of man's life that should be alleviated where possible and endured otherwise.

According to Bowker (1970), Islam advocates both an active and a passive response toward suffering: one should not only endure one's own suffering, but also perform good works to alleviate the suffering of others. Both responses are required of the true believer. The passive response to suffering is based on the idea of suffering as a test of one's belief in God. One must live through suffering, accepting it as God's will and having faith that God will not force any soul beyond its capacity. Nonetheless, one should not surrender to fatalism when facing suffering, but should always keep hope and faith in God. This opinion is implied by the Qurʾān's argument against suicide: God's plans will justify and vindicate the righteous in the end, and to deny this by suicide is to blaspheme against him.

The active response to suffering is grounded in the Islamic belief that man is the cause of his own suffering. Islam considers good those things that rid the world of suffering. The man who helps others is a righteous man; the true believer is revealed by his good works as well as by his acceptance of suffering. Moreover, if suffering is punishment for sin, then doing good works will alleviate this punishment.

Within Islam there is a problematical contradiction between the belief in God's omnipotence and recognition of the existence of suffering. All suffering is believed to be part of God's overall design, and is thought to have a distinct and undeniable purpose. This has tended to lead to a determinist view of existence; the free will of man is questioned. Such a tendency was prominent in the early period of the development of Islam but was later challenged by several schools of thought. The Qurʾān is ambigous on this issue and points to both the designs of God and the free will of man as causes for suffering.

SEE ALSO Cosmology; Four Noble Truths; Holocaust, article on Jewish Theological Responses; Karman; Myth; Ordeal; Saṃsāra.

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SUFISM.

One of the truly creative manifestations of religious life in Islam is the mystical tradition, known as Sufism. The term derives most probably from the Arabīc word for wool *(ṣūf),* since the early ascetics of Islam (Ṣūfīs) are said to have worn coarse woolen garments to symbolize their rejection of the world.

ORIGINS. Muslim mystical writers such as Abū Bakr al-Kalābādhī (d. 990/5) and ʿAlī al-Hujwīrī (d. 1071/2?), nonetheless, have proposed a number of etymologies for Ṣūfī: *ṣaff,* "rank," implying that Ṣūfīs are an elite group among Muslims; *ṣuffah,* "bench," alluding to the People of the Bench, the intimates of the prophet Muḥammad who gathered at the first mosque in Medina; *ṣāfaʾ,* "purity," focusing on the moral uprightness essential to the Ṣūfī way of life. The resolution of the etymological debate is less critical than the recognition that the terms *Ṣūfī* and *Sufism* evoke complex layers of meaning in Islam, including the denial of the world, close association with the Prophet and his message, and a spiritual attainment that raises one to a rank of unique intimacy with God.

Some earlier Western scholars of Sufism concluded that mysticism is incompatible with the Muslim perception of an almighty, transcendent God with whom one shares little intimacy. In their opinion Ṣūfī mysticism was born of Islam's contact with other major world religions, especially Christianity and Buddhism. This theory is no longer considered viable for two reasons: First, the Qurʾanic perception of the relationship of the individual to God is quite complex, highlighting both immanence and transcendence, and second, while no one denies that Islam evolved in a religiously pluralistic environment, one need not conclude that phenomena common to both Islam and other traditions are therefore derivative.

The vision of the God-man relationship in the Qurʾān offers a study in contrasts. On the one hand God is the almighty creator and lord of the cosmos who sustains the universe at every moment (Qurʾān 10:3 ff.); men and women are but servants—finite, vulnerable, and prone to evil (2:30 ff. and 15:26 ff.). God is both lawgiver and judge (surahs 81 and 82); whatever he wills comes to be (2:142; 3:47; 3:129; 5:40; 13:27). Servants of God are enjoined to embrace his will, not question its import, for men and women will be rewarded or punished according to their deeds. To breach the lord-servant *(rabb-ʿabd)* relationship leads easily to the cardinal sin of *shirk,* substituting some other power for that of God.

On the other hand the inaccessibility of the transcendent Lord must be understood in the context of those Qurʾānic verses that speak of his abiding presence both in the world and in the hearts of the faithful. For did he not actually breathe his own spirit into Adam at creation (Qurʾān 15:29, 38:72)? And is he not closer to man than his own jugular vein (50:16)? God's presence is all-pervasive, for to him belong the East and the West, the whole of creation,

> . . . and wherever you turn, there is God's face. Truly God is omnipresent, omniscient. (2:115)

The Qurʾān enjoins on every Muslim the practice of recollecting God (33:41), for the peaceful heart is one in which the remembrance of God has become second nature (13:28–29). The most crucial Qurʾānic verse for Ṣūfīs, however, describes the establishment of the primordial covenant between God and the souls of men and women in a time before the creation of the cosmos:

> And when your Lord took from the loins of the children of Adam their seed and made them testify about themselves (by saying), "Am I not your Lord?" They replied, "Yes, truly, we testify!" (7:172)

This unique event, which confirms the union between God and the souls of all men and women, has become known in Ṣūfī literature as the "Day of *Alast,*" the day when God asked "Alastu bi-rabbikum" ("Am I not your Lord?"). The goal of every Muslim mystic is to recapture this experience of loving intimacy with the Lord of the Worlds.

The experience of mystical union need not, therefore, be seen as foreign to Islam. On the contrary, interior spiritual development becomes a concern at a relatively early date in the writings of important Qurʾān commentators. Of the two traditional methods of Qurʾanic exegesis predominating in Islam, *tafsīr* emphasizes the exoteric elements of the text: grammar, philology, history, dogma, and the like, while *taʾwīl* stresses the search for hidden meanings, the esoteric dimensions of the Qurʾanic text. It is among Ṣūfīs (and Shīʿī Muslims) that *taʾwīl* has found special favor.

Early commentators such as Muqātil ibn Sulaymān (d. 767) often combined literalist and allegorical methods depending on the nature of the verse in question. More important is the contribution of the sixth imam of the Shīʿah, Jaʿfar al- Ṣādiq (d. 765), who stressed not only the formal learning of the commentator but also his spiritual development. An individual's access to the deeper meanings of the Qurʾān is dependent, therefore, on his or her personal spiritual development. Since text and commentator interact dynamically as living realities, the Qurʾān reveals more of itself to the extent that the Muslim makes progress in the spiritual life. The power of the text is such that for many later Ṣūfī commentators such as Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 896) simply hearing the recitation of the sacred text could induce ecstatic states in the soul of the listener.

The Ascetic movement. The early catalysts for the development of mysticism in Islam, however, were not all spiritual in nature. The dramatic social and political changes brought about by the establishment of the Umayyad dynasty in the mid-seventh century also played a pivotal role. The capital of the empire was moved from Medina to the more opulent and cosmopolitan Damascus, and the rapid spread of Islam introduced enormous wealth and ethnic diversity into what had originally been a spartan, Arab movement. In reaction to the worldliness of the Umayyads, individual ascetics arose to preach a return to the heroic values of the Qurʾān through the abandonment of both riches and the trappings of earthly power. The three major centers of the ascetic movement in the eighth and ninth centuries were Iraq, especially the cities of Basra, Kufa, and Baghdad; the province of Khorasan, especially the city of Balkh; and Egypt.

Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. A leading figure of the period was Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, who was born in Medina in 642 but settled in Basra, where he died in 728. Ḥasan was renowned for his almost puritanical piety and exceptional eloquence. At the heart of his preaching was the rejection of the world (*al-dunyā*), which he described in a letter to the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (r. 717–720) as a venomous snake, smooth to the touch, but deadly. Ḥasan contrasts this world of transiency and corruption with the next world, which alone is a realm of permanence and fulfillment.

The extreme to which Ḥasan's anti-worldly stance led him is reflected most vividly in this same letter where he implies that the creation of the world was a mistake. From the moment God first looked on his handiwork, Ḥasan insists, God hated it. Such a theological position runs counter to the basic understanding of the value of creation that Islam shares with Judasim and Christianity. As *Genesis* 1:31 affirms, "God saw all that he had made, and it was very good." To speculate on the origins of Ḥasan's gnosticlike condemnation of the material world would take us beyond the objectives of this present article; suffice it to say that ambivalence toward materiality remained a significant aspect of later Islamic mysticism. The impact of gnostic ideas, however, continued to mold later Sufism, especially in the eastern provinces of the empire. The work of Henry Corbin has done much to open for the student of Sufism this complex world of Ṣūfī, and especially Ismaʿīlī, gnosis.

Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's asceticism, although world-denying, did not entail the total abandonment of society or social structures. On the contrary, Ḥasan functioned as the moral conscience of the state and fearlessly criticized the power structures when he felt they overstepped moral bounds. He eschewed the role of the revolutionary and refused to sanction movements designed to overthrow irreligious politicians. In Socratic fashion, Ḥasan preferred to work for the ruler's change of heart through persuasion, not violence. Ḥasan's dedication to ascetic ideals did not, moreover, lead him to forsake family life. He married and raised a family, albeit in straitened circumstances. While Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is considered a pivotal figure in the early development of Sufism, he is also noted as a transmitter of traditions (*ḥadīth*) and as a defender of human freedom in the early theological debates of Islam.

Ibrāhīm ibn Adham. While there are some extant written materials attributable to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, textual sources for the lives and teachings of many early ascetics are of questionable value. Often the dearth of authentic historical sources makes it difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between facts and pious embellishments. A prime example is the life of the famous ascetic Ibrāhīm ibn Adham (d. 770?). Ibrāhīm was said to be a prince of the formerly Buddhist city of Balkh; he gave up his throne in order to pursue the path of asceticism. Some Western commentators have pointed to the possible parallel between his life story and the Buddha legend.

The fables about Ibrāhīm highlight his generosity, altruism, and, most important, his complete trust in God *(tawakkul)*. Ibrāhīm's quietism, however, did not lead him to depend on others for his subsistence. He preferred to work and scorned those who relied on begging. It would seem to be fact that he served in two naval battles against the Byzantines; while fighting in the second, he lost his life.

Many tales of Ibrāhīm's life stand out because of the ascetic practices they describe. He cherished ridicule and humiliation; more startling is his joyous acceptance of physical abuse—bloody beatings, being dragged by a rope tied round his neck, being urinated upon, and the like. Clearly such stories are later additions by hagiographers. Nonetheless these grotesque, seemingly masochistic acts are accepted as integral elements of his life history by many Ṣūfī writers. And such tales have helped to shape later authors' understandings of asceticism in this early period of Sufism.

Rābiʿah al-ʿAdawīyah. The actual transition from asceticism to true love mysticism in Islam is documented in the spiritual theory of one of the first great female Ṣūfīs, Rābiʿah al-ʿAdawīyah (d. 801). Sold into slavery as a child, she was eventually freed because of the depth of her piety. Rābiʿah's focus was not on asceticism as an end in itself, but rather on its ability to help foster a loving relationship with God. Asceticism was only one of the means necessary for the attainment of union; to make ascetic practices themselves the goal, and not intimacy with the Beloved, was, in her estimation, a distortion of the Ṣūfī path.

The love Rābiʿah nurtured was completely altruistic; neither fear of Hell nor desire for Paradise were allowed to divert her gaze from the Beloved.

Rābiʿah's vision of altruistic love (*maḥabbah*) and mystical intimacy *(uns)* are preserved in beautiful prayers and poems attributed to her. These represent some of the earliest aesthetic expressions of mystical experience in Islam.

One particularly vivid body of fables scattered throughout the Muslim sources centers on the spiritual rivalry between Rābiʿah al-ʿAdawīyah and Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. The problem with these tales, however, is that they describe a relationship that was historically improbable. Ḥasan died in 728, when Rābiʿah was at best in her early teens. Despite its questionable historicity, the Ḥasan-Rābiʿah cycle provides a valuable insight into male-female relationships in early Ṣūfī circles.

In the vast majority of these didactic tales Rābiʿah's spiritual insight and emotional maturity set her far above her male rival, Ḥasan, whose naiveté and presumptuous self-confidence are held up to ridicule. On occasion the conflict is described in actual male-female terms, with Ḥasan and his male Ṣūfī companions insisting that no woman has the ability to match a man's spiritual perfection. While Rābiʿah proves them wrong beyond the shadow of a doubt, there remains the fact that her success is due partially to the abandonment of the traditional female role and the assumption of more male characteristics. For example, she is said to have repeatedly refused Ḥasan's marriage proposals and remained celibate and childless throughout her life.

Dhū al-Nūn al-Miṣrī. A number of early Ṣūfīs such as Rābiʿah evinced a sophistication of esthetic expression and theoretical speculation that laid a solid foundation for later work by Ṣūfī mystics. Pivotal figures such as Dhū al-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 859) were both poetic stylists and theoreticians. Although no complete text of his mystical writings has survived, many of his logia, prayers, and poems have been preserved by later writers. He was master of the epigram and an accomplished poetic stylist in Arabic. The full force of his literary talent comes to light, however, in his prayers.

The child of Nubian parents, Dhū al-Nūn was born in Upper Egypt at the end of the eighth century. While many of the factual details of his life are often indistinguishable from pious fiction, a reliable kernel of historical data emerges. Although he lived in Cairo, Dhū al-Nūn traveled extensively, and during one of his sojourns in Baghdad, he ran afoul of the caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 847–861). The confrontation was sparked by his refusal to accept the Muʿtazilī doctrine of the createdness of the Qurʾān. For this act of defiance, Dhū al-Nūn was imprisoned; during his heresy trial, however, he so affected the caliph with his *apologia* for the Ṣūfī life that al-Mutawakkil released him unharmed.

The preserved sayings of Dhū al-Nūn attest to the profundity of his mystical insight and to the skill with which he developed terminology and structures to analyze the mystical life. He excelled at elucidating the nuances of the various stages *(maqāmāt)* and states *(aḥwāl)* encountered by the mystic along the Ṣūfī path. To him is attributed the first construction of a coherent theory of *maʿrifah,* spiritual gnosis, which he contrasts with *ʿilm,* the more traditional path of discursive reason.

A pivotal aspect of Dhū al-Nūn's mysticism is the *coincidentia oppositorum,* the "conjunction of opposites." The God who pours out his love upon the faithful Ṣūfī wayfarer is, in Dhū al-Nūn's view, the same God who afflicts his lover with pain and torment. God is, at one and the same time, *al-muḥyī,* "the giver of life," and *al-mumīt,* "the one who kills." Legend has it that at his death the following words were found inscribed on his forehead:

> This is the beloved of God,
> who died in God's love.
> This is the slain of God,
> who died by God's sword.

Mystical ecstasy. The evolution of ascetic and theoretical principles to guide the Ṣūfī wayfarer, and the growing sophistication of aesthetic expressions of love mysticism were not the only signs of a maturing mystical tradition in Islam. An additional area of creative exploration by a number of ninth- and tenth-century Ṣūfīs centered on refining the understanding of what actually constitutes the goal of mystical experience.

Rābiʿah's articulation of the primacy of love in mystical union provided a general framework for discussion; it did not, however, resolve the most vexing question. Does union entail the complete obliteration of the lover's soul in the Beloved or is the object of mysticism a loving relationship in which both lover and Beloved preserve their independence? Expressed more technically, of what do the experiences of mystical annihilation (*fanāʾ*) and persistence in union (*baqāʾ*) consist?

Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī. The debate was brought to a head in dramatic fashion by a number of mystics whose ecstatic utterances provoked and scandalized the traditional elements both within and without the Ṣūfī movement. One of the earliest ecstatics was Abū Yazīd (known also as Bāyazīd) Ṭāyfūr ibn ʿĪsā al-Bisṭāmī (d. 874), who lived in seclusion at Bisṭām in the province of Qūmis. Few details of his life are known, but it is said that he was initiated into the subtleties of mystical union by one Abū ʿAlī al-Sindī and that he developed a friendship with Dhū al-Nūn.

Muslim hagiographers and spiritual writers have preserved, nevertheless, many of the ecstatic utterances *(shaṭaḥāt)* attributed to Abū Yazīd. These sayings differ from earlier Ṣūfī expressions of union because of their seeming affirmation of the total identification of lover and Beloved. Cries of "Subḥānī!" ("Glory be to me!") and "Mā aʿẓaMā shaʾnī!" ("How great is my majesty!") shocked the uninitiated because they smacked of *shirk,* associationism, and aroused many Muslims' suspicions that Sufism was a heretical movement.

In a famous text, considered spurious but existing in several versions, Abū Yazīd vividly describes his reenactment of the Prophet's night journey *(miʿrāj)* as a mystical ascent during which his "I" is gradually absorbed into the "He" of the Beloved. Eventually "He" and "I" become interchangeable, for in reality the attributes of Abū Yazīd's essence have been subsumed into God.

This particular understanding of mystical annihilation *(fanāʾ)* is characteristic of Abū Yazīd's mystical theory. Complete *fanāʾ* is attained only after the most arduous stripping away of one's attributes. Nothing is spared, neither personality nor spiritual attainments. Abū Yazīd compares the process to the snake's struggle to slough off its skin, or to the blacksmith's violent manipulation of red-hot iron. The mystic experiences the most dramatic shifts of emotion and spiritual experience; the soul vacillates between the expansive rapture of *basṭ,* in which the self appears literally to fill a room, and the implosion of *qabḍ,* in which the self seems reduced to the size of the tiniest sparrow.

Because of the apparent extremism of his ecstatic utterances, al-Bisṭāmī was revered by later Ṣūfīs as the advocate of the path of intoxication (*sukr*) in contrast with the path of sobriety (*ṣaḥw*) associated with the famous Baghdad Ṣūfī Abū al-Qāsim al-Junayd (d. 910). The division between sober and intoxicated Ṣūfīs was to remain an important one throughout the history of Islamic mysticism.

Al-Ḥallāj. Despite their dramatic power, the ecstatic utterances of Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī are overshadowed by those of the most famous of the Baghdad mystics, Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj. He was born in 857 at al-Ṭūr, in the Iranian province of Fārs. His initiation into Sufism began early in life, while he was still a teenager. For more than twenty years he lived in seculsion and was trained by a number of the great Ṣūfī masters of the period: Sahl al-Tustarī, ʿAmr al-Makkī, and al-Junayd.

Eventually, however, al-Ḥallāj broke away from his teachers and became an itinerant preacher. His wanderings led him through Arabia and Central Asia to the Indian subcontinent. He came into contact with sages and mystics from a number of other religious traditions who expanded the horizons of his own religious experience. As he continued to mature spiritually al-Ḥallāj attracted increasingly larger numbers of disciples. He became known as *ḥallāj al-asrār,* "the carder of consciences," a play on the family name al-Ḥallāj, which meant "cotton carder."

The core of al-Ḥallāj's preaching was a call to moral reform and to the experience of intense union with the Beloved. Among al-Ḥallāj's poetic and prose writings, one phrase stands out as the paradigmatic expression of mystical ecstasy, his famous "Anā al-Ḥāqq!" ("I am the divine Truth!"). To the ears of non-Ṣūfīs and of more sober elements in Sufism, al-Ḥallāj's self-divinizing cry was tantamount to *shirk,* if not a bald rephrasing of the Christian notion of incarnation *(ḥulūl).*

It is very doubtful that al-Ḥallāj wished to be considered primarily a metaphysician. Consequently the charges leveled against him were due to misperceptions of the intent of his mystical expressions. It would remain for later Ṣūfīs to articulate philosophically a doctrine of identity between God and creation. Al-Ḥallāj's expressions of ecstasy, on the contrary, are part of a tradition whose main goal was to celebrate the transforming power of the experience of mystical union with the Beloved; secondarily the concern was to contribute to the growing body of technical terminology and theoretical speculation about the nature of mysticism.

Many scholars have considered al-Ḥallāj's proclamation of unique intimacy with the divine to be one of the main causes of his eventual imprisonment and execution at the hands of the Abbasid authorities. There is no doubt that al-Ḥallāj's ecstatic utterances and his reinterpretation of certain elements of Islamic ritual practice were objects of violent criticism by many of the religious hierarchy. His execution, however, was as much the result of politics as of mysticism.

Al-Ḥallāj's insistence on announcing publicly his vision of mystical union transgressed a cardinal principle of the great Ṣūfī masters of his generation. The accomplished mystic was never to divulge to the uninitiated experiences that were beyond their comprehension; the true nature of union was to be discussed only with one's fellow adepts or not at all. Such elitism did not conform to al-Ḥallāj's more populist notion of mysticism. For his lack of prudence he was ostracized by his former teacher al-Junayd and was branded a political threat and rabble-rouser by the secular authorities.

Finally, al-Ḥallāj found himself embroiled in caliphal politics during the reign of al-Muqtadir (908–932). He was lionized and defended by one vizier and condemned by the next, protected by the caliph's mother, but finally sentenced to death by the son. Al-Ḥallāj spent about eight years in prison before he was eventually executed in 922. The gruesome details have been recorded by his disciples: Al-Ḥallāj was flogged, mutilated, exposed on a gibbet, and finally decapitated. The body was then burned. For al-Ḥallāj, however, death was not a defeat; on the contrary, he desired fervently to become a martyr of love. Al-Ḥallāj was convinced that it was the duty of the religious authorities to put him to death, just as it was his duty to continue to preach aloud the unique intimacy he shared with the divine:

> Kill me, my trusted friends,
> for in my death is my life!
> Death for me is in living, and
> life for me is in dying.
> The obliteration of my essence
> is the noblest of blessings.
> My perdurance in human attributes,
> the vilest of evils.

The creativity of al-Ḥallāj's work is reflected perhaps most strikingly in his ingenious use of the science of opposites. In his *Kitāb al-ṭawāsīn* al-Ḥallāj describes his two role models in mysticism as Iblīs (the devil) and Pharaoh. Both suffered condemnation at the hands of God, al-Ḥallāj attests, yet neither swerved from his appointed course. The Qurʾanic text affirms on several occasions that Iblīs, who was chief of the angels and the most dedicated of monotheists, was commanded by God to bow to the newly created Adam. He refused, despite God's threat to condemn him forever, and chose, like al-Ḥallāj, to become a martyr of love.

> My refusal is the cry, "Holy are you!"
> My reason is madness, madness for you.
> What is Adam, other than you?
> And who is Iblīs to set apart one from the other?

All three are outcasts who have transgressed the law to attain a higher goal. Yet the reason for the transgression is each one's love relationship with God, which functions as a higher law for the perfected Ṣūfī.

> My friend and my teacher are Iblīs and Pharaoh. Iblīs was threatened with the fire, but he did not go back on his preaching. And Pharaoh was drowned in the Red Sea, but he did not acknowledge any mediator at all. . . . And if I were killed, or crucified, or if my hands and feet were cut off, I would not go back on my preaching.

ʿ*Ayn al-Quḍāt.* An even more subtle treatment of the science of opposites (*coincidentia oppositorum*) is evident in the work of another martyr-mystic of Islam, ʿAyn al-Quḍāt al-Hamadhāni, who was born in western Iran in 1098. He proved himself a brilliant student as a young man, mastering the traditional Islamic religious sciences. He was also recognized for the quality of his literary style in both Arabic and Persian. The most influential Ṣūfī master in his spiritual formation was Aḥmad al-Ghazālī (d. 1128), a preeminent teacher and the brother of the most famous mystic-theologian in Islam, Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). Aḥmad's own contribution to Sufism is considerable, especially his classic treatise on mystical love, *Sawanih.*

As ʿAyn al-Quḍāt's fame grew, his disciples increased and, like al-Ḥallāj, he soon incurred the wrath of the religious and political authorities. He was accused of a number of heretical ideas, the most serious being the claim that there was a complete identity between the Creator and his creation. Imprisoned in Baghdad, ʿAyn al-Quḍāt was later transferred to his native city of Hamadhān where he was put to death in grisly fashion in 1131; he was only thirty-three years of age.

The conjunction of opposites, according to ʿAyn al-Quḍāt, is reflected in the very notion of the God of Islam. One need look only to the Muslim confession of faith (Shahādah) for confirmation: "Lā ilāha illā Allāh" ("There is no god but God!"). *Lā ilāha* ("there is no god") is the realm of the malevolent divine attributes, which spawn falsehood and which seduce the soul of the mystic away from the truth.

To pass from *lā ilāha* to the realm of *illā Allāh* ("but God") requires that the Ṣūfī wayfarer confront God's chamberlain, who stands guard at the threshold of *illā Allāh.* Who is this chamberlain? None other than the devil Iblīs.

In the same way that al-Ḥallāj in his *Kitāb al-ṭawāsīn* purports that the devil Iblīs is a model of piety, ʿAyn al-Quḍāt employs this paradoxical motif to dramatize the tension of opposites in God. He links Iblīs with Muḥammad, claiming that both are but different aspects of the same divine reality. Iblīs is described as the black light of straying while Muḥammad is the white light of truth and gnosis; both spring, however, from the same attribute of God, namely his power. Muḥammad is the guiding light of God's power while Iblīs is its destructive fire.

Perhaps the most creative symbols employed by ʿAyn al-Quḍāt to capture the conflict within God are those of the curl and the mole that lay upon the face of the Beloved. The lock of hair that hangs in an arrogant curl over the cheek of the Beloved enjoys a privileged state of intimacy. Instead of driving away the seeker from the threshold of *illā Allāh* with the sword of divine power, or deceiving the soul with black light, the Iblīs-curl distracts and seduces the Ṣūfī with the amorous gestures of the coquette, thus entangling the soul in lesser spiritual attainments.

The image of the Iblīs-curl must, of course, have its Muḥammad counterpart. In addition to the curl, the mistress possesses another mark of beauty, a black mole on the cheek that is equated with Muḥammad. Both curl and mole, however, spring from the face of God; the curl is seducer while the mole is the guide to Truth.

All of the paradoxical images used by ʿAyn al-Quḍāt—the tension between curl and mole, black light and white light, between *lā ilāha* and *illā Allāh*—point to the fact that God himself is the source of paradoxes. Moreover ʿAyn al-Quḍāt is convinced that both poles of the paradox must be experienced if one is to attain true spiritual gnosis:

> Unbelief and faith are two veils beyond the throne between God and the servant, because man must be neither unbeliever nor Muslim.

MYSTICAL LITERATURE. The science of opposites, with its rich symbolism and provocative speculation, appealed only to a small number of Ṣūfīs because of the level of intellectual sophistication it demanded and because of its esoteric quality. In contrast, beginning in the late ninth century, a number of texts began to appear that were aimed at a broader spectrum of the Muslim faithful and functioned as training guides for men and women interested in cultivating mystical experience.

The manual tradition. The emphasis of the manuals was not on the arcane dimensions of Sufism, but on its accessibility and its conformity with Islamic orthodoxy.

One of the earliest manuals addressed to a Ṣūfī novice is the *Kitāb al-riʿāyah* (Book of consideration) of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥārith ibn Asad al-Muḥāsibi (d. 857). He is remembered particularly for his skill in developing the examination of conscience as an effective tool for advancement in the spiritual life.

Among the classics of this genre of religious literature in Sufism are the *Kitāb al-ta ʿarruf* (Book of knowledge) of Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Kalābādhī (d. 990 or 995), the *Kitāb al-lumaʿ* (Book of concise remarks) of Abū Naṣr ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAlī al-Sarraj (d. 988), *Al-risālah al-qushayrīyah* (The Qushayrīan letter) of Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Qushayrī (d. 1074), the *Kashf al-maḥjūb* (Unveiling of the veiled) of ʿAlī ibn ʿUthmān al-Jullābī al-Hujwīrī (d. 1071/2?), and the *Qūt al-qulūb* (Nourishment of the heart) of Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAṭīyah al-Ḥārithī al-Makkī (d. 996).

Spiritual guidance. Doubtless the primary goal of these manuals was to serve as guides for novices newly embarked upon the Ṣūfī path. The literary structure reflected this; often the conceit was that of the master writing to, or answering the questions of, a particular disciple. The internal composition of the texts varies considerably from one author to the next. Some are collections of insights strung together like random pearls; others, such as the *Kashf al-maḥjūb* of al-Hujwīrī, present a coherent and systematic analysis of Sufism.

Earlier Ṣūfīs had relied heavily on the personal relationship of master (shaykh, pir) with disciple (*murid, ṭālib*) to provide the guidance necessary for spiritual progress. But as the number both of disciples and of famous shaykhs increased, written manuals became invaluable supplements to personal spiritual direction. The manuals preserved the teachings of many of the greatest Ṣūfī guides and made their wisdom available to a larger number of the brethren. While Ṣūfī manuals never supplanted the master-disciple relationship, they did attain a permanent place of influence and honor among Muslim mystics.

In addition to providing spiritual guidance, the Ṣūfī manuals also addressed a number of subsidiary issues of critical importance. The first was the need to legitimize the place of Sufism in the broader spectrum of Islamic religious life. To this end authors such as al-Kalābādhī and al-Qushayrī made deliberate efforts to demonstrate that Sufism was in conformity with the orthodox theological synthesis, namely Ashʿarism. Al-Sarrāj as well took pains to prove that Sufism was completely in tune with the Qurʾān, *ḥadīth,* and Islamic legal tradition (*sharīʿah*).

A further cause of heightened tension between Ṣūfīs and the champions of orthodoxy concerned the possible conflict between the roles of Ṣūfī saint and traditional prophet. Sunnī Islam presumed that prophethood was the pinnacle of spiritual perfection, exemplified by Muḥammad himself. To substantiate this claim, Muslim theology asserted that all prophets possessed the special gift of impeccability (*ʿiṣmah*); each had the power, moreover, to perform a unique miracle (*muʿjizah*) in order to verify his mission.

Some Ṣūfīs, on the other hand, suggested that sainthood was an even more elevated spiritual rank than prophethood because it presumed a unique intimacy with the divine. Most manual writers, however, evolved a less polemical stance, one designed to reinforce the mainstream character of Sufism. They concluded that the highest level of sainthood was only the first level of prophethood. While the prophet was impeccable from birth, the saint was only protected (*maḥfūẓ*) from committing serious sin, and this only after he or she had attained sainthood. Whereas the miracles of the prophets were unique and indisputable, the miracles of the saints (*karāmāt*) were repeatable and subject to satanic influence.

A common objective of all the Ṣūfī manuals is to analyze in depth the various stages and states that make up the Ṣūfī path. Stages are considered by spiritual writers to be levels of permanent growth in the mystical life; states represent the more transient emotional and psychological experiences associated with the various stages. The process of scrutinizing in analytic fashion the stages and states of mystical experience resulted in the creation of a sophisticated technical vocabulary that provided a basis for common discourse among Ṣūfīs of every generation.

The exploration of the stages and states of mystical experience resulted, as well, in the development of highly refined theories of spiritual psychology. Ṣūfī psychologists aimed first and foremost at providing trainees with the means to gain control over the *nafs,* or lower soul (see surah 12:53), which was identified as the satanic element within men and women. Al-Makkī describes the *nafs* as arrogant, deceptive, envious, a beast that wallows in excess.

The Ṣūfī novice was not helpless, however, in his confrontation with the *nafs.* Men and women possessed an angelic force (*malak*) sent by God to do battle with the *nafs* in the arena of the heart (*qalb*). As al-Muḥāsibī indicates, both *malak* and *nafs* employ similar weapons, notably the various internal impulses (*khawāṭir*) that arise in the heart urging one to good or evil.

On occasion the various movements in the heart are quickly identifiable either as the satanic whisperings (*waswasah*) of the *nafs* or as the impulses of the *malak.* Much more difficult, however, are those times when the origin of the *khawāṭir* is unclear. For the devil-*nafs* excels at deluding the soul of the Ṣūfī and seducing him or her to actions that, while not sinful, deflect the Ṣūfī from the road to the greater good. It is in dealing with these spiritual dilemmas that the techniques of Ṣūfī psychology articulated in the manual tradition demonstrate their subtlety and true sophistication.

Al-Ghazālī. The effort of many of the manual writers to legitimize Sufism's place in Islam culminates in the work of a man whose contribution to the Islamic religious sciences ranges far beyond mysticism. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazālī was born at Ṭūs near the modern Iranian city of Mashhad in 1058. His early training was in jurisprudence (*fiqh*), but he soon excelled in theology (*kalām*) and eventually in Arabic philosophy (*falsafah*), which was exemplified by the Neoplatonism of al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna).

A recurring theme in al-Ghazālī's work is the relationship between reason and revelation. The great Arab philosophers tilted the balance in favor of reason, insisting that truth was attainable without the aid of revelation. The conclusions arrived at by philosophers, however, did not always conform to the standard orthodoxy derived from the Qurʾān. For example, dogmas on the creation of the world from nothing, the resurrection of the dead, God's knowledge of particulars as well as universals—all were called into question by the philosophers.

Al-Ghazālī championed the truth of revelation over that of philosophical speculation. He was not, like some fundamentalist extremists, antiphilosophical however. On the contrary, al-Ghazālī's fascination with philosophical logic is manifested in many of his works, for he was convinced that philosophy could contribute substantially to Muslims' understanding of law and theology. It was only against the excesses of philosophy that he railed in his *Tahāfut al-falāsifah* (The incoherence of the philosophers), not against philosophical reasoning per se.

Al-Ghazālī's influence was enhanced by the political support he received from the ruling authorities, especially the Seljuk vizier Niẓām al-Mulk, who appointed him professor at the Niẓāmīyah *madrasah* in Baghdad in 1091. It was during his professorship at Baghdad, however, that a personal crisis radically transformed the future shape of al-Ghazālī's career. Whereas his earlier concerns had been with more theoretical and speculative issues, the focus now shifted to the role of religious experience in the life of the Muslim.

In 1095 al-Ghazālī experienced what can only be called an emotional and psychological breakdown. As he described it later in his autobiography, *Al-munqidh min al-ḍalāl* (The deliverer from error), his state of anxiety left him almost catatonic. He suffered terrible doubts about his ability to arrive at any religious truth; more important he was overwhelmed by the emptiness of external religious ritual and law. Al-Ghazālī abandoned his teaching career and sought a solution to his doubts in Sufism, which, he hoped, would provide him with the personal experience of truth or *dhawq* (lit., "taste").

The success of his quest is attested by his later writings, which foster the integration of an interior life with the life of external observance. Alone, each leads either to excess or to spiritual myopia; together, however, they constitute a life of balance and dynamic spiritual growth. To this end al-Ghazālī wrote what was to be his most influential work, the *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-Dīn* (Revivification of the religious sciences), which epitomizes his vision of Islamic life and which remains an integral part of the training of Muslim scholars to this day.

After eleven years of absence from teaching, al-Ghazālī was persuaded to return once again to the classroom by the vizier Fakhr al-Mulk, son of his late patron, Niẓām al-Mulk. His second career lasted only several years, for he retired to a Ṣūfī convent at Ṭūs before his death in 1111. The measure of his impact on the intellectual life of Islam is impossible to calculate. In the history of Sufism, however, he is especially remembered for having contributed substantially to the acceptance of mystical experience as an integral dimension of Islamic religion.

Other genres. In addition to the Ṣūfī manuals, other important genres of mystical literature developed in the classical period. Fables, epigrams, epic poems, poetry, aphorisms, all were creative vehicles for mystical expression. Early Qurʾān commentators and street preachers had focused on the lives of the prophets for inspiration. This spawned the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbīyaʾ* (Tales of the prophets), collections of lively didactic stories, often with moral themes. In similar fashion the lives of famous Ṣūfīs were assembled by mystical writers into biographical dictionaries, which evolved into important companion volumes to the manuals.

Despite the fact that authors rarely distinguished between historical fact and pious fiction, these hagiographic compendia are crucial for current knowledge of the lives and teachings of the great masters of classical Sufism. Individual compilers, moreover, offer important critiques of a number of Ṣūfī movements, mystical theories, and the like.

The first systematic history of the lives of Ṣūfī mystics is ascribed to Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī al-Sulamī (d. 1021). His *Ṭabaqāt al-ṣūfīyah* (Generations of the Ṣūfīs) became the basis for the expanded versions of two later Ṣūfīs, the *Ṭabaqāt al-ṣūfīyah* of Abū Ismāʿīl Abd Allāh Anṣarī (d. 1089) and the *Nafaḥat al-uns* (Wafts of pleasure) of Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad Jāmī (d. 1492). The most comprehensive work of Ṣūfī hagiography, however, is the prodigious, multivolume *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ* (Necklace of saints) of Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1037). Later writers continued the tradition, including Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār (d. 1221?) with his *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ* (Biographies of the saints).

ʿAbd Allāh Anṣarī and the epigram. Many of these authors excelled at more than one genre of mystical literature. ʿAbd Allāh Anṣarī of Herat, a city in present-day Afghanistan, for example, is noted for important works on mystical theory but most especially for his epigrams, the *Munajat* (Intimate conversations). This tiny book, a milestone in Ṣūfī literature, is the *vade mecum* of countless Persian-speaking Muslims. Although the text appears deceptively simple it contains the kernel of Ansari's complex vision of mystical union.

To appreciate Anṣarī's contribution to Islamic mysticism, it is essential to place him in the context of the theological debates that resulted in the classical synthesis of al-Ashʿarī (d. 935) and his school. Controversies arose in the ninth century over differing interpretations of the Qurʾanic verses dealing with freedom and predestination, the nature of divine attributes, and the origins of good and evil. The most influential group defending radical freedom and moral responsibility were the Muʿtazilah, whose views were strongly influenced by Greek thought. Since human beings are responsible for their deeds, they insisted, God cannot be blamed in any way for human turpitude. Reward and punishment are absolutely just because God himself is just. Furthermore God's justice requires that actions have an intrinsic moral worth that can be recognized by men and women.

The logic of the Muʿtazilī view, nevertheless, was challenged by verses in the Qurʾān itself that emphasize God's complete omnipotence and question human beings' ability to determine their fates, for God "leads astray whomever he wills and guides whomever he wills" (16:93). A solution proposed by al-Ashʿarī and his followers was to choose neither radical freedom nor complete predestination, but rather to affirm both as true. This use of paradox as a hermeneutical tool permeates both theology and mysticism in Islam.

It must be admitted, however, that al-Ashʿarī's views leaned more in the direction of predestinarianism than of freedom. He was a staunch proponent of God's complete control over human actions; freedom is little more than God's willingness to allow people to participate in their determination of their fate. It is God alone who first creates human actions and then ascribes them to humans.

Even secondary causality is called into question because to assert that nature functions independently according to its own laws seems to ascribe to nature an independent power separate from God, a position smacking of *shirk.* In defending God's absolute omnipotence, furthermore, al-Ashʿarī was obliged to deny the intrinsic goodness or evil of human actions. An action is good or evil only because God has determined it to be so. Lying, for example, is evil because God has so decreed; if he changed his mind lying would be right.

Anṣarī's theological views were even more conservative than those of al-Ashʿarī. As a follower of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 855), Anṣarī defended the most literalist interpretations of the Qurʾān. Whereas the Muʿtazilah allegorized the anthropomorphic descriptions of God's attributes in the Qurʾān, and the Ashʿarīyah affirmed their existence, albeit in a way beyond the grasp of human reason, Anṣarī and the Ḥanabīlah insisted that the verses must be taken at face value. Consequently his positions appeared even more paradoxical than those of the more moderate Ashʿarīyah.

As Anṣarī indicates in the *Munājāt,* God commands people to obey him and then prevents their compliance. Adam and Eve, for example, are seduced not by Satan, but by God. Their seduction is predestined and they are obliged to particpate. Despite the seeming victimization of humans by God, however, the Ṣūfīs are not to conclude that they are absolved of responsibility for their evil deeds. Paradoxical as it may sound, Anṣarī recommends that the true attitude of the devoted mystic is that taken by Adam and Eve when they were confronted with the tragedy of their sin. They realized they were God's pawns but blamed themselves for the deed: "And they both said, ʿO Lord, we have wronged ourselves!'" (surah 7:23).

Anṣarī moves naturally in the *Munājāt* from a discussion of the paradoxical tension between freedom and predestination to that between good and evil. And he reflects an attitude toward ethics that is characteristic of many of the ecstatic Ṣūfīs: Whatever God wills for the mystic, be it blessing or curse, intimacy or separation, is good because it comes from God. Such a stance runs counter to the mainstream ethics of Sunnī Islam, which locate the guide for human action and the determination of moral worth in the synthesis of Qurʾān, *ḥadīth,* and *sharīʿah.*

For the perfected Ṣūfī, however, there is a higher law, namely the love relationship, that determines action and provides the means to evaluate the goodness or evil of particular behavior. The upshot is that, for the Ṣūfī elite, certain practices are permissible that would be disproved according to the religious law of the community.

Such an attitude has often been cited as proof of the dangerous antinomian tendencies endemic to Sufism. On closer examination, however, such behavior is not that far removed from the classical Ashʿarī synthesis. Al-Ashʿarī, as has been seen, claims that actions are good or evil because God determines them to be so; moreover, if he changed his mind about a particular action its moral worth would change. What one finds in the behavior of a number of Ṣūfīs is, in fact, the acting out of this hypothetical case, for the Ṣūfī elite insist that the quality of their love relationship with the divine raises them to a higher tier of ethics, one at times radically different from the lower tier. Anṣarī counsels the Ṣūfī to move beyond the everyday concerns with reward or punishment, and beyond the common notions of good and evil. The goal is to please the Beloved; that is what constitutes the good.

Anṣarī goes so far as to claim that the lover-beloved relationship moves one to a plateau on which even the five pillars of Islam appear superfluous. The pilgrimage to Mecca is an occasion for tourism; almsgiving is something that should be left to philanthropists; fasting is an ingenious way to save food; and ritual prayers should be left to old crones. The focus of the mystic should not be the laws and ritual structures of the Islamic community (*ummah*); it is the love relationship that supersedes all.

Anṣarī is a dramatic example of the mystic whose basic theological and religious conservatism do not bar him from the most exuberant expressions of union. He is not, however, alone in perceiving that the Ṣūfī adept must often move beyond the constraints of Islamic law. Abū Saʿīd ibn Abī al-Khayr (d. 1089) of Mayhana in Khorasan, for example, mirrors as well the same paradoxical approach to religious practice. He began his life as a violent ascetic, isolating himself from normal social intercourse and faithfully observing the obligations of the law. It is said that he was discovered by his father hanging upside down in a pit, reciting the Qurʾān.

At the age of forty, however, Abū Saʿīd attained gnosis (*maʿrifah*) and his actions changed dramatically. He and his followers became renowned for their feasting. In place of ritual prayer, communal Ṣūfī devotions were substituted. Once, when questioned by a non-initiate about his attitude toward the pillars of Islam, especially the pilgrimage to Mecca, he replied that it was a waste of time to travel so far simply to circumambulate a stone house (the Kaʿbah). Rather, the sacred cube should circumambulate him! These statements, shocking though they were to non-Ṣūfīs and even to some of the more sober mystics, were not intended to flout the law. On the contrary, the privileged spiritual elite understood their behavior as that which was enjoined on them by the Beloved.

The mathnavī: Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār. The epigrams of ʿAbd Allāh Anṣarī, succinct and accessible to a wide range of people, are in sharp contrast with the poetic genre of *mathnavī,* which was introduced into Sufism by the Ghaznavid poet Ḥakīm Abū al-Majd Majdūd ibn Adam Sanāʾī (d. 1131?). The rhyming couplets of the *mathnavī* had previously been made famous in secular literature by the renowned Persian poet Firdawsi in his *Shāh-nāmah* (The epic of the kings). The general structure of Sanāʾī's mystical *mathnavī*s, the most famous of which is the *Ḥadīqat al-ḥaqīqah* (The garden of truth), is imitated by later Ṣūfī authors. The framework consists of mystical teachings interspersed with illustrative fables, anecdotes, proverbs, and the like. The different *mathnavī*s vary, however, in length, the quality of their style, and in the organization and development of their themes.

Important as Sanāʾī's introduction of the *mathnavī* into Sufism was, he is not remembered as a great stylist. For a true master of the *mathnavī* form one must turn to the Persian poet and spiritual guide, Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār (d. 1221?). ʿAṭṭār lived most of his life in and around the city of Nishapur, near the modern Iranian city of Mashhad. It is reported that he was killed during the Mongol sack of the city. His name indicates his occupation, that of apothecary, and it appears that he continued in his profession even as he composed his mystical treatises.

It is evident from ʿAṭṭār's work that he was a man learned in both the religious sciences and secular literature. He demonstrates enormous perspicacity in his treatment of the subtleties of the spiritual life. ʿAṭṭār's success, however, is due equally to the fact that he possessed the requisite literary skills to mold his ideas into an aesthetic whole of genuine quality. ʿAṭṭār is poet, storyteller, and spiritual theorist; he entertains, cajoles, and leads the reader through numerous levels of spiritual awareness.

Of his *mathnavī*s the best known is the mythic fable *Manṭiq al-ṭayr* (The conference of the birds). The text operates on a number of levels. On the surface it is a lively fable about a group of birds who decide to seek out their king, the Sīmurgh, of whom they have only the barest recollections. The journey is long and arduous, the path uncertain. Many birds abandon the quest out of weakness, apathy or fear; others perish along the way. Finally thirty birds arrive at the palace of the Sīmurgh. This event constitutes the pun on which the story is based, for "thirty birds" in Persian is *sī murgh.*

The far more serious level on which the fable operates is that of an elaborate analysis of the Ṣūfī path. Asceticism, illumination, and finally union are explored in depth. The internal structure of the work resembles an ascending spiral staircase. The bird-souls progress upward, often returning to an earlier point, except now at a more advanced level. The birds are not uniform souls but mirror a variety of human personality types. Their strengths and difficulties reflect, moreover, the issues faced by a wide variety of Ṣūfī seekers.

The overall power of the work is due to its meticulous organization. It is necessary to study the text closely to appreciate the care with which ʿAṭṭār develops his multileveled thematic structure. The last section of the work describes the seven valleys through which the tested remnant must pass in order to reach the Simurgh. The final valley is that of *fanāʾ*, “annihilation,” where the thirty birds merge with their beloved Simurgh as the moth merges with the flame.

Lyric and mathnavī: Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. Despite ʿAt-tar’s obvious literary and analytic skills, his work is surpassed by the greatest of the Persian mystical poets, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (known as Mawlānā, “our master”). Rūmī was born in Balkh in 1207, the son of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Walad, who was himself a noted legist, teacher, and spiritual guide. Around 1219, however, Bahāʾ al-Dīn left Balkh because of the threat of invasion by the Mongols. The family set out on pilgrimage to Mecca, passing through the city of Nishapur where, it is reported, Bahāʾ al-Dīn and his young son met ʿAṭṭār, who predicted Rūmī’s future greatness.

Bahāʾ al-Dīn settled eventually in Konya in Anatolia (known as Rūm, hence the name Rūmī). He was warmly received by the ruling Seljuk authorities and resumed his career as teacher and shaykh. Following in his father’s footsteps, Jalāl al-Dīn became well versed in the Islamic religious sciences and philosophical theology. After Bahāʾ al-Dīn’s death in 1231, Jalāl al-Dīn assumed his father’s teaching post.

Rūmī’s Ṣūfī training progressed in serious fashion under the tutelage of Burhān al-Dīn Muḥaiqqiq, one of his father’s disciples. The critical moment in Rūmī’s spiritual development, however, was his meeting in 1244 with Shams al-Dīn of Tabriz. For two years they were inseparable, Rūmī finding in Shams the vehicle through which to experience the true ecstasy of mystical love. Their relationship was a source of jealousy and scandal among Rūmī’s family and followers. Abruptly, Shams departed Konya for parts unknown.

Rūmī was disconsolate, but, with the help of his son Sulṭān Walad, he engineered Shams’s return. Rūmī’s rekindled joy was shortlived, however, because Shams disappeared for the last time in 1248, and there is persuasive circumstantial evidence that Shams was murdered, perhaps with the connivance of Rūmī’s family.

The intense love relationship Rūmī shared with Shams was the catalyst for the creation of some of the most extraordinary poetry in the Persian language. Rūmī was prolific; his poetic verses number close to forty thousand, collected in a work that bears the name of his beloved, the *Divāni Shams-i Tabrīzī*. He is a master of imagery, ranging from the mundane realities of food, weaving, and the like to more subtle treatments of nature, music, and religious symbols. Prominent, of course, is the image of Shams, “the sun,” in whose brilliance and intensity Rūmī loses himself. Both the agony of separation and the exhiliration of union ebb and flow throughout his poetry. The emotions evoked run the gamut of human experience. Rūmī does not hesitate to shock; anger, cruelty, and vulgar sexuality share the stage with the ecstasy of annihilation in the Beloved, proving that the Ṣūfī quest must not be romanticized. Love not only has the potential to fulfill; it also destroys.

Rūmī’s other masterpiece, his *Mathnavī-yi maʿnavī* (Spiritual Couplets), was written at the urging of his cherished disciple Ḥusām al-Dīn Chelebī. Ḥusām al-Dīn, like many Ṣūfīs of the period, discovered in the *mathnavī*s of Sanāʾī and ʿAṭṭār a wealth of spiritual wisdom. It was imperative, Ḥusām al-Dīn believed, for his revered shaykh to preserve his teachings in similar fashion for posterity. Thus Rūmī was persuaded to dictate his *Mathnavī* to Ḥusām al-Dīn, who transcribed the text and read it back to his master for correction. The final product is substantial, six books totaling almost thirty thousand verses. Several of Rūmī’s lesser works—letters, discourses, and sermons—have been preserved as well.

Whereas ʿAṭṭār’s works, especially his *mathnavī*s, are noted for their clear structural development, those of Rūmī resemble more the stream-of-consciousness style. One must be steeped in Rūmī’s work before daring to analyze his thought.

The statement is often made that Rūmī’s *Mathnavī* is the Qurʾān of the Persians. While the main point is the enormous popularity the text has had, and continues to have, in the Persian-speaking world, there is another level on which the comparison is apt. The Qurʾān communicates itself primarily in individual, sometimes self-contained, units, not as a structured whole. Similarly, many segments of the *Mathnavī* have an internal unity of their own. Yet the sections of the text are strung loosely together like a string of pearls of different sizes, shapes, and hues. Themes appear and disappear, only to be addressed again from a different perspective. To seek out a unifying structural element in the *Mathnavī* is perhaps to do an injustice to the intent of the author. Its appeal lies in its fluidity and allusiveness. True, this can be frustrating at times; frustration, however, soon turns to fascination as the reader is lured once again into the complex web of Rūmī’s thought.

GNOSIS AND IBN ʿARABĪ. The history of mysticism in Islam is replete with individuals of brilliance and creativity. Among these exceptional personalities, however, one stands out from the rest because of his unique genius. Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-ʿArabī al- Ḥātimī al-Ṭāʾī was born at Murcia in Muslim Spain in 1165. He is honored with the titles “Al-Shaykh Al-Akbar” (*“doctor maximus”*) and “Muḥyī al-Dīn” (“the revivifier of religion"). Eventually he came to be known under the name Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ʿArabī.

While still a child, Ibn ʿArabī and his family moved to Seville, where he received the greater part of his education in the traditional Islamic religious disciplines. He was greatly influenced in his spiritual development by two female Ṣūfīs, especially Fāṭimah of Cordova. A great deal of his mystical insight, however, evolved from visionary experiences, the first occuring during an illness in his youth. Throughout his life he continued to have visions on which he placed a great deal of reliance.

Ibn ʿArabī's visionary bent is equally evident in his claim to have been initiated into Sufism by the mythic figure Khiḍr, a mysterious being, said to be immortal, associated with a Qurʾānic fable (*sūrah* 18) and pre-Islamic legends. Khiḍr is renowned in Sufism as a saint and guide of exceptional spiritual power; to be chosen as one of his disciples is a rare privilege.

In his early twenties Ibn ʿArabī traveled extensively throughout Spain and North Africa and broadened his intellectual perspectives. He describes a unique meeting in Cordova with the greatest of the Muslim Aristotelian philosophers, Ibn Rushd (known as Averroës in the Latin West). The encounter is heavy with symbolism, for Ibn Rushd represents the total reliance of philosophers on reason *(ʿaql)*, while Ibn ʿArabī champions gnosis *(maʿrifah)* as the only means to experience the fullness of truth.

In 1201 Ibn ʿArabī left Spain and North Africa for the last time, undertaking travels that brought him to many important centers of Islamic learning. In 1223 he settled in Damascus, where he remained until his death in 1240. His mausoleum continues to be an important pilgrimage center.

Ibn ʿArabī is unique because he was both an original thinker and synthesizer. Many of his ideas resonate with earlier intellectual developments in Sufism and in philosophical theology. His greatness, however, lies in his ability to systematize Ṣūfī theory into a coherent whole with solid metaphysical underpinnings. Ibn ʿArabī, therefore, should not be viewed as an eccentric outside of the mainstream, but rather as the genius who was able to gather together various strains of mystical philosophy and to mold them into an esthetic whole.

The corpus of Ibn ʿArabī's work is massive, which complicates considerably any attempt at a comprehensive analysis of his thought. In addition his style is often dense, reflecting the esoteric nature of his ideas. Two of his most influential works are *Al-futūḥat al-makkīyah* (The Meccan revelations), which he was ordered to write in a visionary experience while on pilgrimage, and *Fuṣūs al-ḥikam* (The bezels of wisdom).

Waḥdat al-Wujūd. The central concept in Ibn ʿArabī's system is *waḥdat al-wujūd,* "unity of being." Scholars have debated whether Ibn ʿArabī intends this term to describe a monist system, where nothing exists but the One. An affirmative response does not indicate, however, a dramatic shift in Muslim metaphysics because, in reality, Ibn ʿArabī is only taking the Ashʿarī synthesis to its logical extreme. The Ashʿarī insistence on God's total omnipotence and control over the universe implies that God is the only true agent. It is not illogical, therefore, to suggest, as Ibn ʿArabī does, that God must also be the only true existent.

The divine essence in itself is completely transcendent; it is, in fact, unknowable, the *lā ilāha* ("there is no god") of the Muslim confession of faith. This plane of unconditioned unity (*aḥadīyah*), however, is not the only plane on which divine reality exists. The plane of oneness (*wāḥidīyah*) is characterized by a unity in plurality, a unity in which the qualities of all possible existents reside. Once again the ultimate solution is paradox. The divine is undifferentiated and totally transcendent; yet in the divine are discovered the qualities of all potential beings.

Reality, therefore, is tiered, a progression of spiritual manifestations. Ultimate reality is the *theos agnostos,* the "unknown God," from which emerge the different planes of divine existence, culminating in the God of revelation, Allāh, the *illā Allāh* ("but God"), of the confession of faith. The creation of the cosmos occurs, not out of nothing (*creatio ex nihilo*) as traditional Western theology would have it, but because of the yearning of the unknown God to escape from isolation. A *ḥadīth* dear to Ṣūfīs encapsulates God's intent: "I was a hidden treasure and I desired to be known, so I created the creation in order that I might be known."

Creation, therefore, is the manifestation of the One in the plurality of created beings. God's sigh of longing breathes forth the universe, the mirror in which he comes to know himself. The agency through which the cosmos is produced is the divine creative imagination. The process is not static but dynamic, for in the same way that God exhales, he inhales, drawing creation back to its source in the One. Gnosis for the Ṣūfī, therefore, entails progress along the path from illusion (the naive conviction that he is an independent reality distinct from God) to insight into creation's identification with God's self-revelation.

The Perfect Human Being. The mirror that the One projects forth is not uniformly polished. The created being in which the Absolute becomes most fully conscious of itself is man. And there is in every generation *al-insān al-kāmil,* the Perfect Human Being, who is the link between Absolute Being and the created realm. Through the mediacy of the Perfect Human Being the dynamic process of emanation and return takes place. In fact, the process would be impossible without that being, the most perfected Ṣūfī, the *quṭb* ("pole"), the axis around which the cosmos revolves.

Ibn ʿArabī's emanationist view of creation reinterprets, moreover, the traditional understanding of the goal of mysticism in Islam. Many early Ṣūfīs described the path as a growth in loving union between a soul, which retains its essential independence, and the Beloved who, while being the source of creation, is distinct from it. For Ibn ʿArabī and his followers, the goal is not primarily love but wisdom, to move from the illusion of plurality to the gnostic insight that one has always been, and will continue to be, totally united with the source of all being.

Waḥdat al-wujūd has enormous implications, furthermore, for the Ṣūfī understanding of human freedom and ethics. Nothing manifests itself in creation unless God wills it. This is an axiom of both Ibn ʿArabī and traditional Islam. In Ibn ʿArabī's system, the archetypes of all potential beings exist in the One. When these potential realities are actualized in the illusory realm of plurality, they function completely in accord with their celestial archetypes. In the realm of the created world, therefore, individual free choice is illusory. All change is predetermined by the archetype of the particular reality. Freedom exists only insofar as all creatures participate in the freedom of the One, with which they are ultimately identified.

Ethics, in addition, must be seen in the light of the determinative power of the celestial archetypes. In the realm of creation, the law (*sharīʿah*) delineates what actions are in accord with God's revelation. From the perspective of the One, however, all actions are good since they are manifestations of the divine creative imagination and are in accord with the celestial archetypes. Culpability is relative because it is operative only in the realm of created illusion. Eventually all return to the undifferentiated One; thus there is no eternal reward or punishment in the traditional sense.

The complexity of Ibn ʿArabī's thought defies summation in a few brief paragraphs. Nor have scholars in the field yet gained sufficient mastery of his work to unravel his convoluted and sometimes contradictory ideas. What is clear, however, is the pervasive influence of Ibn ʿArabī and his school on later Sufism. Disciples such as Ṣadr al-Dīn Qūnawī (d. 1274) in Anatolia and commentators on his work such as ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad Jāmi (d. 1492) in Persia disseminated his ideas throughout the Islamic world.

ṢŪFĪ FRATERNITIES. The history of Sufism is much more than the history of mystical theory and expression. There is a significant social dimension to Islamic mysticism that must be explored if the picture is to be complete. Even many of the early Ṣūfīs, individualists though they were, sought out the advice and counsel of their fellow wayfarers. From the very beginning, therefore, companionship (*ṣuḥbah*) was considered essential for progress in the spiritual life.

Fluid interaction among Ṣūfīs soon evolved into the more structured relationship of master and disciple, adding a new level of social complexity. Not only would disciples visit their masters, but many also took up residence with them. The earliest formal Ṣūfī convent seems to date from the latter part of the eighth century CE, on the island of Abadan.

Political changes in the Islamic empire contributed to the stabilization of Ṣūfī institutional structures. In the mid-eleventh century the Seljuks wrested control of the Abbasid caliphate from the Shīʿī Buyids. The Seljuks were staunch Sunnīs who took over the religious educational system of the *madrasah*s in order to reindoctrinate the intelligentsia with Sunnī orthodoxy. The public support they provided for Ṣūfī establishments afforded the Seljuks more control over the type of Ṣūfī piety inculcated in the new recruits, but at the same time, government patronage ensured the survival of the various Ṣūfī institutions.

By the thirteenth century, several types of Ṣūfī establishments had evolved, each with a different general purpose. The *ribāṭ* was a residence or training center, which originated in the Arab regions of the empire. *Khānqāhs* were similar establishments rooted in the more persianized environment of Khorasan; they eventually spread, however, into the Arab centers. The more serious training took place in the *zāwīyah*s, which usually housed a teaching shaykh; *khalwah* is the name given to the retreat of a single Ṣūfī or dervish. (Dervish is derived from the Persian word for Ṣūfī, *darvīsh,* "poor," "beggar.")

More important than the physical environment in which Ṣūfīs congregated is the evolving infrastructure of the Ṣūfī communities themselves. In the eleventh century, fluid organizations continued to predominate; their common link was the desire for *ṣuḥbah* and for the guidance of a shaykh. Frequently, a master and his disciples remained a cohesive social unit only until the death of the master, after which the group disbanded.

By the thirteenth century the situation had altered significantly. Many Ṣūfī groups became self-perpetuating social organizations whose central focus was the founder and his teaching. No longer was the survival of the group dependent on a particular living shaykh; authority was passed from shaykh to disciple, thus providing a stable structural basis for the continued growth and development of the community. The new master was the chief custodian of the founder's spiritual legacy and, on occasion, an innovator in his own right.

Silsilahs. These stable social organizations came to be called *ṭarīqah*s ("ways"), known in English as Ṣūfī orders, fraternities, or brotherhoods. Each founding shaykh had his *silsilah* ("chain"), his spiritual lineage which contributed substantially to his stature in the Ṣūfī community. The *silsilah* is, more precisely, a genealogy, tracing the names of one's master, of one's master's master, and so on back through history. Often a prominent shaykh would have been initiated more than once, by a number of illustrious Ṣūfīs, thus adding additional stature to his spiritual pedigree.

There are two main *silsilah* groups, which later subdivided into literally hundreds of Ṣūfī fraternities. The first chain, generally considered the more sober of the two, traces its links back to Abū al-Qāsim al-Junayd, the famed spiritual guide from whom al-Ḥallāj eventually broke away. The second, and more intoxicated, *silsilah* derives from the first great Ṣūfī ecstatic, Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī. These designations are very general, and membership in either group indicates only a spiritual genealogy, not necessarily an actual attitude toward mystical experience.

The members of the Bisṭāmī branch are often called Malāmati, "blameworthy." The appellation, however, can be overstressed, for it does not mean that they scorned Islamic law. On the contrary, many were meticulous in their observance. But eventually the name came to describe, in broad terms, those Ṣūfīs who eschewed completely all of the public trappings of Sufism and of piety in general; they were characterized by the virtue of absolute sincerity (*ikhlāṣ*). The Malāmatīyah rejected Ṣūfī initiation and the guidance of a shaykh, nor would they engage in public devotional practices common to Ṣūfīs. Whatever ritual acts they performed were carried out in private. Their individualism made them appear to some as suspicious and marginal. The Malāmatīyah, nevertheless, should be clearly distinguished from the Qalandarīyah, or wandering dervishes, many of whom did engage in practices that made mockery of the religious law and of traditional morality.

The centrality of *silsilah*s in Ṣūfī fraternities is not completely unique. One discovers an analogous emphasis in the *ḥadīth* literature, where the literary structure of a *ḥadīth* has two parts: the chain of transmitters *(isnād)* and the body of the text (*matn*). According to Muslim tradition, the authenticity of the *ḥadīth* is guaranteed by the reliability of the *isnād.* In the same way that the power of sacred word in the *ḥadīth* has been preserved by the chain of transmitters, so too do the teachings and powers of a particular shaykh remain alive through his *silsilah.*

Whether or not the *isnād*s are historically reliable is not a question that need be discussed here. Suffice it to say that the importance of *isnād*s for Muslims is to ground *ḥadīth*s solidly in the period of the original revelation. Thus there can be no question that the teachings of the *ḥadīth*s are innovations; rather *ḥadīth*s are but more detailed insights into God's will already expressed in general terms in the Qurʾān.

In similar fashion the *silsilah*s of Ṣūfī shaykhs provide them with religious legitimacy. Even though the Ṣūfī orders may vary considerably in their teachings and attitudes toward mystical experience, they each can claim, through their spiritual genealogies, to be solidly based upon the foundations of Sufism.

Veneration of saints. The institutionalization of *ṭarīqah*s and the emphasis on *silsilah*s enhanced substantially the religious and political position of the master. Whereas in the past the shaykh functioned primarily as an expert and confidant, he now became a repository of spiritual power as well. A shaykh's lineage did not provide simply a list of teachers; it implied that the spiritual power of each of these great Ṣūfīs had been transmitted to this last member of the line.

The shaykhs of the great Ṣūfī orders, therefore, took on superhuman qualities. They became known as *awliyāʾ* (sg., *walī*), intimates or friends of God. Their spiritual perfection raised them far above the level of their disciples and of the masses of Muslim faithful. The spread of Ibn ʿArabī's teaching, particularly the notion of the Perfect Human Being, which was elaborated upon by Ibn ʿArabī's intellectual disciples, especially by ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Ibrāhīm al-Jīlī (d. 1428), provided an intellectual framework within which to explain this cosmic role of the saintlike shaykh. Many of the shaykhs of important orders were acknowledged by their followers as the *quṭb,* the "pole" or "axis" around which the cosmos revolves, the Perfect Human Being, the point at which the divine Creative Imagination most fully manifests itself in the world of illusion. The fact that a number of individuals claimed this status at one and the same time was cause for a certain amount of friction and rivalry among the powerful fraternities.

The concept of *quṭb* is linked by Ibn ʿArabī and his predecessors with a whole hierarchy of cosmic beings. Al-Hujwīrī describes them as the officers of the divine court, made up of three hundred *akhyār* ("excellent ones"), forty *abdāl* ("substitutes"), seven *abrār* ("piously devoted ones"), four *awtād* ("pillars"), three *nuqabāʾ* ("leaders"), and one *quṭb* (known also as *ghawth,* "succor"). Ibn ʿArabī's hierarchy is somewhat different in structure. The *quṭb* is joined by two *aʾimmah* ("guides"), four *awtād,* seven *abdāl,* twelve *nuqabāʾ,* and eight *nujabāʾ* ("nobles"). The cosmic hierarchy, regardless of its particular description, is the spiritual power through which the order and continued existence of the cosmos are ensured.

The term *walī* is often translated as saint; this is misleading because there is no religious hierarchy in Islam empowered to canonize individuals as saints, as one has, for example, in Roman Catholicism. Rather, the status of *walī* is attained through public acclamation. There are, nevertheless, analogies between Christian saints and Muslim *awliyāʾ,* insofar as both possess spiritual power that is capable of being transmitted to disciples or devotees. In Islam this power is called *barakah* ("blessing"). The *barakah* of a *wali* has the potential to transform an individual spiritually as well as to provide concrete material blessings. *Barakah* should be understood as concretely as possible. It is often transmitted through the power of touch, similar to the laying on of hands or the application of relics, practices common in other religious traditions of the West.

The perfected shaykhs are objects of veneration both during their lives and after their deaths. It is generally accepted that they possess the power of miracles (*karāmāt*), although their miracles are subject to satanic influence in a way that the miracles of prophets are not. The extraordinary powers of the *awliyāʾ* are not diminished in any way after their death; on the contrary, their intercession often appears more efficacious. Consequently the tombs of great Ṣūfī *awliyāʾ* are vibrant pilgrimage centers to this day.

Ritual practice. Much has been said thus far about the shaykhs of Ṣūfī orders. What were the general patterns of life of the members of these communities? It is difficult to generalize because of the different character of the various brotherhoods. There are, however, some areas of commonality. The full members of the fraternities committed themselves in obedience to the shaykh, who initiated them into the order and bestowed upon them the patched frock (*khirqah*), the sign of their entry onto the Ṣūfī path. They were encouraged to subject themselves completely to the master's will, to be like dead bodies in the hands of the body-washers. Some members of orders remained celibate while others married; some lived lives of extreme poverty while others had a very comfortable existence. Common to most of the Ṣūfī fraternities were ritual practices called *dhikr* ("remembrance") and *samāʿ* ("audition").

Dhikr. The impetus for the practice of *dhikr* is derived from those Qurʾanic verses that enjoin the faithful to remember God often. Among Ṣūfīs this duty evolved into a complex exercise performed by an individual or group. Many fraternities put their own particular stamp on the *dhikr* exercise. Most *dhikr* techniques, however, involve the rhythmic repetition of a phrase, often Qurʾanic, in which one of the names of God appears. In Islam, Allāh has one hundred names, ninety-nine of which are known; the hundredth name is hidden. Certain Ṣūfīs who ascribed to themselves the rank of *quṭb* claimed to have been blessed with this most precious secret.

The more sophisticated methods of *dhikr* usually involve breath control, body movements, and a number of other complex techniques to gain control over the five senses as well the psyche and imagination. In some Ṣūfī groups, such as the Naqshbandīyah, *dhikr* is a private exercise. The goal is to move from vocal *dhikr* to silent *dhikr,* with each stage representing a more intense level of union with the Beloved until, at the final stage, *dhikr* moves to the innermost recesses of one's being and one can no longer distinguish between the one remembering and the Remembered.

Samāʿ. Like *dhikr*, *samāʿ* has become identified with Ṣūfī ritual practice. It involves listening to music, usually with a group. The music is often accompanied by Qurʾān chants and/or the singing of mystical poetry. The recital is intended to spark a mystical experience within the auditors. Those most affected by the *samāʿ* rise up to dance in unison with the music. Depending on the Ṣūfī group, the dance can be a marvel of aesthetic movement or the frenetic writhings of the seemingly possessed.

From its inception *samāʿ* has been controversial among Ṣūfīs. No one questions the efficacy of chanting the Qurʾān. The doubts arise with music and the singing of mystical love poetry. Music and singing were considered by many shaykhs to be amoral: neither good nor evil by nature. *Samāʿ* possesses the power, however, to engulf the spirit of the disciples and to seduce them to immoral behavior. Consequently many shaykhs, if they approve of *samāʿ* at all, insist that only accomplished Ṣūfīs be allowed to participate. Novices are warned to beware.

Dhikr and *samāʿ* have served an important function outside of the ranks of the full-fledged members of the Ṣūfī orders. The theoretical developments in Sufism from the thirteenth century onward were shaped by the work of Ibn ʿArabī and his interpreters. The complex and esoteric nature of this school of Ṣūfī thought, however, placed it far beyond the reach of most Muslims. It was the ritual exercises of the orders that helped fill the gap and minister to the immediate spiritual needs of the faithful. Thus Sufism came to represent, for many, not abstruse theory but concrete practice that was accessible to all.

The emphasis on *dhikr* and *samāʿ* has helped to blur the distinction in popular Sufism between mystical experience that is attained after serious spiritual training and experience that is self-induced. Unsophisticated sessions of *dhikr* and *samāʿ,* to this day, often consist of self-hypnosis, hysteria, drug-induced states, and other violent emotions that pass for mystical experience. Despite accusations of vulgarization, *dhikr* and *samāʿ* remain important emotional outlets in the Muslim community and are unique sociological events during which various levels of society find themselves interacting on an equal footing. And in the hands of spiritual adepts, *dhikr* and *samāʿ* remain potent tools for creating an ambiance in which to attain heightened levels of religious experience.

The widespread interest in *dhikr* and *samāʿ* among the Muslim faithful has resulted in increased membership in the Ṣūfī fraternities. These new members, however, should more properly be called affiliates. They perhaps take some training from a shaykh; their primary vehicle for contact with the group, however, is attendance at periodic sessions of *dhikr* and *samāʿ*. Otherwise they lead the normal life of a layman or woman. In parts of the Islamic world today, membership in one Ṣūfī order or another has become for many a social obligation, even though those so affiliated have little interest in, or understanding of mysticism.

Particular orders became associated with different strata of society, geographical regions, and guilds. The Suhrawardīyah, for example, were extremely influential in court circles in thirteenth-century Delhi, while orders such as the Bektāshīyah and Khalwatīyah in Turkey had a more popular appeal. The identification of order with social group became so complete that one could be said to be born into a particular fraternity. This did not, however, prevent an individual's eventual shift from one order to another.

The orders: individual characteristics. The role of the shaykh and the ritual exercises of *dhikr* and *samāʿ* are integral elements in almost all of the Ṣūfī orders. The distinctive personalities of the fraternities, however, are as significant as their similar structures and practices. The contrasts are often striking. In Anatolia, for example, the Mawlawīyah (or Mevleviye) and the Bektāshīyah represent opposite ends of the spectrum.

Mawlawīyah and Bektāshīyah. The Mawlawīyah trace their *silsilah* to the mystic and poet Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. Rūmī himself, however, did not establish a formal *ṭarīqah* during his lifetime; rather, it was his son, Sulṭān Walad, who took upon himself the task of organizing the order. The Mawlawīyah are known for their aesthetic sophistication, both in ritual practice and in mystical poetry. The order's particular identity is derived, of course, from Rūmī's *Mathnavī* and the *Divāni Shams-i Tabrīzī.*

Perhaps the most famous aspect of the Mawlawīyah is its ritual *samāʿ*, an exquisite combination of music, poetry, and whirling dance (hence their name in the West, "Whirling Dervishes"). It is hard to capture in words the refinement of the choreography. The rhythmic, turning movements of the adepts are mesmerizing and executed with a subtle grace and precision equal to the best of European classical dance. The serene faces of the Ṣūfīs, moreover, reflect the depth of the spiritual rapture achieved by the practitioners.

In contrast, the Bektāshīyah takes its name from a shadowy figure, Ḥajjī Bektāsh of Khorasan (d. 1337?). At first the group was loosely organized, but by the fifteenth century it had developed a highly centralized structure. The Bektāshīyah are noted for their syncretism; the rituals and beliefs of the order represent an amalgam of Shiism, Byzantine Christianity, esoteric cults, and the like. By the end of the sixteenth century, the Bektāshīyah had become associated with the Janissary corps, an elite military unit of slave-soldiers established by the Ottoman sultan Murād I (1360–1389). Despite the heterodox practices of the Bektāshīyah, their identification with the powerful and much-feared Janissaries provided them with security from persecution by the orthodox religious authorities. Where the Mawlawīyah attracted a more educated elite, the Bektāshīyah appealed to the less literate masses who were fascinated with the magic-like rituals and political power.

Suhrawardīyah and Rifāʿīyah. In Iraq, as well, there arose two fraternities with diametrically opposed interpretations of religious experience. The genealogy of the Suhrawardīyah begins with Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī (d. 1168), who was a disciple of Aḥmad al-Ghazālī. Abū Najīb is the author of an important rulebook for novices, *Kitāb ādāb al-muridīn* (Book of the manners of the disciples). The text evinces Abū Najīb's long experience as a director; his rules are strict and comprehensive, yet attuned to the human frailties of the young and untutored.

The fraternity that bears the name Suhrawardi was founded by Abū al- Najīb's nephew, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 1234). Shihāb al-Dīn, the author of the extremely influential work, *ʿAwārif al-maʿarif* (Masters of mystical insights), is remembered in Ṣūfī circles as a great teacher. Teaching, in fact, became a characteristic note of the fraternity. The Suhrawardīyah made significant inroads into the Indian subcontinent, where its ranks included such important figures as Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakarīyā of Multan (d. 1268).

While the ethos of the Suhrawardīyah is characterized by serious training in the classical Ṣūfī tradition, the Rifāʿīyah or "Howling Dervishes" focus primarily on dramatic ritual. This fraternity springs from the marshlands of southern Iraq, where its founder, Aḥmad ibn ʿAli al-Rifāʿī (d. 1182), spent most of his life. Contemporary observers describe vividly the bizarre practices engaged in by members of the fraternity: fire-eating; piercing ears, hands, necks, and penises with iron rings; biting heads off live snakes, and so forth. Clearly the appeal of the Rifāʿīyah is primarily emotional.

Shādhilīyah. A fine example of a fraternity that responded to the religious needs of the larger community while cultivating a solid intellectual base in mystical theory is the Shādhilīyah. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 1258) began his religious career at Tunis, where he was well known as a preacher. It was there that he founded his order in 1227. Impelled by a vision, he traveled eastward and settled eventually in Egypt, where the Shādhilīyah order came to flourish.

The most famous of the early Shādhilī shaykhs is not the founder but the third leader of the group, Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh (d. 1309). He was born in Alexandria and spent his early years in the study of *ḥadīth* and the law. Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh's training in the traditional religious sciences made him wary of any involvement with Sufism. His attitude eventually mellowed, and for twelve years he placed himself under the direction of the second shaykh of the order, Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Mursī (d. 1287), whom he eventually succeeded.

Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh's writings epitomize the spirit of the Shādhilīyah order. On one hand his work is very much in the intellectual tradition of the Ibn ʿArabī school. For example his book, *Laṭāʾif al-minan* (Subtle graces), written in defense of the fraternity and its practices, emphasizes the exalted role of the shaykh as *walī* and *quṭb.* On the other hand, the true genius of Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh is most evident in his collected aphorisms, the *Ḥikam* (Maxims). They remain to this day one of the most popular Ṣūfī texts in the Islamic world. Combining the erudition of the scholar with the vibrant, persuasive language of the enthusiast, Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh succeeds in communicating complex ideas in a way that is accessible to a wide range of individuals. Like the *Munājāt* of ʿAbd Allāh Anṣarī, the *Ḥikam* of Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh must be savored time and time again, for their richness seems almost inexhaustable.

In the same way that Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh, through his writings, made the Sufism of the orders more accessible to larger numbers of Muslims, his fraternity as a whole adopted a structural form more in tune with the lives of the laity. Whereas some brotherhoods insisted on the abandonment of one's profession and even of family life, the Shādhilīyah allowed its members to remain involved in the secular world. In this respect, they were precursors of a similar development in the Christian West, when, in the sixteenth century, Ignatius Loyola founded the Society of Jesus, or Jesuits, whose members contrary to traditional monastic structures, were intent on fostering *contemplatio in actione,* contemplation while remaining fully involved in the secular world. Ibn ʿAṭāʾ

Allāh's *Ḥikam* has a place of honor in Islamic spirituality equal to that of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* in Christianity.

There is not sufficient space to describe even briefly all of the great *ṭarīqah*s that have become part of mainstream Sufism since the thirteenth century. The Qādirīyah, whose eponymous founder, ʿAbd al-Qādir Jīlāni (d. 1116), is perhaps the most widely revered saint in all of Islam; the Naqshbandīyah, whose stern Sunnī spirit, disseminated in Central Asia and the Indian subcontinent, has spawned political movements and great poets such as Mīr Dard (d. 1785); the music-loving Chishtīyah, Kubrawīyah, and so forth—all have played pivotal roles in the formation of Islamic religious life.

Decline of the orders. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries, however, have not been kind to Sufism, especially the Sufism of the orders. A number of factors contributed to the decline: the general secularization of world culture; colonialism, with its concomitant critique of Islamic religion and society; the response of Islamic modernism; and the rise of Islamic fundamentalism.

The changing political climate had profound effects on the Ṣūfī orders. In Turkey, for example, they were abolished by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1925 because they represented to him all that was corrupt and backward about Islam. Atatürk was in the process of transforming Turkey into a modern nation state from the rubble of the Ottoman empire. The traditional power of the Ṣūfī shaykhs and orders was incompatible with nationalism; the orders, therefore, were eliminated as public institutions.

At times, however, the orders were not victims of political change but its instigators. The Tijānīyah of West Africa and the Sanūsīyah of North Africa are prime examples. The Tijānīyah were militant revivalists. They fought bravely against the French in West Africa and eventually established a kingdom of their own during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The Sanūsīyah were similarly fundamentalist and militant. For decades they were at odds with Italian colonial power in North Africa. As a counterbalance they sided with the British who eventually invested the shaykh of the Sanūsīyah with authority in the region. The transformation of the shaykh into king of Libya and the accompanying solidification of political power eventually led to the decline of the Sanūsīyah as a Ṣūfī movement.

Despite the fact that many nineteenth- and twentieth-century Ṣūfī groups reflected fundamentalist tendencies, they still became the objects of attack by the ultra-orthodox, of whom the Wahhābīyah of Saudi Arabia are but one example. Among such groups, any ritual practice not explicitly sanctioned by religious law is anathema. The very premise on which Sufism is based, namely union with God, is rejected as un-Islamic. One sees today in many of the most vibrant Islamic revivalist movements a similar tendency to espouse the most puritanical forms of literalist religion. In such a world Sufism has little place.

In the Indian subcontinent, the involvement of many hereditary pirs (i.e., shaykhs) with Sufism has been based, in the modern period, more on family status, wealth, and influence than on any serious interest in mysticism. A backlash was inevitable. Muhammad Iqbal, one of the fathers of modern Muslim intellectual life in the subcontinent, rejected Sufism because of the corruption he perceived. He also reacted strongly against the Ṣūfī doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd,* because it entailed the negation of the self: If the self is nonexistent, why confront the problems of human existence? Nevertheless, his *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,* published in 1930, reflects Ṣūfī emphases on interiority, although his goal was to reinterpret Islam in humanistic terms that harmonized the spiritual and material realms of existence.

Attacks on Sufism are not new; they have occurred throughout the history of the tradition. The dramatic decline of Sufism in the modern period, however, is due as much to external as to internal forces. The intimate contacts between the Islamic world and the European West resulted in virulent critiques of Islamic religious practice, especially devotionalism. Muslim reactions were varied: Some accepted the critique and mimicked Western secular societies (Atatürk's Turkey, for example); some reasserted their identity by returning to what was believed to be true Islam, devoid of Ṣūfī accretions (the Wahhābīyah, for example); others, such as the Muslim modernist Muhammad ʿAbduh and his successors, proposed various more moderate plans for the adaptation of Muslim society to the demands of the modern world.

All of these responses, however, possessed anti-Ṣūfī elements, for most rejected Ṣūfī ritual practice and devotionalism as either non-Muslim or antimodern. Moreover, the power of the Ṣūfī shaykhs over masses of the faithful was seen by most to be counterproductive to modernization and to the development of a functioning secular state, for the shaykhs were often perceived as proponents of superstition, religious emotionalism, and outmoded power structures.

Mysticism in modern Islam is not an arid wasteland but rather more like a fallow field. There have been important modern teaching shaykhs such as Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī (d. 1934), whose influence is still felt in North Africa. Moreover, the popular piety of Sufism still flourishes in many parts of the Islamic world, including North Africa, Egypt, the Indian subcontinent, and Indonesia. The great tradition of vernacular poetry, established by master artists such as the Turkish mystic Yunus Emre (d. 1321), continues to produce a rich literature. Central Asia, the Indian subcontinent, Africa, Indonesia—every corner of the Islamic world has produced its local poet-saints.

Doubtless Sufism has become increasingly more identified with popular ritual practice than with formal spiritual training. The transformation of Sufism into a mass movement could not help but lead to a certain vulgarization. There continue to arise, nevertheless, individual masters whose commitment to the path is reminiscent of the great figures of the classical period. Classical Ṣūfī literature survives because it still has the ability to touch the spirits of modern men and women. It is in this continued interaction between shaykh and *murīd* that hope for the future of Sufism resides.

SEE ALSO Darwīsh; Dhikr; Folk Religion, article on Folk Islam; Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid al-; Ḥallāj, al-; Ibn al-ʿArabī; Madrasah; Mawlid; Miʿrāj; Nubūwah; Nūr Muḥammad; Rūmī, Jalāl al-Dīn; Samāʿ; Ṣuḥbah; Ṭarīqah; Walāyah.

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ṢUḤBAH (lit., "companionship"). In mystical parlance, *ṣuḥbah* can refer to (1) a mystic's return from seclusion (*ʿuzlah*) to human society; (2) the company of the spiritual mentor, which a new entrant to the mystical fold needs for spiritual training; and (3) social contact with all human beings. The value of *ṣuḥbah* was first to be appreciated when those near the Prophet became known as *ṣaḥābah* ("companions"), since they had the privilege of being in his company. Thereafter mystics looked upon the "company" of a superior mystic-master as a way to spiritual development. The spiritual guide (pir or shaykh) came to occupy a high position on account of his capacity to influence the thought and character of those who came near him.

Abu al-Ḥasan al-Hujwīrī (d. 1079) identified three types of companionship that he considered inseparable and interconnected: (1) companionship with God, the awareness of God's presence at all times, which controlled and determined every detail of external behavior; (2) companionship with one's own self, which dictated the avoidance in one's own company of all that was improper in the company of others and unbecoming in the presence of God; and (3) companionship with fellow creatures. Operating within such a comprehensive concept of *ṣuḥbah*, mystical writings include the totality of a mystic's life—prayers and penitence, travels, sojourns in hospices, dealing with fellow mystics, relations with kin and friends, methods of earning a livelihood, marriage or celibacy—as aspects of that person's *ṣuḥbah.* As such, the principles of *ṣuḥbah* came to determine mystical actions in all their details, and many brochures and treatises were written on the subject. Notable works include al-Junayd's *Taṣḥīḥ al-irādah* (The rectification of discipleship), Aḥmad ibn Khadrūyah Balkhī's *Al-riʿāyah bi-ḥuqūq Allāh* (The observance of what is due to God), and Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī Tirmidhī's *Ādāb al-murīdīn* (Rules of conduct for disciples). Al-Sulamī's *Kitāb ādāb al-ṣuḥbah* (Book on the rules of company), al-Qushayrī's *Risālah* (Epistle), al-Hujwīrī's *Kashf al-maḥjūb* (The unveiling of the veiled), and Abu al-Najīb Suhrawardī's *Ādāb al-murīdīn* neatly consolidate all the information available in earlier works.

In the initial stages of mystical development in Islam, the term *ṣuḥbah* was used in a limited sense to mean the company of the mystic teacher only; elaborate rules of residence and discipline were developed later. When Sufism came out of its first phase, designated by Reynold A. Nicholson as "the period of the Quietists," the value of companionship was emphasized and seclusion was considered of little significance in the building up of a spiritual personality. In mystical discipline, companionship and seclusion were paired as complements and supplements to each other. Shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Nūri (d. 907) remarked: "Beware of secluson for it is connected with Satan, and cleave to companionship for therein is the satisfaction of the merciful God." Among the eleven veils that have to be lifted before gnosis can be attained, Al-Hujwīrī considered companionship the ninth. Meticulous care in the performance of duties pertaining to *ṣuḥbah* could lift this veil and make gnosis possible.

Islamic mysticism, particularly before the organization of the Ṣūfī orders (*ṭuruq;* sg., *ṭarīqah*), considered travel an essential part of mystical discipline. The rules of *ṣuḥbah* therefore deal with both residents (Pers., *muqīmān*) and travelers (Pers., *musāfirān*). Regarding those who undertook travel as part of their spiritual training, rules were laid down about articles they took along, people with whom they could keep company, places where they could stay, and the way they had to conduct themselves while staying in a mosque, in a Ṣūfī center, or in an educational institution (*madrasah*). The main principle governing behavior in all these spheres was that a mystic did not forget God while involved in any of these activities and could utilize travel as a means for breaking undue attachment to material assets and family, for learning to live with complete resignation to the will of God, and for trying to develop a spirit of adjustment to different conditions of life and company.

Life within the Ṣūfī centers is similarly defined by elaborate rules of *ṣuḥbah.* Residents had to share responsibility for running the center; travelers were treated as guests for three days but after that they too were obliged to do some work to lighten the burden of the permanent residents. The Ṣūfī centers that provided facilities for *ṣuḥbah* were of different types: *khānagāh*s where separate accommodation was generally provided for all inmates; *jamāʿat-khānah*s, where all lived a communal life under one roof and slept on the ground; *zāwiyah*s and *dāʾirah*s, smaller institutions where persons of one affiliation lived in order to devote their time to meditation. Mystics following different masters laid down principles of *ṣuḥbah* according to the basic teachings of the order to which they belonged, but the *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī (d. 1234) was generally accepted as the model on which *khānagāh* life could be organized and the basic objectives of *ṣuḥbah* achieved.

See Also Khānagāh.

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SUHRAWARDĪ, SHIHĀB AL-DĪN YAḤYĀ.

Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā ibn Ḥabash ibn Amīrak Abū al-Futūḥ Suhrawardī (AH 549–587/1170–1208 CE) was born in a village near Zanjan, a northern Iranian city. He began his studies at an early age when he went to the city of Maragheh to study philosophy with Majd al-Dīn al-Jīlī, and then traveled to Iṣfahān, where he pursued his advanced studies in philosophy and *al-Baṣāʾir* (The observations) of ʿUmar ibn Salān al-Sāwī with Ẓāhir al-Dīn al-Fārsī.

Suhrawardī traveled to Anatolia and Syria, where he met Malik Ẓāhir, son of the famous Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ayyūbī, in Aleppo in 1200. Suhrawardī's openness to other religious traditions, especially Zoroastrianism, as well as his keen intelligence and esoteric orientation, antagonized the orthodox jurists at Malik Ẓāhir's court, who declared Suhrawardī to be a heretic. They asked Malik Ẓāhir to put Suhrawardī to death, and when he refused they signed a petition and sent it to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ayyūbī, who ordered his son to have Suhrawardī killed. Malik Ẓāhir reluctantly carried out his father's order and Suhrawardī was killed in 1208. For this reason he has received the title *al-Maqtūl* (the Martyr).

Not much is known about Suhrawardī. It is said that he lived somewhat of a monastic life and shied away from people. One day he would dress in court style and the very next day as a wandering dervish. Suhrawardī lived at a time when the influence and power of the rationalist theologians (Muʿtazilites) had been substantially curtailed by the more faith-based Ashʿarites. While the debate among the advocates of intellectual sciences continued, philosophical and theological schools were also challenged by the mystics of Islam, the Ṣūfīs. At the center of these controversies stood Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā) with his powerful philosophical paradigm. Avicenna's philosophy by Suhrawardī's time had lent itself to different interpretations, and this brought about a number of schools that were essentially Avicennian, though each emphasized different aspects of his ideas.

First, there was the purely Aristotelian aspect of Avicenna's philosophy. Next, there were exponents of theology (*kalām*) who found Avicenna's logic and metaphysics to be a useful means of analysis and therefore adopted them. Finally, there was the mystical aspect of Avicenna, which received less attention than his rationalistic writings. In these types of writings, such as *Ḥay ibn Yaqẓān* and the final chapter of the *Ishārāt*, the mystical and Neoplatonic aspects of Avicenna's philosophy are most apparent. Suhrawardī was well aware of such writings. For example, in his *al-Ghurba al-gharbiyah* (The occidental exile) he continues Avicenna's story using some of the same metaphors.

Suhrawardī's project was to bring about a rapprochement between rationalism, mysticism, and intellectual intuition within one single philosophical paradigm and to bridge the deep division between different schools in the Islamic intellectual tradition. He called his school of thought *al-ḥikmah al-ilahiyyah* (transcendental philosophy) or *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* (philosophy of illumination), and it is for this reason he has been called "Shaykh al-ishrāq" (Master of Illumination). Suhrawardī argued that the application of reason as a means of discovering the truth is limited, and that one has to rely on an experiential wisdom to comprehend the truth completely. In a mystical state, Suhrawardī compared his findings through logic and discursive reasoning to his mystical vision; he accepted those that corresponded with one another, and others he rejected. For Suhrawardī, reason, mystical experience, and intellectual intuition are ultimately reconcilable.

Suhrawardī's writings are diverse (i.e., Peripatetic, mystical, and illuminationist [*ishrāqī*]). They include his four large treatises that are of doctrinal nature: *al-Talwiḥāt* (The book of intimation), *al-Muqawamāt* (The book of opposites), *al-Muṭāraḥāt* (The book of conversations), and finally *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* (The philosophy of illumination), which is his magnum opus. The first three of these works are written in the tradition of the Peripatetics, with commentaries and criticism of certain Aristotelian concepts, such as the epistemic function of definition.

There are shorter works, some of them written in Arabic and some in Persian. These works are also of a doctrinal nature and should be regarded as further explanations of the larger doctrinal treatises. They are: *Hayākil al-nūr* (Luminous bodies), *Alwāḥ ʿimādiyah* (Tablets of ʿImād al-Dīn), *Partaw nāmah* (Treatise on illumination), *Iʿtiqād fī -al-ḥukamāʾ* (On the faith of the hakims), *al-Lamaḥāt* (The flashes of light), *Yazdān shinākht* (Knowledge of the divine), and *Bustān al-qulūb* (The garden of the heart).

Suhrawardī wrote a number of treatises of an esoteric nature in Persian. These initiatory narratives contain highly symbolic language and incorporate Zoroastrian and Hermetic symbols, as well as Islamic ones. These treatises include: *ʿAql-i surkh* (Red intellect), *Āwāz-i par-i Jibrāil* (Chant of the wing of Gabriel), *Qiṣṣat al-ghurba al-gharbiyah* (Story of the occidental exile), *Lughat-i murān* (Language of the termites), *Risālah fī ḥalāt al-ṭufūliyyah* (Treatise on the state of childhood), *Rūzī bā jamāʿat-i Ṣufiyān* (A Day among the Ṣūfīs), *Ṣafir-i simūrg* (The Sound of the griffin), *Risālah fi -al-miʿrāj* (Treatise on the nocturnal ascent), and *Partaw nāmah* (Treatise on illumination). These treatises are intended to demonstrate the journey of the soul toward unity with God and the inherent yearning of humans toward gnosis (*maʿrifah*).

There are also a number of treatises of a philosophic and initiatic nature. These include his translation of *Risālat al-ṭaīr* (Treatise of the birds) of Avicenna and the commentary in Persian on Avicenna's *Ishārāt wa-al-tanbihāt*. There is also his treatise *Risālah fī ḥaqīqat al-ʿishq* (Treatise on the reality of love), which is based on Avicenna's *Risālah fi-al-ʿishq* (Treatise on love) and his commentaries on verses of the *Qurʾān* and the *ḥadīth*. Also, it is said that Suhrawardī may have written a commentary upon the *Fuṣūṣ* of al-Fārābi, which has been lost. Finally, there is the category of his liturgical writings, *al-Waridāt wa-al-taqdisāt* (Invocations and prayers), which consists of prayers, invocations, and litanies.

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SUICIDE.

SUICIDE. The topic of religiously motivated suicide is a complex one. Several of the major religious traditions reject suicide as a religiously justifiable act but commend martyrdom; among them are Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. These religions distinguish between actively willing to end one's life in suicide and passively accepting one's death as the divine will by means of martyrdom at the hands of another. Nonetheless, the actions of some of the early Christian martyrs and the deaths of the Jews at Masada in 74 CE blur this distinction.

In contrast to religiously motivated suicide one may speak of heroic and altruistic suicide, the act of a person who decides that he or she has an ethical responsibility to die for the sake of community or honor. One must also differentiate between religiously motivated suicide and suicide that may be virtually forced upon an individual by the norms of society and may constitute either a duty or a punishment. One thinks of *satī*, widow burning in India, and of *seppuku*, self-disembowelment, when it occurred as a punishment in Japan. In these cases too, however, no simple distinction holds true. *Satī* became an accepted practice within medieval Hinduism, upheld by the brahmans, and accounts indicate that even into modern times it was often a voluntary practice. By her self-sacrifice the widow both achieved an honored status for herself and atoned for the sins and misdeeds of herself and her husband. *Seppuku* was often the voluntary last act of a defeated warrior who chose to demonstrate both his fealty to his lord and his mastery over himself.

Like the major Western traditions, both Buddhism and Confucianism condemn suicide, but there are examples of self-immolation by Buddhist monks and of the seeking of honorable death by Confucian gentlemen. In contrast to these traditions, Jainism regards favorably the practice of *sallekhana*, by which a Jain monk or layperson at the end of his lifetime or at the onset of serious illness attains death by gradual starvation.

These few examples demonstrate the complexity of the topic of religiously motivated suicide and the difficulty in distinguishing it from martyrdom or sacrifice, on the one hand, and from heroic or altruistic suicide, on the other. In addition, the occurrence in 1978 of the mass suicides at Jonestown, Guyana, raises the question of the relation between religious motivations for suicide and general fear of persecution, combined with mass paranoia. This question applies equally well to the mass suicide of Jews faced with persecution in York, England, in 1190 and to the mass suicides of Old Believers in Russia in the late seventeenth century.

On the whole, what may be termed religiously motivated suicides constitute but a small proportion of the total number of suicides. In his classic work *Le suicide,* Émile Durkheim discussed the social causes for egoistic, altruistic, and anomic suicides. His work and that of many other scholars demonstrate that suicide has most often occurred for reasons other than religious ones. These include the desire to avoid shame, to effect revenge, to demonstrate one's disappointment in love, and to escape senility and the infirmities of old age. Suicide as a means of avoiding shame and upholding one's honor was considered a creditable act in societies as different as those on the Melanesian island of Tikopia, among the Plains and Kwakiutl Indians of North America, and in ancient Rome.

Scholars have argued that the incidence of and attitude toward suicide are largely dependent on the individual's and society's view of the afterlife. Where death is perceived as a happy existence, scholars such as Jacques Choron believe, there is an inducement to suicide. In the first known document that apparently reflects on suicide, the Egyptian text entitled *The Dialogue of a Misanthrope with His Own Soul*, death is seen as attractive because it will lead to another and better existence. The tendency toward suicide is strengthened when suicide is regarded either as a neutral act or as one worthy of reward. Suicide rates also increase when this life is regarded as no longer acceptable or worthwhile. For example, Jim Jones, the founder of the Peoples' Temple, urged his followers in Guyana to commit suicide in order to enter directly into a new and better world, where they would be free of persecution and would enjoy the rewards of the elect. In the Jonestown community, suicide on a mass scale was appreciated as a religiously justifiable act that would be rewarded in the afterlife.

ANCIENT GREEK AND ROMAN CIVILIZATION. While the ancient Greek writers and philosophers did not consider suicide an action that would lead to a better existence, they did see it as an appropriate response to certain circumstances. The fact that Jocasta, the mother of Oedipus, chose to commit suicide upon learning of her incestuous relationship with her son was understood and appreciated by the ancients as an appropriate response to a disastrous situation. Heroic suicide in the face of a superior enemy and the choice of death to avoid dishonor or the agony of a lengthy terminal illness were accepted as justifiable actions. Through the voice of Socrates, Plato in his *Phaedo* did much to form the classical attitude toward suicide. Socrates himself chose to drink the hemlock, but he also affirmed the Orphic notions that humans are placed in a prison from which they may not release themselves and that they are a possession of the gods. The decision to commit suicide is thus an act against the gods, depriving them of their prerogative to end or to sustain human life. The key word for both Plato and Socrates is *necessity.* A person may appropriately end his life only when the gods send the necessity to do so upon him, as in fact they did to Socrates. Plato's disciple, Aristotle, argued even more strongly against suicide. He regarded it as an offense against the state, since by such an act a person fails to perform his obligations as a citizen. Thus it became a social outrage—a view that has continued to dominate thought in the West until the most recent times.

Whereas the Pythagoreans and Epicureans opposed suicide, the Stoics regarded it favorably under certain circumstances. The Stoic was obliged to make a decision that properly addressed the demands of the situation; at times the decision might be to commit suicide. Both Zeno and his successor, Cleanthes, are reported to have done so.

Heroic suicide and suicide to avoid dishonor or suffering became frequent within the society of the Roman empire. Seneca, in particular, moved beyond the insistence on a divine call or necessity for suicide to the assertion that suicide at the appropriate time is a basic individual right. For Seneca, the central issue was freedom, and he affirmed that the divine had offered humankind a number of exits from life; he himself chose to exercise the right to suicide. His successor, Epictetus, placed more limits on suicide, stressing again the belief that one must wait for the divine command before acting: The suffering that is a normal part of daily life for much of humanity does not of itself constitute a sufficient reason for suicide—although exceptional pain and suffering offer justifiable cause. For Epictetus, Socrates was the best model and guide in deciding when one might legitimately choose to end one's life.

JUDAISM. Whereas suicide was at the very least tolerated, and often applauded, among the ancient Greeks and Romans, the Hebrew people disapproved of it. Judaism draws a clear distinction between suicide, which it defines as self-murder, and martyrdom, which it defines as death on behalf of one's faith and religious convictions. Nonetheless, the Hebrew scriptures, which contain few references to dying by one's own hand, do describe several instances of heroic suicide. The king Abimelech, gravely wounded by a woman, called upon his armor-bearer to kill him (*Jgs.* 9:52–54). Although he did not literally kill himself, his command to his aide may be regarded as effecting what he could not perform himself, so that he might not die in dishonor. The death of Samson (*Jgs.* 16:28–31) may certainly be judged a heroic suicide, since by his act he brought about the demise of a large number of the enemy Philistines. The gravely injured Saul fell upon his own sword in order to avoid a disgraceful death at the hands of his enemies (*1 Sm.* 31:4), and his armor-bearer, who had failed his master's request to kill him, then fell upon his own sword. The death of Ahithophel, the counselor to David and then to David's son Absalom, would appear to be a suicide motivated by disgrace. When Absalom refused to follow the advice Ahithophel gave him regarding his battle with David, Ahithophel returned home, set his affairs in order, and hanged himself (*2 Sm.* 17:23). The last suicide recorded in the Hebrew scriptures, the death of the king Zimri, occurred because of the loss of a decisive battle (*1 Kgs.* 16:18).

Although Hebrew scriptures do not explicitly forbid suicide, the Judaic tradition came to prohibit it, partly in the belief that God alone gives life and takes it away, and partly on the basis of the sixth commandment, which forbids unjustified homicide. However, rabbinic law regards persons committing suicide as most frequently being of unsound mind and thus not responsible for their actions. Under these circumstances, they may still receive normal Jewish burial rites. Furthermore, suicides committed under duress, as for example to avoid murder, idolatry, or adultery, were considered blameless and indeed even praiseworthy. The mass suicide at Masada in 74 CE and other mass suicides in Europe during the Middle Ages were considered in this light.

Concerning Masada, the historian Josephus Flavius recounts, on the basis of the report of a few survivors, that on the eve of the Roman assault on that hill the leader of the vastly outnumbered Jewish resistance, Elʿazar ben Yaʾir, called the community together and reminded them of their vow not to become the slaves of the Romans. That night many of the soldiers killed their families and committed suicide. Others drew lots to decide who would kill his fellows and then die by his own hand. It is impossible to say how many of the more than nine hundred defenders allowed themselves to be killed and how many ended their lives by suicide. In spite of the Jewish prohibition against suicide, Masada came to be regarded as a heroic sacrifice, and it remains a living symbol of a people's response to oppression.

Although accounts of individual suicide within Judaism are rare, there are examples of mass suicides during times of persecution. During the First Crusade, in 1096, Jews who had obtained sanctuary in the bishop's castle at Worms chose mass suicide over baptism; similar instances of suicide to avoid baptism occurred in various Rhineland towns, such as Mayence, and in York, England, where in 1190 some 150 Jews set fire to the building in which they had sought safety and then consigned themselves to the flames. Yet other instances of mass suicide occurred during the Black Death, when popular superstition blamed the outbreak of the plague on the Jews. Although abuse and persecution were certainly major motivating factors during the periods of the Crusades and the Black Death, these mass or multiple suicides appear to have arisen from a deep religious desire to remain true to the faith. They point again to the difficulty in distinguishing between, on the one hand, suicides motivated by fear of persecution and, on the other, suicides motivated by religious convictions and ideals, deaths that in the latter case the tradition judges to be acts of martyrdom. Certainly the deaths at Masada must be regarded as both faithful obedience to religious affiliation and identity and the culmination of a desire to give the Jews' enemies a hollow victory.

CHRISTIANITY. Christianity repudiates suicide on much the same biblical grounds as does Judaism. The only suicide recorded in the New Testament is that of Jesus' betrayer, Judas Iscariot; it is described in such a way as to indicate that it was a sign of repentance for his deed (*Mt.* 27:3–5). The church father Tertullian referred even to Jesus' death as voluntary—a description approximating that of suicide, since clearly a divine being controls his own life. In his book *Conversion* (1962), Arthur Darby Nock points to the "theatricality" present in some of the actions of the early martyrs, as in "the frequent tendency of Christians in times of persecution to force themselves on the notice of the magistrates by tearing down images or by other demonstrations" (p. 197). Bishop Ignatius of Antioch, writing to his fellow Christians in Rome, pleaded that they do nothing to hinder his martyrdom but allow him to be consumed entirely by the beasts. But whereas Tertullian asserted that only martyrs would reach paradise before the Parousia, Clement of Alexandria sought to stem the tide of those rushing to martyrdom by differentiating between self-motivated suicide and genuine martyrdom for the faith.

In his *City of God,* which appeared in 428 CE, the church father Augustine wrote against suicide in a way that became determinative for the tradition. He discussed various situations in which a Christian might find himself or herself, and concluded that suicide is not a legitimate act even in such desperate circumstances as those of a virgin seeking to protect her virtue. Augustine argued that suicide is a form of homicide, and thus prohibited by the sixth commandment; that a suicide committed in order to avoid sin is in reality the commission of a greater sin to avoid a lesser; and that one who commits suicide forfeits the possibility of repentance. Subsequent church councils, as well as such eminent theologians as Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century, sided with Augustine. Suicide, in contrast to martyrdom, came to be regarded as both a sin and a crime. Dante placed suicides in the seventh circle of the inferno in his *Divine Comedy,* and popular opinion throughout Christian Europe regarded suicides in the same light as witches and warlocks. Indeed, their corpses were treated in a similar manner: Suicides were frequently buried at crossroads with stakes driven through their hearts to prevent their ghosts from causing harm. The last recorded instance of such a burial in England occurred in 1823, and the law mandating confiscation of the property of a convicted suicide remained on the books until 1870.

In spite of ecclesiastical censure, religious impulse did lead to suicides, sometimes on a mass scale. Some thirteenth-century Cathari or Albigensians may have chosen suicide by starvation. Even more dramatic are the accounts of the Old Believers *(raskol'niki)* in late-seventeenth-century Russia who chose death by fire over obedience to liturgical changes introduced by the archbishop Nikon, with the subsequent backing of the tsars. According to tradition, on several occasions one to two thousand people who had been besieged by government troops, as at Paleostrovskii monastery in 1688, locked themselves within chapels or monasteries and burned them to the ground, consigning their own bodies to the flames.

Although martyrdom as a testimony to one's faith continues to be honored within Christianity, suicide as an individual act undertaken for nonreligious motives is regarded as a sin, and until recently it was regarded as a crime unless done in ignorance of its implications or in a state of lunacy. Few Christian theologians and philosophers challenged this view. John Donne, who served as dean of Saint Paul's in London, was a notable exception. In his book *Biathanatos,* written in 1608 but not published until 1644, Donne challenged the Augustinian belief that suicides cannot repent; he argued that a totally negative attitude toward suicide places limitations on the mercy and charity of God. New attitudes toward suicide were subsequently expounded by a variety of philosophers such as David Hume, who argued that suicide is not a crime. However, although the Christian attitude toward suicide may now be characterized as more compassionate than during earlier periods, the act of suicide, in contrast to martyrdom, continues to be regarded as a serious sin.

ISLAM. Islam joined Judaism and Christianity in prohibiting suicide (*intiḥār*) while glorifying those who die the death of a martyr *(shahīd)* or witness to the faith. While scholars debate whether or not the Qurʾān itself specifically forbids suicide, they agree that the *ḥadīth,* the traditions that preserve the words of the Prophet on a wide variety of issues, prohibit suicide. According to these sources, Muḥammad proclaimed that a person who commits suicide will be denied Paradise and will spend his time in Hell repeating the deed by which he had ended his life. By the tradition's own standards, religiously motivated suicide is an impossibility, since the taking of one's own life is both a sin and a crime. Nonetheless, as with Judaism and Christianity, the line between suicide and martyrdom is not clear. Since it is believed that the Muslim martyr who dies in defense of the faith is rewarded with immediate entrance into Paradise, where he or she will enjoy great pleasures and rewards, it would not be surprising if some Muslims readily participated in battles even when badly outnumbered, in the hope that they might die while fighting.

Within Islam the Shīʿī sect emphasizes the self-sacrifice and suffering of its imams, the successors to Muḥammad. The death of Ḥusayn, the grandson of the Prophet, and the third imam, was regarded by his followers as an act of voluntary self-sacrifice that could be termed a religiously motivated death. Although he died on the battlefield, his death was subsequently interpreted as a goal he both desired and actively sought; the passion play enacted as the climax of ʿĀshūrāʾ (tenth of Muḥarram) depicts his death as actively willed. In a translation of this play (*Muhammedan Festivals,* edited by G. E. von Grunebaum, New York, 1951) Husayn says: "Dear Grandfather [Muḥammad], I abhor life; I would rather go visit my dear ones in the next world" (p. 92). Within Shiism, and the Ismāʿīlī sect, Ḥasan-i Sabbāḥ in the twelfth century formed the order of the Assassins, which was devoted to establishing its own religious and governmental autonomy, in part by killing both Crusaders and Sunnī Muslims. The death of a member of this order was regarded not as a suicide, even when his mission had been one almost certain to result in his death, but rather as a glorious martyrdom that would earn him both the veneration of society and the delights of Paradise. The tradition cites many accounts of a mother who rejoiced on hearing of the death of her son, only to put on mourning clothes when she learned subsequently that he had not died and thus had not attained the glorious state of martyrdom.

HINDUISM AND JAINISM. In discussing Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, this article has pointed to the close relationship between suicide and martyrdom and the difficulty frequently encountered in distinguishing between them. Regarding the religions of the East, the difficult issue is the relation between suicide and sacrifice. In Hinduism, the Brāhmaṇas laid the foundation for religiously motivated suicide by declaring that the fullest and most genuine sacrifice is that of the individual's self. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* outlines the procedure by which one renounces the world, forsaking one's belongings and departing into the forest. Certainly Hinduism affirms that suicide must be a thoughtful decision—as in the resolve of a person to end the sufferings of old age—or that it must be a religiously motivated act. One Upaniṣad condemns those who attempt suicide without having attained the necessary degree of enlightenment. The Dharmasūtras firmly prohibit any suicide other than one religiously motivated. In ancient and medieval Hinduism a number of methods of committing suicide were regarded favorably, such as drowning oneself in the Ganges, jumping from a cliff, burning oneself, burying oneself in snow, or starving oneself to death. Various places of pilgrimage, such as Prayāga (present-day Allahabad) or Banaras, were seen as particularly auspicious places for ending one's life.

Two types of suicide in Hinduism, very different in form and intention, are worthy of special examination. The first is the death by suicide of the enlightened person, the world renouncer. Such a person, in his or her quest for release from *saṃsāra,* has been devoted to increasingly difficult acts of penance and to a thorough study of the Upaniṣads. Once this person has attained the goal of freedom from all desires, he or she may begin the great journey in the direction of the northeast, consuming nothing other than air and water. According to the lawgiver Manu, a brahman might also follow this procedure when beginning to be overcome by a serious illness.

The second form of suicide in Hinduism that deserves special attention is *satī,* widow burning. It appears to have been a form of suicide motivated by both social and religious considerations. Although the custom is not unique to India, it nonetheless was practiced there most frequently and over the longest period of time. The practice may go back as far as the fourth century BCE, but it began to grow in popularity only after about 400 CE. According to Upendra Thakur in his study *The History of Suicide in India,* "*satī* in its latest forms was a mediaeval growth though it had its germs in ancient customs and rituals" (1963, p. 141). The practice of *satī* might take one of two forms. In one, *sahamaraṇa,* the woman ascended the funeral pyre and was burned alongside the corpse of her husband. In the second, *anumaraṇa,* when the wife learned that her husband had died and his body had already been cremated, she would ascend the pyre and die alongside his ashes, or with some belonging of his. Certainly, at least in some cases, *satī* was motivated by genuine feelings of grief and affection on the part of the widow. Although the practice remained voluntary, in some areas social pressure may have made *satī* more the rule than the exception. No doubt the practice also gained popularity because the life of a widow was both lonely and degrading. On the other hand, the blessing or curse of a woman on her way to perform *satī* was believed to be very powerful, and her act of sacrifice was believed to purify both herself and her husband. Thus, although the act of *satī* may not always have been religiously motivated, it did have its religious reward. The British, during their rule of India, made a determined effort to abolish the practice, finally outlawing it as homicide in 1829.

Perhaps the tradition that most explicitly condones religiously motivated suicide is Jainism. Following the teaching of their saint Mahavira, who lived in the sixth century BCE, the Jain monk and the Jain layperson lead, in differing degrees, a rigorously ascetic life in order to attain liberation and to free the soul from karma. Members of the laity as well as monks are encouraged to practice *sallekhanā* (austere penance), in order to attain a holy death through meditation. Jains believe it is their duty to prevent disease or the infirmities of old age from undermining the spiritual progress they have attained through asceticism and meditation. Jainism prescribes strict rules for when *sallekhanā* is appropriate. As Padmanabh S. Jaini indicated in his book *The Jaina Path of Purification,* Jainism distinguishes between impure suicide, by which the passions are increased, and pure suicide, the holy death attained with "inner peace or dispassionate mindfulness" (Jaini, 1979, p. 229). *Sallekhanā* involves gradual fasting, often under the supervision of a monastic teacher, until the stage is reached whereat the individual no longer consumes any food or drink and thus gradually attains death by starvation. Jains perceive *sallekhanā* to be the climax of a lifetime of spiritual struggle, ascetic practice, and meditation. It allows the individual to control his own destiny so that he will attain full liberation or at the very least reduce the number of future reincarnations that he will undergo.

BUDDHISM AND CONFUCIANISM. Turning to Buddhism and Confucianism, one finds that suicide is legislated against in both traditions, but that there are notable exceptions involving religiously motivated suicide. Gautama Buddha, in his personal search for salvation, deliberately chose against the practice of fasting unto death. Nonetheless, under certain extraordinary circumstances, Buddhists see religiously motivated suicide as an act of sacrifice and worship. Indications of this positive attitude toward suicide, or self-sacrifice, are found in some of the accounts of the Buddha's previous lives contained in the Jatakas (Birth Tales). The stories of the Buddha's previous lives as a hare *(Śaśa Jātaka)* and as a monkey *(Mahākapi Jātaka)* both describe suicide as an act of self-sacrifice to benefit another, and only in the story of the monkey does this act lead to death. Another famous account is that from the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa,* a Mahāyāna *sūtra,* which describes the suicide or sacrifice of the Buddha, during his life as the prince Mahāsattva, in order to feed a hungry tigress unable to care for herself. Following this model, Buddhism in its various forms affirms that, while suicide as self-sacrifice may be appropriate for the person who is an *arhat,* one who has attained enlightenment, it is still very much the exception to the rule.

Confucianism based its attitude toward suicide on another consideration, that of filial piety and obligation. The person who commits suicide robs his ancestors of the veneration and service due them and demonstrates his ingratitude to his parents for the gift of life. The duty of a gentleman is to guide his life according to *li,* the code or rules of propriety. In rare cases, suicide was required of the gentleman who failed to uphold these rules. In some instances a gentleman might commit suicide to protest improper government, since above all a gentleman was obliged to uphold the virtue of humaneness. Thus, in these unusual instances suicide was the correct way to demonstrate adherence to the precepts of Confucianism.

Although the Japanese tradition of *seppuku,* or *harakiri,* should be regarded in its voluntary form as heroic rather than as religiously motivated suicide, it nonetheless does contain certain religious elements. The standard by which all acts of *seppuku* (disembowelment) were judged was set by the heroic Minamoto Yorimasa during a desperate battle in 1180. While suicide was usually performed as an individual act by a noble warrior or *samurai,* there are examples in Japanese history of mass suicides, such as that of the forty-seven *ronin* who accepted the penalty of *seppuku* in order to avenge the death of their lord in 1703.

While Christian missionaries in Japan, from the time of the arrival of the first Jesuits, sought to prevent *seppuku,* the Zen Buddhist tradition continued to regard it as a form of honorable death. The selection of the *hara,* or belly, as the point at which the sword was plunged into the body reflected the belief that the abdomen is the place where one exercises control over one's breathing and is, indeed, the central point of self-discipline. More generally, as Ivan I. Morris states in his book *The Nobility of Failure,* the abdomen was considered in the Japanese tradition as "the locus of man's inner being, the place where his will, spirit, generosity, indignation, courage, and other cardinal qualities were concentrated" (Morris, 1975, p. 367). Thus, by committing oneself to the performance of *seppuku,* which became a clearly defined ritual, one demonstrated in this final act the greatest degree of self-control, discipline, and courage.

CONCLUSION. This article has focused directly on religiously motivated suicide. It has omitted references to suicide among elderly Inuit (Eskimo) and among young Tikopia islanders, to cite only two examples from a vast number of possibilities. In these cases, as in many others, although the suicides may be heroic or altruistic, they do not demonstrate a clear religious motivation. Suicides by reason of financial failure, or loss of honor or of a loved one, occur among the Kwakiutl and Iroquois Indians, as well as among Bantu-speaking peoples of Africa. Occurrences of suicide are not limited by geography or time, but of the many suicides that have taken place throughout the ages, only a small proportion can be judged to be religiously motivated.

The examples of religiously motivated suicide discussed here demonstrate the wide variety of forms and purposes that the act may take. Many of the examples, from both East and West, illustrate the difficulty in distinguishing between suicide that is religiously motivated and suicide that is motivated by heroism, altruism, or fear of persecution and suffering. The deaths at Jonestown in 1978 raise anew the problem of how to differentiate between religiously motivated suicide and suicide induced by paranoia and terror. There is no simple distinction between suicide and martyrdom, on the one hand, or between suicide and sacrifice, on the other. In formulating these distinctions and in evaluating the morality and religious value of certain acts that result in death, each person brings to bear his or her own religious and ethical values and tradition. Such personal judgment must, however, be conjoined with the awareness that what may be perceived by one observer as needless self-sacrifice or even self-murder may be judged by another as the noblest example of religiously motivated suicide in behalf of beliefs, values, or tradition.

SEE ALSO Martyrdom.

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SUKKOT is the Hebrew name for the Jewish autumnal festival, also called the Festival of Booths, or Tabernacles. Sukkot begins on the fifteenth day of the month of Tishri and lasts for seven days, followed by an eighth day called ʿAtseret (possibly meaning "assembly"; see *Lv.* 23:36, *Nm.* 29:35). (Outside Israel, ʿAtseret is observed also on the ninth day.) Thus, according to Jewish tradition, there are really two distinct but interconnected festivals: Sukkot proper and Shemini ʿAtseret ("eighth day of ʿAtseret"). The Sukkot rituals are carried out only on Sukkot proper; two are essential. The first is to dwell in booths or tabernacles (*sukkot;* sg. *sukkah*) as a reminder of the dwellings in which the Israelites lived at the time of the Exodus from Egypt (*Lv.* 23:33–44). The second is derived from the biblical verse regarding four plants: *lulav* (palm branch), *etrog* (citron), *ʿaravot* (willows), and *hadassim* (myrtles) (*Lv.* 23:40). It is traditionally understood that these four plants are to be ritually held in the hand. Sukkot, as the culmination of the three pilgrim festivals, is the season of special rejoicing (*Dt.* 16:13–17) and is referred to in the liturgy as "the season of our joy."

THE SUKKAH. The main symbol of the festival is a hut, having at least three walls, no roof, but covered with leaves or straw. During the seven days of the festival, all meals are eaten in the *sukkah.* Many Jews, especially those living in warm climates, sleep there as well. In addition to the biblical reason, medieval thinkers saw the command to dwell in the *sukkah,* a temporary dwelling, as a reminder to man of the transient nature of material possessions, and an exhortation that he should place his trust in God. According to the mystics, the *sukkah* is visited on each of the seven days by a different biblical hero—Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, Joseph, and David. It is the custom among many Jews to recite a welcoming formula to these guests (*ushpizin*) as if they were real persons visiting the *sukkah.*

THE FOUR SPECIES. The rite of the four plants consists in taking them in the hand during the synagogue service and waving them above and below and in the four directions of the compass. The stated reason is to dispel harmful "winds" and to acknowledge God as ruler over all. Various interpretations have been given of why it is commanded to take these four plants. For example, it has been said that they represent the human backbone, heart, eye, and mouth, all of which must be engaged in the worship of God. Moses Maimonides (1135/8–1204) treated these as homiletical interpretations and suggested as the true reason a means of thanksgiving to God for the harvest. The harvest motif is also observed in the custom of having a procession in the synagogue while holding the four plants on each day of Sukkot. During the procession the Hoshaʿnah ("save now") prayer for a good harvest in the year ahead is recited. On the seventh day there are seven processions, hence the name of the day, Hoshaʿnah Rabbah ("great Hoshaʿnah"). At the end of the service on this day, the ancient custom of beating bunches of willows on the ground follows. On Shemini ʿAtseret a special prayer for rain is recited. In a later development within Jewish tradition, Hoshaʿnah Rabbah is seen as setting the seal on the judgment made on Yom Kippur, so that the day is a day of judgment with prayers resembling those offered on Yom Kippur. There is a folk belief that if a person sees his or her shadow without a head on the night of Hoshaʿnah Rabbah, that person will die during the year.

SHEMINI ʿATSERET. The last day of the festival has acquired a new character from medieval times. The weekly Torah readings—from the beginning of *Genesis* to the end of *Deuteronomy*—are completed on this day and then immediately begun again, so that the day is both the end and the beginning of the annual cycle. The day is now called Simḥat Torah ("rejoicing of the Torah"). In the Diaspora, Simḥat Torah falls on the second day of Shemini ʿAtseret (23 Tishri). In Israel, Simḥat Torah coincides with the one-day celebration of Shemini ʿAtseret on 22 Tishri, the day also observed by Reform Jews, who no longer observe the additional second day of festivals traditionally observed by Diaspora Jews. The person who has the honor of completing the reading is called the "bridegroom" of the Torah, and the one who begins the reading again is the "bridegroom" of *Genesis.* On this joyful day the scrolls of the Torah are taken in procession around the synagogue, and the "bridegrooms" invite the congregation to a festive repast.

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SUMERIAN RELIGION SEE MESOPOTAMIAN RELIGIONS

SUN.

There can hardly be anyone on earth who has not been profoundly aware of the apparent progress of the sun across the heavens and who has not related to it, either personally or as a numinous force. The rising and setting of the sun provides one of the primal dichotomies, parallel to those between day and night, light and darkness, warmth and cold, life and death, *yang* and *yin.* Night is mysterious, dangerous, akin to the darkness of the womb. Daylight symbolizes renewed life, truth, logic. In modern thinking, the sun often stands for individual consciousness, and the moon (or night) for the unconscious, the ocean, or the feminine principle. In children's drawings, a happy scene includes a huge round sun with rays like hair. Unhappy and frustrated children produce an entirely black sky. Mentally disturbed patients often draw their own bodies as the sun's disk, complete with arms and legs like rays.

In classical poetry birth is described as "reaching the shores of light." In the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus, the conflict is between the fearsome Furies, avengers of the mother's blood, who constantly invoke the "dark mother," and the shining Apollo, revealer of truth and righteousness (and symbolic of paternal predominance). The west, where the sun sets, in most rituals represents death; the east, where the sun rises, life and birth. Even Neanderthal burials were oriented according to east and west. When a Greek priest faced north in sacrifices, the right hand, stretched toward the east, represented the fortunate side, the left, the "sinister."

In many primitive mythologies, the sun is an object tossed up or hung in the sky by mortals or trickster figures.

The Hopi Indians claim that they made their sun themselves, by throwing into the sky a shield made of buckskin together with a fox skin and a parrot's tail to make the colors of sunrise and sunset. The San of Africa believe that the sun was once a mortal who gave out light from his armpit. In order to make the light brighter, some children threw him into the sky, whereupon he became round and shines now for all humankind. Among the Tatars, the culture hero Porcupine took some fire on his sword and threw it up into the sky to make the sun. For the moon, he thrust his sword into the water; thus the sun is hot and the moon cool. The famous American Indian trickster Coyote is said to have sent the wolf to bring him fire to make the sun. In one of the Oceanic myths that describe life beginning inside a shell, the creator, Spider Woman, opened the shell and then threw up two snails to make the sun and moon. In Norse mythology the sun and moon are sparks from Muspelheim, the realm of fire. The gods, however, anthropomorphized them and set them to drive chariots across the sky.

In more sophisticated societies, the luminaries were set in the heavens by the high god. Sometimes, they represented his eyes. In ancient Egypt the sun was sometimes called the eye of Re; in northern Europe, the eye of Óðinn (Odin); in Oceania, the eye of Atea.

The creation myth of Mesopotamia, *Enuma elish,* relates how the conquering god Marduk, who had solar characteristics himself, "set up stations for the gods in the sky, determining the year by setting up the zones." According to the *Book of Genesis* "God made the two great lights, the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night. . . . And God set them in the firmament of the heavens to give light upon the earth, to rule over the day and over the night, and to separate the light from the darkness" (1:16–18). In Plato's great myth the *Timaeus,* "the Demiurge [the creator] lit a light which we now call the sun. . . to shine through the whole heaven and to enable the living creatures to gain a knowledge of numbers from the uniform movements. In this way there came into being night and day, the period of the single most intelligent revolution" (39c). Thus the Demiurge, having set out all the heavenly bodies, put them in motion and brought time into being.

More often, the sun is anthropomorphized, sometimes as a female but more frequently as a male. He crosses the sky by the appropriate means of locomotion. In ancient Sumeria, he walked. In ancient Egypt, he sailed in a boat like the ones on the Nile, in company with some of the other gods and the pharaoh. When the horse was domesticated, about the beginning of the second millennium BCE, the sun drove a chariot pulled by white or flaming horses. The horse, the sacred animal of the Indo-Europeans, was one of the animals most closely connected with the sun and was often sacrificed to it. Another creature associated with the sun was the bird—a falcon, raven, or eagle, or, of course, the fabulous phoenix, which dies and is born again from the fire every five thousand years. The wings of birds are attached to the sun's round form to produce the winged disk so common in solar iconography. In Africa and India the tiger and especially the lion are sun animals; in the Americas, the eagle and the jaguar. Leo is the zodiacal sign for the fiercest summer month; the lion is the royal animal on all the kingly architecture of the ancient Near East. The many representations of a lion attacking a bull may, some have surmised, reflect the heat of summer routing spring, represented in the zodiac by Taurus, the bull, or the paternal cult, attacking the female horned moon.

Eclipses of both sun and moon were experienced with great dread. The Tatars believed that an eclipse meant that the sun was attacked by a vampire who lived in a star. In Norse myth the sun was pursued by a supernatural wolf who will devour it when the world ends. The ancient Egyptians believed that a demon—the Chinese, a dragon—was attacking the sun. Some North American Indian tribes, on the other hand, believed that the sun and moon were eclipsed when they held their infants in their arms. In Tahiti it was believed that eclipses occurred when the sun and moon were mating.

Many devices were employed to "cure" eclipses, such as the beating of drums or the making of other loud noises or the shooting of arrows at the sun. "Snaring the sun" is one of the most widespread sun myths in Oceania and North America. This is one of the exploits of Maui, the Polynesian culture hero, for instance, who caught the sun and beat it so that it would not go so fast. It has been conjectured that stories of this kind are explanations for the solstices, when the sun is perceived to stand still for several days. The high cultures of the Inca and of Mesoamerican peoples were familiar with the stations of the sun, and the Pueblo measured sunrise points on the eastern horizon to divide the year. The Zuni used as a gnomon an erect slab with a solar effigy on top, and the sun temple at Cuzco, like Greek temples, was so oriented that the sun at the solstice would penetrate the shrine.

There seems to be no doubt that the impressive monument at Stonehenge in England was set up to mark the solstices and equinoxes as well as the stations of the moon. New carbon 14 readings indicate that Stonehenge is at least as old as the first pyramids, ruling out influence from the East on its construction. In view of the tremendous labor involved in moving and setting the megaliths, which occurred in three stages several centuries apart, there can hardly be any question that religious motivation was involved. Diodorus Siculus, writing in the first century BCE, described a "spherical temple to Apollo among the Hyperboreans," which may be a reference to Stonehenge as a great temple to the sun. Recent research has turned up other observatories in Scotland, the Orkneys, and even in Carnac in Brittany. Gold and bronze disks engraved with crosses and spirals, daggers and horse trappings with the same designs, and amber disks with gold rims, all contemporary with the last phase of Stonehenge, have been found in the British Isles and in Scandinavia. It is tempting to imagine a crowd of people, each carrying a sun amulet, waiting for the summer sunrise at Stonehenge.

A spectacular object confirming northern sun worship is the famous disk found in Trundholm in northern Zealand, plated with gold and decorated with circles and spirals; it is set on wheels and drawn by a bronze horse, probably one of a pair. In all the Scandinavian countries have been discovered objects and rock carvings decorated with disks, boats, and scenes of humans raising their arms to a disk. Sometimes there are men in the shape of disks, carrying weapons. These have been interpreted as solar deities or mortals wearing the sun's emblem. The wheel, the boat, the cross in a circle, and the swastika (a moving wheel) can all be seen as sun symbols.

The summer solstice in northern Europe today is marked by bonfires and the rolling downhill of flaming wheels, as it was no doubt millennia ago. The winter solstice is a time to encourage the sun to grow again, represented by the burning of the Yule log, the Ḥanukkah light, and the lighted candles of Saint Lucy in Sweden. The boar's head at the Christmas feast represents the old year, or the old sun, and the suckling pig with the apple of immortality in its mouth is the new sun.

It was the tendency of nineteenth-century scholars to search for a single key to the understanding of all mythology. One of the most popular of these keys was the concept of the sun hero, a ubiquitous figure who was either the sun itself or an offspring of the sun. It has become clear over the years that all myths cannot be traced to one source. Yet there are some elements of myth that do seem to have solar references in common, perhaps formulated by the ancients at the time when astral religion invaded the Mediterranean world. It has been pointed out (by Joseph Campbell, for instance, in *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*) that in most myths heroes have one divine parent and that they wander about on the earth and make at least one trip to the underworld. Also, most myths describe a wandering sun, which goes under or behind the earth at night, and in most myths the divine parent is perceived as a sun figure. One instance is the Greek Perseus, whose mother, an underground divinity, was impregnated by a shower of gold, the sun's metal. Another is the Irish Cú Chulainn, who is explicitly a son of Lugh Lamfhada, "Lugh of the long hands," an epithet that is reminiscent of the long rays that end in human hands pictured at Amarna in Egypt. Lugh was a god of brightness and the sky and, like Apollo, master of all crafts. He fought at the mythical battle of Moytura, where he vanquished his grandfather, the giant Balor, who had one eye in the middle of his forehead, like the cyclopes, who were also sun figures. The Welsh counterpart of Lugh is Lleu Llaw Gyffes, or Lludd. Lludd had a temple at Lydney in England near the Severn where he is portrayed, perhaps through Roman influence, as a young man with a solar halo driving a chariot. The Samson of *Genesis,* a mighty and short-tempered Herakles figure, has a name derived from the Hebrew word for "sun." Samson's fight with a lion, and his birth, which is connected with a supernatural figure who vanishes in flames, seem to point to other solar connections.

Homer's Odysseus has been interpreted as a sun figure, since he wanders for nine years, which is the period the Greeks used to correlate solar and lunar calendars. He finally reaches his Penelope, who weaves by day and unravels by night. Most replete with sun details, however, is the story of Herakles, son of the sky god Zeus, who wanders the earth to perform his deeds, returns unhurt from the underworld, dies in a fire, and is taken up to heaven. He not only lives on in heaven but also has a shade who lives on in the underworld. Herakles' labors were perhaps limited to twelve (although others have been recorded) in order to fit them into the zodiac.

As an all-seeing eye who travels the world, the sun acquired the character of a spy for the gods and therefore a stern judge of humankind. When the heavenly bodies began to be seen as parts of a well-ordered and consistent system, more pure and dependable than that of the old gods, the sun, an obvious leader in the sky, took his place as a symbol of the newly emerging royal power. Thus, organized cults of the sun are strongest in the great civilizations, which were often kingships. A new sense of power and organization, as well as a new sense of justice, found its central source in kingship, just as the harmony of the heavens was centered in the sun. "It is a remarkable coincidence," writes Jacquetta Hawkes, "that a discovery and an invention attendant on the creation of Bronze Age civilization came just in time to provide symbols of the sun gods and their temples. These were gold and the wheel" (Hawkes, 1962, p. 73). Since its discovery, gold has been the royal metal, as well as the sun's. The sun royal was adopted by all kings but never so completely as by the Sun King, Louis XIV (r. 1643–1715). Elizabeth II of England at her coronation in 1952 wore a golden gown under her robe, and her archbishop prayed that her throne "may stand fast in righteousness forevermore, like the sun before her and as the faithful witness in heaven." One must thus look to the high civilizations and imperial kingships to find the most highly developed cults of the sun.

ANCIENT EGYPT. Very early in its history, somewhere in the fourth millennium BCE, Egyptians broke away from a moon calendar and organized time around the heliacal rising of the star Sirius, which occurs about July 19. This date coincided with the yearly inundation of the Nile, the most important period in the agricultural life of a country that has no rainfall and no seasons. From that time on the year was divided into twelve months of thirty days each, with a five-day intracalendrical period. Whether or not this arrangement affected the religious life of the Egyptians, as some have argued, the sun in various aspects became the dominant figure in Egyptian religious life, combining with, and in some cases supplanting, other deities.

One of the earliest manifestations of the sun was the falcon god Horus, who appears on the famous palette of Narmer, the unifier of the two lands that became Egypt. Horus was probably an ancient sky god, seen as a soaring bird who was manifest in the sun itself; he was known as Re-Harakhty, the god of the horizon, or sunrise. He was at first the son of the sky goddess Hathor (in Egypt the sky is female and the earth male). Later, as the tendency to group the important gods into families developed, he was known as the son of Osiris, the god of fertility and the underworld. Osiris' sister-wife, Isis, mourns for her dead husband and secretly raises their son Horus to do battle with Osiris' murderer, his brother Seth. In this family, the sun god, Re, was combined with an older creator god, Atum. In Heliopolis, a temple compound just north of modern Cairo near the old capitol of Memphis, a powerful priesthood built up the cult of Re-Atum, beginning at least in the fourth dynasty (2600 BCE). This is the period in which were built the first great pyramids, which pointed toward the sun. In the mythology developed at Heliopolis, the creator Re-Atum produced land from the surrounding waters. A mound in the temple was known as the Ben-Ben and was supposed to represent the semen of Re. Out of his own substances the creator god made sky and earth, air and water, and finally the four divinities: Osiris, Seth, and Isis and Nephthys, their wives.

The powerful priesthood at Heliopolis proclaimed the pharaoh the son of the Sun. It seems likely that the earlier pharaohs had themselves represented the Sun, and that they lost power under the growing influence of the priesthood. It was also possible for the priests to control the selection of the pharaoh's divine successor from among his offspring.

The history of ancient Egypt is neatly divided into the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms, with two intervening periods of anarchy. After the first intermediate period, a new royal house arose in the south, at Thebes. There, Re was combined with a local god, Atum, the "Hidden One," probably representing the air. This god flourished throughout the New Kingdom, when Egyptian power spread into Asia. The great temples at Karnak and Luxor testify to the power and enormous wealth of the sun cult.

The sun was usually pictured as sailing across the sky in a boat, with various attendants and sometimes with the pharaoh himself. At other times the sun is seen sailing up the leg and belly of the sky goddess, who bends over the earth or straddles it in the form of a cow. Or the sun was swallowed at night by the sky mother and is born each morning from between her thighs. The sun was symbolized by a falcon but more notably by the mythical phoenix, which alighted on the Ben-Ben every five hundred years, was consumed in fire, and rose again. Another important symbol of the sun was the scarab, the dung beetle Khepri, which supposedly created itself by rolling its eggs in balls of dung. The obelisks, as well as the gold-topped pyramids, point toward the sun. On the early squat obelisk of the fifth dynasty, the sun is pictured as creator of life and lord of the seasons.

In the reign of Amunhotep III (1417–1439 BCE), the actual disk of the sun, called the Aton, began to appear as a numinous symbol. It was the pharoah's son Amunhotep IV (1379–1362 BCE), however, who attempted, in one of the great religious revolutions of history, to convert the entire nation to monotheistic worship of the Aton as sole god. Whether he was religiously motivated or whether he wished to break the power of the enormously wealthy priesthood, he sought to abolish all other worship in favor of the Aton, the sun's disk. He changed his name to Akhenaton ("Aton is satisfied") and built a new capital at Amarna. In this city he supported a new school of art, which pictured him in naturalistic style with his beautiful wife Nefertiti and his five daughters, all under the brilliance of the sun, which reached down to earth with long rays ending in human hands. Akhenaton has left a well-known hymn to the Aton as creator of all the beauties of the world: "How manifold are your works. They are mysterious in men's sight, O sole incomparable god, all powerful. You created the earth in solitude as your heart desires. Men you created, and cattle, whatever is on earth." Akhenaton's revolution failed, and after his mysterious death the priesthood reclaimed their power, and a young man (probably his son-in-law) resumed the worship of Amun, adopting the name of Tut-Ankh-Amun (or Tutankhamen).

MESOPOTAMIA. In the land between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, where are found the earliest traces of urban living, writing, kingship, and an organized priesthood, the sun was at first subordinate to the moon. To the first recorded inhabitants, known as the Sumerians, the chief god was An, a sky god who had retired from active control and left the rule of the universe to his son, Enlil, the Air. A son of Enlil was the important moon god, Nanna, whose children were the Sun—Utu—and the Evening Star—Inanna. In Sumerian times, the regions were divided into a series of independent cities, each devoted to the worship of a patron god. Only two minor cities, Larsa and Sippar, worshiped Utu, the Sun.

The Semitic-speaking states that followed the Sumerians took over the religious organization they found, calling the moon Sin and the sun Shamash. In that dangerously torrid land, the sun was considered a baleful god. But since he traveled continually across the sky, he was considered a spy for the high gods and a stern judge of humankind. Travelers prayed to him before setting out on a journey, and armies before an expedition. He was thus a warrior god and leader of armies. In the quest of the hero Gilgamesh for the secret of immortality, it was the Sun who guided him on his journey. Originally the Sun walked across the heavens; in later times he rode a cart drawn by onagers, wild asses from the desert. Still later, the horse drew the Sun's chariot. The Sun in his chariot appeared in the morning at the eastern gate on the Mountain of Sunrise, in the evening arrived at the Mountain of Sunset, and then passed through to the underworld. Because of his appearance in the underworld, the Sun was sometimes pictured in company with Tammuz, the Mesopotamian dying god, who dies and is reborn. There was very little concern for judgment of the dead in Mesopotamia, and Shamash's character as judge was thus reserved for the upper world. At Ur, it was the Sun who punished a corrupt judge for taking bribes and oppressing the people.

Shamash was the god of oracles and was supposed to inscribe the signs that the diviners read in the intestines of sheep. Soothsayers claimed they were descended from a king of Sippar, who lived before the flood; the diviners were the most prestigious of the priests in that city of the Sun. From Assyrian times are preserved a number of questions asked of the Sun concerning the state and the royal family. The diviner read the answers in the entrails of dissected sheep. Probably a result of this activity was the Sun's power to control witches and demons.

Shamash was also invoked to heal the sick, free captives from bondage, and help women in labor. One prayer reads, "O Shamash, lofty judge . . . may the knot that impedes her delivery be loosed . . . may she bear. May she remain in life and walk in health before the godhead." The Sun, in other words, brings the unborn to light. He was also asked to deliver victims of spells, curses, and ghosts: "O Shamash, may I be strong and face the authors of my enchantment!"

The sun god is pictured as an old man with a long beard; sunbeams radiate from between his shoulder blades. He is seen sitting on a throne or sometimes on a horse. His special symbols are a four-pointed star in a disk with flames shooting out from between the points of the star and, of course, the winged disk, which was set above representations of royalty.

The study of heavenly bodies, conducted in Mesopotamia from at least 2000 BCE, led to a belief in an ordered universe and in the important position of the sun among the planets. Thus, with the rise of centralized imperial power in Assyria and Babylonia, the sun came into prominence as a symbol of royal power. The lawgiver Hammurabi (c. 1750 BCE) calls Shamash "great judge of heaven and earth" and proclaims that it was from Shamash that he received his laws. The sun god is seen seated on a throne, handing Hammurabi a ring and a staff. The sun temple at Babylon was known as "the house of the judge of the world."

Warlike Assyrians claimed Shamash as a great god of battles, almost the same as their own Ashur. Assyrian kings called themselves "suns of the world." Marduk, hero of the New Year festival at Babylon and a grandson of the high gods, is shown as a heavily bearded god with sun rays emanating from his shoulders. Thus the Sun in Mesopotamia, first perceived of as judge, lawgiver, and governor of magic, illness, and prophecy, grew into an image of the Sun Royal.

THE INDO-EUROPEANS. About the beginning of the second millennium BCE, people speaking related languages spread across western Asia into Europe, bringing similar pantheons into India, Iran, Asia Minor, and most of Europe. Their high god was a sky god—Dyaus, Pitar, Zeus, or Jupiter. But in many cases this high god tended to fade out of the pantheon, leaving the universe to his offspring, sometimes the sun god. This process, known as solarization, brought the sun to the fore as creator and ruler of the gods.

The most cherished animal of the Indo-Europeans was the horse, and they perhaps introduced the chariot to the western world. From this time on the sun is pictured as driving a chariot across the sky, and the horse became one of the sun's animals, often sacrificed to him.

In ancient Indian and Iranian texts appear the names *Varuṇa* and *Mitra,* which seem to mean respectively "the sky" and "the light of day." Mitra faded out in India, but in Iran, as Mithra, he was the subject of many hymns in the sacred writings, the Avesta. Mithra is said to represent celestial light, which appears before sunrise on the mountains, whence it crosses the sky in a chariot. He is said to be neither sun, moon, nor star, but with his hundred eyes he constantly keeps watch on the world. None can deceive him, so he is viewed as a god of truth and righteousness. He is the enforcer of oaths and contracts and is also called "lord of the wide pastures who giveth abundance and cattle." He combats the forces of evil, spies out his enemies, swoops down and conquers them, and is the ally of the faithful in their wars. Thus Mithra, though not identified with the sun, shares all the attributes of the Mesopotamian Shamash. When the Persians conquered Babylon the name *Mithra* was translated as *Shamash.* A large number of the names of Persian aristocrats are compounds of *Mithra.*

The Greek historian Herodotus relates that the Persians sacrificed to the sun as well as to earth, fire, and water and that leprosy was thought of as punishment for a sin against the sun (*Histories* 1.138). When Xerxes was leading his huge army through Asia Minor to attack Greece, he waited on the Asiatic shore until sunrise and then poured a libation from a golden cup, which he threw together with a golden scimitar into the sea (7.54). Xerxes' army was accompanied by a riderless chariot drawn by eight white horses, which Herodotus says was sacred to Zeus, the sky god. It was followed by a chariot of the sun, also drawn by white horses. Herodotus also tells us that along the route were led horses that were intended to be sacrificed to the sun. Horse sacrifices have been recorded from India to Ireland and have commonly accompanied the coronation of kings.

A true sun hymn occurs in the Avesta: "Unto the undying, swift-horse sun be propitiation and glorification. . . . When the sun rises up, the earth, made by Ahura, becomes clean. . . . Should the sun not rise up, the demons would destroy all things." Every layman in ancient Persia was required to recite a prayer to the sun at sunrise, at noon, and at three in the afternoon. Persian deities were established in Lydia, Cappadocia, and Armenia by Iranian officials, and it is probably through Persian influence that the sun god became prominent in places like Emesa, Baalbek, and Palmyra in Syria.

In India, the same divinities, Varuna and Mitra, are called in the *Ṛgveda* "kings of gods and men." They drive chariots across the sky and live in heavenly palaces with a thousand gold columns and a thousand doors. Ten hymns of the *Ṛgveda* are devoted to the sun under the name of

Sūrya, who seems to represent the actual disk of the sun. Sūrya had the power to drive away darkness, witches, and evil dreams; he is also a healing god, particularly effective against jaundice. He is the husband of Dawn and drives a chariot, sometimes with one and sometimes with seven horses. Another name for the sun is *Savitṛ.* Sometimes it is said that the sun is Savitṛ before his rising and Sūrya afterward. Savitṛ "brings all men and animals to rest; men lay down their work and birds seek their nests." Among other names given to the sun in the ancient poems is that of Viṣṇu, because "he strode across the sky in three giant steps" to ward off demons from humankind. Viṣṇu, of course, came to be one of the three great gods of Hinduism, the one especially benevolent to humankind.

ANCIENT GREECE. In Hesiod's *Birth of the Gods* (c. 750 BCE) Helios is the son of Hyperion, also a sun figure, and is the brother of the Moon (Selene) and of the Dawn (Eos). He is not included in the family of Olympians who came into prominence after Homer and Hesiod (from about 800 BCE), but belongs to an older, less-well defined group that was closely connected with natural phenomena. In Homer (c. 800 BCE), Helios reveals to Hephaistos the adultery of his wife, Aphrodite. In the Demeter myth he reports that Hades has carried off to the underworld Demeter's daughter, Persephone. The chariot of the sun is mentioned not in Homer but in the so-called Homeric Hymns (c. 700 BCE). Demeter stands before the chariot as she begs for help. According to the Homeric *Hymn to Helios,* "as he rides in his chariot, he shines upon all men and deathless gods, and piercingly he gazes with his eyes from his golden helmet. He rests upon the highest point of heaven until he marvelously drives down again from heaven to the Ocean." The poet Mimnernus (c. 630 BCE) describes the sun as floating back through the subterranean ocean in a golden bowl made for him by the divine smith Hephaistos. These descriptions laid the foundations for the hundreds of depictions of the sun in his chariot in Greek art, continuing into Roman times.

As in Mesopotamia, the Sun in Greece is involved in oaths and is a god of vengeance. In Aeschylus, Prometheus, bound upon his crag, calls upon "the all-seeing circle of the sun" to witness his woes. In *Oedipus of Colonus,* by Sophocles, Creon drives his brother-in-law out of the house so that "the sun may not look upon such a wretch." Cassandra in Aeschylus's *Agamemnon* calls upon the Sun for vengeance on her murderers. Medea in Euripides' play makes Aegeus swear by earth and sun that he will protect her. In the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius (third century BCE) she swears by the Sun and Hekate. In the *Iliad,* 19.196, a boar is sacrificed to Zeus and the Sun in confirmation of an oath.

There was little direct worship of the sun in ancient Greece, though there are traces of earlier rites. Plato says the earlier Greeks made obeisance to the rising and setting sun. Pausanias in his guidebook to Greece (second century BCE) mentions several shrines to the sun in remote places. For instance, the people of a little town north of Corinth, when suffering from a plague were told by the Delphic oracle to sacrifice a goat to the Sun. When they did, and the plague stopped, in gratitude they sent a bronze goat to the oracle, which many people, says Pausanias, thought was the Sun itself. Corinth itself was originally sacred to the Sun and, according to Pausanias, was called Heliopolis ("city of the sun"). Later the Sun gave the city to Aphrodite.

The island of Rhodes, however, had a true cult of the sun, influenced perhaps by the sun worship of the East. In legend, the island was brought up out of the sea to compensate Helios for his exclusion from the heavenly lottery. It was on Rhodes that Helios loved the nymph Rhoda and begot the seven wise men of the ancient world. An impressive festival of the sun, held on Rhodes every four years, included athletic games and a chariot race. Every year the Rhodians threw into the sea a chariot drawn by four horses. The famous colossus of Rhodes, one of the seven wonders of the world, erected in 284 BCE, was a figure of the sun god. Pliny recounts that it was 105 feet high and that one of its fingers was larger than most statues. It was thrown down by an earthquake sixty-six years after it was erected.

In addition to being an all-seeing eye and god of vengeance, the sun in Greece has a connection with magic. Among his children were Aeetes, king of Colchis, Circe, the witch of the *Odyssey,* and Pasiphae ("all-shining"; perhaps a reference to the moon), who bewitched her husband, Minos of Crete. Most famous of the sun's lineage is Medea, daughter of Aeetes, whose enchantments form the plot of Euripides' play.

The *Odyssey* tells the story of the cattle of the Sun, which were taboo to mortals. They roamed on the island of Trinacria, seven herds of fifty each, tended by two daughters. Odysseus had been warned not to touch the cattle, but his marooned sailors were starving and killed and ate some. The flesh on the spits writhed and lowed. The Sun appealed to Zeus for vengeance and threatened to go down and shine in the underworld if he were not appeased. Zeus therefore hurled a thunderbolt, which destroyed the ship and left only Odysseus alive in the water. These cattle have been interpreted in various ways: Some say that they are the clouds that gather at sunrise and sunset, and Aristotle thought they stood for the days of the lunar year.

In ancient Greece, Apollo was a god of prophecy, sickness, healing, and death. He is connected by the historian Herodotus with the Hyperboreans, people of the north or east, who sent mysterious offerings to Apollo at Delphi. From the fifth century BCE on, there are suggestions that link Apollo to the sun. The best known myth of the sun from ancient Greece is the story of Phaethon, who begged to drive the chariot of the sun, lost control of it, and would have scorched the earth if he had not been killed by a thunderbolt. In a fragment of Euripides, the mother of Phaethon says that the true name of the sun is *Apollo,* meaning "the destroyer," since he had destroyed her son. The Orphic poets, as well as the Cynic philosopher Crates (c. 300 BCE), called the sun

Apollo. Cornutus, writing about Greek mythology in the first century BCE, says that the sun is Apollo and the moon is his sister Artemis. In Roman times, after the names of the Greek gods reached Italy, this identification was taken for granted. The first Roman emperor, Augustus, favored the worship of Apollo, built a temple to him on the Palatine, and had the poet Horace, in his secular hymns, speak of the sun as Apollo and the moon as Diana (identified often with Greek Artemis).

As the intellectual life of philosophy developed, the Olympians lost their appeal. Philosophers substituted for them the "visible gods," the fixed heavenly bodies. In Plato's *Laws* (10.3) Socrates prays to the rising sun. Star lore from Mesopotamia combined with Greek mathematics to produce astrology, which gave impetus to the tendency to believe that the heavens had a meaningful relationship with humans. Many philosophers opposed astrology, but the Stoics embraced it as an example of the pantheism they advocated. The sun was obviously the most important of the planets, and in the growing mysticism of the Roman era became the final destination of souls freed from the wheel of fate.

ANCIENT ROME. As in Greece, sun festivals are rare in ancient Rome, but there are indications of the early worship of Sol Indiges, that is, an original and native god. There was a public sacrifice to this god on the Quirinal on the ninth of August. Varro's book on agriculture (first century BCE) says he will mention not the city gods but those who are the best guides of the farmer, the sun and moon, "whose seasons are observed at seedtime and harvest." Varro believed that the Sabine king Tatius, a contemporary of the founder Romulus, brought to Rome the worship of the sun and moon. He also stated that the ancient family of the Aurelii (whose descendants founded the cult of Sol Invictus) came from the Sabine country and that their name was originally Ausel, the Sabine word for "sun."

The sun and moon were deities of the chariot races. It is possible that the famous "October horse" ritual, held on the ides of October, was originally a sacrifice to the sun. This ritual involved a sacrifice of the outside winning horse; a similar ritual occurred in March, and thus these rituals marked the planting and the harvest seasons. The Sun had a temple on the Aventine near the Circus, from which spectators could watch the races. The Sun's image in gold was on the roof, since it was not proper to display the Sun indoors. It was to that temple that offerings were made when a conspiracy against Nero was revealed, since the Sun had discovered the plot (Tacitus, *Annals* 15.74). Augustus, returning from the conquest of Egypt, brought with him two obelisks with inscriptions declaring that he dedicated them to the sun, one of which he set up in the Campus Martius and the other in the Circus. They are now in the Piazza di Monte Citorio and the Piazza del Popolo.

Under the empire, various forms of sun worship spread into Rome from the East, imported both by slaves and by the Roman legions. The cult and mysteries of Mithra were the most widespread of these, apparently first taken up by soldiers of Pompey from Cilician pirates. The cult was obviously derived from the older Iranian cult, but from the two intervening centuries that separate these cults little is known about Mithra; the cult spread, however, to all areas of the empire. It involved initiation in a simulated cave; immortality was promised to initiates as a reward for the soldierly qualities of courage and discipline. Some astral features were collected along the way, and the degrees of initiation were known by the names of the planets. Mithra, who was said to be a special comrade or son of the sun, was born from a rock and sacrificed a bull, from which all creation sprang. After his deeds on earth were accomplished, he partook of a special love feast with the sun god before being carried up to heaven in a fiery chariot. The initiates imitated the love feasts in *mithraea,* underground shrines, which can still be found wherever the legions went. In death they were to be carried to the sun in Mithra's chariot. It became traditional for steles of the emperor to depict this journey upward in the sun's chariot.

One of the more lurid incidents in the late Roman empire involved the short reign of a young man who called himself Elagabalus, or Heliogabalus, after his god. A relative of Septimius Severus (r. 193–211 CE) on his Syrian wife's side, the youth was the hereditary priest of a sun god who was worshiped at Emesa in Syria in the shape of a black meteorite. After the death of Severus and his son Caracalla, the ladies of the court contrived to have the youth named emperor, though he was then only fourteen years old. He brought his black stone to Rome and built for it a magnificent temple on the Palatine. In front of his temple every day the youth burned incense, poured wine, offered bloody sacrifices, and—most difficult for the Romans to accept—danced Oriental dances. According to the time-honored fate of unsuitable emperors, the young man was assassinated after four years of rule.

The final victory at Rome of the sun god came about through the emperor Aurelian, who in 270 CE assumed the task of reconquering those parts of the empire that had defected. Aurelian's mother is said to have been a priestess of the Sun in the village in which he was born, from the old Sabine family of the Aurelii. The time was ripe for a new supreme deity who would symbolize imperial power, the person of the emperor, and the new astral religion. Aurelian found such a god in Palmyra, the oasis city in the Syrian desert. Aurelian dedicated a fortune in gold, silver, and jewels from his plunder to restore the temple of the Sun in Palmyra. In 274 CE he established Sol Invictus ("the invincible sun") as the official religion of the Roman empire, and was the first emperor to wear Oriental robes and the diadem, a sun symbol. Sol Invictus continued as supreme god and patron of emperors until Constantine, who started his reign as a sun worshiper and later turned the empire over to Christianity. The coins of Aurelian and of succeeding emperors show the Sun offering the ruler, as Preserver of the World, a globe.

The Sun portrayed in these coins is not Oriental; he has the features of the Greek Apollo, wearing a crown with solar rays. Sometimes he drives a chariot drawn by four horses. Such coins read: "To the Invincible Sun, companion of Augustus."

Julian, called the Apostate, in his brief reign (359–362) tried to bring back the worship of the sun. "From my childhood," he writes in his prose hymn to the sun, "an extraordinary longing for the rays of the sun penetrated my soul" (*Hymn to King Helios* 130c). The Neoplatonists, with whom Julian identified the leading philosophical school of the late empire, believed in one supreme ineffable god but were able to accept the sun as a symbol, "offspring of the first god." According to Julian, "His [Helios's] light has the same relation to the visible world as truth to the intelligible world" (ibid., 133a). Julian recognized three aspects of the sun god: the sun of the intelligible world, of the intellectual world, and of the sensible world, which last he identified with Mithra.

The birthday of Sol Invictus and of Mithra were celebated on December 25, close to the time of the winter solstice. In 353 or 354 CE Pope Liberius set this date as the Feast of the Nativity, and a few years later he founded the Church of Santa Maria della Neva, now known as Santa Maria Maggiore, which became the center of the Roman celebration of Christmas. The Nativity gradually absorbed or supplanted all the other solstice rites. Solar imagery came increasingly to be used to portray the risen Christ (who was also called Sol Invictus), and the old solar disk that had once appeared behind the head of Asian rulers became the halo of Christian saints. Excavations under Saint Peter's Basilica, undertaken in hope of finding the tomb of Peter, found a very early Christian mosaic that showed Christ driving a chariot, with rays above his head.

JAPAN. The national religion of Japan, Shintō, is an extraordinary combination of myth, national feeling, ancestor worship, and highly sophisticated mysticism. Japanese writers on the subject assert that theoretical analysis in the Western style is quite unsuitable for Shintō; it is rather a system of rites, feelings, and intense poetic appreciation. There is no doubt that the performance of the rites has over the centuries given the Japanese people a confidence in themselves and their place in society and the universe. The sun appears on the Japanese flag today, but the epithet "Land of the Rising Sun" was perhaps invented by the Chinese.

Japanese cosmogony, first recorded in the seventh century CE, relates how the islands came to be formed out of the primeval waters by a celestial couple, who gave birth to many other natural features. When the wife was burned and died in giving birth to fire, her husband, fleeing from the sight of her decomposing body, stopped to purify himself, and in the process produced from his right eye the Sun (female) and from his left eye the Moon (male). The Moon plays very little part in the mythology, but from the nose of the original husband was produced Susano-o no Mikoto, who represents violence, earthly qualities, and death, while the sun goddess, Amaterasu, stands for light and purity. Susano-o no Mikoto, realizing that the earth could only be created and peopled if the two powers cooperated, tried to force his way into the abode of Amaterasu, whereupon she hid in a cave and left the world in darkness. There are a number of caves in modern-day Japan that are identified as the cave where the goddess hid herself. Eventually the other gods persuaded Amaterasu to emerge. Among the sacred regalia they employed to ensure her emergence was a mirror—the mirror that is said to be part of the ritual at the famous Ise Shrine.

Shintō teaching maintains that Amaterasu and Susano-o no Mikoto represent not good and evil but complementary qualities that are necessary to produce life on earth. Eventually the world as it stands was completed, and Amaterasu became the ancestor of the first emperor of Japan. The sun goddess is the center of Shintō worship, which is intended to bind the people together in reverence for her earthly representative. The goal of Shintō is the maintenance of harmony among humankind, nature, and the gods. The greatest reality visible in the heavens becomes the symbol of the greatest reality known and revered on earth.

The earliest records of Shintō derive from the seventh century BCE, when writing was introduced, but the roots of the system may stretch much further back. In the Middle Ages, it was much influenced by Buddhism, but the two became distinct in the eighteenth century. In 1946, the American occupation forces demanded that the emperor renounce his divine status as part of their abolition of the state religion. It appears that the formal renunciation has had little effect on the symbolic relationship that has endured for centuries between the sun goddess and the imperial family. On the other hand, the retreat of state Shintō, which had highly politicized overtones and which was the basis for a fanatical militarism, in a sense returned the religion to the people. The priests, without government support, turned to the population. When it became time for the reconstruction of the Grand Shrine at Ise, which is prescribed every twenty years, there was an unprecedented outpouring of donations from the entire populace. More than fifty million people contributed to the rebuilding of the shrine in 1953, even more in 1973.

The rituals have continued and the emperor has participated in the divine nature of his ancestors by praying for the well-being of his people. In the great ceremonies at the end of June and December (the solstices), the imperial families and ministers of state pray for purification from sin for the entire country.

THE AMERICAS. Many native North Americans regarded the Sun as their supreme deity. In the Plains, the Crow thought of themselves as descendants of the Sun and swore by it. In lower Mississippi, the Natchez maintained a total theocracy; their priest-chieftain was a substitute on earth for their supreme being, the Sun. For the Pueblo, the Sun is a powerful deity but subordinate to others, such as the Corn Goddess. They perform ceremonies at the summer solstice to slow down the sun and at the winter solstice to hasten his progress toward spring. It is presumed that these rites are a projection of the same religion that is a basis for the sun cults of the high cultures of Mexico and Peru.

Mesoamerica. The Maya of Mesoamerica developed a complex civilization that to date has not been entirely revealed to modern researchers. There are still discoveries to be made in the huge structures now in ruins; they are probably not cities in a real sense but religious establishments where a priestly caste expended tremendous energies on mathematical study and on astronomical observations. They invented a sign for zero and produced two complicated calendars, which come together every fifty-two years. The site of one of their complexes was itself a huge calendar by which they could determine solstices and equinoxes. Since the Maya hieroglyphics have not been entirely deciphered, and since many of their sacred books were destroyed by the Spaniards, there is no clear picture of their complex religious pantheon, which involved four aspects for each deity (for the four points of the compass), or of the characteristics of their gods, which changed from one area to another. The supreme deity seems to have been a sky god, pictured as an old man with a Roman nose; he often performed as a sun god and was married to the Moon. Rain gods and fertility gods were also part of the pantheon. It is still unknown why the Maya civilization collapsed, although many theories, such as climactic change, conquest, or peasant revolt, have been suggested.

In the tenth century CE, conquering Toltec from Tula in central Mexico moved into Maya territory, took over the city of Chichén Itzá, together with many of the Maya achievements. The Toltec brought with them their culture hero, the Feathered Serpent, but also their belief that the sun god died every night and had to be resuscitated every morning with human blood. They established two priestly warrior groups, the Eagles, representing the sun in the daytime, and the Jaguars, representing the sun in the underworld. A frieze at Chichén Itzá from Toltec times shows members of the groups presenting a human heart to the sun. The sacrifice was often succeeded by a cannibalistic feast in which pieces of the victim, if he had been a great warrior, were passed out to the elite. A priest donned the skin of the victim and danced before the people.

The Toltec had perhaps been driven out of the valley of Mexico by the Aztec, who settled on islands in Lake Texcoco and built their elaborate city Tenochtitlán on the site that is today known as Mexico City. They took over from their predecessors the temple architecture, their fifty-two-year calendar, and the sacrifice to the sun, which they carried to even more grisly lengths. On some occasions as many as twenty thousand victims were sacrificed on the sun pyramid. The Aztec believed that on their journey north, their sun god, Huitzilopochtli, who took the form of a hummingbird, led them in the day, and the fearsome Tezcatlipoca, the sun of the underworld, led them at night. A third form of the sun represented the physical disk of the sun, under the name of Tonatiuh. He appears on the huge calendar stone, thirteen feet across, that is now in the Museo Nacional de Antropología. This stone pictures the four suns that the Aztecs believed had existed before them and the fifth, under which they lived. The former suns had been destroyed by storms, floods, and darkness, and the present sun, represented by Tonatiuh, was to end in an earthquake. The whole calendar is circled by fire serpents, which the Sun uses to fight his enemies at night. The entire religion of the Aztec was suffused with the battle between light and darkness and life and death. The universe, they believed, would fall into ruins if they did not feed the "skeleton" sun every morning as he rose.

It seems to have been the priesthood, possibly under the influence of psychedelic drugs, who drove the armies to seek increasing numbers of conquests in order to provide prisoners for the sacrifices. Huitzilopochtli is said to have proclaimed, "My principal purpose in coming and my vocation is war." All young Aztec were educated for war and taught to endure pain. There is a story told of the gladiatorial battle that followed the morning sacrifice in which a captive was tied to a stone and given four staves to defend himself against two Eagle and two Jaguar knights. Once, a captive miraculously won his battle and was released, but he returned to die on the stone so that he would not lose the privilege of accompanying the sun across the sky every morning. In the afternoon, the sun was followed by women who had died in childbirth, for they had also died "taking a man prisoner."

Peru. In Mexico the Sun became one of the most bloodthirsty of all divinities, but the sun god of the Inca of Peru was an autocratic but paternalistic deity, who planned for the welfare of his people while controlling their every action. In the high civilization of Peru, the sun again symbolized royal power; images of the sun were emblazoned with the most lavish display of the sun's metal ever seen. In Peruvian society there was no trade in (as there was among the Aztec) nor use for metal, except for extravagant adornment of the gods and royal personages.

A number of Spanish chronicles have recorded Inca rule as one of the most orderly and regulated in the world. All land was owned by the state and was divided into church, state, and peasant holdings. Inca territory was divided into four quarters ruled by governors, who were subordinate to the emperor, the son of the Sun. The emperor controlled the priesthood, usually making his brother high priest.

The leading tribes that formed the Inca empire seem to have arrived in Cuzco from somewhere around Lake Titicaca. Their legend told that the founder and his sister, children of the Sun, were set down by their father on an island in the lake. The first emperor is said to have been sent by his father, the Sun, to establish a city at the place where the golden wand the Sun carried struck the ground. This site was Cuzco, at eleven thousand feet above sea level. It was apparently the custom for each new emperor to build his own palace, so that the site became a maze of buildings, temples, and palaces, lavishly decorated with gold. In the main square, the Inca emperor himself was enthroned during festivals. From that square it was possible to see the sun columns on the hills east and west, markers of the solstices. The mummified figures of past emperors were seated, robed in gold, around the temple of the Sun, with their wives between them. The temple was called the Place of Gold and was so arranged that sunrise fell on a gold-sheathed solar disk and filled the whole temple with reflected light. On festival days the mummies were paraded around the city, preceded by the emperor on a palanquin, honored as if he were a god. Tradition held that the emperor married his sister, who represented the moon, but a large number of "virgins of the Sun" were available to him, so that he had many descendants. These were the "children of the Sun," the rulers of the bureaucracy, who paid no taxes. Others of the virgins were used for sacrifice or kept in seclusion, weaving or making brew.

The temple also housed the gods of conquered peoples, who were allowed to visit their gods and pay homage to them, although there was a strong missionary pressure on them to honor the sun god. By practicing efficiency and good military discipline, the Inca established an empire that stretched from Ecuador to northern Chile and that had just reached its height at the time of the Spanish conquest.

In the last century of the empire one of the Inca, by the name of Pachacuti, introduced a new high god, Viracocha, as creator. The legend relates that Pachacuti had a vision that prompted this religious revolution. He came to believe that the sun worked too hard on his daily journey to have created the universe. Viracocha may have been a local god from another tribe. Another possibility is that the new god was more acceptable to some of the conquered people, such as the Chimú of the coast, who worshiped the moon and the sea. It is recorded that they complained, "The sun is dangerous to us." A gold statue of the new deity was placed in the Sun's temple as an addition to its other resplendent embellishments.

Great Inca festivals consisted of dances, processions, prayers, and sacrifices, usually of llamas and guinea pigs but sometimes of human beings. The four chief festivals were those of the solstices and the equinoxes, the most important of which was the winter solstice. On this day, considered New Year's Day, all fires were relit by a piece of cotton kindled by the sun's rays. The relit fire was used for the sacrifices and then handed over to the Virgins of the Sun to be guarded until the next year. If the day was cloudy, the fire had to be kindled by friction and there was great anxiety among the people. At the summer solstice, the population gathered in the central square clothed in feathers and golden robes to watch the Inca emperor pour a libation to the Sun from a golden vase.

The priesthood, like all the other members of Inca society, were organized in a strict hierarchy. Many were engaged in divination and in curing the sick. They divined by reading the intestines of llamas and the flight of birds. To cure the sick, they engaged in rites of exorcism. Public confessions were an important part of religious life. Anyone who was malformed or had lost children was considered to have sinned against the Sun and to have disobeyed the Inca emperor. It was necessary for the sinner to confess; he would then be given a penance by the priest and be purified in running water. Anyone who did not confess was believed to be destined for a place deep in the earth where there were only stones for food. Those who confessed, as well as those who had led blameless lives, were promised a happy afterlife in the Sun's heaven. The Children of the Sun and the Inca emperor himself were, as a matter of course, believed to live with the Sun forever.

SEE ALSO Amaterasu Ōmikami; Avesta; Light and Darkness; Mithraism; Saura Hinduism; Sol Invictus; Winter Solstice Songs.

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Revised Bibliography

SUN DANCE [FIRST EDITION] is currently used as a generic term having reference to a rich complex of rites and ceremonies with tribal variations specific to at least thirty distinct tribal groups of the North American Plains and Prairie. Although tribal variations of beliefs, traits, and the structuring of ceremonial lodges are significant and of great importance to the groups concerned, there are nevertheless sufficient similarities to justify use of the generic term. Since these distinct tribal groups represent at least seven mutually unintelligible language families, understandably there is also present the once-universal sign language, a rich means by which even subtle and complex matters could be communicated to all the tribes. Traditionally the peoples have been divided into four major groupings: the northern tribes; the southern tribes; the village, or eastern, tribes; and the Plateau, or western, tribes. Each tribe within these groups gives the Sun Dance its own specific term, which has reference to particular ritual emphases. The Shoshoni and Crow, for example, refer to the complex as the Thirst Lodge, or Thirst Standing Lodge; for the Cheyenne it is the Medicine Lodge; and for the Siouan peoples it is known as the Dance Gazing at the Sun.

The precise tribal origin of the Sun Dance within the North American Plains groups cannot be determined with certainty, in part because calendric rites of world and life renewal involving sacrificial elements and shamanic-type acts of healing are very widespread throughout North America. Leslie Spier's extensive yet inconclusive study (1921) suggested that the complex possibly originated among—or diffused from—the Arapaho and Cheyenne. In terms of more ancient origins outside North America there are compelling parallels with the Tunguzic peoples of Siberia, who had new year festivals of renewal with ritual emphasis on a world tree as axis joining heaven and earth; offerings made of ribbons and sacrificed animal skins were made to this tree. Other shamanic elements described by A. F. Anisimov involve the rhythmic power of drums, the inducing of trances, visions, and curing ceremonies, all of which are strongly reminiscent of the North American Plains Sun Dance traits (Anisimov, 1963).

It is unfortunate that the early anthropological accounts of Native American religious practices were usually flat, ignoring or paying insufficient attention to the spiritual realities underlying religious beliefs and practices as the peoples themselves understood them. The rich values and sacred meanings encoded within cultural forms such as the arts, crafts, and architecture were also largely ignored. Even Robert Lowie, who was very familiar with the early history of the Crow Sun Dance, was able to write in 1915 that the Sun Dance "in large measure served for the aesthetic pleasure and entertainment of the spectators." The Swedish scholar Åke Hultkrantz, commencing his early studies in 1947, challenged these prevailing reductionist perspectives; by giving proper recognition to religious beliefs and practices of primal origin and by integrating the perspectives and methodologies of both anthropology and the history of religions, an approach now found increasingly within current ethnohistorical studies. It is essentially this approach that is respected in the following descriptions.

The rich diversity of beliefs and traits specific to the Sun Dance traditions in some thirty distinct tribal groups, each of which manifests varying levels of acculturation and creative adaptions, can hardly be encompassed within a brief essay. Judicious selection must therefore be made of essential elements across a fair sampling of tribal groups. Attention will also be given to contemporary movements among many Native American peoples for revitalization of traditional sacred values and practices. Indeed, it is primarily the Sun Dance that, as its popularity increases, is acting as model and stimulus for traditionalist movements extending even to non-Plains tribes and to disenchanted non-Native Americans who are seeking examples of what true religious traditions really are.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION. The major Sun Dance celebrations take place for all the tribal groups in late June or early July, "when the sage is long" and "the chokecherries are ripe," or, as some put it, in "the moon of fattening." In the times when these peoples were nomadic pasturalists, the grasses of the prairies would during these months be sufficient to feed the great herds of horses belonging to the tribal bands, who often were joined in the circles of camps with allied tribes. These springtime ceremonies (in the past they may have been held earlier than June) were actually the climax of an annual cycle of minor rites and meetings of many types. Among the Crow, for example, "prayer meetings" take place regularly at the time of the full moon; among all the tribes, groups of singers meet periodically around their drums in order to practice and to instruct younger singers in the extremely difficult and subtle Sun Dance songs, many of which have been faithfully transmitted from ancient times. There are also contemporary songs that have come out of an individual's sacred experiences or that have been learned from other tribes, for today there is much exchange of songs and other cultural elements in the course of the more popular pan-Indian summer powwow circuit. However, all songs that are used in the Sun Dance lodge must accord with particular styles and rhythms, since clear distinctions are made between ceremonial and social dance songs.

Given the complex logistics of the Sun Dances, with encampments of large numbers of people, many people volunteer or are selected during the year to fulfill a wide range of duties. Usually a sponsor coordinates the many details and materials for the construction of the sacred lodge or the provision of the feast at the end of the ceremonies, both of which are accomplished at considerable expense and sacrifice. The most important person however, is the spiritual leader, a "medicine person," who is guardian of the sacred lore and who usually has received special powers through the vision quest (or who may have received the authority to lead the ceremonies from a retiring elder who has passed on his sacred powers). These spiritual leaders have traditionally been recognized as holy people, for they know and live the sacred traditions and have powers for curing those who are ill in body or spirit. Such shamanic figures have been greatly respected as leaders within the tribe, or they have been feared because of the great strength of their mysterious powers. Such leaders should not be considered as belonging only to the past, however, for new leaders are taking their places. Indeed, there are today a growing number of such leaders, including younger men and women who have attempted to become acculturated within the dominant society but, often finding this to be a process of diminishing returns, have gone back to the wise elders for help in reestablishing traditional values in their contemporary ways of life.

Those who participate in the actual ceremonies within the sacred lodge are often individuals who were previously in situations of extreme danger, perhaps as members of the armed forces in wars the United States has conducted overseas, and who vowed that if they should survive they would participate in the next Sun Dance upon returning home. Paradoxically, their experiences in foreign wars have acted as a stimulus for the continuation, and indeed intensification, of the Sun Dance traditions into the present.

To those sacrificing in the lodge for the first time are assigned mentors who are experienced in the Sun Dance rituals and who—having known the suffering of being without food or water for a period of three or four days—are able to counsel and give support to the novice in the lodge. Other camp duties are taken care of by special "police" who see that proper conduct and respect for sacred matters are observed, functions once fulfilled by the warrior societies. A camp crier is also named, who has the responsibility of encircling the camp on horseback in the very early mornings and in the evenings, of chanting instructions to the people, or of giving useful information concerning the day's activities. On occasion such criers might relate humorous incidents, intending to bring great laughter from the circles of lodges, or from the wall tents used today. For in Plains life, now as in the past (and even in the context of the most serious affairs), humor has a legitimate and effective purpose—not just the momentary relief of tensions accompanying the enactment of sacred rites, but also the opening of the human person to deeper modes of understanding.

LODGE CONSTRUCTION. Once the Sun Dance encampment has been established at an appropriate place where there is good water and pasturage, the first ritual act is to select a special cottonwood tree with branches forking at the top. The tree is then cut in a ceremonial manner, the first blow of the ax often being given by a young woman who has been chosen for her virtue and purity (if any man present knows that she has been unfaithful he has the right and obligation to denounce her publicly). The tree must be felled in a specific direction and is not allowed to touch the ground; it is then carried on poles, with songs, ritual acts, and prayers performed along the way. The cottonwood tree is finally placed in a hole prepared at the center of what will be the sacred lodge, which is itself at the center of the encampment. The selected tree is now understood as the axis at the center of the world. It links heaven and earth, thus giving the people access to spiritual realities and conveying the images of the center and the heavens above, together with their larger implications. For most peoples who practice the Sun Dance, this special tree is understood as a "person." In a way akin to human participation in the sacrifice, the tree transmits to those who sacrifice in the lodge the cooling powers of the moisture it has gathered from the stream near which it grew, and then it dies.

The tree thus recapitulates the major themes of the Sun Dance, which involve the alternations of dry and moist, ignorance and wisdom, and death and life—for if there is to be life there must also be death. Once the tree has been ceremonially raised, offerings are placed at its base, and in its fork is put a nest of cherry or willow branches in which may be placed sacred offerings or, often, rawhide effigies. Colored ribbons, signifying heaven and earth, may be tied high on the tree's forking branches. Each tribal group has its own color symbolism and specific manner of dressing the tree. Among the Crow, for example, the head of a bull buffalo is placed, facing east, on the tree, and in the branches there is an eagle, both symbols recapitulating the theme of heaven and earth. Around the tree as spiritual center the circular lodge is then constructed in accord with symbolical variations specific to each of the tribal groups.

The general architectural design for most tribal Sun Dance lodges is the central tree around which are twenty-eight vertical, forked poles associated with the twenty-eight days of the lunar month. This circle of forked poles is then joined together by horizontal poles laid into the upright forks. In addition the Shoshoni, Crow, and Arapaho lodges have twenty-eight very long poles extending from the forks at the circumference and then all laid into the crotch high on the central tree, a structure that resembles a spoked wheel. The Siouan lodges do not have poles radiating out from the center; a distinctive feature of their lodge, in accord with their ceremonial usage, is the construction of a continuous overhead shade arbor around the inner periphery of the lodge. All styles of lodges, however, have entryways facing the east, the place of the rising sun, and brush is usually placed loosely around the outer walls for the greater privacy of the participants within. For all tribal groups, the lodge is not merely understood as a "symbolic model" of the world, but rather it is the world, universe, or created cosmos. Since construction of the lodge recapitulates the creation of the world, all acts in this process are accompanied by prayers and powerful songs associated with ancient myths of origin and creation. The occasion, reminiscent of a primordial time, is solemn, dignified, and of great beauty.

Around the sacred lodge in concentric circles the camps of family units are set up in accord with long-established protocol. At Sun Dance encampments the doorways of many tipis or wall tents are not toward the east, as is customary in daily usage, but rather toward the sacred lodge and tree at the center of the circle. To the west of the sacred lodge there are usually special tipis in which private ceremonies take place exclusively for those who will sacrifice in the lodge. Sweat lodges are also set up, but apart from the camp circle, so that those who have made their vows may be purified before entering the lodge.

TYPICAL PERFORMANCES. Even though there are many commonalities in all Plains Sun Dance ceremonies, there are also tribal variations that are of great importance to the peoples concerned. In the Siouan form, for example, which has been described by the Lakota Black Elk in *The Sacred Pipe* (Brown, 1952), there are at least two distinctive and central sacrificial elements, one of which is described by the Lakota term for the Sun Dance, *wiwanyag wachipi* ("dance gazing at the sun"). Here, during one complete daylight cycle, the dancers, who are also observing a total fast, move periodically around the inner periphery of the lodge in sunwise manner so that they are always gazing at the sun—a cause, no doubt, of intense suffering.

A second Lakota or Siouan emphasis, also involving sacrificial elements, is the practice of certain dancers, in accord with earlier vows, to have the muscles of the chest pierced by the presiding spiritual leader, who inserts wooden skewers by which they are tied with raw-hide thongs to the central tree. These people then dance, encouraged by the drums and the songs of warriors (brave songs), pulling back on the thongs until the flesh and muscles tear loose. In addition to elements of self-sacrifice, there are spiritual implications of being physically tied to and thus identified with the tree as sacred center. A similar theme is also expressed by the ceremony wherein individuals have skewers inserted into both sides of the shoulders and into the muscles of chest and back. The thongs are then attached to posts set up to represent the four directions. The individual is thereby identified with the center in relation to the four horizontal directions of space. Such sacrificial acts are not just of former times, but are in increasing use today among a number of Siouan peoples. In distinction from prevailing traits and themes of the Siouan Sun Dance, which are strongly reminiscent of elements from earlier military complexes, the Arapaho, the Cheyenne, and the tribes of the Blackfeet Confederation place emphasis on rites of world and life renewal, employing ritual objects that include sacred medicine bundles whose contents have reference to the origins of the tribes.

Finally, emphasis should be given to critical elements in the history of the Sun Dance and to a modified Sun Dance movement that originated among the western Shoshoni and has been transmitted to the Crow. In 1881 the United States government attempted to ban all Sun Dances, believing that they were "demoralizing and barbarous." It was not until 1904, however, that the dances were rigorously prohibited by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. However, because these ceremonies were central to spiritual needs, they continued to be practiced in secret or in modified forms by almost all the Plains tribes with the exception of the Crow, who had already abandoned the ceremonies in 1875. One of the still continuing modified Sun Dances was that of the Wind River Shoshoni, whose version spread to the Northern Ute in 1890, to the Fort Hall Shoshoni and Bannock in 1901, and to the Shoshoni of Nevada in 1933. With the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, however, open practice of the dances commenced, but now in forms that gave greater emphasis to spiritual elements rather than to the extreme tortures associated with the earlier military societies.

In 1941 the charismatic Shoshoni Sun Dance leader John Truhujo brought the Sun Dance back to the Crow through the support of the tribal superintendent Robert Yellowtail. A tradition that had been abandoned for more than sixty-six years was thereby reinstated. In January of 1985 Truhujo died at the age of approximately 105, having transferred his sacred powers to Thomas Yellowtail, brother of the former superintendent. It is the Sun Dance in this particular form, faithfully led by Thomas Yellowtail to the present time, that has become for the Crow, as well as for many other tribes, an example and stimulus giving continuity and viability to the essentials of the spiritual heritage of the Plains peoples.

In this Shoshoni/Crow Sun Dance the dancers take positions in arbors that surround the inner periphery of the lodge, with the presiding spiritual leader, or "medicine man," always at the west. Women, who are allowed within the lodge to fast, take places slightly to the north of the east-facing entrance. The large ceremonial drum and the alternating teams of drummers and singers have their place a little to the south of the entrance, and they are surrounded by strong-voiced older women who help to sing the sacred songs. The dance's spiritual force resides in the movements of the fasting participants, who for the three or four days' duration of the ceremony are always oriented to the central tree, toward which they dance as often or as little as they wish. They blow on eagle-bone whistles tipped with eagle down, as if they themselves were eagles; then they dance backward to their stalls, still facing the central tree. The rhythmic movements of the dancers are dignified, and their concentration on the tree is continual and intense; for them this is the center and source of life, and the lodge symbolizes the totality of creation. In the course of the ceremonies, participants often receive sacred visions; when they sleep—never for more than a few hours at a time—dreams of special meaning may come.

An especially powerful and beautiful ceremony central to the Sun Dance takes place every morning just before sunup, when all the dancers, under the direction of the group's spiritual leader, face the direction of the rising sun, moving slowly to the beat of the drum and blowing softly on eagle-bone whistles. As the sun rises the drum and the sunrise greeting-song come to a crescendo. Eagle plumes tied to the wrists of the dancers are held out to the sun's first rays and are then touched to parts of the body so that the dancer may receive purifying blessings. Once the sun is above the horizon, the dancers sit wrapped in their blankets while very ancient sacred songs are sung and communal prayers are offered. On the second or third day of the dance, people who are ill come into the lodge and stand at the sacred tree to receive help from the spiritual leader, who prays over them and often draws out the illness with the aid of an eagle-wing fan. Accounts of cures are legion. At the conclusion of the Sun Dance, water that has been blessed is ceremonially passed around among the participants, who have taken no food or water since they first entered the lodge. Thereafter, many people from the camp bring valuable gifts into the lodge, sometimes even horses loaded with blankets and beadwork, which are given away to particular persons who are called forward to receive them. The dancers themselves usually complete the ceremonies with a purifying sweat bath at a nearby creek or river, and in the evening there may be a special feast for all.

The power of sacred traditions of primal origin cannot be compromised by time, place, or number of participants, for in themselves the values and realities concerned are of timeless and universal validity. Though a world of other priorities ignores or neglects such values they may nevertheless be rediscovered as still enduring, even increasing in meaning into the present day. The history of the Plains Sun Dance is continuing witness to this reality.

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JOSEPH EPES BROWN (1987)

SUN DANCE [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS].

The Plains Indian Sun Dance is typically a ceremony of about twelve days duration. Three to four days of this period consist of the dance itself, danced by men (and, increasingly, women) who commit themselves to a self-sacrificing discipline of abstinence from both food and water throughout the dance. Typically, the four days before the dancing are set aside as a period of preparation and purification and the four days following are set aside for a series of ceremonies that bring the whole to a close.

The historical tradition was to hold the Sun Dance in an elevated place, usually on a plateau. With the advent of the reservation era and federal prohibitions against observing the ceremony, the sites were often moved to sheltered and hidden places in physical depressions in the landscape where the ceremony could avoid easy detection.

The Sun Dance in the contemporary period has functioned as a stimulus for the growing traditionalist movement in many tribal communities, and it continues to be appealing to many non-Indians who are disenchanted with their own religious traditions. To the regret of many Indian leaders and scholars, this same attraction has influenced a transformation of Native American traditions toward a certain mimicry of the religious traditions disavowed by their white adherents. The relatively famous (or infamous) Lakota Sun Dances can attract hundreds of dancers, all ready to go to the tree and offer their flesh for the piercing rite. At the same time there are a plethora of other Sun Dances held that are so small as to render them invisible in the non-Indian landscape.

Enormous commitments of resources and time are always a factor in the ceremony. Even the smallest Sun Dance requires the sustained efforts of a variety of people: to cut timbers and leafy coverings for the shade arbor for supporters; to cut wood and then tend the fire day and night for the duration of the ceremony; to collect the necessary "medicines" needed to sustain the dance and provide healing to those who come; to provide and prepare the food to feed the people; and to complete a great variety of other detailed tasks.

In most tribal traditions, the ceremony can be completed with the fulfillment of a commitment by a single dancer, the tree, and a single singer. In reality, while the number of dancers may have always been small historically, the full number of participants regularly included the whole of a tribe's community in these various supporting roles. Lakota peoples, for instance, would congregate annually in the Black Hills for the Sun Dance as a ceremony that brought together all of the disparate bands. In the modern world it has become commonplace for as many as a hundred or more to commit to dancing this strenuous and demanding ceremony.

The Sun Dance is traditionally a men's ceremony. The single most characteristic feature is the sustaining of life or, as Lakota people often say, "That the people might live." The blood that flows in the piercing rite of many tribal traditions marks the ceremony as a male rite. Indeed, this sacrifice has been characterized as men's attempt to gain some sense of equality with women and their natural life-giving character signified by the monthly flow of blood in menstruation. If women bring new life into the community, men contribute to the maintaining of life through the Sun Dance ceremony.

While much of the professional literature misrepresents the piercing as self-torture or self-mutilation, for Indian communities it is always seen as a personal sacrifice offered on behalf of the people. In any event, participants invariably report that the piercing itself is not the most difficult aspect of this demanding ceremony, but rather comes as a climactic resolution that brings relief to the tension of one's prayers. The real focus of the ceremony is always the prayers of the dancers.

Many Sun Dance leaders emphasize strongly that, like all other key ceremonies, the Sun Dance ought always be done according to the direction of a particular vision given to someone in a particular time and place. Hence, each Sun Dance is a discrete phenomenon. One constant in all tribal variants is that there is a tree. Everything else is based on the particular vision and can vary from tribe to tribe and from one Sun Dance leader to another within a tribe.

Many tribes continue to practice a form of the Sun Dance that is still a tribal ceremony. That is to say that the tribal community sponsors only one Sun Dance each year and that it is a ceremony performed by and for the tribe as a whole. The ceremony held at Ethete, Wyoming, is an example. A high percentage of the Northern Arapaho population is involved, and the tribe's government extends certain privileges to those who are principal participants. These ceremonies function in the modern world as spiritual events that provide social cohesion for the tribe.

Other tribes, particularly the Siouan group of Lakota and Dakota, have engaged in a substantial transformation of their ceremonial life and its intent. One could argue that these tribes have moved towards the individualization represented by missionary Christianity. As such, these Sun Dance ceremonies tend today to proliferate into individual and family events that can even be seen as competing with one another for adherents. These ceremonies form around specific spiritual leaders, and many are increasingly open to anyone, Indian or non-Indian, who will make the personal commitment to a particular spiritual leader.

Ultimately, the proliferation of Sun Dances on Lakota reservations reflects back the denominational variety of missionary religion, which has historically functioned to divide

Indian communities and to break down tribal cohesion by introducing Western religious choice and the paradigm of denominationalism. It can also be argued, of course, that traditional Lakota culture allows for the making of these sorts of leadership choices. While leadership was hereditary, it was always possible for any members of a band or group to follow another leader should they decide that they disagreed with the direction of leadership.

In any case, the contemporary result has been that there is no longer a "Lakota" tribal Sun Dance; instead, more than two dozen Sun Dances have been reported at the Oglala reservation at Pine Ridge over a single recent summer, with a similar number at the neighboring Rosebud and Cheyenne River reservations. The shift, however, has become more pronounced as Lakotas and Dakotas have invited more and more non-Indians as participants into their tribal ceremonial rites.

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TINK TINKER (2005)

SUNDANESE RELIGION.

Although the Sundanese of West Java, Indonesia, consider themselves Muslims, many pre-Islamic ideas still permeate their religious life. A key point in understanding Sundanese relations to the supernatural is the relationship between the soul and a creative or generative power that animates the universe. This power, *anu ngayuga* ("that which creates") is limited and is contained to varying degrees in the elements that make up the cosmos. The amount of power in a person is determined by ancestry and the time, place, and conditions of birth. It may further wax or wane according to the state of ritual or moral purity of the person (see Anderson, 1972).

SOUL. The Sundanese have two ideas of soul: *nyawa* and *semangat.* Other words such as *roh* and *jiwa* are occasionally used, but these are adoptions from the Arabic and Sanskrit, respectively, and overlap in meaning between *nyawa* and *semangat. Nyawa* is simply life or breath, existing only while the person lives. *Semangat,* on the other hand, is that aspect of soul that connects a person to the ancestors and gives him or her various capabilities and strengths. It is the whole of a person's spiritual life. Provencher (1975) relates *semangat* to the Melanesian and Polynesian mana.

The *semangat* belongs with the person, but may occasionally leave if frightened or if a taboo is broken. In this case the person's soul must be coaxed back, or illness and death may follow. The *semangat* is also considered to be able to travel away from a person during sleep, making it dangerous to awaken him suddenly, and may further transmigrate and enter an animal such as a tiger.

The amount of *semangat* in a person is not constant but may be added to through study, especially of sacred texts and magic, as well as through the acquisition of sacred objects and heirlooms. It may also be diminished through impure and worldly actions. There must be an inner balance between the *semangat* and the social persona of the person. Too much or too little of it to fit the situation makes the person uncomfortable and may lead to disquietude or illness. These last two aspects of *semangat* are much like the cosmic power mentioned above, and one may see semangat, then, as the unique expression of cosmic creative power (*anu ngayuga*) in individuals.

Semangat is located throughout the body, although it seems to be focused on the navel. The Sundanese take care to bury brushed-out hair and nail clippings, as these are parts of the person and thus contain soul substance that may be used against one in magic. Amulets are worn around the waist, protecting the center of the soul.

The placenta *(ari ari)* is considered to be the elder sibling of the person. It is also believed that the same placenta comes back to the mother as she bears each successive child, creating a spiritual or soul bond between siblings.

The father, who planted the seed and made the body, is responsible for its physical maintenance. The soul is said to come from the mother, and she is responsible for the spiritual makeup of the child. For this reason there is a *tali batin* (spiritual tie) between the mother and her children and between the children via the shared placenta.

This connection goes back to the ancestors as well. Ancestral graves are visited and the ancestors are notified when a ritual is to take place or when one goes on an extended journey. Ancestral spirits may also be consulted in times of need. They are often associated with a particular piece of land. Traditionally, people were buried on family land, and inherited land could not be sold to outsiders. Placentas, especially those of infant girls, are also often buried on family land, with which the soul is thus intimately connected (Mus, 1975).

Ancestral souls may also be called on for aid in times of trouble, in which case the ancestor may appear in the form of a tiger. Deceased rulers are said to guard their realms in this form; shamans are said to be able to take on tigrine form while curing.

THE WIDER SUPERNATURAL WORLD. The shaman (*dukun, kuncen*) is the vehicle for dealing with the wider supernatural world. Aside from being human soul stuff, cosmic power is also found in animals, plants, and the like. Like ancestral graves, places such as caves and mountains can be strongly imbued with it. Since this power is amoral, it may be dangerous to ordinary people. Through their craft, shamans are able to interact with these forces and thereby protect the community.

Ordinary people may make requests from these powers, which are often manifested as spirits or magical animals, after being introduced by the *kuncen*. Incense is burned and magical formulas (*jampes*) pronounced, after which the supplicant awaits the arrival of the power. If the power grants the petitioner's request, it may demand in return that the petitioner agree to be turned into a pig, a monkey, or a snake after death or that a human life be sacrificed to it annually.

Other supernatural forces include place spirits (*jurigs*), which may be seen as disembodied bits of cosmic power. They tend to exist on boundaries such as the water's edge or in secluded, quiet places. One does not make requests of these spirits, but only takes care not to bother them excessively. They are said to be generally harmless, though some delight in frightening people, and one type of water spirit (*lulun samak*) sometimes grabs people and drowns them.

Also to be reckoned with are the *siluman*s, the spirits of those who have died an unnatural death; and the *kuntianak*s, the spirits of women who have died in childbirth. *Siluman*s often inhabit caves and are then said to be the entities that make such places foreboding. The *kuntianak* is a danger to women who are about to give birth by causing difficulties that may lead to the woman's death; she would then become a *kuntianak* herself. For this reason, an expectant mother must take special precautions, such as carrying a sharp metal instrument and not going near the water alone during the last month of her pregnancy. Further magical precautions are taken by the *paraji,* the midwife.

Like the *jurig,* the *siluman* and *kuntianak* may be seen as disembodied cosmic power. This power is dangerous because it must be contained, and in its search for an envelope may possess a person. For this reason also, these powers are found in caves because caves make good containers.

Plants are also imbued with cosmic power—especially rice, trees, and bamboo. Rice, which is the personification of the rice goddess Dewi Sri, is said to have a soul. Care must be taken not to offend the goddess, and offerings are made both in the rice field and in the storage room (*goah*). Offerings in the field are made by the *wali puhun,* the shaman who ensures the fertility of the field. When cutting down trees or large bamboo, permission must be asked from the spirit inhabiting either the area or the tree; otherwise this spirit is likely to cause mischief or to possess someone.

CEREMONIES. Most ceremonies are conducted inside the house, which may be seen as a model of the cosmos itself. Ancestral spirits are invited to these ceremonies and thereby both add their power to the event and give it their blessing. The core of all ceremonies is the *hajat,* a ceremonial meal. Here the shaman, speaking for the householder, states the purpose of the occasion. Blessings from God (Allāh) are invoked, incense is burned while magical formulas are spoken, and then the food is consumed.

Each year on the birthday of the prophet Muḥammad, a *hajat* is held during which heirlooms and amulets are cleaned and restored. These items are said to contain cosmic power that may be added to by chanting over them during the ritual. On the same night, graves visited for help during the year are chanted over in order perhaps to infuse them with the power inherent in the Prophet's birth. This is also a good night to call up one's tiger ancestor, as such spirits are about, on their way to the ancient center of the Sundanese kingdom of Pajajaran at Pakuan near Bogor.

SEE ALSO Islam: Islam in Southeast Asia; Southeast Asian Religions, article on Insular Cultures.

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ROBERT WESSING (1987)
Revised Bibliography

SUNDÉN, HJALMAR. Hjalmar Sundén (1908–1993) was a Swedish psychologist of religion. Sundén was born in Eksjö, Sweden, the son of a lieutenant-colonel and a homemaker. The peak of Sundén's academic career came late in life. He became a professor at the age of fifty-nine and retired eight years later, a much-appreciated mentor and friend to half a dozen postgraduates, some of whom became professors in the psychology of religion. Sundén remained active as a writer and speaker at symposia, enjoying great academic success during the last twenty-five years of his life. He died at the age of eighty-five.

Sundén was educated in Stockholm, at Norrmalm upper-secondary school and University College, obtaining his master of philosophy degree in 1930. He continued his studies at Uppsala, where he graduated from the Faculty of Theology. His rare gift for languages—he spoke German, French, and English fluently—made it easy for him to learn Hebrew, ancient Greek, and Latin. After only two years of study he received his master's degree in theology in 1932. The following year he was ordained a priest in the Swedish Lutheran Church.

Sundén was given a personal chair in the psychology of religion at the University of Uppsala by special parliamentary decree in 1967, after having worked for years as a priest, a teacher of religion in secondary schools, a psychologist in the state police academy, a psychologist of religion at the University of Stockholm, and a docent in the history of religion, including the psychology of religion, at Uppsala. He was a brilliant speaker, in demand all over Sweden. His lecture tours gave him profound knowledge of the questions that concerned ordinary people. Far removed from scholastic exercises, he always had a deep empathy and respect for ordinary popular piety. This approach and insight proved to be decisive in his later research and academic career.

In his doctoral thesis on the philosopher Henri Bergson, *La théorie bergsonienne de la religion* (1940), Sundén critically reviewed the then-prevailing theories in relation to Bergson's two sources of morality and religion: one rooted in intelligence that also results in science and its static, mechanistic ideal, and the other based on intuition, finding expression in the free creativity of art and philosophy and the mystical experience of the saints. It was the latter that caught the eye of the future psychologist of religion and occupied his thoughts for the rest of his life—his last article was on Teresa of Avila.

Sundén asked simple but profound questions. How is it that people experience existence as religious? Why is it that some people conceive of existence in terms of pure chance, some speak of the interplay of contingencies, while still others prefer to use the word *fate*? Then there are those who perceive an intention in the experiential, contact with the "other" or "another." How is an experience of the world in religious terms psychologically possible?

The answers to these questions are to be found in Sundén's main contribution to the psychology of religion, his magnum opus *Religionen och rollerna* (Religion and roles, 1959). Here he elucidates his understanding of religious experience through role theory, which is based on the discovery that all sacred texts contain descriptions of pious people who have acted in relation to God or gods. The biblical tradition provides people with behavior and role models of how Christians have been in dialogue with God and experienced his presence. When reading the *Psalms*, people are inadvertently absorbed into the mythic figure of David, thereby finding themselves within a specific interactional system, the human role in relation to the divine partner, God. The thinking is: as God saved then, he will also do so now if people trust and rely on him. No matter how hopeless the situation may seem, the promises are eventually expected to be fulfilled.

Contrary to previous theories, Sundén argues that religious experience does not consist of specific feelings, nor is it independent of cultural tradition. It does not emerge from empty nothingness or from any inner mysterious psychic layer. It is rather a matter of perception, the process whereby sensory stimulation is translated into organized or meaningful experience: the intuitive recognition of an existential "truth." Learning is a decisive factor, providing *un système aperceptif* for the soul to be touched and moved by a personal living God. Religious experience is thus reproducible and not the subjective phenomenon to which some scholars have wanted to reduce it.

Sundén integrated the structural-analytic, the interactionist, and the perceptual analytical models from the major research traditions within the social sciences into a psychology of religion, and he based this on his profound knowledge of the history of religions and contemporary theories and methods. His great knowledge of religious texts, and his empathy for them, enabled him to fashion role theory into a powerful hermeneutical tool, especially for the psychological interpretation of autobiographies and other types of personal documents, such as diaries, journals, and letters.

Sundén has rightly been regarded as the founder of the psychology of religion in the Nordic countries. When his magnum opus was translated into German as *Die Religion und die Rollen* (1966), his ideas quickly found fertile soil in Germany, the Netherlands, and Belgium, as well as in the United States in the late 1980s. For many years Sundén chaired the International Association for the Psychology of Religion. His role theory has had the same influence among European psychologists of religion as Gordon Allport's religious-orientations theory had among American psychologists.

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Hjalmar Sundén has written extensively on role theory, but the most elucidating of all his presentations still remains the first essay he ever wrote on the subject in his collection *Sjuttiotredje psalmen och andra essäer* (Psalm seventy-three and other essays; Stockholm, 1956). For those who cannot read Swedish, his article "Saint Augustine and the Psalter in the Light of Role-Psychology," published in the *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 26, no. 3 (1987): 366–412 (an issue dedicated entirely to Sundén's role theory), provides an eloquent substitute.

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RENÉ GOTHÓNI (2005)

SUNNAH.

In every "founded" religious tradition, maintaining proximity to the founder has been an important source of legitimacy and authority, just as arguments about how to establish that proximity have been a source of conflict. In the Islamic tradition, the word *sunnah* has been the focal point of such issues. A word with a very old history in the Arabic language, *sunnah* comes from a root that is concretely associated with honing or molding, with something firmly rooted, like a tooth (*sinn*). *Sunnah*, by extension, came to mean habitual practice, customary procedure or action, norm, standard, or "usage sanctioned by tradition."

EARLY EVOLUTION.

Among pre-Islamic Arabs, *sunnah* had the force of what anthropologists would call "tribal custom," that is, the generally agreed upon "thing to do" in matters of piety, morality, and social activity. In fact, it was the *sunnah* of the prophet Muḥammad's Arab compeers that initially led them to reject him, since the habitual social and spiritual practices of their ancestors were incompatible with his vision and demands. And it was his reinterpretation of their *sunnah* that helped him win them over, for he "reminded" them successfully that what they took to be true tradition (polytheism, for example) was what modern scholars would call "invented tradition," and that the true *sunnah* of their ancestors was the same Abrahamic ethical monotheism that he was announcing, in that he called upon his listeners to fulfill Abraham's moral contract with the one God.

The Qurʾanic revelations themselves did not establish an unequivocal meaning for *sunnah.* They referred either to the *sunnah* of those of old (the wrongheaded customs of Muḥammad's Arab brethren) or to the *sunnah* (or *sunan*, pl.) of God, namely his punishment of that other *sunnah.* The Qurʾān's flexible usage of the word *sunnah* never disappeared, but *sunnah* quickly came to be associated with the exemplary, imitable, normative words, deeds, and silent approval of the Prophet himself, whose behavior was assumed to be consistent with all previous prophets. In the sense of Muḥammad's exemplary pattern, *sunnah* took on an extraordinarily positive coloration and a predominant place in Muslim piety. The *sunnah* of the Prophet *(sunnat al-nabī)* began to preempt tribal *sunnah*; the new "tribe," the Muslims, acquired a new pattern of established practice. That development, along with the simultaneous revelation of the sacred text, the Qurʾān, *through* Muḥammad produced one of these dynamic paradoxes that have enriched the histories of all the major religions: the relationship between Muḥammad's roles as vehicle of revelation and as exemplar of the most important *sunnah.* Muḥammad was only a man, receiving but not authoring God's word. Yet that word was difficult to follow without its bearer's example and explication; the Qurʾān itself urged Muslims to follow God and his Messenger. Although the injunction not to deify Muḥammad was taken seriously, he was still a man set apart from others by his special intimacy with God and his role as the Seal of the Prophets. Some may also have attributed to him the special, magical powers they would have previously expected from any holy person. In his mission, Muḥammad was, more than many prophets, both messenger and exemplar, because he was a temporal as well as spiritual leader. There was always a thin line between emulation and veneration, between making him an ideal exemplar and dehumanizing him into a perfect man. One could imitate him, but not completely, because he was too special; but one could not make him so special that he was not human. Within this range, myriad authentic pious responses have flourished.

Furthermore, although scriptural religions have always developed sources of commentary that involve the founder, Muslims relied unusually heavily on Muḥammad. They produced a massive, multifunctional, multifaceted corpus of "news" or "reports" (*ḥadīth*) from the companions of the Prophet, whose humanness, though exceptional, had to be maintained. It is true that the *ḥadīth* did not establish Muḥammad as an exemplar apart from his role as bearer of revealed truth; but, ironically, it was the very denial of his divinity that made him so imitable, that allowed personal details to accumulate to a level almost unmatched in the history of religion, with the possible exception of the personality of Mohandas Gandhi. Ironically, too, it may have been the very size of the corpus that not only encouraged selectivity but also promoted, and reflected, disagreement about the norms to be derived from it.

SUNNAT AL-NABĪ.

In time, and especially under the pressure of practical necessity, the two parts of Muḥammad's mission coalesced into two separate oral and written bodies of texts: (1) revelation (*waḥy*), that is, divine word or Qurʾān; and (2) inspired prophetic example *(sunnat al-nabī)*. The most common literary vehicle of the *sunnat al-nabī*, the *ḥadīth*, functioned to maintain proximity to Muḥammad's *sunnah* in much the same way as the *ayyām*, a pre-Islamic literary form for preserving noble tribal exploits, had kept tribal *sunnah* alive. The early Muslim community, whose *sunnah* was based on that of Muḥammad, preserved the *sunnat al-nabī* through the memorization and transmission of *ḥadīth*. Some Muslims said that *sunnat al-nabī* had been revealed along with the Qurʾān, as has sometimes been said of the oral law and the written law (Torah) in Judaism; others have even relied on *sunnah* more than on the Qurʾān.

The range covered by the *sunnat al-nabī* was as broad as that of oral law too: food and eating, manners, clothing and jewelry, hygiene and grooming, social behavior, forms of greeting, and etiquette, as well as weightier religious, political, or economic matters. Consequently, the *sunnah* of the Prophet and the early community came to play a major role in the development of the Islamic legal system (*sharīʿah*) and systematic discussion about God (*kalām*). (This usage of the term *sunnah* should not be confused with the technical sense in which it is also used within the *sharīʿah* for a certain level of permissibility of acts.)

Sunnah also came to function in various extralegal, extratheological ways. The quoting of *ḥadīth* could have a performatory quality: the mere act of citing an apt *ḥadīth* could help one manage a given situation or display one's piety. Through literary presentations of Muḥammad's life pattern, or *sīrah*, which also came to be the name of a biographical genre, the *sunnah* was spread even wider. The use of *ḥadīth* as primary sources for the writing of historical narrative became common. Muḥammad's various roles, especially that of societal reformer, became paradigms for the behavior of many later leaders. At the popular level and especially among Ṣūfīs (mystics), Muḥammad became the soul's guide and the perfect universal human, showing people how to behave in the presence of God; numerous poetic genres emerged to capture this side of him. Above all, the cultivation of the *sunnat al-nabī*, not just in legally binding matters but in the smallest details of mundane daily existence, took on the salvific quality present in orthodox Jews' observance of *ḥalakhah* (law).

Until recently, most Western scholars have focused on the authenticity and reliability of these materials. There is an old academic tradition that views the *ḥadīth*-based picture of the *sunnat al-nabī* as a *post hoc* creation of the second and particularly third centuries of Islam, when the major authoritative collections of *ḥadīth* were compiled. More recent scholarship has argued that *ḥadīth* emerged very early, in written as well as oral form, and that the very earliest Muslim community assumed sincerely that its *sunnah* was continuous with that of the Prophet.

Scholars have also disagreed about how closely to connect *ḥadīth* and *sunnah*. Although the derivation of *sunnah* for legal purposes depended heavily on the study and explication of *ḥadīth*, the two were not coterminous. The *ḥadīth* were simply verbal reports, tens of thousands of them, about something Muḥammad said or did. They contained many, many potential norms or standards, but those had to be derived or actualized to have legal force. Some matters that were traditionally agreed upon as *sunnah* were contradicted by particular *ḥadīth* or had no basis in *ḥadīth*. Furthermore, individual Muslims could easily disagree with one derivation of a norm and prefer another or prefer one *ḥadīth* to another or reject one and accept another. Finally, the *ḥadīth* format came to be used for conveying all sorts of information not directly related to the life of the Prophet.

As the *sunnah* gradually acquired the meaning of the received, recognized, normative practice of Muḥammad and, to an extent, his companions, its opposite came to be represented by the word *bidʿah* (literally, "starting new," "innovation"). It first became significant as a critique of the behavior of the Marwanid caliphs (685–750), who were seen to have deviated from the ideal of Muḥammad and his companions. Some Muslims always used the word in a negative way—to refer to something beyond the parameters of the acceptable. For others, *bidʿah*, like *sunnah*, can be good or bad—bad if it contradicted the accepted *sunnah*, good if it was consistent with it, even if not contained in it, and promoted the good of the community.

Western scholars often translate *bidʿah* as "heresy" when applied by Muslims to unacceptable religious practices and beliefs. However, "heresy" obscures the pragmatic bent of the Islamic tradition in favor of a dogmatic bent more appropriate to a tradition such as Christianity, which had, unlike Islam, institutionalized theological ways in order to judge and control deviation. The charge of *bidʿah* referred not so much to the content of beliefs as to their practical consequences; it was often made by rulers to reprove certain members of society and dissuade them from adopting socially appealing ideas that disrupted the status quo.

SUNNĪ AND SHĪʿĪ. During the first 120 years of Islamic history, disagreements emerged about how best to derive, understand, and be true to the Prophet's *sunnah*. Through a series of internal conflicts, sides and positions shifted frequently. By the time the Abbasid dynasty of caliphs overthrew and replaced the Umayyads (750), two major orientations had begun to crystalize, both of which were addressed by the Abbasid platform. For some, Muḥammad's unifying and lawgiving function was primary to his *sunnah* and would be best preserved if his community (*jamāʿah*) were kept together at all costs, in two ways: (1) by providing a system of rules (*sharīʿah*) as close as possible to those he brought, with a body of learned men (*ʿulamāʾ*) to manage it; and (2) by providing a "nomocratic" leader (*khalīfah*) who would "stay close" to Muḥammad by uniting the community physically, by guaranteeing its security, and by ensuring a proper Muslim environment through protection of the *sharīʿah* and its learned managers. Muḥammad's charismatic function would not be imitated by a person but, rather, routinized in the law.

Another group found proximity to Muḥammad in a different device—physical descent. For them, maintaining proximity to his *sunnah* depended on recapturing his intimacy with God and his closeness to and divinely guided designation of a relative, his cousin and son-in-law ʿAlī, to succeed him. Although they too gathered *ḥadīth*, established *sunnah*, and worked out shariah, for them it was all unusable without a continuation of the charismatic interpretation the Prophet had provided. They had sought, unsuccessfully, to provide the community with a theocratic ruler (*imām*) who could incorporate the nomocratic functions of the *khalīfah* but whose legitimacy would not depend on doing only that. Muḥammad's charismatic function would not be duplicated by the *imām*s but, rather, transformed and kept alive by them on the basis of their special inherited inner skills.

Although affection for the family of the Prophet was diffused throughout the Muslim community, this group carried partisanship further. In their hearts and minds, certain descendants of the Prophet through his cousin ʿAlī (*imām*s) partook of Muḥammad's special qualities; yet they suffered and were frequently martyred at the hands of wrongful rulers. The passing over of ʿAlī for the caliphate the first three times it was awarded and the martyrdom of the third of their line, Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, at the hands of the fifth caliph, Yazīd (r. 680–683), as well as subsequent misfortunes, predisposed them to support the Abbasids, who claimed to represent the innate right of the family of the Prophet over those who had usurped it.

However, after they came to power, the Abbasids rejected the special claims of this group, which had generally been known as the partisans (*shīʿah*) of ʿAlī, in favor of the nomocratic style favored by the majority, who styled themselves "the people of the *sunnah* and the community" (*ahl al-sunnah wa-al-jamāʾah*). Although the short form Sunnī stuck to them, as did Shīʿī to the others, nomenclature should not imply that only they were committed to *sunnah* and *ḥadīth* as sources of knowledge. Rather, they established proximity to the *sunnah* by maintaining a consensual *jamāʾah*, whereas the Shi'ah stayed close to it by resisting the decisions of the misguided *jamāʾah* and by trying to substitute what they saw as a more profound, esoteric understanding and style of leadership.

Subtle interpretations aside, however, "Sunnī" came to stand, in different senses, for the majoritarian, mainstream, "orthoprax" style of Islamic piety, especially among those who adhered to it (more than 90% throughout history). By the time of the influential legal theorist and schematizer al-Shāfiʿī (d. 820), an unsystemic and sometimes imaginative derivation and use of *ḥadīth* about Muḥammad's and his community's *sunnah* had become commonplace among the several early Jamāʿī-Sunnī "schools" of *fiqh* (jurisprudence), as had many other legal techniques. Simultaneously, intellectually important movements like Shiism and Muʿtazilī rationalism had developed modes of reasoning that downplayed the authority of a *ḥadīth*-borne *sunnat al-nabī*.

Responding to these and other factors, al-Shāfiʿī sought to rationalize and circumscribe the legitimate roots or sources *(uṣūl)* of jurisprudential deliberation. These he limited to a hierarchy of four, each of which had a fixed relationship to the one(s) before: Qurʾān, *sunnah*, *ijmāʿ*, and *qiyās*. The starting point had to be the Qurʾān. However, where the *sunnah* could explain or supplement revealed truth, it became a second source by virtue of a frequent Qurʾanic injunction, "Obey God and his Messenger." The *sunnah* had to be based on *ḥadīth* traceable back to the Prophet himself or a companion through the supporting *(isnād)* of an unbroken chain (*silsilah*) of reliable transmitters. Thus did al-Shāfiʿī solidify for Jamāʿī-Sunnīs Muḥammad's role as uniquely authoritative exemplar.

Furthermore, where the entire community, as represented by its learned men (*ʿulamāʾ*), had reached consensus (*ijmāʿ*), that too became law if it was consistent with the first two sources. In justifying the use of *ijmāʿ*, al-Shāfiʿī had recourse to a famous *ḥadīth*, "My community will never agree on an error." *Ijmāʿ* sometimes sanctioned, for example, the Arab custom of male and female circumcision, which in turn came to be known as *sunnah* too. Finally, the *ʿulamāʾ* could make adaptive extensions of the first three sources by using personal judgment limited to analogy (*qiyās*) to something in the other three sources. They were equipped to perform their functions not because they possessed any innate characteristics but because they had acquired, through devoted study of Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*, the knowlege (*ʿilm*) of what is right.

Deserving of comment is the relationship between this approach to *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* and *tradition*, a word that is often used to translate them. Al-Shāfiʿī's *ḥadīth*-oriented approach was actually antitraditionalist. By insisting on the use of texts in the form of *ḥadīth* that were traceable to Muḥammad, he was restricting the role "tradition" had been playing among legists because, by the second Islamic century, many things that had become "traditional" among legists had no textual base or were contradicted by the texts.

Al-Shāfiʿī's approach should more properly be viewed as "textualist": he accepted practices not because they were customary but because they were documented. Not long after his death, the *ḥadīth* began to be compiled into a series of six major authoritative collections. Although some of them may have reflected "traditions" in the narrower sense, the impact of this whole series of developments was to control the traditional in favor of what was based on a text and to undermine contemporary rulers' attempts to legitimize custom based on the court rather than *sunnah* based on *ḥadīth*.

Emergence of schools. Gradually, four major Jamāʿī-Sunnī "schools" (sg., *madhhab*; pl., *madhāhib*) of law, all influenced by al-Shāfiʿī's system, formed around the teachings of four leading early figures: Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal (780–855), Mālik ibn Anas (715–795), Abū Ḥanīfah (699–767), and al-Shāfiʿī himself. Eventually, standardization set in to the point at which, by the fourteenth century, no further significant variation was anticipated—a situation expressed by the phrase "the closing of the gate of *ijtihād*" (individual inquiry).

Sharīʿah-oriented Jamāʿī-Sunnism came to focus on the establishment of communal consensus and the maintenance of the public order—in worship, in marketplace behavior, or on the highways and frontiers. Judges (*qāḍīs*) judged what was brought to their attention, not what they ferreted out privately. Books of law focused on ritual obligations (summarized by the five pillars—confession of faith, daily prayer, alms, fasting during the month of Ramaḍān, and pilgrimage to Mecca) as well as on family and personal status law and economic and political matters. This style of piety came to accept as ruler (*khalīfah*) whomever the great majority of the community accepted and to define him as guarantor of physical security and provider of an atmosphere in which the *sharīʿah* could prevail.

Some Jamāʿī-Sunnīs also used *ḥadīth* and *sunnah* as the basis for *kalām* (speculative discussion about God), although others viewed *kalām* itself as *bidʾah*, by virtue of its presumptuous attempt to prove what had already been revealed as true. By the eleventh century, two major *ḥadīth*-oriented schools—the Māturīdī (named after Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī, d. 944) and the Ashʿarī (named after Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī, d. 935)—had won out over more rationalistic groups such as the Muʿtazilah. The Ashʿarīyah and Māturīdīyah emphasized emotional faith as opposed to the mere assent of intellectualized belief and relied on Muḥammad's own faith and the *ḥadīth* that expressed it as the best guides. They favored an exoteric (*ẓāhirī*) style of reading the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*. Although they insisted on the unity of God, they accepted the existence of his attributes as mentioned in the Qurʾān, asserting that those attributes were not part of his essence. They emphasized that God exercised power over human action through continuous atomistic creation, though they did not remove the power of human choice altogether. They set limits on speculation by accepting many difficult Qurʾanic points outright, without regard to how they were true.

Sufism. Despite the emphasis of Jamāʿī-Sunnīs on *sharīʿah*, they also began by the twelfth century to partake of mystical piety (Sufism), partly because of the accomplishments of al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), the *kalām* teacher and self-styled Ṣūfī. Al-Ghazālī managed to make a place in Jamāʿī-Sunnī legalism for the more spiritualized, ineffable qualities of the Ṣūfīs. Organized groups of Ṣūfīs (*ṭarīqahs*) of great scope and variety gradually appeared and expanded so that by the sixteenth century much if not most of the adult male Sunnī population may have belonged to one or the other of these groups.

Jamāʿī-Sunnīsm has been described as the "piety of solidarity." Its emphasis on the universal applicability and accessibility not only of the Qurʾān but also of Muḥammad's *sunnah* has promoted remarkable cultural homogeneity among the many diverse peoples who have come under the Islamic umbrella during the past fourteen centuries.

SEE ALSO Caliphate; Ḥadīth; Imamate; Muḥammad; Nubūwah.

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ŚŪNYAM AND ŚŪNYATĀ. "Empty," "open," "devoid," "nothing," and "nonexistent" are words used to translate the term *śūnyam.* "Emptiness," "openness," "nothingness," "nonsubstantiality," "relativity," and "the inexhaustible" have been used to translate *śūnyatā.* These two terms, of major importance in Buddhism, have been used to express a philosophical idea, a focus of meditation, a religious attitude, and a manner of ethical action. "Emptiness" may thus indicate deprivation (or self-substantiated reality in conventional experience), a complex implicit interrelatedness of all existing things, or blissful perfect freedom (from anxiety, anger, and pain). As general religious terms, *śūnyam* and *śūnyatā* are used in an attempt to indicate and incite an awareness of "the way things really are" (*yathābhūtam*). The complexity of the concept expressed as "emptiness" derives from the recognition in Buddhism that teaching the truth about life is urgent for alleviating suffering, but that implicit in thinking and speaking resides a tendency to create an illusion (of self-sufficient realities) that is itself the cause of that suffering. The teaching of "the emptiness of things" is a medicine for the spiritual illness seen wherever there is greed, hate, and self-delusion; it is a response to a universal, problematic condition that is found in particular specific forms and thus requires different kinds and levels of correction. Assertions about the empty nature of existence pertain to different objects of concern, for example, conventional phenomena, the basic (usually hidden but more fundamental) causal factors of existence, the highest mode of perceiving phenomena, or the nature of everything. Similarly, different Buddhist schools have recognized the value of different interpretations but have judged the value of a particular interpretation on a scale from the most superficial understanding (for beginners) to the most profound (for spiritual adepts). In all the interpretations and explanations, however, there is a clear recognition that the notion of emptiness is closely tied to the practice of perceiving existence in an "empty manner," which, in turn, results in behavior typified by patience, compassion, strength of character, and morality.

TEACHING OF EMPTINESS AS PART OF THE BODHISATTVA PATH. During the second century BCE, Buddhist teachers in India emphasized "emptiness" as a basic description of the nature of existing things. They were known as "teachers of emptiness" (*śūnyavādins*). Their approach to enlightenment is dramatically portrayed in the Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras (The perfection of wisdom discourses). These *sūtra*s maintain that the teaching and meditation training of the contemporary traditional masters, as depicted in the analysis of the Abhidharma Piṭaka, resulted in only a partial enlightenment. The Abhidharma masters had insight only into the emptiness of "the self" and general empirical phenomena, which they could perceive by breaking up conventional perceptions of oneself and "the objective world" into their fundamental causal factors (*dharma*s). While reviewing the *dharma*s was recognized to be a monastic skill that provided the foundation for the cultivation of nonattachment to the self and the world, the "teachers of emptiness" held that such a review, with its emphasis on attaining *nirvāṇa* by avoiding attachment to the "constructed world," could itself become a subtle attachment. To prevent attachment to *dharma* analysis and the expectation of an individual *nirvāṇa* they insisted that even the *dharma*s, together with their identifying characteristics, had to be seen as empty. All distinctions, including those between *nirvāṇa* and the world in flux (*saṃsāra*) and between enlightenment and non-enlightenment, were empty of inherent characteristics. The emptiness of all things is a significant part of the Bodhisattva Path to enlightenment in Mahāyāna (Great Vehicle) Buddhism (which developed in northern India and spread to China, Korea, Japan, and Tibet). This path is a spiritual training that begins with instruction of the Buddha's Middle Way to avoid attachment to "the appearances of the world" and acquisition of self-constricting energy (*karman*). The path includes putting the teaching into practice (perhaps through many lifetimes and even aeons of time) by meditation, by moral action that results in "seeds of virtue," and eventually by the formation of "the thought of enlightenment" (*bodhicitta*) and the earnest resolution (*praṇidhāna*) to work for the welfare of all living beings. Progress on the path includes the perfection of charity, morality, effort, and wisdom. A distinguishing character of this wisdom is that the recognition of emptiness is combined with compassion for all living beings. Such wisdom is cultivated through a skill (*upāyakauśalya*) to fully engage the conditioned world (*saṃsāra*) without being tainted by its evil, delusion, and compulsive drivenness toward pain. The Bodhisattva Path is elaborated in subsequent centuries in such texts as the *Madhyamakāvatāra* (Entering the Middle Way) by Candrakīrti (sixth century CE), the *Śiksāsamuccaya* (Compendium of Precepts) by Śāntideva (eighth century CE), and the *Bhāvanākrama* (The course of spiritual development) by Kamalaśīla (eighth century CE). In claiming to perfect the meditational practice of the Abhidharma masters within the Indian Buddhist community, the composers of the Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras claimed—as did the composers of such other early Mahāyāna discourses as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* (Lotus of the good law discourse) and the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra* (Exposition by Vimalakīrti)—that their teaching of emptiness was consistent with, and indeed the deepest comprehension of, the earliest recorded doctrine of the Buddha. The earlier recorded discourses (*nikāya*s) had already used the notion of emptiness to describe the ephemeral quality of phenomena, especially the lack of permanence and self-existence of perceived objects. During meditative quieting of the mind, and through a descriptive analysis of the many factors that constitute perceived objects, the monk sought to remove mental and emotional disturbances that arose from false expectations of permanence. Though everyday phenomena "exist" in a composite, conditioned manner, they are empty of anything that is permanent or self-existent. In articulating this path of nonattachment to mental, emotional, or material "things," the *nikāya*s use designations such as "empty," "impermanent," and "nonessential"; however, they are aware that in conventional speech an assertion implies the denial of its opposite claim. To avoid such implications they also warn that enlightenment is not the same as holding a *view* of emptiness, of nonexistence rather than existence, of "it is not" rather than "it is." Rather, one should avoid clinging to ideas or apprehensions that divide one's experience into "is" and "is not," "being" and "nonbeing," or "if not this, then that." The path to enlightenment, expounded by the "teachers of emptiness" in the Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras, absorbed the earlier Buddhist recognition that the self and objects of perception are empty of self-existence. The "teachers of emptiness" extended the awareness of the empty nature to everything. Thus the *dharma*s (causal factors of existence), the Buddha's teaching, the path to liberation, the beings who seek liberation, liberation, and "emptiness as a teaching" were all viewed as being empty—all viewed in an empty manner. The Bodhisattva Path was described as "no-path" or "non-coursing"; the Buddha's position was "having no place to stand." The attainment of enlightenment was "no-attainment." There was no defilement, no purification; no arising and no dissipation of existence; and no release from existence to attain *nirvāṇa*—because all these are empty of self-substantiated reality, inherent characteristics, and essential value. This kind of teaching was meant neither for the "worldling" attached to the things of existence nor even for a novice in the Buddha's Middle Way. Such people as these might become fearful and despondent or might interpret the teaching as a nihilistic view or simply as a negative expression of a transcendent essentialism. Only courageous pursuers of truth who had accumulated a resource of spontaneous virtue and clarity of perception could see that such "non-coursing" implies complete interrelatedness with all living beings and that the deepest cognition of emptiness is expressed as compassion.

THE MĀDHYAMIKA SCHOOL. The effort to formulate and justify the insight that all things are empty while living in a spontaneous, comprehensively caring manner was systematized differently by two Indian schools of Buddhism, the Mādhyamika ("middle way") and the Yogācāra ("yoga practice") schools. Nāgārjuna (late second century CE) is often regarded as the founder of the Mādhyamika school. The invocation of one of his major writings, the *Mūlamadhyamakākarikās* (The Fundamentals of the Middle Way), includes a summary of "eight negations" that has epitomized the emptiness teaching for subsequent generations: no origination, no dissipation; no permanence, no ending; no differentiation, no identity; no coming (into existence), no going (from existence). Throughout this work, Nāgārjuna analyzes basic philosophical notions and views, for example, causal conditions, time, *karman,* self (*ātman*), the fully enlightened one (*tathāgata*), and *nirvāṇa.* He shows that none exists in the sense of self-sufficient existence (*svabhāva*) and, thus, that each is empty (of self-sufficient existence). At the same time, he demonstrates that all phenomena exist because emptiness is the same as dependent co-origination (*pratītya-samutpāda*). As radical relational existence, emptiness is identical to existence. Contrary to the claim of his opponents that to designate everything as "empty" is to say that nothing exists, Nāgārjuna insists that one can account for changing existence or enlightenment only if one recognizes that these lack self-existent reality (i.e., emptiness as dependent co-origination).

To perceive all existing things as dependently co-originating, or empty, requires a shift from the conventional mode of perception. Conventional experience divides the world into likes and dislikes, desires and fears, and "you" and "me" as separate entities. This hides the fact that these perceptions can exist only in interrelationship. To perceive through the deep awareness of emptiness, people must become aware of how they construct attachments and fears while perceiving, conceptualizing, and judging. Concepts and language create the places for sensations and emotions "to reside." Therefore, they are a prime focus for dissipating attachments. Nāgārjuna and his followers in the Mādhyamika school use a critical dialectic to show how concepts that presume to describe independent, self-sufficient reality are illusory. The general structure of this dialectic is to assert that any self-subsistent, independent entity is unchanging and unrelated; to claim that such an entity accounts for any phenomenon in the continually changing world is either logically contradictory or contrary to common experience. Likewise in this dialectic is a rejection of the common assumption that any denial of something logically requires the opposite positive assertion. That is, when denying that an entity has "being," a person implicitly asserts that the entity has "nonbeing." Thus in the Mādhyamika dialectic a common argumentative procedure is the denial of "four alternatives" *(catuṣkoti).* For example, in discussing the nature of the perfectly enlightened one (*tathāgata*), Nāgārjuna states: "One can say neither 'empty' nor 'non-empty'; nor both, nor neither. The purpose of these designations is for communication only" (*Mūlamadhyamakakārikās* 22.11). The religious significance of the critical dialectic is to show the "non-abiding" character of "the way things are." The empty character of existence cannot be encapsulated in language or in any perception that implicitly assumes permanent essential qualities or substances. By dislodging a person's hope that language or logic can capture the empty, or intrinsically relational dynamic of existence, one can avoid the delusion of permanence as a condition for happiness and serenity. The use of logic to justify the emptiness of experienced "things," juxtaposed with the assertion that language distorts a true cognition of emptiness, led to the doctrine of two levels or modes of truth. The notion of two modes of truth recognizes that logic, metaphor, or verbal description has use in conventional day-to-day experience but that such conventional use also hides and distorts a deeper (or higher) cognition known through an immediate, direct, intuitive awareness. For the Mādhyamika, emptiness was the object of highest knowledge and, at the same time, accounted for the possibility of the conditioned, conventional forms in everyday life. However, to say that emptiness is "the object" of knowledge does not mean at the highest level of truth that emptiness exists as a separate entity. This is the realization of the "emptiness of emptiness." Because "the two modes of truth"—like everything else—are related but distinct, the systematic formulation of how they were to be defined and related became a focus of much subsequent discussion and writing throughout the millennia. Within the Mādhyamika school and between various schools or lineages of teaching in India, Tibet, China, Korea, and Japan, there were various understandings of the two levels of truth and the meaning of emptiness in the context of realizing the highest truth. Within Mādhyamika, the subschool called Prāsaṅgika (from *prasaṅga,* a logical method of "necessary consequence") stressed the distorting character of all concepts and logic. Its adherents applied their rigorous "consequential dialectic" to all concepts that purported to express the highest truth, in order to dislodge any pretense of language to do so. Language and logic are, nevertheless, important tools to show the self-contradictory and distortional character of conceptual formulation. In his *Prasannapadā* (Clearly worded commentary), on Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās,* Candrakīrti advocates this position, emphasizing that the awareness of emptiness is the destruction of *all* views or formulations. Even the negation of self-existent reality *(svabhāva)* is not a positive cognition of anything. In his commentary, Candrakīrti argues against Bhāvaviveka, an important spokesperson for the other Mādhyamika subschool, the Svātantrikas ("Independents"). The Svātantrikas held that language and logic cannot express the most profound aspects of the highest truth but that some assertions express the truth of emptiness more accurately than others. Further, the accurate statements are amenable to verification within conventional rules of logical justification. This discussion continued outside India, especially in the development of Tibetan Buddhist lineages. For example, the Prāsaṅgika position was elaborated by the Sa skya and later by the Rnying ma pa commentators, while the Svātantrika position was advocated by the Dge lugs pa lineage, including the great master Tsong kha pa (1357–1419 CE). The Tibetan monasteries developed their own lineages by drawing on ideas and interpretations from various earlier schools. They attempted to synthesize the teachings from different sources and thus develop a more complete view, while the Prāsaṅgika view is said to be the basis for knowing emptiness and is found in all four divisions of the *tantra*s ("deep meaning texts").

THE YOGĀCĀRA SCHOOL. The ideas of the other major Indian school of Mahāyāna Buddhism, the Yogācāra, were systematically formulated during the fourth century CE by the two monks Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. Like the Mādhyamikas, the Yogācāras also recognize that all phenomena are empty (i.e., conditioned, without selfsubsisting reality). However, they insist that the "courser in wisdom" should positively affirm the ultimate reality of consciousness. It is consciousness that is empty and that knows in an empty or delusive manner. All living beings, Asaṅga claims in his *Madhyānta-vibhaga* (Distinguishing between the middle and extremes), have the capacity to pervasively construct "that which is not there" (*abhūta-parikalpa*). This capacity artificially divides the interdependent world into many dualities, for example, subject and object, being and nonbeing. The elimination of dualistic fabrication is true emptiness. Consciousness, in Yogācāra reflection, is the comprehensive reality and is composed of three kinds of reality: completely fictive or illusory (*parikalpita-svabhāva*), dependent or conditioned (*paratantra-svabhāva*), and truly real or nondual (*pariniṣpanna-svabhāva*). Through the practice of the Bodhisattva Path the illusory reality is recognized for what it is: nonexistent. This recognition purifies the conditioned existence, which itself is not a real object but a modality of consciousness. When this is realized, the nonduality (or emptiness) of all things is manifest and exists as the ultimate reality (*paramārtha sat*). Whereas the Mādhyamikas stress that both the conditioned forms and the unconditioned reality are empty, the Yogācāras emphasize that the true reality is neither empty nor nonempty.

Another aspect of the Yogācāra emphasis on consciousness, found in several Indian discourses that contributed to the Mahāyāna understanding of ultimate reality, was the notion of the "matrix of enlightened reality" (*tathāgata-garbha*). Vasubandhu had described the basis of multiple kinds of consciousness as a "store consciousness" (*alaya-vijñana*). This store consciousness contains both pure and impure "seeds" (*bīja*s) that influence subsequent consciousness. Similarly, the *tathāgata-garbha* is the womb, or matrix, from which pure consciousness in the manifested world arises. Such a Mahāyāna text as the *Srīmālādevī-siṃhanāda Sūtra* (The lion's roar of Queen Srimala) equates the *tathāgata-garbha* with emptiness. Here "emptiness" means both "being devoid of impurities" and the natural "power of enlightenment" to produce nonattached consciousness in worldly forms. The ultimate nature of the *tathāgata-garbha* is perfect purity. It is manifested in forms as well as being the formless reality. However, enlightened reality—also called "the Buddha nature"—is said to be nonempty in respect to the virtues of Buddhahood, which are manifested in the phenomenal world. Insofar as there is a strong emphasis on enlightened reality, which is manifest in particular concrete forms, the *tathāgata-garbha* is said to be neither simply empty nor simply nonempty. In India during the second half of the first millennium CE, in China beginning in the fifth century CE, and in the development of the Tibetan lineages, Buddhist scholars developed several formulations of the relation between the conditioned and the unconditioned realities, between the pure and the impure conditioning influences, and between emptiness and conditional form.

EMPTINESS IN CHINESE AND JAPANESE SCHOOLS. In China the Mādhyamika school maintained a teaching lineage for several centuries from the fifth century CE on as the Sanlun ("three [middle way] treatises") school. The teachings of the Mādhyamika were studied in Japan from the seventh century CE on but without a separate community following a lineage succession. The Yogācāra doctrine was transmitted to China through the translation of texts and a lineage of teachers that became known as the Faxiang ("characteristics of dharma") school. This school was transmitted to Japan during the seventh and eighth centuries CE, where it was known as the Hossō school. The Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhists, during the fifth and sixth centuries, wrestled with the cognition of emptiness first in relation to Neo-Daoist notions of nothingness (*kong*), which implied that emptiness is a primary source from which all phenomenal forms arise. In the flowering of Buddhism in China (from the sixth century CE through the first half of the ninth century CE), Buddhist scholars understood emptiness within the context of the broadbased Chinese philosophical problem of the relation between the substance or foundation *(ti)* of everything and its function or appearance *(yong)* in the changing world. Within the Sanlun school, contrasting understandings of this relation between substance and function are found in the writings of Sengzhao (374–414 CE) and of Jizang (549–623 CE). Sengzhao assumed the identity of substance and function, affirming that emptiness is the foundation of all things that appear through dependent co-arising and is the nature of insight that recognizes the illusory (empty) character of phenomena; thereby the enlightened person abides in non-abiding (emptiness) and moves (in an empty manner) in conditioned existence. Jizang, on the contrary, held that substance and function need to be clearly distinguished, and emphasized that the highest truth is manifest when the conventional truth is negated. Emptiness is basically the dialectical negation of both being and nonbeing and of both affirmation and negation. The highest truth is known in conditioned existence when names and characteristics of things are negated or transcended in nonphenomenal awareness. During the sixth and seventh centuries CE, the Chinese Buddhists synthesized the notions of emptiness, multiple kinds of truth (reality), and dependent co-arising within a cosmological context in developing two distinctly Chinese schools or teaching lineages. These were Tiantai, formulated by Zhiyi (531–597 CE), and Huayan, systematized by Fazang (643–712 CE). Both are attempts to relate substance and function in one harmonious and interrelated matrix of reality. Chih-i held that there was a threefold truth—the empty *(kong)*, the provisional (*jia*), and the middle *(zhong)*—and that these three parts are reciprocally identical and simultaneous. Rather than view the truths in a lower-to-higher order, he presented them as different modalities of one universal consciousness. While they appear to be separate processes, he maintained, in their deepest character of interrelatedness they are one undifferentiated matrix whose principle is beyond dualistic or linear comprehension. Fazang held that the "nature of things" was emptiness, by which he meant the harmonious interdependent co-arising of particular, concrete phenomena. Such a universe is "the body of the *tathāgata*." Rather than devaluing particular phenomena because they are conditioned (non-eternal), his system insists that each has supreme value in its interrelatedness to everything else. Fazang held that the three natures (levels of awareness) proposed by Yogācāra teachers are intrinsically interrelated, and together form a whole, because they are all empty. The most profound nature is the incomprehensible "suchness" (formless emptiness), which is also the emptiness of the interrelatedness of conditioned existence (dependent co-origination); this, in turn, is also the non-self-substantial (empty) nature of illusory mental construction. To know the intrinsic emptiness ("suchness") of all forms is the highest awareness. However, most people do not see the complex emptiness of everything. At a lower level of awareness, one can also say that the evil and pain experienced in the world represent only the potential for realizing incomprehensible "suchness" and that the *tathāgata-garbha* causes the transformation of enlightenment in particular minds and moments of consciousness. Nevertheless, in reality, the world is an inconceivably vast expression of emptiness that is the glorious manifestation of unchanging fullness, an overbrimming potential of "openness." Another very important expression of emptiness is found in the "Meditation school," which is known as Chan in China and Zen in Japan. The focus in Chan communities has been, and is, on "the practice of emptiness." The basic negation of concepts as inadequate communication of "the way things are" and an emphasis on quieting the mind and extending the empty mode of perception into daily life continue the themes found in the Bodhisattva Path as portrayed in the Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras. Zen masters have commented on these discourses as well as on the central Mādhyamika and Yogācāra treatises and on the poems and comments of previous Zen masters. Zen is the practice of manifesting "the Buddha mind," which is also "no-mind." The realization of "no-mind" is the loss of attachment to conventional perceptions, theoretical concepts about reality, and self-images. In that state of awareness, a Zen practitioner is directly confronted with emptiness—not as an idea or as the denial of an idea but as "what is at that moment." Many Zen masters have emphasized that the notion of emptiness is misleading or useless when it is used to describe a distinctive quality of experience. At the same time, "emptiness" is prominently used as a focus of meditation, in which the meditator is called on to "become emptiness." Basically, it is a mental tool to dissipate attachment to images and concepts. In the contemporary discussion of cross-cultural philosophy and interfaith dialogue in which Buddhists are involved, the notion of emptiness and the negating dialectic are important points of engagement with other philosophies. The empty perception of "the way things are" has been compared with the critique of reason given by the eighteenth-century German philosopher Immanuel Kant and with the distorting character of language described by the twentieth-century philosophers Ludwig Wittgenstein and Martin Heidegger. The claim that all things are dependently co-originated is compared with similar concepts in "process philosophy," as expounded, for example, in Alfred North Whitehead's *Process and Reality.* The notion of emptiness forms a central concern in the philosophical thought of the contemporary Japanese philosophers Nishida Kitarō and Nishitani Keiji as they discuss the nature of goodness, existence, and selfhood in a cross-cultural philosophical context. In interfaith dialogue, emptiness is a major topic in the Christian and Buddhist discussion of the nature of ultimate reality, human nature, and religious awareness. Likewise, the empty apprehension of oneself that is best manifested in compassion is compared with mystical disciplines that require the love of others found in various religious traditions. As a fundamental and multidimensional concept, emptiness continues to engage reflective people who pursue the tantalizing question of the nature of things.

SEE ALSO Ālaya-vijñāna; Bodhisattva Path; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism; Buddhist Philosophy; Chan; Dharma, article on Buddhist Dharma and Dharmas; Huayan; Mādhyamika; Nāgārjuna; Nirvāṇa; Numbers, article on Binary Symbolism; Prajñā; Pratītya-samutpāda; Soteriology; Tathāgata-garbha; Tiantai; Yogācāra; Zen.

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SUPERNATURAL, THE. Mysterious occurrences and beings that habitually or occasionally impinge upon one's everyday experience are called "supernatural." It is commonly said that belief in the supernatural characterizes all religions and that belief in the supernatural wanes in modern societies.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE NOTION. The term *supernatural* was given wide currency by Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) and the Scholastics, but it had numerous antecedents in the idiom of the Hellenistic thinkers and church fathers. Neoplatonists in particular accumulated superlatives to speak of the realm of the divine: It was above the highest heaven, beyond the world, and even beyond being. Christians spoke of God as being above nature: He had not grown out of anything but was eternally self-subsistent. They also spoke of Christ as bringing to humankind benefits that were above nature, that is, benefits that were beyond what human beings could reach with their own powers. This link between grace and the supernatural became firmly entrenched in scholastic theology. Thomas taught that in the Fall humanity was hurt in its very nature (that is, weakened as a being) and lost its supernatural gifts, especially its access to the vision of God. God, according to Thomas, in his grace gratuitously heals the wounds (and thus restores to humans what naturally belongs to them) and reopens humanity's path to his supernatural end, thus restoring access to the added bliss of life with God. This theology expresses a constant theme in the Christian faith: The natural and the supernatural are at odds; the sacred and the profane are estranged. God, who is quite separate and distinct from the world, is not responsible for this state of affairs, and his intention is to rectify it. Nature and supernature will, in time, be reconciled.

The word *supernatural,* however, left the confines of the schools and began to lose its precise technical meaning. It became associated with the unusual, the marvelous, the surprising. Robert Lenoble (1968) has shown a continuity, from antiquity to the present day, in what he calls "marvel psychology." Popular thought makes rough distinctions between what is natural, what is artificial, and what is miraculous: Water flows down into valleys, human beings build dams, and the Virgin diverts floods from villages when dams break down. What characterizes common thinking about the subject is uncertainty about the precise borders between the natural, the artificial, and the miraculous. When the dam breaks down, does it do so by itself, through wear and tear, or because some man has put explosives in it or some woman has cast a spell upon it? And does the water spare the village because of its situation—the village is on high land—or because of divine intervention? While medieval theologians had used the term *supernatural* to refer to the moral and spiritual dynamics of salvation, ordinary Christians came to call supernatural any extraordinary occurrence that could not be accounted for by the usual explanations at hand.

The scientific revolution of the seventeenth century radically transformed the idea of cognition. With the mechanistic revolution came, certainly for some human beings, a precise knowledge of the limits of the natural. "Natural" causes have come to explain increasing amounts of experience, and it is commonly assumed that in time, natural causes will be found for events that currently resist explanation. Nature is seen to be a rigid, coherent system that works like a clock, does not pursue moral ends, and is indifferent to human aspirations. Modern humans know how to build dams that are fail-safe; they know for sure that those dams cannot be destroyed by spells; and they do not count on the Virgin to intervene in the event of an accident. Nature, then, always works according to rigorous laws and, by definition, excludes the miraculous. (The older nature was malleable: It was quite willing to see God—who ruled over it—reorder its workings momentarily or locally to bring about a miracle for some special purpose.) At first, the new nature was deemed to magnify God even more than the older one: Its strict regularity and its order seemed to testify to the awesome grandeur of its creator. That it was not a model and had nothing to teach humanity was deemed at first only to serve the interests of the dialogue between man and God. René Descartes (1596–1650) taught that human beings and God are alike in that both are spirits. The human being, a finite spirit, cannot create *ex nihilo,* but like an engineer, can shape everything: The whole of nature is matter in his hands (Lenoble, 1968).

At the same time, however, for reasons that had to do with the aftereffects of the wars of religion, the rise of the modern state, and the new demands for social conformity, the Baroque taste spread in Christian lands. What was infinite, awesome, powerful, overwhelming, and stunning was considered to convey a sense of God. Religious architecture and furniture became calculatedly impressive; oratory became stately. Miracles as powerful disruptions of nature's laws appeared, then, necessary to the cause of religion. Many theologians thus taught that human beings must regard the supernatural as contrary to nature: God, they said, intervenes providentially, and occasionally suspends the course of nature; he also reveals supernatural truths that humans must obediently accept even though their truth is not manifest to one's unaided reason. Rare were the theological voices like that of William Law (1686–1761), who taught that "there is nothing that is supernatural but God alone." Since it was evident that nature would always be what Newton said it was, salvation tended to become less cosmic and more interior. Nature and grace remained isolated: Humans would enjoy redeemed existence only in heaven. Eighteenth-century philosophers such as Voltaire, Hume, and Gibbon, for their part, gave currency to the idea that the supernatural was a notion accepted only by the ignorant and the credulous.

The far-reaching impact of the Baroque on sensibilities may be observed in the novel, a literary form whose real development began in the eighteenth century. The supernatural, the Gothic, and the fantastic were predominant themes in early examples of this mass-appeal genre. Suspense, terror, and pleasure were sustained by stories of desolate houses, mysterious dogs, vampires, murderous plants, doomed infants, premature burials, and preternaturally lascivious monks. An abundance of torture, carnality, magic, and solitary horror placed the protagonist and the reader in a world totally unlike the safe everyday middle-class world, and kept them thrilled, constantly on the verge of terrifying doom or unspeakable bliss. There was also a constant epistemological suspense, a specifically modern feature in fantastic tales: Were the events or apparitions caused supernaturally, or were they in reality some clever manipulation of appearances? The protagonist's and the reader's senses of reality were kept constantly off balance, precisely at a time when science and society worked together to give them a world as safe as possible (Penzoldt, 1952). The entry of the supernatural into literature raised interesting questions: Did readers who enjoyed these novels believe in the existence of supernatural beings and the possibility of supernatural occurrences? One might agree that people believe anything while they are reading it, but what happens to their belief when they are not reading but instead dealing and coping with their everyday world?

APPLICATION OF THE NOTION TO THE STUDY OF RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL SYSTEMS. Among scholars of the nineteenth century it came to be commonly admitted that belief in what Herbert Spencer has called "the supernatural genesis of phenomena" characterized religious people. All religions were said to feature belief in supernatural beings. Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) noted that religion thrives on the sense of things surpassing human knowledge, and he quoted Spencer's reference to the omnipresence of something inscrutable. But Durkheim also stressed that the idea of the supernatural appeared only very late in religious evolution, and that many

Christians were confident that God and nature were as one, or that dogma and reason fully agreed. The idea that belief in the supernatural was characteristic of religion remained, however, firmly entrenched. Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (1857–1939) in his early influential work argued that the primitive mind believed in "mystical," not "physical," influences, whereas practically all contemporaries recognize a clear line of demarcation between the supernatural (rejected by all except the credulous) and the data furnished by everyday ordinary sense experience and the broad light of day. R. R. Marret (1866–1943) confirmed that the notion gives a good minimal definition of religion. He classified the supernatural according to negative modes (taboo) and positive modes (mana). The sense of the supernatural, Marret stressed, is an existential and affective reality, a response to the extranormal and the uncanny, and is thus not related to a reasoned theory of nature. "Power belongeth unto God," and the sense of the supernatural is the sense of the nearly overwhelming presence of great power. Paul Radin (1883–1959) argued against Lévy-Bruhl and spoke of the supernatural as arising against a background of inevitable fears (stemming from economic and psychic insecurity) that he found to be present in all human beings, primitive and modern. He saw in the modern West a decline in religion and in recourse to supernatural beings for help, because other means of emphasizing and maintaining life values were available and on the ascendant. Revision of the initial positivist separation between credulous and rational people reached a climax with Lévy-Bruhl's famous reversal, recorded in his *Notebooks* (posthumously published in 1949): "Primitives reject contradiction, just as we do, when they perceive it." Lévy-Bruhl developed comparative epistemology, according to whose tenets anthropologists were to compare modes of thought, psychic capacities, and mental categories without assuming at the outset that they themselves were in possession of a language that could adequately give an account of everything other minds did (Needham, 1972).

While this should be admitted, scholars today should still try to speak adequately of the varieties of admittedly extreme and nonverifiable languages people have recourse to when they express their reaction to situations that have powerful impact on them but remain opaque in their meaning, or desperately baffling in their consequence. Light can be derived from recent developments in anthropology that have profited from comparative studies in mythology, literature, and folklore. In all cultures stories abound, ranging from myths to folk legends, that tell the adventures of heroes in a world or worlds teeming with supernatural beings and awe-inspiring circumstances.

Consider the example of the *Odyssey,* a fairly typical tale. (Supernatural occurrences there, however, are among the milder ones, and the range of unusual creatures is somewhat narrow: There is a shortage of evil spirits and demons such as abound in other types of literature.) In his travels Odysseus has to deal with (1) the remote but supreme authority of the king of the gods; (2) the support or enmity of powerful gods who have influence at court (Athena); (3) the support or enmity of powerful gods who rule in some corner of the world (Poseidon); (4) minor gods or goddesses (Calypso, who enjoys a perpetual vacation at her seashore home); (5) human beings with magical powers (Circe); (6) monstrous beings with terrifying powers (the Sirens); (7) powerful giants (the Cyclops); and (8) very unusual human beings (the lotus-eaters, who are more strange than ordinary foreigners). The hero himself is endowed with exceptional powers of endurance and prowess at the bow; he performs an extraordinary feat (he returns from Hades) and thus represents here the ninth type of being. Other heroes in such tales can fly, change their size, and so on. All nine types of beings may be called supernatural or said to have supernatural traits, although all may also be characterized by terms other than *supernatural.* Only the first three are the object of religious devotion or have cults. The fourth type, while divine, may be outside the religious world. Sirens and witches have powers ordinary human beings do not have, while giants (like dwarfs) have only their unusual size in their favor.

There is thus a whole range of modes of being and modes of power, finely shaded, for all these beings, and a whole range of appropriate human responses to them. The hero is the person best equipped to survive in this perilous world, who possesses an appropriately wide range of skills and attitudes. Senior gods are to be honored with sacrifices and piety. Sirens are simply to be avoided. One can do business with the Cyclops, but the game is dangerous. Transactions with Calypso and Circe are profitable and agreeable, provided the hero keeps them at arm's length or has some special protection. There is also a whole range of modes of belief, and only one part of it is appropriately labeled religious belief. The hero does not believe in Zeus in the same way that he believes in the Sirens. And it should not be immediately clear to us what it means to attribute belief to the bards who recite such tales and to the audiences that hear them. Whether a man believes in Zeus may be tested: Does he perform the appropriate ritual, and does he exhibit the appropriate attitudes? But how can one verify behaviorally a belief in sirens? How often are human beings confronted with apparently beautiful women half visible above reefs? Needham (1972) has successfully argued that statements of belief are the only available evidence of the phenomenon. Both theologians and anthropologists, he maintains, have taken too much for granted and have been too quick to specify what beliefs other people have and what difference these beliefs make.

Belief in anything, including supernatural beings, is thus a very elusive phenomenon. The Dorze of Ethiopia say that the leopard became a Christian and so eats no meat on the fast days of the Coptic church. Nevertheless, they watch their cattle just as carefully on those days. And they are baffled when the anthropologist professes to see a contradiction in this. So what does go on in their minds when they say the leopard fasts on Wednesdays and Fridays? Among contemporaries, not everyone who reads horoscopes will profess belief in them, and among those who do profess such a belief, how many are actually to be found making a decision on a primarily astrological basis? It would be safer to characterize religion by attitudinal factors and ritual practice rather than by belief. And any statement of belief should be taken with a grain of salt. People like, for adaptive or escapist purposes, to tell and hear stories that provide a map clarifying the configuration of forces in the world, that show modes of coping with those forces, and that do not demand any firm commitment to belief and ensuring action. Children everywhere acquire their bearing in reality from fairy tales. What beliefs they fleetingly entertain or settle on matter less than the inferences they learn to draw about possible realities. The highly imaginative stories of primitives abound in wit and irony and cannot be pinned down with the psychology of belief common among sober scientists (whose thinking often reflects the easy and moralistic recourse to expressions of belief characteristic of early modern theologians).

SYSTEMATIC CONSIDERATIONS. The human being has in its favor a quick mobile mind, but it is frail and its body is destined to contract disease and, ultimately, to die. Men and women are thus constantly the potential victims of aleatory events that can be painful to them. Fearful of impending disasters, they seek the protection of stronger human beings. As infants and children they start life with such protection. Later they attach themselves to strong persons whom they count on to be successful and wise so that they themselves can live in a secure world, one without interstices from which unpredictable attacks might come. When successful, these strong ones ward off actual dangers. When unsuccessful, as they inevitably will be, the strong ones, if wise, will be an authority providing cognitive and affective reassurance: Yes, loss and pain have occurred, but they are on the right path; it was inevitable, some good may come of it, and, in any case, there is lasting value in the new attitude gained and the new turn taken (Sennett, 1980). Priests, who are typical examples of strong ones, are also thinkers. They teach survival skills and provide ritual and verbal comfort when these skills fail, as necessarily they must. Strong ones are therefore in touch with suitable explanations that ideally can help in those boundary situations that occur when one's ordinary world falls apart.

Strong ones, in turn, feel themselves in touch with a strength or with other real and enduring strong ones who are beyond society, beyond this world, be they spirits, gods, God, history, or "the way things are." The label "supernatural" is appropriately attached to that strength or those preeminently strong beings that are not within the daily and social range of interaction. The authority of the social strong ones is thus always transitory and relative, more or less plausible. The limits to their authority stem from one's own willingness or ability to trust them; but one's trust rests on one's sense of their reliability: Are they in touch with the enduring strength so that they can help one to keep in touch with it, or do they devour one's trust for their own petty human benefit?

The modern concept of nature and natural causes firmly supports a reality principle: When physically sick (or, today, even when anxious) people mainly turn to scientific medicine. Fear of and belief in supernatural agencies do not color in any significant way their sense of what is feasible in their embodied condition. But people hold on to some nonscientific health lore passed on through oral, unofficial channels, and nostalgically transmit recipes for more natural care of the human body and its ailments. Alternative "soft" medicines prosper. In matters of wealth, prestige, and happiness there is no scientific establishment that rules over one's expectations; unproved arts and pleasurable illusions abound. The reality principles that set limits to one's desires are socially determined: Rules are prescribed according to what is socially admitted, rewarded, or punished.

Human beings want both to be believed and to be understood, but usually not at the same time and not by the same people. Individuals want their words and their symbols (1) to be believed and accepted and (2) to create reality, a safe common reality that is not limited to the individual alone. Thus, individuals want to be supported and upheld, but they also want to be understood. They want to share something of their complex and problematic rapport by means of their words and symbols. Thus individuals want the liveliness of their consciousness to be acknowledged. When they want to be believed, they construct presumably strong structures (which are cemented by or rest upon strong ones) that they then deconstruct in the process of understanding. The characteristic feature of modern society is not fewer beliefs in supernatural beings but the variety of strong ones turned to and included in one's world for different purposes and at different times, and the variety of the structures of plausibility that buttress them.

Thus, somewhat polytheistically, in matters of health people turn to state-supported hospitals and the health-food stores of the counterculture; they believe in public schools and in private ones; they read mainstream literature and avant-garde poems; they watch television and go to art films; they attend institutionalized churches and buy books about spirituality in the free market of ideas. Alternative modes of knowledge prosper in the margins left by the dominant scientific or nonscientific modes. The symbolization of humanity's relation to the ultimate conditions of its existence is no longer the monopoly of any group explicitly labeled "religious." And, heroic or not, humans, like the hero of many folk tales, have no permanent master to guide their steps through all the perils of life. Everyone must encounter directly the Circes and Poseidons of this world. At different times they turn to different masters for help and protection. But in the present libertarian society the quality of their services is uncertain, and, in any case, the good ones can help only as long as one asks them to.

SEE ALSO Holy, Idea of the; Sacred and the Profane, The; Transcendence and Immanence.

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SUPERSTITION.

Superstition is a judgmental term traditionally used by dominant religions to categorize and denigrate earlier, less sophisticated or disapproved religious attitudes and behavior. A belief is perceived as superstitious by adherents of a particular religious orthodoxy, and it is from their perspective that the category acquires its meaning. An anthropological description of the same belief would use different, nonjudgmental language drawn from the perspective of people engaged in the beliefs and practices condemned as superstitious by others. The use of the term *superstition* is inevitably pejorative rather than descriptive or analytical, for superstition is defined in opposition to a given culture's concept of true religion. Its specific meanings vary widely in different periods and contexts, so that a survey of its historical application rather than an abstract definition is the best approach to the concept of superstition.

ORIGIN AND CLASSICAL USAGE. The classical world criticized certain religious behaviors as irrational, or as reflecting an incorrect understanding of both nature and divinity. Greek writers from Theophrastus to Plutarch mockingly described a cringing, obsessive fear of the gods (*deisidaimonia*) as an inappropriate religious attitude. Roman philosophers sometimes echoed this theme, but the etymology of the Latin word *superstitio* (from *superstes,* "surviving, witnessing") indicates a separate evolution from a possibly neutral meaning of divination to a pejorative term. According to Émile Benveniste, *superstitio* included the idea of surviving an event as a witness and referred originally to divination concerning the past, the power to witness a distant event as though it were present. In its earliest Latin literary usage by Plautus and Ennius, *superstitio* was already a negative term describing divination, magic, and "bad religion" in general. Cicero gives a concrete example, explaining that "those who spent whole days in prayer and offered sacrifices, that their children might outlive them, are called superstitious" (*On the Nature of the Gods* 2.28). For classical Roman observers like Seneca, Lucretius, and Cicero, *superstitio* meant erroneous, false, or excessive religious behaviors stemming from ignorance of philosophical and scientific truths about the laws of nature. Such ignorance was associated with the common people (*vulgus*) and with the countryside (*pagus*), so that superstitious behavior had a social locus in the uneducated, lower orders of Roman society. As the empire expanded, the term *superstitio* was applied to exotic foreign religions of which the Romans disapproved, such as the Egyptian cult of Isis and later the Jewish sect of Christianity. Its meaning became more collective, referring to the "religion of others" in pejorative terms rather than to an individual Roman's inappropriate or exaggerated religious attitudes.

EARLY CHRISTIANITY. The early Christians adopted this collective meaning, turning the category of superstition back on the Romans. In the period after the second century, pagans and Christians reciprocally condemned each other's religious beliefs and ceremonial practices as the superstitious cult of false deities. But the militant monotheism of Christianity intensified the negative meanings of these charges. The church fathers interpreted Roman statues as idols, their sacrifices as offerings to the devil, and their oracles as the voices of demons. Such false beliefs did not deserve the name of religion, for, as Lactantius explained, “religion is the worship of the true, superstition is that of the false” (*Divine Institutes* 4.28). Wishing to condemn the pagans out of their own mouths, Augustine of Hippo quoted Cicero’s description of superstitious attitudes among the Romans, but he rejected Cicero’s distinction between religion and superstition as an inadequate attempt “to praise the religion of the ancients which he wishes to disjoin from superstition, but cannot find out how to do so” (*City of God* 4.30). This use of *superstitio* to categorize the whole of classical pagan religion as idolatrous and even demonic constitutes a basic core of meaning that persists throughout the common era.

MEDIEVAL CHRISTIANITY. The religions of the Germanic tribes were perceived in a similar way by the Christian missionaries who undertook the conversion of these so-called barbarians in the period following the fall of the Roman Empire. The cure for their idolatry and superstition was baptism and the acceptance of Christianity as the true religion. But even after the evangelization of whole tribes, attitudes, beliefs, and practices associated with pre-Christian religions persisted. Early medieval denunciations of such paganizing observances in sermons and treatises against the *superstitiones rusticorum* were frequent. The epistle *On the Correction of Rustics* (c. 572) by Bishop Martin of Braga condemned popular magical practices, divination, and the worship of “rocks, trees and springs” as apostasy to the devil. Not all superstition was rustic, however. Martin also rejected the use of Latin calendrical vocabulary, since the days of the week were named after pagan gods (in his view demons) like Mars, Jove, and Venus. The limited, local success of such polemics is witnessed by the fact that Portuguese, alone among the emergent European vernaculars, purged this ancient vocabulary under church pressure.

The difficulties of weaning newly evangelized peoples from their old ways led Pope Gregory I (590–604) to suggest a gradualist approach to their conversion. Writing to Augustine of Canterbury, a missionary in England in the early seventh century, he acknowledged that “it is doubtless impossible to cut out everything at once from their stubborn minds” (Bede, *History of the English Church and People* 1.30). Gregory proposed that heathen shrines be reconsecrated as churches and that existing days of celebration be adapted to the Christian calendar. The Feast of Saint John the Baptist, for instance, was fixed on the former date of a midsummer festival. These syncretic fusions of old and new religious observances were often the target of later reformers’ campaigns against “pagan survivals” within Christianity. Throughout the medieval period, church councils and synods condemned paganizing and superstitious observances in an effort to complete the process of Christianization by enforcing more orthodox standards.

Scholastic theologians brought the analysis of superstitious error to a new level of thoroughness and sophistication. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) defined superstition as “the vice opposed to the virtue of religion by means of excess . . . because it offers divine worship either to whom it ought not, or in a manner it ought not” (*Summa theologiae* 2.2.92.7). The idea of “undue worship of the true God” revived the classical meaning of exaggerated or overscrupulous religious behavior, now seen as occurring within Christianity rather than wholly or partially outside of it. Aquinas’s systematic exposition also classified idolatry, divination, and magical practices in general as superstitious by virtue of the inappropriate object (demons rather than God) toward which they were directed. The Scholastic theory of the diabolical pact as the causative mechanism behind magical effects assured that superstition in its medieval version was perceived as neither “harmless” nor inefficacious. Even if a magical procedure did not directly invoke the power of the devil to gain its ends, it nevertheless drew on forces outside those controlled or sanctioned by the church and was therefore presumptively diabolical.

The gradual extension of the medieval Inquisition’s jurisdiction to include cases of superstition as well as heresy was a turning point in the European attitude toward magical beliefs. Founded in the early thirteenth century to combat organized heretical groups such as the Waldensians and the Albigensians, the Inquisition was initially empowered to hear only those cases that involved an explicit diabolical pact and therefore “manifestly savored of heresy.” Infrequent fourteenth-century sorcery trials involved literate men accused of conjuring demons or casting spells by using the techniques of learned, ritual magic associated with handbooks like the *Key of Solomon.* By the fifteenth century, however, the theory of the implicitly diabolical pact was invoked to extend inquisitorial jurisdiction to the magical activities of the illiterate population. As a result, the “new crime” of witchcraft emerged in this period, combining existing peasant beliefs in the possibility of magical harm (*maleficium*) with the scholastic theory of the implicit diabolism of all magical effects.

While customary law in many parts of Europe had treated magical harm (*maleficium*) like any other crime causing physical harm to persons, livestock, or crops, without attention to the fact that such harm was alleged to have occurred through magical means, the new theological approach focused directly on the means employed, not the end pursued. All magical activity implied that the perpetrator had obtained the power to achieve those effects by apostasy to the devil. Superstitious offenses were no longer simply the topic of pastoral reprimand by bishops and synods. By the late Middle Ages such activities had been criminalized, and they were increasingly prosecuted in both secular and church courts during the late sixteenth and the seventeenth century.

This campaign against popular magic emphasized those activities that were, in Aquinas’s terms, superstitious by virtue of their presumptively diabolical object. The humanist and Protestant reform movements of the early sixteenth century stressed another meaning of the term *superstition.* Many traditional Catholic religious observances were now judged superstitious because of the "inappropriate manner" in which they offered worship to God. The Catholic humanist reformer Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536) denounced the externalized ceremonialism of the late medieval church as a superstitious deformation of the true religion. His *Praise of Folly* satirized clerical attachment to repetitious prayer, fasting, and other ascetic practices as well as popular devotion to relics, saints, and shrines. A character in his *Colloquies* observes that "Of all Our Ladies, I like best Our Lady of Walsingham," to which his companion replies, "And I Our Lady of Mariastein." These attitudes constituted, in Erasmus's view, a series of distractions from the central moral teachings of Christianity. People might travel to see a saint's bones, he complained, but they did not attempt to imitate the saint's holy life.

CATHOLICISM AND THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION. The Protestant Reformation intensified humanist critiques of Roman Catholicism. Starting with Martin Luther's attack on indulgences in the *Ninety-Five Theses* (1517), the new theology of justification by faith rather than by works provided the theoretical basis for rejecting Roman Catholic reliance on external devotions as "works righteousness." To John Calvin, superstition was the "pharisaical opinion of the dignity of works" maintained by the "false religion" of Rome. Having rejected most of the ceremonial aspects of Catholicism, from holy water and saints' cults to transubstantiation and the Mass, Protestants of all denominations agreed in their denunciations of the papist religion as magical and superstitious. The term was also used to describe backsliding within the reformed camp, whether high-church fondness for vestments and incense or lingering attachments to rosaries and shrines among the less advanced segments of the population. In the extensive vocabulary of sixteenth-century religious polemics, one of the most common charges was that of superstition.

Although the Roman Catholic Church had finer lines to draw in deciding what was and was not superstitious, a parallel effort to identify and eliminate popular "ignorance and superstition" became a major preoccupation after the Council of Trent (1545–1563). Responding in part to humanist criticism, the church discouraged exaggerations of orthodox observances, such as the "desire for fixed numbers of candles and Masses" described as superstitious in the Tridentine decrees. The definition adopted by the Council of Malines in 1607 expressed the Counter-Reformation position: "It is superstitious to expect any effect from anything, when such an effect cannot be produced by natural causes, by divine institution, or by the ordination or approval of the Church." This ultimately jurisdictional approach left intact the indulgences and exorcisms condemned as "ecclesiastical magic" by the Protestants, but it rejected popular magic by asserting an institutional monopoly on access to the supernatural.

Following the anti-Protestant heresy trials of the mid-sixteenth century, the Holy Offices of Spain and Italy turned their attention to the suppression of popular beliefs and practices categorized as superstitious. Trials for magical healing, divination, and love magic occupied a prominent place in inquisitorial prosecution throughout the seventeenth century. This campaign against superstition occurred in different forms in both Protestant and Catholic countries as part of a wider "reform of popular culture," a systematic attempt by members of the clerical and lay elites to raise the religious and moral level of the European population. Historical studies of early modern Europe have shown that these efforts to suppress popular magical beliefs were not wholly successful; the persistence of magical assumptions among the peasantry has also been documented by twentieth-century anthropological field studies.

ENLIGHTENMENT AND POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ATTITUDES. If the Protestant Reformation viewed the entire Roman Catholic religion as superstitious, the radical anticlerics of the French Enlightenment used the term in an even wider sense, dismissing all traditional religions as superstitious. Voltaire's *Philosophical Dictionary* (1764) asserts that "superstition was born in paganism, adopted by Judaism and infested the Christian church from the beginning." In place of the fanaticism and intolerance associated with organized religion, the *philosophes* proposed a "natural religion" that would acknowledge a supreme being but regard his creation as sufficient revelation. The scientific study of nature was thus proposed as a new cultural orthodoxy, and the concept of superstition was redefined to fit this frame of reference. From "bad religion" it came to mean "bad science," assuming its modern sense of misplaced assumptions about causality stemming from a faulty understanding of nature. Thus magical beliefs and practices continue to be regarded as superstitious, although the original religious sense of the diabolical efficacy of such practices has been replaced with a scientific sense of the impossibility of magical effects in a universe governed by natural law.

SEE ALSO Folklore; Folk Religion; Magic.

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SUPREME BEINGS are divinities whose nature reveals a unique quality of being—generally, a transcendent spiritual power—in a culture's religious system. Such divine beings figure in many different religious systems, yet they manifest values and symbolic associations that display remarkable similarities. The first section of this article presents, in a general way, the power, attributes, and values common to a large number of supreme beings. The second section illustrates these features by referring to specific historical forms of supreme beings. The final section summarizes the history of scholarly interpretations of the origin, nature, and meaning of these singularly important and complex supernatural beings.

General Features. A supreme being is generally described in symbolic terms that reflect the values most highly appraised in a specific historical situation. Considering the complexities of any culture's history, it is extraordinary that a comparative discussion of the nature of supreme beings constantly returns to the same cluster of religious ideas. Without prejudice to one or another aspect of supreme being highlighted in one historical moment or another, this article presents here a general view of the kinds of power and value revealed in supreme beings. It should be noted that the intricacies of history make general statements a source of great controversy. The supremacy of these divine figures marks with an appropriate intensity the heat of debate over their origin, nature, and form. Since each supreme being is a creative and unique composition of elements, the attributes described herein best serve to define the general category of supreme being, and, as shall be seen, apply to specific beings only in one degree or another.

The power of supreme beings is inherently ambivalent, because they manifest their potent omnipresence in a passive mode. Unlike the activities of culture heroes, which are abundantly described in epic cycles of myth, the presence of supreme beings is generally acknowledged in mythology only in brief accounts. In contradistinction to the dramatic activities of vegetation deities, totems, ancestors, and solar and lunar divinities, supreme beings occupy almost no place in scheduled public cults. It has long been acknowledged that sky divinities, or "high gods," admirably reveal many of the central attributes and powers of supreme beings.

Not limited to any single sphere of concern or influence (e.g., fertility of plants or of animals), supreme beings are omnipresent and omnipotent, but, by that very fact, they remain uninvolved with particular activities. Their power—unreckoned by time, unbounded by space—applies to all spheres of life and not to any one alone. Great power and presence reside in a supreme being's inactive transcendence of historical particularities. This remoteness relates to the power of permanence that often reveals itself in symbolisms of the sky and heavenly heights. Standing immutable since before time began, supreme beings remain uninvolved with change. Their steadfastness and eternity go hand in hand with their relative withdrawal from the detailed alterations of historical circumstances. The uniqueness of their infinite character is often portrayed in myth as a kind of loneliness. By their very nature, they stand apart from creation. Nevertheless, they seldom withdraw altogether from the world; they withdraw only to that level that suits their infinite, omnipotent, omniscient character.

Transcendence enables supreme beings to see and to know everything. This strongly colors the nature of their spiritual force: By seeing and understanding all, they can do everything. In keeping with their passive nature, it is the omniscient thought of supreme beings that "actively" expresses their infinite knowledge. As creators, supreme beings create preeminently, but by no means exclusively, by the power of thought or word alone—*creatio ex nihilo.* Their word is creatively powerful.

If supreme beings know all things in the world and even think them into existence, such knowledge is not reciprocal. Knowing everything, they often pass beyond the comprehension of lesser beings. Once again, paradox pervades the nature of supreme beings. Present everywhere, they remain inaccessible. Seeing all, they may remain invisible. In relation to knowledge, supreme beings are the clearest revelation of mystery—a sacred meaning that can never be exhaustively known, despite its uninterrupted presence. Full knowledge of a supreme being always remains hidden. In this connection, supreme beings are often associated with religious specialists and esoteric societies, whose knowledge of special mysteries is made known in elaborate and secret initiations.

The majestic omnipresence of supreme beings involves them in all that is. Their involvement with being as such takes several particular expressions. They may create the universe directly, or they may create it indirectly through supernatural agents over whom they exercise control. In religious systems in which supreme beings have not bequeathed creation to the guardianship of other supernatural beings, they may be viewed as sustaining all life, assuring the fruitfulness of creation, or owning all that exists. As the foundation of all that is real, they may be the sovereign upholders of the world order, rulers of all beings, and even providers of moral commandments and socioethical mores. As guarantors of good order, supreme beings punish transgressions in passive ways, by withholding fertility (famine), health (epidemic), or the process of the seasons (drought). As creators and maintainers of life, they fertilize the vital forms of the universe. Although a supreme being may be prayed to spontaneously by individuals at any time and in any place, public invocation is often limited to times of calamity when life itself seems threatened.

One response consonant with the enigmatic, transcendent, and passive power of supreme beings is the human tendency to replace them with other religious conceptions. In fact, supreme beings per se do not usually dominate the religious imagination. When myths recount the withdrawal to the transcendent heights appropriate to their nature, they are replaced in importance by more active religious forms: gods who specialize in fertilizing activity, vegetation deities, storm gods, culture heroes, divine twins, ancestors, the dead, world rulers, theological abstractions of virtues, or metaphysical principles of cosmic law. The passive is overtaken by the active. Transcendent station yields to the processes of the concrete world. Infinity gives way to the here and now. Yet, supreme beings reveal the very meaning of transcendence and infinity in all its forms: omnipresence, omniscience, omnipotence.

HISTORICAL FORMS. Although essential elements of the power and structure of supreme beings may be recognized and isolated for the sake of analytic discussion, it must be acknowledged that they have appeared across human history in complex forms that differ greatly in specific composition from one culture to another. Their manifestations are not limited to one or even several places on the globe. Nor does geographic distribution entirely explain the process of the historical development or diffusion of this religious idea. No matter how marginal to the history of technological development a culture might appear to be (e.g., the hunting cultures of Tierra del Fuego), that culture's complex notions of supreme being give evidence of a lengthy and complicated history. There appear to be no social or economic factors that determine, in cause-and-effect fashion, the compound of elements that constitute the form through which a supreme being reveals itself in a culture. After lengthy debate among scholars, little doubt remains that sophisticated theologies of supreme being predate the introduction, through missionary or colonial influence, of theological ideas from historical monotheisms. Because arguments based solely on geographic and historical evidence have failed to be convincingly clear, the survey of supreme beings presented here follows the logic of the structures that are evident in the forms of supreme beings themselves. Structures exemplified briefly include (1) attributes, (2) activities, (3) relationships to other divinities, and (4) the place of supreme beings in cult.

Attributes. Even when the forms of supreme beings are only poorly outlined, they are more than vague supernatural forces. Supreme beings are divine persons, with names and epithets that convey their attributes and reveal something about their nature. In addition to personality, their characteristics include celestiality, primordiality, and omniscience; associations with creation and death; remoteness and symbolic means of access; and their tendency to be replaced by other concepts.

Celestiality. The names of numerous supreme beings refer to their connections with the sky. Among the Samoyeds, the supreme being is called Num ("sky"). Along the Australian coast in the vicinity of Shoalhaven Bay, the name *Mirirul* ("sky," or "he who is in the sky") indicates the supreme beings found among the Yuin and their neighbors. In Africa, one of the names for the supreme being of the Galla and other Oromo peoples is Waq ("sky"), as in the phrases *guraci waq* ("dark sky") and *waka kulkullu* ("calm sky"). He is also called Cólok ("the sky"). Among some Ewe peoples, the universal father is called Dzingbe ("sky"); his wife is the earth. Northeast of the Ewe live the Akposo people, who call the supreme being Uvolovu ("the high one," or "the regions above"). Among the Selkʾnam hunters of Tierra del Fuego, the name of the supreme being is Témaukel ("the one up there"), although this name is seldom uttered aloud. In its place, one uses the circumlocution *soʾonh-haskan* ("dweller in the sky") or *soʾonh kas pémer* ("he who is in the sky"). Among the Tsimshian south of the Tlingit, an irascible supreme being named Laxha (also called Laxhage or Laha, "sky") deluges the earth. The Haida of Queen Charlotte Islands call the supreme being Siñ or Sing ("bright sky"). The connection of supreme beings with the sky is not exhausted by the direct translations of their names. More important, in accounts that describe them as dwelling in the sky, or as expressing themselves through celestial elements such as the stars and the rains, these associations are extended.

Primordiality. Another large number of names refer to the antiquity of supreme beings, who often reveal, as part of their own nature, the meaning of what is primordial, most fundamental, a part of the nature of existence from its earliest beginnings. Primordiality is thus part of a supreme being's nature. The Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego call their supreme being Watauineiwa ("the primeval," or "the ancient one"). The Botocudo of eastern Brazil believe in a supreme being who lives in heaven and is called Old Man or Father Whitehead. During the great August sacrifices in Cuzco, Viracocha, the supreme being of the Inca, was praised as the one "who exists from the beginning of the world to its end."

Omniscience. A large body of epithets refers to the omniscience and omnivoyance of supreme beings. Baiame, supreme being of the Kamilaroi, Wiradjuri, and Euahlayi of New South Wales, sees and hears everything, especially at night, with his many eyes and ears. Daramulun, according to the Yuin, can observe all human action from his position in heaven. In Assam, the Khasis of the Mon-Khmer nucleus of Indochinese peoples believe in a female supreme being and creator who dwells in heaven and who sees and hears all that happens on earth. On Madagascar, the supreme being Andriamanitra sees all those things that lie hidden. In the Avesta, Ahura Mazdā is described as *vouru casani* ("widely seeing").

The clarity of a supreme being's knowledge may be manifested in the light of the bright sky, which, by virtue of its own luminosity, sees and knows all existence that lies below. The Altai Tatars call upon their supreme being as the Ak Ajas ("white light"). The Khanty refer to Ajas Kan ("the bright leader"). Buriats speak of the dwelling of their celestial god as "a house ablaze with silver and gold." For the Mansi, Tārem is a "good golden light on high." In Sumerian, the divinity is described as *dingir* ("shining, bright"), and in Akkadian, *ellu* expresses the same meaning.

Cosmogonic power. Other names refer to supreme beings as the source of all life and power. The Warao of the Orinoco Delta refer to Kanobo ("great father") as the author of life. Also in Venezuela, the Yaruro people believe in a great goddess who created the world. Everything sprang from her, and everything living returns to the western paradise where she now lives. The Caliña and Galibi peoples from the Surinam coast maintain that the goddess Amana ("she without a navel") was not born but has lived forever. All life comes from her, for she begets and contains everything that comes to be. Her twin sons assist in creation. The supreme deity of the Koghi (Cágaba) of Colombia is also a universal mother who gives birth to all creation. She rules the cycles of life, death, and rebirth for all creatures. The mother is omnipresent. Life is an intrauterine existence. Among the Mbyá, a Guaraní people of Paraguay, the supreme being gives life to the world and continues to extend goods in the form of game and health. The Tupinamba of the southern Brazilian coast conducted a search for the land of Tamoi, the supreme being whose name means "great father." He created life and now governs a distant paradise wherein there is no death. In Australia, the supreme being's role as life-giver is recognized in the epithets extended to Baiame, who is addressed as Mahmanmu-rok ("our father") among the Kamilaroi and as Boyjerh ("father") among the Euahlayi. Among the Yuin, Daramulun is spoken to as Papang ("father"). The Kurnai use Mungan-ngaua ("our father") as the proper name of their supreme being.

Specific references to supreme beings as creators occur in many cultures. By way of brief illustration one may mention examples from North America, Oceania, Africa, Australia, and South America.

Native American creator gods include Awonawilona, the Zuni supreme being whose solar associations are sublimated almost to the point of becoming a speculative philosophical principle of life. He creates the clouds and the waters of the world from the breath of his own heart. Tirawa Atius of the Pawnee lives above and beyond the highest heaven. The wind is his breath. Tcuwut Makai, supreme being of the Pima, dwells in the west, governing rain and winds. His first creation was crushed when he pulled the sky too close to the earth. In his second attempt, he fixed the stars and the Milky Way in the sky. Ahone is a sky-dwelling creator of sun, moon, and stars. The existence of belief in him is documented among peoples of the Virginia Colony in 1610. He had no cult to speak of; instead, sacrifices were made to Oke, a god who punished people with hurricane winds to make their crops suffer.

In Oceania, one may call attention to Tangaroa (Tangaloa, Ta'aroa, and many other variants), a widely known Polynesian divinity of the sea; Agunua, the supreme spirit of San Cristobal in the Solomon Islands; Yelafaz, the anthropomorphic sky-dwelling god of Yap; Djohu-ma-di-hutu ("lord above"), believed in by the Alfuri of Molucca; Qat, lunar supreme being of the Banks Islands; Hintubuhet ("our birdwoman"), supreme being in New Ireland; and Ndengei (Degei), the great serpent-god of Fiji. Ndengei usually lies immobile in his cave on Mount Kauvandra on the northeast coast of Viti Levu, but occasionally, when he is stirred, he causes earthquakes and heavy rains.

African supreme beings who are creators include Deng, the omniscient "free-divinity" of the Dinka people, who is identified as Nhialic Aciek ("god the creator"). The term *nhial* ("up," or "above") is associated with multiple modes of supernatural expression. Among the Western Dinka, Deng has no shrines but is honored in sacrifice together with Nhialic ("divinity itself," an appellation applied to Deng) and the ancestors. Also in Africa, one may point to Cagn, the mantis-shaped creator of the San people; Kosane, the vaguely defined supreme being of the Venda; Ọlọrun, high god of the Yoruba; Katonda, supreme being of the Ganda; Lugaba, supreme creator divinity of the Hima; and Ngai, supreme being of the Maasai.

In South America, too, there is no shortage of supreme beings who are creators. Among them one may mention Pelepelewa, god of the Trio of Surinam; Kamuscini, the talking sky-god of the Bakairi; Karu of the Mundurucú of the Tapajós River; and El-al, a supreme being known in Patagonia. In Australia, one finds many creator supreme beings celebrated in scholarly literature. Among those not mentioned above are Bunjil of the Kulin, Nurrundere of the Narrinyeri, Mangarrara of the Larrakia people, and, as a collective name for the high god of the Aboriginal peoples of southeastern Australia, the All-Father.

Such examples by no means exhaust the number of supreme beings whose complicated nature includes the role of creator. The supreme beings mentioned above seem principally interested in the creation of the sky, the stars, the earth, and meteorological phenomena. They concern themselves with the creation of vegetation only in a secondary way. However, other creators, a smaller group of supreme beings, interest themselves particularly in the creation of trees, vines, herbs, grasses, and other forms of vegetation.

In general, this second group is more dramatically involved with rain than with other, more ethereal celestial elements. Among many such supreme beings one may mention uNkulunkulu of the Zulu peoples; Bego Tanutanu, the creator of the landscape, source of foods, plants, and instruments of culture at Buin in the southern Bougainville straits; Tsui //goab, Khoi celestial god who unites the clouds and swells the rains; Teharonhiawakhon, the Iroquois twin divinity who holds heaven at two points (or with his two hands); and Yuskeha, the parallel Huron divinity who sends good weather for crops and enjoys sexual relations with Ataentsic ("she whose body is ancient"), who is also called "the dark one" (i.e., the earth). One notices that supreme beings who are creators of vegetation tend to absorb or acquire attributes more commonly seen among culture heroes, specialized deities of vegetation, and storm gods.

Control over life is also reflected in the supreme beings' ability to end life when they will. For example, among the Yámana of Tierra del Fuego, the supreme being is called "slayer in the sky"; among the Maidu of north-central California, he is also called "a slayer." Supreme beings often figure in deaths that are mysterious, summary, and sudden. Celestial supreme beings strike humans with their thunderbolts. The Semang of Kedah believe that the supreme being Kari created everything except the earth and humankind. These last were fashioned by Ple, a subordinate deity. Kari sees everything from on high and punishes humans by dropping on them a flower from a mysterious plant. Where the flower lands, fatal lightning strikes. The Apapocúva-Guaraní supreme being, Nanderuvuçu ("our great father"), withdrew long ago into a distant dark country where the only light that exists comes from within his chest. Eventually, it is believed, he intends to destroy the world and thereby bring about the end of time.

Remoteness. More often than not, the sky is the principal manifestation of supreme being. From this preponderance of historical facts has come the term *high god,* over whose origin and nature the controversy surrounding supreme being once raged. Scholars have made clear the fact that supreme being is not a simple personification of the "natural" object, the sky. Rather, a supreme being is a distinct divine personality who reveals himself or herself in the power of the sky. Many peoples are careful to make the same distinction in various ways, speaking of their supreme being as dwelling beyond the sky, or as the invisible sky that lies beyond the visible one, or as wearing the sky for a vestment. Puluga, in the Andaman Islands, is said to reside in heaven. The sky is his house. For Baiame, an Australian high god, the sky is a campground, brightened with stars that serve as campfires and traversed by the river of the Milky Way. Num, the Samoyed divinity whose name means "sky," lies in the seventh heaven, but he cannot be a simple personification of the natural sky, for he is also believed to be the earth and the sea. For many Ewe-speaking populations, the blue color of the heavens is a veil that Mawu uses to shield her face, and the clouds are her clothing.

Because a supreme being dwells in inaccessible heights and displays a passive and transcendent character, his outline tends to be left undefined. Although his personality is awesome and powerful, he often avoids dramatic action in favor of inert omnipresence. He may remain mysterious and vaguely delineated. Such is the case with Moma ("father"), the supreme being of the Witóto of Colombia. Associated closely with the power of the word in rituals and chants, he created all things in the world from the mere "appearance" (*naino*) of each thing's "nonexisting substance." Moma calls himself Nainuema ("he who is or possesses what is not present," that is, illusive appearance). According to the Witóto, Moma captured the specter of appearances in his dream and pressed it to his breast until he could transform it into the earth. Earthmaker, supreme being of the Winnebago, comes to consciousness in the primordium in order to make the world keep still. He then remains aloof. What Earthmaker was like, or what there was before he came to consciousness, the Winnebago do not know. The Pawnee contend that Tirawa Atius ("father on high") is in everything. However, no one is able to know what he looks like.

The remoteness of the power of a supreme being may even be portrayed as indifference. When the passivity of a supreme being is exaggerated to the point of his extreme withdrawal from creation, he takes the form of a *deus otiosus,* a god who has retired himself and his unique powers from the active world. He no longer captures the religious imagination in the commanding way of more dramatic supernatural beings. He may, nevertheless, remain the ground for all created and creative possibilities. The Lenape (Delaware), a southern Algonquin group, believe that Gicelamu'kaong ("he who created us through his thought") entrusted his supernatural responsibilities to subordinate beings: the winds, the lord of animals, the sun, the moon, and the thunder. He then withdrew to the twelfth heaven. Nonetheless, he looks over human activities, especially the longhouse ceremonies, for the center post of the cult house is the staff that he keeps in his hand. Témaukel remains rather indifferent to the affairs of the Selk'nam of Tierra del Fuego. He did not complete the work of creation but deputized Kénos, the mythical ancestor, to raise the sky and provide moral instruction. He now lives in the stars. Absent from cult, he still interests himself in moral behavior and punishes the wayward with sickness and premature death. The pre-Zoroastrian conception of Ahura Mazdā depicted him as a divine being who creates only through the mediation of the *spenta mainyu* ("good spirit").

The paradoxical coupling of power and passivity within the supreme being of the sky may be made known in sexual terms. Or the coupling of power and passivity may be expressed in terms of the alternations of the bright sky of day and dark sky of night. Thus Puluga, though omniscient, knows the thoughts within human hearts only in the light of day. In the Banks Islands, it is believed that at the beginning night did not exist. Qat spread the night over the earth so that creation remained obscure. However, after a while the situation did not suit him, and, with a red obsidian knife (dawn), he cut into the darkness. The rays of sunlight that enter through the roof of a house are said to be his spears. Among a western group of San, the supreme being, called Kággen, produces darkness by spreading the bile that spills when he splits open the gallbladder of an antelope. Upset by the darkness, he creates the moon.

The power of transcendent height is continued in the supreme beings who dwell on the tops of mountains. Well known are Mount Olympus of Greek mythology and Haraberazaiti in Iranian belief. In Palestine, Mount Tabor and Mount Gerizim stand as high holy places. Himinbjörg ("heaven's mountain") figures importantly in the Norse Eddas. Ngenéchen, divinity of the Araucanians of Chile and Argentina, lived on top of volcanoes with his wife and children. In the same area, the god Pillán, who lives on mountains in the middle of the sky, seems to have served as a model for Ngenéchen.

Just as mountains symbolically express access to the transcendent realms of infinite power, so other paradigmatic symbols reveal the place of contact with the otherwise inaccessible source of life. In particular, the cosmic tree or world tree is a startling image of access to the dwelling of the high god. Flathead Indians believe that the roots of the cosmic tree reach down into the dwelling place of the evil being, Amtep. At the upper end lies Amotken ("the old one"), a good celestial creator. Rites are often celebrated in connection with an image of the cosmic tree. Thus, during the Turco-Tatar horse sacrifice, the shaman carries the soul of the victim to Ülgen, the supreme being, by scaling nine notches cut into a birch tree. Ascending the tree, the shaman reports his voyage through the nine heavens. Contact between this world and the celestial powers is reflected also in images of the Milky Way, the ladder reaching to heaven, and the liana. The *climax* ("ladder") in the mysteries of Mithra had seven rungs fashioned of seven different metals. Cultures in North America, Oceania, Africa, and ancient Egypt all possess myths concerning ascent to heaven along a cosmic ladder.

In Misminay, near Cuzco in Peru, the Milky Way is conceived of as a stream of semen that flows through the center of celestial space just as the Vilcanota River, its terrestrial counterpart, flows through the center of the earth. As the Milky Way encircles the world, it descends into the ocean in the west, absorbing the earth's waters, and travels underground to rise in the eastern sky. Taking the form of rain, fog, and hail, the heavenly water-semen falls into the headwaters that feed the Vilcanota River. The Milky Way also contains female elements, the *yana phuyu* ("dark spots"), which are the sources of various animal species.

Celestial bodies and elements are often portrayed as the more active constituents and expressions of a supreme being himself. Nurrundere, thunder-voiced god of the Australian Narrinyeri, produces the rainbow when he urinates. The Xhosa of southern Africa believe that hail falls when Utikxo arms himself for battle. On Timor, monsoon rains come forth from Usi Neno, a supreme being with strong solar aspects, as a result of the effort he expends in his intercourse with Usi Afu, goddess of the earth. In Indonesia, in the Ambon Islands, the supreme being called Upu Lanito ("lord heaven") sets stars in the sky as a sign that he has gone to warn the sun and moon about an impending attack of *nitu* ("spirits"). There are abundant accounts that describe the sky as the face of a supreme being; the sun and moon are his eyes.

It shall be seen that the more active divinities tend to specialize in one life-giving activity or sphere (e.g., crops, animals, the dead, military organizations, cosmic laws, or the laws of a kingdom) rather than to remain, as do supreme beings, vague and passive sustainers of life in general. In many instances, their activities are expressed in independent mythologies of active supernatural beings who overshadow the remote and transcendent supreme being. The end result is that there exist religious systems wherein the supreme being is supplanted by more active and specialized deities or, alternatively, wherein the formal expression of the supreme being itself is presented not as remote and transcendent but as quite intensely involved with the specific life processes of the universe. In the latter case, the form of the supreme being absorbs attributes from other important and more active supernatural beings like the culture hero, the trickster, or fertility gods.

Activities. It has been seen that supreme beings are supreme by virtue of their unique nature, not necessarily by virtue of their achievements or exploits. Supreme being, by its very nature, underlies all that is; its character stands in a direct relationship to what exists, what is ontologically true. In this connection, supreme beings are often invoked as witness to oaths, as witness to what is. In northwestern Sumatra, among the Batak peoples, reference is made to Debata. When he smiles, his mouth opens to reveal his teeth in the form of lightning. He is invoked in oaths taken over serious matters. He punishes perjury with bolts of lightning. On Ceram, people swear to the truth by Upu Langi ("lord heaven") and his female counterpart, Upu Tapene. Otherwise, there seems to be no regular cult offered to them. Swahili speakers frequently testify to the truth of an assertion by swearing to "Mungu mmoja" ("the one god") or by saying "Mungu anaona" ("God is watching").

By no means are supreme beings always portrayed as creators. Nevertheless, cosmogonic activity is the single activity that befits their foundational character, their role as the ground of all existence. Some supreme beings leave no room for doubt about their cosmogonic activity. Their powerful thought alone brings the world into being. Such is the manner in which Wakonda, the Omaha supreme being, created the world. At first, all things were in his mind. The same is true of the Winnebago creator, Earthmaker. Creation proceeds from his thought. When he wishes something, it comes to exist, just as he wishes. It has already been seen how the Witóto supreme being, called Nainuema ("he who is appearance only"), ties a phantasm to his breast with his dream-thread in order to create the world. The Maidu of California believe that Ko'doyanpe ("earth namer") brought about creation after long and intense thought. Likewise, Dasan, the high god-ancestor of the northern Pomo, called the world into being with his words. Whether such sublime notions are preserved from the most archaic traditions or whether they are the fruit of more recent theological speculations that have purified and rarefied earlier ideas is a matter of some dispute.

As evident in several examples above, supreme beings' involvement with creation may be more subtle and complicated. They may take responsibility only for the initial creative impulse toward form, leaving the final shaping of the world to other supernatural beings, especially to a "transformer," or culture hero. In many cases, the supreme being is only indirectly involved in creation. He engenders, empowers, or presides over those beings who create the world and its creatures. His creative activity remains supervisory. In other instances, he may create in cooperation (or in competition) with other powerful beings. In any case, a supreme being appears to be more than a rational "first cause" of creation. Life and existence, as a whole, stem from and are maintained in accordance with his own inner nature. I do not speak here of a necessary pantheism or emanationism, since a supreme being is a distinct personality who remains distinguishable from creation.

Regardless of the degree of his active participation in creation, once the universe exists a supreme being's major job is done. He then "retires" at some remove, often to the heavenly heights, where he devotes himself to the passive and transcendent pursuits of maintaining and sustaining life. He may thus leave the world to powers who preside directly over specific domains that are less than cosmogonic in scope and whose activities—the accomplishment and functioning of specific world processes—make sense in a world that already exists. Myths often recount the withdrawal of the high god as the event that marks the end of the primordium.

Relationship to other divinities. A supreme being rarely occupies the dominant position in a pantheon or a divine hierarchy. Once creation has ended, if indeed he was involved actively in the cosmogony, the supreme being yields the mythical stage to more active beings whose personalities are more clearly delineated.

A supreme being's link to the very foundations of being is often expressed in temporal terms (for example, he may exist before the other gods exist). Consequently, in the cases in which more active beings take over the religious imagination, his eventual passivity in relation to them may be expressed in terms of old age and its inactive fragility. In the Akkadian text *Enuma elish,* the primordial couple, Apsu and Tiamat, now grown old, are nettled by the noise and games of younger divinities, by whom they are eventually destroyed. The god El, as reported in the Ugaritic texts, is weak and senile. While in his palace in Mount Tsafon, El is attacked by Baal. The younger god not only usurps the previously dominant position of the supreme being but routs him to the farthest reaches of creation. In explicitly sexual terms, younger gods may deprive a supreme being entirely of his no longer exercised potency by castrating him. Ouranos, the Greek cosmocrat and husband of Gaia (Ge), was castrated by his son and successor Kronos. This event interrupted the unbroken coitus between sky and earth during the primordium. When his sexual organs were tossed into the sea, Aphrodite came into being. In the Hurrito-Hittite theogony, which appears to bear North Syrian and Sumerian influences, Alalu was replaced by the god Anu. After nine years had passed, Anu himself was attacked by Kumarbi, who bit Anu's loins. Swallowing part of the god's sexual organ, Kumarbi became pregnant with three children. These violent divine beings express attributes quite different from those of the unchanging supreme beings. Their dynamism tends to alienate still further from myth and cultic activity the transcendent and passive character of supreme beings. Supreme beings are thus often obscured and their power eclipsed.

As is characteristic in the above examples, the younger, "champion" divinities who usurp a supreme being's position are often associated with the fertility of fields and animals. In their connection with agriculture and fecundity, they are often known in the violent but necessary manifestations of weather and storm gods. Their character is bound up with tempestuous change, the violence of concrete life processes that make fertility of seed and stock possible but unforeseeable. Such violence is one important aspect of Indra, hailed as "bull of the world," "lord of the plow" *(śiraspati),* and "master of the fields" *(ūrvavapati).* He uses his *vajra* (thunderbolt) to kill the monstrous Vrta and thereby release the waters. Also in South Asia one finds Parjanya, son of the sky and god of hurricanes. He unleashes the rains and assures fertility for animals, crops, and humans. In Iran, the meteorological divinity Verethraghna is dramatic and fertilizing. As illustrated by creators specializing in vegetation, the form of a supreme being may itself contain aspects of these fecundator beings. In such cases supreme beings maintain a more active role in the mythic imagination, but at the cost of losing something of their unchanging nature.

On the one hand, the passive involvement of a supreme being in the very ground of being in all its forms may give rise, eventually, to his usurpation or transformation by dynamic figures specializing in one or another specific life form or process: fertility and fecundator gods. On the other hand, in a parallel but separate development, a supreme being's supervisory capacity, his general omniscience passively expressed, may develop into more active and concrete expression in the form of a sovereign god. Whether such a sovereign god is the result of a process in which a supreme being, for example a sky god, absorbs the traits of a cosmocrat, or vice versa, must be reviewed on a case-by-case basis. In all these cases, however, the emphasis of the resultant form no longer falls on the supreme being's transcendent supervision of the universe but on his active guardianship of the norms of world order.

Certain sovereign divinities enforce the most general cosmic or "natural" laws inherent in the structures of the universe. Varuṇa, called Sahasrākṣa ("thousand-eyed") in the *Ṛgveda,* is the universal king *(saṃraj)*, who guards the norms of world order. By virtue of his own nature, his power is over all existence. Unlike the champion gods of fertility, who violently conquer their specialized domains, Varuṇa reigns through his innate relationship to *ṛta* (the cosmic, ethical, and ritual order of the universe) and through his mastery of magico-spiritual influence (*māyā*), which allows him to bind with his "nets," "ropes," and "knots" those who transgress that order. In other cases, a sovereign divinity may be interested less in cosmic processes than in human moral action. In such instances, he may send forth moral commandments and laws and punish breaches of the ethical order. As sovereign, a supreme being may even interest himself in the details of socioethical behavior, upholding the proper performance of customs and mores.

The cosmic pillar that upholds the universe, or the *columna universalis,* is often associated with the sovereign being, himself the upholder of cosmic order. As an *axis mundi,* like the cosmic tree and mountain, it points to aspects of the sovereign that preserve celestial powers and associations. During their Winter Ceremonial, the Kwakiutl people of the northwest American coast wrap a cedar "cannibal pole" in red-cedar bark to endow it with *nawalak* ("supernatural power"). Projecting through the roof of the house, the forty-foot post is considered to be the Post of the World and the insignia of the great divinity Baxbakualanuxsiwae ("man-eater at the mouth of the river"). It is an image of the great copper pole that upholds the heavens and provides passage between the spatial realms of the cosmos. The Saxons maintained a cult of a cosmic pillar called Irminsul, one image of which Charlemagne destroyed in the village of Eresburg in 772. It was the "pillar of the universe" that supported all existing things. Horace reports the existence of such a pillar and similar associated beliefs among the Romans. In Vedic India, as reported in the first book of the *Ṛgveda,* a similar pillar was called the *skambha.* The Achilpa, an Aranda group of Australia, carry a sacred pole that they call *kauwa-auwa,* and they wander in the direction in which it leans. It is a replica of the pillar fashioned by the god Numbakula who, after covering it with blood, ascended along the *kauwa-auwa* until he disappeared into the sky.

Cult. In his most removed form, as noted above, a supreme being usually inspires no regular public cult. A relative absence of cult seems to characterize many of those celestial supreme beings whose passivity borders on otioseness. To a great degree this is true of Thakur (among the Santāl of India), Synshar (among the Khasis), Kari (among the Semang), Sammor or Peng (among the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula), Pirman (among the Benwa-Jakun of Johore), Tuhan Allah (also among Jakun groups), Muladjadi (among the Batak of central Sumatra), Petara (among the Sea Dyaks of Borneo), Opo-geba-snulat (on the Indonesian island of Buru), Lowalangi (on the island of Nias in Indonesia), Hintubuhet (in New Ireland), Ndengei (in Fiji), Takaro (on Malo Island, near Malekula), Gueggiahora (among the Camacâes in Bahia, Brazil), Wendé (among the African Kaguru), Zame Asizame Ôyô (among the Fang of West Africa), Mpambe (among the Anjanja south of Lake Malawi), Ruwa (among the Chagga of Mount Kilimanjaro), and Yelafaz (on the island of Yap).

In fact, those celestial supreme beings who do call forth a regular cult seem to be exceptional cases. Among them are Agunua, venerated at Haununu on the southwest coast of San Cristobal in the Solomon Islands, and Tabuarik, who, together with his lightning-wife, De Itji, is celebrated in a cult that features sacred stones (for instance, on Nikunau in the Gilbert Islands). More often supreme beings are invoked spontaneously, and even frequently, by individuals or by a community in extreme circumstances of famine, earthquake, drought, and so on. When this irregular aspect of worship first came to scholarly attention, it led investigators to undervalue the importance of supreme beings. Unable to take seriously the profound truth of myth, early investigators were incapable of seeing that the absence of regular public cult was related to the supreme beings' associations with the ground of all being.

A supreme being is often associated with initiatory societies that focus on the knowledge of mysteries. In such secret initiations, many of a supreme being's celestial attributes are maintained. Such appears to be true among Native American tribes of California who possessed what was called the Kuksu cult, wherein the masked initiates impersonated spirits of the dead. The sound of a bull-roarer imitated the voice of the supreme being and other spirits. The area in which this secret society flourished coincides roughly with the area in which there are clearly delineated concepts of a high god (e.g., among the Maidu). However, this connection is a complicated one. Among the Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego, the *ciexais* puberty initiations involve themselves deeply with Watauineiwa, the supreme being who established them. In the *kina,* the secret society rituals of the Yahgan, however, no mention is made of him. Nor does the supreme being figure in the Selkʾnam esoteric initiations (*klóketen*), on which the Yahgan probably modeled the *kina.* Although knowledge of a supreme being may be transmitted, refined, and reshaped in secret societies, it is unwarranted to draw the more general conclusion that supreme beings are the creation of such elites.

Among those supreme beings who merge with or yield to more active forms, there exists a tendency toward a more scheduled public cult. This can be seen in cults dedicated to solarized supreme beings. Although solarized supreme beings share something of the sacrality of the sky, their potency and periodic activity often highlight the manifest rational order of regulated life processes, which outshines the mysterious and unfathomable order of being commonly associated with celestial supreme beings.

Summary. The attributes and powers of supreme beings, often reflected in their very names, are most clearly made known in sky divinities. The activity that best suits the infinite and omnipotent nature of supreme beings is the creation of the world. Often, but not always, they create the world through thought, a *creatio ex nihilo,* which is in keeping with their passive nature. After creation, a supreme being often retires on high and becomes even more transcendent a power. When supreme beings do take a more active role, their form tends to merge with or yield to other divine forms. Such is true, on the one hand, with sovereign divinities who ruled the world and, on the other hand, with fecundators and "champion" divinities. Knowledge of a transcendent and mysterious supreme being is often better preserved in initiatory secret societies than in the public cults that surround the more active expressions of sun god, storm god, or meteorological beings.

There is no doubt that many forms of supreme being, as known today, have been influenced by the religious ideas of historical monotheisms. Such contacts reveal themselves in the very names of many supreme beings, not to mention the influences brought to light in careful study of the histories and religious ideas of cultures around the globe. However, the impact of such historical change ought not to be exaggerated. In the first place, no culture's religious ideas have remained without change through history. Even those forms held by scholars to be most archaic give evidence of complicated historical processes that involve borrowing, deterioration, new inspiration, and reconstitution. The contemporary era ought to be seen as a further instance of a much larger historical process. In the second place, in those areas where absorption of ideas from monotheisms is clearly evident, one does not generally find inert imitations of monotheisms but lively new syntheses, often in terms that are best understood as part of the religious history of a local culture's conception of supreme being.

SCHOLARLY THEORIES.

In the development of the discipline of history of religions, the investigation of supreme beings has occupied a special place. For more than a century, three factors have especially affected the scholarly debate about the nature of supreme beings: the provenance of the materials studied; the dogmatic concerns of the investigators, whether theological or scientific; and the judgments in vogue regarding the nature of religious expressions. On the most general plane, one may distinguish four important positions taken during the study of supreme beings over the past 120 years.

Four main views. The first point of view, exemplified in the work of Leopold von Schroeder, interested itself in the sky gods known through sacred texts in the Indo-European family of languages. Interest in such exalted forms of supreme being was eclipsed when attention turned to the ethnographic data pouring in from cultures outside the Indo-European sphere. This second position, developed most successfully by E. B. Tylor, held that it was impossible to see supreme being as anything but a most recent religious form in human history. Tylor considered the idea of supreme beings to be a rational elaboration of simpler and earlier religious notions. The third perspective began with Andrew Lang, who called attention to the authentic existence of supreme beings outside Indo-European and ancient Near Eastern culture history, principally in Aboriginal Australia. Taking his cue from Lang, Wilhelm Schmidt carried on an intense and comprehensive investigation of supreme beings in traditional cultures of the Americas, Oceania, Australia, Asia, and Eurasia.

Regardless of their judgment on the antiquity and meaning of the various forms of supreme being, these three views of the issue never succeeded in detaching the inquiry into the nature of supreme being from the question of the appearance of historical monotheism with its concomitant theological constructs of revelation, creator (or first cause of creation), and moral rectitude. A historicist search for simple origins, an exaggerated rationalism in defining religion, and a dismal appraisal of the nature of myth are common to all three approaches.

It fell to Raffaele Pettazzoni to take a fourth position by reinstating a consideration of the supreme being of the sky, this time in a framework that treated the history of monotheism as a particular, even if related, historical instance. Drawing upon data from all over the world, Pettazzoni centered his research on what were called the "primitive" religions. Taking Pettazzoni's insight about the celestial being as a starting point, Mircea Eliade has presented a morphology of supreme beings that serves as the foundation for his comparative historical studies of religion. In addition to these general positions and their principal protagonists, a large number of scholars interested themselves in one or another specific aspect of the problem and contributed to the understanding of supreme beings.

Early studies. During the nineteenth century many scholars of religion investigated religious texts from cultures in the Indo-European language family. Their main concerns were philological. When they investigated the meaning of specific religious images and forms, they took a special interest in those forms that were associated with natural phenomena. Nevertheless, the comparative philology of Indo-European languages pointed to the existence of a supreme sky god. The identification of the Indo-European radical *deiwos* ("sky") in designations meaning "god" (for example, in Old German *tivar,* Lithuanian *diewas,* Latin *deus,* Iranian *div,* and Sanskrit *deva*) lent support for a theory like that of Charles Ploix, who contended in *La nature des dieux: Études de mythologie greco-latine* (1888) that the sky was the principal subject of myth and religion.

In this way, the nineteenth-century attempt to discover a theory of origins of religion in natural phenomena made way also for a sky-dwelling supreme being. Unfortunately, a shallow understanding of myth in general led to the conclusion that supreme beings were merely personifications of one or another natural phenomenon. In *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks* (1859), Adelbert Kuhn gave a privileged place to meteorological phenomena such as rain, lightning, storms, and thunder, holding that these celestial phenomena were responsible for the development of mythological themes.

In *Die Geschichte der Religion* (1869), Otto Pfleiderer also laid great stress on the importance of a celestial supreme being. He considered the sky god a natural starting point for the development of monotheism. By postulating that the origins of religion lay in the personification of natural phenomena in the heavens and by hypothesizing about the connection between the sky god and monotheism, he provoked reactions from investigators with theological concerns. E. G. Steude, in *Ein Problem der allgemeinen Religionswissenschaft und ein Versuch einer Lösung* (1881), argued that early belief in a sky god, although a vague form of monotheism, might easily degenerate into polytheism through the personification of other celestial phenomena. Therefore, "primitive" belief in a supreme being ought not to be judged a true monotheism.

F. Max Müller, the foremost spokesperson of the school of nature mythology, attempted to avoid the theological pitfalls by positing the origin of religion in an innate capacity of the human soul to respond to the infinite. Consequently, in his studies of comparative mythology Müller placed great stress on those objects that are wholly intangible and that best express infinity: the sun, the dawn, and the sky. The experience of the infinite made available in the contemplation of these intangible objects (*numina*) ultimately gave rise to their designation by name (*nomina*). Through a "disease of language," the named objects were personified as gods, whose exploits were recounted in myths. According to Müller, the origin of supreme being lies neither in polytheism nor in monotheism but in what he termed "kathenotheism," the tendency of the religious perception to treat any particular god as the only one in any specific moment.

Much of the early interest in Indo-European supreme beings culminated some years later in the work of Leopold von Schroeder. In the first volume of his *Arische Religion* (1914), he presents in an exhaustive fashion the instances of supreme sky beings: Indian Dyaus-pitr, Latin Jupiter, Greek Zeus Pater, Scythian Zeus-Papaius, Illyrian Daipatures, and Thraco-Phrygian Zeus-Pappos. However, by the time von Schroeder's useful collection of researches had been gathered together, the investigation of supreme beings in the history of religions had already passed beyond the relatively narrow confines of Indo-European texts. An increasing amount of reliable ethnographic data and a better awareness of the enormity of culture history demanded that the question be debated on wider grounds. Rather than a contribution to the general history of supreme being, von Schroeder's work became a masterful synthesis of a generation of research by specialists in only one area of religion.

Evolutionary theories. At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, when scholars turned systematic attention to the history of religions outside Indo-European cultures, interest in the nature and meaning of supreme being waned. In their enthusiasm for evolutionary theories of the development of human ideas, various schools of scientific thought placed the concept of supreme being on the opposite end of history from the origin of religious thought. The idea of supreme being and its manifold forms were thus deprived of the prestige of origins.

Sir John Lubbock, for example, contended that the earliest stages of human development gave evidence of a total absence of religion. Religious inclinations began with a belief in fetishes and arrived at the concept of a supreme being only after passing through the intervening stages of totemism, worship of nature, shamanism, and anthropomorphism (idolatry). In a similar way, Herbert Spencer attributed the origin of religious ideas to a vague belief in ghosts, which culminated in ancestor worship. The worship of distinguished ancestors eventually gave rise to the notion of supernatural beings. Ultimately, the concept of supreme being was the outcome of a lengthy historical process of reflection on human personalities such as a chief famous for strength and bravery, a medicine man of high esteem, or a stranger with superior knowledge of arts and inventions.

Various evolutionary theories found it inconceivable that an exalted notion of supreme being could exist in antiquity. Instead, religious history was seen as a development from simple ideas to more complex ones. In this way, the "origin" of supreme beings was postulated in animal totems, rudimentary human emotions, the human will at work in primitive magic, or a vague universal magic force.

The most popular of these theories was that of animism, set forth by E. B. Tylor in *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art and Custom* (1872). For Tylor, the idea of supreme being was only the last in a long series of developments of religious ideas, which ultimately began with the idea of the human soul. The doctrine of a supreme being emerged only in the "later stages" of human history after it had been transformed, rationally projected on nature, and developed throughout a stage of ancestral worship and idolatry. Eventually it emerged in the form of a "pure" spirit that took its place in a polytheistic pantheon over which it gradually stood supreme.

The enthusiasm that greeted animism and other evolutionary theories succeeded in displacing scholarly interest in supreme beings. In placing the idea of supreme being in the most recent stages of human history, these theories implied or stated explicitly that the concept of supreme being was introduced into the cultures of Aboriginal Australia, Africa, and Native America by Christianity or Islam. In the opinions of these evolutionary theorists, the concept of supreme being was not an authentic local tradition. Scarcely heard in the din of scientific enthusiasm were opinions like those of the theologian C. von Orelli. Examining beliefs in supreme beings in Africa, Australia, and North America in his *Allgemeine Religionsgeschichte* (1899), von Orelli concluded that the original form of religion was a monistic belief in a celestial divinity, whose nature was known through revealed truth.

Andrew Lang. A disciple of Tylor, Andrew Lang called for a reconsideration of supreme beings in the light of materials from southeastern Australia as reported by A. W. Howitt. Lang pointed to the authentic existence of the idea of supreme being among Australian Aborigines, Andamanese pygmies (Negritos), and certain peoples of Africa and the Americas, whose life-ways were deemed most simple and whose religious ideas were therefore considered most archaic. He thus questioned one of the fundamental presuppositions of the animistic theory.

Lang never abandoned totally the evolutionary scheme, but he did challenge its overall simplicity. He argued that the idea of supreme being stood quite apart from the religious conceptions of soul and spirit that emerged in response to such phenomena as death, illness, and dreaming. A supreme being was an entity with a quality of being unique unto itself. It could not be an elaboration of earlier and simpler notions, for, in some cases, the idea of supreme being exists where no evidence of ancestor worship is found.

In *The Making of Religion* (1898), Lang presents the supreme being as a deathless "maker" of all creation that is not fashioned by human hands. Lang considered the idea of supreme being a sublime religious conception that the human intellect was capable of conceiving at any stage of its historical development. Though recognized by the religious intellect, a supreme being was a creative power that the imagination eventually encrusted with mythical elements. Consequently, although the conception of a creator was exalted, the forms into which mythic fancy cast supreme beings were often erratic and degrading.

Lang's insistence on the authentic existence of a sublime supreme being in the religious thought of cultures that animists deemed "lower" or "savage" races met with little success during his lifetime. Nor was his the only voice to fall on deaf ears. As early as 1860, in his second volume of *Anthropologie der Naturvölker,* Theodore Waitz-Gerland had argued for the existence of an indigenous African religion whose ideas of supreme being were so exalted that they approached the limits of monotheism. In his *History of Religion* (1906), A. Menzies, too, had concluded that there existed a widespread belief in a vague and remote divinity who managed the world but found no place in cult, but he was not sure how archaic the form was.

Wilhelm Schmidt. In the very year of Lang's death, Wilhelm Schmidt published the first volume of *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* (1912), a twelve-volume work that was to occupy him for the next forty years. An ethnologist of uncommon energies and linguistic abilities, Schmidt studied supreme beings in a comprehensive fashion. Although he acknowledged his debt to Andrew Lang for having recognized the existence of supreme beings outside historical monotheisms, his main thrust was to situate the study of supreme beings in a more accurate historical framework than the one provided by an ideology of evolution.

Following Fritz Graebner and Bernard Ankermann, Schmidt attacked theories of a unilinear and evolutionary development of religious history. He argued convincingly that human history was a more complicated reality. In the place of simple unilinear development, Schmidt, following the trend of continental historical tradition, proposed the existence of a number of culture circles (*Kulturkreise*), each with distinctive ecological, economic, political, social, and ideological components that developed in relative independence of one another. By first delineating the characteristics of supreme beings found in each culture circle and by comparing those traits seen to be common to distinct culture circles, Schmidt hoped to arrive, through reliable empirical and historical methods, at that original configuration of the idea of God existing in the common archaic culture (*Urkultur*). In this way, Schmidt argued that the contemporary societies of Oceania, Africa, the Americas, and Asia ought not to be ranked in any temporal order on a unilinear time line. On the other hand, features common to many of them pointed to the existence of a temporally earlier culture of shared beliefs.

Like Lang before him, Schmidt emphasized the moral and rational capacities, reflected in the conceptions of supreme beings, of those peoples who had been dubbed "savage" or "primitive." In fact, Schmidt exaggerated the importance of rationality in the nature of religion, for he held that supreme beings were inextricably bound to the rational process of inquiry into the first causes of the universe.

By studying those features common to the religions of African and Asian pygmies, Schmidt postulated the existence of shared religious beliefs stemming from the earlier historical stratum that he called the religion of Archaic Pygmy Culture *(Religion der Pygmäischen Ur-kultur).* Abstracting from American and Arctic materials in the same manner, Schmidt outlined the beliefs in a supreme being that characterized a hypothetical Archaic Arctic-American Culture. Finally, by comparing his constructions of Archaic Pygmy and Arctic-American cultures with religious beliefs in southeastern Australia, Schmidt postulated the "historical outlines" of earliest belief in a supreme being.

What Schmidt found in the reconstructed primordial culture was a supreme being whose nature satisfied all human needs, in particular, the need for a rational first cause of the universe and its creatures. In this way, the supreme being was viewed as the father and founder of social realities, the family, and kin alliances as well as the author of moral realities in his role as lawgiver and ethical judge, who is himself free from all moral corruption. Schmidt argued that the belief that the supreme being was a protective father, supportive of the virtues of trust and love, provided archaic humans with the capacity to live and work toward supramundane goals. Rendering labor significant and providing a sense of responsibility, the belief in a supreme being proved to be an effective impetus for the forward struggles of human history.

Thus, the supreme being of Archaic Culture was the lord of human history because he was seen to fill all time and was the source of the beginnings of human life as well as the judge at its end. Furthermore, since the supreme being was believed to fill all the space of the universe, Archaic Culture could conceive of the existence of only one supreme being, unique and without peer. This being reigned as sovereign over all peoples of the earth. In short, through his historical investigation of ethnographic data, Schmidt contended that the religion of the most archaic human culture was a primordial monotheism (*Urmonotheismus*), whose existence could best be explained through a primordial revelation (*Uroffenbarung*) of the supreme being itself at the beginning of time.

Recognizing that the high god is found in contemporary cultures with less frequency than in the primordial culture, and acknowledging that the contemporary high god is often absent from scheduled cult and manifest in many obscure forms, or even supplanted by other divine figures, Schmidt atributed this degeneration to the very march of history, to the effects of change on human life and thought. Lang had made the same point. Where Lang had attributed the withdrawal of the high god to the cloak of mythic fancy put on over time, Schmidt also considered the economic and social realities of culture history. Thus, the experiences of matrilineal agrarian societies stressed the importance of a female supreme being, lunar associations, and blood sacrifices. Patrilineal totemic cultures contributed emphases on solar symbolism of a male supreme being. Patriarchal cattle-breeding cultures underlined the supreme being as a sky god, the highest in a pantheon of ranked beings increasingly associated with natural phenomena. Through such a historical process, the kernel idea of a primordial supreme being weakened over time, even while the images of supreme being multiplied themselves in number and breadth of special application. History took its greatest toll on the idea of supreme being in those cultures with a long history of ethnological change. For this reason, Schmidt laid great stress on the study of cultures that remained on the margins of technological change.

Schmidt's historical extrapolations from ethnographic materials drew criticism from anthropologists. His assertions of the existence of a primordial monotheism and revelation disturbed theologians. From the point of view of history of religions, Schmidt's greatest shortcoming would prove to be his lack of appreciation of religious elements other than strongly rational ones. In short, although he helped break the stranglehold of evolutionary theories and renewed serious study of supreme being, he continued a rational tradition of interpretation that found it impossible to appreciate the many existential dimensions of myth subsequently disclosed by a more profound hermeneutics of religion. For these reasons, his ideas never gained widespread acceptance. Nevertheless, Schmidt's mammoth studies of supreme beings stand as a monument to his industry and to the existence of the concept of supreme beings in the general history of cultures.

In Schmidt's wake. A distinguished school of culture history grew up around the researches of Wilhelm Schmidt. Although his disciples were very careful to emend or even to reject his historical conclusions about a primordial Archaic Culture and his theological conclusions about a primordial monotheism, they did continue to hold that the investigation of supreme beings outside monotheism constituted a high priority of research. In particular, the researches of Willhelm Koppers, Josef Haeckel, and Martin Gusinde confirmed the importance of the position of supreme beings in many of the cultures that Schmidt had studied.

Reactions to Schmidt came from both theological and ethnological quarters. In general, his critics raised their objections on the basis of material from one special field or another. For the most part, however, other investigators—Preuss, Radin, Lowie, Söderblom, and van der Leeuw among them—agreed with Schmidt in recognizing the existence and importance of a supreme being in many cultures around the world.

In "Die höchste Göttheit bei den kulturarmen Volkern" (1922), Konrad T. Preuss claimed that supreme beings did not form a late stage of human development but rather the foundation of human thought. In *Glauben und Mystik im Schatten des höchsten Wesens* (1926), Preuss pointed out that the separate ideas concerning the world are woven into a universal scheme personified by the supreme being of the sky. Paul Radin, in *Primitive Man as Philosopher* (1927), put forward the idea that a supreme being was a creation of a special type of religious person, one inclined toward intellectual reflection. Speculative thought inclined itself toward an unapproachable, abstract divinity, absent from cult and from the contamination of mythic fancy. Radin opposed this sublime figure to the figure of the transformer, a nonethical, materialistic, and dynamically dramatic figure who fascinated the more pragmatically inclined religious mind. Robert H. Lowie, who examined supreme beings in his *Primitive Religion* (1924), was not so much concerned with the historical origin of the idea of supreme being. Admitting its antiquity, he insisted on the need to consider it as an idea on its own merits, quite apart from notions of spirit, ghost, ancestor, or *mana.*

Nathan Söderblom, a great specialist in Iranian religions, also abandoned the quest for the historical origins of religion in favor of a threefold typology of religions distinguishing ethnic religion from mysticism of infinity and from prophetic revelation. He denied any connection between what he termed "primitive high gods" and the supreme beings of monotheisms. Since the high gods remained remote from their world and absent from cult, they appeared to him to be abstract reflections upon the origin of creation. Far from being true divinities, they were a rational construct of an "originator" (*Urheber*). In *Das Werden des Gottesglaubens: Untersuchungen über die Anfänge der Religion* (1926), he postulated a different origin in human experience for the idea of a supreme being in the religions "of the Book." In these traditions, prophets interpreted their experience of a divine will making itself felt in both the legal and political arenas of daily life as an experience of the supreme (that is, most powerful and authoritative) being. This contrasts with the primitive notion of supreme being, which was, in his view, developed in response to questions about the origins of things.

Gerardus van der Leeuw employed several of Söderblom's key concepts in his treatment of supreme beings in "Die Struktur der Vorstellung des sogenannten Höchsten Wesens" (1931). Later, in *Phänomenologie der Religion* (1933), van der Leeuw extended the basic cognitive categories that Söderblom thought lay behind the concept of supreme being into a more refined Gestalt psychology of religion. The supreme beings outside monotheisms were an outgrowth of the basic cognitive structure of origination. Following Preuss, van der Leeuw also argued that these supreme beings, these high gods, preserved the world order by serving as systematic expressions of the mystical unity on which the conception of the world of everyday experience was grounded.

Like Söderblom and Preuss, van der Leeuw considered the question of the nature and structure of supreme beings in isolation from the history of the idea and the historical situations of particular expressions of supreme beings. An intrinsic element of such supreme beings is their otiosity, their remoteness. Whatever form a supreme being may take, whether sky god, weather god, or animal in form, it is always a form that remains in the background of the religious psyche. According to van der Leeuw, the supreme being created the world but now remains uninvolved with it in any practical way. He is looked upon as a being who in the past accomplished something extraordinary but who will never act in such a way again. Whereas Andrew Lang and Wilhelm Schmidt believed that the supreme being suffered mythic distortions accrued throughout history, van der Leeuw argued that the supreme being, as a structure of the religious psyche, exists outside history.

Raffaele Pettazzoni. It was Raffaele Pettazzoni who proposed that ambivalence is an essential component of the structure of supreme beings. Reappropriating the historical vision of Giovanni Battista Vico, who emphasized that every religious phenomenon is also a "genomenon" (something with a temporal history of development) and that the truths of human history are especially accessible through ideas forged in the symbolic terms of their time ("verum et factum convertuntur"), Pettazzoni embarked on an enormous study of the historical expressions and forms of supreme beings. Nonetheless, he respected the efforts and contributions of phenomenologists, who studied the forms of supreme beings in their essential structures.

The essentially ambivalent structure of supreme beings emerged from Pettazzoni's study of their historical forms. On the one hand, one finds relatively inactive creators who have retired to inaccessible regions once their acts of creation have been accomplished. On the other hand, one finds in history testimonies to supreme beings who are extremely dynamic overseers of the moral order. These active and omniscient sky gods often intervene directly in the course of human affairs by punishing transgressors of the statutes of social order with the weapons of weather and flood so characteristic of their own tempestuous natures.

Over the course of time, Pettazzoni argued, these historically separate features combined into a basic phenomenological structure of a dualistic nature. Their common meeting ground is the sky. Pettazzoni pointed out the primordial and cosmic quality of the remote and inactive creator. In his view, those features of a supreme being that emphasize his transcendence of the world are best suited to express his conservation of the very conditions that guarantee its existence and endurance. Once the world is fashioned, the function of the creator can only be to prolong its duration and ensure its stability. Further action would endanger it. Creativity and passivity are thus indissolubly, if paradoxically, linked with one another. In this way, Pettazzoni rejected the hypothesis of Andrew Lang and Wilhelm Schmidt that the remoteness of the creator is a historical development of mythic fantasy.

On the other hand, criticizing the view held by van der Leeuw and Söderblom, which claimed that the dynamic features of supreme beings are foreign to the otiose figure of a primordial creator, Pettazzoni asserted that moral omniscience is also fundamental to the structure of supreme being. The capacity for moral supervision renders a supreme being morally relevant to historical and social order. Arguing that it is not only the God of historical monotheism who actively involves himself in the course of human events, Pettazzoni documented the existence of all-seeing, celestial supreme beings in Australia, Asia, Indonesia, Melanesia, Africa, and the Americas. Cultures in all of these places provide evidence of the existence of an ambivalent supreme being, both passive creator and omniscient sky god, who oversees the moral order and who is inclined to cede his place to more specialized forms of weather divinities.

Pettazzoni's contribution to the study of supreme beings was his positive evaluation of myth. Rather than viewing it as a degeneration or trivialization of a pure and primordial rational idea, Pettazzoni considered myth the most suitable vehicle for the expression of the sublime and exalted truth contained in the nature of the transcendent and omniscient supreme being. The full existential meaning of supreme being is manifest in myth as in no other form of rational discourse.

Mircea Eliade. In several of his studies in the history of religions, Mircea Eliade has given priority to the investigation of supreme beings. In his great morphological treatise, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (1958), the nature and meaning of supreme being becomes the foundation stone for his approach to the study of religion. Observing the results of earlier investigations, Eliade concludes that in every instance supreme being is a complex figure representing a very involved historical process of religious experiences, revelations, and theoretical systematizations. Nonetheless, Eliade agrees with Pettazzoni that supreme being best manifests its unique spiritual quality as a hierophany of the sky. Height and infinite space become especially suitable manifestations of what is transcendent and supremely sacred. Such supreme beings are primordial; they preexist the world as it is now known, and they act as creators who are beneficent and eternal. They establish the order of creation and become the upholders of its laws. Consequently, Eliade holds that supreme beings are more than simple hierophanies of the sky. Instead, they possess a quality of being that is uniquely their own.

Eliade's special contribution to the study of supreme beings is his illumination of the process of their withdrawal or disappearance. He draws attention to the fact that myth often narrates the withdrawal of a supreme being to remote heights, whence he presides over the larger contours of life, destiny, and the afterlife of the soul, without, however, assuming any dominant role in public cult. In retirement, supreme beings are often replaced by other religious forms: by divinities of nature, by ancestors, by powers of fertility, by solar or lunar divinities, and so forth. Eliade contends that this tendency to give way to more concrete and dynamic forms is an essential element of the stucture of supreme being.

Further, Eliade holds up the withdrawal of supreme beings as the exemplary model for the very process of the religious imagination in history. Considering "the sacred" as a structure of human awareness, he points to its historical occultation or withdrawal even as it manifests itself in concrete and, one could say, profane forms. The withdrawal of the supreme manifestation of being and the occultation of its fullness before active but more circumscribed divine appearances lead to a process of experimentation with sacred forms. This process constitutes the history of religious experience: a religious quest for the full manifestation of supreme being, which myth describes as existing "in the beginning."

Eliade has made a historical application of his morphological analysis of supreme beings in *Australian Religions: An Introduction* (1973), in several articles on South American religions, and in *A History of Religious Ideas* (1978–1986) as well as in other works. At first, Eliade draws attention to the replacement of supreme beings by other divine forms that share the celestial sacrality of supreme being even though they lose something of its transcendent omnipotence: weather, storm, solar, and lunar gods as well as universal sovereign gods who reign from on high. To this extent he develops suggestions made by Pettazzoni. However, his more general point is that supreme being is replaced in the religious imagination by a range of epiphanies of elementary life forces that come to compose a cosmic sacrality: water, stone, earth, vegetation, and animals. These epiphanies reveal themselves as particular modes of being of which a supreme being is the fullest manifestation. Because of this relationship to supreme being no longer fully manifest in history, each cosmic religious form tends, by "imperial" expansion of its meaning to all realms of life, to express itself as a revelation that, like supreme being, includes all other possibilities. However, these limited revelations are, by their very nature, incapable of expressing fully the sacred. They provoke the need for the experience of other forms.

Concluding remarks. Understanding the nature, structure, and meaning of supreme beings outside monotheism has remained a priority for scholars who study religion in a comparative and historical frame of reference. The study of this important being has played a singular role in expunging several futile assumptions that plagued the early stages of investigation. Specifically, the naive premises that the origins of religion might be found in a single simple cause, that valid religious experience might be exhausted through rationalistic explanations, and that religious history is a unilinear progressive development had all to be abandoned. In their place, the study of supreme beings has substituted a deeper appreciation of the complexities of human experience in all cultures and in all times and a more profound understanding of the wider existential dimensions of mythic truth.

In particular, better acquaintance with supreme beings has underscored not only the inestimable value of the religions of Asia, Africa, Oceania, the Americas, and archaic cultures but also the inescapable need to know them well in order to understand the religious experience of humankind.

SEE ALSO Ahura Mazdā and Angra Mainyu; All-Father; Animism and Animatism; Axis Mundi; Cosmogony; Deus Otiosus; El; Eliade, Mircea; Evolution, article on Evolutionism; God; Jupiter; Kulturkreiselehre; Lang, Andrew; Leeuw, Gerardus van der; Lowie, Robert H.; Mawu-Lisa; Meteorological Beings; Mountains; Müller, F. Max; Num; Num-Tūrem; Pettazzoni, Raffaele; Polytheism; Preuss, Konrad T.; Radin, Paul; Schmidt, Wilhelm; Shangdi; Sky; Söderblom, Nathan; Spener, Philipp Jakob; Tangaroa; Tian; Tylor, E. B.; Ülgen; uNkulunkulu; Varuṇa; Viracocha; Zeus.

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SŪRDĀS (also called Sūr Dās and Sūradāsa; c. 1483–1563), a North Indian devotional poet. Known for his brilliant *padas* (lyrics) in the Braj dialect of Hindi, Sūrdās is one of the most popular poets of Kṛṣṇa *bhakti* (devotion) in the North Indian heartland.

The traditionally accepted story of his life has come down through the hagiographic accounts of the Vallabhite sect of Kṛṣṇa *bhakti,* which claims Sūrdās as the first of its "eight seals"—eight poets who lived during the early days of the sect and whose compositions are part of the sect's daily liturgy. According to these accounts, Sūrdās was born near Delhi in 1478, the same year as Vallabhācārya, the founder of the sect, and, like him, was of the Sārasvat Brāhmaṇ caste. Reputedly blind from birth, he was endowed with miraculous gifts of clairvoyance as well as great musical talent. At a young age, he left home to become an ascetic, eventually settling near Agra. There he composed devotional songs and attracted a following. In 1510 Vallabhācārya came through on one of his preaching tours and met Sūrdās. Until that time, all of Sūrdās's compositions had been of the *vinaya* type—hymns of supplication and humble pleas for salvation. Vallabhācārya taught him the story of Kṛṣṇa as embodied in the tenth chapter of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* instructed him in his doctrines, and enjoined him to sing about the *līlā* (divine play) of Kṛṣṇa. He then brought Sūrdās to the sect's newly established Shrīnāthjī temple in Govardhan and put him in charge of composing songs for the liturgy. In this setting, where he spent the remainder of his life, Sūrdās composed the *Sūrsāgar,* a retelling of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in twelve chapters of verse. He died, according to Vallabhite sources, shortly before the death of Vallabhācārya's son, Viṭṭhalnātha, in 1585, his life thus spanning that of both the founder of the sect and his immediate successor.

Serious scholarly doubt has been cast on this account. Another nonsectarian Hindu tradition suggests that Sūrdās's dates are 1483 to 1563, that he was by caste a Bhāṭ (panegyrist), and that he became blind only later in life. The issue is further complicated by references in Muslim sources to a renowned singer named Sūrdās at the court of the emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605). The somewhat subordinate ranking of this Mughal Sūrdās—he is far less celebrated than his father, a certain Rāmdās—and a disagreement among the royal choniclers as to whether Rāmdās hailed from Gwalior or Lucknow makes it unlikely, however, that this Sūrdās is the same as the renowned Vaiṣṇava poet. The early-seventeenth-century *Afsānah-i-Shāhāṅ* of Muḥammad Kabīr also mentions a Sūrdās, who is referred to as a performer at the court of the Afghan ruler Islām Shāh (r. 1545–1555). This Sūrdās—who sounds more likely to be "our" man—is included in a select list of "accomplished scholars and poets" whose luster was intended to burnish the reputation of Islām Shāh a half century or more later. Sūrdās is the only non-Muslim to be included in the group.

This image of Sūrdās as a court poet is entirely at variance with the Vallabhite account that has become so standard. But the most serious challenge to the Vallabhite view comes not from alternate biographies, Vaiṣṇava or otherwise, but from the textual history of the *Sūrsāgar* itself. Though the present-day standard edition of nearly five thousand *padas* is indeed divided into twelve chapters following the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* the oldest extant manuscripts, which contain only a few hundred *padas,* are not. Nor do the older manuscripts follow the Vallabhite liturgical calendar, use the characteristic theological terminology of the sect, or group the *vinaya* lyrics at the beginning as a distinct genre. The present-day *Sūrsāgar* is thus the product of gradual addition to an original core of episodic lyrics, and of the imposition of a systematic framework by a self-conscious sectarian tradition. A critical edition prepared by Kenneth E. Bryant in cooperation with Vidyut Aklujkar and others is shortly to be published and will force a radical reevaluation of the text, at least in scholarly circles.

Despite the incorporation of Sūrdās into the history and liturgy of the Vallabhite community, his importance as a religious figure extends far beyond the sectarian. His name has become a household word used to refer to blind persons, especially blind mendicant singers, while the *Sūrsāgar,* whose lyrics are sung by Indians of all sectarian persuasions, is considered one of the literary and devotional treasures of the Hindi-speaking area. Sūrdās's lyrics touch on all aspects of the Kṛṣṇa story, but he is best known for his depiction of Kṛṣṇa's childhood and adolescence. Among the poems on Kṛṣṇa's childhood, those dealing with Kṛṣṇa as the butter thief are among the favorites. Also popular are the lyrics that describe the irresistible attraction of Kṛṣṇa's flute-playing and how it draws the cowherd women *(gopīs)* from their homes. Sūrdās's second most beloved theme is that of the pain of separation *(viraha)* felt by Rādhā and the cowherd women after Krishna leaves them and settles in Mathura, resuming the royal station he was forced to abdicate at birth. Among these *viraha* poems are the famous "bee songs," in which the cowherd women mock the cold monistic philosophy of Kṛṣṇa's emissary Uddhav and assert the superiority of their loving personal devotion to Kṛṣṇa. Sūrdās's third most popular theme is that of *vinaya,* in which he turns from dramatic third-person description and narration to the intimate first-person voice of the devotee praying to his god for salvation, sometimes humbly, sometimes with reckless abandon. The *Sūrsāgar* also contains *padas* that plumb Kṛṣṇa's activities as a mature adult—stories associated with the great *Mahābhārata* epic—as well as a number that celebrate Rāma and Sītā, as in the *Mahābhārata's* parallel epic, the *Rāmāyaṇa.*

Finally, there are poems that function as verbal icons, as in the following example. Here, one young woman catches a glimpse of Kṛṣṇa playing his flute Muralī and shares her vision with a friend, likening her mind and eyes to two birds: the *chātak,* which survives on raindrops, and the *chakor,* which lives on moonbeams:

> Look, friend: look what a mass of delight—
> For my *chātak*-bird mind, a cloud dark with love;
> a moon for my *chakor*-bird eyes.
> His earrings coil in the hollows of his neck,
> gladdening his tender cheeks,
> As crocodiles might play on a nectar pond
> and make the moonlight shudder in their wake.
> A wealth of elixir, his mouth and lips,
> and little Muralī perched in his hands
> Seems to be filling that pair of lotus vessels
> with still more of that immortal liquid.
> His deep-toned body, sheathed in brilliant silk,
> glitters with a garland of basil leaves
> As if a coalition of lightning and cloud
> had been ringed by parrots in flight.
> Thick locks of hair; a lovely, easy laugh;
> eyebrows arched to a curve—
> To gaze upon the splendor of the Lord of Sūr
> is to make one's wishes lame.
> (Hawley and Bryant), *Sūr's Ocean*, §41

The *Sūrsāgar* is a work of remarkable range, yet it is important to keep in mind that, at least until the eighteenth century, it was composed entirely of independent lyrics such as the one above, most of them quite short and all of them intended to be sung. The poet's task was not to retell a sustained narrative but to allow his audiences to experience familiar episodes in a fresh way, either by introducing some novel vignette or perspective, by phrasing his poems as puzzles, by assembling metaphors and allusions in new ways, or by seducing his listeners into a langorous lethargy from which he could then awake them. The hagiographer Nābhādās, writing early in the seventeenth century, summed up the views of many subsequent listeners, performers, and critics when he observed that what set Sūrdās apart was his status as a poet's poet: "What poet, hearing the poems Sūr has made, will not nod his head?"

SEE ALSO Bhakti; Hindi Religious Traditions; Kṛṣṇa; Poetry, article on Indian Religious Poetry; Vaiṣṇavism, article on Bhāgavatas.

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The standard edition of the *Sūrsāgar,* upon which many authors rely, is the Nagari Pracharini Sabha's *Sūrsāgar,* 2 vols. (Varanasi, India, 1948, with subsequent reprints). Partial editions have also been produced by Javāharlāl Chaturvedī (Calcutta, 1965) and Mātāprasād Gupta (Agra, India, 1979). A full-scale critical edition of Sūrdās poems that can be traced to the sixteenth century has recently been completed by Kenneth Bryant and will be published as volume two of *Sūr's Ocean* (forthcoming). In the first volume of that work, John Hawley provides a translation and poem-by-poem analysis of compositions included in the Bryant edition, with extensive introduction. Bryant and Gopal Narayan Bahura have performed a valuable service by publishing a facsimile edition (*Pad Sūradāsajī kā,* Jaipur, India, 1982) of the earliest extant manuscript containing poems attributed to Sūrdās. Written at Fatehpur in 1582, it contains 239 Sūrdās *padas.*

KARINE SCHOMER (1987)
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SŪRYA SEE SAURA HINDUISM

SUSANO-O NO MIKOTO, one of the major deities in Japanese mythology, offspring of Izanagi and Izanami, and brother of Amaterasu. The meaning of the word *susano-o* is interpreted as either "a terrible man," or "the man of Susa," with *susa* read as a place-name. (*Mikoto* is a suffix used for a respected person or deity.) The character of Susano-o is extremely complex because he is an amalgam of several local and national deities. Although this deity personifies evil, several of his acts have an unmistakably beneficent character.

Susano-o caused the most dramatic event in Japanese mythology when he angered Amaterasu. He first aroused her wrath by emptying his bowels in the palace. But when Amaterasu was injured as a result of Susano-o's misbehavior she forthwith entered the Rock Cave of Heaven, and having fastened the Rock Door, dwelt there in seclusion. Eight hundred myriad deities then gathered to consider how to lure her out and restore light to the world. Their solution was to have Ame no Uzume, a female deity, perform an erotic dance in front of the cave. This caused laughter among the deities, and Amaterasu, curious about the noise outside, opened the door a crack and peered out. Then Tajikara no Kami (god of strength) took her by the hand and led her out, and the radiance of the supreme deity filled the universe. For his role in provoking this event, the deities punished Susano-o on the sacred ground. They cut off his beard and his fingernails and toenails, and expelled him from the heavenly world. Because of the banishment of Susano-o, the evil deity, a good crop was expected in the coming new season.

In this myth, Susano-o plays a negative role, but his later activities are more positive. Following his expulsion from the realm of the gods, Susano-o descended to the province of Izumo, which was located in western Honshu, the main island of Japan. There he learned that an eight-headed serpent appeared in Izumo each year to devour a young girl. Susano-o intoxicated the serpent with liquor and killed it. As he cut into the serpent's body, the blade of his sword broke. Thinking this strange, he cut open the flesh and discovered a sword within. The sword, called Kusanagi no Tsurugi, became one of the Three Imperial Regalia. After this incident, Susano-o became the ancestor god of Izumo.

Susano-o is also the most important deity of northern Kyushu. Three female descendants of Susano-o were enshrined at Munakata, a religious center of that region. Thus there is a link between the Munakata and Izumo shrines, not only because Susano-o was the ancestor god of the female deities but also because Ōkuninushi, the son of Susano-o, married Takiribime, one of the three Munakata deities. The Munakata deities also had ties to western Honshu, for the deity enshrined at Itsukushima, near present-day Hiroshima and south of Izumo, is Itsukushima-hime, one of the three Munakata deities.

This geographical pattern suggests that Susano-o and his children were the deities of northern Kyushu and the western tip of Honshu. In sharp contrast, Amaterasu was originally the goddess of Yamato Province in central Japan. Susano-o and Amaterasu might therefore represent two separate political forces before the emergence of a unified Japanese kingdom—the one centered in northern Kyushu, the other in Yamato. When the rival forces merged, the myths were combined as they are found today in the *Nihongi* and the *Kojiki.* The *Kojiki* states that when Susano-o went to the heavenly world, there was consternation and alarm. Amaterasu said of the ascent of Susano-o that there was "surely no good intent. It is only that he wishes to wrest my land from me." Her reaction is understandable if the two deities were rivals before they were united as brother and sister.

Susano-o was also the god of the sea. Itsukushima-hime, one of his three daughters, was also enshrined at Okinoshima, located in the Tsushima Strait north of Kyushu. In ancient times, when the government sent missions to Korea or China, prayers for a safe voyage were offered at Okinoshima. This supports the *Nihongi's* description of Susano-o as ruler of the sea.

SEE ALSO Amaterasu Ōmikami; Izanagi and Izanami; Japanese Religions, article on The Study of Myths.

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SŪTRA LITERATURE.

The Sanskrit term *sūtra* means "a thread"; it is also used, however, to refer to a short, aphoristic sentence and, collectively, to a work consisting of such sentences. Sūtra literature, as distinguished from *śāstra* literature, is in prose. The *sūtra* style, characterized by *laghutva* ("brevity, conciseness"), is a mnemonic device that attempts to condense as much meaning as possible into as few words, even syllables, as possible.

The most important sūtra texts in the context of the religious literature of India are the Kalpasūtras. The term *kalpa* has been variously explained by different traditional and modern scholars, but can best be rendered as "ritual." *Kalpa,* together with *śikṣā* (phonetics), *chandas* (prosody), *nirukta* (etymology), *vyākaraṇa* (grammar), and *jyotiṣa* (astronomy), is one of the six Vedāṅgas, or branches of learning auxiliary to the Vedas. The Kalpasūtras are closely connected with the individual Vedic schools (*śākhās*). (Even though not all the texts have survived, it may be assumed that at one time each Vedic school had not only its own *saṃhitā, brāhmaṇa, āraṇyaka,* and *upaniṣad* but also its own *kalpa-sūtra.*) There are three main classifications of Kalpasūtra: Śrautasūtras, Gṛhyasūtras, and Dharmasūtras.

The ritual performances described in the Śrautasūtras distinguish themselves by their—often extreme—complexity. First, in addition to the *yajamāna* (patron of the sacrifice) and his wife, for whose benefit the ritual is performed, *śrauta* ritual can involve the presence of up to sixteen specialized priests. Second, it requires an elaborately laid-out sacrificial area in which three sacred fires are kept burning continually. Third, *śrauta* ritual includes not only *ekāha* ("one-day-long") ceremonies but also *ahīna* rituals, which last up to twelve days, and *sattra* "sessions," which can extend over several years. Large sections of the Śrautasūtras are devoted to the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice, which is the prototype (*prakṛti*) for many variant forms of soma sacrifices collectively called *jyotiṣṭoma,* among which are the seventeen-day-long Vajapeya and the Rājasūya, the royal consecration. Other well-known *śrauta* rituals are the sacrifices to the new and full moons (Darśapūrṇamāsau), the horse sacrifice (Aśvamedha), and the animal sacrifice (Paśubandha). Some Śrautasūtras end in more or less independent appendices called *sulbasūtra*s; because they describe the exact layout of the sacrificial area (*vedi*), they are, in effect, the earliest Indian texts on geometry and mathematics.

In addition to rites that are part of the daily life of the householder and rituals on such occasions as building a house or digging a tank, the Gṛhyasūtras principally deal with the *saṃskāra*s. These are the rites of passage that guide a Hindu through the various stages of his life, from conception until death, especially the Upanayana (his second birth, at which time he begins the study of the Veda and is invested with the sacred thread) and marriage. Many topics treated in the Gṛhyasūtras also appear in the Dharmasūtras, although the latter expand their teachings to cover all the duties and obligations of the different *asrama*s ("stages of life") and *varṇa*s ("classes of society"). The Dharmasūtras, in prose, are considered to be the precursors of the versified Dharmaśāstras.

Treatises in sūtra style also form the basic texts for the six Hindu *darśana*s (orthodox philosophical systems). They are Jaimini's *Pūrvamīmāṃsā Sūtras,* Bādarāyaṇa's *Uttaramīmāṃsā Sūtras,* or *Vedānta Sūtras,* Gautama's *Nyāya Sūtras,* Kaṇāda's *Vaiśeṣika Sūtras,* Kapila's *Sāṃkhya Sūtras,* and Patañjali's *Yoga Sūtras.* Some of these philosophical sūtras are so concise that they have lent themselves to divergent interpretations, and they have thus become the authoritative texts for very different philosophical systems. Bādarāyaṇa's sūtras, for example, are the common source for all later schools of Vedānta, including Śaṇkara's Advaita, Rāmānuja's Viśiṣṭādvaita, and Madhva's Dvaita. The sūtra style was also adopted in certain Buddhist and Jain scriptures.

The area of sūtra literature in which the ideal of brevity and conciseness has been realized most perfectly is the grammatical literature, which technically belongs to the Vedāṅgas, mentioned earlier. Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* not only uses as few words as possible; it has recourse to all kinds of devices to abbreviate the sūtras, such as the replacement of longer grammatical terms with shorter symbols. The commentators on Pāṇini's work go to great length to account for the presence and meaning of each and every syllable in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī.*

It would be misleading to suggest specific dates for the Kalpasūtras and for sūtra literature generally. The texts clearly belong to the end of the Vedic period, and they are thought to be earlier than the epic period. Allowing for exceptions belonging to earlier or later dates, the major part of the sūtra literature may be safely situated in the second half of the first millennium BCE.

SEE ALSO Śāstra Literature.

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SUZUKI, D. T. (1870–1966), also known as Suzuki Daisetsu Teitarō, Buddhist scholar, prolific author, and itinerant lecturer, remains the single most important figure in the popularization of Zen in the twentieth century. At the time of his death in 1966, Suzuki had authored dozens of volumes on Zen and Buddhism in English and had produced an even greater oeuvre in his native Japanese. His writings on Zen remain influential in the West, and translations of his work into Korean, Chinese, and other Asian languages have contributed to a resurgence of popular interest in Zen throughout East Asia. Suzuki's accomplishments as a scholar, popularizer, and evangelist are remarkable, given that his philological skills were acquired largely on his own and that he had no formal credentials as a Zen teacher. (Whereas he was a serious lay practitioner, he neither ordained as a priest nor received Dharma transmission.) He owed his success to his considerable intellectual and linguistic gifts, his seemingly boundless enthusiasm and energy, his prodigious literary output, and his having the right message at the right time.

EARLY YEARS. Born Suzuki Teitarō in the town of Kanazawa (Ishikawa prefecture) on October 18, 1870, Suzuki was the youngest of five children. (The name Daisetsu or "great simplicity" was given to him later by his Zen teacher Shaku Sōen [1859–1919].) Suzuki's family belonged to the Rinzai sect of Zen, but Suzuki credited his own serious interest in Buddhism to the influence of his high-school mathematics teacher Hōjō Tokiyori (1858–1929), a student of the Zen master Imakita Kōsen (1816–1892). Hōjō was also responsible for introducing Zen to Nishida Kitarō (1870–1945), a classmate and friend of Suzuki who would later emerge as Japan's preeminent modern philosopher.

Suzuki's father, a physician, died soon after Suzuki's fifth birthday, and in 1889 Suzuki was forced to leave school and a probable career in medicine owing to his family's ongoing financial difficulties. Suzuki made a living for a while as a primary school English teacher and in 1891 entered the Tokyo Senmon Gakkō, later renamed Waseda University. Later that same year, at the urging of his friend Nishida, Suzuki transferred to Tokyo Imperial University, and at the same time began to practice Zen with Kōsen at Engakuji, an important Rinzai monastery in Kamakura. When Kōsen died in 1892, Suzuki continued his Zen practice under Kōsen's successor, Shaku Sōen.

Both Kōsen and Sōen were pivotal figures in the revival of Zen following the government-sanctioned persecution of Buddhism in the 1870s. Progressives like Kōsen and Sōen sought to broaden Buddhism's appeal, opening the doors of their monasteries to laypersons, encouraging secular education, and promoting an ecumenical attitude toward other Buddhist schools. (Sōen himself spent three years in Ceylon studying Pali Buddhism with Kōsen's blessing.) Suzuki took advantage of the liberal atmosphere at the Engakuji *zendō* (meditation hall), and it was through Sōen that Suzuki, who had considerable facility in English, became familiar with Occidental writings on Buddhism.

INFLUENCES. Suzuki's life took a turn in the early 1890s when he became acquainted with the writings of Paul Carus (1852–1919), an offbeat German philosopher and writer who had emigrated to the United States and was working as a writer and editor for Open Court Press in La Salle, Illinois. Suzuki's contact with Carus came by way of Sōen, who met Carus at the 1893 Chicago World's Parliament of Religions. (Sōen attended as a member of the Japanese Buddhist delegation, and his speech to the Parliament had been translated into English by Suzuki.) Carus was in Chicago covering the Parliament for his journal, *Open Court*, and was so impressed by Sōen and the other Buddhist representatives that he became an ardent champion and exponent of Buddhism in his publications. Soon after the Parliament Carus sent Sōen some of his books, including a somewhat bowdlerized compendium of Buddhist scriptures entitled *Gospel of Buddha* (1894). Sōen, who knew little English, passed the *Gospel* on to Suzuki, who was immediately taken by Carus's depiction of the Buddha as an eminently rational figure who eschewed religious institutions and meaningless ritual. Suzuki produced a Japanese translation of the *Gospel* and wrote to Carus expressing praise for his understanding of Buddhism. Carus responded by sending Suzuki more of his publications, including his book *The Religion of Science* (1893). Shortly thereafter, at Suzuki's request, Sōen wrote to Carus saying that Suzuki "has been so greatly inspired by your sound faith which is perceptible in your various works that he earnestly desires to go abroad and to study under your personal guidance." Carus agreed at once to Sōen's request and promised to help Suzuki pay for the trip by offering him employment as his personal assistant.

It is not surprising that Suzuki, a talented student of Western philosophy and a lay practitioner of Zen, should have been attracted to Carus's writings. Carus was passionately devoted to the reconciliation of science and religion, and his approach to Buddhism rendered it wholly commensurate with the modernist, rationalist, and scientific outlook that dominated university campuses in Meiji, Japan.

Suzuki arrived in America in 1897 and went on to spend some eleven years in La Salle, earning his keep as translator and proofreader at the Open Court Press. His life there was by no means easy—he was obliged to perform domestic services for the Carus household and he was provided with little remuneration for the long hours he put in at the press. By the time Suzuki was ready to return to Japan, he appears to have grown disillusioned with his eccentric host, and he rarely mentions Carus in later writings.

Whatever Suzuki's personal relationship may have been with his employer, Carus's philosophy left its mark on him. Carus's interest in monism, his evolutionary approach to religion, and his attempt to reconcile religion and science are all in evidence in Suzuki's later writings on Buddhism. But Carus was not the only influence on Suzuki during his years in La Salle. Open Court Press published two leading intellectual journals, *Open Court* and *The Monist*, and through them Suzuki encountered the writings of many prominent philosophers of the day, including Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914) and William James (1842–1910). James's book *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902) was responsible in part for Suzuki's later emphasis on Zen as a form of religious mysticism predicated on "pure experience."

Upon returning to Japan in 1909, Suzuki held a series of lectureships in English at Gakushuin (1909–1921) and Tokyo Imperial University (1909–1914). In 1911 he married Beatrice Erskine Lane (1878–1939), a native of Newark, New Jersey, and graduate of Radcliffe College and Columbia University, whom Suzuki had met four years earlier in the United States. The two had a son named Paul, but not much more is known about Suzuki's relationship with his wife. Clearly, they had many interests in common: in addition to having studied Western philosophy with William James and Josiah Royce, Lane was a Theosophist and student of religious mysticism. In Japan she turned her attention to Shingon, a school of Japanese Esoteric Buddhism, and went on to publish some of the earliest work on the subject in English.

Suzuki shared his wife's interest in theosophy, and in the 1920s their Japanese home served as a meeting place for a branch of the Order of the Star in the East. (The Order, an offshoot of the Theosophical Society founded in 1911, continued until 1929 when it was disbanded by its spiritual leader, Jiddu Krishnamurti [1895–1986].)

Theosophy was fashionable at the time, as was Swedenborgianism, a Christian movement based on the writings of the Swedish mystic and theologian Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772). Suzuki was enamored of Swedenborg for several years and was instrumental in the introduction of Swedenborgianism to Japan, both as an active member of the Japanese Swedenborg Society and as translator of four of Swedenborg's works. In 1910 Suzuki traveled to London to attend the international Swedenborg conference in the capacity of "Vice President," returned again in 1912 to continue his work for the Swedenborg Society, and in 1913 wrote his own Japanese introduction to Swedenborg's life and teachings, dubbing him "the Buddha of the North." Whereas his passion for Swedenborg later cooled, his interest in Christian mysticism did not; his writings following the war are filled with appreciative discussions of the medieval Dominican mystic Meister Johannes Eckhart (c. 1260–1327/8).

In 1921 Suzuki moved to Kyoto to take a position as Professor of Buddhist Philosophy at Otani University, a university affiliated with the Shin denomination of Japanese Buddhism. (Suzuki had a life-long interest in Shin Pure Land teachings and published many works touting the unity of Zen and Pure Land thought.) Inspired in part by his experience with *Open Court* and *The Monist,* at Otani Suzuki launched the journal *Eastern Buddhist,* which was intended to serve as a non-sectarian vehicle for the propagation of Mahāyāna Buddhism. "Our standpoint," wrote Suzuki in the second issue of *Eastern Buddhist,* "is that the Mahāyāna ought to be considered one whole, individual thing and no sects, especially no sectarian prejudices, to be recognized in it, except as so many phases or aspects of one fundamental truth. In this respect Buddhism and Christianity and all other religious beliefs are not more than variations of one single original Faith, deeply embedded in the human soul" (Suzuki, 1921, p. 156).

PHILOSOPHY OF ZEN. Virtually all of Suzuki's later writings are attempts to elucidate this "one single original Faith," which he would come to understand as grounded in a transcultural, transhistorical, nondual religious experience lying at the core of all the major religions. The word "Zen," insists Suzuki, refers precisely to this singular transformative experience. That is to say, Zen is not Buddhism, not religion, not philosophy, not really anything that can be talked about at all. In his *An Introduction to Zen Buddhism* Suzuki writes: "Zen has no God to worship, no ceremonial rites to observe, no future abode to which the dead are destined, and, last of all, Zen has no soul whose welfare is to be looked after by somebody else and whose immortality is a matter of intense concern with some people. Zen is free from all these dogmatic and 'religious' encumbrances" (Suzuki, 1934, p. 14).

The claim that true Zen is free of the trappings of religion might seem commonplace to contemporary students of Buddhism, but it is nonetheless a rather peculiar way to characterize a tradition that placed tremendous emphasis on monastic ritual and liturgy, on funerary rites for the welfare of the deceased, on literary accomplishment, and on the formal veneration of a host of buddhas, *bodhisattvas,* and religious patriarchs. Suzuki's characterization of Zen as something that transcends religious and cultural differences must be understood as the result of his life-long effort to synthesize a variety of religious and philosophical traditions, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist, Eastern and Western. If his presentation of Zen seems unremarkable to us today, it testifies to the enduring legacy of Suzuki and his intellectual heirs.

Suzuki's claim that Zen refers to a universal mystical experience is considered by many modern scholars and Zen masters alike as an oversimplification, however well intentioned. More troubling, however, is Suzuki's insistence that Zen constitutes the very essence of Japanese culture. Suzuki began emphasizing the connection between the Japanese cultural experience and the experience of Zen in the 1930s as part of his claim that the Japanese are more evolved spiritually than other peoples, including their Asian neighbors. Japanese life is, according to Suzuki, inherently "Zen-like," and thus the Japanese are naturally predisposed to Zen understanding.

Suzuki's attempts to ennoble Japanese culture must be understood within the context of the times—his writings on the subject first appear just as Japan's imperial ambitions were reaching new heights, and their armies were driving deeper into Korea, Manchuria, and China. Suzuki's extensive writings touting the innate spirituality of the Japanese, and linking this spirituality with the warrior ethos, were in keeping with popular sentiments of the day. (The Zen establishment was, on the whole, an enthusiastic supporter of Japanese colonial expansion.) As the war progressed, so did the extravagance of some of Suzuki's claims. In 1944, for example, between trips to the air-raid shelter, Suzuki wrote a book called *Japanese Spirituality,* which argued that true Zen is not a product of China, much less India, but rather emerged out of the meeting of Buddhism and Japanese culture in the Kamakura period. Suzuki was fully aware of the Indian and Chinese roots of Zen, having written extensively on the topic, but here he insists that true Zen is not a "natural expression" of those cultures, and thus it was not until Zen came to Japan that it was fully realized. Besides, in Suzuki's mind Zen had long since disappeared on the continent. In so far as such statements would have lent credibility to Japan's sense of spiritual mission in Asia, Suzuki could understandably be construed as supporting the ongoing military campaign.

After the Japanese defeat, Suzuki claimed to have been opposed to the war; he said that he believed losing the war was in Japan's own best interests. Private letters to friends written prior to the war substantiate Suzuki's claims: they express his reservations about Japanese militarism, and his disgust with excessive public displays of patriotic zeal. Nevertheless, some Japanese intellectuals such as Umehara Takeshi (1925–) took umbrage with Suzuki: if Suzuki was so opposed to the war effort, why did he—a student of Zen who claimed to have attained satori—not speak out openly?

IMPACT. Be that as it may, Suzuki's lifelong effort to impart his love of Zen and Japanese culture must be deemed a resounding success. Following the war he continued to travel to Europe and America, sometimes for extended periods of time. He was a popular lecturer, speaking at college campuses around the world, and from 1951 to 1957 he held a series of professorships at Columbia University. And he was, above all else, an indefatigable writer, producing over thirty volumes in English and even more in Japanese. Whereas much of Suzuki's writings were intended for a popular audience, he did make substantial contributions to Buddhist scholarship. His three-volume study of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* published in the 1930s, for example, remains the most comprehensive work on the subject to date, and Zen scholars continue to consult his editions of important Dunhuang manuscripts.

Suzuki's work made a significant impact not only among those interested in the study of religion, but also among theologians, philosophers, writers, artists, and musicians. In his preface to *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism* Alan Watts reported that as early as 1927 James Bissett Pratt had observed "there are two kinds of cultured people: those who have read Suzuki and those who have not" (Suzuki, 1963, p. xv). By the 1950s there seem to have been relatively few of the latter, as is evident from the flattering profile of Suzuki in the August 31, 1957, issue of the *New Yorker.* His influence on the beat poets is well known. According to William Barrett in his *Zen Buddhism: Selected Writing of D. T. Suzuki,* the German philosopher Martin Heidegger (1889–1976) remarked, "If I understand this man correctly, this is what I have been trying to say in all my writings" (Barrett, 1956, p. xi). Suzuki's English works, such as *Zen and Japanese Culture* (first published as *Zen Buddhism and Its Influence on Japanese Culture,* 1938)—a book that unapologetically celebrates the unique spiritual gifts of the Japanese and the sublime affinity between Zen and Japanese martial culture—continue to capture the imagination of new generations of readers. Whereas more traditional Zen teachers may dismiss Suzuki for his intellectualism or for his lack of proper Zen credentials, they have Suzuki to thank for the currency of Zen in the West.

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SUZUKI SHŌSAN (1579–1655) was a Japanese Buddhist monk known for his advocacy of *Niō-zazen,* a meditative technique drawing upon both Zen and Pure Land methodologies. Shōsan was a bodyguard retainer *(hatamoto)* of Tokugawa Ieyasu and fought in the crucial battles that gave the Tokugawa family control of all Japan. In 1620, a few years after Ieyasu's death, Shōsan tonsured himself as a Zen monk, favoring the Sōtō sect. Yet he never formally became affiliated with any sect and soon set himself up as the master of a small temple and meditation center called Onshinji some miles out of Okazaki, near Asuke, his birthplace. After six or seven years there, he moved to the Edo (Tokyo) vicinity, where he lived the rest of his life as a semi-itinerant teacher and writer.

Although Shōsan was well known in Zen circles, his influence was negligible for two reasons: He never became an official member of any sect, and his meditational methods and emphasis were nontraditional. He became widely known then and later for his so-called *Niō-zazen.* This "method" takes its name from Shōsan's use as models for meditation the images of the two fierce warrior-gods (Niō) that guard the entrance of many Buddhist temples in Japan, rather than the quietly seated Nyorai image. He also suggested as a model Fudo, the "angry" Buddha portrayed as wreathed in flames and with sword and lasso in either hand.

The reasons for this advocacy are given clearly by Shōsan. For beginners in meditation—and he considered every contemporary, including himself, as such—the Nyorai model was too passive. It did not embody the fierce energy necessary for successfully engaging in the hand-to-hand combat with one's self-love, which is essential for productive meditation. Hence he recommended setting the back teeth, tightly clenching the fists, scowling with a warrior's fierce glare, and repeating the Pure Land Nembutsu vigorously, all the while thinking, "I am about to die."

Although unique to Shōsan, *Niō-zazen* was not simply a casual mixture of Pure Land and Zen methodologies, as his detractors in both sects have alleged. Rather, it was a tangible embodiment of his dominant conviction that the Buddhist *dharma* must be made available to the masses in the most effective form, regardless of sectarian tradition. He was persuaded that Buddhism was being misperceived and bypassed as a passive, other-worldly faith in favor of "practical" and "useful" Confucianism. *Niō-zazen* was one way of combating this. But even more fundamentally, he sought to integrate Buddhism into the daily life of samurai, farmer, artisan, and merchant. He preached the inherent sanctity of all honest labor as Heaven's appointment for earthly life. By so regarding it, and by combining daily activities with the continual saying of the Nembutsu, one could cut off evil thoughts, accumulate merit, and begin to walk the Buddha's way toward enlightenment. Hence he preached that all work could be made into Buddha work; that is, into genuine religious discipline.

This fusion of the sacred and the secular in daily life, made practical and specific in its form, was Shōsan's most important contribution to Buddhism. It is not to be seen as a mere assertion of the innate sacrality of the secular and the profane, regardless of religious tradition. It is an assertion of the potential sacredness of all human effort and a strong protest against a Buddhism interpreted as otherworldly detachment in the name of a religious transcendence of time and space.

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SVENTOVIT was the four-headed "god of gods" (*deum deus*) of the pre-Christian northwestern Slavs. His name, **Sventovit*, is variously written—as *Sventovit*, *Svantevit*, *Suatovitus*, and, in the *Knythlingasaga* (c. 1265), *Svantaviz*—but his cult is precisely described in the *Gesta Danorum* (14.564) of Saxo Grammaticus (late twelfth century).

The center for the worship of Sventovit was in Arkona, on the Baltic island of Rügen. In the center of town was the citadel-temple, a wooden structure of consummate workmanship, built with logs and topped by a red roof. Inside the surrounding fence was a barbican, whose four posts stood free of the outer walls of the temple and adjoined some of the beams of the roof. The inner chamber, partitioned by heavy tapestries, held an enormous statue of Sventovit. Its four heads and necks were joined together: facing north, south, east, and west, they apparently corresponded to the four columns of the barbican. The faces were beardless and the hair short. The statue's right hand held a drinking horn inlaid with various metals; the left was set akimbo. A close-fitting mantle, reaching to the idol's knees, was made of several kinds of wood. The idol stood on the temple floor, with its base hidden in the ground below. Nearby lay the god's bridle and saddle, along with an enormous sword whose blade and scabbard were richly chased and damascened with silver.

A retinue of three hundred horsemen served Sventovit, and the plunder they won in war went to the head priest. Saxo mentions that tribute was paid not only by the Wends but also by the Scandinavians. In time, a treasure of incredible value was amassed; when the Christian Danes stormed Arkona in 1168, they removed the statue and carried away seven boxes of treasure, including two gold beakers.

A white horse consecrated to Sventovit was venerated as an incarnation of the god himself. Success or failure in war was foretold through the horse in the following manner: three rows of palings or lances were laid by the priest in front of the temple; if the horse stepped across the first row with its right foot first, the omen was favorable. The prophetic role of the horse in the divination ceremonies of the northwestern Slavs is confirmed by its magic function in Russian popular tradition, particularly by the traditional horse epithet, *veshchii* ("seer"), which has an exact correspondence in the Avesta.

Shortly after harvest, a great festival was held in honor of Sventovit. Cattle were sacrificed, and prophecies were made from the quantity of mead that remained in the drinking horn held by the god: if the liquid had diminished during the previous year, a bad harvest was predicted for the next. At the end of the ceremony, the priest poured the old liquid out at the god's feet and refilled the vessel, asking the god to bestow victory on the country and to increase its wealth. Then a man-sized festal cake was brought in. Placing the cake between himself and the people, the priest asked if he was still visible; if the people answered in the affirmative, the priest expressed the wish that they would not be able to see him the next year. This ceremony was believed to ensure a better harvest for the following year. (Similar customs of foretelling the future from gigantic cakes are known among Belorussians and Russians in the twentieth century.)

Disposition of the Sventovit idol from Rügen is unknown. In 1857 a carved wooden post was discovered in Zbruch, near Husjatyn in southeastern Poland, that bears a striking resemblance to Saxo's description. Carved on all four sides, in four registers, it shows four terminal figures, one of which holds a drinking horn. Another four-headed statue, called Chetyrebog ("four-god"), stood in Tesnovka, near Kiev, until 1850. Prehistoric stone stelae depicting the same god, helmeted and holding a cornucopia in the right hand, and occasionally with a horse engraved on the back, are known from various Slavic territories. A stela from Stavchany, in the upper Dniester Basin, can be dated to the fourth to sixth century CE, but most of the finds are accidental and undated.

West Slavic four-headed military gods were variously named, but in fact they probably represent one multifaceted god, the archetypal Indo-European god of heavenly light. The gods Svarozhich, Iarovit, Porovit, and Sventovit, worshiped in West Slavic temples of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, seem to represent the seasonal aspects of the sun: the winter or "young" sun (Svarozhich), the spring sun (Iarovit), the summer sun (Porovit), and the harvest sun (Sventovit). The Roman Janus Quadrifons ("four-faced") is a parallel, as is the Iranian four-faced warrior god Verethraghna.

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SWAMINARAYAN MOVEMENT.

Chronologically located between the "*bhakti* renaissance" of the medieval period and the early to mid-nineteenth-century Hindu revivalism of colonial India, the Swaminarayan movement is a devotional tradition rooted in Vaiṣṇavism and arising out of Gujarat in western India. The spread and transnational growth of specific Swaminarayan sects demonstrate how a regional expression of Hindu devotionalism, in accommodating to larger political and social changes, has succeeded in providing meaningful ways of being Hindu in the diasporic context.

SWAMINARAYAN ORIGIN NARRATIVE. All Swaminarayan sects connect their devotional tradition to the historical person of Sahajanand Swami (1781–1830 CE), who was born near Ayodhya, Uttar Pradesh, in northern India. His biography is the basis for the Swaminarayan origin narrative, one that combines hagiography with historically confirmed persons, events, and places.

According to Swaminarayan tradition, the young Sahajanand Swami was known as Ghanshyama. Following the death of his parents when he was eleven years old, he embarked on a phase of wandering. He attracted attention for his textual knowledge (evidenced by his winning debates with older religious scholars), asceticism (adoption of *brahmacarya* vows of celibacy), and performance of austerities *(tapas),* an example of which involved standing on one leg for four months while clad only in a loincloth. At the age of nineteen, Ghanshyama, now known as Nilkantha, arrived in Saurashtra, the peninsular area of southern Gujarat. Here he encountered Mukhtananda Swami, the senior ascetic of a group whose head preceptor *(guru),* Ramananda Swami, was temporarily away. He asked Mukhtananda the questions he had asked during his encounters with ascetics throughout India; receiving satisfactory answers, Nilkantha ended his period of wandering. On October 28, 1800, he was initiated by Ramananda Swami and given two names, "Sahajanand" and "Narayan Muni." Not long thereafter Ramananda Swami, in spite of opposition from his followers, designated the young Sahajanand Swami as his successor.

The beginning of the Swaminarayan movement dates to 1801 when Sahajanand Swami became the leader of Ramananda's group. Swaminarayan literature records that "Swami Narayan" quickly became known for his teachings, which emphasized moral, personal, and social betterment. He traveled throughout the Gujarat region, outlining his behavioral expectations along gender lines and according to social groups, from laity to ascetics and political leaders. Though his followers record that he was against caste, Sahajanand Swami's teachings did not openly advocate the dissolution of caste or the abandonment of commensal rules. For both laity and ascetics, he supported *varṇāśramadharma,* or the fulfillment of duties according to caste, social class, and gender. He prescribed nonviolence, abstinence from intoxicants, strict vegetarianism (including no onion or garlic), sexual continence, and frugal living. Sahajanand Swami's social reform centered on the "uplift" of all peoples and ranged from the promotion of literacy for men and women to providing assistance to famine sufferers. By age twenty-five, he had an order of five hundred male *sādhus* (ascetics) who, notwithstanding the special rules requiring ascetics to avoid all contact with women, were responsible for spreading his message and consolidating the growing numbers of Swaminarayan *satsaṅgīs* (devotees).

During Sahajanand Swami's lifetime Gujarat came under British control. The Swaminarayan movement became further known for its campaigns against early child marriage, widow immolation *(satī),* and female infanticide, all practices that had excited concern among the indigenous intelligentsia and colonial administrators of the established Bengal Presidency. Because of his reputation for being a social progressive, Sahajanand Swami attracted the interest of and subsequently met Bishop Reginald Heber, the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, and John Malcolm, governor of the Bombay Presidency. By the time of his death at the age of forty-nine on June 1, 1830, Sahajanand Swami was considered by his many *satsaṅgīs* to be *Bhagavān* (Lord) Swaminarayan, the highest manifestation of reality.

THE ORIGINAL SWAMINARAYAN MOVEMENT. From its early days, the Swaminarayan movement was noted for its organizational capacities and rationalized methods for transmitting its practices and prescriptions. *Sādhus* compiled Sahajanand Swami's discourses, maintained records of his activities, and collected together commendatory letters written by colonial administrators. Among his innovations, Sahajanand Swami established an institutional structure that provided for the perpetuation of the Swaminarayan *satsaṅg,* the community of followers-in-truth. Two administrative seats *(gāddī),* outlined in the *Lekh,* a text written by Sahajanand Swami, were established by dividing India into northern and southern juridical territories. The Ahmedabad temple was designated administrative head of the northern seat and the Vadtal temple, the center for the southern seat. Being celibate, Sahajanand Swami installed two nephews as *ācāryas* (preceptors) in the administrative seats and specified that the sons of the *ācāryas* would preserve these hereditary positions. The two hereditary lines and *gāddīs* still exist, although the migration of devotees has necessitated their merger into one organization (the International Swaminarayan Satsang Organization) for the overseas communities. The *ācāryas* oversee the temples, *sādhus,* and *satsaṅgīs* in their respective *gādis.* Further duties include the administration of the Swaminarayan *mantra* for new male initiates, installation of temple icons, and management of the *gāddī*'s material wealth.

Another distinction of the Swaminarayan movement is the clear separation of men and women *(strī-puruṣa maryādā)* in all temple activities and to some extent in social life as well. Swaminarayan temples have separate entrances for men and women. Though women can take the vow of celibacy, there is no comparable order of *sādhvīs* (female renunciates). The wives of *ācāryas* have substantial duties paralleling their husbands: they are responsible for teaching and overseeing the activities of women *satsaṅgīs* and for administering the Swaminarayan *mantra* (for women only).

Whereas the early *satsaṅgīs* were from a wide variety of castes and class backgrounds, later members came increasingly from the emerging Patidar farmer caste, who were finding commercial success in agriculture and entrepreneurial activities. In the years following Sahajanand Swami's death, the cooperative relationship between Swaminarayan *ācāryas, sādhus,* and householders and the British allowed for favorable reciprocation such as temple land grants and festival permits. Scholars of modern Gujarat history are critical of this cooperation, arguing that the Swaminarayan movement's alignment with the British reflected its bias toward promoting its own caste and class interests at the expense of other groups either unable or unwilling to yield to Anglo-colonial hegemony. Indeed, Swaminarayan history does not show much evidence of protest against the colonial presence.

NEW SWAMINARAYAN SECTS. As it happened, the greatest schism in the Swaminarayan movement was prompted not by outsiders but came from within. In 1906 a *sādhu,* Swami Yagnapurushdas, left the Vadtal temple. In 1907 he established the first new Swaminarayan sect, the Bochasanwasi Shri Akshar Purushottam Swaminarayan Sanstha (BAPS). Headquartered in Ahmedabad, Gujarat, BAPS claims over one million followers worldwide including both laity and ascetics. With its religious leaders and membership drawn from a wide caste background, caste distinctions in this new sect are of less concern than in the original Swaminarayan *gāddīs.* As part of its social reform activity, BAPS has established temples and charitable projects in *dalit* (formerly referred to as Untouchables or *harijan*) and *adivasi* (autochthonous groups or tribal communities) villages in Gujarat. More so than the original sect, BAPS is a global movement and, early on, it embraced new technologies to support its transnational growth. It runs a large publishing house and music recording studio, and employs systematic methods for training *sādhus* and laity in Swaminarayan *bhakti.* Additionally, BAPS upholds the movement's connection to social reform through a variety of programs and campaigns, such as anti-addiction and anti-dowry events, disaster relief, temple building, and the sponsorship of public festivals. BAPS activities are not always without controversy, as in its open support of the Sardar Sarovar dam project in Gujarat. For its supporters, the Sardar Sarovar dam and the multi-dam Narmada Valley Development Project of which it is a key component are intended to increase power capacity and provide irrigation, cleaner drinking water, and flood control; for its opponents, the dam is environmentally and socially disastrous and is purchased at the cost of submerging a high percentage of *dalit* and *adivasi* villages. The wealthy BAPS organization is criticized by dam opponents for acting to protect its class interests, including those of its land holding members. In response, BAPS followers who are familiar with the Narmada controversy point to the various village relocation and community rehabilitation projects voluntarily instigated and funded by BAPS.

In addition to BAPS's break from the original Swaminarayan *satsaṅg,* other schisms have occurred. In 1966 a handful of East African BAPS followers broke away and founded the Yogi Divine Society. Additionally, *sādhus* from the original movement have left to form their own institutions that sometimes (e.g., Swaminarayan Gurukuls) but not always (e.g., Swaminarayan Gadi) retain an affiliation with their *gāddī.*

SWAMINARAYAN TEXTS AND THEIR INTERPRETATION. Two core texts, the *Vachanamritam (Vacanāmṛta)* and *Shiksha-*

patri (Śikṣāpatrī), provide the foundation for Swaminarayan *bhakti.* Other important texts include hagiographies *cum* histories such as the *Satsangijivanam,* which elaborate on Sahajanand Swami's life story and teachings. The *Vachanamritam* is the first Gujarati vernacular text and consists of 262 discourses given by Sahajanand Swami between 1819 and 1829 and recorded by senior *sādhus.* The *Shikshapatri,* authored by Sahajanand Swami in 1826 and originally written in Sanskrit, is a listing of 212 precepts, a code of behavior for Swaminarayan followers. As the most accessible of Swaminarayan texts, the *Shikshapatri* is also the most controversial: its precepts range from the practical to the political, from matters of bodily hygiene and money management, to advice on coping with unjust rulers. This small manual is accountable in part for the "puritanical" image of the Swaminarayan movement.

The philosophical foundation for Swaminarayan devotionalism is the *viśiṣṭādvaita,* or qualified non-dualism, of Rāmānuja (1017–1137 CE). Sahajanand Swami expanded Rāmānuja's delineation of three separate and eternal existential entities into five, namely *parabrahman, brahman, māyā, īśvara,* and *jīva,* but was most focused on the relationship between *parabrahman, brahman,* and *jīva.* As explained in the *Vachanamritam, parabrahman* (synonymous with *puruṣottama*) is the highest existential entity and is never formless: it possesses the power of immanence and action *(antaryāmīśakti)* and manifests itself in a distinctly human form. *Brahman* (synonymous with *akṣara* and *akṣarabrahman)* is the second-highest reality and, in its formless state, is known as *akṣaradhāma,* the all-prevading and unfathomable abode of *parabrahman* and all released *jīva. Jīva* (also *ātman*) stands for the eternal, indivisible, and genderless entity, often translated as *soul.* Swaminarayan devotionalism offers release *(mokṣa)* attainable not through textual knowledge or correct ritual practices but through the recognition that Sahajanand Swami is himself *puruṣottama,* that is the highest existential reality, who appears in human form, and who resides in *akṣaradhāma.* As the highest reality, Sahajanand Swami is thus not an *avatāra* or descended form of a higher entity but the ultimate creator of all entities.

The most significant differences between the various sects in the Swaminarayan movement rest in the interpretation of who is *puruṣottama* and how to understand the relationship between this eternal entity with human-like form and *satsaṅgīs* whose devotional activities are motivated by the possibility that each individual *jīva* can potentially achieve eternal existence in *akṣaradham,* alongside *puruṣottama.* The *Vachanamritam, Shikshapatri,* and iconic representations in the six original Swaminarayan temples point to Kṛṣṇa (Krishna) as *puruṣottama,* the foremost entity to whom devotion must be directed. For original sect members, this does not necessarily disrupt the conviction that Sahajanand Swami is also *puruṣottama,* that is, Lord Swaminarayan, rather than an *avatāra* of Krishna. *Satsaṅgīs* explain this inconsistency by noting that Sahajanand Swami was careful to make his divinity known only to those who were ready for this revelation. For the BAPS community, there is no ambiguity regarding the identities and relationship of *puruṣottama* to *akṣara,* the resolution of this distinction being the basis for the sect's founding.

In contrast to the textual interpretations of the original Swaminarayan *gāddī,* BAPS founder Swami Yagnapurushdas expounded a return to the "correct" understanding of Lord Swaminarayan's teachings, specifically that Sahajanand Swami is *puruṣottama* and his immanence is always present on Earth in the form of *akṣara* or *akṣarabrahman,* the "living guru." *Akṣara* is thus conceptualized as having two states, one with and one without form. In BAPS, the importance given to *akṣara* as form distinguishes its textual interpretation from the original *gāddīs. Akṣara* with form is visible and tangible as the contemporaneous living *guru,* the one who embodies *puruṣottama's* immanence. Referred to variously as *akṣaraguru* and *akṣarabrahman* and commonly translated as "god-realized saint," the living guru and form of *akṣara* is always male.

For BAPS *satsaṅgīs,* it is contact with the personal and living form of *akṣara* and the constant maintenance of devotional attitudes to this form that allows for *mokṣa.* By recognizing *akṣara* in its manifest form, *jīva,* clothed in human form and impaired by bodily emotions and senses, can acquire the knowledge necessary for escaping the conditioning of *māyā.* In Swaminarayan devotionalism, *māyā* is understood, at the most general level, to be primordial matter *(prakṛti)* or that which conceals the knowledge required for *jīva* to attain *mokṣa,* the liberation from *saṁsāra,* the cycle of rebirth. Often translated as illusion, *māyā* is also associated with causing egoism, bodily desires, and wordly attachments, all barriers to achieving release. The *satsaṅgī's* hope is to achieve this release in the current lifetime and thereafter to exist as *brahmarūpa,* in identification with *brahman,* in *akṣaradhama,* alongside *puruṣottama* and *akṣara.* In Swaminarayan *viśiṣṭādvaita,* the ultimate reality, *puruṣottama,* never merges with *akṣara* or with lower existential entities.

BAPS followers do not follow the *ācāryas* and temples of the original *gāddīs* but have constructed temples to reflect their interpretation of Swaminarayan *viśiṣṭādvaita.* Also, a lineage of *akṣaragurus,* or living *gurus,* has been retroactively traced back to Gunatitanand Swami, a *sādhu* who lived during Sahajanand Swami's lifetime. The *guru* provides the template for ideal devotional behavior and through him devotees can achieve awareness of their eternal *jīva.* The most recent living *guru* is Pramukh Swami who, in 1971, became the "religious and spiritual" head of BAPS.

ON DEVOTIONAL PRACTICES. Membership in the Swaminarayan movement begins with a brief verbal initiation followed by the devotee's acceptance of the Swaminarayan *mantra.* The devotee then agrees to live a life according to specifications outlined in the core Swaminarayan texts.

The Swaminarayan ritual calendar as well as its ritual practices, vocabulary, and gestures are similar to those found among the Vallabha Saṃpradāya and in Vaiṣṇavism in general. (Founded by Vallabha in the sixteenth century, the Vallabha Saṃpradāya is a Hindu devotional sect that remains influential in Gujarat and includes many wealthy merchants and other business-oriented caste groups among its followers.) *Satsaṅgīs* perform daily offerings *(pūjā)* to the iconic representation *(mūrti)* of Lord Swaminarayan kept in the home. For BAPS followers, *pūjā* includes the pictorial forms of the *guru* lineage and a reading selection from *Swami ni Vato,* a collection of brief sayings by Gunatitanand Swami. All *satsaṅgīs* must dress modestly, wear a double-stranded necklace of beads, and apply sectarian marks on their foreheads, with the women's mark differing from the men's. Besides regular participation at temple events, *satsaṅgīs* are also expected to contribute a portion of their annual income to the temple.

The *Vachanamritam* outlines four categories of action for helping devotees strengthen their devotionalism. Much of temple-based discourse and many events revolve around assisting *satsaṅgīs* to reflect upon and act on these suggestions:

1. Remain within the expectations and rules for moral living.
2. Develop a deep attachment to Lord Swaminarayan and *sādhus.*
3. Control mental and physical senses.
4. Develop knowledge of Swaminarayan philosophy.

The most tangible means for attaining and expressing correct devotional postures is to perform *seva,* service and resources that are volunteered. "Doing *seva,*" *satsaṅgīs* note, helps them to transcend bodily desires and focus more intensely on the glory of the highest existential reality, *puruṣottama.* Female followers are especially visible as *seva* volunteers and this has contributed to dramatic changes, particularly in the BAPS sect. In BAPS, women have parallel leadership positions and activities to men. Women manage their groups and sponsor their own events and publications. Though sometimes frustrated at the gender segregation and their inability to have direct contact with *guru* and *sādhu*s, women consider theirs a privileged position, of having a god-realized *guru* who powerfully guides them from a distance.

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES. Coinciding with the migration of Gujarati peoples, the Swaminarayan movement has also expanded beyond India. Its religious and lay leaders are focused on the needs of Hindus in the diaspora who are creating permanent rather than temporary lives outside of India. BAPS, through its worldwide network of more than five hundred temples and a large "volunteer" base, is by far the most visible sect in the Swaminarayan movement. Since it's founding, BAPS and its living *gurus* have traveled to wherever Gujaratis have gone, openly addressing immigrant-diaspora issues of resettlement, cultural loss, and community building. This has resulted in the creation of programs that were not needed in the Gujarat context, such as Gujarati language classes and festivals to promote "Hinduism." BAPS Swaminarayan communities in the United States and Great Britain now have resident *sādhus* who teach and administer temple activities. North of London, a BAPS traditional-style marble and stone temple with an attached exhibition hall attracts upwards of ninety thousand visitors during Hindu new year celebrations. Similar "traditional" temple complexes were completed in Chicago, Illinois, and Houston, Texas. In Gandhinagar, Gujarat, an elaborate monument, exhibition, and research center known as Akshardham was the site of a terrorist attack in 2002. Swaminarayan sites and their polished presentation of "Hinduism" are clearly attracting notice, owing to a visibility reflective of the movement's diasporic wealth and organized management structure.

What is remarkable is the degree to which BAPS, and to a lesser extent the original Swaminarayan *gādis,* have translated the injunction for moral living and reform into a larger transnational project, one that positions Swaminarayan *bhakti* as synonymous with a reified sense of "Hinduism." This equation promotes a problematic conceptualization of religion, one that uncritically conflates it with culture, language, and geography and offers a seamless portrait of Hindu traditions. The contemporary Swaminarayan movement thus appears sympathetic to pro-Hindu fundamentalist sentiments. While this connection is disputed by its leaders, what is less refutable is the movement's growing base of immigrants who are attracted to representations of an essentialized Hinduism. The Swaminarayan movement has, in spite of its restrictive codes of behavior, endured for over two centuries: its newer communities demonstrate how politics of religious nationalism and the needs and desires brought on by diasporic living can spur accommodations to, rather than retreat from, external changes.

SEE ALSO Bhakti; Rāmānuja; Vaiṣṇavism; Vallabha.

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Primary materials and websites

Texts and other printed materials by the founder, principal religious leaders, and followers of the Swaminarayan Movement are generally available outside of India at the larger temples connected to the different Swaminarayan sects. Though all sects use the same core texts (e.g., *Vachanamritam, Shikshapatri)*, translations reflect their sectarian orientation. In addition to books and other published media, the web sites for the two largest Swaminarayan sects offer explanatory essays and updates on current temple and community activities. The web site for the original Swaminarayan *gāddīs* is www.moksha.akshardham.org. The web site for the Bochasanwasi Shri Akshar Purushottam Swaminarayan Sanstha is www.swaminarayan.org.

Hanna H. Kim (2005)

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA See VIVEKANANDA

SWANS. Related to the elements of both air and water, the swan is a symbol of breath, spirit, transcendence, and freedom. In many religious traditions it is interchangeable with the goose or duck in signifying the soul. Swans connote both death beneath the waters and rebirth, or victory over death, in the air. The complexity of the symbol is reflected in its alchemical representation as the union of opposites, the mystic center.

A prominent motif among origin myths is the cosmogonic dive, in which a swan or other aquatic bird is sent by God to the depths of the primordial waters to bring back the "seed of earth," from which God creates the world. This image existed in manifold versions among prehistoric populations of northern and eastern Europe and, from the third millennium BCE, among the peoples of America.

In Hindu iconography the swan personifies *brahman-ātman,* the transcendent yet immanent ground of being, the Self. Brahmā is often depicted borne on a swan, the divine bird that laid upon the waters the cosmic egg from which the god emerged. Variations of this image are common in Bali and Sri Lanka. The *paraṃahamsa* ("supreme swan" or gander) represents freedom from bondage in the phenomenal sphere and is a term of honor addressed to mendicant ascetics. The *haṃsa* bird is carved on the ornamental bands of Kesava temple at Somnathpur, erected in 1268 and dedicated to Viṣṇu.

In ancient Egypt, swans were associated with the mystic journey to the otherworld, as they are in the shamanistic religions of North Asia. In ancient Greece, priests of the Eleusinian mysteries were regarded as descendants of the birds; after their immersion in the purifying waters they were called swans. Vase paintings of the fifth century BCE show the swan as their attribute. In its amatory aspect, the swan was sacred to Aphrodite and Venus and was the form assumed by Zeus as Leda's lover.

As a solar sign, the swan was the sun god's vehicle in Greece; it was assimilated to the *yang* principle in China and inscribed on one of the wings of Mithra, the Persian god of light. In Celtic myths, swan deities represent the beneficent, healing power of the sun. In the ancient religion of the Sioux Indians of the North American Plains, birds are reflections of divine principles, and the sacred white swan symbolizes the Great Spirit who controls all that moves and to whom prayers are addressed.

An ambivalent symbol in Judaism, the swan (or the duck or goose) is conspicuous on ceremonial objects although categorized as a bird of defilement in the Bible. In the Christian tradition, it symbolizes purity and grace and is emblematic of the Virgin. The belief that swans sing with their dying breath has linked them with martyrs.

Folklore is rich in legends of swan maidens and swan knights. Believed to have been totemistic figures and original founders of clans, the half-human, half-supernatural beings who metamorphosed into swans became images of spiritual power. The skiff that carried the archangelic grail knight Lohengrin, a savior sent by God to overcome evil, was drawn by a swan. The motif of the swan maiden or knight is widely disseminated in mythology and ritual throughout Europe, India, Persia, Japan, Oceania, Africa, and South America.

The bird's sweet song has made it a perennial metaphor in the arts. The Egyptians associated it with the harp; the Greeks, with the god of music; and the Celts deemed its song magical. Shakespeare was known as the Swan of Avon; Homer, the Swan of Maeander; and Vergil, the Mantuan Swan. Ever since Plato had Socrates aver that swans "sing more merrily at the approach of death because of the joy they have in going to the god they serve," the term *swan song* has been an epithet for an artist's last work.

SEE ALSO Horses; Prehistoric Religions.

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ANN DUNNIGAN (1987)

SWAZI RELIGION.

The Swazi are part of the vast Bantu-speaking population of southern Africa, and their rich cultural heritage is a fusion of Nguni and Sotho elements. Prior to the incursion of colonial and Western influences they were Iron Age horticulturalists and cattle pastoralists, organized into centralized chieftancies. Polygyny and patrilineal descent characterize the kinship system.

The Swazi developed their particular national identity under a dual monarchy represented by a hereditary king of the Nkosi Dlamini clan and a queen mother (the mother of the king or, if she is dead, a surrogate). Unlike other African kingdoms that came under British colonial rule, the Swazi were never conquered by direct force, and much of their traditional culture survived and flourished under the leadership of King Sobhuza II (1899–1982). A direct lineal descendant of the founder of the royal Dlamini dynasty, Sobhuza was internationally acknowledged in 1968 as king and head of the newly created, independent state of Swaziland.

In 1982 approximately half a million Swazi lived in the Kingdom of Swaziland, an arbitarily demarcated country of 6,705 square miles wedged between the Republic of South Africa and the People's Republic of Mozambique. This tiny kingdom, the heartland of traditional culture, is ecologically diverse and rich in natural resources. Its wealth includes fertile soils, abundant perennial bush pasturage, forests alive with wondrous trees and wild animals, precious minerals, and four major rivers and several streams. Some 40 percent of all land, the legacy of colonial concessions, is owned by whites. Although few Swazi are able to support themselves with agriculture or pastoralism and most rely on wage labor, they remain deeply attached to their ancestral lands and to their cattle. The land is vested in the king as trustee for the nation, and its use is allocated by hereditary chiefs to heads of homesteads. Throughout the region, the king and queen mother are renowned for their knowledge of ritual "to work the rain," the symbol of fertility and "the water of life."

Swazi traditionalists perceive a majestic order in their universe, one alive with powers, *emandla* (a collective noun that has no singular). These powers continue through time and are not bound by space. They appear in diverse forms and operate with varying degrees of potency. They are *in* substance rather than *of* substance; in water, not of water; in earth, not of earth; in man, not of man. Among the Swazi, no rigid division is drawn between natural and supernatural. No substance is considered immutable. Sacred and secular are shifting dimensions of a total reality in which human behavior may influence the elements as much as the elements influence the human condition. Between them there is perpetual and dynamic interaction.

The Swazi have no elaborate myth of creation. The world is there, mysterious and wonderful. In the symbolic system of the Swazi, there is a diversified hierarchy of powers connecting humans to each other and to the cosmos. In the mythical distance is Mvelamqandi ("who-appeared-first") generally described as a power "above," unapproachable, unpredictable, of no specific sex. He/she is sometimes identified with, and sometimes distinguished from, Mkhulumqandi, the first *mkhulu*, a term applied to a grandfather, symbolic mediator between those living on the earth and those "below," the ancestors, *emadloti*. Mvelamqandi occasionally sent as his messenger Mlendengamunye, the "one-legged" (interpreted as oneness, unity), who descended in a thick mist and whose appearance, visible only to women and children, portended the coming of *fever,* a generic term for a variety of illnesses; thus Mlendengamunye had to be propitiated with symbolic sacrifices. He was last seen in the reign of King Mbandzeni (1875–1889), during a period of early missionary activity. Although Mvelamqandi, Mkhulumqandi, and Mlendengamunye are no longer mentioned in prayer or sacrifice, Swazi theologians, including Sobhuza, have referred to these three divinities, as well as to other powers in the pantheon—such as the rainbow, titled Inkosatana ("the princess"); the lightning, titled Inyoni ("the bird"); and a water serpent, titled Inyoka Yemakhandakhanaa ("the snake with many heads")—to emphasize a sacred and hierarchical order of the cosmos.

The earth is seen as stationary; the calendar of religious events, both national and domestic, is regulated by the visible movements of the sun against fixed points on the horizon and by its position in relation to the waxing and waning of the moon. The divinity of the king is associated with the sun—radiant, burning, source of both heat and light, journeying across the sky in a more or less regular path twice a year, controlling the seasons and the productive activities of nature. The moon has its own internal dialectic, associated with fertility, femininity and growth, decline and rebirth. Ceremonies to introduce a person into the fullness of a new status take place when the moon is growing or when it is full. A ceremony that temporarily isolates a man from his fellows is held in the period of the moon's decline and darkness.

The earth, mother to the living and the dead, must be approached with reverence. When a person dies, all in the homestead are prohibited from digging, plowing, or planting, or in other ways "wounding" the earth until the body has been buried and the mourners purified. When Sobhuza died in late August 1982 (the time of the first rains), such prohibitions were imposed throughout the kingdom until the rising of the third moon. The fact that rain did not fall for several weeks afterward and that the country was threatened by drought and famine was interpreted as a reaction to this disturbance in the balance between human actions, the ancestors, and cosmic powers.

The king and the queen mother together represent the physical embodiment of sacred power, as indicated by their traditional titles, *ingwenyama* ("the lion") and *indlovukah* ("the she-elephant"). These are two of the most powerful animals in nature: the lion—male, father of many cubs, aggressive, carnivorous; the she-elephant—maternal, matriarchal, stable, firm, herbivorous, mother of one calf after a long period of gestation. Together the two monarchs are spoken of as "a twin," a mysterious, unequal double, united in a relationship riddled with ambivalence. Their everyday actions—eating, drinking, bathing, dressing—are circumscribed by taboos, and they receive unique treatment to endow them with the "shadow of sovereignty."

At the observable, sociological level, the queen mother and king live in separate homesteads; hers is the sacred center, his is the administrative capital. Their duties are complementary; the balance of power is delicate, and tension between them is believed to endanger the physical condition of the country. The most sacred objects are in the care of the queen mother, and the king must come to the shrine of the nation to address his royal ancestors and offer sacrifices. The correct performance of rituals takes considerable time, concentration, and self-discipline. While the secrets of specific rituals are known to appointed representatives of historically associated clans, only the king is "owner" of all.

Swazi religion sanctions enjoyment of the material and physical: food, women, and dancing. It does not idealize poverty or place a value on suffering as a means to happiness or salvation. To deal with the hazards of life—failure of crops, unfaithfulness of women, illness and ultimate death—the culture provides a set of optimistic notions and positive, stereotyped techniques that are especially expressed through the ancestral cult, the vital religion of the Swazi.

In the ancestral cult, the world of the living is projected into the world of spirits *(emadloti)*, who continue the patterns of superiority and inferiority established by earthly experiences as man or woman, old or young, aristocrat or commoner.

Swazi believe that the spirit, or breath, has an existence distinct from that of the flesh. When a person dies, both flesh and spirit must be correctly treated to safeguard the living and show appropriate respect for the dead. Mortuary ritual varies according to both the status of the deceased and his or her relationship with different categories of mourners. The flesh is buried in a cattle kraal, hut, cave, or royal grove. The spirit, after a brief period of aimless wandering, is ritually "brought back" at a sacrificial feast to the family circle.

For conservatives, irrespective of rank or age, the ancestors are an integral part of the reality of routine daily life. Their presence is all-pervasive; their relationships to each category of members of the kinship circle—married, unmarried, agnates, and in-laws—affect the language, movements, and clothing of the living. This is particularly conspicuous in the laws of "respect" governing the behavior of a married woman, the outsider brought in to perpetuate the husband's lineage (e.g., she must avoid speaking any word containing the first syllable of the names of particular senior male in-laws; she must not walk in front of the entrance to the shrine or through the cattle kraal). Visitors, on entering a homestead, on receiving food or other hospitality, praise the headman, not as an individual, but by reciting the names of his clan; clan praises are ancestral commemorations.

It is through the ancestors that Swazi confront the universal issues of mortality and morality. *Emadloti* represent continuity through fertility. They may appear in dreams, or they may materialize temporarily as "snakes" (e.g., the king as a terrifying mamba, the queen mother as a beautiful lizard, a wife as a harmless green garden snake).

Illness and other misfortunes are frequently attributed to the ancestors, but Swazi believe that *emadloti* do not inflict sufferings through malice or wanton cruelty. The mean husband, the adulterous wife, the overambitious younger brother, the disobedient son may be dealt with directly or vicariously by the spirits, who thus act as custodians of correct behavior and social ethics. Ancestors punish, they do not kill; death is brought about by evildoers *(batsakatsi)*, who are interested in destroying, not in perpetuating, the lineage or the state. If an illness originally divined as sent by the *emadloti* later becomes fatal, evildoers are assumed to have taken advantage of the patient's weakened condition. Ancestors have greater wisdom, foresight, and power than the rest of mankind, but they are not considered omnipotent.

Swazi have no class of ordained priests, and the privileged duty of appealing to the *emadloti* rests with the head of the family. The father acts on behalf of his sons; if he is dead, the older brother acts on behalf of the younger. In this patrilineal society, ancestors of a married woman remain at her natal home, approachable only by her senior male kinsmen. Contact is usually made through the medium of "food" (meat, beer, or tobacco snuff); the dead, who are said to be often hungry, "lick" the essence of the offerings laid at dusk on an altar in the shrine hut and left overnight.

Emadloti are spoken of with respect and fear, and they are routinely addressed with the formality demanded by living elders. But they are not adored or worshiped. They are approached as practical beings, and appeals to them are sometimes spontaneous and conversational, interspersed with rebukes and generally devoid of gratitude. There is no conflict between the ethics of the ancestral cult and the mundane desires of life. Swazi desire the ends they say the *emadloti* desire for them.

Interpreting the messages of the ancestors is the task of diviners (*tangoma*), the main specialists in deep, esoteric knowledge. They are called upon to reveal the cause of illness or misfortune (the particular offense or the specific ancestor who must be "remembered" or appeased), and they indicate, but do not carry out, the cure (ritual sacrifice, purification, or medical treatment). *Tangoma* work in collaboration with specialists in medicines *(tinyanga temitsi)*, but whereas the latter acquire their knowledge voluntarily and deliberately, each diviner is "entered," often against his or her will, by an ancestral spirit who takes control.

The training of diviners is lengthy and arduous. They suffer both mentally and physically, and when they finally qualify, "reborn like the new moon," their entire being has changed. Dressed in the strange costume of their new calling, they demonstrate their powers in a public séance, accompanying their performances with inspired songs and dances. Techniques of divination vary; some diviners use material objects (bones, shells, roots), while others rely on "feel" or verbal cues. There is no fixed hierarchy of diviners, and reputations fluctuate. Though some individual diviners are recognized as frauds and others are seen as fallible, perception through possession by the ancestors is never challenged.

Diviners, who are often of exceptional intelligence, perform within the legal framework of religion. In this capacity they practice against evildoers (witches and sorcerers) who act illegally, in secret and horrible ways, some through an innate propensity for evil, others through deliberate use of material substances, including poisons and parts of the human body. Political leaders and other aristocrats employ medicine men and diviners to bolster their positions, but are actively discouraged from becoming either medicine men or diviners themselves, since this would interfere with their administrative duties and does not fit into their ascribed status. The Ingwenyama is believed to have deeper knowledge than any of his subjects and to be able to detect and destroy evildoers by virtue of his royal blood reinforced by unique royal potions.

The king and his mother take the lead in the cycle of national rituals. The most dramatic and illuminating example is the Ncwala, a ritual which grows in elaboration and potency as the king increases in power. If the king dies and his successor is a minor, a very attenuated ceremony, known as the Simemo, is performed. (On Sobhuza's death, the council selected as his heir a boy of fourteen years.) Traditionally, the first full Ncwala should be performed when the young king reaches full manhood and is married to two ritual queens.

Ncwala is divided into two parts, Little Ncwala and Big Ncwala. Little Ncwala, which opens when the sun reaches its resting place in the south and the moon has waned, lasts two days and symbolizes the break with the old year. Big Ncwala, which opens when the moon is full and lasts six days, symbolically revitalizes the king and fortifies the nation against evildoers within the country and enemies outside its borders. In the liminal period, sacred dances and songs are practiced throughout the country, ritual costumes are prepared, and sacred ingredients are collected by national priests. Swazi participants, as well as foreign analysts, interpret the complex ritual at various levels of meaning.

Ingwenyama is recognized as the "owner" of Ncwala. Anyone else who attempts to "dance Ncwala" is judged guilty of treason. Politically, Ncwala is a reflection of rank in which major social categories—princes, chiefs, queens, councillors, and warriors in age regiments—are visibly distinguished from each other by sacred costumes and perform distinctive roles in the service of Ingwenyama as symbol of the nation. At another level, Ingwenyama is mystically identified with the miraculous and ever-changing powers in nature—the sun and the moon, not as separate elements but in their interaction. The king's body is bathed with "waters of all the world" drawn from rivers and from the ocean by two groups of national priests, each group carrying a sacred gourd titled Inkosatana, "the princess," which is also the title of the rainbow. Ingwenyama "bites" of the green foods of the new year and also of the organs of a fierce black bull which has been thrown and pummeled to the rhythm of a lullaby by a regiment of "pure youths who have not yet spilled their strength in children."

The king appears in the ceremonies in a variety of unique clothing, whether it be a penis sheath of ivory on his naked body or, as at the climax of the main day, an indescribably elaborate costume of bright green, razor-edged grass and evergreen shoots. With his face half hidden by a cap of black plumes over a headband of lion skin, he is an awe-inspiring creature of the wild.

On the final day of the ritual, the day of purification, relics of the past year are burned on a pyre in the sibaya (cattle kraal) of the capital village, and rain, symbolizing the blessing of the ancestors, must fall to extinguish the flame and drench the rulers and their people.

A complementary and less elaborate women's ritual, Mhlanga (from the word for "reed," a symbol of fertility), centers on the queen mother. Each winter, unmarried girls are sent on a pilgrimage to marshy areas to cut the long supple reeds needed to repair the fences surrounding the enclosures of the queen mother and the queens. The reeds must be golden ripe, not brittle, the tassles full, and the seeds not yet dispersed. The girls wear brief costumes to reveal their beauty and purity, and singing and dancing are essential for the performance. The king must be present; the girls are feasted and the ancestors offered their share.

Although early missionaries who preached the Protestant ethic condemned traditional Swazi beliefs and practices, Swazi rulers were interested in learning the new religion. From their point of view, the ancestral cult is not incompatible with the basic tenets of Christianity, only with the specific applications of the tenets that missionaries have made.

Sobhuza never identified himself with any specific denomination, but his role as priest-king of the entire country was increasingly recognized during his reign not only by independent African churches, but by some of the more conventional congregations as well. Queen mothers have retained their affiliation with individual churches while at the same time carrying out their traditional ritual duties. Priests of independent churches participate in Ncwala, and members of any denomination may hold services in the Lobamba National Church, an impressive structure completed in 1978 in the ambience of the ritual capital. The extent to which this symbiotic process will continue is unpredictable. As long as the myth of the Swazi divine kingship retains a political hold over the Swazi, this will be ritualized in the Ncwala. If the myth is abandoned and Swazi kingship ends or is made subordinate to other myths with different loyalties and interests (such as individual equality), both the ritual and the underlying political meaning of the Ncwala will be lost. But judging from the histories of other African societies, the Swazi will hold to their belief in the ancestors and in diviners.

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HILDA KUPER (1987)
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SWEARING See VOWS AND OATHS

SWEDENBORG, EMANUEL (1688–1772), was a multifaceted genius, scientist, and visionary. He was born in Stockholm, Sweden, on January 29, and he died in London on March 29. Paradox surrounds Swedenborg's intellectual legacy. The scientific and philosophical works that brought him the acclaim of his contemporaries have largely been forgotten. The contributions that he made to the Swedish Board of Mines and the House of Nobles were significant, but like the efforts of most bureaucrats and politicians they were intended to have an immediate and practical impact on policy, not history. Thus, despite his genius, Swedenborg's exemplary life would attract scant notice, apart from his revelatory claims and his voluminous religious writings. He published his writings anonymously for almost twenty years and never attempted to gather a following. Nonetheless, after his death, followers devoted to his religious works appeared first in Europe and then around the world.

EDUCATION OF SCIENTIST AND CIVIL SERVANT. Swedenborg was born into wealth and privilege; both of his parents came from mine owning families. His father, Jesper Swedberg (1653–1735), was ordained into the ministry of the Lutheran Church in 1682. In 1703 he was elevated to bishop and served in Skara until his death in 1735. He name was changed to Swedenborg upon ennoblement in 1719. Jesper Swedberg had pietistical leanings, believed in the importance of works as well as faith, and had both a hymnbook and a translation of the Bible condemned by church censors.

Emanuel Swedenborg matriculated at the University of Uppsala, from which he graduated in 1709 with a degree in philosophy. From 1710 until 1715 he traveled in Europe with a principle focus on studying mathematics and astronomy. On his trip abroad, he also learned various practical skills, including engraving and instrument making. In addition he wrote three volumes of poetry, and before returning home he wrote down descriptions of fourteen inventions, including a submarine, an air pump, and a fixed-wing aircraft.

Upon his return to Sweden in 1715, he began publishing *Daedalus Hyperboreus*, Sweden's first scientific journal. In addition, he became an assistant to the great inventor and mechanical genius Christopher Polhem (1668–1751). Together they served King Karl XII by working on various engineering projects. In recognition of Swedenborg's contributions to the realm, the king named him Extraordinary Assessor of the Board of Mines. The death of Karl XII in Fredrikshald in 1718 brought an end to Sweden's era as a great power. Swedenborg was ennobled in 1719 by Queen Ulrika Eleonora (1688–1741).

The death of Karl XII ushered in what is called in Sweden "the age of freedom" and the renunciation of the King's policies. The new political climate also put Swedenborg's commission as assessor in doubt. Determined to be seated, in 1720 Swedenborg traveled to Europe to study mining techniques. After his return to Sweden he took up his life as a noble and author, and after 1724 as a bureaucrat, having finally been granted a position as a regular assessor and given a salary. In this position he was one of seven men responsible for Sweden's important mining industry. The members of the Board of Mines set policies, inspected mines for safety, tested the metals produced for quality, set prices, and adjudicated law suits. Swedenborg served on the board for twenty-three years. Appointed president of the Board of Mines in 1747, he declined the appointment and resigned from the board in order to devote himself to his spiritual mission.

NATURAL PHILOSOPHER. With his career finally established, Swedenborg turned his mind to understanding scientifically the riddle of creation and the purpose of self-conscious life. In 1734 he took a leave of absence from the Board of Mines to publish his *Opera philosophica et mineralia* (*Philosophical and Mineralogical Works*) in Liepzig. Swedenborg's cosmology is indebted in part to the philosophy of René Descartes (1596–1650). In a series of studies culminating in *Principia rerum naturalium* (*The Principia; or the First Principles of Natural Things*, 1734) Swedenborg presented a theory about the origin of the universe. Starting from a mathematical point of departure, he envisioned the planetary system as developing a series of complicated particle combinations. Swedenborg tried to integrate the soul into this consistently mechanistic structure, and in *De infinito* (*The Infinite*, 1734) he presented his future research program "to prove the immortality of the soul to the very senses themselves."

This empirical intention led him into an extensive study of contemporary physiology and anatomy, as well as both ancient and modern philosophy. The first result of this effort was the publication of *Oeconomia regni animalis* (The economy of the animal soul's kingdom, 1740–1741). Dissatisfied with his initial effort, believing that he had not been sufficiently thorough, he began again. He published three volumes of *Regnum animale* (The animal soul's kingdom, 1744–1745) before abandoning the project.

RELIGIOUS CRISIS AND SPIRITUAL CALL. It was during this publishing trip abroad that Swedenborg experienced a profound spiritual crisis during the 1743 to 1744 period. The crisis began in dreams that he recorded in a journal for his own personal use. Discovered in 1859, it is known today as *The Journal of Dreams.* In it, he not only recorded his dreams, he interpreted them. He discovered his sin of pride and arrogance, he prayed, he sought forgiveness, and he found himself held in the bosom of Christ. He recorded intense temptations that affected both his body and his spirit. Drawn deeply inward, he understood that he must follow Christ in all things. He put aside his scientific work, obeying a divine commission to write down and publish the true meaning of the scriptures, in order to make them universally available. Swedenborg's spiritual call can be viewed as either a disjunction in or a culmination of his own intellectual journey.

Returning to Sweden he focused on studying the Bible in Hebrew, searching for the key to its internal or spiritual meaning. Swedenborg had earlier developed a doctrine of correspondences, according to which all phenomena of the physical world have their spiritual correspondences. He wrestled with the meaning of the story of creation and the nature of God. He discovered that in the Bible, words used in one place correspond to words used in another place, and finally he grasped the idea that the garden in *Genesis* does not refer to the natural creation of the earth and the universe, but to the spiritual process of human regeneration. *Genesis* details this spiritual process through which every individual can return to and be conjoined with the one God, the Lord Jesus Christ, to eternity. Swedenborg documents this in the eight volumes of the *Arcana coelestia* (Secrets of heaven, 1749–1756). In this work Swedenborg states that what he writes about heaven and eternal life is true, because his eyes and spirit have been opened and "I have seen, I have heard and I have felt."

RELIGIOUS TEACHINGS, CONTROVERSY, AND IMPACT. The focus of Swedenborg's religious teachings is not on the crucifixion and the sacrifice of Jesus, the only begotten son of God, to atone for the sins of humanity, but on the risen Lord Jesus Christ who overcame the world. According to Swedenborg, the Christian interpretation of the Trinity and redemption led over time to the complete separation of faith and charity, or belief and works, in the Christian churches. This necessitated the Last Judgment and the Second Coming. According to Swedenborg, the Last Judgment was a spiritual event that occurred in 1757. It made possible the Second Coming for everyone who is drawn to understand the spiritual meaning of the new heaven and the new earth, described in the *Book of Revelation* and spiritually opened by means of correspondences. Like the Last Judgment, the Second Coming was also a spiritual event for Swedenborg. It was announced in the spiritual world on June 19, 1770, by the twelve disciples who had followed Christ in the world. The record of the announcement was published in *True Christianity* (1771), thus making it an historical event, and it becomes an internal and personal event whenever its truth is accepted by an individual.

Swedenborg's religious writings, set down in eighteen different works, indicate that humanity now lives in a new age in which every one can freely choose his or her spiritual destiny. The spiritual world, which encompasses heaven, the world of spirits, and hell, is inhabited solely by men and women who have lived on this earth or other planets in the universe. In the sight of the Lord, the heavens appear as one "grand man." Individuals find their place there by discovering their dominant affection or love. No one is cast down into hell or raised into heaven apart from the life they have led and chosen here on earth. However, it is not necessary to know about Swedenborg, his teachings, or the new church to achieve eternal salvation. It is only necessary to live a good and useful life within the framework of the many spiritual truths available around the globe.

For twenty-seven years Swedenborg attended to his call to write and publish his new revelation "fresh from heaven." He never attempted to develop a following or organize a church. He initially published his works anonymously, but several clairvoyant experiences that occurred in public revealed his extraordinary powers. Soon Swedenborg and his books became a focus of discussion and conversation in Europe. Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) became so interested that he ordered a complete set of the *Arcana coelestia* (Heavenly secrets, 1749–1756). Although in private correspondence, Kant spoke in a positive tone about Swedenborg and his experiences, in 1766 he published *Dreams of a Spirit-Seer*, in which he ridiculed Swedenborg and his metaphysics. Kant's critique set the stage for the central controversy surrounding Swedenborg's religious writings, which concerns whether they are what Swedenborg claims they are. Were the works divinely revealed to him, or are they the product of an overactive imagination? Swedenborg's writings have inspired the founding of churches by those who believe that the divine had a hand in them, but they are derided as the product of a mentally unstable man by those who believe that they sprang from Swedenborg's own imagination. A third possible approach to them, particularly attractive to students of religion, is that Swedenborg drew on esoteric practices and traditions to shape his religious corpus.

Despite the controversy surrounding the precise nature of their inspiration, Swedenborg's religious writings have had a profound impact on Western literature and the arts, in large part because of the doctrine of correspondences. To cite one example, in 1972 Joshua C. Taylor, the director of the National Gallery in Washington, D.C., testified to the importance of Swedenborgianism in American art in the catalogue that accompanied an exhibit entitled *The Hand and the Spirit*, which took place at the University Art Museum in Berkeley, California. In the catalogue Taylor identified several categories of religious art in America, but said that he found no sect or set of beliefs that provided an impulse toward art, particularly in the nineteenth century, with one exception—Swedenborgianism. Taylor wrote: "only Swedenborgian teaching had a direct impact on art, and this was through its link with a complex philosophical view of perception and aesthetic judgement which suggested not narrative themes but a spiritual context for artistic form" (Dillenberger, 1972, p. 14).

In 1908, and with great pomp and ceremony, Swedenborg's remains were brought back to Sweden and laid to rest in Uppsala Cathedral. The Swedish government, not without controversy, financed an elegant sarcophagus to hold the simple wooden coffin brought from London. The red granite memorial, approved by the Riksdag (the Swedish parliament), was carved to honor Swedenborg the scientist, despite the fact that his worldwide reputation, even then, rested on his revelations and religious writings. The parliament's decision not withstanding, Swedenborg's religious writings continue to shape the human spirit around the world in prayer, poetry, paintings, story, and song.

SEE ALSO Swedenborgianism.

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JANE WILLIAMS-HOGAN (2005)

SWEDENBORGIANISM, often referred to as the New Church or the Church of the New Jerusalem, is a global religious movement based upon the theological writings of Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772). When Swedenborg died in London on March 29, 1772, his spiritual legacy was to be found in the books and manuscripts he left behind. His spiritual journey as a revelator began in 1744 when, at the end of a profound personal spiritual crisis, he responded to what he believed was a call from Jesus Christ to serve him. As he began to study the Bible in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, he concluded that the Bible was written in correspondences, and became convinced that he had been called to reveal its internal or spiritual sense. His biblical exegesis laid the foundation for a new, written revelation. By the time of his death he had published eighteen titles. His first theological work, *Arcana Coelestia* (1749–1756) or *Secrets of Heaven* was published in eight volumes. It presents the spiritual or internal sense of the biblical books of *Genesis* and *Exodus.* Also included in his corpus are works titled *Heaven and Hell* (1758), *Last Judgment* (1758), *Divine Love and Wisdom* (1763), *Divine Providence* (1764), *Revelation Unveiled* (1766), *Love in Marriage* (1768), and *True Christian Religion* (1771).

Swedenborg's print runs were large for the eighteenth century. It is known that in 1758 he published five books with print runs of one thousand each. He also distributed them widely, sending them to church officials in several countries, as well as offering them for sale. Still, at the time of his death there were perhaps only a handful of individuals who accepted his teachings in Europe. No organizations existed, established by him or others, to promote his new Christianity. Swedenborg was one of the last authors to write exclusively in neo-Latin; his works, therefore, required translation into the vernacular to reach the growing number of newly literate individuals. Prior to 1800, some of his works had been translated into German (1765), English (1770s), French (1782), and Russian (1780s).

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW CHURCH. Despite the obstacles to spreading Swedenborg's message, his religious writings had gained a sufficient following, particularly in England, by the end of the 1770s that organized reading circles developed among the artisans and industrial workers of Lancashire just as the cotton industry was taking off. By the mid 1770s copies of the translation of *Heaven and Hell* by William Cookworthy (1705–1780) and Thomas Hartley (1707–1784) began to circulate in the villages and hamlets surrounding Manchester. The development of the reading circles was due in part to the sensational claims made by Swedenborg in the book that he had "seen and heard" what lay beyond death's door. But as the sensationalism subsided, those who remained interested in the theology were supported by the efforts of John Clowes (1743–1831), rector of Saint John's Anglican Church in Manchester, an early believer in and translator of Swedenborg's writings.

According to Robert Hindmarsh (1759–1835), another early believer, Swedenborgian minister, historian, and author of *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church in England, America, and Other Parts* (1861), these small circles in Lancashire not only read and discussed what Swedenborg had written, but they soon began to worship together based on the new vision of Christianity found in Swedenborg's writings. Their focus was on worshiping the one divinely human God, the Lord Jesus Christ, who is considered to be a visible God who contains the invisible, as the physical human body contains within it the invisible soul. Swedenborg, in *True Christian Religion* (1771), acknowledges the trinity in God. He wrote, "These three, the Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit, are three essential components of one God. They are one the way our soul, our body, and the things we do are one." In initiating worship, these early believers had grasped the central, indeed fundamental, teaching of Swedenborg's theology that God is one in essence and person and that the Lord Jesus Christ is that God. In addition, Swedenborg's teachings emphasize the following ideas: the reality of the spiritual world and the rationality of its operation; the spiritual nature of the last judgment, which Swedenborg claimed took place in 1757; the essential spiritual nature of human beings; the correspondence between the spiritual world and the natural world; human freedom in spiritual things; the marriage of love and wisdom in the Lord and thus in all creation; the essential partnership of faith and charity found in a life of use; and the sacred nature of marriage.

John Clowes had ordered a copy of Swedenborg's *Vera Christiana Religio* (True Christian Religion) in 1773 upon the recommendation of his solicitor. Upon receiving it, he put it aside, only picking it up to read months later, just before he was to leave on an extended trip. He saw the words *Divinum Humanum* (divine human) and closed the book. Several days later his recollection of these words was accompanied by a deep sense of peace. This experience reoccurred daily. Finally, with a sense of urgency, he broke off his journey and returned home to read the book that seemed to be calling to him. Clowes wrote that after reading Swedenborg's book, all his theological questions had been answered. Clowes immediately became actively involved in the work of translation, as well as seeing to the publication and distribution of Swedenborg's writings. He also assumed the role of shepherd to the groups that began to emerge in Lancashire. He remained active in this work until his death, although he never separated from the Anglican Church in which he served as a pastor. In fact, Clowes lamented the move to form a separate "New Church" organization promoted by Robert Hindmarsh in London.

Hindmarsh, a printer by trade and a member of John Wesley's Methodist movement, had frequently heard Swedenborg's writings discussed in the circles in which he lived and worked. In 1782 he was given two of Swedenborg's writings, *Heaven and Hell* and *The Commerce between Soul and Body* (1769). Many years later, Hindmarsh wrote that after reading them, he was immediately convinced of their heavenly origins. Late in 1783 he circulated an advertisement calling for any interested readers of Swedenborg to meet on December 5. Four of the five men who came to the meeting formed the nucleus of the London Theosophical Society devoted to the study and publication of Swedenborg's writings.

The fifth man, James Glen (1749–1814), a plantation owner in South America, soon left for the New World carrying copies of Swedenborg's writings with him. He stopped in Boston and Philadelphia, giving lectures in both cities and leaving behind books for sale. Even though he was just passing through, Glen's efforts made a significant contribution to the development of Swedenborgianism in the newly formed United States.

By 1787, when the New Church (the name, from *Revelation* 21:2, often taken by Swedenborgian churches) was formally established in England, there were six groups in Lancashire and the founding society in London. One of the remarkable sociological facts of the establishment of this organization is that it was founded by individuals who had never personally known Swedenborg. Those who developed the rituals for worship and the organizational structure were attracted to the message of the theology, rather than to the man who had written it.

The British Conference of the New Church, as it was officially named, was an offshoot of the London Theosophical Society, which by 1787 had approximately one hundred members drawn from various ranks in British society and including individuals from a variety of countries who resided in London. Their religious backgrounds were also diverse, coming from a wide range of Christian confessions, including Anglican, Methodist, Baptist, Calvinist, and Dissenters. Among them were also individuals who were mystics, Quakers, deists, or agnostics. This Theosophical Society, which predates the organization founded by H. P. Blavatsky and Henry Steel Olcott in 1875, was an organization whose membership had widely different interests in Swedenborg's religious writings. Some members believed that they were divinely given revelation from God and thus were to become over time the source of renewal for Christianity. Among this group, however, some believed that renewal first should be attempted within existing Christian confessions, while others felt that it was more in keeping with the message to form a new and separate organization. Other members were interested in Swedenborg's writings in order to learn the secrets through which spirits could be contacted.

Those who wished to form a separate organization asked that a vote be taken in order to proceed. Losing the vote by a small margin, these members decided to go ahead with plans to form a new church. Hindmarsh led this movement. Clowes hastened to London to dissuade them from making such a move. Unconvinced, the separatists went ahead with their plans and, on July 31, 1787, fourteen men and two women gathered to celebrate the sacraments of baptism and the holy supper in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and thereby established the New Church. According to Hindmarsh's record in *Rise and Progress,* "All those present declared themselves to be 'of the Lord's New Church in its outward and visible form on Earth.'" On June 1 the following year they completed the establishment of a new church when two men were ordained into the priesthood. Although other Swedenborgian or New Church organizations have developed in different countries around the world since 1788, all of them acknowledge some form of direct or indirect indebtedness to the actions taken by the men and women present at these foundational ceremonies.

The operational structure of this new organization was far from clear. In order to proceed, it was determined that a national conference of believers should be called to establish common beliefs, principles of association, and forms of worship. A circular was sent out that included forty-two resolutions of belief to be affirmed at a conference to be held at a chapel in London's East Cheap section in April 1789. On Easter Monday that year, approximately eighty men and women gathered at the chapel to attend the five-day conference, which ran from April 13 to 17. Among those present was the poet William Blake (1757–1827) and his wife, Catherine. Both signed the conference minute book acknowledging their assent to the thirty-two propositions drawn from the religious writings of Swedenborg that had been discussed and affirmed during the conference. Among other things, the approved resolutions stated that "the Theological Writings of the Honorable Emanuel Swedenborg are perfectly consistent with the Holy Word; they also contain the Heavenly Doctrines of the New Church, which he [Swedenborg] was enabled by the Lord to draw from the Holy Word, while under the Inspiration and Illumination of his Holy Spirit."

The last of the resolutions called for the group to meet again in April of the following year. On the agenda for subsequent conferences was the need to approve a liturgy consistent with Swedenborg's teachings, as well as principles of organization that would likewise be drawn from Swedenborg's revelation. Harmony reigned during this first general conference of the New Church, but the same spirit did not prevail in the gatherings that followed. The underlying issue that developed among conference participants was the growing attachment of certain members to opposing models of church governance—congregational versus hierarchical.

BRITISH CONFERENCE OF THE NEW CHURCH. The issue was not resolved until the general conference of 1815, when the congregational model favored by the majority was no longer challenged. By that time there were three societies in London, thirty societies in Lancashire, and ten others in Great Britain. The British Conference has convened every year since that date with the various congregations and societies sending delegates. In 1815 the conference also adopted a presidential form of government with a one-year renewable term. This form of government persisted within the British Conference until 1970, when the length of the presidential term became five years. In 1900 the British Conference had seventy-three societies with a total membership of 6,337. They ran eleven day schools, which served 4,375 students, and they had over 7,000 children in attendance at their Sunday schools.

From its beginning until the middle of the twentieth century, the British Conference not only served the New Church in Great Britain, but also believers and congregations throughout the British colonies. It was a source of theological training, ministers, and hymnals and other printed material for groups in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Nigeria. At the beginning of the twenty-first century these groups form independent associations, although history and tradition connect them to the British Conference. The largest of these groups (approximately 15,000 members) is the New Church of Southern Africa, founded by David Mooki (1876–1927) in 1911. It was run as a mission of the British Conference for many years, creating its own theological school in Orlando, Gauteng. The New Church of Southern Africa became independent in 1970, under the leadership of Obed S. D. Mooki (1919–1990), son of the elder Mooki. The president holding office in 2000 was Paul S. Kenene.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the clergy of the British Conference were trained through a tutorial system. A theological school was established in London in 1865 in order to standardize training. It moved to Radcliffe, a suburb of Manchester, in 1984 to be closer to the geographical center of the membership. A congregational system of government had been chosen to enhance local control. A consequence of this system was that salaries of the clergy were paid by the local congregations without any assistance from the national body. As a result, recruiting men for the ministry was difficult, because in many locations with small congregations an adequate living could not be guaranteed. Thus, the British Conference throughout its history has had more congregations than ministers to serve them. This difficulty was at least technically addressed by opening the ministry to women in 1998. But the challenges of secularization and modernization could not be overcome simply by recruiting women into the ministry. Organizational and constitutional changes were initiated in 1999 in an attempt to meet these difficulties head on. The conference has thus become more centralized and more reliant on the Internet for all types of communication, including recruitment of new members and instruction in the theological school. According to its vision statement, the British Conference has also chosen to be inclusive and nonjudgmental, while at the same time it seeks to stimulate spiritual growth by applying the writings of Swedenborg to life.

From 2001 to 2002, the British Conference of the New Church had the following statistical profile: 1,148 members, 29 worshiping congregations, and 7 groups; there were 25 ministers, of whom 14 were retired or no longer in active service, and 44 lay worship leaders.

The Swedenborgian Church of North America. The Swedenborgian Church of North America was organized as the General Convention of the Church of the New Jerusalem in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in May 1817. At that time there were approximately 360 receivers of Swedenborg's teachings in the United States, located in seventeen different societies. The issues before the convention were to establish a permanent organization that could oversee the needs of the already existent congregations; to assist in the development of new ones; to regularize ordination; and to support missionary efforts. Delegates assembled in Philadelphia from five states: New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and Ohio. Two foreigners also attended the Philadelphia convention, one from Scotland and one from Sweden.

The General Convention's adoption of a congregational form of government was natural, due to the democratic temper of early America, and because the congregations had existed prior to the central organizing body, as had also been the case in England. A proposal to consider a hierarchical form of government was placed on the agenda during the 1820s, but it was never actively considered. The General Convention organized itself into regional associations, and delegates from the associations attended the annual convention and conducted the business of the church. To oversee the work, officers were selected. At the first convention a president was chosen; the next year the position of vice president was also established, but it was not until the eleventh annual convention that a financial report was submitted for approval. This basic system of government still frames the work of the Swedenborgian Church of North America.

The doctrinal principles outlined by the General Convention emphasized "knowledge of the Lord in his Divine Humanity," because church members believed it is the fundamental principle of all true religion. These principles also emphasized sharing one's faith with others so that the Lord's kingdom might come through the practice of the divine teachings of charity, good works, and love for each other. Attention was paid to the recruiting of sincere men to the ministry, and a system of licensing and ordination was created that persisted until a theological school was established in Waltham, Massachusetts, in 1867.

Controversy emerged within the General Convention of the Church of the New Jerusalem when, after the American Civil War, some ministers and church members with a belief in a hierarchical form of government began to press their views. Rebuffed by the General Convention, they formed their own theological school in Philadelphia in 1876. The inability of the two groups to find a mutually acceptable solution led to a schism in 1890.

The high point of growth for the General Convention in the nineteenth century was in 1890. In that year the annual reports listed 154 societies, 119 ministers, and 7,095 members. During the nineteenth century the convention's doctrinal emphasis on inward and individual spiritual development fit well into the American spirit. The teachings were a particularly unique source to learn more about human psychology and motivation. There was a strong identification of the membership with the teachings of Swedenborgianism, and Swedenborgian thought and teachings were absorbed into the broader American culture, helping to create what John Humphrey Noyes (1811–1886), historian and founder of the Oneida Community, called "Swedenborg's century." Samson Reed's (1800–1880) *Observations on the Growth of the Mind* (1826), a book based on Swedenborg's principles, suggested that changing times originate in a changing mind. Reed's work had a far-reaching impact. It appealed to Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882), and Emerson's good friend, the English author Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881). It inspired Emerson's masterwork *Nature* (1836), and Emerson included Swedenborg in his essay "Representative Men" (1850). Carlyle wrote that Swedenborg's new spiritual philosophy would soon leaven all religious thought.

Swedenborg was also an important source of inspiration for Edgar Allan Poe (1809–1849) and Walt Whitman (1819–1892). Both men broke important ground by bringing new psychological insights into the very structure of their art, as did the celebrated landscape artist George Inness (1825–1894), a member of the Swedenborgian Church and a man who used Swedenborg's teachings on the correspondences of color and form to shape his spiritualized landscapes.

This convergence of psychology and Swedenborgianism was an obvious strength for the development of the General Convention in the nineteenth century. However, as psychology became an independent, nonreligious discipline, what had been a unique Swedenborgian contribution to American culture became more widely available in a secularized form. This affected the growth of the General Convention.

In the twentieth century, the General Convention of the Church of the New Jerusalem became the Swedenborgian Church of North America. It maintained its congregational structure, with a president (elected for a three-year term, eligible to serve one additional consecutive term), a vice president, recording secretary, and treasurer. Those who serve in the latter three offices are elected for one-year renewable terms. Together, these officers, plus three ministers and six laypeople, constitute the General Council that governs the church. In addition there is a Council of Ministers that supervises the pastoral and theological matters of the church.

The Swedenborgian Church of North America is known as the liberal "branch" of the New Church in North America. It is a member of the National Council of Churches, and it has attempted to meet the challenges of secularization by adapting to the enlightened values of Western postmodern society. It supports environmental causes and has policies that welcome diversity and inclusiveness. The Swedenborgian Church of North America has ordained women since 1975 and does not view a person's sexual orientation as an impediment to ordination.

In 1999 the Swedenborgian Church of North America closed its theological school, the Swedenborgian School of Religion in Newton, Massachusetts, and the property was sold. In 2001 the Swedenborg School of Religion formed a partnership with the Pacific School of Religion in Berkeley, California. The program, supervised by the Pacific School's Swedenborg House of Studies, offers a master of divinity degree, as well as a certificate of theological studies in conjunction with the Pacific School. Distance education is a feature of the program, and the holdings of the library have been integrated into the database of the Graduate Theological Union in Berkley. This move has brought the theological education of the Swedenborgian Church of North America under the umbrella of one of the most progressive Christian theological schools in the United States.

Statistics for the Swedenborgian Church of North America reported in their journal, *The Messenger*, for the year 2001 are as follows: the church had a total membership of 1,926, of which 1,431 were listed as active. They had 40 churches, 34 active ministers, and congregations in the United States, Canada, and Guyana.

THE GENERAL CHURCH OF THE NEW JERUSALEM. The General Church of the New Jerusalem, unlike the British Conference and the Swedenborgian Church of North America, has an episcopal form of church government. It was legally established in 1897 after withdrawing from the General Convention in 1890. The principles of what was called the "Academy Movement" within the General Convention led to the schism and separation. The members of the Academy Movement believed that the theological writings of Emanuel Swedenborg constituted the third testament of the Christian Bible. That is, they believed that Swedenborg's writings were not merely divinely inspired revelation, but were, in fact, the word of God. Like the Old Testament and the New Testament, they were the third part of the divine word. Just as the sign on the cross calling Jesus "the king of the Jews" was written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, so, according to the General Church of the New Jerusalem, the Old Testament was written in Hebrew, the New Testament in Greek, and the third and final testament was produced in Latin. Secondly, they believed that the theological writings of Swedenborg prescribed a hierarchical form of church government with three degrees of the priesthood. And thirdly, they believed in the necessity of educating children based on principles drawn from these same theological works. Thus, even prior to separation from the General Convention, they had established schools from the primary grades through high school and college, culminating in a theological school for the training of priests.

The schism was based on principle, but it also came about as a result of the clash of strong personalities and political maneuvering within the organization of the General Convention of the Church of the New Jerusalem. Once separated from the convention, the dominance of Bishop William H. Benade (1816–1905) created new difficulties within the fledging organization. Finally, the members of the Advent Church that Benade had formed withdrew from him and established a new organization in 1897—the General Church of the New Jerusalem. The scope of the organization was international from its inception. Congregations in Canada and Great Britain joined with those in the United States in support of the principles of the Academy Movement. These principles, developed by Benade, were maintained by the new organization, but his autocratic style of leadership was rejected. A group numbering 347 participated in the move to withdraw from the General Convention. In 1900, just three years after incorporation, the General Church of the New Jerusalem had an international membership of 560. Because it was founded on principle rather than propinquity or nationality, it competed with both the American General Convention and the British Conference for members.

The General Church of the New Jerusalem created an organization in which theological and ecclesiastical matters were separated from financial ones. The bishop was to supervise the spiritual life of the church but a lay board of directors was to supervise it financially. Furthermore, instead of adopting a binding constitution, the organization decided to write a document titled "The Order and Organization of the

General Church of the New Jerusalem." Originally published in 1914, it has been revised six times since that date. The last revision occurred in 1999, when the language of the document was made gender inclusive. The decision not to write a constitution was made so that the organizational structure of the General Church of the New Jerusalem could be more responsive to the membership as it grew and developed. Furthermore, given the difficulties of its own foundation, those involved did not want any form of organization that would prevent future generations from making changes they might deem necessary for the life of the church.

Council and assembly are also important governmental principles for the General Church of the New Jerusalem. The bishop and the ministers all have lay councils that meet with them on a regular basis. In addition, every four or five years, all the members of the church get together at a general assembly to make important decisions. These councils and assemblies are governed by the principle of unanimity, with doubt signaling the need to delay decision making.

Education is a word that is synonymous with the Academy Movement and the General Church. This Swedenborgian organization has made education one of its highest priorities; however, in 1995 evangelization became an equivalent priority when an Office of Evangelization was established. Due to its origins in the Academy Movement, the General Church was a school before it became a church. The Academy Movement organized a theological school in 1876, when several ministers who were proponents of academy principles were no long welcome to teach at the theological school in Waltham, Massachusetts. Soon the Academy Movement not only ran a theological school in Philadelphia, but also a college and high school. These institutions moved to Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, in the 1890s and were still in operation in 2003. The international character of the General Church of the New Jerusalem has helped to create an international student body at all of its schools, but particularly at the college. In 2000, students came from more than seventeen countries, including Brazil, Canada, France, Korea, Sri Lanka, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.

The General Church of the New Jerusalem is considered the most conservative of the New Church organizations. By 2003, for example, it still did not ordain women. Nonetheless, it is the most diverse both racially and nationally. An unpublished study by Jane Williams-Hogan in 1998 showed that the British Conference had a minority membership of 5 percent, the Swedenborgian Church of North America had a 1½ percent minority membership, and the General Church of the New Jerusalem had 11 percent.

Although nowhere is it mandated that members of this church live together in communities, in practice this is also a characteristic of the General Church of the New Jerusalem. Communities have developed around existing General Church schools, or individuals will band together to form a community and a school. In the year 2000 the General Church operated ten elementary schools, six of which are located in New Church communities in the United States and Canada. In addition, there is a New Church elementary school in South Africa, and one was established in Ghana in 1999. Two preschools were established that same year in Denver, Colorado, and Ivyland, Pennsylvania.

A statistical profile of the General Church of the New Jerusalem in 2000 indicated a membership of 4,585, with a total international community of approximately 14,000, including minors, young adults, and adults who attend church services but who have not signed the rolls. The church had 92 public places of worship in 2000—57 in the United States, 8 in Canada, and 27 outside of North America. These groups were served by a total of 99 active and retired clergymen.

THE SWEDENBORGIAN MOVEMENT WORLDWIDE. Other Swedenborgian organizations exist in the world beyond the three discussed above. In 2003 independent New Church groups existed in Australia, France, Japan, Kenya, Nigeria, the Philippines, Russia, South Africa, Sri Lanka, and the Ukraine, among other places. It is interesting to note, however, that from its inception the Swedenborgian movement has developed organizationally primarily within the framework of English-speaking countries. The three organizations discussed in this article not only developed in Great Britain and the United States, but they also chose to establish theological schools. Although other theological schools have subsequently been established outside of the United States and England, these have all been developed through the missionary efforts of English-speaking organizations.

Many of these independent Swedenborgian organizations have been started as a result of an individual reading one of Swedenborg's theological writings and discovering the divine within it. The reader has then determined to form a church or religious organization in response. This pattern occurred in Great Britain, France, Russia, and Sweden in the eighteenth century; in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States in the nineteenth century; in Brazil, Nigeria, South Africa, Japan, Korea, and Ghana in the twentieth century; and already in the twenty-first century in the Philippines and Sri Lanka. While the membership numbers are not large, these groups nonetheless represent a different mechanism of conversion than that of a personal encounter with believers, *guru*s, or some other religiously inspired charismatic person. Conversion occurs after reading a book, after which the individual often attempts to find other similarly interested people or organizations. Writing to book publishers is a common method by which these individuals find existing organizations and fellow believers. Thus, Swedenborg's method of spreading his message by publishing and distributing books, although it is no longer the only method used to recruit new members, has been surprisingly effective.

SEE ALSO Swedenborg, Emanuel.

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JANE WILLIAMS-HOGAN (2005)

SWORDS SEE BLADES

SYMBOL AND SYMBOLISM.

[*This entry presents a history of the study of symbolism: issues, theories, and approaches. For an explanation of symbols from various religious traditions, see* Iconography.]

Understanding symbolism as a particular mode of religious thought begins with some consideration of what one means by the term. Most generally, a symbol is thought of as something that stands for something else. However, it is not a simple matter to identify the particular mode of "standing for" that provokes an observer to call something a symbol, as opposed to any of the other terms we use to designate figurative devices, like *sign, figure, metaphor, image, receipt, token,* or *allegory,* to name just a few. Although different definitions have been used throughout the long history of semiotics, a certain consistency exists in the characteristics thought to be specific to "symbol" (Greek *sumbolon,* late Latin *symbolum,* Italian *simbolo,* German *Symbol,* French *symbole*). These defining characteristics have consistently granted the idea a special relevance to religion. While various objects have been called symbols—including the purely arbitrary signifiers used in mathematical or scientific notation and, in the ancient period, the tokens of identity used in diplomacy and as markers of business agreement—a large subset of these appear in contexts that deal specifically with figuration of the divine. In particular, a symbol, as opposed to other forms of signification, tends to be understood as a representational mechanism that renders transcendent realities into tangible forms.

This article surveys the general outlines of the study of symbolism by proceeding historically, highlighting certain key contributions relative to the study of religion and focusing attention on some of the main theoretical issues.

POINTS OF ORIGIN. Though the Romantics created the modern apotheosis of the symbol, they did not invent the idea. The symbol has a rich premodern history, which, while not determinative, renders comprehensible certain habits of thought that animate the concept's later history. The term originated in Greek. The neuter noun, *sumbolon,* is formed from the verb *sumballein* (prefix *sun* + the verb *ballein*), which can mean many things but whose least marked sense is "to put" things "together." In 1931, Walter Müri disproved conclusively the notion that the noun is derived from the notion of a thing "put together" with something else. Philological considerations argue against this interpretation and also against the idea that symbol indicated, from its inception, an unspecific and general association between things. (This sense would have required *sumblêma,* which is uncommon and attested very late.) Neuter nouns in omicron formed from other *-ballein* verbs consistently mark the *instrument by which* the action of the verb is completed. Consequently, if the noun had actually been derived from the verbal sense of "put together," it would have yielded the sense of a device used to put other things together, and this suggestion turns out to be awkward in the face of attested ancient usage.

The neuter noun in the classical period regularly designated one of the two halves of a deliberately broken piece of material (a terracotta shard, for example) that were distributed to the two parties to an agreement in order to provide a secure authentication, at some future date, of their original arrangement. One sense of the verb *sumballein* stands out clearly, given knowledge of the philological parallels, as the best explanation of the evidence for the noun. The verb has a well-attested sense of "to agree," which positions the symbol as a device by which agreement is completed. Symbols seal the deal, so to speak. In the classical age, this context is by far the most common. Symbols appear as authenticating markers in many different fields, including in hospitality arrangements, in business, and in diplomacy. Although this background sets, at first glance, a kind of intuitively satisfying background for understanding the later history of a representational device, on closer inspection, it is too humble to have served as the origins for the master concept of figuration that appears later. A "receipt" and a "passport" are, after all, a far cry from a mode of representation that mediates between humans and the divine. Two other contexts need to be considered; these will explain the ways in which a narrow term of authentication gains a broader meaning and will show that symbols had, even in their earliest days, certain unique representational powers.

First, in the mystery religions and famously among adherents of the Pythagorean sects, the term *sumbolon* designates a particularly significant kind of authentication. It is the secret password or short, enigmatic verbal formula that verifies membership in a particular cult. These symbols carried the added power to authenticate a cult member as he or she ascended a ladder of spiritual wisdom. Knowledge of the secret symbol allows a person to gain access to higher tiers of enlightenment. In the deepest expression of this aspect, the symbol can be used after death to give the deceased access to the regions of the blessed, where souls live in splendor after their separation from their bodies. These symbols are indeed passports but ones that facilitate the movement of humans toward the divine, and so set up conditions more congenial to the later development of the idea. This background underlies the early Christian usage of the Latin *symbolum* for the Apostle's Creed.

The second important context for understanding the symbol's later history is in the field of divination. A different Greek term, the masculine *sumbolos,* which emerges from a different sense of the originating verb *sumballein,* applies here. In addition to the idea of agreement, the verb carries a meaning of "to meet." Again, on philological parallels, the masculine noun in omicron indicates a thing or person doing the action of meeting, and so comes to indicate that which one meets. In the field of divination, chance meetings of many kinds played an important role, and *sumbolos* is the most general term for these. Because of the prominence of the neuter form (and of neuter forms in the language of divination more generally) the masculine term tends to become assimilated to the neuter. By the classical period, it had outgrown its specific use to describe an ominous chance meeting and had become a general term for a divine sign of any kind. The symbol as divine sign forms the second important background idea to the later development of the concept. In a kind of mirror image of the symbol in the Mysteries, the divine sign also facilitates movement of the divine toward the human. In both contexts, human aspirations for the divine are expressed in concrete form.

These early manifestations of the notion of the symbol contain two important aspects. First, a current of secrecy is present throughout. The symbol marks a form of sign that brings something to light, and yet it means something that is not apparent to the uninitiated. In other words, the symbol has an esoteric or "closing" function, as well as an exoteric or "disclosing" one. Later theories of the symbolic will tend to preserve this esoteric dimension and draw on the power that secrecy always bestows. In addition, the symbol in the mystery context points to a performative dimension to symbolic representation. It has the power to enact a change in the one who wields it.

On these bases, the term *symbol* came into slightly broader use around the Mediterranean in the wake of Alexandrian Hellenization after the third century BCE. In addition to divine omens of all kinds, as well as magico-religious cultic formulas, the term designated allegorical representations of the divine in poetic texts, and cultic manifestations of divinities with their traditional accoutrements, such as accompanying birds or distinctive dress. These two developments show the newfound usefulness of the notion of the symbol in conceptualizing the ways in which divinities (which in a Hellenistic context could make increasingly extravagant claims to transcendence) might somehow be captured in more tangible forms. This use is an abrupt departure from the classical practice and is surely due to the influence of the usages in divination and in the mysteries. So the symbol began to describe that particular mode of representation through which, for example, Homer's all-too-corporeal gods or traditional cultic forms of anthropomorphic divinities might relate to a transcendent divine principle as it was beginning to be understood. It is perhaps not a surprise that a parallel (and pivotal) context emerged in the *Greek Magical Papyri*, in which a symbol meant a magical amulet or token. It marked a divinely charged material object that had some sort of numinous power to produce tangible effects here on earth. It was intended to describe a reproduction of the divine in material form rather than a representation per se.

SYMBOLS IN LATE ANTIQUITY. In late antiquity, the symbol took on a new life, one that marked a crucial stage in its development. The post-Plotinian Neoplatonists explicitly married the Pythagorean password to enlightenment, the omen, the material representation that renders the traditional god in tangible form, the allegorical representations of the divinities in poetic texts, and the amulet of the magicians in order to produce a systematic theory of the symbol as a master device of representation. The first stage in this development begins with the work of Iamblichus (c. 245–c. 325), who followed Plotinus' lead in making philosophy a soteriological pursuit. Drawing on the Pythagoreans for inspiration, he claimed that different levels of knowledge required different forms of discourse. Scientific knowledge might be reached adequately through likenesses and images, but esoteric wisdom of the divine superstructure of the cosmos required a secret language of symbols. In his *On the Mysteries,* Iamblichus further develops this idea in relation to what he saw as the secret symbolic language of the Egyptians. Knowledge of the hieroglyphs was spotty in late antiquity, and ignorance of this language contributed greatly to its perceived capacity to carry the most profound wisdom. Iamblichus also devoted a great deal of attention to justifying a form of ritual praxis, part of his comprehensive philosophical-religious discipline, in which symbols play a critical part. They are required to activate the rituals; more specifically, they are the material items or secret language that invokes the divine presence. This notion implies that symbolic figuration relies not on mimetic imitation but on the invocation of true presence.

These developments led to the work of the great follower of Iamblichus, Proclus (d. 485). Proclus created a highly developed symbol theory that played a central role in his metaphysics, his theory of ritual, and his views on figuration of the divine in language or in the arts. All the post-Plotinian

Neoplatonists understood that the transcendent principle of the universe, the One, radiated out from itself the whole of the universe, with each successive layer of reality imitating what had come immediately before it. This view made the cosmos a kind of cascading theophany. Yet they also tried to comprehend Plato's famous conundrum that representation is always and everywhere a movement away from, rather than closer to, the truth. The Neoplatonists had to work within two views: that the material world is a theophany and that it is a shadow world of hopelessly decayed imitation. More often than his predecessors, Proclus uses the "symbol" precisely to resolve this tension. In his theory, most clearly articulated in his *Commentary on the Republic,* symbolic figuration does not involve imitation based on resemblance—in other words, Plato's objections do not apply to it. Instead, the symbol reproduces the real presence of its referent; it operates according to invocation and not according to imitation. Drawing on an apothegm he knew from the *Chaldean Oracles,* a text of dubious provenance that became a holy book for the Neoplatonists, Proclus stated that as the higher orders create the cosmos through imitation, they sow "symbols" throughout it. Proclus thought these symbols were nodes of divine radiance nestled within our tragically decayed world of imitations. These secret symbols can be harnessed by the knowledgeable poet, philosopher, or ritual practitioner, in order to render the divine in a suitable material form. This theory allows him to construct a defense of Homer, construct a metaphysics that mediates between the divine source and its mundane effluxions, and develop an explanation for how the divine might actually be made present in ritual praxis.

While Proclus is not particularly well known in the wider contemporary history of ideas, his thought regarding the symbol has had a long-standing and definitive influence. Certain key Romantic philosophers recovered his corpus in the eighteenth century, and their theories will be discussed below. Proclus's ideas also greatly influenced a person who became the single most important authority on figuration of the divine for medieval readers of the Bible. Shortly after Proclus's death, a body of work emerged that came to be attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, Paul's convert mentioned in *Acts* 17:34. This pseudepigraphical collection of texts reinvented Proclus's theories of symbolism to help the early Christians understand the representation of the divine in cult, in texts, and in Dionysius' emanationist metaphysics. Dionysius reworked Proclus's theories for an understanding of the Christian sacraments (in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*), hierarchical tiers of beings (in the *Celestial Hierarchy*) and the places in Scripture where the divine is figured in physical and sometimes even entirely corporeal form (in the *Divine Names*). Dionysius's mystical hermeneutics applied to all aspects of the divinely infused world, from scripture to church to cosmos. When his corpus was translated by John Scotus Eriugena in the ninth century, it quickly became the authoritative guide for medieval clergy trying to understand how the Scriptures could assign tangible qualities to the transcendent godhead. (The corpus also served as a guide for Christian mysticisms of many varieties across medieval Europe, both in the east and the west.) In his *Summa theologica,* Thomas Aquinas cites Dionysius some seventeen hundred times, more often than any other writer except Augustine of Hippo.

THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT. The turning point for contemporary interest in symbolic theory, and the most convenient point at which to begin a brief account of its modern life, occurred around the middle of the eighteenth century, among a group of thinkers and literary figures who have come to be known collectively as the Romantic movement. Their concern with symbols—charged by their reading of the late-antique Neoplatonists, but less the outcome of any single current of symbolic theory than a constellation of ideas scattered throughout the disciplines of Western academia—was one aspect of their general spirit of resistance against what they perceived as the dangerous excesses of eighteenth-century rationalism. With the Romantics, the "symbol" grew in importance and became the most prominent vehicle for the view that figuration, now considered in its most general terms, is a root process defining the human being and, importantly, that figuration, considered as a mental process, resides in a position of priority over even rational thought itself.

One of these Romantics, Johann Georg Hamann (1730–1788) reflected the general mood, though not the academic rigor of the times, in arguing the merits of poetic discourse as the "mother tongue of humanity." In protest against Kant, this most difficult and oracular of Romantic authors saw the perfection of knowledge not in abstraction but in symbols, since symbols enable one to view all the phenomena of nature and history as revelations of a divine communication. His contemporary, Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), who was taught by both Kant and Hamann, was more balanced in his approach to the Enlightenment and its representatives. For Herder, the task of aesthetics lay in the search for a universal logic of artistic symbolization; to this end, he developed his own theory of the evolution of language, giving a central role to folk poetry. His use of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's (1712–1778) model of human growth as an analogy for the course of history and its progress away from the childlike innocence of the "noble savage" was widespread in the Romantic movement. Similarly, Novalis (Friedrich von Hardenberg, 1772–1801) also defended the primacy of imagination and poetry as a means to produce the symbolism of a higher reality, and he drew special attention to the "magical" power of symbolic words. Among theorists of literature, Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834), influenced by F. W. J. Schelling (1775–1854) and the late-antique Neoplatonists, found the symbol to be a powerful representational tool that had the unique capacity to grasp the transcendent in physical, palpable form. The symbol, he thought, becomes "consubstantial" with its referent.

Together with Georg Christoph Lichtenberg (1742–1799), a physicist with a mystical bent who was actually anti-

Romantic, the self-avowed psychological novelist Karl Philip Moritz (1757–1793) merits mention for drawing attention to dreams as symbolic expressions of the inner self. The first major achievement in this area came after the turn of the century, with Gotthilf Heinrich Schubert (1780–1860), whose views of the dream as an abbreviated hieroglyphic language later earned him recognition by Freud as a forerunner of modern psychological dream interpretation. The work of Carl Gustav Carus (1789–1869) on dream interpretation has more immediate links to modern psychology, however, because of the extensive and systematic use he made of the notion of an unconscious mind, a notion that incidentally was widespread among the Romantics. Carus's distinction between relative and absolute layers of the unconscious, and his argument for a participation of the latter in a sort of universal, pantheistic life force reflected in dream symbols, were an inspiration to theories later developed by Jung after his break from Freud.

One side effect of the Romantic movement—perhaps the one that, more than any other, carried the attention to symbolism over into the nineteenth century—was the variety of opinion it sparked among classical mythologists, both among those sympathetic to the Romantics and those opposed. Scholars such as Samuel Clarke (1675–1729), Johann Ernesti (1707–1781), Christian Heyne (1729–1812), and Johann Hermann (1772–1848) reinterpreted the gods and heroes of ancient Greece as symbols expressing a primitive level of philosophy or psychology. The very tools of allegoresis that the medieval theologians—following a tradition going back to the Greek philosophers and literary critics—had used to reveal the hidden wisdom of the ancient myths were used to discredit its symbolic importance. Moritz, among others, objected to the reductionism in such interpretation and argued for the primacy of understanding the historical conditions of classical antiquity. The complaints of Jacques Antoine Dulare (1775–1835) against "symbolizing" what were basically pragmatic cults and beliefs typified the new and more empirical approach to the symbol that was gaining strength. This foment of opinion generated many later efforts to link a personal meaning of symbols to a general morphology of nature myths, such as are described in the work of Georg Ferdinand Frobenius (1849–1917) and Paul Ehrenreich (1855–1914).

One key figure, whose systematic treatment of symbols united the influences of the Romantic movement with the study of classical mythology, was Georg Friedrich Creuzer (1771–1858). Creuzer was steeped in late antique ideas about the symbol. He produced editions of Proclus and other key Neoplatonists which helped to re-awaken the Neoplatonic spirit of the symbol. Employing a comparative approach that used materials from Egypt, Greece, and Rome, as well as India and Persia, he tried to develop a theory of symbolism that would at once respect the pragmatic meaning of symbols as carriers of concrete tradition (including the scientific) and the religious meaning of symbols as the force to unify (*sun-ballein*) spirit and matter. Objections to Creuzer's work, however, in particular to his attempt to show the influence of Oriental symbolism on Christian symbolism, arose on every side, the most devastating of them from the pen of the classicist Johann Heinrich Voss (1751–1826). Even scholars in the early twenty-first century often deny Creuzer the important place he deserves in the history of the study of symbolism.

Perhaps the best known of the Romantic students of symbolism is Johann Jakob Bachofen (1850–1887). A historian devoted to the non-literate ancient world, he turned to myth as a guide to understanding the distant past, and from there developed a highly particularized exegesis of symbols. While Bachofen appears to have carried on his work independently of Dulare and Creuzer, he shared their concern for developing a universal, abstract theory of the symbol rooted in the facts of history. For him, the fundamental theme of the ancient myths—and hence also the basis for the symbols that myths interpret—was that of gynecocracy, or mother right. Although modern scholarship has since discredited this idea, along with most of his other historical arguments, the remarkable imagination and suggestiveness of Bachofen's work has kept it alive among those concerned with a general theory of the symbol.

THE SYMBOLISTS. The Symbolist movement was one of literary esotericism that formed among a group of French poets in the final two decades of the nineteenth century. The leading thinker was Stéphane Mallarmé (1842–1898); after his death, it virtually came to an end. Although its roots may be traced to the philosophies of Hegel and Schopenhauer, the Aesthetic movement in England, and the mystical writings of Swinburne, the movement took shape basically as a reaction against the impact of scientific realism on the literary arts.

Unlike the Romantics, who had been more concerned with the interpretation of specific symbols or the development of a general theory about symbolization processes, the Symbolists were preoccupied with creating symbols of ideal beauty appropriate to their age. While the Romantics were overtly political and public—the idea of the "noble savage" that was so dear to them provided part of the intellectual backdrop to the French Revolution—the Symbolists deliberately withdrew from the vulgar sentiments of public life. Theirs was a quasi-metaphysical, highly theoretical attempt to idealize absolute Beauty, to promote its contemplation, and at the same time to create it by restoring a musical sense to poetry and by using highly symbolic terms. Given to theorizing about symbols in esoteric terms, as these thinkers were, it is no surprise that their influence was restricted. In other respects, too, the major proponents of the movement seemed intentionally to flout existing traditions. Mallarmé used Christian ritual symbolism to erect a metaphysics designed to explain symbols. Charles Baudelaire (1821–1867), who may be credited as the first poet to exalt the value of symbols, did so by inverting the symbols of Christianity into a sort of diabolism. Paul Verlaine (1844–1896) also gave more popular form to the principles of Mallarmé by locating them within a Christian context. In fact, however, all of the Symbolists stood firmly outside of the Christian frame in their search for an alternate center to their aesthetic-mystico-religious sensibility: ideal Beauty.

Although the Symbolist movement was short-lived, and its theories have long since fallen out of favor, it did have an impact on symbolism in literature by cross-fertilizing it with anthropology, classics, and religion. The American counterpart of the movement, represented by writers such as Edgar Allen Poe, Herman Melville, and Henry James, as well as European post-Symbolists such as Rainer Maria Rilke and William Butler Yeats, shared many of the Symbolists' instincts about the mystical dimension of symbolism. Despite the movement's lack of influence on the study of symbols then being undertaken by philosophers and anthropologists, its reorientation from the objective world of facts to the evocative, psychological power of symbols brought the symbolic process itself to the surface, thereby foreshadowing developments in the twentieth century.

THE RISE OF MODERN ANTHROPOLOGY. By Bachofen's time, the influence of the Romantic movement on the study of symbols had begun to wane. Ethnological data gathered directly from primitive societies was beginning to accumulate, and the empirical method for the study of symbols, including those of the ancient world, was becoming more disciplined. Important work was done by Lewis H. Morgan (1818–1881) on Native American sacrificial rites; by William Robertson Smith (1846–1894) on Semitic sacrifice; by Henry Clay Trumbull (1830–1903) on the comparative study of sacrifice in India, China, the Near East, Africa, and Central America; by John Ferguson McLennan (1827–1881) on marriage symbolism; and by N. D. Fustel de Coulanges (1830–1889) on the influence of religious symbols on ancient Greek and Roman civil institutions. These and other works of the period contained a new rigorous approach to analyzing the data, coupled with an attempt to translate the meaning of symbols into abstractions more suitable to the modern critical mind.

This new scientific approach did much to demystify the study of occult and secret symbolic traditions, as well as to open the way to a more objective study of sexual symbolism in primitive culture and religious rites. The censure that Creuzer and Dulare had encountered a century before began steadily to weaken.

No doubt the most important figure of this period is Edward Burnett Tylor (1832–1917), rightly credited as the founder of modern cultural anthropology. Tylor's contribution to the study of the symbol has no direct links to the Romantics. Drawing instead from mid-nineteenth-century British philosophy, which had been rocked by evolutionary theory, he formulated a rather rationalistic and often condescending view of symbols. The myth-making faculty of primitive peoples that F. Max Müller and the brothers Grimm had helped to rediscover interested Tylor as a potential clue to the evolutionary development of mind, and led him to uncover a fundamental animism at the source of the symbolic process.

Another important influence on symbol theory at the time was James G. Frazer (1854–1941). His monumental study on the notion of the slain god, *The Golden Bough,* which had grown out of his work on nature symbolism and relied heavily on insights from Robertson Smith, not only influenced students in all fields of symbolism, but also affected scholars of literature. The sheer scope and wealth of Frazer's achievement, however, tended to overshadow the lack of development in his theory of symbols. And, as had Tylor, he bypassed important questions raised by the Romantics and the Symbolists.

At the start of the twentieth century, interest in symbolism continued to strengthen and to gain respectability among academics. Typical of this trend was Franz Boas (1858–1942), whose work on primitive art symbols led him to a number of interesting but controversial conclusions about the relationship between religious ideas and the literalization of natural symbols. The major influence at the time, however, came from the work of Émile Durkheim (1858–1917). Turning away from the nineteenth-century bias toward treating symbols as discrete entities with meanings in themselves—and thus turning his back on the Romantics and the Symbolists alike—Durkheim sought to uncover their social implications. He did not care very much about any inner reality in symbols, nor did he care where they came from; he was interested only in their effect on the society that used them. To this end, he proposed the revolutionary idea of viewing society as a system of forces conditioned by the symbolizing process: symbols were social because they preserved and expressed social sentiments. In assuming that non-empirical symbolic referents must be distorted representations of empirical reality, many critics later argued, Durkheim had viewed symbols too narrowly and failed to appreciate their polyvalent structure. While his concern with symbolic referents may have prevented him from exploring the wider reaches of symbolic significance, the boldness of his hypothesis laid a challenge before students of the symbol that retains its force in the early twenty-first century.

A. R. Radcliffe-Brown (1881–1955) owed much to Durkheim in the former's approach to symbols as meanings that give expression to sentiments in individuals in order to regulate collective needs or preserve relations and interests important to a particular society. Despite Radcliffe-Brown's numerous intuitions and descriptive distinctions, as well as a more scrupulous grounding in direct fieldwork than his predecessor, his work suffers from a certain lack of theoretical clarity by comparison.

Bronislaw Malinowski (1884–1942) shared many of Radcliffe-Brown's views, but Malinowski approached symbols with a keener sensitivity to their linguistic implications and a more complex theoretical understanding of them.

Rather than viewing words as having meaning in themselves, he saw them as entirely relative to their context, where they both communicate conventions and organize behavior. Like all symbols (of which they are the prototype), words modify the human organism in order to transform physiological drives into cultural values. Although Malinowski confused speech with language, and so was driven to generalizations that contemporary linguistic theory no longer accepts, his main concern was in classifying and interpreting symbolic forms to show how the process of symbolization affects the formation and function of culture. He succeeded in undoing the generalized symbolic interpretations of myths that some anthropologists had inherited from the Romantics.

R. R. Marett (1866–1943) attempted to trace the origins of religion to pre-animist beliefs in superhuman forces, but these efforts were armchair investigations from a scholar who preferred common sense to actual work in the field. Despite their limitations, however, his reports had high literary value and considerable influence on many other theoreticians working in symbolic theory. Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (1857–1939), most often remembered for his attempt to relate the origins of religion to a "prelogical" primitive mind that shared in the realities of nature by means of what he called participation mystique—a position that he retracted later in life—also deserves credit for highlighting the need to study symbolic thought and behavior.

Although the contributions of these pioneers continue to be recognized and supported by field studies, scholars hold many diverse opinions as a result of increased sensitivity to the complexities of symbol theory. Social scientists have become increasingly aware of the methodological assumptions underlying their own behavior and of the effects of psychological factors, the critical apparatus of philosophical hermeneutics, and advances in linguistic theory.

Victor Turner (1920–1983) developed an important theory of symbolism from his studies on ritual in the late twentieth century. Particular symbols can be understood, he argued, only by setting them in their wide "action-field context," considering their immediate role in ritual, and observing the particular patterns of behavior associated with them. Turner saw this series of expanding contexts as giving meaning to the symbol; furthermore, he focused attention on the context of the interpreter. His approach helped to clarify the distinctions between exegetical meaning (given by indigenous informants), operational meaning (derived from observation of a symbol's use), and positional meaning (deduced from its place in the totality of symbols). The psychological functions that Turner accorded symbols—to guard against excessive emotion and to serve as a catharsis to express feelings—initially were controversial but now have become commonplace.

Ever since Durkheim, anthropologists have emphasized the pivotal role of social structure (as both matrix and offspring) in the symbolic process, but the concrete forms of many symbols have caused scholars to investigate the ways that these symbols reflect the visible world of nature. In his researches on Semitic religions, Robertson Smith suggested that symbols of divinity, even those clearly wrought by human hands, were originally drawn from earth symbols. Mary Douglas has taken a more developed and inventive approach to natural symbols,, linking the origins of symbolization to the structure and processes of the human body. She reminds her colleagues that the modern study of symbols needs to consider symbols generated by social structures that may alienate people from themselves, from one another, and from the earth.

Modern anthropological theory owes much to Claude Lévi-Strauss and his research in linguistics and depth psychology, particularly in the realm of myth and symbol. Instead of the functional approach championed by Malinowski, or the more traditional symbolic approach that described symbols primarily in terms of their meanings, Lévi-Strauss's structuralism resurrected interest in myths and symbols as phenomena more basic than the meanings they convey, the social functions they fulfill, or the social systems that give them shape. Symbols belong to their own systems, he asserted, within which they are subject to certain basic relationships and patterns of transformation. His attempt to locate a universal human nature in some common, relatively stable mental structures underlying all variations in behavioral expression has helped to revive the Romantics' quest for a generalized theory and to preserve sensitivity to insights in symbolic theory developed in other disciplines.

DEPTH PSYCHOLOGY. Although some Romantics and others developed psychological theories of the symbol in the nineteenth century, these theories did not gain prominence until the twentieth century, notably in the work of Freud and Jung.

Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) founded his psychoanalytic movement on a theory of symbols whose refinement he pursued throughout his life. Freud used the dream symbols of the neurotically disturbed as fundamental data for his theories of how one's perception of the past is distorted, displaced, condensed, and filtered according to the internal conscious and unconscious dynamics of the psyche. So startling and compelling were his ideas that by the early years of the twentieth century they had become essential lessons for students of symbolism. W. H. R. Rivers (1864–1922) and Charles Seligman (1873–1940), both British, were among the first anthropologists to incorporate his ideas into their ethnographic work. In 1935, Jackson Lincoln made a daring application of Freud's method of dream interpretation to primitive culture; after him, Géza Róheim (1891–1953) used Freud's ideas in his studies of myth and folklore. Freud's concept of condensation, applied early on by Edward Sapir (1894–1939), has appeared in the work of such contemporaries as Victor Turner and Mary Douglas. Even those who, like Malinowski, were repelled by Freud's neglect of social factors, or who, like Lévi-Strauss, rejected the primacy Freud gave to the sexual meaning and etiology of symbols, have had to acknowledge the significance of unconscious factors in the formation of myths and symbols.

Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961) had less influence than Freud on students of symbolism, but his research continues to stimulate interdisciplinary studies, and it has won respect in many depth psychology circles which are inimical to Freud. By seeing symbols not merely as private symptoms of unresolved repressions, but as expressions of the psyche's struggle for realization and individuation, Jung encouraged a more positive assessment of many neglected esoteric and mystical traditions from both East and West. His ideas affected the work of the Sinologist Richard Wilhelm (1873–1930) and the Indian scholar Heinrich Zimmer (1890–1943). In contrast to Freud, Jung has not attracted much attention from philosophers, but he has offered certain anthropologists, such as Paul Radin (1883–1959), a balance to Freud's excesses. Mythologists such as Joseph Campbell and Károly Kerényi (1897–1973), as well as numerous critics of art and literature such as Herbert Read (1893–1968) and Maud Bodkin, bear the stamp of Jung's symbolic theory clearly in their work. Although his methods of scholarship and use of data were controversial, both during his lifetime and afterward, Jung remains a testament to the power exerted by the study of symbolism over the inquiring intellect.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGIOUS STUDIES. Although philosophers and theologians have been interested in the problem of symbols since the time of the Neoplatonists, twentieth-century symbolic theory became something of a cottage industry among philosophers interested in or influenced by the field of semiotics.

Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914) took the first important step in this direction. His distinctions among the terms sign, symbol, index, and icon posed a number of fundamental questions that continue to intrigue many philosophers; in fact, his research provided a stimulus for anthropologists and historians to forge similar distinctions in their own work. In 1923, C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards published *The Meaning of Meaning,* which disseminated Peirce's categories and stimulated interest in his ideas. American philosopher C. W. Morris also incorporated new insights from semantics and social psychology into the sphere of philosophical logic.

Ernst Cassirer's (1874–1945) work was much more ambitious in scope. He viewed the philosopher's task as the quest for the human spirit at work in culture, and coupled this outlook with his neo-Kantian leanings to produce a theory of "symbolic forms" as the basis to all human apprehension of the world. Although Cassirer's apparent neglect of criteria for verification has made him easy prey to later generations of scholars, his attempt to develop a consistent theory of mind grounded in the symbolic function represents a bold step beyond the purely logical frame of Peirce. His most notable successor in this regard has been Susanne Langer, best known for her aesthetic theory.

Among contemporary philosophers who have grappled impressively with the legacy of symbolic theory and with data from psychoanalysis, anthropology, and linguistics, the work of Paul Ricoeur stands out for the wide influence it has enjoyed among students of religion. For Ricoeur, "thought" needs something to "think about," and what it thinks about are symbols. The proper task of philosophy is hermeneutics, which he understands as the recovery of meaning through attention to the symbol-making function that begins with language and carries over into every person's attempt to be rational.

Religious studies in the twentieth century have become so closely bound to the study of symbols and the symbol-forming process that one is almost unthinkable without the other. The role that Mircea Eliade (1907–86) played in this chapter of Western intellectual history is hard to overestimate. In an impressive array of studies in the history of religions ranging from primitive societies to esoteric traditions, Eliade gradually constructed a comparative view of the phenomenon of symbolism that at once incorporates the gains of other disciplines and informs them with fresh insight.

The study of symbolism has also left its impression on modern theological studies. By introducing the philosophical hermeneutic tradition into biblical research, Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976) redefined the domain of scriptural studies. In the area of systematic theology, Paul Tillich (1886–1965), whose dependence on existential hermeneutics is equally apparent, though at a more abstract level, argued throughout his work for the positive and indispensable role that symbolism plays in religious language. Conversely, he tried to show how the place of the symbol in human culture argues for the notion of an "Unconditioned" as a universal solvent of human consciousness.

GENERAL SYMBOLIC THEORY. A symbol usually is something concrete and particular that represents something else, usually abstract and generalized. The symbol often becomes a focal point for thoughts and emotions associated with its referent, or a trigger for associated habits. While the symbol itself is typically easily perceived, its referent may not be. Indeed, theorists commonly define a symbol in such a way that its referent is unclear, particularly with the powerful and lasting religious symbols, which generally resist direct connection to a single definable referent.

Theories of symbolism can be differentiated according to the factors that are judged to be formative in the symbolizing process (such as tradition and convention, biological needs and processes, the occurrence of natural phenomena, the structure of the human psyche, and divine hierophanies and revelations). A common, though largely tacit, assumption in most modern theories of symbolism is that the capacity to generate and use symbols is a core technology unique to the human species. This assumption exists as a prerequisite for, rather than an epiphenomenon of, the capacity for higher-order mental activity. Cassirer made this point forcefully in referring to symbolization as the root of all social communication, calling human beings *homo symbolicus.* Susanne Langer extended the argument further, viewing symbolization as one of the most basic and primitive functions of mind. Symbols appear not only in rational, discursive thought and behavior but also in the arts, which Langer attempts to define as varieties of "virtual" behavior. Theorizing of the symbolic process, therefore, typically involves theorizing of the structure of the psyche itself in order to explain how meaning is created and handed down as humans reproduce. The British linguistic analysts and those of the Vienna Circle also contributed to symbolic theory: they were concerned with discovering the invariable patterns by which meaning enters into human communication and with disposing of the distorted patterns by which meaning is turned into nonsense. Moreover, Freud's point of departure in the neurotic symptom and Jung's search for archaic, archetypal patterns both represent attempts to describe the universal structure of mind in terms of symbol-making processes.

THE MEANING OF RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS. The problem of symbolic meaning introduces a consideration of hermeneutics and of semiotic logic. To the extent that they invoke a hermeneutics, religious symbols ask the scholar to consider what qualities—subjective, objective, or both—define a symbol as religious. Next, the researcher must determine whether a possible religious symbol is actually functioning as a living symbol or should instead be classified as some other form of communication. What works as a symbol in one age may, even within a given tradition, cease to be relevant in the next age. Naturally, the same precept applies to differences among various cultural settings, and even among individuals. Problems like these underlie the distinction between a synchronic study of symbols, which seeks to locate a symbol within a certain living context or fund of symbols, and a diachronic approach, which looks for invariable patterns in religious symbolism. While many anthropologists take the synchronic approach, Lévi-Strauss represents the diachronic approach. His work on patterns of binary opposition has tried to bracket the question of the concrete meaning of symbols in order to concentrate on the deep structure of the symbol-making mind. Most students of the religious symbol part from him on this point. Many, in fact, would say that Lévi-Strauss himself subsequently departed from this position by arguing that one cannot clarify the process of signification without beginning with the concrete meaning of concrete symbols.

Turning to semiotics, religious symbols raise equally fundamental questions. Early in the twentieth century, the Swiss linguistic theoretician Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913) set the tone for much of general symbolic theory. He had three objectives: to identify the signifier, to determine just what it is signifying, and to describe the mechanism by which the signifying process takes place. Yet another aspect, one that Saussure purposefully neglected in his own work, has proved to be essential to many of the most creative modern studies of religious symbolism: namely, the nature and extent of the relationship between signifier and signified, apart from the actual mechanism by which it is established.

Mircea Eliade made one of the boldest attempts to describe this relationship in terms appropriate to religious symbolism. Echoing the Symbolists and Romantics, Eliade contended that the symbol reveals certain dimensions of reality that would otherwise elude understanding. For him, these deeper dimensions are disclosed not only through the reflection of the interpreter of the symbols, but also in the "internal logic" of the symbols. This idea, however, depends on the premise that there is something contained "in" the symbol that is being disclosed. He and Rudolf Otto, call this embedded something "the sacred," a reality of an order distinct from the natural and possessed of a power beyond humans' comprehension and control. This shift away from the knowing subject does not deny the opening assertion that symbols are constituted as such subjectively, nor that they are basically cultural phenomena. Rather, it moves away from the anthropological approach to one that seeks to remove the arbitrariness from the symbol, through an assertion that the symbol reveals something *else,* something outside the closed system of human cultural production. This attitude opens a path to understanding "natural symbols" that goes beyond investigations into the natural capacity of mind, and establishes symbolic conventions in order to capture invariable patterns of meaning that those conventions communicate.

Jung's research into "natural symbols" gradually deflected his mature work away from models of the psyche and questions of physiology toward a search for "archetypal" patterns of meaning by which symbols could be classified and interrelated. Although his early work with Freud had convinced him of the need to see the symbolic process at work in the psychic appropriation of physiological processes, Jung eventually placed greater emphasis on the religious and spiritual significance of universal patterns that appear in the individual experience of symbols.

Opinions vary widely regarding the general nature, classification of forms, and function of symbolism in culture and psyche, and the problems multiply when considering the actual interpretation of particular symbols. The topic is commonly divided into two areas: a general hermeneutics, or rules for interpreting symbols, and actual exegesis within a given hermeneutics. Many scholars have attempted to produce universally applicable lexicons of symbols purporting to decode the secrets of dreams, religious imagery, esoteric traditions, and the like. A philosophical approach to hermeneutics that is more congenial to scholarly endeavors and closer to the goal of the Romantics is Ricoeur's restatement of one of the symbol's oldest characteristics: that a symbol both reveals and conceals—that it possesses both a symptom-hiding and a truth-proclaiming dimension. In this view, meaning and the interpretation of meaning are essential and complementary moments in the general phenomenology of the symbol: interpretation involves refining the symbol and looking to the interpreter to reveal everything condensed in the symbol. The symptomatic dimension of the symbol, for Ricoeur, finds its clearest exponent in Freud, who attempted to reduce all symbols to some repression of desire. (Ricoeur found Jung too obscure and difficult to follow.) To Freud's "hermeneutic of suspicion," which is basically a process of "demystification," Ricoeur adds a hermeneutic standpoint long preserved in the West through Christian interpreters of the words of the scriptures: opening oneself up to the inexhaustible "kerygmatic" (teaching) capacity of the symbol.

THE ENDURANCE OF SYMBOLS. The idea of the symbolic has proved compelling across the centuries and over many disparate cultures. This may have as much to do with what the symbol hides as with what it puts on display. Among the different types of figuration of which humans have conceived, symbols most consistently promise revelation—but they earn this capacity through an equal and opposite tendency to mystify. From the early passwords of the mystery religions, to the secret hermeneutics of Pseudo-Dionysius, to the Romantics' vehicles toward the transcendent, to Eliade's promise of divine disclosure, the symbol is a repository for the perennial desire of humans to see their gods. Since direct revelation lies out of reach, one settles for an image, a representation that is usually called a symbol. At the same time, the more this mode of figuration promises, the more it takes away. Clouds of mystery thicken around the signified to the precise degree that the signifier comes more clearly into view. At last, face-to-face always turns out to be not yet.

Although symbols are a human creation, they seem to have a life of their own, describing a dimension of human experience that stubbornly resists humans' control. Consequently, they have become especially relevant in a world that has developed increasingly elaborate conceptions of its own utter self-containment. Technological advances and expansion of knowledge—dizzying over the mere forty lifetimes that separate us from the classical Greeks—stand as impediments to even entertaining the idea of human limitation. But the symbol endures, ready to reassert, via a rich language of human imagination and through a process that operates at the root level of human experience, the infinite expanse against which humans' most magnificent achievements must always, in the end, be measured.

SEE ALSO Cassirer, Ernst; Eliade, Mircea; Iconography; Images, article on Images, Icons, and Idols; Jung, C. G.; Langer, Susanne; Myth, overview article.

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PETER T. STRUCK (2005)

SYMBOLIC TIME is understood to be the temporal form that organizes the symbols of a religious system into an order of periodicity. The analysis of symbolic time extends the understanding of religion as a symbolic system, so that the major functions of time within the system may be taken into account: (1) the time intrinsic to the formation of religious symbols and to the ritual performance (i.e., the time that is internal to the sacred event), (2) the connection that symbolic time has with the history and dynamic of a religious social bond, and (3) the time that is specific to the intentional life of the individual.

INTENTIONAL CHARACTER OF SYMBOLIC TIME. Symbolic periodicity encompasses, in its temporal structure, both change and duration, implying a sheer sequence of symbolic events and also a type of internal correlation of events and symbols that reflects the functional unity of the interval of time and the continuity of its structure.

The calendrical structure of the symbolic system has a complexity that differs from that of a means of time reckoning or chronology. The temporal order of symbolic events is quite different from the abstract concept of time as a continuous quantity infinitely divisible into successive parts that are homogeneous and impenetrable (Hubert and Mauss, 1909, p. 190). When compared with the chronological succession of cosmological time units, the symbolic performative system of festivals within a given culture or historical religion appears to be discontinuous and to have an uneven distribution over the sequence of the year. An order of precedence among religious festivals emphasizes a single festival, or set of festivals, around which the entire calendrical performance of the symbolic system is organized and that is replicated as the periodical structure of the religious year. Calendrical periodicity has an order that is temporally specific and reflects the dynamics of the symbolic function. It cannot be adequately analyzed by means of a descriptive model of the immediate empirical form of cyclic repetition.

The analysis of symbolic time may be pursued by linking the periodical structure of the religious symbols to the relational character of the symbol itself. It is possible to identify the dominant symbols that constitute the paradigmatic structure of a symbolic system and to identify their symbolic components and processual aspects, which define the dynamic movement of symbolic time.

A dominant symbol is a processual unity of word, semiotic transformation of an object of mediation, and action. It is structured as a relation that mediates a dynamic order of reality. Each symbolic feature is formed in such a way as to be a relational structure that binds two or more polarities to each other. As a unity, the religious symbol is generated within the dynamic of a relation between the subject and God, or an ultimate reality that has the capacity to condition the life of the subject. In their complex temporal features, symbols are the work of reason and the structures of perception, the dynamics of value, and the form of action in an intentional condition that comes into being when a constitutive relation between polar subjects appears as a new possibility or a new necessity.

In this sense, religious symbols are structures that are formed in the course of action and in the elaboration of experience. Symbol formation is present in the mental activity of the individual from the earliest stages; it is the way by which the relation with reality is established. But the temporal analysis of the type of processual structures that are differentiated by the religious symbol shows that the relation may not be defined simply in terms of subjectivity or in terms of intersubjective exchange. The central structure of a religious symbol defines the condition itself of "being in relation," the condition that shall be called *intentionality* or *intentional bond;* a symbol articulates the effective relation that conditions the life of the intentional subjects.

Symbols differentiate the direct expression and performance of the bond that relates the subject with the intentional object. The symbolic bond has a polar structure: It is constituted both by the orientation of the subject toward the object and by the way in which the object is determinant and active in the intentional life of the subject. The symbol is also performative because it elaborates the cognitive and dynamic structure of the intentional relation itself.

Symbolic time in its specifically religious form is the result of a temporal elaboration of the intentional exchange with an ultimate reality. This temporal elaboration represents a dynamic, generative process. In fact, symbols are temporally correlated in such a way as to constitute the nascent state of a bond with an intentional reality and to resolve unviable conditions in that relation. This article shall call the temporal development and articulation of symbols within a symbolic system the *figura.*

As the specific modality of the bond, a religious "public" symbol and the figura have a temporally complex structure. The symbol does not define exclusively or simply a subjective or intersubjective perception of and orientation toward a significant reality. Nor does the symbol, as the synthesis of the intentional process of a bipolar dynamic, present merely the synthetic form of probability of a logical inference. Instead, being the structure that defines the dynamic of an effective relation of the intentional bond, the "public" symbol is a temporal relation of relations in the sense that it defines the transformation by which the subjective perception emerges into a form of reciprocity, which is constitutive of an intentional bond.

This process of transformation to public intentional form corresponds to the epigenesis of a new intentional and social reality and to the cultural creations that have produced, through time, a vital bond. The path from a subjective to a "public" symbol progresses through a symbolic innovation, differentiated by the figura. It traces into specific structures of dominant symbols and into their temporal correlation a sheer sequence from past to future of temporal symbolic modalities, from the original insight to a condition of vital presence to a new structural orientation of action that expresses the time and the creative character of the bond. The religious figura, itself, has an historical formation that has come about through the actions of founders, the creativity of individuals and collective movements that have produced innovation within a tradition of forms of religious relation. The temporal dimension is intrinsic to the public symbol because it corresponds to the dynamic structure of the intentional relation, to its unity and transformation.

Symbols are generated within the intentional relation and constitute necessary structures and functions by which the new reality becomes and remains intentional. Formed within the intentional exchange, symbols are complex facts that differentiate the generative force of relation. They elaborate the internal principle of causality, the order of necessity, and the temporal logic that is stated within an intentional reality.

Because the symbol is both temporal and intentional, it is possible to interpret the symbolic or religious system not primarily as a system of signification, as analogical representation, nor simply as a set of metaphors, but as a processual structure that elaborates the forms of the "condition of being in relation" and the dynamics of the nascent state that is created within the ultimate intentional relation. The connotative and denotative features of signification that the symbol clearly presents may, consequently, be seen to be functions of the primary structure of the symbol as intentional relation.

The temporal function indicates that the symbol is the constant empirical constituent of the intentional relation. The religious symbol is a temporal artifact specific to the dynamic generated in the intentional relation. It is not an independent object but the temporal creativity in which the actual intentional event has its passage to a public, new bond. This applies not only to the individual symbol but also to the symbolic system as it is shaped by the interrelation of sacred text, symbolic forms of intentional exchange, and symbolic action.

Three theoretical elements, therefore, define symbolic time, namely, figura, periodicity, and intentional epigenesis. The "figura" is the set of symbols that are temporally correlated into a periodical system, and it is the original central structure of time within the intentional event. For this reason, the figura is the minimal unit of analyis of the symbolic temporal function. Periodicity defines the correlation of the symbols within a temporal interval. Intentionality, as the relational character of the symbols, is the epigenetic process, the nascent state of an intentional bond.

The temporal function of the figura is the dynamic process of a presence that has an intentional character. In the development from the first insight to an intentional bond, the figura is directed toward the resolution of the tension between those factors that are generative of an intentional bond and those that move in a contrary direction and finally destroy the bond or reduce its vitality. The formation of a figura and its performance is the result of a sequence of historical choices and actions related to the formation and selection of symbolic institutional structures. The figura reflects the experience of long periods of trial and error in the historical formation of a religious tradition, a sacred history, and a people. The intentional character of the figura becomes most evident in the language and action of the sacrifice and in the formulation of the sacred bond.

By formalizing the "relational" aspect of the symbols and of the development of the figura and by correlating it with the symbolic, sequential, and performative movement of the figura, one may specify the intentional character of periodicity presented by symbolic time.

INTENTIONAL EPIGENESIS AND FORMATION OF THE FIGURA. The process of formation of the religious bond within a sacred history corresponds to the development of symbolic structures of a divine encounter and union. Defined in its relational character both of divinization and of incarnation, the development is a process of transcendence that has the temporal structure of a total object relation. The total object relation is an intentional action that transforms the bond from subjective to public. It is a nascent state within the intentional event that guides the passage from an inadequate modality of relation (in which the subject attempts to appropriate the value of life represented by the object and to negate the intentional value of the object and the constitutive and vital character of the relation) to a modality of the bond in which the object is restored to its original value as object of relation. With this epigenetic movement, both subject and object come to be recognized in their wholeness as vital to the bond, and the bond becomes a creative condition of intentional life.

In theological or religious language, the epigenetic sequence is often expressed in terms of the transformation from death to life, from darkness to light, from slavery to freedom through a time and history of salvation.

A total object relation allows the recognition of the other as total object. This is achieved by means of a resolution of the dynamics and structural intentional modalities of a partial object relation that are destructive or appropriative of the object and therefore inadequate to the condition of reciprocity of an intentional bond. This occurs through a creative intentional initiative (gift, sacrifice) in which the intentional dynamics of the partial object relation are transformed from appropriative to reciprocal and through models of thought and action that sustain intentional reciprocity in the creation of sociocultural institutions that express the bond. It follows from this that the nascent state and the epigenesis of a total object relation, in its temporal symbolic structure, is a sequence of intentional positions that build a symbolic intentional bond. Each passage from one intentional position to another is guided, in its unity, by particular dominant symbols.

The temporal correlation of the dominant symbols is the order of successive creations of the intentional relation; this develops the nascent state into a vital form of life and corresponds to the sacred history of the bond.

The initial stages of the sequence are not merely incidental to the development of a vital cultural and institutional bond. They are, instead, the necessary elements, stages, and modalities of the temporal process of the bond itself.

Symbolic time is a generative symbolic form. It traces and differentiates a specific way by which human action, in a given intentional bond, both at the level of the individual and of the collectivity, becomes intentionally creative. The nascent state related to the figura is a process of formation of something new, the specific event of the coming into being of an intentional bond, a dynamic covenant that constitutes a new order of possibility and the creation of new cultural and institutional forms. The figura is the generative time of an intentional public bond that has been brought about by a transformation of the structure of intentional relations and by the symbolic and institutional elaboration of intentional existence.

The intentional character of the figura within the development of a sacred history is differentiated as the paradigmatic action, the symbolic agent (identified as founder, hero, or prophet), and the normative order of intentional life. Symbolic time is, therefore, interior to the intentional relation of the bond, and symbols are structures that both differentiate and connect the initial perception of reality to the elaboration of concrete forms of relation and to their articulation through time.

RITUAL PERFORMANCE. The figura, as it is represented by a calendrical order, makes use of three types of temporal parameters: time units, rules of symbolic performance, and sets of festivals or rituals. The "time units" are periodical intervals normally related to astronomic measurements of the solar and lunar year, the solstices and equinoxes, the month, the week, and the day. The set of performative rules defines the logic of interrelation of the symbolic features of word, action, and object in the form of intentional exchange and coordinates the different symbols in such a way as to express the intentional structure of the figura through its temporal periodical performance. Festivals are symbolic public actions that have a mythic and ritual structure.

The features of the three main temporal parameters are correlated so that a condition of time is created that is periodical. The temporal coordination of the dominant symbols is ritualized in a calendrical, repetitive form.

The different festivals and their distribution, which is, as has been seen, uneven and discontinuous through the year, correspond to the calendrical coordination of specific events of the epigenetic sequence. These events are correlated into a performative paradigm that has the pattern of a "fact coming into being" (*fait naissant*). This performative pattern, which structures the individual ritual and permeates the periodicity of the figura, has a tripartite structure consisting of a phase of separation and destructuration, of limen, and of restructuration and organization into a new relationship (van Gennep, 1960; Turner, 1969). In the first phase the ritual subjects become detached from their former modalities of intentional relation and from their structural expression; in the last phase a new cultural and structural bond is created in which the individual and the collectivity express a new intentional modality. The celebration of the intentional bond occurs in the liminal phase of the ritual and is centered in the performance of the sacrifice. The central phase is liminal and transitional: The ritual actors are freed from structural or social definition while they acquire a new symbolic definition.

The performative paradigm of the figura elaborates the three main phases and conditions of the epigenetic sequence that are intrinsic to the formation of a bond: the originating occasion and condition of the fact coming into being, which carries with it the resolution of modalities that are contrary to the bond, the definition of the bond through the sacrifice, and the public and historical structures instituted by the bond. The whole corresponds to the nascent state and to the process of adaptation within the intentional bond.

Every festival, and indeed the figura as a whole, creates a confrontation between the new and the old, between viable and unviable modalities of the bond. Through the performative pattern, the figura roots the continuity of the cultural symbolic institution in a constant dynamic process.

THE PERIODICITY OF THE FIGURA. The figura is predicated on the correlation of the epigenetic and performative paradigms. In the case of the Christian tradition, the figura is centered on the three initiatory sacramental symbols of baptism, Eucharist, and confirmation. The epigenetic model is defined in terms of transformation from a condition of death to one of life. The transformation is elaborated in a structural and dynamic sequence of active and passive exchanges between God and humanity. The line of action of God toward humans initiates the sequence and is coordinated—in a dialogical structure—with a complementary line of action of humans toward God. Initiated by gift, the sequence passes through a creative intentional crisis that is specified in the sacrifice and leads, at the end of the process of transformation, to a differentiation of a total object relation. The performative model of the festivals of Easter time (which articulates the three dominant sacramental symbols and which is central to the religious year) constitutes an order of relation between intentional events that have been differentiated through the "history of salvation" from creation and the original relation with God to the constitution of the covenant.

From the point of view of the epigenetic performative sequence, the order of "events" in a sacred history derives its significance and constitutive character not primarily from the chronological aspect of the sequence but from its relation to the dynamics and transformations of the intentional bond and from the conditions of continuity of that bond. Together the two complementary models, the epigenetic and the performative, constitute the periodical order of a religious figura which, in its temporal unity, sustains the dynamic continuity of the intentional relation. The three phases of the ritual process translate each of the three epigenetic positions and the sequence as a whole, which develops the institutional forms of the intentional relation into the performative pattern of a fact coming into being.

The sacrifice is at the center of the figura both in the epigenetic sequence and in the performative process. As the point of qualitative change in the creation of the bond, the sacrifice is the active resolution of what is contradictory to the bond and the affirmation of a new condition of total object relation. In the ritual process, the sacrifice specifies the structural differentiation of the intentional bond in its "coming into being." The ritual process may be described as a performative sequence that has an epigenetic function.

The performative articulation of symbols and festivals creates the temporal order of the positions of epigenesis through the ritual sequence while maintaining the explicit connection of each festival and dominant symbol with the central symbolic position elaborated by the sacrifice. This results in a periodical correlation of the different symbols with the transformative structure of the sacrifice. While festivals mark the change related to the symbolic positions, the sacrifice renews the central dynamic of the nascent state of the bond. This periodical process of the figura creates a "dynamic state," which corresponds to the complex intentional relation of the bond.

The calendrical system elaborates the periodical temporal order of the figura, which is ritually performed in the interval of the year through a set of festivals. Recurrent intervals of the year, like the week or the day, offer a rhythmic movement of religious time repeating in ritual form the central paradigm of the figura.

The performance of the figura, which is the original central structure of time, is also the anamnesis and memorial of the foundation of the bond. The historical formation of the calendar shows a progressive differentiation of a set of festivals, which is correlated to the central structure of the figura and which celebrates the apotheosis of the historical founder, the unity of the people of the covenant, and the celebration of those events that have been most significant for the historical continuity and development of the bond. The two orders of time, the periodical symbolic structure of the bond and the celebration of the continuity and the tradition of the bond, are frequently positioned along two discrete temporal axes within the periodical interval of the year. For example, the epigenetic performance may be positioned on the lunar axis; the celebration of the historical formation of the tradition may be positioned on the solar axis. But the religious calendar expresses primarily the order of the temporal epigenetic symbols.

The intentional bond creates and sustains an objective order of relations that is linguistic, institutional, and normative. Although it may appear to be independent of the time of epigenetic performance, this symbolic institutional order has an inherently temporal structure and is ruled by the timelike order of the figura.

The figura is dynamic rather than static, synchronic as well as diachronic; it is related to the event but in such a way that the event may be understood as a nascent state and the creative element of history and continuity. The figura is not an ahistorical archetype, nor is it a rigid whole, obeying some closed formal principle. It is, instead, connected to the history of religious interpretation and ideas; it is internal to the process of formation of intentional action and to that of the social bond. The figura expresses a form of causality that is specific to the intentional character of the historical event.

The individual is directly active in forming and performing the figura but the figura is the way toward the bond for the individual. By defining the dynamic structure of the bond, the figura traces an initiatory path toward the public character of experience. The time of the figura becomes the time and depth of the religious structure of mind of the individual.

The symbolic time system within a culture may present a broad range of historical variation. By the way in which the polar aspects of the figura are emphasized, a tradition may differ in style and in institutional form. For example, Manichaeism and other forms of religious dualism explain the confrontation inherent in the intentional relation as a conflict between two opposite and independent systems of reality and two orders of time. Other religious systems, such as Judaism, connect the religious polarities into one order of relation and correlate the intentional confrontation with the time itself of the intentional bond.

Particular historical styles within one religion, while maintaining the temporal integrity of the figura, may differ in the interpretation and emphasis that they give to the epigenetic or to the performative orders of symbolic time or to one of the dominant symbols. But the religious figura is simultaneously a transformative nascent state and a living tradition. Symbolic time, by sustaining a system of religious reciprocity, an intentional vision, and a processual articulation of reality, is structured in its development and unity as an epiphany of intentional life.

SEE ALSO Calendars; Ritual.

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SYMEON THE NEW THEOLOGIAN

SYMEON THE NEW THEOLOGIAN (949–1022) was a Christian mystic. Symeon is called "the New Theologian," first because, like John the Evangelist, he speaks of mystical union with the Trinity, and, second, because Gregory of Nazianzus, known as "the Theologian," had also written passionately on the Trinity. Symeon's personal life and his writings reflect a good deal of the polemical, because he considered himself a zealot battling the fossilized segments of the institutional church for a return to radical gospel Christianity. That he, as all mystics who articulated their experiences in writings, would be branded as a dangerous reformer walking the slender line between orthodoxy and heresy is not surprising. His ardent, passionate nature, plus the genuinely rare mystical graces that he had experienced, compounded to "force" him, as he confessed, to share his mystical experiences freely with others.

Symeon was born at Galatia in Paphlagonia (in Asia Minor) in 949. This was the time of the powerful Macedonian dynasty, which had given the Byzantine empire its greatest periods of peace and expanding prosperity. Symeon's parents, Basil and Theophano, belonged to the Byzantine provincial nobility, which had won favor with the administration and had acquired some modicum of wealth.

There are two main sources of knowledge about Symeon's life: the *Life* written by his disciple, Nicetas Stethatos, and the writings of Symeon himself. Symeon's uncle Basil brought him to the imperial court of Constantinople, where he continued his secondary education. Refusing to pursue higher studies, he was taken under direction by a holy monk of the Stoudion monastery in Constantinople, who allowed him to enter the monastery in his twenty-seventh year.

The fervent life of the novice under the guidance of his charismatic spiritual director caused jealousy among the monks, and Symeon transferred to the neighboring monastery of Saint Mamas. Here he made great progress in learning and in spiritual perfection, and within three years he was tonsured monk, ordained priest, and elected abbot. By his discourses (*catecheses*) to his monks, he strove to lead them into a greater consciousness of God's presence indwelling them, but not without stirring up great opposition, especially from Stephen, archbishop of Nicomedia and chief adviser to the patriarch of Constantinople. Stephen emphasized reason, philosophy, and rhetoric in his theology; Symeon's theology was charismatic and apophatic, stressing a mystical and interior way of negation that doubts the capacity of reason to comprehend mystery.

Under attack, and desirous of more solitude for prayer and writing, Symeon resigned as abbot in 1005. Four years later, the official circle of theologians headed by Stephen succeeded in having Symeon exiled to a small town called Paloukiton, near Chrysopolis on the Asiatic shore of the Bosporus. There he passed thirteen years in the small monastery of Saint Marina in prayer and writing, dying in 1022.

Symeon, as one of the most "personal" writers in Byzantine spirituality, reveals himself in his writings in all his sinfulness and ecstatic joy in union with God. His central work can justly be considered his thirty-four discourses, *Catecheses.* As these were preached before a live audience of his fellow monks of Saint Mamas, usually during the morning office of matins, they represent a genre unique in Byzantine spirituality. Two characteristics shine forth in this writing. One sees a most traditional presentation of classical themes common to all the Greek fathers who wrote on the spiritual life of ascesis and contemplation. But on the other hand, one finds a new and insistent accent on the operations of the Holy Spirit to effect the end of the spiritual life and of all Christian ascesis and contemplation, namely, greater mystical union with the indwelling Trinity.

Other writings of Symeon developed around key theological issues as he engaged in controversy with Stephen and other official "scholastic" Byzantine theologians. In these writings Symeon is not exhorting monks but is struggling to combat the heavy rational theology that he felt was destroying true Christianity. His writings collected in *Theological Treatises* form an integrated series focusing on the unity of the Trinity.

The fifteen writings collected in *Ethical Treatises* are much more uneven. The first two treatises deal with the economy of God's salvation; the following nine (numbers 3–11) form a fairly unified presentation of Symeon's doctrine on mysticism; the last four (numbers 12–15) deal with a variety of subjects of a more practical nature concerning the way in which ordinary people in the world can attain salvation.

Symeon's *Practical and Theological Chapters* is a collection of ideas about a variety of topics, probably notes gathered by him on points touching the ascetical and contemplative life of Christians. But it is Symeon's *Hymns of Divine Love,* which he completed shortly before his death in 1022, that will place him in the ranks of the greatest mystics of all time. These are fifty-eight hymns without any unifying theme or system of mystical theology, but they show clearly Symeon's own mystical experiences through the power of poetic rhythm. His mystical experiences and personal love toward Jesus Christ are expressed in a language rarely surpassed by other mystics except those who, like Symeon, had to resort to poetry, as did John of the Cross, to convey the intensity of such ecstatic mystical union. Each hymn is a poetic composition of great power and beauty that can ignite in the reader a desire to strive to attain such "endless light" as Symeon must have enjoyed.

In Symeon were combined the two predominant currents within Eastern Christianity of the earlier centuries. One was the mystical school of the Desert Fathers, which stressed the Semitic concept of a total experience of God and humanity in the *locus Dei,* the place of God in the person called in biblical language the "heart." The second approach was the intellectual mysticism of the Alexandrian school of Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Evagrios of Pontus. The accent here was on the human mind, which, when purified of the hold of the sensible world of passions, was able to "see" God in an interior light. In addition to producing this synthesis, Symeon was an innovator in writing candidly of his own mystical experiences and in presenting these as normative for all Christians.

Symeon may be judged in the light of his unique, powerful, and affective personality as against the formalism that had suffocated much of the charismatic and mystical elements in the church of Constantinople. His works were rooted in the great traditions of the Eastern Christian fathers, both dogmatically and mystically and, as such, present a balanced Christian mystical theology.

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George A. Maloney (1987)

SYNAGOGUE. The origins of the synagogue are obscure and will probably never be known. This is in part because the synagogue developed in a nonrevolutionary manner, its significance recognized only once it was a well-established institution of Jewish life. A hint of the original function of this institution may be found in its most prominent Greek and Hebrew names used in antiquity, *sunagogē* and *beit knesset.* Both refer to an assembly or house of assembly. Numerous theories have been propounded to explain the origins of this institution. The most venerable of these places the origins of the synagogue in Babylonia (modern Iraq) during the sixth century BCE. There, "by the waters of Babylon," this theory suggests, the exiled Judeans assembled to "sing the Lord's song in a strange land" (*Ps.* 137). *Ezekiel* 11:16, "Though I removed them far off among the nations, and though I scattered them among the countries, yet I have been a lesser sanctuary to them for a while in the countries where they have gone," has often been cited in support of this thesis. This approach has roots that go back at least to the medieval period in Babylonia (modern Iraq), and it was developed further by Christian Hebraists beginning in the seventeenth century in their attempt to find biblical antecedents for later Jewish practice. More recent theories place the origins of the synagogue in third-century BCE Egypt, asserting that Jewish "prayer places" (*proseuchē*) described in inscriptions were in fact the earliest synagogues, or elsewhere in the Western Diaspora. These approaches assert the priority of exile and hence distance from the Jerusalem Temple as a determining factor in the formation of the synagogue. In recent years the origins of the synagogue in biblical Israel have been asserted. According to this theory, the Second Temple–period synagogue was the descendant of the "gate of the city" of biblical times. None of these approaches is supported by sufficient data.

An approach that is more clearly supported by the available evidence suggests that the synagogue as a place for religious ritual was a development of the later Second Temple period. This approach begins with the fact that institutions known as "synagogues" are clearly evidenced in literary and archaeological sources from the first century CE, and it cautiously assumes a development that occurred before synagogues were mentioned in literary texts without asserting a specific moment when the first synagogue appeared. A long prehistory is assumed by *Acts of the Apostles* 15:21, by Josephus Flavius (*Against Apion* 2.175), and by the ancient rabbis (e.g., *t. Megillah* 2:12), all of whom assert the existence of synagogues in hoary biblical antiquity. The factors occasioning the earliest development of the synagogue were shared by other communities in the Greco-Roman world. The general trend toward smaller religious communities that existed side by side with the major cults of each city was adopted by Jews in Palestine and in Diaspora settings. This phenomenon may be evidenced in Egypt as early as the third century, if the "prayer places" (*proseuchē*) known from epigraphy were in any way similar to "prayer places" known from the writings of the first-century Egyptian scholar Philo of Alexandria. A Jewish "prayer place" from the second century BCE was discovered on the Greek island of Delos. We have no idea what kinds of "prayer" took place in these early "prayer places." By the first century (and undoubtedly much earlier) the increasing significance of Scripture and its interpretation in Second Temple–period Judaism set the liturgical frame for these synagogues. This focus on Scripture and scriptural interpretation is expressed early on in the public ceremony of reading and interpreting the Pentateuch described in *Nehemiah* 8, a Persian-period text that exercised a profound influence upon later synagogue practice.

The best evidence for synagogues during the first century is a monumental inscription found just south of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem by R. Weill in 1913–1914. This Greek inscription translates:

> Theodotos, son of Vettenos the priest and synagogue leader (*archisynagogos*), son of a synagogue leader and grandson of a synagogue leader, built the synagogue for the reading of the Torah and studying of the commandments, and as a hostel with chambers and water installations to provide for the needs of itinerants from abroad, which his fathers, the elders and Simonides founded.

The *terminus ad quem* for the inscription is the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 CE. It provides evidence of three generations of priestly synagogue leaders. The liturgical focal point for this, and for every other Second Temple–period text that has been recovered, is scriptural study. This is clearly the element that distinguished synagogue liturgy, both for Jews and non-Jews. Philo describes the Sabbath liturgy of an Essene "synagogue" in Palestine:

> For that day has been set apart to be kept holy and on it they abstain from all other work and proceed to sacred places (*hierous. . .topous*) that they call synagogues (*sunagogai*). There, arranged in rows according to their ages, the younger below the elder, they sit decorously as befits the occasion with attentive ears. Then one takes the books (*biblous*) and reads aloud and another of especial proficiency comes forward and expounds what is not understood. . . .

Luke 4:16–30 and the *Acts of the Apostles* 13:15–16 provide additional early illustrations of public Scripture reading and explication in synagogues. It is unknown whether other liturgical acts were performed in synagogues at this time, though ample numbers of later Second Temple–period Jewish prayer texts are extant.

It is likely that the earliest synagogue buildings (like many after them) were simply rooms within domestic structures with no special renovations, and hence are unidentifiable archaeologically. Five purpose-built or purpose-renovated buildings that might be identified as later Second Temple–period synagogues have been excavated in Israel. These were uncovered at Masada, Gamla, Herodian, Kiryat Sefer, and Modi'in. Other supposed synagogues, at Magdala, Capernaum, and Jericho, are far less likely. Gamla is the earliest synagogue. This large public building was built on the eastern side of Gamla, next to the city wall. Built of local basalt, this structure is rectangular (13.4 by 17 meters). The main entrance was on the west, with an exedra and an open court in front of it. The center of the hall was unpaved and surrounded (except for the main entrance) by stepped benches. The synagogue at Masada is a ten-meter-square room that was converted by the Jewish rebels who inhabited this desert fortress from 66 to 74 CE. The rebels added banks of benches on each wall, and a small room on the northwestern wall within which were found fragments of the books of *Deuteronomy* and *Ezekiel.* The literary definition of the first-century synagogue as a house of assembly where Scripture was studied is uniquely paralleled in this structure. At Herodian a room was converted by Jewish rebels with the addition of benches that were similar to those at Masada. The synagogues at Kiryat Sefer and Modi'in are small freestanding structures with benches lining the walls. It seems likely that these communal buildings served as synagogues as well, though there is no epigraphic evidence to support this identification.

LATE ANTIQUITY: THE LATE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS. Evidence for synagogues during the second through the fourth centuries is mostly literary. Rabbinic literature from Palestine and from Sassanid Babylonia (modern Iraq) present synagogues as regular features of the Jewish communal landscape. Early rabbinic (Tannaitic) literature mentions a broad range of activities that took place within synagogues. These included the recitation of Aramaic translations of the Torah reading (*m. Megillah* 4:6,10), Torah blessings (*t. Kippurim* 3:18), sounding of the ram's horn (*shofar*) on the new year (*m. Rosh Hashanah* 3:7), use of the palm frond (*lulav*), myrtle, willow, and citron (*ethrog*) on the feast of Tabernacles (*m. Sukkah* 3:13; *t. Sukkah* 2:10), recitation of the *Book of Esther* reading on the Feast of Esther (Purim), possibly even by women (*m. Megillah* 2:4), recitation of the *hallel* psalms (*t. Pesahim* 10:8), eulogies (*t. Megillah* 2:18), public oaths (*m. Shevuot* 4:10), local charity collection (*t. Shabbat* 16:22; *t. Terumah* 1:10; *t. Baba Batra* 8:4; Matt. 6:2), communal meals (*m. Zavim* 3:2; *m. Bekhorot* 5:5). By the third century they were also used as elementary schools (*y. Megillah* 3:4, 73a). Rabbinic literature suggests the development of an increasingly standardized public liturgical tradition, important elements of which were enacted within synagogues (e.g., *m. Berakhot* 7:3). Rabbinic public prayer (the "public" defined as a quorum of at least ten men) took place in formal thrice-daily sessions as well as in the context of communal meals. This format continues to this day. In liberal Jewish communities the quorum now includes women. In antiquity there was considerable variation in custom dependent on locality and scholar, modern scholars differing on the balance between variation and standardization. Rabbinic liturgy was built around the recitation of the "Shema (*Deut.* 6:4–9, 11:13–21; *Num.* 15:37–40) and its blessings" together with the Eighteen Benedictions (also known as the "Standing prayer," the *Amidah*) morning and evening, and the Eighteen Benedictions with accompanying liturgy in afternoon prayers. Prayer times, though not the content of these rituals, were associated with the times of the Temple sacrifices. By the third century public prayer was described homiletically as being equivalent in efficacy to sacrifices in the Temple, although the notion of the rebuilding of the Jerusalem Temple was never questioned in liturgical terms until the advent of modern Reform Judaism. In rabbinic times synagogue prayer and the preexisting public reading of Scripture melded into a single liturgical structure. The Torah was publicly read, with attendant blessings, in the morning and afternoon services on the Sabbath and festivals and on Monday and Thursday mornings. A reading from the prophets (the *haftarah*) accompanied the Sabbath morning and festival Torah reading. Scripture reading was simultaneously translated into Aramaic (later concretized in *Targum* texts such those preserved in *Targum Neofiti* and *Targum Onkelos*), a tradition that was popular into the early Middle Ages and is still followed by Yemenite Jews. Various cycles for reading Torah existed in antiquity. Palestinians generally completed the entire Pentateuch in something more than three years, while Babylonians read on a yearly cycle. The Babylonian custom is followed in all traditional communities today.

The increase in synagogue functions was paralleled by the developing notion that synagogues were in some way holy. Mishnah *Megillah* 3:1–3 describes the centrality of Scripture within the synagogue, as well as the transient holiness ascribed to this institution by the early rabbis. At the focal point of the synagogue, this text suggests, was the Torah scroll, which stood at the top of a hierarchy:

> The people of a town who sold their town square: They must buy a synagogue with its proceeds; If they sell a synagogue, they must acquire a (scroll) chest. If they sell a (scroll) chest, they must acquire cloths (to wrap sacred scrolls). If they sell cloths, they must acquire books (of the Prophets and Writings). If they sell books, they must acquire a Pentateuch (scroll). But, if they sell a Pentateuch, they may not acquire books (of the Prophets and Writings). And if they sell books, they may not acquire cloths. And if they sell cloths, they may not acquire a chest, And if they sell a chest, they may not acquire a synagogue. And if they sell a synagogue, they may not acquire town square.

Tosefta *Sukkah* 4:6 projects a second-century Palestinian reality onto a great synagogue in Alexandria. This text focuses attention upon a large podium (*bimah*) upon which the biblical texts were read, with no mention of a Torah shrine. An ideal synagogue is described in Tosefta *Megillah* 21–23, which establishes categories that set the parameters of Jewish legal discussions of synagogue architecture for the next two millennia. At the same time it suggests a second focal point within synagogues: orientation toward Jerusalem.

> The Community leader (*hazan ha-knesset*) arises to read, someone stands until the time when he reads. How do the elders sit? Facing the people, their backs to the *qodesh*. When they set down the (Scroll) chest—its front is toward the people, its back to the *qodesh*. The *hazan ha-knesset* faces the *qodesh*. All the people face the *qodesh*. For it is said: "and the congregation was assembled at the door of the tent of meeting (Lev. 8:4)." The doors of the synagogue are built on the eastern side, for thus we find in the Tabernacle, for it is said: "Before the Tabernacle toward the east, before the tent of meeting eastward (*Num.* 3:38)." It is only built at the highest point of the town, for it is written: "Above the bustling (streets) she (wisdom, i.e., Torah) calls out (Prov. 1:21)."

The location of the synagogue and some of its internal arrangement are articulated through reference to the biblical Tabernacle and the Temple of Jerusalem. Alignment toward Jerusalem as focused through a Torah cabinet became basic to synagogue architecture, as did the notion that the ideal synagogue should be higher than the surrounding structures (the latter having generally been kept in the breach). The identification of the synagogue with the Temple was a developing concept throughout antiquity and the medieval period. By the third century the cabinet (*teva*) was being called *arona* (cabinet, reminiscent of the Ark of the Covenant), and its curtain *parokhta,* reminiscent of the Temple curtain. There is no evidence for the physical separation of men and women in ancient synagogues, though a social distinction existed. Physical gender separation is known beginning during the early Middle Ages, when it was seen as an expression of the holiness of the synagogue due to its conceptual relationship with the Temple (where gender separation sometimes occurred).

The dual foci—the scrolls as local cult object along with a more subtle physical alignment in the direction of Jerusalem—became ideologically significant features of almost all synagogues until modern times. While the standard codes of Jewish law all legislate that the synagogue interior be aligned toward the Torah shrine on the Jerusalem wall of the synagogue, local realities were far more complex even in the most rabbinically oriented medieval and early modern communities.

Archaeological evidence for purpose-built synagogues begins to appear during the late third or early fourth century, becoming quite common between the fifth and ninth centuries. Undoubtedly there were many other buildings that are archaeologically unidentifiable as synagogues. More than one hundred synagogues are known archaeologically from the Land of Israel, and another ten structures have been discovered that served Diaspora communities. At least 150 Diaspora synagogues are known from literary and archaeological sources. The earliest extant late-antique synagogue is also one of the most important. The synagogue discovered at Dura Europos, a city in the Syrian desert, is the earliest yet discovered, and among the most important. Excavated in 1932, the Dura synagogue was built as a renovated private dwelling. Sometime before 244–245 this dwelling was renovated as a synagogue. The largest room was renovated for this purpose, with a large Torah shrine built on the western (Jerusalem-aligned) wall and benches around the walls. The façade of the Torah shrine was decorated with the image of the Jerusalem Temple, flanked on the right by the Binding of Isaac (which according to *2 Chronicles* 3:1 took place on "Mt. Moriah," the Temple Mount) and on the left by a seven-branched menorah, a palm frond (*lulav*), and citron (*ethrog*). There was some other painting, lost in a massive renovation of the synagogue that took place in 244–245. At that time the walls were completely covered with paintings drawn from the Hebrew Bible and read through the prism of Jewish biblical interpretation (midrash). Sixty percent of the paintings have been preserved. Themes are generally heroic, reflecting such themes as the Discovery of Moses by the Daughter of Pharaoh, the Crossing of the Read Sea, the Tribes encamped around the Tabernacle, Ezekiel's Vision of the Dry Bones, and Esther before King Ahasveros. The paintings show profound parallels with traditions preserved in rabbinic literature, as do Aramaic and Persian inscriptions on the paintings and a Jewish liturgical parchment found near the synagogue. The Dura synagogue has been interpreted as a forerunner of Christian art and as evidence for a supposed late-antique "nonrabbinic Judaism." The evidence is actually much closer to rabbinic tradition than most contemporary scholars have suggested.

Archaeological evidence for synagogues increases from the fourth century onward. Synagogues conforming to three main architectural types were constructed by Jews in late antique Palestine: the broadhouse (e.g., Horvat Shema, Eshtemoa), the "Galilean-type" basilica (e.g., Capernaum, Kefar Baram), and longhouse basilicas (e.g., Hammath Tiberias B, stratum 2a), which from the latter fifth or sixth century onward often were apsidal (Beth Alpha, Na'aran).

The interior space of most of these synagogues was aligned toward a permanent Torah shrine, which usually stood on the Jerusalem-aligned side of the synagogue. The basilica form was used by both Jews and Christians beginning around the turn of the fourth century. "Broadhouse-type" synagogues have benches built around the interior walls, focusing attention upon the center of the room. The broadhouses from the Hebron Hills (e.g., Eshtemoa, Khirbet Susiya) form a regional type. The entrances of these halls were aligned toward the east. The eastward alignment is perhaps modeled upon the Temple, and parallels Tosefta Megillah 3:23. The interior of the synagogue hall was aligned toward the Torah shrine, which stood on the Jerusalem-aligned wall.

Galilean-type basilicas are architecturally related to the narrow gable churches of nearby Syria. Like these churches, most Galilean-type synagogues were entered through three portals. A unique feature of these synagogues is the arrangement of the interior columns. Columns were constructed on the northern, eastern, and western sides of the hall. This served to focus attention on the interior of the southern, Jerusalem wall with its three portals. Scholars have posited that Torah shrines were constructed between the doors on the Jerusalem wall at Capernaum, Chorazin, and Meiron. In an instructive parallel, S. D. Goitein notes that in synagogues in Yemen two entrances flank the Torah shrine on the Jerusalem wall and that this arrangement existed in a synagogue in medieval Hebron.

Basilical synagogues were constructed throughout the Land of Israel. In "basilica-type" synagogues the visitor might cross the expanse of the atrium, sometimes a narthex, and the nave, to reach the Jerusalem-aligned wall. At the center of this wall was the building's focal point, the Torah shrine, which often stood upon a raised platform. Following contemporary church architecture, synagogues from the late fifth century onward often included an apse on the Jerusalem wall that housed the Torah shrine, and the platform was often surrounded by a low partition (called in Christian context a "chancel screen") decorated with Jewish iconography.

The art of Palestinian synagogues, particularly decorated mosaics, is an integral part of the late Roman and Byzantine artistic tradition. The synagogue at Beth Alpha contains the most completely preserved Byzantine period mosaic and well exemplifies this tradition. It builds on iconography well known from the Hammath Tiberias B, 2a mosaic, with its images of the zodiac and a panel containing a Torah shrine flanked by two menorahs. The Beth Alpha mosaic is divided into three panels. As at Hammath Tiberias, closest to the Torah shrine of the synagogue is a panel containing the image of a shrine flanked by lighted menorahs. In the center is a zodiac wheel, personifications of the seasons in the corners, and unique to this building, closest to the entrance to the synagogue, the image of the Binding of Isaac (*Genesis* 22).

Zodiacs and some other images are often labeled in Hebrew, the language of Scripture and most liturgy, even as dedicatory inscriptions appear in Aramaic and Greek. At Beth Alpha the narrative of the scene is glossed with biblical citations in Hebrew. Biblical themes in other synagogues include David (Gaza), Daniel in the Lion's Den (Na'aran and Khirbet Susiya), and Gerasa (Noah's Ark, labeled in Greek). Sepphoris contains the Angelic Visitation to Abraham (*Genesis* 18), the Binding of Isaac, Aaron before the Tabernacle, and other cultic imagery. Jews continued to use images of the zodiac long after Christians abandoned this imagery, owing to the significance of the heavens and constructions of time in Jewish thought and liturgy.

Archaeological remains of late-antique synagogues show important parallels to contemporaneous liturgical and rabbinic texts. This is particularly evident in inscriptions, where formulae show clear relationships with literary sources. A very significant example is the Rehov inscription, discovered in the narthex of a sixth-century synagogue. This twenty-nine-line inscription, which deals with local agricultural law, is the earliest extant physical evidence of a rabbinic text. Increased decoration of the physical environment of Palestinian synagogues paralleled the development of increasingly complex liturgical texts. Professional poets composed prayers for each Sabbath and festival according to the local reading cycles. These texts (*piyyutim*) were often quite complex. Named poets appear from the fourth century onward, beginning with Yosse ben Yosse, Yannai, Eleazar son of Rabbi Qallir, Yehuda, and Yohanan the Priest. These homiletic texts strongly parallel public homilies (*midrashim*) and traditions in Targumic literature. There is no theme in synagogue art that does not find important parallels in these literatures. The tradition of virtuoso poets preparing liturgical compositions for synagogue performance continued through the Middle Ages, particularly (though hardly exclusively) in areas of Italy and Northern Europe that continued elements of the Palestinian liturgical tradition.

Known Diaspora synagogues during this period conform to local architectural norms. What unifies them are the presence of a large Torah shrine and often images of menorahs. Other than Dura, the most impressive extant Diaspora synagogues were uncovered in Ostia Antica, the ancient port of Rome, and in Sardis in Asia Minor. The Ostia synagogue building was first constructed toward the end of the first century of the Common Era, though it is not known whether it served as a synagogue at this point. The use of the building as a synagogue went through two stages. It was enlarged during the second and third centuries, then enlarged further and partly rebuilt at the beginning of the fourth. The entrances in the façade of the basilica from the second through third centuries are aligned toward the east-southeast, perhaps in the direction of Jerusalem. A stepped podium stood on the wall opposite the main entrance. A Latin and Greek inscription from this phase makes mention of a shrine for the Torah:

> For the well-being of the emperor! Mindus Faustus established and built (it) and set up the ark (*keiboton*) of the Holy Torah (*nomo hagio*).

During the fourth century the southernmost entrance portal on the eastern wall of the synagogue was sealed and replaced with a large freestanding Torah shrine. This Torah shrine is structurally contiguous with images of shrines in wall paintings and gold glasses discovered in the Jewish catacombs of Rome and with images on oil lamps discovered in Ostia.

The Sardis synagogue is the largest and the grandest synagogue yet uncovered, its main hall measuring fifty-four by eighteen meters. It has been estimated that the synagogue could accommodate one thousand people. This impressive building, the largest synagogue known before the modern period, was part of the municipal center of Sardis and taken over by the Jewish community and remodeled as a synagogue during the fourth century. It formed the southern side of the civic center of Sardis. The remodeling included the installation of two aediculae on stepped podia on the eastern wall of the synagogue and the construction of a podium in the center of the hall. The significance of these aediculae is made clear both by their prominence and by an inscription found near them that reads "Find, open, read, observe." Another Greek inscription refers to the Torah shrine as the *nomophylakion,* "the place that protects the Torah." A molding from the synagogue contains both an inscribed menorah and the image of a Torah shrine with its doors open to show scrolls stacked horizontally within it.

We know little of the liturgies of Jews in the western Diaspora. John Chrysostom describes synagogue customs in fourth-century Antioch as part of his polemic *Against the Jews,* aimed against Judaizers within his community. These include blowing the ram's horn on Rosh Hashannah, walking barefooted and fasting on Yom Kippur (known from rabbinic literature), and incubation in synagogues. He also knows that Jews and non-Jews considered synagogues to be holy places, the sanctity of the place being construed as deriving from the presence of biblical scrolls. Chrysostom suggests that reading of *Psalms* was important to synagogue liturgy. Inscriptions, most notably a Greek rendition of *Psalm* 135:25 discovered in ancient Nicaea (today Iznik in Turkey) supports this. These characteristics (other than incubation) were also prevalent in synagogues in Palestine and in Sassanian Iraq that are described in the Babylonian Talmud. The great significance of Torah shrines and images of shrines full of scrolls suggests the centrality of Scripture within Diaspora communities, as it was for communities in the Land of Israel.

MEDIEVAL AND MODERN SYNAGOGUES. Liturgies during medieval and modern times were largely based upon models developed already in classical rabbinic literature. While significant differences exist between Ashkenazic (Central and Eastern European) rites, Sephardic (Spanish and Portuguese) rites, Italian, and the rites of Jews in the lands of Islam, the differences are far outweighed by the continuities. Modern liturgies maintain continuity to the extent that each movement sees itself as bound by Talmudic tradition. The interior furnishings of synagogues also follow ancient models as preserved in rabbinic sources. These include a large permanent Torah shrine (called *aron ha-qodesh,* "Holy Ark" by Ashkenazim; *hekhal,* "shrine," by Sephardim), generally on the

Jerusalem-aligned wall of the synagogue and a platform for reading Scripture.

In all periods of Jewish history, the physical structure of the purpose-built synagogue buildings generally followed the styles prevailing in contemporary non-Jewish architecture. Neither early rabbinic literature nor later medieval and modern rabbinic scholars focused on the architectural aspects of the synagogue. Architects, however, were confronted with a major liturgical problem. Since two major components of the synagogue were the Torah shrine and the platform (*bimah*) from which it was read, the spatial relationship between the two had to be resolved. The sixteenth-century Sephardic legalist Joseph Caro (1488–1575) reflects on this tension. Caro debates whether the platform must be placed in the center of the hall or whether it could be joined with the Torah shrine, usually on the Jerusalem-aligned side of the building. Caro writes: "the placement [of the *bimah*] in the center is not required, rather everything depends upon the locality and the time. . ." (*Kesef Mishneh* to Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* 11:3). Solutions (and nonsolutions) differed from community to community. In Central Europe, for example, the center of attention was the *almemor,* the reading podium, which dominated the entire space. In baroque and rococo Italy, however, a harmonious solution was found between the reading podium and the Torah shrine by placing them at opposite ends of the hall, connected by a broad and open central aisle. Seating was placed on the sides. In such a way neither dominated but both contributed to a sense of balance.

MEDIEVAL AND PRE-EMANCIPATION SYNAGOGUES. Much of what we know about synagogues in Byzantine Palestine and under medieval Islam is derived from the documents discovered in the repository of the medieval Ben Ezra Synagogue in old Cairo (Fostat), itself an exceptional example of synagogue architecture under Islam. Archaeological evidence for medieval European synagogues is widespread beginning near the turn of the first millennium. The famous Worms synagogue, built in 1175, is generally accepted by scholars as the oldest surviving medieval synagogue. Although the original was destroyed by the Nazis, a faithful reconstruction now stands in its place. Its double-nave building, patterned after Romanesque chapter houses of convents and monastic refectories suggest a model that is found in such later Ashkenazic synagogues as the famous late thirteenth-century Altneuschul of Prague, the old synagogue of Kraców (in the suburb of Kazimierz), and those of Regensburg, in Bavaria, and Buda (now part of the city of Budapest). The *almemor (bimah)* in these synagogues predominated: it stood in the center between two columns or piers.

There are two synagogues extant in Toledo, Spain, albeit transformed into churches after the expulsion in 1492: the five-aisled synagogue later known as Santa María la Blanca and the synagogue later known as El Tránsito. In style Santa María la Blanca resembles twelfth-century Moroccan mosques. El Tránsito was built around 1357 by Shemu'el ha-Levi Abulafia, treasurer to King Pedro the Cruel of Castile. Its ornamental plasterwork with Hebrew inscriptions and Mudéjar designs is especially noteworthy. The Sephardic (Spanish-Portuguese) synagogue of Amsterdam, designed by the Dutch architect Elias Bouman around 1675, became the prototype for synagogues for the entire Sephardic world. The Amsterdam synagogue, a large, galleried basilican hall, was clearly inspired by neighboring Protestant churches.

The many rural wooden synagogues in Poland, Lithuania, and the Ukraine, most destroyed by the Nazis, are most interesting. Dating from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, these wooden synagogues, probably constructed by anonymous Jewish craftsmen, had intricate multicolored painted interiors. In many of them, four wooden columns supported the interior domed *bimah.* Numerous synagogues are extant from this period from Islamic countries, India, and elsewhere in Asia and the Americas. Among the most exotic is a synagogue known only from drawings dated 1722 by a Jesuit missionary. The synagogue of Kaifeng, China, was built in a local vernacular architecture and furnishings. A raised *bimah* stood at the center of the prayer hall, with a Torah shine aligned toward Jerusalem on the western wall.

MODERN SYNAGOGUE ARCHITECTURE. During the nineteenth century, when Jews in Western Europe were emancipated and American Jews strove for full acceptance, prominent architects, some of whom were Jewish, built large and impressive synagogues as statements of the new status of Jews in Western society. These synagogues were often built in neo-Islamic and neo-Byzantine styles (although sometimes the Romanesque was employed), ostensibly to emphasize the Eastern origins of Judaism. Neoclassical synagogues were also constructed, especially in America at the turn of the twentieth century as an alternative to Christian and Moslem architecture and as a statement of a developing Jewish-American synthesis.

In the modern period, many innovations have been introduced to synagogue architecture, particularly within liberal communities. Separate seating for women has been eliminated in liberal synagogues, thus generally making balconies or separate rooms unnecessary. In America, Reform (and today, many Conservative) synagogues are referred to as "temples," originally in an attempt to distance their communities from traditional beliefs in the messianic return to Zion and the rebuilding of the Jerusalem Temple and to avoid the term "synagogue," which had negative connotations in Christian circles. Prayer services became far less participatory and hierarchical, following Protestant liturgical models. This was expressed architecturally through the construction of a single podium at the focal point of the synagogue, which housed a Torah shrine, a reading table (often turned toward the congregation rather than toward the shrine), and a speaking lectern. During the postwar years daring experimentation by such leading architects as Frank Lloyd Wright and Erich Mendelssohn employed a modernist aesthetic for American synagogue buildings. Synagogues were consciously integrated into their surroundings, and the maximum use of glass brings nature into the sanctuary. Recent years have seen a turning away from the monumentality of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century edifices. Synagogue architecture in America has become far less monumental, responding to a current the focus on "spirituality" and "community." The central *bimah* has reappeared in liberal synagogues (and reasserted itself within Orthodox contexts), as more participatory and less hierarchical liturgical forms have emerged.

SEE ALSO Judaism, overview article.

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SYNCRETISM [FIRST EDITION].

The term *syncretism* usually refers to connections of a special kind between languages, cultures, or religions. This term is most frequently used in the history of religions, where a special effort has been made to give it a more precise meaning.

HISTORY AND USEFULNESS OF THE CONCEPT. The term *sugkrētismos* first occurs in Plutarch (*Moralia* 490ab). It was probably based on *sugkrētos* (Ionian form of *sugkratos,* "mixed together") and was explained by popular etymology or by Plutarch himself as referring to the behavior of the Cretans who, despite the discord habitual among them, closed ranks when an external enemy attacked them. Early interpretations, which reversed the relation between coinage and meaning, may be left aside. Discussions of the term in the *Suda* (4.451), the *Etymologicum magnum* (732.54f.), and Erasmus's *Adagia* (27) and *Epistolae* (3.539) are based on Plutarch's explanation, which was thus transmitted to the modern period. Efforts at reconciliation between Molinists and Thomists in the sixteenth century and between Lutherans and Calvinists in the seventeenth century can be criticized as syncretist. The first application of the term to a situation in the history of religions probably ocurred in an anonymous review (of an edition of Minucius Felix) that appeared in Fraser's *Magazine for Town and Country* (London, 1853, vol. 47, p. 294). Thereafter it appeared rather frequently in the science of religion and historical theology of the second half of the nineteenth century. Hermann Usener (*Götternamen,* 1896; 1928, pp. 337–340) rendered it as "mishmash of religions" (*Religionsmischerei*). In German, *Mischerei,* unlike *Mischung* ("mixture, blending"), has negative overtones, and in fact Usener regarded the phenomenon of syncretism as an unprincipled abandonment of the faith of the Fathers, even though it was at the same time a necessary transitional stage in the history of religions. Later on, the word came to be used mostly without negative overtones, but it continued to be applied in all sorts of ways.

As an explanatory category. Precise application makes it clear that no definition of syncretism is possible without a specific context and that the term cannot serve as an adequate description of homogeneous sets of phenomena. It is possible, nonetheless, to use the concept of syncretism as a category of historico-genetic explanation. It makes possible a critique of the Romantic ideological contrast between syncretism and pure national tradition or, as the case may be, uncontaminated popular religion. In addition, it is a useful heuristic tool for tracking down otherwise hidden antecedents of historical facts, as well as for identifying the phenomenon of syncretism itself as something (requiring later definition) that can in turn be an antecedent for subsequent factual situations. The concept also contributes to a sociopsychological clarification of a readiness for the balancing, subordination, superordination, and unification of truth.

As a description of phenomena. In the use of the concept of syncretism there is no *adaequatio intellectus et rei* ("correspondence of mind and object"). The concept is in principle a tool for interpretation and as such is in principle independent of the term inherited from antiquity. Agreement must be reached on what the term is to mean here and now. The parties to the agreement must see to it that the constituents of the concept are close enough to one another, despite the diversity in the phenomena, that a unity of type is preserved. An individual connection is not to be described as syncretist when taken in isolation but only when it is seen as an element in a complex unity.

TYPOLOGY OF PHENOMENA. Since it is not possible to apply the concept of syncretism in a universal, univocal way, a typology is needed. For present purposes we may propose two main headings, as follows.

Relations between complex wholes. A complex unity or whole can be any coherence of mental elements and of actions, representations, or objects related to these elements, which has the function of giving human beings an irreducible explanation of their world, as well as norms that are likewise not further reducible. The coherence can take sociological form in an organization or institution, though it need not; in its intellectual expression it can be presented as a system but may also take some other doctrinal form.

Relations between particular components. Particular components of a religion (e.g., its gods) can also be linked to one another in various ways. They can be identified; new relations can be established between them; various shifts may occur within a pantheon due to encounters with another pantheon. Such particular relations, which are established quasi-organically (at least at the popular level) and anonymously, presuppose relations between complex units or wholes. But a particular component can also be the creation of a literary author. Here the establishment of particular relations can be undertaken by individuals and without any connection in principle with more comprehensive encounters between cultures and religions, even where the latter have occurred. Many an author has established his own syncretism (e.g., in the Hellenistic age of late antiquity certain Pythagoreans, astrologers, Orphics, Physikoi, the various compilers of the Hermetic corpus and the sibylline and Chaldean oracles, the Tübingen theosophists, alchemists, Lukianos of Samosata, Aelius Aristides, Numenius of Apamea, Porphyry, Iamblichus, and Sallust).

THE LATE-TWENTIETH-CENTURY STATE OF SCHOLARSHIP. When the concept of syncretism is used in describing phenomena, the application of the term is still not the result of an analysis; rather, it serves as a disparaging judgment on certain manifestations, a judgment assumed to be obvious. The adjective *syncretic*, used in this way, occurs in countless treatises on religions, where it designates both simple and complex phenomena; its definition is taken for granted and various inferences are drawn from it. Only in the 1970s were initial efforts undertaken to distinguish between the concept and the array of phenomena.

Subsequent stages in scholarship are represented by the conferences on the problem that were held in Äbo (1966), Göttingen (Reinhausen) and Strasbourg (both in 1971), Santa Barbara (1972), and Besançon (1973). These have led to various consensuses. The present article attempts simply to advance the consensus, but it cannot promise any certain results.

System and history. The concept of syncretism can be used to describe either a state or a process. It is used in the first way if, for example, an entire religion—or its particular components or traits—are described as a syncretism or as syncretic. In this case the concept is applied statically to describe a state or condition in which the characteristics of the object are systematically correlated among themselves.

The concept is used processually when we speak of a syncretic tendency or development, or of a development that will end in syncretism. Syncretism is here understood as a process which extends through time and in which gradations or stages of development are to be distinguished. This may be called a dynamic concept of syncretism. An attempt has been made to capture this dimension of syncretism in neologisms like *syncretization.*

SYNCRETISM IN HISTORY. It follows from the above that a project for a "history of syncretism" would be inappropriate. All that can be done is to point out constellations in the general history of religions that have made possible what historians may, under certain conditions, call "syncretism." The syncretic results of these constellations as such are not initially cohesive in respect to content, although such cohesiveness may of course occur. The location of such results under the concept of syncretism depends on a genetic and typological analysis. At the present time such an analysis can only take the form of a classification. The present article is therefore organized along classificatory lines, but within the classes suggested the examples offered will be in chronological order.

Presuppositions. Religious entities that were originally separate can come together in such a way that a syncretism results. The first possible result is that what is superimposed predominates, while what is older survives. This happened, for example, in the Nabatean and Palmyrene religions of the Hellenistic period, and in the associations that arose as a result of Christian missionization in Africa. A second possibility is that the substratum continues to exercise dominance; for example, the Sumerian substratum in relation to the Akkadian superimposition, the Celtic substratum in relation to the Roman superimposition, and perhaps the Germanic eschatology in relation to a superimposed Oriental one. A third possibility is that a balance may be established between the various components, as, for example, in Manichaeism or in some pseudo-Islamic sects (such as Ahl i Haqq, the Druze, the Yesids). In addition to a syncretism of what was originally separate, there is a syncretism of elements from related sources. Jewish, Christian, Islamic, and Marxist eschatologies, for example, are all related, yet each of them developed into something so independent of the others that the few attempts, mostly of a literary kind, which have been made to fuse them or reduce them to a common denominator can, with reservations, be called syncretist.

Syncretism in religion need not be accompanied by syncretism in other areas. In principle, the coincidence and noncoincidence of diverse syncretisms occur with equal frequency. Though it seems odd to speak of a "mixed" language or of a "mixed" culture, since any culture in principle always has heterogeneous precursors, there are nonetheless examples of such that will clarify what is meant. The mixed Jewish-German culture of the Middle Ages also used a mixed language, Yiddish. But a cultural syncretism need not be accompanied by a linguistic syncretism; for example, on the islands of Japan, continental Asian and oceanic insular cultures have mingled, but the Japanese language has remained homogeneous. Conversely, a linguistic syncretism need not be matched by a cultural one; thus a certain form of Persian-Turkish literary language is in the service solely of Islamic culture.

Analogous relations exist between cultural and religious syncretisms. An example of the coincidence of a syncretic culture with a syncretic religion can be seen in hellenized Egypt, especially in the cult of Serapis and possibly also in modern nativist movements in some regions that were colonized by Western societies. A cultural syncretism is to be found, to a certain measure, for some time after the migration of the Israelites into Canaan; yet there was no corresponding religious syncretism, and where such threatened to occur, the prophets resisted it.

A linguistic syncretism matched by a religious syncretism often occurs when a language is pidginized or creolized in a group in which tribal religion has to some extent been amalgamated with Christianity. On the other hand, a linguistic syncretism was not accompanied by a religious syncretism when a Hebrew-Aramaic language was used for discussion in Rabbinic Judaism; nor was a religious syncretism accompanied by a linguistic syncretism in the mystery religions of late antiquity with their *hieros logos* only in Greek.

Symbiosis. A social presupposition for the rise of a syncretism can be the coexistence of various groups. It may be hypothesized that there were coexistences like this even in prehistoric times, insofar as inferences regarding that period can be made from the nonliterate cultures of modern times. The matrilinear traits observable, until their recent disappearance, in many food-growing cultures were ascribed to groups possessing a developing economy in the Neolithic period; scholars even went so far as to regard the transition to production through food cultivation as a cultural fact attributable to women.

Closer observation showed, however, that food-collecting and grain-harvesting peoples and early food cultivators exhibited a characteristic that was typical of hunters—namely, the relating of a group of people to a particular animal. There is thus the possibility that from the outset food was collected or was grown and harvested not only for human consumption but for animal consumption as well. The conclusion would be not that the relations of human groups to certain animals and their relations to certain plants were antecedently connected but rather that the two types of cultures and their modes of religious expression were fused.

The situation is clearer in cases where there is written evidence. In Asia Minor and Media in the first century CE worshippers of the Iranian goddess Anāhitā lived together with worshipers of the Greek goddess Artemis, and this symbiosis led to a limited syncretism. Other symbioses in the same part of the world did not, however, lead to any syncretism. Symbioses are to be presupposed prior to many other and varied linkings of divinities throughout the Hellenistic world. The doctrines espoused by modern messianic movements in Africa, Asia, and Latin America have demonstrably been shaped by the contacts of ethnic groups with representatives of Western civilization; the preaching of missionaries has played an important but by no means isolated role here.

Acculturation. If we locate the fact of symbiosis in the larger context of the systems in which those living together are socialized and to which a great many subsystems also belong, we may speak of acculturation. Once movements of conquest became imperial in scope (e.g., the Achaemenid dynasty and the empires of Alexander the Great, the Romans, the Spaniards, and the English), they brought diverse cultures into contact; the conflation of tradition that resulted for one of the two sides could repeatedly lead to syncretisms.

Superposition. The most extensive example of this was probably the migration of the Aryans into the Asiatic subcontinent, which was already inhabited by non-Indo-European peoples. Depending on local circumstances, we may speak of a sanskritization of the Dravidian part of India, of a hierarchization of castes, and so on. In any case, Hinduism—the Hinduism of the epic and Puranic period and thereafter—became a religion very different from that of the Vedas. The comprehensiveness of which its representatives boast is one aspect of its syncretist character.

Parallel phenomena. Not every symbiosis, acculturation, or superposition, however, has led to a syncretism. Other formations may have resulted, the names of which are often, and misleadingly, used as synonyms for *syncretism.*

Synthesis. Although J. D. Droysen and others have called Hellenism a mixed culture, it was not syncretic throughout. The ideas of Droysen and later scholars who speak of Hellenism as a reconciliation of cultures or an integration of cultures into a higher unity are better represented by the term *synthesis*, which in turn is to be understood as a complex of synthetic phenomena. This can correctly be taken to mean that there were as many kinds of Hellenism as there were cultures that established links of one or other kind with Greek culture. Egyptian, Babylonian, and Iranian Hellenism were the principal types, and most of the cults within each of the three were synthetic in character after the manner of Hellenistic Judaism or many of the city-state cults in the empires of the Seleucids and Antigonids. Syncretist formations in religion were special cases in these various Hellenisms.

Evolution. This term designates a process, internal to a system, that produces new elements and that is irreversible. The new elements can then become the center of a new unity and thus of a new system. The result of the process is a new religion, but this new religion is not syncretic. It was in this way that Buddhism arose out of the previous religious systems in India and not by way of a clash between Brahmanism and alien systems. The Bahāʾī religion and even its precursor, Babism, arose because their founders took over, from the Twelvers, the institution of the imam, or mediator of revelation; non-Islamic elements played no part in this process.

Harmonization. Theosophists in particular incline to the conviction that all religions are true and lead to union with God. Thus Ramakrishna (1834–1886) said that he had tried all religions (i.e., Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity) and had found that all were moving toward the same God in different ways. The founders and adherents of other neo-Hindu reform movements hold similar views. Comparable tenets are also found frequently in the broad stream of tradition flowing from ancient Gnosticism via the Neoplatonism of the Middle Ages and Renaissance (Neoplatonism was concerned to harmonize philosophy and religion rather than various religions) to modern anthroposophy. The claim is usually not made that all religions teach the same thing, nor are the lines of demarcation between them removed. But a harmony is establihed among them by the claim that they are all seeking the same goal. This assertion includes an emphasis on the unity of the goal (e.g., God), which is comparable to presuppositions of unity that can in other circumstances lead to a syncretism. In the cases mentioned here, however, no syncretism has resulted.

Consequences. When a religio-historical development has in fact reached a syncretistic stage, its syncretistic character is usually not communicated to the subsequent stages. To this extent it is correct to say that syncretism is always a transitional phase. Here again various kinds are to be distinguished.

Transformation. An example that was significant on the scene of world history because it accompanied the expansion of Islam was the dehellenization of the Orient. This process occurred not only in religion but also in the area of material culture, with which archaeology and aesthetics deal; in the institutions of government; and even in ideas. Once the languages spoken in Asia Minor and the Semitic, Iranian, and Egyptian languages spoken in various regions began to assert themselves again, after the spread of Greek culture in the cities of the East in approximately the second century CE, their revival did not bring a return to prehellenistic conditions but rather a transformation, or metamorphosis, of the synthetic and at times syncretistic character of Hellenism into a new unity. This unity operated in the direction of homogeneity, although analytically viewed it was itself not homogeneous and it did not, on that account, become uniform.

Earlier, a complex process of transformation had likewise given rise to the Christianity of the apostolic and postapostolic ages. Despite the multiform derivation of many of its basic concepts and views, this Christianity was not a syncretist religion (with, for example, rabbinic and Hellenistic Judaism as two of its chief components). The same must be said of Catholicism, which came into being after a further transformation, namely, a now non-Judaic Hellenization of Christianity. In a similar manner, various forms of Eastern Christianity developed that can no longer be described as Hellenistic and certainly not as syncretic; this development took place not only in the Nestorian and Monophysite churches, but in smaller churches as well.

Manichaeism and orthodox Zoroastrianism, among other religions, emerged in a region in which Baptist, Syrian Christian, and Zurvanite elements were in close but undefined proximity. Manichaeism was, in addition, syncretic, but the syncretism was held in check by systematization. Zoroastrianism was not syncretic. Even elements that from an analytical standpoint were not Iranian appeared in it as Iranicized, although there was no question of "absorption."

Disintegration. If the component parts that produced a syncretic formation had been independent for a sufficiently long time or if they continued to have an independent existence alongside the syncretism, they also tended to reassert themselves in a perceptible way within it. To the extent that this happened, the syncretist structure fell apart. Thus not only did the various Eastern Hellenistic societies undergo dehellenization, but there were also Greek reactions against them. From the eighth century onward in Japan there were syncretist unions of Shintō and Mahāyāna Buddhism, but people visited temples of each separate religion as well as temples shared by both; the result was a continuing awareness of the difference between the two. With the exception of Ryōbu Shintō, which did not break up until the fourteenth century and then did so for political reasons, these syncretisms did not last long, although the symbiosis of Shintō devotees and Buddhists continued.

Absorption. When a superimposed level does not ultimately lose out to the subordinate level—as frequently happens—but remains dominant, absorption occurs. Thus, for example, it is very likely that the sky god of the invading Greeks became heir to the many mountain gods of the pre-Greek period. In a way, faith in Yahveh, who rules from Sinai, absorbed the faith of nomads from the tribes of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the God of their fathers as well as belief in the Canaanite high god El.

CONNECTIONS BETWEEN COMPLEX UNITIES. Whole religions may be confronted with one another in processes of acculturation and superposition. This happened when the religion of the Greek city-state met local religions in Asia Minor, the Fertile Crescent, Iran, and Egypt. Ever since scholars began to pay closer attention to the consequences of Alexander's expedition, the "syncretism of antiquity" has been regarded as the classic instance of syncretism in the history of religions. It is to be noted, however, that the result of the confrontation was not simply new, limited syncretic religions along the whole line. Rather, the few institutionalized or organized religious systems of which this can be said already presupposed partial and more diffuse areas of syncretism. In many cases, the rise of such diffuse areas was promoted when the Greek conviction of the oneness of truth encountered a type of thinking that was imprecise in its concepts and tended to focus on the pictorial.

Between religions. In relations between the Sumerians and the Akkadians, only the process just described above occurred. On the other hand, the religio-political effort of Sargon of Akkad (r. c. 2350–2294 BCE) and his daughter to unite the Sumerian and Semitic religions was of a different nature. Its thrust was to remove the distinction between originally different religious systems, in order that, contrary to what happened in Israel, the opposition between the incoming Semitic and native Sumerian religions, and thus their latent or open competition, might disappear.

In tenth-century China, theological systems were created out of Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism. There already existed a widespread popular conviction, which impacted on everyday life, that these three religions complemented each other and even intended the same thing.

Within religions. In Egypt the systems and mythologies of the gods that were represented by originally different priesthoods underwent a variety of combinations when individual districts were united, although the combinatory process did not occur solely under these conditions. Theologians among the priests felt impelled by the universalist claims of their local gods to assimilate, for example, the cosmogonies of Heliopolis and Hermopolis, Heliopolis and Memphis, Hermopolis and Memphis, Memphis and Thebes. A similar process occurred in the formation of the imperial cult of Marduk at Babylon, but opportunities of this kind were far more numerous in Egypt and lasted far longer. The Egyptian-Hellenistic syncretism of the Ptolemaic period was therefore perhaps the richest of the syncretisms that arose in the confines of Alexander's empire.

The example of Egypt has led scholars to speak of syncretism also within Iranian and Greek religion. But the concept is not appropriate here. On the other hand, there were many instances of intrareligious syncretism in India: the myths of the gods Savitṛi, Indra, Vāyu, Aryaman, Rudra, Agni, Sūrya, and Yama could be regarded as the same amid numerous variations, while both Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism incorporated many other Hindu traditions.

COMBINATION OF PARTICULAR ELEMENTS. The reference here is to combinations established among, for example, rites, ideas, symbols, divinities, persons, writings, and so on. Either one element is enriched by other meanings or it continues to exist alongside other elements. But even this juxtaposition can take various forms and indicate either latent competition or reciprocal completion.

Addition. When the dividing line between diverse elements is removed (and with it the competition between them), but one element does not absorb the other, the result is a combination whose components not only are evident to the modern student but must also have been recognizable by the devotees of the time. That sort of thing happened both within individual religions and between religions. In Egypt, for example, one kind of eternity (*nhh*) was assigned to the god Re, another (*dt*) to the god Atum. The result was the god Re-Atum. Something comparable occurred frequently in Hellenism. The addition of Baal of Doliche to a Jupiter already assimilated with Zeus produced Jupiter Dolichenus, and so forth.

Theocrasies—combinations of gods—presuppose additions. They occur when for practical purposes one god is fused with another in the eyes of his worshipers, even though there may be no identification at the conceptual level. In the many half-theriomorphic gods of Egypt a tendency to blur the borderlines between forms and concepts is already recognizable. A number of the major Egyptian divinities arose in this manner, but the names of many lesser gods were also combined, and either kept their separate determinatives or were written with a common determinative.

Similar theocrasies occurred, though less frequently, among all the peoples of the ancient Near East. The demonstrable reason often was that polytheism caused difficulties for the faithful. But politics may also have been present in the background, especially in the encounter of different peoples. At the instigation of the Egyptian magnate the Uza-Hor-Resnet (a Persian collaborator) the Persian king Cambyses II (r. 528–522 BCE) prostrated himself before the image of Neith of Sais and had sacrifices offered to her in her temple as mother of Re (and therefore of the living pharaoh), as well as to Osiris (and therefore to the pharaoh after his death). One might assume that in honoring these divinities he actually intended to honor the corresponding Iranian divinities: the goddess later promoted by Artaxerxes II (r. 405–359 BCE) under the name *Anāhitā*, and the *fravashi* of the king. The Egyptian may also have composed the canal inscription in which Darius the Great (r. 521–486 BCE) describes himself as son of Neith and thus establishes a link with this goddess that the Iranian king did not have with Anāhitā. As a result, the character of Anāhitā likewise changed in the ensuing period.

This first instance of an international theocrasy preceded the many theocrasies of the Hellenistic age. Among these, the Alexandrian triad of Sarapis, Isis, and Harpocrates calls for special attention. Sarapis developed out of Osiris, Apis, and probably a "Hades Jupiter Dis" of Asia Minor into the god of an imperial cult that Ptolemy I (r. 323–285 BCE), with the aid of priests, philosophers, and masters of ceremonies, established for the Egyptians and Greeks of his empire. Isis "of a thousand names," the "manifestation in a single form of goddesses and gods," could in principle absorb every form on her peaceful triumphal march. Harpocrates, her underage son, who was an aspect of Horus, was equated with many other youthful gods and finally with Herakles.

A new divinity, Hermes Trismegistos, arose through a fusion of Hermes, the Greek god of fortunate inventions, and Thoth, the divine scribe of the Egyptians. This new god became the focus of an entire corpus of writings and remained the master and guarantor of esoteric knowledge down to the Renaissance.

Philo Byblius tells us of Greco-Canaanite theocrasies. Greco-Aramaic-Iranian theocrasies were wide-spread in the East, while theocrasies in general were rarer in the West; the latter included ancient Spanish-Phoenician or Celtic-Roman.

Forms of worship. When one rite adopts components from another rite, forms of worship are combined. But because the basic stock of possible ritual actions is relatively small, external influence in this area is often indistinguishable from the action of factors already present in the tradition. This situation is clearest in the area of the Christian liturgy and, indeed, from the beginning as far as the sacraments are concerned. Because ablution rituals of all kinds were so widespread, it is often unclear whether baptism was an act that stood out—because of its initiatory nature—in a series of already-existing ablutions, or whether the ablutions represented secondary repetitions of an originally unique act of baptism.

Baptism thus provides a fundamental example of the difficulty of clearly establishing a connection between various rites. Jewish proselyte baptism, for example, probably originated within Judaism and was not taken from outside baptist movements of the kind that lived on in the rites of the Elkesites and the Mandaeans. Christian baptism, for its part, rather than having been derived from that same external environment, represented an acceptance and development of the baptism of John, which itself was part of the Jewish milieu, but had acquired an eschatological dimension.

On the other hand, baptism clearly entered the Mithra mystery cults from outside, probably from Christianity. The ceremonies of many African independent churches and of the cargo cults of Melanesia are fusions of Protestant liturgies and ethnic cults. The cult of Umbanda in Brazil is a combination of the liturgy of the Catholic Mass with West African rituals.

Parallelization. The paralleling of elements is most easily practiced when one is persuaded of the unity of truth. If truth is one, diverse names do not point to real differences but may be shown to be simply different names for the same thing. This is the path very clearly taken by Greek thinkers, and in this respect Roman thought followed Greek. Primary among the various modes of parallelization is that of interpretation.

Interpretation. *Interpretatio graeca* and *interpretatio romana* were long regarded as a principal presupposition, or even as a principal phase, of syncretism itself. This is understandable in view of the wide diffusion of both. Behind these two "interpretations," however, there was in most instances no real theocrasy but only a tendency toward it. This tendency was most widespread in literature, so that we may speak first of all of a literary syncretism. In Porphyry, for example, the Arimanius Deus ("the god who apes") is learnedly interpreted as *antimimos daimon.* Apollo appears in place of Mithra (probably in order to show the harmony between Greeks and Persians) on votive tablets in the Fire Sanctuary of Persepolis during the time of Alexander. Helios stands for Mithra in Xenophon and probably also in Plutarch (unless he stands here for Ohrmazd), in relief sculptures of the Parthian period, and so on.

Greek interpretation claimed to be interested, though not exclusively, in those individual traits of the alien object that already seemed familiar. The Roman renaming of the Greek gods was also clearly a form of interpretation. But a new kind of *interpretationes Romanae* occurred once Rome had destroyed the Seleucid and Ptolemaic empires and conquered regions belonging to the Celts and the Germans. Thenceforth interpretations no longer simply established parallels, as they did among the Greeks; rather there was always present to some degree a subordination of the local god to the corresponding Roman god. The counterexample of the Hebew Yahveh, who refused even to be interpreted as Jupiter, throws light on the exclusive character of Roman interpretation and the resultant tendency to theocrasy. Interpretations of Yahveh occurred only on the fringes of Judaism, as, for example, in Elephantine (an island in the Nile), or among the Hypsistarians where, characteristically, interpretation was rendered possible only by using the Greek equivalent of the biblical El 'Elyon (Hypsistos). Appropriative interpretations of other traditions reached their high point in gnosticism, where the conviction of the unity of truth had become a faith in the unity of redemption that would not allow any division. For this reason, gnostic systems also provide the most impressive instances of the various kinds of syncretism. These were always preceded by an *interpretatio gnostica.*

Equivalence. Clearly, equivalence is a presupposition in all forms of parallelization, in identification and theocrasy, and in the syncretism of complex unities. But it acquires a special developmental significance when unities, or elements of them, are assigned different values and are conceived as ways to the same goal, with the stipulation that one of them leads to the goal more effectively than the others. This type of valuation has found a place in the philosophy of religion, for example, in that of Śaṅkara (c. 738–822 CE), who speaks of a graduated way to God. The early Christian doctrine of a *praeparatio evangelica* (preparation for the gospel) among the Greeks and the Jews likewise belongs here to some extent, though it loses its syncretist character due to its apologetic function in relation to Judaism and paganism. On the other hand, a developmental or evolutionary equivalence is frequently admitted in the later stages of many religions (for example, post-Islamic, post-Christian, and post-Shintō), and, more generally, in numerous new entities of the present time, which, despite their claims to a higher truth, are forced to admit that the truth-claims of their predecessors have a relative validity.

Amalgamation. This term describes a fusion that is more irreversible than a simple *mingling.* The term mingling is more appropriate as a description of the phenomenon of syncretism. This is due to the origin of the term in ancient physics, in which there was much discussion of combinations, mixtures, and fusions, while the problem of the mass or quantity that an element may no longer have if it is truly part of a mixture remained ultimately unresolved. This is very much in keeping with the dissolubility of a syncretism, which can become operative at any time. *Amalgamation*, on the other hand, describes a borderline case of syncretism and to that extent is by and large equivalent to *synthesis.*

Exchange of qualities. First mention belongs here to the exchange of qualities between the *bodhisattva*s of Mahāyāna Buddhism and the spirits and demons (including the kami of Shintō) of the peoples proselytized by this version of Buddhism. It is not a matter of equivalent figures, so that we cannot speak of parallelization or addition. Nor is it a matter of gods on both sides though gods might arise from the process. The *bodhisattva*s, now outfitted with qualities derived from the relevant folklore, had the important function of showing that redemption, for which the redemption accomplished by the Buddha paves the way, is present in the traditions of the proselytized peoples. To this end the figures involved must resemble one another; on the other hand, they have no personal core, but rather their characteristics are interwoven as in a jigsaw puzzle.

Identification. Wherever there is no theocrasy, identification, which in principle supposes the same degree of identity on both sides, exists. It is difficult, however, to see that the logical process represented by identification has actually been at work in the linking of religious traditions. At most it can be said that in literary syncretisms, the authors of which have been trained in logic, identifications do occur, for example, between central concepts of spirit, or between these and personifications.

SYNCRETIST RELIGIONS. These are the high points of syncretic processes inasmuch as they are not the first realizations of syncretism but already presuppose less organized syncretic fields. Such religions are as it were "metasyncretisms" or "second-level" syncretisms.

Mystery religions. "Mystery" as a cult form did not as such have a syncretist character. This is clear from the so-called mysteries of the ancient world: the Eleusinian mysteries, the mysteries of the Cabiri of Samothrace, or, in the pre-Hellenistic period, those of Orpheus, Dionysos, and Cybele. Nonetheless, the kind of mystery worship in which the most important factor was the conformity in destiny between the initiate and his or her deity did foster the development of syncretic mystery religions in the Hellenistic period. The Isis mysteries of Egypt presupposed the faith in Osiris that had already acquired syncretic ties (though not related to the mysteries) in the Serapis cult of the Ptolemies. The Mithra mysteries of Asia Minor did not presuppose any ancient Iranian mystery but only the god Mithra as such, albeit a Mithra equated with Sol and Helios. In this instance, the second-level syncretism emerged through the addition of a further link with a mystery type of worship native to Asia Minor. Something similar is to be said of the mysteries of Sebazios, who had been an ancient Phrygian or Lydian god, and of Jupiter Dolichenus, who had been the Baal of Doliche. Once the basic idea of the mysteries of Cybele and Attis was integrated into the context provided by the idea of the so-called dying and rising gods, these mysteries acquired a different character than they had had before the introduction of agriculture into Asia Minor.

Manichaeism. Syncretisms that were part Babylonian, part Iranian, part Christian Hellenism were presupposed by Manichaeism. Its founder, Mani, effected a further syncretism by creating a unique system in which previously existing linkages were interrelated in an entirely new and original way. Manichaeism could therefore be described, depending on those being addressed, as true Christianity, true gnosis, true Zoroastrianism, true shamanism, true Buddhism, and even true Taoism. At times these missionary efforts gave rise to new syncretistic formations. There is doubt whether the latter repeat earlier syncretisms—for example, the part played by Buddhism in the rise of Manichaeism is disputed—or, on the contrary, that they represent "third-level" syncretisms. To a certain extent, therefore, Manichaeism was the supreme syncretism, and it is not surprising that, given its power of suggestion, people saw medieval Bogomilism and Catharism as revivals of it. The latter, however, represented something different, namely, transformations of Paulicianism that retained to some extent a dualistic character, but were not on this account to be classified as properly syncretist.

Gnosticism. Only Valentinianism and Sethianism can be compared with Manichaeism in their degree of systematic formulation. The other Gnostic doctrines were not systems but myths; all however, were syncretic in the same degree, despite differences in content. All were also preceded by Greco-Oriental syncretisms, though this does not mean that Greek teaching on spirit is to be understood as forming the nucleus of the gnostic doctrine of redemption. Central to the Gnostic concept of redemption was the idea of a redeemer who himself needed redemption; around this spiritual nucleus the syncretic contents of the various Gnosticisms were organized in very diverse ways. Such phenomena could arise even on the fringes of Judaism, although Judaism by its nature provided the fewest necessary presuppositions. On the other hand, the process readily occurred in the Greco-Oriental religions. Second-level syncretisms made their appearance in the structure of the myths, in the peculiar character of the redeemer figures, and in the way history and the world were conceived. The result was a basic pattern that has recurred in the various Gnosticisms down to the modern period, although this does not mean that all the details of these later Gnosticisms derive from ancient Gnosticism.

Middle Ages. Here I mean to speak of "Middle Ages" in both the West and the East, despite the fact that the line of demarcation from the modern period, which alone makes the term meaningful, is not the same in the East as in the West. The unbroken transmission of the alchemy of late antiquity down to the Renaissance, the uninterrupted continuity of *heikhalot* mysticism and the Qabbalah as a broad stream within the Jewish tradition, and the ever-possible revival of Neoplatonic thought meant that new syncretisms could constantly arise; these would be comparable to the ones that occurred in the period when alchemy, Jewish mysticism, and Neoplatonism first appeared. In many instances (for example, Ramón Lull (c. 1232–1315), related traditions from the Islamic world were added, although in Lull's case any basically syncretist pattern disappeared due to the level of conceptual abstraction. The same is true of Agrippa (1486–1535) in relation to Jewish mysticism and of Paracelsus (1493–1541) in relation to Neoplatonism. In the milieus of these two men, however, there were popular forms of both white and black magic that can be described as syncretic. In the East, syncretisms of a new kind arose in various places. First mention belongs here to the connections between an already syncretic Hinduism and a nonsyncretic Islam, fostered in part by the religious policy of Akbar (1542–1605). This ranged from the so-called Muslim brahmans (via interactions between Muslims and Hindus at common festivals and common shrines in the Punjab and the Sultanates of Delhi) to the formation of a syncretistic organization, Sikhism. In the Near East, the continuance of ancient syncretisms despite the superposition of Islam led to syncretisms with the latter, as among the Druze, the Shamsīyah, the Yesid, the Ahl-i Ḥaqq, and in some Turkish orders of dervishes. In missionary Buddhism there arose the connections, mentioned earlier, between the *bodhisattva*s and the spirits (or demons) of Central Asiatic, Chinese, and Japanese folklore.

Modern age. The acculturation process of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has likewise produced new syncretisms that focus either on a utopian future or on a present that is in need of improvement. Among the former type, the cargo cults of Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia are intelligible only against the background of Christian missionary activity. These cults materialize the objects of the Christian hope proclaimed by the missionaries and turn them into forms of tangible prosperity imported from outside; they thus produce numerous new interpretations of Christ and other biblical figures in the light of indigenous saviors. The equal or higher status that these cults give to their own mythical tradition as compared with the Bible leads inevitably to the development of new myths that retain only a formal likeness either to Christian legend or their own older myths.

A similar situation is discernible in the so-called African independent churches, especially when ancestor worship and initiation are combined with Christian veneration of the saints and with baptism. Further linkages lead to a mythical topography into which the biblical topography can be incorporated and to a parallel-structured eschatological geography.

Of the new supraregional institutions of the present time, some are less syncretistic, others more; the most syncretistic is the Unification Church, in which old Korean shamanistic, Mahāyāna Buddhist, and Presbyterian contributions are still recognizable.

Other modern syncretic movements focus on a present that is in need of improvement. In Brazil the Catholic ecclesial tradition, Pentecostalism, and African and Indian cults, as well as, in some cases, an academic formation in the mythology of European classical antiquity, all had to come in contact in order that the great syncretic religions—Candomblé, Macumba, and Umbanda—might arise. The syncretic teaching on spirits and gods found in these religions can be interpreted in terms of Christian veneration of the saints or of Indian, African, or even Greek mythology. A common orientation to a Buddhist king and a socialist party leader, whose charisma ensured the prosperity of the country, led to a Buddhist-Marxist syncretism in Burma. In Vietnam, contacts between Buddhism, Christianity, and popular religion led to the establishment of a new organized religion, Cao Dai.

CONCLUSION. It can be stated as a principle that syncretism, where verifiable, is a late stage in a particular epoch of the history of religions. It will therefore always contain truth-claims, inasmuch as insight gained at last into the relativity of all that has preceded makes it possible to compare, combine, and interchange elements from the tradition. A tolerant attitude to all that is of value in the world is thus a basic condition for the rise of any syncretism, as well as a basic virtue of the human being who is shaped by syncretism and in turn supports it. In addition, however, an enormous intellectual power is required in order to cement all the elements together into a new type of tradition and, further, to maintain the combination of the erudite and the popular.

SEE ALSO Gnosticism; Hellenistic Religions; Hermetism; Manichaeism; Mystery Religions; New Religious Movements.

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CARSTEN COLPE (1987)
Translated from German by Matthew J. O'Connell

SYNCRETISM [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS].

Syncretism belongs with several other terms in the study of religions, such as *myth*, *magic*, or *religion*, that derive from Greek or Latin words but have a complex semantic history in which the meaning of the ancient Greek or Latin word is relatively unimportant when compared to the adoption and resemantization of the term in modern scholarly discourse. In the case of syncretism, Erasmus's adaptation and Latinization of Greek *synkrētismós* (Plutarch, the *Suda* lexicon) into *syncretismus* paved the way for later usages. Erasmus adopted the term in its ancient meaning of "banding together of Cretans" as a proverbial term to designate an alliance of unlike partners based on usefulness, not on mutual attraction, and he applied it to the changing coalitions in the religious fights of his own time (*Adagia* 1.1.11) or to the necessity of humanist scholars to close ranks against their ideological enemies (*Letter* 947 to Melanchthon, from 1519). After Erasmus the term radically changed its meaning. When reused in Protestant sources in its French and English adaptations, it referred to the closing of ranks among different groups of reformed Christians, especially Lutherans and Calvinists, despite their considerable doctrinal differences and under the pressure of their common enemy, the papacy, and it was used to censure this closing of the ranks as bizarre and unacceptable. Although in these texts the intended meaning was "a behavior like that of Erasmus's beleaguered Cretans," it was quickly understood as "unprincipled blending of theological and liturgical truth (ours) and falsehood (theirs) under outside pressure." This negative use and meaning resurfaced in the nineteenth-century missionary polemics against native influences on Christianity, and it survives in contemporary Catholic discourse about ecumenism and any other "relativisms" (Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger). In a more descriptive sense, but still with negative connotations, the term became prominent in the scholarly language of historians of religion, philosophers, and linguists in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In the study of religions, it was mainly used to describe the later stages of Greek and Roman religions, with their many imports from Near Eastern cultures (J. Réville, *La religion à Rome sous les Sévères,* 1886) or its identification of divinities such as Asclepius and Zeus ("*synkretismus oder religionsmischerei,*" H. Usener, *Götternamen,* 1895 [1949], p. 337); as a precursor, J. A. Hartung had described the reception of Greek elements into Roman religion as *Vermischung* (*Die Religion der Römer,* 1836, p. 249). But as early as in the 1880s it was used in other religions, such as Talmudic Judaism or Avestan religion (see *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 11 [1887]: 114, or 16 [1894]: 76). From the perspective of a church historian following the church's traditional evaluation, Adolf von Harnack used the concept to characterize gnosticism (*Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte,* vol. 1, 1886; see A. Hilgenfeld, "Religionsmischung," *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 33 [1890]: 1). Negative connotations are obvious, and "syncretistic" almost equals "heretical." Thus, *syncretism* was and still is used as a normative term. Its scholarly use as a descriptive term creates the same complex problems as the use of the term *magic:* it has proved almost impossible to free it entirely from normative connotations.

Two assumptions underlie the descriptive usage: religions can be understood as autonomous entities, and purity is their early ("original") stage; in a simple evolutionary concept, syncretism (impurity) is seen as a later phenomenon (lucid in G. van der Leeuw, *La religion dans son essence et ses manifestations,* 1948, pp. 167 ff., 589–593). This appropriation of elements from other, especially Asian religious cultures was often viewed as a sign of weakening ("effete times," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 11 [1887]: 114) and a result of the population mix in the great urban centers of later antiquity ("syncretism and cosmopolitanism," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 11 [1887]: 16, and [1894]: 76). Subtexts are the negative view of city life in an industrialized society whose ideals were still derived from a rapidly disappearing rural life, and the equally negative view of the Semitic East as a foil to Greekness, Romanness, or Christianity (e.g., M. Olender, *Les langues du paradis,* 1989, pp. 75–111 on Ernest Renan). Political implications are evident, and it would be interesting to compare the contemporary development of the terms *nation* and *nationalism*: the rise of two major European nation-states, Germany and Italy, falls into the same period as the rise of the term *syncretism.* In an interesting inversion, the term also characterized the religious imperialism of the Roman emperors who appropriated foreign cults as part of a strategy of homogenizing the empire ("all the varieties of mankind . . . restamped at the Caesarean mint," *Frazer's Magazine for Town and Country* 47 [1853]: 294): this prepared for its critical use in colonial history.

As a scholarly term, *syncretism* has been used for describing a wide variety of phenomena, such as the influence of one religion on another (Christian or Islamic influence on African religions), the interpenetration of two religious systems (such as Sumerian and Assyrian religion), the mutual influence of local religions (as in ancient Egyptian religion), the appropriation of foreign divinities (such as Mithra in Rome), or the combination of different divinities into one entity (such as Zeus and Asclepius). Some of these phenomena were viewed as unconscious, others could be seen as a conscious blending of religious elements; usually, however, an evolutionary approach prevailed that had no interest in individual agents of syncretism. The usefulness of the term was debated well before Karsten Colpe's above entry in this encyclopedia, and the debate continues, with good reasons. A successful scholarly term is an instrument that enables succinct comparison between phenomena that are viewed as related; in order to do so, it has to have a precise content and its meaning has to find wide agreement in the scholarly community. If the content is vague and fuzzy, comparison is impossible, and if the community does not agree on the definition, communication outside a narrow circle of initiates breaks down.

RECENT APPROACHES. In the years after Colpe's entry (and already before that), the term underwent more and sometimes radical criticism; some of the critics rejected it in favor of another term.

Redefinition. A first approach insisted on the extreme fluidity of the concept and its lack of definition, which reduces its heuristic value. Instead of rejecting the term altogether, several critics paralleled Colpe's own move to redefine the term. Perhaps the most interesting proposal is Ulrich Berner's (1992, 2001). Using Niklaus Luhmann's system theory, Berner differentiates between the religious system (such as Greek religion, or Christianity) and the elements of this system; he regards religions as systems whose elements—both their own form and their relationship to the overall system—are constantly changing. He defines *syncretism* not as the result of a process (as many earlier scholars had done) but as the process itself. This leads him to locate syncretism on both levels of the system: syncretism acts either between different religious systems (say between Shintoism and Christianity) or between single elements of the same system (say between two Greek divinities); for the latter process, he also proposed to use the term *rationalization,* leaving *syncretism* to designate processes between different religious systems. On both levels, he then introduced several other terms to deal with phenomena that traditionally were also called syncretism.

This approach to religious terminology shares its problems with many comparable approaches in which a traditional but vague term is retained with a new and specific definition: it has to find a consensus group that shares its meaning. In the case of syncretism, such a consensus has not been reached. In Colpe's proposal the term remains so loose, despite the initial definition, as to comprise a large group of different phenomena; in Berner's case, one might argue that it would be easier to replace *syncretism* with yet another new term than to retain it in its strictly confined meaning; in fact, Berner also uses *systematization* to denote processes that affect entire religious systems. Berner's insistence on syncretism as a process, however, has become crucial; other scholars, as we shall see presently, shared this evaluation.

A similar development occurred in anthropology. Anthropologists were less susceptible to the notion of pure cultures than historians of religion, and early on they subscribed to a descriptive use of the term. But anthropologists also began to realize that such a description would make sense only when applied to a process, "syncretization," not to a state: syncretism as a state would call for its opposite, pure culture, but such a pure culture exists only at the end of an almost infinite regression towards hypothetical origins; all known past and present cultures are syncretistic (Stewart and Shaw, 1994, pp. 7–9; Johnston, 2002, pp. 71ff).

Rejection. More recently, scholars rejected the term altogether. Following the lead of recent cultural studies, especially Homi Bhabha (*The Location of Culture*, 1994) who in turn followed the pioneering work of the colonial historian Edward Said, these scholars reject the assumption that religions are autonomous entities or systems that can at some point react with each other; they rather focus on the constant interaction of single elements in a continuum where interaction takes place both at the zones of contact and at every possible other place as well; in Luhmann's sense, then, we would have to enlarge the system to global size. Boundaries are not the result of intrinsic processes but they are set from outside, usually through hierarchically superior and powerful agents that delineate national religions (versus foreign religions), orthodoxies (versus heresies), or correct religions (versus native distortions in a colonial setting). The discourse on syncretism is thus inevitably political, and the descriptive term "syncretism" is replaced by "hybridity" to express this acephalous interaction of elements in a potentially global system. Up to now, the term and its concomitant methodology have been applied to the question of gnosticism (King, 2003) or the formation of Christianity and rabbinic Judaism (Boyarin, 1999, p. 8).

This approach builds on the insight that religions are not autonomous entities (Joachim Wach, *Religionswissenschaft. Prolegomen zu ihrer wissenschaftlichen Grundlegung*, 1924, p. 86) and succeeds in taking the criticism against the term *syncretism* seriously; in a move that is similar to the rejection of the term *magic* as a "semantic trap" (M. Wax and R. Wax, *Current Anthropology* 4 [1963]: 495–513), the description makes use of a new term. Two problems will have to be addressed in future research. One is the simple fact that traditional terminology is surprisingly resistant and inert (or, perhaps less surprisingly, the scholarly community as such is conservative), as the case of *magic* demonstrates. The other, more serious question is whether a model that deals with culture can be transferred to religion without modifications and adaptations: is religion an integral and equal subsystem of culture, or do its elements behave in a different way?

Middle ground. In between these two opposing views lies a third approach that on the surface looks like a compromise, although it is somewhat prior to the introduction of the term *hybridity.* It starts from the same discontent with *syncretism* as a very vague descriptive term with a normative life of its own and the view that there are no religions that would be entirely autonomous entities. All religious phenomena in a given society have always been open to interactions not only from inside the system (Berner's "rationalization") but from the outside, which lead to changes in single elements or in the entire system. Thus, as a descriptive category of religious or cultural phenomena, syncretism would be unnecessary, not the least because it is a category that is based on an evolutionary understanding of culture and religion: these phenomena are defined by their origin. Nevertheless, in this approach the concept is retained in two distinct ways: as describing processes of religious change and in a discourse of syncretism; these discourses necessarily involve the workings of power and of agency (Stewart and Shaw, 1994).

The first way became a focus of scholarly interest in the later quarter of the twentieth century, and it lacked a distinct vocabulary. Agreeing with Berner's restriction of "syncretism" to processes only, this approach opens itself to the same problem as the first, that is, to the necessity of defining the term in a rather specialized way, which therefore potentially reduces its communicative value. The second interest is a critical and historical one and reflects the self-reflexive state of contemporary religious studies that it shares with most other fields in cultural and social studies that also led to the rejection of the term. The two ways of dealing with the term and the underlying reality seem in a somewhat precarious combination; there is no self-evident path leading from syncretism as a process to syncretism as a discourse.

EXEMPLIFICATION. An example might highlight the advantages and problems in the different approaches. I shall not select one of the well-known areas of syncretism as outlined above by Colpe but deal with two very distinct phenomena, the creation of new religious movements and the formation of divine personalities.

Invention of a new religion. In the past, the term was applied with preference to new religious entities, either to define them or to characterize their creation. A case in point is the Roman mysteries of Mithra. A single actor, the anonymous inventor of Mithraism, created it in a conscious act of bricolage by taking over elements from what he regarded as an exotic religion (Persian) but acting inside his own cultural and religious matrix and reacting to concerns in this very society (Beck, 1998, pp. 115–128). One could call this creative process *syncretism* and agree that the term has to be confined to comparable processes, such as the formation of single gnostic bodies or even the creation of Mormonism, or one could define the term *hybridity* to denote these same processes. The decision is more one of political correctness than of scholarly gain, and in both cases, it involves the redefinition of a broader term from another field.

Formation of a divine personality. Another area that traditionally made use of the term *syncretism* is the formation of divine personalities. A complex case is the Greek god Zeus. Linguistic and functional analysis has shown that Zeus has homologues outside Greece, in various other Indo-European religious cultures; whatever the exact mechanisms of the diffusion of Indo-European speakers were, Zeus's Indo-European ancestry is well established. The way in which Greek Zeus appeared in poetry and in the cults and images between 700 BCE and 400 BCE is considerably more complex. He presides over the present cosmic order in a succession of rulers since the beginning of cosmogony and theogony. In a story that depends on several Near Eastern succession myths, he fought a battle of wits with Prometheus, a member of the earlier generation of gods and protector of humans whose stories were influenced by those of Mesopotamian Ea/Enki. In order to secure his power, he fought a monster with snake features: this resonates with several Near Eastern foundation myths; the later story of how he was attacked and temporarily defeated by Typhon is connected with the Syrian Mount Kasios, where Baal Zaphon was worshiped. Like many Semitic Baalim and Anatolian weather gods, Zeus was the god of rain, storms, and lightning whose preferred place of worship was mountaintops. Thus, a considerable number of Near Eastern stories helped to shape the early Greek myths of Zeus, as Near Eastern mountain cults shaped the cult of Zeus on mountaintops. The transfer mechanism of stories is clear: through direct or indirect contact, a Near Eastern story was adapted and reshaped by an early Greek singer; the reshaping was conditioned by the singer's creativity, the specific circumstances of his performance, and the expectations of the audience. The mechanism of cult transfer is less clear, but presumably some of the stories in turn created cults. Furthermore, most early Greek communities worshiped Zeus, and their local stories legitimated and explained their cults. These local stories and cults interacted with those of their neighbors; the stories were sometimes picked up by itinerant singers and incorporated into their narrative. Early Greek images of Zeus in the shape of a walking god brandishing a thunderbolt resonated with Syrian or Anatolian images of local Baalim and with Egyptian monumental statues. In an inverse movement, gods in other language areas were read as Zeus: Baalim in Syria; local weather gods in Anatolia, who in Greek inscriptions appeared as Zeus, often with the local name as an epithet; Tinia in Etruria; Jupiter in Rome.

This narration assumes several processes of interaction to have taken place and several categories of agents to have been consciously or unconsciously active: the transfer of narrations from the ancient Near East to Greece, from Asian storytellers, scribes, priests, and ordinary people telling stories to Greek merchants, travelers and, finally, itinerant singers who diffused them to Greek audiences; the transfer of local Greek stories from one place to another by singers who made it part of their repertoire; the foundation of specific cults or the change of local rituals through the agency either of a singer's tale or a neighbor's cult; the manufacturing of images by Greek craftsmen after images seen by travelers and merchants in the East or dedicated in a Greek sanctuary by Greek and Eastern merchants, travelers, and religious specialists; the identifications of a local god with Zeus by travelers such as Herodotus who wanted to understand and explain to their audience a foreign god by translating his name, by Greek settlers who wanted to worship a local god under a name they knew, by members of local elites in Anatolia, Etruria, and Rome who intended to enhance the prestige of their cult by adding stories and images from Greece, or by local craftsmen looking for pictorial traditions that they lacked in their local setting. These agents and interactions created the traditions of local and Panhellenic storytelling, iconography, and cult.

Using the language of syncretism, one would have to speak of two basic forms of syncretism, external and internal, between systems and within a system. But to do this would mean to drastically simplify the description of the various processes and thus to lose a rich heuristic and descriptive arsenal; it seems better to create new and more specific terms than to redefine *syncretism* to include just one type of process.

More problems arise when we try to define the boundaries of the systems: do we have to respect the boundaries set by the locals, or do we impose them from our point of view, and if so, what are the criteria used? The boundaries that Greeks themselves defined were shifting over the period we focused on, from the city (*polis*) to the tribe, to all Greeks as a unit; the shifts resulted from political developments inside Greece. Modern definitions of boundaries usually follow language or political structure, thus replicating the model of the modern nation-state: Greek religion as an autonomous entity was the religion of the people who spoke Greek or of the territory over which Greeks ruled; this expanded the system when, as a consequence of Alexander's conquests, Greek became the language of the entire Eastern Mediterranean world, whereas it would collapse when the Romans took over. More recently, scholars resignedly accepted the *polis* as the basic unit of religion and ended up with a vast plurality of Greek religions. This verges towards a *reductio ad absurdum*: any religious contact between two cities could be called syncretism.

CONCLUSIONS. Syncretism was heavily discussed in the 1970s and 1980s; then, the debate slowed down. Colpe's hope that scholars could agree on one meaning proved unfounded; and since the term still has its polemical meaning in present-day church language, it is unlikely that such an agreement is imminent. In this situation it might be more useful not to use the term at all, even though no replacement is in sight. As *hybridity* with its origin in the discourse of colonial history suggests, the underlying problems of cultural identity and autonomy are too sensitive to lend themselves to neutral descriptions and formalizations; it is likely that the coexistence of several scholarly communities with their own terminology will persist for some time.

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FRITZ GRAF (2005)

SYRIAC ORTHODOX CHURCH OF ANTIOCH.

The Syriac Orthodox Church and its dependency in India, along with the Coptic, Armenian, Ethiopian, Malankara, and Eritrean Orthodox Churches, make up a communion now called Oriental Orthodox, erroneously called "Monophysite" in the past. These churches did not accept the Council of Chalcedon (451 CE) and its Christological definition that proposed two natures in Christ and so fell out of communion with the rest of the Christian world. But they never accepted the classical Monophysite position of Eutyches, who affirmed that the humanity of Christ was absorbed into his single divine nature. They affirm the perfect humanity as well as the perfect divinity of Christ, inseparably and unconfusedly united in a single divine-human nature of Christ's person. In Christology these churches follow Severus of Antioch and also Cyril of Alexandria, who spoke of the "one incarnate nature of the Word of God." Long known as Syrian Orthodox, in April 2000 this church's Holy Synod changed its official name in English to the Syriac Orthodox Church of Antioch in order to avoid confusion with Syrian nationality.

HISTORY. Antioch was one of the largest cities in the ancient eastern Mediterranean and became an important political, military, cultural, and commercial center after it was incorporated into the Roman Empire in 64 BCE. It became the Greek-speaking capital of the Roman province of Syria, where most of the inhabitants in the countryside spoke Syriac, a dialect of Aramaic. A Christian community formed at Antioch early in the common era; according to *Acts* 11:26, it was here that the followers of Jesus were first called Christians, and a strong case has been made that the *Gospel of Matthew* was composed in the city. Both Peter and Paul spent time in Antioch; Paul and Barnabas later set out from the city on their missionary journeys after the local prophets and teachers agreed with the undertaking.

Ignatius of Antioch (c. 35–c. 107 CE) provided in his writings the first evidence of a monarchical episcopacy at Antioch, although the Antiochians themselves have traditionally viewed Peter as their first bishop. In the second and third centuries CE a number of heresies arose and caused unrest in the community, including Gnosticism, docetism, Montanism, and Novatianism. Yet these early centuries also saw great scholars and thinkers, such as Paul of Samosata (third century CE), Theodore of Mopsuestia (c. 350–428 CE), and Diodore of Tarsus (d. 394 CE), all three of whom the Syriac Orthodox now regard as heretics. John Chrysostom (c. 354–407 CE) came from the Greek-speaking city church.

The leadership of the Syriac Church was decimated by the persecution that broke out under Diocletian around 304 CE. But by the time of the Council of Nicaea (325 CE) the metropolitanate of Antioch had largely recovered, having six Roman provinces under its jurisdiction (Palestine, Phoenicia, Coele-Syria, Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Cilicia) with sixty-six bishops and ten rural bishops. Edessa, rather than Antioch, was now the center of Syriac Christianity, and its catechetical school, called the Athens of the Aramaic world, flourished until the Byzantine emperor Zeno destroyed it in 489 CE. The center then moved to Nisibis.

Increased efforts by the Byzantine emperors to Hellenize the Syriac-speaking population in the countryside—where the "one nature" Christological formula was widely accepted—met with stiff opposition there and also in Egypt. Resistance began in 449 CE with the Second Council of Ephesus (called the "Robber Council" in the West) and exploded after Chalcedon's adoption of the "two nature" formula in 451 CE. In spite of efforts by the Byzantine emperors to impose Chalcedonian orthodoxy, in the end only about half of the faithful of the ancient Antiochian Patriarchate (located mostly in the Hellenized urban areas) accepted Chalcedon. They eventually adopted the Byzantine rite and become what is in the twenty-first century the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch. The other half, more representative of the Syriac-speaking faithful of the interior, never accepted Chalcedon, retained their Syriac liturgical tradition, and evolved into the Syriac Orthodox Church.

By the end of the fifth century CE the Syro-Egyptian revolt found a great champion in Severus, patriarch of Antioch (c. 465–538 CE), under whose influence the Synod of Tyre (513–515 CE) formally rejected the Chalcedonian formula. Byzantium sought to crush the movement through ruthless persecution. In 518 CE the Second Council of Constantinople deposed and anathematized Severus, who then fled to Egypt.

In 521 CE Emperor Justin expelled all non-Chalcedonian monks and clergy and drove the Syriac Church into the wilderness. This contributed to a renaissance of Syriac monasticism, which was characterized by devotion to vigorous asceticism and solitude. One Syriac monastic, Saint Simeon Stylites (c. 389–459 CE), had spent years alone on top of a column, introducing a unique form of Syriac asceticism known as *stylitism*; this practice continued well into the Middle Ages.

In 544 CE the Syriac priest Jacob Baradeus was ordained bishop through the influence of Ḥārith ibn Jabalah, king of the Arabs (c. 529–569 CE), with the support of Empress Theodora (a Syrian) in Constantinople. Bishop Jacob Baradeus is credited with reviving the Syriac Orthodox hierarchy by ordaining some twenty-seven bishops and hundreds of priests and deacons. Because of Bishop Jacob's pivotal role in preserving the church for future generations, its detractors began much later to call the church "Jacobite." But this name was never accepted by the Syriac Orthodox themselves because of its suggestion that Jacob had been the founder of their church.

The Persian invasions began when Chosroes I (reigned 531–579 CE) sacked Antioch in 540 CE and were repeated in 614 CE; by 616 CE both Syria and Egypt had fallen to the Persian Sassanids. The Persians deported large numbers of Syriac Christians to Mesopotamia, where they were joined by Christians disaffected from the local (Nestorian) church of the East. The Syriac Church reorganized itself during this period, and great centers developed at Seleucia-Ctesiphon (Mesopotamia) and again at Edessa. In 629 CE the Byzantine emperor Heraclius, who was an Edessan, drove out the Persians and resumed persecution of the Syriac Orthodox.

In 636 CE the Arabs conquered Syria. The new Islamic Empire, cultured and tolerant, especially after Muʿāwiya, the first Umayyad caliph (661–680 CE), shifted its capital to Damascus, improved the legal status of the Syriac Orthodox, and allowed them to organize themselves separately in Mesopotamia with their own metropolitan with authority over all the faithful east of the Euphrates. Marutha of Tagrit (629–649 CE) was the first bishop to hold this office, having received from the patriarch the title "maphrian of the East." These metropolitans were elected by the bishops of the area and enjoyed a high level of autonomy, even for a time ordaining the patriarchs. (The maphrians were nominated by the patriarchs after 793 CE, and the office became defunct in 1848.) The great center of the church's scholarship was now at the monastery of Kenneshre on the Euphrates. Perhaps its most famous graduate was Jacob of Edessa (633–708 CE), the ascetic scholar and exegete who revised the Syriac Old Testament and the Syriac liturgy.

The Umayyad caliphate of Syria was replaced in 750 CE by the Abbasid caliphate, and in 762 CE the capital was moved to the newly founded city of Baghdad. Under the Abbasids, and also from 969 to 1043 CE, when the Fatimid caliphate ruled Syria from Egypt, there was periodic persecution of Christians and some signs of corruption in the hierarchy and the monasteries. Many Christians converted to Islam. Seljuk Turks conquered Jerusalem and Damascus in the eleventh century. In 1092 the Turkish Empire collapsed, and from 1098 to 1124 the Latin Crusaders occupied Antioch and Jerusalem.

Nevertheless in the twelfth century the Syriac Church had 20 metropolitan sees, 103 bishops, and millions of believers in Syria and Mesopotamia. Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), who defeated the Crusaders and took over Palestine from them, was supportive of culture and encouraged learned Christians. An outstanding leader and scholar at this time was Patriarch Michael the Great (1126–1199), whose *Chronicle* remains an important source of Syriac Orthodox history. The turbulent thirteenth century, wracked by invasions of Latin Crusaders from the West as well as of Mamluk Turks and Mongols from the East, also produced a number of pivotal figures, including the chronicler and philosopher Gregory Bar Hebraeus (1226–1286), maphrian of the East. The Syriac Orthodox Church grew to more than two hundred dioceses at this time; decline set in around 1401 with the attack by Tamerlane, the Turkic conqueror.

In the seventeenth century a majority of the Thomas Christians of the Malabar Coast in India turned to the Syriac Orthodox Church and asked it to send them bishops in reaction to the reforms and Latin practices that the Portuguese had imposed on them at the Synod of Diamper in 1599. This had led to the Coonen Cross revolt in 1653 and an effort to receive pastoral oversight from a church that would allow them to maintain their ancient traditions. This new relationship was formalized during the visit of Mar Gregorios, Syriac metropolitan of Jerusalem, to India in 1664. The group then formed an autonomous church within the Syriac Patriarchate.

By this time the church in Syria had dwindled to about twenty bishops from probably more than two hundred in the thirteenth century. Capuchin and Jesuit missionaries began to work among the Syriac Orthodox and received many of them into the Catholic Church. The Catholic group chose Bishop Andrew Akhijan as its patriarch in 1662, but he had no successor after his death in 1702. A Catholic patriarchate was permanently established only in 1782, when Syriac Patriarch Michael Jarweh declared himself Catholic and took refuge in Lebanon. The Orthodox then elected a new patriarch of their own, and the two lines have continued into the twenty-first century.

In the nineteenth century, in the Ottoman Turkish Empire, Kurds assaulted Syriac Christians with large-scale massacres in 1843, 1846, and 1860. In 1861 the Levant came under the protection of the French, who worked to strengthen the Catholics. During and immediately following World War I, as the Ottoman Empire was collapsing, tens of thousands of Syriac Orthodox died as a result of massacres and expulsions.

Protestant missionaries in the Middle East since 1819 have also drawn many Syriac Orthodox into their faith communities. Migrations to Europe and the Americas further depleted their numbers, with many of the émigrés joining other churches, Protestant or Catholic.

MODERN TIMES. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries were turbulent times for the Syriac Orthodox in the Middle East, and the struggle for survival became more and more intense. The headquarters of the Patriarchate, which had been in Antioch until 1034, at Mar Barsauma monastery until 1293, and at Der Zafaran monastery until 1933, moved to Homs in 1933 and then to Damascus in 1959. Headed in 2003 by Mar Ignatius Zakka I Iwas (b. 1933, elected 1980), the church has a total of 25 bishops and about 500,000 members. The Syriac Orthodox Church in the twenty-first century has an established hierarchy in Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan, Turkey, India, the United States, Canada, and Australia. There is also an Archdiocese of Central Europe and the Benelux countries based in the Netherlands, an archdiocese and patriarchal vicariate within the Metropolitanate of Sweden and Scandinavia based in Södertälje, Sweden, and an archdiocese in Germany.

Some theological education is still provided by the monasteries, but Saint Ephrem Syriac Orthodox Seminary is the Patriarchate's major theological school. It was founded in Zahle, Lebanon, but moved to Mosul, Iraq, in 1939. It moved back to Zahle in the 1960s and relocated to Atchaneh, near Beirut, in 1968. The outbreak of civil war in Lebanon forced the removal of the students to Damascus, Syria. New facilities for the seminary at Sayedniya, near Damascus, were consecrated by the Syriac patriarch on September 14, 1996.

The Syriac monastic tradition, nearly wiped out by the invasions of Tamerlane, survives in the Tur Abdin region of southeastern Turkey. There are two sizable complexes at Der Mar Gabriel and Der Zafaran with a total of about fifteen monks and four communities of nuns in the area. There are monasteries in Jerusalem, near Mosul in Iraq, in the Netherlands, in Germany, and in Switzerland. There is also a monastery with about sixty monks connected with the seminary in Sayedniya, Syria. The Syriac patriarch has also created a new order of nuns, the Virgins of Saint Jacob Baradeus, which has about fifteen members. The order's headquarters is in Atchaneh, Lebanon, and there are additional communities in Damascus and Baghdad.

The Syriac Church in India suffered a split in 1912, when a group composing about half of its members declared itself autocephalous (independent) of the Syriac Patriarchate and elected its own catholicos. They and those who had remained loyal to the Patriarchate were reconciled in 1958, when the Indian Supreme Court declared that only the catholicos subject to the Syriac patriarch and bishops in communion with him had legal standing. But in 1975, after the catholicos broke relations with Damascus, the Syriac Patriarchate excommunicated and deposed him and appointed a rival, causing the community to split again. In June 1996 the Supreme Court of India rendered a decision declaring that, whereas there is only one Orthodox Church in India whose spiritual head is the Syriac patriarch, the autocephalous catholicos alone has legal standing as the head of the church in India. Unfortunately this did not reconcile the two communities, whose dispute has become embittered. In 2003 the two sides were more or less evenly divided with about one million adherents each.

ECUMENICAL ACTIVITY. The Syriac Orthodox Church has been an active participant in the modern ecumenical movement; it has been a member of the World Council of Churches since 1960 and was a founding member of the Middle East Council of Churches. In most of the theological dialogues it has acted in concert with the other Oriental Orthodox Churches. It has had a long-standing relationship with the Anglican Communion in the Middle East and India; the Oriental Orthodox and Anglicans reached a Christological agreement in 2002.

The Syriac Orthodox Church also participated in unofficial consultations with the Eastern (Byzantine) Orthodox Churches from 1964 to 1971 and in an official joint commission from 1985 to 1993. In addition the Syriac Orthodox patriarch signed a joint statement with the Greek Orthodox patriarch of Antioch on November 12, 1991, that sanctions much closer relations between the two churches, including a substantial level of sacramental sharing.

Relations with the Catholic Church have improved dramatically, as was shown by the signing of common declarations by Pope Paul VI and Patriarch Ignatius Jacob III in 1971 and by Pope John Paul II and Patriarch Ignatius Zakka I Iwas in 1984. The second declaration states that past schisms and divisions concerning the doctrine of the incarnation "in no way affect or touch the substance of their faith." It also authorized their faithful to receive the sacraments of penance, Eucharist, and anointing of the sick in the other church when access to their own clergy is materially or morally impossible and outlined broad areas of pastoral cooperation. In addition a direct bilateral theological dialogue between the Catholic Church and the Malankara Syrian Orthodox Church began in 1989. It issued an agreement on interchurch marriages in 1993.

LITURGY. The Syriac Orthodox liturgical tradition, often called West Syrian, drew upon translations of Greek texts from Jerusalem and Antioch and added Syriac-language material from Edessa, largely poetry and hymns. It is one of the richest ancient Christian liturgical traditions, with about one hundred Eucharistic prayers, three baptismal liturgies, and poetic sets of daily offices and festal liturgies now available in English (few of which are in use). The choir has not replaced the congregation in worship, as it has in the Byzantine tradition. The principal anaphora (Eucharistic prayer) is that of Saint James, which is rooted in the Jerusalem tradition and attained its present form at the end of the fourth century CE. Many of the hymns in use come from Ephraem the Syrian, the great fourth-century CE ascetic and poet.

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RONALD G. ROBERSON (2005)

SZOLD, HENRIETTA (1860–1945), was a Zionist leader and a founding president of Hadassah, the leading women's Zionist organization in the United States. Born in Baltimore, Maryland, the eldest child of Benjamin Szold and Sophia (Schaar) Szold, she was educated by her father, a rabbi, and in local schools, graduating first in her high school class. She subsequently taught, wrote articles in the Jewish press, and organized night classes for east European Jewish immigrants in Baltimore before leaving for Philadelphia in 1893 to work for the Jewish Publication Society of America (founded 1888). There, she edited and translated important volumes of Judaica, indexed Heinrich Graetz's *History of the Jews,* and for a time compiled the *American Jewish Year Book.* In 1903 she attended classes at Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York. In 1909, after her first love, Louis Ginzberg, professor at the seminary, married another woman, she traveled to Palestine, where her Zionist commitments were renewed. In 1910, she became secretary of the Federation of American Zionists, and two years later joined with other women to found Hadassah on a nationwide basis. After 1916, she devoted her full attention to the organization and spent considerable time in Palestine involved in its medical and educational endeavors as well as broader Zionist affairs. She spent her last years directing the efforts of Youth Aliyah, the movement established to save Jewish youngsters in Nazi-occupied Europe by bringing them to Palestine.

Henrietta Szold espoused a Jewish way of life that was at once deeply religious, strongly ethical, and broadly tolerant. Her religious practices and outlook were shaped by Conservative Judaism, but she followed an independent course, evinced considerable interest in Jewish religious writings by women, and insisted on her right to recite the Qaddish prayer in memory of her mother, as well as to fulfill other Jewish religious obligations traditionally restricted to men. Impelled by her religious values as well as her lifelong pacifism, she associated during her last years with Jewish thinkers in Palestine who sought Arab-Jewish rapprochement and advocated a binational state. Her example of Jewish social activism coupled with her fostering of traditional Jewish ideals has inspired Jewish women throughout the world, particularly those associated with Hadassah.

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Henrietta Szold's writings and letters remain scattered; for a small selection, see Marvin Lowenthal's *Henrietta Szold: Life and Letters* (New York, 1942). A brief but penetrating overview of Szold's life and career by Arthur Hertzberg appears in *Notable American Women,* edited by Edward T. James et al. (Cambridge, Mass., 1971). Full-length studies include Alexandra Lee Levin's *The Szolds of Lombard Street: A Baltimore Family, 1859–1909* (Philadelphia, 1960), which covers her early life, and two critical biographies: Irving Fineman's *Woman of Valor: The Life of Henrietta Szold, 1860–1945* (New York, 1961) and Joan Dash's *Summoned to Jerusalem: The Life of Henrietta Szold* (New York, 1979).

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JONATHAN D. SARNA (1987)
Revised Bibliography

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ṬABARĪ, AL- (AH 224/5–310; 839–923 CE), fully Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, was an Islamic religious scholar and historian. Born in Āmul in Ṭabaristān, northern Persia, just south of the Caspian Sea, al-Ṭabarī reports that by the age of seven he had learned the Qurʾān by heart, by the age of eight had qualified as a prayer leader (*imām*), and by the age of nine was studying traditions from Muḥammad. At the age of twelve he set off on the proverbial Muslim quest for knowledge, first by attending school in Rayy (in what is now Tehran) and then, in 855, setting off for Baghdad, likely in hopes of studying with the famous traditionist Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, who, however, died in that same year just before al-Ṭabarī's arrival. After a number of sojourns in other cities in Iraq, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, he settled in Baghdad and devoted his life to scholarly pursuits involving teaching and writing. Al-Ṭabarī is reported to have written over twenty works, although differentiating individual books is sometimes problematic because of the suspicion that some works may be known under a variety of titles. According to various anecdotes, al-Ṭabarī avoided taking any positions of administrative responsibility, despite the urging of government officials and colleagues, and devoted his energies purely to his work. Stories are told of him writing forty pages a day for forty years, and while the accuracy of the numbers is doubtful given their symbolic value, his dedication to his work is apparent in the level of his output.

Al-Ṭabarī was an impressively prolific polymath. He wrote on such subjects as poetry, lexicography, grammar, ethics, mathematics, and medicine, although none of his works on these topics has survived. His fame today rests primarily upon his writings in the fields of history, the Qurʾanic sciences, and law. The scope of his accomplishments in the first two fields is especially significant given the unique value of his two main works, the world history entitled *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk* (The history of the prophets and the kings) and the commentary (*tafsīr*) on the Qurʾān entitled *Jāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan taʾwīl āy al-Qurʾān* (The gathering of the explanation of the interpretation of verses of the Qurʾān).

Al-Ṭabarī's *Jāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan taʾwīl āy al-Qurʾān* is, at least superficially, a voluminous compendium of traditional matter concerned with the meaning of each verse of the

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CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT CORNER. The Golden Pavilion, or Kinkakuji, in Kyoto, Japan. *[©Dallas and John Heaton/Corbis];* Thor's hammer amulet, tenth century. National Museum of Iceland, Reykjavik. *[©Werner Forman/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Tenth- to twelfth-century stone carving of Chacmool near the Temple of the Warriors at Chichen Itza in Mexico. *[©Kevin Schafer/Corbis]*; Temple of Hatshepsut in Luxor, Egypt. *[©Dallas and John Heaton/Corbis]*; Nepalese Tārā. *[©Christie's Images/Corbis].*

Qurʾān, presented in sequence following the text of scripture. Some 35,000 traditions (with a significant degree of duplication present in actual interpretational material) going back to the first Islamic century (seventh to eighth centuries CE) are cited. Al-Ṭabarī was also a creative scholar, however, and his editorial function in compiling this type of information cannot be ignored. Any reports of Qurʾanic interpretation attributed to Muqātil ibn Sulaymān (d. 767), for example, are omitted, presumably because of his tarnished reputation as a reliable source. In general, al-Ṭabarī omits any information that was rejected by the consensus of the community at his time. In addition, al-Ṭabarī virtually always notes which interpretation of a given verse he prefers, and he is given to supporting his contentions with philological analysis or poetical evidence not necessarily connected with any report from a traditional authority. He also discusses matters of dogmatics and law, in some instances in a detailed manner and on a sophisticated level. The theological outlook in his work is in keeping with the mainstream of Baghdad thought at the time, following in the legacy of Ibn Ḥanbal, although his opinions did, on occasion, evoke some protest among local rival scholars. His theological position is also evidenced in two independent works, *Ṣarīḥ al-sunnah* (The essence of correct practice), a brief profession of faith (*ʿaqīdah*) written in response to accusations of incorrect belief on al-Ṭabarī's part by his contemporaries; and a fragment of his work on the "principles of religion," *uṣūl al-dīn*, entitled *Tabṣīr fī maʿālim al-dīn* (An instruction concerning the characteristics of religion), which was directed to the inhabitants of his hometown of Āmul regarding sectarian opinions that were emerging in the area.

Each section of *Jāmiʿ al-bayān* commences with a quotation from the Qurʾān, generally a verse or a thematic unit. Traditions are then cited, complete with their chains of authority *(asānīd;* singular: *isnād)* substantiating the transmission of the report; the traditions are grouped according to different possibilities of interpretation for the passage in question. The citation of these groups of traditions is frequently preceded by a statement such as, "Interpreters differ concerning the meaning of God's having said that. . . ." Following the enumeration of all attested interpretations, al-Ṭabarī usually gives his own preference, saying, "In my opinion, the best of the statements is the following. . . ," and he argues the case on the basis of parallel Qurʾanic passages, grammar, poetry, theology, or whatever seems appropriate to make his point.

Al-Ṭabarī also appended a fairly extensive introduction to *Jāmiʿ al-bayān* entitled *Risālat al-tafsīr* (The epistle on interpretation), in which he sets forth some principles of interpretation along with a discussion of the standard disputed issues concerning the Qurʾān (the language of the Qurʾān, the notion of the seven readings of the text, and the collection of the Qurʾān). He argues for a concept of the "obvious" (*ẓāhir*) meaning of the Qurʾān, rather than metaphorical or figurative renderings, as the only legitimate mode of interpretation. This "obvious" meaning of a text can be overridden only by a positive indication of the necessity to do so, as by a tradition that is fully authoritative and convincing. Otherwise the *ẓāhir* meaning, defined as "what predominates in practice," *al-ghālib fī-al-istiʿmāl*, must be accepted. Al-Ṭabarī also compiled as a separate work a massive collection and evaluation of textual variants to the Qurʾān, *Kitāb fī-al-qirāʾāt* (A book on the variant readings), which still exists today in manuscript form.

As a historian, al-Ṭabarī equaled his accomplishments as a Qurʾanic exegete. His *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, which exists today in fifteen printed volumes, is said to be a greatly abbreviated version of al-Ṭabarī's original plan. The work commences with the creation and the era of the biblical patriarchs, details some early rulers of Israel and Persia, and then moves on to Sassanid history. As might be expected, the text becomes far more detailed after this portion. For the life of Muḥammad, the first four caliphs of Islam, the Umayyad dynasty, and the Abbasid rulers up to 915, it is organized year by year. The aim of the work was to document world history leading up to Muḥammad, and then to trace the continuity of the experiences of the Muslim community in the following years. Like his Qurʾān commentary, this work is traditionally oriented in structure, although here al-Ṭabarī's editorial role is more clearly limited to selection, arrangement, and documentation of the material cited; rarely do the editor's own words intrude.

Al-Ṭabarī's respect for his method of simple presentation results in much duplication, such that historical records conveying similar material are found frequently. This results from the inclusion of reports that stem from different sources, all of which were judged by al-Ṭabarī to be trustworthy in the *isnād* of their transmission and thus intrinsically valuable. His history telling, therefore, is not linear but a conjunction of varying accounts. Al-Ṭabarī's editorial role does at least allow him to support his own regional and partisan positions within the broad scheme of Islamic history. *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk* quickly became famous in the Islamic world, with later writers using it as the basis for even more comprehensive works and others working at extending its chronological dimensions and also translating it into Persian and Turkish.

Al-Ṭabarī attempted to strike out on his own in the juristic field. He formed a school of law (called the Jarīrīyah after his father), but it quickly fell into obscurity after his death, since it was not substantially different from the school of al-Shāfiʿī, to which al-Ṭabarī originally belonged. Fragments of a large work that al-Ṭabarī wrote on law, *Ikhtilāf al-fuqahāʾ* (The disagreement among the jurists), which details the opinions of great jurists of early Islam, as well as of a collection of *ḥadīth* entitled *Tahdhīb al-āthār* (The revised compilation of the traditions), still exist, but those works represent only a small portion of his overall scholarly output in the area.

Al-Ṭabarī is considered a master of historical writing and of *tafsīr*, and in subsequent generations he was seen as the most important intellect of his age, a *mujtahid*. He gained this stature not only because of his prodigious output but also because of his critical acumen, especially as displayed in *Jāmiʿ al-bayān*. The *tafsīr* is also the earliest complete and extensive work of its type available today (although other briefer but earlier works do still exist), and the history has been a major source for all reconstructions of events in early Islam, since it is, like the *tafsīr,* the earliest comprehensive compilation of historical reports for the Islamic period. Considering the importance and value of the works, it is somewhat surprising that few complete manuscript copies have survived to the present (scattered single volumes are available in numerous libraries, however) and that, until the end of the nineteenth century, the complete work of the *tafsīr* was believed lost. Perhaps because of the voluminous nature of the texts, they remained works suitable only for other scholars; later summaries and translations of the works became particularly important and, in some ways, eclipsed the original work, even though al-Ṭabarī's fame as a historian and religious scholar remained intact.

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Al-Ṭabarī's commentary (*tafsīr*) on the Qurʾān, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan taʾwīl āy al-Qurʾān,* was first published in Cairo in 1903 and again in 1905; a new Cairo edition was begun in 1954. A summary translation has been published in French by Pierre Godé, *Commentaire du Coran* (Paris, 1983), in five volumes, and a portion, through *sūrah* 2, verse 103 (including the introduction), is available in English as *The Commentary on the Qurʾān, by Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, Being an Abridged Translation of Jāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan taʾwīl āy al-Qurʾān,* with an introduction and notes by J. Cooper, edited by Wilferd Madelung and Alan Jones (Oxford, 1987). A fundamental study on this work is Otto Loth, "Tabari's Korancommentar," *Zeitschrift der Deutsche morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 35 (1881): 588–628. Harris Birkeland, *The Lord Guideth: Studies on Primitive Islam* (Oslo, 1956), provides a detailed study of the structure of the traditions cited by al-Ṭabarī. Herbert Berg, *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam: The Authenticity of Muslim Literature from the Formative Period* (Richmond, U.K., 2000), uses al-Ṭabarī's *tafsīr* as a source of data to discuss the issue of the reliability of the ascription of material to early authorities. Claude Gilliot, *Exégèse, langue, et théologie en Islam: L'exégèse coranique de Tabari (m. 311/923)* (Paris, 1990), is a masterful study of al-Ṭabarī's exegetical approach; it is supplemented by Gilliot's articles "Exégèse et sémantique institutionelle dans le commentaire de Tabari," *Studia Islamica* 77 (1993): 41–94, and "Mythe, recit, histoire du salut dans le commentaire coranique de Tabari," *Journal Asiatique* 282 (1994): 237–270.

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ṬABĀṬABĀʾĪ, ʿALLĀMA. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabāʾī (1903–1981) was arguably one of the most prominent Shīʿī Muslim scholars of the twentieth century; he was given the honorific title *ʿAllāma,* a testimony to the extent and depth of his knowledge in the Shīʿī tradition of Islamic scholarship.

Ṭabāṭabāʾī was born into a family of Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ* (Islamic scholars) in Tabrīz, northwest of Iran, in 1903. In 1918, after finishing his primary education, he entered the field of religious studies and, until 1925, he studied Arabic grammar, logic, principles of Islamic jurisprudence, Islamic law, theology, and philosophy. In 1926 he settled in Najaf, the most famous Shīʿī seminary *(ḥawza)* in Iraq at that time, in order to complete his higher studies, attaining a license to perform *ijtihād*—independent reasoning and deduction based on the principles and sources of Islamic law.

He returned to Tabrīz, his birthplace, in 1934. In 1946, due to the political situation in the northwest of Iran, which at that time was under the influence of the Soviet Union, he went to the city of Qum, where he resumed his scholarly research. In Qum he taught Islamic philosophy and Qurʾanic studies for the rest of his life and became one of the greatest contemporary masters in these two disciplines.

Ṭabāṭabāʾī was a prolific writer in both Arabic and Persian. His work had a profound impact on contemporary Shīʿī thought, principally through his contribution to four areas: Qurʾanic commentary and interpretation, philosophy, mysticism, and sociocultural debate.

Ṭabāṭabāʾī successfully revitalized the discipline of Qurʾanic exegesis *(tafsīr),* making this one of the core subjects of the curriculum within the seminary of Qum. His own monumental commentary on the Qurʾān, *al-Mīzān fī Tafsīr al-Qurʾān,* is ample evidence of his mastery of all the sciences required for in-depth Qurʾanic interpretation.

Al-Mīzān appeared at a time when standards of scholarship in Shīʿī seminaries were determined by the discipline of jurisprudence *(fiqh).* Those who were involved in other fields, such as *tafsīr,* were considered weak both in scholarly and social terms. The reason was that although in the seminaries the discipline of *fiqh* was dominated by Uṣūlī thought*, tafsīr* was still strongly influenced by the rival Akhbārī school, which places primary stress upon the narration of traditions (*aḥādīth* or *akhbār,* pl. of *khabar,* "report"). Thus, *tafsīr* was not given very much importance. Ṭabāṭabāʾī succeeded in radically changing this state of affairs, such that *tafsīr* is now considered one of the major disciplines within Shīʿī seminaries. The key interpretive principle applied by Ṭabāṭabāʾī in his commentary is that of interpreting verses of the Qurʾān through other verses of the Qurʾān. According to him, in order to obtain an understanding of the objective meaning of the Qurʾān, the interpreter must set aside all personal ideas and opinions and make an effort to understand and interpret the verses of the Qurʾān only in the light of other Qurʾanic verses. Although this method was used in part by various schools of interpretation, it was Ṭabāṭabāʾī who articulated and employed this method most successfully, making it the very cornerstone of his interpretive hermeneutic. He wrote *al-Mīzān* over a period of eighteen years, from 1954 to 1972. Originally written in Arabic in twenty volumes, it has been translated into Persian, and the first six volumes have been translated into English.

Ṭabāṭabāʾī also played a significant role in elevating the status of Islamic philosophy in Shīʿī circles, and particularly within Iran; he contributed to the process by which philosophy became once again a major focus of teaching and research. Although he was a master in Mullā Ṣadrā's philosophical school, *al-ḥikmah al-mutaʿāliyah* (transcendent theosophy), he avoided the mixing of philosophy with the traditional, transmitted sources, the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth,* that characterizes the works of Mullā Ṣadrā's school of philosophy. Ṭabāṭabāʾī insisted on maintaining a clear distinction between these two disciplines, as is clearly expressed in his philosophical works *Bidāyat al-ḥikma* (The beginning of philosophy) and *Nihāyat al-ḥikma* (The ultimate end/goal of philosophy).

His contribution to Islamic mysticism, known in its Shīʿī form as *ʿirfān,* consisted in his teaching of one of the principal sources of this approach, that is, the school of Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī. He succeeded in his efforts, despite strong opposition from many exoteric Shīʿī scholars of his time. The emergence in the Shīʿī seminary of Qum of a new generation of scholars well-versed in the mysticism of Ibn ʿArabī is in large part due to his influence.

Ṭabāṭabāʾī was also actively involved in sociocultural debates about Islam. After World War II, the influence of modernism and Marxism on traditional Iranian society was increasing. Ṭabāṭabāʾī devoted several books and articles to discussing key issues arising out of these confrontations between modernism and tradition—such as the status of religion in the modern world, the rights of women, and the weakness of materialistic philosophy. Between 1958 and 1977 Ṭabāṭabāʾī had an important series of scholarly and philosophical debates with Henry Corbin, the renowned French scholar of Islamic thought. He also encouraged his students to participate in sociocultural debates; among those students, one should mention such figures as Murtaḍā Muṭahharī and Muḥammad Ḥusayn Bihishtī, who went on to play important roles in Iran's Islamic revolution in 1979.

The influence of Ṭabāṭabāʾī on Shīʿī thought generally remains very strong; at present most of the masters of Islamic philosophy, mysticism, and interpretation of the Qurʾān in the seminaries of Iran were his students. In addition to the above-named students, one should also mention such towering figures as S. J. Āshtiyyānī, Ayatollah Javādī Āmulī, and Ayatollah Ḥasanzādih Āmulī, who are now known as the leading experts in Iran in interpretation of the Qurʾān, Islamic philosophy, and *ʿirfān.* Seyyed Hossein Nasr was also one of Ṭabāṭabāʾī's students, and it was through Nasr that Ṭabāṭabāʾī was introduced to the English-speaking world, with his translation of Ṭabāṭabāʾī's *Shīʿa dar Islam*, as *Shiʿite Islam*, in 1975. Ṭabāṭabāʾī died on November 15, 1981.

See Also Ibn al-ʿArabī; Mullā Ṣadrā.

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TABERNACLES, FEAST OF See SUKKOT

TABOO is a social prohibition or restriction sanctioned by suprasocietal (innate) means or a socially sanctioned injunction alleged to have the force of such a prohibition. Taboo stands at the intersection of human affairs and the forces of the larger universe. Generally it is determined by divine or animistic mandates; but it may involve "punishment" by inherent circumstances as well, for instance, the real, but exaggerated, danger of genetic damage to the offspring of incestuous unions implied in the incest taboo of American folk culture.

The word *taboo* (from the Tongan *tabu,* a variant of the more general Polynesian term *tapu* and the Hawaiian *kapu*) reached the West through Captain James Cook's account of his third voyage. He was introduced to the term at Tongatapu, in the Tonga, or Friendly, Islands, and commented that the word had a very comprehensive meaning but generally signified a thing that is forbidden (Webster, 1942, p. 5). In fact, the general Polynesian usage implies that what is *tapu* is interdicted through its relation to the sacred, or its relation to cosmic forces. *Tapu,* then, relates the cosmic to human actions, and the realm of *tapu* amounts to a comprehensive system of religious mandate controlling individual and social life.

In Polynesian religion, *tapu* has the function of segregating persons, objects, or activities that are divine or sacred, or those that are corrupt or polluting, from the common, everyday realm. Thus chiefs, high-ranking persons, and their lineages were surrounded with *tapu*; the heads of all persons, and especially of chiefly persons, were *tapu*; but also the clothing and sleeping places of women in their menstrual periods were dangerous to men, who were *tapu* in relation to them (Best, 1905, p. 212). An "eating *tapu*" required men and women, and often all classes of persons of unequal status, to eat separately, or even to have their food prepared separately and with different utensils.

Consecrational *tapu* applied in circumstances of worship and labor performed for the gods and temples, and those involved entered a *tapu* state, which had to be neutralized later. Life-crises events (birth, marriage, illness, death) involving chiefly persons, wars, and fishing expeditions imposed community-wide restrictions on common activities, including the preparation and eating of food, movement, the lighting of fires, and noisemaking. *Tapu* could also be invoked through appealing to the gods to enforce a prohibition on some object, crop, or piece of land; in the Marquesas Islands a chief could taboo land in this way by calling it his "head." A temporary taboo laid on crops, trees, or fishing grounds was called a *rahui* (Handy, 1927, p. 46).

Tapu, as a state of sacred interdiction, stands in contrast to the neutral, or common, state, *noa* (whatever is free from *tapu* restriction). Fresh as well as salt water was used throughout Polynesia for the removal and neutralizing of *tapu* and of polluting influences harmful to one's *tapu* (Handy, 1927, pp. 51–55). Fire and heat were also used ritually against baneful influences, especially spirits. Many communities maintained a "sacred water" or spring specifically for the removal of *tapu.*

The cosmic principle or force behind the restrictions and prohibitions of *tapu* is conveyed in the general Polynesian conception of *mana. Mana* is invisible and abstract, knowable only through its efficacy and through its manifestation in things, yet it is universal. Like the Arabic *barakah, mana* combines sacredness with the sense of "luck" or "power" in the most encompassing terms. Chiefs, chiefly persons and their possessions and doings, and rites involving the gods are *tapu* because they are suffused with *mana.* The danger of polluting influences is that they may discharge the *mana* of persons or objects that are more highly endowed; common persons, on the other hand, run the risk of being struck or overcome by *mana* greater than theirs. *Tapu* may be seen as the "insulator" between unequal degrees of *mana.* Thus Handy suggests that electricity may serve as a useful analogy in illustrating the nature of the concept of *mana* (ibid., p. 28), though of course it is fundamentally a religious rather than a naturalistic concept.

Even modern curers and others who have recourse to its manipulation consider *mana* distinct in its operation from the world of ordinary life processes, exchanges, and human interaction. Curers who use *mana* may not accept compensation in money (MacKenzie, 1977). As a universal power, *mana* is evidenced in every kind of efficacy: a woodcarver manifests *mana* in his talents and in the tools and circumstances of his work, and canoe makers, gardeners, curers, sorcerers all have their *mana,* capable of being lost or dispersed unless the proper *tapu* are observed. Of these examples of *mana* the chiefly *mana* is the highest and most concentrated, and it poses a serious danger for the unprotected commoner.

As an abstract and generalized conception of power, *mana* is analogous to Lakota *wakan,* Iroquois *orenda,* and other concepts of power found among indigenous North American groups. The term is by no means universal among Austronesian-speaking peoples, though many have cognate notions. Among the major world religions *mana* has counterparts, perhaps, in the Islamic notion of *barakah,* the Hindu notion of *sakti,* and possibly in the Greco-Christian concept of *charisma.*

The notion of the "psychic unity of mankind," that is, that human cultures everywhere must pass through certain necessary stages of evolutionary growth, allowed speculative writers around the turn of the twentieth century to draw conspicuous examples of primitive religious concepts from particular ethnographic areas and universalize them. The Polynesian notions of *tapu* and *mana* lent themselves extraordinarily well to this search for the epitomizing evolutionary trait, for they were already quite abstract and, in Captain Cook's phrase, "very comprehensive" in their meanings.

Early anthropologists deemed taboo noteworthy, for it marked the point where a religious idea (*mana*) affected the norms and regulation of everyday life. Breach of a taboo meant divine or other suprasocietal sanctions; hence, taboos, or a system of taboos, outlined the spiritual mandate and boundaries for social existence.

In the evolutionary model for primitive religion that emerged in the decades immediately before and after 1900, taboo played the role of archetypal religious rule, or mandate; as *mana* did of generalized supernatural force, or power; and as totemism did of collective or individual identification with supernatural (or quasi-natural) entities. Thus emerged the alliterative formula "totem and taboo" as an encompassing rubric for primitive religion, to which Freud turned in seeking socially expressed equivalents for psychological states.

In the writings of Émile Durkheim, and among his followers in the schools of French and British social anthropology, *taboo* came to have the sense of a largely social restriction, or mandate, through the Durkheimian proposition that the religious and the supernatural were the means by which society took account of its own existence—worshiped itself. If, in other words, the suprasocietal forces of the world around us are nothing more than the reflection of society itself, then taboo, however it may be regarded by the members of a society, is ultimately social in its origin. Even in this understanding of it, however, *taboo* carries a somewhat stronger connotation than mere "law" or "rule," for taboos are special instances in which social constraints are referred directly to the religious manifestation of the social rather than to a secular authority.

The modern sense of *taboo* has acquired a certain ambiguity through the widespread acceptance of a socio-centric interpretation. Thus, depending on whether one accepts a formal, cultural, or a sociological understanding of the prohibition, the sanctions upon it will be, respectively, divine and innate, or human and social.

But the issue of the sanctioning force behind a taboo involves only a partial appreciation of the distinctiveness of this kind of prohibition. Taboo differs from abstract, codified law in the degree to which the prohibited object or act is specified and developed into a symbol, or even a fetish, of the prohibition itself. Taboo is not so much a system of regulations as it is a scheme of negative differentiation, in which the fact of prohibition and the prohibited act or object itself obscure the reasons for a prohibition. In this regard, the early theorists who saw "totem and taboo" as interlinked bases of "primitive thought" drew attention to a significant relation between them. For taboo designates items in order to prohibit them, whereas totemic representation is based on affinities between social units and phenomenal entities. Yet the practice of exogamy (marrying outside of one's totemic group), once felt to be an integral part of totemism, comprehends both of these at once, for it places a marriage taboo on those who share affinities with the same entity.

Thus taboos serve to control and channel human interaction and collective activity through a system of negative differentiation, marking out certain persons, objects, and occasions by specifying what may not be done to, with, or on them. Words used as names are sometimes tabooed when a person holding the name undergoes a change in status. In the Marquesas and Society islands, a common word included in the name of a king or heir apparent would be tabooed and also replaced in everyday language. When a king of Tahiti assumed the name *Pomare,* the word *po* ("night") was replaced in common speech by *rui,* and *mare* ("cough") was changed to *kare* (Webster, 1942, p. 301). Similar taboos are found among the Zulu and the Malagasy. Among the Tiwi of northern Australia, the name of a person who has died, together with the common-noun equivalent of that name, and all the names that the deceased had bestowed upon others, together with their equivalents, are tabooed for ordinary use and transferred to a sacred language (Lévi-Strauss, 1966, pp. 209–210).

Taboos on name use, and often on any sort of interaction, are frequently encountered in the norms for kin relationship. In Papua New Guinea these are so common that the Pidgin term for "relative by marriage" is simply *tambu* ("taboo"). The extreme case, widespread in Aboriginal Australia and New Guinea, is a taboo involving total avoidance between a man and his wife's (or future wife's) mother. A relationship is set up between them precisely by their not interacting, one that forces them to communicate solely through the bridal exchanges. Thus the tabooing or, in this case, the negative differentiation of relationship creates the basis for future relationships by creating a marriage. Further taboos of affinity control and direct the subsequent course of the relationship by restricting overfamiliarity among other kinspeople brought into contact by the marriage.

Taboos on specific kinds, classes, or styles of food and on food preparation are perhaps the most commonly encountered of all human prohibitions. Many peoples who have no general term for "taboo" have a word for "food taboo." Food restrictions, probably universal in human cultures, often conceal (or initiate) preferences or are themselves disguised as health precautions. Well-known examples include the Hebraic prohibition against using the same utensils for preparing meat and dairy products, the Hebraic and Islamic restrictions against eating the meat of animals that have been incorrectly slaughtered and against eating pork, and the Hindu ritual distinction between *pakkā* foods, prepared in clarified butter, and *kaccā* foods, boiled in water. Among the Kaluli of Mount Bosavi in Papua New Guinea, an elaborate system of food taboos operates to prevent relationships among cultural domains that must not be mixed. Married men and women must not eat fresh meat, and smoked meat is available only through exchanges with in-laws; thus, bonds will form through marriage links rather than with single hunters (Schieffelin, 1976, p. 71).

Mourning restrictions most often take the form of taboos, ranging from prohibitions on speaking of, or using the names of, the deceased, through those on the use of the house or property of the deceased, to severe injunctions of seclusion (for widows or widowers). In parts of the Pacific, there are restrictions against washing or self-adornment, and often the mourners must wear relics. In traditional China, specific degrees of mourning behavior were specified according to one's relationship to the deceased. Among the Yi people of Yunnan Province in China visitors are prohibited from entering a compound where there are newborn infants or piglets, where someone is gravely ill, or where someone has died. Immediately upon a person's death, among the Usen Barok of New Ireland, a taboo called the *lebe* goes into effect: no gardening can be done, no fires can be made, and no arguments will be tolerated until the conclusion of the final mourning feast, up to a week later. It is also forbidden to utter a cry of lament until the mourners hear the first squeals of the pigs being slaughtered for the first feast.

Taboos surrounding ritual or worship are often the severest of all, for they involve mediation with the very forces that are understood to mete out the sanctions. The major ritual of the Daribi of Papua New Guinea concerns the placating of an unmourned and angry ghost, who possesses the *habu* ritualists in the process. Any deviation from the prescribed format of the ritual results in the affliction of the offenders with the dread *habu* illness, a malign act of possession that is merely the intended therapeutic possession gone awry (Wagner, 1972, p. 156). Food taboos accompanying the Chihamba ritual among the Ndembu of Africa keep the participants from "eating Chihamba" or the characteristics associated with this spirit (Turner, 1975, pp. 71–72). The sense of ritual indiscretion as mediation gone wrong is conveyed by the Navajo belief that ghosts cause people to do the opposite of whatever has been decreed in taboos.

The emphasis of a taboo, however negatively it may be phrased, is always upon the thing, act, or word tabooed. We tend to contemplate the object of the taboo itself in a search for motives, or possibly origins, for the prohibition. Thus, for instance, pork is a potential carrier of trichinosis, mothers-in-law have many potential conflicts of interest with their sons-in-law, and interbreeding among close relatives may lead to the expression of deleterious recessive genes. The difficulty with this sort of literalistic thinking can be seen in these examples. Taboo is usually indirect; its real object is not so much what is forbidden as it is the cultural and social circumstances affected by the prohibition. The Kaluli do indeed say that the juices of fresh meat are unhealthy for women and that their husbands should avoid it out of compassion. But the taboo on the eating of fresh meat for married persons serves to force them into the painstaking and appropriate activity of preparing and exchanging smoked meat with relatives by marriage. It aligns with a number of other taboos to restrict interaction to culturally appropriate categories.

The Daribi, in another example, actually have no experience of disagreeable mothers-in-law, for a married person is never allowed to see the mother-in-law, much less speak with her. But the taboo forces each party to be especially aware of the other and to funnel their efforts into organizing the exchanges that must pass between the two sides. An effective relationship is formed through the principle of "not relating"! Finally, what we know as the "incest taboo" is actually the summation of a number of particular kin relationships, which are of differing extent and content in different cultures. What may be considered to be incestuous, or a relative, or a relationship, varies from one culture to another. But the fact of kin regulation through restriction, or kin taboo, if you will, is common to all cultures, for it is the essence of kinship. Hence, whether its prohibitions are imposed by men or gods, taboo incorporates the regulatory imperative of culture itself.

SEE ALSO Evolution, article on Evolutionism; Power; Purification.

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TAFSĪR

TAFSĪR is an Arabic word meaning "interpretation"; it is, more specifically, the general term used in reference to all genres of literature which are commentaries upon the Qurʾān.

TAFSĪR AND RELATED TERMS. The word *tafsīr* is used only once in the Qurʾān (25:33), but this is not overly surprising, for most technical terms involved in Muslim exegesis have been derived and adapted either from the field of rhetoric or from the legal tradition. In the case of *tafsīr* the word appears to have evolved from a description of a poetic figure in which one hemistich contains an explanation of the preceding one.

There is much discussion in various Arabic sources concerning the precise meaning of the term *tafsīr* and its relationship to other technical words such as *maʿānī, taʾwīl,* and *sharḥ,* all of which connote "interpretation" in some way. Historically, *maʿānī,* literally "meanings," appears to have been the earliest major term used for the title of works of interpretation; *taʾwīl,* literally related to the notion of "returning to the beginning," was introduced perhaps late in the third century AH (early tenth century CE) as the general term for works of Qurʾānic interpretation, only to have been supplanted in the eleventh century CE by *tafsīr. Sharḥ* seems to have been reserved primarily for profane purposes such as commentaries on poetry, but it was also employed for Qurʾanic super-commentaries. The prime focus of a dispute which took place probably in the early tenth century and which involved such central figures of early exegesis as Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī (d. 923 CE) and al-Māturīdī (d. 944) was the differentiation of *tafsīr* from *taʾwīl.* Both of these major exegetes, note, used the word *taʾwīl* in the title of their commentaries upon the Qurʾān: *Jamiʿ al-bayān ʿan taʾwīl āy al-Qurʾān* (The gathering of the explanation of the interpretation of the verses of the Qurʾān) and *Taʾwīlāt al-Qurʾān* (The interpretations of the Qurʾān), respectively. The basic question at stake concerned the ways in which traditional material could be employed to provide exegetical data. *Taʾwīl,* in the understanding of some scholars, was interpretation which dispensed with tradition and was founded upon reason, personal opinion, individual research, or expertise, whereas *tafsīr* was based upon material *(ḥadīth)* transmitted through a chain of authorities from the earliest period of Islam, preferably from Muhammad himself or at least from one of his companions. However, the point was certainly never clear, because other proposed differentiations between *taʾwīl* and *tafsīr* glossed those simple edges. Muqātil ibn Sulaymān, an early exegete (d. 767), for example, implies a distinction between *tafsīr* as what is known on the human level and *taʾwīl* as what is known to God alone. According to a similar notion, *tafsīr* applies to passages with one interpretation and *taʾwīl* to those with multiple aspects. And, of course, a further complication is indicated by the very title of al-Ṭabarī's *tafsīr:* that is, *taʾwīl* could be used for a work that was quite tradition-oriented, at least in basic form. A further suggestion is that the dispute over *tafsīr* and *taʾwīl* is to be traced back to the earliest sectarian disputes in Islam, between the general community and the followers of Muḥammad's son-in-law and cousin, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. 661), known as the Shīʿah, who wished to appropriate the word *taʾwīl* for reference to interpretation of "concealed" (i. e., esoteric) parts of the Qurʾān as demanded by Shīʿī doctrine.

It should also be noted that the terms *tafsīr* and *taʾwīl* were not in fact the exclusive property or concern of Muslims; Jews and Christians writing commentaries on the Bible in Arabic used both words. The Jewish theologian Saʿadyah Gaon (d. 942) titled his Arabic translation of the Pentateuch *Tafsīr basīṭ naṣṣ al-Tūrāh* (The simple interpretation of the text of the Torah), and the Copt Butrus al-Sadamanti in about the year 1260 wrote *Al-muqaddimah fī al-tafsīr* (Introduction to interpretation), which formed a part of his overall work on the interpretation of the New Testament Passion narratives. These are only two examples of use of the word *tafsīr* for scriptural interpretation outside Islam; many other similar instances could be cited.

PURPOSE OF TAFSĪR. Interpretation aims to clarify a text. *Tafsīr* takes as its beginning point the text of the Qurʾān, paying full attention to the text itself in order to make its meaning clear. It also functions simultaneously to adapt the text to the present situation of the interpreter. In other words, most interpretation is not purely theoretical; it has a very practical aspect of making the text applicable to the faith and the way of life of the believers. The first of these two interpretive aspects is generally provoked by insoluble problems in meaning, by insufficient detail, by intratextual contradiction, or by unacceptable meanings. Interpretation that fits the text to the situation serves to align it with established social custom, legal positions, and doctrinal assertions.

Other practical reasons can also be cited for the initial creation of *tafsīr* as an entity. As Islam expanded, it was embraced by a large number of people who did not know Arabic; interpretation, sometimes in the form of translations (although this was officially frowned upon) and other times in a simple Arabic which did not contain the ambiguities and difficulties of the original scriptural text, fulfilled the purpose of allowing easier access to the book. In addition, there was the basic problem of the text itself and how it was to be read. The early Arabic script was defective in its differentiation of letters of the alphabet and in the vocalization of the text; although eventually there arose an official system of readings *(qirāʾāt)* which gave sanction to a basic seven sets of vocalizations of the text (with further set variations still possible to some extent), in the earliest period a greater freedom with regard to the text seems to have been enjoyed. This freedom extended to the consonantal structure of the text and was legitimized through the notion of the early existence of various codices of the Qurʾān, each with its own textual peculiarities. Differences between these versions and the later, official ʿUthmanic text (as far as theses could be cited by the exegetes), as well as the variations created by the different official vocalization systems, then demanded explanation and justification in order to establish claims that a particular reading provided the best textual sense. The end result was that *tafsīr* acted to establish a firm text of scripture within what became the set limits of the *qirāʾāt.*

ORIGINS OF TAFSĪR. Traditionally it has been held that *tafsīr* arose as a natural practice, originating with Muḥammad and then continuing organically from that point forward; the earliest material has thus become known as *tafsīr al-nabī* ("the interpretation of the Prophet"). Various companions of Muḥammad and some early believers are also seen as the major figures who started interpreting the Qurʾān and teaching people exactly what their understanding of the text was; central among them was ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās (d. 687?), who gained the title *tarjumān al-Qurʾān,* "the interpreter of the Qurʾān."

A debate rages in the scholarly literature on the nature of early *tafsīr,* most especially over the idea of opposition to the activity itself in the early Islamic period. This notion was first isolated by Ignácz Goldziher in *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* (Leiden, 1920); on the basis of traditional Muslim reports concerning the caliph ʿUmar (d. 644) and his punishment of a certain person (variously identified) for interpreting unclear passages of the Qurʾān, Goldziher concluded that interpretation of Qurʾanic verses dealing with historical legends and eschatology was illegitimate. Harris Birkeland in *Old Muslim Opposition against Interpretation of the Koran* (Oslo, 1955) rejected this contention on the basis of his own evaluation of the traditional reports, which suggested to him certain contradictions, especially over the identity of the flogging victim and over whether such punishment was in keeping with ʿUmar's character. Birkeland has argued that, rather than general opposition to *tafsīr,* there was no opposition at all in the first Muslim century, that strong opposition arose in the second century, and that thereafter the activity of *tafsīr* was brought into and under the sphere of orthodox doctrine and requirements. In particular, strict methods were introduced for the transmission of the information, which formed the core of interpretational procedure, and in this way, *tafsīr* gained total acceptance. Nabia Abbott, in an excursus to her *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri II: Qurʾānic Commentary and Tradition* (Chicago, 1967), reasserted Goldziher's isolation of early opposition on the basis of traditional information that the person in question certainly existed and that flogging was in keeping with the character of ʿUmar. For Abbott, however, the opposition was limited to the interpretation of a specific category of unclear verses *(mutashābihāt),* a claim that she based on the traditional biographical material, which indicates that those people who are mentioned as opponents of *tafsīr* in fact transmitted much material themselves. Therefore, for Abbott, the only opposition to *tafsīr* that ever existed was that connected with the ambiguous or unclear verses. Precisely what is to be understood by the "unclear verses," however, is glossed over in this argument. Exegetes never have agreed and never will agree on which verses are unclear, or even on what that expression means. Some things are unclear to one person while they are perfectly clear to another, often because of a different (especially religious) perspective on the material.

The major problem with all of these discussions is the lack of substantial evidence, with the result that the entire argument remains speculative. Manuscript evidence for *tafsīr* barely reaches back to the third century AH (ninth century CE), at which point several genres of commentary had already emerged. Much of the material found in these texts seems to have originated in a popular worship context (such as semiliturgical usage or sermons) or in the storyteller environment provided by wandering preachers *(quṣṣāṣ)* and their didactic, homiletic sermonizing, which aimed to improve the religious sentiments of the uneducated majority of people. In other words, producing entertaining tales was a key to the development of *tafsīr.* From this point of view, the whole discussion of the origins of *tafsīr* as conducted by Goldziher, Birkeland, and Abbott is rendered rather redundant.

LEGITIMATION OF TAFSĪR IN THE QURʾĀN. While the Qurʾān does not explicitly state that it should be interpreted, commentators have been able to justify their profession over the centuries by reference to the text itself. The most famous and the most problematic passage applied in this way is *sūrah* 3:5–6, the terminology of which has been referred to several times in the preceding sections:

> It is He who has sent down to you the book in which are clear verses [*muḥkamāt*] that are the essence of the book and others that are unclear [*mutashābihāt*]. As for those in whose hearts is a perversion, they follow the unclear part, desiring dissension and desiring its interpretation *[taʾwīl].* But no one knows its interpretation *[taʾwīl]* except God. And those firm in knowledge say: "We believe in it; all is from our Lord." Yet none remember except men who understand.

This passage establishes two categories of interpretation, perhaps most easily viewed as "clear" *(muḥkam)* versus "unclear" *(mutashābih).* Many different translations and identifications have been put forth for the latter, some of which render the category hermeneutically trivial (e.g., identification of the "mysterious letters" which precede various *sūrahs* as the *mutashābihāt*), while others prove more valuable (e.g., identification of all verses with more than one interpretive aspect as *mutashābihāt*). Even more crucial, however, was the punctuation of the verse. The original Arabic text provides no indication of where stops and pauses should be taken; as a result, it was also possible to render the latter part of the pericope:

> But no one knows its interpretation except God and those firm in knowledge who say: "We believe in it; all is from our Lord."

With such a reading, the interpretive task was not limited to the rather trite exercise of making totally plain the already clear verses; the unclear verses, too, became targets for the commentators, and with that concept defined in some appropriate manner, the way was opened for the creation of a *tafsīr* on every verse of the Qurʾān.

EMERGENCE OF TAFSĪR LITERATURE. It seems fairly certain that written *tafsīr* works began to emerge in the second century AH at the latest. Documentation starts to proliferate toward the end of that period, and various modes of analysis (e.g., attention to the convergent lines of transmission of a text) also suggest this as the earliest verifiable period. The emergent literature itself can be analyzed into various categories which not only display the distinctive literary qualities and differences of the texts but also suggest an overall relative historical ordering of them. The five sequential categories suggested by John Wansbrough in his *Quranic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation* (Oxford, 1977) are narrative (aggadic), legal (halakhic), textual (masoretic), rhetorical, and allegorical. While the historical sequence itself may be open to some debate, the categorization itself is, in true scientific fashion, functional, unified, and revealing.

Narrative tafsīr. Narrative *tafsīr* is exemplified in the text by Muqātil ibn Sulaymān, which has subsequently been given the title *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān* (Interpretation of the Qurʾān), although that is unlikely to have been the original name, and is also embodied in various sections of the work by Ibn Isḥāq (d. 768), *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh* (The life of the messenger of God). The creation of an edifying narrative, generally enhanced by folklore from the entire Near Eastern world (including the heritages of Byzantium, Persia, and Egypt, but most especially that of the Judeo-Christian milieu) is the main feature of such commentaries. Adding detail to otherwise sketchy scripture and answering the rather mundane questions which the curious mind will raise when confronted by a contextless scriptural passage are the central concerns of this genre. In fact, the actual narrative seems to be of prime importance; the text of scripture remains underneath the story itself, often subordinated in order to construct a smoothly flowing narrative.

For the first part of *sūrah* 2:189 ("They are asking you about the new moons. Say: 'They are appointed times for the people and the pilgrimage'"), Muqatil tries to provide the answers for the curious reader. Just who is asking? Why did they ask? Precisely what did they ask? This type of approach is the essence of aggadic *tafsīr.* Muqatil provides the following comment on the verse:

> Muʿādh ibn Jabl and Thaʿlabah ibn Ghanamah said: "O Messenger! Why is it that the new moon is just visible, then it appears small like a needle, then brightens until it is strong, then levels off and becomes a circle, only to start to decrease and get smaller, until it returns just as it was? Why does it not remain at a single level?" So God revealed the verse about the new moons.

The identification of the participants and the precise question being asked (provided in a marvelously naive and therefore entertaining manner) are specified. The overall interpretation of the verse becomes clear through this supplying of contextual material.

Legal tafsīr. Muqātil ibn Sulaymān once again is a focal point in the development of legal interpretation. Here, the arrangement of the material becomes the prime indicator of the genre; whereas in narrative interpretation the order of scripture for the most part serves as the basic framework, for the legal material a topical arrangement is the definitive criterion. The fact that the actual content of Muqātil's legal *tafsīr,* entitled *Tafsīr khams mīʾah āyah min al-Qurʾān* (The Interpretation of Five Hundred Verses of the Qurʾān), is probably derived from his narrative *tafsīr* reveals that the prime criterion is indeed the form of the work.

Muqātil's text covers the following topics: faith, prayer, charity, fasting, pilgrimage, retaliation, inheritance, usury, wine, marriage, divorce, adultery, theft, debts, contracts, and holy war. This range of topics gives a fair indication of the nature of much of the material in the Qurʾān which was found to be of legal value.

Textual tafsīr. Activities centered on explanations of the lexicon of scripture, along with its grammar and variant readings, are the focus of textual commentaries. One of the earliest texts devoted to this type of analysis is that of the philologist al-Farrāʾ (d. 822) entitled *Maʿānī al-Qurʾān* (The meanings of the Qurʾān), a fairly technical work which primarily explains the difficult points of grammar and textual variants. The work of Abū ʿUbayd (d. 838), *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān* (The merits of the Qurʾān), is similar, although it is divided by topic rather than following the Qurʾanic order, as does the work of al-Farrāʾ. Earlier simple texts also exist, including that by Muqātil ibn Sulaymān, *Kitāb al-wujūh wa-al-naẓāʾir* (The book of [word] senses and parallels), and al-Kisāʾī (d. 804), *Mushtabihāt al-Qurʾān* (The resemblances of the Qurʾān), both of which are devoted to semantic analysis of the text. Muqātil's text compiles lists of word usages according to the number of senses of meaning *(wujūh)* of a given word; al-Kisāʾī's work is similar but deals with phrases rather than individual words.

Rhetorical tafsīr. Concern for the literary excellencies of scripture is the focal point of works such as that by Abū ʿUbaydah (d. 824), *Majāz al-Qurʾān* (The literary expression of the Qurʾān), although the origin of this type of analysis may well be in textual exegesis (with a grammatical focus) rather than in a purely literary type. The impetus for its development as a separate genre, however, was the nascent notion of the miraculous character of the Qurʾān and the literary evidence for it. While this became a full doctrine only in the fourth century AH, its exegetical roots are to be found here. The work *Taʾwīl mushkil al-Qurʾān* (The interpretation of the difficulties in the Qurʾān), by Ibn Qutaybah (d. 889), proves to be an important transition point between this earliest rhetorical analysis based upon grammatical and exegetical niceties and that of the later doctrine of the miraculous character or inimitability of the Qurʾān *(iʿjāz).* In these texts attention is paid to the literary qualities of the Qurʾān which place it outside the norm of Arabic prose and poetry; various poetical figures are isolated, for example, are subjected to analysis for meaning, and, in many cases, are then compared with older Arabic poetry.

Allegorical tafsīr. Support for dissident opinion in Islam was generally found *ex post facto* through the expediency of allegorical interpretation. Supported through a terminological differentiation of the *ẓāhir* as *historia,* "literal," and the *bāṭin* as *allegoria,* "symbolic," the Ṣūfī *tafsīr* of Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 896) exemplifies this trend in the earliest period. No attempt is made in this work, however, to provide an overall allegorical interpretation; rather, it takes isolated passages from the text of scripture and views them in light of mystical experience. The order of scripture is followed in al-Tustarī's text as it now exists, although the initial compilation may not have followed any such order. About one thousand verses (out of some sixty-two hundred) in the Qurʾān are covered in this manner.

The commentary itself, which is structured piecemeal and reads in a disjointed fashion, contains much more than straightforward allegorical interpretation: legends of the ancient prophets, stories about Muḥammad, and even some about the author of the work himself also find their place. Nor is any overall pursuit of mystical themes to be found; indeed, its general nature is fragmentary. The esoteric portions of the text are formed around typically Ṣūfī meditations on the Qurʾān, each taking a key word from the text. Allegorical interpretation in this case becomes as much a process of thematic association as one of textual commentary.

Consolidation of Classical Tafsīr. It is with the fourth century AH (tenth century CE) that true works of *tafsīr* emerge, combining in various ways the five formative elements I have described above. The first landmark of this type of *tafsīr* is that of al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan taʾwīl āy al-Qurʾān,* which gathers together in a compendium reports from earlier authorities dealing with most aspects of the Qurʾān. Verse-by-verse analysis is provided, each detailed with virtually every major interpretational trend (except sectarian). The material supplied in this manner is given in its full form, complete with the chains of transmitters for each item of information to lend the weight of tradition to each statement. This type of work is classically called *tafsīr bi-al-maʾthūr* ("interpretation by tradition"), as opposed to *tafsīr bi-al-raʾy* ("interpretation by opinion"), but the categories are misleading. Al-Ṭabarī provides his own personal interpretation, both implicitly by his editorial selection of material and explicitly by stating his opinion where different trends of interpretation exist, sometimes even going against the entire thrust of tradition and providing his own point of view; in this sense, this work, too, is *tafsīr bi-al-raʾy.*

In the centuries after al-Ṭabarī, *tafsīr* as an activity increased and became more and more sophisticated and, in some cases, reached voluminous quantities. Al-Māturīdī, Abū al-Layth al-Samarqandī (d. 983?), al-Thaʿlabī (d. 1035), and al-Wāḥidī (d. 1075) are all prominent people who in the fourth and fifth centuries AH produced volumes of *tafsīr,* sometimes, as in the case of al-Wāḥidī, in multiple editions.

Theological concerns begin to make a greater impact upon *tafsīr* in this period; it is a trend which culminates in the production of the most famous Qurʾān commentaries in the Muslim world, those of the rationalist Muʿtazilī al-Zamakhsharī (d. 1144), the philosopher Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1209), and the Sunnī traditionalist al-Bayḍāwī (d. sometime between 1286 and 1316). Debates rage among these authors, and many others, over the central questions of Islamic theology and the various positions to be found in the Qurʾān. Topics covered include free will and predestination, the attributes of God, the nature of the Qurʾān, the imposition of the tasks of the law, the nature and extent of the hereafter, and so forth. The Muʿtazilī al-Zamakhsharī opts for interpretation based upon reason in his commentary *Al-kashshāf ʿan ḥaqāʾiq ghawāmiḍ al-tanzīl* (The unveiler of the realities of the secrets of the revelation). Apparent contradiction between verses of the Qurʾān are resolved in favor of the Muʿtazilī doctrines of the unity and justice of God. Al-Bayḍāwī produced an edited version of the text by al-Zamakhsharī in his *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-taʾwīl* (The lights of the revelation and the secrets of the interpretation), removing in the process most of the Muʿtazilī tendencies and compressing the material into an even more concise form. Al-Rāzī's unfinished *tafsīr, Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* (The keys of the unknown), discusses the Qurʾān in terms of a rationalist philosophy which for the most part involved a rejection of the Muʿtazilī position and argued in support of orthodoxy. Humans, for al-Rāzī, are predetermined, and God's freedom and power cannot be confined by human rationality.

Encyclopedist *tafsīr* works in the tradition of al-Ṭabarī also continue with writers such as Ibn Kathīr (d. 1373), al-Shawkānī (d. 1839), and al-Ālūsī (d. 1854). The opposite trend toward distillation reaches its peak, in popular terms, with the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505) and Jalāl al-Dīn al Maḥallī (d. 1459).

Specializations within Classical Tafsīr. While the all-encompassing commentary marks the highlight of exegetical activity in the classical period, the field of specialized Qurʾānic sciences was emerging at the same time, providing a number of subdisciplines within *tafsīr.* Some of these are continuations of the earliest developments; others arise under new impetuses. General compendia of information on these sciences arise in the discipline known as *ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* ("the sciences of the Qurʾān"), represented by such works as *Nukat al-intiṣār li-naql al-Qurʾān* (Gems of assistance in the transmission of the Qurʾān), by al-Bāqillānī (d. 1012); *Al-burhān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* (The criterion for the sciences of the Qurʾān), by al-Zarkashī (d. 1391); and *Al-itqān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* (The perfection about the sciences of the Qurʾān), by al-Suyūṭī. The topics gathered in these books are also subjects of separate monographs by a wide variety of writers; these topics include *naskh,* abrogation of legal passages of the Qurʾān; *asbāb al-nuzūl,* the occasions of revelation of individual verses and surahs of the Qurʾān; *tajwīd,* recitation of the Qurʾān; *al-waqf wa-al-ibtidāʾ,* pauses and starts in recitation of the Qurʾān; *qirāʾāt,* variants to the text of the Qurʾān; *marsūm al-khaṭṭ,* the writing of the Qurʾān; *aḥkām,* the laws of the Qurʾān; *gharīb,* the strange or difficult words in the Qurʾān; *iʿrāb,* the grammar of the

Qurʾān; *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ,* the stories of the prophets; and *iʿjāz,* the inimitability of the Qurʾān. As these topics indicate, it is indeed difficult to separate developed *tafsīr* from both legal concerns *(fiqh)* and grammar *(naḥw).*

SECTARIAN TAFSĪR. Parallel to the development of mainstream Sunnī Muslim *tafsīr* in the classical period, works arose from various other Muslim groups, each pursuing its own particular sectarian aim and, once again, attempting to make the Qurʾān relevant to its own particular point of view and situation.

Shiism. For the Shīʿah in general, the authority of the imams who descended from ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib was ultimate in matters of interpretation of the Qurʾān. While *ḥadīth* traditions circulated in Sunnī circles were generally accepted, this material was often supplemented or corrected on the authority of the imams. The category of the *mutashābihāt* was particularly useful to the Shīʿah, for a number of appropriate "unclear" verses could be understood as referring to ʿAlī and his family. Such verses were also useful for "discovering" stridently critical comments concerning the early leaders of the Muslim community, namely Abū Bakr (d. 634), ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān.

The earliest Ithnā ʿAsharīyah or Twelver Shīʿī *tafsīr* in existence today appears to be the somewhat fragmentary commentary of ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qummī (d. tenth century) with the ascribed title *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān;* other prominent works include *Al-tibyān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān* (The explanation in interpretation of the Qurʾān), by Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 1067), and a major commentary which is a compendium of information comparable to that of al-Ṭabarī, *Majmaʿ al-bayān li-ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* (The collection of the explanation of the sciences of the Qurʾān), by Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭabarsī (d. 1153 or later).

Allegorical interpretation is favored in Shīʿī *tafsīr* as a process of looking for the "inner" meaning in many passages. The special way of applying this method is to find references to ʿAlī and his family, which, of course, serves to promote Shīʿī claims to power and legitimacy. For example, in al-Qummī's *tafsīr,* the notion of Islam itself is defined not simply as submission to God but also as submission to the authority of the line of imams. The use of textual variation is also present in some works, although whenever the Shīʿah have been powerful in political affairs and fully institutionalized, such notions have generally been rejected as anti-status quo. This was already true to some extent in the eleventh century but became even more so with the rise of the Safavids in the sixteenth century. The specific argument occurred over whether some of the Qurʾān had been changed, or even omitted by ʿUthmān when he ordered its compilation, in order to undermine Shīʿī claims. Passages referring directly to ʿAlī had been erased, it was suggested. Al-Qummī argues, for example, that there are verses in the Qurʾān where "letters have been replaced by other letters," and he says that there are places where "verses contradict what God has sent down" (that is, they contradict or at least do not support Shīʿī beliefs). Al-Ṭabarsī argues, however, that the only change that has occurred in the Qurʾān concerns the overall order of the text itself and not its contents. One common textual variant which does receive wide acceptance among Shīʿī commentators concerns the word *ummah* ("community"), which is believed to be properly read *aʾimmah* ("leaders") or imams *(aʾimmah* being the plural of *imām* and having the same basic consonantal structure as *ummah).*

The Shīʿah, like the Muʿtazilah, looked to the Qurʾān for support of the rationalist theological doctrines that were a key element of their belief system: free will and the created Qurʾān. Their interpretational method, therefore, is similar to that employed by al-Zamakhsharī. The Ismāʿīlīyah likewise employed the Qurʾān as a reference point for their theologizing; the group's esoteric leanings, often characterized as extreme, are not witnessed in many texts but are found, for example, in the fragmentary *Mizāj al-tasnīm* (The condition of *tasnīm*) by Ismāʿīl ibn Hibat Allāh (d. 1760). In general, the Ismāʿīlī movement sees the outer meaning of the Qurʾān as only the symbol of the true inner meaning. The imam of the age, who has in him the true, full revelation, adapts the Qurʾān to the spiritual and mental condition of humanity through interpretation; eventually, people will be brought to the true and full meaning of the text, which is essentially the knowledge of the unity of God. Such is the presupposition with which all Ismāʿīlī *tafsīr* approaches the text.

The more recent Bahāʾī movement establishes its clear Islamic heritage through the existence of works of *tafsīr* written in Arabic by Sayyid ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī (1819–1850). Known as the Bāb, or "gate," he claimed to have initiated a new prophetic cycle and became the focal point of the movement which developed later as the Bahāʾī. Among his works are commentaries on *sūrahs* 12, 108, and 113 of the Qurʾān. In general these are marked by a spiritualistic interpretation of eschatology, including the notions of paradise, hell, death, and resurrection, all of which are taken to refer to the end of the prophetic cycle as well as the end of the physical world (although the latter is recreated by God in each prophetic cycle).

Sufism. Directly related to Shīʿī *tafsīr* in general is Ṣūfī interpretation, which provides a mystical speculation upon the Qurʾān. This interpretation usually justifies itself through reference to mystical activities believed to have been practiced and supported by Muḥammad. Sahl al-Tustarī, mentioned above, probably represents the earliest example of this tendency. Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d. 1012) compiled his *Ḥaqāʾiq al-tafsīr* (The truths of interpretation) from various Ṣūfī authorities and other important personalities. All of the material can be considered allegorical, since it is devoted to finding the inner meaning of each passage as it relates to the mystical quest. A typical example is found in the interpretation of sura 17:1, the classical reference to Muḥammad's "night journey" to heaven, which is taken as a reference to each mystic's ascent to the higher levels of consciousness. Another prominent Ṣūfī, Abū Ḥamīd al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), did not write a commentary on the Qurʾān as such but found many occasions on which to record his approach to the text of scripture from the point of view of the intellectual Ṣūfī. For al-Ghazālī as for most other mystics, the Qurʾān works on two levels: the practical and the cognitive. The former applies to the inner self and its purification without neglect of the outer activities, while the latter is a meaning found through inner experience in light of mystical thought, and it can be reached only through firm knowledge of the practical or outer aspects. ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī (d. 1330?) compiled perhaps the most widely known Ṣūfī *tafsīr,* although it has often been mistakenly attributed directly to his teacher, the famous Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1240), and thus is usually known under the title of *Tafsīr Ibn al-ʿArabī* (The interpretation of Ibn al-ʿArabī). As with al-Ghazālī, the outer principles of religion are not to be forgotten, although within the context of the *tafsīr* they certainly become submerged under allegorical interpretation, here seen in terms of the esoteric inner meaning as well as the symbolism of real events in the world.

EMERGENCE OF MODERN TAFSĪR. The rise of colonialism and the impact of Western thought in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries certainly did not spell the end of *tafsīr* activity; in fact, at various times, the modern world has provoked more and more voluminous commentary upon the Qurʾān. Modern *tafsīr* is no different in basic impetus from its classical counterpart; it, too, desires to fit the text of scripture to the conditions of the era contemporary with the interpreter.

The impact of science has perhaps been the major factor in creating new demands and also the element of contemporary life to which much early modern *tafsīr* made its response. Muslims had not understood the true message of the Qurʾān, most modernists argued, and had therefore lost touch with the true scientific, rational spirit of the text. Out of this basic point several elements have emerged that unite all modernist interpretations: (1) the attempt is made to interpret the Qurʾān in the light of reason ("to interpret the Qurʾān by the Qurʾān," as it is frequently phrased) rather than with all the extraneous material provided by tradition in the form of *ḥadīth* reports and earlier commentaries; "Back to the source" often becomes the motto of such approaches; (2) the attempt is made, through the expediency of interpretation, to strip the Qurʾān of all legendary traits, primitive ideas, fantastic stories, magic, fables, and superstition; symbolic interpretation is the primary means for such resolutions; (3) the attempt is made to rationalize doctrine as found in or as justified by reference to the Qurʾān.

The earliest focal point of modernist *tafsīr* activity arose in India. Shāh Walī Allāh (1703–1762) is often seen as the precursor of the Indian reformist movement, but that trend reached its true blossoming with the Indian civil servant and educator Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817–1898), who wrote the first major explicitly modernist *tafsīr,* entitled simply *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān.* His commentary was directed toward making all Muslims aware of the fact that Western influence in the world required a new vision of Islam, for Islam as it was actually practiced and believed in by most of its adherents would be seriously threatened by modern advances in thought and science. Where, therefore, was the true core of Islam to be found? How was its center to be defined? For Ahmad Khan, these questions were to be answered through reference to the Qurʾān, which, if it were properly understood through the use of the powers of reason, would provide the necessary answers. The basis of the required social and educational reforms, for example, were to be found in the Qurʾān. By returning to the source of Islam, the religion would be revitalized and the future would be secure.

In the Arab world, Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1849–1905), a vigorous champion of educational reform, also wrote a commentary on the Qurʾān, commonly called *Tafsīr al-Manār* (The interpretation of al-Manār), which was completed after his death by his pupil Rashīd Riḍā (1865–1935). Not overly modernistic in outlook, ʿAbduh's *tafsīr* does, however, urge the moderate use of rationality in matters of theology and tries to demonstrate that the Qurʾān is to be read primarily as a source of moral guidance applicable to the modern situation. The spiritual aspect of the Qurʾān was most important to ʿAbduh, and he, like many commentators in the past, was quite prepared to leave certain matters in the Qurʾān unexplained and to concentrate on their mysteriousness rather than to suggest resolutions for interpretational difficulties.

This type of interpretation continues more recently in the Arab world, represented, for example, by the intellectual spokesman for the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, Sayyid Quṭb (1906–1959), who in his work *Fī ẓilāl al-Qurʾān* (In the shade of the Qurʾān) interprets the text according to his own particular ideological leanings. India, too, has produced many such commentaries; examples are Abū al-Kalām Azād (1888–1959), whose Urdu work *Tarjumān al-Qurʾān* (The interpretation [or translation] of the Qurʾān) emphasized the notion of the unity of humankind while its author faced the rising tide favoring the formation of Pakistan, and Abū al-Aʿlā Mawdūdī (1903–1979), the author of *Tafhīm al-Qurʾān* (The meaning of the Qurʾān), who uses the Qurʾān to establish a blueprint for a future Islamic society in Pakistan to be formed through his political party, Jamāʿat-i Islāmī.

The impact of Western science is perhaps the most notable aspect of modern commentaries. Both Ahmad Khan and ʿAbduh were intent on encouraging their compatriots to embrace the scientific outlook of the West in order to share in the progress of the modern world. Often this effort involved little more than simply stating that the Qurʾān enjoins its readers to seek and use rational knowledge, but at other times it also involved the historical claim that Islam had developed science in the first place and had then passed it on to Europe, so that in embracing the scientific outlook in the present situation Muslims were only reclaiming what was truly Islamic. A more distinctive trend in *tafsīr* emerges also, however, primarily in the person of Ṭanṭāwī Jawharī (1870–1940) and his twenty-six-volume work, *Al-jawāhir fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān* (Jewels in the interpretation of the Qurʾān). God would not have revealed the Qurʾān, so the argument goes, had he not included in it everything that people needed to know; science is obviously necessary in the modern world, so it should not be surprising to find all of science in the Qurʾān when that scripture is properly understood. Jawharī also makes reference to the classical notion of the miraculous character or inimitability of the Qurʾān *(iʿjāz),* which he takes to refer primarily to the content of the text in terms of its knowledge concerning matters which are only now becoming clear to humankind. Since the scientific knowledge contained in the text is proof of its miraculous character, references are found in the Qurʾān for numerous modern inventions (electricity, for example) and scientific discoveries (the fact that the earth revolves around the sun).

Western thought has also influenced *tafsīr* in another way, although perhaps not so dramatically in terms of its popular acceptance as has "scientific" exegesis; the emergence of modern literary-philological-historical criticism has, thus far, played a fairly minor role but most certainly has found its supporters. ʿĀʾishah ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, a university professor in Morocco who writes under the name Bint al-Shāṭiʾ, represents a development of this line. This modern interpretation is not a resurrection of the philological type of commentary associated with al-Zamakhsharī, for example, who, although he wrote with great critical acumen, is for most modernists too full of unnecessary material which is seen to be a hindrance to understanding in the modern world; rather, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān pursues a straightforward approach, searching for the "original meaning" of a given Arabic word or phrase in order to understand the Qurʾān in its totality. This process does not involve the use of material extraneous to the Qurʾān itself, except perhaps for the use of a small amount of ancient poetry, but rather it uses the context of a given textual passage to define a word in as many overall contexts as it occurs. Neither the history of the Arabs nor that of the biblical prophets nor scientific topics are to be found in the Qurʾān because providing such material is not seen to be the task of the text. The purpose of the narrative elements of the Qurʾān is to provide moral and spiritual guidance to the believers, not to provide history or "facts." Within the Muslim world, the attempt to demythologize scripture—as in this approach—marks the beginnings of an incorporation of a type of modern critical scholarship developed in the context of biblical studies; its future at this point, however, remains uncertain.

SEE ALSO Biblical Exegesis; Iʿjāz; Qurʾān; Scripture.

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Four books are fundamental to the modern study of *tafsīr: Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* (Leiden, 1920), a collection of Ignácz Goldziher's lectures delivered in 1913, has yet to be replaced as a general overview of the subject; Theodor Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorāns,* vol. 2, *Die Sammlung des Qorāns,* 2d ed. (Leipzig, 1919), contains, especially on pages 123–192, much valuable and basic material; John Wansbrough's *Quranic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation* (Oxford, 1977) is essential to the study of the formation and early development of *tafsīr* and to all discussions of terminology and genres of exegetical literature; volume 1 of Fuat Sezgin's *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (Leiden, 1967) records most of the known Arabic works of *tafsīr* up to the fifth century AH.

Jane I. Smith's *An Historical and Semantic Study of the Term "Islām" as Seen in a Sequence of Qurʾān Commentaries* (Missoula, Mont., 1975), discusses the works of seventeen exegetes on specific verses of the Qurʾān and at the same time provides useful introductions to the lives and works of the individuals. On Ṣūfī *tafsīr* two excellent works exist: Paul Nwyia's *Exégèse coranique et langage mystique* (Beirut, 1970) and Gerhard Böwering's *The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam: The Qurʾānic Hermeneutics of the Ṣūfī Sahl al-Tustarī, d. 283/896* (New York, 1980). The latter discusses both textual and thematic matters in exemplary fashion.

Modern *tafsīr* has been analyzed by J. M. S. Baljon in *Modern Muslim Koran Interpretation, 1880–1960* (Leiden, 1961) and by J. J. G. Jansen in *The Interpretation of the Koran in Modern Egypt* (Leiden, 1974); both works provide basic yet informative overviews of the subject and bring Goldziher's work up to the present day.

Not many works of *tafsīr* have been translated, primarily because of their overly technical nature. Helmut Gätje has compiled extracts from various exegetes and arranged them thematically for the use of students in his *Koran und Koranexegese* (Zurich, 1971), translated by Alford T. Welch as *The Qurʾān and Its Exegesis* (Berkeley, 1976). Full works of *tafsīr* which have been translated are very few: *The Tales of the Prophets of al Kisāʾī,* translated by Wheeler M. Thackston (Boston, 1978), a book of the *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* genre, and *The Recitation and Interpretation of the Qurʾān: Al-Ghazālī's Theory,* translated by Muhammad A. Quasem (London, 1982), are two worthwhile texts. Attention should be paid to *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Ishaq's "Sīrat Rasūl Allāh"* (1955; reprint, Lahore, 1967), by Alfred Guillaume for the passages of early *tafsīr* which are contained in it; reference to these is, however, unfortunately not facilitated by an index of Qurʾānic verses in the translation. Translations of two chapters from the *Tafsīr* of al-Bayḍāwī are available. These are primarily intended for students of Arabic, since the discussion frequently tends to revolve around the sense of a given Arabic word or grammatical construction; *Bayḍāwī's Commentary on Surah 12 of the Qurʾān,* edited by A. F. L. Beeston (Oxford, 1963), is the most accessible of such texts. Modern *tafsīr* has not been served well by translation either, although the following are available: *The Meaning of the Qurʾān,* 8 vols., translated by A. A. Maududi (Lahore, 1967–1979); Abū al-Kalām Āzād's *Tarjumān al-Qurʾān,* 2 vols., translated and edited by Syed Abdul Latif (New York, 1962–1967), and Sayyid Quṭb's *In the Shade of the Qurʾān,* translated by M. A. Salahi and A. A. Shamis (London, 1979).

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Andrew Rippin (1987)

TAFTĀZĀNĪ, AL- (AH 722–791? / 1322–1389 CE), more fully Saʿd al-Dīn Masʿūd ibn ʿUmar al-Taftāzānī; master of a range of intellectual disciplines including theology, philosophy, metaphysics, logic, grammar, and rhetoric, as well as fundamental principles of jurisprudence and Qurʾanic exegesis. Born in Taftāzān, Khorasan, he is renowned for the breadth and quality of his scholarship, though little is known about his personal life. His writing career started at the age of sixteen, and before his death his works were known and studied from the eastern part of the Muslim world to Egypt in the West. Al-Taftāzānī's eminence in scholarship was noticed and recognized in his lifetime by the Mongol rulers, especially the famous Timur Lenk (Tamerlane), by whom he was personally honored.

Al-Taftāzānī's best-known work is probably his commentary on the creed of al-Nasafī (d. 1142 CE), *Sharḥ al-ʿaqāʾid al-Nasafīyah,* still studied in major Muslim seminaries. His work on the fundamental principles of Islamic law, *Sharḥ al-talwīḥ ʿala al-tawḥīd li-matn al-tanqīḥ fī uṣūl al-fiqh,* was published in Beirut in 1983. Because he wrote commentaries on Ḥanafī as well as Shāfiʿī works of jurisprudence his biographers differed as to which school of law he belonged to. The same was true in terms of his theological position. His commentary on al-Nasafī's *ʿAqāʾid* (written in 1367) led some to consider him a Maturīdī in view of his apparent espousal of their doctrines: for example, he viewed creation *(takwīn)* as eternal and an essential attribute of God, accepted the doctrine of free will, viewed the Qurʾān as an expression of God's eternal self-speech (a position also adopted by the later Ashʿarīyah), and rejected the possibility of actually seeing God in the afterlife. Despite these apparent Māturīdī leanings, his *Maqāṣid* and *Sharḥ al-Maqāṣid* (written in 1383) reveal him to be an Ashʿarī. Clearly his was a mediating position in which he demonstrated independence of thought and a resistance to legal or doctrinal classification.

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Wadi Z. Haddad (1987)

TAGORE, RABINDRANATH (1861–1941), poet, novelist, playwright, composer, and spiritual leader, is best known as the winner of the 1913 Nobel Prize for Literature and one of India's greatest modern poets. Yet he was also a complex figure who embodied many of the deepest religious and political tensions of late colonial India. As his friend E. J. Thompson described him, Tagore had a kind of dual soul, torn between his love of solitude, contemplation, and art and his commitment to social action (Thompson, 1921).

Born in Kolkata to a wealthy Bengali Brāhmaṇ family, Tagore was the son of Debendranath Tagore, a leader in the influential Hindu reform movement known as the Brāhmo Samāj and a key figure in the "Bengal Renaissance" of the nineteenth century. Although he later became critical of the movement, the universalistic and humanistic ideals of the Brāhmo Samāj had a lasting impact on Rabindranath Tagore's thought.

Tagore was a poet from an early age, composing his first piece at age eight. He was not, however, a spirit to be restrained by conventional educational institutions, and he left school at fourteen to study at home. Though a lover of the great Sanskrit poets like Kalidasa and the devotional lyrics of the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas, Tagore was also deeply influenced by nineteenth-century English poets, perhaps above all by the English romantics like John Keats and Percy Bysshe Shelley, whose reverence for nature and ideal of the creative artist can be seen throughout Tagore's work.

In 1890 Tagore took charge of the family estates in Shelidah (modern Bangladesh), where he came to admire the simple daily life, natural beauty, and folk culture of rural Bengal. Here he also first came into contact with the Baūls, a group of wandering spiritual "madmen" who reject the outward trappings of institutional religion and instead seek the indwelling "man of the heart," the elusive presence of the divine that dwells within every human body. The Baūls' iconoclastic "religion of man" (*manusher dharma*) had a lasting influence on Tagore's spiritual ideals. Called by some the "greatest of the Baūls," Tagore was a key figure in the popularization of Baūl music and spirituality as an icon of Bengali folk culture.

Tagore described his own spiritual vision as a "religion of the artist." Rejecting the rigidity and superficiality of institutional religions, including that of the Brāhmo Samāj, he based his "poet's religion" on a vision of the creative unity among God, humanity, and nature. Just as the One Divine Creator manifests himself in the infinite forms and beauty of nature, so too the individual artist reflects that diversity and returns it to divine unity through poetry, music, and art.

Tagore's literary output is astonishing in its breadth and diversity. In addition to poetry in various genres, he wrote novels, short stories, essays, political articles, and songs while also composing music and painting. He began translating his works into English, and his first attempt, *Gitanjali* (Song offerings; 1913), won the Noble Prize for Literature in 1913. Praised by W. B. Yeats as lyrics "expressing in thought a world I have dreamt of all my life," these songs helped give Tagore an international reputation and introduced Bengali literature to the world (Yeats 1913: xiii).

Unfortunately Tagore has so often been subject to hagiography and aesthetic idealization that it is often forgotten that he was, in his early life, also deeply involved in nationalist politics. As an active participant in the Swadeshi (Our Country) movement, he played an important role in the struggle for independence from British rule in the years up to 1907. He, however, grew disillusioned with the elitism and increasing violence of the movement and so gradually retreated from the political sphere into the inner domain of poetry, art, and spirituality.

This profound disillusionment with the violence of the nationalist movement and the retreat into an inner realm of spirituality is poignantly expressed in his novel *The Home and the World* (*Ghare-bāire;* 1919). One of Tagore's darkest works, it centers on the terrorist violence of 1907 and the ultimate failure of violent revolt as a means to independence. At the same time it also expresses Tagore's own ambivalent status, torn between home and world, between the inner realm of art and spirituality and the outward realm of public action.

Even after his withdrawal from political action Tagore continued to speak on social and political issues, if only in a sort of "antipolitical" way. In 1917, shocked by the horrors of World War I, Tagore also delivered a series of lectures in Japan and the United States that leveled a scathing attack on the "madness of nationalism" (Kopf 1979: 301). A monstrous and dehumanizing force spreading through the globe, nationalism had in Tagore's eyes only succeeded in stripping human beings of their individuality and ended in violent self-destruction.

In addition to his importance as a poet, artist, and political figure, Tagore was also deeply concerned with education. He founded Shantiniketan (the "abode of peace"), one of India's most original examples of alternative pedagogy. Dismayed by the stifling structures of traditional education in British India, Tagore turned instead to the model of the *tapovanas* or forest hermitages. Classes at Shantiniketan were held outdoors, in the shade of trees, emphasized the arts, and fostered the ideal of creative unity central to Tagore's own philosophy.

Tagore's influence remains evident in contemporary India not only in his homeland, where he is a cultural icon, but throughout the country and beyond. The composer of the national anthems of both India and Bangladesh, he is also one of the most widely published authors of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. However, perhaps his most lasting relevance lies in his encounters with religious violence and terrorism in colonial India. His reflections on the "madness of nationalism" are no less relevant for the twenty-first century, as religious violence has by no means ended but arguably only grown more intense and destructive. It is more than a little ironic that the same country that sings his lyrics in its national anthem should remain torn by the very religious nationalism that Tagore so deplored.

SEE ALSO Bengali Religions; Hinduism; Poetry, article on Indian Religious Poetry.

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ṬĀHIRAH SEE QURRAT AL-ʿAYN ṬĀHIRAH

TAI CHEN SEE DAI ZHEN

T'AI-CHI SEE TAIJI

T'AI-HSÜ See TAIXU

TAIJI.

In the *Yi jing* (Book of Changes; a wisdom book in ancient China that is widely believed to have been a major source of inspiration for Confucianism and Daoism), the term *Taiji* ("great ultimate") signifies the origin and ground of Heaven and earth and of all beings. It is the Great Ultimate that is said to engender or produce yin and yang, the twin cosmic forces, which in turn give rise to the symbols, patterns, and ideas that are, indeed, forms of yin and yang. The interaction of the two modalities of these cosmic forces bring about the eight trigrams that constitute the basis of the *Yi jing*. Combining any two of the eight trigrams, each of which contains three broken (yin) and three unbroken (yang) lines, forms one of the sixty-four hexagrams. These are taken as codes for all possible forms of change, transformation, existence, life, situations, and institutions both in nature and in culture. The Great Ultimate, then, is the highest and the most fundamental reality, and is said to generate and underlie all phenomena.

However, it is misleading to conceive of the Great Ultimate as the functional equivalent of either the Judeo-Christian concept of God or the Greek idea of Logos. The Great Ultimate is neither the willful creator nor pristine reason, but an integral part of an organic cosmic process. The inherent assumption of this interpretation is that the universe is in a dynamic process of transformation and, at the same time, has an organic unity and an underlying harmony. The universe, in Joseph Needham's understanding, is well-coordinated and well-ordered but lacks an ordainer. The Great Ultimate, so conceived, is a source or root, and is thus inseparable from what issues from it.

It was the Song-dynasty neo-Confucian master Zhou Dunyi (Zhou Lianxi, 1017–1073) who significantly contributed to the philosophical elaboration of the notion. In his *Taijitu shuo* (Explanation of the diagram of the Great Ultimate), strongly influenced by the cosmology of the *Yi jing*, Zhou specifies the cosmic process as follows: the Great Ultimate through movement and tranquility generates the two primordial cosmic forces, which in turn transform and unite to give rise to the Five Agents or Five Phases (*wuxing*, water, fire, wood, metal, and earth). When the five vital forces *(qi)*, corresponding to each of the five "elements" (agents or phases), interact among themselves and reach a harmonious order, the four seasons run their orderly course. This provides the proper environment for the Five Agents to come into "mysterious union." Such a union embraces the two primordial cosmic forces, the female and the male, which interact with each other to engender and transform all things. The continuous production and reproduction of the myriad things make the universe an unending process of transformation. It is in this sense, Zhou Dunyi states, that "the Five Agents constitute a manifestation of *yin* and *yang*, and *yin* and *yang* constitute a manifestation of the Great Ultimate." This is the basis for the commonly accepted neo-Confucian assertion that the Great Ultimate is embodied both singly by each thing and collectively by all things.

It has been documented that Zhou's *Taijitu shuo* grew out of a long Daoist tradition. Indeed, it is believed that Zhou received the diagram itself from a Daoist master: Daoist influences are evident even in his explanatory notes. His introduction of the term "the Non-Ultimate" or "the Ultimate of Non-being" *(wuji)* generated much controversy among Song and Ming dynasty Confucian thinkers because the notion "non-ultimate" or "non-being" seems closer to the Daoist idea of nothingness than the Confucian concept that the human world is real. However, by defining human spirituality in terms of the notion that it is "man alone who receives the cosmic forces and the Five Agents in their most refined essence, and who is therefore most sensitive," Zhou clearly presents a philosophical anthropology in the tradition of Confucian humanism.

A similar attempt to read a humanist message into the seemingly naturalistic doctrine of the Great Ultimate is also found in the writings of Shao Yong (Shao Kangjie, 1011–1077), perhaps one of the most metaphysical Confucian masters of the Song dynasty. Shao's cosmology is presented as the numerical progression of the one to the many: "The Great Ultimate is the One. It produces the two (*yin* and *yang*) without engaging in activity. The two (in their wonderful changes and transformations) constitute the spirit. Spirit engenders number, number engenders form, and form engenders concrete things" (Chan, 1969, pp. 492–493). Shao further maintains that the human mind in its original state is the Great Ultimate. If one's mind can regain its original calm, tranquility, and enlightenment it has the capacity to investigate principle *(li)* to the utmost. The mind can then fully embody the Great Ultimate not only as the defining characteristic of its true nature but also as an experienced reality, a realized truth. This paradoxical conception that the Great Ultimate is part of the deep structure of our minds but that it can be fully realized only as a presence in our daily lives is widely shared among neo-Confucian thinkers.

Zhu Xi (1130–1200), in a rationalist attempt to provide an overall cosmological and metaphysical vision, defines the Great Ultimate as "nothing other than principle," or, alternately, as "merely the principle of Heaven and earth and the myriad things." Perhaps inadvertently, Zhu Xi restricted the Great Ultimate so as to acknowledge its function as the ground of all beings but not necessarily its role in the generation of the universe. However, there is fruitful ambiguity in Zhu Xi's position. In response to the challenging question as to whether the Great Ultimate must split into parts to become the possession of each of the myriad things, Zhu Xi employed the famous Buddhist analogy of moonlight scattered upon rivers and lakes. That there is only one moon in the sky does not prevent its being seen everywhere without losing its singularity and wholeness. Zhu Xi further depicts the Great Ultimate as having neither space nor form. The

Great Ultimate, although symbolizing the principle of activity and tranquility, is not directly involved in the creative transformation of the universe. Nevertheless, like Zhou Dunyi and other neo-Confucian thinkers, Zhu Xi insisted that the truth of the Great Ultimate must be personally realized through moral self-cultivation: the truth of the Great Ultimate is not simply knowledge about some external reality but a personal knowledge rooted in self-awareness in the ethico-religious sense.

In the folk tradition, the symbol of the Great Ultimate carries a connotation of mysterious creativity. The spiritual and physical exercise known as *Taiji quan* (a form of traditional Chinese shadowboxing) is still widely practiced. This slow, firm, and rhythmic exercise disciplines the body and purifies the mind through coordinated movements and regulated breathing. It is a remarkable demonstration that cosmological thought can be translated into physical and mental instruction for practical living without losing its intellectual sophistication. After all, in the Chinese order of things, to know the highest truth is not simply to know about something but to know how to do it properly through personal knowledge.

SEE ALSO Confucianism; Li; Yinyang Wuxing; Zhou Dunyi; Zhu Xi.

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TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE

TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE (The cattle raid of Cuailnge) is the longest and the most famous of the early Irish heroic tales. It exists in three recensions. The first of them is preserved in *Lebhor na hUidhre* (The book of the dun cow), dated circa 1100 CE, and in the Yellow Book of Lecan, a late fourteenth-century manuscript. The second is preserved in the Book of Leinster, written in the mid-twelfth century, and the third in two manuscripts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. However, as with many other early Irish tales, the date of the earliest extant manuscript provides only a *terminus ante quem* for the first recording as well as for the composition of the text, and even in the first recension of *Táin Bó Cuailnge* there are several linguistic strata which make it possible to trace the earlier written history of the tale back to the seventh or eighth century. This recension seems to have been compiled about the middle of the eleventh century from at least two variant written versions dating from about the ninth century, but may also have drawn upon sources in oral tradition. On linguistic and other grounds Rudolf Thurneysen (1921) concluded that the saga may have been recorded for the first time in the middle of the seventh century. Moreover, there is a poem composed not later than the seventh century in which the supernatural woman Scáthach addresses the principal hero of *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, Cú Chulainn, and foretells, cryptically and laconically, some of the main events of the tale; but whether the poet was drawing upon an oral tradition or a written version of the tale is uncertain.

In its extant form, the story tells of an attack on the province of Ulster organized by Ailill and Medhbh, king and queen of Connacht, and supported by the rest of Ireland. The object of the attack is to carry off the great bull of the Ulster people, the Donn Cuailnge ("the brown bull of Cuailnge"). Such was the prestige of *Táin Bó Cuailnge* in early medieval Ireland that it generated an extensive complex of ancillary tales and traditions and came to be accepted by native men of learning as the classic statement of the heroic ethos.

As it stands, the saga reflects something of Irish political conditions at the beginning of the historical period (fifth century) or earlier, but some scholars have suggested that its original theme was the rivalry of two bulls. The background to this rivalry is given in a separate tale: the bulls had formerly been magical swineherds who had quarreled and passed through a series of metamorphoses before reaching their actual form. Bruce Lincoln has argued that the account of the fight between the bulls at the end of *Táin Bó Cuailnge* is a reflex of an Indo-European cosmogonic myth: "a man . . . and a bull . . . are killed and dismembered, and from their bodies the world is constructed" (*Priests, Warriors, and Cattle*, Berkeley, 1981, pp. 86–92). However, several difficulties remain to be resolved before this attractive hypothesis can be accepted.

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PROINSIAS MAC CANA (1987 AND 2005)

TAIPING ("great peace" or "great equity") denotes a pan-Chinese social ideal and utopian slogan of rebels and dynasty founders. *Ping* ("level, balanced, just, harmonious"), *daping* ("great peace"), or *taiping* ("supreme peace") first appear in Confucian texts of the pre-Han (pre-206 BCE) era. There these terms denoted the ideal state of the world that had existed in high antiquity and that could again be brought about by a sage ruler who practiced the proper rites and music (*Daxue, Li ji*). The term never implied social equality in a modern sense but rather referred to a society where, as Xunzi defined it, each individual occupies the place that he should and fulfills his task according to his capacities. At the same time, Great Peace was not limited to human society but denoted a cosmic harmony that resulted in a seasonal climate, plentiful harvests, and longevity of all living beings (*Chunqiu fanlu, Yantie lun*). It was a state in which all the concentric spheres of the organic Chinese universe, which contained nature as well as society, were perfectly attuned, communicated with each other in a balanced rhythm of timeliness, and brought maximum fulfillment to each living being.

During the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE), Great Peace became the social ideal of the official Confucian state doctrine (which it remains to this day). However, when the Han declined, "Great Peace" became the slogan also of popular movements of revolt inspired by Daoism. Daoism had earlier found a place for the concept in its own philosophy. The Daoist philosopher Zhuangzi (fourth century BCE) had called a government that conformed to the order of nature *taiping*, an idea that was in no contradiction to the Confucian definition of the term. The Daoist popular movements were opposed not to the ideal of Great Peace but to the dynasty that subscribed to it and had failed to bring it about. Thus, *taiping* cannot be called a "revolutionary" ideal, although two of the greatest social upheavals in Chinese history are called Taiping rebellions.

Twice during the Han period, a group of *fangshi* ("masters of [esoteric] techniques") presented at court a *Taiping jing* (Classic of Great Peace). It was rejected because of its Daoist tenor. This or a similar *Classic of Great Peace* became the sacred scripture of the first Taiping or "Yellow Turban" Rebellion (184 CE), which eventually brought down the Han empire. This scripture, still extant in a revised version (probably sixth century), elaborates the messianic element in the Taiping tradition: the Great Peace that the princes of high antiquity brought about through a Daoist government of "nonintervention" (*wuwei*) is a state that will be recreated in the near future as a result of revelations by a divine messenger called Celestial Master (Tianshi). The religious originality of this view lies in its substitution of the Confucian virtues and rites with Daoist spiritual exercises and other methods of longevity as the means by which to reach Taiping.

The rebellion of 184 was crushed, but it engendered a messianic ideology that flourished during the Period of Disunion (220–581), was rekindled in all subsequent periods of upheaval, and formed the basis of Daoist as well as Buddhist messianism and eschatology in China. This Taiping ideology centered around the expectation that a divine or human sage ruler, the Perfect Lord of Great Peace (Taiping Zhenjun), emissary of Heaven, will appear on a prophesied date at the height of a period of cosmic chaos and human suffering. He will save the elect (*zhongmin*, the "seed people") from the demonic forces sent to destroy all evildoers, and will usher in the reign of Great Peace (as related in the *Dongyuan shenzhou jing*). Even in this religious setting, the messianic kingdom is often no more and no less than a glorious new Chinese dynasty, although in some Daoist traditions it is developed into a paradisiacal utopia.

Dynasty founders, especially those of the Tang, 618–906, and the Ming, 1368–1644, tapped this messianic tradition by casting themselves in the role of the sage ruler of Taiping. Ten times in Chinese history Taiping was chosen as the name of a reign period (*nianhao*). Emperor Taiwu of the Northern Wei called both himself and a period of his reign (440–452) "Perfect Lord of Great Peace."

The second Taiping rebellion (1850–1865) was the most powerful of several great uprisings toward the end of the Manchu dynasty. In 1851, the visionary rebel leader Hong Xiuquan (1813–1864) from Canton proclaimed the Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace (Taiping Tianguo) with himself as Emperor of Great Peace (Taiping Tianzi). His religion was a combination of Chinese traditions with many elements from Protestant Christianity (monotheism, ten commandments, Sunday worship, iconoclasm, condemnation of "Chinese idol-worship"). Hong called himself the younger brother of Jesus Christ. God had endowed him with imperial legitimation (in the shape of a seal), with the (Daoist) power to kill demons (a sword), and with divine scriptures (revelation in Chinese religion is always in the form of writing). The Taiping theocracy established in Nanjing was destroyed in 1864, but the Taiping ideal lives on in Daoism and in most of the modern Chinese syncretist religions.

SEE ALSO Daoism, overview article; Millenarianism, article on Chinese Millenarian Movements.

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TAIWANESE RELIGIONS.

The term *Taiwanese religions* is used here to describe the religious beliefs and practices of the people who inhabit Taiwan, regardless of their ethnic or sub-ethnic backgrounds. Taiwan has long been recognized for its diverse range of religious traditions. As different groups of Taiwanese have attempted to find meaningful ways to confront life crises, social disorder, natural disasters, and a sense of injustice, they have created a wide range of beliefs and practices, each with its own distinctive background and characteristics. This diversity befits Taiwan's historical development as an island situated in a key commercial and strategic location, and justifies the use of the plural form in considering its religious traditions.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW. Taiwan was first settled by Aboriginal peoples of Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) origin, with significant immigration from the Chinese mainland only beginning by the seventeenth century. During the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), the island was largely a frontier region that never became fully integrated into the Chinese empire. However, Han Chinese migrants brought their gods over from China, and worshipped them in various compatriot, territorial, and commercial temples. Various Chinese sectarian movements, as well as Christianity, also began to spread in developed areas of Taiwan, but it appears that no eminent Buddhist or Daoist figures came to the island at this time.

During the colonial era (1895–1945), when Taiwan was ruled by Japan, the island enjoyed a prolonged period of urbanization and industrialization, which laid a firm foundation for its economic development. Taiwanese religious traditions flourished during most of this era, despite policy shifts from laissez-faire (1895–1915) to regulation (1915–1930s) to efforts to co-opt Buddhism and Christianity while suppressing sectarian movements and temple cults under a "temple-restructuring" campaign enacted during the "Japanization" movement (1930s–1940s).

Taiwan became a province of the Republic of China (ROC) in 1945, and the Nationalist (Guomindang) government relocated to Taiwan in 1949 after its defeat in the Chinese civil war. Many prominent religious specialists followed the Nationalists over from China during these chaotic years, including eminent Buddhist monks, the Daoist Celestial Master (Tianshi), leaders of sectarian traditions such as the Way of Unity (Yiguan Dao), and Christian missionaries. More recently, Tibetan Buddhists and members of new Japanese religions have begun to proselytize in Taiwan. While the state kept a close watch on these movements during the early decades of the postwar era, the end of martial law in 1987 marked the beginning of a new era of religious development.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Taiwan boasts one of the most dynamic religious environments in East Asia. In contrast with China, where religion is only gradually emerging from the shadow of long-term oppression by a totalitarian regime, Taiwanese religions are thriving and even expanding. Freedom of religion has always been guaranteed under the ROC Constitution, Article 13 of which clearly states, "the people shall have freedom of religious beliefs." However, now that Taiwan has developed into a democracy, people can practice the religious tradition of their choice without fear of state suppression. Members of any religious faith are free to congregate and introduce their belief systems to others, while previously outlawed sectarian movements now operate openly and continue to expand. The legitimacy of Taiwan's religious traditions can also be seen in the formation of the Taiwan Association of Religious Studies, which was founded on April 18, 1999, and has attracted the membership of dozens of students, faculty, and religious specialists from both Taiwan and other countries.

Another striking facet of religion in Taiwan is that economic growth and technological development have not resulted in the decline of religious practice; on the contrary, many educated men and women who surf the web on a daily basis apparently feel no qualms about practicing religion, and many large religious organizations and temples have their own websites.

ABORIGINAL RELIGIONS. Taiwan's most venerable religious traditions are those of its Aboriginal peoples, who are usually classified by place of residence as Plains Aborigines and Mountain Aborigines. Long-term processes of acculturation and even assimilation have diluted the aborigines' religious traditions, which generally centered on ancestor worship, lifecycle rituals, and annual festivals. Moreover, numerous aborigines have converted to Christianity, especially Presbyterianism. Some Aboriginal beliefs and practices have survived, however, and are gaining increasing recognition from scholars and government officials. These religious traditions continue to play important roles in aAboriginal life, and also serve as a vital force in the reformation of aborigine identity.

BUDDHISM. Historical evidence indicates that no eminent Buddhist monks came to Taiwan during the Qing dynasty, although some monks did make the journey across the Taiwan Straits from southern China in order to help manage temples in Taiwan that were constructed by the state or local communities. During the colonial era, lay Buddhists and members of the *saṃgha* attempted to evade state control by actively cooperating with Japanese Buddhists. Some subordinated their sacred sites administratively to Japanese Buddhist lineages. Others formed religious associations that pledged their loyalty to the colonial authorities, including the Patriotic Buddhist Association, the Buddhist Youth Association, the Taiwan Friends of the Buddhist Way, and largest and perhaps most important of all, the South Seas Buddhist Association. Nevertheless, Chinese Buddhists monastics managed to preserve many of their core beliefs and practices, and did not copy their Japanese brethren to the extent of getting married, eating meat, and drinking wine.

The postwar era has witnessed the growth of four prominent Buddhist organizations: the Buddhist Association of the Republic of China, which until the 1960s served as the state-approved and sole representative of Buddhists in Taiwan; the monastic order known as the Buddha's Light Mountain (Foguangshan), which was founded by Venerable Master Xingyun (Hsing-yun; b. 1927) and promotes a form of humanistic Buddhism advocated by the reformer Taixu (1890–1947); the Compassionate Relief Merit Society (Ciji gongdehui), which was founded in 1966 by Master Zhengyan (Cheng-yen;b. 1937) and has gained renown worldwide for its charitable works; and Dharma Drum Mountain (Fagushan), which was founded by Venerable Master Shengyan (Sheng-yen; b. 1930) and emphasizes the importance of meditation and self-cultivation. The number of lay Buddhists in Taiwan has also increased since the 1960s, but since most Taiwanese tend to identify themselves as "Buddhists" regardless of whether or not they have been initiated into this religious tradition, the exact number of practicing Buddhists in Taiwan is nearly impossible to quantify. One new development has been the growing influence of exiled Tibetan monks of the Tantric Buddhist sect, who have attracted a sizeable following in Taiwan since the 1980s. The Dalai Lama visited the island in 1997 and 2001.

DAOISM. Daoist practice can be bifurcated into monastic and nonmonastic traditions, both of which have played important roles in the history of Chinese religions. In Taiwan, however, the former tradition has almost no presence. The nonmonastic tradition is far more influential, especially the Celestial Master movement, the leader of which has the authority to bestow ordination registers on Taiwanese Daoist masters. A number of Daoist traditions that arose in southern China are also prevalent in Taiwan, including the Lüshan, Pu'an, and Sannai movements. Hoklo and Hakka masters from China's southern provinces of Fujian and Guangdong transmitted these different forms of Daoism to Taiwan during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and scholars are only beginning to fully appreciate the variation in distribution and practice among Daoist masters belonging to different sub-ethnic groups, particularly in terms of their liturgical traditions.

After the sixty-third Celestial Master Zhang Enpu followed the Nationalist government into exile in 1949, he attempted to restructure Taiwanese Daoism by founding the Daoist Association of the Province of Taiwan and the Daoist Assembly of the Republic of China. However, these organizations have exerted only a limited influence on the Daoist movements mentioned above. Their liturgical traditions, including exorcistic and healing rites as well as mortuary rituals, are still frequently performed today, and Daoist masters continue to play key roles in communal festivals, particularly those involving Daoist offerings (*jiao*; often referred to as "rites of renewal").

CHRISTIANITY AND OTHER FOREIGN RELIGIONS. The first Christian missionaries arrived in Taiwan during the early years of the seventeenth century. These included Spanish Catholics who proselytized in the north and Dutch Protestants who proselytized in the south. However, they do not appear to have attracted many converts, and ended up being driven out of Taiwan by Koxinga (1624–1662). No subsequent missionizing efforts took place until the second half of the nineteenth century. Spanish Dominicans attempted to preach the gospel among Plains Aborigines in the hills and mountains of southern Taiwan, and educate catechists by opening a seminary and training school, but these efforts were largely unsuccessful until the early twentieth century. English and Canadian Presbyterians exerted a far more significant influence throughout Taiwan. Among the most renowned Presbyterian missionaries of that era were Dr. James L. Maxwell (1836–1921) and Dr. George L. Mackay (1844–1901). Both combined proselytizing and healing: Maxwell was an unordained medical missionary, while Mackay pulled teeth and built hospitals. Like the Dominicans, the Presbyterians were most successful in attracting converts among Taiwan's Plains Aborigines, and were unable to make any inroads in Mountain Aborigine communities until the 1930s. Despite initial slow growth and cases of persecution, the Presbyterians were able to gain a significant following for a number of reasons, including having women accompany their missionary husbands (which allowed them to interact far more freely with Han Chinese and Aboriginal women), printing Bibles that used a romanized form of Southern Min (Taiwan's main local dialect), and publishing a journal entitled *The Church News* beginning in July 1885. Now named the *Taiwan Church News*, this journal is still being published today, and may be the oldest church newspaper in East Asia. Education also played an important role in Presbyterian missionizing efforts, with the Tainan Theological College being formally founded in 1880, and middle schools and girls' schools being set up during the late nineteenth century as well.

Christianity flourished during much of the colonial era, as the Japanese were initially tolerant of a religion that they saw as representing Western modernity. The Dominicans founded the Blessed Imelda School for Girls in 1917 in Taipei, and also established catechist schools in central and southern Taiwan, as well as the Santa Infancia of Holy Childhood Orphanage in the south. In addition, Methodist evangelists like Dr. John Sung (1901–1944), who converted thousands of followers throughout Asia, proselytized in Taiwan. Japanese Christians also came to Taiwan, including members of the Japanese Anglican (Episcopal), Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches. The colonial era also witnessed the development of two indigenous Christian churches: the Holiness and the True Jesus.

The Presbyterians continued to build and manage hospitals, as well as the Happy Mount Leprosy Colony (founded in northern Taiwan in 1934). Presbyterian theological colleges in northern and southern Taiwan also thrived, while the Reverend William Campbell (1841–1921) founded a school for the blind in southern Taiwan in 1900 to 1901. Missionary efforts to preach the gospel were further facilitated by the on-going translation and publishing of scriptures in romanized Southern Min. Other dedicated evangelists like Campbell N. Moody (1866–1940), who preached in over 900 of 1,100 villages in one county, also proved instrumental to the continuing growth of the Presbyterian movement. Presbyterian leaders made great efforts to develop their church's self-sufficiency by training local clergy and establishing a united Presbyterian church (the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan). This took the form of a synod, with presbyteries in the north and south of the island serving as equal partners. This self-sufficiency helped the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan survive the difficult years of the late colonial and early postwar era.

During the 1930s, Christian believers engaged in a series of tense confrontations with the colonial authorities over politically charged issues such as whether Christians should worship at Shintō shrines. Roman Catholics decided to attend, and English Presbyterians acquiesced as well, but Canadian Presbyterians were adamant in refusing to take part. All Christian movements eventually lost control of schools and other church properties by the 1940s. Many foreign missionaries left Taiwan, while others were expelled; local Christians were harassed, and some detained. In 1943, all local churches were absorbed into the Japanese-run Christian Church of Taiwan, and many churches suffered during the Allied bombing of Taiwan. By the end of World War II, however, English and Canadian Presbyterian missionaries had begun to make plans to return to the island.

Taiwan's churches kept a low profile during the early years of the postwar era, particularly after the February 28 indicent of 1947, during which thousands of Taiwanese were massacred by Nationalist forces intent on suppressing a local uprising. From 1965 to 1985, however, the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan began to publicly criticize the cultural policies of Taiwan's Nationalist government, while also advocating Taiwanese identity. The Presbyterian Church of Taiwan resisted attempts to promote Mandarin as a national language at the expense of local dialects, and continued to publish Bibles using Southern Min romanization, even after thousands of copies were confiscated. Some leaders, such as the Reverend Kao Chun-min, went to prison for their beliefs. At the same time, however, the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan and other churches managed to survive and even grow due to the Nationalist policy of opening Taiwan's doors to Western missionaries, including Anglicans, Baptists, Catholics (Jesuits, Vincentians, and the Catholic Missionary Society of America, also known as the Maryknoll Order), Jehovah's Witnesses, Lutherans, Methodists, Mormons, Pentecostals (mainly members of the Assemblies of God), and the Unification Church. However, most missionaries belonging to these churches did not speak Southern Min, and unlike the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan made little headway outside of Taiwan's major cities. Indigenous churches also grew during the postwar era, particularly Holy Spirit, which belongs to the Pentecostal movement.

Christianity in Taiwan is thriving at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Roman Catholicism made a remarkable comeback in Taiwan after 1949, when multitudes of Catholic clergy and believers followed the Nationalists to the island, thereby infusing local Catholicism with new strength and vigor. According to government statistics, as of June 2001 there were 1,135 Catholic churches, 677 clergymen, and 664 foreign missionaries in Taiwan serving nearly 300,000 believers. By that same date, the Protestant congregation had expanded to approximately 605,000 members, with 3,609 churches, 2,566 ministers, and 1,087 foreign ministers. Of these, over 220,000 were members of the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan, which has begun to focus its efforts on social welfare and environmental protection. The Presbyterian Church of Taiwan was active in organizing relief efforts after the devastating earthquake on September 21, 1999, and the church worked alongside other Christian organizations, such as the Chinese Christian Relief Association, to help local communities engage in reconstruction efforts.

Other foreign religions in Taiwan include Islam, Judaism, Bahā'ī, Tenrikyō, and Mahikarikyō. The largest of these is Islam. Approximately twenty thousand Muslims accompanied the Nationalist government to Taiwan in 1949, the majority of whom were soldiers, civil servants, or food-service workers. As of June 2001 Taiwan was home to approximately 53,000 Muslims, as well as thirty-four mullahs and six mosques.

SECTARIAN RELIGIONS. By the eighteenth century, sectarian movements composed mostly of lay Buddhist believers had begun to make their presence felt in Taiwan. Subsequently labeled "vegetarian religions" (*zhaijiao*) by the Japanese colonial authorities, these sects featured a membership of men and women who identified themselves as adhering to a form of Buddhism that exists apart from and is superior to that of the ordained Buddhist clergy. In terms of practice, believers generally perform a variety of Buddhist rituals, but adopt a strict diet that requires abstaining from meat and five types of pungent roots (onions, chives, leeks, scallions, and garlic). Many vegetarian sects became popular due to their willingness to perform rites for the dead, often at rates cheaper than those charged by ordained Buddhist and Daoist specialists. Some sects also featured latent millenarian doctrines, an issue that gained the attention of the colonial authorities after a millenarian-inspired uprising in 1915 known as the Xilai An Iincident. In order to survive the subsequent crackdown, some members of vegetarian sects organized the Taiwan Buddhist Dragon Flower Association (Fojiao Longhua hui) in order to demonstrate their allegiance to the island's Japanese overlords. Today, although many Taiwanese have adopted different forms of vegetarian diets, the overall influence of vegetarian movements is declining due to the rapid growth of the Buddhist organizations mentioned above.

The latter half of the nineteenth century was a period of rapid growth for other sectarian groups that practiced spirit-writing, published morality books, and congregated at sacred sites often referred to as "phoenix halls" (*luantang*). Some scholars refer to such sects as "Confucian," while some groups have not hesitated to use this term as an autonym. The question of exactly how "Confucian" these movements really are is difficult to resolve because this term has long been used to describe a wide variety of phenomena, including temples founded by state or local elites that are dedicated to the worship of Confucius, secular organizations that stress Confucian teachings, such as the Confucius-Mencius Society, and a wide range of sectarian groups, such as the Divine Teachings of the Confucian Tradition (Ruzong shenjiao). Modern sects in China and Taiwan have not hesitated to use the term *Confucian* to describe their tenets and practices, but for these groups, Confucianism includes unique and syncretic interpretations of key Confucian philosophical texts, as well as a distinctive liturgical style that differentiates them from other similar and hence competing groups.

Many sects that practice spirit-writing or publish morality books remain highly popular in Taiwan today. Perhaps the largest and best-known movement is the Way of Unity, which spread to Taiwan from China during the postwar era and features an eclectic religious doctrine that draws upon both traditional Chinese religious teachings and other major world religions like Christianity, Islam, Judaism, and Hinduism. Outlawed during the first decades of the postwar era, it is now a flourishing movement. According to government statistics, as of June 2001 there were 3,218 large or medium-sized Yiguan Dao temples in Taiwan, with 2,326 temple priests serving approximately 887,000 believers. However, these numbers may be somewhat inflated, and the Way of Unity has undergone a series of schisms during the postwar era, meaning that this data should not be seen as reflecting a single coherent religious movement. Other popular sectarian groups include Li-ism (Doctrine of Order), which like the Way of Unity was transmitted from China to Taiwan after 1949, as well as a wide range of groups generally referred to as "new religions" (*xinxing zongjiao*) that arose during the postwar era, particularly following the lifting of martial law. One of the best known of these groups is the Religion of the Yellow Emperor (Xuanyuan jiao), which was formally founded in Taiwan in 1957 by a legislator named Wang Hansheng. This sect attempts to promote Chinese nationalism, and preaches a syncretic philosophy combining elements of Confucianism and Daoism. Other charismatic yet controversial leaders, including Lu Shengyan, Miaotian, Qinghai, and Song Qili, have formed sectarian associations that have attracted large numbers of dedicated followers but have yet to eclipse more established religions in terms of numbers of believers and overall influence.

COMMUNAL RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS. Of Taiwan's many various beliefs and practices, communal religious traditions centering on temple cults and festivals remain the most popular and the most prevalent. Temples continue to play an integral role in individual, family, and community life, and temple cults have retained their importance as sites for daily worship, community service, and massive festivals. Membership in a temple cult is ascriptive, and does not require any form of initiation, so it is impossible to accurately calculate the exact number of men and women who belong to communal religious traditions. However, every year hundreds of thousands of Taiwanese (including many members of the religious traditions discussed above) donate money to local temples and take part in their festivals.

Most deities worshipped in temple cults in Taiwan were transmitted to the island from China, but there are also cults to indigenous deities, particularly local heroes and the unruly dead. Taiwan's most ubiquitous deity is the Earth God (Tudi gong), whose temples dot every urban and rural community. Other popular deities include Mazu (originally the goddess of the sea, now worshipped as an all-powerful protective deity) and the Royal Lords (*wangye;* originally plague deities, but now invoked to counter all manner of calamities). These and other deities are worshipped for their ability to provide health and prosperity, while their temples and festivals contribute to the formation of local social structures and a sense of identity.

One particularly fascinating phenomenon of the postwar era has been the steady popularity of cults associated with the unruly dead or eccentric deities, such as the Buddhist monk Crazy Ji (Jigong or Jidian), who gained renown for his spiritual powers despite a distinct penchant for eating meat, drinking wine, and hanging out with prostitutes. Such cults were extremely active during the Everybody's Happy (Dajia le) lottery craze of the 1980s. The inauguration of a Lotto lottery in January 2002 has prompted a new wave of worship of Taiwan's unruly gods, although the current fervor has been somewhat tempered by the fact that more and more Taiwanese are choosing to rely on computer programs to try to predict winning numbers.

Another important development is that temples are no longer strictly local entities, but now play important roles on the national stage as well. The Nationalist government actively attempted to discourage temple cults during the 1960s and 1970s (for example, in 1968, the Ministry of the Interior promoted a series of guidelines to regulate local religion entitled "Promoting Frugality in Folk Sacrifices"), a policy that only began to change during the 1980s and has now been almost completely abandoned. Today's political elites increasingly appreciate the constructive roles temples play in Taiwanese society, and now limit any state intervention to sponsoring local festivals while also attempting to regulate their contents. In addition, the modernization of Taiwan's infrastructure and liberalization of the mass media has resulted in popular pilgrimage sites being able to exert an island-wide influence.

At the same time, since Taiwan began to democratize during the 1980s, temple cults have been more than passive observers of modernization and changing state policies; they now play activist roles in community life by building libraries and community centers, sponsoring cultural activities, such as chess tournaments and classes in traditional fine arts, and engaging in a wide range of charities. Presidential and legislative candidates network with local elites and strive to attract grassroots support by campaigning at temples to popular local deities, while some aspiring politicians have attempted use temple cults to advance their own interests against those of the state. One example of the intense and also complex links between religion, politics, and identity in contemporary Taiwan involves the abortive attempt by a prominent Mazu temple known as the Zhenlan Gong to undertake a direct pilgrimage to the goddess's ancestral temple in Fujian during the spring and summer of 2000, a move that challenged the policies of the then newly elected government of President Chen Shui-bian.

The flourishing of Taiwan's many religious traditions should come as no surprise to those who have studied the history of Chinese culture during the late imperial and modern eras. Religious associations and their sacred sites have long constituted one of the most important public spaces in Asian societies, and have been key arenas where elites and representatives of the state vied to assert or reinforce their dominance over local culture and society. In Taiwan today, democratization has further enhanced the importance of religion in community life, and prompted representatives of the state to be more proactive in terms of interacting with the island's religious traditions. A similar process may be beginning in China, where local communities are slowly beginning to reassert their autonomy and religious networks are once again functioning as a second government in the sense of providing services and mobilizing the population. The extent to which the growth of local religious traditions may have a long-term impact on modern Chinese society remains to be seen, but the outpouring of new ethnographic work on China, as well as the continuing efforts of scholars researching Taiwan and Hong Kong, should give us a more comprehensive perspective on this issue in the future.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in China; Chinese Religion, overview article; Christianity, article on Christianity in Asia; Daoism, overview article.

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TAIXU (1890–1947), Chinese Buddhist reformer, founder of the Wuchang Buddhist Institute and the Buddhist journal *Haichaoyin,* and active participant in various Buddhist movements. Taixu's lay name was Lü Peilin. Born in Haining in Zhejiang, he became a monk of the Linji school of Chan Buddhism at the age of sixteen. Buddhist scriptures as well as the radical political writings of Liang Qichao and others inspired him to act for the reformation of Chinese Buddhism. He tried to put his reform programs into practice by founding the Fojiao Xiejin Hui (Association for the Advancement of Buddhism) in 1912, but the association was short-lived owing to opposition from conservative Buddhists. In 1917 Taixu visited Taiwan and Japan. Later, he established the Enlightenment Society (Jueshe) at Shanghai with the help of some eminent Chinese. The society organized public lectures and disseminated knowledge of Buddhism through its own publications. Taixu next made a preaching tour of several cities in China and in Malaya. In 1920 he founded the Buddhist periodical *Haichaoyin.* He established the Wuchang Buddhist Institute in 1922, the first modern Buddhist seminary in China. In 1923, Taixu and a few followers founded the World Buddhist Federation, which included among its members Inada Eisai and K. L. Reichelt. Two years later he led the Chinese Buddhist delegation to the Tokyo Conference of East Asian Buddhists. In 1927 he became the head of the Minnan Buddhist Institute. During that year, he associated with the Chinese Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek, who financed Taixu's world tour in 1928. The Chinese Buddhist Association was founded by Reverend Yuanying (1878–1953) at Shanghai in 1929, but Taixu's early relation with it was not cordial, though he was on its standing committee. In 1930 he founded the Sino-Tibetan Buddhist Institute in Chongqing; this became the headquarters of the Chinese Buddhist Association in the war years, 1937 to 1945. During the war, Taixu led a Chinese Buddhist mission of goodwill to Burma, India, Ceylon, and Malaya to win support and sympathy for China, and he was awarded a medal by the Chinese government for his contributions to the war effort. His influence on Nationalist leaders declined after the war, and he died on March 12, 1947. His writings were published posthumously in thirty-three volumes.

Since the late nineteenth century, Chinese Buddhism has been under constant pressure from the government and from intellectuals. In 1898 a high official proposed that 70 percent of monastic buildings and their income should be taken over to finance the public school system. Although this was not put into practice, and although the Buddhists managed at times to put off or soften anti-Buddhist threats, the idea of using Buddhist property to finance education arose again in 1928 and 1942. Taixu's suggestions for reform were part of the Buddhist reaction to public pressure. As a compromise, Taixu suggested in 1942 that 40 percent of monastic income be used for educational and charitable institutions run by the Buddhists in exchange for government protection of monastic property, but his suggestion had no effect on either side.

Taixu's attempts to reform and modernize Chinese Buddhism were to some extent successful. A number of prominent scholars and religious leaders were trained at the academies and libraries that he founded, and his lectures and writings helped create a more positive public attitude toward Buddhism. But his larger dream of a worldwide Buddhist movement, and his plan for reorganizing Buddhist institutions throughout China never materialized during his lifetime. His ideas were often viewed by the conservative Buddhist establishment as radical and unacceptable. They cooperated with him reluctantly in times of crisis but were always opposed to his ideas on monastic affairs. Yet, viewed from a historical perspective, his program of reform and modernization (the establishment of Buddhist academies, journals, foreign contacts, and so forth) can be seen to have created new patterns for Chinese Buddhism.

The religious thought of Taixu falls in the mainstream of Chinese Buddhism. It recognizes that all sentient beings possess the Buddha nature and are subject to the law of causation. The operation of cause and conditions is universal and incessant, and all worldly phenomena are based on that operation. If one follows the five Buddhist precepts, a happy life in this world is achievable. This happy life is, however, not lasting; it is subject to change. One must therefore strive for a higher wisdom and thus attain *nirvāṇa.* When one realizes that there is neither self nor object and that only the mind is universal and unlimited, one will work for the salvation of all sentient beings so that they too may become Buddhas. Taixu's contribution is his adoption of a new terminology and a modern style of writing, thus tuning the old philosophy to the new thought in China. He often used words like *revolution, evolution, science, democracy, philosophy,* and *freedom,* as well as other concepts popular in his time. Although he may not always have used these terms with a clear understanding of their modern meaning, by incorporating them into the context of Buddhism he made the tradition continue to appeal to young people at the beginning of the twentieth century.

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TALIESIN.

TALIESIN. The ninth-century *Historia Brittonum,* usually attributed to "Nennius," names Taliesin as one of a famed group of Welsh poets of the latter half of the sixth century. The thirteenth-century *Book of Taliesin* contains a body of poetry of diverse origins and different dates that the scribe presumably associated with Taliesin, but modern research has isolated some twelve poems that are regarded as his authentic work. These are heroic court poems sung to royal patrons and to Urien, Owain, and Gwallawg, kings of the sixth-century northern British kingdoms of Rheged and Elmet.

The early medieval Welsh poet was a complex persona, and Taliesin acquired the status of a vaticinatory poet (perhaps conflated with the figure of Myrddin/Merlin) and purveyor of esoteric and learned lore, both bardic and Christian. Many of the poems in the *Book of Taliesin* reflect this role, which is given a specific context in the *Story of Taliesin (Hanes Taliesin).* Although found in manuscript copies of the sixteenth century and later, this composite tale is certainly earlier. The first part relates how the witch Ceridwen concentrated her learning in three drops of a brew which she prepared for her son. At the crucial moment of fulfillment they fell onto the hand of a serving lad, Gwion Bach, who sucked his scalded finger and acquired the knowledge and bardic power intended for the son. In the ensuing pursuit Gwion and Ceridwen undergo several metamorphoses until the lad is swallowed as a seed of corn by Ceridwen in the guise of a hen to be reborn nine months later. He is taken up by Elffin, named Taliesin, and soon reveals his precocity as poet and sage. The rest of the tale recounts his feats of learning at the court of the sixth-century king Maelgwn Gwynedd.

Poems of the *Story of Taliesin* are spoken by Taliesin, but those in the *Book of Taliesin*, though lacking this specific context, nevertheless refer to similar circumstances and are to be dated to the tenth century. One such poem alludes to Taliesin's creation by the wizards Math and Gwydion, characters found in the Four Branches of the *Mabinogi;* another relates his transforming of trees into warriors in the Battle of Goddau. The poem titled *The Spoils of Annwn* refers to the poet's return as one of the survivors of Arthur's disastrous attack on the otherworld, an episode underlying the Second Branch, which names Taliesin and a survivor. This early stratum of Taliesin's legend links him not with historical characters of the sixth century but with purely mythological figures and episodes. In later bardic tradition, Taliesin becomes the archetypal inspired poet.

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TALISMANS SEE AMULETS AND TALISMANS

TALMUD.

In form, the Talmud is an extended, multivolume elaboration of selected tractates of the Mishnah, but it must be emphasized that the contents of the Talmud go far beyond its ostensible base. No subject of interest to the ancient rabbis failed to find its way into this immense body of teaching, and for that reason no question arising in later centuries was deemed outside the range that Talmudic teaching might legitimately claim to resolve. A document that seemed merely to elucidate an older text eventually became the all-embracing constitution of medieval Jewish life.

The Mishnah supplied the overall format for the Talmud. Like the former, the Talmud is divided into tractates, which in turn are divided into chapters and then into paragraphs. Each phrase of the Mishnah is discussed, analyzed, and applied for as long as the editors of the Talmud have materials to supply; when such materials are exhausted (sometimes after very long and quite wide-ranging digressions), the discussion simply moves on to the next phrase or paragraph. The digressions can be such that one loses track of the Mishnaic passage under discussion for pages at a time, but the Talmud always picks up again from its base text when the next section begins.

ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT. Very soon after it began to circulate, the Mishnah of Yehudah ha-Nasi' (compiled c. 200 CE) assumed a central place in rabbinic study. As time went on, the structure and content of the Mishnah—the meaning and the sequence of its paragraphs—determined the manner in which the growing accumulation of rabbinic lore was organized. Non-Mishnaic legal materials (the so-called outside traditions; Aram., *baraitot*) were studied primarily in connection with their Mishnaic parallels, and an entire supplementary collection (Tosefta) that followed the Mishnah's own sequence of orders, tractates, and chapters was compiled. Similarly, post-Mishnaic rabbinic teachings—of law, morality, theology, and so forth—were remembered and discussed primarily as the consecutive study of Mishnaic tractates called them to mind, so that most such teachings eventually came to be linked with one or another specific passage (or, occasionally, several) in the earlier collection.

In this way, great compilations of rabbinic teaching, each in the form of a loose exposition of the Mishnah, came into being. Evidence suggests that various centers of rabbinic study developed their own such collections, though in the end only one overall collection was redacted for the Palestinian centers and one for Babylonia. For several generations, the collections remained fluid. Materials were added, revised, or shifted. Free association led to the production of extended discourses or sets of sayings that at times had little to do with the Mishnaic passages serving as points of departure. Early materials tended to be brief explanations of the Mishnah or citations of parallel texts, but later rabbis increasingly commented as well on remarks of their predecessors or other non-Mishnaic materials. Numerous scholars have seen in the developing tradition two sorts of material: brief, apodictic statements of law and much longer dialectical explanations of the specific laws and their underlying principles. Such discussions in turn eventually gave rise to a new generation of legal dicta, and these in turn provoked new efforts at dialectical complication. Thus the Talmudic tradition grew.

The Hebrew word *talmud* and its Aramaic equivalent *gemaraʾ* both mean “study.” Each term had other meanings at various times, but in the end *gemaraʾ* came to be the name of the vast Mishnah commentary that had taken shape, and *talmud* the name of the combined text (Mishnah plus *gemaraʾ*) that eventually emerged. The rabbis of the immediate post-Mishnaic period (third to fifth centuries CE) are called *amoraʾ* from the Aramaic *ʾmr,* “say, discuss”), because their characteristic contribution to the developing tradition was the extended discussion of the Mishnah they produced.

Through a process that can no longer be traced with certainty, the text of the *gemaraʾ* underwent periodic reshaping until finally the two Talmuds as we now know them came into being. It should be emphasized that early rabbinic Torah study was oral, so that the *gemaraʾ* was not so much a fixed text as a more-or-less accepted formulation of accumulated lore. There is therefore no reason to assume that there ever was an authorized “original text” of the Talmud, and there may have been parallel recensions of these collections from the earliest stages of their history preserved in different localities. There is still no altogether accepted standard text, and even the relatively uniform wording of recent centuries has much to do with the eventual predominance of European over Asian and North African Jewry and the standardization that inevitably followed the invention of printing.

The Jerusalem, or Palestinian, Talmud. The so-called Jerusalem Talmud (Heb., *Talmud Yerushalmi*) is really the work of the rabbinic academies of the Galilee; it was substantially completed by the middle of the fifth century. The Jerusalem Talmud covers the first four orders of the Mishnah with the exception of two tractates (*Avot* and *ʿEduyyot*); in the last two orders, only half of tractate *Niddah* has Palestinian *gemaraʾ*. The Jerusalem Talmud is characterized in general by brevity and an absence of editorial transitions and clarifications. Its discussions frequently seem laconic and elliptical and often take the form of terse remarks attributed to one or another amora with no connective phrasing at all between them. Occasionally, however, such comments are built up into a more integrated dialectical treatment, with objections raised and answered, contradictions cited and resolved, and biblical proof texts adduced as the editors see fit.

The Babylonian Talmud. According to tradition, the redaction of the Babylonian Talmud (Heb., *Talmud Bavli*) was completed by the amoraim Ashi and Ravinaʾ around the year 500. It is clear, however, that the distinctive features of this Talmud in contrast to the other are the work of several generations of mostly anonymous rabbis who came after these authorities and are collectively known as the savoraim (from the Aramaic root *svr,* “consider, hold an opinion”), that is, those who reconsidered the Talmudic text and established its final version. Thanks to the labors of these latter revisers, the Babylonian Talmud is far more thoroughly worked out than the Palestinian. Its arguments are replete with a sophisticated technical terminology for introducing source materials, considering objections and counterobjections, offering refutations and defending against them, and so forth. In addition to their detailed contributions, the savoraim also composed entire sections of the Talmud; in particular, the extended discussion at the beginning of many tractates is attributed to them. In general, the literary superiority of the Babylonian Talmud, its far greater logical clarity, and its considerably larger bulk can be attributed to the savoraim of the sixth and seventh centuries. The Talmud in its current form did not exist until these had done their work.

While the Jerusalem Talmud treats the entire first order of the Mishnah, the Babylonian Talmud has *gemaraʾ* only for the first tractate (*Berakhot*), which deals with liturgy; the rest of the order treats agricultural rules that were not considered applicable outside the Holy Land. On the other hand, and harder to explain, the great bulk of the fifth order, which regulates the long-destroyed Temple cult and is not to be found in the Jerusalem Talmud, has very substantial Babylonian *gemaraʾ*. Otherwise, with minor exceptions, the two Talmuds cover the same parts of the Mishnah.

Later Developments. Over the several centuries following the appearance of the two Talmuds, the Babylonian Talmud gradually eclipsed the other. This predominance was rationalized by the claim that the Babylonian Talmud was the more recent, so that its editors already knew the Jerusalem Talmud and could include its acceptable teachings in their own work and suppress those portions for any reason found unworthy. In retrospect, however, it is clear that such a claim was part of the propaganda of the Babylonian geonim of the last centuries of the first millennium CE in favor of their own authority and against the rival authority of the rabbis of the Land of Israel. The eventual predominance of the Babylonian Talmud throughout the Diaspora and even in the Land of Israel probably is to be explained through reference to such factors as the relatively stronger ties of the rising communities of North Africa and Spain to Babylonian Jewry and the relatively more severe decline of Palestinian Jewry, especially under the onslaught of the Crusades. Those parts of Europe, especially Italy, that retained strong ties with the community in the Land of Israel apparently maintained a tradition of study of the Jerusalem Talmud, but by the beginning of the second millennium this process had run its course. From then on, “the Talmud” always meant the Babylonian. It was taken for granted that issues of Jewish law should be resolved by reference to the Babylonian Talmud, not the Palestinian, and that the latter could provide rulings only in cases where the Babylonian Talmud was silent or ambiguous.

Once the primacy of the Babylonian Talmud was established, this primacy was continually reinforced. The Babylonian Talmud received more attention. It was studied by more scholars, it became the subject of more and of better commentaries; it was copied more often and more carefully by larger numbers of scribes. The result is that modern scholars have a more solidly established text of the Babylonian Talmud and a more fully developed exegetical tradition with which to work. Modern critical study of the Jerusalem Talmud has much more fundamental analytical and restorative work to accomplish before a reliable and comprehensible text becomes available.

It should be noted as well that the power of the medieval Christian church affected the development of the Talmud in two important ways. Periodic waves of seizure and destruction reduced the number of Talmud manuscripts available in certain parts of Europe. The most important of these waves took place in thirteenth-century France and in Italy at the time of the Counter-Reformation; the last burning of the Talmud occurred in Poland in 1757. Occasionally thousands of copies of the Talmud or of Talmudic digests and commentaries were destroyed at a time. In addition, Jewish efforts to avoid such destruction often led to voluntary or involuntary submission of the Talmud to censorship by church authorities. As a result, much early rabbinic discussion of Jesus or the Christian religion has been lost or must now be recovered from scattered manuscripts.

TALMUDIC RELIGION. Despite its vast size and scope, the Talmud is not without focus. Certain themes and certain styles of argument and discourse strongly predominate in its pages, and as a result both the religion of the Talmudic sages themselves and the forms of Judaism based on the Talmud that flourished during the Middle Ages are more compatible with certain types of spirituality than with others.

The role of law. Well more than half of the Babylonian Talmud and more than three quarters of the Jerusalem Talmud are devoted to questions of law. The Mishnah itself takes the form of a law code, and Talmudic discussions are chiefly concerned with clarifying, extending, and finding new applications for the provisions of Mishnaic law. This concentration on law is related to the ancient rabbis' role in their communities, where they usually served as judges, teachers, or public administrators. Rabbinic piety came to be organized around gratitude for the law and joy in its fulfillment. The law was understood to be a divine gift, and observance of its provisions was seen as the appropriate response to this generosity. To observe the law meant to strengthen one's link to its giver, and in developing the law into a huge accumulation of detailed regulations covering all aspects of day-to-day living, rabbinic teachers sought to multiply occasions for strengthening this link. Study of the law was both the highest intellectual activity in which a Jew might engage and also a practical activity designed to further this expansion of opportunity. Enlarging the scope of the law was not felt to be adding to an already heavy burden; on the contrary, it increased the portion of one's life that could be conducted in response to the voice of God.

The role of study and intellect. While the Mishnah looks like a law code, however, in fact it is probably something other; its numerous unresolved disputes, its sporadic use of biblical proof texts, and its occasional narratives all reflect the value of study as a religious ritual in its own right, and eventually the activity of studying God's law was as important in Talmudic religion as was the content of that study. Even before the Talmud was completed, this enhancement of study as religious rite had led to the creation of an elaborate set of legal corpora, most of which were identified by the name of the master to whom the discrete opinions in each corpus were attributed. The well-known Talmudic penchant for hair-splitting dialectics reflects the rabbis' concern that each of these sets of teachings be internally consistent on the one hand and significantly different from any other such set on the other. Hence the frequency with which the Talmud records the chains of transmission by which individual sayings were passed on. Hence the steadily growing integration of teachings from widely disparate fields of law into a single web, and the often forced effort to find unifying principles behind teachings that seem to have nothing to do with one another. Hence, as well, the relative lack of interest in the personalities of early masters, except, paradoxically, for those few who became the subject of frequently incredible legends.

This intellectual tendency had several important consequences for Talmudic religion. It gave rabbinic studiousness a scholastic tinge that continued to sharpen as later centuries wore on. It made text commentary an important genre of religious literature; a standard edition of the Talmud even today contains several classical commentaries on the page along with the text and many, many more at the back of the volume. Rabbinic intellectualism turned into disciplined argument; the interplay of proof and refutation became a holy activity. It also gave primacy to the correct formulation of sacred texts and recitations; this in turn had important effects on Talmudic and post-Talmudic conceptions of prayer, meditation, and inward spirituality.

TALMUDIC LEARNING AND RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY. In the ancient rabbis' view there was a connection between their emphasis on learning and the role of leadership to which they aspired. It was taken for granted that only the Torah, when properly and sufficiently studied and understood, could enable the people of Israel to become the "kingdom of priests and holy nation" (*Ex.* 19:6) that God intended them to be. This in turn meant that only those properly and sufficiently learned in Torah should be allowed to assume leadership over the community, since only such leaders could be trusted to guide the people in a divinely ordained direction.

Inherent in Talmudic and post-Talmudic Judaism is the assumption that Torah learning (once the Talmud was complete, this meant Talmudic learning) is the only proper criterion by which the leaders of the community should be selected. Whenever conditions permitted, rabbis sought to institutionalize their authority over the community. In the early period, this meant reaching an accommodation with the real rulers of the community (e.g., the Roman empire or, in Babylonia, the allegedly Davidic dynasty of the exilarchs). Later, it meant assuring that internal Jewish courts should be dominated by rabbis and that Talmudic law should govern those aspects of life where Jews maintained internal autonomy (marriage and divorce, religious ritual, educational institutions). Although rabbinical authority was not without challengers, it was never overthrown in principle until the breakdown of Jewish self-government, which began in the late eighteenth century and continued into the nineteenth.

TALMUD STUDY AS RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE. Rabbis saw their own teaching as "oral Torah." They believed the contents of the Talmud represented a part of the revelation to Moses that had been kept oral but faithfully transmitted for centuries before its inclusion in the text of the Talmud. The name *Talmud,* in fact, can be understood as a short form of the common phrase *talmud Torah,* or "Torah study." Thus to study Talmud was in fact to let oneself hear the word of God, and to add to the accumulation of commentaries, digests, codes, and the like was to make one's own contribution to the spread of divine revelation in the world. To learn Torah was thus a kind of sober mysticism, a reliving of the events at Sinai, while to add to the growing body of "oral" law was to share in a divine activity. Already in the Talmud God is depicted as studying Torah several hours per day (B. T., *ʿA. Z.* 3b), but the kinship between the rabbi and God was felt to be even stronger. By increasing the amount of Torah in the world, the rabbi could do what previously only God had been held able to accomplish.

Thus the text of the Talmud became the center of an activity believed to be the most Godlike available to human experience. Everyone (in practice this meant every male) could study some Torah, and no one was considered incapable of adding a few original thoughts to a study session. Talmud study became a widespread activity among later Jewish communities. The degree of commitment to this activity might vary, from the ascetic twenty-hour-per-day devotion of the secluded scholar to one-hour-per-week popular learning on Sabbath afternoons. The climax of a boy's education was the point at which he was ready to learn *gemaraʾ*. Such "learning" continues even in the present time, even after the functioning authority of Talmudic law has all but disappeared. It represents the most powerful and the most durable inheritance of classical Judaism.

SEE ALSO Biblical Exegesis, article on Jewish Views; Halakhah; Mishnah and Tosefta.

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TAM, YAʿAQOV BEN MEʾIR (c. 1100–1171), leading Jewish halakhic scholar, known as Rabbenu ("our teacher") Tam from the biblical description of the patriarch Jacob as *tam* (*Gn.* 25:27), a word often translated as "quiet," with the connotation of a studious, scholarly person. The scion of a learned rabbinical family, he was the grandson of Rashi (Shelomoh ben Yitsḥaq, 1042–1105), the most prominent Talmudic commentator, and the brother of Shemuʾel ben Meʾir, the Rashbam. He was himself the greatest of the founders of the Tosafist school of Talmudic commentators in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries.

In his commentaries Tam employed the method of comparative examination of the Talmudic texts, aiming to explain contradictions and inconsistencies while elucidating the passages. He was against making any corrections in the traditional text of the Talmud unless there was absolutely no other way of understanding a particular passage. His concerns encompassed practical legal and religious applications as well as a theoretical understanding of the Talmudic system. He generally opposed current usages that seemed contrary to Talmudic teachings and customs and also did not allow deviation from ancestral practices. His reasoned legal decisions were based on the Talmud itself and not on the varying needs of the time, although he sometimes resolved contradictions between the Talmud and the religious and legal practices of the day by reinterpreting the traditional texts.

Tam was accepted by his contemporaries as the greatest scholar of his generation. Many disciples flocked to study with him from France and Germany and even as far away as Italy, Bohemia, and Russia; through them, his teachings and opinions circulated throughout Europe, reaching even to Spain. Considered the central halakhic authority of the age, he received halakhic and Talmudic questions and problems from all parts of Europe. By virtue of his position he issued various regulations *(taanot)* for the Jewish communities of the time. Tam's *responsa* (answers to questions posed) and comments on the Talmud were accepted as authoritative by later generations, especially among Western (Ashkenazic) orthodox Jewry.

His main work is *Sefer ha-yashar* (Vienna, 1811), which includes his halakhic *responsa* (annotated Berlin, 1898) and his *novellae,* or comments, on the Talmud (annotated Jerusalem, 1959). The book as we have it is a later unedited collection from the original with additions from other authors. However, the greater part of his teachings are not included in this work but are scattered throughout the *tosafot* and the collections of *responsa* and decisions of his time.

SEE ALSO Tosafot.

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TAMIL RELIGIONS. The term *Tamil religions* denotes the religious traditions and practices of Tamil-speaking people. Most Tamils originated and continue to live in India's southernmost area, now known as the state of Tamil Nadu; however, millions of Tamils have migrated to other parts of India, especially to its large cities, as well as abroad, particularly to Malaysia, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Madagascar, Australia, Great Britain and, more recently, to the United States and Canada. Many emigrant Tamils retain elements of a cultural, linguistic, and religious tradition that predates the Christian era and has experienced a complex interaction of influences from Dravidian, Sanskritic, and heterodox sources. At its apex between the eighth and fifteenth centuries, the Tamil region was the major center of Hindu civilization and, indeed, one of the major centers of civilization in the world. Today, while most Tamils remain essentially Hindu, some Tamils have embraced elements of Islam and Christianity.

EARLY TAMIL RELIGION. A Neolithic cattle-herding culture existed in South India several millennia prior to the Christian era. By the first century, a relatively well-developed civilization had emerged, still largely pre-Hindu and only marginally sanskritized. It is described in some detail in Tamil texts such as the *Tolkāppiyam* (a grammar written around the start of the Christian era) and by the "Caṅkam" poets—an "academy" of poets who wrote in the first two centuries CE. This culture was essentially Dravidian in nature.

The origins of the Dravidians are still a matter of dispute, but the South Indian culture known to current researchers by the first century was probably based largely on the Neolithic cultures that developed in the area. However, these cultures were influenced in prehistoric times to varying degrees by the filtering of some remnants of a Negroid culture originating in East Africa; by migrations from the eastern Mediterranean world refracted through the Elamite and Indus civilizations; by a megalithic culture that made its way into Southwest India by the eighth century BCE; and by a people sometimes called "Proto-Australoid" who came into the subcontinent by way of northeastern India from the Malay peninsula.

The religious life of the Tamil civilization of Cankam times gave evidence of no significant mythological or philosophical speculation nor of any sense of transcendence in a bifurcated universe. Rather, it was oriented by a fundamental veneration of land and a sense of the celebration of individual life. Colorful flora and fauna were extolled and ascribed a symbolic significance that bordered on the sacred; for example, peacocks, elephants, and the blossoms of various trees were used as images for the basic realities of individual and cosmos. Earth's color and fertility were affirmed. Indigenous deities were venerated in field and hill, reflecting the attributes of the people in that zone and presiding over functions typical to their respective areas; thus, the god Murukaṉ presided over hill and hunt and battled the malevolent forces of the hills, while Vēntaṉ oversaw the pastoral region and afforded it rain.

"Possession" is one of the most common ways in which the gods were believed to manifest themselves—both in their priests and in young women. Worship of the gods sometimes occurred in a special place—in the clearing of a field or the bank of a river, for example, where a small pillar or *kantu* was set up to represent the deity. The cult of the hero was a common feature of this period as evidenced by the erection of numerous hero stones (*naṭukkal*s) over the graves of fallen heroes, be they hunting warriors or tribal chieftains. Urn burial, a remnant of megalithic culture, was used occasionally, especially after the death of the chieftain or hero.

The city was not foreign to this early culture and by the third century CE, at least, religious imagery reflected an urban setting. Poets likened the urban chieftains and warriors to the gods and spoke of urban festivals. Some of the earlier gods were merged together in an urban setting, even while continuing their earlier functions in extra-urban contexts. Rituals, however, often continued to reflect a seasonal or folk character: In the hills, garlanded young women are said to have danced, intoxicated, with priests (*vēlaṉ*s) of Murukaṉ (*Cilappatikāram* 24), while in the plain, at the onset of monsoons, after harvests and transplantings, bathers gambolled in the waters, were garlanded and smeared with sandal, often astride elephants or horses, and drank intoxicating beverages (*Paṟipāṭal* 6, 7, 10).

The early character of Tamil religion, in sum, was celebrative and relatively "democratic." It embodied an aura of sacral immanence, sensing the sacred in the vegetation, fertility, and color of the land. The *summum bonum* of the religious experience was expressed in terms of possession by the god, or ecstasy. Into this milieu there immigrated a sobering influence—a growing number of Jain and Buddhist communities and an increasing influx of *brahmans* and other northerners.

THE HETERODOXIES. By the third century BCE, pockets of Jains and Buddhists were settling in the deep South. Some may have migrated across the straits from Sri Lanka; others came southward during the reign of Aśoka, the Mauryan emperor. By the first century CE, both had established settlements and built small institutions and shrines known as *paḻḻis*. Although both Jain and Buddhist monks tended to live outside the cities for centuries—the Jains often in rock caves and the Buddhist monks in monastic communities—their impact on Tamil country increased, enhanced by the influx and influence of lay members. The politics and literature of Tamil country were influenced by Jain and Buddhist savants, especially between the fourth and seventh centuries CE. Consequently, the dominant mood of religion in Tamil country for some three centuries reflected Jain and Buddhist values. There was little emphasis on theism or indigenous sacred places. Sobriety and self-effacement became a respected way of life, especially for the elite.

THE HINDUIZATION OF TAMIL COUNTRY. Beginning in the third century CE, migrating *brahmans* and other persons influenced by Vedic and epic traditions were also becoming a part of the Tamil landscape. In the early cities, chieftains who sought to enchance their status employed *brahman* priests to perform Vedic rituals as had been the case in the north during the epic period. It was in the seventh century, however, that Hindu Sanskritic culture and religion merged with the indigenous Tamil society, leading to a pervasive hinduization of Tamil country and the emergence of a new and creative Hindu civilization.

The first significant feature of the "Hindu age" in Tamil India was the rise of devotional poetry (*bhakti*) in the vernacular language during the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. Poets who were followers of Śiva (Nāyaṉārs) and of Viṣṇu (Āḻvārs: literally, those who are "immersed") popularized these two deities throughout Tamil country. These poets were drawn from all walks of life, though over half of them were of *brahman* or of royal background. At first, their attacks on Jains and Buddhists tended to be virulent, especially in the case of the Śaiva Tiruñanacambantaṉ. But by the mid-eighth century, Hindu devotionalism had taken a significant hold in Tamil country and the poets could afford to take a more accommodating attitude toward the declining Jain and Buddhist presence.

Between the years 650 and 940 the twelve Vaiṣṇava poet-saints (Āḻvārs) wrote some four thousand verses, which were eventually canonized in the *Nālāyira-divyaprabandham* (The four thousand divine verses) edited in the tenth century by Nāthamuni, the first major *ācārya,* or sectarian teacher, of Vaiṣṇavism. Of the earlier Āḻvārs, the most prolific was Kalikaṉṟi (800–870), also known as Tirumaṅkai, who wrote 1,227 verses combining militant, heroic, and erotic imagery with the anguish of separation from his lord. The ninth- and tenth-century Āḻvārs associated primarily with western Tamil country include Viṭṭuciṭṭaṉ, known as Periyāḻvār ("great Āḻvār"), who wrote 473 verses largely from the standpoint of the deity's mother expressing fondness for the child Kṛṣṇa. Periyāḻvār's daughter Kōtai, popularly known as Āṇṭāḻ ("she who rules the lord"), wrote 173 verses. Often erotic, they focused on Kṛṣṇa as an adolescent from the viewpoint of a *gopī* who spends time with the Lord in his inner chamber. Finally, Caṭakōpaṉ or Āḻvār Māṟaṉ (880–930), also known affectionately as Nammāḻvār ("our own devotee"), wrote 1,296 verses that combine passionate devotion for Kṛṣṇa with the metaphysics of Vedānta, the philosophical system of Vaiṣṇava *brahmans.* Nammāḻvār has come to be seen as the most authoritative of the Āḻvārs for the Sri Vaiṣṇavas.

While tradition claims there were sixty-three Śaiva poet-saints (Nāyaṉārs)—perhaps in response to the traditional sixty-three saints of Jainism—there were in fact only eight who were poets of repute, while another Śaiva poet of the period, Māṇikkavācakar, who was important for the shaping of Śaiva devotionalism, was not accepted as a Nāyaṉār for several centuries. The earliest of the Nāyaṉārs was probably a woman, Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār (seventh century CE), who renounced worldly pleasures for devotion to Śiva. Tirumūlar (eighth century CE) is noted for his 3,000-verse philosophical treatise, *Tirumantiram,* which interprets Sanskrit Agamic and Tantric material into Tamil. The best known and most prolific of the Nāyaṉār poets were the three whose poetry makes up the first seven sections of the *Tēvarām,* the Tamil Śaiva canon. Two of these are seventh-century figures: Tirunāvukkaracar, better known as "Appar," or "Father," and his younger contemporary, Campantar or Tiruñāṉacampantar, who is generally believed to have been a child prodigy uttering all his poetry before the age of sixteen; the third poet is the ninth-century (?) Cuntaramūrtti. However, perhaps the best of all the Śaiva poets of these three centuries was the ninth-century Māṇikkavācakar, for whom the religious experience was like ecstasy and "madness" when one was possessed by Śiva. Māṇikkavācakar's use of erotic imagery apparently was a major factor in keeping him from being accepted as a poet of the Śaiva canon until at least the twelfth century, when Cēkkiḻār included him in his *Periyapurāṇam,* the mythical hagiography of the Śaiva saints.

The religion propagated by the *bhakti* poets used epic and puranic mythology selectively and gave it a locus in Tamil India. A number of basic themes were stressed: (1) the supremacy, greatness, even terror of Śiva or Viṣṇu, coupled nonetheless by the deity's grace and compassion for those who were devoted to him; (2) the concrete and available presence of the god in his specific sacred places and, hence, the desirability of pilgrimage, festival, and temple ritual; (3) the affirmation of the individual in the experience of *bhakti* or devotion to god and the possibility of anyone's attaining the god's grace regardless of one's station; (4) the sense of community among the god's devotees and the merit in serving and being in such company; (5) the celebration of the experience of the god as the highest attainment of religion.

Tamil *bhakti* reflected many strands of religion at once. While it incorporated, on the one hand, certain aspects of Jain and Buddhist values (e.g., a sense of community among devotees; hospitality to fellow devotees; and the possibility of spiritual attainment irrespective of social or economic backgrounds); on the other hand, it directly confronted these heterodoxies with a vigorous theism; an affirmation of the phenomenal world as God's creation; and the importance of the devotional experience and of pilgrimage to the deity's special places. This *bhakti* movement reaffirmed elements of early Tamil religious perspectives: the emphasis on celebration, ecstasy, even possession by the god; the importance of the individual in religious experience; and the affirmation of the land and its special places. At the same time, Tamil *bhakti* illustrated the importance of a number of elements of post-Vedic orthodox, Sanskritic Hindu religion: the full-blown theism and mythology of the epics and Purāṇas, the spawning of temple-oriented ritual centered by *devapūjā* (worship through the icon), increased emphasis on liberation as the ultimate aim in religion, and others.

The centerpiece of Tamil *bhakti,* nonetheless, remained the personality of the god and his relationship with individual human beings. The god's exploits were recited selectively; his awesome and terror-inspiring character (as with Śiva) or his miracle-working one (as with Viṣṇu), was invoked. Yet at the same time, his grace *(arul)*, love *(aṉpu)*, and wooing of devotees was variously portrayed. The devotee, for his part, learned to attain the god's grace. The relationship was variously described as that of lover to a beloved; friend to friend; parent to child. The relationship generally differed in Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava *bhakta*s: For the former, a certain individuality of the devotee was thought to be retained in the devotional relationship with the god—a relationship said to be that between sun and light or flower and fragrance. In Vaiṣṇava *bhakti,* on the other hand, the loss of the devotee's selfhood in relation to the divine was stressed and the surrender of the one to the other celebrated.

RELIGION IN THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD. From the eighth through the fifteenth century much of Hindu civilization was centered in Tamil India, where a prolific religious literature emerged in both Tamil and Sanskrit. In addition to the devotional literature, a number of ritual treatises were prepared in this region, including many of the Śaivāgamas, those texts used by Śaiva sects, as well as those of the Vaiṣṇava sects, the Pāñcarātrāgamas and Vaikhānasāgamas. Portions of several Purāṇas were authored by anonymous Tamil scholars and regional recensions of others prepared. Not least important of the literary corpus emerging after the twelfth century were the *Tālapurāṇas,* or mythological stories of temple sites throughout Tamil country.

In addition to the literature, Tamil India became the scene for an explosion of temple construction, incorporating an architecture that became characteristically Dravidian. There was also prolific sculpting in stone, and, during the years of the Cōḻa reign, in bronze. These architectural and sculpturing styles, together with the texts in which they were canonized, became the model for much of the architecture in city and temple building to be found in Southeast Asia from Burma to Cambodia. Another important achievement of the "medieval" centuries was the development of Hindu thought and of several philosophical schools. The religious history of this era is perhaps most easily divided into three periods: The Pallava (575–900); Cōḻa (900–1300); and Vijayanagar (1300–1700) periods.

The Pallava period. The Pallava period takes its name from the dynasty founded by Siṃhaviṣṇu and is best understood as a transitional or foundation era. In addition to the founding of *bhakti* sects devoted to Śiva and Viṣṇu, the period is characterized by the start of the South Indian tradition of temple-building in permanent stone. Canons for the building of these structures were developed and included the classical Dravidian forms of the *vimāna* or central tower and the *maṇṭapa* or main hallway. The temple assumed the symbolic character both of a microcosm and of the human form, and became the major focus for ritual events. Temple icons and the deities they represented were ascribed the attributes of kingship, while rituals addressed to the icon increasingly assumed the character of the giving of gifts to a king.

Another important development of this period was the growth of Brahmanic settlements in South India. These rural settlements, which came to be known as *brahmadeya*s, were granted by Tamil landowners as emblems of the alliances that had developed between the two communities. The *brahmadeya*s became major loci of Sanskrit learning and culture and radiated Sanskritic influence into virtually all of Tamil life even while its *brahman* residents were being tamilized.

It is this period also that marks the life and work of Śaṅkara (788–820) and Bhāskaran, his contemporary. The former was especially instrumental in making Advaita (monism) attractive to intellectuals, and in substantially grounding the speculative tradition in the Upaniṣads, thereby strengthening the Brahmanic option in its dispute with Buddhist thought.

The Cōḻa period. The Cōḻa period (900–1300) was characterized by the formalization and systematic Sanskritization of religion. Śaivism received special favor under the aegis of the Cōḻas; hence, there was construction and enlargement of Śaiva temples. These temples were symbols of the official state cult that overwhelmed or incorporated into themselves many of the lesser village cults. (One of the few major "folk" deities to survive and increase in strength in this period was the Goddess, whose cultus and symbols were permitted to flourish and increase in popularity.) The temples were at first characterized by the tall *vimāna* or central tower, but eventually by the building of several ornate *gopura*s or entranceways at each site. The temple, further, became a center for economic exchange, storage of land and goods, and social interaction, as well as a symbol of political liaison between kings, sectarian leaders, and landowners. A considerable literature known as *Talapurāṇa*s, purporting to relate to the mythic history of temple sites, began to develop.

Another religious institution emerging to prominence in the Cōḻa period was the *maṭam* (Skt., *maṭha*) or monastic center. The *maṭam* became a center of spiritual learning especially for non-*brahmans,* though it often assumed economic and political power as well. The *brahmadeya* or *brahman* settlement continued to be the locus of much Sanskritic learning, radiating Brahmanic influence throughout the region.

Systematization in textual form continued in both Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. This was expressed in the continued formalization of ritual texts—the Śaivāgamas for Śaiva sects and the Pāñcarātrāgamas and Vaikhānasāgamas for Vaiṣṇavism—and in philosophical treatises. Śaiva Siddhānta proved to be the philosophical systematization of the Śaiva religious experience. It was formally expressed in forty terse Tamil verses by the thirteenth-century poet Meykaṇṭār (Meykaṇṭa Tēvar), and was known as the *Śivajñānabodham* (*Civañāṉapōtam*). A verse commentary, known as the *Śivajñānasiddhiyār,* was written by his disciple Aruṇanti Śivācariyar. Śaiva Siddhānta speaks of three realities—the lord (*pati*), the human soul (*pacu;* Skt., *paśu*), and the three bonds of human existence (*pāca;* Skt., *paśa*). In Śaiva Siddhānta the soul was to be freed from the bonds of *karman* (the law of cause and effect), *māyā* (the over-valuing of the phenomenal world), and *āṇava* (self-orientation) in order to become permanently attached to (and hence share the quality of) the lord Śiva.

Vaiṣṇava speculation, meanwhile, reached new heights during this period thanks largely to the work and thought of Yāmuna (918–1038), Rāmānuja (1017–1137), and Madhva (1199–1278). A central concern of these *ācārya*s, or preceptors, was that of affording a philosophical foundation for the devotional experience and hence in describing the relationship between the deity and the devotee, primarily in the form of surrender (*prapatti*). Yāmuna extolled the greatness of the lord and described the abject need of the devotee; Rāmānuja affirmed this theme but went on to argue for the "qualified" nature of supreme existence (*viśiṣṭādvaita*) in contradistinction to Śaṅkara's more radical monism. Madhva, in contrast to the exponents of Śaṅkara's system, argued for the reality and plurality of the world and the difference between the self and *brahman.* For each of these thinkers, *brahman* was perceived in terms of a personal deity.

The twelfth century was the period in which perhaps the greatest Tamil poet lived. Kampaṉ, the "imperial poet," master of style and form, is best known for his transcreation of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa.* While borrowing extensively from the content and style of the Sanskrit epic, Kampaṉ's version, nonetheless, creatively adapts the finest of Tamil poetics, and locates the story in a distinctively Tamil landscape.

It was during the Cōḻa period that the influence of Hindu (and especially Śaiva) thought, which had started spreading into Southeast Asia under the Pallavas and Guptas, became more pronounced. *Brahmans,* now perceived as skilled and versatile advisers to kings, were to be found in such city-states as Polonnāruva (Sri Lanka), Pagan (Burma), Ayutthayā (Thailand), Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom (Cambodia) and Madjapahit (Java). These *brahmans* and other Hindu immigrants transported notions of divine kingship and cosmology; thus the architecture of capital cities, palaces, temples, and even the biers of dead kings, as well as some of the rituals in the courts of Southeast Asia, came to reflect motifs canonized in Śaivāgama texts of the Cōḻa period.

The Vijayanagar period. With the decline of the Cōḻa line and the rise of the Vijayanagar hegemony, whose capital was in Andhra Pradesh, shifts occurred in the character of religion in Tamil India. While the Vijayanagars, through political alliances, succeeded in keeping the expanding Islamic empire from making major political inroads in the South, there were nonetheless increasing Muslim influences. From the tenth century onward pockets of Muslims settled into small communities along the Tamil and Malabar coasts and radiated influence outward from these centers, and by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries occasional military expeditions had led to brief periods of Muslim rule in several portions of Tamil country.

Another important political development of the Vijayanagar period, due in part to the increase in military capability, was the rise of local and supralocal rulers known as *nāyakka*s, who sustained pockets of political stability under suzerainty of the Telugu Vijayanagars. These *nāyakka* domains often led to the patronage of local Hindu institutions and the enhancement of local temples and festivals. The rise of the *nāyakka* system in Tamil country also led to change in the role of *brahmans* and temples in the region. The *brahmadeya* declined in power and *brahmans* were no longer given gifts to the degree that had been true in the Cōḻa period. Yet *brahmans,* especially Telugu *brahmans,* became important consultants in military and ritual affairs, and the temples, their deities, and their festivals came increasingly to express the reciprocities, including gift giving and the exchange of honors, that had been a part of the Cōḻa sociopolitical order.

The Cōḻa period was a time for the formalization and institutionalization of religion, especially of Śaivism, into temples and literary texts written primarily in Sanskrit. In the post-Cōḻa period the vernacular once again became the chief medium for religious expression, and thus the more popular forms of Hinduism found expression across the Tamil region. Tamil Hinduism during the Vijayanagar period thus was characterized by resurgent devotionalism and increased participation in temple rituals and festivals by a broader spectrum of people. One might speak of this new era as the "silver age" of Tamil *bhakti.*

The harbinger of this post-Cōḻa trend was Aruṇakirinātar (c. 1475–1550). His poetry was characterized by an ingenious use of meter and sound as an accompaniment to dance; by a skillful combination of Sanskrit and Tamil terms, albeit in a Tamil idiom that celebrated its very Tamilness; by lavish praise of Murukaṉ and that deity's consorts and sacred places; and by a call both to egalitarian issues and to a devotion to God. Aruṇakir likened the religious experience to a profound silence.

By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries *bhakti* literature had mushroomed. Such poets as Tāyumāṉavar, Kacciyapaciva, and Kumārakurupara celebrated the mythology, sacred places, and devotionalism of Śaivism. Tamil *Tālapurāṇas,* or mythologies of temple sites, proliferated in the fifteen and sixteenth centuries, each purporting to describe the mythical history and grandeur of local temples by localizing and re-enforcing themes that had been part of the Tamil landscape for centuries, especially the sacrality and power of land and waters. The role of the Goddess was an important theme in these temple myths, especially her identity with the land and the necessity to channel her considerable power into the patterns of normative theism.

The late Vijayanagar period saw a resurgence of temple construction. The number of temples almost tripled in the two centuries between 1550 and 1750. While the construction of Śaiva temples was relatively moderate, particularly in eastern portions of the Tamil region, temples to Viṣṇu, the Goddess, and Śiva's sons Murukaṉ and Gaṇeśa proliferated much more rapidly than in earlier centuries, especially in western portions of the region. Further, these temples more frequently became the arena for public events, including marriages and festivals. Festivals such as the Cittarai festival (April–May) in Madurai and the Mahānavamī festival (September–October) in Vijayanagara were described by commentators in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as enormous celebrations and paradigmatic events. Such festivals came to express a wide range of social and religious realities; relationships between castes and sectarian groups; the role of the king as presiding presence, warrior *par excellence,* and agent of prosperity; celebration of harvest or significant seasonal transition; and the reenactment of the career of the deity and the extolling of him or her as celestial prototype of the king and cosmic ruler. Extant temples were enlarged, *gopura*s, or entranceways, were donated by numbers of wealthier families, and the temple environs took on the character of a miniature city.

These centuries were also a time when some Sanskrit Purāṇas and epic literature were transcreated into Tamil. In the seventeenth century, for example, the Tamil version of the *Skanda Purāṇa* appeared, giving to the epic deity a flavor that incorporated all his appropriate Tamil heritage.

Another form of *bhakti* literature that proliferated by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a form of poetry known as *piḷḷaitamil,* which worshiped the deity in the form of a child. While the Āḻvār Āṇṭāḷ was apparently the first poet to celebrate in Tamil the childhood of Kṛṣṇa, there is increased use of this form of poetry in both Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva contexts. In this type of *bhakti* the poet often assumes the form of the deity's parent and equates the stages of childhood to rhythms of the cosmos and of the poetic medium.

However, there was also a religious countermovement to be found in Tamil country during much of this period. Primarily between the tenth and fifteenth centuries a cryptic "antiestablishment" form of religion found its expression in the poetry and lifestyle of persons known as *cittar*s (Skt., *siddha*s). Primarily Śaiva, the *cittar*s were nonetheless committed to the notion that Śiva or Civan was not to be worshiped in iconic form but rather as the supreme limitless one who was virtually identifiable with individual life-forms (*jīvanātman*). Theirs was a lifestyle therefore given to *yoga,* bodily disciplines, meditation, and healing practices. Temple cults, iconic worship, caste, and Brahmanism were criticized, and such notions as *karman* and reincarnation deemphasized. Rather, the body was believed to be temple and microcosm, and internal power the noblest of virtues. In their poetry, natural objects became images of the individual's spiritual quest: The dancing snake, for example, could be seen as the individual's personhood or spirit, and the bee came to represent the life force. Pattiṉāttar II (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries) and his disciple Pattirakiriyar, on the other hand, were more pessimistic: Life is tragic, the body filthy, and the beauty of women detestable. The human is a frustrated beggar who longs to be delivered and liberated by God. This is a mood that appears, to varying extents, in the writings of Aruṇakirinātar (fifteenth century), Tayumāṉavar (1706–1744), and Rāmaliṅka Cuvāmikal (nineteenth century).

In summary, the Vijayanagar period was a time when religion subtly reaffirmed Hindu and Tamil identities in the wake of the extensive Sanskritization of the Cōḻa period and in the face of Muslim and Telugu influence throughout the period. Literary and architectural expressions of religion reflected a resurgence of devotionalism and participation. The cultus of the Goddess had become widespread and devotional Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism were resurgent, most frequently expressing themselves in worship of the deity's childhood, the building of shrines, and the incorporation of aspects of popular religion. In the meanwhile the tradition had also produced a self-critical movement, focusing on the body as medium of worship and raising questions about the public cultus.

PRE-MODERN PERIOD. By the seventeenth century European influence had begun to leave its impact on Tamil culture and religion. As early as the fourth century Christians had inhabited areas along the southwest coast. Pockets of Jewish merchants settled in such western cities as Cochin where, by the eleventh century, they had negotiated extensive privileges and rights with local rulers. While these groups remained economically active in the area now known as Kerala, they tended to be socially insular and their impact on Tamil-speaking peoples was marginal. By the late sixteenth century, however, Christian missionaries had begun to influence Tamil letters and lifestyle more actively: Enrique Enriquez, a Portuguese Jesuit who was in southwestern India from 1546 to 1600, sought to prepare catechisms and grammars in Tamil in such a way as to make a permanent impact on the development of Christian Tamil theological vocabulary and to create a Catholic fishing community. Roberto de Nobili, a Jesuit who spent much of his life in Madurai after arriving in Goa in 1605, sought to present Christian scriptures and thought as extensions and fulfillments of Tamil Brahmanism. Constantine Beschi, a Jesuit who was in Madurai from 1710 to 1747, made original contributions to Tamil literature.

The first of the Protestant missionaries was Bartholomaus Ziegenbalg, who arrived in Tranquebar in 1706. He wrote relatively sympathetic manuscripts on the religious life of South India and continued the process of translating the Bible and Christian ideas into Tamil. Christian Schwartz, who arrived in 1750, served an important role as mediator between local rulers and British officials. Others, such as Johann Fabricius, who died in 1791, and the nineteenth century's Bishop Caldwell, were instrumental in developing a dictionary and comparative Dravidian grammar respectively, implements that increased the exchange of ideas between the English and Tamil worlds. In the nineteenth century G. U. Pope's translation of Māṇikkavācakar and Henry Whitehead's description of Tamil village religion helped make elements of the Tamil religious landscape better known to Tamils as well as to the English-speaking world, even though the work of neither was free of the Western/Christian bias of the authors. This sort of interpretive work continued into the twentieth century with the scholarship of C. G. Diehl and others.

An indigenous Tamil Christianity emerged during these centuries that included not only the conversion of large groups of people from the lower strata of the social order in specific villages or districts, but also the development of such articulate Tamil spokesmen for the "new" religion as H. A. Krisna Pillai, Vedanayagar Sastriar, and A. J. Appasamy. Christian hospitals, schools, colleges, orphanages, and presses dotted the Tamil landscape and influenced the shape of Tamil Hindu responses.

Quite apart from the attempts at Christianization that accompanied the European presence were other forms of westernization that influenced the shape of religion in Tamil country. On the one hand, there were those Westerners who romanticized the Hindu tradition. Most notable of these was Annie Besant (1847–1933; active in India between 1894 and 1920), who established the international headquarters of the Theosophical Society in Madras and became both an active defender of Hindu values and a crusader for reform. On the other hand, there were tendencies to criticize or undermine traditional patterns of life and religion in the area. These included a range of activities from the relatively virulent "preaching missions" sponsored by missionaries to the more subtle acts of discrimination and exploitation associated with colonialism.

Still another dimension of religion evident in the premodern period that had an impact on current religious life was the continuing practice of indigenous village and folk forms of worship. Encouraged by the relative eclecticism of the Vijayanagar period, folk forms of religion became increasingly apparent and influential on the more literate forms of religion. Local deities designed to protect village and field and representing the social stratification of their worshipers have been an important part of the Tamil religious landscape even into the present century. These include such deities as Aiyanār, who has been a protector deity of Tamil villages since at least the eighth century; Karappacāmi, the black "servant" god, and various regional *viraṉs* (hero-warriors). Such deities as these are sometimes ascribed exploits of resistance to British forces in local mythology. Local goddesses such as Mariammaṉ are considered personifications of the world's natural forces and hence are propitiated lest pestilence or national catastrophe befall. During the mid-twentieth century many such deities have become linked to the "great tradition" of Hinduism, particularly as those strata of society for whom these deities were paradigmatic have been integrated with the larger social order.

THE PRESENT. The Tamil religious response to the impact of the West has been expressed in a great variety of ways. Some of these have been characteristic of neo-Hinduism throughout India. There has been some adaptation of strategies (e.g., the use of preaching missions and the development of benevolent institutions) and of ideas from British and Christian sources. There has been the syncretistic combination of ideas drawn selectively both from within the tradition and from Christian or Western sources; most commonly, these "mosaics of religion" have been created by individuals and by certain *guru*s and their groups. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan (1888–1975) may be the best known of those southern thinkers of the twentieth century who have reaffirmed elements of the Hindu tradition in ways that interweave Western ideas.

However, the last century and a half has been characterized by a rebirth of Tamil self-consciousness. The discovery, translation, and interpretation of Tamil languages and literature by Westerners has encouraged a resurgence of regional and ethnic pride among Tamils. Classical Tamil texts have been recovered and republished. Tamil devotional literature has been memorized and is invoked as the standard of ideal religion, albeit interpreted and used selectively. Shrines have been renovated and their mythical antiquity extolled. Often, regional traditions and myths assume precedence over national ones. Thus even though brahmanization continues to occur as folk and village culti are Hinduized, and although various Anglicizations have been accepted as normative, the Tamil and non-*brahman* roots of religious practice are perpetuated and practiced with fervor. As Tamils, especially non*brahmans,* have migrated abroad in search of economic opportunities, they have taken with them to Malaysia, Sri Lanka, East Africa, Madagascar, and North America self-perceptions and religious lifestyles.

The character of much of this Tamil religion in the modern era is aptly described as neo-*bhakti.* Participation in festivals and pilgrimages at temple sites has increased geometrically. Renovation of some temples deemed significant began in the latter part of the nineteenth century; they began to welcome all spectra of society in the 1920s, and they have become more accessible by transportation systems since the 1930s. Deities such as Murukaṉ have attained enormous popularity throughout the region for a variety of reasons, among which are his appeal to all spectra of society; his presumed Tamil antiquity and identity; and his amalgamation of much of the religious symbolism that has been part of Tamil cultural history. In more recent decades, local goddesses such as Mariammaṉ have been increasingly brahmanized and made part of the great Hindu tradition even while retaining ties to local sites and folk culture. Aiyyappan, whose prototypical shrine is in Kerala, has nonetheless attracted increasing numbers of Tamil worshipers who see in him Tamil roots, genuine power, and an invitation to a sense of community that transcends caste. Various forms of ancient ritual continue to be practiced in the homes of the orthodox even while accommodations are made to the exigencies of commerce and contemporary life. At the same time, public pressures to "streamline" and "democratize" religion have led to the de-brahmanization of ritual in some temples and the privatization of some religious practices. Yet in many respects, religion is as much a part of the contemporary Tamil consciousness as it has ever been.

SEE ALSO Āḻvārs; Besant, Annie; Bhakti; Buddhism, article on Buddhism in India; Gaṇeśa; Goddess Worship, article on The Hindu Goddess; Hindu Tantric Literature; Indian Religions, articles on History of Study and Rural Traditions; Indus Valley Religion; Jainism; Kingship; Kṛṣṇaism; Madhva; Māṇikkavācakar; Meykaṇṭār; Murukaṉ; Radhakrishnan, Sarvepalli; Rāmānuja; Rāmāyaṇa; Śaivism, articles on Nāyaṉārs and Śaiva Siddhānta; Śaṅkara; Sinhala Religion; Southeast Asian Religions, article on Mainland Cultures; Temple, article on Hindu Temples; Vaikhānasas; Vaiṣṇavism, article on Pāñcarātras; Yāmuna.

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FRED W. CLOTHEY (1987)

TAMMUZ See DUMUZI

TANGAROA

TANGAROA is the most important of the "departmental" gods of Polynesia. In his many cognates, he was worshiped by most Polynesians as the chief god and creator of the world. His popularity, however, depended chiefly on his role as ruler over the ocean. Tangaroa stands as the origin and personification of all fish; his offspring are the creatures of the sea. Tangaroa was often appealed to by seafarers and fisherman, and, under the title Tangaroa-whakamautai, he was recognized by the Maori of New Zealand as the controller of the tides.

Mythological Context. The souls of the Polynesian ancestors live on in the spirit land of Hawaiki, which is the symbolic place of origin of the Polynesian people. Ancestor deification was probably the original form of Polynesian religion. While some of the gods' names were common throughout the Pacific islands, most Polynesian gods were strictly local deities. The Polynesian deities have been classified into four groups: supreme, "departmental," tribal, and family. The departmental gods were classified according to the aspect of nature they ruled. The major departmental gods—Tane, Rongo, Tu, and Tangaroa—were often portrayed in eastern Polynesian mythology as the sons of Rangi ("sky") and Papa ("earth"). Areas of authority were distributed among the four departmental gods, who, together with the tribal ancestors, constituted the pantheon of the earliest Polynesian mythology and who were shared by many island groups.

The parentage of these deities was often traced to ancestors: like the gods of Greek mythology, the Polynesian departmental deities had once been living persons with human desires and passions. The process of creating gods continued in Polynesia until the advent of Christianity in the Pacific islands during the early nineteenth century. In general, the study of Polynesian myths and religious beliefs has been dependent upon source materials from early missionaries, who were not free from prejudice. The religion and mythology of the Maori of New Zealand, however, were systematically studied and therefore constitute an important exception.

Tangaroa's Role. In New Zealand, Tangaroa appears to have been venerated under several names, such as Tangaroa-nui, Tangaroa-ra-vao, Tangaroa-mai-tu-rangi, Tangaroa-a-mua, Tangaroa-a-timu, and Tangaroa-a-roto. On other Polynesian islands, Tangaroa was known as Ta'aroa, Tangaloa, Tanaroa, and Kanaloa. Tangaroa's role varied because major gods were often fused with local or family deities. Tangaroa did, however, continue to exist as an independent major god in most of the Polynesian myths, and a distinct Tangaroa cult developed in parallel to other common worship practices. This cult apparently flourished on the islands where there was an affinity between gods and eponymous ancestors. On some islands, there remains only scant information about Tangaroa, but his former importance is proven by his appearance in many *fagu* (sacred) chants:

> O Tangaroa in the immensity of space
> Clear away the clouds by day
> Clear away the clouds by night
> That Ru may see the stars of heaven
> To guide him in the land of his desire (Buck, 1938)

Tangaroa was portrayed as the supreme being in western and central Polynesia, but he was worshiped as the god of the sea. In the Samoan Islands, Tangaroa was essentially a creator—the being who formed the islands or who raised them up from the depths of the sea. In Tongan mythology, Tangaroa appeared as the sky god. Tui Tonga, the founder of the Tongan royal family, was respected as having descended from Tangaroa. He was therefore held to be sacred and to possess great powers that were attributed to semidivine chiefs. Though Tangaroa was also referred to as the supreme being and first cause in Samoa, the Society Islands, and Hawai'i, the complex was almost absent from the belief system of the Polynesian marginal islands according to E. S. Craighill Handy (1927).

In the Cook Islands, Tangaroa and Rongo are said to have been the twin children of the primal parents Papa and Atea ("heaven"). Tangaroa is said to have taken a wife, Hina, in the Cook Islands—a conjunction that was held throughout Polynesia. On Easter Island, the Ariki Mau ("great chief") was the possessor of *mana* ("power") that was transmitted down the genealogical line from the ancestral gods Tangaroa and Rongo. On Samoa, Rongo is said to be the offspring of Tangaroa and Hina. Thus the roles of the gods, as well as their names, frequently vary from region to region.

There is a striking contrast to the above in the interpretation given Tangaroa in the Marquesas Islands, where Tangaroa was elevated into a divinity who battled Atea for supremacy. A creation myth of the Marquesas, however, contains many references to Tangaroa as merely a god of the sea and winds. It is plausible that the status of Tangaroa declined under the growing influence of Christian missionaries on the islands. In Hawaii, where he is called Kaneloa, Tangaroa was less important than the other departmental gods. This lack of status may have been due to the fact that the people of Hawaii later arranged their pantheon to conform with the Christian triadic pattern, using Kane (Tane), Ku (Tu), and Lono (Rongo) to form a trinity.

Effects of Christianization. As might be expected, the advent of the Europeans led to radical changes in Polynesian religions. In the Austral, Society, Tuamotu, and Gambier islands, the people still know Tangaroa as the god of the sea. Polynesian contact with Europeans, however, and the eventual conversion of many islanders to Christianity destroyed the old gods' religious authority. Why, then, is Tangaroa the sole "survivor" among the many Polynesian gods? The answer is tied to the fact that for the Polynesians, descendants of great seafarers, the ocean is vitally important. The music-loving Polynesians continue to sing their old chants even though they no longer fully understand the role that the texts had played in their religious traditions. The old *fagu* chants, still known in the extreme eastern end of the Tuamotu Islands, offer a sketch of the creation myths and of some of the religious concepts that existed before the advent of Christianity. These chants contain not only the name of Tangaroa but also the names of other gods; even ancestral gods often appear in parodies. But, in general, the gradual disintegration of traditional island society has coincided with the death of the Polynesian gods.

Radical change was enhanced by the modernization of island societies after World War II. In the 1960s, Tangaroa was mentioned in only one of the parody chants that was used on the occasion of welcoming visitors to the eastern Tuamotus:

> We descend from Tangaroa Manini, we are ready for you
> We love you Manini, with blessings
> Has come to our land. (Hatanaka, 1976)

It may be that one day even the name of Tangaroa will no longer be known to the Polynesian people; then all of the gods will have returned to the land of Hawaiki.

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TĀNGRI SEE TENGRI

TANG YONGTONG

TANG YONGTONG (1893–1964) was an eminent scholar of the history of Chinese Buddhism. A native of Huangmei County in Hubei Province, China, Tang studied in Beijing and graduated from Quinghua University in 1917. In order to pursue his studies he went to the United States in the following year, where he specialized in philosophy, Sanskrit, and Pali at Harvard University. Tang received his master's degree in 1922 and returned to China, where he began a teaching career that spanned four decades.

By the 1940s, Tang was already well established in the philosophy department of Beijing University, becoming its chairman and eventually being named dean of the College of Humanities. In addition to his research on Buddhism and Indian philosophy, Tang was an expert on the school of thought known as *xuanxue* ("dark learning"), which flourished during the Wei and Jin dynasties (third and fourth centuries CE). He also lectured on such Western philosophical traditions as rationalism and empiricism, having studied European philosophy during his years abroad. In 1947 Tang was named an academician of the Central Research Institute, and thereafter returned to the United States to give a series of lectures at the University of California.

Firmly rejecting suggestions that he go to Taiwan following the establishment of the People's Republic in 1949, Tang actively took part in academic affairs in the newly established People's Republic. He was appointed chairman of the Council for Academic Affairs and vice-president of Beijing University, and was elected a member of the Academic Society of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. In addition, Tang was a member of the Standing Committee of the first, second, and third National People's Congresses.

Consonant with both Marxist theory and contemporary scholarship in the social scientific study of religion, Tang focused more on the historical and social impact of Buddhist thought than on its religious influence. His principal works include *Hanwei liang Jin Nanbeichao fojiao shi* (A history of Buddhism from the Han and Wei Dynasties to the Northern and Southern Dynasties), *Suitang fojiao shigao* (A history of Buddhism in the Sui and Tang Dynasties), and *Yindu zhexue shilue* (A concise history of Indian philosophy). Through his academic work and official posts Tang influenced an entire generation of Chinese students of Buddhism.

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TANLUAN

TANLUAN (traditional dates 476–542, but more probably c. 488–554) was the author of the first known systematic work to be produced in China on Pure Land (Chin., Jingtu) Buddhism, that branch of the Buddhist tradition that emphasizes faith in the Buddha Amitābha (Buddha of Limitless Light; Chin., Emituofo; Jpn., Amida) and rebirth in Sukhāvatī ("land of bliss"), Amitābha's paradisiacal realm in the western quarter of the universe, as a means of attaining enlightenment. Tanluan's writings were a major textual source for the Japanese monk Shinran (1173–1262), the founder of the Jōdo Shinshū, which therefore regards Tanluan as one of its major patriarchal figures.

According to his biography in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (Further Biographies of Eminent Monks), Tanluan was born in the north, near Wutai Shan in Shansi Province, and studied Buddhism in his youth. Following a serious illness, however, he took up the pursuit of techniques of immortality recommended in various Daoist texts. His quest eventually led him to a supposed encounter with Tao Hongjing (456–536), the eminent Six Dynasties alchemist and master of the Maoshan Daoist tradition, who allegedly transmitted to him ten fascicles of "scriptures of the immortals" (*xian cjng*). On his way north again Tanluan stopped in Luoyang, where the Indian monk and translator Bodhiruci is said to have introduced him to the *Guan wuliangshou jing* (Scripture on the Visualization of the Buddha Amitābha). Bodhiruci remarked to him at the time that Amitābha (known also by his alternate Sanskrit name, Amitāyus, Buddha of Limitless Life) was the "greatest immortal" (*da xian*), given his ability to lead beings out of the realm of rebirth altogether. This historically questionable episode is nonetheless suggestive of the close link that must have been popularly perceived between the soteriological goals of Daoism and some of the Buddhist traditions, a link that may have contributed to the rapid growth in popularity of the Amitābha cult in Tanluan's time. In the aftermath of this encounter Tanluan devoted himself to the study of the Pure Land scriptures, eventually gathering around himself a group of devotees to Amitābha.

Many Daoist and Buddhist works are attributed to Tanluan, but only two, both of which are Buddhist, are unquestionably authentic. The first, a systematic treatise, is generally known by the abbreviated title *Wangsheng lun zhu* (Notes on the Treatise on Birth [in the Pure Land]; T. D. no. 1819). The second, the *Zan Emitofoji* (Canticles on Amitābha; T. D. no. 1978), is an apparently liturgical work. The *Lun zhu* is Tanluan's commentary (*zhu*) to the so-called *Sukhāvatīvyūhopadeśa** (*Wuliangshou jing yupotishe yuansheng ji*), a collection of Buddhist-style hymns (Skt., *gāthā*), with autocommentary, attributed uncertainly to Vasubandhu. Tanluan's commentary proceeds carefully *au pied de la lettre,* with only a few insertions external to the format of "Vasubandhu's" text. His general intent is to show how one may achieve liberation by availing oneself of the pure *karman* of Amitābha, which is freely dispensed to all who seek it in accordance with a series of resolves (*pranidhana*) taken by this Buddha while still the *bodhisattva* Dharmākara.

Drawing on the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra,* the *Smaller Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra,* and the *Guan wuliangshou jing,* Tanluan shows how the power of Amitābha is effective for all beings who call upon him in faith, even for laypersons who cannot meditate or for those sunk in immorality. Faith in, and worship of, Amitābha is accomplished through what Tanluan (imparting his own classification to "Vasubandhu's" discussion) termed the "five gates of recollection" (*wu nianmen*): bodily worship (i. e., bowing, etc.); vocal praise (especially, but not exclusively the invocation of his name, i. e., *nianfo* practice); wholehearted resolve to be reborn in the Pure Land; visualization (*guan*) of the delights of the Pure Land; and "turning toward" (*huixiang*), a purposely ambiguous term that means both turning toward beings while the practitioner is still in *samsara,* so as to give them the religious merit gained through one's own practice and, having been born in the Pure Land, turning back toward beings by being reborn in *samsara* in order to liberate others.

Tanluan's demonstration of these simple practices is sophisticated and profound, being based heavily upon the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Śāstra* (a commentary on the *Perfection of Wisdom Scripture* attributed to Nāgārjuna), but it is not necessary to understand the demonstration in order to use the practice. The *upāya* (skill in means) involved is that of the passionate longing for heavenly delights. The Pure Land is depicted *as if* it were a heaven of sensual delight (i. e., a *devaloka,* or realm of a deity), but in fact it is outside of the phenomenal world of *saṃsāra.* It is not a phantasm, however: "It exists extra-phenomenally," says Tanluan, and is by its inner nature pure in every respect, even in respect of discursive thought. Thus, when one dies and, through Amitābha's power, is reborn in the Pure Land and sees Amitābha there as its lord, one is actually "not born." One's desires take on the Pure Land's nature of desirelessness as the water of rivers takes on the saltiness of the sea when it runs into it. One's passionate longing for delight is extinguished "like ice mixed with fire: The fire [of the passions] goes out, and the ice [of the Pure Land's delights] disappears." Thus, one has effectively achieved *nirvāṇa* and one functions like a *bodhisattva* of the upper levels (i. e., a *bodhisattva* who has achieved the state of nonretrogression), ever remaining fixed in the *dharmakāya* (unmanifest Buddha nature) yet constantly manifesting bodies in all the worlds where Buddhist teachers are needed, "like the sun that remains in the sky yet is reflected in hundreds of rivers and pools."

Tanluan was virtually ignored in China, but his influence in Japan has been considerable since Shinran's time. Shinran used the *Lun zhu* as the major source of his *Kyōgyōshinshō,* a collection of proof texts on Pure Land Buddhism, and composed his own *San Amidabu-tsuge,* which was closely based on Tanluan's *Zan Emitofo ji.* Shinran built his even simpler practice of gratefully rejoicing in *already having been* liberated by the power of Amitābha on the intellectual foundation provided by Tanluan.

SEE ALSO Amitābha; Jingtu; Nianfo; Shinran; Tao Hongjing.

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Roger J. Corless (1987)

T'AN-LUAN See TANLUAN

TANNAIM. The term *tanna* is used to refer to an authority of the Mishnah and its related works, in contradistinction to *amora,* referring to a sage of the *gemara*ʾ. The word derives from the Aramaic *teni* ("to repeat") and by extension means "to learn" or "to teach."

The tannaim were the sages of rabbinic tradition who lived immediately before, and then during the century and a half following, the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem (70 CE). This period is traditionally divided into five or six generations. The most prominent authorities of the period included Hillel, Gamliʾel the Elder, Yoḥanan ben Zakkʾai, Gamliʾel of Yavneh, Eliʿezer ben Hyrcanus, ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef, Meʾir, and Yehuda ha-Nasiʾ. The period ends with the generation of Yehuda ha-Nasiʾ, the editor of the Mishnah (c. 200 CE), although the following generation in Palestine is one of transition. The division in Babylonia is clearer, though the amora Rav is occasionally spoken of as having tannaitic authority.

The texts that record the traditions of these sages are termed *tannaitic,* and they include the Mishnah, the Tosefta, the halakhic *midrashim,* and a broad variety of traditions preserved in the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds. Traditions that are ascribed tannaitic authority are introduced, almost without exception in the Babylonian Talmud but with frequent exception in the Jerusalem Talmud, with a set of technical vocabulary that employs the root *tny.* Such traditions are termed *baraitot* (sg., *baraitaʾ),* meaning "traditions outside, or excluded from, the Mishnah" (from Aramaic *bar,* "outside").

The tannaitic texts, particularly the Mishnah but to a significant extent the *baraitot* as well, form the basis of later rabbinic legal deliberations. These texts were tested, interpreted, and sometimes emended by the amoraim, and they were in a very real sense accorded the authority of canon. The tannaim often became great legendary figures who were thought to have experienced, and sometimes even instigated, miracles.

The term *tannaʾ* is secondarily used to refer to the professional repeater or reciter of the rabbinic schools who functioned during both the tannaitic and amoraic periods, even into the centuries that followed (the amoraic period ended c. 500 CE). The *tannaʾ* may also have been referred to as *roveh* ("repeater"), later confused with *rabbah* ("the great").

The official traditions of the rabbinic schools were oral. The functionaries who memorized the official texts were the *tannaʾim,* who were in all respects living books. The process of committing the official text to memory most likely occurred in the following way. First, the master would decide upon the version of the tradition to be taught. He would then call upon his *tannaʾ,* who would be asked to recite the tradition a great many times until its memorization was secure. At that time other *tannaʾim* might be called in, for whom the first *tannaʾ* would then recite the tradition. He would test their memorization, and in this way the version of the text would be secured in the mouths of increasing numbers of *tanna'im.*

Such a method constituted genuine publication. There are several accounts in Talmudic literature in which the *tannaʾ* is consulted to clarify the official version of a tradition. When the *tannaʾ* testified to the reading of a text, his testimony was deemed authoritative. Even the Mishnah's editor, Yehuda ha-Nasiʾ, is reported to have consulted his *tannaʾ* for a proper reading, and this particular *tannaʾ* is spoken of as having a "tested" or "revised" version of the Mishnah.

Because the *tannaʾ* was depended upon to provide published traditions, without commentary and without emendation, the *tannaʾim* were apparently chosen for their phenomenal memories, not their intelligence. An overly intelligent *tannaʾ;* might have been tempted to emend a text if he thought it to be problematic. One sage speaks of a *tannaʾ* as "a basket filled with books" (B.T., *Meg.* 28b), that is, filled with information but not able to do much with it. A popular saying declares that "the *tannaʾ* recites and doesn't know what he is saying" (B.T., *Soḥ.* 22a). Still, some of the greatest sages also acted as *tannaʾim.* In addition, the potential fallibility of oral publication was widely recognized, and it is probably for this reason that *Avot* 3.7 warns strongly against any interruption during one's repetition exercises.

The traditions of certain schools were thought to be especially reliable. This was true of the schools of Hiyyaʾ and Oshayaʾ, Palestinian sages of the transitional generation following the compilation of the Mishnah. The former of these teachers is also spoken of as being a repeater for Yehuda ha-Nasiʾ.

See Also Beit Hillel and Beit Shammai; Eliʿezer ben Hyrcanus; Gamliʾel of Yavneh; Gamliʾel the Elder; Meʾir; Mishnah and Tosefta; Yehuda ha-Nasiʾ; Yoḥanan ben Zakkʾai.

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Revised Bibliography

TANTRISM

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
HINDU TANTRISM

TANTRISM: AN OVERVIEW

The term *tantrism* is a nineteenth-century western invention, coined to refer to what were considered to be a body of heterodox religious teachings, first discovered by European scholars in Indian works called *Tantras.* Although there is no term in any Asian language for tantrism, it continues to be applied by scholars to a bewilderingly diverse array of esoteric precepts and practices attested across much of South, Inner, and East Asia from the sixth century CE down to the present day.

The most salient phenomena common to all tantrisms are the use of *maṇḍalas*, *mantras*, and ritual practices in order to map, organize, and control a universe of powerful beings, impulses, or forces in pandemonium. Here, it is important to note that the specifically tantric use of *maṇḍalas*, *mantras*, and initiations first emerged in India as a religious response to or reflection of a situation of anomie. With the fall of the imperial Guptas in about 550 CE, much of the Indian subcontinent was plunged into a centuries-long period of feudalism, in which multiple, shifting political "centers" were in constant flux, passing under the control of a series of often low-caste rulers whose claim to dominion over a territory was, from the standpoint of orthodox religious polity, illegitimate. In order to legitimate their power, these newly arisen rulers called on a variety of religious specialists to ritually consecrate them with tantric *mantras*, transforming them into divine kings, and their conquered territories into equally consecrated *maṇḍalas* of royal power. Ronald M. Davidson has encapsulated this feudal dynamic:

> In the medieval military culture, the apotheosis of the king served his strategy of divine right to the assumption of power, irrespective of his actual lineage. However, the process of divine royalty conversely implied the royalty of divinity, so the apotheosis of rulers entailed the feudalization of the gods. . . . [T]he great and local deities of the period . . . occupied positions in metaphysical space analogous to the positions controlled by their devotees in terrestrial space, with all the attendant rights and responsibilities. At the same time, lesser divinities became understood as representatives of the imperial divinity, who protected them in a complex exchange of divine services, just as the vassals owed allegiance and loyalty to the monarch through the exchanges of goods, services, land, and booty. (*Indian Esoteric Buddhism,* 2002, pp. 71–72.)

When one bears in mind the Indian feudal context within which tantrism emerged out of preexisting Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain religious systems, a number of specifically tantric terms and practices become comprehensible. These include the use of *mantras* (secret spells) as "weapons" (*śastras*), "missiles" (*astras*), and "armor" (*kavaca*); ritual practices of "binding the directions" (*dig-bandhana*) as a means to securing a consecrated space from invasion by demonic forces; the construction of tantric *maṇḍalas* on the model of fortified palace-citadels; multiple associations of tantric goddesses with warfare; the bearing of royal weapons or scepters (*vajras*) by tantric initiates; the tantric "acts" (*karmas*) of pacification, subjugation, immobilization, enmity, eradication, and liquidation; and the narrative use of the language of conquest (both military and sexual) in tantric discourse in general. Here, the original tantric practitioner par excellence was not the traditional religious specialist—a Brāhmaṇ priest or a Buddhist or Jain monk—but rather the king, as exemplary member of the laity. Much of the early history of tantrism is intertwined with the emergence of a new type of lay religious specialist, "shamanic" ascetic practitioners who identified themselves, through their supernatural powers, with royal gods and divine kings. To these latter, they offered a variety of services and products, including spells and potions for the control of women, the attainment of wealth, and the annihilation of enemies; spirit possession; magical healing and manipulation of the dead, demons, and other entities; future-telling; and so on. In Hindu and Buddhist circles, these tantric supermen were called "Perfected Beings" (*Siddhas, Mahāsiddhas*) and "Virile Heroes" (*Vīras*); among Śvetāmbara Jains, the "Teachers" (*Sūris*) of the Kharatara Gaccha sub-sect have played an analogous role.

GEOGRAPHICAL SPREAD OF TANTRISM. The origins of tantrism are Indian. All authentic tantric lineages—of deities, scriptures, oral teachings, and teachers—claim to extend back to Indian scriptures. The founders of every major tantric tradition, school, or sect either trace their guru-disciple lineages back to an Indian source, or are considered to be incarnations of bodhisattvas whose cults first arose in India. The exploded pantheons of tantrism—principal multi-headed and multi-armed deities proliferating into *maṇḍalas* of families or clans—are generally Indian, or at least traceable to Indian prototypes. The great bulk of tantric legends concerns Indian Siddhas and Mahāsiddhas. The hieratic language of tantrism generally remains the Sanskrit of medieval India, so that for any lineage-based tantric body of practice to be considered legitimate in Chinese, Japanese, Korean, or Tibetan tantric traditions, its translated root text has had to be traceable back to a Sanskrit original. In these translated sources, *mantras*—whose efficacy resides in their sound shape—will not be translated, but rather frozen (at least in theory) in the original Sanskrit. Furthermore, Sanskrit characters form the basis of the hieratic *siddham* script employed in Chinese and Japanese tantric *maṇḍalas* and texts. The yogic practice that is so central to tantrism is also of Indian origin (albeit influenced by Daoist techniques).

Tantrism has persisted and quite often thrived across much of Asia since its Indian origins in the middle of the first millennium of the common era. Its practitioners have lived in India, China, Japan, Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Korea, and Mongolia, as well as in the "Greater India" of medieval Southeast Asia: Cambodia, Burma, and Indonesia. The medieval history of South Asian Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism is saturated with tantrism. In Hindu India, the Pāñcarātra, Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava, Sahajiyā, Pāśupata, Kāpālika, Śaiva Siddhānta, Siddha Kaula, Yoginī Kaula, Krama, Trika, Śrīvidyā, Paścimāmnāya, Nāth Siddha, and Śākta movements, orders, and sects have all been tantric or heavily colored by tantrism since the medieval period. Medieval Jain tantric works such as the tenth-century *Jvālinī Kalpa* resembled coeval Hindu and Buddhist Tantras in every way but for the names of the deities who were the objects of their ritual practice. Although Buddhism disappeared from the subcontinent in the thirteenth century, India (including present-day Pakistan) was the cradle of Buddhist tantrism in its Mahāyāna, Mantrayāna, and Vajrayāna forms, which were exported into Mongolia, Nepal, Bhutan, China, Korea, Japan, and Tibet. Certain of the Yoginī Tantras of early Buddhist tantrism originated in the Swat Valley of present-day Pakistan, and the tenth-century *Kālacakra Tantra,* an important Vajrayāna work, was likely written by an author living in the same region. Tibetan Buddhism is nearly entirely a Vajrayāna tradition: this applies to the four major existing schools (the Rnying ma [Nyingma] pas, Bka' brgyud [Kagyu] pas, Sa skya [Sakya] pas, and Dge lugs [Geluk] pa), as well as to specific forms of practice, such as Rdzogs chen (the "Great Perfection" practice unique to Nyingma). The ritual of the medieval Chinese state was tantric, and China was the medieval changing-house for nearly every Buddhist tantric tradition transmitted to Japan, Korea, and Mongolia. In China, tantrism has persisted, since the twelfth century CE, within Daoist ritual practice. In Japan, all of the eight traditional schools of Buddhism have a tantric pedigree: of these, the Shingon and Tendai schools have persisted as Japan's most successful exponents of "Pure Buddhist Esotericism." In Southeast Asia, Cambodian inscriptions indicate the presence of Hindu tantric specialists there in the early medieval period; the medieval kings of Bali underwent Hindu tantric initiations, and present-day Balinese Hinduism continues to display its Indian tantric origins.

From 1642 until the exile of its Dge lugs (Geluk) pa leadership in 1950, Tibet was a tantric Buddhist theocracy. Today, the constitutional monarchies of Nepal and Bhutan are the world's sole surviving "tantric kingdoms," with their state ceremonial comprised of tantric liturgies and rituals and nearly all of their deities tantric. One of these, Bhairava, is a tantric god found in every part of Asia, and worshipped in a tantric mode by Hindus, Jains, and Buddhists alike. Similarly, the originally Indian tantric gods Tārā, Ambikā, Akṣobhya, Mahākāla, Gaṇeśa, Avalokiteśvara, and Skanda, as well as numerous groups of multiple tantric deities, are found throughout much of Asia.

FUNDAMENTALS OF TANTRIC PRACTICE. Tantric practice consists of a set of ritual and meditative strategies for accessing and appropriating the energy or enlightened consciousness of the absolute godhead that, coursing through the universe, infuses its creatures with life and the potential for salvation. Humans in particular are empowered to realize this goal through strategies of embodiment—that is, of causing that supreme energy, essence of *nirvāṇa*, or quality of buddhahood to become concentrated in one or another sort of template or grid (a *maṇḍala* or *mantra*, the human body, or a ritual structure)—prior to its internalization in or identification with the individual microcosm. This they may do by appropriating elements of this world (which is real and not an illusion) such as words, images, bodies, and substances, into rituals that collapse subject and object, thereby projecting them into a realization of their inherent buddha nature or Śiva-self.

Drawing on its feudal Indian origins, tantrism also remains a body of practice with explicit this-worldly aims: the control of all of the beings located in the universal power grid, including lesser gods, living people, the dead, animals, and demons. While much of tantric practice has become sublimated into tame forms of "pure esotericism," it must be recalled that the great volume of early tantric texts were devoted to sorcery—that is, to magical techniques for controlling other beings against their will. Such remains the primary goal of tantrism as it continues to be practiced on a popular level throughout much of Asia.

The key to understanding tantric practice is the *maṇḍala*, the energy grid that represents the constant flow of divine and demonic, human and animal impulses in the universe, as they interact in both constructive and destructive patterns. This grid is three-dimensional, in the sense that it locates the supreme deity (god, goddess, celestial buddha, bodhisattva, or enlightened *tīrthaṃkara*)—the source of that energy and ground of the grid itself—at the center and apex of a hierarchized cosmos. All other beings, including the practitioner, will be situated at lower levels of energy/consciousness/being, radiating downward and outward from the elevated center point. Because the deity is both transcendent and immanent, all of the beings located at the various energy levels on the grid participate in the outward flow of the godhead, and are in some way emanations or hypostases of the deity himself (or herself).

This is particularly the case with the tantric guru, the preceptor from whom a practitioner receives instruction and initiation, and with whom tantric practitioners frequently identify the godhead at the center of the *maṇḍala.* Here, the guru, as an already fully realized or empowered tantric being, plays a pivotal role, linking the human with the divine. In certain tantric traditions, the male guru's female consort—variously called the Yoginī, Ḍākinī, "Action Seal," or "Lotus Maiden"—is equally exalted as she is identified with the supreme female godhead. It is in this particular context that sexualized ritual may be brought to the fore in tantric initiation: the female consort, as the embodiment of the divine, transmits to the initiand the transformative energy and wisdom of the godhead through her sexual emissions, which are considered to be liquid gnosis. In this way, the initiand becomes a member of the divine family or clan of both his guru and the godhead at the center of the *maṇḍala*.

Crucial to the initiation process as well as to many other types of tantric practice is the notion that within the gross body of the human microcosm there is a subtle, yogic body that is the mesocosmic replica of the divine dyad, the supreme godhead in its male and female manifestations. This body, comprised of energy channels and centers, drops and winds, is itself a *maṇḍala*: viewed from above, the vertical central channel of the subtle body would appear as the center point of the *maṇḍala*, with the various energy centers aligned along that channel being so many concentric circles, wheels, or lotuses radiating outward. As such, initiation and all forms of yogic practice involve, once again, an effort on the part of the practitioner to return to the elevated center point of the emanated *maṇḍala*. Movement toward the center, effected through a combination of external ritual and internal meditative practices, basically entails harmonizing one's own energy or consciousness level with that of the (deities of the) circle in which one finds oneself. First encountered as obstacles, these divine, demonic, or animal impulses are eventually overcome, and transformed into positive sources of energy that carry one closer and closer to the deity at the center. Alternatively, one may, having overcome them, also coerce those same potentially destructive lower-level beings to do one's bidding, through various ritual technologies.

THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND DOMESTICATION OF TANTRISM. As its sociopolitical contexts have changed, so too has the content of tantrism, with persons from a broader range of society appropriating and adapting its rituals and their attendant metaphysics to their specific needs and aspirations. In general terms, this has taken the form of an institutionalization of tantrism by Hindu Brāhmaṇs and Buddhist monks on the one hand and, on the other, the domestication of its base from lay elites (kings, aristocrats, and Siddhas) to wider strata of householder society. In spite of periodic reformations or revivals of "primitive" tantrism in various parts of the Asian world, both of these trends have had the effect of draining tantrism of its original specificities, of making institutional forms of tantrism look more like the broader, conventional, or orthodox religious contexts in which they have been embedded.

Many of the original tantric masters understood speech to be a performative act, and intentionally subverted conventional language in their teachings and use of *mantras* as a means to effect a breakthrough in their disciples' perception of reality. Among their disciples were members of the literati, who committed these speech acts into writing, writings that were in turn anthologized, codified, commentated on, and systematized into texts and canons of texts. Tantric *mantras*, which were originally secret spells for coercing a wide range of supernatural entities into doing one's bidding, became "semanticized" into the phonematic manifestations of powerful gods and compassionate buddhas, who could be accessed through the *mantras*' proper pronunciation. The term *mūdra* ("seal"), which originally referred to the sealing together of male and female bodies in sexual union, came to refer to complex hand and finger positions to be maintained while meditating, or to the parched grain that Hindu practitioners consume as a tantric sacrament. The *homa* fire sacrifice rituals of early tantrism, which often involved the offering of human and animal blood and gore to ravening demonic entities, became sublimated into either yogic practice or the meditative burning away of impediments to liberation or salvation in the fire of gnosis. More fundamentally, the tantric ritual arena came to be sealed off from the powerful but dangerous entities and forces of the original tantric universe, with the pandemonium of the real world walled out from the quiet center or the monastic cell or household shrine.

Orthodox Hindu and Buddhist hermeneutical strategies neutralized the heterodox and heteroprax content of early tantrism by interpreting it in a variety of ways. On the one hand, much of what was objectionable in the externals of tantric practice was internalized into yogic, meditative, or imaginative techniques. On the other, such practices were marginalized into the purview of a limited elite—the Siddhas and Vīras of tantric legend and their emulators—with more conventional, devotional, salvation-oriented practice recommended for the religious mainstream of monks, priests, and householders. Here, there was a trade-off between danger and efficacy, purity and power in the world, in which circumspection was strongly advised to all but a select few. It was the dangerous content of the early tantric rituals that most distinguished them from those found in the orthodox Buddhist Sūtra literature and the Hindu Vedas: but for those who dared to undertake them, and transact in prohibited substances (sexual fluids, unclean or proscribed food) with problematic beings (outcaste women, minions of the spirit world) through heterodox practices (sexualized initiation rituals, sorcery), self-transformation could be instantaneous rather than the result of several lifetimes of practice.

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DAVID GORDON WHITE (2005)

TANTRISM: HINDU TANTRISM

Tantrism must certainly rank as among the most problematic and controversial categories in the study of religion generally and the study of Hinduism specifically. Virtually every proposition about Tantrism is disputed, ranging from its origins and distinctive traits to the evaluation of its place in the history of religions. Herbert Guenther, one of the last century's greatest scholars of the subject, once observed that Tantrism is "probably one of the haziest notions and misconceptions the Western mind has evolved." Often enough one encounters completely contradictory statements concerning Tantrism in the scholarly literature. As one modern observer puts it, the term is a sort of "floating signifier . . . gathering to itself a range of contradictory qualities." Because of this some have argued that there is no real referent to the words *Tantrism* or *Tantric* and therefore such terms should be abandoned entirely. Others choose to retain the terminology, albeit not without reservations.

We may start with the problematic nature of the name *Tantrism* itself. The term derives from the Sanskrit root *tan-,* "to extend, stretch, expand." *Tantra* thus can mean "succession," "unfolding," "continuous process," or "extension." The term appears already in the Vedic *Shrauta Sūtras* (c. fifth century BCE) in the sense of a "ritual framework" or "interweaving of rites," and *Tantrism* does indeed refer often enough to a certain type of ritual practice. The term is also used in the sense of an "extension" or "expansion of knowledge," or the "weaving" of various threads into a text; it can also be used as a synonym for a "system," or "system of thought," or a "compendium." Certain texts in the Hindu tradition are thus labeled *Tantras* (one common definition within the indigenous tradition is "a scripture by which knowledge is spread"), although not all of these "Tantras" can be regarded as "Tantric," and other texts that may indeed be so regarded are called by different names (e.g., Āgamas, Nigamas, and Samhitas).

A practitioner of Tantra is known as a *tāntrika* or a *sādhaka.* The Tantric adept is termed a *siddha* or "accomplished one." The ritual and meditative method or path distinctive to Tantra is called a *sādhana* ("performance leading to a goal"), which is supposed to result in the attainment of certain "powers" (*siddhi*s). As a path that often entails physical practices, Tantricism overlaps considerably with the Hindu traditions of yoga: one sometimes encounters the term *tantra-yoga* and a Tantric practitioner is frequently called *yogin* or *yoginī.*

Many scholars argue that there is, however, no indigenous Indian term that corresponds to *Tantrism*; that is to say, there was in the native tradition no recognition of a unified school or system or religious sect called *Tantrism.* Under this view, the word and conceptual apparatus that usually clings to it is entirely of foreign invention. David Gordon White has contended, however, that the term *Tantrism* does closely correspond to the scholastic tradition of ritual exegesis embodied in the textual corpus known as the *Tantraśāstra* (Theoretical treatises on Tantra), the most famous of which is the *Tantraloka* of Abhinavagupta (eleventh century CE).

One should also note, as we have above, that the adjective *tāntrika* ("Tantric") does appear in Sanskrit texts, in some cases to contrast a form of belief and practice to the more "orthodox" or "Vedic" (*vaidika*) forms of Hinduism. In some of the non-Tantric Sanskritic texts, *vaidika* refers to forms of practice suitable for *brahmans* and others of the higher classes, while the *tāntrika* rites are relegated to the lower castes. In the Tantric texts, unsurprisingly, the *tāntrika* path is defined very differently. Some contrast the wise *tāntrika,* whose knowledge penetrates to the true meaning of things, to the superficial *vaidika.* One text defines this form of practice in the following way: "He by whom the senses are conquered and whose mind is fixed . . . he whose intellect is still with regard to his own affairs or those of others . . . this, in short, is said to be the *tāntrika* method."

The origins of Tantricism are, like virtually everything else about the phenomenon, also contested. Some think Tantrism originated in Buddhist circles. Indeed, the oldest known "Tantric" texts are Buddhist; the *Guhyasamāja Tantra,* attributed to Asaṅga, dates back perhaps to the third century CE. Other scholars, however, presume Hindu origins for this form of religious belief and practice. Andre Padoux (1987) states unequivocally that "Tantrism is fundamentally a Hindu phenomenon."

Given the paucity of historical materials and the general uncertainty involved in the subject, the question of whether Tantrism was originally Hindu or Buddhist will probably never be resolved. What is sure is that Buddhist and Hindu Tantrism share much by way of doctrine, imagery, and practice, and they apparently cross-fertilized each other over the course of centuries. Within Hinduism per se, there are also Tantric strains within most of the major divisions of that tradition—Vaiṣṇava, Śaivite, and Śākta (the latter is often regarded in its entirety as "Tantric").

The term *Tantrism* thus refers to a broad movement, probably originating in the middle centuries of the first millennium CE, which spread into Hindu, Buddhist, and (to a lesser extent) Jain traditions. This "movement" (some prefer to envisage Tantrism as simply an attitude) is usually conceptualized as encompassing activities (symbolically imagined or ritually enacted) normally prohibited in the bourgeois India of the time, including some form of sexual intercourse (although the sexual component is often minimal in such groups and is, in any event, to be understood within a larger symbolic and ritual contextual framework).

Tantrism in its origins was, then, fundamentally a set of reinterpretations of the various existing religious traditions of India. It was also often perceived—both in historical India and the modern West—as controversial if not dangerous and degenerate. As Hugh Urban (2003) has written, for most understandings of Tantrism (both popular and scholarly, Indian and Western), the key element is "the very *extremity* of Tantra, its radical Otherness."

HISTORY OF THE STUDY AND REPRESENTATION OF TANTRISM. For many modern specialists, the category is now viewed as inextricably bound up in the prejudices and cultural psychodynamics of the Westerners who, it is argued, "invented" it in the nineteenth century. Some of the early Western scholars of Tantrism seemed aware of the constructionist nature of their label. Arthur Avalon (also known as John Woodroffe), one of the pioneers of Tantric studies, wrote in 1922 that "the adjective *tantric* is largely a Western term." Once constructed, however, "Tantrism" took on a life of its own and often served as a screen onto which outsiders projected either their deepest anxieties and fears or their desires and hopes.

Tantrism for many was the most degenerate and peripheral form of Indian religion. When it was first "discovered" by Westerners at the end of the eighteenth century, it was almost universally regarded as the most horrifying example of the excesses of Indian religiosity. Otherwise put, *Tantrism* was the label placed on those practices Westerners regarded as most abhorrent. Such views were only strengthened in the Victorian era where Tantrism was all but equated with illicit sexuality. The "so-called Tantric religion," writes one such Victorian, is essentiality nothing more than a cult where "nudity is worshipped in Bacchanalian orgies which cannot be described." Already by this time the standard stereotypes of "Tantrism"—and ones that have often endured to this day—were in place. What was definitive of this debased form of Hinduism was sexual licentiousness, as well as the consumption of prohibited substances, such as liquor, beef, and aphrodisiacs. In sum, as the nineteenth-century Indologist H. H. Wilson would opine, Tantrism stood "for all that is abominable in the present state of Hindu religion."

In the twentieth century some scholars arose to proclaim the exact opposite: that Tantrism was, in fact, both the root and crowning achievement of Indian religiosity. Avalon regarded Tantrism as both "orthodox" (meaning, for him, "Aryan" or "Vedic") and in conformity to science. As for the sexual components of this form of Hinduism, Avalon would write that "There is nothing 'foul' in them except for people to whom all erotic phenomena are foul" (1975, p. 134). Other Western Indologists, including Heinrich Zimmer, would also champion the cause of Tantrism as the ideal religion for the modern age—creative, life-affirming, sensuous. For Mircea Eliade, Tantrism represented the "autochthynous heart of aboriginal India" and "reveals an experience that is no longer accessible in a desacralized society—the experience of a sanctified sexual life" (1959, p. 172; 1970, p. 201). It is, according to Eliade, in Tantrism that the opposition of the sacred and profane is finally resolved.

Such views, positive and negative, in the West were echoed in India. Many of the reformers of the so-called Neo-Hindu movement of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries specifically targeted Tantrism as the prime example of how far Hindus have fallen from the purity of the golden age of Vedic origins. For many of the leaders of what is sometimes called the "Hindu renaissance," Tantrism represented everything wrong with Hinduism and for all that was an embarrassment about India in relation to the West. Vivekananda, in his nationalistically inspired opposition to Tantra, claimed it was "un-Indian," with origins in Central Asia and Tibet.

For other Indians, however, Tantricism represented the very best of the Indian religious heritage. Perhaps the greatest of all the modern Indian saints and mystics, Ramakrishna, seems to have been a Tantric practitioner. On the other end of the spectrum, Tantrism's association with radicalism, subversion, and transgression made it appealing to Indian revolutionaries in the extreme wings of the nationalist movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For revolutionary nationalists like Aurobindo Ghose (in his early years), Tantric symbols and deities (especially the terrifying figure of the Tantric goddess Kālī) became sources of revolutionary inspiration. And for others, like the Marxist scholar N. N. Bhattacharyya, Tantrism represented evidence for an ancient classless society based on matriarchy and the worship of the Mother Goddess that was largely eclipsed by the patriarchal, caste-oriented Vedic culture and its legacy.

Among the many controversies regarding Tantra found in the scholarly literature, there is also dispute about whether Tantrism has been relegated to peripheral or tangential status vis-à-vis "real" Hinduism, or, conversely, whether the fascination with Tantricism—bordering on obsession—has blown out of all proportion its place in the study of that religion. Paul Muller-Ortega (1989) and Douglas Brooks (1990) both argue that, despite the apparent vogue and interest in Tantrism, it is nevertheless the unwanted "stepchild" of Indology—a persistence source of shame and embarrassment, and thus neglected and poorly attended to. On the other hand, Hugh Urban contends that "Tantrism has in fact been central to both academic and popular discourse about India in the twentieth century. Indeed, it has in many cases clearly been exaggerated and exploited" (2003, p. 8).

THE ORIGINS, HISTORY, AND TRADITIONS OF HINDU TANTRA. Andre Padoux observed that "the history of Tantrism is impossible to write" due to the paucity of data (and, it could be said, by virtue of the definitional uncertainty as what counts as "Tantrism"). Such pessimism has not changed much. Urban has reiterated that "the historical origins of the vast body of traditions that we call Tantra are today lost in a mire of obscure Indian history and muddled scholarly conjecture" (2003, p. 23).

Scholars have nevertheless put forth two very different narratives to account for the possible sources of Tantrism. The first locates the earliest "Tantrism" in the Indus Valley civilization, here conceived as a matriarchal culture complete with goddess worship, fertility rites, and proto-yogic practices. When Aryan invaders destroyed the Indus Valley civilization, Tantrism supposedly went underground, where it survived among the tribal groups at the periphery of Indian culture but also as the "autochthonous substratum" of later Hinduism. According to this account, Tantrism then reemerges a thousand years later in texts of the middle centuries of the first millennium, but only as the Sanskritized, elitist expression of a continuous and fundamentally popular form of Indian religion.

A quite different narrative assumes that Tantrism derives from the Aryan or Vedic religion itself. From this point of view, Tantrism is in essence the outgrowth of the intellectual and religious elite, and not based on a popular movement (let alone "autochthonous substratum") within Hinduism. Scholars adhering to this position cite the fact that the texts in which the beliefs and practices of Tantrism are first encapsulated are written in Sanskrit, and not in any popular vernacular.

A third, and mediating, possibility for accounting for the origins of Tantrism is to see it as the combination of both autochthonous and Vedic roots, or perhaps a synthesis of shamanic and magical practices (possibly originating in Central Asia) and the mystical speculations characteristic of the *brahman* elite.

All such attempts at locating the temporal and cultural origins of Tantrism remain theoretical and speculative. The geographical origins of the Tantric movement of the middle centuries of the Common Era is no less fraught with uncertainty. Although many of the centers of the Tantric movement were located in the frontier or border areas of India (e.g., Kashmir and Assam), other equally important geographical locales for Tantric expressions include Andhra, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, and Orissa. There does not seem to be one central place from which Tantrism sprung.

There is also no conclusive evidence of Hindu Tantras in the period before 800 CE, although most scholars agree that the classical form of Hindu Tantrism originated at least two or three centuries before that. Stone inscriptions indicate that Tantric deities were worshiped in the fifth century and many agree that Tantrism was well established by the sixth or seventh centuries CE. While there is little precisely dated evidence available, it seems that the period from the eighth or ninth century to the fourteenth century was one in which Tantrism flourished in India. Most of the texts regarded as "Tantric" (the Tantras, Samhitas, and Āgamas) date from this period, as do many temples and some of the greatest thinkers of the Tantric traditions (e.g., Abhinavagupta).

Already in the medieval period and then in subsequent centuries, the Tantric movement exerted influences on all forms of Hinduism. It has been noted that the pantheon of present-day Hinduism is largely comprised of Tantric deities. Tantrism also left its imprint on the temples, iconography, and rituals of the more "mainstream" Hinduism. Indeed, as we have seen, some scholars believe that the influence of Tantrism was so great that virtually all of Hinduism from medieval times forward can be understood as "Tantric." Mainstream Hinduism, under this view, is more "Tantric" than not.

But despite the huge influence of Tantrism on the theology, arts, iconography, temples, and rituals of the orthodox or mainstream religion, most Hindus have not in the past and would not now regard themselves as *tāntrika*s. The esoteric nature of much of the practice together with the initiatory structure of many of the Tantric groups have insured that membership of self-identified Tantric practitioners would always be limited, even while "Tantric" influences on Hinduism have been pervasive. The secretive and esoteric nature of many Tantric groups has also, in India as in the West, helped to generate a dubious reputation for Tantrism. In much of today's India, the label carries the same negative connotations it has borne for so long in the West. Brooks observes that "The word 'Tantra' in vernacular languages [of India] . . . is frequently used to conjure notions of black magic, illicit sexuality, and immoral behavior" (1990, p. 5).

"Tantrism," writes Padoux, "is essentially sectarian." The main division of sects in Hinduism as a whole consists of the worshipers of Viṣṇu (Vaiṣṇavas), the worshipers of Śiva (Śaivas or Śaivites), and those who worship the Goddess, in one or another of her many forms, as the supreme deity (the Śāktas). There are Tantric sects within each of these main divisions, although the Tantric groups within the Śaivite and Śākta groupings regard Śiva and Śakti as inseparable and therefore are not themselves clearly distinguishable according to these sectarian divisions. There is also considerable similarity between the terms *Tantrism* and *Śāktism*; while groups labeled in these two ways are not identical, they do intersect and often overlap.

Among the Vaiṣṇavas, the Pāñcarātra sect (with origins circa sixth century CE) was heavily influenced by the Tantric movement, although today most members of this sect do not consider themselves as Tantric practitioners. The Vaiṣṇava-Sahajiyās of Bengal, however, remain close in spirit to other forms of Tantrism. The Sahajiyās, who flourished especially between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, worship Viṣṇu in the form of Kṛṣṇa and his lover Rādhā. The poems of the Sahajiyā Tantrics are replete in erotic imagery, and practitioners use devotional singing and dancing to try to induce a state of mystical ecstasy envisioned as the union of the god and his consort.

It is, however, most especially in certain of the Śaivite sects that we find the classical instantiations of what is called *Tantrism.* One of the earliest of the Śaivite groups, the Pāśupatas (dating to perhaps the second century CE), emphasized radical asceticism and bizarre or disreputable behavior (thought to be in imitation of the wild divine ascetic, Śiva) in the pursuit of supernatural powers or *siddhi*s. Other early Śaivite sects that display Tantric tendencies include the Kāpālikas and the Kālāmukhas, about whom little is known because no texts from these groups survive. Contemporary reports about them, however, insist on their outrageous, scandalous behavior and socially abhorrent practices. As their name indicates, the Kāpālikas ("skull-bearers") probably used human skulls as begging bowls, were said to frequently practice in cemeteries, and may have engaged in ritualized sex. While evidence is scanty, it seems that such early Śaivite Tantrics embraced practices that subverted conventional morality and embraced controversial methods in the service of power and liberation.

Another set of Śaivite Tantric practitioners were known as the Nātha Siddhas (also known as the Kānphaṭās, or "split-ears"). They were also called the Gorakhnāthis due to the name of their founder, Gorakhnāth or Gorakṣa, who was supposedly the author of many of the Tantric texts of the *haṭhayoga* tradition. The aim of these practitioners was that of many other Tantrics, the state of liberation in this lifetime known as *jīvanmukti,* here thought to be achievable through the distinctive practices of yoga entailing breath control and retention and the "regression" of sexual energy and fluids.

Special mention must be made of the great philosopher of the "non-dual" Śaivism of Kashmir, Abhinavagupta (born c. 950 CE), who is responsible for many philosophically sophisticated and systematic Tantric treatises written in Sanskrit. One of the most famous of these is entitled the *Tantrāloka* (Elucidation of the Tantras), a commentary or exegesis of the Tantras. David White has argued for the importance of Abhinavagupta in the systematization and rationalization of Tantra. In his exegesis of the esoteric rites of Tantric practice, Abhinavagupta "sublimates, cosmeticizes, and semanticizes many of its practices into a type of meditative asceticism whose aim it was to realize a transcendent subjectivity. In the process, he transforms ritual from a form of 'doing' to a form of 'saying'" (2003, p. 16).

For some, then, Hindu "Tantrism" has been understood as referring to a particular kind of sect within Hinduism. In recent years, however, there has also arisen a tendency to envision it as an extremely widespread, even ubiquitous, trait of Indian religions in general. Eliade, for example, writes that "from the fifth century CE onward Tantrism becomes a pan-Indian 'fashion.' One meets it everywhere in innumerable different forms" (1970, p. 200). If, however, Tantrism is found everywhere within Hinduism, "in innumerable different forms," then what, if anything, constitutes its distinctiveness?

A SURVEY OF DEFINITIONAL TRAITS. It is generally agreed that there is no one body of doctrines and practices shared by all forms of Hindu Tantrism, and most scholars now also believe that a search for a unitary definition of *Tantrism* is futile. What we refer to as *Tantrism* is not so much a unified tradition but a loose grouping of particular texts, traditions, practices, and doctrines that differ in some regards from each other and overlap considerably with other "non-Tantric" currents within Hinduism. At best, then, there are elements that may be regarded only as characteristic, but not definitive, of Tantrism. Tantrism cannot be defined in terms of one or more standard traits but only in a "polythetic" manner in which any particular instance participates in one or more of a set of "family resemblances."

As a way to familiarize readers with what scholars have meant by "Hindu Tantrism," the following list of definitional traits may be useful. Many—indeed most—of these traits do not fit all instances of what has been called *"Tantrism."* Some of them are hotly contested by scholars (as noted below), but each has appeared in the scholarly literature as at least partially definitive of the phenomenon.

Non-Vedic or extra-Vedic in origin or scriptural authority. The ritual practices and methods for attaining religious goals in Tantrism are often characterized as "non-Vedic" (by which is meant, to some extent, "unorthodox" or at least "new," "unprecedented"). Tantric rituals and most of the distinctive worldview associated with Tantrism do not appear in Vedic texts nor in the strictly Brahmanic or *"smārta"* traditions that represent themselves as closely based on the Veda. Tantric texts, like the Vedas, do claim to be revealed from a transcendent source, but often enough there is no attempt to link the legitimating origin of Tantric practice back to the Vedas—as is indeed the case with the more orthodox traditions of Hinduism.

Tantrism, in other words, often represents its revelations as "new," or rather "newly revealed." This hitherto secret knowledge is said to have now become available because it is especially suitable for the *kali* age, the present era of degeneration when previously revealed methods and wisdom are no longer realizable by corrupt humans. As we have seen, the orthodox traditions themselves sometimes draw a distinction between *vaidika* and *tāntrika* rituals and practitioners and, in this way, the Tantric traditions agree.

This possible trait for what goes into constituting a group as "Tantric" does not preclude the claims sometimes made in Tantric texts to Vedic legitimacy, which may have in some cases been introduced at a later date in order to facilitate acceptance of Tantrism by the more orthodox Hindus. Nor does it necessarily deny that certain features of Tantrism, especially the emphasis on correlations and connections between the body, seen as a microcosm, and the universe as a whole or the macrocosm, at least resemble (if not derive) from modes of thought that may be characterized as "Vedic" (see below). What the emphasis on the non- or extra-Vedic character of Tantrism does begin to point to is Tantrism's controversial and "unorthodox" nature.

Controversial or antinomian practices. It is indeed the radical and transgressive methods prescribed by certain groups in the history of Indian religion that are often enough assumed, at least in part, by the label *Tantric.* For some groups, this has meant antisocial ascetic practices, such as eschewing clothing and ordinary hygiene, meditating in cemeteries, and carrying human skulls as begging bowls, as well as practices involving human corpses and the worship of deities in gruesome, terrifying forms. For others it has meant engaging in ritualized sex and the exchange of bodily fluids, or rituals that call for the ingestion of otherwise prohibited substances. In all cases, the purpose of such antinomian behavior seems to have been in one way or another to transcend the world of dualities (including "pure" and "impure," "good" and "bad").

Among the best known of these controversial practices is the ritual of indulging in what are called the five elements or principles (*pañcatattva*s) or the "five M's" (referring to the Sanskrit letter with which each of the five begins). This practice forms the core of the so-called "left-handed" path (*vāmamarga*) of Tantrism. Members of the group form a circle of alternating males and females, which represents the cosmos or *maṇḍala.* Having ritually constituted each male as the god and each female as the goddess (and the embodiment of the female energy known as *śakti*), practitioners then make what are regarded as sacrificial offerings to the divine within. These offerings consist of substances normally forbidden in caste Hinduism: meat (*mamsa*), fish (*matsya*), alcohol (*madhu*), and parched grains (one of the meanings of term *mudrā,* and perhaps indicating some kind of aphrodisiac). The ceremony culminates in the "fifth M," ritual intercourse or *maithuna,* which epitomizes the transcendental unification and resolution of all opposites. This kind of practice could also, however, be done entirely imaginatively within meditation, following the "right handed" path.

Esoteric Tantric groups thus claimed to be able to engage in practices that for the uninitiated would result in the most disastrous karmic ends. Such a path is termed "heroic" (*vira*) and dangerous in that it intentionally confronts head-on the most deep-seated desires and the most repulsive of aversions in the attempt to rise above both. Through various meditative and ritual techniques, the Tantric practitioner could "do whatever fools condemn" and rid himself "of passion by yet more passion":

> So, with all one's might, one should do Whatever fools condemn, And, since one's mind is pure, Dwell in union with one's divinity. The mystics, pure of mind Dally with lovely girls, Infatuated with the poisonous flame of passion That they may be set free from desire. By his meditations the sage . . . draws out the venom (of snakebite) and drinks it. He makes his deity innocuous, And is not affected by the poison. . . . When he has developed a mind of wisdom And has set his heart on enlightenment There is nothing he may not do To uproot the world (from his mind). . . . Water in the ear is removed by more water, A thorn (in the skin) by another thorn. So wise men rid themselves of passion By yet more passion. (*Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa,* Embree, 1988, pp. 24–38)

An anti-ascetic and anti-renunciatory attitude and a positive attitude toward the body. Tantrism has often been viewed as a kind of reaction to the renunciatory and ascetic strains in Hinduism. From the time of the ancient Upaniṣads, asceticism and world renunciation were usually thought to be more or less essential in the quest for liberation or *mokṣa.* Such an attitude is accompanied by a fundamentally negative evaluation of the body and its desires.

The "first characteristic" of Tantrism, according to Eliade, is its anti-ascetic attitude. The body is "revalorized" in Tantric circles and "acquires an importance it had never before attained in the spiritual history of India . . . The Upanishadic and post-Upanishadic pessimism and asceticism are swept away. The body is no longer the source of pain, but the most reliable and effective instrument at man's disposal for 'conquering death'" (1970, p. 227).

In Tantrism, the physical body becomes the vehicle and microcosmic locus of powers that can be tapped and enjoyed as the means to liberation. As such, the body must be kept healthy and strong, and a very different understanding of desire emerges. Tantrism sometimes represents itself as the "easy" path in which desire is not renounced but utilized on the road to salvation. As one text puts it, "No one succeeds in attaining perfection by employing difficult and vexing operations; but perfection can be gained by satisfying all one's desires."

Madeleine Biardeau has summed up *Tantrism* as "an attempt to place *kama,* desire, in every meaning of the word, in the service of liberation . . . not to sacrifice this world for liberation's sake, but to reinstate it, in varying ways, within the perspective of salvation" (cited in Padoux, 1987, p. 273) Thus *Tantrism* here means the use of desire to gain both worldly and supernatural "enjoyments" (*bhukti* or *bhoga*) as well as powers (*siddhi*s) and to attain the state of liberation in this very lifetime and in the embodied state. The this-worldly is not renounced but rather reintegrated into the soteriological quest.

Such a view of the Tantric embrace of the body, desire, and sensuality must also be contextualized by the often equally characteristic trait of an emphasis on ritual and the use of yoga or mental and physical "discipline" in Tantric groups. Desire—especially in its most powerful form, sexual desire—is not simply indulged in Tantric practice but rather is harnessed and "disciplined" by ritual or yogic methods. "The 'easiness' of the tantric path is more apparent than real," writes Eliade. "The fact is that tantric road presupposes a long and difficult *sadhana*" (1970, p. 206).

Religious use of sexual intercourse. David White has stated that "sexual ritual practice is the sole truly distinctive feature of South Asian Tantric traditions. All of the other elements of Tantric practice . . . may be found elsewhere" (2003, p. 13). We have seen above how ritualized sex is integrated into the "left-handed" forms of Tantric practice and how "desire" is not to be avoided but utilized. The ritualized or even "yogic" sex of traditional Indian Tantric practice at least theoretically has nothing to do with simply indulging one's desires, let along with the orgiastic and lascivious. It rather takes place secretly under what might be called "laboratory conditions" and within a context where all the participants are advanced practitioners. The event is totally sacralized; the participants are all fully divinized beforehand and the act of intercourse is to be envisioned not as sex at all but as the unification of all polarities, and most especially the union of Śiva and Śakti, the passive and active principles of the cosmos. Such a union is thought to represent or indeed actualize absolute reality itself.

The purpose of the ritual is not climax in its conventional sense of self-gratification, and indeed sometimes orgasm is prohibited in this yogic form of sex. The goal is rather the experience of cosmic union, the highest and ultimate end of Tantric practice. As Georg Feuerstein (1998) notes, in opposition to the lurid notion of "Tantric sex" sometimes current among outsiders, "There is nothing glamorous about Tantric sexual intercourse."

Esotericism and secrecy. Given the controversial nature of Tantric groups, a high premium was (and may very well still be) placed on secrecy. Many, if not most, of the practices characteristic of "Tantrism" were traditionally carried out privately, away from the gaze of the uninitiated. Practitioners were aware of the disapproval that would accompany public knowledge of certain of their rituals. Texts warn of the dire consequences that will befall those who reveal the secrets to outsiders. Tantric methods are also often said to be extremely dangerous to those who practice them without proper initiation and guidance, and therefore on these grounds too they should be kept from the awareness of the general public.

The esoteric nature of Tantrism was insured in part by its initiatory structure. Only those who had gained the permission of the Tantric master or *gurū* and who had undergone what can be very complex initiation or consecration (*dīkṣā*) ceremonies were eligible to learn the secrets of a particular sect. In opposition to the Vedic or Vedic-based orthodox groups, Tantric practice was typically open to initiates of all castes and both genders. "Initiation, secrecy, and the necessity of a spiritual master are essential Tantric traits," according to Padoux.

Another way in which the esoteric knowledge and practices of Tantrism were protected was through its elaborate system of symbols and especially by the utilization of an enigmatic and highly ambiguous form of language that renders many texts unintelligible to outsiders (and that provides endless difficulties for scholars trying to decipher such discourse). This form of writing is sometimes termed *sandhya bhasa* or "twilight speech" to indicate its capacity to convey within it two different meanings at once, and also to point to the paradoxical and ultimately indescribable qualities of esoteric realizations. Twilight speech may thus have as its original purpose not only to protect secrets but also to indicate that ordinary language is incapable of expressing the deep truths of Tantra.

Homologies and correlations between the macrocosm and the body regarded as a microcosm. The idea that the cosmos in its entirety, the macrocosm, is replicated or represented within the very body of the practitioner (conceived of as a microcosm) is frequently encountered in Tantrism and, indeed, is a necessary assumption for much of Tantric ritual and meditative practice. The positing of correlations between the body and the world, between the microcosm and macrocosm, between the human and the divine, and between the beings and actions involved in ritual and the cosmic entities, energies, and processes—all these are more or less necessary presuppositions for other elements of the worldview and practices of Tantrism.

In spirit, at least, if not in the specifics, this notion of a potentially discoverable nexus of resemblances linking the human, the ritual, and the cosmos is identical to that of Vedism, culminating in the Upaniṣadic equation of the Self (*ātman*) and the macrocosmic principle of unity (the *brahman*). As such, the idea that Tantrism is entirely or pervasively "non-Vedic" and "unorthodox" must be qualified.

The positing of a mystical physiology or "subtle body" and the projection of divinities into the body. An essential part of the idea of the body as a microcosm was the typically Tantric conceptualization of an "inner" or "subtle" body and an intricate science of veins, channels, winds or energies, and centers that comprise what one may call a mystical anatomy or physiology.

While there are vague correspondences between the structure and elements of this subtle body and the anatomical organs and endocrine system of the physical body, the two are not identical. Thus, for example, the various centers or chakras ("wheels," so called because they are envisioned as whirling circles) of the mystical body (some traditions count five of these, others seven) are located near, but are not identified with, parts of the physical body: the crown of the head, between the eyebrows, at the areas of the throat, heart, navel, and sexual organ, and at the base of the spinal column. Each of these centers forms the locus of a complex set of imagery; each is said to contain lotuses of different colors and shapes, different Sanskrit letters or *mantras,* geometrical designs, deities, cosmological elements and entities, and so forth. Each chakra, in other words, is a tremendous potential source of cosmic power of a certain sort. Taken together these centers within the human body contain the universe as a whole.

Linking together and springing forth from these centers is a vast system of tens of thousands of *nadi*s—veins, nerves, currents, or channels—the most important of which is a "central channel" (*sushumna*) surrounded on either side by two other *nadi*s called the *ida* (on the left) and *pingala* (on the right), the latter of which, among other things, is correlated with the moon and the sun. Running through these channels are various "winds" or energies known as *prāṇa*s.

Tantric practice, especially but not exclusively in its more meditative forms, consists of realizing the cosmic nature of this subtle body and then tapping into its transformative powers. This is done initially by imaginatively projecting divinities and powers into the body (the practice is called *nyāsa*), thereby homologizing it with the Tantric pantheon in order to realize and awaken these forces within. This process is often accompanied by the use of sacred and powerful syllables called "seed" or *bīja mantras* and the use of secret gestures called *mudrā*s.

But the real centerpiece of such meditation is the awakening of the energy, force, or power within the practitioner's being called *śakti* (the female and active principle of the universe) or *kuṇḍalinī* (envisioned as a snake coiled at the base of the spine). As one text puts it, "As a door is opened with a key, so the *yogi* opens the door of liberation by awakening the *kuṇḍalinī.*" This cosmic power, once aroused, is moved up through the central channel where it passes through, one by one, each of the chakras and invigorates the dormant powers within them. This results in the attainment of progressively higher states of consciousness and ability by the practitioner. When the *kuṇḍalinī* reaches the chakra at the crown of the head—the divine seat of the god Śiva—the female *śakti* is said to be reunited with the male principle. This is equated with liberation for the practitioner, a state that is said to be accompanied by "great bliss" and ecstasy.

Many scholars regard this mystical physiology as distinctive to Tantra, especially the notions that the active force in the universe (*śakti,* conceived as the Goddess) is present also in each individual in the form of *kuṇḍalinī*. The identification with and appropriation of the power of the Goddess, and the emphasis on tapping the *śakti/kuṇḍalinī* power within one's body, forms what some would regard as an essential element in what we call *Tantra.*

Distinctive goals: The attainment of *siddhis* and the realization of liberation in this lifetime (*jīvanmukti*). While all forms of Hinduism seek the goal of liberation or release from the bonds of *saṃsāra*, one of the features shared by most Tantric groups is the urgency with which that quest is imbued. Indeed, some scholars have focused on the "experiential" nature of Tantrism as its distinctive quality, its emphasis on practice over doctrine and on results above all. Tantric practitioners typically seek, in this very lifetime and in this very body, the experience of unity or oneness ("nonduality"), of "spontaneity" (*sahaja*), or of "moving through the void" (*khecari*), which is most commonly known as "liberation in this life" (*jīvanmukti*). While there are, as we have seen, many and various methods for attaining this goal, the conceptualization of the goal itself in these terms is perhaps one of the most basic commonalities shared by Tantric groups.

The liberated Tantric practitioner, the "accomplished one" or *siddha,* is, according to one text, free from the "pairs of opposites" or all duality, no longer bound by the forces of *karma,* unconquerable, "without inhalation and exhalation," invulnerable to all weapons, and immortal. Other extraordinary powers (the "accomplishments" or *siddhi*s) are also sought and supposedly realized along the way to the ultimate goal. These include the ability to fly, to know the past and future, to decipher the languages of animals, realize one's previous lives, read the thoughts of others, become invisible, and so on. In some texts, abilities such as these are summarized as the eight "great powers" (*mahāsiddhi*s): miniaturization, magnification, levitation, extension, irresistible will, mastery, lordship over the universe, and fulfillment of all desires.

MODERN WESTERN APPROPRIATIONS OF HINDU TANTRA. The problems inherent in the study of Tantrism have been further compounded by the widespread interest in and appropriation of the term *Tantra* to identify certain modern and Western New Age beliefs and practices. This form of "Neo-Tantrism" may or, more often, may not have anything much in common with the Tantrism practiced traditionally in India. Neo-Tantrism is, however, often represented by its adherents and supporters as both "ancient" and "Indian," perhaps in part as a means to legitimate its blend of spirituality and sexuality, sacred transcendence and materialistic indulgence. Furthermore, Tantrism has also appealed to, and been appropriated by, some modern Western feminists. Tantrism's supposed matriarchal roots, its elevation of goddess figures, its emphasis on the female power or *śakti,* its "embodiedness" or valorization of the body and physicality, and the supposed equality of the genders in its ritual practices—all these traits have endeared Tantrism to a certain segment of modern feminist spirituality.

Neo-Tantrism first emerged as part of the spirituality associated with the counterculture of the 1960s. An important cross-culturally transitional figure was Bhagawan Shree Rajneesh (also known as Osho), an Indian *gurū* who attracted a largely Western following with an eclectic philosophy revolving around his particular vision of "Tantra": "Tantra does not believe in improving your character . . . Tantra says—if you are greedy, be greedy . . . If you are sexual, be sexual, don't bother about it at all" (1974, p. 190). His teachings, he claimed, were particularly suitable for modern Westerners, an "iconoclastic brand of spirituality" or a "religionless religion" that does not deny or repress life and the body but rather affirms and expresses sensuality and physicality.

Since Rajneesh, New Age groups claiming to be in one way or another Tantric have multiplied and spread. The internet is replete with sites offering "Tantric sex," "sex magic," "sacred sex," "spiritual sex," and so forth—all under the umbrella of Tantrism. Neo-Tantrism, it has been argued, represents the ideal religion for consumer society, embracing the most materialistic and hedonistic desires and repositioning them as "spiritual" and as the means for achieving transcendence.

This new twist in the already extremely complex history of the phenomena called *Tantric* has provoked yet more controversy among scholars of Tantrism. Most view the appearance of neo-Tantrism as a trivializing perversion of the "authentic" Tantric traditions. For these observers, neo-Tantrics have mistaken, among other things, the "sexualization of ritual" of traditional Tantrism for the "ritualization of sex." Or, otherwise put, they have (intentionally or not) blurred the distinction made in the Indian tradition between the science of Tantra (*tantraśāstra*) and the science of erotics *(kāmaśāstra)*—the former entailing the use and transformation of desire in the service of liberation, whereas the latter's goal is the fulfillment of desire as one of the "ends of life" of a householder. One scholar thus refers to the "pathetic hybrid of New Age 'Tantric sex.'" For other observers, however, the neo-Tantrism of the modern West is just another incarnation of the infinitely protean, and always contestable, category of Tantrism.

SEE ALSO Buddhist Books and Texts, articles on Canon and Canonization; Goddess Worship; Hindu Tantric Literature; Kuṇḍalinī; Maṇḍalas, article on Hindu Maṇḍalas; Mantra; Mudrā.

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BRIAN K. SMITH (2005)

TANYAO (mid-fifth century CE), Chinese Buddhist monk and central figure in the revival of Buddhism after its suppression by the Northern Wei dynasty (385–534). Little is known about the early life of Tanyao except that he was eminent monk in the non-Chinese Bei Liang kingdom (397–439, in what is now Gansu province) before it was conquered by another non-Chinese kingdom, the Northern Wei.

As was the case in many of the northern dynasties, Buddhism was popular among the rulers of the Northern Wei. Thus when Tanyao arrived in the Northern Wei capital of Pingzheng (modern Datong), he found allies among the many Buddhists at the imperial court, the most prominent of whom was Crown Prince Huang. But Huang's father, the reigning emperor Taiwudi, came under the influence of an anti-Buddhist clique led by the Daoist adept Kou Qianzhi and the Daoist literatus Cui Hao, both openly hostile toward Buddhism. In 446 the emperor instituted a series of repressive measures against Buddhism, culminating in the issuance of an edict for its wholesale proscription.

The guiding hand behind the edict, which among other things ordered the execution of every monk in the realm, was Cui Hao, who effected it by taking advantage of the emperor's fury upon discovering a cache of weapons in a monastery in the city of Chang'an, a fact that the emperor took to be evidence of Buddhist complicity in a rebellion he had only recently suppressed. Other officials at court, including Kou Qianzhi, presented memorials urging the amelioration of the harshest points of the edict, thus delaying its actual promulgation and allowing monks time to flee or return to lay life, Tanyao resisted giving up the robe until the concerned crown prince convinced him of the prudence of this action, but he nevertheless maintained the sacerdotal paraphernalia in secret.

Kou Qianzhi died in 448, and in 450 Cui Hao was executed along with his entire clan for including unsavory aspects from the lives of the emperor's ancestors in the official history of the dynasty that he had been commissioned to write. With the passing of this duo, anti-Buddhist strictures began to relax. But full restoration occurred only after the assassination, by a eunuch, of Taiwudi in 454 and the accession of his grandson, Wenchengdi.

Buddhism had been subject to state control since the beginning of the dynasty, when Emperor Taizu granted the Chinese monk Faguo the official title of *daoren tong* (director of monks). In that capacity Faguo set a precedent in Chinese Buddhist history by identifying the emperor with the Tathāgata and requiring monks to bow down to him, an act in clear violation of monastic precedent. The *daoren tong,* which was abolished with the proscription of Buddhism, was revived with the restoration under a new name—the *jianfu cao* (office to oversee merits), a name later changed to *zhaoxuan si* (office to illumine the mysteries)—and presided over by a Kashmiri called Shixian. The new office was the center of a network, more finely woven than ever before, of governmental control over religious affairs.

Tanyao was Shixian's successor and held the post, now called the *shamen tong* (office of the *śramaṇa* superintendant), for more than twenty years. It was he who took advantage of the augmented interpenetration of government and religion to expand and glorify the Buddhist church.

One of his first important accomplishments was to persuade the new emperor, who was anxious to reverse the karmic effects of his grandfather's crimes, to undertake the costly project of chiseling into the walls of the Yungang caves (a few miles west of the capital) massive images of Buddhas and *bodhisattva*s, works still considered some of the greatest achievements of Chinese Buddhist art. The first group of caves (nos. 16–20 on modern charts) contains five Buddhas, one seventy feet tall, representing the first two emperors of the dynasty; the then-reigning emperor Wenchengdi; his father, Crown Prince Huang (who never reigned); and the infamous Taiwudi. The association of the imperial family with Buddhism could not have been represented in more intimate terms.

Another step taken by Tanyao to expand the influence of Buddhism was the establishment of Saṃgha Households (*sengji hu*) and Buddha Households (*fotu hu*). A Saṃgha Household was a voluntary association of a certain number of families responsible for paying sixty bushels of grain to the local branch of the *shamen tong*. That office then stored the grain for distribution to the poor in times of famine. Those Saṃgha Households faithfully fulfilling their responsibility were exempted from taxation.

Buddha Households consisted of a group chosen from among criminals or slaves who as bondsmen of the monastery had the responsibility of cultivating its fields and maintaining its buildings and grounds. With numerous monasteries under construction under Tanyao's leadership, amnesty after amnesty was granted to provide them with Buddha Households.

The Saṃgha Households and the Buddha Households were important for other reasons as well. On the one hand, they served the state by opening up new lands for cultivation during the years when war-induced underpopulation left so much land uncultivated that there were frequent famines. They also lightened the government's burden of supporting prisoners. On the other hand, they provided the church with a source of revenue and a pool of potential converts.

In addition to his many administrative accomplishments, Tanyao also translated scripture. His translations of the *Saṃyuktaratnapiṭaka Sūtra* (*Za baocang jing*), completed with the assistance of Indian monks in 462, and the compilation *Fu facang yinyuan zhuan,* both containing many stories in the Jātaka and Avadāna genres, provided edifying themes for sculptors working in the Yungang caves.

See Also Kou Qianzhi.

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T'AN-YAO See TANYAO

TAO-AN See DAO'AN

TAO AND RE See DAO AND DE

TAO-CH'O See DAOCHUO

TAO HONGJING (456–536 CE), a polymath scholar of Daoism, was largely responsible for establishing the textual corpus of the Maoshan or Shangqing (Highest Clarity) lineage, of which he is recognized as the tenth patriarch. Tao's contributions to the study of pharmacology and alchemy in China are also of singular importance, and during his own lifetime he was recognized for his authoritative knowledge of calligraphy and astrological calculations. Born near the southern imperial capital of Jiankang (modern-day Nanjing), Tao was the scion of a leading family of gentry officials with a long history of service to the southern courts since the fall of the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE).

The Tao family had marital links to some of the most important Daoist figures in Southern China, including the great scholar Ge Hong (283–343 CE), but Hongjing's mother and grandfather were both Buddhists. Despite these religious affiliations, Tao's early training was Confucian. He completed several commentaries on Confucian classics at an early age, and his dedication to scholarship soon earned him a reputation at court. By his early twenties he had achieved modest success in official service, being appointed "reader in attendance" to imperial princes. His intellectual and scholastic accomplishments garnered him much respect and allowed him to move freely in the élite social circles and literary salons of Jiankang.

During the period of mourning for his mother between 484 and 486, Tao began his formal initiation into Daoism. He became a disciple of Sun Youyue (398–489 CE), abbot of the Xingshi Temple in Jiankang. Sun had, in turn, been a disciple of Lu Xiujing (406–477 CE), the main systematizer of the Lingbao ritual liturgy. Sun possessed textual artifacts of the Maoshan revelations passed on by Lu, and he allowed Tao to view them. These texts had been produced between 364 and 370 CE by a visionary named Yang Xi (330–c. 386) living in the area of Maoshan (Mount Mao), southwest of the imperial capital. Yang claimed that he had received the texts from a number of "perfected immortals" (*zhenren*), residents of the Heaven of Highest Clarity (*Shangqing tian*). The message of the perfected was a synthesis of Celestial Master's Daoism, and elements of the southern occult traditions, such as represented in the work of Ge Hong. Alchemy and apotropaic ritual is much in evidence, but the texts pointed towards the future of Daoism with their tendency toward techniques of internal cultivation, such as visualization meditation.

The style and content of the Maoshan manuscripts, as well as their calligraphy, made a deep impression on Tao, and he began searching for more examples, making a trip in 490 to the eastern regions (present-day Zhejiang) for that purpose. Two years later, in 492, he renounced secular life altogether and retired to live at Maoshan. With the help of imperial sponsorship, Tao built a hermitage there, which he named the Huayang Observatory (*Huayang guan*). He assembled some disciples, and began the work of reconstructing the Shangqing scriptural corpus.

Tao's first major project was the compilation of the *Dengzhen yinjue* (Secret formulae for ascending to perfection). Most of this work is now lost, but originally it was a large collection of technical material derived from Yang Xi's revelations. It was intended for Tao's disciples, for whom he added copious annotations. The two works for which Tao Hongjing is best know seem both to have been completed in the same year, 499. The *Zhengao* (Declarations of the perfected), is a compendium of the Maoshan revelations themselves. It includes correspondence between Yang Xi and his patrons, and records of conversations between Yang and his perfected guests, as well as information on the secret geography of the Maoshan area. The *Zhengao* also contains many poems, ostensibly composed by the perfected. The ecstatic style of these poems was to be influential, particularly during the later Tang dynasty (618–907 CE).

Continuing a tradition passed down from his father and grandfather, Tao also compiled his *Bencao jing jizhu* (Collected notes on the classic of pharmacopoeia). This was an expanded and annotated version of the oldest work of Chinese pharmacopoeia, *Shennong bencao jing* (Shen Nong's classic of pharmacopoeia). Tao doubled the number of entries in the earlier classic and also reorganized the material according to more rational criteria. Although this work comes down to us only in fragmentary form, it had an enormous impact on traditional Chinese medicine because it brought order and reason to a tradition in disarray. It also facilitated the systematic incorporation of *materia medica* into Chinese medical practice.

In 502 a new dynasty, the Liang, replaced the previous Qi dynasty (479–502 CE). Fortunately, Tao Hongjing enjoyed a close personal relationship with Wudi (464–549 CE), the first Liang emperor. This ensured continued imperial support for Tao's work, even when Wudi, a fervent Buddhist, proscribed Daoism in 504. It was in the same year, 504, that Wudi commissioned Tao to undertake alchemical experiments on his behalf. Tao expended a great amount of time and energy in his attempts to produce elixirs according to recipes described in the Shangqing scriptures. Tao's careful notes on his research are the earliest extant records of alchemical experimentation in China. His work also strengthened the relationship of alchemy to Daoism.

During the latter part of his life, Tao Hongjing remained based at Maoshan, but made an extended trip to the southeast, to the area of modern Fujian province. He continued his alchemical experiments on the trip, but it may be that he was also motivated by anticipation of a messianic apocalypse, such as predicted in certain Shangqing texts. While on that excursion, Tao made the acquaintance of Zhou Ziliang, a young man who became his disciple. Zhou was a visionary after the model of Yang Xi, and played host to some of the same perfected beings. In 515, at the age of only twenty, Zhou committed ritual suicide in response to a divine summons received in the course of his visions. Tao submitted a textual record of Zhou's activities and visions, entitled *Zhoushi mingtongji* (The record of Master Zhou's communication with the unseen world), to the imperial court in 517.

Tao Hongjing's involvement with Buddhism is often overlooked. Tao had early exposure to the religion via his mother and grandfather. Throughout his lifetime he continued to befriend Buddhist priests, and was actively involved in debates over Buddhism's nature and significance. It is claimed that the founder of Chinese Pure Land Buddhism, Tanluan (476–542 CE), studied Daoist arts and herbalism with Tao. In 513 Tao formally took Buddhist vows and when he died, about a month before his eightieth birthday in 536 his disciples followed his instructions and arranged for an equal number of Daoist and Buddhist priests to attend his funeral.

Tao Hongjing's legacy is multifaceted. His work on pharmacopoeia and medicine was of great consequence for the later development of Chinese medical practice. His alchemical studies were also highly influential, due especially to the methodical and empirical spirit that he brought to them. In terms of the history of Chinese religions however, the institutional and textual foundation that he laid for the Maoshan or Shangqing school had the greatest lasting impact. The semimonastic community that he established at Maoshan was to provide the base upon which the success of the Shangqing school was built during the succeeding Tang dynasty, a time during which Daoism was favored with its greatest popularity among the Chinese elite.

SEE ALSO Alchemy, article on Chinese Alchemy; Daoism, overview article and articles on Daoist Literature and The Daoist Religious Community.

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T'AO HUNG-CHING SEE TAO HONGJING

TAO-SHENG SEE DAOSHENG

TAPAS.

The Sanskrit term *tapas,* from *tap* ("heat"), was in ancient India an expression of cosmic energy residing in heat, fervor, and ardor. Through anthropocosmic correspondences established in early Vedic sacrificial traditions *tapas* became one of the key concepts of South Asian religions and the accepted term in Sanskrit and other Indic languages for ascetic power, especially a severely disciplined self-mortification that produces both personal and cosmic results.

A wide range of religious expressions concerning *tapas* appears already in the *Ṛgveda.* The gods Agni, the sacrificial fire, and Sūrya, the sun, both possess heat inherently, whereas *tapas* is generated within the warrior deity Indra and his weapons as a concomitant of heroic fury in battle. Indra's heated rage may be connected to certain proto-Indo-European warrior-cult phenomena; Ṛgvedic references to ascetics who handle fire, as well as other references to sweating as an initiatory technique, may be connected with pre-Vedic ecstatic or shamanic experiences. *Tapas* can be a weapon itself, used by Indra, for example, to encircle Vṛtra, or employed, perhaps ritually, by enemies of priests who pray to Indra and Varuṇa for protection (*Ṛgveda* 10.167, 7.82). In Hymn 9.113 the ritual production of divine *soma* is accomplished by *tapas,* faith, order, and truth. But perhaps the most influential Ṛgvedic speculations on *tapas* occur in such late cosmogonic hymns as 10.129 and 10.190, where *tapas,* existing prior to both divine and human beings, is linked in the procreative process with primordial desire (*kāma*), mind, order, and truth, a cosmic association that served as a template for late Vedic soteriologies as well as post-Vedic popular mythologies. Finally, the *Ṛgveda* reveals that the ancient sages and godlike ancestors also embody this cosmic fervor, the *ṛṣis* sitting to perform *tapas* (10.109), and the *pitṛs* ("ancestors") attaining their invincible places in the heavens by means of *tapas* (10.154).

It is in the *Yajurveda* recensions, the *Atharvaveda,* and the several Brāhmaṇas that *tapas* receives full recognition: the human body becomes a metaphor of sacrificial fire and *tapas* is simultaneously the means to and the experience of transformation. The Vedic student (*brahmacārin*), according to *Atharvaveda* 11.5, generates such powerful *tapas* that it fills his teacher, the gods, and the three worlds. *Tapas* is primal energy ready to be drawn upon by the knowledgeable, the adept, and the aggressively self-disciplined. Prajāpati, lord of creatures, continues, in the Brāhmaṇas, the older impersonal cosmogony involving *tapas* and blends with it the personal one of self-sacrificing Puruṣa (*Ṛgveda* 10.90): overcome with desire (*kāma*), Prajāpati discharges in heated procreation, exhausting himself into the substance of the universe by repeated emission. That this striving to create by self-heating provided a ritual model is clear from the many correspondences defining the Vedic sacrificer, who maintains the created worlds by laborious ritual (*karman*); he is simultaneously identified with the sacrificial fire, Agni, and Puruṣa-Prajāpati, as he undergoes spiritual regeneration. The way is now clear for ascetic technique to replicate, and in some ways to replace, sacrificial technique. Both are performances on an exhaustive, even painful scale: procreative on a sexual model, yet requiring chastity; bearing personal cosmic fruits, results that can be stored; and burning away, by inner heat, those impurities that are hindrances to transcendent, immutable being. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 10.4.4 is an illustration of the Brahmanic bond between cosmogony through sacrifice, and transcendence (rebirth) through ascetic perseverance, all declared in Prajāpati's thousand-year *tapas.*

The Upaniṣads further explore these mysterious connections in the heat of sexuality, hatching, ripening, digestion, strife, grief, rage, ecstasy, and mystical vision. The way is opened for a normative *tapas* practiced by every religious seeker in the third stage (*āśrama*) of life, and thus a modification or lay version of the extreme *tapas* professed by the ascetic bent upon world- and self-conquest. In the texts of the Jains and Buddhists, in various traditions of yoga and Tantra, and in popular myths and folklore collected in the Sanskrit epics and Purāṇas, a profile emerges of ascetic *tapas.* By degrees of fasting, chastity, silence, meditation, breath-control, and difficult postures, usually practiced in solitary vigil in forests and mountains, the yogin or *tapasvin* "heats the three worlds." His techniques include a "five-fires" position (sitting naked between four fires beneath the midsummer sun), immersing himself in a river in midwinter, and remaining unsheltered in monsoon rains.

The ascetic, like the sacrificer, demonstrates his interior fire as a cosmic force capable of recreating, reordering, or dismissing the world. So powerful is this religious model that much of the dramatic tension of post-Vedic mythology is provided by world-threatening *tapas* produced from ascetic ardor. Gods, goddesses, demons, kings, heroes, married sages, celibate yogins, young children, even animals perform *tapas.* The god Brahmā produces by *tapas*; Śiva's *tapas* and magical fire alternately create and destroy; Pārvatī maintains *tapas* for 36,000 years; a host of demons (*asuras* and *daityas*) concentrate on world domination by *tapas*; the Pāṇḍava heroes exercise *tapas* in forest exile. *Tapas* and *kāma* cooperate in keeping the created world together; erotic desire poses the strongest threat to ascetic world-transcendence, and therefore repression and lust together with self-control and self-abandon provide antiphonal parallels to the ancient Indra-Vṛtra cosmic opposition, a cooperative discord that threads the drama of creation and recreation.

Whereas Hinduism routinized *tapas* into ordinary observance of fasts, meditations, and yogalike practices, and Buddhism elected a middle path between austerity and indulgence, Jainism perfected *tapas* in both lay and monastic careers as a means of burning off old *karman* and blocking accretions of new *karman.* In Jainism and in some traditions of Tantric yoga *tapas* survives today as disciplined self-mortification and as an internal experience of transformation.

SEE ALSO Agni; Indra.

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TAPU See POLYNESIAN RELIGIONS; TABOO

TAQĪYAH (“safeguarding, protection”) and *kitmān* (“concealment”) are terms applied, primarily in the Shīʿī branches of Islam, to two broader types of religious phenomena: (1) the “prudential concealment” of one’s allegiance to a minority religious group in danger of persecution and (2) the esoteric “discipline of the arcane,” the restriction of a spiritual reality or mystery (or its symbolic form) only to those inwardly capable of grasping its truth.

Juridical and Ethical Dimensions. The classical discussions found in all Islamic legal schools are based on various Qurʾanic verses (16:106, 3:28, 40:28, etc.) permitting the neglect of certain religious duties in situations of compulsion or necessity. In each school an elaborate casuistry was developed, detailing the special conditions for such exceptions. However, the crucial practical question for Shīʿī groups, given the endangered minority position of the Shīʿī imams and their followers from earliest Islamic times onward, was that of concealing the outward signs of their Shīʿī allegiance (for example, their distinctive forms of the ritual prayer and profession of faith) under threatening circumstances. Hence, Shīʿī legal discussions of *taqīyah* traditionally focused on this aspect, emphasizing, for example, surah 16:106, which was taken to describe the divine forgiveness of a companion of the Prophet, ʿAmmār ibn Yasīr, who had been forced to deny his faith by the idolators of Mecca.

Sunnī polemics against Shiism have traditionally stressed this narrowly prudential aspect of *taqīyah,* portraying it as a sign of moral or religious hypocrisy, passivity, and the like. However, neither that polemic (which overlooks the central theme of martyrdom and heroic resistance in Shīʿī piety and sacred history) nor the narrowly ethical reasonings of the legal schools (including those of the Shīʿah) accurately conveys the distinctively positive symbolic function of *taqīyah:* for the Shīʿah themselves, and like the martyrdom of so many imams and their supporters, it is a perennial and fundamental form of “witnessing” their essential role as the faithful spiritual elite of Islam, and not simply another communal sect or school.

Spiritual and Esoteric Dimensions. This uniquely Shīʿī conception of *taqīyah* (or *kitmān*) as a high spiritual duty, rather than a pragmatic necessity, is grounded in a large body of reported sayings *(ḥadīth)* of the first Shīʿī imam, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. AH 40/661 CE), and other early imams (notably Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq) which repeatedly stress the positive, essential role of *taqīyah* as an integral part of religion *(dīn)* and true piety (*taqwā;* see Qurʾan 49:13). In Shīʿī tradition, the concept of *taqīyah* is intimately bound up with the fundamental role of the imams, and their initiates, as the divinely instituted guardians of the esoteric wisdom or “hidden secret” *(sirr maknūn)* constituting the essential spiritual core and intention of the Qurʾanic revelation. In this context, *taqīyah* refers primarily to the initiate’s strict responsibility to divulge the forms of that spiritual knowledge only to those rare individuals capable of perceiving (and safeguarding) their inner truth.

Similar assumptions of esotericism—especially the basic distinction between a public level of formal “belief” and ritual practice, and a higher level of contemplative insight and perception accessible only to a spiritual or intellectual elite—were equally fundamental to such widespread (though by no means specifically Shīʿī) Islamic spiritual traditions as Sufism and the philosophic schools. Those assumptions, along with corresponding practices, came to be pervasive not only in the high literate culture (for example, Ṣūfī mystical poetry) but also in social domains not involving strictly “religious” activities. Moreover, the social and political conditions underlying *taqīyah* in Shīʿī circles, and such later offshoots as the Druze or Nuṣayrīyah, likewise encouraged similar precautionary developments among other minority religious groups or sects, whether Islamic (certain Ṣūfī *ṭarīqah*s, religio-political “brotherhoods,” and so forth) or non-Islamic. Hence, “*taqīyah*-like” phenomena—whether or not justified in specifically Shīʿī terms—have continued to form an essential, if still relatively unstudied, dimension of religious and social life in many regions of the Islamic world down to the present day.

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James Winston Morris (1987)

TĀRĀ (Tib., Sgrol ma) is a Buddhist deity who represents the female counterpart of the *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara. She appears as the savior of the world whenever people are in distress and thus is known in Tibet, where she has gained great popularity, as the Great Savioress. By the time Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna Buddhism were firmly established in Tibet, Tārā had become one of the most important female deities, one whose influence was reflected back as the very source of the Tibetan people. One tradition has it that Avalokiteśvara and Tārā, in the semblance of a monkey and a rock demoness, had monkey offspring who gradually became humans, thus accounting for the origin of the Tibetans. As the *śakti* of the Buddha Amogasiddhi, Tārā also personifies "all-accomplishing wisdom."

Tārā is said to represent the very essence of loving devotion, extending her loving care to the bad as well as the good. She always accompanies the faithful in their religious practices; hence, it is customary in monastic communities to meditate on the *maṇḍala* of Tārā (Sgrol ma Dkyil 'khor). However, it is difficult to determine whether, during the early spread of Buddhism, the influence of Tārā extended beyond the court or scholarly circles.

It is the opinion of some scholars that the cult of Tārā was brought to Tibet by Atīśa (982–1054). As evidence of this, they point to the tradition that holds that Atīśa's trip to Tibet and his meeting with 'Brom ston pa were predicted by a *yoginī* whom Atīśa met under the tutelage of Tārā, and to Tārā's alleged appearance before Atīśa at Mnga' ris, where he met 'Brom ston. However, tradition has it that when Srong bstan sgam po (d. 649) received the Nepalese princess Bhrikutī and the Chinese princess Wencheng as his brides, they brought Buddhist images and other objects with them. In later times, these two princesses were believed to have been incarnations of the green, or prosperous, and white, or helpful, Tārā. If this latter tradition is accepted then the introduction of Tārā into Tibet predates the arrival of Atīśa. However, it can scarcely be doubted that it was Atīśa who gave new emphasis to the cult of Tārā, to whom he was especially devoted.

It is difficult to determine exactly when and how the cult of Tārā emerged. Tārā shares many mythic parallels with Brahmanic deities. For example, Durgā and Tārā hold several names in common. Thus, although some scholars claim the priority of one over the other, it seems impossible to determine whether the cult of Tārā has a Brahmanical origin or a Buddhist origin. The early sculptural representations of Tārā seem to point to a sixth-century beginning for the image of the Buddhist Tārā. These early images, found in caves such as Ellora, Aurangabad, and others, depict a placid form in contrast to the fierce representation of her corresponding Hindu goddess. Later, however, Tārā in her Mahāmāyāvijayavāhinī, or fierce, aspect is conceived as a war goddess in the manner similar to that of the Hindu Devī. The iconic representations seem to indicate that Tārā in her early and simple form is seated and possesses two arms and two hands. As time passes, her iconic representations became more complex: not only is there an increase in the numbers of heads, arms, and hands, but the number of accessory figures attending her gradually increases. Another feature of her iconic representation is her appearance with four—Amogasiddhi, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Akṣobhya—of the Five Buddhas (the fifth being Vairocana). In these representations, Tārā usually, but not always, appears in colors corresponding to the colors of these Buddhas. The complexity of her iconic representation can be appreciated through a careful study of the *Sādhanamālā,* the *Niṣpannayogāvalī,* and other texts.

Tārā is said to manifest herself in five forms for the benefit of her worshipers. She takes on the five forms of the protective goddesses—Mahāpratisarā, Mahāmāyūrī, Mahāsāhasrapramardanī, Mahāsītavatī, and Mahāmantrānusārini—in order to protect beings from all sorts of earthy troubles and miseries. Her protective power is categorized as defense against the "eight great terrors" *(aṣṭamahābhaya),* poetically expressed in verse by Candragomin. In time, the "eight great terrors," the perils of elephants, lions, fire, serpents, robbers, fetters, sea monsters, and vampires, were each assigned their own Tārā, and the depiction of eight Tārās became a popular subject for artists.

Tārā has been propitiated and invoked in various ways, for various reasons, by various people. Many of her devotees hope for relief from a variety of worldly ills. For example, Candragomin, feeling sorry for a beggar woman who had no means to arrange for her daughter's marriage, is said to have prayed with tears in his eyes to a picture of Tārā. The image thereupon became a real Tārā who took off her ornaments made of various jewels and gave them to Candragomin, who in turn gave them to the beggar woman. Asvabhāva composed a long eulogy to Bhaṭṭārikā Ārya Tārā when his disciples were bitten by a poisonous snake, whereby the snake encountered great pain. He then sprinkled water charmed with a Tārā mantra on his disciples and the poison came out of their wounds.

The cult of Tārā that was reintroduced to Tibet during the second diffusion of Buddhism did not become the exclusive property of any one sect. Indeed, in the course of time the cult of Tārā found its way into most of the countries where Mahāyāna Buddhism spread.

See Also Avalokiteśvara; Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Tibet.

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TARASCAN RELIGION. The Tarascan Indians, speakers of a genetically unaffiliated language, created one of the major empires of pre-Conquest Mexico, rivaling and successfully repulsing the Aztec. Like the latter, they had a complex religious hierarchy, a priest-king, and a developed system of rites, myths, and religious legends. During and following the Spanish conquest in the sixteenth century, however, more than 90 percent of these people were destroyed in a holocaust of slaughter, disease, and slave labor. In the early twenty-first century about ninety thousand Indians (about two-thirds Tarascan speaking)—surrounded by non-Tarascans—live on in the high, cool, green Sierra Tarasca, where they subsist by various combinations of lumbering, arts and crafts, fishing, farming (mainly maize), and raising livestock. Immediate to moderately extended families are grouped into villages of several hundred to several thousand persons. Factional rivalries within the villages are exceeded by the nearly ubiquitous intervillage hostilities, and both, like the rivalries between families, are balanced by a strong ethic of familial and communal solidarity and the integrative function of religious ritual.

Tarascan history is still reflected in today's religious culture. Prehistoric ritual groups such as the "moon maidens" and mythical symbols such as deer masks and "the tigers" figure in the fiestas. But the main historic source of Tarascan religion is Spain of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—evident not only in "the Moors" and other ritual actors in Tarascan religious fiestas but also in the dogmatically simple focus on Saint Francis and the holy family brought to them by Franciscan missionaries, notably the great humanist Don Vasco de Quiroga. Tarascan religious practice, whatever its sources, is marked by aesthetic integration, perhaps above all in the music of its many bands, and the diagnostic Dance of the Little Old Men (hunched, red-masked figures who alternate between hobbling on canes and jigging with adolescent energy).

A major axis of Tarascan religion lies in individual rites of passage. Baptism, ideally, takes place a week after birth: A man and a woman, usually spouses, become the child's godparents and, more important, the ritual co-parents (Span., *compadre;* Tarascan, *kúmpa*) of the child's parents. At two or three subsequent rites, notably that of confirmation, the parents acquire additional but less valued *compadres* who, in particular, help with obligations in religious ritual. The major individual rite, the wedding, includes a ceremony in a Roman Catholic church and a great deal of folk religious ritual—conspicuously the climactic and widespread *kúpera* dance between the couple and their siblings and cousins, who successively dance up to each other, exchange drinks, and lightly scratch each others' faces with rose thorns. This wedding also invokes and creates ties of ritual kinship (kinship and religious ritual are largely thought of and acted out in terms of each other). Death is celebrated by a night-long wake, with much drinking, and a funeral procession through the entire village. (If the deceased was an infant or a child, the body is borne on a table.)

The main way the Tarascan relates to the supernatural, however (aside from individual sorcery and witchcraft), is through familial and communal ritual. Every town stages an annual fiesta for its patron saint; most towns organize four to six such affairs each year, each for a different saint; and at least one town, Ocumicho, puts on a fiesta every month—with a correspondingly great expenditure of time and energy. These fiestas are run by elected officials or *cargueros* (Span., "load bearers"), who, with the support of dozens or even scores of kin or ritual kin, may spend huge amounts of pesos on the bands, elaborate fireworks, alcohol, ceremonial dishes, Catholic masses, livestock for slaughter, and other elements of the fiesta. While these expenses are often said to be ruinous, the average person is quite ready to incur them, or at least resigned to them because of the social status they imply. Also, the debts can be a source of prestige that links the *carguero* into a larger human network. In some of the more conservative towns the offices of the different saints are ranked in terms of prestige, forming a sort of "ceremonial ladder," in which the *carguero* who sponsors the associated fiestas gradually ascends a series of metaphorical rungs. Although most *cargueros* are men, women do most of the work of organizing and preparation. Some annual fiestas—for example, to Our Virgin of the Assumption—are purely religious, but the great majority involve commercial and market functions (these functions constitute the primary emphasis of some festivals).

Religious ritual is diagnostically regional. Some fiestas are essentially local—for example, that of Saint Cecilia in tiny San José, where many of the men actually are musicians. But people are aware of fiestas and practices in their entire region as well, and a large number of fiestas are pan-Tarascan, either because they attract many pilgrims or because the day is celebrated in the several villages where a given saint is patron, as in the cases of the popular San José and San Francisco. All Saints and All Souls days are observed in all towns by quiet vigils with flowers and bread figures at the graves of the recently deceased. In Janitzio, on the other hand, a thousand candle-bearing canoes hover around the island during the night of November 1. An individual whose personal saint coincides with that of a village often makes a pilgrimage, or at least says a special prayer. (Prayer generally focuses on help with practical, personal problems such as illness or jealousy and envy, and so is inextricably intertwined with the culture's pervasive witchcraft and sorcery.)

A notable feature is the great variation in the religious autonomy of a village, which is reticulated closely with its political orientation and economic standing. At one extreme the annual and personal rituals (baptism, confirmation, marriage, and the wake) are managed by local societies and religious specialists (who, for example, may know an oration by heart). A priest may come to a village once a month (or even less often), or the person or persons concerned may go to the county seat for the priest's ministrations. Some villages categorically refuse to allow a priest to participate in such sacred matters as the construction of a new church or the organization of a passion play because they realistically fear financial loss. At the other extreme a local priest may be active and highly influential not only in religious ritual but also in local politics—to the extent of controlling the external relations of the village. The grass-roots role of the priest is so important because the Tarascan do not in general own or read the Bible or other religious literature (with the exception of a few thousand Protestants, limited to a few pueblos, who do have a superb Tarascan translation of both Testaments). The Tarascan concern is not with doctrine, argument, theology, or texts, but with a costly ritual and its economic, social, and political implications.

Nevertheless, the Tarascan share a network of explicit and implicit understandings, symbols, and attitudes that have been synthesized and transmitted largely by word of mouth. Every village, family, and individual holds to a different subset of these beliefs—pagan, local, Catholic, and secular—but there is cohesion in the area as a whole. This is in large part due to the fiestas. "Because of the fiestas," modern industry has attracted few Tarascan; "because of the fiestas," Protestant missionaries have made few converts; agrarian reform has had to compromise with the fiestas; and work and the family are strongly motivated by their roots in the fiestas. Fiestas, not as symbols or surface phenomena only, but as vivid, primary experiences, are the basis of Tarascan religion.

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TARASIOS (c. 730–806), patriarch of Constantinople from 784 to 806. Tarasios was born to a prominent family in Constantinople. His father, Georgios, had served as a judge and prefect (mayor) of the capital. Tarasios was excellently trained in theology and secular learning, which helped him to rise in both the civil and ecclesiastical ranks. During the reign of Leo IV and his wife Irene, Tarasios was chief secretary (*protoasikritis*) of the imperial court, perhaps from 775 to 784, when he was ordained and elevated to the patriarchal throne. His speedy elevation to the ranks of the priesthood was not unusual in the Byzantine church even though it was objected to by several iconophiles.

As patriarch, Tarasios became instrumental in the convocation of the Second Council of Nicaea in 787, which condemned iconoclasm. Not only was he the power behind the council, but it was on that occasion that the right of presiding over a council was transferred entirely to the patriarch. Tarasios, a prudent man, proved moderate in his policies toward both the problems of the imperial house and the iconoclastic controversy. His moderation was perceived as laxity, and Tarasios was attacked by the rigorous monastic party of Theodore of Studios.

Tarasios fostered the building of social welfare institutions, including a hospital and homes for the poor. He restored good relations with Rome and upon his death was honored by both the Greek and the Latin churches. Only a few of his letters and a sermon survive. His biography, which constitutes an important source for the period, was written by Deacon Ignatios.

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ṬARFON (late first and early second centuries CE), Palestinian tanna. A Jewish resident of Lod, he was the teacher of Yehudah bar Ilʿai and a prominent leader of the generation of rabbis active at the seaside town of Yavneh after the destruction in 70 CE of the Temple in Jerusalem.

There are two strands within the traditions associated with Ṭarfon. One group of traditions makes Ṭarfon subservient to his colleague ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef and occasionally mocks Ṭarfon for foolishness in his behavior or opinions. A second group of traditions cites Ṭarfon's actions as precedents for the rulings of Yehudah bar Ilʿai and appears to have been formulated by Yehudah's disciples.

In establishing the criteria for legal decisions on the performance of religious obligations, Ṭarfon emphasized the importance of deed over intention, of formal action or objective fact over subjective thought. This posture differs sharply from that of ʿAqivaʾ, who placed greater emphasis on the role of intention. In several instances Ṭarfon's view is included in the text as a foil for the authoritative opinion of ʿAqivaʾ.

Ṭarfon's major rulings frequently concern rituals performed by priests. In matters of dispute he consistently ruled in favor of the priestly families. He ruled, for instance, that a priest may receive gifts of heave-offerings of wine and oil from a householder throughout the year, an economic advantage for the priest. Ṭarfon's dicta emphasized that the priests could play a central role in the life of the Jews even after the destruction of the Temple.

SEE ALSO Tannaim.

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ṬARĪQAH. The Arabic word *ṭarīqah*, meaning a road or path, also signifies a "mode" or "method" of action as well as a "way" or code of belief. In the context of Sufism, *ṭarīqah* refers to both the path of spirituality itself—"the way"—and the manner of traveling (*sulūk*) along this path as the wayfarer passes through various stages (*manāzil*) and stations (*maqāmāt*) in the quest to approach nearer to God.

More concretely, however, *ṭarīqah* (and its plural, *ṭurūq*) is used as a generic term for the various organized brotherhoods or Ṣūfī orders that direct this spiritual quest into a particular code of practices pursued in a communal setting. It is in this sense that the word *ṭarīqah* is most frequently used: a confraternity founded around the figure or the memory of a charismatic figure of spiritual authority. *Ṭarīqahs* are arranged hierarchically around loyalty and obedience to a living guide or master, following fixed rites of initiation, observing specific spiritual practices and a code of etiquette, typically centered in a physical structure other than a mosque (e.g., a shrine, lodge, hospice, retreat), and financed by pious endowments *(waqf)* of real property and income.

A number of these *ṭarīqah* brotherhoods date their development into formal institutions to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; in the succeeding centuries they became geographically and culturally more pervasive and more structurally defined. These *ṭarīqah*s—some regional, others widely distributed, but few of them highly centralized—developed into a rich and diverse complex of religious associations throughout the Middle East, North and sub-Saharan Africa, Arabia, Central Asia, South and Southeast Asia, and China and in the twentieth century in Europe, North America, and Australia. They were influential not only in the popularization of Sufism but in the spread of Islam as a religion; sometimes they have also fostered resistance movements or developed into political forces in their own right.

Beyond this the influence of the *ṭarīqah*s has been manifold: they add an emotional, psychological, and spiritual dimension to devotional practice, in many cases by integrating poetry and music, the visual arts, and mystical contemplation into religious life; they contribute to the intimacy of social life; they are associated with trade and craft guilds; they have provided staging posts and hospices for travelers and merchants; and they maintain shrines and other facilities by means of charitable endowments. They have also served as credit and finance institutions, thus contributing to commerce and a stable network of trade throughout the Muslim world, especially along the great distances of the Silk Road across Central Asia to China and in the maritime trade of the Indian Ocean.

Though their influence as institutions waned somewhat over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a wide and vibrant variety of *ṭarīqah* institutions still exist in various forms in both urban and rural locales.

ORIGINS AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT. The use of the word *ṭarīqah* in the writings of al-Junayd (d. 910), al-Ḥallāj (d. 922), al-Sarrāj (d. 988), al-Hujwīrī (d. 1072), and al-Qushayrī (d. 1074) denotes a method of moral psychology for the guidance of individuals directing their lives toward a knowledge of God. In early Sufism the term *ṭarīqah* was thus understood as a method or path by which an individual passing through various psychological stages in the obedience to and practice of the law (*sharīʿah*) proceeds from one level of knowledge of God to a higher one with the ultimate reality of God (*ḥaqīqah*) as the goal. Although Sufism has been accused of advocating or permitting an antinomian path, the *ṭarīqah* orders for the most part held to the belief in the primacy of *sharīʿah* (which is itself etymologically related to another root for road or path). As Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's famous Persian mystical poem, *Mathnawī*, expresses it:

> *Sharīʿah* is like a candle lighting the way. You must take this candle in hand before the way can be traveled. Having set out on the way, your walking is *ṭarīqah*, and when you arrive at your destination, that is truth (*ḥaqīqah*, the real, or God).

The institutional elaboration of this path derived from a spiritual impulse that established itself early in Islam. It originates in part from a mystical hermeneutic applied to the lexicon of the Qurʾān, investing particular verses and scenes with special significance, and from the intense, passionate spirituality evident in the *sīrah* of the Prophet and some of his companions. It was an impulse that grew stronger in the seventh and eighth centuries with the emergence of what Marshall Hodgson (1974) has described as "the piety-minded opposition" to the luxury, worldliness, and nepotism of the Umayyad caliphate and later dynasties. The mystical traditions of Sufism emerged from this piety-minded alternative to both the political and the religious establishments. Islamic spirituality has also reemerged at various historical junctures, especially the colonial period, in the form of counterculture, protest, or even militant resistance movements.

This religious quest for interior purity and control over the self (*nafs*), the slaying of which was described by later Ṣūfīs as the greatest of human struggles (*jihād-i akbar*), fell heir to the rich spiritual traditions of Hellenism and Christianity in the eastern Mediterranean. In the manner of the desert monks and other ascetics in Syria and Egypt, some Muslims began to wear a distinctive habit of coarse wool *(ṣūf)*. The term *ṣūfī* was used as early as the eighth century CE to describe a man wearing such wool garments, and *ṣūfīyah* is attested in the following century in reference to groups or nascent communities of such Ṣūfīs.

SPIRITUAL EXERCISES. Early Islamic spirituality emphasized reliance upon God through the practice of poverty (*faqr*). Indeed two words for a "poor person," dervish (Persian *darwīsh*) and fakir (Arabic *faqīr*), retain their association with Ṣūfī asceticism. Techniques of the Ṣūfī *via purgativa* included fasting, seclusion (*khalwah*), a daily calling oneself to account for one's behavior (*muḥāsibah*), and scrupulous introspection (*murāqabah*) with a view to weeding out impure intentions. Ṣūfīs also spent much time in personal devotions, performing vigils, litanies (*aḥzāb*), and intimate prayers (variously called *wird*, *munājāt*, *duʿāʾ*) in addition to the prescribed ritual prayers (*ṣalāt*).

Some contemplative or ecstatic exercises came to be performed in groups, such as the ceremonial *dhikr,* or "remembrance" of God, involving the repeated and rhythmic recitation of words and phrases—usually attributes of God derived from the Qurʾān or forms of the Shahādah—often in combination with controlled breathing. Another group ceremony was the *majlis-i samāʿ* (listening session or concert). As early as 850 CE there were *samāʿ* houses in Baghdad in which the Ṣūfīs could listen to music and let themselves be drawn into mystical states. *Samāʿ* might also feature the chanting or singing of poetry on spiritual themes, accompanied by music, to which the listeners might respond with rhythmic movement. Although similar to dancing, such responses were conceived as either a deliberate form of motive meditation or as an uncontrollable response to an ecstatic state. Most of the *ʿulamāʾ* rejected *samāʿ* as an impious practice (in part because of the associations of music and dance with royal courts and dancing slave girls) and it was not universally accepted among the *ṭarīqah*s, though many Ṣūfī manuals defend it when properly regulated. Some orders also hold communal ceremonies involving the piercing of body parts with skewers or knives in trance-like states to induce or demonstrate the achievement of ecstatic states.

COMMUNAL LIFE. The nucleus from which the *ṭarīqah*s developed was the relationship established between master and adept. This mirrored the teacher-student relationship in the *madrasah*s or the master-apprentice relationship in the urban craft guilds (from whose ranks the *ṭarīqah*s drew much of their membership). A popular preacher or revivalist, a healer, a visionary mystic, an ascetic or other holy man might draw a number of devoted listeners to hear lectures or to experience the charisma and spiritual energy (*barakah*) of his presence. This might develop into a lasting relationship between a spiritual guide (*murshid*), or elder (Arabic, *shaykh*; Persian, *pīr*), directing his seeker (*murīd*). Prior to the twelfth century the relationship of such disciples to one another was typically unstructured, though they might travel together when accompanying the master on a journey and either do odd jobs or beg to support themselves. Some groups, such as the Karrāmīyah (based on the teachings of the ascetic preacher Ibn Karrām, d. 869), apparently evolved into more systematic movements.

Ṣūfī teachers who acquired a wider reputation were eventually able to set up hospices or lodges of their own to accommodate students. One of the earliest, a "small cloister" (*duwayrah*), was established by the ascetic ʿAbd al-Wāḥid ibn Zayd (d. c. 750) on the island of ʿAbbādān in the Persian Gulf and continued to operate after his death. Other similar institutions at about this time are described as existing in eastern Persia, in Damascus, on the Byzantine frontier, and in Alexandria and North Africa.

As a fraternity grew, it might move from the master's private house or shop to a separate compound, which could include a hall for devotional exercises, a large kitchen for guests and disciples, a small mosque, and possibly a school. Larger centers included living quarters for some initiates, either individual cells or a larger dormitory. Often such centers grew up around the tomb of the founder of the *ṭarīqah* or a local shrine visited by pilgrims. The names of these centers or retreats varied according to location and function, typically *zāwiyah* and *ribāṭ* in the Maghreb; *tekke* in Anatolia and the Balkans; *khānaqāh,* a Persian word, throughout Iran and India (sometimes as *khānagah*) as well as in Egypt and the Levant (as *khānqāh).* The Persian word *dargāh* (literally "threshhold" but used for the royal court or palace) is also found, particularly in India. The Chishtīyah *shaykhs* in India prefer to use their own personal residence, designated as a "community home" (*jamāʿat-khānah*), to avoid the adepts becoming entangled in the mundane distractions of administering a large center and its endowments.

Some such *khānaqāh* centers kept open house, while others might be visited only by appointment. The *shaykh* lived with his family in one quarter, saw his disciples at fixed hours, and led the five daily prayers. Some *khānaqāh*s were large and could accommodate both long- and short-term visitors. The Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ in Egypt, founded by Saladin (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn) in 1173, accommodated three hundred dervishes, and contemporary chronicles record how every Friday people gathered round to gain blessings by watching them leave the compound for the Friday noon prayer.

The communal life of the *ṭarīqah* had obvious attractions. Congregational prayer gave strength and warmed faith, collective pursuit of spiritual exercises created an encouraging environment, and communal worship ceremonies like *dhikr* and *samāʿ* fostered mystical experience. The communal setting of the *ṭarīqah* also led to greater formalization of the relationship between the *shaykh* and his disciples. Favored disciples enjoyed close companionship and conversation with the *shaykh,* pursued in some of the *ṭarīqah*s through the technique of *tawajjuh,* or total face-to-face concentration. This was practiced by the disciple concentrating on his *shaykh* as he performed the *dhikr* or by the *shaykh* who reciprocated by concentrating on his disciple, entering his heart and guiding him.

The spiritual authority of the *ṭarīqah*s and their *shaykhs* are certified by a *silsila*, or "chain" of transmission, which (in a parallel to the *isnād* of a *ḥadīth* report) certify the founder of the order's link to a presumed oral tradition of interpretation handed down the generations from the Prophet. These *silsila*s, not all of them historically plausible, function as spiritual geneaologies and naturally diverge according to the date, birthplace, and heritage claimed by the founder of the particular *ṭarīqah.* Most, however, converge on Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 765) and trace their way back to Muḥammad through his cousin and son-in-law ʿAlī, who thus holds a special mystical significance for both Sunnā and Shīʿī Ṣūfīs.

A master of outstanding spiritual authority and charisma might create so strong an impression on his followers that his method and the community of disciples attached to him continued after his death. His mantle, literally symbolized by the bestowal of a ceremonial patchwork cloak (*khirqah*), was passed to one or more of his chosen disciples, who inherited his authority and continued his work either in the home *khānaqāh* or in an ancillary one in another city. This new *shaykh,* who might be chosen from among the elder *shaykh*'s sons, appointed by the *shaykh,* or elected, was succeeded in turn by one of his disciples. In this way a line of transmission of authority and *barakah* was established, so that the spiritual power of the founding *shaykh* could be transmitted forward to future generations of disciples.

A new disciple then did not become simply the follower of a *shaykh.* He made his oath of allegiance both to his *shaykh* and to the founder of the line of transmission to which his *shaykh* was heir. By so doing he gained the right to have knowledge of the special *dhikr* formulas distinctive to the order and to share in the spiritual power of the entire line of transmission. Thus to the relationship between teacher and disciple (joined by their mutual desire to draw closer to

God) was added the component of initiation into a source of spiritual insight and power that extended over generations.

Most Ṣūfī orders insisted on the necessity of a living guide to follow the *ṭarīqah*, but there were exceptions. Some Ṣūfīs, calling themselves Uwaysīs after the example of Uways al-Qaranī (a contemporary of the Prophet who only met him in a dream), claimed to have been initiated or illuminated through a dream or vision of a past master rather than through the guidance and presence of a living master. Qalandarī dervishes underwent an initiation ritual that included shaving the face (including eyebrows) and head but normally practiced their wandering, mendicant, and antinomian lifestyle without direction from a *shaykh.*

THE *ṬARĪQAH* AS AN ESTABLISHED INSTITUTION. The *madrasah* system of education, by licensing professors, formalizing the curriculum, and subsidizing students, succeeded in professionalizing the legal discipline in the eleventh and twelfth centuries CE. In the thirteenth century the Abbasid caliph al-Nāṣir encouraged the spread of young men's chivalric societies (the *futūwwa* orders), establishing an interest in and conveying legitimacy on the idea of urban fraternal organizations. These institutional models must also have suggested themselves to the Ṣūfī communities. If the community of disciples of a particular Ṣūfī master survived and replicated itself for a generation or more after the death of the founder, it would often become known as the "method," or *ṭarīqah*, of its eponymous founder, as, for example, "the method of Najm al-Dīn Kubrā," or Ṭarīqat al-Kubrāwīyah. It has been supposed that the development of the *ṭarīqah* orders into formal religious institutions centered around a lodge or shrine, following a fixed rule, and projected to continue functioning indefinitely began in the twelfth century (as some of the orders' *Silsilah*s claim). Commonly, however it was the children or grandchildren of the founding *Shaykh*s, rather than the *Shaykh*s themselves, who organized the disciple communities into institutional orders, a process that can be clearly documented for the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Later in the Ottoman period the *ṭarīqah* institutions become corporate entities with subbranches that were sometimes described by a different generic term, *ṭāʾifah* (plural, *ṭawāʾif)* as "societies."

Despite the esoteric character of the theosophy they promulgated, the ideas and rituals of the *ṭarīqah*s attracted the masses with the hope of obtaining spiritual and temporal benefits from the sanctity and spiritual power of the great figures in the orders, from the tombs in which they were buried, and from the places and relics with which they were associated. Thus the *ṭarīqah*s became great communities, comprising all strata of society, offering something to the educated and uneducated alike, fostering devotional poetry and music, tolerating a wide range of folk practices, yet preserving and extending a great tradition of spirituality. They likewise played a major social role. Their hospices (*khānaqāh*s) offered lodging to travelers, medical treatment for the sick, and help for the poor. They also became centers for popular devotion. They extended their membership by granting associate tertiary status to individuals who, while living outside the community, practiced their normal trades, performed the daily prayers in the *ṭarīqah* environment under the direction of the *shaykh* and took part in *dhikr* exercises, litanies, or *samāʿ* sessions.

INITIATION RITUALS. Most of the *ṭarīqah*s have similar rituals of admission, although degrees of fervor, sincerity, and integrity have varied over time and place. An initiation, a great event in the life of both the initiate and the community, is marked by a day of festival. A model initiation ceremony described in one of the manuals for the Qādirīyah *ṭarīqah* is described as follows. The candidate first performs ritual ablutions; he then prays two *rakʿah*s and sits facing the *shaykh* with his knees pressed together. Clasping his *shaykh*'s right hand, he recites the opening *sūrah* of the Qurʾān followed by a series of formulas invoking blessings upon the Prophet, and the various *silsila*s, especially those of the Qādirīyah line, by which his *shaykh* establishes his authority. Afterward the *shaykh* has him repeat, phrase by phrase, a formula containing various components: a prayer asking God's forgiveness; a testimony that the vow he is taking is that of God and his apostle; recognition that the hand of the *shaykh* is that of ʿAbd al-Qādir, founder of the order; and a promise that he will recite the *dhikr* as the *shaykh* requires him to do. The *shaykh* then utters a prayer and recites the Qurʾanic verse of allegiance: "Those who vow their allegiance to you, vow their allegiance to God; the hand of God is upon their hands. Thus whoever violates it, violates himself, but whoever fulfills what he has promised God he will undertake, God will give him a mighty reward" (48:10). Alternately verse 16:91 is used: "Fulfill the pact of God once you have made a pact with him."

SOCIAL ETHICS AND ETIQUETTE. The number of manuals filled with stories illustrating and enjoining delicate, tactful, and respectful behavior on the *ṭarīqah* initiates demonstrates a remarkable sensitivity to etiquette and propriety. One of the earliest treatises on the norms of proper behavior among members of a *ṭarīqah*, Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī's *Ādāb al-murīdīn* (The manners of the disciples) dates from the twelfth century CE. It is representative of practices in a number of orders and elaborates an etiquette of great sensitivity. Apart from its intrinsic interest, it demonstrates the primacy of human values and courtesy over rigorous ascetic practices and complex theosophical ideas in the brotherhoods. It also shows clearly that the *ṭarīqah*s did not see themselves as subsects outside the regular religious disciplines.

The work classifies religious scholars into three groups (in practice these were not fixed identities but points on a continuum of religious orientation with considerable overlap): traditionalists, jurists, and (Ṣūfī) *ʾulamāʿ*. The traditionalists are the watchmen of religion, who deal with the external meaning of *ḥadīth.* The jurists are the arbiters of religion, whose specialty is their ability to make legal inferences. The Ṣūfīs in turn base their lives and conduct on both groups of specialists and refer to them in case of difficulties. Tradition and law are the basis for their lives, including both their inner modes of spirituality and their outward behavior. In the description of this outward behavior one sees an extraordinary concern for personal relations in both family and community life: patience with the ignorant, compassion with one's wife and family, agreement with brethren. Openness, modesty, and humility are the ideals. The movements of tongue, ear, eye, heart, hands, and feet are to be directed to charity.

Meticulous attention is given to the details of social behavior, personal cleanliness, modesty in dress, and restraint in eating. The brethren at any hospice should exercise great care in their treatment of guests. As host, the *shaykh* should encourage them to overcome their shyness at the table and offer them whatever food he is able to provide. The guest, for his part, should sit where he is directed, be pleased with what is given to him, and not leave without excusing himself. The host should then accompany the departing guest to the door of the house. In certain circumstances joking is permitted, provided that slandering, mimicry, and nonsense are avoided. This practice is supported by a tradition relating words attributed to ʿAlī: "When the Prophet saw one of his friends distressed, he would cheer him up by joking."

THE ROLE OF WOMEN. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Al-Sulamī's (d. 1022) compilation of the lives of women Ṣūfīs attests to the involvement of many women besides the famous celibate saint Rābiʿah al-ʿAdawīyah (d. 801). Ibn ʿArabī (1165–1240) also writes about the miracles of Ṣūfī women, one of whom was his teacher. In Tunisia there is a shrine for a thirteenth-century woman saint, ʿĀʾisha al-Mannūbīyah, whom oral tradition asserts to have been a disciple of al-Shādhilī, and Ṣūfī women healers in contemporary India or Uzbekistan attract many informal disciples.

Although outstanding exemplars of female chastity and purity in life or in literature have been upheld as saints and Ṣūfī heroines, in which role they become public figures as honorary "men" *(rijāl),* the wayfarer along the *ṭarīqah* is conventionally assumed to be male. A rather misogynistic attitude can be found in some Ṣūfī writings, including the view that women (as well as children and the entaglements of supporting a household) are distractions from the path of true spiritual struggle.

The *ṭarīqah* orders operate in the public sphere, which has historically been a male domain in most Muslim societies, whereas women's religious organizations tend to operate in the domestic sphere. In Saljūq Anatolia and probably elsewhere female members of ruling families cultivated relationships with Ṣūfī teachers, often financing the construction of their lodges, as dedicatory inscriptions attest. This probably gave aristocratic women considerable influence in the promotion of specific orders, but it would appear that, as in a mosque, women usually attended talks or other ceremonies at Ṣūfī lodges in a segregated gallery or behind a curtain or grille. There is also documentary evidence of the wives or female servants of *shaykhs* serving Ṣūfī brotherhoods in some capacity behind the scenes, and the daughters of various *shaykhs* were married into the families of political or community leaders, solidifying membership and backing for the *ṭarīqah.*

After World War II women *shaykhas* directing circles of exclusively female disciples were noted among established Ṣūfī orders in Soviet Central Asia and the Caucasus, including the Naqshbandīyah and Qādirīyah of Daghestan, though this development was condemned by the Muslim Spiritual Board of the North Caucasus. In the late 1970s western Ṣūfī women in northern California met with an elder Mevlevi initiate from Turkey who encouraged their efforts; as a result some Ṣūfī organizations in North America and in Turkey have begun not only accepting female disciples but even holding integrated ceremonies. However, in Turkey it is more common for women to participate in female-only *dhikr* ceremonies in the homes of individuals. The public participation of women in the *ṭarīqah* environment (or the *madrasah* system) is not well documented for the medieval period. In the absence of contrary evidence, it can be assumed that the integrated public participation of women in the *ṭarīqah* orders is a development of the late twentieth century.

The *ṭarīqah*s of the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries are the culminating point in a shift from an individualistic, elitist, ascetic spirituality to a corporate, congregational organization with a place for individuals representing a whole range of spiritual attainment and every stratum of society. There may be an inclination to see in them a counterpart to the religious orders that developed in the Christian tradition from the fifth century onward and that also channeled a large part of the impulse for solitary asceticism into an institutional framework. The analogy is only partly valid, for the two types of organization were different. The *shaykh* of a *zāwiyah* did not have the administrative authority of an abbot, nor did the *ṭarīqah*s have the same centralized government and formal lines of communication that linked the houses of the Benedictine order, for example. While the *ṭarīqah*s were, in one meaning of the term, corporate, they did not become corporations in the Western sense.

INDIVIDUAL *ṬARĪQAH*S. There are over two hundred *ṭarīqah*s, and in fact many more if the numerous branches and subdivisions are counted. The selection presented here is intended to show aspects of their individuality as reflected in the social classes to which they made their appeal, their attitudes toward government authority, their spiritual exercises and theosophy, and the circumstances in which they flourished.

Qādirīyah. The Qādirīyah *ṭarīqah* is commonly viewed as the first of the brotherhoods to emerge in the form of a structured organization, and it is still operating in the early twenty-first century. It began in Baghdad but eventually established itself as far afield as Yemen, Egypt, Sudan, the Maghreb, West Africa, India, and Southeast Asia. It claims

ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (1088–1166) from the region of Gīlān near the Caspian Sea in Iran as its founder, tracing its *silsila* through al-Junayd. ʿAbd al-Qādir was a Ḥanbalī legal scholar—a follower of the strictest, most literalist school of Islamic law—and was invested with the Ṣūfī habit by the founder of the first Ḥanbalī *madrasah.* Although he was a stern teacher, ʿAbd al-Qādir has become perhaps the most famous saint in the Islamic world, and stories of his miracles abound from Java to Morocco. His tomb in Baghdad has remained a place of pilgrimage for members of the brotherhood to the twenty-first century, with pilgrims—many of them from the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, where the Qādirīyah was introduced in the late fourteenth century—remaining there for weeks, silently sweeping his sanctuary with little brooms. Old Sindhi songs tell how ʿAbd al-Qādir's spiritual realm extends through every town and region between Istanbul and Delhi.

The Qādirīyah had a very catholic appeal; all strata of society from ruler to peasant found a place within it. In popular belief ʿAbd al-Qādir was a renewer of Islam, and among members of the order there is a well-known story that he discovered a man by the wayside on the point of death and revived him. The "man" then revealed that he was the religion of Islam. The order, it should be noted, was to play a particularly important role in the Islamization of West Africa.

Rifāʿīyah. Slightly later than the founding of the Qādirīyah, the establishment of the Rifāʾīyah order in southern Iraq is credited to Aḥmad al-Rifāʾī (d. 1182). Although never as popular as the Qādirīyah, it was widespread in Antaolia by the fourteenth century and is still represented there and in Egypt. It is distinguished by one of its ritual practices, a particularly loud recitation of the *dhikr,* which led members to be known as the Howling Dervishes.

Suhrawardīyah. One of the oldest *ṭarīqah*s is the Suhrawardīyah, named after its founder, Abū al-Najīb ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī (d. 1168), author of the above-mentioned *Ādāb al-murīdīn,* and also a professor of Shāfiʿi law at the Niẓāmīyah college in Baghdad. Significantly he was a pupil of Aḥmad al-Ghazālī (d. 1126), younger brother of the great Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), who helped win acceptance for the Ṣūfī dimension of Islam within the wider Islamic community. The influence and scope of the order was extended and given its decisive character by ʿAbū al-Najīb's fraternal nephew and student, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (1145–1234), whose treatise *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* (Masters of mystical insights) became a standard work on the theory of Ṣūfī devotion.

The Abbasid caliph al-Nāṣir built a *ribāṭ* for Shihāb al-Dīn and his disciples in 1203 and appointed him as the caliphal envoy to the Ayyūbid rulers of Egypt and Syria in 1208 and then to the Saljūqs of Asia Minor in 1221. Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī's disciples spread from Asia Minor and Syria through Persia and northern India, and it was they who established the Suhrawardīyah brotherhood on a permanent footing. Its origins, however, are credited to Abū al-Najīb and his nephew, Shihāb al-Dīn, who also figure in the *silsila* of the Kubrawīyah brotherhood as teachers of its founding figures, Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. c. 1220) and Najm al-Dīn Rāzī (d. 1265). The Suhrawardīyah became one of the most prominent and influential brotherhoods, though it subdivided into numerous branches after the fourteenth century.

Mawlawīyah. The Mawlawīyah order, more commonly known by its Turkish adjectival form, Mevlevi, takes its name from the title Mawlawī (my master), by which the Persian mystic poet Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (1207–1273) was addressed. His community of disciples in Konya was systematized into an order by Sulṭān Walad (d. 1312), Rūmī's son, who built a shrine dome (*türbe*) over Rūmī's resting place. From this base Sulṭān Walad and his son, Ūlū ʿĀrif Chalabī, established Mevlevi lodges throughout Anatolia, each with its own deputized *shaykh.*

As a boy Rumi had lived with his father, Bahāʾ al-Dīn-i Walad (d. 1231), a visionary and mystically minded Ḥanafī preacher (*wāʿiẓ*), in the small town of Wakhsh (in modern-day Tajikistan) and then in Samarqand before migrating to Anatolia. Though Bahāʾ al-Dīn is seen as the seminal figure of the order, his importance has been exaggerated in the hagiographical accounts of his life (the Ṣūfī genre of biography typically casts its subjects in a miraculous light, emphasizing their importance and spiritual authority). Bahāʾ al-Dīn apparently had a small handful of disciples in Khorasan but enjoyed no great reputation before accepting the patronage of the Saljūq sultan in Konya, who established a *madrasah* for him, which functioned more as a Ṣūfī center than a college of law. When Bahāʾ al-Dīn died, one of his old disciples came from Khorasan to take charge of the Konya disciples, a role Rūmī eventually assumed after he had completed studies of law in Syria and a period of seclusion. Rūmī also cultivated relations with the Konya Saljūqs and developed a following of his own but temporarily abandoned this role late in 1244 after meeting Shams al-Dīn Tabrīzī, an itinerant and iconoclastic Ṣūfī with some training in Shāfiʿī *fiqh*, with whom Rūmī spent an intense period of *ṣuḥbah* and seclusion. The encounter and the eventual disappearance of Shams from Konya led Rūmī to an ecstatic form of love mysticism expressed through poetry and *samāʿ,* extravagantly praising Shams, though subsequent figureheads of the disciple community, Ṣalāh al-Dīn Zarkūb (d. 1258) and Husām al-Dīn Chalabī (d. 1284), are also praised. Rūmī's extraordinary output of Persian poetry in his *Mathnawī* and *Dīwān* has been recited widely, from Bosnia to Bengal and throughout Central Asia, inspiring many Ṣūfīs of various *ṭarīqah* affiliations to imitate or comment upon it.

The Mevlevi *ṭarīqah* operated primarily in the territories of the Ottoman Empire, where it became a wealthy corporation with close ties to the imperial court. It was a hereditary order and, thanks to its central organization, did not fragment, though its character did change somewhat in the mid–sixteenth century, when Dīwānah Muḥammad Chalabī and Yūsuf Sīnachāk introduced Shīʿī influences into the order. The Mevlevi order promoted calligraphy and Persian literature, though it operated almost exclusively in Turkish- or Arabic-speaking environments. In later years there seems to have been much overlap between Mevlevi membership and that of other Anatolian orders, such as the Bektāshīyah, founded around the same time, and the Khalwatīyah, founded in the fourteenth century, both of which appeared more active by the twentieth century than the Mevlevis.

After serving 1001 days in the kitchen of the Mevlevi lodge, initiates were permitted to participate in the characteristic "turning" ceremony, a meditative graceful spinning performed in distinctive robes and hats to the accompaniment of a musical ensemble, usually consisting of a singer/reciter and a variety of instruments, almost always including drums and a reed flute. Beginning in the late eighteenth century, a visit to one of the Mevlevi lodges to observe one of these so-called Whirling Dervish ceremonies became an important part of European tourists' experience of Istanbul.

Shādhilīyah. Rather different in character is the Shādhilīyah, founded by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī of Tunis (1196–1258), who traveled widely in the Maghreb and Spain, finally settling in Alexandria, where he died. In contrast to both the Rifāʿīyah and the Mawlawīyah, this *ṭarīqah* practices internalized and silent devotions. Thus its appeal is individualistic, focusing on the development of private prayer. Nonetheless the emphasis of Abū al-Ḥasan's teaching was against the solitary and the institutional life alike, and he urged his followers to realize their yearning for God through faithful attention to their daily responsibilities in society. They were not enjoined to beg or even to live in voluntary poverty; Egyptian sources refer to the Shādhilīs' tidy attire, which distinguished them from many of the other Ṣūfīs thronging the streets of Cairo. The Shādhilīyah of Yemen are also credited with discovering the value of brewed coffee beans as a means of staying awake during periods of night prayer.

This order has no special theosophical ideas apart from the fact that members are held to have been predestined to join it from pre-eternity. Rather, the goal is a deep yet sober spirituality, drawing on al-Muḥāsibī, the teacher of al-Junayd, on al-Makkī and his *Qūt al-qulūb* (The nourishment of the heart), and on the spiritual teaching of al-Ghazālī in the fourth volume of *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* (The vivification of the religious sciences). Its teaching is subtle and not directed at the masses, as can be seen from the *Ḥikam* (Maxims), an enduring classic of Ṣūfī spirituality written by Abū al-Ḥasan's immediate successor, Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 1309). This work, a collection of 262 brief sayings followed by four short treatises and a number of prayers, has generated numerous commentaries in many of the languages of the Muslim world.

Like many of the orders, the Shādhilīyah produced a variety of local offshoots all over the Muslim world. Among them, the Ḥāmidīyah Shādhilīyah is one of the modern orders that still attracts and provides a basic spiritual formation for many Egyptians. The appeal of the Shādhilīyah extends primarily to the officials and civil servants of the middle class, whose responsibilities, values, and attitudes are embodied in the order's attention to detail. Even after the Atatürk government prohibited Ṣūfī orders in Turkey in 1925, the Shādhilīyah retained its attraction for the middle class. It has also gained a following among some European Muslims.

Chishtīyah. India was particularly fertile ground for the development of the *ṭarīqah*s, and it is impossible to write the history of Islam in the subcontinent without a detailed study of them. Along with the Suhrawardīyah, the Chishtīyah was among the earliest *ṭarīqah*s operating in India, and the first to originate in the subcontinent. It was founded by Muʿīn al-Dīn Chishtī (d. 1236), a native of Sīstān, who had been for a time a disciple of Abū Najīb al-Suhrawardī. He arrived in Delhi in 1193 and then moved to Ajmer, an important city in newly conquered Rajputana, where he founded a *khānaqāh.* Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ (d. 1325) spent fifty years extending the Chishtīyah throughout India by dispatching hundreds of his own disciples from his center in Delhi. The simplicity and ardor of Chishtī teaching, their extreme hospitality and charity, and their readiness to welcome guests without discrimination attracted many followers. In fact the Chishtīyah illustrates in an exemplary manner the extraordinary contribution of the *ṭarīqah*s to the Islamization of the subcontinent.

At first the adherents kept their distance from government, but later they developed a close association with the Mughal court. Salīm (later Jahāngīr), the heir apparent of Emperor Akbar (d. 1605), was born in the home of a Chishtī *shaykh,* and in gratitude Akbar commissioned a splendid *dargāh* for the Chishtīyah in Fatehpur Sikri. Jahāngīr himself decorated the Chishtī city of Ajmer with beautiful buildings of white marble, and Jahānārā Begum (d. 1681), daughter of Shāhjahān and Mumtāz Maḥall, wrote about the life of Muʿīn al-Dīn Chishtī and requested to be buried in his shrine compound. The Chishtīyah, like other *ṭarīqah*s in India, contributed immensely to the development of literature in the vernacular languages, and a Chishtī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who lived during the reign of Awrangzīb (1658–1707), is regarded as the greatest mystical poet in the Pashto language. This *ṭarīqah* was noted for its active encouragement of the practice of *samāʿ,* an example followed by various other orders in South Asia, where the genre of Ṣūfī music known as Qawwālī, which Fateh Ali Khan and other performers popularized around the world in the 1980s, developed.

Naqshbandīyah. Bahāʾ al-Dīn-i Naqshband (1318–1388) traces his mystical heritage through Amīr Kulāl, a spiritual adviser to Tīmūr (Tamerlane), to the Persian-speaking Central Asian lineage of Ṣūfīs, the Khwājagān, initiated by Abū Yūsuf ʿAlī Hamadānī (d. 1140). Bahāʾ al-Dīn founded the Naqshbandī *ṭarīqah* in Bukhara, which he left only three times: twice for pilgrimage to Mecca and once to meet with the ruler of Herat, Muʿizz al-Dīn Ḥusayn, to whom he taught the Naqshbandī principles. His tomb, surrounded by a large shrine complex, is a place of pilgrimage. From here the *ṭarīqah* spread geographically, coming to rival the popularity and influence of the Qādirīyah. It was to have an important role in Central Asia and India and also developed branches in Afghanistan, Iraq, Turkey, China, Sumatra, the Riau archipelago, Java, and other Indonesian islands. The order still has a strong following scattered over the length and breadth of the Muslim world. In the late eighteenth century Ma Ming-Hsin, who had become a Naqshbandī-Jahrī while on pilgrimage to Mecca, returned to Kansu Province in China to found the politically important "New Teaching" movement. In the first Indonesian elections in 1955, a Sumatran Naqshbandī was elected to the national parliament as the sole representative of the Ṭarīqah political party.

Bahāʾ al-Dīn-i Naqshband rapidly established connections between his *ṭarīqah,* the trade and craft guilds, and the merchant houses, so that as his spiritual influence grew, so did his wealth. The order soon gained a position of power in the Timurid court and, assuming a custodial role over government, supervised the administration of religious law. Indeed under the leadership of Khwājah Aḥrār of Herat (1404–1490), the Naqshbandīyah virtually dominated political life in Central Asia. It was his conviction that "to serve the world, it is necessary to exercise political power"; in other words, it is necessary to maintain adequate control over rulers in order to ensure that they implement the divine law in every area of life.

Unlike the Chishtīyah and those who followed their example, the Naqshbandīyah recited their *dhikr* silently and banned music and rhythmic movements. They believed that through *dhikr* without words one could achieve a level of contemplation in which subject and object became indistinguishable and the individual soul returned to God as it had been before creation. Among their techniques of meditation was concentration on their *shaykh*; another practice was regular visitation of saints' tombs in the hope that, by concentrating on the spirit of the departed *shaykh,* they would increase their spiritual strength.

The Naqshbandīyah was a moderate order that did not demand heroic austerities; like the Shādhilīyah, it regarded spiritual purification and education of the heart as more productive than harsh mortification designed to conquer the lower soul. It taught a middle way, that the mean between excessive hunger and excessive eating was the safest. The true fast consists of keeping the mind free from the food of satanic suggestions. Despite its essential sobriety, this method proved congenial to the poets of the time, and by the beginning of the eighteenth century all the leading poets in the Indo-Persian style were either members of the Naqshbandī *ṭarīqah* or under its influence.

The order played an important role in the religious and political history of Mughal India as leaders of a movement of reaction against the syncretist Dīn-i ilāhī (Divine Religion) of the emperor Akbar. An important figure in this reaction was Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1624), who was initiated into the order by its *shaykh,* Khwājah Bāqī Billāh, in 1600. The order remained involved in political developments, including a strong reaction against Hindu practices, up to 1740. The Naqshbandī Shāh Walī Allāh (1703–1762), enrolled concurrently in the Qādirīyah, became the greatest reformer of eighteenth-century Delhi and one of the leading figures in the renewal of Islam; his influence contributed to reform movements in the nineteenth century and beyond.

In Sulaymānīyah in Iraqi Kurdistan, Mawlānā Khālid Baghdādī (d. 1827) established a subbranch of the Naqshbandī order, which developed an independent character as the Khālidīyah. It absorbed most of the other Naqshbandī branches in the Middle East and displaced the Qādirīyah *ṭarīqah* in Kurdistan. It cultivated relations with the Ottoman elite and fought for the Turks in the Russo-Turkish War. Later implicated with opposition to the Turkish Republic, it was closed down with the rest of the Ṣūfī orders in Turkey in 1925. After the Iraqi revolution in 1958, the Khālidīyah shifted its operations to Iranian Kurdistan until the Iranian Revolution of 1979.

The literature of the Naqshbandīyah *ṭarīqah* is written in Persian, and one of the great Persian mystical poets, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 1492), was integrally involved in the order. Because of its Sunnī loyalties, however, the Naqshbandī inroads in Persia were uprooted in the sixteenth century by the Shīʿī Safavid dynasty, paradoxically itself tracing its lineage to a Sunnī Ṣūfī teacher, Ṣafī al-Dīn of Ardabīl (1252–1334). His descendants eventually converted the order to Shiism, built it into a militant movement, and ultimately conquered Iran in the late fifteenth century, establishing a long-lived dynasty during which the country was converted to Shiism.

Niʿmatullāhīyah. Most of the Ṣūfī fraternities discussed here were founded and developed in a Sunnī environment. Shāh Niʿmat Allāh Walī (d. 1430), the eponymous founder of this *ṭarīqah*, was a Sunnī, though descended from the Prophet through the Shīʿī lineage of Ismāʿīl, son of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq. He studied in Shiraz and traveled widely among Ṣūfī circles in the Arabic-speaking Middle East before establishing several lodges of his own in Central Asia, where he came into competition with the Naqshbandīs. After Tīmūr grew suspicious of his aims and banished him from Transoxania, Shāh Niʿmat Allāh moved to Herat and finally settled in Māhān, from where he promoted the theosophy of Ibn ʿArabī in his prolific and popular writings and poetry, winning many followers in the area of Shiraz and Kirmān. His son, Khalīl Allāh, was invited to South India by Aḥmad Shāh Bahmān in 1436, establishing a further Niʿmatullāhī following among the Deccani aristocracy. Exactly how the order took on a Shīʿī character is obscure, but the Safavid ruler and ardent Shīʿī Shāh Ismāʿīl appointed a Niʿmatullāhī *shakyh,* Mīr Niẓām al-Dīn, as the chief religious official of the Safavid domain in 1512. Though the Safavid house intermarried with Niʿmatullāhīs, the order lost favor under Shāh ʿAbbās when it was implicated in a rebellion. It was only revived in the eighteenth century by help sent from the Deccani branch of the *ṭarīqah* in the person of Maʿṣūm ʿAlī-Shāh, who had gained a large following throughout Central Iran. He was executed in 1797 at the behest of Shīʿī scholars implacably opposed to Sufism.

In the nineteenth century the Niʿmatullāhīyah of Iran broke into several branches, represented in the early twenty-first century principally by the Ṣafī-ʿAlīshāhīs and the Sulṭān-ʿAlīshāhīs, both of which were encouraged under the Pahlavi dynasty. In 1974 the order was brought to the West, where it was represented by Javad Nurbakhsh as Khaniqahi-Nimatullahi.

Tijāniīah and Sanūsīyah. The eighteenth-century revival movements of Shāh Walī Allāh in India and Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb in Arabia had a counterpart in the *ṭarīqah*s. Sometimes this revival was expressed in the reform of existing orders, sometimes in the development of suborders, sometimes in the appearance of new ones. The generation of orders in fact never ceased. In North and West Africa, for example, between 1500 and 1900 at least twenty-eight *ṭarīqah*s emerged, one-third originating in Morocco. Here it is sufficient to draw attention to two that were to play an important role in Islamic revival movements in the Sudan, Egypt, and North and West Africa. The first was the Tijānīyah, based in what is now Algeria and Morocco, and the other the Sanūsiyah in Libya.

The founder of the Tijānīyah was Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Tijānī (1737–1815). He spent several years studying in Fez, then he studied in Abyaḍ for five years, and in 1773 he went to Mecca and Medina and finally to Cairo, where he studied under various *shaykhs,* one of whom suggested that he found a *ṭarīqah.* He then returned to Fez, where, although he continued to travel extensively, he maintained his center.

The demands of the order are exclusive, and members may not join any other order. The Tijānīyah have their own formulas for *dhikr,* to be recited as many as a hundred times at particular points in the day. They are further distinguished from many of the other orders by their submission to established government, even where this has been non-Muslim. Thus throughout the French occupation of Algeria, they remained for the most part on good terms with the French authorities. When the emir ʿAbd el-Kader, a Qādirī named after the founder of the order, attempted to enlist them in a struggle against the French in 1836, the Tijānī chief refused, saying it was their purpose to live a religious life in peace. The emir then marched on their town and demanded that they submit to him, but they again refused and, although outnumbered, resisted a siege for eight months, took refuge in another town, and in the following year offered moral and material aid to the French.

This *ṭarīqah* won adherents in Egypt, Arabia, and other parts of Asia and still enjoys a strong following in parts of Africa formerly under French rule. In the first half of the nineteenth century it was propagated in French Guinea by ʿUmar Tal after his return to Dinguiray (which became one of the most important religious cities in the region), where it took over and displaced the Qādirīyah tradition.

Sīdī Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Sanūsī was born in Algeria in 1791. From 1821 to 1828 he lived in Fez, where he studied Qurʾanic exegesis, *ḥadīth,* and jurisprudence. Traveling for the pilgrimage, he remained in Mecca from 1830 to 1843, founding his first *zāwiyah* there in 1837. On leaving Mecca he settled in Cyrenaica, where he founded additional *zāwiyah*s. After his death in 1859 the order was continued by his two sons, Sīdī Muḥammad al-Mahdī (1844–1901), his successor, and Sīdī Muḥammad al-Sharīf (1846–1896). Al-Sanūsī left detailed instructions relating to initiation into his order, and his devotional writings became the basis of the Sanūsī routines. At the same time all his activities were imbued with a rigorous work ethic. He inspired his followers to work together to build roads, to form trade cooperatives, to undertake irrigation projects, and to establish agricultural communities.

In fact such activities were integral to the work of many *ṭarīqah*s, such as the Tijānīyah and its offshoot in Senegal, the Murīd movement. The discipline of the brethren had a counterpart in the discipline of a trade guild or corporation. Likewise the tremendous vitality of the nineteenth-century *ṭarīqah*s was also channeled into political activity, especially diplomatic negotiations with the European powers. Throughout this period it is clear that they operated as an invisible international network attempting to protect the cultural and religious identity of Islam against the European powers. The same Emir ʿAbd el-Kader who tried to involve the Tijānīyah in an uprising against the French had received an *ijāzah* (license) to found his own branch of the Qādirīyah when he led the 1832 revolt against the French in Algeria and proclaimed a *jihād.* Captured by the French in 1847, he wrote to Napoleon III in 1865, petitioning him to mediate with Czar Alexander II on behalf of the release from prison of a Naqshbandī-Khālidī Ṣūfī *shaykh* in Daghestan, Imām Shāmil (1796–1871), who had been imprisoned for taking part in a *jihād* movement against the Russian Empire in the northern Caucasus.

There are also grounds for seeing a Sanūsī inspiration in the late nineteenth-century Achehnese war against the Dutch, just as there had been a strong international Naqshbandī movement behind resistance to the Dutch in West Sumatra and other parts of the Indonesian archipelago. These influences, inspirations, networks, and personalities thus ranged between Algeria and the Caucasus, Cyrenaica, Malaya, Indonesia, and East and West Africa, with the hub of the network at Mecca, where the *shaykhs* of the various regional establishments of the orders met and pooled information and ideas.

TRADITION AND CHANGE. In spite of this political vitality, the influence of the *ṭarīqah*s was reduced to a minimum after the reformist movement inaugurated by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Muḥammad ʿAbdūh resulted in an intensive campaign against them. There had been movements against the *ṭarīqah*s before, yet a relative balance between the strength of their supporters and their opponents had prevailed. In the early twentieth century, however, there was a qualitative change and a definite shift in balance as the convergence of various factors militated against the *ṭarīqah*s in a special way.

The reform movement was inspired in part by nineteenth-century European secular rationalism and in part by a renewed emphasis upon the rationalist or puritanical understanding of Islam by movements such as Wahhabism (which led eventually to a ban on Ṣūfī orders in Saudi Arabia). As a result many of the practices of the order were seen not only as idolatrous innovations—such as the celebration of the birthdays of deceased saints, the honoring of their tombs, and certain forms of meditation—but also as harboring superstitions that disgraced Islam by making it appear contemptible to Europeans. Dervishes were also associated with the use of narcotics (to induce ecstasy) and with the practice of pederasty, a habit attested in Ṣūfī sources from the medieval period though not sanctioned by the official code of the *ṭarīqah*s. Moreover since the reformists believed the *ṭarīqah*s attracted people to otherworldliness and magic instead of challenging them to face reality, they considered it a root cause of the backwardness of Muslims. Muḥammad ʿAbdūh and Rashīd Riḍā, for example, while accepting the ethical and spiritual ideas of Sufism (as per al-Ghazālī), regarded every aspect of the *ṭarīqah*s as degenerate, and in Turkey under Atatürk they were outlawed altogether.

Abuses were easy to find. Some *shaykhs* believed that holiness was hereditary; certain heads of orders regarded great wealth as a right, an outward manifestation of the spiritual favors they had received. *Barakah* (the blessing a *shaykh* and his *silsila* could give) was something to be bought and sold. Moreover despite the international networks so characteristic of the *ṭarīqah*s, many individual *shaykhs* remained too attached to family clan and local traditions to respond to the rise of nationalism.

Modernization and secularization also undermined the social and economic foundations of the *ṭariqah*s. Employment now required training in public institutions created by the state rather than the parochial education offered by *ṭarīqah* schools and "study circles" *(ḥalaqāt).* Clubs and associations took over the social role of the *ṭarīqah*s, and industrialization weakened the trade and craft guilds with which they had been formerly associated. There were also rival religious organizations: for example, in Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood, because of its dispersion into local groups, was able to offer the community individual guidance and service that had previously been the province of the *ṭarīqah*s. Moreover the local orientation of many branches of the orders made them appear irrelevant to communities increasingly related to the outside world.

If modernity has weakened the traditional membership base and structure of the *ṭarīqah*s and governments have regulated or curtailed their functions, they nevertheless retain vitality and the potential to adapt to changed circumstances. It is striking that in Indonesia, for example, the reformist-oriented anti-*ṭarīqah* party, the Masyumi, which during the 1950s appeared to reflect the dominant Islamic ethos, was eclipsed by the traditional, adaptive *ṭarīqah*-tolerant group, the Nahdatul Ulama. Research on African *ṭarīqah*s shows that they contribute to social stability and, in a very special way, to the work ethic. The Murīdīyah of Senegal, born in an African environment, is an example of the moral authority and social dedication of a modern *ṭarīqah.* Equally important, various offshoots of the Naqshbandī order in former Soviet territories, such as Daghestan and Chechnya, have become numerous and influential.

The *tariqah*s still play an important social and political role in addition to the enrichment they bring to the spiritual lives of millions of people. Traditional celebrations like the *mawlid*s, or saints' birthdays, often sponsored by *ṭarīqah* associations, remain extraordinary public events and displays of devotional fervor in India. This is also true in Egypt, where the Supreme Council of Ṣūfī Orders estimated in 1989 that between three and five million people belonged to one of the seventy-three registered orders. The interest in theosophical Sufism has also increased, largely because it jumped across confessional boundaries in the twentieth century as Western scholars engaged with the Ṣūfī tradition, first in the form of translations of Ṣūfī poetry, then as the object of metaphysical study (for example, in the Eranos seminars in Switzerland). In the West, Sufism was offered as the "perennial philosophy" and popularized as a method of spiritual psychology by Idries Shah and others.

Finally, Ṣūfī poetry found a broader commercial audience. Following the earlier example of Hazrat Inayat Khan, Meher Baba, and other teachers who came to the United States from India and elsewhere to establish disciple communities, the traditional *ṭarīqah* orders have also responded to this "New Age" receptivity. Traditional orders have established branches or subbranches in Europe and the United States, including the Khaniqahi Nimatullahi, Shādhilīyah (counting René Guénon among its members), Naqshbandi-Haqqani, and Jerrahi Order of America. Previously interrupted traditions have also been successfully revived or recreated by Western devotees, as is the case of the Mevlevi Order of America and the Threshold Society, which do not, however, require their members to be Muslims. These Western *ṭarīqah* branches purchase centers, appoint *shaykhs,* train disciples, teach classes, sponsor festivals and academic conferences, and maintain a presence on the internet. Meanwhile new orders, such as the MTO or Maktab-i ṭariqat-i Uwaysī, founded by Shah Maghsoud Angha (d. 1980), are actively promoted among diaspora communities and indigenous

Westerners. The International Association of Sufism, a nonprofit organization founded by Nahid Angha and Ali Kianfar in 1983, attempts not only to promote Sufism but to foster dialogue among the various organizations and orders of Sufism and to undertake pan-*ṭarīqah* activities.

Of equal significance is the renewed interest upon the part of educated urbanites in the Middle East in Sufism as a tolerant and inner-directed expression of Islamic spirituality, in contrast to fundamentalist or Islamist formulations of religion. For example, there was a significant surge of interest in the teachings of Rūmī and the practices of the Mevlevis throughout the 1980s and 1990s among young people in Iran, who saw him as representative of an expansive and tolerant understanding of Islam. The Turkish Ministry of Culture also promotes Rūmī and the Mevlevis as representatives of the great cultural and spiritual heritage of that country.

The historical importance of the *ṭarīqah*s is profound. After the fall of Baghdad to the Mongols in 1258, they helped maintain communication and intellectual interchange across the Arabic-, Turkish-, and Persian-speaking regions. They had a stabilizing role in critical periods of change and political uncertainty, and as new political centers of power became established, notably the Mughal and Ottoman Empires, they either associated themselves with the ruling classes or became a significant element in the social fabric of the new polity. Far from being rivals to the *ʿulamāʾ,* the founders of the *ṭarīqah*s and their successors, the great Ṣūfī *shaykhs* were masters of the law, and their spiritual exercises were a further dimension of their competence in *fiqh,* not a substitute for it. In India in particular their contribution to a creative acceptance of Islam and faithful observance of the norms of Islamic law—the Naqshbandī-inspired reform movement in seventeenth-century Delhi is a notable example—is enormous.

The new centers of political authority both recognized them as the standard-bearers and exemplars of the norms of religious behavior and provided them with ample opportunities to gain wealth, power, and influence. Given such acceptance, they added a richness and color, a vitality, and an emotional intensity to every stratum of religious and social life. Their cultural significance as promoters of literature and music and their role in Islamizing the vernaculars of many regions of the Muslim world have likewise been enormous.

SEE ALSO Attention; Bisṭāmī, Abū Yazīd al-; Dance; Darwīsh; Dhikr, Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid al-; Ibn al-ʿArabī; Ibn ʿAṭā Allāh; Islam, articles on Islam in Central Asia, Islam in South Asia, Islam in the Caucasus and the Middle Volga; Islamic Law, article on Sharīʿah; Islamic Religious Year; Khusraw, Amīr; Madhhab; Madrasah; Mosque; Mysticism; Niẓām al-Dīn Awlīyā; Retreat; Rūmī, Jalāl al-Dīn; Samāʿ; Sufism; Ṣuḥbah; Sunnah; Walāyah; Waqf.

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TATAR RELIGION SEE INNER ASIAN RELIGIONS

TATHĀGATA.

In pre-Buddhist India, the term *tathāgata* designated a liberated sage. Unlike other titles for Gotama Buddha common in Pali scriptures such as *bhagavan* (blessed one) and *jina* (victorious one), the Buddha often used the term *tathāgata* to refer to himself. As George Bond has noted, three etymologies for it are prominent in Theravāda texts: (1) *tathā-gato*, meaning "one who has gone thus," who has attained *nirvāṇa* like all prior buddhas, freed from the conditioned, distorted mentalities and sufferings of mundane existence; (2) *tatha-āgato*, meaning "one who has come thus," who has reached the attainment achieved by all buddhas of prior ages, propelling him to come as the universal teacher for this age; and (3) *tatha-āgato*, meaning one who has come to the final truth of things and shows the way to that truth.

To call Gotama Buddha *tathāgata* was to identify him as a type, the latest in the line of perfect buddhas from past ages, highlighting his attainment as supreme for this age. All *tathāgatas* are said to be one in their essential attainments, including four peerless types of fearlessness, ten powers of pervasive knowing (such as knowledge of the causal order, of the capacities, dispositions and destinies of living beings, and of the methods of spiritual development appropriate for each one), six types of perfected supernormal awareness, unconditional compassion, thirty-two exemplary marks of physical perfection, and other excellences.

In line with the first and third etymologies of *tathāgata* above, to call Gotama *tathāgata* was to designate him the personification of the *dharma,* of the truths and attainments that he had realized. Thus, what made him a *tathāgata* was his *dharma-kāya* (Pali, *dhamma-kāya*), his body of *dharma* attainments, made manifest through the physical signs and charismatic powers of his material body, his *rūpa-kāya.*

In line with the second etymology of *tathāgata*, "one come thus as universal teacher," to call Gotama *tathāgata* was also to designate him the most worthy and karmically weighty object of reverence and offerings. The Buddha, his community and teaching, were generously supported by the offerings of devotees during his lifetime. After physical death, the physical embodiment and presence of the Buddha (*rūpa-kāya*) was represented to the world in sacred reliquary mounds containing his relics (stupas), which became focal objects of offering and circumambulation, symbolically reenacting the ways that Gotama's devotees had offered reverence to him as reported in scriptures. By ritually affirming the Buddha's continuing presence in the world as symbolic container (*rūpa-kāya*) of his all-knowing mind (*dharma-kāya*), stupas, and later buddha images, symbolically affirmed the Buddha's continuing power for this world, enabling devotees through the centuries to establish their own relationship to the Buddha at those sacred sites. Stupas and images provide physical supports both for rituals of offering and blessing and for meditations that vividly bring to mind the Buddha's qualities and powers (*buddhānusmṛti*). Thus, in the early centuries after the Buddha's final nirvāṇa, connotations of *tathāgata* informed the emerging two *kāya* paradigm of buddhahood and religious practices centered upon it.

In several Abhidharma schools prior to the rise of Mahāyāna Buddhist movements, saṃsāra and nirvāṇa were framed as a fundamental dualism, nirvāṇa understood as an unconditioned reality totally beyond the dependent origination of conditioned life, attained by cutting off the inmost causes for the five aggregates of conditioned life, for all components of mind and body, through long practice of the path. The pre-Mahāyāna etymologies of *tathāgata* noted above express that dualism: "thus gone" to nirvāṇa beyond the conditioned arising of saṃsāra, "thus come" from that transcendent attainment to reveal the path of liberation before passing totally beyond the world at final nirvāṇa.

But in the centuries after Gotama Buddha's physical passing, within some Buddhist communities, the ritual and meditative practices mentioned above that symbolically affirmed the continuing presence and power of the Buddha's nirvāṇa in this world, together with further developments in practice and philosophy, gradually shifted doctrinal formulation of a Buddha's nirvāṇa toward non-dualism. A Buddha's nirvana was thus understood to be fundamentally undivided from this world in its pervasive awareness, spiritual power and liberating activity. This reformulating of a buddha's nirvāṇa began to take doctrinal expression in Mahāsāṃghika schools a few centuries after the Buddha's *pari nirvāṇa,* and was much further developed in Mahāyāna texts from the first century BCE onward, where it became formalized as the doctrine of the "unrestricted" (all-active) nirvāṇa of the buddhas (*apratiṣṭhiṭa-nirvāṇa*). In this formulation, a buddha's nirvāṇa was said to far exceed that of his arhat disciples, because it comprised not only freedom from bondage to conditioned causes of suffering, but also freedom to unleash vast and endless liberating activity for living beings.

Several factors contributing to this reformulation of nirvāṇa took expression in Mahāyāna scriptures of the early centuries CE, including the emergence of a new Mahāyāna cosmology; a nondual ontology of emptiness; and further development in practices and doctrines of devotion, compassion, and nondual awareness.

Influenced in part by the new meeting of cultures and cosmologies in the Kuṣāṇa Empire of Central Asia of the early centuries CE, and in part by a new emphasis upon many persons taking up the bodhisattva path (all of whom would generate their own realm of buddha activity as fruition of that path), Mahāyāna scriptures expressed a new Buddhist cosmology of numerous *tathāgata*s simultaneously inhabiting different universes in all directions, often in radiant pure realms attended by celestial bodhisattvas (not just appearing individually from age to age). In many Mahāyāna scriptures, the yogic powers of Buddha Gotama or advanced bodhisattvas opened devotees' perception to visions of cosmic *tathāgata*s such as Amitābha, Akṣobhya, and Vairocana, whom devotees ritually reverenced and praised, to whom they made manifold offerings, and from whom they received manifold radiant blessings. Scenes expressing this are prominent, for example, in the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* collection, several *Prajñāpāramitā- sūtras*, *Vimalakīrti*, *Śuraṃgamasamādhi*, *Samādhirāja*, and *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*.

In such scriptures, visual or oral encounters with cosmic *tathāgatas* often precede or follow a bodhisattva's realization of transcendental wisdom (*prajñāpāramita*), the nondual awareness of *tathāgata*s and advanced bodhisattvas that discern the emptiness of all phenomena (*śūnyatā*), their lack of substantial, independent existence. The empty nature of phenomena, because known by the *tathāgatas* just thus, is frequently referred to as "thusness" (*tathatā*). Although all conditioned phenomena continually change, their intrinsically empty nature never changes, is unconditioned and undivided, like space. Whereas pre-Mahāyāna Abhidharma schools taught penetrating insight (*vipassana*) to cut off the dependent origination of conditioned phenomena and thus attain the unconditioned peace of nirvāṇa beyond them, Mahāyāna texts taught that the very nature of conditioned phenomena was unconditioned emptiness (*śūnyatā*), thusness (*tathatā*), intrinsic peace. Hence, these texts proclaimed, to realize ordinary phenomena as empty, intrinsically quiescent, is to realize nirvāṇa as undivided from saṃsāra.

One way to express this Mahāyāna metaphysic of nondualism was through playful reinterpretation of previous Buddhist etymologies for *tathāgata*. Thus, the Buddha declares in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (eight-thousand-verse) *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra*, "*Tathāgatas* (literally ones who have 'thus gone' or 'thus come') certainly do not come from anywhere, nor do they go anywhere. For indeed thusness (*tathatā*) is unmoving, and the *Tathāgata* is thusness" (Makransky, p. 32). *Tathāgatas* are those whose awareness has become nondual with thusness, who thereby abide in the ultimate, unmoving nature of all phenomenal comings and goings, the undivided, empty, nirvāṇic dimension of this world.

This implies that the awareness through which a buddha or bodhisattva transcends bondage to saṃsāra is also intimate with saṃsāra. To know all living beings nondually through undivided thusness is to sense all beings through boundless, unconditional compassion and love. The bodhisattva path to buddhahood is therefore described as a synergy of deepening wisdom of emptiness (*prajñāpāramita*) and compassionate activity for beings (*puṇya*, spiritual merit). Bodhisattvas, by thereby accumulating vast wisdom and merit, under the guidance and protection of the *tathāgatas*, generate luminous pure realms from which to enact their own salvific activity as they become *tathāgatas* upon completion of their path. Thus, the *tathāgatas*, viewed from above as celestial powers and from below as the fruition of the bodhisattva path, spontaneously radiate blessings and salvific activities and manifestations throughout their domains, making the liberating power of saṃsāra nirvāṇa available to beings in saṃsāra as the compassionate outflow of their knowledge that nirvāṇa and saṃsāra are ultimately undivided.

Because, Mahāyāna texts say, thusness (*tatāhta*) as the empty nondual reality of all things is undivided, the term *tathāgata* now also connotes undividedness among the *tathāgatas* in their essential realization of it, referred to as *dharmakāya*. Likewise, in thusness, all living beings are undivided from the *tathāgatas* and possessed of a primordial purity of awareness that constitutes an innate potential for enlightenment, referred to as the *tathāgata essence* of beings (*tathāgata-garbha*), their intrinsic buddha nature. The ontological oneness of buddhas in nondual thusness supports a communion of *tathāgatas* and celestial bodhisattvas in their visionary manifestations (witnessed in Mahāyāna scriptures by interactions among visionary *tathāgatas*), which—when informed by the teaching of buddha nature—opens into a communion with all living beings. Reverent gestures of bowing and offering are given vivid ritual forms in liturgies such as the seven-part offering practice at the end of the *Gaṇḍavyūha sūtra,* which includes praise, offering, confession, ritual rejoicing, ritual requests, bodhisattva resolutions to attain enlightenment for beings, and dedication of merit to all, while receiving radiant blessings from all the holy beings. Such practices express deepening communion with and participation in the salvific activity of the *tathāgatas* and bodhisattvas in and through the luminous, empty ground of thusness in which all are ultimately undivided.

Elements of such liturgical materials were taken up by Buddhist practice communities of Central Asia, East Asia, and Tibet as means to collect merit and wisdom for the path, to receive blessings and inspiration from the *tathāgatas* and celestial bodhisattvas, and to mediate their power to surrounding communities for healing, protection, prosperity, auspiciousness, and well-being. In this way, practices mediating the power of *tathāgatas* and bodhisattvas became an important part of the activity of Mahāyāna monastic institutions of medieval India, East Asia, and Tibet, whose social, economic, and political support by local communities was motivated in part by communal desires for the application of such ritual power to meet social needs.

SEE ALSO Buddha; Perfectibility.

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TATHĀGATA-GARBHA. Early monastic Buddhism emphasized the reality of "selflessness" *(anātmatā)* as the essential nature of all beings. The "ignorance" *(avidyā)* at the root of suffering in the samsaric life cycle was said to be the misperception of a fixed and independent "self" *(ātman)* within a selfless, wholly relative person. The overcoming of the delusion of self was called "wisdom" *(prajñā)*, and it was commonly explained as the "wisdom of selflessness." However, the earliest sermons of the Buddha are replete with such expressions as "mastery of the self is the real mastery," "he who conquers his own self is the supreme warrior," and so forth. Self-control was a prime goal of the early Buddhist monk or nun. Thus, the term *self* had two distinct connotations. In one, it referred to a fixed, independent, self-substance, and in the other, it referred to the living, empirical, continuum of the person; the former was denied and the latter, clearly presupposed.

With the rise of the messianic Buddhism of the "universal vehicle" (Mahāyāna), both sides of this ambiguity were developed in various ways. The "self" that was thought not to exist was equated with "intrinsic reality" *(svabhāva)*, "intrinsic identity" *(svalakṣaṇa)*, and "intrinsic objectivity" *(svarūpa)*. Its systematic denial was expanded beyond "subjective selflessness" *(pudgala-nairatmya)* to encompass "objective selflessness" *(dharma nairātmyā)*, which was understood as equivalent to "emptiness" *(śūnyatā)*. Notions concerning the other "self," the living, empirical personality that was acknowledged to exist, developed into two major concepts, "enlightenment-spirit" *(bodhicitta)*, and "Buddha essence" *(tathāgata-* or *sugata-garbha)*. The "spirit of enlightenment" concept dates from the earliest Mahāyāna scriptures (first century BCE); its systematization was begun by the scholastic master Nāgārjuna (c. second century CE). The second dates from the second and third centuries CE), with the emergence of the later Mahāyāna scriptures such as the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra,* the *Saṃdhi-nirmocana Sūtra,* the *Tathāgatagarbha Sūtra*, the *Srī-māladevī Sūtra* and the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra.* It was systematized by the Yogācāra masters Maitreyanātha, Asaṅga, and Vasubandhu during the fourth and fifth centuries CE.

The enlightenment-spirit *(bodhicitta)* theory eventually began to reflect the original ambiguity of the Buddha's use of *self*, by employing the scheme of "two realities" *(satya-dvaya)*, the absolute and the relative. The absolute spirit was equated with the wisdom of selflessness, and the relative spirit with the loving mind seeking the welfare of all beings. The perfection of the absolute spirit was thought to result in the achievement of the *dharmakāya* ("truth body") of Buddhahood, and the perfection of the relative spirit in the achievement of the *rūpakāya* ("form body") of Buddhahood, with its heavenly *saṃbhoga* ("beatific") and earthly *nirmāṇa* ("emanation") bodies. An important point is that the duality between the two spirits, as between the two realities, only obtains from the relative perspective. In the enlightened view, the two are ultimately the same: wisdom and compassion are one, the absolute is no different from the relative, and truth is equivalent to form. This is summarized in Nāgārjuna's famous statement, "Emptiness [is] the essence of compassion" ("Śūnyatā-karuṇā-garbham").

Against this background, we can understand the emergence of the Buddha-essence doctrine. The Absolute Truth Body *(dharmakāya)* of the Buddha is transcendent and eternal, yet omnipresent and immanent in every atom of infinity. Thus, from a Buddha's perspective, all beings are already immersed in the "truth-body realm" *(dharmakāyadhātu)* and persist in suffering only because they do not know their own actual situation. Each being's presence in the truth-realm is the *essence* of each; it is each one's essential participation in Buddhahood. Thus, each has an essence of Buddhahood, that is, a Buddha essence within him or her that is one's very selflessness or "natural ultimate freedom" *(prakṛti-parinirvāṇa)*. One's critique, through *prajñā*, of the misknowledge of self and the resultant realization of selflessness amounts to the removal of the obscurations of the Buddha essence and the revelation of the natural luminosity of the Buddha realm.

To refer to the useful compendium of sources written by the Tibetan scholar Bu ston (1290–1364), the *Tathāgatagarbha Sūtra* gives nine similes of the Buddha essence: like a Buddha in a closed lotus, like the honey in the comb, like the grain in the husk, like gold in ore, like treasure buried beneath a pauper's house, like a tree-seed in its sheath, like a Buddha-image wrapped in a filthy cloth, like a world monarch amid the impurities of the womb, and like a golden image contained within its clay mold. Of these nine similes, the first three are said to indicate the *dharmakāya* in its senses of "absolute" and "element" *(dhātu)*, the simile of the golden image to indicate "suchness" *(tathatā)*, and the remaining five to indicate the "spiritual gene" *(gotra)*, an important equivalent concept in which one's inherent Buddhahood is conceived of as a genetic cause of the *dharmakāya.*

The *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* reveals the Buddha essence of all beings as permanent, happy, omnipresent, pure, and free, for this is how beings appear in a Buddha's vision. The *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* extends its visionary theme of the mutual interpenetration of all things to illustrate how the Buddha wisdom exists in the mind of every being as each one's jewel-like essential perfection. The *Aṅgulimālīya Sūtra* states that "the Buddha essence is the reality, the absolute body, the permanent body, the inconceivable body of the transcendent Lord. . . . It is the self." The *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* mentions the Buddha essence and equates it with the "fundamental consciousness" *(ālaya-vijñāna)*, the basic seat of ignorance underlying the six usual consciousnesses and the afflicted mentality *(kliṣṭamanas)* in the idealist psychology of that scripture. Finally, the *Śrīmāladevī Sūtra* mentions the Buddha essence as indispensable both to the process of enlightenment and to the afflicted world.

The apparent contradiction between these revelations and the earlier teachings that all beings are impermanent, miserable, selfless, and impure is addressed in the scriptures themselves by referring to the two realities and the two perspectives, using the hermeneutical concepts of "interpretable meaning" *(neyārtha)* and "definitive meaning" *(nītārtha)*. The Buddha uses his "skill in liberative technique" *(upāyakauśalya)* to teach according to the abilities of his disciples. The notion of an "intention" *(abhiprāya* or *abhisaṃdhi)* underlying a teaching is introduced to explain the Buddha's various strategies. Buston extracts a number of such "intentions" from the texts. The *tathāgata-garbha* doctrine is taught in order to (1) eliminate despair and generate effort, giving the practitioner hope of attaining liberation; (2) eliminate pride and produce respect for others; (3) eliminate absolutistic reifications and nihilistic repudiations and produce wisdom.

In the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra,* Mahamati asks the Buddha how his Buddha-essence teaching differs from the "supreme-self" teaching of the *brahmans.* The Buddha replies:

> The perfect Buddhas have taught the Buddha essence intending emptiness, reality-limit, *nirvāṇa,* non-creation, signlessness, and wishlessness. For the immature to be free of their terror of selflessness, they teach the realms of non-conceptuality and non-appearance by the gateway [i.e., teaching] of the Buddha essence. . . . They teach the essence to attract those heterodox persons who are too deeply attached to their "self" notions to awaken to the profound enlightenment. (*Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra,* ed. P. L. Vaidya, Darbhanga, 1959, p. 33)

And in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* the Buddha tells a story about his meeting with five hundred ascetics who admired his beauty and inner composure and wanted to follow his teaching, but were afraid because they thought he was a nihilist; he reassured them that he was not a spiritual nihilist by teaching them the Buddha-essence doctrine.

Among the great Indian treatises, Maitreyanātha's *Ratnagotravibhāga* is the locus classicus of the systematic exposition of the Buddha-essence doctrine. It is elucidated by Asaṅga and Vasubandhu in great detail, without departing from the basic principles given in the scriptures above. On the basis of this treatise, the Jonaṅ order of Tibetan Buddhism developed an elaborate theory of the Buddha essence, connecting it to various Tantric ideas. In Tantrism as well, the Esoteric concept of the "indestructible drop" *(akṣayabindu)* as the basis of transmigration and Buddhahood and the life essence of a living being is extremely similar to the Buddha-essence doctrine. Philosophically, the Tibetans tended to the explanation given in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* that the *tathāgata-garbha* theory referred to selflessness in a manner soothing to those still unprepared for the more radical denial of self.

In East Asia, the notion of the *tathāgata-garbha* enjoyed great popularity. In a treatise attributed to the Indian Aśvaghoṣa, known in East Asia by the translated title *Dasheng qixin lun* (Awakening of faith in the Mahāyāna), the idealistic idea of mind as world-creator is wedded to the *tathāgata-garbha* doctrine to elevate the *tathāgata-garbha* to the status of a divine mind responsible for the creation of the world of transmigration as well as the attainment of liberation and enlightenment. The Chinese master Jing ying Huiyuan (523–592 CE) developed an elaborate idealistic *(vijñānavāda)* Buddhology on this basis. His theories were critiqued by the Centrist (Mādhyamika) master Jizang (549–623), who sought to avoid the theistic implications of doctrines such as Huiyuan's. Later systematizers such as Zhiyi of the Tiantai school, Fazang of the Huayen school, and many of the greatest Chan masters used the Buddha-essence doctrine in various ways, sometimes with an Idealist (Yogācāra) twist, at other times with a Centrist (Mādhyamika) twist. In modern East Asian Buddhism, the doctrine is again serving Buddhist popularizers and dialogists as a strategy for reassuring cultures where "soul" theories are traditional.

It is noteworthy that the English popularization "Buddha nature" comes from the East Asian writers, for the Chinese *hsing* can be read as "nature," whereas the Sanskrit *garbha, dhātu,* or *gotra* cannot be stretched without considerable effort from the meanings "essence," "element," or "gene," respectively, to that of "nature."

SEE ALSO Ālaya-vijñāna; Buddhist Philosophy; Nirvāṇa; Soul, article on Buddhist Concepts; Tathatā.

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TATHATĀ. According to the *Dasheng qixin lun* (The Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna), "suchness" (Skt., *tathatā* or *bhūtatathatā;* Chin., *chen-ju;* Tib., *de bźin nyid)* denotes the totality of reality in both its transcendental and phenomenal aspects. It establishes the oneness and unity of the absolute and relative spheres and expresses the totality of all things *(dharmadhātu).* Suchness is held to exist in all beings and thus to undergo no changes either in its perfect or defiled state: its nature remains uncreated and eternal. All events and things of *saṃsāra* (i.e., all *dharma*s) make their appearance in the form of individualizations or mental constructions as a consequence of the beginningless continuity of the subconscious memory *(smṛti)* of past experiences acquired during previous existences. It is through the elimination of all mental projections that the world construed in the mind *(citta)* ceases to make its appearances. When seen in this radically transformed way, all things in their essential nature escape and defy any explanation or description because they are free and beyond distinction, remain unchanged, and are characterized by their absolute sameness *(samatā),* which precludes any transformation, destruction, or distinction. Since they cannot be explained in any way, their verbal or conceptual descriptions must be regarded as mere representations; they do not denote realities. All things remain ever as they are; they are such *(tathā)* as they are, and it is their Suchness *(tathatā),* free of all attributes, that expresses the nature of their oneness and totality.

Suchness can only be understood through the inner realization that the true nature of existence does not manifest itself through dichotomous appearances: knower-known, subject-object, perceiver and perceived. The notion of Suchness embraces two aspects, the immutability, purity, and totality of all things, on the one hand, and the activities that evolve within *saṃsāra,* on the other. However, these two aspects of Suchness denote fundamentally one and the same reality. They cannot be considered as two separate entities; rather, they are simply representations of Suchness "operating," as it were, in its transcendental and phenomenal spheres. When equated with *śūnyatā* ("emptiness"), *tathatā* represents the absolute negation of all phenomena and their attributes. Thus, in its metaphysical aspect it has nothing in common with the conditioned and defiled world. It stands beyond and above the impurity and relativity of *saṃsāra.* Suchness remains free and undefiled; it cannot be comprehended precisely because it comprises within itself the totality of things and because its nature escapes conceptual categorization.

Saṃsāra, the sphere of defilement and imperfection, has no beginning but it can be brought to an end. Suchness, which is eternal, pure, and perfect by nature, is present in *saṃsāra* but it remains obscured by defilements. Yet while it is in the sphere of phenomenal existence that Suchness and *saṃsāra* coincide, they are neither identical nor distinct from one another. *Saṃsāra* makes its appearance as a chain of dependently originating phenomena issuing from the *tathāgata-garbha* ("womb of the Tathāgata"), which represents, as it were, the personified principle that stands between the absolute sphere, which is transcendent to human thought, and the relative sphere, which is pervaded by imperfections. When absolute reality becomes manifest in the relative world it projects itself as, or is called, the store-consciousness *(ālaya-vijñāna),* which contains within itself two opposite principles. One is the principle of nonenlightenment and the inclination to perpetuate the cycle of samsaric existences; the other is the principle of enlightenment, which represents the highest quality and state of mind, free of all subjectivity.

When it is devoid of all attributes and conceptual projections, the mind may be compared to space insofar as it is ubiquitous and constitutive of the unity of all things. This universally perfect mind, enlightenment itself, constitutes the *dharmakāya* ("Dharma body, Dharma essence") of all the Tathāgatas. The mind aware of its perfect and pure nature abides in the state of enlightenment, yet so long as it is restricted and obscured by ignorance it remains in the state of nonenlightenment. In other words, perfect enlightenment is embedded in phenomenal existence through the presence of *prajñā* ("transcendental wisdom") and through the law of retribution *(karman).* By perfecting and unveiling *prajñā,* and through the performance of meritorious acts, the element of enlightenment within the mind becomes purified and freed from karmic residues and wisdom becomes manifested in its fullness as the *dharmakāya.* The impurities and mental projections that obscure the mind in its nonenlightened state are produced under the influence of *avidyā* ("ignorance"). It is ignorance that induces the appearance of all mental constructs. When ignorance is subdued and eliminated it is merely the "reenlightened" wisdom that shines forth. Ignorance, although it is the cause of all mental states and projections that obscure the clarity of enlightenment, is nonetheless inherently present in enlightenment. Here again, the two are neither identical nor nonidentical. Just as waves are present on water stirred by the wind, so are mental projections stimulated by the "winds" of ignorance. Once ignorance is eliminated, the mental "waves" subside and the purity of the mind in its enlightenment-essence remains undisturbed.

The nature of perfect and timeless enlightenment is characterized as unattainable by any means within the relative sphere. When enlightenment is totally free of all hindrances *(kleśāvaraṇa* and *jñeyāvaraṇa)* and of the store-consciousness *(ālaya-vijñāna),* which becomes entangled in phenomenal events, it remains pure and immutable in its nature. Yet at the same time, this pure and unhindered enlightenment unfolds itself and becomes manifest as a *tathāgata* (i.e., a Buddha), or in some other form, in order to bring living beings to spiritual maturation. Pure and perfect enlightenment may be spoken of as being present and manifest in the phenomenal sphere precisely as nonenlightenment when, owing to the mind's ignorance, the true nature of Suchness is not fully perceived. In this sense, the state of non-enlightenment has no true existence of its own; it can only be considered in relation to perfect enlightenment, which, as nonenlightenment, is obscured by ignorance. Thus, perfect enlightenment, which remains unchanged and unimpeded at all times, is not really produced (it is ever present within all things) but rather becomes manifested through and within the defiled world that has evolved under the influence of ignorance. A full understanding of the Suchness of all things depends on the degree of the mind's purity and the mind's ability to perceive it. Ordinary people, overwhelmed by defilements and hindrances, do not perceive the nature and presence of Suchness. On the other hand, the Tathāgatas understand it perfectly.

All beings are innerly endowed with Suchness and with all the innate impulses necessary to eradicate imperfections and defilements and to pursue the path of moral activities. From the moment that beings give rise to the thought of enlightenment *(bodhicitta)* until the moment they attain Buddhahood they are protected and guided by the *bodhisattva*s and *tathāgata*s, who assume various manifestations in order to guide them along the path. Suchness, although variously described as the effulgence of wisdom, as true knowledge or pure mind, as tranquil, pure, eternal, and immutable, nevertheless remains free of all distinctions and attributes precisely because all things are of "a single taste," a single reality unaffected by any modes of particularization or dualism.

Sources of the *tathatā* theory include such canonical works as the *Laṇkāvatāra, Srīmālādevīsiṃhanāda,* and *Tathāgatagarbha Sūtra*s, and several other Mahāyāna works including the *Dasheng qixin lun.* The theory of *tathatā,* although present within the writings of both the Mādhyamika and (especially) Vijñānavāda schools, has never been represented by a separate tradition. It has nonetheless exercised influence on philosophical and religious speculation and was particularly and predominantly present in the latest phases of Buddhist writings known as the Tantras.

SEE ALSO Ālaya-vijñāna; Nirvāṇa; Prajñā; Soteriology; Śūnyam and Śūnyatā; Tathāgata-garbha.

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TADEUSZ SKORUPSKI (1987)
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TATTOOING See BODILY MARKS

TAUBES, JAKOB. Jakob Taubes was born in Vienna on February 25, 1923. In 1937, as a result of the appointment of his father, Zwi Taubes, as chief rabbi to Zürich, he moved to Switzerland and survived the Nazi persecution. In 1943 he became a rabbi. In 1947 he completed his studies in philosophy at Zürich and published *Abendländische Eschatologie* (Western Eschatology).

In 1948 he moved to the United States, where he married Susan Anima Feldman. He obtained a post at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, where he worked with Louis Finkelstein, S. Libermann, and Lewis L. Strauss. In 1949 he met Gershom Scholem (1897–1982). However, his association with Scholem was not successful: personal and theoretical reasons led to a quick breakdown in their relations.

He returned to the United States in 1953 and after being awarded a Rockefeller scholarship he spent the next two years at Harvard University. In the academic year 1955–1956 he taught at Princeton University. In 1956 he was a professor of history and philosophy of religion at New York's Columbia University, where he remained for ten years. He met Peter Szondi (1893–) and Theodor Adorno (1903–1969). In 1966 he was appointed as the chair of Jewish studies at the Freie Universität Berlin, a post that he held until 1979, when he took charge of the new Department of Hermeneutics. During this same period he taught at the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme in Paris. In Berlin Taubes became an icon of the student movement.

Along with Jürgen Habermas (1925–) and Dieter Heinrich (1927–), he was editor of the *Theorie* series of Suhrkamp. In 1983 the first of the three-volume *Religionstheorie und Politische Theologie* was published and dedicated to Carl Schmitt (1888–1985), whom Taubes had met in 1978 and with whom he had remained in touch. The history of this working relationship was the subject of his book *Gegenstrebige Fügung*. In 1987 the Heidelberg Seminar on the *Letters to the Romans* took place and was eventually published under the title *Die politische Theologie des Paulus*. After being ill on a number of occasions and spending time in nursing homes, he died on March 21, 1987.

Taubes's work was based on identifying a link between religion and politics. Beginning in the early 1980s he prepared work that would lead to the three-volume *Religionstheorie und Politische Theologie*, an endeavor that had actually begun in the 1950s when, after producing a work on political philosophy and theology, he published two studies (*Theology and Political Theory* and *On the Symbolic Order of Modern Democracy*), the product of a detailed study of Schmitt's works; or earlier when, in *Abendländische Eschatologie*, the only book published during his life, he attempted to return to the problem of political theology, the source of which he identified in the origins of Jewish theocracy. In this work, a year after the publication of *Lebendiges Judentum* (Living Judaism; the book by Zwi Taubes, in which the Zionist standpoint appears as the only means of escape for European Jewry), there is no reference to the *so'ha*; however, the whole work is based on the need to question the historical position reached without resorting to the solution proposed by his father. A forerunner of the debate that followed concerning modernity, despite being referred to by Karl Löwith (1897–1973) in *Meaning in History* (1949), *Abendländische Eschatologie* remained forgotten for a long time. The work is an attempt to examine the position in Western history of the need for fulfillment specific to apocalyptics. It is divided into four parts: the first identifies in Jewish apocalyptics and their Gnostic expression "the essence of eschatology"; the second is devoted to the "history of apocalyptics"; and the third and fourth volumes are concerned with its definition, first theologically and then philosophically, in modernity.

The history of philosophy and political theology are the two pivotal themes of his work and they find full expression in Paul's (c. 3–c. 66) Messianism. At first Taubes attempted to redefine the idea of Messianism in a different way from Scholem; thus, in the seminar on the *Letters to the Romans*, in an answer to the views of Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900), Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), Karl Barth (1886–1968), Schmitt, Walter Benjamin (1892–1940), and Scholem himself, he returns Paul to his Jewish roots, believing that Paul's antinomic Messianism, first of all, was the only way to attain the fulfillment of the original apocalyptic requirement of the end of history, without thereby resorting to a dualist Gnostic or Marcionite solution, and also that it represented the most appropriate way of dealing with the question of Law, either the Torah or the Nomos, which nonetheless found its most complete expression in Schmitt's concept of sovereignty. In short, through Paul, Taubes produces a detailed Messianic account of the two main problems of the postmodern age: the end of history and the end of sovereignty. In his opinion, following in the footsteps of Benjamin, Pauline Messianism produced an upheaval of political theology and a radical reconsideration of the history of philosophy.

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ELETTRA STIMILLI (2005)

TAULER, JOHANNES (c. 1300–1361), German Dominican and mystic. Born at Strasbourg, Tauler entered the convent of the Strasbourg Dominicans as a young man and was probably a student, and certainly a disciple, of Meister Eckhart. Living at a time of political upheaval, aggravated by the social excesses that came in the wake of the Black Death, Tauler was distinguished by a remarkable sobriety of language and thought, a refusal of extremism, and a profound understanding of human nature, which did not keep him from being a demanding spiritual guide. His surviving sermons, all in German, were preached to Dominican nuns, written down, copied, and sent to other convents eager for spiritual nourishment, then often in scarce supply.

Primarily a pedagogue and a "master of life," Tauler takes as his starting point a carefully defined conception of "man as being really like three men *(Menschen)*, though remaining one": the sensible man, with sensations, perceptions, imagination, action, and sensible will; the rational or intellectual man, capable of abstract thought, conceptualization, and deduction; and the higher, or interior and essential man, the "depth" *(Grund)* from which the spark emerges and in which the birth of God takes place.

The spiritual life starts with sensible devotion (images of the life, death, and resurrection of Christ) and a love that is felt strongly at the time of the first "conversion" of the heart, often with a degree of exaltation that approaches intoxication. But such devotion and love, though useful, remain "in nature," and there follows a lengthy period in which the person advances with difficulty, under the guidance of reason as it exercises discernment, often amid obscurity and aridity when reduced to its own powers and sustained by naked faith. If the person perseveres, this period brings a detachment that will do away with all obstacles to the unmediated encounter with God. In this process an experienced teacher is needed. If God wills it, the person will attain supernatural contemplation, a pure gift that cannot be merited.

In addition to Bernard of Clairvaux, William of Saint-Thierry, and Meister Eckhart, Tauler drew on Christian (Dionysius the Areopagite) and non-Christian (Proclus) Neoplatonism. Tauler exercised an extensive influence in the Germanic countries (as a young man, Luther read and reread him) and also—through Latin translations and complex channels—on Spanish and French spiritual writers.

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CLAIRE CHAMPOLLION (1987)
Translated from French by Matthew J. O'Connell

TAʿZIYAH, more fully known as *taʿziyah-khvānī* or *shabīh-khvānī,* is the Shīʿī passion play, performed mainly in Iran. The word itself is derived from the Arabic *ʿazāʾ,* "mourning," and the *taʿziyah* performance marks the death of Ḥusayn, the grandson of the prophet Muḥammad and the third imam of the Shīʿah, who was brutally murdered, along with the male members of his family and a group of followers, while he was contesting his hereditary right to the caliphate. The horrors of this hot and bloody scene, which took place on the plain of Karbala near the Euphrates on ʿĀshūrāʾ, the tenth day of the Muslim month of Muḥarram, in AH 61/680 CE, became the prototype of Shīʿī martyrdom.

Beginning in the middle of the tenth century, annual parades held in Baghdad during the month of Muḥarram vividly portrayed the fate of the martyrs, loudly lamented by attending crowds. When the Safavid monarch made Shiism the state religion of Iran in the sixteenth century, these demonstrations became highly elaborate, featuring men, on caparisoned horses and camels, acting the role of martyrs with bloody wounds and gruesome injuries. Floats were also constructed to depict the various events at Karbala, and the entire parade was accompanied by funerary music while bystanders wailed and beat their breasts. Contemporaneously, the lives, deeds, and sufferings of Ḥusayn and other Shīʿī martyrs were also treated in a book entitled *Rawḍat al-shuhadāʾ* (The Garden of the Martyrs), which in turn gave rise to readings called *rawz̤ah-khvānī*s, or "garden recitations" in Persian. It was from a combination of the Muḥarram parades and the *rawz̤ah-khvānī* that the *taʿziyah* drama emerged in the middle of the eighteenth century.

Nowadays, *taʿziyah* can be performed throughout the year, but originally it was staged only in the month of Muḥarram and the following month of Ṣafar. From the crossroads and public squares where they were first presented, *taʿziyah* performances soon moved to caravansaries and private houses, and then to a special type of theater called *takīyah* or *Ḥusaynīyah.* Over the next century and a half theaters of various sizes and constructions were built, reaching enormous proportions in the elaborate Takīyah Dawlat (State Theater) built by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in the 1870s.

In all these performance areas or playhouses the main action takes place on a raised circular or square platform around which the audience is seated on the ground, but the movement of the actors in and around the audience preserves the traditional interaction of performers and spectators in the Muḥarram celebrations. Audience participation is so intense that men and women weep and mourn as though the historical scenes before them were taking place in the immediate present.

The protagonists, dressed predominantly in green, sing their parts, while the villains, who wear red, speak their lines. Symbolic stage properties, such as a bowl of water to represent a river, are improvised according to need, particularly in the villages, where costumes are few. The director/producer is omnipresent on the stage as prompter, property man, and regulator of the actors, musicians, and viewers. Villagers and townsmen participate when professional actors are scarce, but troupes of actors travel from place to place, with men playing the women's roles. Parts are often passed from father to son in family groups: acting is a hereditary trade.

The Islamic Revolution of 1978–1979 utilized the Ḥusayn paradigm and was carried out in accordance with the Shīʿī calendar. The stationary rituals such as *taʿziyah* and the *rawz̤ah-khvānī* served as political rallies at which the assembled people were stimulated by speakers who mixed the Karbala mourning slogans with political ones. The digressions and the comparisons of the plight of Ḥusayn with the contemporary political, moral, and social situation have long been a tradition at these rituals and can evoke in the audience a particular social and religious climate which can move the audience to political action.

Taʿziyah reached its peak in Iran in the second half of the nineteenth century. In the 1960s and 1970s, because of overt westernization and other social and political factors, the performances, which had been an urban creation, retreated to the rural areas. The fate of this original theater form in the world of Islam is now uncertain. The Shīʿah of the Caucasus (part of Iran until the early nineteenth century) and of Iraq and southern Lebanon know it on a more limited scale. Innovative Western theater directors and producers are now very much interested in the *taʿziyah* as a means of breaking down the barriers that divide the audience from the actors in Western theater.

On the Indian subcontinent the name *taʿziyah* is given to a symbolic miniature reproduction of Ḥusayn's tomb as well as of the tombs of other Shīʿī martyrs. These *taʿziyah*s are not literal facsimiles of any particular tomb but imaginary recreations. Usually made of bamboo and/or sticks covered with colorful paper and papier-mâché, these structures resemble Indian architecture more than the architecture of Western Asia, where the original tombs were built. The *taʿziyah*s are carried in processions (during the months of Muḥarram and Ṣafar) and are housed in *imām-bārah*s and private houses, including those of Sunnī Muslims. They may be small enough for two men to carry or immense structures carried by many people. At the conclusion of the procession some of the *taʿziyah*s may be buried in a local "Karbala ground." Other models, known as *z̤arīḥ*s, are made of durable material, generally silver, and are not carried in processions or buried.

SEE ALSO ʿĀshūrāʾ; Rāwz̤ah-khvānī.

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PETER CHELKOWSKI (1987)

TEARS have always played important roles as symbols and signs in religious life around the world, yet they have only recently begun to attract significant scholarly interest. From the tears shed in love and longing for the absent Kṛṣṇa by the *gopis* (milk maidens) in Brindavin to those shed by Shiʿi Muslims during the annual remembrance of the martyrdom of al-Husayn; from the tears of compunction of Christian mystics to "the welcome of tears" of the Tapirapé people of central Brazil (in which friends literally bathe each other when meeting), tears are ubiquitous in the world's religions. A general overview of tears in the history of religions based on a general phenomenology of tears enables us to appreciate many of symbolic associations tears have had in diverse religious traditions, as well as their many uses in religious rituals. No attempt is made here to exhaust the diverse examples of ritualized tears in the history of religions. Instead, what follows is a brief discussion of some of the central functions tears, or the acts of weeping, crying, and lamentation, have served in religious ritual activities, as well as in narrative, pictorial, and dramatic representations.

THE PHENOMENOLOGICAL NATURE OF TEARS. Defined in physical terms, tears are a transparent saline liquid secreted from the lachrymal ducts around the eyes. The physiological functions of tears are to keep the cornea moist, wash away irritants from the eyes, and, with the antibacteriological agents they contain, fight infection of the eyes. It is not these physiological functions but rather the symbolic import of tears, the various meanings that people have attributed to them, and the diverse ways that tears have been ritualized that are important for the history of religions. In a pedantic sense, tears are a human universal, for all healthy persons have the ability to shed tears. Yet, in the study of tears in the history of religions, not all tears are identical; the meaning of specific tears is culturally and historically negotiated and renegotiated over time and space. The meaning attributed to specific tears depends upon a number of situational elements and specific sociocultural expectations. Local constructions of gender, class, age groupings, and occupational roles, for instance, can all affect the meaning of tears, as well as the value and appropriateness of specific acts of crying tears. For a supposedly dispassionate Buddhist monk, for instance, crying over a death might be considered inappropriate, whereas this would not bring any censure for a lay person.

The following basic phenomenological characteristics are worthy of note:

1. tears are a salty liquid;
2. tears flow from the eyes down the face;
3. tears are an extruded bodily product;
4. tears cross the bodily boundary of inside/outside;
5. tear-filled eyes produce blurred vision; and
6. tears are often, but not always, unwilled and uncontrolled.

Because they are liquid, tears often are associated with water, as well as with other bodily fluids such as blood and milk; because they flow downward, they are associated with streams, waterfalls, and rain; and because they are saline, sometimes they are associated with the sea or ocean. In this manner, tears are connected to broader symbolic complexes. Yet, it is difficult to imagine disembodied tears because of their immediate association with the human body and, more specifically, with the head and the body. Marcel Mauss (1872–1950), one of the leaders of the Durkheimian school of sociology, first pointed out that in societies and religions around the world, the human body is a primary site of symbolization and social control (Mauss, 1935, 1979). The human body as a whole, specific body parts (e.g., the head, arms, feet, stomach, genitals), body orifices, and bodily products often become religiously or ideologically overdetermined signs. That is, the names of body parts metaphorically come to refer to more than their physiological referents, while they also carry positive or negative connotations. As such, they are discursive sites of multiple, competing, and even contradictory ascriptions of meaning and valuations. In addition, the body is frequently a physical site of ritual work designed to transform it, enculturate it, or otherwise control it.

Tears are a bodily product that is extruded from the body, like blood, sweat, urine, feces, vomit, mucus, spittle, mother's milk, and seminal fluids. All of these are symbolically charged substances. However, the specific cultural and historical understanding of the human body as such, the differences posited among specific kinds of bodies, and the cultural valuations that are attached to specific body parts and bodily products all help to determine how these symbolically charged things are viewed (positively or negatively) and how they are related to each other. Less often noticed are the ways these and related social factors affect how the human body and its products are subjectively experienced by individuals.

Mary Douglas famously argued that "the body can stand for any bounded system. Its boundaries can represent any boundaries which are threatened and precarious" (Douglas, 1966, p. 115). As an extruded liquid, tears cross the bodily boundary of inside and outside. They flow from the realm of the invisible to that of the visible, and from the hidden or private sphere to the public sphere. As Arnold van Gennep noted many years ago, liminal states, sites, and activities, including the crossing of boundaries, are ambivalent and inherently dangerous (Van Gennep, 1960). When the boundary is bodily, issues of purity and pollution arise almost inevitably. Thus, in an important sense, tears are liminal; they move and exist betwixt and between two distinct states or spaces, and therefore they are "natural symbols" of transitions or passages. These passages may be spatial or temporal, or both. Not surprisingly, ritual tears are often shed at important rites of passage, such as weddings and funerals, as well as on more common occasions of parting or reunion.

The liminal nature of tears enables them to serve as a symbolic means of mediation between persons (living or dead), between an individual and society, between the inner world and the outer world, and so forth. In this sense, tears play an important sociopolitical function in mediating (and potentially transforming) power relations between humans, divine and human beings, and the dead and the living. In crossing the boundary of the body, bodily products have a transgressive potential that often makes them dangerous, polluting, or disgusting. The ancient Indian text *The Laws of Manu* includes tears in a long list of bodily products that are polluting. In many cultures blood becomes polluting when it flows outside a body (e.g., as menstrual flow), but in other instances—or, better, in the case of other bodies—blood may be said to have positive power, as in the ritual bleedings the Aztec and Mayan kings performed on themselves in order to reinvigorate the cosmos. Unlike most other bodily products, though, tears are usually considered to be polluting. Indeed, perhaps because of the function they play in washing the eyes, they are widely believed to be purifying and even to possess healing powers.

In many cases, instead of becoming a polluting substance by transgressing the boundary of the individual human body, tears function as a sign of a problem with the social body. Seemingly uncontrolled weeping produces a disheveled body, which itself symbolizes a disordered or chaotic social body. Thus, tears may imply that proper social boundaries have been transgressed, or that a desired interpersonal relationship has been ruptured. At the same time, tears can function as an invitation to the other party to repair a broken relationship, or as an appeal for rectification of a problem.

Another potential meaning of tears that is suggested by their crossing the bodily boundary of inside/outside bears mention: Tears may serve as a sign of ecstasy—an out-of-body state or psychosomatic experience. This is why tears are often associated with mystical experience in religions around the world, including Jewish Qabbalah, Christian mysticism, and Sufism. Alternatively, tears may be taken as a sign that a spirit or deity has entered a body and possessed it. In the religious services of Pentecostal Christians, for example, the descent of the Holy Spirit into the body of a believer is signaled by glossolalia (speaking in tongues), the loss of full consciousness, and frequently by copious tears flowing down the face. The absence of tears may also be a sign that a human body has been possessed. During the Spanish Inquisition in Europe, suspected witches were sometimes ordered to cry. Because the ability to cry tears was considered to be a mark of human nature, the inability to produce them on command signaled that a demonic nature inhabited the witch's body.

Healthy eyes bring light into the dark cavernous human body and the mind, providing crucial information about conditions in the exterior world. In the West, the eyes have long been called "windows to the soul." Although this metaphor is culturally specific, reflecting on the phenomenology of windows enables us to appreciate the symbolic associations drawn in the West between windows, eyes, and tears. A transparent window provides outsiders with visual access to an interior space, while simultaneously providing insiders with visual access to the exterior. As such, windows are a passive medium for visual activity across a boundary demarcating an interior and an exterior space. Eyes are like windows insofar as they, too provide visual access to both the interior and exterior of the human body. In sharp contrast, tears cross the bodily boundary of inside and outside in one direction only: Tears flow out of the eyes, not into them. The unidirectional nature of the flow of tears informs the widespread belief that tears carry information about the interior world of an individual (or, at times, of a group) out to the broader world. Tears are believed to be signs of interior and otherwise invisible states, most commonly affective or spiritual states. However, as noted earlier, the determination of the meaning of specific tears is also affected by the local religious and medical understanding of the body. For instance, in the Western humoral theory of the body, which held sway from the time of Galen in the second century CE until the Renaissance, tears were taken to be a symptom of the changing balance of the five humors in the body. Similarly, melancholy, which was characterized by uncontrollable bouts of crying, was considered to be the result of excess humidity in the body.

Unlike transparent windows and healthy eyes, which allow clear vision across boundaries, tearful eyes produce blurred vision. Phenomenologically, this blurred vision of the outside world suggests the blurring of boundaries and differences. Thus, ritual tears shed in mourning over a deceased person may blur the boundary between the dead and the living. Similarly, ritual tears may dissolve other spatial and temporal boundaries. The participants in the annual Shiʿi devotional rites of Muharram, for instance, weep in order to return to the time and the place of the martyrdom of al-Husayn at Karbala. Recalling this aspect of the phenomenology of tears also helps us to better understand the phrase "dissolve into tears." When an individual dissolves into tears, verbal speech is no longer possible, but the entire body "speaks." Collective weeping can produce a psychosomatic experience of communion.

Another aspect of the phenomenology of tears has long caused problems for students of religion. Tears are often seemingly spontaneous emotional responses to external stimuli or memories. When understood to be a spontaneous and unwilled affective response to joy, anger, frustration, and so on, crying appears to be a natural and universal human emotional response and therefore, precultural in nature. Although feelings or emotions have a subjective immediacy and reality, they have no observable or objective physical reality per se. Feelings have to be expressed—in a grimace, a smile, a frown, a cry, rolling of the eyes, and so on—in order to be communicated to others. Tears, though, are literally expressed in the sense that lachrymal fluid is squeezed out of the body. This characteristic allows actual tears to provide apparent objective evidence of subjective states and of otherwise hidden psychosomatic conditions.

The problem historians of religions faced was that ritualized weeping is clearly not spontaneous; it is choreographed. Ritual weepers, professional and nonprofessional as well, can often turn their tears on and off at will. Some Western scholars found this disconcerting; others found it to be confirmatory evidence of the presumed duplicitous and insincere nature of "primitives." Yet others, perhaps influenced by the Protestant suspicion of the "empty" rituals of the Roman Catholic Church, sought to distinguish between "real" tears and artificial or false ones. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown in his famous anthropological study *The Andaman Islanders* (1922) noted that there were two types of weeping: (1) weeping as a spontaneous expression of feeling; and (2) weeping as "required by custom." Following Durkheim's argument in *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1912), Radcliffe-Brown largely dissociated ritual weeping from individual emotions of grief, sadness, and so on. Functionalists followed Radcliffe-Brown in arguing that, rather than being provoked by a strong emotion such as grief, the tears shed in ritual contexts primarily served to evoke feelings of social solidarity. Here, too, they developed a claim made by Durkheim, who asserted that ritual weeping produced a collective sense of "effervescence" that helped to restore and strengthen proper social relations.

The functionalist interpretation of ritual weeping is not completely wrong; ritual tears serve multiple purposes, including creating a shared emotional state. However, insofar as this line of argument suggests that spontaneous tears are "real," whereas ritual tears are not, it is misleading. In effect, to distinguish true and false tears in this way is to universalize the Western bourgeois and Protestant privileging of the individual as the ultimate locus of value. Moreover, it prematurely forecloses serious inquiry into the distinct local discourses about tears and the body. Finally, to imply that "primitives" are hopelessly controlled by "custom" is to deny that they can willfully act for their own intents and purposes. It also ignores the ways in which people everywhere at times use the cultural expectations concerning emotional displays for specific purposes. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize that social and cultural "feeling rules" do inform ritualized weeping and other affective displays. Cultural capital is often gained by following such affective scripts, but we must also take account of those affective displays that challenge the status quo.

TEARS AS SUBSTANCE, SIGN, AND SYMBOL. Tears sometimes function as a powerful substance in religious ritual practices or in myths. That is, the actual physical tears themselves are believed to have specific powers. In the Middle East, for example, tears have been collected in tiny glass bottles for their healing qualities for thousands of years. Two examples illustrate how one aspect of the phenomenology of tears—their salinity—has been adapted to local ecological and agricultural conditions in symbolic form. During the annual dry season, as well as in periods of extended drought, the Aztecs performed rain rituals which incorporated sacrifice and ritual weeping. More than being mere expressions of grief, it was believed that the saline tears shed by participants produced rain by flowing down to the moist and rotting underworld where fresh water was trapped. Like the salt water of the sea, tears had the power to desiccate the land and to wither the crops. Just as Aztec agricultural practices required them to control and direct the salt water from the great Mexican basin in order to irrigate crops with fresh water, tears, too, were controlled and ritually directed. The ritual tears flowed down, causing the release and counter flow of fresh productive water from underworld springs.

These Aztec ritual tears recall those shed by Susano-o, a Japanese deity, in a myth recounted in the *Kojiki* (712 CE). Like the Aztec rituals, the Susano-o myth cycle is closely related to the local ecology, agricultural cycle, and irrigation practices. After the death of Izanami, the spouse of Susano-o's father, and her descent to the underworld, Susano-o was appointed to rule the realm of the ocean (a variant found in the *Nihon shoki* [720 CE] says the underworld). Susano-o, however, refused: "He wept and howled until his beard extended down over his chest for a length of eight hands. His weeping was so violent that it caused the verdant mountains to wither and all the rivers and waters to dry up" (Philippi, 1968, p. 72) Here, too, salty tears shed over the dead threaten to destroy the fertility of the land.

Although tears are sometimes powerful substances, more often they function as highly charged symbols and signs. As signs, ritual tears exaggerate human emotions and interpersonal relationships for dramatic effect. Mourning rites often include ritual weeping, with stylized performances of grief. Weeping here may be an expression of felt emotion, but it need not be. It may also help to create a sense of social solidarity, as Durkheim first suggested, but frequently ritual weeping publicly displays the social and moral status of the deceased and his or her family. One might say that in many cultures ritual tears are the measure of the man. The death of a great man (however that be defined) provokes intense and extensive weeping, whereas a dead man for whom few people weep risks being perceived to have been a "small" man in many ways. Similarly, weeping for the bride in marriage rites marks a rite of passage, a separation of a woman from her natal family, and her reincorporation into a new family. The sadness in parting may be real, but we must also note that the "worth" of a bride may also be measured in part by the depth of feelings of loss that are publicly displayed by relatives.

Ritualized tears also are used strategically or politically to "say" things by those who are powerless or who occupy a socially inferior position. In the ancient Near East, for example, a widow, orphan, or resident alien could get a hearing from the king by calling out to him, throwing herself prostrate before him, and crying. In II *Samuel* 14 is an example of this: Joab asks a woman to dress as a widow and approach King David to appeal for his mercy on Absalom. The ruse succeeds precisely because of the cultural expectation that a good king is one who protects the weak, the powerless, and the poor. Not to respond to the tearful pleas of a widow could open the king to whispered criticism and even his branding as a bad ruler. Significantly, in the Psalms and elsewhere King David himself reportedly shed copious tears of the same sort as this "widow"; that is, King David's ritual tears participated in the same cultural politics of affective display. However, in this case, when David wept and appealed to Yahweh, he effectively placed himself in the inferior and debased position relative to God, whereas he was in the superior position relative to the widow. In other words, insofar as God was imagined as a king writ large, even human kings had to appeal to Him through the same sort of stylized affective display.

Scholars have only begun to investigate the ritual display of emotions and, alternatively, the control of them. We will fully appreciate such rituals, and understand the rich multitude of literary and artistic representations of tears, only by carefully noting how specific aspects of the phenomenological nature of tears have been exploited, adopted, and adapted by specifically situated persons in their own efforts to create religious and moral worlds of meaning. Medieval Japanese poets often equated tears with the dew, employing the poetic conceit of "dew on [one's] sleeves," for instance, to suggest the tears shed by a sensitive person. Although the Japanese poets stressed the ephemeral nature of the dew and tears (and, by extension, human feelings), the evidence of the history of religions speaks to the ubiquitous presence of tears over time and space.

SEE ALSO Aztec Religion; Blood; Eye; Gennep, Arnold van; Head, article on Symbolism and Ritual Use; Human Body, article on Myths and Symbolism; Liminality; Mauss, Marcel; Rain; Rites of Passage; Water.

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GARY L. EBERSOLE (2005)

TECUMSEH (1768–1813) or Tecumtha ("Shooting Star," the celestial panther), a Kispoko Shawnee born near the Mad River in western Ohio, devoted his life to intertribal movements resisting American expansionism and its devastating effects on American Indian communities. Because he and his compatriots fought during a period when power shifted decisively toward the U.S. nation-state, historians have asserted that theirs was a lost cause. Of course during Tecumseh's lifetime no one could have known this. For many American Indians living in the interior, inter-tribal resistance not only made sense, it was a well-established political tradition energized by powerful spiritual and cultural values. This tradition influenced Tecumseh even as it enabled him to influence Indians from the Great Lakes to the Gulf Coast.

During the mid-eighteenth century, the Delaware prophet Neolin had called for a radical break with things European. Based on his visions, Neolin urged Native Americans to regain their independence, to wean themselves from the worst aspects of the fur trade, and to regain the old arts of self-sufficiency. He influenced Pontiac, leader of a massive anti-British uprising in 1762 that involved Anishinaabes, Ottawas, Potawatomis, Menominees, Hurons, Delawares, Shawnees, Senecas, Mesquakies, Kickapoos, Macoutens, Weas, Sauk, and Miamis.

This movement, like many that followed, had emerged in a context already strongly shaped by extensive contact and trade with Europeans. In these contact-zones, diverse peoples moved across and depended upon multi-dimensional networks of cross-cultural ties to engage in reciprocal forms of exchange. New kinds of political figures, alliance chiefs, helped mediate between non-hierarchical Native American villages and imperial authorities. Over time, political, material, and cultural hybridity became the norm, not the anomaly. Tensions and conflicts abounded, but Indians had an essential place in this dynamic world and, most important, could compel non-Natives to come to terms with them.

When this balance shifted, as European settlement expanded and the population of non-Natives soared, Native Americans faced a serious crisis. In region after region, the newcomers became less interested in Indian trade or showing reciprocity within hybridized "middle grounds," and far more interested in acquiring Indian land, through any means necessary. On the so-called frontier new forms of Indian-hating spread along with calls for the extermination of Native Americans. Relations, always tense, became polarized and racialized. Facing this new situation, American Indian prophets like Neolin called for religiously motivated resistance.

A few decades later and further into the interior, a Mohawk prophetess named Coocoochee inspired Native Americans of the Ohio and Great Lakes region to fight to rid their lands of the intrusive American presence. Indeed, on November 4, 1791, in western Ohio, Miamis, Shawnees, Delawares, Potawatomis, Ottawas, Chippewas, Wyandots, Mingos, and Cherokees defeated a large army led by General Arthur St. Clair. Tecumseh certainly learned about this remarkable Indian victory over the Americans.

During his twenties, Tecumseh participated actively in the Chickamaugan revolt in the Southeast. Like many Shawnees, Tecumseh had strong ties to the region. His mother was Creek and he had children with a Cherokee woman. The Chickamaugans comprised dissident Cherokees, Creeks, Shawnees, and ex-Tories. Disgusted with established tribal leaders and distressed by settler incursions onto Indian lands, they built new intertribal towns near the Tennessee River. In 1789, while fighting at their side in a Cumberland raid, Tecumseh saw his beloved older brother Cheeseekau (Pepquannakek, "Shawnee Warrior") killed. Subsequent setbacks brought an end to the Chickamauga revolt a few years later. The American opposition was simply too strong in the Southeast. The same was true in the Ohio country. In 1795 at the Treaty of Greenville, Shawnee leaders and others ceded about two-thirds of what is now Ohio to the Americans.

After 1795, in the Ohio country and in the Southeast, power continued to shift toward the Americans, but in an accelerated manner. During this period, the newly settled states of Kentucky (1792) and Tennessee (1796) acted like a great geopolitical wedge cutting into Indian country. On the one hand, this "wedge" acted as a barrier that made traditional intertribal diplomacy and exchange between northern and southern Indians more difficult and treacherous. On the other hand, Kentucky and Tennessee provided staging grounds for the next wave of invasion and settlement into regions that would eventually be known as the Old Northwest and Old Southwest. New cessions of tribal lands, north and south, chipped away at the remaining land base of interior Indians. By 1810, in the Old Northwest, settlers outnumbered Indians nearly four to one. As newcomers threatened to displace Indians and destroy all forms of reciprocal exchange (the so-called "middle ground"), a new prophetic movement emerged among the Shawnees. It was led by Tecumseh's younger brother Lalawethika (The Rattle).

Lalawethika (1775–1836) realized his own prophetic destiny in 1804 when he awakened from a trance. He had received a revelation directly from the Creator. This experience transformed Lalawethika. He stopped drinking and took a new name, Tenskwatawa, the Open Door. Echoing the messages of previous prophets, Tenskwatawa spoke against dependency, alcohol consumption, and land cessions, and in favor of intertribal solidarity, temperance, and reform. He disliked the fact that missionaries and other agents of American culture encouraged Native men to work in the fields growing food crops. In his eyes, only women tended domestic crops full time. Real men shed blood in the forest. Tenskwatawa charged several people among the Delawares with complicity with evil spirits. This witch-hunt led to the execution of several people, including two annuity chiefs, who had close ties to the Americans or Christian missionaries.

Other modes of internal reform were less violent, but also revealed tensions within tribal communities, between accommodationists and rebels, and between Native Americans and Americans. Tenskwatawa and Tecumseh organized an intertribal village first at Greenville (now in Ohio), then at Prophetstown on the Upper Wabash river (now Indiana). These towns attracted men and women from a dozen or so tribes, including Potawatomis, Ottawas, Ojibwas, Menominees, Winnebagos, Kickapoos, Sacs, and Foxes. Inevitably, this gathering, no matter how peaceful its intent, excited fear and mistrust among white authorities and the chiefs closely allied to them.

Tensions increased still further with the 1809 signing of the Treaty of Fort Wayne, which ceded more than 2.5 million acres of Indian land. The Delaware, Potawatomi, Miami, and other Indian leaders who signed were condemned by Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa. The lands in the western country were common property among all the tribes, and a sale was void unless made by all the Tribes. his brother concurred. Sounding an anti-colonial note that reflected increased racial consciousness, Tenskwatawa taught that whites were not created by God, but by a lesser spirit. Tenskwatawa and Tecumseh advocated Indian solidarity against the American invasion. As the War of 1812 approached, they also carefully considered allying with the British to gain military support. Eventually they did so, only to be gravely disappointed.

Tecumseh also sought support from southern tribes. In 1811, Tecumseh, accompanied by a Mequashake Shawnee prophet named Seekaboo, traveled among Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Creeks to promote pan-tribal cooperation and anti-American militancy. Their only success came among the Creeks, a strong nation increasingly vexed by trade debts, settler incursions, land cessions, internal class divisions, and meddling federal Indian agents. To show their solidarity with northern nations, rebel Creeks danced the Dance of the Indians of the Lakes. They also attacked leaders closely connected with U.S. government officials.

Within two years, the Creek anti-colonial movement attracted nine thousand participants, about half of the entire Creek nation. When a Creek civil war erupted between the rebel Redsticks and their accommodationist opponents, Americans in surrounding states and territories seized the conflict as an opportunity to invade Creek country, ostensibly in behalf of the "friendly" Indians. American armies and militias crushed the Redstick faction and, with the war's close in 1814, exacted huge land cessions from the entire Creek nation, friend and foe alike.

By then Tecumseh himself was dead, killed in the Battle of the Thames, near Moraviantown in Canada, on October 5, 1813. Two years earlier, as Tecumseh recruited support in the South, an army led by William Henry Harrison had destroyed Prophetstown. With these and other defeats, Tecumseh's and Tenskwatawa's movement ended.

In some ways, however, the comprehensive religio-political challenge that their movement embodied continued to trouble Americans. Among other things, Americans who wrote about this movement and its leading figures found it much easier and popular to divide in their representations what had been united in practice. In novels, plays, histories, and speeches, white writers split religion and politics, divorced passion from reason, contrasted Tenskwatawa with Tecumseh. They demonized the prophet, who continued to live for more than two decades after the war, as the font of all of kinds of irrational excesses, the one who foolishly led his followers into the disastrous Battle of Tippecanoe (November 7, 1811). And they mythologized his brother Tecumseh, now safely dead, as a romantic, but doomed, warrior who thought strategically and fought nobly, all for nought. In sum, white writers celebrated Tecumseh as a singular genius, though one handicapped by his brother's incompetence.

These simplistic stereotypes obscured the complex realities. In fact, some Native Americans in the South remembered Tecumseh as a prophet himself. And it is clear that he and Tenskwatawa both drew upon key ideas from previous intertribal resistance movements, movements that had fused prophetic teachings with political goals to rally Native communities facing new forms of domination. In other words, Tecumseh fought with everything he had to defend the cultural and political sovereignty of American Indians.

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TEHUELCHE RELIGION.

[*This entry discusses the religious system of the Aónikenk, or southern Tehuelche Indians.*] Known as the Aónikenk ("southerners"), the southern Tehuelche Indians inhabited the region of Argentine Patagonia, which extends east and west from the Atlantic Ocean to the foothills of the southern Andes and north and south from the Chubut River (43° south latitude) to the Strait of Magellan. The ethnographic data used in this essay come primarily from fieldwork done in the 1960s, when the surviving Aónikenk population was estimated to number about two hundred, although barely seventy were still speaking their own language, which is part of the Araucana-chon family.

Until their final biological, social, and cultural annihilation—due to pressures exerted by the Araucanian peoples to the north and to European conquest and colonization during the nineteenth century—they were nomadic hunters with set patterns of movement, encampments, and territories. Their displacements were subject to seasonal variations: summer hunting in the coastal region was accompanied by a certain social dispersion, whereas the western areas of Aónikenk territory were associated with more stable winter settlements and some degree of population concentration. The Aónikenk were subdivided into three groups, with a varying number of exogamous patrilineages; their residential pattern was patrilocal. There are numerous gaps in our knowledge of the religious system of the southern Tehuelche, but an imposing, if fragmentary, mythology stands out. By the time travelers began to be familiar with Aónikenk mythology, it had already begun to disintegrate, in part because it was forbidden to share it with outsiders.

COSMOLOGY. The mythic chronology speaks of four ages. The chaos of the first age is expressed in the image of a deep sea (the Flood?) or of a thick, wet darkness. During the second era, the high god—known variously as Weq.on ("truthful one"), Kooch ("heaven"), the Old One, and the Everlasting One, among other paraphrases—creates and gives order to the cosmic elements. Third is the epoch of Elal, the young god who shapes the earth, performs the ontological schism between undifferentiated and differentiated reality, and makes possible present-day human life with his ordering of technoeconomic, social, ritual, and ethical phenomena. His actions cover the end of the mythic era and mark the transition to the fourth age, the present one.

The cosmology describes the world as a system of four superimposed strata: the celestial sky, the atmospheric sky, the earth, and the subterranean region. The first is considered to be the highest, the second and third are rated ambiguously, and the last stratum is ranked the lowest. The cardinal points are rated similarly: the east is the best, the north and south are ambiguous, and the west is very bad.

RITUAL. No form of cult to the high god is recorded. The women possessed a repertory of sacred songs, dedicated to Elal and to Moon and Sun and their daughter, that were transmitted matrilineally. The canonical and reduplicated form of periodic exhortations given before hunting expeditions, which were uttered loudly by the chief of the local group, suggests the transformation of an ancient prayer addressed to Elal, inventor of hunting weapons and techniques.

Moon is the feminine deity who rules over periodic and alternating processes: menstruation, gestation, the life cycle, and the tides. During the new moon and eclipses, the members of the community would assemble behind their tents looking to the east; the women intoned the song of the deity and addressed prayers to her, begging her to "return to illuminate the world," to grant them health, longevity, and good luck.

The song to the daughter of Sun and Moon was included in a rite for regulating high tide. This rite is related to an episode of Elal's cycle that associates the tides with the daughter's animistic states. According to it the goddess was transformed into a siren; her excitement over the maternal apparition was linked to high tide during the first quarter of the moon, and her unhappiness during the last quarter to low tide. The life cycle was marked by rites of passage: birth, puberty initiation, marriage, and death were culturally meaningful milestones. The events of the life of Elal symbolically reflect these experiences, suggesting in both instances evolutionary stages of understanding, with special powers gained at each stage.

The ritually and mythically significant classification of colors is based on the white-red-black triad. The highest opposition sets up white and black as symbols of life and death (or concealment), respectively. Newborn babies were ritually painted white, while gravediggers (a strictly female role) were painted black. The lowest opposition, according to a hypothesis formulated by Carlos J. Gradin (1971, p. 113), contrasted the attraction of favorable aspects, denoted by white, with the rejection of the malefic, indicated by red; in contextual terms, however, the two colors complemented each other through their shared protective nature. Gradin's hypothesis reaffirms the sequence of colors used in therapeutic and funerary rites, where red accompanies the segregative phase, staving off the dangers entailed by impurity, and white accompanies the reincorporative phase, capturing the virtues to which a renewed condition allows one to aspire.

PANTHEON. The Aónikenk deities' spheres of activity and their relationships of complementarity and exclusion present a confusing panorama, which I will attempt to clarify. Elsewhere, I have noted processes of superimposition and transposition of attributes from the high god to other deities (Siffredi, 1969–1970, p. 247): for example, Elal possesses omnipotence and creativity as well as characteristics of a culture hero, while atmospheric phenomena are assigned to Karuten ("thunder"), a being of the atmospheric sky who is subordinated to Elal. The role of judge of the dead is assigned to the dyadic deity High God/Seecho; the high god judges how well the ethical ideal has been realized by the deceased, while Seecho, the "old woman" goddess, seconds his judgment. She admits to the afterworld—the eastern celestial sky—those among the dead who have tattoos on their left forearms (formerly such tattoos were the mark of initiates) and throws into the ocean those who lack tattoos. The belief that the dead were reunited with Elal and the high god in the eastern celestial sky, a land that knows neither penury nor illness, was well established. Elal moved definitively there after finishing his acts on earth, mounted on the swan goddess Kukn, the young goddess who assists Elal in many of the cycle's most important events.

The dyad Elal/Kukn displays a similar structure to that of the dyad High God/Seecho. The connection and hierarchical relationship between both dyads appears in the fact that the genesis and permanence of Elal's and Kukn's powers are ascribed to the high god. The secondary role and the spatial liminality of both feminine deities—expressed by their placement in the atmospheric sky—symbolically confirms the social dominance of men. The resulting tetrad, articulated along the criteria of age and sex (Old God/Old Goddess-Young God/Young Goddess), suggestively resembles the composition of Araucanian divine tetrads.

A similar coincidence between Tehuelche and Araucanian belief can be seen in a dualism that goes back to the primary confrontation between high, portrayed by the high god, and low, represented either by darkness *(tons)* or by the deep sea *(xóno);* high and low are the foundations of Order and Chaos. This dialectic extends over a vast semantic field in which roles, states, orientations, luminosity, numerical properties, zoological and color classifications, and behavioral and cognative qualities converge. One pole links the celestial deities, life, healing, shamans, the masculine, east, day, evenness, water birds, herbivores, white, red, temperance, and wisdom—all of which contrast with the chthonic beings, death, illness, witches, the feminine, west, night, oddness, carrion birds, carnivores, animals that live in dens, fish and sea mammals, black, intemperance, and ignorance.

MYTHOLOGY. The southern Tehuelche anthropogony includes motifs that relate to the differentiation of the human species and to the origin of copulation, marriage, and death. The beginning of Aónikenk people is accounted for in two ways. One is that Elal modeled male and female genitals out of clay into which he then blew the breath of life; another is that a role reversal between sea and land animals converted the former into the Aónikenk. Since land creatures were turned into marine fauna, the Aónikenk attribute the taboo on eating fish to this second mythical account.

The cosmogony recounts that the high god abandons his typical inactivity to begin the work of creation, which results from acts that are not always deliberate or conscious. One version of Aónikenk cosmogony contrasts the high god with *xóno,* the aquatic chaos that covered almost all primordial space except for a small piece of land in the valley of the Senguer River, in which the high god, little by little, grew larger. This region, the true "cosmic center," contains the palpable signs of divine action (i.e., certain topographical features) and is also the setting for the fabulous birth of Elal and for his acts on earth.

Manuel Llaras Samitier's versions of Aónikenk cosmogony (in Wilbert, 1984, pp. 17–18) contrast Kooch with *tons,* ubiquitous darkness. Saddened by his overwhelming solitude, Kooch's tears generate the "bitter sea" and his breath creates the wind that dispels darkness. The creation of Sun and Moon also plays a part in the darkness's attenuation. The amorous coupling and uncoupling of Sun and Moon evoke the rhythmic succession of darkness and light. Such images express the establishment of a temporal ordering by means of the alteration of day and night and of spatial ordering through the regulation of the cosmic elements: light, wind, and clouds.

THE CYCLE OF ELAL. Elal is the fruit of the union of antinomial conditions: his father, one of the chthonic monsters engendered by *tons,* devours his pregnant mother, one of the clouds created by Kooch. Elal's maternal grandmother rescues and raises the newborn Elal. Two testimonies enlivened the Aónikenk's memories: a bottomless spring, risen from the corpse of the Cloud, Elal's mother, marks the spot where Elal was born, appropriately called Beautiful Water. The red dawns observed from high vantage points reaffirmed for the Aónikenk this primordial shedding of blood.

Elal symbolically represents a mediation between heavenly and chthonic, the mythical and the present era, nature and culture. His quasi-earthly condition is in harmony with the formation of a world on a human scale. His mediation of the chthonic realm, for purposes of giving it order, is evident in the battles against cannibalistic giants, whose peculiarity lay in the vulnerability of their heels, a complementary and converse trait to that shown by the solar people, whose mouths operate as anuses. Elal's slaying of the ogres, beginning with his own father, culminates in their petrification. They can thus be observed by the Aónikenk in the immutable form of rocks or fossil remains.

The mediation of the high aspect is developed during Elal's celestial journey to the region of Sun and Moon, his future in-laws. The couple show their hostility by assigning him to perform deadly trials for a three-day period—not unlike the Aónikenk's shaman's apprentice, who was required to spend three days of initiation in caves—before giving him their daughter. Unlike other suitors, Elal is able to carry out all the trials with the help of Kukn, the swan goddess.

In sociological terms, Elal's unsuccessful marriage to the daughter of Sun expresses the risks of extreme exogamy. Conversely, the cycle's next episode, in which Elal's grandmother attempts to seduce him, highlights the Aónikenk's abomination of incest in that the grandmother is transformed into a mouse and condemned to live underground. The gravity and eschatological meaning of this is supported by one old Aónikenk woman's assertion: "My grandmother trod on the mouse whenever she saw it, because it was to blame for the departure of her powerful grandson, whom she had raised."

The transition between the mythical and present eras is understood as the passage from predifferentiated to clearly defined reality. The Aónikenk believed that the earth emerged from the unformed sea, which was forced to the east by Elal's unfailing arrows. Elal's comings and goings from west to east, resembling the Aónikenk's seasonal migrations, endowed their habitat with the contrasting topography of mountains, woods, plateaus, valleys, lakes, rivers, and islands. The image of an almost empty sky is opposed to that of one peopled with constellations representing earthly animals and objects, a tradition shared by many hunting peoples. Molded by Elal, the constellations constitute visible guides for human action.

The schism between animal, human, and divine natures is marked by the confinement of each to a defined sphere. Although there is room for mediation between these spheres through shamans and witches, easy communication disappears after the mythical era. A rock with the imprints of Sun's feet—probably a reference to the petrographs of the "footprint style" (2500 BCE) of southern Patagonian rupestrian art (Gradin, 1971, p. 114)—locates the site where Sun, exiled by Elal, was supposed to have helped himself up in order to climb to the sky.

Temporally, the homogeneity of the original, predifferentiated reality—eternal life, continuing winter, and the unformed sea—is contrasted with the periodicity and alternation suggested by the appearence of the driving forces of the cycle of death and reproduction, of seasonality (and each season's specific activities), and the movements of the tides. In ontological terms, the lack of differentiation between the many primordial beings and things—indicated by their shared humanoid condition—is set against the delineation of specific identities. On a sociological plane, the antisocial and incestuous nature—or the "meanness"—of the primordial humanoids is contrasted with human sociability based on the adequate sharing of goods, collaboration in hunting, sexual division of labor based on complementarity, prohibition of incest, and the exogamy of the local group. On an ethical plane, the formation of an Aónikenk ideal focused on courage, industriousness, tolerance, hospitality, respect for the property of others, and reserve in front of outsiders.

CONCLUSION. We are now witnessing the deplorable annihilation of this ethical ideal, extending throughout the southern Tehuelche religious system. Although in mythical terms the Aónikenk recognized the shock of the changes wrought by Europeans and their own consequent frustration, they did so merely by becoming aware of, and not by actively resolving, the conflict.

The absence of revivalist or revitalizing reactions would have been compensated for, at the very least, by mythical reflection on the meanings of alcoholism, of being deprived of their hunting lands, and of having to submit to foreign power. Incorporated as part of the cycle of Elal, the Aónikenk's great penury is reflected in the final impotence of the once-powerful deity. Thus one sees a religiosity that, since it is unable to form new relationships, is signaling the demise of its foundations as a rationale for cultural practice.

I hope in this article to have begun to fulfill, in at least a limited fashion, the mission entrusted by the last of the Aónikenk: that of revealing and spreading their "Word," which they knew would outlast their own lifetime and that of their gods, annihilated by history.

SEE ALSO Mapuche Religion.

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ALEJANDRA SIFFREDI (1987)
Translated from Spanish by Erica Meltzer
Revised Bibliography

TEILHARD DE CHARDIN, PIERRE. Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (1881–1955), a French Jesuit, was a distinguished scientist of human origins, a Christian mystic, and a prolific religious writer. Prohibited by his church from publishing any nonscientific works, his philosophical and theological writings were printed only after his death, though they circulated clandestinely before. His major opus, *Le Phénomène humain*, appeared in 1955 and was an immediate best-seller. The English translation, introduced by Julian Huxley, was titled *The Phenomenon of Man* (1959), later more accurately retranslated as *The Human Phenomenon* (1999). Throughout his life, Teilhard de Chardin reflected on the meaning of Christianity in the light of modern science, especially in relation to evolution. He was concerned with the social, cultural, and spiritual evolution of humankind, as well as the place of religion, spirituality, and mysticism in an increasingly global society marked by pluralism and convergence. Some of his thoughts parallel those of the Hindu evolutionary thinker Sri Aurobindo.

BIOGRAPHY. Born on May 1, 1881, in Sarcenat near Clermont-Ferrand, France, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin was the fourth of eleven children of an ancient aristocratic family of the Auvergne. His father was a gentleman farmer with scientific and literary interests; his mother was a great-grandniece of Voltaire. Brought up in a traditional Catholic milieu marked by a vibrant faith, Teilhard's pantheistic and mystical leanings were already evident in childhood. His devout mother shared his interest in mysticism, whereas his father encouraged the collection of fossils, stones, and other specimens, laying the foundations for his son's future scientific career.

After an excellent education at a Jesuit boarding school, Teilhard entered the Jesuit novitiate at the age of eighteen. Deeply torn between an equally passionate love for God and the natural world, he resolved his crisis of faith by realizing that the search for spiritual perfection could be combined with that for scientific understanding. When the Jesuits were exiled from France, he continued his theological studies at Hastings in the South of England (1902–1905; 1908–1912), where he was ordained in 1911. From 1905 to 1908 he taught physics and chemistry to mainly Muslim pupils at a Jesuit school in Cairo. There he first discovered his great attraction to the desert and the East, leading him later to write with great lyrical beauty about cosmic and mystical life, culminating in his spiritual classics "Mass on the World" (1923) and *The Divine Milieu* (1927).

Henri Bergson's *Creative Evolution* (1907), which saw the world immersed in an immense stream of evolutionary creation, revealed to Teilhard the meaning of evolution for the Christian faith. Overflowing with the presence of the divine, the living world was experienced by Teilhard as an all-encompassing cosmic, mystical, and "divine milieu." These deeply mystical experiences were followed by scientific studies in Paris, interrupted by World War I, during which Teilhard served as a stretcher-bearer in a North African regiment at the Western Front. Living through the fiercest battles, miraculously never wounded, he found himself part of a pluralistic "human milieu," which led him to speculate about the growing oneness of humanity. These reflections grew later into the new idea of the "noosphere" (sphere of mind), an immense web of inter-thinking and interaction that connects people around the globe, hailing a new stage in human evolution. Almost daily encounters with death moved Teilhard to leave an "intellectual testament," communicating his vision of the world, which in spite of its turmoil he saw as animated by and drawn towards God. He began to write a series of stirring essays, published posthumously as *Writings in Time of War* (1968). Little known, these were seminal for his later work and provide one of the best introductions to his thought.

Teilhard completed his studies in geology and paleontology after the war. Following the brilliant defense of his doctorate in 1922, he was elected president of the French Geological Society and appointed to the chair in geology at the Institut Catholique in Paris, where he could publicly expound his ideas about evolution and Christianity. This soon led to difficulties with his church, which continued throughout his life. Because of these difficulties, he was glad to join a fossil expedition in China in 1923, where he traversed much of the Mongolian Desert. China soon became a place of almost permanent exile, and he spent most of his scientific career there (1926–1946) after his license to teach at the Institut Catholique was revoked in 1925 as a result of a paper he wrote on evolution and original sin. Teilhard first worked with Jesuit fellow scientists in Tianjin, and he then became a member of the Chinese Geological Survey in Beijing, where he collaborated in the discovery of the skull of the 200,000-year-old Peking Man at Zhoukoudian. His scientific work brought him into contact with leading paleontologists of his time and involved numerous expeditions across Asia, including trips to India, Indonesia, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, and Japan, as well as regular travels between East and West.

The unforgettable experience of World War I was followed by the equally formative discovery of the vast continent of Asia with its variety of peoples and cultures. Many of Teilhard's essays were written in China, as were his two main books, a practical treatise on spirituality, *The Divine Milieu*, and his best known, though most difficult work, *The Human Phenomenon*, which he wrote from 1938 to 1940. Teilhard met some of his best friends in China among American and European scientific colleagues; he also first encountered the American sculptor Lucile Swan in Beijing, with whom he formed a deep, intimate friendship that lasted until the end of his life.

Teilhard returned to Paris after World War II and attracted a considerable following for his ideas. In 1948 he was invited as a candidate for the chair of paleontology at the Collège de France, but fearing further difficulties with the Vatican, his order refused permission. Not being allowed to lecture in public or publish his writings, he accepted a research post at the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research in New York in 1951, and made two trips to fossil sites in South Africa. Lonely and suffering, he spent the last years of his life mostly in New York, where he died in 1955 on Easter Sunday (April 10), as had been his wish. He is buried in the Jesuit cemetery at Saint Andrews on the Hudson.

The posthumous publication of his works raised much interest and controversy due to the exploratory nature, complexity, and unfamiliar terminology of his new ideas, but also due to the challenge of his unifying global vision. Although harshly dealt with by church authorities, Teilhard gained loyal support from several members of his order, especially Henri de Lubac and René d'Ouince, his longtime superior, who described him as "a prophet on trial" in the church of his time.

THE HUMAN BEING, THE WORLD, AND GOD. Teilhard's method is based on a particular kind of phenomenology, different from that of other disciplines. It emphasizes the study of all phenomena by relating outer to inner "seeing." Such seeing involves the correlation of scientific knowledge of the outer world with a unifying inner vision, whereby the world is seen as held together by "Spirit." This holistic approach leads to a profound transformation of the seeing person and the world as seen, for seeing more implies being more.

Teilhard's thought is profoundly ecological—he saw human beings as an integral part of cosmos and nature, humankind as part of life, and life as part of the universe. In this dynamic and organic perspective the human being is not a static center, but "the axis and leading shoot of evolution." The rise of evolution is an immense movement through time, from the development of the atom to the molecule and cell, to different forms of life, to human beings with their great diversity. This evolutionary rise toward greater complexity leads in turn to a greater "within" of things, an increase in consciousness and reflection. The idea of greater interiority emerging within more complex organic structures is described as the "law of complexity-consciousness," sometimes called "Teilhardian law," and it is recognized as one of Teilhard's master ideas.

Cosmic, human, and divine dimensions are closely interwoven. Each is involved in a process of becoming, or genesis, and all are centered in Christ. Whereas *cosmogenesis* refers to the birth of the cosmos, *anthropogenesis* and *noogenesis* refer specifically to the emergence of human beings and the birth of thought. These are closely studied by modern science, whereas *Christogenesis*, or the birth of God in Christ as an event of cosmic significance, can be seen only through the eyes of faith. Cosmic and human evolution are moving onward to a fuller disclosure of Spirit, culminating in "Christ-Omega." The outcome of this forward and upward process cannot be taken for granted but involves human responsibility and co-creativity. For this reason, Teilhard was much concerned with moral and ethical choices, with the hope and energy needed for creating the right future for humanity and the planet, as expressed in *The Future of Man* (1964). Working for the future and helping in "building the earth" is an important educational task that entails a change of mind and heart in people. Teilhard inquired into the resources of spiritual energy needed to create a better quality of life, greater human integration, and a more peaceful and just world. Although there are thousands of engineers calculating the material energy reserves of the planet, Teilhard inquired about "technicians of the Spirit" who can supply the necessary spiritual energy to sustain the life of individuals and the entire human community.

Here, the spiritual heritage of world faiths and philosophies is most important, providing some of the most valuable spiritual energy resources. Human beings are responsible for their further self-evolution and a greater unification of the human community, but these goals need ultimately spiritual, rather than merely material, resources, and the greatest of these spiritual resources is love. The noosphere as a sphere of thought—surrounding the globe like the atmosphere as a layer of air or the biosphere as layer of life—can also be interpreted as an active sphere of love through which greater bonds of unity, of "amorization," are created between human beings. Teilhard was convinced that people must study the phenomenon of love as the most sacred spiritual energy resource in the same way that they study all other phenomena in the world. Love is so central in his thinking that Teilhard's entire corpus can be interpreted as a metaphysic of love. Yet he also called for a rigorously scientific approach to the energies of love, just as the sociologist Pitirim Sorokin proposed a scientific analysis of the production of "love-energy" in the human community, so necessary for its self-transformation.

Teilhard's dynamic understanding of God is sometimes compared to that of process philosophy and is best described as panentheism. His deeply mystical approach to God is expressed in his spiritual writings, such as *The Divine Milieu* and *The Heart of Matter* (1978). It centers above all in the person of Christ, whom Teilhard experienced as a cosmic and universal reality. He spoke of the "three natures" of Christ: human, divine, and cosmic. His numerous reflections on the universal, cosmic Christ contain important suggestions for a new Christology, never systematically developed. Teilhard spoke of the ever-present, ever-greater Christ, expressing a strongly Christocentric vision of faith that was grounded in a pan-Christic mysticism. As he often used the image of fire and heart, drawn from the Bible and the Christian mystics, Teilhard's spirituality can also be described as a fire-and-heart mysticism, at once profoundly modern and ancient. In its affirmation of the world as God's creation, it belongs to the kataphatic rather than apophatic type of Christian mysticism, expressing a strong affinity with contemporary creation spirituality.

Mircea Eliade saw Teilhard de Chardin's specific genius in celebrating the sacredness of the cosmos. However, the cosmos cannot be seen in isolation from the social and spiritual bonds of humanity, animated by the powers of all-transforming love and seeking a higher form of union. Scattered across Teilhard's writings exists a general theory about religion as the driving force in human evolution. Central to the phenomenon of religion and spirituality is the phenomenon of mysticism, experienced in a variety of forms across different religious traditions and culminating in a mysticism of love and action.

Teilhard's vision of the world represents a unique blend of science, religion, and mysticism. Central to it are the ideas of the noosphere and the divine milieu—the first belonging more to a secular context, the second to a deeply religious context—as well as ideas about spiritual energy, and the transformative powers of love. The essayistic, fragmentary nature of Teilhard's work, with its profusion of ideas and fluidity of language, marks him more as a postmodern than a traditional thinker. Insufficiently well known, and often cited out of context, his work contains challenging reflections on God, the world, humanity, science and religion, ecological responsibilities, interfaith encounter, and the convergence of religions. Teilhard's work also explores a greater unification, or "planetization," of humanity; the place of the feminine and love in creating greater unity; and the central importance of spirituality and mysticism. Some of his thoughts are insufficiently developed and opaquely expressed; others must be criticized for certain elements of exclusiveness and Eurocentrism. Yet his ideas are said to have influenced the founding debates of the United Nations, several documents of the Second Vatican Council, Christian-Marxist dialogue, discussions on futurology, and discussions concerning the World Wide Web, whose patron he is sometimes said to be. Others have called Teilhard a New Age prophet, yet such a description ignores the profoundly Christian core of his vision.

Teilhard's mysticism of action is directed towards the creative transformation of the outer and inner world, and it is based on the deepest communion with God, intimately present throughout creation. Teilhard's powerful affirmation of the incarnation and his brilliant vision of the universal, cosmic Christ within an evolutionary perspective provide inspiring ideas for a reinterpretation of the Christian faith in the modern world, governed by an ongoing scientific and spiritual quest. Theologians will be interested in his understanding of God, Christ, and creation; scholars of religion will gain from his reflections on the place of religion, especially mysticism, in human evolution; and scientists are attracted to the newly emerging possibilities of the noosphere and the as yet unexplored energies of love for achieving profound personal and social transformation.

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URSULA KING (2005)

TEKAKWITHA, KATERI (c. 1656–1680), native American convert to Christianity. Tekakwitha was born in the Iroquoian town of Gandahouhague, near present-day Fonda, New York. Her father was Mohawk, and her mother Algonquin, a captive adopted into the Turtle clan after a raid. When she was four years old Tekakwitha survived an attack of smallpox that killed her immediate family. The disease weakened her eyesight, and she afterward exhibited a general tendency to withdraw from social contact. By 1667, when Tekakwitha first encountered Jesuit missionaries, she was already inclined to a way of life that Christianity sanctioned. Indian townspeople exerted strong pressure to make her conform to native ways, but she persisted in her new interest. This determination culminated on Easter Day, 1676, when she was baptized by Jacques de Lamberville, S.J. The following year, local opposition to her Catholicism mounted, and she fled the region to take refuge with other Catholic Indians living along the Saint Lawrence River in Upper Canada.

Tekakwitha settled at Caughnawaga, or La Prairie de la Madeleing, an intertribal village of Christian Indians bound together more by religious allegiance than by tribal heritage. There she quickly established a reputation for austere self-denial and pious virtue. From her First Communion at Christmas 1677, until her death less than three years later, the maiden impressed all about her with her modest fervor and ardent prayers. Beset with a frail constitution, she worked as best she could in village gardens, fasted two days per week, administered flagellations, and kept a private vow of chastity. In 1678 she began a quasi-convent patterned after the Hospital Sisters of Montreal, but such rigors hastened her own end. Her death enhanced local stories about her exemplary conduct, and Indian as well as French neighbors made a shrine of her gravesite. Many were inspired by her extraordinary life, and in 1932 she was nominated for sainthood. On October 22, 1980, John Paul II pronounced her blessed, thus acknowledging her as an example of Catholic piety in colonial New France.

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TEKHINES. Tekhines, a Yiddish word from the Hebrew *Teḥinnot,* "supplications," are Jewish private devotions and paraliturgical prayers in Yiddish written by both women and men but recited primarily by women. As texts in the vernacular, tekhines are important sources for the history of popular Judaism in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, and they are particularly useful in studying the history of women's religion.

Most Jewish men of the period attained basic literacy in Hebrew, and a few elite went on to full mastery of the classic literary tradition. Only a small number of women, however, learned more than the rudiments of Hebrew, and those central and eastern European Jewish women who could read usually were literate only in the vernacular Yiddish. Jewish liturgy and other devotional and scholarly works were written by men and were almost always in Hebrew, making them inaccessible to most women. Furthermore because women were excluded from most areas of public religious leadership and participation (they could not serve as rabbis, cantors, judges, or advanced teachers and did not count in a quorum for public prayer), they left behind a scant literary legacy. Tekhines therefore, as an enormously popular devotional genre, allows scholars a valuable window into women's religious lives.

In books of tekhines each individual prayer begins with a heading that describes when and sometimes how it should be recited: "A pretty tekhine to say on the Sabbath with great devotion"; "A tekhine that the woman should pray for herself and her husband and children"; "A confession to say with devotion, not too quickly; it is good for the soul"; "When she comes out of the ritual bath"; "What one says on the Eve of Yom Kippur in the cemetery"; "When the shofar is blown on Rosh Hashanah, say this." Scholars are divided as to whether these prayers were meant for women as a substitute for the Hebrew liturgy or as a supplement, recited as occasional and voluntary prayers. Although some tekhines were intended to be recited in the synagogue and a few were written for male worshippers ("A lovely prayer for good livelihood to be said every day by a business man"), the majority were associated with women's spiritual lives in the home: prayers to be recited privately on each day of the week and on Sabbaths, festivals, fasts, and new moons; for the three so-called "women's commandments" (namely lighting Sabbath candles, removing a small portion of bread dough with a prayer recalling the priestly tithes in the ancient Temple in Jerusalem, and observing menstrual avoidances and purification); for pregnancy and childbirth; for visiting the cemetery; for private grief such as childlessness and widowhood; for recovery from illness; for sustenance and livelihood; and for confession of sins. Tekhines framed women's domestic lives and roles as sacred, and they also connected them with the grander themes of Jewish thought, especially the hope for the messianic redemption and the end of exile.

BACKGROUND. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries new rituals and genres of religious literature emerged whose audience was a sort of intellectual middle class. This development parallels the emergence of similar literature in Christian Europe, enabled in part by the rise of publishing after the invention of the printing press. Guides to the ethical life, books of pious practices, and new liturgies and rituals, often in abridged and simplified form, were published both in Hebrew, for an audience of men with a basic education in classical Jewish texts, and in Yiddish, the vernacular, for women and nonscholarly men. Many of these new publications (including the Hebrew *teḥinnot,* or supplemental prayers for men) developed out of and popularized a mystical pietism that had originated among the sixteenth-century qabbalists of Safed in Palestine. Tekhines allowed women to participate in this pietistic revival and its popular literature. By contrast, however, tekhines published in the eighteenth and nineteenth century show little evidence of influence from Hasidism, the great eastern European Jewish religious revival movement that originated in the mid–eighteenth century.

HISTORY OF THE GENRE. Although there are some handwritten tekhines, most of them were professionally printed. The earliest versions—a few small, anonymous collections—appeared in the late sixteenth century in Prague. Two main groups of tekhines exist, however: those that were printed in western Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which, although published anonymously, were probably written or compiled by men for women, and those that appeared in eastern Europe in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries, often with named authors, some of which were written or compiled by women.

Most western European tekhines were published in collections addressing many topics, either in small books or as appendices to Hebrew prayer books. The first major collection (containing thirty-six prayers), titled simply *Tekhines,* was published in Amsterdam in 1648; reprints, expansions, and additional collections followed. In the mid–eighteenth century a comprehensive collection containing 123 prayers emerged, titled *Seyder tkhines u-vakoshes* (Order of supplications and petitions, 1762), although there may be one or two earlier editions. This tekhine was reprinted many times, with alterations, over the next 150 years, first in western and later in eastern Europe. The western European texts not only depict the holiness to be found in the domestic and mundane activities of a wife and mother, but they also describe for women the angels, the patriarchs, the heroes of Jewish history, and the ancient Temple that stood in Jerusalem.

The earliest eastern European tekhines were published in Prague. *Eyn Gor Sheyne Tkhine* (A very beautiful tekhine, c. 1600) is one of the first to claim female authorship: it is attributed to "a group of pious women." Two other Prague imprints, one from the beginning of the eighteenth century and the other from 1705, are also attributed to women: Rachel, daughter of Mordecai Sofer of Pinczow, and Beila, daughter of Ber Horowitz. Like many other eastern European texts, all three of these Prague tekhines were quite short, and each of them dealt with a single subject, such as a tekhine "to be recited with devotion every day." One notable work, however, *Seyder Tkhines* (Prague, 1718), was written by a man—Matthias ben Meir, the former rabbi of Sobota, Slovakia—explicitly for a female audience. "My dear women," he writes, ". . . I have made this tekhine for you in Yiddish, in order to honor God and . . . to honor all the pious women. For there are many women who would gladly awaken their hearts by saying many tkhines." This work contains thirty-five prayers addressing a variety of topics.

Except for the Prague imprints, the eastern European tekhines were usually small pamphlets printed on bad paper with crabbed type, often with no imprint, making their bibliographic history difficult to trace. Books of tekhines originating in eighteenth-century eastern Europe, especially in Galicia, Volhynia, and Podolia (now parts of Poland, Belarus, and the Ukraine), tended to deal with a smaller number of subjects (such as the high holidays and the penitential season), were often written by a single author, and were usually fewer than twenty pages. Because a significant number of these authors were women, these texts capture women's voices directly. Important examples include: *Tkhine imohes* (Tekhine of the [biblical] matriarchs), for the Sabbath before the new moon, by Leah Horowitz (eighteenth century), which argues for the power of women's prayer and quotes from rabbinic and qabbalistic sources; *Tkhine imohes fun rosh khoydesh elul* (Tekhine of the matriarchs for the new moon of Elul [and the entire penitential season], n.d.) by Serl, daughter of Jacob ben Wolf Kranz (the famed Preacher of Dubno, 1741–1804), which calls on the four biblical matriarchs (Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, and Leah) to come to the aid of the worshipper and plead her case before the heavenly court; and *Shloyshe sheorim* (The three gates), attributed to the legendary Sarah bas Tovim (who probably lived in Podolia in the eighteenth century), which contains three sections: one for the three "women's commandments," one for the high holidays, and one for the Sabbath before the new moon. In contrast to the western European texts, some eastern European tekhines suggest that women should take part—in some fashion—in such traditionally male activities as synagogue prayer and Torah study.

By the mid–nineteenth century the genre had undergone significant changes. Jews in central and western Europe had largely abandoned Yiddish; books comparable to tekhines were published first in Germanized Yiddish, then in German in Yiddish characters, and finally in German. These texts expressed an entirely new sensibility, however, influenced by the rising ideal of the bourgeois family, with its stress on sentiment and emotional family ties and its new definition of gender roles. Similarly in eastern Europe the ideal of the bourgeois family came into play but in a rather different fashion. *Maskilim*, "enlighteners," or men who wished to reform eastern European Jewish life, wrote tekhines to reach the "benighted" traditional women with their reform program. Unlike earlier tekhine authors, female or male, they scorned their audience and the genre. Often because they thought they could sell more books, they attributed their works to female authors, either those who had actually written tekhines a century earlier or to creations of their own imagination. (Because the maskilic practice of using female pseudonyms was well known, earlier scholars were skeptical of any attributions to female authorship. Many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century women authors have been authenticated, however.) In addition to these newer maskilic tekhines, older texts and collections—both those that were originally published in western Europe and those printed in eastern Europe—continued to be reprinted in eastern Europe in numerous editions, although they are often revised or garbled by the printers.

SIGNIFICANCE. The tekhines reveal a whole world of women's religious lives, concerns, customs, and settings for prayer. These texts are deeply spiritual, no less than the complex and esoteric works produced by qabbalists and Hasidic masters. The women (and men) who composed these prayers for women addressed the spiritual issues of their day, whether on the level of domestic piety or national redemption. The tekhines themselves are at home in the literature produced for the intellectual middle class of this period; they fit well among the guides to the upright life, books of customs, condensed guides to pious practices, and digests of mystical teachings that were read by householders and artisans. Indeed the tekhines show how much women belonged to this intellectual and spiritual world. Finally, the tekhines provide worshipers with a direct experience of passionately emotional individual prayer that is mostly absent from the more collective and formalized male worship experience.

MODERN DEVELOPMENTS. As the use of Yiddish declined among emigrants from eastern Europe in the late nineteenth century and the twentieth century and the Yiddish-speaking heartland was destroyed by the Holocaust, the genre of tekhines nearly disappeared, except among Hasidim and other isolated traditional, Yiddish-speaking populations. After the 1980s, however, the tekhines aroused new interest among both scholars and members of the Jewish public. Jewish women in particular have sought to find a usable past in which to root themselves. Orthodox women have turned to the traditional tekhines as a direct expression of their predecessors' spirituality. This movement has occurred despite the fact that, unlike their European ancestors, many young Orthodox women in the United States in the early twenty-first century are well-educated in the Hebrew prayer book and classical sources in Hebrew and may not speak or read Yiddish at all. Liberal Jewish feminists have also sought role models in the historical tekhines uncovered by scholars, and many of them have also written and published new tekhines, some of which have been incorporated into new editions of Conservative and Reconstructionist prayer books.

SEE ALSO Gender and Religion, article on Gender and Judaism; Judaism, articles on Judaism in Northern and Eastern Europe to 1500 and Judaism in Northern and Eastern Europe since 1500; Liturgy.

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CHAVA WEISSLER (2005)

TEKKE SEE KHĀNAQGĀH

TELEVISION SEE RELIGIOUS BROADCASTING

TEMPLE

This entry consists of the following articles:

HINDU TEMPLES
BUDDHIST TEMPLE COMPOUNDS IN SOUTH ASIA
BUDDHIST TEMPLE COMPOUNDS IN EAST ASIA
BUDDHIST TEMPLE COMPOUNDS IN TIBET
BUDDHIST TEMPLE COMPOUNDS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA
DAOIST TEMPLE COMPOUNDS
CONFUCIAN TEMPLE COMPOUNDS
ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN AND MEDITERRANEAN TEMPLES
MESOAMERICAN TEMPLES

TEMPLE: HINDU TEMPLES

"The Indian temple, an exuberant growth of seemingly haphazard and numberless forms," wrote Stella Kramrisch in 1922, "never loses control over its extravagant wealth. Their organic structure is neither derived from any example seen in nature, nor does it merely do justice to aesthetic consideration, but it visualizes the cosmic force which creates innumerable forms, and these are one whole, and without the least of them the universal harmony would lack completeness" ("The Expressiveness of Indian Art," *Journal of the Department of Letters*, University of Calcutta, 9, 1923, p. 67). This intuitive understanding of the temple's structure and significance has been fleshed out and confirmed by Kramrisch and others in the years since those words were penned.

AXIS, ALTAR, AND ENCLOSURE. Hindu temples are built to shelter images that focus worship; they also shelter the worshiper and provide space for a controlled ritual. Between the fifth and the fifteenth century CE, Hindu worshipers constructed stone temples throughout India, but sacred enclosures of another sort had been built centuries before. Tree shrines and similar structures that enclose an object for worship (tree, snake, *liṅga*, pillar, standing *yakṣa*, all marked by a vertical axis) within a square railing, or later within more complicated hypaethral structures, have been illustrated in narrative relief-sculptures from the first few centuries BCE and CE. Whatever the variations, these structures mark a nodal point of manifestation, as does Viṣṇu in reliefs from the fifth century CE that show him lying on the cosmic ocean, with a lotus that springs from his navel supporting Brahmā, who proceeds to generate the universe.

In creation myths and in the imagery of the lotus, as in the structure of Mauryan monolithic pillars (from the third century BCE), the cosmic axis separates heaven from the waters. Creation flows from this nodal point toward the cardinal directions, producing a universe that is square, marked by the railing-enclosure of these early shrines, by the *harmikā* (upper platform) of the Buddhist stupa, and by the edges of the brick altar used for sacrifice. The *Āpastamba Śulbasūtra*, a text probably of the fourth century BCE, comments that "though all the earth is *vedi* [altar], yet selecting a particular part of it and measuring it they should perform the *yajña* ['sacrifice'] there" (6.2.4). The identity of the altar and the entirety of creation is thus established quite early, and this configuration of vertical axis, square altar, and enclosure persists in Indian architecture to demonstrate the participation of each monument in the cosmogonic process.

DIAGRAM OF CONSTRUCTION. The Vāstupuruṣa Maṇḍala—the square diagram on which the altar, temples, houses, palaces, and cities are founded—also outlines creation (see figure 1). The myth of the *vāstupuruṣa* portrays the first sacrifice, in which a demon is flayed and his skin held down by divinities who ring the diagram (*padadevatā*s; lit., "feet deities"). In the center is the "place for *brahman*"—the formless, ultimate, "supreme reality." The use of this diagram for the construction of houses and the laying out of cities on a grid of eighty-one squares (nine by nine) is recorded in a chapter on architecture in Varāhamihira's sixth-century CE text, the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā;* the use of a grid of sixty-four squares (eight by eight) as a special case for the construction of temples (figure 1) is recorded in a separate chapter.

Cave, Mountain, and Shelter. By the early centuries CE the use of anthropomorphic images to focus worship had moved from "substratum" cults into mainstream Hinduism and into Buddhism. Early Hindu images often represented cosmic parturition—the coming into present existence of a divine reality that otherwise remains without form—as well as "meditational constructs," to use T. S. Maxwell's phrase. The representation of the Buddha became permissible with the emergence of two new conceptions: the Buddha in cosmic form, replacing or supplementing the stupa as focus for meditation, and the *boddhisattvas*, figures who mediate between the aspirant and the ultimate reality of nonexistence. Behind anthropomorphic imagery in India, however, is always an ultimate reality without form.

Early shelters for anthropomorphic images were of several types: apsidal brick structures resembling the *caitya-gṛhas* of the Buddhists, elliptical structures perhaps suggesting the "cosmic egg," open altars and hypaethral structures (both extending earlier aniconic formulas), small stone *chatrīs* (umbrellas or pavilions), cave shrines, and eventually temples with towers. Rock-cut shrines of the early fifth century CE (particularly those at Udayagiri, near Vidiśa, in central India), present two imperative metaphors for the temple: the sanctum as womb *(garbha)* in which the seed of divinity can be made manifest, and the temple as mountain. As the cave opens up the earth, so the sanctum opens up the temple.

If existing cave shrines emphasize the cave metaphor, an inscription dated 423/4 CE from Gaṅgadhāra in western India already compares a temple there to "the lofty peak *(śikhara)* of the mountain Kailāśa," and the so-called Pārvatī Temple at Nachna of about 465 CE ornamentally rusticates its exterior walls to suggest Kailāśa's piled rocks and animal-filled grottoes. The metaphors of cave and mountain for sanctum and temple are explicit in inscriptions and texts, but it is the concept of divinity made manifest and the practice of devotional worship *(bhakti)* that make the temple possible. The cosmic mountain and its womb/cave ultimately shelter a tender divinity, in the form of an image, and must open out to include and give shelter to the worshiper, who approaches the central point of cosmic manifestation along a longitudinal axis.

Iconicity of Architectural Form. In North India, the fifth century CE saw experimentation in the means by which architecture could supply shelter to images. Small cave shelters were excavated (Udayagiri), cavelike cells were constructed (Sāñcī), structures with towers were built in impermanent materials (Gaṅgadhāra), and stone "mountains" were built (as at Nachna) with cavelike sanctums. Some temples began to show multiple and variant images of the central divinity on the walls (Maḍhia), and others became complexes by adding subsidiary shrines to shelter other deities (Bhumara, Deogarh). Such a proliferation of images can be seen as a product of the Hindu conception of cosmic parturition: if divine reality is formless, through the process of creation it takes an infinity of forms in this (created) world; though the individual may choose one divinity as "trunk" for worship, others take up appropriate positions as "branches."

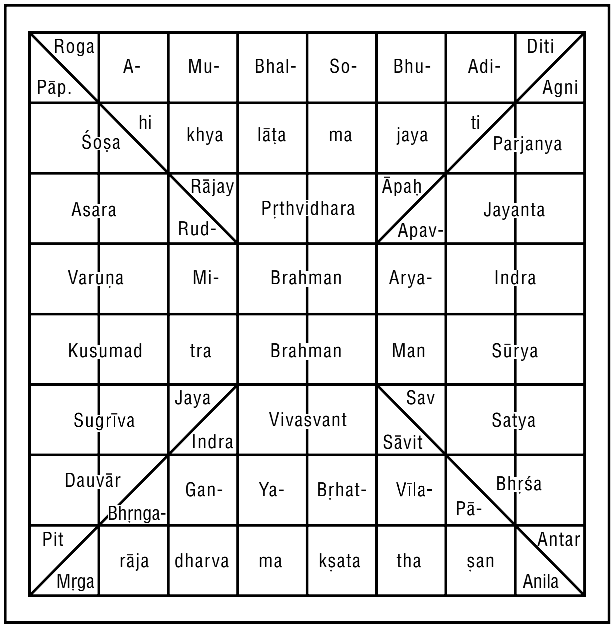

FIGURE 1. Vāstupuruṣa Maṇḍala. Ritual diagram for temple construction as described in Varāhamihira's *Bṛaht Saṃhitā;* sixth century CE.

Only in the sixth century did such experiments lead to a North Indian temple form that was complete in its symbolism and architectural definition. On plan, the North Indian temple grows from the Vāstupuruṣa Maṇḍala (see figure 1): its corners are those of the square *vedi*; its walls are half the width of the sanctum in thickness (as prescribed in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*); at its center is the *brahmasthāna.* The outer walls begin to acquire projecting planes that measure the dimensions of the interior sanctum and the "place for *brahman.*" The central projections on the wall now and then show closed doorways but most often frame secondary images (*parśvadevatās*) that extend and differentiate the form of the divinity within. In elevation, these planes continue up through the superstructure as bands that curve in to meet a square slab at the top of the temple, from which a circular necking projects. The necking supports a large, circular, ribbed stone *(āmalaka)* that takes the form of an *āmala* fruit and normally is crowned by a stone waterpot *(kalaśa)* from which leaves sometimes sprout.

The imagery (and its iconicity) is explicit. Just as the block of the temple's walls projects planes outward in order to display the images that make its sacred content manifest, so too the temple "grows" in altitude, marking the process of cosmic parturition by its form. The womb of the temple, its sanctum *(garbhagṛha)*, provides the dimension for an *uttaravedi* ("upper altar") that terminates the tower (some seventh-century shrines show this altar as a shallow, pillared platform at the top of the curvilinear superstructure). Extending the dimensions of the *brahmasthāna*, the necking above this *vedi* takes the form of the emerging "world pillar" *(axis mundi)*, which passes symbolically through the sanctum with the body of the temple as its sheath.

As North Indian architecture evolves between the sixth and the thirteenth centuries, the plan of the temple shows more and more offsets, the walls gain more images, and the central tower of the temple becomes clustered by other, miniature towers, increasingly giving the effect of a mountain peak through specifically architectural means. If this variety of constructional forms, buttresses, and images "body" forth reality in the manifest world, the ribbed *āmala* stone at the top of the temple, much like the staff that sprouts in *Tannhäuser*, presents the ripening seed's potentiality for fruition. Both the pot with germinating seeds that is buried under the foundation and the vase finial placed on top of the temple as an act of final consecration ritually help to perpetuate cycles of cosmic growth and fruition.

PALACE, HUT, AND FORTRESS. The temple thus combines physically the pillar that marks the axis of cosmic parturition, the altar of sacrifice taking the shape of the created universe, and the need for shelter of the tender divinity and the human worshiper; it unites the cosmic mountain and potent cave. South Indian temples, built in stone from the seventh century CE, give emphasis to the temple's role as shelter for anthropomorphic divinities by retaining throughout their evolution a terraced, palatial form crowned by a domed *śikhara* that has the shape of the ascetic's hut. As early as the Ājīvika caves in the Barabār Hills of Bihar, dating from the third century BCE, the hut of the living ascetic had been an architectural form appropriate for presenting the concept of sacred potentiality.

The temple is called *prāsāda* ("palace") in North India, and the architectural veneer of its superstructure, in both north and south, allude to forms of palace architecture. In the north, these have been completely subordinated to the temple's vertical ascent, becoming body for the altar that still presents itself at the top of the temple, open to the sky. In the south, deities sheltered within the temple's compact, palace-like structure increasingly took on the accoutrements of a secular ruler, through ritual and the cycle of festivals. While divinity in the form of images (*mūrti*s) could take on qualities of royalty, and kings did validate their role by patronage of temples, the king was considered a reflection of divine order principally through the quality of his actions and the nature of his responsibilities, not by divine right.

If the temple is palace for divinity, it also is fortress, protecting the world from disorder and chaos. Corners are "attended with evils" according to the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* (53.84), and "the householder, if he is anxious to be happy, should carefully preserve Brahman, who is stationed in the center of the dwelling, from injury" (53.66). In the puranic legend of Śiva conquering the three worlds, he frees three "cities" of demons, making them his devotees and transforming the cities into his temples. In fact, images of Guardians of the Quarters (*dikpāla*s) are placed on the corners of temples from about the seventh century, and a number of geometric experiments with plans based on the rotation of squares seem to play on the fort as a form for temple architecture.

Large temples in South India often enclose the sanctum in a series of ambulatory paths and walls that simulate rings of fortification around a walled city, and in fact use the eighty-one-square *maṇḍala* appropriate for the city, with a single square at the center surrounded by concentric rings of squares, to define the temple's plan. If practice in South India increasingly emphasized the royal personality of the divinity and his relation to his subjects and kingdom by use of great festival processions, it also began to surround temples and contiguous sections of the city with walls pierced by gateways (*gopura*s) that became the focus of patronage themselves.

ACCESS AND ASPIRANT. The Hindu temple must also act as access and approach for aspirants and worshipers. This role changes the temple from a centralized, bilaterally symmetrical structure (reflecting the nature of the cosmogonic process) to one with a defined longitudinal axis. On that axis the worshipers approach their personal divinity within the sanctum; but also on that axis the aspirants increasingly can place themselves, in halls built for that purpose, as if under the umbrella of the sacrificer, positioning themselves for ascent. "The whole intention of the Vedic tradition and of the sacrifice is to define the Way *(mārga)* by which the aspirant . . . can ascend [the three] worlds," wrote Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. "Earth, Air, and Sky . . . compose the vertical Axis of the Universe. . . . [These are] the Way by which the Devas first strode up and down these worlds . . . and the Way for the Sacrificer now to do likewise" ("*Svayamātṛṇṇā*: Janua Coeli," in *Coomaraswamy*, vol. 1, *Selected Papers: Traditional Art and Symbolism*, ed. Roger Lipsey, Princeton, 1977, pp. 465–467, 470). The temple is as much a monument to the procession of time as it is a static model of the cosmos or a marker of its origin. *Padadevatā*s ringing the *vāstumaṇḍala* (grid) are identified with the asterisms (*nakṣatra*s) of the lunar calendar, and the temple both helps generate and acts as a focus for the ritual time of the festival calendar. Personal ritual within the temple involves both approach and circumambulation, and movement by the aspirant through time toward release had to be a recognized part of the architect's program for the temple.

All sides of the temple allow access to the divinity through imagery, but the entry that pierces and makes ritual approach possible, most frequently on the east, is given increasing importance and architectural definition as temples evolve. Halls for ritual and assembly are added along this axis and sometimes used for dance or music to entertain the divinity, but often they serve simply as shelters for approach. One common and potent configuration places the sanctum (sometimes surrounded by an enclosed ambulatory path) behind a closed hall that may also be fronted by an open hall and an entry pavilion.

In the Kaṇḍarīya Mahādeva Temple at Khajuraho (c. 1025–1050), for example, space for the worshiper within the closed hall takes the same dimensions as the sanctum, with parallel rings of the *maṇḍala* defining walls of the sanctum, the space within the hall, ambulatory walls, and the outer enclosure. Ceilings in such halls imitate the canopy over the ritual sacrificer; this intention is made architecturally clear in some cases by having a separately defined pavilion within the hall over the central platform, as at Sinnar in Maharashtra or at the great Jain temple at Ranakpur. The ritual fire can be placed in this position, and worshipers gather there as much to carry out ritual as to face the image of the deity.

THE TEMPLE IN THE HUMAN IMAGE. In such an architectural context, *yogin* and god are equal participants: the place of divine manifestation and the path of the aspirant have been given consubstantiality along the temple's longitudinal axis; sanctum and sacrificer's space both have become altars manifesting supreme reality in human form. In the Hindu temple, the axis of cosmic creation and the ritual path for release of the aspirant/worshiper/sacrificer *(yajamāna)* meet; the temple shares in the image of the "Supernal Man" (Puruṣa). As Kramrisch has written, "Puruṣa, which is beyond form, is the impulse towards manifestation" ("The Temple as Puruṣa," in *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, ed. Pramod Chandra, New Delhi, 1975, p. 40). This is true whether that manifestation is of the cosmos, of divine forms, or of human potential.

SEE ALSO Iconography, article on Hindu Iconography; Maṇḍalas, article on Hindu Maṇḍalas.

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Revised Bibliography

TEMPLE: BUDDHIST TEMPLE COMPOUNDS IN SOUTH ASIA

During the life of the Buddha (sixth to fifth century BCE), he and his disciples were sheltered by lay followers near various urban centers in North India. After his death, according to Buddhist tradition, his body was given royal cremation, and relics were distributed among eight city-states, which then established royal burial mounds (stupas) incorporating these relics in order to memorialize him. Two centuries later the Mauryan emperor Aśoka (r. c. 270–230 BCE) is said to have reopened these stupas to distribute the relics more widely in his attempt to spread the Buddha's teachings; Buddhist tradition relates that Aśoka established 84,000 stupas throughout the empire.

COMPOUNDS IN SOUTH ASIA. Though shelters for the monks and stupas as monuments to memorialize the Buddha and his teaching defined the physical requirements of Buddhist architecture for many centuries, symbolic and ritual requirements gradually transformed such elements into what properly can be called Buddhist temple compounds.

Stupas and stupa-shrines. A stupa originally was used to mark the relics of the Buddha or one of his principal disciples, as well as significant objects (such as the Buddha's begging bowl) or places related to his life or sanctified by his presence. At the same time, however, the structure of such a memorial stupa incorporated cosmogonic and cosmological references relating to a point or place of cosmic origination (the egg, *aṇḍa*), to a vertical axis marking cosmic parturition, and to the cardinal orientation of the created universe. Rituals related to such cosmogonic and cosmological beliefs must have been carried out around large stupas such as those constructed at Sāñcī, Taxila, or Amarāvatī. Small stupas, set up by laity as well as by members of the Buddha's order (*saṃgha*), were often used as votive markers of a follower's devotion. A major complex such as that at Sāñcī grew to include large stupas, monastic establishments, clusters of votive monuments, and eventually temples enshrining objects intended for devotional worship. Large free-standing stupas as ritual centers continue to mark major Buddhist sites in South Asia, as well as in Myanmar, Nepal, Tibet, and Sri Lanka.

Initially, the Buddha himself, as a great teacher who had transcended the cycle of birth and rebirth through his teachings, was not the focus of devotional practice. The stupa, however, standing both for his presence and for a Buddhist and Indian conception of universal order, took on its own devotional aspect; shelters were constructed for the stupa and its worshipers, as in the structural stupa-shrine at Bairat or the excavated (rock-carved) stupa-houses (*caityagṛha*) at Guntupalli and Junnar.

From these early enclosed stupas evolved a major type of Buddhist structure, the *caitya* hall, housing an object used as a focus for worship (*caitya*). These *caitya* halls are typically apsidal structures with a central nave and side aisles; a stupa is placed prominently (and mysteriously) within the apse. The structural examples are known only from their foundations, but a number of rock-carved *caitya* halls survive in the Western Ghat mountains.

The earliest of these, at Bhājā, Bedsa, and Kondane date from the second or first centuries BCE; the largest, at Kārlī, from the first century CE; the latest, at Ellora, from perhaps the early seventh century CE. Located on trade routes and patronized by merchants and others from nearby urban centers, these large establishments also provided monastic cells for wandering monks and abbots, and sheltered pilgrims and travelers. At Bhājā, the abbot's cave has a veranda guarded by large images of the sun and rain gods, Sūrya and Indra; the individual monastic cells at Kaṇherī, scattered across a hillside outside of Mumbai, have stone beds and pillows, verandas, and grilled windows, each carefully located to take advantage of views through the neighboring hills to the harbor beyond. Both nuns and monks inhabited these cells, and helped to sponsor them, forming a community of followers who served the site and eventually might die and be memorialized there.

In the early centuries of the Common Era, much sectarian debate occurred within Buddhism over the role of the stupa—whether its function was primarily votive, memorial, or cultic. The concept of the transcendent Buddha with emissaries (*bodhisattvas*) to assist the devotee led to the introduction of images of the Buddha for worship; at the site of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (third to fourth century CE) excavations have revealed a complex that combines a large, freestanding stupa, a monastic dormitory (*vihāra*), and a pair of apsidal *caitya* halls facing each other, with a stupa in one apse and an image of the Buddha in the other. In fifth-century *caitya* halls excavated at the great Buddhist cave site of Ajantā, an image of the Buddha, placed against the apse-stupa as if emerging from it, is a standard part of the complex. In cave 29, a gigantic image of the Buddha, reclining at the moment of his death and transcendence, fills the left wall of the cave as well, his feet placed toward the apse and his head toward daylight at the entrance.

Ajantā has more than thirty-two rock-cut Buddhist caves placed along the face of a horseshoe-shaped gorge; several date between the first century BCE and the first century CE. Two of these early caves and two dating from the fifth century CE are *caitya* halls; the remainder take a *vihāra* form. The concept of a cosmic Buddha, still accessible to his monastic aspirants, led to a significant change in the nature of such a Buddhist establishment, however.

The Buddha's body. That the Buddha in his cosmic body could both be visible to worshipers and live among the members of his *saṃgha* is the mystery of later Buddhism. Friar Bala, the high-status monk who set up the earliest images and inscribed images at both Sārnāth and Śrāvastī late in the first century CE, called them *bodhisattvas*—the Buddha returned to the worshiper, his "body made of mind" (*manomaya*). A third image, at Kauśāmbī, was dedicated by Buddhamitrā, a nun. Such images were set up under umbrellas marked with cosmological signs, on thrones at the base of trees, within railings as were other open-air *caityas,* in association with previously built stupas or those in *caitya* halls, and ultimately in temple-shelters of their own.

Monasteries and monastic shrines. For many centuries after the death of the Buddha, monastic retreats were provided principally for the assembly of monks during the rainy season, but such places took on other functions over time, becoming retreats for lay travelers and eventually centers for learning. Foundations at Taxila in the northwest and at the important Buddhist university of Nālandā in Bihar show monastic complexes in the shape of rectilinear compounds with cells enclosing a central shared court. Monks lived in these cells much as students live in a Banaras Hindu University dormitory today.

Early monastic caves, carved in conjunction with major *caitya* halls (as at Bhājā and Kārlī), show cells arranged along verandas set into the surface of the rock. Gradually such rock-carved sites began to mimic constructed monastic compounds, with cells surrounding an "open" court encased in the rock (the actual cave ceilings over these courts were painted to resemble cloth coverings hung as shelters from sun and rain).

At Ajantā, side-by-side with fifth-century CE apsidal *caitya* halls, members of the royal Vākāṭaka court had similar monastic caves excavated but added to them an enlarged hall on axis with the cave entrance, in which an image of the cosmic Buddha was enshrined. These *vihāra* caves thus served as votive "temples," donated by the Vākāṭaka kings and their ministers, as well as residences for high members of the *saṃgha.*

BUDDHIST EXPANSION. In the region of Gandhāra in the northwest, through which Buddhism spread toward Central Asia, large monastic compounds also had associated stupas, sometimes placed in the center of the court, as well as a *gandhakuṭī* (sweet-smelling chamber) among the monks' rooms assigned as the residence of the Buddha. Gandhāran sculptural reliefs also show thatch-domed structures with arched entrances, which shelter small stupas or relic containers as if for worship. These "vernacular" wooden or wattle-and-daub *caitya* shrines are sometimes depicted built on large platforms with a long central flight of steps and corner pillars marking the compound as if equivalent to the large ritual stupas built in this region, as that at Saidu Sharif. Clusters of votive stupas, as at Bhājā and Kaṇherī, sometimes have inscriptions assigning each to a particular deceased member of the monastic community.

Relic shrines and Buddhist retreats. As Buddhism spread to the northwest and south in the first centuries BCE, relic shrines became a significant component of monastic and ritual compounds. In Gandhāra in the northwest, these could be simple shed-shelters placed in association with large ritual stupas, or they could take the form of relic stupas with enclosed chambers giving access to relic caskets. In South India, carved reliefs also sometimes depict circular thatch-domed shelters that frame reliquary urns. The cult of relics—of the Buddha and of his monastic followers—gave a major impetus to the process of conversion and the spread of Buddhism in both regions.

One first-century BCE relief from an early Buddhist stupa site in Karnataka, Kanganhalli, uniquely depicts a stepped embankment with pilgrims, much like the steps of the *ghāt* (tank) excavated at the important Buddhist center of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Four sacred structures shown lined up at the top consist of a solid stupa, a stupa set on a circular platform that has a visible reliquary shrine within, a sacred tree shrine, and what seems to be a large stepped altar.

Other fragmentary reliefs from Kanganhalli represent the model for all Buddhist compounds, the *vihāra* and "sweet-smelling" huts of the Jetavana garden into which the Buddha and his followers took retreat. More detailed than similar narrative depictions from Barhut, these reliefs from Kanganhalli show simple gates and compound walls, an ox-cart bringing coins to be spread out in payment, simple ascetics' huts (presumably the *gandhakuṭī* and *kosambakutī* hut for monks from Kosambī), a tree shrine, an altar marked with footprints, a "walking path" for the Buddha, and a large tapering multistoried central assembly hall (*vihāra*).

Landscape, statehood, and pilgrimage. The siting of Buddhist compounds was of utmost importance. Located along trade and pilgrimage routes from an early period, Buddhist establishments served merchants and coreligionists as way stations in the wilderness, retreats in proximity to urban centers, and markers at sites (*tirthas*) sacred to other groups. If the Jetavana garden was one model, the miracle at Śrāvastī where the Buddha manifest himself in a multitude of forms provided a rationale. Stupas, monasteries, *caitya* halls, and relic shrines all formed part of a natural landscape mapped by pilgrims, merchants, monks, and nuns. The stupas on Sāñcī hill; *caitya* halls and monasteries in Ajantā's horseshoe gorge; retreats carved into the Western Ghat mountains; the manmade embankment (*ghāt*), tanks, and shrines laid out along a river at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa; monasteries marching up the valleys through Swat; all intentionally partake of nature and integrate themselves within a landscape. That we are largely unable to reconstruct initial principles of Buddhist planning should not detract us from understanding that the result was intended to be what one scholar has described as a *mesocosm*—a sacred landscape in the living world.

A pilgrimage and political complex such as that at Bamiyan, Afghanistan—as famous for its frescoes as for the two giant Buddha statues destroyed in 2001 by the Taliban—can well exemplify the extent to which a Buddhist compound could incorporate and model the world. Long before the explicit rendering of buildings as cosmic maps (*maṇḍalas*), as in Tibet, was common, Buddhist sites in South Asia less formally "centered" nature to bring the universe alive. At Bamiyan, a long cliff with mountains looming behind is honeycombed with pilgrim's caves. Two gigantic standing Buddha statues were carved into the cliff some distance apart by the seventh century CE; a third reclining image of the Buddha's *mahāparinirvāṇa* was also recorded by pilgrim accounts. The cliff's facade was a single canvas, dwarfed by the landscape of the valley, but to visit these images in ritual order according to one scholar was to retrace the spiritual career of the historical Buddha Śākyamuni. Bamiyan's valley became the "compound" within which ambulation and pilgrimage occurred, as by extension did the kingdom of Bamiyan and the human-occupied Jambudvīpa continent cited so frequently in early Buddhist inscriptions and texts. Also in this valley in front of these images, according to the seventh-century CE Chinese visitor Xuanzang, the king performed a state ritual (the Pañcavārṣika) in which he gives up his wealth and "body" and then has them restored. By doing so each year he guaranteed the well-being of the assembled community.

BUDDHIST TEMPLES. Bodh Gayā, the site in Eastern India at which the historical Buddha is said to have achieved enlightenment, reflects successive changes in Buddhist belief and practice. Under the present *bodhi* tree rests a stone altar set up in the time of Aśoka Maurya to mark the place of the Buddha's enlightenment. The tree and altar are surrounded by a modern railing mimicking the form of an ancient tree shrine, but railing pieces from the Śunga period (second to first centuries BCE) remain nearby. Such open enclosures set around objects of worship (trees, pillars, images of nature spirits, stupas) represent pre-Buddhist practices that were absorbed into the iconography of popular Buddhism. Set next to the tree shrine is a large and restored brick temple of the seventh century CE, pyramidal in shape, its surface ornamented to suggest a multi-terraced palatial structure not unlike the *vihāra* represented in the Kanganhalli relief. A large image of the Buddha is enshrined within the present structure for worship. A relief on a second- to third-century CE terra-cotta plaque from Kumrāhār demonstrates that an earlier shrine in much the same form was already there by that period. Though such a Buddhist temple structure was based exclusively on Indian palatial forms, its conceptualization already suggests a model for the later pagoda temples that range from Nepal through East Asia, although these draw on a different architectural language for their sheltering roofs. The distinctive importance of Bodh Gayā is attested by numerous votive miniature representations of this temple from along trade and pilgrimage routes into southeast Asia.

Terraced "temples" of a different sort were built across North India, most notably at Kumrāhār, Paharpur, and Lauṛīya Nandangaṛh. These structures, suggesting temple-mountains, featured cruciform bases with reentrant angles, on which stood either stupas or temple structures. The temples, and sometimes the stupas, had shrines facing the cardinal directions. The great terraced temple at Paharpur was also set within an enormous monastic court.

The most extensive representation of such terraced temple structures is found among the monuments scattered across the vast plains of Burma, particularly at Pagan. The Ananda temple there has a cruciform plan, interior ambulatories, and a central temple-like superstructure dating originally from the early eleventh century.

Cosmological compounds. The grandest expression of such an architectural conception within the Buddhist tradition, and one that reflects an increasingly perceived relationship between a manifest cosmic order and the responsibilities of Buddhism to provide visible aids to the aspirant struggling toward release, was the monument at Borobudur in Java, begun in the eighth century, but undoubtedly with South Asian prototypes. Though we are told that the compound underwent four periods of construction, with changing, possibly even conflicting, conceptions of its final design, one overriding metaphysical interpretation seems ultimately to emerge. In the opinion of most scholars, its five square terraced galleries covered by sculpture and its three upper circular terraces set with seventy-two perforated stupas and crowned by a solid stupa (with two empty chambers) were meant to incorporate and represent a Buddhist metaphysics, both cosmological and ontological, through which aspirants could ultimately find their way to release. In Cambodia as well, where Khmer rulers patronized both Hindu and Buddhist structures, the association of the king with the *bodhisattva* Lokeśvara reflected the former's role as representative of such a cosmic order on earth.

From their simple beginnings as shelters for aspiring monks to memorialize a past teacher, Buddhist compounds became cosmogonic and cosmological monuments, accommodating both state structures and lay rituals, and eventually restoring the Buddha to his worshipers as a cosmic presence, accessible to monks and laity for devotion as well as instruction. Indeed, they became institutions to mold human aspiration as permanent in form as the urban society the Buddha once had renounced. This transformation reflected the strength, pragmatism, and flexibility of the Buddha's teachings and provides some explanation for the success of Buddhism's great missionary expansion from India into other parts of the Asian world.

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TEMPLE: BUDDHIST TEMPLE COMPOUNDS IN EAST ASIA

Symbols of the Buddha and precursors of Buddhist monuments appeared in China in the Western Han dynasty (206 BCE–9 CE). During the Eastern Han (23–220 CE), Buddhist images and places to worship them had made their way to the Chinese capital and many provincial regions. By the fourth century CE multicultural monastic communities practiced Buddhism in China's westernmost regions, including oasis towns in what are today Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region and Gansu province. By the next century, temple compounds had sprung up in cities, towns, and secluded, mountainous areas in every part of China, and Buddhism and its architecture had reached the Korean peninsula. By the end of the sixth century, the religion flourished in all three East Asian countries—China, Korea, and Japan.

In general, the movement of Buddhism and the temple compound was eastward, initially from India to Central Asia, to China, to Korea, to Japan, but occasionally transmission of architecture and ideas occurred via alternate routes that bypassed Central Asia or Korea, for instance. Wherever Buddhism went, the temple compound was the core of both monastic and religious communal life. Its size and complexity increased with time, such that new sects gave rise to new architectural forms and building arrangements. Patronage often was a direct reflection of imperial interest in the faith. Constructed almost exclusively with local materials, the architecture of temple compounds was adapted to every climate and region of East Asia. Yet through two millennia of history, the core structure and the primary purposes of the Buddhist temple compound as a setting for Buddhist worship and education have remained constant.

TEMPLE COMPOUNDS IN CHINA. Buddhist temple compounds presented the first serious challenge to the highly developed, coherent, codified, and even rigid Chinese architectural system. For more than two thousand years prior to the appearance of Buddhism, individual Chinese structures had been supported by timber frames made of primarily straight pieces of wood. By the time Buddhism entered China, cantilevers in the form of bracket sets had been introduced to help support the weight of large, prominent roof eaves, and ceramic tile had become the primary material for roof coverings. The system was employed for emperors and commoners alike, in palaces and ritual halls of the sovereign, humble dwellings, and altars that were built by both groups. Ground plans of all these structures were almost invariably four-sided, the one exception being ritual halls that excavations suggest had circular and octagonal rooms. Principles of axiality and four-sided enclosure dominated Chinese construction; the latter was so important that it was almost impossible to find a structure without an arcade-enclosed courtyard adjoining or in front of it. Buildings and space multiplied along orthogonal lines, sometimes joined by arcades, in either direction. Except for watchtowers or gate-towers, before the entry of Buddhism, Chinese buildings were one-story high. These principles of Chinese construction and space would influence and usually govern imperial and religious building across East Asia until the twentieth century.

Construction in China's first Buddhist centuries. Three fundamental architectural forms of early Indian Buddhist construction—stupa*, caitya*, and *vihāra*—had to be accommodated by the Chinese system in order for Buddhist temple compounds to exist. All three were achieved during the centuries of disunion between the fall of the Han dynasty in 220 and reunification under the Sui in 581. During this period, many of the non-Chinese rulers of small and short-lived dynasties and kingdoms were eager patrons of a religion whose origins were as foreign on Chinese soil as were they. By the end of the sixth century, Buddhism had become the dominant religion in every region of China and its borders.

The most striking symbol of Buddhism on the Chinese landscape was the tower-like structure known as a *pagoda*, the Western name of the East Asian version of the stupa. The stupa had already undergone transformation along the route eastward across Central Asia from its initial Indian form of a circular plan with an egg-shaped dome capped by a balustrade-enclosed *harmikā* to a taller, occasionally four-sided monument. Its primary purposes as a relic mound, either for the remains of a Buddhist or other sacred relics or to mark a sacred place or event in the history of the faith, remained the same. At least five versions of the pagoda stood as parts of Chinese temple compounds before the beginning of the Tang dynasty (618–907). Three examples of pagodas with four-sided plans are represented by the single-story, nearly square Four-Entry Pagoda at Shentong Monastery in Licheng, Shandong, restored in 611; the multistory pillar-pagoda whose perimeter decreases story by story from base to top; and the multistory pillar-pagoda of uniform perimeter dimensions from first story to last. The latter two are found near centers of Buddhism in China that included major clusters of Buddhist worship caves. Both forms of pillar-pagoda had roof eaves marking each story. The fourth and fifth pagoda types taper in size from base to roof. One has an octagonal and the other a dodecagonal ground plan. Numerous octagonal pagodas survive from every period of Chinese history, but the only surviving, and only known, twelve-sided pagoda was built at Songyue Monastery on Mount Song, Henan, in 523. All pagodas of the early period have replicas on their exterior facades of the doors, windows, and corbel bracketing found on contemporary Chinese wooden architecture. Those that survive are brick or stone masonry.

Joining the pagoda as a focal point of worship in an early Chinese temple compound was the Buddha hall, in which were enshrined the main devotional images of the worship complex. Worshipers could enter Buddha halls, in contrast to pagodas, which sometimes could be entered but in other instances had imagery carved on the exterior and were circumambulated during worship. The earliest extant wooden Chinese Buddha halls are from the eighth and ninth centuries. From excavated remains and written descriptions we know that Buddha halls of the sixth and seventh centuries were rectangular in plan and of one story.

The site of Yongning Monastery in the Northern Wei (493–534) capital at Luoyang in Henan province is one of the most extensively excavated and described temple compounds of the early period of Buddhist architecture in China. Its rectangular wooden pagoda soared 161 meters in nine stories. Each side of each story was supported by ten pillars and had three doors and six windows. The doors were vermilion lacquer, held in place with golden nails. Golden bells hung from each corner of each level. The Great Buddha hall directly to its north was fashioned after the main hall of audience of Luoyang palace. It contained a three-meter-tall golden Buddha. Also following imperial architecture, Yongning Monastery was enclosed by a 212-by-301-meter mud-earth wall, 3.3 meters thick, with a gate on each side. Its main gate, seven bays across the front, was 66 meters high and rose three stories. The others were two stories high. Records inform us that Yongning Monastery had a thousand bays of rooms, among which were monks' quarters, towers, pavilions, and the main Buddha hall and pagoda behind one another at the center. Yongningsi (temple compound) was just one of 1,367 Buddhist structures or temple compounds in the Northern Wei capital during its forty-year history. The main southern capital in Jiankang (present-day Nanjing) had 480 monasteries during the third through sixth centuries. Although not all received the kind of imperial patronage lavished on Yongning Monastery, whether converted from residences, built anew, or expanded from earlier structures, every temple compound had a pagoda and Buddha hall, and usually at least an entry gate and one enclosing corridor joined to the gate or surrounding the two main structures. All were Chinese versions of the *vihāra*, the second Buddhist structural type imported from India. Like their Indian predecessors, most contained residential architecture for monks, and, even more so than in India, the Chinese Buddhist temple compound was a group of courtyard-enclosed spaces. Unlike many Indian *vihāra*, pagodas projected above the low walls of temple compounds, and were sometimes the only feature that made it possible to distinguish a Chinese temple compound from a palace complex.

The last architectural form inherited from Indian Buddhist temple compounds was the *caitya*. In China, the *caitya* took the form of a rock-carved worship cave. The Chinese had occasionally carved tombs into natural rock prior to the entry of Buddhism. In at least one instance—the panorama of rock-carved imagery from the Han dynasty at Lianyungang in Jiansu province—Buddhist deities are believed to have been carved into the face of rock. The concept of worship in a cave-temple, however, was inherited from India by way of Central Asia. Cave-temples with relief sculptures and paintings decorating their interiors, along with freestanding temples in oases along the Silk Routes, were seen by Chinese merchants before the fall of the Han dynasty. By the end of the fourth century, cave-temples in the vicinity of Dunhuang in Gansu province showed a unique blending of Chinese and South Asian structure and iconography. Structural and decorative features of cave-temples in Xinjiang and Gansu continued to bear signs of the native communities of monks and merchants from every part of Asia as late as the tenth century. Most famous among cave-temple monasteries are, from west to east, Kizil, Kumtura, and Bezeklik in Xinjiang; the Mogao and other cave-temple groups in the Dunhuang region, and Maijishan in Gansu province; and Yun'gang, Tianlongshan, Xiangtangshan, Longmen, and Gongxian in the north central Chinese provinces of Shanxi, Hebei, and Henan. Additional cave-temples studied in the twentieth century Gansu, the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, southeastern China, and Liaoning in the Northeast is giving way to the redating and refinement of chronologies for all of China's cave-temples.

The transmission of Buddhism and the rock-carved temple compound never followed a clear or direct path from South to East Asia during the five centuries (fifth to tenth) during which the architectural form flourished in Central Asia and China. Features of Chinese architecture, notably the ceramic tile roof and pillar-supported structure raised on a high platform with bracket sets, appeared in the murals and in reliefs at each of the sites named above by the fifth or sixth century. Often these indicators that Buddhism had entered the Chinese sphere existed alongside worshipers whose non-Chinese ethnicity was emphasized in the paintings or sculpture. Even after the facial features of figures that decorated the walls of Chinese *caitya* halls had become Sinified, elements of South Asian architecture persisted. One of the most common decorative features in Chinese cave-temples is the pointed, horseshoe-shaped arch called a *caitya* arch.

Temple compounds after 800 CE. The impermanence of wooden architecture has meant that rock-carved cave-temples, paintings of temple compounds on the walls of cave-temples, and excavated remains provide the most reliable evidence of comprehensive Buddhist worship space before the tenth century. Eight individual Buddha halls have been identified from the period 782 to 966, most with original images and some with wall paintings. Six are in Shanxi province, one is in Hebei, and one in Fujian. All but one are of the humble variety, with three or five bays across the front, indicating that their temple compounds either were not recipients of imperial patronage or were constructed in times of political and budgetary turmoil.

In China, the most important temple compounds, including rock-carved worship caves, were commissioned by the emperor or empress, often in or near national capitals, sometimes near their burial sites and other times on sacred Buddhist peaks. Second-grade temple compounds often were commissioned by prefectural governments. Third-grade monasteries would be founded by princes and princesses, high-ranking nobility, or wealthy merchants. The same groups patronized temple compounds in Korea and Japan. The least distinguished temple compounds were built by local funds of private individuals.

The greatest temple compounds of the Sui dynasty (581–618) dominated their capital city Daxing (Chang'an under the Tang dynasty, today Xian). Daxing Mountain Monastery spanned an area 525 by 562 meters. Dachangding Monastery was three times as large, with eastern and western divisions and a pagoda that soared more than 97 meters. It was still common at this time and in the subsequent Tang dynasty for imperial residential architecture to be transformed into Buddhist temple compounds. The residence of the prince of Wei, son of the second Tang emperor, was transformed in 658 into a monastery with more than four thousand bays of rooms and thirteen major Buddhist halls arranged around ten courtyards.

By the Tang dynasty, it is possible to associate building plans with Buddhist ceremonies. Halls used for ordination of Zhenyan (Jpn., Shingon) monks were divided into front and back spaces; the private back space was used for the initiation rite in which the Womb and Diamond World *maṇḍalas* were removed from the wall and placed on a low central table or on the floor. Other halls had a central altar with images where the pagoda-pillar had stood in cave-temples, and an enclosing ambulatory defined by pillars. Both hall types and full-scale monasteries are depicted in Buddhist murals and paintings on silk of the period.

From the Song, Liao, and Jin dynasties of the mid-tenth through mid-thirteenth centuries, monasteries with numerous types of buildings survive all over China. A pagoda or multistory pavilion and main Buddha hall remained the most important structures in most Chinese temple compounds from this period. Sometimes the two were on a building line that dominated the temple compound. Temple compounds of the period with pagodas or pavilions at their focus include Dule Monastery in Yi county, Hebei, whose pavilion and front gate are dated 984; Fogong Monastery in Ying county, Shanxi, whose 67-meter pagoda, the tallest wooden pagoda in China today, dates to 1056; and Fengguo Monastery in Yi county, Liaoning, whose main hall was built in 1013. At Fengguo Monastery, a law (*dharma*) hall for expounding the Buddhist scriptures stood on the main building line with the 48.2-by-25.13-meter main hall and pavilion behind the front gate. East and west of the central line were pavilions to the Three Vehicles (*triyāna*) and Amitābha Buddha. A covered, pillar-supported arcade of 120 bays enclosed Fengguo Monastery. Longxing Monastery in Zhengding, Hebei, which was begun by imperial Song patronage shortly after the establishment of the dynasty in 960 and whose buildings were repaired or restored during the next century, included an even longer line of main structures: a hall to the Sixth Patriarch, a hall to Śākyamuni Buddha, an ordination platform, and a pavilion to Avalokiteśvara known as Dabei or Foxiang Pavilion, which stood on the main axial line behind the front gate. In addition, pairs of side halls, pavilions, and towers framed each major courtyard in front of one of the axially-positioned structures.

The pairing of pagodas and pavilions on either side in front of a main hall became standard in tenth- to thirteenth-century Chinese Buddhist temple compounds. Shanhua Monastery in Datong, Shanxi, consisted of a front gate, a hall of the three deities, and a main hall along its main building line, along with two pairs of halls and a pair of pavilions joined to the covered arcade that enclosed it. One of the pavilions at both Shanhua and Longxing monasteries contained the temple compound's sūtra collection. A standard feature in Chinese monasteries of this middle period, the sūtra hall was often a pavilion or other multistory structure.

By the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279), the majority of temple compounds were dedicated to the Chan sect. The major monasteries of this meditational form of Buddhism were dominated by seven halls arranged along a north-south line: a front gate, a Buddha hall, a Vairocana hall, a law hall, front abbot's quarters, abbot's quarters, and a room for seated meditation. Buildings for mundane affairs, such as storage halls and dormitories, filled the space on either side of the main building line. Monks' quarters sometimes contained a single huge bed on which monks meditated and slept. Other monasteries of the period had a hall dedicated to the five hundred arhats (*luohan*). In addition to accounts by Chinese pilgrims and records kept at the monasteries, knowledge of Southern Song monasteries such as Tiantongsi is preserved in accounts of Japanese Buddhist pilgrims to south China. An important account is the illustrated record of Gikai, who visited the five headquarters of Chan Buddhism in Zhejiang and Jiangsu provinces, including Ayuwang (King Aśoka) Monastery in Mingzhou, in 1259.

By the thirteenth century, great variety was found in monastery architecture in China. When a monastery contained three main buildings, for instance, the most important Buddha hall could be right behind the main gate or last in line. The lack of consistency can in part be explained by the presence in China of numerous Buddhist sects and by an increasing syncretism in Buddhist and Daoist worship that gave rise to new sects. Often a twelfth- or thirteenth-century Buddhist temple compound was architecturally indistinguishable from a Daoist temple compound on the exterior; upon entering, however, statues and paintings confirmed the temple's affiliation. In addition, Daoist precincts could be constructed at Buddhist monasteries and Buddhist precincts at Daoist temple compounds. Guangsheng Monastery in Hongdong, Shanxi, contains a Buddhist and a Daoist hall constructed in the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

By the fourteenth century, Lamaist Buddhism had pervaded the Chinese landscape. The most representative structure of a Lamaist Buddhist temple compound in China is the bulb-shaped pagoda known as a *dagoda*, often painted white. The Lamaist pagoda of Miaoying Monastery, built in 1279, and the one in Beihai Park, built in 1651, still rise above much of the rest of Beijing's architecture. Lamaist temple compounds dominated the regions of China adjacent to Tibet, in particular areas of Sichuan, Ningxia Hui, and Qinghai, as well as Inner Mongolia. Patronized by the Manchu rulers of the last Chinese dynasty, Qing (1644–1911), some of the most creative architecture of China's last three imperial centuries stands at Lamaist temple compounds.

Traditional Buddhist monasteries never disappeared from China. Chan monasteries continued to be built and restored into the last Qing century, especially at sacred locations, such as the Four Great Peaks; Wutai in Shanxi province, dedicated to Mañjuśrī; Putuo, the island off the coast of Ningbo, dedicated to Avalokiteśvara; Emei in Sichuan, dedicated to Samantabhadra; and Jiuhua in Anhui, dedicated to Kṣitigarbha. The later temple compounds of traditional sects retained axial arrangements and often were larger than their pre-fourteenth-century predecessors. These temple compounds included two new hall types, the diamond hall and the hall of divine kings, both of which also were incorporated into Lamaist construction in China. Also new in fourteenth-century temple compounds were brick "beamless" halls that were a sharp contrast to the ubiquitous wooden buildings of Chinese construction.

TEMPLE COMPOUNDS IN KOREA. Buddhism entered Korea from China officially in 372. Although not every Chinese Buddhist sect became popular in Korea, most were known there. Thus Korean Buddhist temple compounds contained the standard structures of Chinese monasteries. A standard plan in a Korean Buddhist temple compound, a plan that is equally common in China, includes an entry gate with a pair of divine kings on each side, followed by a law hall and main hall, and often additional halls behind or on the sides of this core group. As in China, almost all Korean temple compounds have Buddha halls and pagodas. Rock-carved cave-temples also are found in Korea, but are much rarer than in China.

Korea's best-known Buddhist temple compounds are Pulguksa and Sŏkkuram, both outside Kyŏngju, capital of the united Silla kingdom (668–935). Pulguksa consists of a front gate with two halls directly behind it, and smaller halls dedicated to buddhas or *bodhisattvas* in their own precincts. The entry and most of the enclosing corridors of the monastery are elevated on stone foundations. Pulguksa's twin pagodas, similarly, are made of stone, the predominant Korean material of early pagodas. Sŏkkuram is Korea's most famous rock-carved Buddhist cave-chapel. The site with the greatest concentration of Buddhist rock-carved niches and worship spaces in Korea is Namsan (southern mountain), also in the vicinity of Kyŏngju. In addition to thousands of images, Namsan has a pair of stone pagodas. The largest temple compound in Korea is T'ongdo, located between Kyŏngju and Pusan. One of the most noteworthy is Haein Monastery, which has been destroyed and rebuilt seven times; Haein Monastery houses an extensive set of woodblocks for the printing of Buddhist scriptures and the *Tripiṭaka Koreana.*

TEMPLE COMPOUNDS IN JAPAN. Although rock-carved cave-temples were never constructed in Japan, more pre-ninth-century wooden architecture from Buddhist temple compounds survives there than in any other East Asian country. Among remains from the Asuka and Nara periods (552–784 CE) are main Buddha image halls known in Japanese as *kondō* (literally, "golden hall"), octagonal halls that commemorate men important in a temple compound's history; multistory pagodas, including two miniature pagodas; lecture halls for teaching the scriptures; and gates, enclosing corridors, a sūtra repository, a monks' dormitory, and a refectory. Through these structures, as well as excavated remains and literary descriptions, temple compounds of the first Buddhist centuries in Japan, as well as China and Korea, have been reconstructed. It is known, for example, that three arrangements dominated temple compounds in Japan in the first Buddhist centuries. At Shitennōji in Osaka, the pagoda and hall are on an axial line, the arrangement implemented in China at Yongning Monastery, as well as in the temple compounds at Miruksa (early seventh century) of the Silla kingdom and Gumgangsa (sixth century) of the Paekche kingdom of Korea. At Japan's Hōryūji, whose four oldest buildings date to around 700, and at Kawaharadera, the pagoda and main Buddha hall were placed side by side. At sixth-century Asukadera, south of Nara in Asuka, three main Buddha halls enclosed a dominant central pagoda on all but the south side. Yet another Nara-period plan included twin pagodas on either side in front of the main hall. Each of these plans is suggested by excavated remains in Korean kingdoms of the sixth and seventh centuries; they are also seen in murals dating from the seventh and eighth centuries on the walls of cave-temple compounds in China after Dunhuang. Expansive temple compounds of eighth-century Japan, including Hōryūji and Tōdaiji, inform us of yet more kinds of structures that survive in rebuilt versions—bell and drum towers used to keep time and call monks to prayer, halls for ceremonies of certain moons of the lunar year, ordination halls, and treasure repositories. Temple compounds could also include shrines to monks or monk-founders, halls to individual buddhas or *bodhisattvas*, gardens, bathhouses, and anything else that offered full-service life and education to the monastic and sometimes lay community.

Coincident with the move of the main capital to Heian (Kyoto) at the end of the eighth century, esoteric Buddhist sects, particularly Tendai and Shigon, both transmitted by monks who had traveled to China to study their teachings, rose in Japan. In contrast to the temple compounds of the seventh and eighth centuries that dominated Japan's capital cities, early Heian-period monasteries had smaller buildings located in remote, often mountainous settings. Thereby, the clergy were kept distant from court affairs. Muroji in Nara prefecture, Daigoji and Jingoji on the outskirts of Kyoto, and many of the monasteries of the sacred Buddhist peak Koya, trace their origins to this period. So does the Eastern Monastery, Tōji, in Kyoto. Although buildings of temple compounds in the middle part of the Heian period remained small in comparison to their Nara counterparts, decoration became lavish. The change corresponded to the surge in Pure Land Buddhism, whose monasteries often included a recreation of the Buddha's paradise, or Pure Land, in the form of a hall with a lotus pond in front of it. The Phoenix Hall of the Byōdōin in Uji, once the residence of one of Japan's wealthiest families, and the Golden Hall of Chūsonji in Hiraizumi are typical Fujiwara-period (951–1086) monastery buildings. By the end of the Heian period, however, much less ornate temple compounds became popular: one-bay square halls dedicated to Amitābha Buddha of the Western Paradise were common.

Austere construction characterized temple compounds of the next period of Japanese history, named Kamakura (1185–1333) after the location of its capital, when the power of government lay in the hands of the military ruler known as the *shogun.* Austerities suited to a militaristic age were compatible with Zen Buddhism, a meditational sect, which became popular across Japan beginning in the thirteenth century. Like Esoteric and Pure Land Buddhism, Zen was transmitted from China. Yet even from the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, when Chan (Jpn., Zen) flourished in South China, few temple compounds survive intact, in contrast to the scores of Zen temple compounds with original structures in Japan. Zen temple compounds are known for two-story entry gates where portrait statues of the sixteen arhats were installed on the second floor. The main Buddha hall of a Zen temple compound, where public ceremonies were enacted, was known as *butsuden.* Other assemblages of monks took place in the law hall. Both in Kamakura and later in Kyoto in the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries, Zen temple compounds consisted of public reception space, used chiefly by the main abbot; abbot's quarters; halls for study and meditation; a hall for sūtra recitation; a hall dedicated to the monastery founder; and usually gardens. The abbot's quarters traced its origins to a humble one-bay square hut *(hōjō)*, the kind of dwelling used by the earliest Indian Buddhists, but these became increasingly important and lavish by the end of the twelfth century. Yet another hall type of Zen temple compounds was the *shariden*, the relic hall. Examples of all these structures remain in Kamakura and most survive at one of the best examples of a Zen temple compound, the Tōfukuji in Kyoto. Two styles of Kamakura temple compounds originated on China's southeastern coast. They were differentiated by the names Indian style and Tang (or Chinese) style, even though their buildings used Chinese components from base to roof. Other temple architecture of the period and as late as the fifteenth century was designated Japanese (native) style and mixed style.

The return of the shogunate to the Japanese capital in Kyoto ushered in the Muromachi age (1338–1573), a period of luxurious living represented by the Silver Pavilion and the Golden Pavilion. Each was a devotional-meditational-reception hall for the private use of the shogun at his residential-religious building complexes. The in-town shogunate residences also included tea huts and Zen meditational gardens, sometimes made largely of rocks. The Muromachi period was the last age of great innovation in Buddhist temple architecture in Japan.

Temple compounds survive, are restored, and built anew in China, Korea, and Japan today. After a millennium-and-a-half of history, they are still centers of Buddhist education, worship, and communal life.

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NANCY SHATZMAN STEINHARDT (2005)

TEMPLE: BUDDHIST TEMPLE COMPOUNDS IN TIBET

The area covered by Tibetan Buddhist culture—which extends from the Tibetan Autonomous Region of China into neighboring Chinese provinces and into adjacent parts of India, Nepal, Bhutan, and Burma (Myanmar)—shares a common architectural tradition. The basic units are the temple and the stupa. Temples may stand alone either in open countryside or in a village or town, or more commonly they may, singly or in a group, form the core of a monastic community, or sometimes of a fortified palace complex. Stupas, usually modest in size, are ubiquitous features of the landscape. Occasionally a stupa of massive proportions will dominate a monastery or temple site.

The architectural style of Tibetan Buddhism is distinctive and as such has been exported to Mongolia and parts of China, and to Tibetan refugee communities around the world. The style has been created over some fourteen centuries as an eclectic mix from a variety of sources. Basic design concepts of plan and elevation—*vihāra*, *maṇḍala*, multistoried construction—derive largely from India, often via Nepal. The main inspiration for building materials and techniques, as well as some of the decoration, has been the domestic farmhouse architecture of Tibet itself, with its many regional variations. Economic conditions dictate the use of native labor—essentially drawn from the local peasant farming population—for erecting and maintaining the main structure of religious buildings, which follow the local farmhouses in their reliance on heavy load-bearing outer walls of layered mud, mud brick, or rough stone. Internally the ceilings and flat roofs are supported by wooden columns, beams, and joists, the timbers for which may have to be imported from a distance. These factors in turn determine the form, finish, and size of walls, room spaces, and other architectural elements of temples, which from the constructional point of view can be regarded as oversized farmhouses. Temples are however distinguished from farmhouses by decorative embellishments that have originated in India, Nepal, Kashmir, China, and Mongolia and have often been executed by craftspeople imported from those countries.

THE FIRST SPREADING OF BUDDHISM: JO KHANG (JOKHANG) AND BSAM YAS (SAMYE). Buddhism is traditionally held to have been introduced into Tibet in the early seventh century. A major landmark in the process was the foundation of the still extant Jo khang temple in Lhasa by the Nepalese wife of King Srong btsan sgam po (Songtsen gampo, r. c. 618–641). While the story is heavily obscured by legend its essentials are plausible. The Jo khang, built on a level site and facing in the direction of Nepal, follows the *vihāra* layout so common in the architecture of the Kathmandu Valley. A three-storied range of chambers faces inward toward a rectangular inner courtyard, which, unlike its Nepalese prototypes, is covered with a flat roof. Light is admitted through a skylight onto the main image of the Buddha, which occupies a chamber in one of the shorter sides opposite the entrance porch.

While the outer walls and much of the present woodwork are entirely of the farmhouse-derived Tibetan type, the older columns, brackets, and door frames are compatible with the seventh-century Nepalese style, suggesting the participation of craft workers from Nepal. The four small-pitched roofs perched on the flat top of the building, with their complex wooden bracketing and gilded metal covering are instantly recognizable as of Chinese inspiration, almost certainly executed by Chinese artisans. At least one of them is known to have been added in the fourteenth century.

The inward-looking chambers of the Jo khang are occupied by chapels containing images of Buddhist divinities and a variety of mural paintings, both iconic and narrative in subject matter. An additional circumambulation corridor was later added round the whole building, and further concentric circumambulation routes lead round the streets outside and toward the outskirts of the city of Lhasa, reinforcing the supreme position of the Jo khang at the center of Tibetan religious life.

The other major religious complex founded in Tibet during the first spreading of Buddhism is Bsam yas, some 120 kilometers southeast of Lhasa, built by King Khri Srong lde btsan (Trisong detsen, ruled c. 755–797) in about 770 as the home of the country's first monastic community. Its layout, based on the *maṇḍala* with explicit cosmic symbolism, is strikingly different from that of the Jo khang. A central building of three superimposed temple chambers containing images of buddhas and divinities (the stories were originally built or decorated in Tibetan, Indian, and Chinese style respectively) represents Mount Meru at the center of the universe in Indian cosmology, looking outwards across a low surrounding wall representing concentric rings of mountains and lakes. Outside this, symmetrically placed at the quarters and intermediate directions, are four directional stupas and variously shaped small temples representing the sun and moon and the four earthly continents. The whole is surrounded by a quasi-circular wall. Living quarters for monks and other ancillary buildings are not part of the symbolic plan, as is normally the case in later buildings. The foundation of Bsam yas marks the inauguration of Buddhism as the state religion of Tibet under the King as a kind of cosmocrator. Its plan was allegedly inspired by the monastery of Odantapuri in Bihar, India, and may also owe something to the example of a temple at Wutaishan in China; there are also interesting parallels with the roughly contemporary palace-city of Baghdad. While the main structures of the present buildings at Bsam yas are original, the complex, like the Jo khang, has suffered periods of damage and neglect, most recently in the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), and much of the woodwork and decoration dates from later periods.

THE SECOND SPREADING OF BUDDHISM: TABO AND ALCHI. After the collapse of the early Tibetan empire in the years after 842 CE, Buddhism was on the defensive in a politically fragmented country and little is known of architectural activity except for the mention of a few temples which, if genuine, must have been very small. Datable building programs begin again in 996 with the Western Tibetan complexes of Tabo and Mtho lding (Tholing, the latter largely destroyed in the Cultural Revolution). Generally, individual temples of this period are much smaller than the Jo khang or Bsam yas, and are built in small groups within walled compounds. While the details of a number of temple compounds from this period are known, by far the best preserved are those at Tabo and Alchi, both now in India.

The main temple at Tabo (Himachal Pradesh, India) is externally an unprepossessing single-story mud-brick chamber with no windows or external decoration. Internally however it displays a sophisticated arrangement of the deities of the Vajradhātu *Maṇḍala*, crafted in stucco and fixed part way up the internal walls of the single chamber. The image of the central buddha, Vairocana, is moved along the axis from the entrance porch toward the rear of the chamber, and in a small space behind it is the image of Amitābha, of whom Vairocana is an emanation. Thus the use of height to convey symbolically a progression to more supramundane levels at

Bsam yas is replaced by movement along an axis. Height is however used to differentiate the mural paintings of the internal walls, which cover historical and narrative themes lower down and iconic subjects higher up. The flat roof of the chamber is supported in the usual fashion by wooden columns to leave a central space suitable for the communal rituals of the monks. This practical requirement henceforth very commonly dictates the form of the Tibetan temple chamber. Conceptually it can be seen as both a *maṇḍala*, housing a conventional set of divine images, and as a *vihāra*, with the images represented as statues or paintings looking into a central space from the sides, and the main image at the far end opposite the entrance. Both types of plan are sanctioned in the Tibetan Buddhist scriptures: the *vihāra* mainly in the Vinaya texts of monastic discipline, and the *maṇḍala* in the Tantras. Details of the carpentry recall styles from lower down the Himalayan valleys, from whence most of the timber probably came.

While the assembly hall at Alchi in present-day Ladakh (India) resembles the main temple of Tabo, the Sumtsek or temple of three diminishing stories there reworks some of the themes touched upon above. Of uncertain date, perhaps eleventh to twelfth century, it is of *maṇḍala*-like plan with four projections, one of them occupied by the entrance porch and the other three- by four-meter high stucco images of *bodhisattvas* whose heads project above the ceiling into the gallery of the next story. The small central space is occupied by a stupa: too small for communal worship it was used like a few others of its type for individual Tantric initiations. Just as remarkable as the plan and elevation of the temple are its paintings, which cover the entire inner surface in luxuriant profusion. As at Bsam yas and Tabo, symbolic use is made of height, with more mundane scenes and subjects below, more transcendental ones above. Carpentry details at Alchi strongly resemble those in the architecture of the Kashmir Valley (now surviving only in stone), whence some of the craftsmen are known to have traveled.

TRANSITION: SHALU. The temple compound of Shalu near Shigatse in south-central Tibet illustrates the transition from the style of the second spreading of Buddhism to the mature style, sometimes called the Dge lugs (Geluk) pa style, which had evolved by the fifteenth to sixteenth century and continues to this day.

The original temples at Shalu, from the early eleventh century, comprised a pair of single windowless chambers sharing a party wall and known as the "twin chapels," whose ceilings are each supported by four wooden columns remarkable in this period for their height, about six meters. They faced across what was presumably an open space toward a two-story temple, nowadays made up of a chamber traversed by the main entrance passage, with a chapel devoted to the goddess of wisdom (Prajñāpāramitā). The capitals and bracketing between the columns and ceilings of all these early temples show interesting experiments that bring together elements of both Chinese- and Indian-derived carpentry.

In the late thirteenth century, additional single-story temples were constructed along the sides of the compound to create an enclosed central courtyard. This paved the way for a complete transformation of the complex in the early fourteenth century, made possible by the connections of the local princes with the hierarchs of the nearby principality of Sa skya (Sakya), who had been appointed viceroys of Tibet by the Yuan (Mongol) dynasty of China. Lavish patronage was available in the form of financing and the services of mural painters, carpenters, and tile-makers sent from China. The painters were from an imperial atelier set up some decades earlier by the famous Nepalese artist and sculptor Aniko. Thus the construction of this phase of Shalu was a true international effort, as has frequently been the case in Tibetan architecture. Raw materials for tile glazing and painting must have been imported from China, while timber was transported from across the Himalayas.

The central courtyard was roofed over to create a columned assembly hall lit by a central skylight. Over the chapels on each of the four sides was erected a Chinese pavilion of traditional wooden construction with a pitched roof of green glazed tiles, looking onto the central roof terrace in the fashion of the Jo khang. The whole was surrounded by a two-story circumambulation corridor. Internal surfaces not already painted were covered with mural paintings, where some of the earliest Chinese influence within Indo/Nepalese-derived Tibetan art can be seen.

By this time the distinctive Tibetan wooden entablature of column, bracket, beam, and joist had evolved and was used in the lower parts of the building. In the upper Chinese pavilions, however, Chinese bracketing and other carpentry details are exactly those found in contemporary Chinese architecture.

THE DGE LUGS PA STYLE. The basic temple layout exemplified at Shalu was much utilized after the government was taken over by the Dalai Lamas of the Dge lugs pa or Yellow Hat order of Tibetan Buddhism in the mid-seventeenth century. There was however a strong tendency to move the sites of temples and monasteries away from the river plains of earlier times to defensive hilltop positions. From there they could dominate the surrounding landscape not only visually and symbolically, but in some cases also militarily, in times when armed conflict between Buddhist monastic orders and their backers was not unknown. In some cases the temple and monastery merged with the fortified palace, so strong was the interconnection between religion and politics. The most outstanding examples of this process are the Potala palace of Lhasa and the *dzongs* of Bhutan, though there have been many others.

The Potala was begun by King Srong btsan sgam po in 637. In a development of the basic *vihāra* layout, a rectangular ground-floor assembly hall is surrounded by inward-looking cells over which are superimposed stories of further cells to leave a galleried and open central inner terrace over the hall. The internal spaces are mostly dedicated as chapels, monastic rooms, and Dalai Lama's living apartments or funerary stupas. The adjoining Red Palace to the east was erected by the last regent of the fifth Dalai Lama from 1690 to 1694 to incorporate the latter's mausoleum. Courtyards, monastic living quarters, access ramps, and defensive end bastions completed the complex. While it is defensible and has indeed been besieged a number of times, it is doubtful whether its main purpose was defense so much as a visual symbol of the religio-political center of the Tibetan polity.

The *dzongs* of Bhutan (the main ones located at Ha, Thimphu, Punakha, and Tongsa, and dating from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries), while built around a monastic core, had defense as a principal purpose. Each was intended as a center of civil, military, and religious administration for its surrounding valley complex. Within a mighty enclosing and elongated rampart are typically two courtyards: a public courtyard near the single entrance, separated by a towering central temple of three to five stories from an inner monastic courtyard.

The external appearance of religious buildings has been largely standardized, with outer walls tapering inward toward the top, and whitewashed to contrast with black-framed windows. The style closely resembles that of the local farmhouses, even to the extent of incorporating the roof parapets of stacked brushwood or other fuel and animal fodder as a fossilized element in religious buildings usually painted red. There are local variations—for instance in Bhutan the window frames are more elaborate and brightly painted and the temples are provided with overhanging pitched wooden roofs, but even here the red horizontal band is present in painted form. Stylized banners and standards of textile or, more commonly, gilded metal, of Indian, Nepalese, or Mongolian derivation adorn the roofs of temples, the more important of which may still be marked with small Chinese-style gilded pavilions. Internally the tapering wooden columns that support beams via elongated voluted brackets, all brightly painted, have also been largely standardized.

THE STUPA: RGYAL RTSE (GYANTSE). Tibetans conventionally recognize eight designs of stupa, relating them to episodes in the life of the Buddha. In practice all but the type commemorating the enlightenment are rare. However there are a few examples of the "stupa of many doors," the most remarkable being that in the town of Rgyal rtse, the so-called Kumbum, which dominates its temple complex. Built from 1427 to 1439 by the local princes, it is unusual in that all five stories of the stepped base, the dome, and the spire are hollowed out into chapels containing a rich variety of images and wall paintings. Thus the form of the stupa is fused with that of an elaborate Tantric *maṇḍala*.

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TEMPLE: BUDDHIST TEMPLE COMPOUNDS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Buddhists in Southeast Asia have established temple compounds of importance since ancient times. In Java, significant complexes were built in the eighth and ninth centuries (in Central Java) and in the eleventh to fifteenth centuries (in East Java), prior to the spread of Islam. In mainland Southeast Asia, where Theravāda Buddhism is practiced today, the development of Buddhist temples can be traced from early historical times through the present.

Because so many temple compounds have included dwelling places for monks, it is sometimes held that it is preferable to speak of monasteries, rather than temples. Since, however, monastic establishments are in general places of public worship, either term is acceptable. Temple compounds can include the same elements found in India: the stupa, which need not contain an actual relic of the Buddha; a sanctuary or a hall holding a principal Buddha image; and housing for monks. In the living traditions of Burma (Myanmar) and Thailand (together with Laos and Cambodia), special importance is attached to halls that can accommodate public worship and to those that provide for monastic ceremonies a space that is necessarily demarcated by ritual boundary stones. Sometimes these halls are distinct, sometimes one in the same.

In this entry, a survey of developments in Southeast Asia follows descriptions of three complexes of particular distinction and ambition: Borobudur in Central Java (eighth to ninth centuries); the Nagayon in Pagan, Burma (eleventh century); and Wat Phra Chettuphon in Bangkok, Thailand (eighteenth to nineteenth centuries).

BOROBUDUR. Borobudur, or Chandi Borobudur, is a unique monument, the profundity of which has been widely acknowledged, even in the absence of general agreement about its interpretation. It may be regarded as a stupa elevated upon a sequence of terraces, as in such later structures as the twelfth-century Dhammayazika at Pagan (where the terraces bear reliefs depicting Buddhist birth stories) and the Kumbum in Gyantse, Tibet (where niches on the terraces hold images of deities in the Vajrayāna pantheon). Its Indian antecedents are obscure. In complexity, quality of workmanship, and expressiveness, Borobudur surpasses these later buildings and perhaps all other Buddhist monuments.

The original 160 relief panels encircling the lowest quadrangular story were covered with stone blocks, apparently before the monument reached its ultimate shape, as a result of a need to prevent subsidence. These reliefs depict scenes of cause and effect, such as appropriate punishments for evil deeds. Above are four stories generally referred to as galleries. Each of these can be circumambulated by a visitor entering from one of the four axial stairs, and each contains a major series of narrative reliefs on the inner wall, with reliefs of lesser importance on the outer wall. The height of the outer wall prevents views out to the landscape. In the first gallery, the primary 120 panels depict the life of the Buddha through his enlightenment; directly below, the reliefs depict Buddhist tales, both *jātakas* and *avadānas.* On the second and third galleries, the primary reliefs depict the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra*, specifically the visits of the pilgrim Sudhana to "good friends," who provide instruction in Mahāyāna Buddhist doctrine according to Avataṃsaka tenets, and Sudhana's arrival at the Tower of Maitreya, characterized in the text as a fantastic architectural structure that provides a visualization of the nature of the *dharmadhātu*, the "truth realm" or phenomenal world as perceived by buddhas. The reliefs of the fourth and topmost gallery are devoted to the Samantabhadra vows, a text describing miraculous visions and committing the pilgrim to the *bodhisattva* path, and to the vow to remain in the world, aiding suffering creatures until all beings can enter *nirvāṇa* together. Overlooking each of these four galleries are life-sized buddha images in niches (in all, 368 images); these are differentiated according to direction on the first three galleries; over the fourth gallery, all the buddhas execute a teaching gesture.

After the fourth gallery, the visitor enters a "plateau," above which rise three concentric terraces, which hold a total of seventy-two (thirty-two, twenty-four, and sixteen) perforated stupas with diamond-shaped and square openings, through which is visible a life-sized sculpture of the Buddha performing the teaching gesture known as *dharmacakra mudrā.* Crowning the monument is a much larger central stupa, which is solid. From these terraces the visitor has a view over the landscape.

The reliefs of the covered base and the four galleries present a straightforward pilgrimage along the *bodhisattva* path of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The significance of the upper terraces, on the other hand, is less clear. Older interpretations draw conclusions from points of connection with Buddhist cosmology, seeing in the half-hidden buddhas of the perforated stupas a move toward the invisibility of the topmost "formless realm" of the Buddhist cosmos. One recent interpretation argues that the upper terraces represent an ideal world, contrasting with and paralleling the real world of the galleries, and that the perforated stupas convey higher meditational experience in two ways. The openings in the stupas are actually the shapes of the breaths of the meditator, who is paying visits on the terraces to the planets and stars, the moon, and the sun. Secondly, if the stupas were gilded and reflected each other and the visitor, they would have conveyed the nature of the *dharmadhātu*, in which enlightened ones perceive phenomena as resembling a hall of mirrors. It may be that originally Borobudur was to be crowned with a sanctuary that would have stood for the Tower of Maitreya as illustrated in the third-gallery reliefs. A change of plan resulted in the terraces with perforated stupas, unique in the Buddhist world, but paralleling chakras ("circles," psychic centers within the human trunk) of lotuses with thirty-two, twenty-four, and sixteen petals, like those found in the Tantric texts that were soon to dominate Indian monastic centers.

THE NAGAYON. The Nagayon, a relatively small temple constructed in the late eleventh century, is one of the oldest buildings in the ancient capital of Pagan, Burma. Constructed of brick and stucco, it reflects older traditions of northern India and Bangladesh, and its spire takes the form of the *śikhara* of the northern Indian Hindu shrine. There are three interior spaces: a hall, an ambulatory, and a sanctuary. Ten niches in the hall hold sculptures depicting important events in the life of the Buddha. On the inner and outer walls of the ambulatory, which encircles the sanctuary, beside murals (originally) illustrating the Buddha's life and birth stories, are sixty niches with sculptures. Twenty-eight of these niches hold a sequence of images of buddhas, representing the historical Buddha Gautama and his twenty-seven predecessors in the distant past. In a panel below each buddha of the past appears a small-scale figure who represents the contemporary incarnation of Gautama hearing a prediction regarding future buddhahood. For instance, the Buddha Dipankara informed the hermit Sumedha that he would become a buddha after innumerable eons. From the darkened ambulatory, the visitor enters the sanctuary, in height nearly double that of the ambulatory; it has small clerestory windows through which, under the right conditions, light falls upon the head of the tall standing central Buddha image, with magical effect.

A passage found in Sanskrit *avadāna* texts describes a miracle of the Buddha: the Buddha smiles, rays of light emerge from his eyeteeth, ascend to the higher heavens and descend to the earth, and then return to the Buddha's mouth. This passage is found also in an inscription of the reigning Burmese king, Kyanzittha (1084–1111). The Buddha smiled because he was about to predict to his disciple Ānanda the reign of Kyanzittha himself. Therefore the visitor to the Nagayon, having pondered the giving of predictions in the sculptures of the ambulatory, enters the sanctuary to find dramatically re-created the Buddha's smile, the miracle of the light rays, and, it is implied, a prediction.

WAT PHRA CHETTUPHON. The Holy Chettuphon Monastery, which occupies an extensive compound adjacent to the royal palace in Bangkok, does not aspire to present the sort of ultimate experiences a pilgrim can find at both Borobudur and the Nagayon. It is, on the other hand, an encyclopedic monastery, constructed in such a way as to encompass all Buddhist thought, as well as history and the learned sciences. Chettuphon is the Thai pronunciation of Jetavana, a compound presented to the Buddha by one of his patrons, where the Buddha spent nineteen rainy seasons. The monastery is commonly known as Wat Pho, a memory of its pre-1791 name, the Bodh-ārāma, "Enlightenment Park." The monastery is divided into two main walled sections, one consisting of dwelling places for the abbot and for hundreds of monks, the other, which will be briefly described here, of dozens of buildings, some commemorative in nature, some for public worship, and some for instruction, all either aligned or hierarchically arranged. Nearly all the structures in the monastery were constructed in the course of building campaigns by two monarchs, Rama I (r. 1782–1809) and Rama III (r. 1824–1851).

The primary structure is the *uposatha* (sabbath) hall (in Thai, the *bōt*), a massive rectangular building (the exterior measures 51 by 29 meters; the interior, 31 by 19 meters) entered from the east, and housing a large image of the Buddha at the western end. A *bōt* is a structure necessarily surrounded by a set of eight ritual boundary stones *(sīmā)* that permanently set aside a sacred space. Only in the *bōt* may the monks recite the 227 rules of the discipline, which they must do twice a month, and only in the *bōt* may ordinations be held.

Second in importance to the *bōt* is a group of four stupas to the west, uncharacteristically set slightly askew from the *bōt* axis but still positioned in such a way that the worshiper in the *bōt* who pays homage to the main image is also honoring the stupas that lie beyond. The main stupa holds the remains of a Buddha image dedicated in 1503 at the principal royal monastery in the former capital of Ayutthaya (abandoned in 1767 following a war with Burma); the three other stupas commemorate kings Rama II, III, and IV. Further west stands the library.

Themes of royal commemoration and of the heritage of the former capital of Ayutthaya (1351–1767) number among the many layers of meaning at Wat Phra Chettuphon. Rama I's ashes were installed by Rama IV under the pedestal of the main image in the *bōt.* Encircling the outer wall of the *bōt* are 152 marble narrative relief panels depicting the Indian epic the *Rāmāyana*, beginning with the abduction of Prince Rāma's beloved Sītā by the demon king and ending with some of the victory battles by Rāma's forces in Lanka. These reliefs spread the message that righteous kings make Buddhist monasticism possible, and they may also have had an esoteric content, alluding to stages of meditation. (They also reinforced the monastery's position as a center of learning and literary culture in the reign of Rama III.) The image placed inside the main stupa is not the only old image at Wat Phra Chettuphon; in fact, in the primary and secondary galleries that surround the *bōt* there are rows of hundreds of bronze seated buddha images brought from Ayutthaya and cities further north by Rama I.

Other layers of meaning involve specifically Buddhist messages. Easily explicable systematic intent is found in at least some of the four *vihāra* (Thai, *wihān;* image hall) that surround the *bōt* and are connected by the primary and secondary galleries. The main image in the northern *wihān*, for instance, shows the Buddha seated in a forest as an elephant and a monkey bring him offerings, while the original murals and inscriptions were devoted to the thirteen ascetic practices, solitary forest pursuits that contrast with the communal activities of the urban monastery, which are apparently connoted in the southern *wihān.* The western *wihān*, lying between the *bōt* and the stupas, originally held murals depicting the stories of the Buddha's hair relic and of his footprints—that is, of the tangible legacies he bequeathed. The subject matter of these murals is out of the ordinary; in the most common schemes, as found in image halls, the Buddha's defeat of the army of the devil is depicted on the eastern (or entrance) wall, Buddhist cosmology on the western wall (behind the principal image), and the life of the Buddha or the stories of the last ten of his previous existences on the side walls.

Wat Phra Chettuphon, unlike Borobudur or the Nagayon, provides no single climactic experience. It has been argued, however (by Chot Kanlayanamit, a twentieth-century traditional Thai architect), that the ornamental elements of Thai image halls and stupas are characterized by quietude, lightness, and levitation, three qualities that themselves convey the character of Buddhist meditation and spiritual ascent.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW. The history of Buddhist temples in Southeast Asia can to some degree be reduced to the history of elements mentioned so far: the stupa, the sanctuary, and the image hall, which may or may not also be an *uposatha* hall. Additional elements include the library and dwelling places for monks. The history is greatly complicated, however, by variations and changes in the relative importance of these elements and by the fact that for the earlier periods no evidence survives of wooden structures, either free-standing or erected upon brick platforms.

In Java, aside from the exceptional Borobudur, stone sanctuaries dominate surviving temple sites. In Central Java, sanctuaries, including single-chambered, triple-chambered, and cruciform types, held various configurations of buddhas and *bodhisattvas.* During the East Javanese period, stone sanctuaries accommodated deities seen as participating in a Buddhist-Hindu syncretism, and they frequently bore narrative relief sculptures on the exterior, illustrating Javanese texts. The situation in classical Cambodia was somewhat similar; in form, Buddhist sanctuaries were indistinguishable from Hindu ones until the construction at Angkor of the Bayon (c. 1200), which has giant faces on its towers. Scholars still debate the original meaning of these faces, but traditional Cambodian thought connects them with the Brahmā gods of the higher levels of the Buddhist cosmos.

In Pagan, Burma (eleventh to thirteenth centuries and later), many of the temples have configurations similar to the one seen at the Nagayon. The much larger Ananda (c. 1100) takes the form of four Nagayon-like temples back-to-back, emanating from a solid brick core. Sculptures depicting the life of the Buddha are placed in niches in interior corridors, where the play of light has a role somewhat like that found at the Nagayon. The exterior is encircled by glazed terracotta panels at ground level depicting the army of the devil and worshiping gods in a giant reenactment of the events of the night of the Buddha's enlightenment; on the tiered roof, hundreds of panels illustrate the Buddha's previous lives. At Pagan subsequently, the interest in interior light disappeared, and the massive two-storied temple developed. There were also brick monastic dwellings in the city, arranged as cells around a court (as in northern India), as well as giant stupas functioning as focal points for worship. The most important great stupa surviving today in Burma is the Shwedagon in Rangoon, which houses the Buddha's hair relic.

The brick-and-stucco temple traditions of Pagan did not last into modern times. Instead, the characteristic Burmese monastic building, a long rectangular structure raised on stilts, has its roots in the indigenous wooden architecture of Southeast Asia. It has an exterior platform and three main sections, each surmounted with pyramidal roofs: the sanctuary, which is a room beneath a tiered spire (*pyathat*; Skt., *prāsāda*); a multipurpose room, or reception hall; and a storeroom. The east-west orientation is the opposite of older (and elsewhere, standard) practice; the sanctuary is at the eastern end, and the Buddha image faces west. In the multipurpose room (20 by 15 meters in some cases), which has a dais of its own for Buddha images, monks gather for chanting in the morning, instruction is given to novices, the public may attend twice-monthly holy day services, and monks and novices sleep on bedrolls stored away during the day. The *uposatha* hall, which generally has a masonry foundation, is called a *thein (sīmā)*. Since most monasteries lack a *thein*, monks attend a neighboring establishment for services twice a month.

As a rectilinear masonry image hall spacious enough for congregational worship, the *bōt* (*uposatha* hall) at Wat Phra Chettuphon has many antecedents, not only in Thailand but also in Cambodia and Vietnam. What was new at the time of construction was the designation of the principal hall as the *bōt*. In earlier practice, the *bōt* was a secondary structure of more modest dimensions, primarily for the use of monks (and traditionally, in northern Thailand, access was denied to women). Over the past two hundred years, the Wat Phra Chettuphon pattern has become standard. In the older pattern, the main hall (*wihān*) is the place where the twice monthly holy day services are held; at these, monks chant, lay people may take a vow to follow the behavioral precepts, and a sermon is given. (Ordinarily, older women form the major portion of the audience at these services.) Public services can also be held, however, in a *sālā*, sometimes a wooden building on stilts, sometimes an open-air pavilion.

An early rectilinear hall from the seventh to ninth century was excavated in central Thailand at U Thong. A simple brick platform, 28 by 5 meters, it evidently had a wooden superstructure. A much more elaborate prototype for the independent but aligned structures of later times can be seen at the Buddhist temple site of Dong-duong in Vietnam (c. 900), where an image hall (37 by 15 meters) lies directly in front of other buildings further west, including a sanctuary. The early Sukhothai *wihān* (north-central Thailand) had dimensions more square; the *wihān* at Wat Saphan Hin (late thirteenth century) measures 25 by 20 meters, was hardly raised off the ground, and housed a giant stucco standing Buddha. By the early fifteenth century this type of *wihān* had been replaced by a more longitudinal one with high plinth. In central and north-central Thailand, the principal *wihān* tended to be aligned with a stupa or, frequently, with a tower called a *prāng*, an adaptation of the Cambodian sanctuary tower (but having no enterable sanctuary).

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HIRAM WOODWARD (2005)

TEMPLE: DAOIST TEMPLE COMPOUNDS

It is difficult to say what was the first Daoist structure in China or when or where it was built. It seems certain that large Daoist temple complexes were not erected during the age of the philosophers Laozi in the sixth century BCE or Zhuangzi in the fourth to early third century BCE. By the early centuries of the Common Era, Daoist architecture was constructed in China, although even then it may not have been explicitly associated with a codified doctrine or what we today think of as religious practices. The ambiguity is inherent in attempts to define Daoism itself. Certainly Daoist temple compounds are groups of buildings that contain images of identifiable Daoist deities and are backdrops for Daoist rituals and worship. Yet sacred mountains and other elements of the landscape or natural settings, with little or no architecture, may provide equally fervent settings for worship of Daoist deities or may be worshipped themselves. Rustic retreats and grottoes may offer architectural environments for an ascetic's meditation or an alchemist's practice, and they may be structural appendages to more traditional temple compounds.

Although worship of native or popular deities or natural elements or spirits that come to be part of the Daoist pantheon predates the arrival of Buddhism in China in the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE), it was the presence of monumental Buddhist architecture and its imagery that gave the greatest impetus to the Daoist temple compound. After the Han dynasty, the forms and functions of Daoist architecture in China directly reflected the styles and purposes of Chinese Buddhist buildings and the interior images they were designed to house. Male and female Daoist clergy came to be trained and reside in monastic settings. As a result, from the outside, the pillar-supported halls with ceramic tile roofs arranged in lines, the covered arcades that connect and enclose them, and the plaster walls that surround them are usually indistinguishable from those of a Buddhist temple compound. In addition, beyond the main, central image halls are libraries, stele pavilions, dining halls, dormitories, and shrines and tombs to lay leaders and reknowned transcendants associatied with the temple compound, features also found in a Buddhist monastic setting. Occasionally, a temple compound includes halls for both Buddhist and Daoist worship.

The name is one of the first clues that a temple compound is Daoist. Among religious architecture in China, two suffixes almost invariably define Daoist structures. The first is *guan*, often translated as "abbey." *Guan* is the third character in the name of Beijing's most famous Daoist temple compound, Baiyun guan (White Cloud Abbey). A Daoist temple compound of higher status takes *gong*, a term borrowed from imperial architecture and meaning "palace," as its last character. Yongle Gong, the Palace of Eternal Joy, is Daoism's most famous *gong*. Both *guan* and *gong* are basically equivalent to the Buddhist *si* (monastery or temple compound). Other terms are shared with Buddhist and Confucian temple architecture in China. *Miao*, for example, is an individual temple in either a Buddhist or a Daoist temple compound, but *miao* is also used to refer to a Confucian temple compound (Kong[zi]miao). *An* can be both a Daoist or Buddhist nunnery or, when it refers to a small religious complex, it may be translated as "hermitage." *Ci*, or "shrine," is a veneration temple and may be part of a larger Buddhist, Daoist, or Confucian compound, or it can refer to the compound itself, such as Jinci, the Daoist Jin Shrine complex.

In all likelihood, Daoist masters conducted ceremonies and rituals in temple compounds in the Han dynasty, but no archaeological evidence of them has been found. The best architectural evidence of Daoist practice in the early centuries of the Common Era survives in Sichuan and a few regions of adjacent provinces. Cliff tombs, particularly in Pengshan and Leshan, both in Sichuan province, are replete with images in relief sculpture of one of early Daoism's most popular deities, the Queen Mother of the West, said to be capable of bestowing the elixir of immortality. Textual records inform us that Daoist rites took place in *zhi*—a term borrowed from the secular tradition in which it means a place where governing occurs—and in *jingshi*, or "chambers of quietude." Other terms, *dong* (caves or grottoes), *dongtian* (literally, "cavern heavens"), and *fudi* (blessed plots), are also found in historical texts and religious writings, but none is described. The assumption that Daoist temple compounds existed is based primarily on the large numbers of their Buddhist counterparts—1,367, in the capital city Luoyang at the end of the fifth century—and countless cave-temples in cities and at pilgrimage sites in the centuries following Han.

Only by the Sui-Tang period (581–907) is it certain that Daoist temple compounds were present in China's cities and the countryside. The capital city of Sui and Tang—Daxing, and then Chang'an—housed ten Daoist abbeys at the end of the sixth century and sixteen in the middle of the eighth century. At least four Daoist temple compounds stood within the walls of Tang Chang'an's two palace complexes. Both the Great Ultimate palace complex and the Great Luminous palace complex had a hall dedicated to the Three Purities, Daoism's most popular trinity, and auxiliary structures. In 741, Tang emperor Xuanzong (Minghuang) (r. 712–756), established a temple (*miao*) to Laozi in Chang'an, in the secondary capital Luoyang, and in each prefectural capital. Later the same year, he built a hall for the worship of Laozi in his Flourishing Celebration palace complex. Following this precedent, even the non-Chinese ruler Abaoji (r. 907–926), whose successor would found the Liao dynasty (947–1125), built at least one Daoist abbey in his first capital in Inner Mongolia. Under the non-Chinese dynasty Jin (1115–1234), important construction took place at Tianchang Abbey (today White Cloud Abbey in Beijing), where building had begun during the Tang dynasty. The oldest extant wooden building from a Daoist temple complex survives at Five Dragons Temple in Ruicheng, Shanxi province. It is dated by inscription to the year 831.

More than a dozen buildings from the eleventh through thirteenth centuries, a period of syncretism among the three faiths, survive at Daoist temple compounds. Premier among them is Sage Mother Hall at the Jin Shrines in Taiyuan, Shanxi province, built between 1023 and 1032. Today a complex of more than thirty buildings, in the Zhou dynasty (1150–256 BCE) a shrine to Prince Shu Yu, son of Zhou King Wu, stood there. The shrine to Shu Yu's mother, the Sage Mother, is marked by beams that span eight rafter lengths (the greatest span of the period), gilt dragons that wind around the front columns, and a fish pond covered by a cruciform bridge in front. All are examples of the most eminent building standards of eleventh-century China. Although clearly having ties to China's imperial tradition, the Daoist context is underscored by the worshippers who come to the shrine to pray for help from the Sage Mother and to pray for rain from the nearby springs. Further associations between the shrines and Daoism are the presence of grottoes to Laozi, the Three Purities, the Three Heavens, and Yellow Emperor; shrines to the Three Pruities, the Eastern Peak, Three Sages, and Lu Ban, the Chinese patron deity-hero of architects; pavilions to the Daoist immortal Lü Dongbin, the Three Officials, and Zhenwu, the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven; temples (*miao*) to the god of wealth, Dragon King, spirits of the mountains, god of war, and god of the earth; and a palace complex to the god of literature.

The Temple to the Earth God (Houtumiao) in Wanrong, Shanxi province, focused on a Daoist deity but heavily patronized by the imperial family, was a similar temple compound of the Song dynasty (960–1279). Built in 1006 but destroyed by flood waters in the sixteenth century, its nine-bay, multistoried main hall, the central focus of five courtyards of architecture, is believed to have resembled an imperial palace of Song times. Its plan is believed to have been nearly identical to that of the Daoist Temple to the Earth God compound in Dengfeng, Shanxi, that survives in a post-Song version. Halls to the Three Purities, dated 1016 and 1176, stand at abbeys known as Xuanmiaoguan in Putian, Fujian province, and Suzhou, Jiangsu province, respectively. Both possessing the broadly sloping roof eaves of southeastern Chinese buildings of the Song dynasty, the former is today a middle school and the latter a tourist site. Jade Emperor Temple and Two Immortals Abbey are also among the Daoist temple compounds in Shanxi province where both architecture and sculpture survive in their eleventh- and twelfth-century forms. Two Song emperors were intimately involved with Daoism and Daoist construction. Zhenzong (r. 998–1023) ordered the construction of Abbeys to Celebrate the Heavens (Tianqingguan) throughout his empire. The equally prolific patron Huizong (r. 1101–1125) had Genyue (Northeast Peak), an artificial Daoist paradise of mountains, streams, and landmasses, built at his capital city, in addition to numerous Daoist temple complexes there and throughout China. More than thirty Daoist temple complexes were built in the Southern Song (1127–1279) capital city, today Hangzhou.

Several of China's most important premodern buildings remain at Daoist monasteries from the period of Mongolian rule (1267–1368). Three superlative halls and a gate stand at the Yongle Palace in southern Shanxi, a building complex dedicated to the popular twelfth- and thirteenth-century Daoist sect, Quanzhen. Paintings of the Three Purities and their entourages, the immortal Lü Dongbin, and the twelfth-century founder of Quanzhen Daoism, Wang Zhe (1113–1170), cover the interior walls of the three main halls, making this site the largest repository of Daoist painting in China. An even more splendid building, the Hall of Virtuous Tranquility, was built by imperial order at the Temple to the Northern Peak in Quyang, Hebei province, in 1270. Its white marble approach and balustrade, as well as its roof eaves and bracketing, are believed to be the closest extant examples of China's imperial building tradition of the thirteenth century. The Temple to the Water God, alternately known as the Dragon King, is an example of humbler Daoist architecture but with equally extraordinary murals. Among them are paintings of the Dragon King and his court and an itinerant dramatic troop that performed there in the fourteenth century.

Post-fourteenth-century Daoist temple complexes survive in every city and town of China today and across the Chinese countryside. Some of the most impressive Daoist temple compounds are on sacred peaks, among which Mount Tai and Mount Wudang are probably the most famous. Located in Shantung province, Taishan, the Eastern Peak, was considered the abode of life-giving forces, including those that controled the fate of the Chinese emperor, as well as the site to which dead souls return. In imperial times more than 250 temple compounds stood on the mountain, with Dai Temple, dedicated to the god of the mountain itself, the most austere. Inside Dai Temple, the god of Mount Tai is enthroned in the yellow robes of a Chinese emperor, and the emperor's journey from his capital to Taishan is painted on the interior walls. Wudangshan, in Hubei province, is where Daoists believed Zhenwu, the Perfected Warrior, attained immortality. Because the Yongle emperor (r. 1403–1424) believed Zhenwu had come north to help him attain the Chinese throne from his uncle, he patronized enormous temple complexes across the mountain. With time, many of the palaces and abbeys have burned or otherwise been destroyed, including the Golden Hall. Many consider the Purple Empyrean Palace, dedicated to the Jade Emperor, whose buildings rise step by step along the ascent to the top of the peak, the most dramatic temple complex on Mount Wudang.

Among urban temple compounds, Azure Ox (Qingyang) Palace in Chengdu, Sichuan province, is exemplary. Founded at the site where Laozi is said to have transcended to immortality, the Tang emperor Xuanzong stopped there to worship Laozi in 751. In addition to Laozi, civil and military officials, the Eight Daoist Immortals, the Three Purities, and Tang rulers are all focal deities in Azure Ox Palace's halls. The recipient of several later imperial visits, the temple compound was destroyed and rebuilt in every successive dynasty.

Today, Daoist temple compounds are especially active in Taiwan. The Pointing Southward Palace (Zhinangong), dedicated to Lü Dongbin and Quanzhen Daoism, floats on a mountain above the village of Mucha. Yet in spite of the large numbers of Daoist temple compounds throughout China, individually they are more reflective of the architectural concerns of their times of origin and locations than specifically Daoist features. Except for the occasional placement of images such as the Three Purities on a roof ridge, little of the exterior marks a temple compound as Daoist. Only upon entering its halls and identifying deities such as the Three Purities, the Perfected Warrior, Jade Emperor and his entourage, Eight Immortals, or Dragon King can one be certain of the Daoist affiliation of a temple compound that in most ways blends into the framework of traditional Chinese architectural space.

SEE ALSO Daoism, overview article; Iconography, article on Daoist Iconography.

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NANCY SHATZMAN STEINHARDT (1987 AND 2005)

TEMPLE: CONFUCIAN TEMPLE COMPOUNDS

The architecture of Confucianism is built in honor of men. It is dedicated to Confucius (551–479 BCE), sage, moral leader, and philosopher of the ancient state of Lü in Shandong province, or his disciples and their teachings. Confucian monuments are distinct from other Chinese religious structures in their avoidance of images. Images may be enshrined in a Confucian temple, and over time, the influence of other religions in which deities are worshiped has led to limited use of Confucian statues as icons. In the purest form of the religion, however, tablets on which the name of the Confucian is inscribed serve as the focus of veneration and Confucius, his relatives, or other Confucians are honored by a visit to the site or by participation in a ceremony. Confucian temple compounds can be dedicated to civil (in contrast to military) officials in general, as well as to individual paragons of moral or state virtue.

During his lifetime, Confucius (Kongzi [Master Kong] or Kong Qiu [family name Kong, personal name Qiu] in Chinese) established a school for the teaching of his principles of good government in Qufu, capital of his home state of Lü. In 478 BCE, a year after his death, disciples built a temple in Qufu to honor their teacher. The few records about this temple inform us that it was a three-part structure containing Confucius's clothes, instruments, carriage, and books. For the next 2,500 years, Qufu would be the location of many of China's most important Confucian temple compounds. Even today, it is difficult to walk down a street of Qufu without coming upon architecture dedicated to Confucius or his disciples, or commemorating an important spot in Confucian history.

By traditional Chinese calculation, Qufu traces its association with the principles of Confucianism to the so-called Yellow Emperor who lived in the twenty-seventh century BCE. Legend records that the Yellow Emperor was born about four kilometers east of Qufu. In the twenty-sixth century BCE, the son of the Yellow Emperor made Qufu his capital. In the twelfth century BCE, the duke of Zhou, brother of the emperor and the highest-ranking state official, was considered a paragon of governance by moral virtue. His principles of good government were highly regarded by Confucius. A temple dedicated to the duke of Zhou has stood in Qufu since the first millennium BCE.

In the second century BCE, the Chinese emperor offered animal sacrifices at the temple built by Confucius's disciples when passing through the state of Lü. The following century, the emperor conferred posthumous titles on Confucius. In the second century CE, the relation between emperor and temple was further strengthened when government officials were appointed to maintain it.

By the Tang dynasty (618–907), imperial rites were conducted at a memorial service for Confucius. This extraordinary reverence for someone who was not a member of the imperial family was unprecedented in Chinese history. Beginning in the late fourteenth century, after the Mongol regime fell and China was returned to native hands, memorial services to Confucius were conducted biannually at Qufu's Confucian temple compound. As had been the case in ancient times, the fortunes of the empire were linked to recognition of the ideal relation between ruler and subject described in Confucian texts. Thus until the rule of the Manchus beginning in the mid-seventeenth century, a Confucian temple could be erected only through explicit imperial decree. During the Manchu (Qing) dynasty (1644–1911), temples honoring Confucius, his teachings, and civil officials came to be built in every province and in most major cities.

The first statue of Confucius is said to have been placed in a hall of the Qufu temple compound during repairs of 539. The date is logical, for the sixth century in China was one of widespread patronage of Buddhist architecture and its accompanying imagery. Still, until the ninth century the Confucian Temple was modest in comparison to Buddhist temple compounds or the emperor's palace. The ninth-century temple complex in Qufu consisted of a front gate, main hall, two side halls, and a residential hall behind them.

The most major changes in the status of the temple compound in Qufu were coincident with the further elevated status of the Kong family in the Song dynasty (960–1279). Already in the first century BCE, a descendant of Confucius had received the title of marquis and a fief at Qufu. In 1055, amid a wave of renewed interest in Confucius's writings known as neo-Confucianism, the emperor enfeoffed a forty-sixth-generation descendant of Confucius as the duke of Yansheng and awarded him and his descendants fourteen hectares of land. Like honors bestowed on the temple, this hereditary succession of a duke has no parallel in Chinese history. Before the end of the Song dynasty, the Confucian temple compound consisted of three courtyards of buildings enclosed by a covered arcade of 316 bays.

In premodern times, the main south gate of the temple was the south gate of the city of Qufu. The temple complex today consists of nine courtyards of architecture. Among them are three main halls, one main pavilion, an altar, three shrines, two side halls, two minor halls, and two studies, for a total of 446 bays of buildings. Stretching more than a kilometer from south to north, the space is punctuated by fifty-two archways. The names of structures often are references to Confucius or Confucian writings. Striking Metal and Vibrating Jade Gate, built in 1538, recalls a line in Mencius's writings comparing the completion of a musical performance to the view that Confucius's thought is a summation of all philosophies of sages that came before him. The Gate of the Great Mean, in the fourth courtyard and surviving in its Qing dynasty form, is named for the Confuciuan text, *Doctrine of the Mean.* Lingxing Gate is a reference to a star in the constellation Ursa Major and thus a symbol that Confucius was a star who had come down to earth. Other gates are named Augmenting Truth and Harmony of the Written Language.

The two most impressive halls of the Confucian temple compound in Qufu stand near the center of the main building axis. Star of Literature Pavilion, a name intended to link Confucius with the constellation of the god of literature. The 23-meter high, multistory library with three sets of roof eaves towers above the rest of the temple compound in the fifth courtyard. When the emperor visited Qufu, he fasted and bathed in courtyards east and west of Star of Literature Pavilion in preparation for sacrifices to honor the sage. Behind Star of Literature Pavilion is a wide courtyard with thirteen stele pavilions arranged in two rows. They were built to house fifty-three tablets presented to the temple compound by emperors from each period from Tang through Qing.

The second focal building, Dacheng (Great Achievement) Hall, dominates the seventh courtyard. Measuring 45.8 by 24.9 meters at the base and 24.8 meters in height, the size, double set of yellow ceramic tile roof eaves, and dragons entwined on the front columns compare only with the Hall of Great Harmony of the Beijing Forbidden City or the Hall of Heavenly Favors at the tomb of the first Ming emperor. East of the Great Achievement Hall courtyard is a building where offerings were made to five generations of Confucius's ancestors; to the west is a hall for paying homage to Confucius's parents. Also in this courtyard is the Apricot Altar, erected in 1018 at a spot where Confucius is said to have taught.

Directly behind the Great Achievement courtyard is a smaller but similar building dedicated to Confucius's wife Qiguan. At one time she was revered together with her husband in the same building, but in 1018 a Song emperor erected a separate shrine for her. The position of the husband's hall in front of his wife's follows the pattern for imperial residential architecture in the Forbidden City. The focus of the last courtyard is the Hall of Relics of the Sage. It contains 120 stone stelae depicting events in Confucius's life.

From the exterior, the individual buildings and their arrangement around courtyards are difficult to distinguish from the architecture of other prominent imperial and religious complexes. Names of gates and halls, the prevalence of tablets with names of those revered in contrast to statues, and associations with literate Chinese culture or remembered events are signs that the temple compound is Confucian. An unobtrusive wall, for example, is a revered spot because in the third century BCE when the ninth generation of Confucius's descendants lived in Qufu, books were hidden inside the wall when troops of the First Emperor came to the city to burn classical writings.

In one important way, architecture of the Qufu Confucian temple is unique. Since the ninth-generation descendants of Confucius, the temple has been adjacent to the mansion of the Kong family. Descendants of Confucius resided in the mansion for seventy-seven generations, until the founding of the People's Republic of China. Through the centuries, the rank and influence of the chief resident of the Kong family mansion rose to the equivalent of prime minister. He was the leader of all *wen*, or civil officials, and was allowed to ride his horse inside the Forbidden City. He owned tax-exempt "sacred fields" from which income was used in Confucian ceremonies. He was even allowed to sell official titles.

Confucius's tomb and those of his parents are also in Qufu. So is the academy where Confucius taught and temples to Confucius's disciples Mencius, Yanzi, and Zengzi. Mencius's residence and tomb, and his parents' tomb, are there as well.

The most famous Confucian temple compound outside Qufu is in Beijing. One of the few Confucian temples constructed during the period of Mongolian rule in China, in the late thirteenth century, the majority of buildings date from the Qing dynasty. A stone tablet at the entrance orders civil and military officials to descend from their horses or sedan chairs as a sign of respect for the sage. Consisting of two parallel building lines, passage through the central gate was a privilege allowed only to the Chinese emperor. The eastern side of the compound is occupied by six successive courtyards, the back two parallel, which contain a shrine to Confucius; tablets recounting the 700-year history of scholars who achieved success in the national exams; the Great Achievement Gate; the multi-roofed Great Achievement Hall containing a central wooden tablet whose Chinese and Manchu inscriptions glorify Confucius, a pair of flanking tablets on either side of it dedicated to Confucius's four most important disciples, and eight more tablets for less eminent sages lower and behind them; the Hall for Reverence to Confucius's Ancestors with tablets for members of five generations who preceded him; a library; and a shrine to officials. The western sector has only three courtyards, all focused on the central one that houses the imperial academy. Built by the Mongols for the education of imperial and other select children, in the eighteenth century the structure was rebuilt and named Biyong Palace to recall the name of the place where princes and official sons were educated in the Chinese capital at the time of Confucius. The multi-eaved, elevated structure is enclosed by a circular moat and further surrounded by a marble balustrade, following the pattern of the imperial academy in Confucius's day and of the Temple to Heaven complex where the emperor performed annual sacrifices in the name of the state in Ming and Qing times. Originally all structures had gray roof tiles but they were replaced with golden ones in the eighteenth century.

Today, some of the most active Confucian temple compounds are in Taiwan. The best-known one is in the capital, Taipei, but two others have older buildings of greater architectural importance. The Confucian temple compound in the southern city of Tainan was built by the son of Zheng Chenggong (Koxinga, 1624–1662), a Japanese-born, anti-Manchu commander who retreated to the southern island after the Manchus overthrew the Ming dynasty in 1644 and who subsequently led the resistance that chased the Dutch away in 1661. Its most important building, Great Achievement Hall, contains a wooden tablet honoring Confucius and sixteen tablets dedicated to famous sages. The Confucian Temple in Zhanghua, in central Taiwan, first built in 1716, was carefully restored in the 1970s and is today a premier example of eighteenth-century southeastern Chinese architecture.

The most important event at a Confucian temple is the celebration of Confucius's birthday, which usually occurs on September 28. Wearing the costumes of civil officials, attendants carrying ax-shaped weapons, fans, umbrellas, and instruments in the style of those from Confucius's day perform music and dances

Confucian temples survive in many other major Chinese cities. Many have been used as schools throughout history and a few are educational institutions today. Some towns have a corresponding temple complex for military officials, or *wu*, the most famous of which is in Yuncheng, Shanxi province.

SEE ALSO Chinese Religion, overview article; Confucianism, overview article.

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NANCY SHATZMAN STEINHARDT (1987 AND 2005)

TEMPLE: ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN AND MEDITERRANEAN TEMPLES

Modern writers use the term *temple* in different ways. Applied to Near Eastern religion, it refers to a complete architectural complex, including a shrine with the cult statue. Applied to Greek, Etruscan, and Roman architecture, *temple* refers to the equivalent of this shrine, and the whole complex is termed *sanctuary.*

EGYPT. Modern scholars have traditionally divided Egyptian temples into several types, according to their functions. The two principal are "divine" temples, the residence of a god or gods, and "mortuary" temples, the place for rituals, offerings, and sacrifices for a deceased king. Ancient Egyptians, however, did not see the functions, plans, symbols, and rituals of their temples quite so separately and distinctly as modern taxonomies would suggest. Thus, "divine" temples could also serve for the worship of the king, while "mortuary" temples were often used for a joint cult of the king and the god. Accordingly, these modern divisions are currently being questioned.

Recent excavations show that the earliest temples date back to the Early Dynastic period (c. 3185–2630 BCE). These temples were still quite simple in their plan, generally consisting of an open court followed by a shrine made of mudbrick, which contained the cult statue. During the Old Kingdom (c. 2630–2160 BCE) stone was introduced as a building material, especially for royal cult complexes. In contrast, shrines for the gods remained modest in scale and materials. During the Middle Kingdom (c. 2040–1650) the state took an unprecedented interest in temples, which were erected for the gods in all the major cult places of Egypt. Stone was regularly used as a building material, and there was a particular emphasis on figural decoration. During that period, the plan that became characteristic of the divine cult complexes of the New Kingdom (c. 1550–1075 BCE) appeared. This is the plan that we now usually associate with the Egyptian temple, mainly because in no other period of Egyptian history has the construction of monumental temples been more intensive than it was during the New Kingdom.

The Egyptian temple of the New Kingdom was set apart from the outside world by a massive enclosure wall made of mud-brick and without decoration. This wall was a boundary between order and disorder; it transformed the temple into a fortress against chaos. Within this enclosure was the pylon (a modern term derived from the ancient Greek word for "gateway"), a monumental entrance built of stone which consisted of a gateway flanked by two towers. This pylon was decorated on the outside with reliefs representing the king hunting or defeating his enemies in battle. Only the king, the priests, and, on some ritual occasions, representative commoners, were admitted beyond this gateway, and then only after having performed a ritual of purification. After the pylon was a large open-air court surrounded by columns. This court led to the most sacred part of the temple, where access was restricted to the king and certain selected priests. The first room of this part of the temple was the hypostyle hall, an enclosed, basilica-like space whose roof rested on numerous rows of close-set columns. This hall was like a vestibule, which gave access to a series of chambers with different functions. One contained small tables and stands for offerings and sacrifices. Another had the sacred boat of the god, installed atop a platform. One housed the cult statue, closed in a shrine. Because the statue was the very being of god, its shrine was the heart of the temple, the holy of holies. In the inner area of the temple there could be also shrines for divinities associated with the principal god, storerooms for the paraphernalia of ritual, and rooms with administrative purposes.

What is characteristic about this architecture is that rooms and unroofed spaces, which were always rectangular, were disposed in exact sequence according to an axial alignment from the entrance pylon to the inner chambers. The courts were unroofed, though often surrounded by a colonnade; the inner parts were completely roofed and increasingly in shadow. The roof level decreased as the floor level rose. All these solutions enhanced a sense of mystery that culminated in the heart of the temple.

The precise arrangement of this plan varied from temple to temple, with some larger and more complex than others. As time went on, temples could be greatly expanded with additional sections (most frequently, a new pylon, followed by an additional open-air court). This was the result of the desire for personal display of individual kings, who by transforming famous temples reasserted their primary role in Egyptian religion and society. The degree of complexity possible for an Egyptian temple can be illustrated by the Temple of Amun at Karnak, one of the most important, which has been added to and altered over millennia. Elements go back to the Middle Kingdom (presumably obliterating even earlier construction) and extended down to the Ptolemaic and Roman periods (Figure 1 shows a portion of the final arrangement). Complex though it is, in principle it is the same as the smaller temples which share its twenty-five-hectare precinct.

Both texts and images give us an idea about the rituals performed in these temples. The daily ritual consisted in tending the cult statue, which was cleaned and provided with clothes, food, drink, and other offerings. This daily ritual in essence provided the god with the needs of life, which were thought to be the same as those of humans. In theory, it was the king who performed this daily ritual, because he was, in theory, the sole priest; for this reason, only the king is depicted in the wall decorations performing the appropriate actions. In fact, the daily ritual was performed by the priests, the vicars of the sacerdotal power of the king, who thus acted on his behalf. Another ritual that took place in temples, and which was performed on the occasion of many religious festivals, was the procession of the god from the inner part to the open-air court. The cult statue, closed in a shrine, was mounted on a barque borne on the shoulders of the priests, or sometimes carried on a sledge. It was enveloped in incense and accompanied by dancers, singers, and instrumentalists to the open-air court. Here the god met visiting gods, while the assembled worshipers, including common people, could glimpse the shrine and ask the god within for oracular responses.

MESOPOTAMIA. Our knowledge of Mesopotamian temples is seriously limited by the fact that they were built in mudbrick. For this reason, only a few of them have been preserved above the level of the foundations, and none in its entire elevation.

Temples from the fourth millennium BCE have been documented. They could be very large, and they had generally a tripartite plan, consisting of a *cella* (the space that contains the cult statue) at the center and subsidiary rooms off either side. The *cella* included altars and offering-tables, and it could be entered from different sides of the building. Very often, multiple recesses and buttresses were used to add some variety to the exterior (and sometime even to the interior) of the building, by creating contrasts in light and shadow.

In plan, the temples of the third millennium BCE are characterized by their continuity with the preceding period. There was, however, a marked tendency to set them apart from the rest of the settlement. They were constructed on top of high platforms and enclosed with high walls. Sometimes there was an outer enclosure that included, along with the temple and the inner enclosure, other shrines and probably offices for the temple administration. In the inner court around the temple there were stores and workshops: their location gives clues about the part played by temples in the economy of this region. In these temples the gods were believed to be present in their cult statues, which stood in front of a niche at one end of the cella. Near the niche were an altar and an offering-table, and along the walls stood the statues of the worshipers, represented with their hands clasped.

Near the end of the third millennium, the habit of setting the temples apart, in a high position, culminated in the placing of some of them at the top level of ziggurats, the most conspicuous landmarks of Mesopotamian towns. Whether all ziggurats had temples at their top level, however, remains unclear, because of the poor state of preservation of these monuments. For the same reason, we know nothing of the architecture of these "high temples"—as in the case of the ziggurat built by Urnammu at Ur, which is generally restored with a single room, but incorrectly so. In the absence of specific texts, it is also difficult to have an idea of the rituals performed in these "high temples," or to understand what correlation they might have had with the buildings found at the base of the ziggurats in the same sacred enclosure. From Herodotus, the Greek historian of the fifth century BCE, we are informed that in the ziggurat at Babylon one of the rituals was a sacred marriage between a priestess and the god, which took place at night. Yet, this was clearly not the only ritual performed in the temple, but only the one that captured the attention of the historian.

After the fall of Ur, a temple of Ishtar-Kititum was built at Ishchali (nineteenth to the eighteenth century BCE). The large structure (about 100 by 65 meters) stood on a platform and had a rectangular plan articulated around two open courts. Three entrances framed by towers gave access to the interior: two on the south side, leading into the open courts, and one on the east side, in relation to a secondary temple located to the north of the main complex. The main shrine was located at the western end and was elevated with respect to the rest of the temple. This shrine was accessible from the smaller court, and consisted of an ante-cella, a broad, shallow *cella* with a niche for the cult statue, and a treasury on the back. This building condensed the previous, Mesopotamian tradition, but it also introduced features that would be characteristic of temples built in Mesopotamia during the Assyrian (c. 1350–612 BCE) and Neo-Babylonian periods (c. 612–539 BCE).

AEGEAN IN THE BRONZE AGE. Places set aside for the cult of the divinity can be recognized in the material remains of the Bronze Age, in Crete as well as on the Greek mainland. The Cretans worshiped at shrines of various types. Natural caves were used for the deposit of offerings. The peaks of certain mountains were also sites of sanctuaries—some simply defined by enclosure walls, others given a number of rooms, usually rectangular—in which large stones served as altars. Thick layers of ash show that bonfires were lit, which would have been visible from sanctuary to sanctuary. The use of these sanctuaries ended abruptly, perhaps as a consequence of the cataclysmic eruption of the volcano of Thera in the fifteenth century BCE. Finally, there were sanctuaries in the palaces of the Cretan kings, shrine rooms marked by central pillars, with the symbolic double ax. These rooms were small and shallow, functioning as a focus for offerings rather than for any form of congregational ritual. It is likely that other parts of the palace complexes served ritual functions, including the bull-leaping depicted in Cretan art, but here the interaction of religion and architecture is, at best, uncertain: clearly none of it constitutes a temple in the normal sense.

Sanctuaries on the Greek mainland were probably influenced by Cretan practice. One at Mycenae consisted of a set of small, irregularly shaped rooms containing benches on which offerings could be placed, along with terracotta figurines apparently intended as representations of the deity, a goddess. There was also a mural painting of her. Such shrines are found in the fortified sites close to the walls and gateways; they seem to have had a special role in the protection of the community. The possibility of religious functions in the palaces cannot be excluded.

GREECE. There are few remaining traces of religious practice during the Protogeometric period (1050–900 BCE), when cult buildings were generally small. An exception is the large building with apsidal plan surrounded by wooden posts at Lefkandi, in Euboea (1000 BCE). The function of this short-lived building was funerary, for in the main space were buried a warrior, a woman, and a number of horses.

Temples built during the Geometric period (900–700 BCE) were generally modest in scale and simple in plan. The temple of Apollo at Dreros (c. 700), in Crete, consisted of a rectangular room preceded by a shallow porch. In the middle of the *cella* two posts flanked a central hearth, and against the back wall was a bench with three bronze statues, the cult images of Apollo, Leto, and Artemis. What is remarkable about this temple, and other buildings of the same period, is that sacrifices took place inside, near the cult image. The arrangement of the interior with a central hearth flanked by posts is reminiscent of the halls in Mycaenean palaces.

In the Orientalizing period (700–600 BCE) temples were monumentalized. Their size was significantly increased, durable materials were introduced, and the *cella* (*naos*) was often surrounded by a row of columns, the peristyle. This feature, according to recent excavations in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, was introduced in the second half of the eighth century. Most likely, the inspiration came from Egypt, where columns played a prominent role in the design of temples.

The use of stone instead of wood for columns and entablature led to the establishment of distinctive orders. In the Archaic period (600–480 BCE) the Doric order was characteristic of mainland Greece, south Italy, and Sicily, and the Ionic was characteristic of the Aegean and Asia Minor; however, geographical distinctions were not completely rigid, and whether these orders had an ethnic connotation remains a question. During the same period, the erection of monumental temples was particularly intense in Asia Minor and the west. In both areas the Greeks were surrounded by other cultures, and monumental temples might have been a means to reassert the cultural identity of the communities responsible for their erection. Among the temples in Asia Minor, three stand out for their colossal size: the temples of Hera at Samos (c. 560 BCE, rebuilt c. 530 BCE), of Artemis at Ephesus (c. 560–470 BCE), and of Apollo at Didyma (c. 550–520 BCE). These temples were surrounded by two, even three rows of columns, and must have seemed like a forest of stone. The temples at Ephesus and Didyma are also characteristic because their core was not the *cella* with the cult statue, but an open-air court (*sekos*), which at Didyma included the shrine with the cult statue and a spring sacred to Apollo. The most interesting feature of temples built in the Greek West was a special room called the *adytum*, placed at the end of the *cella* and separated from it by a wall with a doorway. This special room apparently served to house the cult statue. The need for this innermost sacred chamber has been explained by the possibility that the rest of the *cella* was regularly used for the performance of collective rituals, but there is no evidence to support this view.

The main monumental temples of the fifth century BCE were built in mainland Greece. One was the temple of Zeus at Olympia (472–456 BCE), and the other was the Parthenon (447–438 BCE), erected along with other religious buildings on the Athenian Acropolis according to a comprehensive site plan.

The Parthenon, dedicated to Athena, is probably the most famous, certainly the most lavishly decorated, but not the largest of Greek temples (see Figure 3). The temple, built upon the remains of an unfinished predecessor destroyed by the Persians in 480 BCE, has seventeen Doric columns on each long side and eight at both short ends, and it measures overall some 31 by 70 meters. It has two rooms, the eastern *cella*, which housed the chryselephantine statue of Athena made by Pheidias, and the western "rear room," which held the valuable offerings. Between these two rooms and the peristyle there are two shallow porches, the *pronaos* and *optisthodomos,* compressed here to the advantage of the *cella.* The traditional interpretation of the Parthenon as a temple has been recently called into question, for it had very little cult associated with it, and no connection with the major public festivals. However, this building was clearly designed as and regarded as a temple in Classical Antiquity.

During the Late Classical period (400–323 BCE), the building of temples lost much of its appeal in mainland Greece and the Greek West. Only a few were built on a monumental scale, and the majority were reduced in size. Asia Minor is an exception: parallel to a renaissance of the Greek cities of the region there was a revival of Ionic architecture. The Artemision at Ephesus was rebuilt on the same colossal scale as its archaic predecessor. Meanwhile, new cities, such as Priene, strained their energies and economic resources to have temples that would leave a mark on the cityscape.

Temples built during the Hellenistic period (323–31 BCE) were essentially similar to those of the Classical period, though they might have been constructed in regions conquered by Alexander the Great that were not Greek in origin. The more florid Corinthian order was occasionally used. In these areas the traditional, non-Greek religious practice had to be respected. In Egypt, for example, the ruling Macedonian Greek dynasty of the Ptolemies assiduously built temples in the traditional Egyptian manner described above, with only a few innovations.

The Greek temple was the house of the god, because it served to shelter the cult statue. It was not a congregational building, for the congregation (which at the chief festivals of major cults was very large) gathered round the open-air altar for prayers and sacrifices. Like the crowds, the cult statue overlooked these performances at the altar. Temples were normally oriented to face the point at which the sun rose on the day of the festival. Though some cult statues were large and valuable, the rooms in which they stood did not have to be particularly spacious. Even in the largest temples a surprising portion of the total area was taken up by external embellishment. This emphasis on the exterior of temples does not mean that access to them was reserved for a privileged few. Literary evidence suggests that even if specific restrictions existed (based on days, ethnicity, and gender), entry by ordinary people into the *cella* was not unusual, especially for the purpose of praying, which was considered more effective when done before the cult statue. Temples also served as storerooms for objects, particularly those of value, offered to the gods.

ETRURIA. In the beginning, cult practice was performed in the open air. The earliest shrines, dating back to the seventh century BCE, had the same plan as residential houses, and they could also be incorporated into a larger palace. By the end of the seventh century BCE, temples consisted of a simple, rectangular *cella* with the opening on a short side. This new plan was still similar to contemporary domestic architecture. The traditional Etruscan temple was defined in the second half of the sixth century BCE. The building was set on a high podium and was accessible only by flights of steps or ramps on the main front. It had a quadrangular or rectangular plan and was always articulated in two areas: a deep open *pronaos* with two or three rows of widely spaced columns (front), and one or three *cellas*—depending on the number of divinities worshipped—which were generally flanked by outer passages. The rear of the temple was closed, and there was no peristyle on all four sides, as in Greek temples. Again, the houses of the elite provided the model for this plan. Temples were differentiated from residential architecture by their position on top of high podia. For the columns a new order was introduced, called Tuscanic after Vitruvius: the shaft was unfluted, but the capital was similar to the Doric. The elevation of these temples looked sturdy to later, Roman writers, and this impression was certainly suggested by the short columns, the wide eaves of the roof, and the heavy external terracotta decoration. Ancient literary sources link the definition of the Etruscan temple with the monumentalization of Rome under the rule of the Etruscan family of the Tarquinii. In fact, the largest Etruscan temple known to us is the three-*cella* temple dedicated in 509 BCE, under Tarquinius Superbus, to the triad Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno, and Minerva on the Capitoline Hill in Rome. Other monumental temples were built in Etruria between the end of the sixth and the beginning of fifth century BCE, and they all conformed to the same basic type. The same can be said of temples built in the first half of the fifth century BCE, when the erection of temples was most intense in the history of Etruscan cities, and of temples built or rebuilt during the fourth century BCE.

What is characteristic of the Etruscan temple is the deep *pronaos*, the podium, and the great emphasis on the front. This strict frontality also dictated the axial planning of the areas and altars in front of the temples, and would remain characteristic of Roman religious architecture. Most likely, this disposition, as well as the orientation of the temples—generally to the south—strongly depended on cult practice and religious beliefs. We know that the Etruscans had rules for the placing of altars and sacred areas, and that the augurs played a significant role. This might have also been the case for the temple. The *cella* of the Etruscan temple housed the cult statue of the god, and most likely, in this culture, as in Greece and in the ancient Near East, the temple served as his or her house. However, in consideration of the positioning of the temple on a high podium, and of the restriction of the access to the stairs on the front, admission to the temple must have been very limited, unlike in Greek temples.

ROME. Roman temples inherited the strictly frontal emphasis and high bases of Etruscan temples. Early Roman temples were built in the Etruscan manner, but little survives from this period. It is unlikely, however, that there were any significant improvements in design or construction before the Second Punic War at the end of the third century BCE, when the first temples made entirely of stone were erected. Thereafter, Rome was increasingly involved in the affairs of the Hellenistic East, and Roman buildings were influenced by Hellenistic forms, particularly the Corinthian order, though temples still retained the essential Etruscan arrangement with high bases and steps only at the facade. Plans were conservative, with columns across the facade only, or, if extended along the sides, terminating in front of a wall across the back. Occasionally the Romans adopted the full surrounding colonnades of Greek temples. Although temples were commissioned by a variety of individuals during the republic, under the empire, patronage was mainly under the imperial family. Under Augustus and the Julio-Claudian emperors (27 BCE–68 CE), temples in Rome changed their appearance. Marbles of various types were introduced for the internal and external decoration, and the Corinthian order became canonical for both columns and entablature. In the years immediately after the Julio-Claudian dynasty, temples did not play a primary role in the general layout of sanctuaries, and were also scaled down. However, a revival of temple architecture took place in the period at the end of the second and the beginning of the third century CE. To this period date major enterprises in the city of Rome, such as the Pantheon (see below); the construction of many new temples in North Africa, such as the one in the honor of the Severan family in Leptis Magna (216 CE); and, finally, the completion of ambitious projects in the Roman East, such as the sanctuary at Baalbek (see below). By contrast, between the second half of the third and the beginning of the fourth century CE, the temple endured a crisis that culminated with the erection of the new Christian basilicas during the Constantinian period (306–337 CE).

In essence, the Roman temple functioned like the Greek as the house of the god and the storeroom of his or her offerings. It could also serve for the cult of the emperor and his family. Burnt sacrifices were made at an altar, which was usually placed immediately in front of the temple at the bottom of the steps so that worshipers faced the altar (and the temple) rather than surrounding it. Where possible, the temple stood in a colonnaded precinct, which also emphasized the axial symmetry. Roman temples, however, showed greater concern than the Greek for the use of the *cella* as a room. The Roman *cella* often occupied a greater portion of the total area, was wider, and was invariably freed from encumbering internal supports for the roof, a consequence of better carpentry techniques and the availability of better timber. This enhancement of the *cella* does not signify congregational use in the full sense, but the temples were certainly used for gatherings, which might have been political rather than fully religious in character—meetings of the senate, for example.

These developments culminated in the best preserved of all Roman temples, the Pantheon in Rome, built by the emperor Hadrian (117–138 CE) to replace an earlier building of Augustus' time (see Figure 4). Dedicated to all the gods, it is circular rather than rectangular. It had a conventional precinct and porch, but the *cella*, 150 Roman feet in diameter, was roofed with a concrete dome. Light was admitted, for deliberate effect, through an opening in the center of the dome.

In the provinces of the empire, temples sponsored by the authorities usually imitated those of Rome. They most often employed local building techniques and, usually, local materials, but they were essentially similar to Roman prototypes. Local tradition, however, often influenced form. This is very clear in Egypt, where Egyptian-style temples were still being built under the Romans. In Greece and part of the east the relationship was different, because Roman temples themselves were already influenced by Greek form and served similar religious concepts. Here the local tradition was architectural rather than religious, and was not insisted upon. Roman temples on high bases were built, some distinctly frontal, but there was a more ready tendency towards fully colonnaded arrangements, when money was available. The Roman East was wealthy—Asia Minor and Syria in particular—and some temples of the Roman period were quite splendid. The major Greek cities were already well provided for—Artemis of Ephesus (Diana of the Ephesians) still had the temple last rebuilt for her in the fourth century BCE—and new building was mostly concerned with the political cult of Rome and with individual emperors (Trajan, for example, at Pergamum). Pergamum also possesses, in the sanctuary of Asklepios patronized by the emperor Caracalla, a unique example of a temple based on the Pantheon at Rome.

The most splendid of these temples in the Roman East is that dedicated to Jupiter at Heliopolis, the Roman military colony at Baalbek in Lebanon. A huge temple stands on a high podium in the Roman tradition. On the podium is a Greek-type stepped base. The surrounding Corinthian colonnade is arranged in the East Greek (Ionic) manner with a wider central spacing at each end. In the *cella* (now ruined) was a shrine structure with a cult crypt underneath (better preserved in the neighboring so-called Temple of Bacchus) serving local religious ritual. Outside was a tall tower altar of eastern type. Eastern influences can be detected in the architectural decoration, such as Persian-style bulls on the frieze. Finally, the temple was given a precinct (never completed) and forecourt with a gateway building flanked by towers which derives from local, not Roman, concepts.

SEE ALSO Architecture; Iconography, articles on Egyptian Iconography, Greco-Roman Iconography.

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R. A. TOMLINSON (1987)
CLEMENTE MARCONI (2005)

TEMPLE: MESOAMERICAN TEMPLES

The most common form of sanctuary in Mesoamerica is the temple-pyramid-plaza, that is, the peculiar combination of an elevated foundation, almost always artificially built, with a temple on the upper platform. Usually adjoining this unit at the base of the access staircase is a series of open spaces (plaza, esplanade, altar platform). This basic combination was perpetuated for over twenty-five centuries, with several constants that gave it relative coherence within an extremely varied panorama and allowed it to be integrated into larger and more complex architectural clusters.

STRUCTURES. The embryonic form of this temple combination can be found in the principal mounds built from compressed soil or from *adobe* (sun-dried brick) by the Olmec in areas around the Gulf of Mexico, such as San Lorenzo (in the present-day Mexican state of Veracruz) and La Venta (in Tabasco) between 1200 and 900 BCE. Associated with a thrust toward monumentality that reflected the cultural vigor in Mesoamerica at the end of the Preclassic period (600 BCE–200 CE), the temple-pyramid-plaza soon spread to other regions. Thus, in the central plateau of Mexico we find, as antecedents to the Pyramids of the Sun and the Moon in Teotihuacan, the large, elongated mounds of Totimehuacan (Puebla) and the superimposed circular platforms (150 meters in diameter) in Cuicuilco, in the southeast corner of the Valley of Mexico. In the northern part of Petén (Guatemala), in the heart of the Maya area, the massive pyramids of El Mirador, with their apexes emerging from the dense forest, foreshadow the great Maya temples of Tikal in the same region.

Together with this tendency toward monumental building there was a great preoccupation with architectural permanence. This concern was reflected in the emergence of large retaining walls for the compressed fill of earth and rubble. These walls constituted the solid nucleus of the pyramid, and their taluses tended to follow the natural sloping angle of the fill. The access staircase, generally the only one placed on the axis of the temple, was initially incorporated into the general mass of the pyramid itself. With the passing of time it tended to project outward, frequently bordered by two *alfardas,* or flat ramps, which in turn often projected slightly beyond the steps or, according to local or regional style, assumed more complex shapes. In the same manner, the sides of the pyramid could be decorated with large masks or other sculptures or ornamented rhythmically with moldings, notably variations on the talus panel (*tablero-talud* or *talud-tablero,* a panel, or *tablero,* usually framed with moldings, that projected from the slope). These architectural elements, together with the proportions, divisions, and other formal characteristics of the foundation, define the principal masses of the structure and highlight their respective horizontal or vertical features.

Finally, the temple itself, which usually occupies the upper platform of the pyramid, evolved from a simple hut to a more elaborate building made of masonry. Depending on the region, it was covered with a flat roof supported by wooden timbers and surrounded by low parapets or, as can be observed among the Maya, with vaulting made up of different types of projecting (corbeled) arches. Various types of panels, moldings, and sculptures enrich the temple silhouettes, which could be crowned with more or less massive roof combs, as in the case of Classical Maya architecture, or with sculptured finials distributed at regular intervals on the outside perimeter of the parapet in the style of a battlement. Such finials can be observed in the architectural tradition of Mexico's central plateau from the period of Teotihuacán until the Spanish conquest.

INTERPRETATIONS. From the Spanish chroniclers of the sixteenth century we learn that in spite of the staircases, which were usually wide and well proportioned in relation to the whole (and independent of the scale, large or small, of the rooms inside), the sanctuary that usually topped each pyramid for the most part remained closed to the common mortal. This observation seems to indicate that, at least in its community aspects, worship was conducted outdoors, either on the upper platform of the pyramid in front of the main entrance to the sanctuary or, if there was one, on the altar platform in the center of the plaza located at the foot of the pyramid, where the congregation gathered.

Naturally, there are a few exceptional cases in which the pyramid was conceived without a temple. If in fact worship was essentially an outdoor activity, the interior space of the sanctuaries, relatively large in Mexico's central plateau, Oaxaca, and other regions of Mesoamerica, could be reduced to very small dimensions, apparently without undermining its sacred character. This is particularly evident in the Maya area, where the width of the interior spaces fluctuates on the average between three meters and seventy-five centimeters, as we can see when we compare, for example, a temple in Palenque, in southern Mexico, with one in Tikal. There are, however, extreme cases, such as Building A in Nakum (Petén), where the narrow chambers measure only fifty and forty-two centimeters in width (perhaps to function as a "loudspeaker" that dramatically amplified the voice of the priest). Such considerations likewise help to explain those full-scale simulated temples in the Rio Bec region of Campeche, which are sometimes crowned by two or three solid "towers." These towers, incorporated into the mass of a low, functional building, in turn constitute versions of compressed pyramids, complete with simulated staircases. This imitation of the temple-pyramid was not detrimental to the symbolic meaning of certain privileged parts of the building, such as the staircase, the sides of the tower, the main doorway (or its upper frieze alone), and the roof comb.

The primary function of the Mesoamerican pyramid was to elevate the temple; occasionally it served as a ruler's mausoleum (as in the outstanding example of Palenque). However, the pyramid could lack a temple altogether (as in the twin-pyramid complexes of Tikal), or it could have twin staircases leading to two clearly differentiated temples (as occurs during the last three centuries before the Spanish conquest).

The Mesoamerican tradition of not razing buildings to the foundation before undertaking new construction is fortunate for archaeology. As a result of much remodeling, expansion, and superimposing, which on occasion generated artificial acropolises (the particularly high and compact clusters of buildings that resulted from centuries of adding new layers of construction, as found at the North Acropolis of Tikal), the remains of temples, dismantled only to a certain height to become part of the fill for a new building, reappear bit by bit from their burial ground to tell us the history of their city, their gods, and their rulers. While the effigies of deities (as well as the sacrificial stone) speak to us about a place designed for rituals, other features, particularly among the Maya (where we find so many roof combs, stelae, and other dynastic records), suggest the self-glorification of a ruling prince.

SEE ALSO Iconography, article on Mesoamerican Iconography; Pyramids, overview article.

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PAUL GENDROP (1987)
Translated from Spanish by Gabriela Mahn

TEMPLE SOLAIRE.

The Order of the Solar Temple, a European esoteric movement, shocked European public opinion with its mass suicides and homicides of 1994, 1995, and 1997, and it had a crucial effect on subsequent anticult activity by various European governments.

THE ARGINY MOVEMENT. A whole group of new religious movements flourish with foundational mythologies connected to the medieval Knights Templars. Most trace their origin to the Order of the Temple founded in 1805 by Bernard-Raymond Fabré-Palaprat (1777–1838), a French physician and Freemason. After Palaprat's death, the movement went through a number of schisms, and by 1950 more than one hundred small neo-Templar bodies were in existence throughout the world. New groups emerged during the 1950s, some of them claiming mystical experiences in which their founders were directly initiated as Knights Templars from the spirit world by ascended "Masters of the Temple."

Jacques Breyer (1922–1996), a prolific French esoteric author, claimed to have had such an experience with two companions on June 12, 1952, in the ruins of Arginy Castle in France. These events led to the establishment of the Sovereign Order of the Solar Temple (Ordre Souverain du Temple Solaire, or OSTS). In the 1960s Julien Origas (1920–1983), an interpreter who had served four years in jail for his wartime activities as a Nazi collaborator, became associated with the Arginy movement, and established the Renewed Order of the Temple (Ordre Rénové du Temple, or ORT) as an independent but related branch of the OSTS. On March 21, 1981, the leaders of OSTS and ORT converged in a mystical ceremony in Geneva on the premises of a third organization, also recognized by Breyer as part of the Arginy movement: the Golden Way Foundation, established by Joseph Di Mambro (1924–1994). The ceremony was—according to Di Mambro—at least as important as the Arginy experience, and was later cited as the founding date of the Order of the Solar Temple.

THE ORDER OF THE SOLAR TEMPLE. Di Mambro was born in Pont-Saint-Esprit (Gard, France) in 1924. A jeweler by trade, in 1956 he joined AMORC, the Ancient and Mystical Order of the Rosy Cross. He left it around 1970, joined the Arginy movement, and—after a minor skirmish with French justice in 1971 for writing bad checks—moved to Annemasse, near the Swiss border. He later moved to Switzerland, where in 1973 he started a full-time career as teacher of yoga and occult philosophy. He also became the founder of several occult societies. In 1982 Di Mambro's Golden Way Foundation was joined by Luc Jouret (1947–1994), a popular Belgian homeopathic doctor who had established a practice in Annemasse. The Amenta Club (later renamed Atlanta), a circle established by Jouret for his clients and friends, became a vehicle for disseminating Di Mambro's ideas. Di Mambro also introduced Jouret to Origas, and the Belgian doctor quickly ascended to a leadership position in the ORT.

When Origas died in 1983, Jouret claimed to have been designated as his heir and as leader of the ORT, but his claims were challenged by the Origas family. Jouret and Di Mambro eventually left the ORT and established the International Order of Chivalry-Solar Tradition, more commonly known as the Order of the Solar Temple (Ordre du Temple Solaire, or OTS). By this time they operated a system of Chinese boxes. People initially attended Jouret's speeches organized by the Amenta and Atlanta Clubs. Those most interested were invited to join the Arcadia Clubs. The most dedicated members of the Arcadia Clubs were eventually invited to join the true secret organization, the OTS. By 1989 (possibly the year of its maximum success) the OTS had 442 members, most of them in French-speaking countries (only sixteen in the United States). Jouret had considerable success in Quebec as a motivational speaker, especially at Hydro-Québec, the public hydroelectric utility of the province, where he recruited fifteen executives and managers for the OTS between 1987 and 1989.

By this time, the theme of an imminent end of the world (originating from certain ideas of Breyer, but including new elements about UFOs and extraterrestrials) was a central part of OTS teaching. When the OTS apocalyptic worldview was discovered behind the facade of Jouret's motivational speeches, the group started to experience strong and organized opposition.

THE TRAGEDY. In 1991 the Martinique branch of ADFI (Association pour la défense des familles et de l'individu, the largest French anticult organization) denounced the conversion of wealthy Martinicans to the OTS and their eventual move to Quebec. ADFI-Martinique was able to join forces with Rose-Marie Klaus, a disgruntled Swiss OTS ex-member whose husband Bruno had left her within the frame of new "cosmic" marriage rearrangements introduced by Di Mambro and allegedly dictated by the ascended Masters. Eventually, Klaus's determined opposition made inroads: Jouret found it increasingly difficult to be invited as a motivational speaker, and in February 1993 the Canadian police started investigating the Solar Temple. On March 8, 1993, two OTS members, Jean-Pierre Vinet and Hermann Delorme, were arrested as they were attempting to buy semiautomatic guns with silencers, illegal weapons in Quebec. A warrant for arrest was also issued against Luc Jouret, at that time in Europe. In fact, the arms deal had been arranged by a police informant engaged in a sting operation. The prosecution ended with a "suspended acquittal" and a minor fine for Jouret, Vinet, and Delorme (with the latter leaving the OTS following the incident). Rose-Marie Klaus managed to have lurid accounts of the "cult of the end of the world" published in the media. Vinet was fired from his position at Hydro-Québec, and police investigations were launched in France and Australia, where Di Mambro had some financial interests, later grossly exaggerated by sensationalist accounts in the press.

It is not easy to determine whether the preparation for a "transit" of the core members of the OTS to another planet (through suicide) was started before or after the first Canadian police actions in 1993. The first versions of the texts about the transit (proclaiming that the end of the world was near, and that it was eminently reasonable to leave planet Earth in search of salvation on the star Sirius or on another faraway planet) were probably written at about the time the Canadian investigation was started in February 1993. That same year the OTS was confronted by two major factors of internal stress. In Quebec, dissension about Jouret's leadership erupted, and Robert Falardeau, an officer with the Quebec Ministry of Finances, replaced him as Grand Master (with Jouret remaining an important international leader). In Europe, Di Mambro had serious health problems. A number of French and Swiss members had left the OTS in 1993, wondering whether their money had not mostly been spent to support the leader's luxurious lifestyle. Worst of all, rumors began circulating in 1990 that the most secret and sacred experience of the OTS—visible manifestations of the Masters of the Temple—were, in fact, holographic and electronic tricks stage-managed on behalf of Di Mambro by a loyal member, Antonio (Tony) Dutoit. These rumors led Di Mambro's son, Elie, to quit the OTS. Dutoit and his wife eventually confirmed the rumors, distanced themselves from Di Mambro, and in 1994 named their newborn baby Christopher Emmanuel. This was particularly intolerable for Di Mambro, who considered the name Emmanuel to be reserved for his own daughter, who was named Emmanuelle, but was addressed in the OTS as "Emmanuel," as if she were male. Emmanuelle—allegedly conceived by Dominique Bellaton, Di Mambro's mistress, through cosmic intercourse with an ascended Master—was regarded as the embodiment of the cosmic Christ. As a consequence, Di Mambro become persuaded that the infant Christopher Emmanuel Dutoit was the antichrist and another omen of the imminent end of the world.

Within this climate, Di Mambro had a paranoid reaction to the police investigations, and set in motion the chain of events eventually leading to the "departure." It is unclear when exactly messages from the Masters and from a "Heavenly Lady" channeled by Di Mambro and by Camille Pilet (1926–1994)—the most prominent and wealthy businessman in the OTS and the alleged reincarnation of Joseph of Arimathea—started preparing the Templars for a "transit" out of this world, but preparations probably began around 1990. It is also unclear when (probably in 1993) an inner core of members learned that the transit would not involve a spaceship or other extraterrestrial vehicle, but would be a mystical suicide. At any rate, on October 4, 1994, fire destroyed Joseph Di Mambro's villa in Morin Heights, Quebec. Among the ruins, the police found five charred bodies. Three of these people—the Dutoits and their infant son—had been stabbed to death before the fire. Having perpetrated or at least supervised the killings in Morin Heights, which probably took place on September 30, Joël Egger and Dominique Bellaton (the mother of the "genuine" cosmic child) joined forty-six other OTS members and children of members in Switzerland. In the early morning of October 5, the police found all of them dead in two OTS centers in Cheiry (canton of Fribourg) and Granges-sur-Salvan (canton Valais). Twenty-three bodies were found in Cheiry and twenty-five in Granges-sur-Salvan, along with the remains of the devices programmed to start the fires that almost destroyed both OTS centers. From the lengthy investigation of the Swiss police and judiciary, it seems that most of those dead in Cheiry were murdered, while at least half of those found in Granges-sur-Salvan committed suicide. But the dichotomy between suicide and murder is only part of the story. Documents left by the Temple suggest that along with murdered traitors and core members strong enough to understand the full implications of the transit, there were also weaker Templars. The latter did not oppose the idea of the transit (although they may have understood it as something different from a suicide), but they needed "help" to accomplish it.

Interestingly, after the murders and suicides few former members reinterpreted the OTS from the anticult perspective, and the majority continued to express sympathy for the organization. It seems that Di Mambro had explicitly planned the survival of some "witnesses" by establishing the ARC (Association for Cultural Research for the external world, but in fact the Association Rosy-Cross) in Avignon on September 24, 1994. One of the speakers at the Avignon meeting was a well-known French conductor, Michel Tabachnik, who had joined the OTS some years earlier and had been an occasional speaker with Jouret in Quebec. The only public figure to survive the 1994 tragedy, he was accused by a sensationalist press of being the secret leader of the OTS or at least Di Mambro's successor. Although he was acquitted in a criminal trial in France in 2001, Tabachnik's musical career was compromised.

Notwithstanding the continued police interest in what was left of the OTS, a second "transit" happened on December 23, 1995, when sixteen OTS members and three of their children were found dead in the Vercors mountains, near Grenoble, France. In a third incident, discovered on May 23, 1997, in Saint-Casimir, Quebec, another five members of the OTS—including Bruno Klaus, the former husband of vocal apostate Rose-Marie Klaus—committed suicide. While only a handful of persons who regard themselves as members of the OTS or the ARC remain alive in Europe or Quebec after the third incident, further suicides cannot be ruled out as long as some people continue to share the OTS ideology and regard the "transit" as both reasonable and desirable.

See Also Movement for the Restoration of the Ten Commandments of God; New Religious Movements, overview article and articles on New Religious Movements and Millennialism and New Religious Movements and Violence.

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Massimo Introvigne (2005)

TEMPTATION. Approaches to the complex phenomenon of temptation are as diversified as are cultures, worldviews, the self-understanding of men and women, the concept of sin, and so on. But behind all the astonishing differences there might well be discovered agreement on one point: that the center of human temptation is egocentricity, and genuine love is its victor. In the Judeo-Christian tradition, reflection on temptation arises in the quest for the sources of evil, which leads to a questioning of both God's nature and the nature of humankind. However, for the Hebrews, these questions were further complicated because of their own negative reactions to earlier solutions put forth by their neighbors. A continuing theme in Israel's history is the belief that their neighbors were tempting them to abandon faith in Yahveh and the law of Moses. Consequently, they must destroy those who were or could become such a temptation. This sad pattern reappears in Christianity as a motive for the crusades, inquisitions, and the burning of so-called witches. Christians were thus diverted from the actual, horrifying temptations that drew them away from humanness, love of neighbor, and even from the true image of God as a merciful Father of all.

The problem of temptation seems to resist a rational, conceptual approach. Perhaps the most adequate approach to its historical study is by way of its symbols. The prototype of these symbols and myths is the *Genesis* story of Adam and Eve. Similar symbols are to be found in most African cultures. It seems that with these stories there is not yet the question of original sin but, rather, the more basic question: what is the response of humanity when confronted with evil?

The Fall of Adam and Eve—of humanity in general—and its consequences are presented in the first twelve chapters of *Genesis.* There we see Cain tempted to do violence, a temptation to which he yields, killing his brother. The increase in violence finds its symbol in Lamech, whose warlike attitude is reflected also in his relationship with women. Finally, the world is so flooded with sin that Noah can withstand it only with utmost difficulty.

However, while a one-sided, legalistic understanding of faith and morality warned against the temptation of disobedience, it remained blind to the temptation to disown the prophetic tradition and blind to unjust structures and the unjust exercise of authority, which today's Christians sharply denounce as "institutionalized temptations."

All too often in Christendom the tendency prevailed to condemn any form of doubt about religious and moral doctrines and traditions, while today many Christians pray that God may grace them with the courage to doubt at the right point and, thus, to be preserved from the disgraceful temptation of choosing a false security over the sincere search for truth. Some Christians seem not to care much about the existential question of whether they are truly on the road to salvation, but for Martin Luther and many other Christians of all denominations, it has been a matter of faith to fight desperately against such a temptation.

In Western religions there have always been conflicting trends between those who gave primacy to the fight against temptations arising from one's own heart and those who gave first place to fighting unjust and dehumanizing structures as the main sources of temptation. There were and still are those who are overly optimistic about the individual's battle against temptation and, at the same time, pessimistic about changing immoral society. Today many who call for renewal of church institutions fall into the temptation of overlooking the interwovenness of persons and society and the difficulty of achieving simultaneously the ongoing individual conversion and the changing and healing of public life, including church structures.

For many religious people in the West it is still difficult to recognize the enormous temptation involved in renouncing one's own responsibility and yielding to anguish instead of making clear decisions about the Christian's mission to be salt to the earth. One aspect of this all-pervasive temptation is easy conformity to a culture of greed, consumerism, and a wasteful style of life.

Christians are awakening only gradually to the temptation to waste our human and ecological resources. Many are struggling with the temptation to render indiscriminate military service and grant one's own government a blind presumption of righteousness in respect to armaments, arms sales, and military actions. Perhaps here, however, we are beginning to perceive a major shift in Western Christianity's approach to the theme of temptation.

DEFINITION OF TEMPTATION. For Immanuel Kant, temptation is the paradoxical expression of the human person, destined by nature for the good yet inclined to do evil. He defines temptation as a challenge to live one's freedom for good in the purest way.

In the Septuagint, and consequently in Christian tradition, the Greek word *peirasmos* indicates quite different concepts in different contexts. Often it refers to sinful people "tempting God," murmuring against him and challenging him in unbelief and distrust (cf. *Ex.* 17:1–7). The New Testament, too, warns against this temptation of humans "to tempt God," to challenge him (*1 Cor.* 10:9), to defy him in disobedience (*Heb.* 3:8), to request from him miraculous interventions at a whim or for purposes of self-exaltation (cf. *Mt.* 4:7: "You are not to put the Lord your God to the test").

Most frequently, however, the word *temptation* is used to describe humans being tempted in various ways. Two forms of *peirasmos* have to be distinguished carefully. One concerns the various troubles and trials seen as an opportunity, or *kairos,* for the believer to strengthen his faith, his endurance, and, finally, his capacity to share in Christ's redemptive suffering. *James* 1:2–3 describes this kind of *peirasmos:* "Whenever you have to face trials of many kinds, count yourselves supremely happy in the knowledge that such testing of your faith breeds fortitude, and if you give fortitude full play you will go on to complete a balanced character." Sometimes only the victorious conclusion of such a trial allows the positive evaluation of the event, as in *James* or, even more evidently, in the beatitudes (*Mt.* 5:11–12, *Lk.* 6:21–23).

The other kind of *peirasmos* refers to temptation in the sense of endangering salvation, that is, when the person is assaulted from within and/or from without by godless powers aimed at his downfall. The Lord exhorts us to pray that we may not be brought to such dangerous tests: "And lead us not into temptation" (*Mt.* 6:13, *Lk.* 11:4). Christ warns his disciples that his own terrible trial can become for them a dangerous test: "Stay awake, all of you; and pray that you may be spared, that you may not enter into temptation" (*Mk.* 14:38).

Martin Luther is particularly anxious that we do not confuse those tests in which God guides us through the trial from beginning to end with those temptations into which we walk self-confidently from the start and thus expose ourselves to the danger of downfall.

TEMPTATION AND THE TEMPTER. While the scripture warns us against the tempter in his various disguises, the main emphasis is on our own "heart," our personal response to temptations. The Bible calls on Christians to take responsibility by consistently rebuking the sinner who wants to exculpate himself by inculpating others.

Temptation arises from within. *James* is most explicit: "Temptation arises when a man is enticed and lured away by his own lust" (1:14). Here the author of *James* follows the main line of the synoptic Gospels, as when Jesus calls for change of heart, for purification of one's inmost thoughts and desires: "It is from within men's hearts that evil intentions emerge" (*Mk.* 7:20). *James* speaks of *epithumia* ("desire"), which in the Jewish thought of the time referred to the ambivalent impulses and inclinations (or *yetser*) assigned to Adam and Eve in rabbinic literature to explain their capacity for being tempted. Augustine's term *concupiscence* does not correspond exactly to *yetser.* While the Hebrew scriptures and rabbinic literature try to understand human vulnerability to temptation as *epithumia,* Augustine believes temptation to be based on our heritage of sin from Adam. We may understand concupiscence as that inner inclination for temptation and sin, the intensity of which depends on unrepented sins, the weakness or lack of a fundamental option for God and for the good, and the attraction to sin that comes from a sinful world around us, where the sins of the past continue to poison the human environment.

This same idea is present also in thought about the struggle that exists in our inmost being between *sarx* and *pneuma* (or "body" and "spirit"). For Paul, temptation manifests in our lower nature, the body, and is supported by the collective selfishness and arrogance present in all humanity. The *sarx*—and with it, temptation—loses power to the degree that we are renewed and guided by the *pneuma.*

God does not tempt anyone. *James*'s great concern that "God is untouched by evil" (1:14) already existed in Jewish wisdom literature. The main concern of the oldest Israelite tradition, however, was the absolute rejection of any kind of dualism: God has absolute sovereignty. The distinction found in this tradition between being "put to the test" by dangerous temptation or by trials destined to purify or refine had not yet been neatly elaborated.

A striking example is in a comparison of the story of David's temptation regarding a census, as told in *2 Samuel* with the later story in *1 Chronicles.* The first account says, "The anger of Yahveh once again blazed out against the Israelites, and he incited David against them. 'Go,' he said, 'take a census of Israel and Judah'" (*2 Sm.* 24:1). In those days a census was considered an attack on God's prerogative to give increase to his people. Hence David was punished by a pestilence that diminished the nation. The author of *1 Chronicles* is more careful about the image of God as one of absolute goodness; he gives another version: "Satan rose against David to take a census of the Israelites" (*1 Chr.* 21). In this later tradition monotheism had become so firmly established that the introduction of a tempter inimical to God's people was not to be feared.

The wisdom literature provided helpful distinctions and directions of thought. The authors were careful not to allow the sinner any exoneration and to avoid any contamination by dualism. Their greatest care was to show God's wisdom in the sovereign government of world and history.

Temptation, uncomfortable as it may be, is an ingredient of life. Those who put their trust in God will overcome it, and it serves moral growth in their life. God does not incite to evil, but he allows both suffering and temptation as tests for the virtuous. "God has put them to the test and proved them worthy to be with him; he has tested them like gold in a furnace, and accepted them as holocausts" (*Wis.* 3:5). The sinner has no excuse, since he falls because of lack of love and fear of God. Those who truly adhere to God will make good use of freedom.

This is succinctly expressed by Jesus, son of Sirach: "Do not say, 'the Lord is responsible for my sinning,' for he is never the cause of what he hates. Do not say, 'it was he who led me astray,' for he has no use for a sinner. The Lord hates all that is foul, and no one who fears him will love it either. He himself made him in the beginning, and left him free to make his own decisions. . . . To behave faithfully is within your power" (*Sir.* 15:11–16).

The serpent and the woman in *Genesis* 3. The narrative of the fall is an anthropological myth of great depth and complexity. Its symbols express ancient Israelite reflections on the origin of evil. It depicts in a lively way the diversionary rhetoric of the sinner, who always needs a scapegoat for his own vindication. Adam attempts to use Eve as his scapegoat, while Eve blames the serpent. Some see in the role attributed to Eve a deeply ingrained misogyny in the Yahvistic authors. Paul Ricoeur may come closer to the intention of the narrative when he writes in his *La symbolique du mal* (Paris, 1960) that the woman here is not so much the "second sex" as, rather, an expression of the human being's frailty, man's as well as woman's (vol. 2, p. 239). The story exposes the sin of Adam more than that of Eve, because it unmasks Adam's domineering attitude toward the woman (*Gn.* 3:16). In the fall, man too must confess: "This is flesh of my flesh." There is a solidarity in both salvation and perdition.

Why is the serpent introduced to allow man to exonerate himself? We can respond that the very mechanism of exculpation is part of sinful man, since when he confesses his sin humbly before the merciful God, he finds no need to accuse others. Yet there is still more in this anthropological metaphor. The serpent is also a creature, one that is "the most subtle of all the wild beasts God has made" (*Gn.* 3:1). It becomes a metaphoric presentation of man's subtle pursuit of his egotism and his no less subtle self-defense and self-belying mechanisms (cf. Philbert Avril, *Délivre-nous du mal,* Paris, 1981, p. 23).

Ricoeur thinks that this is also the way James's epistle explains the self-deceptive concupiscence. The serpent is a part of ourselves as long as we have not the strength of truth to unmask the shrewdness of our exonerating maneuvers. It might also symbolize "the chaotic disorder in myself, among us and around us" (*La symbolique du mal,* vol. 2, p. 242). That would bring into the whole vision of the first twelve chapters of *Genesis* a sharper awareness of the various dimensions of solidarity in either good or evil, including the cosmic dimension and the need for humans to decide one way or the other.

While theologians and preachers during the last centuries frequently identified the serpent of *Genesis* with Satan or the devil, there seems to be a growing consensus among biblical scholars and theologians that in the early tradition reflected in *Genesis* 3, nobody thought or spoke of Satan, the personified Evil One. In his 1937–1938 work *Creation and Fall: A Theological Interpretation of Genesis 1–3 and Temptation,* Dietrich Bonhoeffer was insisting already that this narrative has no need of *diaboli ex machina.* The serpent symbolizes the ambiguity of people, their human relationships, and their environment.

Satan and his helpers. Satan interests us here only in relation to temptation. What does the tempter add to the understanding of temptation? In the older tradition, Satan never appears; it is God who tests man and calls him to decision (Seesemann, 1968, p. 25). In the *Book of Job,* we find God testing man in much the same way as he tested Abraham. The successful end is decisive: the person who counts on God will overcome temptation. What is new in *Job* is that God acts through intermediary forces.

The nebulous Satan here has nothing to do with the super-Satan of the Persian religion or with the apocalyptic and threatening "prince of darkness" of later writings in Judaism and Christianity. This Satan is a not very effective literary effort meant to exonerate God from appearing as the source of evil. Such a Satan becomes a real threat to the sufferer through those "friends" who, having a false image of God, judge the sufferer to be one who deserves such punishment. For the sufferer, these friends are indeed Satan's cruelest helpers. Even Christ on the cross was exposed to them: the pseudo-religious people who insulted him. Job's victory over this temptation occurs because of his trustful adoration of the ever greater God.

The shrewd Satan who tempts Jesus in the desert embodies the insidious temptation put to Christianity in the first and following centuries. The misuse of the Bible by cleverly twisting its words to create false meanings tempted people away from the faith.

Satan represents also the terrible temptation of a too earthly understanding of the messianic hope of Israel and the mission of Christ. This is seen strikingly when Jesus rebukes Peter for refusing to believe in a suffering and humble servant-Messiah: "Away with you, Satan; you are a stumbling-block to me, because the way you think is not God's but man's" (*Mt.* 16:23).

Satan at his most shameless—asking Jesus to adore him—mirrors the vain self-glorification of the earthly powers of the time, particularly in the divinization of the Roman emperors. The figure of Satan should not turn attention away from these perennial temptations but should emphasize the superhuman dimension. It is a sharp warning against belittling any situation of temptation.

As we saw in *Genesis* 3, for the believer there is no way of denying guilt by pointing to a tempter or to the devil. Aware of the powers of darkness in their mysterious solidarity of perdition, the followers of Christ put their trust in God and make the wholehearted decision for his reign, a reign of justice, peace, and love. They put on "all the armor which God provides to stand firm against the devices of the devil" (*Eph.* 6:10). They will not only avoid being tempters in any way, helpers of the powers of darkness, but will commit themselves to active and generous membership in a solidarity of salvation.

This was the mind of the early church in an integrated discourse on the Christian's decision for Christ and for battle against temptations arising from the gnostic and Manichaean trend toward speculations on angelic and demonic hierarchies. We find this sobriety still in Thomas Aquinas. But in the following centuries great parts of Western Christianity indulged in fantastic speculations about witches and a slavish fear of devils as well as ritual exorcisms of them, while lacking trust in God and making no firm decision for an all-embracing solidarity.

Today there is a strong reaction, partially in favor of the original sobriety and partially in indifference to the figure of Satan, whereby the vast dimensions and blinding powers of evil are lost to sight. Referring to Ernst Bloch, Leszek Kolakowski, in his *Gespräche mit dem Teufel* (3d ed., Munich, 1977), wonders whether some Christians realize the depth and cosmic dimensions of evil. Reading Kolakowski one thinks of the devilish temptation to expect a paradise of peace in the midst of ever increasing conflict and hatred.

The Christian discourse on the tempter points to the great temptations arising from bad example and evil "friends" who initiate the inexperienced into the skills of crime and corruption. The diabolic temptation seeks directly the moral corruption of others. It is masterfully described in the famous novel *Les liaisons dangereuses* (1782) by Choderlos de Laclos. Laclos exposes both the superficial optimism of the Enlightenment and the libertinism of the time preceding the French Revolution. The book aroused much anger in its time, since it disclosed the truth of fallen humans, who can go to the limits of malice and cunning in tempting others, especially those devoted to virtue. But even to those most skilled and aggressive tempters there come moments when humanness somehow shines through, insinuating "that malice does not constitute a hopeless and irrevocable fact in human existence" (Knufmann, 1965, p. 202).

This idea was theologized by Origen, who wanted to leave open the hope that after a long duration of "eternity" even the devil and his helpers might be converted and saved by the divine power of *apokatastasis.* Origen's thought, problematic as it may be, opposed tenaciously the dualism of Manichaeism. Sinners—even the tempter and his helpers—because they are God's creatures, keep, somehow, a remnant of goodness. The theory also intended to emphasize that no sinner on earth should be considered a hopeless case.

For many contemporary Christians this thought is unacceptable in view of the diabolical crimes in our times. Mohandas Gandhi, however, thought that the coherent and thorough spirituality of *satyāgraha* ("doing the truth in love") could hope to change even persons like Adolf Hitler and Joseph Stalin into *satyāgrahin*s. For Gandhi, "it is an article of faith that no man has fallen so low that he cannot be redeemed by love" (quoted by Pie-Raymond Reagmey in *Nonviolence and the Christian Conscience,* London, 1966, p. 199). This optimism is not a blindness to the horrifying evil present in humans but a recognition of the power of their spirit, enkindled and guided by the universal spirit to overcome such evil at all costs. It may be one of the most diabolic temptations of Western people not to consider this opportunity and be willing to pay its price in order to overcome the diabolically vicious circle of nuclear madness.

PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES. Psychoanalysis and psychotherapy have made major contributions to a better understanding of the mechanisms of various temptations. We note especially the ego-defense mechanism of repression (unconscious forgetting or prevention of consciousness) of what is too difficult to face consciously. It could be, for instance, a call to a more truthful search for life's deeper meaning. Repression usually works through a security complex which refuses to let reality challenge it.

Karl Menninger notes that temptations and sins arise from the "huge world of the unmanifest" (1973, p. 221). The "unmanifest" includes not only whatever the filter of repression is hiding but also unconfessed guilt feelings which often become confused with real guilt. On this point, Menninger refers to the Bible: "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us" (*1 Jn.* 1:8).

The result of the individual and collective temptation to deny sin and guilt is frequently undefinable anguish, feelings of senselessness, and/or despair about human freedom and dignity. The deeper source of these temptations is an unwillingness "to do the truth in love," thereby hindering truth from setting us free (cf. *Jn.* 8:31–41).

Another ego-defense is the tendency to project one's own evil inclinations on another, on some villain. In her work with children, psychotherapist Christine Lutz found that the healing and growth of moral sense progressed when the children realized that what they saw in others was, to a great extent, a projection of their own shortcomings (*Kinder und das Böse: Konfrontation und Geborgenheit,* Stuttgart, 1980).

Depth psychology has studied the mechanism of aggression. On the one hand, there is the danger of trying to repress it instead of channeling it wisely. On the other hand, there is the uncontrolled and mutually contagious mechanism that leads to the vicious circle of aggressive challenges and aggressive reactions. Although psychology suggests that it is sometimes liberating to allow one's anger an honest expression, Menninger rightly warns: "But there is always a temptation to use it as a whip, and what begins as a device for relief continues as a weapon for aggression" (1973, p. 144).

SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES. The broad theological expression "sin of the world" is given sharper contours in modern studies on "institutionalized temptation." In his book *Our Criminal Society* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1969), Edwin M. Shur has an apt formulation: "In a sense, existing patterns of crime represent a price we pay for structuring society as we have structured it" (p. 9). In a society and culture that emphasize "having" over "being," with an educational system oriented to personal success and a whole economic system that encourages increasing consumption, people yield thoughtlessly to temptations, and nobody feels guilty. "No one thinks sin was involved" (Menninger, 1973, p. 120). The "respectable crimes" of the wealthy and powerful, their unpunished corruption, and their clever manipulations are constant incitement for others to further injustice and dishonesty in smaller matters. The little thief is caught and condemned to a prison system in which massive temptations are forced upon inexperienced transgressors of the law.

The people of wealthy countries have adopted lifestyles inseparably connected with the predatory exploitation of the earth's resources and pollution of the environment. Here we see temptations of planetary dimensions that increase the tensions between countries of free enterprise and those of massive state capitalism. How many horrifying temptations are involved in the arms race, the arms trade, and, above all, the nuclear threat! One source of the massive "institutionalized temptations" is the lack of prophetic voices; another is the unwillingness to pay earnest attention to those voices that might be heard.

THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES. In a brief synthesis of theological perspectives that recur continuously, the point of departure for the Christian is Jesus having been tempted as we are: "Since he himself has passed through the test of suffering, he is able to help those who are meeting their test now" (*Heb.* 2:18). The church fathers stressed the point that it was after his baptism that Jesus underwent the temptation, and they connect this with the final test of his passion. Similarly, those baptized in Christ can best face temptation and suffering by putting their trust in Christ and holding fast to their baptismal commitment.

Jesus overcame temptation not just by enduring the suffering it brought but by making this very suffering the supreme sign of God's love and saving solidarity. That this love is the goal of all Christians is revealed by gospels that unmask the temptations involved in clinging to laws while betraying the covenant, now understood as the supreme law of unselfish, all-embracing love between God and humankind.

Another biblical direction is to combat evil by doing good, to overcome violent injustice by doing the truth of love in nonviolent commitment (cf. *Rom.* 12:21; *1 Thes.* 5:15; *1 Pt.* 3:9; and above all, *Mt.* 5). For believers, all temptations—but particularly those arising from the vicious circle of violence—are a challenge to sanctity, to redemptive love. An unrenounceable perspective grows out of Paul's understanding of the combat between *sarx* and *pneuma,* whereby false images of love and freedom are exposed by searching wholeheartedly for true love aided by the promptings of the spirit (cf. *Gal.* 5:13, 6:2).

SEE ALSO Apocatastasis; Evil; Fall, The.

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Of the numerous studies about the impact of a poisoned environment and a defective culture and society on temptation, Reinhold Niebuhr's *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (New York, 1932) and Edwin M. Shur's *Our Criminal Society* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1969) are noteworthy. In his much-read book, *Whatever Became of Sin?* (New York, 1973), Karl Menninger points to the mechanisms and temptations of denying sin and thus, also, human freedom and responsibility. C. S. Lewis attempts to unmask real temptation in his widely known book *The Screwtape Letters* (New York, 1946). Helmut Knufmann reflects on novelists' treatment of temptation as a theme in his book *Das Böse in den Liaisons Dangereuses de Choderlos de Laclos* (Munich, 1965).

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TEN COMMANDMENTS. The Ten Commandments (or the Decalogue) appear twice in the Hebrew scriptures, at *Exodus* 20:1–17 and at *Deuteronomy* 5:6–21. There are differences between the two listings, but the order and the general contents are substantially identical. The commandments may be grouped as follows:

- *Commandments 1–3:* God's self-identification, followed by commandments against the worship of other gods, idolatry, and misuse of the divine name (*Ex.* 20:1–7, *Dt.* 5:6–11).
- *Commandments 4–5:* Positive commands to observe the Sabbath and to honor parents (*Ex.* 20:8–12, *Dt.* 5:12–16).
- *Commandments 6–7:* Prohibitions of violent acts against neighbors, namely, killing and adultery (*Ex.* 20:13–14, *Dt.* 5:17–18).
- *Commandments 8–10:* Prohibitions of crimes against community life, namely, stealing, testifying falsely, and hankering after the life and goods of neighbors (*Ex.* 20:15–17, *Dt.* 5:19–21).

In the Jewish and Christian communities the order has occasionally varied, and the numbering has varied considerably, especially in the different Christian communions. Tables listing the various enumerations can be found in works by Harrelson (1980) and Nielsen (1968). The prologue with which the list opens, both in *Exodus* and in *Deuteronomy,* belongs to the Ten Commandments: "I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage." In the oldest listing of the "Ten Words" (*Ex.* 34:28), the prologue may not have appeared, but it became attached to the list early in Israel's history, setting the demands of God into the context of divine grace and mercy.

The origin of the Ten Commandments is traditionally traced to Moses. There is no adequate reason to doubt the accuracy of the tradition, even though the present form of the Ten Commandments is considerably later than Moses' time. None of the individual commandments, which were probably originally brief, pithy prohibitions of actions ruled out in principle, requires a dating later than the time of Moses. The grouping of the ten may belong to the time when the tribes of Israel had settled in Canaan and maintained ties across tribal lines; some scholars would assign the collection to a later time, perhaps to the ninth century BCE. The closest analogies to the Ten Commandments in the Hebrew scriptures appear in the curse ritual of *Deuteronomy* 27:15–16 and in portions of the section of the Torah sometimes called the "Book of the Covenant" (*Ex.* 20:23–23:33). See, for example, *Exodus* 21:15–17, where short, categorial legal pronouncements appear.

The Ten Commandments are alluded to in a number of places in the Hebrew scriptures, in the Qumran literature, and in the New Testament, although they are rarely quoted exactly and do not appear at all in a complete listing outside of *Exodus* and *Deuteronomy.* The prologue is found in a number of places (*Hos.* 13:4, *Ps.* 81:10/11), and there are lists of some of the prohibitions in several places (*Hos.* 4:2, *Mk.* 10:17–22 and parallels). But the fundamental outlook of the Ten Commandments is characteristic for the Jewish and Christian communities through the centuries. God will not have the divine name and selfhood profaned, for the Creator remains free and sovereign over against the creation. God demands rest from labor as well as labor, and he will not tolerate the mistreatment of elderly parents by adult children. God claims authority over human life and demands respect for life on the part of all. God will not permit the violation of the extended life of human beings in their social and institutional relations.

The Ten Commandments became a fixed part of Christian catechetical practice and worship. Less prominent in Islam, they are implicit in much that Muḥammad taught. In the course of Christian history they have frequently contributed to narrowness of vision and legalism. Yet it seems likely that they have contributed much more by way of positive guidance to the community. Negatively put categorical statements of this sort provide moral orientation of the community, the defining characteristics of a people, showing what is simply not allowed. The Ten Commandments require positive statements of what idolatry means, what murder is, how the Sabbath is to be observed, and the like. They constitute not so much a constriction of human freedom as an invitation to the community to claim its proper freedom within the confines of what would be ruinous for it.

SEE ALSO Israelite Law, overview article; Israelite Religion.

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TENDAISHŪ. The Japanese Tendai School takes its name from the Tiantai (Japanese, Tendai) School in China, which was located on Mount Tiantai. Japanese monks carefully studied the Tiantai texts they obtained in China, but after the ninth century CE relatively little exchange occurred between the Chinese and Japanese schools. As a result, Japanese Tendai developed in ways that were frequently distinct from its Chinese antecedent. In the following paragraphs the institutional development of the school is discussed, followed by some of its doctrinal developments.

INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY. Tendai was initially based on writings by the Tiantai exegetes Zhiyi (538–597 CE) and Zhanran (711–782 CE) that had been brought to Japan by Jianzhen (Japanese, Ganjin, 688–763 CE). The de facto founder of the school, Saichō (767–822 CE, also known by his posthumous title Dengyō daishi) was able to obtain these texts while he was practicing on Mount Hiei and was so impressed by them that he traveled to China to obtain better copies. When Saichō returned from China in 805 CE, he found that the court was more interested in the Esoteric Buddhist *(mikkyō)* doctrines he brought back than in Tiantai doctrine. As a reward for performing Esoteric rituals to heal the emperor's illness, Saichō was awarded two yearly ordinands by the court; this marks the establishment of the school. Saichō's understanding of Esoteric Buddhism did not equal that of Kūkai (774–835 CE), founder of the Shingon school, who returned to Japan in 806 CE. As a result the Tendai monks Ennin (794–864 CE) and Enchin (814–891 CE) traveled to China, where they spent more time studying Esoteric Buddhism than Kūkai, brought back more texts than Kūkai, and introduced new rituals that appealed to patrons from the imperial family and the noble classes. Consequently, the school flourished and successfully competed with Shingon.

Still a small group of monks 120 years after Saichō's death, the Tendai school was significantly less influential than its long-time rival, the Hossō school. Although it had enjoyed sporadic successes, particularly under Ennin and Enchin, the school had sunk into a period of decline. Tendai was revived and came to dominate the Japanese Buddhist world during the administration of Ryōgen (912–985 CE). When many of the buildings on Mount Hiei burned down in 966 CE, shortly after he had assumed the leadership of the school as *zasu*, Ryōgen obtained funding to rebuild them from Fujiwara Morosuke (908–960 CE), the power behind the throne. In return for Morosuke's support, Ryōgen ordained Morosuke's son Jinzen (943–990 CE) and designated him as the next Tendai *zasu.* Jinzen's relatives later assumed many leadership positions in the Tendai school and controlled many of the lands that Morosuke had given to Tendai; they performed Esoteric rituals to insure their clan's continuing domination of the Japanese political scene.

Ryōgen also renovated Tendai education through a system of debate. Tendai scholar-monks were expected to memorize vast amounts of literature, to be able to recite passages relevant to doctrinal problems, and then to resolve any contradictions between the texts. Monks who excelled at this were given high appointments by the court. As a result Tendai finally came to dominate Hossō and Shingon. Ryōgen was also responsible for improvements to Tendai Esoteric rituals, making them more elaborate or using them in new ways to attract the patronage of the nobility.

The introduction of the nobility into the governance of Tendai resulted in a number of significant changes in Tendai. Noble lineages came to control a number of cloisters, called *monzeki*, thereby limiting access for commoners to the positions of authority in Tendai. The transmission of special Esoteric rituals and secret doctrines within such lineages contributed to increasing factional tendencies within Tendai. Separate lineages representing both Esoteric and Exoteric teaching formed. In addition, the lands controlled by Tendai institutions had to be administered and protected, resulting in special classes of monks who performed these functions.

Tendai monks had engaged in factional disputes with Hossō and Shingon monks from early in Tendai history. These factional tendencies eventually turned inward, partially because of competition among lineages for patronage and control of the Esoteric rituals that appealed to the nobility. The origins of this particularly virulent dispute began with a debate over who should succeed Saichō's disciple Gishin (781–833 CE) as *zasu.* The factions eventually coalesced around those who traced their lineages back to two of the great figures of Tendai Esoteric Buddhism, Ennin and Enchin. The connection with Esoteric Buddhism was not accidental, because this tradition valued the integrity of ritual lineages that preserved secrets connected with the performance of rituals. Because the rituals were conducted for the nobility, considerable economic advantages accrued to those who could preserve the secrecy of their lineage. Arguments continued to revolve around appointments as *zasu* and abbots of major temples until the monks in Enchin's lineage were forced to withdraw from Mount Hiei and make Onjōji (also known as Miidera), located at the foot of Mount Hiei, their base late in the tenth century, near the end of Ryōgen's tenure as *zasu.* The tensions between the two groups continued to erupt sporadically in subsequent centuries, occasionally resulting in bloodshed and the burning of each other's temples. Both groups were further subdivided into ritual and doctrinal lineages that used oral transmissions (*kuden*) to propagate their teachings and ritual practices.

The Tendai educational system was so influential during the medieval period that virtually all of the founders of the Kamakura schools of Buddhism received their early training in Tendai institutions. Several, such as Hōnen (1133–1212) and Eisai (1141–1215), remained Tendai monks for most of their lives.

The end of much of Mount Hiei's secular power came in 1571 as part of Oda Nobunaga's (1534–1582) efforts to reunify Japan. To do so he had to eliminate rival political and military powers. Because Tendai had long been involved in Japanese politics through the many monks with noble lineages, Oda ordered his troops to make an example of Mount Hiei. They burned all of the mountain's monasteries and killed as many monks, women, and children as they could find. Tendai influence was eventually reestablished, though never to the extent it had enjoyed earlier, by Tenkai (1536?–1643), who obtained the support of Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616), the first military ruler of the Tokugawa period. Tenkai gathered many of the surviving Tendai texts, reinstituted the Tendai educational system and its associated rituals, established Nikkō as a mausoleum for Ieyasu and his descendants, and founded Kanʾeiji as the equivalent of Mount Hiei in the new capital, Tokyo.

During the middle of the Tokugawa period, a movement to reform the Tendai school by changing the ordination system was begun by Myōryū (1637–1690), a monk who had first been ordained in the Rinzai Zen tradition and then converted to Tendai after reading through the Buddhist canon. Myōryū noted that Saichō had stated that *bodhisattva* monks should first be ordained with the Mahāyāna *bodhisattva* precepts from the *Brahmā's Net Sūtra* (*Fanwangjing*), a Chinese Buddhist apocryphal text. According to Saichō, monks were then to be ordained with the 250 precepts used by all monks in East Asia from *Four-Part Vinaya* (*Sifenlu*) after they had finished twelve years of practice on Mount Hiei. Until that point almost all Tendai monks had rejected the *Sifenlu* precepts. Myōryū and his disciple Reikū (1652–1739) gained the patronage of ordained members of the imperial family and the military government to advance their case. Another monk, Shinryū (b. 1711), eventually criticized the reform movement, and the military government ordered that all Tendai monks were to be ordained with only the *bodhisattva* precepts. Even though the effort to reinstitute Hīnayāna ordinations failed, other parts of the reform movement succeeded, including a 1689 prohibition on an Esoteric ritual and oral transmission that affirmed that all desire, just as it is, was ultimate truth (homage to the profound tenet, *genshi kimyōdan*). The decline of *hongaku* thought and a renewed emphasis on Chinese Tiantai doctrine followed.

Following World War II and the installation of laws allowing more freedom to religion, Tendai split into approximately twenty groups, largely because of institutional and economic reasons, the most important of which is still called Tendaishū. It maintains two colleges that contribute to the training of its monks, Taishō University in Tokyo and Eizan gakuin at the foot of Mount Hiei. In addition, a few monks still practice assiduously on Mount Hiei, with an occasional monk undergoing twelve years of seclusion at the Pure Land Chapel (Jōdoin), the site of Saichō's mausoleum. Others circumambulate Mount Hiei (*kaihōgyō*), treating it like a *maṇḍala*, for periods ranging up to seven years. Those who complete the seven-year practice (an average of one person a decade) are lionized as living buddhas. The Tendai constantly walking meditation, a continuous ninety-day circumambulation of Amida Buddha, has also been revived. Since the 1990s, women have been playing a more significant role, receiving training and occasionally becoming abbesses of temples. On a more popular level, the school has instituted a campaign with the slogan "Light up your corner," based on a quotation from one of Saichō's works. It also sponsored a number of interfaith peace conferences while Yamada Etai (1895–1994) was head of the school.

Like other schools of Japanese Buddhism, modern Tendai is beset by a number of basic problems. The school must figure out a means to educate and inspire young monks, many of whom become monks because they come from temple families, not because they are excited about Buddhism. Poor temples in the country need better support and are short of monks. The role of women, both temple wives and nuns, is not clear. Tendai needs to find better ways of reaching out to both current and potential parishioners. Tendai programs in social welfare are not clearly defined. Such problems are not unique to Tendai, but their solutions will certainly affect the future of the school.

DOCTRINAL ISSUES. After Saichō returned from China, he wrote a document describing the lineages of the teachings he received in China: Tendai, Esoteric Buddhism, *bodhisattva* precepts, and Chan. Besides these, several other doctrinal movements came to play important roles within Tendai, including Pure Land, Shinto (Sannō Shintō), and an extension of Tendai doctrine that is referred to by twentieth-century scholars as "original enlightenment thought" (*hongaku shisō*). In the following discussion these are surveyed under the rubrics of Tendai and original enlightenment, Esoteric Buddhism, *bodhisattva* precepts, and Pure Land.

Tendai doctrine. Chinese Tiantai doctrine regarded the *Lotus Sūtra* as the Buddha's highest teaching. In fact, the school was sometimes called the Tendai Hokkeshū (Tendai Lotus school). This sūtra was used to harmonize the various teachings within Buddhism (*kaie*), demonstrating that all other forms of Buddhism were expedient means leading up to the universal teaching of One-vehicle to salvation. However, the *Lotus Sūtra* could also be used to reject expedient teachings in favor of the ultimate teaching (*haigon ryūjitsu*). Much of later Tendai doctrinal history consists of how monastic scholars combined other Buddhist teachings with those of the *Lotus Sūtra*, using both the inclusive and the exclusive approaches to expedient teachings.

The majority of Saichō's writings were polemical, defending his position against the claims of Hossō monks. When he died at the comparatively young age of fifty-five, he had not systematized his views on a variety of issues, including the interpretation of the *bodhisattva* precepts and how Esoteric and Exoteric Buddhism had the same purport. His successor, Gishin, who had accompanied Saichō to China, did not even mention these issues in a handbook of Tendai doctrine he submitted to the court. Some of Saichō's disciples tried to remedy these deficiencies by writing sets of questions to their Chinese counterparts (Tōketsu), but in many cases the two sides seemed to be talking past each other. The unfinished quality of Saichō's positions turned out to work in Tendai's favor. The ninth century was marked by remarkable creativity as Tendai monks traveled to China in search of new teachings and clarification.

Although much of Japanese Tendai doctrine is based on the three major works by Zhiyi and their commentaries by Zhanran, Japanese monks did much more than simply write commentaries that reflected Chinese concerns and interpretations. Instead, they had their own concerns in reading and interpreting Chinese texts, sometimes taking passages out of context and pushing them in new directions. Most of Saichō's writings had been polemical attacks on Hossō and defenses of Tendai in which he sometimes took terms from Chinese texts and gave them a new emphasis. Occasionally he used terms that had not appeared before. For example, terms such as *sokushin jōbutsu* (the realization of buddhahood with this very body), *jikidō* (direct path), and *sōmoku jōbutsu* (the realization of buddhahood by trees and grasses) were found in Chinese Tiantai texts, but in Japanese Tendai they received a new emphasis. At first Japanese monks attempted to enlist Chinese help in clarifying these teachings, writing letters to China in which they asked about doctrine, but eventually Japanese Tendai doctrine developed in unique ways, helped by the paucity of direct contact between Chinese Tiantai and Japanese Tendai after Enchin's travels. Japanese monks explored these issues through a debate system in which they might take issues out of context and develop them in new ways.

From the late Heian period to the middle of the Edo period, much of Tendai thought was concerned with a movement that has been called *hongaku* thought by twentieth-century scholars. The locus classicus of the term *hongaku*, often translated as "original enlightenment," is in a Chinese apocryphal text, the *Dasheng qixin lun* (Awakening of faith in the Mahāyāna), where it is found with two other terms, *shikaku* (realized enlightenment) and *fukaku* (nonenlightenment). *Hongaku* referred to the concept that all sentient beings had an intrinsic quality of enlightenment that provided the bases for both realized enlightenment and nonenlightenment. Through assiduous practice a person could realize enlightenment and leave nonenlightenment. The term *hongaku thought* is a modern term used to refer to Japanese Tendai texts that discuss the implications of original enlightenment, often adopting a position that affirms this world just as it is without any need for practice. The dissociation of original enlightenment and realized enlightenment is epitomized by the mythical claim that Ryōgen bestowed *hongaku* teachings on his student Genshin (942–1017) and teachings about realized enlightenment on his student Kakuun (953–1007), thereby suggesting that *hongaku* could be interpreted as an independent term instead of in association with practice.

The development of *hongaku* thought has often been characterized as a degenerate phase of Tendai because it is characterized by the flagrant disregard of historical precedent, the production of texts attributed to major Tendai figures of the past, and a seeming disregard for traditional (and sometimes for all) forms of practice. However, *hongaku* texts exhibited a wide variety of attitudes toward traditional doctrine and practice. Some, such as those written by Kōen (1263–1317) of the Kurodani lineage (discussed below) advocated the reestablishment of Saichō's twelve-year period of seclusion. Other texts, such as the *Shinnyokan* (Discernment of suchness) required little more than a firm belief that one was already a buddha. A number of strategies were employed in *hongaku* texts to justify creative doctrinal positions, including the creation of sources, secret oral transmissions, word play, and associations of unrelated terms. These innovative teachings were justified by regarding subjective interpretations (often called mind discernment or *kanjin*) above doctrines that relied on Scripture.

More traditional forms of Tendai scholarship continued to survive during this period. Figures such as Hōchibō Shōshin (1131?–1215?) and Jitsudō Ninkū (1307–1388) wrote commentaries, essays, and debate manuals that displayed meticulous care with historical sources. Shōshin in particular was known for his careful differentiation of Chinese and Japanese doctrinal views.

Tendai Esoteric Buddhism. Tendai's most immediate problem after Saichō's death was competing with the Esoteric Buddhist tradition represented by Kūkai's Shingon school. The Tendai school occasionally used the term *Shingon school* to refer to its Esoteric teachings. The two Esoteric traditions are sometimes differentiated by calling Tendai Esoteric Buddhism "Taimitsu" and Kūkai's school "Tōmitsu"; however, Tōmitsu is usually referred to as the Shingon school. Much about the Esoteric traditions Saichō received in China and his understanding of them remains obscure; in fact, the texts Saichō is said to have received in China may have been written by Annen (841–889? CE) to bolster Tendai claims to Esoteric lineages. However, Saichō's insistence on the agreement of the purport of the Perfect Teaching and Esoteric Buddhism has been a hallmark of Taimitsu. The inferiority of Saichō's transmission of Esoteric Buddhist ritual led to Tendai monks such as Ennin traveling to China, where he studied for nine years, from 838 to 847 CE. He collected 508 texts in 802 fascicles, more than Kūkai, studied the Sanskritic *siddhaṃ* script, and brought back new rituals. He also established a Dhāraṇī Hall in which the ritual of Abundant Flames (*shijōkōhō*) was to be performed to protect the emperor and the state, thus giving Tendai the ritual apparatus to compete successfully with Tōmitsu at court. Ennin also wrote the first major commentaries on the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* and the *Susiddhikara Sūtra*. Along with the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, these three major texts form the basis of the threefold system of Esoteric Buddhism upon which Taimitsu was based. Enchin studied in China from 853 to 858 CE under the Chinese Esoteric Buddhist master Fazhuan, the same master Ennin had trained under, and also brought back a large number of texts and ritual traditions. Enchin was the author of a number of texts that explained the connection between Esoteric Buddhism and Tendai. For example, he argued that the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* should be classified with the *Lotus Sūtra* in the Tendai system of five periods.

Esoteric Buddhism was eventually systematized by Annen. Although he did not travel to China, Annen collected all of the texts and practices he could and strove to explain and reconcile the differences he encountered. In addition, he was acutely aware of Kūkai's tradition and defended Tendai interpretations against criticisms from Tōmitsu sources, even as he borrowed elements of Kūkai's teachings.

Tendai Esoteric Buddhism is marked by several factors that differentiate it from Shingon. While Shingon argues for the nonduality of the Womb and Diamond-realm *maṇḍala*s, Tendai added another tradition, that found in the *Susiddhikara Sūtra* (*Soshitsujikyō*). This gave Taimitsu added elements of practice that helped it compete with Tōmitsu. Saichō had argued that the *Lotus Sūtra* and Esoteric Buddhism had the same import; in contrast, Kūkai had given Tendai and the *Lotus Sūtra* relatively low rankings in his classification of doctrine. Later Tendai monks had striven to clarify the Tendai view. Saichō's student Kōjō (779–858 CE) developed an Esoteric ritual for the *Lotus Sūtra.* Ennin argued that all of Buddhism could be encompassed in "One Great Perfect Teaching" (*ichidai engyō*), a classification that identified the essence of all teachings. However, he also needed to differentiate teachings in a hierarchical manner. Because the *Lotus Sūtra* claimed that it was a hidden teaching revealed only as the end of Śākyamuni's life, it could be interpreted as a hidden or Esoteric teaching. At the same time, because the *Lotus Sūtra* did not have the ritual elements found in Esoteric texts, Ennin argued that, although both the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* and the *Lotus Sūtra* were doctrinally the highest teaching, only the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* included the most superior practices.

Annen further refined these teachings with a classification called the "four ones": one Buddha, one time, one place, and one teaching. Like Ennin's One Great Perfect Teaching, Annen stressed the unity of Buddhist teachings. This teaching was based on the identity of the *dharmakāya* with the entire cosmos and the teaching that the *dharmakāya* preached. Annen also had to explain how Buddhism could be classified in a hierarchical fashion, which he did by adding a fifth category—Esoteric teachings—to the traditional fourfold Tendai doctrinal system: Hīnayāna, shared, distinct, and Perfect teachings. Esoteric teachings were thus given the highest position. Annen so identified Tendai with Esoteric teachings that he used the term *Shingon* (mantra) to refer to his teachings.

The agreement of the *Lotus Sūtra* and Esoteric Buddhism can be seen in Tendai discussions of several doctrines. Saichō based his argument on the realization of buddhahood with this very body (*sokushin jōbutsu*) on the story of the realization of the eight-year-old Nāga girl in the *Lotus Sūtra.* In discussions by later Tendai monks, the definition of this rapid realization changed to become more radically sudden, with Esoteric elements sometimes added. Tendai discussions of the preaching of the *dharma*-body (*hosshin seppō*) emphasized how the various bodies of the Buddha were ultimately combined; thus the preachings of Śākyamuni could be included as aspects of the preaching of the *dharma*-body. In both of these doctrines the Tendai position differed from that found in the Shingon school. Although Annen's work marks the high point of the systematization of Taimitsu thought and practice, later monks continued to refine it, and a number of separate ritual lineages emerged.

The most important text for Taimitsu has been the commentary of Yixing (683–727 CE) on the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra.* Tendai used a different recension of the text, the fourteen-fascicle *Darijing yishi,* than the Shingon school, which used the twenty-fascicle *Darijing shu.* Although the two recensions did not differ significantly doctrinally, ritual differences were evident.

Esoteric Buddhism also decisively influenced two other traditions: the practice of circumambulating mountain peaks (*kaihōgyō*) and the Sannō tradition of Shinto. *Kaihōgyō* is said to have begun with the monk Sōō (831–918 CE), who established a temple called Mudōji on Mount Hiei as the base for the practice. In its fully developed form a practitioner (only men perform this practice) takes a vow to travel on set courses for one thousand days spread over seven years. Traveling the course is compared to traveling through a *maṇḍala,* with the practitioner paying homage to deities at around three hundred sites. After seven hundred days of circumambulation, the practitioner undergoes a nine-day period without food, water, sleep, or lying down. He then completes the practice, extending his circumambulation down to Kyoto. Upon completing the practice, he is received by the emperor. Once a practitioner has taken a vow to begin the practice, he is not permitted to end his austerities early. In fact he carries a knife to end his life if he cannot finish the practice.

The Tiantai school in China honored a deity who protected its headquarters. In a similar manner, Hie taisha was established at the foot of Mount Hiei as the focal point of a cult to honor the deities that protected the Tendai school on Mount Hiei. As time passed the numbers of shrines and deities increased. By the Kamakura period deities were considered manifestations of various buddhas and *bodhisattvas.* Tendai doctrine was used to give the system more coherence. The term *Sannō* (mountain king) by which this form of Shintō was known consisted of two characters, the first made up of three vertical strokes joined by a single horizontal stroke and the second consisting of three horizontal strokes and one vertical stroke. The very name of the cult called to mind the unity of the three truths. The separation of Shintō and Buddhism during the Meiji Restoration resulted in the independence of the Sannō cult from Tendai.

Precepts and monastic discipline. Near the end of his life, Saichō proposed that the *Four-Part Vinaya* ordination traditionally used throughout East Asia be abandoned as inferior Hīnayāna and that a Mahāyāna ordination based on the Mahāyāna *bodhisattva* precepts found in the *Brahmā's Net Sūtra* and *Lotus Sūtra* be substituted for it. Neither source had been compiled with the objective of serving as the basis of monastic discipline. Perhaps in recognition of this, Saichō had proposed that his monks receive a "provisional Hīnayāna ordination" after spending twelve years on Mount Hiei. This would have enabled the monks to participate in monastic assemblies with monks from other schools. One week after his death the court approved Saichō's proposal, but his premature death had prevented him from specifying how this change was to be implemented.

During the subsequent centuries the precepts were interpreted in a variety of ways based on these sources. For example, *Questions and Answers on the Rules for Students* (*Gakushōshiki mondō*), a later text attributed to Saichō, claimed that the precepts were primarily based on the *Lotus Sūtra*, a text that actually contained little in the way of explicit instructions concerning monastic discipline. Monks could violate the precepts as long as they adhered to the *Lotus Sūtra*, a vague requirement. During the late Heian period and the Kamakura period a number of monks attempted to introduce stricter interpretations of the precepts. Shunjō (1166–1227) traveled to China, learned that Tiantai monks were still ordained with the precepts from the *Four-Part Vinaya*, and returned to Japan to introduce the practice to Tendai. He was criticized by other Tendai monks for deviating from Saichō's plan and had to make his headquarters at Sennyūji in Kyōto.

The monks in the Kurodani lineage of Tendai combined the *Lotus Sūtra* with the precepts of the *Brahmā's Net Sūtra*. Ejin (d. 1289) and Kōen revived monastic discipline by following Saichō's instructions for a twelve-year period of sequestration on Mount Hiei. At the end of that period a monk received a "consecrated" ordination (*kaikanjō*), which was based on *hongaku* thought. Sitting side by side with his teacher in a scene reminiscent of the two buddhas that appeared together in the *Lotus Sūtra*, the student was told that he had realized buddhahood with his current body. The tradition, however, carried the seeds of its own degeneration because the new "buddha" was told that he could create new precepts and teachings as needed.

Ninkū, who was active in both the Tendai and Seizan sect of the Jōdo School, relied on a commentary on the *Brahmā's Net Sūtra* by Zhiyi and detailed sets of temple rules to restore monastic discipline. A key part of his agenda was identifying the *Brahmā's Net* precepts as a Perfect teaching and thus as profound as the *Lotus Sūtra*. He also argued that the *Brahmā's Net* precepts should not be interpreted in terms of Esoteric Buddhism and Pure Land, thereby preserving the integrity of the precepts. When they had been interpreted in terms of these other traditions, the argument could be made that the recitation of the Buddha's name *(nembutsu)* or a magical incantation *(dhāraṇī)* would vanquish huge amounts of bad karma.

Finally, as mentioned above, during the Tokugawa period several monks from the Anrakuritsuin on Mount Hiei attempted to require all Tendai monks to undergo ordinations based on the *Four-Part Vinaya* but were eventually defeated. Thus Saichō's reform of monastic discipline led to a wide variety of interpretations of the precepts, many of which contributed to the lax observance of monastic rules.

Pure Land. The ninety-day constantly walking meditation, one of the four meditations described by Zhiyi, focuses on the circumambulation of an image of Amida (Amitābha) accompanied by the recitation of Amida's name, progresses to a visualization of the Buddha, and concludes with a contemplation on emptiness. This meditation provided the ritual basis of Tendai Pure Land but was performed only infrequently according to Zhiyi's directions on Mount Hiei. Although Saichō had specified that all four of Zhiyi's types of meditation be practiced on Mount Hiei, he did not live long enough to put the constantly walking meditation into effect. Ennin brought the first Pure Land practices used on Mount Hiei when he returned from China, a practice called the Uninterrupted Recitation of the Buddha's Name (*fudan nembutsu*) from Wutai Shan, China, that was based on rituals instituted by Fazhao (d. 820? CE). These practices consisted of the recitation of the *Omituojing* (Sūtra on Amitābha) rather than the much simpler recitation of the Buddha's name mentioned in the constantly walking meditation. The practice generally lasted only seven days, shorter than the ninety days required by Zhiyi, and became popular in Japan. It was more concerned with extinguishing the karmic effects of wrongdoing and being reborn in the Pure Land than with the discernment of emptiness. Thus from the beginning Tendai Pure Land ranged over a variety of possible practices and goals, from meditations that focused on a realization of emptiness or the Pure Land in this life and world to oral recitations that resulted in rebirth into a paradisiacal Pure Land when one died. This ambiguity was reflected in the term *nembutsu*, which could refer to either a meditation on the Buddha or the recitation of his name.

Genshin, the most able Tendai exegete of the tenth century, systematized Tendai Pure Land thought. Although he was skilled in doctrinal topics, including Hossō and logic, he is primarily remembered for his authorship of the *Ōjō yōshū* (Essentials of rebirth in the Pure Land), a text that included many of the ambiguities in practice and goal mentioned above because the practices could be used by a variety of people. The text included vivid descriptions of the hells and Pure Land that influenced many. Temples such as the Byōdōin reflected efforts to create architectural images of the Pure Land. Genshin's text also included discussions of deathbed rites and doctrinal issues connected with Pure Land. It had an immediate effect leading to the formation of several organizations devoted to Pure Land practice, including the Assembly for the Advancement of Learning (Kangaku-e) and the Assembly for the Concentration on the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas (Nijūgo zanmai-e), groups that included both lay and monastic practitioners. Pure Land practices were later spread by a variety of men with Tendai affiliations, including Kōya (903–972 CE) and Ryōnin (1072–1132), founder of the Yūzū nembutsushū. Hōnen, founder of the Jōdoshū, spent most of his life as a Tendai monk, and Shinran (1173–1263), founder of the Jōdo Shinshū, was trained on Mount Hiei.

Some Tendai practitioners considered Pure Land practices easier because the recitation of the Buddha's name could be done by anyone and vanquished large amounts of bad karma. For other practitioners, Pure Land practice was difficult. Uncertainty about whether one's rebirth into the Pure Land was assured led some to focus incessantly on the purification of their thoughts. Salvation was only ensured at death when the practitioner died comfortably with a mind focused on the Buddha. Such fervent practice sometimes led to vivid dreams and visions of the Pure Land, events that were often recorded in the biographies of those reborn in the Pure Land (*Ōjōden*).

Pure Land practices in Tendai were not conducted separately from other practices. A popular saying, "Recitation of the *Lotus Sūtra* in the morning and the recitation of the Buddha's name (*nembutsu*) at night," reflects the typical Tendai attitude. Esoteric Buddhist practices were sometimes mixed with Pure Land rituals because Amida was found in various maṇḍalas. Moreover when Tendai followers stressed the oral recitation of the *nembutsu*, the contemplative aspect was also present. The emphasis on creating a Pure Land in this world coexisted with beliefs in rebirth in a Pure Land located far from this one. In addition, Tendai monks such as Ninkū and Shinzei (1443–1495) emphasized that the precepts must be observed while the *nembutsu* is chanted. Tendai views of Pure Land thus differed in important ways from Jōdo and Jōdo Shin traditions, which argued that the recitation of the Buddha's name was the only way to salvation.

SEE ALSO Tiantai.

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TENGRI. The earliest attested occurrence of a word in an Altaic language is the transcription into Chinese of the word *tengri* in the *Qian Han shu* (*juan* 94). It has kept this or a related form (*tenggeri*, *tanara*, *tängri*, *tanri*, *tari*, et al.) down to the present day. Etymologically, the word appears to be linked with a verb that means "to turn." It has been used continuously, not only by the "shamanistic" or "animistic" Turco-Mongols but also by those who have adopted universal religions. I shall concern myself here only with its meaning in the former case.

The original use of the word *tengri* was in designating the physical sky, as in such statements as "The sun is in the sky" or "The clouds darken the sky." This long-held meaning eventually was lost. With the deification of the sky, the word took on two other interpretations as well, either that of sky god or the more vague sense of "god," "deity," and, adjectivally, "celestial" and "divine." It is not always possible to determine whether *tengri* is being used as an adjective or a noun.

DEITIES NAMED TENGRI. At the same time that Tengri the sky god emerges (second half of the first millennium CE), Old Turkic inscriptions mention various deities named Tengri, but little information is available on these. Yol Tengri is the "god of roads or paths" or "god of luck" (*yol* has these two meanings), Öd Tengri is the "god of weather"; there is a Tengri who lies among the reeds as well. No evidence indicates the nature of the relationship between these characters and the sky god. Any attempt to make such a determination is complicated by the fact that the same inscriptions more often refer to much greater divine powers that were never called *tengri*. "Venerated" or "worshiped" celestial bodies also were never called *tengri*.

From toponymy and foreign sources, we know that in certain cases mountains are called *tengri* (for example, Tengri Tag, "celestial mountain"; Chin., Tianshan), as are some lakes (for example, Tengri Nor, "celestial lake," in Mongolia). To add to the confusion, an eleventh-century observer, Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, remarked that the word *tengri* applies to everything that appears enormous—a huge tree, for instance. Knowing this, it is no surprise today to see the sky god, who has a greatly attenuated reality, gradually replaced by great deities who are often called Tengri. Even if one has every reason to believe that the word is an adjective, does this usage not make a god out of a divine being or object? Such is the case with certain shamans, like the one who enthroned Chinggis Khan, Teb Tenggeri ("very celestial"); certain sorcerers ("a holy old woman"); the nation ("my sacred nation"); and most of the khans ("my holy khan"). In fact, there was a Türk sovereign who had no name but Tengri Khan (*r.* 734–741). Finally, scholars are unsure to what extent something called "blue" (in Turkic languages, *kök;* Mong., *köke*), in the sense of an attribute of the sky, is to be identified with God. Examples of this usage are found among the Turkic peoples and among the Mongols; as, for instance, in the case of the Mongol emperor Möngke: Köke Möngke ("blue eternal").

THE SKY GOD. The modern Turco-Mongol peoples who have preserved their ancient religion have less of an interest in the sky god than previously. Most often, the sky is the abode of a celestial god, sometimes anthropomorphized, who has numerous assistants—his sons and daughters, his wife, and many others. The sky is divided into levels, generally seven according to the supposed number of planets. Even in areas where Russian Orthodoxy or Buddhism has had little influence, there are many unstable *tengri*s, a fact that corresponds perfectly to the traditional ideology. All attempts to classify them are wholly imposed from without and lack foundation in the tradition. As for the sky god, in areas where belief in him persists, he is nonetheless considered to be very distant. The Altaic tribes call him Tengere Kaira Khan ("merciful lord sky"), but his sons and assistants hold the real power, notably the power of creation: they are Bai Ülgen alone or together with Kysogan Tengere and Mergen Tengere. The great god of the Yakuts is Iuriung Aĭyy Toĭon ("white lord creator") or Aĭyy Toĭon. It is believed that he gradually became a *deus otiosus*. In fact, it appears that he has always been such for the masses. As early as the tenth century, Balik Bayat, "supreme old one" or "supreme wealthy one," is regarded as the creator. I must point out, however, that the ancient cosmogonies are inconsistent and that the problem of origins has only recently been addressed. When creation was later attributed to the sky god, it seems likely that it was in response to questions posed by Muslims or Christians.

The active sky god is an imperial creation that concerns only the imperial religion: the people devoted attention to him only in times when imperial power was sufficient to command widespread obedience to the deity. Occasionally, sincere devotees of the sky god would appear. Such mystics were claimed to be "slaves of Tengri," but no Islamic influence can be discerned in this appellation. The sky god appears already before the common era among the Xiongnu, then later, continually, in all the great political formations up to the fourteenth century. Under the Türk (sixth to eighth century) and under the Mongols (thirteenth to fourteenth century), he is particularly visible. The former call him "blue," "elevated" or "above," and "endowed with power"; the latter add to these qualities that he is "eternal," a characteristic supposedly long implied.

It is not an exaggeration to say that no other deity has responded so much to the needs of his loyal followers. The Turco-Mongol emperor first wanted to gather all those of his race, then the entire world. His god was national (the Tengri of the Türks and Mongols), then universal and unique. There is but one god in the sky and one sole sovereign on earth: such is the ideology. It represents a desperate but unsuccessful effort to promote monotheism; the other deities remained alive in the minds of the people and were more or less associated with the sky god. Even so, the sky god is as predominant as the emperor himself, who "comes from him," "resembles him" (and is sometimes his son), conducts privileged conversations with him, receives and transmits his orders, conquers in his name, names dignitaries in his name, rewards and punishes with death (the only punishment of Tengri, used often against those who revolt), distributes to everyone, man or beast, *kut*, a vitality that brings happiness, and *ülüg*, luck. Nevertheless, the sky god can do without the emperor when he is weakening or has lost his divine mandate. In such a case he "applies pressure," or sends his messengers: an eagle, an enigmatic angel, some rays of light often accompanied by "dazzling daughters," or the animal guides, particularly the wolf, who are none other than the imperial ancestors. Anyone can talk to the sky god, but shamans are forbidden to have closer relationships with him than the prince does: any pretension of having such a relationship will lead to the shaman's destruction. In contrast, great respect is shown to all those who are specialists in spirituality, notably to foreign priests who are protected and exempted from taxes on the condition that they pray for the emperor's longevity.

It appears that in ancient times the Tengri cult thrived for only short periods; nevertheless, it developed rapidly. Sacrifices of white horses or other animals were offered to Tengri annually or daily, usually on fixed dates or during special events. Prayer itself spread and became an essential element in the Tengri cult in the thirteenth century. Great orisons were conducted by the sovereign from an elevation where, over a period of time lasting from one to three days, he continually bowed in prayer to the sky with bare head and loosened belt. It has always been common practice to go around in a circle on horseback: this is called "going around the sky."

It is a common belief among practitioners of the Tengri cult that souls reside in Tengri before their incarnation and that the souls of the deceased return to him. In fact, when a death is announced, one says "He flew off" or "He became a gyrfalcon." The destination is specified: "He climbed to the sky with his body" and "In the sky you will be as among the living." However, beliefs probably concern particularly great personages and those who will be needed in the beyond to serve them.

SEE ALSO Buriat Religion; Chuvash Religion; Mongol Religions; Turkic Religions; Ülgen.

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TENRIKYŌ.

A monotheistic Japanese religion established in 1838, Tenrikyō preaches a doctrine of world renewal and individual salvation. Its founder, Nakayama Miki (1798–1887), received a revelation from Tenri Ō no Mikoto (also known as Oyagami, or "God the parent"), and became Kami no Yashiro ("the living shrine of God"). According to Tenrikyō church tradition, God revealed himself through Nakayama in order to deliver people from individual sufferings and social evils, and to prepare the way for the *kanrodai sekai* ("perfect divine kingdom"), in which humankind will enjoy *yōkigurashi* ("joyous and blissful life") in union with God the Parent. Tenrikyō spread rapidly throughout Japan during the tumultuous eclipse of the Edo period (1600–1868).

HISTORY. The eldest daughter of Maekawa Masanobu and his wife Kinu, Maekawa Miki (later, Nakayama Miki) became a pious devotee of Pure Land Buddhism early in life. Although she wished to become a nun, in obedience to her parents' wishes she married Nakayama Zembei in 1810. In her marriage she affirmed the values of worldly life through moral compassion toward others and devotion to Shintō deities. The revelation she experienced in her forty-first year resulted in a dedication to almsgiving, leading her family into extreme poverty. She affirmed her credibility by working miracles, teaching that divine protection was attainable only through a life of sincere piety. Her mission to achieve the new world order of *kanrodai sekai* was misunderstood by many, and she and her followers were persecuted for many years, she herself being imprisoned several times.

Despite intensifying persecution, Nakayama wrote two books, the *Mikagurauta* and the *Ofudesaki,* taught her disciples the movements for the Kagura Zutome ("salvation dance service"), the essential rite in Tenrikyō, and determined the location of the *jiba,* the sacred spot that is believed to be the original birthplace of humans. On the morning of January 26, 1887, she urged her disciples to perform the Kagura Zutome (which had been prohibited by the police), asking them to decide for themselves whether the laws of humankind or those of God are supreme. As they performed the service around the Kanrodai, a symbolic monument erected at the *jiba,* Nakayama died. Her followers believed that she had passed from a corporeal to a spiritual state, remaining in her sanctuary and helping them to realize God's kingdom in this world. Nakayama's ascension to this new state, together with the *hinagata* ("model life") she exemplified, became the focal point of the Tenrikyō faith.

After her passing, God spoke through Iburi Izō (1833–1907), Nakayama's most trusted disciple. The *Osashizu* was compiled from revelations made to him and fostered the emergence of a structured Tenrikyō church system. Tenrikyō was sanctioned by the government and officially classified as one of the sects of Sect Shintō in 1888. The church was then forced to alter its teachings and activities to conform to government policies. Nevertheless, Nakayama's teachings were retained intact and spread throughout Japan by 1895. Missions were established in the United States in 1896, in Taiwan in 1897, in Korea in 1898, and in China in 1901. After World War II, with the guarantee of religious freedom under the 1947 Constitution, the Fukugen ("restoration of the original teachings") movement was carried out to purify Tenrikyō teachings, which had been distorted by the influences of Shintō and state nationalism. This movement marked a step toward a redefinition of Tenrikyō as distinct from Sect Shintō. By the 1980s, Tenrikyō had approximately three million followers, with 16,664 churches and 20,039 mission stations scattered worldwide. Tenrikyō also operates social and cultural institutions, including a university, a library, a museum, a publishing house, a hospital, and an orphanage.

DOCTRINE. Tenri Ō no Mikoto ("lord of heavenly reason"), as revealed through Nakayama, is the creator of the world, and is also defined as the *moto no kami* ("original god") and the *jitsu no kami* ("true god"). God has ten attributes, which are manifested symbolically as *tohashira no kami* ("ten deities"), each representing a particular aspect of God working in the physical world. God is further posited as Tsukihi ("sun and moon") and finally as Oyagami ("God the parent"), revealing his pantheistic and immanent nature as well as his transcendental and personal existence. He is the god of parental love, who created the world in order to enjoy seeing the harmonious life of human beings. Believing in neither original sin nor the fall of man, Tenrikyō holds that the revelation was necessary to rectify human selfishness, which is contrary to God's original intent. The revelation occurred through three preordinations—the soul, the place, and the time—which are historically manifested in the soul of Nakayama, the *jiba* (the place of the original creation), and the time of revelation. This triad comprises the core of the Tenrikyō doctrine, and emphasizes the historical inevitability of the revelation.

Tenrikyō defines human physical existence as a *kashimono-karimono* ("something lent or borrowed," i.e., from God) and death as a *denaoshi* ("restart"). The progressive purification of the human heart is recognized through the process of reincarnation. Its ethical teaching is founded upon the doctrine of *yattsu no hokori* ("eight dusts"), consisting of *oshii* ("grudge"), *hoshii* ("covetousness"), *nikui* ("hatred"), *kawaii* ("selfish love"), *urami* ("enmity"), *haradachi* ("fury"), *yoku* ("greed"), and *kōman* ("arrogance"). These are defined as pollutants to be cleansed in order to uncover one's true nature and attain a state of *makoto-shinjitsu* ("sincere piety"). Salvation requires three activities. Receiving *osazuke* ("the holy grant") is the most important rite; it enables one to be reborn at the *jiba* and to become an agent of God to help others through prayers. Performing *hinokishin* ("daily service") in one's given social position is another means to achieving personal maturity. Last, frequent pilgrimages to the *jiba* are urged to renew one's faith and to enjoy a blissful and joyous life in union with God.

SCRIPTURES. The essential Tenrikyō canonical texts are the *Mikagurauta* (Songs for the sacred dance), the *Ofudesaki* (Tip of the divine writing brush), and the *Osashizu* (Divine directions), the first two personally written by Nakayama under divine inspiration and the third revealed through Iburi. Written between 1866 and 1875, the *Mikagurauta* consists of five sections. The first three comprise the verses for the Kagura Zutome service. The fourth, containing eight verses, and the fifth, consisting of twelve stanzas of ten verses each, are the songs for the Teodori (Sacred Dance) service. Revealed to Nakayama between 1869 and 1882, the *Ofudesaki* is composed of seventeen parts comprising 1,711 verses written in the 5-7-5-7-7-syllable *waka* style. This scripture introduces the basic creed of Tenrikyō and elucidates the creation of the world, the nature of God, the significance of the *jiba* and the Kanrodai, and the importance of the Kagura Zutome.

The *Osashizu,* a large collection of directions revealed to Iburi from 1887 to 1907 after Nakayama's passing, is divided into two categories: *kokugen* (prophesies and directions to meet the exigencies of salvation) and *ukagai no sashizu* (directions in response to individual inquiries). The *Osashizu* contains concrete and detailed instructions concerning church organization and personal conduct, and offers Tenrikyō adherents guidance for solving the problems of daily life.

SEE ALSO New Religious Movements, article on New Religious Movements in Japan.

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TERESA OF ÁVILA (1515–1582), epithet of Teresa de Ahumeda y Cepeda, Christian saint, Spanish mystic, religious reformer, and author of religious classics. Teresa was born at Ávila in the Castilian region of Spain on March 28, 1515, the third child of Don Alonso Cepeda, a moderately wealthy merchant. She was a spirited child, and early in life she began to manifest deep religious feelings. When she was seven she and her eleven-year-old brother ran away from home, intending to go to the country of the Moors and offer themselves for martyrdom. Later, writing about the episode in her *Life,* she said that she had done this because she "wanted to see God." However, the adventure ended abruptly a few meters outside the walled city of Ávila when the two children met their uncle, who promptly took them home.

In her early teens Teresa took a great interest in clothes, read romantic stories, and apparently had a romance with a cousin. When she was fifteen her mother died at the age of thirty-three, having produced nine children, and her father sent Teresa to board at Our Lady of Grace Convent, a kind of finishing school for girls from comfortable families. She remained there for a year and a half, and during that period her contact with the Augustinian nuns prompted her to start thinking about a religious vocation.

Illness forced Teresa to leave the school, and she went to live with a sister to recuperate. She began to visit the Carmelite Convent of the Incarnation in Ávila to talk about becoming a nun. One of the nuns later recalled the charm and beauty of the nineteen-year-old Teresa. In 1535, at the age of twenty, Teresa entered the Convent of the Incarnation, where she remained for twenty-eight years until she left to found her own reformed Carmelite convent. At the time of Teresa's entrance the convent had 140 nuns, and although the reform movement was to emanate from it, there was nothing scandalous about life there; it was simply a comfortable and not particularly demanding existence. The nuns, especially those from affluent families, lived in a suite of rooms, often attended by a servant. They were able to visit freely outside the convent, and they spent long hours each day in the parlor visiting with outsiders. Teresa lived this type of life until she was about forty, when she experienced what she called her "conversion" while reading the *Confessions* of Augustine. From that point until the end of her life, she followed a rigorous personal program of discipline and prayer that culminated in frequent religious experiences in which she saw the Lord and heard him speak. Teresa herself described these experiences as "intellectual visions and locutions."

For seven years after her "conversion" Teresa continued to live at the Incarnation, but she began to plan the establishment of a small Carmelite convent that would follow the original Carmelite rule of 1209, which had been mitigated by Eugenius IV in 1435. She claimed that she had been encouraged to do this in her visions, but at first, there was much opposition from the nuns in the convent and other ecclesiastics. She finally obtained permission from Rome, and on August 24, 1562, along with four other nuns, she established in Ávila a convent of discalced Carmelite nuns. The word *discalced* (lit., "without shoes") referred, in the religious parlance of the time, to a reformed group that usually went barefoot or in sandals. Teresa's reformed convent in Ávila was dedicated to Saint Joseph, and the nuns who lived there followed the original Carmelite rule, rather than the mitigated one observed at the Incarnation. This meant a much stricter observance of such conventual disciplines as fasting, silence, and restriction of contact with outsiders.

Teresa, who now called herself of Teresa of Jesus, remained at that first convent for just over four years, a time later described as "the most restful years of my life." Her original intention had been to establish only that single reformed convent, but in 1567 the Carmelite general, Giovanni Rossi, on a visitation from Rome, approved Teresa's work and commanded her to establish other convents. During the next fifteen years she would personally found about one convent per year in Spain, and after her death similar reformed Carmelite convents were established all over the world.

While she was still a nun at the Incarnation, Teresa began writing an account of her life, a task she completed during the first years of her reform. She always called it her *libro grande,* but it was only the first effort in an impressive body of Christian literature. These works, never originally intended for general publication, were written at odd moments during a busy career of religious administration. She wrote four major prose works, a series of shorter works, poems, and numerous letters, of which 445 are extant. Principal among these works are *Foundations,* which describes her adventures in founding convents, *Way of Perfection,* which explains prayer, and *Interior Mansions,* which describes the dimensions of spiritual and mystical growth. Her works are considered Christian masterpieces, and she is undoubtedly one of history's great authorities on mysticism.

Teresa also developed the idea of establishing religious houses of reformed Carmelite men. She obtained permission from the general in Rome and in 1568 opened the first monastery of reformed Carmelite friars at Duruelo, twenty-five miles from Ávila. One of those original friars was Juan de Yepes y Alvarez, who was to be known to history as John of the Cross. Soon there were reformed Carmelite monasteries all over Spain, and eventually they spread around the world.

In 1582 Teresa founded the last of her fifteen convents, at Burgos. On her return trip to Ávila she was taken ill and stopped at her convent at Alba de Tormes. At sixty-seven, suffering from uterine cancer, she died there on October 4, 1582. Paul V beatified her in 1614; Gregory XV canonized her in 1622; and Paul VI, who called her "the light of the universal church," declared her a doctor of the church in 1970.

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TERTULLIAN (160?–225?), Quintus Septimius Florens, first Christian theologian to write extensively in Latin. An African, Tertullian laid the foundations for Western theology through the range of issues he addressed and his precise formulations. Although he became an adherent of the Montanist sect, his thought exerted much influence on Cyprian, bishop of Carthage (248–258), and later Latin authors.

LIFE. Little is known of Tertullian's life. Data supplied by Jerome in his *Lives of Famous Men* (392–393) were apparently inferred from remarks in Tertullian's own writings and are now generally discounted by scholars. Probably born and reared in Carthage, he received an excellent education and was considered one of the luminaries of his day. Although he employed considerable legal jargon and argument in his writing, he probably cannot be identified with the jurist Tertullianus whose opinions were cited in the *Digest* and *Codex Justinianus.* His extensive legal knowledge would have come from classical education.

Tertullian converted to Christianity around 193 to 195, doubtless attracted by the discipline of Christians, especially their willingness for martyrdom. His unusual gifts, education, and commitment quickly propelled him into a position of leadership, but, contrary to Jerome's assumption, he was never ordained a presbyter or elder in the Carthaginian church, identifying himself several times in his writings as a member of the laity. He did, however, preach or teach, for several of his writings are sermons.

Sympathetic by inclination with the rigorous views of discipline held by the Montanists, a charismatic sect that originated in Phrygia about CE 170, Tertullian veered toward that sect as the catholic church in North Africa moved away from it. For him this entailed no radical shift in views, but rather a hardening of certain ones held earlier on remarriage, flight to avoid persecution, and repentance for serious sins—all of which, as a Montanist, he prohibited absolutely. His new affiliation notwithstanding, he continued as the chief spokesman against gnosticism and Marcionism and as the major theologian in the West until Augustine.

After several years in the Montanist camp Tertullian separated from them and formed a sect of his own called Tertullianists, which still existed in Augustine's heyday (c. 400–430). This schism could well have resulted from the growing tendency of Montanists to make exaggerated claims for their founder Montanus, as Tertullian was horrified by any ideas that were not thoroughly orthodox.

Throughout his career Tertullian belonged to the literary circles in Carthage. In his writings he cited numerous classics, perhaps drawn in part from anthologies but certainly also from works he knew in depth. As a stylist, he surpassed both Jerome and Augustine. He was a creative and passionate debater whose erudition and technique place him in the second Sophistic movement. The exact date of his death is unknown.

WRITINGS. Tertullian's writings, thirty-one of which are extant, are notoriously difficult to date. They were once neatly divided into pre-Montanist, or catholic, and Montanist, according to "Montanistic" allusions. Recent studies, however, have demonstrated Montanist leanings not only in Tertullian but in early North African Christianity, hence this method has been discarded and the dating of many works revised.

The writings range across a wide spectrum, but they can be conveniently grouped under the headings of apologies for Christianity, treatises on the Christian life, and antiheretical works. In the summer of 197, Tertullian drafted two apologies, *To the Nations* and *Against the Jews,* the latter intended for Christian readers but never completed. Shortly thereafter, he revised *To the Nations* and published it as the finely argued and highly stylized *Apology,* his best-known work. In *On the Testimony of the Soul* he departed from his custom of citing scriptures and elaborated a purely psychological argument set out briefly in chapter 17 of the *Apology.* Years later, in 212, he reiterated in summary form arguments of the *Apology* in an appeal addressed to Scapula, proconsul of Africa, to halt the persecution of Christians.

Tertullian reflected a characteristic rigorist bent in the sermons and treatises on Christian life he composed throughout his brief career; his tone merely became sterner in Montanist days. In what is probably his earliest writing, *On the Shows,* dated 196 or early 197, he explained why Christians should not attend pagan games, theatrical productions, or contests. He saw no hope for the person who attended, for "he openly 'denies,' who gets rid of the distinctive mark by which he is known." To go from church to the shows is to go "from sky to stye." In *On Idolatry* he widened his prohibitions. Christians had to live with pagans, he said, but they did not have to sin with them. In *On the Dress of Women,* at least part of which was composed in his catholic years, he urged Christian women to set themselves apart from pagan women in clothing, adornment, hair style, and even in the way they walked. About the same time he exhorted Christians in *The Martyrs* to view prison as a place of withdrawal from the corrupt world and their imprisonment as discipline for heavenly citizenship.

In other treatises titled *On Baptism, On Prayer, On Repentance, On Patience,* and *To His Wife*—now dated between

198 and 203—Tertullian exhibited similar tendencies to distinguish Christian from pagan life. Those being baptized should come not to have sins forgiven, he insisted, but "because they have *ceased* sinning." For those who sin after baptism martyrdom is "a second baptism." In some contrast to his later stance in *On Modesty,* written about 210 or 211, Tertullian reluctantly followed the *Shepherd of Hermas* (c. 140) in permitting repentance for serious sins following baptism, but he openly expressed admiration for the Montanist prohibition of second marriages and refusal to grant forgiveness to fornicators or adulterers. In *To His Wife* he urged her, first, not to remarry if he should die, but then, if she should nevertheless marry again, not to marry a pagan. *On Modesty* classified second marriages, whether after the death of a spouse or not, "the same as adultery" and labeled Hermas "the shepherd of adulterers." In *On Patience* Tertullian lauded patience as the Christian virtue *par excellence,* especially in the face of death and martyrdom.

During his Montanist years, Tertullian sharpened the lines separating Christian and pagan. In *On the Wearing of the Laurel Wreath* he set forth the rule that whatever scriptures do not explicitly permit is forbidden. Since wearing the laurel was of pagan origins, it was idolatrous and thus prohibited for Christians, as was military service. In *On Flight in Persecution* Tertullian negated the more humane view presented in *To His Wife* and *On Patience* and sternly forbade escape. Persecution is God's, not the devil's, will, thus no Christian should flee. He saved his harshest words, however, for the Valentinian gnostics who encouraged the faithful to flee persecution. Their teaching he called the "scorpion's sting" in a work bearing that title. In *On Exhortation to Chastity* and *On Monogamy* the formidable rigorist stoutly defended the Montanist insistence on a single marriage and preference for celibacy. Christian perfection, he argued, descended from virginity from birth, to virginity from the new birth, to continence within marriage. Against the Marcionites, however, Tertullian did affirm the sanctity of marriage. In *On Fasting* he commended also the zeal of Montanists for more fasts. In *On the Veiling of Virgins* he urged virgins to take the veil and flee the temptations of the world.

Apart from his curious defense of his wearing the pallium as an appropriate Christian "philosopher's" dress, the remaining writings of Tertullian are antiheretical. Here, too, Tertullian manifested his separatist inclinations. "What has Jerusalem to do with Athens, the church with the academy, the Christian with the heretic?" he demanded to know. Like Irenaeus, he proceeded to set forth the "prescription" that heresy represented a departure from the truth that Christ delivered to the apostles and they to apostolic churches. He reiterated the point in the polemic *Against Hermogenes,* in which he countered the view that God created the soul from preexistent matter. In a more extensive work, *On the Soul,* Tertullian again took up his cudgels against the philosophers, "those patriarchs of the heretics." Although grudgingly admitting that some philosophers had happened on the truth, he himself insisted on obtaining truth from revelation, including that obtained through Montanist seers. A prophetess, for instance, confirmed his (and the Stoics') concept of a corporeal soul. In his five books *Against Marcion,* the longest of his writings, and in the treatises *On the Flesh of Christ* and *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* he repudiated Marcionite and Valentinian views as being of pagan origin. Similarly, the polemic *Against the Valentinians* ridiculed the Valentinian system for inconsistencies and contradictions characteristic of pagan philosophies. Finally, in *Against Praxeas* he rejected modalism in godhead on the grounds of inconsistency and its conflict with "the rule of truth."

THOUGHT. Tertullian labored assiduously to defend Christianity from the culture of his day. With that end in view he accentuated the authority of the rule of truth, a summary of the faith, and of the Bible interpreted more or less literally but with careful reference to context and his own situation. He also invented ecclesiastical Latin. These factors notwithstanding, he in no way equaled Irenaeus, whose treatise *Against Heresies* he invoked often, in development of a biblical theology. On the contrary, he drew many of his basic presuppositions from Stoicism and thus laid the ground for a distinctive Latin theology. His enduring contribution lay in his gift for finding apt formulas to state particular truths of faith.

Stoicism influenced Tertullian's concept both of God and of the soul as corporeal. He asserted that nothing can exist without a body. Thus, even though God is spirit, God is also body. So also is the soul corporeal. If it were not corporeal, it could not desert the body.

From this important assumption Tertullian deduced another: the transmission of sin through generation. Every human soul is a branch of Adam's soul; therefore, every soul inherits characteristics of Adam's soul, including sin. Tertullian, however, did not add to this a conclusion Augustine reached, that is, that guilt is also inherited.

In his refutation of modalism Tertullian won a victory for the Logos Christology of the apologists and Irenaeus. The first to use the term *Trinitas* ("trinity"), he argued that one God is simultaneously Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, not successively, as Praxeas held. Simultaneity is possible if the Trinity is "one substance in three persons": "three, however, not in unchangeable condition, but in rank; not in substance, but in attitude; not in office, but in appearance;—but of one nature and of one reality and of one power, because there is one God from whom those ranks and attitudes and appearances are derived in the name of Father and Son and Holy Spirit." At the same time Tertullian recognized that to say the Son is "of one substance" with the Father poses a problem for his humanity and might lead, as it did later, to confusion as to the Son's personhood. Anticipating later debate, he repudiated the idea of a mixing or confusion of natures in some *tertium quid.*

On some matters of doctrine Tertullian's Montanism left a mark, although it is difficult to say exactly what the mark was, since both Montanism and Tertullian adhered rather closely to primitive Christian views. Most significant was his acceptance of the eschatological framework of Montanist thought. According to this, the age of the Paraclete promised in *John* 14:16 was inaugurated by Montanus and the prophets Priscilla and Maximilla. The dawning of this dispensation signaled a time of new prophetic revelations and of greater Christian discipline—fasting, prohibition of second marriages, and willingness to suffer martyrdom. Christ was expected to return soon and set up his millennial kingdom with headquarters at Pepuza in Phrygia, Montanus's hometown. In the interim the church would be divided. On the one side were the psychics, on the other the pneumatics. The former, catholics, would not accept the discipline of the new prophecy; the latter, Montanists, would. In line with this understanding of the church, the Montanist Tertullian shifted his views of ministry so as to give a greater weight to prophecy.

Given his allegiance to Montanism, a sect increasingly regarded as heretical, it is remarkable that Tertullian had so great an impact on later Christian theology. This must have been due not to his personality but to his unquestioned orthodoxy on most matters and his genius for coining just the right phrase.

SEE ALSO Montanism.

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TESHUB was the Hurrian god of the storm. His name, also spelled *Teshshub*, *Te*, and *Teya*, is attested in theophoric Hurrian personal names in documents from Mesopotamia, Syro-Palestine, and Anatolia. Since the few Hurrian religious texts from outside the Hittite sphere are still somewhat poorly understood, most of what we know about the god, his mythological roles, and his cult is from Hittite Anatolia.

During the last two centuries of the Hittite kingdom (c. 1400–1200 BCE) Teshub was the chief god of the pantheon, with his cult center at Kummiya. He was the son of Anu (An), the sky god. His wife was the goddess Hebat. He had four brothers: Aranzakh (the Tigris River), Tashmishu, and two others whose names are unknown, and a sister, Shawushka, who was the goddess of love and war. Teshub and Hebat had a son, Sharruma, and a daughter, Allanzu.

Teshub is represented anthropomorphically in low relief on the rock walls of the sanctuary of Yazilikaya, near Bogazköy (Bittel, 1975, pp. 167–169), standing upon two unnamed anthropomorphic mountain gods and holding a club in his right hand. At the head of a procession of male deities, he meets and faces his wife, Hebat, the principal goddess of the pantheon, who heads a procession of goddesses. Around Teshub are represented other members of his immediate family. His size and position on the relief are in keeping with his rank as the chief god of the Hittite empire, but otherwise his dress and complements are those of a normal Hittite storm god.

In the mythological texts Teshub is always referred to by one of the two cuneiform signs for "storm god," not by the name Teshub. In the first myth of the so-called Kumarbi cycle, usually titled *Kingship in Heaven* (English trans. in Pritchard, 1969, pp. 120f.), Anu, who had usurped the throne of kingship over the gods from Alalu, is driven from his throne by Alalu's son Kumarbi. During the struggle Kumarbi bites off Anu's penis and swallows it. Anu curses Kumarbi and promises that from the seed thus implanted in Kumarbi five gods will be born, to defeat and depose him. The first one mentioned (and therefore the eldest) is Teshub.

In the sequel, called the *Song of Ullikummi* (ibid., pp. 121ff.; Güterbock, 1951–1952), the god Kumarbi, whom Teshub has displaced as head of the pantheon, seeks to overthrow him by means of a stone monster named Ullikummi, whom Kumarbi had engendered through having sexual intercourse with a huge boulder. Thus the pattern of the offspring of a former king of the gods overthrowing his father's successor, which was set in *Kingship in Heaven,* continues. Teshub is first defeated by the monster and must hide, but he eventually triumphs with the help of the god Ea (Enki).

A prayer of King Muwatallis is addressed principally to Teshub, called the Storm God of Kummanni. Although this is the only prayer in the Hittite archives addressed primarily to Teshub, other Hittite prayers contain sections in which subordinate deities—Teshub and Hebat's children or grandchildren, and once even Teshub's bull, Seri—are asked to intercede with Teshub or Hebat for the person praying. The Hittite archives also contain descriptions of religious festivals in honor of Teshub and Hebat (Laroche, 1971, pp. 123ff.).

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TEXTILES.

TEXTILES. Processing fiber into thread and transforming those threads into fabrics, possibly the oldest human technology, first appear on the cultural horizon during the Neolithic period, between twelve and fifteen thousand years ago. Not until the sixth millennium BCE, however, do fragments of textiles excavated at sites in central Europe and the Middle East provide evidence for their inclusion in ritual or religious contexts. These grave furnishings and occasional finds from refuse dumps suggest purpose and intent; however, the archaeological record is far from complete. The documentation of the actual meanings of many ritual practices involving fabric is, in most cases, relatively recent. Despite differences in time and space and the fact that few causal links exist among the cultures discussed here, the practices involving textiles in religious rites and ceremonies can be considered in three broad categories: (1) symbolic meanings associated with textiles, (2) ritual functions for textiles within religious practices, and (3) links between the sacred and the profane realms.

TEXTILES AS SYMBOLS. In most societies that developed textile technologies, cloth and its production served as metaphors for life. In Greek mythology, for example, three goddesses known as the Moirai controlled the lives of mortals. The Fates, as they are more commonly known, include Clotho the spinner, who creates the web of life; Lachesis, who measures its length; and Atropos, who cuts it. The physical act of interlacing prepared threads on a frame to create textiles is a powerful symbol. The spinning of thread, its winding onto bobbins, and the warping of the loom symbolize conception, gestation, and birth. The process of weaving evokes the vicissitudes of life, growth, and maturity. Cutting the cloth from the loom can symbolize death, but more frequently it symbolizes rebirth and renewal because the process creates an object that can then be used.

In parts of South Asia and the South Pacific the physical form of a newly woven cloth is tubular because the warp yarns are continuous and form an uninterrupted circle between the two beams of the loom. When the cloth is finished only a small section of the warp yarns remains unwoven. For normal use the textile is cut open across this area. The rich metaphorical potential of the continuous yarns in the uncut cloth became obvious to diverse groups within the Indonesian archipelago. Among the Sasak tribes on the island of Lombok in eastern Indonesia, three sacred tubular cloths are made for a child at birth by the eldest woman weaver in the family. These are stored in a sacred area of the house until needed. In the course of the hair-cutting, circumcision, and marriage rites, the warps of these textiles are cut. Although deceptively modest in appearance, these red, yellow, black, and white striped cotton textiles are endowed with significance affecting the general well-being of individuals. Farther west, on the island of Bali, the more elaborate *geringsing,* decorated with double ikat-patterns, have similar metaphorical significance. *Geringsing* also have a circular warp that must be cut to form a cloth. A single cloth, which may take over a year to produce, accompanies an individual throughout each life-crisis ceremony; ultimately it serves as a funeral pall for the corpse.

The associations with female textile "producers" reflect other, more nuanced cultural meanings. Across the ages dowries have involved fine textiles and the presumption that these specialized fabrics embodied a bride's skills to provide for and clothe the family. Entire industries in many parts of the world, like those still flourishing in Morocco, cater to the wedding trade and, despite their patriarchical commercialization, are evidence of the link between textiles and life processes. The productive and fructifying qualities associated with women are transferred to dowry textiles, which in turn function as fertility symbols. When juxtaposed with male symbols in metal or agricultural products, textiles evoke a complementary polarity, a polarity well illustrated in the archaeological and ethnographic record. The second-century CE graves of Dian nobles excavated in Southwest China at the sites of Shizaishan and Lijaishan, for example, contained bronze models of looms, other weaving tools, and sewing boxes in female graves; comparable male burials were furnished with bronze weapons and models of agricultural tools.

Together, tools or weapons and textiles symbolized completion and ideals of cosmic harmony. Echoes of this notion are found in legends of the ancient Mediterranean and Asian worlds that personified the annual conjunction of two stars within the Milky Way as the weaving maiden and the herdsman.

RITUAL USES FOR TEXTILES. In Jewish tradition the tassel or tzitzit at each corner of a man's tallith, which is worn as an undergarment, consists of eight strings and five knots wrapped in specific ways to equal the numerical value of one of the names of god. The numerical value of the word *tzitzit* (together with the eight strings and five knots on each corner) adds up to 613, the number of mitzvoth, or obligations, in the Torah.

Binding. Present-day Hindu practice continues to use a thread or cord as the symbol of renewal, creating a closed circle that ties the worshiper to the principles of the faith. During *Upanayana*, a rite-of-passage ceremony, sacred cords are placed over the shoulders of adolescent boys to signify their eligibility for education within the caste tradition. For the brahman caste the thread is cotton; for the *kṣatriya* (warrior or ruler) caste the cord is hemp; for the *vaiśya* (artisan or merchant) caste the cord is wool. Women also use the sacred thread within rituals. For example, at the annual festival of the goddess Gauri, a cotton thread sixteen times the woman's height is wound into a skein and laid before images of the goddess. Later the skein is worn around the neck, then buried or burned.

Ritual bonding frequently uses textiles. The priest's stole that drapes the joined hands of a couple during the marriage ceremony in the Western and Eastern Christian Church in effect becomes the tie that binds man to woman and the couple to the church, reinforcing the sanctity of marriage. In many Muslim societies ritual bonding occurs when the bridal couple is invited to sit on a shared mat or textile. Among the Batak tribes of northern Sumatra the climax of the traditional marriage ceremony is the enveloping of the couple in a single textile by the bride's father. Other members of the immediate family are also wrapped in shawls during the course of the ceremony, further emphasizing the bonds this event celebrates.

Offering. Literally hundreds of blankets, bolts of cloth, and other utilitarian textiles, as well as great quantities of nontextile domestic and ritual goods, were amassed by extended family groups among the tribes of the northwest coast of North America for potlatch feasts. They were presented to guests or burned in extravagant demonstrations of exchange. In contemporary revivals, commercial cloth and clothing are exchanged. Although less dramatic, the imported Chinese white silk scarves patterned with Buddhist symbols and the simple Indian white cotton gauze scarves used by Tibetan Buddhists convey a similar sense of offering and sacrifice. In the wool-producing regions of the Tibetan Plateau these exotic imports were tokens of exchange between individuals upon meeting and offerings to images. Tibetans also offer rectangles of cotton cloth block-printed with prayers to the elements as acts of devotion. Flown from poles, suspended on lines, or tied to the roofs of temples and shrines, these textiles are literally destroyed by the winds that activate intercessions with the gods.

Funeral customs provide other insights into textile-offering practices. Although knowledge of the actual practice is far from complete, the archaeological record for pharaonic Egypt and pre-Columbian Peru is spectacular. The dry climates of the Egyptian desert and of coastal Peru have preserved vast quantities of textiles used in burial. Egyptians wrapped mummies of the dead in fine linen. Complete wardrobes of clothes and household linens, reflecting the status and means of the individual in life, were also interred to provide the comforts of this earth in the next world. Along the dry south coast of Peru, pre-Columbian mummy bundles of aristocrats contain numerous finely woven and embroidered sets of wool and cotton clothes as well as large quantities of other fine textiles.

In China, where silk was a principal trade commodity as well as the imperial standard for the payment and collection of taxes, silk textiles played a major role in life and death. Throughout the centuries the number and quality of burial clothes reflected the status of the individual in life. The remarkably well-preserved chambered tomb of the Lady Dai at Mawangdui, Changsha, which dates from about 160 BCE, contained over twenty-seven items of silk apparel, including some twelve coats, forty-six rolls of uncut silk, and numerous silk wrappers and bags. During the later imperial period the custom of preparing clothes especially decorated with characters meaning "long life" (the so-called *shufu*, or "longevity" coats) arose, but burial clothes mainly copied an individual's official wardrobe, which designated rank at court. Archaeology has also revealed abuses of the rules of entitlement, such as the garments recovered from the tombs of Xu Fan (1463–1530) and his wife from Taizhou, Jiangsu province, in which the wive's robes outranked those of her husband by two ranks.

Although there are instances of funeral textiles recycled from life, such as the bridal garments used for the burials of Chinese women, which reflected a most exalted status in the rigid patriarchial society that largely ignored women, most were specially acquired for burial. The obligation and expense for a Confucian funeral were borne by the next generation of the family. By contrast, nineteenth-century aristocrats on the island of Timor in eastern Indonesia devoted considerable amounts of time and money to amassing quantities of prestige textiles for their own burials.

Sacrifices do not always involve fabrics of the greatest economic or aesthetic value. For some cultures specific textiles are produced for shrouds. The traditional burial clothing of Jews is a set of simple, untailored linen garments. In Bali the sacred cloths called *bebali* are in effect token textiles made only for offering. Loosely woven, they are too fragile for use; most are too small to function as clothing for the living. During the late imperial period in China and continuing into the twenty-first century, sets of paper clothes and models of bolts of silk are as offerings to the dead for the next life.

Textile offerings were important in rituals honoring personified deities. In pharaonic Egypt images of gods within cult temples were centers of elaborate ceremonies that imitated human life. Gods were awakened in the morning, fed, bathed, and clothed, taken on festive outings, and put to bed at night, not unlike the pharaoh, the living manifestation of god on earth. Aqllawasi (House of Chosen Women), often referred to as Virgins of the Sun, was a cloistered community of Quechua noble women devoted to the cult of the Sun God. Among their duties was the weaving of clothing for the ruler or Inka, the embodiment of the Sun God on earth. Perhaps the most celebrated textile offering of antiquity was the annual Panathenaia in Athens, an event commemorated on the inner frieze of the Parthenon. The climax of the festival was a procession carrying the costly new peplos made by the women of Athens to the Acropolis and the presentation of this garment to the cult image of Pallas Athena.

Offerings of clothing to temple images were frequent occurrences throughout Buddhist, Hindu, Daoist, and Confucian Asia. In late imperial China, for example, where the giving of prestige cloths marked the New Year as well as birthday celebrations, many of the city gods were presented on these occasions with new robes, cut especially large and often without side seams, a fact frequently recorded in pious inscriptions by donors.

Icons. In some cultures textiles themselves are venerated. The effigies of the hearth deities worshiped by nomadic Mongols were made entirely of felt. These special effigies, called *ongot,* one identified as male, the other female, were kept inside the yurt. In Buddhism, before the development of a rich figural iconography following the second century CE, images of the Buddha's attributes, including his mantle and his throne with its textile-covered cushion, served the faithful as a symbolic focus for worship. The legend and the numerous illustrations of Veronica's veil or the much-celebrated linen shroud preserved in the cathedral at Turin, which bears a human image said to be that of the crucified Christ, are two examples of venerable textiles from the Christian tradition. Among Muslims the presentation of the cloth cover from a saint's tomb is a means of conveying blessings on an honored visitor.

Among the Toraja tribes of central Sulawesi, a group of sacred textiles called *maʿa* and *sarita* embody spiritual power. These textiles are heirlooms handed down through families; they are used for display on many ritual and ceremonial occasions. Some of these textiles are of local manufacture, but many are made of imported Indian cotton cloth that has been painted with Torajan symbols.

In Tibet, *maṇḍala*s depicting various deities in the Buddhist pantheon were constructed in the appliqué technique from Chinese silks and other exotic fabrics donated to monasteries. The most impressive examples were the gigantic *maṇḍala*s measuring over twenty meters in length that were displayed once a year against the facade of the Potala in Lhasa.

Creation of a sacred place. The place where a ritual or ceremony is performed may have a temporal as well as a spatial dimension. The suspension of normal time to create a temporal framework in which humans can commune with the supernatural can be aided by textiles in several ways. For example, the repeated use of textiles or sets of textiles, such as the red vestments and altar furnishings employed in the Western Christian Church within the same context over time (e.g., for feast days of martyrs), emphasizes a sense of ritual cycle that is permanent despite the passage of real time. The use of the same textile within a sequence of events, as is done with the *geringsing* cloths from the island of Bali, achieves for the participant a sense of suspended animation. A third sense of ritual time is embodied in the notion of transformation: special furnishings or clothing can dramatize the transformation of a place into the presence of a god or of the individual into a servant or intermediary of the god.

Textiles also have spatial functions, creating a sacred precinct within a larger profane context. On the most fundamental level, textiles can provide a focus for ritual. The act of spreading a cloth, whether it is the simple linen textile that covers the top of the Christian altar or the elaborately patterned silk covers for the Buddhist incense tables, transforms a table into an altar.

The *kiswah*, the most important textile in Islam, covers the Kaʿbah in Mecca, a square granite structure that immures the Black Stone. The stone itself predates the founding of Islam, but it became the most sacred relic of the religion and the focus of Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca. The *kiswah* is made of black silk with Qurʾanic inscriptions woven or embroidered in gold. Covering a cubical structure roughly twelve meters high, the *kiswah* is a dramatic indicator of a sacred precinct. It is replaced annually, and the older textile is cut into pieces that are sold as relics.

Textiles suspended over a ritual area transform the space beneath to offer real or symbolic protection. Some are portable, like the wedding canopies common to many faiths. In effect they transform any space beneath them into a ritual area and are reused as occasion demands. Other canopies convey cosmological meaning. Those placed over altars or above images in Christian or Buddhist buildings, for example, serve as metaphors for heaven, contrasting the visual universe or firmament with the larger perceived but invisible heaven beyond.

The pierced quatrefoil canopy called *yunjian* in Chinese, meaning "cloud collar," which is placed on the apex of Mongol felt yurts, is of central Asian or southern Siberian origin. Its four pendant points promote spatial orientation with the cardinal points of the compass; the hole at the top is called a sky door and symbolizes the gate to heaven, through which the earth axis passes. The application of this shape around the necks of garments, which also arose on the steppe, conferred a notion of cosmic orientation to the wearer.

Fabric may also cover the area on which ritual occurs. Mats and carpets indicate places for prayer and meditation in most Asian cultures, which did not develop elaborate furniture for sitting but lived primarily on the floor. For example, small square woolen carpets decorated with Buddhist symbols were commonly used by Buddhist monks in Tibet. High-ranking clergy, however, often sat on silk-covered cushions.

Some floor coverings promote ideas of spatial orientation. Within many of the powerful agrarian empires across the world, the precise arrangement of specific floor coverings and other furnishings within a ritual area ensured the success of the ceremony. A fourth-century BCE text, the *Shujing* (Book of history), describes the proper procedure for setting up the offerings for the burial of a prince, with detailed instructions concerning the appropriate carpet, offering table, and sacrifice for each of the cardinal points within the tomb area. In other instances single textiles function as spatial indicators: the organization of motifs in certain Mongol, Turkish, and Chinese carpets within the rectilinear confines of the textile imply a correct alignment.

The most famed ritual floor covering, the so-called Muslim prayer carpet, is traditionally decorated with an arch at one end echoing the *miḥrāb* niche in the mosque, which orients prayer toward Mecca. However, the function of these carpets is independent of decoration, since they provide a spatial substitute for worship within a mosque to assist the faithful in discharging the obligation of prayer five times a day. No specific carpets are prescribed for the mosque floor. If anything were to be considered the first religiously prescribed floor covering, it would be the simple plaited palm-leaf mat used by nomadic Arabs. But once Islam came into contact with the artistically sophisticated cultures of western Asia, custom and taste dictated design. Historically, many carpets were merely decorative; however, some were undoubtedly used for prayer within the home.

Textiles have served as portable shrines for nomadic peoples, and some of these textile environments survive among settled populations. The *mahmal* tents used during the Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca are one example.

Textile curtains act as screens shielding sacred ritual areas and guarding access to them. Although a distancing device, these textiles afford the celebrants a ritual dramatic effect when they are suddenly parted to reveal mystery. The ark curtain or *parochet* (Hebrew, *parokhet*) is the main ritual textile within Jewish practice. Its precedents can be found in the tabernacle described in chapter 26 of *Exodus.* This record of one of the most celebrated of the portable ritual-textile environments profoundly influenced the ritual trappings of later Jewish and Christian practice. Within Ashkenazic tradition the standard *parochet* consists of a prestige cloth framed between two pillars and a lintel, a device previously thought to relate to sixteenth-century title pages from printed books. The form may well have more ancient precedents, however, recalling times when practice demanded large curtains hung between architectural bays to subdivide areas of worship. Archaeological evidence from the third-century CE synagogue at Dura-Europos in Syria reveals that a large curtain divided the area in front of the Torah shrine from the congregation. This custom of using curtains to subdivide spaces within religious and secular architecture was widespread in the Near East and the Mediterranean during classical times.

This pattern influenced early Christian worship as well. In the early centuries of the Christian era, large curtains were used to articulate space within the church or meeting room to accommodate different audiences. Part of the building was accessible to nonbelievers, and other provisions were made for those under instruction but not yet baptized. The faithful were divided into groups, with men and women occupying different areas; the clergy had an area around the altar. In the West large curtains disappeared from the interiors of religious buildings with the rise of the Romanesque architectural style around the year 1000. The *parochet* and the tabernacle veils of the Western Christian Church are humble reminders of times when interiors were lavishly decorated with textiles.

Large curtains remained in use in the Eastern Christian Church for a time, but the development of the iconostasis on which icons were displayed gradually replaced the portable curtains separating the sanctuary from the nave. The amphithyron, a smaller curtain that hung behind the central doors of the iconostasis, is all that remains of the more elaborate curtaining systems. Only in Ethiopian churches practicing Coptic rites do large dividing curtains survive.

The notion of concealment is present at other levels as well, particularly in practices that shield sacred paraphernalia from the eyes of the uninitiated or from direct contact with the profane hand. In the Christian Church the chalice and the Host, as well as many of the accoutrements used in the service, are only revealed at the appropriate moment in the ritual; at other times they are veiled from sight. The Torah mantles, made of the most costly silk and gold-enriched fabrics, the simple tie-dyed silk curtains that hang in front of the painted images of Tibetan Buddhist *maṇḍala*s, and the elaborately embroidered *epitaphios sindon* of the Greek Orthodox rite, which veils the chalice and paten, serve identical functions.

TEXTILE LINKS BETWEEN THE SACRED AND THE PROFANE REALMS. Throughout history textiles have conveyed both symbolic and economic meaning. Before the industrial age reduced most textiles to the realm of disposable consumer goods, all textiles possessed real value as the product of the labor invested in cultivating, spinning, dyeing, and weaving. These labor factors, as well as the materials, skills, and ritual meanings, conferred prestige that could be transferred. Many religious organizations relied on cloistered workshops to produce liturgical textiles. These establishments were often managed by women, whose textile production calls to mind specialized dowry manufacture. Some particularly time-consuming specialized techniques associated with these workshops are like pious acts of devotion embodying repetitive invocations and blessings. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, secular schools for young noble women—like the Smol'nyi Institute founded by Catherine the Great and the Maison royale de Saint-Cyr established by Madame de Maintenon—were modeled on cloistered ateliers. These schools produced fine textiles for the church as well as for aristocractic households, as evidenced by the surviving fabrics dating from the late Medieval period. The largest number of textiles used within religious ceremony have neither ritual function nor meaning as religious symbols. Rather, their purpose is self-consciously decorative. Whether temporary or permanent, these textiles enhance ritual through splendid display. These decorations often featured fabrics that had been transformed from secular uses for the purpose. Many churches encouraged the donation of secular prestige textiles by the faithful as a meritorious deed, and this cache of prestige goods was available for recycling. Particularly valuable textiles were often used to wrap relics and other sacred items before placing them in reliquaries for storage. In the West many examples of the medieval silks survive only from these contexts.

Banners and hangings announce the special character of ritual space. They can be carried in procession or used for interior display. Most of these objects are showy and made of lightweight materials; some, such as the banners used in Buddhist temples, have long streamers that add movement as well as color to ritual space. Banners bearing images of deities convey popular iconography and may serve an informal educative function, but in general they are difficult to distinguish from comparable secular decoration.

Textiles that adorn the interior walls of worship halls, like the wall paintings many of them replaced, are commonly didactic. The painted cotton temple hangings from northern India, for example, often depict stories from Hindu mythology. Many of the tapestry sets woven for religious institutions in medieval Europe illustrate the lives of the saints or depict apocalyptic visions. In the West the popularity of such monumental textiles lapsed with the rise of the Gothic architectural style. The Graham Sutherland tapestry at Coventry Cathedral is an outstanding example of the twentieth-century revival of tapestry weaving that has affected contemporary Western Christian Church decoration.

Carpets may cover the floors, cushioning bare feet as in the mosques of Islam, decorate the space before the altar as in Christian practice, or wrap the pillars of the worship hall as in Tibet and China. In most cases these lavish displays are more apt to result from pious donation of secular goods than from ritual requirements.

A vast range of covers for lecterns, reading desks, books, scrolls, cushions, kneelers, and furniture utilize fine textiles. Textile valances enhance architectural settings. The *kapporet* (cover) placed over the Torah curtain transforms the Torah shrine into the mercy seat of the Ark of the Tabernacle. In East Asian religious contexts, elaborately embroidered valances were often added to the niches in which image shrines were placed. Some of these were special commissions donated to the temples. One popular Chinese Buddhist valance type was made as a patchwork by members of the congregation from personal textiles or from temple supplies of donated textiles.

In the same way that most vestments used by religions throughout the world were derived from secular clothing, many of the decorative textiles that have become associated with ritual also have secular origins. One group of textiles in particular, however, remains virtually unchanged from its secular usage. Cloths of state, throne covers, footstool covers, umbrellas, and baldachins are statements of secular political power. They designate rank and position within the clergy (of Western Christian traditions, Judaism and Buddhism) for purposes of prestige and control rather than ritual.

SEE ALSO Clothing; Kaʿbah.

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JOHN E. VOLLMER (1987 AND 2005)

TEZCATLIPOCA ("the smoking mirror") was one of the four Aztec creator gods who arranged the universe and set the cosmic ages in motion through periodic celestial battles. Tezcatlipoca was sometimes cast as the supernatural antagonist of Quetzalcoatl, the deity associated with cultural creativity, urban order, and priestly wisdom. Yet Tezcatlipoca has the most overwhelming power and protean personality of any Aztec deity. Among his aspects were Itztli, a calendar god; Tepeyolotl, an ancient jaguar-earth god; Ixquimilli-Itztla-coaliuhqui, a god of punishment; and Omacatl, the spirit of revelry. His many forms reflect the omnipotent character of numinous forces in Aztec religion. The range of Tezcatlipoca's power is perhaps best represented in his designation as "the enemy on both sides."

As in all pictorial representations of Mesoamerican deities, Tezcatlipoca's costume contains elements crucial to his identification. His primary emblem, a smoking mirror made of obsidian, is often depicted as a circular disk with a shaft through it and two curling forms representing smoke attached to the edges. The mirror emblem is located either in the deity's headdress or in place of one foot. According to one source, his foot was bitten off by an earth monster during the struggle for the creation of the world. On the social level, this emblem of the smoking mirror was intimately associated with the divine power of the Aztec *tlatoani* (king).

Tezcatlipoca's specific ritual significance was expressed in the great annual festival of Toxcatl. In book 2 of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún's *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España* (compiled 1569–1582; also known as the Florentine Codex), we learn that for a full year prior to Toxcatl, Tezcatlipoca's *ixiptla* (deity impersonator) lived in the Aztec capital in complete splendor and honor, treated as a great lord. Usually a captive warrior, the *ixiptla* had to be physically perfect in size, proportion, skin color, and beauty. By women he was called "tall one, head nodder, handful of stars." He moved regally about the capital dressed in flower headdresses and luxurious ornaments, carrying his smoking pipe and flute and speaking graciously to all who greeted him. Twenty days prior to his sacrifice at the height of Toxcatl, the *ixiptla* was given four beautiful maidens in marriage. Following his heart sacrifice to the Sun, his head was strung on the public skull rack in the main ceremonial center of Tenochtitlán. Of the dramatic turnabout in the life of Tezcatlipoca's impersonator, the Florentine Codex states: "And this betokeneth our life on earth. For he who rejoiceth, who possesseth riches, who seeketh and coveteth our lord's sweetness, his gentleness—riches and property—thus endeth in great misery. For it is said, 'None come to an end here upon earth with happiness, riches and wealth'" (trans. Anderson and Dibble, vol. 2, p. 69).

According to the sacred historical traditions of the Aztec, which trace back to the paradigmatic kingdom of Tollan (900–1100 CE), Tezcatlipoca, a great sorcerer, drew uncanny powers from his obsidian mirror in a struggle against the Toltec priest-king Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl ("our young prince the feathered serpent"). Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl was tricked into drunkenness and sexual incontinence, which led to the utter collapse of his well-ordered city-state. Several primary sources suggest that the conflict between the great king and his magical antagonist was centered on Tezcatlipoca's desire to replace animal and insect sacrifice with human sacrifice.

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THAI RELIGION.

Thailand must be counted as one of the preeminent Buddhist countries in the world. Official figures place the percentage of Buddhists in a population of 47 million in 1980 as more than 95 percent. If those, mainly of Chinese and Vietnamese extraction, who follow Mahāyāna and Confucian traditions are excluded from the census category of Buddhists, wherein they are officially subsumed, still well over 90 percent of the populace of Thailand can be counted as adherents of Theravāda Buddhism. Despite the apparent uniformity of religion that such a characterization suggests, there are many facets of Thai religion. As different sectors of the Thai populace have attempted to find meaningful ways to confront fundamental problems of disease and death, threats of social disorder, and experienced or perceived injustices, they have turned to different types of religious practice, each with its own distinctive history. Although these different types can be said in some basic sense to belong to an encompassing tradition of Thai Theravāda Buddhism, they are still sometimes in tension with each other.

TRADITIONAL THAI RELIGION.

In 1292, Ramkhamhaeng (Rāma Khamhaeng), the king of the principality of Sukhōthai in what is today north-central Thailand, put up a stele on which was recorded the first known text in any Tai language—that is, in any of the languages spoken by the ancestors of such modern-day peoples as the Lao, the Yuan (Northern Thai), and the Siamese (Central Thai). The inscription is notable for being the first historical evidence that Tai-speaking peoples had become adherents of Theravāda Buddhism. Prior to the thirteenth century, Tai-speaking peoples living in northern mainland Southeast Asia and in southern China had followed animistic traditions based on beliefs in a realm of spirits *(phī)* and deities *(thǣn)* and in a vital essence *(khwan)* that made human beings, rice, and certain animals more than mere physical organisms. Some Tai-speaking peoples such as the Red Tai, or Tho living in northern Vietnam and northeastern Laos, remained animistic until at least the middle of the twentieth century. Others, such as the Siamese, the Yuan of northern Thailand, the Lao of Laos and northeastern Thailand, the Shan of Burma, and the Lue of southern China and northwestern Laos, while retaining beliefs in spirits and a vital essence, also came to understand the world in terms of the Buddhism of the Pali tradition.

Initially, Buddhism among the Tai, as among other peoples in mainland Southeast Asia, appears to have centered primarily on the cult of relics. The enshrinement of such relics in stupas and the placement of images and other reminders of the Buddha served to establish the presence of the Buddha in the domains *(muang)* of the Tai. Having accepted the Buddha, the Tai were open to the teachings of missionary monks belonging to what has been termed the "forest monastery" tradition who traveled from domain to domain in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. One of the most important consequences of the work of these monks was the establishment of *wat*s (temple-monasteries) in villages as well as in court centers. The members of the *sangha* (Skt., *saṃgha*), or order of monks, who lived in these monasteries popularized the Dhamma, the doctrines of Buddhism, by using texts written in the vernacular rather than in Pali, the canonical language of the Theravāda tradition. Among the most influential were the *Sermon on the Three Worlds,* written by a prince of Sukhōthai in the middle of the fourteenth century, and sermons in the form of *sutta*s, written probably in northern Thailand in the fifteenth century, that tell of the "blessings" *(ānisaṃsa)* acquired through ritual acts.

In the Buddhist worldview adopted by the Tai, all sentient beings—human, animal, demonic, and divine—are understood to be situated along a continuum of relative suffering, the place they occupy on the continuum being determined by the consequences of *kamma* (Skt., *karman;* Thai, *kam*)—that is, consequences of actions performed in previous existences. The differences among human beings—male and female, ruler and peasant, rich and poor, beautiful and ugly, healthy and sickly—can also be interpreted with reference to the theory of *kamma.* Tai continued to believe in a personal vital essence *(khwan),* in spirits *(phī),* in gods—now construed in Hindu-Buddhist terms as *devatā* (Thai, *thē-wadā*), as well as in "fate" or cosmic influence—notions adapted from Indian thought and conceived of as *khrǫʔ* (from Skt., *gṛha,* astrological mansion or the place of a planet in the zodiac) or *chatā* (from Skt., *jāta,* "born"). These beliefs, however, related to proximate, not ultimate, causes of fortune and misfortune. One's *kamma* ultimately determined whether one could be successful in securing one's wandering vital essence, in propitiating spirits, in worshiping the deities, or in dispelling cosmic influences.

A significant change of one's position along the continuum of suffering could only be accomplished through accumulating merit *(puñña;* Thai, *bun)* and not acquiring demerit *(pāpa;* Thai, *bāp).* To "make merit" *(tham bun)* as a layperson one was to offer alms *(dāna;* Thai, *thān)* to the *sangha.* A male could also make significant merit through becoming a member of the *sangha* and subjecting himself to the monastic "discipline" *(vinaya;* Thai, *winai).* To avoid demerit one was to observe a code of morality *(sīla;* Thai, *sīn)* that ensured that one would transcend ignorance and resist the temptation to act so as to fulfill one's lust, greed, or anger. The consequences of immoral behavior—such as punishment in hell *(naraka;* Thai, *narok)*—as well as of moral and meritorious action—such as rebirth in heaven *(sagga;* Thai, *sawan* from Skt. *svarga)* and eventual rebirth on earth at the time of the next Buddha, Śrī Ariya Maitreya (Thai, Phra Sī Ān)—were detailed graphically in such sermons as the popular tale of the travels of the monk Mālaya to hell and heaven.

These Buddhist ideas, as well as the articulation of these beliefs with notions deriving from the pre-Buddhist past of the Tai, were organized into three major popular religious traditions followed by Tai-speaking peoples living in what is today Thailand. To this day, the ritual practices of the Siamese of central Thailand, the Yuan of northern Thailand, and the Lao of northeastern Thailand, while sharing some basic similarities, remain distinctive.

The Buddhist worldview adopted by Tai peoples shaped their orientation toward society. Fundamental to this order was the division between the sexes. The ideal Buddhist man should become a member of the *sangha* in order to pursue the Path. In practice, very few Tai men ever became members of the *sangha* for life, but it became the norm among all peoples living in premodern Thailand for young men to spend at least a lenten period of three months as either a novice or a monk. For women, a connection was made between the secular role of woman as mother and woman as nurturer for the religion. The hierarchical order of traditional society was understood in terms of differences in the karmic legacies that each person was assumed to have been born with.

Most monks in premodern Thailand acted primarily to preserve and transmit the local religious traditions of the communities where they lived. Although they traced their lineage to the "forest monastery" monks of the fifteenth century, there is no evidence to suggest that monks during the period between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries were known for withdrawing from the world to devote their lives to meditation. Some monks, however, lived in monasteries that served as centers of study of the Dhamma. It was these monks who kept alive a tradition of Pali scholarship as well as of composition of vernacular religious texts. These centers were supported mainly by rulers of the traditional kingdoms or by lords of domains subordinate to the kings.

Kings and lords of premodern Tai realms and domains were held in popular belief to have the right to rule because they "had merit" *(mī bun);* that is, they had inherited at birth a large store of positive consequences of *kamma* from previous incarnations. They were expected to display their meritoriousness in their conspicuous support of the religion and in ensuring the peace and order of the worlds over which they held sway. This concept of merit can be seen to be similar to the Mahāyāna notion of compassion shown by *bodhisattvas* toward the world. Some Tai kings did claim to be *bodhisattvas*, but such a claim was far less common in Tai kingdoms than in those of premodern Burma.

In the major premodern Tai kingdom, the Siamese kingdom of Ayutthayā (1350–1767), court traditions, especially after the fifteenth century, showed strong Brahmanic influences, influences introduced from Angkor, which the Siamese had conquered. When the new Siamese kingdom with its capital at Bangkok was founded in 1782, its first rulers downplayed the Brahmanic state cult in favor of such Buddhist activities as unifying the *sangha,* restoring the scriptures, and sponsoring public almsgiving. At the end of the nineteenth century, King Chulalongkorn (c. 1868–1910) restored many Brahmanic state rites in an effort to enhance the image of the monarchy. The observance of some of these rites persisted even after a coup in 1932 transformed Siam into a constitutional monarchy, but by the second half of the twentieth century they had assumed a more dramaturgical than religious significance.

CONTEMPORARY RELIGION IN THAILAND. Religion as practiced by the peoples living in what was to become modern Thailand was rarely rendered problematic to its adherents. Only when the world collapsed, as it did following the destruction of Ayutthaya by the Burmese in 1767, did people question the efficacy of traditional practice for making sense of their lives. The period between the fall of Ayutthaya and the founding of Bangkok in 1782 is notable for the appeal that Buddhist millennialism held for many. Millennial experimentation was brought to an end, however, when in 1782 General Cakkrī deposed the then-reigning monarch, Taksin, who claimed to be a *bodhisattva.* Cakkrī, as Rama I (1782–1809), the founding ruler of the present dynasty, laid the foundations for a new order by restoring peace throughout the kingdom and, indeed, by extending his political control even farther than his predecessors. He moved to purify the religion by purging the *sangha* of monks who were deemed not to be observing the Vinaya (disciplinary code), by convening a Buddhist council to ensure that the Tipiṭaka (Skt., Tripiṭaka), the Buddhist scriptures, were available in an error-free Pali form, and by promoting the study of both the scriptures and commentarial literature written in Pali.

The new order established by Rama I proved to be fertile ground for the development of a major reform movement led by a man who would become King Rama IV, better known as Mongkut. Mongkut, who served as a monk between 1824 and 1851, was stimulated by his conversations with Christian missionaries and other Westerners who had begun to come to Siam to search for what could be taken as the essential elements of Buddhist practice. He became the leader of a small coterie of monks who spurned what they considered to be "superstitious" accretions in traditional practice and turned to Pali scriptures and commentaries to find the basis for "true" Buddhism. When Mongkut became king (r. 1851–1868), his associates in the *sangha* became the vanguard of a new fraternity, one called the Dhammayuttika-nikāya ("the fraternity of those who adhere to the Dhamma"), in contrast to the larger fraternity, the Mahānikāya (Mahanikai), of monks who continued to follow traditional practice.

Under King Chulalongkorn, Mongkut's son and successor, leading Dhammayuttika monks, and especially Prince Wachirayān (Vajirañāṇavarorasa), another of Mongkut's sons and the head of the Dhammayuttika fraternity, were given effective authority over the whole of the *sangha* in Chulalongkorn's domains. Prince Wachirayān, even before he became prince patriarch *(sangharāja)* in 1910, was able with the backing of the king to bring monks from the several different local Theravāda traditions into a single national order. Prince Wachirayān also instituted reforms throughout the *sangha* on the basis of Mongkut's and his own interpretations of Pali texts. The religious reforms instituted by Prince Wachirayān became the basis for what might be termed officially sanctioned orthodoxy in contemporary Thai Buddhism.

Under King Chulalongkorn, Siam began a transformation into a modern state. To meet the threat of colonial expansion by the British and the French, Chulalongkorn instituted administrative reforms that entailed the replacement of local lords by centrally appointed officials who adhered to common bureaucratic norms. So long as Siam was ruled by absolute monarchs, however, it still retained an important characteristic of the traditional state; that is, order depended upon the personal efficacy of the monarch. This traditional characteristic was eliminated in the "revolution" of 1932, during which a group of nonroyal "promoters" forced King Prajadhipok (r. 1925–1935) to accept a constitution that proclaimed Thai sovereignty to rest not in the monarch but with the people as a nation.

Although the name Siam persisted for a time after 1932, modern Thailand can be said to have begun in this year. The revolution of 1932 focused attention on the question of who made up the national community of Thai, a question that emerged in the wake of large-scale migration of Chinese to Thailand, the integration of peoples of different traditions into a single state, and the drawing of clear territorial boundaries around the state as a consequence of pressures from neighboring colonial powers. Since 1932, successive governments have made use of a unified *sangha* and a statewide system of compulsory education to inculcate in the populace the idea that Thai nationalism is rooted in what is taken to be a common Buddhist heritage.

Both the reformation of Buddhism led by the Dhammayuttika fraternity and the emergence of state-sponsored Thai Buddhist nationalism served to stimulate a self-consciousness in many Thai about their religion. This self-consciousness, in turn, stimulated yet further changes in Thai religion. While the refiguration of Theravāda thought begun by Mongkut early in the nineteenth century reached a climax in the works of Prince Wachirayān, works that still today form the basis of religious studies carried out by most monks, a number of monks have continued to pursue significant theological inquiries. By far the most influential of contemporary Buddhist thinkers is Phutthathāt Phikkhu (Buddhadāsa Bhikkhu), who lives at a center called Sūan Mōk ("garden of liberation") in southern Thailand. Phutthathāt (b. 1906) has sought in lectures and writings to interpret the Dhamma with reference to the theologies of other religions, most notably Zen Buddhism, and with reference to the experiences of Thai living in a much more secularized world than did their forebears. Writing for a more learned audience, the monk known under the title of Phra Rātchawaramunī (Rājavaramunī)—given name Prayut (b. 1941)—has sought also to make the Buddhist message relevant to modern life. His *Phutthatham (Buddhadhamma),* published in 1982, has been acclaimed as one of the most significant works on Theravāda ethics ever written.

The radical reformulation of Buddhist practice also begun by Mongkut and the founders of the Dhammayuttika fraternity has been carried yet farther by some monks. Ācān Man Phūrithattha (Bhūridatto Thera), a Lao-speaking Dhammayuttika monk from northeastern Thailand who died in 1949 at the age of 78, concluded early in his life that to follow the Path to ultimate salvation, one must withdraw from the world and devote one's life to meditation. His life as a *dhūtanga,* or wandering ascetic, became the model for many other monks. A number of his disciples, and the disciples of his disciples, known in Thai and Lao as *ācān* (Skt., *ācārya*), or teachers, have achieved fame as meditation masters and strict followers of the Dhamma. A new interest in the significance of meditation for Buddhist practice has also been strongly encouraged by a number of non-Dhammayuttika monks and lay masters. Phutthathāt's center, Sūan Mōk, and satellite centers elsewhere, like the forest retreats of the *ācān,* attract many laypersons as well as monks who wish to learn to meditate. In the 1950s Phra Phimonlatham (Vimaladhamma Thera; given name Āsatha), a high-ranking monk from Wat Mahāthāt, a major temple-monastery in Bangkok, introduced and worked to popularize a form of *vipassanā* ("insight") meditation that he had learned from a master in Burma.

Prior to the death of Prime Minister Sarit Thanarat in 1963, Thai governments considered the burgeoning popularity of meditation monks as potentially, if not actually, threatening to establishment Buddhism. Since the mid-1960s, however, the disciples of Ācān Man in particular have been accorded increasing official support, and the king and queen have been conspicuous in their patronage of these monks and in their attendance at the funerals of Ācān Man's major disciples. Forest monasteries today are popular retreats for urban laypersons who seek to temper their active involvement in the world with a detachment that comes from meditation practice. Meditation centers have also been established in Bangkok and other cities, not only by monks but also by the laity. Among the most famous lay masters is Ācān Nāēp, a woman. Since the late 1970s, Phimonlatham has also undertaken a program to stimulate the popularity of insight meditation in rural communities as well as in the cities and towns.

Although what might be termed the "meditation movement" has been accommodated to establishment Buddhism in Thailand, other movements have emerged in reaction to official orthodoxy and to government-sponsored Thai Buddhist nationalism. Millennial uprisings in northeastern Thailand in 1901–1902 and resistance in the 1920s and 1930s by Khrūbā Sīwichai (Siri-vijoyo Thera), a highly revered popular northern Thai monk, to the authority of the state-appointed *sangha* hierarchy were precursors to contemporary religious dissent in Thailand. In the mid-1950s and especially in the 1970s, a number of monks emerged as conspicuous critics of government policies. While most of these "political monks" could be considered leftists, there were also a number associated with right-wing causes. Of particular note is Kittiwutthō Phikkhu (Kittivuḍḍho Bhikkhu), who gained notoriety in the mid-1970s for arguing that killing communists was not murder as understood in Buddhist terms and thus did not produce demerit. Although only a few monks have taken active roles in Thai politics, there are many lay Buddhist leaders who have contributed to a widening discourse on the salience of religious values for public life. Among the best known of what might be termed "social gospel" Buddhists is Sulak Sivarksa, who has exerted significant influence through his numerous essays and the organizations he has helped to create.

Members of the laity have also assumed leadership roles in the many cults that have emerged and continue to emerge in contemporary Thailand. The typical cult is one in which a spirit medium (who typically would be a woman) is believed able to gain the assistance of her control spirit to aid a client who is ill or otherwise in distress. Some cults have assumed a wider significance; the most famous of recent years is one known under the name Samnak Pū Sawan (Center of the Heavenly Ancients). The male leader of this cult claimed to be the vehicle for the spirits of a number of famous men in Thai history, including a former patriarch of the *sangha.* As it developed, the belief system of the cult became increasingly syncretic, uniting Christian, Muslim, and Chinese elements with magico-Buddhist ones. In the late 1970s, the cult, which had gained thousands of followers, including several high-ranking military officers, took on a distinctly political cast as its leader sought to use it for promoting an international peace center that he would head. In 1981 the government attempted to arrest him, but he disappeared before the arrest was effected.

Although the ecumenicalism of the Samnak Pū Sawan movement was idiosyncratic, more significant connections between Thai Buddhism and other religions in Thailand have evolved in recent years. A number of Protestant and Catholic leaders have joined with Buddhist leaders in religious dialogue and in human rights activities. The smallness of the Christian population (about 0.6 percent of the total) has perhaps helped to encourage relatively good relations between Christians and Buddhists. In contrast, Muslims (who account for about 4 percent of the population) have found it much more difficult to relate to Buddhists. A Muslim-Buddhist dialogue may, nonetheless, prove to be a means leading to a reconstrual of Thai civil religion in other than strictly Buddhist terms.

Life in Thailand in the twentieth century has become increasingly secularized and rationalized as more and more aspects of experience are interpreted with reference to bureaucratic regulations, market transactions, technological processes, and scientific medicine. While these processes of change have led many Thai to turn away from traditional religious practices as being no longer significant to their lives, they have also served to make people aware of those experiences that do not make sense in terms of secular, rational meanings. It is the awareness of those illnesses that do not respond to modern medicine, of increasing disparities in wealth and power, of the potential collapse of order as occurred in Kampuchea, that leads many Thai to consider what ritual and ethical practices are most meaningful to them. This religious consciousness is what gives contemporary Thai religion its dynamic character.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Southeast Asia; Folk Religion, article on Folk Buddhism; Kingship, article on Kingship in East Asia; Mongkut; Saṃgha, article on Saṃgha and Society in South and Southeast Asia; Southeast Asian Religions, article on Mainland Cultures; Theravāda.

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CHARLES F. KEYES (1987)
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THEALOGY. In 1979 Naomi Goldenberg first used the word *thealogy* to denote feminist discourse on the Goddess (*thea*) rather than God (*theo*), proclaiming in her book *Changing of the Gods* (1979) that "we are about to learn what happens when father-gods die for a whole generation" (p. 37). Although father-gods are, in fact, alive and well in the world's religions, thealogy has become widely known to scholars of religion and gender and of emergent religion as a provocation to a spiritual and political shift away from the androcentric (male-centered) theological paradigm. Instead, thealogy offers a group of largely participant, experientially grounded texts that explore the many dimensions of female becoming: that of the Goddess, of women, and of nature as encompassing both of these.

Although thealogy is a product, at least in part, of the neo-romantic hippie movement of the 1960s and 1970s, it is also and more immediately a feminist project. Like Christian and Jewish feminist theology, thealogy developed from both the nineteenth-century proto-feminist vision of the feminine as a redemptive locus of moral and spiritual value and the sexual egalitarianism of the second wave secular women's movement. Rejecting the wholesale secularism of early second wave feminism, but drawing on the separatist elements of radical feminism, thealogy developed the feminist criticism of religion as the divinization of masculinity (patriarchy having, as Kate Millet once put it, "God on its side") not to relinquish the divine as such, but to repudiate exclusively masculine models of the divine.

Insofar as it serves the contemporary Goddess movement, thealogy might be said to be the discourse of a new women's religion (one of the very few living women's religions in the world today). Thealogy has emerged from a network of groups and journals, and from a small but growing academic literature with a predominantly North American, British, German, and Australasian readership. Although thealogy can now be studied in universities up to the doctoral level, it is itself resistant to the reintroduction of any totalizing monotheism or to any merely feminized conception of God. Rather, it is derived from feminist reflection on women's experience and on the sacral power of femaleness. There is no authoritative tradition or corpus to which the thealogian must defer. It is a nonprofessional, non-normative discourse both producing and produced by spiritual feminist ritual practice and celebration.

Thealogy's focus on female moral, spiritual, symbolic, and biological difference and its privileging of the divine and human bond between mothers and daughters have made it hospitable to lesbians and any who protest the erasure of the Goddess and her replacement by an exclusively male God styled as king, lord, father, or as a nonpersonal power whose transcendental otherness empties the natural, embodied world of its value. It is notable, however, that thealogy is not without its male adherents and sympathizers. These are especially to be found in the pagan elements of the men's spirituality movement and in modern Witchcraft, or Wicca—arguably the only Western religion that honors the female as an embodiment of the divine. Indeed, thealogy is often, but not invariably, a function of feminist Wicca, where women ritually align their energies with those natural and biological forces whose "Goddess-power" can be channeled or "drawn down" to the purposes of creative change.

However, not everyone in the Goddess movement is willing to espouse a thealogy. There is little doubt that a significant proportion of Goddess feminists would regard thealogy as the arrogation of their experience by an elite minority of feminist academics. Precisely because it is a discourse, thealogy might also seem epistemically superfluous—women already find and know the Goddess in the processes of their own embodiment and in the very fabric and energies of the natural world immediately around them.

THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THEALOGY AND FEMINIST THEOLOGY. Thealogy is something of a boundary discourse. There are those on the gynocentric or woman-centered left of Jewish and Christian feminism who would want to term themselves *theo/alogians* because they find the vestiges of the Goddess or "God-She" within their own traditions as Hochmah, Shekhinah, Sophia, and other "female faces" of the divine. Others would consider thealogy to be inherently pagan in that paganism already honors a female natural/divine principle (albeit one whose powers are balanced by a male generative principle). Paganism also celebrates the transformatory power of female sacrality and repudiates the monotheistic (masculine) legal dispensation of salvation and (masculine) saviors offering redemption from the sin that is so often premised on a redemption from female sexuality.

While it shares much of paganism's religious orientation, thealogy and late-twentieth-century feminist theology have in common an original political impetus and an ecofeminist, relational, inclusivist attempt to reclaim women's history and female experience—especially that of mothers. Both thealogy and feminist theology are in sharp opposition to patriarchal conflict and economics. There is, however, a long-standing and regrettable mutual hostility between some Goddess feminists and Christian feminists. The latter are critical of thealogy's supposed accommodation of goddesses who represent patriarchal constructs of the feminine that are subordinate to male deities. Christian and other feminists are also critical of what they consider to be thealogy's escapist historiography and its tendentious interpretation of traces of goddess worship in texts and landscapes. Thealogy's supposed ethical polarization of the masculine and the feminine is also rejected as unduly essentialist. For feminists in the biblical traditions, God may be like a mother, but is not herself the Mother. Likewise, thealogy's celebration of a divinity whose will is located in and mediated by natural forces, as well as its apparent detachment of women from the history of thought and culture, is widely considered by other feminists (both secular and religious) to be unhelpful to the cause of women. An ecological account of femaleness and of change seems to confirm the traditional patriarchal derogation of women as subrational and properly marginal to the political and historical process.

Christian and Jewish feminist theology countermands the gynophobia and misogyny of its traditions, persevering with faiths considered originally or essentially liberative. Thealogy, by contrast, argues that these traditions cannot make sense of or do justice to a woman's personal and collective experience; patriarchal religion is not merely inhospitable to women but also spiritually and politically harmful.

CONCEPTS OF THE GODDESS. Thealogy can be monotheistic, polytheistic, or nontheistic in character. The nonsystematic, nondogmatic fluidity of its conception of the Goddess allows it to move freely between technical distinctions considered, in any case, to be artificial. Most thealogy, however, postulates a single Goddess—"the Goddess"—in whom all the female divinities named in the world's past and present religions inhere. She is one who might be petitioned and who might reveal herself to the subject in dreams, visions, and the imagination.

The Triple Goddess invoked by feminist Wicca is probably the most characteristic of popular thealogy. Here the Goddess wears three aspects: maiden, mother, and crone. Considered the first of the world's religious trinities, the Triple Goddess hypostatizes the three aspects or stages of women's lives as they pass through girlhood into maturity and motherhood and on into postmenopausal old age. The Triple Goddess exemplifies how all change—both creative and destructive—is part of a cyclic and interdependent natural/divine economy. Incorporating all possibilities, she is not omniscient, morally perfect, or omnipotent.

For others—especially the thealogical avant-garde of the late 1970s and 1980s—the Goddess is not a real external divinity but a psychologically and politically liberating archetype offering women a new sense of self-worth. A variation on this theme is the view that the Goddess—the power and dance of being—is inseparable from the fullness of a woman's own becoming. Mary Daly, for example, uses the word *Goddess* as a metaphor or "verb" naming women's post-patriarchal self-realization and active participation in the powers of female being. Since thealogy can be contingent upon its author's shifting emotions and stage of life, thealogians are generally content to subscribe to a fluid combination of all of these views.

Carol P. Christ and Starhawk are the world's most influential thealogians. While Starhawk's thealogy informs and emerges from the communal political context of San Francisco's Reclaiming Network, Carol Christ's work offers the most focused thealogical discussion. Like many other Goddess feminists, Christ disowns goddesses who are or have been revered in patriarchal religions as mere aspects or attributes (sometimes violent or death-dealing) of a supreme male deity or who are subordinate to other male gods. Instead, in *Rebirth of the Goddess* (1997, pp. xv–xvi), she experiences and theorizes the Goddess as the reconnective power of intelligent embodied love that is the ground of all being: a source of hope and political and ecological healing that will reunite the world and the divine. Her foundational article "Why Women Need the Goddess" (1979) enumerates the reasons why women realize their spiritual and political power from celebration of the Goddess. However, for Carol Christ, the Goddess is also one to whom one might pray and who cares about the individual. Most recently, her book *She Who Changes* (2003) offers a relational thealogy that draws on the process philosophy of Charles Hartshorne to reimagine the changing world as the body of Goddess/God.

THEALOGICAL HISTORY AND ETHICS. Thealogy construes the historical process as belonging to the nonlinear history of nature, which is itself a natural history of the Goddess and therefore of each female body. The female body—whether that of a woman or the earth itself—is a generative site of the transformative power of which time itself is a part. But since patriarchy is founded upon the continual historical and psychological "murder" of the Goddess and the appropriation of her power, history also has a temporal sequence: a history of erasure and suppression, whose knowing is mediated not so much through textual evidence as by one's ontological and physical situation in the landscape and sites associated with the Goddess. Thealogical history tells an archaeological, political, and ecological story of which the subject's own story is an inalienable part.

Although thealogical time is primarily and essentially nonlinear, its periodizations are derived from the work of feminist scholars such as Marija Gimbutas, Merlin Stone, Barbara Walker, and others who claim, on largely archaeological grounds, that the female divine was originally universally revered in apparently peace-loving matrifocal cultures dating from about 30,000 BCE. By about 2000 BCE invasions of Indo-European warriors were destroying the cult of the Great Mother, which went underground by the fifth century CE with the ascendancy of early Christianity, only to reemerge in the priestesshoods and individuals who have discovered the Goddess in the late twentieth century. This temporal scheme has a narrative and psychological function in helping women to "remember" a time when their sacral, biological, and cultural power was revered.

Yet not all thealogians are persuaded that this historiography is a necessary condition of thealogy; even those inclined to support the thesis of a primary and universal cult of the Goddess also allow that its value may be less historical than inspirational. It may be that a primary function of thealogical historiography is to offer a mythography that relativizes patriarchal religion and politics as neither original nor necessary to the world order, but rather an ecologically and spiritually unsustainable aberration.

It is arguable that thealogy's organicist conception of life is inimical to the establishment of ordinary ethical obligations and norms. The thealogical construal of creation and destruction as a single natural/divine process organically regulated by change rather than law can appear to weaken the distinction between good and evil. Traditional religious notions of human transcendence and perfectibility become, at best, otiose. Nonetheless, evil is not entirely naturalized by thealogy. The ecological connections between all living things and the meta-intelligence of nature impose a consequentialist practical ethic of restraint, generosity, and care. Cast as patriarchy itself, evil is politicized and prophetically named in ritualized direct action as the domination and exploitation of the Goddess/earth that tears the life-giving connections of her web and all that depends on it.

SEE ALSO Feminist Theology; Gender and Religion, overview article and article on History of Study; Goddess Worship; Paganism, Anglo-Saxon; Patriarchy and Matriarchy; Wicca; Witchcraft.

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MELISSA RAPHAEL (2005)

THEATER SEE DANCE; DRAMA

THECLA was the most popular female saint after Mary in early Christianity. Thecla was widely remembered as a disciple of the apostle Paul in Asia Minor (modern Turkey). The original source for the Thecla legend was the second-century *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, which reports her story as follows: When Paul comes to Thecla's hometown of Iconium preaching a gospel that emphasized the virtue of celibacy, Thecla abandons her plans for marriage and follows the apostle. This countercultural action provokes the anger of her fiancé, her family, and the local governor, who together conspire to have her burned at the stake. Thecla is saved only when a miraculous thunderstorm quenches the flames. Later, after being reunited with Paul, she is sexually assaulted on the road to Antioch by a prominent citizen of that city. She manages to rebuff her attacker, but he arranges to have her thrown to the beasts in the local arena. While in custody she receives support from a rich female patron, and in the arena she is defended by a lioness and survives the attacks of lions, bears, and bulls. She finally throws herself into a pool filled with ravenous seals, which are struck dead by a flash of lightning, and she baptizes herself in the water. After the awestruck governor releases her, she dresses herself in male clothes and begins to travel and teach the gospel after the fashion of Paul. Ultimately, Thecla takes her final rest at the town of Seleucia (modern Silifke, Turkey).

The North African writer Tertullian (*On Baptism* 17, c. 200 CE) provides the first external reference to the *Acts of Paul and Thecla.* He reports that it was composed by an Asian presbyter, but certain details in Thecla's story have prompted speculation about the folkloric origins of her legend. The prominence of female characters and the details of their social relations have led some scholars to argue further that the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* may have had roots in the storytelling practices of ascetic women. While such origins ultimately remain uncertain, Tertullian gives evidence that early Christian women appealed to Thecla's example to "defend the liberty of women to teach and to baptize" (*On Baptism* 17).

By the fourth and fifth centuries, devotion to Thecla as a saint and ascetic exemplar had become a widespread phenomenon in the Mediterranean world. The focal point of this devotion was her pilgrimage shrine, Hagia Thekla at Seleucia. Ancient sources describe large numbers of monks who lived in the vicinity and managed the shrine, including a community of female virgins in residence within the sanctuary area. Modern excavations at the site have uncovered the remains of three basilicas, a large public bath, and a number of cisterns. A flurry of architectural adaptation at the site in the late fifth century attests its rapidly growing popularity among Christian pilgrims.

Thecla's shrine was also the recipient of literary patronage. Later writers produced expanded versions of her legend, including accounts of her "martyrdom" at Seleucia—specifically, how she finally escaped her persecutors by disappearing into a large rock while still alive. The story was meant to validate the local veneration of Thecla as a true martyr, despite the absence of her bodily relics. The rock into which she sank became a local cultic marker, the site of the altar in her church. Finally, collections of miracle stories also documented the experiences of pilgrims who came to the shrine in search of healing, among them women from a wide range of social backgrounds.

The cult of Saint Thecla—that is, the social practices, institutions, and material artifacts that marked the lives of actual devotees—was not limited to Hagia Thekla at Seleucia. From Gaul to Palestine, devotion to Thecla was expressed through literature and art: her visual image appears on wall paintings, clay flasks, oil lamps, bronze crosses, wooden combs, stone reliefs, golden glass medallions, and textile curtains.

One region for which there is wide-ranging evidence of Thecla devotion is Egypt. Athanasius of Alexandria (c. 300–373 CE) refers to Thecla extensively in his writings to Alexandrian virgins, and his rhetoric presupposes that his female ascetic readers were already intimately familiar with Thecla's example. During the theological controversies of the fourth century, this community of women was exiled to the distant Kharga Oasis in the Western Desert of Egypt. Ancient wall paintings of Thecla that still survive in local cemetery chapels may provide evidence for the funerary practices of those ascetic women at the oasis. Alexandrian devotion to Thecla is also witnessed by the production of monastic *Lives* modeled after her example—among them, a series of legends about early Christian transvestite saints (monastic women who disguised themselves as men). Near Alexandria, a satellite shrine to Saint Thecla was established near the pilgrimage center dedicated to the Egyptian Saint Menas. Numerous pilgrim flasks with the image of Thecla paired with Menas survive from that site. Finally, the cult of Thecla was thoroughly "Egyptianized" in late antiquity with the production of new namesake martyr legends connected with locales in the Nile Valley.

Other regions have provided more scattered material evidence for Thecla devotion. Fourth-century golden-glass medallions with the image of Thecla among the beasts have been discovered at a cemetery in Köln, Germany. A church and catacomb in Rome are named after Saint Thecla, but no specific images or artifacts survive that might give information about her local cult in late antiquity. In Syriac Christianity, despite a lack of nontextual artifacts from antiquity, a rich literary tradition has been preserved, including a homily given by Severus of Antioch (c. 465–538 CE) on the feast day of Saint Thecla, and at least eleven manuscripts of the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, the oldest dating to the sixth century CE. Finally, in North Africa, red ceramic pottery from the late fourth or early fifth century portrays the anonymous image of a female martyr, stripped to the waist and praying with arms outstretched between two lions. The details of the iconography have led some to argue that the figure is Thecla; however, it could just as easily be the representation of a namesake African martyr. A similar case appears on the gravestone of an Egyptian woman named Thecla, where the deceased is portrayed in the image of her patron saint.

The evidence for namesakes of Saint Thecla is fairly abundant in late antiquity, and the practice of naming one's child after the saint provides yet another window into the religiosity of her devotees. This religiosity was ultimately grounded in an ethic of imitation. Whether they were mothers or virgins, early Christian women who participated in Thecla's cult commonly saw themselves as striving to imitate her virtues as a female saint and martyr.

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THEISM is the philosophical worldview that perceives the orders of existence (physical things, organisms, persons) as dependent for their being and continuance on one self-existent God, who alone is worthy of worship. Theists differ among themselves about the nature of God and the relation of God to these orders, but they close ranks against deists, who, in principle, exclude revelation and divine intervention in world order, and against pantheists, who identify God with these orders. Theists hold that God, transcendent creator of the orders, remains an indivisible unity as he sustains them in accordance with their capacities and his ultimate purposes.

In formulating their views, philosophical theists remind themselves of the many obstacles that impede the human search for the true, the good, the beautiful, and the holy. They distinguish between the ultimate mystery of being and mysteries that vanish as human understanding increases. Aware that the last word on the mystery of being is beyond their grasp, they pursue the best clues to the relation of the ultimate reality to themselves and the quality of their existence. In the history of theism and of monism, it is almost invariably claimed that immediate experiences of the divine are the most authentic, inspiring sources of truth about the ultimately real, and that these religious experiences take priority over claims based on rational, moral, and aesthetic experience.

However, since religious experients, including seasoned mystics, make conflicting claims about what is revealed, most philosophical theists (hereafter referred to simply as "theists") will take into account the claims based on religious insight but will not grant them arbitrary priority over other interpretations of experience. Broadly speaking, the drift in theistic thinking is toward improving insight into the nature of God and the attributes that are essential for conveying his transcendence and immanence. This essay, in the main, stresses the drift of these reflections without expounding paradigm arguments as such, even as they have been articulated by great theists.

ONTOLOGICAL ARGUMENT. When Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury (1093–1109), formulated the ontological argument for God, he was expressing an invincible conviction: the human intellect is, in fact, gripped by at least one idea that, clearly understood, proves the knower's kinship with the ultimate reality as inherently one and good. Anselm's fascinating proposal is that every mind has the idea of a perfect being, namely, of "that than which nothing greater can be conceived" (*Proslogium,* chap. 2). The uniqueness of this idea is missed by any opponent who counters that to argue thus is like deducing the existence of an island from the idea of a perfect island; after all, any island, to be an island, must be perfect. But the idea of a perfect island is not "that than which nothing greater can be conceived," namely, a self-existent being.

Proponents deduce that this one self-existent being is intrinsically immutable, omnipotent, omniscient, and good. These attributes dominate their interpretations of the perfection of this transcendent God's immanence in the world orders. The conclusion of the ontological argument is not grounded in interpretations of human experiences of sense and of value. Indeed, the mind's awareness of perfection is the guiding norm for evaluating claims based on these dimensions of human experience. Nevertheless, theists, whether or not they are sufficiently impressed by the ontological proof, usually explore the family of ideas associated with perfect being in order to help resolve conflicts that do originate in experiences of sense and of value.

COSMOLOGICAL ARGUMENT. The cosmological argument for God centers attention on the explanation of the dependable regularity of changes among the countless beings that make up the spatiotemporal world and constitute it an orderly whole (a cosmos). The cosmological theist emphasizes that the cause-and-effect connections (and other relations) in this world are contingent and not self-existent, that they cannot of themselves ground the cosmic order assumed in so much theory and practice. The Theist therefore proposes that this, or any, cosmic order is the product of a self-existent cause. For without such a cause, the successions of beings and events, having no reliable frameworks of their own, are in fact happenstance. Moreover, the cosmos is a collective whole whose unity is actually contingent, unless the succession of beings and events is grounded in the activity of a self-existent cause. Such a cause is not one supreme being alongside other beings, and it cannot be conceived adequately on the model of any dependent being.

The argument thus far presented allows all contingent beings to be modes of the One, which is consistent with forms of monism. But, for reasons to be noted, the theist holds that the cause, although immanent in all orders, must not be conceived as absorbing them, as in panentheism, nor identified with them, as in pantheism.

While some theists regard such cosmological conclusions as logically demonstrative, most theists regard them as more reasonably probable than alternative explanations of the cosmos. "More reasonably probable" does not mean statistically probable, however. Because there can be no observation of a series of world orders (as there can be of, say, repeated throwings of dice), there can be no calculation of mathematically probable trends. After all, cosmological theists seek the explanatory ground for trusting connections (including statistical calculations) that underlie the uniformity of nature.

Some critics of cosmological theists charge that they commit the fallacy of composition in affirming that a whole of contingent parts must itself be contingent. For example, they contend that a whole of overlapping, contingent beings and events may logically be an everlasting cosmos. To this a cosmological theist replies that to explain cosmos by self-existent cause is, in fact, not to commit the fallacy of composition. Surely, there is no fallacy in concluding that a group composed of blind members is never more than a totality of blind individuals. Similarly, a whole composed of intrinsically contingent beings and relations cannot be other than contingent. Moreover, the theist points out that a continuous, everlasting contingency is still contingency and certainly no substitute for a whole, unified by a self-existent cause.

Theists and monists agree that the self-existent cause (the One) is indivisible and immutable. Were it composite or changing in any way, we would be back seeking an adequate ground for dependable change. Other philosophical considerations influence the theist's and monist's differing conceptions about the immanence of the transcendent One. But they agree, in principle, that analogical inferences from the dependent orders can serve as pointers to the nature of the One. They both discourage the mythological mode of anthropomorphism in depicting the One. And it is on the foundation of the self-existent, immutable One as the essence of perfection that they proceed to refine conceptions of the transcendent One in itself and in its immanence within the dependent orders.

Thus, both theists and monists agree that the self-existent One is incorporeal, since corporeal being is limited by its spatial nature. But is this incorporeal One to be conceived as a person? For example, is its nature compatible with the influential, first formal definition of a person as proposed by Boethius (c. 480–525): "an individual substance of a rational nature" (*Against Eutyches* 6)? The line of reasoning that favors belief in the personhood of the One is fundamental also to the cosmological argument for the self-existent, immutable cause: any successive change cannot be a succession independent of an unchanging, unifying agent. Furthermore, a succession cannot be known as a succession apart from a nonsuccessive experient of succession. In the last analysis, reasoning itself is not possible without a time-transcending unity, free from limitations of corporeal composition. The self-existent cause is best conceived, therefore, as an unchanging, indivisible Person.

However, monists in the West (e.g., Plotinus, Spinoza, Hegel, F. H. Bradley) and in the East (especially Indian exponents of Advaita Vedānta, from Śaṅkara in the ninth century CE to Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan in the twentieth century) developed the concept of incorporeal unity, but they considered the attribution of any concept of a person to the suprapersonal One as misleading. The theist, nevertheless, contends that an infinite Person, inherently and fully rational, is the least misleading view of the contemporaneous One. Can the adherent of the suprapersonal One intelligibly deny that the One is self-aware and aware of all that is (omniscient)? Moreover, can we avoid theoretical shipwreck if the very insistence on the fathomless depths of the One leads to the conclusion that the finite person's ideals of logic and of truth, goodness, and beauty bear, in principle, no trustworthy clue to the nature of suprapersonal unity?

Nor does the theist stop here. The spearhead of the theist's rejection of an all-absorbing One is the conviction that the individual person experiences free will to choose between alternatives within his powers. The theist stresses that without free will it makes no sense to refer to conclusions as true or false. For a conclusion that cannot be drawn from a relatively free, impartial weighing of evidence for and against hypothesis is nothing but the outcome of the regnant play of factors in the knower. Such an outcome is one event among other events and is neither true nor false.

Furthermore, if personal free will is nullified, so is the difference between moral good and moral evil, since each depends on a person's having the free will to choose between alternative courses of action deemed to be good or evil. It is such freedom of will that is vital to the theist's conception of a person's responsibility to other persons and to his interpretation of a person's relation to the physical, the subpersonal orders of being, and to God himself.

Hence, when the theist is told that the orders of being are ultimately machinelike and indifferent to the values of persons, or that the whole framework of things is a logical network that allows for no (supposedly capricious) free will, or when mystical union with the One is taken as indubitable evidence that a person is in fact only a particular center of God's being, the theist will stand by a person's experience of limited free will while pointing out the theoretical and moral consequences of its denial. This stand is basic to his conception of the Creator as person.

Although theists are not of one mind as to the self-existent Person's relation to the order of physical things and of subpersonal living beings, they concur that God creates persons out of nothingness *(creatio ex nihilo).* This concept, unthinkable to any Greek or Indian philosopher, is admittedly mysterious, but what is posited must be understood in its context. *Creatio ex nihilo* does not mean that God, as it were, takes nothing and makes what he creates therefrom. Rather, he creates what did not exist prior to his creative act. God does not create from being(s) independent of him, nor does he create from his own being; the created orders do not emanate from his being. God creates persons to be free within their potential and in relation to the other orders. The Indian philosopher Rāmānuja (c. 1017–1173) argued against the absorption of persons in the distinctionless One *(brāhman),* as held in the prevailing *advaita* (nondualist) philosophy of Śaṇkara—although, in the end, he, too, insisted on their ultimate union with the suprapersonal One.

Does the creation of persons, free to develop their own potential and, within limits, their own environments, not conflict with the attribute of God's omnipotent will? No, since God's creating of free persons is self-imposed and is, therefore, an instance of God's omnipotence.

But may not a person's use of freedom influence the fulfillment of God's purposes? On this, theists disagree, depending, in good part, on their conception of God's other attributes. It is worth noting that often, when it seems that God's attributes in effect conflict with each other, theists warn that God's attributes must not be isolated from each other, since this would violate the indivisibility of God's being. The application of this doctrine here supports the view that God's self-imposed creating of persons as free and not as puppets will not issue in the thwarting of his purposes.

But, if the attribute of God's omniscience is defined as God's knowing all that is, has been, and will be, must not God's foreknowledge be limited (and his power affected) by a person's freedom? What can it mean to affirm human freedom of choice if God knows in every instance and in every detail what any person will choose? Some theists take omniscience to mean that the Creator knows all there is to know (including all the options possible and available). They cannot understand how the freedom of persons at the point of choice is compatible with foreknowledge of what the choice will be, let alone compatible with the necessary fulfillment of the omnipotent God's will. Their theistic opponents, however, urge that the creation of free persons should not be interpreted as curtailing either God's power or his knowledge in any way that would limit his control of all there is and will be. They argue that we should not impose on the perfect, timeless Person the conditions of temporal succession to which finite persons are limited in knowing. They suggest that something like human intuitive knowing "all at once," which differs markedly from discursive inference "from one meaning to the other," provides a more helpful clue to God's knowing.

It is plain that the self-existent Creator, whose immutable transcendence is contemporaneous with his immanence in the temporal world, leaves theists with theoretical tensions. But they find these tensions more acceptable than the identification of all that exists with the One.

TELEOLOGICAL ARGUMENT. In advancing the concept of the contemporaneous cause as Creator-Person, the theist implies his conviction that causal order is best understood in terms of some goal. Such teleological thinking examines composite things and series of events that strongly suggest design, namely, the cooperation of parts that produce one kind of goal and not another. The spring of a watch is best understood in terms of its relation to the other parts that, along with it, effect the purpose of the watch. So, also, although every animate cell has its own order, understanding of that cell is increased once its contribution to the orderly function of the whole organism is specified.

Accordingly, the teleological argument for God does not arbitrarily add purposeful goal seeking to nonpurposive causes. It centers attention on the designs that can be reasonably inferred as causal patterns when they are viewed in the context of unifying goals. For theists moving from cosmological considerations to teleological understanding, the controlling conviction is that the physical, the organic, and the human orders are most reasonably understood as fitting together within the comprehensive purpose of the Creator. Moreover, teleological theists hold that the inanimate and subhuman orders are so created as to provide for the good of persons, persons who can and should realize that they live in God's world, a training ground for the life to come.

Insofar as theists expound and defend a teleological argument that calls to mind a Creator-Architect-Carpenter who provides the specific physical environment for specific biological species and who does so to suit the created endowments of persons, they continue to encounter strong opposition from scholars who draw on scientific data to support their conviction that no such planned creation and no such Creator is tenable. Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859) spurred on the explanation of present organic structures as consequences of gradual modifications that favored the survival of the fittest. Other scientific discoveries relevant to the theory of evolution and scientific and philosophical interpretations of pertinent new data have enlarged the area of confrontation between teleologist and nonteleologist.

The teleological theist argues, however, that, even granting explanation of evolution in terms of the survival of the fittest, it is the arrival of the fit that still calls for teleological explanation. Nonetheless, the Darwinian theory of evolution led many theists to emphasize the demands of moral consciousness and religious consciousness as independent sources of belief in God.

WIDER TELEOLOGICAL ARGUMENT. All the more significant is the comprehensive rethinking of teleological theism that has produced a "wider teleological argument," a position that has developed systematically in the context of historical philosophic issues. The outstanding statement of this position is in the two volumes of *Philosophical Theology* (1928–1930) by Frederick R. Tennant. Tennant defends the irreducible unity of the person and explores the cognitive limits of knowledge based on a person's sensory and nonsensory capacities; he concludes that no dimension of personal experience can arrive at logically coercive beliefs.

Tennant does not assume that a nonteleological view of the universe is already established. Nor is our world, as known, more reasonably explained as the product of ultimate, random variations or chance happenings. Rather, such knowledge as we guide ourselves by is the joint product of continuing human interaction with an amenable framework of things. Accordingly, to postulate planning in the ultimate collocation of things is to understand better what the human search for truth and values presupposes, namely, the basic relevance of cognitive activities to the order of things. Thus, "If Nature evinces wisdom, the wisdom is Another's" (Tennant, 1930, p. 107).

This wider teleology is articulated when Tennant points out that the nonbiological, physical order does not itself require either the existence or the progressive evolution of species. Yet, the drift of subhuman evolution allows for the arrival of the new order of conscious-self-conscious persons, for whom "survival of the fittest" does not adequately account. Persons, in turn, cannot exist unless their comprehensive reasoning with regard to the other orders guides their moral efforts to improve the quality of their individual and communal survival.

Tennant does not exclude the inspirational value of religious experiences from the chain of evidence for the Creator-Person. But, in his analysis of the varieties of religious experience, he does not find the immediate, uninterpreted knowledge of God to warrant the conclusion that religious experience should be independent of criticism grounded in the rational and moral dimensions of experience. Religious experience with all its suggestiveness is not given cognitive priority, but it does serve as an important confirmatory link in the chain of evidence, reasonably interpreted.

All in all, then, the claims to reasonably probable knowledge are the more reliable insofar as they can be viewed as joint products of persons interacting with each other in their ongoing interchange with their total environment. No one link in this chain of evidence for cosmic teleology is, by itself, strong enough to justify the conclusion that the Creator-Person is immanent in the orders of being. Consequently, the wider teleological argument is to be judged for its reasonableness as a cumulative whole. But this is no cause for alarm, since, to take an example from the scientific realm, the hypothesis of biological evolution is accepted as a cumulative whole despite weaker and missing links of evidence. Accordingly, the theoretical backbone of the broader teleological theism is its more reasonable interpretation of human experience cumulatively viewed.

MORAL ARGUMENT. There are theists sympathetic with Tennant's wider teleology who hold that his view of the ethical link simply does not do justice to the experience of the moral consciousness. Their crucial contention is that the value judgments of persons, although related to their desires and feelings, are not experienced as originating in them. Rather, the irreducible moral consciousness becomes increasingly aware of an objective order of values that exerts imperative authority over persons' lives. This unique, normative order, not dependent on human desiring and not descriptive of actual processes in the natural world, is most coherently interpreted as expressive of the Creator's goodness.

In sum, according to this moral argument for God, an unconditional, universal order of values is gradually revealed not only as morally imperative for persons but necessary in their struggle for fulfillment. Most reasonably understood as rooted in God's nature, it is this objective order of values that is the strongest link in any argument for a God worthy of worship. Indeed, without this independent source of normative values, the cosmological and teleological arguments do not suffice to assure the goodness of God.

Tennant, however, provides an elaborate critique of this account of the moral consciousness and the objectivity of value judgments. He argues that to root value-experience in desires and feelings does not, of itself, justify the charge that value judgments are relativistic. He interprets the objectivity and universality of value-experiences and value judgments as joint products of each person's interaction with at least the natural and social orders. It is the most coherent organization of such value judgments that is, indeed, the capstone of the wider teleological argument. For now, persons, experiencing and organizing their values as joint products of their interaction with orderly trends not of their own making, can better interpret the immanent direction of the collocation of things. Hence, the progressive appreciation of the conditions of the qualitative range of value-experiences remains the normative insight into what kind of personal growth this kind of world fosters.

THEORETICAL PROBLEMS. Whichever of the above approaches to God is most acceptable to the traditional theist, central to his vision remains the perfection of the self-existent, transcendent Creator, immanent in his creations and, especially, in the optimum development of morally autonomous persons. This vision of "absolute" perfection poses obstinate theoretical problems for the theist himself, as he tries to clarify the dynamics of the perfection of an immutable Creator-Person who is immanent in his temporal, changing creation. This article confines itself to three questions of especial concern to theists. Adequate discussion of these alone would require analysis of other knotty metaphysical issues (such as the ultimate nature of space and time or the specific nature of God's relation to the spatiotemporal world).

The first question is "How can God be immutable and yet immanent in a changing world, let alone in the kind of changing relations that obtain between him and developing moral agents?" The theist invariably does not flinch as he grants that this theoretical conflict is intrinsic to the theistic transcendent-immanent situation. For a perfect Creator cannot create without creating dependent, imperfect beings; and he will not annul the will of persons free to choose changes within their power. Nevertheless, while thus holding that there is no intelligible bridge from the changing created realms to the immutable Creator, the theist urges that God's immutability is not to be conceived in rigid and timeless mathematical fashion. He does suggest analogies within human experience that render the impasse less stark, such as those concentrated moments in which the past and future seem to fuse with a timeless, transcendent unity.

The second question moves the first into perhaps the most sensitive area of the theist's belief: the passibility of God, that is, God's responsiveness to human need. If God's immutable perfection is appropriately responsive to the created orders in their kind, how can he be unchanged and unchangeable? If he is unchanged and unchangeable, how can he be anything but impassive to the moral struggle of persons? What can it mean to say that he appropriately responds to their situations (that he "knows," "suffers," "redeems," or "liberates") without enduring any change himself? Here the theist, avoiding anthropomorphism, urges us to realize that the Creator-Person will not, in the nature of the case, undergo the psychic states of persons and suffer as we do.

Nevertheless, the moral-religious thrust of the theist's resistance to both deism and monism is at stake, for he defends the concept of a morally free person who is ultimately responsible to God, a God who "knows" and is appropriately responsive to the ranges of human striving. Can this person-to-Person relation be honored by a God who, in his immutability, does not change at all in response to even the worthy appeals of his repentant creatures? In the face of this impasse, some theists hold that God's immutability is compatible with his passibility, if his responses to need are conceived as the overflow of his essence and, hence, neither diminish nor improve it.

The third question is "In view of the amount and quality of evils, how can one reasonably believe in a Creator who, omniscient and limited by nothing beyond or within himself, is perfect in purpose and accomplishment?" The response of the theist depends to some extent upon what he claims to be the pearl of great price in the human ideal of the good. There are differences among theists on this matter, but the exposition here takes as vital to all theistic views of the ideal good the freedom of persons to choose, within limits, their own destiny. Such freedom does not exist in a vacuum; indeed, it would be powerless without a network of order that helps a person to know the good and evil consequences of his actions. Without such freedom a person would not experience the profound satisfaction of building the character so essential to the conservation and increase of values available to him as he develops.

So important is this pearl that the theist, never unaware of the maldistribution of values and disvalues, is poignantly mindful of the undeserved and vicious evils inflicted by man's inhumanity to man and by natural forces beyond human control. He is not given to holding that evil is illusory, or that it exists as a privation of goodness. But neither will he minimize a fact that becomes the foundation of his thinking about evil. Evil, in the last analysis, has no independent power of its own; it lives parasitically on the good. The theist's trust in the goodness of the Creator-Person is, therefore, grounded in this priority in the very nature of things. This fact also fortifies his belief in a personal immortality that is not an external addition to life in this imperfect world but is, rather, the extension of the creative goodness of God.

Even if all this be granted, serious concerns persist. Can it be conceded, even to so acute a theist as Tennant, that a Creator-Person, both omnipotent and omniscient, cannot, in the collocation and governance of things, create water that quenches thirst but does not drown? Again, it may be granted that, without the possibility of evil, persons would not experience the qualities of creativity resulting from their developing virtues. Nevertheless, would a Creator who is all-good, omnipotent, and omniscient create a world in which so much "nondisciplinary evil" occurs? Nondisciplinary evils are evils that, as far as we can see, are not instrumental to the realization of other values. They are those evils that undermine even the most heroic moral effort; they finally fell the oak that has weathered many storms. They, too, are parasites upon the good, but whatever the source, they are the irreducible evils that defy being classified as means to some good.

The traditional theist now reminds us of our keyhole vision in this life. To other theists, this appeal to ignorance is unavailing. After all, it is open to opponent and exponent alike. These "finitistic" theists, determined to explain the evidence at hand as reasonably as possible, reexamine the concept of perfection presupposed by traditional theists. They suggest that the impasses of transcendence-immanence ultimately hinge on the assumption that perfection necessarily excludes all temporality and change in the self-existent Creator. Why must we hold, finitists ask, that self-existence necessitates God's immutability in every respect? Why cannot perfection characterize a transcendent, self-existent Creator who expresses his purposes in the temporal orders without danger of becoming the victim of the changes required? Indeed, why suppose that only immutable perfection is worthy of worship?

In any case, finitistic theists contend that the actual course of natural and human history is more reasonably explained if the Creator-God's omnipotence and immutability are limited in the interest of his creative goodness. And his moral perfection consists in God's conservation and renewal of value realization despite recalcitrant conditions within his own being. This Creator-Person, thus limited in power by uncreated conditions within himself, creates and recreates situations most consistent with his purposes.

The specific way in which the morally perfect Creator-Person is limited in power depends upon the particular theist's conception of God's immanence in the inorganic, organic, and personal orders and, especially, on that theist's view of God's relation to persons as individuals and in community. Finitistic theists, however, cannot tolerate, theoretically, the conception of a self-existent Creator limited by any being(s) completely independent of his own will. Such theists vary in their description of the recalcitrant factor(s) that are inherent in the self-existent Creator. But the basic thrust of their views inspires the worship of a God who, dealing creatively with recalcitrance, continues to create, in accordance with his concern that the conditions for creativity be preserved and increased at every level possible.

Such finitistic theism saves transcendence from the pantheistic absorption of persons. At the same time, it is free from the dangers of a theism that, in the name of immutable perfection, sets up impasses that encourage the conception of a deistic Creator who knows not the quality of continuing, creative caring.

SEE ALSO Atheism; Deism; Monism; Pantheism and Panentheism; Proofs for the Existence of God; Theodicy; Transcendence and Immanence.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The books in this highly select bibliography contain, each in its own scope, the needed expansion, significant particularity, and helpful context for explication of the condensed discussion of central topics in this article. The suggestions in the next paragraph include comprehensive cultural and religious background for the theistic themes focused on in the main presentation. Elaboration on these themes, with an eye to the variety of interpretations, is provided in the remaining suggestions.

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PETER A. BERTOCCI (1987)
Revised Bibliography

THEOCRACY means "rule by God" and refers to a type of government in which God or gods are thought to have sovereignty, or to any state so governed. The concept has been widely applied to such varied cases as pharaonic Egypt, ancient Israel, medieval Christendom, Calvinism, Islam, and Tibetan Buddhism.

The word was first coined in the Greek language (*theokratia*) by the Jewish historian Josephus Flavius around 100 CE. Josephus noted that while the nations of the world were variously governed by monarchies, oligarchies, and democracies, the polity of the Jews was theocracy. This, he thought, went back to Moses, who was not attracted by the model of these other polities and therefore "designated his government a theocracy—as someone might say, forcing an expression—thus attributing the rule and dominion to God" (*Against Apion* 2.165).

From Josephus's coinage the term found its way into modern languages, though most early uses were references to the government of ancient Israel, and thus faithful to the original context. The poet John Donne, in a sermon of 1622, stated that the Jews had been under a theocracy, and the Anglican bishop William Warburton, in his *Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated* (1737–1741), engaged in a long discussion of Israelite theocracy.

Impetus for wider use of the word came from G. W. F. Hegel's *Philosophy of History,* where the term was employed to describe that early phase of ancient oriental civilization in which there was no distinction between religion and the state. In the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the term became what Karl Mannheim called a *Kampfbegriff,* by which "enlightened" contempt for "priest-ridden" societies could be expressed. It was with something of this force that it was used by W. E. H. Lecky in his *History of Rationalism* (1865) and by Brooks Adams in *The Emancipation of Massachusetts* (1887).

Theocracy has not become a rigorously defined concept in either social science or the history of religions, although the term is frequently used in historical writing. This is probably because it does not name a governmental system or structure, parallel to monarchy or democracy, but designates a certain kind of placement of the ultimate source of state authority, regardless of the form of government. In biblical studies, where the notion of theocracy has had its longest currency, it has probably also been used with the greatest consistency and fruitfulness.

This article deals with the various meanings that the term theocracy may be usefully given, with examples relevant to each meaning: hierocracy, or rule by religious functionaries; royal theocracy, or rule by a sacred king; general theocracy, or rule in a more general sense by a divine will or law; and eschatological theocracy, or future rule by the divine.

HIEROCRACY. *Theocracy* has often been used as a term to describe societies where the clergy or priests rule, but this is not the exact denotation of the word, and another word, hierocracy, is available for such situations. Some have called this "pure" theocracy. Among such theocracies, a distinction can be made between those in which the religious functionaries who exercise rule are priestly in character and those in which they are more prophetic-charismatic.

Theocracies of this type have not been very numerous. Several of the stages in the history of ancient Israel exemplify it: the early period, beginning with the Sinai covenant and continuing with the leadership of Moses and Aaron; the religious confederation of the tribal amphictyony; and the charismatic (though occasional) leadership of the Judges down to the time of Samuel. Thus, Israel had strongly theocratic elements, in the sense of rule by religious functionaries. Centuries later, after the return from exile in the late sixth century BCE, a theocracy emerged with the priestly leadership of the generations after Ezra. The priestly theocratic pattern became so important among the Jews at this time that the later Hasmoneans legitimated their rule by claiming the high priesthood. This was the case until the end of the rule of Alexander Yannai over the small Jewish state in 67 BCE.

This kind of theocracy has been rare in Christianity, which grew up as a clandestine religion at odds with a hostile state. Nonetheless, a kind of theocracy in the sense of priestly rule appeared in the Papal States of central Italy and lasted for over a millennium (756–1870). However, this situation was not usually thought of as a prototype of the ideal but, rather more pragmatically, as a way of securing the independence of church authority, centered in Rome, from interference and control by secular powers. Another Christian example of pure theocracy can be found in the early years of the Latter-Day Saints, or Mormons, in the United States, where the prophetic leaders (first Joseph Smith and then Brigham Young) exercised religious and temporal authority in the life of the community, both in earlier settlements and then in Salt Lake City.

The early years of Islam, under the prophet Muḥammad and his first successors, the caliphs, were also theocratic in the sense that there was rule by the religious leadership, though it was not a priestly but a prophetic-charismatic leadership. It is, however, difficult to say at exactly what point the caliphate ceased to be a primarily religious institution.

Tibetan Buddhism has often been cited as an example of priestly theocracy. After the thirteenth century, Tibet was ruled by various elements of the Buddhist priesthood; in the seventeenth century, the Dge lugs pa sect gained the temporal rule of the land and governed through the Dalai and Panchen lamas, as successive incarnations of Avalokiteśvara and Amitābha Buddha, respectively, until the Chinese Communist invasion destroyed this pattern in 1959. The Dalai Lama was the principal ruler from his capital at Lhasa, and administration was exercised by him (or by a regent ruling in his name when a new Dalai Lama was being sought) through a cabinet composed partly of monks.

Many short-lived communal and revolutionary movements inspired by religion have functioned as pure theocracies. Examples of this include the Taiping Rebellion in China in 1858; the seizure of Khartoum in the Sudan by a claimant to the role of the Mahdi in 1885; and the People's Temple of Jim Jones, which was established in Guyana in 1977, only to end in mass suicide.

ROYAL THEOCRACY. Rule by a king thought to possess divine status or power, or to be entrusted by God with authority over the earth, is a second kind of theocracy. Such sacred kingship has many ramifications beyond what can be considered in relation to the concept of theocracy. Traditional Japan was ruled by such a royal theocracy, the emperors being regarded as descendants of the sun goddess Amaterasu. Some societies of the ancient world were theocratic in this sense: the ancient Mesopotamian kings were regarded as chosen servants and regents of the gods, and the Egyptian pharaohs were thought to be directly descended from the sun god, who had created the earth and had at first ruled it personally, later ruling it through them. In both Egypt and Mesopotamia, as well as among other ancient peoples, kings also fulfilled many important roles in ritual, thus acting as intermediaries between men and the gods. Analogies have frequently been drawn between ancient Near Eastern sacred monarchy and Israelite kingship, but such inferences should be drawn with caution, especially since Israel's monarchy had been established within the time of Israel's historical memory and had been opposed by a school of thought that felt that Yahveh alone should be recognized as king (1 *Sm.* 8:6–22, *Hos.* 8:4, 13:10–11). However, Israelite monarchy borrowed some of the theocratic features of its Near Eastern predecessors, especially elements of court ritual. Still, Israel under the monarchy was a royal theocracy, for the kings were considered to be the anointed and chosen servants of Yahveh and the earthly representatives of Yahveh's theocratic authority.

Monarchy as the fulfillment of a sacred role of divine regency also appeared in Christianity. The most obvious examples have been in Eastern Christianity, both Byzantine and Russian, in which the imperial office was regarded as God-given, and the emperor regarded as God's representative on earth in all temporal matters, as well as in the external affairs of the church. In Byzantium, the distinction between the religious and the secular was not as sharply drawn as it usually was in the West, and the Byzantine emperor had certain liturgical prerogatives that were closed to the layperson. Such sacred kingship also appeared in Western Christianity among the early Germanic kings who ruled after the dissolution of the Roman empire, and especially in the rule of Charlemagne. It reappeared with some of the Holy Roman emperors who sought to counter the claims of papal theocracy after the eleventh-century Gregorian reform, and at the courts of Henry VIII and Louis XIV.

GENERAL THEOCRACY. A third type of theocracy, by far the most common, is that more general type wherein ultimate authority is considered to be vested in a divine law or revelation, mediated through a variety of structures or polities. In a sense, both priestly and royal theocracies may be of this sort: for example, in Israelite monarchy the Law stood as an authority beyond that of the king at the time of the Josianic reform; Byzantine emperors in spite of their choice by God were subordinate to the principles of revealed truth; and even the Egyptian god-kings were supposed to rule according to the eternal principles of *maat,* or justice. Theocracy in this third sense has been quite common as a conception in such universalizing religions as Christianity and Islam, where there has often been a thrust toward bringing the whole human sphere under the aegis of the divine will; but it has also appeared in some ancient and tribal societies where the laws and customs of the people are understood to be revealed by the gods, as in some of the ancient Greek city-states.

Historical conditions have made this type of theocracy less common in Christianity than might otherwise have been the case; in earliest Christianity, theocracy was ruled out by the sharp dichotomy between the church and a hostile world that prevailed in Christian thinking, and in modern times, secularization has rendered otiose any program for the rule of Christian norms over all of society. Furthermore, some kinds of Christian thinking about society—for example, the two-kingdom theory of Lutheranism; Christian Aristotelianism, which grants to the state a basis in its own right; and the modern acceptance of the separation of church and state—have weakened the theocratic impulse.

In Christianity, the two most commonly cited examples of this kind of theocracy have been medieval Roman Catholicism and some of the Calvinist societies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Earlier medieval thought looked upon the spiritual and the temporal as two coordinate powers under God, with their own separate structures of rule. After the Gregorian reform of the eleventh century, however, papal theorists sought to divest the temporal overlord of his sacred character and promoted the view that the church, through the pope, was sovereign in all temporal affairs, even if this sovereignty were not exercised directly but through secular rulers whom the church had the authority to direct, judge, or remove. This papal theocracy reached its height in the early thirteenth-century pontificate of Innocent III, who made good his claim to have the authority to dispose earthly powers when he disciplined various European monarchs, including King John of England. Defenders of papal theocracy, however, made even more far-reaching claims in the next century, asserting that the popes, as vicars of Christ on earth, exercised all the prerogatives of Christ's heavenly kingship, which was both royal and priestly, and were, theoretically, not only the possessors of all earthly political sovereignty but the ultimate owners of all property. Late medieval developments, including the papal captivity and schism, the rise of conciliarism, and nationalism, led to the decline of effective papal theocracy.

Theocracy has often been attributed to the government of certain Reformed or Calvinist states, whether Zurich under Huldrych Zwingli, Geneva under John Calvin, England under Oliver Cromwell, or Puritan Massachusetts. In none of these cases was there a hierocratic theocracy, since in most of them the clergy were less likely to hold public office than they had been previously—for example, Cromwellian England abolished church courts and the House of Lords with its bishops, and the Massachusetts Bay Colony forbade the clergy to serve as magistrates. Even in Geneva, the clergy had only an advisory role in checking and balancing the civil government. But all of these societies had an ideal, well expressed by the Strasbourg theologian Martin Bucer in his *De regno Christi,* of a holy community on earth in which the sovereignty was God's and in which the actual law should reflect the divine will and the government seek to promote the divine glory. In the Puritan examples of Cromwellian England in the 1650s and Massachusetts Bay in the first generations of its settlement, there was both a hearkening after Old Testament theocratic patterns and a sense of the importance of government entrusted to truly regenerate persons—or the saints—in an effort to create a holy commonwealth. In fact, however, rule was exercised in both cases more through a godly laity than through the clergy, and in both Cromwellian England and Puritan Massachusetts the state had considerable power in church affairs.

It is also in this general sense of theocracy that Islam ought to be considered theocratic. Islam grew up as a religious community that was its own state, and thus from the beginning there was no distinction of church and state; rather, there was a unitary society under God's revealed rule and law. Islam was much less a church than a theocratic state, but as a theocracy, it was laical and egalitarian, with traditions neither of sacred kings nor of a powerful priesthood. The basis of this divine rule is to be found in *sharīʿah*, or law, which provides for a pattern of life uniting all the aspects of human existence—political, social, religious, domestic—into a grand whole under divine rule. Such rule has been variously exercised in Islamic history, but the *ʿulamaʾ* as well as the caliphs and, in Shiism, the imams have been important in its application. Many modern Islamic revival movements, reacting against Western aggression and internal decline, have tended toward the repristination of the theocratic elements in Islam; this was true of the Wāhhābīyah in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and has been true of many contemporary movements.

ESCHATOLOGICAL THEOCRACY. A fourth kind of theocracy is eschatological, centering on visions of an ideal future in which God will rule. Restoration eschatology and messianic ideas in ancient Israel were of this type. In Christianity, such eschatological theocracy appeared in the beliefs of the medieval followers of Joachim of Fiore, who anticipated the emergence of a third age in which all would be perfect, and in the beliefs of the sectarians of seventeenth-century England, such as the Seekers, Quakers, or Fifth Monarchists, who dreamed of a coming millennial age when Christ would rule. Such modern offshoots of Christianity as the Jehovah's Witnesses and the Unification Church of Sun Myung Moon present recent examples of groups anticipating an earthly reign of Christ. Islamic eschatology centering on the figure of the Mahdi has occasionally begotten similar hopes.

SEE ALSO Charlemagne; Constantine; Dalai Lama; Imamate; Israelite Law, article on State and Judiciary Law; Kingdom of God; Kingship; Shiism.

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THEODICY. Why do the righteous suffer? Why do the wicked prosper? Why do innocent children experience illness and death? These are ancient questions, but they have been given new poignancy in our day by the events of the European Holocaust. The fact that many who died in the Holocaust were devout Jews or Christians also poses a special problem for the faiths to which these victims belonged. Traditionally, Jews and Christians have affirmed God's goodness and his absolute sovereignty over history. But how can this faith be reconciled with suffering on the scale for which Auschwitz is the symbol?

THEORETICAL POSITIONS. The effort to answer questions of this sort is commonly referred to as *theodicy.* The term was apparently coined by the philosopher Gottfried Leibniz (1646–1716) and is a compound of the Greek words for God *(theos)* and justice *(dikē).* Theodicy may thus be thought of as the effort to defend God's justice and power in the face of suffering. Theodicies result from this effort: they are specific explanations or justifications of suffering in a world believed to be ruled by a morally good God.

The theodicy problem. The "problem of theodicy" arises when the experienced reality of suffering is juxtaposed with two sets of beliefs traditionally associated with ethical monotheism. One is the belief that God is absolutely good and compassionate. The other is the belief that he controls all events in history, that he is both all-powerful (omnipotent) and all-knowing (omniscient). When combined with some other implicit beliefs—for example, the belief that a good being would try to prevent suffering insofar as he is able—these various ideas seem contradictory. They appear to form a logical "trilemma," in the sense that, while any two of these sets of ideas can be accepted, the addition of the third renders the whole logically inconsistent. Thus, it seems that it can be affirmed that God is all-good and all-powerful, but not also that there is suffering in the world. Similarly, the fact of suffering can be affirmed along with God's goodness, but the insistence on God's omnipotence appears to render the whole ensemble of beliefs untenable. Theodicy may be thought of as the effort to resist the conclusion that such a logical trilemma exists. It aims to show that traditional claims about God's power and goodness are compatible with the fact of suffering.

Alternative definitions. Some writers have tried to expand the term *theodicy* beyond its classical Western philosophical and theological usage. The sociologist Max Weber, for example, sought to redefine the term in order to render it applicable to religious traditions that do not involve belief in one just, all-powerful deity. In Weber's usage, *the theodicy problem* referred to any situation of inexplicable or unmerited suffering, and *theodicy* itself referred to any rationale for explaining suffering. This wider definition has value for the comparative study of religion. Nevertheless, without neglecting other religious responses to suffering, I shall here be using the term *theodicy* in its classical sense, as the effort to defend God's justice and power in a world marred by suffering.

Dissolutions of the theodicy problem. One reason for holding to the narrower definition of theodicy is that it allows us to see that theodicy in its classical sense is very much a feature of ethical monotheism. Theodicy in this sense does not arise in traditions that fundamentally deny or reject any one of the three major sets of ideas that form the theodicy problem: the belief in God's goodness, the belief in his power, or the belief in the real occurrence of suffering. Religious positions that fundamentally dissolve the problem may be classified according to which of the three basic beliefs they do not accept.

Denials of God's justice. Some religious positions avoid theodicy by denying that God (or the gods) is morally good. Very few religious traditions openly hold God to be evil, although Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, in her book *The Origins of Evil in Hindu Mythology* (Berkeley, 1976), has argued that at least one important motif in Hindu mythology traces suffering to the gods' pettiness and fear of human power. More common than an outright denial of the deity's justice, however, is the claim that God's justice is somehow qualitatively different from our ordinary human ideas of right and wrong. Words like *justice* or *goodness* when applied to God have no relation to their meaning when applied to human beings. What would be regarded as wickedness on the part of a human being—for example, the slaughter of children—may not be unjust where God is concerned. We shall see that this view has had some currency in Islam and in Calvinist Christianity.

Denials of God's omnipotence. Rather than compromise the divine goodness, some religious traditions have avoided theodicy by qualifying the divine power. This view is especially characteristic of religious dualisms, which explain the fact of suffering by positing a power or principle of disorder that wars incessantly with God for control of the world. In Zoroastrianism, for example, imperfections and suffering in this world are traced to an ongoing cosmic struggle between the good deity, Ahura Mazdā (Ōhrmazd), and his evil antagonist, Angra Mainyu (Ahriman). Similarly, the gnostic religion Manichaeism explained suffering in terms of a struggle between a "spiritual" god of goodness and light and an evil "creator" demon associated with darkness and matter.

Apart from dualism there are other ways by which religions can deny God's omnipotence. One of the most important of these is found in Buddhism, where suffering is traced to the automatic operation of the moral law of retribution known as *karman.* I shall return to *karman* in connection with Buddhist teaching as a whole, but for now it may be noted that *karman* eliminates the need to justify God (or the gods) in a world of suffering because it places that suffering almost wholly beyond divine control.

Denials of the reality of suffering. The final major way by which to avoid the problem of theodicy is to deny the third component in the trilemma, that is, that there really is suffering in the world. This position may seem impossible since unhappiness, illness, and death are all around us. Yet in various ways, religious thinkers and religious traditions have sometimes denied the ultimate reality or significance of suffering. The philosopher Spinoza, for example, affirmed that the world seems filled with evil only because it is regarded from a narrow and erroneous human point of view. From the divine perspective, however, the world forms a necessary and perfect whole. Some Hindu thinkers have also denied the reality of suffering by advocating adoption of the divine point of view. According to the Vedantic tradition, what we call evil or suffering is really an aspect of *māyā,* the cosmic principle of dynamism and individuation. This principle is not ultimate, and the sage who attains the divine perspective sees *māyā* as an illusory process that does not really affect the eternal soul. This teaching renders the world of suffering inconsequential.

Classical theodicies. Those familiar with the Western religious traditions may be unpersuaded by these various dissolutions of the theodicy problem. They may find that some of these positions, such as the denial that God is just in humanly understandable terms, seriously jeopardize a religious faith based on belief in God's goodness. Other dissolutions may seem to ignore the importance of the evil that God seeks to overcome or may erode confidence in God's ability to master that evil. Yet we have seen that the alternative position—affirmation of God's absolute goodness and power in a world of serious suffering—appears to be illogical. Defenders of ethical monotheism, however, have usually refused to accept this apparent illogicality. With varying degrees of self-consciousness, they have maintained that the alleged contradiction between monotheism and suffering does not exist. This view underlies the specific theodicies that have been elaborated to defend belief in a just and all-powerful God.

The key to these positions is an understanding of what it means to say that God is omnipotent. Typically, it is argued that while God can do anything he wills himself to do and anything that is capable of being done, he cannot do what is logically impossible. This is not because his power is limited but only because what is logically impossible cannot really be thought or conceived. Thus, God cannot make a "square circle," and we cannot ask or desire him to do so, because the very idea of a square circle is nonsense. Only the accident of language that makes a "square circle" seem as possible as a "seedless apple" leads us to think that God's inability here represents some limit to his power.

With this as a basis, it is further argued that the claim that God's goodness and power are logically incompatible with suffering is not correct, because it is not true that an all-good, all-powerful being would necessarily eliminate all suffering from the world. What is true is that such a being would want to bring about the greatest state of goodness in the world. But creating such a state may involve the creation of some specific goods whose existence logically entails the possibility of certain evils, and these evils may be the source of the suffering we see around us.

The enterprise of theodicy, therefore, essentially involves the identification of those eminently valuable goods whose existence may entail certain states of suffering or evil. Proponents of specific theodicies usually contend that a world without these goods would be of lesser value than one that contains them, and so God is morally justified in having created a world in which these goods, with their attendant evils, exist.

While those involved in the enterprise of theodicy frequently focus on one good or the other in their defense of God, theodicy is inherently an eclectic activity. A variety of distinct values and arguments are commonly advanced to defend God's goodness. Some of the major theodicies listed here are not even theodicies in the most precise sense since they involve less the identification of specific values whose existence justifies suffering than the assertion that such values might exist. In any case, none of these classical theodicies is necessarily exclusive of the others, and adherents of ethical monotheism usually hold several of the following positions.

The free-will theodicy. One of the most powerful and most frequently adduced explanations of suffering is the free-will theodicy. Those who hold this position maintain that a world containing creatures who freely perform good actions and who freely respond to their creator's goodness is far better than a world of automatons who always do what is right because they cannot do what is wrong. Now, while God can create free creatures, if they are truly free he cannot causally determine what they do. To create a creature freely capable of doing what is morally right, therefore, God must create a creature who is also capable of doing what is morally wrong. As it turned out, some of the free creatures God created have exercised their freedom to do wrong, and this is the source of the suffering we see around us. Some of this suffering is directly caused by these wicked beings, while some results when they are justly punished by God for their conduct.

As easily stated as this theodicy is, it has many complexities, and it has frequently been challenged. Recent debate has been especially vigorous. Philosophers such as Antony Flew and J. L. Mackie, for example, have questioned the link in this argument between free will and the possibility of wrongdoing. Since the conduct of free beings is not unshaped by causal factors, they contend, God might have molded human nature and the physical environment in such a way that free beings never do wrong. Or, they argue, since it is logically possible for any free being never to do wrong, there is nothing illogical in God's having created a whole race of free beings none of whom ever does wrong. However, other philosophers, notably Nelson Pike and Alvin Plantinga, have rejected these arguments, claiming either that they run counter to our commonsense understanding of freedom, which involves essentially an idea of nondetermination by causal forces, or that they mistakenly derive from ambiguities in what it means to say that God can create free beings who never do wrong. While it is true, they would say, that God can create a race of free beings none of whom ever happens to do wrong, it is not true that God can create free beings and bring about their never doing wrong. Whether wrong is done depends on the beings themselves. This leads these philosophers to the conclusion that God must expose the world to the possibility of suffering and evil if he chooses to create beings who are genuinely free.

A more traditional and long-standing objection to the free-will theodicy is that it does not apparently handle the problem of natural (or physical) evil as opposed to moral evil. Moral evil may be thought of as states of suffering traceable to the agency of free beings, such as war, racism, or genocide. Natural evil is that evil or suffering that is not traceable to acts or volitions of free beings, including such things as earthquakes, floods, and pestilence. Even if it is granted that this distinction is not sharp (some of the damage wrought by earthquakes, for example, is the result of shoddy construction techniques and other forms of human ignorance or avarice), clearly there are instances of suffering utterly beyond human control. Because this suffering is not traceable to human abuse of freedom, these critics contend, God must ultimately be held responsible for its existence.

Defenders of the free-will theodicy have responded to this objection in various ways. They have sometimes traced natural evil to the agency of demonic beings (fallen angels or Satan) whose own malevolence results from a perverse exercise of free will. They have also sometimes argued that natural evils are ongoing punishments for wrongful acts by humankind's first parents, so that suffering is a result of Original Sin. Despite occasional efforts at their revival, these responses have little currency today. As a result, many proponents of the free-will theodicy find themselves forced to turn elsewhere to supplement their defense of God. They frequently resort to one of the educative theodicies.

Educative theodicies. The force of the educative theodicies lies in their ability to justify at least some of the suffering experienced by innocent persons. This suffering exists, it is argued, because it serves to enrich human experience, to build moral character, or to develop human capacities.

Within the broad assertion that suffering has educative value, at least several distinct claims can be identified. It is sometimes maintained, for example, that modest suffering enhances our appreciation of life's satisfactions (as separation from loved ones can enrich moments spent with them). On a far deeper level, it is argued that even very serious suffering can toughen us to adversity and can help us develop depth of character, compassion, or new capabilities. Finally, it is common in this connection to stress the value of a world based upon regular laws of nature. Certainly, much suffering results from the operation of natural laws. Had God wished to, he might have created a world in which no regular laws existed—a world in which the flames threatening a sleeping family suddenly turned cool. But such a world, it is argued, would be a magical garden with little opportunity for growth in human knowledge. The human race would forever remain in intellectual infancy. This explanation in terms of natural laws is also sometimes advanced to explain the puzzling problem of animal suffering.

These educative theodicies are important, but their limits are apparent. Many of life's satisfactions do not require suffering to be enjoyed. Good health can be appreciated without the experience of disease. It is true, and perhaps profoundly true, that serious suffering can stimulate the development of our capacities and character. But this is not always so. Sometimes suffering embitters, diminishes, or destroys people. Finally, while growth in our understanding of nature's laws is valuable, we must ask whether this knowledge can be justified if its price has been the wasting of lives down through countless generations. What kind of education is it, some ask, that kills so many of the students?

Eschatological (or recompense) theodicies. Many of the difficulties of the educative theodicies derive from the brevity of human life. If an individual's existence were to continue beyond death, some of these problems might be overcome. Then, unmerited or unproductive suffering might be placed in a larger context of experience and meaning. Eschatological theodicies are based on the conviction that human life transcends personal death and that the righteous eventually receive their full reward. (It is also frequently maintained that the wicked receive appropriate punishment.) These theodicies differ from one another on the question of just when or how such recompense occurs. The *eschaton* ("last thing") can be envisioned as a historical epoch that begins at the end of history, a time when the righteous are resurrected in renewed bodies. Or it can be understood as an eternal heavenly realm that one enters after death. In either case, eschatological theodicies assume that the blissful future life more than compensates for present suffering.

Eschatological theodicies clearly play an important part in reconciling many religious believers to the fact of suffering. Nevertheless, this kind of theodicy faces many difficulties today. Some persons regard the idea of an afterlife as incredible. Others reject the idea that future bliss can compensate for present misery. They point out that while suffering may come to an end, the painful memory of suffering endures. Such novelists as Dostoevskii, Camus, and Elie Wiesel have also asked whether anything can compensate for the massive suffering inflicted on children during the persecutions of recent times.

Theodicy deferred: The mystery of suffering. Long before Auschwitz, religious believers recognized that any effort to justify severe suffering in terms of identifiable values risks trivializing the enormity of human anguish. Rather than renounce their faith in God's justice and power, however, some of these believers have chosen to deny that the mystery of suffering can be fully understood. They have preferred to defer comprehension and to trust in God's ultimate goodness and sovereignty. Frequently they have connected this with their eschatological expectations and have looked forward, not just to recompense but to a final understanding of God's purposes in the world.

Very often, those who stress the mystery of suffering also emphasize the limited nature of human understanding and the enormous differences that exist between God and humans. This position should not be confused, however, with the view that God's justice is somehow qualitatively different from our own. The latter perspective dissolves the problem of theodicy by placing God beyond moral accountability, whereas the view discussed here insists that God's justice will ultimately be vindicated. Faith is not the belief in a God beyond justice but the belief that God's justice will finally be upheld.

Communion theodicies. Emphasis on the mystery of suffering and the need to defer our understanding of it may help to sustain religious faith in the face of evil; but it also imposes new burdens on that faith, because human beings may come to regard themselves as pawns in a cosmic game, and God may come to be viewed as distant and indifferent. To offset this, religious traditions have sometimes presented suffering itself as an occasion for direct relationship, collaboration, and even communion with God.

Several related positions may be identified here. One refuses to accept the seeming distance of God in the mystery of suffering by insisting on God's presence with the sufferer in the midst of anguish. God is a *compassionate* God, who *suffers with* his creatures and who is most intensely present when he seems farthest away. This position may not explain why God allows suffering in the first place, but it comforts and sustains the believer in the moment of trial. Moreover, since God is a suffering God, suffering also affords the believer a unique opportunity to obey and to imitate his creator. Those who suffer for a righteous purpose do God's will and make known his presence in the world. Suffering thus provides the most intense opportunity for collaboration and communion between God and humankind.

With this emphasis on communion, the enterprise of theodicy comes full circle. That which first threw open to question God's goodness and power, the bitter suffering of innocent persons, now becomes the supreme expression of love between God and humans. Unlike the mystical dissolutions of the theodicy problem that were looked at earlier, the fact of suffering is not here denied. Instead, the reality of suffering and its importance in human life are heightened. But suffering itself is transvalued: what is usually viewed as an experience to be avoided is now seen as an opportunity for intense religious fulfillment.

TEACHINGS ON THEODICY IN THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS. These theoretical positions on suffering and theodicy are not just abstract logical possibilities. They find concrete expression in the life and teachings of historical religious communities. Religions may even be characterized in terms of which of these theoretical positions they favor. While all of these positions may have some presence in a tradition, one or another is usually emphasized and serves as a distinguishing trait. Even closely related traditions like Judaism and Christianity evidence their uniqueness by subtle preferences among these different theodicies.

Judaism. In Jewish tradition, the theodicy problem is addressed not only in Hebrew scriptures but in rabbinic teachings.

Biblical foundations. The Hebrew scriptures provide the basis for both Jewish and Christian theodicies. With varying degrees of emphasis, they contain many of the positions we have reviewed. However, the free-will theodicy is probably to the fore. This view is firmly anchored in the account of history given in *Genesis,* where a world created as "good" or "very good" by God is viewed as corrupted by human sinfulness. From the first deliberate but unnecessary transgression of the divine commandment by Adam and Eve, we follow a process of recurrent and accelerating wrongdoing that vitiates the goodness of nature and that pits person against person. While the account in *Genesis* does not answer all the questions that troubled later thinkers (why, for example, God chose to create human beings in the first place), it does place primary blame for both natural and moral evil on humankind's abuse of freedom.

Much the same view is conveyed in the portions of the Bible that were influenced by the Deuteronomic writer and the early prophets. Here, suffering is explained in simple retributive terms: loyalty to the moral and religious conditions of the covenant brings prosperity and peace; wickedness brings plague, famine, and war. Since the prophetic literature often aims to summon the sinful nation to covenantal obedience, it is recognized that the connection between conduct and its consequences is not always immediate. The result is an immanent eschatological theodicy based on confidence in a prompt, future balancing of moral accounts. Thus said Isaiah (*Is.* 3:10–11):

> Tell the righteous that it shall be well with them, for they shall eat the fruit of their deeds. Woe to the wicked! It shall be ill with him, for what his hands have done shall be done to him.

This simple equation between suffering and punishment was not unchallenged in biblical thinking, and the disasters of the period from the Babylonian exile onward, when the Israelites were often most intensely loyal to the covenant, forced an explanation of seemingly innocent suffering. In wisdom literature, especially the *Book of Job,* the older theodicy is rejected. Job is an innocent man, blameless and righteous in every way; yet he suffers (*Jb.* 1–2). The prose epilogue, apparently appended at a later date, seeks to maintain the retributive schema by suggesting that Job is eventually more than compensated for his trials (42:10–17), but the book's most decisive response to suffering borders on a radical dissolution of the theodicy problem. Answering Job out of a whirlwind, God asks, "Where were you when I laid the foundations of the earth?" (38:4). A litany of God's mighty deeds in nature and history follows, with the suggestion that man is too puny a creature to question his maker's justice. Job repents his presumption: "I have uttered what I did not understand, things too wonderful for me, which I did not know" (42:3).

The *Book of Job* may be read as an abandonment of the very effort to comprehend God's justice, as an assertion that a creature cannot ask its maker to render account. Or, less radically, it may be read as a deferred theodicy—not the claim that God is unjust or beyond justice but that we are unprepared here and now to fathom God's righteous ways.

The repeated assertions of God's control of the wicked support this interpretation. In any case, the more radical stance, amounting to a dissolution of the theodicy problem, finds expression elsewhere in the wisdom literature. *Ecclesiastes,* for example, repeatedly emphasizes the obscurity of God's ways in dealing with humans. Occasionally the text despairs of there being any justice in the world: "one fate comes to all, to the righteous and the wicked, to the good and the evil" (*Eccl.* 9:2).

These dramatic responses of the wisdom tradition are not the only positions of the exilic and postexilic period. In some of the later prophetic writings, especially in "Second Isaiah," a complex, new theodicy appears: the idea of the suffering servant. This is the innocent "man of sorrows," an "offering for sin" who bears the sins of others and is "wounded for our transgressions" (*Is.* 53:3–10). Just who this figure is remains unclear. Is he the prophet himself or some other charismatic figure? Is he the nation as a whole or a righteous remnant? Whatever the answer, this idea embodies a new theodicy, combining the free–will theodicy with elements of the educative and communion theodicies. Suffering is still produced by sin, but the servant suffers vicariously. He bears his stripes to absorb the punishment of others, to highlight and communicate the consequence of sin and God's wrath against it. His suffering teaches others and is also a unique form of service to God. Finally, in a bid to the eschatological theodicy, it is promised that this servant will ultimately have his reward. He will be given a "portion with the great" and will "divide the spoil with the strong" (*Is.* 53:12).

In the latest texts of the Hebrew Bible, as well as in many writings of the intertestamental period, these eschatological and recompense themes move to the fore with the appearance of apocalyptic writings, such as the *Book of Daniel.* In these, history is viewed as moving toward a final cosmic resolution, when God will smash the empires of the wicked and raise the righteous dead to "everlasting life" (*Dn.* 12:2). The Hebrew scriptures thus draw to a close with a reassertion of the ultimate connection between suffering and sin.

Rabbinic teaching. Many of the motifs found in the Hebrew scriptures are continued in rabbinic thinking. Foremost once again is the free–will theodicy and the link between suffering and sin: "If a man sees that painful suffering visits him," says the Talmud, "let him examine his conduct" (B.T., *Ber.* 5a). Or again, more radically, "There is no suffering without sin" (B.T., *Shab.* 55a). It follows from this that any apparent discrepancy between conduct and its reward must be overcome or denied. Eschatology becomes acutely important. The righteous may look forward to the world to come *('olam ha-ba'),* where all inequities will be overcome and the wicked must fear hell (Gehenna). Whatever observable suffering one experiences may be regarded as expiation of those inevitable sins that all human beings commit. Suffering thus prepares one for final reward: "Beloved are sufferings, for as sacrifices are atoning so is suffering atoning" (*Mekilta' de Rabbi Yishma'e'l* 2. 280).

This stress on the positive value of suffering is emphasized in a series of rabbinic teachings that go beyond the view of suffering as retribution and emphasize its educative dimensions or the opportunity it provides for obedience to God and communion with him. Sometimes, for example, suffering is seen as having disciplinary value. Frequently alluded to is *Proverbs* 3:11, which teaches that God is like a father who chastises a well-loved son. ʿAqiva' ben Yosef, martyred by the Romans in the Bar Kokhba Revolt, is said to have laughed during his torture. When asked by his tormentor why he did this, ʿAqiva' replied that all his life he had been reciting the Shemaʿ, the ritual formula in which the pious Jew is commanded to love God with all his heart, soul, and might, and now, amidst his tortures, he realized that he had finally been given the opportunity to fulfill this commandment. For ʿAqiva', as well as for many Jews who looked to him, suffering becomes an occasion for divine grace. Amidst suffering, these Jews came to see the presence of a God whose purpose, at a price in suffering to himself and to his people, was to render Israel a holy community.

Christianity. The crucifixion of Jesus clearly forms the focal point for all Christian thinking about suffering. But the interpretation of this event varies widely in Christian thinking, as do the theodicies that it brings forth.

The New Testament. Although the problem of suffering is everywhere present in the earliest Christian writings, what theodicies we can identify in the New Testament writings are largely implicit. Expectedly, many of the theodicies we examined in the context of biblical and rabbinic thought are clearly assumed. Particular emphasis, for example, is given to aspects of the free-will theodicy. It is true that the crucifixion provides for Christians decisive evidence that not all who suffer are guilty. Nevertheless, the death of Jesus is also the result of almost every form of human wickedness. Factionalism, nationalism, militarism, religious hypocrisy, greed, personal disloyalty, and pride all conspire here to effect the death of an innocent man.

The fact that Christ is clearly blameless provokes the further question of why he should be allowed to suffer at all. At least several answers appear throughout the New Testament, some of which are also applicable to other innocent victims. On one level, in many New Testament texts a qualified dualism makes its appearance. Evil and suffering are traced to the agency of demonic forces or to Satan (e.g., *Mk.* 5:1–13; *Mt.* 9:32–34, 12:22–24). On another level, the eschatological theodicy is vigorously reasserted, with Christ's resurrection furnishing proof that the righteous are able to vanquish all the forces of wickedness and to surmount suffering and death. The apostle Paul typically insists that the Resurrection is a source of personal hope and confidence for all who follow Christ (*1 Cor.* 5:15–19; *2 Cor.* 4:14). Side by side with this, and found everywhere from the Gospels to *Revelation,* is a vivid apocalyptic expectation. Christ is the "Son of man" whose life (and death) will usher in the kingdom of God. In this kingdom, worldly hierarchies of reward will be overturned: “Many that are first will be last and the last will be first” (*Mk.* 10:31; *Mt.* 5:19).

Also running through many texts are elements of the educative theodicy. The letter to the Hebrews and the letter of James sound the note that suffering is sent by God as a test and a discipline of those he loves (*Heb.* 12:3–13; *Jas.* 1:2–4, 12). Paul continues this theme, adding to it elements of a communion theodicy. Christians should rejoice in suffering because it produces endurance, character, and hope (*Rom.* 5:3–5). Suffering also presents the opportunity to imitate Christ (*1 Cor.* 11:1), who has shown that power is made perfect not in strength but in weakness (*2 Cor.* 12:9). This emphasis on Christ’s fellow-suffering is a constant theme in Paul’s letters.

Finally, in Paul’s writings we find an important extrapolation from the free-will theodicy: emphasis on the universality of sin and the universal deservedness of suffering. This theme is not altogether new—it has deep roots in biblical and Jewish thought—but it is radicalized by Paul, especially in his *Letter to the Romans* (3:9–10, 23). The implications of this teaching for the theodicy problem are dramatic. Since all are sinners, what is extraordinary is not that some suffer in a world ruled by God, but that anyone is spared the divine wrath (*Rom.* 9:22–24). The fact that not all are punished is explained in terms of God’s grace being manifest in Christ’s vicarious suffering and in God’s willingness to suspend the punishment for sin (*Rom.* 3:24). This teaching clearly builds on dimensions of theodicy encountered in the Hebrew scriptures, including the suffering servant motif (now applied singularly to Christ). Nevertheless, it has the effect of revolutionizing Christian thinking about theodicy by converting the mystery of suffering into the mystery of divine grace.

Subsequent developments. It is impossible to review briefly all the contributions of later Christian thinking to theodicy. Suffice it to say that the major lines of thought build upon those established in the New Testament. Paul’s ideas, especially, play a major role. Augustine (354–430) developed Paul’s suggestions into a fully elaborated doctrine of original sin. According to Augustine, Adam and Eve’s transgression and punishment, “sin and its penalty,” are to be viewed as passed on to their descendants through sexual reproduction. Because everyone thus “merits” punishment, emphasis is on God’s grace and his election of those who are spared a just fate. Election itself is explained in terms of divine predestination, in accordance with which God has eternally decreed who shall be spared the punishment merited by all.

This position clearly does not solve the theodicy problem entirely, and in some respects the problem is sharpened in a new way. The question becomes not why human beings have incurred suffering but why God, in his foreknowledge and power, should have allowed the whole disastrous course of events proceeding from the Fall to have occurred in the first place. Sometimes the legitimacy of this question is denied. In Calvinism, for example, Paul’s admonitions against questioning the creator (*Rom.* 9:19–21) are expanded to a doctrine that places God altogether beyond measurement by human justice. With this denial of God’s accountability, the theodicy problem is dissolved. Not all Christians, however, have accepted this extreme view, and repeated efforts have been made to explain and to justify God’s creation of beings capable of sin.

In his book *Evil and the God of Love* (London, 1977), John Hick argues that at least two major responses to this question may be identified in the Christian tradition. One is traceable to Augustine and constitutes the historically dominant line of thinking about the problem. (A similar view, for example, is taken by Thomas Aquinas and many other Catholic theologians.) It begins by explaining evil in creation not as a substantial reality in itself (as the Manichaeans had contended) but as an aspect of nonbeing. Thus, evil does not stem from God but represents the unavoidable and nonculpable absence of his goodness or presence in mere “created” things (the doctrine of evil as a *privatio boni*). Why God should have created free human beings is explained aesthetically in terms of the desirability of his creating a graded hierarchy of being. Once created and given every inducement for obedience, however, human beings nevertheless inexplicably turned away from God toward nonbeing. As a result, they have been justly punished, and the suffering that results (within a retributive theory of punishment) is fitting, as is the eternal damnation of those not rescued by God’s grace. Indeed, the whole outcome is sometimes justified by Augustine in terms of its overall moral balance and aesthetic perfection.

Contrasted with this view is a position that Hick associates with Irenaeus (c. 130–202) but that also has resonance in the writings of Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834) and F. R. Tennant (1866–1957). It, too, traces suffering to the abuse of freedom. But its explanation of the place of both freedom and transgression in the divine plan is quite different from that of the Augustinian tradition. Here the Fall is fully within God’s intention. God has knowingly created imperfect beings who are distanced from the divine splendor and destined to fall, but he is justified in doing this because he has the moral purpose of affording these beings the opportunity for growth and free development so that they may establish a mature personal relationship with him. In this view, the world is a “vale of soul making” and it is possible to apply to the Fall the words of the Easter liturgy: “O felix Culpa quae talem ac tantum meruit habere redemptorem” (“O fortunate crime, which merited such and so great a redeemer!”). A further implication of the Irenaean theodicy, in Hick’s view, is that it casts doubt on older retributive theories of punishment that may justify the consignment of some persons to eternal suffering in hell. The Irenaean theodicy suggests a more generous “universalist” eschatology, which sees all who have lived as eventually becoming “children of God.”

Hick himself expresses a strong preference for this view. While not all contemporary Christian thinkers share this preference, it is reasonable to say that there exists among contemporary Christian theologians a predilection to stress God's moral purpose in creating free beings and to see God himself as personally involved in the venture and risk of human freedom.

Islam. In his book *The House of Islam* (1975), Kenneth Cragg observes that because of its emphasis on God's transcendence, Islam "does not find a theodicy necessary either for its theology or its worship" (p. 16). With one or two important qualifications, this is a reasonably accurate assessment of the state of theodicy in a tradition that insists on surrender to the divine will (one meaning of *islām*) and finds it blasphemous to hold that God is accountable to human moral judgments. Nevertheless, while theodicy has not been a major preoccupation of Muslims, there are, especially in the earliest texts, implicit efforts to understand the sources of suffering and why God might allow it to exist.

The Qurʾān. We know that one of the most persistent explanations and justifications of human suffering traces that suffering to free creatures' abuse of their freedom. At first sight, this free-will theodicy seems to have little footing in the Qurʾān because of its repeated emphasis on God's sovereignty and his absolute control over human behavior. In *sūrah* 6:125, for example, we read:

> Whomsoever God desires to guide, He expands his breast to Islam; whomsoever he desires to lead astray, He makes his breast narrow, tight. . . .

Or again, in 61:5:

> When they swerved, God caused their hearts to swerve; and God guides never the people of the ungodly.

Although passages like these shape the later emphasis on predestination in Islamic thought, they may not have this meaning in the Qurʾān. For one thing, these utterances are frequently used to explain the recalcitrance of Muḥammad's opponents, and thus are more properly understood as affirmations of God's ultimate control of the wicked than as philosophical disquisitions on freedom. In addition, these passages are offset by many others in which a substantial measure of human freedom, initiative, and accountability is assumed. "He leads none astray save the ungodly," says surah 2:24, while *sūrah* 4:80 makes what seems to be an explicit statement of the free-will theodicy:

> Whatever good visits thee, it is of God; whatever evil visits thee is of thyself.

In addition, the Qurʾān displays two other themes associated with the free-will theodicy. One is a view of suffering as a test of righteousness. More than once the question is asked, "Do the people reckon that they will be left to say 'We believe,' and will not be tried?" (29:1; 3:135; cf. 14:6; 2:46). Because such testing can sometimes lead to martyrdom and death, the Qurʾān also supports a vivid eschatological expectation. Those who withstand the test shall have their reward. All human deeds are said to be recorded in books kept by the angels. These will be opened following the general resurrection on the day of judgment *(yawm al-dīn).* Those whose record is wanting shall descend to the Fire, while the righteous shall dwell in the Garden *(al-jannah)* where their bliss is depicted in spiritual as well as vividly material terms (surah 9:74; 75:23; 52:24; 56:17f.; 76:11–21).

Later developments. If the Qurʾān's perspective on suffering and its implicit theodicy display substantial similarity to some familiar positions in the Hebrew Bible and New Testament, subsequent Islamic thought strikes off on a path of its own. From the eighth century CE onward, the free-will position becomes involved in a series of bitter disputes between the Muʿtazilī school of "rationalists," or "humanists," and more orthodox defenders of God's sovereignty (including his role as sole creator of human acts). Entangled in extraneous political conflicts, this debate continued for several centuries, until the victory of the orthodox position through the work of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī (d. 935 CE) and others. What emerged was an extreme predestinarian position, according to which not only suffering or blessedness but the acts and volitions that lead to them are totally in the hands of God. Al-Ashʿarī himself tried to secure some limited room for human responsibility through a doctrine of "acquisition," according to which acts proceed from God but attach themselves to the will of the individual. Nevertheless, this teaching remains overwhelmingly deterministic. An oft-quoted tale presenting an imaginary conversation in heaven between God, an adult, and a child captures the resulting orthodox view. The child asks God, "Why did you give that man a higher place than myself?" God replies, "He has done many good works." The child then asks, "Why did you let me die so young that I was prevented from doing good?" God responds, "I knew that you would grow up to be a sinner; therefore, it was better that you should die a child." At that instant a cry arises from all those condemned to the depths of hell, "Why, O Lord! did you not let us die before we became sinners."

In the context of such determinism, all responsibility for good and evil devolves upon God himself. Lest it be thought, however, that God may legitimately be accused of injustice, Islamic orthodoxy hastens to add that in his sovereignty, God may not be subjected to human moral judgment. God's command is itself the defining feature of right, and what God wills can never be morally impugned. The great medieval theologian Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) affirms that "there is no analogy between his justice and the justice of creatures. . . . He never encounters any right in another besides himself so that his dealing with it might be a doing of any wrong."

This emphasis on God's omnipotence does not mean that Muslims (any more than Calvinists) view God as a capricious despot. On the contrary, their constant affirmation is that God is "merciful and compassionate." Yet in the encounter with suffering, a human's response must not be to complain, to question, or even to try to defend God. Hence, for Islamic orthodoxy at least, theodicy remains an undeveloped dimension of the religious life. Its place is taken by the sentiment conveyed by the Qurʾānic formula "Ḥasbunā Allāh" ("God is sufficient unto us").

Hinduism and Buddhism. It would ordinarily not be advisable to lump together any treatment of such complex traditions as Hinduism and Buddhism. But where the issue of theodicy is concerned, this approach has much to recommend it since it emphasizes the fact, already mentioned, that both traditions share a common perspective on suffering. This is the view that suffering derives from the operation of the automatic law of moral retribution known as *karman* working in conjunction with a process of reincarnation. In his *Sociology of Religion* (Boston, 1963), Max Weber characterized *karman* as "the most radical solution of the problem of theodicy" (p. 147), but this reflects Weber's own broader use of the term *theodicy* to cover any explanation of suffering. In fact, because *karman* traces suffering to one's own thoughts and deeds, and because it denies the gods any involvement in or control over the process of suffering, it is not a theodicy in our sense at all. Rather, it is a fundamental dissolution of the theodicy problem as we encounter it in ethical monotheism.

How decisive a resolution of the problem of suffering are the combined teachings of *karman* and reincarnation may be illustrated by a famous tale concerning the assassination of Mahāmoggallāna, a respected disciple of the Buddha. When the Buddha was asked to explain Moggallāna's brutal death, he replied that, while undeserved in terms of his present life, it was altogether suited to his conduct in a previous existence. In that life, said the Buddha, Moggallāna had been guilty of cruelly killing his elderly parents. (This tale is reprinted in Henry Clarke Warren's *Buddhism in Translation,* New York, 1963, pp. 221–226.) The implication of this tale is that in a world ruled by *karman* there is no such thing as "innocent suffering." All suffering (even animal suffering) is deserved. We have seen that the free-will theodicy has sometimes tended toward this same conclusion, but in all the Western traditions where this theodicy has been espoused, there have always been voices affirming the reality of innocent suffering. In Hinduism and Buddhism, however, these voices have been silenced by a drive toward the total and lucid explanation of worldly suffering afforded by *karman.*

A further implication of this teaching is that the gods may be neither blamed nor appealed to when suffering occurs. In Buddhism, belief in *karman* helps explain the subordinate place of God or the gods in the schema of salvation. Not only may divinity be attained by any righteous individual, but the gods themselves, through sins that create bad *karman,* may plunge from their lofty state. As a result, it makes no sense to look to the gods for release from suffering, since they are as subject to suffering as anyone else. Nor can they be held responsible for what suffering occurs.

Hinduism appears somewhat less certain about these conclusions. In the earlier Vedic texts, the gods are sometimes presented as powerful, righteous figures who reward and punish human beings and to whose compassion one may appeal. Varuṇa, in particular, bears many of the marks of a supreme deity, and it is possible to see here an implicit free-will theodicy with human suffering traced to transgression of God's righteous law. Nevertheless, these lines of thought are not developed in later Hindu thinking, and in the post-Vedic period, when *karman* moves to the fore, even the gods are subordinated to it. According to one tradition of Hindu mythology, for example, the god Indra slays a wicked brahman, but, in so doing, he becomes subject to the moral penalty for brahmanicide. In an effort to free himself of this burden, Indra ends by inflicting suffering on human beings. Thus, even the goodness of the gods is compromised as they find themselves powerless before the operation of this moral law of cause and effect. It is true that in popular and mythological traditions the gods are frequently seen as able to free themselves from the effects of *karman.* They are also viewed as able to benefit their devotees. But what power they have in this regard does not usually extend, within the world of *karman,* to helping human beings escape automatic punishment for serious sin.

Neither can the gods be held responsible in these traditions for the shape of reality. Buddhism explicitly denies the gods any role in creation. The universe is conceived of as an ongoing, eternal, and cyclical process of becoming, and only an error on the part of the first-born god Brahma allows him to think himself its creator. Hinduism gives a more active role to the gods in this cyclic process of evolution and devolution. The world proceeds from Viṣṇu and is actively brought forth by Brahmā. But this process is not understood in moral terms. Instead, creation is a process whereby every potentiality within the great God is allowed to manifest itself in the world of differentiation. This means that everything in creation, blessings and suffering, the gods and the demons, all good and all evil, represent the working out of the divine plenitude. If creation is conceived in anthropomorphic terms at all, it is not a morally intentioned act for which God is accountable but an expression of the deity's spontaneous creativity or play *(līlā).*

There is, therefore, in neither of these traditions any question of morally justifying the gods, and there is no real theodicy. Instead, the paramount religious questions become how (in popular Hinduism especially) one can procure some favor from the gods, how one can produce good *karman,* and how, finally, one can altogether escape *saṃsāra,* the world of karmicly determined becoming. This latter question becomes particularly important when it is realized that within *saṃsāra* suffering is virtually inescapable. While deeds that generate good *karman* may lead to prosperity or bliss in some future life, it is almost certain that such a state will not endure. Because every transgression brings its penalty, and because those who are spiritually or materially well placed are more likely to transgress, existence in *saṃsāra* is an endless shuttle between momentary respite and prolonged misery.

We need not review in detail here the various Hindu and Buddhist answers to the question of how one may escape *saṃsāra.* These answers constitute the core teachings of their traditions. They range from Hinduism's stress on the profound recognition that one's soul *(ātman)* is identical with Being-itself *(brahman),* and hence basically unaffected by the flux of becoming, to Buddhism's opposing insistence that there is no eternal soul capable of being affected by *saṃsāra* (the doctrine of *anātman*). Despite the enormous differences between these teachings, they have much in common: suffering is viewed as endemic to the world process, and the goal is extrication from this process. Suffering is not a reason for praising or blaming God. The legacy of *karman* thus colors Indian thought from beginning to end, from its conception of the problem of suffering to that problem's resolution. Within this intellectual context, theodicy in its classic sense finds little room for development.

CONCLUSION. Along with the corrosive effect of modern scientific knowledge, the problem of innocent suffering poses one of the greatest challenges to ethical monotheism in our day. In the wake of the mass suffering of this epoch, some have rejected such monotheism, agreeing with the remark by Stendahl that "the only excuse for God is that he does not exist." Others have been drawn to various dissolutions of the theodicy problem, ranging from the Eastern stress on *karman* to an extreme fideism that abandons the insistence on God's justice.

Before rejecting ethical monotheism or the theodicies it has stimulated, however, it is worth keeping in mind that both spring from a profound moral intentionality. Ethical monotheism expresses the conviction that a supreme power guides reality and that this power is characterized by righteousness and love. Theodicy is the effort to sustain this conviction in the face of innocent suffering. Theodicy, therefore, is often less an effort to provide an account of the immediate facts of experience than an expression of hope and confidence that despite worldly reverses or human resistance, goodness and righteousness will triumph. Theodicy may not violate the requirements of logic, nor may it ignore the experienced reality of suffering. Theodicy's deepest impulse, however, is not to report the bitter facts of life but to overcome and transform them.

This essentially moral motivation should be kept in mind as we evaluate theodicies and their alternatives. Various dissolutions of the theodicy problem, from denials of God's power or justice to denials of the reality of suffering, may seem intellectually satisfying, but they may have moral implications we hesitate to accept. Theodicies, too, are subject to a moral test. If some older theodicies, such as reliance on the harsh idea of original sin, are no longer widely held, this may reflect their moral inadequacy. Conversely, theodicies that still attract attention are those that draw upon and deepen our moral self-understanding. The idea that God is committed to the perilous enterprise of creating free, mature human beings exemplifies this approach. This theodicy draws on certain aspects of our deepest moral experience—for example, the experienced relationship between parents and children—and uses these to illuminate the relationship between God and his creatures. Unless this ultimate moral basis and intention is kept in mind, neither theodicy's purpose nor its persistence will be well understood.

SEE ALSO Afterlife; Evil; Free Will and Predestination; Holocaust, The, article on Jewish Theological Responses; Karman; Līlā; Saṃsāra; Suffering.

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Some of the most important classic discussions of this problem include Augustine's treatment of the issue in his *Confessions,* bk. 7, chaps. 3–5 and 12–16, in his *Enchridion,* chaps. 3–5, and in *The City of God,* bk. 11, chaps. 16–18, and bk. 12, chaps. 1–9. Thomas Aquinas has a very similar discussion in his *Summa theologiae,* first part, questions 47–49, as does John Calvin in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* bk. 1, chaps. 1–5 and 14–18, bk. 2, chaps. 1–5, and bk. 3, chaps. 21–25. The great medieval Jewish philosopher Mosheh ben Maimon (Maimonides) also advances a theodicy in his *Guide of the Perplexed,* pt. 3, chaps. 11 and 12, which relies heavily on the connection between wrongdoing and suffering.

Modern philosophical discussion of theodicy has its start with Leibniz's *Essais de théodicée sur la bonté de Dieu, la liberté de l'homme, et l'origine du mal* (1710), translated by E. M. Huggard as *Theodicy: Essays on the Goodness of God, the Freedom of Man, and the Origin of Evil* (London, 1952). On the other side, penetrating criticisms of theism and theodicy are offered by David Hume in his *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* (1779) and by John Stuart Mill in his *Three Essays on Religion* (1874).

In this century, debate in this area has been especially vigorous. Important theological discussions include Nels Ferré's *Evil and the Christian Faith* (New York, 1947), Austin Farrer's *Love Almighty and Ills Unlimited* (Garden City, N. Y., 1961), and the works by Hick, Schilling, and Griffin mentioned above. A critique of these and other efforts at theodicy is offered by Edward H. Madden and Peter H. Hare in their *Evil and the Concept of God* (Springfield, Ill., 1968).

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A sign of how much the problem of theodicy is a Western concern is that no comparable body of literature exists on the theodicy problem in Islam, Hinduism, or Buddhism. Nevertheless, there are some discussions worth noting. Max Weber's treatment of theodicy in his *Religionssoziologie* (Tübingen, 1922) is a pioneering effort to look at the problem of suffering and theodicy in a comparative context. This essay is translated as "Theodicy, Salvation, and Rebirth" in Weber's *Sociology of Religion,* translated by Ephraim Fischoff (Boston, 1963). Weber's view is critically examined and developed by Gananath Obeyesekere in his article "Theodicy, Sin, and Salvation in a Sociology of Buddhism," in *Dialectic in Practical Religion,* edited by E. R. Leach (Cambridge, 1968).

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Unfortunately, there is less explicit discussion of this issue in Islamic writings or in writings about Islam, and what sources do exist are largely in Arabic. The best available review of this issue is the doctoral dissertation of Eric Lynn Ormsby, *An Islamic Version of Theodicy: The Dispute over Al-Ghazālī's "Best of All Possible Worlds"* (Princeton University, 1981). Brief mentions of this problem may also be found in Kenneth Cragg's *The House of Islam,* 2d ed. (Encino, Calif., 1975) and W. Montgomery Watt's *What Is Islam* (London, 1968). Watt's *Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam* (London, 1948) is an influential discussion of the deterministic themes that have tended to minimize the presence of theodicy in this tradition. On the other side of the issue, Jane I. Smith and Yvonne Haddad's *The Islamic Understanding of Death and Resurrection* (Albany, N. Y., 1981) provides a useful review of the themes of accountability and recompense that form an implicit theodicy in this tradition.

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RONALD M. GREEN (1987)
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THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA (350–428), Christian biblical exegete and theologian. Theodore was born in Antioch about the same time as John Chrysostom, who became his friend and fellow student. Since Theodore belonged to the noble class, he attended courses given by the most renowned professor of rhetoric at that time, Libanius. He was later admitted to the Asketerion, the famous school near Antioch, of Diodore (later bishop of Tarsus) and Karterios. Even after his ordination as bishop of Mopsuestia, in Cilicia, he occasionally lectured at the school, where his reputation as a teacher attracted such distinguished pupils as Rufinus, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and Nestorius. His work in uprooting the remnants of polytheism in his province was very successful.

Theodore wrote widely on various subjects, but only a part of his literary production has been preserved. A pioneer in biblical exegesis, he basically followed the hermeneutic principles of his teacher Diodore, although he diverged from them in some important points. He showed greater confidence in his personal understanding than in the authority of traditional hermeneutics, with the result that he rejected the canonicity of many books of scripture.

Only four of his commentaries have been preserved: *On the Twelve Prophets,* parts of *On the Psalms, On John,* and *On the Epistles of Paul.* In all of these he uses critical, philological, and historical methods and rejects the Alexandrian method of allegorical interpretation. Also of great importance are his *Catechetical Homilies,* which were discovered in a Syriac translation.

As an indefatigable combatant against the heresies of his time, Theodore's attention was particularly directed toward Apollinaris of Laodicea. Theodore's dogmatic fragments that have been preserved, especially *On the Incarnation,* are directed against him. Theodore's extreme position on the two natures of Christ is largely a response to Apollinaris's teaching about the mutilation of Christ's human nature. Following the Antiochene line of thought, which combined the spiritual element with the material in such a way that they are not confused, Theodore admitted that the two natures of Christ are perfect and also remain two. His only concession on this subject was to conceive a single person only in reference to the union of the two natures; in this case the being of the person is not in essence, but in God's will, and the union is not natural but moral. Accordingly, Mary, the mother of Christ, is only nominally *theotokos,* mother of God.

As an Antiochene, Theodore stressed the great importance of the human contribution to salvation, which he developed beyond the position of the Antiochene school. He ascribed all human achievements to free will, thus destroying the meaning and the importance of original sin. He also attributed free will to Jesus Christ, who, according to this understanding, is subject to sin, believing thereby that Christ's perfection would be worthy of greater estimation. In this area he was a forerunner and probably a teacher of Pelagius.

Because of these doctrines, and especially because of his position as a forerunner of Nestorianism, Theodore was the posthumous victim of strong polemics. Some of his writings together with his doctrine on the incarnation were condemned by Justinian and by the Second Council of Constantinople (533).

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PANAGIOTIS C. CHRISTOU (1987)

THEODORE OF STUDIOS (759–826), theologian and monastic reformer of the Byzantine church. Born to an aristocratic family in Constantinople, Theodore received an excellent secular and religious education under the close supervision of his mother, Theoktiste, and his mother's brother, the abbot Platon.

Eighth-century Byzantine society was greatly disturbed by the Iconoclastic Controversy. Theodore's family had sided with the Iconophiles, those who favored the use of icons in Christian worship. His uncle Platon was a leader against the Iconoclasts, and Theodore followed in his footsteps, as a result of which he suffered persecution and was sent into exile three times.

When the persecution of the Iconophiles ceased under Emperor Leo IV, many monks, including Platon, returned to Constantinople. Under his influence, Theodore's family moved in 780 to Bithynia, where they established a monastic community on their estate of Fotinou, not far from the village of Sakkoudion. Here Theodore was ordained a priest in 787 or 788 and his monastic career began. In 794 Platon resigned as abbot in Theodore's favor. When Theodore became abbot, he reorganized the monastery according to the rule of Basil of Caesarea (c. 329–379), and the Sakkoudion community prospered for a while with a hundred monks. Because of Saracen raids in Bithynia, Theodore and most of his community were allowed by the patriarch in 798 or 799 to move to the monastery of Studios in Constantinople.

Under Theodore's leadership, the Studios monastery underwent a period of renaissance and exerted great influence on Byzantine society. It had more than seven hundred monks and perhaps as many as a thousand. Theodore became one of the most powerful men in Constantinople and found himself in conflict with both emperors and patriarchs. He tried to integrate monasticism and society and engage monks not only in spiritual matters but in social welfare activity, in hospitals, in *xenones* (hospices), and in work among the needy.

Theodore was a prolific author of doctrinal, apologetic, canonical, and ascetic theology. He also wrote poetry, homilies, and letters. His doctrinal and apologetic works defend the use of icons as part of the christological teachings of the church and stress that the event of the Incarnation fully justifies the use of iconography. His canonical and ascetic works aimed at the improvement of monasticism's image and discipline. His poetry includes many church hymns and liturgical services which remain in use, as well as iambic epigrams for different nonreligious occasions. His homilies delivered on various feast days and ecclesiastical occasions display style and logic. Theodore's letters, addressed to private persons, monks, emperors, other state dignitaries, popes, and patriarchs, are an important biographical source. More than 550 of them survive.

Theodore's significance is twofold. First, his writings constitute a mirror of eighth- and early ninth-century Byzantium. Second, his life reveals agonistic efforts to free the church from imperial influence. In this he was more concerned with an orderly and moral society than with mystical theology, more attuned to the legalisms characteristic of Roman theology than to the spiritual aspirations of the Christian East.

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DEMETRIOS J. CONSTANTELOS (1987)
Revised Bibliography

THEODORET OF CYRRHUS (c. 393–c. 458), bishop, theologian, and church historian. Theodoret was born in Antioch to wealthy Christian parents. From early childhood he devoted himself to learning and study. After the death of his parents, he entered the monastery at Apamea. In 423, against his will, he was elected bishop of Cyrrhus, east of Antioch. The young, successful bishop was imbued with an apostolic zeal for christianization. In an attempt to show the superiority of Christianity, he wrote at this time *The Healing of the Greek Passions*, which was directed toward pagan intellectuals.

As an Antiochene, at the outbreak of the Nestorian dispute, Theodoret sided with Nestorius (who accepted two distinct natures in Christ) and refused to condemn him at the Council of Ephesus (431). Theodoret's *Pentalagion* and *A Refutation of Twelve Chapters of Cyril*, neither of which is fully extant, reflect his criticisms of Cyril of Alexandria's attack on Nestorius. Theodoret contributed decisively to the compromise of 443 and probably wrote the declaration of faith of that union, but the peace move did not last long. Theodoret wrote his *Eranistes* in 447 in opposition to Eutyches (who taught one nature in Christ). The Robber Synod of 449, which affirmed Eutyches' position, deposed Theodoret, who retreated from his see until the new rulers, Marcian and Pulcheria, restored him in 450.

Theodoret's condemnation of Nestorianism before the Council of Chalcedon (451) prompted the council to acknowledge him as orthodox. Theodoret, like the council, rejected both those who sought to distinguish the existence of two persons in Christ and those who maintained, as Eutyches did, that the divinity and humanity of Christ became one nature (see Theodoret's *Epistle* 119). Theodoret's activities after 451 are unknown, and it is likely that he died around 458. The Second Council of Constantinople (553), convened to settle the dispute that became known as the Three Chapters Controversy, condemned Theodoret's writings against Cyril, but Theodoret himself was not condemned as a heretic.

Theodoret's literary output covers important areas of the life and activity of the church. In addition to the works already mentioned, Theodoret wrote the apologetic *On Providence* (c. 436), ten discourses delivered at Antioch, and *On Chrysostom* (incomplete). Along with the several dogmatic writings referred to above, *On the Holy and Undivided Trinity* and *On the Incarnation of the Lord*—which have been falsely attributed to Cyril of Alexandria—were actually composed by Theodoret, as were *An Exposition of the True Faith* and *Questions and Answers for the Orthodox*, both wrongly attributed to Justin Martyr. *Libellus against Nestorius* is falsely attributed to Theodoret.

Along with Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret is regarded as the principal exegete of the theological school of Antioch and as one of the most important interpreters of scripture. His *Ecclesiastical History* (449–450) continues Eusebius's work of the same title and covers the period from 323 to 428. *History of Divine Love* (or *Ascetic Citizenship*) presents the lives of male and female ascetics in Syria. *Summary of Heretical Slander* (c. 453) presents in its first four discourses all the heresies up to the time of Eutyches, and, in the second part, the exceptional *Summary of Divine Dogmas.* Some 230 letters written by Theodoret are preserved, and they are an important source of the history and dogma of Christianity in the fifth century.

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THEODORE ZISSIS (1987)
Translated from Greek by Philip M. McGhee

THEODOSIUS (c. 347–395), Roman emperor (379–395). In the worst disaster since the days of Hannibal the Roman army and the emperor Valens were wiped out near Hadrianopolis by the Goths in August 378. The senior surviving emperor, the young Gratian, summoned from his

Spanish homeland a certain Theodosius who was elevated as emperor in January 379 at the age of 33. His first task was to come to terms with the barbarian invaders. He allowed them to settle and used them as federated troops. He dealt with the other military threat, Persia, by establishing a policy of coexistence that yielded a century of peace.

Since religious stability was accepted as the architectonic element through which the empire was held together, it occupied Theodosius's continuous attention. It is not easy to tell exactly how much of subsequent imperial policy was initiated by the emperor himself. It may be supposed that his influence on the laws was direct and strong; on the councils and church affairs generally it was indirect and deeply affected by practical politics as well as by those around him. These included women of the household, episcopal politicians, and court officials.

In 380 Theodosius was baptized (possibly in connection with a serious illness), despite the fact that people of his class ordinarily postponed baptism until they were beyond the occasions for sin inherent in public office. Accordingly, he was the first emperor brought up in a Christian family who was a fully initiated and believing Christian for the greatest part of a long reign. As a full member of the church, it was his duty to assist in church affairs. Further, the theory was beginning to take shape of the pious Christian monarch who, as *persona* ("personification") of the laity and of the body politic, prepared and made possible the oblation offered by the priests; he also, in some sense, represented the mind and heart of the body of Christ. (This idea was taken over not only by the Byzantine monarchies but may be detected in monarchical thinking in France, Britain, and Russia.)

In February 380, possibly even before his baptism, Theodosius issued an edict (Theodosian Code 16.1.2) commanding all people to walk in the way of the religion given by Peter to the Romans, and more recently exemplified by Damasus of Rome (d. 384) and Peter of Alexandria (d. 381). Those who hold the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit to be one godhead in equal majesty are catholic Christians. Others are heretics who will be struck by the divine vengeance as well as by the imperial action undertaken according to heaven's arbitration. In January 381 Theodosius followed this up with a law stating that everywhere the name of the one supreme God was to be celebrated and the Nicene faith observed (16.5.6). A person of Nicene faith and a true catholic is one who confesses the omnipotent God, and Christ his son, God under one name, and who does not violate the Holy Spirit by denial. The law quotes parts of the creed promulgated by the Council of Nicaea (325) and then interprets it in accordance with the teachings of the Cappadocian fathers, one of whom, Gregory of Nazianzus, had been ratified in his position as bishop of Constantinople by Theodosius.

In May 381 a council of 150 bishops met at Constantinople. (A sister council met at Aquileia in Italy, but it is not possible to determine the exact interrelationship of the two.) The creed associated with Constantinople took up and reaffirmed the teaching of the Council of Nicaea with modifications in keeping with the teachings of Athanasius and other Fathers, who had upheld the Nicene faith during a half century of civil war inside the church. Without the *filioque* clause (which says that the Holy Spirit proceeds "also from the Son" and is a later Western addition), it remains one of the great central affirmations of faith acceptable to most Christians. The canons of the council give precedence to Rome as the see of Peter but insist that Constantinople, as the new Rome, must have appropriate standing. No doubt the decisions were made by the council itself, but the emperor and his ecclesiastical policymakers had largely determined who was to be present and what issues were on the agenda.

The beliefs adumbrated by the laws and the council had immediate implications. Trinitarian heretics, like the various followers of Arius, were cajoled and coerced. People who in the minds of the legislators insulted God by apostatizing from Christianity or following the teachings of Mani were fiercely attacked. A mere decade was to pass before pagans (a contemporary word designating followers of the old Greco-Roman ways of worship) also became the object of this zeal for conformity. During this reign the independent status of the Jews was maintained despite mob and demagogic attacks, but later they, too, met the Theodosian logic.

During these years of policy-making, Theodosius had made Constantinople the definitive capital of his empire and, since the murder in 383 of Gratian, his senior colleague, had permitted Maximus, a staunch Nicene Christian, to govern the far western end of the empire. Italy was nominally under the rule of the young Valentinian II, whose powerful mother, Justina, was friendly to the Arians and earned the title "Jezebel" from Ambrose. In 387, Maximus invaded Italy and Justina's family fled to Thessalonica. Theodosius, whose wife Flaccilla had died in 385, visited them there and married the daughter Galla, thereby absorbing the claims of the dynasty of Valentinian. Obviously, much else became subsumed in his ambition to found a lasting dynasty with control of the whole Roman world. In an easy victory, he defeated Maximus and sent his pagan barbarian general Arbogast over the Alps to govern the far west on behalf of Valentinian.

Late 388 found Theodosius in Italy, the last person to rule de facto from the Atlantic to the Euphrates. It was not long before he came into collision with Ambrose, the bishop of Milan. At Callinicum, on the Persian border, a Christian mob had destroyed a synagogue, and Theodosius, as became a Roman magistrate, ordered the bishop to rebuild it. Ambrose forced the emperor to rescind the order. Then, in the latter part of 390, Ambrose imposed excommunication and public penance on the emperor for ordering a blood bath at Thessalonica that had resulted in the deaths of ten to fifteen thousand people. During mass on Christmas Day 390, the emperor was reconciled.

These events had a tremendous effect on the emperor. He seems to have determined, as his laws express, to cooperate with zealous Christian leaders to prevent further insult to heaven by barring the pagan cults. Until now, legislation had not worsened the pagan position, and the commando raids by Christian monks and mobs had been kept in some check. In 391 and 392, Theodosius caused surviving pagan sacrifices at Alexandria and Rome to cease and proscribed domestic cults (16.10.10–11). The world-renowned Temple of Serapis at Alexandria was destroyed by monks led on by the local bishop, while Roman officials stood by. Riots by the Christian mobs, fueled by the promise of spoils, spread like wildfire. Alarmed, the pagan aristocrats in the west looked for allies.

In May 392 Valentinian II died mysteriously. Arbogast elevated a certain Eugenius to the position of emperor and in 393 invaded Italy. The western pagans offered their help and were enthusiastically received. The struggle was likened by both sides to that of Jupiter and Hercules versus Christ. As Theodosius tried to enter Italy through the valley of the Frigidus River in September 394 his enemies gave battle. He was facing defeat when the bora, a violent Adriatic wind, sprang up from behind him. Both sides took this as showing that God was on Theodosius's side. The panic-stricken pagans died at their posts or fled.

At the time of his triumph in January 395, gout and death overtook Theodosius. He was survived by his son Arcadius in the East where the East Roman (Byzantine) Empire lived on until the Turks struck down the last Christian emperor in the gateway of Constantinople in 1453. In the West, his young and feeble son Honorius sat enthroned. The Goths sacked Rome in 410; within the century the Western Empire had collapsed and the medieval papacy had emerged.

Despite his title, Theodosius the Great was a mediocre man who completed the work of Diocletian and Constantine and put together a scheme of survival for the East Roman Empire. Behind its fortifications, Western civilization gained time to take shape. Thanks to the religious policy of Theodosius, his predecessors back to Constantine, and his successors down to his redoubtable granddaughter Pulcheria (399–453), certain features of the Greek, Hellenistic, Roman, African, and ancient Near Eastern heritages that might otherwise have been excluded were decisively imbibed by Christianity. This process created and presented a face of Christianity that for centuries has obscured its innate affinity with the powerless, the underprivileged, and the non-Western, as well as its heritage of detestation of coercion, violence, and triumphalism.

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This reign saw the beginning of the effulgence of intellect, holiness and charity, associated with such names as the Cappadocians, the Bethlehem women and Jerome, the desert Mothers and Fathers, Augustine and Monica, Ambrose, the Priscillianists, Martin of Tours, and the Pelagians. Each has an extensive bibliography that interlinks with that of the Emperor. See also Incontro di studiosi dell'antichità cristiana, *Vescovi e Pastori in Epoca Teodosiana* (Rome, 1996). A good visual aid is also offered in the film "Trials and Triumphs in Rome: Christianity in the 3rd and 4th Centuries," directed by Bob Bee (Princeton, N. J., 1999).

NOEL Q. KING (1987 AND 2005)

THEOLOGY

This entry consists of the following articles:

COMPARATIVE THEOLOGY
CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY

THEOLOGY: COMPARATIVE THEOLOGY

Historically, the term *comparative theology* has been used in a variety of ways. First, it sometimes refers to a subsection of the discipline called "comparative religion" wherein the historian of religions analyzes the "theologies" of different religions. Second, within the discipline variously named "the science of religion," *Religionswissenschaft*, or "history of religions," some scholars have used the term *comparative theology* to indicate one aspect of the discipline. F. Max Müller, for example, in his *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, used the term to refer to that part of the "science of religion" that analyzes "historical" forms of religion, in contrast to *theoretic theology*, which refers to analysis of the philosophical conditions of possibility for any religion. As a second example, in 1871 James Freeman Clarke published a work entitled *Ten Great Religions: An Essay in Comparative Theology*, which concentrated on the history of religious doctrines in different traditions.

PROBLEMS AND POSSIBILITIES. On the whole, contemporary scholars in history of religions or religious studies do not use the term *comparative theology* in Müller's or Clarke's senses, and these earlier usages are therefore now of more historical than current disciplinary interest. In the contemporary scholarly world, the term can be understood in two distinct ways. First, it may continue to refer to a comparative enterprise within the secular study of history of religions in which different "theologies" from different traditions are compared by means of some comparative method developed in the discipline. Usually, however, *comparative theology* refers to a more strictly theological enterprise (sometimes named "world theology" or "global theology"), which ordinarily studies not one tradition alone but two or more, compared on theological grounds. Thus one may find Christian (or Buddhist or Hindu, etc.) comparative theologies in which the theologian's own tradition is critically and theologically related to other traditions. More rarely, comparative theology may be the theological study of two or more religious traditions without a particular theological commitment to any one tradition. In either theological model, the fact of religious pluralism is explicitly addressed, so that every theology in every tradition becomes, in effect, a comparative theology.

In principle, the two main approaches are complementary and mutually illuminating: any comparative enterprise within history of religions (or comparative religion)—that is, a secular or scientific study—will interpret theologies as material to be further analyzed from the perspective of, and by means of, the comparativist criteria of that discipline. Any theological attempt at comparative theology—that is, from within the context of belief—will interpret the results of history of religion's comparisons of various theologies by means of its own strictly theological criteria.

The fact that theology itself is now widely considered one discipline within the multidisciplinary field of religious studies impels contemporary theology, in whatever tradition, to become a comparative theology. More exactly, from a theological point of view, history of religions, in its comparativism, has helped academic theology to recognize a crucial insight: that on strictly theological grounds, the fact of religious pluralism should enter all theological assessment and self-analysis in any tradition at the very beginning of its task. Any contemporary theology that accords theological significance (positive or negative) to the fact of religious pluralism in its examination of a particular tradition functions as a comparative theology, whether it so names itself or not. The history and nature of this new, emerging discipline of comparative theology as theology bears close analysis.

A difficulty with the phrase *comparative theology* is that *theology* may be taken to describe a discipline in Western religions but not necessarily in other traditions. Indeed, the term *theology* has its origins in Greek religious thought. Historically, theology has functioned as a major factor within the religious discourse of Christianity that has been influenced by Hellenistic models—and, to a lesser extent, within that of Islam and Judaism. Any enterprise that is named "comparative theology," therefore, must establish that the very enterprise of theology is not necessarily a Greco-Christian one.

To assure this, two factors need clarification. First, to speak of "theology" is a perhaps inadequate but historically useful way to indicate the more strictly intellectual interpretations of any religious tradition, whether that tradition is theistic or not. Second, to use *theo logia* in the literal sense of "talk or reflection on God or the gods" suggests that even nontheistic traditions (such as some Hindu, Confucian, Taoist, or archaic traditions) may be described as having theologies in the broad sense. Most religious traditions do possess a more strictly intellectual self-understanding.

The term *theology* as used here does not necessarily imply a belief in "God." Indeed, it does not even necessarily imply a belief in the "high gods" of some archaic traditions, nor the multiple gods of the Greeks and Romans, nor the radically monotheistic God of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Whatever the appropriate term used to designate ultimate reality may be, that term is subject to explicitly intellectual reflection (e.g., the term *sacred*, as in the "dialectic of the sacred and the profane" in the great archaic traditions, as analyzed by Mircea Eliade; the term *the holy*, suggested as the more encompassing term, in distinct ways, by Nathan Söderblom and Rudolf Otto; the term *the eternal*, as suggested by Anders Nygren; the term *emptiness*, as used in many Buddhist traditions; or the term *the One*, as in Plotinus; etc.). Insofar as such explicitly intellectual reflection occurs within a religious tradition, one may speak of the presence of a theology in the broad sense (i.e., without necessarily assuming theistic belief). However useful it may be for the purposes of intellectual analysis, the term *theology* should not be allowed to suggest that the tradition in question names ultimate reality as "God"; or that the tradition necessarily considers systematic reflection on ultimate reality important for its religious way. (Indeed, in the case of many Buddhist ways, "systematic" reflection of any kind may be suspect.) "Theology," thus construed, will always be intellectual, but need not be systematic. With these important qualifications, it is nonetheless helpful to speak of "comparative theology" as any explicitly intellectual interpretation of a religious tradition that affords a central place to the fact of religious pluralism in the tradition's self-interpretation.

Among the theological questions addressed by a comparative theology may be the following. (1) How does this religion address the human problem (e.g., suffering, ignorance, sin), and how does that understanding relate to other interpretations of the human situation? (2) What is the way of ultimate transformation (enlightenment, emancipation, salvation, liberation) that this religion offers, and how is it related to other ways? (3) What is the understanding of the nature of ultimate reality (nature, emptiness, the holy, the sacred, the divine, God, the gods) that this religion possesses, and how does this understanding relate to that of other traditions?

Such comparative theological questions may be considered intrinsic to the intellectual self-understanding of any religious tradition or way, and one may thus speak of the implicit or explicit reality of a "comparative theology." More specific proposals will result from particular comparative theological analyses; for example, the suggestions of a radical unity among many religions (Frithjof Schuon, Huston Smith, Henry Corbin), or suggestions that one may have a Christian or Hindu or Buddhist or Jewish or Islamic comparative theology (Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Raimundo Panikkar, Masao Abe, Ananda Coomaraswamy, S. H. Nasr, Franz Rosenzweig, et al.). All these more particular proposals, however, are based on theological conclusions that have followed an individual theologian's comparative assessment of his or her own religious tradition and other traditions. Prior to all such specific theological proposals, however, is the question of the nature of any comparative theology from within any religious tradition.

In general terms, therefore, comparative theology always accords explicit theological attention to religious pluralism, despite radical differences in theological conclusions. In methodological terms, contemporary comparative theology provides an intellectual self-understanding of a particular religious tradition from within the horizon of many religious traditions. It is a hermeneutical and theological discipline that establishes mutually critical correlations between two distinct but related interpretations: on the one hand, the theological interpretation of the principal religious questions given a context of religious pluralism in an emerging global culture; on the other, an interpretation of the responses of a particular religious tradition to that pluralism.

As this general methodological model clarifies, the comparative theologian cannot determine before the analysis itself what ultimate conclusions will occur, for example, that all religious traditions are either finally one or irreversibly diverse, or that a particular tradition must radically change or transform its traditional self-understanding as the result of pluralism. It is clear that to start with an explicit (and usually, but not necessarily, positive) assessment of religious pluralism challenges the position of traditional theology, which argued, implicitly or explicitly, that the fact of religious pluralism (and therefore of a comparative hermeneutical element as intrinsic to the theological task) was of no intrinsic importance for theological interpretation. A contemporary Christian comparative theology, for example, will inevitably be different from a Hindu or Jewish or Islamic or Buddhist comparative theology. But, just as important, each of these emerging comparative theologies will be different from all those traditional theologies which disallowed a comparative hermeneutics within the theological task, either explicitly (through claims to exclusivism) or implicitly (by denying its usefulness). There is as yet no firm consensus on the results of "comparative theology," but it is possible that those engaged in this increasingly important task may come to agree on a model for the general method all comparative theologians employ. The further need, therefore, is to reflect on this method. First, however, it is necessary to review the historical precedents for this emerging discipline.

HISTORY: PREMODERN DEVELOPMENTS. For reasons of clarification and space, this historical survey will be largely confined to Western traditions where strictly theological issues have been especially acute. Westerners should not forget, however, that other traditions (especially those of India) have struggled for a far longer period and with great philosophical sophistication with the question of religious pluralism. (See Surendranath Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, 5 vols., Cambridge, 1922–1955, and Eric J. Sharpe, *Comparative Religion: A History*, London, 1975.)

Monotheistic religions until early modernity. Although the term *comparative theology* is not employed in discussions of the premodern period, comparative elements in traditional Western philosophies and theologies were present, in positive and negative ways, in the premodern period. In the Jewish, Christian, and Islamic traditions, the insistence upon the exclusivity of divine revelation led, on the whole, to a relative lack of interest in analyzing other religions, save for polemical or apologetic purposes. This lack of interest was based (especially in the prophetic trajectories of those religions) on an explicitly and systematically negative assessment of other religions or ways from the viewpoint of scriptural revelation. Attacks on the ancient Canaanite religions by the prophets of Israel in the Hebrew scriptures are the clearest among many examples of this "exclusivist" development. Still, as modern scholarship has shown, the borrowings by ancient Israel from other religious traditions, or those by early Islam from Jews, Christians, and "pagans," suggest a more complex scenario than traditional Jewish, Christian, and Islamic exclusivist theological interpretations suggest. Moreover, there are elements (especially in the wisdom tradition) that suggest more positive appraisals of other religious traditions (e.g., the covenant with Noah, the *Book of Ecclesiastes*, universalist tendencies in the New Testament, as in *1 Timothy* 3–5). Other exceptions are found in the Logos tradition of Philo Judaeus in Judaism and the distinct but related Logos traditions of three Christian theologies (Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Origen). The esoteric and gnostic strands in all three monotheistic traditions challenged orthodox biblical theologies through more syncretic theologies, which were sometimes based on a belief in an original (and shared) revelation. The use of ancient Greek and Roman philosophical sources in the theologies of all these traditions also provides some partial exceptions to exclusivist emphases.

Yet even the use of Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics, and the Neoplatonists in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic theologies was strongly conditioned by the framework of the received traditions, especially traditional theological interpretations of the subsidiary position of philosophical reason to revelation (Ibn Sīnā, Maimonides, Thomas Aquinas). Inevitably, the use of the "pagan" philosophies of ancient Greece in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic theological self-understanding generated some comparativist interests in all these monotheistic theologies—but these were usually colored by traditional apologetic and polemical concerns. The greatest exception to this general rule may be found among Islamic thinkers, especially al-Sharastānī (d. 1153), whose treatise *The Book of Sects and Creeds* provides a comparative theological analysis from an Islamic perspective of most of the major religions of the then-contemporary world. Most Christian theologies, for example, did not agree with Tertullian's implied negative response to his famous rhetorical question, "What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?"

The most common understanding on the part of Christian theology was that the use of philosophical resources did not necessitate any assessment of the religions to which these "pagan" philosophers may have held. For example, the use of Middle Platonism and Neoplatonism by Christian theologians emerged at those locations (e.g., Alexandria) where the relationship of Neoplatonism to the mystery religions and occult practices was weakest in the ancient world. Hence theologians like Origen and Clement could appeal to Middle Platonic philosophy without comparativist analyses of the explicitly cultic practices sometimes associated with Middle Platonism and Neoplatonism. The dominant comparative question for Christian theology (and, in their distinct but related ways, for Jewish and Islamic theologies) was the relationship of theology to philosophy, of revelation to reason. There was little explicit theological interest in comparativist religious analyses—again save for the traditional apologetic and polemical treatises on the "pagans."

Ancient Greece and Rome. Provided that a particular religion did not interfere with civic order, the ancient Greeks and especially the Romans were generally more tolerant of religious differences than were the monotheistic religions. This tolerance, in certain somewhat exceptional circumstances, gave rise to some interest in the fact of religious diversity. Among the classical Greeks, the major writer with an interest in comparativism is undoubtedly the great historian Herodotos. His work demonstrates remarkable concern with non-Greek religions (especially the religions of the Egyptians, Persians, and Babylonians), as well as with the religious diversity within the Greek world itself. As a "comparativist," his "syncretist" sympathies are equally clear. His most notable successor in these interests (especially as regards Egyptian religion) is Plutarch.

The Stoics were the first in the West to attempt to establish the existence of common beliefs within the diversity of beliefs in the ancient world. They did so through their invention of the term *religio naturalis* ("natural religion"). The most famous work of what might be called comparative theology in the ancient world remains Cicero's famous dialogue *De natura deorum,* in which the theologies and philosophies of the Stoics, Epicureans, and Academics are discussed. (Cicero's great dialogues encouraged comparativist interest in later ages as well—witness David Hume's use of him as a model for his *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion.*) The Stoics also developed allegorical methods of interpreting the ancient myths and gods (e.g., Zeus interpreted as the sky, Demeter as the earth). These methods were later employed by some Jewish (e.g., Philo) and many Christian theologians as an implicitly comparativist, hermeneutic method of scriptural interpretation. Comparativist interests may also be noted in the writings of Varro and comparative elements are evident in texts with other major interests—for example, Strabo's *Geography* and Tacitus's *Germania.* In the medieval period, the outstanding figure with comparativist interests was the Christian philosopher-theologian Nicholas of Cusa.

Early Western modernity. The Renaissance, of course, occasioned new interest in the works of antiquity, including the classical mythologies. The most remarkable expression of this interest can be found in the speculations on the existence of an original revelation in all religions, in the texts of the Christian thinkers Marsilio Ficino, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Giordano Bruno, and others. These men not only revived the ancient myths for Christian theological purposes but also argued for the "esoteric tradition" as the common stream present in all the known religions of both antiquity and the modern world.

The age of Western exploration in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries stimulated new interest not only in the religions of antiquity but also in the newly observed religions of the Americas and those of Asia. The most remarkable example of an exercise in "comparative theology" during this period remains the work of a Jesuit missionary to China, Matteo Ricci, whose positive assessment, on Christian theological grounds, of Confucianism is unique. Indeed, Ricci's letters and reports, although unsuccessful with authorities at Rome, were, in the eighteenth century, deeply influential upon the interest in Chinese religion among such thinkers as Leibniz, Voltaire, Christian Wolff, and Goethe. The comparative theological interests of the Enlightenment were characteristically addressed to classical Confucianism (somewhat bizarrely interpreted as eighteenth-century "natural religion"), rarely to Daoism or Chinese Buddhism.

With the advent of historico-critical methods, the comparative theological interests of Western thinkers shifted in both their approach and in the areas of their dominant interest. The Romantic thinkers (e.g., Johann Gottfried Herder) analyzed distinct cultures as unitary expressions of the unique genius of particular peoples. This interest encouraged the development of historical studies for each religion as unitary and unique. Earlier negative assessment by Enlightenment thinkers of what they had named "positive religions" (as distinct from a presumed common "natural religion") yielded, in the Romantics, to a positive comparativist assessment of particular religious traditions and cultures. The simultaneous nineteenth-century historical interest in the ancient Near East spurred renewed comparativist interest in the religions of ancient Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt.

The rise of interest in Indian religions, moreover, paralleled both Western colonial expansion and the scholarly development of Indo-European studies in the expanding search for the sources of Western culture. Indeed, in the nineteenth century that interest in Indian religious traditions arose not only among scholars in Indo-European studies but also among philosophers with little strictly scholarly competence, but with strong comparative theological interests—such as the American Transcendentalists (Emerson, Thoreau, et al.) and the German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer. With the emergence of historical consciousness, the transition from ancient, medieval, and early-modern comparative theological interests to a more complete modernism may be said to have begun.

The modern period. The crucial intellectual development in the rise of comparative theology in the modern period was the emergence of historical consciousness and historico-critical method. The recognition of the historically conditioned character of religious traditions led to a crisis of cognitive claims for Western Christian and Jewish theologians. The Enlightenment's hope that a universal "natural religion" could be abstracted from all "positive" (i.e., particularist) religions was a hope shared, in different ways, by most thinkers of the period, including both the Christian philosophers Leibniz and Kant and the Jewish thinker Moses Mendelssohn.

But the combined force of Romanticism's fascination with past cultures as living and unique wholes expressive of particular peoples and the scholarly development of historico-critical methods and a resultant historical consciousness led to a widespread awareness of the need to incorporate that historical sense in all the exercises of reason, including philosophy and theology. Thus Western philosophy and theology, by becoming historically conscious, became implicitly (and often explicitly) comparativist as well.

The two major thinkers who initiated this comparative philosophy and theology—although it is important to recall that neither ever so named it—were Friedrich Schleiermacher and G. W. F. Hegel. Schleiermacher, a Reformed theologian, developed a Christian theology that deeply influenced all later Christian theology, among other reasons because it incorporated explicitly comparative elements. Schleiermacher defined religion as "the sense and the taste for the Infinite" and, later and most influentially, as "a feeling of absolute dependence"; as such, religion is the central reality for humankind. Moreover, in his Christian theology he attempted a comparison of religions. He argued for the superiority of the monotheistic over the polytheistic religions and for the superiority of the "ethical monotheism" of Christianity over the "ethical monotheism" of Judaism and the "aesthetic monotheism" of Islam. The details of Schleiermacher's controversial theological arguments are less important here than his insistence that Christian theology should include genuinely comparative elements.

Schleiermacher's great contemporary and rival, Hegel, had a similarly controversial influence on the development of historical and comparative elements in philosophy (and, to a lesser extent, in Christian theology). Hegel's complex developmental-dialectical model for philosophy demanded, on intrinsic philosophical grounds, a systematic and comparativist account of the major civilizations and the major religions. The thrust of his argument was that Spirit itself (at once divine and human) had a dialectical development that began in China and moved through India, Egypt, Persia, Israel, Greece, and Rome to the "absolute religion" of Christianity. This last reached its climax in German Protestantism and in his new dialectical philosophy. Hegel's formulation of the intellectual dilemma for comparative theology and comparative philosophy is an attempt to show the "absoluteness" of one religion (Protestant Christianity) by relating it explicitly to a developmental and comparative (i.e., dialectical) schema. This attempt to demonstrate absoluteness proved influential upon both Western Christian theology and secular philosophy.

Although the comparativist conclusions of both Schleiermacher and Hegel are generally accorded little weight among contemporary philosophers and theologians, their joint insistence on the incorporation of comparativist elements into both Christian theology and secular philosophy has proved enormously influential. In the twentieth century, their most notable Christian theological successor has been Ernst Troeltsch. Troeltsch engaged in several disciplines: he was a major historian of Christianity, a sociologist of religion, an interpreter of the new comparative "science of religion," an idealist philosopher of religion, and an explicitly Christian theologian. His ambitious theological program has proved more important for its methodological complexity and sophistication than for any particular theological conclusions. Troeltsch insisted throughout his work in these different disciplines that Christian theology as an academic discipline must find new ways to relate itself critically not only to its traditional partner, philosophy, but also to the new disciplines of sociology of religion and the general science of religion. Troeltsch became, in sum, the systematic theologian of the newly emerging "history-of-religions" school of Christian theology centered at the University of Göttingen.

It is also notable that Troeltsch shifted his earlier theological judgment on the "absolute superiority" of Christianity among religions to a later position in which he held that Christianity was only "absolute" for Westerners. This controversial theological conclusion was based, above all, on Troeltsch's conviction (as a historian) of the unbreakable relationship of a religion to its culture. This was true, for Troeltsch, even for such relatively culture-transcending religions as Christianity and Buddhism. This theological conclusion of merely relative absoluteness was also warranted by Troeltsch's conviction that it is impossible to assess the relative value of a religion through objective or neutral criteria that are independent of the diversity of particular cultural and religious values. Similar comparative theological enterprises (generally without Troeltsch's methodological sophistication and without his conclusion of the merely relative superiority of Christianity for Westerners) may be found in both liberal Protestant and Catholic modernist theologies in the early twentieth century.

However, the relative optimism, as well as the comparativist theological interests, of both the liberal Protestant and Catholic modernist theologians soon disappeared. In Catholicism, the end came through the intervention of Rome. Among Protestants, it occurred through the collapse of liberal optimism following World War I. The major theological alternative for Protestant thought at that time (generally called dialectical theology, or neo-Reformation theology) was found in the work of Karl Barth. Barth rejected most of the liberal Protestant theological program, including its comparativism. He held that Christian theology was a discipline not intrinsically related to the larger question of the nature of religion (including Christianity as a religion). Christian theology was determined only by the question of the meaning of God's self-revelation in the Word of Jesus Christ. As such, any Christian theological interest in comparativist analyses of religions was improper to the strictly theological task.

Barth's great theological contemporaries Rudolf Bultmann and Paul Tillich, however, continued to include some major historical and comparative emphases in their distinct and non-Barthian formulations of dialectical theology. Indeed, at the end of his long career, and influenced by his seminar work with Mircea Eliade, his colleague at the University of Chicago, Tillich returned explicitly to his earlier Troeltschian interest in history of religions in an important lecture entitled "The Significance of History of Religions for Systematic Theology" (1965). Other Christian theologians, moreover, continued and refined aspects of the program set forth by Troeltsch. It is notable that three of the most important founders of the discipline known as phenomenology of religion in the modern period, Nathan Söderblom, Gerardus van der Leeuw, and Rudolf Otto, were also Christian theologians who incorporated their phenomenological and historical work on religion into their constructive proposals for Christian theology.

Even granted these notable and important exceptions, however, Christian theology of the period between the wars largely abandoned its earlier comparativist interests: in Roman Catholic theology through the suppression of modernism and the revival of scholasticism; in Protestant theology through the ascent of Barthian dialectical theology. These developments tended to remove Christian theology from its earlier intellectual alliance with the "scientific" study of religion. Both Protestant dialectical theology and Roman Catholic scholastic theology gave relatively little attention to comparativism.

However, a comparativist theological analysis within the Barthian perspective, designed to show the radical contrast of Christian revelation to that of other religions, may be found in the notable work of Hendrik Kraemer, especially in his detailed study of other religions, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World* (1938). In Roman Catholic theology (especially in the work of Jean Daniélou and Henri de Lubac), moreover, the "return to the sources" movement of the *nouvelle théologie* of the 1940s and 1950s engaged in historical and comparative work on the relationships of non-Christian religions and philosophies to historical Christianity in the scriptural, patristic, and medieval periods.

This scholarly work helped set the stage for the affirmative declarations on the world religions by Rome both during and after the Second Vatican Council (1961–1965). Roman Catholic theologians (most notably Karl Rahner and Hans Küng) began to include comparativist elements in their Catholic theological proposals. In Jewish theology, an earlier notable comparativist theological enterprise was achieved by the great Jewish theologian Franz Rosenzweig with his development of a "two-covenant" theme.

In our own period, many Christian theologians have returned to the kind of comparativist theological program initiated by Schleiermacher and Hegel and refined by Troeltsch. Without necessarily accepting the conclusions of earlier comparative theologies, and without abandoning the strictly theological gains of dialectical theology, many contemporary ecumenically oriented Christian theologians (whether Protestant, Catholic, or Orthodox) are concerned to include explicitly comparativist elements within their theologies. There are, at present, many alternative proposals for how this might best be accomplished. Among Christian comparative theologians these include the "theology of the history of religions" proposal of Wolfhart Pannenberg; the Christian theologies of religious pluralism of John Cobb and Raimundo Panikkar that allow for mutual and radical self-transformation; proposals of Hans Küng and Langdon Gilkey for dialogue among the religions as intrinsic to all Christian theological self-understanding; proposals for a "global" or "world" theology by Wilfred Cantwell Smith, a thinker who is both a Christian theologian and a historian of religion; a proposal for radical rethinking of Christianity's traditional christological claims by the Protestant theologian and philosopher of religion John Hick and the Catholic theologian Paul Knitter; explicitly comparative theological proposals based on the pluralism within the Christian tradition as a central clue to a pluralism among all religions (George Rupp); and revisionary comparative proposals for different religious models (saint, sage, etc.) from a Christian theological perspective (Robert C. Neville). Comparative theologies in other traditions have also been developed, such as the Hindu global theologies of Swami Vivekananda and Ananda Coomaraswamy, the Buddhist comparative theology of Masao Abe, and the Islamic global theology of the sacred of S. H. Nasr.

Important comparativist theological elements may also be found in the modern period in the philosophers Ernest

Hocking and F. S. C. Northrup, the historian Arnold Toynbee and the psychologist C. G. Jung. Each of these thinkers, although not a theologian, exerted a powerful comparativist influence upon many theological enterprises.

GENERAL THEOLOGICAL METHOD AND THE POSSIBILITY OF A SHARED METHOD FOR COMPARATIVE THEOLOGY. As contemporary theologians in a religiously pluralistic world grope for new, inevitably tentative formulations of a paradigm to guide their deliberations and inform their expectations, they are confronted with the question of method. Theological method must always be a secondary matter for comparative theology, subsidiary to concrete interpretations of the specific symbols of a particular religious tradition. Method—precisely as a necessarily abstract, heuristic guide—must always be secondary to the concrete interpretations of each particular theology. But the secondary also serves. Reflection on method serves the common cause of all concrete comparative theologies by bringing into sharper focus the principles behind the common search for a new paradigm—principles that are often obscured in the present sharp conflict among particular proposals and conclusions in this emerging discipline. The abstract does not merely extrapolate from the concrete; the abstract also enriches the concrete by highlighting and clarifying what is essential.

It is helpful, therefore, to reflect on what kind of general theological method may be shared by contemporary comparative theologians despite otherwise sharp differences among them. The present hypothesis can be described by four premises. First, comparative theology must be a reinterpretation of the central symbols of a particular religious tradition for the contemporary religiously pluralistic world. Second, a new paradigm for comparative theology must be so formulated that the interpretations of a tradition can no longer be grounded in older, classicist bases but must rely on new foundations that incorporate both past tradition and the present religious pluralism. Third, in keeping with the demands of an emerging globalism and a pluralistic world, theologians in all traditions must risk addressing the questions of religious pluralism on explicitly theological grounds. Fourth, it follows from these first three premises that contemporary theologians must engage in two complementary kinds of interpretation of a tradition—those now known as the "hermeneutics of retrieval" and the "hermeneutics of critique and suspicion." There is no innocent interpretation, no unambiguous tradition, no history-less interpreter. There is no merely abstract, general "situation" and no theological method that can guarantee certainty. There is only the risk of comparative theological interpretation itself: the risk of interpreting the great symbols in all the traditions for the present pluralistic situation and then presenting those interpretations to the wider global theological community and the wider community of religious studies for criticism.

This general model can be made more specific by introducing the following definition of a shared theological method in the new situation: any theology is the attempt to establish mutually critical correlations between an interpretation of a particular religious tradition and an interpretation of the contemporary situation.

Thus, contemporary theology as a discipline shares with history of religions, the humanities, the social sciences, and, more recently, the natural sciences, a turn to reflection on the process of interpretation itself. For theology is one way to interpret the elusive, ambiguous, and transformative reality named, however inadequately, "religion." Theology is not merely a synonym for any interpretation of religion but rather bears its own methodological demands and its own criteria. It is necessary, therefore, to clarify this definition of theology and to show how it can yield a common model for a theological method, one appropriate to a contemporary comparative theology in any tradition.

Theologians interpret the claims to meaning and truth in the religious classics of a particular tradition for a new situation. The religious classics are theologically construed as human testimonies to some disclosure of ultimate reality by the power of ultimate reality itself, as that power is experienced by human beings. The questions to which such testimonies respond are the fundamental "limit-questions" of the ultimate meaningfulness or absurdity of existence itself. Religious questions are questions of an odd logical type, emerging at the limits of ordinary experience and ordinary modes of inquiry (ethical, aesthetic, political, scientific). Like strictly metaphysical questions, the fundamental questions of religion must be logically odd, since they are questions concerning the most fundamental presuppositions, the most basic beliefs about all knowing, willing, and acting. Like strictly metaphysical questions, religious questions must be on the nature of ultimate reality. Unlike metaphysical questions, religious questions ask about the meaning and truth of ultimate reality, not only in itself but also as it relates existentially to human beings. The religious classics, therefore, are theologically construed as testimonies by human beings who cannot but ask these fundamental limit-questions and, in asking them seriously, believe that they have received an understanding of or even a response from ultimate reality itself: some disclosure or revelation bearing a new and different possibility of ultimate enlightenment, or some new way to formulate the questions themselves, or some promise of total liberation that suggests a new religious way to become an emancipated human being through a grounded relationship to that ultimate reality which is believed to be the origin and end of all reality.

It is not the case, of course, that theology has only become hermeneutical in the modern period. However, the explicit concern with hermeneutics after Schleiermacher has been occasioned, among Westerners, by the sense of cultural distance from the religious traditions caused by the seventeenth-century scientific revolution and the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. This sense of distance has been intensified by the emergence of historical consciousness (as expressed by Troeltsch and Joachim Wach), and the development of the great liberation movements and their attendant hermeneutics of suspicion (with respect to sexism, racism, classism, etc.). And it has been still further intensified by the Western sense of cultural and religious parochialism stimulated by the emerging pluralistic and global culture as well as by the tensions, conflicts, and possibilities present in North-South and East-West relationships. The epoch-making events of modernity have brought about a need for explicit reflection on the hermeneutical character of all the religious disciplines, including the hermeneutical developments (as elucidated by Wach, Mircea Eliade, Joseph M. Kitagawa, Charles H. Long, et al.) in history of religions and the widely recognized hermeneutical character of all theology.

In order to understand the present situation of radical religious pluralism, theologians must interpret it theologically. Interpretation is not a technique to be added on to experience and understanding but is, as Hans-Georg Gadamer and Paul Ricoeur argue, anterior and intrinsic to understanding itself. This is especially the case for any theological interpretation of the contemporary situation. For theology attempts to discern and interpret those fundamental questions (finitude, estrangement, alienation, oppression, fundamental trust or mistrust, loyalty, anxiety, transience, mortality, etc.) that disclose a religious dimension in the contemporary situation.

Paul Tillich described this hermeneutical character of theology as the need for an explicit analysis of the given "situation," that is, for a creative interpretation of our experience which discloses a religious dimension (for example, of cultural pluralism itself). It is possible to distinguish, but not to separate, the theologian's analysis of the "situation" from his or her analysis of a particular religious tradition. Theologians, in sum, interpret both "situation" and "tradition." In some manner, implicit or explicit, they must correlate these two distinct but related interpretations. Like any other interpreter of the contemporary pluralistic situation, and like any other interpreter of the religious questions in that situation, the theologian brings some prior understanding to the interpretation—an understanding influenced by the historical givens of a particular religious tradition. A Buddhist comparative theology, for example, will inevitably be different from a Jewish comparative theology.

The clarification of the emerging discipline called "comparative theology" follows from this brief analysis of theology itself as an academic and hermeneutical discipline. In the sense outlined above, theology is an intrinsically hermeneutical discipline that interprets intellectually a particular tradition in a particular situation. Further, any interpretation of a tradition will always be made in and for a particular situation. In classical Western hermeneutical terms, this means that every act of interpretation includes not only *intelligentia* ("understanding") and *explicatio* ("explanation"), but also *applicatio*, an application of the interpretation to its context that is at the same time a precondition to any understanding and interpretation.

A properly theological interpretation of the contemporary situation demands that those fundamental religious questions cited above be raised, for the responses to them by a particular religious tradition are the primary, strictly theological, means of interpreting that tradition (e.g., an interpretation of the way of Buddhist enlightenment as the response to a fundamental situation of suffering and a fundamental state of inauthentic existence seen as "ignorance"; an interpretation of the Christian creed of faith, hope, and love as a response to the fundamental situation of suffering and an existential state of inauthentic existence seen as sin). Internal to each theological interpretation of each religious tradition, moreover, is a theological assessment and identification of the normative elements of that religion (e.g., identification of the proper canons of the religion, of the proper role of "tradition," of the proper role of modern historical research, etc.).

Any theology, therefore, involves the development of a set of mutually critical correlations between two distinct but related interpretations: an interpretation of the tradition and an interpretation of the contemporary situation. But it is important not to presume that a tradition will always supply adequate responses to the questions suggested by the contemporary situation. Rather, as the qualifying phrase "mutually critical" suggests, the theologian cannot determine before the concrete interpretation itself whether the traditional responses of a religion are adequate to the contemporary situation.

In strictly logical terms, the concept of "mutually critical correlations" suggests a number of possible relations between the theologian's two somewhat distinct interpretations: (1) identities between the questions prompted by and the responses to the situation and the questions and responses given by the tradition (as in many liberal and modernist Christian theologies); (2) similarities-in-difference, or analogies, between those two interpretations (as in many Neo-Confucian "theologies"); and (3) radical disjunctions, or more existentially, confrontations, between the two (as in the Hindu and Buddhist insistence on the necessity of the reality of a "higher consciousness"); or the radical dialectic of the sacred and the profane in archaic ontologies; or the radical correction of traditional self-interpretations of a religion after the emergence of historical consciousness.

In properly general and heuristic terms, therefore, theology is an intellectual enterprise that may now be described more exactly as the hermeneutical attempt to establish mutually critical correlations between the claims to religious meaningfulness and truth of a religious tradition and the claims to religious meaningfulness and truth within the historical situation for which that tradition is being interpreted.

This general model of theology as an intellectual discipline within religious studies may be further specified to demonstrate how "comparative theology" both fits and challenges it. Comparative theology fits the model insofar as it also demands that the theologian attempt to establish mutually critical correlations between the claims to religious meaning and truth in the same two sets of interpretations. What renders any theology within a particular tradition explicitly comparative, however, is a substantive (and not merely methodological) change in the interpretation of the contemporary situation. Any comparative theology in a particular tradition will insist on theological grounds that religious pluralism in the contemporary situation must receive explicit theological attention. Insofar as that crucial hermeneutic and theological change of focus is made at all, the theological task is notably altered. For now the different questions and responses of the various religions present in the contemporary pluralistic situation must be explicitly and comparatively analyzed as part of the task of any theological interpretation in any tradition. A sense of the cultural parochialism of traditional theological interpretations of both situation and tradition is likely to follow. A confrontation with any traditional, purely exclusivist, interpretation of the one tradition is also likely—just as earlier confrontations with traditional interpretations were occasioned by the emergence of historical and hermeneutical consciousness. A sense of the need for any comparative theological interpretation to take account of the comparative analyses of history of religions is also likely to arise, with the result that comparative theology will also recognize the need for the kind of interdisciplinary discourse found in "religious studies."

Comparative theology is an emerging discipline with as yet no firm consensus on conclusions, but with a possible agreement on the revised method of correlation that it implicitly employs. It is a branch of the general field of religious studies that must learn from the comparative method used in the study of history of religions, by reflecting on the results of those studies in explicitly theological ways. Traditional theological self-interpretations in all traditions are likely to undergo radical revisions—indeed, even at this early stage in the discipline, such revisions are visible. The final conclusions for any tradition's self-understanding in a religiously pluralistic world will be determined only by further, concrete comparative theological studies in and among all the traditions. Yet this much is clear: any contemporary comparative theology in any tradition must relate itself explicitly to the comparative studies of theologies in history of religions and to the theological dialogues among the religions. It must also explicitly raise the traditional theological questions of meaning and truth that earlier, secular comparative enterprises were legitimately able to "bracket."

In sum, comparative theology, as theology, is an academic discipline that establishes mutually critical correlations between the claims to meaningfulness and truth in the interpretations of a religiously pluralistic situation and the claims to meaningfulness and truth in new interpretations of a religious tradition. The central fact of religious pluralism, as well as the existence of religious studies (especially history of religions), has challenged all theologies in all traditions to become explicitly comparative in approach. The future is likely to see the evolution of most traditional theologies into comparative theologies in all non-fundamentalist traditions. With that development, the conflict in interpretations among various models and differing conclusions among contemporary comparative theologians may eventually yield to a disciplinary consensus for all theology. Any theology in any tradition that takes religious pluralism seriously must eventually become a comparative theology.

SEE ALSO Comparative-Historical Method; Hermeneutics; Religious Diversity; Truth.

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THEOLOGY: CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY

The word *theology* always means discourse or speech about God. But which God is meant and what does this God do? Plato, in his *Republic,* assigns *theologia* to the poets (379a5); by *theology* he means narratives about the gods and theogonies. Aristotle contrasts the "theologians," who offer mythological explanations of the world, with the "philosophers," or "physiologists," who look for the explanation of things within things themselves. On one occasion he divides "theoretical" philosophy into three parts: mathematics, physics, and theology, this last being identical with "first" philosophy, or metaphysics (*Metaphysics* 6.1025a). Toward the end of the second century BCE, Panaetius of Rhodes distinguished three kinds of theology and was followed in this by Varro, whom Augustine cites (*City of God* 6.5): mythological, "natural" or philosophico-cosmological, and civil or political. "Civil theology" or "political theology" referred to the cult of the Caesars.

Among Christians, the first applications of the term *theology* to knowledge of the God in whom they believed occur in the writings of Origen (d. 254). For Eusebius of Caesarea (d. 339), *theologia* no longer applied to paganism at all but designated exclusively the knowledge of the Christian God and of Christ. Eusebius was also familiar with the distinction that would become classic among the Greeks and would be known to the Latin Middle Ages as well, between *theology,* which means discourse about the inner life of God, and *economy,* meaning God's activity for our salvation, which includes Christ, church, sacraments, and eschatology. Proclus (d. 485), the Greek philosopher, wrote an *Elements of Theology,* a treatise on the ultimate principles of reality.

In the West, *theologia* was for a long time used only infrequently; other terms prevailed, such as *sacra scriptura* ("sacred scripture"), *sacra erudito* ("sacred knowledge"), and *divina pagina* ("divine pages"). Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274) preferred *sacra doctrina* ("sacred doctrine"). But in his time, *theologia,* which Peter Abelard (d. 1142) had used as the title of a work on Christian dogma in its entirety, meant the knowledge elaborated and taught in the faculty of the same name. Our modern use of the term was thus established.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT. Theology exists because the godhead is revealed in historical actions or events, the meanings of which are conveyed in language or inspired writings. The words of a sage, even one who is "inspired," are not enough. The writings provide food for a meditation of a sapiential kind that is geared to the conduct of human life. God revealed the relationship he wants to establish with man and in the process was also self-revelatory.

Before the end of the first century after the Hijrah, Islam was already discussing the dilemma of predestination and free will. Next to be discussed were the last things and the salvation of unbelievers who were in good faith. In these discussions and in the texts of the mystics were to be found only fragments of a theology. While Judaism had too lofty an idea of God's absoluteness to make an effort to investigate his nature, it did gather into the Talmud the discussions and interpretations of the rabbis; it developed an apologetic for dealing with Islam; it reflected on the anthropomorphisms of the Bible; and it produced great religious philosophers (e.g., Maimonides, d. 1204).

Christians for their part not only had inherited the Jewish scriptures and the revelatory deeds that these scriptures narrate and explain; they also found themselves confronted with the fact of Jesus Christ. First an object of faith, this fact became also an object of thought. It was a complex fact: a man who is Son of God, dead yet living, weak yet Lord. It demanded that God be seen as Father of a Son, the two of them acting through a Holy Spirit who is at once immanent in the "hearts" of the faithful and transcendent over them. Help in expressing these ideas was found in the Stoicism of the day, which was widespread even among slaves. This philosophy provided the idea of a Logos and a Spirit *(pneuma)* that permeated the cosmos, kept it in motion, and quickened minds as well. On the other hand, to take this approach was to cosmologize God and turn the Logos and Pneuma into subordinate intermediaries between God and the things of the world. Before the Council of Nicaea (325), even Christians who proved their fidelity by martyrdom had been influenced by these ideas and had formulated their faith in an unsatisfactory manner. Various interpretations publicly expressed were judged to cast doubt on essential aspects of the object of faith. The result was that an orthodoxy—true praise, true faith—emerged and, with it, the beginnings of a reflection on faith and in faith or, in other words, something of a theology.

Faith, which is already in the realm of thought, must necessarily express itself in an active way. It looks for coherence among many facts and elements that, however diverse, all come from the same God who is carrying out a homogeneous plan. Since faith is also fidelity, and therefore orthodoxy, it develops in response to deviations. Since it has to do with mysterious realities that are irreducible to the facts grasped by our sciences and are very complex, the very assent of faith is accompanied by the questioning that Augustine and Thomas Aquinas call *cogitatio:* "Credere est cum assentione cogitare" ("To believe is to assent while thinking"). When this reflection in faith ceases to be occasional and becomes systematic, it is theology.

This process began in the East. Schools of higher-level catechesis were established there; in these schools the quest was for gnosis, that is, a deepening both of knowledge and of Christian life. "True gnosis," as it is called by Irenaeus (*Against Heresies* 4.33.8), fights the false gnosis of Basilides and Valentinian in the name of the authentic tradition guaranteed by apostolic succession. This true gnosis is in accordance with reason (3.12.11). The Didaskalion, or Catechetical School, of Alexandria was headed by Clement and then by Origen, who in his *On First Principles* gives the first complete theological statement that is linked to a philosophical culture. As a result, he distinguished what we now call dogma and theology. In contrast to platonizing Alexandria, Antioch, another great Christian metropolis, practiced a more historical and literal reading of the scriptures. At Nisibis and Edessa, on the other hand, Ephraem of Syria (d. 373) theologized in a poetical and lyrical way that was alien to Greek culture.

The second half of the fourth century and the first half of the fifth saw in both the East and West a flowering of geniuses and saints: the Fathers. These included Athanasius (d. 373), Basil of Caesarea (d. 379), Gregory of Nazianzus (d. 391), Gregory of Nyssa (d. 395), Chrysostom (d. 407), and Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444), in the East; and in the West, Hilary (d. 367), Ambrose (d. 397), Jerome (d. 420), Augustine (d. 430), and Leo I (d. 461). These men defended and lent luster to the Christian faith chiefly by a rational explanation of scriptures that focused on the Christian mystery and made use of typology. In Origen's thought, and that of some others, typology is pushed to the point of allegory. Even at this time, however, there were signs of a difference in the way theological activity was carried on in the Greek East and in the Latin West, at least beginning with Augustine in the West.

The Latin fathers (including Augustine) regarded the literary and philosophical culture of the patristic age (Second Sophistic, Platonic, and Stoic) to be a human formation of the Christian although it was acquired in the pagan schools of the time. Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Chrysostom insisted on the value of this formation, while Julian the Apostate denied Christians access to it to prevent their being weakened by it. The Fathers engaged in argument chiefly in order to invalidate the conclusions drawn by heretics, but they did not use philosophical concepts and arguments in order to develop new theses that went beyond the traditional faith. From the philosophers, and especially from Platonism, they borrowed certain broad ideas and expressions but little with conceptual content new to their faith. They saw the philosophers rather as fathers of heresies. This did not prevent later philosophical borrowings by John of Damascus (d. 749), Photios (d. about 891), Cerularios (d. 1058), and Michael Psellus (d. 1078?). Even today, however, Orthodox theology dutifully follows the Fathers. The nineteenth canon of the Trullan Synod (692) says "The church's pastors must explain scripture in accordance with the commentaries of the Fathers." While the medieval and modern West has been receptive to many questions and currents of thought and has even formulated new dogmas, thus making the proof from tradition difficult and complicated, Eastern Christianity has kept a kind of direct contact with its patristic tradition. It derives its faith directly from the liturgy, in which that tradition finds expression. When the attempt was made on numerous occasions to introduce into Eastern Orthodoxy a creative appeal to reason, especially because of the influence of the West and in imitation of it, there was a reaction. Thus there was a reaction against John Italus, who succeeded Michael Psellus as head of the University of Constantinople; the seventh article of his condemnation in 1082 reads "Cursed be those who devote themselves in depth to the sciences of the Hellenes and do not use these simply to exercise the mind but instead adopt their sterile opinions." The reaction was even more vigorous in the fourteenth century when, after the great Latin classics had been translated into Greek, rationalist and humanist claims roused the opposition of Gregory Palamas (d. 1359), who developed a new systematization of the spiritual tradition of the Greek East. Since the fourth century this tradition had devoted itself to reflection on the incarnation of the Word and the divinization of creatures, to the union of the divine and the human, the uncreated and the created. This was the background for the two great debates peculiar to the East—the iconoclastic struggle, which was the final phase of the christological controversies (union of the spiritual and the sensible), and the debate over Palamism (divinization, communication of God to the human creature, and rejection of any rationalism in theology)—the victorious outcome of which is celebrated by the Feast of Orthodoxy. Established in 843, this feast commemorates the restoration of icon worship and Orthodox rejection of the theological rationalizers.

There have been other developments in Orthodox theology; for example, in the nineteenth century, the influence of G. W. F. Hegel and Friedrich Schelling in Russia. But even in fairly personal systematizations this theology has remained faithful to its special character. It is not a simple intellectual exercise but a call to live in a personal way the truth revealed by Jesus Christ and proclaimed in the faith of the Orthodox church, which draws its life and inspiration from the Holy Spirit. Theoretical knowledge must be integrated with life experience and with prayer that is practiced as part of the church community and in its liturgical celebration.

The Latin fathers differ very little from the Greeks. However, beginning with Anselm and continuing throughout Scholasticism, a favorite formula of Augustine's became the motto for an exercise of reason in theology that is peculiar to the medieval West. In Augustine, reason and faith supply each other with nourishment within the unity of contemplation, in accordance with his formula: "Intellige ut credas, crede ut intelligas" ("Understand that you may believe, believe that you may understand"; *Sermons* 43.9). The second part of this formula has often been expressed by means of *Isaiah* 7:9: "Nisi credideritis non intelligetis" ("Unless you believe, you shall not understand"; Septuagint and Vulgate). Augustine himself focuses less on the duality of the two spheres than on the union of the two activities or ranges of activity in reaching the fullness of truth. For truth in itself is one. It exists in the triune God; it is to be found in the Wisdom of God that has come to us in sensible form in Jesus Christ. On our side, there is an *intelligere,* or knowing, that prepares for and nourishes faith, and an *intellectus,* or understanding, which is the fruit of a devout and loving faith that makes use of the resources and analogies supplied by nature and reaches the *intellectus fidei,* or understanding of faith, so that "what faith grasps the mind sees" (*On the Trinity* 15.27.49).

The *intellectus fidei* of Anselm (d. 1109) is not quite the same as that of Augustine. Anselm means a use of reason on the basis of faith ("I desire to gain some understanding of your truth which my heart believes and loves"), but reason, for him, has the power to discover at its own rational level the necessary connection that gives the truth of faith its objective coherence. That is what he means by understanding what we believe; this is true of the existence of God and it is true of redemption, which we can think out "as though we knew nothing about Christ."

The monastic theology of Bernard of Clairvaux, who was nineteen years old when Anselm died, is quite different in character: a theology of the spiritual struggle and of the life of mystical union as experienced in the cloister. However, from Anselm and the theologians at Bec came the initiatives, timid at first, that produced Scholasticism. Anselm of Laon was a disciple at Bec. He in turn had Abelard for a pupil, but the pupil was too gifted and too aware of his gifts to find satisfaction at Laon. Abelard inaugurated what became systematic theology and the dialectical method of bringing together opposed theses that call for a solution. This method of the *quaestio* (interrogation) was applied in commentaries on Peter Lombard's *Book of Sentences,* which was to be the textbook for the teaching of theology down to the sixteenth century. The teaching was done in schools or universities and came to be known as "Scholasticism."

Scholastic theology had very great practitioners in Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas (both of whom died in 1274). Thomas's intention was to search out and express, with the help of analysis, the perceived order of things and reason, an order determined by God. That which revelation discloses to us provides the starting point, of course, but the Scholastic also had a fearless trust in the rational mind as trained in the school of Aristotle. Profound insights, rigorous arguments, honesty about the data, and sureness of Catholic sensibility have made Thomas the "Common Doctor" of the Catholic church. Following the Augustinian tradition, Bonaventure insisted more on the interior supernatural enlightenment and transformation that are necessary conditions for understanding sacred doctrine.

Although opposed to one another as realist and nominalist, John Duns Scotus and William of Ockham in the fourteenth century were at one in criticizing the trust in speculative reason when this takes God and Christian realities for its object. Ockham marked the beginning of the *via moderna* which was introduced in the universities in the fifteenth century. The development of a theology marked by abundant discourse and nice distinctions led by way of reaction to spiritual currents and a mysticism that were unrelated to dogma (Thomas à Kempis, *Imitation of Christ*). But another and different current was also born: humanism with its cultivation of the ancient languages, its criticism of Scholasticism, its publication of texts that printing carried far and wide. Martin Luther (d. 1546) was heir to all three currents: Ockhamist voluntarism, mystical inwardness, and the textual resources of humanism. Nonetheless, he would mark a new beginning.

The Protestant Reformation led, in Catholic theology, to the development of a scholarly apologetics (e.g., the *Controversiae* of Bellarmino, 1621); the criticisms of the *philosophes* likewise elicited an abundant apologetic production in the eighteenth century and down to the first third of the twentieth. Theology found itself faced with new activities of critical reason: history, science of religions, critical exegesis, psychology of religion. The serious urgency of the questions thus raised led to the modernist crisis. There had been creative minds that cultivated a healthy openness to modernity as well as close ties with tradition (Johann Adam Möhler, Matthias Joseph Scheeben, John Henry Newman), but the chief fruit of the Catholic restoration that the nineteenth century found necessary was a renewed scholasticism possessing little creativity. Once the modernist crisis was past, theology regained its vitality from a renewed sense of the church, a renewed contact with its own sources (Bible, Fathers, liturgy), and with the questions raised by twentieth-century thinkers (ecumenism, problems of unbelief, theology of liberation, and so on).

Luther began his Reformation with a reform of theology. In reaction to Scholasticism and Aristotle he eliminated philosophical concepts and expressed the religious relationship of salvation in biblical terms. The object of his theology is man as sinful and lost and God as the one who justifies and saves him; a "theology of the cross," not a theology of the inner ontology of God; a theology that draws its life not from a symbiotic relationship with metaphysics but from pure faith in the gospel of grace, which is consonant with the spirit of scripture. Luther himself did not compose a comprehensive systematic treatise. His disciples made up for the lack by their *loci communes,* or dogmatic expositions (Melanchthon, 1531; Chemnitz, 1591; Gerhard, 1610–1625; Hutter, 1619). John Calvin produced his *Institutes of Christian Religion* as early as 1536, but he also commented on scripture daily. Protestant theology took the form of an exposition of what the church ought to be teaching in the light of its biblical norm and also in the light of the church's own past. Thus Luther and, to an even greater extent, Melanchthon and Calvin, referred back to the Fathers and especially to the ancient symbols or creeds and the first four ecumenical councils.

Starting at the end of the sixteenth century, Lutherans reintroduced into theology the metaphysics of Aristotle along with that of Francisco Suárez. Seventeenth-century Lutheran orthodoxy was much like Catholic Scholasticism. In the eighteenth century, however, two divergent currents exercised their influence: Pietism, which expressed theology in terms of personal experience, and rationalism, which interpreted religion and God in terms of man and not of God and rejected the heteronomy involved in supernatural faith. An example of this theology based solely on reason is Julius Wegscheider's *Institutiones theologiae Christianae dogmaticae* (Institutes of Christian dogmatic theology; 1815). The culture of the day had cut itself off from the faith as celebrated by the church. Some philosophers who had begun as theologians (Fichte, Hegel, Schelling) treated religion as a branch of their philosophy. Friedrich Schleiermacher (d. 1834) took up these challenges and ushered in a new era of Protestant theology. He asserted the originality of religion, which is not to be identified with either metaphysics or morality: "The essence of religion is neither speculation nor action, but intuition and feeling," and specifically the feeling of dependence, which constitutes our relation to God. Jesus Christ gave supreme expression to this feeling, and a community of believers took shape that found its origin in him. Theology, for Schleiermacher, is the sum total of scientific knowledge without which the life of the Christian community could not be ordered.

All subsequent Protestant schools of theology—the confessional, the orthodox, the liberal, as well as the contemporary restoration in the form of a return to the Reformers under the influence of Karl Barth (d. 1968)—have depended on Schleiermacher. Rejecting a simple description of what is believed and preached *(Glaubenslehre),* Barth began with the sovereignty of God's word understood as an act of God. The Bible as such is not the word of God, but only a testimony to the acts through which God spoke and ultimately to Jesus Christ, who is God's Word made flesh. The word can be received only in faith, which is the act by which God (the Holy Spirit who bears witness within us) enables us to understand when he speaks. This word has given rise in the course of history to the special community, the church, whose mission is to confess its faith in the word of God within the circumstances of the particular historical moment. At this point theology comes on the scene. Theology is the reflective critical act by which the church goes back over the word it speaks and the confession it makes of Jesus Christ; the purpose is to test the truthfulness of that word and confession, that is, their conformity to the word of God as attested in scripture. This theology has three parts: does the Christian word come from Christ? (biblical theology); does it lead to Christ? (practical theology); is it in conformity with Christ? (dogmatic theology).

The whole of Protestant theology is, of course, not reducible to Barth, and not all Protestant theologians accept his radicalism. Thus, while the pragmatism of William James (d. 1910) is not a genuine theology, the dogmatic theology of Emil Brunner (d. 1966) admits the validity in theology of a natural knowledge of God. There are even strict Calvinists in Holland, Scotland, and France, who allow a value to a natural knowledge of God. Paul Tillich (d. 1965) sought to bridge the gap between the modern mentality or culture and Christianity by establishing a correlation between the ultimate questions raised by human beings and the ever new challenge of the word of God. His work elicited an enormous response.

Catholic theologians for their part carry on their work not only under the supervision of a teaching authority but also in the context of a fidelity and a continuity that is provided by a tradition developed through the centuries. Protestant theologians, on the other hand, are bound solely by the word of God and think under their own responsibility. They do, however, have the aid of the faithful witnesses who have gone before them and of their church's profession of faith. Many Protestant theologians work within a confessional dogmatics that derives its norms from the creedal documents and classical writings of their churches. In our time we find, for example, Werner Elert, Paul Althaus, and Edmund Schlink among the Lutherans, and Auguste Lecerf and G. G. Bekouwer in the Reformed church.

Since its beginnings Anglican theology has endeavored to integrate three tendencies and has been unwilling to abandon completely any one of them: a traditional and "Catholic" tendency (Fathers, liturgy, episcopate), a Protestant and Puritan tendency, and a rational and critical tendency (history; in extreme cases, certain "modernist" theses). One or other tendency may dominate in a given age or in a particular author but without excluding the other values and while endeavoring to remain in a *via media.* Thus a writer like Richard Hooker (d. 1600) resists the Calvinist tendency but rejects a number of Roman positions (papacy, transubstantiation) and remains closely associated with the political structure of the nation. After him it is the "Caroline divines" who are the classical authors of Anglo-Catholicism, which was revitalized in the nineteenth century by the Oxford Movement (1833–1845). In the interval, however, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had been marked by a rational and liberal current of thought (Latitudinarianism), and then by the "evangelical" movement (John Wesley, Methodism). After 1860, rational criticism began to be heard, but this was also the time of the Oxford Movement and ritualism; the second half of the century saw the appearance of great scholars now classical in biblical and patristic studies. In the twentieth century, Anglican theology has focused chiefly on Christology, on the vital ecumenical questions of the day (church, ministry), and on the problems of modern society. On the whole, Anglican theology is a theology that always seeks a balanced outlook. It endeavors to express the realities of Christian existence but without pressure from a Roman-style teaching authority.

THE PRACTICE OF THEOLOGY. Theology is discourse through which believers develop and express the content of their faith as confessed in the church; to this end the theologian uses the resources of the culture and focuses on the questions asked by the mind of the time. This activity involves the theologian, who is first of all a believer, in a series of intellectual operations, such as those analyzed by Bernard Lonergan (d. 1984). The theologian's starting point is the witness given to God's revelation of the divine plan and mystery in the Bible, tradition, and the current life of the faithful; the theologian attempts to lay out, explain, and communicate the rich and complex content found in this witness. In addition to the labor required in handling the great mass of data, theologians face two major difficulties. (1) How are they to express supernatural mysteries when they have at their disposal only concepts and terms from our earthly experience? (2) How are they to overcome the dislocation between ancient testimonies that reflect histories and cultures no longer ours, and the needs and desires of our own day?

The answer to the first question is to be found in analogy. Certain terms contain an inherent imperfection and limitation: the Bible calls God a "rock," a "lion," a "fortress." These are metaphors expressing not the being of God but God's relation to us and the divine manner of acting. The Bible uses such language because it is concerned primarily with what God is *for us* and we for God. Other terms, however, do not inherently, or in their very notion *(ratio),* contain any imperfection, even though they exist only imperfectly in us: being, intelligence, wisdom, goodness, truth, substance, person, and so on. These terms are open to infinity. They can be applied to God, although we do not fully understand the nature of their existence in God. In the case of many of these concepts and terms, however, only positive revelation allows us to predicate them of God. Without revelation we would not have thought of applying to God such terms, for example, as *father, son,* and *generation* (for a discussion of this last, see Thomas's *Summa contra gentiles* 4.11).

The answer to the question concerning the dislocation of past and present is supplied by hermeneutics. This enables the theologian to express the meaning of a traditional statement in the language of the day and in response to present needs. But in the form hermeneutics takes today it is not restricted to the expressing of traditional statements in the language of contemporary culture and in response to its needs. Nor is theology a body of knowledge *organized* on the basis of an objectivist reading of the revealed "given" (scripture, dogma, tradition); it is not what Dietrich Bonhoeffer criticized, even in Barth, as "revelational positivism." The act of theologizing is an act of interpretation that actualizes the meaning of revelation, the event that is Jesus Christ, and the church's experience, and makes these relevant to contemporary believers. The danger in this process is to introduce the subject into the object in such a way that we substitute our ideas and questions for those of God. Hermeneutics can turn into a way of evading the authority that imposes itself on the subject. Was there not something of this in certain of the moral and allegorical readings of scripture by the early Fathers? Texts, after all, intend to say something. A text is not simply a stimulus to an existential decision (the demythologization program of Rudolf Bultmann). And there are certain objective norms—dogma, the ecclesial community's profession of faith: "The living tradition whose agent is the interpreting community defines a hermeneutical field that excludes erroneous or arbitrary interpretations" (Claude Geffré). It is true, however, that the inheritance is open to rereadings which are not simply repetitions.

Theology as science. Theology claims the status of a science, and this claim is supported by its publications and its place among the university disciplines. Its status as a science is justified (1) because it has a specific object given to it by the foundational events of Christianity, which were historically real; and (2) because it employs a specific method for taking possession of this datum and organizing its complex content in a coherent intellectual way. This method, moreover, is not naive but critical, making use of the rational disciplines that study the religious fact: history, philology, critical exegesis, psychology, sociology, sociology of knowledge, and so forth. Theology is thus able to enter into competition with these disciplines, which, because they offer various interpretations of religious facts, are in danger of being reductionist. Theologians, however, must maintain the twofold fidelity mentioned above. They would cease to be theologians if they were to betray the originality of the faith, even as they employ the methods of other disciplines to analyze it. Theology may not, therefore, be reduced to a philosophy of religion. Contrary to David S. Adam, in his essay "Theology," philosophy of religion is not "the highest stage or form of theology" *(Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* edited by James Hastings, vol. 12, 1921, p. 299). The philosophy of religion analyzes the religious fact and reflects on religious experience as thematized in religions. This is, after all, one area of human experience. The philosophy of religion may therefore have the same material object as theology. It differs from the latter, however, (1) because it does not consider the objects of belief—the mysteries—as such, but studies religion as an activity, along with its conditions and the categories it uses, and (2) because it does not take revelation as a normative source of true propositions. On the other hand, unlike the science of religions or even religious psychology, the philosophy of religion is not purely descriptive. It studies the whole range of religious activity in order to discover the rational structures implied in it, examines these in a critical way, and sometimes strives to provide a critical justification of them. Theology goes further: it pursues its task while certain about the supernatural reality of what faith asserts.

Parts and forms of theology. Considered in its own proper nature, theology has some constituent parts. Materially, it includes various statements its object calls into being, for example, doctrines concerning the Trinity, Christology, the sacraments, ecclesiology, and Mariology. Formally it includes positive theology and speculative theology. Positive and speculative theology are two parts, or phases, that must not be separated but must rather be cultivated together. They incorporate the necessary appropriation of the "given" (the positive phase) by a scientifically competent study of the sources (scripture, monuments of tradition, magisterium, experience of the Christian people and of mankind generally) and the act of contemplation (the speculative phase) leading to the organization of a developed and communicable discourse.

Dogmatic theology and moral (or practical) theology are two different types of knowledge, but since no mystery is proposed for our belief except insofar as it is a source of salvation for us, the faith that seeks understanding (dogmatic theology) finds in this understanding the rules for our living (morality or ethics). In Protestant theology, practical theology includes what Catholics call pastoral theology, and even ecclesiology. In the fifteenth century, when Scholasticism was getting lost in purely logical or dialectical subtleties, writings on spiritual or mystical theology multiplied in isolation, being connected less with the mysteries than with spiritual experience. Pietism played a comparable role in seventeenth and eighteenth century Protestantism. The separation was not a fortunate one; it pointed to a lack of spiritual depth in scholastic methodology. Similarly, we must not distinguish or separate "kerygmatic theology"—the communication of the essential gospel message—from dogmatic theology, a position proposed in 1936 in Austria by Franz Lackner. There must certainly be a connection between knowledge and a life-giving communication of a message. This connection is the problem of the apostolate and may call for an output of adapted works of theology, but it must not be turned into a division of theology.

The term *negative theology* comes from the unknown author at the end of the fifth century who wrote under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite (Pseudo-Dionysius). *Apophatic theology* would be a better term. This is not a special theology but a way of respecting the "unknowableness of God" (which is the title of a work of John Chrysostom). In it positive statements are put negatively, as in the Chalcedonian christological definition: "a union without confusion, without separation."

It is commonly assumed today that one person's work can no longer embrace all areas of theology because theology has become so comprehensive and complex and requires such a variety of knowledge. We may think, however, of the work of Barth, Michael Schmaus, and others. It is even more legitimately acknowledged that theology can no longer claim to control the culture through an all-embracing body of knowledge, as it could do in the West in the thirteenth century. It might more accurately be said that a pluralism is required in a world that has grown complex and secularized and in which ideas are exchanged without any possible compartmentalization. It should be observed, however, that there has always been a pluralism in theology: Alexandria and Antioch; Augustinianism, Thomism, and Scotism; realism and nominalism; pietism and rationalism; liberalism and confessional tradition; and so on. Pluralism is valuable. It is a quality of unity itself, provided the unity involves plenitude and communion. Nevertheless, all theology is required to be faithful to the apostolic confession of faith.

Contemporary theology. In contemporary theology three dimensions or functions in particular are being developed.

1. In a world of secularized cultures, fundamental theology is being developed as a critical justification of the foundations of faith and therefore of theology. It has replaced the apologetics of a bygone time. Apologetics sought to provide rational proof of the suitability and existence of a revelation, and of the divine authority of

the Roman Catholic magisterium. Fundamental theology, however, starts with the facts of the Christian message and shows its meaning and the way in which it meets the needs of the contemporary world. Christianity represents one existential possibility. We can see immediately that this approach is very close to the idea of theology as a hermeneutic and is subject to the danger, mentioned earlier, of giving too large a place to human subjectivity.

2. In dealing with contemporary men and women, theologians must take them in their real situations and with their real dimensions, and thus fundamental theology allies itself to a "political theology" (J.-B. Metz; Jürgen Moltmann). The latter seeks to overcome the "privatization" characteristic of bourgeois religion and establish itself as critic of society in the name of suffering and the cross of Jesus Christ; in so doing it brings a message of hope and Christian eschatology. Latin American "theology of liberation" examines the situation of the poor, who are deprived of their rights and their dignity, and determines the "given" which is to serve as a starting point for rethinking God, Christology, and the church and its mission (Gustavo Gutiérrez). The practice of struggle becomes a matrix within which theological reflection develops. The same is true, with modifications, of the theologies directed to the liberation of all those who are oppressed or excluded from a place in history: black theology, African theology, feminist theology.
3. Ecumenism has its theological literature, its periodicals, its meetings, but it is above all a dimension of every vigorous theology today. The name "ecumenical theology" is given more specifically to a well-informed reflection on ecumenism and its purpose and methods, to a theological study of the World Council of Churches, or to the subject matter of a professorship in *Konfessionskunde:* the study of the Christian churches in their history, worship, theology, and life. It is no longer possible to theologize without taking account of ecumenical questions and of the contributions of all the churches, the theological originality of each, and the confessional life of each. As theology reexamines the sources of particular Christian beliefs and continues to develop in a pluralistic setting, it is becoming "metaconfessional"; chapters on particular subjects in works of theology are sometimes written by theologians from different churches. Closely associated with the ecumenical outlook is a critical attitude toward "dogmatism"—a dogmatic fundamentalism that has no sense of the historical development of dogmas.

All churches have their traditions. Many have norms for orthodoxy and the regulation of life. The work of the theologian is a specific ministry alongside the ordained or hierarchical pastoral ministry; it continues the ministry of the *didaskaloi,* the teachers, in the New Testament and the early church. The two ministries are subject to the same rule of apostolic faith and serve the same believing people and in the same world, but their tasks and responsibilities differ. Theologians are dedicated to research; they associate with intellectual and cultural innovators; they claim a legitimate freedom to be innovators themselves. The hierarchic pastors, who are responsible for keeping communities united in orthodox faith, intervene at times in the theologians' work, depending on the discipline of the various churches. Many churches have institutions and laws for settling such conflicts.

SEE ALSO Atonement, article on Christian Concepts; Attributes of God, article on Christian Concepts; Canon; Christian Ethics; Church; Councils, article on Christian Councils; Creeds, article on Christian Creeds; Eastern Christianity; Enlightenment, The; Heresy, article on Christian Concepts; History, article on Christian Views; Humanism; Icons; Jesus; Justification; Mary; Merit, article on Christian Concepts; Neoplatonism; Philosophy, article on Philosophy of Religion; Platonism; Proofs for the Existence of God; Protestantism; Reformation; Roman Catholicism; Scholasticism; Trinity.

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YVES CONGAR (1987)
Translated from French by Matthew J. O'Connell
Revised Bibliography

THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

Founded in 1875 in New York City, the Theosophical Society is an organization whose name was chosen to align it with the larger theosophical tradition. This tradition embraced Neoplatonism, Gnosticism, medieval mystics like Meister Eckhart and Nicholas of Cusa, Renaissance philosophers like Giordano Bruno and Paracelsus, and Romantic mystics and philosophers like Jakob Boehme and Friedrich Schelling as well as wider religious philosophies like Vedānta, Mahāyāna Buddhism, Qabbalah, and Sufism. The Theosophical Society functions as a bridge between East and West, emphasizing the commonality of human culture.

THE FIRST GENERATION. Among the sixteen persons who participated in the formation of the Theosophical Society, two were notable for their roles in its future development: Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831–1891), a charismatic Russian of upper-class family, and Henry Steel Olcott (1832–1907), an American lawyer and journalist. Blavatsky was the energetic force that brought the society into existence, and she remained its chief theoretician throughout her life. At the age of eighteen, to escape the bonds of an unwanted marriage, she began her world travels, in the course of which she circumnavigated the globe and became familiar with a wide range of intellectual and mystical traditions. In 1873 she moved to New York, eventually meeting Olcott in Chittenden, Vermont, at Spiritualist meetings he was reporting for a New York newspaper. The Theosophical Society subsequently grew out of evening gatherings held in Blavatsky's New York apartment, at which papers and conversation about arcane matters attracted a small company of intellectuals. Blavatsky's first significant publication was *Isis Unveiled* (1877); her major book is *The Secret Doctrine* (1888), setting forth a cosmology; her most readable work is *The Key to Theosophy* (1889). Her periodical articles (in English and French, but excluding those in Russian) fill fourteen volumes of *Collected Writings* (1950–1991).

Olcott provided the organizing force that held the Theosophical Society together. During the American Civil War he had investigated procurement fraud for the military, and his early writings covered agriculture, insurance, and Spiritualism. He became the first president of the society and held that post until his death. He also became a champion of civil rights for the Ceylonese in Sri Lanka, where he remains a national hero; a promoter of education for the common people of Sri Lanka and India; and a key figure in the Buddhist revival, espousing an ecumenical Buddhism.

Three years after the Theosophical Society's founding, Olcott and Blavatsky left New York for Bombay, arriving there in 1879. A short-lived alliance with the Hindu reform movement of the Ārya Samāj failed because both sides misunderstood the basic orientation of the other. But Olcott and Blavatsky enjoyed a considerable popularity with some native Indians and members of the British raj, Blavatsky particularly among the latter for her ability to produce phenomena, such as the materialization of objects, and for her claim to be in touch with human teachers of extraordinary abilities.

In 1882 the Theosophical Society acquired property in southern India at Adyar, on the outskirts of Madras (now Chennai) where the Adyar River flows into the Bay of Bengal, property that is still the international headquarters of the society. In 1885 Blavatsky left India after an investigation by a staff member of the Society for Psychical Research (SPR) resulted in a report calling her an imposter, although the report was later shown by another member of the SPR to have been biased and flawed (Harrison, 1997). Blavatsky eventually settled in London, where she spent the last four years of her life producing the major body of her writings.

Meanwhile the Theosophical Society continued to grow, with national sections (semiautonomous bodies) being formed within the international organization. The first three sections were established in the United States (1886), England (1888), and India (1891).

LATER GENERATIONS. The most important person in the Theosophical Society's history after Blavatsky and Olcott was Annie Wood Besant (1847–1933). Already a proponent of free thought as well as an activist and the most famous woman orator in England, Besant met Blavatsky after reviewing the latter's book *The Secret Doctrine* for an English periodical. Besant joined the Theosophical Society just two years before Blavatsky's death and was almost immediately recognized as Blavatsky's spiritual successor. Besant became international president of the society upon Olcott's death in 1907.

Shortly after Blavatsky's death a disagreement arose about the role within the Theosophical Society of William Quan Judge (1851–1896), who was one of the society's original organizers and who had become the chief executive of the American section. As a result in 1895 most of the members and branches in the United States seceded from the parent society and formed an independent organization that is now headquartered in Pasadena, California. The parent society soon reestablished itself in the United States through lecture tours by Besant and others.

Besant was a supporter of Indian independence within the British Empire, and she became the first woman and the only non-Indian to serve as president of the Indian National Congress. Besant was also a vigorous promoter of education and of human and animal welfare. With her colleague Charles Webster Leadbeater (1854–1934), she added significantly to the body of Theosophical literature and sponsored the young Jiddu Krishnamurti (1895–1986), who later became an independent religious philosopher.

During the second generation the presentation of Theosophy focused on Indic and particularly Hindu spirituality in a Westernized form. Besant and Leadbeater also promoted several Western traditions interpreted in Theosophical terms, particularly Christianity through the Liberal Catholic Church and Freemasonry through a French-derived form of Co-Masonry that admitted women on equal footing with men. Besant also organized the Order of the Star in the East to promote Krishnamurti as the spokesperson for a new world teaching. These ancillary movements were organizationally autonomous but had overlapping memberships and leaderships with the Theosophical Society.

The Theosophical Society had its largest membership and influence during the 1920s. The 1929 decision of Krishnamurti to dissolve the Order of the Star and withdraw from the role envisioned for him, coupled with the effects of the Great Depression and World War II, reduced public awareness of the society. The society fared badly under totalitarian regimes, whether of the right or the left, being outlawed and persecuted in Francisco Franco's Spain, Adolf Hitler's Germany, Joseph Stalin's Russia, and other dictatorships. Yet Krishnamurti went on to become an important spiritual teacher in the late twentieth century, and the Theosophical Society continued under able leaders. Besant was followed in the presidency by an Englishman, George Arundale (1934–1945); a Sri Lankan, Curuppumullage Jinarajadasa (1945–1953); an Indian, N. Sri Ram (1953–1973); another Englishman, John Coats (1973–1979); and another Indian, Radha Burnier (1980–), daughter of Sri Ram. In the early twenty-first century the society has branches in some seventy countries and a membership of approximately thirty-two thousand.

THEOSOPHY. The Theosophical Society has no requirement of belief or practice for its members other than subscription to its three "objects" and a way of life not incompatible with them. These objects are:

> To form a nucleus of the universal brotherhood of humanity, without distinction of race, creed, sex, caste, or color
>
> To encourage the study of comparative religion, philosophy, and science
>
> To investigate unexplained laws of nature and the powers latent in humanity.

In addition to these objects a body of teachings has evolved that attempts to state in present-day terms concepts called the ancient wisdom, the perennial philosophy, or simply theosophy. These concepts, which are not incumbent on members of the society, although they are widely espoused by members, have no official statement. The concepts may include such ideas as the following, each with ethical implications:

- There is only one ultimate reality, of which all existent things are expressions. Theosophy is philosophically monistic, with implications of human equality (formulated in the society's first object) and concern for animal welfare (resulting in the practice of vegetarianism for ethical reasons and the avoidance of other animal exploitation).
- The orderliness of the world is expressed in cyclical patterns, which can be seen in all aspects of reality from the macrocosm to the microcosm, including the reincarnation of an individual human consciousness in a long series of lives. The belief that an individual has lived or will live in bodies of both sexes and of various races and cultures fosters an understanding of and respect for human differences.
- The orderliness of the world is based on a principle of causation called karma, which operates in both material and moral realms, positing for every action a corresponding reaction, both physical and ethical. The fact that every action by a person has unavoidable consequences is a basis for practical morality: to do harm to another is to generate harm for oneself; to do good to another is to ensure good for oneself.
- World history follows an evolutionary pattern, not only of material forms but of intellect and spirit, governed by both causes and purposes. Evolution is teleological, and consequently human life is meaningful and purposeful, a recognition of which aids successful living.
- All objects in the universe are imbued with consciousness of some sort, and consciousness evolves through the ages so that, for example, mineral consciousness becomes successively vegetative, animal, human, and eventually something beyond human. Furthermore the interconnection and interdependence of all consciousness implies an ecological rather than exploitative approach to life.
- The final purpose of evolutionary development is that the ultimate reality may become conscious of itself

through its expression as the world (similar to the philosophy of Alfred North Whitehead), and the purpose of human life is to further that evolutionary development by a conscious participation in it. All individuals have a high and serious calling, which may be responded to by carrying out the duties of their stations in life.

- Human beings are assisted in fulfilling the purpose of their lives by the teachings and examples of sages, prophets, saints, avatars, or bodhisattvas; but the responsibility for that fulfillment and the impulse to meet it arise from within the individual, who is responsible for his or her own salvation. A means to fulfill one's purpose for being is an intelligent and spiritually sensitive activism, tempered by the realization that one's knowledge of the world and of oneself is still severely limited, making humility and tolerance the best guideposts to ultimate success.

EXTENSIONS AND INFLUENCES. For a small and nonproselytizing organization, the Theosophical Society has had some notable effects. Offshoots of the parent society, headquartered at Adyar, Chennai, India, include the Theosophical Society with international headquarters at Pasadena, California (the direct descendant of the Judge group); the United Lodge of Theosophists; the Temple of the People at Halcyon, California; the Anthroposophical Society, which began as the German section of the Theosophical Society; the Buddhist Society U.K., which began as the Buddhist Lodge of the Theosophical Society; the Arcane School, Lucis Trust, and other organizations springing from Alice Bailey (1880–1949), who was an employee of the Theosophical Society; and a number of organizations often loosely categorized as New Age.

The concepts of the Theosophical Society have affected modern life especially in the areas of religious and social reform, art, literature, and what may loosely be called spirituality. Olcott was a leading force in the modern Buddhist revival, as was a protégé of his, Anagārika Dharmapāla (1864–1933), who founded the Maha Bodhi Society to preserve Buddhist sites and to extend Buddhism. Besant's prominence in Indian politics and in social movements inspired a number of others in India, England, and the United States to promote reform, especially for women's rights. An earlier Theosophical exponent of woman's rights was Matilda Joslyn Gage (1826–1898), American feminist and coauthor with Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony of the *History of Woman Suffrage* (1881–1887). Wassily Kandinsky framed his theory of nonobjective art in Theosophical terms, citing Blavatsky in his manifesto, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art* (1912); another pioneer in abstraction, Piet Mondrian, developed the neoplastic style of art on Theosophical principles. The Irish literary revival was influenced by Theosophy, particularly in the person of its chief exponent, William Butler Yeats. On a more general level, the Theosophical Society popularized such concepts as reincarnation, karma, and the aura as well as practices such as yoga and the complementary healing technique called Therapeutic Touch.

SEE ALSO Anthroposophy; Besant, Annie; Blavatsky, H. P.; Olcott, Henry Steel; Steiner, Rudolf.

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JOHN ALGEO (2005)

THERAVĀDA. The term *Theravāda Buddhism* refers, first, to a "school" and closely related "orientations" within the history of Buddhist monasticism and, second, to forms of Buddhist religious, political, and social life in various Buddhist countries. Although these two aspects of Theravāda Buddhism must be distinguished, they overlap and interact in various ways at different points in Theravāda history. In the present article, the specifically monastic aspects will receive priority, but reference will be made to the civilizational dimension as well.

What is the best way to identify the school and the related orientations that should appropriately be considered under the Theravāda rubric? This is a very difficult question, and there is no answer that proves appropriate in all circumstances. For our purposes, however, the following characterization may be helpful. The Theravāda school and orientations within Buddhist monasticism are those that have been self-consciously identified with the "Way of the Elders" (Skt., Sthaviravāda; Pali, Theravāda) and have maintained Pali as the language in which they have preserved what they hold to be the authentic teaching of the Buddha. Within the larger divisions of the Buddhist community, the Theravāda is the sole surviving member of the so-called Eighteen Schools, the eighteen (by traditional reckoning) *nikāya*s that together made up what its detractors would come to call Hīnayāna Buddhism, the "lesser vehicle" to salvation. With the other Hīnayāna schools, the Theravāda shares a soteriology centered around the figure of the *arahant* (Skt., *arhat*), forms of community life strictly regulated by the Vinaya, or code of monastic conduct, and a canon that rejects the authenticity of the Mahāyāna *sūtra*s. Theravāda remains today, as it has been for nearly a thousand years, the dominant Buddhist tradition in Sri Lanka (Ceylon), Burma, Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia.

Once this way of identifying the scholastic expressions and orientations of Theravāda Buddhism has been established, the identification of Theravāda forms of Buddhist civilization is much easier. Quite simply, Theravāda forms of Buddhist civilization are those that have been strongly influenced by the Theravāda school (including its conceptions and prescriptions relevant to society as a whole as well as to the monastic community) and heavily supported by Theravāda monks.

The recognition of these two dimensions of Theravāda Buddhism, and the specification of very general criteria for identifying each of them, does not resolve the very serious problems involved in generating an adequate historical description. It does, however, establish parameters that will facilitate the discussion.

ORIGINS AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT.

Theravāda Buddhism, like other forms of Buddhism, had its origin in the life of the early Buddhist community. However, during the earliest stages of Buddhist development schools had not yet crystallized in any formal sense. Although the claim to represent the earliest Buddhism is doctrinally important, none of the schools that developed later can be considered, on the basis of purely historical scholarship, to be the sole inheritor and preserver of the original form of Buddhist teaching and practice.

The first centuries.

We know that not longer than 110 years after the death of the Buddha the different emphases that existed within the earliest community culminated in a major schism. The school known as the Mahāsāṃghika ("those of the great assembly") was more populist in its attitude toward doctrinal matters, disciplinary practices, and modes of communal organization. By contrast, the Sthaviravāda school was more conservative in its approach to doctrine and practice and was more hierarchical in its patterns of community life.

Although a Theravāda tradition using Pali as its sacred language probably existed in the earliest days, its differentiation from other related traditions at this point was still quite nascent. The preferences for versions of the received tradition according to language or dialect were, as far as we know, not yet correlated with particular differences in doctrinal or practical orientation. Nor had the issues that later led to the more refined scholastic divisions been formulated in any hard and fast way.

Similarly, it is impossible to identify "Buddhist civilization," much less its Theravāda form, during the first centuries of Buddhist history. This is not to say that the Buddhist tradition generally, and the Theravādins in particular, did not have civilizational aspirations. From texts dating to this period, it seems clear that they did. But at this point the opportunity for implementation had not yet arisen.

Aśoka and after.

By the period of the reign of Aśoka (third century BCE) the initial division of the Buddhist community into those of the "Great Assembly" and those of the "Way of the Elders" had subdivided further. Exactly how many groups existed, what range of languages or dialects were used to preserve their Master's teachings, and how sharply these groups were divided remains problematic. But according to Theravāda accounts dating from at least the fourth century CE, Aśoka himself sponsored a council that clarified the major differences.

According to these later accounts, Aśoka requested that a Buddhist council be held under the leadership of his monastic preceptor, a Theravāda monk named Moggaliputtatissa. At this council, the Theravādins claim to have bested their opponents in heated debates on numerous disputed issues. Not only was the Third Council supposed to have upheld the Theravādins' orthodoxy but also to have resulted in the expulsion of the defeated heretics from the *saṃgha* (Pali, *sangha*), or monastic order. The lack of corroboration from non-Theravāda sources casts doubt on the ecumenical character of the Third Council; however, most scholars accept that some sort of council was held.

Further Theravāda accounts record that Aśoka sponsored Buddhist missions that traveled beyond the frontiers of his considerable empire. These accounts date the founding of the Theravāda school in Southeast Asia and Sri Lanka to

Aśoka's missions to Suvaṇṇabhūmi (CE, Southeast Asia) and Tambapaṇṇi (CE, Sri Lanka), respectively. Aśoka's Pillar Edicts corroborate only that he sponsored the mission to Tambapaṇṇi. Other inscriptional evidence, however, supports the chronicles' accounts about a mission to Himavanta (typically identified with the Himalayan areas), whereas again the Pillar Edicts are silent. Therefore, the chronicles' accounts about a mission to Suvaṇṇabhūmi may well be accurate.

There is no substantial reason to doubt that by Aśoka's time the Theravādins formed a distinctive group within the Buddhist *sangha.* They preserved the teachings of the Buddha in Pali through their oral tradition; by the Third Buddhist Council or shortly thereafter, the Theravādins held their own positions on specific points of doctrine and practice. They also actively contributed to the Buddhist missionary activity during the third and second centuries BCE. It may nevertheless be premature to speak of Theravāda's influence as having achieved civilizational scale apart from its role within the Indian *sangha* as a whole. During the centuries that followed Aśoka's death, the Theravāda tradition continued to spread its influence in India, but as one school among many (eighteen is the traditional number given). Specific information remains scanty.

Sri Lanka and the Dhammadīpa tradition. In Sri Lanka, however, the situation was quite different. Within this distinctive provincial area, Theravāda traditions became firmly established and prospered. The Pali chronicles compiled and preserved by the Sinhala monks, inscriptions, and extensive archaeological remains make it possible to reconstruct a comparatively full picture of Theravāda Buddhism in the Sri Lanka of the first century BCE.

For example, the Pali chronicle written in fifth-century Sri Lanka and known as the *Mahāvaṃsa* (Great Chronicle) records the momentous decision to commit the Theravāda canon, preserved and transmitted for centuries by oral tradition, to writing. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, between the years 29 and 17 BCE Sri Lanka was threatened by foreign invasion and famine, and the Theravāda monks feared that the monastic community would be dispersed and the oral tradition broken and lost. In an effort to prevent this, they gathered together and committed to writing the Tipiṭaka (Skt., Tripiṭaka; "three baskets"), that is, the Buddhist canon. As a result, this aspect of the tradition was solidified in a basic form that has remained largely intact through Theravāda history.

The first two Piṭakas, or "baskets," are the Sutta Piṭaka, which contains sermons, discourses, and sayings attributed to the Buddha, and the Vinaya Piṭaka, which contains stories about the Buddha that introduce rules concerning the conduct for monks and nuns and the proper functioning of the monastic order. These two baskets comprise many strata of traditions ranging in dates from the time of the Buddha himself up to at least the time of Aśoka. Most of the material that they contain is present also in the traditions preserved by other Buddhist schools in various forms of Prakrit and Sanskrit, sometimes in slightly different form and often much embellished.

However, in the case of the third Piṭaka, called the Abhidhamma, or "Higher Teaching," the situation is quite different. Here we have a collection of seven compositions, each unique to the Theravāda school. These seven compositions represent a relatively late scholastic formulation, compiled possibly during the Aśokan or early post-Aśokan period. Together they present and summarize Buddhist teachings in a systematic form that differentiates Theravāda scholasticism from that of the other schools that were developing during the same period. This Theravāda distinctiveness is perhaps most explicitly expressed in the *Kathāvatthu*, an Abhidhamma text attributed to Moggaliputtatissa and associated with the Third Council. In this forensic and polemic text over two hundred Theravāda positions are defended against opposing doctrines. For example, the doctrine of *anatta* ("no-self") is defended against an opponent who asserts the existence of some kind of continuing personal entity (a view usually associated with the Pudgalavāda school); the doctrine of *anicca* (momentariness) is defended against an opponent who affirms the existence of past, present, and future times (a view usually associated with the Sarvāstivāda school); and the attainments of the *arahant*s (Skt., *arhat*s; fully perfected saints) are defended against opponents who questioned their perfection (a view associated most often, but not exclusively, with the Mahāsāṃghikas).

There is strong evidence to suggest that before the beginning of the common era an extensive tradition of commentaries on many portions of the Pali Tipiṭaka already existed in the Sinhala vernacular. To what extent the original forms of these commentaries were brought to Sri Lanka by the legendary missionaries of Aśokan times is unclear. Nor can we be sure to what extent these commentaries were composed in India in Pali and subsequently translated into Sinhala and to what extent they were actually composed or adapted in Sri Lanka. Since none of these commentaries has survived in its early Sinhala form, the contents cannot be determined with certainty. We know only that before the beginning of the common era a significant corpus of Tipiṭaka commentaries, preserved in Sinhala, formed an integral component of the Theravāda tradition in Sri Lanka.

By this time, too, Theravāda Buddhism in Sri Lanka had become a civilizational religion. It may be, as the later chronicles maintain, that the civilizational character dates to the time of the Aśokan missionaries to Sri Lanka. Said to have been the son of Aśoka, the monk named Mahinda (Skt., Mahendra) supposedly succeeded in his missionary goal of establishing the Theravāda lineage in Sri Lanka and converting the Sinhala king, Devānaṃpiyatissa. Shortly thereafter, according to the texts, Aśoka's daughter, the nun Sanghamittā, brought to Sri Lanka the ordination lineage for women. King Devānaṃpiyatissa is credited with founding the famous Mahāvihāra monastery, which not only encompassed the king's capital within its boundaries, but later housed the monks who authored the chronicles that we now possess.

Another possible point for the emergence of Theravāda as a civilizational religion is the reign of the Sinhala hero, King Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (r. 161–137 BCE). According to the fifth-century *Mahāvaṃsa* account (whose preeminent hero is Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, as opposed to the fourth-century *Dīpavaṃsa* account, whose hero is Devānaṃpiyatissa), Duṭṭhagāmaṇī sought to evict the South Indians who had established their hegemony in northern Sri Lanka. While still a prince he organized a campaign in which the struggle to establish centralized rule and the struggle to establish Theravāda Buddhism as the "national" religion became closely identified. With the victory of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and his construction of the Mahāthūpa (a funerary mound that enshrined relics of the Buddha and formed a key monument within the Mahāvihāra's monastic complex) in the capital of Anurādhapura, the civilizational character of Theravāda found a powerful vehicle of expression. Certainly, by the end of the first century BCE, after the Pali scriptures had been committed to writing, the Theravāda ideal of Sri Lanka as the Dhammadīpa, the "Island of the Dhamma," seemed well-developed not only in Sri Lankan religious and political institutions, but in Sinhala identity as well.

THERAVĀDA BUDDHISM IN GREATER INDIA. The history of Theravāda Buddhism in India and Southeast Asia during the first millennium CE continues to be extremely obscure. We know that Theravādins held sway in a number of important Buddhist centers in India, especially in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. And we also know that several of the most famous Theravāda scholars were of Indian origin and, among these, some did their primary work in Indian monasteries.

In Southeast Asia, specifically among the Burmese of Lower Burma and the Mon peoples of Lower Burma and Thailand, the Theravāda tradition became firmly rooted and exerted a significant civilizational influence. Later legends trace the founding of this tradition to Soṇa and Uttara, the two missionaries reportedly dispatched to Suvaṇṇabhūmi by Moggaliputtatissa. The first archaeological evidence of Buddhism's presence has been found along inland and coastal trade routes, and dates to early in the first millennium CE. In Lower Burma inscriptions have been found that confirm a preeminent Theravāda presence in Pyu/Burmese royal centers beginning from the fifth century CE, and some sort of Theravāda influence is attested in Pagan somewhat later. In Thailand, similar evidence indicates that the Theravāda tradition was an important, perhaps central, religious element in the Mon civilization of Dvāravatī that flourished over a wide area of central, northern, and northeastern Thailand from the sixth to the eleventh century. Such sources notwithstanding, information concerning the kind or kinds of Theravāda Buddhism that existed among the Burmese and Mon is virtually nonexistent. Moreover, there is little data that illumines the relationship between the various Theravāda traditions and the other schools—notably other Hīnayāna schools that used Sanskrit as their sacred language—that were also very influential throughout the mainland areas of Southeast Asia.

In Sri Lanka, literary and archaeological remains provide many more details regarding local Theravāda history. According to fifth-century chronicle accounts, the first major division within the Theravāda *sangha* in Sri Lanka occurred soon after the Pali Tipiṭaka was commited to writing, probably between 29 and 17 BCE. A famous monk named Mahātissa evidently built, with royal support, an impressive new monastery in Anurādhapura. Sometime thereafter, monks of the long-established Mahāvihāra fraternity (by whose account this story is preserved) accused Mahātissa of violating the monastic discipline and tried to expel him from the *sangha*. Monks loyal to Mahātissa then formed the fraternity of the Abhayagiri monastery, which became for some time the Mahāvihāra's archrival. The Abhayagiri lineage maintained independent institutional traditions that eventually gave rise to branch monastic communities as far distant as Java.

Like the Mahāvihāra, the Abhayagiri came to include an order of nuns among its residents. These nuns seem to have been very active and were responsible for transmitting the women's ordination lineage to China in the fifth century. With an extensive network of affiliated monasteries, the Abhayagiri controlled its own sizable collection of wealth and property. This new fraternity also came to possess its own version of the Pali Tipiṭaka, its own distinctive version of certain aspects of Theravāda doctrine, and its own interpretation of particular points of monastic discipline. In addition—in contrast to their Mahāvihāra rivals—the Abhayagiri *nikāya*, like the communities that supervised the great monastic universities of India, welcomed into their midst monks from other Hīnayāna schools, and from various Mahāyāna and, later, Tantric traditions as well.

This willingness of the Abhayagiri Theravādins to welcome Mahāyāna adherents into their company generated, some three centuries after its founding, a schism within its own ranks. In the middle of the fourth century three hundred monks declared their aversion to the presence of Mahāyāna monks at the Abhayagiri, withdrew from that fraternity, and formed an independent group that came to be known as the Jetavana fraternity. The new Jetavana *nikāya* acquired affiliated monasteries and also considerable land and other wealth. But compared to the Mahāvihāra and Abhayagiri *nikāya*s, the Jetavana remained relatively small. From time to time, it became associated with particular doctrinal and disciplinary interpretations of its own, but a sustained distinctive orientation never emerged to compete seriously with its two rivals. Although by the end of the third century the Theravāda *sangha* in Sri Lanka had become divided, certain tendencies remained common to all three *nikāya*s. For example, the Theravāda scholasticism that blossomed during the fifth century drew scholars from the Mahāvihāra and from other *nikāya*s as well.

The most influential scholar associated with this efflorescence, if not Theravāda scholasticism generally, was Bhadantacariya Buddhaghosa. Probably a native of northern India, Buddhaghosa traveled to Sri Lanka in order to translate the Sinhala commentarial tradition, preserved by the Mahāvihāravāsins, into Pali, which by this time was recognized as the lingua franca of the international Theravāda community. Buddhaghosa's industriousness during his residence at the Mahāvihāra produced a rich and extensive corpus of Pali commentarial literature that became a fundamental resource for subsequent scholarship and practice throughout the Theravāda world. In addition, Buddhaghosa produced a comprehensive meditational guide and doctrinal summary known as the *Visuddhimagga* (The Path of Purification). Rich with historical anecdotes, the *Visuddhimagga* remains an authoritative resource for Theravāda scholars and adherents from his own time to the present. Although there is no corroborating evidence, a Southeast Asian tradition records that Buddhaghosa traveled to Burma late in his life and that his influence inaugurated a renascence of Burmese Theravāda.

Two monks from South India, Buddhadatta, a younger contemporary of Buddhaghosa, and Dhammapāla, his successor, also made significant contributions to the new literature in Pali. And many scholars believe that it was a monk from the Abhayagiri monastery who composed a manual entitled *Vimuttimagga* (The Path of Liberation), which, while not as wide-ranging, was nevertheless remarkably parallel to Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga.* Some scholars suggest there may be a common source for both of these manuals that has parallels or variations in India as well.

Another movement in Sri Lanka that drew interested monks from all Theravāda *nikāya*s was ascetic in character and led to the rise of at least two prominent groups. The first group, known as the Paṃsukūlikas ("those who wear robes made from rags"), began to play an important role during the seventh century and continued to be noted in historical records until the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Although little is known about the group, it is quite possible that at least some of the Paṃsukūlikas were strongly influenced by Tantric trends that were becoming increasingly prominent throughout the Buddhist world, including Sri Lanka.

The second group, which attracted many proponents, especially from among the Mahāvihāravāsins, first began to be mentioned in tenth-century records. Referred to as *āraññika*s ("forest dwellers"), these monks declined to reside in the rich monasteries of the capital and established their own monastic centers in the countryside. They adopted a more stringent discipline than their urban contemporaries, and emphasized more rigorous modes of scholarship and meditation.

Throughout the entire first millennium CE, as Sri Lankan Theravāda Buddhism developed its monastic teaching and modes of practice, it also developed various civilizational aspects of its orientation. There was often serious and sometimes destructive competition between segments of the monastic community for royal support in particular and lay support in general. Serious disagreements among different Theravāda groups concerned various matters such as the propriety of monastic land ownership and wealth, the status and authority of the king, the appropriateness of various forms of ritual practice, and the like. But despite the differences, several general trends emerged. For example, over the course of the millennium monastic institutions controlled increasing amounts of land and accumulated increasing amounts of wealth. With regard to royalty, the Theravāda notion of kingship became gradually more exalted until, by the end of the period, the king was generally portrayed as a *bodhisatta* (future Buddha). Various relics of the Buddha, especially the tooth relic and the alms bowl relic, came to be regarded as palladia of the kingdom, and also became centers around which large-scale "national" festivals were celebrated.

THE GREAT REVIVAL AND BEYOND. During the first centuries after the turn of the second millennium CE, the center of gravity in the Theravāda world shifted significantly to the east. In India, Buddhism, including Theravāda Buddhism, succumbed almost completely to the pressures exerted by Hinduism and Islam. But in Sri Lanka, Burma, and Thailand, Theravāda gained new vitality and spread to new areas. Establishing centers in the Mekong Valley, the Theravādins attained preeminence by the mid-fourteenth century both among the Khmer (Cambodians) and the Lao.

At the beginning of the period Theravāda fortunes were at a low ebb. In Sri Lanka, the Theravāda *sangha* had suffered serious setbacks as a result of Cōḻa invasions from South India and the collapse of the hydraulic civilization of northern Sri Lanka. In Southeast Asia, the Pyu-Burmese and Mon civilizations in which the Theravādins had played a major role had lost much of their vitality. During this period, the kingdom of Pagan seemed to be more oriented toward Hinduism and Sanskritic forms of Buddhism than toward Theravāda. And with hegemony over most of what is now Thailand, the powerful and expansive Khmer court at Angkor was strongly oriented toward Hinduism and Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Accounts of the beginnings of the Theravāda resurgence that occurred in the latter half of the eleventh century vary according to the tradition that has preserved them. However, one primary fact stands clear both in Sri Lanka and in Burma: Theravāda became the favored tradition at the major centers of political power. In Sri Lanka this occurred after the explusion of the Cōḻa invaders and the restoration of Theravāda-oriented Sinhala royalty by Vijayabāhu I. In Burma, it occurred through the conquest of the Mon by King Aniruddha of Pagan, his introduction of Mon Theravāda monks and their traditions to Pagan, and the subsequent recognition in Pagan of the preeminence of the Theravāda *sangha.*

Sri Lanka. In Sri Lanka, the revitalized Theravāda tradition was given an important new direction in the twelfth century when, during the reign of Parākramabāhu I, a major reform and reorganization of the *sangha* was implemented. Parākramabāhu I requested the Mahāvihāra-oriented *āraññika*s, who had begun to appear on the scene two to three centuries earlier, to preside over a council. The goal of the council, not dissimilar from the goals of previous but less successful royal policies, was to purify and unify the Sri Lankan *sangha*. This time a number of factors contributed to success. On one hand, the *nikāya*s had been weakened by the recent confiscation of monastic property by King Vikramabāhu I (r. 1111–1132) and, on the other, there was a respite in the warring between Sinhala and South Indian groups.

The council "purified" the *sangha*, which meant that the code of proper monastic conduct was ascertained and monks who refused to comply were expelled. The reforms then unified the *sangha* by bringing all the remaining factions (and it is clear there were many) together into a single communal order. In so doing, the reforms provided the basis for a new structure of ecclesiastical organization that was established either at that time or shortly thereafter. The new system involved the appointment, by the king, of a *mahāsvami* or *sangharāja* to act as the monastic head of the *sangha* as a whole, and also the appointment (under him) of two *mahāsthavira*s to supervise the *gāmavāsin*, or village-dwelling monks, and the *vanavāsin*, or forest-dwelling monks (also called *āraññika*s), respectively.

The reform movement that the council expressed and abetted also generated a tremendous burst of literary creativity that matched and perhaps even exceeded the literary achievements of Buddhaghosa and others some seven centuries earlier. This new literary efflorescence had two very important dimensions. The first was the production, primarily by a monk named Sāriputta—a leading figure at the council who later seems to have held the position of *mahāsvami*—and his disciples, of a whole new strata of Pali literature. The new Pali compositions included a series of subcommentaries on the commentaries of Buddhaghosa, especially on Vinaya; also included were a number of very important texts dealing with the lineages or histories (*vaṃsa*) of various relics of the Buddha and monuments to him, as well as the more wide-ranging historical chronicles that brought the narrative of the *Mahāvaṃsa* up to date. This new literary dynamism also generated new genres of Pali and Sinhala literature that were often permeated with devotional themes. This literature vividly expressed the new reformist concern to convey the Theravāda message in linguistic and religious idioms acceptable both to monastic and lay constituencies in the countryside as well as in the urban centers.

This reformed tradition by and large remained preeminent and creative in Sri Lanka up to the coming of the Portuguese in the fifteenth century, and persisted for some centuries thereafter. The *sangha* retained its symbiotic relationship with the Sinhala kings, and the monasteries acquired new lands and wealth. However, during the period after 1500, when the authority of the indigenous Buddhist kingdom was increasingly confined to the inland highlands, the *sangha* suffered a serious erosion of standards. By the early eighteenth century, the level of monastic scholarship and discipline had reached a very low level indeed.

Burma. In Southeast Asia, the resurgence of Theravāda proceeded rather differently. At the time King Aniruddha came to the throne in Pagan (eleventh century) the Mon in Lower Burma preserved a very ancient Theravāda tradition associated with the Aśokan missionaries Soṇa and Uttara. Through the reforms initiated by Aniruddha and his monastic preceptor, Shin Arahan, and renewed by his successor, King Kyanzittha, a strong Theravāda tradition was established in Upper Burma and given powerful royal support. In the twelfth century a further reformist element was introduced at Pagan by a monk named Chapaṭa, who had gone to Sri Lanka during the reign of Parākramabāhu I and had been reordained in the newly purified and unified Sri Lankan *sangha*. Thus, by the end of the twelfth century, when the Pagan dynasty was still a very powerful force, the Theravāda tradition had become firmly established as the preeminent religion in Burma. What is more, the three major subtraditions that were to coexist and compete with one another through the entire premodern period—those associated with Lower Burma, Upper Burma, and Sri Lanka—were all more or less firmly in place.

The Burmese monastic reforms, which in some respects corresponded to those that had been implemented in twelfth-century Sri Lanka, took place when the fifteenth-century Mon king named Dhammaceti assumed the throne in Lower Burma. Formerly a monk, King Dhammaceti sponsored a delegation of eighteen monks to be reordained in Sri Lanka. When these monks returned, Dhammaceti insisted that all those within his realm who wished to remain in the *sangha* be reordained by the new fraternity. Following this "purification" and unification process, the king proceeded to establish a monastic hierarchy whose responsibility it was to maintain strict adherence to the Vinaya rules. King Dhammaceti's efforts served to emphasize the influence of Sinhala monastic traditions in Burma. Moreover, his activities gave impetus to a new tradition of Pali Abhidhamma scholarship and commentaries that has been a hallmark of Burmese Buddhism ever since.

Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos. Farther to the east, the Theravāda resurgence developed later than it had in Burma. The first hint that an expansion of Theravāda influence might be in the offing came from the report that one of the five monks who accompanied Chapaṭa on his journey to Sri Lanka in the late twelfth century was a member of the royal court of Angkor. However, it is not until the latter part of the thirteenth century that hard evidence becomes available. Based on the report of a Chinese visitor, Theravāda—possibly with connections both to Mon and Sinhala traditions—had become one of the major factors in the religious life at the Khmer/Cambodian capital at Angkor.

The newly established (thirteenth-century) Thai kingdoms of Lānnā in northwestern Thailand and Sukhōthai in central Thailand assumed the reigns of power from their Mon predecessors in areas formerly defined by the ancient Dvāravatī civilization. Like their Mon predecessors, the Thais also venerated Theravāda traditions. But during the mid-fourteenth century, Mon Theravāda traditions had to make way for a Sinhala reformist movement that spread from a center at Martaban in Lower Burma to several Thai capitals including Ayutthayā, Sukhōthai, and Chiangmai (Lānnā).

Theravāda monasteries continued to proliferate throughout the region. By the latter part of the fifteenth century the Lānnā capital of Chiangmai had emerged as one of the major intellectual centers in the Theravāda world. In central Thailand, where the locus of power gradually shifted from Sukhōthai to Ayutthayā, the Theravāda presence was consolidated. Farther east in Cambodia, Theravāda gradually displaced the deeply entrenched traditions of Hinduism and Mahāyāna Buddhism, a transition facilitated by the abandonment of the old capital of Angkor in the mid-fifteenth century. According to chronicle accounts, Theravāda became the preeminent tradition in Laos beginning with the conversion of a Laotian prince during his exile in the court of Angkor in the mid-fourteenth century. He subsequently became the ruler of the powerful Laotian kingdom of Luang Prabang. Through the entire area during this period, appropriation of reformist Theravāda influence from Sri Lanka continued. Indeed, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, reformist Sinhala fraternities dominated in all of the major royal centers and in many of the lesser ones as well.

Throughout the later premodern period in Southeast Asia there were a number of Theravāda kingdoms that held sway over various geographical areas for varying periods of time. A succession of such kingdoms constituted and fostered a loosely linked "national" tradition in Burma, and a more stable Thai kingdom was governed from Ayutthayā. A series of leading Theravāda kingdoms succeeded one another in Laos, and in Cambodia still another royal center was established. Since the pattern and development of Theravāda religion, both monastic and civilizational, varied from area to area and from kingdom to kingdom, generalizations are necessarily problematic. However, at least two important characteristics can be observed across the entire area.

First, monastic history, punctuated as it has been by reform movements, has necessarily also been subject to the considerable tensions intrinsic to that process. In Southeast Asia a continuing tension, more or less explicit, characterized relations between reformist movements and other Theravāda traditions that continued to coexist with them. Reformist groups vied with each other and indigenous groups over the purity and authenticity of their monastic observances. An extremely sensitive matter, monastic factionalism could readily be interpreted as a sign of the king's inability to maintain order in his kingdom (and often was). By way of demonstrating their authority to rule, royal sponsors had to act judiciously to balance the often contradictory demands of monastic purity and unity.

Generally speaking, the reformists were associated with Sinhala fraternities and sooner or later with royal sponsors. On the other hand, the Theravāda fraternities that resisted these reforms (fraternities that were often themselves the products of earlier reforms) typically maintained their own traditions about monastic discipline and the propriety of monastic wealth. In some instances these latter groups preserved texts and practices originally derived from Sanskrit Buddhist schools that had once exerted considerable influence in the area. They were often involved with localized modes of sacrality and were very resistant to attempts from the capital to exert centralized authority. In addition, they often utilized both Pali and vernacular texts, as well as mystical and magical modes of practice, that were clearly Tantric in character. It should be noted, however, that beliefs in the magical power of properly intoned sounds—especially Pali words—to effect order or secure protection seem to have been common to both groups.

The second characteristic of the premodern Theravāda tradition throughout Southeast Asia was the distinctive manner and extent of its civilizational role. Like the Theravāda *sangha* in Sri Lanka, the Theravāda *sangha* in Southeast Asia maintained symbiotic relationships with the various kings who ruled in specific areas. The *sangha* supported the veneration of *thūpa*s and Buddha images that had connections with political and social life at every level. Also like the Theravāda *sangha* in Sri Lanka, the *sangha* in Southeast Asia developed a textual tradition in Pali and in the various vernaculars (some translated, some originally composed) that addressed the religious, social, and moral concerns of all groups from court to village. But in Southeast Asia there was a special practice that further enhanced the civilizational impact of Theravāda, namely, the temporary participation of a significant segment of the male population in the life of the monastic order. In some areas this involved a temporary ordination as a novice. In other areas it involved temporary ordination, or several temporary ordinations, as a full-fledged member of the Order. But whatever form this practice took, it provided the context for a monastic acculturation that has given the societies of Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos their distinctive Theravāda flavor.

THERAVĀDA BUDDHISM SINCE 1750. During the past two and a half centuries Theravāda Buddhism has retained its basic structure, and the major regional traditions have maintained many of the particularities that had come to characterize them during premodern times. However, during this period there have been important developments in the Theravāda world, some the result of internal dynamics and others the result of the external pressures of colonialism and "modernity." Since most of these developments have appeared throughout the Theravāda world, we will pursue our discussion thematically. However, since these developments took very different forms in different areas, it will be necessary to give careful attention to regional and national differences.

In the monastic context the stage was set for the developments of the modern period by major reforms that were implemented in each of the three major Theravāda regions. In Sri Lanka the relevant reform took place in the middle decades of the eighteenth century. Centered in the independent kingdom of Kandy and led by the *saṅgharāja* named Välivita Saranamkara, this movement received royal support. Believing their ordination lineage to be defective, the reformers invited Thai monks to Sri Lanka to reintroduce an authentic Theravāda lineage. Through their efforts a new Siyam (Thai) *nikāya* was established.

Later in the eighteenth century King Bodawpaya (r. 1781-1819) succeeded in uniting Burma under his rule and in establishing a considerable degree of royally regulated discipline within the Burmese *sangha.* Through his efforts Bodawpaya officially resolved the long-standing and rancorous dispute between monastic factions about the proper way of wearing the monastic robes. Having more or less unified the *sangha*, Bodawpaya's reforms established the basis for the Thudhamma segment of the Order that has continued to include the majority of Burmese monks.

In Indochina the corresponding reforms were sponsored by King Rāma I, the founder of the Thai kingdom of Bangkok. Having claimed the throne after a period of severe disruption following the destruction of the former Thai capital of Ayutthayā, the first ruler of the new Cakkrī dynasty introduced a series of reforms that unified the *sangha* and strengthened discipline within its ranks. This more or less unified fraternity—later called the Mahanikāya—has never lost its majority position within the Thai *sangha.* In Cambodia and Laos closely related, although less reformed, Mahanikāya fraternities were dominant at the beginning of the modern period and have held that position ever since.

During the nineteenth century there emerged within the *sangha* in each area a major competing faction or factions. In Sri Lanka two competing fraternities appeared on the scene—the Amarapura *nikāya* (so called because it received its new ordination lineage from the branch of the Burmese *sangha* that was recognized at the Burmese capital of Amarapura) and the Rāmañña *nikāya* (so called because it received its new ordination lineage from the Mon *sangha* that had its center in the Rāmañña country of Lower Burma). The Amarapura *nikāya* came into being because ordination in the Siyam *nikāya* had quickly become limited to members of the highest (*goyigama*) caste. Although the intrusion of caste distinctions into the Theravāda *sangha* in Sri Lanka was not a new phenomenon, such discrimination led, in the early nineteenth century, to the formation of a competing fraternity. This new fraternity was—and remains today—a rather loose confederation of several smaller groups from various other castes that are especially prominent in southwestern Sri Lanka.

The Rāmañña *nikāya* was established in 1864 when a group of monks with a more uncompromising attitude toward any kind of caste distinctions within the *sangha* and a more "modernist" approach to all aspects of Buddhist teaching and practice formed their own independent fraternity. ("Modernist" in this article refers to a skeptical attitude toward traditional beliefs regarding cosmology, the existence of gods and spirits, and the efficacy of rituals.) Although this stricter and more modernist Rāmañña *nikāya* has remained by far the smallest of the Sinhala fraternities, it has nevertheless exerted considerable influence on the Buddhist community in Sri Lanka.

During the nineteenth century many of the same factors and orientations were present in Burma as in Sri Lanka, but a different kind of political and social context led to a much greater proliferation of *nikāya* and similar groups called *gaing*s. In Burma, much more than in Sri Lanka, the nineteenth-century British conquest disrupted the fabric of social life. In response to a disrupted environment, numerous small, more tightly organized groups formed alongside the majority Thudhamma monks who continued to accept the authority of the royally sponsored Thudhamma Council through the reign of King Mindon Min (d. 1878). These various groups both complemented one another and competed with each other for purity of monastic observance and its attendant lay support. Among these groups the Thudhamma monks and the Shwegyin fraternity came to play the most important role. In comparison with the Thudhamma monks, the Shwegyin group succeeded in maintaining a more rigorous level of scholarship and discipline. The Shwegyin and the other smaller reformist communities, although less explicitly "modernist" in their orientation than the Rāmañña fraternity in Sri Lanka, had close affinities with it.

In western Indochina during the nineteenth century a single new *nikāya*, the Thammayut, emerged to complement and compete with the established Mahanikāya fraternity. The Thammayut (Dhammayuttika) *nikāya* was founded in Thailand in the mid-nineteenth century by the future king Mongkut (Rāma IV) during his more than twenty years in the *sangha.* Clearly modernist in its orientation, the group received its ordination lineage from the same Mon tradition to which modern-oriented reformists in other Theravāda countries also turned. But unlike the Rāmañña fraternity in Sri Lanka and the Shwegyin fraternity in Burma, the Thammayut fraternity received special support from Thailand's unconquered monarchy all through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This, plus the closely related fact that its members were drawn largely from the highest levels of the Thai elite, enabled it to exert a powerful influence on the much larger Mahanikāya. The Thammayut's favored status and elite membership also enabled it to play an important role in drawing provincial traditions into the central Thai *sangha*, and in extending central Thai influence into the *sangha*s of Cambodia and Laos as well.

Thus, by the beginning of the twentieth century the various fraternities that still constitute the Theravāda *sangha*s in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia had already come into being. But there is one related twentieth-century development that should also be mentioned, namely the very tentative and controversial reemergence of the order of nuns. For almost a millennium the order had not existed in the Theravāda context, although in some Theravāda areas there were many, typically older women who adopted a celibate mode of life and frequented the monastic environs. But in recent years a few determined women from Theravāda countries have gone to Taiwan, where they have been ordained into the lineage of nuns that had been transmitted from Sri Lanka to China in the fifth century. The number of such nuns in Theravāda countries is currently still minuscule, and the authenticity of their ordination is not recognized by the great majority of Theravāda monks and laity. But the seeds for a possible revival have clearly been planted.

During the modern period these essentially monastic developments have been complemented by a number of civilizationally oriented movements, all of which have drawn on long-established Theravāda traditions. But at the same time they have appropriated and adapted these traditions in new ways. Four movements may be cited as examples.

1. Millenarian movements, which constitute the first example, may be subdivided into at least two major types. The first type, which has appeared primarily in Burma and other Southeast Asian countries, is represented by more mystical, politically passive movements that have at their respective centers a cult devoted to a charismatic personage (sometimes identified with the future Buddha Metteyya) who is expected—at some very indefinite future time—to usher in a new age. The second type is represented by more activist movements that have arisen in periods and contexts where crises of power have occurred. Such politically active millenarian movements appeared in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia during the period of British and French colonial conquest. They have appeared within the colonial context itself—most notably in the famous Saya San rebellion in Burma. They have also appeared when indigenous governments (particularly in Burma and Thailand) have sought to extend their authority into outlying areas.

2. A closely related set of movements that has been particularly strong in Southeast Asia has involved the cultivation of meditational practice. Many of these movements have coalesced around charismatic individuals who have achieved advanced meditational states and are in some instances rumored to be *arahant*s, or fully perfected saints. Often in such cases these meditationally advanced individuals make their power available to their followers in the form of appropriately blessed amulets and other sacred objects. On the other hand, many of the movements in this set emphasize the importance of meditation for all. Special forms of practice have been developed for less committed monks and for the laity. Numerous lay-oriented meditation centers have been set up in Burma where the contemporary meditational emphasis began to take form in the early twentieth century, in Thailand where lay meditation has enjoyed great popularity in recent years, and increasingly in Sri Lanka as well.

3. A third set of movements that have had a significant impact are those that can be characterized as "modernist" in the specific sense noted above. In the monastic context, modernist concerns were very much involved in the formation of several of the monastic fraternities that developed in various Theravāda countries during the nineteenth century. Equally important, major lay movements with modernist ideologies have appeared and taken root. In Sri Lanka in the late nineteenth century, Anagārika Dharmapala and those who shared his views emphasized a "this-worldly" mode of lay asceticism (Anagārika is a title designating a lay ascetic) and rejected many traditional Buddhist beliefs and practices as superstitious and useless. During and since Dharmapala's time many other modernist movements and associations have developed among the laity all across the Theravāda world, particularly in the urban areas. The influence of these movements and associations has been most evident in Sri Lanka and Thailand, but they have been—at certain points—active components in the Theravāda communities in Burma and, to a lesser extent, in Cambodia and Laos as well. It is also important to note that several of these modernist movements and associations have been instrumental in the establishment and maintenance of a significant Buddhist ecumenical organization known as the World Fellowship of Buddhists.

4. Considering Theravāda Buddhism's civilizational character, it is not surprising that it became involved in the political processes and ideological trends that have affected the various Theravāda countries during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In Sri Lanka and Burma certain segments of the Theravāda community, including the monastic community, became very deeply involved with movements for national independence. These same groups were also involved with attempts, during the postindependence period, to build new, democratically structured societies that would be both Buddhist and socialist. In the 1950s such hopes were strongly expressed in the context of the 2,500th anniversary of the Buddha's death, celebrated in 1956. These celebrations included a much-heralded "sixth" Buddhist Council that was sponsored by the Burmese government of U Nu.

Since the late 1950s the situation in both countries has changed considerably. In Sri Lanka the early hopes for Buddhist nationhood have been seriously eroded, and a nonsocialist government has come to power. Moreover, some Sinhala spokesmen representing both the left and the right have used a Buddhist idiom in the rhetoric surrounding communal violence between the Sinhala majority and the substantial Tamil minority. In Burma the hopes for Buddhist nationhood also dimmed, and the military government that took over in the early 1960s—despite its nominal support for Buddhist socialism—sought to keep Buddhism isolated from the mainstream of national life. But in the Burmese case it should also be noted that in recent years the military government has taken a significantly new tack by initiating a reform of the monastic order that is intended to "purify" it, demonstrate government interest in monastic affairs, and open channels of communication between the government and the *sangha*.

Further east, the interactions between Theravāda Buddhism, politics, and ideology have been equally important but quite different in character. In Thailand the affinity between the Theravāda tradition and nationalism has been as strong as in Sri Lanka or Burma. But since Thailand was never conquered by a Western nation, this affinity has resulted in a basically cooperative relationship between Buddhism and the established government, and a rather stable continuation of the traditional symbiotic relationship between the *sangha* and state. In recent years Buddhism has become closely associated with capitalist development, while socialism—Buddhist or otherwise—has remained on the political and ideological periphery.

In Cambodia and Laos an early continuity with the received tradition was followed by a break that has been both dramatic and devastating. The continuity that characterized the religio-political situation during the colonial period was made possible by the fact that the French—who were the colonial overlords in the area—chose to rule at a distance and to leave the established religious and political order largely intact. The radical break was, of course, the result of the disruption caused by the war that racked the area in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and by the victory of the Communists in both countries. In Cambodia, the Communist devastation of Buddhism during the Pol Pot regime (1975–1980) was widespread and brutal. In Laos (and, since 1980, in Cambodia), the approach of the Communist authorities has been considerably more restrained; but even in these contexts traditional Buddhist institutions have suffered serious damage and traditional Buddhist values have been directly and severely challenged.

THERAVĀDA TODAY. Theravāda Buddhism remains very much alive in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia, both as a monastic tradition and as a civilizational force. The *sangha*, despite its many problems, carries on its traditions of Pali scholarship and meditational practice. It continues to produce persons with intellectual substance and spiritual prowess. And it continues to generate movements (often conflicting movements) aimed at monastic reform, spiritual development, and societal well-being.

In addition, Theravāda Buddhism continues to exert its influence on the institutions and values of the societies in the traditionally Theravāda areas. This influence takes quite different forms in Sri Lanka, where ethnic differences often involve religious differences; in Burma, where the nation's leaders have sought to insulate the populace from many aspects of "modernity"; in Thailand, where the pace of "modernization" is rapid indeed; and in Cambodia and Laos, where Theravāda Buddhism has been "disestablished" by recently installed Communist governments. But in each instance Theravāda Buddhism continues to provide meaning in the everyday life of its adherents.

SEE ALSO Arhat; Aśoka; Buddhaghosa; Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Southeast Asia; Burmese Religion; Duṭṭhagāmaṇī; Khmer Religion; Kingship, article on Kingship in East Asia; Lao Religion; Moggaliputtatissa; Mongkut; Saṃgha; Sinhala Religion; Southeast Asian Religions, article on Mainland Cultures; Thai Religion; Vinaya; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Buddhist Devotional Life in Southeast Asia.

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THÉRÈSE OF LISIEUX (1873–1897), epithet of Thérèse Martin, French Carmelite nun and Catholic saint. Thérèse was the youngest of nine children born to Louis and Zélie Martin. When Thérèse was eight her family moved to the small Norman town of Lisieux, where she was to spend the remainder of her life, with the exception of one pilgrimage to Rome shortly before she entered the convent. Within a few years of the family's arrival in the town, Thérèse's two older sisters became nuns at the cloistered convent of Discalced Carmelites in Lisieux, and at an early age Thérèse decided to join them. Her first application to enter the convent, made when she was fourteen, was rejected on account of her age, but at fifteen she entered the convent.

In the cloister Thérèse exhibited unswerving fidelity to the Carmelite rule and unfailing kindness to the convent's twenty-five nuns, some of whom had quite unattractive personalities. However, the full dimensions of her spiritual life became evident only in her posthumously published autobiography. Eighteen months before her death she manifested signs of a fatal tubercular condition, and her last months were plagued by extreme pain and even nagging temptations against faith. She died at the age of twenty-four, exclaiming, "My God, I love you."

During the last years of her life Thérèse wrote her memoirs in three separate sections, mostly at the request of the convent's superior. One year after her death the memoirs were published under the title *L'histoire d'une âme* (The Story of a Soul). The simple book, written in epistolary style, is a candid recounting of her own unfailing love for and confidence in the goodness of God, and it achieved instant and enormous popularity in translations into many languages. In the next fifteen years alone more than a million copies were printed. This worldwide response prompted the Holy See to waive the usual fifty-year waiting period, and Thérèse was beatified in 1923 and canonized in 1925. In the bull of canonization, Pius XI said that she had achieved sanctity "without going beyond the common order of things."

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PETER T. ROHRBACH (1987)

THERIANTHROPISM is a term derived from the Greek compound of *thēr* ("wild beast") and *anthrōpos* ("human") and is usually used to denote a deity or creature combining the form or attributes of a human with those of an animal. As an analytic category, it has little salience, since scholars have variously included under its rubric not only animal-headed gods, were-animals, mythological demihumans and monsters (such as centaurs, sphinxes, and minotaurs) but also examples of animal impersonation in rituals, spirit possessions by animals, mythological beings of animal aspect but human character (such as the North American Indian figure Coyote), and anthropomorphic gods (such as Zeus and Dionysos) who sometimes transform themselves into animals. Ideas about the supernatural linkage of humans and animals are probably universal—even in cultures with anthropomorphic monotheism, there are ideas of were-animals, therianthropic demons, and the possession of human souls by animals. Visual or literary images of therianthropic beings can be found in virtually all of the world's cultures, where they contrast with and complement representations of other forms of supernatural beings.

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS. Discussions of therianthropy were most prevalent during the nineteenth century, when the idea of a part human, part animal deity was seen as a critical development stage in human history, midway between the totemic identification of hunter and prey that was supposed to characterize savage religions and the anthropomorphic deities of civilization. The occurrence of therianthropic deities was interpreted either as a survival of savage ideas in later religions or as the result of a historical diffusion of these more advanced representations of the divine from their Egyptian/Mesopotamian point of origin. The fact that most therianthropic figures known at that time came from the civilizations of the Middle East, where most of the archaeological research was being conducted, and that these civilizations were seen as midpoints between savagery and civilization gave added weight to the idea that therianthropy was a partial progress toward a rational, anthropomorphic religion. (Interestingly, Plato uses an account—one that is probably spurious—of a rural Arcadian cult of lycanthropy to contrast with the rational religions of urban Athens.)

CONTEMPORARY INTERPRETATIONS. The categorical distinctions between primitive and civilized mentalities that provided the rationale for developmentalist interpretations of religious history have not been supported by anthropological research, and most contemporary interpretations of therianthropic symbolism take a semiotic approach to the subject. Animals are seen as emblems of principles, as vehicles for symbolically expressing existential truths about the human condition. Therianthropic images juxtapose two principles in a unified being. Thus, it is not the animality of the image that is important but its duality, its ambiguity, its nature as a dialectic category that simultaneously contrasts and synthesizes two opposing metaphorical principles—images of noncontiguous categories made continuous (culture-nature, wild-domesticated, rational-emotional, independent-submissive, etc.). Therianthropic images, given their nature as a category of representation betwixt and between other categories, as a category whose elements are neither separate nor unified, are frequently associated with rituals of transition and liminality (as in initiation rites and carnivals) or with the intermediate stages of creation, when the world is in neither its primal nor its finished state.

Only as the psychology of religion and the theory of symbolism permit the development of new modes of understanding can we hope to deal with the historical and theological questions that are posed by differentiating therianthropic images of the divine from those that are theriomorphic or anthropomorphic. All three kinds of images may exist simultaneously in the psychologies, if not the artistic representations, of the world's peoples. Therianthropic ideas simultaneously differentiate and synthesize the qualities that define humanness with those that define the nonhuman other, and they may not represent significantly different, historically traceable, understandings of the nature of divinity so much as conventional representations of a universal religious phenomenon.

See Also Animals; Shape Shifting.

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THESMOPHORIA.

THESMOPHORIA. The Thesmophoria was an annual women's festival widely celebrated in ancient Greece. In most areas it took place in autumn, at the season of plowing and sowing, and it was held in honor of the grain goddess Demeter and her daughter Persephone. Fertility of crops and of women was evidently the essential theme.

The Athenian form of the ritual is the best known. Here the festival occupied three days. On the first day the women went up to the sacred grove of Demeter Thesmophoros, set up an encampment there, out of sight of all males, and made some preliminary sacrifices. On the second day they fasted, sitting humbly on the ground, as Demeter was said to have fasted in grief over the abduction of her daughter. This abstinence was probably understood as a kind of purification in preparation for the main ceremonies. The third day featured pomegranates to eat, obscene jesting, and perhaps flagellation—all things associated with fertility. Piglets were slaughtered, and parts of them, it seems, were cooked and eaten; substantial portions, however, were thrown into *megara*, deep holes in the earth, together with wheat cakes shaped like snakes or like male genitals, and an otherwise unknown goddess, Kalligeneia, whose name means "fair birth," was invoked. At some stage—perhaps the night before—certain women who had for three days observed purity restrictions climbed down into the hole, and while others clapped, brought out the decayed remains of the previous year's offerings. These were ceremoniously carried out of the camp and set forth on altars. (The Thesmophoria itself took its name from this "bringing of the deposits.") If a farmer took a little portion of the remains and mixed it in with his seed corn, he was supposed to get a good crop. This element of primitive agrarian magic suggests that the Thesmophoria's origins lay in a remote past.

See Also Demeter and Persephone.

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THEURGY

THEURGY (from the Greek *theourgia*) means literally something like "actuating the divine" and refers to actions that induce or bring about the presence of a divine or supernatural being, whether in an artifact or a person. It was a practice closely related to magic—not least in its ritual use of material things, sacrifices, and verbal formulas to effect the believer's fellowship with the god, demon, or departed spirit. It is distinguished from ordinary magical practice less by its techniques than by its aim, which was religious (union with the divine) rather than secular. Use of the term *theourgia*—as well as of the related *theourgos*, referring to a practitioner of the art—arose in the second century CE in Hellenistic circles closely associated with the birth of Neoplatonism. The practice was commended and followed, in the third and later centuries, by certain Neoplatonist philosophers and their disciples.

The origins of this movement can be traced, in all probability, to a work called the *Chaldean Oracles*, plausibly attributed to the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161–180). A collection of obscure and pretentious oracular utterances written in Homeric hexameters, this work, now known only in fragments, was apparently assembled (if not composed) by one Julian the Chaldean or (perhaps more likely) by his son Julian the Theurge. Much of its content is quasi-philosophical, and its account of the first principles shows affinities with the thought of the Pythagorean philosopher Numenius, who was teaching around the middle of the second century. It also contained, however, prescriptions for theurgic rites and indications of the "sights" that they produce, for example, "a formless fire whence a voice proceeds" (frag. 146).

Concerning the value of such practices, there was significant disagreement among Neoplatonist thinkers. Plotinus himself, it is now agreed, either knew or thought nothing of the *Chaldean Oracles.* His way to human fulfillment in the divine was the way of *theoria* ("contemplation"), not that of *theourgia.* It was his disciple Porphyry who was the first among philosophers to give some status to the practice of theurgy. In spite of the severe criticisms of it that he had leveled in his *Letter to Anebo*, Porphyry came, according to Augustine (*City of God* 10.9f.), to acknowledge a theurgy whose aim was purification of the soul and that produced "appearances of angels or of gods." At the same time Porphyry insisted that the value of such practices was strictly limited. What they purified was not the intellectual soul, but only its lower, pneumatic adjunct, which is adapted to visions of spirits, angels, and inferior deities; they had no power to bring people into the presence of Truth itself. Presumably Porphyry continued to believe, with Plotinus, that it is only the practice of virtue and of philosophical contemplation that raises the soul to fellowship with the supreme God.

This conviction was not shared, however, by Porphyry's own disciple, the Syrian Iamblichus (d. 325), who, in his long treatise *On the Mysteries*, replied to the strictures expressed by his teacher in the *Letter to Anebo.* According to Iamblichus, there exists, in theurgy, a mode of fellowship with the divine that is independent of philosophical thought and that "those who philosophize theoretically" do not achieve. "What effects theurgic union is the carrying through of reverently accomplished actions which are unspeakable and transcend any intellectual grasp, as well as the power of mute symbols which only the gods understand" (*On the Mysteries* 2.11).

This debate, however, did not end with the exchange between Iamblichus and his teacher. In his youth the emperor Julian was a disciple of the philosopher Eusebius, who taught that "the important thing is purification [of the soul] through reason" and who condemned wonder-working. Julian, however, was more impressed in the end by the teaching of one Maximus, who, by burning incense and reciting a formula in the temple of Hecate, caused the statue of the goddess to smile and the torches in her hands to blaze; the emperor-to-be accordingly adopted Maximus as his teacher (Eunapius, *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists* 474).

What the practice of theurgy involved becomes plain from the text of Iamblichus's treatise itself. There he defends and interprets a variety of rites and practices that involve either the use of offerings or tokens of some sort or the various phenomena that accompany divine possession. It is plain, however, that in his mind the practices he explains can be understood and entered into—and indeed function—at more than one level. True theurgy, he suggests, is, "the summit of the priestly art" and is reserved "to a very few"—those, indeed, who "share in the theurgic gods in a way which transcends the cosmos," because they "go beyond bodies and matter in service of the gods, being made one with the gods by a power which transcends the cosmos" (*On the Mysteries* 5.20–5.22). For all this, however, there is little new or unfamiliar in the phenomena he alludes to, from the "enthusiasm" of the Corybantes to the sacrifice of animals. He refers, for example, to levitation as one manifestation of possession by a god. He is also familiar with situations in which the theurgist makes use of a medium (*ho dechomenos*), and both he and the medium—and sometimes the assembled spectators—see the "spirit [*pneuma*] which comes down and enters" the one who is possessed (3.6). In another vein, he refers to theurgic use of hollow statues that are filled with "stones, herbs, animals, spices, [and] other such holy, perfect, and godlike things," so as to create a receptacle in which the god will be at home (5.23). Though this practice seems to have been especially favored by late classical practitioners of theurgy, it clearly draws on widespread and ancient practices of sympathetic magic.

What is interesting and new, then, in Iamblichus's account of *theourgia*, as over against *theoria*, is precisely the terms in which he understands and defends it. For one thing, it is plainly his conviction that theurgy is not a matter of manipulating the gods. Over and over again he denies that material objects or circumstances, or psychological states of human subjects, can supply the explanation of theurgic phenomena, which by their nature transcend the capacity of such causes. Similarly, he denies that the power of the gods is compelled by human agency. The presence of the human soul with the gods is effected through a gift of divine agencies—through their universal self-bestowal. It is this self-bestowal that empowers the invocations and actions of the theurgist, which reach out to the transcendent by reason of "assimilation and appropriation" to their object (3.18). Behind this conception there lies, of course, a rationalized concept of universal sympathy, which emphasizes not merely the interconnectedness of things at the level of the visible cosmos but also the presence and participation of all finite realities in their immaterial ground, the divine order. At the same time, however—and somewhat paradoxically, in view of this insistence on the mutual indwelling of the various levels of reality—Iamblichus insists that "the human race is weak and puny . . . possessed of a congenital nothingness," and that the only remedy for its error and perpetually disturbed state is to "share as far as possible in the divine Light" (3.18). Thus the practice of theurgy, through which the gods themselves bestow their light and presence, is the one hope of humanity. Iamblichus had lost not the philosophy so much as the faith of a Plotinus.

In Christian circles, the term *theourgia* and its derivatives came into use in the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite (Pseudo-Dionysius), himself a student of the Neoplatonist Proclus, who, after Iamblichus, was the weightiest philosophical advocate of theurgic practice. In Dionysius, however, the term is employed in the sense required by the Christian doctrine of grace: theurgy is not the effect of a natural and universal sympathy between different orders of being, but the self-communicating work of the divine. For Dionysius, Jesus is "the Principal [*archē*] of all hierarchy, holiness, and divine operation [*theourgia*]." The priesthood, by imitating and contemplating the light of the higher beings—who are, in their turn, assimilated to Christ—comes to be in the form of light, and its members are thus able to be "workers of divine works [*theourgikoi*]." The operative sense of Dionysius's use of the term is captured later by Maximus the Confessor, for whom the (new) verb *theourgein* means "to divinize"; he uses it in the passive voice to denote the effect of divine grace conferred through Christ.

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THIASOI is a term in Greek religious cults that designates the followers or adherents of a deity who, as a more or less formally organized group, participate in communal and private celebrations. While the Sanskrit root-word *dhiyaindhas* denotes devout and reverent supplication, the Greek term *thiasos* has become most strongly associated with the orgiastic and ecstatic frenzy of the worshipers of Dionysos, with features made famous through Euripides' *The Bacchae*, such as omophagia (tearing animals apart and eating their raw flesh). The Dionysian *thiasoi* comprise such groups as the Maenads and Thyiads, which during the winter months performed their frenzied dances in trancelike states beyond "civilized" regions (i.e., cities and temple precincts) in the "wilderness," in order to reenact the mythic fate of Dionysos himself (who was torn apart by Titans) as well as to reawaken the god of spring and fertility. While the *thiasoi* may have originated with the celebrations of any deity of the *polis*, after the fifth century BCE they seem to become more privatized, to be divorced at the same time from any specific sanctuary, and to lose their gender-specific separation of initiation rituals through which an individual becomes conversant with the mystery.

Thiasoi could be interpreted as the sometimes more public, sometimes more esoteric and secret fraternities, guilds, or clubs that are devoted and dedicated to any deity: in short, they are cult associations. Most commonly these associations were segregated by gender and age: as we find female attendants of Dionysos, we have also male clubs such as the Corybantes and Curetes for Zeus. The tendency toward dramatic representation and enactment of a deity's mythic deeds appears in all such cult associations. All of them seem to have used such paraphernalia as masks and costumes.

Thiasoi may be closely related to such phenomena as women's and men's initiation clubs as found in the form of secret societies in many extant cultures. The Greek understanding would have come close to such dramatization of mythic events through imitation and identification: Plato mentions that the human *thiasoi* imitate their divine prototypes (Plato, *Laws* 815b). The initiation ordeals and actions of some cult associations can be historically verified, while the content and existence of many other such organizations must remain conjectural, such as the Idaean Dactyls, the Telchines, or the Cyclops, which could all have been mythic representations of existing secret craft associations of smiths.

What *is* certain is the development from purely religious and mystical cult associations to guild and craft associations (*technitai*), which continue to have religious characteristics. These guilds enjoyed many privileges, such as the right to asylum and freedom from taxation or military service. They were led by a priest of the Dionysos cult. In many ways the Greek development of clubs organized by gender and age seems to run a similar course, from mystical initiation and dramatic enacting of sacred history to rational organization of crafts and guilds, as we find in the development of fraternities and sororities in the history of Christianity.

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THOMAS À KEMPIS (1379/80–1471), also known as Thomas Hemerken, late medieval Christian mystic. Born in the German town of Kempen, near Cologne, Thomas at age fourteen entered one of the schools of the Brethren of the Common Life in the Dutch city of Deventer and spent the rest of his long life in the Netherlands. Ordained to the priesthood in 1413, he entered an Augustinian monastery near Zwolle, where he remained until his death. A reputed portrait of Thomas carries this inscription: "In all things I sought quietness and found it only in retirement and books." Whether or not the portrait is indeed one of Thomas, the legend is one that accurately describes him.

His lasting fame proceeds from the book *Imitation of Christ*. While its authorship cannot be firmly established and has been disputed by many scholars, the preponderance of opinion is that Thomas was the author. A devotional manual for personal spiritual growth and development, *Imitation of Christ* has been an influential guide to personal piety for persons as different as Samuel Johnson and John Wesley. The number of known editions far exceeds two thousand.

The fifteenth century saw a reaction against what was felt to be the excessively intellectual quality of medieval scholasticism. *Imitation of Christ* reflects these feelings in its marked Christocentricity and its insistence upon experience rather than reason, and it presents a kind of piety that has appealed far beyond the Middle Ages. It shares many basic assumptions with eighteenth-century Protestant pietism and was an influential work for this movement, particularly in England and Germany.

The reputation of the book has diminished in the twentieth century because of its innate quietism. The social implications of the gospel and the activism that it might require find no support in Thomas's book. But wherever Christianity is seen as consisting primarily in personal devotion and private piety, the work's traditional reputation still holds.

Apart from *Imitation of Christ*, Thomas's writings have attracted little lasting attention. His *Small Alphabet for a Monk in the School of God* is in much the same vein as *Imitation*. A number of biographies of leaders in the Brethren of the Common Life breathe the same spirit but have never attained the same popularity.

Scholars have disagreed rather sharply about the relationship of Thomas to later movements, such as the Protestant Reformation. Albert Hyma argued that there was direct continuity between him and his school and Martin Luther. R. R. Post, on the other hand, maintained that the discontinuity was far greater than the continuity, especially in the way Thomas insisted on the virtues of monastic life. No definite answer is possible. Whatever his influence on Luther and Erasmus, it is known that *Imitation* was the favorite book of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus.

For the most part Thomas simply ignored the peculiarities of later medieval theology, concentrating instead on his own inner experience. It is for this reason that the popularity of *Imitation of Christ* has far transcended the author's time and place. A devotionalist rather than a theologian, Thomas has had a continuing appeal to persons of similar disposition.

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THOMAS AQUINAS (Tommaso d'Aquino, 1225–1274), Italian Dominican theologian, doctor of the church, patron of Roman Catholic schools, and Christian saint. One of the most important and influential scholastic theologians, Thomas is seen by the Roman Catholic church as uniquely "her very own" (Pius XI). He has been honored with the scholastic titles Doctor Communis (thirteenth century) and Doctor Angelicus (fifteenth century), among others.

LIFE AND WORKS. The youngest son of Landolfo d'Aquino, lord of Roccasecca and Montesangiovanni and justiciary of Emperor Frederick II, and his second wife, Teodora of Chieti, Thomas had five sisters, three older brothers, and at least three half brothers. The family castle of Roccasecca, where Thomas was born, midway between Rome and Naples, was on a mountain in the northwest corner of the kingdom of Sicily. Sicily was ruled by the Hohenstaufen emperor Frederic II (1194–1250), who was in almost continual warfare with the papal armies of Honorius III (1216–1227), Gregory IX (1227–1241), and Innocent IV (1243–1254). Divided political and religious loyalties rendered the position of the d'Aquino family precarious.

Thomas spent his first five years at the family castle under the care of his mother and a nurse. As the youngest son of the family, Thomas was given (*oblatus*, "offered") to the Benedictine abbey of Monte Cassino by his parents at the age of five or six in the firm hope that he would eventually choose the monastic life and become abbot. His earliest training was in the spiritual life, mainly through the Latin psalter, and in the rudiments of reading, writing, and mathematics. The struggle between the pope and the emperor reached a climax in 1239, when Frederick was excommunicated a second time. The imperial troops occupied the abbey, foreigners were expelled, and the young students were sent to one of the Benedictine houses in Naples to attend the imperial university founded in 1224 as a rival to Bologna. At the university, where Thomas remained until 1244, he studied under Master Martin (grammar and logic) and Peter of Ireland (natural philosophy). It was there that he was introduced to Aristotle's philosophy.

By 1243 Thomas was attracted to the Dominicans living nearby at the priory of San Domenico. This order of mendicant friars, founded by Dominic (1170–1221) and confirmed by Pope Honorius III in 1216, was devoted to preaching, study, and the common life. Impressed by their apostolic zeal, poverty, and simplicity and free from obligation, Thomas received the habit in April 1244 at the age of nineteen. Under normal circumstances he would have made his novitiate at San Domenico, but because the friars feared that Thomas's family might intervene forcibly to prevent his entrance to the order, he was sent to Rome. At Rome it was decided that he should go to Paris, and so early in May 1244 he left Rome in the company of John of Wildeshausen, third master of the order, and John's companions, who were traveling to Bologna for the general chapter that met annually at Pentecost.

Learning of her son's entry into a begging order, Teodora, now head of the family, hastened to Naples, then to Rome, only to learn that her son had departed for Bologna. She sent orders to her older son Rinaldo, who was with Frederick's army north of Rome, to intercept Thomas and bring him home by force if necessary. Rinaldo and his escort intercepted the travelers near Acquapendente, north of papal territory, and forced Thomas to return on horseback. Stopping for the night at the family castle of Montesangiovanni in papal territory, the soldiers secured the services of a local prostitute to seduce Thomas, but to no avail. The next day the group rode to Roccasecca, where Thomas was restricted to the castle until Frederick II was excommunicated and deposed by the Council of Lyons on July 17, 1245. By then Teodora and her daughters saw that further attempts to change Thomas's resolve were useless and allowed him to rejoin the friars in Naples, from whence he was sent to Paris.

Arriving at the priory of Saint-Jacques by October 1245, Thomas began his studies at the University of Paris under Albertus Magnus, who was then lecturing on the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite. After three years of study in Paris, Thomas and others accompanied Albertus to Cologne, where a new *studium generale* was to be established, as decreed by the general chapter of Paris in 1248. For the next four years Thomas continued to attend and write down Albert's lectures on Dionysius and his questions on Aristotle's *Ethics.* As Albert's junior bachelor (1250–1252), Thomas lectured cursorily on *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and *Lamentations.*

The position of the mendicant friars at the University of Paris came under increasingly severe attack from secular masters, particularly William of Saint-Amour. By 1252 the Dominican master general was eager to send promising young men to the university to prepare for inception as master (full professor). Albert convinced the master general to send Thomas, despite his young age, to study for the university chair for non-Parisians. Thomas began his studies under Elias Brunet de Bergerac in the fall of 1252, lecturing on Peter Lombard's *Sentences* for four years. His originality and clarity of thought were conspicuous in his teaching and writing, notably in his commentary on the *Sentences; On Being and Essence*, on the meaning of certain metaphysical terms; and in a short treatise entitled *Principles of Nature*. In the latter work he unequivocally defended (1) a real distinction between essence and existence (*esse*) in all creatures, (2) the pure potentiality of primary matter, (3) absence of matter in spiritual substance (*substantia separata*), (4) participation of all created reality, material and immaterial, in God's being (*esse*), and (5) the Aristotelian dependence of abstracted universals on individually existing material things.

Under tense circumstances in the spring of 1256, Thomas, though underage, was given license to incept by an order of Pope Alexander IV dated March 3. When finally he was allowed to incept, by an order of the pope dated June 17, he and his audience had to be protected by soldiers of Louis IX because the animosity of the town and some students against the mendicants was so great. William of Saint-Amour's antimendicant book *On the Perils of the Last Days*, sent to Rome by the king for examination, was condemned by the pope on October 5, and William was permanently exiled from Paris by the king. Thomas's reply to William's charges (*Contra impugnantes Dei cultum et religionem*), completed in late September or early October, arrived in Rome after the pope had made his decision and, therefore, did not influence the outcome.

Enjoying a respite from the antimendicant polemic, Thomas lectured from 1256 to 1259 on the Bible, held scholastic disputations (*Quaestiones disputatae de veritate*) over three years, preached, and began composing his *Summa contra gentiles* (1259–1264), apparently for Dominican missionaries in Spain and North Africa. This systematic summary in four books is an arsenal of sound and persuasive arguments "against the gentiles," that is, nonbelievers and heretics.

Having served the order's interests in Paris, Thomas returned to Italy where he taught, wrote, and preached from 1259 to 1268. After spending two years in his home priory of Naples, he was assigned to teach at Orvieto (1261–1265), where he lectured to the community on *Job* and was of great service to Pope Urban IV. At the pope's request, he composed the liturgy for the new Feast of Corpus Christi and expressed his views in *Against the Errors of the Greeks* on doctrinal points disputed by Greek and Latin Christians. Having thereby discovered the richness of the Greek patristic tradition, he also began compiling a continuous gloss, or exposition, of the Gospels (*Catena aurea*), made up almost entirely of excerpts from the writings of the Greek and Latin fathers, dedicating the commentary on *Matthew* to Urban IV. In June 1265, the provincial chapter of Anagni assigned Thomas to open a school of theology at Santa Sabina in Rome. Soon realizing that Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, then in common use, was unsatisfactory for young beginners, Thomas projected a three-part survey of Catholic theology (*Summa theologiae*) that would be simpler, more orderly, and more inclusive than other works available. The first part was completed and in circulation by 1268. More subtle questions were disputed in the Roman school in a special series on the power of God (*De potentia*) and on evil (*De malo*). In addition, Thomas lectured on the Bible during this period.

By the end of 1268, Thomas was ordered to return to Paris, as was the Frenchman Peter of Tarentaise (the future Pope Innocent V), to counter a revival of antimendicant sentiment among secular masters. When Thomas and his secretary Reginald of Piperno arrived in Paris early in 1269, Thomas realized that the situation was far more complex and serious than he had assumed. Almost single-handedly he was required to fend off attacks on three fronts: with all mendicants against secular masters opposed to mendicants' being in the university; with a few of his confreres against most of the Dominicans, Franciscans, and secular theologians, opposed to using Aristotle in theology; and with most theologians against young philosophers who tended to promulgate heretical views under the name of Aristotle or his commentator Ibn Rushd (Averroës). Over the next five years Thomas fulfilled his university obligations to lecture on the Bible, to hold disputations, and to preach, while also carrying on a vigorous polemic against the antimendicants, expounding all the major works of Aristotle, writing his *Summa theologiae*, and replying to numerous requests for his opinions.

Revival of the antimendicant controversy under Gérard d'Abbeville and his colleagues at Paris (encouraged by the exiled William) centered largely on the role of evangelical poverty in the spiritual life and on the practice of admitting young boys into their novitiate. Thomas attacked the views of Gérard in his quodlibetal disputations (1269–1271), in two polemical treatises on Christian perfection, and in his *Summa* (2.2.179–189). This phase of the controversy ended with the death of its chief protagonists, William of Saint-Amour on September 13, 1272, and Gérard at Paris that same year on November 8.

On December 10, 1270, thirteen philosophical propositions opposed to the Catholic faith were condemned by Étienne Tempier, bishop of Paris. To prevent such views from developing in the classroom, Thomas undertook a detailed literal commentary on all the main texts of Aristotle then in common use at the University of Paris. It is possible that Thomas began his commentary on *De anima* in Italy, but all the others were written after his return to Paris in 1269, namely, the commentaries on *Physics*, *On Interpretation*, *Posterior Analytics*, *Ethics*, *Metaphysics*, *Politics*, and certain others left unfinished at his death. Because all these works of Aristotle were used as textbooks in the arts faculty and had to be taught by the young masters whose best guide to date had been Ibn Rushd, Thomas therefore felt a particular urgency in writing his own commentaries that remained closer to the original sources and within the context of Christian faith. His unfinished expositions of Aristotle's *De caelo*, *De generatione*, and *Metheora* were among his last writings at Naples.

The extensive second part of the *Summa theologiae* was entirely written at Paris during the intense years 1269 to 1272. This part, later subdivided into two parts, discusses the ultimate goal of human life, namely, eternal life (2.1.1–5) and the means of attaining it, namely, human acts, reason (law), grace, and all the virtues considered in general (2.1) and in particular (2.2) as practiced in various states of life. The third part, begun at Paris, considers the incarnation and life of Christ (3.1–59) and the sacraments, and was left incomplete on the subject of penance when Thomas died.

Shortly after Easter 1272, Thomas left Paris with Friar Reginald for the chapter at Florence, which commissioned him to establish a theological *studium* anywhere he liked in the Roman province. He chose his home priory of Naples, where he subsequently taught, wrote, and preached. After five years of intense activity, however, Thomas had a traumatic experience while celebrating mass in the Chapel of Saint Nicholas on December 6, 1273. Although medieval biographers were uncertain about the nature of this experience, it seems that Thomas suffered a breakdown of some sort. In any case, his productive life had come to an end, and although he did remain physically mobile, he lived as if in a stupor.

Pope Gregory X personally requested that Thomas attend the Second Council of Lyons due to open on May 1, 1274. He also asked him to bring a copy of his treatise *Against the Errors of the Greeks*, composed for Urban IV. Leaving Naples with Reginald and others early in February, Thomas had a serious accident near Maenza in which he hit his head against an overhanging branch and was knocked down. Growing weaker, Thomas asked to stop at the castle of Maenza, home of his niece Francesca, the wife of Annibaldo, count of Ceccano. Lent had already begun on February 14, and Thomas's condition became so serious that he asked to be transported to the nearby Cistercian monastery of Fossanova, where the old abbot Theobald was a member of the Ceccano family. There he received the last rites and died early Wednesday morning March 7, 1274. Thomas's remains stayed at Fossanova until they were transferred by order of Urban V to the Dominican priory in Toulouse on Saturday, January 28, 1369, where they are today. Since the anniversary of Thomas's death always falls in Lent, the Latin church celebrates his feast on January 28.

Thomas had no immediate successors capable of grasping his originality and profundity, although he had many admirers. His labors in Paris were effectively dissipated by the condemnation of 219 various propositions at Paris on March 7, 1277, and of 30 different propositions at Oxford on March 18 that same year. Sixteen propositions of the Paris list reflected the thought of Thomas; three of the Oxford list directly concerned unicity of substantial form in material composites, a pivotal Thomistic thesis. It was not until Thomas's canonization on July 18, 1323, that a new generation of largely self-taught Thomists could begin to teach and develop his teachings freely.

THOUGHT. Thomas Aquinas was first and foremost a theologian whose teachings have been officially endorsed by the Roman Catholic church. Since 1567 Thomas has been considered one of the doctors of the church and has been numbered among the great teachers of antiquity such as Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, and Gregory I. Moreover, the Latin church has regarded Thomas as the model for all theologians, requiring that his philosophy and his theology be taught in all seminaries and Catholic colleges.

Philosophy. While giving primacy of place and importance to what God has revealed through the Jewish people and through Jesus Christ, Thomas recognized the much larger, though less important, realm of knowledge available to unaided human reason. Unlike many of his contemporaries who merged reason into faith, Thomas emphasized the distinctness and importance of Aristotelian philosophy and the sciences, even for theology. His own strictly philosophical thought is found in his numerous commentaries on Aristotle and in independent treatises. In the manner of his contemporaries in the universities, he adapted his own understanding of Aristotelian ideas, terminology, and methodology to the study of "sacred doctrine," especially in his *Summa theologiae.*

Thomistic "philosophy" is basically Aristotelian, empirical, and realist, or what G. K. Chesterton called "organized common sense." Thomas preferred an order of study that presupposed the liberal arts and mathematics and began with Aristotelian logic, principally *On Interpretation* and the *Posterior Analytics*; moved through natural philosophy, involving all the natural sciences, including psychology; treated moral philosophy, including political science; and concluded with metaphysics, or first philosophy, which today would include epistemology and natural theology.

In logic the Aristotelian categories, syllogisms, and rules of correct reasoning for "demonstration" as distinct from "dialectics" and "sophisms" are considered essential for an accurate understanding of all other disciplines. Of special importance are the meaning of "scientific" knowledge based on "first principles" and the two ways in which both are acquired: experience (*via inventionis*) or education (*via disciplinae*).

In natural philosophy the existence of a physical world and its substantial mutability are taken as self-evident in order to establish the first principles of change: matter (potentiality), form (actuality), and privation (immediate possibility). Natural science is about natural things (not artificial or incidental), things that have within themselves "nature" either as an actual principle (form as a dynamic source of activity) or as a passive principle (matter as receptive of outside forces). The aim of natural science is to understand all natural things through their material, efficient, formal, and final causes. In so doing the naturalist discovers an ultimate, intelligent, efficient, and final cause that is not physical (i.e., not material and not mutable) and is the "first cause" and "agent" of all that is natural. The noblest part of this science is the study of the whole human person composed of matter (body) and form (soul). This study also shows that the human soul has functions, namely, understanding and free choice, that transcend the limitations of animal nature, thereby proving the soul to be immaterial, created, and immortal.

Moral philosophy for Aristotle and Thomas presupposes psychology and deals with human happiness, which is the goal of each person in this life, and the optimum (morally good) means of attaining that goal for the individual, the family, and the body politic. The foundation of both goal and correct means is called the natural law, which is knowable by human reason but open to rejection by the individual. There are four cardinal virtues, or optimum means, for use in every state of life: prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance. The highest of these is prudence, which binds all virtues together and securely guides humanity to happiness.

Finally metaphysics, or speculative wisdom (natural theology), is about all being-as-such and about the First Cause as the source of all being. For Thomas the most "sublime truth" of this wisdom is the realization that all creatures are composed of a "nature" and a borrowed existence (*esse*), while God's nature alone is "to exist." God is subsistent existence itself (*ipsum esse subsistens*), the Necessary Being that cannot not be. As the highest science, metaphysics has the added task of ordering, defending, and safeguarding all other sciences, speculative and practical. In this role it examines the roots and foundation of all human knowledge (epistemology), natural religion, and public worship.

Theology. Thomistic "theology," which Thomas calls sacred doctrine, is distinct from pure philosophy and depends on the divine gift of faith, which involves the whole realm of revelation, divine law, ecclesial worship, the spiritual life, and human speculation about these. The realm of faith is in the strict sense "*super*-natural" in that its truths, values, and efficacy transcend the realm of "nature." Faith's abilities are freely given by God for human salvation and are beyond the abilities of pure nature (cf. *Rom.* 11:5–6). The content of faith concerns what one must believe (faith) and do (morals) to gain eternal life as revealed by God. The life of faith is a personal sharing by grace of the intimate trinitarian life of God here and hereafter. The efficacy of the life of faith is derived from the passion and death of Jesus Christ, God's only begotten Son. These beliefs and morals are transmitted in history through the Bible and through the living church founded by Christ on Peter and his successors.

Thomas did not divide theology into such modern disciplines as biblical and scholastic, positive and speculative, dogmatic and moral, spiritual and mystical, kerygmatic and academic, and so on. In his day, however, each master in sacred theology lectured on the Bible, presided over scholastic disputations on specific points, and also preached regularly to the university community. Thomas wrote his *Summa theologiae* not as a replacement for the Bible but as an extracurricular aid for beginners who needed an overview of "sacred doctrine." Although the *Summa* is divided into three parts, its conceptual unity is the Dionysian circle of the *exitus* ("going forth") of all things from God and the *reditus* ("return") of all things to God. The First Part considers God and the coming forth of all things from God. The Second and Third parts consider the final goal of human life and the actual return of all things to God. The two parts of the Second Part consider the intrinsic means such as virtues, law, and grace, while the Third Part considers Christ and his sacraments as indispensable extrinsic means to salvation. Without doubt Thomas's most original contribution to theology was the large Second Part, on the virtues and vices, inserted between the original *exitus* and *reditus* found in all contemporary summae of theology. The "Supplement" to the Summa fills out what Thomas left unfinished when he ceased writing on December 6, 1273. It was compiled with scissors and paste by Reginald and other secretaries from Thomas's earlier commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sentences* (4.17–46). Certainly if Thomas had lived to finish the *Summa*, many more developed views would have been written than are now expressed there.

Because theology concerns mysteries revealed by God, it can in no way "prove" or "understand" these or any other mysteries. But it can clarify the terms used, determine what cannot be said, and defend the truth of revealed mysteries against attacks from nonbelievers. Of all the revealed mysteries, Thomas considered two as absolutely basic to the Christian religion: the trinity of persons in one God and the incarnation of the Son of God as true man born of Mary.

For Thomas the supernatural gifts of sanctifying grace and the virtues (faith, hope, love, and the moral virtues) are normally conferred through baptism by water in the name of Jesus or the Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. But in an adult the beginnings of this supernatural life are stirred up by God before actual baptism by water. The supernatural life of grace (*gratia*) experienced in this life is, for Thomas, already a foretaste of eternal life (*gloria*) in heaven. The overflow of grace is expressed in good works and in the exercise of all the virtues.

Faith, hope, and love are called "theological" virtues, because they alone have God as their direct object. In the life to come, faith will give way to sight and hope will give way to the possession of God. Love, alone, which Thomas defines as friendship with God, will continue essentially unaltered in heaven in the degree of intensity achieved in this life. This divine friendship, which is none other than the indwelling of the Trinity, is initiated by baptism, nourished by the Eucharist, and increased by prayer and service to one's neighbor. For Thomas, one's place in heaven, or the intensity of beatitude, is determined by the capacity for love developed in this life.

The sources of Thomas's theology are the Vulgate Bible, the life and practice of the church, and the writings of all the available Latin and Greek fathers in Latin translation. The terminology, however, is always traditional, largely philosophical, and often Aristotelian. For this reason it is important to understand such technical terms as matter and form, substance and accidents, essence and existence, nature and operations, and soul and faculties, as well as the four Aristotelian causes, if one is to grasp the meaning of Thomas's exceptionally lucid and simple Latin.

INFLUENCE. Apart from the admiration, love, and respect accorded him by scholars and theologians, Thomas exerted little influence by the time he died in 1274. At Paris his literary and personal efforts could neither stem the tide of heterodoxy among teachers of philosophy nor abate the growing fears of Augustinian theologians against the use of Aristotle or any pagan philosopher in the schools of theology.

From 1278 onward, however, the general chapters of the Dominican order showed an increasing concern that the writings of Thomas be at least respected within the order. By 1309 the chapter required all Dominican lectors to lecture from the works of Thomas, to solve problems according to his doctrine, and to instruct their students in the same. Even before his canonization, Dominicans were obliged to teach according to Thomas's doctrine and the common teaching of the church. In 1279 the Parisian Franciscan William de la Mare compiled a "correctory" (*Correctorium*) of Thomas's writings, indicating therein where Thomas differed from Bonaventure and Augustine. In May 1282 this correctory was made mandatory for all Franciscan teachers, but by 1284 there were five defensive replies by young Dominican teachers, three of whom were Oxonians influenced by the brilliant Thomas Sutton, a self-taught Dominican Thomist. The canonization of Thomas on July 18, 1323, and the lifting in 1325 of the Parisian condemnation insofar as it touched or seemed to touch Thomas removed the foremost barriers to the teaching of his ideas universally. But it was not until the sixteenth century that Thomists began to develop his seminal principles in a notable way. An exception was the French Dominican John Capreolus (1380–1444), "the Prince of Thomists," who in his *Defensiones* on the *Sentences* incisively expounded and defended Thomas's views against Henry of Ghent, Duns Scotus, John of Ripa, William of Ockham, and others.

In the sixteenth century four influential teachers substituted Thomas's *Summa* for the standard Sentences of Peter Lombard: Peter Crokaert in Paris (in 1509); Thomas de Vio Cajetan at Pavia (in 1497), author of an important commentary on the *Summa*, (1507–1522); Konrad Koellin at Heidelberg (1500–1511), author of a commentary on the first two parts of the *Summa* (1512); and Francisco de Vitoria at Salamanca (in 1526) and his many disciples throughout Spain. These Thomists were concerned not so much with defending Thomism as with replying to issues raised by the reformers, resolving new problems of an expanding civilization, and applying Thomas's principles to developments in international law and the treatment of Indians in the New World. By the time of the Council of Trent (1545–1563), most of the outstanding Roman Catholic theologians were Thomists. The influence of Thomas is clear throughout the council's decrees, notably on justification, the sacraments, and the mass. The influential *Roman Catechism*, published by order of Pius V in 1566, was the work of three Dominican Thomists. Pius V declared Thomas a doctor of the church (1567) and ordered that the first *Opera omnia* (the "Piana") be published with the remarkable index (*Tabula aurea*) of Peter of Bergamo at Rome (18 vols., 1570–1571). Since the Piana edition, there have been ten editions of complete works apart from the current critical edition ordered by Pope Leo XIII in 1879 (the "Leonine").

After the Reformation and throughout the scientific and industrial revolutions, there was little interest in Thomistic philosophy or theology outside the decimated Dominican order and scattered groups in Catholic countries. However, a Thomistic revival in Italy and Spain slowly grew and reached its culmination in the encyclical *Aeterni Patris* of Leo XIII (August 4, 1879), urging the study of Thomas's works by all students of theology, and in subsequent legislation by Leo and his successors. This revival focused on Thomistic philosophy as a system capable of countering the effects of positivism, materialism, and secularism on Catholic beliefs and practices. This polemical intention was modified by the attitude of dialogue with the modern world that characterized the approach of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965). In this spirit Paul VI, in his encyclical on the seventh centenary of Thomas's death (1974), proposed Thomas as a model to theologians, not only with respect to his teachings but with respect to his example of openness to the world and to truth from whatever the source. As a result, there has been increased study and critical reappraisal of Thomas's thought, principles, and methodology. Although Thomism in the restricted sense of a closed system seems no longer tenable, philosophers and theologians of all traditions continue to have recourse to Thomas's thought as a milestone in human thought and to develop his seminal insights in dialogue with modern thought and issues.

SEE ALSO Trent, Council of.

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THOR (ON, Þórr) was presumably the most popular god of the ancient Scandinavian peoples, who conferred upon him such epithets as *ástvinr* ("dear friend") and *fulltrúi* ("trusted friend"). The distribution of his cult is abundantly documented by onomastic evidence; his name is found all over present-day Scandinavia in place-names designating either cult sites or places dedicated to him—woods, fields, hills, brooks, and lakes (de Vries, 1957, pp. 116–120).

Equally abundant are the personal names with *Thor-* as first component. About one-fourth of the immigrants to Iceland had such names, according to the *Landnámabók.* Viking traders and raiders venerated him as their most powerful god and honored him in their new settlements. Local sources report the worship of Þórr by the Norse invaders of Ireland; Þórr's hammer, Mjǫllnir, appeared on the coinage of the Scandinavian rulers of York in the tenth century; there was apparently a temple dedicated to Þórr by Varangian Northmen in Kiev in 1046; the Danes settling in Normandy are said to have invoked "Tur." Even the Lapps, who were strongly influenced by their Germanic neighbors, took Þórr Karl ("old man") into their pantheon as the hammer god Horagalles. Furthermore, artifacts such as Þórr's-hammer amulets bear witness to the strength and survival of his worship even some time after the conversion to Christianity (eleventh century). In this context the Cross of Gosforth in Cumbria, England, is particularly striking, for this essentially Christian symbol bears a graphic representation of one of Þórr's major myths, namely his fishing expedition with the giant Hymir at the rim of the world ocean to catch the cosmic serpent Miðgarðsormr: the scene represents the god "digging his heels so hard into the bottom of the boat" to draw the serpent on board "that both his legs went through it" (Snorri Sturluson, *Gylfaginning* 48).

Adam of Bremen, writing about 1080 and relying on the report of a Christian who had traveled to Sweden, described the temple of Uppsala as having a triad of divine statues: Óðinn, Þórr, and Freyr were worshiped there, but Þórr occupied the central position "because he was the most powerful of them all." This statement, which contradicts Snorri's ranking of Þórr in the second place, after Óðinn, presumably points to the fact that his closeness both to warriors and to peasants gave him more prominence in popular circles than the more "aristocratic" Óðinn. A satirical allusion to the social distribution of the cults of the two gods is recognizable in an exchange between plain, honest Þórr and Óðinn disguised as a ferryman in the Eddic poem *Hárbarzljóð:* "Óðinn gets all the jarls slain by edge of swords, but Þórr gets the breed of thralls." The tradition represented by Adam, however, may also be found in the Old English homily *De falsis diis* (Concerning false gods), commonly ascribed to Ælfric, where Þórr is identified with Jupiter and is "arwurðost ealra ðæra goda" ("the most venerable of all gods"). Several minor sources suggest that Þórr was also able to raise and use winds. For Snorri Sturluson (*Gylfaginning* 21), Þórr s the strongest of the Æsir and the most important among them (after

Óðinn); his domain is Þrúðvangar ("fields of force"), and his home, Bilskirnir (presumably "shining in flashes," a reference to his connection with lightning). He has two goats, Tanngnjóstr ("tooth gnasher") and Tanngrisnir ("grinner"), which pull his chariot; therefore, Þórr is called Ǫkuþórr ("Þórr the charioteer"). He also has three precious objects: his hammer Mjǫllnir, which all giants fear; his "power belt," which doubles his strength; and his iron gauntlets, which he needs to manipulate his hammer. His adventures are so numerous that no one is able to tell them all.

This describes rather well the personality and function of Þórr: he is a characteristic second-function god in the Dumézilian tripartite system, the typical representative of the warrior class, the champion of the gods, the bulwark of the Æsir against the onslaughts of the giants. His whole career illustrates this functional role. Perhaps one of the best examples is the story of his combat with Hrungnir (Snorri Sturluson, *Skáldskaparmál* 3). The sequence of events can be summarized as follows. Having followed Óðinn in a wild gallop into Àsgarðr, the giant Hrungnir is invited by the Æsir to drink with them. His obstreperous behavior soon compels the Æsir to call upon Þórr to put an end to his drunken boasts and threats, but the laws of hospitality prevent the champion of the gods from sealing the giant's fate then and there. As a result, Þórr is challenged to a single combat with Hrungnir at the boundary between the realm of the Æsir and Jǫtunheimr (the land of the giants). To back up Hrungnir in his fight, the giants build the monstrous Mǫkkurkálfi, a huge clay warrior equipped with a mare's heart. Þjálfi, Þórr's astute attendant, persuades Hrungnir that he will be attacked from below, and makes him stand on his shield, exposing him to a fulgurant assault from the sky. Þórr's hammer clashes in midair with the hurled hone of the giant; Mjǫllnir smashes Hrungnir's skull while fragments of whetstone are scattered all around. One lodges in Þórr's head as Hrungnir drops dead over him and has to be removed by Þórr's fantastically strong three-year-old son, Magni. Meanwhile, Mökkurkálfi has ingloriously collapsed under Þjálfi's strokes. A last episode shows how the witch Gróa attempts to remove the piece of Hrungnir's whetstone from Þórr's head but forgets her spells and incantations in the joy of learning that her husband, Aurvandill, has been safely brought home out of the icy North by Þórr.

Snorri's narrative illustrates important features of the ethics and usages of the warrior class: respect for the laws of hospitality (e.g., in spite of Hrungnir's outrageous behavior, Þórr cannot touch him as long as he is a guest in Àsgarðr); taboo on striking down an unarmed adversary (killing him would be an act of cowardice); moral obligation to accept a challenge to a duel; single combat, to be waged in the no-man's-land between two enemy territories. The significance of the dummy (Mǫkkurkálfi) that the giants erect at the location of the duel has been ingeniously explained by Georges Dumézil: Þórr faces and defeats the "stone-hearted" monster, and his "second," Þjálfi, duplicates his exploit by destroying Mǫkkurkálfi. Dumézil sees a warrior initiation pattern in this two-level account, in which Þjálfi reproduces in a realistic terrestrial way the almost cosmic martial exploit of Þórr (Dumézil, 1970, pp 158–159).

His interpretation is supported by a comic episode in *Hrólfs saga kraka* (chapter 23), in which the hero Bǫðvarr Bjarki initiates the coward Hǫttr, making a proper warrior of him. On the eve of the midwinter festival (Yule), King Hrólfr forbids his men to leave his stronghold because an enormous winged troll will appear and kill any champion who challenges him. Bǫðvarr, however, goes out secretly to face the troll, dragging the fearful Hǫttr along. The monster arrives, and while Hǫttr shrinks in the mud in terror, Bǫðvarr dispatches the beast with one thrust of his sword. Picking up Hǫttr, he forces him to drink two gulps of the troll's blood and eat a piece of his heart, after which he engages in a wrestling match with the young man. Hǫttr comes out of this test a truly strong and courageous fighter. They then stand the monster on its feet, as if it were still alive, and return to the king's castle. The following morning, much to the king's surprise, Hǫttr volunteers to go out and "kill" the monster. Ultimately, Hrólfr is not fooled, but he accepts Hǫttr's overnight transformation into a real champion and renames him Hjalti, after the king's sword Gullinhjalti ("golden hilt").

Another well-known adventure of Þórr is narrated in the Eddic *Þrymskviða.* One day Þórr wakes up and realizes to his dismay that Mjǫllnir has been stolen. He dispatches Loki, equipped with Freyja's falcon coat, to Jǫtunheimr to look for it. Loki soon finds out that the giant Þrymr has gotten hold of Þórr's mighty weapon and refuses to return it unless he gets Freyja as a bride in exchange. Freyja does not want to hear anything about marrying the uncouth giant, and the gods assemble in council to look for a solution to Þórr's dilemma. On Heimdallr's advice, they decide that Þórr himself must go to Þrymr, disguised as a bride and escorted by Loki. After their arrival in Þrymr's hall, a lavish meal is served to the travelers from Ásgarðr, but Þórr almost betrays himself by his gluttony. Loki, however, saves the day by stating that "Freyja yearned so much for Jǫtunheimr that she fasted for eight full nights." The situation threatens to deteriorate again when Þrymr attempts to kiss his "bride" and discovers the murderous flames in "her" eyes. Again, Loki finds the proper excuse: "So much did Freyja long to be in Jǫtunheimr that she did not sleep for eight full nights." Then, Þrymr's sister comes to claim her bridal gift, and Þrymr has the hammer Mjǫllnir brought in and placed on his alleged bride's knees, whereupon Þórr grabs his weapon and ruthlessly crushes the skulls of all the giants around him.

No other source duplicates the contents of this remarkable Eddic lay, which achieves its effect with an admirable economy of means and a robust sense of humor, paired with a well-structured scenario and marvelous characterization of the actors in this little drama. Although the poet undoubtedly took his material from older mythological sources, the ballad style of the text and the jocular presentation of the argument clearly indicate that the *Þrymskviða* is one of the more recent poems of the Edda. The ludicrous disguise of the champion of the gods is unthinkable in the older tradition, where it would have been completely excluded by the explicit abhorrence of the Æsir for transvestism and other forms of *ergi* ("unmanly behavior"), as illustrated by the *Lokasenna* (23–24), for example.

The text, however, indicates the importance of Þórr's hammer, Mjǫllnir, which is not only associated with the thunderbolt, as its name perhaps indicates (it has been etymologically connected with Russian *molniia* and with Welsh *mellt,* "lightning," but it can also be cognate with Old Norse *mala,* "grind," *mølva,* "crush") and appears to be used to hallow the bride (*Þrymskviða* 30: "brúði at vígja"). This latter function has sometimes been associated with fertility, as the hammer can be considered a phallic symbol, but there is obviously more to the consecration with Þórr's hammer, as the description of Baldr's funeral indicates (Snorri Sturluson, *Gylfaginning* 49): "Þórr vígði bálit með Mjǫllni" ("Þórr hallowed the pyre with Mjǫllnir"). This would be done either to restore the god to life or to protect him from danger on his journey to the world of the dead. Since Baldr does not come back until after Ragnarǫk, the second hypothesis presumably prevails. It is furthermore confirmed by the repeated mention of Þórr as protector of the dead in memorial inscriptions on rune stones, especially in Denmark and southern Sweden, the earliest being found in Rök, East Götland, in the mid-ninth century. Thus, the inscription of Glavendrup (which is found on the Danish island of Fyn and dates to about 900–925) reads: "Þur uiki þas runar" ("May Þórr hallow these runes").

The control of Þórr's hammer over life and death is also illustrated by the following tale about Þórr's goats (*Gylfaginning* 44): One day, while on a journey with Loki, Þórr decided to ask a farmer for hospitality for the night. For the evening meal, Þórr slaughtered his own goats, and after skinning them, cooked them in a cauldron. When the stew was ready, he invited the farmer and his family to share it with him and his travel companion. The next morning, Þórr rose at daybreak and went to the goatskins with the leftover bones. Raising his hammer, Mjǫllnir, he consecrated them, and the goats stood up as if nothing had happened to them. However, one of them was found to be lame in a hind leg. When he noticed it, Þórr realized that a thigh-bone had been split for marrow, and he was angry with the farmer and his household for doing such a stupid thing. The farmer was terrified, and Þórr's angry reproach sounded like a death knell to him. As his frightened family screamed, he begged his dangerous guest for mercy and offered him all he had in compensation. Þórr relented and specified that he would take along the farmer's two children—his son, Þjalfi, and his daughter, Rǫskva—as bond servants.

The association of Þórr with goats is abundantly documented. They pull his chariot; the *Húsdrapá* (st. 3) calls him *hafra njótr* ("user of goats"), and the *Hymiskviða* (st. 31) describes him as *hafra dróttinn* ("lord of goats"). The picture of Þórr riding a vehicle drawn by goats appears repeatedly in the literature (e.g., in *Hauslǫng* 15), and according to a story, perhaps from the late twelfth or early fourteenth century but preserved in *Flateyjarbók* (1387–1390), when king Óláfr Tryggvason entered the pagan temple at Mærin in the Trondheim district, he found a statue of Þórr, adorned with gold and silver, seated on a splendid carriage drawn by finely carved wooden goats (Turville-Petre, 1964, p. 82).

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THOTH was the god of wisdom from Hermopolis in Middle Egypt. According to the Hermopolitan cosmology (which is best known from texts found at other sites), the eight primordial gods representing "hiddenness," "darkness," "formlessness" (?), and the "watery abyss" produced an egg that appeared at Hermopolis when the inundation subsided and from which the creator god appeared and brought everything else into being. When mentioned in the Heliopolitan Pyramid Texts, this creator god was Atum, but in the local Hermopolitan tradition he could have been Thoth.

Thoth was the moon god and as such was the companion of Re, the sun god, but he also had his own following among the stars in the night sky. One mortuary tradition, probably originating at Hermopolis, permitted the dead who knew the correct spells to accompany Thoth in the sky. Thoth was the son of Re, but he also represented the injured eye of the falcon-headed sky god, Horus, whose sound eye was Re. For unknown reasons Thoth is identified with both the ibis and the baboon. He is regularly depicted as a human with the head of an ibis. Baboons often appear in temple reliefs worshiping the sun god, and this association might indicate his subordinate relationship to Re. In the judgment scene of chapter 125 of the *Book of Going Forth by Day,* Thoth as the ibis-headed god presides over and records the weighing of the heart of the deceased owner of the book. A baboon is also represented in this scene seated atop the balance, apparently to ensure its accuracy. Thoth is credited in Egyptian mythology with separating the two contenders, Horus and Seth, as well as with magically restoring Horus's injured eye. He has one of the major supporting roles in much of Egyptian religious literature, and a number of hymns are addressed to him directly, although Re and Osiris are the principal gods discussed and invoked in these texts.

Thoth was renowned for his wisdom and praised as the inventor of writing. The *mdw-ntr* ("god's words," i.e., hieroglyphs) were recognized as perhaps his greatest contribution, and he was frequently shown with brush and papyrus roll in the attitude of the scribes, whose patron he was.

In the eighteenth dynasty several kings took as their throne name *Thothmose* ("Thoth is the one who bore him"). This Thutmosid family included several other members with *ʿiʿḥ* ("moon") in their names, so it is clearly Thoth's position as moon god that is being recalled. Remains of two small temples to Thoth survive in the Theban area, one very late and poorly decorated. Since the eighteenth dynasty was of Theban origin and the son of Amun-Re at Thebes was the moon god, Khonsu, these two moon gods could have been assimilated, but the family could also have chosen the name of the northern god (Thoth) when they moved their residence (capital) to Memphis.

In Egyptian literature there clearly was an ancient tradition concerning the secret knowledge of Thoth. Secret rooms and mysterious books were sought by learned scribes, priests, and princes. This tradition was carried over into some of the Coptic gnostic library tractates, and the question arises whether these were Egyptian or Greek in origin since the Greeks had early identified their god Hermes with Thoth. The origins of the continuing traditions of Hermes Trismegistos and gnosticism can be traced to Egypt, to Thoth, and perhaps even to the Hermopolitan cosmology, but the extent of Egyptian influence on these beliefs remains to be determined.

The great temple of Thoth at Hermopolis has not survived, although its location is known from finds in the area. A large catacomb for the burial of mummified ibises and baboons has been found nearby at the necropolis of Tuna al-Gabal.

SEE ALSO Hermes Trismegistos.

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THRACIAN RELIGION.

In ancient Greece the name *Thrakes* referred to most of the inhabitants of the northeastern Balkan Peninsula. Their neighbors to the east were the Scythians; to the west the Pannonians, Dalmatians, and Illyrians; to the north the Balts and the Celts. The name seems to have initially belonged only to the Thracian tribes in close proximity to Greece. Later on, it was extended to related tribes to the north, just as the name *Graeci,* which originally belonged only to a western Greek tribe, was later given by the Romans to all the Hellenes. Nevertheless, the location of the land called Thrake was always restricted to the area south of the Balkan Mountains, principally to the Chalcidice Peninsula.

THRACIAN PEOPLES.

Nearly two hundred tribes are known under the generic name of Thrakes, of which the most important were the Odrysi, who lived in what is today southeastern Bulgaria; the Dentheleti, north of Macedonia; the Serdi, in Serdica, today the region of Sofia, the capital city of Bulgaria; the Bessi, west of Serdica; the Moesi, between the Balkan Mountains and the river Danube; and the Daco-Getae, who occupied a northern territory approximating modern-day Romania. Other Thracian tribes—the Thyni and Bithyni—settled in Asia Minor. The Phrygians and the Armenians, who originated in the Balkans, were related to them.

History. In the ancient world, the Thracians were, according to Herodotos (fifth century BCE), the most numerous people after the Indians. Thracians are attested in connection with the Trojan War, and they seem to have had a share in the foundation of Troy (in Asia Minor, or modern-day Turkey). Only occasionally did they form larger unions of tribes: the only known confederations are the kingdom of the Odrysi (fifth-fourth centuries BCE), the Geto-Dacian kingdom of Burebista (c. 80–44 BCE), and the Daco-Getic kingdom of Decebalus (87–106 CE). Nonetheless, a certain material and spiritual unity of the Thracians (though not without important inner distinctions) was preserved by several tribes, despite their frequent displacements. Herodotus (*Histories* 5.3) notes that most of the Thracians had kindred customs, with the exception of the Getae, the Trausi, and those living beyond the tribe of the Crestonians.

According to the Greek geographer Strabo (first century BCE), the Getae spoke the same dialect as the other Thracians. Subsequent scholarship has shown, however, that both the culture and the language of the Getae, whom Herodotus calls "the most religious and valiant among the Thracians," were distinct from those of the southern Thracians. Scholars such as Vladimir Georgiev, Ivan Duridanov, and Cicerone

Poghirc have established a clear distinction between two linguistic areas: the Thracian area, in which toponyms ending in *-para*, *-bria*, and *-diza* are dominant, and the Daco-Getic area, in which these endings are replaced by *-dava* and *-sara*. Anthroponyms and phonetic transformation both confirm this distinction. Culturally, the southern Thracians were related to the Iranians, to the Pelasgians, and to some peoples of Asia Minor. They exerted a certain spiritual influence on the Greeks, but they felt, in turn, the decisive impact of Greek civilization. The northern Thracians, the Daco-Getae, were, however, culturally closer to the Illyrians, the Celts, and the Balts. Before the Roman epoch, Greek influence north of the Danube was minimal: in Dacia only thirty Greek inscriptions have been found, representing 1 percent of the more than three thousand Roman inscriptions. In the northern territories the passage from the Hallstatt culture to the La Tène culture was determined by the Celtic invasions during the fourth and third centuries BCE.

Testimonies. The Thracians may be attested in documents written in Linear B, a form of writing used in Mycenaean records dating from the fifteenth to the twelfth century BCE. They are mentioned by Homer and by numerous later Greek and Roman authors. In the fourth century CE, the language of the Thracian tribe of the Bessi was still in use in Christian liturgy. A difficult question is whether any of the Thracian tribes ever used writing. It seems that they did, but only a few records have survived. At least the Geto-Dacians, who formed an impressive theocracy in the first century BCE, seem to have used the Greek and Roman alphabets to transcribe their own language. No document is attested, however, apart from some mysterious inscriptions, each composed of three Greek letters, on stone slabs from the ruins of sanctuaries at Sarmizegetusa Regia (modern-day Gradiştea Muncelului, Romania). In all probability these inscriptions are not marks used by the Greek builders of the sanctuaries but are, instead, numbers related to the complicated astronomical computations of the Dacian priests. Because the slabs were scattered, it has so far been impossible to reconstruct the pattern by which the series of numbers can be read.

The basic sources on Thracian religion are Greek and Roman authors, including Herodotos, Plato, Strabo, the geographer Pomponius Mela, and the Moesian-born Gothic historian Jordanes (sixth century CE). Other sources usually depend on these authors and only occasionally provide important information; a notable exception is the Neoplatonic philosopher Porphyry (third century), who wrote on Zalmoxis. For southern Thrace, Greek votive inscriptions are particularly important; the collection edited by Georgi Mikhailov (1955–1956) contains about 160 names of divinities, together with epithets.

The Thracian regions bordering the Aegean Sea were completely hellenized. The province south of the Balkan Mountains remained under Greek influence even during Roman occupation. The northern regions were decisively influenced by the Romans after being subdued by them: Moesia Superior in 15 CE; Moesia Inferior, along with the Greek Pontic colonies, on the western shore of the Black Sea, in 46 CE; and Dacia in 106 CE. The last speakers of Thracian dialects disappeared from the region south of the Balkan Mountains after the invasion of the Slavs in the sixth century.

THRACIAN RELIGION: SOME GENERAL FEATURES. Religion among the southern Thracians developed along different lines from that of the northern Thracians (the Daco-Getae) owing to what could be called the religious reformation of Zalmoxis in the north. Whether Zalmoxis was a god or a human is an open question, but it can safely be stated that his priests, forming an uninterrupted line of succession that was at times indistinguishable from Daco-Getic kingship, introduced among the northern Thracians religious principles and, later on, scientific speculations that conferred upon their religion a peculiar character. Different sources inform us of the penetration of these ideas among southern Thracians in early times, but Zalmoxis is uncontroversially known as a Gete. It is difficult to speak of a common religious heritage in regard to all Thracian peoples, for different beliefs and customs are attributed to various groups in various sources, but it is easy to recognize in the sources features pertaining to the cult of Zalmoxis. With the exception of Zalmoxis, whose influence extended from the north to the south, all Thracian divinities known in Greece from the fifth century BCE (e.g., Sabazios, Bendis, and Cotys) and the mythic characters to whom the Greeks attributed a Thracian background (e.g., Orpheus and Dionysos) originated among the southern Thracians.

According to Herodotos (5.7) the Thracians worshiped three divinities, corresponding to the Greek Ares, Dionysos, and Artemis, and their kings worshiped a fourth divinity, corresponding to Hermes, to whose posterity they were believed to belong.

As for Ares-Mars, the god of war, Jordanes (*De origine actibusque Getarum* 40–41) confirms his importance among the Getae, in whose land he was supposed to have been born ("apud eos . . . exortum") and to have reigned (cf. Vergil, *Aeneid* 3.35). Prisoners of war were sacrificed to him, and his devotional cults were particularly intense in their affective tones.

Whether Herodotos in his mention of Dionysos was referring to Sabazios is a controversial point, since he could have directly mentioned the name of Sabazios. The same argument applies as well to the goddesses Bendis and Cotys, who are usually identified with Artemis. At the time of Herodotos both of them were known at Athens, and yet the historian did not mention their names in connection with the Thracian Artemis.

Ancient authors attributed to Dionysos himself a Thracian background. In the myth of Dionysos, a Thracian episode, mentioned by Homer (*Iliad* 5.130ff.), is particularly interesting. In numerous variants, it is recounted that the

Thracian king Lykurgos (lit., "wolf's anger") pursues Dionysos, who, in his turn, brings down madness upon the king. The king then either kills himself or is eventually killed by Dionysos. The symbolism of this myth is very complicated. It refers, in all probability, to the cosmic effects of a battle between opposite principles represented by Apollo and Dionysos. As a matter of fact, the wolf is related to Apollo, who is often called Apollo Lukeios, a name referring both to the wolf (Gr., *lukos*) and to light (Gr., *lukē*, "dawn"; Lat., *lux*, "light").

In several variants of the myth, Lykurgos tries to cut down a vine with an ax. Dionysos confuses him so that instead he kills his own son and cuts off one of his own legs. The mythologist Nonnus of Panopolis (fifth century) reports that Lykurgos, an Arab king who pursues Dionysos with an ax in order to kill him, hits one of the Maenads, Ambrosia, who is then changed into a vine. It is difficult to unravel the implications of this myth: while Lykurgos appears to be a vine hater, an enemy of Dionysos, his action may instead simply represent a viticulturist's pruning of his vines. There is nothing typically Thracian in all this, except perhaps the contradictory characterization of Thracians as either vine lovers or vine haters. Strangely enough, the calendar temple in the stronghold at Sarmizegetusa Regia seems to indicate that the Daco-Getic priests under Decebalus were concerned with the vegetative period of the vine, and that this concern was a major element in their culture; yet King Burebista is said to have ordered all vines in his kingdom to be cut down. Is the latter, perhaps, only a wrong assumption on the part of Strabo (*Geography* 7.7–11), who mistakenly expects wine hatred from the spiritualistic, Pythagorean features of Getic religion? This hypothesis deserves further investigation.

As for the Thracian Artemis, both Bendis and Cotys have been identified with this goddess. Bendis appears to be a goddess of marriage, while Cotys, or Kotyto, is an orgiastic Thracian divinity in whose cult men wore women's garments. Her name has been related to the Indo-European **kot-u-* ("avenger"; cf. the Greek *koteo*, "I am angry") and has thus been taken to mean "angry [goddess]" or "[goddess] of fight." Gheorghe Mus,u prefers the etymology "[goddess] energy," from the Indo-European **kued-*, *kuod-* ("stimulate, urge on"). Both Bendis and Cotys were known at Athens from the fifth century BCE onward.

Neither worship of a heavenly god nor the institution of sacred kingship was confined to the northern Thracians. The military historian Polyaenos (second century) reported that the priests of Hera were kings of the tribes of the Kebrenoi and Sykaiboai. One of them, Kosingas, gathered many wooden ladders with the intent, he said, of climbing to heaven in order to indict the Thracians before Hera for their disobedience. Impressed, the Thracians swore to obey his orders.

Two practices that were general among the Thracians rested, in all probability, on religious bases: tattooing and the burial or cremation of living wives together with their dead husbands. Among the Getae, tattooing was probably related to the story of the sufferings once inflicted upon Zalmoxis, and was thus applied to members of certain social categories (e.g., women and slaves) as a sign of suffering. Among the southern Thracians, where only the nobles were tattooed, it must have had another symbolic meaning.

As for the burial or cremation of living widows, archaeological finds confirm the rather puzzling written evidence that the Thracians practiced either one or the other, and sometimes both in the same place. No reasons for this variation are given. Two works based on the findings at several necropolises in Dacia (Protase, 1971; Nicolaescu-Plopsor and Wolski, 1975) have confirmed the concurrent existence of both ritual practices, although cremation prevailed. Wives, sometimes accompanied by their infant children, were sacrificed at the death of their husbands and were buried or cremated in the same tomb. Both Herodotos and Pomponius Mela (*De situ orbis* 2.2.19–20) report that among polygamous Thracians the wives of the deceased vied for the great honor of being killed and buried together with the corpse of their husbands.

Herodotos also reports a three-day exposure of the corpse, followed by animal sacrifices, feasting, mourning, and burial or cremation. To the historian Hellanicus (fifth century BCE) is attributed the information that the animal sacrifices and the banqueting were based on a belief that the deceased would return to the human world to participate in the feast. Pomponius Mela (2.2.18) affirms that some Thracians mourned a child's birth and rejoiced over death. Therefore the feasts following one's death were an expression of collective participation in the happy destiny of the dead. The Getae were not the only Thracians to believe in immortality, but their beliefs, which relate to the cult of Zalmoxis, are better known, for they impressed the Greek authors who came in contact with them after the fifth century BCE.

Strabo (7.3.3) reports that, according to the Stoic Posidonius of Apamea, the Mysians (whom Strabo correctly identifies as the Moesi, i. e., inhabitants of Moesia) practiced vegetarianism, feeding themselves on honey, milk, and cheese. These are called *theosebeis* ("worshipers of the gods") and *kapnobatai* ("walkers on smoke"). Some among the Thracians lived in continence and are recorded as *ktistai* (lit., "founders"). To the latter applies the Homeric epithet *abioi* (lit., "lifeless," i.e., poor), which was attributed to some of the inhabitants of Thrace. The epithet *kapnobatai* may refer to a practice mentioned by Pomponius Mela (2.2.21), according to which some Thracians did not use wine as an intoxicating liquor but instead inhaled smoke from fires upon which had been thrown seeds whose scent provoked exhilaration. The *Lexicon* of Hesychius of Alexandria (fifth or sixth century CE) reports under the word *kanabis* ("hemp") that hemp seeds were burned, and so *Cannabis sativa* may be a plausible identification of the intoxicating plant referred to by Pomponius.

SEE ALSO Geto-Dacian Religion; Zalmoxis.

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THRACIAN RIDER.

The so-called Thracian Rider, a demigod who was the focus of a cult in ancient Thrace, is known principally from sculptures and inscriptions dating from the fourth century BCE to the early fourth century CE. In Greek and Latin inscriptions he is identified simply as "the hero" (*hērōs* or *heros*, usually, but also *hērōn*, *heron*, *eron*, etc.). According to Dimiter Detschew (1957, p. 200), the name of the Thracian horseman was probably related to the Thracian term for "hero," **ierus*, or **iarus*, which has Celtic parallels. If so, this linguistic fact reinforces the religious analogies between this Thracian type of divinity and the Greek heroes.

The oldest monuments of the Thracian Rider belong to the fourth century BCE, but his cult was particularly influential in Thrace and in Moesia Inferior (i.e., Lower Moesia, the region of Greco-Roman settlements on the western shore of the Black Sea) during the second and third centuries CE. Roman iconography and inscriptions of that time show that he was identified with Asklepios, Apollo, Dionysos, Silvanus, and other divinities. He bore the epithets *sōtēr* ("savior"), *iatros* ("healer"), and even *megas theos* ("great god"), the last in the city of Odessus (present-day Varna), where he was also known by the Thracian name of Darzalas.

The extant monuments to the Thracian Rider are reliefs and statuettes having either a votive or a funerary character. The horseman is usually represented as riding to the right, toward a tree on which a serpent is coiled. In the inscriptions, Greek and Latin epithets are often added to the generic name of the hero, showing that the cult was adapted to particular heroes, who sometimes were known by Thracian names. The epithets are usually toponyms, names of tribes, or attributes of the horseman.

The names of the worshipers are known from votive inscriptions. It is interesting to note that 61 percent of the worshipers recorded in Moesia Inferior and Dacia (modern Romania and Bessarabia) bore Greek or Greco-Roman names, 34 percent bore Roman names, and only 5 percent bore names of Thracian or Thraco-Roman origin. Accordingly, it can be inferred that the majority of the adepts of the cult in Moesia Inferior were Greek.

Little is known about the cult itself, which was a combination of Greek and Thracian beliefs. At its height it was certainly related to concepts of survival after death and to healing, and it may have involved notions of survival either in the netherworld or in heaven. It was widespread among the population of Thrace and Moesia Inferior, and its devotees included people of various social standings and ethnic backgrounds. So far as we know, the cult never took the form of a mystery religion with secret communities organized in a hierarchy. The cult of the Thracian Rider died away in the first half of the fourth century CE.

SEE ALSO Dacian Riders.

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TIAN. A term of basic importance in the worldview and religious life of the Chinese from the remote past to the present, *tian* has two principal senses: as the supreme god of the universe, and as impersonal nature. Often it is not clear in a particular instance which of these meanings is intended, and it may well be that the distinction is vague to the user.

TIAN AS GOD. The root meaning of *tian* is sky or the heavens, the abode of numinous beings. When used without qualifiers the term may denote the supreme deity. The earliest known use of the graph for *tian* occurs in ancient texts of the Zhou period (c. 1111–256 BCE), where it refers to the supreme deity of the Zhou people. In early Zhou times Tian was conceived as the all-powerful, purposeful, apparently anthropomorphic god who sent down blessings or disasters according to whether he was pleased or displeased with human behavior. Politically, Tian was the source of the legitimacy of the king, conferring upon the most righteous man the mandate of Heaven (*tianming*) or withdrawing this mandate from corrupt or unworthy rulers. In this conception of divinity the early Zhou rulers successfully assimilated the supreme god of the preceding Shang dynasty (eighteenth century? to 1111 BCE), called Di, or Shangdi. This assimilation blurred the historical and cultic distinction between the god of the Shang and the god of the Zhou. Subsequently, the terms *haotian* ("heaven of the vast-primal-vital-breath"), or *huangtian* ("august heaven"), and *shangdi* ("supreme ruler") were used interchangeably to denote the greatest power of the universe. As Tian and as Shangdi, this supreme power was conceived of as the creator (*zaowuzhu*). In some texts, including the *Yi jing* (Book of changes), *tian* and *di* (Heaven and Earth) are at least figuratively anthropomorphized as the cosmic father and mother, from whose sexual intercourse all beings are produced.

Worship of Tian, as performed in the elaborate imperial rituals, was forbidden to any but the ruler, as it was the most impressive demonstration of his possession of the mandate of Heaven. But it would hardly have been possible to prevent the people from believing in and expressing their awe of Tian. In the course of time, the notion evolved that the supernatural dimension was an invisible counterpart to the temporal world. Tian was then personified as the emperor of that spirit world who, like the emperor in this world, headed a heavenly bureaucracy of deities. In this role Tian was called Yuhuang Shangdi ("supreme ruler of jadelike augustness"). The common people invoked his aid when in dire trouble, and there were temples in which he was the chief deity. Many homes contained some representation of communication with him, such as an incense brazier. Among the people he was familiarly called Tiangong ("celestial duke") or Laotianye ("old celestial lord").

The omnipresence and concern of Tian with the human world are themes of many proverbs. In some of these, the deity is obviously personified: "Tian's eyes are everywhere, they see all without anyone escaping"; "Man can be fooled, but not Tian"; "Tian punishes the sinner"; "Blessings come from Tian"; "Tian helps those who help themselves"; "Tian knows the good and evil hidden in human hearts." Other sayings, however, are either ambiguous or definitely refer to an impersonal power: "The cyclical revolutions of *tian* cause things to be as they are"; "*Tian* is empty; earth is broad"; "Intelligence is endowed by *tian*"; "There may not be two suns in *tian*"; "It is difficult to go against the Way (*dao*) of *tian*."

The arrival of Buddhism from India and Central Asia at approximately the beginning of the common era introduced new and complicated notions of celestial beings and celestial realms. The Buddhist realms, for example, were divided into the Realm of Desire (*kama-dhatu*), the Realm of Form (*rupadhatu*), and the Realm of Formlessness (*arupyadhatu*). These and other Buddhist realms were called *tian*. In the third and fourth centuries, as Daoism became a cohesive religion, it too developed elaborate notions of supernal realms and called them *tian*. In general, the *tian* of Daoism, variously twenty-eight, thirty-two, or thirty-six in number, were derived from Buddhism, although one novel idea held that counterparts to *tian* existed in the subterranean world. The Daoist *tian* are the abodes of gods and their subordinates, the perfected immortals (*xian*), as well as of the souls of the virtuous dead who will one day attain immortality as perfected beings. The term *tian* also figures in Daoist cosmology, where *xiantian* ("pre-cosmic") and *houtian* ("cosmic," that is, the phenomenal universe) denote stages of evolution that are represented in the performance of liturgical rites.

TIAN AS IMPERSONAL NATURE. The word *tian* often appears in writings of the classical period of philosophy (sixth to third century BCE), where it is used with the connotation "nature." Daoist texts of the period frequently express the idea of *tian* as an impersonal force that produces all natural phenomena. In this usage were blended the ideas of the will of a personal deity and a natural law. Thus, events, in particular, omens, commonly taken to signify the "decree" of *tian*, were here interpreted simply as having occurred spontaneously or of themselves (*tianming ji ziran*). The most forceful assertion of the impersonality of *tian* was made by the Ru (Confucian) scholar Xunzi (fl. c. 298–238 BCE), who denied that *tian* acted in response to human actions or pleas. In his view, *tian* was simply the operation of the physical universe. In another instance of the impersonal use of *tian*, the term refers to something akin to "fate," as in the expression *mingyun de tian* ("Heaven-determined destiny").

As with the anthropomorphic conception of *tian*, the naturalistic interpretation was given its most authoritative expression in the *Yi jing*. There, *tian* is symbolized by the trigram *qian*, and is thus another term for the positive, male, creative principle or force (yang). Its complement is *di*, or earth, symbolized by the trigram *kun*, representing the negative, female, receptive principle or force (yin). The ceaseless, ever-changing interactions and permutations of these complementary principles or forces produce the universe and all beings, and are responsible for their birth, growth, decay, and death.

Although impersonal, the "naturalistic" *tian* has a close functional relationship with man. The classical philosophers see this relationship in a variety of not necessarily reconcilable ways:

- Human life or life span depends upon *tian* (*renzhiming zai tian*).
- Man is a microcosm of the universe, his feet being "square," as earth is, and his head round, as Heaven is.
- Man's nature (*xing*) is conferred at birth by *tian*.
- Man should model himself upon *tian* (*fatian*).
- Since *tian* is impersonal, it is man who acts as the mind (or heart) of *tian*.
- Man and *tian* constantly interact in mutual stimulus and response (a view denied, as we have seen, by Xunzi).
- The function of *tian* is to create, while the function of man is to nurture and bring to perfection those created things.
- *Tian* serves as the moral example for man, who can only attain his complete human development through the discipline of moral steadfastness (*cheng*).

Here again, the concept of *tian* is ambiguous: while moral perfection would seem to be possible only for a person, yet the unfailing regularity, benevolence, and impartiality of *tian* could also be interpreted in moral terms.

In the neo-Confucian movement, which began during the Tang dynasty (618–907) and came to maturity during the Song period (960–1279), philosophers again utilized the term *tian* in various new ways. The neo-Confucian goal may be stated in religious terms as an ultimate self-transformation for the attainment of sainthood or sageliness (*shengren*). Most important was a concept called the *tianli* ("principle of *tian*" or "heavenly principle"), which was interpreted in a number of ways. It stood for the sum of the anciently enunciated virtues of the Confucian tradition; it was a name for the metaphysical substance or embodiment of the *dao* (*xingshang daoti*); it was identified as mind; it was identified as conscience, which produced the innate knowledge of good and evil, right and wrong (*liangxi* or *liangzhi*); it was moral perfection, the very opposite of human desires (*renyu*), a proposition rejected by certain later neo-Confucians; or it designated the totality of all principles, being cosmic Principle. These were some of the concepts the neo-Confucians used in constructing a metaphysics that had been lacking in the ancient Confucian system. They attempted, in this way, to arrive at an understanding of the nature of ultimate reality or the Absolute. In their philosophies, the term *tian* was used for this ultimate reality and also identified with other terms that had the same meaning—*dao*, *li*, *taiji*, and (in Wang Yangming's thought) *xin* ("heart-and-mind"). Although the *tian* of the neo-Confucians was an impersonal metaphysical principle, even in this usage theistic implications were not entirely absent.

SEE ALSO Dao and De; Li; Shangdi; Taiji; Yuhuang.

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TIANTAI. The Tiantai tradition of Chinese Māhāyana Buddhism is a lineage centered around the writings of the monk Zhiyi (538–597) and his successors. This tradition is characterized by the emphasis it places on the practice of meditation, its exegetical method, and the centrality it accords the teachings of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* (Chin., *Miaofa lianhua jing su*; abbreviated title, *Fahua jing*; the *Lotus Sutra*) and the *Da ban niepan jing* (Skt., *Mahāyāna-parinirvāṇa Sūtra*). The Tiantai tradition forms, together with the Huayan tradition, one of the two major academic and doctrinal systems of Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism.

ORIGINS. Zhiyi's major meditation text, the *Mohe zhiguan* (The Great Stilling and Insight; T. D. no. 1911), states that the Tiantai lineage began with Huiwen, who transmitted the essence of his enlightenment experience to his disciple Huisi, who in turn instructed Zhiyi. Later Tiantai church history therefore refers to these monks as the first three (Chinese) Tiantai "patriarchs."

Huiwen. Other than the fact that he was active during the Northern Qi period (550–557), little is known of the life of Huiwen. Even late accounts admit that both his place of birth and his dates are unknown. His importance to the tradition derives from his adumbration of certain key concepts that, in the writings of Zhiyi, would become central to Tiantai thought. One source relates that while reading the *Da zhidu lun* (a commentary on the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* in twenty-five thousand slokas that is traditionally attributed to Nāgārjuna) he was struck by a passage that notes, "When one moment of mind obtains all wisdom, the wisdom of the Path, and all species of wisdom, then all of the defilements and their traces are cut off." This concept of "three wisdoms in one mind" (*yxin sanzhi*) became identified in the writings of Zhiyi with his concept of "three insights in one mind" (*yxin sanguan*), a core teaching of the Tiantai system.

This link to the teachings of Nāgārjuna, founder of the Mādhyamika system and perhaps the greatest of all Buddhist thinkers, was later formalized by recognizing him as the tradition's first Indian patriarch and the inspirator of the system as a whole. Such post facto linkage with Indian figures of unquestioned authority was a common means of bestowing legitimacy and prestige upon the Buddhist traditions indigenous to China. Nāgārjuna, in fact, is counted as "first patriarch" of several East Asian Buddhist traditions.

Huisi. The master Huisi was a native of Honan Province; later biographies state that he was born under the Northern Wei on the eleventh day of the eleventh month of 515. At the age of fourteen he entered the monastic life and received full ordination, devoting himself to chanting the text of the *Fahua jing.* At the age of nineteen he had an enlightenment experience while reading the *Miaoshengding jing* (Sutra of Marvelous, Unsurpassed *Samādhi;* otherwise unknown); from this time on he retired to the woods and forests to practice meditation in solitude.

Sometime after this experience Huisi met the master Huiwen and received instruction from him concerning meditation and its concomitant, the experience of enlightenment. Thereafter, he confined his practice to meditation. Tradition alleges that he attained enlightenment only at the point when, dispairing of ever realizing the goal of his practice, Huisi climbed to the top of the monastery wall to throw himself off. The resulting breakthrough he later termed *fahua sanmei,* or "Lotus *samādhi.*"

A recurrent theme in his preaching is summarized in one of his biographies: "The source of enlightenment is not far away, and one's (Buddha) nature, like a sea, is not distant. Only direct your seeking inward upon yourself; do not get enlightenment from another." Huisi died peacefully in 577, at the age of sixty-two.

Some six extant works are attributed to Huisi: the *Dasheng zhiguan famen* (The Mahāyāna Teaching of Stilling and Insight; T. D. no. 1924); the *Zhufa wucheng sanmei famen* (The Teaching of Noncontentious *Samādhi* with Respect to All Phenomena; T. D. no. 1923); the *Sui ciyi sanmei* (The *Samādhi* Attained at Will; *Zokuzōkyō* 2.3); the *Fahua jing anluo xingyi* (The Cultivation of the Anluo Chapter of the Fahua jing; T. D. no. 1926), a work that treats the ethics of a *Lotus* devotee in an era of the decline of the *Dharma*, as outlined in the fourteenth chapter of the Lotus; the *Shou pusa jiehyi* (The Ritual for Receiving the *Bodhisattva* Precepts; *Zokuzōkyō* 2.10); and the *Nanyue sidashi lishi yuanwen* (The Vows of Master Si of Nanyue; T. D. no. 1933). The authenticity of some of these works remains open to scholarly investigation. Attributions, in later catalogs, of some four other inextant works to Huisi may, to judge from the titles of these works, represent a retrospective attempt to ascribe many of the major teachings of Zhiyi to his master's inspiration.

Zhiyi. Zhiyi, the *de-facto* founder of the Tiantai tradition, was born in Jingzhou (present-day Hunan Province) in 538. At the age of seventeen he entered the monastic life under the direction of the master Fazhu of the guoyuan Si in Xiangzhou; after his ordination he began the study of the Vinaya (rules of monastic discipline) with Huikuang, reading at the same time various Mahāyāna texts. Sometime later Zhiyi made a pilgrimage to Mount Taixian, where he went into retreat, reciting the "three Lotus scriptures," the *Fahua jing,* the *Wuliang yi jing,* and the *Puxianguan jing.* He continued his chanting for twenty days, at which time he fully understood the meaning of these texts.

In 560 Zhiyi journeyed to Mount Dasu, where he met Huisi, who was now destined to become his chief instructor. Huisi instructed him in devotions centered around the figure of the *bodhisattva* Samantabhadra (Chin., Puhxian) and in the *Anluo* practices, practices taught in the fourteenth chapter (*Anluoxing pin*) of the *Fahua jing.* Following Zhiyi's enlightenment experience Huisi named him his *Dharma* heir and successor. Thereafter, Zhiyi took up residence in the Waguan Si in Jinling (Nanking), where he was to stay for eight years. During this period he lectured on the *Lotus* and the *Da zhidu lun* and taught a path of gradual meditative cultivation to his disciples. These teachings formed the basis for his *Fajie ziti chumen* (T. D. no. 1925). In 575 he moved to Mount Tiantai, a mountain that was to remain his major headquarters for the rest of his life and from which the tradition derives its name. In 577 Zhiyi and his followers were, by imperial edict, given the tax levies from Shifeng Prefecture (xian), and two clans were indentured to him to provide his community with fuel and water. Sometime in this period Zhiyi lectured on the *Jingming jing* (the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*

Sūtra) and the *Jinguangming jing* (a Prajñāpāramitā text); both of these lectures served as the basis for later written works.

In 585 Zhiyi lectured before the last emperor of the Chen dynasty on the *Da zhidu lun.* While in the Chen capital (Jinling) he also lectured on the *Renwang panruo jing* (Sutra of the Benevolent Kings; T. D. no. 246) and admonished the emperor against state intervention in the affairs of the *saṃgha.* In 587 Zhiyi gave a series of lectures on the *Fahua jing* in the Guangze Si; these lectures became the basis for his *Miaofa lianhua jing wenju* (Sentences and Phrases of the *Lotus;* T. D. no. 1718). With the establishment of the Sui dynasty (589–618) and the reunification of China after some three and a half centuries, the area around the two regions of Xiangzhou and Xingzhou was pacified and Zhiyi was able to make a pilgrimage to Mount Lu, a site famous in the history of Pure Land Buddhism. In 591 he administered the *bodhisattva* precepts to the later-to-be second Sui emperor, Prince Guang, in Yangzhou.

In 593 Zhiyi lectured on the *Fahua jing* at the Yuchuan Si, a monastery in Dangyang Prefecture whose construction he had overseen. The transcription of these lectures by Zhiyi's disciple and amanuensis, Guanding, served as the basis of the *Miaofa lianhua jing xuanyi* (The Profound Principles of the *Lotus;* T. D. no. 1716). The following year Zhiyi lectured on the practice of meditation; these lectures, again transcribed by Guanding, formed the basis for the last of his three major works, the *Mohe zhiguan.* In 595, once more at the request of the prince, Zhiyi found himself in the capital, Jinling, where he composed a commentary on the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* on behalf of his most eminent patron. Soon thereafter, however, inspired by a premonition of impending death, he returned to Tiantai to impart his final teachings to his disciples. These were transcribed under the title *Guanxin lun* (On Visualizing the Mind; T. D. no. 1920). Zhiyi died in the eleventh month of 597.

Although Zhiyi considered himself part of a spiritual lineage that derived ultimately from Nāgārjuna and that had been transmitted through Huiwen and Huisi, the doctrines that have in East Asia been most typically associated with (early) Tiantai are the products of his own skill as a teacher and exegete. His biographies record that Zhiyi was responsible for the construction of some thirty-five monasteries, had fifteen copies of the Tripiṭaka copied and thousands of Buddha images cast, ordained over a thousand monks, some thirty-two of whom became advanced students under his personal guidance, and produced a large number of works on doctrine and meditation. (Forty-six are attributed to him, but a number are clearly later forgeries.)

Also important were the links he established with the Sui ruling house, who saw in Zhiyi's synthesis of diverse strands of the Buddhist tradition a compelling analogue to their own political unification of the empire. Unfortunately, the close relationship enjoyed by Zhiyi with the Sui rulers, and the lavish patronage he and his community received at their hands, were responsible for the school's dramatic loss of prestige in the aftermath of the fall of the Sui in 518. The new dynasty, the Tang, wishing to disassociate itself from Sui policies, naturally eshewed the symbols of religious legitimacy treasured by its predecessor.

DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE. The Tiantai tradition is characterized by the use of an exegetical method developed by Zhiyi and employed by him in his works; all subsequent Tiantai writers employed this same method. Tiantai doctrine is founded upon a particular reading of the *Lotus Sutra,* to which is imported a wide variety of teachings associated with other texts and traditions and an organizational principle whereby the disparate texts and teachings of Mahāyāna Buddhism are seen in the context of an overarjing scheme of revelation and levels of textual interpretation. Although the systematization of this insight into the so-called Five Periods and Eight Teachings doctrine is probably the work of a later hand, the basic inspiration for the system clearly derives from Zhiyi. Three works in particular, all by Zhiyi, are recognized by the tradition as constituting the core and epitome of its teachings.

Miaofa lianhua jing wenzhu. The first of these, the *Miaofa lianhua jing wenzhu* (*Fahua wenzhu,* for short), or *Words and Phrases of the Lotus Sutra,* is based on Zhiyi's lectures at the Guangze Si in 587 on the meaning of key words and phrases in the *Lotus Sutra.* Guanding's compilation and redaction of notes taken at this lecture series were completed in 629.

The *Wenzhu* employs four types of explanation (*sishi*) in commenting on the text:

(1) The explanation according to conditions (*yinyuan shi*), in which the author analyzes the Buddha and his audience and the four "benefits" (*siddhāntas*) produced by this *sūtra* (it leads to joy and happiness, it generates roots of good, it destroys evil, and it enables the devotee to enter into an understanding of the Absolute).

(2) The explanation in which this and all other *sūtras* are analyzed on the basis of the place they occupy in the teachings of the Buddha over his entire lifetime (*yuejiao shi*). The standards for evaluating any teaching are two: whether is it "partial" or "perfect" (i. e., whether it is fully expressive of the insights of the Buddha or only partially so), Hīnayāna or Mahāyāna; and where it is included in the scheme of the Five Periods and the Eight Teachings.

(3) The explanation based on whether the teachings in question constitute the "basic" or "peripheral" message of the *sūtra* (*benji shi*).

(4) The explanation based on the type of meditational practice taught in the *sūtra* (*guanxin shi*).

These four exegetical methods are employed on the *Lotus Sutra* as a whole, and then on each chapter's title and on selected passages from each chapter. The first three explanations are theoretical, the last practical.

Zhiyi divided the contents of the *Lotus Sutra* into three parts, two parts, and a combination of the two. He divided the whole of the scripture into three parts: an introduction (chapter 1), the core teachings (chapter 2 to the first half of chapter 17), and a postscript (the last half of chapter 17 to the end of the work, chapter 28). He also divided the scripture into two parts (based on the *benji shi* method, mentioned above): The first fourteen chapters constitute the fictive or provisional teachings; the second fourteen chapters constitute the basic or absolute level of teaching. Here again, a tripartite analysis is employed against each section. The fictive or provisional teachings are composed of an introduction (chapter 1), a core teaching (chapters 2 to 6), and a postscript (chapters 7 to 14). The basic or absolute teachings are similarly divided into the introduction (the first half of chapter 15), the core teaching (latter half of chapter 15 to the first half of chapter 17), and the postscript (latter half of chapter 17 to the end of the text).

For Zhiyi, the teachings of the first half of the *Lotus* (the first fourteen chapters) center around the promise of salvation for all beings. In this section, the Buddha Śākyamuni reveals that the traditionally articulated soteriological paths (*yāna*s)—that of the *śrāvaka*, or "Hīnayāna" devotee, consisting of the teaching and practice of the Four Noble Truths; the pratyekabuddha, or self-enlightened Buddha, epitomized by the teaching of dependent origination (*pratītya-samutpāda*); and the *bodhisattva,* or Mahāyāna practitioner, characterized by the practice of the "perfections" (*pāramitā*s)—are only apparently distinct religious paths. In fact, the end of each is nothing less than full and complete Buddhahood; there are not three vehicles to salvation, only one, the *ekabuddhayāna,* or "One Vehicle of the Buddha." This section of the *sūtra* also preaches, according to Zhiyi, that phenomenal existence is identical with the absolute, and that all *dharma*s have real and tangible characteristics.

The second half of the *sūtra* proclaims, however, that Śākyamuni's very appearance in the world is a mere fiction, a device employed, so says Zhiyi, by the one, eternal Buddha to aid in the salvation of all beings. Under this interpretation, the historical Buddha, indeed all Buddhas of the ten directions, are nothing more than emanations of this one Buddha, and their earthly careers—the paradigmatic sequence of birth, renunciation of family life, cultivation of ascetic practices, even the enlightenment and final *nirvāṇa* (*parinirvāṇa*)—mere elements in a great soteriological drama designed to reveal the *Dharma* to sentient beings. For this reason, Zhiyi termed the teachings of the first half of the text provisional; only the latter half constitutes the full revelation of absolute truth.

All subsequent Tiantai writings having the words *wenzhu* in their titles employ the fourfold exegetical method described here.

Miaofa lianhua jing xuanyi. The second of the major works of Zhiyi, the *Miaofa lianhua jing xuanyi,* is primarily an exegesis of the five words in the title of the *sūtra* from five points of view. The exegetical method of this commentary is thus called the "five types of profound principles" (*wuzhong xuanyi*). These five exegetical categories characterize all subsequent Tiantai writings having the term *xuanyi* in their titles and were used to analyze all Buddhist scripture, not merely the *Lotus.* The first explains the name of the *sūtra* (*shiming*); the second is a detailed analysis of its philosophy, a philosophy that may not be necessarily expressed in the text itself (the *bienti* explanation); the third clarifies important points expressed in the body of the text (the *mingzong* explanation); the fourth discusses how the *sūtra* expects persons to act or to think with respect to the teaching presented therein (the *lunyong* explanation); and the fifth evaluates the *sūtra* and ranks it in relationship to the Absolute teachings presented in the Lotus (the *panjiao* explanation). Zhiyi continues with an explanation of the meditational practice taught in the *Lotus,* how the devotee should visualize that the different characteristics of all *dharma*s are all in one's own mind and that this mind actually (not merely potentially) possesses all *dharma*s.

Zhiyi's specific explanation of the meaning of the word *fa* (*dharma*) derives from the explanation that he learned from his master Huisi: The word *fa* includes the aspect of mind, the Buddha, and sentient beings. All these three are at once provisional *and* absolute, a truth that is realized when the devotee sees that he or she and all other sentient beings possess the "ten suchnesses" (*shi rushi*) and the "ten *dharma*dhatus," or realms of rebirth (*shi fajie*). Each realm possesses each of the ten suchnesses for a total of one thousand characteristics, and each one of these one thousand characteristics are empty (*kong*), provisionally existent (*jia*), and both empty and existent at the same time (zhong). This threefold characterization is referred to as the "three wisdoms."

In the last part of the commentary, Zhiyi refutes various theories of early Huayan and Weishi (Yogācāra) masters. He also denies the equality, maintained by many, of the *Lotus Sutra* and the *Huayan jing* and refutes the theories of several early Lotus thinkers.

Mohe zhiguan. The last of the major works of Zhiyi is the *Mohe zhiguan.* Unlike the former two works, which deal primarily with theory and only peripherally with meditation, this work constitutes the core of Tiantai teachings concerning practice. The text of the *Zhiguan* was composed by Zhiyi, but the introduction to the work was written by Guanding. In it, Guanding speaks of the lineage of Tiantai meditational practice and teaching. He speaks of two lineages: The first is taken from the *Fu fazang jing* and posits a line of transmission that begins with the Buddha Śākyamuni and may be traced to the Indian monk Siṃha. This lineage also includes Nāgārjuna. Because it begins with the "golden mouthed" words of the Buddha it is called the "golden mouth lineage." The second lineage is called the "lineage of contemporary masters"; it traces its origin from Nāgārjuna, through Huiwen to Huisi, to Zhiyi.

THE FIVE PERIODS AND THE EIGHT TEACHINGS. One of the most distinctive features of Tiantai thought was its classification of the whole of Śākyamuni's teachings, that is, the whole of Buddhism, into five periods, during which the Buddha is said to have taught different doctrines to different classes of persons. These teachings are further subdivided on the basis of their contents.

The "five periods" (*wushi)* are (1) the Huayan (Skt., Avatamsaka) period, (2) the period of the Ehan, or Agamas, also called the Luyuan (Skt., Mṛgadāva, "Deer Park") period, (3) the Fangdeng (Skt., Vaipulya) period, (4) the Boruo (Skt., Prajñāpāramitā) period; and (5) the Fahua (Skt., Sad*dharma*puṇḍarīka) or *Niepan* (Skt., Nirvāṇa) period. These take their names, as is obvious, from specific scriptures or scriptural collections preached during these eras.

The "eight teachings" (*bajiao*) are two sets of four teachings, so divided on the basis of the method and the type or content of the teaching employed. The first four, the *huayi*, or methods of conversion, are (1) the Sudden Teaching (*dunjiao*), (2) the Gradual Teachings (*jianjiao*), (3) the Secret Teachings (*bimi jiao*), (4) the Indeterminate Teachings (*buding jiao*). The *huafa* teachings, that is, the teachings classified on the basis of their contents, are (1) the Piṭaka Teachings (*zangjia*o), (2) the Common Teachings (*tungjia*o), (3) the Separate Teachings (*biejiao*), and (4) the Perfect Teachings (*yuanjiao*).

When the Buddha Śākyamuni was first enlightened he is reputed to have sat silently for twenty-one days, during which time various emanations from his body are said to have taught several sermons that were later compiled into one work, the *Huayan jing* (*Avataṃsaka Sūtra*). During this twenty-one-day period the Buddha presented the teachings to advanced *bodhisattva*s, the only beings capable of comprehending their lofty contents.

After this twenty-one-day period, the Buddha then spent the next twelve years preaching the Hīnayāna teachings to an audience that was incapable of understanding the "sudden" presentation of the Mahāyāna teachings of the Huayan jing. These Hīnayāna teachings, also called the Āgamas (known in Pali as the Nikāyas), were first preached in the Deer Park (Mṛgadāva) in the town of Sārnāth, a suburb of Banaras, and were intended as an initial step in preparing his listeners for more advanced (i. e., Mahāyāna) teachings. These Hīnayāna discourses were thus deemed expedient (*upāya*) teachings designed to lead the Buddha's hearers eventually to greater understanding of the ultimate or absolute level of the Truth.

Following this, the Buddha then preached for eight years to those followers who had attained the fruit of the Hīnayāna teachings, that is, to *arhat*s, in order to bring them to the realization that arhatship does not represent the acme of the religious career. Thus, the Buddha preached a large number of Mahāyāna sermons—represented by such scriptures as the *Weimo jing* (*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*), the *Shengman jing* (*Śrīmālādevī Sūtra*), the *Jinguang ming jing* (*Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra*)—which were taught, in the words of Zhiyi, "to deprecate the partial and to praise the perfect; to demolish the Hīnayāna, and to praise the Mahāyāna," so that the followers would "be ashamed of the Hīnayāna and long for the Mahāyāna."

Next, the Buddha taught the Prajñāpāramitā (Perfection of Wisdom) teaching of the emptiness of all *dharma*s. This twenty-two year period was followed by the presentation, for the first time since the teachings of the *Huayan jing,* of the absolute truth: For the next eight years the Buddha taught the *Lotus Sutra.* As the Buddha was about to die, his spent his last day and night preaching the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, the *Niepan jing.* In this teaching he emphasized that all beings have the Buddha nature, or the potential to become fully enlightened Buddhas, thus converting those who had remained unswayed by the preaching of the *Lotus Sutra.* In order to remove the delusions of those "of weak capacities among later generations" who would come to have the "false view of extinction and annihilation," he stressed the importance of the Vinaya and its precepts for the moral life, and taught the eternal existence of the Buddha. Because the message and the approximate time period of the preaching of the *Lotus Sutra* and the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* were the same, these two scriptures were said to make up a single era.

Zhiyi did not assign any specific number of years to each of these periods; these were first added to this scheme in the early thirteenth century by the scholar-monk Yuansui in his *Sijiaoyi beishi* (*Zokuzōkyō* 2.7.1). This identification with a specific number of years for each period became standard in Tiantai circles, although it was criticized by Zhixu (in his *Jiaoguan kangzong*), the Japanese master Shōshin (in the *Hokkegengi shiki*), and by the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Japanese masters Fujaku and Hotan.

Of the four methods of conversion, the Sudden Teaching is identified with the Huayan period and the Gradual Teachings with the second, third, and fourth periods. The Secret Teachings are those in which one group of persons is taught the Sudden Teaching and another group is taught a Gradual Teaching, yet neither group realizes that the other has received a different presentation of the teachings. Hence, they are termed "secret [and indeterminate]." But should these two groups realize that each is receiving a different teaching and a different type of spiritual benefit, then the teachings are termed the "[revealed] indeterminate teachings." No specific scriptures are assigned to these last two categories.

The classification of the teachings according to their contents begins with the Piṭaka Teachings, a synonym for the Hīnayāna. In this teaching the Four Noble Truths are taught differently for the *śrāvaka*s, *prateyekabuddha*s, and *bodhisattva*s. Then the Four Truths are taught with respect to emptiness and nonarising to these three categories of followers equally. This is termed the Common Teaching. When an unlimited number of Four Truths are taught only to

Mahāyāna *bodhisattvas*, this teaching is coupled with a presentation of the three insights, emptiness (*gu*), provisional existence (*jia*), and the middle, or reconciliation of these two (*zhong*), in a sequential manner. This is the Separate Teaching, as each defilement is cut off separately. When the three insights are taught, cultivated, and realized simultaneously, and when the three defilements are cut off all at once, this is the Perfect Teaching.

The teaching of the Huayan period is the Perfect Teaching, but not exclusively so; it also contains traces of the Separate Teaching. The Deer Park period is devoted exclusively to the Piṭaka Teaching. The third period, the miscellaneous Mahāyāna or Vaipulya period, contains elements of all four teachings, and the fourth period teaches the Perfect Teaching but with strong traces of both the Common and Separate Teachings. In the fifth period, the *Lotus Sutra* is purely the Perfect Teaching, with no admixture of any of the other teachings, whereas the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* constitutes a subsidiary teaching, and includes all of the four types of teachings.

Meditation. According to Guanding, Zhiyi's teaching of meditation can be traced to the master Huisi, and comprehends "three types of stilling and insight meditation" (*sanzhong zhiguan*): the gradual attainment of stilling and insight (taught in full in Zhiyi's *Shichan poluomi ziti famen,* T. D. no. 1916), the indeterminate attainment of stilling and insight (represented by his *Liumiao famen,* T. D. no. 1917), and the perfect and sudden attainment of stilling and insight (represented by the *Mohe zhiguan*).

The *Mohe zhiguan* is divided into ten major sections; sections one and seven are further subdivided into important subdivisions. Section one is entitled Dayi, ("great teaching") and is subdivided into (1) generating the *bodhicitta* (in which ten types of good and bad *bodhicitta* are enumerated); (2) cultivating the great practice, in which four types of samādhi are enumerated: the "*samadhi* of perpetual walking," the "*samadhi* of perpetual sitting," the "*samadhi* of half-walking and half-sitting" (which, coupled with the perpetual recitation of the Nembutsu, became important in Japanese Tendai and Pure Land practice), and the "*samadhi* of neither walking nor sitting"; (3) experiencing the great result (i. e., the *saṃbhogakāya*); (4) rending asunder the great snare of doubts, in which the author refutes doubts and objections based on other writings and teachings; and (5) returning to the great source, *nirvāṇa.*

Section two discusses the name (*Stilling and Insight*) of the text. Section three discusses its characteristics; section four states that this practice embraces all *dharmas*; section five discusses whether this practice is partial or perfect; and section six gives some twenty-five external and internal preparations for the practice of meditation. Section seven is entitled "The Real Practice" and is subdivided into ten subdivisions. According to section seven, on the first of the devotee's intensive meditations he or she should meditate on "the three thousand *dharmas* in one instant of mind" (*yinian sanqian*), a practice that has become one of the hallmarks of Tiantai meditation. This teaching states that the devotee's five skandhas presently contain all of the *dharmas* ("the three thousand *dharmas*") of existence. These three thousand are the ten realms of rebirth (hell, *pretas*, animals, *asuras*, humans, *devas*, *śrāvakas*, *pratyekabuddhas*, *bodhisattvas*, and Buddhas) multiplied by the ten "suchnesses," or real, tangible characteristics (nature, external characteristics, body, power, creative ability, causes, conditions, results, recompenses, and the totality of the Absolute), in turn multiplied by the three realms (the realm of sentient beings, their physical lands, and their five *skandhas*).

The remaining portions of section seven elucidate meditational practices designed to remove the influences (*vāsanās*) of one's past *karman.* At this point the *Mohe zhiguan* comes to an abrupt end; that is, it ends at the seventh subdivision of section seven; the remaining sections (eight to ten) are missing, although the names of their titles are known from the introduction to the work: Section eight is concerned with karmic results, section nine with the teachings, and section ten with the general purport. There are two traditional reasons given for this abrupt ending to the text: Either Zhiyi was asked to speak for a certain period of time and his time ran out, or he was beginning to speak of states of attainment that could not be expressed in words. That is to say, if the devotee progressed as far as was already described in the text, the devotee would automatically know the ending of the book.

Introductory manuals. Even though the major writings of the Tiantai tradition are large, voluminous works, early on it became obvious to Zhiyi that his thought would be best presented in shorter epitomes of his teachings. One of the distinctive features of the Tiantai tradition is that it produced a number of one-volume works that present the salient points of Tiantai doctrine in a brief, easy to remember form.

One of the first of these works was Guanding's Tiantai bajiao dayi (The Major Points of the Eight Teachings of the Tiantai; T. D. no. 1930). Another popular one volume introduction to Tiantai thought is the Tiantai sijiaoyi (Kor., *Chŏndee sagyŏngui;* T. D. no. 1931) by the Korean monk Chegwan (Chin., Tiguan). This text is divided into two sections: The first describes the "five periods" (in the teaching career of the Buddha) and the "four teachings" (four types of doctrine preached by Śākyamuni); the second describes the meditational practice of the lineage. With this arrangement the author appears to separate the doctrinal from the practice aspect of the teaching, a point upon which he was criticized by later writers (e.g., Zhihxü).

Another short, one-volume introductory work is the *Jiaoguan kangzong* (T. D. no. 1939) by the Ming dynasty master Zhixu (1599–1655). In this work Zhixu attempts to present the orthodox Tiantai teachings without any admixture of his own interpretations, yet his definition of orthodox Tiantai are the thoughts of the *shanjia* masters of the Song dynasty. This work was written along the lines of Chegwan's *Sagyŏngui,* but whereas Chegwan presents the meditational practices of the various Four Teachings apart from their doctrines, Zhixu stresses the close interrelation between teaching and practice (meditation) in each of the Four Teachings.

Another short introductory work by Zhixu that is still widely read in both China and Japan is the *Fahua lunguan* (A Synopsis of the *Lotus Sutra;* Zokuzōkyō 50). In this work Zhixu adopted Zhiyi's exegetical method and selected passages from Zhiyi's *Fahua xuanyi* and *Fahua wenju* to illustrate the purport of the *sūtra* and its title. He also quotes from these two works to illustrate the teaching of each of the twenty-eight chapters of the *Lotus Sutra.*

Tiantai historiographical works. The Tiantai contribution to Chinese Buddhism is not confined to doctrinal works alone. Two major church histories, the *Fozu tongji* (Comprehensive Record of the Buddha and the Patriarchs; T. D. no. 2035) and the *Shimen chengtong* (*Zokuzokyo* 2.3.5), bear the imprint of Tiantai thought.

The former, composed in 1269 by Zhipan, is a general history of Buddhism in both India and China rendered from the Tiantai point of view. In it are preserved biographies of the Buddha and major patriarchal figures, chronologies of Chinese and Indian church history, histories of rival orders, Tiantai cosmology, accounts of church-state relations, miraculous tales, and the texts of important steles. The work contains much material pertaining to the *shanjiashanwai* debates of the Northern Song period, and is altogether notable for the attention it accords the Pure Land tradition in China, an account of which occupies a full three volumes.

The latter work, the *Shimen chengtong,* is in its present form the work of the Southern Sung master Zongqian, who rewrote the text from an earlier history, the *Zongyuan lu.* It is modeled after secular Chinese historical writings. In its five sections are chronicles of the Buddha and major Indian figures; sectarian lineages; monographs treating such topics as popular customs, social welfare, monastery administration, and so forth; biographies of lesser Tiantai masters; and records of other traditions.

LATER MASTERS. Although Zhiyi represents the lynchpin of Chinese Tiantai, his work was carried on and developed by a succession of later masters whose efforts ensured that Tiantai remained one of the most influential and doctrinally sophisticated traditions of East Asian Buddhism.

Guanding. Zhiyi's successor as abbot and leader of the Tiantai lineage was Guanding (561–632). A native of Zhangan (Zhekyiang Province), Guanding entered the monastic life at the age of six, particularly distinguishing himself in literary studies. He was fully ordained at the age of nineteen. After the death of his ordination master Guanding left the local monastery and went to the Xiuchan Si (later the chief monastery of the Tiantai tradition) on Mount Tiantai, where he met Zhiyi for the first time. It was here that he began his study of the Tiantai meditational practices and doctrinal synthesis established by Zhiyi.

In 583 Guanding accompanied Zhiyi to the Guangze Si in Jinling; here he studied Zhiyi's meditational teachings and was certified as Zhiyi's successor and permanent attendant. In 614 Guanding completed his two-volume commentary on the *Mahāyāna-parinirvāṇa Sūtra*, his *Daniepan jing xuanyi,* and the thirty-three volume comentary on this same scriptures, his *Daniepan jing shu.* With the completion of these works the Tiantai tradition now had complete commentaries on the two most important scriptures in their lineage, the *Lotus Sutra* and the *Mahāyāna-parinirvāṇa Sūtra*, whose doctrines, in the view of Zhiyi and Guanding, make up the "perfect" or "round" teaching (yuanjiao). Guanding's biographer states that, owing to the civil disorder attendent upon the collapse of the Sui, the five years it took him to complete his commentaries were ones of extreme privation.

In his later years Guanding lived in the city of Kuaiji, where he lectured on the *Lotus Sutra.* His biography records that contemporary popular rhyme said that he "surpassed Falang, Huiji, Fayun and Sengyin," the ranking scholar-monks of his day. It was through the efforts of Guanding that the monastery on Mount Tiantai began again to enjoy imperial patronage; Guanding was also responsible for the transcription and propagation of the major and minor works of Zhiyi, thus ensuring their survival for later generations.

In addition to the works mentioned above, Guanding's extant corpus includes the *Guanxin lun shu,* a commentary on Zhiyi's *Guanxin lun;* the *Sui Tiantai Dashi biezhuan,* a one-volume biography of Zhiyi and the primary source for existing knowledge of his life and works; and the *Guoqing bailu.*

Zhanran. Zhanran, counted as the ninth Tiantai patriarch, was born in 711 in Jingxi (present-day Giangsu Province) to a family that had for generations produced Confucian scholars and officials. His biography states that in his youth he excelled in scholarship; at the age of sixteen he developed an interest in Buddhism and began to search out teachers of the faith. His first recorded teacher was Fangyan, who taught him the elements of *zhiguan* meditation. At the age of seventeen he met Xuanlang (later to be counted as the eighth patriarch of the Tiantai tradition), who, it is said, immediately recognized the youth's intelligence and taught him both the doctrines and the meditation techniques of the Tiantai tradition.

For the next twenty years Zhanran, still a layman, devoted himself to the study of Tiantai doctrines, finally becoming ordained in 748. After his ordination, Zhanran journeyed to Kuaiji where he studied the monastic discipline with the Vinaya master Tanyi (Kor., Tamil). Sometime thereafter Zhanran gave a series of lectures on the *Mohe zhiguan* in the Kaiyuan Si in Wujun. Following the death of Xuanlang in 754, Zhanran took upon himself the task of propagating the Tiantai doctrines. This he did by writing commentaries to the three major works of Zhiyi, polemics against the Huayan, Yogācāra, and Chan systems, and short manuals of meditational instruction. His voluminous writings earned him the informal title of *jizhu,* the Master of Commentaries. Zhanran died in 782, and was buried next to the remains of Zhiyi. For his role in propagating Tiantai doctrines at a time of their eclipse Zhanran has been termed "the patriarchal restorer of the Tiantai tradition" (*Tiantai zhongxing zu*). He had some thirty-nine disciples, including Daosui and Xingman, as well as the academician Liang Xiao.

Zhanran's fame rests on his literary works. These include commentaries on Zhiyi's three major works: *Fahua wenju ji* (T. D. no. 1719), *Fahua xuanyi shiqian* (T. D. no. 1717), and the *Zhiguan fuxing zhuanhongjueh* (T. D. no. 1912). In addition to these, Zhanran also reedited the *Niepan shu* and composed three commentaries on the *Weimo jing* (*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra*), a selection of significant passages from the *Mohe zhiguan* (his *Zhiguan wenju*), works on Huayan (his *Huayan gumu*), on selected topics in Tiantai doctrine (*Jingang bi lun* and *Shibuer men,* important works in the subsequent Song-dynasty *shanjiashanwai* debates), and a number of introductory manuals of meditation.

Zhili. Zhili, later to be counted as the seventeenth patriarch of the Tiantai tradition, was born in 960 in Siming (Chegiang Province). At the age of six, he lost his mother, and his father sent him to live in a local monastery. It was there, at the age of fourteen, that he received full ordination. At nineteen he began his study of Tiantai doctrine with Yitong (Kor., Ŭitŏng). After Zhili had been with Yitong for one month the master had him lecture on the *Xinjing* (the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya Sūtra*), and after a period of three years Zhili was giving all of his master's lectures. Yitong died in 988; in 991 Zhili took up residence in the Qianfu Si, where he stayed for four years, lecturing on Tiantai doctrines and writings. As his students grew in number the accommodations of the Qianfu Si proved to be too small, so in 995 he moved to the Baoen Yuan; in the following year the abbot of the Baoen Yuan resigned his office and Zhili was able to turn the monastery into a Tiantai teaching center.

Zhili's entire life was devoted to religious instruction. In addition to a voluminous corpus of writings, twenty-three titles by one account, and his lectures on the major Tiantai works and commentaries, he also pursued a rich liturgical and meditative career. He was responsible for the construction of hundreds of monasteries, the mass printing of Tiantai literature, the casting of devotional images, and the inauguration of an "Assembly for the Recitation of the Name of the Buddha and for Giving the Precepts" (*nianfo shijie hui*), convened annually on the fifteenth day of the second month. But Zhili is perhaps best known for his role in the so-called *shanjiashanwai* debates, the seminal Tiantai dispute of the Northern Song period (960–1127).

The *shanjia* ("mountain school," the "orthodox" position) centered around Zhili and his followers; the *shanwai* ("outside the mountain," i. e., non-orthodox) position centered around the monks Qingzhao and Jiyuan. The dispute turned on whether the correct object of meditation should be the "mind as it currently is," defiled and ignorant, or the "true mind," in which case the devotee was to visualize a deity or some other transcendental object in order that the mind might take on the feature of the object of meditation. In the course of the debate the authenticity of various works popularly attributed to Zhiyi and Zhanran was also disputed, so that what came to be at issue was the very question as to which teachings would be recognized as "orthodox" Tiantai doctrine. The debate was joined initially in a series of correspondence between Zhili and his *shanwai* counterparts Wuen, Qingzhao, and Jiyuan. Many of these documents are preserved in Zhili's collected works, the *Siming zunzhe jiaoxing lu* (T. D. no. 1937). In the course of this correspondence Zhili made a case for the everyday mind, replete with defilements as it is, as the proper object of meditation, a point around which a variety of notions concerning the nature of the Absolute also crystallized.

By the time of his death in 1028 Zhili had gathered around him a large number of students, more than thirty of whom were his close disciples. Zhili also personally ordained over seventy monks.

Zhixu. The scholar-monk Zhixu was born in 1599 in the Suzhou district of present-day Giangsu Province. In his youth he was an ardent student of the Confucian classics. Like many of the Confucian scholars of his day, he had an intense dislike for Buddhism and even composed an essay purporting to refute Buddhist doctrine. But at the age of sixteen he chanced to read the *Zizhilu* and the *Zhushuang suibi* of the master Yunqi Zhuhong (1535–1615) and was converted to Buddhism. At nineteen he underwent an enlightenment experience while reading the *Lunyu* (Analects) of Confucius; as his biographer put it, "he was enlightened to the mind (*xinfa*) of Confucius and Yanzi."

In 1638 Zhixu resolved to compose a commentary on the *Fanwan jing* (T. D. no. 1815), the standard Chinese Mahāyāna text treating the precepts. Undecided as to which doctrinal point of view he should adopt in his explanation of the text, he made four tokens in order to practice a rite of divination in front of a Buddha image. On these tokens he wrote "the Huayan tradition," "the Tiantai tradition," "the Weishi tradition," and "my own tradition," respectively, signifying by this last that he would develop his own understanding of the Buddha's teachings. In this rite, the token marked with the Tiantai tradition came to the fore, and from this time onward he composed all of his textual commentaries based on Tiantai principles.

In the summer of 1655 Zhixu fell ill, and on this occasion compiled the *Jingtu shiyao* (Ten Essential Works on the Pure Land), an anthology of ten essays dealing with the Pure Land doctrines. At the end of summer his illness abated and he was then able to complete his *magnum opus,* the forty-four-volume *Yuezang zhijin* and the five-volume *Fahai guanlan.* Later that year his illness returned, whereupon he established a Pure Land religious sodality and composed a set of vows for the group. He also composed some stanzas on seeking rebirth in the Pure Land (the *Qiusheng jingtu jie*). Zhixu died in 1655 at the age of fifty-six; his popular posthumous title was *Lingfeng Yuyi Dashi.* His extant corpus of writings is voluminous: Some forty-six titles appear in various canonical collections and a number of texts still circulate independently. Zhixu's miscellaneous pieces were collected in 1678 by his disciple Chengshi into the ten-volume *Ling feng Yuyi Dashi zonglun.*

Zhixu's corpus includes several works concerned with the *Lengyen jing,* a scripture hitherto not commented upon from the Tiantai standpoint, and works dealing with the precepts, Buddhist logic, different aspects of Buddhist philosophy, many different scriptural commentaries, and interestingly enough, a Buddhist commentary on the Four Books (four Confucian classics) and a ten-volume *Zhouyi chanjie* (a Chan commentary on the *Book of Changes*). Zhixu's largest work is the forty-four-volume *Yuezang zhijin* (Examining the Canon and Determining Its Depth). In this work he comments on every book included in the Buddhist canon, a task he began when he was twenty-nine years old.

Zhixu's text divides the whole of the canon into four parts: Sūtra, Vinaya, Śāstra, and Miscellaneous. The Sūtra section is divided into Mahāyāna Sūtras and Hīnayāna Sūtras, and the Mahāyāna Sūtras are divided on the basis on the Five Periods: Huayan, Vaipulya, Prajñā texts, Lotus-related texts, and Mahāparinirvāṇa texts. The Vaipulya scriptures are divided into Revealed Teachings and Secret Teachings, and the Secret Teachings are further divided into Secret (i. e., Tantric) scriptures and *sādhana* literature.

The Vinaya is here divided into Mahāyāna Vinaya texts and Hīnayāna Vinaya texts. The Sastra section is divided into Mahāyāna Śāstras and Hīnayāna Śāstras. Mahāyāna Śāstras are divided into three: Śāstras that comment on scriptures, sectarian Śāstras, and Śāstras that comment on other Śāstras: this section is also broken down on the basis of those composed in India and those composed in China. The Miscellaneous section is divided into works composed in India and those composed in China, and the section of those works composed in China is divided into fifteen subsections: repentence rituals, Pure Land, Tiantai, Chan, Huayan, Weishi, Tantrism, Vinaya, compilations, biographies, defense of the faith (i. e., polemical writings), glossaries, indices, "prefaces, hymns, poems, and songs," and last, a list of works that *should* be included in the canon. Zhixu comments on a total of 1,773 titles; for each work he gives the name of the translator or author, a summary of its contents, and the names of its chapters. Zhixu's classification of Buddhist scriptures was employed in the printing of the *Dai-Nippon kōtei shukkoku daizōkyō;* the influence of Zhixu's classification can also be found in the internal arrangement of the *Taishō daizōkyō.*

The *Yuezang zhijin* was not published during Zhixu's lifetime. It was first printed by 1669, and was reprinted in 1892 in Nanking. The first full Japanese printing came in 1783, and the work is now included in volume 3 of the *Shōwa hōbō sōmokuroku,* appended to the *Taishō daizōkyō.*

Zhixu also wrote a small work, the *Fahai guanlan* (Drops of Insight into the Sea of Dharma), treating his classification of the canon, which first circulated in a printed edition of 1654. In this work Zhixu divides Buddhist literature into five sections: the Vinaya, texts dealing with "teaching and insight" (Tiantai, Huayan, and Weishi), Chan, the Secret Teachings, and Pure Land works.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, Schools of, articles on Chinese Buddhism and Mahāyāna Philosophical Schools of Buddhism; Buddhist Books and Texts, article on Exegesis and Hermeneutics; Buddhist Meditation; Buddhist Philosophy; Huayan; Nāgārjuna; Nirvāṇa; Tendaishu; Zhiyi.

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TIBETAN RELIGIONS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
HISTORY OF STUDY

TIBETAN RELIGIONS: AN OVERVIEW

To the Western mind, Tibet has traditionally appeared as a remote yet uniquely fascinating country. Profoundly Buddhist in all aspects of its social, cultural, and religious life, it was, until 1959, dominated by a monastic hierarchy. In the imagination of some, the so-called Land of Snow (as the Tibetans style their country) has also been regarded as the home of mysterious, superhuman beings, *mahatma*s, who, from their secret abodes in the Himalayas, give mystic guidance to the rest of humanity.

As sources become more abundant, a more realistic and complex view of Tibetan history and religion is gaining ground. The following points, which make this clear, should be kept in mind.

First, Buddhism in Tibet is represented by several traditions, monastic "orders," or schools, which have certain basic traits in common but also differ in significant respects. This must be taken into account when reading written sources, since traditional Tibetan historiography (which invariably is religious historiography) tends to reflect the more or less partisan views of the authors.

Second, Buddhism is not the only religion that must be taken into account. Buddhism penetrated into Tibet relatively late—perhaps not before the eighth century CE—and only gradually succeeded in supplanting a well-established indigenous religion that is still only fragmentarily known. Furthermore, from the tenth or eleventh century onward, the various Buddhist orders have existed alongside a religion known as Bon, which, while claiming, certainly not without some justification, continuity with the pre-Buddhist religion, is nevertheless almost indistinguishable from Buddhism in many respects. Bon has retained its own identity to this day. In addition, there remains a vast area of rites and beliefs that are neither specifically Buddhist nor Bon but may be styled "popular religion" or "the religion without a name." There is also a small minority of Tibetan Muslims (who will, however, not be treated in this article).

Third, it should be recognized that *Tibet* is a somewhat ambiguous term. In the present context it can only be used in a meaningful way to refer to an ethnically defined area—including parts of India and Nepal—that shares a common culture and language, common religious traditions, and, to a large extent, a common history. The so-called Tibetan Autonomous Region of China only comprises the western and central parts of Tibet, including the capital, Lhasa. The vast expanses of eastern and northeastern Tibet (Kham and Amdo) have since the 1950s been incorporated into Chinese provinces, but are ethnically and historically entirely Tibetan. Beyond Tibet (thus defined), Tibetan Buddhism is the official religion of Bhutan; until the early years of the twentieth century it reigned supreme in Mongolia; and it is still found among the Buriats, Tuvin, and Kalmuks in Russia. Its spread in the West will be discussed at the end of this article.

The term *Lamaism* is frequently used to refer to Tibetan religion. Tibetans often object to this term, as it could be taken to imply that Buddhism in Tibet is somehow basically different from Buddhism in other parts of Asia. To the extent that the term *Lamaism* points to the important role of the lama (Tib,, *bla ma*), or religious guide and expert in Tibetan religion, it can be said to refer equally to Buddhism and Bon, and thus it retains a certain usefulness. However, as a term intended to describe Tibetan religion as a whole, it remains one-sided and hence misleading.

THE PRE-BUDDHIST RELIGION. When Buddhism was introduced into Tibet in the eighth century, it did not enter a religious vacuum. At present, however, it is not possible to arrive at an adequate understanding of the pre-Buddhist religion because of the incompleteness of the sources.

These sources fall into two categories: ancient and later. Ancient sources are those that predate the collapse of the royal dynasty in the middle of the ninth century. Archaeological sources are practically nonexistent, since only sporadic excavations have been undertaken to date. The royal tombs at ʾPhyong rgyas in central Tibet are still prominently visible but were plundered at an early date. The vast majority of the written sources are later than the introduction of Buddhism and thus often show traces of syncretic beliefs. These sources include inscriptions on pillars and bells, manuscripts containing fragments of rituals and myths or of divinatory practices, Buddhist texts that refute the ancient religion, and Chinese chronicles from the Tang dynasty (618-907). The language of these Tibetan texts, however, is archaic and all too often obscure, and the manuscripts themselves are not infrequently in a fragmentary condition.

The later sources date from the twelfth century onward and are found mainly in the historical writings of Buddhism and the Bon religion, which, between them, had by this time been completely successful in an institutional sense at least in replacing the ancient religion. Many indigenous beliefs and practices have persisted until today in the popular, nonmonastic religion, but as they are usually closely intermixed with elements of Buddhism (or, as the case may be, with Bon), it is an exceptionally delicate task to use folk religion as a basis for reconstructing the pre-Buddhist religion.

Thus the picture of pre-Buddhist religion that emerges on the basis of the ancient sources is, unfortunately, fragmentary. Certain rituals, beliefs, and parts of myths may be discerned, but the overall feeling of coherency is lacking, Those elements that are known focus largely on the person of the king. It is safe to assert that the Tibetans, at least from the sixth century onward, if not earlier, had a sacral kingship. The welfare of the country depended on the welfare of the king. Accordingly, rites of divination and sacrifice were performed to protect his life, guarantee his victory in battle, and ensure his supremacy in all things. It is said in the ancient sources that "his helmet is mighty" and his rule "great, firm, supreme," and "eternal." The king "does not change"; he is endowed with "long life."

The king was regarded not only as a vitally important personage but above all as a sacred being. According to a frequently encountered myth, the first king of Tibet descended from heaven ("the sky") and alighted on the summit of a mountain (according to later sources, he made the descent by means of a supernatural rope or ladder). At the foot of the mountain he was received by his subjects. The earliest kings were believed to have ascended bodily to heaven by the same means, thus leaving no corpse behind. Furthermore, the king was assimilated to the sacred mountain itself, just as in later popular religion the distinction between a sacred mountain and the deity residing on it was often blurred.

The myth relates that when the seventh king was killed, funerary rites had to be performed for the first time, In fact, in historical times (i.e., from the sixth century CE onward) huge funerary mounds were erected, assimilated both to the sacred mountains and to the kings, the tombs being given names that consisted of the same elements as those found in the names of the kings themselves. The death of a king was surrounded by elaborate rituals: processions, sacrifices, and the depositing on a lavish scale of all sorts of precious objects in the burial chamber. The officiating priests were known generically as *bon po*s, but apparently there were numerous specialized subgroups. Animals were sacrificed: in particular, sheep, horses, and yaks. The sacrificial sheep seem to have had an important role as guides for the deceased along the difficult road leading to the land of the dead—a land apparently conceived of in terms analogous to that of the living, Servants and officials, perhaps also members of the family, were assigned to the dead king as his "companions"; it is uncertain, however, whether they, too, actually accompanied him to the grave, or, as certain later sources suggest, only lived within the precincts of the tomb for a specified period.

A surviving early text outlines an eschatological cosmology that embodies a cyclical view of time. In a "golden age" plants and animals are transposed from their celestial home to the earth for the benefit of humanity. Virtue and "good religion" reign supreme. However, a demon breaks loose from his subterranean abode and causes a general decline in morals as well as in the physical world. Those who nevertheless follow the path of virtue and honor the gods are led after death to a land of bliss. In the meantime, the world rapidly reaches a point at which everything is destroyed, whereupon a new golden age begins in which the virtuous dead are reborn. Thus the cycle presumably—the text is not explicit—repeats itself.

Little is known of the pantheon of the pre-Buddhist religion. The universe was conceived of as having three levels: the world above (the sky), inhabited by gods (*lha*); the middle world (the earth), the abode of human beings; and the world below (the subterranean world, conceived of as aquatic), inhabited by a class of beings known as *klu* (and later assimilated to the Indian *nāga*s).

According to some sources, the heavenly world above had thirteen levels, inhabited by a hierarchy of male and female deities. Both Chinese sources and epigraphic evidence speak of the sun, the moon, and the stars being invoked as guardians and guarantors of treaties. Sacrifices in the form of various animals were made at the conclusion of the treaty of 822 between China and Tibet. By this time, however, Buddhism had appeared on the scene and the Three Jewels of Buddhism (i.e., Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha) were also invoked. A Buddhist monk with the rank of minister was at the head of the Tibetan delegation.

The subterranean beings, the *klu,* posed a constant danger to humanity, since they were particularly prone to be annoyed by activities that interfered with the surface of the land, such as plowing and digging. The *klu* could cause the eruption of diseases, especially leprosy and dropsy, that could only be cured through rites of atonement and propitiation. However, in determining the details of these rites and in obtaining specific information about the host of demons presumably populating the supernatural world of the ancient Tibetans we are to a large extent reduced to speculation on the basis of later, popular religious practices. Likewise, we meet with the names of various types of deities that are of great importance in later, popular religion: warrior god (*dgra bla*), god of the fireplace (*thab lha*), life god (*srog lha*), god of the land (*yul lha*), and so on.

It is difficult to establish which elements in the pre-Buddhist religion are truly indigenous, The later sources insist that many of the Bon priests came from countries bordering Tibet, in particular, areas to the west. After Buddhism had triumphed, the Tibetans themselves speculated whether the Bonpos were Śaiva adepts from Kashmir. Possible influences emanating from the Iranian world have also been the subject of speculation by Western scholars, so far without conclusive evidence. On the other hand, the importance of the Chinese influence, long ignored, has now been firmly established. The royal tombs have obvious Chinese prototypes, as does the sacredness of the king: he is "god son" (*lha sras*), corresponding to the Chinese emperor, the "Son of Heaven"; he is "sacred and divine" (*ʾphrul gyi lha*), corresponding to the Chinese *sheng-shen.* This sacredness is manifested in a supernormal intelligence and in the power to act, politically as well as militarily.

It has been suggested that the pre-Buddhist religion was transformed into a coherent political ideology in the seventh century, modeled on the Chinese cult of the emperor. This royal religion was, according to this view, referred to as *gtsug* or *gtsug lag,* a word that was defined as "the law of the gods." However, the later sources, Buddhist and Bonpo, unanimously refer to the ancient religion as Bon, a claim that is supported by recent research. In any case, the cult of the divine kings disappeared together with the organized priesthood.

BUDDHISM. Buddhism was established in Tibet under royal patronage in the eighth century. In the preceding century, Tibet had become a unified state and embarked upon a policy of military conquest resulting in the brief appearance of a powerful Central Asian empire. The introduction of Buddhism was certainly due to the need to provide this empire with a religion that enjoyed high prestige because of its well-established status in the mighty neighboring countries of India and China. The first Buddhist temple was built at Bsam yas (Samyé) in approximately 779; soon afterward the first monks were ordained. From the very start, the Buddhist monks were given economic and social privileges.

When Buddhism was introduced, the Tibetans had a choice as to whether the new religion should be brought from India or China. Modern scholarship has established the important role that China played as a source of Buddhism in the early stages of its history in Tibet. Nevertheless, it was the Indian form of Buddhism that eventually predominated. According to later sources, the Tibetan kings were guided by spiritual considerations and the proponents of Indian Buddhism emerged victorious from a doctrinal debate with Chinese monks representing a form of Chan Buddhism. However, hard political motives were surely equally important: in military and political terms China was Tibet's main rival, and China's influence at the Tibetan court would be unduly increased if it gained control of the powerful Buddhist hierarchy.

In any case, Tibet turned to India for its sacred texts, philosophical ideas, and rituals, in the same way as it had adopted, in the seventh century, an Indian alphabet. Once set on its course, Buddhism rapidly became the dominant religion, suffering only a temporary setback after the collapse of the royal dynasty in 842. In several important respects, Buddhism in Tibet remained faithful to its Indian prototype. It must, of course, be kept in mind that this prototype was, by the seventh and eighth centuries, a form of Mahāyāna Buddhism that was, on the one hand, increasingly dependent on large monastic institutions, and on the other, permeated by Tantric rites and ideas. Both these features—vast monasteries and a pervasive Tantric influence—have remained characteristic of Buddhism in Tibet. Similarly, there has been little development in the realm of philosophical ideas; the Tibetans have, on the whole, been content to play the role of exegetes, commentators, and compilers. However, the political domination that the monasteries gradually obtained was without precedent. A uniquely Tibetan feature of monastic rule was succession by incarnation—the head of an order, or of a monastery, being regarded as the reincarnation (motivated by compassion for all beings) of his predecessor. In other cases, a religious figure might be regarded as the manifestation of a deity (or a particular aspect of a deity). In the person of the fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682) both ideas were combined. Each Dalai Lama was already regarded as the incarnation of his predecessor; the fifth, who established himself as head of the Tibetan state, also came to be regarded as the emanation or manifestation of the great *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara (Tib., Spyanrasgzigs), as have all subsequent Dalai Lamas down to the present, the fourteenth.

The choice of Avalokiteśvara was not made at random. As early as the twelfth or thirteenth century, Avalokiteśvara had come to be regarded in a double respect as the divine protector of Tibet. In the form of an ape he had, in ancient times, assumed the role of progenitor of the Tibetan people in order that the teachings of the Buddha might flourish in Tibet in due course; in the form of the great Tibetan king Srong bstan sgam po, who created the Tibetan empire in the seventh century, Avalokiteśvara had established Buddhism—according to this retrospective view—in the Land of Snow. The Potala Palace in Lhasa, the ancient capital, was built in its present form by the fifth Dalai Lama and made his residence; situated on a hill, it symbolically reestablished the pre-Buddhist connection between the divine king and the sacred mountain.

POPULAR RELIGION. It would be illusory to draw a sharp line of demarcation between popular and monastic religion. Nevertheless, while the study of the Mahāyāna philosophical systems and the performance of elaborate Tantric rites take place within the confines of the monasteries, monks actively participate in a wide range of ritual activities outside the monasteries, and beliefs that do not derive from Buddhism are shared by monks and laypeople alike.

These rites and beliefs may be styled "popular religion," a term that only signifies that it is nonmonastic, traditional, and related to the concerns of laypeople. It does not imply a system representing an alternative to Buddhism (or the Bon religion). For the last thousand years, Buddhist ideas have provided a general cosmological and metaphysical framework for popular religion. In many cases one may also assume that there is continuity with the pre-Buddhist religion, but it is often a delicate task to determine this continuity in precise terms.

Turning, first of all, to elements inspired by Buddhism, the most important—and conspicuous—are undoubtedly the varied and ceaseless efforts to accumulate merit. The law of moral causality (*karman*) easily turns into a sort of balance in which the effect of evil deeds in this life or in former lives may be annulled by multiplying wholesome deeds. While an act of compassion, such as ransoming a sheep destined to be slaughtered, theoretically constitutes the ideal act of virtue, the accumulation of merit generally takes a more mechanical form. Hence the incessant murmuring of sacred formulas (in particular the *mantra* of Avalokiteśvara, "Om mani padme hum"), the spinning of prayer wheels (ranging in size from hand-held wheels to enormous cylinders housed in special buildings), the carving of *mantra*s on stones (which may eventually grow into walls several miles in length, so-called *mani*-walls), and the hoisting of banners and strings of flags on which prayers are printed ("prayer flags"). Ritual circumambulation of holy places, objects, and persons is also a distinctly Buddhist, as well as truly popular, practice. Showing generosity toward monks and observing—lightly or scrupulously, as the case may be—the universal precepts of Buddhism (particularly the prohibition against taking the life of any living being, however small) are ethical norms that Tibetans share with all Buddhists.

Pilgrimages constitute an important religious activity: above all to the holy city of Lhasa—sanctified by its ancient temples and (since the seventeenth century) the presence of the Dalai Lama—but also to innumerable monasteries, shrines, and caves in which relics of holy men and women may be seen, honored, and worshiped. Sacred mountains, such as Mount Kailash in western Tibet, attract a stream of pilgrims who circumambulate, perhaps for weeks or months, the holy abode of the chosen deity. The supreme pilgrimage is the long journey to the sacred sites of Buddhism in India and Nepal (Bodh Gayā, Rājagṛha, Lumbinī, Sārnāth); although the flow of pilgrims to India virtually ceased after the thirteenth century, it again became possible in the twentieth century.

Ritual practices, while generally having an overall Buddhist conceptual framework, often contain elements that point back to the pre-Buddhist religion. One such element, frequently met with, is the "ransom" *(glud)* in the form of a small human figurine that is offered as a gesture of propitiation to demons. In the New Year rituals as traditionally practiced in Lhasa, the *glud* was in fact a human scapegoat who was driven out of the city and who, in earlier times, was symbolically killed.

As in other Buddhist countries, regional and local deities have remained objects of worship, generally performed by laypeople. In particular, the deities connected with (or even identified with) sacred mountains, powerful gods of the land (*yul lha*), are worshiped during seasonal festivals with the burning of juniper branches that emit clouds of fragrant smoke; horse races; archery contests; drinking bouts; and songs extolling the might of the deity, the beauty of the land, the fleetness of its horses, and the valor of its heroes. These gods have a martial nature and are accordingly known as enemy gods (*dgra bla*); they are also known as kings (*rgyal po*), Usually they are depicted as mounted warriors, dressed in archaic mail and armor and wearing plumed helmets.

The house ideally reproduces the outside world, and it has its own guardian deities, such as the god of the fireplace (*thab lha*). Care must be taken to avoid polluting the fireplace in any way, as this angers the god. On the flat rooftops are altars dedicated to the "male god" (*pho lha*) and the "female god" (*mo lha*) and a banner representing the enemy god. The "male" and "female" gods are tutelary deities of the household, supervising the activities of its male and female members, respectively. The "enemy god" is —in spite of its name—a deity who protects the entire household or, as a member of the retinue of the local "god of the land," the district. The worship of these gods on the rooftops corresponds to that performed in their honor on mountaintops and in passes: spears and arrows dedicated to them are stacked by the altar and juniper twigs are burned amid fierce cries of victory and good luck.

The person, too, possesses a number of tutelary deities residing in different parts of the body. Every person is also accompanied, from the moment of birth, by a "white" god and a "black" demon whose task it is, after death, to place the white and the black pebbles—representing the good and evil deeds one has done in this life—on the scales of the judge of the dead. The basic opposition between "white" and "black," good and evil, is a fundamental concept in Tibetan popular religion and figures prominently in pre-Buddhist traditions as well. Iranian influences have been suggested, but it seems likely that the Chinese conceptual dichotomy of *yin* and *yang* lies closer at hand.

The ancient cosmological scheme of sky, earth, and underworld remains fundamental in popular religion. In particular, the cult of the *klu*—subterranean or aquatic beings easily irritated by activities such as house building or plowing, which provoke them to afflict people as well as animals with various diseases—remains widespread and provides a direct link to the pre-Buddhist religion.

An important aspect of popular religion (and, indeed, of the pre-Buddhist religion) is the emphasis on knowing the origins not only of the world but of all features of the landscape, as well as of elements of culture and society that are important to man. Tibetans have a vast number of myths centering on this theme of origins; while some of them have a purely narrative function, others serve to legitimate a particular ritual and must be recited in order that the ritual may become effective.

Rites of divination and of healing in which deities "descend" into a male or female medium (*lha pa,* "god-possessed," or *dpaʾ bo,* "hero") and speak through it are an important part of religious life, and such mediums are frequently consulted. Other, simpler means of divination are also extremely widespread.

A special kind of medium is the *sgrun pa,* the bard who in a state of trance can recite for days on end the exploits of the great hero Gesar. Regarded as an emanation of the *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara, Gesar has been approved by the Buddhist hierarchy; but essentially he is a popular, epic hero, a mighty king and warrior. His epic is a storehouse of myths, folklore, and pan-Eurasian narrative motifs, and is widespread outside Tibet in the Hindu Kush and, above all, among the Mongolians. Other visionaries (*ʾdas log*) travel in trance to the Buddhist purgatories, their bodies lying as if dead; on awakening, they give detailed accounts of the punishment awaiting sinners beyond the grave. Still others find hidden "treasures" (*gter ma*) consisting of texts or sacred objects; indeed, this has remained until today an important way of adding to the body of authoritative texts translated from Sanskrit (and, to a lesser extent, from Chinese), for the "treasure-discoverers" (*gter ston*) claim to bring to light texts that have been hidden away (especially by the eighth-century Tantric master Padmasambhava) during times of persecution of Buddhism, to be rediscovered, usually with the assistance of supernatural beings, for the benefit of humanity when the time is ripe. Finally, ecstatics and visionaries point the way to earthly paradises such as the mythical kingdom of Shambhala or to hidden valleys, untouched by man, in the secret recesses of the Himalayas.

Summing up, Tibetan popular religion may perhaps be characterized as an infinitely varied attempt to circumvent, or at least mitigate, the mechanism of the law of moral causality. According to orthodox Buddhist doctrine, this law is inexorable and its justice cannot be avoided; however, since one cannot know what acts one has committed in the past for which one may have to suffer in the future, the intolerable rigor of the law of cause and effect is in practice modified by a religious worldview in which the destiny of the individual also depends on ritual acts and on spiritual beings—benevolent as well as malevolent—who may at least be approached and at best be manipulated.

BON. It has already been noted that a class of ritual experts in the pre-Buddhist religion were known as *bon pos* and that certain early sources indicate that their religion was known as Bon. In any case, the later sources all agree that the pre-Buddhist religion was in fact known as Bon, and these sources tend to describe the struggle between Bon and Buddhism in dramatic terms. This is true not only of the later Buddhist sources but also of texts emanating from a religious tradition, explicitly styling itself Bon, that emerged in the eleventh century, if not before.

While virtually indistinguishable from Buddhism in such aspects as philosophy, monastic life, ritual, and iconographical conventions, this "later" Bon has always insisted that it represents the religion that prevailed in Tibet before the coming of Buddhism. In spite of occasional syncretic efforts on both sides, the Buddhists have tended to regard Bon as heretical, and not infrequently the term *bonpo* has been used in the sense of "heretic," "black magician," and so forth.

Two points about Bon must be made. First, the historical background of the Bon religion that emerged in the eleventh century is far from clear. There is a significant element of continuity with the pre-Buddhist religion, but nothing approaching identity. Second, it is seriously misleading to identify Bon with popular religion in general. On the level of popular religion, followers of Bon and Buddhism alike share the same beliefs and perform, to a very large extent, the same rituals, although details may differ (for example, the Bonpos spin their prayer wheels and perform circumambulations in the opposite direction than the Buddhists do, i.e., counterclockwise; they worship different deities and hence use other *mantra*s, and so forth). These correspondences do not represent a case of "perversion," "contradiction," or the like (as has been too hastily suggested), for Bon and Buddhism share the same religious ideals and goals, and they approach them by essentially similar means.

TIBETAN RELIGION TODAY. An overview of Tibetan religion would be incomplete without an attempt to take stock of the situation in the early years of the twenty-first century. The most significant single fact is the downfall of monastic religion. Starting in the 1950s and culminating in the period of the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s and 1970s, the Chinese unleashed a violent antireligious campaign in Tibet that resulted in the total destruction of monastic life. A large number of monks were killed, and the rest were, without exception, defrocked. Most monasteries were razed to the ground, and others were converted into secular buildings such as granaries or army barracks. Vast libraries were destroyed, and ritual objects, Buddha images, and relics were systematically profaned. At the height of the campaign, even the most insignificant expression of religious faith would be severely punished by Chinese soldiers or Red Guards.

The new and more pragmatic policy in China began to take effect in Tibet around 1980. A number of buildings, officially regarded as historical monuments, were carefully restored; a limited number of monks were installed in a number of the largest monasteries: ʿBras-spungs (Drepung) near Lhasa, Bkra shis lhun po (Tashilhunpo) outside Gshis ka rtse (Shigatse), and Bla brang (Labrang) and Sku ʾbum (Kumbum) in eastern Tibet; a few temples were reopened for worship; and hundreds of other monasteries were reconstructed on a voluntary basis by the Tibetans themselves. On the whole, religious activity seems to be tolerated as long as it does not interfere with government policies. Tibet has in fact seen a remarkable resurgence of religious fervor that finds outlet, among other things, in the reconstruction of monasteries and the traditional practices of the popular religion, including extended pilgrimages to sacred mountains and other sites throughout Tibet. Within the limits set by the political and economic conditions imposed on Tibet, it is clear that religious belief and practice remain a fundamental factor in the overall situation in the Land of Snow.

Among the Tibetan refugees in India and Nepal, religious life flourishes, to a large extent along traditional lines. There is a tendency to emphasize monastic life together with those aspects of Buddhism that are common to all Buddhists. In the West, many Tibetan lamas have become highly successful "gurus," and numerous Tibetan Buddhist centers have been established, generally focusing on the teachings of one particular order and emphasizing meditation and ritual rather than conventional, scholastic studies. In exile, the fourteenth Dalai Lama, Bstan ʾdzin rgya mtsho (Tenzin Gyatsho; b. 1935), has become an internationally respected Buddhist figure, a Nobel Peace Prize laureate in 1989 and a guide to the Buddhist way to human happiness and world peace through the development of insight and compassion.

SEE ALSO Avalokiteśvara; Dalai Lama; Gesar; Kingship, article on Kingship in East Asia; Merit, article on Buddhist Concepts; Pilgrimage, article on Tibetan Pilgrimage; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Buddhist Devotional Life in East Asia; Yinyang Wuxing.

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PER KVAERNE (1987 AND 2005)

TIBETAN RELIGIONS: HISTORY OF STUDY

Until the 1980s, scholars took a threefold approach to the study of Tibetan religions. First, they used Tibetan materials to supplement Indian and Chinese materials; second, Western scholars were drawn by a fascination with Tibetan Buddhism itself; and third, they studied the numerous Tibetan texts completed since the 1970s by Tibetans who were living either in exile or in Tibet and China. Events and developments of momentous importance for research into the religious life of Tibet occurred during the twentieth century. These events drove some Tibetans into a Western-oriented study of their own religion, brought Western scholars into close contact with learned lamas, and drew scholarly attention to a very early period of Bon and Buddhism in Tibet, while almost simultaneously revealing contemporary practices with a precision and on a scale previously impossible for various political or geographical reasons.

The first event was the discovery in 1905 of Tibetan texts from the eighth to eleventh centuries in a cave along the Silk Road at Dunhuang, China. For the next several years, British, French, Russian, and Japanese scholars were able to study manuscript materials that were much older than those previously known and that were contemporary to the events they described. These materials revolutionized the study of Bon and Buddhism in Tibet, as well as the study of the religious currents flowing through the Tibetan empire from the East and the West. The development of the study of the Dunhuang manuscripts has been of paramount importance in the understanding of Tibetan religions, which for decades had been studied only from a Buddhist perspective, and historically only from a relatively late perspective. Following the studies of Gustave Charles Toussaint and Marcelle Lalou in Paris, one of the most innovative books in this field was *Études Tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou* (1971), which contained articles by Ariane Macdonald, Rolf A. Stein, and others, and which presented a truly new perspective on the religions of Tibet. The work begun with this volume was later completed by the publication of selections of the Pelliot *Choix de documents tibétains conservés à la bibliothèque nationale* (1978–2001) by Ariane Macdonald, Yoshiro Imaeda, and T. Takeuchi.

The second event was the Chinese invasion of Tibet in the 1950s. Numerous lamas took up residence thereafter in Nepal, northern India, Europe, the United States, and elsewhere. These exiles took some of their vast literature and physical culture with them, and made it accessible to Western scholars. In the late 1980s, Tibetans in China also started to publish a great number of texts through state-owned publishing houses, and later privately. Some of these texts had been previously unknown to many scholars, and they added to the corpus of materials already available.

A third important development occurred in the early 1980s with the relative opening of Tibetan areas, which, along with inexpensive air travel, allowed many researchers to travel and do fieldwork in Tibet. A fourth major development was the advent of the Internet and the digitalization of many Tibetan texts beginning at the end of the twentieth century.

Since the mid-1980s, therefore, there has been no dearth of publications about the religion of Tibet. There has been, however, a shift from a purely philological approach to a more interdisciplinary approach that incorporates history, anthropology, and even art history (numerous exhibitions of Tibetan art have been accompanied by expert catalogues). This shift was certainly the result of scholars being able to travel to Tibet and adjacent areas, and it was also a reflection of the monastic background of some writers. Moreover, the role of women in Tibetan Buddhism, which was all but ignored in earlier writings, became prominent, along with the study of the Bon tradition and Tibetan popular religion, including local cults that are not necessarily Buddhist or have become "buddhicized." These trends in scholarship have profoundly transformed the study of Tibetan religions.

One of the first major contributions to the advancement of the field was the United States Library of Congress project initiated in the 1970s in New Delhi by Gene E. Smith. This program encouraged Tibetans to publish previously unknown texts and disseminate them to academic institutions in the West. Smith added further to the study of the field by establishing the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center, which promotes research and scholarship in Tibetan Buddhism through digital text and image preservation. Similar projects include the Tsadra Foundation, sponsored by the Trace Foundation, which publishes Tibetan texts and translations. The Trace Foundation has also established the online Latse Contemporary Tibetan Cultural Library, which offers texts and other research materials and sponsors programs for people interested in Tibetan culture. The Tibetan and Himalayan Digital Library, sponsored by the University of Virginia, publishes multilingual and multimedia texts and resources, as well as creative works concerned with the culture and history of Tibet and the Himalayas. Digital versions of the Dunhuang Tibetan documents are available at Old Tibetan Documents Online, a website established by a group of Japanese scholars. Other useful websites include Digital Himalaya, sponsored by Department of Social Anthropology at Cambridge University and the Anthropology Department at Cornell University, and Tibet Visual History Online, sponsored by the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford. Such websites are popular with researchers because they include old and previously unavailable footage and photographs, and they constitute a good base for religious studies from an anthropological approach. In 2002, the Tibetology team of the French National Center for Scientific Research inaugurated the first digital academic journal on Tibetan studies: *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*. In addition, the major Tibetan religious traditions and lamas have their own websites, where one can find texts, teachings, and photos, as well as polemical writings. In 2003, in Oxford, Tibetologists from all over the world who had gathered for the International Association of Tibetan Studies seminar decided to launch the digital *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* (JIATS).

The use of the Internet is truly a revolution for a field as previously obscure as the study of Tibetan religions; the Internet allows information to flow even to remote areas of the Tibetan world. The great Western pioneer student of Tibet's religious culture was the Hungarian traveler Alexander Csoma de Körös (c. 1784–1842), some of whose work is still valuable, while that of many of his near-contemporaries is completely outdated. His work parallels that of the founders of Buddhist studies in Europe, who worked from Indian sources. His *Notices on the Life of Shakya, Extracted from the Tibetan Authorities* (1838) is an early work in the field, as is F. Anton von Schiefner's "Eine tibetische Lebensbeschreibung Cakyamuni's, des Begründers des Buddhatums" (*Mémoires de l'academie impériale des sciences de Saint Pétersbourg* 6, 1851).

The best of the early monographs is Emil Schlagintweit's *Buddhism in Tibet, Illustrated by Literary Documents and Objects of Religious Worship* (1863), which deals comprehensively with the Buddhist world in Tibet from its basis in Indian Mahāyāna theory to local customs. Equally rich in data is L. Austine Waddell's *The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism, with its Mystic Cults, Symbolism, and Mythology, and in its Relation to Indian Buddhism* (1895). Giuseppe Tucci's *Die Religionen Tibets* (1970; translated as *Religions of Tibet,* [1980]) is enhanced by Tucci's abundant use of Tibetan sources and his high level of knowledge about the philosophical and historical background of Tibetan religions. One of the most important newer books in the field is *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism: Indian Buddhists and their Tibetan Successors* by David L. Snellgrove (1987). The publication of Gene E. Smith's previously scattered articles and introductions—*Among Tibetan Texts: History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau* (2001)—has also reinforced the study of Buddhist transmissions in Tibet.

Tibetan scholars have written many works on the introduction and spread of Buddhism in their country and on its origins in India. Studies by European scholars of three such works are particularly important: Schiefner's *Târanâthas Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien* (1869), a translation of Tāranātha's 1608 *Tibetan-Language History of Buddhism in India,* has sufficient interpretations and explanations by the translator to make it useful for the student of Tibetan Buddhism; and Eugene Obermiller's *History of Buddhism* (1931–1932), a translation of Bu ston's *Chos 'byung,* contains information on Tibet, but Indian subjects predominate. The great achievement in scholarship in this area is George N. Roerich's *The Blue Annals* (1949–1953), a translation of 'Gos Lo tsa ba Gzon nu dpal's *Deb ther snon po*; this classic text describes major developments in Tibet up to the 1470s. Roerich's diligence as a scholar, combined with the various indexes to the text, have made this translation an invaluable reference work.

Another important work is *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism: Its Fundamentals and History* (1991, 2d ed., 2002), a translation of *Dudjom Rinpoche* by Matthew Kapstein and Gyurme Dorje. Enriched with maps and several indexes, this work is an excellent resource for the history of Buddhism in Tibet, and more particularly for the Rnying ma (Nyingma) school. Austrian, German, and Japanese scholars still lead the field in philological works on the Indian Buddhist texts used by Tibetans, as well as on the Tibetan canons.

A number of works attempting synthetic interpretations of major events or trends in Tibetan religious history appeared in the twentieth century. In particular, Charles Bell's *The Religion of Tibet* (1931) analyzes the history of Buddhism until the early twentieth century, including Tibet's influence on Mongolian Buddhism and the political dimensions of the rule of the Dalai Lamas. In the guise of a description of a series of Tibetan paintings, Tucci's *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (1949) contains much (well-indexed) material on topics ranging from mythology to iconography that concerns the history of Tibetan religions and sectarian developments.

Eva Dargyay's *The Rise of Esoteric Buddhism in Tibet* (2d ed., 1979) provides data on the Rnying ma pa religious tradition; this work discusses Rnying ma pa's "discovered Treasure" literature and its history. The study of the "discovered" religious writings is now a subfield by itself as a result of access to Tibetan masters and a better knowledge of the transmission lineages. One of the pioneers was Anne-Marie Blondeau, who wrote several articles. Janet Gyatso also published a series of articles on the Treasure movement. Also noteworthy is the *Life and Revelations of Pema Lingpa* (2003) by Sarah Harding and Ganteng Tulku.

The basis of all Buddhist practice is yoga and meditation, and studies of Tibetan versions of such practices with commentaries by learned lamas are appearing in great numbers. Among older established studies that are still frequently consulted, the following are notable either for their lucidity of presentation or their accompanying commentary. Herbert Guenther's translation of Sgam po pa's twelfth-century account of Tibetan religious practice, *The Jewel Ornament of Liberation* (1971), and Guenther's *The Life and Teaching of Nāropa* (1963) on an eleventh-century yogin, are characterized by a sophisticated analysis of the psychology of Buddhist practice. A clear exposition is made by Tenzin Gyatso (Bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho, the fourteenth Dalai Lama) in *The Opening of the Wisdom Eye and the History of the Advancement of Buddhadharma in Tibet* (1966). An analysis of philosophical positions, meditation, and ritual is found in Ferdinand D. Lessing and Alex Wayman's *Mkhas grub rje's Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras* (1968), a translation of a fifteenth-century work. Rdzogs chen, a meditative and philosophical teaching common to both the Rnying ma pa and Bon traditions, is explained by Samten Karmay in *The Great Perfection: A Philosophical and Meditative Teaching in Tibetan Buddhism* (1988).

Traditional Buddhist biographies (*rnam thar*) are being used more and more as sources to put meat on the bones of doctrinal studies, but they are also translated into English to cater to an interested audience. Perhaps the best of the earlier efforts is Jacques Bacot's *La vie de Marpa le "traducteur"* (1937). Also worthy of recommendation is Rolf A. Stein's *Vie et chants de 'Brug-pa Kun-legs le yogin* (1972), and of course the different translations of the great saint and poet Mi la ras pa's biography and mystic songs. A more recent study of autobiographical writing in Tibet, especially by visionary yogis, is Janet Gyatso's *Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary* (1998).

An excellent work intended as a manual for students is *Religions of Tibet in Practice*, edited by Donald Lopez (1997). In addition, *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, edited by José Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson (1996), covers mainly religious literature.

Westerners who went through Tibetan scholastic education as monks in the 1970s, including Robert Thurman and Jeffrey Hopkins, have published numerous books that provide insight on religious studies in a traditional context. Such works include Georges Dreyfus's *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk* (2003). Each of these authors holds a chair in religious studies in an American university. Matthieu Ricard, an active monk, contributed to the field with his translation of *The Life of Shabkar: An Autiobiography of a Tibetan Yogin* (1994), as well as his own books and the archiving of the teachings and writings of his lama, Dilgo Khyentse Rinpoche (1910–1991).

In the 1980s, with the importance given to feminist studies in the West, there was a sudden interest in the role that female figures played in Tibetan religions as nuns or partners of lamas, or by themselves. Among the pioneers in translation of women's biographies was Keith Dowman with *Sky Dancer: The Secret Life and Songs of the Lady Yeshe Tsogyel* (1984), and Tsultrim Allione with *Women of Wisdom* (1984). Later, Hanna Havnevik published her dissertation on Tibetan Buddhist nuns, *Karma Lekshe Tsomo, Sisters in Solitude: Two Traditions of Buddhist Monastic Ethics for Women* (1996), and Janice Willis edited *Feminine Ground: Essays on Women and Tibet* (1995). In *Machig Labdrön and the Foundations of Chöd* (1996) Jérôme Edou studied the extraordinary life of this eleventh-century *yoginī*, whose teachings are still practiced today; this work was followed by *The Lives and Liberation of Princess Mandarava*, translated by Lama Chonam and Sangye Khandro (1998)

The Bon religion has been much less studied than Buddhism. Its literature and teachers were not accessible, and some Tibetan Buddhists succeeded in giving early Western visitors a highly inaccurate view of its origins and practices. This trend is now reversed, and by the end of the twentieth century there was great interest in Bon studies, often linked to the Western Tibetan region of Zhang zhung. The field is now flourishing under the impetus of pioneers like Per Kvaerne in Norway and Samten Karmay in France. Bon studies has become linked to the publications program initiated in 2000 by Yasuhiko Nagano at the Ethnological Museum of Osaka; published works include *New Horizons in Bon Studies* (2000), *A Survey of Bonpo Monasteries and Temples in Tibet and the Himalaya* (2003), and *The Call of the Blue Cuckoo: An Anthology of Nine Bonpo Texts on Myths and Rituals* (2002), all edited by Nagano and Karmay. One of the first valuable contributions to the study of Bon mythology and a veritable catalog of the Bon pantheon was A. H. Francke's *gZer mig: A Book of the Tibetan Bonpos*, a translation that was published in five volumes between 1924 and 1949.

Where are the origins of Bon to be sought—beyond Tibet or within? What is its relationship to Buddhism and other religions, in particular to those of Iran? How did Bon evolve? What can be called Bon? These questions are still debated by scholars. Studies on Bon that were particularly valuable include a lengthy essay in Giuseppe Tucci's *Die Religionen Tibets*; Samten Karmay's "A General Introduction to the History and Doctrines of Bon" in *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 33 (1975): 171–218; as well as Karmay's *Treasury of Good Sayings: A Tibetan History of Bon* (1972). An extensive doctrinal text was presented by David L. Snellgrove in *The Nine Ways of Bon: Excerpts from the gZi-brjid* (1967). An important study and the first work on Bon yoga is Per Kvaerne's "Bonpo Studies: The A Khrid System of Meditation," in *Kailash* 1 (1973): 19–50 and 247–332, as well as his important work, *The Bon Religion of Tibet: The Iconography of a Living Tradition* (1995). Dan Martin's *Unearthing Bon Treasures: Life and Contested Legacy of a Tibetan Scripture Revealer* (2001) deals with a Tibetan "text discoverer" and includes a general bibliography of Bon. Martin updated this bibliography in "Bon Bibliography: An Annotated List of Recent Publications," in *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 4 (2003): 61–77, which demonstrates the contemporary strength of Bon studies. Martin joined forces with Per Kvaerne and Yasuhiko Nagano to edit *A Catalogue of the Bon Kanjur* (2003). In addition, Karmay and Nagano edited *A Catalogue of the New Collection of Bonpo Katen Texts* (2001). In France, Jean-Luc Achard is researching the Dzogchen tradition of the Bon and Rnying ma schools. Achard has published several articles in the *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines,* as well as the book *L'Essence perlée du secret: Recherches philologiques et historiques sur l'origine de la Grande Perfection dans la tradition rNying ma pa* (1999).

The literature and adherents of the normative Buddhism and Bon traditions were the first elements to strike Alexander Csoma de Körös and his successors, and they remain today the center of focus in Tibetology. However, popular religion and its numerous cultic manifestations have increasingly become the topic of studies, especially in Europe since the late 1980s. One such study is Françoise Pommaret's *Les revenants de l'au-delà dans le monde Tibétain: Sources littéraires et traditions vivantes* (1989).

Of course, the interest in Tibet's epic hero, King Gesar, an important figure in popular Tibetan literature and religion, dates back to the eighteenth century when Mongolian-language texts of the epic became known to Western travelers. A comprehensive analysis of the religious and ethnographic data in these materials certainly lies far in the future, but two works may be cited here that analyze different versions of Gesar's life and deeds and thus give an idea of the variety of information available: A. H. Francke's *Der Frühlings- und Wintermythus der Kesarsage: Beiträge zur Kenntnis der vorbuddhistishchen Religion Tibets und Ladakhs* (1902) and Rolf A. Stein's *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet* (1959). The former study shows the influence of the "nature mythology" school of religious studies, while the latter includes sections dealing with Buddhist, Bon, and popular religious influences and motifs. Gesar studies are a subfield in themselves, with Chinese scholars taking a keen interest in the matter.

Among early general studies on popular religion in Tibet, an extensive analysis of the iconography and hierarchical ordering of Tibet's spirits and deities in ritual and literature was René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz's *Oracles and Demons of Tibet* (1956; 2d rev. ed., 1975). Rolf A. Stein's *Tibetan Civilization* (1972) also dwelt on popular religion.

Many anthropologists have studied what is sometimes called shamanist practices in Tibet and the Tibetan areas. Geoffrey Samuel's *Civilized Shamans: Buddhism in Tibetan Societies* (1993) is a challenging and innovative work on the links between Tibetan Buddhism and shamanism. Anthropologists with the opportunity to do fieldwork started studying local deities more or less integrated into Buddhism, as well as different cults and other religious manifestations. These were important in understanding the daily religious life of the people and their relation to their territory. Among different publications, four collections should be noted: *Mandala and Landscape,* edited by A. W. Macdonald (1997); *Reflections of the Mountain: Essays on the History and Social Meaning of the Mountain Cult in Tibet and the Himalayas*, edited by Anne-Marie Blondeau and Ernst Steinkellner (1996); *Tibetan Mountain Deities: Their Cults and Representations*, edited by Blondeau (1998); and *Territory and Identity in Tibet and the Himalayas, Tibetan Studies in Honour of Anne-Marie Blondeau*, edited by Katia Buffetrille and Hildegard Diemberger (2002).

Alex McKay's edition of *Pilgrimage in Tibet* (1998) was another important contribution to the study of religion as practiced by the common people. The history of Tibetan religions must also take into account the numerous publications and translations done in Tibetan Buddhist centers in the West, as well as the biographies of lamas written directly in Western languages. In most cases, such works were not produced as contributions to the field of study, but rather as a means of propagating Buddhist thought. Still, the material they present is often new and interesting for the researcher, while appealing to a wider audience. Two such works that were successful worldwide were *The Words of My Perfect Teacher* by Patrul Rinpoche (1998) and especially *The Tibetan Book of Living and Dying* by Sogyal Rinpoche (2002). Also noteworthy is Philippe Cornu's handy and informative *Dictionnaire encyclopédique du Bouddhisme* (2001).

Religious studies scholars and followers of Tibetan religious traditions have begun engaging in fruitful exchange and interface, although both are often still wary of each other. The academics tend to scorn the disciples' lack of critical approach, and the disciples tend to condescend towards the scholars' lack of "inner understanding" of the religious traditions. A promising development is that Tibetan and Chinese scholars from different research institutes and universities in China have begun to show interest in religious studies, mostly in the Gesar epic and in popular religion. The Tibetan and Chinese scholars concentrate mostly on historical, ethnographic, and sociological subjects. Working as researchers in different academies and institutes, they have good opportunities to publish their studies. They also participate in the seminar of the International Association of Tibetan Studies (IATS), which is held every four years and where they exchange ideas with their Western and Japanese colleagues.

Since the 1980s the amount of written literature and the number of learned informants from all traditions has increased dramatically. Tibetans for the most part feel a great urge to accommodate Western research into their traditions, and many are now working in research institutions in Europe, Japan, and North America. Indeed, Tibetan studies are now awash in resources, and scholars have begun to call into question many of the most important positions that were only recently thought to be firmly established. There is also a new interest in Buddhism as practiced today in Tibet, as evidenced by Melvyn G. Goldstein and Matthew T. Kapstein's *Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet: Religious Revival and Cultural Identity* (1998), which demonstrates that the study of religions of Tibet needs to be envisaged in a cultural and political context.

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An appreciation of the status of modern scholarship can perhaps best be gained by perusing volumes of the Proceedings of the Csoma de Körös Memorial Symposium, as well as the Proceedings of the International Seminar on Tibetan Studies, which are being published regularly. Along with university presses, several private publishing houses, including Wisdom Publications in Boston, Serindia Publications in Chicago, Shambhala Publications in Boston, Snow Lion Publications in Ithaca, N.Y, Padma Publishing in Junction City, California, Prajna Press in Boulder, Colorado, the Tsadra Foundation in New York City, and Dharma Publications in Berkeley, California, as well as the Padma karpo Translation committee in Denmark, are continually releasing books on different aspects of Tibetan Buddhism.

Websites

Digital Himalaya: http://www.digitalhimalaya.com.

Latse Contemporary Tibetan Cultural Library: http://www.latse.org.

Old Tibetan Documents Online: http://www.aa.tufs.ac.jp/~hoshi/OTDO_web/index.html.

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Tibetan and Himalayan Digital Library: http://iris.lib.virginia.edu/tibet.

Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center: http://www.tbrc.org.

Tsadra Foundation: http://www.tsadra.org.

MICHAEL L. WALTER (1987)
FRANÇOISE POMMARET (2005)

TIELE, C. P. (1830–1902), Dutch historian of religions. Cornelis Petrus Tiele studied theology at the University of Amsterdam and was a Remonstrant minister for twenty years (1853–1873). During this time he applied himself to the study of ancient religions and taught himself the Avestan language as well as Akkadian and Egyptian. In 1872 he obtained the Th.D. degree at the University of Leiden; and the following year he became a professor at the Remonstrants' seminary in Leiden, where he taught the history of religions. In 1877, Tiele was appointed to the new chair in history of religions and philosophy of religion at the University of Leiden, in the faculty of theology. He retired in 1900.

Tiele was a pioneer of the "science of religion" and one of the first to offer a historical survey of a number of religions based on the study of source materials. His own research opened up the religions of ancient Iran, Mesopotamia, and Egypt, putting the history of religions on a firm philological-historical basis that was long to be the hallmark of the discipline.

Tiele was much concerned with the broader notion of a "development" of religion, a notion that was natural at a time when evolution and progress were accepted ideas. He saw religion—man's "disposition of the heart toward God"—as a distinct province of life that can be found everywhere, and he was convinced that there is a unity and independence of religious life underlying all its different external forms. The gradual development of the human mind in history implies a parallel development in religion, which is, basically, a progressive expansion of self-consciousness. According to Tiele, the historical changes of the forms of religion show a process of evolution in the course of which the "religious idea" and the religious needs receive an ever fuller and more perfect expression. The historical forms of religion represent different stages of this evolution, in particular from nature religions to ethical religions. The historian of religions has to compare and classify religious phenomena in accordance with the state and direction of their development.

Tiele sharply distinguished all forms of religion from religion itself, and his deeper concern in the study of religion is the question of the real nature and origin of the religion that "reveals" itself in its manifold forms and phenomena. He therefore divides the study of religion into two parts. The first is *morphology,* that is, the inductive study of the phenomena and their changes and transformations as a result of a continuing development. This study requires, among other things, a comparative history of religion.

The second part of the study of religion is *ontology,* the study of the permanent element, beyond and through all changes and passing forms, that is the core and the source of religion. The real nature of religion is under investigation here, and this part of the study demands a deductive reasoning on the basis of what has been reached by means of inductive "empirical" research. The ontological study contains both a phenomenological-analytical part, in which the religious phenomena are studied in each stage of development, and a "psychological-synthetic" part in which the essence and origin of religion are investigated; in fact this stage is philosophical (rather than "psychological") in nature. For Tiele historical, phenomenological, and philosophical questions logically followed from each other. Because Tiele took as his departure the premise that religion fundamentally is a general human phenomenon and that the way in which it has manifested itself as well as the elements of which it is composed are the same always and everywhere, the study of permanently recurring phenomena made sense.

Tiele's history of religions may have been somewhat schematized, but it was dynamic; further, his phenomenology had a dynamic character because of his notion of the development of the human mind. His insistence that religion "manifests" itself in the phenomena, and that this manifestation happens through the activity of the human mind, has an almost modern, phenomenological flavor, like the idea that religions are different expressions of that "religion" that as a tendency slumbers in every person. Religion here is investigated as a human phenomenon, and the unifying factor of all religious phenomena is the human mind.

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Three of Tiele's longer works exist in English translation: *Outlines of the History of Religion, to the Spread of Universal Religions,* 7th ed. (London, 1905); *History of the Egyptian Religion,* 2d ed. (London, 1884); and his Gifford Lectures, *Elements of the Science of Religion,* 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1897–1899).

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JACQUES WAARDENBURG (1987)
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T'IEN SEE TIAN

T'IEN-T'AI See TIANTAI

TIKHON (born Vasilii Ivanovich Belavin; 1865–1925), patriarch of the Russian Orthodox church. Prior to becoming metropolitan of Moscow (1917), Tikhon served as archbishop of Vilna and archbishop of Yaroslavl. Before that he was bishop and archbishop of the Aleutians and North America (1898–1907), laying the foundations of the Orthodox church in America. The Alaskan mission, founded in 1794, was extended and coordinated, so that it was able to grow into an autocephalous church in 1970. Tikhon's plan was to permit the Orthodox of various nations to form a single church, initially dependent on the Russian church, but eventually becoming autocephalous. The goal of a single church in the United States remains to be achieved, its delay being one of the consequences of the Russian Revolution.

Patriarch Tikhon was elected twelve days after the Bolshevik coup by the Great Sobor, or Pomestnyi Sobor (1917–1918), the first assembly of magnitude in the Russian church since the Great Sobor of 1666–1667. His election signaled the successful outcome of a nearly two-hundred-year struggle by the church to emancipate itself from control by the Russian state. Yet, Tikhon and the sobor delegates were aware of the danger in the demise of the provisional government that left the Orthodox church as the only pan-Russian institution to which the masses could turn. The contest that ensued between the church and the Bolsheviks developed into the most extensive persecution experienced by Christians since the days of the Roman emperor Diocletian.

Tikhon's first months as patriarch witnessed the first onslaught of Bolshevik violence when monasteries, cathedrals, and churches were bombarded and desecrated, and priests, bishops, and lay defenders of the church murdered. Tikhon countered through an encyclical urging the Bolsheviks to cease the massacres and telling them that they were doing the work of Satan; he also excommunicated all collaborators in the terror. The encyclical, combined with the reaction to persecution, produced a major groundswell of support for the church. The Bolshevik regime reacted by depriving the church of its legal status, confiscating all its properties and revenues, and launching a holocaust designed to devastate the church and eliminate its legacy in Russian history and culture.

During the persecution the regime pursued two methods of weakening and discrediting the patriarch. First, it supported dissident schismatics who splintered the ecclesiastical administration, and second, it tried to compromise Tikhon with the public in a dispute over the disposition of church values during the famine of 1921–1922. The Living Church, composed of those opposed to restoring traditional canonical authority to the patriarchal office, was created as a result of the schism. Its leaders were allowed to seize the patriarchal palace, the patriarchal administrative offices, and the offices of the metropolitanate of Moscow in May 1922. By this time Tikhon was already under arrest, and leading Moscow clergy had either been tried and condemned to death for inciting the masses "to engage in civil war" or were under indictment for that offense. In the resulting paralysis, the Living Church takeover was accomplished under the guise of providing leadership in unusual circumstances and with the assistance of the secret police. Clergy and bishops who refused to acknowlege the takeover were immediately declared unfrocked by the Living Church administration and arrested, tried, and, in many cases, executed by the secret police.

The takeover coincided with vitriolic attacks upon Tikhon, the hierarchy, and the clergy for refusing to hand over eucharistic vessels for famine relief. Tikhon had already agreed to strip the churches, monasteries, and cathedrals of precious metals and jewels except for the eucharistic vessels. The regime accused the church of hoarding its valuables and launched a massive propaganda attack. Churches were plundered anew, and their defenders arrested and indicted for antistate activities. The Living Church administration went through the motions of deposing Tikhon, and the Soviet government prepared to put him on trial for treason.

A major part of the government's indictment consisted in the accusation that Tikhon was working to overthrow the regime. That accusation was based upon a resolution passed by émigré hierarchs and lay leaders at Karlovci, Yugoslavia, in November 1921, demanding the restoration of the Romanov dynasty. Tikhon had already ordered his faithful and clergy to desist from antistate activities in September 1919 and repudiated the Karlovci statement. He also formally dissolved the émigré church administration in May 1922.

The Soviet regime soon realized that the Living Church did not have the support of the majority of Orthodox believers. Moreover, a general intensification of persecution of the Orthodox church in 1922, during which the popular metropolitan of Petrograd, Benjamin Kazanskii, was tried and executed, produced a deepening of dissatisfaction with Bolshevik rule among the masses. The regime also had put on trial Ioann Cieplak, acting Roman Catholic archbishop in Russia, together with Konstantin Budkiewicz, pastor of the chief Roman Catholic church in Petrograd. The execution of Budkiewicz had raised such an international outcry that the Bolsheviks faltered in their determination to execute the patriarch.

The circumstances led to a compromise. Tikhon wished to meet the Living Church challenge head-on, while the regime was concerned to avoid creating a martyr. Tikhon agreed to issue an encyclical in which he stated his personal loyalty to the Soviet government. He implied that the Living Church, rather than the regime, was the key danger to the Orthodox church. The regime slackened its support for the Living Church and Tikhon was released from prison. However, he was required to live in seclusion in the Donskoi Monastery, where he remained, except for brief hospitalization, until his death on April 7, 1925. While Tikhon contained the damage from the Living Church, he paid the heavy price of being effectively isolated from his shattered flock and of paving the way for further subordination of the Orthodox church to the Soviet regime.

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TIKHON OF ZADONSK

TIKHON OF ZADONSK (Timofei Savelich Sokolov, or Sokolovskii; 1724–1783), Russian Orthodox bishop and saint. Son of a church reader in the Novgorod province of Russia, the young Sokolov spent his youth in poverty. After graduating from the Novgorod seminary in 1754, he taught Greek and rhetoric until his monastic tonsure and priestly ordination in 1758, when he received the name Tikhon. Having held several academic positions, Tikhon was consecrated suffragan bishop in the Novgorod diocese in 1761 and became bishop of Voronezh in 1763. He retired from episcopal service in 1767 and finally settled in 1769 in the Zadonsk Monastery (hence his popular appellation), where he lived until his death. He was canonized a saint of the Russian Orthodox church on August 13, 1860.

Tikhon surrendered his episcopal ministry for reasons of ill health, probably emotional as well as physical. He was a high-strung person, radically committed to his pastoral work and greatly frustrated in his activities by the ecclesiastical and secular conditions of the imperial Russia of his time. In monastic solitude Tikhon lived a life of continual prayer, reading the Bible (in particular the Gospels, *Psalms*, and Prophets, especially *Isaiah*), as well as the Fathers and saints of the Orthodox church (particularly Chrysostom). He also read Western Christian literature and was particularly interested in the books of the Anglican bishop Joseph Hall and the German Pietist Johannes Arndt, in imitation of whom he wrote his most famous works, *A Spiritual Treasure Collected from the World* and *On True Christianity.* The collected works of Tikhon are in five volumes, including letters, sermons, and instructions of various sorts written mostly for seminarians, pastors, and monastics.

Tikhon regularly attended liturgical church services in the monastery and always participated in the sacraments, but he celebrated in his episcopal rank only at the matins of Christmas and Easter. In his everyday life he practiced great simplicity and poverty. He rarely met with people, particularly those of rank and wealth, and found communication generally very difficult. He did speak with peasants and beggars, however, giving them money, food, and counsel, and he frequently visited prisoners and criminals.

Tikhon was of melancholy spirit until the end of his life, frequently despondent and depressed. He was much given to prayerful lamentation and often wept over the state of the church and the world, particularly within the Russian empire. Even during church services he could be heard weeping and begging God for forgiveness and mercy. His main visual aids to devotion in his monastic cell were not classical Orthodox icons, but Western pictures portraying the passion of Christ in realistic form. Tikhon's life and works had great impact upon subsequent generations in the Russian church, particularly upon intellectuals such as Fedor Dostoevskii, who used Tikhon as a model for figures in his novels, and Bishop Feofan Govorov, known as Feofan the Recluse.

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THOMAS HOPKO (1987)

TIKOPIA RELIGION.

TIKOPIA RELIGION. Tikopia is a small island, three miles long and a mile and a half wide. It is part of the political grouping of the Solomon Islands, a thousand-mile chain of islands in the Pacific Ocean. It is also the peak of an old volcano, now largely sunk beneath the sea, and the original vent of the mountain has become a small brackish lake. To the northeast of the island the sacred mountain Reani rises; to the southwest are flat swamplands. The population of around fourteen hundred lives mainly around the western and southern coast of the island. Another six hundred Tikopia have migrated either temporarily or permanently to other parts of the Solomons. Whereas the island is theoretically controlled by the central government of the Solomon Islands, its distance from the seat of government and its general isolation have meant a degree of autonomy in retaining traditional practices and beliefs. The effect of this isolation on its religious practices will be discussed below.

While the majority of islands in the Solomons are peopled by Melanesians, Tikopia is a Polynesian outlier. That is, while it lies outside the true Polynesian triangle in the Pacific Ocean, it shares genetic, linguistic, and cultural traits with Polynesian islands such as Samoa, Tonga, and with the Maori of New Zealand. The major religious beliefs and practices of traditional (i.e., precontact) Polynesia were similar. Traditional Polynesians believed humans had an invisible counterpart or soul that continued its existence after death in an afterworld variously located in the sky or the sea and often composed of a series of heavens. They believed in an analogous life principle in animals and plants. They worshiped gods *(atua)* who had never been human as well as important human ancestors now also regarded as *atua.* Some of these gods could be regarded as departmental deities having responsibility for the sky, the sea, the land, and warfare as well as for elements, like the wind. The *atua* generally were beneficent, but there were also spirit entities that could cause harm.

Traditional Polynesian religion used abstract thought and symbolism. Offerings of food to the gods were made in the belief that the immaterial substance of the food was consumed by the gods but that the actual food could later be eaten by human participants in the rituals. Equally the material symbols of gods and ancestors (statues, significant rocks and trees) were seen as representations or memorials and not actual figurations with specific powers.

Existing knowledge of traditional Polynesian religion is, on the whole, fragmentary and often mediated through the records of missionaries whose duty it was to extirpate these pagan beliefs. Complete conversion of most of Polynesia to Christianity had taken place by the middle of the 1800s. However, Tikopia's isolation and small size made it difficult to find in the early days of Pacific exploration and not worth the effort of exploiting commercially for forced labor or land. This meant that when Raymond Firth carried out his first period of anthropological fieldwork in 1928–1929, the traditional religion was still practiced by three out of the four chiefs and by half the population. Therefore an excellent ethnographic record exists of the traditional ritual cycle, which was referred to as the "Work of the Gods." This summary of traditional Tikopia religious beliefs comes from Firth's extensive writings.

The island is traditionally controlled by four *ariki* (chiefs), heads of patrilineages believed, according to origin myths, to have begun with the birth of four male children to the Atua Fafine (premier female god) and the Atua Lasi (great god). The birth order of the children is reflected in the ranking of the chiefs, and their divine antecedents meant that the chiefs traditionally were regarded as sacred *(tapu).* The body of the chief, and especially his head, is still regarded as *tapu* because of his *mana* or inherent mystical power. In this hierarchically ranked society, *maru* or ritual elders are next below the chiefs. They are men who come from junior chiefly lines. They originally had roles with the *ariki* in the traditional religion, and they still have a political function on the island. Commoners, or *tauarofa,* make up the bulk of the population. Descent is traced patrilineally, and women take no roles in either the politics or the religious practices of the island, although this is changing among those who have left the home island.

TIKOPIA CONCEPTS AND RITUAL. Tikopia religion traditionally rested upon a belief that a set of spiritual beings *(atua)* controlled the fertility of nature and the health and well-being of the people. These *atua* comprised the spirits of dead chiefs and their ritual elders and a number of major gods, most notably the eponymous gods of each clan: the Atua i Kafika, Atua i Tafua, Atua i Taumako, and Atua i Fangarere. The Kafika clan is the senior of the four, and most significant in the Tikopia pantheon was the Atua i Kafika. An elision may have occurred here: the original four brothers were the children of true deities and were themselves deities, but the Atua i Kafika, as he is conceptualized now, was believed to have lived as a mortal man, a chief and a culture hero, responsible for many Tikopian traditional institutions. Killed by an opponent in a struggle for land, he abjured retaliation as he lay dying, and thus morally elevated, he succeeded to the highest position among the gods.

A few female deities were usually highly dangerous to humans: Nau Fiora was preeminent in this group and was believed to have the power to steal the souls of children, thereby killing them. Other female spirits, not deities but also never human, existed in various parts of the island and were sometimes seen benignly leading their spirit children to the sea. However, more dangerous ones existed in the bush and were capable of seducing and killing men. Ideas about gender in the temporal world, where women were conceptualized as powerless but having the potential to be dangerous, were reflected in the spirit world. There were also some other potentially dangerous entities with human origins, such as the spirits of children, either stillborn or miscarried. A child that died before recognizing his or her parents, that is, up to about the age of six weeks after birth, also came into this category, as did occasionally the spirits of young males who had died in accidents. While these spirits could perform mischievous actions by themselves, they were also the ones that often manifested themselves through spirit mediums.

The major gods of the pantheon had several personal names or titles that were held as secret information by the religious leaders, and it was through the ritual invocation of the name that the god could be stimulated to listen to and grant the requests of his worshipers. The deities were on the whole "owned" by different clans and lineages, and although there was some overlap in their attribution, each spirit had a primary social affiliation.

Unlike some of the larger Polynesian groups, the Tikopia had no separate category of priests whose main function was ritual performance. The four chiefs themselves, and their ritual elders, communicated with the gods and ancestor spirits with prayers, invocations, and offerings on behalf of their people. They also performed secular social roles as heads or administrative officers of lineages overseeing clan lands, canoes, and other property. The four *ariki* were the main priests, and each had a primary responsibility for certain crops and elements. The Ariki Kafika had prime responsibility for the success of the yam crop and for the welfare of the island generally. The Ariki Tafua was responsible for the coconut, and he looked out, away from the island, to matters concerning outsiders. The Ariki Taumako was responsible for the taro and for things to do with the sea, while the Ariki Fangarere looked after the breadfruit. This latter chief, for reasons described in the origin story of the birth of the four males, was also connected with disasters like cyclones and drought.

On the whole, commoners were merely supporters in the rituals, providing food and mats and, on some but not all occasions, an audience. However, there were some men (and a few women who had usually passed menopause) who had the potential to go into trance. These mediums were called *vaka atua* (spirit vessels). Their function was more informal and usually involved healing by communicating with some spirit that may have caused sickness. Spirits could also speak through the mediums to express concern at social and interpersonal derelictions. Where the chiefs and ritual elders performed rituals for the larger groups of clan and lineage, the mediums tended to cater to the concerns of families with whom they were connected.

The basic traditional Tikopia religious rite was the presentation of kava to the gods. Kava is the root of *Piper methysticum* that is macerated by pounding or chewing and mixed with water. In modern Tonga, Samoa, and Fiji, kava is prepared and drunk in ceremonies and on social occasions, but traditionally it had a religious function. In Tikopia the kava liquid was hardly drunk at all: it was offered to the gods as a libation poured on to the ground to the accompaniment of prayers for welfare. To perform a kava rite, a chief or elder assumed ritual purity by bathing, and he then donned a special waist cloth and a leaf necklet as a sign of formal religious dedication and set out offerings of bark cloth and food that, with the libations, served as a channel for invoking the spirits. The language used was highly symbolic and honorific; the chief adopted a tone of great humility, pleading poverty and signifying abasement before a god. Using conventional and ritual terms, the chief beseeched the gods to excrete on the earth, the gods' excrement being seen symbolically as all the goods things of the land and the sea.

THE WORK OF THE GODS. A notable feature of Tikopia traditional religion was a collective set of seasonal rites that involved elaborate organization of the community and the assembly of large supplies of food. The title *Work of the Gods* used by the Tikopia to refer to these rituals represented the amount of energy that was required from the people in performing them.

The basic theme of the Work of the Gods was the periodic resacralization of some of the most important elements of Tikopia culture. Under religious auspices, canoes and temples were repaired and rededicated, yams were harvested and replanted, and a red pigment was extracted from turmeric rhizomes and preserved for ritual use. (The turmeric ceremony, *nuanga,* is one of the few elements of traditional ritual to survive the island's conversion to Christianity and will be described below.) Ceremonies were performed for the welfare of the crops and fishing. However, these rituals not only dealt with the technological and economic affairs of the island, they also included a sternly moral public address, under conditions of great sanctity, instructing the people on proper behavior as members of Tikopia society. This included injunctions about birth control, an essential matter on a small island far distant from the next piece of land.

The period ended with ritual dancing in which formal mimetic displays and chanting of archaic songs were succeeded by freer performances by firelight at night in which men and women could indulge in often ribald reference to sexual matters, although still in a highly controlled setting. This aspect of the festival, partly cathartic in nature, was thought to seek the gods' approval of human recreation. Most of the rituals of the Work of the Gods were carried out on *marae,* ceremonial assembly spaces, often outside temples or large meetinghouses.

The Work of the Gods comprised a two-part cycle. It was not strictly calendrical but recognized the two major seasonal alternations: the trade wind period that went from April to October and the monsoon season of sometimes savage cyclones and rain from November to March. The timing of each cycle was based on natural observations, such as the appearance of constellations, especially the Pleiades, the migration of birds, and, for the beginning of the turmeric making, the flowering of the bright red coral tree *(Erithrina sp.).* Each ritual lasted about thirty days and was elaborately organized with much mobilization and exchange of food supplies, drawing the whole community into a vast network of social and economic relationships. Two clear functions of the whole series of religious performances seemed to be to provide occasion for the expression of personal and role status, especially of the chiefs, and to demonstrate communal solidarity.

The Work of the Gods had a special quality of sanctity through traditional authority. No particular myth was told by the Tikopia people to account for the genesis of the ritual cycle. They merely described it as having been instituted by the Atua i Kafika, and the performances of the rituals were regarded as a continuation and replication of the practices the deity had initiated. Therefore every effort was made to see that they were repeated in accurate detail, which required the careful passing on of the rituals from one generation to the next. The cycle began with the burning of a fire stick, and until the ceremony was completed, there was a ban on noise and much secular activity. Each ritual cycle concluded with the lifting of the taboo in a ceremony known as "freeing the land" that was emphasized by deliberate loud noise in contrast to the previous peace. Children ran about shrieking, and men whooped and yelled from the hills as they went about their daily work, making hollow booms by beating the buttresses of giant Tahitian chestnut tree trunks. A detailed description of the rituals is in Firth's *The Work of the Gods in Tikopia* (1940/1967).

CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY. Tikopia's relative isolation, as mentioned above, protected the small island from early intrusions by colonizers, traders, and missionaries (who initially contacted the Tikopia in 1858), but the Tikopia themselves discouraged outsiders from settling on their island. This kept missionaries at bay until 1907. Where much of the rest of both Polynesia and Melanesia was missionized by Europeans, Tikopia's first resident missionary was a man from the Banks Islands, a Melanesian. This probably muted to some degree the impact of a new religion. Where the technological superiority (including guns) of Europeans in other parts of the Pacific led to some fairly rapid conversions, in Tikopia the first missionary was not white and not particularly well equipped. The Tikopia gave him a Tikopian name, Pa Pangisi (after Banks), and married him to a Tikopian woman. He spent his whole life with the Tikopia, and his sons underwent the manhood ceremonies of all Tikopia boys.

Pa Pangisi was a missionary for the Melanesian Mission, the Anglican Church in Melanesia. He settled on the leeward side of the island, where one of the four chiefs lived, the Ariki Tafua. This chief converted to Christianity, and a number of commoners belonging to his clan followed him. Pa Pangisi instituted some changes to traditional practices: he discouraged the young men from growing their hair long and joining in the pagan dances. He also insisted on marriage between young people who were in sexual relationships. In this matter, his interpretation, through a Christian lens, of sex outside of marriage failed to take into account the pragmatic Tikopia thinking underlying human relationships. On a small island the necessity to control the population had been recognized in the exhortations of the Work of the Gods. To this end only the eldest son was allowed to marry, "marriage" involving the production of children. Younger sons were allowed to have sexual affairs, but they could not produce offspring, something ensured through abortion or infanticide. Pa Pangisi's insistence on marriage for all sexually active couples led to a population explosion. In about thirty years the population increased 50 percent and led to deaths after a cyclone, when the island's carrying and recuperative capacity was overextended.

The Work of the Gods had also involved the participation of most of the population in the rituals. By 1955 only one of the chiefs, Tafua, had become Christian, but many commoners had converted and were therefore prohibited from joining in the rites of the old beliefs. This meant that the remaining three pagan chiefs did not have sufficient material and human support to carry out the rituals in a manner they thought appropriate. The unity of the people for the good of the land was central to Tikopia belief, and the pagan chiefs, always pragmatists, met and decided that for the good of the land they should convert to Christianity. There are two accounts of the decision to convert.

The first comes from the ethnographic records of Firth and James Spillius, who carried out fieldwork in Tikopia in 1952 and 1953. They recorded that one chief was baptized by Pa Pangisi, who had married into this chief's family, but the other two chiefs insisted that their reception into the Church of Melanesia should be performed by the bishop. A radio message was therefore sent to Honiara asking the bishop to come to Tikopia, and the mission ship, the *Southern Cross,* set out. The two remaining chiefs and nearly all of their clans were thereupon baptized as Anglicans. Only one old woman refused, saying that her husband had died a pagan and she would too. The degree to which there was a deeply felt doctrinal understanding is unknown, although it has been noted that the Ariki Taumako did not intellectually reject his old gods; he just decided not to worship them any longer. Nonetheless the old temples were left to decay, the ritual adzes were destroyed or buried, and new church buildings were constructed in the centers of several villages. The chiefs no longer led the rituals; they were simply members of the congregation. The first priest was the Melanesian Pa Pangisi, but the Tikopia quickly arranged for the education of some of their men as Anglican priests or brothers of the Franciscan order. Priests and catechists in Tikopia have since been largely Tikopian.

The second story of the island's final conversion is consistent with a society taking control of its own history and rewriting it to some degree. This version, recorded in 1980, suggests that, rather than the historical accident of being missionized by Anglicans, a deliberate choice was made. In this version the chiefs looked at all the religions then practiced in the Solomon Islands. They rejected Roman Catholicism on the grounds that the prohibition on priests marrying was an unnatural practice. They rejected Seventh-day Adventism, to which the people of two other Polynesian outliers in the Solomons (Rennell and Bellona) had converted, on the grounds that the dietary restrictions of this religion were unrealistic. The chiefs considered, it was said, that Anglicans were the least trouble and that the island would therefore become Anglican.

With one priest on the island but several churches, the priest moved around the various parishes, named by Anglican tradition after saints. Catechists or senior men of rank could conduct prayer services in the other churches in the priest's absence. The mission ship came once a year for the confirmation of the young, and the priest and other church functionaries were taken off the island once a year for synod.

Various parts of the order of service and some gospels were translated into the Tikopia language, and the communion service was always conducted in the local language. However, accretions that were purely Tikopian crept into the religious practice. Women, allowed no voice in political, economic, or even domestic matters in Tikopia, were not allowed a role in the church, and women's groups like Mothers' Union were actively discouraged. Menstruating women, excluded from traditional rituals and even from dances, were technically prohibited from attending church in that state, something that was seen more as a relief than an exclusion.

The earlier priests were more doctrinally rigid, and ceremonies associated with the Work of the Gods were specifically prohibited. However, by 1980 the turmeric-making ceremony was reinstated. Turmeric is the culinary spice made from the rhizomes of a lilylike plant. The yellow lees from the process are used in food, but the bright orange part of the spice is mixed with coconut oil to make a body and cloth paint. Turmeric was used to mark the body in every life passage ceremony, as well as in the decoration of dancers and their bark-cloth skirts or loincloths. Referred to as "the perfume of the [old] gods," it was traditionally believed to draw the kindly attention of the gods to whatever activity was in progress. During the time it had not been made on the island, turmeric, judged inferior but necessary, was imported from another island. The making of the turmeric in Tikopia involved ritual withdrawal from everyday life and a series of elaborate taboos and restrictions to be followed over the two to three weeks the process took. Once again chiefs or their ritual elders took up their traditional roles in directing the process.

In 1980 the oldest of the four chiefs, the Ariki Taumako, was still alive and was the only one who had taken part in the traditional rituals. His ritual paraphernalia was kept in a small house, which he referred to as a "museum," behind his main dwelling place, and he regularly threw a small offering of food toward the museum. He still remembered and used his invocations to the gods of the sea, who had been the responsibility of his clan when people were to take the interisland ship away from Tikopia. However, he has subsequently died, and two or three generations have passed since the forebears of the present chiefs practiced the old rituals. Their memory exists only in Firth's record.

The interventions by the first missionary in Tikopian birth-control measures resulted in an increase in the population that was unsustainable for the island. From the late 1960s on, people left the island for other parts of the Solomons, forming permanent settlements first in the Russell Islands, later on Makira, and increasingly in the capital of the Solomon Islands, Honiara. There, Tikopia men sometimes married Melanesian women whose exposure to Christianity and practices inclusive of women differed from the Tikopia experience. In the Tikopia village of Nukukaisi on Makira, an in-marrying Melanesian woman became president of the Mothers' Union for the top half of the island. Some Tikopia women (mainly those related to this woman's husband) joined and took responsibility for matters like church linen, something that was not used in Tikopia itself because no money economy existed there. Meanwhile, Tikopia in Honiara have been exposed to a variety of sects, and young men especially have been attracted to religions that provide youth activities such as dances. While Anglicanism remains virtually the only religion on the home island, Tikopia in other parts of the Solomons have begun to espouse other religions, including Jehovah's Witnesses and Mormonism, whereas others have ceased religious observances.

SEE ALSO Atua.

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RAYMOND FIRTH (1987)
JUDITH MACDONALD (2005)

TILAK, BAL GANGADHAR (1856–1920), was an Indian political leader. Known by his followers as *Lokamanya*, "revered by the people, " but as the "father of Indian unrest" by the British authorities in India, Tilak had a crucial role in defining Indian nationalism by an appeal to Hindu religious and cultural symbols. He was born on July 23, 1856, in the Ratnagiri district of the Bombay Presidency. His family belonged to the Citpāvan subcaste of Brahmans, members of which had been influential as both religious and secular functionaries under the Marathas, the last indigenous rulers of the region, and Tilak had a proud consciousness of the greatness of Hindu civilization. He began his career in the recently established Fergusson College in Poona, where in 1881 he and his friend G. G. Agarkar established two newspapers: *Kesari*, in Marathi, and *Maratha*, in English. The papers criticized many aspects of British rule and called for a rejuvenation of India's national life.

Tilak's rise to prominence as a nationalist leader must be seen in the context of movements for social and religious reform that had attracted many intellectuals in the Poona region and elsewhere. Many reformers believed, however, in working with the British to bring about gradual political change and in seeking to reform deeply embedded social practices that seemed to have Hindu religious sanction. Tilak did not condone such practices but insisted that freedom from British rule was the first priority, not social or religious reform.

Sometimes Tilak supported, but he also opposed, the Indian National Congress, the organization founded in 1885 that became the chief agent in winning Indian independence. Two characteristics often alienated him from other nationalist leaders: one was his use of Hindu religious symbols as expressions of Indian nationalism, and the other was his acceptance of violence as a legitimate political tool sanctioned by the Hindu tradition.

In two of Tilak's books, *Orion* (1893) and *The Arctic Home of the Vedas* (1903), he argued that the mythic Hindu stories could be interpreted as actual history, thus giving Indians pride in the antiquity of their nationalist narrative. In *Gītā Rahasya* (1915), a commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā*, written while he was imprisoned for sedition, Tilak argued that it was not, as many commentators had interpreted it, a text that encouraged passive devotion to a deity, but, on the contrary, it was a revolutionary call to use violence against oppression. Mahatma Gandhi was later to argue, with Tilak in mind, that the message of the *Bhagavadgītā* was one of nonviolence and love of one's enemies.

Tilak's appeal to the Hindu tradition as a basis for a renewal of Indian greatness and opposition to the British was dramatized in numerous initiatives. One of these was starting festivals to celebrate Śivājī (1621–1680), the great warrior who fought the Mughal emperors, defending Hinduism against the invading Muslims. The implication of the message was not lost on either the Muslim minorities or the British rulers. More directly identified with Hinduism were festivals supported by Tilak in honor of the popular deity Gaṇapati, or Gaṇeśa. These had been in existence as family or local celebrations, but Tilak saw them as a chance for widespread group support for the project for political freedom, for Gaṇapati is the god of new beginnings, a help in overcoming obstacles, and the son of Śiva, the most powerful and potent of the great gods, often pictured as a warrior smiting his enemies. Tilak also joined in the campaign against cow slaughter, arguing that Hindus venerated the cow as a religious symbol. Since Muslims and the British were beef eaters, the campaign had a potent social and political message.

Some of the causes that Tilak supported in the name of Hindu cultural nationalism seemed, not only to the British but also to other Indian intellectuals, reactionary. One was his denunciation of the government when, in 1890, it introduced legislation to raise the permissible age of marriage for girls from ten to twelve. Orthodox Muslim leaders, as well as Hindus, argued that the government was interfering with a practice sanctioned by religion. Then, in 1897, there was an outbreak of bubonic plague in Poona, and the government ordered a house-to-house search under a military officer, W. C. Rand, which Tilak said violated the sanctity of the Hindu home; he also argued that, following the example of Śivājī, violence was justified to protest it. When Rand was assassinated, Tilak was charged with incitement to murder because of his writings, and he was sentenced to eighteen months in prison.

Such activities made Tilak the leading figure in the group within the Indian National Congress that he proudly called the "Extremists," in contrast to the "Moderates," whom he denounced for begging favors from their British overlords when they should be taking by force what was rightfully theirs. He popularized the slogan, "*Swarāj* [self-rule] is my birthright and I will have it." In 1907 he and his group tried to gain control of the annual meeting of the Indian National Congress in Surat, but failed, leading to a split in the organization. In 1908 Tilak was arrested on charges of incitement to violence and sentenced to six years of imprisonment in the unhealthy Andaman Islands, but he survived the ordeal and in 1916 he rejoined the Congress.

At this time, Gandhi arrived on the Indian political scene with a message of nonviolence that rejected Tilak's reading of the *Bhagavadgītā*. Tilak's death in August 1920, just before the Indian National Congress adopted Gandhi's platform of nonviolence, prevented Tilak from questioning the new direction that the nationalist movement was taking. Gandhi's success in subsequent years in persuading Indian nationalists to accept his version of Hinduism as a religion of nonviolence and love overshadowed for many years Tilak's insistence that Hinduism could be the basis for a militant nationalism that would fight to win India's independence. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, however, Tilak's version of militant Hinduism, not Gandhi's pacifism, was dominant in India's political life.

SEE ALSO Bhagavadgītā; Brahman; Gandhi, Mohandas; Gaṇeśa; Marathi Religions.

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TILĀWAH. Recitation of the sacred words of scripture in Islamic contexts of prayer, liturgy, and public performance is designated by the Arabic terms *tilāwah* and *qirāʾah*. The very name of Muslim scripture, Qurʾān, is a cognate of *qirāʾah* from the finite verb *qaraʾa*, which means "he read," in the sense of "recited." *Tilāwah* is the more general term for Qurʾān recitation, and its root carries the double sense of "to recite" and "to follow." Thus, the Muslim concept of scripture entails the notion of divine speech meant to be recited, as indeed is the case with several other scriptures, such as the Hindu Vedas and the Jewish Torah. The sacred archetype of Muslim scripture is the Preserved Tablet (*lawḥ maḥfūẓ*, surah 85:22) or Mother of the Book (*umm al-kitāb*, 13:39, 43:4), the heavenly inscription of God's word from which it is believed that scriptures had been sent down to other prophets (e.g., the *torah* to Moses and the gospel to Jesus) and ultimately from which the angel Gabriel recited the Arabic Qurʾān to Muḥammad. This notion of divine speech, preserved and transmitted in heaven and on earth in both written and oral forms, can be traced among Semites to ancient Near Eastern cosmologies. In both its inscribed and its recited Arabic forms, the Qurʾān lies at the heart of Islamic symbolism, ritual, and social experience—indeed, even among many non-Arabic-speaking Muslims.

The tendency of Western scholars to concentrate on problems of textual history and interpretation to the neglect of the contextual modes of oral transmission and performance has resulted in a general failure to appreciate the significance of *tilāwah* in Islamic society. Although the textual form of the Qurʾān is paramount in such areas of classical Muslim scholarship as law (*fiqh*), theology (*kalām*), grammar (*naḥw*), and scriptural commentary (*tafsīr*), it is in its oral form that most Muslims down to the present have learned the Qurʾān.

TILĀWAH AND THE QUESTION OF CANON. In Islam, the problem of establishing an authoritative text was not a question, as it was in Judaism and Christianity, of authorized councils deciding which writings were inspired or otherwise authentic. Materials for the body of scripture (*kitāb*, "book, writing") were from the beginning regarded as simply and exclusively the accurate preservation of Muḥammad's recitation of God's speech, which tradition affirms had circulated orally, and in a less well-assembled form in writing, among contemporaries of the Prophet. Of greater significance was the question of collecting—implying also the arranging—of the Prophet's recitation of *sūrah*s and *āyah*s ("chapters" and "verses"). Tradition assigns the beginning of this task to the Prophet himself and stipulates further that the Qurʾanic text was rehearsed in the presence of the angel Gabriel periodically until the revelation ended at the time of Muḥammad's death (632 CE). It is also held that through his secretary, Zayd ibn Thābit (and others), Muḥammad had at least some of the Qurʾān written down during his own lifetime. Various copies *(maṣāḥif*, sg., *maṣḥaf)* of these and the transcription of others were collected by the first two caliphs (Muḥammad's successors as head of the community). Islamic tradition regards the definitive collection ordered by the third caliph ʿUthmān (d. 656), however, as the official copy to which all authoritative copies since that time are traced.

As is often the case when the texts of sacred speech assume written form prior to the development of widespread functional literacy, the *scriptio defectiva* of the earliest transcriptions of the Qurʾān did not present the full and unambiguous script that was later developed for the enunciation, phrasing, and punctuation of each vocable, and it did not provide for other matters of enormous significance for meaning and consistency in oral recitation, such as guidance for phrasing and pauses. *Scriptio plena*, the full and precise system of writing, had neither fully evolved nor was it really necessary in the early stages when the "text" was transmitted primarily in oral form. As a result, slightly different variant readings (recitations) of the written Qurʾanic text have existed and been accepted since the formative period of Islam.

Tenth-century Qurʾān scholars, the most famous of whom was Ibn Mujāhid (859–935), analyzed and evaluated the existing variant readings of their day and established the orthodox systems of reciting from the written text attributed to the caliph ʿUthmān (r. 644–656). Tradition accounts for the variations among the reciters, as Ibn Mujāhid's work shows, on the basis of a report (*ḥadīth*) that Muḥammad had been given the Qurʾān to recite according to seven *aḥruf* ("letters"), a term that is sometimes taken to mean the dialects spoken by Arab tribes contemporary with the Prophet. In this view, God revealed the Qurʾān to Muḥammad in the seven dialects of Arabic understood by the various tribes in Arabia, and these phonetic variations account for the different *qirāʾāt* of the text of ʿUthmān. The connotation of *aḥruf* as "dialects" is controversial among Islamicists, however. Ibn Mujāhid's work, *Kitāb al-sabʿah* (The Seven Recitations), identified the most renowned orthodox eighth-century reciters of the Qurʾān, and although later authorities boosted to ten and fourteen the number of acceptable recitation systems, Ibn Mujāhid's seven remain the most widely recognized among Muslims today. Disciples of the seven charter reciters promulgated slight variations from their masters; these seven secondary transmitters are known as *rāwī*s, and their traditions of recitation have also survived and found acceptance in the Muslim community.

Thus, for example, in the postscript to the official edition of the Qurʾān printed in Egypt, the editors state that the basic orthography is that of ʿUthmān's copy and that it reflects the phonetic qualities of the oral transmission by the *rāwī* Ḥafṣ (d. 805), whose master was the reciter (*qāriʾ*, *muqriʾ*) ʿĀṣim (d. 744)—one of Ibn Mujāhid's seven. Many professional reciters know several of the phonetic systems of the classic reciters and their disciples, and they will often repeat a given Qurʾanic phrase in other *qirāʾāt* in order to bring out several possible emphases and meanings allowed by the basic script.

TILĀWAH AND THE RULES OF TAJWĪD. The significance of acceptable variations in the enunciation of the text is considerable insofar as meaning is established not only by written symbols but also by sounds. Although written texts of the Qurʾān, such as the modern Egyptian edition traced to the *qirāʾah* of ʿĀṣim, are elaborately marked to reflect the phonetic qualities of a given *qirāʾah* and are further coded to guide the reciter in proper phrasing and oral emphasis, the actual art of reciting can be learned properly only from a teacher. This oral, performative, pedagogical context has characterized Qurʾanic studies in Islam since the seventh century. Nonetheless, a considerable literature about the rules that govern recitation has accumulated over the centuries.

Learning to recite the Qurʾān traditionally began in the Qurʾān school (*kuttāb*, *maktab*), where rote memorization of Qurʾanic passages by children seated around a teacher (*shaykh*) marked the first, and for some the only, stage of formal education. Even with increasing government control of public education in modern times and the changes this has brought about, many contemporary Muslims are attempting to retain some form of the traditional Qurʾān school as an important first stage of Islamic pedagogy. At more advanced levels, students specializing in *tilāwah* learn the rules of *tajwīd*, that is, the rules for rendering correctly the recitation of the Qurʾān (and their application) in more critical learning and performance situations. Again, this is primarily an oral context dominated by a shaykh who has received special training and earned recognition as a reciter. In one of the most popular recitation manuals in use in Cairo today, *tajwīd* is defined as "articulating each letter from its point of articulation, giving it its full value. The intent of *tajwīd* is the reciting of the Qurʾān as God most high sent it down. . . . Knowledge of it is a collective duty, and the practice of it is a duty prescribed for all who wish to recite something from the holy Qurʾān."

Rules for proper recitation are usually printed at the back of the Qurʾān. These include specifications on how to produce the correct phonetic sounds, assimilation of certain juxtaposed phonemes, proper duration of vowel sounds, and sectioning (the rules for pauses and starts in reciting). The first three kinds of rules account for the unique sound of Qurʾanic recitation—a sound that easily distinguishes *tilāwah* from the pronunciation of Arabic for any other purpose. Sectioning allows the reciter to build a cadence or stress a particular phrase through the use of required and optional points of pausing and starting within each verse of the text and through calculated repetition of phrases. The rules of *tajwīd* also cover the proper Arabic formulas used before and after each recitation, such as "I take refuge in God from the evil Satan," followed by the Basmalah, "In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate." At the completion of each recitation one recites: "The majestic God has spoken truly."

Two general styles of recitation may be distinguished. *Murattal* is the more straightforward type, appropriate for individuals reciting in the context of prayer and private devotions; *mujawwad* refers to the more melodious and ornate styles employed by trained and professional reciters for religious celebrations and public performances. Both *murattal* and *mujawwad* are governed by the rules of *tajwīd*, although *mujawwad* is an art form that takes years to master, and its practitioners receive high recognition in Islamic society.

The term *tilāwah* (which has thus far been used synonymously with *qirāʾah*) has the special connotation, as al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) put it, of being an act of recitation in which the tongue, heart, and mind are equally involved. Thus, *tilāwah* involves three essential ingredients: sound, thought, and emotion. Insofar as the rules of *tajwīd* and the contexts in which they are taught are intended to realize all three factors, Qurʾān recitation cannot be regarded as an empty verbal exercise, a cultural form without content. Muslim literature about *tilāwah* indicates that "the necessary, obligatory recitation is the thoughtful one that engrosses the whole self," or "those who would listen to the Qurʾān with their ears, not attending with their hearts, God faults them for that." The rules of *tajwīd*, then, have to do with sound production in relation to the proper cognitive and emotional responses.

The *tilāwah* literature addresses the rules of *tajwīd* for listening to Qurʾān recitation as well. This dual focus reflects the facts that the Qurʾān is an integral aspect of Muslim piety and worship and that most occasions of Qurʾān recitation entail a speaker/listener social relationship. The reciter's skill and correct frame of mind for his task are to be matched by listeners who likewise are prepared to hear the word of God.

Besides the manuals on *tajwīd*, other sources contributing to the cognitive and intellectual understanding of the Qurʾān include phrase-by-phrase commentaries (*tafsīr*), biographies of the prophet Muḥammad (*sīrāt*), and descriptions of the specific occasions of revelation during Muḥammad's mission *(asbāb al-nuzūl)*. Then too, there are the personal meanings each phrase might symbolize for individual reciters and hearers: when an individual or community feels tempted or threatened by an intrusive outside force or circumstance, for example, a passage about Satan may be recited. In general, the rules of *tajwīd* and Qurʾān recitation are closely connected with these other sources—both literary and social/contextual—of meaning. Any adequate appreciation of the meaning of the Qurʾān would have to involve knowledge of the written text, the commentary literature, the performance of recitation, and the social-ritual contexts—in short, the whole spectrum of Qurʾanic presence in Islamic culture.

THE CONTEXTS OF TILĀWAH. Among the most important settings for Qurʾān recitation are the ritual celebrations appointed by the Muslim calendar. The ninth month, Ramaḍān—the month when Muḥammad's mission was first announced to him with the transmission of the first revelation (surah 96) by the angel Gabriel, and also the month of the obligatory fast—is the occasion for public recitation of one-thirtieth of the text each day in mosques and special gatherings. The written text of the Qurʾān indicates these liturgical divisions with symbols in the margins marking each thirtieth part (*juzʾ*), the halves of each of these, and the quarters of each half. Another set of markings divides the text into seven weekly sections. The apportioning of the text in this fashion is separate from the literary chapter divisions (surahs) and specifically applies to the liturgical and mnemonic functions of reciting.

The actual speed with which a Muslim may choose to recite the entire text (over a month, a week, three days, or even in one night), like the question of which passage to recite on a given occasion, is a matter of personal preference. Various recommendations of the Prophet and his companions on these matters are found in the *ḥadīth* and are quoted in the literature on Qurʾān recitation.

On important calendrical festivals *(ʿuyūd;* sg., *ʿīd)*, such as the Prophet's birthday (Mawlid al-Nabī), the Feast of Fast-Breaking (ʿĪd al-Fiṭr, at the end of the month of Ramaḍān), and during the pilgrimage assemblies in Mecca during the twelfth month, Qurʾān recitation also plays an important role. Whereas such public occasions call for the skills of a trained reciter, every Muslim individually recites a portion of the Qurʾān during the five daily prayers. The most frequently recited passage is the brief first surah, the Fātiḥah (Opener).

The Muslim lunar calendar captures in its festivals and holidays the rhythms of sacred history that center around God's revelation to the Prophet and the sacred time of the formation of the Prophet's community (*ummah*) in Mecca and Medina. Another set of social rhythms, the human life cycle, is also celebrated by moments of recitation. The Muslim rites of passage, including birth and naming of the child, circumcision, acquiring the ability to recite the entire Qurʾān from memory, marriage, and death, are normally celebrated among family, friends, and neighbors, and it is common practice to hire a Qurʾān reciter for the edification and enjoyment of those gathered. Numerous political and social occasions also call for a religious blessing attended by Qurʾān recitation. Because Qurʾān recitation in the more ornate *mujawwad* style is also a critical art form, a well-known reciter can attract a large and responsive crowd just to hear him perform his art. Indeed, the ethnomusicological field research of Kristina Nelson has shown that public knowledge and appreciation of different personal styles of *mujawwad* performance are very keen among reciters and their audiences in Egypt today; such intense appreciation of Qurʾān recitation is characteristic of all Muslim societies including regions outside the Arabic-speaking Middle East.

The development of electronic media in the twentieth century has created new contexts for Qurʾān recitation. Tape recordings of the *murattal* and *tajwīd* styles of recitation by famous recent and contemporary reciters are widely available for private and public listening. Cassettes also allow individuals to record their favorite reciter from the radio or at private reciting sessions and to exchange tapes with other connoisseurs. Television stations in Muslim countries typically begin and end each program day with a passage of Qurʾān recitation; as the shaykh recites, the Arabic text rolls down the screen in place of or in addition to the image of the reciter. In some non-Arabic-speaking countries such as Malaysia and Indonesia, a simultaneous translation of the text in the local language may also appear on the screen. Radio, however, is by far the most widely used broadcast medium for Qurʾān recitation today. Most stations broadcast Qurʾān recitation at selected intervals, along with religious poetry, readings of the Prophet's *ḥadīth*, and homiletic materials. Some stations devote programming entirely to Qurʾān recitation and other religious materials, and listeners are able to select times for listening or recording their favorite passages and reciters from broadcast schedules in the print media. Along with reciters famed for their skills and in high demand for public and private recitations in person, those chosen for broadcast performance are carefully screened, and many become well-known personalities in Muslim societies. Given the new media contexts of modern Islam, it is not uncommon, therefore, for someone walking down a street to hear the Qurʾān being recited from several sources at once—from radios and cassette recorders in private homes, small shops, and automobiles, along with those carried by passersby. Throughout the Muslim world students, both male and female, compete in local and national Qurʾān reciting contests, which are decided internationally each year at such renowned centers as al-Azhar University in Cairo.

The contexts of Qurʾān recitation described above have a striking symbolic association with "occasions of revelation" during the sacred time of the Prophet's mission in Mecca and Medina. Recitation then and now belongs to those significant moments in the life of the community that call for enunciation of the divine word. *Tilāwah* is, then, a meaningful speech act governed by rules that situate the speaker and the addressee within the sacred paradigm of God's address to humankind. The recited Qurʾān is, however, no more considered by Muslims to be the actual words of the contemporary reciter than it is attributed to the prophet Muḥammad. The Qurʾān is enthusiastically held to be God's beneficent revelation to the Arabs in the seventh century and, through the Arabs and their language, to the rest of humankind. *Tilāwah* as an Islamic cultural framework embraces not only the sounds but also the cognitive processes of meaning and the emotional responses appropriate to this symbol of divine manifestation. A full appreciation of *tilāwah*, therefore, engages the student of religions with texts, rules, and practices that touch virtually every aspect of Muslim society.

SEE ALSO Dhikr; Qurʾān; Rites of Passage, article on Muslim Rites; Samāʿ; Tafsīr.

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TILLICH, PAUL JOHANNES (1886–1965), German-American theologian and philosopher, was born in Starzeddel (now Starosiedle, Poland), in Brandenburg, Germany, on August 20, 1886, the son of a Lutheran pastor. He attended the University of Berlin, from which he received his Ph.D., and the University of Halle, where he received his doctorate in theology. After passing his second theological examination at Halle, he was ordained into the ministry in 1912.

CAREER AND THEORY FORMULATION. During World War I Tillich served as a military chaplain. These years had a profound impact on Tillich's understanding of human reality. The effect of the war's devastation, both physical and spiritual, is reflected in a letter that he wrote in November 1916: "I have become purely an eschatologist [in that] what I, along with others, am experiencing is the actual end of the world of this time." Completing his military service in December 1918, Tillich received his qualification for university teaching (*Habilitation*) at the University of Berlin in 1919. This was also the year in which he published one of his most influential essays, "On the Idea of a Theology of Culture" (*Über die Idee einer Theologie der Kultur*). The essay presented the principles for interpreting culture theologically that Tillich followed throughout his career and that became the basis of a new field of theological study. The guideline that Tillich used for such an interpretation was, in his formulation, that the *Gehalt* (import, or substance) of a cultural work is "grasped in the content (*Inhalt*) by means of the form and given expression." Expressionistic art is an example. In such art, the forms of everyday reality—for example, the human shape or the shapes of everyday objects—are distorted in such a way that this distortion expresses a power, or reality, that manifests itself by the very way in which it breaks through the form and content of the objects. A theology of culture undertakes to interpret the meaning of this "substance" (*Gehalt*), or depth content, which thus breaks through the form into the content. Accordingly, an interpretation of culture always involves a reference to three elements of cultural works: the form, the content (*Inhalt*), and the substance (*Gehalt*).

In the spring of 1929 Tillich accepted a call to teach philosophy and sociology at the Univeristy of Frankfurt. It was there that, in 1933, he published the work that was to cause his emigration to the United States, *Die sozialistische Entscheidung* (*The Socialist Decision*). In content, this was a cautious analysis of socialism and a critique of unrestrained capitalism. It was based upon the idea of *kairos* (right time)—the idea that, even politcally, there are "right" times for accomplishing certain things—and upon an analysis of German democrary as only an abstract, not yet a real, democracy. Tillich drew the conclusion that the time was ripe for a new socialism, specifically, for a religious socialism that could incorporate democracy. National Socialism, however, was not what Tillich envisaged. Hence, the essay also contained a criticism of the totalitarian element in the National Socialist movement, and as a result Tillich became one of the many educated Germans who emigrated under the threat of those years as the movement developed.

Tillich left Germany in October 1933. In February 1934 he began his long teaching career at Union Theological Seminary in New York, remaining there until his retirement in 1955. He then became University Professor at Harvard—a great distinction—and in 1962 he became, with similar distinction, the Nuveen Professor of Theology at the University of Chicago. His last public address, "The Significance of the History of Religions for the Systematic Theologian," delivered at the University of Chicago shortly before his death on October 22, 1965, reflected the direction that his thought had taken toward the questions raised by the encounter of Christianity with other religions. These differed from the questions he had treated in his earlier works because they involved differences in the religious symbols themselves.

THEORY OF RELIGION AND SYMBOLS. Tillich's major work is the three-volume *Systematic Theology,* in which Tillich undertakes to interpret Christian symbols so as to show how they provide answers to ontological questions. Through the "method of correlation," he shows how the question of the meaning of being (the ontological question) is correlated with the symbol of God as its answer (the theological answer). The symbol *God* is the reality that answers the question of the meaning of being. In the five divisions of *Systematic Theology,* Tillich provides, on the one hand, an analysis of the three basic ways in which the ontological question is asked and, on the other hand, an interpretation of religious symbols in which he shows how the symbols present the reality that answers the question of the meaning of being as such. Simply put, the three basic questions are these: What is the meaning of being itself? What is the meaning of (human) existence? What is the meaning of life? The first question, answered by the symbol *God,* is occasioned by the finitude of human being. The second question, answered by the symbol of Christ, is occasioned by the contradictoriness (estrangement) of the human being—the fact that things are not what they should be and could be. The third question, answered by the symbol of the Spirit, is occasioned by the ambiguity of actual life—the fact that life is a mixture of being and nonbeing, of the good and the bad, of the creative and the destructive. The symbol *God* presents the meaning of the finitude of being; the symbol *Christ* presents the meaning of the contradictoriness of existence; and the symbol *Spirit* presents the meaning of the ambiguity of actual life. The actual human situation is that of life, in which the finitude of being and the contradictoriness of existence as such are always ambiguously mixed. To say that "God," "the Christ," and "the Spirit" are symbols is to say that they actually convey the reality of the answer that they represent. In other words, as a symbol, the word "God" (or the meaning and image borne by that word) actually presents an ultimate meaning in the finitude of being in the world; as a symbol, the word or the image or the history connected with "the Christ" conveys a real power to bear the contradictions and meaninglessness of reality without being overwhelmed by them; and the symbol of "the Spirit" is the actual presence of an unambiguous meaning that can be discerned through the ambiguities of life.

Through this method of correlation, Tillich intended to assign an equal importance to the question of being, which is the main subject matter of philosophy (or ontology), and to God as the symbol in which the meaning of being is present, which is the main subject matter of theology. The correlation between the two is formulated in the statement "God is being-itself." That is to say, what is present in the *symbol* God is also the reality to which the ontological *concept* of being-itself refers.

Besides the method of correlation, Tillich's distinctive contribution to Christian theology lies in three characteristics of his work. The first is his application of the Protestant principle of justification to the realm of theoretical thought. One who doubts the reality of God knows the truth despite that doubt, just as one who sins is justified despite the sin; the reality of God shows itself to the human mind despite the doubt, just as the goodness of God appears in human actions despite their imperfection. The second characteristic of Tillich's theology appears in his theology of culture. This theology of culture is based on the conception that culture itself is capable of expressing, indirectly, the ultimate meaning that is intended by religious faith. Thus, in his analysis of contemporary culture Tillich showed how, as culture, it did express indirectly what religion expresses directly. The third characteristic, which is at the basis of the method of correlation used in *Systematic Theology,* is the idea that philosophy, which asks the question of the meaning of being as such, and religion, which is based upon the reality shown in the symbol of God, cannot be reduced to each other, and they cannot be derived from each other, but they can be "correlated." What human beings seek when they ask the question of the meaning of being can be correlated with what human beings receive through the meaningfulness of religious symbols. Accordingly, Tillich's definition of faith as "ultimate concern"—in the sense of one's being ultimately concerned about that which concerns one unconditionally—implies both the ontological question of the meaning of being and also the symbol *God* as the presence of being-itself, which, as such, is beyond both being and nonbeing.

Tillich's wide influence, especially in the United States, is attributable to the ecumenical character of this theology, to the effectiveness of his teaching, the appeal of his work to professionals as well as to the laity, and, no doubt, to his extraordinary ability to relate theology to the issues of the time.

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TIME SEE CALENDARS; CHRONOLOGY; COSMOGONY; ESCHATOLOGY; ETERNITY; HISTORY; REJUVENATION; SACRED TIME; SYMBOLIC TIME

TIMOTHY AILUROS (d. 477), known as Timothy II, fifth-century Monophysite theologian who became the first patriarch of the Coptic Church in Alexandria (457–460; 475–477). He was surnamed by his opponents Ailuros ("the cat") because of his small stature and his weasel words and ways. Venerated as a saint by the Coptic Church, Timothy, along with other monophysite patriarchs, was anathematized by the church of Rome under Pope Hormisdas (514–523).

Little is known of Timothy's early life. It is certain that during the Christological controversies of the fifth century he sided with those who rejected the decree of the Council of Chalcedon (451), which defined Christ as "one hypostasis in two natures." The council appointed the orthodox Proterios as patriarch of Alexandria. But the local mob lynched Proterios, and in 457 the Egyptian bishops elected Timothy to succeed him. He served as patriarch for three years, until 460, when he was removed from the patriarchal position and banished. While in exile, Timothy carried on a correspondence against the Chalcedonian decisions and wrote several essays promoting Monophysitism.

Timothy's fate changed again when, upon the death of Emperor Leo I, Basiliskos usurped the throne and turned to the monophysites for support. He reinstated Timothy, who became instrumental in the writing of an encyclical that Basiliskos issued in an attempt to impose Monophysitism as the official Christology of the church. Timothy ruled the church of Alexandria for two more years, until his death in 477. His ecclesiastical policy was characterized both by ambiguity and by fanaticism.

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DEMETRIOS J. CONSTANTELOS (1987)

TINGLEY, KATHERINE (1847–1929), was a leader of the Theosophical movement in the United States from 1896 to 1929. She led the organization that established the Point Loma Theosophical Community and was a well-known figure in early-twentieth-century American society.

Tingley was born Catharine Augusta Westcott in Newburyport, Massachusetts, in 1847. According to her own account, she was a dreamy child who enjoyed walking in the woods or along the seashore, engrossed in her imagination. During the Civil War her father equipped and led a company of volunteers to fight for the Union. His unit was transferred to Virginia, and his family followed him. Tingley, as a teenager, witnessed the aftermath of battle, caring for wounded soldiers from both the Union and Confederate armies. Other details of her adolescent and early adult years are sketchy. She married three times, the third time to Philo Tingley. No children resulted from these marriages. By the 1880s she was living in New York City. Like many women from the middle classes of that period, she was interested in various late Victorian, Progressive causes that would improve the quality of life for the urban poor, especially women and children. She was responsible for one or more voluntary establishments that provided food and other relief. Supposedly in the early 1890s, while she was conducting one such operation, she met William Q. Judge (1851–1896), the leader of the Theosophical Society in the United States. Some sources also point to her interest in Spiritualism as a possible context in which she had contact with him.

The Theosophical Society began in 1875 in New York City under the leadership of Helena P. Blavatsky (1831–1891) and Henry Steel Olcott (1832–1907). It attracted urban, middle-class individuals interested in Spiritualism, comparative religions, and the occult. By the time Judge and Tingley met, Theosophical lodges across the United States were growing in size and number. But the most influential leaders of this nationwide movement resided in New York City. They included businessmen, teachers, physicians, and other middle-class, often professionalized, men and women. Judge led many American Theosophical lodges to declare their independence from the worldwide Theosophical Society in 1895. He died the next year. Tingley succeeded him, although the circumstances surrounding her succession remain unclear. Over time, many leaders loyal to Judge shifted their loyalty to her, but not all. Some of the dissenters formed their own Theosophical groups.

Tingley mobilized Theosophists across the United States to work for social reform. Theosophists were responsible for public vegetable gardens, orphanages, halfway houses for prostitutes, job training for the poor, emergency relief, and Theosophical Sunday schools for children, which were originally begun under Judge but expanded under Tingley and called Lotus Circles. The Theosophical response to American soldiers returning from Cuba after the Spanish-American War in 1898 is noteworthy. The United States Army was not prepared to receive the troops who came home weak and ill from tropical diseases. At one such disembarkation point on Long Island, Theosophists led by Tingley staffed a hospital camp where soldiers received food and medical treatment.

In the late 1890s Tingley and the leadership around her took steps toward the establishment of a community of like-minded adults who would provide an education for children based upon Theosophical principles. They selected Point Loma as the location for this community. It was a relatively isolated site a few miles from San Diego, California, with a mild climate and space to expand facilities. American Theosophists led by Tingley believed that they stood on the cusp of a new cycle or age in human history. Ancient souls who had reincarnated countless times in past eons were especially mature and ready to advance spiritually and morally as they appeared in this incarnation as children. This promising cohort required special nurture, and Point Loma was their nursery. Tingley and other adults at Point Loma strictly controlled their children's exposure to the outside world, their diets, their reading material, their physical activities, and their relationships with one another. This system of child-rearing and education was called Raja Yoga, a term that the Theosophists borrowed from Hinduism but invested with their own meaning. In their worldview, Raja Yoga was the holistic education of children in which all of their faculties—spiritual, mental, physical, and emotional—could be cultivated simultaneously. From 1900, when Tingley and others moved to Point Loma, until the community relocated to Covina, California, in 1942, Point Loma Theosophists raised and educated hundreds of children.

Throughout the first three decades of the twentieth century, Tingley made numerous tours of the United States and the world. She set the tone for such travel in 1896 by visiting Theosophical lodges worldwide. Thistour, called the Crusade, was designed to consolidate support for her leadership and establish good working relationships with Theosophists elsewhere. For many years afterward she traveled avidly, publicizing the Point Loma Theosophical Community and advocating a number of social and political causes, especially world peace. During the years immediately preceding World War I she became a noted national and international figure in various peace conferences. Even after the American entry into the war, she continued to advocate peace, and for this reason briefly attracted the attention of the United States government as a possible agent for Germany, although suspicion of Tingley's cooperation with German agents proved unfounded.

Tingley was a high-profile figure, often in the news because of remarks she made at public gatherings or in court cases that included various individuals at Point Loma. Some of these cases dealt with divorces of married couples, some with the settlement of estates left behind by deceased Point Loma residents. In all such instances, Tingley was a witty and feisty participant, yet she maintained a pronounced Victorian respectability consistent with her social class, gender, and generation.

Tingley was praised by Point Loma Theosophists as the rightful successor to Blavatsky and Judge as the leader of world Theosophy, in spite of the opposition to this assertion by other Theosophical organizations. Theosophists claimed that their leaders were granted both paranormal abilities and special authority to teach Theosophical principles by a group of advanced beings called the *masters*, who supervised the great cosmic evolution of souls and worlds. Point Loma Theosophists believed that, as the sanctioned leader, Tingley manifested extraordinary powers of prediction and perception. Her commands were followed without question by those who revered her. She was seen as the mother of the age, as well as the mother of people in this age, especially the suffering and destitute. Maternity defined her particular style of leadership, in contrast to the masculine style of Judge before her, and the more scholarly style of her successor, Gottfried de Purucker (1874–1942). Tingley was a persuasive speaker in an era when public speakers enjoyed widespread popularity and influence in American society. Many of her speeches appeared in the magazines and books printed by Point Loma's press. But within the Point Loma Theosophical tradition, both during and after her lifetime, she was regarded as a great organizer and manager, not a scholar. Her speeches and writings mostly repeated Theosophical ideas already extant, but she articulated them in a way that appealed to late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Americans. She evoked patriotic pride as well as concern for all of humanity; advocated gender distinctions as well as common characteristics of men and women; and argued for children to be both protected and challenged in their nurture. Her genius lay in her ability to tap into American folkways and middle-class discourse about culture, and to intertwine those with Theosophical doctrine.

Tingley was in an automobile accident in Germany in May 1929. As a result of injuries sustained in that accident, she died of illness while convalescing on the island of Visingso, in Sweden, in July 1929. She was eighty-two years of age. Today, the organizational descendant of the Point Loma Theosophical Community is the Theosophical Society, Pasadena, which publishes a bimonthly magazine and Theosophical classics, including the works of Katherine Tingley.

SEE ALSO Blavatsky, H. P.; Judge, William Q; Point Loma Theosophical Community; Theosophical Society.

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W. MICHAEL ASHCRAFT (2005)

TĪRTHAṂKARAS.

According to the Jains, one of the oldest religious communities in India, the *Tīrthaṃkaras* (called *titthagaras* in the Jain canon) are the prophets who periodically teach the world the truth of the imperishable Jain tradition; the term is almost equivalent to *jina* ("victor") or *arhant* ("saint"). The term *tīrtha(ṃ)-kara* refers literally to one who "builds the ford" that leads across the ocean of rebirths and suffering, and thus builds or renews the Jain fourfold community of monks and nuns, laymen and laywomen.

Twenty-four *Tīrthaṃkaras* are said to appear at given periods in selected regions. As they are capable of ultimate spiritual perfection they are thus regarded as having more than a human status. Together with the *cakravartins* (universal sovereigns) and other such heroes, they form the class of the venerated sixty-three personages of the Jain "universal history." They are called *mahāpuruṣas* ("great men") by the Digambaras and *śalākāpuruṣas* ("men with the staff") by the Śvetāmbaras.

MEMBERS OF THE LINEAGE. *Tīrthaṃkaras* are born only in the "middle world" (Madhyadeśa), and there only in the very few *karmabhūmis* (regions where one reaps the fruit of one's actions) of the central continent (Jambūdvīpa): in the southern land of Bhārata (i.e., India), in the northern land of Airāvata, and in half of the central land of Videha. Except in Videha, where conditions differ, they are said to live exclusively during the third and fourth of the six stages of the *avasarpiṇīs* and *utsarpiṇīs*, that is, the descending and ascending halves of the endless temporal cycle, thus at times of mixed happiness and misery.

In Bhārata, the teacher of the present era is Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth and last of the series of *Tīrthaṃkaras* in our *avasarpiṇī* half cycle. According to tradition, he was born seventy-five years and eight and one-half months before the end of the fourth period, in which he lived for seventy-two years. Three years after his *nirvāṇa*, allegedly in 523 BCE, the present period began, characterized by misery.

The first *Tīrthaṃkara* was Ṛṣabha, who is said to have been born toward the end of the third period and to have died three and one-half years before its completion. His life span extended over millions of so-called Pūrva years. In the fourth period, after Ṛṣabha and before Mahāvīra, the law was preached by twenty-two *Tīrthaṃkaras*: Ajita, Sambhava, Abhinandana, Sumati, Padmaprabha, Supārśva, Candraprabha, Suvidhi (Puṣpadanta), Śītala, Śreyāṃsa, Vāsupūjya, Vimala, Ananta, Dharma, Śānti, Kunthu, Ara, Malli, Munisuvrata, Nami, (Ariṣṭa)nemi, and Pārśva.

Tradition also gives the lists of their contemporaries in Airāvata, as well as of past and future *Tīrthaṃkaras* of Bhārata. In Videha, the prevailing conditions of happiness mixed with misery are always akin to those of this, the third period in an *avasarpiṇī* half cycle, so that a *Tīrthaṃkara* can be preaching there at any time.

THE CAREER OF A TĪRTHAṂKARA. No soul will become the soul of a *Tīrthaṃkara* unless it has gone through a considerable number of rebirths and has finally practiced exceptional virtues resulting in a special *karman*. The soul is urged by gods to "fall" from its divine mansion and be reborn to practise and propagate the true law. *Tīrthaṃkaras* are usually considered to become incarnate only through male figures; the Śvetāmbaras nevertheless consider the nineteenth, Malli, to be a female, although the Digambaras deny this point.

The career of a *Tīrthaṃkara* conforms to a well-structured pattern, and traditional descriptions of the *Tīrthaṃkaras* provide very few or no distinctive individual characteristics. The biography of a *Tīrthaṃkara* is stereotyped, listing in an almost formulaic sequence the following information: (1) some details of his former existence, (2) the five *kalyāṇas*, or religiously significant moments of his life (i.e., conception, birth, renunciation, attainment of omniscience, *nirvāṇa*), (3) the names of his parents, (4) the number of his followers, (5) the duration of his life, (6) the color of his body (most are golden, but the twentieth and twenty-second are black, the eighth and ninth are white, the sixth and twelfth are red, the twenty-third and another [the nineteenth, according to the Śvetāmbaras, the seventh, according to the Digambaras] are blue-green), (7) his height, (8) his guardian divinities, and (9) the length of time elapsed since his predecessor's *nirvāṇa*. All are born to princely families, and, with two exceptions, are related to the Ikṣvāku dynasty. The conception of a *Tīrthaṃkara* is announced to his mother by a standardized succession of auspicious dreams (fourteen according to the Śvetāmbaras, sixteen according to the Digambaras).

ICONOGRAPHY. Like their biographies, the images of the *Tīrthaṃkaras* are all fundamentally similar. The figures are represented in meditation, either seated cross-legged or standing in a *kāyotsarga* pose (representing a particular type of Jain austerity), with arms stretched slightly apart from the body. Although the canon for the *Tīrthaṃkara* images appears to have been well fixed by the beginning of the common era, there have been some developments through the course of time. After the fifth century, Śvetāmbara icons are characterized by a dhoti (a wrapped garment of draping layers of cloth) and various ornaments; Digambara icons remain naked. Moreover, a series of characteristic marks (*cihnas*) are added to the pedestals in order to distinguish the individual *Tīrthaṃkaras*: Ṛṣabha's symbol is the bull; Nemi's, the conch shell; Pārśva's, the snake; Mahāvīra's, the lion. Representations of Ṛṣabha, Pārśva, and Mahāvīra are particularly numerous; Pārśva is easily recognized by the snake hoods over his head.

The comparative monotony of the *Tīrthaṃkara* images is somewhat striking. These icons, however, are not meant to be picturesque but to suggest omniscient awareness and absolute detachment, serenity.

MYTHIC IMPORTANCE. Despite such uniformity, several *Tīrthaṃkaras* emerge as prominent figures. On the whole, the general trend of the present *avasarpiṇī* implies a notable decline from a golden age and is marked by the considerable shortening of life span, prosperity, and happiness. Thus the legends concerning Ṛṣabha, the "first lord" of this cycle, are of special significance because in them he is shown in a pioneering role.

Ṛṣabha is said to have set the groundwork for civilization: first as a sovereign, when he organized kingdoms and societies, instituted legislation, taught agriculture, fire, cooking, arts and crafts, writing, and arithmetic, and later, when he renounced the world and became the first mendicant, thus shaping the religious life of the present *avasarpiṇī*. These two spheres of influence were further served by two of Ṛṣabha's sons: Bhārata is renowned in Indian tradition as the first *cakravartin* of Bhārata. Bāhubali became a forebearing ascetic and as such has long been revered by the Digambaras, especially in the South, where several impressive monoliths representing this hero were erected. One of the best known is a colossal fifty-seven-foot image towering at the top of one of the hills overlooking Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, about one hundred miles northwest of Bangalore.

The twenty-second *Tīrthaṃkara* (Ariṣṭa)nemi, is allegedly related to Kṛṣṇa and the Yādavas. He is extremely popular, especially in Gujarat, where on the sacred Girnar Hills he practiced austerities and eventually understood the ultimate truth, thus achieving enlightenment; after many years he reached final emancipation, *nirvāṇa*, on the same mountain. His revulsion at the sight of the animals awaiting slaughter for his wedding ceremonies as well as his subsequent refusal to marry his betrothed, Rājīmatī, are highly significant and are the subject of many narratives, songs, and paintings that illustrate the greatness of the doctrine of *ahiṃsā*, or noninjury.

Pārśva, the twenty-third *Tīrthaṃkara*, has been regarded by most scholars as possibly being a historical figure. He is said to have lived for a hundred years, some two hundred and fifty years before Mahāvīra, and to have been born in Banaras and ended his life in Bihar on Mount Sameta, which is now also known as Pārasnāth in his honor. He is alleged to have established the "law of four restraints" (*caturyāma-dharma*), which is generally, though not unanimously, considered to be the forerunner of the five "great vows" (*mahāvratas*) followed by Mahāvīra's disciples. Pārśva is associated with serpents and consequently the object of much veneration.

CULTIC LIFE. Immediately after death, the *Tīrthaṃkaras* become *siddhas* ("perfected" souls), and thus became completely inaccessible. But the example they set should be meditated upon, and it is extolled daily when the Jains recite the *Caturviṃśatistava* (Praise of the twenty-four [*Tīrthaṃkaras*]); the images of the *Tīrthaṃkaras* should serve only as meditative supports. Archaeological evidence indicates that this method of worshiping the *Tīrthaṃkaras*, known as *deva-pūjā*, goes back to the first few centuries BCE.

Many lay believers, however, cannot refrain from appealing to superhuman benevolence. They direct their worship and supplications for assistance to the pairs of guardian deities who serve the *Tīrthaṃkaras*. Among the most popular are the snake god Dharaṇendra and his consort Padmāvatī, both of whom flank Pārśva. The Jain teachers, however, have always insisted on the inferior position of these deities and have succeeded in preventing them from usurping the supremacy of the *Tīrthaṃkaras*.

TĪRTHAṂKARAS AND INDIAN RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE. In Jainism it is clear that the recurrent presence of *Tīrthaṃkaras*, who periodically appear in the human realms in order to preach and show the true law, have a function similar to that of the seven (later twenty-five) Buddhas in Buddhism, and also to that of the Hindu *avatāras* of Viṣṇu. On the other hand, by promoting civilization, the first *Tīrthaṃkara*, Ṛṣabha, recalls the role played by Pṛthu in the epics, by Mahāsammata in Buddhism, and by Prometheus in the Greek and Roman traditions. Thus from many perspectives Jainism offers a coherent system that links the evolutions of time, cosmos, humankind, and the Jain church.

SEE ALSO Ahiṃsā; Cosmology, articles on Hindu Cosmology, Jain Cosmology; Jainism; Mahāvīra.

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Sculptures of *Tīrthaṃkaras* are among the most ancient Indian religious images, dating from first to second century CE. Since the eleventh century, illustrated manuscripts (first palm-leaves, later paper manuscripts) represent figures of Jinas and/or depict important moments of their lives. Brightly coloured Jain miniatures (especially in "Western Indian Style"), as well as statues and bas-reliefs are reproduced in Pratapaditya Pal et al., *The Peaceful Liberators*: *Jain Art from India* (Los Angeles, 1994); Kurt Titze, *Jainism: A Pictorial Guide to the Religion of Non-Violence* (Delhi, 1998); Jan Van Alphen, *Steps to Liberation: 2500 Years of Jain Art and Religion* (Antwerp, 2000). Also see the monograph by José Pereira, *Monolithic Jinas: The Iconography of the Jain Temples of Ellora* (Delhi, 1977).

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TITHES. In the ancient Near East lie the origins of a sacral offering or payment of a tenth part of stated goods or property to the deity. Often given to the king or to the royal temple, the "tenth" was usually approximate, not exact. The practice is known from Mesopotamia, Syria-Palestine, Greece, and as far to the west as the Phoenician city of Carthage. Tithing also continued in Christian Europe as a church tithe and as a tax upon Jewish landholdings formerly owned by Christians (or claimed to have been so). Tithes paid in support of parish rectors continued in England into the twentieth century.

Early texts associate the tithe with support of the king and of temples of the royal house (see *Am.* 4:4, 7:1, 7:13; see also Samuel's forecast of actions to be taken by the king, *1 Sm.* 8:15, 8:17). The early biblical references to the tithe in *Genesis* 14:20 and 28:22 are also related to sites where royal shrines were located, such as Jerusalem and Bethel. It is not certain, however, that the tithe originated as a royal levy in support of temples and their personnel.

It is difficult to be sure whether or not the offering of the firstborn of animals and the firstfruits of field and orchard should be treated as a tithe. It seems unlikely, because the two are distinguished in *Numbers* 18 and in *Deuteronomy* 12:17. Moreover, the first fruits of grain and nonanimal products represented only a token amount, which would hardly have corresponded to the tenth or tithe. Firstfruits and tithes are closely related, however, in *Deuteronomy* 26:1–15 and in *Tobit* 1:6–8.

From the time of the monarchy in Israel, and especially from the eighth century forward, the Levites more and more were recognized as the beneficiaries of the tithe. They were not to share in the allotment of land along with the other tribes but were set apart to the service of the Lord (*Nm.* 18, *Dt.* 18:1–8, *Jos.* 21). The Levite cities seem to have been the store cities in which the tithes collected by the Levites were stored (see *Neh.* 10:38), just as the tithes in Mesopotamia were collected by temple personnel and stored in the temples or in their vicinity.

The tithe became the means of livelihood for the Levites during the middle and later periods of the monarchy. Once the city of Jerusalem had been designated by Josiah's reform as the central sanctuary for Israelite worship (622/1 BCE; see *2 Kgs.* 22–23), the need for the tithe to support the Levites at the many local sanctuaries would have disappeared. Accordingly, the law in *Deuteronomy* 14 specifies a quite different character and purpose for the tithe (*Dt.* 14:22–29). The tithe was to be taken to Jerusalem and eaten there before the Lord with rejoicing. It could be converted to money, if need be. And every third year the tithe was to be set aside for meeting the needs of the Levite, the resident alien, the orphan, and the widow. Scholars are divided over the issue of whether or not the text in *Deuteronomy* 14 can be reconciled with those in *Numbers* 18 and *Leviticus* 27.

If the legislation in *Numbers* 18 is later than that in *Deuteronomy* 14, however, the tithe was originally an offering associated with the king and with royal sanctuaries, It was then democratized to become the basis for a celebrative meal before the Lord at the places of worship. After that the priests and Levites claimed the tenth for themselves, with the firstfruits in particular going to the priests and the tithes going to the Levites (*Nm.* 18). Many scholars assign the priestly literary deposit to a period later than that of the Deuteronomic legislation. All acknowledge, however, that the priestly materials contain elements older than *Deuteronomy;* it seems probable that, in this case, the materials found in *Numbers* 18 are the older.

According to *Leviticus* 27:30–33, a distinction is made between those tithes that were redeemable—that is, convertible into silver—and those that were not. Animals were not redeemable, but grain, wine, and oil were. Items that were placed under the ban (Hebrew *cherem*) were never redeemable, and tithed animals, if suitable for offering, also were not redeemable. When a tithe was redeemed, one-fifth of the value was added (*Lv.* 27:31; see also *Lv.* 5:14–16).

With regard to tithes in other parts of the ancient world, Egyptian sources are not informative. There is no indication that the vast temple complexes in ancient Egypt were supported by a tithe. In Greece the situation is different. Numerous references to tithes of the annual harvest and to tithes of spoil taken in battle are known. Delphi, Delos, and Athens are mentioned as recipients of tithe offerings made to the gods. The offering of firstfruits and of tithes seems to have been quite closely associated.

As a part of the Jewish legislation, the tithe becomes fixed and indeed extends beyond the original prescription. The tractates *Terumot* and *Maʿaserot,* along with other talmudic collections, give particulars on postbiblical understandings. The *Book of Tobit* (second century BCE) offers important testimony of the changes in the understanding of the tithe. Tobit reports that when he was a young man, prior to his having been taken captive by the Assyrians and transported to Nineveh, he brought firstfruits, tithes of the produce, and first shearings to Jerusalem. He also gave three tithes: he presented the first tenth to the Levites (as required by *Nm.* 18), offered the second tenth in Jerusalem (as required by *Dt.* 14), and gave the third tenth to the needy (as specified in *Dt.* 14 as well).

In the early church, tithing became a means of securing a livelihood for church leadership, although in the earliest days of the Christian movement tithing seems to have been abandoned entirely in many Christian circles as a practice not in harmony with the Christian divergence from Jewish observances. The tithe remained of great importance for the church as a means of securing a stable institution, providing for ecclesiastical establishments, and offering resources for the care of the poor and the needy. In Judaism the tithe helped the community meet human needs, although complaints were voiced that a "second tithe," amounting to 20 percent (as apparently demanded by the different specifications in *Nm.* 18 and *Dt.* 14), was too heavy a burden on the community. Christian understanding of the tithe has had to combat both an overzealous application of the law of tithing (as some communities have understood it) and the supposition that to provide a tenth of one's goods to the church or to charitable purposes meant that the remainder of one's goods could be used in complete disregard of the claims of Christian stewardship.

SEE ALSO Israelite Law, article on Property Law; Levites.

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WALTER HARRELSON (1987 AND 2005)

TIV RELIGION. The Tiv, who live in the central Benue valley of Nigeria, have a name for God, Aondo (sky), but are not much interested in him because they say that he is not much interested in them. God, in their view, created the earth and everything within it—including the forces of evil. Then he walked away—the Tiv do not ask where God went.

The Tiv are concerned with health (and with death, the ultimate manifestation of poor health), with fertility of crops, animals, and themselves, and with social harmony. To be healthy, to have plenty, and to live in harmony are natural states. Although the Tiv have some lore about spirits, no spirits manipulate the forces that interfere with these desirable states; Tiv respect their ancestors, but no ancestors manipulate the forces. Rather, the acts and devices of living human beings activate the forces of evil. Tiv ritual is designed to overcome these forces.

The Tiv say that some people grow a substance called *tsav* on their hearts that acts much like a physical organ. *Tsav* is both a sign of and source of special talent or ability, whether musical and artistic, social and political, or the ability to live to old age. One such special talent is to manipulate the forces that repair the society ritually.

Tsav is not present in all people. It becomes enlarged and nefariously powerful in any person who eats human flesh. *Tsav* itself does not tempt its bearers to eat human flesh—but lust for power may. Cannibalism is a metaphor for antisocial misuse of other people, their property, and substance.

The Tiv postulate that some of those with the special talents of *tsav* meet at night as an organization to keep the social and cosmic forces working for the benefit of society as a whole. The *mbatsav* (people with *tsav*) perform rituals to repair the land, but they may, through reckless human emotions such as spite, envy, or fear, use their power (as may any individual with *tsav,* acting alone) for antisocial and deadly purposes that spoil the land. To call the *mbatsav* witches is not accurate, even though they were labeled as such in some of the early literature.

The postulated activities of the *mbatsav*, both for the good of the community and for the evil purposes of some individuals, are associated with certain rituals performed with symbols called *akombo*. This ritual manipulation is called repairing the *akombo*. Those aspects of the natural and social world about which Tiv are most concerned are parceled out among named *akombo*, which exist as amulets, figurines, pots, or plants. Each is associated with a disease (although certain diseases are not associated with *akombo* because the Tiv recognize that some diseases are merely contagious). Each has its own ritual required to activate it or to pacify it. *Akombo*, however, are not personalized and are not spiritualized; they are certainly not gods. They work by forces akin to what Westerners think of as laws of nature.

When Tiv become ill, they assume that an *akombo* is the cause. That means either that some person of ill will who grows *tsav* has ritually manipulated the *akombo* so that it would seize a victim, or else that the victim or one of his or her close kinsmen has performed an act that was precluded by that *akombo* at the time of its creation (usually a commonplace and neutral act, although adultery and battery are prohibited by one or more *akombo*). To determine just which *akombo* is involved, Tiv consult diviners who throw chains of snake bones and pods to determine which *akombo* have been used to cause an illness or create social misfortune.

When the responsible *akombo* is revealed, the Tiv perform rituals to neutralize it. They must also remove the malice that activated it. The latter is achieved by a modest ritual in which every person concerned takes a little water into his or her mouth and spews it out in a spray, signifying that any grudges are no longer effective. Medicines will work only after the ill will is ritually removed and the *akombo* repaired. The ritual for each *akombo* varies, but the climax of all is a prayer that "evil descend and goodness ascend." These rituals are as much group therapy sessions as they are religious acts.

Tiv recognize two major categories of *akombo*. Small *akombo* attack individuals and their farms; their repair demands minor sacrificial animals, usually a chicken. A few small *akombo* require special sacrificial animals such as turtles or valuable ones such as goats or rams. Coins or other forms of wealth can be added to a less valuable sacrificial animal to make it taller and so serve as a more valuable one.

The great *akombo*, on the other hand, attack social groups; they must be repaired either by the elders of the community acting by day, or by a secret group (the same people) acting as the *mbatsav* by night.

At the end of any *akombo* ritual carried out by day, or as the last act of any funeral, the Tiv prepare and break a symbol called *swem*. Made in a potsherd from hearth ashes and symbolic plants, it is held high, then smashed to earth. The ashes, spreading on the breeze, mean that justice spreads through the land and that *swem* will punish evildoers.

Most Tiv claim not to know the details of any *akombo* or its ritual, and all deny knowing that the ritual was carried out at night. But they never postulate that any part of it is a mystery. Somebody knows. Tiv say "God knows" at funerals if they can find no other reason for the death. They mean that they have not yet discovered the human motivation behind the misfortune. But they do not question that the motivation is there and that ultimately it will be detected and either neutralized or punished.

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PAUL BOHANNAN (1987)
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TJURUNGAS. Originally an Aranda word referring to a particular type of secret-sacred object (a stone board bearing engraved designs), the term *tjurunga* has now become generic in anthropological literature and is used to identify a wide variety of Australian Aboriginal religious objects. (The term *tjurunga* also has by now generally replaced the term *churinga* in anthropological writing.) The term covers a wide variety of meanings and can refer not only to the stone and wooden objects to which it was originally restricted but also to bullroarers, ground paintings, ritual poles, headgear, and religious songs (Strehlow, 1947, pp. 84ff.).

*Tjurunga*s and *tjurunga*-type objects are widely distributed throughout central, southern, and western Australia, as well as the Northern Territory. They are usually secret-sacred and may be viewed only by initiated men, although in some cases women too possess religious boards. In all cases, *tjurunga*s are closely associated with the mythic and totemic beings of the Dreaming. In the beginning, these beings shaped the physiographic features of the Aboriginal countryside and were, ultimately, responsible for creating human beings, who are regarded as their spiritual descendants. They also established particular Aboriginal social orders and were especially responsible for instituting religious ritual. The Dreaming characters are believed to be as alive today, spiritually, as they were in the past, and their significance continues. It is through the sacred objects that they live on in spiritual form. *Tjurunga*s are often considered to represent particular mythic beings, and their engraved designs to represent specific localities and the activities associated with them; some *tjurunga*s, however, are undecorated.

Stone *tjurunga*s are flat oval platters that vary in size from nine to more than fifty centimeters in length and that, for the most part, are engraved on both sides. Smaller wooden objects are similarly decorated, but they are lenticular in cross section and elongated with rounded ends. Larger boards, between two and three meters in length, are made from tree-trunk sections; they are flat or slightly concave on the incised side and convex on the reverse. Traditionally, the lower incisor of a wallaby's jaw was used to engrave both stone and wooden *tjurunga*s, but today steel rasps are used to shape the basic form and chisels to make the design. The act of incising the *tjurunga* is accompanied by songs relevant to the mythological associations of the pattern being made and is itself a ritual act. The knowledge of such songs is held by members of particular local groups, which have the responsibility of maintaining and reproducing the range of emblems and the designs connected with their own territories. Cognate groups collaborate with them in a complex patterning of ritual information between members of a number of similarly constituted social groups.

Tjurungas have a profound religious significance in contemporary desert Aboriginal cultures. Decorated with incised meandering lines, concentric circles, cross-hatching, zigzags, and, more rarely, naturalistic designs of bird and animal footprints and stylized human figures, they represent a compact and conventionalized statement of land occupation, utilization, and ownership, seen in terms of specific areas of land associated with particular mythic beings who in turn have their living representatives today. Beliefs about the origin of *tjurunga*s vary according to culture (Davidson, 1953; Strehlow, 1964). Basically, though, it is believed that *tjurunga*s were either created by mythic beings or represent tangible aspects of their bodies or something directly associated with them. In virtually all cases a *tjurunga* served as a vehicle in which resided part of a mythic being's spiritual essence. Some stone *tjurunga*s, particularly those with well-worn designs or those having none, are regarded as the actual metamorphoses of mythic beings and may be ritually relevant to several sociodialectal groups. Usually, however, a *tjurunga* is personal; it is connected with both men and women and is symbolic of their mythic associations: men look after those belonging to the women of their own local group. As far as men are concerned, *tjurunga*s play an important part in conception, initiation, and death.

While the Aranda may manufacture stone *tjurunga*s, ensuring that male members of the oncoming generation possess such objects, they basically replicate the older ones according to their particular mythic and topographic type—that is, new *tjurunga*s must correspond with those concerning the place of a person's conception and/or local group. In the Western Desert, Aborigines believe that all stone *tjurunga*s are of supernatural origin, and these groups manufacture only wooden sacred boards. Small wooden boards or bull-roarers are made and presented to a novice during the final stages of his initiation; they signify his acceptance into the religious life of his people. It is only some years after a man's first initiation that he is introduced to the *tjurunga*s of his own group. Later, he may prepare and incise such examples, either alone or in the company of close kin who share the same mythological associations.

The designs that appear on these religious objects are similar to those on spear-throwers, some shields, pearl-shell pendants, and a variety of head ornaments (all of which are used or worn publicly in contrast to the actual ritual objects). Clearly the form of an object and its purpose, rather than the design, indicate whether or not the item is to be regarded as open-sacred or secret-sacred (Berndt, Berndt, and Stanton, 1982, pp. 114–116). The designs depict, through a repetitive but symbolic structure, a particular segment of territory linked to an artist, his mythological connection with it, and some of the physiographic features that characterize this area of land. Moreover, this is usually shown looking from above rather than horizontally from the ground level. This is because mythic beings saw the land in this way. Some Western Desert Aborigines believe that the spirits of men who live a far distance from their own country travel through the sky on their sacred boards during sleep, and they, too, see the country in that way.

The same designs that appear on *tjurunga*s are also reproduced in ochers on the bodies of participants in rituals. Depending on the area and the particular ritual being performed, ground structures of furrows and mounds have blood and red ocher superimposed on them and are decorated with feather down: these too represent stylized versions of territories within their mythic context. In such circumstances, *tjurunga*s are hung from pole emblems or are worn in the men's headdresses. Since these objects are considered to be ritually and mythologically alive, they signify that the mythic being is actually present in a spiritual form.

The major function of *tjurunga*s is to provide a tangible, visible representation of personal and social identity, but it is in fact much more than this. The *tjurunga* affirms and reaffirms a particular group's rights to a specific stretch of country through the land-based associations of mythic personages. These objects are always stored close to the places to which they belong, and such sites fall within different local group territories, the members of which are their custodians. When Aborigines moved away from their own countries as a result of European contact and eventually settled on government and mission stations, they brought some of their sacred objects with them, leaving others behind at their mythic sites. Smaller *tjurunga*s, however, are often carried from one place to another when groups gather to hold large rituals that involve both men and women. In the Western Desert, these meetings, in which expressions of hostility are forbidden, are also occasions for settling interpersonal and intragroup disputes and grievances.

Deep reverence and respect are displayed toward all *tjurunga*s, whether they are of stone or of wood. For example, fully initiated men may be specially invited to have revealed to them particular boards stored within a repository. This revelation must take place in the presence of a senior man who has the religious right to show them and explain their significance. In such cases, the boards have been prepared by a small group of elders who reanoint them with red ocher mixed with fat: they are treated as if they are living creatures. On approaching the place, the invited men use small branches of leaves to stroke the backs and heads of the sitting elders. This act is said to insulate the power that is believed to be inherent in the *tjurunga*s and that can be dangerous to the unprepared. Mythic songs are sung and explained, and the objects are pressed to the bodies of the men who are seeing them for the first time. This action indicates that the men share in their power, which is regarded as eternal and is symbolized by the *tjurunga* objects.

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JOHN E. STANTON (1987)

TLALOC, the pan-Mesoamerican deity of rain and fertility, was named by the Aztec, or Mexica, of Central Mexico. They chose a word derived from the Nahuatl term meaning "he is the embodiment of the earth." Other fertility deities throughout Mesoamerica include Chac among the Maya, Cocijo among the Zapotec, Tzahui among the Mixtec, and Tajin among the Totonac. Many of these deities continue to be worshiped by the contemporary indigenous people of Mesoamerica.

Tlaloc made his first appearance at Teotihuacan between 200 and 700 CE. He is depicted iconographically in murals and temples with round, "goggle" eyes and a fanged mouth. He strongly resembles a jaguar, with predatory features. At Teotihuacan, ideas regarding rain, fertility, wealth, and prestige were combined with human sacrifice and warfare.

More detailed textual information exists regarding Tlaloc during the Mexica period (1325–1521 CE). During the calendar year, which for the Aztec consisted of eighteen twenty-day "months" and five "unlucky days," approximately half of the ceremonies were dedicated to Tlaloc. These ceremonies—such as human sacrifices, fasting, and feasts—focused on topics such as ancestors, food, rain, and fertility. Worship of Tlaloc, therefore, encompassed a wide spectrum of Mesoamerican concerns and articulated more general understandings of the entire cosmology.

Water was an important element in Mesoamerican religions. Its presence in the iconography at ceremonial centers illustrates its material and symbolic importance. The circulation of water through the ceremonial precinct was intimately associated with the deities who were housed in temples there.

According to the Aztec cosmology, all material existence was surrounded by water. In Nahuatl, the language of the

Aztec (still spoken by nearly three million Mexicans), the word for city is *altepetl*. Its literal translation is "water mountain," and it describes the central ceremonial temple that defined the city. Mountains were thought to be containers of water, which made its way from the sea. Tlaloc oversaw the circulation of water through the earth; therefore, human beings propitiated him so that he would release just the right amount of water.

Ritual descriptions emphasized the relationship of the human body and the earth. Both objects were understood to simultaneously be containers of, and surrounded by, liquid. Human flesh was a container for blood, which was understood as a living fluid. During gestation, the human body was surrounded by amniotic fluid. These material aspects of human existence mirrored the Aztec's understanding of their living landscape. Thus, they would perform healing practices, divinatory activity of various sorts, and rituals surrounding childbirth and child-rearing at particular places, where Tlaloc could receive the gifts of human beings.

The material makeup of the human body corresponded with the material makeup of land. Thus Tlaloc, although a rain deity, was also understood to be Tlalteuctli—the "earth lord." His body was likened to that of the crocodile: the ridges of his back were associated with the mountains and ravines, and he was said to float on the primordial saltwater sea. The Tlaloques were "rain dwarfs"; namely, lesser deities associated with various climatological phenomena such as snow, sleet, and lightning.

Tlaloc needed to eat. The ceremonial relationship between human beings and the Tlaloques was primarily based on food exchange. Rain was essential for the development of agriculture in Mesoamerica. In particular, the development of maize cultivation over several thousand years had become the basis for urban culture. Consequently, the Aztec performed ritual strategies for propitiating the rain deities so that they would release adequate amounts of moisture for agricultural bounty. Human beings grew and prospered due to the interaction of earth and water on Tlaloc's body. The Aztec believed that the flesh and blood of human beings, given to Tlaloc through human sacrifice, sustained and regenerated his body. Thus, Tlaloc and the Aztec were in an intimate, reciprocal relationship.

Ceremonial temples, or *altepetl*, were openings to the watery dwelling of the deities.Yet human existence was understood to materially depend on this hidden world of Tlalocan ("the place of Tlaloc"). Ritual activities performed at these places brought human beings into intimate contact with the entire cosmos. Material elements such as earth, water, air, human flesh and blood, trees, and various kinds of animals were understood to be in dynamic interaction with each other.

Since Tlaloc was seen as a living embodiment of the land, whose primary duty was to control the circulation of water both inside and above the earthly plane, the title of "rain deity" is an insufficient description. Attempting to describe the dynamic nature of the ceremonial interactions between the Aztec and Tlaloc as a feeding relationship, one scholar has referred to the mythic world of the Aztec as an "eating landscape."

SEE ALSO Aztec Religion; Cosmology, article on Indigenous North and Mesoamerican Cosmologies; Mesoamerican Religions, article on Formative Cultures.

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PHILIP P. ARNOLD (2005)

TLAXCALAN RELIGION.

What is in the early twenty-first century the Mexican state of Tlaxcala occupies roughly the same territory as the old pre-Hispanic Tlaxcalan confederacy, an alliance of several indigenous principalities independent of the so-called Aztec empire. Its inhabitants were Nahuatl-speaking Indians, and they were the main allies of Hernán Cortés in the Spanish conquest of Mexico from 1519 to 1522. Present-day Tlaxcala is located on the western fringes of the central Mexican highlands. It is the smallest state in the nation, with a population of slightly more than 600,000. Although less than 15 percent of the population still speaks Nahuatl, the ethnic and somatic composition of Tlaxcala is predominantly Indian, and there persists a strong identification with the Indian past.

PRE-HISPANIC BACKGROUND. When the Spaniards arrived in Mexico in 1519 they found a polytheistic religion widespread throughout the area that in the twentieth century came to be known archaeologically and ethnologically as Mesoamerica. Mesoamerica exhibited a rather high degree of cultural uniformity, and in no cultural domain was this more true than in the realm of religion. Thus, Tlaxcalan polytheism was a variant of a pan-Mesoamerican religion, minimally different from, say, Méxica-Aztec, Huastec, Tarascan, Zapotec, or even Maya polytheism.

The main characteristics of Tlaxcalan polytheism were seven:

1. A highly diversified and specialized pantheon, in which hundreds of patron gods and goddesses relating to nearly every human activity, natural phenomenon, or social grouping were arranged in a somewhat hierarchical order
2. A complex and extensive ritual and ceremonial yearly cycle regulated by the calendrical system
3. A sophisticated cosmology and theology centered on the origins and nature of the gods, the creation of humans and the universe, the regulation of humanity's relationship to the gods, the disposition of the dead, and afterlife
4. A religious ideology that emphasized pragmatism in the relationship between humanity and the supernatural at the expense of values and morality, which were almost exclusively an aspect of the social structure in operation
5. An extensive and well-organized priesthood in charge of the administration of religion and several ancillary aspects of the social structure
6. A tremendous emphasis on human sacrifices to the gods and a significant degree of ritual cannibalism
7. A pronounced concern with bloodshed and the dead, and a cult of the dead approaching ancestor worship

Tlaxcalan religion pervaded every significant cultural domain of the confederacy: society, economy, polity, administration, and the military. Indeed, religion was the driving force of Tlaxcalan culture. In many distinct ways, however, Tlaxcalan religion was not that different from Old World polytheistic systems such as those of the Indo-Europeans and the Chinese: the gods were made in the image of humans, and they exhibited the foibles, virtues, and vices of human beings; the gods were hierarchically arranged in an organized pantheon; the social structure of the gods mirrored that of humans, with whom they interacted in a variety of ways; and religion was essentially a pragmatic ritualistic system regulating the relationship between humans and the supernatural.

SYNCRETIC DEVELOPMENT. Tlaxcala was one of the first regions of the continental New World to be subject to systematic efforts to convert its inhabitants. In 1524, the task of indoctrinating the Indian population in the ritual, ceremonial, and theological practices of Roman Catholicism was assigned to the Franciscan friars. For nearly a century the Tlaxcalans were under the religious leadership of the Franciscans. During the second decade of the seventeenth century, the Franciscans were replaced by secular priests and clerics, who continued the catechization of the Indian population. By the end of the seventeenth century, Tlaxcalan Indian Catholicism had essentially crystallized into what it is in the early twenty-first century.

The context of conversion and indoctrination to Catholicism in Tlaxcala can be characterized as "guided syncretism," a policy that the Franciscans consciously followed for two principal reasons: first, to convert the Indians rapidly; and, second, to soften the impact of forced conversion and thus make the new religion more palatable to the masses of the Indian population. This policy of conversion was greatly facilitated by the symbolic, ritual, ceremonial, and formal similarities between the lengthy roster of Catholic saints and the highly diversified Tlaxcalan pantheon. As early as the turn of the seventeenth century, the Tlaxcalan Indians were already practicing a syncretic kind of Catholicism. This was partly the result of the Franciscans' efforts in fostering identifications between the interacting religious traditions, particularly between Tlaxcalan gods and Catholic saints. The same process is evident in the emergence of local (community) religious hierarchies, in which such pre-Hispanic institutions as the priestly houses (*calmecac*) and people's houses (*telpochcalli*) came to interact with such similar Catholic institutions as stewardships (*mayordomías*) and sodalities (*cofradías*). The syncretic process undergone by Tlaxcalan religion from 1524 until approximately the last quarter of the seventeenth century permanently marked Indian Catholicism, and to a lesser extent all rural and urban Catholicism throughout the region.

CONTEMPORARY TLAXCALAN RELIGION. Contemporary Tlaxcalan Catholicism is centered on several institutions: the cult of the saints, the cult of the dead, the *mayordomía* system, the *ayuntamiento religioso* (local religious hierarchy), and the magico-symbolic system. It may be characterized as primarily a type of folk religion; that is, its ritual and ceremonial complex is markedly different from the national Catholic religion of Mexico and is carried on by the *barrios* (quasi-socioreligious units), *hermandades* (brotherhoods), *cofradías,* and other religious institutions of a syncretic nature. The single most important institution in the administration of Tlaxcalan religion is the *república eclesiástica* (ecclesiastic republic), which includes all annually elected officials of the numerous stewardships and the local hierarchy.

One fundamental aspect of Tlaxcalan religion remains unchanged: The present-day folk Catholicism retains the essentially pragmatic and ritualistic character of pre-Hispanic polytheism. The supernatural belief system has one general, predominant aim: to make the individual and the collective world of social existence safe and secure by the proper propitiation of all supernatural forces, regardless of the structural means employed. The relationship between humans and the supernatural, then, is characterized by pragmatic and rather selfish motives for which the individual and the group pay dearly in terms of time and economic and social resources.

Finally, there is a significant magical component to Tlaxcalan religion. It coexists side by side with folk Catholicism and is regulated by the same belief system. Although the practice of magic sometimes merges with folk Catholicism and is part of the syncretic complex, more often it forms a separate system. Witchcraft, sorcery, soul loss, and belief in a series of anthropomorphic or animistic supernaturals constitute the bulk of the magical component. All these practices are of pre-Hispanic origin, but they do contain elements of European and even African witchcraft and sorcery, some of which became syncretized independently of Catholicism.

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TOADS SEE FROGS AND TOADS

TOBACCO.

Now used recreationally throughout the world, tobacco originated in South America as long as eight thousand years ago as a product of two cultivated hybrid species of the genus *Nicotiana, N. rustica* and *N. tabacum.* The genus, which belongs to the nightshade or potato family (Solanaceae), occurs naturally in many parts of the world, including North and South America, Australia, some of the South Pacific Islands, and—with but a single species—Africa. The greatest number is native to North and South America, but even with this relative abundance of nicotine-bearing species, only in one small area of the New World, most likely fertile valleys located between Peru and Ecuador, did early food cultivators discover and make use of the extraordinary effects on mind and body of the powerful alkaloid from which the genus derives its name.

More than likely the early experiments with cross-fertilization that resulted in the two cultivated hybrid species of tobacco, *Nicotiana rustica* and *N. tabacum,* were products of that moment in time when some South American Indians turned from a pure hunting and gathering economy to food cultivation, beginning with the root crop cassava, or manioc. Although all species of the genus contain nicotine, that alkaloid is present in much greater amounts in the two cultigens of ancient lineage, *N. tabacum,* the progenitor of commercial blends, and *N. rustica.* The former is the more variable, with percentages of nicotine content in the leaf ranging from only 0.6 percent to 9.0 percent. In contrast, in a Mexican species of *N. rustica,* the percentage of nicotine was as high as 19 to 20 percent. Although, as Johannes Wilbert notes in his pathbreaking book *Tobacco and Shamanism in South America* (1987), nicotine is distributed throughout the plant, in both species the leaves contain the highest amount, those of *N. rustica* far outstripping the milder species in its capacity to inebriate and addict. Little wonder, then, that the leaves were used either whole or dried and crushed and that *N. rustica* achieved by far the widest distribution as a sacred ecstatic intoxicant among many Native American peoples. Often, especially in South America, it serves as the exclusive vehicle of the shamanic trance, and sometimes it is one of several herbal preparations employed for the altered mental state in which the shaman, it is believed, travels out-of-body to consult with the spirits of the deceased and the gods or to do battle with disease demons and other negative forces on behalf of his or her clients.

Tobacco is sometimes also employed to create an especially receptive state of mind for the application of another psychoactive species with even greater ramifications in the intellectual culture. Thus, to cite just two examples, on their peyote pilgrimages to the north-central Mexican desert, the Huichol Indians of northwestern Mexico, whose most sacred and supernaturally charged plant is peyote, smoke *N. rustica* tobacco wrapped in cornhusks to intensify the effects of the psychoactive cactus. Far to the south, on the north coast of Peru, Mestizo *curanderos* combine tobacco syrup administered through the nostrils with infusions of San Pedro (*Trichocereus pachanoi*), the popular name for a tall, columnar cactus that, like peyote, has mescaline as its primary alkaloid and whose place in Andean shamanism is archaeologically documented as reaching back at least three and half millennia.

It should be emphasized that as many as two hundred major and minor species have been identified in the visionary-therapeutic pharmacopoeias of Native American shamans, the majority in the tropics. Of these, tobacco had the widest distribution even before it became a major item of commerce as a recreational drug in the centuries after Christopher Columbus arrived in the New World. Curiously, despite the rapid pre-Columbian diffusion of tobacco through the Indian Americas, tobacco's cultural role as a visionary intoxicant seems to have stopped at the shores of the Atlantic and the Pacific. Tobacco and the custom of smoking reached West Africa in the 1500s, not long after Columbus's first landfall in the Western Hemisphere, and spread on that continent so quickly that some students of the phenomenon assumed it to be African in origin, reaching the New World with the slave trade, rather than the other way round.

In parts of Africa, notably the Cameroons and Nigeria, tobacco pipes of terra-cotta, metal, and other materials evolved into great sculpture, real masterpieces of portable art and objects of prestige associated with the nobility, great warriors, and priests, with long stems and complex chimneys rivaling in size and volume the monumental pipes of the so-called Mound Builder cultures of prehistoric North America. Both men and women smoked pipes, some with sculptural bowls whose interiors exceed the size of large teacups or coffee cups. Even if the tobacco was of the milder kind, it is hard to believe that the amount of nicotine the smoker absorbed would not have had some effect on consciousness. And yet if African medicine men or shamans used tobacco to contact the spirits, no evidence for it exists. The only possible hint that there was more to African smoking than pleasure or sociability comes from a report by the French anthropologist and Africanist Marcel Griaule (1898–1956). During field research with the Dogon people of Mali, Griaule met an old blind hunter named Ogotemmêli, who was especially knowledgeable in the cosmology and religion of his people. "Having sat down on his threshold," Griaule recounts, "Ogotemmêli scraped in his tobacco pouch and gathered some yellowish dust on the flap. 'Tobacco,' he said, 'clears up the sense of judgment.' And he began to reconstruct the system of the world, for one had to begin with the very beginnings of things" (Griaule, 1970, p. 16).

Tobacco was introduced into Siberia by trade from Russia's possessions in Alaska and the Aleutians—or even earlier; that is, at least by the 1700s. But there are no reliable reports that Siberian shamans adopted it as a ritual intoxicant alongside, or even instead of, the fly agaric mushroom, *Amanita muscaria*. In the Himalayas, on the other hand, Nepalese shamans have added *N. rustica* tobacco to a long list of psychoactive species they classify as "traveling plants" belonging to the god Śiva—"traveling" because they enable the shaman to travel to other worlds. *N. tabacum*, in contrast, is regarded as merely "pleasurable." Both species were introduced in colonial times.

TOBACCO MYTHS. A common theme in the origin mythology of tobacco among Native Americans is that this most widely distributed psychoactive species in the New World was given to the first people by the gods. The gods themselves were believed to require tobacco as their sacred, and even only proper, food. But in making it a gift to humanity they neglected to keep any for their own use—"not even one pipeful," in the words of an elder of the Fox tribe of Wisconsin (Michelson, 1932, p. 127). So they must rely on human beings to give it to them. In exchange, the gods listen to petitions and confer their blessings or, conversely, withhold evil. Reciprocity is thus extended from the social realm to interaction between the spirit world and human beings, whose control over a spirit food fervently desired by the supernaturals gives them some leverage, for the gods are said to be unable to resist it.

The craving for tobacco attributed to the supernaturals can thus also be understood as an extrapolation from human experience, in this case nicotine addiction, especially among tribes whose shamans regularly intoxicated themselves with tobacco. The use of tobacco as smoke, snuff, cuds mixed with lime, or liquid infusions to induce "drunkenness" for the purpose of "communicating with demons" is repeatedly described by sixteenth-century sources from the Caribbean, Mexico, and South America, though in some cases the intoxicating substance was probably not tobacco but another of the many botanical hallucinogens then and now in ritual use.

Wilbert found a particularly complex variety of "tobacco shamanism" among the Venezuelan Warao, whose sacred geography and cosmic architecture are virtually constructed of tobacco smoke and whose shamans smoke themselves into "out-of-body" ecstatic trance states with cane cigarettes three and four feet long. Warao shamans travel to the House of Tobacco Smoke in the eastern part of the universe over a celestial bridge of tobacco smoke conceived of as a channel of energy that guarantees health and abundance on earth as long as the supernaturals continue to be properly fed with tobacco smoke. Wilbert reports that Warao shamans crave tobacco smoke with such "tremendous physiological and psychological urgency" that they are literally sick without it. They believe that the gods likewise await their gift of tobacco with the craving of an addict and will inevitably enter into mutually beneficial relationships with human beings as long as humans provide the gift.

This attribution of addictive craving to the gods probably diffused together with cultivated tobacco itself. The notion dominates tobacco mythology and ritual even among peoples who, like those of the North American Plains and Prairies, customarily reduced the potency of tobacco with such nonpsychoactive plant materials as red willow bark and who, in any event, smoked only small quantities ceremonially in sacred pipes with chimneys of limited interior diameter to please gods and spirits and sanctify the spoken word, never to the point of intoxication.

A significant dichotomy may be noted between the origin mythologies of the cultivated hybrid species *Nicotiana rustica* and the less potent and less widely distributed *N. tabacum*, on the one hand, and the wild species (*N. attenuata*, *N. bigelovii*, and *N. trigonophylla*) of aboriginal western North America, on the other. While the origin of the Indian species is commonly credited to the divine realm, the latter two species are frequently attributed to the dead, perhaps because, as casuals, these species (like the daturas, which also belong to the Solonaceae) are sometimes seen to grow in disturbed soil (e.g., on graves). In California and the Great Basin they are often highly valued as gifts of the ancestors, but in transitional areas, where both wild and cultivated species are available, the wild varieties are sometimes feared for their association with death.

The oldest evidence thought to point to smoking comes from California, where conical stone pipes dating to circa 4000 BCE have been excavated and where wild tobaccos were widely employed for shamanistic, magico-religious, and medicinal procedures, including the ecstatic trance. The Shoshonean (Uto-Aztecan) Kawaiisu of south-central California used virtually every technique of ingestion reported from South America, including smoking, snuffing, licking, chewing, and swallowing. Likewise, the prophylactic, therapeutic, and metaphysical uses for cultivated species in South America and eastern North America were paralleled by these and other California tribes with the native wild species. The most common method was mixing the pulverized, dried leaves with slaked and powdered lime and either swallowing the mixture dry or liquified or licking and sucking it.

The Kawaiisu participated in the ecstatic-initiatory *toloache (Datura inoxia)* religion common to other California Indians, but tobacco, whose magical potency was given to the first people by the trickster culture hero Coyote, was much more generally employed by them and their neighbors. They used it as a mild-to-potent dream-inducing soporific; as a shamanistic and initiatory intoxicant; or for preventing and curing illness; repelling and killing rattlesnakes; driving away ghosts, monsters, and other threatening supernatural beings; and divining and manipulating the weather.

In North America the widespread function of tobacco to please the spirits is particularly well documented among the Iroquois and Algonquin of the Eastern Woodlands and the Plains and Prairie tribes. Seneca mythology attributes the origin of tobacco (*Nicotiana rustica*) to Awen'hai'i (ancient bodied one), the pregnant daughter of the Great Chief in the Sky, who stripped the heavens of tobacco when she fell onto the newly created earth island through a hole in the sky. This left not only the heavenly powers but the vast company of other spirits that manifest themselves in nature without their most essential divine sustenance. To induce these spirits, which included masters and mistresses of animals and plants as well as the "faces" that appear to hunters in the forest or in dreams and that are represented by the wooden masks of the shamanistic medicine societies of the Iroquois, to act on one's behalf requires the indispensable gift of tobacco.

THERAPEUTIC APPLICATIONS. Though widely employed to trigger the ecstatic visionary trance that is one of the cornerstones of shamanism, tobacco was also deeply embedded in native therapeutics. Almost certainly this was in large part based on observation and experience with the pharmacological effects of nicotine, not only on the human organism but other phenomena in the environment. Answering his own question whether pharmacological science corroborates nicotine therapy and curing practices with tobacco of South American shamans, Wilbert, in a paper published in 1991, lists a whole series of tobacco administrations by shamans that at first sight might be considered "magical" but whose therapeutic efficacy can be pharmacologically demonstrated.

Take, for example, the shaman's breath. Not only in the Americas but wherever shamanism survives, the shaman's breath is considered to have curative, purifying, and strengthening powers. Except in the Arctic, breath is of course invisible, but in the American tropics it is often given form by tobacco smoke. This phenomenon of shamanic practice was noted by the earliest European explorers. Shamans blow both their breath alone and thick clouds of tobacco smoke over their patient and his or her relatives and also fumigate the house. Blowing tobacco smoke is especially valued at the planting season. Before putting their seeds in the ground, farmers ask their shaman to "purify" their seed stock with tobacco smoke to assure a good harvest. Of course, tobacco smoke is sacred and feeds the spirits. But there is more to it than magic or religion: nicotine is a powerful insecticide and vermifuge. German experimenters found that fully 8 percent of the insecticides in tobacco are transferred into tobacco smoke. Seeds fumigated with nicotine against insect pests have in fact been observed to do better than those not so treated.

In treating their patients, shamans not only blow thick clouds of smoke but "capture" the smoke in their cupped hands; direct it into a wound, an aching or extracted tooth, eyes, nose, and mouth; and then massage the affected body parts. In addition curers blow nicotine-laden spittle and soothe aches and pains with tobacco juice. "Looking at these therapeutic practices from the point of view of drug administration," writes Wilbert, one recognizes in them more or less sustained-release mechanisms of application. Tobacco leaves are also used as plasters or compacts. Tobacco therapy thus involves the respiratory, dermal, and even gastrointestinal routes.

In both South America and Mexico, tobacco was also employed in the form of therapeutic enemas. In addition to tobacco, other plants that native peoples invested with sacred power and even divinity were so used. For example, a seventeenth-century Spanish colonial account of therapeutic practices and incantations in a community of speakers of Nahuatl (Aztec) in Guerrero, Mexico, lists therapeutic enemas not only of *piciétl* (tobacco, *Nicotiana rustica*) but of peyote (*Lophophora williamsii*), the little cactus of the north-central Mexican desert whose most important visionary alkaloid is mescaline; an aquatic species of *Datura*; and *ololiuhqui*, the Nahuatl name for the potent seeds of the white-flowering morning glory *Turbina* (form. *Rivea*) *corymbosa*, whose active principles are lysergic acid derivatives related to synthetic LSD.

Native American tobacco lore and therapy thus run counter to modern experience with the effects of tobacco on human health. Of course, Indian tobaccos are truly "organic"—they are cultivated, processed, and ritually employed without chemicals. Shamans often reach great age, including those for whom tobacco is the primary avenue of ecstasy.

Whatever negative effects tobacco intoxication has on the vocal cords, visual acuity, color perception, and so on—and Wilbert lists many of these—have, by way of natural modeling, long since been processed into desirable qualities in the intellectual world of tobacco shamanism. Still, there are no statistics to show whether tobacco shamans fall victim to lung cancer, heart disease, emphysema, or any of the other ills associated in the West with smoking. That Native American peoples are well aware that tobacco can kill is obvious from the many traditions of symbolic death and resurrection through the experience of initiatory intoxication. But there is also the reverse: revitalization, bringing the dead back to life by means of tobacco. This desirable end is dramatically illustrated in the following Seneca myth from upstate New York (Hewitt, 1918):

> In his travels a youth encounters a skeletonized man in a place heaped with the bones of dead people. Skeleton Man tells the youth that the only thing he desires is tobacco, but his pipe and pouch are empty. He sends the youth on a harrowing journey, past or through dangerous obstacles and variations of an ordeal familiar from heroic, funerary, and shamanic mythology—the Symplegades-like "paradoxical passage," that is, clashing rocks, islands, or icebergs that open and close in an instant and through which the hero, the soul, or the shaman must pass. The Seneca youth survives these ordeals and finally reaches a distant place where tobacco is guarded by Seven Sisters and their terrible old mother. Using his *orenda* (spirit power) and trickery, he succeeds in entering the lodge of the female spirits, evading their war clubs and escaping with the magical tobacco. When he returns and fills Skeleton Man's pipe, the bones of the dead people are reclothed with flesh, and the people return to life.

SEE ALSO Smoking.

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PETER T. FURST (2005)

TOLSTOY, LEO

TOLSTOY, LEO (1828–1910), Russian writer. Leo Nikolaevich Tolstoy was born on his family's estate of Yasnaia Poliana (Bright Meadow), in Tula Province. His parents, both from the high aristocracy, died in his early boyhood. Tolstoy was a melancholy child, self-centered but filled with the desire to be a better person.

He entered the University of Kazan in 1844, planning to become a diplomat, but left the university in 1847 without taking a degree. That same year, he inherited Yasnaia Poliana and went there to live. In 1849 he opened a school for the village children and was one of its teachers. At this time, as later, he was strongly under the influence of Rousseau.

Tolstoy volunteered in 1851 for army service in the Caucasus, and he subsequently took part in the Crimean War (1854–1856) in the Danube region and at Sevastopol. He left the army in 1856 and returned to Yasnaia Poliana.

By the following year he had published a semi-autobiographical trilogy on his childhood and youth and a group of short stories on the war in the Caucasus and at Sevastopol. These works soon brought him fame.

Tolstoy made the first of two trips to western Europe in 1857 and was repelled by the absence of spiritual values and the materialism he found there. In Paris he witnessed a public execution and from it concluded that all governments were immoral. During his second trip abroad in 1860 his favorite brother, Nikolai, who had tuberculosis, died in Tolstoy's arms. The next year Tolstoy returned to Russia and resumed teaching at the Yasnaia Poliana school.

In 1862 Tolstoy married Sof'ia Andreevna Bers, eighteen years old. They had thirteen children, of whom five died. The first decade of his marriage was the happiest time of his life. During this period he wrote *War and Peace* (1863–1869).

Tolstoy's concern with moral development and religion was evident from his childhood. At the age of nineteen he wrote out rules of behavior for himself that were close to the precepts of his later Christianity. In 1855 he wanted to found a new religion, free of dogma and mysticism. Happiness would be achieved not in heaven but on earth, by following the voice of one's conscience. His letters from the 1850s on, and his literary works from *Childhood* (1852) to *Anna Karenina* (1873–1877), reflect the development of his ideas.

Beginning in the early 1870s, Tolstoy engaged in a moral and religious quest that was to continue until the end of his life. He had begun reading Schopenhauer in 1867 and was influenced by Schopenhauer's negative view of life. In the fall of 1869, while on a trip to buy land, he stopped at the provincial town of Arzamas, staying overnight at an inn. There, in the middle of the night, he had a terrifying vision of death. From this time on, Tolstoy was obsessed with thoughts of his own death—although earlier works, like *Three Deaths* (1859), were witness that the problem of death had been on his mind for years. It was this obsession that led to his search for a viable religious faith, one that would make life worth living and would reconcile him to the bitter fact that he too must die.

Tolstoy's spiritual crisis began during the writing of *Anna Karenina* and lasted until 1879. It is mirrored in the seekings of Levin, the novel's hero, and is akin to the spiritual quest that had occupied Pierre Bezukhov, the hero of *War and Peace*. But whereas *War and Peace* had ended in optimism, in *Anna Karenina* a dark force seems to take over. Levin cannot accept a materialist explanation for his life. That would be "the mockery of Satan," the power that remains in the universe if there is no God. This power is Schopenhauer's blind force of will, the same force that destroys Anna. Levin thinks that suicide is the only possible escape from his situation.

In *A Confession*, which he wrote from 1879 to 1882, Tolstoy described his own crisis. Reason and the sciences gave him no answer to his questions, which marriage and family life had stifled only temporarily. He read extensively, but the thinkers he studied—Socrates, Solomon, Buddha, Schopenhauer—all concluded that life was an evil and that the greatest good was to free oneself of one's existence. Tolstoy then turned to the peasants. He saw that their simple faith in God gave their life meaning. They did not fear death, which they regarded as the natural outcome of life. Tolstoy concluded that the answer was simply to believe, without reasoning. Belief in God and in the possibility of moral perfection made life meaningful. The peasants' faith, however, was bound up with Orthodox ritual and dogma, which Tolstoy could not accept. He ended *A Confession* promising to study the scriptures and the church's doctrines in order to separate the truth in them from falsehood.

Tolstoy taught himself Greek and Hebrew in order to read the biblical texts in the original. In his *Translation and Harmony of the Four Gospels* (1880–1881) he rearranged the Gospels, rewriting or eliminating material he thought incomprehensible or untrue. Miracles, including the resurrection, were discarded. Tolstoy's version presented the tenets of Christianity as he saw them. He said that this book was the most important thing he had written. The other promised work, *A Criticism of Dogmatic Theology* (also 1880–1881), was an attack on the Orthodox church. In it, Tolstoy examined the church's doctrines and said they were distortions of the true teachings of Christ, who had wanted only love, humility, and forgiveness.

His next book, *What I Believe* (1882–1884), was a summing-up of Tolstoy's creed. He listed in it five commandments of Christ: (1) do not be angry; (2) do not lust; (3) do not swear oaths; (4) do not resist evil with force; (5) love all persons without distinction. Observance of these rules would transform life on earth by putting an end to courts of law, governments, and wars between nations. Tolstoy's other religious and moralistic works, such as *On Life* (1887) and *The Kingdom of God Is within You* (1892–1893), contained essentially the same ideas as the earlier ones. All of these books, including *A Confession*, were banned by the censor, but they circulated in underground editions or were published abroad and smuggled into Russia.

Tolstoy's new religion was essentially a system of personal ethics, the same rules he had been trying to live by since boyhood. The church, he said, had obscured true Christianity with ritual, miracles, and symbols. It tried to keep from people the true Christ, a man and not a divine being, who wanted to unite men in peace and make them happy. Tolstoy's Christianity was based primarily on the sermon on the mount, and especially on Christ's principle of turning the other cheek (*Mt.* 5:38–42). God had placed the light of conscience within each person. By heeding their inner voice, people would act with simple truthfulness and love and would achieve happiness. The only way to combat evil was by a constant effort at self-perfection, not by opposing the evil of others with force. If each person does good whenever possible, evil will die of itself. Nonresistance to evil became Tolstoy's main tenet.

But Tolstoy's Christianity did not bring him peace and did not end his search, any more than Levin's quest in *Anna Karenina* had ended with his conversion. Never believing in personal immortality, Tolstoy was not able to accept death's physical finality and the thought of his own physical annihilation. He returned again and again to the theme of death, which continued to haunt him. Efforts to include death in his vision of harmony on earth by viewing it as a peaceful merging with nature warred with flashes of nihilism. Only in his last years did he make his peace with death.

After his conversion Tolstoy condemned his own pre-1878 fiction, saying that it contained morally bad feelings. He resumed writing literary works in the mid-1880s, but they had changed. He now used a bare, plain style that would be accessible to every reader. Tolstoy wrote two kinds of works, both fundamentally tracts: short stories for peasants and children that presented his views on love and nonviolence, and longer stories for the educated reader, such as *The Death of Ivan Il'ich* (1886), *Kreutzer Sonata* (1889), *The Devil* (1889), and *Father Sergii* (1890–1891). He still had all his literary force, but the joy in life that had animated his earlier fiction was gone; the longer stories are dominated by gloomy, strong passions. Most of them express a hatred of the flesh, the source of life and of death.

Tolstoy's last work to be published in his lifetime was *Resurrection* (1899). It depicts the moral regeneration of Nekhliudov, a nobleman whose early debauchery had ruined the life of a young servant girl. In prison, Nekhliudov observes a religious service during which the priest, after giving communion, "took the cup back with him behind the partition and drank all the remaining blood and finished all the remaining pieces of God's flesh." Because of the heretical passages in *Resurrection* and his attacks on the church and state, the Holy Synod excommunicated Tolstoy in 1901. On the day the decree was announced, a cheering crowd of supporters gathered around his house.

By the 1880s Tolstoy had numerous disciples in Russia and abroad, many of them misfits or half-mad. One of his followers, Vladimir Chertkov, gained increasing influence over him. Tolstoy's disciples regarded him as a living saint, and Yasnaia Poliana became a goal of pilgrimages. Groups of Tolstoyans formed who tried to live by his ideas. All these groups eventually fell apart. (Many of the early *kibbutsim* in Palestine, however, were inspired by the ideology of a Russian-Jewish Tolstoyan, Aharon David Gordon.) Tolstoy continued to write in the final years of his life, expressing his views on most of the social, religious, and political issues of the day. He corresponded with Mohandas K. Gandhi, and Gandhi's doctrine of *satyagraha* was an adaptation of Tolstoy's nonresistance to evil.

Tolstoy's relations with his wife had deteriorated as he became more and more preoccupied with religion. Friction between her and Chertkov made Tolstoy's life at home unbearable and led to his flight from Yasnaia Poliana in late October of 1910. He had long wanted to live quietly in solitude. On the train journey he fell ill and was taken to the stationmaster's house at Astapovo, where he died on November 7.

While Tolstoy's religious writings are peripheral to his literary achievements, his art is unimaginable without the moral and religious vision that informs it. Perhaps he cheated death better than he knew; as artist and seeker he has continued, generation after generation, to attract passionate adherents, and Yasnaia Poliana remains a focus of pilgrimages from all over the world.

In one of his Sevastopol stories, Tolstoy had written: "The hero of my narrative, whom I have tried to render in all its beauty and who was, is, and always will be beautiful, is truth." Tolstoy's brother Nikolai had said that in a certain spot at Yasnaia Poliana there was a green stick on which was written a secret that would destroy evil in men and make them happy. As a boy, Tolstoy searched in the bushes at Yasnaia Poliana for this stick. Much later, he wrote: "I believe that this truth exists, and that it will be disclosed to men and will give them what it promises." According to his wish, Tolstoy was buried at the place where he thought the green stick was hidden.

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SYLVIA JURAN (1987)

TOLTEC RELIGION.

In pre-Columbian central Mexico, *Tolteca* literally meant "people living at a place named Tollan [i.e., among the rushes]." However, even then the name had no single application, and it has none today. Because there was more than one place called Tollan, the word *Toltec* refers not to a single culture or religion, but rather to at least five specific groups of people, all belonging to Postclassic Mesoamerica: (1) the inhabitants of what is now the archaeological site of Tula de Allende near Mexico City, (2) the inhabitants or, more precisely, the elite, called Toltec-Maya, of Chichén Itzá, Yucatán, (3) the inhabitants of Tollan as it is described in central Mexican historical documents of the sixteenth century, (4) militant leading groups in other parts of Mesoamerica claiming descent from a place called Tollan, (5) members of various, often quite different, ethnic groups, all bearing the typological name Tolteca, that migrated to central Mexico. In addition, the term *Toltec* was generally applied to any person who exhibited extraordinary skills, arts, or wisdom.

The present article discusses, in turn, each of these five groups, which overlap only to a certain degree. The familiar hybrid picture of "Toltec," resulting from an unsophisticated merging commonly found in overall descriptions, can no longer be supported. Presumably there never existed either a single, homogeneous Toltec culture or, consequently, a single Toltec religion. But many traits are certainly common to various of the above-mentioned "Toltecs," including religious traits. In this article, common features will be stressed, but the reader should be aware that they are not necessarily all elements of one coherent whole.

TOLTECS OF TULA. The rather extensive archaeological site of Tula de Allende in the modern Mexican state of Hidalgo, 75 kilometers north-northwest of Mexico City, has been excavated professionally since 1940. Its main ceremonial center, Tula Grande, flourished from about 950 to 1200 CE (dates established by ceramic crossties but only very few radiocarbon readings). In its final shape, Tula Grande consisted of some ten hectares of magnificently arranged buildings, surrounded by ten to twelve square kilometers of living quarters. So far, Tula-Toltec religion can be reconstructed only from the archaeological remains of the main ceremonial center. In contrast to buildings of the earlier metropolitan civilization of the region, Teotihuacan, Tula-Toltec religious buildings were designed for the full participation of large groups of people, who gathered in pillared halls, or colonnades, along one side of the huge central square. Different types of benches along the walls of the colonnades suggest that they were intended for groups of people of varying rank, although all participants probably belonged to the social elite. Numerous bas-reliefs show them dressed as warriors and aligned in rows, emphasizing their function in the cult as a homogeneous group: no single person is highlighted.

Archaeological vestiges indicate that the ceremonies of the Tula-Toltecs focused on the strange effigies known as chacmools. These are approximately lifesize sculptures of a reclining male figure dressed in some of the paraphernalia of a warrior, but clearly no warrior himself. He holds an object, perhaps a receptacle, over his belly and glares with sharply turned face at approaching worshipers. Despite recent attempts to interpret the chacmools as the stones on which human sacrifice was made, their specific function is as yet unknown. The practice of human sacrifice, however, was not uncommon among the Tula-Toltecs. The practice seems to be addressed metaphorically in endlessly repeated sculptural reliefs depicting eagles devouring human hearts. There are also frequent allusions in the reliefs to death in the form of skulls and bones.

More difficult to establish from archaeological data is the deity to whom the devotion of the presumed caste of warriors was directed. Most probably it was that highly complex being that in Tula is metaphorically depicted by a combination of reptilian, avian, and human elements: the face of a man with circular, spectacle-like eyes is shown looking out of or emerging from open reptilian jaws. The figure, depicted *en face*, is surrounded by feathers and supports itself on legs with birdlike claws. Despite clear analogies, this hybrid being is not the famous feathered serpent, which in Tula architecture is represented only as a subordinate element.

Another quite different aspect of Tula-Toltec religious activities centered on a ritual ball game, which is generally believed to have been important as a symbolic reenactment of cosmic movement. In Tula Grande at least three giant ball courts existed, but there is no basis for any extensive interpretation.

TOLTEC-MAYA. Similar to Tula-Toltec culture in its essential expression, Toltec-Maya also seems to have been restricted to a single, extremely important place: Chichén Itzá in north-central Yucatán. The great resemblances between Chichén Itzá and Tula, 850 kilometers away, as the crow flies, are a commonplace in Mesoamerican archaeology, although the site of origin of these particular traits has not been definitively established. Chichén Itzá was always an important center of late Classic Puuc Maya, which toward its final period (c. 900 CE) exhibited an increased extra-Mayan influence. Subsequent development, to be found only at Chichén Itzá, shows a merging of traditional and newly introduced elements, the latter having been found so far only in Tula. The center of the Toltec-Maya city covers some thirty hectares, the general outline very much resembling that of Tula: large courts, colonnades, and ball courts. The more abundant and detailed iconography and a historical tradition, albeit a faint one, give the picture a little more color: the dominant social stratum, that of the warriors, is principally the same as in Tula, but a wider variety of grades is displayed.

The central deity of Toltec-Maya culture at Chichén Itzá is depicted, as in Tula, as the man-reptile-bird combination. The image is omnipresent, but there are practically no variations to provide deeper insight, although sometimes artists misinterpreted the stereotyped picture and made it look like a heavily adorned warrior with his pectoral and feathered headdress. The theme itself is an old Maya one: a man's head emerging from a snake's mouth. It is already known in Classic Maya representations and is frequent in the Puuc-style ruins, where the feathered rattlesnake is also common. Colonial sources call this mythological animal *k'uk'ulkan* ("quetzal-feathered serpent") and mention a famous leader of Chichén Itzá who bore this name and who is said to have "returned" to central Mexico. A person intimately associated with this feathered serpent serves as the focus of a story with a mythical flavor, the wording of which is unknown but which is depicted with considerable detail in various Chichén Itzá temples. The sculptural narration makes clear that this feathered serpent was the center of devotion for the Toltec-Maya elite.

There is evidence, however, that the feathered serpent did not occupy the paramount place in the Toltec-Maya pantheon. Not infrequently, what seems to be a supreme deity is depicted seated on a low throne-bench in the shape of a jaguar before a giant sun disk designed in the manner of central Mexico. This theme demonstrates the preoccupation of Toltec-Maya religion with the sun, which is presumably also the main concern of the ritual ball game. Based on central Mexican analogies, long rows of reliefs of strangely reclined warriors have been interpreted in relation to the sun cult: the sun that passed beneath the earth during the night had to be revived every morning through rituals executed by the warriors.

To the water deities was directed a special cult peculiar to Chichén Itzá: on certain occasions, human beings were thrown into the sacred cenote (natural well) and drowned to appease the rain gods or to act as intermediaries between them and men. The continuing belief in the old Maya water god Chac is clearly visible in the large masks with elongated noses that adorn the corners and facades of most temples, sometimes together with the bird-snake-man motif.

A great variety of human sacrifice was practiced among the Toltec-Maya, in contrast to earlier Maya times. The sheer quantity of victims, whose skulls were displayed on special racks, is impressive. Striking, too, is the constant presence of the death symbol on buildings, as well as on warriors' clothing. The act of human sacrifice is frequently depicted, not only in the metaphorical form of wild beasts (symbolizing warriors) feeding on human hearts but also in naturalistic representations found on the interior walls of temples and along the field of the ball court. In the latter, the decapitation of the leader of the losing team is depicted. The rubber ball of the game in this scene is a symbol of glorious death, and snakes emerging from the victim's neck symbolize precious blood.

These are examples of the abundant metaphorical motifs, also seen in the chacmools and the images of feathered serpents, whose interpretation is fraught with difficulties. Chichén Itzá clearly presents a syncretic religion in which the veneration of old Maya water gods mingles with foreign solar-astral ideas. Everything points to the martial rituals as being associated with the elite warrior group, or "Toltecs," whereas the cult of the water deities is likely to have been connected with the commoners, the Maya farmers.

TOLTECS OF TOLLAN XICOCOTITLAN. Although identified by Jiménez Moreno with Tula de Allende, the famous Tollan Xicocotitlan referred to in colonial sources is not this town alone. As epithet or name, the word *Tollan* has been used to designate other famous cities, and the description of this Tollan corresponds—if to any place on earth at all—more to Classic Teotihuacan than to Tula de Allende. As described in the written sources, Tollan Xicocotitlan was a sort of paradise. Thanks to their prudence, the inhabitants of Tollan possessed everything they needed in abundance, including maize and cotton, precious stones, and gold.

They worshiped only one god, whom they called Quetzalcoatl ("quetzal-feathered serpent"), a name also given to the highest priest of the deity. This god did not require any sumptuous service and reportedly abhorred human sacrifice (although scholars believe that these accounts were designed to please the Spanish missionaries and divert from historical truth). People were admonished to offer their god only serpents, flowers, and butterflies. They considered their incomparable wisdom, science, skill, and arts as emanating from their god and strictly obeyed the orders given by Quetzalcoatl and voiced by his priest. The god, resembling a monster, lay like a fallen rock, as one source says, in his temple on the top of a tall pyramid. He had a long beard. He—or perhaps his priest—repeatedly made autosacrifice by bleeding himself with sharp thorns, thus becoming a prototype for all later priests in central Mexico.

This account, given to the sixteenth-century Spanish missionary and historian Bernardino de Sahagún by educated Indians, is incompatible in its details not only with the ecological situation of Tula but also with a warrior-dominated society like that of archaeological Tula. It seems to correspond to earlier times, when the idea of a divine feathered serpent was developed or introduced in Teotihuacan iconography and later refined and elaborated in places like Xochicalco and Cacaxtla. On the other hand, Sahagún and other sources tell the story of a famous ruler of Tollan Xicocotitlan, who, confusingly enough, bore the title of Quetzalcoatl in addition to his personal name Topiltzin ("our beloved prince") and the name of the date of his birth, Ce Acatl. Details of his origin, genealogy, and life are contradictory. He may have belonged to the Nonoalca, the culturally (and perhaps politically) dominant group of multiethnic Tollan Xicocotitlan. Scholars assume that the Nonoalca migrated from the southern Veracruz region, where they had been in contact with a more sophisticated civilization, which would explain their opinion of themselves and of Quetzalcoatl as the incarnation of cultural superiority.

One of the more important virtues of the people of Tollan Xicocotitlan was their forthrightness. According to Sahagún, they spoke thus: "It is so, it is true, yes, no." But the very personification of their integrity— Topiltzin himself, the Quetzalcoatl—was attacked by three demons, two of them bearing the names of later, Aztec deities (Huitzilopochtli and Titlacahuan, that is, Tezcatlipoca), although they do not seem to have been identical with them. One should refrain from interpreting this incident as the mythic rendering of an antagonistic struggle between divine principles or between two religious factions practicing and opposing human sacrifice. Topiltzin was eventually overthrown, and consequently one disaster after the other befell his city. Finally he had to gather his followers and leave the place. It is generally accepted that part of the story reflects internal dissent in Xicocotitlan between Nonoalca and Tolteca-Chichimeca, another constituent ethnic group.

From here on, history once more becomes legend. On his flight, Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl worked miracles in many places. Eventually, on reaching the Veracruz coast, he either burned himself and became the morning star, or, according to other versions, he walked or sailed on a raft, miraculously made by intertwining serpents, to the mythical land Tlapallan, where he may have died. After his departure from Xicocotitlan, Topiltzin was replaced by a more secular ruler, Huemac, perhaps Topiltzin's kinsman, who himself was also persecuted by the demons and who finally fled to a cave where he killed himself or disappeared—the sources are hopelessly contradictory on this point. Huemac, too, assumed divinity, as lord of the underworld.

Conquerors of "Toltec" Affiliation. In various parts of Mesoamerica during early Postclassic times a local population had to submit to small groups of militant immigrants. These usurpers, who showed positive "Toltec" traits, established themselves as ruling elites. In the case of the Quiché and Cakchiquel Maya in highland Guatemala, the respective elites claimed descent from a mythical place of origin called Tulán, far to the north, and ethnic affiliation with those they called the Yaqui (Nahuatl-speaking Mexicans). After their initial migration the Quiché settled for a long time near the Laguna de Términos on the Gulf of Mexico and later continued their migration into the Guatemalan highlands. They carried with them a "sacred bundle"—in Mesoamerica generally considered the very essence of their god and the sacrosanct symbol of ethnic identity—which they were given by Nacxitl at Tulán. Nacxitl or Acxitl is one of the names of Quetzalcoatl, according to central Mexican sources.

Quiché tradition of the sixteenth century, amply preserved in their "sacred book," the *Popol Vuh*, relates that at Tulán their four ethnic subdivisions had each been given tribal deities: Tohil, Avilix, Hacavitz, and Nicacatah. The most powerful, Tohil, who was identified by the *Popol Vuh* with Quetzalcoatl, was the possessor of fire; he offered this cultural achievement to other starving tribes at the price of using them as victims for human sacrifice, hitherto unknown at Tulán. The other tribes thus came under Quiché dominance, which they unsuccessfully tried to shake off.

The creation myth recorded at length in the *Popol Vuh* is generally considered an adaptation of central Mexican (Toltec) prototypes: here, the creation of the world in various stages of completion is referred to as the work of Tepeu and Cucumatz (Gucumatz). The name *Tepeu* recalls the ruler of Tollan, named Totepeuh (*to* is a Nahuatl possessive prefix), sometimes referred to as the father of Topiltzin or Huemac; the name *Cucumatz* is a literal translation of *Quetzalcoatl* into Quiché. The account of the *Popol Vuh* also gives deep insight into the wide corpus of legends of the Quiché that do not seem to be of Toltec origin.

TOLTECA CHICHIMECA. As a rule, central Mexican ethnic groups have ample traditions regarding their migration to their present homes. Most of these refer to a place of origin at Chicomoztoc (Seven Caves), and they count Tollan among their stopping places during their long migration. This holds true for the inhabitants of Cholula (Cholollan) in the Puebla valley. They report in the monumental *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca* that their forefathers, bearing the characteristic name Tolteca-Chichimeca, had to leave the decaying Tollan. Before starting off, their messenger-priest asked the god of Cholollan, then already a famous place of pilgrimage, for permission to settle in his city, which was granted. The god is referred to in the Nahuatl text as Quetzalcoatl Nacxitl Tepeuhqui and is addressed as Tloque' Nahuaque' (Lord of Proximity and Vicinity), the omnipresent deity. The allusion of the source to Quetzalcoatl as already present in Cholollan seems to indicate that well before the fall of Tollan the god's cult had begun to spread, certainly fostered by "Toltec" groups, into wider parts of central Mexico.

CONCLUSION. Only a few characteristic elements common to various facets of "Toltec" religion can be singled out so far: a supreme deity, Quetzalcoatl, who gave his name to priests and rulers; a cult dominated by eagles and jaguars (i.e., the warriors); a ritual ball game as reenactment of cosmic processes; and the importance of human sacrifice. These traits, whose roots go back far into Classic times, survived, sometimes altered or obscured, into late Postclassic times. For example, Quetzalcoatl ceded his rank to the Aztec Tezcatlipoca, the former being reduced to a mere wind god while the latter assumed titles peculiar to the "Toltec" Quetzalcoatl. Thus many religious descriptions in the colonial sources contain "Toltec" nuclei, although they are often barely recognizable.

SEE ALSO Quetzalcoatl.

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TOMBS.

TOMBS. In many European languages, to speak of "the tomb" is synecdochically to speak of death. In other places this is not true, since mortuary rites do not involve anything resembling a tomb. Moreover, where they exist, there are a wide variety of structures that may be described as tombs.

TOMBLESS DEATH RITUALS. There are ethnographic instances where corpses are simply abandoned. When a death occurs in the camps of some of the hunting and gathering peoples of the Kalahari Desert, there is an outpouring of grief, but nevertheless the band rapidly decamps leaving the corpse just as it lay at the moment of dying. There is a ritual response in that the site is avoided for years afterwards, but it is about as minimal a response as can be imagined. Corpses abandoned in this way are generally disposed of by carrion creatures, most commonly hyenas. Across much of Africa, hyenas are the subject of black humor, since they are always ready to devour the injured or dig up shallow graves.

The same theme of disposal as carrion is found in the Tibetan practice of "sky burial," in which corpses are ritually butchered by a caste of death specialists, and fed to vultures. What this expresses in the starkest possible terms is the Buddhist contempt for the body, whose transience stands in contrast to the eternal verities of the spiritual world. The Jain "towers of the dead" use vultures in the same way, but the doctrinal emphasis is on avoiding pollution of the earth.

If these cases seem obscure, consider the ancient Hindu tradition of cremation, still followed by millions of people in Northern India. The purpose is to allow the corporeal elements to return to their origins—vision to the sun, feeling to the air, and so on. Consequently, rather than retaining the ashes, they are cast into rivers so that they can be dispersed. The most auspicious river of all is the Ganges, and the temples and burning *ghats* of Benares are a major focus of Hindu ritual.

IMPERIAL MORTUARY COMPLEXES. At the opposite end of the spectrum, there are examples of royal tombs constructed on such a vast scale that they constitute some of the most spectacular finds of archaeology. When Chinese archaeologists began in the 1970s to probe the mound associated with the Qin Emperor Shi Huangdi, the first to unify the Chinese into one state, they discovered a series of vaults containing an estimated seven thousand life-size terra-cotta statues comprising an entire army of infantry, cavalry, crossbowmen, and charioteers. The figures are extremely lifelike, each face different and thought to have been modeled from life. They comprise a stunning artistic and technical triumph, but it is not clear what ideology lay behind the complex, especially as it was not imitated by subsequent emperors. At first sight it seems to reflect the megalomania of an emperor who evidently thought that he could ride into the afterlife at the head of his army, but there were also sociological effects that may or may not have been part of the emperor's intentions. The organizational challenge of such a project was appropriate to a new state in the process of establishing its infrastructure, especially as it must have trained thousands of artisans in pottery techniques for which China has ever since been famous. Moreover, it augmented a national cult focused on the emperor.

Much the same argument could be made about the massive pyramids of Giza in Egypt. Although the pyramids were all built within a century near the beginning of the pharaonic state, they can also be placed within the context of a religion that developed over several millennia. The most famous archaeological discovery of the 1920s was the tomb of a relatively unimportant pharaoh of the eighteenth dynasty obscure enough to have avoided the attention of grave robbers in antiquity. By comparison with the temple complexes of other pharaohs, Tutankhamen's tomb was modest. Nevertheless, it contained a fabulous storehouse of treasures, including enough furniture to equip a small palace. As is demonstrated by the tombs in the Valley of the Nobles at Luxor, such grandeur was not restricted to pharaohs.

GRAVE GOODS. The Qin emperor's soldiers and Tutankhamen's furniture are examples, if remarkable ones, of the practice commonly found all over the world of entombing useful or valuable objects with a corpse. It is often argued that such grave goods are among the earliest prehistoric evidence of ritual activity, and that they demonstrate belief in an afterlife. This does not, in fact, follow. Other motives are possible, such as the desire to prevent the further use of objects sentimentally associated with the deceased. Even so, grave goods often do imply an equipping of the dead. For instance, in parts of Borneo there is an elaborated theory of the journey of the dead to the afterlife by canoe. Consequently, paddles and sun hats are often hung from the sides of mausoleums. These grave goods are of little intrinsic value, and in a similar fashion even humble graves are often found to contain pottery or tools.

Archaeologists are also familiar with finding valuables in gravesites. Often these are goods originating from far away, and so give evidence of ancient trade. Examples are the shell disks and embossed copper sheets found in mounds throughout central North America, and the gold and precious stones found across much of the Middle East. It is a safe assumption that such valuables were not taken out of circulation lightly, but it is often unclear exactly what the goal was. There may have been an element of sacrifice, especially where animals or even humans were immolated at the graveside. In accordance with that conception, in many places grave goods must be broken before they can be transmitted to the other world.

HIERARCHY AND TOMB ELABORATION. Diversity in grave goods from tombs of the same period is often taken by archaeologists as evidence of differences in the social status of the living, and hence a measure of social hierarchy. There are, as usual, exceptions that undermine the validity of the inference. For instance, the funerals of the kings of Bali, an island in Indonesia, were theatrical displays of pomp and hierarchy, yet the king's ashes ended up strewn on the sea according to the Hindu origins of the ancient empire of Majapahit. Noble Balinese families that had lost a member in the previous few years took the opportunity to participate in the grand cremation rites, so that the only graves that remained were those of commoners. Again, the kings of the Shilluk of southern Sudan had no tombs because it was intolerable that the king should die. Since the king's vitality was associated with that of the whole nation, signs of frailty meant that he had to be suffocated by his own wives, or so it was said. However the king died, his body was simply left where it lay, and the door of the hut walled up with bricks. Until the new king was installed, the spirit of the nation passed into an effigy kept for the purpose. Consequently, mortuary structures provide no evidence of the existence of the state. As a further example, Saudi kings are buried in plain graves facing Mecca as a gesture of humility before Allāh.

Nevertheless, it remains true that the tombs most characteristic of a place or an epoch are often those of the elite, especially where there is intense status competition. In Iron Age northern Europe, warrior kings tried to establish their lineages by building impressive tumuli containing stone-lined vaults and passageways. The size of the artificial hill was physical proof of a king's ability to muster numerous followers. A striking variant was the ship burials that have proved such a treasure trove for archaeologists and were particularly appropriate to images of death as a voyage. Ship symbolism is in fact widely found in connection with tombs, and particularly with coffins that resemble dugout canoes.

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY STORAGE. Tumuli or burial mounds often became ritual centers, incorporating subsequent interments. This was especially true when they were associated with secondary treatment of the dead. This involves the temporary storage of a corpse while the flesh decays from the bones, with final entombment of the bones at a later date.

The technique was employed in ancient times across the Mississippi region. At Cahokia in present-day Illinois, there are over a hundred flat-topped earth mounds, the largest of which is one hundred feet high. The mounds show traces of wooden buildings on top, which probably included charnel houses where corpses were left to rot until the remains were ready for burial in the mound. There are also graves containing whole skeletons, the remains of burials of particularly prestigious people. Bundles of bones were also brought from elsewhere, to produce a complex pattern of interment in one mound. The Cahokia site supported a dense population, but dispersed populations in less fertile regions of the Appalachian Mountains also built mounds, which grew over many generations by accretion of new bones and earth. Exposure platforms were widely used across North America, the corpse dressed and equipped suitably for the gender and role of the deceased.

Secondary treatment is by no means restricted to the Americas. It is found in parts of Southeast Asia and in New Guinea, where corpses are laid out on platforms or set behind domestic fireplaces to dry out. In rural Greece the burial of corpses is only temporary. After some years, the grave is dug up and the bones stored in a communal ossuary. The same process in monastic communities in southern Europe produced crypts lined with anonymous skulls and femurs neatly arranged in patterns—a dramatic expression of death as the great leveler. In other cases in Europe, the removal of bones from communal graveyards to make room for others is the fate of paupers buried at public expense.

BURIALS, TOMBSTONES, VAULTS, AND MAUSOLEUMS. Simple earth burial is often associated with those on the lower rungs of a social hierarchy. It may be argued that this is a matter of practical expedience, the most rapid way to dispose of corpses before putrescence sets in. The carnage of a battle or a lethal epidemic makes mass graves necessary. At Cahokia, however, immediate burial was a privilege of a small elite, whereas paupers in southern Europe were lucky to rest undisturbed in their graves. In the Christian tradition, earth burial is the norm for rich and poor, in accordance with the doctrine of the resurrection of the body. Moreover, missionaries have exported Christian practices to the indigenous populations of Africa, the Americas, and Asia. The spread of Islam has had the same effect, so that burial is now more universal than it was in previous centuries.

Accordingly, tombstones provide the most familiar of death monuments. They are found in many varieties, from stones or plain slabs covering a grave to elaborate sculptures. The commonest are headstones inscribed with brief accounts of the deceased, but changing fashions have sometimes produced much more elaborate and imposing structures. In parts of the Islamic world, grave markers are nothing more than short wooden posts, carved in abstract or floral designs, but elsewhere the same process of elaboration has occurred as in Christian cemeteries.

Such changes of fashion date back to classical antiquity. Until sometime in the first century, Romans of any respectability were cremated, and their ashes stored in barrel-vaulted brick and masonry chambers, with niches in the walls to contain urns. Such was the expense of building them that subscribers joined funeral cooperatives called *collegia.* Meanwhile, the poor and slaves were disposed of casually in pits, initially on the Esquilline Hill. Beginning in the first century, Romans began to copy Greek fashions of inhumation, which had long been the practice throughout the eastern Mediterranean. The motivation appears to have been display, since Greek funerary monuments had developed from amphorae over graves to structures elaborately decorated with an eclectic iconography, including sphinxes and winged lions. Roman versions can still be seen along the Via Appia, some originally displaying bas-relief portraits of the occupants. Also to be seen in Rome are the catacombs of the early Christian era, which represent a continuation of the Middle Eastern practice of burial in caves or rock-cut tombs.

Underground vaults are another common development from simple earth burial, and not only in the Mediterranean. In much of sub-Saharan Africa, graves are roofed with logs before being covered over.

A stone vault built above ground is usually described as a mausoleum, after the massive tomb of King Mausolus in Asia Minor. In central Borneo, ironwood mausoleums were constructed on top of large pilings. Sometimes thirty feet or more high and delicately carved in swirling designs, they are the premier artistic achievements of the region. They may contain coffins, large jars used for corpses, or smaller ones for bones collected after secondary treatment, with sometimes a dozen or more sets of remains in one aerial chamber. Adjacent to them are simple earth burials.

LOCATION OF TOMBS AND LOCATION OF THE DEAD. There are striking differences from culture to culture in where tombs are located in relation to the community. In New Britain, corpses were buried directly under the floor of the house, with the explicit aim of keeping the dead with their kinsmen. Pressure from missionaries and colonial authorities forced an end to the practice, but the dead are still buried as close to their houses as possible. In parts of eastern Indonesia, corpses were buried under the dance ground in the middle of the village. Moreover, kin and neighbors were required to sit by uncomplaining during a long wake because bodily corruption was seen as a positive process that allowed the deceased to return to mother earth. At the same time the dead were associated with ancestral villages in the mountains, so that they had a complex multiple presence for the living.

In Borneo, the elaborate mausoleums described above were sited across the river from communal longhouses, so that flowing water formed a barrier between the living and the dead. The mausoleums were described as houses of the dead; they were raised on pilings like the longhouse, and no one entered this village of the dead without very good reasons for fear that the inhabitants would see the intrusion as the arrival of a new member. This perception was contradicted, however, by long sacred chants at the funeral that took the deceased on a riverine journey to the land of the dead. Consequently, the dead were seen as simultaneously both near and far, and that mystery contributed much to the power and drama of indigenous ritual. The entire community of ancestors was invited to funerals by other chants, but great care was taken to disentangle them from the living after the deceased was delivered to them.

Archaeological data from China show evidence of burials beneath the house, but in recent centuries the living have been careful not to live near graveyards for fear of unquiet ghosts. However, in many Chinese communities, both in China and abroad, ancestors figure prominently in the rituals of extended kin groups, and they are represented by tablets in special ancestor temples. Moreover, the location of the tombs is thought to have a major influence, and the ancient techniques of feng shui, or "wind and water," are designed to site deceased family members so that they deflect evil and funnel blessings towards the living.

RELIQUARIES, STUPAS, AND CENOTAPHS. A special case of the ambiguous presence of the dead is provided by holy relics. In medieval Europe there was a brisk trade in body parts supposedly belonging to saints, and they were handled lovingly and stored in valuable reliquaries. Yet the virtue of the relics is, to say the least, doctrinally obscure. The saints are presumably in heaven, and there is no reason why their blessing should somehow inhere in their blood or bones. The paradox is sharper in Buddhism, but from its beginnings relics of the Buddha have been enshrined in large stupas that became centers of pilgrimage. Officially, relics, like statues, have no power other than to provide a focus of individual meditation, yet they have become national symbols. When the Portuguese conquered Sri Lanka they seized the relic housed in the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy, ground it into powder and threw it in the sea. But faith is not so easily destroyed. Within a short time the relic was miraculously rediscovered by a fisherman in his net and restored to its rightful place. Even when there are no remains in a tomb, it may become a national symbol, as with the Cenotaph in London, which honors the dead of both world wars.

CHANGING STYLES OF TOMBS IN ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES. Since the eighth century, graveyards in England were located within settlements next to the parish church. Consequently, villagers attending services were reminded of their forebears, now resting under the protection of the church. The elaboration of grave markers also served to remind them of the local social order. Throughout the Middle Ages, senior clerics tried to prohibit burials inside the church, which were seen as desecrating. One thirteenth-century prelate grumbled that such was the clutter of memorials that the graveyard appeared to have moved inside the church. It was difficult, however, to refuse landowners who patronized churches so that they could be buried there. Life-sized effigies were not unusual atop grand family tombs.

The urbanization accompanying the industrial revolution changed this pattern. City churches could no longer provide space, and graveyards had to be moved to the outskirts of cities, where they were often overtaken by further expansion. Consequently, graveyards became an issue of urban planning, although authorities were slow to respond. In the Victorian era, this changed under the influence of a new sentimentalization of death and the afterlife. Graveyards became "cemeteries," a term derived from the Greek *koimeterion* (a sleeping place), which were filled with fanciful architecture imitating Roman and Egyptian motifs.

A similar development occurred in the United States. In New England the Puritan tradition meant that graveyards were treated as mere necessities, and all affectation in burials was frowned on. Further south, things were not much different, and visitors to the colonies remarked on the chaotic state of graveyards in New York and Philadelphia. In the nineteenth century the rural cemetery movement set out to change this start of affairs. Their best-known achievement is Mount Auburn cemetery outside Boston, which is beautifully landscaped with tombs discretely set into hillocks. A Swedish visitor remarked, "A glance at this cemetery almost excites a wish to die." A parallel innovation was the embalming of corpses, which originated during the Civil War so that distant families could take their sons home for burial. By the mid-twentieth century the entombing of embalmed corpses had become standard among Americans, whether newly immigrant or long established. Cemeteries were made efficient by insetting tombstones flat on the ground to allow regular mowing, but underneath these neat lawns lay massive concrete vaults and luxuriously furnished steel coffins. Cremation came into vogue at the end of the twentieth century, but an archaeologist of the future would certainly conclude that American notions of death paralleled those of the ancient Egyptians.

SEE ALSO Caves; Death; Funeral Rites; Pyramids, overview article; Towers.

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TOMOL. The indigenous people of the central California coast now collectively known as the Chumash are known in ethnographic circles for their unique use of the plank canoe, or *tomol,* a vessel that was not only instrumental in the Chumash exploitation of their marine resources, but served to solidify the complex regional trade system whose influence was felt far beyond the Chumash interaction sphere. However, for some contemporary Chumash, this important item of material culture reaches beyond its practical value and into the realm of prime symbol, tapping into the essence of Chumash culture and religious orientation and encompassing a nexus of meaning surrounding issues of dependence upon nature, belief in the reciprocity of social life, and the world view of the people.

THE CHUMASH. In classical times, the Chumash were never a discreet linguistic or cultural entity. They lived in a geographic area along the California coast from roughly Topanga Canyon in the south to Estero Bay in the north, extending east to the western edge of the San Joaquin Valley, and in the northern Channel Islands. The people who have come to be known as the Chumash inhabited numerous relatively autonomous villages, each with its own internal political structure, the largest of which acted as capital cities for smaller village collectives. These individual city-states supported several dialects of the Hokan linguistic family, first identified by anthropologist Alfred Kroeber in 1925 and named, for the most part, for the missions in the areas encompassed by the dialects, namely the Ventureño, Barbareño, Ineseño, Purisimeño, Obispeño, and the additional Emigdiano, Cuyama, and Island dialects. While these dialects have been identified as branches of the Hokan linguistic family tree, they in fact operated much like distinct languages. This, in turn, has given rise to the notion that the various regional entities actually operated as distinct tribes in their own right, but with the necessary economic and sociopolitical system that would unite a region into a relatively cohesive network.

The regional federations consisted of smaller villages, which varied in population from sixty to over a thousand people, each presided over by a chief, or *wot.* The smaller villages owed their allegiance to a major chief for the region who resided in a capital village, enabling him to control the production and redistribution of the goods within his villages, thereby strengthening the federation's position among the other regions. Perhaps the key feature of this complex of inter-regional trade is the presence of specialized craft guilds, or brotherhoods, both within the villages and extending into a regional alliance of like craft specialists. These guilds were fraternal in nature, with the knowledge needed to produce the various products of these guilds passed on to subsequent generations via familial ties.

These specializations standardized the production of a number of important elements of Chumash material life, including baskets, obsidian projectile points, plant fiber cordage, shell bead money, and especially the plank canoe known as the *tomol.* In fact, the most powerful of these guilds was the brotherhood of the *tomol,* with its members in possession of high social status, important links to the religious leadership (*'antap*), and unprecedented access to the political leadership, as well. The *tomol,* with its powerful brotherhood, was the glue that held the entire system together. In order to fully understand the importance of the *tomol* and the brotherhood in classical times, it is necessary to analyze the region's economy prior to the Spanish arrival.

TRADE AND TRAVEL. As the Chumash interaction sphere exists within a coastal zone and encompasses some eight to ten thousand years (since, roughly, the recession of the last coastal ice- age permafrost), it should not be construed as a stable environment. Changes in rainfall patterns and sea surface temperatures and their resulting impacts on terrestrial and ocean resources prompted the Chumash to rely upon a complex trade system in order to mitigate against shortfalls. As Daniel Larson and his colleagues state in "Missionization Among the Coastal Chumash of Central California":

> As Chumash population levels increased there was a greater dependence on exchange of food from one settlement to the next. This reciprocity allowed groups to meet their provisioning needs when there were shortfalls within a village's cachment. As populations continued to grow, subsistence strategies expanded and intensified, settlements became increasingly interdependent, and mutual trade became critical to subsistence success. Tied to the mutual trading relationship was a hierarchical political system involving chiefs who acted as brokers in the exchange relationships. They were also responsible for the scheduling of feasts, ceremonies, and celebrations, which were essential to intervillage social interaction and conflict resolution. (p. 264)

The *tomol* was the tool par excellence for the maintenance of this system of trade, enabling the reciprocal exchange of goods and ideas and galvanizing the network of interdependence that contemporary Chumash see as fundamental to their ethical system. Owing to its role as facilitator for the trade system, the *tomol* represents an investment of time, ingenuity, and resource management techniques. In addition to requiring an estimated 180 to 540 person-days of labor to complete, not to mention great amounts of skill in order to produce a sea-worthy vessel, the raw materials for the *tomol* represent sometimes years of careful management before they ever make it to the production level.

The key ingredients of the canoe are, of course, wood, with redwood driftwood (washed down from the northern California coast) being the most prized; natural fiber cordage for lashing the planks together as well as for tether and anchor lines; a mixture of asphaltum (naturally occurring petroleum deposits and pine pitch) for caulking and sealing; and the assorted tools (adzes, drills, etc.) for the manufacturing process. These raw materials are employed as a result of preproduction processes such as gathering (or purchasing via the aforementioned trade system), preparation (curing and planking the wood), knowledge of availability (in the case of asphaltum deposits); and ongoing resource management.

This last point is especially true with regard to stands of red milkweed (*Asclepias fascicularis*) and/or dogbane (*Apocynum canabis*) for the approximately one mile of cordage needed for the finished *tomol.* In this last case, contemporary Chumash assert that the availability of large amounts of this important resource depended upon management. Chumash ethnobotanist Julie Cordero states that the plant simply will not occur in useable stands if merely left to its own growth patterns. Clearly, the *tomol* required a vast amount of personnel and resource management before the manufacturing even began.

PADDLING AS PRACTICE. This system does not stop at the production level. Crew responsibilities and the environmental knowledge required for safe travel are also important. It is this last point that provides the clearest metaphorical connection between the contemporary *tomol* crew and their classic predecessors. The rowing of a relatively small vessel in the hazardous Santa Barbara Channel requires great skill and teamwork for safety and efficiency. Individual paddlers must be physically capable, mentally adroit, and socially connected to the other paddlers for the safe and successful operation of the *tomol.*

The nature of the vessel is such that individual balance while compensating for the movement of the other paddlers and synchronous strokes of the paddles are key for the smooth movement of the canoe. For this to occur, it is optimal that the crew be experienced with the other members so they will be aware of their style and physical types and their various strengths and weaknesses, and for the formation of personal bonds of trust, as the process, even in the contemporary context, is not without some measure of risk. It is precisely this relationship-building, among both paddlers and non-paddling support and building crews, that gives the Chumash involved in paddling the *tomol* the tangible elements for understanding the underlying ethos viewed as uniquely Chumash.

In the process of learning the behaviors and skills required for the rowing of the *tomol,* the contemporary Chumash have also begun to fashion a rhetorical system within which the *tomol* protocol, as well as the actual requirements for paddling, are transmitted to others. This oratory ranges from practical concerns regarding canoe operation to ontological statements of emotive quality that are seen as pertinent to living a proper life. Maintenance of the tomol is liked to maintenance of interpersonal relationships. Paddling together is connected to bonds of trust, interdependence, and ancestral honor. Suffice it to say that, in the reprise of canoe culture for the Chumash, the *tomol* provides both an exemplar of the entire ethos seen as essentially Chumash, as well as an opportunity to express through practice what it is that comprises the particular Chumash ethic.

The *tomol,* for the Chumash who are involved in the revival of their maritime culture, provides a key symbol of an ancient ethos that navigated its way through some ten thousand years of history, through many transformations in climate, and continues to provide a vessel with which they can carry their children into a future that regards their past as continually present.

SEE ALSO North American Indians, article on Indians of California and the Intermountain Region.

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TÖNNIES, FERDINAND

TÖNNIES, FERDINAND (1855–1936), German sociologist. Tönnies provided elaborate definitions of branches of sociology long before it was recognized as an academic discipline.

Ferdinand Julius Tönnies's academic preparation for his work as sociologist was uncommonly broad. In 1877 he received his doctorate in classical philology. Beginning his teaching career at the University of Kiel in 1881, he successively taught philosophy, economics, statistics, and sociology, and meanwhile published many articles on public policies. From 1909 to 1933 he was president of the German Sociological Society (founded by him along with Georg Simmel, Werner Sombart, and Max Weber). Having been publicly opposed to rising National Socialism and anti-Semitism, he was later illegally discharged from this post by the Hitler regime.

In 1887 he published his most famous book, a typological study, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (translated as *Community and Society*, 1957). Outside Germany the reputation of this work overshadowed his other important writings such as those on Thomas Hobbes, on Karl Marx, on custom and morals, and on public opinion. Employing his dichotomous ideal types, *Gemeinschaft* ("community") and *Gesellschaft* ("society"), he attempted to define fundamentally different kinds of human relationships in their dimensions and structures. He took into account biological and psychological as well as institutional perspectives, and he expounded the typology with impressive erudition and poetic imagination. He leaned heavily on English literature from Hobbes to Herbert Spencer and Henry Maine. He compared his typology to Maine's distinction between status and contract.

For Tönnies, all social groupings are willed creations manifesting different kinds of human will. He saw these differentiations in terms of another dichotomy. On the one hand is a common "natural will" consisting of life forces associated with instincts, emotions, and habits, forming personal bonds and obligations that engender an unconscious sense of organic unity and solidarity of persons and groups. On the other hand is a deliberate, consciously purposeful "rational will" manifest in the impersonal pursuit of individual and group interests. In the rational will is a combination of motifs issuing from romanticism and rationalism. These differentiations become evident also in religion. (In his later period he envisaged the possibility of a nondogmatic universal religion to unite humankind.)

The "natural will" of community is integrative; the "rational will" of society is pluralistic and segmental, reaching its peak in capitalism. Both kinds of will are always present in some form or degree, but Tönnies favored a community-oriented socialism.

Some critics have seen these typological dichotomies an inimical to strictly empirical studies. Typology, they say, should not replace historiography, though the latter requires the former. Tönnies was aware of the danger of oversimplification and reduction in one's view of social reality. This becomes readily evident in his sharp critique of statisticians.

In his early essay on Spinoza, "Studie zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Spinozas" in *Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie* (1883), Tönnies spoke of the emphasis on will as revealing a philosophy (stimulated by Arthur Schopenhauer) that he called "voluntarism," which entails the recognition of the primacy of will over intellect, and which is applicable to psychology, epistemology, and metaphysics. His old friend Friedrich Paulsen in his *Einleitung in die Philosophie* (1892) spelled out the conception of voluntarism in psychological terms. Paul Tillich in *Socialist Decision* (1933) adapted Tönnies's concepts of community and society. William James was so enthusiastic about Paulsen's book that he provided a lengthy introduction for the English edition, and one can see voluntaristic elements in James's concept of the "will to believe."

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TORAH

TORAH. It is no exaggeration to claim that the term *torah* is the quintessential symbol in Judaism. The present essay approaches this symbol from a variety of linguistic, historical, and phenomenological points of view. The discussion is divided into nine basic parts. The first of these offers basic etymological orientation to the semantic range of the term *torah* in classical Hebrew usage. Parts two to four address the problem of the nature and origins of the diverse sorts of writings that have come to be called *torah* in Judiasm. With the literary survey of *torah* complete, we then move to a survey of the ideological perspectives that Jews in various times and places have used to explain the meaning and the authority of *torah.* Part eight traces the profound role that the value of Torah study has played in the history of Judaism. The final part addresses the ritual functions of the book of the Torah as physical object.

ETYMOLOGY AND BASIC MEANINGS. The Hebrew noun *torah* is formed from the linguistic stem *y-r-h.* This stem has a complex semantic history, bearing at least three distinct senses: "to throw or shoot," "to water," and "to proclaim or instruct." Some nineteenth-century scholars held that the stem has a primary setting in the context of divination practices, as in the casting of lots (e.g., *Jos.* 18:6). Indeed in Akkadian a closely related stem underlies the noun, *tertu,* which refers to an oracular directive or instruction. Nevertheless, in contemporary times, there has been no firm consensus about the linguistic history of the term *torah* prior to its characteristic usages in the Hebrew Bible and associated ancient Hebrew literature. In these sources, *torah* bears the primary sense of "teaching" or "instruction." Depending upon the context, *torah* can refer to the orally imparted wisdom of parents (*Prv.* 1:8, 4:2) as well as to the teachings of formal instructors, including sages (*Prv.* 13:14), priests (*Dn.* 17:11), or prophets (*Dn.* 1:5). Very commonly it refers to messages delivered by the God of Israel to prophetic spokespersons, usually in the form of auditory disclosures of the divine voice (*Is.* 30:9). Especially in the biblical book of *Deuteronomy,* and at key junctures in the historical accounts of the books of Joshua through 2 Kings (e.g., *Jos.* 8:31, 2 *Kgs.* 14:6, 23:25), "the book of the Torah of Moses" (*sefer torat mosheh*) refers to a written collection of hortatory teachings and legal instructions. Equivalent terms, apparently referring to a complete document, are "the book of the Torah of YHWH" (*sefer torat yhwh;* e.g., *Neh.* 9:3) and "the book of the Torah of God" (*sefer torat ʾelohim*; e.g., *Jos.* 24:26). According to *Deuteronomy,* these teachings were copied by Moses in response to the divine command and deposited for posterity in the ark that housed the stone covenantal tablets received on Sinai/Horeb (*Dn.* 31:24-26). The author of the biblical book of *Nehemiah,* writing sometime between the fifth and the fourth centuries BCE, assumed that the scroll read by the priestly scribe, Ezra, in the covenant-renewal ceremony described in *Nehemiah* 8:1 and following, was a copy of this very same book of the Torah. It is represented as the written testimony of a covenantal relationship between the Israelite nation and the God of Israel, who redeemed it from slavery in the time of Moses and promises to restore Israel's fortunes in the future in return for full loyalty to the norms contained within the Torah (*Neh.* 9:6-10:31).

THE LITERARY FORMAT OF THE CANONICAL TORAH. In the authoritative version known for well over 2000 years, the Torah refers collectively to the first five books in the canon of the Hebrew Bible. Ancient Jewish translations of the Hebrew Bible into Greek (i.e., the *Septuagint,* c. 250 BCE and later), which form the textual basis of the Christian Old Testament, refer to these five books collectively as the Pentateuch ("the Five Books"). Greek-speaking Jews commonly referred to this collection by the term *ho nomos* ("the Law"; e.g., 2 *Mc.* 15:9, *Rom.* 7:1). Through the mediation of Christianity, deeply influenced by the usages of Greek-speaking Jews, it has become common in Western culture to conceive of the Torah as a law code and of *torah* as "law." More properly, the Torah founded in the Hebrew Bible is an extended narrative that contains law codes. In traditional Jewish usage, the general noun torah—without the definite article—refers broadly to any authoritative religious teaching—legal, ethical, or theological.

Neither ancient Hebrew copies of the Torah nor modern scrolls used in Jewish worship identify either the Torah as a whole or its separate books by name. In traditional Jewish usage the title of each book is drawn from Hebrew words that appear in their first sentences: *Bereshit* ("In the beginning"), *Shemot* ("Names"), *Vayiqrʾa* ("And he called"), *Bamidbar* ("In the wilderness"), and *Devarim* ("Words"). In Christian usage, the titles are drawn from Latin renderings of the Septuagint's Greek titles that allude broadly to the theme of each work. These are the origins of the terms routinely used in Christian communities. English translations of the Old Testament, for example, list the titles of the Pentateuchal books as *Genesis* (Gr. *Genesis); Exodus* (Gr. *Exodos*); *Leviticus* (Gr. *Leuitikon*); *Numbers* (Gr. *Arithmoi);* and *Deuteronomy* (Gr. *Deuteronomion*).

Modern readers of the Torah in Hebrew will find it in two forms: as a printed book in the larger collection of a printed Hebrew Bible or as a handwritten scroll used in synagogue rituals which call for reading from the Torah in public. Scholars, perhaps, will have consulted medieval handwritten copies of the Torah that take the form of codices—separate leaves of parchment or other writing material bound together into a book. The format of the scroll is the most ancient and is found in the earliest surviving fragmentary copies of parts of the Torah that have been found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. These fragments, over eighty in number, offer evidence of the state of the text as early as the mid-second century BCE. They also show that the books of the Torah, like other writings presently included in the canon of the Hebrew Bible, circulated in a variety of versions, many of which differ from that found in the official scriptural canon. It is not clear how early the five books comprising the Torah were routinely copied together on one scroll. Nevertheless, Jewish and early Christian literary sources from the beginning of the Common Era assume that all five books formed a single literary entity.

THE CONTENTS OF THE CANONICAL TORAH. The canonical version of the Torah is a complex narrative work of extremely sophisticated composition. No simple outline of the plot of the Torah can do justice to its complexity. Major and minor themes and subplots are skillfully woven throughout the five books so that passages in one book are alluded to or even quoted in others (e.g., *Ex.* 16:2-3 and *Nm.* 11:4-6). The thematic unity of the Torah, then, fully justifies the rabbinic view that the books must be copied on a single scroll (B.T., *Git.* 60a). The following summary suggests the overall coherence of the Torah's narrative across the five books in which the story is told.

The Torah's master theme organizes diverse stories and collections of laws into a theologically coherent statement as well as a compelling historical narrative. The Torah is a history of the expressions of divine love for Israel and of Israel's inability to accept and respond to that love. The theme is given a universal significance in the first eleven chapters of *Genesis,* a complete literary unit that forms a prologue describing the origins of the world in God's creative speech (*Gn.* 1:1-2:4) and the early history of humanity. These chapters describe various forms of human rebellion from the time of the primordial man and woman, Adam and Eve (*Gn.* 2:4-3:24) and continuing through their descendants: Cain's murder of his brother, Abel (*Gn.* 4:1-16); the violence of Noah's generation that led to the destruction of nearly all life (*Gn.* 6-9); and the insolence of the generation that sought to invade the heavens by building a tower in Babel (*Gn.* 11:1-10).

This history of human rebellion foreshadows the Torah's depiction of God's relationship with the family of Abraham and his descendants through his son, Isaac, and grandson, Jacob. *Genesis* chapters 12 to 36 describe various covenantal promises sealed between God and these Patriarchs (*Gn.* 12:1-4, 15:1-21, 17:1-14, 22:15-19, 26:23-25, 28:10-15). Essential to these is the promise of the Land of Canaan as the eventual dwelling place of the Israelite people. Thematically, this Land recalls the original Garden in which Adam and Eve lived and from which they were expelled due to their rebellion. It is to be the place in which God and his human partners dwell together in harmony. But as the Torah's narrative unfolds, it becomes clear that Israel is no less susceptible than the original humans to the urge to defy God. Each patriarch lives in the Land for a time, and each is tested with various hardships that require him to leave the Land. Ultimately, through a combination of famine and certain intrigues involving a plot by Jacob's eleven sons against their brother Joseph, all of Jacob's descendants migrate to Egypt (*Gn.* 37-50), abandoning entirely the Land promised to them through their ancestor, Abraham.

The book of *Exodus* opens (chapter 1) with a description of the enslavement of Jacob's descendants to the Egyptian Pharaoh. The focus of chapters 2 to 4 is the figure of Moses, a son of Hebrew slaves, spared from death and raised in the royal household, who discovers his true identity and is called upon by God to lead Israel out of slavery into a formal covenant of servitude to God himself. Chapters 5 to 15 trace the negotiations of Moses and his brother, Aaron, with Pharaoh for the release of Israel from slavery. They also describe Israel's liberation through the visitation of plagues against Egypt, culminating in the death of firstborn sons. Moses brings the freed slaves to a wilderness mountain chosen by God—Sinai—and there concludes a covenant-making ceremony that includes the revelation to Moses and Israel of the legal terms of covenantal service to God (chapters 19-24). At this point Israel is in full possession of the covenant revelation and anticipates rapid entry in the Land of Canaan, where its terms are to be fulfilled.

With a few crucial narrative interruptions, the details of these covenantal laws extend from chapter 25 of *Exodus,* through the entire book of *Leviticus,* and into the first ten chapters of *Numbers.* The first narrative interruption in this extensive collection of laws is of great importance to the Torah's overall theme of human rebellion against divine love. *Exodus* chapter 32 describes how Israel, just having seen the saving power of God in his punishment of Egypt, initially rebels against the terms of its covenant at Sinai. The very first divine statement of the covenantal terms was the commandment to avoid worship of any image as a divinity and to devote cultic service exclusively to the God who redeemed Israel from Egyptian servitude (*Ex.* 20:1-4). Nevertheless, when Moses is delayed on Sinai in discourse with God, Israel coerces Aaron to supply a cultic icon in the form of a golden calf to serve as a focus of religious devotion. Although Israel atones for this violation, and God's anger is appeased, a pattern of disloyalty familiar from the first chapters of Genesis has been reestablished.

The book of *Numbers,* from chapter 11, resumes the theme of Israel's inability to be loyal to the terms of the divine covenant. It repeatedly offers stories that illustrate Israel's lack of trust in God's power. The most important illustration comes in chapters 13 and 14. Two years after the liberation from slavery, Moses has lead Israel to the border of the Land promised to Abraham. In response to God's word, he sends spies into the Land to help prepare the invasion. But the spies are intimidated by the might of the Canaanite nations living there and convince Israel not to invade. The divine response to this lack of trust is to force Moses to lead Israel on a wilderness journey lasting thirty-eight years, during which the entire generation of adults that refused to enter the Land dies off. Only thereafter is Israel brought again to the Moabite territory adjacent to the Land, with a new generation prepared to take the Land and divide it among the tribal descendants of Jacob's sons (chapters 35-36).

The book of *Deuteronomy* opens with Moses delivering an extended speech to Israel, assembled on the banks of the Jordan River. Moses recounts the history of God's redemptive acts and Israel's ungrateful or rebellious responses, repeating and elaborating on stories told in Exodus and Numbers. He reviews the covenantal laws delivered on Sinai and elaborates in many cases upon their performance. He repeatedly underscores the fact that Israel's covenant with God entails both a blessing and a curse (e.g., *Dn.* 11:26-30, 28:1-68). If Israel obeys the covenantal laws in the Land it will prosper there; but disobedience will be punished by war and exile from the Land. Finally Moses writes down all God has told him in a document called the Book of the Torah of Moses. Deuteronomy closes with final words of dire prediction as well as hopeful blessings placed in Moses' mouth (chapters 32-33). At the end, in chapter 34, Moses dies and passes on the leadership of the people to his disciple Joshua. With this the Torah concludes, its readers fully aware of the eventual fulfillment of Moses' most dire predictions.

THE FORMATION OF THE CANONICAL TORAH. The canonical Torah described above contains many instances of Moses writing down utterances delivered by God. Readers both ancient and modern have wondered about the relation of the Torah-text found in the Hebrew Bible to the various documents that Moses is asserted to have written at divine dictation. Indeed, it is not unusual to read in the Torah that Moses wrote down "*this* Torah" or "*these* words" in response to a divine utterance. But careful readers also note that the antecedent of such expressions can be interpreted plausibly as the immediately preceding divine utterances—or perhaps the book of *Deuteronomy* itself—rather than a series of five books beginning with the creation of the world and ending with the death of Moses. Nevertheless, virtually all Jewish writings known to have been composed during the later Second Temple period (c. 400 BCE-70 CE) assume that the Torah which Moses received and copied is identical to the five books found in Torah scrolls. But in some writings, such as the preamble to the noncanonical book of *Jubilees* (c. 160 BCE), it is also assumed that the received Torah is incomplete; Moses received other revelations on Sinai as well and wrote them down. These, too, should share the authority of the Torah of Moses. The early rabbinic sages, in traditions formulated from the second through the fourth centuries CE, also believed in the Mosaic origin of the canonical text. But noticing a host of chronological discrepancies and other textual problems, they debated the possibilities that the original revelations were received and transcribed by Moses in an order that is no longer preserved in the canonical version (*Mekh.Yish.*, to *Ex.* 15:9). Others suggested that the last verses of *Deuteronomy* describing the death of Moses were written by his disciple, Joshua (B.T., *Bava Bat.* 14b-15a).

The issue of the Mosaic authorship of the canonical text of the Torah has been a particular focus of modern literary-historical scholarship since at least the seventeenth century. The fundamental assumption of modern scholarship is that the Torah, like all texts, is an essentially human product composed by authors immersed in specific historical situations. Proper interpretation of the Torah, then, involves critical study of the text, reading it for literary, stylistic, and linguistic clues to the historical setting in which it was composed. This assumption has freed historians from traditional Jewish and Christian claims about the Torah's Mosaic origins, and inspired them to propose a host of theories about the historical setting of the Torah's composition and the persons or groups responsible for its creation. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, the most influential historical reconstructions of the composition of the Torah have been associated with the Documentary Hypothesis proposed, most notably by the German scholar Julius Wellhausen (1844-1918) and refined by generations of later scholars.

As its name indicates, the Documentary Hypothesis holds that the canonical Torah is a composite literary creation composed, in part, of written documents that are more ancient than the final five-volume narrative into which they have been incorporated. These documents may have originated in oral narrative or legal traditions, but for the most part circulated in ancient Israelite priestly and scribal circles as written sources. Most versions of the hypothesis identify four specific sources, each with its own geographical and chronological point of origin, and each representing a distinct point of view regarding theology, politics, and, most importantly, the early history of Israel as a covenant people. The canonical Torah was created by editors who selected and combined elements from each of these sources in light of their own views about the history of Israel's covenant relationship to its God.

Most versions of the Documentary Hypothesis identify the four documentary sources as follows. The oldest source, often regarded as originating by the ninth century BCE, is a collection of stories reflecting many of the historical interests of the canonical Torah: stories about early humanity, the Israelite patriarchs, and the events surrounding the liberation from Egypt. It is characterized by a preference for the proper name, *YHWH*, in reference to the God of Israel. It also has a particular interest in events located in the southern part of the Land of Israel. It is called the *J-source*, an indication of its Judean origins and its preference for the divine name (spelled *jhwh* in German). Scholars usually identify its creators as a school of scribes associated with the Davidic dynasty in Jerusalem.

The second major documentary source is identified as the *E-source*. This reflects its tendency to prefer the divine title *ʾelohim* ("God") in reference to the God of Israel, and a greater degree of interest in depicting the Patriarchs as founders of worship sites in the northern part of the Land of Israel, also known as Ephraim. Most scholars regard E as a fragmentary source used to supplement and comment on basic elements of the J-source. Presumably it was composed in the northern part of the Land of Israel prior to the destruction of the Northern Israelite Kingdom by the Assyrians in 722 BCE. When Ephraimite refugees migrated south to the Davidic Kingdom they brought their traditions with them. Over time they were incorporated into the J-source traditions to produce a richer and more complex narrative. Some scholars designate this blended document as JE.

The *Priestly* or *P-source* stems, as its name indicates, from priestly writers associated with the Temple in Jerusalem. Like J and E, P contains narratives that comment on primeval human history, the Patriarchal era, and experience of liberation. But its distinctive contribution is enormous and includes detailed collections of legal codes focusing largely, but hardly exclusively, on cultic rules of sacrifice, matters of cultic purity, sexual and dietary behavior, and other matters concerned with the separation of the Israelite community from various sources of ritual contamination. These are richly represented in Leviticus and Numbers in particular. The P-source was at first thought by scholars to be relatively recent, even postexilic in composition. Most opinion holds that it is probably pre-exhilic in origin, although it may incorporate certain revisions and additions stemming from postexilic priestly editors.

The final source of the Torah, according to the Documentary Hypothesis, survives in the Torah largely intact as the book of Deuteronomy. It is called D. Most regard it as having been composed by 621 BCE in order to justify, in terms of Mosaic authority, King Josiah's program for a reform of Israelite cultic practices. Its continual preoccupation is that Israel's tenure on the Land is dependent upon total opposition to idolatry in all its forms and the destruction of non-Israelite shrines throughout the Land. In its present form, Deuteronomy is the introduction to a larger historical work, called by scholars the Deuteronomic History, extending from the scriptural books of Joshua through 2 Kings. Deutronomy closes with Moses' prediction of Israel's failure to heed the covenant, and the Deuteronomic History concludes with a description of the destruction of Jerusalem and the deportation of its royal house and priests. Accordingly, most scholars argue that D and the history attached to it are preexilic works completed in the wake of Jerusalem's destruction and the onset of the period of exile.

There remains in the twenty-first century no universal consensus about precisely how to divide the canonical Torah into the constituent four source documents. Debates continue as well regarding the dating and identity of the authors—whether individuals or "schools"—that stand behind the sources. Most contemporary scholars accept the view that the final work of editing the various sources into their present form must have been done sometime between the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 BCE and the career of the priest, Ezra (c. 450-398 BCE), depicted in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah as imposing the laws of the Torah of Moses upon the Judean community.

Also in contemporary times, the Documentary Hypothesis has been subject to some heated criticism by historians who regard as implausible the hypothesis's principle scenario: that the Torah was created by an editorial team that took apart and recombined elements of earlier written sources. Many contemporary students of oral tradition in ancient scribal cultures, like those of ancient Israel and early Judaism, acknowledge that written sources may lie behind both narrative and legal parts of the Torah. But they have also observed that the so-called "scissors and paste" method of composition proposed by the Documentary Hypothesis has no parallel in other ancient literary traditions. These depend heavily upon orally transmitted material, much of which undergoes transformation due to numerous public performances. This neglect of the oral-traditional dimension of the Torah, when combined with the failure of documentary critics to reach total consensus on the range of each documentary source, has drawn charges that the method of documentary analysis is too subjective to provide a definitive historical account of the composition of the Torah. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the twenty-first century no other theory of the Torah's origins and composition has won a consensus among contemporary academic historians of ancient Israel's literature.

TORAH AS REVELATION. As much as the term Torah is etymologically linked to the idea of teaching, it is in all forms of Judaism linked rhetorically to the idea of revelation, i.e., teaching that stems from a transmundane source. Like the other monotheistic religions originating in the Middle East (i.e., Christianity and Islam), Judaism is grounded in claims to possess revealed texts or doctrines. Since at least the early Second Temple period, the text of the Torah of Moses has served as the paradigmatic revelation. Specifically, the document inscribed on the scroll of the Torah stems from a disclosure of God's love and will to Moses. But this is not to say that Judaism in all times and places has had a single conception of revelation or of how the Torah found in the canon of Scripture and in other more recent writings is related to the actual words disclosed to Moses.

The writings of Palestinian Jewish scribes from the Second Temple period, whose pens produced dozens of books represented as revelations disclosed to ancient prophets and sages from Abraham to Ezra, commonly accepted a stenographic model of revelation derived from the depictions of Moses found throughout the Torah itself (e.g., 4 *Ezr.* 14:37-48). Just as ancient authors commonly dictated their books to scribal copyists, so God dictated his teachings to his prophetic scribe, Moses. Some Second Temple scribal circles, however, asserted that Moses had written down more of the divine revelation than was contained in the scroll anchoring the growing collection of scriptural literature. Both the book of *Jubilees*, many copies of which were found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the singular *Temple Scroll*, represent themselves as records of revelation to Moses. Presumably, the authors or groups promoting these works as revelation affirmed that they, no less than the canonical Torah, constituted authoritative, divinely authorized teaching.

Despite the popularity of the stenographic model of revelation in Palestinian scribal circles, there is at least one Jewish source from the late Second Temple period that suggests a rather different view. In the opinion of Philo (15 BCE–45 CE), a philosophically trained Jew who thrived in the Greco-Roman culture of Alexandria, Egypt, Moses was more than the copyist of the Torah. Rather, in Philo's view, Moses was the author of the Torah (e.g., *On the Sacrifices of Abel and Cain,* 12, 94). He wrote his book in a state of philosophical closeness to God that constituted prophetic illumination. In Philo's view, Moses' narratives and laws are the external form that concealed the deeper philosophical truths taught long after Moses' death by Socrates and Plato. Only by application of allegorical methods of interpretation, Philo held, could the philosophical content of the Torah be recovered. This content, only alluded to allegorically in the concrete text of the Torah's stories and laws, constituted for Philo the true revelation to Moses. The revelation of the Torah was the perception of philosophical truth disclosed to the human mind in a state of prophetic ecstasy (e.g., *On the Sacrifices of Abel and Cain,* 78).

Medieval Jewish thinkers, entirely independently of Philo, would revive the idea of the Torah as an allegory whose truths had to be decoded through appropriate interpretive systems. But they would do so in a way deeply influenced by Rabbinic Judaism, the form of Judaism that grew to dominate Mediterranean and Middle Eastern Jews from the second century CE until the rise of Islam in the seventh century. In its classical form, as found in the later Talmudic literature of Late Antiquity, the rabbinic theory of revelation is grounded in three basic conceptions.

The first is that "Torah is from Heaven" (M. *San.* 10:1)—that is, the God of Israel is the exclusive source of the Torah. In holding this view, the rabbinic sages shared the views of generations of Palestinian Jewish scribes before them, who regarded Moses as a kind of stenographer taking dictation from the God of Israel. The sages also accepted another element of Second Temple Jewish thought, the idea that certain writings produced after the time of Moses were disclosed to religious teachers—prophets in the line of Mosaic authority but subordinate to him in status—whose writings were the result of inspiration by the "holy spirit" (*ruah haqodesh*: e.g., B.T.*, Meg.* 7a). Rabbinic discussion of the extent of the canon of the Hebrew Bible revolved in part around the criterion of inspiration (T. *Yad.* 2:14). Thus the relatively recent book of Daniel, composed around 167 BCE, is included within the rabbinic scriptural canon on the basis of its attribution to an ancient seer from the Exilic period. But an older work, a collection of wise sayings from the pen of the Temple Scribe Yeshua ben Sirach (included in Christian collections of the Apocrypha as the *Wisdom of ben Sira,* c. 180 BCE), was not included in the rabbinic canon, despite its popularity among rabbinic sages as a source of wisdom.

The third key element in the rabbinic conception of revelation is that the Sinaitic revelation to Moses included two intertwined but discrete bodies of teaching. One of these, the actual scroll of the Torah of Moses (and by extension, later books included in the rabbinic scriptural canon), was called the written Torah (e.g.*, Tanh.-Bub.*, to Ex. 19:1). But in addition, God had disclosed an unwritten body of knowledge which alone could unlock the secrets of the written Torah. This unwritten revelation is called the oral Torah (e.g., *Avot Nat.,* A:15). Other Jewish groups of the Second Temple period had asserted the existence of books of revelations that were not contained in the Torah of Moses. But the rabbinic claim is unique in insisting that this revelation was not found in books, but only available as oral tradition learned at the feet of rabbinic sages themselves. Indeed, in rabbinic terminology, the "study of Torah" (*talmud torah*) refers specifically to the study of the written and oral Torah, for Torah had become the comprehensive term denoting the entirety of teachings recognized by rabbinic tradition as authoritative. By early medieval times, rabbinic scribes and teachers had come to preserve oral Torah in discrete written compilations, most importantly, the Mishnah and its Talmudic commentaries. These were routinely memorized by rabbinic disciples, whose discussions and inquiries into the texts of oral Torah continued the oral tradition despite the use of writing in its preservation.

TORAH AS LAW AND ONTOLOGICAL PRINCIPLE. The term *torah*, in addition to its specific sense of "teaching" and the more comprehensive suggestion of "revealed teaching," has also served to convey the concept of "legal rule." This meaning is already well attested in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., *Nm.* 19:14). It is confirmed as well in the penchant of Greek-speaking Jews and early Christians to refer to their collection of scriptures as "the Law" (*ho nomos*; *Matt.* 5:17). Within classical rabbinic Judaism, the written Torah served as a fundamental source of civil and ritual law. Rabbinic sages, functioning as jurisprudents, interpreted and applied the law within the traditional framework of the oral Torah.

A homiletic passage of the Babylonian Talmud (B.T.) (*Mak.* 24a) asserts that God had revealed in the written Torah no less than 613 specific commandments (*mitsvot;* sing. *mitsvah*). The Talmud nowhere lists these commandments, a task that would be taken up by many medieval legal codifiers. Nevertheless, the conceptual tools and interpretive principles for identifying these commandments and applying them in practical affairs were transmitted in the oral Torah tradition (e.g., the *Bar. Yish.*). These yielded the authoritative procedures (*halakhot;* sing. *halakhah*) for embodying the commandments in the covenant life of Israel. In practice, the legal force of a commandment in the written Torah was delimited exclusively by the meaning ascribed to it in the halakhic tradition of the oral Torah, regardless of what the semantic meaning of the commandment might suggest. Thus, to take a famous example, the written Torah's commandment to take "an eye for an eye" in the case of damages caused by negligence (*Ex.* 21:23) is defined halakhically to mean that the responsible party must compensate the victim financially for his or her loss (e.g., *Mek. Yish.* to *Ex.* 21:23).

The most decisive development in rabbinic conceptions of Torah as a legal system was the emergence of various attempts to systematically organize the vast legal discussions of the Talmudic literature into manageable codes that could serve the needs of rabbinic courts and educated laity. First in the Islamic world, and then in Latin Christendom, rabbinic scholars produced a series of influential halakhic collections. These experimented with a variety of organizational formats. The *Sheʾiltot* of Rabbi Aha (c. 750), for example, organized halakhic norms in tandem with the rabbinically prescribed Torah readings for the Sabbath which served as their sources. Others, such as the halakhic digest of Rabbi Isaac Al-Fasi (1013-1103), followed the traditional sequence of Talmudic tractates, extracting essential halakhic conclusions from the give-and-take of the debates within which the Talmud had preserved them. The most innovative and encyclopedic attempt at codification was the *Mishneh Torah*, composed by Moses ben Maimon ("Maimonides," 1135-1204). He organized all of rabbinic halakhah within the framework of fourteen major topical headings, each of which included several subheadings, all arranged in scrupulous logical sequence. Subsequent codes, such as Rabbi Jacob ben Asher's *ʾArbʿa Turim* (fourteenth century) and Rabbi Joseph Caro's *Shulhan ʾArukh* (sixteenth century) revised Maimonides's comprehensive organizational categories. They also narrowed Maimonides's scope, focusing only upon halakhic norms that governed the daily life of individuals and the community as a corporate entity. Thus, vast halakhic topics that depended upon the existence of the Jerusalem Temple were excluded, despite their extensive treatment by Maimonides. The primary categories developed in the *ʾArbʿa Turim* have become conventional in later rabbinic halakhic thinking until contemporary times. They are *ʾOrakh Hayyim* (laws governing the liturgical cycle of the day, week, and year); *Yoreh Deʿah* (ritual laws, such as the dietary restrictions, that signify the holiness of the Jewish community); *Hoshen Mishpat* (the topics of civil and criminal law); and *ʾEven Haʿezer* (*halakhot* governing the contraction, duration, and dissolution of marriage).

In addition to this halakhic-jurisprudential development of the meaning of Torah as "law," classical rabbinic tradition also suggested that Torah constituted a kind of law of being, "a precious instrument through which the world was created" (M. *Avot* 3:14). The thought was driven home vividly in midrashic settings, in which the Torah was likened to an architect's blueprint that proved indispensable to the builder of a palace *(Ber. Rab.* 1:1) or claimed to have existed for 947 generations prior to the creation of the world (B.T., *Zev.* 116a). Such suggestions that the Torah in some sense preceded the creation of the world entailed, of course, a radical disassociation of Torah, conceived as a principle of being, from the specific writings found in books. Torah, in the context of such discussions, now denoted an ontological principle that transcended the existence of the historical Torah of Moses, even as the latter pointed toward and symbolized that ontological reality.

The jurisprudential and ontological developments of the idea of Torah among the sages of Late Antiquity provided the foundations upon which medieval rabbinic intellectuals, responding to larger movements in Islamic and Christian thought and piety, created fresh formulations of these themes. Many of these formulations were inspired by polemical interactions. The pioneering figure in the Jewish philosophical tradition, Rabbi Saʾadia ben Joseph (882-942) produced his masterpiece, *The Book of Opinions and Beliefs*, in part as an effort to demonstrate to rationalist critics the rationality of the Torah as a legal system stemming from God and disclosed in its complete and final form to Israel's prophets. Deeply influenced by the rationalist Islamic school known as the Mutʿazilite Kalam, Saʾadia hoped to use the Kalam's own rigorous methodology to demonstrate the intellectual sufficiency of Torah as a comprehensive source of divine knowledge. Building upon traditional Talmudic distinctions between pragmatic rules (*mishpatim*) and inscrutable divine decrees (*huqqim*), Saʾadia argued that both were absolutely essential in the context of the Torah as revelation. Laws self-evidently necessary for social order, such as the prohibition against murder (*Ex.* 20:13), were entirely susceptible to rational explanation. Apparently absurd requirements, such as the injunction against certain types of foods (e.g. *Lv.* 11:1ff.), on the other hand, required revelationbecause unaided reason would never discover them as the will of God. In this sense, the rational laws of the Torah are a crucial part of revelation because they inspire confidence in the inscrutable divine will that commands as well the nonrational prohibitions and injunctions of the Torah (*Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, III.3–5).

Reflection on the rationality of the Torah as a source of law, a characteristic leitmotif of the Jewish philosophical tradition since the time of Saʾadia, reached its high point in the work of Maimonides. An Aristotelian critic of the Kalam, Maimonides argued for the complete rational intelligibility of all of the laws of the Torah. He did so both by philosophical argument and jurisprudential demonstration. Maimonides' great codification of the *halakhah*, discussed above, demonstrated the rational integrity and complete harmony of the entire body of written and oral Torah. By contrast, Maimonides' principal philosophical work, the *Guide of the Perplexed*, offered a powerful defense of the rationality of the Torah as a guide to the perfection of human beings as creatures of God. He rejected earlier distinctions, such as those of Saʾadia, between rational and nonrational commandments, arguing instead for the conceptual cogency of the entire system of revealed law as developed in the oral Torah. Acknowledging that the rationality of some commandments was more immediately clear than others, he insisted that the Torah's law remains the most complete and incomparable disclosure of the divine will in human language (*Guide of the Perplexed* III:26-28).

When thinking about the ontological dimension of the Torah, thinkers such as Saʾadia and Maimonides hesitated to subscribe to the idea of the Torah as a pre-existent ontological principle that pervaded creation. In their view, to speak of the Torah pre-existing the world was tantamount to questioning the fundamental belief that God created the world from nothing. Torah could reflect, as law, the mind and will of God, but it could not be conceived as something co-eternal with God. This type of ontological thinking about Torah, in fact, became characteristic of the qabbalistic tradition, a distinctly antiphilosophical movement of Spanish and southern French pietists that began to take shape in the eleventh through thirteenth centuries.

Qabbalists such as Rabbi Todros Abulafia (1220-1298, writing in *ʾOtsar Hakavod*, to *Shab.* 28b), tended to reject as hubris the Maimonidean idea that the human mind could justify divine commandments through the exercise of reason. All of the 613 commandments—the reasonable as well the absurd—were profound mysteries fulfilling some hidden purpose in the economy of creation. In qabbalistic thought, which reprised certain neo-Platonic themes that had originally inspired Jewish philosophers as well, thinking about the Torah as law and ontological principle was, in fact, elegantly combined. The pioneering Talmudist, biblical interpreter, and qabbalist Rabbi Moses ben Nahman ("Nahmanides," 1194-1270), asserted in the introduction to his commentary on the Torah that the Torah is nothing less than the being of God in linguistic form, a series of divine names. Reflecting such conceptions, writers such as Azriel of Gerona (early thirteenth century) conceived the 613 commandments of the halakhic tradition metaphorically as the "limbs" of God, each limb corresponding to an appropriate human limb for which that commandment was destined (*Per. Ag.*, 37). On this view, the "reason" for the commandments had nothing to do with rational justification of the divine will. Rather, a Jew's performance of commandments according to their halakhic prescriptions effected a communication of being between God and his creatures (e.g., *Zoh.* II: 165b). The *Zohar*, a canonical expression of thirteenth-century Qabbalah, expressed this principle as a kind of axiom: "Three dimensions of being are bound up with each other—the Blessed Holy One, Torah, and Israel" (*Zoh.* III:73a). That is to say, Torah is at one and the same time a system of law and the root of all existence. By enacting the law, Israel unifies the limbs of God into their ideal configuration, thus bringing blessing to the world (*Zoh.* II:85b).

The qabbalistic unification of Torah as law with Torah as a principle of being proved immensely influential. The Jewish philosophical tradition, which had never engaged more than a relatively small minority of Jews, would essentially die out by the sixteenth century. But from the thirteenth century onward, qabbalistic ideas transmitted in the *Zohar* and by its exegetical interpreters came to dominate much of the rabbinic intellectual leadership. Indeed, one of the last great Jewish philosophers, Hasdai Crescas (1340-1410), was himself deeply sympathetic to the Qabbalah's insistence that the Torah could not be comprehended by human rationality. Qabbalistic perspectives on Torah are also represented in the writings of later intellectual leaders, such as Rabbi Isaac Abarbanel (1437-1508), Rabbi Moses Alshekh (c. 1590), Rabbi Haim Vital (1542-1620), the Maharal of Prague (Rabbi Judah Loewe ben Betsalel: 1525-1609) and the Vilna Gaon (Rabbi Elijah ben Solomon: 1720-1797). The writings of Rabbi Haim Vital and the Maharal were particularly influential in the development of Eastern European Hasidism, a revivalist movement founded in the eighteenth century. The idea of Torah as an ontological principle of being is richly represented in the early Hasidic writings of such influential masters as Rabbi Shneʾur Zalman of Liady (1745-1813), author of *Tanya*, and Rabbi Menahem Nahum of Chernobyl (1730-1797), the author of *Meʾor ʿEnayim*.

TORAH AS A RECORD OF JEWISH MORAL AND HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE. In the contemporary world it is still possible to find communities of Jews remaining ideologically committed to stenographic conceptions of the revelation of the Torah. For the most part, such Jews structure their behavior exclusively in light of the oral Torah's halakhic tradition as defined in the *Shulhan ʾArukh*, and regard the Torah as a creative principle at the heart of reality. But they consider themselves—and are so considered by most other Jews—as ultra-orthodox rejectionists, opposed to all influences of Western civilization upon Judaism. Accordingly, their intellectual impact upon the thought of Jews more accepting of modern civilization has tended to be minimal. Of far greater influence in most forms of contemporary Jewish thinking about the Torah are intellectual traditions that emerged in the context of modern European Protestant religious thought and went on to shape much of the intellectual style of modernity. These include in particular an ethical universalism associated with the philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), a romantic focus on personal religious experience stemming from the work of the theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834), and an idealist search for the patterns of historical development that achieved influential formulation in the philosophy of G. W. F. Hegel (1770-1831).

These traditions stand behind three fundamental shifts in Jewish thinking about the Torah in the past two centuries. The first, inspired by Kant, is the shift from conceiving Torah as a legal instrument requiring absolute obedience to conceiving it as a source of eternal moral values and ethical norms. Thinkers following in this tradition include, among others, Moritz Lazarus (1824-1903), Hermann Cohen (1842-1918), and Leo Baeck (1873-1956), all of whom found the essence of Judaism to be in the Torah as the first historical expression of ethical monotheism. The Torah remains essential, in this view, as an ongoing inspiration to moral seriousness and universal ethical concern on the part of the Jewish people. The ritual and civil laws of the Torah are no longer literally binding upon Jews, although the ethical values informing them abide.

The second shift, inspired by Schleiermacher, moves the traditional notion of revelation in the direction of personal subjectivity, transforming the giving of the Torah from an historical event to a moral and psychological experience. For much of modern Jewish religious thought, the Torah is conceived as a written record of the profound personal religious experiences enjoyed by Israel's prophets and still retrievable for the modern reader through the proper interpretation of the text. A brilliant and influential exponent of this view was Abraham Geiger (1810-1874), the founder of Reform Judaism. In the middle of the twentieth century, the existentially oriented philosophical and hermeneutical writings of Martin Buber (1878-1965) brought this theme to the attention of a wide audience. Buber focused upon revelation as the matrix of an I-Thou relationship with God as the Eternal Thou. He was famous for insisting that the laws of the Torah could only constitute revelation if they were subjectively experienced as commandments by the individual.

Finally, the third shift involves a revision of the relationship of the Torah to historical and cultural processes. Classically, the Torah is transhuman and originates with God. For most modern Jewish thinkers, the Torah—both as a collection of texts and as a system of values—is a tradition that developed in accord with historical processes and under a variety of cultural influences. This shift can ultimately be traced back to the influence of Hegel's notion of history as the temporal unfolding of an eternal Absolute Spirit that would eventually come, through the dialectical patterns intrinsic to the logic of its own being, to a complete self-consciousness of itself. This conception was first applied to the history of Judaism by Nahman Krochmal (1785-1840). He viewed the Torah in dialectical terms as both the product of historical Jewish experience and the eternal, ideal structure of that experience. The influential writings of the twentieth-century philosopher Franz Rosenzweig (1886-1929) take issue with much of Hegelian idealism, but remain deeply committed to the concept of the eternality of the Torah as a unique structure of Jewish being and consciousness. Rosenzweig's interchange of letters with Buber over the nature of the Torah's commandments as revelation remains a crucial signpost in the history of modern Jewish thinking about the Torah.

Throughout the twentieth century, modern Jewish religious thought in the United States, Europe, and the State of Israel has elaborated upon the Torah as a source of Jewish ethics, a record of Jewish religious insight, and a product of Jewish historical and cultural experience. For the most part, this conversation has proceeded without the contribution of those Jews, mostly of Eastern European and Middle Eastern origin, who for a variety of reasons have rejected modern culture in principle. A singular exception is Rabbi Joseph B. Soloveitchik (1903-1992), descendant of a prestigious family of Lithuanian Talmudists, and the principal mid-twentieth-century exponent of modern Orthodox Judaism. Fully conversant with the Kantian, Scheiermachian, and Hegelian foundations of modern theology, Soloveitchik devoted himself to constructing a workable theory of the continued authority of the halakhic tradition of written and oral Torah over Jewish life. For Soloveitchik, the halakhic tradition embodies an historically given and existentially grounded mode of human consciousness. Intellectual mastery and scrupulous observance of Torah—paradigmatically, the tradition of received halakhic norms—enables Jews to transform their broken human existence in accordance with the ideal construct of human personhood imagined for all humanity at the time of creation.

At the beginning of the twentieth-first century, Torah continues to occupy a central place in Jewish religious discourse. All of the traditional themes of modern Jewish conceptions of the Torah—the ethical, the personalist, and the historicist—have their exponents and these conceptions continue to be refined in both popular and academic writings. A potentially significant development in more recent decades is the emergence of an explicitly "postmodernist" style of Jewish thought inspired by developments in European philosophy and literary studies associated with a movement known as "Deconstruction." Emanuel Levinas (1905-1995), the French author of both philosophical works and Talmudic commentaries, has been influential in this trend, particularly among American thinkers. The principle tendency of Jewish postmodernism is to expose the ideological underpinnings of the primary pillars of modern thought in general—its claim to ethical ultimacy and historically comprehensive vision. By depriving modern thought of its absolute authority over values and visions of the past, Jewish postmodernists have begun to experiment with new ways of engaging the texts of Torah—broadly conceived now as the entire sum of texts that disclose dimensions of Jewish existence. It remains to be seen how these new ways of reading will influence Jewish conceptions of Torah in coming decades.

TORAH STUDY AS A FORM OF JUDAIC PIETY. A famous rabbinic text included in the rabbinic ritual for daily morning blessings concludes its list of praiseworthy acts with the phrase "and the study of Torah overrides all of them" (*talmud torah keneged kulam*: P.T., *Pe'ah* 1:1). This phrase summarizes the centrality of Torah study in rabbinic Judaism. To a certain degree the study of the Torah of Moses is given a high evaluation in a variety of Second Temple-period Jewish settings (cf. *Ps.* 119, Preface to the *Wisdom of ben Sira*, and *Rule of the Community*, QS 6:6-8). But in rabbinic Judaism, which coalesced over a century after the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 CE, Torah study came to occupy a new role. It was conceived as a form of piety which, on a par with formal public worship, substituted for the vanished sacrificial service performed in ancient times by the Jerusalem priesthood (B.T., *Meg.* 16b). Both activities were regarded by sages as world-sustaining acts which, like sacrifice itself, drew divine energy into the world and ensured its being (e.g., M. *Avot* 1:2). Indeed, it is not uncommon for rabbinic sages to suggest that Torah study may be even more important than prayer and performance of other commandments as a form of sacrificial worship (e.g., B.T., *Qid.* 40b). Like public prayer, however, *talmud torah* was conceived by rabbinic sages as a paradigmatically male form of divine service (B.T., *Qid.* 29a). Accordingly, for most of the history of rabbinic Judaism, Torah study has been primarily a male activity, deemed crucial in the shaping of masculine Jewish identity.

The character of Torah study in classical rabbinic times can be inferred from careful study of the surviving rabbinic literature. It is clear, first of all, from the remarkable facility of midrashic literature in finding the most obscure biblical texts to make an exegetical point, that many rabbinic sages had full recall of virtually the entire canon of the written Torah. Indeed, a common form of Palestinian rabbinic entertainment included competitions in stringing the most impressive list of biblical verses under specific themes (P.T., *Hag.* 2:2). The disciples of sages were also expected to master the emerging tradition of oral Torah. Whereas written versions of such crucial texts as the Mishnah may have circulated as early as the third century, the preferred way to study oral Torah was by hearing the text recited by a teacher or an official text-memorizer (B.T., *Git.* 60b). Disciples would rehearse their oral texts prior to examination by a master, often using distinctive tunes (T. *Oh.*16:8) or other mnemonic techniques (B.T., *Hor.*12a) as an aid to memorization. The master would then review not only the orallymemorized text (B.T., *ʿEruv.* 54b), but engage the student in extemporaneous analysis of the text in comparison with other texts on connected themes (B.T., *Bava Qam.* 117a).

The rabbinic disciple-communities of late antiquity were rather small circles associated with individual sages. Torah study in this setting was, therefore, part of an evolving relationship between teacher and student. In medieval times the expansion of the rabbinic community and the consequent production of written compendia of the Talmudic tradition engendered important changes in the character of Torah study. Large institutionalized schools of rabbinic education (*yeshivot*; sing. *yeshivah)* were created and the study of a fixed text, often encountered primarily in written form, began to replace the process of oral memorization. By the tenth century, written commentaries by especially influential masters (e.g., Rabbi Hananʾel ben Hushiʾel of Kairouan, Rashi of Troyes) began to circulate in manuscript copies as part of the Torahcurriculum and came as well to be regarded as part of the oral Torah.

The emergence of print technology in the late fifteenth century was embraced by rabbinic authorities as providential, for it enabled the wide dissemination of both the written and the oral Torah in uniform formats that transcended local textual differences and scribal practices. The expansion of profound Talmudic scholarship in sixteenth- through seventeenth-century Eastern Europe was in part enabled by the production of printed copies of rabbinic literature for use in the great *yeshivot.* Thanks to printers, the prodigious memories encouraged by Talmudic learning were aided by the production of text editions in which identical, clearly printed words could be found on the exact same page of hundreds of copies of a given rabbinic work throughout the Jewish world. Whereas this premium on memorization led at times to a rather arid academicism, various educational reforms renewed rigorous conceptual analysis of Talmudic discourse under various pedagogical theories until well into the nineteenth century.

The premium on memorized mastery of the written text and its commentaries, in conjunction with distinct methodological approaches derived from nineteenth- and twentieth-century innovators, continues to be the distinguishing trait of *yeshivah*-grounded Torah study in contemporary Orthodox and Hasidic centers of Torah study throughout the world. Curricula vary depending upon the specific ideological commitments of distinct communities. For example classical Hasidic sources are not commonly taught in *yeshivot* founded by anti-Hasidic authorities. Nevertheless, the core of contemporary Torah study remains the Babylonian Talmud and the commentaries printed on its margins and in the appendices to each printed volume. Closely associated with study of the Talmud is careful analysis of the traditional medieval codes, particularly those of Maimonides, Rabbi Jacob ben Asher, and Rabbi Joseph Caro, with their panoply of associated commentaries and supercommentaries. A recent innovation in many contemporary *yeshivot* is the inclusion within the curriculum of explicitly theological studies (*hashqafah*). Examples might include the more philosophical passages of Maimonides's *Mishneh Torah*, works of classical Qabbalah, or works of ethical self-scrutiny stemming from the nineteenth-century Musar movement founded by Rabbi Israel Salanter (1786-1866).

Among contemporary Jews, the primacy of Torah study as a Judaic religious value is felt even beyond the circles of traditional *yeshivot.* The explosion of electronic media and an ongoing industry in the translation of classical Judaica into a variety of languages has enabled the creation of novel settings for popular as well as advanced Torah study. Similarly, the revolutionary achievements of feminism in Western culture have affected most Jewish communities. Since the latter half of the twentieth century, Torah study was made widely available to women in the more liberal religious denominations. Most recently, certain Orthodox communities in both the United States and the State of Israel have experimented with opening advanced Torah study to women.

Contemporary Jewish communities of any size will have multiple outlets for the study of Jewish history and tradition at diverse levels in synagogues or community centers. Many of these, based upon Western educational models, take the form of classes for children and adults on various themes and include the study of the written and oral Torah in the original languages and in accessible translations. Whereas such contexts do not yet provide the comprehensive technical mastery and ideological *élan* of Orthodox *yeshivot*, they testify to the continued significance of Torah study as a form of Jewish identification.

TORAH SCROLL AS AN OBJECT OF RITUAL DEVOTION. The Torah in Judaism is more than a subject of study. The scroll of the Torah, read aloud in the synagogue liturgies of the Sabbath, holy days, and at other prescribed occasions, is Judaism's most important ritual object. It is invested with a numinous quality—*qedushah* ("holiness")—which, like other ritual objects described in the anthropological studies of tribal cultures around the world, is conceived both as a source of charisma and as something deeply vulnerable to violation. The *qedushah* invested in the scroll must therefore be protected. This protection is afforded by ritual activities that surround all aspects of its handling.

The ritualization of the scroll begins even prior to its first use in public synagogue worship. Complex halakhic requirements surround every stage of its creation. These govern the preparation of the hides and inks used by the scribe, the shapes of the letters used in writing, the spellings of the words in the text, and the paragraphing of textual units. The scribe, who must copy the text letter-by-letter from another suitable scroll, will have rinsed his hands prior to setting to work to ensure the requisite degree of bodily purity. Women whose menstrual cycles render them ritually unclean for certain periods of each month may not serve as scribes for this reason.

Once it is ready for use, a Torah scroll must still be protected from defilement through contact with sources of impurity, including the hands of synagogue worshipers. The means of protecting the scroll also serve a second function of drawing attention to and beautifying it. It is wrapped in a finely made, embroidered sheath or case. Often it will be adorned as well with finely wrought silver crowns and breastplates. Thus protected from random touching, the scroll is stored in a specially designed, ornate cabinet at the very front of the synagogue. This cabinet is normally called the *ʾaron haqodesh* ("the holy ark") and recalls the box in which Moses placed the stone tablets that represented the covenant between Israel and God.

The formal liturgy of reading the Torah in public is also deeply enmeshed in ritual performances. These call to mind the charismatic *qedushah* of the scroll and, at the same time, assimilate the empirical, existing scroll in the synagogue to the Torah of Moses revealed on Sinai and stored in the original holy ark. When, at the appropriate liturgical moment, the ark is opened, the entire congregation must rise to attention, as if royalty had entered the room. At this point the worshippers recite in unison a verse from the Torah: "And when the Ark began to move, Moses said: 'Arise, O Lord, and scatter your enemies, and may those who hate you flee from before you'" (*Nm.* 10:35). The scroll is then borne around the synagogue in a solemn procession accompanied by the singing of texts from the book of Psalms. During this procession, worshippers engage in formal acts of adoration—particularly, touching the sheath with a prayer shawl or prayer book, and kissing the place on the shawl or book that touched the Torah. At the end of the procession, the scroll is brought to a reading table, usually in the front of the congregation or in its very midst. It is carefully removed from its sheath and placed on the table, covered by a protecting cloth.

The actual reading of the Torah, commencing at this point, is equally surrounded by ritual performances. Depending upon the occasion, anywhere from three to seven congregants will be honored with an "ascent" (*ʿaliyah*) to the Torah. The term *ascent* intentionally recalls Moses' ascent to Sinai. During these ascents a preselected passage will be read aloud, normally by a professional reader. Each person who ascends to the Torah recites, before and after the reading, a benediction of thanks to God for the privilege of having received the Torah. During the reading, the reader keeps track of the text with a silver or wood pointer (*yad),* so as to avoid touching the scroll. At the conclusion of the final ascent, the Torah, now unfurled to expose a minimum of three columns of its text, is raised high in the hands of a designated congregant. At this the congregation points to the scroll and intones the following formula from the Torah itself (*Dn.* 4:44): "This is the Torah which Moses placed before the children of Israel at God's command, by Moses' hand." The scroll is then rolled, returned to its sheath, and carried in a second adorational procession back to its storage place in the ark.

Like all sacred objects, Torah scrolls can become defiled and disqualified for liturgical use (*pasul).* For example, constant use over the years may cause ink to chip from the scroll, rendering a word illegible. This is sufficient to prevent the scroll from being read until the ink is restored by a duly qualified scribe. Tears in the parchment and other minor repairs may also be made to restore the scroll to service. But if a scroll suffers massive irreparable damage—as in a fire or other disaster—the scroll is retired from use. In some communities, a defiled scroll is afforded the honor due to a human corpse and buried. In others it is stored in a special storage area (*Genizah*) with other damaged books that contain the divine name and, therefore, cannot be intentionally destroyed.

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TORAH SHEBEʾAL PEH SEE ORAL TORAH

TORAJA RELIGION.

The Sa'dan Toraja, a people numbering about 325,000, live in Tana Toraja, the mountainous northern part of the southwest peninsula of the Indonesian island of Sulawesi (formerly Celebes). The name *Sa'dan* is derived from the Sa'dan River, the main stream in the region. *Toraja* is a contraction of *To-ri-aja* ("men of the mountains"), a name given the people by their Bugis neighbors. Following local customs, we refer to these people as Toraja.

The region of approximately 3,180 square kilometers, originally heavily forested, has been changed by cultivation. The few remaining forests cover slopes unsuitable for cultivation. The principal means of subsistence is agriculture. Rice, cassava, and maize are the staples; coffee and cloves are the principal cash crops. Animal husbandry is practiced on a large scale, but only the breeding of pigs is of economic importance. The buffalo, a status symbol, is rarely used for work in the fields. The animal has primarily a ritual function, for the superior type of death feast demands the sacrifice of about a hundred buffalo.

Social change began with the introduction of coffee growing and the coffee trade in the last quarter of the previous century. The subduing of the Toraja country by the Dutch (1906), the period of the Japanese occupation (1942–1945), and the independence of Indonesia (1945) accelerated this process. Tourism, a recent development, has brought further change. The school system introduced by the Dutch government and missionaries opened a new world for a people who had known only an oral tradition. Tana Toraja became the missionary field of the Reformed Alliance of the Dutch Reformed Church and half of the population has been converted to Christianity.

THE "BELIEF OF THE OLD." The autochthonous religion of the Toraja is called Aluk To Dolo (*to dolo* literally means "people bygone"), that is, "belief of the old," or "rituals of the ancestors." In this religion, ancestor cult, myth, and ritual are intertwined. During the celebration of major rituals, the *to minaa*, a priest well versed in tribal lore and history, recites the lengthy litany of the tribe's origins. He tells of how the cosmos and the gods came into being, how man, his food plants, and animals had originated in heaven and were brought down when the first nobleman descended to earth, landing on a mountain. The *to manurun*, that is, the person of status who descended from heaven, brought with him the entire social order and a complete heavenly household, including a house, slaves, animals, and plants. With the *to manurun* also came priests: the *to minaa*, the *to burake* (the highest rank of religious functionary), the rice priest, and the medicine man. The death priest, however, is not mentioned. The descent of a nobleman was believed to have occurred several times in Toraja history. With regional variations these main themes are found throughout Tana Toraja.

THE TRIPARTITE COSMIC WORLD. In the Toraja view, the cosmos is divided into three parts: the upper world, the world of mankind (earth), and the underworld. In the beginning, however, heaven and earth were one expanse of darkness, united in marriage. With their separation came light. Several gods sprang from this mythical marriage. Puang Matua ("the old lord") is the principal god and the deity of heaven. Pong Banggai di Rante ("the master of the plains") is the god of the earth. Gaun ti Kembong ("the swollen cloud"') resides between heaven and earth. Indo' Belo Tumbang ("the lady who dances beautifully") is the goddess of the medicine that cures the sick in the Maro ritual. Pong Tulak Padang is the Toraja Atlas; he carries the earth, not on his shoulders but in the palms of his hands. Together with Puang Matua in the upper world he keeps earth, the world of mankind, in equilibrium, separating night from day. His bad-tempered spouse, Indo' Ongon-ongon, however, upsets the equilibrium by causing earthquakes when she is in a bad mood. She is much feared, as is Pong Lalondong ("the lord who is a cock"). Puya ("the land of souls") lies in the southwest under the earth's surface. The underworld and upper world have other deities, and there are also *deata* (deities, ghosts) residing on earth and in rivers, canals, wells, trees, and stones. Eels are revered as fertility symbols.

THE BIPARTITE DIVISION OF THE RITUALS. By observing the rules of deities and ancestors, man observes his part in maintaining the equilibrium between the upper worlds and the underworlds. He does so by means of rites and rituals. Rituals are divided into two spheres, one of the east, the Rising Sun or Smoke Ascending (Rambu Tuka), and the other of the west, the Setting Sun or Smoke Descending (Rambu Solo'). The north is associated with the east, the south with the west. Rituals of the Rising Sun are those celebrating joy and life. This category includes birth, marriage, rice ceremonies, and feasts for the well-being of the family, the house, and the community. Ceremonies for healing the sick are also rituals of the Rising Sun; yet to the extent that sickness poses a danger to the community the rituals of healing share some traits with those of the Setting Sun. The Setting Sun ritual is associated with darkness, night, and, of course, with death. With the exception of the healing rituals, the ritual spheres of east and west are kept quite distinct from one another.

The most important ritual of the eastern sphere is the Bua' feast, a ceremony for a whole territory, the Bua' community. During this feast the *burake*—in some districts a priestess, in others a priest who is considered a hermaphrodite—implores the gods of heaven to bestow their benevolence on the community. Another feast of importance is the Merok, held for the welfare of a large family. At the center of the Merok is the *tongkonan*, the dwelling founded by the family's first ancestor. The most important of these houses are the ones considered to have been founded by a *to manurun*. These major rituals of the east have their ritual counterparts in high-ranking death feasts. Ritualizing the dead is a major focus of Toraja culture. A ranking order in funerals exists that corresponds to the status of the deceased. Toraja society is a stratified one, with much emphasis laid on the display of wealth. By the efforts and the devotion of the family, and through the expenditure lavished on buffalo, entertainment, and care of the death priest, the deceased of rank will reach Puya. After being judged by Pong Lalondong he climbs a mountain and reaches heaven. There he will occupy a place among the deified ancestors, who form a constellation that guards mankind and the rice. Thus the spheres of death and life, notwithstanding an apparent opposition, meet each other.

SEE ALSO Southeast Asian Religions, article on Insular Cultures.

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Revised Bibliography

TORQUEMADA, TOMÁS DE (1420–1498), Spanish inquisitor. Tomás de Torquemada, nephew of Juan de Torquemada (1388–1468), the celebrated Dominican theologian, canonist, and cardinal, was born at Valladolid and as a youth entered the Order of Preachers. For twenty-two years he was prior of the Dominican convent of Santa Cruz at Segovia. In 1474 he was appointed confessor to Queen Isabella I of Castile, and later he performed the same service, nominally at least, for King Ferdinand V of Aragon.

By a brief of February 11, 1482, Pope Sixtus IV named Torquemada, along with ten other Dominicans, to replace former officers of the Spanish Inquisition who had been charged with corrupt practices. On August 2, 1483, Torquemada was appointed grand inquisitor for the kingdoms of Castile and León; a few months later his authority was extended to Catalonia, Aragon, Valencia, and Majorca. He forthwith established tribunals at Seville, Cordova, Jaén, and Villarreal (later transferred to Toledo). Between 1484 and 1498 he set down the basic procedure of the Inquisition in a series of *instrucciónes*—fifty-four articles in all—that guided the activities of succeeding grand inquisitors. These were published in 1576.

Torquemada, though himself descended from Jewish forebears, was particularly harsh in carrying out the mandate of the Inquisition against crypto-Jews (Marranos), Jews who continued to practice Judaism in secret after their forced conversion to Christianity. In 1492 he supported, and perhaps promoted, the expulsion of the Jews from the newly united Spain. Complaints about his severity moved Pope Alexander VI in 1494 to add four colleagues to his judicial bench, but as early as the next year they were accused of financial misconduct, and there was no discernible change in the Inquisition's practices after Torquemada's retirement or even after his death.

Torquemada became, and has remained, the personification of religious intolerance at its worst. It is believed that as many as two thousand people were burned to death under his regime, and many thousands of others suffered imprisonment, confiscation of their property, and various other forms of harassment and indignity. Papal efforts to moderate the inquisitorial zeal in Spain were usually ineffectual, because the Spanish Inquisition, as Torquemada fashioned it, was an instrument to secure the racial and religious uniformity that was a primary concern of the Catholic kings and of Spanish policy for a long time afterward.

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TORTOISES See TURTLES AND TORTOISES

TOSAFOT [FIRST EDITION].

Tosafot is the Hebrew word that designates the glosses printed alongside the commentary of Rashi (Rabbi Shelomoh ben Yitsḥaq, eleventh-century French sage and commentator) in most editions of the Babylonian Talmud. Yet these *tosafot* are only a fraction of those composed by the French and German scholars (tosafists) of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The descendants of Rashi and his students edited his commentaries and added glosses to them. Even after these additions became much more extensive than the original commentaries, they continued to be called *tosafot* (additions). The *tosafot* emerged from disputations in the Talmudic academies that were recorded by teachers or by students under their direction. Students traveled from place to place recording the novel interpretations of their rabbis, and an academy of study acquired a good name based on the collections of *tosafot* available there.

EMERGENCE OF THE *TOSAFOT*. The beginnings of this new literary form are discernible already in the commentaries of Rashi's son-in-law Yehudah ben Natan, and even more so in the commentaries of his other son-in-law, Meʾir ben Shemuʾel, and those of the latter's son, Rashbam (Rabbi Shemuʾel ben Meʾir), who wrote addenda to Rashi's commentaries on the Talmud. The new style can be seen also in the works of Rivaʾ (Rabbi Yitsḥaq ben Asher), who was Rashi's student in Troyes, France, and who later settled in Speyer, in southwestern Germany. While Rashi's commentaries generally explain each *sugyah* (Talmudic discussion of a specific subject) where it occurs (i.e., on the same page), in the works of these others the dialectical and polemic tendency and the trend to comparison predominate.

In the establishment and perfection of the distinctive style of the *tosafot* a decisive influence was exercised by Rashi's grandson, Yaʿaqov ben Meʾir, known as Rabbenu ("our teacher") Tam (after *Genesis* 25:27). With his immense breadth of knowledge and his sharp and penetrating mind, Tam influenced the scholars of his generation. The students who came to learn with him in his academy in Ramerupt adopted his method of study. His students were subsequently active in all regions of France, in England, in the communities on the Rhine, and in southern Germany, Bohemia, Carinthia, and Hungary, and in Kiev. Many others who never studied under him personally accepted his authority as binding and were influenced by his method.

Rabbenu Tam's successor was his nephew, generally known by the acronym Riy (Rabbi Yitsḥaq [ben Shemuʾel]). Students flocked to Riy's academy in Dampierre from every country in Europe that was inhabited by Jews, including Spain. Moses Nahmanides, known as Ramban (Rabbi Mosheh ben Naḥman), the thirteenth-century rabbi and commentator from Barcelona, described the influence of Rashi and his successors thus: "The French sages . . . they are our teachers, they the instructors; they reveal to us everything that is hidden" (*Dinaʾ de-garmi*, intro.). The academy of Riy could be considered the forge of the *tosafot.* His work and that of his disciples established the method for writing *tosafot:* verification of the text of the Talmud and clarification and analysis of each *sugyah* through comparison of parallel passages in the Babylonian Talmud with the rest of the halakhic and aggadic sources, thus uncovering and resolving contradictions and fixing methodological principles. Few of Riy's *tosafot* have reached us in their original formulations, but they were included in the collections compiled by his students—his son Elḥanan, Rash (Rabbi Shimshon [ben Avraham]) of Sens and his brother Yitsḥaq, Yehudah ben Yitsḥaq of Paris (also known as Rabbi Yehudah Sir Leon), Eliʿezer ben Shemuʾel of Verona, Barukh ben Yitsḥaq of Worms, and others. Riy's teachings were recorded in their works and, through them, in the *tosafot* of later generations.

TYPES OF *TOSAFOT*. The greatest of the teachers edited collections of their *tosafot*, but their disciples did not consider these closed collections. On the one hand, they abridged long *tosafot*, while on the other, they added to the collections more recent *novellae*. As a result, the students appended glosses in the margins of the *tosafot*, which copyists subsequently introduced into the body of the text.

The disciples of Riy did not simply record his teachings. Moreover, they did not all study with him at the same time, and later students often added to the *tosafot* of their predecessors the new explanations that grew out of their discussions and decisions of their master, which were rendered to them orally or in writing. Even within the works of given individuals we can sometimes discern development. The *tosafot* of Rash of Sens to tractate *Ketubbot* (modern edition, Jerusalem, 1973) were compiled, it would seem, when he was still young. In them the teachings of his teacher Riy are exceptionally predominant, and one can still sense in his style the give and take of the discussion in the academy. In contrast, the second edition of his *tosafot* to tractate *ʿAvodah Zarah* (modern edition, New York, 1969) exhibit little of the style of disputation characteristic of most *tosafot;* they are instead rather similar to the style of the Rash in his Mishnah commentaries.

Authority in the academies of the tosafists was not institutionalized; there was no well-defined hierarchy within them. Whoever could demonstrate exceptional capabilities and great erudition gained authority, but this authority was constantly subject to the challenges and criticism of younger scholars and students.

With the passage of time, different styles of *tosafot* developed. Some scholars were content to record their critical notes on famous *tosafot*, such as those of Rash of Sens. This is what Elʿazar of Worms (the author of *Sefer ha-roqeaḥ*) and Berakhiyah of Nicole (modern-day Lincoln, England) did. In contrast, after the burning of the Talmud in Paris in 1244, there is a clearly discernible tendency, especially in the academy at Évreux, to compose *tosafot shiṭah*—a presentation of the Talmudic *sugyah* together with various explanations of it and the discussions of tosafists. One such *shiṭah* from Évreux on tractate *Nazir* was published from a manuscript in New York in 1974.

Toward the end of the thirteenth century, in the wake of the emigration of many of the sages of northern France and the increasing persecutions in Germany, original creativity among the scholars became rarer, while the collection of existing *tosafot* became more widespread. The great compilers, whose works spanned the entire Talmud, were Perets of Corbeil, Eliʿezer of Touques, and Asher ben Yeḥiʾel. The *tosafot* of Perets of Corbeil were extant in Italy until the time of the printing of the Talmud, and they also reached Spain. Eliʿezer of Touques abridged and edited the *tosafot* compiled by Rash of Sens, added to them from other collections, and appended his own *novellae* in the margins. His *tosafot* quickly spread through France and Germany.

When Asher ben Yeḥiʾel, known as Rabbenu Asher (also as Roʾsh), left Germany, he brought with him to Spain collections of *tosafot* from the collections of Riy and Rash of Sens and copied them almost unchanged, occasionally adding an explanation of his teacher, Meʾir ben Barukh, known as Maharam of Rothenburg. Rabbenu Asher prepared this work in order to present the community of scholars in Spain with an important collection of the teachings of the outstanding scholars of France. His son Yaʿaqov (that is, Yaʿaqov ben Asher), author of the halakhic codex *Arbaʿah Ṭurim*, wrote to a German scholar who was preparing to come to Spain: "Bring whatever books you have, whether commentaries of Rashi, or *gemaraʾ*, or other works, but you needn't bring the *tosafot*, for they only learn the *shiṭah* of my father and teacher, may the memory of the righteous be a blessing." These *tosafot* did not spread beyond Spain, though, and they were subsequently dispersed abroad (especially to Italy and the Ottoman Empire) with the exiles from Spain. While the scholars of Germany and Poland remained unaware of their existence, for us these *tosafot* are an important source for reconstructing the original formulation of the *tosafot* of Riy and his disciples.

The aforementioned compilations sealed a period of nearly two hundred years of creativity. The earlier *tosafot* were superseded by the later collections, but many of the former were preserved by individuals, some of whom copied from them into their own compilations and collections. This phenomenon can be observed in various collections: the catalogs of decisions and *responsa*, like *Or Zaruʿa*, compiled by Yitsḥaq ben Mosheh of Vienna, and the *Mordekhai* of Mordekhai ben Hillel; in the *Haggahot Maymuniyyot* and the *Teshuvot Maymuniyyot* of the school of Maharam; the collections of exegesis of the Pentateuch (such as *Daʿat zeqenim*, *Hadar zeqenim*, *Moshav zeqenim*, and *Minḥat Yehudah*); and in manuscripts. All of these works help us to identify the editors of extant collections of *tosafot* and the authors of anonymous interpretations recorded in them.

PRINTING OF THE *TOSAFOT*. The spread of the *tosafot* encouraged printers of the Talmud to print these commentaries alongside the commentary of Rashi, which were already being printed alongside the Talmudic text. Yehoshuʿa Shelomoh first printed the *tosafot* to tractate *Berakhot* in Soncino, Italy, in 1484. By 1519 his nephew Gershom Soncino had printed twenty-three tractates with *tosafot.* The Bomberg Press in Venice (1520–1523) generally copied the *tosafot* from the Soncino edition, but they corrected them from manuscripts. After that time, the *tosafot* were printed in every edition of the Talmud, except in some early Eastern editions, until the *gemaraʾ*, the commentary of Rashi, and *tosafot* came to be studied as a single unit, referred to as GePeT (from *gemaraʾ*, *perush Rashi*, and *tosafot*).

EDITING OF THE *TOSAFOT*. Examination of the *tosafot* printed in standard editions of the Talmud in relation to other collections that have been printed or preserved in manuscript and in comparison with other sources demonstrates that the standard *tosafot* originated in various academies and at different times. A summary of the conclusions that can be drawn about the origins of the *tosafot* of the various tractates can be found in table 1.

THE METHOD OF INTERPRETATION IN THE *TOSAFOT*. Despite the diversity and the convoluted process of development of all the various collections, the *tosafot* nevertheless share a common method of explication, for they all are characteristically dialectical and critical. These methodological foundations, as drawn by Rabbenu Tam and Riy, remained fixed, with variation only in the quality of their employment. On the one hand, the tosafists themselves adopted the style of discussion of the amoraim and developed special techniques by which to express it; on the other hand, they traced and criticized the way in which the amoraim used this style.

Origins of the Tosafot

B. T. Tractate	Origins Of Tosafot
Berakhot	A reworking of the *tosafot* of Yehudah ben Yitshaq of Paris, including material added by his students, edited by a German scholar who studied in the academy at Évreux.
Shabbat	Edited by Eli`ezer of Touques. The editing of the final section (from page 122b) was never completed.
`Eruvin	Compiled by Shimshon ben Avraham of Sens (Rash), edited by students of Yitshaq ben Avraham (known as Ritsba').
Pesahim	Edited by Eli`ezer of Touques. The first nine chapters are based on the *tosafot* of Shimshon ben Avraham of Sens while chapter 10 is based on the *tosafot* of Yehi'el of Paris.
Yoma'	Edited by Me'ir ben Barukh of Rothenburg.
Sukkah	Compiled by Shimshon ben Avraham of Sens.
Beitsah	Edited by a disciple of Perets of Corbeil.
Ro'sh ha-Shanah	Compiled by Shimshon ben Avraham of Sens.
Ta`anit	Late *tosafot,* apparently from the fourteenth century.
Megillah	Edited by Yehudah ben Yitshaq of Paris.
Mo`ed Qatan	Edited by Shemu'el ben Elhanan, grandson of Yitshaq ben Shemu'el.
Hagigah	Edited by Mosheh of Évreux, based on the *tosafot* of Elhanan and Yehudah ben Yitshaq of Paris.
Yevamot	Edited by Eli`ezer of Touques based upon the *tosafot* compiled by Shimshon ben Avraham of Sens up to chapter 12; from there, based primarily on the *tosafot* of Yehudah ben Yitshaq of Paris.
Ketubbot	Edited by Eli`ezer of Touques but without a final editing; apparently a first edition.
Nedarim	Edited by a student of Perets of Corbeil, based on the *tosafot* of Évreux.
Nazir	Edited by a student of Perets of Corbeil based upon the *shitah* of Yitshaq of Évreux.
Sotah	German *tosafot,* edited by a disciple of Yehudah and Me'ir, the sons of Qalonimos.
Gittin	Edited by Eli`ezer of Touques.
Qiddushin	*Tosafot* from Évreux, from the end of the thirteenth century.
Bava' Qamma'	Edited by Eli`ezer of Touques based upon the *tosafot* of Yehudah ben Yitshaq of Paris.
Bava' Metsi`a'	Edited by Eli`ezer of Touques, based on the *tosafot* of Elhanan, Shimshon ben Avraham of Sens, and German students of the disciples of Yitshaq ben Shemu'el.
Bava' Batra'	Until page 144a, edited by Eli`ezer of Touques based on the *tosafot* of Shimshon ben Avraham of Sens, Mosheh of Évreux, and Yitshaq ben Mordekhai (known by the acronym Rivam), who worked under the supervision of Ya`aqov ben Me'ir; after page 144a, the primary source was the *tosafot* of a disciple of Yitshaq ben Shemu'el.
Sanhedrin	*Tosafot* from the school of Perets of Corbeil, based on the *tosafot* compiled by Shimshon ben Avraham.
Makkot	Edited during the lifetime of Perets of Corbeil.
Shavu`ot	Edited by Eli`ezer of Touques, after the *tosafot* of Elhanan of Sens.
`Avodah Zarah	Edited by a disciple of Perets of Corbeil, who copied unchanged the tosafot of Shemu'el of Falaise, who had drawn from the *tosafot* of Yehudah ben Yitshaq of Paris, whose explanations were in accordance with the *tosafot* of Elhanan, son of Yitshaq ben Shemu'el. The *tosafot* of Elhanan, composed around 1182, were in fact used as a major source for all the aforementioned *tosafot* on *`Avodah Zarah.*
Horayot	German *tosafot,* based primarily on the explanations of Simhah of Speyer.
Zevahim	Compiled and edited by Barukh ben Yitshaq of Worms.
Menahot	Compiled by Shimshon ben Avraham of Sens.
Hullin	Edited by Eli`ezer of Touques, based on the *tosafot* compiled by Shimshon ben Avraham of Sens and the *tosafot* of Yehudah ben Yitshaq of Paris.
Bekhorot	Compiled by Shimshon ben Avraham of Sens.
`Arakhin	*Tosafot* from Évreux, edited by a disciple of Shemu'el of Évreux's son.
Temurah	*Tosafot* from Évreux, the handiwork of a different editor.
Keritot	Edited by a disciple of Yitshaq ben Shemu'el.
Me`ilah	Edited by a disciple of Perets of Corbeil during the life of his master.
Qinnim	German *tosafot,* used as sources for the *tosafot* of Yitshaq ben Asher and Ya`aqov ben Yitshaq ben Eli`ezer ha-Levi (known as Ya`avets).
Niddah	Edited by Eli`ezer of Touques, based on the *tosafot* of Shimshon ben Avraham of Sens and other disciples of Yitshaq ben Shemu'el.

TABLE 1.

Every single line of the Talmud was analyzed acutely and tested, sometimes by uncovering contradictions between it and other statements in the sources, and sometimes by drawing from it the most extreme inferences and conclusions possible. Precisely because they perceived the Talmud to be the eternal source of halakhic decision, the tosafists considered it incumbent upon them to compare, to question, and to solve contradictions between the cases in the contradictory sources by formulating "distinctions" (*ḥilluqim*). In this manner they hoped to advance the determination of the *halakhah* by supplementing what was already explicit in the Talmud.

The efforts of the tosafists were directed toward the verification of the accurate text of the Talmud. Rabbenu Tam condemned those who emended texts in order to remove difficulties and problems, and he and his disciples developed a whole methodology for textual criticism. The principles and explanations they elaborated to explain the development of defective texts anticipated modern philology.

In their work supplementing the commentary of Rashi and expanding its bounds, the tosafists had at their disposal a number of additional sources, such as the commentaries of Ḥananʾel ben Ḥushiʾel and the Talmudic dictionary, *Sefer ha-ʿarukh*, of Natan ben Yeḥiʾel, an eleventh-century rabbi. They relied primarily on their broad knowledge of the classical sources, however, including not only the Babylonian Talmud but also the Tosefta, the halakhic and aggadic *midrashim*, and the Palestinian Talmud (Jerusalem Talmud). While using these works the tosafists also contributed toward the establishment of their correct versions and toward a better understanding of their contents. Nevertheless, the tosafists' main aim remained the clarification of every *sugyah* of the Babylonian Talmud from all possible angles, including the testing of the logical arguments, distinctions, and classifications that they posited and the marshaling of support for their conclusions. All this activity was directed toward the attempt to see every subject and problem in its widest context. Every dictum of the *tosafot* demonstrates the extent to which the tosafists had assimilated the way of learning embodied in the Babylonian Talmud; they studied until they were willing and able to comment on what is the "way of the *sugyah*" and what is the "method of the Talmud." Taken together, the principles governing their study constitute a complete methodology. Their formulations describe the use of the "rules for expounding scripture"; the relationship between the Talmud and *baraitot* (teachings of the tannaim that were not included in the Mishnah); the proper identification of tannaim and amoraim; the proper definition of the terms of the *sugyah*; the order of the Mishnah; and the editing of the Talmud. In this aspect of their endeavor, also, several of the tosafists' conclusions anticipated modern research.

The Method of *Tosafot* in Deciding *Halakhah*. The tosafists did not ignore the normative aim of the Talmudic discussions. Although their comments generally do not explicitly contain halakhic summaries or decisions, the clarification of the various strains of Talmudic thought nevertheless essentially contributed to the formation of the *halakhah*. This fact justifies the work of the author of *Pisqei tosafot* (The decisions of *tosafot*)—whether he was Rabbenu Asher or his son Yaʿaqov—who abstracted the halakhic decision from each dictum of *tosafot*. Indeed, the later rabbinic authorities (decisors) learned much practical *halakhah* from the *tosafot*.

While the tosafists used the books and *responsa* of the geonim and the halakhic codices of the decisors, such as Rif (Rabbi Yitsḥaq Alfasi), the Talmud remained for them the primary source, and they evaluated the decisions of the geonim and the decisors in its light. Rabbenu Asher explained: "Who is as great in our estimation as Rashi, may the memory of the righteous be a blessing, who enlightened the entire Diaspora with his commentary? Nevertheless his descendants Rabbenu Tam and Riy, may their memories be a blessing, disagreed with him in many instances and refuted his positions, for the Torah is known as 'the *torah* of truth,' so we do not allow flattery of anyone" (commentary to *San.* 4.6). Likewise he wrote elsewhere, "[We do not flatter the geonim] for respecting any subject not explicitly dealt with in the Talmud which Rav Ashi and Ravinaʾ edited, anyone can rise and build up [arguments], even if he opposes the conclusions of the geonim" (*Responsa* 54.10).

The tosafists' method of study provided them with powerful tools to harmonize, circumvent, and redefine, but nevertheless their contemporary reality, with all its conflicting claims and conditions, sometimes asserted itself as a challenge to their methods. The tosafists had to take account of "everyday occurrences" and justify "generally accepted custom." Thus, just as they found means to abrogate laws and customs well supported in the sources, they likewise managed to include within the system of *halakhah* late developments that were without a basis in the sources. To a certain extent, the willingness to venture bold new explanations was a function of the differing personalities of the tosafists, who differed from one another in their personal inclinations and in their spiritual characteristics. However, they were united in their intention to continue the formulation and further the organic development of the Talmudic project as a way of life.

The Tosafists and the Glossarists. Several scholars have noted the similarity between the method of the Scholastics and that of the tosafists. Some of these scholars speak in terms of influence, but the spiritual meeting ground between Christians and Jews took place in biblical exegesis; there is no hint of direct contact in the fields of law and *halakhah*. The *tosafot* were not known to the glossarists, nor were the tosafists familiar with the works of the Roman and canonical legal scholars. Nevertheless, comparison of the *tosafot* and the glosses shows similarities both in the way they came into being and in details of terminology and presentation. Both presume that contradictions in the sources could and must be resolved, whether by distinguishing the cases from one another or by clarifying differences in the time, place, and social position of the various personalities. The way in which the *tosafot* spread and the way in which they were studied also parallel the success of the activities of the glossarists of both Roman and canon law. Despite the differences between the political and social contexts of the Jewish and Christian communities, which lived in a constant, unequal struggle with one another, their assumptions and aspirations were similar. Both communities acknowledged the authority of the Bible and considered themselves commanded to draw from it instruction for their day-to-day existence. Thus both communities greatly esteemed the intellectual ability, sharp-wittedness, and breadth of knowledge that made it possible to solve contradictions and deal with social change in the context of the tradition.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE *TOSAFOT*. *Tosafot* came to occupy a central role in the system of study and education of the Jews. It is true that Yehudah Löw ben Betsalʾel (known as Maharal of Prague) bitterly decried the teaching of *tosafot* to children, but only few paid any attention to his objections, and until the modern period the traditional schoolbook remained *gemaraʾ*, the commentary of Rashi, and *tosafot*. In the more advanced stages of education the *tosafot* were learned not only in relationship to the Talmud but also as independent sources whose own internal contradictions required resolution. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the circles of Yisraʾel Isserlein, Yaʿaqov Molin, Yosef Qolon, and Yitsḥaq Stein in Germany devoted much energy to deriving positions implied by *tosafot*. The *tosafot* stood in the center of the course of study of the Polish and the Turkish scholars. In Vlorë, Albania, scholars of the sixteenth century debated about the *tosafot*, which they called "the short profundities of Touques." In the contract of Italian rabbis, the rabbi "accept[ed] upon himself the obligation to come to the synagogue and teach the *tosafot* for an hour or more before the afternoon prayer."

Suspicion of casuistry and excessive exhibition of sharp-wittedness were concerns already of the first tosafists. Rabbenu Tam, who understood the power and possibilities of casuistry as few others did, decried "casuists" who find "bundles and bundles" of answers to every question. In similar fashion, Mosheh al-Ashqar (1462–1542) declared himself against "those who scrutinize the words of the *tosafot* and say senseless things about the redundancies in their language" (*Responsa* 29–30). The influence of the methodology of *tosafot* far exceeded the tendency toward dialectics that arose in their study. This influence is clear in the works of the decisors, in the responsa, and in the works of *novellae* of interpreters trying to get at the simple sense of the text, as well as in various aspects of modern Talmudic research.

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Research on the *tosafot* first concentrated on biography and bibliography. Leopold Zunz edited a list of tosafists and sages mentioned in *tosafot* that appears in his book *Zur Geschichte und Literatur* (Berlin, 1845), in which he refers to the manuscript of the important book by Heimann J. Michael, *Or ha-ḥayyim* (Frankfurt, 1891). Isaac H. Weiss discussed the activities of the tosafists in *Dor dor ve-dorshav*, vol. 4 (Vienna, 1887); he also wrote a monograph on Rabbenu Tam that appeared in *Beit Talmud*, 3 (1883). Heinrich Gross gathered important information about the French tosafists in his book *Gallia Judaica* (Amsterdam, 1897). Abraham Epstein's criticism of the book, printed in the *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums* (MGWJ) 41 (1897): 464–480, is especially valuable. A similar work, dealing with the German sages, is *Germania Judaica*, published in two parts, edited by Marcus Brann et al. (Frankfurt, 1917–1934). Victor Aptowitzer devotes a long chapter to this subject in his *Mavoʾ le-sefer ha-Raʾvyah* (Jerusalem, 1938). The principles of the Talmud described in *tosafot* were collected by P. Buchholtz in his article "Die Tossafisten als Methodologen," *MGWJ* 38 (1894): 342–359. On the methodology of the tosafists, see Chaim Tchernowitz's article "Lederekh ha-limmud shel baʿalei ha-tosafot," in *Festschrift Adolf Schwarz*, edited by Samuel Krauss (Berlin, 1917). Following publication of my book *Baʿalei ha-tosafot* (Jerusalem, 1956), there ensued intensive activity in the publishing of *tosafot*; most of the newly published works were from manuscripts that had never been printed, but new editions of *tosafot* that had previously been published in corrupt editions also appeared. There have also been a number of studies of the historical and social reality discernible through the compilations of the tosafists, as well as works on their ideas and influence. A summary is given in Salo W. Baron's *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, vol. 9, 2d ed., rev. & enl. (New York, 1965). A full bibliography can be found in the expanded and corrected fourth edition of my book mentioned above (Jerusalem, 1980).

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Translated from Hebrew by Akiva Garber

TOSAFOT [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]. Research conducted during the early twenty-first century focuses on identifying and evaluating more precisely the distinctions between northern French and German Tosafists, integrating newly discovered collections of *Tosafot* texts and bringing to the fore Tosafists whose writings and contributions have not been fully assessed, reconsidering the extent of Christian intellectual influences on Tosafist methods, and examining the non-Talmudic disciplines with which the Tosafists were significantly engaged.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN FRANCE AND GERMANY. *Tosafot* texts produced in northern France failed to cite leading German scholars who were active circa 1200 (with barely an exception), including those who authored prominent books such as Judah b. Qalonymus of Spires (d. 1199; *Sefer Yihusei Tanna'im va-Amora'im*), Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi (1160 to 1165–c. 1235; *Sefer Rabiah*), Barukh of Mainz (1150–1221; the no longer extant *Sefer ha-Hokhmah*), Eleazar of Worms (1176–1238; *Sefer Roqeah*), and Simhah of Speyer (c. 1230; the partially extant *Seder Olam*). At the same time, these German works cite few northern French Tosafists after Rabbenu Tam (c. 1100–1171) and his immediate students. Between the years 1170 and 1220 students from Germany did not study with northern French Tosafists (as they did before and after this period) and vice versa. During this period German Tosafists are known as leading judges and judicial figures. In this context they produced extensive works that dealt primarily with monetary law. Two examples (that are no longer extant) are Ephraim of Regensburg's (d. c. 1175) *Arba'ah Rashim* and Barukh of Mainz's *Sefer ha-Hokhmah.*

On the other hand, the Tosafists of northern France, who undoubtedly participated as judges in cases of monetary law and in the preparation and adjudication of bills of divorce, are rarely identified as such. They are known as *rashei yeshivah* (heads of academies), whose power and reputation derived mainly from their ability to put forward overarching interpretations and novellae (*hiddushim*), rather than from any role that they played as communal judges. The period of disengagement between the northern French and German centers ends only in the days of R. Isaac ben Moses (1180–1250; *Or Zarua*) and his student, R. Meir of Rothenburg (1220–1293), who spent a significant amount of time studying in northern France. The mid-thirteenth-century Tosafist study hall at Evreux, France, that appears to represent an amalgam between the Talmudic methodology of the Tosafists of northern France and the educational critique and ethical imperatives of the German pietists, should also be noted in this regard.

The *Tosafot* that were produced in these different centers throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries employed somewhat different methodologies as well. German *Tosafot* (and *halakhic* writings) take into account a wider selection of Talmudic and rabbinic literature (e.g., *midreshei halakhah va-'aggadah*) than did their counterparts in northern France. Northern French *Tosafot* most often focused on penetrating analyses of relevant texts within the Babylonian Talmud in particular (seeing themselves as a continuation of the methodology of the Amoraim), while German dialectic is milder. In the end, however, the northern French *Tosafot* form dominated. The three leading *Tosafot* collections from the late thirteenth century, *Tosafot Tukh* (Turcheim, Germany), *Tosafot ha-Rosh*, and *Tosafot Rabbenu Perez*, were essentially collections of earlier northern French material (even as all the editors had German roots).

During the twelfth century northern French Tosafists produced *Tosafot* comments almost exclusively, while German Tosafists produced a wider spectrum of *halakhic* works and self-standing texts that contained Talmudic commentary as well. The production of *halakhic* works in northern France at the turn of the twelfth century and into the thirteenth (such as Barukh b. Isaac's [d. 1211] *Sefer ha-Terumah* and Moses of Coucy's [c. 1240] *Sefer Mizvot Gadol*) may reflect the influence of the German pietists with regard to the primacy of practical *halakhah* as well as the notion that a period of great literary creativity is most often followed by one of collection and assessment. The thirteenth century also saw the collection and compilation of earlier *Tosafot* texts, with R. Isaac (Ri) of Dampierre's (d.c. 1200) student Samson of Sens (1150–1230) as one of the first and most prominent examples. Manuscript discoveries in the last decade show, however, that unlike other students of Ri who presented *Tosafot* interpretations that their students then copied and edited, Samson composed his own *Tosafot* interpretations and intended them as an organized work that could be cross-referenced from one tractate to another. Another leading student of Ri, Judah Sirleon (d. 1224), is the first to cite Maimonides, Moses (Mosheh ben Maimon, 1135/8–1204) in his *Tosafot.* Judah's successor, R. Yehi'el of Paris (d.c. 1265), also produced material in the style of *Tosafot*, although his teachings are cited most often in the form of *halakhic* and ritual decisions (*pesaqim*).

Northern French Tosafists generally did not preserve their *responsa* or *pesaqim*, while their German counterparts did. German Tosafists consulted and communicated much more frequently with each other and collected and preserved more faithfully the writings of their Tosafist predecessors from both northern France and Germany. German *Tosafot* were produced by Moses Taku (c. 1230), Simhah of Speyer, Judah b. Qalonymus of Speyers, and Eleazar of Worms, as well as Meir of Rothenburg. Tosafists in Germany, perhaps under the influence of the German pietists, also tended to produce more commentaries than their French counterparts to those tractates that were taught or studied less frequently, such as those included in *Seder Qodashim.*

Although it has been assumed that the genre of *Tosafot* originated in northern France during the mid-twelfth century, the earliest such activity is actually to be found in the work of the German scholar R. Isaac b. Asher (Riga) of Spires (d.c. 1130), who flourished a full generation earlier that Rashi's (R. Solomon b. Isaac, 1040-1100) grandsons, Rabbenu Tam and Rashbam (1085–1174). There is, however, an important stylistic or methodological distinction between them. While Riba functioned more like a judge, who tried to decide between the various possible positions by pushing aside or ferreting out as much material as possible that was not centrally relevant, the early Tosafists in northern France sought to bring together similar *sugyot* to encourage comparisons (as a lawyer might typically do).

It was, however, in northern France that the classical form of *Tosafot* proliferated. Ri, who was Rashi's great-grandson, transformed the Tosafist method from a tool of the elite that was to be used only by the greatest of scholars (such as Rabbenu Tam and his closest students), to the predominant method of learning in study halls throughout northern France. From the days of Ri a series of northern French Tosafists expressed the notion that authoritative Torah study and Talmudic readings and rulings are not solely the property or province of the teacher but belong equally to his students as well who, on the basis of their analysis of underlying Talmudic and rabbinic texts, may "outsmart" or emend the conclusions of the teachers.

All these newly highlighted distinctions between Germany and northern France can account for a number of systemic differences in *halakhic* rulings and outlook between the two regions. At the same time, their commonly held customs, basic methodologies, and interpretational values often led to an unwavering consensus, whether in specific practices and matters of belief, or in the need to formulate valid *halakhic* justifications for economic and other societal practices that appeared prima facie to contradict Talmudic law. To be sure, the issue of intentionality in developing these justifications has been the subject of renewed, vigorous discussion in recent years, just as it was when Urbach's *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot* first appeared.

Urbach essentially reverses his original position on possible Christian influences on Tosafist dialectic, whether by canon lawyers and masters of theology or by Christian scholars of Roman law, in the revised edition of his work. Then, after adducing additional parallels in method and terminology, Urbach concludes that it is difficult to argue for more than zeitgeist. Disparate geographic centers and differences in textual valence were at the core of the critiques of Urbach's original view. More recent research suggests that the argument for influence should not be abandoned. New paradigms, such as the jurists at Pavia, have been suggested. In addition the presence of nascent dialectic at the *yeshivah* in Worms already in the last quarter of the eleventh century (not to mention the presence of critical dialectic within the Talmud itself) lessened the role that external influence would have to play. Influences transmitted by passing personal contacts and conversations rather than through literary sources must also be considered.

Although Urbach notes at various points in his work that certain Tosafists produced writings that were not related to *Tosafot* texts or *halakhic* treatises, the impression fostered by his presentation is that Tosafists were involved only marginally in these other disciplines. So-called Tosafist Torah commentaries (*perushei Baʾalei ha-Tosafot ʿal ha-Torah*) are mentioned by Urbach mostly because they also contained parallel or reworked *Tosafot* texts to the Talmud. At the end of his long and nuanced discussion of the *Tosafot* corpus of Ri, Urbach writes that Ri and his son, R. Elhanan (d. 1184), "tried their hand" at the composition of liturgical poems (*piyyutim*), referring the reader to the listings of Leopold Zunz (1794–1886) for details. Urbach refers only in passing to Abraham b. Azri'el of Bohemia (c. 1230), a student of Eleazar of Worms better known for his large and important treatise of *piyyut* commentary *ʿArugat ha-Bosem* (which Urbach edited as well) than as a Talmudist. This further supports the perception that Tosafists did Talmud and legal studies, while other disciplines were handled by specialists, a change from the situation in Ashkenaz before the First Crusade when leading scholars typically embraced several different disciplines.

Current research is beginning to question this supposition. Although the impact of twelfth-century legalism caused some Tosafists (and leading ones at that) to focus exclusively on Talmudic and *halakhic* texts and studies, manuscript evidence and a concomitant reevaluation of published texts suggest that others displayed interest in virtually the same variety of disciplines as did their Ashkenazic predecessors from the pre-Crusade period. The more than two hundred manuscript collections of *perushei Ba'alei ha-Tosafot ʿal ha-Torah* have barely been analyzed by modern scholarship. Many of them do contain a large amount of Talmudic and *halakhic* material. But at the same time, some display a much greater interest in forms of simple or literal biblical interpretation (*peshat*) than has been imagined.

To be sure, there is greater interest in the *peshat* approach favored by the Tosafist and biblical commentator Yosef b. Isaac Bekhor Shor of Orleans (d.c. 1200) than in the more radical *peshat* of the earlier northern French Tosafist and biblical scholar Rashbam. Also, the Tosafist biblical collections or compilations of the mid- and late thirteenth century often blend (and perhaps blur) *peshat* interpretations with unrestrained midrashic- or *gematria*-based comments. Nonetheless, it is possible to identify a group of Tosafists writing in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries that cultivated *peshat* interpretations on their own terms, while also serving as a kind of super-commentary to Rashi. In this role they were interested in verifying not only the Talmudic and midrashic underpinnings of Rashi's Torah commentary, but also his approach to *peshat* and his consistency as a *peshat* exegete. Among these figures are Jacob of Orleans (d. 1189), Isaiah di Trani the Elder (d. c. 1240), and Moses of Coucy. Interestingly, they are joined by R. Yehudah he-Hasid (d. 1217) in a number of the exoteric biblical comments that have been attributed to him. At the same time, Tosafist figures such as Rashbam's brother, Rabbenu Tam, and Ri Samson and R. Samson of Sens (d. 1204) play almost no role in these endeavors.

A similar reevaluation has also been undertaken with regard to the writing of liturgical poetry. Some scholars suggest that no *piyyut* was composed by northern French Tosafists after Rabbenu Tam. Although German Tosafists and rabbinic scholars such as Ephraim of Regensburg, Menahem of Worms (d. 1204), Barukh of Mainz, and Meir of Rothenburg out-produced northern French Tosafists by far in this realm in terms of quantity, a number of northern French Tosafists including Elhanan the son of Ri, Yosef Bekhor Shor (of Orleans), Tuvyah of Vienne (d.c. 1260), and Isaac of Chinon (c. 1250) produced particular genres or patterns of *piyyutim*, suggesting that their involvement was intentional and focused. In any case the German Tosafists just noted appear to have received Spanish material in this discipline (as was the case with respect to biblical interpretation in the preceding discussion). As will be seen shortly, a number of German Tosafists who composed *piyyutim* were also involved with mystical teachings. Lesser-known Tosafist figures such as Avigdor Katz of Vienna and Samuel b. Abraham of Boppard (d.c. 1250) also composed *piyyutim*.

Strong ascetic tendencies and related interest in mysticism and magic were demonstrated in both Germany and northern France during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, once again, primarily on the basis of texts and fragments still in manuscript. For these disciplines, the direction of influence extends from Ashkenaz to Provence and Spain (as was the case for Talmudic studies). Tosafists display awareness of and interest in ancient Jewish mystical texts, including *Sefer Yezirah* and especially *Hekhalot* literature. They wished to understand the secrets of the Divine Names, the use of Divine Names for magical purposes, and the mystical functioning of the heavenly realm. Although Rashbam and Rabbenu Tam in northern France and R. Eliezer b. Nathan (Raban) of Mainz (c. 1090–1170; who were aware of some of these teachings as well) tried to play them down, they were embraced by leading Tosafists (including Ri) in the second half of the twelfth century and became even more prominent through the thirteenth century, culminating in the figure of Maharam of Rothenburg). The influence of the German pietists in cultivating these disciplines also appears to have been significant, although French figures such as Ezra the (*ha-Navi*) of Moncontour (d.c. 1200 and other students of Ri suggest that there was an independent core of influence as well that perhaps extended back to Elijah of Paris (d.c. 1130) in the early twelfth century.

All of this has implications for the way(s) that anthropomorphism was approached and understood in medieval Ashkenaz, which in turn impacts on the realities behind the Maimonidean controversy. In any event, rabbinic culture in medieval Ashkenaz during the Tosafist period was clearly broader and more variegated than has been thought, although Talmudic interpretation and *halakhic* writings remained the Tosafists' most important areas of endeavor and achievement.

SEE ALSO Ashkenazic Hasidism; Halakhah, article on History of Halakhah; Judaism, article on Judaism in Northern and Eastern Europe to 1500; Rabbinate, article on The Rabbinate in Pre-Modern Judaism.

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TOSEFTA SEE MISHNAH AND TOSEFTA

TOTEMISM is the systematic symbolization of social entities (individuals, social units) through concrete phenomenal images, often natural species, and the development of these symbols into relationships of identity, power, and common origin. The term *totem* derives from *dotem*, a term used by the Ojibwa, an Algonquin people of North America, to denote clan membership. As a concept, totemism has been treated in two distinct senses, or phases, of anthropological theory. In the first, or evolutionary sense, it was postulated as an institution of primitive thought, a necessary stage of religious conceptualization that all peoples must pass through in the course of cultural evolution. This notion was developed by such theorists as James G. Frazer and Émile Durkheim, and it was the subject of a definitive critique by Alexander A. Goldenweiser. The second, more modern sense of the term might be called its "systematic" sense, one that allows for a wide range of variance in culture-specific schemes of symbolization and classification and that approaches the significance of totemism through its relationship to these schemes. This modern sense informs the viewpoint of Claude Lévi-Strauss's critique *Totemism* (1963) and forms the basis for his subsequent idea of a "science of the concrete" (*The Savage Mind*, 1966).

The first sense of totemism tends to exaggerate its unitary aspects and make of it something of a universal primitive institution; the second tends to dissolve it into general issues of denomination and symbolism and to underplay the distinctiveness of the term and the usages to which it refers.

Instances of the naming of clans for natural species among North American peoples were known long before the practice came to be called totemism. By the time the origin, significance, and definition of totemism became a major topic of controversy among theorists of tribal religion, the area of ethnographic exemplification had shifted from the Americas to central Australia. This shift was in part a consequence of the splendid ethnography of Baldwin Spencer and Francis James Gillen, but it also coincided with the widespread adoption of the evolutionist notion of the "psychic unity of mankind." According to this idea, human culture was essentially unitary and universal, having arisen everywhere through the same stages, so that if we could identify a people who were "frozen" into an earlier stage, we would observe modes of thought and action that were directly ancestral to our own. Australia, a continent populated originally by hunting and gathering peoples alone, seemed to furnish examples of the most primitive stages available.

Together with the concept of taboo, and perhaps also that of *mana*, totemism became, for the later cultural evolutionists, the emblem (or perhaps the "totem") of primitive thought or religion—its hallmark, and therefore also the key to its suspected irrationality. The origin and significance of totemism became the subject of widespread theoretical speculation during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Much of the early theorization developed along the lines of E. B. Tylor's conception of the evolution of the soul (for example, totemic species as representations or repositories of the soul), or as literalizations of names (as in Herbert Spencer's hypothesis that totems arose from an aberration in nicknaming).

The controversy over totemism reached its peak after the publication of Frazer's *Totemism and Exogamy* (1910). In that work, Frazer distinguished totemism, as implying a relationship of equality or kinship with the totem, from religion, as a relationship with higher powers. He emphasized the solidarity function of totemism, which knits people into social groups, as a contribution to the "cause of civilization." Frazer's speculation concerning the origin of totemism, however, came more and more to reflect the particulars of his Australian exemplars. From an initial theory identifying the totem as a repository for a soul entrusted to it for safekeeping, Frazer turned to an explanation based on the Intichiuma rites of central desert Aborigines, in which each subgroup is responsible for the ritual replenishment of some (economically significant) natural species. The idea of the economic basis of totemism was later revived, in simplified form, by Bronislaw Malinowski. Finally, Frazer developed the "conception theory" of totemism, on the model of the Aranda people of central Australia, according to which a personal totem is identified for a child by its mother on the basis of experiences or encounters at the moment she becomes aware that she is pregnant. A creature or feature of the land thus "signified" becomes the child's totem.

In 1910, Goldenweiser, who had studied under Boas, published "Totemism: An Analytical Study," an essay that became the definitive critique of "evolutionary" totemism. Goldenweiser called into question the unitary nature of the phenomenon, pointing out that there was no necessary connection between the existence of clans, the use of totemic designations for them, and the ideology of a relationship between human beings and totemic beings. Each of these phenomena, he argued, could in many cases be shown to exist independently of the others, so that totemism appeared less an institution or religion than an adventitious combination of simpler and more widespread usages.

Despite the acuity and ultimate persuasiveness of Goldenweiser's arguments, the more creative "evolutionary" theories appeared in the years after the publication of his critique. Like Frazer's theory, Durkheim's conception of totemism is exemplified primarily through Australian ethnography. Durkheim viewed totemism as dominated by what he called a quasi-divine principle (Durkheim, 1915, p. 235), one that turned out to be none other than the representation of the social group or clan itself, presented to the collective imagination in the symbolic form of the creature that serves as the totem. Totemism, then, was a special case of the argument of *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, a work stating that religion is the form in which society takes account of (reveres, worships, fears) its own collective force.

Sigmund Freud included the concept of totemism, as an exemplar (like the notion of taboo) of contemporary ideas of primitive thought, in his psychodynamic reassessment of cultural and religious forms. Freud's *Totem and Taboo* (1918) projected human culture as the creative result of a primal oedipal guilt. The totem was selected and revered as a substitute for the murdered father, and totemic exogamy functioned as an expiatory resignation on the part of the sons of claims to the women freed by the murder of the father.

In the last major theoretical treatment of "evolutionary" totemism, Arnold van Gennep argued, against Goldenweiser, that its status as a particular combination of three elements did not disqualify totemism's integrity as a phenomenon. Yet Gennep rejected the views of Durkheim and other social determinists to the effect that totemic categorization was based on social interests. Anticipating Lévi-Strauss, who based his later views on this position (Lévi-Strauss, 1966, p. 162), Gennep saw totemism as a special case of the more general cultural phenomenon of classification, although he did not pursue the implications of this position to the degree that Lévi-Strauss did.

Claude Lévi-Strauss's modern critique effectively concludes the attack on evolutionary totemism begun by Goldenweiser, although it aims at the term *totemism* itself. In *Totemism* (1963), Lévi-Strauss critically reviews the history of the subject and reaches the conclusion that totemism is the illusory construct of an earlier period in anthropological theory. Reviewing the more recent ethnographic findings of writers like Meyer Fortes and Raymond Firth, he arrives at the proposition that it is the differences alone, among a series of totemic creatures, that serve to distinguish the corresponding human social units. He disavows, in other words, any sort of analogic relationship (of substance, origin, identity, or interest) between a totem and its human counterpart, and he thus reduces totemism to a special case of denomination or designation. This leaves unexplained (or reduces to mere detail) perhaps the bulk of the ethnographic material to totemism, concerned as it is with special ties and relationships between totem and human unit. In order to deal with this question, Lévi-Strauss developed, in *The Savage Mind* (1966), his notion of the "science of the concrete," in which totemic "classifications" are but a special instance of a more widespread tradition of qualitative logic. Thus Lévi-Strauss is able to substitute the systematic tendencies of an abstract classifying schema for the specific relations between a totem and its social counterpart.

What is the place of totemism in the life of an ongoing community? Consider the Walbiri, an Aboriginal people of the central Australian desert. Walbiri men are divided into about forty lines of paternal descent, each associated with a totemic lodge devoted to the lore and ritual communication with an ancestral Dreaming totem (kangaroo, wallaby, rain, etc.). When they enact the Dreaming rituals, the men are believed to enter the "noumenal" phase of existence (Meggitt, 1972, p. 72) and to merge with the totemic ancestors themselves. Here the analogies between human beings and totemic creatures are sacramentally transformed into identities, made ritually into real relationships of mutual origin and creation, so that men of the different lodges actually belong to different totemic species. When the ritual is concluded, however, they return to everyday "phenomenal" existence and reassume their human character, so that the totemic designations revert to mere names, linked to respective moieties, linked subsections, and other constituents of the complex Walbiri social structure.

Thus the "noumenal phase" of Walbiri life, the ritual state, is constituted by the analogies drawn between human beings and their totems, whereas in the "phenomenal phase" these analogies collapse into arbitrary labels. Only in the latter phase does Lévi-Strauss's proposition about the "differences alone" being the basis for coding human groups apply, for, as human beings, the members of these subsections and moieties can marry one another's sisters and daughters, something that different species cannot do. Within the same culture, in other words, totemic distinctions can serve either as "labels," to code the differences or distinctions among human groups, or, by expanding into metaphoric analogues, accomplish the religious differentiation of men into different "species."

The totemic symbolization of social units is, in many cultures, integrated into a larger or more comprehensive categorial or cosmological scheme, so that the totemic creatures themselves may be organized into broader categories. Among the Ojibwa of North America, totems are grouped according to habitat (earth, air, or water). Aboriginal Australia is distinctive in carrying this tendency to the extreme of "totem affiliation," in which all the phenomena of experience, including colors, human implements, traits, weather conditions, as well as plants and animals, are assigned and grouped as totems (Brandenstein, 1982, p. 87). These universalized systems, in turn, are generally organized in terms of an overarching duality of principles. Brandenstein identifies three of these—quick/slow, warm/cold, and round/flat (large/small)—as generating, in their various permutations and combinations, the totemic-classificatory systems of aboriginal Australia (ibid., pp. 148–149). A similarly comprehensive system is found among the Zuni of the American Southwest, for whom totemic clans are grouped in respective association with seven directional orientations (the four directions, plus zenith, nadir, and center), which are also linked to corresponding colors, social functions, and, in some cases, seasons.

At the other extreme is individuating, or particularizing totemism, for the individual is also a social unit. Among the Sauk and Osage of North America, traits, qualities, or attributes of a clan totem will be assigned to clan members, as personal names, so that members of the Black Bear clan will be known for its tracks, its eyes, the female of the species, and so on (Lévi-Strauss, 1966, p. 173). Among the Kujamaat Diola of Senegal, on the other hand, individuals are totemized secretly through relationships with personalized animal doubles, which are produced by defecation from their own bodies, and which live in the bush near their dwellings (Sapir, 1977). Among the Usen Barok of New Ireland, individual names are taken from plant or animal manifestations of the essentially formless *masalai*, or tutelary clan spirit. Wherever personal names are conceived of as a relation between the bearer of the name and some phenomenal entity, we can consider naming itself to be a form of individual totemism.

Totemic individuation of this sort, in which the character of the name itself bears a specific relational significance, occurs frequently in the naming of modern sports teams, and in formal or informal national symbols, such as the eagle or the bear. Totemism has been proposed as the antecedent of the syncretistic religion of ancient Egypt, with possible indirect connections to the Greco-Roman pantheon. Predynastic Egypt was subdivided into a large number of local territorial units called nomes, each identified through the worship of a particular theriomorphic deity. As the unification of Egypt involved the political joining of these nomes, so the evolution of Egyptian religion led to the combining of the totemic creatures into compound deities such as Amun-Re ("ram-sun"), or Re-Harakhte ("sun-hawk"). There are possible archaic connections of these theriomorphic deities, with Homeric Greek divinities: for example, the cow Hathor with the "ox-eyed Hera." Alternatively, of course, these divinities may have acquired such characterizations as the heritage of an indigenous totemism.

Totemism may not be the key to "primitive thought" that Frazer, Durkheim, and Freud imagined it to be, but the use of concrete phenomenal images as a means of differentiation is not easily explained away as merely another mode of designation, or naming. Wherever social units of any kind—individuals, groups, clans, families, corporations, sports teams, or military units—are arrayed on an equal footing and in "symmetrical" opposition to one another, the possibility arises of transforming a mere quantitative diversity into qualitative meaning through the use of concrete imagery. Diversity is then not merely encoded but instead enters the dimension of meaning, of identity as a concrete, positive quality.

Whenever we speak of a sports team as the Braves, Indians, Cubs, or Vikings, or speak of the Roman, American, German, or Polish eagle, or consider Raven, Eagle, and Killer Whale clans, we make the differences among the respective units something more than differences, and we give each unit a center and a significance of its own. Whenever this occurs, the possibility arises of developing this significance, to a greater or lesser degree, into a profound relationship of rapport, communion, power, or mythic origin. Viewed in this light, the "totems" of a social entity become markers and carriers of its identity and meaning; to harm or consume the totem may well, under certain cultural circumstances, become a powerful metaphor for the denial of qualitative meaning. When theorists of totemism sought to explain the phenomenon solely in terms of the food quest, marriage restrictions, coding, or classification, they subverted the force of cultural meaning to considerations that would find an easier credibility in a materialistically and pragmatically oriented society, "consuming," as it were, meaning through its markers and carriers.

The ostensibly "primitive" character of totemism is an illusion, based on a tendency of literate traditions to overvalue abstraction and to reduce the rich and varied spectrum of meaning to the barest requirements of information coding. In fact abstract reference and concrete image are inextricably interrelated; they imply each other, and neither can exist without the other. Certainly, peoples whose social organizations lack hierarchy and organic diversity (e.g., social class or the division of labor) tend to develop and dramatize a qualitative differentiation through the imagery of natural species, whereas those whose social units show an organic diversity need not resort to a symbolic differentiation. The choice, however, is not a matter of primitiveness or sophistication but rather of the complementarity between social form and one of two equally sophisticated, and mutually interdependent, symbolic alternatives.

SEE ALSO Anthropology, Ethnology, and Religion; Australian Indigenous Religions, overview article; Warlpiri Religion.

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Revised Bibliography

TOTONAC RELIGION. In the city of Zempoala (Cempoallan), situated in what is today the state of Veracruz, Mexico, the Totonac people were the first to receive Europeans to the great land mass of continental America. The year was 1519 and the Spanish conquest of Mexico had begun. At that time the Totonac occupied a strip of land flanked by the Atlantic Ocean and the Sierra Madre Oriental, between the Cazones River in the north and La Antigua River near the present port of Veracruz. Two important Totonac ceremonial centers existed in this territory. The first, El Tajín, was located in the north and had ceased to function before the arrival of the Spanish. The second, Zempoala, is reputed to have been populous when the Spanish arrived; soon after, it witnessed the collapse of its idols and their replacement with the Christian cross.

Well before the Conquest, the Totonac people had extended even farther south, to the margins of the Papaloapan River. The Nahuatl-speaking Aztec had, however, reduced the extent of the Totonac's southern territories, and at the time of the Spanish arrival Zempoala, the Totonac capital, was paying tribute to its Aztec rulers. By this time Nahuatl was the lingua franca in the region, and thus the Spanish priests used Nahuatl terms to describe Totonac religion, a practice still common among scholars today.

At present some one hundred thousand Totonac-speaking people survive in the northern part of their original territory between the states of Puebla and Veracruz. Linguistically, the Totonac are related to the Zoqueano- and Mayan-speaking peoples. However, there is no evidence connecting the religion and culture of the Totonac to those of the Maya and the Zoqueano. Our understanding of the Totonac religion is based upon archaeological evidence primarily from Zempoala, El Tajín, and Puebla, and upon analysis of early descriptions provided by Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas and Fray Andrés de Olmos.

EVIDENCE FROM ZEMPOALA. According to Las Casas, who relied on information supplied by a young page of Cortés, daily homage was paid in Zempoala to the Sun (Chichiní in Totonac), who was the creator of all other gods. Early in the morning seven priests would attend the temple. One of the priests would gaze skyward, paying reverence to the Sun before bathing the Sun's image, as well as the images of other gods, in incense. On ceremonial occasions nobles and officials would go to the temple to worship. According to Las Casas, every Saturday everyone was obliged to gather in the atrium of the temple to pray. Scholars now believe that this took place every fifth day. There, the nobles and principal dignitaries mutilated themselves before their gods by passing numerous straws through incisions made in various parts of their bodies. Las Casas mentions in particular tongues, thighs, and ears. The act of bleeding was a mechanism of purification.

At the winter solstice an important festival was celebrated during which eighteen people, men and women, were sacrificed. Eighteen is also the number of *veintenas* (Span., "set of twenty," i.e., "months" composed of twenty days each) into which the Mesoamerican year was divided. The human sacrifice took place at midnight; the hearts of the victims were ground into the mouths of the principal idols. Blood was the food of the Sun. The persons sacrificed were messengers sent to plead with the Sun to send his son to liberate the Totonac from the practices imposed on them by the Aztec. (Fine illustrations of human sacrifice are to be found in the reliefs at El Tajín.) Similar practices were followed at Zempoala for at least two other important festivals. The flesh of the victims was eaten by dignitaries and a few other influential people. Besides this elitist communion, there existed a practice popular among men who were more than twenty-six years of age: every six months they consumed a paste prepared from the blood of infants' hearts, seeds from plants grown in the temples, and a milky latex from the *Castilla elastica* tree. This sacrament was called *yoliaimtlaqualoz*, a Nahuatl word meaning "food for the soul."

Another regular custom was a confession of sins, called *maiolcuita* in Nahuatl. A person would retire to some isolated spot and confess his wrongdoings aloud. According to Las Casas, penitents would often wring their hands and cry out in anguish with such conviction that it was, in his words, a custom "well worth consideration."

The Totonac had a goddess, the consort of the sun god, whose temple was high in the sierra. She received sacrifices of decapitated animals and birds as well as offerings of herbs and flowers. Her name was Tonacayohua, which means "preserver of the flesh" in Nahuatl. In contrast to many other Mesoamerican cultures, the Totonac did not believe the Sun's consort to be the Moon, since Totonac tradition considered both the Sun and the Moon to be male deities. The Totonac's hope, reported by Las Casas, that the sun god would intercede by sending his son to liberate them from servitude to the Aztec's gods, who required human sacrifice, may well have been a Christian interpretation of Totonac belief. Similarly, although the Sun, the Moon, and the planet Venus together figure prominently in the paintings in the temple of Las Caritas in Zempoala, it is improbable that the Totonac viewed these three celestial deities as forming a unified Trinity.

In the same city a temple was dedicated to Xolotl, the twin brother of Quetzalcoatl. These brothers were personifications of the different manifestations of the planet Venus as Morning Star and Evening Star.

To the south of Zempoala, large sculptures were erected of women who had died during their first childbirth. Such women were venerated, their deaths being seen as equivalent to the deaths of soldiers killed while taking prisoners (new servants for the Sun). Called *cihuateteo* (Nah., "deified women") by the Aztec, they were responsible for transporting the Sun on his course across the sky. Statuettes from the same area provide evidence that human beings were flayed in homage to a god similar to the Aztec deity Xipe Totec; the sacrifice was made to ensure a bountiful harvest.

EVIDENCE FROM EL TAJÍN AND PUEBLA. The relief sculptures among the archaeological remains of El Tajín reveal the existence of another god, Huracán (whence the English word *hurricane*). While in Zempoala Huracán is represented as a *chacmool*, a reclining anthropomorphic figure, in El Tajín he is represented as a one-legged deity whom I consider analogous to Tezcatlipoca. From the Sierra Madre near El Tajín, Olmos reported the existence of (and denounced) a god called Chicueyozumatli ("8 Monkey"), to whom homage was paid at a time near that of the Christian festival of Easter. Like Huracán, Chicueyozumatli is analogous to Tezcatlipoca. Huracán was also equivalent to the god Tajín himself; this storm god survives today among the Totonac, who give him various names, including Trueno Viejo (Span., "old thunder"), Aktsini', and Nanahuatzin.

It was also from the Sierra Madre that the Spanish first reported a festival, called Calcusot by the Totonac, which was held in November for the remembrance of the dead. This festival was widespread among the indigenous peoples of Mexico and survives today in a modified form celebrated on All Souls' Day.

Religious beliefs bore upon sexual practices. Totonac priests were required to maintain celibacy. The high priest and the secondary priest were responsible for the circumcisions of month-old boys, and they also broke the hymens of infant girls. Priests would recommend that mothers repeat the latter operation once their daughters had reached the age of six. Through Olmos we also know that those seeking good health for some relative would refrain from sexual contact for eighty days before making their petition. The general regard for abstinence is demonstrated in a popular tale in which an old man arrives too late for a competition as a result of his libertine ways. The winner of the competition is transformed into the Sun; the old man is transformed into the Moon.

Several popular tales today constitute the remnants of the Totonac religion. In the area of Zempoala the Totonac language is no longer spoken, but in the area of El Tajín (present-day Papantla de Olarte) it still survives. Here the Totonac religious tales have become syncretized with Roman Catholic beliefs. One example is that the Sun and Jesus Christ are often considered to be the same. Another example is that Saint John and the god Tajín (or Trueno Viejo) are also identified as the same. The spread of Catholic (and, more recently, Protestant) religion continues to break down the original Totonac religion.

SEE ALSO Tezcatlipoca.

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TOUCHING.

In religious usage touching often implies more than simple physical contact with the hands or other parts of the body. One may confer a touch to heal or assert power, to convey or obtain grace, or to consecrate or constrain a person or object.

HEALING TOUCH. A classic instance of touching is recorded in the first three Gospels. They relate that a woman who had had an issue of blood for twelve years came behind Jesus in a crowd and touched the fringe of his garment. According to Luke, Jesus asked, "Who touched me?" and added, "I perceive that power has gone out from me" (*Lk.* 8:45–46). When the woman saw that she was hidden despite the pressing crowd, she fell down before Jesus and declared that she had been immediately healed. As a charismatic healer, Jesus laid his hands upon sick folk, touched lepers, and put his fingers into the ears of a deaf mute and touched his tongue; he also put his spittle on the eyes of a blind man and twice laid hands on his eyes to effect a cure (*Mk.* 8:22–26).

In the Hebrew scriptures, the prophet Elisha is said to have laid himself upon the corpse of a child and to have put his mouth on the child's mouth, his eyes on his eyes, and his hands on his hands. The child's flesh became warm, and the prophet got up and then again stretched himself upon the body. Then the child sneezed seven times and opened his eyes (*2 Kgs.* 4:34–35). The prophet Isaiah, after having had a vision of God "high and lifted up," confessed his own sinfulness, whereupon a seraph flew to him with a live coal from the heavenly altar and touched his mouth with it to purge his iniquity (*Is.* 6:1–7).

Not only the touch of a sacred person but the touch of anything connected with him could exercise healing power. The New Testament reports that the shadow of Peter was sought by the sick, who were brought into the street to be cured as he passed by (*Acts* 5:15). And miracles were wrought not only by the hands of Paul but by the clothes that were taken from his body and given to the sick, whereupon diseases and possession by evil spirits went out of them (*Acts* 19:12).

The disciples of Jesus healed the sick by anointing them with oil (*Mk.* 6:13), and the elders of the church were instructed to pray for the sick and anoint them with oil in the name of the Lord (*Jas.* 5:14–15). From this developed what came to be called the unction of the sick, in some Eastern and Western churches, and extreme unction (a sacrament) in the Roman Catholic church. To the accompaniment of prayer, anointing oil is administered to the eyes, ears, nose, lips, hands, and feet of the sick person "for the health of body and soul." This rite is to be distinguished from the viaticum ("provision for a journey") of Holy Communion, which is administered to those near death.

Although Islam affirms that Muḥammad was a man and that the one miracle he wrought was the Qurʾān, devotees have credited the Prophet with a healing touch. Al-Bakhārī recorded that when one of Muḥammad's companions broke his leg, the Prophet passed his hands over the limb, whereupon it seemed as if nothing had ever been wrong with it. A woman brought him her son who was possessed, and Muḥammad stroked the boy's breast and prayed until the lad vomited and was healed. The Prophet even had power over nature: a palm tree that was one of the pillars of his mosque is said to have shouted out until it almost split, whereupon the Prophet embraced it until it calmed down and was quiet again.

In ancient and preliterate societies, power is attributed to the touch of healers, priests, and shamans. Doctors of the Ndembu of Zambia, for example, encircle a patient's hut and bring medicines of roots and leaves. The patient's chest and shoulders are washed, and then the doctor catches him by the little finger and directs him to a fire to warm himself. Still holding the patient's little finger, the doctor gives him a rattle, and after a while the patient begins to tremble and dance. A helper puts his hands on the patient's shoulders while the doctor places a medicine basket on the patient's head; after further dancing, the patient is led backward into his own hut to rest and recover.

The practice of touching an animal in order to transfer evil to it is illustrated in the Bible. The priest Aaron was instructed to take two goats into the wilderness, one to be sacrificed as a sin offering and the other to be given as a scapegoat to ʿAzaʾzel, a desert demon. The priest placed his hands on the head of the second goat, confessing over it the sins of the people, and sent it off to wander in the wilderness (*Lv.* 16:7–10, 21). In West Africa, a mother of twins who had died took a goat by the horns and placed her forehead three times against it in order to transfer her evil to it. Then the animal was sent away to wander outside the village.

In Asia and North America, both medicine men and shamans alike have performed functions of healing by touching. Although the shaman may utilize the curative properties of plants and animals or may massage patients, many illnesses are regarded as spiritual, that is, caused by injury to the soul. Thus the shaman's method is meant to restore the soul, and this he accomplishes by ascending to the heavens or descending to the underworld in a trance. If he perceives the disease to have been caused by a foreign body, visible or invisible, he may extract it by sucking the part of the body that he saw while in a trance, sucking the skin either directly or through a bone or wooden tube. The shaman then dances and afterward may paint magical designs on the patient's body or instruct the patient's family on how this is to be done.

In Japan, Nakayama Miki (1778–1884), founder of the Tenrikyō religion, sought to heal sick people by giving them food or one of her belongings. As the numbers of her followers increased, she prepared amulets to give them. Relatives of the sick consulted her and brought with them some of the afflicted one's clothes. She took them in her hands and breathed on them, and it was said that recovery followed at once. Miki also distributed to her disciples pieces of paper on which she had breathed, and when the demand on her became too great she granted this power of breath to her chosen disciples.

TOUCHES OF POWER OR REVERENCE. According to the *Laws of Manu,* a Hindu high-caste student must clasp the feet of his teacher both at the beginning and at the end of each lesson in the Vedas, crossing his hands so that he touches the left foot with his left hand and the right foot with his right hand. Similarly, he should touch the feet of his teacher's wife and the wife of his teacher's brother, if she is of the same caste (*Manu* 2.72, 132, 217).

Down to modern times, the physical presence of a teacher or guru has been treasured above books or learning, since true knowledge, power, and even divinity come through him. Sometimes the guru sits before his disciple in silence, and the latter squats with eyes closed. The guru may eventually touch the disciple's forehead or gaze into his eyes, and thus power is felt to pass from one to the other.

In daily religious practice, a devout Hindu asks pardon from the earth for touching it with his feet as he rises from bed. When he is ready for worship, he invokes his god by *nyāsa,* "placing" or "fixing" the presence of the divinity in his body by holding the right hand successively in front of the mouth, eyes, ears, nostrils, top of the head, forearms, navel, and back. The touching is accompanied by recitation of a mantra, a scriptural text, and prayers that the gods who protect different parts of the body may each take up his special place. *Nyāsa* is also performed on images to install the gods within them. With bunches of sacred grass, the breast of the image is touched to install Brahma, the hand is touched to install Indra, the feet for Viṣṇu, and other parts for the appropriate gods.

In Sri Lanka, Buddhists perform comparable rites. In the presence of a superior, one joins the hands in reverence, bows or kneels, and even touches the ground with the forehead or touches the feet of the person saluted. Similar reverence is accorded images of the Buddha and other holy figures. The "eye festival," which is held on completion of an image of the Buddha, is an elaborate ritual performed to ensure that the gaze of the image does not fall directly on the craftsman who paints in the eyes. He looks into a mirror to see the eyes as he paints them, thus avoiding the dangerous gaze; afterward he is led blindfolded from the room, and the covering is removed only when his eyes will fall on something harmless, such as water.

In Buddhist myth and imagery occurs the symbolic gesture (*mudrā*) of the Buddha "touching the ground" (Bhūmiśparsa Mudrā). There are several versions of this event. In one version, the Buddha at the point of attaining perfection was warned that he would be attacked by demons. So he pointed to the ground with his finger and called on the gods of the earth to rise up and kill the demons. In another version, the demon king Māra claimed the Buddha's throne and summoned his troops as witnesses. The Buddha then touched the earth as his witness, and it proclaimed his right to the throne. Yet other accounts call this symbolic gesture the *mudrā* of the defeat of Māra, or touching the earth to oblige its gods to swear eternal fealty. Touching the ground has the meaning of repressing evil and also of calling the earth to witness. The five fingers of the left hand hold the Buddha's robe at the level of the breast, and with the right hand five fingers touch or press the earth. In Buddhist imagery, this gesture is a distinctive sign of the historical Buddha, Śākyamuni, whereas other gestures in images and pictures are common to several Buddhas.

An Islamic tradition, from al-Bukhārī, says that once, when there was only a little food, Muḥammad blessed it until there was enough for a great multitude. This is similar to the gospel accounts of Jesus praying, blessing, and breaking five loaves of bread for five thousand people. Another Islamic narrative says that once, when the followers of Muḥammad were thirsty, he put his hand into a bucket and water gushed out from between his fingers like a spring. One follower said that the Prophet came to him in a dream and kissed his cheek, so that when he awoke the house was full of scent.

In Christianity, laying on of hands is said to communicate power. The Gospels record that parents brought children to Jesus in order that he might touch them. He brushed aside the protective barrier formed by the disciples and, taking the children in his arms, "he blessed them, laying his hands upon them" (*Mk.* 10:16). The Gospels record that the first Christian apostles chose deacons to help in secondary duties, laid hands on them, and prayed, whereupon the deacons became filled with power. Peter and John laid their hands on converts so that they would receive the Holy Spirit (*Acts* 6:6). The magician Simon tried to buy this power so that the Spirit might also descend on those on whom he laid his hands (*Acts* 8:18–19). Paul and Barnabas had hands laid on them for success in a special mission, but a warning to Timothy to "lay hands suddenly on no man" shows that care was needed in such dedication.

Commission to service by laying on hands, especially in the ordained ministry of the church, has continued through the ages. It is practiced by nonepiscopal and free churches as well as by those that claim an unbroken apostolic and episcopal succession transmitted through this sacred touch. In the Church of England, the ordination of priests by the episcopal touch gives power as well as office, as reflected in these words from the traditional *Book of Common Prayer:* "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands." In the consecration of a bishop, other bishops lay hands on his head and exhort him to "stir up the grace of God which is given thee by this imposition of our hands." At the investiture of a high-caste Hindu, the candidate passes from low or neutral status to that of a "twice-born." The central rite is the Upanayana, the "donning of the sacred thread," nowadays confined usually to boys, although in former times girls also were invested with this symbol of rebirth. While the preceptor recites appropriate texts, the candidate, facing the sun, slips the cotton threads over his head and across his breast. The teacher puts his right hand on the right side of the boy, alternately touching the candidate's shoulder and his own breast while exhorting obedience and unity of mind. The teacher then takes the boy's right hand into his own and asks him his "old name"; he then gives him a "new name" (which is uttered only at this ceremony). When the candidate is finally considered ceremonially pure, he performs *nyāsa,* touching his own head, eyes, nostrils, hands, arms, limbs, and other parts of his body to purify them all. The third finger of the right hand is considered the most auspicious, and, with it, the newly "twice-born" man touches some of the ashes of the sacred fire that is burning nearby and puts them on his forehead, throat, and right shoulder and over his heart. Then he is blessed and bows to his teacher and all his elders.

Not only prophets and healers but secular rulers have been credited with a potent touch, thereby expressing the divinity that "doth hedge a king." European kings touched their subjects who suffered from scrofula, also called "the king's evil," a swelling of the glands that supposedly was cured by the royal touch. French kings had done this since ancient times, and the custom was introduced to England in the eleventh century by the saintly Edward the Confessor. In the late fifteenth century, Henry VII, perhaps to encourage support for his claim to the throne, instituted a ceremony for touching persons suffering from scrofula and presented the afflicted with gold coins; in the seventeenth century, Charles I distributed silver pieces for the sufferers to touch. From then until 1719, the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer* contained an office called At the Healing, in which the monarch laid hands on the assembled infirm persons and put gold or silver about their necks while a chaplain recited the following prayer: "God give a blessing to this work, and grant that these sick persons on whom the king lays his hands may recover." The practice of royal touching to gain popular support reached its peak in England under Charles II, who reigned from 1660 to 1685. Charles touched nearly one hundred thousand people. According to Thomas Macaulay, "in 1684, the throng was such that six or seven of the sick were trampled to death." A short time later, William III called the practice "a silly superstition," though his wife and coregent, Mary II, continued it. Queen Anne, who reigned from 1702 to 1714, was the last British monarch to practice royal touching. James Boswell recorded in his biography of Samuel Johnson that the infant Johnson had been taken to be touched by Queen Anne because he had a disfigured face, "his mother yielding to the superstitious notion, which, it is wonderful to think prevailed so long in this country, as to the virtue of the regal touch." Queen Anne's touch, however, had no effect on the young Johnson, and Boswell teased him that "his mother had not carried him far enough, she should have taken him to Rome." A practice comparable to the royal healing touch is the washing of feet performed on Maundy Thursday by notable people in imitation of Christ's washing his disciples' feet. The practice took its name from the Latin *mandatum,* the translation of the "new commandment" that is given in *John* 13:34. Popes, bishops, and kings practiced the ablution; the pope would wash the feet of his cardinals or, in modern times, the feet of selected poor men. In England, kings did such washing until the reign of James II in the late seventeenth century. Specially minted "Maundy money" is still distributed by the monarch to certain old people during a religious ceremony that takes place at a different cathedral in England each year on Maundy Thursday, the Thursday before Easter.

Power in the royal touch, look, or presence is attested in many places. In the *Laws of Manu* the presence of the king, like the sun, is said to burn eyes and hearts, and nobody on earth can even gaze on him; even an infant king is a deity in human form. The monarch's responsibilities are great, and he must conquer his own senses if he is to require obedience from others. The king rules by the rod but must do no bodily injury unjustly. If he fights his foes in battle, he must not strike with poisonous weapons or smite one who surrenders. His highest duty is to protect his subjects and gratify with a kindly reception all who come to see him.

West African kings often wore beaded veils over their faces, a practice that seems to be very ancient, from the evidence of bronze masks with holes for veils. To look directly at a king's face or to receive his unveiled gaze were considered equally dangerous. For the monarch to point at or touch a commoner might be seen as either a mark of favor or of danger.

In China, the physical obligations of a king were detailed by the Confucian scholar Tung Chung-shu, who stated that the monarch must personally grasp a plow handle and plow a furrow, pluck mulberries and feed silkworms, and break new ground to increase the supply of grain. As the representative of Heaven, the king formally touched the plow or sickle to initiate the harvest. In Japan, to this day the emperor cuts the first rice of the harvest. Photographs in public newspapers show him dressed in shirt, suspenders, and trousers, harvesting rice. The rice he has cut is sent to the central Shinto shrines at Ise.

KISSING AND HANDSHAKING. Kissing is a form of close touching, a sign of reverence as well as of greeting or affection. It is performed on human beings and objects alike. The Bible's report that the prophet Elijah was assured that there were in Israel seven thousand people who had not kissed the god Baal indicates that the Canaanite and Phoenician custom of kissing the images of their gods was being practiced by the Israelites. The prophet Hosea also spoke despairingly of the Israelites kissing silver idols of calves. The Greeks and Romans also kissed images of their gods, and early Christians were persecuted for refusing to make such homage.

The ancient Hebrews kissed the floor of the Temple. Jews still kiss the scroll of the Torah when they are about to read it, and they kiss any holy book if it has been accidentally dropped. When the Torah scrolls are taken around the synagogue in procession, worshipers touch them and then place their hands on their own breasts. When a Jew puts on a prayer shawl, he kisses it, and upon entering or leaving a room, Jews may kiss or touch a *mezuzah,* the miniature container holding several verses of scripture that is affixed to a doorpost. At the Western Wall in Jerusalem, worshipers handle and kiss pieces of paper on which they write prayers and that they then put into cracks in the wall.

In the celebration of the Mass, Roman Catholic priests kiss the altar and the corporal cloth on which the sacred elements are laid. A priest also kisses the cross on a stole before he puts it on. In both Eastern and Western churches, ritual kissing is also performed with relics and with books of the gospel, crosses, candles, palm branches, vestments, and utensils of the liturgy. In British courts, oaths are sworn by taking the Bible or another holy book in ungloved hands; formerly the book was kissed.

Images and icons are popular objects of the kiss. In Saint Peter's Church in Rome, the toe of a statue of the apostle has been partly worn away by the kisses of devotees. In Ireland, the kissing of the Blarney Stone is a modern tourist attraction that may look back to prehistoric times. Part of the ritual of the Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca is kissing the Black Stone, which is set in the wall of the Kaʿbah. Because the crowds are vast, some pilgrims use long sticks to touch the stone, or from a distance they simulate a gesture of touching and afterward pass their hands over their faces while praising God and his prophet. In the opposite corner of the Kaʿbah is another stone, which it was the Prophet's custom to touch. When the crowd prevents a pilgrim from touching it, he says a prayer for blessing and forgiveness. Followers of the late shah of Iran may still be observed kissing his portrait, and the same gesture of reverence is offered to pictures of his rival, the Ayatollah Khomeini.

The Second Psalm (2:11) exhorts Israelite worshipers to "kiss [the Lord's] feet," no doubt an act of homage. This carried over to the kissing of kings' and popes' feet. In India, to kiss the feet or take the dust of the feet upon one's own head is a sign of submission and reverence. A farewell kiss to the dead is an old practice, one that was sometimes forbidden. It is still practiced in an attenuated form by touching the coffin.

In the Islamic world, kissing the shoulder, the foot, or, especially, the hand of a holy man is believed to communicate spiritual benefit. The water in which saints have washed their hands confers grace, and schoolboys may drink the water they have used to wash the board on which they write passages from the Qurʾān, in order that they may learn the text more easily. The saliva of a holy man is said to have medicinal value, and schoolboys are thought to learn their lessons better when their teachers spit into their mouths.

The kiss of peace became a distinctive Christian ritual: both Paul and Peter exhorted their readers to "salute one another with a holy kiss," but by the time of Tertullian, in the second century, it was ruled that men should kiss only men and women should kiss only women, to prevent suggestions of scandal. The kiss had a sacramental value. It was an outward sign of spiritual union or blessing: bishops were given a kiss at their consecration and kings at their coronation. The practice of the kiss of peace has been revived in modern times, either by shaking hands and uttering a phrase of peace or, for the less reserved, by giving a holy kiss.

The shaking of hands may also transfer grace or mark privilege. In Morocco, when equals meet they may join hands in salutation, and then each person will kiss his own hand. Among the West African Ashanti, during intervals of dancing, priests walk around the circle of spectators, and each places his right hand between the extended palms of the person saluted. The right hand is usually considered the proper or fortunate one, and the Ashanti may refuse to take a gift or even the payment of a debt from the left hand of the giver. In Latin, the word for left is *sinister,* and the Greeks euphemistically called the left the "well-named" side in order to avert bad luck. Shaking with the left hand, or with a finger bent back, is practiced by special societies and copied by Freemasons and Boy Scouts.

TOUCHING PROHIBITED. On the negative side, the prohibition against touching may be as important as the act itself. Usually it serves to save a person from contamination. When Moses brought the Israelites to Mount Sinai, he alone went up into the presence of God. Although the people were sanctified by ritual washing, they were exhorted not to touch the mountain or its border, for "whosoever touches the mount shall surely be put to death" (*Ex.* 19:12). The elaborate regulations described in *Leviticus* include many prohibitions against touching objects and people that were deemed sacred or dangerous. Touching any unclean thing would bring guilt and pollution and would require purgation by the presentation of a sin offering and an atonement effected by a priest. Touching a dead body was considered particularly dangerous, and there are repeated warnings against such action. The power of blood was always perilous, and touching a menstruating woman or anything she sat on required washing and the presentation of a sin offering. Because blood was considered the life or soul, prohibitions against its consumption were imposed on Jews, and this rule was extended to Muslims as well.

The Bible also strictly forbade touching to harm, or even to suggest disrespect for, a sacred object or person. When Uzzah put out his hand to steady the Ark, "God smote him" (*2 Sm.* 6:7). The Bible records God's command, "touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm," a sentiment echoed in the vicar of Bray's damnation of those who "touch the Lord's anointed"—a reference to the execution of Charles I. An example of reverential and perhaps numinous prohibition against touching is found in the words of the risen Christ to Mary: "Touch me not" (*Jn.* 20:17). There are many other examples of religious figures who kept themselves from being touched. When Nakayama Miki felt herself to be filled with divinity and chosen for a special mission, she separated herself from the common people. She ordered that a separate fire and separate vessels be used to cook her food, and she wore only red robes to show that she was not an ordinary person. This emphasized the numinous value of the amulets that she gave to her faithful, since she claimed to be the mediatrix between God and men, saying, "I must be set aside and live in a special and separate room."

SEE ALSO Blood; Kashrut; Power; Scapegoat; Tenrikyō.

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GEOFFREY PARRINDER (1987)

TOURISM AND RELIGION. Tourism and its associated practices interact with religious life and the institutions of religion in virtually every corner of the world. From Amish communities of rural Pennsylvania to the snowy summits of Mount Fuji in Japan, from the mysterious ruins of Machu Picchu in the Peruvian Andes to the monumental pyramids of Giza in Egypt, from Chartres in France to the Western Wall in Jerusalem, millions of tourists seek out places of religion every year. The relationship between religion and tourism, however, amounts to far more than places of religion that host tourist visitors. In fact, there are at least three broad approaches to understanding this relationship: spatial, historical, and cultural. Each of these illuminates different implications for religious life when tourists enter a sacred precinct.

SPATIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN RELIGION AND TOURISM. Tourists and religious adherents often occupy the same spaces; consequently, they both play a role in attributing meanings to these spaces and in sustaining the sacred character of sites that host both casual and deeply committed visitors. In fact, the religious meanings that make a place sacred also make the site a meaningful destination for tourists. At the same time, however, tourists and religious practitioners usually have very different attachments to and understandings of these sacred spaces.

Spaces become sacred according to the historical, social, and cultural contexts of particular religious traditions. The holy nature of Mecca, for instance, cannot be understood apart from the historical and sociocultural contexts of Islam. Indeed, the close identification between Islam and its most sacred city make them nearly indistinguishable. Likewise, the shrine at Tepeyac, which houses the sacred image of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico City, gains its auspicious powers from the miraculous appearance of the Virgin there; these powers, however, also derive from the historical circumstances of colonial relations between European Christians and Native American converts, as well as from the racial, ethnic, gender, and socioeconomic dynamics of subsequent generations of Catholic worshippers at the site. Both of these cases demonstrate how places are made holy according to particular religious traditions and the spatial practices that sustain their sacred character.

Tourists, on the other hand, arrive with a different set of spatial practices embedded in their own peculiar historical, social, and cultural contexts. Unlike religious practices related to particular sacred spaces, however, the spatial practices of tourists rely on modern conventions of travel and aesthetics practiced in the context of global capitalism. Hence, they make these spaces into touristic places that remain distinct from the sacred places of religious people. At Tepeyac, for instance, the sacredness sustained in veneration of the Virgin of Guadalupe appears to a touristic sensibility in terms of aesthetics, history, and the exotic otherness of unfamiliar cultic behaviors. Thus, the space of Tepeyac becomes simultaneously a place of religious practice and a place of touristic indulgence.

Places of both religion and tourism range from the predominantly religious to the predominantly touristic. As an example of the former, the prohibition of non-Muslims in Mecca keeps Islam's most holy city free from purely touristic travelers, although the touristic imagination of non-Muslims makes it a desirable, if improbable, destination. In contrast, Uluru in Australia, the world's largest monolith, retains its mythic significance as a sacred site for Aboriginal people, but it is best known for the striking beauty of its ethereal hues. A half million annual visitors make the journey deep into the Australian interior to view the giant outcropping set in the stark outback landscape.

Between the extremes of predominantly religious and predominantly touristic lies a great variety of religious places that host significant numbers of tourist visitors. These places range from the ancient to the contemporary, from auspicious features of the natural landscape to glass and steel architectural structures, from remote spots far from human habitation to the centers of the world's most densely populated urban areas. In addition, tourists seek out religious events that include regularly performed rituals, special dedicatory events, festivals, and carnivals. There seems no end to the types and locales of religious sites and celebrations that appeal to the curiosities of touristic travelers.

Among the most auspicious of places that tourists seek out are natural features regarded as sacred by one or more religious traditions. Mount Fuji, for example, looms above the Japanese landscape as a sacred monument in both the Shintō and Buddhist traditions; at the same time, the mountain serves as one of Japan's most recognizable icons for tourists. Caves, on the other hand, tend to appeal to visitors more for their ancient artwork associated with prehistoric religions rather than for their inherent sacredness. At places like Lascaux in France and the Altamira caves of northern Spain, visitors can tour exact replicas of the caverns complete with detailed copies of their ancient paintings, even though entrance into the caves themselves is restricted at both sites.

Tourists also visit the architectural ruins of places where ancient peoples practiced their religions. Among the most famous of these sites are the remains of structures built by the Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and other civilizations of the ancient Mediterranean world. Similarly in Indonesia, travelers can visit the restored Buddhist temple of Borobudur. Prehistoric sites in the Americas include the monumental pyramids and other sacred structures of Teotihuacan in central Mexico, and the Inca ceremonial center of Machu Picchu in Peru remains a favorite stop for tourists.

Places where contemporary people continue to practice their religion also capture the attention of tourists. Tourists can view the Dome of the Rock, one of the holiest sites for Muslims in the ancient city of Al-Quds (Jerusalem). Also in Jerusalem, an ancient ruin that remains an active place of religious practice for Jews is the Western Wall of the Temple Mount, popularly known as the Wailing Wall. In Rome, holy places of Christianity abound; among the most popular are St. Peter's Basilica and other sites of the Vatican. In Japan, the Ise temple complex, the most sacred site of the Shintō religion, is a favorite destination for tourists.

Tourists often take more interest in witnessing religions in practice than in merely viewing the places of religion. A visit to a church, temple, mosque, or shrine becomes more meaningful and fulfilling if a ritual or some other event happens to be occurring at the time of the visit. Special celebrations and religious festivals generate even more enthusiasm among visitors. Widely known festivals such as Carnival in Rio de Janeiro in Brazil or Mardi Gras in New Orleans in the United States attract huge crowds every year. But smaller, lesser-known celebrations often have greater appeal for travelers. Visitors in China intent on experiencing authentic Chinese culture may have more interest in a local village's Lantern Festival than in a large celebration that is widely promoted in tourist literature.

There is no end to the places and events of religion that tourists visit each year, and an attempt to list all the possible religious attractions for travelers would prove futile. Indeed, outsiders visit religious sites and witness religious activities virtually everywhere. Many of these visitors do not regard themselves as religious practitioners or pilgrims; they come as tourists, modern consumers of religious culture. Certainly, a good number find themselves actively participating in religious practices at the places they visit, but at the same time they rarely falter in pursuit of their touristic objective to have authentic, aesthetically pleasing experiences.

HISTORICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN RELIGION AND TOURISM. It is tempting to suggest that tourism has its roots in religious pilgrimage. In fact, as categories of practice and experience, pilgrimage and tourism are easily confused. In contemporary settings, pilgrims often engage in touristic activities; like tourists, they take photographs of the places they visit, they purchase souvenirs and gifts, and they avail themselves of the same transportation and lodging accommodations that tourists use. At the same time, tourists who visit religious sites, including pilgrimage destinations, sometimes find themselves participating in religious practices, and many so-called tourists are overtaken by feelings that can be described as religious at sites regarded as sacred. Thus, it is easy to confuse the experience of the tourist with that of the pilgrim.

Yet despite the difficulty of distinguishing between them, the practice of tourism has origins largely independent of the traditions of religious pilgrimage. By 1780, when the term *tourist* first appeared in the English language, conventions of recreational and educational travel in the Western world already had established themselves with more than two centuries of development. In fact, the history of touristic practices follows on the same historical forces that challenged the traditional authority of Christianity and consequently led to the demise of pilgrimage in much of northern Europe. These include the rise of humanism beginning in Renaissance Italy and spreading northward; the Protestant reformations of the sixteenth century that shook the foundations of traditional church authority in Christian Europe; and the Enlightenments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which introduced new models of political authority and modern forms of subjectivity. Along with their profound impact on European societies in general, these movements also changed the expectations and requirements for an educated citizenry. Sara Warneke (1995, p. 30) notes that, instead of a pure scholasticism pursued in earlier times, the Renaissance education sought to prepare students for a life of service to their community, their prince, and their state; this often included stays in foreign states to learn firsthand the culture and politics of other societies. By the second half of the sixteenth century, significant numbers of travelers were leaving their homelands in hopes of gaining the educational benefits of a continental journey.

Following the Thirty Years' War of the seventeenth century, travelers settled into a conventional pattern of educational travel that would be the basis for what became known in the eighteenth century as the Grand Tour. Not unlike their counterparts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, participants in the Grand Tour sought education and refinement. But tourism changed over the course of the eighteenth century. Early in the century a classical view of the Grand Tour dominated, most typically involving young men traveling with an entourage of servants and tutors to selected European destinations, most often Paris and Italy, to finish their education and practice the refinements of cultivated society. But in the second half of the century, as Jeremy Black (1992, p. 300) points out, the classical model became less typical as more people traveled for enjoyment and amusement. Black goes on to note that although many aristocratic families continued to send their sons abroad for education and social finishing, the emphasis on education declined as tourism joined in the growing European fascination with leisure activities (p. 303).

By the time of Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo in 1815, travel practices in Europe were undergoing significant changes that precluded a return to the heyday of the Grand Tour. Steamships and railroad service allowed for more convenient, more enjoyable, and less time-consuming tours of the Continent. And although tourist travel throughout most of the nineteenth century remained primarily a privilege of wealthy classes, the growth of railroad transportation made travel available to at least a few members of the middle classes. In the twentieth century, however, mass production of automobiles, along with a trend toward shorter workweeks, allowed greater numbers from all but the lowest socioeconomic classes to indulge in regular, if infrequent, tourist travels. Air travel has extended the range of the twenty-first-century tourist to every continent on earth, and space travel has even taken tourists even beyond the earth's atmosphere.

From the very beginning of tourism's history, tourists have held a fascination with religion. Early travelers of the European Renaissance regularly visited churches, cathedrals, shrines, and other religious sites in their studies of the art, architecture, culture, and history of the nations they visited. On occasion, Renaissance travelers also condemned the practices of the religious people they encountered at such places. In fact, the humanist Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536) signaled a pivotal moment between Christian pilgrimage and the beginnings of religious tourism with his colloquy "A Pilgrimage for Religion's Sake," which first appeared in 1526, with an anonymous English translation appearing a decade later as "The Pilgrimage of Pure Devotion." Erasmus traveled as a secular visitor to various pilgrimage sites where he had little patience for traditional religious practices; indeed, his observations and subsequent criticisms of pilgrims reflected the groundswell of intellectual, political, and religious reforms sweeping Europe at the time.

The tension between practices of the earliest tourists and those of their pilgrim counterparts, as exemplified in Erasmus's essay, has continued into the twenty-first century. In fact, pilgrimage sites remain favorite tourist destinations even today. Nonreligious visitors frequent such popular Christian pilgrimage destinations as Lourdes in France, Santiago de Campostela in Spain, and the Basilica of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico. In the Hindu tradition, Benares, India, serves as a favorite destination of tourists, and Buddhist stupas throughout Asia attract both religious and nonreligious travelers. In these auspicious religious places, pilgrims become tourists even as tourists fancy themselves as pilgrims. A cultural understanding of tourism, however, reveals that the appeal of religion as a desirable attraction for tourist visitors extends beyond the confusion between tourist and pilgrim. In fact, tourism as a modern cultural practice transforms religious places, rituals, artifacts, and people into objects for touristic consumption.

CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN RELIGION AND TOURISM. Tourism amounts to a set of cultural practices aimed most often at aesthetically pleasing experiences of unfamiliar places and peoples. Tourists encounter cultural otherness by leaving their familiar surroundings, but touristic practices tend to domesticate unfamiliar places and novel experiences by making them into objects of consumption. In this regard, tourism exemplifies modernity; in particular, its conventions, habits, and discursive concerns rely on and respond to the forces of modern capitalism, especially in its emphasis on consumption, its tendency toward globalization, and its aesthetic proclivities. Put simply, tourists are practitioners of modernity. Moreover, tourism has become pervasive in modern life. Not only do modern people travel far more than ever before, but as some commentators insist, they are tourists most of the time, even in their own homes and communities. Indeed, touristic practices pervade the modern way of life.

On the other hand, tourists rank among the most maligned of modern subjects. In fact, derogating tourists is a part of being a tourist; Jonathan Culler (1981, p. 130) notes the somewhat ironic fact that tourists gain esteem by denying their status as a tourist; indeed, there is always someone else less adept in the arts of modern travel whom one can disparage as "tourist," elevating oneself as something better than a tourist. Consequently, maligning others conceals one's own touristic inclinations and practices, even as it makes one a better tourist.

Being a better tourist, then, involves having only a discreet engagement with touristic practices. At the most fundamental level, these practices rely on the technologies, networks, and discourses that constitute modern travel practices in general. Travel practices can be defined as any practice, discourse, or circumstance that either necessitates translocal movements or that generates a desire for travel and encourages people to travel; besides tourism, these practices also encompass migration, business and trade, military deployments, research excursions, family visitations, and many other forms of and motives for travel. The practices themselves involve various modes of transportation, most commonly airlines, trains, buses, and automobiles. They also include communication networks that facilitate travel, especially telecommunications and the Internet, but also television and radio broadcast media, newspapers and magazines, and other forms of mass communication. Other aspects of the modern practice of travel include banking networks that allow convenient and trustworthy currency exchange; accommodations for lodging and food services; and any other services or products that meet the needs and desires of modern travelers.

Besides modern infrastructures and services that make global travel possible, convenient, and comfortable, touristic practices participate in modern discourses that make travel desirable. Foremost among these is a discourse on experience. In fact, as a discursive category, experience serves tourism as an epistemological mode of knowing the world in a modern way. This includes equating authenticity with truth and interpreting experiences as meaningful by aestheticizing landscapes, cultures, events, cities, villages, and even entire societies. In fact, touristic discourse attributes aesthetic qualities to anything and everything that travelers might encounter. Indeed, tourists everywhere seek out and expect the most authentic and aesthetically pleasing experiences possible.

The emphasis on experience in touristic discourse aligns tourism with religion in the modern world. Robert Sharf (1998, p. 95) points out that theologians and scholars of religion invoke the category of experience in dealing with two peculiarly modern challenges to traditional religious authority: empiricism and cultural pluralism. Indeed, the claim of authentic religious experience forestalls critiques of religious authority on strictly objective, empirical grounds. At the same time, cross-cultural similarities of religious experiences lend a universal authority to the category of religion beyond the limited claims of particular religious traditions. In a similar fashion, touristic experiences, at once both authentic and aesthetic, confer validity, authority, and meaningfulness on the modern traveler.

As a modern practice, however, tourism submits these experiences to a thoroughgoing process of commodification. Every sight, sound, and taste; every locale and event; indeed every experience available to modern travelers becomes subject to a system of exchange that commodifies them in aesthetic terms for touristic consumption. Tourists are hyperconsumers of aestheticized culture, including religion. In fact, religious people themselves oftentimes adopt touristic practices to commodify their religion for touristic consumption. They do this not only for financial gain, but also to proselytize, and in many cases religious groups capitalize on touristic attention simply to present themselves and their religion publicly in the best possible light. For example, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints takes advantage of touristic interest at Temple Square in Salt Lake City to tell the Mormon story in heroic terms and to draw visitors into the church's missionary process. On the other hand, numerous churches in Europe pay for their upkeep and improvements by charging admission to visitors and by operating retail shops where tourists can purchase souvenirs and religious paraphernalia.

This process of commodification highlights the implications of the encounter between religion and tourism. Nearly all religious people in the world today must contend with the challenges that modernity presents to long-standing traditions, and tourists bring those challenges into the sacred spaces of the world's religions. By involving themselves in the touristic discourse on experience, both authentic and aesthetically pleasing, religious people conform to conventional assumptions about the role of religion in the modern world even as they assert the validity and power of their religious traditions and values in modern terms. At the same time, tourists experience religious life according to their own assumptions, expectations, and desires. Consequently, most tourists rarely appreciate the uniqueness and complexity of the religious practices and traditions they observe in their touristic travels. On the other hand, viewing tourism from the perspective of its spatial dimensions, understanding its historical origins, and regarding it as a cultural phenomenon of the modern world obviates a simple dichotomy between religion and tourism. Differentiating religious people and tourists in strictly oppositional terms becomes more difficult when considering the many dimensions of their relationship. Indeed, tourism and religion are not mutually exclusive, and in fact they often reside together in individuals who remain at once both tourists and religious adherents.

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THOMAS S. BREMER (2005)

TOWERS. Strictly speaking, a *tower* is any architectural structure that is high in proportion to its lateral dimensions. Broadening that definition, tower here will be understood to be any architectural structure whose religious meaning is related to its lofty vertical dimension. This entry will refer to this quality as vertical aspiration, which, while inexact, at least sets towers apart from merely massive structures. Towers have no single explanation but betray a variety of meanings that show clearly the ingenious fertility of the religious imagination and offer a challenge to the interpreter, especially in cases where there is a paucity of written sources. Their meanings are not fixed but can change over time.

The Egyptian pyramid, one of the earliest examples of tower building, is essentially a funerary monument used to inter and glorify deceased pharaohs, yet the pyramid is not simply a gigantic tombstone. Because of the divinization of the ruler, it is also a structure that houses a sacred presence. The obelisk, originally a monument to the sun god Re, later became a popular architectural feature in Europe and North America. The ziggurat of ancient Mesopotamia was a multistoried structure surmounted by a temple, where gods were worshipped, annual rites were performed, and the authority of the ruler was confirmed; it was a place of communication between upper and lower worlds.

The Zarathushtrian *dokhma*, often translated as "tower of silence," has an entirely different meaning. These towers are twenty- to thirty-foot cylindrical funerary structures that continue to be used in the twenty-first century by the small Parsi population of South Asia and Iran (e.g., Mumbai, ancient Yazd). Because earth, fire, and water are sacred and because the more common means of disposing of the dead (burial, cremation, interment) would pollute these elements, bodies of the deceased are placed over grates at the summit of the tower, through which body fluids and rain can pass until the vultures and sun leave nothing but bones. The towers therefore prevent pollution of the sacred elements, thus protecting the living and also becoming passageways for the dead from this life to eternity.

STUPA AND PAGODA. The basic form of the Buddhist stupa was a hemispherical earthbound dome built to house the sacred relics of the Buddha or his disciples and to be the focus of ritual circumambulation or meditation by devotees. The group at Sāñcī in central India remains the best surviving example of this genre. Although stupas were not conceptually towers in their original form, reliefs on Indian Buddhist buildings already depict the stupa in the second to third centuries CE with a vertical character. Early stupas in Nepal, such as that of Carumati, show a towerlike elongation of the *harmikā* (the finial above the dome of the stupa). Generally the vertical elongation took place as the stupa form crossed central Asia, and by the time it entered China in the later Han dynasty (25–220 CE) it had become a true tower.

The Chinese Buddhist pagoda represents a culmination of this development, becoming a multistoried building that ascended at times to dizzying heights, as does the Fogong monastery pagoda at Yingxian, built in 1056. At 550 feet it is still the tallest wooden structure in the world. Since earlier Chinese architecture was horizontal in character, with rare examples of multistory buildings, the pagoda suggests an aspiration for transcendence not found previously. Yet in its original meaning the lofty pagoda signifies the same as its architectural opposite, the earthbound stupa. It is a structure built to house and honor the relics of the Buddha. At the same time it acquired a wealth of new meanings over a long history in China and elsewhere in East Asia. Built to house the living presence of deity in the form of the Buddha's remains, it was at first the principal worship space in early Chinese Buddhist architecture. The Yongning Temple at Loyang, built in 516 CE, for example, had the pagoda sited at the center of the temple complex. Later the pagoda shared its centrality on the main axis of a monastic or temple compound with the Great Buddha hall just behind it. As time passed the Buddha hall became the main place of worship, and the pagoda declined in importance and came to be situated outside and behind the monastic or temple complex. Ritual circumambulation of the stupa was replaced by circumambulation of the Buddha image.

The pagoda acquired other meanings, becoming an imposing sign of Buddhist presence in China, a demonstration of the merit of the emperors and wealthy patrons who were able to fund such a project, a "guiding tower" to lead pilgrims toward their destination, and a funerary structure built to house the ashes of cremated monks. Finally, the pagoda was fully "domesticated" as a familiar element in the Chinese landscape, a site for popular rituals and a protective element in the complex system of fengshui (geomancy) that sought to balance *qi* (vital energy) that flowed in patterns across the surface of the earth. Yet older meanings were rarely lost. At the pagoda of the Temple of the Buddha's Tooth outside Beijing, post-Communist crowds still come as pilgrims, kowtowing as they ascend the steps to revere the sacred relic and worship the Buddha.

ŚIKHARA. By the fifth century CE the Indian Śilpa Sāstra texts had formally designated the tower or *śikhara* as the most prominent architectural statement for the Hindu temple (i.e., *vimāna*, that which is "well measured") and the crowning achievement for the idea of *pratibimba* (the creation of divine regions). The *śikhara* served at least three functions: as denoting generally sacred space, as a sacred mountain that denotes the dwelling place of the deity, and as a vehicle that carries the deity into the presence of the people and the people into the presence of the deity. The Śilpa Sāstra texts also suggest that those who build temples will not only be prosperous and have peaceful reigns but will have sons to succeed them and care for the funerary rites. Thus the reigning dynasties had great incentives to build these towering temples to the gods.

The Hindu temple as a whole became the architectural form of the *vāstupuruṣa maṇḍala*, the locus where the divine being (*puruṣa*) dwells. It is almost always built on an east-west axis, with the entrance from the east and the tower above the western end. Underneath the tower is the inner sanctum, the *garbagṛha*, the dwelling place of the deity. Along the roof of the *vimāna* from entrance to *śikhara* are gradually ascending towers that imitate the sacred Himalayas, the ultimate dwelling place of the gods and goddesses on earth. Surmounting the *śikhara* on all temples is a *kalaśa*, or water pot, signifying the eternal bathing (*abhiseka*) of the tower by the holy waters of the Ganges River. In the northern- or *nāgara*-style the temple tower is convex, with an *āmalaka* or fruit of the Indian gooseberry (*Emlica officinalis*) immediately below the *kalaśa*. The southern- or Dravida-style tower is concave and has a small stupa (*stūpīka*) below the *kalaśa* symbolizing the cosmic dome over the dwelling of the deity.

Most temples were constructed as places where *brahman* priests could perform *pūja*, ritual worship on behalf of the king and his realm, reminding the people of the king's power and divine right to rule. Temples thus became centers of political, social, and cultural as well as religious activities. As the towers became higher in both North and South India, this sense of dominance was enhanced. The architectural climax of this movement is evident in the Bṛhadeśvara temple of the early eleventh century CE Cōḻa king, Rājarāja, of Thanjavur in South India. Towering 210 feet above the base of the temple, the *śikhara* is as high as the technology of the period would allow, and it remains the tallest temple tower in all of India. The eighty-ton *stūpīka* that crowns the *śikhara* is the largest single stone employed by Indian architecture on any temple tower.

Following the Cōḻa period the temple tower that marked the holy of holies began to lose its vertical dominance in the south, whereas the *goparam*, or gateway to the temple precincts, achieved ascendancy. By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, at the temple cities of Śrīraṅgam and Madurai, the gateways reached as much as fourteen stories into the sky and could be seen for miles around as one approached the city. Here both resident and visitor entered the sacred precincts and were at the same time reminded of the king's power to protect his people. As many of the *śikharas* had done in earlier times, these towers assumed a didactic function, visualizing in hundreds of sculpted images various mythic narratives of the lives of the gods for the mostly nonliterate population.

The Indian temple *śikhara* as mountain–sacred city exhibits its most extravagant forms and highest ornamentation in the Hindu temple complexes of the Khmers of Cambodia (e.g., Angkor Wat) and the Buddhist temple tower complex at Borobudur in Java. The latter combines the stupa idea with Hindu *śikhara* towers in imitation of the holy mountain range of the Himalayas with Mount Meru as the center peak. At Borobudur pilgrims are guided through a ritual of ascension from the lower and outer precincts until they reach the central stupa representing Mount Meru, the culmination of their journey.

CHRISTIAN CHURCHES. The architecture of the Christian churches provides the principal example of towers in Europe, and their development is a revealing history in stone. In the earliest pre-architectural stage, the *ecclesia* was simply the gathering of believers in crypts or private homes. In the post-Constantinian period Christians adopted the Roman basilica, a secular and civic building, as a place for worship. Two developments followed, both containing the seeds for the vertical development that occurred in the following centuries. The central domed structure of Byzantine classical style that developed from the circular plan of the martyrium and baptistery gained height and size, resulting in an interior space that was homologized to the universe of time and space. Standing firmly on the earth in the present, the worshiper could look upward at the dome of the church as a symbol of the heaven to come. The iconography of Christ, the Virgin, and saints, often portrayed against a background of gold mosaic, enhanced this impression. The Romanesque church of western Europe, a development of the basilica form into a cruciform plan, showed the first high vaulting and spires, then developed into the Gothic style, the epitome of vertical aspiration. Without drawing out the distinctions between spire, steeple, belfry, and bell tower, it is clear that from the twelfth century on architects strove for luminosity, lightness, and majestic height in their cathedrals.

The French Gothic cathedrals of Chartres, Reims, and Amiens seem to push the vertical aspiration to its material and architectural limit. Whether as the domed eastern style or the lofty vaulted western style, the change in meaning is clear. From a gathering of people in an ordinary secular structure, believers took their place in an increasingly hierarchically demarcated church building: the bishop's throne, the apse for the clergy, the communion railing separating lay from religious. Jesus became a lordly king; Mary, his mother, became a grand queen of both worlds. The upper stories of the towering churches carried worshipers in spirit to this higher realm. At the same time these "towers" marked the earthly splendor of the dwelling place of the divine presence and the place where God was most fittingly worshiped.

The churches acquired a host of other meanings. Not only did they house divinity, they were images of divinity as the body of Christ crucified. Many, such as Westminster Abbey in London, served funerary purposes as crypts for the royalty, nobility, and high clergy, whose funds had built, supported, and maintained the churches. They were the sites of colorful pageantry and elaborate ritual, where the secular and sacred often mixed indistinguishably. They housed the relics of the saints; hermits attached themselves to certain churches like barnacles to anchors; and pilgrims flocked to them seeking miracles, sometimes creating new meanings and discomfiting ecclesiastical authorities. These churches also became symbols of civic pride, with cities vying with other cities to have the largest, highest, or most costly cathedral. All of these factors, together with many others, must be considered if one wishes to interpret the meaning of Christian churches.

MINAR. In Islam the *minar* towers over the landscape as a reminder of the obligation of Muslims to pray five times a day in conformity with the second pillar (prayer) of the religion. Traditionally the muezzin or prayer caller would climb the *minar* at the prescribed times, projecting his voice over village or city to remind Muslims of their duty to pray. *Minars* also mark off a significant ritual space for worshipers, as *minars* are most often positioned at the four corners of the mosque where Muslims come to pray, at least once a week on Fridays, and where they may gather periodically for other important social occasions.

Minars normally stand as slender towers (thus the French *minarette*) rising above the domed mosques, though in parts of Asia the *minars* took on enormous proportions, as, for example, at the Emin mosque in Turpan in China, where the tower, like a huge inverted ice cream cone, dwarfs its companion mosque. At least once in Islamic history the *minar* symbolism was changed into a blatant expression of political and military power. Q'tub-ud-din, the twelfth-century central Asiatic conqueror of India, built the original Q'tub *minar* some 238 feet high as a symbol of his victory over North India. It remains the tallest *minar* in the Islamic world.

MESOAMERICAN STRUCTURES. Though tall, narrow structures are rare in pre-Columbian Mesoamerica (the multistoried palace at Palenque is the outstanding exception), the abundant pyramidal temples of that region are suitably construed as towers. Often inaccurately contrasted with the Egyptian pyramids as architecture for the living instead of for the dead, the comparison is not exact, for many of the Mesoamerican structures, such as the Temple of Inscriptions at Palenque, had burial chambers within them. Imitating mountains and generally conforming to the Eliadean paradigm of the *axis mundi,* they were considered to mark the center of the earth, the site of creation, and could be described as places where the three worlds were connected. The pyramids were often linked with nearby cenotes (sacred wells), their contrasting meanings of upper- and underworld mutually reinforcing one another.

The Temple of the Sun at Teotihuacán was considered a mountain where celestial gods, terrestrial deities of fertility and plenty, and underworld beings met. The temple, and the entire city around it, was oriented to the place where the setting sun on the summer solstice touched the horizon. The great pyramid of Cholula was built over a spring (underworld), and its iconography, including the feathered serpent motif, indicate that it was a place of communication between the lower and upper worlds, the worlds of humans and the gods. The Castillo pyramid at Chichén Itzá, with its famous descending serpent, is the best-known expression of this motif and a veritable compendium of cosmic, astral, and calendrical correlations; at the same site the Caracol, a circular pillbox rather than pyramidal configuration, provides a similarly prominent variation on the tower theme. Tenochtitlán of the Aztecs had its Templo Major, the twin pyramid sites for worship of the god of war, Huitzilopochtli, and the god of rain, Tlaloc, referring to mountains in the mythic history of the Aztecs. The pyramids of Mayan Tikal in the Peten area are the most vertical in feeling, with sharply inclined steps leading to a temple platform. The temple in turn was surmounted by a *cresteria* (comb) rising high above the back wall of the temple, adding to the impression of height. The priests would have performed rites of worship with the people watching from far below.

The Mesoamerican pyramids show cosmic orientation and astronomical and calendrical correlations and are generally built in layered levels, manifesting a stratification expressive of the hierarchical societies that produced them. Besides being sites to worship the gods, the pyramids offered a ritual stage to carry out rites of warfare and human sacrifice and to dramatize the coronations that established sovereignty and claimed divine authority and purified and renewed the community. As with church architecture, their forms are quite similar from place to place, while their meaning has changed from one historical period and culture (e.g., Toltec, Maya, Aztec) to another.

MODERN TOWERS. The U.S. Capitol and the Washington Monument obelisk in Washington, D.C., stand as symbols of American civic religion. The Capitol was planned as the center of the city, and it manifests the same spatial metaphors as the Byzantine church, with its dome showing the first president in the heavenly realms and a crypt below the rotunda floor originally intended for his burial. The Washington Monument's towering height, together with its mysterious and nontextual character, has captured the central place in the popular American imagination. It stands in the middle of the city's ritual core, with the Capitol, the White House, and the Lincoln and Jefferson Memorials cardinally placed on its four sides.

Perhaps it is the skyscraper, more than any other building, that symbolizes the city since the nineteenth century. And while lacking sacrality, skyscrapers are not without symbolic power. When the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York were destroyed on September 11, 2001, the terrorists were attacking a symbol of U.S. financial dominance. But subsequent events have cast a religious aura over the site, making it into a place of martyrdom and heroic self-sacrifice, a shrine to the mythical best qualities in the American spirit. Public and private rituals, the placing of flowers, a lone flag flying over the debris, notes, names, and other signs of grief all transformed the site almost immediately into a shrine. Though some events were orchestrated public expressions of grief, most of the actions enacted there were spontaneous. The changed significance of the site is a clear example of the mutability of meaning noted in towers everywhere. No architectural meaning is final. A purely secular building may become a sacred one, and the rituals that have and will be performed at the site will influence the reception of whatever structure succeeds the former monument to financial power.

SEE ALSO Architecture; Axis Mundi; Basilica, Cathedral, and Church; Mountains; Pyramids, overview article; Sacred Space; Stupa Worship; Temple; Tombs.

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TRADITION.

The word *tradition* comes from the Latin noun *traditio* (handing over), which derives from the verb *tradere* (hand over, deliver). *Traditio* corresponds closely to the Greek *paradosis*, which also comes from a verb *(paradidomi)* meaning "hand over." *Traditio* and *paradosis* can be used literally or figuratively, in the latter case often to mean "teaching" or "instruction." *Traditio* and *paradosis* were commonly used in this sense by Latin and Greek Christian theologians to denote the body of teachings preserved and handed down by the church as "the Catholic faith." In the modern study of religion, however, a broader and more differentiated concept of tradition must be employed.

THE CONCEPT OF TRADITION. Culture depends on teaching and learning, and teaching and learning presuppose a tradition. The concept of tradition thus applies to all fields of culture, including science, arts and letters, education, law, politics, and religion.

A belief or practice in any field of culture may be said to be a tradition to the extent that it is received from the hands, lips, or the example of others rather than being discovered or invented; that it is received on the assumption that the authors and transmitters are reliable and therefore the tradition valid; and that it is received with the express command and conscious intention of further transmission without substantial change. Hence, as a source of knowledge, tradition is to be distinguished from rumor and fashion. Rumor and fashion, although received from others, are not necessarily assumed to be reliable or to merit transmission without alteration; on the contrary, they invite speculation and elaboration. Tradition, purporting to embody a fixed truth from an authoritative source, demands faithfulness and obedience.

Established traditions command respect because of their relative antiquity and the presumed trustworthiness of their authors and transmitters. Sacred traditions provide a link between the origin and destiny of things. The ancient Greek poet and prophet Hesiod in his *Theogony* says that the Muses, the daughters of Zeus, "inspired me with a divine voice to tell of the things that are to come and the things that were before" (ll. 31–32). Similarly, the sacred traditions of all religions offer access to beginnings and insight into endings that personal experience and unaided reason cannot supply.

Sacred traditions sometimes tell of a golden age in the past. They preserve glimmers of the glorious age and establish beliefs, practices, and institutions to help people cope with the "iron age" of the present. At other times, traditions anticipate the attainment of a glorious future age, which they portray in prophecies. And sacred traditions often address past and future together. In all three cases, a view of time as something that can be recapitulated, or at least held in synoptic vision long enough to lend perspective on the present, underlies the concept of sacred tradition. The work of seizing time through myth or prophecy explains the critical importance of memory in religious traditions. Memory defies time and change. "Remember!" is the first commandment of tradition.

The second commandment is "Trust!" which in practice means "Obey!" Obedience to authorities who are deemed trustworthy is indispensable to the working of tradition because tradition is by definition something received from others. Within the community of tradition, obedience is validated by the benefits a person derives, or expects to derive, from following the tradition. From the outside, however, and especially from a modern critical perspective, the obedience tradition requires (and inspires) may appear to be confining, even oppressive. The discussion of tradition in the modern study of religion has been much affected by this clash of perspectives.

The concept of tradition in religion may be applied to the means by which norms of belief and practice are handed down (e.g., bards, books, chains of teachers, institutions) or to the norms themselves. This article is concerned with the norms, whereas the word *transmission* refers to the means by which traditional norms are handed down. The distinction between tradition and transmission is not absolute, however. Religions typically resist it, especially if it is used to justify attempts to abstract the supposed essence of a religion from its historic vehicles and forms of expression. Because tradition is by definition an indirect source of knowledge, the forms in which traditional knowledge is transmitted cannot be cast away without risking loss of content, because the content is not accessible or verifiable from contemporary sources. To the extent that it is immediately accessible, it ceases to be traditional in the strict sense of the word.

A sense of tradition as normative is a basic element in all religious systems, whether or not formal concepts of tradition exist. When formal concepts appear, they may be broad or specialized, depending on their function in the system and the degree of differentiation among the sources of religious belief and practice. Often the sense of tradition as normative is expressed by a broad collective reference to authoritative teachers or compendia: "the fathers," "the elders," "the sages," "the poets." An evolution from broad to specialized concepts can sometimes be discerned. In early Catholic Christianity, for example, the concept of tradition embraced all the formal sources of belief and practice handed down by the church, including the Holy Scriptures. Only much later, and only in the Western as distinct from the Eastern church, did "tradition" come to signify the extrabiblical (ecclesiastical) sources in particular, at which point the "problem" of scripture and tradition could arise. In Sunnī Islam, by contrast, the formal concept of tradition, the *sunnah* (custom, example) of the Prophet, became more specialized as a result of the formation of a closed collection of traditions—the six books of *ḥadīths*, or stories of the Prophet, compiled in the third and fourth centuries AH (ninth and tenth centuries CE) and eventually accepted as authoritative throughout Sunnī Islam.

Even more specialized cases are presented by two words meaning "tradition" in Judaism, *Masora* and *Qabbalah,* which come from verbs meaning "hand down" and "receive," respectively. The verbs are used at the beginning of the early rabbinic *Ethics of the Fathers* (*Avot* 1.1) with reference to the handing down of the Torah from God to Moses, Moses to Joshua, Joshua to the elders, and so on. However, the nouns Masora and Qabbalah eventually came to be used not for tradition in the comprehensive sense but for specialized traditions: Masora for the exegetical traditions governing the transmission of the Hebrew text of the Holy Scriptures (hence "Masoretic text" for the canonical version of the Hebrew Bible), Qabbalah for the mystical and esoteric traditions of Judaism. The function of specialized concepts is to sharpen the definition of tradition in selected areas, not to diminish the scope of tradition as a comprehensive norm. In religions with highly specialized concepts of tradition, much that is traditional falls outside the formal concepts without being any less traditional for that reason.

In addition to occurring in the practice of religion, the concept of tradition appears also in the modern study of religion, where it is used descriptively rather than normatively and often rather loosely. Sometimes the word is little more than a synonym for the name of a religion, as when "Islamic tradition" simply denotes "Islam." This way of speaking may be questioned to the extent that it singles out traditionality as the most basic characteristic of a religion.

More problematic in relation to normative concepts of tradition is the pluralism reflected in some uses of the descriptive concept, as when "Chinese tradition" is applied collectively to the several religious systems of China or "Christian tradition" is used to group together conflicting normative versions of Christianity (Orthodox, Catholic, Lutheran, and so on). In some cases the modern descriptive concept of tradition fosters research into what might be called "deep tradition"—cultural patterns and values so basic to a civilization that they are not formally stated in the classical tradition and may not even be clearly recognized by the bearers of the tradition. The concern of some modern scholars of India with the problem of defining the "Indianness" of India—the deposit of culture underlying the many different normative traditions of India—is a case in point. In this case the notion of "Indian tradition" hypothesizes a unity that remains to be found and described. Such unities are difficult to define and are rejected by many scholars as mystifications meriting no more credence than "the Russian soul," "the Oriental mind," or other cultural stereotypes. Nevertheless, the presentiment of continuity in the world's great civilizations is powerful enough to motivate continuing research on "deep tradition."

TYPES OF TRADITIONS. Traditions may be verbal or nonverbal. Nonverbal traditions include traditional artifacts (e.g., icons, monuments, symbolic objects), sites, designs, gestures, postures, customs, and institutions. Nonverbal traditions cannot exist in isolation from verbal traditions, for the latter are needed to interpret them. However, nonverbal traditions possess a measure of autonomy in relation to verbal traditions because verbal interpretations can never completely penetrate the "thickness" of traditional objects or, in the case of religious objects, their presumed sacrality. Far from being dependent on specific verbal interpretations, nonverbal traditions typically host multiple or successive interpretations without losing their identity or traditional status. The persistence of nonverbal traditions in relative autonomy over against the interpretations attached to them is a good example of traditionality: the ascription of value to something by virtue of the fact that it has been handed down from early times on good authority.

Oral and written tradition. Verbal traditions may be oral or written. Although the distinction pertains first of all to the means of transmission rather than to tradition, the substance of traditions is affected by the differences between oral and written transmission.

First, the forms of expression used in traditions are dictated in part by the means available. Some forms, such as hymns, proverbs, riddles, and folk tales, are essentially oral. They may be written down, but writing does not open the way to a fuller realization of the form. Other forms, such as chronicles, law codes, and commentaries, depend on writing or are fully realized only in writing. Some of the most important forms of expression used in traditions, such as mythology and epic poetry, may reach a high level of development in either mode.

Second, oral tradition is a much older phenomenon than written tradition and precedes it in the formative period of traditions, even after the invention of writing. This fact suggests that written traditions themselves are shaped in part by oral traditions. In many literate religious traditions, for example, scriptural and pedagogical titles recall and even purport to re-create an oral system of communication. Thus, *Qurʾān* means "recitation." The title of the first book of rabbinic law, *Mishnah*, comes from a verb meaning "repeat" and refers to pedagogy based on oral recitation. *Upaniṣad*, a name for books of philosophical and esoteric teaching in Vedic tradition, comes from Sanskrit words meaning "sit down before [a teacher]." An accomplished monk in early Buddhism was called a *bahusuta,* "one who has heard much." The Greek word *euangelion,* "gospel" or "good news," means news in the literal sense of something proclaimed aloud in the hearing of the general public.

Third, oral tradition exists mainly in performance, while written tradition exists also in objective form apart from its applications. The relative independence of written texts stimulates the development of intellectuality and greatly increases the possibilities of dissemination in a fixed form. At the same time, writing involves significant dangers for a tradition. When a tradition is put into writing, its inconsistencies become more evident. It may not be an exaggeration to say that the quickened intellectuality that accompanies written traditions arises first of all from the need to address the inconsistencies that the writing down of a tradition exposes. Also, the independence of written texts opens the way to the use of traditional materials in ways not intended by traditional authorities, ways that are remote from the "living word" actualized in pedagogy and cult. To be sure, a written tradition is not further removed from the living word than an oral tradition insofar as the latter is understood as a tradition in the strict sense. Tradition, oral or written, is the word handed down by others—the vehicle of the living word but not the living word itself. Nevertheless, the organic connection of oral tradition with performance guarantees the close proximity of tradition to the living word, whereas in the case of written tradition the connection is not as direct and greater pains must be taken to regulate the use of traditions.

Many moral and religious teachers have felt anxiety about writing. In the *Phaedrus*, for example, Plato has Socrates tell a story about a wise Egyptian king who, in reply to the god who offered the Egyptians the gift of writing as "a drug to produce memory and wisdom," observed that the invention was more likely to produce just the opposite, because those who came to depend on it would tend to seek wisdom in an external source rather than having to look within their own souls, and so they would "seem wise without being wise" (*Phaedrus* 274c–275).

Fourth, oral and written traditions coexist and influence each other even after many authoritative sources of tradition have been committed to writing. Oral tradition is not a stage that is outgrown with the arrival of written tradition. Even after it has been replaced by writing as the chief means of transmission, oral tradition continues to thrive in the form of customs, folklore, popular preaching, storytelling, esoteric speculation, practical applications of religion to everyday life, and other manifestations of traditional mentality. The text of the *Book of Exodus* was well established by ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef's day, but that did not prevent the rabbi and his colleagues from arguing about the number and size of the frogs sent against Egypt in the famous plague (B.T., *San.* 67b). People love to talk, and talk preserves and extends itself by means of oral tradition. Sometimes oral tradition even generates new bodies of written tradition, as in the case of the oral Torah canonized in the rabbinic law codes, the Mishnah and the Talmud.

The importance of oral tradition in the history of traditions has been widely recognized in the modern study of religion. In particular, the concept of oral tradition has been used by scholars seeking to reconstruct the origins and early history of religious traditions. Unfortunately, the methodological problems of applying the concept of oral tradition are severe. Except for the data supplied by modern anthropologists and ethnographers from direct observation, the evidence for oral tradition must be extracted from written sources. Scholarly opinion thus divides along a spectrum running from skepticism about the possibility of ever isolating the original oral layer of a written tradition to more confident approaches based on literary and rhetorical analysis and the selective application of archaeological evidence.

Scripture and tradition. Many classical religious systems make a formal distinction between scripture and tradition. *Scripture* refers to divinely revealed texts; *tradition* refers to revelation mediated by human teachers. The distinction tends to be clear enough in practice. Thus Catholic Christians have no trouble distinguishing between the New Testament writings and the creeds and canons of the church councils; Muslims do not confuse the *sunnah* of the Prophet with the Qurʾān delivered by him. Yet the distinction between scripture and tradition is a difficult one to make in theory. It does not turn on the difference between divine revelation and human teaching, for in most religions authoritative tradition is reverenced almost as much as scripture as a conduit of revelation. Furthermore, the theoretical priority of scripture over tradition rarely translates into a higher degree of binding force in practice.

To some extent the distinction between scripture and tradition reflects the history of canonization in a religion. When a canon of scripture is definitively closed, authoritative teaching accruing thereafter is "tradition." Even so, the relationship must not be construed as a mere serial progression, least of all as a purely exegetical relationship, as if tradition were in essence commentary on a body of scripture that antedates it. Traditions often manifest a significant degree of independence from scripture for a variety of reasons: their origin in a time prior to the canonization of scripture, the diversity of sources embodied in tradition as opposed to the more restricted sources constituting a written canon, and the reference of tradition to basic religious functions not adequately treated by scripture, such as liturgy or law.

Beyond providing a source of religious authority in addition to scripture, tradition plays an indispensable role in the appropriation of scriptural sources. Scripture cannot be used if it cannot be interpreted, and every use (liturgical, legal, theological) implies an interpretation. Interpretation, however, requires a framework and accepted rules of discourse that scripture by itself cannot supply. They are supplied by tradition. Thus there arises a practical dependence of scripture on tradition. Dependence need not imply diminished regard for the authority of scripture. While the critical historian might view a hermeneutical tradition as a device for overcoming the piecemeal character or obscurity of scripture, the pious mind will regard it as the only conceivable means by which to gain access to the vast and awe-inspiring contents of divine revelation—the means established by divine authority as opposed to human ingenuity. In the eyes of piety there is no contradiction between an appreciation of the grandeur and sufficiency of scripture and a recognition of the crucial role of interpretation. The aim of interpretation is not to threaten but to preserve and protect scriptural revelation: "Tradition [Masora] is a fence to the Torah" (*Avot* 3.14).

Nevertheless, conflicts between scripture and tradition are bound to arise because of differences in provenance, time of origin, and ideological tendency. In every religion with a body of scripture, there will be traditions lacking scriptural warrant or even contradicting the plain sense of scripture, and there will be beliefs and practices mandated by scripture with no living function in the tradition. While exegetical ingenuity can go a long way toward resolving these conflicts, the problem of scripture and tradition cannot be settled by exegesis alone. From the outset, a conciliatory assumption of harmony between scripture and tradition must be made to support the work of exegesis and interpretation; otherwise the situation of the interpreter would be impossible, for scripture and tradition always diverge enough to make reconciliation impossible without the antecedent assumption of an ultimate harmony. This assumption is itself a *traditum*, a thing handed down and explicitly confessed by religious traditions with respect to their scriptures. The determination to affirm the harmony of scripture and tradition suggests that scripture has a significance that goes beyond its substantive contents, namely as an object of traditional loyalty, a badge of affiliation, and a symbol of continuity.

The role of the Vedic scriptures in Hinduism affords a good example. The Vedas were for a long time not scripture in the strict sense of the word because they were transmitted orally, but they played a quasi-scriptural role long before being committed to writing. In scriptural form they enjoy theoretical priority over the books of tradition (*smṛti*; literally, "remembered") that were produced later. A wide gulf separates the religion of the Vedas from that of later Hindu tradition. The Vedas present a religion of animal sacrifice and of meat-eating, intoxicant-drinking priests; a worldview that knows nothing of the cycle of rebirth (*saṃsāra*) and little of the theory of action (*karman*); a cult without temple worship; and a pantheon in which many of the most popular gods and heroes of later Hinduism play little or no role. Nevertheless the books of *smṛti* consistently avow loyalty to the Vedas, and conciliatory explanations of departures from Vedic ways are offered. As Louis Renou put it, "The Veda is precisely the sign, perhaps the only one, of Indian orthodoxy" (Renou, 1960, vol. 6, pp. 2–3). In the religious history of India a crucial line of division separates the continuators of Vedic tradition from groups, such as the Jains and Buddhists, who broke with the tradition in principle. Among the continuators a community of tradition existed, despite many differences of doctrine and practice. Between the continuators and the others there was not a community of tradition, despite many historical and cultural affinities.

TRADITION AND RELIGIOUS ORIGINATORS.

For a number of reasons the consciousness of standing in a sacred tradition is a typical feature of the outlook of originating figures in the history of religion. First, bearers of a new prophecy, revised values, or new loyalties must address their audience in terms the latter understands. The terms have to be drawn from a shared tradition. A classic example is in the *Book of Exodus* in the connection the prophet Moses proclaims between the God Yahveh, whose name he is commanded to reveal to the Israelite slaves, and "the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," that is to say the God or gods of ancient tradition (*Ex.* 3:13–15; cf. *Ex.* 6:2–3).

Second, religious originators must be able to reflect upon their own experiences. Affording a means of achieving distance from the immediate present, tradition provides a framework for interrogation, interlocution, interpretation, and evaluation, without which reflection would be impossible. For example, early in his prophetic ministry Muḥammad experienced visions that he later came to regard as encounters with the archangel Gabriel, the figure thereafter identified by Muslims as the agent of Qurʾanic revelation. Scholars have pointed out, however, that the only reference to Gabriel as a revealer in the Qurʾān occurs in a late *Medinan sūrah* (2:97–98) and that the descriptions of visions in earlier *sūrah*s (53:1–18, 81:15–25) are vague about the identity of the being Muḥammad encountered. In other words, it appears that an angelological tradition, not invented by Muḥammad but accepted by him at some point, served the Prophet (and later Islam) as a way of understanding his early experiences.

Third, the consciousness of standing in a sacred tradition supports religious originators who break with the sacred traditions of their contemporaries and coreligionists. The originator's sense of tradition makes the break bearable and keeps it from being episodic or nihilistic. So, for example, the Apostle Paul, preaching a break with the Jewish law on the basis of faith in the gospel of Jesus Christ, was greatly aided by his conviction that he represented a tradition of faith authenticated by the law itself in its testimonies concerning Abraham (*Rom.* 3–4; *Gal.* 3–4).

The complexity of the relationship of religious originators to tradition can be seen in Jesus' confrontation with Jewish tradition as presented in the Synoptic Gospels. That presentation has decisively shaped the way the problem of tradition and innovation has been understood in the history of Christianity and even in modern scholarship. The German sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920), in his famous discussion of charismatic leadership, was thinking of the rhetorical dichotomies of Jesus when he wrote, "From a substantive point of view, every charismatic authority would have to subscribe to the proposition, 'It is written . . . but I say unto you,'" and when he wrote, "Hence, in a revolutionary and sovereign manner, charismatic domination transforms all values and breaks all traditional and rational norms: 'It has been written . . . but *I* say unto you'" (Weber, 1978, vol. 1, p. 243, vol. 2, p. 1115; cf. *Mt.* 5:21–48). Actually, in *Matthew,* Jesus does not say "It is written" but "You have heard that it was said to the men of old," but he then proceeds to quote from the Torah. Thus the confrontation is indeed between a written law and a living master. Jesus is also shown in the Synoptic Gospels to be sovereign over the sacred oral tradition claimed by the Pharisees, as when he reproached them saying, "You leave the commandment of God, and hold fast the tradition of men" (*Mk.* 7:8; cf. *Mt.* 15:1–9).

Nevertheless, Jesus' relation to Jewish tradition is misconstrued if one assumes that at bottom it was dichotomous. Throughout the Gospels, including the passages cited above, there is much evidence of continuity: "Think not that I have come to abolish the law and the prophets; I have come not to abolish them but to fulfill them" (*Mt.* 5:17). The theme of continuity has often been muted by the anti-Judaic tendencies of much historical Christianity, including nineteenth- and twentieth-century liberal theology, which made a sharp distinction between the "legalistic" religion of the Jews and the "spiritual" religion of Jesus. Weber's discussion of charisma also tends to emphasize the break with tradition in the work of Jesus, as well as that of other prophets, military heroes, and messianic figures. Weber's emphasis is justifiable given his aims, namely the clarification of pure ("ideal") types. Abstractly considered, a charismatic leader always stands against tradition. He or she offers his or her followers something new and lays claim to a highly personal kind of authority, whereas "authority will be called traditional if legitimacy is claimed for it and believed in by virtue of the sanctity of age-old rules and powers" (Weber, 1978, vol. 1, p. 226). In historical reality, however, charismatic leaders always possess notions of tradition that play a crucial role in their own thinking and in their relationships with followers and with the general public. Thus Jesus, in the ostensibly anti-Mosaic teachings of *Matthew* 5 (e.g., vv. 21–22: "You have heard that it was said to the men of old, 'You shall not kill; and whoever kills shall be liable to judgment.' But I say to you that every one who is angry with his brother shall be liable to judgment") was probably not trying to invalidate the law of Moses but simply demanding behavior radically consistent with it. Jesus also frequently cited traditional authorities in his confrontation with the Pharisees, as when he cited the Prophet Isaiah to support his condemnation of "your tradition" (hand washing before meals) in *Mark* 7:6–7 (cf. *Mt.* 15:7–9; *Is.* 29:13). Here the condemnation of a certain understanding of tradition is itself supported by an appeal to tradition, as Jesus draws an analogy between his conflict with the Pharisees and the conflicts of the prophets of Israel with the religious establishment of an earlier day. Even conflicts with tradition are molded by tradition.

Charismatic prophets who attack the sacred traditions of their contemporaries are not the only type of originators in the history of religion. Sociable teachers of virtue who accept the commonly received forms of tradition but reinterpret their contents are also important. Originators of this type often make a conscious effort to deny the novelty of their message. Confucius is a good example. A powerful originator who reoriented Chinese tradition, Confucius achieved a remarkable humanization of the substance of Chinese religion in his doctrine of "humanity" (*jen*). Yet he vigorously denied that there was anything new in his work. "I transmit but do not innovate; I am truthful in what I say and devoted to antiquity" (*Analects* 7.1, Lau translation). Confucius's words and deeds were designed to authenticate this claim. He was scrupulous in his observance of the established rites, devoted himself to traditional poetry and music, took the worthies of antiquity as his models, and showed reverence for the spirit world and for heaven.

The approach of Socrates to tradition, at least in Plato's quasi-canonical version, runs parallel to that of Confucius in an important way, though with an equally important difference. The difference lies in the method—dialectic—which allows for the critical interrogation of received tradition in a spirit quite foreign to Confucius's approach. The parallel lies in Socrates' insistence that he had neither new truths to teach people nor access to a special or secret source of truth, but simply wanted to clarify the traditional values—justice, goodness, piety—that most people accept on faith but cannot define or defend when challenged to do so. Thus throughout Plato's portrait of Socrates there is a tension between the critique and the affirmation of Greek tradition. Socrates is depicted as a man who respects and participates in the common forms of tradition even as he demolishes the arguments of pretentious and incompetent apologists, such as Euthyphro, Ion, and Agathon. The *Republic*, for example, although it contains the sharpest attack on Greek tradition in Plato's dialogues, namely the critique of Homer and Hesiod for "badly portraying the nature of gods and heroes" (*Republic* 377e), opens with Socrates telling how he went down to Piraeus to pray to a goddess during a religious festival and ends with him recounting a myth of gods and heroes (the myth of Er).

THE FORMATION OF TRADITIONS. A general theory of the formation of religious traditions has eluded scholars of religion despite the large body of specialized scholarship on the formative periods of many world religions. The difficulty is related to the conflict between the modern critical view of tradition as a historical product and the religious concept of tradition as a body of inviolate sacred canons transcending time and change. The application of historical and philological analysis to sacred traditions never fails to demonstrate their dependence on historical determinants. Yet the critical analysis of sacred traditions, if carried to the point of radical relativism, fails to account for the most distinctive fact of all: the continuity of certain sacred traditions with the capacity, however limited, to preserve themselves in a world of time and change.

The dynamics of traditionalism and relativism are further complicated by the instability of critical-historical theory itself. The annals of the modern study of religion abound with examples of theories that at one time commanded a substantial scholarly consensus but subsequently collapsed, not because they were opposed by religious traditionalists but because they were rejected by a new generation of critical scholars. For several decades of the twentieth century, for example, students in the reputable Protestant theological schools of Europe and North America were taught to view the Pentateuch through the lens of the "tradition history" school of Albrecht Alt, Gerhard von Rad, and Martin Noth. These scholars regarded the Pentateuch as the product of the expansion of smaller yet well-defined units of traditional material dating in some cases from as far back as the Middle Bronze Age (2100–1600 BCE). Toward the end of the twentieth century this theory gave way to a view of the Pentateuch as a much later body of material reflecting the party struggles of the waning years of the Israelite monarchy (seventh–sixth centuries BCE) and owing relatively little to canonical forms handed down from earlier periods. The revisionist view itself is susceptible to revision, of course, not least because it tends to evade rather than settle the issue of tradition. While emphasizing the decisive role of political and religious elites in the fashioning of the Pentateuch, the revisionists concede that the elites did not create their material from nothing but worked with an antecedent "body of lore (myths, legends, laws, etc.)," "a basic core of stories, traditions, and so on," or a "body of diverse traditional material" (Van Seters, 1998, pp. 8–9, 14). If so, then an account of the history of these traditions is demanded. The category of tradition, marginalized by criticism of "tradition history," enters the picture again.

Political determinism, namely the view that traditions are formed by elites as a means of legitimating power and privilege, has been a powerful factor in modern theoretical reflection on the formation of religious traditions. Attention focused originally on clerical elites who, as Enlightenment rationalists supposed, invented the apparatus of religious tradition to exploit the ignorant masses. Beginning with the French Revolution the role of secular political elites also came under scrutiny, as critics of "ideology" exposed the cozy relations between church, throne, and aristocracy. As monarchical and aristocratic power declined in the nineteenth century, ideological criticism was directed against the new power elite, namely the middle class. The feminist criticism of tradition took shape in the same historical context. A related form of political determinism reverses the terms, suggesting that certain traditions were formed by oppressed groups as a way of contesting established power structures, whether through a revolutionary assault or through some sort of exodus from them. Such a view has been particularly influential in the interpretation of the Hebrew Bible, in presentations of the ethics and "politics" of Jesus in the New Testament, and in liberation theology.

Delineating the connections between traditions and power elites has proved complicated enough to prevent the emergence of a generally accepted analysis. That power elites manipulate traditions and play a role in maintaining them has been clearly established by three centuries of critical analysis. What is not so clear is the extent to which traditions are the invention of power elites. The difficulty lies in the concept of legitimation. The legitimation, via tradition, of arrangements favorable to a power elite works only as long as the tradition is actually perceived as escapsulating a truth that transcends the elite. If the target audience—including the power elite itself—loses faith in the objective or unconstructed truth of a tradition, the latter quickly becomes useless for political as well as all other purposes. Legitimation thus proves to be an ambiguous concept: it combines political and transpolitical elements without clarifying the relationship between them.

The persistence of the tao-tʿai pattern (the animal mask or dragon figure) in traditional Chinese ritual and art can serve as an example of the dilemma faced by the interpreter of any enduring tradition. Widely disseminated by the Shang rulers of China in the second millennium BCE, especially as a motif on the bronze ritual vessels of the period, the tao-tʿai and related patterns have been called "signs or emblems of Shang authority" (Hsu and Linduff, 1988, p. 19). Yet the origins of the pattern are almost certainly to be looked for in a shamanistic spirituality that long predated the Shang. Moreover, when the Chou dynasty overthrew the Shang in the late twelfth century BCE, the new rulers perpetuated the classical pattern, thereby showing that they and their audience regarded it not as a Shang emblem but as a tradition of general validity, a channel of truth. Even if one can show that the meaning of the tao-tʿai changed significantly in the course of its long history, the persistence of the ancient template as a form for the discovery of new meaning is itself a highly significant fact about Chinese religion and thought, an example of a certain kind of traditionality.

An important contribution to study of the formation of traditions has been made by Eric Hobsbawm, Terence Ranger, and others who have investigated "the invention of tradition" in modern times. Careful to distinguish their subject from tradition in a more comprehensive sense, these critics focus on the conscious production of new rituals in response to the social, political, and ecological upheavals created by modern capitalism. Invented traditions are designed to establish or symbolize social cohesion in an environment where traditional communal bonds have been disrupted or revolutionized. Typically modern communities, such as new nation-states, awakened ethnicities, labor unions, voluntary organizations, environmentalist groups, gender-based associations, and others, invent traditions as a way of justifying their novelty. Often this takes the form of embracing "traditions" that appear to be old but are in fact quite new. The Romantic movement, with its interest in premodern folk culture, was an important source of ideas for inventors of traditions. Archaeology and anthropology also contributed by stimulating interest in prehistoric civilization.

Efforts to promote the cult of goddesses (or the Goddess) in Europe and North America are a good example of the invention of tradition. The critical framework of modern goddess religiosity is provided by the feminist critique of patriarchalism and the environmentalist critique of capitalism and modern technology. The positive religious content is drawn from the work of archaeologists, such as Marija Gimbutas, who seek to reconstruct the goddess-centered spirituality of a putatively pre-patriarchal period of European civilization. The limitations of the enterprise derive from the difficulty of determining the actual significance of goddess motifs in their original context, given the absence of written sources.

In addition to political theories, linguistically based theories of the formation of tradition have been influential in the modern study of religion. Here traditionality is seen not just as the product of social and political interests but as something inherent in the very structure of human understanding. This view of tradition is connected with the linguistic turn in the human sciences in the twentieth century. Many twentieth-century thinkers lost confidence in Enlightenment rationalism with its search for an unmediated starting point of knowledge and focused instead on the medium in which human beings actually think and communicate. The concreteness of language seemed to provide a surer foundation for a theory of human understanding than metaphysical notions, such as self, substance, or God. In Anglo-American thought the linguistic turn generated analytic philosophy; in continental European thought it produced philosophical hermeneutics and postmodernism. The contribution of analytic philosophers to the theory of tradition has been modest. Continental philosophers on the other hand, especially Martin Heidegger, Hans-Georg Gadamer, Paul Ricoeur, and Jacques Derrida, have had an enormous impact. By rejecting "pure" experience and insisting on the radically historical, interested, necessarily biased character of all human expression, these thinkers stimulated a new respect for tradition to the extent that tradition manifests the predicament of human understanding generally. If all human expression (ideas, values, symbols, and so on) is, in effect, a commentary on its own temporal situation (including the other human expressions found in its situation), then one may say that all human expression functions in and as a tradition of some kind.

Ironically, reverence for tradition played little part in the rise of philosophical hermeneutics and postmodernism. Heidegger viewed his philosophical project as a revolutionary break with the entire tradition of Western philosophy and theology since Plato, a view not unconnected with the European fascist project of leaping beyond modernity into a radically new historical epoch. The "post" in *postmodernism* encodes the same idea of an irrevocable break with the Western tradition. However, by rejecting the Enlightenment project of modernity, philosophical hermeneutics and postmodernism stimulated a fresh look at the premodern value systems the Enlightenment rejected, including historic religious traditions. Heidegger's more moderate heirs in the following generation, especially Gadamer and Ricoeur, have played a particularly prominent role in recasting the discussion of tradition.

IDEALIZATION AND CANONIZATION. All religious traditions construct pictures of their own formative periods. The pictures are built up over time by the retrospective projection of religious ideals onto the history of the tradition. Such pictures must not be accepted as literal descriptions of the formation of a tradition. Their function is to stress the unity and continuity of tradition, whereas the critical history of any tradition in the formative period never fails to reveal breaks, conflicts, and a diversity of views and practices.

An example of an idealized picture of the formative period of a tradition is the picture of the early Christian church in the *Acts of the Apostles*, a New Testament work composed in the last third of the first century. The picture of the church in *Acts* was shaped in part by the proto-Catholic ideal of a single apostolic church, and it contributed to the spread of this ideal in the following decades. *Acts* depicts a worldwide church directed from Jerusalem by twelve apostles governing alongside elders who are not identified as apostles, such as Jesus' brother James. Much attention is devoted to the missionary work of Paul, who is not identified as an apostle except in *Acts* 14. Stress is placed on Paul's cooperation with the Jerusalem church and on the harmony of his views with those of Peter, the only apostle to receive a substantial amount of attention in *Acts*. Matters that would tend to qualify the general impression of a unified church leadership, such as the nature of the relationship between the twelve apostles, Paul, and James, are not clarified. The picture in *Acts* is at variance with the evidence preserved in Paul's letters. Paul does not hesitate to call himself an apostle, does not deal with a group of twelve apostles in Jerusalem, records a sharp conflict with Peter (*Gal.* 2:11–14), and in general gives the impression of a more independent relationship to the Jerusalem Church than the one ascribed to him by *Acts*.

The idealization of tradition by later canonizers stands in tension not only with protean historical experience but with living traditions originating prior to the canonization of the tradition. No religious tradition springs onto the scene already possessing the canonical structures that will hold it together in the long run. Nevertheless, nascent tradition must be defined and held together in some way in the circles where it is received. In these circles the legacy of charismatic leaders who can claim a direct link to the originating source of sacred tradition plays an important role, as do beliefs and practices validated by custom and oral tradition. Local centers of living tradition developing independently and without much central coordination are the original hearths of tradition. Examples are the regional schools of law in early Islam (e.g., Medinese, Iraqi, Syrian), the metropolitan churches in early Christianity (e.g., Antioch, Alexandria, Rome), and the various monastic disciplines elaborated by the Buddha's successors around a common core but admitting significant differences of practice and eventually belief. The fixing of canons in a tradition necessarily breeds conflict with the original local centers of living tradition. Conflict would be inevitable even if the work of later canonizers were free of ideological or regional bias, which is rarely the case. The function of canonization is to generalize and standardize, that of living tradition to affirm and develop inherited beliefs and practices.

Yet it must not be thought that canonization represents nothing but the regimentation of tradition by a central authority. Canonization is a process that presupposes a significant measure of consensus among the centers of living tradition to begin with. Without it the canonization of a tradition could not be successful but would result in division. An example of division is the split in the order of monks at the second Buddhist council, said to have been held at Vaisali about a century after the Buddha's death. Catholic Christianity and Sunnī Islam, on the other hand, are examples of extremely successful efforts of broad-based canonization, accomplished in each case during the first three to four centuries of the religion's existence. The consolidation of broad segments of Judaism in late antiquity on the basis of the Talmud is another example of canonization carried out in a religious environment that modern scholarship has shown to be far more diverse than formerly supposed.

If canons are by definition clear, communicable, and relatively easy to identify once the process of canonization has been completed, the consensus presupposed by canonization is more difficult to locate and define. The concept of consensus is further complicated by the fact that some religious traditions possess their own particular concepts of consensus, such as the concept of the consensus (*ijmāʿ*) of the law schools in early Islam. While concepts of consensus in religious systems function primarily as ideals, the ideals usually preserve evidence of the fact that the formation of the tradition was not the work of a single religious center dictating canons to the periphery but resulted from the simultaneous emergence of distinct living traditions whose informal agreement on fundamentals was the sine qua non of the formal consolidation of tradition at a later time.

A good example of these dynamics is seen in the evolution of the *sunnah*, or tradition, in early Islam. In the third and fourth centuries AH (ninth and tenth centuries CE) the *sunnah* of the Prophet received its classic form in the six canonical books of *ḥadīths*, or stories of the Prophet, eventually accepted by Sunnī Muslims. How these books were produced is not a mystery. They were the leading works to emerge from decades of travel, research, and discussion by learned seekers of *ḥadīths* who undertook to discriminate between sound and spurious reports and whose methodology—the testing of the chain of transmission *(isnād)* of each report—was rigorous, even though modern critical historians would question some of the criteria applied. However, to suppose that one has explained the formation of the *sunnah* upon rendering an account of the work of the seekers of *ḥadīths* is to fail to address more basic and difficult questions:

what was the connection between the *ḥadīth* material on which the seekers worked and the living traditions of Islam before their time, and what factors of consensus operating in earlier times paved the way for their work?

Much modern Western scholarship on *ḥadīth* and the closely related subject of early Islamic law stresses the breaks between the work of the canonizers and earlier Islam. It is pointed out that the transmission of *ḥadīths* with a certifying *isnād* was a late phenomenon and that there is reason to doubt that *ḥadīths* were formally transmitted at all in the first century of Islam. It is sometimes questioned whether the Prophet left any *sunnah*s, or traditions, apart from the Qurʾān. Above all it is pointed out that the schools of law, whose roots went back to early times, looked upon the later *ḥadīth* movement as a disruptive force that threatened their own understanding of the *sunnah* as the tradition of the law schools (rather than of the Prophet himself) and undermined the ideal of consensus.

Some modern scholars, however, notably Fazlur Rahman in *Islam* (1979), have pointed out the ultimate irrationality of a critical historiography that bars the assumption of continuity in early Islam, since the consolidation of the *sunnah* and the integration of the traditional law schools into Sunnī tradition cannot be imagined without assuming significant elements of continuity and consensus at work from early times. Thus Rahman holds that, from the beginning, *sunnah* could not have meant the *sunnah* of the law schools alone but must have focused on the Prophet, at least in intention, even if "it was not so much like a path as like a riverbed which continuously assimilates new elements." Accordingly, transmission of the *sunnah* would have taken the form of a "'silent'or 'living' tradition" rather than a formal discipline (Rahman, 1979, pp. 54–55). The later *ḥadīth* movement formalized and, so to speak, professionalized the *sunnah.* But the movement was successful, in Rahman's opinion, because the concept of "the *sunnah* of the Prophet" had always been the implied ideal of Muslim practice, and also because a fixed corpus of *ḥadīths* provided a more solid basis on which to build a pan-traditional ("Sunnī") consensus than did the ideal of the consensus of the law schools.

Beyond their role in the formative period of traditions, groups oriented toward a traditional consensus often play a significant role in the regulation or reformation of traditions. Brahman castes in many parts of Hindu India may be cited as an example of tradition-minded regulators. An important group of brahmans even goes by the name of Smārtas (from *smṛti,* "tradition"), or "traditionists."

For an example of tradition-minded reformers, one may point to the Pharisees in Judaism in late antiquity. Scholarly debate continues over how best to classify the Pharisees as a religious group and how to define their role in the reorganization of Judaism culminating in the canonization of the Mishnah and Talmud. In the twentieth century, George Foot Moore, Louis Finkelstein, and other scholars propounded a view of the Pharisees as representatives of a "normative Judaism" that served as the foundation for later rabbinic tradition. Subsequent scholarship has richly documented the religious diversity of Judaism in late antiquity, the influence of Hellenistic culture on the Pharisees themselves, and the role of parties other than the Pharisees in the making of rabbinic Judaism. The result has been to give rise to a revisionist view of the Pharisees almost diametrically opposed to the earlier one. Far from being seen as the bearers of "normative Judaism," the Pharisees are presented as simply one sect among many in the religiously complicated world of Judaism around the beginning of the Common Era. That the name *Pharisee* may have originally meant "sectarian" lends support to this view.

Yet the revisionist view has its problems. The conceptual problem is how to distinguish between sectarians and traditionists. If all religious activists in a given setting are "sectarians," then none of them are. To put it another way, the term *sect* in the history of religion has meaning only in contrast to *church* or similar terms denoting broad-based traditional structures emphasizing consensus and continuity. To be sure, the distinction between sectarians and traditionists is a relative one, but without it one cannot speak about some basic differences between religious groups. For example, the difference between the Pharisees on the one hand and the early Christians and the community at Qumran (where the Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered) on the other was a difference of kind, not just degree. The latter two were sects: small bands of devotees living apart from the ordinary world in a closely knit commune (Qumran) or preaching a radical new prophecy with its own novel cult (Christians). Moreover, Christians and Qumranians lived in the expectation of an approaching cosmic cataclysm that would put an end to the historic Judaism of their day. Long before the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE, these groups had broken with Jerusalem and the Temple by reinterpreting Jewish tradition in terms of their own sources of illumination. The Pharisees too were innovators, but they had a completely different orientation to tradition. What set the Pharisees apart from Christians and Qumranians was the assumption of continuity with the historic institutions of Judaism, including the Temple, and the stress on realizing the goals of piety in the everyday world, without new prophecies and without a new cult.

THE MULTIFORMITY OF CLASSICAL TRADITIONS. Classical traditions are multiform. Multiformity results from the adaptation of traditions to the variegated quality of human experience, including religious experience. Nestor, the voice of tradition in the Homeric poems, describes the problem exactly: "The gods do not give people all things at the same time" (*Iliad* 4.320). Talents, tastes, values, social and political roles, age, gender, and station in life vary among individuals and groups. Tradition is called upon to unite what experience divides, so that the old can communicate with the young, the intellectual with the illiterate, the urbanite with the rustic, the priest with the flock, the prince with the pauper. Unity is sought not through regimentation but through the multiform elaboration of tradition. Multiformity in turn makes it possible for tradition to play a number of mediating roles in a civilization: to apply religious values flexibly, to mediate conflicts between different sets of values, to host creative interaction between different theoretical viewpoints, and so on. The multiformity of classical traditions stops short of radical pluralism, however. In the end, every tradition recognizes a hierarchy of values.

Several kinds of multiformity can be seen in the history of classical traditions. One kind results from the sociocultural differentiation of a tradition. Using terms that subsequently found wide application in the study of religion, the anthropologist Robert Redfield, in his *Peasant Society and Culture* (1956), called the two basic forms of tradition resulting from this type of differentiation "the great tradition" and "the little tradition." The great tradition is literate, reflective, cultivated by specialists working in cities, schools, temples, monasteries, and the like. The little tradition is typically illiterate, customary, embodied in the common beliefs and practices of the mass of ordinary folk. Scholars and cultivated practitioners of religion have always recognized that classical and popular religion diverge, yet this recognition seldom led to advances in understanding because of the tendency to regard popular religion as a "lower" form of expression. The contribution of modern anthropological studies of religion has been to show, first, that popular religion is just as much a tradition as classical religion, a tradition that can achieve high levels of organization, complexity, and "rural cosmopolitanism"; and second, that the interaction between great and little forms of tradition is a dynamic one in which the little tradition not only receives from the great but also contributes to it. Great and little traditions are, as Redfield put it, "two currents of thought and action, distinguishable, yet ever flowing into and out of each other" (Redfield, 1956, p. 72). Redfield's distinction has been criticized by other anthropologists for oversimplifying "great" and "little" traditions and for underestimating the degree to which ordinary believers are conversant with their great tradition via nonliterary means, such as icons, oral tradition, preaching, rituals, and authority structures (Tambiah, 1970, pp. 3–4, 367–377). But these criticisms do not so much refute the distinction as suggest a more nuanced version of it. Almost no responsible scholar of religion wishes to return to the privileging of text-based religiosity and the neglect of demotic factors.

A second kind of multiformity in classical traditions develops from the recognition of the multiplicity of paths to religious fulfillment. Classical Hinduism, for example, distinguishes at least three valid paths to the goal of liberation (*mokṣa*): the path of knowledge (*jñāna mārga*), the path of devotion to a personal God (*bhaktimārga*), and the path of ritual and dutiful action in the world (*karma-mārga*). It is fairly clear that the paths originated at different times and in different circles and that they evolved in relative independence of each other. Furthermore there has never been a consensus in Hinduism about the relative merits of the paths. Monist philosophers unanimously proclaim the superiority of the path of knowledge, and their control of much of the higher philosophical literature of Hinduism has led some observers to assume that this appraisal is shared by most Hindus. Yet in the fervor of communion with God, the devotionalist does not doubt the superiority of the devotional path, nor in all probability has the majority of Indians doubted the practical superiority of dutiful action in the world. Thus the idea that the three paths are expressions of a common aspiration cannot be explained as the natural outcome of the paths themselves but must be seen as a *traditum* in its own right—a tradition of handing down distinct paths in association with each other on the assumption of their mutual coherence. The assumption is an act of faith, since a systematic doctrine reconciling the different paths has never been accepted by all Hindus.

The Hebrew Scriptures constitute another *traditum* embodying a multiplicity of ways to religious insight. In Judaism and Christianity this multiplicity, while recognized, has not been emphasized in ways that would threaten strict monotheism or ecclesiastical unity. Nevertheless, the religious multiformity of the Bible has always been exploited by Jewish and Christian traditionists. Certainly the Bible would be a far less usable book if it admitted only the normative religion of priests and legists, only the charismatic religion of the prophets, only the Logos of the wise men, or only the devotionalism of the psalmist or if it lacked the rage of Job, the skepticism of *Ecclesiastes*, the eroticism of the *Song of Songs*. Nothing is more characteristic of the Hebrew Scriptures as a *traditum* than the transmission of many ways of theological insight together in a single canon of law, prophets, and writings. Historically, the various forms of religion represented in the Bible originated in relative independence from each other and were cultivated selectively by different groups. One must not project back into the ancient period a general fraternization of priests, legists, prophets, wise men, cult singers, and skeptics united in the praise of the Lord of Israel. Their solidarity in witness to and celebration of the One—the "Bible" as distinguished from its component parts—was the contribution of tradition.

Other kinds of multiformity result from the adaptation of a tradition to stages of life and degrees of religious virtuosity. An example is the classical Hindu doctrine of the four *āśrama*s, or stages of life (celibate student, householder, forest hermit, wandering ascetic). In the classical doctrine the four *āśrama*s are seen as successive stages through which a pious male of the twice-born castes will pass in the course of his life. It appears, however, that the distinction between the *āśrama*s antedates the notion that they represent "stages" in a coherent succession. In any case only a minority of Hindu householders have ever passed beyond the second stage, and many hermits and ascetics in the history of Indian religion were never householders. The doctrine of the *āśrama*s appears to be an attempt on the level of ideals to reconcile the world-affirming, dutiful religion of the Indian family system with the renunciationist religiosity of ascetic and mystical virtuosos. The contribution of tradition is the assumption that the four *āśrama*s are coherently related to each other, and that respect and communication are therefore possible among their representatives. The reach of Hindu tradition is thereby significantly expanded.

A special adaptation of tradition to stages of life is represented by forms of religion connected with dying and the treatment of the dead. In all societies these matters are regulated chiefly by tradition, because neither reason nor experience can offer much guidance. By establishing a role in death, a tradition secures a place for itself in life, because people's lives will be affected by the way they expect to die. In Japan, for example, Buddhism has traditionally been the religion of funerals, and only at the grave does it come close to being the universal religion of the Japanese people. Still its special authority over death is one of the ways Buddhism gains visibility and prestige in Japanese tradition as a whole.

In some religions the distinction between the religion of virtuosos and that of ordinary people is built into the fundamental structure of the tradition. Buddhism is a case in point. In its first century Buddhism was a religion of monks that, although moderate in comparison with other asceticisms in its day, proposed a way of life incompatible with life as a householder in the everyday world. Yet Buddhism managed to establish itself as the dominant religious tradition in several Asian societies. It achieved its hegemony not by abandoning monasticism but by developing a mode of lay religious participation distinct from the monastic one yet in harmony with it: laypeople are invited to earn "merit" by providing food, clothing, dwellings, and other services for monks. The rewards of this exchange for the laity are ritual protection against the chaotic forces of the universe, enhanced moral clarity in this life, and a better birth in the next life. This "domestication" of Buddhism, as Todd T. Lewis has called it, had a profound effect not only on Buddhist societies but on Buddhist monasticism itself (Lewis, 2000, pp. 3–4). While the Western scholarly stereotype of the Buddhist monk as a detached seeker of transcendental enlightenment (*nirvāṇa*) can certainly be documented, the large majority of Buddhist monks seem to have been more concerned with such sociable pursuits as collecting and disseminating parables, conducting rituals, and preaching for the edification of the community as a whole. Indeed it is hard to imagine how Buddhism could have been such a successful religion if most of its monks had followed the more detached way. The dialectic of multiformity and community occurs in one form or another in every religious tradition.

MYSTICISM, ESOTERICISM, AND TRADITION. Mysticism and esotericism are forms of religious expression that present special problems for classical traditions. *Mysticism* is the cultivation of closeness to or union with the divine or ultimate. It may or may not involve special doctrines; it always involves special techniques. *Esotericism* is the study and application of "secret" teachings of a speculative (e.g., theosophical, cosmological, eschatological) or practical (e.g., magical, occult) sort. Mysticism and esotericism need not overlap, although they often do. The genius of classical religious traditions is nowhere better seen than in their capacity to host mysticism and esotericism, if not always as honored traditions within the tradition at least as a traditionally tolerated religious "night life."

Experience is the goal of mysticism regardless of the means employed, which range from strict asceticism through sociable middle ways to antinomian abandon. In essence, mysticism is not a matter of tradition, since experience cannot be received from or handed on to others. Mysticism is a matter of insight or perception, not texts, doctrines, or rules. However, because mysticism is interesting to most religious communities, and because human beings need to communicate about the things that interest them, mysticism typically generates formal mystical traditions, which may grow to an imposing size and complexity even against the wishes of a saintly originator. Formal mystical traditions are canons applied specifically to adepts or aspirants, such as myths of foundation, sacred histories, chains of authoritative transmitters, initiatory rites, techniques of devotion and ecstasy, sayings, texts, and rules regulating physical functions. As a general rule, once a mystical tradition is formed, little vagueness or laxity in its application is tolerated even though the goal of mysticism remains personal experience. In fact the canons of mystical traditions tend to be even more rigorously defined and enforced than those of mainstream traditions. This is partly because of the elite character of mystical traditions—rules can be more strictly enforced when applied to a few; partly because of the central role of the spiritual master in many mystical traditions, a role commanding a high degree of obedience from aspirants and apprentices; and also perhaps because of the need to guard against the explosive forces of unstructured mysticism. In madness and in method the traditional mystic is not unlike a classical Ṣūfī poet: God-intoxicated yet still mindful of the meters.

Whereas the interaction between mysticism and host traditions is extremely complex, the history of religion supports the generalization that the two need each other. Mysticism needs a host tradition as a source of vocabulary and symbols. Even though the meaning of these may be revised by the mystics who use them, without them the mystics would not be understood by anyone. In addition, the reserve shown to mystics by the authorities of a host tradition, beyond safeguarding the interests of the latter, is generally healthy for mystics because it challenges them to clarify their goals and refine their methods. As a rule the nemesis of mysticism is not too much structure but too little.

Mysticism can renew tradition. Cadmus and Tiresias, personages representing the Greek political and religious establishment in Euripides' play *The Bacchae*, gave good advice to every established tradition when they counseled the young ruler of Thebes, Pentheus, to admit the revels of the god Dionysos into the city, maintaining that incorporation of the cult would fortify tradition and enhance the prestige of the ruling house. If Pentheus disregarded his elders' advice with disastrous consequences to himself and his city, established traditions in the history of religion have usually heeded it. Traditions may also strengthen their links with popular culture by patronizing mystics. In spite of the elitism involved in a formal mystical discipline, many mystics have been rather sociable individuals, and they have almost always found favor with the popular strata. Among other things, this has made mystics and ascetics effective agents of mission in religious traditions with missionary ambitions.

Conflicts between mystics and host traditions are common and may be severe. In the sixth century certain Palestinian monks, seekers of union with Christ through mental prayer, claimed that they would achieve "equality with Christ" in the restoration of all things at the end of time, for which reason they were called Isochrists or "Equal-to-Christers." They were expelled from their monastery, and the doctrines supporting their position were condemned by the Council of Constantinople (553 CE). The great Muslim mystic al-Ḥallāj was executed in Baghdad in 922 CE for claiming "I am the Truth" (i.e., God). In both cases, however, the conflict was precipitated more by the doctrinal implications of verbalized claims than by the practices or experiences that prompted the claims. The suppression of the Isochrists did not stop the spread of the mysticism of mental prayer in Eastern Orthodox monasteries; it simply showed that certain claims could not be expressed in public and probably should not be entertained in private, even if inspired by mystical experiences. Similarly many a Ṣūfī after al-Ḥallāj has doubtless thought "I am the Truth" but has not said it or has said it in figurative language, with an appropriate gloss, or in the secrecy of the heart.

As a general rule, mystics and traditionists tend to recognize their mutual interest in avoiding direct conflict, or at least in finding ways to routinize it. Moreover, the way is always open for creative individuals to experiment with means of uniting mysticism and tradition. Individuals who succeed in this enjoy great popularity in their tradition. One may point to al-Ghazālī, who achieved fame in eleventh-century Islam as a doctor of law and a Ṣūfī adept; to Gregory Palamas, the fourteenth-century bishop of Thessalonica, who employed the refined intellectual traditions of Greek Orthodox theology to defend the radical experientialism of rustic monks; and to the Indian philosopher Rāmānuja (eleventh to twelfth century), who, using the texts and methods of Vedānta, attempted to reconcile monism with the experientially based claims of devotionalists in a "qualified nondualism." In most cases the theoretical differences between mysticism and the doctrines of its host tradition are great enough to put an absolute synthesis beyond reach. But tradition does not require synthesis; mediation is enough.

Esotericism is concerned with teachings rather than experience, although mystical and esoteric currents mingle in the history of religion. The basis of esotericism in religion is the claim to possess secret or otherwise special traditions from an authoritative source—traditions that support speculation, occult practices including magic, or both. The possession of secret traditions may provide the basis for independence from other religious groups or for the existence of an elite group within a larger host tradition. Among the reasons given to justify secrecy are that most people are too simple or too perverse to understand true teachings or that the withholding of secrets is part of a providential plan to be revealed in the future. Also at work is the natural desire to avoid enraging the guardians of normative tradition by undercutting their authority in public. The threat of conflicts is real because esotericists always claim access to authoritative sources beyond those of normative tradition. So, for example, certain masters of Jewish Qabbalah claimed access through secret tradition to a primordial revelation from Adam or to texts composed by biblical patriarchs and other ancient worthies. Such claims compromised the singularity of the Torah received from Moses, and therefore also the authority of the Orthodox rabbis. Similarly, the teaching authority of Catholic Christian bishops was threatened by the belief of Gnostics that the inner meaning of the gospel was handed down by the apostles to an elite of spiritual and intellectual Christians, not to the church as a whole.

Like mystics, esotericists generally steer away from direct conflicts with traditional authorities and aim instead at accommodation. Rarely a religion in its own right, esotericism needs an exoteric tradition in order to define itself. The common tradition is enriched by the multiformity. One of the most important contributions of modern research on Qabbalah, for example, has been to show that many forms of esotericism were deeply embedded in the soil of Palestinian Judaism from early times and developed within the framework of the Talmudic tradition. This is not to deny that influences from other religions and from popular culture helped shape Qabbalah. But influences have consequences in the history of religion because they resonate with the needs and themes of established traditions. Esotericists, for the most part, are less interested in reshaping traditional piety than in heightening its intensity by focusing on specific values and goals within it. The "paradoxical emphasis on the congruence of intuition and tradition" that Gershom Scholem observed in Qabbalah is typical of the approach of most esotericists to their host traditions (Scholem, 1978, p. 3).

TRADITION AND CHANGE. Religious traditions are not hostile to change, provided the new can be integrated with the old through reform or renewal. Integration is difficult to accomplish in practice, and religious traditions rarely make the effort except when compelled to do so by a crisis of some sort. In critical situations, however, when the outward authority or inner coherence of tradition is at stake, religious traditions can demonstrate a vitality that contrasts sharply with their apparent inertia at other times. There is no paradox here. One of the primary functions of religious traditions is to provide direction in times of change. A sense of tradition, allowing for the old to be appreciated as ever new and the new to be received as clarifying or fulfilling the old, serves to check the chaotic potential of change. Of course, traditions may be overwhelmed by a crisis of catastrophic proportions, such as the European conquest of the Americas. Even in these cases, however, features of the displaced tradition often survive under the auspices of the successor tradition, usually on the popular level in the form of an ongoing little tradition.

While religious traditions are not necessarily opposed to reform or renewal, revolutionary change is a different matter. By definition, a tradition is opposed to changes that abrogate the link with the past preserved in its fundamental *tradita.* The completely new is intolerable in a traditional religion. Even prophetic religions promising new and wondrous things typically do so in a way that reflects the mind of tradition. Prophets depend on traditions of expectation—that is, patterned ways of seeking and announcing the new—and they use traditional paradigms to make sense of new developments. The Prophet Isaiah heralded the fall of Babylon and the liberation of the Judean exiles in his day as "new things . . . created now, not long ago" (*Is.* 48:6–7). But the rhetoric of novelty did not keep him from understanding the liberation as a new Exodus and the liberator as the same Lord who stood for Israel in ancient times.

Before modern times, the greatest challenges to religious traditions came not from antireligious or nonreligious value systems but from rival religious traditions. The coexistence of different religious traditions in the same societies for long periods of time was also a source of change. While the interaction of religious traditions before modern times has not yet been studied in great detail, there is plenty of evidence to suggest that the boundaries between traditions were much more permeable than either the guardians of tradition or their modern detractors suppose. Wilfred Cantwell Smith went so far as to propose a "history of religion in the singular" based on the countless ideas, stories, practices and accoutrements that have found their way into many different religious traditions (Smith, 1981, p. 3). Smith's paradigm is the legend of the Christian saint Josaphat (or Joasaph), the young Asian prince who abandoned his opulent, cocoon-like circumstances to seek salvation as a monk. The legend is the story of Siddhārtha Gautama, the Buddha, and it entered the repertoire of medieval Christianity from the East through an Islamic intermediary. By such a route did the Buddha become a Christian saint.

There is general agreement that the pace of religious change has quickened in recent centuries as a result of the economic, social, political, and intellectual changes summed up in the term *modernization.* The problem of tradition and modernity concerns the fate of traditional value systems, including religious traditions, in a world shaped by modern science and market capitalism and the ideologies and technologies resulting from them, such as liberalism, nationalism, socialism, and biological and social engineering. Despite numerous studies of the problem of modernization in particular societies, however, there is little consensus among scholars about the lasting effects of modernity on religious traditions.

When the problem began to be studied by social scientists in the nineteenth century, progressivist ideologies, liberal or socialist, shaped the discussion. Most critics assumed that tradition was fated to give way to modernity, either at a stroke or through gradual evolution. This view received a great deal of support from the spectacle of antitraditional, Marxist revolutions coming to power in Russia and China in the twentieth century. In the late twentieth century and the early twenty-first century, however, with the worldwide collapse of Communism and the decline of secularist regimes in the Islamic world and elsewhere, more attention has been given to the persistence of religious traditions. Evidence has also been adduced to show that in many societies modernization actually reinforces and even reinvigorates certain aspects of tradition, as, for example, when modern technologies of communication make it possible for religious groups to promote their messages with unprecedented militancy (e.g., Protestant Christian and Islamic fundamentalism), or when economic and political revolutions result in power and prominence for groups whose outlook remains deeply traditional (e.g., Hindu nationalism). In many places modernizing ideologies actually appear to require an alliance with tradition, including religious tradition, in order to promote their goals. The central role of nationalism in the contemporary world is a good example of this type of linkage. Nationalism owes its dynamism to the fact that whereas it promotes essentially secular values, it also serves to reaffirm traditional solidarities.

Postmodernism has attempted a resolution of the problem of tradition and modernity by declaring modernity, as such, to be over. Modernity in this context means the Enlightenment project of reforming the world on the basis of science, natural law (human rights), and a common human rationality. Postmodernism rejects this universalism in principle on the grounds of the endless plurality of human cultures and the unfinalizability of discourse. Although postmodernism was invented by radically secularized philosophical elites, its critique of Enlightenment liberalism has been embraced by some apologists for religious tradition according to the principle "my enemy's enemy is my friend." Yet the use of postmodernism to defend religious tradition is problematic. The world-historical religious traditions are universalist in principle, and it is hard to see in the final analysis how a case for them can be based on radical relativism. Postmodernists respond to this criticism by asserting that supposedly universalist or "great" traditions are in fact a vast congeries of essentially local and constantly changing beliefs and practices. There is truth in this assertion, but also a problem. Classifications such as "Christian," "Muslim," "Buddhist," and the like appear to count for something in the traditions that claim these names. Religious communities seem to aspire to identification with a great tradition, no matter how embedded they are in their local context. To be sure, there are several great traditions, not just one. But this multiplicity can be interpreted in a number of ways, including some that cohere with the universalism of the traditions themselves.

The postmodernist assertion that modernity is over can also be questioned. The claim seems to ignore the large body of evidence summed up in the term *globalization*. Globalization, as Peter Berger has observed, is "a continuation, albeit in an intensified and accelerated form, of the perduring challenge of modernization" (Berger and Huntington, 2002, p. 16). The forces of globalization—science, market capitalism, individualism—are expanding, not contracting in the world, and religious traditions everywhere are struggling to come to terms with them. The religious fundamentalisms that are often cited as evidence of the collapse of modernity are in fact just one of a number of responses to modernity, their stridency and extremism marking them as untraditional phenomena. While globalization occurs in diverse forms, there are enough similarities among its forms to suggest that it is indeed a global process. In short, whereas postmodernist critics have significantly refined the discussion of modernity by discrediting simplistic theories, the case is by no means closed.

For the time being the best approach is probably to recognize that the problem of tradition and modernity is part of the religious situation of contemporary civilization and not likely to be resolved, or even greatly altered, in the near future. The naive progressivism of the early theorists of modernization has been abandoned by most scholars, but the general problem stands. Given globalizing trends, the continuators of tradition may be expected to go on experiencing threats to their identities, including some that arise from within their own traditions as modernizing tendencies insinuate themselves even there. Yet the work of the globalizers is also full of tensions, and these are likely to intensify as idealistic enthusiasm for modern visions gives way to the difficulty of putting these visions into practice. Globalizers risk losing the way to the future for lack of a connection with the past. A steady orientation in any field of endeavor seems to require traditions: traditions inherited from premodern times, new traditions of modernity's own making, or new cultural syntheses combining elements of both.

SEE ALSO Canon; Folk Religion; Ḥadīth; Memorization; Oral Tradition; Popular Religion; Reform; Revival and Renewal; Scripture; Sunnah.

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TRANSCENDENCE AND IMMANENCE.

According to *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language*, second edition, unabridged, to transcend is to "ascend beyond, excel." The term is used of the "relation of God to the universe of physical things and finite spirits, as being . . . in essential nature, prior to it, exalted above it, and having real being apart from it." *Immanence*, defined as "presence in the world . . . in pantheism is thought of as uniform, God . . . equally present in the personal and the impersonal, in the evil and the good. According to theism, immanence occurs in various degrees, more in the personal than the impersonal, in the good than in the evil."

It is clear that *transcendence* is a value term expressing the unique excellence of God, because of which worship—utmost devotion or love—is the appropriate attitude toward the being so described. It is less obvious that *immanence* is a value term, but *ubiquity*, "being everywhere," comes closer to expressing a unique property. If God is everywhere in the world and also in some sense beyond the world, then God certainly surpasses all ordinary objects of respect or love.

"Prior to the universe" seems to suggest a time when God was alone, with no cosmos of creatures to relate to—first a creator not actually creating, then one creating. But it also might mean that there was a different universe before our own. Origen thought God had created an infinity of universes in succession and never lacked relation to some actual creatures. We see a partial return to that position in Alfred North Whitehead's hypothesis of "cosmic epochs," each with its own natural laws. Whitehead held that having a universe, some universe or other, is, in principle, inherent in God's nature and not subject to divine choice. What may be subject to such choice are the particular laws that will govern a cosmic epoch about to arise. God's "real being apart from the universe" means, in such a view, a vantage apart from our current universe, not apart from all universes. Not every theologian agrees with those who think to compliment God by affirming divine freedom to have simply no creatures. The objection to this once-popular view is that since any creatures are better than none (that being as such is primarily good and only secondarily bad is a classical doctrine), God would be making the worst possible choice by not creating at all. Freedom to do this seems nonsensical when affirmed of God.

In what sense is God *in* the universe? The suggestion in *Webster's*, attributed to "idealists," is that the divine presence is "like that of a conscious self in the world of that self." Or, attributed to "realists," it is like "that of a self in its organism and its behavior." The latter suggestion makes Plato a realist, for it was he who in the West first thought of God as the World Soul, whose body is the entire cosmos of nondivine things and persons. This proposal (in the *Timaeus*) was, however, seldom followed until recent times, and was rejected by Whitehead. In this I take Whitehead to have been mistaken. The relation of mind to body in human (and other) animals is the relation of mind to physical reality, to "matter," that we most directly and surely know. If our thoughts do not influence our behavior, then we know nothing of any influence of mind or spirit on the physical world. David Hume pointed this out in his *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion* through the character Cleanthes.

REALISTIC IDEALISM. The idealist view referred to above is less obviously intelligible. Does our mere contemplation of the world make us immanent in that world? When we remember past experiences, does that put our present consciousness back into those experiences? If I think of someone in Hong Kong, does that put me in Hong Kong? The form of idealism referred to by *Webster's* definition is no longer widely held. It is the data of an awareness that are in the awareness, not vice versa. If this realistic principle—accepted by the theistic metaphysicians Charles S. Peirce and Whitehead, who in some respects are properly called idealists—is sound, then it is the creatures' awareness of God, not God's awareness of them, that constitutes the divine presence in the universe. And if God is universally present, then the creatures universally are, however inadequately, aware of God, who is the universal object as well as the universal subject. This implies, as Peirce and Whitehead held, as did Henri Bergson and some other recent theists, that every creature has some form of awareness, even if it be nothing more than some mode of feeling. For those of this persuasion, dualism and materialism are both inconsistent with a well-thought-out theism.

Unfortunately, the term *idealism* is still often applied to the now antiquated doctrine presupposed by the editors of *Webster's*. Few changes of opinion are more definite or important than the shift, in this century, in the way the relations of mind or experience to its data are conceived. Indeed, the alternative to idealism is no longer realism but the choice between dualism and materialism. A "realistic idealism" makes perfectly good sense. And Plato was both realist and idealist, except insofar as, like all ancient Greeks, he was unable to escape dualism and materialism entirely. No one in the West knew how to conceive mind, or awareness, as a universal property of creatures until Leibniz, the true founder of realistic idealism, made his distinction between dynamic singulars and aggregates or groups of singulars. (The singulars he called monads, but this term tends to connote some further doctrines peculiar to Leibniz that are no longer accepted, even by those strongly influenced by Leibniz, so far as the problem of mind and matter is concerned.) In Asia, where Leibniz has not as yet had much influence, there seems to be no comparably well-articulated doctrine of realistic idealism that can be called theistic.

The distinction between dynamic singulars—all of which are sentient—and their groups or aggregates depends, for Leibniz, on the primitive form of the atomic theory then entertained by physicists and also upon the discovery by Leeuwenhoek of the realm of microscopic animals. With a stroke of genius, Leibniz generalized this and held that larger animals consist of smaller animals (in a generalized sense), thus anticipating the cell theory established much later. Leibniz may well have realized the philosophical meaning of Leeuwenhoek's discoveries better than some philosophers do now. He made a realistic idealism at last possible and thereby freed theism from one of its greatest difficulties, enabling it to give a positive explanation of the divine ubiquity.

GOD'S DUALLY TRANSCENDENT LOVE. Whitehead's theory of prehension (or "feeling of feeling"), applied to God and all creatures, makes God the universally prehending and universally prehended subject, feeling all and felt by all. Hence God is in all and all is in God. Since creaturely prehensions are those of subjects in principle inferior to God, they feel God inadequately, whereas God, in principle superior to all, feels the creatures and their mostly unintellectual feelings with ideal adequacy. Although each creature contains God and God contains each creature, the divine containing is unqualified, but the creaturely containing is more or less drastically qualified. Thus, for theism, God is present "in various degrees" in the parts of the universe, but the creatures are wholly present to God. As Berdiaev urges, the most pertinent question is not "Is God in the world?" but rather "Is the world in God?" The Pauline saying, that in God "we live and move and have our being," can be taken literally without necessarily implying pantheism.

To say that God feels the feelings of all creatures is to contradict the doctrine of classical theism that God is impassible, wholly unaffected by others. Anselm said that God was not compassionate, although the effects of the divine being were *as if* God were compassionate. What this amounts to, for some of us, is that the New Testament saying "God is love" is untrue, yet the effects of God's nature upon us are what they would be if God loved us. We here confront a deep divergence between that theism pervasive in Scholasticism (with Bonaventure producing the most thoroughgoing attempt to interpret divine love), and found also in medieval Islamic and Jewish writings, and the theism that I call neoclassical, which has been set forth by some recent philosophers and theologians (e.g., Nikolai Berdiaev, Alfred North Whitehead, Rudolf Otto, Otto Pfleiderer, John Oman, Alfred Ernest Garvie, and Edgar S. Brightman). Whitehead's assertion that "to attribute mere happiness to God is a profanation" hints at this rejection of Anselm's doctrine, and his further statement that "God is the fellow sufferer who understands" makes the contrast quite clear. Berdiaev is no less plain on this point.

The denial that love, however generalized, can characterize deity is implied by Plato, who, in his *Symposium*, interprets love as the longing for absolute beauty and hence a confession of imperfection. The nearest Plato comes to attributing love to God is to say that there is no envy in the divine nature, and hence God is willing to have creatures sharing existence with him. Plato does definitely attribute to God knowledge of the creatures, whereas Aristotle denies this. All his deity thinks is the generic nature of thinking itself, totally free from the contingency and particularity that go with individuals in the world.

In India, the Advaita Vedāntins, often regarded as the orthodox Hindus, thought of the highest and only genuine reality as beyond anything that could be called love. The latter is a social relation, presupposing a plurality of subjects in space and time, whereas *brahman* is without temporal or spatial plurality. In India, however, there are also various proponents of pluralism. Ramanuja and Madhva are the most obvious examples, but there are others whose views show striking analogies to the Western "process" view, the greatest single representative of which is Whitehead. To appreciate adequately the strength of the worldwide effort to find something greater and better, or more real, than love at its best, we need to relate the issue to the problem of anthropomorphism. We human animals are social, and it has with some justice been said that an absolutely nonsocial animal does not exist. God, however, is in principle superior to any animal. God is uniquely excellent, without possible rival or equal.

The Christian doctrine of the Trinity is an attempt to have it both ways. In some sense, the Son and Holy Spirit are equal to God the Father; in some sense God is supreme. The three divine persons could love each other, even were there no creatures. This doctrine is too paradoxical to be defended apart from revelation. Apart from some such doctrine, either God does not love anyone or the being in principle superior to all conceivable others loves these lesser beings. Even with the trinitarian doctrine, the question remains relevant: must not God, conceived by analogy to what we know of ordinary beings (and how else can we conceive anything?), cherish the creatures? If we can sympathize with children and other kinds of animals, must God view them and us with mere indifference? If so, was not Aristotle right in saying that God does not know particular, contingent individuals because they are "not worth knowing"?

EXTREMIST AND MIDDLE-GROUND STRATEGIES. History shows two ways of approaching philosophical disagreement. One way, in practice taken by some of the wisest philosophers, is to suspect extreme views and look for a "middle way" between opposite extremes. Some of the ancient Buddhists did this explicitly. With regard to transcendence and immanence, one extreme is gross anthropomorphism, taking God to be, as Matthew Arnold put it, "a magnified, nonnatural man." The opposite extreme is to say, as Karl Barth once did (he later partly rescinded the statement), that God is "wholly other" than ourselves. The middle way is to look for a difference in principle between God and all else and yet also, consistent with this, a resemblance in principle between God and all other beings. Many philosophers and theologians have more or less consciously proceeded in this fashion, and two of these, Plato and Whitehead, have been especially successful (at least according to some scholars strongly influenced by Whitehead). However, conditions in the ancient world were unfavorable to this side of Plato; and for many centuries a quite different way was taken in the West (beginning with Aristotle and the theologian Philo Judaeus).

In India, also, it was not a middle way that was the mainstream of thought. Instead, an extremist strategy was followed, though with some inconsistency. It was taken for granted that truth is an extreme with error its opposite. The maxim, without ever being so stated, perhaps, was "Let us find the view that is most hopelessly wrong and affirm the opposite." That the God of all the worlds is like a localized and mortal animal, dependent for its very existence on an environment, is clearly wrong, the absurd error of anthropomorphism. So, let us deny of God, or the supreme reality, all traits that animals and still lesser beings have in common, and, by achieving the opposite of anthropomorphism in characterizing God, we will come as close to the truth as is in our power. All animals and lesser beings are finite, changeable, subject to influence by others, complex, and have feelings as well as thoughts (if they have the latter). Let us say, therefore, that God is infinite, unchangeable in every way, wholly impassible, immune to influence by others, wholly simple, incapable of feeling, but with purely intellectual knowledge (whatever that may be). It was David Hume who first indicated the possible fallacy in all this. What is to guarantee that, when we have denied all that constitutes reality as we experience it, anything is left to distinguish God from mere nonentity? The famous negative way, the *via negativa*, must, after all, be supplemented by something positive, or we may end up worshiping a mere nothing or a mere verbal formula.

As a matter of fact, the premise of the negative way—its characterization of beings in the world—is seriously inaccurate. What is common to ordinary individuals is only inadequately or ambiguously described as finite, changeable, subject to influence by others, and complex. Furthermore, the distinction between awareness as feeling and awareness as pure thought or knowledge is problematic. What thought or knowledge would be without feeling is not something that our experience makes transparently obvious. Finally, we animals are not simply finite; each of us is a mere *fragment* of the finite. The entire cosmos may be spatially finite; and even a beginningless past would be in a sense finite compared to the infinity of all that is conceivable. It is very well arguable that no knowledge of finite things could, without contradiction, be considered absolutely infinite. Hence an all-knowing God must be in some sense or respect finite.

Similarly, knowledge of the contingent must be contingent. What we are and what God cannot be is fragmentary. The divine finitude must encompass at least the world's finitude and also its infinity in whatever sense the world is infinite. Yes, we are affected by others, but it is just as true that we affect others. We are cause and effect; the question is, does it even make sense to view God as the cause of all and the effect of nothing? As Aristotle said, knowledge of contingent things is conditioned by the reality of the things known. The all-knowing cannot be simply and in every sense uncaused, unconditioned.

The alternative to the negative way is the doctrine of dual transcendence, according to which God in principle excels over others both in the sense that the divine nature is uniquely absolute and infinite and in the sense that it is uniquely relative and finite. If we could not be absolute (independent) or infinite in the divine sense, neither could we be relative or finite in the divine sense. Nor need it be contradictory to attribute both of these contrasting properties to God. Contradiction occurs only if a subject is said to have a property and a contrary property in the same respect; otherwise contradiction does not obtain. And if it be said that since God is simple, God cannot contain a duality, the reply is ready: the divine simplicity is itself only one side of the duality of transcendence. In Whitehead's view, God's "primordial nature" is simple (I would say even simpler than Whitehead makes it) but God's "consequent nature" is the most complex reality there is. The complex can include the simple.

It was said above that "changeable" is an inadequate or ambiguous characterization of things other than God. There are changes for the better, for the worse, and neutral changes. Animals are open to good changes—growth, enrichment of experience—but also to bad ones—decay, impoverishment. To demand that God be, in every respect, immutable is to imply that there is no form of the capacity to change without which a being would be defective, or even a mere abstraction, not a concrete, actual being. The divine excellence requires immunity to negative change, to loss or degeneration; but does it require an incapacity for any and every kind of good change, every kind of increase in value? Plato (not the scriptures) proposed the argument "God must be perfect, hence any change would have to be either for the worse or without value, meaningless." This argument presupposes for its force that we have a positive idea of a maximum of value such that no additional value would be possible. Plato's phrase for such an unincreasable, unsurpassable value was "absolute beauty." What this is neither Plato nor anyone else has told us. An analysis of aesthetic principles strongly suggests that given any conceivable beauty there could be a greater beauty. If this be so, Plato's argument proves nothing.

Another ambiguity or problematic concept in the negative way was the idea that dependence was necessarily a defect distinguishing ordinary things from God. This excludes knowledge from God, if indeed Aristotle, or anyone else, can tell us what "to know" means. In addition there are two kinds of dependence, only one of which is obviously a weakness, this being dependence for very existence and essential properties. Denying this radical dependence of God for very existence leaves quite open the possibility of a dependence for qualities not necessary to the divine existence. If there is any genuine freedom in the creatures, they will do things they might not have done. God will know what they have done, but (as the Socinians saw long ago) this knowledge cannot be essential to God's very existence. Rather, had a creature done something other than what it did, God would have had correspondingly different knowledge other than the knowledge he does have. If the word *knowledge* is given an honest meaning, one can consistently assert the compatibility of creaturely freedom with divine knowledge only if one admits divine knowledge without which God could and would—had the world been otherwise—have existed as God, incapable of error and ignorance. Total independence of others entails not knowing these others. Plato did not know us and was independent of us; we know Plato and *therefore* are not wholly independent of Plato.

Step by step, the reasoning of simple or nondual transcendence has been examined by this and other writers. It seems lacking in cogency. To understand the steady loss of support by philosophers (beginning with Hume and Kant) for classical theism (which denies dual transcendence), this lack of cogency is important. Belief in the divine uniqueness can survive the admission that it is not change but certain kinds of change, not dependence but certain kinds of dependence, that are excluded by the divine excellence. That the issue is worldwide and intercultural is remarkably well illustrated by the following coincidences.

In a year—I think the very month or week—in which I was thinking and writing about how God in some senses is changing, yet also in other senses unchanging, a man from India delivered a sermon in the chapel of the University of Chicago, with which I was connected for twenty-seven years. He was Radhakamal Mukerji, a leading sociologist of India, but also a writer on mysticism. He said in his sermon that God is unchanging in "ethical" goodness but increases in "aesthetic" value, which I took to mean in the richness or beauty of the divine experience of the world as new creatures come into being. This distinction between ethical value as capable of an absolute maximum and aesthetic value as an open infinity with no upper maximum was exactly the conclusion I had come to before hearing or knowing Mukerji. Also before this, I had had a somewhat similar intercultural experience, which was confirmed again long after Mukerji's visit. It involved two monks of the modern Bengali sect of Hinduism whose views harmonized with the idea of a deity both unchanging and yet in some respects changing. One of these monks, Ma-kanam Brata Brahmachari, who did his doctoral dissertation under me, quoted a representative of his sect who wrote of God: "Lo, the cup is eternally full, yet it grows without ceasing." When this man began talking to me about "love" as a theological term I asked him what he meant by the word. "I mean," he said, "the consciousness of consciousness, the thinking of thinking, the . . . of. . . ." I am not sure, but he may have said, "the feeling of feeling." If he did, the analogy with Whitehead was close. In his dissertation he writes: "God is more than the absolute." Of course, for a mere negative like *nonrelative* by itself constitutes no sufficient account of any actuality. Plato is not relative to us, but that is Plato's total ignorance of us; we constitute nothing of Plato's being, whereas, by his knowledge of and hence relativity to them, Parmenides and many others whom he did know contributed much to his wonderfully comprehensive awareness.

THE REALITY OF DIVINE LOVE. Finally, I want to focus on the proposition "God is love." Mortimer Adler has recently explained why, although he is convinced that an intelligent divine being exists as creator of all, he does not think it can be demonstrated that this being is benevolent or loving. One may, however, question the distinction drawn here between divine intelligence and divine love. If God is to know us, God must know our feelings. How can feelings be known except by feelings? Can mere intellect (whatever that is—perhaps a computer) know feelings while having none of its own? And if God has feelings, what kind of feelings? Envy, malice, conceit, hatred, inferiority complexes? What have these to do with all-encompassing intelligence? For me, this is a wholly absurd combination of ideas. By embracing in knowledge all the qualities of reality, God possesses all that anyone possesses by way of value, so what could envy mean? Hatred would be baseless, since by willing the suffering of creatures God would be willing divine sharing in these sufferings. Whitehead's wonderfully simple formula of "feeling of feeling" as a basic element in knowledge excludes any ground for Adler's dilemma. To know others without intuiting their feelings is scarcely knowledge at all, and such an ability would hardly seem likely as an essential quality of an indestructible cosmic subject upon which all others radically depend. Simple atheism would be more reasonable than affirming such a God, so far as I can see. To give intelligence cosmic and everlasting scope, but to deny such scope to love, seems a discordant mixture of notions. Or is Advaita Vedānta and the doctrine of *māyā* the alternative to love? We think we exist as individuals, but really only *brahman* exists, spaceless and timeless. We are appearances of *brahman*, although *brahman* is unaware of us. Or does *brahman* constitute us by dreaming us? I have a different theory of dreams, and so had Bergson. Perhaps we can leave the doctrine of *māyā* to the Indians, who are by no means in agreement on the subject.

It is fair to add that there is no agreement in the West on the reality of divine love. Can a fragment of reality comprehend the encompassing? I feel entirely confident that if love cannot encompass all, including creaturely hatred as a degenerate case of love (the total lack of which is mere indifference), then nothing positively conceivable by such as we are can do so either.

If no form of theism escapes difficulties, puzzles it cannot solve, questions to which it finds no convincing answer, this is perhaps to be expected. A god easily understood is not God but a fetish, an idol. Dual transcendence removes some of the traditional paradoxes, especially if we include a clear doctrine of freedom as well as of more or less humble forms of sentience and feeling for all dynamic singulars in nature. Peirce had already done this before Whitehead took creativity as the ultimate category, applicable in the uniquely, divinely excellent form to God and in humbler forms to all creatures. But still there are puzzles. Change in God seems to imply, and Berdiaev hints at this, a divine kind of time. But how to relate this timelike aspect of God to worldly time is a problem that overwhelms me with a sense of incompetence. Physicists have their own difficulties with time, and without a mathematical competence beyond that of most of us one can scarcely begin to understand these difficulties, let alone overcome them.

By attributing freedom as well as minimal sentience to even the least single creatures (particles, atoms), the classical atheistic argument from evil loses its cogency. The details of nature are decided not by God but by the creatures concerned, by atoms, molecules, bacteria, single-celled animals, and many-celled animals, including human beings. And if it be said that God, in deciding to have free creatures instead of unfree creatures, is indirectly responsible for evil, the reply is that for the new type of idealism "unfree creature" is an ill-formed formula. As God is supreme freedom, ordinary singular beings are instances of less than supreme freedom, not of total lack of freedom. To be is to create, to decide what is otherwise undecided. Decision making, freedom, cannot be monopolized. Supreme freedom would have nothing to do were there not also less exalted forms of freedom. Genuine power is not power over the powerless. No single agent ever decides exactly what happens. The new physics (and even classical physics as interpreted by Clerk Maxwell, Reichenbach, Peirce, Whitehead, Sudarshan, and others) seems to harmonize better with this doctrine than did classical physics as it was usually interpreted by philosophers.

The present climate of opinion suggests the need for reconsidering many an old controversy and for questioning not only certain assumptions of classical theologians but also some of those of classical atheists or agnostics, including Hume, Kant, Marx, Comte, Russell, and Nietzsche. Not all contemporary forms of theism can be refuted by antiquated forms of skeptical argument.

Religion is a two-story affair, to adapt a phrase from James Feibleman. It is in part an empirical and historical matter, concerned with contingent fact about human nature and traditions. The idea of God, however, is nonempirical and metaphysical. Dealing as they do with what is eternal and necessary, including the eternal and necessary aspects of God, metaphysical statements are true if they make coherent sense and false otherwise. To admit that one has no idea of the answers is to imply that one has no idea of the question; for they are either self-answering or else confused. It is humanly difficult to admit this confusion. If one could clearly see that and how one is confused, would one still be confused? I feel confident there will be other writers in this collective enterprise whose confusions will contrast with mine. And there is something to be said for making one's partialities explicit.

SEE ALSO Anthropomorphism; Attributes of God; Pantheism and Panentheism; Sky; Supreme Beings; Theism.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED IN THIS WORK

abbr. abbreviated; abbreviation
abr. abridged; abridgment
AD *anno Domini,* in the year of the (our) Lord
Afrik. Afrikaans
AH *anno Hegirae,* in the year of the Hijrah
Akk. Akkadian
Ala. Alabama
Alb. Albanian
Am. *Amos*
AM *ante meridiem,* before noon
amend. amended; amendment
annot. annotated; annotation
Ap. *Apocalypse*
Apn. *Apocryphon*
app. appendix
Arab. Arabic
ʿArakh. *ʿArakhin*
Aram. Aramaic
Ariz. Arizona
Ark. Arkansas
Arm. Armenian
art. article (pl., arts.)
AS Anglo-Saxon
Asm. Mos. *Assumption of Moses*
Assyr. Assyrian
A.S.S.R. Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
Av. Avestan
ʿA.Z. *ʿAvodah zarah*
b. born
Bab. Babylonian
Ban. Bantu
1 Bar. *1 Baruch*
2 Bar. *2 Baruch*
3 Bar. *3 Baruch*
4 Bar. *4 Baruch*
B.B. *Bavaʾ batraʾ*
BBC British Broadcasting Corporation
BC before Christ
BCE before the common era
B.D. Bachelor of Divinity
Beits. *Beitsah*
Bekh. *Bekhorot*
Beng. Bengali
Ber. *Berakhot*
Berb. Berber
Bik. *Bikkurim*
bk. book (pl., bks.)
B.M. *Bavaʾ metsiʿaʾ*
BP before the present
B.Q. *Bavaʾ qammaʾ*
Brāh. *Brāhmaṇa*
Bret. Breton
B.T. Babylonian Talmud
Bulg. Bulgarian
Burm. Burmese
c. *circa,* about, approximately
Calif. California
Can. Canaanite
Catal. Catalan
CE of the common era
Celt. Celtic
cf. *confer,* compare
Chald. Chaldean
chap. chapter (pl., chaps.)
Chin. Chinese
C.H.M. Community of the Holy Myrrhbearers
1 Chr. *1 Chronicles*
2 Chr. *2 Chronicles*
Ch. Slav. Church Slavic
cm centimeters
col. column (pl., cols.)
Col. *Colossians*
Colo. Colorado
comp. compiler (pl., comps.)
Conn. Connecticut
cont. continued
Copt. Coptic
1 Cor. *1 Corinthians*
2 Cor. *2 Corinthians*
corr. corrected
C.S.P. Congregatio Sancti Pauli, Congregation of Saint Paul (Paulists)
d. died
D Deuteronomic (source of the Pentateuch)
Dan. Danish
D.B. Divinitatis Baccalaureus, Bachelor of Divinity
D.C. District of Columbia
D.D. Divinitatis Doctor, Doctor of Divinity
Del. Delaware
Dem. *Demaʾi*
dim. diminutive
diss. dissertation
Dn. *Daniel*
D.Phil. Doctor of Philosophy
Dt. *Deuteronomy*
Du. Dutch
E Elohist (source of the Pentateuch)
Eccl. *Ecclesiastes*
ed. editor (pl., eds.); edition; edited by

ʿEduy. *ʿEduyyot*
e.g. *exempli gratia,* for example
Egyp. Egyptian
1 En. *1 Enoch*
2 En. *2 Enoch*
3 En. *3 Enoch*
Eng. English
enl. enlarged
Eph. *Ephesians*
ʿEruv. *ʿEruvin*
1 Esd. *1 Esdras*
2 Esd. *2 Esdras*
3 Esd. *3 Esdras*
4 Esd. *4 Esdras*
esp. especially
Est. Estonian
Est. *Esther*
et al. *et alii,* and others
etc. *et cetera,* and so forth
Eth. Ethiopic
EV English version
Ex. *Exodus*
exp. expanded
Ez. *Ezekiel*
Ezr. *Ezra*
2 Ezr. *2 Ezra*
4 Ezr. *4 Ezra*
f. feminine; and following (pl., ff.)
fasc. fascicle (pl., fascs.)
fig. figure (pl., figs.)
Finn. Finnish
fl. *floruit,* flourished
Fla. Florida
Fr. French
frag. fragment
ft. feet
Ga. Georgia
Gal. *Galatians*
Gaul. Gaulish
Ger. German
Giṭ. *Giṭṭin*
Gn. *Genesis*
Gr. Greek
Ḥag. *Ḥagigah*
Ḥal. *Ḥallah*
Hau. Hausa
Hb. *Habakkuk*
Heb. Hebrew
Heb. *Hebrews*
Hg. *Haggai*
Hitt. Hittite
Hor. *Horayot*
Hos. *Hosea*
Ḥul. *Ḥullin*
Hung. Hungarian
ibid. *ibidem,* in the same place (as the one immediately preceding)
Icel. Icelandic
i.e. *id est,* that is
IE Indo-European
Ill. Illinois
Ind. Indiana
intro. introduction
Ir. Gael. Irish Gaelic
Iran. Iranian
Is. *Isaiah*
Ital. Italian
J Yahvist (source of the Pentateuch)
Jas. *James*
Jav. Javanese
Jb. *Job*
Jdt. *Judith*
Jer. *Jeremiah*
Jgs. *Judges*
Jl. *Joel*
Jn. *John*
1 Jn. *1 John*
2 Jn. *2 John*
3 Jn. *3 John*
Jon. *Jonah*
Jos. *Joshua*
Jpn. Japanese
JPS Jewish Publication Society translation (1985) of the Hebrew Bible
J.T. Jerusalem Talmud
Jub. *Jubilees*
Kans. Kansas
Kel. *Kelim*
Ker. *Keritot*
Ket. *Ketubbot*
1 Kgs. *1 Kings*
2 Kgs. *2 Kings*
Khois. Khoisan
Kil. *Kilʾayim*
km kilometers
Kor. Korean
Ky. Kentucky
l. line (pl., ll.)
La. Louisiana
Lam. *Lamentations*
Lat. Latin
Latv. Latvian
L. en Th. Licencié en Théologie, Licentiate in Theology
L. ès L. Licencié ès Lettres, Licentiate in Literature
Let. Jer. *Letter of Jeremiah*
lit. literally
Lith. Lithuanian
Lk. *Luke*
LL Late Latin
LL.D. Legum Doctor, Doctor of Laws
Lv. *Leviticus*
m meters
m. masculine
M.A. Master of Arts
Ma ʿas. *Maʿaserot*
Ma ʿas. Sh. *Maʿ aser sheni*
Mak. *Makkot*
Makh. *Makhshirin*
Mal. *Malachi*
Mar. Marathi
Mass. Massachusetts
1 Mc. *1 Maccabees*
2 Mc. *2 Maccabees*
3 Mc. *3 Maccabees*
4 Mc. *4 Maccabees*
Md. Maryland
M.D. Medicinae Doctor, Doctor of Medicine
ME Middle English
Meg. *Megillah*
Me ʿil. *Meʿilah*
Men. *Menaḥot*
MHG Middle High German
mi. miles
Mi. *Micah*
Mich. Michigan
Mid. *Middot*
Minn. Minnesota
Miq. *Miqvaʾot*
MIran. Middle Iranian
Miss. Mississippi
Mk. *Mark*
Mo. Missouri
Moʿed Q. *Moʿed qaṭan*
Mont. Montana
MPers. Middle Persian
MS. *manuscriptum,* manuscript (pl., MSS)
Mt. *Matthew*
MT Masoretic text
n. note
Na. *Nahum*
Nah. Nahuatl
Naz. *Nazir*
N.B. *nota bene,* take careful note
N.C. North Carolina
n.d. no date
N.Dak. North Dakota
NEB New English Bible
Nebr. Nebraska

Ned. *Nedarim*
Neg. *Negaʿim*
Neh. *Nehemiah*
Nev. Nevada
N.H. New Hampshire
Nid. *Niddah*
N.J. New Jersey
Nm. *Numbers*
N.Mex. New Mexico
no. number (pl., nos.)
Nor. Norwegian
n.p. no place
n.s. new series
N.Y. New York
Ob. *Obadiah*
O.Cist. Ordo Cisterciencium, Order of Cîteaux (Cistercians)
OCS Old Church Slavonic
OE Old English
O.F.M. Ordo Fratrum Minorum, Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)
OFr. Old French
Ohal. *Ohalot*
OHG Old High German
OIr. Old Irish
OIran. Old Iranian
Okla. Oklahoma
ON Old Norse
O.P. Ordo Praedicatorum, Order of Preachers (Dominicans)
OPers. Old Persian
op. cit. *opere citato,* in the work cited
OPrus. Old Prussian
Oreg. Oregon
ʿOrl. *ʿOrlah*
O.S.B. Ordo Sancti Benedicti, Order of Saint Benedict (Benedictines)
p. page (pl., pp.)
P Priestly (source of the Pentateuch)
Pa. Pennsylvania
Pahl. Pahlavi
Par. *Parah*
para. paragraph (pl., paras.)
Pers. Persian
Pes. *Pesahim*
Ph.D. Philosophiae Doctor, Doctor of Philosophy
Phil. *Philippians*
Phlm. *Philemon*
Phoen. Phoenician
pl. plural; plate (pl., pls.)
PM *post meridiem,* after noon
Pol. Polish
pop. population
Port. Portuguese
Prv. *Proverbs*
Ps. *Psalms*
Ps. 151 *Psalm 151*
Ps. Sol. *Psalms of Solomon*
pt. part (pl., pts.)
1Pt. *1 Peter*
2 Pt. *2 Peter*
Pth. Parthian
Q hypothetical source of the synoptic Gospels
Qid. *Qiddushin*
Qin. *Qinnim*
r. reigned; ruled
Rab. *Rabbah*
rev. revised
R. ha-Sh. *Roʾsh ha-shanah*
R.I. Rhode Island
Rom. Romanian
Rom. *Romans*
R.S.C.J. Societas Sacratissimi Cordis Jesu, Religious of the Sacred Heart
RSV Revised Standard Version of the Bible
Ru. *Ruth*
Rus. Russian
Rv. *Revelation*
Rv. Ezr. *Revelation of Ezra*
San. *Sanhedrin*
S.C. South Carolina
Scot. Gael. Scottish Gaelic
S.Dak. South Dakota
sec. section (pl., secs.)
Sem. Semitic
ser. series
sg. singular
Sg. *Song of Songs*
Sg. of 3 *Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men*
Shab. *Shabbat*
Shav. *Shavuʿot*
Sheq. *Sheqalim*
Sib. Or. *Sibylline Oracles*
Sind. Sindhi
Sinh. Sinhala
Sir. *Ben Sira*
S.J. Societas Jesu, Society of Jesus (Jesuits)
Skt. Sanskrit
1 Sm. *1 Samuel*
2 Sm. *2 Samuel*
Sogd. Sogdian
Soṭ. *Soṭah*
sp. species (pl., spp.)
Span. Spanish
sq. square
S.S.R. Soviet Socialist Republic
st. stanza (pl., ss.)
S.T.M. Sacrae Theologiae Magister, Master of Sacred Theology
Suk. *Sukkah*
Sum. Sumerian
supp. supplement; supplementary
Sus. *Susanna*
s.v. *sub verbo,* under the word (pl., s.v.v.)
Swed. Swedish
Syr. Syriac
Syr. Men. *Syriac Menander*
Taʿ an. *Taʿanit*
Tam. Tamil
Tam. *Tamid*
Tb. *Tobit*
T.D. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō,* edited by Takakusu Junjirō et al. (Tokyo,1922–1934)
Tem. *Temurah*
Tenn. Tennessee
Ter. Terumot
Ṭev. Y. *Ṭevul yom*
Tex. Texas
Th.D. Theologicae Doctor, Doctor of Theology
1 Thes. *1 Thessalonians*
2 Thes. *2 Thessalonians*
Thrac. Thracian
Ti. *Titus*
Tib. Tibetan
1 Tm. *1 Timothy*
2 Tm. *2 Timothy*
T. of 12 *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*
Ṭoh. *ṭohorot*
Tong. Tongan
trans. translator, translators; translated by; translation
Turk. Turkish
Ukr. Ukrainian
Upan. *Upaniṣad*
U.S. United States
U.S.S.R. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Uqts. *Uqtsin*
v. verse (pl., vv.)
Va. Virginia
var. variant; variation
Viet. Vietnamese

viz. *videlicet,* namely
vol. volume (pl., vols.)
Vt. Vermont
Wash. Washington
Wel. Welsh
Wis. Wisconsin
Wis. *Wisdom of Solomon*
W.Va. West Virginia
Wyo. Wyoming
Yad. *Yadayim*
Yev. *Yevamot*
Yi. Yiddish
Yor. Yoruba
Zav. *Zavim*
Zec. *Zechariah*
Zep. *Zephaniah*
Zev. *Zevaḥim*
* hypothetical
? uncertain; possibly; perhaps
° degrees
+ plus
– minus
= equals; is equivalent to
× by; multiplied by
→ yields

Word and image

WORD AND IMAGE

In both oral and literate societies, the tendency to intermingle word and image is irresistible. Spoken words, whether song, chant, or prose, contain the life-force or spirit of the speaker and are commonly joined to images by incantation and by rituals designed to charge images with power. Written words are themselves signifiers that can be pictorialized in many different ways in order to compound the potency of images. Word and image are imbricated or patterned one on top of the other for the purpose of enhancing memory, expanding the capacity of visual narrative, or avoiding the injunctions against visual representation that some religions enforce. By visualizing spoken or written language in the form of symbolic devices, image makers are able to create a hybrid form of discourse—pictographs, hieroglyphs, ideograms, or characters. Finally, naming is a universal practice in human culture. Visualizing names in graphic symbols or pictorial tableaux is often a way of remembering or evoking the deceased or tapping the power of the spirit by accessing its essence contained within the name.

Many religions find ways of integrating the written word and the image to create composite forms of representation. In the case of Sikhism, Judaism, and Islam, such composites are motivated by the desire to avoid committing idolatry, reducing the divine to a human invention. Influenced by Islam, Sikhism, for instance, eschews cult imagery, but engages in intense forms of devotion to its *gurūs*, the ten historical teachers who led Sikhs through times of tribulation and martyrdom. The hymns of several *gurūs* compose the eleventh and final *gurū*, the collection of holy writings, known as the *Gurū Granth Sāhib* (Great Reverend Teacher). Copies of this book are kept in every *gurdwara* or Sikh temple, where they are ritually displayed on throne-like altars **(a)** during Sikh worship and even

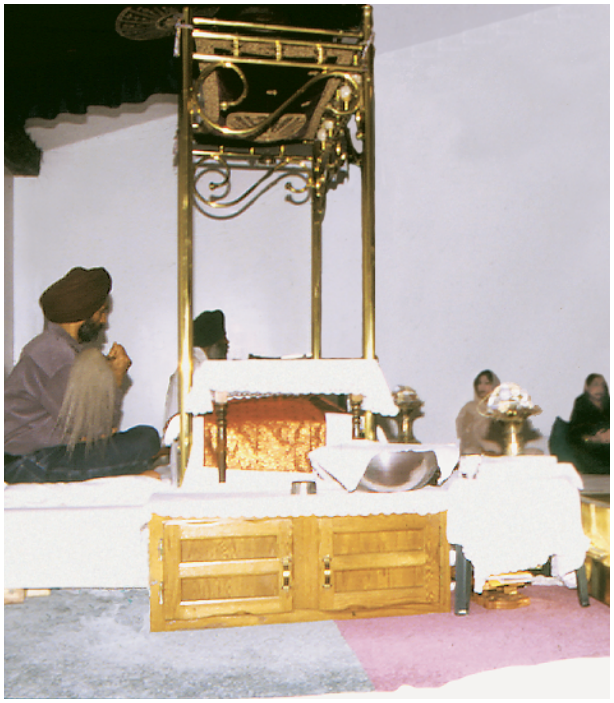

(a) *Gurū Granth Sāhib* on display during worship in a Sikh *gurdwara* in Merrillville, Indiana, in 2003. ***[Photograph by David Morgan]***

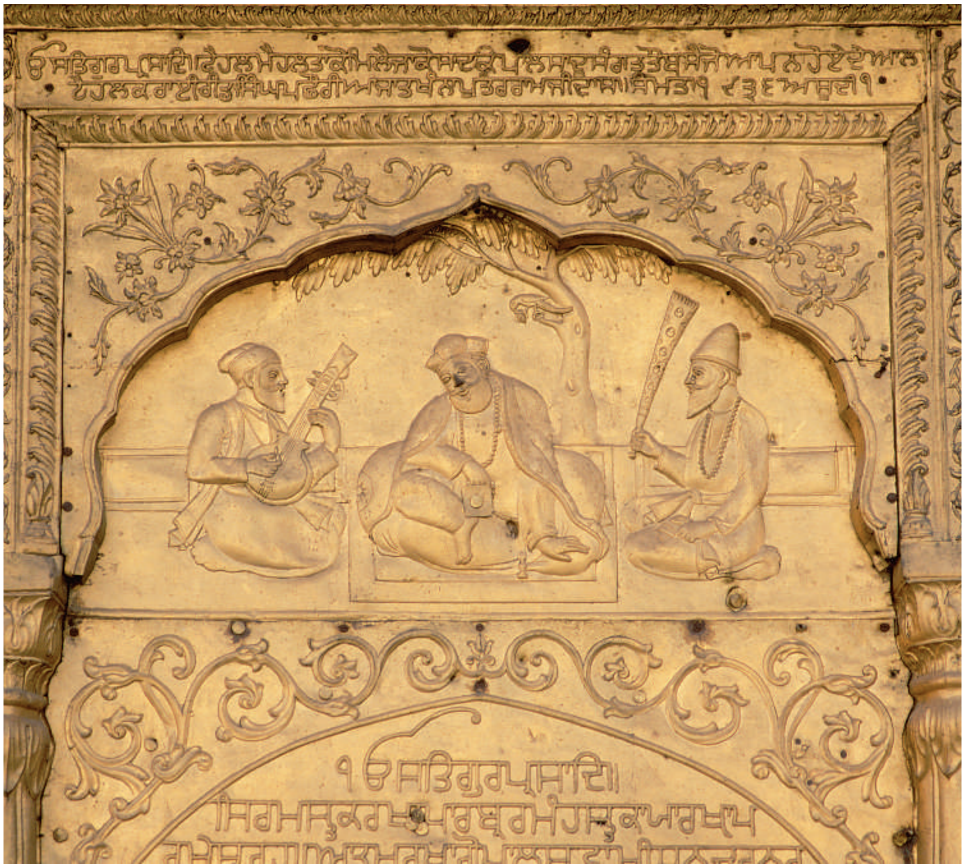

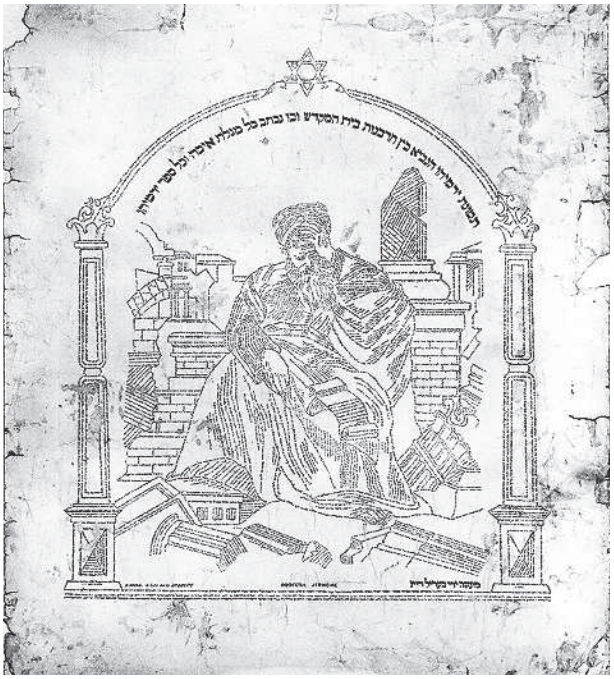

attended by a fly whisk as if the book were the body of one of the *gurūs*. This reverence for the book displaces the role of images in worship. But Sikhism finds a place for images, as shown by a gilded plaque at the Golden Temple in Punjab **(b)**, portraying the revered Gurū Nānak with attendents. Another (unpictured) example is a deft intermingling of sacred text with an image of Nānak. The resulting "imagetext" strikes a higher unity that avoids confusing image with deity. The image consists of the opening scripture of the Sikh holy book, composed by Nānak himself. To see his image congealing in his words makes the *gurū's* wisdom appear palpable.

Micrographs are a common Jewish counterpart to the Sikh image described above and may have inspired it. One example shows the prophet Jeremiah lamenting the ruins

(b) TOP. An early-seventeenth-century gilded plaque depicting Gurū Nānak (center) with two attendants. Golden Temple, Amritsar, Punjab, India. *[©Michael Freeman/ Corbis]* **(c) LEFT.** *Jeremiah Mourning the Destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem*, a mid-nineteenth-century lithograph by Beryl Reiss. *[Courtesy of The Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary]*

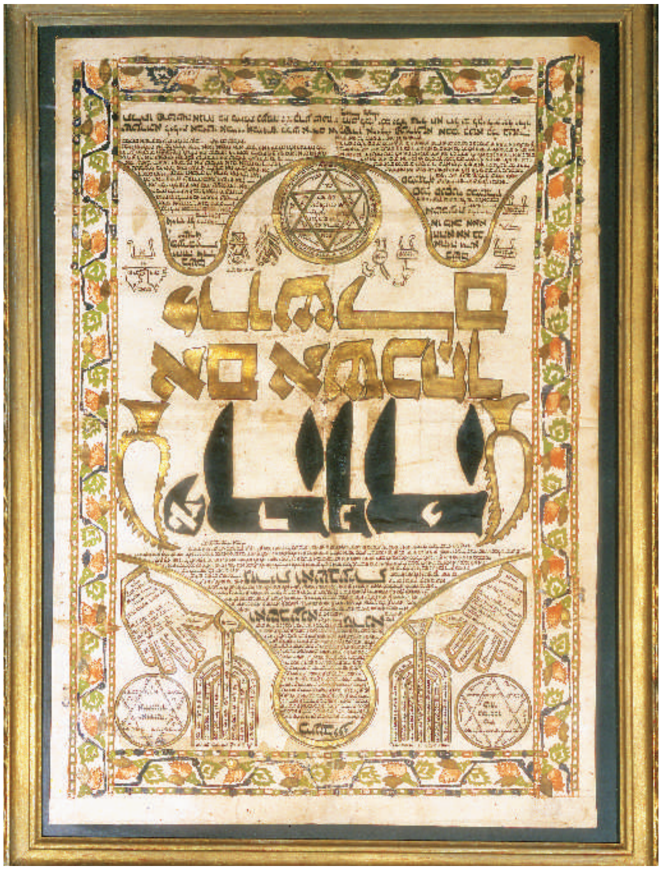

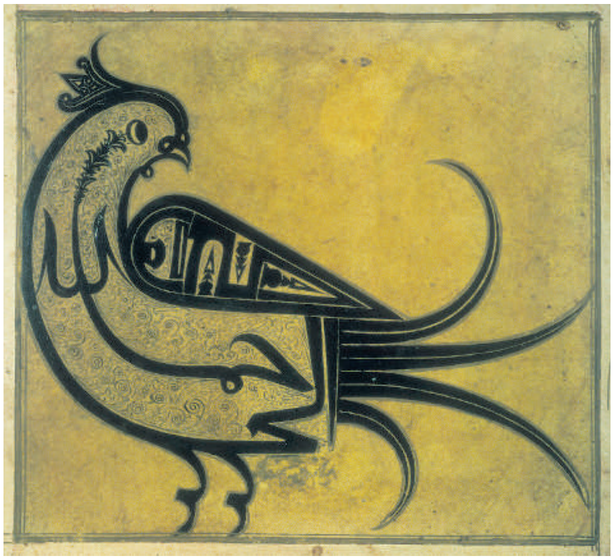

of the Jewish temple **(c)**. Ironically, every aspect of the image consists of Hebrew text from the book of Jeremiah. If the second commandment (*Dt.* 5:8–9) proscribes the worship of images, or even the creation of images, the micrograph eludes the proscription by only writing sacred text. A similar evasion of the injunction against imagery informs the paper amulet reproduced here **(d)**, a Jewish print of symbols and objects portrayed by textual inscriptions, used for protection during childbirth. Muslims could produce comparable imagetexts, though attitudes varied greatly among Muslims in Persia, Turkey, India, and Africa, on the one hand, and Arabic Muslims, on the other. Among the most familiar examples of the Muslim imagetext is the sumptuous calligraphy and decoration of the Qurʾanic page **(e)**. A *qiblah*-compass from Istanbul

(d) Top. A late-nineteenth-century paper amulet from Jerusalem, used by Jewish women for protection during childbirth. *[©Erich Lessing/Art Resource, N.Y.]* **(e) Right.** *In the Name of the Almighty*, seventh-century CE calligraphy in the form of a hoopoe, ink on paper, Iran. *[©Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, N.Y.]*

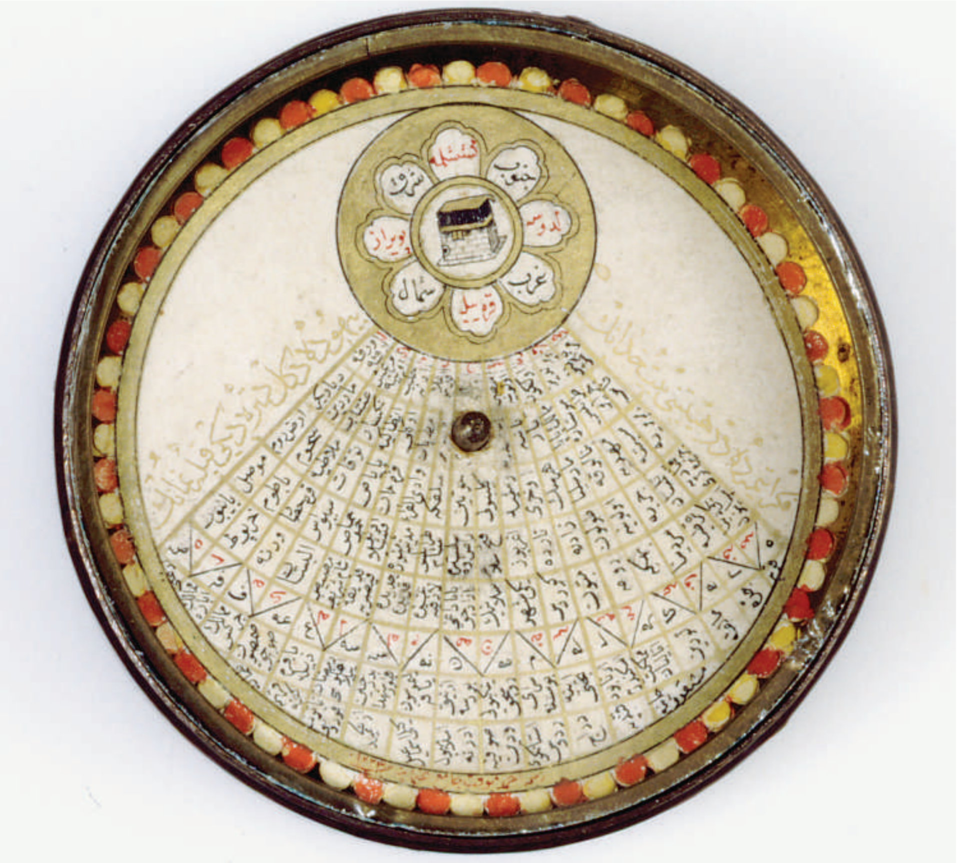

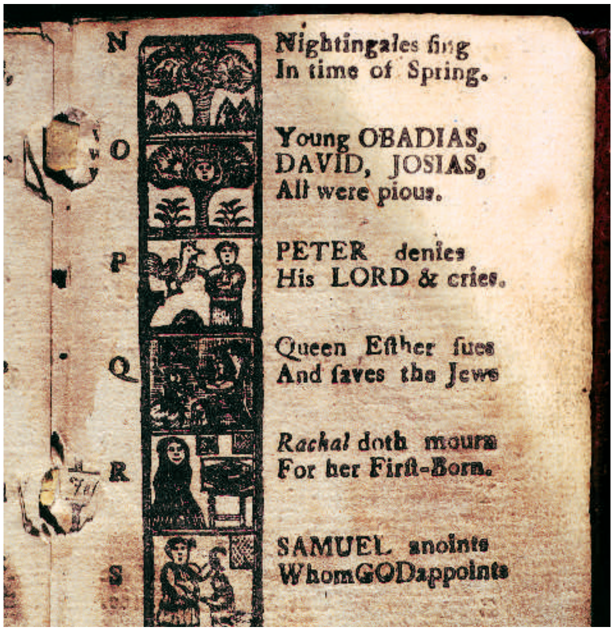

N Nightingales ſing
In time of Spring.

O Young OBADIAS,
DAVID, JOSIAS,
All were pious.

P PETER denies
His LORD & cries.

Q Queen Eſther ſues
And ſaves the Jews

R Rachal doth mourn
For her Firſt-Born.

S SAMUEL anoints
WhomGODappoints

(f) Top. Cardboard *qiblah*-compass in a brass case, 1808–1809, from Istanbul, Turkey. *[©The Nour Foundation: Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art. Accession number: sc1275]* **(g) Above.** Alphabet page from the 1782 editon of the *New England Primer*, first published in Boston in about 1690. *[Courtesy American Antiquarian Society]*

(f) shows how word and image could be combined in order to provide an important form of information for Muslim piety. This compass was able to find the direction of Mecca anywhere in the world when adjusted to the coordinates indicated on its face.

In another form of image dedicated to generating a kind of useful information, American Protestants relied on the alphabet page of the *New England Primer* **(g)** to teach their children to read. The page aligns the alphabet on the left with a central column of imagery, which corresponds, in turn, to rhymed phrases on the right. By embedding imagery in the semantic field of text, American Puritans and their theological descendents did not mistake image for divine referent, but applied the image as a form of graphic information to promote literacy, and to instill in children greater knowledge of the Bible and morality while doing so. The lesson also affirmed the important ideology of print: that words correspond clearly to images, and that both combine to create a uniform, reliable system of representing the physical and moral world. Cultural literacy was neatly enfolded in textual literacy.

The continuity of word and image in Protestant the-

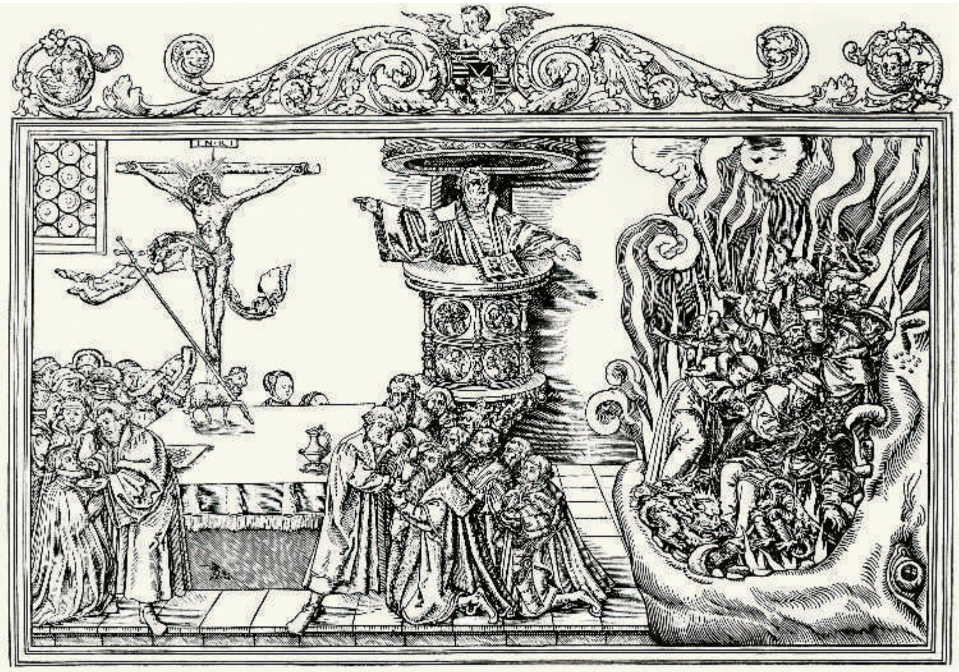

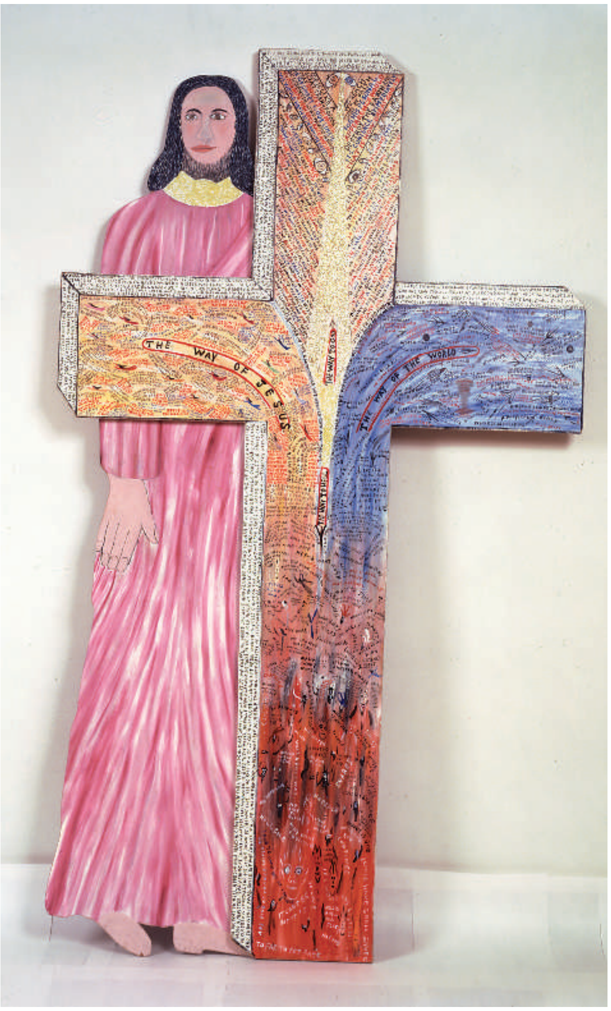
THE WAY OF JESUS
THE WAY OF THE WORLD

ology began with Martin Luther, who is shown preaching in Wittenberg in a print by Lucas Cranach the Younger **(h)**. Luther preaches a dramatic sermon of propagandistic rage against the papal party, which is glimpsed in the smoking maw of a hellish monster, while the Lutheran party appears below the pulpit and to the left, receiving the elements of the Eucharist (wine and bread). The image was intended to register the fine points of doctrinal controversy between Catholics and Lutherans. The crucified Jesus flutters above the altar in order to underscore the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation (that the elements of the sacrament were joined with the substance of Christ's body and blood). The laity receives both wine and bread in contrast to the Catholic practice of distributing only the bread. The balance of word and image is tipped in favor of the word in the work of the twentieth-century Baptist preacher and artist Howard Finster, who, though he includes a standing figure of Jesus behind the cross, foregrounds a cross composed of text and recast as a graphic lesson on moral choice **(i)**. Recalling many popular prints before it, the subject of Finster's work is not the cross or figure of Christ, but, as the title signals, *The Way of Jesus* and the viewer's need to choose to follow

(h) **TOP.** Woodcut print (c. 1540) by Lucas Cranach the Younger depicting Martin Luther preaching to the true church and the false church. *[©Bettmann/Corbis]* **(i)** **RIGHT.** Howard Finster, *The Way of Jesus*, enamel and glitter on plywood, 1982. ***[Lehigh University Art Galleries Museum Operation]***

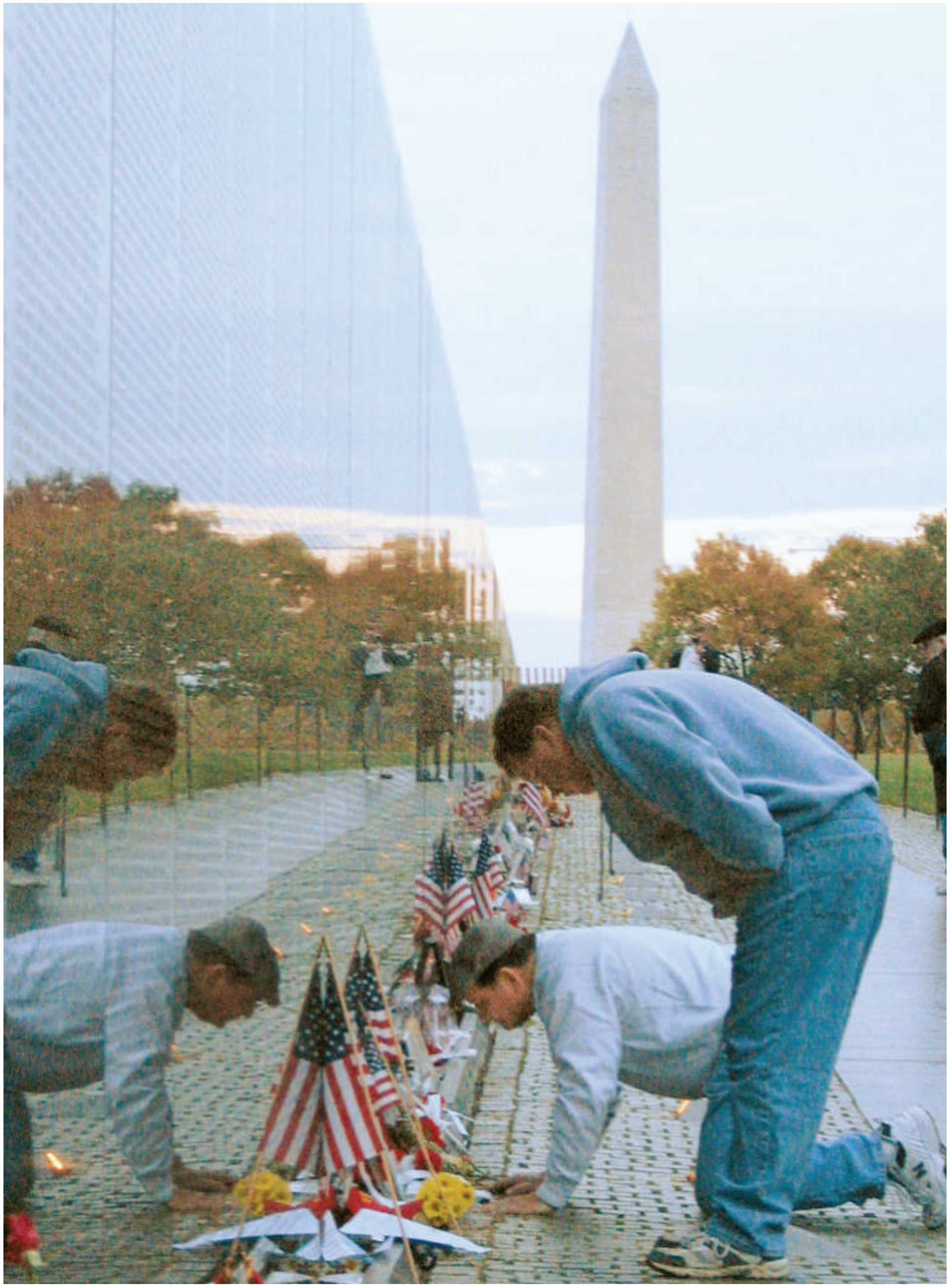

(j) Visitors in 2002 at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, designed by Maya Ying Lin and built on the National Mall in Washington, D.C., in 1982. *[©2004 Landov LLC. All rights reserved]*

it. The top of the cross, the direction toward God, as one arrow indicates, consists of densely inscribed text, while the bottom of the cross fades into a dark field of imagery. Encased in this single work is the radical Protestant antagonism toward the image. Though Jesus is present, he is relegated to the rear of the cross, which Finster has visualized as an obdurate block of words.

The capacity of written text to stand for objects was exploited by Japanese painters of the *Lotus Sūtra*, an important Buddhist scripture that encouraged the identification of the Buddha's body with the stupa and its relics and the very text of his teachings laid down in the written sūtras. In many scroll paintings of the sūtra, artists composed images of stupas from the Japanese characters of the Buddhist text, creating a visual unity of word, image, and the object that housed a relic of the Buddha's body. To see the sūtra was to see the stupa that contained the remains of the teacher. Pilgrims to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial **(j)** in Washington, D.C., gaze upon the names of the dead and see behind the inscribed names the reflections of themselves looking at the names in this moving, mausoleum-like memorial. The reflections encourage the idea that there is a space behind the wall, that the wall of names is a screen through which survivors may sense the proximity of their lost loved ones. Image and text intermingle to suggest a presence that makes remembering a poignantly embodied rite.

Symbolic imagery can possess a suggestive power by virtue of its appearance as a code. Tarot cards, for example, are clusters of emblematic devices and allegorical figures whose meanings are general and indeterminate until the cards are progressively configured in a serial reading that gradually tailors the cards to the personal reflections of the tarot reader's client **(k)**. The secrecy and mystery of the cards is revealed as a divination of the client's past, present, and future. Another kind of secrecy applies to the script of the golden plates found at Hill Cumorah by Joseph Smith, which he transcribed in 1828 in order for the text to be inspected by a Columbia University professor of ancient languages. Written in what the text itself called "Reformed Egyptian," the script could be translated only when Smith made use of mysterious

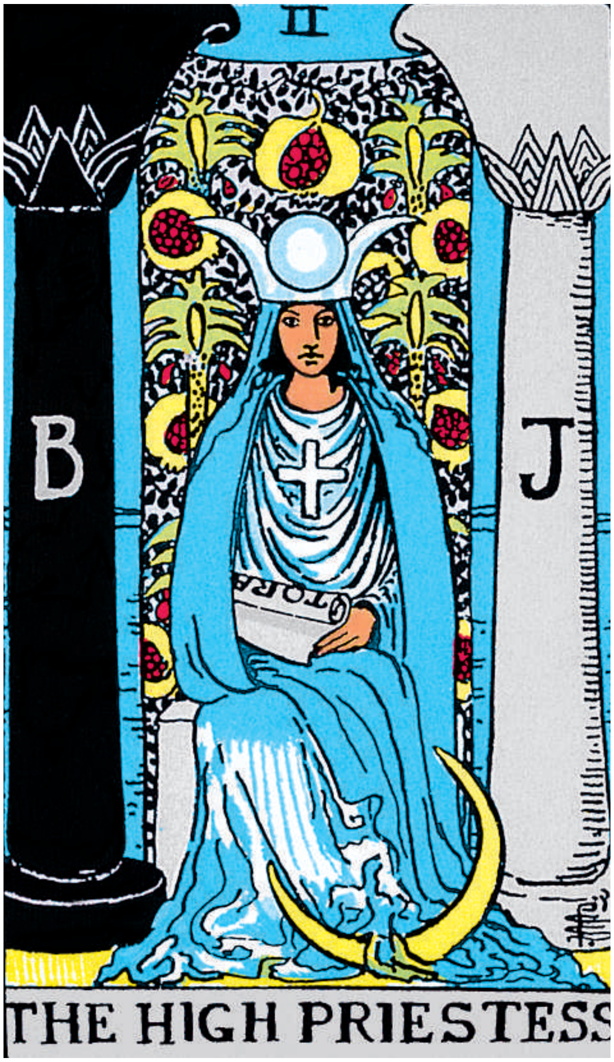

(k) The High Priestess card from the Rider-Waite Tarot Deck®. *[©1971 U.S. Games Systems, Inc.]*

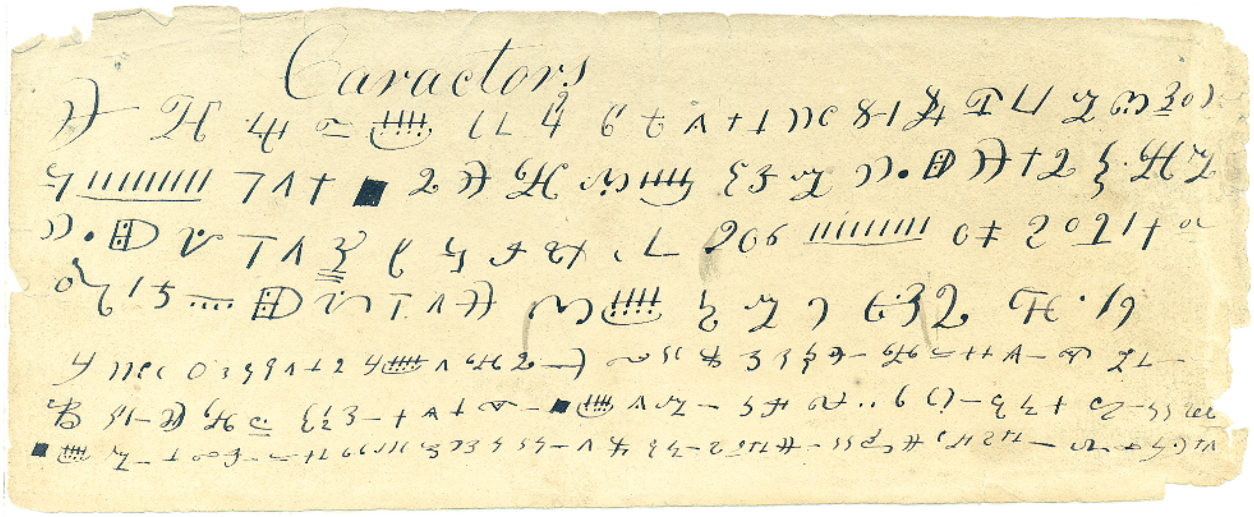

Caractors

(I) The Anthon transcript, which some Mormons believe was copied in 1828 by Joseph Smith from the *Book of Mormon* plates. *[Courtesy Community of Christ, Independence, Mo.]*

interpretive devices that he called "Urim and Thummim." The putative golden plates, their allegedly ancient script, and the translation of the now-lost text shroud the *Book of Mormon* in a mystery that only enhances its authority as divine revelation for believers. The tantalizing trace of the transcript shown here **(I)** imbues the actual absence of proof with an antiquarian aura. The ancient ciphers evoke a past in which myth and history are virtually indistinguishable. Religion without suggestion is very little religion.

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DAVID MORGAN (2005)

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TRANSCENDENTAL MEDITATION. Beginning as a method discovered by Maharishi Mahesh Yogi (b. 1911), Transcendental Meditation (TM) became an international movement in 1958, when it was presented as a scientific response and practical remedy to the various problems of modern life. This thrust was stressed even more when its founder and teachers denied that the movement was a religion, or that it had been founded as such. Instead, they argued that it was an easy technique that could be mastered by anyone. By using this method, a person could overcome ordinary problems such as mental and emotional stress and high blood pressure while obtaining greater relaxation, gaining greater physical energy and mental clarity, and achieving more advanced stages of consciousness. In spite of its many modern benefits, this new method of yoga claimed to be part of an ancient Hindu spiritual lineage.

Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, who was born Mahesh Prasad Varma on October 18, 1911 in Uttar Kashi, India, traced his spiritual heritage to the great Advaita Vedānta thinker Sankara (c. 788–820), and beyond him to ancient Vedic literature. Maharishi studied for fourteen years with Swami Brahmananda Saraswati (1869–1953) at the Jyotimath, a monastic community located high in the Himalayan mountain range of India, although he was never appointed successor to his own teacher. Before his student apprenticeship, Maharishi earned a college-level degree in physics and mathematics at Allahabad University in India. His educational background partially explains his tendency to wrap his message in scientific jargon and to stress the scientific advantages of his method. The Science of Creative Intelligence (SCI) is, for instance, the official name of his belief system, which is conceived as dynamic due to its ever expanding and increasing nature.

The use of scientific language to convey a religious message accomplishes at least two objectives: (1) it gives the belief system legitimacy, and (2) it forms a cognitive connection to the contemporary Western worldview that is dominated by science. TM operates from the basic presupposition that there is a compatibility between Advaita Vedānta, the Vedas, and Western science. Since 1988 TM has, for instance, worked intensively to demonstrate the parallels between quantum physics and its method.

Clockwise from top left corner. The Golden Pavilion, or Kinkakuji, in Kyoto, Japan. *[©Dallas and John Heaton/Corbis];* Thor's hammer amulet, tenth century. National Museum of Iceland, Reykjavik. *[©Werner Forman/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Tenth- to twelfth-century stone carving of Chacmool near the Temple of the Warriors at Chichen Itza in Mexico. *[©Kevin Schafer/Corbis]*; Temple of Hatshepsut in Luxor, Egypt. *[©Dallas and John Heaton/Corbis]*; Nepalese Tārā. *[©Christie's Images/Corbis]*.

MISSION TO THE WEST. Before making his mission to the West, Maharishi began his spiritual mission beyond India in April 1958 with a trip to Rangoon, Burma. He then traveled to Bangkok, Thailand; the island of Penang; Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia; Singapore; Hong Kong; Hawai'i; and finally the U.S. mainland. On a subsequent journey in 1960 to Germany he opened nine yoga centers, and later that year he traveled to the Scandinavian countries, beginning with Norway, before going to Italy, Greece, and Nairobi, Kenya. Later trips were made to South America, which made his movement a truly global enterprise.

Maharishi's introduction of his spiritual discovery to the West was preceded by the efforts of Swami Vivekananda (1863–1902) and Yogananda (1893–1952). Vivekananada traveled to America to attend the World Parliament of Religions in 1893 and launched the Vedanta Societies, whereas Yogananda traveled to America to attend the International Congress of Religious Liberals, organized by the Unitarian Church in Boston in 1920, and established the Self-Realization Fellowship with more than 150 centers throughout the world. Following in their footsteps, Maharishi arrived in America in 1959 and lectured on yoga in San Francisco, with additional trips to Los Angeles, New York, London, and Germany. His movement was initially called the Spiritual Regeneration Movement, which later became the name of the adult branch of the movement. The other wing of the movement was named the Students International Meditation Society (SIMS), established in 1964 in Germany. An early emphasis of the movement was its mission to college campuses, which was given a huge impetus in the mid-1960s when the British rock group the Beatles studied with the Maharishi in India. This event generated worldwide publicity for his movement. After his estrangement from the Beatles, the Maharishi initiated, instructed, and toured with the Beach Boys. Maharishi used his celebrity status with icons of popular culture to endear himself with the youth culture. By the 1970s, student centers could be found at over one thousand campuses. By the beginning of the 1980s the movement estimated that 1.5 million people had practiced Transcendental Meditation with a teacher. The college-campus focus of the movement culminated with the establishment of Maharishi International University in Fairfield, Iowa, in 1974 on the campus of the bankrupted Parsons College.

Pushing the margins of science, Maharishi established the Maharishi European Research University in 1975 at two lakeside hotels on Lake Lucerne in Switzerland. The purpose of the university was to research the effects of Transcendental Meditation and to determine the existence of higher states of consciousness. During the following year Maharishi envisioned his own world government with the ancient Indian Vedas as the basis of its constitution. He appointed ministers to various positions with titles like the Development of Consciousness, Prosperity, and Fulfillment and Health and Immortality. During the 1980s Maharishi began a program called TM-Sidhi with the purpose of teaching students to achieve yogic powers, such as the ability to fly or levitate. There was a public demonstration before 120 journalists in Washington, D.C., on July 9, 1986 that did not correspond with the media hype for the event and resulted in media ridicule of the movement. The members of the media were amused at the sham performance of students jumping on mats imitating acts of levitation.

MEDITATIVE TECHNIQUE AND MESSAGE. The meditative technique of Maharishi is grounded in a Neo-Vedānta metaphysical philosophy in which an unchanging reality is opposed to an ever-changing phenomenal world. Maharishi's book *Science of Being and Art of Living: Transcendental Meditation* (1963) expresses his basic philosophical position. The unchanging reality is equated with Being, which represents a state of pure existence that is omnipresent, unmanifested, and transcendental. Not only is Being beyond time, space, causation, and ever-changing phenomena, it remains unrecognized by human beings because their minds do not realize their essential identity with Being, since minds are captive to the outward-projecting senses. The essential nature of Being is further identified with absolute blissful consciousness, which radiates from Being. Maharishi compares Being to the ocean, upon which there are many waves. These waves are like the field of continually changing phenomena. What is really important for Maharishi is for human beings to realize Being, because without this realization a person's life is without foundation, meaningless, and fruitless. This realization is within the capabilities of everyone by means of TM.

This form of meditation is intimately connected to a person's breath (Prāṇa), which is an expression of Being in the sense that it represents a tendency of the unmanifested to reveal itself. The breath represents the latent power of Being within a person. As the nature of Being, breath plays a role as the motivating force of creation and evolution. The breath can be harnessed and used to help the mind of a person realize Being directly. This is accomplished by Transcendental Meditation, which enables a person to extricate oneself from a state of relative experience, transcend ordinary thinking, and gain the permanent state of Being. This means that a particular mind loses its individuality. It becomes instead a cosmic mind that is omnipresent, pure, and eternal.

Before achieving this cosmic state of mind, the human mind is like a seed that produces a tree. What this analogy attempts to show is the interdependent nature of the mind and karma (action). It is impossible for action to occur without a mind. In turn, it is karma that produces the mind, which in turn creates more karma. This suggests that karma owes its existence to the mind, and in turn creates the mind. By means of karma, the original, pure consciousness of Being is transformed into conscious mind. If karma represents what is temporary and perishable, Being is its exact opposite because it represents eternal unity. Karma creates diversity within the unity of Being.

Within the context of this metaphysical edifice, the technique of Transcendental Meditation involves saturating the mind with Being by harnessing one's breath and making it harmonious with the rhythm of nature and cosmic life. Maharishi emphasizes the naturalness of his technique. Moreover, the technique is a simple, easy, and direct way to development one's mental capabilities and latent potentialities. In contrast to ancient ascetic traditions of India, in TM it is not necessary to renounce the world or withdraw from one's family. That is an ascetic practice which can be performed within the context of the ordinary activities of the world.

Instruction in the technique of meditation stresses that it is an easy and natural process. Students are instructed to devote twenty minutes each day to practice, ideally in the morning and early evening. At the beginning stage, a student does not have to be convinced that the method will work. What is important is the correct practice. If a student performs the technique properly, positive results will follow automatically. The proper technique involves seven steps. The initial step involves attending a introductory lecture that is intended to prepare a person for what is to follow. In the second step, the theory of Transcendental Meditation is presented through a preparatory talk. The third step involves an interview with the teacher, at which time a student is given a sacred mantra (repetitive formula) that is personally fitted to a person, who is not to reveal it to others. By focusing on the mantra, persons are able to concentrate their attention on it. The final steps involve periodic verification and validation of a person's experiences by returning to and checking with a teacher.

Maharishi identifies seven levels of consciousness, with the final one culminating in a state of unity. The fifth state represents a cosmic consciousness that represents an awareness of Being even after the cessation of meditation, whereas the fourth stage stands for the transcendental state, which is a state of pure consciousness described as beyond the previous state of waking, dream, and deep-sleep consciousness. The fifth stage is an expansion of the pure consciousness achieved on the fourth level from an individual to a wider cosmic dimension. The sixth state is called God consciousness. Traditional yogic postures are unnecessary—in TM a person can simply sit upright and comfortably on a chair with eyes closed. The movement tends to stress that anyone can learn this simple, effortless, and easy mental technique.

From the perspective of Maharishi, this yogic technique and Neo-Vedānta metaphysical edifice are not a form of Hinduism. In fact, Transcendental Meditation is not a religion at all. By de-emphasizing its Hindu roots, stressing its nonreligious nature, and focusing on the scientifically demonstrable value of the technique, TM created a successful message that was embraced by many spiritual seekers and a scientifically minded audience. The movement used scientific means to demonstrate how the technique calmed the mind, increased awareness, relaxed the body, and lowered metabolism.

MILLENNIAL EXPECTATIONS. When Maharishi initially arrived in the United States, he stated at a press conference his rationale for coming to America. He confessed that he had learned a secret, swift, deep form of meditation that he was now motivated to share with the world for the spiritual regeneration of its inhabitants. A few years later, he established the Spiritual Regeneration Movement of Great Britain, located in northern London. In 1975 Maharishi announced the Dawn of the Age of Enlightenment. His bold and optimistic pronouncement suggested the commencement of a period during which humans can reach their fullest potential and that will be characterized by boundless happiness, harmony, peace, and personal fulfillment. This new dawn will also represent a period when science will verify and validate the teachings of the Maharishi. Moreover, even those who did not meditate would enjoy the benefits of this new age. The Maharishi took this message on tour to various countries. The impetus for such millennial hope continued in December 1983–January 1984, when he created the Taste of Utopia Assembly, which was staged at Maharishi International University. The purpose of this gathering was to unite Vedic wisdom and the practice of the TM-Sidhi program. Their fusion would usher into existence a utopian age of peace and prosperity. This vision represented a fuller expression of a utopian hope embodied within the movement from its earliest moments.

As Transcendental Meditation grew in the awareness of ordinary citizens, many tended to associate it with New Age religion. During the 1960s and 1970s, people were experimenting with drugs like LSD to induce altered states of consciousness and bliss. Within the context of the drug culture and New Age religion, TM appeared to ordinary people to be offering similar results. Thus, numerous practitioners of various forms of New Age religion and former drug experimenters were attracted to the TM movement because of its apparent kinship with these other forms of spiritual experimentation. Besides such perceived forms of kinship among TM, drug culture, and New Age spirituality, Transcendental Meditation shared with New Age spirituality a holistic view of life. This was a form of thinking and living that attempted to extricate itself from all forms of dualism, such as the dichotomy between body and mind. The Transcendental Meditation movement also intersected with New Age spiritualities with respect to organic and vegetarian dietary practices and alternative forms of medicine. In 1985, for instance, Maharishi launched the World Plan for Perfect Health along with a medical institution, the World Center for Ayurveda, in India.

The Transcendental Meditation movement promised a transformation of both the individual and society by means of an expansion of consciousness to unimagined states. In short, TM aimed to create a perfect society inhabited by perfect individuals. The movement offered a realized eschatology for a transformed mode of living in the present moment that promised a horizon of economic well-being, psychological and somatic healing, peace, and mental comfort.

The Transcendental Meditation movement has attracted disenfranchised, disaffected, and disenchanted seekers looking for spiritual experience, healing, community, a general sense of well-being, and happiness because of the decline of community, the rise of impersonal organizations, alienation, fragmentation of life, secularism, competing multicultural messages, and religious pluralism. With the promise of a perfect society, TM offered a personal and private form of spirituality for many disenchanted seekers.

SEE ALSO Millenarianism; New Age Movement; New Religious Movements; Vedānta; Vivekananda; Yogananda.

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CARL OLSON (2005)

TRANSCULTURATION AND RELIGION

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
RELIGION IN THE FORMATION OF MODERN CANADA
RELIGION IN THE FORMATION OF THE MODERN CARIBBEAN
RELIGION IN THE FORMATION OF MODERN JAPAN
RELIGION IN THE FORMATION OF MODERN INDIA
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TRANSCULTURATION AND RELIGION: AN OVERVIEW

The term *transculturation* was first used by the Cuban sociologist Fernando Ortiz to describe the formation of Cuban culture from the coming together of indigenous, Spanish, and African populations. (Ortiz gave prominence to the term in two chapters of his book *Tobacco and Sugar,* 1947: chapter two is entitled "The Social Phenomenon of Transculturation and Its Importance," and chapter seven has the title, "The Transculturation of Tobacco.") In his studies, Ortiz shows how these groups interrelated, adopted, and adapted themselves in modes of language, music, art, and agricultural production. The contemporary usage of the term owes its academic parlance to the work of Mary Louise Pratt, who, in her book *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992), following Ortiz, tells us that processes of this kind occur within "contact zones," "zones where cultures meet, clash, and grapple." These zones, according to Pratt, express the improvisational dimensions of colonial encounters in the modern period. The contact zones show that the encounters between colonizers and colonized, while characterized by the domination of the colonizers, did not simply define separateness but many complex interlocking relations. Within this overall context of domination, Pratt foregrounds the copresence, interaction, and improvisational dimensions of the contact zones (p. 7).

Pratt and others who make use of the term use it primarily to describe the contact of Western culture with other cultures over the last five hundred years. These contacts have taken on several overlapping forms—conquest, domination, reciprocity, adaptation, amalgamation, and so on. The phenomenon of the contact of cultures is not peculiar to the modern period, however. Given the human capacity for locomotion, different and diverse groups of people have been "in contact" since human beings have been on earth; cultural contacts have taken place throughout the history of humankind. Prior to the Neolithic period, when humans domesticated animals and began to practice agriculture, small transhumance bands of humans were in constant movement over designated parts of their regions. With the beginnings of early citied existence in China, Mesopotamia, and then in regions all over the world, the sedentary and centered human mode of being gained prestige. Though cities represented the human mode as sedentary and centered, movement, travel, and meetings and encounters with human groups outside the city centers increased rather than diminished.

Mary Helms's *Ulysses' Sail* (1988) examines the meaning of geographical distance and foreign places in premodern periods in several cultures of the world. Just as the vertical distance between the heavens and the earth expressed the spaces and loci for cosmological and theological speculation, the horizontal traversal of space revealed structures of power and knowledge. Long-distance spaces were traversed by long-distance travelers who were either themselves elite or represented the elite orders of society. Helms does not deny that trade went on through this travel but her emphasis is upon the creation of the symbolic spaces made through geographical travel.

Various kinds of knowledge, including literacy, navigation, the forging of metals, and astronomy, attended those who made these journeys, thus enhancing their power and prestige. The symbolic power also accrued from the knowledge of "outside phenomena." Thus, in Helms's study, boundaries are equal or even more important than zones. Long-distance travel involved going outside boundaries and thus the knowledge gained was understood to have the power of transformation. Helms's study "rest[s] upon the assumption that the significance of interchanges of people and material goods across geographical distances can better be understood if we know something of the qualities attributed to space and distance in various situations" (p. 10).

PILGRIMAGES. One aspect of the kind of long-distance travel discussed by Mary Helms has taken the form of pilgrimages in various cultures throughout the world. While Helms has pointed to long-distance travelers as people who went beyond, even transgressed, boundaries in their search for knowledge and power, the pilgrimage, though still emphasizing travel, specifies a definite destination and purpose for the traveler. It is this form of long-distance travel that is the precursor of the long-distance travels of Western peoples beginning in the fifteenth century of the Common Era.

The contact of Western cultures from the fifteenth century with the cultures of the world should be seen against the practice, rhetoric, and literature of pilgrimage. Pilgrimage has a long tradition in European cultures. By the fourteenth century one can discern two major meanings arising out of the pilgrimage: pilgrimage as a soteriological act or pilgrimage as an act of grace. The archetypal pilgrimage was the Christian pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Jerusalem for the Christian defined the symbolic and geographical center of the world; this space was saturated with the life and meaning of the Christian savior and thus was the most powerful and prestigious place in all Christendom. The pilgrimage to Jerusalem defined a penitential journey, where believers undertook a kind of ascesis en route that prepared them for the receptive beneficence of being in the Holy Land.

Following Helms, the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and in like manner all other Christian pilgrimages, was based upon the vertical meaning of space, with the heaven above, the human as sinner in the middle, and the earth below. In the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the penitent was congruent with the fundamental orders of divine power. At this center, the penitent could experience the most potent meanings of grace and redemption. The pilgrim nevertheless had to travel through space to arrive at Jerusalem, and in so doing, the old specter described by Helms in the horizontal traversal of the earth came back into play. The change of places and spaces through the journey of the pilgrimage piqued the curiosity of the traveler. Christian Zacher in *Curiosity and Pilgrimage* (1976) describes the tension between the soteriological and liturgical meaning of pilgrimage and the meaning of the pilgrimage as a journey of curiosity. The growing emphasis with curiosity as a major aspect of pilgrimage came to constitute another and often separate motivation for undertaking a pilgrimage.

Obviously, theological formulations were given for the liturgical meaning of pilgrimage; equal theological attention was paid to curiosity. It was pointed out that curiosity—wanting to know on one's own—was the original source of human sin. It was human curiosity in the Garden of Eden that led to the first disobedience to God. Curiosity represented the human will to know apart from God's command, and thus in this independent mode of knowing, humans transgressed the meaning and roles of proper knowledge. These summary statements by Zacher show the marked difference between the two modes: "the temptation to *curiositas* referred to any morally excessive and suspect interest in observing the world, seeking novel experience, or acquiring knowledge for its own sake" (p. 4). Regarding the liturgical meaning of pilgrimage, Zacher states the contrast: "As a form of religious worship, pilgrimage allowed men to journey through this present world visiting sacral landscapes as long as they kept their gaze permanently fixed on the invisible world beyond" (p. 4). Pilgrimage as a movement through space expressed an inner and outer process of spiritual meanings.

Two major changes took place that began to transform the pilgrimage from a liturgical ritual of travel into a more purposeful and pragmatic endeavor. The first occurred when Pope Urban II in 1095 called for a pilgrimage from the armed knights of Christendom to free the Holy Land from the Muslims and by so doing reconstitute the meaning of the sacred center of Christendom. This action allowed armed knights to undertake a ritual act while still part of a military order (Elsner and Rubiés, 1999, p. 24). The other change took place when monks and priests from the eleventh century on began to undertake missionary movements to other lands to convert nonbelievers to the true faith of Christianity. Missions took on a more rationalistic ideological bent that led to rationalistic narratives. Missions and crusades were allied during the late medieval period and this pattern was adopted by explorers of Africa and the Atlantic in the fifteenth century.

Though liturgical ritual pilgrimages were undertaken for soteriological purposes, it is clear that a great deal of curiosity was always expressed through them. This curiosity had to do with the empirical observations of other lands and habits. Victor Turner in his anthropological analysis of pilgrimage suggests that a kind of tacit curiosity is part of the very structure of pilgrimage itself.

The language and style of the pilgrimage structure pervaded the travel narratives and discourses of Europeans commencing with the voyages of Columbus in the fifteenth century. The pilgrimage model from this time on entered into the travel stylistics and rhetoric of all long-distance travels of Europeans. Thus, from the earliest pilgrimage traditions of the church to the pilgrimage voyages of the Reformation Puritans to the New World, the pilgrimage model served as both umbrella and reservoir for the meanings of travel, discovery, conquest, and even scientific curiosity.

Henri Baudet has noted that the languages of travel and discovery embodied a duality that found expression in two relations of Europeans to the non-Europeans they "discovered."

> One is in the realm of political life—in the concrete relations with concrete non-European countries, peoples and worlds. . .The other relationship is an expression of the domain of the imagination, of all sorts of images of non-western people not derived from observation, experience or perceptible reality, but from a psychological urge—an urge that creates its own reality which may be different from the realities of the first category. (Baudet, 1988, p. 6)

Long-distance travel, the salvation of souls, and military missions coalesced into an amalgam of ideology and practice that became the basic structure of Western explorations, discoveries, and conquests over the last five hundred years. This ideological orientation led Daniel Defert to make the following remark concerning Western expansion:

> The early Europeans were pilgrims, *prudentia peregrandi.* They were taught languages as *languae pereginae*, that is not languages of a given territory but language necessary for the activity of traveling. . .This vast universe, known only to a few people, absent from the sacred texts and of which Antiquity knew nothing could have provided a field of endless invention and exaggeration. But the writer's obligation to the truth was the result of a hierarchal network of competition and confrontation. No doubt the voyage of discovery should be situated historically between medieval crusades which it miniaturizes and the organization of a laboratory. (1982, p. 12)

NORMATIVE MODES OF WESTERN TIME. From the time of Constantine through the medieval period the West was dominated by a Christian conception of the temporal process. Following the missionary commandment from the Gospels to preach and baptize all humanity, notions of time and space were made to conform to this injunction. Geographical space and the temporal process were believed to aid and abet this dictum. While other temporal modes among other peoples and cultures were acknowledged, they were understood as stages of preparation for the reception of the true time of Christian faith and practice. It was this conception and understanding of time based on a biblical paradigm that accompanied both the Roman Catholic missionary orders and Protestants in their explorations, discoveries, and conquests in various parts of the globe at least until the sixteenth century.

Following certain developments stemming from the Protestant Reformation and various technologies in the West, new notions regarding the temporal process emerged from the Western Enlightenment. Both had to do with the secularization of time. One conception offered a critique and alternative to the biblical structure of time from creation, to the passion and resurrection of Christ, to the last days; the other, while accepting the basic Christian ordering of time as formative and necessary for the West, nevertheless exorcised all the mystical and theological meanings from this temporal process, thus equating and identifying the time of Western culture with the meaning, structure, and order for a normative understanding of all human time.

It is a generally accepted notion in the Western social sciences that the history of humankind can be divided into four stages of development: the hunting-gathering, the pastoral, the agricultural, and the commercial. These stages did not arise from empirical observation but as a result of a kind of conjectural history. Ronald L. Meek in *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage* (1976) traces this conjectural history as it emerges from several thinkers during the eighteenth century. One prominent element in the development of the theory grew from various theories put forth to account for America, the lands across the Atlantic. America was seen as the first stage of some kind of development of human culture. Meek tells us that the decisive influence in the general adoption of the four-stage theory of cultural evolution and development was the Scottish moral philosophers, the most influential being Adam Smith. In his lectures on jurisprudence in 1762 and 1763, Smith used the four-stage theory as the underpinning for explaining the nature and meaning of property within several types of societies. With the growing acceptance of the theory, several scholars and literary authors undertook research and wrote texts that presupposed these stages as the "natural" evolution of human cultures. For the popular cultures of Europe, the four-stage theory could be turned into the binary of primitive/civilized. This theory and its shorthand became a convenient taxonomy for the classification of the cultures that Europeans encountered in various parts of the world.

While several events, technologies, and ideas contributed to the notion of a purely secular temporal process, the sustained treatment of this conception can be found in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century German philosophy, most especially in G. W. F. Hegel and those influenced by him. Karl Löwith's *From Hegel to Nietzsche: The Revolution in Nineteenth-Century Thought* (1964) traces the way in which these thinkers undertook a critical analysis of the meaning of time within Western culture. Their philosophies were not a simple rejection of a religious or Christian notion of time. While Christian notions of time and history were subjected to critique, they also attempted to show that for a certain period of Western history, Christianity was the bearer of what was objectively real in human time. This objective reality of history has in the modern period moved from the framework of the Christian faith and is now embodied within the secular structures of Western culture. While Hegel was the progenitor of these notions, Löwith points to Johann Friedrich Overbeck as the seminal thinker in the Hegelian school who summarized the theory of the ultimate reality of modern historical temporality.

When Europeans made contact with non-European cultures in various parts of the world, they were armed with ideological cultural notions not simply regarding what was normative for them but, in addition, their norms were understood to be normative for all humankind. While they were more often than not bearers of superior military, navigational, and other forms of technology, it was their normative understandings of time and space that they desired to enforce upon those whom they met. The encounter with others must perforce create a "contact zone," a zone of time/space that must be adjudicated regardless of the dominating power. Conquerors had to learn from the conquered if they were to maintain their authority and the conquered had to adjust, adapt, and respond to those who came from afar. It is clear that since the fifteenth century, the entire globe has become the site of hundreds of contact zones. These zones were the loci of new forms of language and knowledge, new understandings of the nature of human relations, and the creation and production of new forms of human community. These meanings have for the most part been ignored due to the manner in which the West, in an uncritical manner, absolutized its meaning of itself as the norm for all humankind.

EXCHANGES: LANGUAGES, RATIONALITIES, AND MATERIALITIES. The model of pilgrimage was always caught within a tension between curiosity, on the one hand, and the liturgical ritual meaning of a soteriology, on the other. It is equally the case that much travel was motivated by desire for the form of knowledge that came from visits to distant places. The narratives, discourses, and practices hardly revealed the kind of contingency and descriptions that would open these journeys to a full portrayal of the wide variety of exchange relations that were attendant to these travels.

Kathleen Biddick in *The Typological Imaginary* (2003) traces the origins of the stylization of the kind of "absoluteness" that became the favored narrative structure. In her research she shows that this stylization of the absoluteness of time and space can be traced back to what she calls the "Christian typological imagination." This form of historical thinking grows out of the way in which Christianity worked out its relationship to the history of Judaism and the Jews. The history of the Jews was subsumed into the Christian canon through their creation of the Christian Old Testament. From this perspective, the history of the Jews ended or should have ended with the coming of Jesus Christ. Though the history of Judaism continued and continues to this day, because of the canonization of the Christian Bible and the ensuing cultural power of Christianity, the Jews and Judaism were destined to always be seen as a people and tradition who were relegated to a temporal past, Christian time becoming the normative meaning of temporality as history. As Biddick put it, "They believed that the Christian new time—as 'this is now'—*superseded* a 'that was then' of Israel" (p. 1). She makes it clear that Western secular time took over this meaning of supercession from the Christians. Now given the fact that Western historical time in either its mundane or philosophical modes carries this sense, modes of time in transcultural contact zones are often seen as "unhistorical." Biddick refers to this kind of time as temporalities—ones not about divisions between then and now, but about passages, gaps, intervals, in betweeness. "These unhistorical temporalities that do not use time as a utilitarian resource to ground identity are temporalities that can never be one" (p. 2).

Temporalities within contact zones are very complex. The time of the pre-Western contact is no longer normative, though dimensions of it may inhere within the language; inhabitants are forced to accept the official historical time of their conquerors, and those oppressed within these spaces must express a temporality of their own "lived time," which is neither the precontact time of their traditional cultures nor the official time of the conquest.

From the fifteenth century to the present several different Western empires have dominated various cultural areas of the world. While dominance and conquest were common traits, all empires did not undertake these modes of control in the same manner. Neither did all the cultures within the dominated areas respond or adapt in the same manner. The processes and dynamics of these interactions define the varying meanings from within the contact zones.

These contact zones had an effect upon the literary productions of Europeans, indicating how the Europeans were responding and the impact of these non-European cultures upon European sensibilities. Peter Hulme in his *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492–1797* (1986) shows how Europeans styled the encounters in literary form. For example, the encounters of Columbus and other Europeans in the New World are expressed in the dramas of Prospero and Caliban, John Smith and Pocahontas, Robinson Crusoe and Friday, and Inkle and Yarico; these dramas are attempts to express these encounters in ways that would fit within the orders of European cultures (p. xiii). Hulme makes it clear that there is much more going on than simply literary production. These literary forms, he says, should be seen as colonial discourses. By this he means,

> an ensemble of linguistically based practices unified by their common deployment in the management of colonial relationship, an ensemble that could combine the most formulaic and bureaucratic of official documents. . .underlying colonial discourse, in other words, is the presumption that large parts of the non-European world were *produced* for Europe through a discourse that imbricated sets of questions and assumptions, methods, of procedure and analysis, and kinds of writing and imagery. (1986, p. 2)

These literary productions taken on face value enabled Europeans to create stereotypical images of the non-Europeans encountered in colonial and imperial projects. These images enhanced the images of the exotic, the oriental, and the noble savage as products of the distances from the center of European metropolises. They fed into the stadial theories of the historical development of humankind, congealing this difference into cultural categories of the West.

The conjectural theory of history that formed the base upon which the stadial theory was erected was correlated with a cultural theory of human intelligence. Thus, various stages were expressions of forms of intelligence. This led to notions of "how natives think," or "prelogical mentality," and the like. Such theoretical postulations were based upon the normative structure and meanings of Western thought. Seldom were these issues of thought asked from within the contact zones, where oppressive administrative colonial structures, Europeans, and non-Europeans carried on their lives.

Thus, cultural, literary, philosophical, and scientific languages and discourses employing this supercessionary and absolute language of temporality normalized a Western understanding of the nature of the encounters with non-Western peoples. Interwoven and concealed within these linguistic productions were the actual and authentic relationships that were taking place in the contact zones. Two instances of the meaning of contact as it relates to the exchange of material products can be seen in the events and discourses surrounding the meaning of *fetish* and *fetishism* and the phenomena referred to as *cargo cults*.

The fetish and fetishism became popular in European discourses of the eighteenth century as a definition of the earliest form of religion. This definition and its usage was part and parcel of a stadial evolutionary variation of supercessionary history. The etymological origin of the word *fetish* is the Portuguese *feitico*, which means "manufactured" or "fabricated." William Pietz, who has recently undertaken the most extensive research into the history of this term and its various usages in modern times, traces its beginning with the Portuguese to its usage by the Dutchmen Pieter de Marees and Bosman through a succession of other European writers, finally appearing in the work of the first historian of religions, Friedrich Max Müller. It later becomes an important term in the writings on political economy of Karl Marx and in the theories of sexuality of Sigmund Freud. Given such a wide range of significations and connotations, Pietz notes that,

> fetish has never been a component in a discursive formation. Fetish rather describes not societies, institutions, or cultures but cross-cultural spaces. From this standpoint, the fetish must be viewed as proper to no historical field other than that of the history of the word itself, and to no discrete society or culture, but to a cross-cultural situation formed by the on-going encounter of value codes of radically different social orders. (1985, p. 11)

At one level the fetish is about a new conception of matter and materiality as these notions undergo transformations within the Atlantic world of exchanges and discourses. While the religious world of Christianity was predicated upon the creation of all matter by God, a form of matter was necessary in the Atlantic that carried only an exchange and not an inherent value. The notion of the fetish, as originating in the Atlantic encounters with radically different cultural notions of the value of matter, developed into the language of the fetish, which performed the dual roles of hiding the true and authentic exchanges that took place in the Atlantic encounters, and creating a form of matter that would not bear the weight of any human meaning of tradition or origination. The fetish in Pietz's description fits perfectly the kind of significations that arise from transcultural contact zones.

Another phenomenon of such spaces is the cargo cult. The term *cargo cult* was coined in 1923 in *The Vailala Madness and the Destruction of Native Ceremonies in the Gulf Division,* a report by government anthropologist F. E. Williams, to describe what he considered to be strange ritual phenomena among the population in Papua New Guinea. These rituals involved an interpretation of matter from within the contact zone. Although Westerners brought a wide variety of material products to Melanesia during the colonial period, their notion of matter was under the sign of inanimate products whose value lay only in their potential for exchange. The natives of Papua New Guinea understood matter and exchange in very different ways. In addition, Westerners were accompanied by Christian missionaries, who preached a gospel of the inherent value of each human soul as the basis for salvation. The natives of this area quickly perceived that though Christians preached a message of the salvation of human souls, they acted in terms of a soteriology based upon the accumulation and distribution of material goods. From this perspective they were able to understand the strange and almost magical characteristics between money as a mode of exchange, the inanimate nature of material products, and the hidden relationship obtaining between these items. Their response to this conundrum was in the form of rituals involving Western made products, the cargo, and millenarian hopes.

All forms of human expression, including language, took on different forms within the contact zones. There were several languages: the language of the official colonizing culture, the original or indigenous languages, and languages that were mixtures of the official and indigenous languages. These mixed, creole, or pidgin languages were not simply derivatives from the mixture but equally a system of communication that was uniquely suited to render adequately the experiences of those who lived outside and underneath the official legitimated orders of officialdom.

Exchanges were not limited to languages, products, and services; there were exchanges of sexualities as well. Exchanges of sexualities produced offspring of the mixtures in the contact zones. Every situation of contact included classes of persons resulting from the union of Westerners and non-Westerners. These "illegitimate" offspring became in turn complex aspects of the communication systems of the other exchanges between dimensions of work, products, and sexualities. For example, Magali Carrera (2003) has demonstrated how the complex mixtures of Spaniards, Indians, and Africans in Mexico led to taxonomies of cultural valuation that were expressed and normalized in a genre of *casta* paintings. Exchanges were not limited to human expressions; in the United States human beings as enslaved persons were legally defined as chattel and exchanged as property. This mode of exchange created almost imponderable issues regarding definitions and meanings of human freedom in a democratic society. One can see how various forms of fetishism enter into and serve to hide the true situation, often making it impossible for the official linguistic traditions to deal with the meanings and expressions that lie hidden within their legal and civil pronouncements.

Karen Fields's *Revival and Rebellion in Colonial Central Africa* (1985) shows in a precise manner "how natives think." The "natives" were very capable of not only "living in," but also "thinking about" and reflecting upon their situation. As over against an anthropological wisdom that Africans had no objective knowledge of the forces determining their behavior, she shows that they not only possessed such knowledge but were capable of making creative, critical, and intelligent use of it. Her book also enables us to see that within the contact zone the cultural categories of the West are taken up and reinterpreted in ways that give them a freshness and novelty. In the search and desire for another source of power that is no longer derivative of traditional resources, nor simply acquiescent to colonial authorities, the native in question, Shadrack, saw the God of the Watch Tower Society as the foundation for a critical and revolutionary meaning within the contact zone.

Another example of reason and intelligence from the contact zone can be seen in Margaret J. Wiener's *Visible and Invisible Realms: Power, Magic, and Colonial Conquest in Bali* (1995), which demonstrates the persistence of the meaning of the "other" and the invisible world of value and orientation in the midst of contemporary life. She also makes clear that Klungkung, the Balinese kingdom, did not anticipate the entrance into Western civilization as a heralded event.

John D. Kelly (1991) studied the meaning of virtue as a value within the structures of imported indentured workers from India on the island of Fiji in the early part of the twentieth century. His discussion raises issues regarding the nature of virtue when one wishes to be modern and at the same time appreciates the authentic limits placed upon one by tradition. These issues bear upon the nature of work, sexuality, kinship systems, and anti-colonialist organization and agitation. This study from within a contact zone adds much to the range of the meaning of virtue. Michael Taussig's *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America* (1980), following a neo-Marxist methodology, is able to show a new valorization of the meaning of the devil from within the contexts of several contact zones in South America. Fernando Cervantes's *The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain* (1994) shows how this same figure of the devil brought by the Spanish missionaries developed in opposition, on the one hand, and in parallel, on the other hand, to the understandings of the Aztecs. Cervantes's thorough study lays the grounds for a mature notion of evil emerging from the realities of the contact zone.

One might identify transculturation and contact zones as corollaries of a creole or a creolization process. The term *creole*, from the Spanish *criollo*, was initially used to identify persons born in the Americas but who claimed white European ancestry. From this point of view, all of the "Founding Fathers" of the United States could be called creoles. The term took on other connotations from within the situations of transculturation and the many "contact zones" throughout the world. More often than not, it now refers to the processes and dynamics of the fluid improvisational meanings of cultures that express the survival, critique, and creativity of those who occupy these situations and sites.

The Martinican intellectual Edouard Glissant has proposed the term *creolization* to describe a more general philosophical stance of transculturation and contact zones. Such a stance undertakes a critique of the official histories and the implicit notions of time and space embedded within them. Glissant calls for a "creolization process" of relationship and relativity. In the introduction to Glissant's *Caribbean Discourses,* J. Michael Dash characterizes one of his positions: "But the world can no longer be shaped into a system. Too many Others and Elsewheres disturb the placid surface. . .Glissant is a natural deconstructionist who celebrates latency, opacity, infinite metamorphosis" (Glissant, 1989, p. xii).

These works and several others of this genre are the result of serious questions asked from within contact zones rather than from the ideologically normative positions of Western categories. While the term *globalization* is used to refer to the various aspects of a worldwide capitalistic market-consumer system, the term might equally specify the myriad contact zones throughout the world where Western cultures and non-Western cultures have encountered each other. In these in-between spaces inhabited by both, exchanges, violent and reciprocal, have taken place. From places such as these a more authentic sense of humankind's place in the world might be forged.

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No discussion of transculturation or contacts zones can proceed very far without dealing with the issue of the fetish or what

is implied in the modern discourse about fetishism. The most profound researches on the fetish are those of William Pietz, whose essays have been published in several issues of the journal *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*. These include: "The Problem of the Fetish I," *RES* 9 (1985): 5–18; "The Problem of the Fetish II: The Origin of the Fetish," *RES* 13 (1987): 23–41; and "The Problem of the Fetish, IIIa: Bosman's Guinea and the Enlightenment Theory of Fetishism," *RES* 16 (1988): 105–124. The importance of Pietz's research is shown by the fact that it is made use of by Biddick (cited above) and constitutes a significant part of the discussion of another important text dealing with issues related to contact zones, Anne McClintock's *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Context* (New York and London, 1995).

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CHARLES H. LONG (2005)

TRANSCULTURATION AND RELIGION: RELIGION IN THE FORMATION OF MODERN CANADA

The history of modern Canada has been characterized by a concurrence of dichotomies typified by the ongoing discord between French and English Canadians. This dichotomy, however, has been only one of a number of defining antitheses involving ethnicity, religion, and regionalism. Historians have long recognized the preeminent role of religion in the formation of the nation, and the relationship of religion—particularly the churches—to the growth of the specific dichotomies that define the Canadian Confederation. The churches, and religion more broadly, have been thoroughly bound to the political, social, and cultural development of this nation whose designation of "dominion," and motto, "from sea to sea," are both taken from the seventy-second Psalm.

THE CHURCHES. The relationship between churches and state in Canada was inaugurated in 1534, when Jacques Cartier erected a cross at the Gaspé Peninsula around which he and his companions knelt to pray. Cartier had sailed from Saint Malo, a French seaport connected with the transatlantic fishery that had emerged in the wake of the discovery of cod stocks off the coast of Newfoundland by Giovanni Caboto (John Cabot) and his son Sebastian, who had been commissioned by Henry VII in the late fifteenth century to seek out spices. By the end of the sixteenth century French fishers and aboriginal peoples had established a lucrative trade in furs, laying the foundation for a staple trade that would continue to bring the French to the northern part of the continent. The first permanent French settlements were established in Acadia in 1604 and Quebec in 1608. At the time of their founding, France was undergoing a period of religious revitalization. The counter-reformation had engendered a firm association between an increasingly missionary Catholic Church and the state, and all colonial ventures were consequently required to carry Catholicism with them and to missionize among native peoples. Aside from a few itinerant priests among the Mi'kmaq of Acadia from 1604 to 1613, active evangelization in North America was undertaken by religious orders, beginning with the Récollets who arrived at Quebec in 1615, and then the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) in 1625. French/aboriginal relations were relatively amicable during this period, due to the fact that French settlements were tied primarily to the trade in furs, an enterprise that did not give rise to large-scale colonization and required a level of cordiality among interested parties. Additionally, the French fostered alliances through the extension of trading privileges to baptized aboriginals.

In 1627, the French crown transferred control of the colony to the Company of New France, whose charter required the importation of four thousand French settlers with the services of priests, who would also evangelize among the native population. Baptized aboriginals were to be afforded the same rights as French citizens. Over the next quarter century the Jesuits established missions among the Algonquin, Montagnais, Abenaki, and to a lesser degree, Mohawk. The order assumed a prominent role in New France, due primarily to the fact that it was the principle purveyor of education, health care, and social assistance. Over time, much of this work would be undertaken by French and Canadian religious orders of women, such as the Ursulines, who arrived at Quebec in 1639 and established a boarding school for French and native girls.

By 1700, France controlled most of North America, aside from some parts of Newfoundland and the thirteen colonies. New France, however, was not isolated from the English colonies; indeed, conflict between them began in 1613, when Samuel Argall sailed from Virginia and destroyed the French trading post on Mount Desert Island (in present-day Maine). In 1627, the Kirk brothers took Quebec, and maintained control of the colony until 1633; and in 1690, William Phips unsuccessfully attacked Quebec. French control began to wane with the conquest of Acadia by seven hundred New England soldiers in 1710. By the Treaty of Utrecht (ending the War of the Spanish Succession in 1713), France surrendered Hudson Bay, Newfoundland, and Acadia (Nova Scotia); while maintaining control of the Saint Lawrence colonies, Ile Saint-Jean (Prince Edward Island), and Ile Royale (Cape Breton). The Treaty established two separate legal structures for the French Acadians and the Mi'kmaq population in the region, and guaranteed freedom of religion to the Acadians in return for oaths of allegiance, which they refused to take. The legal separation of ethnic groups was unstable, given that trade, intermarriage, and missionization had created an Acadian community that lacked such distinctions. The situation was epitomized by the request by the Acadians for a ruling on whether a 1744 order placing bounties on Mi'kmaq scalps applied to mixed-blood peoples. Frustrated with resistance from an allied Acadian and Mi'kmaq population, the English began forcibly deporting the Acadians in 1755.

The Seven Years' War (1756–1763) marked the end of French control in North America, but colonial animosities had reached a pitch before the end of the war. On September 13, 1759, the Canadians surrendered Quebec, following a confrontation with the New Englanders on the Plains of Abraham. A year later, Montreal followed suit. Until the end of the Seven Years' War, the two cities were occupied by the British. The treaty ending the war was signed in 1763; within a year, the colony was renamed the Province of Quebec and the Royal Proclamation of 1763 established the administration of the country. England had no clear policy toward the colony in the decade following the fall of Quebec. The Proclamation was vague, apparently presuming that English immigration would define the colony's political, economic, and religious temperament; but a consistent policy was not articulated during the 1760s due to the fact that England was politically unstable, with six administrations in the span of a decade. This haphazard mode of control was ended by the need to counter revolutionary rumblings in the thirteen colonies, and the result was the Quebec Act of 1774, the first constitution created by a parliamentary statute for a British colony. The Act inaugurated England's "second empire," a period during which parliament became chiefly responsible for imperial affairs. The Quebec Act guaranteed freedom of religion to French Catholics in return for an oath of allegiance that was modified to exclude potentially offensive references to religion. The Coutume de Paris remained the civil law of Quebec, while English law applied in criminal cases. There was no habeas corpus. The Act made no provision for an elected legislature, and left the Canadians comparatively free of taxation. Many in the thirteen colonies regarded the Act as an assault, objecting to the creation of nonrepresentative government, the "establishment" of Roman Catholicism in the colony, and the prerogative assumed by the British Parliament in its enactment. It is consequently cited as one of the causes of the American Revolution. More critically for Canada, it was the first British statute that conceded the presence of multiple ethnic groups in a colony.

At the time of the conquest of Quebec, French Catholics represented 95 percent of the province's non-aboriginal population. Although a few thousand European immigrants arrived after 1750, the influx of American loyalists instigated by the Revolutionary War dramatically altered the population balance. Between 1750 and 1800, English immigrants attempted to establish the Church of England, an effort that failed in Quebec, but succeeded to varying degrees in Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, and what would become Ontario. In 1758, for instance, the Nova Scotia legislature instituted the Church of England, allowed freedom to Protestant dissenters, and prohibited Catholic priests from ministering in the province. In 1769, Prince Edward Island limited the rights of Roman Catholics, and by the turn of the century established the Church of England.

Following the American Revolution, seven thousand loyalists claimed land in Quebec, where there were ninety thousand French Catholics. Loyalist demand for constitutional amendments resulted in the Constitutional Act of 1791, which divided Quebec into two provinces: Upper and Lower Canada. The Act implemented elected assemblies, set aside one-seventh of the land as clergy reserves for the support of the Anglican Church, and stipulated that only Anglican ministers could perform marriages. Ultimately, however, it effectively gave power in each of the Canadas to a leadership that could override legislation passed by their assemblies. Upper Canada's political elite, the Family Compact, was firmly allied with the Anglican Church, despite the fact that Anglicans constituted a minority of Protestants in the province (by 1800 there were, among others, Presbyterians, Methodists, Quakers, Congregationalists, Lutherans, and Mennonites); and the Compact's counterpart in Lower Canada, the Chateau Clique, was controlled by the English and their French supporters. Popular rebellions were crushed in both provinces in 1837 and 1838, and Lord Durham was dispatched from England to report on the causes of the unrest. His recommendations, which included the granting of responsible government, the union of the two provinces, and the systematic assimilation of the French, resulted in the Act of Union of 1841. The Union created an inevitable tension between French Catholics demanding protection for their national distinctiveness, and English Protestants who began to lobby for denominational equality in a definitively Protestant society (the secularization of clergy reserves in 1854, for instance, was an offshoot of these efforts). Evangelicalism within both groups became prominent after 1840, as each sought to influence the fabric of Canadian institutions and laws. Catholic energies were focused on French Canada, while Protestants concentrated on the nation as a whole.

By the British North America Act of 1867, Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia were united into a Confederation: the Dominion of Canada. Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, and British Columbia were identified as "colonies or provinces" that could join the Confederation by means of a joint action of their legislatures and the federal parliament. A year later, the Imperial Parliament enacted the Rupert's Land Act, providing for the surrender of Hudson's Bay Company land to England (Charles II had granted the entire territory surrounding Hudson Bay to his cousin Prince Rupert and seventeen associates in 1670), and the subsequent transfer of the territory to the Canadian government. No provision was made for the territory's admittance into the Confederation; it was regarded as a colony of a colony, a foundation that would perpetually cause western resentment toward central Canada.

In one respect, the Dominion was the project of politicians and advocates for a transcontinental railroad; and in this sense, the nation had a secular foundation. Still, Confederation provided for substantial provincial autonomy in matters of religion, language, and education, provisions that acknowledged the failure of the attempt, by means of the Union of 1840, to submerge French Catholic nationalism within a dominant English political structure. The British North America Act addressed more fully the constitutional rights of religious minorities, than those of ethnic groups; yet, although the Act confirmed the rights of French Canadians, the Confederation itself did not mitigate their fear of cultural eclipse within a prevailing English national culture. As early as 1871, for instance, the New Brunswick legislature prohibited the teaching of religion and the use of the French language in state-supported schools. During the same period, rival Protestant factions were creating coalitions that expressed a desire for the newly formed nation to assume an Anglo-Protestant character. The move toward Protestant unification was widespread in Anglo-Saxon nations during the nineteenth century; but Canadian churches generally accomplished the move earlier than others. Nineteenth-century intradenominational unions established a model that was expanded following Confederation, and that ultimately resulted in the creation of the United Church of Canada in 1925 (bringing together Methodists, Congregationalists, and many Presbyterians).

The acquisition of the west aroused in many evangelical Protestant churches a millennial desire to extend "His" dominion from one ocean to another, by assimilating immigrants into a dominant Protestant national culture. Competition among denominations quickly became economically unfeasible, and the need for a united response to the task lent urgency to the movement for union. Interest in a national church was fueled also, in part, by the desire to influence legislation, and by Anglo concern over increasing Roman Catholic influence in politics, especially in Quebec. By 1902, a number of anti-Catholic associations were already in existence whose aim it was to curb the expansion of Catholic influence. Unionists believed that a single Protestant church would foster an Anglo-Protestant form of national unity, a sentiment that was expressed in the preamble to the United Church's 1908 Basis of Union, which described "a national church with a national mission."

Although no formal agreement was reached until 1925, local Protestant churches in Ontario, the Maritime Provinces, and the west began to initiate their own unions in 1908. The unions coincided with a general wave of social action in Canada within which churches were deeply implicated. Among Protestants generally, the Social Gospel had become prominent by the late nineteenth century, a movement motivated by the belief that social reforms would establish God's kingdom, and that capitalism must be tempered by cooperation between business, workers, and consumers. The United Church of Canada institutionalized the vision of the Social Gospellers, and is acknowledged as having contributed significantly to the development of the Canadian welfare state.

While Protestants generally pressed for the development of an English-Protestant nation, the Catholic Church was engendering its own forms of social action. Catholic social action emerged in Nova Scotia in the 1930s in cooperative organizations like the Antigonish Movement that involved fishers and farmers. In the late 1920s, Action Catholique became prominent in Quebec, contributing to a general growth of social and political awareness in the province. Many of its young members eventually assumed prominent roles in academia and the media in Quebec during what was called the Quiet Revolution. Quebec underwent a dramatic transformation during the 1960s, whereby a social order that had functioned relatively uninterrupted since the Union of 1841 was overturned. The Quiet Revolution profoundly altered the province's social structure, where an Anglophone elite had for over a century controlled the economy, and the Catholic Church had assumed responsibility for protecting Francophone culture through education and social welfare. In 1960, the Quebec government began nationalizing major industries, providing for the rise of trade unions, and assuming control of health, social welfare, and education. As the Catholic Church lost control of these institutions, church attendance plummeted.

Declining church attendance ultimately affected not only the Catholic Church in Quebec. Prior to 1950, two-thirds of Canadians attended a church on a regular basis; by 1980, only one-third did so. Scholars have noted that evangelical Protestantism and Catholicism, which had been assertive forces for more than a century, had ceased to inspire Canadians. In addition to the Quiet Revolution, an obvious reason for this decline was the fact that Canada's ethnic composition no longer lent itself to the traditional cultural duality of English/French: by the early 1960s, over one third of the nation's population did not identity with either group. For Protestants in particular, any aspiration for a monolithic Protestant nation was simply anachronistic. Additionally, a transformation of higher education during the period may have contributed to the decline. Until the 1960s, most Canadian universities and colleges were owned and managed by churches, but increased costs forced the churches to turn to government for subsidization, and provincial legislatures refused to support church-controlled institutions. Some closed, while others secularized. The trend toward secularization has continued, with the result that churches no longer exercise direct influence over the public sphere. Many believe, consequently, that religion has become a private phenomenon for Canadians, involving such things as belief in the supernatural, the questioning of life's meaning, and institutional memory that draws them back to the churches for selective events (Bibby, 2002). The public role of religion, as typified by the churches, has been all but eliminated.

BETWEEN THE DICHOTOMIES. The churches have indelibly marked the development of modern Canada. In this respect, religion has played a key role in the creation of the nation but, since the 1960s, has ceased to pervasively define the public sphere, nor to influence Canadians' collective sense of national identity. This aspect of religion in Canada has essentially revolved around a series of dichotomies: English/French, Catholic/Protestant, native/white, east/west (metropolis/hinterland). Within this framework of dichotomies, another modality of religion has expressed itself from the margins of the dominant culture and its various national visions. The impact of this religious mode upon the formation of modern Canada is not immediately discernable in traditional narratives of the nation's religious history, but it has been, in many instances, profound. Although examples of this form of religion are numerous (Grant, 1980), one of the most significant instances is the religiously inspired leadership of Louis Riel in the North-West Rebellion of 1885. Riel provides a vantage point from which to explore another relationship between religion and the formation of Canada, one that may well continue to have an effect on the nation during its so-called secular period.

This relationship is imbedded in an abiding historical pattern foreshadowed by events in Acadia at the turn of the seventeenth century. In 1610 a secular priest in Acadia, Jessé Fléché, baptized the Mi'kmaq chief Membertou and twenty members of his family. Given that Fléché could speak no Mi'kmaq (and Membertou appears to have been under the impression that he was entering into a trading alliance), the legitimacy of these baptisms was called into question by the Church and by Jesuits who arrived in Acadia a year later. To redress the problem, the Jesuit Enemond Massé availed himself of the hospitality of the Mi'kmaq, choosing to live within the community and learn their language, a move made possible by a half century of previous goodwill between aboriginals and French fishers in Acadia, and that would define the nature of Jesuit/native relations in North America. His residence among the Mi'kmaq was short-lived. In 1613, the New Englander, Samuel Argall captured Acadia. During the battle for control of the region, Gilbert Du Thet was shot fatally, making him the first Jesuit to die in New France. Du Thet was killed while manning a canon. The events of 1610 to 1613 to a great degree established a pattern within which much of Canada's subsequent history can be situated. The pattern involves at least three distinct aspects: (1) a French/aboriginal foundation based on trade and Catholicism; (2) a violent English overlay that results in a French/English dichotomy that takes precedence over the aboriginal foundation; and (3) the implication of religion in this dichotomy.

This Acadian configuration is an especially apt model in respect to Louis Riel and the North-West Rebellion of 1885. Riel was born at Red River (in what would become the province of Manitoba) in 1844. He was Métis—a member of a community created by the Canadian fur trade, the descendants predominantly of French Catholic men and aboriginal women. The Métis, and in particular, the Métis buffalo hunt, were integral components of the society of the nineteenth century north-West until the transfer of the territory from the Hudson's Bay Company to the Dominion. The transfer was badly managed, with the Canadian government initiating land surveys before the territory had been formally transferred to the Dominion. Residents of the area around Red River (a large number of whom were Métis) were led to believe that existing land titles would not be acknowledged, and under the leadership of Riel formed a provisional government to oppose the transfer without legitimate attention to their grievances. Central to the negotiations between Canada and Riel's provisional government was the assurance of representative government and recognition of land claims. The result was the Manitoba Act, which created the province of Manitoba in 1870. Among other assurances, the Act guaranteed that land grants would be made to all mixed-blood residents of the territory. In the immediate wake of the creation of the province, Riel, the Métis, and the region's aboriginal population found themselves very much enmeshed in the Acadian pattern outlined above. Riel had expected to be a central figure in the transition of the territory to a province, but instead, a warrant for his arrest was issued (pertaining to an execution that had occurred in the course of the Métis resistance), and the Ontario legislature subsequently placed a $5000 bounty on him. He was a fugitive until 1875, when the federal government imposed a five year banishment. The Métis and aboriginals fared little better. The Métis land base did not materialize, and they were forced to migrate north and west as immigrants from central Canada inundated the province. Meanwhile, Canadian and American hunters were decimating the buffalo, which had been the foundation of both Métis and aboriginal life. The disappearance of the buffalo, in addition to epidemic disease, and insufficient assistance to native peoples who had signed treaties extinguishing land rights in return for reserves, led to starvation. Cree leaders petitioned the Canadian government and Prime Minister John A. Macdonald, but received no replies.

During his exile Riel began receiving visions, beginning at Washington Cathedral in Washington, D.C., in 1875, where the Holy Spirit anointed him "Prophet of the New World." His visions would ultimately map out a different kind of Canada. From his position between the dichotomy of ethnicity, Riel perceived a creative space within which a new orientation emerged with the potential for a different kind of unified national body. This nation was defined between the various Canadian dichotomies of ethnicity (English/French, native/white), religion (Catholic/Protestant), and metropolis/hinterland. In respect to ethnicity, he envisioned massive immigration of Italians, Poles, Belgians, Scandinavians, converted Jews, and Germans who together with the aboriginal population, the French, the Métis, and the "great Anglo-Saxon race" would each inhabit equal shares of the nation's territory, creating hybrid ethnicities. The Germans would, for instance, "make a new German-Indian world" (Morton, 1974, pp. 355, 366). Religion, too, was to undergo a radical transformation through which the dichotomy of Catholic/Protestant would be subsumed by a new universal Catholicism. "I wish to leave Rome aside," he said,

> Inasmuch as it is the cause of division between Catholics and Protestants. . . . If I have any influence in the new world it is to help in that way and even if it takes 200 years to become practical. . .then my children's children will shake hands with the Protestants of the new world in a friendly manner. I do not wish these evils that exist in Europe to be. . .repeated in America. (Morton, 1974, p. 319)

Finally, the dichotomy of metropolis/hinterland was recast with Canada as the center of a new world. It was obvious to Riel that the territories, the hinterland of central Canada, would be the fulcrum of this new order: "although the Province of Ontario is great it is not as great as the North-West" (Morton, 1974, p. 321). The north-West was also to be the seat of a new Roman Catholic church, with Saint Boniface (present-day Winnipeg) as the new Rome, the Métis as the new "sacerdotal people," and A. A. Taché, archbishop of Saint Boniface, the new pontiff. The removal of the papacy from Rome was warranted by the simple fact that "Rome did not pay attention to us" (Morton, 1974, p. 322). Ultimately it was clear to Riel that with all these transformations, Canada was to "become one of the most prosperous centres of the world, thanks to God" (Flanagan, 1974, p. 26).

Driven by this vision of a new Canada in which existing dichotomies would be rendered meaningless, Riel led a second Métis rebellion against the Dominion in present-day Saskatchewan in 1885. It coincided with similar uprisings from the region's aboriginal population, and both resistances were crushed by Dominion forces. Riel was tried and found guilty of high treason, and was hanged on November 16, 1885. Riel's religiously inspired resistance to central Canada seemed to have little effect on the formation of the nation, beyond apparently intensifying an existing historical pattern of an English Protestant/French Catholic dichotomy and an increasingly marginalized aboriginal and Métis community. The hanging of Riel fueled the French press and leadership, who found common cause with Riel's French ancestry, and accused the English of ethnic prejudice and religious fanaticism. Reaction among English Canadians quickly turned to an anti-Quebec sentiment, and amplified calls for national unity based on Anglo-Protestant patriotism. The execution has been linked to subsequent attacks on French Catholic education, resistance to the creation of French divisions in the world wars, and opposition to the institution of official bilingualism after 1960.

In 1885 aboriginal grievances were not the same as those of the Métis, and although at least two native actions may have been prompted by news of successful Métis action, this resistance was in no way executed under the leadership of Riel. Nonetheless, contemporary authorities melded the resistances, going so far as to accuse Riel at his trial of "arousing the Indians" and letting "loose the flood-gates of rapine and bloodshed" (Morton, 1974, p. 371). In the year following the events of 1885, aboriginal peoples were increasingly marginalized from mainstream society. The Department of Indian Affairs began to assume greater control over their lives, a trend that continued for almost a century, and resulted in wide-ranging regulation from education to the writing of wills. An aboriginal pass system was introduced, effectively restricting native peoples to their reserves. This was justified by the contention that participation in the rebellion constituted a violation of treaty agreements. Later "pass laws" adopted by the South African apartheid regime were patterned on this Canadian model.

As for the Métis generally (who were not afforded status by the Canadian government until 1982), the community became virtually invisible to the dominant culture. Many changed their names, others immigrated to the United States, some moved onto native reserves, while others moved northward. It seems that Riel's religiously-inspired rebellion did not immediately inform the creation of modern Canada, except insofar as it solidified a basic Canadian pattern that would inform the nation's next century.

THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY. Turning to Canada a century after the hanging of Riel, a number of dramatic alterations in this pattern have occurred. First, as church historians have noted, the nation has become secularized, and increasingly Canadians no longer associate themselves with the churches that informed so much of the nation's development. Additionally, the delicate antagonism between English and French entered into a new phase in the final decades of the century, through which their ongoing dichotomous relationship could well be dissolved. On October 16, 1970, the federal government declared the War Measures Act (a presumption of virtually unlimited power) in response to the kidnapping of British senior trade commissioner, James Cross, and Pierre Laporte, a Quebec cabinet minister. The kidnappings and subsequent murder of Laporte were attributed to the Front de Liberation du Québec. Although the events of October 1970 did not initiate further efforts to secure an independent Quebec through violence, the question of separation remained a serious political issue, culminating in the election in Quebec of the separatist Parti Québecois in 1976, and two narrowly rejected referendums on sovereignty in 1980 and 1995. Additionally, constitutional changes have created a context for the assertion of aboriginal and Métis land claims, which are only beginning to be felt. The Constitutional Act of 1982 (through which Canada gained its own constitution) vaguely recognized "existing" aboriginal and treaty rights, and recognized the Métis as aboriginal peoples. Land claims recognition has been slow but profound. In the mid-1990s, for instance, Donald Marshall was found guilty in the Nova Scotia Court of Appeal of fishing eels illegally. A team of lawyers (four of whom were Mi'kmaq) took the case to the Supreme Court of Canada, and in 1999 the Court upheld Marshall's right to catch and sell fish in accordance with treaties ratified in 1760 and 1761. The same year that the constitution was patriated, the Constitutional Alliance of the Northwest Territories was formed to press for the division of the Northwest Territories into two distinct territories. The subject had been discussed for a number of decades, and on April 1, 1999, the central and eastern part of the territories (a region constituting nearly one-fifth of Canada's land mass) was established as the territory of Nunavut, marking the largest aboriginal land claim settlement in Canadian history. The creation of Nunavut effectively gave the population (85% Inuit) control over education, health and social services, and the management of natural resources. In September 2003, the Supreme Court overturned an earlier conviction of Métis Steve Powley for hunting illegally. In the landmark ruling, the court declared that Powley could exercise the right to hunt without a license on the basis of the definition of the Métis as "aboriginal" in the Constitution of 1982 (council for Powley included lawyer Jean Teillet, great-great-grandniece of Louis Riel).

As Canada entered the twenty-first century many aspects of the national pattern of English overlay on an aboriginal/French foundation were disintegrating, while longstanding dichotomies were reshaping the national landscape. What might now be said of Louis Riel, who was religiously inspired to conceive of the nation in a radically different way, but whose life seemed to have accomplished little beyond the reification of the established order? This man was situated in the space between the dichotomies of ethnicity, was called by God to break with Rome and refashion a new universal Catholicism, envisioned the geographical center of Canada as the defining center of the nation, and was tried and executed as a Canadian traitor. Yet, a statue of Riel now graces the grounds of the Manitoba Legislature, and an accompanying plaque reads: "In 1992, the Parliament of Canada and the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba formally recognized Riel's contribution to the development of the Canadian Confederation and his role, and that of the Métis, as founders of Manitoba." Riel is the hero of over twenty plays, an opera, radio and television dramas, novels, poetry, music, cartoons, and a comic book. He is the only Canadian public figure whose writings have been published in their entirety (Riel, 1985), a project undertaken jointly by the federal government and a number of universities to mark the one hundredth anniversary of Riel's execution; in recent years, he has emerged as a national hero, especially, among English-speaking writers. Riel has been called a mythic figure, a mad messiah, a prophet, a savior, a mystic, a visionary, a Canadian Joan of Arc, a saint, and a martyr. Such frankly religious language is not accidental. As scholars announced the triumph of secularization and the privatization of religion in Canada at the end of the twentieth century, Riel was simultaneously emerging as a religious figure implicated in the meaning of a changing nation. As such, he may well constitute a resource for the continued role of religion in the formation of a twenty-first century Confederation.

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TRANSCULTURATION AND RELIGION: RELIGION IN THE FORMATION OF THE MODERN CARIBBEAN

Ciboney, Arawak-speaking Taíno, and Carib Amerindians crisscrossed the islands of the Caribbean archipelago for a millennium prior to the arrival of Europeans. Columbus learned from the Lucaya, a subgroup of the Taíno, that the island in the Bahamas where he first alighted was named Guanahani. He nevertheless christened (and Christianized) it as San Salvador before taking six Lucaya back to Spain as exotica to present at court in 1492—the first transculturation between Europe and the Caribbean. In 1493 the second voyage carried sugar cane from Europe to Hispaniola (Isla Española), and the Taíno gave Europe tobacco in return—a further and consequential moment of transculturation. By 1501 Nicolás de Ovando, governor of Hispaniola, ordered the delivery of the first Africans (Spanish-speaking Ladinos already enslaved in Iberia) to the New World. The Africans replaced dying Amerindians in the gold mines in a third moment of transculturation, in which the powers guiding all future exchange became transparent.

Thus began the recurrent economic and social pattern that created the Caribbean, built from its florid exploitation and from the regular resistance to it. Already in 1511 the Taíno had rebelled against the new order on Puerto Rico, and Africans on Hispaniola revolted not long after in 1521.

Three centuries later, following the abolition of slavery in the British holdings of Jamaica and Trinidad in 1834, East Indians and Chinese were imported en masse as indentured workers to labor next to or as overseers of Africans. Here was yet another moment of transculturation, bringing new rites and new gods: Kālī, Hanumān, Lakṣmī, and Rāma. Indian deities were now ritualized in the same zones as African *orishas,* and the signs and symbols of European Masonic secret societies shared the same space as those of Afro-Cuban *cabildos.*

During the intervening centuries, a solid social template emerged from between the same grinding continental plates that had thrust up Caribbean volcanoes. Europeans ruled over slaves whose labor produced sugar, the source of wealth that built the palaces of Antwerp and Versailles and fomented the Industrial Revolution of England. Yet if the lands of the Caribbean took on a shared economic form in the first global economy, they also developed unique religious patterns in accord with the particular objects, ideas, migrants, and languages that arrived at each place. Even when those objects, ideas, and peoples were similar, they were adopted by different means and with varying effects as they were received and made to signify in relation to specific landscapes, needs, histories, and contexts of implementation.

This essay proceeds by first examining the term *transculturation* as itself a product of the Caribbean. It then considers four cases of religious transculturation: Cuba, Jamaica, Saint Vincent, and Brazil. For each case, a different issue of transculturation is interpreted: in Cuba, the material and temporal niches in which old religions were received, remade, or lost; in Jamaica (and Rastafarians), the problem of indigenizing English, the colonial idiom, to make it able to "speak" religiously; in Saint Vincent, the phenomenon of physical emigration and the shifts in Garifuna religion that occur through the modern exodus to globalized cities such as New York; and in Brazil, the forging of a new religion in the contact zone out of the cross-fertilization of religious ideas from Africa and Europe. All four cases address the issue of reception and change—how ideas, objects, and people produced in one place take on new meaning when displaced, circulated, and rerooted in new soil in new ground.

The entry does not give an exhaustive account of the region but rather illuminates key processes through select examples. As the inclusion of Brazil indicates, this essay is on the "big Caribbean," defined not only by territorial contiguity but also by shared social history.

TRANSCULTURATION AS A CARIBBEAN PRODUCT. The term *transculturation* is itself an intellectual product of the Caribbean, appearing in Fernando Ortiz's *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el azúcar* (Cuban counterpoint: Tobacco and sugar), first published in 1940. Ortiz proposed that the new word was superior to *acculturation* (a term especially associated with Melville Herskovits) because it did not imply a unilineal process of adopting a new culture—the idea that the former slate is completely erased before the new one is written. Rather, it suggested the nuances of culture loss or *deracination*; as such, losses and the responses to them continue to inform the experience of the new situation. It also connoted the only partial and fragmentary assimilation of a new culture as well as the completely novel creations that were bound to arise in what Ortiz called "neo-culturation."

More important than this semantic dexterity was the way Ortiz wrote about culture in the history of Cuba, as the process of human interaction with and thinking through the material resources at hand. Tobacco and sugar in Ortiz's hands became nothing less than a total semiotic system of contrasts through which the world was humanly experienced. For example, whereas tobacco recalls magic and is immutably dark, sugar connotes the commodification of a product born brown, then standardized to become white. In Ortiz's view, the material products of the island provided the lens through which issues of race and religion were perceived, contemplated, worked, and transformed.

If tobacco and sugar could be detached from their status as mere agricultural products to be recirculated as a symbolic system of meanings applied to every domain of experience, no less are the deracinated people of the Caribbean transcultured through their interactions with each other and with the products through which they know and make themselves.

CUBA: MATERIAL NICHES OF REMEMBRANCE IN THE CONTACT ZONE. Most prominent among distinctively Cuban religions is Santería. The name of Santería, implying the devotion to saints by *santeros,* was an innovation of the 1930s initiated by the Afro-Cuban scholar Romulo Lachatañeré. The new moniker was intended to counter state witch hunts levied against what was popularly called witchcraft (*brujería*) by granting the religion a more legitimate, Catholic resonance. Hence the very naming of the religion, which has real effects on religious practice, stands as testimony to the interaction between religion and political power.

Whether called Santería or La Regla de Ocha (The Rule of the *Orisha*), the religion derived from the quest of African slaves to reconstruct a shared religion out of disparate African traditions, which had been lumped together in the new territory. The great majority of African slaves disembarked in Cuba were set to work on giant sugar plantations, especially after the Haitian revolutions that began in 1791 and left Cuba the dominant world supplier of sugar. In the cities, however, especially Havana and Matanzas, a thriving free black society grew up in the niches of the slave economy. Out of these came black Catholic *cabildos* and *cofradías*, the councils and brotherhoods that, under the mantle of their devotion of Catholic saints, offered sites of mutual aid. By 1800 there were *cabildos* of fourteen different African "nations," each with its own king and queen, flag, and house. These were veritable rebuilt African monarchies, albeit with few temporal powers, in which the devotion to African gods could be remembered and recreated. Preeminent among the nations were the Yoruba, who were brought in great numbers after 1790 and carried with them a mythically rich, colorful, compelling pantheon of gods called *orisha* (Yoruba *ori-se*, literally "head-source"). Also prominent were the Kongo peoples, who comprised by far the largest group of slaves brought during the trade's first three centuries. These created another distinct Afro-Cuban religious lineage, Palo Monte. Palo invoked spirits of central West Africa, called *minkisi,* and contracted them to the living ritualizer through "binding" and "enclosing" their symbols in cauldrons, bottles, or bundles.

In every case, the religion had to be reconstructed out of the available materials and within the limited available spatial and temporal niches presented by colonial Cuba. West African religious were based above all in ritual practices choreographed out of a vast and complex set of iconic, culinary, musical, sartorial, and spatial cues. The gods were present only insofar as they could be rendered present through ritual work correctly executed to produce spirit possession. This meant that the gods that did not fit the niches presented were eventually lost, forgotten, or rendered superfluous. For example, the African gods related to agriculture remained important in Haiti because the religion of vodou emerged in a peasant farming society of small landholders after the revolution. Yet the analogous deities became largely inconsequential in Cuba and Brazil, because Santería and Candomblé took shape in and around cities where agriculture was not a pressing concern of everyday experience.

A progressive condensation and canonization of a relatively fixed set of *orishas* took shape. The Afro-Cuban Catholic *confradías* celebrated these *orishas* in the temporal and material niches available under slave law. For example, Changó, the *orisha* of kingship, lightning, and male seductive power was (and is) celebrated on December 4, the day of the Catholic calendar devoted to Santa Barbara. Her red and white banners and chromolithographs depicting a lightning strike (in Catholic hagiography Barbara's father was struck by lightning) provided a semiotic set into which Changó, a deity of lighting whose colors are red and white, could visually be integrated. Therefore devotees of Changó were able to ceremonialize and cognitively retain his memory. Many of the gods found no such fit, no material or calendrical niches of remembrance, and these gods died with those who last carried and incorporated them.

Condensation was one process, and aesthetic innovation was another. The aesthetics of African royal power had to be transferred to the idiom of European finery adopted from the Spanish colonial court. Santería initiates undergoing the day of enthronement and public display were (and are) dressed in long gowns of fine silk brocades and lace that emulated Spanish royalty but also served as memory bridges to recall African royalism. Likewise, the containers (*sopera*) of sacred stones that served as indexes of the sacred union between initiated persons and the *orisha,* were in many cases of fine porcelain, another European import applied to ritually sustaining the memory of Africa.

The importance of such transcultured ritual objects is revealed by the periodic persecutions that were suffered by practitioners of Santería, in which invasions of cult houses focused on the confiscation of objects such as drums, clothing, scepters, and the vases and porcelain bowls that held the iconic seats of the saints. Similarly transcultured material niches were also created in the Kongo legacy of Palo Monte. The *palos* (sticks) assembled in a cauldron signify a contract of power between a practitioner and an ancestral spirit, but they also contain a specific Cuban history within them. They recall the palisades (defenses built of sharpened sticks) runaway slave communities erected for their protection from slave hunters. Those palisades have now been transcultured to serve the purpose of protecting their users in contemporary urban centers.

JAMAICA: TRANSCULTURING SPEECH IN THE CONTACT ZONE. Named from the Arawak word *Xayaca* (Land of Wood and Water), Jamaica has loaned its soil to manifold ethnic groups. Arawak and then Carib Amerindian societies were followed by Spaniards, Africans, the British, and then Asians. Africans were brought and set to labor by 1513, and during the late 1600s Jamaica's sugar production was the most advanced in the Caribbean. Following emancipation in 1834, Great Britain tapped another of its colonies for thirty thousand East Indians who were imported as laborers. Hence diverse religious expressions converged and combined: Myal and Obeah (the latter derived from the West African Ashanti word *obeye*, meaning sorcerer); central African-derived Pukumina; the indigenized Christianity of Zion Revivalism; and during the twentieth century, Rastafarianism.

In its simplest form, Rastafarianism viewed the crowning of the new Ethiopian emperor, Haile Selassie (1892–1975), as the arrival of a new messiah, a Black Christ who would lead black Jamaicans back to Africa. Indeed, this projected return was to be the salvation of the people. Rastafarianism presented a fusion of diverse factors: revival millenarianism; Marcus Garvey's (1887–1940) back-to-Africa movement; Jamaican urbanization, industrialization, and the creation of an urban underclass; an Ethiopianism inspired by Garvey applied to a selective reading of the Hebrew Bible; the timely ascent of Haile Selassie—or Ras (Prince) Tafari—as emperor of Ethiopia in 1930; and the inversion of key markers like dreadlocks and ganja (marijuana) use from outcast symbols to expressions of defiant power.

Any of these elements moreover can be further divided into more complex transculturations. Garvey's message was a product not only of his Jamaican birth but also of his trajectory passing through Central America, Europe, Africa, and most important, the Pan-African centers of Harlem and Paris. The adoption of dreadlocks in the late 1940s may have imitated one or all of several influences: Kenya's anticolonial Mau Mau revolt against the British in the 1950s, the emulation of the styles of East Indian ascetics, or the Youth Black Faith movement of the 1940s that was indigenous to Jamaica. Similarly, ganja arrived with East Indian laborers before being adopted by revival millenarianism and later Rastafarianism as a key component of its "reasoning" rituals, in which it was used to inspire impassioned exchanges of religiopolitical speech.

It is such idiosyncratic speech that is the key transcultured marker of Rastafarianism. Because standard English is regarded as a colonial and compromised tongue and yet is the sole language of most Jamaicans, Rastafarian practitioners developed a means of at once distancing themselves from that language even as they worked through it by communicating in the dialect of "dread-talk." This occurs through multiple linguistic innovations. In the first, terms of standard English are varied or endowed with new meanings (e.g., *reason,* for ritually inspired discourses; *chalice*, for the pipe used to inhale the smoke of the herb; and *bald-tail*, for shorn, unenlightened non-Rastas). A second innovation is playing with standard words, which are altered in relation to phonological implications, such as *politricks* (politics), *live-icate* (as opposed to dedicate), or *jollification* (enjoyment). The most important revision of standard English occurs in the creation of *I*-words: *Ital* (natural), *Irie* (truth), *I-ration* (creation), *I-thiopia* (Ethiopia), plus the reference to oneself and others as "I and I." Explanations for the invocation of "I and I" in dread-talk include: (1) the refusal to make a subject of another person, hence the use of only first person address; (2) the verbal expression of the idea that one is never utterly separate from God (Jah) or from other persons, hence always "I and I"; and (3) the rejection of the term *me*, which connotes slave speech and subservience compared with *I,* a term of agency and choice.

Whereas English was the language given to members of the urban underclass in Kingston, the Rastafarian community transcultured it to signify distinction from rather than inclusion in the British linguistic legacy. Yet the fact that Rastafarianism is practiced in a variant of English is precisely that which aided and abetted its global dissemination as a Pan-African symbol. This was accomplished above all through reggae, disseminated during the 1970s by Bob Marley, Peter Tosh, Jimmy Cliff, and others as well as through the aesthetic codes rendered fashionable through the popularity of that music. At the beginning of the twenty-first century African identity is commonly expressed in Bahia, Brazil, Bronx, New York, and Port of Spain, Trinidad, through the colors, flags, clothes, music, and hairstyles of Rastafarianism. In this sense, the English language as a transcultured linguistic object cuts in two ways: dissented from, it also allows for that dissent to travel and be heard.

THE GARIFUNA: TRANSMIGRATION AND THE MULTIPLYING OF CONTACT ZONES. The Garifuna stand as the finest exemplars of the simplest cause of transculturation: human migration. An ethnic group born on the island of Saint Vincent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries through the exchange between African and Carib groups, they were initially known as the Black Carib. They were deported en masse by the British in 1797 to the coast of Central America. In addition to their own Arawak-derived language, many also spoke French and English, a repertoire to which they rapidly added Spanish. Garifuna religion reflected these transmigrations, including elements of African, Amerindian, and Roman Catholic Christian belief and practice. During the nineteenth century, the Garifuna emigrated up and down the Central American coast of the Caribbean by canoe as dedicated traders and travelers and in the process settled in some forty villages from Nicaragua to Belize.

That relative territorial stability changed dramatically in the twentieth century, during which time a third of Garifuna emigrated abroad, especially to the United States. The phenomenon of frequent migration and returns, related to contemporary labor patterns, had two dramatic effects on the religious life of the Garifuna and by extension of the Caribbean region in general. One effect is the burgeoning Protestant neo-Pentecostal affiliations. Employing high-tech sound systems, formal dress codes, and dramatic preaching styles, these neo-Pentecostal groups emulate—and are often funded by—U.S. denominational patrons. The second effect is the revivalist acceleration of discourses and practices of traditional ritual events, whose meanings are transformed in the process of being revived. For the Garifuna, traditional ancestor rituals that were once simply considered indigenous to themselves are increasingly understood as African in origin. As Garifuna migrants to U.S. cities have been exposed to the religions of their neighbors, such as Cuban Santería, Haitian vodou, Trinidadian *orisha,* and Puerto Rican Santerismo, they begun to view their religion in relation to that set and to perceive themselves as members of the religious African diaspora.

The two new directions of Garifuna religious change—toward Pentecostal modernity and reformed tradition—are not socially bifurcated but rather work in tandem, because they signify over and against and in rivalry with each other. Both proffer membership in global networks rather than local, village-based ones, and both are reliant on modern technologies of semiotic reproduction (e.g., videos, compact discs, books, and magazines) as they compete for adherents in the marketplace of identities and for recognition from state and international authorities. The Garífuna, like practitioners of other religions in the Caribbean region, are in the process of mastering and transculturing new objects of modernity to make them their own: communication systems, recording devices, legal documents, and other devices of "making history" in rationalized forms that can be used for pedagogy and legal defense. For the Garifuna, as elsewhere in the Caribbean, there exists a growing sense that local religion must be given global range—witnessed to, recorded, publicized, discursively defended, and disseminated—to acquire exchange value in the marketplace of religions. Otherwise, they risk losing their place.

Through migrations of the last generation, some Caribbean religions of the region like Santería have already become sophisticated transnational religions with a solid footing in legal and academic settings. Others, like practitioners of the ancestor religion of the Garifuna, remain ambivalent in relation to such processes of deliberate transculturation and what hidden risks they may hold.

BRAZIL: MAKING NEW RELIGIONS IN THE CONTACT ZONE. Like Cuban Santería, the Afro-Brazilian religion of Candomblé traces its origins to one of the city-states of the Yoruba, Dahomean, or Kongolese peoples of West and West Central Africa. It was forcibly brought to Brazil during the Portuguese slave trade over four centuries. As in Santería, Candomblé reconstructs a link to Africa through the reverence of deities (*orixás*) to generate power, or *axé,* for human use in its most worldly forms—luck, fertility, wealth, prestige, and health.

Axé can imply transformative capacity, charisma, fecundity, success, or physical force like electricity. As a quality of a house or a drum, however, it connotes tradition, lineage, and legitimate foundations. Producing *axé* entails a series of material practices that contain, enclose, and bind the elusive *axé* into loci (e.g., altars, vases, heads) from which its force can be received and redistributed. The techniques and tools of condensing and containing *axé* are known as the foundational secrets (*fundamentos*) of the religion. One gains access to this secret knowledge or, more properly, to the places and practice of secrecy by performing progressive initiations into increasingly important functions in the house (*terreiro*). The import of religious secrecy was augmented, however, by the new terrain from which Candomblé grew during the 1800s. Secrecy was transcultured and began to signify doubly: first in relation to West African ideals of contained, "cool" power and second as resistance to the police forces of the national context in which the rituals were practiced. Yoruba ideals of religious secrecy were overlapped with the Afro-Brazilian notion of *fundamentos*, deep knowledge based in practices hidden from the gaze of potential noninitiate encroachers.

In the contact zone, religious identities take on force through boundary work, that is, the marking and parsing of differences and similarities between a given religion and its neighbors. So Candomblé also began to be defined by its relation to, resistance against, and adaptation from other popular Brazilian religious expressions, such as French-descended spiritism.

Spiritism arrived in Brazil in the late nineteenth century via the teachings of Allan Kardec, also known as Hippolyte Léon Denizard Rivail. Its popularity derived from its healing techniques, enacted through mediums in ways as emotionally compelling as they seemed scientific. For spiritists, mediums became effective healers when possessed by more ancient, enlightened souls. In the twenty-first century the mediums dress in white or blue medical clothing to offer *passos* (passes) over the bodies of their subjects, moving their hands over the skin to attract negative vibrations to their own hands and cast them into the air. The healing spirits come from members of civilizations considered to be evolved—doctors or healers from Europe, ancient Egypt, or the Aztec Empire. Sickness is regarded as obsession, and the ritual intervention is a disobsession wherein one medium incorporates the obsessing spirit, while other mediums use their evolved entities to advocate for their client's release. Meetings reflect a high degree of rational bureaucratic organization.

The Afro-Brazilian religion of Candomblé and French-derived Spiritism transcultured each other. Spiritist groups were inspired by the African deities of Candomblé, and Candomblé groups were rationalized in similar ways to spiritism. Adopting elements of both, Umbanda is the result of the convergence of these two groups into a new, national religion. Umbanda was born in the industrializing south of Brazil in the 1920s. It shared aspects with Candomblé (such as possession, specific drumming patterns that call the spirits and *orixás* as heads of spirit divisions) and with spiritism (such as the manifestation of spirits of the dead for the purpose of consultation and healing and a rigid hierarchy of more and less evolved spirits).

Umbanda spirits are organized hierarchically in a complex system of seven lineages, called phalanxes, each headed by an *orixá* or saint. One kind of spirit of light is the *caboclo*, the spirit of the indigenous Brazilian Indian. Another is the *preto-velho*, the spirit of the old African slave, who manifests humility, kindliness, comfort, and sympathy. The *erês* or *crianças* are spirits of children who are playful and innocent. Finally, the *exús*, derived from the Yoruba trickster-messenger Eshu, are considered evil and must be rigorously controlled.

Although these are the most characteristic, traditional spirit roles in Umbanda, there is enormous flexibility for new spiritual entities to emerge, such as manifestations of homeless street children or the folkloric, hard-drinking bandits (*cangaçeiros*) of the arid northeast. Embedded in the spirits of Umbanda and the material processes through which they are incorporated is the ongoing transculturation of Brazilian history as it continually reworks the national mythology of the "three races"—Amerindian, African, white European—for a new time.

SEE ALSO Caribbean Religions, article on Afro-Caribbean Religions; Garvey, Marcus; Rastafarianism; Santería.

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PAUL CHRISTOPHER JOHNSON (2005)

TRANSCULTURATION AND RELIGION: RELIGION IN THE FORMATION OF MODERN JAPAN

Japan began forming a modern culture when it came into contact with the West. Then the Portuguese brought matchlocks to Japan, and Francis Xavier brought Christianity. In the nineteenth century, Japan underwent crucial development as a result of exchanges with the West, and this development has continued to the present with ongoing cultural contacts.

This was not the first time that Japan borrowed from other cultures. Yet Japanese borrowing in the modern period was much different from Japanese contacts with Chinese and Korean civilizations between the fifth and thirteenth centuries. In the case of these earlier contacts, because seafaring voyages were full of danger, the oceans surrounding the Japanese archipelago provided a buffer zone. Moreover, the cultures and civilizations of China and Korea, imbued with Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist philosophies, were not as aggressive as modern Western powers, armed with steam ships, modern military forces, modern capitalism, and imperialist tendencies. As a result, Japanese assimilation of Chinese and Korean civilization was more gradual, gentler, and more deeply penetrating.

GUNS AND CHRISTIANITY. As mentioned, Japan's contact with the West began around the time when Portuguese merchants drifted ashore a southern island of the Japanese archipelago in 1543. The matchlocks they brought with them were mastered quickly, reproduced in large quantities by native craftsmen, and spread quickly and widely throughout the country. These guns not only changed military tactics but also transformed the structure of castles and other fortifications. Eventually, Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582), Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1538–1598), and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616), successive unifiers of the country, used such guns quite successfully in battles to unify the country.

The Catholic Church began missionary activities in Japan when Francis Xavier and other Jesuit priests arrived in 1549 on Kagoshima to evangelize in western Japan. In the beginning, Christianity was well received by warlords and later the Tokugawa shogunate. Portuguese merchants began international trade with Japan, followed by the Spanish in 1580, the Dutch in 1609, and the British in 1613. Japanese mercantile ships, which had trading abroad since the middle of fourteenth century, continued trade with China, Korea, Formosa, the Philippines, Java, Vietnam, Malaysia, and Thailand. Japanese leaders were interested in new information about Europe and the outside world, and in new scientific and technical knowledge, including knowledge about imported European firearms. Since Catholic missionary activities and the merchant trade were intimately connected, many warlords interested in the profits of trade readily converted to Christianity.

In 1587 Hideyoshi banished the missionaries and prohibited the Christian faith among the warlords. But only a few missionaries left Japan, and those who remained successfully propagated Christianity among the masses, gaining as many as 700,000 devotees by the early seventeenth century, more than two times the population of the capital city of Kyoto at that time. Later the Tokugawa shogunate, perceiving the colonialist interests of foreign powers and fearing uprisings among the masses, started to ban the Christian faith by issuing successive ordinances in 1614, 1616, and 1623. During this time the government destroyed churches, deported missionaries, and tortured and executed defiant Christians. All the Christian warlords but a few famous converts renounced their faith.

Some Christians went underground and maintained their faith for generations until the reopening of the country in the nineteenth century. Underground Christianity, separated from the Catholic orders, became indigenized and syncretized with folk Buddhism for outward appearances. The virgin Mary was amalgamated with Kannon (Avalokiteśvara), Buddhist goddess of mercy, and called "Maria Kannon."

After the Shimabara uprising of Christians, in which forty thousand people fought on the Christian side, the Tokugawa government, in 1639, took the extreme measure of closing Japan to all foreign trade. The only exception was trade with the Dutch, who did not engage in any missionary activity, at the port of Nagasaki, from then on the only port officially open for international trade and exchanges. The Tokugawa feudal regime thus started the policy of seclusion, which was to last for 260 years.

PROSPERITY AMIDST SECLUSION. Several external factors made possible the long, peaceful seclusion of Japan. Vast oceans lay between Europe and Japan. At the time the center of political and economic power in Europe was shifting from Spain and Portugal to England and Holland, and this affected the ability of these counties to develop colonial empires. Also, the industrial revolution had not yet taken hold in Europe. Later, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when steam ships and the accelerating industrial revolution enabled Western countries to project power all over the world, Japan was revisited, this time by the fleets of various Western nations to force open its doors. The vast oceans were no longer a barrier to Western civilization. The oceanic space was becoming domesticated more and more by the power of capitalism, colonialism and imperialism as well as the science and technology of the West.

Domestically, the Tokugawa regime carried out an apt set of policies to order society and stabilize the country. It established a rigid social hierarchy consisting of four main social classes—warriors, farmers, artisans, and merchants—and prohibited upward mobility. In another important policy it confiscated weapons, allowing only hunters to use firearms and only warriors to use swords. And it rigidly regulated Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines. On Buddhist temples it imposed the temple parish system (*jidan seido*). This policy required individuals to be certified by their local Buddhist temples not to be a member of the "evil religion" Christianity.

Neo-Confucian philosophy provided the Tokugawa regime with a powerful political ideology, with distinctions of rank and status, for ruling feudal society. As a result, Confucian studies prospered under the patronage of the shogunate and many daimyo. The regime used neo-Confucian philosophy to regulate all Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines and suppress underground Christians. The Bureau of Buddhist Temples and Shintō Shrines organized Buddhist temples, in sectarian divisions, into a hierarchy of a central temple on top and more local temples further down. Temples thus functioned as a bureaucracy to control the spiritual life of the people. The government also banned new doctrines and interpretations in Buddhist and Shintō communities. Though the Tokugawa government recognized Buddhist sects as official religions, Buddhist priests thus lost their religious freedom and spontaneity. Young novices trained as priests at head temples, upon completing their training, went back to local temples to teach children Confucian ethics and the *Analects.* The official schools of the clans (*hankō*) and the many private temple schools (*terakoya*) greatly contributed to the prevalence of literacy among the populace in Tokugawa period (1603–1867). With its power to proscribe sects, the regime controlled the scope of activities of the temples.

The Tokugawa government, by establishing the peace and making life secure, encouraged the growth of industry and commerce, as well as the development of a transportation system centered around the waterways of sea, rivers, and canals. Within the feudal social-class system there developed a mercantile economy with currency and credit, and this encouraged the production of various agricultural and industrial commodities within the country. People were already consuming such commercial products as cotton, sugar, silk, and tea, all of which had a foreign origin. These commodities became important trade goods when Japan resumed trading with Western nations: Japanese imported cotton products and sugar and exported silk and tea.

JAPANESE THOUGHT. The neo-Confucian school not only synthesized the concept of *li* (reason, principle) with the Great Ultimate, material forces *(qi)*, human nature, and the mind; in Japan it also later equated *li* with the Way of the Gods (the literal meaning of "Shintō"). Joseph Kitagawa points out that since warrior-administrators translated philosophical ideas into practical measures for governing the country, the Tokugawa regime tended to be free from Chinese models. Since neo-Confucianism provided the ideological foundation of the regime, this school produced many famous scholars.

Equally important was the Wang Yangming school, which interpreted *li* as identical with the mind and viewed each individual mind as the manifestation of the Universal Mind. Though the regime did not support the Wang Yangming school, the idea of moral cultivation based on the Universal Mind appealed to many Japanese and gave rise to many important social reformers. Mind Learning (Shingaku), a popular version of Confucianism with Shintō and Buddhist elements, taught commoners the importance of disciplining the mind with simple, easy-to-understand language.

Besides these three schools of Confucianism, a variety of other schools of learning thrived during the Tokugawa period. Ancient Learning (Kogaku) advocated directly studying the texts of Confucius and Mencius. This gesture of returning to origins by reading the classical texts was a radical criticism of the neo-Confucian and Wang Yangming schools as later departures from the original Way.

National Learning (Kokugaku) was born as the antithesis of Chinese Learning, specifically the school of Ancient Learning, which advocated returning to classical Chinese texts. The school of National Learning created a tradition of textual criticism for the interpretation of Japanese classical texts that did away with all Chinese influences on the interpretation of Japanese texts. The most outstanding scholar of National Learning was Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801), who studied the *Kojiki* (Records of ancient matters), which is written in *manyōgana* (Chinese characters used phonetically). As is often pointed out, he tried to return to the world of meaning revealed by the ancient text itself, to grasp the meaning of the text by directly participating in it without any intervening Chinese influences and by living it as the Way of the Gods. Motoori deciphered and interpreted the *Kojiki* as sacred. Motoori's scholarship came to be accepted by Shintō theologians as the foundation of Shintō theology and, together with the scholarship of Hirata Atsutane, one of Motoori's posthumous disciples, laid the foundation for later nationalist Shintō movements during the Meiji period (1868–1912).

Dutch Learning (Rangaku) was primarily the learning of Dutch medicine. Dutch Learning produced such positivistic spirits as Yamawaki Tōyō, who studied the internal organs of the dissected body, and Maeno Ryōtaku and Sugita Genpaku, who not only examined the anatomized body but also translated a Dutch book on anatomy as *Kaitai shinsho* (New anatomy).

A positivist attitude can also be observed in the social reformer Andō Shōeki (d. 1762), who criticized traditional Confucian and Buddhist thinking as artificial and asserted the importance of learning directly from nature. For Andō, everyone must return to the Way of Nature (or the Life of Nature) by partaking in production, that is, agriculture. Nature is not an object of observation or contemplation, but what life partakes in. "By human participation, the True Way of Life reveals itself as the Truly Wondrous Way of Life." "Farmers cultivate land, weave cloths, eat simple food, wear simple cloths, selflessly and self-containedly. They are the direct children of Nature" (*Shizen Shin-ei-do,* vol. 4, pp. 57-69). Andō repudiated the feudalistic social hierarchy of Tokugawa society as artificial and to be avoided.

These schools of learning sought to return to the old, that is, to go back to origins in classical texts or back to original paradigms, and realize them here and now, or they sought to prove texts in a positivist spirit. These traditions later became the basis for responses to Western civilization, whether the response be to introduce a new approach, to appropriate critically, or to oppose.

The Tokugawa period also witnessed the development of popular arts, such as painting, woodblock prints, poetry, Kabuki theater, and puppet theater (Ningyō Jōruri). Each of these genres responded to the imaginary needs of the people in highly creative ways. These arts were sustained by wealthy merchants living in urban centers and later spread to local villages.

THE RISE OF RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS. The Tokugawa regime rigidly controlled and manipulated the Buddhist sects and Shintō shrines as official religions. Institutional forms of religion, when they emerged, were suppressed and went underground during the Tokugawa period. Having lost freedom and mobility within the feudal parish system, Buddhism and Shintō, as institutions, lost their religiosity and degenerated into funeral services and administrators of ancestor veneration, respectively.

But various important folk religious movements emerged spontaneously from the lower strata of society. One such movement was large scale pilgrimages, which often undercut feudal space boundaries. There were mass pilgrimages to the Grand Shrine of Ise, repeated every sixty years, which developed into the Anything-Goes Dance (Eejanaika Odori), in which the masses, dancing and singing, went toward Ise. Other pilgrimages were the Pilgrimage to the Eighty-Eight Sacred Places of Shikoku (Shikoku Henro) and the Pilgrimage to the Thirty-Three Sacred Places of Kannon in Western Japan (Saigoku Junrei). All of these pilgrimages expressed a yearning for a worldly paradise apart from the realities of the contemporary world.

Three religions—Kurozumikyō, Tenrikyō, and Konkōkyō—emerged from the villages toward the end of the Tokugawa period. These popular religions became the prototypes of new religions in modern Japan. Each of these religions was based upon the religious experience of its founder and sustained people with simple but universal teachings.

RESPONSES TO FOREIGN CIVILIZATIONS. In Japanese contacts with the Chinese and Korean civilizations in the fifth to ninth centuries, Kitagawa finds a threefold response: a welcome introduction, integration and assimilation, and rejection or transformation. This threefold process greatly enriched indigenous culture and tradition through the assimilation and integration of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism. These contacts even stimulated the native religious tradition to develop Shintō and gave birth to many new religions, including indigenous forms of Buddhism. By this contact, Japanese culture and society was greatly enriched.

Prior to direct contact with modern Western powers, various aspects of Tokugawa feudal society were becoming modern. But the need to modernize took on a whole new meaning and urgency after Japanese contact with the West. When Portuguese traders and Jesuit Catholicism arrived in Japan, in the initial phases they were welcome. Later on in the historical process, however, Western culture could not be assimilated or integrated well because the Catholic Church demanded wholehearted allegiance and the Western powers had aggressive colonial interests. Thus, in a natural response, the Tokugawa regime rejected Western culture and Christianity except for Dutch trade, although many fragmental influences from Western culture remained.

The second cycle of contact with Western civilizations began in the late eighteenth century. Since 1792 Russians repeatedly sent diplomatic missions and battleships to Japan asking for the opening of trade. In 1808 England sent a battleship to Nagasaki to take over the Dutch trading base there. And when a team of administrators representing various clans visited Shanghai at the time of the Opium War (1840–1842) to investigate, they observed China succumbing to British military power and discovered that most of the East Asian coastal regions except Manchuria, Korea, and Japan had been colonized. Fearing Western colonialism, they felt the need to build up power to protect Japan. Many Dutch schools of medicine and schools of the feudal clans were soon transformed into naval strategy research institutes and naval academies. Then, in 1853, the four "black ships" led by Commodore Matthew Perry, with their powerful cannons, appeared off the shore of Japan and asked for the opening of Japanese ports.

The regime was forced to make treaties with the United States, Holland, England, France, and Russia on unequal terms, granting extraterritorial rights and giving up the right to levy tariffs. To avoid colonization and attain equilibrium with the Western powers, leaders felt the need to plan for enriching the nation and building up defenses. The whole country was divided into two factions: one for the shogunate and the other for the emperor, one for opening the country to foreigners and the other for excluding foreigners. The peaceful country, suddenly surrounded by the powerful military powers of the West, was thrown into an unprecedented crisis. Thus began a new cycle of contact with the West. It was the beginning of the perpetual fast changes in life and society that have continued into the twenty-first century.

Out of the crisis, people searched for a new unity and new order for the nation and ultimately chose to reinvigorate the country by reverting to the ancient ideal of an emperor-centered religious, political, and national polity. The design of the Meiji imperial regime was to construct a modern nation-state by negating the recent past (the feudal Tokugawa tradition) and restoring the monarchical rule of the eighth century, centered on the traditional Japanese notion of a sacred emperor at the top of all hierarchies. This was another phase of traditional Japanese "immanent theocracy," to use Kitagawa's term. Meiji leaders followed the ancient model of unity of religion and state *(saisei itchi)*. In this new regime, the former social hierarchy of warrior, farmer, artisan, and merchant was eliminated, and all the people were now treated equally as the subjects of the semidivine emperor.

WESTERNIZATION. The modernization of Japan was not imposed on the Japanese people from the outside by colonialism. Rather, it was what the Japanese were determined to accomplish to overcome the disequilibrium of Western and Japanese power. A basic strategy of the regime was to use the Japanese spirit and Western knowledge *(wakon-yōsai)*. Learning the knowledge of the West was the secret to equalization and rectification of the power imbalance.

Recognizing that the Western powers would not revise the unequal treaties, Japanese leaders adopted various elements of European jurisprudence in the French, German, and English codes. This produced contradictions, since French codes were progressive and the German codes were conservative. Etō Shinpei (1834–1874), one of the chief designers of the modern state in the early stage of its formation, highly appreciated the French civil code, especially on the rights of the people, and incorporated aspects of the French code into the Meiji civil code. The Meiji code also had to embrace incoherences due to differences of culture and society.

Japan started modernizing not only in jurisprudence but also in many other areas of culture and society. Japan adopted many Western institutions, such as government offices, a solar calendar, police, an army, a navy, railways, gaslight, a postal system, electricity, compulsory education, banks, a parliament, and a constitution.

These measures for Westernizing Japan were accompanied by a policy of enlightenment and civilization (*bunmei kaika*), which promoted Western culture and civilization in all aspects of life and society, from modern Western sciences and rationalism to people's hairstyles and Western-style clothes. Japanese intellectuals translated many works of Western philosophers and scientists, starting with Darwin, Mill, Huxley, and Spencer and following with Voltaire, Rousseau, Descartes, Kant, Shopenhauer, Hegel, Spinoza, Locke, Hume, Nietzsche, W. James, Dewey, Bergson, Sartre, and Heidegger. They also translated many novelists and poets, such as Shakespeare, Goethe, Maupassant, Tolstoy, Ibsen, Dostoevskii, Hemmingway, Kafka, Zola, Heine, and Baudelaire. Many of these works were accepted as new paradigms in their genres.

As for policies toward religion, the Meiji government, like the Tokugawa regime, required religious registration. However, in place of Buddhist temples, the Meiji government required every Japanese subject to register at the local Shintō shrine. The architects of the Meiji government took the Western model of Christianity as the unifying force of the nation-state and modified it so that the Shintō pantheon of spirits *(kami)* served as the religious foundation of Japan, and they attempted to make Shintō the state religion in Japan. After encountering criticism and resistance from various sectors, other religious groups in Japan, and international societies, the government relaxed this religious policy.

During the formation of modern Japan, Japanese intellectuals absorbed Western ideals, rationalism, technology, and economic systems. Many young students and bureaucrats were dispatched to Western countries to study Western laws, institutions, sciences, and technologies. The Japanese government invited and employed many foreign advisors, professors, technocrats, and specialists to establish and develop a modern nation-state with industrial capacity and military strength.

CULTURAL VALUES AND CRITICISM. To say the least, Western notions of science, which were based on the diversification of knowledge into various branches, had a strong impact on the minds of Japanese scholars, who had been accustomed to a holistic approach to learning. Within the Western sciences, for instance, religion was separated from all other branches of knowledge, such as politics, economy, culture, society, philosophy, mathematics, and physics. In the holistic orientation of the Japanese tradition, in contrast, Chinese Learning, National Learning, and Dutch Learning did not have clear divisions of knowledge. Therefore, for Japanese, being educated in the new tradition of Western sciences often meant exposure to an entirely new cultural and epistemological orientation based on a different set of values. This orientation required Japanese to evaluate Japanese and Western values against each other before accepting Western orientations and integrating them into Japanese culture. Japanese culture had to adjust itself to these new concepts and ideas. How to adapt Japanese culture was always open to criticism.

One such critic was Okakura Tenshin (1862–1913), an art critic and leader in modern Japanese art circles. Before the Russo-Japanese War, Okakura criticized Western colonialism and imperialism, saying that Asia is one. In the year after the war (1906), he also criticized "moderns" who judged the Japanese victory in bloody battles over Russia as "civilized" and who regarded such peaceful pastimes as the tea ceremony and other aesthetic activities as "barbarian." Okakura's critiques were published in English in London; the former was written in India, and the latter in Boston. He knew the problems of the East and the West, of Japanese culture and Western culture, because he lived in and knew both worlds.

Another critic was Minakata Kumakusu (1867–1941), a folklorist and natural historian. Minakata protested against the government's policy of consolidating Shintō shrines throughout the country to clear virgin forests belonging to the shrines. The government undertook this measure to create land for increased farm production and further industrialization. This measure, begun in 1906, met vehement criticism from Minakata, who had returned to Japan after a long sojourn of research in the United States and England. The policy was abandoned in 1915.

Though individuals raised severe criticisms of the direction of modernization at critical junctures in modern Japanese history, Japanese commoners often meekly accepted policies for Westernizing the nation. The Japanese tended to embrace recklessly the ideals of modern Western civilizations—rationalism, industrialization, capitalism, progress, and development—even when such ideals were incompatible with traditional Japanese values.

THE IMPACT OF MODERNIZATION ON RELIGION. During the past 150 years, Japanese society has undergone many radical cultural and social changes involving all aspects of life. Included here are such great transformations as the overthrow of the feudal Tokugawa regime; the establishment of the modern Meiji imperial state; the rapid introduction of policies to modernize in the fields of government, law, education, technology, and culture; the development of capitalism; colonialist and militaristic involvement in Asia; the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895); the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905); the further development of industry and capitalism; greater economic and military involvement in Asia; the Second World War (which ended in Japan's defeat); the U.S. occupation; postwar modernization and democratization; and phenomenal economic growth. These rapid changes in society brought forth serious existential crises, including the disintegration of traditional communities and values, along with new types of human alienation and identity crises.

Modern Western concepts and views of religion were introduced in the early Meiji period into Japanese universities, which in themselves were modeled after Western universities. The Japanese word *shūkyō* was coined to translate the Western notion of religion, and when the word was applied to Japanese religionlike institutions, it often created problems. Buddhists, for instance, were uncomfortable with the theistic connotations of the word. Followers of other Japanese religions found their own problems. Because of its amorphous conception of the sacred, the Japanese indigenous religion Shintō does not fit well into the category of religion. Moreover, many studies of Japanese religion completely ignore the whole folk-religious tradition, a strong undercurrent of Japanese religious culture, because none of these folk religions had coherent, systematically articulated doctrines comparable to the Western ideal, Protestant Christianity.

Japanese religions responded to the changed intellectual climate. Shintō was now a state religion and took on all the trappings of state ideology. The elite Buddhist sects busily readjusted themselves to Western influences and the new political and social situations surrounding them. The True Pure-Land Sect was foremost in these attempts. It sent young students to study at Oxford University (where Max Müller was) and at other European institutions even before the Meiji Restoration in 1868. This sect drafted a constitution and experimented with a parliament even before the governmental did. It appropriated ideas of Western philosophy to develop its doctrines. The Zen Sect also actively developed its scholarship. In the process, elite Buddhist sects rediscovered the importance of the doctrines of their founders in the Kamakura period (1185–1333). Yet these sects were still bound to the powerful remnants of their hereditary parishes, inherited from the Tokugawa period. Thus these established religions, Shintō and Buddhism, developed doctrinally but remained aloof from the religious needs of the people. Christian sects, which were treated as an "evil religion" during the Tokugawa period, became tolerated and resumed their activities, but never became as potent a force as before.

NEW RELIGIONS. Western civilization thrust itself upon Japan in an age of imperialism. To survive, Japan absorbed Western ideals, rationality, technology, and economic systems. Thus did the Japanese elite seek to emulate and overcome the West. And yet they also sought to distinguish Japan from the West. This is important to note, because Japan, despite all the evidence to the contrary, is still presented as a homogeneous culture with little or no individuality. This notion of a homogeneous culture owes much to sudden contact with the West and to the Meiji effort to create a modern state to rival Western powers by forming a new political center consisting of a people united under an emperor.

The political myths created by the Japanese elite notwithstanding, Japanese commoners displayed their individuality in new religions. While the established religions and their leaders were busily trying to adjust to ongoing changes and remained aloof from the religious needs of the common people, new religious movements emerged spontaneously from the lower strata of society. The established religions tended to accept government policies, but there were signs of resistance among many of the new religions. But as soon as these new religions were more or less established within society, other new religions would emerge from lower strata of society or from the fringes of established new religions. The emergence of new religions has followed this general historical pattern up until the explosion of new religions in the 1990s, including Aum Shinrikyō, which in 1995 released Sarin gas in Tokyo subways during the morning rush hour.

Under the religious policy of the Meiji government, Shintō shrines were elevated to the status of the official state religion. After Buddhist, Christian, and liberal scholars resisted and criticized this move, the government eventually designated Shintō as a national cult rather than as a religion. By this move, all Shintō shrines were transformed from places of veneration to nonreligious places of national rituals. Buddhism lost its status as the state religion, which it had enjoyed during the Tokugawa period, but it remained an established religion supported by hereditary parishioners. During the Meiji period, three newly formed religions and some syncretic folk-religious associations were officially recognized as Shintō sects. Within the framework of Meiji imperial Shintō, all religious groups were officially recognized and tolerated.

By the policy of enlightenment, various age-old folk-religious practices, including yin-yang divination calendars, magico-religious practices, and symbolism, were suppressed as superstition, evil religion, and even licentious worship. All religions—Buddhism, Christianity, and the new religions—compromised with the ideology of a sacred emperor to survive in the framework of Meiji policy toward religion.

One of the most far-reaching influences of the enlightenment policy of the Meiji was that religion disappeared from the public domain. Religion became a private matter within a secular, modern state, although a sacred and inviolable emperor ruled over it. Politicians did not confess their faith, and schools and universities did not teach religion as a core subject.

Many students and scholars went abroad to study Western sciences and philosophy. After returning to Japan, many became leading intellectuals, civil servants, and political leaders. As Uchimura Kanzō states, the Japanese accepted Christian civilization but not Christianity itself (*Questions and Answers on Christianity*). Soon intellectuals found themselves in an intellectual climate in which they could not be persuasive unless they could skillfully manipulate modern Western scientific concepts. Even Buddhist scholars (figures such as Kiyosawa Manshi, Kimura Taiken, and Nishida Kitarō) had to use Western philosophical and scientific concepts to articulate their doctrines and ideas. For this reason, various sciences, including folklore and the study of religion, have had to follow modern Western models devoutly until into the twenty-first century. Despite this tendency, some thinkers also developed profound and articulate critiques of the West, as can be seen in the work of Okakura Tenshin, D. T. Suzuki, Nishida Kitarō, Nishitani Keiji, and Yanagita Kunio. Except for Nishida, all of these men were directly exposed to modern Western civilization, and all were aware of the need to straddle the two worlds.

The intellectual climate for novelists was similar to that for philosophers. Both Natsume Sōseki (1867–1916) and Mori Ōgai (1862–1922) were well versed not only in Chinese and Japanese literature, but also in Western languages and literatures. Sōseki expressed concern about the impossible task of synthesizing the enlightenment spirit of the externally imposed (the Western) and the spontaneous spirit of the indigenous. For him, "An enlightenment that was triggered from the outside was unknown until recent times. We must catch up with the West. But by incorporating the external, we become anxious and fret over it." Mori wrote, "The new Japan is in the midst of a whirlpool in which Eastern culture and Western culture are coming together. There are some scholars who stand in the Eastern, and others who stand in the Western; both stand on a single leg. This age calls for scholars who stand firmly on two legs."

THE TAISHŌ INTELLECTUAL CLIMATE. The internal conflicts and agonies observed in novelists and philosophers of the Meiji period became weaker among intellectuals in the post-Meiji period, that is, after the Russo-Japanese War. In that war Japan struggled to defend itself against Russia's powerful military expansion with colonial intent. Japanese victory meant that it succeeded at building a strong nation by Westernizing, and that Japan was now a player in the power game among the world powers over East Asia. Although Japan had succeeded in its struggle for treaties ending extraterritoriality and allowing it to impose tariffs, it now had to contest with the world powers in a struggle for survival. After the Russian revolution in 1917, the First World War ended.

Intellectually, instead of agonies over how to maintain Japanese identity in the face of the Western onslaught, Japanese now faced the influences of Marxism, nihilism, and vitalist philosophy. This new intellectual climate, stemming from the thought of Karl Marx, Friedrich Nietzsche, and Henri Bergson, reflected contemporary Western social and political crises. Also swirling about in the atmosphere of the Taishō period (1912–1926) were liberalism and democratic thought, which helped give rise to movements for people's rights and socialism.

Soon, social, political, and economic crises visited Japan, and the newspapers frequently carried news about socialist movements. The novels of Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, who committed suicide by taking poison, represented a contemporary Japanese world reflecting the apocalyptic vision of the Western world. Nishitani Keiji, a leading philosopher of religion in twentieth-century Japan, stated that when Japanese intellectuals became aware of the crises of the West from Western philosophers and novelists, they attempted to go back to their own tradition, but when they tried to rediscover it, they also became aware that their own tradition had already partially broken down. To overcome this crisis, Nishitani thinks, "the Japanese have to overcome a double nihilism, for one aspect of the problem is a Western crisis, and the other aspect is a Japanese crisis."

THE POSTWAR PERIOD. Japan's defeat in the Second World War and the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki terminated Japan's colonialist and imperialist ambitions. During its occupation of Japan, the United States imposed on Japan a new constitution instituting democratic reforms, disarming the nation, separating church and state, radically revising the civil codes, giving the emperor the status of symbol of the nation.

Thus began another phase of the radical transformation of Japan due to contact with the West. Japan started to rebuild its country as a modern democratic, secular state by further Westernizing and rationalizing its institutions, but since the new structure of the state was imposed by an external force, many problems arose. In postwar Japan, many new religions again spontaneously emerged. Almost all of these new religions emphasized the veneration of ancestors by focusing on the form of the family altar, the proper way to hold services, the meaning of ancestor spirits, and so on. The United States sponsored a reform of the civil code along liberal Western lines that ensured the rights of every individual in the family at the risk of the continuity of the family. In reaction to this drastic change in the structure of the family, these new religions attempted to ensure the continuity of the family and family ties.

MISHIMA YUKIO. An outstanding postwar critique of Japan's Westernization is found in the life and work of the novelist Mishima Yukio (1925–1970). Mishima wrote many creative novels in the literary style of twentieth-century Western literature. He also wrote many important essays before he committed suicide in the traditional samurai style of slitting his bowels. He wrote, "A characteristic of contemporary culture is probably that many different illusions—including ideals, norms, and ideologies—that had inspired people toward life have broken down. The idea of the absolute was lost, and people are forced to face naked life as materialistic and naturalistic, deprived of all designs. This is the cause of the irredeemable nihilism of today." When any community is eroded by other culture, its rules and customs break down, and the community gradually falls apart morally and spiritually. In such circumstances, life destroys itself, whatever efforts may be tried to fulfill life.

Mishima was desperately warning against the tendency of life to destroy itself in Japan's headlong effort to Westernize and modernize. When he criticized the Japanese emperor for proclaiming that he was a human being, not a living *kami*, he also pointed out the contradiction of modern constitutional emperorship. For Mishima, it is impossible to

Westernize the sacred; the sacred cannot be embodied within the framework of a Western secular nation-state.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Japan; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Japanese Buddhism; Domestic Observances, article on Japanese Practices; Fiction, article on Japanese Fiction and Religion; Folk Religion, article on Folk Buddhism; Japanese Religions, article on Popular Religion and article on The Study of Myths; New Religious Movements, article on New Religious Movements in Japan; Politics and Religion, article on Politics and Japanese Religions; Shintō.

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MICHIO ARAKI (2005)

TRANSCULTURATION AND RELIGION: RELIGION IN THE FORMATION OF MODERN INDIA

To put into historical perspective the multifaceted pattern of Hindu socioreligious modernism, scholars have chronicled the origins of British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance. Similar to the European Renaissance, which occurred prior to the Reformation, nineteenth-century India also underwent a period of cultural renaissance followed by an era of religious reformation.

BRITISH ORIENTALISM AND THE BENGAL RENAISSANCE. The Bengal Renaissance occurred in eastern Gangetic India—specifically, in the colonial metropolis of Calcutta—from the year 1773, when Warren Hastings designated the city as the future capital of British India, until 1828, when Governor-General Lord Bentinck challenged Orientalist cultural policy. During this period, Calcutta operated schools using European textbooks and teaching methods. In addition, the newly created Hindu middle class had founded Hindu College, the only Western-style institution of higher learning in South Asia. The government supported newspapers, journals, and books printed in English and the vernacular languages of India. Calcutta boasted a modern public library. Perhaps most significantly, the metropolis contained native intelligentsia, whose members were familiar with happenings in contemporary Europe, fully cognizant of their country's own historical legacy, and, as a renaissance elite, hopeful about its future as a culture in the modern world.

The agents of Western colonial rule who sympathetically supported these endeavors were "acculturated" civil, military, and judicial officials of the British East India Company (as well as some missionaries) referred to as Orientalists, largely because of the cultural policy that was followed by the government. Most of these so-called Orientalists did not harbor nationalistic or imperialistic ambitions, nor did they support the increasingly bureaucratic mentality that developed after 1870. On the contrary, the Orientalists had been shaped by the eighteenth-century world of the Enlightenment, with its open-minded curiosity about other civilizations. Orientalists were encouraged by official policy to master at least one Indian language and to use that language fruitfully for scholarly research. It was no accident that the Asiatic Society of Bengal, established in Calcutta in 1784 as the first modern organization of its type to study Asian civilizations in all their aspects, was a direct result of a British East India Company cultural policy. Orientalists such as William Jones, William Carey, James Prinsep, H. T. Colebrooke, and H. H. Wilson made important discoveries in such fields as pre-Muslim Indian history, religion, and archaeology. Research into the kinship of Indo-European languages and the rediscoveries of the historic Buddha, Aśoka, and the Mauryan Empire were some of the lasting achievements of this coterie of devoted civil servants. There is no evidence that they ensconced themselves in clubs, as did the later bureaucrats, nor did they construct a barrier of racial privilege between themselves and their "subject races." Instead, the Orientalists reached out to the Bengali intelligentsia, forming relationships with them, serving as sources of knowledge about contemporary Britain and, above all, working together on projects designed to promote social and cultural change in Calcutta.

The Bengal Renaissance arose from interaction between the Bengali intelligentsia and the British Orientalists. Between 1800 and 1830, in Calcutta, the Bengali intelligentsia consisted of uncertain but hopeful people who were adopting alien values and ideas to reform indigenous traditions. They established relationships with the British, both for material gain and to use them as windows to the West. Fortunately for them, the distance between London and Calcutta was vast, and the Orientalists with whom they associated had already become sufficiently "Indianized." The Bengali's favorable view of the West during this sympathetic Orientalist period helped to maintain good rapport and goodwill between the representatives of the two civilizations.

RAMMOHUN ROY, FATHER OF MODERN INDIA. Of all the Bengalis in the Orientalist period, none was more influential in creating a legacy of Hindu socioreligious reform than Rammohun Roy (1772–1833). Long before Vivekananda laid the foundation of his Ramakrishna Mission, before Nehru wrote his monumental *Discovery of India* in a British prison, and before Gandhi built his nationalist ideology on the bedrock of Hindu and Buddhist morality, Rammohun had already utilized the Orientalist rediscovery of the ancient tradition, which the progressive intelligentsia readily accepted in their quest for a new identity in the modern world.

Rammohun had studied Asian religions from primary sources and met countless Europeans in Calcutta who imparted to him their thoughts on Western civilization in the nineteenth century. Missionaries at the Danish enclave of Serampore had tried unsuccessfully to convert Rammohun to their Baptist form of Protestant Christianity. Some other members of the intelligentsia who were xenophiles did become Christians, deciding that their salvation lay in copying the West or in accepting that modernization equated to Westernization. But Rammohun, supported by the scholarly evidence of Orientalist research into Hindu antiquity, contrasted the age he lived in—with its *kulin* polygamy, sati practices, caste rigidity, idolatry, and the abuse of women—to the classical age, which was free of dark-age excrescences. For Rammohun, he and his fellow Indians did not need to surrender themselves to an alien way of life in order to accept modernistic values. Ancient Hindus were mathematical and scientific sophisticates; Brahma of the Upaniṣads was as superior a notion of the godhead as anything produced in the Middle East; ancient India overflowed with philosophic diversity; and ancient art, literature, and medicine flourished among Indians in classical times. Moreover, evidence existed that women were considered equal to men.

From 1815, when Rammohun settled in Calcutta, until 1833, when he traveled to England to meet with Unitarians (he died there later that same year), he labored intensely, keeping up with Orientalist scholarship, translating ancient scriptures, organizing meetings of the Calcutta Unitarian Society and Brāhmo Sabhā (society of God), and becoming involved in journalistic ventures and debates. As he sought to recreate the Vedantic tradition, he was often attacked by missionaries and other Christians, who ridiculed his efforts. In 1823, for example, he defended the Vedānta as containing a rational exposition on the unity of God without the superstitious verbiage that he claimed was so common in many Christian sources. Unlike the Bible, Rammohun argued, the Vedanta did not attempt to categorize the attributes of the Almighty, a gesture he found anthropomorphic and futile. He also contended that, whereas Christianity required a blood sacrifice to expatiate the sins of humanity, the Vedānta taught that the only means necessary to overcome sin is sincere repentance and solemn meditation. He asked whether popular Christianity was any better than popular Hinduism. How could the crucifixes, the saints, miracles, trinity, and holy water be justified?

Ultimately, Rammohun chose to reform Hinduism against the backdrop of a liberal faith emanating from former Christians in America and Britain who were highly dissatisfied with the same dubious beliefs and practices that troubled Rammohun and many of his cohorts in Calcutta. It is no coincidence that Rammohun established a Calcutta Unitarian Society in Calcutta in 1823, or that he died while visiting the home of the Reverend Lant Carpenter, a prominent Unitarian in Bristol, and that, had he lived, Rammohun would have traveled across the ocean to Boston and met with William Ellery Channing, the leading spokesman of liberal Unitarianism in the United States. Though Unitarianism was never a mass movement, like-minded sentiments regarding religion and society brought East and West together, with important consequences for socioreligious reform in India. Three simple but highly controversial ideas for the time (1815–1835) provided the link between the renaissance intelligentsia in Calcutta and the enlightened, liberal-minded elite in England and the United States.

First, a national faith would replace the predominant religions of the world, believed to be restricting the freedom of human beings by enslaving them to performing mechanical rites and rituals, listening to irresponsible anecdotes that served no moral purpose, and holding meaningless superstitions and otherworldly beliefs that served no useful purpose in improving the lot of the human race. Second, social reform would emancipate the exploited classes such as workers, peasants, and women through education and the extension of civil rights, allowing all to benefit equally from modern civilization. Finally, universal theistic progress would occur; human perfectibility could not be confined to a particular race or ethnicity but could happen worldwide.

Mindful of these three objectives, Rammohun Roy helped establish the Brāhmo Sabhā, precursor of the Brahmo Samaj, on January 23, 1830. He then left for Europe to meet with persons who shared his beliefs. Though he never returned to India, he did leave behind the outline of a program for Hindu reformation.

THE BRĀHMO SAMĀJ AND THE HINDU REFORMATION. The work of developing the Brāhmo Samāj after Rammohun's death was taken up by Debendranath Tagore (1817–1903), son of Rammohun's close friend, Dwarkanath Tagore. Like Rammohun, Debendranath identified true Hinduism with the Vedantic tradition; he also fought Christian missionaries' attempts at converting members of the new educated Bengali elite. In this endeavor, Debendranath received assistance, often against his better judgment, from an American Unitarian missionary, Charles Dall, who came to Calcutta in 1855 hoping (but failing) to find Rammohun's philosophical convictions in Debendranath's leadership. Unlike his father and Rammohun, who both voluntarily traveled to England, Debendranath remained suspicious of Westerners most of his life. Dall had to wait until 1866, when a more radical Brahmo named Keshub Chandra Sen rebelled against Tagore's conservatism and founded his own Brāhmo Samāj. Dall considered Keshub to be Rammohun's true successor.

Debendranath's significant contribution to the Hindu Reformation was his intellectual preoccupation with formulating the principles of a new middle-class ethic for Brahmos and their counterparts throughout India. Debendranath had begun a process that was similar to Christian reformers of earlier centuries, transforming the religion to become more puritanical so as to serve the needs of the new European Protestant middle class. Brāhmo missionaries translated his book, published in 1855 as *Brahmo Dharma* (Brāhmo ethic), into the languages of other Indian peoples as they traveled throughout South Asia spreading the gospel of Hindu reform. Debendranath redefined *dharma*, which in ancient times had meant caste duty, as a modernized set of precepts for the true Hindu. Debendranath offered the emancipated Hindu guidance and edification in everything from family responsibilities to behavior in the workplace to being a devotee of the one true God.

Debendranath never claimed to be creating something new, however. He began by stressing the duties that each member of the household owed to one another. He emphasized the social good from which a family can profit if its members practice sincerity, devotion, purity, forgiveness, and gentleness. In the workplace, Debendranath advocated the good Hindu to rely on one's self, persevere always, and work hard continually. He believed that poverty could be overcome by laboring in the path of righteousness. He advised doing one's own work rather than being dependent on others, and against choosing to beg.

In 1866 one of Debendranath's followers, Keshub Chandra Sen (1839–1884), led the militant wing of the movement to form a separate Brāhmo organization, dedicated to what they believed to be Rammohun Roy's ideological path. Keshub accused Debendranath of doing nothing as a social reformer, especially with regard to female emancipation. Furthermore, the activists saw Debendranath as a hypocrite because he attacked caste privilege but continued to wear the sacred thread as a Brahman. They also criticized Debendranath's suspicion of foreigners, such as Charles Dall, whom Keshub and his militant supporters viewed as a spokesman for liberal religion throughout the Western world. Keshub also felt that the Brāhmo mission to reach out to like-minded Hindus in Maharashtra, Gujarat, the Punjab, Tamilnadu, and elsewhere needed a more radical approach to a wide variety of issues, many of which Debendranath avoided.

Keshub's greatest influence on the course of Hindu reformation, outside of promoting female education, was probably his remarkable eclecticism. In this sense, he was very much like Rammohun, who had studied all the world's major religions, including Islam. But Keshub went much further than his predecessor, both in his quest for knowledge of comparative religion and in his attempts to understand the patterns of change and continuity in the history of South Asian religions.

In 1880 Keshub started conducting his pilgrimages to the saints. These were elaborate devotional seminars designed to trace the history of human crises and the role of ethical and religious reformers as saviors seeking to arrest the chaos. One of the saints was Socrates, who offered a practical morality and an exemplary life, in contrast to the corruption of his age. Before staging the seminar on Buddha, Keshub went to Bodh Gaya and meditated under the bodhi tree. His seminar on Jesus taught Keshub that Christ equated the love of man with the will of God. And as for Muḥammad, Keshub learned that the way to achieve the brotherhood of man was through practicing a rigid monotheistic faith.

Keshub's eclecticism—especially when studying Indian reformers throughout history—gave him a very different perspective on Hindu classical and postclassical developments. Unlike Rammohun and most other Brahmos up to his time, Keshub did not identify with one classical tradition, such as the Vedantic. Rather, Keshub viewed the Hindu faith as a pluralistic phenomenon in which various traditions emerged in their authentically pristine forms at different times to meet a pressing spiritual need, but they became distorted later through internal institutional decay or by the effects of disruptive foreign influences.

One illustration was Keshub's positive influence on Swami Dayananda Saraswati (1824–1883), who proved to be the earliest modern reformer of the Vedic tradition. Most nineteenth-century Hindu reformers were ambivalent about the Vedic tradition because they associated it with caste rigidity, the subjection of women, idolatry, and worse. Dayananda repudiated these charges and spent his mature life denouncing what he called the evils of post-Vedic Hinduism. Because he argued that the true Vedas rejected idol worship, untouchability, child marriage, and the rest of the evils attributed to them, Dayananda's followers called him the "Luther of India."

Keshub also encouraged other Brahmos to research the roots of Indian sectarian faiths. Bijoy Krishna Goswami (b. 1841), a radical modernist, translated early Vaisnava songs which declared equal rights for men and women and the repudiation of caste privilege. Aghore Nath Gupta (d. 1881) conducted Keshub's seminar on the Buddha, in which he declared that the great reformer was not an atheist but a compassionate humanist who taught us how to live in a world that was false and full of illusion. Keshub also influenced Dharmapala, a neo-Buddhist from Sri Lanka, to start the Maha Bodhi Society.

Narendra Nath Dutt, better known as Vivekananda (1863–1902), joined Keshub's coterie in 1880. Scholars have difficulty assessing Vivekananda's contribution to the Hindu Reformation because, though he owed much to Keshub's teaching, and though his view of the Vedantic tradition came largely from Brahmo sources, he chose as the name of his own organization or mission that of a Kamakrishna, a contemporary mystic saint from Calcutta. Vivekananda was the earliest non-Brahmo to be accepted by religious liberals in the West. In fact, his talk at the Parliament of Religion in 1893, which was organized by American Unitarians, was considered to be among the best of the conference.

Vivekananda has erroneously been considered a Hindu nationalist because scholars believe he defended such things as caste and icons. However, a close study of his ideological development reveals that he neither defended the negative aspects of caste nor promotes the external worship of images. For Vivekananda, there was nothing wrong with hierarchical structures, since every society on earth had one. What was wrong—as happened in India—was the corruption of the system, which then would become oppressive. Rather than abolish caste, he wanted to democratize it. As Vivekananda would argue, if you teach the fisherman the Vedanta, he will say "I am as good a man as you are." As for images in the service of religion, Vivekananda refused to assume a rigidly iconoclastic position, such as those of Islam or Protestantism. He did not understand why worshipping a God without form was necessarily more spiritually uplifting than creating an image by which to convey the same message.

THE HINDU RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION CHALLENGED. In the final decades of British Indian rule, the renaissance and reformation movements were very much challenged by forces in every direction. Orientalism, with its profound interest in all facets of civilization in India, had long since disappeared by the turn of the twentieth century. It had ceased to be the cultural policy of the British East India Company in 1835, when it was replaced by the liberal Anglicized cultural policy advocated by Thomas Babington Macaulay during the famous Anglicist-Orientalist controversy. Macaulay, who never learned an Indian language while he served in Calcutta, challenged the Orientalist belief that modernism among South Asians could be achieved by cultivating their languages and by identifying with a classical tradition. Macaulay argued that if Indians wanted a progressive future for themselves, they ought to anglicize their lives, becoming proficient in the English language and choosing Western careers and professional ethics. But the successful expansion of the British Empire after 1870 led to another shift in cultural policy. Both liberal-minded Orientalism and Anglicism gave way to cultural imperialism, or the excesses of ethnocentric self-glorification. This policy held that, except for military prowess, East was East and West was West, and never the two shall meet. The grandeur of the British Empire seemed to testify to the superiority of the British race, while the subjected state of India at that time appeared to confrm the inferiority of the Indian race.

On the Indian side, renaissance and reformation were challenged by a more radical generation of freedom fighters, who surrendered their moderate politics for an extremist form of nationalist agitation. When the British imperialists denied human equality between citizens of India and the West, a xenophobia swept over the English-educated Indian intelligentsia, which led to increased cultural apologetics about everything Indian, including popular religion. Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856–1920), the Maharashtran ultranationalist, totally rejected what he called the Pax Britannica. He believed that the establishment of English schools and British administrative and legal institutions were an imperialist deception secretly designed to exploit the country. Though Tilak did not urge violent methods to win freedom, others did, and several British officials were assassinated as a result. Some scholars assert that had Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948) not assumed the leadership of the Congress Party after World War I, with his message of nonviolence, the Indian nationalist struggle would have become a movement drenched in blood. Gandhi admired Vivekananda's approach to Hindu reform.

The Orientalist legacy of the Bengal Renaissance and the Brāhmo legacy of Hindu Reformation were kept vividly alive throughout the first half of the twentieth century by India's greatest writer, Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941), who in 1914 became the first Asian to win the Nobel Prize in Literature. As the grandson of Dwarkanath Tagore, who had started the Calcutta Unitarian Committee and Brahmo Sabha with Rammohun Roy in the 1820s, and as the son of Debendranath Tagore, who revitalized the Brahmo Samaj in the 1840s following Rammohun's death, Rabindranath struggled for decades to protect renaissance and reformation against the inroads of imperialism and nationalism.

In a manuscript compiled during World War I entitled *Nationalism,* Rabindranath saw the conflict as a crucial stage in the breakdown of all that was hopeful and positive in the progress of civilization. To him, the war's genocide in the trenches represented the butchery of nations feeding upon other nations. The Russian ideologue Karl Marx is reputed to have said that religion was the opiate of the people; for Tagore, nationalism had become the opiate of the people.

His opposition to nationalism did not mean that Tagore supported British imperialism. On the contrary, he attacked it vigorously, perhaps with more candor and understanding than any other thinker before him. Tagore dramatically surrendered his knighthood following the Jallianwala Bagh massacre on May 30, 1919.

In July 1921, Rabindranath inaugurated Visva Bharati University in Santineketan, hoping the institution would embody the ideals of Brahmo universalism. Three years earlier, on December 22, 1918, he had declared that Visva Bharati would carry on the efforts of scholars such as Keshub Chandra Sen, who had sought to understand the religions of India and the world by studying primary sources.

SEE ALSO Brāhmo Samāj; Vedānta; Vivekananda.

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DAVID KOPF (2005)

TRANSCULTURATION AND RELIGION: RELIGION IN THE FORMATION OF MODERN OCEANIA

In 1601, after a Spanish historian published a map showing the islands of the Carolines and the Marianas, north New Guinea, and most of the Solomon Islands, Pacific Island peoples became part of the general history of humankind. Even before geographers accepted French *savant* Dumont d'Urville's 1832 classification of Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia, the islands entered the European imagination. Polynesia, largely through voyagers' experiences at Tahiti, evoked a new kind of paradise, one including sexual freedom as well as escape from social restrictions in the Old World; to a large extent, the region remains a "legend that sells" for pleasure-seeking holiday-makers. Melanesia, in contrast, has always presented ambiguity—home of untold treasures accompanied by frightful, perhaps monstrous dangers. For example, the world's largest gold and copper mine at Freeport, on the south coast of Irian Jaya, coexists with tourists' common anxiety about law-and-order issues, especially in nearby Papua New Guinea and the Solomons. Significantly, the European explorers who discovered Micronesian and Polynesian (sometimes referred to as "Austronesian") peoples viewed their lighter skins, more "welcoming" approach, and "recognizable" social structures (even kingship) as corresponding to the Enlightenment's (1780s–1840s) popular notions of "the noble savage." Conversely, the Europeans placed the "black islanders" of the southwest Pacific near the bottom of the evolutionary scale and often saw them as ignoble, miserable, and treacherous. These biased images affected transcultural outcomes.

For their part, the indigenous islanders had to make sense of these highly mysterious newcomers, whose dress and accouterments were utterly alien and whose vessels were significantly larger than and different from their own. Each island culture had its own postures of response and interaction, and in this vast region, which contains twenty-five percent of the known discrete languages and religions, this complexity is daunting. In general, however, each society had periods of initial contact, longer periods of adjustment to serious intrusions into its local ways of life, and the increasingly more common, yet nonetheless creative, absorption of modernity.

In terms of religious change, the Pacific Islands are noted for a massive shift towards Christianity (with over 90% nominal adherence for the whole region). This general change has entailed varying consequences for the myriad of isolated, small-scale, and survivalist cultures, some of which have been so accommodating to the new faith that their traditions have become highly muted, and others which have been highly resistant to conversion. Typically, Christianity has provided a window of opportunity for very localized peoples to participate in modernity, with all its accompanying bewilderments that in turn have occasionally subverted the religious life.

Pacific "contact scenarios" with outsiders can be plotted from the sixteenth century to the early twenty-first, since some mountain cultures in easternmost Irian Jaya have yet to interact with the outside world. When their content can be (re)constructed, most indigenous responses to external contacts appear "religious," in that newcomers are taken to be deities, strange and powerful spirits, or returning ancestors. On Hawai'i Island, in 1779, the "natives" thought Captain James Cook was the long-awaited, returning fertility god Lono, and he was feted by Chief Koah at much cost to the locals. After Cook's departure, however, when a storm forced him to return to the island, the natives killed him because of what they saw as his deception. Over half a century earlier, Rapanui, or Easter Islanders, apparently reacted to the enigma of passing vessels (before Jacob Roggeveen's landfall of 1722) by feverishly erecting many of their great statues to face the sea at Rano Raruku—a most untraditional act, considering that the effigies of chiefs were meant to gaze over their ancestral lands. In Polynesia, with its more vertically oriented cosmologies (sky/earth/underworld), the newcomers were often thought to have arrived from above: the Samoan term *papala[n]gi* (sky people), for instance, is used to describe the white visitors. Later on, as in Papua New Guinea, where a horizontal view of the cosmos prevailed, the first appearances of outsiders mostly suggested the return of the dead. In 1877, for example, the Papuan Koitabu thought Ruatoka, a Rarotongan co-worker of missionary James Chalmer, was an ancestral spirit because of his ghostly white suit; in 1946, isolated Ke'efu highlanders who stumbled upon thirteen dead white people in a strange shelter—a crashed plane—buried their bodies and offered sacrifices to them as "new beings" who could die like themselves.

Once interaction with outsiders continued, however sporadic, islanders had to decide whether to resist them or trade with them. Epidemic diseases caused by contact often stalled the progress of possible relationships, but the islanders also found the newcomers themselves to be vulnerable to trouble, sickness, and death. Once their weaknesses were known, the outsiders were classified as strangers, and thus became worth attacking. Spirit power would be needed to hold back the intruder; for example, patrol officer Jack Hides remembers a day in 1935 on the Papuan Plateau when a swaying Etoro medium, playing a drum while perched on another's shoulders, sang a repelling clan into action.

Although the islanders killed various newcomers, many of whom were unarmed missionaries, the superior weapons of whites and their parties eventually subdued any reprisals. In any case, trade offered a popular and profitable way of dealing with the new uncertainty. Seafarers usually bore attractive items for exchange, and they were soon considered as possible prizes of (group) possession. Sometimes exchange activity was not satisfying, however; Tongans, as a result, would pirate visiting vessels, such as the *Port-au-Prince* in 1806. The more hierarchical (mostly Polynesian) societies, though, were in the best position to negotiate a high-level, stable *rapprochement* with European officialdom. Tonga, after all, had held together a far-flung island empire, from as far west as the Isle of Pines (in southern New Caledonia) to Samoa. Other, smaller societies had to capitalize on their limited opportunities. Theft often occurred, explaining how so many steel axes filtered into the Papuan Highlands years before European miners did. Sometimes individuals got lucky without having to resort to stealing. The earliest Catholic missionaries to the New Guinea highland Chimbu, for instance, gave tools to the local people to help them establish an outpost in 1936. When the fortunate recipients arrived back in their hamlets, however, news of their prizes had preceded them; the missionaries then found queues of people, with gifts to trade in order to acquire the new instruments.

Outsiders often selected relatively safe locations to begin trading or mission work, and as a consequence, some groups earned privilege over others. Since inter-tribal hostilities had long been endemic to the region, recipients of new weapons could use them to create havoc among their enemies. For example, Maori tribes procured muskets from the 1810s, convincing even missionaries to trade them for hunting purposes. In Fiji, the European Charles Savage, remaining out of the range of traditional weaponry, was "employed" by Naulivou, chief of Mbau, to shoot down his foes at the forefront of inter-tribal battles (1808–1809).

Even during peacetime, however, the new religion could be manipulated to secure special advantages and keep up old enmities. Christianity came in more than one guise, and if one tribe was benefiting from the presence of a mission station, another might be tempted to invite in the representative of a different denomination. Before the 1950s, Catholic/Protestant missionary competition made possible the local politics of playing one against the other. Sectarian Protestant elements also competed for loyalties. In Papua after 1908, for example, dissident families or clans often achieved social separation as a means of satisfying their local grievances by becoming Seventh-day Adventists. In Polynesia, Mormonism grew rapidly at the expense of more mainstream churches, partly because of the material benefits it offered such as superior housing and medical services. In fact, the Mormons had established their small "kingdom" in the Tuamotos as early as 1844—even before the founding of Salt Lake City.

With the establishment of towns, missions, trading posts, and plantations, there arose the possibility of access to increased power and new goods. Traditionally, wealth was not only a mark of social status (of nobility in Polynesia, and often of successful management in Melanesia), but it was also a sign of blessing from the spirit order. In smaller societies, moreover, prosperity was cherished by the group; the common people looked to their chiefs for magnanimity, and a Melanesian big-man achieved his leadership through generous relinquishment—giving gifts so that many were put in his debt. Now, however, since the longest-staying possessors of the new goods were missionaries, the indigenous people deduced that special material blessings would flow through practicing the new religion. Ships' cargo was already mysterious in origin, and the connection of the strange goods with the availability of new spiritual power heightened expectations of collective well-being. This notion, called "cargoism," led people to try worshiping in the churches. Especially in Melanesia, though, where traditional rituals focused on the tangible fecundity of plants and animals, group agitations occurred, sparked by local prophesiers filled with hope that "cargo" (European-style trade goods invested with a religious aura) would arrive in abundance. The bearers of cargo were often thought to be returning ancestors, but also possibly the "Jesus" spoken of by the evangelists. Makeshift wharves, even airstrips, were erected to receive the marvels. What had been almost exclusively directed to the expatriate strangers would now come to the local peoples. Such "cargo cults," as they have been dubbed, expressed frustration that indigenes had only limited access to these wonderful items, an inequity that seemed to contradict values of reciprocity and sharing.

Acculturative activity surrounding the introduced, internationally marketed commodities has a complex history of its own. It has often involved mimicry, yet with suggestions of ritual. Closer to contact, for instance, isolated villagers began setting their own imitation tables with wooden copies of knives and forks. In later colonial times, with new jobs available and liquor restrictions removed, islander office workers could put on the airs of sophisticated white drinkers in hotels, uncharacteristically sitting with crossed legs and drooping cigarettes. Experimentalism abounded. Setting up a store to become wealthy enticed many, yet businesses commonly failed because the owners expected magical results, and their relatives quickly absorbed the earnings. Islanders often combined the new technology with traditional causal beliefs. For instance, Melpa highlanders have been known to sacrifice chickens when their trucks break down, and some bureaucrats have become convinced they have been bewitched through their computers.

The remarkable effect of Christian missions in Oceania influenced the transculturative processes involved in the massive shift to a universal religion. A number of transformations deserve special recognition. One is epistemic—traditionalist islanders and incoming Christians shared a general worldview in terms of retributive (or "payback") logic, but each supposed their grasp of its operations was correct. Indigenes supposed, for example, that trespassing into spirits' sacred groves and lairs would mean certain death; when missionaries, without this fear, did trespass without dire consequence, they were taken to possess a superior understanding of how the world worked, even while they had their own assumptions about sacrilege. Again, islanders explained most sicknesses and deaths in terms of spiritual causes and damaged relationships with deities that provoked ancestral punishments. Results of the missions' modern health services, however, often defied such expectations, even while Christians taught that bodily blessings derived from relying on "the true God." Consequently, knowledge passed on at initiations could not compete with a mission education.

In some earlier civilizations in Polynesia with kings as rulers, the long-term establishment of Christianity followed the *dénouements* of major wars. In Tahiti in 1815, Pomare II, who had lost power because of the emergent cult of the war god Oro, regained it in a holy war with the backing of the London Missionary Society (LMS) from the Leeward Islands. In Tonga, the powerful, pro-Christian secular chief Taufa'ahau, who dominated the Ha'apai, subdued his enemies by 1837. He unified the conquered peoples by first assuming the role of the supreme sacral kingship of Tu'i Tonga (1852), and then by attempting to place the Wesleyan Mission under his divine rule (although he had only partially succeeded by 1875).

Conversion to the new religion mandated by high-level, local decision-makers also occurred in other places: in Hawai'i under Kaahumanu in 1822, for example, and in Fiji under Cakabao in 1854). Legitimatization of local rule by missionaries prior to colonization was often marked by the acceptance of royal insignia (e.g., whales' teeth on Fiji), signs of authority which became very important when royal courts and councils of chiefs had to negotiate European annexations. Although missionaries disdained beliefs and rites that appeared to contradict their faith, they sometimes worked to save the culture by solidifying a weakened traditional government, as did Benjamin and Lydia Snow in the Marshall Islands in the 1860s.

More generally, religious change occurred through evangelically charged, politically disengaged individuals. Many pioneer "European" missionaries have stolen the historical limelight, but an immense unknown number of islanders also chose to participate in the evangelizing process. Important centers sprang up for the training of islander evangelists; with the eastern Pacific being evangelized first, the emissaries have generally moved westward. Thus, Takamoa and Malua Theological Colleges, established by the LMS on Rarotonga (Cook Islands) in 1839 and Apia (Western Samoa) in 1844, respectively, have produced both preachers and teachers that exposed Melanesia to the new faith. Many of these evangelists—103 out of 203 of the pioneer Polynesian LMS personnel—died in dangerous and malaria-ridden places, unfortunate deaths that were taken as signs of spiritual vulnerability in Melanesian cultures. Methodist Fijians were prominent among the earliest Melanesians to work among their fellow black islanders to the west (notably in New Britain and Bougainville).

These islander missionaries on Melanesia created a three-tiered chain of "pastoral power," which was comparable to colonial military structures. The religious hierarchy, however, set an example for ways that people other than the "white masters" could lead congregations. In western Melanesia, Indonesians filled these mediating roles; the Dutch Reformed missionaries typically deployed Ambonese, and the Catholics sent Flores Islanders. Melanesia did experience a time lag, however, before the highly populous and volatile highlands received missionaries in 1920; various coastal Melanesians were entrusted with this "frontier" activity. Devout Lutheran converts from the Huon Peninsula became the first native evangelists to the eastern highlands of Papua New Guinea, and rather aggressive Gogodala preachers were sent by the Unevangelized Fields Mission into the southern highlands. Throughout Catholic mission history in Melanesia, many catechists were trained to perform non-clerical religious duties in dispersed villages that were visited infrequently by expatriate missionaries. As celibacy was required of its religious, though, the Catholic Church always dawdled in the creation of indigenous clergy—in a world of island societies that expected everyone to marry. Nevertheless, new orders have been created in the region, such as the 1935 founding of a sisterhood called The Handmaids of our Lord in Papua. And in 1925, the Anglicans founded the Melanesian Brotherhood in the eastern Solomon Islands.

Overall, the European and American overseas missions have established mainstream Christian denominations throughout the Pacific Islands. Historical circumstances usually caused different church traditions to predominate in different areas. Once a given mission gained a foothold in a particular region, not even colonial shifts could readily change it. France, for example, which generally favored Catholic mission activity, did not deter LMS-originated Protestantism in Tahiti (with its famous "Temple," famous for choral competitions, in Papeete) or in the Loyalty Islands (part of France's Oceanic province of New Caledonia). Germany's takeover of New Guinea in 1885 resulted in strong Lutheran and Catholic missions, especially on the mainland, but did not prevent the growth of Methodism (after the pioneering work of Australian George Brown) on the islands of New Britain and New Ireland. How these missions established themselves sometimes depended on formal agreements. At a time of comity between missions in the British Empire, for example, the Governor of British New Guinea (or Papua) Sir William McGregor negotiated spheres of influence for missions within his jurisdiction in 1890. As a result, the LMS work expanded along the southern coast where Catholic missions were not already established, while the Anglicans consolidated in the northeast and the Methodists further east again, in the Trobriand Islands. Not being party to this agreement, and with a lot of non-British personnel, the Catholics managed to evade this arrangement to their advantage, however, as did the Adventists.

Each mission's presence in a given region generated group loyalties, which are often reflected in the provincial organizations of the newly independent Pacific nations; the groundwork of new social strata was laid through mission schooling and indigenous ministries; and distinctive expressions of Christianity arose that often reflected the primacy of the first cultures affected in a given region. In the Papua, for instance, annual ceremonies of LMS-originated churches along the coast are largely modeled on the Motu traditional exchange ceremony—called *bobo*—because the Motu were the first converts. In Catholic areas, the short, less schooled, and more aggressive Papuan Highlanders, called "bush kanakas," have often suffered in comparison to the tall, educated, coastal Mekeo, who have had a longer experience with the outside world and who dominate the betel-nut market in the capital city of Port Moresby.

All throughout the Pacific, distinctive regional expressions of mainstream Christianity abound. What would a Samoan or Tongan Christian funeral be without the proverbial exchange of woven mats? How would agreements between secular and ecclesiastical leadership be achieved in central Polynesia and much of eastern Melanesia without sharing the common cup of pressed *kava* root? Dramatic reenactments of tensions upon the arrival of the first missionaries—of Methodist minister Dr. Bromilow on Dobu Island in east Papua in 1891, or of Anglican bishop George Selwyn on Santa Ysabel in the central Solomons in 1862—become annual celebrations in particular places.

Moreover, local rituals have become complicated due to varying limitations placed on the interaction between gospel and culture. In the central New Guinea Highlands, for instance, at the Wahgi people's great pig-killing festivals, in which a host tribe gives with astounding generosity to nonhostile tribes around it, a wooden cross will often be planted on the dance ground and a Catholic priest will open proceedings with a blessing. Members of the Swiss Brethren's mission, on the other hand, would prohibit their adherents from attending these ceremonies. Across the Pacific Islands, pork and crab have been familiar dietary components, yet the Seventh-day Adventist Church, which has proportionately its largest following in the Pacific, proscribes such food in accordance with the Levitical code. Consequently, the first outward sign of any Adventist village is the presence of foreign livestock—especially goats and cattle.

As the churches grew, the model of the Christian village usually prevailed. Both the government and the mission discouraged dispersed hamlets and encouraged larger communities, often nestling around well-kept places of worship. This proximity did not prevent various frictions, however. Sorcerers, especially in Melanesia, had once been accepted as useful agents to retaliate against enemies in other tribes; now, however, the new peace was disturbed by the unnerving possibility that the remaining sorcerers could be paid to perpetuate evil acts for jealous and disgruntled families within the same village. Similarly, denominational or sectarian differences and tensions often disrupted rural peace, occasionally dividing villages. Group reactions also arose from dissatisfaction with the outcomes of introduced religion. In Polynesia and Micronesia, where both hierarchical social structures and cosmologies pertained, unsatisfied groups often responded to dissident prophets who accentuated the lack of spirit power in ordinary church life. Thus, in these regions, missionaries could gain new followers on the pretext that a prophet has an extraordinary access to heaven's blessings. For example, between 1930 and 1932 on Onotoa (now part of Kiribati), the prophet Ten Naewa tried to outwit the LMS missionaries by announcing that God would descend in person, and he himself "fathered" the Father's arrival, as he led his waiting "Sheep." In Melanesia, however, where cargo cults were more prevalent, the common complaint was the churches did not bear material results (pidgin: *kaikai,* or food). In the Solomons before World War II, local prophets such as Sanop, on Bougainville, announced the arrival of rifles, motor cars, and aircraft that were delivered by ancestors, thus rendering the colonial authorities unnecessary.

Eventually, independent churches emerged—many with indigenous leaders who rejected the mainline forms of Christianity as foreign. In Melanesia, where over twenty such churches have emerged, a third of them originated in cargo movements. Others stress concrete experiences of faith, such as dreams, visions, or collective ecstasies; the latter are notable among members of the Christian Fellowship Church, in New Georgia, the Solomons. This church was once led by the white-robed "Holy Mama." In Polynesia, independent church leaders are commonly believed to have direct access to heaven or to have come down from the heavens. The Maori church, founded by Ratana in 1928, accepted him as God's "mouthpiece"; prominent in this church's iconography is a ladder linking an airplane (representing heaven) with a car (representing Earth). In 1985, the LMS Cook Islands Christian Church began to attempt to heal a long-standing internal rift, caused by a remarkable female healer named Apii Piho and her followers, who believed her claim that she was Jesus.

The resilience of traditions in certain pockets of the Pacific has sometimes kept Christian influences at bay. Virtually all the strong neo-traditionalist movements are in Melanesia, and some of these are cargo cults. Latter-day followers of the large movement in Madang (north-coastal New Guinea) during the 1950s and 1960s maintained that the indigenes should be left to develop their own salvation stories, in which the ancestors and cult founder Yali are the heroes, rather than the Biblical prophets and Jesus. In the Solomons, on the western and southern parts of Guadalcanal, one Moro sect has created a movement—complete with its own schools—that is deliberately designed to preserve tribal culture and keep out Western influences. Not far to the north, the mountainous center of Malaita is home to the Kwaio, who reject any "Christian interference."

All these expressions of independence, as well as the many different varieties of indigenously generated new religious movements in the Pacific, have shown that islanders believe in expressing religiosity in their own cultural terms. Tensions and altercations at the village level have inevitably served to instruct churches in the Oceanic region, preparing them for their own self-determination. In intercultural relations, the balance of forces until the end of the twentieth century favored preserving sound beliefs and practices borne by the West. Religious leaders wanted to ensure that the different peoples receiving the Christian message were properly acculturated and did not lapse into the curious misunderstandings that had produced "cargo cults." They made some concessions, however, in terms of sculpture (of crucifixes, for instance) and architecture (Port Moresby's handsome Catholic cathedral, designed in the shape of a Sepik *haus tambaran* [spirit house] in 1967). A few missionaries, such as Maurice Leenhardt—Protestant pastor to the Houailou on eastern New Caledonian mainland in the 1930s—asked themselves whether they had learned more from "the natives" than they taught them. Others, such as Percy Chatterton, submitted to the spirit of independence arising from local congregations; he quietly facilitated the post-LMS *Papua Ekalesia* (Church of Papua), the first independent church of mainstream background in Melanesia formed between 1963 and 1968. The local people's confidence in their own leadership eventually caused a decisive shift away from church communities operating under mission control toward regionally autonomous ecclesiastical structures, or separate Catholic episcopies, under islander supervision. By the early twenty-first century, the prevailing missiological discourse stressed inculturation, or the advisability of imbedding the gospel into the local culture, both honoring the latter's pre-existing values while also transforming and redeeming its weaknesses from within.

The general movement towards national ecclesial emancipation—or, rarely, transnational status, as with the United Church in Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands after 1968—proceeded with the emergence of new political independencies in the region. Excluding New Zealand (1947), the newly decolonized nations—Western Samoa (1962), Nauru (1968), Fiji (1970), Papua New Guinea (1975), Solomons, (1978), Kiribati (1979), and Vanuatu (1980)—have been governed by indigenous leaders. Even where independence has not been achieved (with France and the United States as the two notable powers prolonging their possession of Pacific islands), national churches have been created, such as the *l'Église évangelique* in France's New Caledonia or the United Church in the Marshall Island in American Micronesia. Whether politically autonomous or not, the whole region has increasingly become affected by monetarization, foreign investment, and transnational companies' pursuit of opportunities in the metal, oil, gas, and timber industries. For example, one of the world's richest copper deposits is on Bougainville; natural gas is now piped out of the Lake Kutubu area in Papua New Guinea's Southern Highlands; while New Caledonia has become well known for its extensive nickel deposits.

Pacific islanders have embraced modernity in highly varying ways. Money has become the medium of exchange in towns and cities, but is still used in tandem with traditional valuable items (such as mats, shells, feathers) in villages and in rites (especially marriages and funerals). In rural areas, money can therefore be incorporated into ritual life and suggest new ritual forms. Old coins seem to circulate forever within single villages through ritualized gambling games. Money can now be pinned on a branch by New Guinea highlanders and paraded as a "money tree" to apologize for a killing or a road accident in a specific tribal area—quite an innovation, since compensation payments in kind were traditionally exchanged between allies, not adversaries. Some late-twentieth-century cargo cults were actually money cults; the followers were persuaded that the money that was already in the red boxes held by the leaders would multiply through weekly rituals. Overall, the islanders' quest to make money has been strong, however. Sepik craftsmen have sold traditional effigies of the dead for money and have carved spirit figures for the tourist market. *Hula* dancing to entertain tourists in Hawai'i exemplifies adaptation of local dance forms in order to earn money from visitors. Even in rural areas, today's leading dance performers in traditional ceremonies would compete for prizes at town shows or the privilege to represent their nation at Pacific arts festivals.

Success in business and in the modern economy, although reserved for the few, has had religious consequences.

Protestant Tongans employed in Honolulu or Sydney, for example, or Cook Islanders in Auckland, have started important diaspora congregations, importing their pastors from their home regions. In Melanesia, capitalist success may sometimes cause a business leader to develop political aspirations, yet those ambitions inevitably lead him or her to the traditional cultivation of dependents through the practice of generous gift-giving as a neo-traditional "big-man." Wealthy people may build large new houses in their home villages, only to find themselves the objects of jealousy and thus of paid sorcery attacks. In this context, the persistence of sorcery can be defended ideologically as a social equalizer to counter the inequities that threaten old reciprocities and village values.

Religious factors also influence modern Pacific politics. National constitutions typically invoke the supreme God, sometimes along with a worthy customary inheritance. Clergy have also achieved political prominence, such as Anglican Fr. Walter Lini, first Prime Minister of Vanuatu, or Catholic Fr. John Momis, the foundation Minister for Decentralization in Papua, New Guinea. Furthermore, internal military conflicts have sought religious inspiration. The Papuan Liberation Army (OPM) partly legitimates itself as a defense of Christianity against what is perceived as Indonesia's neocolonial promotion of Islam, and its members look to the collective martyrdom of followers of the prophetess Angganita under the Japanese in 1943 as an inspiring precedent for their actions. In the Solomon Islands, civil strife in the late twentieth century, as well as religious differences between largely Anglican Malaitans and mostly Catholic Guadalcanalese, exacerbated the clash. In such post-colonial conflicts, political slogans have carried neo-traditional religious import. From 1990 to 2003, ideologues for the Bougainville Liberation Army, for example, fought for the independence of Bougainville as *Mekamui* (the Sacred Island). More generally, throughout what is a predominantly peaceful region, thinly disguised appeals to Christian principles often lurk behind the apparently secular political agendas of new national parliaments promoting better health, education, and social security.

Despite frustrating realities sometimes experienced by many outsider investigators, especially anthropologists, the Pacific Islands are remarkable for their strengthening indigenous Christianity. As a result, traditional cultures are being transformed, and, rather than being devastated, showing their resilience in change. Contrary to some historians, outsiders did not destroy Pacific cultures. While terrible epidemics did make many island communities very vulnerable, by and large, the missionaries did not impose religious change by force, and the islanders can no longer be preconceived as credulous, lacking any ability to make sensible decisions of their own. In fact, cultural relinquishments sometimes occurred spontaneously. LMS personnel, for instance, encouraged the preservation of the Motu people's harvest festival, during which worshipers wore extraordinary fifteen-foot high masks. When the Japanese unexpectedly bombed Port Moresby in 1942, however, the Motu never celebrated the festival again—not because they were forced to give it up, but because it had somehow lost relevance in a changing world.

Oceania's religious scene in the early twenty-first century should be assessed for what it has become. Anthropologists can now begin evaluating specific congregations; observing sociological differences in the region, such as the sedate, hierarchical Polynesian churches compared to the dynamic congregations of Melanesia, with their spiritistic and charismatic worship; and studying indigenous theological endeavors and liturgical innovations, appreciating them as important new developments within the wider world of religious affairs.

SEE ALSO Christianity, article on Christianity in the Pacific Islands; Politics and Religion, article on Politics and Oceanic Religions.

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TRANSMIGRATION denotes the process by which, after death, either a spiritual or an ethereal, subtle, and thinly material part of the personality, leaves the body that it previously inhabited; it then "migrates" to enter (i.e., is reborn in) another body, either human or animal, or another form of being, such as a plant or even an inanimate object. Other terms often used in this context are rebirth, especially in connection with Indian religions, *palingenesis* (from Greek *palin*, "again," and *genesis*, "birth,"), metempsychosis (from Greek *meta*, "again," and *psychê*, "soul") and, increasingly in modern popular parlance, reincarnation (from Latin *re* "back" and *caro*, "flesh"). Manichaean texts in Syriac use the expression *tašpikha* or *tašpikha denafshata,* corresponding to Greek *metangismos* (from Greek *metangizesthai*, "pour from one vessel into another one, decant"; similarly, Latin *transfundi*) and conveying the underlying notion of a transfusion or change of vessel whereby the soul is "poured" from one body into another. The Latin church father Augustine of Hippo (354–430) in his anti-Manichaean writings also uses the noun *revolutiones* and the verb *revolvi*, which happen to be identical with the later qabbalistic technical term *gilgul*: the soul "revolves" (i.e. rotates) through successive bodies. Earlier qabbalistic terms were *sod-ha-ʿibbur* ("the mystery of transition") and *haʿtaqah* ("displacing, changing place"), the latter equivalent to the Arabic *tanasukh*.

It is obvious that the notion of a non-physical entity (soul) existing separately from the physical body is assumed by most beliefs that posit an afterlife. The detailed elaboration of other cultures' views of afterlife and transmigration depends on the psychology and anthropology of those cultures, explicitly or implicitly. Thus the word soul may mean the whole human minus the body or a special substance or collection of substances non-physical in nature. In the former case, it is the whole albeit disincarnate person that survives (and goes on, for example, to the underworld, the land of the dead); in the latter case it is a specific soul-substance that persists and returns to its ancestral or heavenly home or haunts the living or is reborn. Many belief systems, especially among non-literate societies, know of multiple souls, but the idea is also not uncommon in literate societies: examples include the *ba* and *ka* of the ancient Egyptians, the oldest Greek *psychê* and *thymos*, and the fivefold division among contemporary Jewish qabbalists (*nefesh*, *ruah*, *neshamah*, *hayyah*, *yehidah*).

Unfortunately, contemporary knowledge of most small-scale indigenous cultures is often based on the information of single informants and passing travelers, but rarely on the sustained investigation of an anthropologist remaining in a culture for many years. The once-predominant idea among anthropologists that a single informant could be sufficient to "decode" a culture has proved to be a profound mistake, and it should be noted while using such sources that much of the information is incomplete. Even the material from older literate civilizations is not always that easy to analyze. The fragmentary character of the texts and the modern, often Christian and philosophically influenced ideas about the soul and the body tend to color interpretations and should preclude facile conclusions. Last but not least, scholarly approaches often tend to present a uniform picture (the Christians believe, the Buddhists believe, etc.), whereas especially in eschatological matters people often have their own private ideas. One final point is the appropriateness of the terminology of reincarnation or rebirth. Although it is used here in order not to complicate an understanding, it must be stressed that the terms regularly, especially in Africa, do not presuppose that the ancestors now leave the area of the dead, or how the afterlife is imagined. On the contrary: ancestors may reincarnate but they often do stay present in the world of the dead as well. In other words, among many communities there is a belief that the ancestors have a multiple presence, in this world and the world hereafter.

ORIGIN OF CONCEPT. Edward Tylor (1832–1917), one of the fathers of social anthropology, was perhaps the first modern scholar of transmigration, but he still interpreted his material in an evolutionary key, starting with the birth of the concept of the soul. Yet that stage in human history is unrecoverable and speculations in that direction are rarely fruitful. A modern approach should look at the geographical spread, the nature, and the functions of transmigration in society. This survey will examine first non-literate societies and progress to the major literate cultures and modern Western society.

CROSS-CULTURAL OVERVIEW OF NON-LITERATE SOCIETIES. The acceptance of the belief in some form of transmigration or return of the dead person to terrestrial life is a widely occurring concept that is evident in many cultures. Whereas older studies often claim that there is little evidence of belief in transmigration in most non-literate societies to the extent that they have been reliably and systematically studied by ethnologists, contemporary studies have uncovered a wealth of evidence to the contrary. This new research has been especially successful in America, where evidence suggests that such beliefs once were present among all North American Indian tribes. The first notices go back to the earliest stages of contact with European arrivals to the continent. For example, it was recorded in 1636 that the Hurons believed a human soul can return into the body of a child, as evidenced by the child's strong resemblance to a deceased person. The prevalence of this belief among the Northwest Coast Indians and the Inuit strongly suggests that here was the development of an ancient cultural complex, which may have been introduced by the first American immigrants who came via the Bering Strait. There is less evidence of this in Middle and Latin America, and the evidence becomes even scarcer in investigations into the cultures of the southernmost region of Latin America.

About Africa, there are mentions of reincarnation ranging from quite extensive reports to mere scattered observations. Not surprisingly they seem to be limited to the south of North Africa where the adoption of Christianity and Islam likely prevented the survival of older beliefs in this direction. It seems that in West Africa, especially, the belief in reincarnation was prevalent. The beliefs can assume various forms. In many instances, there is the belief that a recently and honorably deceased ancestor—a warrior, for example—is reborn in a baby, although the connection with the ancestor becomes weaker as the child grows. There also seems to be a gender aspect to the belief, for some tribes, like the Konkomba, stress that women reincarnate, too. The Nigerian Yoruba believe that every living person is a reincarnation. Apparently, the encroachment by Europeans even incited some Akan to formulate a belief in a return as white people, as the Dutch traveller Willem Bosman (b. c. 1672) noted.

The existence of a belief in reincarnation among the Australian Aranda (Arunta) was the subject of a vigorous debate in the early 1900s between Baldwin Spencer and Frank Gillen, on one side, and German missionary Carl Strehlow, on the other, who disputed the findings of the former. Yet the outcome seems to be that here, too, reincarnation existed, even though rather by mythical ancestors than by "real" people. The fact that several neighboring tribes mention a reincarnation of ancestors supports the interpretations of Spencer and Gillen.

In the area of Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia, many tribes tell about reincarnation, but the best information comes from the Trobriand Islands, where Bronislaw Malinowski (1884–1942) carried out detailed investigations in the framework of his interest in the islanders' sexual lives. As he noted, the inhabitants explained pregnancies as the reincarnation of ancestors.

There is more information regarding Siberia, the Arctic and the subarctic circle, where the belief in reincarnation was virtually ubiquitous. Here shamanistic "theology" even stressed that shamans could remember their former lives and some were able to show scars of their former lives. Among the Jakuts it was rather exceptionally believed that one could be reborn even outside one's own tribe. In general, it is the ancestors who were believed to return.

From this survey, it follows that the belief in reincarnation is evidently very old. It is less easy to understand, though, why it was originally absent from Egypt and the ancient Near East, from ancient Japan and China as well as from the Indo-European peoples. Unfortunately, contemporary knowledge of the roads by which beliefs have traveled in prehistory are so obscure that explanations of this geographical spread can only be speculative.

There is more certainty about the nature and function of this belief in reincarnation, however. Firstly, there is a distinction between the transmigration of a deceased person into an animal and the reincarnation into a person. The former is much less current than the latter, but it is well attested. Among some Alaskan Inuits, for example, it was believed that the souls of the dead migrated into their dogs. On the other hand, the most frequent belief is that the birth of a new child signifies the rebirth of an ancestor. From the ancestors, it is nearly universal that it is usually a deceased grandparent who is the favorite incarnated person, as is also indicated by the identity of the name; in West Africa the identity between ancestor and reincarnated child seems particularly marked. Through the reincarnation the young child becomes incorporated, so to say, in the ancestral line, which reinforces or creates new kinship relationships; reincarnation is very much a social process. This identity between ancestor and young child often is so strongly linked in some cultures that corporal punishment of children was prohibited out of respect for the ancestors. At the same time, the ancestor functions as a kind of guardian spirit for the youngster.

In addition to being evidence of an older ancestor, a newly born baby is sometimes perceived as the reincarnation of a previously deceased young child. It is plausible that this belief has originated in an attempt to comfort parents regarding the loss of an earlier child.

INDIA. The notion of transmigration and reincarnation is a pivotal aspect of the general socio-religious belief system in India. In the Hindu religious tradition, the concept of transmigration is a vital aspect of the cultural milieu and has played a dominant role in shaping the actions, ethics, and ideologies of the people. Thus, the Indian subcontinent and the cultures influenced by it are dominated by the notion of *saṃsāra*, "what turns around forever," the wheel of birth and death. Whereas in the West the idea of reincarnation was always felt to be something exotic, strange, and at any rate required special justification, in India it came to be an accepted presupposition of life.

The history and development of this notion are not yet quite clear. However, there is consensus that the weary round of *saṃsāra* is not yet part of Vedic religion. The *locus classicus* of Indian reincarnation can be found in two parallel passages of the oldest Upaniṣads (*Brhad Aranyaka Upaniṣad* 6.2 and *Chandogya Upaniṣad* 5.3–10), which mention reincarnation and salvation. The fact that the notion was taken for granted—and indeed even made the basis of their respective doctrines of salvation—by Jainism and Buddhism suggests that by the sixth century BCE it was already widespread in India. Among the presuppositions of this doctrine is the notion that space and time are endless. The identity of the self depends on (moral) karmic determinants. Life is an unending, eternal, weary round of suffering, governed by an automatic causality of reward and punishment (*kamma*) that takes the soul from one existence to another through all six spheres of being, from that of the gods to that of "hungry spirits" and demons.

In Indian religious sensibility the emphasis is not so much on the duality of life/death as on birth/dying. The problem about rebirth is that of necessity it also implies "redying," that is, death recurring ad infinitum, unless a person succeeds in escaping from the vicious circle of *saṃsāra* (also depicted iconically as the monstrous wheel of unending existences, the *bhavacakra*, and described graphically in the Buddhist Avadana and Nidana literature) into ultimate liberation (Hindu *mokṣa*, Buddhist *nirvāṇa*). It should be emphasized that the ultimate goal (*artha*) is release and escape; the heavens (*svarga*) are still part of the samsaric world. Doctrinal differences of opinion relate to the method of liberation (yoga, mortifications, the "middle path") as well as to the precise definition of the liberated state.

The descriptions in the *Brhad Aranyaka Upaniṣad* 6.12.15f. (cf. also *Kausitaki Upaniṣad* and *Mundaka Upaniṣad*) still exhibit a somewhat mythological character. Those who have achieved perfection and have realized their true self go, after death, the "way of the sun," namely, the path of the gods (*devayana*): they enter the abode of *brahman* (*brahmaloka*) never to return again. Those who have not achieved ultimate self-realization but have lived a life of sinless piety and devotion, through sacrifices, penance, and charity, go along the path of the ancestors (*pitryana*) to the world of the moon, where they become rain and subsequently food: "Gods feed on them, and when that passes away from them, they start on their return journey to the reborn as human beings. . .Thus do they rotate." Evildoers are reborn as insects and vermin. According to the *Chandogya Upaniṣad* 5.10.7, they are reborn as dogs and pigs. As has been noted above, heaven too is part of the samsaric cycle, and hence gods too are reborn, even as human beings can be reborn as *devas*, to be subsequently reborn once again.

What or who exactly is it that is reborn? Unorthodox sramanic teachings as well as Upanisadic speculation provide a varied technical vocabulary (*atman*, *jiva*, *purusa*) to deal with the questions of empirical ego, real self, and so forth. Some systems of thought conceive also of spiritual entities in terms of a subtle, ethereal matter; one such example in Western history would be the Stoics.

Jainism. In the Jain system, the living entity is called *jiva* (the eternal "soul" or "life"), and it is doomed to unending rebirths as long as it is covered and encumbered (as if by a thinner or thicker film) by *kamma*, which is conceived as a kind of fine matter. The generation of new *kamma* must be stopped, and the accumulated *kamma* already present must be removed if liberation is to be achieved. That such liberation can be achieved is demonstrated by the line of *jinas* (lit., "conquerors").

Buddhism. The Buddha left no writings himself. Because Buddhist teachings were written down much later, the oldest stage of Buddhist teaching about transmigration is unknown. The fascinating problem of Buddhist doctrine concerning karmic rebirth arises from the fact that Buddhism denies the existence of an *atman*—that is, self, or ego-substance beyond the empirical ego, which is a transitory combination of "heaps" of "elements" (*skandhas*). Regardless of whether the anti-Brahmanic doctrine of *anatman* ("no-self") was already explicitly taught by the Buddha himself or was developed later, it is a central concept of historical Buddhism. It is clear, though, that reincarnation did not yet occupy a position of prime importance in the teachings of the Buddha himself, but was elaborated in minute detail only by his later pupils, as in the *Abhidharma Pitaka* of the Pali-canon.

Tibet. The application of the doctrine of rebirth in Tibet, a culture decisively shaped by one particular form of Buddhism, deserves special mention because of its relevance to the social system and its political institutions. Buddhism was established late in Tibet, not before the seventh century CE. However, it would last to the fifteenth century before the characteristic connection between the worldly and spiritual powers started to receive its well-known contemporary form. Whereas initially it was only the leader of one of the many monk communities whose rule was determined by reincarnation, in the seventeenth century Mongolian support stabilized the rule of the Dalai Lama, which endured until the Chinese conquered Tibet in 1951 and eliminated the theocracy. The influence of the exile of the renowned fourteenth Dalai Lama on the Tibetan ideas of reincarnation still remains to be properly assessed.

GREEK RELIGION. Reincarnation in ancient Greece was "invented" by Pythagoras, an aristocrat from Samos, who came as an exile to Croton in southern Italy around 530 BCE. Here he developed his teachings about reincarnation that are only vaguely known, due to the fact that no writings of Pythagoras himself have been preserved and his community was almost completely massacred in the middle of the fifth century BCE. Yet his contemporary Xenophanes of Colophon (sixth century BCE) (fragment B 7, ed. Diels/Kranz) already told the following, uncomplimentary anecdote: "And once, they say, when he passed by a dog which was being maltreated, he pitied the animal and said these words: 'Stop! Don't beat him! For he is the soul of a friend whom I recognized straightaway when I heard his voice.'" Regrettably, it is not known how often Pythagoras thought of a reincarnation, but both Pindar (fragment 133, ed. Maehler) and Plato (*Phaedrus* 249a) speak of three times, of which the first reincarnation has been occasioned by a mistake in the underworld. Aristotle (384–322 BCE) notes: "as though it were possible, as in the tales of the Pythagoreans, for just any soul to clothe itself in just any body." Apparently, Aristotle thought that Pythagorean reincarnation went from body to body, but the mid-fifth-century philosopher Empedocles clearly taught differently, as he wrote: "already I have been a boy and a maiden, a bush and a bird and a fish jumping up from the sea" (fragment B 117, ed. Diels/Kranz). This process could last an extremely long time, as Empedocles speaks elsewhere of wandering "thrice ten thousand seasons" (fragment B 115, ed. Diels/Kranz). The origins of Pythagoras's views are unknown. Earlier generations of scholars liked to connect him with Buddhist views as he was nearly a contemporary of Buddha, but the down dating of the Buddha (above) has made this improbable. It seems possible, however, to isolate a few factors that may have played a role to a smaller or larger degree.

First, reincarnation could only come about when the Greek concept of *psychê* had developed into humankind's immortal self. It seems indeed that Pythagoras was also the first Greek to develop this particular idea of the soul. Second, the aristocratic Greeks were historically more interested in group survival than in personal survival. Yet at the end of the archaic period, there seem to be signs of an increasing interest in a more personal form of survival. Reincarnation can be seen as a more radical answer to this general development. Pythagoras's loss of political power around 500 BCE may have been an extra stimulus for developing the doctrine of reincarnation, since the survival of the soul singled out those reincarnated from those who were not. In other words, the doctrine may have been a kind of comfort to those of his pupils and friends that followed him into his exile. It might echo in the thesis of Max Weber (1864–1920), which posits that the rise of religions of salvation, such as Christianity, was also the consequence of the depoliticization of the educated classes.

It was probably only a short while after Pythagoras that somebody in southern Italy developed a new set of doctrines and practices which were promulgated not under their own name but that of the most famous singer of the Archaic Age, Orpheus. The so-called Orphics introduced vegetarianism, and modified existing Bacchic mysteries. At the same time they also produced new teachings (1) on the coming into being of the cosmos, gods and humankind; (2) on eschatology; and (3) reincarnation. Pindar (fragment 133 Maehler) already declares that the best roles in future reincarnations will be for those "from whom Persephone accepts compensation for ancient grief (viz. because the Titans had killed her son Dionysos)" and this "ancient grief" is also alluded to on recently found Orphic Gold Leaves. On an Orphic bone tablet that was found in Crimean Olbia c. 400 BCE, the terms "life-death-life: truth; Dio(nysos)-Orphik(?oi)" are legible, and in his *Meno* (81a) Plato (c. 428–348 or 347 BCE) attributes the doctrine of reincarnation to "priests and priestesses who try to give an account for the functions of their activities," that is, to wandering Orphics. It is part of this doctrine that the body is looked at rather negatively and considered to be the "prison of the soul."

As with Pythagoras, there are few particulars about Orphic reincarnation, but it is certain that Plato used Pythagoras and the Orphics. His views on reincarnation have to be deduced from his dialogues, whose temporal order still is debated. It seems that in his oldest dialogues Plato still is not completely convinced of the reality of reincarnation, but in the middle ones (*Phaedo*, *Phaedrus* and the *Republic*) the doctrine has become an important part of his eschatological views, even though the content varies depending on the dialogue. It is important to note that Plato's *Phaedo* gives evidence of the important process of ethicization, to use the term employed by Gananath Obeyesekere (2002), in which the bad receive a bad reincarnation (into animals) and the philosophers go to the gods.

Plato's ideas were rejected by some of his pupils and Aristotle, but the Pythagoreans carried them into later antiquity. The doctrine is found with philosophers like Plutarch (before 50–after 120 CE), the *Corpus Hermeticum,* and the so-called Chaldaean Oracles, but it became far more influential among the Neoplatonists like Plotinus (205–270 CE) and Porphyry. Unlike Plato, the former even considers a reincarnation into plants a possibility. Moreover, Plotinus clearly had precise thoughts about the different stages of reincarnation. Whereas the first rebirth is seen as an entry, the subsequent ones he calls *metensōmatōsis*, or "re-enbodyment"; people can remember their previous lives, and there is no liberation from the cycle of rebirths. Later philosophers had much difficulty with the thought of a transmigration into animals and it is striking that in the second half of the sixth century, Olympiodorus, one of the last Neoplatonists, rejected the doctrine of reincarnation.

CELTS. According to Caesar in his *Gallic Wars* (6.14) the Druids believed that souls did not perish but wander after death; for this reason Clement of Alexandria (*Stromateis* 1.15) already compared them with the Brahmans. As reincarnation was clearly not part of Indo-European traditions and there is little reliable evidence about such views in medieval Celtic literature, the Druids may well have taken over Greek views, perhaps via Massilia (Marseilles). Unfortunately, there are no further detailed sources, and this intriguing possibility remains an unsubstantiated one.

EARLY CHRISTIANITY. The early Christians firmly believed in the resurrection of the body and therefore opposed the doctrine of reincarnation. Although there were a few exceptions that were prepared to consider its validity, such as Origen, even he came to a negative conclusion. In the second and third centuries CE, especially, church leaders tried to refute the belief, but around 400 CE reincarnation no longer played a role in the internal and external Christian debates. Apparently, this decline in polemics went hand in hand with the loss of pagan interest in reincarnation.

It was different with the Gnostics. They opposed the idea of resurrection, and thus it is hardly surprising that some of them—in particular the Carpocratians—were more sympathetic to reincarnation, even though they limited its numbers. It seems possible that the Gnostics had reinterpreted the older Greek beliefs in a more optimistic way, but the fact that the Gnostics are viewed in this respect only through the prism of Christian theology makes every interpretation a somewhat dubious affair.

MANICHAEISM. Manichaeism is the only world religion that has disappeared. It was founded by Mani, who was probably born on April 24, 216. He was may have been descended from Persian aristocracy but certainly grew up in a Jewish-Christian group, the Elcasaites, and died in 277 in a Persian prison. His followers carried his beliefs to the West, where they found in Augustine a temporary convert, and to the East, where they were more successful. Via the Silk Road, Manichaean faith traveled to China, where the last Manichaeans probably died in the sixteenth century. Mani worked in a geographical area that was influenced by Zoroastrian, Jewish, Christian and Buddhist views and this plurality makes it difficult to isolate the precise origin of many of his ideas. The difficulty is compounded by the need to reconstruct the Manichaean doctrines from a whole series of languages, ranging over many centuries from Latin and Coptic until Sogdian and Chinese.

The Elcasaite community in which Mani grew up practiced vegetarianism, which in antiquity often went concomitant with a belief in reincarnation. Indeed, a Christian source reports that one of the Elcasaites, Alcibiades, taught that Christ had experienced already many a rebirth before being born from the Virgin Mary. This information points to a Greek origin rather than an Indian one, as later Arab historians suspected.

The Manichaeans taught that the soul could be reborn in humans, plants and animals. The aim was to be reborn in an elite Manichaean, a so-called *electus*, and in this way to become liberated from the cycle of rebirths. It is clear that the Manichaeans dreaded their rebirths, as they could become birds, mice, or even grass.

ISLAM. From the eighth century CE onward, Islam received a clear impetus regarding the doctrine of reincarnation from the Manichaeans and Neoplatonists. Yet whereas conventional Islam strictly rejected reincarnation, "heretical" currents embraced the doctrine, in particular the Syrian Alawites, the Lebanese Druze, and the Anatolian Alevites. Their heretical position explains why they kept their teachings highly secret. It was only in the nineteenth century that apostate Alawites started to publish some of their texts. These show that reincarnation is meant to enable the light souls to ascend to heaven through their reincarnations. The believers can reach this goal in seven times, but the non-believers have to die and be born again a thousand times. Particularly bad is the transmigration into an animal or plant. It seems that the doctrine also helps to explain human misfortune as a penalty for misdemeanors in previous lives.

JUDAISM. Like normative Christianity and Islam, normative Judaism also rejected reincarnation, and it is not mentioned in the texts of biblical and rabbinical Judaism. The first exposition of reincarnation in a primary Jewish source occurs around 1200 CE in the book *Bahir*, which was probably written in southern France. It is a typically Jewish touch that the cycle of rebirths ends with the Messiah, who himself stands outside the cycle. Allusions to and discussions of reincarnation can be found before *Bahir* and go back at least to the eighth century CE. This suggests a possible influence from Islam, but a Neoplatonist and/or Manichaean background cannot be excluded either, given that some Manichaeans were still present in Mesopotamia around that time.

Since the thirteenth century the notion of *gilgul* has been a central qabbalistic tenet, which also found a place in the most influential qabbalistic text of that era, the *Zohar* by Moses de Léon (d. 1305). After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, the doctrine of reincarnation went with them to other areas where Jews were living. This meant that via Galilee Safed in sixteenth-century Galilea it eventually reached eastern Europe, where Hasidic leaders regularly tried to legitimize their position by claiming to be a reincarnation of previous great rabbis and scholars. This tradition largely ended after the upheavals of World War II and the Holocaust.

WESTERN CHRISTIANITY. Around the same time as *Bahir*, if not already a few decades earlier, reincarnation can be found among the Cathars of southern France. The best information comes from the protocol of interrogations in the Pyrenees by Bishop Jacques Fournier (1285–1342). Cathar belief was strongly dualistic: people had a good soul in a bad body. Souls traveled from body to body until they finally, if they had become a Cathar, could return to heaven. It is in this final body also that the resurrection will take place. The Cathars clearly admitted to a transmigration into animals and, as a rule, seemed to have limited the number of reincarnations to about seven. Although all kinds of solutions have been offered to the question from where the Cathars derived their doctrine—from Jewish, Islamic or "heretical" Christian traditions—it is only fair to say that none has been demonstrated in a satisfactory manner.

The Romans had not been overly interested in reincarnation, but it was Publius Ovidius Naso (43–17) who, through Book XV of his *Metamorphoses,* kept the memory of Pythagoras and his teachings alive through the Middle Ages. This meant that the doctrine was regularly discussed and always rejected. Even during the Renaissance and the immediate successive centuries, followers of the doctrine are extremely hard to find. Giordano Bruno (1548–1600) was a rare exception to this. Yet it is only in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that evidence arrives of a renewed interest in the doctrine, undoubtedly favored by the growing questioning of normative Christianity by leading intellectuals amongst whom Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781) played a leading role.

THEOSOPHY, ANTHROPOSOPHY, NEW AGE. Despite a growing interest in reincarnation among European intellectuals in the nineteenth century, the continuing rejection by normative Christianity meant that it was only in alternative circles that the doctrine of reincarnation could gain a permanent position. The source of all modern views is the Theosophical Society, which was founded by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831–1891) in 1875. This imaginative dilettante found traces of reincarnation even in Egyptian sources and the Bible, where previous scholars had not. It was her encounter with India that led her to develop her views on reincarnation—which, however, were filled with typically European ideas, in particular the evolutionary development of the personality. Blavatsky was still trying to come to terms with the combination of Asian and European concepts, but Rudolf Steiner (1861–1925) attempted especially in the last years of his life, to make reincarnation one of the central tenets of his anthroposophy. Steiner was much impressed by the scientific progress of the nineteenth century and tried to make his views on reincarnation acceptable to a public that admired the latest insights of science. His views, however, must be gleaned from his voluminous writings, because he never succeeded in delivering a systematic exposition. The reincarnation, according to Steiner, starts in prehistory where the soul arises from a kind of sea "of the spiritual (German: *des Geistigen*)" and where it also ends. In the time between the reincarnations, which may last on average between 1,000 to 1,300 years, the souls wait on one of the planets. During this period the soul keeps its memory and before reentering a body it looks for an appropriate pair of parents. Steiner himself usually concentrated on male reincarnations and was not averse to speculations about his own historical "ancestors."

Over the course of the twentieth century, the idea of reincarnation gained increasing popularity, in particular among adherents of what is loosely called New Age religion, and is even accepted by some Christian theologians. It is also not unusual to find acceptance of the belief that people choose their own incarnation. Yet contemporary believers are less interested in the physical rebirth than in the progressive spiritual evolution through successive "realities." They often no longer think of a surviving mortal "I" but rather prefer to believe in a True Individuality or Higher Self, which constitutes the link between this life and the previous or coming ones. Some New Age sources even claim that reincarnation transcends space and time and that past and future lives coexist with the present lives. But such views occur especially in authors who tend to theoretical speculations and often have a science-fiction background.

Recovery of the past lives can now also be used for therapeutic purposes. In a twist that is not altogether surprising, a belief that once was typically religious is used to achieve psychological improvement.

SEE ALSO Orpheus; Pythagoras; Reincarnation.

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TRANSSEXUALITY SEE GENDER ROLES

TREASURE TRADITION.

The Treasure (*gter ma*) tradition has some precedents in Indian Buddhism. One striking example is a prophecy by the Buddha in the *Pratyutpannasamādhi Sūtra* that predicts the sūtra would come to be hidden in the ground for future times when it could be propagated again. The Treasures also draw widely on a range of notions about revelation and visionary inspiration from both Indian and Chinese religions. However, as a well-defined movement with far-reaching political and cultural significance, Treasure is a distinctively Tibetan phenomenon.

Treasure-like claims can be found in the colophons of some of the early Tibetan Snying thig (Nyingthig, "Heart Sphere") scriptures, but the Treasure tradition in its full form only emerges gradually. It is common both to certain branches of Tibetan Buddhism and to the adherents of Bon, another religious tradition that has ancient roots in Tibet but that comes together as a school at around the same time as the appearance of Buddhist Treasure adherents. An early Bonpo "treasure discoverer" (*gter ston*) is said to be Gshen chen Klu dga' (Shenchen Luga) of the eleventh century. A formative moment for the Buddhist Treasure tradition is to be identified in the work of Nyang ral Nyi ma 'Od zer (Nyangral Nyima Ozer, 1136–c. 1204), a visionary and scholar of the Rnying ma (Nyingma) school of Tibetan Buddhism. This Treasure discoverer codified a full-length hagiography of Padmasambhava, the Indian Tantric master who is said to have been invited to the royal court in the eighth century to teach Buddhism to the Tibetans. This story included seminal passages about Padmasambhava's concealment of Treasure as part of his mission in Tibet.

Nyang ral Nyi ma 'Od zer and his hagiography of Padmasambhava are concerned primarily with the triumph of Buddhism over Tibet's older religions, especially the traditions called Bon, but the Bon tradition produced many Treasures of its own and flourished throughout the same time period that the Buddhist treasure tradition did. These Bon Treasure scriptures contain much of the same range of types of meditative and ritual practices as the Buddhist Treasures, but their narratives of the period of the royal court are told from a different perspective, focusing upon Bonpo struggles with the Buddhist faction and the persecution of Bon by the Buddhist kings. They trace the ultimate origins of Treasure teachings to the founder of the Bon religion, Gshen rab Mi bo (Shenrab Miwo), and to early Bon masters in Tibet.

In the Buddhist version of the Treasure story, the rationale for hiding Treasures is said to have been formulated when Padmasambhava discerned the future, a time when Tibetans would need special teachings to get them through certain difficult periods. He therefore designed special Buddhist practices and scriptures just for those times and proceeded to set up the circumstances for those special teachings to be revealed at just the right moment. This involved designating some of his own disciples to reveal those teachings in a future lifetime. Padmasambhava then uttered an empowering prophecy about that future revelation and proceeded to hide the teachings in a way that they would not be available until the proper prophesied moment in the future.

As the Treasure tradition develops, the manner in which Padmasambhava and other treasure concealers—both Buddhist and Bon—hide these teachings comes to be distinguished into several types. The basic form of the story is that the Treasures are buried in the physical world—in, for example, the ground or a stone or a pillar. But another mode soon appears by which the concealer buries a Treasure in the memory of the future discoverer. This alternate means relying on mental processes and visionary experiences and is often said to be set into motion when the concealer transmits ritually to the future discoverer an especially impressive communication. This makes it memorable enough to be held in mind over the course of several lifetimes. In either case—of the "earth Treasures" or the "mental Treasures"—the buried teaching is usually encoded in some way, often said to be a special abbreviated language or script distinctive to the *ḍākinīs*, a class of female enlightened spirits. Padmasambhava's consort and disciple Ye shes mtsho rgyal (Yeshe Tsogyal), a former Tibetan queen, is herself cast as a *ḍākinī* and served as Padmasambhava's principal helper in the effort to conceal treasure. Ye shes mtsho rgyal often is said to have been both the scribe for the Buddhist treasure teachings and their encoder.

Concealing the Treasure in code helps protect it against discovery by the wrong person at the wrong time. The other element that ensures that the Treasure reaches its correct destination in the future is the prophecy uttered at the time of the treasure's concealment. In the case of the Buddhist Treasures, these prophecies are uttered by Padmasambhava and serve to name the future discoverer and some of his (and sometimes her) circumstances, also often in coded or abbreviated form. When a discoverer in later times comes to present a teaching that is claimed to have been originally hidden as Treasure, one of the things that adds to the credibility of that claim is if the Treasure does indeed contain this prophetic utterance, with specific reference to the discoverer's name and other characteristics.

Most Treasure texts do include such prophecies as part of the narrative sections that advance the legitimacy of the Treasure itself. When one considers what Treasures are from the perspective of the discoverer, one can understand why legitimacy is such a key issue. Treasure teachings usually come in the form of texts although they can also come in the form of objects, such as ritual instruments or symbolic images. To claim that such things, be they textual or otherwise, were indeed concealed in the past for a particular purpose to be fulfilled in the present and additionally that the discoverer is a reincarnation of a person in the past specifically appointed to uncover that Treasure now requires support and evidence in order to be believed.

In fact the Treasures were regularly subject to criticism by skeptical members of most schools of Tibetan Buddhism. Partially such skepticism had to do with institutional and sectarian competition. In large part the Treasure tradition served as a vehicle for religious figures to distinguish themselves outside of the conventional monastic and academic avenues for self-advancement. But that was precisely what made them subject to doubt. This doubt is also represented in psychological and personal terms in accounts of the experiences of the discoverers themselves. In fact it is for this reason that the Treasure tradition spawned prodigious autobiographical writing throughout its history, often focused on narratives, sometimes idiosyncratic and poetic, of dreams, visions, and meditative experiences. In these experiences the visionary would make contact with the teachers of the past who had originally concealed the Treasure, such as Padmasambhava or an exalted Bon po master. The discoverers were often preoccupied with "reading the signs" of their lives, their bodies (which often included special marks and patterns on the skin), and their surroundings in order to pick up signals and evidence that would connect them with their prophecy texts and elements of a past life as a disciple of the original concealer. Once the discovers did access the actual Treasure itself—which often came in abbreviated form either in a dream, in a vision, or in "reality" in the form of a small scroll of paper with just a few cryptic linguistic indications—they would struggle with "decoding" the initial Treasure signs, a struggle that itself would have to draw on a whole range of esoteric yogic practices and skills. In short, a key part of what made the Treasures credible was just such genuine doubts and heroic struggles on the part of the visionary introducing them.

The successful effort to access Treasure material and then decode and unpack it to serve as a teaching tradition served to bolster the reputation of the discoverer himself or herself, and indeed the success of a Treasure often rode on the discoverer's charisma and personal power. But other kinds of evidence were also marshaled. In many ways it was frequently the virtues of the teachings themselves—their ritual or soteriological efficacy, their aesthetic qualities, and their compelling narratives—that made them believable and worthy of veneration as representations of truth and reality, that is, as teachings of an enlightened figure like Gshen rab Mi bo or Padmasambhava who served as an intermediary for primordial enlightenment itself.

In the Buddhist case, the Treasure promoters argued that their teachings should actually be considered to be originally and most basically the actual words of a buddha, on a par with other canonical Buddhist scriptures translated from Indic languages into Tibetan. Evidence of the success of these Treasure scriptures may be seen in the careers of the discoverers and the kinds of following they attracted and the communities and institutions they built. It can also be assessed in the longer term legacy: how often a given Treasure cycle was published, how often it was ritually performed. In fact there have been hundreds of Treasure discoverers introducing treasure texts and objects from the twelfth century CE to the twenty-first century. Many achieved great fame, and their works had lasting influence upon Tibetan literature, religious practices, and especially narratives about Tibet's royal past and its present religious identity. Some of the discoverers, like Klong chen pa (Longchenpa), were also scholars of the highest order. Others, such as 'Jigs med gling pa (Jigme Lingpa), introduced Treasure ritual cycles that had far-reaching popularity and influence.

It should also be noted that Treasure activity was sometimes the site of collaboration between Buddhists and Bon pos. In the nineteenth century the principal Buddhist Treasure cycles were collected by the polymath Kong sprul blo gros mtha' yas (Kongtrul Lodro Taye), himself originally a practitioner of Bon. Kong sprul worked in association with the visionary 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse' i dbang po (Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo) and other colleagues and codified a corpus of Buddhist Treasures in a single collection, the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, of over one hundred volumes. A product of the nonsectarian Ris med (Rime) movement, this collection is organized by literary genre and ritual purpose. It contains a wealth of meditation techniques, ritual actions, and descriptions of deities. It also includes key narratives about Tibet's royal dynasties, the glories of its kings, the defeat of (in this version) anti-Buddhist demons and ministers, and the process by which the Buddhism that Padmasambhava taught to the court was taken in to become Tibet's national religion. The Bon po Treasure literature was also collected, codified, and divided into two main sections that are similar to those of the more mainstream Tibetan Buddhist canon, the Kanjur and Tanjur. But unlike the Buddhist Kanjur and Tanjur, this massive Bon po collection of several hundred volumes consists almost entirely of Treasure texts. Its date of compilation is not entirely clear, but it almost certainly predated the Buddhist *Rin chen gter mdzod* (Repository of the precious Treasures), possibly by a few hundred years.

For both the Bonpos and Buddhists, Treasure text production constituted a way to formulate new teachings suited to particular situations and audiences while giving them an aura of authenticity, antique pedigree, and religious power. Their specifically Tibetan character is evident in both Treasure traditions. The Bon po Treasures are replete with detailed rituals and deity lore that have no analogue in India and are clearly of ancient Tibetan origin. In the Buddhist Treasures Tibetanness becomes salient in debates about canonicity, authorship, and origins. Tibetan Buddhist orthodoxy had it that all genuinely original and canon-worthy Buddhist teachings had to come from India. By tracing a Treasure's origins back to a primordial Indic buddha or buddha principle, the treasure theorists managed to have it both ways: to give the Treasure an aura of authenticity even while allowing historical Tibetan teachers to formulate new materials under the Treasure tradition's aegis. In both cases it is thus no accident that the Treasure narratives display so much concern with Tibetan history, its leaders, its invasions, its glories, and its disputes. Treasure became a venue for Tibetan religious production qua Tibetan. It eventually became a popular means to acquire spiritual charisma not just by the unconventional yogis of the Bon po and Rnying ma schools who predominated in treasure production but also among some of the more monastic communities and other schools of Tibetan Buddhism. One particularly notable example is that the powerful fifth Dalai Lama had Treasure discoveries, and other Dalai Lamas had important connections with Treasure figures.

It is not coincidental that Treasure discovery continues to be a popular means for lamas to produce teachings and gain followers inside Tibetan areas in China in the early twenty-first century. The potentially nationalist implications of the tradition have not been lost on the governmental authorities, who for the most part have enforced a ban on Treasure discovery and have imposed tight restrictions on flourishing communities that continue to grow up around such visionaries.

SEE ALSO Bon; Dzogchen; Klong chen rab 'byams pa (Longchenpa); Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas (Kongtrul Lodro Taye); Padmasambhava; Ye shes Mtsho rgyal (Yeshe Tsogyal).

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TREES are a form of nature that represent life and the sacred continuity of the spiritual, cosmic, and physical worlds. A tree is often used to symbolize a deity or other sacred being, or it may stand for what is sacred in general. The religious beliefs that surround a tree may include as sacred any one or all of the physical parts of the tree: its trunk, branches, leaves, blossoms, sap, or roots. Sacred objects constructed from the wood of special trees are also used for religious purposes.

The physical properties of trees are combined with supernatural or sacred ideas, the beliefs that surround a tree's connection with what constitutes religion in different cultures. Trees are not only sacred in the major religions of the East and West, but also in other traditions where belief in the sacred is combined with beliefs in the power of ancestors, in the creation of life in birth, about death and the afterworld, and about health and illness. Trees that represent certain deities or ancestors, serve as mediators or links to the religious realm, and are associated with cultural beliefs in heaven or the afterlife. Trees may be valued as spiritual and physical contributors of life because they furnish liquids valued as sacred beverages used in ritual or as medicines for curing a variety of illnesses.

Through association with a particular religious or historical event, an individual tree or species of tree acquires the symbolic significance of the event as part of its meaning. The oak, date palm, and willow were used in the building of Solomon's temple and in constructing booths at Sukkot (*Lv.* 23:40). Deodar wood is used in the construction of Hindu temples. The oak is commonly taken to be the tree under which Joshua set up a pillar at Shechem to commemorate the nation's covenant with God (*Jos.* 24:26). The Jewish captives in Babylon in 597 BCE hung harps on weeping willows along the banks of the Euphrates (*Ps.* 137). The religious significance of this act established the willow as a symbol of mourning, death, and rebirth. The branches of the palm tree stand for Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday as well as for his rebirth. These associations are still prevalent in Christian tradition.

A society's religious beliefs about what kinds of trees are sacred generally depends on the nature and number of trees found in its territory. If trees are plentiful, the forest as a whole will also be an important part of the religion's spiritual beliefs and rituals. The Kwakiutl Indians of Pacific North America, like many other societies living in a tree-filled environment, believe that their heavily forested inland region is the home of supernatural beings.

THE INNATE POWER OF TREES. Religious or spiritual power may be inherent in a tree or in the elements that make up the tree. For example, in Taoist thought, trees and all forms of nature contain *yin* and *yang* energies, that is, the opposing forces of the universe. Each tree has spiritual power as it contains and balances these inequalities: the light and dark colors of the leaves and bark, and the opposition between light and shadow. In southwest China *fengshui* stands for the interaction of *yin* and *yang* and represents a power that affects the world and everything in it. *Fengshui* may be found especially in strange and awe-inspiring trees and stones. The contemplation of these powers or the active cultivation of trees to enhance their spiritual force, as in the Japanese art of *bonsai,* builds gentleness of character, religious spirit, and respect for humankind.

The Andaman Islanders use the intrinsic qualities of hibiscus trees to aid them in their struggles to catch large turtles and fish. It is through the spiritual qualities of these trees that the Islanders are able to succeed in overcoming their prey and to protect themselves from harm. The particular qualities of the tree represent essential elements of physical and spiritual life and ward off dangers associated with turtles and the sea.

The Haida Indians of North America used a power inherent in hemlock branches to scrub themselves in ritual baths. The tree had the power to purify and protect the Indians and to enable them to attain the degree of cleanliness required during their rituals and thus remain on good terms with their supernatural beings.

Power to avert illness and evil. Trees offer protection from both physical and spiritual illness through their associations with the divine. For the Ainu of Japan, *ramat* (literally "heart," translated as "spirit" or "soul") is a power that resides in all things in varying degrees. Wood is especially rich in *ramat*, which is provided by the spirit of Shiramba Kamuy, the upholder of the world and male god of vegetation. The Ainu believe that nothing is more effective for protection against evil and spiritual problems than *inaw* (carved wood offerings). The wood of over fifteen kinds of trees including oak, willow, lilac, dogwood, and magnolia may be used in the carving of *inaw*, which are then offered to good *kamuy* (spirits). Similarly three trees—the thorn, elder, and alder—are predominantly used to carve *inaw* for bad *kamuy. Inaw* are also hung in houses to provide general protection for the home and its occupants.

In the Konkan district of western India it is believed that barrenness can be cured by planting a tree for the uneasy spirits that wander about and inhabit women, preventing conception. Under favorable circumstances the evil spirit will leave a woman suffering from barrenness to take up residence in the newly planted tree, allowing the woman to conceive. The Indian mimosa tree is believed to provide spiritual protection against wicked spells and the evil eye. The illness caused by Sītalā-Māyā, the Indian goddess of smallpox, may be averted by setting up a branch of the neem tree just as Buddhists invoke certain sacred trees for health.

Trees may represent a spiritual healing for and protection from evil. The oil of the olive was traditionally used to soothe pain and so the olive tree or a sprig of the tree has become a symbol of the grace of Jesus Christ through which the sorrowful sinner finds eternal peace.

The cosmic tree. In many religions the universe is portrayed as multilayered, the layers kept distinct and in place by a world tree running through the exact center of the cosmos. Salish Indians of North America hold that their deity made three worlds, one above the other: the sky world, the earth, and the underworld. All are connected by a single tree that passes through the middle of each. The Babylonians believed that their cosmic tree, Kiskanu, was the home of the god of fertility and Ea's mother, Bau, the goddess of plenty. Heaven, or the home of Bai Ülgen, is believed by the Altai people to be on the top of a giant fir tree that grows at the earth's navel. The Vasyugan Ostiak (Khanty) believed that the cosmic tree's branches touched the sky and its roots extended to the underworld. A copy of the celestial tree of the Siberian Tatars stands before the palace of Erlik Khan, the lord of the dead.

Similarly, in Scandinavian mythology the cosmos is connected by a sacred ash, Yggdrasill. Its roots reach to Niflheimr, the lowest region of Hel; its trunk, enwrapped by the snake of the ocean, is in Midgarðr, the realm of humans; and its branches reach to Ásgarðr, the home of the gods. Other versions of the myth depict the great ash with three roots: Niflheimr or Hel under one, Utgarðr, the realm of giants and demons, under the second, and Midgarðr under the third. On top of Yggdrasill sits the eagle of Óðinn (Odin), chief of the gods; nearby is the Spring of Urðr ("fate"), where the gods dispense justice and determine the fate of the world. At Ragnarok, the doomsday of the gods, Yggdrasill will shake its roots, freeing the monsters of the lower regions.

Indian tradition offers many variations of the cosmic tree. In the Upanisads the tree is inverted with its roots in the sky while its branches cover the earth. The eternal *asvattha* ("fig tree"; *Ficus religiosus*) is a manifestation of Brahmā in the universe. This forest tree is also described as rising from the navel of Varuṇa or of Nārāyaṇa as he floats in the waters of the universe.

The ancient Egyptians believed that the sky was a huge tree that overarched the earth. The stars were fruits or leaves on the tree and the gods perched on its boughs. This tree separated the ocean from the sky, the upper from the lower worlds. Osiris, lord of the dead, was identified with this celestial tree. The sun was born from the tree every day while the celestial tree disappeared each morning, thus marking the periods of night and day. The year was also symbolized by 365 trees representing the days of their calendar year.

Cosmic space is also defined horizontally by trees. In addition to the center of the earth and the sacred tree, with its roots deep in the underworld and its trunks and branches defining the world of humans and the gods, many American Indian religions add sacred trees, and their associated colors, birds or other animals, and gods, to each of the four cardinal directions. The Maya, the Aztec, and the Indian cultures that later took part in their cultural heritage believed that five sacred trees (the four corners of the world and the center) were responsible for the organization of the universe; they allotted particular times of the year, or entire years in some cases, to serve under the dominion of each direction.

The tree of life. Many religions believe that the cosmic tree stands for the sacrality of the world, its creation, continuation, and fertility. Thus in many cases the world tree is also a tree of life and immortality as well. The patronesses of the cosmic tree for the Warao of South America are the Grandmothers, deities who are also associated with seasonal change and the winter solstice. The trees of the cardinal points and the Warao deities take on an especially interesting form. The southeast represents the soul of the Mother of the Forest, a deity of the world of light, while the southwest is the body of the Mother of the Forest. For the Warao, deities of the northeast and northwest represent the Tree of Life, the moriche palm, and so symbolize sustenance and fertility. Hebraic teaching and Islamic tradition describe the Tree of Life with its roots in heaven and its branches overarching the earth. Zoroastrianism teaches that the Tree of All Seeds, or the Tree of All Healing, which grows in the cosmic sea, Vourukasha, is responsible for life on earth.

In ancient Egypt, the celestial tree was also a tree of life. Its fruit kept the gods and the souls of the dead in eternal youth and wisdom. Out of this tree of life emerge divine arms some of which bear gifts while others pour out the water of life from an urn. In the Vedas, Varuna lifted up the celestial tree of life and by squeezing its fruit between two stones obtained *soma*, or *amrta*, the drink of immortality. Ancient Egyptian religion also associated this tree with fate. Sekhait, the goddess of writings or fate, sits at the foot of the cosmic tree where she records on the tree itself, or in its leaves, all future events as well as the important events of the present for the benefit of future generations.

The tree of knowledge. For Buddhists, the bodhi tree, or bo tree, is both the source of life for all beings and the tree of enlightenment. Śākyamuni Buddha made a special resolution at the foot of this tree of wisdom to remain under its branches until he attained supreme enlightenment. It was under this tree that he attained enlightenment after he was tempted and threatened by Māra and his three daughters Tanhā, Rati, and Rāga, who were like swaying branches of a young leafy tree singing songs of the season of spring.

The Babylonians believed that two trees guarded the eastern entry to heaven: the tree of truth and the tree of life. Similarly, in the Garden of Eden described in *Genesis* stood the Tree of Life and the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. After Adam ate of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil offered by Eve, God said, "Behold, the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil: and now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live forever" (*Gn.* 3:22). Adam and Eve were driven from the garden, marking the beginning of humankind's troubles on earth.

Trees as food. In many religions trees are believed to be responsible for spiritual nurturance and sacred food. The Polynesians of Futuna believe that in Polotu, the abode of the gods, grows a sacred tree, the Puka-tala. The leaves of this tree will change into a wide variety of foods when they are cooked and so may supply all needs. For the tribes of South America's Gran Chaco, the god Cotaa created a wondrous tree that would provide food and drink for hungry people.

The bark of the alder tree is credited by the Karok Indians on the Klamath River in northwestern North America with providing salmon, an important food source. The creator of the world, Kareya, built a dam at the entrance of the Klamath River that prevented salmon from coming upstream to the Karok. The bark of the alder tree looks like salmon when it is broken off the tree and wetted. A Karok myth relates how this bark was used by Coyote to trick the women who guarded the dam into allowing the salmon to come up from the ocean, forever supplying food for the Karok. Salmon play both a life-sustaining and a religious role among these Indians, as does the wood of the alder tree.

Creation of humankind. In many religions the myth of a people's origin relates how a cosmic tree played an important role in either the actual creation of people or the emergence of humankind in this world from some other world. These beliefs are intimately tied to what is believed to be sacred. For example, among the Ainu the human backbone is regarded as the seat of life, and was originally made from a willow branch. But more frequently the cosmic tree or tree of life is responsible for the creation of the people of a society. Kiowa religion features a girl child, Pekeahaidei, carried by a growing tree into the sky where she marries and has a boy child. Carrying her child with her, she falls through a hole in her world. The child survives the fall to this world and is raised by Spider Old Woman, a very sacred being. Later the child creates Kiowa culture.

The Uyurucares of Bolivia believe that their god Tiri split a tree and from the opening came all the people of the earth. The Zuni, in their story of creation, are brought up from the lowest world level, where all is darkness, with the aid of the two sons of the sun. Branches from the pine tree to the north, the spruce to the west, the silver spruce to the south, and the aspen tree to the east had to be gathered before they could leave the Darkness World. The Zuni climbed the long prayer stick made from the pine of the north to the third world; scaled the crook from the spruce of the west to the second world; used the prayer stick from the spruce of the south to rise to the world below this one, and finally emerged into the Daylight World (this world) by climbing the prayer stick made from the aspen tree. This emergence story blends the cosmic tree, the trees of the four corners, and the tree of life as sacred elements that bring the Zuni to their present world and that serve as important parts of their religious beliefs.

The Seneca Indians of northeastern North America also give an account of the discovery of the world originating with the sacred people of the sky. In the middle of their village stood a tree covered with white blossoms, which gave light to the people when the tree was in bloom. When the blossoms fell, there was darkness. A woman of the Seneca dreamed three times that the tree must be pulled up by the roots. After the third dream, her people uprooted the tree. Upon discovering their actions, the chief became angry and ordered the woman who had had the dream to be pushed into the hole where the tree had been. The falling woman then discovered this world, an event that marks the beginning of the Seneca culture.

Trees as ancestors. A common extension of the notion of the cosmic tree as the source of all life is the belief in a tree as an ancestor and creator. This belief can take many forms. The Warramunga of northern Australia, for example, believe that the new life present in the womb of a mother receives its spirit or soul from certain trees, entering the womb through the navel. The Lakota on the upper Missouri River say that the first man and woman were two trees and that a snake chewed their roots off in order to allow the couple to walk away.

The Sauras of India honor the banyan tree, for they believe that "it is our mother." The banyan tree succored two fatherless children whose mother had abandoned them under its branches. The children would have perished but for the milk of the banyan that dripped into their mouths and fed them.

For the Ndembu, the "milk tree" *(mudyi)* is a dominant symbol of their culture and religious beliefs. The white latex sap of the tree is believed to represent breast milk and semen, suggesting the creation and nurturance of life. This tree stands for what is good in Ndembu society and is used in rituals to counter evil forces. The tree also stands for the spirits of the ancestors of the matriline, the important lineage of descent, and so represents social custom and structure.

In another vein, trees can be associated with a shrine dedicated to a deceased relative, who, in time, becomes an ancestor. Among the Nuer a *colwic* is the spirit of those people struck by lightning. These people are believed to have been chosen to enter into close kinship with the god Kwoth. A person killed by lightning is said to become a Child of Kwoth, a spirit of the air. The blood relatives of the deceased, his patriline, erect a *riek* or shrine over his funeral mound and plant a sapling of the nyuot tree at its side. The nyuot tree is associated with the *colwic* spirit and with the rain and the sky to which the soul of the dead person has been taken. When this sapling is planted during the rains (when most lightning occurs), the tree takes root. If it were to die another would be planted in its place. This tree becomes a shrine for the deceased's lineage. It is through this shrine that the deceased's spirit may become active in the everyday affairs of his relatives.

This idea of a sacred tree representing the lineage or clan is an old one. For many cultures, the ancestors are the deities and are responsible for life, death, and spiritual happines. The wooden totem pole used particularly by cultures of the Pacific Northwest coast of North America is not merely a name or emblem of different family groupings. The totem is a collective label, but it also has a religious character: the totem's origins related to the special relationship to the ancestors and the sacred world. The *inaw* of the Ainu, mentioned above, were originally the receptacles of ancestral *ramat*; later, the winged *inaw* (*shutu inaw*) came to represent ancestors. Some of these winged *inaw* became minor *kamuy* owing to their concentrated *ramat*, and were effective in warding off injurious magic.

TREES AND DIVINE POWERS. Trees may be viewed as having souls or spirits themselves or they may be a part of some divine being. Thus trees may symbolize a deity either by serving as the visible embodiment of a sacred presence or by marking a sacred spot that a deity frequents. Sacred trees may be the abode of deities or may be the divine beings themselves. For instance, the sacred heath worshiped in the time of Plutarch grew around the sarcophagus of Osiris and was known as the "soul of Osiris."

Trees with souls or spirits. Many religions include beliefs that trees have souls or are sentient sacred beings. The Australian Aborigines believe that the spirit of humanity resides in the land and that a tree, a bush, or a rock is the present incarnation of this spirit and has great religious value. A group of relatives thus includes humans and the spirits of these natural features of the landscape. If an Aboriginal leaves the area, he would leave a vital part of himself behind.

The pre-Islamic *jinn* are associated with certain kinds of trees. These trees are conceived as animate and rational, for a supernatural life and power resides in the trees. In Greece the dryads were oak nymphs, and the *tengu* of Japan are forest spirits.

The Trobriand Islanders of the western Pacific depend both spiritually and physically on the spirit of their canoe and the tree from which it is made. Once a tree is selected, the owner, builder, and helpers must perform a short ceremony before the tree can be cut down. A small cut is made in the trunk, and a bit of food is placed in the incision. This is an offering to the tree's *tokway*, or wood sprite, to induce the spirit to leave the tree so that the workers may begin the process of converting the tree into a canoe.

The Japanese have a story about the spirit of a very large and old willow tree that grows near a temple. The village decides to build a bridge and use the willow's wood for part of its construction. A young man, who like his ancestors before him loves and respects the old tree, saves it by offering to substitute wood from his own land in place of the willow tree. The village accepts and the tree is saved. Returning from work one day the young man meets a beautiful young woman under the willow. They marry with the understanding that the young man never ask his wife where she came from or who her parents were. He agrees. The emperor declares that a temple is to be built nearby. The village is eager to have the willow included in the building materials for the good fortune it will bring. One morning when the willow is being cut down the wife wakes up and tells her husband that she is the spirit of the willow, that she married him to make him happy in return for saving her (and the willow) so many years ago, but that now she must return to the willow to die with it because she is a part of it.

The spirit of a Buddhist nun of the eighth century CE is believed to be embodied in a giant ginkgo tree in Japan. This tree is called the Nurse Goddess Tree of Miyagi Field because of hanging formations that resemble human breasts, from which moisture drips in wet weather. This tree's "moisture" is believed to have the power of restoring milk to a woman who is unable to nurse. The tree itself is worshiped as a sacred mortal who has become a god and is filled with divine power.

Deities as trees. Trees may give birth to deities, or sacred beings may be made from trees. Among the Ainu of Japan, A-e-oina Kamuy, a sky god, is born to the elm tree spirit as is Kamuy Fuchi, supreme ancestress and ruler of all departed spirits. She was born from the elm tree impregnated by Kando-loro Kamuy, the possessor of the heavens. Her spirit is manifested in the sacred fire of the hearth and in vegetation.

In Asia Minor the almond tree and the river Sangarius were believed to have given birth to the god Attis, and consequently maturing almond trees became his symbol. The Tupari of the Mato Grosso region of Brazil believe that two of their male gods were born from a large rock. Since they had no wives, they cut down two trees, and each carved himself a woman and so populated the world.

Trees may also represent the essence of the deity. For example, the Buddha's fig tree, *asvattha*, is the chosen symbol of his essence, synonymous with all existence and all life. Among the Mandan Indians along the Missouri River in North Dakota, the world had two creators: First Creator and Lone Man. Lone Man leaves the cedar with the Mandan as a protection from all harm. The cedar is the body of Lone Man and contains his essence. Among the Arikara the cedar trees grown in front of their lodges are the body and spirit of Mother Corn, an important deity.

Deities symbolized by trees. Wreaths and crowns of foliage, usually laurel, olive, myrtle, ivy, or oak were sacred to Apollo and so symbolized some particular personification of him. The myrtle was also a symbol of both Venus and Neptune, the male and female deities of the productive and fertile powers of the waters. Several species of oak were symbols of Zeus.

Frequently a tree is held to be sacred because a deity resides in its branches. The *aśvattha* is said by some to be the abode of Brahma as well as embodying his essence and serving as the tree of wisdom and life. Other sources say that in this sacred tree abide Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, as well as Viṣṇu in his incarnation as Kṛṣṇa. Among the ancient Semites, the goddess Al-Ozza had her abode in a sacred acacia at Nakhla.

Some trees are taken as symbols of a sacred person because of particular religious qualities the tree possesses. The myrtle is believed to be the symbol of pure maidenhood in Christianity and so is ascribed to the Virgin because of her pure life and sacred character. The palm, cypress, and olive are also symbols of the Virgin during her annunciation. They denote peace, heaven, and hope.

Greek beliefs frequently describe the actions of the gods in transforming human or divine beings into trees. The virginal Daphne, fleeing Apollo's embrace, is turned into a laurel tree by her mother, Gaia, the earth. Apollo breaks off a branch and crowns himself with it. In another myth, Aphrodite takes pity on Smyrna, mother of the slain Adonis, and tranforms her into a myrrh tree.

TREES AS VEHICLES OF COMMUNICATION WITH DEITIES. Trees serve as a means of communicating with the divine in three ways: through their use in shrines, the meeting place on earth of a sacred being and humankind; through the relationship between sacred trees and shamans, the religious mediators of the divine; and through the use of sacred drinks or drugs made from trees that allow a mystical contact with the sacred.

Trees and religious shrines. Sacred trees may be found along with bushes, shrubs, rocks, or even with a temple to make a shrine. In ancient Egypt, by order of Pepi II, a new center of worship was officially recognized by planting a Syrian fir in the town. Among the Pare of Africa, religious shrines were sacred groves of trees and depended in size upon the size of the comunity who would worship in them. Many Shintō shrines are built under the branches of an ancient tree as an alternate abode for the deity of the tree. The usual sacred tree of Shintō is the evergreen sakaki. It is usually on the grounds of the shrine, protected by sacred ropes. One of the most powerful shrines in Java lies in the center of Modjokerto, where at the foot of a huge banyan tree lies a small stone statue of Gaṇeśa, the Hindu elephant god of wisdom, surrounded by a white fence.

A shrine in the town of Kagami in Japan is dedicated to Musubi no Kami, the god of love, and built in honor of a cherry tree, Kanzakura. A myth tells of the spirit of a sacred cherry tree. A young girl falls in love with a handsome young man and will not accept the marriage arranged for her by her father. When the girl discovers she has fallen in love with the spirit of the cherry tree, she chooses to become a caretaker of the shrine devoted to the tree. There she stayed for the remainder of her life, representing religious perfection and dedication.

Sacred trees pass on communications from deities by speaking directly to humans, or indirectly through their whispering leaves whose sounds must then be interpreted by priests. At Dodona in Epirus, the talking Oak of Zeus delivered divine messages to humans through priests. Wood from this oak was also used to build the *Argo* and spoke to the heroes with a human voice. At Delphi, the laurel tree served as the voice of Apollo. The famous sacred tree near Shechem called the "tree of the revealer" in *Genesis* 12:6, was originally a Canaanite tree oracle.

Trees and shamans. Shamans or priests are frequently associated with sacred trees as oracles or interpreters of divine will. The shaman may be spiritually connected to the cosmic tree. Most frequently the shaman uses the cosmic tree as a vehicle to ascend to the sky or to the deities of the universe to gain sacred information.

In addition to the ability to transverse the universe and communicate with the deities by means of the sacred tree, shamans can communicate with the spiritual realm through divination, frequently using parts of sacred trees for ritual communication. According to the religion of the Sisal, an ethnic group in the Tumu district of northern Ghana, the first diviner or shaman descended from God shortly after humans descended to earth using the baobab tree. Shamans also frequently have spirit helpers to aid them in their ceremonials. Among the Coast Salish of North America, one of the most powerful spirit helpers is known as Biggest Tree and aids the shaman in acquiring gifts made from cedar. These gifts are "alive" for those who possess the power to perceive and use them.

Religious objects made of wood may also act as messengers. The wooden *inaw* of the Ainu are messengers (*shongokoro guru*) or intermediaries between the Ainu and the *kamuy* or between the *kamuy* themselves.

Trees and divine intoxicants. Many religions include the use of a divine potion, made from sacred plants, as necessary vehicles to the divine. Shamans frequently incorporate the use of such potions into their practices. Varuṇa obtains *soma*, or *amṛta*, the fruit of immortality, by squeezing the fruit of the celestial tree of life between two stones. The palmyra palm is a symbol of Śiva, yielding an intoxicating and powerful juice. In Chan Kom, descendants of the Maya use a favorite Mayan intoxicant and purge that has strong religious associations. They make a ceremonial mead of fermented honey and add the bark of the balche tree during the process for its narcotic effect. This drink, *balche,* enables communication with the deities and is necessary for all religious rituals, especially those for fertility, abundance of crops, rain, health, and family.

THE RITUAL USE OF TREES. Sacred trees have a ritual significance. The trees and their meanings may be incorporated into rituals of curing, initiation, marriage, and death. Trees used in any of these contexts stand for the divine and represent the sacred beliefs being honored through the ritual.

Trees appear in rituals in various forms as symbols for the divine. Sacred beverages are made from tree bark. Incense made from the sap and bark of sacred trees calls deities down to this world and then "feeds" them while they are here. *Copal,* an incense made from a tree sap and used by many cultures in Latin America, not only aids communication with the deities but protects the ritual participants from harm by driving away evil and purifying the area. Most frequently, wood is used to construct powerful religious paraphernalia, such as the sacred poles erected to symbolize the presence of the ancestral spirits or the cosmic tree during the ritual. The symbol of the cross is used in different religions to symbolize specific divine beings or the sacred in general.

The Zinacantecos, descendants of the Maya in Chiapas, erect cross shrines for every kind of ceremony. Three small pine trees are fastened to crosses and pine needles are strewn on the ground around the crosses to set off the area as sacred and ritually pure. There must be three crosses for a ceremony, and one is generally a permanent wooden construction, supplemented by two crosses made entirely from fresh pine boughs. The triadic symbol displays the Catholic religious use of three crosses as well as the traditional Native American beliefs. Crosses are "doorways" to the houses of the ancestral deities. They mark the boundaries between the sacred and the profane realms.

In Christian belief, the cross may be referred to as a symbol of the Tree of Life that stands in the Garden of Eden. The wood from the True Cross was believed to have the power to restore the dead to life. A variety of different trees are credited with being the wood chosen for Christ's cross: cedar of Lebanon, dogwood, mesquite, ash, and oak.

Trees in rituals of initiation and marriage. Many African cultures mark the transition from youth to adulthood through rituals of initiation, and some of the most powerful symbolism of this change is represented through the use of trees. Among the Ndembu, the milk tree, the mudyi, a symbol of life and the ancestors, is used in both male and female initiation ceremonies to transform boys and girls into fertile, productive adults. Traditionally, a girl's initiation ceremony and the use of the milk tree served as her marriage ceremony as well.

Every young girl among the Newari of Nepal is married to a small tree *(bel)* from early childhood. In India, the "marriage of trees" may be performed when a woman has been married for many years and has not yet borne children. One tree representing her husband and one tree symbolizing her fertility are planted side by side so that their combined growth may symbolically and spiritually increase her fertility and the growth of life within her womb.

The "marriage tree" is common in South India as a representation of a male or female ancestor. This tree is necessary for all weddings and is adorned as a part of the ceremony. In Java large "plants," are assembled from banana stems and scalloped tree leaves of various types, and wrapped with green coconut branches. These "flowers" made from trees are essential ritual elements for the wedding ceremony, representing the virginity of the bride and the groom.

Trees associated with death and rebirth. A variety of trees are specifically associated with religious beliefs about the fate of the dead and the rebirth or passage of their souls to the afterlife. Christian death symbolism involves the use of willows and cedar trees. These trees symbolically stand for the death of the body as well as heralding a rebirth of the soul. These trees are almost always present in cemeteries in America and may be accompanied by conifers or other kinds of evergreens: a promise of everlasting life. Wood is the most common material from which coffins are made for burial in Christian practice in the United States. The leaves of the baine palm used by the Coorgs of South India are associated with death and are used in funeral rituals.

Many religions practice tree burial as the appropriate spiritual resting place for the deceased. The Khasiyas of eastern India leave the deceased in the hollow trunk of a tree. Many North American Indian groups placed their dead in trees or on wooden structures grouped together to form a sacred burial ground. The Nootka and Southern Kwakiutl used another form of tree burial. They folded the body up and put it in a large box, which was then placed high in a tree. A wooden mortuary column was erected to display the family crest of the deceased.

In many religions, without proper religious burial the soul of the departed would be in danger and could harm the deceased's living friends and relatives. For the funeral pyre, the Coorgs of South India cut down a mango or pavili tree that grows in the burial ground. The entire tree must be used for cremating the corpse; improper use of the tree's parts may result in another death in the community in the near future.

SEE ALSO Axis Mundi; Beverages; Incense; Rites of Passage; Vegetation.

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TRENT, COUNCIL OF. Also known as the nineteenth general council of the Roman Catholic Church, this council opened on December 13, 1545, and closed on December 4, 1563, after twenty-five formal sessions. The road to Trent, long and tortuous, passed through Constance, Basel, and Pisa. The cry for a sweeping reform of the church from top to bottom—"reformatio capitis et membrorum"—had been raised one hundred years before Luther posted his theses. It continued to ring out through the fifteenth century, accompanied more often than not by the insistence that serious reform could be achieved only within the framework of a general council. Basic to this coupling of reform and council was the widespread conviction that the papacy was incapable of or unwilling to put right the tangle of abuses that threatened to smother the ecclesiastical life of Christendom. Indeed, it was argued by many that the popes' chronic misuse of their dispensing powers, particularly with regard to the appointment to benefices, was the root cause of those abuses.

The demand for a council became the standard rhetoric not only of churchmen but also of princes and statesmen. Conciliar preeminence assumed doctrinal status in many of the best universities in Europe and found its way into a thousand pamphlets, treatises, and broadsides. Preachers thundered the message from their pulpits, and echoes were heard in busy chancelleries no less than in silent Carthusian charterhouses. No pope could be elected until he had assured the cardinals in conclave that he would summon a council within a year or two of his coronation.

Such were the shock waves loosed at the Council of Constance (1414–1418). The questions addressed there were at once constitutional, procedural, and moral. With whom or what lies ultimate authority within the church? The monarchical concept of the papal primacy had taken its classical form in the days of Gregory VII (d. 1085), had pressed its brief even further under the great lawyer popes of the thirteenth century (e.g., Innocent III, d. 1216, and Clement IV, d. 1268) and, scarcely checked by the extravagances of Boniface VIII (d. 1303), had reached a kind of practical hegemony, at least in fiscal affairs, at Avignon (1305–1376). But the protracted scandal of the Western Schism (1378–1417), when two and then three rival "popes" competed for the allegiance of Christendom, brought the notion of papal monarchy into severe disrepute, just as the solution of the crisis by a general council convened at Constance under the aegis of the German emperor enhanced the idea of conciliar superiority. The council's deposition of the three squabbling claimants, its election of a successor (Martin V, 1417–1431), and its solemn decree, *Sacrosancta,* all combined to stake out a constitutional position: a general council, representative of the emperor and other Christian princes, the learned elite of the universities, the experts in canon law, and the college of bishops, acted for the whole church, of which the pope was a functionary, albeit an exalted functionary.

The decree *Frequens,* which called for such a council to be held every ten years, concerned itself with the procedural problem. *Frequens* presumed the doctrine of *Sacrosancta.* Since final and decisive authority belonged to the council, the pope's position was that of chief executive or prime minister responsible to the council, which therefore had to meet frequently. The conciliar movement of the fifteenth century based itself on these grounds. Due partly to the temper of the time, that movement did not succeed. The secular counterparts of the aristocratic ecclesiastical assemblage the conciliarists had in mind were in retreat everywhere in Europe and, in most places, on the eve of dissolution. Ambitious dynasts were in the process of bringing the powers to tax, to maintain military establishments, and to appoint government personnel under their own bureaucratic control, and thus reducing and even eliminating the prerogatives of the great medieval parliaments. It was unlikely that the church, the first great Western institution to adopt this centralizing model, would have reversed direction in favor of a polity that was demonstrably anachronistic.

But there were other, more proximate causes for the collapse of the movement, not least the tendency of the conciliarists to quarrel among themselves. The popes, for their part, ignored the doctrine of *Sacrosancta* and evaded the provisions of *Frequens.* A council was indeed convoked at Basel in 1431, but it soon fell out with the pope, who withdrew from it and convened a more tame assembly under his own presidency at Florence. The rump council continued to meet at Basel until 1449, when it broke up into bitterly contending factions. After that, conciliar rhetoric sounded increasingly hollow, especially when engaged in by secular rulers who routinely invoked the threat of a council as a device to influence papal policy in Italy. So the conciliar movement died a lingering death, its last gasp coming at Pisa in 1511, when the king of France, in league with a dissident minority of the college of cardinals, summoned a council whose declared purpose was to strip the pope, the king's bitterest political enemy, of his office. This *conciliabulum* did not survive the French military reverses of the following year.

The effective end of the movement, however, did not put a quietus to the theory. The teaching of *Sacrosancta* continued to flourish in university circles, notably at the Sorbonne. Nor did those who rejected *Sacrosancta* necessarily repudiate *Frequens* as well. The two decrees had doubtlessly been wedded in the minds of the fathers of Constance, but as the century wore on a distinction between them was often drawn by those who, while not prepared to admit the constitutional superiority of the council, nevertheless believed that only a council could bring about meaningful reform.

The moral issue raised at Constance went unresolved for a hundred years. There had occurred a kind of spontaneous reform of the members in some places—the Devotio Moderna in the Netherlands, a florescence of mysticism in England and Germany, an evangelical revival in northern Italy, a dedication among the educated classes everywhere to the scholarly endeavors of Christian humanism. But these were hardly more than specks upon a dark sea of clerical illiteracy, popular superstition, jobbery, and pastoral neglect. The belief was almost universal that such abuses perdured because the Curia Romana, the pope's own administration, permitted and even encouraged them. Curial fees, taxes, and charges proliferated, most of them designed to allow what traditional law and common sense declared to be perilous to the life of the church. The members would never be properly reformed, it was said, unless the head were reformed too.

The Renaissance popes, whose lifestyles and political ambitions were hardly calculated to inspire confidence, stubbornly refused to put their houses in order or to permit any other organ of the church to do so. They tried to keep to the high ground of constitutional theory. The papal primacy, they argued, was a datum of divine revelation that they were pledged to defend as they had received it. They also declined to have any outside agency oversee and most likely interfere with the workings of their own court, the central bureaucracy of the church. Reform of the Curia, they proclaimed, was the business solely of the supreme pontiff.

Whatever the theoretical value of this argument, the trouble with it was that the supreme pontiffs, themselves products of the curial system, were clearly not prepared to go beyond platitudes and gestures in correcting the colossal financial chicanery that corrupted the various papal departments and that reached a stunning climax in the election and pontificate of Alexander VI (r. 1492–1503). Since Constance, the conviction that everything was for sale in Rome—offices, judgments, indulgences, dispensations from the law—had grown, not lessened, and the poison of simony seeped down through the whole body of the church. Julius II did indeed summon a council in 1512, largely as a counter to the French-sponsored gathering at Pisa, but the meanderings of the Fifth Lateran Council (1512–1517) produced reform decrees that were no better than scraps of paper and that served merely to confirm the cynical mistrust of the papacy's moral resolution.

The popes' highest card in this game of stalemate was the reluctance of even fervent conciliarists—aside from a handful of academics—to challenge the doctrine of the Petrine office. But the year that saw the conclusion of the futile Fifth Lateran Council was also the year of the ninety-five theses. By 1520, Luther declared himself ready to jettison the papacy if that institution obstructed the full flowering of the gospel as he understood it. And Luther soon proved he was no effete intellectual but the leader of a potentially vast popular movement. Over the next decade the character of the debate about a council was drastically altered. As early as 1523, the German estates, gathered in the Diet of Nuremberg, called for "a free Christian council in German lands." Here was conciliarism with a new twist. Now, besides the old clamor for a council to reform ecclesiastical abuses, there came the demand from a growing constituency in northern Europe for a reform of dogma as well.

THE COUNCIL OF PAUL III. The pope who had to contend with this new situation, Clement VII (r. 1523–1534), avoided it as best he could, and though he paid lip service to the conciliar idea, he was as obstructive as his predecessors had been. His successor was cut from a different cloth. Alessandro Farnese, who upon his election assumed the name Paul III (r. 1534–1549), had long been a champion within the Curia of a reform council, and he had carefully distanced himself from Clement VII's duplicitous policy in this regard. Not that Farnese had the credentials of a reformer. His youthful career—Alexander VI had made him a cardinal when he was twenty-six—had revealed many of the more seamy features of the Renaissance papal court. In his middle years he had undergone something of a religious conversion, which, though it did not eradicate all the bad habits of his past, led him at least to a greater earnestness and gravity of purpose. Never a moral zealot himself, he signaled his good intentions by promoting men of genuine probity and even holiness to high ranks and, most of all, by immediately moving to fulfill his pledge to summon a general council.

From the beginning of Paul III's initiative, everything seemed to work at cross-purposes. For a council to succeed, both great Catholic sovereigns—the German emperor and the king of France—had to support it, but they were bitterly at odds with each other. The emperor, Charles V, pressed for a council of reconciliation to bring peace to Germany, which meant a council to correct abuses, to satisfy the *gravamina* of the German estates against the Curia, with as little attention as possible paid to divisive doctrinal issues. Francis I wanted no council at all, because religious unrest in Germany, which discomfited his Habsburg rival, was much to his liking. Had Paul III had his way, he would have preferred a council over which he could keep careful watch, a kind of "Sixth Lateran," which would emphasize doctrine and, with a preponderance of bishops from the Papal States in attendance, protect the prerogatives of the Curia. But he knew he had no chance for that, and so he proposed what appeared to be the next best scenario. Mantua was a petty Italian city-state whose duke was vassal to the emperor; on June 2, 1536, the pope, ignoring the unanimous advice of his cardinals, summoned a general council to convene at Mantua the following May and ordered all the bishops, abbots, and other prelates of the whole world to appear there.

Immediately obstacles sprang up all around him. The duke of Mantua demanded a large papal army to garrison the town. The Protestants promptly declined to attend because of the presence of this hostile force, and then, when security arrangements were altered to meet their objections, they refused anyway. The king of France also refused to participate or to allow any French prelates to do so. The emperor, pointing out how Francis I had connived with the Lutheran princes and even with the Turks, urged Paul III to join him in an assault upon the French and thus guarantee a successful council. The war duly broke out in 1536, but without the pope, who shrank from a step that might have provoked Francis into following the schismatic example of Henry VIII and that at the same time might have contributed to eliminating the only check upon Habsburg power, which he feared as much as the French king did. Instead, the pope postponed the Mantuan council twice, then translated it to Vicenza, postponed it again, and finally, in 1539, suspended it altogether.

The failure was more than a disappointment. It tended to sustain the view—not only among Protestants—that this pope was no more serious about reform than his predecessors had been. Paul III did not help his cause much by the simultaneous campaign he was carrying on—in the best Renaissance style of his first mentor, Alexander VI—to make a ruling dynasty of his children and grandchildren. The Farnese did indeed become dukes of Parma, but only at the cost of diminishing further the pope's limited fund of goodwill. Even so, whatever Paul III's flaws of character, lack of persistence was not one of them. The intricate diplomacy involved in the conciliar enterprise never really ceased, even when the distrustful emperor turned to another tack and urged a conference of leading theologians, Protestant and Catholic, who could discuss all the religious discontents and find solutions to them. The pope cooperated in this venture, but the distinguished participants in the Colloquy of Ratisbon, which occupied most of the summer of 1541, failed to reach a meeting of minds. Any hope of religious reunion was fast slipping away.

The pope responded by returning to his conciliar project. With the assent of the somewhat chastened emperor, he formally announced the opening of a general council for November 1, 1542. The site this time was Trent, a small italianized town northwest of Venice that was nevertheless an imperial free city and thus juridically "in German lands." But the earlier pattern of delay, postponement, and obstructiveness by Francis I and outright rejection by the Protestants, quarrels between pope and emperor, and intermittent warfare between France and the empire was bitterly repeated. Not until December 13, 1545, did Paul III's council finally begin in the Cathedral of Saint Vigilius in Trent. The process had consumed eleven years and had produced only thirty-four voting participants. It was no wonder the mood was somber throughout the Mass of the Holy Ghost and the formal reading of the bull of convocation, which reminded the fathers that their solemn task was to heal the confessional split, to reform those abuses that sullied Christ's body, and to promote amity among Christian princes.

Those princes, though their influence over the council was enormous, did not participate directly in its decision making, nor did anyone else outside the higher clergy. In its procedure Trent was more akin to the papal councils of the high Middle Ages than to Constance or Basel. Franchise belonged only to the "fathers" of the council, that is, to the bishops present—not their proctors—and to the generals of the mendicant orders. The presiding officers were the legates appointed by the pope. They were empowered to set the agenda, although each bishop was free to request inclusion of any proposal he pleased. This arrangement met with few serious difficulties once the basic compromise between the pope's and the emperor's positions was accepted: that matters of dogma and matters of reform would be treated simultaneously.

The work schedule followed a consistent pattern. It began with a "particular congregation," at which theologians and canonists would discuss the draft of a particular decree. The fathers formed the audience for these technical expositions. Then, meeting alone in a "general congregation," they debated the matter themselves until they reached agreement upon a final text. A "session" was a public meeting at which that text was read out, formally voted upon, and promulgated at the council's decree. Since it was thought to have a liturgical as well as a juridical significance, a session was always convened in the cathedral or some other church. Between

1545 and 1563 the Council of Trent held twenty-five sessions, of which seventeen were substantive in the sense that they were occasions for the proclamation of doctrinal definitions and reform legislation, while the rest were ceremonial affairs.

The first particular congregation met on February 20, 1546, to examine Luther's assertion of *sola scriptura.* On April 8, at the fourth session, the council declared that apostolic traditions, "which have come from the mouth of Christ or by the direction of the Holy Spirit and have been passed down to our own times," deserve to be accepted by believers "with as much reverence *[pari pietatis ac reverentia]"* as scripture itself. The fifth session, on June 17, renewed earlier conciliar legislation setting up structures for the theological training of the parochial clergy and placed upon bishops and pastors a stern obligation to preach to their flocks every Sunday and holy day. On the dogmatic side this session issued six "canons," terse condemnatory statements on the Pelagian as well as the Lutheran view of original sin.

Then began the most protracted debate of the council, devoted to the central Lutheran doctrine of justification. The first draft of a decree on this controversial subject was submitted to the fathers on July 28 and promptly rejected. For the next seven months the arguments raged through forty-four particular and sixty-one general congregations, until finally an acceptable text was hammered out and promulgated at the sixth session, on January 13, 1547. There was nearly unanimous assent to the sixteen chapters of the decree and the thirty-three canons, which repudiated Luther's view of justification by faith alone. But there was no such unanimity when the next great issue of reform was introduced. The fathers and their theologians wrangled through the succeeding months over the requirement that bishops reside in their dioceses. When the proposed decree was presented the first time, only twenty-eight fathers out of a total grown by early 1547 to sixty indicated their agreement by voting *placet.* The divisions over the matter were so deep that it had to be set aside for later consideration. The seventh session, on March 3, 1547, therefore contented itself with asserting a bishop's right to supervise parishes in his diocese administered by members of religious orders. The dogmatic decrees of the same session defined the nature of the sacraments, fixed their number at seven, and asserted their effective spiritual power *(ex opere operato).* The doctrine of baptism and confirmation was also treated in detail.

Meanwhile, in the midst of all this intellectual labor, various discontents revealed themselves. Trent was a small town with limited accommodations. Its location made it a difficult place to supply with provisions, and its climate was harsher than the southerners in attendance were accustomed to. Many of the fathers complained of the discomfort in which they were forced to live. During the summer of 1546, fighting between the emperor and the Smalcald League surged close enough to the city that dissolution of the council was seriously contemplated. This danger passed away, only to be replaced by a typhus epidemic that broke out in the vicinity early in 1547 and that caused the council to translate its deliberations to Bologna (eighth session, March 11, 1547). The emperor was furious at what he considered the pope's maneuver to bring the council under his direct control by removing it to a city in the Papal States. Fourteen imperialist bishops remained in Trent, but the majority of the fathers went dutifully off to Bologna, where they labored through intense debate in both particular and general congregations on the rest of the sacraments, the sacrificial character of the Mass, purgatory, veneration of the saints, and monastic vows—all doctrinal issues raised by the Protestant reformers. But Paul III allowed no formal sessions or decrees, lest he push the angry emperor too far. The significance of the Bologna phase of the council, until its suspension on February 16, 1548, proved to be the use to which its work was put when the council assembled again at Trent three years later.

The Council of Julius III. Giovanni Maria del Monte, who had been senior legate during the first phase of the council, was elected pope in February 1550 and took the name Julius III. Immediately he came under pressure from the emperor to reconvene the council and, specifically, to get on with the business of reform. The new pope faced many of the same political problems as his predecessor, and it was in the teeth of strong resistance from the German Protestant princes and the new king of France, Henry II, that the council reopened at Trent on May 1, 1551. The fifty or so fathers did little serious work before the end of the summer, but thanks to the deliberations at Bologna they were ready at the thirteenth session, on October 11, to issue a decree on the Eucharist that in eight expository chapters and eleven canons reasserted the traditional dogma of the real presence as well as the mechanism of transubstantiation. Six weeks later, at the fourteenth session, the sacraments of penance and extreme unction received doctrinal definition. The landmark character of these dogmatic decisions, however, was not matched by the reform legislation passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth sessions. Directives about rights and duties of bishops with regard to their clergy, and regulations governing procedures in ecclesiastical courts, did not, as the council's critics were quick to point out, strike at the roots of the accumulated abuses.

At the beginning of 1552 a faint flicker of hope for reunion flared up and then quickly died out. On January 15, ambassadors and theologians from several Protestant states, having come to Trent under a safe-conduct, appeared at the council's fifteenth session. But their brief presence only served to demonstrate that the confessional divisions could no longer be healed or that at any rate a council managed by the pope and already committed to *traditio* no less than to *scriptura* as a font of revelation could never be an instrument of reconciliation.

So the fathers returned wearily to their own debates, now treating of the sacrament of orders and the sacrifice of the Mass. The congregations dragged on inconclusively into the spring, as the emperor went to war yet again with the German princes allied with France. This time he was badly defeated, and when he fled to nearby Innsbruck the fathers at Trent decided it was too risky to remain there. They used the sixteenth session, April 28, 1552, to adjourn the council *sine die.* Julius III, at heart an indolent and self-indulgent man, made no effort through the rest of his pontificate to revive it. His successor, Paul IV (1555–1559), was fiercely determined to effect reform, but he had no patience for conciliar ways and preferred instead to impose doctrinal and moral purity by liberal use of the inquisition, of which he had once been head. This policy was an utter failure, as indeed was Paul IV's whole reign, and when the cardinals entered the conclave of 1559 the scandal of an unfinished council cast a long shadow over it.

The Council of Pius IV. The conclave of 1559 lasted more than three months, and the pope who emerged from it, Pius IV (Giovanni Angelo de' Medici), was committed to bringing the Council of Trent to a satisfactory conclusion. The obstacles he encountered in persuading the Catholic powers to take up the conciliar enterprise once again were different but hardly less daunting than those Paul III and Julius III had had to face. The Peace of Augsburg (1555) and the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis (1559) had indeed removed for the time being the threat of war that had so plagued the earlier stages of the council. But the Catholic monarchs—three of them, now that Charles V had departed the scene and had divided the Habsburg territories between his brother, Ferdinand I, and his son, Philip II of Spain—were deeply at odds over the crucial problem of whether the council Pius IV formally convoked (November 29, 1560) was to be a continuation of the former one or an entirely new undertaking. France, now troubled as Germany had been for a generation by a growing and aggressive Protestant faction, joined the imperialists in demanding a new council unencumbered by any decisions arrived at earlier. The king of Spain conversely insisted that the work begun before be allowed to run its course. The pope agreed with this view, though he dared not say so publicly. Instead he adopted a policy of studied ambiguity, confident that once an assembly had been lured back to its original site the problem would solve itself. After months of the most convoluted diplomacy, this tactic succeeded. On January 18, 1562, some 113 fathers gathered at Trent—their number would ultimately swell to 277—and implicitly accepted continuation by deciding to resume deliberations at the point at which they had been suspended ten years before.

By March the council had returned to the discussion of episcopal residence and found itself mired once again in argument. Everyone agreed that bishops should reside in their dioceses and that their widespread failure to do so was a fundamental cause of corruption in the church. But was the requirement one of divine law or ecclesiastical law? This seemingly abstract question had vast implications, because if residence were an obligation *jure divino,* it could mean that bishops exercised their office independently of the pope. A vote on April 20, revealed that the fathers were divided almost evenly on the subject. Tempers ran so high that the legates managed to calm the situation only by postponing discussion of the question until a later date. Dogmatic deliberations meanwhile continued, and at the twenty-first session (July 16, 1562) the council defined the sacrificial character of the Mass and the whole presence of Christ in each of the eucharistic species of bread and wine. The disciplinary decision as to whether the laity should be allowed to share the chalice—something taken seriously by the emperor and by Germans generally—was referred to the pope for implementation after the council.

Next on the agenda came discussion of the sacrament of orders, which involved once more the thorny issue of episcopal residence. By autumn the council had reached an impasse. No formulation, however ingenious, could budge the determination of either side. The winter of 1563 arrived, and then the spring, and still no resolution was in sight. The conciliar machinery ground to a halt, and after ten months of wrangling, the breakup of the council appeared imminent. Then, in early March, the senior legate suddenly died, and Pius IV replaced him with Giovanni Cardinal Morone. This proved to be the decisive intervention.

Morone, the ablest papal diplomat of the century, recognized that behind the arguments advanced by the proponents of *jus divinum* lurked the conviction that the papacy intended no real reform. He moved swiftly to defuse this radical mistrust, especially in the minds of the emperor and the king of Spain, by guaranteeing that a sweeping reform schema, blessed in advance by the pope, would be proposed to the council in short order. Employing a variety of formal and informal commissions, and playing skillfully upon the vanity of the heretofore unpredictable French delegation, Morone put the council back to work again. When the emperor expressed misgivings, Morone went off to Innsbruck to reassure him; when the pope hesitated to support his program, Morone threatened to resign. At the twenty-third session, on July 15, 1563, the council approved his first package of reform legislation. Perhaps its most important provision was the directive to establish a system of seminaries to provide intellectual and moral training for the parochial clergy. As for the conciliar crisis at hand, Morone evaded the insoluble problem by ignoring it. "It is a divine precept that the pastor know his flock," the decree began, but, though strictly obliging bishops to reside, it did not try to define the basis of that obligation. Moreover, cardinals were explicitly included in the requirement, and thus was struck down one of the worst and most resented of the abuses, the accumulation of benefices by officers of the Curia.

The logjam broken, there followed a hectic summer and autumn of congregations dealing with a flood of reform ideas. The whole clerical estate was refashioned during these months. Morone moved easily through all the factions, the pope's man indeed but the council's man too, always urging accommodation, compromise, the practical attainment of the goal of restoring spiritual primacy to the workings of the church. Special emphasis was placed upon eliminating the chaos in ecclesiastical administration which had opened the door to so many abuses. Morone spared little time for theoretical discussion; the question of indulgences, for example, which had occasioned the Lutheran reformation, was settled not in a dogmatic decree but in a reform decree. This also was the case with the veneration of the saints and relics. The council indeed defined the sacramentality and the indissolubility of matrimony, but it was even more intent on suppression of clandestine marriages. Statistically the achievement was prodigious: three times as much reform legislation was passed by the council during Morone's brief legateship than in all the sessions before him combined.

By the twenty-fourth session, on November 11, 1563, the end was finally in sight. The last session, at which all the conciliar decrees since 1545 were to be formally promulgated, was scheduled for December 9. However, news from Rome that Pius IV was severely ill led Morone to move the date forward. Therefore, the twenty-fifth session was held on December 3 and 4, 1563, when each of the 229 fathers gave his *placet* to all the work the council had done over its eighteen years of life. A *Te Deum* was sung, and tearful fathers embraced one another, in many cases embracing those with whom they had often violently disagreed.

SEE ALSO Boniface VIII; Gregory VII; Innocent III; Luther, Martin; Papacy; Reformation.

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TRIADS, groups or sets of three persons, things, or attributes, are found in many concepts of the divine. Because triads involve an uneven number they have been considered to be perfect expressions of unity and proportion, corresponding to a threefold division in nature or to images of the nuclear family.

In Indian mythology, the *Ṛgveda* suggests a threefold classification of its many divinities into gods of heaven, air, and earth. In its prayers three chief gods represent the powers of these natural elements: "May Sūrya [sun] protect us from the sky, Vāta [wind] from the air, Agni [fire] from the earthly regions" (10.158.1). Agni, god of fire and messenger to the gods during fire sacrifice, took three forms, as the sun in the sky, lightning in the aerial waters, and fire on earth. Commentators on the Vedas considered that the number of gods could be reduced to three, Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya being considered as sons of the lord of creatures, Prajāpati.

A famous dialogue in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads asks how many gods there are. In reply, a traditional invocatory formula in a hymn to all the gods is quoted as indicating three hundred and three and three thousand and three. Further questioning reduces these figures to thirty-three, six, three, two, one and a half, and finally one, and that one is *brahman* (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 3.9).

In the same Upaniṣad, Prajāpati is said to have had three kinds of offspring—gods, humans, and demons—who lived with their father as students of sacred knowledge. Each class of beings asked for a divine word, and to all Prajāpati gave the same reply: *dā.* This word was like the rolling thunder, *dā, dā, dā.* Each interpreted the word according to its own needs, and three definitions resulted: self restraint, giving, and compassion (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 5.2). This concept was used by T. S. Eliot in the closing lines of *The Waste Land:* "then spoke the thunder. . . ." Eliot ended with another threefold borrowing from the Upaniṣads: "Shantih Shantih Shantih" ("Peace, peace, peace").

The Upaniṣads refer to three *guṇa*s, strands or qualities that characterize all existing beings. These qualities are goodness or purity (*sattva*), passion or force (*rajas*), and darkness or dullness (*tamas*). The *Maitri Upaniṣad* affirms that in the beginning the three qualities were differentiated within the supreme self: "That One become threefold." This supreme self (*brahman*) is indicated by the sacred syllable *oṃ,* with which every recitation of the Veda begins. The sacred syllable divides itself threefold, for *oṃ* consists of three units: /a/, /u/, and /m/. *Aum* is the sound form of this being, and "one should worship it with *aum* continually" (*Maitri Upaniṣad* 6.3–4). A later description of *Brahman* was *satcit-ānanda,* or *saccidānanda:* being, intelligence or consciousness, and bliss.

In the *Bhagavadgītā,* goodness, passion, and darkness are declared to be the strands or qualities that spring from nature, binding the embodied self although it is changeless. But the world was deluded by these three strands and did not recognize that they come from God alone, that they are in him but he is not in them. God is higher and eternal. Because nature is the uncanny power of God, all elements must ultimately derive from him (*Bhagavadgītā* 7.12–13).

TRIMŪRTI. In Hindu mythology and popular theology many gods appeared, though Viṣṇu and Śiva (Rudra) became dominant. Early in the common era a *trimūrti* ("having three forms") was proposed that created a triad of these two and a creator, Brahmā. These three were regarded as forms of the neuter absolute *brahman,* or corresponding to the three *guṇa*s of the Absolute. The epic *Mahābhārata* tells of these gods separately and not as a unity, and when the Trimūrti concept appeared its exposition varied according to the preferences of the writers for one or another deity.

A story in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* says that there was once a dispute among the gods as to which member of the triad was greatest. The sage Bhṛgu went to each of them in turn to decide the matter by tests. First he saw Brahmā but omitted to bow to him, whereupon the god blazed out in anger. Next he visited Śiva and did not return the god's salutation, so that Śiva raised his trident (*triśūla*) to destroy him; the sage was spared only by the intercession of Śiva's wife. Lastly Bhṛgu called on Viṣṇu, found him asleep, and woke him with a kick on the chest. Instead of becoming angry, Viṣṇu begged the sage's pardon for not having greeted him and said that he was highly honored by the kick, which had left an indelible mark on his breast, and that he hoped the sage's foot had not been hurt. Bhṛgu decided that Viṣṇu was the mightiest god because he overcame his enemies with weapons of gentleness and generosity. This Vaiṣṇava story indicates the diversity and rivalry of different sects and the problems of a triad.

It was debated whether the three gods were equal or had interchangeable functions. Each in turn might be the Supreme Lord, Parameśvara, and take the place of the others. The poet Kālidāsa, in his *Kumārāsambhava* (2.4ff.), expressed his adoration for the Trimūrti unified before creation but afterward divided in three qualities, proclaiming its threefold glory as "knower and known, priest and oblation, worshiper and prayer." These verses inspired Emerson's poem *Brahma* and its line "I am the doubter and the doubt, I am the song the Brahmin sings." But rather than teaching the equality of three persons in one God, Kālidāsa seems to have been addressing the personal Brahmā as the supreme god, despite his use of the term *Trimūrti.*

For the Vaiṣṇava believer Brahmā was an emanation of Viṣṇu, a demiurge or secondary creator; he is described in the vision of the *Bhagavadgītā* (11.15) as sitting on a lotus throne emerging from the body of Viṣṇu, the god of gods, a scene illustrated in many paintings. Whatever his former status, Brahmā has long since declined in popular esteem. His temple at Pushkar in Rajasthan is said to be one of only two in India, though this is difficult to verify in such a vast land with innumerable shrines. At Pushkar the temple of Brahmā has four black faces, supposedly directed at the four cardinal points though three of them face the worshiper. A *lingam* of Śiva nearby also has four human faces carved on it, no doubt to show affinity with Brahmā. But in popular religion in most of India today Brahmā has virtually disappeared, while Viṣṇu and Śiva have vast followings. (The two groups are considered almost as distinct religions.) The third most popular cult today follows the great goddess Mahādevī, the all-pervading power *śakti,* known under many names and notably today as Kālī.

A famous sculpture of the Trimūrti dating from the fifth to eighth centuries CE is in the Great Cave on Elephanta Island near Bombay. It is a massive stone bust nineteen feet high, with three faces each four or five feet long. This figure represents Śiva, who is the dominant deity among the sculptures in these caves. The eastern face is Rudra the destroyer, the front is Brahmā the creator, and the western face is Viṣṇu the preserver. All three are regarded as aspects of the character of Śiva, and all show the impressive serenity that marks representations of divine activity.

Early students of Hinduism in the West often considered that parallels exist between the Trimūrti and the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, and attempts were made to apportion common functions to the three persons in one God. There are still writers who call Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva "the Trinity," but the parallel with Christianity is not close, and the Trimurti concept never became popular or embodied an orthodox and catholic creed. Hindu writers and artists tended to favor one god of the three, and Viṣṇu and Śiva came to dominate in their own schools.

TRIKĀYA. In Indian Buddhism there were triadic concepts from an early date, and some that developed in Mahāyāna Buddhism and outside India showed parallels to Chinese triads. The Three Refuges (*triśaraṇa*), or Three Jewels (*triratna*), appeared in Buddhism at an early date. In the Tripiṭaka, or "Three Baskets" of scripture, the invocation of these refuges is attributed to the first lay believer in the Buddha. Recited every day in Theravāda Buddhism by the laity as well as by monks, the Triple Refuge is a simple affirmation of trust in the central objects of religion: the Buddha, the Dhamma or doctrine, and the Sangha or monastic order. The formula reads thus: "I go to the Buddha for refuge, I go to the Dhamma for refuge, I go to the Sangha for refuge." The Buddha is credited with saying that whoever trusts firmly in the virtues of the Three Jewels has "entered the stream," has set out on the way to enlightenment.

In the development of Buddhism the term *yāna* ("vehicle, means of progress") was used to indicate a way of attaining enlightenment. The Mahāyāna claimed to be the "one vehicle" (*ekayāna*), and its followers called their opponents Hīnayāna, followers of a "lesser vehicle." But, occasionally, more tolerant texts spoke of the major ways as *triyāna,* "threefold means."

Mahāyāna Buddhist philosophy wrestled with the problems of the absolute and the relative and of one or many Buddhas. A solution was found for philosophy in the doctrine of the *trikāya* ("three bodies"). This was expressed in essence in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* and developed by the Yogācāra school. According to this theory the body of the Buddha is threefold. The *dharmakāya* ("doctrine body or essential body") is self-existent and absolute, the same for all Buddhas. It supports the other two bodies, for ultimately only it exists. The *sambhogakāya* ("bliss body or communal body") is the channel through which the Buddhas communicate with *bodhisattva*s in the heavens. This notion was used to interpret texts that describe many Buddhas preaching to assemblies of *bodhisattva*s and gods in all the universes, while at the same time they had passed away to *nirvāṇa.* The *nirmāṇakaya* ("transformation body") is that by which the Buddha works for the good of all creatures, including the historical Buddha, who appeared on earth, and in other existences, and then passed away into *nirvāṇa.*

The *trikāya* doctrine sought to reconcile different expressions of the nature of the Buddha. In early texts the *dharmakāya* was simply the body of doctrine; once the Buddha had died, he existed thereafter in the doctrine. In popular beliefs the Buddhas were many, and they continued to exist in a state of bliss to hear the prayers of worshipers. Buddhist art from Gandhara to Japan often grouped three Buddhas or *bodhisattva*s together, the individual personages differing according to the environment. Parallels that have been drawn between the *trikāya* doctrine and the Christian teaching of the Trinity are strained and unproved. The Chinese triads appear to have been separate developments, although in popular religion triads of gods may be confused with several Buddhas.

THREE PURE ONES. Chinese speculations on a divine Triad and its representation in worship may have developed from Daoist philosophical notions of an original unity that produced diversity. In the Dao de jing 42 (fourth to third century BCE?) it is declared that "Dao produced the one, the one produced the two, the two produced the three, and the three produced the ten thousand things." This is not unlike an idea in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (6.2) of one neuter being that entered into three divinities to produce the many. However, Arthur Waley in his translation of this verse rendered it thus: "Dao gave birth to the One, the One gave birth successively to two things, three things, up to ten thousand" (Waley, 1934, p. 195).

The concept of an inseparable triad of Heaven, earth, and man became popular in Chinese thought. Philosophers aimed at formulating systems that would deal with all questions concerning the divine, natural, and human worlds, so that all human activity might be in harmony with divine and natural orders. Such a system of knowledge and behavior was set out in the *Lüshi Chunqiu* (Spring and Autumn Annals of Mr. Lü), a work by various hands early in the common era. The book is in three sections, representing the triad of Heaven, earth, and humanity. The first section is in twelve chapters, the number associated with Heaven. The second is in eight chapters, the number associated with earth. The third is in six chapters, the number associated with man. Each chapter indicates actions appropriate for each season, stating that if humans fail to perform them properly they will cause disturbances in nature and bring calamity from Heaven.

Perhaps early in the common era, popular Daoist religion developed the worship of a triad, the Three Ones, Sanyi. It has been suggested that the concept of three celestial persons derived from Christian influence, although it is rather early for that to have happened unless some Christian ideas had filtered through via gnostic speculations. It is more likely that the idea of a religious triad developed from philosophical notions of diversity arising from unity, or that philosophical and religious concepts developed independently and were merged by priests who claimed authority for three deities worshiped as one.

An ancient Daoist divinity was Daiyi, the Grand Unity, introduced into official worship during the Han dynasty as the greatest of all gods, above the five legendary emperors. The Grand Unity became the personification of the Dao, as the Dao emanated itself into creation, a triad developed that controlled the whole universe. To the Grand Unity were added Dianyi, the Heavenly Unity, and Diyi, the Earthly Unity. It is strange that Diayi, the original all-embracing unity, was egarded as one of three. It seems more natural for Diayi to have been conceived as three in one, but there was great complexity in the multiplication of Daoist deities. From the second century of the common era Daoist liturgies spoke of the Great Mysterious Three in One, Taixuan Sanyi comprised the Sagely Father, the Lord and Master of the Human Spirit, and the Pivot of All Transformations. The Daoist imagination peopled the universe with a great variety of gods, natural forces, and deified heroes, forming a heavenly hierarchy, under the presiding supreme triad that controlled the universe like a state bureaucracy.

In the Daoist triad the three gods were said severally to control time past, present, and to come. By the Sung dynasty the triad of Three Pure Ones had become associated with chronological functions. The Precious Heavenly Lord, the First Original Heavenly Venerable One, controlled time past; some have compared him to the Father in the Christian Trinity. The Precious Spiritual Lord, the Great Jade Imperial Heavenly Venerable One, controlled time present; scholars have compared him to the Son. The Precious Divine Lord, the Pure Dawn Heavenly Venerable One appearing from the Golden Palace, controlled time to come; scholars have compared him to the Holy Spirit. Joseph Needham wrote that "there can be little doubt that the Taoists [Daoists] had intimate contact with Nestorian Christians at the capital during the Tʿang dynasty. The really interesting question is where their trinity came from eight centuries previously" (*Science and Civilization in China,* Cambridge, 1956, vol. 2, pp. 158–160).

Whether there was a Christian influence or not (Nestorian missions did not arrive in China until the seventh century at the earliest), there was abundant contact between Daoism and Buddhism, which from the first century established itself as one of the three great ways of Chinese religion. Buddhist triadic concepts could be found in the *trikāya* doctrine, or in the concept of the Dhyāni Buddhas, which were regarded as personifications of creative aspects or manifestations of a primordial Ādi-Buddha. In popular Buddhist religion there were triads of Buddhas, such as Śākyamuni (Gautama), Amitābha of the Pure Land, and Maitreya, the Buddha to come. Another triad comprised the mythical Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśri, and Samantabhadra, who have been worshiped in temples and pagodas in China and neighboring lands down to modern times, often alongside Daoist gods.

Laozi, the great saint of Daoism and the supposed author of the *Dao de jing,* was often assimilated to the Three Pure Ones. Influenced by Buddhist teachings on multiple Buddhas and *bodhisattva*s and the various incarnations of the Buddha, the Daoists came to espouse similar beliefs. Laozi was said to have been born before heaven and earth appeared and to have experienced numerous later births. Like the Buddha, he became an object of worship.

In Japanese Shintō the first verse of the *Kojiki* names three gods who all came into existence at the time of the beginning of heaven and earth. Later gods of storm, sea, and fire were grouped in threes, notably the storm god Susano-o no Mikoto, who was considered under three aspects ("three-treasure-rough-god"). The supreme sun goddess, Amaterasu, when asked for permission to erect a great Buddhist statue at Nara, is said to have identified herself with Vairocana, a member of a Buddhist triad, the personification of truth and purity.

The Shintō *kami* were regarded either as *avatāra*s of the Buddhas (from the Buddhist point of view) or as their originals (from the Shintō point of view). Chinese triadic influences appeared in Japanese symbolism, as in paintings with three parallel curves and three or more flamelike signs, which were taken as symbols of the soul. A characteristic Shintō symbol is the *tomoe,* which is chiefly found in groups of three in the crest of many shrines. The *tomoe,* three pear-shaped sections of a circle, is often associated with the Chinese *yin* and *yang,* the two pear-shaped halves of a circle indicating complementary opposites, such as heaven and earth, male and female. The threefold *tomoe* is found even in the great Shintō shrine center at Ise, though this site is said to have been kept free from foreign influences.

HYPOSTASES AND FAMILIES. Triadic concepts can be traced in the ancient Mediterranean world, though not as clearly, with the exception of Egypt, as in India and China. Plato in the *Republic* (book 4) distinguished two elements in human nature, the rational and the irrational or lustful, not unlike the Indian *sattva* and *tamas.* But he found himself obliged to distinguish a third element, the spirited or passionate, similar to the Indian *rajas.* When there is a division between rational and irrational, the spirited should array itself on the side of the rational. The three elements in man, according to Plato, correspond to the social classes of guardians, auxiliaries, and producers. These were not unlike Indian classes or priests, warriors, and merchant farmers, although Plato's classes served different functions. Individuals and societies are wise when the rational element prevails, as when *sattva* prevails in Indian thought. They are courageous because of the spirited element, and they are temperate when the rational element governs with the consent of the other two, producing balance and harmony.

The Greeks wrestled with the problems of the divine nature and action in ways different from those of the Indians or Egyptians. In the *Timaeus* Plato proposed an account of the universe. The world came into being as a living creature endowed with soul and intelligence by the providence of God; the world is an image of what is eternal and true, a reflection of the changeless; the ultimate truth is God the creator. This was a unitary view, though Christian theologians later found a foreshadowing of the Trinity in the *Timaeus,* even from its first verse, which simply said, "One, two, three, but where is the fourth of my guests?"

There was more triadism in Neoplatonic teachings of three primal hypostases, a favorite theme of Christian theologians. Plotinus claimed that earlier Greek philosophers had established three degrees of reality, the primary realities or hypostases. These were represented triadically as the Good or the One, the Intelligence or the One-many, and the World Soul. These three are in the very nature of things, and they are also in human nature, so that our individual soul is something divine, possessing intelligence, and perfect.

In popular Greek religion various gods were grouped together, as, for example, Demeter, Kore, and Dionysos. Demeter, the corn goddess (Lat., Ceres), had an early double, Kore, who in time was regarded as her daughter, Kore or Persephone (Lat., Proserpina). Demeter's search for Persephone in the underworld was a vegetation myth represented in the Eleusinian mysteries under the symbol of the growing seed that assures a happy future life. Dionysos was also a fertility god; his mystery flourished in the Hellenistic age when Christianity was expanding.

The Etruscans had a triad of gods—Tinia, Uni, and Menerva—who presided over the destinies of towns and were identified by the Romans with their Capitoline triad of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. In Rome the flamens (priests or sacrificers) were led by three major and twelve minor priests. The three major priests were the *flamen Dialis* (of Jupiter), the *flamen Martialis* (of Mars), and the *flamen Quirinalis* (of Quirinus). These gods of the triad were invoked in formulas of devotion recited before battle, on receiving spoils, and when sanctifying treaties. Jupiter represented the sky-universe, like the celestial gods of Greece and India, and his priest was preeminent. Mars was the god of war, and months and festivals were named after him. Quirinus was a god of Sabine origin, but little is known of him except that his functions resembled those of Mars and his flamen formed the third of the threesome with those of Jupiter and Mars. The triad of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus was later overshadowed by the triad of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. A great new temple was dedicated to the latter three on the Capitoline hill in Rome in 509 BCE, the first year of the republic; inside was a statue of Jupiter.

Among the many gods of the ancient Western world, the clear examples of triads are found in Egypt and Mesopotamia. One reason for the concept of triads in Egypt, and no doubt in other lands, was the fusion of the cults of different places. When a victorious ruler brought several towns under his dominion, they would be subject to both political and religious control. New gods encountered local deities whose worship could hardly be suppressed. A simple solution for the conqueror and his priests was to admit the gods of the vanquished into general worship, without giving them too much independence. Neighboring gods joined the principal deity, the patron of the city. Thus at Heliopolis the local god Atum was joined with the lion pair Shu and Tefnut from the nearby town of Leontopolis. At Memphis there was a triad of Ptah, Sekhmet, and Nefertum. At Elephantine was a triad of Khnum, Sati, and Anukis.

However different the gods might have been originally, the ancients regarded them as members of a divine family, taking the roles of father, mother, and son. But the coincidence of different family relationships in the mythologies of the merging cults could cause confusion, as when the father became the son of his wife, or the mother the wife of her son.

The most famous triadic divine family of ancient Egypt was that of Osiris, Isis, and their son Horus. Osiris was a very popular god, whose cult flourished throughout Egypt from prehistoric times. In the texts Osiris was said to have been killed by his brother Seth, though according to one tradition he was drowned. The body of Osiris was divided into several parts and was sought and embalmed by his wife Isis, who became pregnant by the dead god. Isis gave birth to Horus, who avenged his father by killing Seth and reigning as successor to Osiris. This complicated mythology was recorded most clearly by Plutarch in the beginning century of the common era. Fundamental to the myths of this divine triad were the death and resurrection of Osiris, his place as a nature god, and his role as a model for earthly rulers. These myths provided links with both gnostic and Christian teachings.

Egyptian priests refined their ideas of the divine triads from early anthropomorphic myths to more abstract conceptions. Thus the god Ptah had two of his faculties, heart and tongue (spirit and word), personified under the visible forms of the gods Horus and Thoth. Or the family associations became the union of three spiritual aspects of the same god: his supreme intelligence, active spirit, and creative word. Or God was conceived of as three persons animated by the same will, like the founders of the towns of Thebes, Heliopolis, and Memphis. Re was the thinking head of this triad, Ptah its body, and Amun its invisible intelligence. This was not far from the Neoplatonic doctrines of a God who comprised intelligence, mind, and reason.

In Mesopotamia there were triads of deities organized according to the elements of heaven and earth. The high god Anu ruled in the sky, Enlil inspired the wind or storm and was god of the land, and Enki or Ea ruled the waters or abyss on which the world rested. The positioning of the deities varied over time. For instance, Enlil was once regarded as the first of the triad, though from the beginning of the second millennium BCE he was regarded as second. Another triad of Babylonian deities was composed of the moon god Sin, the sun god Shamash, and the storm god Adad. The popular goddess Ishtar was associated with both this and the previous triads, ousting colorless figures with whom they had earlier been associated. She was connected also with the ancient Sumerian god Tammuz, a vegetation deity like Osiris who descended into the underworld where Ishtar went to seek him. The return of Osiris and Ishtar in the spring brought joy and fertility.

Of the surviving religions of Semitic origin, Judaism and Islam rejected triadic notions of the godhead, while Christianity developed them. The Hebrew Bible was strongly monotheistic, although traces of female elements in the deity can be discovered, as when Jeremiah revealed that incense had been offered to the queen of heaven in Jerusalem and the cities of Judah (*Jer.* 44:17). Scholars have noted that there was goddess worship among Hebrew emigrants at Elephantine in Egypt. In a more abstract way *Proverbs* 8 and 9 referred to wisdom personified as the female companion of God before and during creation, a notion akin to the Logos doctrine of the Fourth Gospel. In the Qabbalah sexual imagery was used to describe the love of God for the Shekhinah, a sacred union of king and queen. But in general, Jewish teaching was alien to dualities or triads.

Islam was even more adamant, attacking the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, or what it considered that to be. Thus the Qurʾān exhorts, "Do not say, Three. Refrain, it will be better for you. God is only one God" (4:169). And again, "Surely they have disbelieved who say: 'God is one of three.' There is no god but one God" (5:77). Orthodox Christian doctrine did not say God was one of three, though no doubt the doctrine could be perverted in that way in popular use. Any suggestion of a divine family, of God begetting or procreating, or having a partner associated with him, was repugnant to Islam. Thus in the Qurʾān Jesus was credited with denying that he said, "Take me and my mother as two gods apart from God" (5:116). This was quite proper, and belief in the unity and absoluteness of God was fundamental to Islam. Some writers have pointed out that Islamic theology alludes to diversity in the divine nature through "the most beautiful names of God" (*al-asmā ʾ al-ḥusnā*); these many attributes and titles are recited on prayer beads in popular devotion. And theologians have discussed the eternity of the Qur'an, which was held to be uncreated, almost like a divine hypostasis. In Islamic art the name of God, *Allāh,* may be seen written three times in the prayer niche in mosques, but the main current of Islam has been against both triad and trinity.

Christian doctrine developed, against an Old Testament background, from devotion to Christ, but as it developed it came into contact with triadic concepts of the divine from Egypt and the Near East. Belief in a divine family emerged, for the concepts of Father and Son were in Christianity from the beginning. The Holy Spirit was regarded as the third hypostasis in the Trinity, but it was often a vague or neglected notion. With the growth of the cult of the Virgin and Mother the female side of a triad seemed guaranteed. If Mary had been called God the Mother, like Isis, she would have completed a divine family. In popular religion that might have happened, but trinitarian theology was anchored in the Bible, and Christian teachings developed from those scriptures that gave a threefold baptismal formula and a triadic blessing. As with other religions, the threefold doctrine is best understood in its historical context, however attractive seeming cultural parallels may be.

SEE ALSO Numbers; Trinity.

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TRICKSTERS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
AFRICAN TRICKSTERS
NORTH AMERICAN TRICKSTERS [FIRST EDITION]
NORTH AMERICAN TRICKSTERS [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]
MESOAMERICAN AND SOUTH AMERICAN TRICKSTERS

TRICKSTERS: AN OVERVIEW

Trickster is the name given to a type of mythic figure distinguished by his skill at trickery and deceit as well as by his prodigious biological drives and exaggerated bodily parts. The myths of many cultures portray such a comic and amoral character, who is sometimes human but is more often animal in shape, typically an animal noted for agility and cunning: the wily coyote, the sly fox, the elusive rabbit, or the crafty spider. Sometimes the trickster is the agent who introduces fire, agriculture, tools, or even death to the human world. As such, he plays the part of another mythic archetype, the transformer, or culture hero, who in a mythic age at the beginning of the world helps shape human culture into its familiar form. However, the trickster's distinction lies not so much in his particular feats as in the peculiar quality of his exploits—a combination of guile and stupidity—and in the ludicrous dimensions of his bodily parts and biological drives. In those cultures where he stands independent of other mythic figures, his adventures are recounted in a separate cycle of myths and lore.

The trickster represents a complicated combination of three modes of sacrality: the divine, the animal, and the human. Myth relates that the trickster existed in the early times when the world was still taking shape and was inhabited by supernatural beings. As one of these important supernaturals, the trickster possesses extraordinary powers more divine than human. He frequently thwarts the supreme being's creative intentions. In one North American Indian myth, for example, the Winnebago trickster Wakdjunkaga scatters all living creatures across the face of the earth with an enormous fart, which leaves them laughing, yelling, and barking. This is an ungracious parallel to the Winnebago's solemn account wherein Earthmaker creates a quiet and static world order in which each species remains in a separate lodge. The trickster may assume an even more active role on the mythic stage in the absence or weakness of a supreme being. However, there is no need to pair the trickster in a dualism with the supreme being in order to understand his unique character.

The trickster is remarkable for the carnality that he shares with humans and animals. In his case, however, bodily functions and features are extreme: voracious appetite, insatiable lust, stupendous excretions, cosmic flatulence. He reorders (or has reordered for him) his bodily parts: His head may be fastened to his bottom, or his penis to his back. The trickster is usually male, but he often assumes female form in order to conceive and give birth. His (or her) most conspicuous bodily parts are passages (mouth, nostrils, anus, ears, vagina) and members that bridge or penetrate those passages (e.g., head, penis, or, in the case of the spider figure, the filament with which he spins his web). The trickster's appetites cannot be exhaustively explained in terms of the biology of sex or the physiology of hunger. He craves modes of being other than his own: animal, plant, and so on.

On a grand scale, the trickster mimics human needs, drives, and foibles, especially the imperfections of an ambitious but flawed intelligence. He often fumbles his tricks, and his mishaps lead to a comic apotheosis of wit into wisdom. The nature of his deception is especially complicated: a pretended ignorance and a pretended cunning. The irony of his maladroit trickery is so pervasive that one cannot decide whether the trickster is really ignorant or whether he is so clever that he successfully exculpates himself by pretending to be stupid. Reflections on his nature call into question the deeper nature of reality in an imperfect and changing world of the senses. By his duplicity, the trickster would have one believe that he intends his elaborate schemes to fail so that benefits might arise from catastrophe.

Ironically, it is just in his animal-like biological constraints and imperfections of intelligence—the human frame of meaning—that the trickster affirms a sacrality different from that of divine immortals. This sensate sacrality of foibles stumbles into other sacred realms with penetrating burlesque. For these reasons, trickster stories have been called a mythology of incarnation, and he a symbol of the human condition. The religious dimension of comic figures in folk literatures and dramas is often illumined by comparison with the strictly mythic personality of the trickster found in sacred texts relating the beginnings of the world.

The trickster parodies all pretensions to perfection. He mocks the gods, institutional religious figures, the techniques of humans, and himself. By poking fun at anything that parades as permanent, important, or impermeable, he exposes a penetrable (i.e., accessible, comprehensible) reality. In the process of penetrating it, he reveals the sacrality both of passage and of mundane flaw. He images the process of the religious imagination itself, which sees to it that human beings experiment with the sacred and which sometimes leads not to the serenity of faith in a static, eternal paradise but to an exciting, unpredictable turmoil of the senses in sacred music, dance, and sexuality. The trickster represents not a mystical contemplation of the singular but a sensuous appreciation of multiplicities and contraries.

As the trickster flounders toward a sacred life rooted more in carnate being than in divine being, ambiguity, irony, change, and humor fill the emptiness caused by the *kenōsis* of immortality. The trickster unites things by passing them through the senses and the imperfect reflections of his intelligence. His bodily parts and "all too human" intelligence admit no firm distinction between corporeal and spiritual existence. His exorbitant and active penis offers him access to realms of reality in which he ought properly to have no business. His (or her) bodily passages become the loci where worlds meet, come together, and even pass through and interpenetrate one another. Wherever he appears, the trickster enacts the human comedy as a sacred drama, displaying the ironic condition of a limited mind served by limited senses but with an unlimited desire to relate to the realms of meaning around it.

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TRICKSTERS: AFRICAN TRICKSTERS

African tricksters speak and embody a vivid, subtle language of sacred transformation. Through it they strike up absurd conversations between laundresses and goddesses, sex and death, flatulence and spiritual power, breaking the univocal by the anomalous and so opening human life—bodily, daily, defined—to its sacramental immensity. Like their counterparts in Amerindian myth and folklore, African tricksters inject bawdiness, rebellion, and wild lying (one might aptly call it polymorphous perversity) into the mythic history and the common experience of divine-human relations wherever they appear. Unlike many tricksters elsewhere, however, these multiform world-shatterers and pathfinders in Africa are woven not only into the fabric of myth but also into the stuff of everyday life, playing a part in economics, rites of passage, and ordinary conversation. This observation may tell more about the history of Western colonialism and ethnography than it does about the tricksters of non-Westerners, but it does suggest that anyone who wants to know the trickster in Africa must study the particular ways and speech of many different African peoples.

Such study is only now passing into its second phase. Travelers, ethnographers, and, more recently, Africans themselves have studied hundreds of African societies. Trickster-like myths and stories have emerged from many of their reports, but only a few collections of trickster tales have been gathered and examined within the context of their social and religious settings. Rarely do we have the tales in their original languages, or in more than a single version, together with the indigenous commentary that would make deep translation and comparison more reliable. Nevertheless, these barest beginnings have already demonstrated that the transforming power of the trickster—what the Yoruba refer to when they say that "Èṣu turns feces into treasure"—works in the present as well as in the primordial past.

In the first place, Africans have delighted in using animal tricksters to shape their children's "moral imagination," as T. O. Beidelman (1980) has put it. He has analyzed the complex ways that the Kaguru use Hare, Hyena, and other animals as metaphors, partly for the surface rules and patterns of their life, but much more for the deeper intuitions and meanings that make them, the Kaguru, who they are. The Kaguru, like the Ashanti in their *anansesem* ("spider stories") and the Azande in their tales of Tore, the spider, understand that the intricate lies and outrages of their tricksters reveal the social order as sacred in its supple particularity. Too bawdy to be taken as cautionary fables, too confident of the unity between specific and ultimate aims to be reduced to sets of binary opposition, too attuned to animals' lives to use them univocally, these stories provide an education in wit. They insist that the core of human existence, a meeting place of every sort of force, is displayed by—not prior to, withdrawn from, or obliterated by—the twists of disease, the denial of hospitality, the crazed lens of sexual rivalry. Ananse is "wonderful" because he makes all multiplicity a symbol of the Ashanti oneness that exists here and now. Telling the trickster's stories, then, is an anamnesis. In displaying his power to dismember everything, a people celebrates its capacity for remembering its own way of being.

African trickster figures are images of an ironic imagination that yokes together bodiliness and transcendence, society and individuality. Ananse of the Ashanti, Mantis of the San, Ogo-Yurugu of the Dogon, and others contend with animals and gods, spirits and humans; they exploit every liminal space to claim all speech for human language. Thus the differences among these figures are as significant as their similarities. Indeed, the trickster in Africa shows by his witty juggling with meaning and absurdity that he is more accurately understood as a spectrum of commentaries on mythic commentary than as a "category." This epistemological playfulness seems to represent a sophisticated African form of religious thought. It is perhaps a commonplace to insist that in every system the order of the center and the wildness of the periphery are linked. It is a bold piece of spiritual logic to make this insistence a joke—or even more, a joking relationship.

Legba, the trickster god of the Fon, personifies such logic clearly. The youngest of the seven children of the female-male high god, Mawu-Lisa, Legba is her linguist. All who approach her, even the other gods, must first address him. His trickery provoked Mawu into distancing herself from the newly formed earth, and his unpredictable mediation reminds both gods and humans that autonomy requires the perils of relationship. Legba's phallic image stands before all Fon dwellings as a symbol that every passage reshapes the world; like Ananse, he reveals that each transaction releases a sort of anti-entropic energy that turns muteness into conversation, randomness into meaning.

Legba is the master of the Fon dialectic. Fon mythology has kept alive the memory of their historical adaptiveness, which enabled them to borrow liberally from the institutions of their neighbors (especially from the Yoruba, whose Èṣu-Ẹlegba inspired Legba). By grasping their history in mythic terms as well as in secular terms, the Fon have insisted that their assimilation of others' creations is both revelation and ingenuity, and their traditional order has delighted in elaborating the movement from dark, female inside to bright, male outside—and back again. The patterns of kingship and clan, the stages of inner growth, the interweavings of gods and nature, and even the structures of juridical process became images of the dual being of the high god, the bipolar principle of all life. In the intercourse between visible and invisible universes, Legba is the living copula. The Fon say that Legba, or Aflakete (a name meaning "I have tricked you"), "dances everywhere like a man copulating." He infuses cosmic dialectic into social order as the laughter he provokes becomes the sacramental sign that the male-female processes of Fon life are both human and transcendent.

The link between divination and the trickster represents a still deeper level of meaning that West Africans especially have found in him. The Yoruba, like the Fon (who have adopted much of the Yoruba system of divination, known as Ifa) and the Dogon, see their trickster god as the chief possessor of divination's language. Ẹṣu is a disruptive mediator, "the anger of the gods," who stirs up trouble to increase sacrifice, yet his quickness of eye and hand symbolizes a metaphysical slipperiness that makes him both sociotherapist and iconographer. At moments of conflict the meetings that create a world become collisions. Lines of connection break down, intersections turn into dead ends, and, as the myths say, all becomes as fluid as water, as destructive as fire. Divination seeks to transform these dead ends into thresholds of larger meaning; Yoruba divination particularly knows that to give answers to knotted social and spiritual questions is, finally, to redraw an *imago mundi*, to restore the shattered icon of the Yoruba cosmos. Ẹṣu is not the source of most divinatory responses, but he enables divination to run its course. Some depiction of him is carved into every divining tray, and that portion of the tray is always turned to the east, from which both light and darkness come. Ẹṣu brings confusion so that order may encompass the unencompassable. In their art and cities the Yoruba image the world that the relationship between sky and earth, Ọlọrun and Onile, with all their attendants and rituals, has brought into being. Lord of exchange in the market beginning and ending each Yoruba week, Ẹṣu reveals that the meeting of these beings creates human business, truly Yoruba ground. At every kind of crossroads Ẹṣu's mastery of interchange ensures that the design of this ground includes all movement—even explosion and decay.

The central figure of the vast spiral of correspondences that is Dogon life and myth is the tricksterlike Ogo-Yurugu. Created by Amma, the high god, to become one of the androgynous semidivine founders and overseers of life on earth, Ogo rebelled against his "father's" plan because he feared he would be deprived of his female twin. He seized part of his primordial matrix and sought to shape the world with its help. After a long struggle, Amma rendered him mute and put him to wander alone on the fringes of human society as Yuru-gu, the "pale fox," but his concupiscent itch, his desire to possess the source of fecundity, led his obedient male twin (Nommo) to offer himself to Amma as a sacrifice that brought the world as it is into being. The Dogon believe that Yurugu still speaks a revelatory, if twisted, word in divination and that his story is embedded in the human personality, especially in males. The navel bears witness to his premature separation from the divine womb; children resemble him in their play; the joking relationship between an adolescent boy and his maternal uncle's wife repeats the pattern of Ogo's quest for twinness; and funeral dances bear the traces of his mistaken celebration of victory over Amma. Ogo-Yurugu is a paradigm of Dogon irony, for his "going and coming" discloses that wholeness is an "achieved gift," one both won and bestowed: as man thrusts outward, he discovers the inner unity of personal individuation, social integration, and cosmic intelligibility.

The Dogon find Ogo-Yurugu within the soul and on the peripheries of life, in the present and in the farthest past, in solitary rebellion and in every relationship. Like Ananse, whose lies defeat Kyiriakyinnyee ("hate to be contradicted") and bring contradiction into Ashanti life, Ogo symbolizes the human imagination reaching everywhere to create worlds as filled with both order and meaning as language itself. The African trickster, then, teaches both dexterity and insight. His dance does not signify abandonment of either worship or intelligence; it signifies delight that the unsayable is quite precisely said in the never-final failures of this world's words. If, then, the realm of the sacred is shaped by human play as well as by divine work, so that the least fragment of life can become an icon of boundlessness, what could be more practical than learning how to imagine? And how could one better celebrate the meeting of transcendence and human wit than with sacred laughter?

SEE ALSO African Religions, article on Mythic Themes.

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TRICKSTERS: NORTH AMERICAN TRICKSTERS [FIRST EDITION]

The most prominent and popular personage, generally speaking, in the varied oral traditions of the numerous Amerindian peoples living north of the Rio Grande is the figure known as the trickster. Although the trickster may be spoken of in the singular as a type, there are in fact many tricksters, of whom a great variety of stories is told across the North American continent. Some are purely tricksters, but the most significant and central mythic figure in many tribes is a trickster who is also the tribe's culture hero and the creator (usually by transformation) of the present world order. Sometimes he is the maker of the earth and its beings, or alternately the co-creator, often antagonistic to the principal creator.

With rare exceptions, North American tricksters are beings of the mythic age only; they are not believed to be living gods or spirits, and they have no cult (other than the semiritualistic narration of their stories). Their relationship to shamanism, the definitive religious form in most of the region, is debated. Tricksters' activities in myths often resemble shamans' journeys to the spirit world, but tricksters ordinarily employ no "helpers," and shamans do not seek help from "trickster spirits." Although a history of oral traditions can be only a matter of speculation, it appears that the trickster figure belongs to a very ancient stratum of Indian mythology, since certain universally disseminated motifs, such as the theft of fire and the origin of death, are regularly attributed to him.

The concept of the trickster as a type is based upon his most essential trait: his trickiness. Tricksters everywhere are deceitful, cunning, amoral, sexually hyperactive, taboo-breaking, voracious, thieving, adventurous, vainglorious—yet not truly evil or malicious—and always amusing and undaunted. Even though his activities are usually motivated by ungoverned desire, the trickster is capable of performing deeds that benefit others: releasing imprisoned game, the sun, the tides, and such; vanquishing and/or transforming evil monsters; and, like the shaman, journeying to the land of the spirits or the dead to rescue a lost loved one. The significant element in all these deeds is trickery. But the trickster's tricks are not considered evil: as a weak "animal-person" or mere human in a world of strange animals and spirit beings, the trickster must use strategy to survive. Moreover, as a being of insatiable appetites (for food and sex), he cannot afford the luxury of scruples. Thus he breaks incest taboos (rapes or marries in disguise his daughter or mother-in-law) and hoodwinks small animals into dancing with eyes closed so he can kill them. His overweening pride prevents him from asking for help, or from acknowledging it when he receives it, and leads him into countless misadventures. Often behaving like a fool and coming to grief, he reacts invariably with buoyant good humor, refusing to accept defeat. Nothing is sacred in his eyes: all holy institutions may be mocked or mimicked with impunity by the trickster. Shamanism, especially, seems parodied in such continent-wide stories as those of a trickster's flight with geese or on the back of a buzzard, ending in his crashing to earth, often being fragmented, and his laughing it all off as a big joke.

In addition to humorous trickster folk tales, which are remarkably similar all over North America, each region has its own set of traditions about the mythic age, and in a majority of instances the leading personage of that time was a trickster.

Raven is the dominant mythic figure all along the Alaskan and Canadian Pacific coast. Some tribes attribute to him the creation of the land (e.g., by dropping pebbles on the water), probably following a world flood. The central myth of the Raven cycle is about his theft of the sun, which was being kept in a box by a "powerful chief." Making himself a tiny particle in the drinking water of the chief's daughter, Raven contrives to be reborn as a baby in the chief's house.

He cries for the box and is given it, whereupon he resumes his raven form and flies away, bringing light to the world. (Theft of the sun is a mythic theme found over much of North America, attributed almost always to the principal trickster or to a group of animals headed by him.)

In the Plateau region of the northwestern United States, Coyote is usually regarded as the maker or procreator of the people, sometimes using the body of a river monster he kills, sometimes by cohabitation with trees after a flood. His principal cycle concerns his release of the salmon and his subsequent journey up the Columbia River, leading the salmon. He demands a "wife" at each village, and if his request is granted, he makes that place a good fishing spot. The cycle is prefaced with a tale of jealousy, lust, and deceit. Coyote, desiring his son's two wives, treacherously and magically causes his son to be taken into the sky world. Coyote pretends to be his son while the son in the sky is gaining supernatural powers, unbeknownst to Coyote. Later the son returns, reclaims his wives, and takes revenge by causing his father to fall into the river and be carried away. Thus Coyote arrives at the mouth of the river where the salmon are kept; by turning himself into a baby, he tricks the women who keep them and releases them to swim upstream.

In California and the Great Basin region, Coyote usually is involved in a dualistic relationship with a wise, benevolent creator (Eagle, Fox, Wolf, or an anthropomorphic figure). Set against the backdrop of a world flood (or fire), the earth is remade and repopulated by the two, with Coyote ordaining the "bad" things such as mountains, storms, and fruit growing out of reach. Coyote decrees death—and then his son is the first to die. So Coyote establishes mourning rites for people to "enjoy." He also decrees conception by sex and painful childbirth. Here and in the Plateau, where "spirit helpers" were commonplace in everyday life, Coyote too has his "helpers": two chunks of excrement that he voids when in need of advice, but to which he always replies, "Just what I was going to do anyway!"

The Paiute and Shoshoni of the Great Basin consider Coyote the progenitor of the people (through intercourse with a mysterious woman following the flood). But among the Pueblo, whose mythology centers on an emergence from the underground, Coyote plays a rather minor role in most tribes. The Navajo assign him a larger part than the others: he causes the flood that necessitates the emergence; then he scatters the stars in the sky haphazardly, ordains death, and establishes sex. On the Great Plains, Coyote is known primarily as a trickster only. Some northern tribes credit him with the recreation of the earth after the deluge, and the Kiowa consider themselves the people of Sendah, a Coyote-like figure, who led them out of a hollow log in the beginning. Inktomi ("spider") of the Lakota is very similar to Coyote, except in the unique esoteric traditions reported from the Oglala Lakota. Here he is a veritable "fallen angel," who caused the first human family to be banished from their subterranean paradise and who subsequently induced the whole human race to emerge onto the earth by making them think life here would be better. The Oglala are one of the few groups in North America who consider the trickster genuinely evil, and almost the only tribe that believes the trickster to be a living spirit.

Hare, the chief trickster in the poorly preserved traditions of the Indians of the Southeast, seems not to be implicated in the emergence-origin traditions of these tribes. Rather, he is a culture hero (stealing the sun, fire, and such; transforming monsters), and he is the bungling rival of the youthful "blood-clot boy," a pure hero type. Siouan-speaking peoples seem to have brought a tradition of Rabbit stories to the Great Plains when they migrated there from the Southeast. Their Rabbit or Hare is a precocious boy, living with his grandmother, who by his foolish and/or heroic deeds makes the world habitable, as it is today. He is not, however, credited with any demiurgic activities.

The Algonquins, inhabiting a large part of eastern and midwestern Canada, New England, and the area around the three western Great Lakes, have mythologies centered on anthropomorphic culture heroes who were also tricksters, though seldom foolish, plus several minor theriomorphic tricksters. The leading figures are Gluskabe in Maine, Tcikapis in northern Quebec, and Manabush and Wisakejak (various spellings) in the most westerly tribes. The few Tcikapis tales recorded show him a monster-killing dwarf, whose greatest exploit was the snaring of the sun. Gluskabe, Manabush, and Wisakejak have much in common: they live with their grandmother and younger brother, Wolf—who is abducted and killed by water monsters and must be rescued and revived by the hero. (A remarkably similar tale is told of Coyote and Wolf far to the west, in the Great Basin.) The myth has been elaborated in the esoteric traditions of the Midewiwin, a secret curing society of the western Algonquins. Some investigators report a vague belief that the hero of this myth lives now somewhere in the north. The neighboring Iroquois make no place for their trickster, S'hodieonskon, in their dualistic creation myth.

In some tribes humorous trickster tales are relegated to a category apart from the more serious "myths," but because all these narratives are set in "myth times," they are never confused with quasi-historical legends or accounts of shamanic experiences. Thus, to some degree, a quality of sacredness adheres to the person of the trickster everywhere, despite the seemingly profane nature of many of the narratives.

The oral traditions of North America present a variety of combinations of trickster traits with others (culture hero, demiurge, etc.); but all are reducible to the idea of a being who lives by his wits and his wit, who represents a mythical perception of man making his cosmos and finding a place within it.

See Also North American Indian Religions, article on Mythic Themes.

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TRICKSTERS: NORTH AMERICAN TRICKSTERS [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

These are exciting times for the trickster. As suggested above, the term *trickster* is used to describe a character that has "trickiness" as his main attribute and is adept at surviving by his "wits." Yet, absent from this description is any critical appraisal of the trickster concept. The comparative analyses of trickster types in varied American Indian cultural traditions often ignore the bias of the analysts. Indeed, some critics suggest that the trickster that we encounter when reading cross-cultural accounts is not the indigenous trickster, but the trickster through the eyes of the analyst. But even as scholarly accounts of tricksters were being debated, the trickster became, in the 1980s and 1990s, a paradigm for overturning accepted practices in the academic world. During the height of the postmodern movement in the humanities and sciences critics of the status quo invoked the name of Trickster to undermine and question accepted practices. Marginalized groups fighting to have their voices heard over the dominant discourse also adopted the trickster as a model. Ironically, contemporary American Indians witnessed the cooptation of their tricksters by everyone else and so began to employ trickster tactics themselves. True to the trickster's nature, the practice of trickster tactics of destabilization, irony, foolishness, and deceit became a contest of one-upmanship. The happy result is evident in current American Indian manifestations of the trickster, a figure that cannot be analyzed as a phenomenon rooted in a mythic past anymore. Trickster stories are still told with the same awe and laughter, but the trickster has become a model for action as well.

The kinds of actions engaged in by contemporary tricksters can in many ways be analyzed like the actions of the mythic trickster. On the one hand, there are actions that are foolish and lead to embarrassing consequences. On the other hand, there are actions that are creative and heroic and lead to community leadership and personal accomplishment. Examples of the foolishness of tricksters most often impart lessons relevant to day-to-day life situations. The conflict between personal wants and needs and the order and limitations of an impersonal social order leads to constant evaluations of what actions to take in relation to the costs the actions will exact. Will the trickster engaged in quotidian situations prompt foolish acts? Will the embarrassment of failure (or success) be acceptable or will it prevent action? Do the trickster stories compel one to act or prevent one from acting? It is in these debates over trickster actions and responses to the everyday that the importance of trickster stories for self-identity can be explored. By recognizing that contemporary peoples do not just enjoy trickster stories as a humorous tale set in the mythic past, but see in them a parable of actions and consequences that affect daily decisions, we begin to see that tricksters continue to have a high degree of salience for contemporary American Indians.

Can the trickster figure be said to have any religious or spiritual significance or efficacy in today's world? As stated above, tricksters' roles in religion and spiritually are continually debated. However, in acknowledging the creative influence that trickster figures have had in forming the landscape to make it suitable for human habitation we come closer to the spiritual nature of tricksters. Many examples in the earlier part of this article illustrate how tricksters of many cultural traditions have been responsible for preparing the world for humans. Tricksters have done so both consciously and unconsciously. In the end (of mythic time), the landscape has become the physical manifestation of all of trickster's activities. Be it the freeing of game, the leveling of mountains, the creation of waterfalls, the destruction of monsters, or the changing of proportions and countenances of animals, all these actions are embedded in the landscape and the cultural traditions of the native North Americans. For many American Indians the Native landscape is a sacred landscape, full of stories that reinforce their connections to this world as well as to the mythic world that existed before humans. These worlds are not separate, just as the trickster of the mythic time and world is not separate from today's world.

Trickster is not an object for analysis held at an objective distance, but tather serves as a model for survival. Many American Indian artists, writers, leaders, and community members use trickster tactics—and thereby embody the trickster—to negotiate social injustices, preservation of traditional values, and repatriation of self-identity and self-determination. Trickster, then, is alive and well in Native North America.

SEE ALSO Anishinaabe Religious Traditions; Cosmology, article on Indigenous North and Mesoamerican Cosmologies; North American Indian Religions, article on Mythic Themes.

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TRICKSTERS: MESOAMERICAN AND SOUTH AMERICAN TRICKSTERS

The peoples of Mesoamerica and South America maintain lively traditions concerning a cunning and deceitful mythic figure, the trickster. Although tricksters are ludicrous rather than solemn beings, they cannot be discounted as trivial because their activities and transformations touch on religious issues. For instance, they steal fire, which is deemed the center of social and physical life, and their clever bungling frequently introduces death. They stir up such a riot of the senses with their playful conduct, that sex, food, and song become sacred emblems of incarnate life. The trickster's scheming prefigures human intelligence, which is based, ironically, on the realm of the senses.

Tricksters are usually animals that have bodies riddled with passages, or they may have excessively large orifices, any of which may be cut open or penetrated. The contemporary Huichol, who live in the Sierra Madre Occidental, in north-central Mexico, consider Káuyúumaari ("one who does not know himself" or "one who makes others crazy") one of their principal deities (Myerhoff, 1974). Káuyumarie is the animal sidekick of the supreme Huichol deity, Tatewari ("our grandfather fire"). Irreverent, clever, and amusing, Káuyumarie brought about the first sexual intercourse between man and woman. He guides pilgrims to Wirikúta, where the Huichol believe the beginning of time and the center of space are located, and where, as the Sacred Deer, he was dismembered. Pilgrims learn at Wirikúta that all paradoxes and contradictions—even the distinctions between deer, maize, and peyote—arise from the division of Káuyumarie's body (Myerhoff, 1974). The four directions are colored by his body parts, and these colors can be seen in flowers or in the visions induced by eating his flesh—the sacred peyote plant. The horns on Káuyumarie's head enable humans to penetrate the contradictions that make up human experience (Furst, 1976).

Tricksters distort sight and sound purely to create illusion and noise. The Aztec divinity, Tezcatlipoca ("smoking mirror"), uses an obsidian mirror to distort images. He was able to trick Quetzalcoatl, for example, into looking into the mirror in which Quetzalcoatl saw a repulsive and misshapen being. Tezcatlipoca in one of his assumed shapes is Huehuecoyotl ("drum coyote"), the puckish patron of song and dance, who was an ancient Chichimec divinity known for being a sly contriver (Brundage, 1979).

Extraordinary body designs or cross-sex dress, which the trickster sometimes manifests, is a way in which the contrary conditions of existence are mediated. In her study of Zinacantecan myth from the Chiapas Highlands of Mexico, Eva Hunt links contemporary female tricksters to the sixteenth-century goddess Cihuacoatl, a female deity with a tail, a fake baby, and a snake, which emerges from under her skirt and from between her legs. In the contemporary Cuicatec region and the Puebla-Nahuatl area of Mexico, she is embodied as Matlacihuatl, and she is also known as Mujer Enredadora ("entangling woman"). Her name derives from *maxtli,* a loincloth. Matlacihuatl is adulterous and promiscuous, and she specializes in seducing homosexual men. She is sexually anomalous, having a vagina at the back of her neck that opens like a mouth. If a man does seduce her, he will become pregnant and give birth to a child that looks like excrement (Hunt, 1977).

A female turtle is the trickster of the Desána people in southern Colombia. She constantly outsmarts primordial monkeys, jaguars (the dominant supernatural beings of the primordial age), foxes, deer, and tapir, using their body parts to her advantage; for example, she uses the leg bone of the jaguar as a flute.

Tricksters often opposed the dominant supernatural beings of their day and embarrassed or humiliated the divine patrons of priests, shamans, and other privileged religious specialists. For example, the Maquiritaré, Carib-speakers of Venezuela, tell of divine twins; Iureke revives his twin brother, Shikiemona, who has been fixed in the form of a fish by the Master of Iron. In an effort to save his brother, Iureke assumes the form of a kingfisher and covers his brother with excrement. When the Master of Iron washes Shikiemona clean, the water removes the excrement and revives the dying twin, and he swims away (Civrieux, 1980). Later, the twins destroy the supernatural jaguar by exploiting his will for power. "I want some wind. I need some power," the jaguar exclaims. So the twins trick him into swinging on a vine after eating a smelly agouti (a kind of rodent). The jaguar breaks wind, filling the air with a foul smell on a cosmic scale, and ultimately the jaguar is propelled to the end of the earth, where he lands with a bang and breaks all his bones.

In other myths tricksters steal various forms of life from the underworld. For example, the Sanumá (Yanoama) of the Venezuela-Brazil border region, tell of Hasimo, a mythic bird-man, who steals fire from a primordial alligator, which stores fire in its mouth, by shooting excrement into its face, forcing the alligator to laugh (Taylor, 1979).

Manipulation of flesh and of bodily openings and closings is a key stratagem of tricksters. Among the Waiwai of Venezuela, an old man, who is a known liar and master of disguise, rescues his child from buzzards by making himself smell like putrid flesh (Fock, 1963). Yaperikuli, the transformer and trickster of the Baníwa of the upper Rio Negro region of northwestern Brazil, killed the chief of the Eenunai ("sky people") by opening his body and leaving it in a hammock like a "dummy." The trickster's role in general consists of his becoming enmeshed in a predicament and then rescuing himself through the use of his incarnate intelligence and the physical transformation of his body. Tricksters are sometimes wedged in the dangerous passages between two states of being, and through their efforts to rescue themselves—using perhaps a hole, or vine, as a passage—these states of being become altered forever.

The Yukūna people of the northwest Amazon region tell the story of two heroic brothers. The younger brother, Maotchi, is extracted from a hole in a tree by a female agouti with whom he has promised to have sex in exchange for being rescued. Once night falls, he fears making love with her, and so they sleep foot-to-foot. However, she begins to devour him through her anus, and by midnight she has "swallowed" him up to his anus, which then begins to swallow her. On another occasion, Maotchi tricks his elder brother, Kawarimi, into jumping with him into an enormous hole that leads to another world at the center of the earth. Maotchi saves himself by grabbing a vine as he falls, uprooting the vine in the process. As his brother falls into the hole, Maotchi shouts "Stone, stone!" to make his brother fall faster and, eventually, break all his bones (Jacopin, 1981).

Cross-dressing constitutes another tactic of the trickster. In eastern Ecuador, the Shipibo trickster is an ant eater who manages to trade "clothes" with a jaguar. The result is the human world, in which appearances and body forms can be deceiving: that is, where an ant eater is really a jaguar, a jaguar really an anteater, and so on (Roe, 1982). Because death is the ultimate transformation, tricksters have been linked with it; they also mock death and extract benefit from its appearances. For example, in Brazil, the Tapirapé culture hero, Petura, is able to steal fire from the primordial king vulture by pretending to be a cadaver: When the king vulture comes to devour the maggots infesting the corpse, Petura steals his "red fire." He also gives the anteater its shape by thrusting a club up its anus and a wooden stick into its nostrils (Wagley, 1977).

In the Gran Chaco area of southern South America, the Mataco trickster Tokhwáh—also known as Tawkx-wax, Takwaj, Takjuaj, Tokhuah—is both good and bad, and, although he advances human capabilities, every step forward brings comic disaster (Simoneau and Wilbert, 1982). Tokhwáh acts bisexually, chasing women and often seduced by men. His exploits require an entire cycle of myths, and he is at once divine and earthly, creative and destructive. In order to retain nourishing foods, Tokhwáh uses mud to close up his anus, which had been torn open through intercourse with an iguana. In another episode, he is blinded with excrement that comes flying through the air when Tokhwáh strikes a pile of dung that has answered his questions by making inarticulate dropping noises, "pa pa pa pa." On another occasion, as punishment for eating a child, all of Tokhwáh's orifices are plugged with clay or wax. When a woodpecker reopens his orifices, various bird-beings are spattered with blood and waste, giving the various species their distinguishing marks (Simoneau and Wilbert, 1982).

The actions of Mesoamerican and South American tricksters reveal the contradictions at the heart of human experience: carnal and spiritual, living but mortal, ambitious but finite. With a blend of humor and tragedy, trickster myths describe the calamities that occur when contrary conditions of being collide and overlap in a single experience.

SEE ALSO Jaguars; Tezcatlipoca.

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TRIGLAV, a three-headed deity of the heathen Slavs, was literally named: from *tri*,"*three*," and *glava*, "*head*." Worship of him in the temple at Szczecin (Stettin), Pomerania, is attested by Herbord, Ebbo, and Monachus Prieflingensis, the three biographers of Otto, a twelfth-century bishop of Bamberg. According to Herbord, the image of Triglav at Szczecin had three heads joined to one another. Ebbo states that the image was of gold; Monachus Prieflingensis asserts that all three heads were silver-plated. Another idol of Triglav stood in the town of Wolin. Both images were destroyed by Otto.

No detailed description of the image of Triglav exists. One of the interesting features of this god is that he was connected with the number three. His idol stood on the largest of the three hills of Szczecin, and the black horse consecrated to him and used in divination was led thrice across nine (thrice three) lances that were placed in front of the temple, about a yard apart.

In the words of the high priest of the temple at Szczecin, Triglav had three heads in order to make it known that he ruled over three realms: heaven, earth, and the underworld. Ebbo refers to him as the "summus deus" ("highest god"). Hence, Triglav may have been either a manifestation of three major gods or three aspects of one god. The black horse and the mention of the underworld suggest Triglav's ties with Veles-Volos, the god of death and the underworld, a deity standing in opposition to Sventovit, the god of heavenly light, who was associated with a white horse. Triglav may also have been related to Chernoglav, the "black god," who had a silver mustache and who was worshiped at Rügen, as mentioned in the *Knytlingasaga* (1265).

Tricephalous sculptures, mostly undated, have been found in South and East Slavic areas (Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Russia); in France, Gallo-Roman sculptures of three-headed gods date from the second to the fourth century CE. A tricephalous figure called the Thracian Rider was known in the ancient Balkan world, particularly in Bulgaria, and his image is preserved on hundreds of stelae of the second and third centuries CE. The name of Triglav has been retained in the toponymy of all Slavic areas, proving its common Slavic origin.

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TRINITY. Trinitarian doctrine touches on virtually every aspect of Christian faith, theology, and piety, including Christology and pneumatology, theological epistemology (faith, revelation, theological methodology), spirituality and mystical theology, and ecclesial life (sacraments, community, ethics). This article summarizes the main lines of trinitarian doctrine without presenting detailed explanations of important ideas, persons, or terms.

The doctrine of the Trinity is the summary of Christian faith in God, who out of love creates humanity for union with God, who through Jesus Christ redeems the world, and in the power of the Holy Spirit transforms and divinizes (*2 Cor.* 3:18). The heart of trinitarian theology is the conviction that the God revealed in Jesus Christ is involved faithfully and unalterably in covenanted relationship with the world. Christianity is not unique in believing God is "someone" rather than "something," but it is unique in its belief that Christ is the personal Word of God, and that through Christ's death and resurrection into new life, "God was in Christ reconciling all things to God" (*2 Cor.* 5:19). Christ is not looked upon as an intermediary between God and world but as an essential agent of salvation. The Spirit poured out at Pentecost, by whom we live in Christ and are returned to God (Father), is also not a "lesser God" but one and the same God who creates and redeems us. The doctrine of the Trinity is the product of reflection on the events of redemptive history, especially the Incarnation and the sending of the Spirit.

DEVELOPMENT OF TRINITARIAN DOCTRINE. Exegetes and theologians today are in agreement that the Hebrew Bible does not contain a doctrine of the Trinity, even though it was customary in past dogmatic tracts on the Trinity to cite texts like *Genesis* 1:26, "Let us make humanity in our image, after our likeness" (see also *Gn.* 3:22, 11:7; *Is.* 6:2–3) as proof of plurality in God. Although the Hebrew Bible depicts God as the father of Israel and employs personifications of God such as Word *(davar),* Spirit *(ruaḥ),* Wisdom *(ḥokhmah),* and Presence *(shekhinah),* it would go beyond the intention and spirit of the Old Testament to correlate these notions with later trinitarian doctrine.

Further, exegetes and theologians agree that the New Testament also does not contain an explicit doctrine of the Trinity. God the Father is source of all that is (Pantokrator) and also the father of Jesus Christ; "Father" is not a title for the first person of the Trinity but a synonym for God. Early liturgical and creedal formulas speak of God as "Father of our Lord Jesus Christ"; praise is to be rendered to God through Christ (see opening greetings in Paul and deutero-Paul). There are other binitarian texts (e.g., *Rom.* 4:24, 8:11; 2 *Cor.* 4:14; *Col.* 2:12; *1 Tm.* 2:5–6, 6:13; *2 Tm.* 4:1), and a few triadic texts (the strongest are *2 Cor.* 13:14 and *Mt.* 28:19; others are *1 Cor.* 6:11, 12:4–6; *2 Cor.* 1:21–22; 1 *Thes.* 5:18–19; *Gal.* 3:11–14). Christ is sent by God and the Spirit is sent by Christ so that all may be returned to God.

The language of the Bible, of early Christian creeds, and of Greek and Latin theology prior to the fourth century is "economic" (*oikonomia,* divine management of earthly affairs). It is oriented to the concrete history of creation and redemption: God initiates a covenant with Israel, God speaks through the prophets, God takes on flesh in Christ, God dwells within as Spirit. In the New Testament there is no reflective consciousness of the metaphysical nature of God ("immanent trinity"), nor does the New Testament contain the technical language of later doctrine *(hupostasis, ousia, substantia, subsistentia, prosōpon, persona).* Some theologians have concluded that all postbiblical trinitarian doctrine is therefore arbitrary. While it is incontestable that the doctrine cannot be established on scriptural evidence alone, its origins may legitimately be sought in the Bible, not in the sense of "proof-texting" or of finding metaphysical principles, but because the Bible is the authoritative record of God's redemptive relationship with humanity. What the scriptures narrate as the activity of God among us, which is confessed in creeds and celebrated in liturgy, is the wellspring of later trinitarian doctrine.

Dogmatic development took place gradually, against the background of the emanationist philosophy of Stoicism and Neoplatonism (including the mystical theology of the latter), and within the context of strict Jewish monotheism. In the immediate post–New Testament period of the Apostolic Fathers no attempt was made to work out the God-Christ (Father-Son) relationship in ontological terms. By the end of the fourth century, and owing mainly to the challenge posed by various heresies, theologians went beyond the immediate testimony of the Bible and also beyond liturgical and creedal expressions of trinitarian faith to the ontological trinity of coequal persons "within" God. The shift is from function to ontology, from the "economic trinity" (Father, Son, and Spirit in relation to us) to the "immanent" or "essential Trinity" (Father, Son, and Spirit in relation to each other). It was prompted chiefly by belief in the divinity of Christ and later in the divinity of the Holy Spirit, but even earlier by the consistent worship of God in a trinitarian pattern and the practice of baptism into the threefold name of God. By the close of the fourth century the orthodox teaching was in place: God is one nature, three persons *(mia ousia, treis hupostaseis).*

Questions of Christology and soteriology (salvation) occupied theologians of the early patristic period. What was

Christ's relationship to God? What is Christ's role in our salvation? The Logos Christology of the apologists identified the preexistent Christ of Johannine and Pauline theology with the Logos ("word") of Greek philosophy. The Stoic distinction between the immanent word *(logos endiathetos)* and the expressed word *(logos prophorikos)* provided a way for Justin Martyr (d. 163/165) and others to explain how Christ had preexisted as the immanent word in the Father's mind and then became incarnate in time. Third-century monarchianism arose as a backlash against Logos theology, which was feared to jeopardize the unity of God; the modalism of Sabellius admitted the distinctions in history but denied their reality in God's being. Origen (died c. 254) contributed the idea of the eternal generation of the Son within the being of God; although other aspects of Origen's theology later were judged to be subordinationist, his teaching that the Son is a distinct hypostasis brought about subtle changes in conceptions of divine paternity and trinity. In the West, Tertullian (d. 225?) formulated an economic trinitarian theology that presents the three persons as a plurality in God. Largely because of the theology of Arius, who about 320 denied that Christ was fully divine, the Council of Nicaea (325) taught that Christ is *homoousios* (of the same substance) with God. The primary concern of Athanasius (d. 373), the great defender of Nicene orthodoxy, was salvation through Christ; if Christ is not divine, he cannot save. Like the bishops at Nicaea, Athanasius had a limited trinitarian vocabulary; *hupostasis* (person) and *ousia* (substance) could still be used interchangeably.

The fourth-century Cappadocian theologians (Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory of Nazianzus) formulated orthodox trinitarian doctrine and made it possible for the Council of Constantinople (381) to affirm the divinity of the Holy Spirit. The speculatively gifted Cappadocians made a clear distinction between *hupostasis* and *ousia* (roughly equivalent to particular and universal), thereby establishing orthodox trinitarian vocabulary. At the close of the patristic period John of Damascus (d. 749) summarized Greek trinitarian doctrine with the doctrine of *perichōresis* (Lat., *circumincessio),* or the mutual indwelling of the divine persons.

Western trinitarian theology took a different course because of Augustine (d. 430). Instead of regarding the Father as source of divinity, Augustine's starting point was the one divine substance, which the three persons share. He sought the image of the Trinity within the rational soul and formulated psychological analogies (memory, intellect, will; lover, beloved, love) that conveyed unity more than plurality. The Augustinian approach served to effectively refute Arianism, but it also moved the doctrine of the Trinity to a transcendent realm, away from salvation history, from other areas of theology, and from liturgy. In the Latin West Boethius (died c. 525) formulated the classic definition of person, namely, "individual substance of a rational nature." Augustinian theology was given further elaboration in medieval theology, especially by Anselm (d. 1109) and in the Scholastic synthesis of Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274). Still Augustinian but focusing on person rather than nature, Richard of Saint-Victor (d. 1173) and Bonaventure (d. 1274) developed a psychology of love; charity is the essence of Trinity.

Although there are important exceptions to any typology, in general, Greek theology emphasizes the hypostases, the "trinity in unity," whereas Latin theology emphasizes the divine nature, or "unity in trinity." The Greek approach can be represented by a line: Godhood originates with the Father, emanates toward the Son, and passes into the Holy Spirit who is the bridge to the world. Greek theology (following the New Testament and early Christian creeds) retains the "monarchy" of the Father who as sole principle of divinity imparts Godhood to Son and Spirit. The Greek approach tends toward subordinationism (though hardly of an ontological kind) or, in some versions, to tritheism since in Greek theology each divine person fully possesses the divine substance. The Latin approach can be represented by a circle or triangle. Because the emphasis is placed on what the divine persons share, Latin theology tends toward modalism (which obscures the distinctiveness of each person). Also the Trinity is presented as self-enclosed and not intrinsically open to the world.

PRINCIPLES OF TRINITARIAN DOCTRINE. Trinitarian theology is *par excellence* the theology of relationship. Its fundamental principle is that God, who is self-communicating and self-giving love for us, is from all eternity love perfectly given and received. The traditional formula "God is three persons in one nature" compactly expresses that there are permanent features of God's eternal being (the three persons) that are the ontological precondition for the three distinct manners of God's tripersonal activity in the world (as Father, Son, Spirit).

Technical terms, theological theories, and official (conciliar) statements function together as a "set of controls" over the correct way to conceive both of God's self-relatedness as Father, Son, and Spirit, and God's relatedness to creation as Father, Son, and Spirit. Although one must guard against reducing the mystery of God to a set of formal statements, precise distinctions are useful insofar as they refine theological vocabulary or protect against distortions ("heresy"). Still, doctrinal statements are inherently limited; they address specific points of controversy, leaving other questions unsettled and sometimes creating new problems. Conciliar statements and theological principles guard against egregious errors (for example, "the Holy Spirit is a creature") and serve as boundaries within which trinitarian discourse may take place.

First, God is ineffable and Absolute Mystery, whose reality cannot adequately be comprehended or expressed by means of human concepts. Trinitarian doctrine necessarily falls short of expressing the full "breadth and length and height and depth" of God's glory and wisdom and love. Even though God who "dwells in light inaccessible" is impenetrable mystery, the doctrine of the Trinity is not itself a mystery, nor is the doctrine revealed by God, nor is the doctrine a substitute for the knowledge of God gained in the union of love that surpasses all concepts (see *Eph.* 3:18–19). Trinitarian doctrine is a partial and fragmentary exegesis of what has been revealed, namely, that God is self-communicating love. Further, because God is a partner in love and not an object to be scrutinized or controlled by the intellect, speculative theology must be firmly rooted in spirituality, doxology, and a concrete community of faith so that trinitarian doctrine does not become "heavenly metaphysics" unrelated to the practice of faith.

Second, the revelation and self-communication of the incomprehensible God, attested in the concrete images and symbols of the Bible and celebrated in Christian liturgy, is the proper starting point of trinitarian theology. Theological thinking proceeds from "God with us" ("economic" Trinity) to the nature of God ("immanent" Trinity). The starting point "within" God led to an overly abstract doctrine in the West and to a virtual divorce of the "immanent" Trinity from the Trinity of history and experience. Friedrich Schleiermacher (d. 1834) reacted against the cleavage between "God" and "God for us" by relegating the idea of the essential Trinity to an appendix to his summary of Christian theology. Karl Rahner's (d. 1984) widely accepted axiom is pertinent: "the 'economic' Trinity *is* the 'immanent' Trinity and vice versa." God is who God reveals God to be. Concepts that describe the ontological intrarelatedness of God must be drawn from and are subject to control by the "facts" of redemptive history.

Third, because the three persons together and inseparably (though without mingling or confusion) bring about salvation and deification, and because the one God is worshiped as Father, Son, and Spirit, no divine person is inferior to any other person. Although undivided, God exists as the pure relationality of love given and received. The decree of the Council of Florence (1442) that "everything in God is one except where there is opposition of relation" was regarded as a final answer to tritheism (belief in three gods), Arian subordinationism (ontological hierarchy of persons), Sabellian modalism (no real distinctions "in" God), and Macedonianism (denial of the divinity of the Holy Spirit).

There are two divine processions: begetting and spiration ("breathing"). Each divine person exists by relation to the other two persons (Gr., "relation of origin"; Lat., "relation of oppositon"), and each fully possesses the divine substance. In Greek theology the three hypostases have the distinguishing characteristics (sg., *idiotes*) of "being unbegotten" *(agennēsia),* "being begotten" *(gennēsia),* and "proceeding" *(ekporeusis).* The Father is the fountainhead of Godhood *(fons divinitatis),* who imparts divinity to Son and Spirit. According to Latin theology there are four relations (begetting, being begotten, spirating, being spirated) but only three "subsistent" relations: paternity, filiation, spiration. Latin theology (following Augustine) understands divine unity to reside in the divine nature that is held in common by Father, Son, and Spirit; Greek theology (following the Cappadocians) understands the unity to reside in the "perichoretic" relatedness of the three persons.

A corollary of the inseparability of the three coequal divine persons is the axiom that "all works of the triune God *ad extra* are indivisibly one" ("opera trinitatis ad extra indivisa sunt"). According to Latin theology it is the three-personed substance of God that acts in history; according to Greek theology every action of God toward creation originates with the Father, passes through the Son, and is perfected in the Spirit (Gregory of Nyssa). In any case, the axiom must not be understood to obscure what is distinctive to each divine person.

Fourth, a false distinction must not be set up between what God is and what God does, between essence and existence, between unity and threefoldness, between nature and person (relation). There are no "accidents" in God; the statement of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) that each divine person is the divine substance countered the claim of some theologians (Joachim of Fiore) that God is a quaternity (three persons + essence = four persons).

Fifth, since the nature of God is to love, and love naturally seeks an object, it might appear that God "needs" the world as a partner in love. This would make the world coeternal with God. Many Scholastic theologians speculated on this question. Thomas Aquinas admitted that while he saw no philosophical reason to deny the eternity of the world, the testimony of the *Book of Genesis* and his Christian faith constrained him to do so. In 1329 Meister Eckhart was condemned for asserting the eternity of the world. With respect to trinitarian theology, even though Rahner's axiom (see above) suggests that God's relations to us, including creation, are constitutive of God and vice versa, theologians traditionally speak of a perfect and reciprocal exchange of love "within" God, that is, among Father, Son, and Spirit independent of their relationship to creation, in order to preserve the absolute character of God's freedom.

CURRENT DIRECTIONS AND REMAINING PROBLEMS. After centuries of disinterest in trinitarian doctrine in the West, the riches of this vast tradition are once again being explored. Three basic directions may be observed. First, some theologians have revised analogies of the "immanent" Trinity according to contemporary philosophy (for example, process metaphysics), linguistics, or interpersonal psychology. While this approach overcomes some of the aporia of classical expositions, it perpetuates the metaphysical starting point "within" God apart from salvation history. A second approach focuses on soteriology and Christology and is circumspect about the "immanent" Trinity, though without denying that historical distinctions are grounded ontologically in God. A third approach uses trinitarian symbolism to describe God's deeds in redemptive history but resists positing real distinctions in God. Despite basic differences in method, these three approaches all move in a more personalist (relational) direction and, in the case of the latter two, a more "economic" direction.

Theologians who specialize in trinitarian doctrine suggest that several areas warrant further attention. First, most trinitarian doctrine is so abstract it is difficult to see its connection with praxis. The "summary of Christian faith" and the living out of that faith should be brought to bear more directly on each other. Creeds, doxologies, and liturgy are important loci of the trinitarian faith recapitulated in trinitarian doctrine.

Second, unlike the "mystical theology" of the Orthodox tradition, theology in the West has been separated from spirituality since the thirteenth century. Reintegrating theology and spirituality would help to overcome the rationalist tendencies of Western theology, to provide the field of spirituality with theological foundation, and also to strengthen the weakest component of Western theology, namely, pneumatology.

Third, the *filioque* ("and from the Son") clause, inserted into the Western creed in the sixth century but denounced by the Orthodox church, remains a serious obstacle to reunion between East and West. Theologians should work assiduously for ecumenical agreement.

Fourth, to speak of God as "three persons" always has been problematic and remains the same today. In the modern framework "person" means "individual center of consciousness." To avoid the tritheistic implications of positing three "persons" in God, the relational, or "toward-the-other" character of "person" should be reemphasized.

Fifth, the exclusively masculine imagery of trinitarian doctrine hinders full recovery of the trinitarian insight into the essential relatedness of God. The fatherhood of God should be rethought in light of the critique of feminist theologies and also in view of the nonpatriarchal understanding of divine paternity to be found in some biblical and early theological writings.

Sixth, revising trinitarian theology along soteriological lines raises the question of its place in the dogmatic schema, that is, whether it ought to be treated as a separate "tract," as prolegomenous to theology, as its apex and summary, or as an undergird that is presupposed throughout but never alluded to explicitly.

Seventh, trinitarian theology must be pursued within the context of the "God question" of every age, whether this question takes the form of existentialist atheism, secular humanism, or some other.

Eighth, the Christian doctrine of God must be developed also within the wider purview of other world religions. Trinitarian doctrine cannot be Christomonistic, excluding persons of other faiths from salvation, nor can it surrender its conviction that God is fully present in Christ.

For trinitarian doctrine to be recovered as a vital expression of God's nearness in Christ, theologians must translate into a contemporary idiom the mystery of God's triune love in a way that does justice not only to the testimony of our predecessors but also to the ongoing and ever-new features of God's relationship with a people.

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CATHERINE MOWRY LACUGNA (1987)
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TROELTSCH, ERNST (1865–1923), German Protestant theologian and cultural philosopher. Ernst Peter Wilhelm Troeltsch is considered "the most eminent sociologically oriented historian of Western Christianity" (Talcott Parsons, quoted by James Luther Adams, "Why the Troeltsch Revival? Reasons for the Renewed Interest in the Thought of the Great German Theologian Ernst Troeltsch," in *The Unitarian Universalist Christian* 29, 1974, pp. 4–15). With regard to the impact of his work, Troeltsch was the most significant evangelical theologian since Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834). As the central figure in German Protestant theology in the early twentieth century, he was able to exercise an enduring influence on philosophy, religion, sociology, and the study of history.

Troeltsch was born in Haunstetten, a small town near the old southern German imperial city of Augsburg. He spent his childhood and youth in Augsburg. Through the efforts of his father, a well-to-do physician, Troeltsch became acquainted at an early age with the modern natural sciences, and the famous preparatory school at Sankt Anna gave him the sense of a cosmopolitan Christian humanism.

In 1883, Troeltsch began the study of philosophy for two semesters at the Roman Catholic preparatory school in Augsburg and then, in the fall of 1884, of Protestant theology in Erlangen. He was particularly interested in the reconciliation of faith with knowledge and, therefore, attended lectures in art history, political science, national economics, history, psychology, and philosophy. Since the theological faculty at Erlangen was dominated by a neoorthodox Lutheranism, Troeltsch transferred, in 1885, to Berlin for a year and, in the fall of 1886, finally to Göttingen. Here the systematic theologian Albrecht Ritschl (1822–1889), the most prominent contemporary representative of a liberal, Lutheran, cultural Protestantism, exercised a primary and profound influence upon him.

As early as 1891, however, Troeltsch formulated a sharp criticism of Ritschl's ethicizing modernization of Luther's theology. He emphasized the far-reaching cultural differences between the "Old Protestantism" of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and the modern world, which had emerged only with the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century. Insofar as Luther had remained committed to the ideal of a religiously dominated, homogeneous culture and had represented a pacifist ethic that sanctioned submission to the status quo, he was, for Troeltsch, still part of the Middle Ages. Thus for Troeltsch's own theological development, Enlightenment traditions were more important than the theology of the reformers. He believed that theology must be changed from the old dogmatic paradigm to a "historical method" and must be based upon a general, rational theory of religion.

Already in the *Disputationsthesen,* published on the occasion of his doctoral degree in 1891 (text in *Troeltsch-Studien I,* 2d. ed., Gutersloh, 1985, pp. 299–300), Troeltsch designated such a theology, which he believed compatible with modern consciousness, a "religious-historical discipline." It is not yet clear to what extent this statement was influenced by the Göttingen religious historian and Septuagint scholar Paul Anton de Lagarde (1827–1891). Troeltsch was part of a very close and friendly exchange in Göttingen with the church historian Albert Eichhorn (1856–1926), as well as the exegetes Hermann Gunkel (1862–1932), Alfred Rahlfs (1865–1935), Wilhelm Wrede (1859–1906), Heinrich Hackmann (1864–1935), and especially Wilhelm Bousset (1865–1920). These "young Göttingers" wanted to transform traditional biblical scholarship into an undogmatic, sociologically informed religious history of Judaism and early Christianity. They therefore attempted to understand the origins of Christianity from the perspective of the ancient religions, especially of late Judaism. Since they were not interested in historically secondary theological dogmatics, but rather in the original productivity of religious consciousness, they, along with Johannes Weiss (1863–1914), emphasized very strongly the eschatological character of Jesus' preaching of the kingdom of God, and also the autonomy of religion within culture. Troeltsch was considered the "systematician" of this "little Göttingen faculty," which as a so-called religious-historical school exercised a significant influence on the theology of the early twentieth century.

In a well-known essay, *Über historische und dogmatische Methode in der Theologie* (On Historical and Dogmatic Method in Theology; 1900, included in his *Gesammelte Schriften,* vol. 2, Tübingen, 1913, pp. 729–753), using the historiographic principles of critique, analogy, and correlation, Troeltsch drew the radical conclusion of definitively separating a supranaturalistic view of Christianity as the only true religion from the old dogmatic understanding of Jesus Christ as the extraordinary and exclusive revelation of God. The breaking down of the traditional isolation of Christianity from other religions should not, however, imply any skeptical relativism, but rather should serve as a foundation for the specific validity that Christianity claims. The program for a general theory of religion, which Troeltsch first outlined in 1895 in *Die Selbständigkeit der Religion* (The Independence of Religion), should, therefore, produce a metacritique of modern religious criticism. It should demonstrate, moreover, in dialogue with Ludwig Feuerbach's "suspicion of illusion," the real meaning of religious consciousness, in order to prove thereby the special validity of the Christian tradition. Thus the connection of historical-empirical analyses of the history of Christianity with a variety of attempts at a systematic philosophy of religion is characteristic of Troeltsch's lifework. The difficulties of making such a connection, however, demanded extensive epistemological, historical, and philosophical analyses of the relationship between historical contingency and the absolute. This Troeltsch was not able to bring to completion. To that extent, his massive literary work is, for the most part, fragmentary.

After a short lectureship in Bonn, and at the age of only twenty-nine, Troeltsch was called to Heidelberg in 1894 as professor of systematic theology. After the turn of the century, he became known far beyond the narrow borders of academic theology. This was a result of his intensive engagement in ecclesiastical politics on behalf of different organizations in liberal Protestantism, and also his prominent position within the University of Heidelberg. From 1909 to 1914, Troeltsch represented the university in the lower chamber of the parliament of the grand duchy of Baden. He was especially known for his numerous publications. On the basis of religious-historical comparison in his famous lecture *Die Absolutheit des Christentums und die Religionsgeschichte* (The Absoluteness of Christianity and the History of Religion, Tübingen, 1902), he denied to Christianity its traditional claim of absoluteness and relative superiority as the religion of personality. In *Psychologie und Erkenntnistheorie in der Religionswissenschaft* (Psychology and Epistemology in the Study of Religion, Tübingen, 1905), an essay presented to the International Congress of Arts and Sciences in Saint Louis in 1904, he connected William James's psychological pragmatism with the Neo-Kantian assumption of empirically independent structures of consciousness to form a theory of the "religious *a priori.*" In accordance with this, the production of religious ideas is seen as a constitutive accomplishment of human subjectivity. In *Wesen der Religion und der Religionswissenschaft* (Writings on Theology and Religion, 1977, pp. 82–123), Troeltsch sought to explicate the independence of religion on four levels: First, empirically given religion should be analyzed according to a psychology of religion as an autonomous phenomenon of life that is constitutive for all culture. Second, in the epistemology of religion, the level of reality proper to religious consciousness must be rationally justified. Third, within a special historical philosophy of religions, the general concept of religion should be realized specifically and concretely in terms of the plurality of real existing religions for comparative religious-historical studies. Fourth, a metaphysics of religion bases the religious understanding of worldly reality upon the self-revelation of God. In this way, the universal history of religion should be proven to be the progressive revelation of God, and the presence of the absolute would be demonstrated in finite consciousness.

Troeltsch was not, however, able to carry out this great program. The concept of the religious *a priori* remained especially unclear. For Troeltsch only partially appropriated Kant's understanding of *a priori* structures of consciousness. He could do justice to the statement that the pious subject knows itself—or all finite reality—to be grounded in a divine substance only insofar as he understood the *a priori* as a product not proper to the intellect. To presuppose objects of cognition as directly given, however, contradicted the Kantian point of departure of his argumentation. The more Troeltsch sought to explain, in numerous small monographs on the philosophy of religion, the relationship of the religious consciousness to reality, the less he could still do justice to Kant's criticism. Although in close personal contact with the leading German representatives of Neo-Kantianism, Troeltsch did not share their basic assumptions.

After the turn of the century, in addition to his studies in the philosophy of religion, Troeltsch published in relatively quick succession several cultural-historical investigations into the profound transformation of the Christian consciousness during the transition to the modern period. These include the large treatise, *Protestantisches Christentum und Kirche in der Neuzeit* (Protestant Christianity and the Church in the Modern Age, in Paul Hinneberg, ed., *Die Kultur der Gegenwart,* Part 1, Section 4.1, Berlin and Leipzig, 1906; 1922, 3d ed.), on the basis of which the University of Greifswald conferred on him an honorary doctorate in philosophy, and a famous lecture, *Die Bedeutung des Protestantismus für die Entstehung der modernen Welt* (Munich, 1906; 1911, 2d ed.; abridged English version, *Protestantism and Progress: A Historical Study of the Relation of Protestantism to the Modern World,* London and New York, 1912). Both show the strong influence of Max Weber's investigations of 1904–1905 into the genetic connections between Protestant ethics and the spirit of capitalism. And Weber, in turn, was strongly influenced by Troeltsch's understanding of Lutheranism as a politically as well as economically premodern, patriarchal religion. Moreover, indications of the significance of the ascetic work-ethic of Calvinism for the development of capitalism can already be found in Troeltsch's work before the appearance of his friend's famous essays on Protestantism. The very close, seventeen-year friendship meant a substantial scholarly enrichment for both Troeltsch and Weber.

It is true that Troeltsch had established a sociological foundation for his understanding of the church even before the meeting with Weber. However, it was only under the influence of his friend that he distinguished precisely between church and sect as different types of religious community-building. *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen* (The Social Doctrines of Christian Churches and Groups), which, already partially published in 1908–1910, appeared in 1912 as the first volume of Troeltsch's collected works, also shows, however, significant sociological differences between the friends. Troeltsch wanted to present the social and ethical consequences of the Christian conceptual world and its interaction with cultural phenomena. The eschatological ideal of the kingdom of God of the Gospels stands in a relationship of unresolvable tension to the facticities of culture. Nevertheless, in that the church institutionalizes the grace of redemption sacramentally, it can become the place of salvation for the masses and fit the Christian concepts to the political-social order and its needs for legitimation. In contrast to this, the sects, small groups on the margin of society with demands for high achievement on their members, radicalize the tensions of religion and society to the point of absolute opposition between the norms of culture and the *lex Christi,* the Sermon on the Mount.

From the types of church and sect, Troeltsch further distinguished mysticism as the third particular social form of Christianity. Here the opposites of religion and society are reconciled within the pious subject himself, to the extent that he knows himself to be a participant in the divine spirit and he glimpses the true reality of the kingdom of God in a purely spiritual and universal brotherhood of those gifted by God. Troeltsch especially ascribed to his third type significant historical effects for modern Christianity. Weber, however, did not consider mysticism to be a separate social form of religion. This difference is the expression of contradicting evaluations of the real meaning of religion for modern societies. Unlike Weber, Troeltsch was convinced that, even under the conditions of Western rationalism, religion was an extremely important factor in societal formation. He understood the Christian tradition primarily as a force for the strengthening of individual autonomy over against the depersonalizing developmental tendencies of modern capitalism. Moreover, the church's tradition had to be provided with a new cultural credibility; that is, "religious individualism," inspired by the mystical tradition, which had been forced out of the evangelical church, had to be again given a right to exist within a "flexible church of the people" (*Gesammelte Schriften,* vol. 2, Tübingen, 1913, p. 105). In connection with Schleiermacher's program of a practically oriented theology of consciousness, Troeltsch interpreted dogmatic statements as self-communications of the genuine Protestant consciousness, as is shown especially in *Die Bedeutung der Geschichtlichkeit Jesu für den Glauben* (1911; translated as *The Significance of the Historical Existence of Jesus for Faith,* in *Writings on Theology and Religion,* 1967, pp. 182–207) and in his posthumously edited lectures on *Die Glaubenslehre* (Munich and Leipzig, 1925).

In the spring of 1915 Troeltsch was transferred to Berlin by the minister for cultural affairs. The chair he occupied there was renamed specifically for him, as a professorship in "religious, social, and historical philosophy and the history of Christian religion" and was transferred from the theological to the philosophical faculty.

With his moving to the capital of the empire, Troeltsch's intensive political activity quickly gained in public significance. Troeltsch interpreted World War I as an imperialistic power struggle, at the root of which lay not only economic antagonisms, but also deep-seated political and cultural contradictions between the German spirit and Western rationality. In spite of this connection with his earlier analyses of the social and ethical differences between Lutheranism and Calvinism, Troeltsch was not a theoretician of a separate political way for Germany. Since 1916 he had been fighting for a thorough democratization of the imperial constitution, the political integration of the parties of the workers' movement, and economic reforms aimed at breaking down class differences. This was reflected in manifold activities for the limitation of war and for peace negotiations. Troeltsch was a delegate of the leftist-liberal German Democratic party in the Prussian state assembly and undersecretary in the Prussian ministry for cultural affairs. After defeat and revolution, he was one of the leading representatives of that small minority in German Protestantism that interceded for the acceptance of the constitutional compromise of Weimar and for its concrete actualization as a social democracy.

In close connection with his political and practical activity, Troeltsch turned his attention in Berlin primarily to this question: to what extent could normative approaches to the solution of the present cultural crisis be found in the European cultural tradition? Because of his sudden death on 1 February 1923, Troeltsch was not able to realize concretely his program for a "European cultural synthesis." However, the basic theological structure of Troeltsch's philosophy of history can be recognized in the lectures *Christian Thought: Its History and Application* (London, 1923), edited by his friend Friedrich von Hügel (1852–1925), the so-called lay bishop of Roman Catholic modernism, and also the concluding part of *Das logische Problem der Geschichtsphilosophie* (The Logical Problem of the Philosophy of History), the first book of *Der Historismus und seine Probleme* (Historicism and its Problems), which appeared in 1922 as the third volume of the *Gesammelte Schriften.* Troeltsch now expressly restricted to the European-American cultural arena the old claim of Christianity to a position of relative superiority among the world religions. To pretend to understand foreign cultures was cultural imperialism. Against monistic worldviews, which presuppose that a universal history of humanity can be recognized, Troeltsch argued for a pluralistic understanding of reality. In that he was guided by the theological insight that an overview of history is possible only for God, but not for finite persons.

In the antiliberal, mostly antidemocratic, German Protestant theology of the 1920s, Troeltsch's cultural relativism encountered intensive criticism. Since the 1960s, however, one can see—on the international level as well as on an interdisciplinary level—a notable renaissance of interest in Troeltsch's thought. Indeed his theology of cultural modesty is important, in that it permits central problems of contemporary theological and philosophical discussion—for instance, the pluralism of religious traditions, the dependency of theology upon contexts, the relationship of Christianity to cultural modernity—to be grasped outside of all claims of dogmatic absolutism.

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Jean Séguy's *Christianisme et société: Introduction à la sociologie de Ernst Troeltsch* (Paris, 1980) offers an instructive introduction to Troeltsch's sociology of religion. Intensive work has also been done on Troeltsch's dogmatics and theory of religion. See *Ernst Troeltsch and the Future of Theology,* edited by John Powell Clayton (Cambridge, 1975); B. A. Gerrish's *The Old Protestantism and the New: Essays on the Reformation Heritage* (Edinburgh, 1982); Walter E. Wyman, Jr.'s *The Concept of Glaubenslehre: Ernst Troeltsch and the Theological Heritage of Schleiermacher* (Chico, Calif., 1983); Sarah Coakley's *Christ without Absolutes: A Study of the Christology of Ernst Troeltsch* (Oxford, 1986); and *Troeltsch-Studien,* vol. 3, *Protestantismus und Neuzeit,* edited by Horst Renz and Friedrich Wilhelm Graf, (Gutersloh, 1984). In addition to studies in the reception of Troeltsch's thought in the Anglo-American world, in Italy, and in the Netherlands, this last volume contains detailed examinations of Troeltsch's political activity. Moreover, an instructive introduction is offered by Arrigo Rapp in *Il problema della Germania negli scritti politici di E. Troeltsch, 1914–1922* (Rome, 1978).

FRIEDRICH WILHELM GRAF (1987)
Translated from German by Charlotte Prather

TRUBETSKOI, EVGENII (1863–1920), Russian Orthodox philosopher. Evgenii Nikolaevich Trubetskoi, a brother of Sergei, was professor of philosophy at the University of Moscow from 1905 to 1918. He developed his philosophical views within the same general context as did Vladimir Solov'ev and was the author of a major study on him, *Mirosozertsanie Solov'eva* (Solov'ev's Worldview, 2 vols., Moscow, 1913). A theoretical disagreement with Solov'ev, which did not stand in the way of their friendship, led Trubetskoi to study Western theocratic ideas. In his two-volume *Religiozno-obshchestvennyi ideal zapadnogo khristianstva* (The Religio-Social Ideal of Western Christianity, Moscow, 1892; Kiev, 1897), which focused on Augustine and the medieval papacy, he concluded that a religious institution's primary responsibilities were incompatible with that institution's exercise of political power.

In his philosophy, Trubetskoi blended philosophical idealism, traditional Orthodoxy, and a voluntaristic-exhortative creed that shaded off into political activism. His posthumously published *Smysl zhizni* (Meaning of Life) was popular among the Russian émigrés whom it provided with the much-needed assertion that there was meaning in existence.

Trubetskoi was instrumental in stimulating increased interest in religious philosophy. He was active in the Moscow Psychological Society, in the Religio-Philosophical Society of Vladimir Solov'ev (named after the philosopher), and in the publishing house Put' (The Way). All three, on different levels, popularized metaphysics, religion, and, tangentially, liberalism. Trubetskoi worked for reform of the Russian Orthodox church and for a greater involvement of the laity in the church. He was appointed to the pre-Sobor meeting in 1906 that prepared for institutionalizing self-government in the church and was elected to the church council that pronounced the reestablishment of the patriarchate in 1917.

Evgenii Trubetskoi in his writing focused both on the individual, as the carrier of value, and on the state, which establishes conditions that can make moral value effective. He published a number of important works in law, and led between 1906 and 1910 a small moderate political party, the Party of Peaceful Regeneration. At the same time he edited the *Moskovskii ezhenedel'nik* (Moscow Weekly), a journal in which he expounded upon public issues. In 1910 he joined the Constitutional Democratic Party. During World War I his patriotic brochures, especially one containing an analysis of icons titled *Umozrenie v kraskakh* (Speculation in Colors), were quite popular.

Trubetskoi based his liberalism not on the will of the majority but on the rights inherent in each individual. He saw the state as a necessary buffer between the majority, which could, on occasion, be illiberal, and the individual. Equally outspoken about the dangers of violence from the left as from the right, he condemned the terrorist actions of radicals that the Russian progressives tended to condone.

Trubetskoi was an early and uncompromising foe of the Bolsheviks. In the last years of his life he placed great hopes on the innate religiosity and conservatism of the Russian peasants to overthrow the oppressive Bolshevik regime. He died in Novorossisk, fleeing the Bolsheviks and predicting their early demise.

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There is no comprehensive study of Evgenii Trubetskoi. His philosophical views are discussed in the standard works on Russian philosophy. I have written an introduction to a new edition of his memoirs, *Iz proshlago* (Newtonville, Mass., 1976), in which can also be found a bibliography of his major works.

MARTHA BOHACHEVSKY-CHOMIAK (1987)

TRUBETSKOI, SERGEI (1862–1905), scion of an old noble family in Russia, was professor of philosophy at the University of Moscow. Weeks before his death Sergei Nikolaevich Trubetskoi became the university's first elected rector. He was instrumental in popularizing philosophical idealism. His philosophical and religious convictions led him to take public stands on the major issues of the day, positions which brought him national prominence. At an audience with the tsar in June 1905 Prince Trubetskoi was the spokesman of the moderate liberals. A close confidant of Vladimir Solov'ev, Trubetskoi worked within the philosophical tradition of idealism that encompassed Plato, Kant, the Russian Slavophiles, especially Ivan Kireevskii, and the Western mystics, particularly Jakob Boehme. Trubetskoi's interest in the history of philosophy led him to the history of religion. He wrote an introduction to the Russian edition of Karl Barth's *Religions of India* and prepared a bibliography on the history of religion for the Russian edition of P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye's *Illustrated History of Religions.*

Trubetskoi's work was based on philological as well as historical study and demonstrates an amalgamation of philosophical and religious concerns. He maintained that while no strictly philosophical system can solve all the problems raised by philosophy, Christianity does hold solutions to these problems. For Trubetskoi, *sophia* (wisdom) is an intermediary between the absolute and humanity. He argued that the Logos, which he traced not to the philosophy of the Greeks but to Jewish gnosticism, refers to the concrete person of Christ rather than to a rational concept that might be linked to *sophia.* He rejected the notion of God as the absolute actualizing itself in history since, in his view, the absolute, by its very nature, could not be in the process of becoming. Trubetskoi held that Christianity, with its absolute and autonomous system of morality, is the vehicle through which the potential for the kingdom of God can be realized.

The source of true knowledge, according to Trubetskoi, lay in reason, sensibility, innate ideas, mystical experience, and faith, all of which reflect what he refers to as the "concrete consciousness" of each individual. Knowledge is possible because the human being is conscious of an external reality and is also part of that reality. Consciousness is not solely the function of the individual but of the species collectively. Hence, Trubetskoi considered the consciousness of causality to be both innate and based upon external reality. In his statement, "Whenever I make any decision I hold within myself a conference about all with all," Trubetskoi encapsulated a theory he characterized as "metaphysical socialism."

Because human beings have the capacity to reason, Trubetskoi argued, it follows that humankind can rise above natural causes and act morally. Eventually, humanity or society can develop the capacity to become a real organism, an eternal person. Although Trubetskoi posited the collectivity of consciousness, he maintained that value lay with the individual, since it is the individual who can reason and know. He defended the immortality of the individual soul and the freedom of the individual from external constraints. His conscious attempts to popularize philosophy drew him into the public arena. The reactionary wing of the Russian Orthodox clergy, which resented lay interference and the intrusion of philosophy into religion, accused Trubetskoi of undermining religion, while in actuality he sought to make it meaningful to the educated.

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TRUTH. The concept of religious truth expresses various aspects of human experience: reality that is permanent, immeasurable, unconcealed, effective, powerful; personal character that is sincere, good, genuine, valuable; and knowledge that is certain, accurate, pure, clear, and convincing. Truth emerges out of the basic human experience of valuation (both as assessment and appreciation) as a necessity for human survival and well-being. Human life is characterized by the need to distinguish between what is real and unreal, powerful and powerless, genuine and deceptive, pure and contaminated, clear and confused, as well as relative degrees of one extreme or the other. In an attempt to understand the character and variation of the existential engagement with truth in different religious traditions, we can recognize three aspects of truth: (1) the character of accurate knowing, (2) the nature of the reality known, and (3) the formation of value as the power to actualize this reality in authentic living. As a general concept, religious truth can be defined as the knowledge and expression of what-is for the purpose of achieving the greatest well-being possible (i.e., salvation, absolute freedom, or total harmony).

Inherent in religious truth is the recognition that a person who knows, manifests, or orients his or her life to ultimate reality is achieving ultimate transformation—for example, being saved or attaining complete liberation. In knowing the truth a person becomes authentic because he or she places his or her self-consciousness in a comprehensive context of what-is. The object of religious knowing is not simply information about another thing or person; it is recognition of the deepest reality or resource for fulfillment of life. Such an object, called God, the Dharma, the Dao, *tathatā* ("thusness"), or *nirvāṇa,* is not a conventional object in a subject-object relationship, but the original source, the nature, or quality of all conventional objects as they really are. This understanding of truth cannot be limited to a conception of truth as a relationship between words or between ideas and things (though words, ideas, and mental images may evoke the quality of truth whereby self-consciousness responds appropriately to what-is). Religious truth entails the continuing development of a valid relationship between self-consciousness and one's most extended and most profound environment (reality).

When people express religious truth, they are aware of different levels, kinds, or functions of truth. At the extremes are absolute and relative truth, or transcendent and conventional truth. The former expresses the deepest reality, the sacred, God, or "what-is"; the latter indicates accurate information about life the importance of which is limited to specific situations and short-term goals. The assumption of all religious truth is that personal estimations of what-is or decisions of momentary value must be affirmed only insofar as they are an aspect of the transcendent or absolute truth. Such absolute truth transcends and incorporates the concerns defined by information dependent on time-space conditions; it establishes an overarching value in relation to which the information has significance and meaning. This value is not external to the reality experienced, as an idea about something or a momentary feeling would be. Rather, it is experienced as a total orienting impetus providing coherence for the ideas and feelings that prompt a person to act in a certain way. Thus, truth is the valuation achieved by self-consciousness as it becomes a particular organizing center of self-awareness, meaning, feeling, and action—an individual participating in, and responding to, reality.

To respond appropriately or accurately to what-is can be understood as a release of ultimate power enabling a person to avoid self-deception and dissipating entanglement with unimportant activities and destructive forces. Religious truth is a transforming orientation leading to superlative well-being, known in traditional religious terms as the conversion from sin to salvation, illusion to insight, bondage to freedom, and chaos to order. It expresses not only what is apparent or of relative worth but also what-is at the deepest level. From the standpoint of sin, bondage, or chaos, this ultimate reality is experienced as what *ought* to be. By affirming the highest truth, a person declares a strategy for both knowing the ultimate reality and actualizing it in his or her daily experience, because such truth is of highest value for achieving superlative well-being. It expresses a comprehensive purpose as part of a person's perception of reality.

In world religions, truth is advocated as a corrective to three general sorts of deception: (1) intentional deception between people, or lying; (2) error due to lack of information; and (3) an inclination toward self-deception. These are interrelated because, in the last analysis, the expression of truth between people and the correction of ignorance find their capacity in the awareness developed through a continuing effort to avoid self-deception about "the way things really are." People often lie to each other in the sense that they deceive themselves about their own deepest resource; they lack information about ultimate values and reality because they are too easily satisfied by short-term pleasures.

At the same time, there is a wide range of solutions to self-deception in the different world religions. This is due to the fact that there are different orientations having different structures of valuation for determining which way of being authentic is really the best and which is derivative or secondary. Since truth is a solution to a process of self-deception, the correcting process that communicates and actualizes what-is at the deepest level, and thus what ought to be, is a comprehensive transformation of one's life-orientation. To examine different expressions of truth in world religions, we must not only look at different ideas about truth as a conceptual formulation but describe the processes in which the truth as description or information about reality is also a reevaluation of what is significant in life. We will look at five different approaches or ways of knowing the truth so that it might actualize the deepest well-being possible, sometimes specified as the good, heaven, salvation, liberation, or total harmony. These approaches to truth are (1) intimate experience of spiritual presence(s), (2) symbolic duplication of sacred reality through myth and ritual, (3) cultivation of appropriate relationships, (4) awakening transcendent consciousness, and (5) cognition of necessary and eternal realities. Then we will consider some of the problems of formulating and reformulating the deepest truth in relation to other, general claims to truth in changing historical and social contexts.

INTIMATE EXPERIENCE OF SPIRITUAL PRESENCE(S). One way of knowing the ultimate truth is the awareness of what-is through the extraordinary experience of spiritual presence(s). These are most often unseen but powerful, controlling forces in life. This type of truth does not appeal for its validity to universal ideas or the coherence and meaning of culturally accepted symbols, even though the social-mythic system communicates the reality of these powerful presences in symbolic and mythic language. For this type of truth the adequacy and meaning of reality is encountered by direct personal acquaintance with usually unseen spiritual presences as they provide healing, regenerative resources, wholeness, and joy. The validity of this truth depends on the intimate and direct experience of such a presence. I shall describe two kinds of intimate knowledge of sacred presence. The first is found in many archaic cultures in North and South America, Africa, Siberia, and the South Pacific islands; it is expressed in the ecstatic experiences of diviners and shamans. The second is found in the ecstatic devotion to, and often prophetic utterance for, God in Judaism, Christianity, Islam, and the theistic forms of Hinduism.

An essential element of this religious knowledge is the rupture of conventional, everyday experience, a personal, heightened sensitivity to the usually hidden, but ultimately real, presence of power(s). While the wisdom of the shaman is often described as "supernatural," it is probably better to regard this—from the standpoint of the advocates—as a deeper or clearer knowledge of the natural forces that make all life possible. For example, the *kilumba* or *nganga* (one who possesses a healing vision) among the Bantu-speaking Luba in Africa is a man who is "seized" by a spirit or disembodied ancestor in order to reveal why some person or a society has inappropriately interfered with the powers of life and therefore has manifested disease, social disharmony, or natural catastrophe. Or, among the Huichol of north-central Mexico, the shaman (*mara'akáme*) is a person who is more deeply aware of the hidden forces contending with each other; he has transcended the apparent conditions of conventional existence and becomes the medium or mouthpiece of these forces in life. The unusual character of his knowledge is described as coming from the spirits (divine powers), who know and determine everyday happenings.

The shamanic communication requires crossing over from the biosphere to a hidden (spiritual) plane and then returning to the mundane world. The mundane sphere is a state of separation, pollution, and mortality, as evidenced by illness and social conflict. The hidden, but more powerful (spirit) realm is also one of contending forces who (which) can be benevolent or beneficent toward the members of the biosphere. The shaman needs to have the capacity and skill to maintain a balance between the contending forces; he engages the spirit forces as they "possess" him while deftly remaining balanced between two worlds. According to the Tucano of the Amazon forests, the soul of the shaman (*payé*) is said to be luminous, penetrating the darkness, and generative of life and health—like the sun. His skill and purity of soul allow him to ascend to the sky or descend into the netherworld, described as "death" or "dismemberment," and then return to the everyday world.

When the shaman becomes "possessed" by a spirit, his ecstatic experience is interpreted by the audience within a cosmology that affirms hidden vital forces, and his "seizure" is seen as a sign that they will soon hear the voices or sounds of these spirits that will aid them in dealing with vital problems. The truth of the shaman's utterances, then, is part of a total orientation to life in which the members of the community respond emotionally, socially, and physically to the perceived forces affecting them day in and day out. Shamanic utterances are distinguished in these societies from psychotic experiences among the people by their predictive force and concrete results in solving problems. At the same time, when the utterances of a recognized shaman are not effective by empirical examination, some extenuating circumstance, such as impurity or inadequate following of a prescription, can be given to account for the failure.

The second kind of religious truth that requires an intimate knowledge of a sacred presence is the overwhelming experience of a devotee to God. This, too, requires a sense of a usually hidden force that directs one's life as well as all existence. Direct personal experiences of God in Judaism, Christianity, and Hinduism are described as awesome, uncanny; they can provoke fear and terror. At the same time, they can provide deep comfort, evoke a sense of wonder and joy of life, and transform one's self-consciousness from a feeling of weakness, corruption, and worthlessness to strength, purity of heart, and profound value. In the theistic traditions of all cultures are found examples of pious devotees whose personal experiences of God are described as spontaneous eruptions of a divine force that, on the one hand, compels them to lead a new kind of existence and, on the other, provides a serene strength to meet life's traumas of personal loss, illness, and death. The devotee who lives his or her life in the presence of divine love and judgment feels reconnected with the source of life, so that even when mundane life is seen as full of evil and impotency, there is confidence in the divine power's ability to overcome the apparent meaninglessness and self-destructiveness.

The validity of the truth known from personal experience depends directly on an evaluation of one's self-consciousness within the context of a transcendent presence of the powers of life or the Holy One. The awareness is perceived as an overwhelming disclosure that transcends other norms of validity, such as empirical verification or rational analysis. Such divine disclosure provides a direction for living and a principle for knowledge not available in other norms of validity. The response to this disclosure is faith or trust in the final control of a powerful, loving, and caring divine presence. In the last analysis, such a divine presence remains a mystery, one that cannot be controlled by personal wants or verified by the mundane experience of health or prosperity. The response of faith is one of service in (and servitude to) the divine will. The truth known in such response is validated by the devotee in the experience of being known by the Holy One.

SYMBOLIC DUPLICATION OF SACRED REALITY THROUGH MYTH AND RITUAL. Symbolic expressions of truth in the form of divine words, sacred myths, and sacramental rites and initiations are found throughout the world. They reflect the power of symbolic gestures and language to construct a realm of meaning. While often combined with the experience of powerful forces and the sense of social obligation and order, the communicative power of religious symbolic forms is found in their capacity to express several levels of meaning simultaneously, so that such activities as dancing, eating together, body marking, telling stories, and the use of special words or sounds can have more than a single signification. Verbal language, especially, has the mental-emotional force to construct multiple levels of meaning whereby self-consciousness attends to, and structures, experienced reality. The formation of ideas woven together by syntax (i.e., language) identifies and orders (often overlapping) conceptual units of consciousness into meaningful awareness. Thinking or imagining is more than a presentation of external sensations to the mind; the formation of ideas is a projection of self-consciousness toward, and into, the sensations of the experienced world. To speak about the world creates a relationship of symbolic meaning between self-consciousness and the world. The use of language demands a choice whereby a person separates one "thing" from another, classifies similar appearances into concepts, and makes evaluations between more or less significant features of one's experience.

The power of language to construct a symbolic realm of meaning relates self-consciousness to the world by creating a "center" in the individual and, at the same time, placing the individual in a universe "as it is"—that is, as it appears directly to self-consciousness. Thus, symbols that express truth are those consistent with the deepest (often presumed) valuation inherent in one's experience. Religious symbols are those mental-emotional lenses that provide images of oneself (a psychology) and the universe (a cosmology); they teach human beings not only what to see, but how to see. As scholars of mythology have pointed out, religious myths are those symbolic expressions that are recognized as true simply by being expressed.

A religious symbol, such as a divine name, sacred myth, ritual action, or visual image of a deity, is seen by religious advocates as the manifestation of a pure, original, mysterious, and powerful reality in a particular concrete form. The symbolic bodily gesture, sound, or physical image is a paradigm of reality—divine reality. Myths and rituals are repetitions of original life-creating actions by the gods, primal ancestors, and cultural heroes and, therefore, must be carefully preserved and meticulously duplicated. They disclose the divine resource that makes any life at all possible. It is the sacred that is eternal, genuine, whole, and pure—the opposite of the profane, corrupt, and fragmented mundane human experience—yet, paradoxically, it is expressed in and through the mundane form, where it usually remains hidden. The religious power of the symbols derives precisely from the fact that they claim to repeat the primal action of creation, the divine rescue of the world from devouring demons, or to describe the joys of paradise in the eternal realm. In providing the paradigmatic truth regarding reality, myth and ritual also provide a model for successful human living. The appeal to divine action is a basic principle of justification for social relations, morality, and, in many cases, all human activities.

Sacred words (divine names, sacred actions and laws, blessings, curses) and sounds (*mantra*s, chants) are perceived by religious devotees to have a special capacity to release power. According to the perspective of Mīmāṃsā, a school of Hindu philosophical thought, the sacredness of *mantra*s (sacred sounds, phrases, or verses) derives from the eternity of the word. The use of the *mantra* in prayer, meditation, or worship reveals the deity or divine energy because the sound is intrinsically related to the divine energy; it is an eternal causal principle. The sound (*śabda*) of words is not arbitrary; it represents an eternal principle or force that is manifested in many forms of changing existence. The *mantra*s, thus, express the essence of divine powers in their very repetition; the sacred utterance in the hymns of the *Ṛgveda* is a direct testimony to the primal energies of the universe. This view is basic for several subsequent Hindu theistic schools that appealed to the validity of verbal testimony on the basis of the intrinsic power of sound (speech) to express the eternal principles so long as the revealer, the source of knowledge, is adequate.

In Zoroastrianism, a sacred utterance, the Ashem Vohu, is used in most devotions to concentrate a person's mind on *asha* ("truth"). *Asha* is the name of an abstract principle of truth or righteousness in the cosmos, but also the name of a divinity often invoked in the *Gāthās*, one of the Amesha Spentas ("bounteous immortals"). As one of the immanent powers who maintain the universe, Asha is also symbolically identified with fire, a focus of much Zoroastrian ritual. In this religious tradition, truth is symbolically expressed in a divine name, a concrete ritual image, and evoked through a sacred prayer. In Islam, "truth," as identical to reality (*al-ḥaqq*), is an attribute of God, the creator of the world and maintainer of righteousness. *Al-ḥaqq* is that which is steadfast and permanent; it is genuine and authentic. God, as the reality, is the source of truth for humanity, especially as found in the sacred recitation (Qurʾān) given to Muḥammad.

The validity for truth in religious symbolic expression, then, is found in the recognition that its source is eternal, of the realm of the sacred. The activity of God, of bounteous spiritual beings, or of primal ancestors is the real and significant activity. The duplication of the sacred realm in symbolic gestures, physical objects, names, stories, and sounds provides the paradigm for meaning, regeneration in life cycles, and the norm for righteousness. True human knowledge and behavior imitates that of the gods or God. In religious initiations, sacrifices, and sacraments, people release eternal power that purifies as it discloses the foundation for human well-being. The deepest problems in life arise from forgetting one's sacred source, neglecting to repeat the sacred action symbolically, or rejecting the sacred word (such as the Jewish Torah, Jesus Christ as the divine word made flesh, or the Muslim Qurʾān) as the basis for all well-being. When the effects expected from following the sacred rituals and words are not attained, the devotee usually recognizes some failure in perfectly duplicating the sacred paradigm. When there are conflicting myths competing for the loyalty of believers, the sacred reality of one myth is often judged to be demonic power by those holding another myth (an exclusive position), or it is seen as a lesser but related aspect of the true sacred reality according to advocates of another myth (an inclusive position).

CULTIVATION OF APPROPRIATE RELATIONSHIPS. Another approach to truth that expresses self-consciousness of what-is is through practical moral wisdom characterized by honesty, trustworthiness, and sincerity. Here the emphasis is on moral action that is consistent with personal integrity. This approach holds that a person cannot truly know the nature of reality without demonstrating what it means to "be" in everyday activities. The means for attaining wisdom combines intuition with observation and learning drawn from ancient tradition. We will discuss first the expression of this truth from Chinese and Indian sources, which appeal to a natural cosmic order (law), and then briefly note several theistic expressions whose ultimate source is divine but that emphasize the moral character of truth.

In the classical Chinese expression of truth there is no sharp distinction between the knowledge of what-is and a person's moral action. Authentic awareness of reality is expressed more in daily practice than formulated in arguments about the nature of the good. The law of life is known not through a personal experience of a divine presence, duplication of a sacred word, or rational reflection; rather it is known through living out a sensitivity to the inherent cosmic harmony within the self and the world. Moral wisdom is found typified in the ancient Sage Kings by the phrase "sageliness within and kingliness without." The goal is to develop a moral attitude that is tested in social relationships, one that is based on the general notion that there is an intrinsic order in all things that must be actualized in concrete relationships with nature and society.

Truth in both verbal expression and behavior is defined as *chang* ("constant"). A statement or behavior is "constant" when it promotes appropriate relationships within an organic order. Thus, truth is not an idea or abstraction but a human expression that shapes practical behavior. It has a practical function in communication that attempts to promote good behavior. In the Confucian classic *Zhong yong* (Doctrine of the Mean) the insight into the way (*dao*) of life focuses on "sincerity" (*zheng*). Sincerity is the demonstration that one perceives the reality of all life; it is a manifestation of the ultimate coherence between self-consciousness and the objective world. The capacity to cultivate such sincerity or integrity is inherent in human beings, but its actualization is not inevitable, so the potential must be fulfilled by constant personal effort.

In classical Hinduism, also, there is the recognition that truth about what-is is most profoundly expressed in everyday activity. From the beginning of the common era, when the Brahmanic tradition that grew out of Vedic rituals was synthesized with a concern for social order, down to the present a prominent notion has been that of *dharma* ("law, reality, truth"). The cosmic order that pervaded all things is expressed also in appropriate social relationships. The *dharma*, what people should do, is the correct arrangement of everything in life. Knowledge of oneself is found in following one's *dharma*, one's way of being in relation to the organic whole. Everything and everybody has a place in the universe. The moral duties of farmer and ruler, husband and wife, or child and parent were defined by their appropriateness to each person's station. To act contrary to one's obligations and responsibilities destroys one's own character and creates chaos in society and nature.

According to the Brahmanic text *Manusmṛti* (The laws of Manu) the sources for knowing one's *dharma* were first the Veda, then the tradition, then the virtuous conduct of the religious leaders and holy men, and, finally, self-satisfaction. Most of the society did not study the Vedas, so they learned appropriate conduct from the tradition as expressed in popular stories, festivals, and social rules as they were reinforced by interaction with others. The truth of one's existence was defined by participation in the fabric of society, and the cultivation of personal character was found in the virtues of sincerity, self-restraint, and honesty.

In the theistic traditions of Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and Islam there has also been a deep sense of expressing truth through moral behavior. Truth is expressed in the qualities of veracity, integrity, and trustworthiness. In Zoroastrianism, truth (*asha*) is the order that governs human conduct. Those who are honest, keep their oaths and covenants, and are loyal to Ahura Mazdā are the righteous ones (*ashavan*), those who uphold *asha*. They look for the final victory over the wicked (*drugvant*), those who follow falsehood. In Judaism, truth (*ʿemeth*) is expressed in righteousness, justice, and peace. In such actions Jews worship "the God of truth." God keeps his word, and those who speak the truth come near him. Thus, those who avoid deceit and hypocrisy in all their dealings practice the truth. In Islam, the word *ṣadaqa* means integrity, honesty, and trustworthiness. It is the quality of expression when one tells the truth; it requires that a person be honest with himself or herself and with others, as well as recognize the actual situation with which one is dealing. To express the truth is to follow the will of God, since he is the source of everything. A statement that corresponds to reality is an action that is trustworthy.

AWAKENING TRANSCENDENT CONSCIOUSNESS. A fourth religious way that truth is viewed as the accurate self-consciousness of what-is focuses on the quality of consciousness. Rather than centering the nature of truth on the intimate experience of a spiritual presence, on the symbolic structuring of a sacred realm of meaning, or on cultivating appropriate relationships within a cosmic network, the power by which one can attain comprehensive well-being is the liberating insight that purifies inner dispositions, attitudes, and the thinking-feeling processes—all aspects of consciousness.

The truth of oneself and the world is perhaps partially expressed in symbolic imagery, ideas, and behavior, but the key condition for attaining true (or transcendent) knowledge, say the practitioners of this way, is the avoidance of attachment to these conventional habits of knowing. Here the concern to transform the manner or mode of knowing from a self-limiting, fabricating, and distorting process to a freeing, direct-intuitive insight is crucial because it is assumed that there is an intrinsic and reciprocal relation between the knowing process and the reality known. It is also assumed that there are different qualities of knowing, each of which leads to one or another kind of "becoming real." For anything to exist, it has to come into existence, or "become something," within the context of some manner of perception, process of knowing, and mode of consciousness. The concept of realization includes the two elements of knowing and becoming, as when we say that someone realizes certain possibilities. To realize transcendent consciousness requires a shift away from the conventional habits of consciousness aimed at perceiving (understanding) what-is. In this shift to another process of knowing, a person also comes to exist, "becomes," in a new way.

The highest truth, then, in this approach requires insight into the nature of the process of becoming; it stresses how a person contributes positively or negatively to this process by the manner or quality of his or her awareness. This means that the expression of truth must "fit" the level or quality of the hearer. Truth is not a single idea or proposition that stands eternally and to which all particular forms partially correspond. Ideas and concepts are useful as pointers to truth, or catalysts for freeing a person from habitual mental-emotional entanglements, but a statement that would "fit" a lower spiritual condition, and thus be "true," might be denied as an appropriate expression for someone at a higher level of spirituality. Because thought, emotions, and inner dispositions are interrelated, say the teachers of this way, a true statement is not a universal abstraction, an idea known by the intellect, but a catalyst for insight. Also, the hearer of truth must be prepared to receive it; for a religious idea to bear spiritual fruit, it must be received with a pure heart, or liberated mind. Such an apprehension requires more than intellectual skills or socially conditioned reflex responses; it is cultivated through serenity, courage, diligence, and love (compassion). To know the highest truth, then, is an illumination of "becoming" as an aspect of what-is, which is experienced as unconditional freedom.

The methods for attaining insight, which liberate one from self-imposed bondage according to several spiritual disciplines in India, include quieting the mind through meditation, separating oneself from conventional perceptual and emotional stimuli, sustained and detailed awareness of the factors in one's self-conscious "becoming," concentration (*samādhi*) on the unmoving or unifying center of consciousness, and various levels of mental absorption (*dhyāna*). These are techniques through which a person is reeducated to "see" himself or herself in relation to the world so that he or she is not constructing mental-emotional chains that cause suffering. For example, in Theravada Buddhist practice, the meditation procedures are intended to help one to withdraw from external conditioning forces and to concentrate one's consciousness, so that one can avoid the habitual confusion of one's pure consciousness with the shifting appearances of things, people, ideas—all aspects of the "objective" world. Once a person is not attached to conventional perceptive and ideational imagery, he or she can expand consciousness through trance or mental absorption and eventually, in a freed state of mind, be intuitively aware of "the immeasurable" or "emptiness." In such a state of awareness, say the Buddhist *sutta*s, the Buddha perceived the nature of "becoming" as dependent coarising and also understood the root cause of suffering and the possibility of its elimination. Similarly, classical Hindu Yoga advocated the use of certain body positions, controlled breathing, detachment of the senses from external objects, and concentrated mental states to quiet—that is, to avoid producing—conventional procedures of knowing, such as habitual perceptions, inference, memory, or authoritative (sacred) words. These conventional means of knowing are useful as practical vehicles for business, getting physical pleasure, or establishing social relationships, but they are not useful in knowing the deepest reality, pure consciousness (*puruṣa*). Yoga intends to free one from the small, limiting consciousness, or the image of one's ego, so that one may become directly aware of universal consciousness.

A common metaphor in both theistic and nontheistic religious traditions for the transcendent consciousness is the identity or union of the self with ultimate reality (God). Well-known examples of this are found in Advaita Vedānta Hinduism, in Muslim Ṣūfī recollection of God, and in Christian mysticism. Śaṅkara (eighth century CE), as an exponent of "nondual highest knowledge" (*advaita vedānta*), asserted that a genuine and deep investigation into *dharma* led to the inquiry into *brahman*, the single undifferentiated reality that pervades all differentiated existence. The eternal *brahman* is pure being-consciousness-bliss (*sat-cit-ānanda*), and the most profound spiritual truth is to realize that self-consciousness (*atman*) is identical to *brahman*. The Ṣūfī master Ibn al-ʿArabī expresses a comparable insight in his assertion that true submission to God is an all-pervading sense that the self vanishes in the only true reality, God. He says in his *Fuṣuṣ al-ḥikam*: "When you know yourself, your 'I'-ness vanishes and you know that you and God are one and the same."

The Spanish Christian mystic John of the Cross (1542–1591) makes a similar claim in his manual on spiritual discipline, *Ascent of Mount Carmel*, when he writes: "This union comes to pass when God grants the soul this supernatural favor, that all the things of God and the soul are one in participant transformation; and the soul seems to be God rather than a soul, and is indeed God by participation." The soul, then, is like an unstained window that allows the divine rays to illumine it and "transform it into its own light." These examples indicate a common concern to know the highest truth through emptying the self of its conventional consciousness so that the ultimate reality itself is manifest; however, because mystics each use a distinctive method interwoven with their own psychological and cosmological concepts, their statements about the nature of consciousness and ultimate reality remain significantly different.

COGNITION OF NECESSARY AND ETERNAL REALITIES. A fifth approach to the expression of truth is that found in classical Greek reflection on the nature of reality. While Greek philosophy is not a religious tradition in the conventional contemporary sense, Greek philosophers such as Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle wrestled at a profound level with the relation between self-consciousness, the perceived world, and eternal reality (or realities). Their reflection had a significant influence on patristic and medieval Christian theology and on Islamic theology, as well as on the post-Renaissance European philosophical discussion of truth. Despite important differences in the understanding of truth found in the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle, they shared several assumptions in their approach that have been carried forward in the way Western philosophers, and some Christian and Muslim theologians, have addressed the issue of truth.

One of the basic assumptions is that reality (the being of things) is universal, necessary, and, consequently, prior to any knowledge of it. Truth (Gr., *alētheia*, from *alētheuein*, "to disclose") is a disclosure of what-is. Whether the eternal being is defined in terms of eternal ideas, as in Plato, or in terms of substances, as in Aristotle, the object of true knowledge is a necessary reality that is effective (even active) in the experienced world. The being of things is objective, presenting itself to the mind. Another important assumption is that whatever is real is intelligible; reality is that which can be known by the intellect. It has a signifying character, or a meaning of its own, which is known by cognition and, for Plato, intellectually contemplated by the mind. The "being" of things is the subject of any true judgment, which is basically a response to the disclosure of being. Whatever is real has a universal potential—it is potent and is a possibility—and is disclosed in particular forms and events. Plato asserted that being is itself a unity expressed by many particular forms, and such being is known by an integration of self-consistent judgments. By means of the intellect, human beings can know the universal potentials (reality), that is, can identify their meanings as they disclose themselves. By knowing the eternal ideas, especially the Good, human beings respond appropriately to life and achieve their own well-being.

In this context true knowledge is the mind's inner appropriation of the universal potentials that are disclosed by cognitive judgments pertaining to the continually changing appearances of the outer world. The mind has both a passive and an active role in becoming aware of the meaning that is exposed in the changing appearances. The passive aspect receives the impressions through observation, while the active aspect constructs the meaning mentally, by thinking or judgment. In this act the self-consciousness appropriates to some degree the meaning inherent in the being of things. The truth cognized is the valuable quality of the meaning appropriated, and it is evident to the degree that the mind signifies to itself what is disclosed by what-is. In this approach to truth, then, the primary effort is to respond with the intellect to a meaning found in an impersonal but active reality outside the mind. Truth is universal and has an inherent signification that must be reflected by the intellectual grasp of that objective meaning. The basic conceptual signification of reality should be the same in the mental experience of all human beings, regardless of their particular languages or symbolic systems.

Unlike the approach to truth through myth and symbol (which establishes the true meaning in symbolic duplication of a sacred realm), the meaning in this approach is assumed to be in an external reality that is only reflected in corresponding concepts. When mental images or concepts that intend to signify the meaning inherent in nonsymbolic facts conflict with each other, it is an indication that one or more of the symbolic significations do not correspond to the meaning, or self-signification, of reality. Such meanings are simply "beliefs," which may have emotional force but are not regarded by people taking this approach as signifying what-is. In the Western religious traditions, this approach has led to both dogmatism and scientific theorizing: the former identifies eternal, universal, and objective signification with divine revelation and its explication in theological dogmas; the latter identifies eternal, universal, and objective signification with scientific theories based on empirical verification and general inferences that are presumed to function alike in the experience of all people.

INTERPRETATION, COMMUNICATION, AND VERIFICATION. All religious truth, as an existential expression of what-is, is tested and verified by ever-changing human experience. Regardless of the nature of ultimate reality and its relation to the process of its becoming actualized in self-consciousness, as discussed in the approaches to truth given above, the quality of one's awareness, symbolic expression, or social relationship is tested in the changing circumstances of personal maturation and cultural-historical development. There is a basic question arising in each religious and cultural tradition: how is knowledge of the transcendent reality related to a general human means of knowing, for example, perception and inference? Another question arises: how is the original, eternal truth—which itself became manifest in a specific historical-cultural-linguistic situation—to be known in changing and sometimes quite different cultures? We will look at various answers to these questions by first considering the issues of continuity, meaning, and interpretation of symbolic and moral truth. We shall then examine levels of meaning, practical techniques, and the use of language to communicate the special awareness found in the experience of spiritual presence(s) and transcendent consciousness.

In the claims of truth that are based on a sacred word (divine revelation) and/or found in a tradition of trained scholars (such as priests, lawyers, or Confucian literati) who conserve and interpret the eternal moral law, there is a profound concern to understand or make intelligible the meaning of the sacred word and the eternal moral law. Great effort is made to learn, preserve, and interpret the normative teaching so that it is relevant to a community of believers in a specific lived experience. The difficulty in exposing the genuine intention of the original symbolic expression in light of new situations and personal differences of interpretation has resulted in the development of various schools or denominations within all religious traditions. For example, the center of Jewish life is the study and interpretation of the Torah. In this tradition there are different interpretations regarding the relation between the written Torah and the oral Torah. All faithful Jews try to live in the basic myth of the Exodus and according to God's commandments, but there are different interpretations of the purpose of God relative to the historical experience of the Jewish community, the nature of the promised salvation (in this life and the next), and the degree to which certain customs and ritual laws are to be observed in different cultural situations, as well as the centrality and character of study, prayer, moral action, and observance of sacred days. For the past two millennia the leadership of the Jewish community has centered on the rabbi, who not only was trained to interpret the Torah in a creative fashion but also served in many communities as judge and administrator of the law. Especially since medieval times, the rabbis and philosophically inclined thinkers have had to relate the expressions of the Torah to reason and, in the last two centuries, to scientific analysis of the human condition. Such questions as the nature of free will, divine providence, and the psychological conditions for faith are important considerations for contemporary efforts to worship God in truth and to fulfill divine moral obligations of justice and love.

Similarly, Christian faith is based on the divine revelation in Jesus Christ, and study of the Bible, especially of the New Testament, has been central to the life of the Christian community. Already in the first centuries of the Christian church, as the New Testament canon was taking shape and the creeds (the "symbols" of the church) were formulated to define the normative understanding of faith, the impact of the Classical Greek philosophical language helped to shape the doctrines of the Trinity, the person of Christ, and the nature of humanity. A continuing issue in the proper intepretation of scripture, devotional life, and worship was the authority of one or another bishop to declare the official understanding of Christian faith, which was settled by the convening of councils in the fourth and fifth centuries.

The concern to formulate statements of belief that would gain intellectual assent by believers has pervaded the history of the Christian church. During the thirteenth century a watershed formulation was made by Thomas Aquinas that eventually was recognized as authoritative and has remained the supreme theological statement for the Roman Catholic Christian community. In his *Summa theologiae* and *De veritates* he synthesized an understanding of Christian faith with Greek philosophical thought, especially from Aristotle, affirming that truth is a transcendental property of being that, in turn, is dependent on God, the ultimate intellectual cause. According to him, faith is human understanding, but the truth of faith rests on the truth of God, and belief—which includes church dogma—is a result of divine grace. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, Christian reformers, such as Martin Luther and John Calvin, rejected the medieval understanding of a single ministerial (papal) office and, thus, many Roman Catholic dogmas; they emphasized the need to base Christian faith on the primal sacred word, the Bible. During the past three centuries, Christians in western Europe and America have engaged in theological reflection in a cultural context dominated by rationalism, scientific analysis, and industrial socioeconomic structures. These intellectual influences condition the formulation of Christian faith on issues such as the nature of human life, the meaning of revelation, and the role of men and women in the political and social order.

Some basic problems encountered by advocates of truth derived from an intimate experience of spiritual presence(s) and from transcendent awareness are (1) communicating an inconceivable reality through the use of words or appeals to conventional human experience, (2) relating unusual inner experience to general criteria of verification in common-knowledge perception or inference, (3) justifying the claims for a superior inner spiritual quality within the person who claims unusual and authoritative states of consciousness, and (4) avoiding the apparent circularity entailed in the claim that those who do not affirm the validity of supraconscious truth are not qualified to understand or judge the validity of this truth. The manifestation of the ultimate source of truth in an experience of spiritual presence(s) or an unconditional transcendent awareness is seen by its advocates to be a source of knowledge beyond logic, symbolic imagery, and conventional perception.

Nevertheless, advocates use words, symbols, and inference to argue by analogy or by logical analysis. For example, the vision of Lord Viṣṇu in the Hindu classic *Bhagavadgītā* (Song to the Lord) includes such imagery as "many mouths and eyes," and "the light of a thousand suns springing forth simultaneously in the sky" to portray the Lord. The Muslim devotional mystic Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273) describes the true devotee as a person with "a burning heart." With regard to the use of inference to communicate transcendent awareness, a prime example is the second-century CE Indian Buddhist philosopher-monk Nāgārjuna, who used a rigorous logical dialectic to reject the claim of unchanging essences as the reality of existence. Or, in the Zen Buddhist tradition, logical riddles (*kōan*) are used to break the habits of language and conceptual imagery that cause attachment to things or ideas. Logic and symbolic imagery, then, are never wholly descriptive of the transcendent reality—only suggestive, or preparatory to moving to a new level of awareness.

Critics, on the other hand, argue that since the religious reality that its advocates claim to know is so different from any communicable description of it, religious experiences indicate more about the simply subjective (perhaps only psychological) conditions of the knower than about any universal reality. Or, since the nature of religious truth requires a change in the quality of apprehension through special techniques or through transcendent power (e.g., God's grace), any special appeal to unusual states of consciousness cannot provide the norm of validity for a general theory of truth that also relies on conventional inference or perception.

Truth in world religions, then, is a concept that not only has different meanings and uses in religious language but also indicates different approaches to the religious concern for the becoming self-conscious of what-is that makes possible the attainment of the highest well-being. Each of the approaches described here provides an evaluative process that structures the conditions, goals, and nature of truth. The different approaches each have their own development, principles of validation, and impact on people's lives. While different religious and cultural traditions emphasize one or two approaches to truth, the major world religions and civilizations have included several of them as sometimes permissible options.

In the contemporary world, where people of different, and sometimes conflicting, religions and ideologies are in a network of political, economic, and ecological relationships, there is a heightened sense of urgency to develop strategies for at least existing safely within a plurality of ultimate commitments, if not for integrating or discovering the principle of unity in that truth that declares the source of well-being for all humanity. One of the most difficult issues in attempting to integrate the various approaches is that each holds that a distinction must be made between lesser, conventional truth and the highest, or divine, truth. Each approach is itself a system of evaluations about the nature of ignorance, the ultimate reality, and the mechanism of knowing the truth that rejects alternate systems of evaluation.

Especially in those communities that identify their survival and highest fulfillment with a single *form* of truth, through orthodoxy (normative or prescribed teaching) or orthopraxis (normative or prescribed behavior), the tolerance of alternative approaches to truth is difficult to maintain. Paradoxically, a society often holds rigidly to a form of truth when there is change in, or confusion about, the underlying system(s) of evaluation (as, for example, the conflict between the epistemological assumptions of the scientific method and those of the symbolic self-consciousness attained in myth and sacrament), and often an openness to explore alternative forms (contents) of truth emerges when there is stability in the basic system of evaluation.

The contemporary world is characterized by rapid changes in technology and the development of a worldwide communication network. This situation requires new concepts of the self and the universe and an exchange of cultural and religious approaches to truth. The challenge for contemporary people is how to live within some system of comprehensive evaluation (as found in a religion or ideology) and how to respond in a mutually life-enhancing way with people committed to another system of evaluation. The survival and well-being of people in all cultures necessitates a creative reexamination and critical assessment of varied truth claims that implicitly give weight to different ways of valuation.

SEE ALSO Epistemology; Knowledge and Ignorance; Philosophy; Religious Experience.

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TSADDIQ. The Hasidic *tsaddiq* (righteous one), also called *rebbe* (teacher) or *admor* (acronym for "master, teacher, and guide"), is the spiritual leader of a Jewish community, to whom members look for guidance in both spiritual and mundane matters. Throughout history, with a few exceptions, the overwhelming majority of Hasidic *tsaddiqim* (plural for *tsaddiq*) have been male. The *tsaddiq* is the officially designated intercessor to God (*shaliah tsibur*) whose prayers on behalf of the community or the individual, while not absolving them of their religious responsibility to address only God in prayer, are considered to be more efficacious than their own, due to his perceived close intimacy with—and influence on—divine providence. He prays with his community and often presides over sacred meals with them, where his followers observe his holy comportment and participate in his charisma, expressed in both communal song and verbal teaching. The source of his charisma is said to be his having transformed his material being into spiritual form and sacred presence. His teachings often take on two forms: (1) exoteric explanations of biblical or rabbinic lore, said with his eyes open; and (2) esoteric teachings on the soul or on other mystical matters, which he says with his eyes closed, often in trance.

BIBLICAL AND RABBINIC DOCTRINES. The Hasidic use of the term *tsaddiq*—the righteous one—has deep roots in biblical and classic rabbinic literature, and was further informed by qabbalistic and late-medieval ethical treatises. Some of these sources shall be illustrated here.

In biblical writings, the term *tsaddiq* was used to designate both the divine nature—righteousness—and the one who carries out God's will. Given the biblical mythos that regards the human being as created in the divine image, the term represents the human ideal. The *tsaddiq* is one who has chosen to be an instrument of the divine nature and will. Attaining charisma thereby, he or she employs it for sacred purposes.

The persona of the *tsaddiq*, as reflected in the teachings of the rabbinic period (second century BCE—fifth century CE) often suggests the functions of one who in biblical times was described by the word *navi* (prophet). The rabbis state that a *tsaddiq* transforms divine wrath into divine compassion: God issues a heavenly decree, and the *tsaddiq* may annul it (Midrash Genesis Rabba 33:3). The divine presence (*shekhinah*) is said to be the *tsaddiq*'s constant companion.

The rabbis appraised the deeds of the *tsaddiqim* as being even more valuable than the creation of heaven and earth; for the latter are the product of divine justice, whereas the *tsaddiqim* add kindness to the creation (Babylonian Talmud Ketubot fol. 5a). The *tsaddiq* is sometimes also called a *Hasid*—one who acts with kindness towards God and creation, beyond the obligations of the law; upon acquiring both wisdom and humility. The rabbis detested the ignorant *Hasid*, whom they regarded as a public nuisance. (The term *Hasid*, meaning "follower of a particular Hasidic *rebbe*," has no textual witness before the 1850s.) In classical Midrash, the biblical Joseph was given the appellation *tsaddiq*, and refraining from sexual impropriety was regarded as the *tsaddiq*'s hallmark.

In Babylonian Talmud Yoma there are esoteric statements such as: "the entire world was created for the sake of one *tsaddiq*"(fol. 38b)—where either or both God and the righteous individual are indicated; or "The *tsaddiq* is a foundation upon whom the entire world stands"(fol. 38b)—a source for the idea of the Hasidic *tsaddiq* as *axis mundi* (Green, 1977). The rabbis state that prior to creation, God's "first thought" was the creation of *tsaddiqim*, and that their primordial presence was "consulted" in the creation of the human being (Midrash Genesis Rabbah 8:7). The *tsaddiq* functions as the conduit through whom divinity pours blessings and liberation into creation; and it is stated that due to the merit of *tsidqaniyot* (female *tsaddiqim*), Israel was delivered from the bondage of Egypt (Babylonian Torah Sotah fol. 11b). In the Qabbalah of the *sefirot*, which hypostasized the divine attributes, Joseph represents the archetype of the *tsaddiq*—the procreative power.

The sages declare that male and female *tsaddiqim* are exempted from the curses of Adam and Eve—meaningless toil and the pain of childbirth (Babylonian Torah Sotah fol. 12a). In this Edenic vein another rabbinic teaching that plays an especially important role in qabbalistic and *Hasidic* thought pronounces that: "By the light that was created on the first day, one could simultaneously gaze from one end of the world to the other. God, having observed that it could be abused by the wicked, hid this light and vouchsafed it for the *tsaddiqim* in 'the future time'"(Babylonian Torah Hagiga fol. 12a).

It is within the potential of every human being, regardless of national affiliation, to be a *tsaddiq*. As for the minimal qualification of the title *tsaddiq*, the rabbis state that a *tsaddiq* is one who has chosen, more often than not, to function as a divine instrument: doing more good than evil, and attempting to establish a conscience-driven rapport with the divine presence (Babylonian Torah Qidushin fol. 40b).

Yet, even the greatest *tsaddiqim*—even the angels—are not perfectly free of fault. King David was accorded the role of the repentant *tsaddiq* who defeated his evil inclination by practicing austerities although the ascetic ideal was not universally embraced by the rabbis. According to some rabbis, human beings—endowed with freedom of choice—are more precious to God than the angels, who were expressly created to suit their particular functions (Babylonian Torah Sanhedrin fol. 93a). The principal inner voice of the human *tsaddiq* is the inclination to the good, construed as an angel nurtured by the *tsaddiq*'s good deeds, and the impetus that sustains the *tsaddiq* is faith in divine righteousness. All of these form the ideal of the Hasidic *tsaddiq*.

QABBALAH AND HASIDISM. Regarding the "light of the first day" in qabbalistic literature, we find a difference of opinion as to the meaning of "the future time" when it is stored away for the *tsaddiqim*. According to the *Sefer haBahir*, one of the earliest works of the Qabbalah (anon., twelfth century CE?), members of the Provence and Gerona schools of Qabbalah (1180–1230), the authoritative *Sefer haZohar* (anon., late thirteenth century), and the *Sefer haTemunah* (anon., early fourteenth century); this light is available to *tsaddiqim* during their earthly lifetime, by means of Torah study and contemplative prayer. Through uniting with the light, the *tsaddiq* theurgically and devotionally draws blessings to the entire creation. But according to the more conservative *Ma'arekhet haElohut* and the introductory qabbalistic treatise *Gates of Light* by R. Joseph Gikatilla (both are late thirteenth century), as well as the *Sefer haPeliah* (early fourteenth century?) "the future time" refers to the after-death state. In the sixteenth century, R. Moshe Cordovero (1522–1570) and R. Isaac Luria (1534–1572), both of whom greatly influenced Hasidic thought, accepted the view of the Zohar. In early Hasidic teaching, this light was said to inhere in the sacredness of the letters of the Torah—through which the world itself was created. These holy letters are themselves a central object of contemplation. The famous *Epistle of the Besht* indicates that the Messiah revealed to R. Israel Baal Shem Tov (henceforth, Besht, an acronym for Baal Shem Tov; 1700?–1760), the founder of the Hasidic movement, that each letter contains aspects of the outer world the realm of the soul, and the divine realm, which all unite within divinity. Practice in this form of contemplative-union was said to have afforded the *Besht* ("Master of the Good Name") clairvoyant vision.

This qabbalistic difference of opinion is similar to one found in medieval Jewish philosophy that deals with the possibility of conjunction—or *devequt*—during one's lifetime with the active (or agent) intellect, which is regarded as divinely emanated. This *devequt* union results from human awareness transcending the physical body, focusing on the divine presence within the human mind. Formulae to this effect are found in the explanations to the *yihudim* (unifications)—practices promulgated by the sixteenth-century Qabbalah of R. Isaac Luria, whereby the *tsaddiqim* unify their own conscious presence with the divine attributes, and raise them to higher levels, thereby drawing bounty from more sublime levels within the divine source for the sake of *tiqun*—the repair of the divine-human interface. Lurianic Qabbalah stipulates eight basic levels of theurgic union that provide sustenance, increase, renewal, or innovation, on the spiritual and/or material planes. During the millenia of the exile, nearly all unifications that occur are, in effect, the *tsaddiqim* uniting with the *shekhinah*—as it were, embodying the place of God—by uniting the divine primordial union with the temporal state. During the Temple period (first Temple, c. ninth century BCE to late fifth century BCE ; second Temple, fourth century BCE to 70 CE) and in the Messianic era (yet to occur), we read that it is God who directly enacts this union.

LEVELS OF *TSADDIQIM*. Hasidism, following the Zohar and Lurianic Qabbalah, divided the soul into five levels: (1) *nefesh*, the animating soul of the material plane; (2) *ruah*, the emotive spirit; (3) *neshamah,* the consciousness soul; (4) *hayah*, the emanated wisdom-soul of divine Imminence; and (5) *yehida*, transcendent unity.

These soul levels correlate with four worlds and their defining *sefirot* (divine attributes) as follows:

1. *nefesh* = action-sovereignty;
2. *ruah* = formation-harmony;
3. *neshamah* = creation-understanding;
4. *hayah* = emanation-wisdom; and
5. *yehida* = crown of emanation = primordial Adam = unity within the absolute infinite. Each level contains all five, within its own context.

Whereas emanation is understood and experienced as a seamless divine dialectical unity, creation represents the unfolding of the individual's participation in this dialectic process. Formation represents the emotional contours of this participation, and action, righteous effectuation. Given that all souls were originally within Adam, this schema was understood as forming a collective, living, human-form organism.

The potential of the human being as such, whether male or female, is likened to all five levels, as explicated in the Lurianic corpus. One who purifies all five levels of the *nefesh* attains to periodic transcendent unification with the aspect of sovereignty-in-emanation. This level constantly descends into the world of creation and needs to be raised to emanation by the *tsaddiq*, who has also descended. This is also the case with one who is in the process of purifying the fourth level of the*nefesh*. These two constitute the levels of most *tsaddiqim*. If one succeeds in purifying all five levels of the *ruah*, one would be in constant communion with the *Ruah haQodesh,* the Holy Spirit, and would abide—as active or passive—in the world of emanation, even when in descent to the "lower worlds," and would no longer be subject to jealousy and competitiveness. This is perhaps the qabbalistic analog to the conceptions of the *tsaddiq* developed by R. Nahman of Bratslav (1772–1810), a great-grandson of the *Besht*, and by the founder of Habad Hasidism, R. Shneur Zalman of Lyadi (1745?–1814). The archetypal image of *tsaddiqim* mentioned in the Bible has them working on the five aspects of the *neshamah*. The biblical forefathers, for example, were regarded as the "Divine Chariot"—the instruments of the emanated divine attributes: kindness, judgment, and harmonizing compassion—uniting the second and the third levels of the cosmic *neshamah*. Moses was said to have attained the union of its third and fourth levels and received, as a gift from God, the emanated light of the fifth level. According to the Zoharic-Lurianic Qabbalah, Moses incarnates in every generation, and is potentially present in all Israelite and convert-souls. Upon completion of the *tiqun* of the fifth level of the *neshamah*, he will be in constant union with the unchanging compassion of the *yehidah*, and will manifest as the Messiah.

Luria states that *tsaddiqim* who during the course of their lifetime have always striven to "unite the part with the whole" are constant companions of the divine presence (*shekhinah*) and are themselves present in spirit whenever anyone enacts a *yihud*. Furthermore, these *tsaddiqim* may "impregnate" with their own souls the soul of one who contemplates in this way (striving to unify the part with the whole), thereby aiding the person's spiritual development. According to the Lurianic explanation of the Zohar, higher-level *tsaddiqim* are able to voluntarily reincarnate, and they do so for the sake of furthering the cosmic *tiqun*. With this background it is easier to understand the insistence of R. Yaakov Yosef of Polnoya (died c. 1782), the chief spokesman of the doctrine of the *tsaddiq* as expounded by the *Besht*, that for the untutored laity as well as for the lesser *tsaddiq* to experience *devequt* with God, he or she must be aligned with the *tsaddiqim*.

In every generation a soul-spark of the Messiah is sent to incarnate, to redeem the generation that shows itself worthy; or, if there are worthy *tsaddiqim* in the generation, to illuminate them. By means of messianic consciousness, all the holy potential in human beings will be realized, and numerous texts of early Hasidic teaching (1750–1825) suggest that even the wicked will be transformed and released from hell. This transformative work, according to the Zohar and Lurianism, is performed by *tsaddiqim* in the present (both in this life and in the hereafter), rescuing the souls of those people who are associated with their own Adamic roots.

This work is the source of the Hasidic doctrine of "the descent of the *tsaddiq*," who must periodically leave exalted states of divine union in order to raise up those for whom they are responsible. Lower-level *tsaddiqim* leave involuntarily, and may even temporarily fall. For higher-level *tsaddiqim* who have cultivated equanimity (as taught by the *Besht* and his disciples), in the words of Rabbi Elimelech of Lizansk (1716?–1787), "*oyven-hinten, hinten-oyven*" ("below [integrated with] above, and above [with] below") (*Or Elimelekh,* p. 98, number 148). And as said by Rabbi Pinchas of Koretz (1726–1791), a companion of the *Besht*: "great *tsaddiqim* love the exceedingly wicked, and lesser *tsaddiqim* love the less wicked" (*Imrei Pinchas haShalem* vol. 1, p. 474, number 72). Elimelech and his disciples also stressed the practice of union with all the *tsaddiqim.* Since the appearance of the pioneering work of Mendel Piekarz (1978), scholars no longer believe that these aspects of Hasidic spirituality were influenced by the Sabbatean false-messiah movement (c. 1666). The anti-Hasidic *mitnagdic* (opponent [to Hasidism]) theology of Rabbi Elijah of Vilna (1720–1797) concurs with the conception of the *tsaddiq* in all of the above, and differs from the early Hasidic model on the public aspect of the intercessory role of the *tsaddiq* and on the breakdown of elitist stratification in the community. Indeed, the Hasidic "social revolution" and its displacement of previous rabbinic and communal forms became possible only as a result of the complete breakdown of centralized Jewish authority (and its well-established universal educational system) in Poland and Lithuania due to the continuing upheavals in the kingdom of Poland between the years 1648 and 1772 which resulted in a smaller and weakened state. In addition, the aforementioned failed popular messianic movement resulted in the near-interdiction of qabbalistic literature, which became the preserve of the elite, who were perceived as having coldly distanced themselves from the greater, largely uneducated, community. These two events seemed to have engendered a novel construal of social solidarity and a replacement of authority.

MODELS OF HASIDIC LEADERSHIP: A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE *TSADDIQ* IN HASIDISM. Defining the archetype of Moses as leader of his people was central to the formulation of the ideal *tsaddiq* in the teachings of the Besht, who described such a *tsaddiq* as encompassing all and uniting with all, from the pharoah to the sage. The *tsaddiq*'s sense of responsibility is mirror-like; all facets of the world, both wicked and holy, become located in *tsaddiqim*, through recognition of their subtle forms within themselves. This causes them to repent, and opens the way for the wicked to repent as well. When they discern that heavenly inspiration is offered, they give honest and loving rebuke, being present within the dialectic of humility and innate worth, and realizing that the rebuke applies to themselves as well. Deriving from the qabbalistic procreative metaphor of the *tsaddiq*, Rabbi Yaakov Yosef of Polnoya regarded the desire, enthusiasm, and pleasure that a person has in performing the good as the expression of the attribute of the *tsaddiq* within the individual.

In early Hasidic applications of these teachings to petitionary prayer, the Besht and his successor, the *magid* (preacher) of Mezritch (1710?–1772) had always stressed the importance of the needs of the *shekhinah* as being the foremost of the *tsaddiq's* concerns; the Besht, making allowance for personal petition when one's sincerity would be compromised by pretense. They counseled the *tsaddiqim* to observe their needs, and by applying qabbalistic tools of symbolic analogy, to discern the spiritual needs of the *shekhinah.* The *magid*, being of an ascetic bent, and having accepted the leadership of what was fast becoming a religious movement that was attracting the cream of the young spiritually and intellectually gifted, placed his entire stress on the needs of the divine presence. This emphasis was passed on to Rabbi Shneur Zalman of Lyadi, who asked his followers not to trouble him with personal petitions.

The *magid*, acting as the Hasidic movement's advocate, distinguished between two types of *tsaddiqim*, based on *Psalm* 92:12: "The *tsaddiq* shall blossom like a palm; like a cedar of Lebanon shall he rise high." The solitary *tsaddiq*, who may rise high as "a perfect *tsaddiq*," produces no fruit. But the one who causes others to flourish, raising the lower elements outside himself, although he may not rise "as high" as the cedar, will blossom with new fruit. It is interesting to note that this distinction is not found in the teachings of the *Besht* as recorded by Rabbi Yaakov Yosef and other disciples. This fact seems to conform to the view of scholars as of the 1980s that Hasidism cannot be construed as a movement prior to the succession of the *magid.*

Indeed, the recruitment efforts of the *magid's* disciples enabled them to become the next generation's elite rabbinic authorities in most of the Ukraine and part of Poland (1772–1800), no doubt facilitated by the final division of Poland in 1772 and the vacuum in Jewish centralized authority. The socioreligious change that Hasidic ideology advocated in the teachings of the Besht, as recorded by Rabbi Yaakov Yosef, called for "men of form" to spiritually transform the "people of matter." This is in keeping with a narrative in the aforementioned *Epistle of the Besht*, which contains an exchange between the Besht and the Messiah. The Besht asked: "when will the Master (Messiah) come?" The Messiah answered: "when your teachings will be so well-publicized and revealed in the world . . . that they too will be able to enact unifications (*yihudim*) and soul-ascents as you do. Then the cosmic obscurations will come to an end and the time of divine favor and salvation will be upon us." Whereas the Besht was distressed by this answer, his numerous teachings instructing the would-be *tsaddiq* in the ways of humility and the acceptance of mutual social responsibility reflect acceptance of the messianic challenge, albeit with the understanding that it is a slow process. Indeed, this messianic ideal is in keeping with Moses' aspiration (*Num.* 11:29) that "the entire People of God be prophets."

It is this ambivalence that led to differences of opinion among scholars as to whether early Hasidism was messianic, or represented a neutralization of acute messianism. In addition, we find statements from the Besht regarding the messianic spark inherent in all who serve God, and the proviso that one must pray for personal redemption before one can pray for cosmic redemption. We also find anecdotal testimony regarding at least two Hasidic masters who realized this spark within themselves, while renouncing pretensions of public messianic identity: Rabbi Menachem Mendel of Vitebsk (1730–1788), a senior disciple of the *magid* who guided Rabbi Shneur Zalman after the *magid's* demise, before emigrating to the Holy Land in 1777; and Rabbi Menachem Mendel of Rymanov (d. 1815).

THE THIRD GENERATION AND THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. Rabbi Elimelech of Lyzansk was an elder disciple of the *magid* who came to him after having already developed into a fairly accomplished *tsaddiq.* He is credited with the formulation of a new Hasidic model—"Practical *Tsaddiqism.*" His understanding of the exigencies of the time empowered the Hasidic *tsaddiq* to directly intercede on behalf of the material needs of the Jews. This was acknowledged by Rabbi Ephraim of Sudlykov (1740–1800), a grandson and respected disciple of the Besht, as legitimate, even as he stated that it represents a change from previously accepted emphasis on the needs of the *shekhinah.*

The chief disciple of Rabbi Elimelech was Rabbi Jacob Isaac Hurwitz (1745–1815), the "Seer of Lublin," whose disciples (1795–1870) became the rabbinic leaders of Poland and Galicia and even penetrated into the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Hurwitz was allowed to function as a public *tsaddiq* during the lifetime of Elimelech. The Seer's school produced great practitioners of Lurianic theurgy, and further applied its practices to petitionary prayer. The rationale given for this was the conviction that with fewer material concerns, the laity would better apply themselves to spiritual pursuits. This gave rise to anti-acute-messianism and informed a proto-anti-Zionist ideology. Rabbi Tsvi Elimelech of Dynov (1783–1841), a disciple of the Seer, asserted in the name of the Besht that it is easier to attain the level of *Ruakh ha-Qodesh* (inspiration of the Holy Spirit) in exile than in the Holy Land, where the standards are more demanding. His descendants, the *rebbes* of Munkacs, were among the foremost anti-Zionist Hasidic leaders in the pre–World War II period.

Returning to the theme of the Lurianic "cosmic organism" with its levels and shortcuts, the early Hasidim claimed that the *tsaddiq* can raise up some people only by eating or engaging in other mundane matters in a mode of holy intention, whereas others had to be elevated through the *tsaddiq's* direct engagement in sacred matters. One of the contemplative innovations of the Besht involves the "raising up" of improper, distracted thought by recognizing the holy essence-nature of the thought: physical desire is rooted in kindness, anger and its effects are rooted in judgement, and pride is rooted in harmonious beauty. By subduing the evil impulse in these negative manifestations and recognizing their specific nature in holiness, the *tsaddiq* "sweetens them at their roots." Rabbi Yaakov Yosef quotes the Besht as saying that one who doesn't believe that divinity inheres in everything, and who doesn't believe that an untoward thought during prayer contains a holy spark sent to the person by divine providence so as to find redemption, shows a lack of faith. Some of the disciples of the *magid* held that thought-transformation practices were reserved only for the elite, whereas some *tsaddiqim* from the school of the Seer of Lublin—notably, the great Hasidic qabbalist Rabbi Isaac of Komarno (1806–1876)—advocated them for anyone who can maintain honesty in the course of these practices.

There is an early Habad tradition (which traces its provenance to the Besht) that states that whereas in earlier times, souls were incarnated within a stratified rubric (peasants possessing souls from the world of action, business people possessing souls from the world of formation, and scholars possessing souls from the world of creation), as of the advent of the Besht, which constitutes the "footsteps of the Messiah," the souls that enter the world contain sparks from all worlds. Thus, at one moment, one can be engaged in a sublime religious experience, and at the next, one can find oneself in totally different inner circumstances. For this reason the Besht counseled against self-satisfaction—the surest way to forsake the sacred path. Yet, Habad reserved thought-transformation practices for *tsaddiqim.* On the other hand, there is an oral tradition from the fifth Lubavitcher *rebbe*, Rabbi Shalom Dov-Ber (1860–1920), who recommended that each of his followers spend at least fifteen minutes a day cultivating the persona of the *tsaddiq*, observing all things as rooted in primordial Adam.

INTERNAL DISSENT; EXCEPTIONAL WOMEN; EXTERNAL OPPOSITION; DECLINE AND ACCOMMODATION. The Hasidism of Preshischa, formulated at the beginning of the nineteenth century by disciples of the Seer of Lublin as a breakaway reform of Hasidism, attempted to purify Hasidism from an ethos of the vain petitionary seeking of the miraculous. Instead. it stressed the values of inner truth and the study of the law, and demurred from the study of Qabbalah. This movement conquered Poland for the Hasidism of Kotzk, Gur, Aleksander, Biala, Amshinov-Worka, and Izbica-Radzin. During the first three generations, it upheld its antipetitionary position. There was mutual criticism between the schools of Lublin and Preshischa. The great *magid* of Kozienice, Rabbi Israel Hopstein (1733–1815), a prolific writer of qabbalistic works and close friend of both the Seer and Rabbi Simha Bunim of Preshischa (1765–1827), attempted to act as a bridge between them.

His daughter, Perele (d. 1849?) observed many of the biblical commandments ordained specifically for men, and was recognized as a *tsadeqet* by Rabbi Elimelech of Lyzansk, who, together with her father, urged his followers to visit her with their prayer petitions. *The Rebbe's Daughter: Memoir of a Hasidic Childhood* (2002), a memoir by Malka Shapira, a descendent of the *magid* of Kozienice, sheds light on the elevated status of women in this branch of Hasidism. Harry M. Rabinowicz, a scholar of the Hasidim in the late twentieth century, profiled more than ten women who made their mark in the nineteenth-century Hasidic world, including one who was not born into a family of Hasidic *rebbes.* Rabbi Hannah Rachel Werbmacher (1805–1892), an exceptional self-taught *tsadeqet* known as the "Maid of Ludmir," acted as a full-fledged Hasidic *rebbe*, receiving prayer petitions and delivering Torah sermons in public from a cordoned-off room. Since the late 1980s there has developed a controversy among scholars of Hasidism as to the correct assessment of these phenomena. Certainly, there is much research yet to be done in this field.

As of the 1870s, the elite of Preshischa renewed their interest in Qabbalah, including the works of Rabbi Isaac of Komarno, an opponent to the Preshischa path. Particularly good examples of such integration can be found in numerous works of Rabbi Tsaddoq haKohen of Lublin (1823–1900), a disciple of Rabbi Mordehai Joseph of Izbica (1788?–1854) who often placed his teacher's and his own deep psychological insights in a qabbalistic context, and also emphasized the aspect of the *tsaddiq* potential in all his followers; and Rabbi Yehudah Leib of Gur (1847–1905), whose voluminous *Sefat Emet* integrated many of the insights of the early Hasidim.

Throughout this period, Hasidism faced staunch opposition from the *maskilim* (enlighteners), who advocated antitraditional modernization and often attempted to accomplish it through government lobbying. Recriminations of unscrupulous manipulation were rife on both sides. The historiography of this period needs to be reevaluated, as its scholarship has been colored by modernist agendas that misvalue the efforts of the traditionalist Hasidim to preserve their culture. Although most Hasidic groups held secular education, and even job-training, as anathema, many Preshischa-influenced Hasidic courst (including Gur) were among the first to allow their communities access to Jewish trade schools, and to permit the formation of political parties that were more accommodating to the Zionist movement.

Piekarz has gathered evidence to produce a profile of the deteriorated state of East European *tsaddiqism* based on certain early twentieth-century Hasidic texts (c. 1920). This decadent tendency sustains an insular conformist mentality that fears and attacks all change. It views the stratification of souls as innate and unchanging—everyone has his station, and must place their faith in an unerring *tsaddiq* who is described as "the root of all worlds, transcending and filling and giving life to them all." These *tsaddiqim* and their families and close kin would often spend their time at Western European resorts, financed by their less-than-wealthy Hasidic followers (in accord with Hasidic perspective: in exile, the *tsaddiq* replaces the *Cohen*-priest, whose upkeep is incumbent on the laity), whom they encouraged to oppose other Hasidic "dynasties." However, there is not enough data to ascertain the extent of this trend. Indeed, traditional Hasidism allowed for pluralism of opinion and indeed, by stressing the uniqueness of the individual, encouraged it. One of the reasons for this deterioration over time is surely the nepotism of Hasidic "dynastic succession"—appointing successors regardless of merit. This emerged from the process of institutionalization that took place during the nineteenth century.

During the interwar period (1918–1939), some of the conservative Hasidic elite began reluctantly opening up to the modern world. Overcoming opposition, but not precipitating a break, gifted members of various leading Hasidic families, such as Rabbi Dr. A. J. Heschel (1907–1972) and R. Menachem Mendel Schneerson (1902–1994), the seventh Lubavitcher *rebbe*, were among the significant few who studied in some of Western Europe's major universities. In addition, Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook (1865–1935), the first chief rabbi of modern Palestine (but not, strictly speaking, not a Hasidic *tsaddiq*), emphasized the role of the contemporary *tsaddiq* as one who also embraces the openness of modernity and forges new paths of creative spiritual speculation out of humanistic and scientific developments.

As for the period of the war itself, two works composed during that period are notable. *Esh Qodesh* (1960; Sacred Fire) was written by Rabbi Kalonymus Kalmish of Piasetzna (1889–1943), who was descended from some of the chief disciples of the Seer, and before the war was a renowned educator. This work contains his sermons delivered in the Warsaw Ghetto until 1943, and its heartrending theodicy of faith is a testament to this *tsaddiq* and his internalization of some of the central messages of the Besht. The second book was written in occupied Hungary by Rabbi Yissachar Shelomoh Teichtal (1885–1945), a leading disciple of the brilliant scholar Rabbi Haim Elazar, the *rebbe* of Munkacs (1868–1937) and an irascible compassionate and extremely opinionated Hasidic leader of the Hungarian anti-Zionist movement. Rabbi Teichtal's book, *Em haBanim Smeha* (A joyful mother of children), was an unpretentious repudiation of his teacher's theological arguments for opposing Zionism. Rabbi Teichtal also left behind a wartime diary that was published in 1995.

POST-HOLOCAUST HASIDISM. Despite their population being decimated by the Holocaust, in the post-Holocaust world Hasidism made a remarkable recovery in the United States and in Israel, rebuilding their institutions and replenishing their numbers. Many of the eligible "future *rebbes*" who resurrected old dynasties were trained in the postwar period by the few surviving elders. Most notable of those who trained these future *rebbes* was Rabbi Joel Teitelbaum (1887–1987), the Satmar *rebbe*, whose lineage goes back to Rabbi Moshe of Ujhely (1759–1841), a leading disciple of the Seer of Lublin. An ultra-conservative and brilliant scholar-charismatic, the Satmar *rebbe* saw his mission as rebuilding Hungarian and Galician Hasidism in the United Sates so that it would be as similar as possible to prewar times. A complex elitist, he discouraged the public teaching of Qabbalah and Hasidism, while apparently also training serious cadres of Hasidic-qabbalistic scholars. Following his death there was a flurry of publications of classic Hasidic works with extensive commentaries, originating both from his own community and from those aligned to it. Also, since the mid-1990s, several large anthologies of the teachings of the disciples of the Besht, such as Rabbi Pinchas of Koretz (1726–1791) and Rabbi Michael of Zlotchov (1734–1786) have appeared; these include manuscript material previously withheld by Hasidic dynastic leaders. In addition, some rare works written and published during the first four decades of the twentieth century which attest to the continuing creativity of Hasidic Qabbalah have been reissued. After the death of the Satmar *rebbe* in 1987, his surviving wife, Alte Feiga, held the primary charismatic attention of a significant portion of his followers until her own death in 2001. The Lubavitcher *rebbe*, another brilliant charismatic *tsaddiq*, built a worldwide network of Hasidic institutions and outreach programs. A look at the messianic pretensions of this movement is beyond the scope of this article, but while the deep contemplative traditions of this movement are being cultivated by small numbers of his followers, the recent voluminous publications (many for the first time) of the teachings of the seven *rebbes* of this dynasty (1777–1992) has led to a renaissance in the learning and teaching of this tradition.

In Israel Rabbi Shalom Noah Barazofsky (1918?–2000) the late *rebbe* of Slonim, had his discourses published in modern vernacular Hebrew. Like Rabbi Tsaddoq haKohen of Lublin, the *Slonimer rebbe*'s teachings addressed the *tsaddiq* potential in all who came to hear him or read his sermons. The *Amshinover rebbe*, Rabbi Yaakov David Milikofsky (b. 1947), is a premier type of charismatic *tsaddiq* in the Preshischa mode. His manner of prayer exemplifies genuine piety, and he is known as an extremely compassionate and astute listener in the private audiences that he freely grants. During the final decades of the twentieth century the charismatic authoritative and intercessory model of the Hasidic *tsaddiq* was widely adopted in the ultra-Orthodox Jewish world at large, both by the anti-Hasidic Lithuanian *mitnagdim* and by the renascent Orthodox communities of Jews originating from Moslem-dominated lands. Due to the unquestioned authority obliged by their homogeneous communities, which in each group results in stable voting patterns, these leaders have been increasingly sought after by politicians, and at times have been instrumental in shaping the balance of power in the larger political arena.

Finally, the twentieth century has also witnessed a surging of secular interest in the Hasidic ethos, thanks to both the person and the writings of Martin Buber (1878–1965), whose collections of Hasidic tales introduced the world at large to the spiritual relevance of this otherwise Jewish sectarian spirituality. In addition, numerous aphorisms as well as whole tracts of Hasidic teachings have been translated into English and other Western languages as of the second half of the twentieth century. The universal and ecumenical potential within Hasidic spirituality was further developed by Rabbi Dr. A. J. Heschel, who produced various academic studies on Hasidic history, the phenomenology of Hasidic piety, and wonder, and who also provided a living example of the religious activist-humanist *tsaddiq*. In the next generation, postmodern New Age spirituality found a Hasidic expression in Rabbi Zalman Schachter Shalomi (b. 1924), a Habad-educated spiritual master whose academic work on the *rebbe*-Hasid personal interview gave rise to a form of counseling that stresses the inner *tsaddiq*. He has continued the ecumenical trend by his intensive interactions with traditional spiritual teachers of non-Western religious traditions, and he champions a cross-cultural creative-Jewish paradigm in collaboration with traditional Hasidic texts. During the last decade of the twentieth century, he and Rabbi Arthur Green (b. 1941) established numerous retreat centers of Jewish contemplation that incorporate elements of Eastern (i.e., Sufi-Hindu-Buddhist) meditative traditions. Together in the late 1960s they began the Hasidic-influenced "conscious community" *havurah* movement in the Unites States. Rabbi Shlomo Carlebach (1925–1994), a charismatic Hasidic teacher and prolific composer and musician educated in the great traditional academies of Europe and the United States, was Rabbi Schachter-Shalomi's lifelong partner in ecumenical activity, often providing its ecstatic element. As a teacher, he was largely responsible for the popular renewal of interest in Izbica, Bratslav, and Piasetzna thought, and touched countless lives with his unconditional personal expressions of universal love.

SEE ALSO Hasidism, overview article; Judaism, article on Judaism in Northern and Eastern Europe since 1500; Luria, Isaac; Qabbalah.

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The biblical and rabbinic theology of the *tsaddiq* was analyzed in the classic study by Rudolf Mach, *Der Zaddik in Talmud und Midrasch* (Leiden, 1957), which together with Ephraim E. Urbach's *The Sages: Their Concepts and Beliefs* (Jerusalem, 1975), pp. 483–511 and elsewhere, formed the basis for the discussion of the classical period in Gershom Scholem's "*Tsaddik*: The Righteous One" in his *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead: Basic Concepts in the Kabbalah* (New York, 1991), see pp. 88–140 and 283–293. Scholem's essay goes on to discuss the early and classical Qabbalah, but then ignores Lurianic Qabbalah and discusses Hasidism. Additional sources come from the excellent collection *Otsar haAgadah*, edited by Moshe David Gross (3 vols., Tel Aviv, 1954; 13th ed., Jerusalem, 1993), see vol. 3, pp. 1032–1057, which adduces over 500 rabbinic quotes regarding the *tsaddiq*; and from the works of Abraham J. Heschel, including *The Prophets* (New York, 1962), see pp. 200–205.*Theology of Ancient Judaism* (New York, 1965, Hebrew), see pp. 200–205. Also see Arthur Green's "The Zaddiq as *Axis Mundi* in Later Judaism" in *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 45 (1977): 327–347. Regarding the colloquial use of the term *Hasid* meaning "follower of a particular Hasidic *rebbe*," the earliest citation found is in a text of Preshischa provenance, *Ramatayim Tsofim* by Shmuel of Shinyava (Warsaw, 1881), see pp. 200–205, based on the teachings of Rabbi Menachem Mendel of Kotzk (1787–1959) recalling events that took place in the 1820s that involved the Kotzker's teacher, Rabbi Simha Bunim of Preshischa (1765–1827). The history of this usage requires further investigation.

The qabbalistic aspect of the "hidden light" was briefly discussed in Scholem, pp. 113–115, where he adduces the Zohar II, 166b–167a. See Isaiah Tishby's *The Wisdom of the Zohar: An Anthology of Texts* (Oxford, 1989, vol. 1),, p. 442. See also Zohar II 147b and Daniel Abrams's *The Book Bahir: An Edition Based on the Earliest Manuscripts* (Los Angeles, 1994), numbers 97–100, 106, and related references in Scholem. And see, by Rabbi Azriel of Gerona, *Perush haAgadot*, edited by Isaiah Tishby (Jerusalem, 1945–1983), p. 111, and regarding the theurgic application, see "Principles Concerning the Secrets of Prayer" (Hebrew), included in Scholem's "Newly Discovered Writings of Rabbi Azriel of Gerona" (Hebrew) in *Festschrift for A. Gulak and Sh. Klein* (Jerusalem, 1942), pp. 214–216, and see Moshe Idel's "Some Remarks on Ritual and Mysticism in Geronese Kabbalah" in *Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy* 3 (1993): pp. 111–130. See also *Sefer haTemunah* (vol. 3 of *Torat haQaneh*, Jerusalem, 1997), pp. 176a–177b. This is to be contrasted with *Ma'arekhet haElohut* (Mantoba, Italy, 1558; reprint, Jerusalem, n.d.), folio 101b–102b; *Gates of Light,* by Rabbi Joseph Gikatilla (translated by Avi Weinstein, New York, 1994), pp. 76 and 327, and *Sefer haPeliah* in volume 1 of *Torat haQaneh*, p. 230a–b. Regarding Rabbi Moshe Cordovero, see Bracha Sack's *The Kabbalah of R. Moshe Cordovero* (Jerusalem, 1995, Hebrew), p. 323 and sources there; and on his influence on Hasidism, see Moshe Idel's *Hasidism: Between Ecstasy and Magic* (Albany, N.Y., 1995). With regard to Lurianic Qabbalah, see Menachem Kallus's *The Theurgy of Prayer in Lurianic Kabbalah* (Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew University, 2002), chapter 4, sections 12–14, and pp. 281–282; and for his influence on Hasidism, the same source at pp. 280–281, and chapter 3. See also Menachen Kallus's "The Relation of the Baal Shem Tov to the Practice of Lurianic Kavvanot," *Kabbalah: Journal for the Study of Jewish Mystical Texts,* vol. 2 (Los Angeles and Jerusalem, 1997), pp. 151–167. As for the *Besht* and the "hidden light," see *Sefer Baal Shem Tov al haTorah* (ed. Rabbi Nathan Nata of Kalbiel and Shimeon Menachem Mendel of Gowarchov, Lodz, Poland, 1938; reprint, Jerusalem, 1993), vol. 1, "Noah," p. 107, col. 1 of note number 13, and also p. 14, number 27 and notes. This is the most complete anthology of the teachings of the Besht, and will be referenced here several times (cited as *Sefer Besht*, followed by volume number, Torah Portion and the number of teaching). A translation of it is due to appear in 2006–2007. Regarding the opinions of medieval philosophers, see Dov Schwartz's *The Philosophy of a Fourteenth Century Jewish NeoPlatonic Circle* (Jerusalem, 1996, Hebrew), pp. 153–208. See also the fascinating monograph by A. J. Heschel, *Prophetic Inspiration After the Prophets: Maimonides and Other Medieval Authorities*; translated and edited by Morris M. Faierstein (Hoboken, N.J., 1996). Returning to Lurianic Qabbalah, see *Sha'ar haYihudim* (Lvov, Ukraine, 1855; reprint, Jerusalem, n.d.), chapters 4 and 5, and see Kallus's dissertation, chapter 4 towards the end of note 357, and section 6 of note 383.

Regarding the levels of the soul and the implications of their perfections, see Menachem Kallus's "Pneumatic Mystical Possession and the Eschatology of the Soul in Lurianic Kabbalah" in *Spirit Possession in Judaism: Cases and Contexts from the Middle Ages to the Present*, edited by Matt Goldish, foreword by Joseph Dan (Detroit, Mich., 2003), pp. 159–184. See also, Gershom Scholem's "*Gilgul*: The Transmigration of Souls" in his *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead: Basic Concepts in the Kabbalah* (New York, 1991), pp. 140–197, 300–312. And regarding *tsaddiqim* who have always striven to "unite the part with the whole" and are present in spirit whenever anyone enacts a *yihud*, see the Lurianic *Sha'ar Ruah haQodesh* (Jerusalem, 1912; reprinted 1983), folios 13a and 28a; and *Sha'ar Maamarei Rashby* (Jerusalem, 1898; reprint, 1978), folio 12b–c, and compare *Sefer Besht* vol. 2, Behukotai number 3. On the alignment of the laity to *tsaddiqim*, see *Sefer Besht,* vol. 2, VaEthanan number 66, and Eqev numbers 12–15, 30, and 66–70. And see Samuel Dresner's *The Zaddik: The Doctrine of the Zaddik According to the Writings of Rabbi Yaakov Yosef of Polnoy* (New York, 1960), pp. 75–142. Regarding the "descent of the *tsadyq*" and release from hell, see *Zohar* II, 128b–129a and elsewhere, and *Sefer Besht* vol. 1, Bereshit numbers 70–75, Lekh Likha number 19; vol. 2, Eqev number 68 and elsewhere. And see from Rabbi Pinhas of Koretz, *Imrei Pinchas haShalem*, edited by Yehezkiel Shraga Finkel (Bnei Beraq, Israel, 2003), pp. 370, numbers 31–32 and 474, number 72; and see from Rabbi Elimelekh of Lizansk, *Or Elimelekh*, edited by Alter Elisha haKohen Paksher (Jerusalem, 1984), pp. 65–66, number 84, p. 89, number 129, p. 91, number 131, and p. 98, number 148; and from Rabbi Menachem Mendel of Rymanov, *Menachem Tsion*, edited by Tsvi Elimelekh Pannet (Jerusalem, 2004), p. 11, col. b. Regarding previous scholarship on the "descent of the *tsadyq,*" see Dresner's *The Zaddik*, chapters 7 and 8; and regarding earlier sources of this doctrine, including Lurianic Qabbalah, and the refutation of Sabbatean influence, see Mendel Piekarz's *The Beginning of Hasidism: Ideological Trends in Derush and Mussar Literature* (Jerusalem, 1978, Hebrew), pp. 280–395. On *Mitnagdic* opposition to Hasidic conceptions of the *tsaddiq*, see Allan Nadler's *The Faith of the Mithnagdim: Rabbinic Responses to Hasidic Rapture* (Baltimore, Md., 1999), chapter 2.

For the sources of the teachings on Moses and the *tsaddiq*, see *Sefer Besht*, vol. 1, Bereshit numbers 121, 127, Noah, numbers 61, 62, 80, 81, 156–158; vaYishlakh, numbers 6–7; vol. 2, Shemot number 19; Ki Tisa number 9; Metzorah numbers 9, 10, 24; Qedoshim numbers 2–18; Qorah numbers 1–5; Eqev number 72, and elsewhere. Regarding the attribute of the *tsaddiq* within the individual, see *Sefer Besht*, vol. 1, Noah, number 2. With regard to the teachings of the Besht on petitionary prayer, see *Sefer Besht*, vol. 1, Noah, numbers 128–129 and 153–155, and on not compromising one's integrity in this, see especially ibid. numbers 124 and 152. For the teachings of the *magid* see ibid. numbers 80, 84, 87, 89–94, and especially, 130–131. For Rabbi Shneur Zalman's views on prayer, see Roman A. Foxbrunner's *Habad: The Hasidism of R. Shneur Zalman of Lyady* (Montogmery, Ala., 1992), pp. 19–22, 38, and 186–194. Regarding the two types of *tsaddiq* in the works of the *magid*, see *Liqutim Yeqarim* (Jerusalem, 1974), numbers 256 and 273, and for the version quoted here from the teachings of Rabbi Elimelekh, where the dialectic between the two types is more pronounced, see *Torat Shimeon* by Rabbi Shimeon of Yaroslav, a disciple of Rabbi Elimelekh (Jerusalem, 1974) (beginning of Parshat Emor). On Hasidism during the generation of the *Besht*, see Immanuel Etkes's "Hasidism as a Movement: The First Phase" in *Hasidism: Continuity or Innovation*, edited by Bezalel Safran (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), pp. 1–26. On the teachings of the Besht regarding the role of the "men of form," see Gedalya Nigal's *Manhig vaEdah* (Jerusalem, 1962) and Dresner's *The Zaddik: The Doctrine of the Zaddik According to the Writings of Rabbi Yaakov Yosef of Polnoy* (New York, 1960). The *Epistle of the Besht* was translated into English several times, most recently in the monumental work of translation and commentary by Norman Lamm, *The Religious Thought of the Hasidim: Text and Commentary* (New York, 1999); see there pp. 541–555, and for our text, p. 550. For the textual problems of this epistle, the history of scholarship, and possible resolutions, see I. Etkes's *Ba'al Shem: The Besht—Magic, Mysticism, Leadership* (Jerusalem, 2000), pp. 292–310. On the scholarly controversy concerning early Hasidism and messianism, see Gershom Scholem's "The Neutralization of the Messianic Element in Early Hasidism" in his *The Messianic Idea in Judaism and other Essays on Jewish Spirituality* (New York, 1971), pp. 176–203, and see Ben Zion Dinur's "The Beginnings of Hasidism and its Social and Messianic Foundations" (translated, originally in Hebrew, 1945) in *Essential Papers on Hasidism*, edited by Gershon Hundert, pp. 86–209 (New York, 1991), whose insightful readings regarding the early Hasidic social "program," although attacked ad homonym have not been effectively countered. See also Isaiah Tishby's "The Messianic Idea and Messianic Trends in the Growth of Hasidism" (Hebrew) *Zion* 32, no. 1 (1967): 1–45. Regarding the messianic spark-potential and the emphasis on personal redemption, see *Sefer Besht*, vol. 1, Bereshit number 166 and Shemot number 5; and vol. 2, Nitzavim number 8. As regards Rabbi Menachem Mendel of Vitebsk, see Mordechai Hayim Perlow's *Liqutei Sipurim* (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1992), p. 284, number 8. And regarding Rabbi Menachem Mendel of Rymanov, see *Torat haMagid meZlotchov,* edited by Eliezer Eliyahu Horowitz (Jerusalem, 1999), p. 176, number 6.

On Rabbi Elimelekh of Lizansk, see Nigal's *Mehqarim beHasidut* (Jerusalem, 1999; originally, 1978), pp. 116–233, and the more recent work by Piekatz, "R. Elimelekh miLizensk uMamshichei Darko," *Gil'ad* 15–16 (1998): 42–80, where he also discusses Rabbi Ephrayim of Sydlakov, and the later

development of the school of the Seer. On the Seer of Lublin see Rachel Elior's "Between Yesh and Ayin: The Doctrine of the Zaddik in the Works of Jacob Isaac, the Seer of Lublin" in *Jewish History: Essays in Honour of Chimen Abramsky,* edited by Ada Rapaport-Albert and S. J. Zipperstein (London, 1988), 393–455. Regarding the easier availability of access to *Ruah haQodesh* in the exile, see *Sefer Besht*, vol. 1, VaYeshev number 4 and note 5. On Munkasz Hasidism, see Efraim Gottleib's *Studies in the Kabbalah Literature*, edited by Joseph Hacker (Tel Aviv, 1976), pp. 584–586. For the techniques of and variety of Hasidic opinion on the "raising-up of distracted thought," see *Sefer Besht*, vol. 1, Noah numbers 97–124, and especially note 94 (pp. 152–155) for the range of third- to fifth-generation Hasidic opinion. This matter seems to be a litmus test with regard to the contrast between social realism and antielitist idealism in the development of Hasidic thought and its relation to the original democratizing impulse (see Scholem's "*Devekut*, or Communion with God" in his *The Messianic Idea in Judaism and other Essays on Jewish Spirituality*, pp. 208–226). Regarding the *Habad- Besht* tradition concerning the nature of the soul in later generations, see Rabbi Aaron of Staroselye's *Shaarei haYichud vihaEmunah* (Jerusalem, 1966), folio 3b, marginal note. On this important mystical thinker see Louis Jacobs, translator, *Tract on Ecstasy* (London, 1963) and Rachel Elior's *Paradoxical Ascent to God* (Albany, N.Y., 1993).

Regarding the Hasidic "revolt" of Preshischa, see A. J. Heschel's *Kotzk: The Struggle for Integrity,* 2 volumes (Tel Aviv, 1963), see vol. 1, pp. 285–320 and 388–370; Morris Faierstein's *All Is in the Hands of Heaven: The Teachings of R. Mordechai Joseph of Izbica* (Hoboken, N.J., 1989); Shaul Magid's *Hasidism on the Margin: Reconciliation, Antinomianism, and Mysticism in Izbica/Radzin Hasidism* (Madison, Wis., 2003); and for later developments, see Arthur Green's *The Language of Truth: The Torah Commentary of the Sefat Emet* (Philadelphia, 1998), especially his introduction, and Alan Brill's *Thinking God: The Mysticism of Rabbi Zaddok of Lublin* (New York, 2002). On women and Hasidism, see Harry M. Rabinowicz's *Hasidism: The Movement and its Masters* (Northvale, N.J., and London, 1988), 341–351; Nehemia Polen's *The Rebbe's Daughter: Memoir of a Hasidic Childhood/Malka Shapiro* (Philadelphia, 2002) and Nathaniel Deutsch's *The Maiden of Ludmir: A Holy Jewish Woman and Her World* (Berkeley, Calif., 2003); and for a contrary view, see Ada Rapoport-Albert's "On Women and Hasidism: S.A. Horodecky and the Maid of Ludmir" in *Jewish History: Essays in Honour of Chimen Abramsky*, edited by Ada Rapaport-Albert and S. J. Zipperstein (London, 1988), pp. 45–525. On the early anti-Hasidic slander (Vienna, 1819) by the *Maskilim*, see Dov Taylor (ed. and tr.), *Joseph Perl's "Revealer of Secrets": The First Hebrew Novel* (Boulder, Colo., 1997), and see Heinrich Graetz's *A History of the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1967), volumes 4 and 5 regarding his bias against Qabbalah and Hasidism. For a more recent treatment, see Raphael Mahler's *Hasidism and the Jewish Enlightenment: Their Confrontation in Galicia and Poland in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*, translated from the Yiddish by Eugene Orenstein (Philadelphia, 1985), and see Israel Bartal's "The Imprint of Haskalah Literature on the Historiography" in *Hasidism Reappraised*, edited by Ada Rapoport-Albert (London, 1996). On the development of Polish-Hasidic political parties, see Alan L. Mittleman's *The Politics of Torah: The Jewish Political Tradition and the Founding of Agudat Israel* (Albany, N.Y., 1996). On decadent forms of Hasidism, see Mendel Piekarz's "Religious Spiritualism against Zionism and Determinist Elitism: Lessons from the Discourses of the *Admor* of Partzava (1866–1930)" in *Hasidism in Poland,* edited by I. Bartal, Rabbi Elior, and C. Shmeruk (Jerusalem, 1994), and his earlier book, *Ideological Trends of Hasidism in Poland during the Interwar Period and the Holocaust* (Jerusalem, 1990). On the early life of Rabbi Dr. A. J. Heschel, see *Abraham Joshua Heschel: Prophetic Witness* by Edward K. Kaplan and Samuel H. Dresner (New Haven, Conn., 1998), and on the seventh Lubavitcher *rebbe*, see *Larger Than Life: The Life and Times of the Lubavitcher Rebbe, Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson* by Shaul Shimeon Deutsch (New York, vol. 1 1995, vol. 2 1997). Although written by a follower of the late Lubavitcher *rebbe*, this work is an honest attempt at critical biography. For other examples of this trend, see Hillel Goldberg's *Between Berlin and Slobodka: Jewish Transition Figures from Eastern Europe* (Hoboken, N.J., 1989). Much has been written on Rabbi A. I. Kook. For some translations of his writings, see *The Essential Writings of Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook*, translated with introduction by Ben Zion Bokser (Amity, N.Y., 1988), and *When God Becomes History: Historical Essays by Rabbi Abraham Isaac Hakohen Kook*, edited and translated with introduction and notes by Bezalel Naor (New York, 2003); and see *Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook and Jewish Spirituality* by Lawrence Kaplan and David Shatz (New York, 1995). On Hasidic thought during the Holocaust, and on Rabbi Kalonymus of Piasetzna, see Nehemia Polen's, *The Holy Fire: The Teachings of Rabbi Kalonymus Kalman Shapira, the Rebbe of the Warsaw Ghetto* (Northvale, N.J., 1994). Three of his works on educational philosophy were translated: *A Student's Obligation: Advice from the rebbe of the Warsaw Ghetto* (tr. Micha Odenheimer; Northvale, N.J., 1991); *To Heal the Soul: The Spiritual Journal of a Chassidic rebbe* (tr. Yehoshua Starrett; Northvale, N.J., 1995) and *Conscious Community: A Guide to Inner Work* (tr. Andrea Cohen-Keiner; J. Aronson, N.J., 1996). See also regarding him, and on Rabbi E. Teichtal: Mendel Piekarz op. cit. (Jerusalem, 1990), and Eliezer Schweid: *Wrestling Until Day-Break: Searching for Meaning in the Thinking on the Holocaust* (Lanham, Md., 1994); idem. *From Ruin to Salvation* (Hebrew) (Hakibbutz Hameuchad, Israel, 1994).

Regarding Satmar, see Israel J. Rubin: *Satmar: Two Generations of an Urban Island* (New York, 1997) The Hasidic classic, *Toldot Yaakov Yosef* by Rabbi Y.Y. of Polnoye (originally published in Koretz, 1780) was published by Rabbi Shimeon Weiss, a *Hasid* of Satmar in a five volume edition with extensive commentary (Monroe, N.Y., 1998). The anthologized teachings of Rabbi Pinchas of Koretz and Rabbi Michael of Zlochov are referenced above, in sections 3 and 4. And see A.J. Heschel: *The Circle of the Baal Shem Tov* (ed. S. Dresner; University of Chicago Press, 1985) for monographs on these and other members of this circle. There have not yet been any studies on the *rebbes* of Slonim and Amshinov. For a perspective on the political life of Post-Holocaust ultra-Orthodox society, see: "Religious Fundamentalism and Religious Jews: The Case of the Haredim" by Samuel C. Heilman and Menachem Friedman, in *Fundamentalisms*

Observed (ed. Martin E. Marty and Rabbi Scott Appleby; Chicago, 1991; pp. 197–264). Some of Martin Buber's voluminous writings bear directly on Hasidism, such as his classic: *Tales of the Hasidim* (translated by Olga Marx; Schocken, N.Y., 1947 and 1991) and his novel based on the dramas of the circle of the Seer of Lublin: *For the Sake of Heaven* (Schocken, N.Y., 1945). Regarding Heschel, see also *The Earth is the Lord's* (London, 1945; reprint, Jewish Lights, Woodstock, N.Y., 1995); *God in Search of Man* (New York, 1955); and a posthumous collection of his essays: *Moral Grandeur and Spiritual Audacity* (edited by Susannah Heschel, New York, 1996). Some of Rabbi Zalman Meshulam Schachter-Shalomi's books include: *Spiritual Intimacy: A Study of Counseling in Hasidism* (Northvale, N.J., 1991); *Paradigm Shift: From the Jewish Renewal Teachings of Reb Zalman Schachter-Shalomi* (Northvale, N.J., 1993) and *Wrapped in a Holy Flame: Teachings and Tales of the Hasidic Masters,* edited by Nataniel M. Miles-Yepes (San Francisco, 2003). Also see Jacob Yuroh Teshima's *Zen Buddhism and Hasidism: A Comparative Study* (Lanham, Md., 1995). On Rabbi Shlomo Carlebach, see, by Meshulam Brandwein, *Reb Shlomele: The Life and Work of Shlomo Carlebach*, translated by Gavriel A. Sivan (Jerusalem, 1997), and Yitta Halberstam-Mandelbaum's *Holy Brother: Inspiring Stories and Enchanted Tales about R. Shlomo Carlebach* (Northvale, N.J., 1997).

MENACHEM KALLUS (2005)

TS'AO TAI See CAO DAI

TSEVI, SHABBETAI See SHABBETAI TSEVI

TSONG KHA PA (1357–1419) is the founder of the Dga' ldan pa (Gandenba) or Dge lugs pa (Gelukba) school of Tibetan Buddhism. His official, monastic name was Blo bzang grags pa, but he is more typically known in the Dge lugs pa tradition under the honorific titles of Rje rin po che (Precious Lord) and Jam dgon bla ma (Lama who is the Protector Mañjuśrī). Tsong kha pa lived during a period of Tibetan history in which large portions of the country had been unified under a central authority. It was a time of great religious efflorescence, brought about in large part by the high level of political stability that the country enjoyed.

TSONG KHA PA'S LIFE. Tsong kha pa was born in the Tsong kha region of A mdo in Eastern Tibet. Hagiographical accounts tell us that Tsong kha pa's birth was prophesied by the twelfth abbot of Snar thang monastery, Blo bzang grags pa (1299–1375), who told his student Chos rje don grub rin chen (1309–1375) to find the boy and give him his own name. His birth was augured by all of the traditional auspicious signs. Chos rje Don grub rin chen traveled back from Central Tibet to his home region of A mdo, recognized the young boy, and took him under his tutelage. Tsong kha pa took lay vows at the age of three from the Karma pa Rol pa'i rdo rje (1340–1383), and novice *(dge tshul)* ordination from Don drup rin chen at the age of seven. He spent the next decade or so receiving tantric initiations and teachings, and learning Buddhist doctrine. When he was sixteen or seventeen, following the advice of his teacher, he traveled to Central Tibet.

Central/Western (Dbus Gtsang) Tibet was the intellectual center of the country at this time. Tsong kha pa studied at many of the great monastic academies of the day, gaining expertise in all of the major texts and subjects of the Indian Buddhist scholastic tradition. In 1381 Tsong kha pa took full monastic *(dge slong)* ordination. He then began to focus more intentionally on the esoteric teachings of Tantra. It was during this period that he also met one of his major teachers, Bla ma Dbu ma pa (fourteenth century), a mystic and visionary, and a specialist on the practices of the deity Mañjuśrī, who, it was said, spoke to Tsong kha pa through Bla ma Dbu ma pa, answering his questions about the doctrine of emptiness.

Although Tsong kha pa studied with many teachers from all of the major schools of Tibetan Buddhism, it was the great Sa skya pa scholar Red mda' ba Zhon nu blo gros (1349–1412) whom Tsong kha pa would come to regard as his chief spiritual master. He studied with Red mda' ba extensively during this period, but eventually Red mda' ba and Tsong kha pa would become each other's teacher, spending a great deal of time together both teaching and in retreat.

By the early 1390s Tsong kha pa had completed his philosophical studies, and he had established his abilities and reputation as a scholar by engaging in the so-called monastic rounds (*grwa skor*), the practice of submitting to public examinations at various institutions. He continued to take teachings and initiations from various masters during this next phase of his life, receiving many lineages that would be important to the later Dge lugs order. But what really characterized this phase of Tsong kha pa's life was an emphasis on practice, teaching, and writing. For the next decade, he would alternate periods of teaching and learning with periods of retreat, all the while dedicating himself to "composition."

Tsong kha pa was also gathering disciples. One close group of students, the so-called eightfold pure retinue, accompanied him into a four-year intensive retreat at ʿOl kha, during which Tsong kha pa and his students had many visions of various deities. Visionary experiences, both in waking life and in dreams, had been a part of Tsong kha pa's life from his youth, but they became more frequent during this time, and would continue for the rest of his life. Especially important are a series of visions he had of Indian and Tibetan saints that were seen by Tsong kha pa (and by the later Dge lugs tradition) as legitimating his unique interpretation of the doctrine of emptiness.

Tsong kha pa had already begun to write before this period, but it was really during and after his time in intensive retreat that he wrote some of his most important philosophical and tantric works. In 1408 the Ming emperor invited Tsong kha pa to the Chinese court, but he declined, sending a close disciple in his stead. Clearly, Tsong kha pa thought that he still had much to accomplish in his native land.

In 1408, with the help of two patrons, Tsong kha pa founded the tradition of the Great Prayer Festival (Smon lam chen mo) in Lhasa, a New Year festival where the focus was on making offerings, both to the assembled clergy and to the image of the Jo bo rin po che (Tibet's most famous Buddha statue). This tradition would become one of Tibet's most important festivals, observed until the final Chinese takeover of Tibet in 1959. It also marks a turning point in Tsong kha pa's life, initiating a period of more public engagement, and one of greater concern with the institutionalization of his tradition.

The spectacle of the Great Prayer Festival brought even greater prominence to Tsong kha pa. With the help of patrons, he founded in 1409 the monastery of Dga' ldan, an institution that would become his principal seat (and that of his successors). He remained chiefly at Dga' ldan, giving extensive teachings and composing principally tantric works from 1410 until 1416. The monasteries of ʿBras spungs and Sera, the other two "seats" (*gdan sa*) of the Dge lugs pa school, were founded by two of Tsong kha pa's disciples in 1416 and 1419, respectively. In 1419 Tsong kha pa took ill. He passed away at Dga' ldan on the twenty-fifth day of the tenth Tibetan month. His body was preserved there in a golden reliquary, where it remained for over five hundred years until the monastery was bombed (and his tomb sacked) by Chinese troops.

TSONG KHA PA'S THOUGHT. Tsong kha pa believed himself to be following an intellectual and spiritual trajectory that extended from the Buddha, through the great scholar-adepts of India and Tibet, up to his own time. Whether or not he saw himself as actually reviving the Bka' gdams pa tradition, founded almost half a millennium earlier by the Indian scholar-saint Atiśa, Tsong kha pa's early followers came to refer to themselves as the "New Bka' gdams pa."

Conservative in his approach, Tsong kha pa believed that the great texts of Indian Buddhism were the standard by comparison to which the authenticity of doctrines and practices was to be judged. Bemoaning the fact that in his day "those who strive at yogic practice have studied little, while the learned are uninformed about the details of practice," Tsong kha pa sought to steer the tradition back to its Indian roots, grounding yogic practice in textual learning and philosophical analysis. He believed that the essence of Buddhism was not preserved in secret, oral lineages (*man ngag*), but that it was instead publicly accessible in the writings of the Indian Buddhist masters. His written work, therefore, can be seen as an attempt to critically reappropriate the Indian classics, and to show their relevance to practice.

His writings are holistic and synthetic, characterized by the impulse to harmonize all of the Buddha's teachings into a consistent whole. He especially sought to do this in his summa. His *Great Exposition of the Stages of the Path* (*Lam rim chen mo*) and his *Great Exposition of the Stages of Tantra* (*Sngags rim chen mo*) are erudite, grand syntheses of exoteric and esoteric Buddhism that offer the reader complete maps of these traditions. His *Essence of Eloquence* (*Legs bshad snying po*) attempts to reconcile the apparent contradictions in the Mahāyāna philosophical corpus through the hermeneutical distinction between the provisional *(drang ba'i)* and definitive *(nges pa'i)* meaning of texts. Tsong kha pa devoted many of his works to the interpretation of emptiness. Candrakīrti's (seventh century) interpretation of emptiness—called the Consequentialist, or Prāsaṅgika (*thal ʿgyur pa*), interpretation—was for Tsong kha pa the highest expression of the Buddha's philosophical view (*lta ba*). Tsong kha pa saw emptiness as a corollary of the Buddhist doctrine of dependent arising *(rten ʿbrel)*, and this became a hallmark of his analysis of "Middle Way" (Madhyamaka) philosophy. All told, Tsong kha pa's collected works comprise about seventeen volumes.

As is obvious from Tsong kha pa's own life, study, learning, and theory was only part of the equation. Equally important was practice. As he states in a letter:

> Over many years I strove to understand the meaning of the [texts]. Based on that [understanding], and taking as the basis [for practice] the safeguarding of the moral discipline to which I had committed myself, I practiced many forms of accumulating [merit] and purifying [sin] [*bsag sbyang*], and devoted myself to the cultivation of the various meditational objects that constitute the path in its entirety. With this as the cause, I was able to achieve insight into at least the rough features of the path of Sūtra and Tantra.

Following in the footsteps of the Bka' gdams pa masters, Tsong kha pa believed that moral discipline (*tshul khrims*), epitomized by the monk's life, was the basis for the practice of both the sūtra and the tantric paths. The later tradition maintains that so crucial was the practice of monasticism to him that he eschewed taking a consort—and thereby postponed his own enlightenment until the after-death, intermediate stage—so as to teach to his followers the importance of celibacy.

THE CULT OF TSONG KHA PA. Like many Tibetan masters of his day, Tsong kha pa came to be considered an emanation (*sprul pa*) of a specific deity: in his case, Mañjuśrī, the deity of wisdom. Iconographically, Tsong kha pa is most often represented as a monk wearing a pandit's hat, with a text emanating from his left shoulder and a blazing sword (the symbol of Mañjuśrī) from his right shoulder. Tsong kha pa's apotheosis is celebrated in a variety of rites, arguably the most famous of which is a visualization/recitation practice called "The Hundred Deities of Dga' ldan" *(Dga ldan lha rgya ma)*, that concludes with the recitation of a verse of homage to Tsong kha pa called "The Object[less] Compassion [Verse]" (*dmigs rtse ma*). The mantra-like "accumulation" (or repetition) of the verse is a common practice, and is touted as efficacious in everything from curing illness to achieving enlightenment.

The cult of Tsong kha pa has taken more popular forms as well. Pilgrimage to Dga' ldan monastery (and to his tomb) has always been a favorite practice among the laity and clergy alike. Devotees circumambulate the monastery, prostrate before his tomb, and collect small pieces of dough that have been molded (and thereby blessed) by coming into contact with a relic of Tsong kha pa's tooth. Finally, Tsong kha pa's death date is celebrated throughout Tibet in the religious festival called the "Dga' ldan Offering of the [Twenty] Fifth" *(Dga' ldan lnga mchod)*, which culminates in offerings of butter lamps after nightfall. On this occasion, during a midwinter's night, entire monasteries become filled with the flickering of butter lamps, making it one of the most beautiful events in the Tibetan liturgical calendar.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, Schools of, article on Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism; Mañjuśrī; Worship and Devotional Life, article on Buddhist Devotional Life in Tibet.

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JOSÉ IGNACIO CABEZÓN (2005)

TSUNG-MI SEE ZONGMI

TSWANA RELIGION. Traditional religion among the Tswana of the high veld of southern Africa centered upon the supreme being, Modimo, and ancestor spirits known as *badimo.* The fact that *badimo* is the plural form of *modimo,* an honorific term used to express awe and reverence toward elders as well as toward the supreme being, indicates that the difference between Modimo, the ancestors, and human beings is one of degree rather than kind. While they occupy different positions in a complex hierarchy of spiritual power, all beings—whether spiritual or human—are intimately connected with each other. As the Tswana Christian theologian Gabriel Setiloane indicates, it is a basic premise of Tswana thought that a representative is identical with the person being represented or that a symbol is that which it symbolizes. Hence, the Tswana say, "Motho ke modimo" ("Man is *modimo*"), something that implies a far greater degree of interaction than the English "There is something of the divine in every man" (Setiloane, 1976, p. 21).

Modimo is believed to be the source and root of all existence. Intangible and all-pervasive, irreparably part of human experience but not directly sensed, he is a source of appeal in times of affliction and the guardian of the moral order. The complexity of the Tswana concept of the supreme being is best indicated by the wide range of praise names that are used to characterize him. Modimo is *mme* ("mother") and *lesedi* ("light"), but he is also known as *selo* ("monster") insofar as he possesses dangerous powers that go far beyond those of normal humanity.

Because a person cannot come into direct contact with Modimo and remain unchanged, the Tswana have recourse to the *badimo,* ancestors who act as intermediaries between humanity and the supreme being. Closely involved in everyday life, the *badimo* function to preserve harmony in social relations and to ensure the fertility of humans, animals, and crops. Their attitude toward humans is basically parental—looking to the welfare of the community as a whole, they seek to correct faults and protect their descendants from harm. In return, they expect *tirelo* ("service"). The essence of *tirelo* is the sharing of benefits with others. The *badimo* are said to love company and are especially gladdened by feasts. Whenever food or beer is prepared, a portion is set aside or poured on the ground for the *badimo.* This is done to maintain their good favor, for without it, life cannot be kept in proper balance and lived to the full. When an individual has neglected to honor the *badimo,* the Tswana say that he suffers from *bolwetse,* a term that covers both physical illness and a range of other maladies. Principally, it indicates that an individual is in disharmony with the spiritual forces (including Modimo) that engender and sustain his existence.

The concern for the community as a whole that is a central part of Tswana religion is expressed in the Tswana theory of human personality, or *seriti* (pl., *diriti*). Each person is born with a "heavy" or "light" *seriti* that can act for evil or for good. If a child is born with a light *seriti,* it must be strengthened and imbued with good intentions. Healthy *seri-*

ti brings dignity, respect, and properity; bad *seriti* causes ill will and discord in the social realm. A father of a household or a chief with good *seriti* strengthens the *diriti* of those who live in the house or chiefdom and vice versa. Because a man's *seriti* pervades much of his world, if he does wrong, his children, crops, or animals may suffer. Also, insofar as *seriti* originates from the *badimo* and is upheld by them, it functions as a spiritual force that knits together social and spiritual relations.

In times of suffering, people have access to religious specialists, or "doctors," known as *dingaka* (sg., *ngaka*). Both men and women can become doctors. There are six kinds of doctors in Tswana society, each classified according to the various divinatory and medicinal skills that he or she possesses. The best known, however, are the "horned" and the "hornless" doctors. The horned doctors divine by interpreting the pattern created by the throwing of four tablets, which represent an older and younger male and an older and younger female, or of pairs of astragalus bones, which represent the male and female of every common animal species. The hornless doctors divine by examining the patient. There are few doctors today and their practices, though still common, are officially illegal.

Human suffering is largely caused by incurring the displeasure of the *badimo* or by the actions of sorcerers. The complex Tswana term *boloi,* often translated as "sorcery" or as "magic," refers to both of these occurrences. There are two kinds of *boloi* that are socially constructive: *boloi* of the heart and of the mouth. Both involve offenses against a senior member of the kin group. If the senior member is slighted in some way, it is believed that he "puts the *badimo*" on the offender. The senior member need not be conscious of ill will toward the offender. In response to the offense, the *badimo* withdraw their support from the offender's *seriti* in order to call attention to his fault, and he is then susceptible to disease and other malign influences. Because of the encompassing nature of his *seriti,* much of his world is similarly threatened. In order to restore proper relations within the community (which includes the *badimo*), the offender provides an animal for slaughter; after it has been killed, the senior member uses a mixture of chyme and aloe to "wash" the offender and strengthen his *seriti.*

Two other types of *boloi* exist that are unquestionably evil. *Boloi ba bosigo* ("night sorcery"), which seems to be a form of witchcraft rather than sorcery, refers to the belief that certain witches (usually elderly women working in covens) cavort at night and cause mischief. Essentially tricksters, such witches gather naked, enter houses through closed doors and windows, upset pots, suck milk from nursing mothers or cows so that their yield is insufficient, exhume new corpses, and use owls as sentinels and hyenas as steeds. Day sorcery (*boloi ba motshegare*) is much more serious. It involves the purposeful manipulation of material substances for evil ends—usually to inflict disease or death upon a particular individual. Sorcerer and victim are often close relatives, such as husband and wife, parent and child, or brother and brother, who are overcome by feelings of greed, envy, or vengeance. *Bongaka,* therapy performed by the various *dingaka,* is essential to the prevention of sorcery.

Contemporary Tswana religion can only be explained in light of the tragic history of the people since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The impact of Western civilization coincided with the beginning of the nineteenth century, and chaos reigned in Tswanaland from 1810 until 1840. The first Christian mission was established in 1816 and four others were set up in the next thirty years; by 1870, missions had spread throughout Tswanaland. The dispersal of Tswana groups—both by the onslaught of marauding refugees resulting from the Zulu expansion known as the Mfecane and by the Boers, who took Tswana lands and subjected the people to forced labor—greatly weakened orthodox religious practices. The Boers drove the Tswana into reserve pockets of land in the Transvaal, the northern Cape of Good Hope, the Orange Free State, and the territory that became the Botswana state. Here, the remnants of once cohesive groups recombined into artificial units.

The Tswana have therefore been subjected to a great deal of pressure and turmoil inimical and destructive to their own religion. The official religion of most Tswana groups is now Christianity. Although the public rituals of the indigenous religion are seldom encountered, the more private and individualized practices of witchcraft, sorcery, and traditional healing persist strongly, even among Christians. The relationship between old and new beliefs is complex; much more of the former may remain than meets the eye. As Setiloane points out, many zealous and longstanding Christians have never given up the old worldview but have instead fitted Christianity into it. A number of traditional religious skills and rituals, including *pha badimo,* a thanksgiving ritual that is performed to show gratitude to the *badimo,* continue to play an important role in Tswana Christianity. The new social, political, and economic order brought about by the colonial system had more impact in christianizing the Tswana than the missionaries' religious teaching, which was too blatantly contradicted by the harsh oppression and racism of southern Africa to carry conviction.

The fundamental belief in the supreme being and the *badimo* continues to inform convictions about the earth and home as sacred and holy as well as attitudes toward cattle, which still have strong emotional, religious, and practical value, for they form the basis of important transactions between Tswana. Such exchanges continue to provide a binding conception of marriage, paternity, kinship, and family bonds that Christianity cannot replace. Initiation ceremonies, with their acutely emotional and religious accompaniments, also retain central and unassailable roles, as they induct the young into the profound continuities and solidarities of community life, earth, kin, and cattle. These values can still give a fundamental sense of psychological security, personal adequacy, and proper place in the cosmic scheme of things, and they function as an anchor in the stormy upheavals that afflict the Tswana in southern Africa in the early twenty-first century.

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AIDAN SOUTHALL (1987)
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TUATHA DÉ DANANN.

The Tuatha Dé Danann are the gods of pagan Ireland whose social order reflects the structure and values of early Irish society and includes poets and storytellers, kings and warriors, and practitioners of other professions and crafts. The name Tuatha Dé Danann (The Tribes or Peoples of the Goddess Danu) may originally have been simply Tuatha Dé—meaning simply the Tribes or Peoples of the Gods or of the Goddess—with Danann a later addition. Both Danu (genitive, Danann) and Anu are identified as personal names of the goddess of warfare and destruction known as the Morríghan (Great Queen or Phantom Queen), wife to Eochaidh Ollathair (Great Father), also called the Daghdha (Good God). Danu may, however, once have been a separate figure, parallel to the Welsh Dôn and Indic Danu, mother of the gods. The Tuatha Dé Danann war against and intermarry with the Fomhoire, a supernatural people associated with the sea, much as the Indic Devas and Asuras are both foes and kin.

Sources for information about the Tuatha Dé Danann include *Leabhar Gabhála Éireann* (The book of the taking of Ireland), a compendium of medieval prose and poetry associating legendary settlements of pre-Christian Ireland with classical and biblical chronology and presenting the gods as mortals descended from Noah. Additional sources, in which the Tuatha Dé are often explicitly called gods and goddesses, include texts whose language often reflects many chronological layers, some as early as the eighth century. These sources, including mythic and epic narratives, glossaries, and place-name lore, show elaboration and reshaping in response to cultural and political changes including those arising through Viking and Norman influences.

THE BATTLES OF MAGH TUIREDH. In the pseudo-historical framework of *Leabhar Gabhála Éireann* the Tuatha Dé are the fifth group to invade Ireland, conquering the previous settlers in the First Battle of Magh Tuiredh. After losing an arm in that combat, the Tuatha Dé king Nuadhu (subsequently called "Silverhand" for his artificial silver arm) resigns the kingship. The Tuatha Dé form an alliance with the Fomhoire, and Nuadhu's successor is the half-Fomorian, Bres, whose rule proves oppressive. After Bres flees to his Fomhorian kinsmen for reinforcements, Nuadhu (his natural arm miraculously reattached) is reinstated and invites Lugh, who is skilled in every art, to prepare the Tuatha Dé for war. Lugh's strategies are successful, and against great odds the Fomhoire are defeated in the Second Battle of Magh Tuiredh.

The subsequent treaty brings the Tuatha Dé specialized knowledge about agriculture, offered by Bres in exchange for his life and the end of Fomhorian aggression. After a long and peaceful rule, the Tuatha Dé are defeated by the Sons of Míl, legendary ancestors of Ireland's present inhabitants. The Tuatha Dé Danann retreat into Ireland's lakes and hills and into pre-Celtic sacred mounds, such as Newgrange, and their association with magical underground dwellings (*sídhe*) survives in beliefs about the fairies of later folk tradition. The Sons of Míl receive sovereignty over the surface of the land after promising that Ireland will continue to bear the names of three territorial goddesses, including Ériu (hence the name Erin).

FUNDAMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS. The Second Battle of Magh Tuiredh reveals fundamental characteristics of leading members of the Tuatha Dé when Lugh, practitioner of all the arts, asks how each will help defeat the Fomhoire. As a royal surrogate, whose many arts give him a rank equal to that of a king, Lugh both coordinates the preparation for battle and leads the Tuatha Dé to victory after Nuadhu is slain. Oghma, the strongman and champion, brings prowess as a warrior. Dian Cécht, grandfather of Lugh, serves as physician to the wounded. Goibhniu ("Smith") manufactures swords and spears. Eochaidh Ollathair, the "god of druidry," is a figure of extreme sexual potency (symbolized by his three testicles) and is known for his great strength, skill with a club as well as a sword, and mastery of magical arts. Morríghan, the goddess of battle who can take the form of a crow, determines the outcome of battles and can ensure victory through verbal magic. Other Tuatha Dé women appear as experts in magical practice, in the arts of warfare, in healing, and as artisans. Lugh's muster includes many other major and minor deities, some with highly specialized skills, facilitating comparisons with other Indo-European divine societies.

Tales about the gods illustrate early Irish social institutions and beliefs and were sometimes used as leading cases in native Irish law. Members of the Tuatha Dé Danann are cited as sources of specialized professional knowledge and are recognized as initiators of cultural practices. The Daghdha's daughter Brígh (Brighid), for example, is identified as the first to keen (lament the dead) in Ireland when she mourns her son who was slain in battle. This goddess, whose name is linked to healing and smith craft as well as to poetry, is also associated with domestic animals, and the folk practices connected to the cult of Saint Brighid may reflect early beliefs about Brígh's influence over crops and herds. Her husband, Bres, is associated with agricultural and pastoral prosperity. Laws addressing legal liabilities for illness and injury are attributed to Dian Cécht, who is invoked in early healing charms; his daughter, Airmedh, was reportedly the first to recognize all healing properties of herbs. Lost laws associated with smith work and other crafts are attributed to Goibhniu and other craftsperson deities.

KINGS AND GODDESSES. Sovereignty, a key theme in mythic and epic tales involving the Tuatha Dé, is often represented by the relationship between the king (divine or human) and the goddess of the land he rules. Many women of the Tuatha Dé serve as goddesses of territorial sovereignty and are associated with sacred wells and rivers and with the land of Ireland itself. Tales surrounding Édaín, who becomes the wife of Midhir of Brí Léith, explore aspects of kingship and the necessary presence of the queen—whether she is seen as divine or as a symbol of the sovereignty of the land. Midhir woos Édaín through several reincarnations and finally reclaims her from her mortal spouse Eochaidh Airemh, king of Ireland. Interaction between the gods and human society often occurs when sovereignty is in jeopardy. For example, in the tragic destruction of Conaire Mór, a king descended from Édaín, the people of the *sídhe* surround him at the time of his death.

SEE ALSO Celtic Religion, overview article; Fomhoire; Lugh.

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ELIZABETH A. GRAY (2005)

TUCCI, GIUSEPPE (1894–1984), Italian scholar of Asian religions. Giuseppe Tucci was born in Macerata in the Marche region of Italy on June 5, 1894, and died on April 5, 1984, in his house in San Polo dei Cavalieri, near Tivoli, in the province of Rome. Tucci fought during World War I, and after the war he graduated from the University of Rome (1919). From 1925 to 1930 he resided in India, teaching Chinese and Italian at the universities of Santiniketan and Calcutta. In 1929 Tucci was elected to the Accademia d'Italia, and in 1930 he accepted the chair of the department of Chinese language and literature at the Istituto Universitario Orientale of Naples. He then accepted the chair of the department of religion and philosophy of India and the Far East at the University of Rome (1932), where he remained until his retirement in 1969.

In 1933 he was instrumental in the founding of the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (IsMEO), the first president of which was Tucci's colleague and friend Giovanni Gentile. Tucci himself was president of the institute from 1947 to 1978; from 1979 he was its honorary president.

He was the editor of several periodicals, including *Alle fonti delle religioni* from 1921 to 1924, *Bollettino del'IsMEO* (which became *Asiatica* in 1935) from 1933 to 1943, *Le scienze del mistero e il mistero delle scienze* in 1946, and *East and West* from 1950 to 1984. He founded many series of scholarly publications of the IsMEO, such as the "Serie Orientale Roma" (the first fifty-two volumes of which he edited) in 1950, "Reports and Memoirs" (documenting research) in 1962, and "Restoration" in 1969. From 1950 to 1973 he directed the series "Il nuovo Ramusio," published by the Libreria dello Stato. He edited many other works meant to diffuse and popularize knowledge about Asian civilizations.

Tucci's scholarly research was complemented by his field explorations—he was, perhaps, the last of the great explorers—as well as by his impassioned interest in the contemporary Asian world. The six years he spent in India were fundamental in his life, as were his eight expeditions to Tibet (1929–1948), his six expeditions to Nepal (1950–1954), and his missions of exploration to Pakistan (starting in 1955), Afghanistan (1957), and Iran (from 1959); Tucci continued to conduct archaeological research on field explorations such as these until 1976.

The highest honors of the countries of Afghanistan, Japan, India, Indonesia, Iran, Nepal, Pakistan, and Thailand were conferred upon Tucci. He received honorary doctorates from many European and Asian universities, including those of Delhi, Kathmandu, and Tehran; he was given various academic and scientific titles in Italy (from the Accademia d'Italia, the Accademia delle Scienze of Turin, the Accademia of San Luca, and the Società Geografica Italiana), in Austria (from the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften), in France (from the Société Asiatique), in Germany (from the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut), in Japan (from the Imperial Academy and the Tōyō Bunko), in India (from the Asiatic Society of Calcutta and Vishvabharati University of Santiniketan), and in England (from the British Academy and the Royal Asiatic Society).

Tucci received many international prizes, including the gold medal of the Calcutta Art Society (1965), the Sir Percy Sykes Memorial Medal (1971), the medal for archaeology of the Academy of Architecture of Paris (1972), the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding (1976), and the Balzan Prize for History (1979). The Jawaharlal Nehru Award was always especially dear to Tucci because of his friendship with Nehru and his ties with great figures of modern India such as Rabindranath Tagore, Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, and Mohandas K. Gandhi.

The entire Indian subcontinent and Tibet were the main areas of Tucci's interest as a scholar and explorer. A complete bibliography of his works contains 360 titles, including many dozens of books, about two hundred articles, numerous encyclopedia entries, reviews, and so on. His research actively touched on many fields other than Indian and Tibetan studies, however, and he focused especially on the study of religious and philosophical thought and on historical investigation. His interest in the latter field led him to study the archaeology of Hindukush and Iran; this study was also inspired by his perennial interest in the various points of encounter of the great Asian civilizations of the Himalayan regions, Northwest India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan.

He undertook his studies of China primarily during the first stage of his scholary activity in works such as *Scritti di Mencio* (1921), *Storia della filosofia cinese antica* (1922), and *Saggezza cinese* (1926). At any rate, the most important object of his studies was Buddhism in the various forms it had taken as it expanded from India toward Tibet, Central Asia, China, and the Far East. Tucci interpreted Buddhism as the highest form of Asian humanism. Always in search of universal values in a humanistic perspective, Tucci felt that the history of Asia was closely interconnected with that of Europe, and he thus always considered Eurasia to be a single continent in cultural as well as geographical terms.

His most important scholarly works are *Linee di una storia del materialismo indiano*, 2 vols. (1923–1929); *Indo-Tibetica*, 6 vols. (1932–1941); *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 2 vols. (1949); *Teoria e pratica del Mandala* (1949); *The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings* (1950); *Minor Buddhist Texts*, 2 vols. (1956–1958); *The Religions of Tibet* (1970); *The Ancient Civilization of Transhimalaya* (1973); and *On Swāt: The Dards and Connected Problems* (1977).

Endowed with vast humanistic knowledge and intensely interested in religious and philosophical thought, Tucci possessed great erudition, extraordinary knowledge of languages, and philological skill. He knew Sanskrit and Tibetan in depth, and also had significant knowledge of Chinese and Pali (and other Indian languages). Nevertheless, he did not disdain the public at large, to whom he addressed many works, among which are *Santi e briganti nel Tibet ignoto* (1937), *Forme dello spirito asiatico* (1940), *Asia religiosa* (1946), *Tra giungle e pagode* (1953), *To Lhasa and Beyond* (1956), *The Discovery of the Mallas* (1962), *La via dello Swat* (1963), *Il trono di diamante* (1967), *Tibet, Land of Snows* (1967), and *Rati-Līlā* (1969).

Many of Tucci's minor writings are collected (partially revised by him) in his *Opera Minora* (1971) published by the Oriental School of the University of Rome. The Istituto Universitario Orientale of Naples dedicated two volumes of Asian studies to him titled *Gururājamañjarikā: Studi in onore di Giuseppe Tucci* (1974), and the IsMEO published an international collection of Asian studies in three volumes dedicated to Tucci's memory, titled *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata* (1985–1988).

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On May 7, 1984, the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente solemnly commemorated its founder with the publication of my *Giuseppe Tucci* (Rome, 1984); an English version of this work, accompanied by an updated bibliography of Tucci's writings, appeared under the title "Giuseppe Tucci" in *East and West*, n.s. 3 (1984): 11–12 and 23–42. A year after Tucci's death, the institute published *Ricordo di Giuseppe Tucci* (Rome, 1985) by Raniero Gnoli with contributions from Luciano Petech, F. Scialpi, and G. Galluppi Vallauri; this work includes a biographical note, a discussion of Tucci's *cursus honorum* and his scholarly concerns, and a bibliography.

Short commemorative notices have been published in various scientific reviews, including S. Cleuziou's in *Universalia 1984* (the annual supplement of the *Encyclopaedia Universalis*), pp. 614–615; P. Corradini's in *Mondo cinese* 45 (1984): 101–105; Mircea Eliade's in *History of Religions* 24 (1984): 157–159; K. Enoki's in *Tohogaku* 68 (1984): 127–154; Luciano Petech's in the *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 7 (1984): 137–142; B. J. Staviskij's in *Narody Azii i Afriki* 1 (1985): 213–214; M. Taddei's in *AIUON* 44 (1984): 699–704; and R. Tamburello's in *Il Giappone* 24 (1984): 211–213.

A special commemorative issue (no. 2) of *India Past and Present: A Biannual Journal of Historical Research* (Bombay, 1985), is dedicated to Tucci and contains (pp. 3–11) an editorial on his life and work. Corrado Pensa's study "L'occidente e le religioni orientali nella prospettiva di Giuseppe Tucci," in *Paramita: Quaderni di Buddhismo* 16 (1985): 19–25, deals with the West in relation to Eastern religions following the perspective of Giuseppe Tucci.

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Revised Bibliography

TU KUANG-T'ING SEE DU GUANGTING

TULSĪDĀS,

TULSĪDĀS, late medieval Indian poet whose plays and other works have had great influence on Hindu devotionalism, especially in communities that make Rāma the focus of worship. Despite his great popularity, or perhaps because of it, very little accurate information is available about the life of Tulsīdās. There is abundant material about him in the form of hagiographies and oral legends, but these legitimize his saintly life and the holy nature of his literary works rather than record the actual events of the biography.

While there is disagreement as to the date of Tulsī's birth, his death is generally agreed to have occurred in 1623. The traditionally accepted date of his birth is 1503, which would mean that he lived for 120 years. This is logical from the point of view of his hagiographers, because the full life span of a sinless human being is believed to be 120 years. Modern scholars consider that he was born probably in 1532 to a brahman family in an eastern Hindi-speaking area. In his *Kavitāvali,* Tulsī writes that he was born to a very poor family and that his father and mother did not welcome his birth. It is believed that he was born under an unfortunate conjunction of planets, which meant that for astrological reasons his parents had to abandon him.

Tulsī says that in his childhood his mind was always on Rāma, but that he later fell into the ways of the world. Sometime during his life Tulsī went to Banaras, where he lived until his death.

In 1574 Tulsī began the composition of his most renowned work, the *Rāmcaritmānas,* or *The Holy Lake of the Deeds of Rāma.* Tulsī became famous through this work, and he himself remarks in his *Kavitāvali* that "the world even likens me to the great sage Vālmīki." In addition to the *Rāmcaritmānas* and the *Kavitāvali,* at least ten other works can be ascribed to Tulsī with certainty. Chief among them are *Vinay-patrika, Dohāvali,* and *Gītāvali.*

As a poet, Tulsīdas combines the grandeur and the majesty of Sanskrit with the lyrical grace and power of Vraj (or Braj) Bhāṣā, a dialect of Hindi. A master of alliteration and rhythm, Tulsī also shows great restraint in his use of words, blending the epic and the lyric styles. His choice of dialect and style was not in conformity with the scholarly standards of his time. Tulsī describes himself as *prākrit kavi* ("uncultivated poet"), and from a scholarly viewpoint his language was *grāmya*—of the village, uncultured. Yet because of its poetic excellence, *Rāmcaritmānas* was the most revered of all Hindi texts both by scholars and by ordinary people.

The greatest achievement of Tulsī lies in making the popular devotional style acceptable to the orthodox Hindu community and the philosophical interpretations of the high culture accessible to ordinary people. His reinterpretation of the *Rāmāyaṇa,* based on the Sanskrit *Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa* and *Bhusundi-Rāmāyaṇa,* revolutionized the nature of the epic and transformed it into a popular devotional poem.

SEE ALSO Bhakti; Hindi Religious Traditions; Poetry, article on Indian Religious Poetry; Rāmāyaṇa.

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TUNG CHUNG-SHU SEE DONG ZHONGSHU

TUNGUZ RELIGION.

TUNGUZ RELIGION. The peoples of Siberia speaking Tunguz languages numbered 65,900 persons, according to the 1989 census of the U.S.S.R. The most numerous of them are the Evenki (30,000) and Eveny (17,000), who are collectively called Tunguz in the older literature. Sometimes the ethnonym Lamut ("sea person") is employed, applying only to certain groups of Eveny. The close racial and cultural relationship of these two peoples makes it possible to examine their beliefs in the framework of a single system, which may be designated "Tunguz religion." Other peoples speaking Tunguz languages are the Nanay (Goldi; 12,000), Ulchi (3,200), Udege (1,900), Oroki and Orochi (1,200), and Negidal'tsy (600). They represent a special cultural area, extending as far as the basin of the lower Amur River and Sakhalin Island, that includes the ancient cultural legacies of the Ainu and Nivkhi (Giliaks) and the inhabitants of northeastern China. A common religion has long been the primary factor uniting the atomized society of Tunguz hunters who, in small groups, mastered the vast space of taiga and tundra between the Yenisei River on the west and the Sea of Okhotsk on the east and between the Arctic Ocean on the north and Lake Baikal on the south.

The periodic religious ceremonies of the Tunguz are closely tied to their mythology, and in several instances they directly reproduce myths of creation and of the heroic deeds of their first ancestors, beginning with the words *tarnïmngākāndu bičen* ("this was in *nimngākān*"). The term *nimngākān* means "myth, tale, legend; warm fairyland; bear ritual; shamanic séance." Each group of Tunguz has a myth on the creation of *bugha*—its own inhabited territory. *Bugha* has a variety of meanings: "locality, world, native land; cosmos, sky, earth; spirit master of the upper world/lower world/hunt, God, devil; paradise, hell; icon." The Tunguz also use this term to designate the entrance into a bear den or a small hut made of young larches with small figures of beasts and birds placed therein in preparation for shamanic performances. The basic meanings of the term *bugha* embrace, in this way, notions of the creator, creation of the world, and of a model of the world. For designating the deity of the upper world the Tunguz also use the names Mayin, Ekseri, Seweki, and Amaka. The first of these names is tied to the concept of "success" or "hunting luck," whereas the last is a kinship term referring to representatives of the older age groups: "grandfather, father, uncle," and, in general, "ancestor." The word *amaka* also has other meanings: "bear; God; sky."

According to the perceptions of the Tunguz, the upper world (*ughu bugha*) is connected to the middle world (*dulu bugha*) through the North Star, termed *bugha sangarin,* "sky hole." In turn the middle world is also connected to the lower world (*hergu bugha*) through an opening within it. In the *nimngākān* the first ancestors were able to move between all three levels of the world. Thereafter this became the privilege of the shamans, who use for this purpose Tuuruu, the Tunguz variant of the World Tree, or its equivalent. Engžekit, the mythical river called "the place that no one sees." It flows from the place termed Timanitki ("toward morning; east"), transects the middle world, and enters into the place called Dolbonitki ("toward night; north"), beyond which stretches the realm of the dead, Bunikit or Buni. Into Engžekit flow the many branch rivers of individual shamans. Somewhere at the confluence of these tributaries with the mythical river are the Omiruk, territories inhabited by souls *(ōmī)*; these lands comprise the sacred wealth of each clan.

One of the myths associated with Engžekit tells of the origin of the first people, of reindeer, and of cultural objects from the various parts of the mythic bear's body. He voluntarily sacrificed himself to the heavenly maiden, who was carried off on an ice floe in the current between the upper and middle worlds. In other myths the bear, representing the ancestor of one or another Tunguz tribe, is similarly depicted as a culture hero, the creator of reindeer breeding, bequeathing after his inevitable death the ritual of the Bear Festival. This festival, which is essentially the same among all the Tunguz, is associated with the seasonal hunt of the animal in its den, which takes place in early spring or late autumn. The most important detail of the Tunguz bear ceremony, which has an explanation in their religio-mythological perception of the world, is the way in which they handle the bear's eyes. Hunters, having cut off the head of the slain beast, take out its eyes with great care, seeking to touch them neither with a knife nor with their fingernails. Then they wrap the eyes in grass or birch bark and carry them away into the forest, where they place them high in a tree. The Udege did this in the hope that the bear's eyes might be illuminated by the first rays of the rising sun. In the tabooed language of Tunguz hunters the bear's eyes are called *ōsīkta* ("stars"). The connection of the bear with heavenly luminaries is well illustrated in a Tunguz myth in which the bear, named Mangi, follows the reindeer or moose who had stolen the sun. Having caught up with his prey, the bear returns the sun to its place. Both protagonists in this myth form the constellation of Ursa Major, the Big Dipper, in Tunguz cosmology (Chichlo, 1981, pp. 39–44).

This myth of the heavenly (or cosmic) hunt was reenacted by the Tunguz during the greatest festival of the year, Ikenipke (a name derived from the word *ike,* "to sing"), which took place in a specially constructed cone-shaped dwelling *(žumi)*, whose name designates not only "house, household, or family" but also "bear den" and *uterus animalis.* In the center of this dwelling is placed a pole called Tuuruu, along which Ekseri, the spirit of the upper world, and Hargi, the spirit of the lower world, travel in order to hold conversations with the shaman. The festival, which may be called the Tunguz New Year, consists of eight days of dancing, singing, and pantomine. The people, led by the shaman, would move inside the *žumi* in a circle in the direction of the sun's movement as they traveled up the river Engžekit behind an imaginary reindeer. In his song, the shaman would describe all the details of the travel, which lasted a year—all the animals, spirits, and obstacles encountered. At the end of the festival the men would shoot from a shamanic bow at wooden reindeer figures, shattering them into pieces that each man kept until the next festival.

Other important shamanistic rituals of the Tunguz took place in specially constructed dwellings in the taiga. With complex auxiliary structures, these represented a model of the supernatural world. The first, *nimngāndek,* signifies "the place where *nimngākān* is fulfilled." The second, *sevenčedek,* is "the place where a ceremony with *seven* is performed." Among all Tunguz peoples, *seven* means "shaman's spirit helper," but this word is connected to one of the names of the high God, Sevek or Seveki, and to the taboo reindeer of light coloring, *sevek,* which is also called *bughadi oron,* "heavenly reindeer." The ritual of dedicating the chosen reindeer as *sevek* is either independent or part of the ritual cycle in the Ikenipke festival. From the moment of this dedication, the *sevek* serves only for the transport of sacred objects. After its death, this reindeer is laid out on a platform set up in a tree.

The word *seven* also signifies the ritual dish at the Bear Festival, which is prepared from rendered bear fat mixed with finely chopped bear meat. Scooping the *seven* with a spoon, the hunter must swallow it without its touching his teeth. This method of partaking of the body of the beast deity is identical to the rules of handling bear eyes. The boldest hunters may swallow them but only without touching them with their teeth; otherwise the hunter will become blind. The meaning of these rules becomes more understandable in light of the strong prohibitions associated with the domestic hearth. The firewood and coals must not be stirred with a sharp object, nor may broken needles be thrown into the fire. Even to place a knife with its point toward the fire may put out the eyes of the spirit of the fire. This spirit, according to an Orochi myth, is a pair of bear cubs born from the mating of a bear and a woman. According to the Evenki, the bear is a culture hero who gave people fire. Reconstructing the Tunguz spirit of the domestic fire discloses his bisexual nature, corresponding to an androgynous deity like the bear. It is therefore understandable why hunters do not risk swallowing *ōsīkta* ("bear's eyes"), preferring to return them to the taiga. The luster of these "stars" on top of the World Tree assured hunting success, and the projections of the luster are the light and warmth of domestic hearths.

When considered as a system, the myths, concepts, rituals, and customs of the Tunguz show what a large, if not central, role the bear occupies. The most powerful shamans have him as a guardian spirit. At the time of the séance they don his skin, thus receiving power over all zoomorphic spirits, which they gather in the darkness of the sacred dwelling that represents, in essence, the cosmic bear den. The moose as well plays a significant role in the religious life of hunters and shamans, but its significance cannot be explained, as it is by most scholars, by economic functions alone. It must be noted that, according to myth, the moose emerges from the bear's fur and is, in consequence, part of him. And if Ursa Major is termed Heglen ("moose") by the Tunguz, this denotes a shift of stress in the direction of one member of a binary opposition composing the structure of the myth (and constellation), in which prey and hunter can change places. In their ritual practice Tunguz shamans preferred to place this stress on the figure of the hunter, inasmuch as they considered Mangi, who tracked the cosmic moose, to be their forefather.

Traces of the myth of the cosmic hunt in the religious life of Tunguz peoples still remain, as attested by ancient wooden disks of the Nanay that represent the sun (*siū*). On the upper part of one of them is a drawing of a bear, and on the lower is the representation of a moose turned upside down. The Nanay hung such disks on the door of a dwelling or on a child's cradle; to the shamans they were an indispensable accessory of their costume. Possessing healing and protective functions, these disks are concise and expressive signs of the fundamental myth of the beginnings of human history. In the Nanay culture area, the myth of the bear Mangi, who freed the sun from captivity, and the myth of the hunter Khado, who killed the excess suns, which were burning all living things, came into contact with each other. Both myths are similar insofar as the Orochi, neighbors of the Nanay, consider Khado the father of the shamanistic spirit Mangi, the representation of which is on the shamans' staffs.

The Tunguz, whose livelihood depends upon success in hunting, conducted simple ceremonies that gave the hunter confidence in his own powers and in the benevolence of fate. He could do without a shaman, having enlisted the support of the master spirit of a locality and having gained a personal spirit helper. One of these rites is Singkelevun, "obtaining *singken* (success)." This ritual appears to be the simplest imitation of the concluding ceremony of the Ikenipke rite: the hunter makes an image of a reindeer or a moose, takes it with him into the taiga, and then shoots at it with a small bow. If the image is hit immediately, it becomes a *singken.* The dried parts of previously killed animals (hearts, jaws, noses), which the hunter saves, are also guarantors of success. Certain groups of Tunguz began to call the spirit master of the taiga Singken. The Evenki and Orochi conducted a Singkelevun ceremony in October, before the beginning of the winter hunting season. It was performed among them as a complex shamanistic ceremony consisting of several cycles.

For the preservation of human life, the Tunguz prepared special repositories of souls, which were "earthly" miniature copies of *ōmīruk* found in the basin of the Engzekit River in the upper world. The domestic *ōmīruk* are small boxes with little figurines placed in them. Each figurine holds the soul of a person placed there by a shaman. Certain shamans placed tufts of hair from persons needing protection in the *ōmīruk.* Such little boxes were strapped to the saddle of the heavenly reindeer. The *ōmī* was evidently a reincarnated substance circulating within the limits of a determined social group. Among the Nanay, for example, the *ōmī* lived in the form of small birds on the clan tree, from which they descended into women's bodies. Depictions of these trees are still found on the robes of Nanay women today.

In the case of frequent deaths of children, the shaman had to set out for the upper world, where he snared one of the soul birds and swiftly descended to earth. Evidence of his successful trip was a fistful of wool strands pressed together, which he threw into a white handkerchief held up for him by an assistant during the séance.

The traditional method of disposing of the dead among the Tunguz was aerial: the body, washed in the blood of a sacrificial reindeer and clothed and wrapped in a hide, tent cover, or birch bark, was laid on a scaffold set up in the branches of a tree. Coffins, when used, were made of hollowed-out tree trunks and set upon tree trunks or on posts dug into the ground. The belongings of the deceased were left with him, and his reindeer was strangled and left at the place of burial. After christianization in the eighteenth century, the Tunguz began to practice underground burial. However, the traditional ritual persists in the Siberian taiga even today.

The Tunguz considered the cause of death to be the departure or theft by evil spirits of the *beye* soul, the name of which translates as "body." In conducting the mourning ceremony for the dead a year later, the Tunguz sometimes prepared a temporary "body" from a section of a tree trunk, which they clothed in part with the deceased person's clothing, provided with food, and bade farewell to forever. The shaman, completing the conveyance of the deceased into Buni, asked him not to return again nor to disturb the living. Among the Nanay, the initial conveyance of the deceased, termed Nimngan, took place on the seventh day. Here, the deceased was represented by a bundle of his clothing, in which the shaman placed the *han'an,* the "shadow" soul of the deceased, which he had caught. This bundle of clothes was treated like the living for a period of three years, until the final farewell with him at the large *kasa* memorial festival, lasting several days. But even here, under the unquestionable influence of Manchurian Chinese customs, the Nanay and other Tunguz peoples of the lower Amur region observed traditional division between the living and the dead. An ancestor cult did not unfold here nor, more forcibly, was it characteristic of the Evenki and Eveny, the nomads of the Siberian taiga.

Shamanism and the traditional religion of the Tunguz have not totally disappeared, as is commonly believed, notwithstanding atheist propaganda and prohibitions. As recently as 1958, four nomadic Even communities, living in isolation for more than thirty years in the mountainous forest-tundra of Magadan oblast, were headed by eight authoritative shamans, one of whom was called by the honorific Amanža (Amaka). But, in spite of their forced settlement, these Evens (Berezovka village, north-east of Yakutia) preserved their religious beliefs and behavior. Thus at the beginning of October 2000, to cause a fall of snow waited so much by the reindeers herders and the hunters of the village, a woman left her house with a bear skin, shook it vigorously, then suspended it outside. People of the village while arriving in the taiga after the snowfall, achieved the following ritual: Men sacrificed a reindeer and a woman copiously coated three selected larches with the blood of the animal. Then they threw in fire some drops of vodka and pieces of meat. Thus they wanted to thank the spirits of the forest and to be ensured of their benevolence.

SEE ALSO Bears; Shamanism.

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Translated from Russian by Demitri B. Shimkim

TUONELA, which means "the abode," is the mythical place of sojourn for the deceased in the religious traditions among Finns, Karelians, Ingrians and speakers of many other Finnish-related languages. The word concerns a sacred place in the otherworld, and is often used as a synonym of the words for the netherworld (*Manala, maanalainen*: "underworld") or for the mythical kingdom of the extreme north (Pohjola: "Northern Land"). In oral epics, laments, and lullabies it refers to "the home of the Tuoni," where Tuoni refers to the ruler of the world of the dead. The term *tuonilmainen* refers to "the other air," which is another term for the otherworld. A parallel Mansi word, *tammaa* (the otherworld) refers to the final destination of the journey of the breathing spirit *(lil)* of the deceased one in the northernmost edge of the universe. The spirit flies to *tammaa* across the Arctic Ocean in the shape of a migrating goose. In addition to its meaning as the mythical geographical destination of the spiritual voyage of a soul, *tuonela* also refers to the filled grave of an individual dead person, as well as the entire village graveyard.

Karelian, Ingrian, and Veps cemeteries at the Finnish-Russian border provide a good example of the long-lasting encounter between traditional folk belief and the deep influence of Russian Orthodox Christianity. Small log huts were erected above the graves, with a window set at one end, towards the direction of home, to let in light, and also to enable the dead to look out and guard the life and behavior of relatives at home for the benefit of family fortune and social control. A hole is made at another end through which the *löyly* (breathing soul) can leave the grave to visit its former home or to make its final journey to the home of the Tuoni in the shape of a bird.

Similar huts have been found in the cemeteries of other Finno-Ugric peoples (e.g., the Mordvins, Komi, and Mansi) in Russia. The custom of erecting huts in cemeteries was borrowed from the Russians, who erected similar house-shaped, pitched-roof structures over their graves. (These structures were forbidden by the tsarist government in the nineteenth century.) The cutting of trees and the breaking of twigs was forbidden in such places.

Scholars of Finnish folk beliefs, epics, and rituals (Martti Haavio, Uno [Holmberg-]Harva, Lauri Honko, Aili Nenola-Kallio, Juha Pentikäinen, and Anna-Leena Siikala) have emphasized the importance of death as the essential element of Finnish culture. Within that culture the extended family unit extended beyond those members still living on this earth and those who have died and passed on to the "other air": the realm of Tuoni. The deceased ones had strong power to enforce the values and norms of the society, and could punish the living for violating taboos. The dead were believed to have the same needs as the living—clothing, food, and work tools, so it was the duty of the living to provide these necessities. Of special importance was the provision of Tuoni footwear, in which the dead were dressed with woolen socks. Women who died unmarried were given the kerchiefs that married women wore, so that they could marry in the otherworld. Care for the dead continued beyond the funeral, for they continued to share in the family's proceeds. On personal and annual commemoration days, plenty of food was taken to the graves. It was believed that the dead ones came to the graves in the form of birds, and ate the food that was left there as a sacrifice.

The topography of Tuonela varies in Finnish folklore and mythology. Beliefs and practices which are clearly based on neighboring cultures and missionary religions have also been adapted to Finnish-Karelian cosmography, and are elaborated in funeral laments, for example. According to these beliefs, the realm of the dead may be situated in heaven or at the northern end of the world, separated from the world of the living by a deep precipice. At the base of the precipice flows the black river of Tuonela, unilluminated by the sun or moon. The river contains a whirling, wild cataract and a stream of fire in which spears, swords, and needles stand upright and the dead can be seen swimming in bloody clothes. The crossing of the river was associated with great danger. The dead could wade through it, or they could cross a bridge made of thin thread. More frequently, the dead were transported across the river in a boat steered by the daughter of Tuoni. If a person heard a ringing in his or her ears, it meant that relatives in Tuonela were calling for the boat.

Fingernails and locks of hair were especially significant in the Karelian and Ingrian beliefs about Tuonela. The nails of the deceased were clipped on Saturday night, cut in two, and slipped into the neck-hole of the deceased person's shirt. The clippings were thought to help the dead ascend Tuonela mountain, which was smooth as an eggshell. However, the nails had to be cut in pieces; otherwise, the Evil One would make a boat from the whole nails and use it to ferry the deceased to Hell. The picturesque nature of these beliefs about Tuonela stems partly from Baltic-Slavic, Byzantine, and Old Egyptian traditions, and partly from medieval Christian visionary literature and hagiography. In Finnish epics, these traditions have been merged with the older tradition of shamanic visions and journeys to the Land of the Dead. Lemminkäinen, who appears in folklore as both a god and a shaman is an example of how traditional shamanic epics have been combined to include elements of Egyptian Osiris mythology.

SEE ALSO Finnish Religions; Finno-Ugric Religions.

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TURKIC RELIGIONS. Throughout the course of their long history, the Turkic peoples have simultaneously or successively practiced all the universal religions (Christianity, especially Nestorian Christianity; Judaism; Manichaeism; Buddhism; and Mazdaism) before the majority of them were won over to Islam. However, before yielding to these religions, they held their own system of beliefs, their own personal representations. These are generally identified as "animism" or "shamanism," even though the last term cannot even begin to cover the whole of the religious phenomena. Their "national" religion, largely shared by the Mongols and certainly the Tunguz, is still practiced today. It has been kept alive among certain Siberian and Altaic groups and, to a much greater extent than is realized, within the very institution of Islam, to which it has more or less adapted without abandoning or altering many of its original characteristics.

This is not to say that the indigenous Turkic religion is free of every foreign element. It developed in contact with other ideas, notably those from China and Iran. It has continually evolved and grown richer over the course of centuries, either through internal development or the influence of great civilizations. It is, in fact, quite flexible and is based on tolerance and religious coexistence. Certainly, it is essentially a mystic religion. Its beliefs have never been solidly unified, and, as we are beginning to better understand, they are like two diverging branches of a common trunk: the popular one is centered on shamanism, totemism, and a vigorous polytheism; the imperial one is antishamanist, antitotemist, and has monotheistic tendencies in its advocacy of the supremacy of Tengri, the sky god.

Although they are separate, these two branches have not escaped interpenetration. One branch developed under the tribal regime, the other during the formation of the great empires of the steppes, such as those of the Hsiung-nu, the T'u-chüeh or Türk (sixth to eighth century), the Uighurs (eighth to ninth century), or the Mongols (thirteenth to fourteenth century). It must be remembered that the Turkic peoples played a major role in the Mongol empire. This is reflected in the use of the name *Tartar* (Turkic, *Tatar*), which was used to refer to the armies of Chinggis Khan and is none other than the name of a very ancient vassalized Turkic tribe. This expressive name also evoked an infernal river of antiquity, the Tartarus, and had the connotation of "barbarian" as well.

Whether tribal or imperial, however, the prevailing political and social regime allowed a memory of the former to remain, and when the prevailing order was temporarily abolished, along with it was abolished a part of what it had imposed. Nevertheless, it is important to consider the beliefs common to both the popular religion and the imperial religion apart from the beliefs that pertain more particularly to one or the other.

Until recently, it had been considered impossible to understand the religion of the Turkic people in its ancient form. Studies, especially ethnographic ones, have been written on groups of people who continued to practice the religion in modern times (nineteenth to twentieth century). Only recently has it been observed that the inscribed Turkic stelae of the sixth to the tenth century, certain manuscripts (including the dictionary of Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, eleventh century), and foreign sources (especially Chinese but also Byzantine, Arabic, Latin, Armenian, and Syrian) present a considerable wealth of information. This information takes on full meaning when compared with ethnographic notes, medieval Mongolian sources, and pre-Islamic remnants in Turkic-Muslim plastic and literary works. Thus we begin to have, if not a complete knowledge of the ancient Turkic religion, at least a satisfactory view of the overall picture.

Of course, we have acquired more information on some periods and peoples than on others. We have a fair understanding of the religious situation under the empires but know little of the religious situation of the tribes, at least before the modern era. We know something of certain ethnic groups but nothing at all of others. In general, we have sufficient documentation on the period between the foundation of the Türk empire (sixth century) and the conversion of the Oghuz to Islam (eleventh to thirteenth century), as well as on the present era.

THE COMMON HERITAGE. With a few small exceptions, the Turkic religion has offered structures to all peoples of all social classes in all regions of the Turkic world throughout history. Admittedly, there was a less influential period during which the religion was developing, but it appears to have been firmly established as early as the first century CE. It would be incorrect to believe, for example, that at the beginning of the Türk empire, the western Türk borrowed a cult of fire that was unknown to the eastern Türk from Iran (where it is known to have flourished), for the cult was already pan-Turkic. Because Sogdian, the language of an Iranian people, was used as a written language as far north as Mongolia in the early sixth century, the fact that literary evidence for the fire cult exists in an Iranian language cannot be used to prove that the cult was of Iranian origin. Far less important practices seem to be known in the east but not in the west, such as the wearing of plumes, which did not spread to the west until the Mongolian invasions.

Although the religion was fairly well established early on, certain innovations appeared over the course of time. Without doubt, the dualism already apparent in the Turkic religion has been accentuated through the influence of Manichaeism. From Buddhism has come a conception of hell as a cosmic zone situated under the earth in symmetry with the sky (a deity), as well as the transformation of one of the great mythological characters, Erlik or Erklik ("the virile one, the valiant one") from a warrior who killed the stars at daybreak to the god of the underworld, a king of innumerable demons who not only live on the earth but haunt the entire universe. Equivalent to the Indo-Iranian Yama, he is attested to in Turkic sources as early as the 1200s. The idea of paradise seems to have taken shape in a similar way; the Sogdian word for it, *utchmaq,* has been confused with the Old Turkic infinitive *utchmaq,* which means "to fly away" and which was traditionally used, at least in speaking of great individuals, to signify "to die." An innovation that seems to be more important was observed by the Chinese in about 628: "In the past, the Türk had the custom of burning the dead; now they bury them." However, one must consider that the Turkic peoples have always fluctuated between incinerating and burying the dead. Of the pre-Slavic Bulgarians and, in a general way, of the western Türk, it is said, "One phratry burns its dead, the other buries them." The Kirghiz continued to use incineration until they came into contact with Islam.

Ideas that have remained unchanged are those relative to death, the afterlife, and funerary rites (apart from the issue of burial versus incineration). Death, which one hopes will be violent and unnatural (in spite of the respect that is occasionally shown the elderly) is considered the Necessity, Kergek (perhaps a deity). However, it is deeply dreaded and has given rise to bitter regrets, supposedly issued from the mouths of the deceased. Death is eminently contagious and requires a sober approach toward the dying one (generally abandoned) or the deceased. The type of afterlife to be attained depends primarily on the treatment accorded the skeleton. It must be cleaned perfectly: the flesh must be scraped off and the cadaver set on a platform in a tree and exposed. When the bones are clean, they are either buried in the ground (if the deceased is to retain his earthly ties) or burned (if he is to lose them and gain access to the kingdom of the dead). The funerary ceremonies have also survived the centuries without having been changed: they include lamentations and ritual mutilations, declamations *(agit)* of the virtues of the deceased, a sacrifice, and a communal meal. The meal has been especially important, so much so that the word *yog*, originally designating the funeral as a whole, would eventually connote only the meal.

The varying forms of the obsequies clearly demonstrate the margin of liberty or of uncertainty that remained within a well-defined context. This latitude occurs again and again primarily in the view of the world. The universe is generally represented as composed of two parallel plains, the sky and the earth (ultimately extended to three with the addition of the underworld). At the same time, it is also seen as a square plateau (earth), covered by a circumscribed dome (sky), with the four corners of the earth being allowed to exist outside the shelter of the sky. The cosmic axis that links the sky, the earth, and the underworld can be a mountain or a tree with seven branches, each branch representing a level of the sky. The levels of the sky are in turn derived from the seven planets still known to have been popularly believed in during modern times but also attested to by prehistoric engravings and by every construction with symbolic value, for example, the pillar of the tent, the ensemble formed by the central hearth of the yurt, and its upper opening, through which the smoke escapes. This axis is at once the support for the sky and the path that permits access to it. Among the numerous microcosms consonant with this view, the yurt, a circular tent in the form of a bell, is the most characteristic. It is protected from exterior influences by the powerful deity of the threshold, which one must kiss upon entering. Although circular in shape, the yurt was oriented first toward the rising sun and then toward the south.

It is possible that the sky and the earth originally may have been placed side by side, but there is more speculation than truth to this. The Orkhon inscriptions (eighth century) speak about origins in two lines: "When the sky above was blue and the earth below was dark, the son of man appeared between them." The Turkic peoples were little interested in the cosmogonical problem or in eschatology. Of the more recent cosmogonies (after the tenth century), the well-known one reported by Wilhelm Radloff (1884, vol. 2, p. 3) and all allusions to the creative power of the sky god were influenced by foreign religions.

The observation of stars is an important occupation. The phases of the moon are considered lucky or unlucky. No projects are to be undertaken when the moon is in its last quarter, although a good time to launch a military campaign is when the moon is waxing or is full. The last days of the lunar month are favorable for obsequies because they mark an end and announce a rebirth. Similarly, human life closely parallels plant life. Trees are born each spring and die each autumn; thus the cadaver is saved for the biannual obsequies, which take place either when the leaves begin to fall or as they grow green again, a fact that explains the aforementioned techniques used to preserve the skeleton. When great personages are taken to their place of final rest, an attempt is made to be in harmony with the vegetative season, the phases of the moon, and the beneficial moments of the solstices and the equinoxes.

The four classic elements make up the universe. Water and fire are of exceptional value. Moreover, they are antagonists and complementary components: fire comes from wood, which is born from water. The last has a fertilizing capacity but above all is pure. It is forbidden to dirty water, even though water does not purify. A "mass of water" is a symbol of knowledge and intelligence, qualities of the sovereign. Fire, which eventually would become a god, is an alter ego of the shaman because of its hypnotic, elevating, and healing powers. It is the great purifier. All defiled objects or those suspected of being defiled, notably anything that enters the camp, must pass between two fires, jump over the fire, or go around it. However, this ancient belief became obsolete in the nineteenth century, while fumigation, also a purifier, remained popular. The hearth, considered the reflection of the family, is protected by numerous taboos. To extinguish it and disperse the ashes would amount to destroying the race. Since ancient times, the great priest of this fire has been the "prince of fire," the *ottchigin* (derived from *ot tegin*), the youngest son to inherit the paternal residence—the heart of the empire—after the older sons had been provided for or endowed with a distant appanage. Today, this office is held by various members of the family, occasionally women. Like thunder, lightning—fire from the sky—arouses terror and is seen as a divine punishment against the one it strikes.

Every existing thing is inhabited by a force of varying intensity that we could call, although not quite accurately, "spirit," "soul," or "master-possessor." Each force can be broken down into a multitude of forces or can be combined with others to constitute a more vast, collective force. The tree is powerful, but the grove or forest is more powerful. The "eternal" stone is fully effective only when combined with others to form cairns *(obo),* piles generally located in dangerous passages or passages recognized as such by a sacred mystery. Anything complex like a man or woman, has several souls; human souls reside particularly in the blood (the shedding of which is forbidden), breath, hair, skull, sexual organs, and elsewhere. Thus nothing is simple or stable; everything has variable dimensions, a sort of ubiquity. But everything makes reference to the animal, zoomorphism being the form par excellence—the form of all spirits and of human spirits before their birth, during their life, and after their death. Consequently, everything that exists can appear as it is or in animal form.

In one way or another, all animals have had a numinous role, but certain animals are different from others: the bird of prey, the eagle or falcon, is a divine messenger that flies near Tengri and sits enthroned on the summit of the cosmic tree; the stag is often considered a saint, but is hunted nevertheless; the hare's position is as ambiguous as that of the camel, which is totemized or tabooed as impure; the bear is the quintessential lunar animal, whose hibernation stirs the imagination; geese or swans, which appear in the widespread legend of the swan maiden, may symbolize the celestial virgin; all birds are souls; and the horse, a member of the clan, is the epitome of the sacrificial animal and also often a solar or aquatic symbol.

With the exception of the act of killing another human, combat between an animal and an adolescent, or another animal designated to represent him, constitutes the principal rite of passage. This rite allows a male youth to become part of adult society and gives him rights to women or, rather, constitutes marriage in itself. In effect, the match is an enactment of the sexual act: to conquer the animal is to become both its spouse and its son. It renews and reenacts the primordial ancestral struggle: murder, copulation, and birth. This rite is an ancient legacy clearly attested by the animal art plaques of the steppes, medieval manuscripts, and modern commentary.

Despite a strong family structure, accounts of adoption by animals or humans are numerous, and fraternity is not dependent upon birth alone. Fraternity can be pledged between two strangers through the exchange of significant gifts (osselets, arrows, horses) and particularly through the mixing of blood. The rite that establishes fraternity consists of the two postulants' joining their slashed wrists or drinking mixed drops of their blood from a cup that is often made from the dried skull top of a murdered enemy chief. This giving of one's blood to another man is actually only one variant of the oath. The other form is the giving of blood to the earth, realized through the pouring of one's blood or the blood of a sacrificed animal; this act is performed before the sky, which deeply involves those making the pledge.

THE POPULAR RELIGION. Despite the pretensions of certain shamans to positions of tribal leadership, shamanism is essentially a religious phenomenon, a dominant one in the religious life of contemporary non-Muslim Turkic peoples and one that is at the heart of the popular religion. It speaks to the people of things that interest them most—the preservation of their life (magical healings), their future (divination), and their relations with the familiar gods and spirits (the shaman's sacerdotal role, his cosmic voyage). The institution of shamanism is surely quite ancient. Although poorly discernible in antiquity, it was in full bloom by the time of the Middle Ages, despite the total silence of the Türk inscriptions on the subject. This silence does not prove the nonexistence of shamanism but, rather, reflects the care taken to exclude it from imperial records. The oldest descriptions of shamanic séances date back almost to the era when the Old Turkic word for shaman, *qam*, clearly appears, and when magical healings and divinations were attested to among the Oghuz. Descriptions of such rites among the nomadic Turkic tribes come to us from Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), while similar accounts regarding the Kirghiz come from Marvazī.

Shortly after this period, numerous traces of shamanism appeared among the tribes converted to Islam who became part of the Seljuk hordes. From then on, the information continues to increase and become more precise. In the thirteenth century, van Ruusbroec provided a remarkable description of the séance. From all this medieval information, it appears that the shaman had the ear of the people, communicated with the sky god, was visited by demons, and went into trances to accomplish his cosmic voyages, during which he met many spirits and their auxiliary, or adversary, spirits. His objectives were to cure the sick by expelling the spirits that had entered them or by finding the spirits that had left their bodies, to predict the future, and to exercise certain sacerdotal and political powers. In other respects, the shaman seems to have been a sort of blacksmith, a manipulator of two numinous objects, fire and metal. In any case, he already had rivals: for healing, the first official doctors; for divination, the astrologers (seers who were closer to the princes than to the people) and all kinds of sorcerers, diviners, and prophesiers who waved their wands or arrows and used osselets and dice, who used haruspicy, scapulimancy, and, especially, oneiromancy, and who interpreted divinatory texts. One type of sorcerer who became the shaman's most threatening rival was the "rainmaker," the *yadadji*, who, with the help of a bezoar, produced thunderstorms on demand. These sorcerers, like the astrologers, worked more freely under the imperial religion than did the shamans, because the sorcerers had no pretensions to power or claims of intimacy with the sky.

The totemic system, which can exist only in tribal societies that employ it to determine basic structures (families, clans), plays a role in the popular religion that is almost as important as that of shamanism. For a long time, totemism was unknown among the Altaic peoples in general; however, in the mid-twentieth century pioneering research by P. J. Strahlenberg, Cho-dzidlo, A. Billings, N. Shchukin, and others revealed a totemic system among both contemporary and extinct Turkic societies, such as the Bashkirs, the Oghuz, and the western Türk. Since the eighth century, the Arabs (as confirmed by certain medieval Turkic texts) have observed a tie between clans of certain tribes and certain animals. The study of these observations reveals, beyond all possible doubt, a totemism, naturally misunderstood in the Arab and medieval Turkic accounts.

It is clear that the people, organized under the tribal system, worshiped numerous gods of human dimension and that they cared little about great deities, notably the Sky. We have seen that they were surrounded by innumerable forces that they had to use or protect: natural forces and even fabricated objects (the "master" of the weapon, its "soul," could render the weapon ineffective). The "masters" of the herd, of game, fish, hunting and fishing territories, and doubtless others all had to be conciliated. The masters that the Old Turkic texts call *iduq yer sub,* "sacred lands and waters," concerned them most. These also could be the ensemble of indivisible lands inhabited by the tribe, or better, their "master-possessors" (those of other tribes and of foreigners such as the Chinese were recognized). It could also refer to certain privileged parts of this ensemble, often cited by name. The latter lands were "left free," as conveyed by the word *iduq*. In these areas it was forbidden to carry out any secular activity: hunting, fishing, or felling trees. The idea that the parts of a whole should always be respected was extended to everything. There were also *iduq* animals within the herd that could not be milked, sheared, or mounted. It was important for the hunters to allow some animals to escape from the game they encircled. At least the first fruits of the harvests had to be set aside unused. At each milking and at each meal, it was customary to set apart a portion of milk or meat to be offered to the gods.

Out of a desire to maintain control over the earth's products, the people made "soul supports"; these represented the spirit protectors of animals and harvests. They were among the numerous idols placed in the yurts and were also transported in carts, which became veritable traveling altars. Constructed of felt, wood, and metal, these zoomorphic or anthropomorphic idols could also represent and contain the soul of ancestors and of all imaginable powers. One took care of them, fed them, and painted them with blood. Ethnographers eventually began to call these idols by the Mongol word *ongon* (Turkic equivalents: *töz*, *tyn*, *kürmes*), although *ongon* actually refers to totems. Some of the highest deities were affected by this idolization, either through a spontaneous irruption of the practice as applied to the lower spirit protectors or through absorption of elements from the imperial religion. In a general way, the cave, the waters, the trees, and the stars were venerated. Every elevation of ground became a place of cult worship: it established the image of an ascent toward the sky, a distant and vague god.

Whereas the tribal and familial deities of ancient periods are poorly understood, it is almost impossible to define the possible ties of the people to the great gods as revealed to us by the imperial texts alone, at least for the period during which the people were not under the empire.

THE IMPERIAL RELIGION. It is difficult to comprehend the significance and the success of the imperial religion without taking into account the tribal organization of society, with its attendant instability, internecine wars, anarchy, and misery. Divided, the inhabitants of the steppes were powerless. United, they became invincible. Therefore, their strength assured free commerce and made possible raids and conquests of the rich lands of sedentary peoples. Despite the tribes' pronounced taste for independence and their attachment to tradition, the empire presented certain advantages that the tribes were prepared to accept, even if it meant losing part of their patrimony along with their autonomy. Certainly the sovereign, promoted through his own genius or through circumstances, was descended from the tribal regime and practiced the popular religion. This fact, together with his need to secure mass support, inclined him to tolerate the tribal religion; but he reorientated it, promoting elements that had been secondary, diluting or eliminating elements that were in essence antimonarchist. The two great victims were shamanism and totemism.

From the imperial viewpoint, shamanism had no alternative but to adapt. During the long medieval periods, shamans had not only attained positions of tribal leadership (without necessarily having the gifts or the means for leadership) but had also pretended to maintain privileged relationships with the invisible, to climb to the sky. As tribal chiefs, they had to accept a superior authority, something that was more difficult for them than for others. As religious leaders, they had to acknowledge that the *kaghan*, the emperor, had relationships with the invisible world and the sky, relationships much closer than their own. Thus, there was an inevitable conflict between the shaman and the sovereign. However, the contest being unequal, it often ended abruptly or resulted in the inevitable elimination of the shaman. Chinggis Khan's suppression of the influence of the great shaman at his court can be seen as an epitome of this conflict. Even though we have no information, we can assume that the process was the same in other political structures with pan-Turkic tendencies. It is characteristic that the Old Turkic texts do not contain a single word about shamanism: we have already seen why. Nevertheless, it took real courage on the part of the sovereign to disregard the fear inspired in the Turkic peoples by all those who held religious or magical powers, including priests of the religions with which they came in contact.

Totemism was an equally formidable obstacle erected by the tribal regime against the empire. Classificatory and divisive by definition, it was diametrically opposed to the imperial ideal. The duty to which the sovereign was thus called to devote himself consisted of renouncing the various totems of the clan cults and insistently promoting the totem or totems of the ruling dynasty. The ruling dynasty, like every family, like every tribe, was descended either from two united animals or from an animal that had had sexual relations with a human. The sex of the animal or human was not as important in this matter as was the complementarity of the different species. The latter was indicated more clearly and can be seen in the animal art of the steppes: a wildcat and a herbivore, a bird of prey and a rodent, an animal and a human. The myth of origin that was the most widely believed (because it simultaneously served the Türk, the Mongols, and other, smaller, groups) first presented a she-wolf who fed a young boy, married him, and gave him children, thus becoming his mother and wife at the same time. Later this was changed: a wolf was believed to have united with a doe. The content of this myth is particularly rich, especially among the Türk, because it involves the intervention of fertilizing water (the marsh where the she-wolf finds the child), the cave (where she gives birth), and even the bird of prey, which flies above the couple.

However, widespread as it is, this myth is only one among many. One could say that there are as many myths as there are Turkic peoples. Hence, the ancestor of the Kirghiz was a bull or a dog married to forty virgins; the ancestors of the Karakhanids, a lion and a camel. The Oghuz have demonstrated how a theme was able to change owing to unknown influences. Oghuz Kaghan, the eponymic ancestor of the confederation (whose name was etymologically *ogush,* "tribe") was first named "colostrum" *(agiz),* then "young bull" *(oghuz)* after his ancestor, while the wolf remained his guide and protector. Later, the Oghuz had six birds of prey as "totems" when they were divided into six clans and twenty-two or twenty-four when the number of their tribes increased. The exaltation of one's ancestors was emphasized in the Türk empire. Each year the sovereign either went in person or sent a high dignitary to the birthplace (cave) of his family. Türk flagpoles were topped with golden wolves' heads; thus the wolf continued to lead his descendants into battle and also to march ahead of them in migrations.

The imperial ancestor was clearly a divine animal who came from the sky. He was "blue" like the sky and, as described in a relatively recent (post-Chinggisid) text, he could be associated with luminous rays that emanated from the sun and moon. Thus, two different traditions concerning the origins of great men seem to have existed—one involving the sexual union of animals, one involving light that came and impregnated a woman or that, itself a radiant daughter, seduced heroes like Oghuz Kaghan. Some attempt was made to combine the two traditions, but never with much success, not even in the case of the Mongols, whose *Secret History* reveals the efforts made in this respect, or in the Turkic *Oghuz name,* which owes much to the former.

The popular gods suffered less from the imperial religion. Any major force that contributed to the power of the empire was welcomed, and the Turkic peoples, with their fundamental beliefs in the diffused divine, opposed the disappearance of these gods. (Popular sentiment also had to be respected.) Nevertheless, their fate was not always the same. Some were more or less forgotten, while others were promoted. Still others were obviously approached from a new perspective. The various *iduq yer sub,* the "forbidden places," the "master-possessors of the earth and waters," were apparently reduced to those originally belonging to the imperial family. The mountains saw their strength become concentrated in two or three summits, such as the Ötükän, where the prince was seated. On the other hand, everything that appeared to be universal, common to all humankind, grew disproportionately. The earth goddess was often associated with the sky god and partook of his indivisibility. The sky himself, principally Tengri, became the sky god and was "blue," "elevated," and "endowed with strength"; he clearly became, at least eventually, "eternal," the supreme god above all others because he was the god of the emperor and was as exceptional as the latter was. The sovereign was "born from the sky," "resembled the sky," and was some times the sky's son, acting in his name as if he were his great priest; but he was also more, something like the sky's projection, his "shadow," as the Muslims would say. He directed the sky's cult, the collective prayers and ceremonial sacrifices in which he had all his people participate. From then on, Tengri concerned all people, all animals, all vegetables. He gave them life, made them grow, and protected them through two specific gifts, *kut,* a viaticum and celestial "soul," and *ülüg,* "luck."

The national god of the Turkic peoples, Tengri, was also the god of all men and demanded that all recognize him, that is, that they submit to the Turkic *kaghan*—a demand that caused him to take on the characteristics of a god of war. The worst transgression was to revolt against the prince, that is, against Tengri, and the god knew no other punishment for this than death. Before sending death, Tengri "applied pressure," sent messengers, and intervened in a purely psychological manner. In serious cases, he intervened simultaneously with the more popular gods. In medieval times, at least, there does not seem to have been any notion of retribution or postmortem punishment.

If the popular religion has been passed over in silence by imperial Turkic texts, and often by others, there are nonetheless numerous deities that appear around the sky god without our knowing their connections to him: the earth goddess, the *iduq yer sub* and other master-possessors, the sacred springs and rivers, the trees, fire, and the mountain. Whether this last represented the "god of the earth," as with Boz Tengri, or whether it constituted the earth's axis, the center of the empire, like the famous Ötükän (in the Greater Khingan Range), its role eventually became so great and imposing that it was generally designated in Central Asia, as the god of the earth. (For example, the sacred mountain of the Mongolians is the Burkhan Qaldun.) The most powerful and stable of these deities that appear around the sky god is Umai (often still called this today but also known by other names, for example, Aĭyysyt among the Siberian Yakuts), a placental goddess of whom al-Kāshgharī says, "If one worships her, a child will be born." She protects newborns and mares and safeguards against puerperal fever. Certain attempts seem to have been made to bring her closer to Tengri; she has been called "close to the khatun," that is, to the empress.

Finally, in addition to grandiose ceremonies (in terms of the empire), the imperial religion apparently promoted cults and new rites. The banner cult supported a particular soul, either of an ancestral animal (often evoked through a statuette or horse or yak tails atop a pole) or of one of the sovereign's ancestors. This gave rise to the feast of the unfurling of standards and to solemn sacrifices. The imperial family adopted the ancient practice of bloodless animal slaughter: they were strangled, suffocated, or stoned. Funerary temples, erected structures that are the only Turkic temples outside of natural sanctuaries (caves, groves, springs, mountains) or domestic sanctuaries (tents, carts carrying idols), have unfortunately come down to us in a deplorable condition. What remains of them, the *balbal* and the *baba,* may also be an imperial innovation. The *balbal* are shapeless stones (eventually wood was used, for instance among the Cumans and Kipchaks) erected to represent enemies slain in combat or immolated during obsequies. The slain enemies represented by the *balbal* are supposedly at the service of their murderers. For great personages, these monoliths number in the hundreds.

The *baba* are the funerary statues of deceased princes and, occasionally, princesses. They were not viewed as images of the departed but as images of the living, who, after their death, remained among the people. Not of great aesthetic value, these huge, crude statues, of which a good number of specimens are known, represent the individual standing or seated, always holding a cup in the right hand, which is drawn back over the stomach. These works were the original image of the "prince in majesty" of classical Islam.

It is impossible to know whether belief in an afterlife in the sky was of imperial or popular origin, although there is no lack of presumptions that favor imperial origins: having come from the sky and belonging to it, the prince can only return there. In so asserting, one says that he "flies away," later that he "becomes a gyrfalcon" or that he "climbs up to the sky" where he is "as among the living." But there are also attestations of a celestial beyond for those who did not attain sovereignty—a place for those close to the prince, his servants, horses, concubines, and all those who could serve him or be useful to him. However, even if the sky was easily accessible to all—something we do not know—there was nothing to prevent the various souls of the same man, even those of a *kaghan,* from finding other places to inhabit (the tomb, the banner, the *balbal,* the *baba*), from being reincarnated in a new body, or from roaming the universe as an unsatisfied phantom.

SEE ALSO Chuvash Religion; Erlik; Islam, article on Islam in Central Asia; Ongon; Tengri; Umai.

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JEAN-PAUL ROUX (1987)
Translated from French by Sherri L. Granka
Revised Bibliography

TURNER, HENRY MCNEAL. Henry McNeal Turner (1834–1915) was the twelfth bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church and the U. S. Army's first African American chaplain. He studied history, theology, law, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and German and received an LL.D from the University of Pennsylvania in 1872. Turner also served as vice president of the African Colonization Society (1877) and was a major spokesperson for the Back-to-Africa movement. The movement was an African American led effort that advocated their emigration to Africa. Most black leaders had been opposed to such schemes since the option was first pursued in 1816 with the formation of the American Colonization Society by whites. However, emigration became a viable option for some blacks in the 1880s, when many black leaders were becoming increasingly disillusioned about the prospects of achieving equal rights in America. Matters became especially bleak in 1883 when the United States Supreme Court outlawed the Civil Rights Act of 1875. This action by the Supreme Court paved the way for state legislatures to enact laws that segregated all aspects of southern society. In 1896 segregation was upheld in the Plessy v. Ferguson Supreme Court decision that set forth the "separate but equal" doctrine. Turner's career was profoundly shaped by these events. Elected to the Georgia legislature during the Reconstruction era following the Civil War, Turner became known as the "Apostle of Foreign Missions" because of his travels to West Africa to found two churches, one in Sierra Leone and the other in Liberia. Turner was also famous for frequently asserting that "God is a Negro."

Turner was converted to Christianity at the age of thirteen while attending a Methodist revival. At the age of fifteen he took a job as a janitor with a law firm in Abbeville, South Carolina. Turner's intelligence so impressed his employers that they provided him with his basic education in law and history. He received his preacher's license in 1853 and traveled as an itinerant evangelist throughout the South as far west as New Orleans. He also traveled to Missouri and then to Baltimore, where he furthered his study of grammar, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and German while overseeing a small mission congregation. Turner was ordained a Methodist deacon in 1860 and an elder in 1862.

Turner married Eliza Peacher, the daughter of a wealthy African American house builder in Columbia, South Carolina, in 1856. The threat of slavery that hung over free blacks in the South before the Civil War caused Turner to move with his family to St. Louis, Missouri. Over the course of the next five years he filled pastorates in Baltimore, Maryland, and Washington, D.C.

Turner became a friend of Charles Sumner, Thaddeus Stevens, and other influential Republicans in the years before the Civil War. When war broke out in 1861, Turner was commissioned as the first black chaplain in the U.S. Army. After the war Turner helped to establish AME congregations throughout Georgia, but he was frustrated by the lack of trained clergy to continue his work.

With Congress's passage of the Reconstruction Acts in 1867, Turner involved himself more directly in politics by helping to organize Georgia's Republican Party. He was elected to Georgia's House of Representatives from the city of Macon. The white-controlled legislative body, however, ousted the African American representatives in 1868. After Turner protested this injustice, he received threats from the Ku Klux Klan. In 1869 he was appointed postmaster of Macon by President Ulysses S. Grant, but he was forced to resign from this position a week later. He finished his term in the Georgia legislature in 1870, after which he moved to Savannah, Georgia, where he served in local churches (including the prestigious St Philip's AME Church) and served as an inspector for the U.S. Customs Service.

In 1876 Turner assumed the management of the AME Book Concern in Philadelphia and the editorship of the *Christian Recorder.* In 1880 he became the bishop of the denomination in a hotly contested election.

Turner was extremely effective as bishop. After the Supreme Court circumscribed the civil rights of African Americans in 1883, Turner's critique of mainstream American society became scathing. Equally scathing were Turner's criticisms of black meekness in the face of white oppression. He urged blacks to defend themselves against mob violence and saw his educational and missionary initiatives as vehicles for enhancing black self-worth and freedom. He published a catechism, a hymnal, and such books as *The Genius and Theory of Methodist Polity* (1885) and *The Black Man's Doom* (1896). He founded the *Southern Christian Recorder* in 1889 and the *Voice of Missions* in 1892, as well as encouraging the organization of the Women's Home and Foreign Missionary Society (1896) and the formation of the *Women's Christian Recorder.* Turner was also the first AME bishop to ordain a woman to the office of deacon, which he did in 1885. Turner served as the editor of the *Theological Institute* and as the denomination's historiographer from 1908 to 1912. He died in 1915 while traveling on church business. Turner is numbered with Richard Allen (1760–1831) and Daniel Payne (1811–1893) as one of the greatest bishops in the history of the African Episcopal Methodist Church.

SEE ALSO African American Religions, overview article; Allen, Richard; Methodist Churches.

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JAMES ANTHONY NOEL (2005)

TURNER, VICTOR (1920–1983). Scottish-born American anthropologist and comparative religionist. On the basis of fieldwork in central Africa, Victor Witter Turner produced the richest ethnographic achievement of the period after World War II, and he explained the nature of religious ritual and symbolism in an African society in more detail than anyone had before.

Turner was born in Glasgow, Scotland. In 1943, in the midst of his five years of military service, he married Edith Davis, who was to collaborate with him in field research and writing throughout his career. He received his B.A. degree with honors in anthropology in 1949 from the University of London, where he studied with some of the leading figures of structural-functionalism: A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, Meyer Fortes, Raymond Firth, and Edmund Leach. He went on to graduate study at the University of Manchester under Max Gluckman and was introduced to conflict theory and political anthropology. During 1950–1954 he was a research officer at the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute in Lusaka, Zambia (then Northern Rhodesia), where he undertook, with his wife, a two-and-a-half-year study of the Ndembu people. In 1954 he returned to the University of Manchester and was appointed to the positions of lecturer and senior lecturer in social anthropology. From 1963 to 1968 he was professor of anthropology at Cornell University, and from 1968 to 1977 he was professor of anthropology and social thought at the University of Chicago. From 1977 until his death he was the William R. Kenan Professor of Anthropology at the University of Virginia. He held numerous fellowships, visiting appointments, and distinguished lectureships at universities in the United States and around the world. He organized major international conferences and was editor of the important series "Symbol, Myth and Ritual" published by Cornell University Press.

Like other leading anthropologists, Turner's ideas were shaped by his field experience. In the course of fieldwork he decided to abandon the social structural emphasis of his teachers and their bias against religion and to pursue a microsociological investigation of the actual processes of Ndembu village life that, he found, were articulated and resolved in ritual performances. Since Ndembu society is prone to conflict because of its inherent inconsistencies, he also rejected the static and mechanistic models of functionalism together with its goal of constructing universal social laws. Instead, he treated Ndembu society as a dynamic social process whose events were analyzable as "social dramas," consisting of phases of breach, crisis, redressive action, and reintegration (or schism), in which ritual played a central role. He also set aside the analytical perspective and alien categories of the outside observer and oriented his studies around the experiential context and cultural criteria of the Ndembu world, an approach that he later called the "anthropology of experience."

Although his initial study, *Schism and Continuity in an African Society* (1957), was labeled "difficult" and "experimental," Turner continued to refine his ideas about social drama and ritual process. He wrote one of the most detailed and perceptive studies of African divination, *Ndembu Divination: Its Symbolism and Techniques* (1961), viewing the subject in the context of social process and analyzing its use of social and ethical symbolism. He also wrote a short but brilliant clarification of methodological issues in African witchcraft studies, "Witchcraft and Sorcery: Taxonomy versus Dynamics" (1964), in which he treats a subject that had become bogged down in functionalist theorizing and confused definitions. He argues that witchcraft has to be viewed as a complex matter involving social process, cosmology, ecology, and biological factors. In addition he wrote a pioneering study of an Ndembu cult of affliction, *Chihamba, the White Spirit* (1962). In this work he attempted to go beyond the examination of social process and symbolic action and to formulate the implicit content of Ndembu thought by means of Thomistic concepts, long before the subjects of ethnophilosophy and ethnotheology had gained currency in anthropology. It was a venturesome effort and did not receive an entirely positive response. In subsequent and more detailed studies he examined Ndembu ethnomedical and ethnobiological concepts in the context of cults of affliction. One of these studies, *The Drums of Affliction* (1968), became the *locus classicus* of later scholarship in the field of African medical anthropology.

In the course of these ritual studies, Turner began to develop a theory of religious symbols. He noted in the field that certain symbols were dominant in ritual contexts and that they exhibited properties of condensation, unification of disparate significata, and polarization of meaning. Because of such semantic complexity, contextual variation, and attachment to ritual sequence, Turner rejected as overly simplistic the structuralist method of interpreting symbols in terms of synchronic, binary relationships. Instead, he proposed a threefold hermeneutic, based upon "exegetical," "operational," and "positional" levels of meaning. Moreover, he suggeted that in the context of intense ritual experience, the ideological, or "normative," and the sensory, or "orectic," poles of meaning came together and reinforced one another in such a way as to produce powerful emotional effects and real transformations of character and social relationships. Herein, Turner felt, lay the power and efficacy of ritual.

Although he wrote two detailed accounts of Ndembu boys' and girls' initiation rites (the first appearing in *The Forest of Symbols,* 1967, the second in *The Drums of Affliction,* 1968), it was in the context of a brief comparative study of rites of passage, "Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in *Rites de Passage*" (1964), that he began to focus upon the work of the Belgian anthropologist Arnold van Gennep. He found van Gennep's analysis of rites of passage into the phases of separation, threshold or *limen,* and reaggregation to be not only a useful cross-cultural model but also the source of a fundamental insight: the regenerative and transformational possibilities of ritual liminality. Whereas van Gennep emphasizes only the outward change of social status accomplished by these rites, Turner emphasizes the inward, moral, and cognitive changes that occurred, and where van Gennep examines only the social aspects of the liminal state, Turner examines its deconstructive and reconstructive processes. Thus Turner concentrated upon the heretofore neglected, strange, and amorphous properties of symbols and actions of the liminal phase. He regarded such symbols and actions both as channels for communicating basic social and cultural values and as channels for discovering new moral and metaphysical insights that tend to subvert as well as support established religious and social orders.

Turner developed his theory of liminality further in the seminal work *The Ritual Process* (1969). Here he defines the social form of liminality as *communitas,* the direct, egalitarian encounter and fellowship between people as people, which characterized both temporary ritual states and certain more enduring social groups. In this context he defined three forms of *communitas,* the "spontaneous," the "ideological," and the "normative," and he elaborated a host of contrasting liminal and status system forms. In addition to illuminating past religious and political movements as well as popular currents in American society of the 1960s, Turner brought his theory of liminality to bear upon the phenomenon of religious pilgrimage, a generally ignored subject in the history of religions. His contribution, presented in another important essay, "The Center Out There: Pilgrims' Goal" (1973), was to see pilgrimage as a rite of passage whose goals include both the experience of *communitas* and the liminal encounter with the sacred at the pilgrimage center. There followed a series of lectures and articles on this theme, and they inspired other scholars to take up the subject. Together with Edith Turner, he explored the subject further in relation to Mexican, Spanish, and Irish pilgrimage sites in a fieldwork study, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (1978). His subsequent search for liminality in the modern secular world led to his use of the word *liminoid* to represent the nonreligious genres of art, sport, and performance.

Although Turner often emphasized his departure from social functionalism, his vision of religion and society remained partly indebted to it. Like Émile Durkheim, he saw social order to be dependent upon ritual and ceremonial performances, and like Max Gluckman, he emphasized the cathartic effects of ritual reversal that helped to restore and legitimate established social structures. But he went beyond both Durkheim and Gluckman by examining the processes of social change and the ways in which ritual helped to create new social realities. His work, along with that of anthropologists Claude Lévi-Strauss, Clifford Geertz, and Mary Douglas, also helped to revive comparative studies in religious anthropology, which had been abandoned by British and American functionalists. But, although he agreed with Douglas and Geertz on the cognitive importance of ritual symbols, he refused to tie them closely to social structure as in Douglas's theory or to construe them as "texts" according to Geertz's formulation.

Following the American anthropologist Edward Sapir, Turner held that culture is not a completely or consistently articulated system, a set of dogmas or logically arrayed or Lévi-Straussian symbolic codes, but rather a changing entity, influenced by "root paradigms," that is, by axiomatic frames, or deep myths, that propel and transform people and groups at critical moments. In this respect Turner came to see that the Ndembu are not exceptional but typical, and thus that social order is fundamentally "processual" in form and "dramatic" in character.

Turner called his analytical method "dramatistic," because, like Freud, he believed that examination of disturbances of the normal and the regular often gives greater insight into the normal than does direct study. Because of the episodic character of social systems, Turner preferred the sociologist Kurt Lewin's image of society as "social fields." He also saw affinities with the phenomenological sociology of Alfred Schutz and his followers, who regarded culture as a constantly negotiated set of meanings, and he found useful Wilhelm Dilthey's theory that the meanings and values of life are to be found in the "structures of experience" and not in the formal categories of thought. This approach led him to welcome a shift in anthropology away from such concepts as structure, equilibrium, function, and system to such concepts as process, indeterminacy, and reflexivity, and he envisioned a new anthropology based upon a synthesis of disciplines instead of the usual disciplinary specialization. Turner himself was not, however, given to sustained theoretical exposition, and he often let unclarities remain in his writings, for which he was sometimes taken to task by his colleagues. He preferred to forge his concepts as he went along. His approach was regarded as highly original, and he put forward his ideas with a strong personal conviction that gave his analyses great force.

His final studies led him into the field of performance theory. In theater, especially experimental theater in the United States in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Turner saw the same kind of liminal reflexivity, the public cognizance of social situations, that he encountered in rituals associated with the redressive phase of Ndembu social dramas. Together with the drama theorist and director Richard Schechner, Turner understood theater to be an important means of communicating a society's self-reflections and a means of cross-cultural understanding. Thus he encouraged anthropologists to study theatrical performances as well as ordinary social life. In the course of his teaching he also guided students in the performance of ethnographic rituals as a means of learning about ritual and about the societies from which the students came.

At this juncture, he became interested in the subject of the neurobiology of ritual. It appeared that the contrasting functions of the cerebral hemispheres, the right and left brain, might correspond to the two aspects of society Turner had been looking at, structure and liminality. In a major essay, "Body, Brain and Culture" (1983), Turner speculated that the right hemisphere might also be the source of universal symbolic patterns, such as C. G. Jung's archetypes or his own root paradigms and deep myths, which seemed to exist at the subliminal level until activated and brought into the articulate realm of the left brain. The existence of different brain levels, especially the neocortex and the midbrain, also seemed to resemble the ideological and orectic poles of dominant symbols. Perhaps at the height of ritual, Turner speculated, it was the interaction between these two levels with the right and left hemispheres of the brain that produced the transformational effect that was essential to successful ritual performance. Although these were but speculations about the possible biological mechanisms of the ritual process, they were consistent with Turner's fundamental conviction that it was in the dynamics and dramatics of social, ritual, and theatrical events that one came to understand the lives of others and oneself.

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BENJAMIN C. RAY (1987)
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TURTLES AND TORTOISES. There is a widespread belief that the earth rests on the back of a turtle or tortoise. This archaic idea is found not only among North American Indians but also in South Asia and Inner Asia. The turtle now appears even as a symbol of the entire universe (e.g., in China). Moreover, according to creation myths involving an earth diver, the turtle, sometimes as an incarnation of the divine being, plays a prominent part in the cosmogony of various cultures.

According to the Maidu in California, a turtle dived to the bottom of the primeval ocean and procured a little soil under its nails. When it surfaced, God scraped its nails carefully and made a ball like a small pebble. The ball of soil then grew miraculously until it became as large as the universe itself. The Yokut narrate how at the time of beginning the eagle and the coyote sent a turtle into the waters. The motif of the turtle's successful dive is known also among the Algonquin. According to the Onondaga and the Mohawk (i.e., the Iroquois), it was a turtle that directed several different animals into the ocean; a beaver tried in vain, an otter also failed, but a muskrat returned successfully with soil in his claws and mouth. This soil was placed on the back of the turtle, and then the miraculous growth of earth began.

Inner Asia has preserved similar stories. According to the Buriats, in the beginning there was nothing but water and a turtle. God turned the turtle on its back and built the world on its stomach. In other versions, Mandishire (the *bodhisattva* Mañjuśrī) transforms himself into a great turtle and supports the earth he has made on the surface of the waters.

The great tortoise is often represented in India as the sustainer of the four elephants upon whose backs the world rests. In the *Mahābhārata* the tortoise, as an avatar of Visnu, supports the earth when the gods and demons churn the primeval ocean to obtain ambrosia.

In China, the turtle symbolizes the universe; its dome-shaped back represents the sky, while its belly, square in shape, stands for the earth. It also appears as the god of the waters, presiding over the north, one of the four cardinal points of the universe. Black in color, it is symbolically associated with winter and other aspects of the *yin,* or female principle; as in ancient Egypt and Greece, the tortoise in China is a symbol of erotic power and fecundity. Moreover, the great age to which the tortoise supposedly lives has made it a symbol of longevity and immortality; in the mythico-iconographical tradition the tortoise often forms a complex together with immortality, the moon, and paradise. There are "stone" turtles in South Korea and southern Japan (Kyushu), at its seashore facing the Korean Peninsula. Dating from prehistoric times, these monuments indicate that people believed in the turtle bestowing new life or immortality on the dead and escorting them to the otherworld far across the sea or to paradise under the waters.

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TU-SHUN SEE DUSHUN

ṬŪSĪ, NAṢĪR AL-DĪN.

Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan, AH 597–672/1201–1274 CE), addressed in general Islamic literature as *khawājah* (master) and the *muḥaqqiq* (scholar) of Ṭūs, was a Persian Shīʿī philosopher, theologian, mathematician, astronomer, and statesman. He is by far the most celebrated scholar of the thirteenth century in eastern Islamic lands. Very little is known about his childhood and early education, apart from what he reveals in his autobiography, the *Sayr wa sulūk.* He was born in Ṭūs, in northeastern Iran into an Ithnā ʿasharī (Twelver) Shīʿī family and died in Baghdad. He lost his father at a young age. Fulfilling the wish of his father, Ṭūsī took learning and scholarship very seriously and traveled far and wide to attend the lectures of the renowned scholars of the time. In a relatively short period, Ṭūsī mastered a number of disciplines. At a time when religious education was a priority, especially in his own family, which was associated with Twelver Shīʿī scholars, Ṭūsī seems to have shown great interest in mathematics, astronomy, and intellectual sciences.

In the *Sayr wa sulūk*, Ṭūsī gives a brief account of his theological and philosophical education, but he does not go into details about the scholars with whom he became acquainted, nor of his studies in mathematics and astronomy, which latter became important areas of investigation for him. But we know from other sources that Ṭūsī was a precocious learner and by the time he was seventeen he had studied the philosophy of Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037) with Farīd al-Dīn Dāmād (d. c. 1246) and attended the lectures of Quṭb al-Dīn Sarakhsī (d. 1221) in Nīshāpūr, where he is said to have met the famous poet and mystic Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār (d. 1220). At around this time, it is also certain that he studied jurisprudence.

At the age of twenty-two, Ṭūsī joined the court of Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥtashim (d. 1257), the Ismāʿīlī governor of Quhistān, in northeast Iran, where in his own words he was accepted into the Ismāʿīlī community. It is probable that in Nīshāpūr, which at the time was an active center of Ismāʿīlī preaching, he had become acquainted with its teachings. Later, in a journey from Iraq to Khurāsān, he met Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥtashim (d. c. 1245), a highly renowned Ismāʿīlī scholar, and gradually he became more acquainted with Ismāʿīlī teachings through the religious writings of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Imām Ḥasan ʿAlā᾽ Dhikrihī al-Salām (d. 1166).

In Quhistān, Ṭūsī developed a close personal relationship with the governor and dedicated to him and his family a number of scholarly works, such as the *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī*, *Akhlāq-i Muḥtashimī*, and *Risāla-yi muʿīniyya*, which ultimately paved the way for his move to Alamūṭ, the seat of Ismāʿīlī political power in Iran.

Apart from editing, translating, and composing a variety of philosophical and scientific works, Ṭūsī produced a number of Ismāʿīlī texts, adding his scholarly background and talents to the unique collection of literature and archival materials in Alamūṭ. An example of this genre is his strong philosophical and esoteric interpretation of Ismāʿīlī thought, as represented in the *Rawda-yi taslīm* in particular.

The Mongol invasions of western Asia led to the collapse of Ismāʿīlī political power and the massacre of Ismāʿīlīs, who were perceived by the Mongols as a serious threat. Under these circumstances, Ṭūsī sought alternative patronage and was able to obtain employment in the emerging court of the Mongol conquerors, who wished to show support for learning and science. He also embarked on writing a series of Twelver Shīʿī works.

In the Mongol court, Ṭūsī witnessed the fall of the Abbasid caliphate, and after securing the trust of Hūlegū (d. 1265), he was given the full authority of administering the *awqāf* (religious foundations). His primary concern during this period was to protect the life of scholars and their freedom to pursue learning. He also established probably the most important observatory and center of scientific learning of his time in Marāghah, in the northwest of Iran. Under these circumstances Ṭūsī acted as a senior advisor to Hūlegū and continued his scholarly activities and writing on various aspects of Shīʿī thought.

The corpus of Ṭūsī's writings comprise approximately 135 titles on a wide variety of subjects, including astronomy, ethics, logic, mathematics, philosophy, theology, Sufism, poetry and popular sciences. Some of these works—for example, his commentary on Ibn Sīnā's *al-Ishārāt wa-al-tanbīhāt* on philosophy and the *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī* on theoretical and practical ethics—are still used as textbooks in many centers of learning in the Muslim world.

Ṭūsī's interest in ethical writings begun in Quhistān when, in answer to the request of Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥtashim, he produced a number of ethical works, namely the Persian translations of Ibn Muqaffah's (d. 759) *al-Adab al-wajīz lil-walad al-ṣaqīr*, *Akhlāq-i Muḥtashimī*, and *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī*, as well as the twenty-second chapter of the *Rawda-yi taslīm*, which, in line with the content of *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī*, could be classified as a text on philosophical ethics.

A proper scholarly investigation into Ṭūsī's contribution to philosophy, astronomy, trigonometry, and mathematics has only recently begun. His importance in religion lies partly in his being one of the subtlest and most learned of the Shīʿī theologians, and partly in his application of philosophical ideas and methods to Islamic contexts and problems, as well as his active involvement in the politico-religious debates of his time. Within the overall domain of Islamic philosophical thinking, by defending Ibn Sīnā's philosophy, Ṭūsī should be considered as representing a revival of philosophical thinking in the eastern Islamic lands. For him, differences between Muslim sects and persuasions were merely theological debates, allowing the partisans to move freely from one stand to another without necessarily having to take parochial positions. It is from such a perspective that his ideas contributed to the development of *ḥikmah mutaʿāliyah* (higher wisdom), later developed by Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1641) and the school of Isfahan.

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S. J. BADAKHCHANI (2005)

TWELVERS SEE SHIISM, *ARTICLE ON* ITHNĀ ʿASHARĪYAH

TWELVE TRIBES.

The Twelve Tribes (previously known as the Northeast Kingdom Community Church because of its location in the northeast corner of Vermont, and later as the Messianic Communities) is a communal, millenarian Bible-based movement that emerged from the Jesus Movement in the 1970s counterculture of the United States. Many of the Christian sects that emerged from this movement, such as the Children of God (the Family), Shiloh, and Jesus People USA, developed communal patterns of living. The Twelve Tribes is one of the few Jesus groups that survived from this period without disbanding or being absorbed into the U.S. religious mainstream.

Elbert Eugene Spriggs (b. 1937) had worked as a personnel manager and former schoolteacher when he joined a charismatic church in Glendale, California, in 1971. When the church disbanded, he moved back to his hometown, Chattanooga, Tennessee, with his new wife, Marsha Ann Duval. There the couple set up a small coffee shop in 1972 called the Light Brigade, where they held Bible study groups in the evenings. Attracting both young conservative Christians and hippies from the "lost generation," these Bible study sessions extended long into the night, so people brought their sleeping bags and gradually moved in with the Spriggses, who shared their resources with their flock. The coffee-house ministry expanded to include five Victorian houses that were renovated by Spriggs and his followers. They also opened as a "court of the gentiles" a small health-food café called the Yellow Deli. The Spriggses attended the First Presbyterian Church with their flock, and worked closely with the New Covenant Apostolic Order, a short-lived Christian group.

The group's break with the mainstream Christian church occurred in 1975, when the Spriggses and their friends arrived for the Sunday morning service at the local Presbyterian church and discovered that the service had been canceled on account of the Super Bowl. The Spriggses and their friends began to hold Sunday services in their communal homes, and called themselves the Vine Community Church. Spriggs began to baptize members in the local pond, an act that alienated the Chattanooga Christian community, because he was not ordained in any denomination. They also began observing the Saturday Sabbath, following Jewish custom. In 1980 the group relocated to Island Pond, Vermont, where they were called the Church in Island Pond, and as they spread through New England, they adopted a new name, the Northeast Kingdom Community Church.

"Gene" Spriggs is recognized by his followers as an "Apostle" (authoritative teacher). Although all community members believe that they are inspired by God and have the gift of prophecy, they believe that he exhibits these gifts on a higher level, and they call him *Yoneq* (Hebrew for "sapling"). This millenarian movement has grown to around 2,500 members (half of them are second and third generation) living in communities in nine countries on four continents as far-flung as New Zealand, Brazil, England, France, Germany, Spain, and Canada. Their early communities were established in New England—Vermont, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts, where the largest concentration of members can be found. Each community names itself after its local town or area.

Over their thirty-year history, the Twelve Tribes have come to believe that they are the restoration of the messianic Hebrew New Testament community of the first century CE. This belief evolved through members' study of the Bible and personal experiences. They reject the "white-bread" Christianity of mainstream churches that worship a remote impersonal God and does not sustain the soul, and they replace it, both literally and symbolically, with the "wholegrain, home-baked bread" of their living communal "church" that seeks to bring about the return and loving union with Yahshua (Jesus). The community attempts to restore the New Testament church by developing a physical and artistic culture that interprets first-century messianic Judaism in twenty-first-century terms. They are divided into "tribes" that correspond to their geographical regions. Men grow full beards and women cover their heads with scarves, following the Jewish custom.

In the "church" (community), members follow a strict code of ethics, dress, and diet, and must surrender to the hierarchical authority that descends from God through Yoneq, the Elders, the Teachers, the fathers, and the mothers, to the children. The Twelve Tribes is dedicated to ushering in the millennium by "raising up a people" who are truly loving and free of sin and selfishness. The church defines itself as the "pure and spotless bride" of *Revelation* who is preparing for the return of her king, Yahshua—the second coming. The path of the Tribes is the restoration of the primitive Jewish/Christian church, as described in *Acts* 2:37–47 and 4:32–35. This restoration is both theological and practical, and has led to a whole new way of life based on renouncing possessions, worldly habits, and attachments, and sharing all goods in common.

Members give each other Hebrew names, accessed through inspired moments of prophecy. They consider themselves to be part of the Commonwealth of Israel forming in the last days, bound by the New Covenant in the blood of the Messiah (*Eph.* 2:12). The Tribes are strongly evangelistic, but instead of sending out missionaries to spread their doctrines, they seek to win converts by inviting outsiders into their communal houses in order to demonstrate the reality of a loving, sharing, orderly communal and family life. Visitors are invited to share their meals, and to witness their happy family life and joyful revival meetings, which combine circle dancing, singing, sermons, and prayer. Once there, visitors encounter a unique, spiritual culture that resembles the historic Shaker villages in its "hands to work, hearts to God" ethic. Twelve Tribes women are skilled in the crafts of baking, painting with watercolors, sewing and macramé, and making soaps and body lotions. The men are skilled in leatherwork, cabinet-making, candle-making, and making stained-glass windows. Their renovated Victorian houses preserve the historic style, and they repair antique furniture, expressing their doctrine of restoration. Their children sing and compose an impressive repertoire of original devotional songs. Boys work alongside their fathers in the candle factories and farms, and daughters assist their mothers in the kitchen and sewing rooms. All members spend at least two hours a day in devotional dancing and singing, and many play and even build their own musical instruments.

Another missionary strategy employs the community's famous double-decker buses, which appear at Grateful Dead festivals, the Billy Graham Crusade, the Rainbow Gathering, and other mass events. Men, women, and children make friends by offering hospitality that includes free distribution of wholegrain baked goods, apple cider tea, and first-aid services, and members invite the crowd to join in their circle dancing and musical jams. They distribute the *Freepaper*, their missionary tract which portrays a utopian vision of perfect, loving families and service to one's brothers and sisters preparing for the return of Yahshua.

Considering that this new religious movement is relatively small and lacks the controversial features of some other Christian millennial groups—such as the use of firearms or illegal drugs, and polygamy or "free love"—level of conflict between the group and the larger society has been extraordinarily high. The trouble began in Chattanooga in the mid-1970s with a series of eight kidnappings and "deprogrammings" of Spriggs's youthful followers by Ted Patrick, the cofounder of FREECOG, the first anticult organization that formed in opposition to the Children of God (COG). FREECOG and was superseded by the nationally based Citizen's Freedom Foundation, which networked with the media, labeling the Tribes a cult and attributing their success in winning converts to brainwashing. The conflict escalated in 1982 when a series of custody battles launched by parents who had left the community drew attention to the group's sectarian methods of child rearing and their strict, Bible-based practice of corporal punishment of children. Stigmatizing news reports proliferated, portraying the Island Pond Community Church as a scary, gothic, puritanical "neo-Salem," where children were routinely neglected and abused.

The Twelve Tribes guidelines stipulate that children who do not obey upon first command must be punished, and the millenarian rationale is that they must be alert and ready to respond to Yahshua's call when he returns. Chastisements usually consist of a few blows to the palm with a flexible stick, and they must not be given in anger. Through this discipline, parents believe that their children will achieve eternal life; otherwise, they are in danger of "dying" into sin.

On June 22, 1984, the Island Pond Community was the target of a massive raid to seize their children. Ninety Vermont state troopers and fifty social rehabilitation services workers arrived in the predawn hours with a court order; they searched the households and took 112 children into protective custody. Parents accompanied their children to the hearing in Newport, Vermont, where District Judge Frank Mahady held forty individual hearings in one day. At the end of the day, he ruled that the search warrant issued by the state was unconstitutional, and he noted that the children involved had been detained solely in order to provide evidence for charges of abuse, and that no concrete evidence other than hearsay had been produced by the state. The church-state confrontation thus ended abruptly, and the children were returned to their parents. Ten years after the raid, the Twelve Tribes held a festival (which has become an annual event) to commemorate their "deliverance" from the raid. Some of the children of the raid, many of whom are married with their own children, speak out in defense of their parents and their community.

The Tribes have also become a target for Christian countercult groups who are combating Christian heresy. Reverend Robert Pardon founded the New England Institute of Religious Research, and through his website he disseminates discrediting accounts of the Twelve Tribes's Apostle, their "heretical" doctrines, and what he perceives to be excessive control by the group over the lives of individuals.

The two executive leaders of the Tribes are a married couple, Eddie Wiseman ("Hakam") and Jean Swantko, a lawyer who experienced a religious conversion while working on Wiseman's legal defense. They have responded to anticult pressure and social-control efforts by secular authorities by opening up dialogues with scholars at conferences, holding press conferences, and making persistent efforts to correct misinformation and reach out to their critics. The Twelve Tribes, who have adopted the colonialist hero Roger Williams as a sort of patron saint, have managed to realize their own "separation of church and state" by preserving strict boundaries between their community and the "sinful" society that surrounds them, while softening some of their sectarian attitudes. Their millenarian drama has evolved from an uncompromising and imminent catastrophic scenario in which all outsiders will fall into a lake of fire, to a more gradual process in which, before the return of Yahshua, the Tribes must raise up a people of seven generations before the Yo-bell, the last trumpet of revelations, will be blown. A new revelation laid out in the *Stone Kingdom Freepaper*, a special edition of the *Freepaper*, adds a middle ground between the saved and the damned, where "just men," or people who have never encountered the Tribes, will live.

SEE ALSO Family, The; Jesus Movement; Millenarianism, overview article.

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SUSAN J. PALMER (2005)

TWINS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
BALTIC TWIN DEITIES

TWINS: AN OVERVIEW

The notion of duality, which must be distinguished from dualism, is common to every human culture. It finds a particular expression in the concept of the couple, an idea understood as a generating agency not only in the field of animal physiology but also in numerical and metaphysical symbology (as, for example, in Pythagorean speculation). According to this, the One and the Two, as generating principles, are perceived as masculine and feminine. The kind of duality expressed by the generating couple need not be viewed as dualistic in itself, but the shift from duality to dualism is obvious when the constituent elements (the One and the Two, male and female) are understood as principles that are, in effect, principal: that is, when their mutual relationship is responsible for the first origins of the world and of human beings and, at the same time, is one characterized by a strong disparity of value (or even a total opposition) between them.

Another privileged expression of duality, in both physiology and symbology, is the notion of twinship. The concept of twinship is not reducible to the projection of a physiological experience on a symbological plane. In fact, physiology requires the possibility of more than two twins, a possibility that is normally excluded in the symbological use of the notion. Thus, the duality of twins, an essential constituent of the notion in symbology, is given a peculiar function in the field of ontology, different from that of the couple. First, the couple is understood as a generating agency from the dynamic perspective of a sonship, which, on the symbological plane, can be unitary (as in the triadic pattern of father, mother, and son) or indefinitely plural. The notion of twins, however, is oriented toward stasis, whether there is a perfect symmetry between the two constituent elements, or, inversely, disparity between them. In fact, twinship is founded on the physiological experience of the diachrony of twins' conception in or emergence from the maternal womb. (This diachrony is the motivation behind seniorship, the notion that the twin born second was conceived first.)

HISTORICAL EXAMPLES. Diachrony is a decisive element in a famous mythical story about twins, the myth of the birth of Ōhrmazd and Ahriman, the God and the Antigod of Zoroastrian religion; this narrative is not explicitly accounted for in Zoroastrian literature but only in Christian and Islamic sources arguing against Zoroastrianism. It was not intended to resolve the radical dualism of Zoroastrianism but to provide an explanation of the origins of evil. Zurwān, the personification of time, performed a sacrifice in order to generate Ōhrmazd, the potential creator of all good things. But Zurwān doubted the efficacy of his sacrifice, and as a result he gave birth to twin sons, Ōhrmazd and Ahriman. The former was a result of his sacrifice, and the latter the consequence of his doubt. Since Zurwān had pledged to concede the royal privilege to the first son who appeared before him, the perverse Ahriman broke out of the maternal womb prematurely and demanded the fulfillment of his father's promise. Zurwān did not acknowledge him as a true son but was obliged to honor his promise; he declared that Ahriman would be king for nine thousand years, but that Ōhrmazd would be king forever.

Despite Zurwān's probable existence in the mythology of older times (in the cuneiform tablets of Nuzi and, according to some scholars, in a silver relief coming from Luristan), a similar myth of twinship appears in later religious contexts. More significant and much older is a text belonging to the very old *Gāthās* in the Zoroastrian Avesta (*Yasna* 30.3). This poem mentions two spirits (Spenta Mainyu and Angra Mainyu) who "were seen in sleep as twins"; they are respectively good and bad in thought, word, and action and the foundations of life and its opposite. According to a recent translation of this text by Helmut Humbach, their aspects as the foundations of life and its opposite are not to be interpreted specifically in a chronological sense (that is, in the sense of a cosmogony); but one may still consider the two spirits as opposite principles that exist prior to any manifestation of their existence in this world and hold them accountable for the existence of good and bad, life and death. Thus, they express a radical formulation of dualism, not only moral but ontological.

It is not clear, however, whether the two spirits are literally twins. According to most scholars, they are sons of one and the same father, Ahura Mazdā (the former spelling of the name *Ōhrmazd*), because other texts in the *Gāthās* state that Ahura Mazdā is the father of the beneficent Spenta Mainyu. Moreover, the same scholars, noting that the text quoted above mentions a "choice" made by the two twins (a good choice by the first and a bad choice by the second), think that these choices were made freely, in keeping with the then-current Zoroastrian notion of the free choice between good and bad that can be made by any human being in this world. This interpretation appears highly improbable. Good and bad seem natural choices for the first and second spirit respectively (otherwise, why should there be precisely two?), in the sense that the spirits prefigure the radical character of the choice. Or, rather, they embody it, but as principles and preformate referents of the choice itself and its consequences for people and *daēva*s, that is, life and its opposite. This is the only interpretation that can account for the pregnancy and the profound intermixture of ontology and ethics (as well as cosmogony and moral struggle) that is characteristic of Zoroastrianism in every period of its history. Moreover, it would be impossible to conceive the great god Ahura Mazdā as the father of the evil spirit, for the simple reason that their respective essences have nothing in common. In conclusion, the term *twins,* as applied to the two spirits, should be understood in that Gathic text not as designating brothers, sons of one and the same father, but as a strong expression of their symmetrical and perfectly contrary essences. In order to compare this notion of the twin spirits with the myth of Zurwān and his two sons (who are also good and bad already in their respective natures and not as a consequence of a contrary choice made by them), one must take into account the precisely different natures of Ahura Mazdā and Zurwān. The former is a supreme being completely endowed with personality and ethics; the latter—as time or destiny personified—is not so endowed; he is an entity apt to have materially with himself and to generate from himself such contrary personal agents as the twin characters, God and Antigod, that is, Ōhrmazd (the old Ahura Mazdā) and

Ahriman (the old Destructive Spirit) and their mutually opposing activities.

These two examples show the mythical theme of twinship in the context of the dualistic conceptions of Zoroastrian religion. As has been seen, the opposition between the two twins in the *Gāthās* and in the myth of Zurwān is, in a sense, horizontal. A different use of the theme of twins is present in Manichaeism. Mani was said to have a counterpart in the celestial realm, a twin, (Syr., *at-Taum*) a pneumatic-divine entity who was both his protecting agency and his alter ego. In the Manichaean Codex of Cologne, a Greek biographical text, the term *suzugos* ("he who is bound in marriage") is substituted for *twin.* This is reminiscent of the fact that in Valentinian Gnosticism the soul of the Gnostic was conceived of as feminine, destined to marry her divine counterpart, her angel. In Mani's case, the terms *twin* and *husband* both point to a relationship that implies the Gnostic notion of the perfect consubstantiality of the celestial element and its counterpart active in the terrestial realm. The terrestrial element waits to be reunited with the celestial element, the pneumatic self. At the same time, the heavenly twin and the angelic husband are an expression of transcendence in relation to whatever lives in the terrestial realm: "The mysteries and [vi]sions and the excellence of my Father, and concerning me, who I am, and my *suzugos* . . . who he is" (*Manichaean Codex of Cologne* 23.1–5). It is clear that this ambivalence concerning the perfect consubstantiality (or even identification) between Mani and his twin and at the same time the difference between them (i. e., their respective, actual identities) before the final return of Mani's soul to its original abode implies a vertical structure, well adapted to the general Gnostic notion of a devolution of some pneumatic essence or of its mission in this mixed world. This notion is antithetical to the radical, horizontal opposition of essences expressed in Zoroastrianism in the notion of twin spirits.

Among the nonliterate cultures in which dualistic and (needless to say) dual myths and conceptions exist, explicit radical dualisms are rare. The notion of two symmetrically opposed twins is found in the Iroquois myth of Iouskeha ("sprout") and Tawiskaron ("flint"). More primitive tribes that profess a dualistic mythology do not share the idea of a symmetry between two opposed, superhuman beings (as, for example in the myth of Coyote, who has nothing in common—as far as his origin and ontological meaning are concerned—with the creator). The Iroquois are agriculturalists with matriarchal institutions. This may imply that the dualistic structure expressed in their myth, both in terms of the symmetry of opposing twins and their common origin from a maternal entity, derives from a lunar mythology. On the other hand, this symmetry must be distinguished from that found in Zoroastrianism between the opposed "twin" spirits, or between Ahriman and Ōhrmazd. The Zoroastrian notion of the ontological opposition between the two spirits or between God and Antigod is radicalized to such an extreme that it denies any dialectical or complementary function for Ahriman (with the exception of some brief, very heterodox tales in which he is given some positive capacities that render him rather akin to the figure of a trickster: For example, it is he who knows what Ōhrmazd must do in order to create the great luminaries). However, some comparisons may be drawn between the Iroquois myth and the myth of the birth of Ōhrmazd and Ahriman from Zurwān. Some of the characteristics of the bad Tawiskaron may remind one of the deeds of Ahriman. The bad Iroquois twin breaks out of the maternal womb, emerging from his mother's side. Iouskeha's demiurgical activity, like that of Ōhrmazd, calls the good creatures of the world into existence; the creations of his twin are monstrous and maleficent. Tawiskaron calls into existence a gigantic frog who absorbs all the water in the world, causing aridity—a mythical motif that also exists in the Zurwān mythology. All in all, differences predominate. Even though Iouskeha (or Oterongtongnia) triumphs, he does not transcend his identity as a twin and grandson—not even the privileged one—of the female, primordial character, Ataentsic. Therefore, he has very little in common with the high god of Zoroastrianism, who does transcend his earthly role.

There are numerous problems connected with the myths of twins found among American Indians because of certain sociological elements common to many tribes; the tendency toward a dual organization, for instance, is shared by many populations of North and South America. It appears that the two moieties of a tribe are frequently connected with two mythical twins. According to Werner Müller (1956), this prevents one from interpreting the opposition between such twins as a crude opposition between good and evil. According to Mircea Eliade, the Iroquois myth "is a dualist myth, the only North American myth susceptible to comparison with the Iranian dualism of zurvanite type. . . . Nevertheless, as shall presently be seen, such an irreducible antagonism does not reach the Iranian paroxysm, and this for the simple reason that the Iroquois refuse to identify in the 'bad' twin the essence of 'evil,' the *ontological evil* that obsessed Iranian religious thought" (Eliade, 1969, p. 147f.). Moreover, the ontological basis of the Iroquois dual and (because connected with cosmogony) dualistic mythology is intertwined with sociological and cultural motivations; it implies a question not only of essence but also of function. Tawiskaron's activity, though essentially negative in its value, is considered to have an effect on Iroquois institutions (their cult and calendar) and way of life. As Eliade observes (on the basis of Werner Müller's argumentation), it was a prophet of the Seneca tribe, Handsome Lake, who, at the beginning of the nineteenth century "substituted for the couple of the mythical Twins that of the Great God, Haweniyo (the 'Great Voice') and the Devil, Haninseono ('Who Dwells in the Earth')" (ibid., p. 148). This substitution could be a result of the prophet's monotheistic tendency, but as Müller and Eliade point out, it could also be a response to the accusation made by the Europeans that the Iroquois "adored the Devil." This accusation has been leveled several times in response to dualistic theologies and mythologies; it implies that there is a cult around the second element of the couple. This element may be a demiurge-trickster, a culture hero, or a twin, in no way an exclusively bad character because it is also connected with an important, complementary aspect of reality. Such a notion is a reminder of the Egyptian myth (as expounded by Plutarch) that Seth, the opposing and destroying agency complementary to Osiris, was defeated but not annihilated in order that the equilibrium of the universe remain unchanged.

According to Åke Hultkrantz, the theme of twins in American Indian culture is connected with the figure of the culture hero. This hero may be the father of the twins; in some instances, at least one of the twins has some of the hero's characteristics. One even gets the impression that the twins incorporate respectively the two essences or tendencies present in the culture hero: "the vocation to produce and the vocation to destroy" (Hultkrantz, 1963, p. 41). Hultkrantz maintains that there is also a kind of parallelism between the relationship linking the supreme being and the culture hero on the one hand and the relationship between the two twins on the other. "It seems verisimilar that the myth of the twins be a variation of the mythological theme expressed in the relationship between the Supreme Being and the cultural hero, and that it influenced the latter only secondarily, possibly emphasizing dualism present in this" (ibid., p. 41f.).

In other cases, the twins have nothing in common with the culture hero, but they may accomplish—individually or together—some of the deeds traditionally attributed to him. According to Paul Radin (1949), three types are to be distinguished at the core of American Indian myths of twinship. First, the mother of the twins dies as a result of outside aggression or the unnatural birth of the bad twin (as among the Iroquois). In both myths, the second twin is negative and violent, but the first—at least in the first type of myth—is scarcely more commendable in his *modus operandi.* Second, the twins are children of the Sun. They are different in character, but they cooperate. The third type of myth is a combination of the first two. The first type seems to be common among the northern regions of North America; the second is concentrated in the southwestern regions of the same continent; the third belongs exclusively to South America.

Particularly interesting is the respective quality of the achievements of the twins in the context of their demiurgical activity, an issue that adds new particulars to the generic statement that the second twin, as Eliade points out, "does not incarnate the idea of, 'evil' but only the negative, dark aspect of the world" (Eliade, 1969, p. 149). Thus, among the Tuscarora, an Iroquois tribe, the bad twin, "animated by a bad spirit," came violently to light, so killing his mother. The good twin tried to create plants and animals, but the other, trying to imitate him, succeeded only in bringing desert lands and reptiles into existence. The bad twin also created the bodies of human beings; his brother gave them souls. In the end, the bad twin was vanquished but not annihilated; he became the king of the dead (Hultkrantz, 1963). One cannot but concur with Eliade that the twins in these mythologies form a complementary couple ruling "the two modes or two 'times,' which together constitute the living and fertile universe" (ibid., p. 149).

Another character from these Iroquois myths, the Grande Bosse, a double of Tawiskaron, who fought against the creator and introduced sickness and other evils, was finally defeated but was given the task of curing and helping people. This double lives on the cliffs at the borders of the world, in the land where diseases are born, accompanied by the False Faces, the abortive creations of Tawiskaron, who had tried in vain to imitate the human beings created by his brother. But, as Müller points out, as known from ritual, these creatures "in spring and autumn, drive away the maladies from the villages" (Müller, 1946, p. 272). This is a notion widespread both in North America and in Australia, namely, that bad entities or spirits that are guilty of homicide are endowed with the capacity to heal: They know the "medicine." In the Menomini cult of Manabozo, for example, the evil spirits responsible for the death of the brother of the hero are obliged to impart the medicine to those initiated in the cult, that is, to act against their previous homicidal activity. The same applies to the dreadful character of Crow in some Australian myths and also to the Egyptian myth already mentioned, in which the evil Seth is defeated but not annihilated. A providential decision by Isis allows him to continue his struggle against Apophis, the serpent, who day after day attacks the cosmic boat of the sun crossing the heaven. Eliade's discussion applies to the Egyptian situation as well as to the Indian:

> In other words, though the adversary has been defeated by the Great God, his works, the "evil," persist in the world. The Creator does not seek to, or perhaps he cannot, annihilate the "evil," but neither does he permit it to corrupt his creation. He accepts it as an inevitable negative aspect of life, but at the same time he compels his adversary to combat the results of his own work. (1969, p. 149)

Eliade points out, too, that the Iroquois worldview displays a clearly dualistic view of evil. Considered a "disastrous innovation" brought about by some bad superhuman personage, evil is nonetheless

> accepted as a henceforth inevitable modality of life and of human existence. . . . The universe is imagined to have a central portion, i. e., the village and the cultivated fields, inhabited by men; this central portion is surrounded by an exterior desert full of stones, swamps, and "False faces." (ibid., pp. 149–150)

The same situation is found in old Egypt, where the Nile and the land that is periodically flooded by it belong to Osiris; the desert and the barren sea (with the foreign, Asiatic) countries belong to the "red" Seth (red being the color of the desert), who is characterized by loneliness, infertility, and aggressiveness. A similar notion is found among the Dogon of West Africa. Nommo, the god of water (that of the Niger), may resemble the high god of numerous mythologies in his creative activity. The infelicitous attempts of his evil brother, Yurugu, or Ogo (who is not properly a twin), at creation result in misshapen, monstrous creatures. Compelled by his experience of failure, he introduces pain into the existence of the good creatures. In doing so, Yurugu joins the ranks of the demiurge-tricksters at least in terms of his inability to imitate the efficacy of the creator. But a difference remains. The demiurge-trickster is more interested in particular occurrences in purposedly worsening the quality of life than is the bad twin or brother; he introduces painful conditions of life, creates cliffs and mountains that are difficult to cross, and causes people to become mortal (as does Coyote among some Californian tribes and the bad demiurge of some Asiatic mythologies). But he also justifies his actions by claiming that he challenges human cultural creativity by providing obstacles to survival.

Another important feature of American Indian mythologies of twins is that in South America and in the southwestern regions of North America twins are conceived as sons of the sun. Their birth is characterized by the violent death of their mother. The twins are not necessarily portrayed as rivals. The difference between them is sometimes attested to by the difference of their respective destinies; one of them experiences death but is resurrected by the other (a motif found in the classical myth of the Dioscuri). These twins represent universal duality at the cosmological and sociological levels, which fact, however, does not prevent a consideration of them as disparate in terms of their ontological consistency and their axiological evaluation. Similar interpretations apply when the mythical referents of the twins are respectively Sun and Moon, such as among the Apinagé (or Apinayé; see Nimuendajú, 1939). Among the Caribbean population of the Kaliña, the first twin, Tanusi, is a kind of high god and ancestor, the creator of all good things, living in the "land without evening." Yolokantamulu, his twin brother, is connected with obscurity and the pains of humanity and lives in the "land without morning." By the standard tendency implicit in this kind of duality, the inborn disparity of the twins is not to be explained only as an expression of mere opposition between good and evil but also (or even preeminently) as an expression of ontological and cosmological (and sometimes sociological and psychological) complementarity (but see also the discussion by Josef Haekel, 1958, concerning Tanusi's feature as high god). At the same time, a notion of the disparity of value between the twins in the American Indian mythologies and religions can find a counterpart, as Eliade (1969, pp. 137f.) has observed, in the conception of the two souls in humans, one of heavenly origin and the other of "animal" nature (as among the Apapocúva of Brazil). As for the Caribbean Kaliñas, they characteristically claim that things existing on earth have their spiritual counterpart in heaven. On the sociological plane, the twins may sometimes represent respectively the two moieties of a tribe, as among the already quoted Apinagé.

The principle of twinship is fundamental to the ideology of the Dogon of Mali. For them, twinship means perfection. One of the main characters of their cosmology and cosmogony is Nommo. He is perfect and beneficent. His personality is equivalent to a pair of twins, masculine and feminine, who represent the ideal couple. This couple is not to be imitated on this earth because the marriage between twins is prohibited as a result of the troubles caused by Yurugu, or Ogo, the first son of Amma and the Earth. Nommo as a spiritual entity is a married couple, which is, because married, completely perfect. Yurugu alone is single, imperfect, and unhappy. He personifies deficiency, ontological and ethical. Not directly linked to a twin (Nommo is his younger brother), Yurugu is only understandable as Nommo's misshapen opposite. But it is exactly this opposition (and not the twinship inherent in the entity that is Nommo) that introduces a crucial dialectic between completeness and deficiency in the Dogon ideology. In this ideology, there is a kind of articulated totality in which deficiency—as represented by Yurugu—is an indispensable component. All in all, it may be concluded that in the Dogon ideology, twinship attains a higher status than in American Indian mythologies, because in those mythologies the principle of twinship is directly engaged in a dialectic of completeness and incompleteness as an element constituting a totality (so that even the "dark" element of a pair of twins is considered positive from a functional point of view).

According to the Dogon conception, twinship as such transcends evil but is pledged to coexist with it (i.e., with the single Yurugu). This kind of triadic ontology is very similar to that expressed in the Egyptian myth of Osiris and Seth told by Plutarch. The good Osiris and the bad Seth are not twins but brothers. Osiris' counterpart is his wife, Isis; Seth is infecund and alone—which does not prevent him from being an element of a universal totality. Yurugu's status as the older son of Amma is a feature not uncommon in dualistic conceptions. For instance, the birth of Ahriman precedes (though as a consequence of a trick and a violent act) that of Ōhrmazd in the Zurvanite myth, while Satan is the younger (or older) brother of Christ in the dualistic and sectarian doctrine of the Bogomils. The violence that characterizes the birth or coming to light of a bad twin or brother is typical of such twinship mythologies; this feature probably expresses a kind of recrimination against the bad twin, which is intended to diminish but not to abolish his "legitimacy."

Finally, as far as the "incompleteness" of Yurugu is concerned (i.e., his deprivation of the benefits of both twinship and marriage, or of the marriage implied in twinship), one can conclude that for the first entities of some cosmogonies the duality of twinship and the duality of the married couple are the same. (An example can be found in the Zoroastrian myth of the first human couple, Mashya and Mashyane, who were twins due to the fact that they were brought into existence as the result of a split within a rhubarb plant.) On the contrary, this identification between the two main forms of duality on the anthropological level—between marriage and twinship—is prohibited in the actual life of the Dogon as a lasting consequence of the rupture of harmony caused by the "previous guilt" committed by Yurugu, a guilt that is both a cause and a consequence of his deficiency. According to a version recorded by Montserrat Palau Marti (1957), Yurugu's deficiency was due to the fact that he was born irregularly to Amma and the Earth, a couple whose feminine component had not yet been excised and was therefore not yet ready for marriage and generation.

Another version ascribes the guilt to Yuguru himself, who could not believe that Amma would give him a wife for his twin. This ambivalence concerning the ontological level to which the first origin of deficiency is attributed reminds one of the sin of Sophia according to Valentinus and his followers. Sophia failed to obey the law that regulated the order and fecundity of the aeons, those spiritual couples (or syzygies) that exist in the divine Pleroma ("fullness"). Yurugu did not find his "twin soul" (literally, the feminine part of his soul) because of his lack of belief or, alternatively, because of his inborn deficiency, and therefore he cohabited incestuously with his mother, the Earth; this resulted in the birth of certain malevolent entities who live in the woods, outside of the culturalized and purified (i. e., ritually cultivated) land. On the other hand, the impurity and sterility of Yurugu does not prevent him from being an important element in the cosmological process; he is an essential part of the ordinary life of the Dogon. His "words" are essential to the development of life. Nommo, that is to say, one of the twins that compose his double personality, was sacrificed, and some cosmic entities were derived from him; he was later resurrected. Once the world is put in motion, the androgynous condition of existence (which was also peculiar to Nommo, whose two souls, masculine and feminine, were twins) is abolished, and sexual differentiation obtains—a differentiation, of course, that is different from the loneliness and incompleteness of Yurugu, the inhabitant of the woods. All in all, Yurugu remains a representation of limitation, but, for the same reason, also a referent of the growing cosmos of culture and agriculture. This corresponds to the will of Amma, that all be found and all be functional in nature, the perfect and the imperfect. Dogon dualism has its roots higher in the vertical series of the ontological levels; it affects the divine to some degree particularly if the first origin of deficiency is seen as deriving from the irregular maternity of Earth, whose feminine part was not yet excised.

One can conclude that the motif of twins in the ideologies of nonliterate cultures takes two main expressions: (1) symmetry, which being partial and not specular as in the Zoroastrian (Gathic) notion of the two spirits, is an adequate expression of the complementarity of twins; and (2) disparity in value, which also includes in itself a dynamism motivating some peculiarities related in the myth (e.g., when the second twin undergoes a crisis and is rehabilitated by the first). This complementarity, which is capable of integrating within itself the "bad" aspect, or simply the inferior quality, of the second twin, is not unqualified and static but articulated and dynamic; a distant equivalent is to be found in Platonic, Middle Platonic, and Neoplatonic speculation, where the existence of the lower, imperfect world, made after the image of the ideal one, is a requisite for the completeness of the All.

It is clear that this notion of an imperfection, which is a necessary component of a perfect totality, is extraneous to biblical creationism. It is dualistic in itself (when the two members of the couple are seen as disparate "principles" in the context of a cosmogony), and it in turn expresses a dialectical form of dualism. It must be distinguished from two other forms of dualism, where the "harmony" of the dialectical position is broken. The first is the Zoroastrian conception of the twins, one beneficent and the other maleficent; their relationship is one of radical opposition and mutual exclusion (a condition also present in the myth of Zurwān, despite the fact that the idea of Time as father of both Ōhrmazd and Ahriman is not to be confused with the Zoroastrian conception of the twin spirits, who cannot have God as their common father). The second form is found in Gnostic speculation, particularly Manichaeism, where matter, the substance of this visible world, is condemned, and Mani, the inspired founder, has a spiritual twin who is a heavenly counterpart of himself (i.e., his true self), to which he is to be "reduced" after his corporeal death.

INDO-EUROPEAN CULTURES. This article comes finally to some myths of twins in the Indo-European cultures. In India, Yama, whose name means "twin," is accompanied by a female counterpart, Yamī, the feminine form of his name. But he underwent some essential modifications and became the king of the dead, a function well suited to his original quality as first man. In Iran, Yima (the equivalent of Yama), with his female twin, Yimak, remained a prototype of humanity. (Other prototypes were Gaya-maretan, a total figure with no female counterpart or twin, and Mashya and Mashyane, the primordial twins and human progenitors.) Yima later became the inhabitant of Var, a subterranean world in which different categories of living beings wait for the final rehabilitation. Yima's connection with the principle of twinship is an important confirmation of the principle of duality in the field of cosmogony, no less important than another principle in the same field, androgyny.

The mention of a pair of Indian twin deities, the Nasatyas (or Aśvins), connected with the realm of health and fecundity (the third function of Indo-European tripartite ideology according to Georges Dumézil) provides an introduction to Castor and Pollux, the Dioscuri of Greek mythology. These can be seen as a privileged expression of ontological disparity, which is not necessarily ethical, contained within a set of twins. According to the characteristic and prevailing (but not necessarily older) formulation of the myth (first mentioned in the old epic poem *Kypria*, fragment 5k), Pollux was immortal, the son of Zeus—the supreme god—and of Leda; Castor was mortal, son of Tyndareus, the human husband of Leda. A very particular mythical element mediated their relationship so that they were neither wholly disparate nor wholly equal: The immortal Pollux renounced half of his immortality in favor of his mortal brother when the latter was fatally wounded by some common enemies. As a consequence of this, Castor and Pollux live alternatively in the heavens and in the netherworld (or they sojourn in their tomb in Laconia, at Therapnae near Sparta). This particular aspect of the myth represents a very peculiar expression of the twinship motif. The twins' symmetrical affinity is emphasized by their common attribute of the *pilos*, a piece of headgear later interpreted as representing half of Leda's egg; on the other hand, their radical, original disparity is emphasized by the opposite natures of their respective fathers (Zeus and a human hero). However, this dialectical situation—of partial affinity and radical disparity—is transcended by the attribution to the mortal twin of one-half of the immortality of the other; this leads to the situation of an artificially produced, balanced equality. In this sense, twinship is both an ontological presupposition and a final acquisition for them: a pattern different from, or opposed to, that of other myths concerning twins or brothers who, on the basis of an ontological or merely ethical or behavioral disparity, come to represent opposing elements (sun or moon, life or death, etc.).

Unfortunately, there are versions of the myth of the Dioscuri that modify this basic pattern. In some texts, Castor and Pollux are sons of the same father, Tyndareus, whose name can also designate Zeus ("he who strikes"). According to other sources, they are sons of Zeus (hence the name *hoi Dioskouroi*, "the young sons of Zeus"). Moreover, there are different interpretations concerning the modalities of their alternating destinies apart from the fact that in old sources (Homer) they live as typical heroes in their tomb at Therapnae. The more widespread interpretation (Lucian) is that one lives in heaven and the other in his tomb or in the netherworld, and vice versa. There are also good reasons for understanding that they experience life and death together in alternation. In a famous song of victory (*Nemean Odes* 10), Pindar immortalizes this episode, making brotherly love the motivation behind the generous deed of Pollux, who renounces one-half of his (still to be experienced) immortality to show that life (even immortal life) is hard without friends. This throws a different light on the whole myth, more in accordance with the old Homeric statement that the two are together in their Laconian tomb, or *hērōion.*

Thus, the myth of the Dioscuri may be distinguished from such myths as that of the Sumerian Dumuzi, who alternates his stay in the netherworld with that of Geshtinanna, his sister. In other words, the Dioscuri do not belong fundamentally to the typology of the dying god (even a dying god split into two figures who take turns dwelling in the netherworld); they represent instead a special (duplicate) version of the hero, who lives in his tomb, from which emanates his protecting influence on the town and the territory. More precisely, the Dioscuri (*theoi hērōes*, "divine heroes") belong to a typology in between that of the chthonic hero and the heavenly god. Their shared immortality, based on their geminate personality, allows them to act together as heavenly gods; as such, they manifest themselves on the summit of a ship's mast during a tempest, or they appear at the decisive moment during a battle. Their stay in a tomb links them to the classical heroes. All in all, this is a polytheistic interpretation of the motif of twins, different from those that are familiar in nonliterate cultures.

The most famous set of twins in myth and legend is Romulus and Remus, the founders of the Eternal City. Although the Dioscuri were worshiped in old Latium, as demonstrated by an archaic Latin inscription from Lavinium (fifth century BCE) dedicated to them, these twins were unrelated to the Roman twins. In contrast to the Dioscuri, who tended to be equated in their destiny and function (although Castor has special relations with the cavalry, and the temple on the forum was originally dedicated to—or at least named after—him, and only later after the Castores, the Roman name of the Dioscuri), Romulus and Remus tended to be differentiated, to the extent that the former kills the latter immediately after the marking of the sacred pomerium, which was intended to separate the domestic soil of the city from all external territory. The killing of the offender, Remus, because he had violated the pomerium, may be interpreted as prototypical of the drastic measures associated with this boundary for the protection of the city.

The legendary killing of Remus, however, did not prevent the Romans from continuing a ritual celebration, the Lupercalia, at which time two groups of Luperci, those allegedly instituted by Romulus (the Fabiani) and those said to be instituted by Remus (the Quinctiales), acted as rivals running around the old city acting out a rite intended to promote health and fertility and to reaffirm the ominous destiny of Rome. The rite was modified in 44 BCE, when a third group of Luperci was instituted (the Julii), the tradition behind the festivity being somewhat misunderstood. The owner of the third flock of Luperci, Caesar, who in those months was striving after kingship, could automatically be compared to the first founders of Rome as a candidate for kingship. All in all, the celebration of the Lupercalia—strictly ritualized and thus made inoffensive—could perpetuate in Rome's historical memory a significant notion, that of an endogenous source of rivalry and destruction, a duality threatening to become a dualism and, as such, dangerous; for this reason it was allowed to survive only within a strictly controlled ritual.

TWINS AND THE MYTHS OF ORIGINS. One must note some considerations concerning the cultural-historical setting in life of at least some of these traditions of twinship within the context of myths of origins. Such traditions are dualistic in character, whether they emphasize a horizontal or a frontal, mutually exclusive opposition between the twins (as in the case of Zoroastrianism), or, alternatively, a dialectical relationship between them. It would seem that this dialectic, as it is manifested among the American Indians, has something in common with an ideology of agriculturists, based on matriarchal and lunar aspects (e.g., the Kaliña situated the twins respectively on the bright and on the dark side of the moon). In the same way may be interpreted the extreme specialization and absoluteness of the dualism of the Iroquois twins, deriving probably from a lunar, female entity, as well as the type of culture present in the South American and Caribbean tribes. This means, as Hultkrantz (1963) has observed, that dualism in America (at least this kind of dualism) is a southern phenomenon (as opposed to that of the Arctic hunters). To be sure, one cannot forget, as Müller (1956) points out, that some mythologies of hunters, both in Canada and in California, are also dualistic. But this dualism (e.g., the well-known myth concerning the demiurge-trickster, Coyote, who opposes the high being in his creating activity and thus introduces death and the "heavy" physiology of human beings) is structurally very different from the dialectical symmetry of twins. The high being and the demiurge-trickster are of very different extraction; they cannot be reduced to a symmetrical, bipartite form of totality. On the other hand, dialecticism is not absent in the Californian myths of the supreme being and Coyote. The supreme being is a giver of life, but death is introduced by Coyote on the basis of an argument that tends to emphasize the cultural utility rather than the negative aspect of death.

Another issue concerning the twins motif in mythology concerns the direct impact of the physiological experience of twinship on the psychology of the relevant populations. According to Hultkrantz (1963, p. 45) the "superstitious" attention paid to the phenomenon of twinship could have been inspired by its appearance in the symbological language of myth. On the other hand, what is exceptional on earth could also be seen as primordial, so that the inauguration of the terrestrial (imperfect) status of humanity would have meant also the transition from (perfect) twinship to (imperfect) singleness. Twinship, as it is experienced in this world, comes to mean something extraordinary. In addition, the rather extraordinary phenomenon of twinship has been differently evaluated in different cultures. In Africa, for instance, one moves from a feeling of dread before twins (in some cases, one or both of them may be killed) among the San and Damara in southern Africa to a feeling of happiness and expectation of good fortune in their presence, as in Sudan. One could also venture that the typical ambivalence found in the disparities between twins (the second twin as bad, or simply as terrestrial, or, as a part of a totality, destined for a sacrifice from which he is ultimately rescued, as among the Dogon) is not unrelated to the problematical nature of physiological twinship, in which the different values of duality (completeness, but also distinction or even disparity) can put in motion a plurality of interpretations, both at the mythological and the ritual-sociological level. The reverse possibility, namely that the motif of twinship, which originally developed on the mythological level, could have motivated with its different expressions the contradictory nature of twinship on the ritual-sociological level, is perhaps too farfetched.

SEE ALSO Androgynes; Clitoridectomy; Culture Heroes; Dualism; Tricksters.

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TWINS: BALTIC TWIN DEITIES

The twin myth and various folk beliefs associated with the idea of twins and the concept of duality have an important place in Baltic religion. The divine or deified twins usually are demiurges, with various associated cosmogonic and anthropogonic functions. Thus, for Latvians, Dievs, the personification of light, is the twin of Velns. The world was created, according to ancient folk legend, as a result of their fight on a stone in the middle of the sea (*vidū jūras uz akmeņa*) or on an island in the middle of the sea (*vidū jūras saliņā*), a place that at a later date became the central axis of the cosmos.

The Baltic divine twins have often been associated with the cycle of death and rebirth. Thus in Latvian mythological folk songs the theme of the sons of Dievs marrying their twin sisters, the daughters of Saule (the sun), is widespread. Before the wedding a ritual wooing of Saule's daughters takes place, which Dievs's sons accomplish by looking through the petals of poppies (*Caur magoņu lapiņām*), flowers that at weddings symbolize death, rebirth, and also puberty. On the wedding night, while waiting for the appearance of Saule's daughters at the vault of heaven, the sons light two candles at sea. These heavenly weddings end unsuccessfully because of an implied but never quite articulated suggestion of a serious violation—incest.

In antiquity it is probable that sacral incest was differentiated from profane incest, the first being committed by a primeval human or demiurge, the second by a trickster. Incest demonstrably pointed to two diverse forms of sexual behavior: the cultured versus the natural (as exhibited in nature), or, in other words, the civilized versus the savage. Sacral incest likely occurred only in illo tempore (the beginning of time) when there was no other coupling possible except between brother and sister. Angered by the violation of incest being committed, Pērkons, the god of thunder, struck the cosmic tree, or tree of life. For three years Saule collected the scattered branches of the damaged tree, the oak. It was only in the fourth year that she found the tip of the tree and, by piecing together all of the branches, made rebirth of the cosmos possible.

Another variation of this theme has it that during the heavenly wedding a daughter of the sun drowned. Her body was carried down the river into the sea, from the sea it was washed ashore, and in this spot grew a linden tree with nine branches. In Latvian mythology the number nine is an indicator of time and space in the cosmos. While carving from this linden tree a *kokles* (psaltery), a Latvian musical instrument considered to be the embodiment of a female deity or, in a broader sense, the soul and life of a woman, the son of Dievs recognized his twin sister, the daughter of Saule. Death and rebirth of the gods and of the seasons is the basis of this myth; it is analogous to the ancient Greek myth about Persephone. Latvian mythology scholars have tried to interpret the daughters of Saule as the sunlight at dawn or dusk (in autumn and winter, but also in the evening, the sun and its beams seem to die, while in the spring and at dawn they appear to be reborn), while the sons of Dievs are interpreted as Venus, which the Baltic people believed to be embodied in the two stars Rīta and Vakara (morning and evening). The divine twin sons of Dievs, in both Latvian and Lithuanian folklore, sources are associated with horses. In mythological folk songs the twins travel by boat or by horse, often transforming into or fusing with the horse. They appear also as water-loving beasts, otters, or beavers, dancing in either otter or beaver skins. They are also associated with the cosmic tree, the oak.

The sons of Dievs, usually two in number, are typically both called by the same name, but in some instances, each has a different name. Thus, in the spring season, the son of Dievs, as the embodiment of rebirth, is named Ūsiņš (from the verb *aust*, literally, "the rising of the sun," or "the emergence of light"). In autumn, the son of Dievs is the embodiment of death called Mārtiņš, possibly linked to the word *mirt* (to die). Both twins mirror the mythological idea of sequential change and continuity of the cycle of life and death. The sons of Dievs are perceived as the protectors of humans, primarily of men and specifically during war, at sea, when fishing, and when caring for horses. In Latvian mythological folk songs they reveal themselves as two candles in the sea to fishermen and sailors, thus lighting their way:

> *Div svecītes jūrā dega Sudrabiņa lukturos;*
> *Tās dedzina*
> Dieva dēli, *Zvejnieciņus gaidīdami.*
> Two candles burn at sea
> In silver lanterns;
> They're lit by the sons of *Dievs,*
> Awaiting fishermen.

The divine twins are also associated with fertility cults and productivity. For Latvians this is revealed in a particularly striking fashion in the cult of Jumis and his twin sister Jumala, at one time either his betrothed or his wife. *Jumis* and

Jumala are words for which parallels can be found in several Indo–European traditions: in ancient Gaelic, *e(a)main*; in Avesta, *yima*; in Indo-Iranian, *yama*—as found, for example, in the hymn in *Ṛgveda* about Yama and his twin sister Yamī, wherein Yamī tries to entice her brother to take part in incestuous relations. The Iranian twins Yima and Yimāk, by getting married, become the predecessors of humanity. This theme is also found in Latvian mythological folk songs, where there is a direct allusion to incestuous relations between the brother and sister Jumis and Jumala (Jumīts and Jumaliņa are diminutive forms):

Jumīts meklēj Jumaliņu
Pa tīrumu staigādams;
Brālīts meklēj līgaviņas
No māsiņas vaicādams.
Jumīts looks for
Jumaliņa
Walking in the field;
The brother is seeking a bride
Asking his sister.

Latvians and Lithuanians also give the name *jumis* to any two fruits or nuts that have grown together, or to two sheaves of grain on one stalk. In ancient times (and still today), having harvested the rye, barley, and wheat, people tried to find and save two sheaves of grain intertwined, or they tied two bundles of the harvested grain together, saving this *jumis* over winter to ensure fertility and productivity for the coming year. On the subject of birth and fertility, according to Latvian folk beliefs, if a young woman wanted to have twins, she had to find and eat a *jumis*, such as two nuts or berries or some other fruit that have grown together. The Latvian Jumis and Jumala are associated with the idea of the death and rebirth of nature. Another testimony to the Jumis myth can be seen in the *jumis* nut found buried in a young girl's grave during an archeological dig of an eighth- to eleventh-century burial ground in Latvia called Kaugaru Beites.

Another son of Dievs who is mentioned in Latvian folklore, particularly in summer solstice songs called *Jāņu dziesmas* (Jānis's songs), is Jānis (*'Ai Jānīti, Dieva dēls;* Oh Jānītis [dim. of Jānis], son of Dievs). Jānis is typologically similar to Baldr in the Scandinavian indigenous religions; that is, he is a seasonal deity embodying the ideas of fertility and productivity associated with summer. We can assume that Jānis, like the Roman Janus, is two-faced—the two sons of Dievs united in one person, one linked to the spring and summer seasons, the other linked to autumn and winter. When one of them appears in the sky as a heavenly body (a star), the other, being underground, is not visible. The idea of promoting fertility predominates in the summer solstice songs. Folksong texts indicate that during this time the mythical heavenly wedding takes place between the divine twins—the sons of Dievs and the daughters of Saule.

Twins also figure as the founders of ancient social organizations, such as tribes, nations, states, and cities. For the Prussians, the twin brothers Widewuttis and Brūtens are the founders of a tribe. Widewuttis is the founder of secular power and the first king of the Prussian tribe, while Brūtens is the founder of its spiritual power and the *romow* sanctuary, being its first *Krive krivaitis* (high priest). In later times the Prussians worshiped Widewuttis and Brūtens in the form of two posts, one called Worskaito (the elder), the other called Iszwambrato (i.e., *Svais brāti,* "his brother").

Even as late as the end of the nineteenth century (and into the twentieth), twins appear in Lithuanian and Latvian historical legends. A Latvian legend recorded in the nineteenth century tells of the twin brothers Turo and Tusko, who both loved the same girl. They were so similar that the girl could not tell them apart, and for this reason gave one a gold ring and the other a silver ring to wear. Turo finally succeeded in winning the girl's love, but Tusko, in a dreadful act of betrayal, posed as his twin brother and stole his betrothed. When the betrothed of Turo, on recognizing the ring, learned that she had been deceived, she killed herself with a sword, while the twin brothers killed each other. The graves of all three are located in Zilais kalns (Blue Hill), an important and legendary sanctuary in Latvia, located near the city of Valmiera. This legend about the twins, along with other legends that abound regarding Zilais kalns, reflects the concepts of death and rebirth associated with the twin myths.

There is another interesting element in the Turo/Tusko legend. The names Turo and Tusko start with the same letter. This also occurs in the Roman Romulus and Remus, the Germanic Hengist and Horst, and in another Latvian myth about twins, Auseklis and Ūsiņš (both of which are derived from the Indo-European root-form **aus*/**us*, with the ancient form of the latter being Ausiņš).

The divine twins as special patrons of the fertility and productivity cult are also revealed in traditional wood architecture in Latvia. Even today, one can find fastened to the ends of gables on houses or buildings two identical, symmetrically placed wooden horses, goats, or figurative carvings of other animals and birds. This tradition was practiced by all Baltic peoples, as can be seen from ethnographic drawings and written records of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as from photographs taken during the first half of the twentieth century in Latvia, Lithuania, and East Prussia. Paradoxically, one of the places where zoomorphic and ornithomorphic images of twin deities have been preserved is East Prussia, which was most devastated during World War II and which now forms part of the Russian Federation as the Kaliningrad region and part of northeastern Poland. In districts where prewar buildings have been preserved, one can still see carved twin horse heads at roof gables and in the wooden trim above windows. This tradition has also been retained in the Curonian Spit in the Baltics. One part of the Curonian Spit territory is located in Lithuania, while the second part belongs to Russia; in Lithuania this twin-horse tradition at gable ends is being preserved, with the horse heads being restored, whereas in Russia such carvings are going to ruin, along with the buildings themselves. It is significant that in Latvian Jumis and *jumts* (roof), as well as the verb *jumt* (to roof, to thatch) and the term *debesu jums* (vault of heaven), are derived from the same root-form, based on the Indo-European root **ieu* (to tie together). Not only does the twin deity Jumis consist of two tied into one, but also a house roof having two sides joined into one whole.

The significance to the Baltic peoples of the twin myth, particularly as it relates to the birth of twins, was noted in the nineteenth century by such scholars as the German-born ethnographer and folklorist August Bielenstein. However, the Baltic twin myth has merited special attention and comparative analysis only since the 1960s, when it was included in an overview of various Indo-European twins written by Donald Ward (1968), and later by Vjačeslav Ivanov (1972 and 1983) and the Latvian-born folklorist Liene Neuland (1977). Evidently scholars have noted the similarities between the Baltic divine twins and the broader Indo-European twin concept, as in, for example, the Greek Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux (Polydeuces), and the ancient Indian twin, Aśvin.

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TWO BOOKS, THE.

The relationship between religion and science in the Christian West has often found expression in metaphors and models. Since the nineteenth century the strident "warfare model" has dominated interpretations of these different realms of human knowledge. However, a renaissance is occurring of a far more ancient metaphor, that of God's self-revelation through a pair of complementary books, the book of nature and the book of Scripture. Pope John Paul II proclaimed, "From the greatness and beauty of created things comes a corresponding perception of their Creator (*Wisdom* 13:5). This is to recognize as a first stage of divine Revelation the marvelous book of nature, which, when read with the proper tools of human reason, can lead to knowledge of the Creator" (John Paul II, 1998, p. 19).

ORIGINS OF THE METAPHOR. The origins of the "two books" metaphor are embedded in the conviction of the Abrahamic faiths that God is knowable through revelation. The Hebrew Scriptures and the New Testament were understood to be transmitting the very word of God, and thus the "book" became of paramount importance in their respective traditions. *Psalms* 19:1 majestically articulates the idea that "the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament proclaims his handiwork." The theme in the *Book of Wisdom* that God is known through the divine works even by Gentiles is echoed in the New Testament locus classicus for the natural knowledge of God, the Pauline declaration in *Romans*: "For what can be known about God is plain to them, because God has shown it to them. Ever since the creation of the world his invisible nature, namely, his eternal power and deity, has been clearly perceived in the things that have been made" (*Rom.* 1:19–20). Paul elsewhere describes the visible worlds as "images of the invisible" (*Heb.* 11:3).

In patristic literature one finds the first full expression of the metaphor. Elements may be found as early as the second century in Justin Martyr's adoption of the Stoic idea of the *logos spermatikos* (*Second Apology*, chap. 8) and in Irenaeus of Lyons (130–202 CE) the idea of the works and the word of God (*Adversus haereses* IV.20). Tertullian prefigured it in his antiheretical argument that, because Marcion has eviscerated Scripture, he cannot provide a counterpart in revelation to the knowledge of God derived from nature (*Adversus Marcionem,* V.5). Athanasius (c. 296–373 CE) offered a protostatement of the theme in his claim that nature and Scripture are the sole sources of knowledge of God (*Vita S. Antoni*, 78).

The clearest patristic statements of the metaphor of "the book of nature" were offered by John Chrysostom (c. 354–407 CE) and Augustine of Hippo (c. 354–407 CE). Chrysostom declared:

> If God had given instruction by means of books, and of letters, he who knew letters would have learnt what was written, but the illiterate man would have gone away without receiving any benefit. . . . This however cannot be said with respect to the heavens. . . . Upon this volume the unlearned, as well as the wise man, shall be able to look, and wherever any one may chance to come, there looking upwards towards the heavens, he will receive a sufficient lesson from the view of them. (*Homilies to the People of Antioch*, IX.5, 162–163).

Augustine proclaimed:

> There is a great book: the very appearance of created things. Look above you! Look below you! Note it. Read it. God, whom you want to discover, never wrote that

> book with ink. Instead He set before your eyes the things that He had made. Can you ask for a louder voice than that? Why, heaven and earth shout to you: "God made me!" (City of God, 11:22).

But although these passages establish the complementarity of natural and revealed theology among the fathers, the metaphor only reached full articulation with the progressive rediscovery of Aristotelian natural philosophy, when the "two books" became a primary model for expressing a mature binary epistemology of revelation.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE "TWO BOOKS" METAPHOR. Medieval thinkers employed the model of a twofold revelation with great plasticity. Alain of Lille wrote, "*Omnis mundi creatura / Quasi liber et pictura / Nobis est et speculum*" (Every creature is to us like a book and a picture and a mirror). Hugh of Saint Victor regarded both the creation and the incarnation as "books" of God and compared Christ as primary revelation to a book. Saint Bonaventure's (1217–1274) model of revelation included three volumes: sensible creatures are "a book with writing front and back," spiritual creatures are "a scroll written from within," and Scripture is "a scroll written within and without" (*Collations on the Hexaemeron*, 12.14–17). Thomas Aquinas in his *Summa Contra Gentiles* likewise speaks about a threefold knowledge that humanity may have of divine things: ascent through creation by the natural light of reason, descent of divine truth by revelation, and elevation of the human mind to a perfect insight into things revealed. For Dante, for whom the book in which everything is contained is the Godhead, perfect insight is eschatological in paradise, where everything that has been scattered throughout the entire universe like loose pages is now "bound in one volume" (*Paradiso* XXXIII, 82).

Raymond of Sabunde offered the fullest late-medieval articulation of the metaphor in *Theologia Naturalis* (1436):

> Hence there are two books given to us by God, the one being the book of the whole collection of creatures or the book of nature, and the other being the book of sacred scripture. The first book was given to human beings in the beginning, when the universe of creatures was created, since no creature exists that is not a certain letter, written by the finger of God, and from many creatures as from many letters is composed one book, which is called the book of the creatures. Within this book is included humanity itself, and human beings are the first letters of this book. But the second book, Scripture, was given to human beings secondarily to correct the deficiencies of the first book, which humanity could not read because it is blind. The first book is common everyone, but the second book is not common to all, because only clerics are able to read what is written in it. (*Theologia Naturalis sive Liber Creaturarum*, 35–36)

Sabunde's incautious exaltation of the book of nature and his insistence that the book of Scripture is less accurate led to the condemnation of the work as heretical in 1595.

EARLY MODERN VARIATIONS ON THE THEME. The "book of nature" enjoyed its greatest currency in the early modern period. The Reformers' emphasis on the literal sense of Scripture cut through the profusion of "meanings" and "signatures" found by medieval scholars in nature and reinforced the idea of two books. However, the book of nature was clearly subordinate to biblical revelation in the theology of John Calvin, who held Scripture to be a necessary corrective to the deficiencies of nature (*Institutes*, I.6.1). The Reformed tradition retained this Calvinist interpretation of the two books in the *Belgic Confession* adopted by the Dutch Reformed Church. In contrast, Paracelsus suggested an empirical approach: whereas Scripture was to be explored through its letters, the book of nature had to be read by going from land to land because every country was a different page.

The metaphor was affected in the seventeenth century by both the elaboration of natural theology and the development of the sciences in novel empirical and theoretical directions. Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655) saw purpose in all of nature and suggested that if René Descartes wanted to prove the existence of God he ought to abandon reason and look around him and that the two books were not to be kept on separate shelves. Although Francis Bacon seems in practice to have kept the two books distinct, he articulated their essential complementarity:

> The scriptures reveal to us the will of God; and the book of the creatures expresses the divine power; whereof the latter is a key unto the former: not only opening our understanding to conceive the true sense of the scriptures, by the general notions of reason and rules of speech; but chiefly opening our belief, in drawing us into a due meditation of the omnipotency of God, which is chiefly signed and engraven upon his works. (*The Advancement of Learning*, VI, 16)

Bacon set the tone for the seventeenth-century scientific enterprise in his redirection of the "two books" metaphor toward the improvement of the human estate.

Galileo Galilei argued that the book of nature is written in the language of mathematics, not only implying that mathematics is the sublimest expression of the divine word but de facto restricting its full comprehension to those who are appropriately educated:

> And to prohibit the whole science [of astronomy] would be but to censure a hundred passages of holy Scripture which teach us that the glory and greatness of Almighty God are marvelously discerned in all his works and divinely read in the open book of heaven. . . . Within its pages are couched mysteries so profound and concepts so sublime that the vigils, labors, and studies of hundreds upon hundreds of the most acute minds have still not pierced them, even after continual investigations for thousands of years. (*Letter to Grand Duchess Christina*)

Galileo's famous dictum that Scripture teaches "how the heavens go and not how to go to heaven" should be interpreted in light of his conviction of the complementarity of the two books.

The metaphor flourished in the natural theological climate of seventeenth-century England, particularly in the "physico-theology" of the Boyle Lectures, where the idea was used by many divines as shorthand for the assumed validity of the design argument. But its two terms were not always held in comfortable balance. The dissenting theologian Richard Baxter, for example, argued that "nature was a 'hard book'; which few could understand, and that it was therefore safer to rely more heavily on Scripture" (*The Reasons for the Christian Religion*, 1667). In contrast, Sir Isaac Newton saw nature as perhaps more truly the source of divine revelation than the Bible, although he spent decades of his life investigating the prophetic books. It has been argued that in virtually abolishing the distinction between the two books, which he revered as separate expressions of the same divine meaning, Newton was attempting to keep science sacred and to reveal scientific rationality in what was once a purely sacral realm, namely biblical prophecy (Manuel, 1974, p. 49). By the early eighteenth century there was a significant faction within the Royal Society opposed to any mention of Scripture in a scientific context.

Decline and Survival of the "Two Books." Although the metaphor of the book of nature persisted vigorously into the nineteenth century, various movements began to weaken its cogency. The Enlightenment critiques of David Hume and Immanuel Kant undermined the project of natural theology in broad strokes, and the deist movement challenged the uniqueness of the Christian revelation. Thomas Paine asked defiantly: "Do we want to know what God is? Search not the book called the Scripture, which any human hand might make, but the Scripture, called the creation" (*The Age of Reason*, 1794).

The revolutions in geology and biology eroded longstanding traditions of a young earth and an immutable creation and wore away the bedrock beneath a coherent "book of nature" temporally coextensive with the "book of Scripture." Whereas John Mason Good argued that the Bible must be the word of God, "for it has the direct stamp and testimony of his works" (*The Book of Nature*, 1833), Charles Babbage advanced a view that seemed almost to verge on asserting the superfluity of scriptural revelation in light of the book of nature (*Ninth Bridgewater Treatise,* 1838). Parallel to the "historicization" of geology and biology, the development of a historical critical approach to study of the Scripture challenged the profoundly rooted tradition about the Bible as an integral and timeless record of the word of God.

Despite the developments outlined above, the "two books" metaphor continued to thrive during the nineteenth century among both conservative anti-Darwinians and more liberal thinkers who enthusiastically adopted the principles and discoveries of contemporary science. For the Scottish Freechurchman Hugh Miller, the "two books" became the "two theologies" (*Testimony of the Rocks*, 1857). A decade after Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859), Herbert Morris argued that Scripture and nature represent respectively the verbal and the pictorial representations of divine wisdom, correlating the "inspired record of creation" with contemporary science (*Science and the Bible*, 1871). Paul Chadbourne regarded nature as an unchangeable record, written in the language of the sciences of which geology comprised the most clearly comprehended volume (*Nature and the Bible from the Same Author*, 1870). The geologist Joseph Le Conte declared that "the whole object of science is to construct the theology or the divine revelation in nature." Although quite clear about the limits of science as a commentary on the book of Scripture, he held that "of these two books, nature is the elder born, and in some sense, at least, may be considered the more comprehensive and perfect" (*Religion and Science*, 1902).

The innovations in hermeneutics and science pushed the more religiously conservative wings of society in a precritical direction of maintaining verbal inerrancy and defending the ancient understanding of earth history. The metaphor of the "book of nature" gained weight as one of the cornerstones of their position, thriving in evangelical and fundamentalist-creationist circles right through the end of the twentieth century.

However, in both liberal and neo-orthodox theology the metaphor of "God's two books" entered into steady decline after 1900. Parallel to the development of historical geology and biblical criticism was the erosion of confidence that one can easily interpret natural processes teleologically, as William Paley had once argued. The discovery of extinction in the fossil record disproved the ancient assumption of the immutability of species, rendering it increasingly difficult to read the "book of nature" as self-evidently revealing the divine plan or at least as a plan worthy of admiration. Additionally the metamorphosis of "natural philosophy" or "natural history" into the variety of sciences as understood in the early twenty-first century undercut both terms in the metaphor of "God's two books." As each new scientific discipline developed its own sphere of study, the "nature" underlying the "book of nature" lost its metaphorical coherence, and the replacement of science as commentary on authoritative texts by the empirical investigation of the natural world essentially removed the "book" from the "book of nature." Finally, the gradual recognition over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that the human community embraces a plurality of religious faiths has had the effect of relativizing the Bible as a source of revelation. The "two books" metaphor truly functions only if the claim can be defended that the Bible is the book of Scripture.

The complex metaphor of the "two books" has enjoyed a long and convoluted life cycle. For nearly two millennia the idea variously framed, constituted, negated, or otherwise reflected the relationship between the two human institutions now referred to as science and religion. It is an open question whether as a rhetorical device it can be rehabilitated in a world of historical critical interpretation of all sacred Scriptures and in which evolutionary or developmental models hold sway in scientific disciplines ranging from cosmology and geology to biology and neuroscience. But the changing fashions of metaphor cannot mask the conviction of believers that God does speak to God's creatures in pluriform ways: through religious traditions, through immediate intuition, through personal relationships, and through the revelations found in sacred writing and in nature.

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TYLOR, E. B. (1832–1917) was an English anthropologist, often called "the father of British anthropology." Edward Burnett Tylor was born in London on October 2, 1832, the son of a brass-founder. Both his parents were members of the Society of Friends, and it was within the Quaker community that Tylor grew up. He entered his father's brass foundry at the age of sixteen, but a breakdown in health followed, and in 1855 he was sent to America in search of a cure. In Cuba in 1856 he met the noted archaeologist Henry Christy, who was also a Quaker, and they traveled together for some time. Out of this visit came Tylor's first book, *Anahuac, or Mexico and the Mexicans, Ancient and Modern* (1861), written and published before he was thirty. He had no university education of any kind, but he was a gifted writer and a tireless researcher in the emergent anthropological field. The two books for which he is chiefly remembered were written in his thirties: *Researches into the Early History of Mankind* (1865) and the even better known work *Primitive Culture* (2 vols., 1871). Although he wrote many more articles and reviews, he was to publish only one more book, the popular handbook *Anthropology* (1881). Gradually he gained academic recognition. He received an honorary doctorate from the University of Oxford in 1875. In 1883 he became keeper of the Oxford University Museum, and in 1884 reader in anthropology. From 1896 to his retirement in 1909 he was professor of anthropology, the first in Britain. He was knighted in 1912 and died on January 3, 1917.

During the years of Tylor's greatest activity, the question of the origin and evolution of religion was high on the agenda of social scientists, the dominant theorists being F. Max Müller on one level and Herbert Spencer on the other; Müller worked exclusively with language, while Spencer proceeded by way of vast generalizations learned in large measure from Auguste Comte. Tylor was no less interested than Müller in language, but he began at an earlier point in its evolution, far beyond "Aryan" roots and their meanings. To reach this point it was necessary for Tylor to formulate a comprehensive theory to bridge the gap between the present and the remote past. This was the theory of "survivals"—elements of culture or society that evolution has left behind. Gesture probably preceded language, though Tylor was too cautious to claim gesture to have been a separate stage in human communication. In matters concerning religion, he believed himself to be on firmer ground.

It was in 1866, in an article in the *Fortnightly Review* titled "The Religion of Savages," that he first introduced his idea of "animism," "the belief in Spiritual Beings," as the earliest form of known religion—and of course accessible only through the study of survivals and by placing a particular interpretation on the difficult matter of "savage" mental processes. His theory was given a definitive statement in *Primitive Culture,* and the word *animism* is still widely used today, though more in a descriptive than in an evolutionary sense.

Otherwise, Tylor's approach to early forms of human religion has often been criticized as being too intellectual and too moral. According to one of his disciples, R. R. Marett, he was "a little blind to the spontaneity of the process whereby Man becomes at once religious and moral, without taking conscious thought to it, until he is fairly involved in an incoherent striving that is neither because it is both together" (Marett, 1936, p. 168). Looking into the past for a certain type of moralized religion, and failing to find it beyond a certain point, Tylor missed much of importance. He had no feeling for the ecstatic side of religion, perhaps partly because of his intense dislike of nineteenth-century spiritualism. Also he cannot be exonerated from having overlooked or deliberately ignored all the evidence later produced by Andrew Lang in support of "high gods of low races," gods who were neither ghosts nor spirits. "Spirit" was perhaps the only category open to a pioneer such as Tylor, but when linked with "belief" (as it was in his celebrated "minimum definition" of religion), it had the effect of relegating much else to a subordinate place in the structure of religion and culture.

In the running debate between evolutionism and diffusionism it is generally supposed that Tylor was wholeheartedly on the side of the unilinear evolutionists. But he was prepared to consider diffusionism on its merits, and to stop only when the evidence would carry his argument no further. In his early years he was indeed something of a diffusionist, even to the extent of speculating that the Aztec god Quetzalcoatl was not only a man but may even have been an Irishman! Later his habitual caution prevented any further such flights of fancy, and on the whole he sided with the evolutionists, while stopping short of absolute dogmatism.

It was characteristic of Tylor's immediate disciples that sooner or later they were forced to part company with his findings in the form in which he stated them. The ubiquitous and enigmatic Andrew Lang broke away on the issue of "high gods," the urbane R. R. Marett on the matter of "preanimism" and later on questions concerning performative ritual. But these scholars and others retained a deep affection for their mentor. Marett wrote that throughout his career Tylor appears as "the most ingenuous of men, open-minded because he is simple-minded, the friend of all mankind because he would be incapable of feeling otherwise; and withal hardheaded, of business antecedents, not easily fooled, pedestrian enough to prefer solid ground under his feet" (ibid., p. 214). In short, though often unacknowledged, he laid foundations on which the study of primal religion has built for more than a century.

SEE ALSO Animism and Animatism; Manism.

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ERIC J. SHARPE (1987)
Revised Bibliography

TYNDALE, WILLIAM (1494?–1536), Bible translator and Reformation scholar. William Tyndale came from a well-established family in Gloucestershire in the west of England. After an excellent education at a local Grammar School, he was for ten years at the University of Oxford. In 1516 Tyndale's life took a decisive turn when the New Testament was for the first time printed in Greek, its original language, in an edition made by Desiderius Erasmus in Basle, Switzerland. Along with scholars throughout Europe, and particularly Martin Luther in Germany, Tyndale recognized the importance of a readily available Greek New Testament, and the need for a printed translation which could reach English readers and hearers at any level.

After spending perhaps a year in Cambridge (where Erasmus had been teaching Greek), Tyndale returned to Gloucestershire to begin work on an English New Testament. Such an enterprise was forbidden by the Church, for whom any vernacular deviation from the Latin translation (made in the fourth century) was heresy. This censorship was at its most severe in England, where it was rigidly applied: in the 1380s, alarmed by the spread of handwritten Bible translations made from the Latin into English under the influence of John Wyclif, the English Church had punished many "Lollards," as Wyclif's followers were nicknamed, often by burning them alive. Tyndale needed the permission of a Bishop, and sought it from Erasmus's friend Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London. He was snubbed.

With money from courageous London merchants, Tyndale went to Germany, and in Cologne began printing his English translation. He had reached Matthew's Gospel chapter 22 when the print shop was raided. Tyndale and his helper fled up the Rhine to the safe Lutheran city of Worms. There in 1526 he produced 6,000 copies of his first English New Testament, pocket-size like all his works. Smuggled down the Rhine and eagerly received in England and Scotland, copies were ruthlessly hunted and destroyed: Tunstall supervised their burning at St Paul's. Only three copies now survive, one on permanent display in the British Library.

In Germany, Tyndale learned Hebrew (unknown in England) and in 1530 printed in Antwerp his translation of the "First Five Books of Moses"—the first time that Hebrew had been translated into English. Finding that knowledge of Hebrew deepened his understanding of the Greek biblical text, Tyndale produced a revision of his New Testament, printed in Antwerp in 1534. He worked in Antwerp also on the second quarter of the Old Testament, the Historical books Joshua to 2 Chronicles.

Tyndale's 1534 New Testament, and half of the Old Testament, were reproduced largely unchanged in successive English Bibles throughout the rest of the century, culminating in the influential version made in the name of King James in 1611: five-sixths of that New Testament, and only slightly less of the Old Testament, were there taken over directly from Tyndale, without acknowledgement.

Tyndale's greatness lay in his accurate translation of the original Greek and Hebrew; his clarity of expression; and in his choice of a linguistic register just a little above ordinary speech. He gave English speakers very many phrases still in use, such as "Let there be light." His Plain Style, a Saxon vocabulary in a neutral word order, through his wide Bible readership established English as a good written language that anybody could use. Much of the remarkable development of literature in the hundred years after him came out of his work: it is not fanciful to remark "Without Tyndale, no Shakespeare."

His New Testament affected the nation. A neat definition of the Reformation is "people reading Paul." The Epistle to the Romans in particular, the bedrock of New Testament theology, and read or heard—as Tyndale famously intended—even by "the ploughboy," showed the believer's direct access to God through faith. Moreover, in the newly available Bible a large number of the Church's practices and dogmas were not found: confession to the ear, the celibacy of the priesthood, Purgatory, and so on.

Tyndale wrote other important books. *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* (1528) demonstrates the New Testament emphasis on faith rather than works. His *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (1528) countered the lie put about by his enemies that the reformers preached sedition.

Tyndale had a price on his head as a heretic. Commissioned to do so, Thomas More attacked him at length. In Antwerp, Tyndale was tricked into arrest; he was imprisoned near Brussels for sixteen months, and in October 1536 taken out, strangled, and burned. His heresy was the making of the English Bible: his influence, long ignored, was very large.

SEE ALSO Wyclif, John.

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DAVID DANIELL (2005)

TÝR ("God") is a Scandinavian deity associated with law and war. Although his name reflects the Indo-European words for "god" and "day" (IE, **deywos* >; PGmc., **Tíwaz;* cf. Sansk. *dyaus*, Gk. *Zeus*, and Lat. *deus*), Týr no longer represents the transcendence and majestic glory of the luminous sky. He must have played a more important role at some stage, for his name can simply mean "god," both originally and in Viking times. His sovereign powers also meant that Norse court poets could substitute his name for that of Óðinn when it was combined with an object or characteristic associated with Óðinn: Victory-Týr, Týr of the Hanged, and Týr of Ships' Cargoes all designate Óðinn. More mysterious is the occurrence of *Týr* as the name of a young boy in the Eddic poem *Hymiskviða*; this figure may not have any relationship to the god.

By the time of the first written sources, Týr was not a supreme being, a creator of the world, or a heavenly father, but he still had an honorable position among the leading Æsir, the primary group of Norse gods. According to Snorri Sturluson, Týr is the boldest and most courageous of the gods and is invoked by warriors because he can grant victory. He possesses extensive knowledge, whence the Old Norse expression *týspákr* (as wise as Týr). Yet few other details are given: the identity of his father is uncertain, he does not appear to be married, and the only myth in which he plays a significant role is the story of the fettering of the wolf Fenrir.

The gods had been warned that the monstrous offspring of Loki and the giantess Angrboða—Fenrir, the witch Hel, and the serpent Miðgarðsormr—would cause them great harm. Óðinn cast Hel into the cold, dark world of Niflheimr and dispatched the Miðgarðsormr to the rim of the cosmic ocean, but the wolf was still in the custody of the Æsir. As the whelp grew up, only Týr dared to feed him, and the gods thought it time to chain him. They tried twice, but the wolf easily broke loose. The Æsir got the dark elves to manufacture an unbreakable fetter. From the rustle of a moving cat, the beard of a woman, the roots of a cliff, the breath of a fish, the sinews of a bear, and the spittle of a bird, the elves made a band as soft as silk yet able to withstand any force. The gods took Fenrir to a remote island, where they challenged him to free himself again. Having prided himself on snapping the other bonds, he did not deign to pit himself against something so fragile-looking. When the gods insisted, he became suspicious and only consented to be bound with the ribbon if one of them placed a hand in his mouth as a pledge of good faith. All were reluctant to do this except Týr, who lost his hand when the wolf found himself bound fast. The gods chained Fenrir to a huge boulder and gagged him with a sword, where he remained until the Æsir's final battle against the giants and monsters at Ragnarǫk. Each god had his own special opponent in that conflict, and Týr was killed by Garmr, the monstrous dog that guarded the entrance to Hel's realm.

Týr's action is an example of heroic abnegation, and Georges Dumézil (1974; 1985, pp. 268–274) has noted the parallel between Týr and Mucius Scaevola, who sacrificed his right hand to convince Lars Porsena, the Etruscan leader threatening Rome, that he and three hundred young men were ready to give up their lives to kill him. Porsena then signed a peace treaty that saved Rome from destruction. There are also parallels with non-Germanic gods: the Irish god Nuadu and the Indian god Súrya are one-armed as well. Týr the one-handed seems to be juxtaposed with the spell-working, one-eyed Óðinn, just as Nuadu with his one hand stood beside Lug with his magic and his closed eye.

Týr's sacrifice has been correlated with his function as god of law (De Vries, 1967, pp. 13–14, 22–24; Dumézil, 1973, p. 45), mainly on the basis of his association with the Germanic *thing* (the assembly of the warriors), where priests, perhaps of Tíwaz, kept the peace (cf. Tacitus, *Germania* 11), and the Germanic concept of war as a *vápnadómr* (judgment by arms) with set rules. The *interpretatio Romana* of Germanic Tíwaz as Mars (cf. the translation of Lat. *dies Martis* as OE. *Tiwesdæg*, Eng. *Tuesday*) can thus be correlated with Dumézil's view of Týr as the Germanic representative of the juridical aspect of sovereignty (Dumézil, 1977, pp. 196–200; Dumézil, 1985, pp. 265–272; Polomé, 1984, pp. 402–405). Dumézil, however, sees Týr's action not as heroic but as the embodiment of fraudulence, because it involves deliberate perjury—the gods had promised Fenrir that they would release him if he could not break the band. Most scholars view the deceit as ethically acceptable because it neutralizes an uncontrollable danger threatening the community of the Æsir. Clunies Ross (1994, p. 221) points out that both the wolf and Týr show courage, and both suffer. She interprets this myth as illustrating the interrelatedness of the worlds of gods and giants: giant nature does not lie in a world different from that of the gods, but instead lies inside it.

Evidence for the worship of Týr is scanty outside of Denmark, where place-names such as Tislund (Týr's grove) attest to his widespread veneration. Týr is commemorated in only two place-names in Norway (Tysnes, "Týr's peninsula"; Tysnesø, "Tysnes island" or "The island near Tyr's peninsula"); here the cult appears to have been adopted from Denmark. Týr's name has also been seen in some of the place-names of southern England, and Old English writers occasionally glossed the Latin *Mars* by *Tiw* or *Tig*. There are no Swedish place-names associated with Týr. Most likely, the importance of his cult elsewhere in the Germanic region diminished over time. He is also associated with the t-rune, which was called the "victory rune." Warriors engraved it on their sword hilts and guards, thereby invoking Týr twice.

SEE ALSO Dumézil, Georges; Eddas; Germanic Religion, overview article; Óðinn; Runes.

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ELIZABETH ASHMAN ROWE (2005)

TYRRELL, GEORGE (1861–1909), leading Roman Catholic theologian of the so-called modernist movement. Adversity and agitation marked Tyrrell's life from the beginning. Born in Dublin on February 6, 1861, two months after his father had died, Tyrrell was raised in penury and vagabondage by his devoted mother and schooled in gospel kindness by Charles W. Benson of Rathmines School, but was swayed oppositely by the acerbity and agnosticism of his elder brother William.

William's untimely death sent Tyrrell on a search for stable footing in the externals of religion. Experimentation with Anglicanism and Roman Catholicism led to friendship with Robert Dolling, the later famous "Father Dolling," who served briefly as Tyrrell's mentor and spiritual director, first securing his matriculation at Trinity College (1878), then inviting him to London to see sane Anglo-Catholicism at work, hoping thereby to prevent his anticipated conversion to Roman Catholicism. Dolling's strategy failed. On May 18, 1879, Tyrrell was received into the Catholic church and a year later into the Jesuit order as well.

Although Tyrrell felt confirmed in those momentous decisions, he was unprepared to conform to the rigid ultramontanism and rationalist neoscholasticism of the post–Vatican I church and to the mechanistic spirituality of the "restored" Society of Jesus. Two of Tyrrell's seminary professors suggested more congenial paths. Thomas Rigby encouraged him to bypass the scholastics and to read Thomas Aquinas for himself, while Joseph Rickaby was no doubt the one who gave him John Henry Newman's *Grammar of Assent* in 1885 and thus occasioned "a profound revolution in my way of thinking." From Thomas, Tyrrell learned the principle of modernization, or *aggiornamento;* from Newman, he derived an experience-based psychology of religion and an inductive, historical method, as opposed to the *a priori,* deductive method of scholasticism.

In 1894 Tyrrell was appointed to the chair of ethics at the Jesuit school of philosophy at Stonyhurst, but two years later, no longer tolerable to the established faculty, he was removed to London and the staff of the Jesuit religious periodical, the *Month.* Thus began a writing career that would propel him into ever-widening circles of liberals, modernists, and modernist sympathizers (among them Wilfrid Ward, Friedrich von Hügel, Maude Petre, and Henri Bremond) and lead him to the thought of a host of nonscholastic scholars (Bergson, Blondel, Dilthey, Harnack, Loisy, Sabatier, Schweitzer, Troeltsch, and Weiss).

Tyrrell's work anticipated Vatican II's effort to bring church polity and doctrine into constructive dialogue with the best and most enduring elements of post-Enlightenment thought. Initially Tyrrell allied himself with Ward's mediating tactic of palliating ascendant policies with liberal doses of Newmanism, but as he encountered historical and biblical criticism, he concluded that Newmanism could not be made to answer questions it had never asked. In *Christianity at the Cross-Roads* (1909) Tyrrell sought to establish Newman's assumed identity between the "idea" of Christ and Christianity and the "idea" of Roman Catholicism by showing that the categories of apocalyptic and eschatology had carried the "idea" of Christianity unadulterated from epoch to epoch.

He also went beyond Newman in criticizing not only the doctrinal expression of faith but the act of faith itself.

On February 19, 1906, Tyrrell was dismissed from the Society of Jesus for refusing to retract a published excerpt from his *Letter to a University Professor* (1903). The following year, on October 22, 1907, he was excommunicated for publicly criticizing Pius X's encyclical *Pascendi dominici gregis,* which condemned modernism. Tyrrell died on July 15, 1909, a victim of Bright's disease, and was buried in the Anglican churchyard in Storrington, Sussex.

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DAVID G. SCHULTENOVER (1987)

TZU CHI SEE CIJI

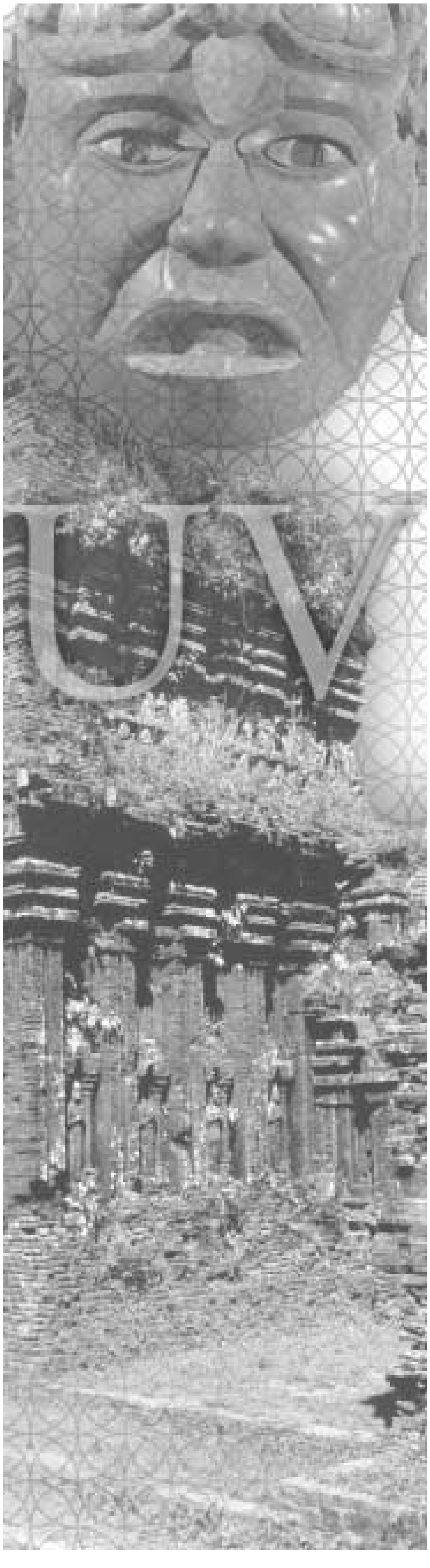

U–V

UCHIMURA KANZŌ (1861–1930), Japanese essayist, scholar of the Bible, and Christian leader. Uchimura's unique place in modern Japanese thought results from his insistence on human independence before the biblical Christian God. Four prophetic acts by Uchimura dramatize and represent themes in his writing. In two of these acts Uchimura questioned the growing authoritarianism of the government. His scrupulous hesitation in 1891 to bow before the signature of the emperor and his outspoken avowal of pacifism in 1903, immediately before the onset of the Russo-Japanese War, raised the issue of Christian loyalty to the state. He also proclaimed the imminent return of Christ in 1918 and appeared to renounce in a posthumously published document the Christian movement associated with his name.

These acts resulted from a heightened sense of individual worth and responsibility apparent in Uchimura's personal history. His father, a capable samurai civil servant, lost his status, position, and self-respect with the political changes that followed the revolution of 1867–1868. He turned the leadership of the family over to his sixteen-year-old son after the boy received a government scholarship large enough to support the whole family. Uchimura studied at a government agricultural college, where, under the influence of evangelical American Calvinist teachers, he became a Christian.

After graduation in 1881, dissatisfaction with government service as a fisheries scientist and a disastrous marriage drove him to the United States. There he found sympathetic mentors at Amherst College and obtained a second bachelor's degree in 1887. Back in Japan, Uchimura administered a school manned largely by American missionaries. Disagreement over evangelical methods—he wanted to cite Japanese examples of the upright life before he taught Christianity—led Uchimura to resign and forsake cooperation with missionaries. His hesitation before the imperial signature while a teacher in a government school cost him the possibility of further official employment. As a result, he determined to live by writing. After several lean years, he became the editor of a newspaper that he was to make into Japan's largest daily, but his declaration of pacifism cost him that posi-

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Clockwise from top left corner. A deceased man sails through the underworld in a painting on papyrus from the ancient Egyptian *Book of the Dead.* Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. *[©Erich Lessing/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Venus of Milo, c. 130–120 BCE. Louvre, Paris. *[©Erich Lessing/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Sixth-century Guatemalan funerary mask. Museo Nacional de Arqueologia, Guatemala City. *[©Erich Lessing/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Cham Temple in My Son, Vietnam. *[©Luca I. Tettoni/Corbis]*; Detail from a fourth-century BCE Etruscan vase depicting Athena with her owl in flight and Poseidon holding the trident. Louvre, Paris. *[©Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.]* .

tion. He had already started in 1900 a monthly called *Seisho no kenkyū* (Biblical Studies). This publication fulfilled a long-standing ambition to write popular Bible commentaries and provided him with a livelihood until his death. Through his magazine, numerous individuals came to look upon Uchimura as their spiritual mentor. His many large lecture meetings after he joined the Second-Coming Movement in 1917 returned him to the center of national attention. The meetings developed into two-hour commentaries on the Bible for weekly audiences of five to seven hundred. He continued his magazine and lectures until death stilled his voice.

All of Uchimura's writings reflect a concern for a Japan suddenly introduced into the modern world. At the time, "the modern world" signified the European and North American nations, whose people believed in a hierarchy of states with those of the Christian culture ranked highest. Uchimura, through his English-language works, interpreted Japanese concerns to Westerners, emphasizing the rectitude of traditional Japanese virtues. His early Japanese-language works commented on contemporary Japanese society. His later writings introduced the Bible and the fruits of Christian culture to Japan. These essays were frequently based upon the notes he had written for his weekly lectures. The commentaries on the Bible form a major part of these writings and constitute the largest corpus of biblical studies by one author in the Japanese language.

The concept associated with Uchimura's name is *mukyōkai* or *mukyōkai shugi,* usually translated as "no church," "nonchurch," or, in Uchimura's translation, "Christianity of no-church principle." It proclaims a faith linking humans to God through prayerful use of the Bible alone. The church as it existed in the Christian nations seemed to Uchimura so burdened with the associations of Western history and tradition as to lack meaning for Japanese. On the other hand, Japanese, through faithful reading of the Bible, could develop a Christianity true to their needs and consistent with their traditions. Uchimura's denial in an article published after his death of "what is today commonly called *mukyōkai*" did not reflect any change in his belief. Instead, it expressed his dismay at the incipient development among his followers of a church based on their interpretation of *mukyōkai shugi.*

Uchimura's followers, most concerned that they must not start a church, continue in small Bible-study groups known collectively as *mukyōkai.* They have no other organizational ties than their respect for the Bible and the works of Uchimura. Adherents include a number of figures important in the shaping of Japanese institutions after 1945: Tanaka Kōtarō, Yanaihara Tadao, Nambara Shigeru, Takagi Yasaka, and Matsumoto Shigeharu.

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JOHN F. HOWES (1987)

UFO RELIGIONS.

The rise of interest in unidentified flying objects (UFOs) has been amply demonstrated over the last few decades. It is not surprising that in an age of scientific discoveries, especially in the field of astronomy, the search for extraterrestrial life is a legitimate and respectable enterprise. But the quest for alien life on planets both within and outside our galaxy appears to have gone beyond the usual pursuit of scientific data supported by empirical evidence. It has also surpassed the quest for adventure beyond the confines of planet Earth. Many people do not just speculate about the possibility of alien life elsewhere but claim to have actually encountered or been visited by aliens. The search for UFOs has become the center of a belief system with most, if not all, of the features that are usually linked with religion. The phrase *UFO Religions* can thus be applied to those organizations that exhibit many of the various dimensions that have been routinely applied to other, more established, religious organizations.

While the precise definition of *religion* is still a matter of debate among scholars, there seems to be some agreement about those key features or characteristics that are central to any religious system. Among these are a communally shared belief system or worldview in which a sacred or transcendent reality figures prominently; a belief that the human race needs some kind of salvation or redemption from its present condition; an ethical system; experiences such as devotion, ecstasy, rebirth, and inner peace; central myths or stories, especially those dealing with the creation and future of humankind; and rituals. Many of these features are also found in UFO religious groups, though not all have been accorded the central place given them in most of the world's religions. Several UFO groups are noted for forming well-knit communities with a mission to propagate the teachings of their faith. Others stress individual spiritual development and/or healing. Still others, while having some of the main features of religion, are mail-order organizations and thus lack the communal and ritual aspects typical of some UFO religions.

HISTORY. The rise of the modern UFO religions can be traced to Kenneth Arnold who, in the mid-1940s, reported to have seen several flying saucers. Sightings by other individuals followed, and soon people were relating their experiences of meeting and communicating with aliens from other planets.

George Adamski (1891–1965) was the first contactee of the modern era. Believing that he had been visited by a being from the planet Venus on November 20, 1952, Adamski saw himself as the chosen person with the mission of communicating important messages from the aliens to human beings. Adamski never founded a religious organization as such, but he attracted a following interested in the wisdom and knowledge that the aliens had to offer to the human race. This led to the foundation of the International Get Acquainted Club. Several organizations to disseminate his teachings were later founded by his followers. The largest is the George Adamski Foundation, which has since 1965 continued to circulate his works and to promote his view that contacts with aliens have been made throughout the ages and that advancement in various sciences has been achieved through such contacts.

The George Adamski Foundation became the spearhead of the religiously oriented UFO groups that have emerged since the 1950s. The leaders of these groups reported contact with aliens, mainly from various planets in our solar system, and at times maintained that they had traveled to other planets, where they were shown advanced civilizations that made human cultures look rather primitive. Some of these leaders were charismatic and/or prophetic and succeeded in gathering a clientele around them, eventually forming cult movements, "which are full-fledged organizations that attempt to satisfy all the religious needs of the converts" (Stark and Bainbridge, 1985, p. 29). They became an elite group of individuals who were accepted as contactees with extraterrestrial intelligences who delivered their messages and teachings through their chosen mediums or prophets.

Some UFO groups, such as the Aetherius Society, Unarius Academy of Life, and the Association for Sananda and Sanat Kumara, with the passing away of their leaders in the 1990s, are now becoming institutionalized and have continued to survive and carry on their agenda without the presence of a contactee.

Some scholars have pointed out that there is a connection between UFO beliefs and the Theosophical Society and the I AM Religious Activity, though these latter groups cannot, strictly speaking, be called UFO religions if for no other reason than that the existence of, and communication with, aliens is not one of their central characteristics. Yet many of the aliens are similar and at times identical to the masters of the Theosophical Movement. The teachings of quite a few UFO religions have incorporated Eastern religious notions, such as karma and reincarnation, that were already made popular by theosophy. The Association of Sananda and Sanat Kumara is an excellent example of the link between theosophy and extraterrestrials. The late Sister Thedra, the founder of this organization, channeled for years the ascended masters, while later on she also communicated with the angel Moroni (prominent in Mormonism), with beings from other planets, and with Sananda (Christ). In the same way, George King, the founder of the Aetherius Society, maintained contact with aliens, many of which are identical to the ascended masters, which include founders of world religions such as Jesus and the Buddha.

General Worldview and Aims. The worldview adopted by UFO groups is much broader than that proposed by traditional religions. It indirectly includes modern astronomical discoveries and takes for granted the existence of intelligent creatures on other planets in the vast cosmos. These beings are superior to the human race intellectually, scientifically, and spiritually. In spite of this expansive view of the universe, the main concern is still planet Earth, which is conceived as a somewhat backward planet where men and women need outside help to advance in the course of evolution.

While UFO religions offer little, if any, speculation about the origin of the universe, they often have elaborate theories of the origins of the human race and its condition here on Earth. Raëlians, for instance, hold that human life on Earth was created by beings from another planet through their knowledge of DNA and its use. A similar view had already been popularized in Erich von Daniken's book *Chariots of the Gods* (1969) and has become part of UFO mythology.

Central to any UFO religion is the belief that contact with aliens is the way to salvation and improvement. The teachings of Adamski describe the aliens as "beings of amity, intelligence, understanding and compassion," while the Semjase Silver Star Center in California points out that they come with a mission to assist the human race out of its present ignorance. Some groups, especially those that originated in the 1950s such as the Aetherius Society, White Star, the Ashtar Command, and Cosmic Star Fellowship, stress the need to be saved from the dangers of the atomic (or nuclear) age that can lead humans to self-destruction. Others, such as the Solar Light Retreat, expect aliens to help solve the energy and environmental crisis. Spiritual development, a higher consciousness, healing from spiritual, psychological, and physical maladies, emancipation from the fear and chaos that beset human beings, and evolution to higher spiritual and self-awareness levels are among the benefits that many UFO groups hope to accrue with the advent of intelligent and advanced beings from other planets. In some UFO groups, such as the Aetherius Society and Unarius, healing is one of the main ritual practices. In others, such as the Extraterrestrial Earth Mission and Mark-Age, the stress is on achieving a higher consciousness or a more advanced evolutionary stage.

The belief system of UFO religions is often considered as part of the New Age movement and tends to be syncretistic. Thus, Chen Tao (God's Salvation Church), which in 1997 migrated from Taiwan to North America, is a prime example of such amalgamation, with Buddhist, Daoist, and folk beliefs intertwined and later combined with a Christian apocalyptic and millenarian worldview.

One of the common features of UFO religions is that their founders are convinced that they have been contacted by aliens. Adamski related how he had been visited by a humanlike being from Venus who imparted certain knowledge that he was instructed to pass on to humankind. He also could communicate with the aliens by telepathy. Other contactees who followed him made the same claim. George Hunt Williamson of the now defunct Brotherhood of the Seven Rays had contact with Martians via automatic writing. William Ferguson of the Cosmic Circle of Fellowship was transported to both Mars and Venus, where he was given messages to bring back to Earth. George King, of the Aetherius Society, received messages from aliens either while in a trance or by telepathy. The founders of Unarius, Ernest and Ruth Norman (known as Archangels Raphael and Uriel respectively), authored books containing teaching received from advanced intelligent beings living in other worlds. Nada-Yolanda (Pauline Share) of Mark-Age, Inc., uses both automatic writing and telepathy to convey messages from beings in spacecrafts. In like manner Valerie Donner of the Ground Crew uses channeling as a means of communication with extraterrestrial beings. Claude Vorilhon (now known as Raël) of the Raëlian Movement met several times with an alien who entrusted him with the good news of the true origins of human beings and of the return of the Elohim. The two leaders of the Extraterrestrial Earth Mission (known since 1993 as Drakar and Zrendar) go a step further and proclaim that different aliens have periodically taken possession of their bodies, presumably enabling them to communicate more freely and regularly to human beings.

As in the classical monotheistic religions, where God takes the initiative to call prophets, it is the aliens who approach specially selected individuals and commission them to act as messengers to the human race. The aliens, though not elevated to the status of gods or goddesses, are obviously transcendent and suprahuman beings even in those UFO religions like the Raëlian movement in which belief in God or supernatural beings is not found or does not occupy an important place.

Besides an elaborate soteriology, UFO groups also teach an eschatology, the chief element of which is the actual arrival of the aliens, an advent that, as Solar Light Retreat teaches, will initiate a new heaven and a new earth. The Ground Crew maintains that at least one angel will accompany each spaceship and that Earth will be transformed into a paradise.

The advent of aliens can be apocalyptic and/or millenarian. In most instances the time of the extraterrestrials' arrival is not specified but is expected to be relatively soon. Probably the most recent attempt to pinpoint the time of arrival was made by Chen Tao in Garland, Texas. In typical prophetic fashion, its leader, Hon-Ming Chen, said that God would announce his descent by taking control of the television networks on March 25, 1998. In similar fashion Unarius Academy of Science has foretold the advent of the aliens in their flying saucers. As in many prophetic instances, the failure of the prophecy to materialize has not led to the demise of the group.

Another UFO religion, Mark-Age, believed that the arrival of the aliens would be around the year 2000 and stated that its mission was to externalize on Earth the Hierarchical Board, namely, the spiritual government of our solar system, in preparation for the advent of the aliens. Borrowing the concept of the second coming from Christianity, it teaches that this Christian belief has a dual meaning, namely (1) the second coming of each one's I Am Self, expressed through the mortal personality; and (2) the second coming of Sananda/Jesus the Christ, Prince of Earth, in his resurrected, light body.

Other groups are more cautious. The Aetherius Society expects a new master, presumably to precede the advent of the aliens, but does not give a specific date. While many members believe that it will be soon, the society states that he will come when human beings are ready for his arrival. Raëlians think the extraterrestrials will arrive around the year 2020. But before they arrive, human beings must first have established world peace and built an embassy for them in or near Jerusalem.

SIGNIFICANT FIGURES AND ORGANIZATIONS. While many people believe in UFOs, the number of UFO religious organizations and of those who have joined their ranks is rather small. J. Gordon Melton (2003) lists twenty-three flying saucer groups, while Mikael Rothstein (2002) estimates that they are twenty-five different groups active today, but he does not list them. Melton's list, only slightly updated from the previous edition of his encyclopedia, omits such groups as Heaven's Gate, Chen Tao, the Nuwaubians, and the Ground Crew and its splinter group the Planetary Action Organization (PAO). It still remains, however, the most complete and provides short descriptions of the origins and belief systems of each group.

Melton's list also indirectly points to the some of the difficulties involved in studying these groups. Thus, Melton states that two of the groups he lists are defunct. He could not trace the addresses of eight groups and found that six provide only a post office box address. Nine of the groups mentioned have a web page, as have the more recent ones. The vast majority do not report the number of members of the organization. The membership of most groups may be somewhat fluid and probably consists of a few hundreds or thousands at most. At least two, the Ground Crew and ZetaTalk (the latter led by Nancy Lieder), exist only on the internet. By far the largest UFO group is probably the Raëlian movement, which boasts sixty thousand members in almost a hundred countries. Unarius Academy of Science states that tens of thousands of individuals have participated in its programs. It is not clear how each organization counts its membership. The Aetherius Society lists three levels of membership, full, associate, and friends, the last including interested individuals and scholars, but it provides no figures.

Not all UFO groups prefer to be called a religion. The Aetherius Society's web page states explicitly: "This is not a religion. . . . It's a spiritual path to enlightenment and the cosmic evolution of mankind." Unarius Academy of Science tends to view itself as a philosophy of life, while the Nuwaubians prefer to call themselves a fraternal organization. One group in particular, the Raëlian movement, is highly critical of established religion, particularly Christianity. It describes itself as an "atheist, spiritual organization" and states that one of its goals is to lead human beings to understand true religion. Its founder, Raël, starts by reinterpreting the biblical concept of Elohim, which, he asserts, refers not to God but to beings from another planet who created life on Earth.

CONTROVERSIES. Until recently, UFO religions have not been controversial. They rather left the impression of being innocuous, eccentric groups. In 1997, however, the members of Heaven's Gate took the initiative to transport themselves to a spacecraft by committing suicide in order to move into a higher state of being. This was perceived by many as a warning sign that UFO religions might be dangerous. Chen Tao's claim that God would speak over the television networks and then come down in flying saucers to save people created quite a stir and raised the fear that its members might follow in the path of those of Heaven's Gate. Such fear proved unfounded, and when the prophecy failed, many members abandoned the group, though some have remained loyal to Hon-Ming Chen's teachings and prophetic utterances.

The view that UFO religious are dangerous has been buttressed by the fact that several UFO groups, including the Raëlian movement, the Ground Crew, Unarius, and the Nuwaubians, share the apocalyptic view that the arrival of extraterrestrials is imminent. In fact, however, most UFO religions are benign and pose no threat to their members or to the public. Their predictions, no matter how far-fetched they might appear to be, are not of doom and disaster but of the betterment of the human race on Earth.

In late 2002 and in early 2003 the Raëlian movement made headlines by announcing that its scientists had succeeded in cloning human beings. Cloning is considered by Raëlians as the first step in the human quest for eternal life, and although the scientific reactions to their claim have been negative, it still remains part of their agenda.

During the last few years the Nuwaubians, who moved from New York to the Georgia countryside in 1993, have become one of the most controversial UFO groups. They have been accused repeatedly of child abuse and of encouraging Black Nationalism. Their leader, Malachi York, has spent three years in jail for assault, resisting arrest, and possession of weapons. In January 2004 he was convicted of sexual abuse of children and sentenced to a long jail term. Other, much less serious charges have been leveled at leaders of several UFO groups. George Adamski and Eduard Meier of the Semjase Silver Star Center were both accused of faking photographs and plagiarism, while William Ferguson of the Cosmic Circle of Fellowship was convicted of fraud and sentenced to a year in prison.

CONCLUSIONS. The presence of UFO religions has elicited the attention of many scholars from different academic fields. Both sociologists and psychologists have offered different interpretations of why they might come into being and of the psychological and mental state of their members.

The rise of belief in UFO religions is interesting from the point of view of both religious studies and theology. UFO religions seem to be making an attempt to relate religion with science more positively. The adherents of UFO religions see their beliefs confirmed by scientific data regarding the nature of the universe and the possibility of intelligent extraterrestrial life. Ryan Cook (2002) has called them "Technospiritualities."

From a theological standpoint, UFO religions attempt to incorporate a scientific view of the universe in their ideology. Traditional theology is Earthbound. In terms of myths of creation, beliefs regarding the origin of the human race, its current problems and destiny, and spirituality, theology has been confined to the planet Earth. Although theological speculations about the possibility of other worlds have been going on long before modern astronomy and its discoveries (O'Meara, 1999), Earth still remained the theological center of the universe. Speculations about the spiritual nature of beings in other worlds, their need for salvation, and the possibility of divine intervention were never considered in the context of contact with extraterrestrials who visit Earth in flying saucers. UFO religions offer a new worldview and propose a novel vision of the future. Whether these will captivate the human imagination further or not remains to be seen.

SEE ALSO Heaven's Gate; I AM; New Age Movement; New Religious Movements, article on New Religious Movements and Millennialism; Nuwabians; Raëlians; Theosophical Society; Unarius Academy of Science.

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UGARITIC RELIGION SEE CANAANITE RELIGION

ŬICH'ŎN

ŬICH'ŎN (1055–1101), also known as National Master Taegak; Buddhist cataloger and founder of the Ch'ŏnt'ae (Chin., Tiantai) school of Korean Buddhism. Ŭich'ŏn was the fourth son of the Koryŏ king Munjong (r. 1046–1083), and one of the premier scholiasts of the Koryŏ (937–1392) Buddhist church. Early in his life, he is said to have mastered all of the main currents of Buddhist philosophy as well as much of Chinese classical literature. Korean Buddhism during his time was bifurcated between two increasingly hostile traditions: the scholastic schools (*kyo;* Chin., *jiao*), dominated by Hwaŏm (Chin., Huayan) philosophy, and the Nine Mountains schools of Sŏn (Chin., Chan), which were chiefly concerned with meditative practices. Ŭich'ŏn deplored the sectarianism that had infected the order and criticized adepts of both the Sŏn and scholastic schools for their intransigence.

To resolve this conflict, Ŭich'ŏn proposed an approach to Buddhist religious training that placed equal stress on both scriptural study and meditation practice. Ŭich'ŏn developed a curriculum based on such seminal texts as the *Abhidharmakośa*, *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi Śāstra*, *Dasheng qixin lun,* and *Avataṃsaka Sūtra,* in order to engender a comprehensive understanding of the Buddhist teachings in his students. While acknowledging the value of scriptural study in conceptualizing the goal of practice and the course to be followed in reaching that goal, Ŭich'ŏn recognized its limitations. Formal meditative training was also essential if the adept were to achieve any personal experience of what was learned in Buddhist doctrinal writings. Hence, a viable Buddhist vocation would maintain a careful balance between both learning and meditation.

Ŭich'ŏn seems to have anticipated drawing upon his royal prerogative as a means of reconciling the rift between the Sŏn and *kyo* schools. In order to effect his vision of a unified Buddhist tradition in which equal stress was placed upon both study and practice, Ŭich'ŏn traveled surreptitiously to China in 1085, where he received transmission in the Tiantai lineage, one of the more ecumenical of the Chinese Buddhist schools. After returning to Korea the following year Ŭich'ŏn then attempted to merge the Sŏn and Kyo branches of the Korean church into a new Ch'ŏnt'ae school, which he felt provided a banner under which both branches could unite. While Ch'ŏnt'ae was known in Korea before his time, it was Ŭich'ŏn who was first able to establish the school as a fully viable, autonomous school; it is for this reason that he is regarded as the founder of the Korean Ch'ŏnt'ae school. Whatever his chances for success might have been, Ŭich'ŏn's death at the young age of forty-seven brought his efforts to a premature end, and Korean Buddhism remained divided until the similar endeavors of Chinul (1158–1210), some three generations later.

Along with his efforts to unify the Korean church, Ŭich'ŏn was also an avid bibliophile and one of the first Buddhist catalogers to recognize the importance to the tradition of native East Asian treatises and commentarial writings. In 1073 Ŭich'ŏn made a vow to compile a complete collection of such indigenous Buddhist literature, and dispatched agents to all areas of East Asia to obtain copies of texts not then available in Korea. Many of these books were obtained by exchange, as, for example, in the Khitan Liao region of northern China, where Wŏnhyo's works were traded for twenty-nine books by Liao authors. On his own trip to Southern Song-dynasty China, Ŭich'ŏn reintroduced a number of seminal works by noted Chinese exegetes that were no longer extant in China, including treatises by the Huayan patriarchs Zhiyan (602–668), Fazang (643–712), and Chengguan (738–840); these were exchanged for over three thousand fascicles (*kwŏn*) of Chinese materials. Finally, in 1090 he published his renowned catalog of this collection, the *Sinp'yŏn chejong kyojang ch'ongnok* (New compilation of a comprehensive catalog of the repository of the teachings of all the schools; T.D. no. 2184), with listings of 1,010 titles in a total of 4,740 *kwŏn.* Xylographs were carved for each of these texts, forming what was termed *Sokchanggyŏng* (Supplement to the canon). Unfortunately, the woodblocks of the supplement were burned by the Mongols during their invasion of the Korean peninsula in 1232, and many of the texts so painstakingly collected by Ŭich'ŏn were lost to history. Nevertheless, his catalog does survive, and remains one of the most valuable sources of information on the scholastic literature of medieval East Asian Buddhism.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Korea; Chinul; Tiantai.

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UIGHUR RELIGION See INNER ASIAN RELIGIONS

ŬISANG (625–702), also known as the National Master Taesŏng Wŏn'gyo; founder of the Hwaŏm (Chin., Huayan) school of Korean Buddhism. Ŭisang, one of the most important scholiasts of the Unified Silla period (688–935), helped to forge the doctrinal perspectives that would become characteristic of the mature Korean Buddhist tradition.

Ordained as a monk at the age of twenty-nine at Hwangbok monastery in the Silla capital of Kyŏngju, he soon afterward decided to travel to Tang China together with his friend Wŏnhyo (617–686) to study under Chinese masters. As Ŭisang's biography relates, on their first trip in 650 (during the unification wars that were then raging between the three kingdoms of early Korea) the two pilgrims were arrested for espionage in the Liaodong area by Koguryŏ border guards and were only repatriated after several weeks of incarceration. In 661 they tried again, this time traveling to a seaport in the Paekche region of southwestern Korea, which had been conquered by Silla the preceding year, where they hoped to board a ship bound for Tang China. Prior to their embarkation, however, Wŏnhyo is said to have gained enlightenment and returned home to Silla, leaving Ŭisang to continue on alone.

Arriving in Yangzhou on the lower Yangtze River, Ŭisang made his way to Zhixiang monastery on Mount Zhongnan, where he studied under Zhiyan (602–668), the putative second patriarch of the Chinese Huayan school. Ŭisang's arrival at Zhixiang monastery is said to have been anticipated by Zhiyan, and he quickly became one of his chief disciples along with Fazang (643–712), who would eventually be recognized as the third patriarch of the school.

After Zhiyan's death in 668, Ŭisang became one of the leaders of the developing Chinese Huayan tradition. In 670, Ŭisang learned from two Korean envoys detained in the Tang capital that a Chinese invasion of Silla was imminent. Ŭisang returned to Korea to warn King Munmu (r. 661–680), and, thanks to his monition, Silla was able to forestall the attack. Partially out of gratitude, the king sponsored the construction of Pusŏk monastery on Mount T'aebaek and installed Ŭisang as its abbot. This monastery became the center of the Hwaŏm school, from where the new teachings that he had brought from China were propagated throughout the peninsula. His fame was so widespread in Korea that more than three thousand students are said to have congregated there to hear his lectures. Due in large part to Ŭisang's efforts, Hwaŏm philosophy came to dominate Korean Buddhist scholasticism.

Ŭisang's Hwaŏm thought is epitomized in his *Hwaŏm ilsŭng pŏpkyedo* (Diagram of the *Avataṃsaka* one-vehicle realm-of-reality), a short poem of 210 logographs in a total of 30 stanzas written in 668 while he was still a member of Zhiyan's congregation. The poem is arranged in a wavelike form, the "ocean seal diagram" (*Sāgaramudrā Maṇḍala*), which symbolizes the Hwaŏm teaching of the "six marks" (*yuksang*)—that is, of universality and particularity, identity and difference, and integration and disintegration. The entire structure of the diagram represents the marks of universality, identity, and integration, while its curves designate the particularity, difference, and disintegration marks. The chart is woven into one continuous line to show that all phenomena are interconnected and unified in the *dharma*-nature; the fact that this line ends at the same place where it began illustrates the cardinal Hwaŏm doctrine of interpenetration. The diagram is divided into four equal blocks, indicating that the *dharma*-nature is perfected through such salutary practices as the four means of conversion: giving, kind words, helpfulness, and cooperation. Finally, the fifty-four corners found along the meanderings of the line of verse indicate the fifty-four teachers visited by the pilgrim Sudhana in his quest for knowledge as narrated in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* chapter of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra.* Hence, the diagram serves as a comprehensive summary of all the teachings found in the sixty-fascicle recension of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra.* Besides Ŭisang's autocommentary to this poem, his only other extant work is the short *Paekhwa toryang parwŏn mun* (Vow made at the White Lotus enlightenment site), which combines Avalokiteśvara piety with Hwaŏm philosophy.

Although Ŭisang may not have been a prolific writer, his mastery of Huayan thought was highly regarded throughout East Asia. Fazang, for example, continued to correspond with Ŭisang even after the latter's return to Korea and, in one of his letters to Ŭisang in 692, he asks for corrections and suggestions on one of his manuscripts. Indeed, an examination of Fazang's writings reveals that the Korean exegetes Ŭisang and Wŏnhyo exerted strong influence on the development of his own thought, and, by extension, on the evolution of Chinese Huayan philosophy.

See Also Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Korea; Fazang; Huayan; Wŏnhyo.

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UKKO. Finnish incantations dating from the Middle Ages call upon Ukko, the supreme god or the god in heaven. Typical is the following such invocation: "O Ukko, god supreme, old man in heaven, god of the skies." His name, which means "old man," and other of his epithets, Isä ("father") or Vaari ("old man, grandfather"), reveal the dominant character of this deity. On the other hand, *ukko* and its diminutive form, *ukkonen,* also mean "thunder." Ukko is in fact most often connected with thunder; like Jupiter, he was thought to drive a chariot that caused the sound of thunder during storms. Above all, Ukko is described in incantations as ruler of the weather and giver of rain. His protection was also sought in healing and at births, on behalf of cattle or humans against evil spirits, and in hunting. It seems that Ukko, originally the god of thunder and rain, gradually emerged under the influence of the Christian concept of God to become the supreme god, helping humans in all their worldly needs.

Ukko's attributes are widely known symbols of lightning: a golden club, hammer, ax, sword, and arrow. "Ukko's wedges," ax-shaped stones found in the ground, have often been ascribed to the god of thunder as the implements with which he smote a tree or carved off shavings. Stones thought to belong to Ukko were used to protect their owners from fire or from evil spirits. Ukko's characteristics are reminiscent of the Scandinavian god of thunder, Þórr (Thor); Viking pendants depicting Þórr have also been found in Finland. In eastern and northern Finland thunderstones are called "Ukko's claws," suggesting that in the oldest Finnish beliefs thunder was represented as a giant bird with stone claws, as in northern Asia and America.

The list of Finnish deities given by the Finnish prelate Michael Agricola in the preface to his psalter (1551) notes that a toast was drunk to Ukko when seeds were sown in spring. Various later sources also describe village beer festivals, Ukon Vakat, held in Ukko's honor in spring or summer whenever there was threat of drought. In Karelia these rites merged with the worship of Saint Ilja, or Elias. The rites in question were performed to bring rain and to ensure a successful crop. Agricola mentions that women drank during the festival, following which "many shameful deeds took place." Ukon Vakat has in fact been connected with the rites reenacting the holy alliance of the god of fertility and his wife, the god of the earth, known, for example, to the farming cultures of eastern Europe. Agricola further mentions Rauni as Ukko's wife. The Saami (Lapps) also knew of Ukko's wife Ravdna, a childless deity to whom rowan berries are dedicated. The names *Rauni* and *Ravdna* are derived from the Scandinavian word meaning "rowan" (Swedish, *rönn;* Old Icelandic, *reynir*). The rowan is mentioned in Scandinavian mythology as being Þórr's "castle," his savior in times of danger. No mention is made of Ukko's wife in later descriptions of rites, but the Earth Mother is sometimes mentioned alongside Ukko in eastern Finnish incantations in which he appears as the Sky Father.

According to accounts written between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, the beer for the festivals held in honor of Ukko was sometimes made from malt germinated on the roof in a birchbark container. Food was also served. The site of the festival was often the organizer's farm, a lake shore, or, in inland areas, on "Ukko's hill" (*Ukon vuori*), a hill to which Ukko's share of the beer and sacrifices was brought. A ritual poem performed at festivals in Ukko's honor and asking him to increase the crop has been preserved in Ingria and Karelia.

SEE ALSO Finnish Religions.

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Translated from Finnish by Susan Sinisalo
Revised Bibliography

ʿULAMĀʾ ("the learned"), the religious scholars of Islam, are the guardians, transmitters, and interpreters of its sciences, doctrines, and laws and the chief guarantors of continuity in the spiritual and intellectual history of the Islamic community. The term is a generic one and embraces all who have cultivated the religious disciplines or fulfilled certain practical functions such as judgeship. [*See figure 1 for individual titles given to ʿulamāʾ.*]

It is an axiom that the scholars are the heirs of the prophets; the emergence of the *ʿulamāʾ* as a distinct group had, therefore, to await the passing of the prophet Muḥammad and the completion of revelation. However, the Qurʾān itself indicates the necessity and excellence of a learned class, quite apart from extolling, in numerous verses, the virtue of knowledge (*ʾilm*). The word *ʿulamāʾ* appears in *sūrah* 35:28, although obviously not in the precise sense later usage conferred on it, and the expressions "those well rooted in knowledge" (3:7), "the people of remembrance" (16:43), and "those who have been given knowledge" (58:11) have also been interpreted as referring to the *ʿulamāʾ*. Numerous utterances attributed to the Prophet define the purpose and status of the *ʿulamāʾ:* in addition to being "the heirs of the prophets," they are described as "the best of my community," "the trustees of the prophets" (in the sense of being repositories of the laws promulgated by the prophets), "the trustees of God over his creation," "the lamps of the earth" (in that through their knowledge they dissipate the darkness of ignorance), and "equivalent to the prophets of the children of Israel" (in stature and authority). The authenticity of some of these utterances has been questioned, but their content has shaped the self-image of the *ʿulamāʾ* and their role in Muslim society.

The antecedents of the learned class of Islam may perhaps be sought in the *ahl al-ṣuffah* ("the people of the bench"), a group that customarily gathered outside the mosque in Medina for the cultivation of religious knowledge and from whom lines of transmission went forth to the great early authorities in Qur'anic exegesis, prophetic tradition, and law. Antecedents may be found also in certain individuals who excelled in a particular branch of learning (such as Ibn ʿAbbās, described by the Prophet as "the foremost of the exegetes"). It was not until the ninth century that a distinct class of learned men crystalized, bearing the title of *ʿulamāʾ*. This development went together with the elaboration and differentiation of the various branches of religious knowledge, with the vast expansion of the Islamic realm beyond the Arabian Peninsula, and with the accelerating conversion of non-Arab peoples to Islam (the high proportion of Iranians among the *ʿulamāʾ* of what has been called the formative period of Islamic thought cannot be overlooked). But the most important single impetus to the emergence of the *ʿulamāʾ* class was the desire of the Islamic community to codify the provisions of Islamic law, for the *ʿulamāʾ* were primarily concerned with law, of which other subjects were the virtual adjunct. Jurisprudence has remained the core of the *ʿulamāʾ* curriculum down to the present.

Various explanations have been offered for the emergence of the *madrasah*, the institution for the training and formation of the *ʿulamāʾ*, but once the *madrasah* appeared and spread throughout the Islamic world, it remained remarkably stable, and its resistance to change became one of the most important elements in the ability of the *ʿulamāʾ* to function as guarantors of continuity. The *madrasah* had a hierarchy of posts ranging from the *mubtadiʾ*, or beginning student, to the *mudarris*, or fully qualified professor of law; intermediate stages were the *mutawassiṭ* ("intermediate"), the *muntahī* ("terminal"), the *mufīd* ("docent"), the *muʿīd* ("repetitor"), and the *nāʾib mudarris* ("deputy professor").

Two elements lay at the heart of the *madrasah* education: the study of texts and the personal relationship between student and teacher. Particularly from the eleventh century onward, when all major developments in the field of jurisprudence had been completed, it was texts rather than the subjects they treated that defined the *madrasah* syllabus. The text was made the object of assimilation, discussion, elaboration, commentary, and criticism, so that an important part of *ʿulamāʾ* writing came to consist of glosses and commentaries on curricular texts.

The relationship between teacher and student consisted of far more than the transmission of a fixed body of knowledge. An entire worldview and distinct method of thought, as well as a sense of corporate identity, were also passed on. Accordingly, dealings between teachers and students were regulated by ethical and behavioral norms that were codified in a number of handbooks. These twin elements, the text and the teacher, were recorded in a document known variously as the *sanad* and the *ijāzah*, in which the competence of the student to teach various books was attested and the entire chain of authorities, to which his name was added as the most recent link, was enumerated.

Ākhūnd: Originally a title given to scholars of unusual merit, primarily in Iran, it was subsequently devalued and became a pejorative term for the lowest stratum of *ʿulamāʾ*. From it is derived the Chinese *ahung*, meaning any Muslim religious functionary.

Āyatullāh (anglicized Ayatollah; "sign of God"): A title of recent origin given to the highest ranking Shīʿ scholars in Iran.

Faqīh: Originally one who had a broad and complete understanding of religion as a whole; it occurs in this sense in several of the traditions of the Prophet that delineate the general rank of the *ʿulamāʾ*. It later came to designate a specialist in Islamic jurisprudence *(fiqh)*.

Ḥujjat al-Islām ("proof of Islam"): Originally a title reserved for scholars of quite exceptional status, it is now applied in Iran to scholars beneath the rank of *mujtahid.*

Imām Jumʿah: Leader of the congregational prayers performed at midday on Friday.

Khaṭīb: The scholar who delivers the Friday sermon *(khuṭbah).*

Marjaʿ-i taqlīd ("source of imitation"): A *mujtahid* whom the ordinary Shīʿī believer is obliged to follow in the details of religious law.

Mawlānā ("our master"): A title of respect for a senior scholar.

Mawlawī: A variant form of the preceding, used in South Asia and Afghanistan to designate any religious functionary.

Muftī: A jurisconsult; one who delivers binding opinions on a matter of religious law.

Mujtahid: One who exercises *ijtihād,* that is, the search for a correct opinion in deducing the specific provisions of the law from its principles.

Mullā (anglicized Mullah): In origin probably a corrupt form of the Arabic *mawlā* ("master"), it has had the same semantic history as *ākhūnd.*

Qāḍī: Judge of the religious law.

Shaykh ("elder"): A title of respect used particularly in the Arabic-speaking lands and not implying the exercise of any particular function.

Shaykh al-Islām: The main religious dignitary of a Muslim city in Iran and Central Asia; in Ottoman usage, the head of the entire scholarly hierarchy.

Wāʿiẓ: Preacher.

Figure 1. Glossary of titles given to *ʿulamāʾ*.

Although the *ʿulamāʾ* were defined as a social unit by their cultivation and transmission of religious learning (together with the application of that learning in their own lives: *ʿilm* had always to be complemented by *ʿamal*, "practice"), they also exercised a variety of practical functions that made them indispensable to traditional society. Apart from preaching and leading congregational prayers in the mosque (a task that, outside the largest and most prestigious mosques, was often delegated to junior members of the class), they acted as judges, notarized and witnessed all important civil and commercial transactions, served as trustees for the estates of minors, and arbitrated popular disputes. All of these activities created a closeness between them and the rest of society (particularly the mercantile and artisan classes of the cities) that was singularly lacking in the relations of the state with its subjects.

Early *ʿulamāʾ* (like early Ṣūfīs) appear not to have drawn salaries or charged fees for the functions they fulfilled, and down to the present some *ʿulamāʾ*, particularly in the countryside, have continued to earn their livelihood from the practice of a trade. But despite initial misgivings, it soon became normal for the *ʿulamāʾ* to charge fees for exercising notarial functions and issuing legal opinions (*fatwās*) and to accept stipends from the endowments that were settled on the learned institutions. Because the stipends were not always generous, it was often necessary to supplement them with income from other sources; *ʿulamāʾ* biographies are replete with stories of material hardship. But certain *ʿulamāʾ* are recorded to have accumulated great wealth, particularly when religious learning and prestige became hereditary in some families.

Islamic political theory, especially as elaborated by the Sunnī segment of the community, quickly came to an accommodation with the dynasties (often of military origin) that seized rule over the Islamic lands from the tenth century on; rebellion was generally equated with irreligion. Despite this, the *ʿulamāʾ* sometimes acted as the spokesmen for popular grievances. In addition, there was the lasting conviction that the *ʿulamāʾ* should shun close association with the state and its officers in order to maintain the superior degree of piety that was meant to undergird their learning. A frequently quoted tradition made the successorship of the *ʿulamāʾ* to the prophets conditional on their "not associating with the sultan." Those who did associate were designated by the celebrated al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) as "scholars with worldly motivation" (*ʿulamāʾ al-dunyā*) or "scholars of evil" *ʿulamāʾ al-sūʾ*) by contrast with "scholars of otherworldly motivation" (*ʿulamāʾ al-ākhirah*), that is, those who shunned such association. Tangential association with the state was, however, inevitable in the case of posts—above all, judgeships—that were at its disposal, and in Ottoman times the entire corps of *ʿulamāʾ* became in effect part of the state bureaucracy and thus lost its autonomy.

It is often supposed that a fundamental and consistent opposition existed between the *ʿulamāʾ* and the Ṣūfīs, the other great class of religious specialists in Muslim society, and certainly cases of mutual hostility are to be encountered. The overall historical record suggests, however, that a symbiotic relationship existed between the *ʿulamāʾ* and the Ṣūfīs: while the *ʿulamāʾ* cultivated *ʿilm*, formal knowledge acquired through mental exertion, the Ṣūfīs pursued *maʿrifah*, inward knowledge resulting from the purification of the heart. The *ʿulamāʾ* were designated as "scholars of the exoteric" (*ʿulamāʾ al-ẓāhir*) and the Ṣūfīs as "scholars of the esoteric" (*ʿulamāʾ al-bāṭin*); the purview of religion was seen to include harmoniously the concerns of both groups. Theoretical Ṣūfīsm was often taught in the *madrasah*s, and the Ṣūfīs recognized the authority of the *ʿulamāʾ* in matters of law. From the fifteenth century onward, it was even common for many of the *ʿulamāʾ*, especially in India and the Ottoman empire, to be affiliated with one of the Ṣūfī orders, often the Naqshbandiyah. One who combined formal scholarship with Sufism in this way would be designated as "the possessor of two wings" (*dhū al-janāḥayn*).

In modern times, the authority of the *ʿulamāʾ* in Muslim society has generally declined. The increasing secularization of law and education has deprived them of many of their most important functions, so that in some cases they have become little more than state-supported dignitaries with purely cultic and ceremonial responsibilities; vigorous and ambitious minds have found little stimulus to join the ranks of the *ʿulamāʾ*. In addition, the emergence of Islamic movements that bypass the *ʿulamāʾ* and even criticize them for alleged failings, such as intellectual stagnation and political passivity, has undercut their standing with the believing masses. In some cases, however, the *ʿulamāʾ* have collaborated with these movements, as in late twentieth-century Syria, where prominent *ʿulamāʾ* were involved in the Muslim Brotherhood. Independent *ʿulamāʾ* ventures in politics with parties such as the Nahdatul Ulama in Indonesia and the Jamīʿat al-ʿUlamāʾ in Pakistan have not been notably successful. The case of Iran, where the *ʿulamāʾ* not only defied the secularizing bent of the state but led a revolution to victory and founded an Islamic republic, is an exception to the prevailing trend of diminishing influence, owing to a number of special factors such as the organizational autonomy of the Iranian *ʿulamāʾ* in the prerevolutionary period and the charismatic appeal of Imām Khomeini. It is nonetheless possible that the present current of Islamic renewal may ultimately enhance the prestige and position of the *ʿulamāʾ* in other countries.

SEE ALSO Ijtihād; Madrasah; Mosque, article on History and Tradition; Qāḍī; Shaykh al-Islām.

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ÜLGEN, sometimes called Bai Ülgen ("rich Ülgen"), is a deity venerated by the Turkic peoples living in the Altai and Sayan mountains in southern Siberia. Ülgen is also known to the east, among the Mongol Buriats.

In Altai-Sayan Turkic mythology Ülgen figures as the highest deity. He created earth and heaven and all living beings. He is the master of the good spirits, the lord of the upper world, the realm of light; he is the protector of humankind. After him stands Erlik Khan, the lord of the lower world, the realm of darkness; Erlik is the master of the evil spirits. Both Ülgen and Erlik Khan determine the fate of human beings, who live in the middle world.

In the Buriat pantheon Ülgen plays a secondary but revealing role: the deity is regarded as female, a goddess of earth. The Buriats call her Ülgen Ekhe ("mother Ülgen") and consider her the female counterpart of Ünder Tengeri ("high heaven"). Ülgen becomes directly equated with earth in the expression *ülgen delkhei,* which connotes both "wide earth" and "mother earth."

The Buriat Ülgen seems to be a relic of an ancient Turco-Mongol cult dedicated to Ülgen as a terrestrial deity. Her character, however, has undergone an essential transformation in the religion of the Altai-Sayan Turkic people. Ülgen has gradually usurped functions of the male deity Tengere Kaira Khan ("heaven, the gracious khan"), the highest god of heaven, thus changing herself into a male deity. But Ülgen has not been able to supplant Tengere Kaira Khan completely. Thus Ülgen sometimes figures as the first of Tengere Kaira Khan's sons, not residing, as he does, on the seventeenth level of heaven, but on the sixteenth.

Nevertheless, in some of the myths, as well as in popular belief, Ülgen has succeeded in attaining the rank of highest deity. His name has been placed beside those of other deities used by Turkic and Mongol peoples to designate their highest being: Tengri ("heaven"; Türk); Köke Möngke Tengri ("blue eternal heaven"; Mongols, Buriats); Esege ("father") and Malan Tengeri (Buriats); Khormusta (Mongols, Buriats, Tuvin, and Altaic Turkic peoples); Iuriung Aĭyy Toĭon ("white good lord"; Yakuts); Burkhan Bagši ("teacher Buddha"; Tuvin); and Kudai ("god"; Altaic Turkic peoples).

The various sources do not give a uniform description of Ülgen's character. Several indigenous conceptions of different historical and regional origin became mixed with foreign ideas, owing to Russian Orthodox missionary work and contact with Buddhist neighbors. Nevertheless, Ülgen's form and functions are sufficiently clear, in spite of discrepancies and contradictions in detail.

Hovering over the primeval ocean, Ülgen and the first man, in the form of two ducks, create the earth from mud taken from the bottom of the sea. In other traditions Ülgen uses mud to create the first human. Both motifs are indigenous conceptions. Christian influence may be evident in two other motifs: Ülgen makes the first woman from two ribs of one of the first seven men, who then becomes her husband; the woman, seduced by a snake, eats forbidden food from the first tree and then gives it to her husband.

Having attempted to become like Ülgen, the first man is expelled to the lower world by the deity, who names him Erlik—a figure also well known in Buddhist mythology. The second man, Mangdyshirä, the Buddhist *bodhisattva* Mañjuśrī, directs the three fish that support the earth, using a leash that is fastened to heaven. Thereby he controls heaven and earth. Having created the first parents of humankind, Ülgen retreats into his castle on the top of the cosmic mountain. He entrusts the supervision of humans to the third man, Maitärä, the Buddha Maitreya.

Ülgen is described as an old man with a long beard. Thus he becomes identical with White Old Man, a fertility god who is also known among other peoples. Ülgen also preserves distinct characteristics of a tribal deity. He has a wife, sons, daughters, and servants; many of his sons are spirits of Altaic clans.

The fact that Maitärä, the third man, is Ülgen's representative on earth does not exclude people from direct contact with Ülgen and does not prohibit them from asking him, for instance, for abundant cattle, for good crops, or for protection against all kinds of evil. The means that can be used for this purpose are prayer and sacrifice, which are also offered to other good gods and spirits, including Erlik Khan. The animals used for sacrifice seem primarily to be horses and sheep. Sacrifices can (but need not) be made with the help of a shaman, as in the famous horse offering described by Wilhelm Radloff. The shaman kills a horse and, accompanying its soul, penetrates through all the layers of heaven until he reaches Ülgen. The deity informs the shaman whether or not the offering has been accepted favorably, and the shaman learns of impending dangers, such as bad harvests. It is uncertain if the cult of Ülgen has survived to the present day.

SEE ALSO Buriat Religion; Erlik; Tengri.

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Klaus Sagaster (1987)
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ULTRAMONTANISM

ULTRAMONTANISM is the tendency of Roman Catholicism that emphasizes the authority of the papacy in the government and teaching of the church. Originally articulated in opposition to Gallicanism, ultramontanism stressed the unity of the church centralized in Rome ("over the mountains") and its independence from nations and states. Ultramontane principles can be traced to the struggles of popes and councils in the fifteenth century. The papalist position received a full exposition by the Jesuit Roberto Bellarmino at the end of the sixteenth century. However, ultramontanism acquired its definitive meaning in the conflict over the Gallicanism of Louis XIV in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The term *ultramontanism* seems to date from the 1730s, although *ultramontane* was used with various meanings in the Middle Ages. During the eighteenth century, exponents of ultramontanism waged a generally losing struggle against Gallicanism and similar statist movements in other countries, such as Febronianism and Josephism.

The French Revolution dealt a fatal blow to Gallicanism by destroying the monarchy on which it had rested. In the ensuing age of uncertainty, the attractiveness of the papacy as the only stable source of authority stimulated a Roman Catholic revival, of which ultramontanism was the essence. Count Joseph de Maistre forcefully expressed this position in *Du pape* (1819), proposing absolutism in state and church under the ultimate supremacy of the pope. The traditionalism of Viscount Louis de Bonald disparaged individual reason, for which Félicité de Lamennais (*Essay on Indifference,* 1817) substituted the "universal consent" of humanity, as embodied in the pope, as the ultimate test of truth. But Lamennais, developing the democratic implications of "universal consent," appealed not only to the pope but also to the people, seeking the freedom of the church in the freedom of society. Thus he commenced the liberal Catholic movement in the context of ultramontanism. The appeal made to Pope Gregory XVI by Lamennais and his associates on the journal *Avenir* was rejected (*Mirari vos,* 1832) by a papacy still seeking safety in alliance with authoritarian monarchies. Lamennais left the church. Nonetheless, his more moderate colleagues, notably Count Charles de Montalembert and Henri Lacordaire, were able to build a party, at once ultramontane and liberal, that supplanted Gallicanism as the political expression of French Catholicism. This party seemed to triumph during the revolution of 1848, securing its chief goal, freedom of Catholic education, with the passage of the Falloux law in 1850.

The Falloux law brought to the surface a latent division in the Catholic party, many of whose members had followed Montalembert's quest for liberty only as a means toward the end of the ultimate dominance of the church in French life. Louis Veuillot, editor of *L'univers,* led an intransigent group that rejected the compromises inherent in the Falloux law and advanced the most extreme claims on behalf of the church and, within it, of the authority of the pope. This new ultramontanism thus rejected liberal Catholicism, a product of the older ultramontanism, and set itself against all forms of liberalism in church, state, and intellectual life.

The attitude of the papacy was decisive. Although Pope Pius IX (1846–1878) had flirted mildly with liberalism early in his reign, he reacted sharply after the revolution of 1848, which had driven him out of his temporal dominions. After 1850, the church under his leadership regarded itself as besieged and embattled, hostile to all liberalism in political and intellectual life, and concentrating in the pope himself both the devotion of the faithful and the plenitude of authority. This was the final meaning of ultramontanism. Having already overcome Gallicanism, it now fought and defeated liberal Catholicism. Veuillot in France, the Jesuits associated with the periodical *Civiltà Cattolica* in Italy, William George Ward and Henry Edward Manning in England, Paul Cullen in Ireland, and, more moderately, the Mainz school led by Wilhelm von Ketteler in Germany were the leading exponents of a movement that rapidly triumphed among committed Catholics. The *Syllabus of Errors* (1864), a set of theses condemned by Pius IX, marked the height of ultramontane militancy. The definition of papal infallibility by the First Vatican Council in 1870 set the seal on its victory. However qualified the wording of this definition, it was manifest that the ultramontane program of a centralized and authoritarian church under an irresistible pope had been achieved.

From the First to the Second Vatican Council, ultramontanism was effectively synonymous with orthodox Roman Catholicism. The movement in its final form had won so complete a triumph that the term itself fell out of use.

See Also Gallicanism; Modernism, article on Christian Modernism; Papacy; Pius IX; Vatican Councils.

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UMAI.

UMAI. The name *Umai* (*Umay*) first appears in the Old Turkic inscriptions of Mongolia (mid-eighth century CE), where it is borne by a feminine deity of unspecified but benevolent functions. There is a gap of more than a thousand years in the relevant documentation, but belief in Umai has remained alive among some of the Turkic peoples of the Altai region, and also among the Tunguz of northeastern Siberia. Here Umai may be male or female, or even androgynous. In one set of beliefs, where Umai is personified, the role of the spirit resembles that of a guardian angel of small children. Illness may signal Umai's abandonment of her ward, and a shaman's intervention may be sought to effect her return. Often Umai is thought of as the keeper of the soul of unborn children.

Among the Turkic Sagays, Shors, and Beltirs, *umai* is the term applied to the soul of a child from the moment of his birth until about the time when he walks freely and speaks with some fluency. On occasion, the help of a shaman may be requested for the sinister purpose of transferring the *umai* of a healthy infant either into the body of one seriously ill, or into the womb of a woman thought to be sterile. As a result of such an abduction, referred to as Umay (or Imay) *tutargha,* the donor will die. The term *umai* is applied also to the umbilical cord, which, after being cut, is placed in a small leather pouch and attached to the child's cradle.

The inconsistencies and contradictions shown by nineteenth- and twentieth-century beliefs and practices suggest that these are but surviving fragments of an ancient cult no longer definable. Since *umai* is the standard Mongol word for "womb" or "placenta," it can safely be assumed that, although the name *Umai* first appears in a Turkic text and the cult of Umai is strongest among Turkic peoples, originally the deity was part of a Mongol religious system.

SEE ALSO Turkic Religions.

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UMĀPATI ŚIVĀCĀRYA

UMĀPATI ŚIVĀCĀRYA (fourteenth century CE) was a Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta teacher, author, and theologian. Umāpati Śivācārya, who flourished in the South Indian temple city of Chidambaram during the early fourteenth century, was the last of the four *santāna ācārya*s ("hereditary teachers," a term here referring to four theologians in teacher-disciple succession) of the Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta school of philosophy-theology. (The other three *ācārya*s were Meykaṇṭār, Aruṇanti, and Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar, all of whom lived in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.) According to tradition, Umāpati was a Vaiṣṇava brahman from Koṟṟavaṉkuṭi, near Chidambaram. One day, coming from the temple, he encountered the Śaiva *ācārya* Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar. This meeting resulted in Umāpati's conversion to Śaivism. Under the tutelage of Maṟaiñāṉa Campantar, who became Umāpati's guru, Umāpati studied Śaiva religious texts and himself became a prolific contributor to the Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta literature.

Fourteen theological texts are considered canonical in the Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta school and are collectively referred to as the Meykaṇṭaśāstra. Umāpati wrote eight of these treatises, the most important of which is the *Civapirakācam* (The Light of Śiva). The *Civapirakācam* is a hundred-stanza "supplementary treatise" (*cārpunūl*) related both to Meykaṇṭar's "root treatise" (*mutaṉūl*) the *Civañāṉapōtam,* the basic sutra of the Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta, and to Aruṇanti's secondary treatise-commentary (*vaḻinūl*) on the *Civañāṉapōtam,* the *Civañāṉacittiyār.* This clearly situates Umāpati's work and thought within a typical medieval Hindu sectarian lineage, scholastic in style and substance. Umāpati shares with the other Tamil Siddhāntins a threefold ontology—*pati* ("the lord," i.e., Śiva), *pacu* ("the creature," i.e., souls), and *pācam/malam* ("bondage"/"dirt," i.e., phenomenal reality and consciousness). In the *Civapirakācam* he displays considerable psychological acumen in delineating the various levels of knowledge-experience that the soul passes through on its journey from an original benighted state of intimate connection with malam to an ultimate illumination with the light of Śiva.

Other works by Umāpati in the *Meykaṇṭaśāstra* are briefly described as follows. The *Tiruvaruṭpayaṉ* contains ten sets of ten couplets in the style of the renowned Tamil ethical work known as the *Tirukkuṟaḷ.* Since the *Tirukkuṟaḷ 's* maxims treat only right conduct (*dharma*), wealth and power (*artha*), and eros (*kāma*), Umāpati offers the *Tiruvaruṭpayaṉ* to supply a section on *mokṣa,* the fourth Hindu "aim of life" (*puruṣārtha*). The thirteen-quatrain *Viṉāvenpa* records a dialogue between the author and his guru concerning details of Siddhānta ontology and epistemology. The *Poṟṟippakṟoṭai,* a ninety-five-stanza composition in the form of a hymn of praise, describes the soul's transformation thanks to Śiva's grace. The *Koṭikkavi,* a mere four quatrains, plays upon an analogy between the ascent of the soul to Śiva and the raising of a flag at a temple festival. The 125-stanza *Neñcuviṭutūtu* casts the author's heart as a messenger to her beloved (Śiva), who is described as a king, and expounds the soul's transformation by him. The *Uṇmaineṟiviḷakkam* contains six quatrains treating the soul's development and enlightenment. The *Caṅkarpanirākaraṇam* consists of twenty stanzas refuting other sectarian views, especially those of Advaita Vedānta.

Besides the works in the *Meykaṇṭaśāstra,* Umāpati is also the traditionally ascribed author of a number of Tamil Puranic works: a condensation of Cēkkiḻār's great hagiography on the lives of the Tamil Śaiva devotional saints; a sacred biography of Cēkkiḻār himself; the *sthalapurāṇa* ("sacred history of a place") of Chidambaram; and a *purāṇa* on the origins of the Tamil Śaiva collection of sacred hymns the *Tirumuṟai.* Umāpati also wrote a Sanskrit commentary on the *Pauṣkarāgama* and compiled an anthology of the ŚaivĀgamas, the Śataratnasaṃgraha.

SEE ALSO Meykaṇṭār; Śaivism, article on Śaiva Siddhānta; Tamil Religions.

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ʿUMAR IBN AL-KHAṬṬĀB (assassinated AH 23/644 CE), second caliph and founder of the Muslim Arab empire. Born in pagan Mecca, he accepted the mission of Muḥammad as God's prophet before the emigration (*hijrah*) of that city's nascent Muslim community to Medina. Muḥammad later married his daughter Ḥafṣah, whose name is linked with the collation of the Qurʾān. ʿUmar's fame as caliph (634–644) justly rests on his energetic leadership and shrewd counsel during the expansion of the Medinan commonwealth, which was ultimately transformed into an imperial structure displacing both Byzantine and Persian power in the Middle East.

While traditional accounts attribute a great number of "firsts" to ʿUmar, modern scholars have not always been able to distinguish ʿUmar's achievements from those of a later period. His adoption of the title Amīr al-Muʾminīn ("counselor of the believers") rather than Khalīfat Rasūl Allāh ("successor of the Messenger of God"), as his predecessor Abū Bakr was called, indicates at least the emergence of a selfconscious, permanent community, if not that of a well-defined political office. It seems clear that he set the precedent for religious endowments *(awqāf,* plural of *waqf)*, first on his own land and then on the conquered land of the Sawād in Iraq, the revenue from which was to be used for the benefit of future generations of Muslims. He probably also instituted the prayers (*al-tarāwīḥ*) during the fasting month of Ramaḍān, the obligatory pilgrimage (*ḥajj*), and the Hijrah as the commencement of the Muslim era (622 CE). Of more doubtful origin are the specific punishments for drunkenness, adultery, and lampooning, and most controversial of all is the so-called Covenant of ʿUmar, promulgating fiscal, religious, and civil regulations with regard to the non-Muslim population. The document is almost certainly a conflation, with only the fiscal and religious provisions properly belonging to ʿUmar's time.

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ʿUMAR TĀL (1794/7–1864), known in Fūta as al-Ḥājj ʿUmar ibn Saʿīd ibn ʿUthmān of Gede, was an intellectual and military leader in the central and western Sudanic region. Born in Fūta Tōro, a Fulbe state in the middle valley of the Senegal River, ʿUmar first achieved prominence during the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, which he completed three times in the years 1828–1830. At the same time he obtained an appointment as the chief representative (*khalīfah*) in West Africa for the Islamic order called the Tijānīyah, which had been founded in North Africa in the eighteenth century. With these credentials ʿUmar returned to West Africa, visited the capitals of the principal Islamic states, attracted a following of disciples, wives, and slaves, and established a reputation as a brilliant scholar, miracle worker, and military strategist. Much of his reputation emerged during a stay of seven years in Sokoto, the capital of the Islamic confederation of northern Nigeria. In 1839 ʿUmar traveled through the inland delta of the Niger River, where another Fulbe-dominated Islamic state called the caliphate of Hamdullāhi held sway. In 1840 he settled in Fūta Jalon, yet another Fulbe polity in the mountains of Guinea. In the small town of Jegunko he taught, formed his growing community, and completed his major work, *Rimāḥ,* which serves an an important guide for Tijānīyah clerics today.

Beginning in 1846 ʿUmar moved in the direction of a military *jihād,* or war against unbelievers. He recruited in his original homeland of Fūta Tōro. He moved his rapidly expanding community to Dingiray, a settlement east of Fūta Jalon under the control of the Mandinka king of Tamba. In Dingiray the Umarian forces collected arms, built fortifications, and created the conditions of conflict with the Mandinka. Their victories over Tamba in 1852–1853 launched the *jihād,* established ʿUmar's reputation as a military leader, and attracted thousands of new recruits.

ʿUmar subsequently directed his forces to the north, to the upper valley of the Senegal River. With an army of about 15,000 he defeated the Bambara kingdom of Kārta, which had dominated the upper valley for decades. In 1857 ʿUmar laid siege to Medine, a new post established by the expanding French, but he suffered heavy casualties when Governor Louis Faidherbe arrived with new troops from the coast. ʿUmar then led his survivors to the east to regroup, then back to the west in 1858–1859 in a bold recruiting campaign along the river valley. With his predominantly new army he defeated the renowned Bambara kingdom of the Middle Niger, Segu, and made the city of the same name the capital of his far-flung but poorly organized state.

In 1862 ʿUmar led most of his troops against the caliphate of Hamdullāhi in retaliation for Hamdullāhi's assistance to Segu against the *jihād.* He achieved an initial victory, but the Hamdullāhi Fulbe, aided by the Kunta clerics of Timbuktu, revolted in 1863, destroyed the Umarian forces, and killed ʿUmar in 1864. The Umarian *jihād* ended at this point, but the fragile polity it created endured until the French conquest some thirty years later. The principal leader of the state was ʿUmar's oldest son, Aḥmad, commonly called Amadu Sheku, and its principal capital was Segu.

The basic structure of the Umarian *jihād* consisted of recruitment of men and weapons in the west, in the regions of Senegal and Fūta Jalon, to wage war in the east, against the Mandinka and Bambara. ʿUmar relied particularly on the Muslims of the west who, like himself, were dissatisfied citizens of the Fulbe states of Fūta Jalon, Bundu, and Fūta Tōro. He fought against people who could be generally classified as non-Muslims and who blocked the emergence of Islam in the western Sudan. The Segu Bambara were regarded as particularly notorious "pagans." The campaign against Hamdullāhi was not part of the original design of the *jihād.* When ʿUmar decided to undertake it he wrote a long apologia to justify his actions, and the dissension produced by the conflict of Muslim against Muslim, and Fulbe against Fulbe, helped produce the revolt of 1863–1864.

The basic structure of the Umarian *jihād* contrasts with the experience of earlier Fulbe-led *jihād*s and the states (Sokoto, Hamdullāhi, and the two Fūtas) that resulted from them. The earlier pattern consisted of internal revolutions against "pagan" or nominal Muslim ruling classes, followed by expansion to the exterior. This pattern was codified in the writings of the Sokoto leadership and adopted by ʿUmar himself in his own writings. ʿUmar could not, however, lead a second internal revolution in his native land, and he decided to recruit in the west and fight to the east. He was highly successful militarily, but he laid little basis for an Islamic administration or for the incorporation or conversion of his new subjects. His twelve years of war have left decidedly different impressions in today's Senegal and Mali: In the first he is the crusading Islamic hero; in the second he is the invader who used Islam as a pretext.

ʿUmar left one lasting precedent to Muslims of all persuasions in West Africa: the example of emigration (*hijrah* in Arabic, *fergo* in Fulfulde) away from European expansion. In his desperate recruiting drive of 1858–1859, he called on Senegalese Muslims to leave a land that had become "polluted" by French expansion. His son Amadu followed his example in the 1890s at the time of French conquest of the interior, and other Muslim leaders, such as the caliph of Sokoto in 1903, did the same thing. They journeyed to the east, along the old pilgrimage routes, in search of places where the faithful could preserve Islamic state and society.

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UMBANDA SEE AFRO-BRAZILIAN RELIGIONS

UMMAH is an Arabic term denoting a grouping of individuals constituting a larger community with a single identity. The term is often translated as "community" or "people," and the plural (*umam*) is commonly used in Arabic with the meaning "nations." Other Semitic languages also employ this root *(ʾMM)* to designate social groups that share a common language, ethnicity, or set of laws and customs.

QURʾĀN AND ISLAMIC EXEGESIS. The term *ummah* and its plural occur numerous times in the Qurʾān, referring to groups of animals (Qurʾān 6:38) and people. According to Qurʾān 7:34 and 15:5, each *ummah* has an appointed time, which is fixed and cannot be delayed. To every *ummah* is sent a messenger (Qurʾān 10:47) or warner (35:24), calling each *ummah* back to the worship of God. Muslim exegetes relate that on the Day of Judgment the prophet Muḥammad will intercede on behalf of all the *ummahs* to whom prophets had been sent.

Perhaps this is reflected in Qurʾān 16:120, where Abraham is said to be an *ummah* obedient to God, being *ḥanīf*, and not one of those who associate things with God. In Qurʾān 2:124, God tells Abraham that he is making him an example (*imām*) for people. The terms *imām* and *ummah* are derived from the same root, and are sometimes understood as being a necessary pair. The *imām* shows by example and the *ummah* follows that example. Muslim exegesis on Qurʾān 3:94 equates the religion (*millah*) of Abraham with the *ummah* of the prophet Muḥammad, and Qurʾān 4:125 refers to the *millah* of Abraham, being *ḥanīf*, whom God took as a friend *(khalīl)*. Qurʾān 43:22–23 also uses the term *ummah*, as *millah*, to refer to a religion or a community following a particular religion.

Qurʾān 10:19 states that all people are a single *ummah* (*ummah wāḥidah*), but the people disagreed. According to several early exegetes, this refers to the primordial existence of all humanity as a single *ummah* with a single religion, a state that was ruined by sin as exemplified by the murder of Abel by Cain. In Qurʾān 2:128, Abraham and Ishmael ask God to make their offspring an *ummah* submitting (*ummah muslimah*) to God. In Qurʾān 3:103, God says that there will be an *ummah* that commands right and forbids wrong. Exegetes interpret this to be a reference to the faithful remnant of the original single *ummah* that, on the Day of Resurrection, will demonstrate the righteousness of those who submitted to God.

ISLAMIC LAW AND PRACTICE. Islamic law does not define the *ummah* in a direct sense, but it does outline in detail the structure of Muslim society. Human actions are divided into two types: rituals (*ʿibadāt*) and social acts (*muʿamalāt*). In general, rituals define a relationship between God and individuals, or between God and the *ummah*, as a whole. Laws relating to social acts govern relations among individuals within a society, and between different societies or nations, and vary according to different Muslim schools of law in certain respects.

Laws defining purity do not make social distinctions outside of allowing for certain variations in practice based upon natural differences. For example, menstruation requires women to perform certain purification rituals, but men are also required to purify themselves from blood flowing from their own bodies, such as from the nose or a wound. The causes of impurity include both substances (urine, feces, semen, vomit, blood, pus) and activities (sleep and unconsciousness, sex, menstruation, parturition, touching of certain body parts). Those substances and activities that require ablution (*wuḍūʾ*) are natural occurrences necessary to human life. Activities and substances that require washing *(ghusl)* are all related to sexual reproduction and are thus necessary to the continued existence of human society.

Other rituals, such as prayer, offering, fasting, and pilgrimage, do make social distinctions. For example, in certain legal texts women are not to attend the group prayer (*jumʿah*) on Fridays and are not allowed to pray in mixed groups with men, nor are virgins allowed to perform any prayers or fasting during the month of Ramaḍān. The qualifications of the prayer leader are based upon social standing according to age, piety, and learning. Thus, the free person is better suited than the slave, the city dweller than the nomad, the healthy than the handicapped, the heir than the bastard. Similarly, the standing order for the group prayer places the pure before the impure, the literate before the illiterate, and the clothed before the naked. Other rituals are restricted to certain segments of society. *Zakāt* is only required of relatively wealthy people with extra income over and above that required for their regular upkeep, just as the *ḥājj* and *jihād* is not required for a person who does not have the means to both perform the duty and provide for his family during that time.

Certain rituals are made responsible upon the *ummah* as a whole. Islamic law distinguishes between individual ritual requirements (*farḍ ʿayn*) and communal requirements (*farḍ kifāyah*). Individual daily prayers, for example, are incumbent upon each individual. Those rituals that are incumbent upon the community as a whole, such as the group prayer (*jumʿah*) on Fridays and defense of the *ummah (jihād)* are not obligatory on each individual. The *ummah* is required to provide a group prayer on Fridays, which would necessitate a certain number of individuals to attend, but not all eligible members of the *ummah* must attend.

Spatial and temporal distinctions are also demarcated through ritual. For example, when traveling outside of a civilizational center (*miṣr*), people are not allowed to perform the congregational prayer. Nor is purification without water (*tayammum*) allowed within the confines of a civilizational center. People traveling more than three days distance from their home are only required to pray three daily prayers. These rituals parallel commercial and criminal laws, such as the prohibition against a city dweller selling goods for a desert dweller, or a bailed defendant being deposited in a market (*sūq*) but not in open country.

Laws regulating social acts differentiate a number of social spheres within the *ummah.* The most localized are individuals and their interactions with other individuals. In commercial law, exchanges are regulated between specific individuals. Jurists hold that the basic principle underlying commercial law is establishing equity between the two individual parties. Criminal law also regulates activity between individuals. Punishment for murder, for example, takes the form of an exchange between the murderer and the individuals affected by the murder. The payment of wergild is a compensation for the loss of the life. In adjudicating such exchanges or punishments, the role of the state is to facilitate the establishment of this "balance" *(ʿadl)* between individuals.

The second major social sphere within the *ummah* is that of the family. According to jurists, personal law regulates the balance among family members. Laws of marriage, divorce, maintenance, and inheritance are designed to maintain the fundamental structures of the *ummah.* Fornication, which is defined as specific types of sexual activity outside of marriage, is punishable by death because it threatens the balance of the family and the relation of the family to the larger society. The laws of slavery, and particularly those concerning concubines, found in classical Islamic law are also based upon the principle of social balance.

The third major social sphere is that of the society as a whole. This includes laws relating to land reclamation, which would affect productivity and ownership rights of large areas pertinent to the *ummah* as a whole. It also includes the laws of *jihād* or *siyār*, which require certain segments of the *ummah* (capable adult men) to defend the *ummah* in case of attack. Jurists conceptualize two realms: the "Place of Islam" (*Dār al-Islām*) and the "Place of War" (*Dār al-Ḥarb*). The *Dār al-Islām* designates civilized area in which Islamic law is practiced, whereas the *Dar al-Ḥarb* is the place of barbarism, lacking law and order.

POLITICAL THEORY AND PRACTICE. Medieval Muslim political theorists defined the *ummah* vis-à-vis the relation of the *ummah* to its ruler and the relation of both to God through the law as formulated by jurists on the basis of revelation. According to the political theorist al-Māwardī (974–1058), the *ummah* is constituted by its allegiance to the *imām* in a sort of contractual relationship. The responsibility of the *imām* is twofold: to enforce laws pertaining to social relations (*muʿamalāt*), and to ensure that the *ummah* can fulfill its ritual obligations (*ʿibadāt*). Māwardī maintained that the office of the *imām* is required by revelation and necessary to the proper functioning of the *ummah*, but the legitimacy of any individual *imām* is based on his adherence to the well-being of the *ummah.* Ibn Khaldūn (1332–1406) similarly argued that God created human beings so that they would be required to work together as a society and develop civilization in order to survive on the earth after the fall from Eden. This requires a state that provides individuals with food, shelter, and the opportunity to abide by God's commandments.

Some contemporary Muslim theorists contend that the *ummah* can still only be constituted with an *imām* or caliph, and must be inclusive of all Muslims regardless of ethnic or national origin. Some older theorists, such as Ibn Jamāʿa (1241–1333) argued that any effective leader could be considered an *imām.* Others, such as Ibn Taymīyah (1263–1328) and the ayatollah Khomeini (1902–1989), maintained that jurists could take the place of an *imām* even when the *ummah* already had an otherwise de facto ruler. The Iranian-born Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1839–1897) proposed a pan-Islamic *ummah* to replace the fragmentation of modern states. The Ottoman sultan Abulhamid II (r. 1876–1909) attempted to reestablish the caliphate and the notion of a pan-Islamic *ummah.*

Modern reformist movements, such as the Ḥizb al-Taḥrīr, have called for the return to a caliphal state as a means to reconstitute the *ummah* and defend Islam against colonialist and imperialist incursions. Reformist political theorists include Sayyid Quṭb (1906–1966) from the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, Mawdūdī (1903–1979), founder of the Jamāʿat-i-Islāmī in Pakistan, and ʿAlī Shariʿatī (1933–1977), a leader in the Iranian revolution. According to these theorists, Islam is in the midst of a new age of ignorance (*jahilīyah*), which requires the reformation of the *ummah* under the aegis of an Islamic state upholding the principles of Islamic law.

Other groups define the *ummah* in more restrictive terms. ʿAlid or Shīʿī political theorists define the *ummah* more restrictively, based on its allegiance to an *imām* who is chosen because he possesses special attributes. Non-Shīʿī groups, such as the so-called Five Percenters, also restrict the *ummah* to an elect and narrowly construed group of believers, possessed of secret knowledge or other special characteristics. Early Kharijī leaders denied membership in the *ummah* to any Muslim who refused to follow the strict interpretation of the Qurʾān laid down by acknowledged Kharijī authorities. The Nation of Islam under Elijah Muhammad (1897–1975) delineated the *ummah* in exclusivist historical ties and racial terms.

In the modern period, nationalists have tied the definition of the *ummah* to ethnic and national identities. The Egyptian writer Rifāʿah al-Ṭahṭāwī (1801–1873) argued for a national *ummah* based on patriotism for a homeland (*waṭan*). Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1849–1905) broadened this national *ummah* to include all Arabs in a capacity that would allow Arabs to purify and establish a more international Islamic *ummah*. Muslim thinkers in East and Southeast Asia have called for a recognition of the Arab roots of the *ummah* while championing their own cultural and regional identities as the flowering of a true international *ummah*.

In 1924 Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938) abolished the caliphate and founded the secular state of Turkey. Political movements in Arab states, such as the Ummah Anṣār or Sudanese Ummah Party founded in 1945 by supporters of the son of the founder of the Mahdist movement, sought to rally support for political causes with an ideology of the *ummah*. Many Arab states, especially in the 1960s, have legislated separate religious and national identities in an attempt to create a secular society distinct from and overriding religious allegiances. Some contemporary states with large Muslim populations sanction an official Islamic identity as a means to gain legitimacy and protect against threats from nonsanctioned religious groups. Certain forms of Islamic expression are considered subversive to the state and are outlawed as expressions of allegiance with an *ummah* that represents a different political order.

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UNARIUS ACADEMY OF SCIENCE. Ernest Norman (1904–1971) and Ruth Norman (1900–1993) founded in 1954 the Unarius Science of Life, which began with a small circle of students and clients who requested psychic readings. Members refer to their practice as the "Science" and to themselves as "students." Ernest Norman purportedly possessed clairvoyant abilities that he used to read the past lives of people who requested the service and to contact ascended masters living in other realms of existence. Believing himself to be the reincarnation of Jesus Christ and other cosmic dignitaries, Ernest Norman channeled messages about his trips to Mars and Venus (Norman, 1956). He also channeled extended lessons in "highly advanced" Unarian Science that is sometimes called *interdimensional physics*. These basic lessons of Unarian Science are delineated in Ernest Norman's early work, *The Infinite Concept of Cosmic Creation* (1970). Ruth served as Ernest's helpmate as they built the small organization out of their series of homes in different locations throughout southern California. In 1971, Ernest Norman died, leaving Ruth in charge. Mrs. Norman carried on the "mission" with the help of two early followers, Thomas Miller and Charles Spaegal. Together they channeled messages from the cosmos, which they compiled into a book series called Tesla Speaks.

Ruth Norman and her followers opened a storefront center in 1975 in El Cajon, California. This center includes its own classrooms, library, offices, and print shop, and continues to serve as the spiritual hub of Unarian Science. Although Mrs. Norman claimed many distinguished incarnations, she is best known for her persona of Uriel the Archangel, or her higher self—the Goddess of Love and the Healing Archangel from what Unarians believe is the planet Aries. In order to display her divine nature as Uriel, Mrs. Norman would pose in an elaborate costume, complete with a glittering tiara, as she waved some type of a scepter. Frequently photographed and interviewed by news organizations, she promoted her prophecy of the coming of thirty-three spaceships that would save the earth in 2001.

According to Unarian millenarian prophecy, the Space Brothers, as the extraterrestrials are called, would usher in a new age of logic, reason, love, and peace for all the beings in the universe. They would solve all social and ecological problems by ending privation and want with their spiritual science. The large spaceships (usually depicted in Unarian art as flying saucers) would land on top of one another in order to form a towering university that would serve humankind. Using the construction materials brought by the ships, the Space Brothers would build a "Power Tower" that could supply every earthly energy need from a nonpolluting cosmic source. The planets of the Interplanetary Confederation that would supposedly send spaceships are called: El, Rey, Basis, Yessu, Luminus (once called Severus), Valneza, Osnus, Idonus, Vixall, Earth II, Vidus, Anzea, Po, Deva, Endinite, Dollium, Ballium, Dal, Shunan, Brundage, Kallium, Delna, Farris, Serena, Vulna, Emil, Sixtus, Eneshia, Glenus, Din, Zeton, Jena, and Myton. Each ship would contain one thousand Space Brother scientists, who could teach the people of earth how to use their advanced technology.

In anticipation of this prophesied landing, Unarius purchased acreage for the ships in nearby Jamul, California, during the 1970s. Despite the fact that no ships landed in 2001 as predicted, Unarians believe that the landing will take place "when earth people are ready." Unarians frequently receive clairvoyant channeled messages from the spaceships and their deceased leaders, which are published in their literature. An annual celebration that honors the prophecy and features a parade of the banners of the planets occurs every October.

CURRENT ORGANIZATION. Ruth Norman headed the Unarius Academy of Science until her death in 1993. Charles Spaegal, whose spiritual name was Antares, succeeded her by running the center until he passed away in 1999. Thereafter Unarius was guided by a board of directors composed of long-term committed students of the Science. All jobs that entail the daily running of the Unarian center are unpaid volunteer positions. Current local members attend classes at the center, where they study Unarian literature and give testimonial accounts of the benefits of their spiritual science. Although some followers expressed a deep prior interest in UFOs, adherents more frequently report a familiarity with beliefs in the paranormal before joining Unarius. The local core membership ranges from forty to sixty dedicated students, while considerably more people are in contact with the organization through various types of correspondence, such as phone, email, and letters. Unarius has translated some of their works into Spanish in an attempt to reach out to American Latinos and those in Central and South America. Thousands of people remain on the Unarian mailing list after having either seriously or casually contacted the group. Through mail-order supply, those interested in Unarian Science can take correspondence lessons, read books, and watch video lessons.

Unarians insist that their pursuit is a science not a religion. Unarius offers classes in past-life therapy, interdimensional physics, and art therapy. Trusted students who are considered advanced in the science facilitate the classes. When a person regularly attends classes and participates in the volunteer activities that keep the group operational, he or she is considered a good student, or good member, of the group. More responsibility falls to those students who are able to channel messages from the Space Brothers. In addition, Unarian channelers contact Ernest and Ruth Norman as part of the "Spiritual Hierarchy" that communicates with the group.

Although there is no tendency toward androgynous clothing or expression, gender roles tend toward an egalitarian model partly because of the strong belief in reincarnation. Members believe they have lived as both sexes in their past incarnations. They share tasks and cooperate without making reference to any gender specificity, except in the case of lifting heavy objects, when men are usually called upon to do the job.

HEALING. Unarian philosophy focuses strongly upon healing through past-life therapy. Healing comes from the recognition of past-life imbalances and indiscretions that surface through feelings, visions, or dreams. Unarians welcome these so-called memories of past lives, a phenomenon called *recovered memory* in modern psychology. As a recommended healing process, members act out "memories" of past lives in psychodramas, which are often videotaped. Historically and contemporaneously, Unarian films have recorded many stories of past lives that are available to the general public when they play on local cable access stations in many American cities.

The Unarius Academy of Science remains significant because it is one of the oldest and most enduring UFO religions. The history of Unarius exemplifies a typical feature of such religions inasmuch as it initially functioned around charismatic leaders who telepathically communicated with supernatural extraterrestrials. Despite the eventual loss of both Ernest and Ruth Norman, Unarius continued to operate, and it even withstood a failed prophecy in 2001 without any appreciable loss of membership. Like other such groups, it considers the advent of extraterrestrials as a millenarian act of spiritual salvation, and this belief persistently gains adherents in the postmodern age.

SEE ALSO UFO Religions.

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Diana G. Tumminia (2005)

UNCTION See SACRAMENT, *ARTICLE ON* CHRISTIAN SACRAMENTS

UNDERHILL, EVELYN (1875–1941) was an English poet, novelist, and writer on mysticism. Born in Wolverhampton, England, the daughter of barrister Arthur Underhill, Evelyn Underhill supplemented her secondary education by studies at King's College, London, and by travel abroad. Underhill's early letters show some precocity for self-study and her personal and literary career may be regarded in light of this capacity. Her marriage in 1907 allowed Underhill the kind of financial support and unencumbered way of life necessary for her both to seek personal guidance essential to her spiritual growth and to undertake the voluminous research that her work would demand.

Underhill was both beneficiary and catalyst in the revival of the metaphysical discussion current in the early years of her career. She was influenced by Arthur Waite, a figure of manifold interests in the occult, magic, and religion, associating herself for some time with the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn. Later, and in another vein, Underhill shared in the enthusiasm aroused by the ideas of contemporaries Henri Bergson and Rudolf Eucken and fell briefly under the influence of Hindu poet Rabindranath Tagore. More significant influences, however, were William Ralph Inge, the eminent dean of Saint Paul's Cathedral in London, and the Roman Catholic scholar Friedrich von Hügel, whose erudition and sensitivity had the most profound and lasting effect on her.

Underhill's work reveals her deep personal commitment to spiritual development. It reflects, for the most part, her conviction that Christianity provides an exceptionally vital medium for mystical communion. Although the focus of her work does not exclude the pagan experience, her insights are developed primarily within the Christian tradition.

Underhill's book *Mysticism* (1911) is her most important work. It is a decidedly nonacademic study of mystical experience. In part historical and primarily comparative, its lasting significance lies, however, in the psychological insight of Underhill's commentary. The experiences of mystics from a wide range of disciplines and cultures are presented. Underhill, emphasizing their similarity of expression, asserted the essential kinship of mystical experience wherever it is found. Early editions of *Mysticism* depict Christianity as exceptional only in its greater facility for fostering this experience. The appearance in 1930 of the revised twelfth edition revealed a significantly greater awareness of the differences between the Christian and non-Christian experience. The clarity and depth of understanding with which *Mysticism* was written have given it an unsurpassed value and accessibility as a guide to the mystical tradition.

Subsequent work was taken up in the midst of a growing preoccupation with the contemplative life. Prayer, public service, and guidance from devout and intelligent people such as von Hügel served to deepen Underhill's already substantial appreciation for the uniqueness of the Christian way. This is borne out in her revision of *Mysticism.* In general such changes in Underhill's perspective tended to move her work toward the center of the Anglican faith to which she had returned. This tendency is manifest in her last major work, *Worship* (1936). This book deals with more orthodox forms of Christian practice. It stresses the practical virtues of prayer and the great importance and centrality of the Eucharist in Christian life.

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UNDERWORLD.

The term *underworld* refers to the subterranean region inhabited by the dead. It is often the place of punishment of the wicked, the unrighteous, the unredeemed, the unbelieving, or the lost. The concept of an underworld is an ingredient in most belief systems in the history of religions, but there is no definite evidence indicating that the idea was present in the earliest stages of human culture. In the oldest strata of Egyptian and pre-Vedic Indian cultures, however, there exists a rich store of archaeological material suggesting that the aristocratic segments of society, at least, believed in some kind of an afterlife. But even in these early records of postmortem existence, there does not seem to have been a distinction between heaven, the realm of the blessed, and hell, the realm of the damned.

Later, when the two realms came to be differentiated, each religion appealed to its own set of criteria when determining the fate of an individual after death, whether blessed or damned. These criteria could be defined by birth, by ritual initiation into the community, by the performance of prescribed sacramental rites, by belief in a deity or in a set of teachings, and so on. Such standards were commensurate with the way the religion defined the proper relationship to the sacred.

PRIMITIVE AND ARCHAIC RELIGIONS.

Tales of heroic journeys to the underworld, often undertaken on behalf of the entire community, are extremely widespread among tribal peoples throughout the world. Particularly notable for such lore are the Maori of New Zealand; the Algonquin, the Ojibwa, and various Plains tribes of North America; the Zulu, the Ashanti, and the Dogon of Africa; and numerous other societies in North Asia (especially Siberia and Mongolia), Central America, and South America.

If one disregards for the moment the detailed differences among the various accounts of the postmortem journey to the underworld, one can observe a common theme among many such stories. A heroic figure undertakes a descent into the belly of a chthonic or marine monster, a creature often identified as Mother Earth, the Mother of Death, or the Queen of the Night. He pursues a strenuous journey through her body, during which he encounters numerous obstacles and dangers. He finally reemerges into the world of the living, either through a natural orifice in the monster's body or through an opening that he himself creates. As numerous scholars have convincingly demonstrated, the ordeal of being ingested by a theriomorphic creature and of passing through the various channels of its body is symbolic of an initiatory ordeal whereby the hero conquers death or the fear of death and, in some cases, wins the prize of immortality.

The hero is submitted to a test or an ordeal in which he must either prove himself capable of overcoming the obstacles that lie in his path or prove himself capable of defeating the enemy that blocks his passage. The descent into the underworld is also a quest for special, esoteric knowledge or wisdom that is denied all other living beings who have not undertaken such a journey. As the possessor of this secret knowledge, the hero often serves as a mediator between the living and the dead or as a psychopomp who personally conducts the souls of the deceased to the underworld.

The typical shamanistic story of the descent into the underworld is exemplified in a tale of the Goldi peoples of Siberia. A shaman traps the soul of the deceased in a sacred pillow by beating his sacred drum. After mounting a notched tree in order to get a preview of the journey to follow, he summons two tutelary spirits to assist along the way and then, with the deceased and his ghostly companions, sets off on a specially prepared dogsled, furnished with a basket of food for nourishment. After encountering numerous obstacles along the way, the travelers arrive in the underworld. Using a fictitious name to protect his identity, the shaman deposits the deceased with his relatives in the underworld. He then returns immediately, armed with warm greetings and small gifts for the living from their subterranean kinsmen.

A prototypical example of the story in which the descent into the underworld is symbolically identified with the return to the mother's womb is found in the religious lore of the Maori of New Zealand. Maui, the heroic representative of the Maori, returned at the end of his life to the hut of his ancestress, Hine-nui-te-po, the Great Mistress (of the Night). He leapt into her body as she slept, made his way without difficulty through the various channels within her body, and had just emerged halfway from her open mouth when the birds that had accompanied him burst into laughter. Aroused by the screech of the birds' laughter, the ancestress abruptly clamped her mouth shut and cut the hero in two with her sharp teeth. Because of this misfortune, humans ever since have been mortal; had Maui successfully escaped his ancestress's body, they would have become immortal.

Many tribal peoples situate the land of the dead in the west, on the western side of the world, or simply at some distance west of the village. Many scholars (most notably E. B. Tylor and F. Max Müller) have argued that this practice is confirmation that most myths and rituals pertaining to the journey to the underworld are elaborations of a core solar myth.

While there no doubt is a kernel of truth in this view, there are other equally significant layers of meaning invested in these stories and practices. One important theme concerns the descent of a hero into the belly of a ferocious marine creature and his reemergence through the mouth or anus of the beast in an effort to conquer death and gain immortality. A second theme is of an arduous journey through wild and monster-infested areas in search of a precious object (magical ring, sacred fruit, golden vessel, elixir of immortality, etc.)

that will benefit the hero or his people. In a third theme, a tribesman submits himself to a deadly ordeal in order to pass from a lower to a higher stage of existence and thereby achieves a superhuman or heroic state of being. In yet another theme, a hero shoulders the onerous task of traveling to the subterranean regions where the Mother of Death or the Queen of the Night reigns supreme, thereby gaining knowledge of the route to the shadowy realm and of the fate of those who reside there.

ANCIENT EGYPT. The afterlife of the Egyptian nobility is described in the Pyramid Texts. Royalty were believed to ascend at death to the Blessed Lands, or Fields of the Blessed, in the heavens. According to the Pyramid Texts, members of the aristocracy traveled to the celestial spheres to dwell there like gods, often traveling on the ship belonging to Re, the sun god. Highly elaborate and expensive mortuary rites, charms, and incantations were offered for the nobility to guarantee that the soul of the deceased would enjoy a blissful existence in the world beyond. The life in that world is largely similar to this one but is free of the difficulties and misfortunes that plague the lives of even the powerful and wealthy. The afterlife of the common people is outlined in the Coffin Texts. Commoners were believed either to remain near the tomb after death or to travel to the netherworld.

The dead traveled to many different realms, some to the east but most to the west. It is now believed that the dead went in different directions because the disembodied spirits were thought to move about with the sun and the stars. The west was the primary destination of the souls (*ka*) of the dead. Darkness and night were identified symbolically with death and postmortem existence. The realm of the dead was located sometimes in the sky and sometimes beneath the earth. This region was ruled by Osiris, the king of the dead. While still a mortal, Osiris was murdered by his brother Seth and then resurrected by his sister-wife Isis. He subsequently became the chief ruler of the nether realm.

ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA. In the views of the ancient Akkadians and Babylonians, the underworld is a dreadful place. To get there one has to pass through seven gates and remove a piece of clothing at each. The realm is organized on the order of a political state under the tyrannical rule of a king and a queen, Nergal and Ereshkigal. In the text entitled "Descent of Ishtar to the Nether World" (Pritchard, 1969, p. 107), this realm of the dead is described as

> the Land of no Return . . . the dark house . . . which none leave who have entered it . . . the road from which there is no way back, the house wherein the entrants are bereft of light, where dust is their fare and clay their food. Where they see no light, residing in darkness, where they are clothed like birds, with wings for garments, and where over the door and bolt is spread dust.

Once in the underworld, the fate of the deceased is improved or worsened depending on whether the body is buried according to the prescribed funeral rites and is provided by the living with food, clothing, and other accoutrements required for the journey to the other realm.

One name for the netherworld is Kigal ("the great subterranean realm"). *Kigal* is an element in the name of Ereshkigal, the "queen of the underworld" and sister of Ishtar. This domain was also known as Kutu, the sacred city of Nergal, a chthonic deity who was lord of the netherworld. The gateway through which each soul is required to pass is situated in the west, where the Babylonians watched the descent of the sun. All graves provide entrance to this shadowy realm. Having entered the main gate, the dead are then ferried across the river Hubur by a four-handed, fierce-faced ferryman to "the Great City." This city is a gigantic metropolis, encircled by seven walls, each wall surmounted by a gate and each gate guarded by a demon. At the very center of the complex is the lapis lazuli of Ereshkigal. Befitting her position as queen of the realm, she is surrounded by numerous attendants: a plague god who executes her orders, a scribe who announces the names of the new arrivals, and seven fierce, iron-willed judges called the Anunnaki. There are a host of demons who spread pestilence and suffering throughout humanity and keep the queen plentifully supplied with new residents.

GREECE AND ROME. In ancient Greece the belief in the postmortem survival of the soul stretches back to earliest times, as is suggested by evidence of food, drink, clothing, and entertainment provided in the grave. Already in Homer a clear distinction between the corpse and the ghost was made. The *Iliad* (3.278-279, 19.259) contains the belief that the gods punished or rewarded souls at death. It was thought that the souls of the living are supplied from the stock of souls in Hades.

Despite the rich stock of ideas native to the Greek islands regarding the dead and the underworld, from the time of Homer Greek writers showed no hesitation in drawing freely from other religious traditions and in synthesizing these foreign elements with indigenous material. Most of the borrowed elements were derived from Egypt (particularly the Osiris cult and the *Book of Going Forth by Day*) and from Mycenae. From Crete they adopted the idea of *elusion* ("paradise") and the figure of Rhadamanthys (one of the three infernal judges). From Mycenae they received the idea of weighing the soul in the balance.

The earliest Greek accounts of the postmortem journey of the soul to the underworld are to be found in the *Iliad* (1.595, 3.279, 5.395–396, 15.187–188) and in the *Odyssey* (11). At the moment of death, the soul (*psuche*) is separated from the body, transformed into a ghostly double of the person (*eidōlon*), and transported down to Hades, an enormous cavern below the surface of the earth (*Odyssey* 11.204–222). Here the souls of the dead are capable only of "flitting around as shadows while exuding shrill chirping sounds." This dismal domain is the very antithesis of the realm of the "blazing sun"; it is a place where one sees only "the cold dead" and is an altogether "joyless region." The shades of the dead are unconscious and incommunicative until they have imbibed a quantity of blood, the essence of life. So morally neutral is the life of the dead that all distinctions pertaining to social station, political position, and religious latitude are obliterated, thus rendering even a mean and destitute existence in the world highly preferable (*Odyssey* 11.487–491) to the office of rulership over Hades.

In ancient Greek cosmology, Hades lies within the ocean, perpetually shrouded in clouds and mist. Here there is no sunlight, only eternal darkness. The shades are depicted as being weak and extremely melancholy, always in search of escape from their sufferings and finding none. Especially painful are the sufferings of those who were either not properly buried on earth or not suitably nourished with sacrificial food offerings. The dire nature of the torments suffered by the inmates is graphically depicted in the story of Tantalos. Standing in water up to his chin, he found to his chagrin that the water mysteriously evaporated each time he sought to quench his thirst; surrounded by flowering fruit trees, he found that the wind blew the fruit away as he reached out to grasp it (*Odyssey* 11.582–592). Hades is separated from the realm of the living by a treacherous body of water, made up of five rivers (Lethe, Styx, Phlegethon, Acheron, and Cocytus). The entrance is guarded by Kerberos, a ferocious dog with three (earlier poets said fifty or one hundred) heads whose necks are encircled by venomous serpents. Here Minos judges the deeds of the deceased and provides the laws that govern them in the underworld. But the evidence seems to indicate that none of the laws meted out justice in the form of rewards for the righteous and punishment for the wicked.

According to Vergil, Rhadamanthys presides over a court of justice in which a variety of corporeal, mental, and spiritual retributions are distributed according to the nature of sins committed in the upper world. Nowhere in all of world literature is the drastic distinction between the two destinies after death presented in more painfully dramatic terms than in his *Aeneid:*

> This is the place where the road divides and leads in two directions: one way is to the right and extends under the ramparts of Dis [i.e., Pluto] to Elysium [i.e., Paradise], but the left path leads to the evil realms of Tartarus, where the penalties for sin are exacted. To his left Aeneas spots a deep cave enclosed by a triple fortification around which flows Phlegethon, seething with flames and tossing rocks about in its tumultous torrents. (6.540–579)

Aeneas encounters a gargantuan door that even the gods are powerless to penetrate, guarded by the ever-wakeful Tisiphone (one of the Furies). From inside, he hears horrifying groans and wailings from victims being lashed with whips and chains. Within this dismal kingdom of darkness and death reside a host of personifications of abstract entities: Grief and Cares, Diseases, Senility, Fear, Hunger, Toil, War, Discord, and countless other forces that afflict the life of every creature with misfortune and distress.

Not until the time of Plato does one encounter the notion that the righteous will be feted with sumptuous banquets "with garlands on their heads," or that the wicked will be plunged into a pit filled with mud, "where they will be forced to carry water in a sieve" (*Republic* 2.373c–d). Plato may have believed that the earthly experience of the fear of Hades is equivalent to being there already and that the suffering inflicted by a guilty conscience is sufficient punishment for the wicked act committed. This view coincides with the theory that Plato adopted many primitive beliefs about the fate of the soul and gave moral and psychological interpretations to allegorical tales (see *Gorgias* 493a–c). Similarly, for the poet and philosopher Empedocles the *psuche* ("soul") is the bearer of guilt, and the world of the senses is the Hades where the individual suffers for that guilt (frags. 118, 121). Also, Plato, who perhaps more than any other ancient thinker shows a genuine concern for the immortality of the soul and the judgment it undergoes after death, presents divine rewards and punishments in terms of reincarnation into a better or worse earthly life, rather than in terms of heaven and hell. In the *Laws* (904d) he suggests that Hades is not a place but a state of mind and adds that popular beliefs regarding Hades should be invested with symbolic value only.

JUDAISM. References to the underworld in the Hebrew scriptures are vague and derive largely from beliefs common throughout the ancient Near East (especially Egypt and Babylonia). Numerous terms are used to designate this shadowy realm, the two most popular names being *Sheʾol* (a word that seems peculiar to Hebrew) and *Geiʾ Hinnom* (Gr., *Geenna;* Eng., *Gehenna*). Some euphemistic substitutes for the latter are *erets* ("earth" or "underworld," *1 Sm.* 28:13, *Jb.* 10:21–22), *qever* ("grave," *Ps.* 88:12), *ʿafar* ("dust," *Is.* 26:5), *bor* ("pit," *Is.* 14:15), and *shaḥat* ("pit," *Ps.* 7:16; "the land of darkness," *Jb.* 10:21).

The historical Gehenna, or Geiʾ Hinnom—"Valley of ben Hinnom," or "Valley [of the son(s) of] Hinnom"— was located near the city of Jerusalem at the site of a cult in which children were sacrificed (*2 Kgs.* 23:10, *Jer.* 7:31); it was known popularly as the "Valley of Slaughter" (*Jer.* 19:5–6). Even before this time, the valley was used as a site for human sacrifices to the god Moloch (*2 Chr.* 33:8), and afterward, as a place where the city's rubbish was burned. In mythology, Gehenna was located beneath the earth or at the base of a mountain range (*Jon.* 2:7) or beneath the waters of the cosmic ocean (*Jb.* 26:5). This realm is sometimes pictured as a horrifying monster with mouth agape (*Is.* 5:14), a realm where persons of all classes are treated as equals (*Ez.* 32:18–32).

Sheʾol is another term used to designate the realm of the dead or the subterranean spirit world, where the destinies of the righteous and the wicked are the same. Heaven and Sheʾol are thought to be the two farthest extremities of the universe (*Am.* 9:2). Sheʾol is positioned at the nadir of a dark pit at the very base of the universe, into which the blasphemer who aspires to be equal with God will fall. But the term also refers simply to the state of death or to the grave (see *Prv.* 23:13–14, *Ps.* 89:49). The viability of this interpretation of the term is further confirmed by the fact that the Septaugint frequently translates *sheʾol* as *thanatos* ("death").

The Hebrew scriptures place the domain of the dead at the center of the earth, below the floor of the sea (*Is.* 14:13–15, *Jb.* 26:5). Some passages locate the gates that mark the boundary of Sheʾol in the west. This realm has been depicted as a place pervaded by dust and darkness (*Jb.* 10:21–22), as it was in Mesopotamian thought. In contrast to the Babylonian netherworld, which boasted a large company of demonic creatures, both the Hebraic underworld and heaven are ruled over by one and the same God whose sovereignty extends throughout the universe (*Ps.* 139:7–8, *Prv.* 15:11, *Am.* 9:2). There is a strong suggestion in Psalm 73 that God will manifest his grace to the righteous by taking them to heaven, where they will exist eternally with him. The people of God will, therefore, be saved from Sheʾol to live with God forever, but the unrighteous will face a deprived existence in the chambers of the subterranean regions (*Ps.* 49).

According to the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Enoch* (22:9–13), Sheʾol is not an abode of all the dead, where the souls merely exist as vague shadowy figures devoid of individual characteristics, but is a spacious realm with three subdivisions: One realm is allotted to the righteous who have been vindicated in life, one to sinners who were not submitted to divine judgment before death, and one to those whose deeds were judged during life and found wanting. in time, Sheʾol came to be identified with Gehenna, the pit of torment, an idea that, in turn, informed the Christian concept of Hell (*Hb.* 2:5).

In the postbiblical Jewish apocalyptic tradition, among the seven heavens that extend above the earth, sinners are confined to the second heaven to await final judgment. North of Eden lies Gehenna, where dark fires perpetually smolder and a river of flames flows through a land of biting cold and ice. Here the wicked suffer numerous tortures (*2 En.* 3–9).

Elsewhere within the same book, the Angel of Death inquires of Jehoshua whether there are any gentiles (or "descendants of Esau") in Paradise or any Children of Israel in Hell. Included in the reply is the observation that those descendants of Esau who performed righteous deeds on earth are rewarded here but sent to Hell after death; Israelites on the other hand receive punishment while living and inherit the joys of Paradise after death. According to Josephus Flavius (37–100 CE), historian of the Jewish War of 66–70, the Essenes of the Dead Sea area believed that the righteous retire to the western region, where their lives are undisturbed by rain, cold, or heat and where they enjoy cooling breezes continuously. The wicked, however, are condemned to a dark, chilly hell where they suffer eternal torments.

CHRISTIANITY. New Testament writers drew upon the postexilic Hebraic picture of Gehenna in formulating their understanding of the destination of the damned. Gehenna was imagined to be an enormous, deep pit that perpetually ejects clouds of putrid-smelling smoke from burning garbage, a pit where bodies of criminals and lepers are disposed of. Two significant alterations in the Hebraic concept of hell deserve mention: (1) there is a much sharper distinction between the realm of the blessed and the realm of the damned, and (2) the standard applied at the Last Judgment is defined by a person's attitude toward the person of Jesus and his teachings. In the Gospels the prevailing concept of the underworld is epitomized in the story of the rich man and Lazarus (*Lk.* 16:19–31). It would appear that the rich man is sent to Hell merely on account of his great wealth in this realm, whereas Lazarus is transported to "the bosom of Abraham" (Heaven, Paradise) in recompense for his sufferings and poverty. Hell is imagined as an invisible world, situated beneath the realm of the living, a blazing inferno of such intensity that even a drop of water applied to the tip of the tongue could bring welcome relief. It is also a distant land beyond a great gulf across which no movement is possible in either direction.

Whereas Hades remains at a great remove from the realm of the living, Paradise is situated in the immediate presence of God. The wicked in Hades and the righteous dead "at home with the Lord" await the final resurrection.

According to the eschatology of the *Book of Revelation,* a millennial reign is followed by the resurrection of the saints, and then by a period of universal conflict at the end of which Satan will be cast into a lake of fire and brimstone, preparatory to the resurrection of the remaining dead and the Last Judgment. Both Death and Hades are hypostatized as subterranean vaults that surrender the dead to be judged, after which Death and Hades themselves are thrown into the lake of fire, thus actualizing "the second death," that is, condemnation to the eternal fires of Hell (*Rv.* 20:11–15, 21:8). The remarkable feature of this account of "final events" is that Hell is homologized with the lake of fire to which the wicked are condemned, and it is itself punished by being cast into the same lake of torment. Supposedly the cosmic cataclysm that signals the termination of the current world order, the final defeat of Death and Satan and the Last Judgment, is a preview of the fate of the wicked in Hell. The nature of Hades can be inferred from the depiction of the realm of the blessed as a perpetually sunlit land in which the righteous are never discomfited by the blazing sun. There they are faithfully fed by the divine shepherd, refreshed by ever-flowing fountains, and relieved of their tears of grief.

Augustine (354–430 CE), the father of early medieval theology, perpetuated the concept of Hell as a bottomless pit containing a lake of fire and brimstone where both the bodies and the souls of humans and the ethereal bodies of devils are tormented (*City of God* 21.10). Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) laid much of the foundation for the philosophical concept of Hell that shaped and informed the idea of Hell in the minds of poets, painters, sculptors, and novelists for centuries to come. For him, Hell never lacks space to accommodate the damned. it is a place where unhappiness infinitely exceeds all unhappiness of this world, a place of eternal damnation and torment where the suffering of the damned is intensified by recalling the glory of the blessed while no longer able to perceive the glory firsthand.

Dante (1265–1321) derived the theological framework for his notion of the underworld from the Old and New Testaments and Thomas. In the third chapter of the *Inferno* he describes the descent into Hell. Accompanied by his guide Vergil, Dante approaches the Inferno and sees the gate of Hell, the entrance to the city whose inhabitants live in suffering and eternal pain. Dante is conducted along a circular pathway leading from the gateway to the bottommost zone of Hell. He passes in succession through nine separate circular zones, each of which contains smaller cells where individuals or groups of the damned live. Charon waits on the near bank of the river Styx, ready to ferry his miserable passengers across the waters. As Dante and his guide move from circle to circle they encounter a variety of types of sinners sorted into groups according to their chief vices. On reaching the fourth ring of the ninth circle, the two travelers are confronted by Dis (Lucifer), who with his three mouths devours Judas, Brutus, and Cassius. The arduous journey of Dante and Vergil through the Inferno is completed with a horrifying descent into the interior of the body of Lucifer. Finally they arrive at a spot situated directly beneath the place of Christ's crucifixion on Mount Golgotha from where they once more see the stars.

The history of Christianity is dotted with periodic expressions of heretical dissent concerning the existence of Hell, notably by Origen, Erigena, Voltaire, and Nietzsche. But it was not until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when rationalism began to find its voice, that a widespread decline of belief in Hell developed in Western culture. The concept of Hell as an actual spatial domain has virtually disappeared or been reduced to the level of allegorical interpretation. This transformation of the idea is exemplified in *The Fall* in Camus's warning "Don't wait for the Final Judgment. It takes place every day" and in Sartre's declaration in his play *No Exit* that "hell is other people."

ISLAM. Cosmology appears to have been a matter of interest in early Islam not for its own sake but "only as a doctrinal framework for understanding the cosmic field of divine providence and human accountability" (Smith, 1981, p. 9). Muhammad himself does not seem to have held to a clearly defined and detailed picture of a realm of the dead.

According to the Qurʾān, there are seven layers of heaven extending above the earth toward the celestial abode of God. Corresponding to the layers of heaven are seven descending depths of a vast funnel-shaped fire (*alnār*). The topmost level of the netherworlds is Gehenna. This realm of death and torment is connected to the world of the living by a bridge that all the souls of the dead must traverse on the day of judgment. The varieties of punishment meted out to the damned become more painful and severe with each level of descent.

At the partition between Paradise and the Fire stands Zaqqum, a tree that exudes a stifling odor and has blossoms composed of demons' heads. Eating the fruit of Zaqqum burns the stomach like molten metal (surah 7:46–50). The tree separates the two worlds, yet provides a point from which a person can see both realms simultaneously. Beside it is a wall or barrier that divides humanity into separate classes according to the moral quality of their deeds in the temporal world.

Each of the seven fiery realms is assigned a specific name. An inventory of these names reflects the Muslim attitude toward nonbelievers: *hāwiyah* (abyss for hypocrites), *jaḥīm* (fierce fire for idolators), *saʿīr* (blazing fire for Sabaeans), *jahannam* (purgatorial fire for Muslims), *lazā* (flaming fire for Christians), *saqar* (scorching fire for the Magi), and *ḥuṭamah* (raging fire for Jews).

The Qurʾān depicts Gehenna in highly pictorial and terrifying terms. It is referred to as the "Fire of Hell" (89:23) and is depicted as a kind of four-legged beast. Each leg is composed of seventy thousand demons; each demon has thirty thousand mouths. Each of the seven layers of the Fire is punctuated by a gate manned by a guardian who torments the damned. The term *Gehenna* refers both to the topmost sphere and to the entire realm of seven spheres. Whenever this beast of hell is transported to the place of final judgment, it sends forth a buzzing, groaning, and rattling noise, along with sparks and smoke that shrouds the entire horizon in total darkness (15:43–44, 39:71).

The realms of the blessed and the damned are separated by a towering wall. Those who inhabit the heights of this partition can view the inhabitants of both worlds and recognize each group by their distinguishing marks. The blessed are recognizable by their smiling countenances; the damned, by their black faces and blue eyes (57:13). There is also a hint of the existence of a purgatory or limbo for beings whose deeds are neither extremely good nor extremely bad.

Both the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth* present a wide variety of reasons why a person may be condemned to a life of torment. The fundamental cause is lack of belief in God and in the message of his prophet, Muḥammad. Other reasons include the following: lying, corruption, lack of faith, blasphemy, denial of the advent of the judgment day and of the reality of the Fire, and lack of charity. Leading a life of luxury and believing that wealth brings immortality also lead to condemnation.

The postmortem journey of the soul of the redeemed or the blessed through the various layers of Heaven in the company of the archangel Gabriel is contrasted with the difficult and painful journey of the souls of the damned downward through the many spheres of Fire. The victims of the torments of Gehenna are represented as sighing and wailing in their wretched condition (11:106). Their skins are alternately scorched to a black crisp and then renewed so that they can suffer the torments of Fire over and over again. They are compelled to wear garments made of fire or scalding pitch, and boiling water is poured onto their heads, melting their insides and skins. Iron hooks are used to retrieve them every time they try to escape (22:19–22).

In time, Muslim theologians began to emphasize God's grace and mercy and to downplay his anger and wrath. The belief arose that after a certain period of purgation the angel Gabriel would intercede on the sinner's behalf and release him from the Fire. It was later believed that in time the Fire would be extinguished and all sinners pardoned.

HINDUISM. Vedic references to an underworld are so few in number and so vaguely conceived that many scholars have argued that Vedic religion lacked a concept of hell. More recent studies (see Brown, 1941) have demonstrated that references to a realm of postmortem suffering do signal a genuine, if relatively undeveloped, conception of hell in the Vedic literature.

According to *Ṛgveda* 7.104 and *Atharvaveda* 8.4, the Vedic Hell is situated beneath the three earths, below the created order. It is characterized as a gigantic, bottomless chasm or abyss, a place of no return. In this infinitely deep pit, there is no light, only deep darkness (cf. *Ṛgveda* 2.29.6). In the very deepest realm lies the cosmic serpent, the archdemon Vrtra (*Ṛgveda* 1.32.10), who fell there after Indra slew him.

Some texts describe the Vedic Hell as insufferably hot or unbearably cold. It is a realm of absolute silence (*Ṛgveda* 7.104.5) and of total annihilation, a state that is depicted semi-anthropomorphically as lying in the lap of Nirṛti, the destroyer. This region of eternal torment is populated not by those who committed wrongs inadvertently but by those who consciously and intentionally pursued unrighteous ends: Vṛtra, antidivine forces (*asuras* and *dasyus*), demonic powers (*rākṣasas*), and sorceresses (*yoginīs*) dwell here. The inhabitants of Hell are those who live at cross-purposes with the universal law (*ṛta*).

Hell stands in an antithetical relation to the ordered universe, based not on *ṛta* but *anṛta*. Here there is no order, no gods, no sun, no warmth, no fecundating waters, nor any of the elements vital to the creation and maintenance of creaturely existence. Here in the lap of destruction (*nirṛti*), there is only death and nonexistence (*asat*). It is the opposite of the created, ordered, and illuminated realm.

Later, in the Vedānta, hell came to be conceived in more strictly philosophical terms as the realm of pure nonbeing. Contrasted with this was the realm of being (*sat*), the realm of living beings and of life itself that came to be referred to as *brahman,* the limitless and indefinable fulcrum of being.

In the Upaniṣads, the paths leading to the realms of the blessed and the wretched are envisioned as the way of the ancestors and the way of the gods, respectively. Little importance is accorded to the idea of hell as the destiny of the unrighteous. The emphasis is rather on rebirth as the consequence of an unrighteous past life. In the Yama-Naciketas episode in the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad,* the young man Naciketas receives instruction on the postmortem state from Yama, the lord of the dead. Rather than directly addressing a matter so subtle that not even the gods understand it, Yama informs Naciketas of two paths leading to different ends: the way of pleasure and the way of goodness. Yama recommends that Naciketas choose the latter, thereby avoiding rebirth.

But in the Purāṇas (collections of classical Hindu mythologies), hells are depicted in terrifyingly graphic terms as places of extreme suffering and deprivation. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (7.21.10–20), Rāvaṇa, the ten-headed demon, witnesses a scene of indescribable wretchedness on entering Yama's abode. He hears the agonizing cries of the wicked being gnawed by dogs and devoured by worms. Pitiful screams shoot across the Vaitarani River from parched people on hot sand who are being sawed in half. The thirsty cry out for water; the hungry, for food. Pale, emaciated specters run to and fro. The righteous, on the other hand, inhabit grand palaces and dine on sumptuous meals, surrounded by beautiful, sweet-smelling maidens dressed in exquisite garments. In the *Mahābhārata* (12.2.25) Yudhiṣṭhira is ushered into an enormous dark chamber that is cluttered with foul-smelling hair, heaps of raw flesh, and countless pools of blood, corpses, worms, deformed animals, hideous monsters of incomparable ugliness, and ghosts of terrifying presence. As will become standard in the later Purāṇas, a specific form of punishment is assigned to each of the subterranean chambers. In the underworld called Kumbhīpāka ("cooked victuals") the wicked are boiled alive in giant vats of boiling oil; in Śalmali, thorns from a silk-cotton tree are used to torture the wicked.

The *Agni Purāṇa* (chaps. 340 and 342), one of the eighteen major collections of classical mythology, perpetuate a theme that blossomed in the Upaniṣads. This is the idea that the course of a person's life in this world is governed by the ritual and moral quality of his deeds. One's experience in the next world is governed by the fruits of those deeds. Yama determines the infernal region to which each wicked soul repairs or the womb into which it is to be born, according to the deeds of the previous existence. The terrifying members of Yama's retinue usher the soul to a place where they prepare an account of its good and evil deeds. The soul initially reaps the benefits of its good deeds in the form of physical and spiritual delights, after which it is returned to hell for a period of suffering in order to purge the residual effects of its evil deeds. If the number of merits outweighs the demerits, the person is reborn into a pure and prosperous family; if the obverse is the case, he may be committed to a lengthy life of suffering in one of the hells or be reborn as an animal, insect, or other base form of life.

The pathways connecting this world with the various hells are dreadful to behold and extend for a total of 164,000 human miles. According to most classical cosmologies, there are a total of 28 major infernal regions situated below the lowest stratum of another 7 netherworlds. Each region lies along a vertical line of descent and is subdivided into 144 smaller chambers, to each of which is assigned an appellation describing its definitive characteristics, for example: Ghora (“horrifying”), Taralatara (“trembling”), Bhayanaka (“terrifying”), Kālarātri (“dark night of devouring time”), and Dīpta (“the blazing realm”).

Each chamber is presided over by five guards with the terrifying faces of carnivorous animals and birds, who administer the form of punishment appropriate to the place. The guards cast their condemned wards into dreadful places of punishment. Some souls are cast into gigantic frying skillets or into caldrons filled with boiling oil, molten copper, or iron, while others are tossed onto the upturned tips of sharp pointed lances. Others are submitted to severe lashings with leather straps or heavy bastinados or are forced to drink beverages of boiling metals or noxious solutions of animal urine and human excreta. Still others are broken physically on the rack, dismembered, and then parceled out to vultures, hyenas, and other avaricious creatures of the infernal regions. Each of these dreadful realms is filled with the sounds of screaming, wailing, and moaning.

SECULAR VISIONS. Among a growing number of religious intelligentsia the world over, both heaven and hell are gradually being sublimated or transmuted into psychological entities or realms, with the personal and collective unconscious serving as the source of both positive and negative feelings, images, and attitudes. Even the general mass of people in industrialized countries who claim to retain a belief in an underworld of some description have, in practice, largely transposed many of the ideas and themes previously associated with the underworld (e.g., divine judgment, suffering, torment, disease, death, and mental and physical anguish) into the arena of contemporary human affairs.

SEE ALSO Afterlife; Hades; Heaven and Hell.

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Revised Bibliography

UNGARINYIN RELIGION. Members of the Ngarinyin (Ngarinjin) language group, along with their regional neighbors the Worrorra (Worrora/Worora), Wunambal (Unambal), and Gambre (Gamberre), whose combined, adjacent territories cover the northern Kimberley region of Western Australia, share a religious tradition primarily focused on the figures known as *wandjina* and *wunggurr* and an associated set of beliefs and practices. While variants of *wunggurr*, the Rainbow Serpent motif, are evident in Aboriginal cosmologies across Australia (Radcliffe-Brown, 1926), in the northern Kimberley region the Rainbow Serpent beliefs take on a distinctive cast through their interaction with the *wandjina* complex (cf. Elkin, 1930, "Rock Paintings of North-West Australia," p. 279).

***WANDJINA* AND *WUNGGURR*.** Whereas *wandjina* and *wunggurr* are in some respects distinguishable from each other, in local beliefs and practice they are not entirely separate entities. *Wandjina* are named and localized "spirits of place" believed to reside in specific tracts of country associated with a particular patrifilial clan and appear in narratives that describe their travels and adventures in the *Larlan* (the originary creative epoch). *Wunggurr* is a more diffuse life force animating and underlying the particular manifestations of its power that find expression in all species of things, including the *wandjina*. Some local expressions use the terms *wandjina* and *wunggurr* interchangeably in contexts where powerful forces emanating from the land are discussed in general. A further set of terms, *gulingi* (properly translated as "rain," but also a personage or group of personages indistinguishable from *wandjina*) and Galaru (a sky-snake personage particularly associated with the more dangerous aspects of cyclonic rain and lightning) are also at times used to refer to both *wandjina* and *wunggurr*. One further term, Wanjad, is used to refer to an aspect of *wunggurr* that becomes incarnate in the Rock Python. Representations of *wandjina* and *wunggurr* often occur together, alongside depictions of various natural species, in the painted cave galleries of this region. It is believed that *Wandjina* came to dwell eternally in the caves, in which they painted themselves. An oneiric mirroring between *wandjina* and *wunggurr* was noted by Andreas Lommel, who reported on the neighboring Wunambal's belief that "Ungud [*wunggurr*] finds the soul of a Wondschina [*wandjina*] in a dream in the water" (Lommel, 1997, p. 16).

D. Mowaljarlai explained the relationship between *wandjina* and *wunggurr* in this way:

> Every man or girl they come out from each *wunggurr* water. *Wandjina* gives us back. Then we know where that child come from. Everybody know. And that is where the land is because all the power connected. We find children from water. That's why we're water people. We spirits hide in the water come out in the open. We all belong water because *wandjina* belong water. He not a dry *wandjina*. He belong rain. (Doring, 2000, p. 238)

Wandjina are usually depicted as mouthless, anthropomorphic figures representing the body of an apical clan ancestor (or rarely an ancestress). They occur as polychromatic paintings in sandstone caves and in stone arrangements throughout the region. *Wandjina* are also identified in other features of the landscape, in various animal and plant (especially aquatic) species, in pools of freshwater and sometimes saltwater, and most importantly in the cumulonimbus rain-bearing clouds (*gulingi* or *angguban*) that move across the Kimberley landscape in the cyclone season, *Winjin* (December through to April). The actions of moving and then laying down performed by the *wandjina* in their travels in the creative epoch, *Larlan*, by the rain clouds (also known as "the travelers") each wet season, and by the flowing rivers gradually contracting to isolated pools are all perceived as processual moments in the continual reanimation of Dreaming forces that works toward everything in the country becoming *yayi-yurru* (also transcribed as *yorro yorro*), "standing up together in a bunch" (Redmond, 2001, p. 227; also Mowaljarlai and Malnic, 1993).

Wandjina are most often represented only with head and shoulders, though occasionally an entire anthropomorph (usually with no gender marking) is depicted. In such cases the torso, arms, and legs are often filled in with a series of parallel red ochre lines representing falling rain. The head is generally encircled with radiating lines said to be both feathered head decorations and lightning. The head commonly shows a horseshoe-shaped red-ochre band said to be the encircling body of *wunggurr,* the Rock Python.

Wandjina cave paintings are regarded by the Ngarinyin people as the imprint or "shadow," *anguma*, left by the *wandjina* after their creative travels across the landscape in the *Larlan.* The word *anguma* also denotes a person's "spirit" or "soul," linking *wandjina* closely to beliefs about conception (see below). *Wandjina* are said to be visible in the present because they pressed their bodies into the rock faces of this landscape during the earth's formative period, while its surface was still soft. The apparent absence of a mouth has been explained by some senior Ngarinyin men as resulting from the fact that the mouth is located on the inner side of the visible image, facing in toward the rock upon which the image appears. *Wandjina* sometimes left behind other sorts of markings, such as the footprints said to be visible in the rock at Aynggulura. Paddy Neowarra, a senior Ngarinyin man, tells how "*wandjina* walked through that flat ground, through the opening and made his print behind him for us to see" (Redmond, 1998, p. 24). At the painting site known as *Yalgi andi*, on the central Kimberley Plateau, the qualities of this primordially soft world are still said to be clearly evident. Here an extensive series of cup-shaped markings appear in both vertical and horizontal rock faces. These small hollows, *dagula* or *bindingarri*, are said to have been created by the action of the "sweat of *wandjina*" falling onto the soft rock in the *Larlan* (Redmond, 1996, p. 35).

The painted *wandjina* images, then, are regarded not as the artistic work of the ancestors of present-day people but rather as actual ancestors, autochthonous creations whose images have merely been maintained by human agency: "kept bright" by ritual repainting. This periodic repainting is believed to have profound consequences as far as maintaining the natural and social balances of the cosmos (Mowaljarlai and Malnic, 1993; Rumsey and Mowaljarlai, 1994; Crawford, 1968; Blundell and Layton, 1978). Persons of both genders feel a ritual obligation to countries where they have a strong connection deriving from one of a number of potential links (i.e., patrilocality, mother's country, conception site). It seems that socially mature persons other than patriclan members could be invited to repaint an image in another person's clan country. Such persons would then be given gifts (*ngurli*), such as kangaroo meat or wild honey. Paddy Neowarra explained, "In *Winjin* [Cyclone Season] time when that *wilmi* [mist] come out from the stone in early morning, *jurri* we call it, the 'smoke' goes into the paint and renews it and it's just like it paint up again so we can go always go back and renew it" (Redmond, 1995, p. 98).

In this sense even the act of retouching is not seen as being initiated by humans but by the saturated air emanating from the sun-warmed rocks that gives a new life to the painted images. There is indeed a noticeable glow in the paintings at this time of year because the kinds of ochre used in the paintings (the white huntite, particularly) absorb moisture readily, enriching the colors, restoring to them something of the vividness these paints display when wet (cf. Crawford, 1968).

Ngarinyin use the term *we awani* for the "laying down" of the *wandjina* as they pressed themselves into the soft jelly-like surface of the earth in the *Larlan.* They speak of the rock caves (tight niches into which painters often had to squeeze themselves) as actually being cloud formations, stating unequivocally "that stone is a cloud" (cf. Mowaljarlai and Vinnicombe, 1995: 236; see also Crawford, 1968).

The annual wet-season deluge finds its earliest mythic archetype in the focal story of Wanalirri. This story and its associated painting site and songs tell of a primordial flood of cataclysmic proportions that submerged the world and all within it. In this saga a boab tree (*Adansonia gregorii*), actually a disguised *wandjina*, "opened its legs" and swallowed up two juvenile miscreants who had originally provoked the wrath of the *wandjina* by plucking the feathers from Dumbi the Owl, an animal highly favored by *wandjina* (Redmond, 1995, p. 89). The boys were then trapped inside the boab body forever despite the efforts of their relatives (who then appeared to be saved from the flood) on the outside of the boab tree. These two boys who were trapped in the boab were said to be the only survivors of the great flood, but having grabbed a kangaroo by the tail to escape the floodwater, they were tricked into a premature burial. As in the various Arnhem Land versions of the swallowing myths and rites given by L. R. Hiatt "as a substitute for the natural model of female generation," the two boys of the Wanalirri story were imprisoned, but the other people of the world were regurgitated after the flood (Hiatt, 1975, p. 157).

This cosmogonic event is replicated in the floods of the wet season and in the radical contraction of the river systems as the dry season moves in. Thus there is an annual recurrence of the "breaking up" of the visible body of *wunggurr* into distinct pools. The long ribbons of the river courses, which are visible from the elevated rock ledges in which many of the *wandjina* caves are located, slowly break up into large, relatively isolated rock pools, the *ngawan* or "living water" that never disappears, no matter how dry the season.

The night sky is also said to be replete with pools of freshwater that are made most visible in the body of the originary *wandjina*, Walanganda, the Milky Way. This galaxy is said to be the body of Walanganda lying across the heavens, with his head in the north and feet in the south. Within this body of swirling white mists are pools of "dark, sweet water" that are pointed out in one dark hole in particular just to the east of the Southern Cross constellation (Redmond, 1996, p. 18). All freshwater on the earth is said to have come from water that originally "fell down" from these dark pools of freshwater in the body of Walanganda.

The whiteness of the body of Walanganda is said to come from the smoke from the cooking fires of the two moiety heroes: Jun.gun (Owlet Nightjar), who was cooking *yali* (female kangaroo), and Wodoy (Spotted Nightjar), who was cooking *jebarra* (emu) in the *Larlan*. These two totemic figures are central to the foundational myths of Ngarinyin sociality. They are said, for example, to have come to blows over the issue of primordial incestuous desire, leading to the introduction of the all-important law of moiety exogamy through daughter exchange. At the Walanganda *wandjina* painting in Jibilingarri clan country, the *wandjina* and a smaller second figure, identified as his son, are represented on the roof of a cave. In the burnished rock floor immediately below them is a dark, well-polished depression said to be the *wunggurr* pool visible in the Milky Way itself. Here the *wandjina* and his son are perpetually "mirrored" in the "water" that forms part of Walanganda's own body. Parallel red lines emanating from the *wandjina* body are said to be the swirling mists making up the galaxy. Importantly, these lines of celestial mist also formed an *angga* (or *coolamon*), traditionally used by women for carrying vegetable foodstuffs, babies, and the bones of the dead (cf. Love, 1936, p. 158). The curved outside surface of *angga* are usually decorated with the same kind of striated red lines carved into the wood. J. R. B. Love noted that at Kunmunya "the mother will often paint her child with stripes of red ochre" (Love, 1936, p. 118).

DEATH AND FUNERARY PRACTICES. The relationship of continuity between living persons and the *wandjina* of their clan was traditionally underscored by the practice of interring the skulls and femur bones of deceased men in the main *wandjina* cave of their patriclan. Most modern burials take place in township or community graveyards following a Christian service accompanied by country gospel singing interspersed with the intense keening of the women in a maternal kinship relationship to the deceased. These funerals are marked by strict observance of avoidance relationships that prescribe that the widow of a deceased man (but not vice versa) enters a lengthy period of seclusion from other members of the community. The occasional performance of precolonial burial practices, in conjunction with the narratives of senior Ngarinyin people about these practices when they were more widespread, permits considerable insight into Ngarinyin beliefs about death.

Once the bones of the deceased were regarded as sufficiently "clean and dry," after perhaps a year or more exposed to the elements in a stone cairn, they were gathered and given a final scrub in water by people in a maternal kinship category to the deceased (Redmond, 1997, p. 34). The skull and long-limb bones were anointed with a mixture of fat and red ochre before being wrapped in sheets of *wulun* (paperbark). The paperbark wrapping, particularly associated with femininity, symbolically "restores" to the bones their fleshy envelope. In this regard it is important to note that babies were also usually rubbed with fat by the maternal kin in the early days of their lives (cf. Love, 1936, p. 113).

Grieving relatives thus participate in ceremonies that "return" the individual subject to the ancestral realm, reunifying the deceased person with the enduring *wandjina* ancestor and ancestral clan country. This *wandjina* identity endures through various reincarnations of the ancestral being (through the *abi* relationship). A deceased person's *anguma* (shadow or spirit) is believed to rejoin with the body of *wunggurr* when his or her bones are lodged in the cave. The person's spirit travels to Dulugun, an island in the western sea (Numenbu, Champagny Island) and, after some indefinite interval, resurfaces through a water hole and attaches itself to the person it has chosen as its new father, thus enacting the *abi* identity of a person with his or her father's father's brother or sister. Each of these reciprocal relationship categories are glossed in English simply as "brother" and "sister." Afterward, one part of the *anguma* is said to remain in the rock cave where the bones are deposited. In Dulugun, spirit children are said to be mired in *jalad-gu*, a green water grass in the water holes where the *anguma* reside. It is said that this water grass acts as a kind of sponge that absorbs the *anguma* in Dulugun until they are ready to be reborn.

The identification of the sandstone caves in which the bones of the dead are placed with *an.guban* (rain clouds) is a crucial element in the understanding of the cosmography of this region—it is in these "watery" recesses that the *wandjina*, as the living part of a person's patri-identity, continues to dwell (Mowaljarlai and Vinnicombe, 1995; Mowaljarlai and Malnic, 1993; cf. Lommel, 1997; Crawford, 1968). The symbolic equivalence of cloud and stone highlights the series of transformations that link living persons, their *wandjina*, and the more universalizing aspect of the creative forces believed to be immanent in the figure of *wunggurr.*

CONCEPTION BELIEFS. *Wunggurr* also embodies *yarri,* dreaming activity in a general sense. This is most evident in the reciprocity of "dreaming" child spirits between the father-son dyad in the Ngarinyin social world, in which a person is identified as a reincarnation of an *abi* (father's father's brother or sister, depending on the gender of the child) from whom one's name is taken. *Wandjina* are thus personified in contemporary living persons, who identify with a particular *wandjina* by referring to him as "I" or "me," or as the speaker's *abi* when narrating stories of that personage in the *Larlan.* The association of *wandjina* and *wunggurr* with fertility is clearly apparent in the affectionate calling of newborn babies *"wandjina,"* and in the practice of divining where a fetus's *wunggurr* (conception place) is by family discussions about where the mother first knew herself to be pregnant, what happened on that day, where the husband was, and what he might have caught hunting or fishing that day, thus conferring the name of that place upon the child.

The senior Wunambal man W. Goonack stated, "We born from water, from *wulu*" (Redmond, 1995, p. 28). *Wulu* is a polysemous Ngarinyin term that Paddy Neowarra glosses as the "colour seen in water when a man finds dream for baby" or simply "dreams in the water" (Redmond, 1997, p. 72). This color, the spectral dispersion of light in water, is regarded as having "strong *wunggurr*" just as the rainbow is regarded as a powerful embodiment of *wunggurr.* In the latter case the shimmering spectral light is as important to the image of *wunggurr* as the snakelike shape it forms arching across the sky from one point on the earth to another.

WUNGGURR* AND *BARNMARN. Beneath the *wunggurr* pools it is said that there are entire "worlds—big dry ground" in which *wandjina* dwell, worlds that are mirrors of the airy world above the rock pools but are contained in world-sized caves complete with kin, game, and vegetation. These worlds, also identified with Dulugun, the realm of the dead (see below), are believed to have something like "trap-doors with lid" or "windows" that allow entry and exit for those with the knowledge to do so, such as the *barnmarn*, a traditional healer and composer. A human being can enter and exit this realm through these "windows" or "trapdoors" as though in a "lift" (i.e., an elevator). The sensation of vertiginous descent was said to be similar (Redmond, 1996, pp. 56–59). According to D. Mowaljarlai, "A man who had healing powers came to that *wunggurr* place, snake place, punched a hole there with his heel, with foot, and he made a window . . . hollow ground, it just went down in a door" (Lommel and Mowaljarlai, 1994, p. 285).

The process of "dreaming" songs requires a composer to travel in a dream on the back of *wunggurr* through the air or deep beneath the water to Dulugun, the land of the dead. The composer's mortal body meanwhile remains on the ground, where it is cared for by the composer's assistants. The sleeping body remains connected to the *wunggurr* self by *buyu,* a long, thin, invisible thread connected to the body, now colloquially known as "radar" or "fishing line."

Miriru (or *mururu*) is a name for the *wunggurr* power possessed by the *barnmarn.* D. Mowaljarlai has explained that *mururu* is the "clear vision, no longer blind" imparted from *wunggurr.* Others have described it as "strong *wunggurr* dreams" and also as the "blood, juice of kangaroo" (Redmond, 1995, p. 25). There are a number of senses in which the *wunggurr* power of the composer-healer is comparable to that which comes from a person's dreaming of a spirit child. Both are referred to by the same term in Kimberley Aboriginal English: "finding" a song or "finding" a spirit child, respectively. Both require a penetration of the screen that normally shields humans from the spirit realm. Composers take the journey through the bottom of the water hole to Dulugun, where bundles of green leaves are held in front of their eyes so they will not be too frightened to look at the emerging dancing spirits. In the case of a man finding a child, the *anguma* itself takes the journey out of the water hole and lands on the body of the prospective father.

Beliefs about *wandjina* and *wunggurr* continue to have a powerful salience in contemporary Kimberley Aboriginal communities, despite great changes in economic and social circumstances. The people of this cultural domain continue to place these images and beliefs at the very heart of their social and cultural identity vis à vis other Aboriginal groups of the region and the encompassing non-Aboriginal world. In everyday discourse and the interpretation of events, *wandjina* and *wunggurr* figure prominently for all age groups, even though the differences in levels of knowledge and specificity are marked. One of the ways in which all participate in this shared body of beliefs is in the attribution of "uncanny" and troubling events to the actions of *wandjina*, *wunggurr*, and the host of other supernatural beings in this cosmology. The practice of depicting *wandjina* and *wunggurr* on canvases for sale in the contemporary art world is another means by which the salience of these images is transmitted across generations.

ADOLESCENT MALE INITIATION. Another continuing aspect of Ngarinyin religious life is the annual performance of ceremonies at which boys who have reached adolescence are circumcised. This may take the form either of the local tradition of *walungarri* (a circle dance performed over three nights accompanied by a long and intricate song cycle and clapping sticks) or *wangga* (imported to the Kimberley in the 1930s from the Daly River area of Northern Territory in which the *didjeridu* is employed as an accompaniment to singing in a Murin-patha language).

The practices of *walungarri* are said to have come from the ancestral bird personages, Gwion Gwion (Doring, 2000; cf. Lommel, 1997, and Crawford, 1968, where their role is understated). The local origins of circumcision are also given in myths such as the Worrorra story of Ngayangganganyi (Mount Trafalgar) and the Wunbangguwa people, told by Elkin Umbagai as "the Mountain of Initiation" (McKenzie, 1980, p. 76). Here the Ancestral Beings first dug a trench around a mountain so it was cut off from its surrounding stone matrix. To celebrate their achievement they instituted "the first initiation ceremony for young men" (McKenzie, 1980, p. 76). Here the *walungarri* circle dance is an emulation of digging around the base of the mountain. Flying Fox and several other ancestral animals, including Ring-Tail Possum, Crab, and Shovel-Nose Shark, "change their shapes"—that is, attained their present animal morphology through the process of digging out the trench around the mountain (McKenzie, 1980, p. 76). Flying Foxes, the first initiates (said to show circumcision marks on their penises), play a particularly prominent role in this story. The whirling flight of flocks of flying foxes when roused from sleep is said to be a re-enactment of the *walungarri* circle dance. The *walungarri,* says Umbagai, "goes on all night. When the first streak of daylight shows, the lads are taken away from the families—from the women and children" (McKenzie, 1980, p. 76). The women then "wail and sometimes beat their heads with stones" (in the manner of widows at the deaths of their husbands), and the initiate is entrusted to the care of a classificatory brother-in-law (a potential wife's brother), who will nurse him through the circumcision and its aftermath. This relationship remains significant to both parties throughout their lives.

Extensive travels to gather initiation performers are an important part of the ceremonial process and foster close ties of reciprocity between individuals and groups in far-flung settlements across the Kimberley. Other forms of exchange (*wurnan*) of both a ceremonial and mundane nature, the arrangements for which which tend to be all-consuming for the participants, are instituted and perpetuated through these visits, which in turn impart vitality and complexity to Kimberley social and religious life.

SEE ALSO Rainbow Snake; Wandjina.

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ANTHONY REDMOND (2005)

UNIATE CHURCHES. *Uniate* is the name given to former Eastern Christian or Orthodox churches that have been received under the jurisdiction of the Church of Rome and retain their own ritual, practice, and canon law. The term carries a strong negative connotation and is seldom used by these churches to describe themselves.

The term was first used by opponents to the Union of Brest-Litovsk (1595) to indicate a betrayal of Orthodoxy and a yielding to political pressure enforced by alleged violence. The problem of this terminology emerged again in the new alignment of eastern Europe after communism. Many Orthodox view these churches as an obstacle in the way of reconciliation between the Catholic and Orthodox churches. They feel that their very existence constitutes a denial by Catholics of the ecclesial reality of the Orthodox Church and that these unions grew from efforts to split local Orthodox communities.

Attempts at the reunion of the Christian churches of the East and the West usually ended in failure, especially in the centuries immediately after the mutual excommunications of 1054. Later political necessity forced Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus (1234–1282) to seek the help of the Western powers for the support of Byzantium at the Council of Lyons (1274). Subsequently, this agreement was revoked by the new pope in Rome, Martin V (r. 1281–1285). In the East its acceptance was forced, and it was soon repudiated by Michael's son, Andronicus II (1260–1332). The Council of Florence, after long negotiations, issued a bull of reunion, *Laetentur coeli*, on July 6, 1439, but the Greek signatories began to deny the reunion as soon as they arrived in their home environment. Yet all these attempts at union were not futile because they kept the idea of union alive in Christian consciousness. After the initial optimism of the post–World War II ecumenical movement and the World Council of Churches in the Protestant dialogue with the Orthodox and in the Catholic International Dialogue with Orthodoxy after the Second Vatican Council, a period of retrenchment set in.

MELKITE CATHOLICS. The term *Melkite* refers to a Christian of the Byzantine rite—Catholic or Orthodox—from the patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, or Jerusalem. (The word derives from the Syriac word *malka* and the Arabic word *melek,* which mean "king" or "emperor." These Christians were given this name by the anti-Chalcedonian party because they adhered to the Christological position of the Byzantine emperor after the Council of Chalcedon in 451 CE.) Until the 1300s the Melkites used the Antiochene rite. In the countryside the liturgy was celebrated in West Syriac or Aramaic and in the cities in Greek. With the advent of Islam, Arabic gradually replaced Syriac. Over the course of the fourteenth century the Byzantine rite replaced the Antiochene rite.

The Melkite faithful tried to preserve allegiance to both Rome and Constantinople. By 1724, renewed communication with Rome had resulted in the creation of a Catholic Melkite Church alongside the Orthodox Melkite Church, although no formal written agreement of union was ever drawn up. In the intervening history the Melkite Catholic patriarch of Antioch, Maximos Mazloum (1833–1855), added the sees of Alexandria and Jerusalem to his title. Patriarch Maximos IV Sayegh (1947–1967) defended the traditions of the East in his patriarchate and at the Second Vatican Council. The Melkite bishops, including Patriarch Maximos IV, have supported the idea that, in the event of a reconciliation between the Orthodox and Catholic churches, their church should be reintegrated into the Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch. A bilateral commission for dialogue between the Melkites and Antiochene Orthodox was established in 1995, and both sides expressed the firm intention to heal the schism of 1724. The Melkites have achieved the closest union with their former counterparts in practice if not yet in name. Many Melkite Catholics immigrated to North and South America at the beginning of the twentieth century and formed two eparchies (dioceses) in Newton, Massachusetts, and in São Paulo, Brazil.

MARONITE CHURCH. The Maronite Church traces its origins to the fourth century CE and the monk Maron (d. c. 423), who received a Greek and Syrian literary education and went to Antioch to complete his studies. In Antioch he met and befriended John Chrysostom (c. 347–407 CE), who soon became the bishop of Constantinople. Centuries later a community of Maronites grew up around the monastery of Saint Maron on the banks of the Orontes River in northern Syria. Seeking to escape from the persecutions of the caliphates of Damascus and Baghdad, Maronites began to seek refuge in the mountains of Lebanon. Although the Maronite Church never rejected the primacy of the Roman See, communication between the two churches was interrupted for centuries, and only after 1182 and the advent of the Crusaders was Roman recognition of the Maronite rite restored. During the time of the Crusades, Maronite priests and faithful were the only Eastern Christians allowed to worship in Latin churches. Maronites had the same rights as Latins, and their own magistrates judged them according to their own customs and laws. The head of the Maronite Church began to use the title "patriarch" during the fifteenth century. The title became definitive in a bull of Pope Paul V (ruled 1605–1621) in 1608.

The Maronite Church is one of two Uniate churches that do not have a parallel Orthodox hierarchy. The other is the Italo-Albanian Catholic Church. The Maronite Church has undergone many influences tending to conform it to the Latin rite. The rite of the Maronite Church belongs to a group of Antiochene rites, and its liturgical language is West Syriac or Aramaic. The Maronites adopted more and more the use of Arabic as that language became the vernacular. The words of institution in the canon of the liturgy are usually sung in Syriac; the rest of the liturgy is usually recited in the vernacular language of the place. Political and economic turmoil in the Middle East has caused the immigration of a large number of Maronites to the United States, where they have established two dioceses.

RUTHENIANS. The term *Ruthenian* designates former Orthodox who come from the region that is bounded on the north by the Vistula and Neman Rivers and on the south by the Danube and Dnieper, and that includes territories of present-day Poland, the former Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Romania. *Ruthenian* is derived from the Latin *Rutheni,* meaning "Russian," and is used by Western historians to designate Catholic Slavs of the Polish-Lithuanian state or of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Russian authorities preferred the term *Little Russian* to distinguish those people from the Russians to the north. The Ruthenians divided into two branches. To the north of the Carpathian Mountains under Polish or Russian control were the Galicians. The Subcarpathians lived on the southern side of the mountains and were influenced by Austro-Hungarian political and social conditions. The Galicians rapidly formed a church as a result of the Union of Brest-Litovsk (1595), which was signed by several bishops. The Union of Uzhgorod (1646) initiated a series of unions through the course of the next 125 years before Subcarpathian union was actually achieved and a see established at Mukacheve in 1771.

The subsequent political division of Galician territory subjected Byzantine Catholics there to persecution by their Orthodox brethren, who thought they had changed their traditions by allowing Latin rite deviations. The Catholics belonged to the peasant classes and lived in the villages, whereas the Orthodox for the most part belonged to the lesser landed nobility. Catholics were obliged to pass over to Orthodoxy under threat of violence, despite the assurances of Russian officials. In 1805 the See of Kiev was abolished. The Ruthenians were placed under the protection of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the jurisdiction of the archbishop of L'viv (Lemberg), who was recognized as the primate of the Ruthenians of Galicia, Subcarpathia, Hungary, and Slovakia.

Nascent nationalism began to divide the Galician Church. After 1848 the term *Ukrainian* designated the people and nation to the north of the Carpathian Mountains. The term *White (Byelo) Russian* meant those inhabiting the northern regions around the Pripet Marshes. The remaining Ruthenians slowly developed a national consciousness in the Subcarpathian region and continued to refer to themselves as *Greek Catholics*, an ethnic as well as a religious term. Those Ruthenians who assumed Hungarian culture called themselves Hungarians. The creation of the Czechoslovak state and the advent of the Soviet Union reinforced these divisions. Ruthenian immigration to Yugoslavia in the sixteenth century created a substantial community there that survived persecution after World War II.

After World War II the Soviet government actively persecuted Ruthenian Catholics to force them into the Russian Orthodox Church. The major hierarchs of the Ukrainian Catholic Church were arrested in 1945 and 1946 and exiled to Siberia or killed. In a council of reunion held at L'viv, the remaining faithful, whose families had been threatened with deportation, voted in March 1946 to abolish the union with Rome. The metropolitan see of Galicia was placed under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Moscow. In the case of the Subcarpathian Ruthenians, the territory of the diocese of Uzhgorod was ceded to the Soviet Union by Czechoslovakia after its occupation by the Soviet army. The Orthodox began to occupy Catholic churches under the protection of the civil administration. The Ruthenian bishop, Theodore Romzha (b. 1911), died mysteriously in 1947. The abrogation of the union with Rome was signed in August 1949 in the Monastery of Saint Nicholas in Mukacheve. The underground Ukrainian Catholic Church began to reemerge even before the fall of the Soviet regime.

The liturgy and ritual of the Ruthenian Catholics remained conservative for centuries and followed the main lines of the Orthodox tradition. Ancient Greek melodies were preserved in the Ruthenian *prostopenie* (plainchant) at the time that the Russian Orthodox Church introduced polyphony and Renaissance melodies into their church music. The Synod of Zamość (1720) introduced a number of innovations as a result of pressure from the Polish government to conform the Ruthenian usage to the Latin. These included the addition of the phrase "and the Son" (*filioque*) into the text of the creed; the commemoration of the pope; the teaching that the sacred moment of the liturgy, when the transformation of the elements occurs, was at the words of institution ("This is my body"), and not at the *epiklesis* (the calling down of the Holy Spirit) as had been taught in the East; the prohibition of communion to infants; the prohibition against using sponges to clean the *diskos* (paten); the prohibition against pouring hot water into consecrated wine; and the use of only one priest as well as a shortened formula in the administration of the anointing of the sick. Western types of Marian devotion and devotion to the Sacred Heart were introduced under the influence of the Polish Jesuits. Popular hymnody was often Western-inspired or based on folk melodies.

Austro-Hungarian emigration in large numbers began in the 1870s as a result of poor distribution of agricultural land, rising expectations from industrialization, and political and social pressures. A second wave of immigrants, consisting mostly of Ukrainian professionals and intellectuals, reached the United States after World War II, but large numbers of this group settled in Europe and other countries.

ROMANIANS. The Jesuits began to work as missionaries among the Transylvanian Romanians in 1693. Their efforts, combined with the denial of full civil rights to the Orthodox and the spread of Protestantism in the area, which caused growing concern among the Orthodox clergy, contributed to the acceptance of a union with Rome by the Orthodox metropolitan Atanasie of Transylvania (Atanasie Anghel [1697–1713]) in 1698. He later convoked a synod that formally concluded the agreement on September 4, 1700. At first this union included most of the Romanian Orthodox in the province. But in 1744 the Orthodox monk Visarion Sarai led a popular uprising that sparked a widespread movement back to Orthodoxy. In spite of government efforts to enforce the union with Rome, even by military means, resistance was so strong that Empress Maria Theresa (1717–1780) reluctantly allowed the appointment of a bishop for the Romanian Orthodox in Transylvania in 1759. In the end, about half of the Transylvanian Romanians returned to Orthodoxy. It proved difficult for the new Greek Catholic community, known popularly as the United Greek Catholic Church, to obtain in practice the religious and civil rights that had been guaranteed it when the union was concluded. Bishop Ion Inochentie Micu-Klein (1692–1768), head of the church from 1729 to 1751, struggled with great vigor for the rights of his church and of all Romanians within the empire. He died in exile in Rome.

COPTIC CHURCH. Despite attempts at union in the twelfth, thirteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and eighteenth centuries, the numbers of Uniate Copts remained small. Pope Leo XIII (r. 1878–1903) created a Coptic Patriarchate of Alexandria, Egypt, in 1895, and a Catholic Coptic synod elected Cyril Makarios (1867–1909) as patriarch in 1898. The see remained vacant from 1908 to 1947, when Mark II Khouzam (1888–1958) was elected patriarch. Four dioceses were erected, and the number of faithful began to increase dramatically. Upon the death of Mark II in 1958, Stephanos I Sidarouss (1904–1987) was elected patriarch and subsequently was made the first Coptic cardinal. After that, great progress was made on the resolution of understanding of Christological differences between the Catholic and Oriental Orthodox churches. In no other ecumenical relationship has a dogmatic disagreement of this type been overcome so unequivocally and with such official approbation. This was achieved without any official bilateral dialogue. The interplay of unofficial theological consultations and official pronouncements made by church leaders proved to be an effective means of resolving a centuries-old problem. The solution of the ecclesiological and ministerial differences remained much more elusive.

MALABAR CHURCH OF INDIA. The Malabar Church, according to tradition, was founded by the apostle Thomas. Hence the Malabarians refer to themselves as "Thomas Christians." From remote times Malabar fostered relations with the churches of Persia and Seleucia. From the ninth century to the sixteenth century the Syro-Chaldean patriarchs alone usually sent bishops to Malabar. Little is known about the Malabar Church before the sixteenth century. Portuguese missionaries arrived in India in 1498. The Malabarians, who did not consider themselves separated from Rome, welcomed the Portuguese as brothers in the faith, but they refused to allow Latin practices into their church. After 1552, two lines of Syro-Chaldean patriarchs sent bishops to Malabar, but only the bishops of the line of Sulaqa were confirmed in office by the pope of Rome.

When Mar Abraham, the last Chaldean bishop, died in 1597, the Portuguese archbishop of Goa, Alexis de Menezes (1559–1617), acted against what he thought were Nestorian errors in the Malabar Church. He convoked and presided at the synod of Diamper in 1599. At the synod the Malabar liturgy was changed. The anaphoras of Theodore of Mopsuestia (c. 350–428 CE) and of Nestorius (d. c. 451 CE) were suppressed; the formula "mother of God" was introduced wherever "mother of Christ" was discovered; the calendar of saints was rejected; and many Latin practices were introduced into the eucharistic liturgy and other sacramental rites. Further the creed was inserted immediately after the reading of the gospel; unleavened bread and communion of the faithful under one species only was introduced; and a consecration prayer, translated from the Latin, was inserted at the fraction rite instead of before the anamnesis and epiclesis.

Membership of Uniate Churches

Rites And Churches	Members	Bishops
Alexandrian		
Coptic	197,000	7
Ethiopian	203,000	5
Antiochene		
Malankar	327,000	4
Maronite	3,220,000	42
Syrian	138,000	15
Byzantine		
Byelorussian	5,000	1
Bulgarian	15,000	1
Greek	2,345	2
Hungarian	282,000	1
Italo-Albanian	64,000	3
Melkite	1,284,000	28
Romanian	1,119,000	6
Ruthenian	533,000	7
Slovak	222,000	1
Ukrainian	5,160,000	27
Yugoslav	49,000	3
Chaldean		
Chaldean	304,000	22
Malabar	3,886,000	25
Armenian	363,000	18

TABLE 1.

Rome appointed Bishop Francis Roz (1557–1624), a Jesuit, as Abraham's successor in November 1599. His policy of Latinization met with great opposition. Archdeacon George, who had earlier been given the right of succession to Abraham by Rome, died in 1637. George's nephew Thomas assumed the leadership of the opposition. In 1653, when the Portuguese sent Ahattallah, a Syro-Chaldean claiming authority from Rome, to Goa, the opposition swore that they would never be under the control of the Jesuits. This was called the Coonan Cross Oath. Four months later twelve priests ordained Thomas as their bishop. Rome made efforts to heal this breach. Over the course of the next decade, eighty-four opposition congregations returned to Rome, and thirty-two remained with Thomas. This party, now called the "new party," accepted Jacobitism and the Syro-Antiochean rite, and from them descend the Malankara Catholics. Attempts at reunion made by Mar Thomas IV and Mar Thomas V in the early eighteenth century were fruitless. On September 20, 1930, Mar Ivanios George Thomas Panickerveetil (1882–1930), metropolitan of the Bethany congregation of Jacobite monks, Mar Theophilos

James Abraham Kalapurakal (1891–1956), bishop of Tiruvarur, and their whole community signed a union agreement with Rome. These Malankar Catholics retain the West Syrian liturgy but use the native dialect of Malayalam as their liturgical language.

SEE ALSO Schism, article on Christian Schism.

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THOMAS F. SABLE (1987 AND 2005)

UNIFICATION CHURCH.

The Unification Church is a messianic, millenarian religion, dedicated to the goal of restoring the kingdom of heaven on earth. It was founded in Korea in 1954 by the Reverend Sun Myung Moon (b. 1920) as the Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity (HSA-UWC). Within a quarter of a century it had become one of the best known and controversial of the contemporary wave of new religious movements. In Korea it is known as the Tong Il movement; in the West it has been referred to by various names such as the Unified Family, or the Moon Organization; then, during the 1990s, it was reconceived as the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification (FFWPU), with the Unification Church being merely the religious arm of the movement. However, despite their attempts to be rid of the label, the movement's members continue to be widely known as "Moonies."

HISTORY. Moon was born in what is now North Korea in 1920. He claims that on Easter Day 1936 Jesus appeared and asked him to assume responsibility for the mission of establishing God's kingdom on earth. During the next two decades Moon is said to have communicated with various other religious leaders (such as Moses and the Buddha) and with God himself. This resulted in a body of teachings eventually published in English as the *Divine Principle* (1973).

During the movement's early days in Korea it met with considerable opposition from both the established churches and government officials. Moon was imprisoned several times, and at one point spent two and a half years in a Communist labor camp. In the late 1950s Unification missionaries went to Japan and the West, but it was not until the early 1970s, when Moon himself moved to the United States, that the movement became known to more than a handful of Westerners. Over the next ten years, however, Moon's name became a household word as he spoke on lecture tours and at large rallies, and hosted leading academics at international conferences and local and national dignitaries at lavish dinners. The movement also received considerable attention by supporting U.S. president Richard Nixon during the Watergate crisis.

Several valuable properties (including the New Yorker Hotel and the Tiffany building in Manhattan) were acquired by the organization. Businesses affiliated with the movement (including fishing concerns and ginseng production companies) appeared to prosper. Cultural activities (including the Little Angels dance troupe, the Go World Brass Band, and the New Hope Singers) flourished. The Unification Theological Seminary was established in Barrytown, New York, in 1975, Sun Moon University appeared in Korea (1993), and the University of Bridgeport, Connecticut, which had been founded in 1927 as the Junior College of Connecticut, was rescued from financial disaster by the Professors' World Peace Academy, an organization created and supported by Moon, in 1992. Newspapers and other publications, including the *Washington Times* (in 1982), were launched in Tokyo, New York, Latin America, and elsewhere.

Clean-shaven, well-groomed Unificationists became a familiar sight on the streets of North America and Europe, selling candles, candy, cut flowers, potted plants, Unification literature—and the Unification Church itself. Those who joined as full-time members in the 1970s and 1980s were disproportionately white, middle-class people in their early twenties. As in Japan, they lived in communal centers, but by the early 1990s most grass-roots members had been sent to their hometowns, where (like the Korean members) they tended to live as nuclear families, no longer working full-time for Unification-related businesses.

Partly because of a high drop-out rate, the number of fully committed members has always been considerably lower than the media (or the movement itself) have suggested; indeed, there have never been, at any one time, many more than 10,000 full-time members in the West, where the movement has not grown substantially since the 1970s, but has come to rely on second-generation members to sustain its membership (although, following the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, a modest number of new converts were recruited in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union). In Asia, full-time membership is unlikely to have exceeded two or three times that number. There is, however, a considerably larger category of people who express support for Unification beliefs and/or other aspects of the movement while, perhaps, maintaining allegiance to another religious tradition. Indeed, with the passage of years, it has become increasingly difficult to distinguish between core Unificationists (rather like priests or monks) and those who are more or less loosely associated members of the wider Unification congregation. As with many new religions, the aging of converts and the arrival of second and subsequent generations has been accompanied by a tendency towards "denominationalization," or general accommodation to the wider society with a lessening of sharp dichotomies between "them" and "us."

BELIEFS. Unification theology is one of the most comprehensive among the contemporary new religions. The *Divine Principle* offers an interpretation of the Bible that, it is claimed, can unite all religions. God is portrayed as a personal being who created the world according to a few universal principles. All creation consists of positive and negative (male and female) elements; these unite into larger units, which in turn unite to form still larger wholes. Adam and Eve were created so God could have a loving "give-and-take" relationship with them. The original plan was that they should mature to a stage of perfection when they would be blessed in marriage; their children and their children's children would populate a sinless world in complete harmony with God. This, however, was not to be. The fall is interpreted not as the result of eating an apple, but as the consequence of a disobedience that involved the misuse of the most powerful of all forces: love. The archangel Lucifer, whom God had entrusted to look after Adam and Eve, became jealous of God's love for Adam and had a (spiritual) sexual relationship with Eve. Eve then persuaded Adam to have a (physical) sexual relationship with her. As a result of this premature union, which was Lucifer-centered rather than God-centered, the fallen nature, or original sin, of Adam and Eve has been transmitted to subsequent generations, and the whole of history can be seen as an attempt by God and man, especially key figures in the Bible, to restore the world to the state originally intended by God.

Ultimately, restoration is possible only through the person of a messiah, who with his wife will perform the roles in which Adam and Eve failed—that is, those of True Parents. They (and those whom they bless in marriage) will have children born without original sin. But for this to happen, humankind has to create a foundation ready to receive the messiah. In practical terms this involves the concept of "indemnity," whereby a good, sacrificial deed can cancel "bad debts" accumulated by a person or his ancestors. The role of the messiah is seen as an office filled by a man born of human parents, but free of original sin. Jesus was such a man, but, largely through the fault of John the Baptist, he was murdered before he had a chance to marry. Thus, he was able to offer the world spiritual but not physical salvation through his death. Numerous parallels between the period before the time of Jesus and the past two millennia are believed to indicate that the present is the time of the second coming. In 1992 Moon publicly declared what his followers had long believed—that he was that messiah, he and his wife being the True Parents of all humanity.

Unification teachings now extend well beyond the *Divine Principle.* In particular, there has been the development of what might be termed *Moonology,* which elaborates on the achievements of Moon and his immediate family, both on earth and in the spirit world. In 1993 Moon announced that the first True Family had been established (by him and his wife, children, and grandchildren) and that the world had entered the Completed Testament Age (CTA). In 1997 Moon instituted a new tradition, *Hoon Dok Hae*, meaning to meet for reading and disccusion, enjoining members to read, from 6:00 to 7:00 every morning, passages from his speeches, which now constituted the basic scriptures for the CTA. On the first day of each week, month, and year, and on the movement's holy days, members take the Pledge, a short statement in which they vow allegiance to God and "True Parents" (Moon and his wife), but on May 5, 2004, Moon announced the change from the "era before heaven" to the "era after the coming of heaven," and, henceforth, the pledge services would be observed every eighth day. The most important Unification rites are the mass weddings, known as Blessings. In the movement's early days, members were "matched" with a partner suggested by Moon, and were expected to practice celibacy before and for some time after the Blessing. By the mid-1990s, however, Blessings were extended to include millions of couples, many of whom did not attend the ceremony and had little awareness of their being associated with a Unification practice, let alone the practice's spiritual significance.

Moon has always spoken of a close relationship between activities in this world and the spirit world, but the connection became increasingly pronounced with two revivalist movements. First, several members claimed to have received messages from Moon's son, Heung Jin Nim, following his death in 1984; then, in the late 1980s, Moon's family recognized his embodiment in a young Zimbabwean member. For several months "Black Heung Jin Nim" enjoyed a privileged position, traveling the world and meting out punishments to members who confessed to having strayed. Eventually, however, he was denounced and returned to Africa, where he started his own movement. Another Unificationist revival, associated with Chung Pyung Lake in Korea, dates from the mid-1990s and involves the channeling of messages from Mrs. Moon's mother (and others in the spirit world). Members are expected to attend forty-day workshops for healing, contact with the spirit world, and participation in ceremonies to liberate their ancestors. According to the Unification Church, billions of couples have been Blessed in the spirit world, and in 2003 advertisements appeared in major newspapers containing testimonies from religious and political leaders (including Moses, Jesus, Muḥammad, Karl Marx, Pol Pot, and John F. Kennedy) declaring Moon to be the True Parent of humanity.

CONTROVERSIES. Throughout the world, the Unification Church has attracted considerable hostility from the media, cult-awareness movements, several government bodies, and, indeed, the general public. Among the many accusations are that it uses brainwashing or mind-control techniques to recruit and keep its members; that it breaks up families; that its leaders live in luxury while the rank and file are exploited and oppressed; that it manufactures armaments; that it is politically right-wing and has had connections with the South Korean intelligence agency (KCIA); that it is merely a front for a seditious organization that is attempting to take over the world and establish a theocracy with Moon at its head; and that it violates tax and immigration laws. (In 1982 a federal-court jury convicted Moon of conspiracy to evade taxes and sentenced him to eighteen months' imprisonment.) Other controversies have surrounded the financial situation of Unification-related businesses and the church's attempt to establish a large community, New Hope East Garden, in South America.

Attacks on Moon's personal behavior have come from a variety of sources. In 1993 an early member, Chung Hwa Pak, published *The Tragedy of the Six Marys,* claiming that Moon had frequently indulged in the sexual "restoration" of the world by having sex with women who would then be expected to have "restoring" sex with six men. In 1995, however, Pak publicly retracted his account. Another book, published in 1998 by Nansook Hong, the estranged wife of Moon's eldest son, described how her husband was addicted to hard drugs, committed adultery, and beat her while she was pregnant. The book also mentioned Moon's illegitimate son and suggested that, far from presenting the ideal example of a God-centered family, the Moons seem to constitute an uncommonly dysfunctional unit, with several of their children deserting the movement. The movement has vehemently denied the criticisms leveled against it, expressing particular concern where such accusations have been used to justify kidnapping members to make them renounce their faith (although, apart from Japan, few countries continue this practice of "forcible deprogramming"). Except for the occasional, short-lived exposé, the media and cult-watching organizations for the most part have lost interest in the movement as it has matured and become less high profile than it was in the 1970s and 1980s.

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EILEEN BARKER (1987 AND 2005)

UNION, MYSTICAL SEE MYSTICAL UNION IN JUDAISM, CHRISTIANITY, AND ISLAM

UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION.

The Unitarian Universalist Association is a religious denomination that is the result of the 1961 merger of the American Unitarian Association and the Universalist Church of America. Those two denominations derived from different backgrounds.

UNITARIANISM. Unitarianism is a religious view that was organized in institutional form in Poland, Transylvania, England, and the United States. Its emergence is primarily the result of indigenous factors in each country. The separate movements had common characteristics: affirmations of the unity of God, the humanity of Jesus, and human religious responsibility, and rejections of the doctrines of the Trinity, the divinity of Jesus, and human corruption or total depravity. Formulations of these views differed in each country.

In Poland, disputes in the Polish Reformed Church in 1555 led to a schism and the formation of the Minor Reformed Church of Poland in 1565. The physician and theologian Giorgio Biandrata (1515–1588) encouraged Gregory Paul, Martin Czechowic, Georg Schomann, and other leaders of the new movement in their views. A central community was founded at Racow in 1579. Fausto Sozzini (1539–1604), who came to Poland in that year, became the recognized leader of the Polish Brethren, who adopted his name by calling themselves Socinians. Sozzini's theology emphasized prayer to Christ, as the man whom God resurrected and to whom God gave all power in heaven and earth over the church. The Lithuanian Brethren, a sister group led by Simon Budny, were nonadorantist in theology, which meant they rejected prayer to Christ. The Polish and Lithuanian movements flourished primarily from 1580 to 1620. Roman Catholic opposition resulted in the destruction of the Socinians' famed school and printing press in Racow in 1632 and finally in a legislative decree in 1658 that required the Socinians to become Roman Catholics or go into exile or be executed. A few Socinian exiles found refuge with the Transylvanian Unitarians in Kolozsvár (present-day Cluj-Napoca).

Ferenc Dávid (1510–1579) was the outstanding leader of Transylvanian Unitarianism. Dávid converted from Roman Catholicism to Lutheranism after studying in Wittenberg and then became a leader, with Biandrata's encouragement, of the Reformed Church in Transylvania after debates with Peter Mélius. Together, Dávid and Biandrata published *Two Books on the False and True Knowledge of the One God the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit* in 1568, an antitrinitarian book that contained Lelio Sozzini's interpretation of the prologue to John's gospel. Sozzini, an uncle of Fausto Sozzini, denied that Christ's person was that of the cosmological Logos.

In 1568 John Sigismund, the Unitarian king of Transylvania, granted religious freedom to Catholics, Lutherans, members of the Reformed church, and Unitarians. (The name Unitarian gradually came into use after debates at Gyulafehérvár in 1568 and at Nagyvárad in 1569.) The Transylvanian diet (legislature) gave these four Received Religions constitutional recognition in 1571, shortly before Sigismund's death. The next king, Stephen Báthory, forbade innovations, that is, religious beliefs that were different from those that had prevailed under Sigismund. Dávid became increasingly insistent about his nonadorantist Christology, but his view was an innovation, which could endanger legal protection of the Unitarian church. Therefore Biandrata cooperated in the arrest, trial, and imprisonment of Dávid in 1579, and Dávid died that year in prison. His nonadorantist theology eventually prevailed. The Transylvanian Unitarians still survive in Romania and Hungary.

In England, John Biddle (1615–1662) published *Twelve Arguments Drawn Out of the Scripture* (1647) and other works that based Unitarian beliefs on New Testament texts. Thomas Firmin and others spread Biddle's views. Unitarians were excluded from the protection of the Act of Toleration (1689), but their views lived on both in the Church of England and among Dissenting churches in the form of an Arian Christology, which was named after the theologian Arius (c. 256–336), who maintained the Son was inferior to the Father, placing the Son among created things. When Dissenting ministers met at the Salters' Hall in London in 1719, they split into two groups. One group insisted on agreement with confessional statements, the other group required only the use of biblical terms and conformity with biblical views. Members of the latter group and their congregations gradually moved toward Unitarian views.

Theophilus Lindsey (1723–1808) opposed the Anglican church's creedal restrictions, left that church's ministry, and founded Essex Street Chapel in London in 1774, the first English Unitarian congregation. Joseph Priestley (1733–1804) was an outstanding Unitarian leader whose scriptural rationalism, materialist determinism, and humanitarian Christology influenced many Unitarians. Richard Price (1723–1791) emphasized free will in opposition to Priestley's determinism. Priestley and Thomas Belsham, Lindsey's successor at Essex Street Chapel, made a humanitarian Christology the dominant view, driving out Arian views.

The British and Foreign Unitarian Association, founded in 1825, was aided by the repeal of laws against nonconformity and by parliamentary approval of the Dissenters' Chapels Act (1844), which assured Unitarians of their churches.

James Martineau (1805–1900), who exercised great influence among English Unitarians, challenged Priestley's theology with his emphases on ethics and intuition. Martineau, who desired comprehension in a national liberal church, preferred the name *Free Christian* to *Unitarian.* In 1928, English Unitarian denominationalists and those who were influenced by Martineau's Free Christian views united to form the General Assembly of Unitarian and Free Christian Churches. The Non-Subscribing Presbyterian Church of Ireland, which derives from the influence of Thomas Emlyn (1633–1741), and some Welsh and Scottish churches, are different expressions of English Unitarianism.

American Unitarianism gradually emerged during the eighteenth century within Congregationalism, largely because of the influence of Arminian theology, which stressed the human capacity to respond to grace, and Arminian Christology. This gradual development resulted in conflicts that culminated in the appointment of a liberal, Henry Ware, as Hollis Professor of Divinity at Harvard College in 1805. The liberals were accused of covertly agreeing with Belsham's humanitarian Christology. Boston minister William Ellery Channing (1780–1842) replied that, instead, most of the liberal ministers were Arians, for they believed that Christ's character included ethical, intellectual, and emotional perfection, and that he was subordinate to God.

Channing's famous Baltimore sermon "Unitarian Christianity" (1819) gave the liberals a coherent theological view that embraced assertions of the unity and moral perfection of God; of the unity of Jesus Christ, his inferiority to God, and his mediatorial mission; and of human moral responsibility. The American Unitarian Association (AUA), an association of individuals, not of churches, was organized in 1825. Ralph Waldo Emerson, in his Cambridge Divinity School address (1838), and Theodore Parker in his sermon "The Transient and Permanent in Christianity" (1841), challenged the prevailing Unitarian emphasis on the authority of rationally interpreted scripture. These addresses initiated a controversy over Transcendentalism within Unitarianism. Parker has influenced many Unitarians as an exemplar of public ministry, for he expressed his theology in outspoken sermons on social and economic issues, ceaseless efforts for social reform, and a willingness to disobey the Fugitive

Slave Act of 1850, which he regarded as immoral, in obedience to a higher moral law.

Henry Whitney Bellows led the effort to organize the National Conference of Unitarian Churches (an association of churches) in 1865. The preamble to the constitution was almost a Christian creed, so Francis Ellingwood Abbot and others withdrew in protest and formed the Free Religious Association in 1867. In 1886 in the Western Unitarian Conference, a regional organization founded in 1852, a similar controversy emerged over whether the conference should be limited to those who accepted a Christian, theistic religious belief. William Channing Gannett wrote a nonbinding statement, "Things Commonly Believed among Us," which was adopted in the Western Conference in 1887. In 1894 the National Conference revised its constitution in a manner that enabled many members of the Free Religious Association to rejoin the conference. In 1925 the National Conference, which had been renamed the General Conference, was merged with the AUA.

In the early twentieth century, religious humanism appeared within Unitarianism under the leadership of John Dietrich and Curtis Reese, who were among those who signed the Humanist Manifesto (1933). A serious decline among the Unitarian churches during the depression led to the creation of a denominational Commission on Appraisal (1934–1936), whose chair, Frederick May Eliot, reluctantly agreed to become president of the AUA. Eliot's leadership revived the movement.

UNIVERSALISM. Universalism is a religious view that affirms the ultimate salvation of all humans. In some formulations, that has meant the ultimate reconciliation of all, even Satan, with God. *Acts* 3:21 is one of the scriptural bases for the belief that some Universalists have in a universal restoration (Gr., *apokatastasis*). Modern Universalism derives from radical Pietism and from dissenters from the Baptist and Congregational traditions.

In 1681, Jane Leade (1624–1704) became the recognized leader of a Philadelphian Society of Pietists in London. The group's name came from the sixth church mentioned in *Revelation* 3:7–13. In Germany, Johann Wilhelm Petersen, a follower of the founder of Pietism, Philipp Jakob Spener, became a convinced chiliast, anticipating the reign of Christ after his second coming. Petersen led a group of German Philadelphian pietists. He reinterpreted Leade's views, gave them scriptural foundations, and published his reinterpretation in *The Mystery of the Restoration of All Things* (2 vols., 1700–1710). Volume 1 contains a small treatise by one of Petersen's disciples, Georg Klein-Nicolai, under the pseudonym Paul Siegvolck. This effective treatise was reprinted frequently, for both in the original German, *Das von Jesu Christo . . . Evangelium . . . ,* and in English translation, *The Everlasting Gospel . . . ,* it converted many people to Universalism. The title was taken from *Revelation* 14:6. Groups of German Philadelphian Pietists and people from other groups took copies of the treatise with them when they migrated to Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century. George de Benneville (1703–1793), who moved to Pennsylvania in 1741, maintained contacts with different groups in colonial Pennsylvania whose members affirmed Universalism and thus prepared the way for Universalism's later growth in America.

James Relly (1720–1778) left George Whitefield's movement in England in 1750. He wrote *Union, or A Treatise of the Consanguinity and Affinity between Christ and His Church* (1759), in which he argued that a result of the indissoluble union of Christ with his people is that there is no guilt and punishment for sins because Christ bore both the guilt and the punishment. All humans are among the elect, for whom Christ suffered. John Murray (1741–1815) brought Relly's universalized variation of Calvinist theology to New England in 1770. He became minister of the first Universalist congregation in America at Gloucester, Massachusetts, in 1780.

Elhanan Winchester (1751–1797), a Baptist minister, was converted to Universalism by *The Everlasting Gospel* and by his friend de Benneville. Winchester argued in *The Universal Restoration . . .* (1794) that future punishment is both finite and remedial in nature, to be followed by the ultimate reconciliation of all, even of the devil and his angels, with God.

Individuals in several European countries affirmed Universalism, but they founded no effective organizations. In England, however, Universalism survived within Unitarianism after Winchester converted William Vidler (1758–1816), a General Baptist minister, to Universalism. Vidler succeeded Winchester as minister of Parliament Court Chapel, London, and then became, also, a Unitarian, together with some members of his congregation. This congregation and other English Unitarian congregations soon contained as members former General Baptists and other persons who held universalist views.

The institutional growth of Universalism was to be in America, where Hosea Ballou (1771–1852) wrote *A Treatise on Atonement . . .* (1805), which made him the movement's preeminent authority in the nineteenth century. Ballou argued that sin is finite in nature, that its effects are completely experienced in this life, and that therefore all will be saved. He rejected the doctrine of the Trinity and affirmed an Arian view of Christ. These views were soon widely accepted by American Universalists.

In 1803 at Winchester, New Hampshire, the General Convention of Universalists in the New England States adopted a statement of agreement that is referred to as the Winchester Profession. The wording of the document embraced the varied Universalist views of the time. Between 1831 and 1841, a temporary schism occurred when believers in finite, future punishment founded the Massachusetts Association of Universal Restorationists in opposition to Ballou's view. By the end of the nineteenth century, restorationism was the predominant view, at the time characterized by movements attempting to transcend the divisions of denominationalism and to restore Christianity. In 1870 the Universalist General Convention approved a resolution that required the Winchester Profession to be interpreted so as to affirm the authority of scripture and the lordship of Jesus Christ. This creedal period ended in 1899, when the restrictions were rescinded and a noncreedal statement was adopted in Boston. A revised noncreedal Bond of Fellowship, known as the Washington Profession, was adopted in 1935 and revised in 1953.

Clarence Skinner (1881–1949), dean of Crane Theological School, was the leading spokesperson for Universalists in the twentieth century. His influence and that of others led to a reinterpretation of Universalism as focused on the unities and universals of human life rather than on an endless life after death. Thus many Universalists no longer hold a supernatural worldview.

THE UNITARIAN UNIVERSALISTS. Sporadic contacts between the Unitarians and the Universalists in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were followed in 1953 by organization of the Council of Liberal Churches (Universalist-Unitarian). Cooperation in this council's departmental programs prepared the way for the churches' merger in 1961 into the Unitarian Universalist Association (UUA), of which Dana McLean Greeley became the first president.

The churches and fellowships of the UUA are primarily located in the United States and Canada. (There are a small number of fellowships in other countries in Central and South America, Europe, Africa, and Asia.) Ministers and ministers of religious education who are granted associate or full professional fellowship are required to have completed training at a theological school or through a supervised program of independent study. The UUA follows the practice of congregational ordination.

Unitarian Universalists hold a wide variety of religious views, including liberal Christianity, naturalistic theism, mysticism, religious humanism, scientific theology, and aspirations toward a universal religion. They emphasize such values as human dignity, freedom of religious belief, the use of reason in formulating religious beliefs, and the expression of such beliefs in movements for social reform.

The theological diversity that characterizes Unitarian Universalists is expressed in worship that varies greatly from congregation to congregation, ranging from structured liturgy to thematic or sermon-centered emphases. Von Ogden Vogt (1879–1964), minister of the First Unitarian Society of Chicago, contributed the view that worship, as the celebration of life, is the central discipline of religion. His books *Art and Religion* (1921), *Modern Worship* (1927), and *The Primacy of Worship* (1958) led many religious liberals to modify thematic or sermon-centered emphases in the direction of patterns of worship that express basic communal religious experiences: attention or vision, humility, exaltation, illumination, and dedication. The hymns and worship materials contained in *Hymns of the Spirit* (1937), jointly produced by Unitarian and Universalist commissions on hymns and services, were predominantly liberal Christian in character, with some expressions of religious humanism. *Hymns for the Celebration of Life* (1964), which was prepared by a new commission after the merger of the two denominations, contained an increased proportion of materials expressive of religious humanism, particularly through the hymns and readings of Kenneth L. Patton, who portrayed humanist worship in *A Religion for One World: Art and Symbols for a Universal Religion* (1964) and *Services and Songs for the Celebration of Life* (1967). In 1980 the UUA's Commission on Common Worship continued the task of the preceding commissions, that of providing materials that will enable people holding widely differing theological views to worship together.

The UUA is one of forty-nine member groups of the International Association for Religious Freedom. In 2002, adult membership in the UUA, including those in the affiliated Canadian Unitarian Council, totaled about 220,000 in 1,051 churches and fellowships.

SEE ALSO Emerson, Ralph Waldo; Sozzini, Fausto Pavolo.

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UNITY is the largest movement in the New Thought tradition and shares New Thought's formative influences and general worldview. Founded in Kansas City, Missouri, by Myrtle Fillmore (1845–1931) and Charles Fillmore (1854–1948), a married couple, Unity is the second oldest and most distinctly Christian community within New Thought. The impetus to the formation of Unity was Myrtle Fillmore's recovery from tuberculosis through the use of mental healing rituals.

The founding of the movement occurred in 1889, one year after Myrtle Fillmore pronounced herself healed. The first venture for Unity, the periodical *Modern Thought*, began publication in 1889, and in 1890 the movement's original prayer ministry was established—The Society of Silent Help. In 1891 the name Unity was given to the Fillmores' enterprise, and the couple began publishing a new periodical, *Unity*, whose masthead bore what would become the traditional symbol for the movement, a winged globe. Concurrent with the initiation of the movement, the Fillmores studied with New Thought founder, Emma Curtis Hopkins (1849–1925), who had established a Christian Science ministry and seminary in Chicago, which was independent of the Boston-based religion of Mary Baker Eddy (1821–1910). Of the various influences on the Fillmores' religious development (e.g., Spiritualism, Vedānta, New England Transcendentalism), Hopkins's teachings were the most significant.

The movement's first formal institutional expression was the Unity Society of Practical Christianity (1903), and in 1906 Unity ordained its first ministers—including Myrtle and Charles Fillmore. In harmony with the practice initiated by Hopkins and consistent with all other New Thought groups, from this time onward Unity has ordained women along with men and maintained a thoroughgoing egalitarianism with regard to all ecclesiastical roles and functions. It is notable that the majority of Unity ministers are women, making it perhaps the largest Christian community in which this is the case.

When incorporated as the Unity School of Christianity in 1914, Unity was a fully developed religious organization with an international outreach. Unity School's withdrawal in 1922 from the International New Thought Alliance and its initiation of its own annual convention the following year accelerated Unity's growth and development, soon making it the largest and most recognized movement within New Thought. It remains so to the present, with nearly one thousand ministries in more than sixty countries worldwide.

Unity is represented by two major corporate bodies, Unity School of Christianity, located at Unity Village, Missouri (just outside Kansas City), and the Association of Unity Churches in nearby Lee's Summit. The two groups are independent but work in harmony with one another. Unity School, which was originally founded by the Fillmores, publishes religious books and periodicals, serves as a retreat and education center, and operates the movement's prayer and healing ministry (Silent Unity, the successor of the Society for Silent Help). Governance of the school is vested in a board of directors, with a president and chief executive officer holding senior executive authority. From its inception to the early twentieth century, members of the Fillmore family have served as president of Unity School, with Connie Fillmore Bazzy, the founders' great-granddaughter, being the last member of the Fillmore family to hold the office.

The Association of Unity Churches, a successor to the earlier Unity Ministers' Association, was established as an independent corporation in 1966. The association is responsible for management and direction of the vast majority of the movement's congregations, supervising ministerial education, granting ordinations, sanctioning churches, and assisting in the placement of ministers. The association is governed by a board of trustees that is elected by representatives from member churches, regional organizations, and the board itself. Senior executive authority is vested in a president and chief executive officer.

In the 1990s, two Unity organizations emerged, independent of and in some tension with Unity School and the association—the Unity-Progressive Council and the Federation of Independent Unity Churches. A related organization, the Universal Foundation for Better Living, bases its teachings on the works of the Fillmores, although it affirms no formal linkage with the Unity movement.

Important to Unity has been its publishing enterprise. Although all of Charles Fillmore's books have remained in print, during the latter part of the twentieth century, Unity School began to reduce its list of titles, eliminating some of the movement's classic texts. Its periodical list has also shrunk, so that Unity now publishes only two magazines, *Unity* and *Daily Word*. By far the more popular is *Daily Word*, a prayer manual for each day of the month, initiated in 1924. Another important periodical, *Wee Wisdom*, Unity's children's magazine, was discontinued in 1991. First published in 1893, it holds the record as the longest continuously published children's periodical in American history.

In addition to the books by Myrtle and Charles Fillmore, Unity School has remained committed to the publication of *Lessons in Truth*, by H. Emilie Cady (1848–1941), a homeopathic physician and student of Hopkins. First appearing in serial form in *Unity* magazine in 1894, *Lessons in Truth* is Unity's all-time best-seller and the most widely circulated book in all of New Thought. Together with the works of Charles Fillmore (most notably C*hristian Healing*

[1909] and *Metaphysical Bible Dictionary* [1931]), Cady's book is the primary source of Unity's theological system.

The system itself is largely consistent with the general principles of popular religious idealism found in New Thought as a whole and, like other New Thought groups, Unity allows individuals and affiliated churches significant freedom in matters of belief and practice. Although decidedly Christian in its terminology and self-affirmation, Unity has no formal creed or doctrine. This has led to considerable variation in teachings and practices within the movement, with some congregations de-emphasizing ideals and practices deemed significant to the founders. This phenomena has become especially noticeable since the 1980s, largely due to the appeal of various New Age teachings to Unity teachers and ministers. Despite the evident diversity in the movement and the appearance of nontraditional teachings in individual churches, a number of beliefs can be specified as foundational and generally accepted throughout the movement. Derived from the works of Cady, Charles Fillmore, and other representative thinkers, the more important beliefs are:

1. The ultimate basis of existence is mental (God as Mind), and all material/physical conditions are secondary to and products of mental states and conditions.
2. God (Divine Mind) is understood as supremely good (the Good) and the ground of perfection.
3. God (the Good) is omnipresent and, as a consequence, evil (typically referred to as "error") is unreality.
4. As spiritual beings, humans are innately divine and one with God. This innate divinity is referred to variously as the Christ within, the superconsciousness, and the Christ Mind.
5. Through realization of their innate divinity and appropriation of ideas in Divine Mind, humans are able to transform their lives, replacing negative states and conditions with positive ones.
6. Individuals have full freedom in matters of personal belief.
7. Christian doctrine, idealistically interpreted, is normative.

As with New Thought as a whole and individual movements within the tradition, Unity has received little scholarly attention, although it has received more attention than other New Thought groups, such as Religious Science, Divine Science, and the Universal Foundation for Better Living. In this regard, encyclopedias and general texts on new religious movements and religion in the United States often have brief sections on Unity. There are no critical histories of the movement and no significant scholarly treatments of its theology. Unity has published a biography of Myrtle Fillmore and two nonscholarly histories, all of which are generally reliable in terms of facts and data. In addition, a book by Hugh D'Andrade and two by Neal Vahle, although written for a Unity audience and largely informed by perceptions and understandings of Unity insiders, supply helpful information not found elsewhere. The chapters on Unity in Charles Braden's *Spirits in Rebellion* (1963) and J. Stillson Judah's *The History and Philosophy of the Metaphysical Movements in America* (1967) remain the best critical sources on the movement.

SEE ALSO Fillmore, Charles and Myrtle; Hopkins, Emma Curtis; New Thought Movement.

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UNKULUNKULU

UNKULUNKULU is a mythic figure among the Zulu people, a large ethnic group in South Africa. Properly speaking, uNkulunkulu, a name meaning "the old, old one," is not a deity (the Zulu had a weakly developed pantheon) but is rather the "first man." One oral tradition identifies uNkulunkulu as a man and a woman (often identified as uThlanga), but the common myth holds that uNkulunkulu is the first man. He appeared, or was created, by the "breaking off" of reeds—it is said of him that he "came out of, or broke off from, a bed of reeds." Thus, he is also called uMvelinqangi ("the first outcomer," i. e., "the ancestor of all"). All humans are derived from him and from his design and plan. It is also thought by some that uNkulunkulu was merely an early ancestral figure, understood as the ancestor of the Zulu, who was later believed—perhaps under the influence of Christianity—to have been the creator. There is a possibility, from the early sources, that uNkulunkulu was originally thought of purely as an ancestor and human being.

Because uNkulunkulu has no identifiable children there are no ancestral rites or specific families that can claim to be descended from him. Nonetheless, he created humanity and even gave humans their social institutions, such as marriage and chieftainship. In addition, he gave them spirits (of the dead), diviners to discover the past and the future, and doctors to treat various diseases.

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UNTOUCHABLES, RELIGIONS OF.

UNTOUCHABLES, RELIGIONS OF. At the beginning of the twenty-first century there are well over 160 million untouchables on the Indian subcontinent. They belong to numerous *jātīs* at the bottom of the caste order, their low position deriving from the belief that they embody extreme impurity. Throughout the twentieth century, constitutional categories such as "depressed classes" and "scheduled castes" and the term *harijan* ("people of god"), coined by the nationalist leader Mohandas Gandhi, have all been widely used to refer to untouchable communities in nonprejudicial ways. The practice of untouchablity was legally abolished in 1948, but the disabilities suffered and discrimination faced by untouchable individuals and groups have been only partially mitigated and have at the same time acquired new shapes in independent India. Strong links between their religious and social subordination and their widespread poverty and economic exploitation make untouchables some of the most disadvantaged groups in South Asia. Furthermore, the lowly position of the untouchables under Hinduism also extends to those sections of Christian, Muslim, Buddhist, and Sikh populations that belonged to untouchable castes before their conversion. It is thus entirely meaningful to speak of the religions of untouchables, especially if the term untouchable is aligned with the word *dalit* ("broken" or "oppressed"), an untouchable self-description that challenges subordination and reveals the limitations of ready separations between religious-ritual patterns and social-political processes in any discussion of untouchable castes.

DEBATES. Discussions of untouchable religions turn on charged questions. Does the extreme impurity of the untouchables place them outside the caste order? Do they have entirely separate religions? Or, does the very ritual lowness of the untouchables hierarchically yet vitally link them to other castes through an encompassing, consensual caste ideology of purity and pollution? Is their religion, then, primarily a lower form of the one practiced by those higher up in the caste order?

When scholars such as Louis Dumont and Michael Moffatt present the untouchables as primarily reproducing the homogeneous scheme of the ritual hierarchy of purity and pollution, they ignore the other matrices—for example, of ritual kingship, colonial governance, non-Brahmanic religions, and the modern state—that shape caste. By focusing singularly on concepts of purity and pollution as cementing the caste structure, they also externalize the terms of power that inhere in caste, especially as these bear on untouchables. Finally, such emphases underplay the creation within untouchable religions of novel meanings and distinctive practices. Conversely, various scholarly and commonplace positions stressing the radical disjunction between untouchable norms and practices and the caste order tend to overlook the manner in which the ideologies and relationships of caste not only exclude untouchable peoples from several processes but also hierarchically include them in other arrangements. Furthermore, they underplay the structures of hierarchy and authority in the religions of untouchables themselves, reflected in practices of endogamy and commensality, within various occupations, and in interactions between untouchable castes.

Questions of untouchable religions do not admit singular solutions. Shaped as part of wider hierarchies and relationships of caste, which differ from one region to another, these religions show marked regional variations. Even within a particular region, untouchable religions can display distinct expressions in different locales depending on the distribution of land ownership and on arrangements of authority among castes that diverge across villages. Further, far from being static and timeless, untouchable religions have undergone profound changes as a part of historical processes such as state formation, agrarian and urban mutation, and political transformation. The salience of these religions is found precisely within such variety and change.

EXCLUSION AND INCLUSION. The extreme impurity attributed to untouchables has denied them entry into Hindu temples and the services of the Brāhmaṇ *purohit* (priest), has spatially segregated their living quarters at the margins of rural and urban settlements, and has excluded them from the several sets of ranked relationships, ritual exchanges, and social interactions among discrete castes that are at the core of quotidian life. Highly codified prescriptions, such as those requiring deferential bodily movements and speech patterns in the presence of members of the upper castes, have governed the appropriate conduct of untouchables in public spaces, and have frequently forbidden them the use of various markers of honor and status, from modes of transport such as elephants, horses, and palanquins to apparel and accessories such as upper-body garments, turbans, and shoes. On the other hand, the very impurity of the untouchables has included them in the practices and processes of caste. They have exclusively performed the most defiling activities, entailing contact with severely polluting substances, in rural and urban arenas: from the scavenging of waste to work with leather and labor on cremation grounds, and from cleaning toilets and clearing human excrement to rearing unclean animals such as pigs and removing the impure carcasses of sacred cattle. Some of these tasks constitute the primary occupations of discrete untouchable castes; others are undertaken by untouchables who are more generally employed as agricultural or manual laborers. This situation simultaneously defines the subordination of the untouchables and places them at the core of caste, because only they can perform such pollution-ridden yet essential activities. Unsurprisingly, the untouchable presence in the social order has been variously acknowledged: they have received customary dues, especially on ritual occasions, for their caste-sanctioned duties and their agricultural labor; their participation has been critical in ceremonies celebrating the unity of the village; and their deities—like those of "tribal" or indigenous groups that bear an ambiguous relationship with the caste order—have been feared as violent yet venerated as guardians of villages. Thus, untouchable religions have been integrally related both to *dalit* exclusion from and *dalit* inclusion in caste hierarchies and ritual processes.

HIERARCHY, POWER, AND DISTINCTION. Untouchables have not accepted and experienced such processes passively. Rather, precisely while participating in hierarchical relationships, untouchable actions and understandings have imbued their religions and caste formations with specific distinctions. The untouchable religions in all their staggering heterogeneity have emerged bound to the historical constitution of Hinduism itself. They have been shaped through the wider interplay between Brahmanic hierarchical conventions that emphasize purity and pollution within a schema positing partial continuity between the human and the divine, and non-Brahmanic Hindu traditions that manifest rather different, even contending, orientations toward hierarchy, impurity, divinity, and worship.

Specific untouchable castes have been intimately associated with particular divine beings—such as the village goddess of smallpox (called Maṛiammaṉ in South India) and Mātā Māī—who are figures that are also feared and venerated by other castes as part of non-Brahmanic Hindu traditions. The worship and festivals of the lower castes, including untouchables, emphasize the use of blood sacrifice, liquor, possession, and different degrees and various forms of bodily chastisements and self-inflicted tortures. All over India the untouchables have also venerated major Hindu gods such as Viṣṇu and Śiva as well as the formless divine, through diverse means—including mystic-ecstatic cults, esoteric adoration, and ascetic piety—that engage and extend various modes of *bhakti* (devotional) practice, often preestablished by non-Brahmanic traditions. In each of these cases, untouchable religions have displaced and interrogated—as well as negotiated and negated—concepts of purity and impurity and established Hindu hierarchies, through ecstatic worship and possession, sensuous devotion, and pilgrimage. Sometimes this even entails religious, social, and gender inversions in which men acquire female attributes and Brāhmaṇs become impure.

Conversely, the origin myths of untouchables all over India have subverted and rejected upper-caste representations of their ritual lowness, yet they have done so by retaining notions of their own collective impurity. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, untouchable communities such as the Satnāmīs of central India have elaborated new mythic traditions and distinctive caste/sect practices centered on their *gurūs* and on a formless God, and have also constructed novel depictions of deities such as Śiva and Draupadī. These innovative religious formations have questioned and contested but also reworked and reiterated the forms of power encoded in caste schemes of purity and pollution and kingly authority. Still other untouchable groups have participated in spirit cults, and while propitiating ancestors and ghosts have both articulated and reproduced labor bondage and caste hierarchy. The worship among untouchable castes of demonic figures and personal deities has negotiated yet accepted caste and ritual inequalities. This tension can also been seen in the way untouchable religions have distinctively absorbed the attributes of Hindu worship *(pūjā)* and sacrifice *(bali)* as well as the patterns of village festivals.

Furthermore, untouchable membership of sects such as the Kabīrpanthīs, Dādūpanthīs, Ravidāsīs, and Rāmnāmīs has led to an elaboration of relatively egalitarian devotional practices developed precisely through a broader acceptance of caste divisions. While the untouchable religions have widely expressed the distinctions of their own actions and understandings, these have generally been articulated in relation to the ritual authority encoded within Hindu hierarchies.

Taken together, distinct yet overlapping tendencies have characterized the untouchable religions. In each case, these religions have created their own forms of faith and practice, which have variously negotiated and subverted caste hierarchies. On the one hand, discrete dispositions of the untouchable religions have far exceeded an exclusive preoccupation with Brahmanic conventions of ritual hierarchy. On the other hand, within the untouchable religions the unequal relationships and ritual power at the core of caste have also been differently reproduced, reworked, and reconfigured. These contradictory tendencies have defined the identities, resistance, and solidarities of untouchables, as well as their submission, vulnerability, and subordination. The distinct dispositions of untouchable religions have, however, far exceeded an exclusive preoccupation with ritual hierarchy. These faiths have been more concerned with the *dalit* struggle to achieve political and social power than with efforts to improve the untouchable's position within the ritual caste system. At the same time, within the untouchable religions the unequal relationships and ritual power at the core of caste have been reproduced and reconfigured. Taken together, these contradictory tendencies have defined the identities, resistance, and solidarities of untouchables, as well as their submission, vulnerability, and subordination.

RITES AND GENDER. Among untouchable castes, rites of passage associated with every life stage from birth to death suggest varying degrees of concern with ritual purity. Karin Kapadia argues in *Śiva and Her Sisters* that among the untouchable Paraiyar caste in southern India the puberty rituals occasioned by a girl's first menstruation show marked differences from the Brahmanic concern with the pollution and purification of the menstruating woman: instead such rites involve quintessentially non-Brahmanic attempts to safeguard "the precious, distinctively female ability to create children" (1998, p. 93) and to symbolically construct fertility as sacred female power. The implication here is that pollution motifs are less important for the untouchables. In contrast, another account, focused on a specific Paraiyar woman (see Viramma, Racine, and Racine), reveals more ambivalent and earthy orientations to purity and pollution and female sexuality. It is not only that the untouchables' elaborations of purity/impurity and auspiciousness/inauspiciousness entail varied negotiations of shifting arrangements of caste and power, but also that even when certain untouchable groups closely follow the rules governing purity and pollution—during rites of birth and death, for example—they do so by conjoining such observances with the distinctive symbols and practices of their own castes and sects.

Marriage and gender among the untouchables have been characterized by practices common to most lower-status and varied middle-ranked castes, such as secondary marriages for men and women, widow remarriage, the payment of a bride price (rather than dowry), and women's freedom from the requirements of physical seclusion. Yet such arrangements have been themselves embedded in wider patterns of patrilineal kinship in their regional manifestations. This has meant that even though untouchable women have often possessed a degree of autonomy to negotiate hierarchical relationships of kin and community and marriage(s) and motherhood, and even though their physical labor has been positively valued, practically and symbolically, they have nonetheless not escaped the asymmetries of gender and caste and the inequalities of ritual and class. This is reflected in a multitude of ways, from widespread depictions of women as inherently engendering yet equally subverting the religious and social order to representations of the deviant sexuality of untouchable women, and from the sexual and economic exploitation of untouchable women by upper-caste and socially superior men to attempts at controlling their bodies and labor within their communities. Within these overlapping and constraining contexts, the actions and desires of untouchable women have left their mark on untouchable religions and life-cycle rituals, as well as on wider gender arrangements and caste hierarchies.

BEYOND HINDUISM. Much of what has been said above concerning untouchable religions within Hinduism also holds for the other untouchables faiths. In principle, Christianity, Islam, and Sikhism should have no place for caste, but in practice caste divisions in South Asia have found particular configurations within these religions. Indian Islam refers not so much to the *varṇa* distinctions of caste Hinduism, with their constitutive concerns with purity and pollution, as to the social separation between *ashraf* (well-born) and *ajlaf* (low-born) Muslims. High and low Muslims might worship together in the mosque, but in relations of marriage, commensality, and occupation they remain separate. Further, low-born Muslims who were converts from untouchable and other lower castes have distinctively understood and practiced Islam, especially by vigorously participating in popular religious traditions such as the cults of various saints whose veneration cuts across religions. The untouchables who became Sikh have created specific faiths that combine their understandings of the official doctrines and purity norms of Sikhism with popular practices of Hinduism and Islam.

In the case of Indian Christianity, the Roman Catholic Church, with an extensive membership in southern India, has historically accepted caste divisions, including their expressions in endogamy and commensality, on the grounds that these are "social" rather than "religious" mores and institutions, and has traditionally provided entirely separate or spatially segregated services for their higher and lower caste constituents. Even though Protestant churches all over South Asia have opposed caste, the taint of impurity and its attendant discrimination have clung to their untouchable members. Untouchable Christians have retained yet reworked prior practices and wider principles of caste and worship and ritual and kinship, creating distinct forms of untouchable identity and indigenous Christianity—including novel representations of Hindu and Christian divinities in which the former can complement but also oppose the latter.

HISTORY AND POLITICS. Historical transformations during the colonial and postcolonial periods have profoundly shaped untouchable religions. The coalescing of forms of British administration and indigenous authority from the late eighteenth century and the emergence by the mid-nineteenth century of an agrarian order clearly characterized by discrete agricultural castes together served to distinctly delineate untouchable groupings, and also led to their creation of and conversion to new faiths. Such processes among the untouchables were further heightened from the 1860s through the 1940s by the colonial state's emphasis on caste categories and religious communities in census enumeration and representative politics, by diverse non-Brahmanic movements in western and southern India, and by an increase in Christian missionary activity that challenged upper-caste authority. In this wider context, the untouchables formed caste associations and joined movements that undertook internal social reform. As they did so, they claimed a higher ritual status or contested their low position and pressed the state for concessions in high school education, government jobs, and political office. Untouchables also converted to Christianity, created distinctive forms of devotional worship, participated in the nationalist struggle, and initiated and endorsed movements to allow them entry into Hindu temples. Here the untouchables' questioning of upper-caste domination and the powerful affirmation of their identities were expressed as part of changing yet still relevant hierarchies of caste, religion, and politics.

Since the 1920s, political processes in which untouchables have participated have crucially influenced their religious and caste practices. The politics and legacy of B. R. Ambedkar have played a key role here. Belonging to the large untouchable Mahar caste of western and central India, Ambedkar received a Ph.D. from Columbia University and entrance to the bar from Grey's Inn, London, and served as chairman of the drafting committee of the Indian constitution in the 1940s. Drawing on earlier devotional and non-Brahmanic traditions of religious dissent as well as on constitutional law and rationalist individualism, Ambedkar's formulations on caste, Hinduism, and untouchable action were directly opposed to the Gandhian perspective within Indian nationalism, which condemned untouchability without renouncing the *varṇa* concept of caste. The political parties founded by Ambedkar were only partially successful and his demand that untouchables be recognized as a separate electorate drew wide criticism as a proposal that would divide both Hindus and the nation, but he nonetheless exerted significant political influence through arguing the position that discrimination against untouchables constituted the very core of caste—a position leading to his rejection of Hinduism in 1935. When Ambedkar converted to Buddhism in 1956, he was followed by a significant section of his own Mahar caste as well as by members of the Jātav caste of northern India, resulting in a *dalit* Buddhism that has combined distinctive caste practices with the egalitarian emphases of the new faith. Increased *dalit* resistance to upper-caste authority has also been seen in southern India, where it has been strengthened by regional, non-Brahmanic political initiatives present since the early twentieth century. Political developments emphasizing the role of the lower-castes after the late 1970s have further extended such processes to North India. *Dalits* in rural and urban areas have seized upon these advances not only to participate in electoral politics but also to express their identities and articulate power relationships in local and national arenas, and in so doing have defined the changing contours of untouchable religions and caste practices in contemporary India. At the same time, precisely such *dalit* expressions have repeatedly led to violent higher-caste reprisals and have engendered a political reaction centered on ideologies of a homogeneous Hindu nation. The gradual emergence in late colonial and independent India of a *dalit* middle-class through policies of affirmative action in public education, government employment, and political office has been accompanied, especially since the 1970s, by the growth of a vigorous *dalit* consciousness and by creativity in literature and art drawing on experiences of widespread discrimination and religious exclusion. This assertiveness continues to be reflected in, for example, the claims of *dalit* women, the terms of *dalit* Christian theology, and campaigns for *dalit* human rights that draw parallels between the injustices of caste and the wounds of race, not only in South Asia but also in the *dalit* diaspora. Today, as in the past, the religions of untouchables play a central part in these varied negotiations of, interactions with, and challenges to ritual authority, caste hierarchy, and political power.

SEE ALSO Varṇa and Jātī.

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SAURABH DUBE (2005)

U NU. U Nu's life (1905–1995) extends over decades of profound political and social change in Burma (Myanmar). He was a prominent member of the Thirty Comrades during the struggle for independence and played a historic role in the country's transformation from a British colony to an independent nation-state. He served as Prime Minister of democratic Burma between 1948–1956, 1957–1958, and 1960–1962. U Nu was a gifted politician, a deeply religious man, and a remarkable writer.

LIFE. U Nu's politics and worldview reflected the values of the early nationalist era in which he grew up. His father was a merchant in Wakema, a town in the delta region of Lower Burma where he was active in the local chapters of the Young Men's Buddhist Association (YMBA) and later in the General Council of Buddhist Associations (GCBA). These anticolonial organizations equated national identity with Burmese language, culture, and Buddhism, and Nu's father would consent only to enrolling his son at a local Anglo-vernacular government school. Unlike many of his political contemporaries, U Nu never studied abroad. He finished high school in Rangoon and graduated from Rangoon University in 1929. For a number of years he taught English, English history, and Burmese in the national school system.

By 1934, U Nu, now married to Daw Mya Yee, returned to the capital to join the civil service, but soon decided to seek a law degree at Rangoon University. U Nu emerged as a leader in the student strike of 1936, together with Aung San and others in the anti-colonial elite who later also gained prominent positions in the post-independence era. Like many of his peers, Nu adopted the anti-colonial title *Thakin* (Master). He rose to leadership positions in the pre-war nationalist Dobama Asiayone and the post-war Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL). In the aftermath of Aung San's murder, U Nu became the first Prime Minister of independent Burma in 1948. On several occasions, he withdrew from public life strategically to meditate and thus force a favorable resolution of political struggles.

Ethnic insurgencies, factionalism over the state's role in religious education, and the constitutional amendment to establish Buddhism as Burma's state religion led to Ne Win's final military takeover in 1962. Like the British in 1942, Ne Win imprisoned Nu from 1962–1966. In 1973 U Nu traveled to Thailand and then to exile in India. He was pardoned and returned to Burma in 1980 to oversee the new Pali text editions commissioned by the Mahasangha Nayaka Council. Following the popular uprising and the collapse of Ne Win's regime in 1988, U Nu established an interim government in a futile effort to regain political office. Ne Win's successor regime, the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) placed U Nu under house arrest from 1989 until 1992. He passed away on February 14, 1995.

POLITICAL VIEWS. A pragmatist about political ideologies and a skilled negotiator, U Nu advocated democracy or the Burmese Way to Socialism as exigencies dictated. His politics indicated a greater nexus to his Buddhist beliefs as he became increasingly religious in his adult life. As early as his twenties, he took vows to affirm his disciplined actions: to abstain from liquor; to be faithful to his wife; to observe temporary celibacy to effect political outcomes; and in 1948, to remain sexually abstinent. He meditated daily for hours, observed a vegetarian diet, and removed himself from his family's affairs. U Nu's ascetic practices and charisma were significant facets of his public persona.

The inception of parliamentary governance in post-independent Burma coincided with millennial expectations of an imminent, powerful Buddhist ruler (*cakkavatti)* in the Theravāda world where many believed that the second half of the Buddha's dispensation had begun. In popular Burmese culture, U Nu was often seen as that future king or future Buddha. On the advice of Nehru, he promoted a programmatic Buddhist revival (1947–1958) to further nationalism. The revival was intended to secure world peace and progress, ensure the expansion of the state into tribal areas, bring stability, and institute Buddhism as Burma's state religion. It culminated in the construction of a religious complex, Kaba Aye Pagoda, to house the Buddhist canon (*tipitaka*) and the convocation of the Sixth Theravāda Buddhist Synod, *Buddha Sasana Sanghayana* (1954–1956) that was modeled after earlier Buddhist councils, especially King Mindon's Fifth Buddhist Council (1871). Kaba Aye was the site of important state rituals, including the veneration of the Buddha's Tooth relic that had been temporarily conveyed from Sri Lanka to Burma. Such diplomatic exchanges celebrated Buddhist identity among some new Asian nations.

U Nu's political career eclipsed when his policies failed to integrate ethnic minorities into the national community. His government further deteriorated under economic pressures despite, or as his critics assert, because of, U Nu's practice of and the state's support for Buddhism. The political crisis escalated when he could not restrain demands by monks to require Buddhist instruction in public schools and to prohibit ethnic minorities from offering equivalent religious instruction. Ne Win's coup d'etat in 1962 ended parliamentary democracy and limited the role of Buddhism in the modern state until the 1980s.

LITERATURE. Writing and translating literature into Burmese (e.g. Dale Carnegie's *How to Win Friends and Influence People*) was U Nu's first passion in college. He soon gained a reputation as a gifted speech writer and orator, both talents that fostered his rise in politics. He authored plays, novels, translations, political speeches, and essays on Buddhism. Although his written work is extensive, some of it has been termed polemic, underscoring an intended message rather than an art form. His novel, *Man, the Wolf of Man*, emphasized personal themes, while his best known play, *The People Win Through*, focused on a communist insurrection and political rule by force as unmoral. He authored other plays like *Converting the Elder Brother,* a drama about political and personal betrayal, and *Thurya*, an allegorical fable about political corruption under colonialism. In *Saturday's Son*, an autobiographical novel, he recounted the turbulent events of his life until 1962. His religious writings primarily followed traditionalist forms. In *Buddhism: Theory and Practice* he detailed the moral and mental stages of meditation.

Throughout his life, U Nu's religiosity encompassed both modernist meditation and cosmological beliefs. In his 1987 inaugural speech for the Center for Burma Studies at Northern Illinois University, he affirmed the power local spirit lords (*nat*) exert over worldly matters. U Nu was deeply committed to Buddhist practice as moral legitimation for public office and employed religion to promote national culture and nation building. He achieved a prominent place among charismatic statesmen in twentieth century Asia.

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UPANIṢADS. The Upaniṣads are codified Sanskrit philosophical speculations of varying lengths in both prose and verse form, composed orally and set to memory mostly by anonymous South Asian sages, primarily in the classical and medieval periods. While the most important and influential Vedic Upaniṣads date from the eighth to the fourth centuries BCE, some lesser-known sectarian Upaniṣads appear as late as the sixteenth century CE. Individually and as a whole, the Upaniṣads present insights and doctrines that serve as the foundation for much of India's philosophical thought.

Traditional South Asian teachings based on the Upaniṣads have been called the Vedānta, the "end of the Veda," for the Upaniṣads chronologically and formally set the closure of the Vedic canon. Perhaps more to the point, Upaniṣadic lessons are said to be the end of the Veda in that they purport to present the "hidden meaning" or the "real message" of religious practice and thought.

The central teaching presented by the Upaniṣads as a whole centers on the notion that behind all of the spatial swirl and temporal flux of the world as it is experienced by the senses is a subtle, pervasive, timeless, and unchanging reality that is identical to the undying essence of the human being as well. The early Vedic Upaniṣads call this unified and imperishable world soul *brahman* or *ātman,* the former applying more typically to the godhead and the latter signifying the correlative divine "self" residing at the deepest level of one's person. The theistic Upaniṣads teach that this *brahman* or *ātman* is a single deity known generically as Īśv Īśa (Lord) living deep within one's being and identified particularly as Śiva, Viṣṇu, or the Goddess by particular sectarian communities.

While they explicitly or implicitly admit the difficulties of comprehending a hidden reality that either transcends or simply cannot be known through the structures of time, space, and causation, the Upaniṣads hold that through disciplined practices of meditation and the cultivation of extraordinary knowledge, it can in fact be discerned. Such discernment releases one from the apparent cycles of life and death caused by one's ignorance of the fact that the essential self does not die. Thus, Upaniṣadic religious anthropologies, theologies, and soteriologies all revolve around a key lesson that appears ubiquitously but that might well be characterized by the *Adhyātma Upaniṣad's* assertion that "he is a free person who through insight sees no distinction between his own self and *brahman,* and between *brahman* and the universe" and the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad's* proclamation that, having comprehended this identity, "one is released from the jaws of death" (3.5).

The Upaniṣads were first put into written form in 1656 CE, when Sultan Dara Shakoh sponsored the translation of fifty Upaniṣads from Sanskrit into Persian. In 1801–1802, these Persian works were then translated into Latin by Antequil du Perron, becoming the first, although poor, European version. Since that time, all of the Upaniṣads have been rendered into various Indian scripts, and the more important or influential ones have been translated into virtually all of the world's major languages. The Upaniṣads stand as works of monumental significance in the history of India and of the world.

CONNOTATIONS OF THE TERM *UPANIṢAD.* Built from the Sanskrit verbal root *sad* ("sit") and the prefixes *upa-* and *ni-* ("nearby"), the word *upaniṣad* represents the act of sitting at the feet of someone. The pedagogical tradition in which a student in search of sacred knowledge sat on the ground in front of a *guru* typifies, in part, the practices of the Vedic *vānaprastha*s ("forest dwellers") and *saṃnyāsin*s ("renunciants") who had retired to forest retreats to meditate and study. The practice also appears in various Agamic and Tantric traditions, many of whose followers lived beyond the boundaries of settled civilization, where they practiced yogic meditation under the guidance of a guru. Through combinations of dialogues, monologues, questions and answers, riddles, and speculative discourses, the student privately heard from the teacher secret lessons that had been passed down through the generations of the sacred lineage. Such a "secret lesson" was an *upaniṣad.* Isolated as a textual genre, the collections of such secret teachings are known as the Upaniṣads.

The term *upaniṣad* thus connotes an element of esotericism. In fact, the Upaniṣads state explicitly that such lessons are not intended for the general population: "Let none who has not maintained the vow think on this," demands *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* (3.12.11), and the *Rāmapūrvatāpanīya Upaniṣad* warns the teacher to "give not [his lessons] to common people" (84). That the teachings were to be heard by only select ears is demonstrated by the texts themselves, for synonyms and appositions of the word *upaniṣad* include not only such terms as *satyasya satyam* ("the truth of truth," *Bṛhad. Up.* 2.1.20), but also *rahasyam* ("that which is hidden," *Nṛsimhottaratāpanīya Up.* 8) and *paramam guhyam* ("that which is a supreme secret," *Kaṭh. Up.* 3.17).

The esoteric tone of the Upaniṣadic teachings derives in part from the place they hold in the larger Vedic literary corpus. The earliest Vedic literatures are the inspired hymns, chants, and incantations of the *Ṛgveda, Sāmaveda, Yajurveda,* and *Atharvaveda,* which were composed by the visionaries and priests of the various Vedic traditions and codified around 1200 BCE (although some are earlier and some later). To these Saṃhitās ("collections") of poems and songs are attached ritual instructions known as the Brāhmaṇas, which date to roughly 1000 to 800 BCE. As early as the ninth century BCE, individuals and small groups of people, most often of the *kṣatriya* (warrior) rather than the *brāhmaṇa* (priestly) class of society (see *Bṛhad. Up.* 1.4.11), began to leave the villages to live and meditate in the forest. There, unable or unwilling to perform the sometimes elaborate and expensive Vedic religious ceremonies, they contemplated the allegorical rather than literal significance of the hymns and rituals. These allegorical interpretations formed the basis of texts known as the Āraṇyakas, or "forest books." Toward the early part of the eighth century BCE these contemplative sages began to formulate more abstract philosophical interpretations of the metaphors and homologies used in the Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas as they sought to gain knowledge of the deeper ontological status of the world and of the place the human being holds in that world. Out of this context came the Upaniṣads, the non-sacerdotal philosophical musings on the nature of reality itself.

The composers of the Upaniṣads diverged from the religious tradition of their time in that, unlike earlier Vedic poets and visionaries, they found little interest in proclaiming the wonder of the objective world or in praising the gods said to have enlivened that world. The forest sages understood the outer world to be less significant than the inner, and the gods to be nothing more than reflections or expressions of subjective processes within one's own being. "All of the gods are within me," asserts an early forest work, the *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* (1.14.2). The *Kaivalya Upaniṣad,* a later text, teaches that "the highest *brahman,* which is all forms, which is the supreme reality of the universe, which is the most subtle of the subtle and which is eternal, is nothing but yourself." The Upaniṣadic stress on the inner world rather than on external religious practices similarly distinguished the forest sages from the composers of such ritual texts as the Brāhmaṇas and, later, the Kalpasūtras; for the forest sage had no need for "ritual baths, nor periodic rites, nor deity, nor location, nor sacred space, nor worship" (*Tejobindu Up.* 4).

The lines separating the Brāhmaṇas and the Āraṇyakas, and the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads, as textual genres are not distinct; the early Āraṇyakas resemble in form the later Brāhmaṇas, and the later Āraṇyakas are nearly indistinguishable from the early Upaniṣads. Some traditions hold that the first true Upaniṣad is the *Ṛgveda's Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (ninth century BCE), while most others mark that line with the emergence of the *Śukla* ("White") *Yajurveda*'s *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* and the *Sāmaveda*'s *Chāndogya Upaniṣad,* both of which date to the eighth century BCE.

UPANIṢADIC TEACHINGS. Symbolic representations in the Upaniṣads of ultimate reality are consistent with the notion that such reality is unmanifest yet vital. *Brahman* (*ātman,* Īśvara, etc.) is described as life-giving breath (*prāṇa*), wind (*vāyu*), or empty space (*ākāśa*); as pure consciousness (*cit*), bliss (*ānanda*), or eternity (*ananta*); and as the infinite subject by whom all objects are known, the "inner guide" (*antaryāmin*) of all that is.

Given its acknowledged immanent yet transcendent nature, ontological discourses in the early Vedic Upaniṣads depict *brahman* both cosmically (*saguṇa,* "with characteristics") and acosmically (*nirguṇa,* "without characteristics"). *Saguṇa brahman* is understood to be the finest essence (*aṇimā, rasa,* etc.) of all things in the world, as honey is the essence of beeswax and oil is the essence of sesame seeds (see *Ch. Up.* 6.9ff.). Understood cosmically, therefore, *brahman* is the substance of the universe. This does not mean that *brahman* is the material stuff of the world that can be perceived sensually. Rather, it is the hidden and subtle reality that allows all things to exist in the first place. Thus, when the sages of the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* note that "this whole world is *brahman*" and that *brahman* is the "hidden mover . . . within all that moves, breathes, and winks" (2.2.1–2), they imply the cosmic ontological notion that *brahman* is the very "beingness" of all beings, including the human being. Transformative insight allows one to understand that this cosmic substratum is unified and indivisible, or—as the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*'s Uddālaka Āruṇi teaches his son, Śvetaketu—"Thou art That!" (6.9.1–6.16.3).

Understood acosmically, *brahman* cannot be described through definitive or positive statements, because *brahman* transcends the limitations of language. Thus, *nirguṇa brahman* is not subject to categorization, and therefore, can neither be perceived nor conceived. *Brahman* "cannot be heard, nor touched. It has no form [and] is imperishable. Similarly, it has no flavor, nor odor. It is eternal, without beginning [and] without end" (*Kaṭh. Up.* 3.5), and it "cannot be known through language, nor by the mind, nor by sight" (6.12). That the content of ultimate reality cannot be depicted is summarized most succinctly in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*'s recurring assertion that "the self [*ātman*] is not this, not that" (4.4.22ff.).

Thus, while the Upaniṣadic student seeking knowledge of *suguṇa brahman* was to comprehend the unity of all things in a world constructed on the essence of *brahman,* the student who looked for an understanding of *nirguṇa brahman* was to "deconstruct" the phenomenal world, as it were, in order to comprehend the imperishable self that lies behind the world of life and death.

Whether they considered *brahman* to be cosmic or acosmic, Upaniṣadic teachers generally distrusted empirical knowledge gained through sensual experiences. According to these thinkers, the physical world is a "measured" or "constructed" world, the world of *māyā,* a term that in the Upaniṣads denotes those aspects of the world that are empirically perceived but not ultimately real. *Māyā,* in other words, characterizes the world of time, space, and causation. According to Upaniṣadic teachings, then, that world which the ignorant call the "real world" is not, in truth, real.

Upaniṣadic ontologies are thus closely linked with epistemology. They are similarly related to physiology and psychology. Drawing on Sāṃkhya metaphysics, the Upaniṣads generally recognize a dualism of matter (*prakṛti*) and spirit (*puruṣa*). The former constitutes the objective and phenomenal world. The latter comprises the knowing subject that has no temporal or spatial limitations, and at times is used as a synonym for *ātman.* Within the world of *prakṛti,* the human body and mind may be divided into the gross body (*sthūla-śarīra*) and the subtle body (*sukṣma-* or *liṅga-śarīra*). Everyday consciousness revolves around the gross body made up of the senses and the objects of those senses (known collectively as the *indriya*s). Sensations gained from the gross body are then categorized by the subtle body, which consists of the mind (*manas*), the mechanism of personal identity or "ego" (*ahaṃkāra*), and the "awareness" (*buddhi* or *antaḥkāraṇa*), the basis of one's ability to live and act in the world.

Upaniṣadic physiology declares that both the gross and subtle bodies, however, are phenomenal (and therefore unreal) constructions relative to the spirit, the true self (see *Kaṭh. Up.* 3.10–11). Thus, the farther one's awareness is removed from its attachment to the external world experienced by the gross and subtle bodies, the closer one comes to a full yet nonempirical experience of the true self. Accordingly, the Upaniṣads emphasize the importance of dream states in the comprehension of deeper realities (see, e.g., *Bṛhad. Up.* 4.3.9). In sleep one loses awareness of the outside world, a world that is in effect a bad dream to begin with. The deeper one sleeps, the closer to eternal reality one gets.

The Upaniṣads recognize four states of waking and dreaming awareness, each successively purer and closer to the direct comprehension of *ātman.* The grossest psychological level is that of waking consciousness, a level in which apparent objects are mistakenly understood to be distinct entities and in which the subject does not recognize itself. The second, more refined, level of awareness is that of active dreaming, a state in which objects lose their solidity and appear more as they really are—as changing and unreal events. The dreaming subject is a "creator" (*kartṛ*) of the world, which exists only because he "projects" (*sṛjate*) it (see *Brhd. Up.* 4.3.10). The third level is that of dreamless sleep (*samprasāda, suṣupti*), in which one loses all awareness of oneself as an object in relation to other objects and no longer experiences the constrictions of time and space. In dreamless sleep one is said to have gained complete tranquillity. Here, one momentarily enjoys complete reunion with *brahman* and experiences, albeit nonempirically, the highest bliss (*paramānanda;* see *Bṛhad. Up.* 4.3.32).

Later Upaniṣads, especially those influenced by the practices and ideologies of Yoga, add to these states another level to one's psychological being, known simply as *turīya* or *turya,* "the fourth." *Maṇḍukya Upaniṣad* 7 describes this state: "It is not cognitive, nor is it noncognitive. It is unseen, unable to be spoken of, ungraspable, without any distinguishing characteristics, unthinkable, unnameable. It is the essence of the knowledge of the One Self [*ekātma-pratyaya-sāram*], that into which the world resolves. It is peaceful and benign. It is indivisible." Such a state sounds like the Upaniṣadic notion of ultimate reality. Indeed, the passage continues: "It [*turīya*] is *ātman.* It is to be known."

The waking somatic body, therefore, is unreal relative to ultimate reality, a point that carries ethical and eschatological implications. The "self" of one's being leaves the body at death, as the mango fruit at maturity separates from its stalk (see *Bṛhad. Up.* 4.3.36). If one has not renounced one's attachment to the world of the senses, then one will be reborn in another physical body, the existential situations of which are determined by the ethical laws of *karman;* and sooner or later one will suffer and die again. This continually turning wheel of death and rebirth (*saṃsāra*) is understood to be a painful trap from which one is released only when one understands that the physical body is not the real self, and that the world which the senses perceive is an insubstantial and effervescent illusion.

Most of the Upaniṣads agree that the best way one would cultivate such a freeing insight would be through the rigors of yogic meditation. While the Vedic Upaniṣads as a whole reflect the influence of yogic practice and ideology (see, for example, *Maitri Up.* 6.19–30 or *Śvet. Up.* 2.8–10), it is in the Yoga Upaniṣads that such teachings are most fully presented. For example, the *Amṛtabindhu, Śāṇḍilya,* and *Yogatattva* Upaniṣads, among others, contain long passages on the eight "branches" (*aṣṭānga*) of yogic practice (discipline, self-restraint, correct body posture, breath control, suppression of sensory awareness, mental concentration, intuitive meditation, and final union with the Absolute), the proper means to master each, and the characteristics of the successive levels of yogic "powers" (*siddhi*s) one gains as one becomes more adept at the particular practices.

While continuing to uphold the efficacy of yogic practice, some of the Upaniṣads also present the more theistic teaching that one cannot truly know one's soul without what might be termed the "grace" of the soul. Such appears to be the position of *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* 2.23, which maintains that "this soul [*ātman*] cannot be attained through instruction, nor through rational thinking, nor by great learning. He is to be attained only by the one whom [the supreme self] chooses. The soul [*ātman*] reveals his own nature to such a one." The soteriological dimensions of this theistic teaching are much more explicit in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*'s statement that "more subtle than the subtle, greater than the great, is the soul [*ātman*] that is set within the heart of the creature. One beholds it to be actionless and becomes free of sorrow, when through the grace of the Creator [*dhātuḥ prasadāt*] he sees the Lord [*Īś*] and his greatness" (3.20).

CLASSIFICATION OF THE UPANIṢADS. It is somewhat problematic to arrive at a precise number of Upaniṣads, because if all Sanskrit works claiming to present secret teachings were to be classified as Upaniṣads the number would be indefinite. Nearly 250 texts call themselves Upaniṣads—including the *Allopaniṣad* ("secret teachings about Allāh," composed at the time of Akbar) and the *Christopaniṣad,* dated well after the rise of Christian communities on the subcontinent—but it appears that most of these do so merely as a way to align themselves with a respected literary genre or religious tradition.

The *Muktika Upaniṣad* and other medieval South Indian works mention 108 separate Upaniṣads in an enumeration that has become somewhat of a stock list. Using the methods of historical, thematic, and textual criticism, twentieth-century scholars have isolated 123 genuine Upaniṣads. These works may be classified into two general categories, the Vedic Upaniṣads and the later Upaniṣads.

The Vedic Upaniṣads. Virtually all Vedic and most sectarian traditions recognize ten to eighteen Upaniṣads as revealed authoritative scripture *(śrūti).* Furthermore, all of the more important traditional theologians and philosophers throughout classical and medieval India recognized the central importance of these ancient works, and have written extensive commentaries on them. For these reasons, the Vedic Upaniṣads have also been called the Major, or Principal, Upaniṣads. They may be divided into three historical and textual groups.

1. The earliest Upaniṣads (the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka, Chāndogya, Taittīriya, Aitareya,* and *Kauṣītaki* Upaniṣads and the prose parts of the *Kena Upaniṣad*) predate the rise of Buddhism in the sixth century BCE, the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and the *Chāndogya* being the earliest and the *Kena* being the latest. All are explicitly aligned with one or another of the various *sakhā*s, or "schools" of Vedic interpretation, and are composed in a prose that closely resembles Vedic Sanskrit. These texts make frequent use of allegorical modes of interpretation and are often almost indistinguishable in style from the Āraṇyakas. In many ways these six works serve as the philosophical foundation for all of the later Upaniṣads.

2. A second group of Upaniṣads (the *Kaṭha* [or *Kaṭhakā*], *Īśa, Śvetāśvatara, Muṇḍaka,* and *Mahānārāyaṇa* Upaniṣads and the metrical parts of the *Kena Upaniṣad*) reflects a growing sectarian orientation and dates to the sixth and fifth centuries BCE. These works, which are composed primarily in verse, are only loosely attached to the Vedic *sakhā*s, and make less use of metaphorical, allegorical, or other tropic means of expression.

3. The Upaniṣads of a third group (the *Praśna, Maitri* [or *Maitrāyaṇīya*], *Jābāla, Paiṅgala,* and *Māṇḍūkya* Upaniṣads) return to prose form, but in a language that resembles classical Sanskrit much more than Vedic Sanskrit. They probably emerged in the late fifth and early fourth centuries BCE although the dates for a few of them are uncertain.

All of these works are attached to the textual collections of specific priestly Vedic traditions. The *Aitareya* and *Kauṣītaki* Upaniṣads belong to the *Ṛgveda.* The *Kaṭha, Maitri, Taittrīya,* and *Śvetāśvatara* Upaniṣads are attached to the *Kṛṣṇa* ("Black") *Yajurveda,* while the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Īśa,* and *Paiṅgala* Upaniṣads are aligned with the *Śukla* ("White") *Yajurveda.* The *Chāndogya* and *Kena* Upaniṣads belong to the *Sāmaveda,* and, finally, the *Muṇḍaka, Māṇḍūkya, Praśna,* and *Jābāla* Upaniṣads form a part of the conclusion of the *Atharvaveda.*

The later Upaniṣads. To this list of principal Vedic Upaniṣads most authorities would add a large number of less known and, for the most part, medieval works that may be classified as the later Upaniṣads. These works are not universally accepted as *śrūti,* and they have not received the extensive attention from traditional South Asian philosophical commentators as have the Vedic Upaniṣads. This does not mean that they are less important than others. Indeed, these texts may well be more influential in their respective communities than the principal Vedic Upaniṣads. Such works reflect the increasing influence of Sāṃkhya philosophy, Yoga practice and ideology, and sectarian theistic traditions through the classical and medieval periods. While many align themselves with the *Ṛgveda, Yajurveda,* or *Sāmaveda,* most of these Upaniṣads are attached, at least nominally, to the *Atharvaveda.* Most are in prose form and are composed almost entirely in classical Sanskrit.

The number of the later Upaniṣads is too large to list all of them here. Only the most important or representative ones will be mentioned; readers seeking a more complete list are directed to the bibliography.

1. Vedānta Upaniṣads. These works, which include the *Muktika, Piṇḍa, Garba, Ātman, Prāṇāgnihotra, Adhyatman,* and *Brahmā* as well as perhaps two dozen other Upaniṣads, fairly consistently maintain the general doctrines presented by the Vedic Upaniṣads, and show relatively little sectarian influence. They differ from the Vedic Upaniṣads only in that they are not cited in traditional commentaries.

2. Yoga Upaniṣads. These texts arose out of a more specifically ascetic context than did many of the Vedic and Vedānta Upaniṣads, and reflect the influence of Yoga ideologies and practices within Upaniṣadic circles. This group includes the *Yogakuṇḍalī, Nādabindhu, Śāndilya, Yogatattva, Tejobindhu, Haṃsa, Amṛtabindhu, Dhyānabindhu,* and *Varāha* Upaniṣads. These works center on the direct experience of the eternal self (*ātman*) through specific techniques of Yoga and through the meditation on the sacred syllable *om.*

3. Saṃnyāsa Upaniṣads. These works tend to extol the life of the wandering ascetic's search for release from the cycle of rebirth (*saṃsāra*) and teach ways in which such release may be obtained. They include the *Nāradaparivrājaka, Bhikṣuka, Paramahaṃsa, Āśrama,* and *Saṃnyāsa* Upaniṣads.

4. Mantra Upaniṣads. These teachings center on esoteric interpretations of specific sounds and syllables and place those interpretations into Yogic as well as Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, and Durgā theistic contexts. Typical of such works would be the *Tārasāra, Kalisantāraṇa,* and *Nārāyaṇa* Upaniṣads.

5. Śaiva Upaniṣads. The earliest Śaiva Upaniṣad might well be said to be the Vedic *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad,* which praised the role of Rudra (a Vedic precursor to the god Śiva) in the religious quest. The more well-known of the medieval Śaiva Upaniṣads would include the *Nīlarudra, Kālāgnirudra, Kaivalya,* and *Atharvaśiras* Upaniṣads, all of which understand the person of Śiva (also known as Maheśvara, Bhairava, Īśana, and other names) to be an embodiment of the deepest self, *ātman.*

6. Vaiṣṇava Upaniṣads. These texts tend to interpret the various incarnations of the god Viṣṇu as representative forms of the *ātman.* Some Vaiṣṇava traditions look to the *Īśa Upaniṣad* as the Vedic antecedent to, or oldest sectarian representative of, this particular genre. Works associated with this group include the *Nṛsimha-pūrvatāpanīya, Nṛsimhottaratāpanīya, Mahā, Rāmapur-vatāpanīya,* and *Ramottaratāpanīya* Upaniṣads.

SEE ALSO Brahman; Māyā; Samādhi; Saṃnyāsa; Soul, article on Indian Concepts; Vedānta; Yoga.

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Readers seeking a stock list of what have been termed Vedic and later Upaniṣads should turn to the opening lines of the *Muktika Upaniṣad,* which lists 108 such works. J. N. Farquhar, a historian of Indian religious literatures, has distinguished 123 distinct Upaniṣads, which he lists in his *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India* (1920; reprint, Delhi, 1967), p. 364.

The last hundred years have seen the publication of a large number of Upaniṣads in modern languages, many of which suffer from a lack of perspicuity due to the somewhat esoteric nature of the original works. The most objective English translation of most of the Vedic Upaniṣads remains Robert Ernest Hume's somewhat stilted *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads,* 2d rev. ed. (Oxford, 1949). A more fluid translation is Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan's *The Principal Upaniṣads* (New York, 1953). Radhakrishnan's work is better than Hume's in that it includes the Sanskrit and it translates sixteen rather than thirteen works. Some students will find Radhakrishnan's commentaries on the works to be of some help, although many of them reflect his neo-Vedantic bias. Another good translation, and one that openly admits an Advaitic point of view, is Swāmī Nikhilānanda's *The Upanishads,* 4 vols. (New York, 1949–1959). Readers interested in the later Upaniṣads would be advised to look to Paul Deussen's *Sechzig Upanishads des Veda* (Leipzig, 1897), to K. Nārāyanasvāmi Aiyar's *Thirty Minor Upanishads* (Madras, 1914), and to Jean Varenne's *Upanishads du yoga* (Paris, 1974). Readers seeking only selections from the Vedic Upaniṣads might turn to Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan and Charles Moore's edited volume, *A Source Book in Indian Philosophy* (Princeton, N.J., 1957), pp. 37–96, or to Juan Mascaró's *The Upanishads* (Baltimore, 1965), although the latter is somewhat colored by a theistic understanding of the texts.

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WILLIAM K. MAHONY (1987)

UPĀYA is a Sanskrit and Pali term meaning "device, strategem," or "means." The term has a technical function in Buddhism, especially in the Mahāyāna, where it is frequently used in the compound *upāyakauśalya* ("skill in means"). In Buddhist usage, it refers to certain manners of teaching or forms of practice that may be employed along the path to final release, and in which a buddha or *bodhisattva* is especially skilled. Often, these involve the skillful evaluation of the spiritual capacities of beings on the part of a buddha or *bodhisattva,* and a concomitant revelation of just that degree of truth that is most beneficial to the specific religious needs of the devotee. The usual Chinese equivalent is *fangbian* (Jpn., *hōben*). Although *fangbian* is an ordinary Chinese word with its own distinct meaning, owing to various terminological conflations its meaning in East Asian Buddhist texts is "(skillfully applied) means." The usage has given rise to the convenient English expression "skillful means." The concept of *upāya* also figures prominently in other Mahāyāna Buddhist cultures, notably that of Tibet.

PALI USAGE. The terms *upāya* or *upāyakusala* occur in the Theravāda canon, but only incidentally or in late texts. The *Dīgha Nikāya* and the *Anguttara Nikāya* speak of three kinds of skill: skill in entering *(aya),* skill in leaving *(apāya),* and skill in approach or means *(upāya).* Leaving etymological speculation aside, it is clear that this terminology refers to the spiritual attitude of a monk who is supposed to be expert in the management of his practice on the road to Buddhahood. In the *Suttanipāta,* it is the expert boatman taking others across a swift stream who is described as a "skillful knower of the means."

In spite of the paucity of references in Pali writings, it is remarkable that *upāya* here assumes a double aspect, referring to the activities both of aspiring monk and good teacher, skilled in the ways of helping others across the spiritual threshold. Variously emphasized, this double usage is frequently found in early Mahāyāna, although not direct textual lineage should be assumed. Other Pali usage is either nontechnical or late and incidental. This relative inattention to the term in Pali texts does not mean, however, that the way of thinking assumed in this terminology is foreign either to Theravāda Buddhism in its fully developed form or to the earliest Buddhists in general. Admittedly, there is no direct evidence that the Buddha himself made use of this specific term to explain the way his teaching was to be understood. Nevertheless, there are many indications that his message was presented with conscious, pragmatic skill. In support of this, one need only think of such well known scriptural similes as the raft, the poisoned arrow, the pith, and the water snake, in which the provisional and practical nature of the Buddha's teachings is made clear.

UPĀYA IN THE LOTUS SŪTRA. The opening chapters of the *Lotus Sūtra (Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra)* are an extended reflection on the nature of the Buddha's teaching. This reflection is advanced partly by means of a series of parables and partly by a retelling of the story of the Buddha's decision to teach others the religious path he had perfected (chaps. 2 and 7). The concept of skill in means plays an important role throughout, occurring over eighty times in the first eight chapters.

Traditionally, the story of the Buddha's decision to teach following his enlightenment had portrayed him as hesitant to do so because of the depth and subtlety of the Dharma and the sensuality and ignorance of humankind. In this account, only the urging of the god Brahmā led to the Buddha's decision to teach the four noble truths and the Middle Way. To this hesitancy was linked the Buddha's perception of the diversity of human faculties and dispositions, a diversity that is likened to a pond full of lotuses, only some of which rise undefiled above the water. In the retelling of this story in the *Lotus Sūtra,* the discrepancy between the Buddha's knowledge and the ignorance of living beings provokes an explanation that the teaching of the Buddha is an *upāya,* that is, a provisional expedient able to draw people into the Buddha's Dharma. In other words, although the Buddha realizes that the true, ultimate, and indeed originally nirvanic quality of things cannot be precisely stated in words, he nevertheless teaches the doctrine of *nirvāṇa* as a "means" to lead people toward detachment.

A parable in the third chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra* tells how a father lures his children from a burning house by the expedient of offering them three fine chariots for their enjoyment. Only on emerging from the fire do they realize that they have been tricked, as it were, into safety by the attractive inducements offered by their father: their real reward, their lives, far outweighs their original expectations. So too, according to the parable, does the Buddha lure sentient beings from the "burning house" that is *saṃsāra* (the round of birth and death) by proposing a variety of apparently distinct religious careers, all of which are in fact reducible to one: the path leading to Buddhahood. Thus understood, the otherwise polemically differentiated "vehicles" *(yāna)*—*śrāvaka* ("hearer of the Dharma"), *pratyekabuddha* (self-enlightened Buddha), and *bodhisattva*—are only provisional constructs designed to appeal to persons of different religious capacities. Ultimately, it is only the path of the Buddhas *(buddhayāna)* that is real.

While the means used to ensure deliverance may thus seem to involve an element of deception, or at least, of withholding the full truth, the discrepancy between the form in which the message is couched and its ultimate meaning is understood to arise owing to the relative ignorance of the living beings who receive it. The sincerity and the consistency of the Dharma regarded from the point of view of the Buddha is considered to be unimpeached. In chapter 5, the simile of a rain cloud, which bestows on diverse plants moisture equal to their needs, explicitly treats this point. Other parables stress that the religious path eventually brings rewards out of all comprehension to those just beginning their practice. In chapter 4, the process of winning enlightenment is compared to that of a son who abandons his father's estate. When the prodigal returns years later, in dire poverty and ignorant even of the fact that he has come to the place of his birth, his father only gradually reveals his patrimony to him, fearing that a premature revelation of the truth would frighten his son away once again.

Finally, not only is the teaching of the Buddha declared by this text to comprise a series of skillfully devised expedients, but the very appearance of the Buddha in this world is declared (chap. 15; chap. 16 in the Chinese) to be a mere strategem to draw beings to the Dharma. The actual Enlightenment is an event that took place, if it occurred in history at all, aeons ago. The Buddha's apparent *pārinirvāṇa* at age eighty is a mere simulacrum, comparable to that of a physician who feigns death in order to induce his willful sons to take an essential medicine. Chapter 7 tells of a guide who leads his charges to a magic city he has conjured up as a resting place for the weary. Only when they have rested do the travelers learn that the city is a mirage, not the ultimate goal of their journey after all.

Thus, in the *Lotus Sūtra* it is not merely a question of particular teachings being regarded as secondary formulations. The very appearance of the Buddha, his setting the wheel of the Dharma in motion, and his winning of *nirvāṇa,* have a provisional, dialectical nature related to the needs of living beings in their diversity.

UPĀYA IN THE PERFECTION OF WISDOM LITERATURE. In the early Mahāyāna sūtras, known as the Prajñāpāramitā ("perfection of wisdom") literature, the notion of skill in means is closely linked to that of *prajñā,* that is, to wisdom or insight into the true character of things. Such insight implies a recognition of the metaphysical voidness or insubstantiality of all phenomena and all factors of experience (*dharmas*). Insight and skill in means are two of the perfections in which a *bodhisattva* has to school himself. Hence, this usage (especially in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*) complements that of the *Lotus.* As an adept in training, the *bodhisattva* must manage the various features of practical religion that articulate his path, but without becoming attached to them in any way. He must, for example, practice *dhyāna* ("meditation, trance") without being subject to its karmic consequences, that is, without rebirth in the various *deva* heavens that such meditation entails. These heavens, the teaching holds, are pleasant but religiously irrelevant existences; attachment to them is an impediment to the religious life: "But what is the skill in means of a Bodhisattva? It is just this perfection of wisdom. And he applies himself to this skill in means in such a way that, endowed with it, the Bodhisattva enters into the trances without being reborn through the influence of the trances" (Conze, 1973, p. 250).

Upāya, however, is not only a matter of individual spiritual welfare. The *bodhisattva* would lose his own way if he abandoned living beings.

> If the mind of a Bodhisattva forms the aspiration not to abandon all beings but to set them free, and if in addition, he aspires for the concentration on emptiness, the Signless, the Wishless, i.e., for the three doors to deliverance, then that Bodhisattva should be known as one who is endowed with skill in means, and he will not realise the reality-limit midway, before his Buddhadharmas have become complete. For it is this skill in means which protects him. (Conze, 1973, p. 225)

Thus the *bodhisattva* is both the adept and the benefactor. In Mahāyāna thinking it is not possible to be the one without also being the other.

A closely related early Mahāyāna text, the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra* (Teaching of Vimalakīrti) dramatizes this principle with a narrative centered on an illness feigned by the *prajñā*-adept Vimalakīrti. In conversation with Mañjuśrī he declares that his illness is without characteristics but arises only through compassion as a skillful means. It will be healed only insofar as all beings depart from belief in self and from dualistic thought. The close connection between *upāya* and *prajñā* ("insight") is evident in statements such as: "Again, insight without (skillful) means is bondage, but insight with (skillful) means is release; (skillful) means without insight is bondage, but (skillful) means with insight is release" (T.D. no. 14.545). Applied to the body, that fundamental object of Buddhist meditation, the implications of this are as follows:

> Yet again, seeing the body in terms of impermanence, suffering, emptiness and non-self, this is called insight. To stay in birth-and-death even though the body is sick, bringing benefits to all and not getting disgusted or tired, this is called (skillful) means . . . To see that the body is never without sickness . . . and that there is no renovation and no passing away, this is called insight. To recognize that the body is sick and yet not to enter eternal cessation, this is called (skillful) means. (T.D. no. 14.545)

IMPLICATIONS. The concept of *upāya* plays an incidental role in many other Mahāyāna texts, especially in connection with *bodhisattva*s as savior figures. Its implications are also clearly present, however, in the more philosophical Madhyamika distinction between two levels of truth. Both provisional truth *(lokasaṃvṛtisatya)* and supreme truth *(paramārthasatya)* are essential, according to the *Mādhyamakakārika* (Middle stanzas) of Nāgārjuna, for the proclamation of Buddhist Dharma.

Skill in means, or skillful means, is an idea known to every experienced monk in Mahāyāna Buddhism and has often been used to interpret the function of various aspects of Buddhist teaching or practice. Its role as a regulative principle in situations of accommodation or syncretism should never be overlooked. At the same time, many implications of its use as a principle of interpretation both in Buddhism and in a wider religious sense remain to be explored.

SEE ALSO Bodhisattva Path.

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URMONOTHEISMUS SEE SCHMIDT, WILHELM; SUPREME BEINGS

USENER, HERMANN (1833–1905), was a German classical philologist and historian of religion. From 1866 to

1902 Usener was professor at Bonn. His major writings include *Das Weihnachtsfest* (1889); *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (2 vols., 1889); *Götternamen: Versuch einer Lehre von der religiösen Begriffsbildung* (1896); and *Die Sintfluthsagen* (1899).

In *Götternamen,* Usener presented a once-influential theory. Taking his method from philology and his data mainly from demons (the *indigitamenta*) invoked by name in ancient Roman rites, Usener claimed to show that the history of the idea of deity had three phases. First, the concept of deity emerges as that of momentary gods (*Augenblicksgötter*) whose power is manifested during some fleeting experience, such as plowing and harrowing, but then vanishes. Next, as activities are repeated, these deities gain a certain continuity; they come to stand as functional powers over an entire class of phenomena or activity. Usener calls these "special gods" (*Söndergotter*). In a later phase still, when the name of the god is no longer connected with his function, the god is seen as an autonomous being or personality. Such gods often have many divine names, but this means only that several special gods with different names have become fused into one. Usener also cited data on Lithuanian religions in support of his views.

Usener's heavy reliance on philology and his claim that the history of the concept of deity could be adequately clarified through the history of the names of the gods was attacked by Jan de Vries, who pointed out that there is no instance of a specialized functional god having evolved into a principal deity. According to de Vries, the momentary gods likely represent a late phase of priestly speculation or juridical elaboration (de Vries, 1967, pp. 134–138). Georges Dumézil has argued similarly that a comprehensive historical approach shows that the *indigitamenta* are relatively unimportant phenomena (Dumézil, 1970, vol. 1, pp. 32–38).

Usener's other major effort was to show how Christianity took over pagan rites and feasts. He traced the Christmas festival to the birthday of the pagan sun god celebrated on the winter solstice (December 25, according to the Julian calendar), and he argued that certain saints derived from pagan prototypes (e.g., Pelagius from Aphrodite).

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UṢŪL AL-FIQH.

The Arabic phrase *uṣūl al-fiqh,* which means literally "the roots of understanding," takes on a specialized sense in the classical literature of Islam; it may be rendered either as "sources of law" or as "principles of jurisprudence." The former rendering may be regarded as best expressing the primary sense of the phrase and the latter as conveying a broader, extended sense. It must be kept in mind that "law" in Islam is much more comprehensive than Western law: It includes not only civil and criminal law but also regulations pertaining to worship, hygiene, and other aspects of the private lives of individuals. It furthermore recommends and disapproves actions as much as it requires and forbids them, and while it specifies temporal penalties for certain offenses, its ultimate sanctions are otherworldly.

There are two Arabic terms that may be translated as "law"—*sharīʿah* and *fiqh.* The *sharīʿah* is the law of God, immutable, all-encompassing, and transcendent. Strictly speaking, *fiqh* is the understanding of the law of God that jurists acquire through pious scholarship. However, because it is this understanding of the law of God, as expressed in concrete rules formulated by the jurists themselves, which governs the daily lives of Muslims, it may be considered law in its own right. It is, in fact, the nearest thing to a positive law that the Islamic tradition affords. *uṣūl al-fiqh* thus designates, in its primary sense, the sources of this positive law, that is, the sources of a human *prudentia juris* conceived as a norm of human conduct. A source *(aṣl)* is that from which something else is derived. The law of God cannot, in its essence, be a derivative of anything; only human constructions of law can have that status.

The necessity for the distinction between the law of God and the positive law as the expression of the human understanding of that law becomes evident when reflecting on cases where the jurists differ among themselves in their construction of rules. Although some Muslim jurists subscribed to a kind of relativism, according to which any rules that emerged from the deliberations of a particular jurist constituted the law of God for him, the majority of Sunnī jurists insisted upon the absolute uniformity and prevenience of that law such that, where jurists propounded conflicting rules, they could not all be right and the possibility of error had necessarily to be admitted. But as the Sunnī jurists acknowledged no higher authority that might resolve differences among them, they were constrained to regard all rules propounded by duly qualified jurists on the basis of a diligent investigation of the sources of law as equally valid and normative, even if contradictory. What was required for a rule to be normative, therefore, was not that it be an infallible statement of the divine law but simply that it express a qualified jurist's genuine understanding of that law. It is the fallibility of that understanding that compels one to draw a clear line between it and the law of God, its object.

The derivation of positive law from its proper sources is governed by carefully formulated methodological principles so as to leave as little as possible to human ingenuity. These principles, which are partly hermeneutical, partly text-critical, and partly theological, are included in the extended meaning of *uṣūl al-fiqh.* They, together with the sources of law, constitute the "principles of jurisprudence."

The Theory of the Four Sources and Its Origin. Classical Sunnī Muslim legal thought enumerates four primary sources of positive law: the Qurʾān; the *sunnah,* or custom, of the prophet Muḥammad; consensus (*ijmāʿ*); and analogical deduction (*qiyās*). The first three of these sources consist of, or are embodied in, texts and as such may be described as the material sources of positive law. The Qurʾān and the *sunnah* of the Prophet (as recorded in the special literature called *ḥadīth*) have, by virtue of their inspired character, a special status not accorded the consensus: They alone have been compiled into discrete textual corpora classified as *nuṣūṣ*. The consensus, though not ranked among the *nuṣūṣ*, is nevertheless necessarily expressed in relatively fixed verbal formulations that may be regarded as essentially textual, or at least quasi-textual, in character. These are preserved *within* the larger literature of Islamic jurisprudence. The fourth source of positive law, on the other hand, is, in contrast to the other three, a *method* of deriving from texts rules of law that are not contained within the meaning of the texts. It may accordingly be described as a formal source of law. To the extent that the principle of analogy is strictly applied, the exclusive authority of the texts as material sources of law is maintained, for although the derived rule may not be said to be contained within the meaning of the texts, it may quite definitely be said to have its ultimate basis in the texts, that basis being an analogous rule contained within the texts' meaning. To these four sources of law most theorists add further "supplementary" sources, to be considered shortly.

Joseph Schacht's monumental study of the early development of Islamic jurisprudence (*Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence,* Oxford, 1959) singled out the famous jurist Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī (d. 820) as the real architect of the "four source" theory. As Schacht showed, Shāfiʿī formulated this theory in response to the interaction of two movements that had been contending for supremacy in the shaping of Islamic law before his time. The earliest of these was represented by what Schacht called the "ancient schools of law." These schools, which were located in the principal Muslim urban settlements of the Umayyad period (661–750), especially Kufa and Medina, despite certain differences shared a common acceptance of the consensus of legal scholars as constituting the ultimate criterion of correct legal doctrine. While in no way minimizing the preeminence of the prophet Muḥammad, which the passing of generations only enhanced, the representatives of these schools came to view the *sunnah* of the Prophet as most faithfully represented in the unanimously agreed-upon doctrine. Thus the ancient schools in effect identified the *sunnah* of the Prophet with the consensus of legal scholars. In reaction to this view, the second movement, namely that of the traditionists (*ahl al-ḥadīth*), took the position that the consensus of the legists, far from adequately representing the *sunnah* of the Prophet, was in reality the product of human reasoning and was therefore of no value whatsoever and that the *sunnah* of the Prophet was properly represented only by formal traditions (*aḥadīth*; literally, "narratives") reporting actual sayings or deeds of the Prophet and accompanied by lists (*isnāds*) of accredited transmitters. The *sunnah* of the Prophet was thus, in their view, categorically distinct from the consensus of the legists. Both the ancient schools and the traditionists recognized, as any Muslim must, the authority of the Qurʾān, but as the Qurʾān supplies relatively little material of a specifically legal nature, the question of whether the consensus of legists or formal traditions from the Prophet was to be the primary norm after the Qurʾān was of crucial importance for the development of Muslim legal thinking.

Shāfiʿī himself leaned decidedly toward the traditionist point of view. At the same time, being a lawyer by disposition, like the representatives of the ancient schools in whose circles he had studied (and unlike the traditionists, who though much preoccupied with piety had little instinct for legal matters), Shāfiʿī realized that some principle of legal construction beyond that of sheer adherence to texts was necessary if law was to develop in accordance with the ongoing needs of the community. He therefore affirmed the validity of analogical deduction, a technique of legal construction that had been developed to near perfection by the ancient schools. However, he distinguished analogical deduction sharply from the purely private judgments of the legists, which the ancient schools had permitted in certain cases. The latter he ruled out entirely, as he did likewise the consensus of the legists, which, like the traditionists, he believed to be the product of private judgment. In its place he did, however, accept the general consensus of the entire Muslim community on essentials. Thus did Shāfiʿī assemble as complementary principles of legal construction four items: the Qurʾān, the *sunnah* of the Prophet as represented by formal traditions, the consensus of the community as a whole, and analogical deduction from any of the foregoing. By insisting on adherence to formal traditions, which in Shāfiʿī's time were fast being fashioned into a textual corpus, Shāfiʿī secured for Islamic law a strong literary base, thus introducing into juristic activity a larger measure of stability and predictability than had previously existed.

THE CLASSICAL THEORY OF THE FOUR SUNNĪ MADHHABS. During the third century of the Islamic era (roughly the ninth century CE), the ancient schools of law gave way to a new type of school called the *madhhab*. Whereas the ancient schools had been essentially regional in character, encompassing all legists in a particular locality such as Kufa or Medina, the *madhhab*s derived their identity (and their names) from particular authoritative teachers of law, whom they claimed as their founders and whose essential doctrine they claimed to uphold. Two such "personal schools" (Schacht's term)—the Ḥanafī and the Mālikī schools—emerged out of the ancient schools of Kufa and Medina, within which they had originated as circles of followers of two teachers of great prominence, Abū Ḥanīfah in Kufa and Mālik ibn Anas in Medina. The emergence, after Shāfiʿī's death, of another school claiming to uphold his doctrine gave added impetus to the development of the new type of school. By the early tenth century at least seven such schools were in existence within Sunnī Islam, although only four of these survived beyond the thirteenth century: the Ḥanafī, Mālikī, Shāfiʿī, and Ḥanbalī schools.

Despite certain differences that persisted between them and despite the diversity of their origins, the four *madhhab*s came eventually to agree upon a version of the theory of the four sources that is often described as the classical theory. This theory differed in one important respect from Shāfiʿī's version: It accepted the consensus of legal scholars as equal in weight to the consensus of the entire Muslim community, and because the latter was scarcely if at all ascertainable after the Muslim community had spread beyond its place of origin in Medina, it was the former alone that became the effective principle of legal construction (despite many difficulties in its application). Thus in effect the classical theory allowed the cardinal principle of the ancient schools, which Shāfiʿī had rejected, to creep back into Muslim legal thinking. Within the classical theory, it had, however, a position far less exalted than the one it had enjoyed in the thinking of the ancient schools, for it was now subordinated, not only to the Qurʾān, but also to the vast body of traditions. The classical theory, which inherited from Shāfiʿī the notion that the authority of the *sunnah* of the Prophet was grounded in the Qurʾān, went on to make the authority of the consensus dependent on both of these.

The differences between the four *madhhab*s in the realm of legal theory have to do with the so-called supplementary principles of legal construction alluded to above. Of these, two are predominant, namely those referred to by means of the terms *istiḥsān* ("preference") and *istiṣlāḥ* ("consideration of public utility"). The first, which is acknowledged by the Ḥanafī school, allows a jurist to set aside a rule deduced analogically from a text in favor of another rule, whose basis in the text is less obvious but that in the jurist's personal judgment provides a more equitable solution to the case at hand. The second, which originated within the Mālikī school but was also later accepted by some legists of the Shāfiʿī and Hanbali schools, allowed a jurist to formulate a rule on the basis of a perceived contribution to the common good (*maṣlaḥah*). Discussions of what was entailed in the notion of the common good proceeded from the conviction that the essential guidelines were to be found in the texts and culminated in some very profound probings into the "ultimate purposes" (*maqāṣid*) of the law of God. Because *istiḥsān* and *istiṣlāḥ* are kindred principles, and because neither in its classical formulation entailed a conscious turning away from the texts in favor of a totally independent use of human reason but looked to the texts for ultimate guidance, the differences between the *madhhab*s in regard to these principles may be assessed as relatively minor.

The large measure of agreement that the four *madhhab*s eventually arrived at in the theoretical realm helped to foster toleration of the differences between them in the realm of positive legal doctrine. The formulation of rules of law on the basis of the recognized sources was understood to be an arduous scholarly task, leading frequently to results of a quite tentative nature. A jurist who was qualified for this task was, in fact, called a *mujtahid* ("one who strives"), and the work of the *mujtahid* is accordingly called *ijtihād* ("striving"). The result of this work was classified as "opinion" (*ẓann*). Thus the rules formulated by the *mujtahid*s represented at best their considered opinion, reached after much "striving," as to what the sources dictated with respect to specific cases presented to them. This recognition of the tentativeness of at least part of the positive law constructed by the jurists militated against a dogmatic attachment to any one *madhhab* as the sole valid expression of the law of God.

ALTERNATIVES TO THE CLASSICAL THEORY. Although the espousal of the classical theory by the four Sunnī *madhhab*s assured it a position of undisputed predominance within the larger world of Islam, this theory by no means monopolized Muslim thinking completely.

The Ẓāhirī theory. Among the earlier Sunnī *madhhab* s that eventually disappeared, one—the Ẓāhirī *madhhab*—propounded a literalist theory of legal construction that, through the writings of the *madhhab*'s greatest representative, Ibn Ḥazm of Cordova (d. 1064), was to remain after the demise of the *madhhab* as a permanent challenge to the classical theory, to be considered whenever the works of Ibn Ḥazm were studied. The most distinctive feature of the Ẓāhirī theory was its decisive rejection of analogical deduction. Its literalism was of a radical sort requiring exclusive adherence to legal rules contained within the text's meaning as determined solely through the tools of the Arabic linguistic sciences. Analogical deduction was considered too speculative, as it seemed, in the Ẓāhirī view, to entail a purely human determination of a legal rule, even if the presumed basis (*ʿillah*) were said to be inferred from the texts; and rules, according to the Ẓāhirīyah, were not for humans to determine in any degree. The presence of the Ẓāhirī legacy within the Islamic legal tradition promoted intensive reflection among the legists upon the fundamental question of what constitutes the meaning of a text. The Ẓāhirīyah, in the interests of legal development, tended to stretch the concept of meaning to include much of what the four principal *madhhab*s considered to be established by analogy, so that the dispute was, partly at least, over methodological

The Shīʿī theory. Even more potent than the Ẓāhirī theory as a challenge to the thinking of the four *madhhab*s were the theories developed within Shīʿī Islam and especially within that branch known as Imāmī, or Twelver, Shiism. Twelver theory, like the Ẓāhirī, rejects analogical deduction, but the prevailing school of thought among the Twelvers, that of the Ūṣūlīyah, posits in its place "reason" (*ʿaql*) as the fourth source of law. Included under this rubric are a number of "rational" operations. Some of these are essentially interpretative activities and as such are considered to be "dependent" upon the texts, in the sense that they do not lead to any conclusion apart from the texts; others are completely autonomous. Of the latter operations, the most significant is the rational perception of good and evil, a notion derived from an early Muslim school of thought known as the Muʿtazilah but denied universally by later Sunnī thinkers. The three remaining sources posited by the Sunnī *madhhab*s are accepted in Twelver theory but with important modifications. The *sunnah* of the Prophet is expanded into the *sunnah* of the "infallible authority" (*al-maʿṣūm*) so as to include also the sayings of the imams, or spiritual heads of the community, who are deemed no less infallible than the Prophet. As for the consensus, which Twelver theorists take to be the general consensus of the community as a whole, it is reduced to the role of disseminator of the doctrine of the infallible authority, and the notion of an infallible consensus coequal as a material source of law with the Qurʾān and the *sunnah* of the Prophet is regarded as a Sunnī aberration stemming from the treasonous election of Abū Bakr as the first caliph. During the long period intervening between the entry of the twelfth imam into a state of "occultation" (believed to have occurred in 876) and his anticipated return, the community depends on the spiritual guidance of *mujtahid*s, who, though not infallible—even when in agreement—are qualified by virtue of their superior knowledge of the Qurʾān and the *sunnah* of the "infallible authority" (as enshrined in Shīʿī *ḥadīth* collections) to carry on the task of developing the positive law in response to communal needs. Unlike the Sunnī legists, however, these *mujtahid*s are not divided into a plurality of *madhhab*s—a most reprehensible situation, to the Shīʿī way of thinking—but constitute one unified and exclusively valid *madhhab*, that of the imams and the Prophet themselves.

ʿILM UṢŪL AL-FIQH. Interest in the methods and principles governing the derivation of positive rules from the sources of law gave rise to a special Islamic science called *ʿilm uṣūl al-fiqh*, whose business it was to spell out these methods and principles in detail and to deal with every conceivable issue that might arise in connection with them. This science was distinguished from *ʿilm al-fiqh*, the science of positive law as such. Together, these two sciences constitute the two main branches of what may be called, in the broadest sense of the term, Islamic jurisprudence.

Although Shāfiʿī, described already as the architect of the theory of the four sources, may also be regarded as the founder of ʿilm *uṣūl al-fiqh*, especially by virtue of his treatise known generally as the *Risālah,* the primary agents in the development of this science in the century or so after Shāfiʿī were a number of prominent members of the Muʿtazilī school, mentioned above. There is, in fact, a close connection between the development of ʿilm *uṣūl al-fiqh* and that of speculative theology (*ʿilm al-kalām*), in which the Muʿtazilah played a prominent role; and as the agents in the one were also the agents in the other, it is not surprising that the method of investigation that prevailed in speculative theology, namely that of dialectic, prevailed also in ʿilm *uṣūl al-fiqh.* After the eclipse of the Muʿtazilī school of theology by the "orthodox" Ashʿari and Māturidi schools, the further development of *ʿilm uṣūl al-fiqh* was carried on by theorists of all four *madhhab*s, many of whom adhered to these two later schools.

It should be noted, finally, that despite its great thoroughness and finesse *ʿilm uṣūl al-fiqh* was seldom put to practice for the purpose either of producing new law or of reforming existing law. The greater part of the legal doctrine of the four *madhhab*s was formulated long before *ʿilm uṣūl al-fiqh* reached maturity and is, in fact, in large measure a legacy of the ancient schools of law, as Schacht has shown. The methods and principles elaborated in *ʿilm uṣūl al-fiqh* were consequently viewed as identical with those presumed to have been employed by the great masters of an earlier period, especially the eponyms of the four *madhhab*s. *ʿ Ilm uṣūl al-fiqh*—at least in its later mature form—sought simply to articulate what was supposed to have been implicit in the work of the masters. At the same time it always stood as a potential resource for any daring mind that might wish to take a fresh and independent look at the inherited doctrine and embark on a new *ijtihād* in emulation of the masters themselves.

SEE ALSO Islamic Law.

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UTOPIA.

The term *utopia* (from the Greek *ou-topos,* "no place," or *eutopos,* "good place," and evidently coined as a pun by Thomas More for the title of his book published in 1516) has very diverse, often confusing connotations. Sometimes it is used to mean any idealization of the distant or primordial past, when humans lived closer to the gods (or God), as found in Sumero-Akkadian cuneiform accounts of Dilman; in the Hebrew story of Eden of *Genesis;* in portrayals of the Golden Age by Hesiod, Vergil, Symmachus, and other Greek and Roman writers; in myths of the "perfect great period" (*kṙtayuga, suśamā,* etc.) in later Vedic, earlier Jain, and Buddhist traditions; or in accounts of the early age of the four (mythic) emperors of popular Chinese thought. In some ancient cultures, the original inhabitants of certain foreign regions were imagined to live in an innocent, trouble-free state (the Greeks, for instance, wrote of the Ethiopians, Scythians, and others in this fashion), while not a few students of prehistory in modern times have visualized the earliest humans as herbivores, free from war (as held by Richard Leakey), or as without the sexual constraints and inequalities of later ages (as held by Friedrich Engels).

In contrast, the term *utopia* at other times refers to the future realization of some perfect place and time. It can take on futurist instead of primitivist associations, thus becoming a lost paradise regained, the projection of the hopes and dreams of a millenarianism (the kingdom of God or its equivalent on earth), or the establishment of an ideal society divinely or otherwise sanctioned to replace the glaring ills of the day. Occasionally notions of heavenly worlds—such as the mythic Isles of the Blessed in Greco-Roman belief, the Chinese Māhāyana Buddhist Pure Land of the West, or the Qurʾanic vision of heaven as fertile gardens with maidservants—have been described as utopian, as also have visions of an eternal city set above the known order, such as Augustine's City of God, which nevertheless partakes of earthly affairs.

A more traditional understanding of utopia (as in More) is that of a distant, wondrous land allegedly discovered and described by a traveler returning home. Hints of this are found in Homer's *Odyssey* (the account of the Phaeacians), and the earliest extant written description of utopia is that of Euhemerus, who not only argued that the gods were originally deified mortals but also described an idyllic social order outside the bounds and difficulties of ordinary human life. Interestingly, priests are the effective rulers of the Sacred Isle, although they have no official political status.

Pertinent comparisons here include the Greek romancer (and perhaps Cynic) Iambulus writing on the island City of the Sun (early first century BCE), the church historian Socrates on the location of Eden (440 century CE), More's *Utopia* (1516), the Spanish explorer Garcilaso de la Vega's impressions of the Inca empire (1617), the Rosicrucian Johann Valentia Andreae's *Christianopolis* (1619), the Dominican Tommaso Campanella's *City of the Sun* (1623), empiricist Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* (1627), and *philosophe* Denis Diderot's *Tahiti* (1772), all Western in origin. More's crescent-shaped, two-hundred-mile-long, substantially urbanized island utopia is the most famous, remarkable for its religious tolerance and its endearing priests, who do not persecute but instead constrain those few who happen to hold to the three destructive, forbidden views: that the soul is mortal, that the world is the outcome of mere chance, and that there is no reward or punishment after death.

Possible Eastern analogues to these strangely removed lands are found in Chinese and particularly Daoist beliefs from the fourth century CE onward. Accordingly, select individuals could secure, by some potion or other means, virtual immortality, and "not somewhere else out of this world," as Joseph Needham puts it, "nor in the underworld of the Yellow Springs, but among the mountains and forests here and forever." Looking further afield, from the pre-Christian Americans one learns of South American Indian migrations (the Guariní, in particular) in quest of the "land without evil" to the east. In transitional Melanesia, individuals who have managed to journey well beyond their own cultural bounds during colonial times (such as police, recruited laborers, and others) have often spun together novel mythic histories about where the whites came from—Britain, Germany, Jerusalem, Sydney, and so on—and how they acquired "cargo" (European goods). From such far-off utopias, where God, the ancestors, and culture heroes are present, cargo came as transformation and blessing to the islanders.

In the present day, the idea of utopia has become inseparable from utopianism, the systematic attempt to engineer a preferable, even perfect society. The origins of utopia in this sense might be said to go back to the construction of the first cities (according to Lewis Mumford) or at least to the schemes of Plato (and the lesser-known Greek thinkers Hippodamus and Phaleas). But many scholars do not consider this exercise in model building for revolutionary social transformation much older than the eighteenth century (the moderately aristocratic *Oceana* scheme by the Englishman James Harrington in 1656 being only faintly precursory), and they have pointed out the central role of the Western ideal of universal progression toward utopianism's realization. They also recognize the secondary importance of practical experimentation in the Americas, where, especially in North America, European colonists attempted to establish new kinds of community or sought a new paradise in the wilderness away from the evils of the Old World.

Utopianist designs for social reconstruction have not always been distinctly religious, except insofar as their ethical stances reflect spiritual values. As the chief protagonist in Plato's *Republic,* Socrates was an atheist when it came to the old gods, yet the guardians of his new polity were to be fully enlightened by the supreme idea of the good (the equivalent of God). In modern times, utopianists have voiced radically anticlerical, if not anti-Christian sentiments, yet they have been dominated by a vision of what is ethically right regarding human relationships. The first utopia as a projected, future program rather than a millennial fiat was that of the French progressivist Sebastian Mercier. In his tract on the year 2440 (written in 1770) he expressed his wish that the church as he knew it would not survive, but nonetheless he imagined an initiation ceremony using telescopes and microscopes, in which young people would discover God, the author of nature (which, in turn, would serve as the basis of justice). Disillusioned with ecclesiastical orthodoxy, in 1825, one of his successors, Saint-Simon, wrote *New Christianity,* and the renowned Charles Fourier described a New Earth in the dawning of the Third Age, like Joachim di Fiore's Age of the Spirit (1847). If François-Noël Babeuf and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, two other French utopianists, were secular communists in their approach, each nevertheless preached with a religious intensity against injustice. There were other European utopian thinkers in the nineteenth century, both English and continental, from Scottish industrial reformer Robert Owen, a man touched by Christian millennial hopes in his *New Vision of Society* (1813), to vehemently antireligious anarchists, including Petr Kropotkin, a Russian litterateur active at the end of the century.

Marxism has been characterized as a species of secular utopianism, even millenarianism, for presaging a future, supranational society free of classes following a series of proletarian revolutions. Both Karl Marx himself and his collaborator Engels, however, detached themselves from the utopians (especially Proudhon) by arguing that the historical process rather than artificial reorganization would produce a radically better order. However, the fact that the programs of Lenin and Stalin in Russia, Mao Zedong in China, Kim Il Sung in North Korea, and others reveal massive political manipulation and forced mobilizations to support communist state policies suggests that where Marxism has been dominant in certain societies, politics have typically drifted toward the utopian, social-engineering model that Marx himself disdained. The end product of these maneuvers was meant to be a society free not only from classes but from religion.

Communism and socialism take a number of forms, although many less obviously political expressions are often referred to as communalisms, commutarianisms, or communes. Many and varied small-scale utopian communities have been established in the modern-day West, with the greatest number in North America. One discovers parallel and prototypic communities in earlier religious history: the Chinese Daoist and Neo-Confucian retreats of sagehood (Zhang Daoling at Dragon Tiger Mountain, Kiangsi, during the first century CE, or Zhou Dunyi at Lu Shan, c. 1050); in the early monasticisms (both the Jain and Buddhist traditions in India, the Jewish Qumranites and Therapeutae, the Christian Pachomians, Benedictines and their medieval successors, etc.); in the elitist, and for all appearances sectarian, spiritual fraternities (Indian *āśrama*s, the ancient gnostic and hermetic schools of Egypt, the medieval Brethren of the Free Spirit in Germany and the Low Countries, the Rosicrucian Order, and other esoteric groups in seventeenth-century England and Germany); and in the communities of the radical Reformation (Anabaptists, Hutterites, etc.) with this tradition generating Mennonite, Amish, and other experiments in North America, including the Quaker City of Brotherly Love, Philadelphia.

By the nineteenth century the United States was sprinkled with many religious communities, at that time often dubbed "socialisms" (John Humphrey Noyes documented at least forty-eight in his *History of American Socialisms,* 1870) but today more likely called utopias or (somewhat pejoratively) "cults." The most famous, distinctly religious examples were Amana in Iowa, New Harmony in Indiana (inspired by Owen), the Shaker and Oneida communities (in New York and elsewhere), as well as the Mormon settlements in Utah. During the first half of this century such communities were spawned in the northwestern states, and since World War II the popularity of life in communes or special retreats has grown, especially in California because of the impact of Eastern meditative traditions and the rejection of highly mechanized and plutocratic North American society (in favor of, for example, a drug culture, anarchy, or a more highly disciplined, ascetic way of life). Some have been inspired by Thoreau's *Walden* and other American celebrations of seclusion in the wild, others by ravaged Amerindian traditions. Comparable postwar communes were established in northern Europe and Australia.

In view of these developments and the growth of state communism, Christian theologians have debated whether Christianity is a utopian faith. Reinhold Niebuhr characterized the Christian position as anti-utopian because evil can never be eradicated from society, while Paul Tillich argued that utopian dreaming has positive value in setting ideal goals but must be transcended when only enslavement or force can secure its long-lasting actualization. Modern Eastern philosophers, particularly Indian gurus who have encouraged or founded new communes, characteristically teach that such communities are but transitory supports before liberation from the realm of physical contingency and karmic law.

Utopia is a subject for both the sociology and psychology of religion. When attempts are made to realize a utopian scheme, it is important to ask questions about social dynamics, the role of a charismatic leader or elders, its degree of durability, and the rate of attrition. A stringently prestructured scheme usually results in a more legalistic orientation and a greater resort to authoritarianism, while in looser efforts at cooperation unity is maintained more by common hope of labors rewarded or a coming transformation. A shared sense of purpose, however, especially by the genuinely faithful, is crucial for the survival of either kind of movement. Apropos to religious categorization, utopianism tends to characterize sectarian, spiritualistic, and mystical persuasions, just as most utopists in the political arena tend to reject the current order of realpolitik, feeling it reflects the morally bankrupt established system.

Utopianism in practice is as attractive psychologically as millenarianism is for idealists, or for those in quest of some certainty and an anxiety-free existence in a sea of cultural, religious, and ethical pluralism. Utopia can also provide, as can the millennial transformation to come, satisfaction for feelings of resentment toward the world's ills or the society from which utopists secede. A need for the certainty a utopia can provide often coincides with extensive rule making and authoritarianism, while recriminatory tendencies can lead to isolationism and relative xenophobia.

Utopianism, when viewed as an oneiric tendency to project a vision of a better life or as exercises of the imagination that lead to social questioning, is more a product of the mind and religious intellectual activity than social organization. The contemplation of happiness and what it entails is a perennial feature of philosophical reflection in religious or quasi-religious traditions, and utopianism is one of its clearer manifestations. Students of the unconscious will note that the displacement of reality for imagined visualization can compel archetypally vivid dreams and rich symbols. Psychoanalytically interesting, moreover, is the aspect of utopias that touches on sexual mores. Thomas More imagined an ideal marriage state, with children being brought up by the community as a whole. An actual attempt at reconstructing Eden-like conditions of the male-female union came with the Adamites, one pre-Reformation group of which was isolated on an island in the river Elbe in Germany from the fifteenth century onward. Members went naked (a reminder that nudist colonies are essentially utopian), and the "naturalness" in the sexual relations of later groups are portrayed in the indelible symbols of Hieronymous Bosch's *Garden of Worldly Delights* (1506?). A modern utopia of particular interest regarding the relationship of religion and sexuality is the Oneida community which was governed by Noyes's complex books of instruction.

Whether as a product of thought or action, or analyzed in a sociological or psychological sense, utopianism characteristically betrays assumptions about the limited relevance of historical change. Utopias are often conceived, sometimes unwillingly, "as good patterns of life in an ahistorical cosmos" (Olson, 1982). Little thought is given to what may lie beyond or develop out of these Utopias in the future, since, like the millennium, they constitute an end or proper fulfillment of the known order. Unlike the millennium, however, utopia can be discovered, and although it may also be the product of dreaming and imagination, it can be devised rationally and is not constructed only from the elusiveness and ambiguities of apocalyptic literary authorities. Admittedly some forms of millennialism, particularly those of American theologians who preached that the kingdom of God had to be worked for on earth (as documented best by Ernest Lee Tuveson), compare better with utopian visions. On the other hand, such visions are not intrinsically incompatible with noneschatological or more decidedly secular approaches to social reform. Marx, Freud, and other atheist commentators, however, suggest that all religion is inherently utopian in reflecting the presumptions or hypothesizing about a given realm—especially the afterlife—that escapes the ordinary contingencies of material existence and selfhood. And if this is at least arguable, so too it can be proposed that utopia is fundamentally a given of religious consciousness.

SEE ALSO Cargo Cults; Community; Golden Age; Millenarianism; Noyes, John Humphrey.

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UTU. Utu was the Sumerian god of the sun (he is identified with the Akkadian Shamash) and the city god of both Sippar and Larsa, where he had temples bearing the same name "shining house." Utu was the son of the moon god, Nanna, and therefore brother of Inanna and Ishkur. Hence he belongs to the fourth generation of gods after the supreme god An, and he represents the third cycle, coming after that of the *annus sideralis*—related to the sky vault of An—and that of the lunation of the moon god Nanna—who is the first divinity of light, a bridge between the "invisible" (New Moon) superior divinities, namely Enlil, Enki, and Ninhursaga, and the "illuminator" divinities, namely the sun, Venus, and lighting. The cycle attributed to Utu is the diurnal one, not the annual one, and it is this aspect that determines his functions. As god of the sun, Utu was believed to ride the heavens from sunrise to sunset in a chariot pulled by four storm-beasts and then to descend to the netherworld at sunset to continue his circuit until the morning. A frequent scene in cylinder-seal iconography shows Utu rising in the eastern mountains holding a "saw" (the sun's rays).

Utu held an important position in the pantheon, although he does not figure prominently in mythological tales. According to the myth of Enki and the world order, Enki entrusted Utu with the borders of the universe; all of Utu's other functions derived from this role. Foremost was the administration of justice by defining the borders of rights and wrongs; in this task his attendants were Justice and Righteousness, two deities of his suite which included—among others—his wife Aja and his main assistant Bunene. Judgment actually took place in the morning, when the gods assembled; without Utu's rising, there could be no justice. Hence kingship—regulating society according to the divine laws and defending or enlarging the borders of the cosmos (i. e., the kingdom,) against the chaos—is placed under Utu's jurisdiction. The evil actions of ghosts and the harm brought about by demons or sorcerers—all affecting the outlines of the cosmic order—are battled by the god, who, for this reason, is invocated in the incantations. Yet an Utu hymn, which also concerns ghosts, may be imploring Utu to allow a dead man into the netherworld (Cohen, 1977).

Utu as Helper and Rescuer. In the same cultural frame Utu plays a crucial role in purification ceremonies such as the *bit rimki*, an ablution ritual against evil caused by eclipses. Of capital importance too is his role in the counter-witch *maqlû* ("burning") ritual. After the night trial that convicted the witch and absolved her victim (originally judgement took place by day) and the witch's consequent destruction in the morning under the sun's beams, the purifications were carried out, thus freeing the victim from evil and restoring his or her previous relationship with his or her personal god (Abusch, 2002). Sunlight also provides the means of detection, and consequently Utu is the one who knows the most hidden aspects of the universe. Because of this skill he (together with Ishkur/Adad) is the "lord of the *omina*," for the truth the oracle manifests reveals the ways of the cosmic order known to the god. The omen is signifier of other realities; hence in the poem "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta" the god plays a determining role in the invention of writing. Being all-knowing of hidden connections, he can also indicate the right direction to anyone who is lost or does not know the way (see the myths of Gilgamesh and Huwawa and of Lugalbanda). In addition he is merciful. Misfortune is a consequence of the actions of evil entities, and the god repels them into the darkness. Utu was considered to be the helper and advocate of the oppressed, safeguarding the orphan, the widow, and the poor (a task entrusted to the sovereigns), a role that was also attributed to the goddess Nanshe. It was Utu's function to right injustice, and the oppressed turned to him with their cry "I-Utu" ("O Utu!"), a phrase that came to mean oppression itself, and even (complaining) malcontents. As master of the borders, of the signs, and of the laws that govern them all, he is also master of all physical features, that is, of people's borders. In fact Utu transforms Dumuzi, pursued by the demons, into different animal forms in order to rescue him.

Corollaries. Utu has control over access to and egress from the netherworld, a power possibly related to his own ability to enter the netherworld every evening and emerge at sunrise as lord of the border between day and night. Thus in the myth of Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the netherworld, Enkidu is trapped in the netherworld until Enki has Utu open a "window" so that Enkidu may ascend. Utu also served as judge of the netherworld, a function shared somewhat with the deified dead Gilgamesh and Dumuzi. This judgment of the dead and of the other denizens of the netherworld does not seem to have involved a concept of eternal reward and punishment, and it probably consisted of settling disputes and keeping the peace between the souls there. The character of Utu/Shamash, as mentioned above, is an element wedged between two related systems: binary (invisible versus visible divinities) and trinary (year, month, day). This could be the reason for his limited diffusion outside Mesopotamia (although his qualities of omniscience, justice, and mercifulness made him popular where Mesopotamian culture penetrated). A solar divinity is mentioned in the Eblaite texts (twenty-fifth century BCE) with the Sumerian cuneiform ideogram *Utu.* Although a Semitic reading *Sipish* for that ideogram is supported by a geographic name, it is not clear whether only a masculine sun god was meant, as in Mesopotamia, or a solar goddess, in accordance with the Western Semite tradition of the eastern Mediterranean coast in later times. The most realible hypothesis is that two sun divinities were present in Ebla, a masculine one occurring in royal rituals (which were cerainly Eblaite in origin) and a feminine one found in an exorcism. From Hittite Anatolia comes an important hymn—with evident and very strong Babylonian influences—to the sun god Iltanu, notwithstanding the importance of the sun goddess of Arinna.

In later times the "sophisticated polytheism" led the major divinities to be considered aspects of Marduk (Lambert, 1975). Shamash was Marduk when exercising justice. It was perhaps with this configuration that Shamash was emancipated from his original double frame, and his importance was felt even outside the bounds of Mesopotamia. Thus in Hellenistic times he was ready to meet—possibly through the mediation of the ancient Iltanu of Hittite times—the character of Apollo, who was in many aspects similar and who had been formerly present on the Anatolian coasts from the end of eighteenth century BCE. For more on the diffusion in late antiquity Hellenistic culture of the god Shamash in Hatra, in the Nabatean site of Khirbet Tannur, and in the Syrian region, in towns such as Harran, Edessa, Dura Europos, Palmyra, and Heliopolis (Baalbek in the Beqaa Valley), see Tubach 1986 and Fauth 1995.

SEE ALSO Dumuzi; Kingship; Mesopotamian Religions; Sun.

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TIKVA FRYMER-KENSKY (1987)
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VAIKHĀNASAS. The chief "priests" (*arcaka*s) in more than half the Viṣṇu temples in the South Indian states of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, and parts of Karnataka—including the renowned Hindu pilgrimage center, Tirupati in Andhra Pradesh—Vaikhānasas are a tiny, widely dispersed brahman community of about 3,000 families. Claiming to be a surviving school of Vedic ritual performance, the Taittiriya *śākhā* of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda*, Vaikhānasas have their own complete Vedic Kalpasūtra in addition to prescriptive manuals on temple performances exemplifying the so-called Āgama literature. Beyond the intrinsic interest of their literature and the evidence it provides for further inquiry into questions of continuity and change in India's religious traditions, Vaikhānasas command special interest and attention because of their contemporary temple activities and efforts to maintain community integrity despite accelerating social and technical change.

Manā's discussion of *vanaprastha* ("forest-dweller," the third of the four classical *āśramas* mentions a "Vaikhānasa rule" (*Mānava Dharmaśāstra* 6.21). As other ancient authorities seem to support this reference, it appears quite likely that there existed a distinct Vaikhānasa reclusive community some time before the beginning of the common era, though the extant Vaikhānasa *sūtra*s seem to be no older than the fourth century CE. The Vaikhānasa Gṛhyasūtras prescribe a daily worship of Viṣṇu that involves the fabrication of an image and is said to be "equal to the worship of all the gods" (*Vaikhānasa Gṛhyasūtra* 4.10–12). In essential details, this devotional service "prefigures" the *arcana* (service to images) detailed in the Vaikhānasa Saṃhitās; and it is plausible that Vaikhānasa literature documents the community's transition from a Vedic "school" of ritual observance to a "school" of the religious performances characteristic of Hindu devotional cults.

Louis Renou proposed (*L'Inde classique*, vol. 1) that the Vaikhānasa is a *bhāgavata* tradition that, while emphasizing Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa *bhakti,* did not exhibit the sectlike exclusivity apparently characteristic of early Pāñcarātra *ekāntin*s ("monotheists"). Certainly, the Vaikhānasas's own insistence that they are *vaidika*s and not *tāntrika*s clearly evidences their concern with distinguishing themselves from *pāñcarātrika*s. This concern is further illustrated in their refusal (at least since the mid- to late nineteenth century) to undergo *Vaiṣṇavadīkṣā* ("initiation" as a Vaiṣṇava) on the grounds that they are "Vaiṣṇavas at/from birth" because their mothers underwent a particular life-cycle rite (*saṃskāra*) during their first pregnancies. Still, the exact historical relationship between Vaikhānasas and *pāñcarātrika*s remains unclear.

Inscriptions from perhaps the eighth century CE identify Vaikhānasas as temple functionaries. According to Vaikhānasa tradition, the sage Vikhanas (a manifestation of Brahmā or Viṣṇu) composed the *Vaikhānasa Kalpasūtra* and taught four disciples—Atri, Bhṛgu, Kāśyapa, and Marīci—the procedures of *samūrtārcana* ("devotional service [to Viṣṇu] with images"). Saṃhitās ("collections") of versions of these instructions, said to have been authored by these four disciples, constitute the core of Vaikhānasa literature.

More so than their Pāñcarātra counterparts, the Vaikhānasa Saṃhitās are the literature of ritual prescription, providing detailed instructions from priest to priest for constructing and dedicating temples and images and for conducting religious ceremonies involving them. While not negligible (as some scholars have asserted), the explicit *jñāna* sections of these texts are brief, and thus certain important features must be inferred from their discussions of ritual. These texts emphasize the distinction between Viṣṇu as the pervasive, unfigured (*niṣkala*) presence in the universe and his figured (*sakala*) presence occasioned in his graceful response to intent devotional meditation. Initially, this is the meditation of the *arcaka* who conducts the proceedings through which the deity comes to dwell in prepared images; subsequently, it is the essence of the behavior of devotees toward images so enlivened. Discussion of cosmogony in the Vaikhānasa texts principally traces the backgrounds of the human predicament: being caught in *saṃsāra*. According to Vaikhānasa teaching, *mokṣa* is "release" into Viṣṇu's heaven, and the nature of one's *mokṣa* depends on a devotee's service: attentive repetition of prayer (*japa*), sacrifice (*huta*), service to images (*arcana*), or meditation conforming to yogic regimen (*dhyāna*). Among these four, the *Marīci Saṃhitā* declares that *arcana* is the realization (*sādhana*) of all aims.

SEE ALSO Tamil Religions; Vaiṣṇavism.

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VÄINÄMÖINEN is the protagonist of the Finnish national epic, the *Kalevala,* and an important figure in ten ancient Finnish poems in *Kalevala* meter. He is the inventor of the *kantele* (the ancient psaltery used to accompany the chanting of the *Kalevala* epics), an expert singer, and a master musician. Väinämöinen has taken part in the primeval acts of creation; were he to be killed, joy and song would depart this earth.

Väinämöinen's name is derived from the word *väinä,* meaning a strait or a wide, slowly flowing river. The derivation seems to indicate that Väinämöinen was originally associated with water, but scholars are not in agreement about this or any other explanation of the hero's original character. He often goes by the epithet "the old one," and he is repeatedly characterized as "the everlasting wise man."

The images of Väinämöinen that occur in folk poetry can be grouped into four basic types: (1) creator of the primeval sea, (2) culture hero, (3) shaman hero, and (4) sea hero and suitor.

1. As creator of the primeval sea, Väinämöinen shapes the seabed by creating holes and shoals in it. Once his work is done, a bird—an eagle, a scaup duck, or a goose—makes a nest on his knee and lays an egg (in some versions, eggs). When Väinämöinen shifts his knee the egg breaks, and the pieces become the various elements of the world:

> What was the egg's upper shell
> became the heavens above
>
> what was the egg's lower shell
> became mother earth below
>
> what was the white of the egg
> became the moon in the sky
>
> what was the yolk of the egg
> the sun in the sky
>
> what on the egg was mottled

became the stars in heaven

what on the egg was blackish
became the clouds in the sky.

(Bosley trans., in Kuusi et al., 1977)

Väinämöinen then joins his brother Ilmarinen in the upper aerial regions to strike a spark that falls through the nine heavens to Lake Alue. Väinämöinen's association with celestial bodies is reflected in the old Finnish names for Orion and the Pleiades, which mean "Väinämöinen's scythe" and "Väinämöinen's birchbark shoes," respectively.

2. As culture hero, Väinämöinen builds the primeval boat, which one day strikes a great pike from whose bones he makes the first *kantele,* which he uses to enchant the world. In Ingria (the region between Estland and Lake Ladoga) various goods are made from the great oak felled at Väinämöinen's command. In some regions Väinämöinen was believed to be the first cultivator of flax and hemp as well as the inventor of the fishnet. He is also credited with concocting various ointments and curing diseases and with the ability to stop the flow of his own blood. Like most culture heroes, Väinämöinen departed from the world, in his case in an iron-bottomed boat, once humanity had reached a certain level of development, and is prophesied to return in the future.

3. As shaman hero, Väinämöinen uses his singing to charm the young Saami (Lapp) Joukahainen, a rival shaman, into a swamp, where he abandons him by revoking his magical song. Other shamanistic motifs include Väinämöinen's crossing a river to visit Tuonela (the land of the dead) and returning as a snake, and his obtaining knowledge from Antero Vipunen, a dead wise man. Väinämöinen also resorts to shamanistic power in his quest for the *sampo,* a support of the world. A belt worn by Finnish shamans up to the nineteenth century, from which magic objects were hung and which was used as an aid in incantation, was known as "the belt of old Väinämöinen."

4. As sea hero and suitor, Väinämöinen appears in those parts of the extensive *Sampo* epic cycle concerning his theft of the *sampo* and the contest among heroes for the mistress of Pohjola ("homestead of the north"). In one episode a Saami shoots Väinämöinen, who falls into the sea and drifts until he is rescued by the mistress of Pohjola. At other times he engages in a dispute with Ilmarinen's sister Anni or makes an unsuccessful attempt to capture a mermaid. Finally, he orders the killing of a fatherless half-month-old boy in a marsh. When the baby suddenly begins to speak, deprecating the old man, Väinämöinen is compelled to rescind his order. In Elias Lönnrot's redaction, this final scene of the *Kalevala* is intended to be an allegory for the retreat of paganism and the rise of Christianity.

The tradition of poem-cycles and miniature epics with Väinämöinen as chief protagonist began in the distant past. The oldest stratum of this tradition represents Väinämöinen as an epic or cosmological figure. The newer stratum depreciates his role, or even satirizes him. The two strata tended to mix during the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries; Lönnrot brought this process to its logical conclusion when he compiled and edited the *Kalevala.* At the same time, he strengthened Väinämöinen's central position by casting him in roles originally occupied by other characters. He also divested him of mythological features and endowed him with human, though manifestly heroic, traits.

SEE ALSO Finnish Religions; Ilmarinen; Lemminkäinen; Tuonela.

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VAIŚEṢIKA. The Vaiśeṣika school of Indian philosophy, founded by Kaṇāda (sixth century BCE?), has concentrated mostly on issues and themes of ontology and has closely cooperated with the Nyāya, its sister philosophical school, on matters of epistemology. Like many other schools of Indian philosophy, it upholds that all living beings, human or nonhuman, have souls that are different from the body, eternal, and ubiquitous; that the supreme goal of life is liberation from the bondage of *karman* and the cycle of birth and rebirth; and that the attainment of liberation is the only means of ensuring freedom from all suffering.

According to Vaiśeṣika teaching, the soul is a kind of substance that is conceived as the substratum of quality particulars *(guṇas)* and motion. Both quality particulars and motion are related to the substance by way of inherence *(samavāya). Samavāya* is a special kind of relation as well as an independent ontic category that binds only those two kinds of relata, one of which must be destroyed with the severance of the relationship. Substances, quality particulars, and motions share common properties, or universals, that are eternal and independent of their substrates and yet related to them by way of inherence. Physical substances are produced from combinations of atoms, which are eternal, indivisible, and imperceptible. Each eternal substance is characterized by an ultimate differentiator *(viśeṣa),* which serves as a basis of distinction under circumstances where no ordinary means of distinction is available. Besides the above six kinds of positive ontological categories—substance, quality particular, motion, universal, inherence, and ultimate individuator—there is a negative ontic category, including such entities as absence (as of a book on the table), difference (as of one thing from another), and so on.

The Vaiśeṣika school seeks to prove the existence of the soul by arguing that desire, cognition, and other attributes are quality particulars and must be supported by a substance that is nonphysical because they are radically different in many ways from the quality particulars of physical substances. Such a substance must also be permanent and endure through time; otherwise no satisfactory account can be given of such phenomena as memory. It must further be eternal and in particular, preexistent before birth, or else one cannot account for the fact that a newborn child reaches out for its mother's milk, given that the infant's action is claimed to be purposive and involve memory (which can only have been acquired in a previous life).

One of the souls, called Īsvara (God), is said to be endowed with superhuman qualities such as omniscience. Īśvara's existence is inferred from the premise that a conscious agent is required not only for the creation of artifacts such as a pot, but indeed for all effects, and that the conscious agent responsible for bringing about a conjunction of atoms leading to the production of macrocosmic objects can only be Īśvara. He is also inferred as the author of revealed scriptures and further as the original bestower of significance on linguistic symbols, an act making all communication possible.

SEE ALSO Nyāya.

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VAIṢṆAVISM

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
BHĀGAVATAS
PĀÑCARĀTRAS

VAIṢṆAVISM: AN OVERVIEW

The origin of Vaiṣṇavism as a theistic sect can by no means be traced back to the Ṛgvedic god Viṣṇu. In fact, Vaiṣṇavism is in no sense Vedic in origin. Indology has now outgrown its older tendency to derive all the religious ideologies and practices of classical India—indeed, all aspects of classical Indian thought and culture—from the Veda. It must be remembered that when the Vedic Aryans migrated into India, they did not step into a religious vacuum. On the strength of newly available evidence, it is possible to identify at least two pre-Vedic non-Aryan cults. One was the *muni-yati* cult, which must be distinguished from the exotic Vedic Aryan ṛṣi cult. The *muni-yati* cult, with its characteristic features such as yoga, *tapas*, and *saṃnyāsa*, was an intrinsic component of both the Śiva religion, which had been deeply rooted and widely spread in pre-Vedic India, and the ancient Magadhan religiophilosophical complex, which later served as the fountainhead of such heterodox religions as Jainism and Buddhism. The second cult, that of *bhakti*, is more pertinent to our present purpose. The autochthonous character of *bhakti* in the sense of exclusive devotion to a personal divinity, as evidenced by several aboriginal Indian religions, is now generally accepted. These two cults can be seen to have influenced the hieratic Vedic cult to a certain extent both positively and negatively. Positively, the Vedic religion adopted into its pantheon the pre-Vedic non-Aryan Śiva in the form of Rudra. Similarly, there is every reason to assume that some of Vasiṣṭha's hymns to Varuna in the seventh book of the *Ṛgveda* reflect certain essential traits of *bhakti.* Negatively, the hieratic Vedic religion clearly betrays its aversion to such adjuncts of the Śiva religion as *yati*s, *śiśnadeva*s, and *mūradevas.*

Once established, the Vedic religion succeeded in keeping the indigenous religious cults of India suppressed for a fairly long time. When, however, about the end of the period of the major Upaniṣads (eighth to sixth centuries BCE), the authority of Vedism began to decline, the non-Vedic religious cults again came into their own. Whereas some of them, like the ones that later developed into Jainism and Buddhism, refused to accept Vedic authority, the theistic cults sought its blessing and sanction.

VĀSUDEVISM. The theistic cult centered on *bhakti* for the deified Vṛṣṇi hero Vāsudeva, who is not mentioned in any early text. With the decline of Vedism, the cult emerged as a significant force. Strangely, the available evidence shows that the worship of Vāsudeva, and not that of Viṣṇu, marks the beginning of what we today understand by Vaiṣṇavism. This Vāsudevism, which represents the earliest known phase of Vaiṣṇavism, must already have become stabilized in the days of Pāṇini (sixth to fifth centuries BCE), for Pāṇini was required in his *Aṣṭadhyāyī* to enunciate a special rule (4.3.98) to explain the formation of the word *vāsudevaka* in the sense of a "*bhakta* or devotee of the preeminently venerable god Vāsudeva."

The tradition of the Vāsudeva religion continued almost uninterrupted since that time. Megasthenes (fourth century BCE) must be referring to this religion when he speaks of the Sourasenoi (people of the Śūrasena or Mathura region) and their veneration of Herakles. A passage in the Buddhist *Niddesa* also points to the prevalence of Vāsudeva worship in the fourth century BCE. The *Bhagavadgītā* (third century BCE) eulogizes the man of knowledge, who, at the end of many births, betakes himself unto the god in the conviction that "Vāsudeva is All" (7.19). According to the Besnagar inscription (last quarter of the second century BCE), the Garuḍa column of Vāsudeva, the "god of gods," was erected by Heliodoros, the Bhāgavata, of Takṣaśilā. The historical tradition that Vāsudeva originally belonged to the tribe of the Vṛṣṇis is also well attested. In the *Bhagavadgītā* (10.37) Lord Kṛṣṇa declares that of the Vṛṣṇis he is Vāsudeva. The *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali (150 BCE) also clearly speaks of Vāsudeva as belonging to the Vṛṣṇi tribe (*vārttika* 7 of 4.1.114). The inscriptions of Ghosundi and Nanaghat (both of the first century BCE) and the grammatical work *Kāśāika*, all of which associate Vāsudeva with Saṃkarṣaṇa (another deified Vṛṣṇi hero), further confirm the Vṛṣṇi lineage of Vāsudeva.

It may be noted that the Pāṇinian *sūtra* which establishes the Vāsudeva religion also suggests the existence of an independent religious sect, with Arjuna as its chief god. It would seem, however, that even in the initial stages of its development the Arjuna religion was subsumed by the Vāsudeva religion and thus disappeared completely from literature and history. The religion of Saṃkarṣaṇa also seems to have arisen independently of the Vāsudeva religion. In the *Mahābhārata*, Saṃkarṣaṇa (or Balarāma) is represented as the elder brother of Vāsudeva, but there is no indication in the epic of any religious sect having developed around him. However, the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (fourth century BCE) refers to spies disguised as the ascetic worshipers of Saṃkarṣaṇa (13.3.67). The Mathura sculpture (second century BCE) which depicts Saṃkarṣaṇa by himself is also highly suggestive in this context. The evidence of the *Niddesa*, the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, and the Ghosundi and Nanaghat inscriptions, on the other hand, shows that, presumably on account of their original Vṛṣṇi affiliations, the Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva religions had come to be closely allied. With the development of the doctrine of the *vyūhas*, whereby Saṃkarṣaṇa came to be regarded as one of the *vyūhas* (standing for the individual self) subordinate to Vāsudeva (standing for the Highest Self), the Saṃkarṣaṇa religion lost its independent existence.

KṚṢṆAISM. Another theistic cult which gathered strength with the decline of Vedism centered on Kṛṣṇa, the deified tribal hero and religious leader of the Yādavas. There is sufficient evidence to show that Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa were originally two distinct personalities. The Yādava Kṛṣṇa may as well have been the same as Devakīputra Kṛṣṇa, who is represented in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (3.17.1) as a pupil of Ghora Āṅgirasa and who is said to have learned from his teacher the doctrine that human life is a kind of sacrifice. Kṛṣṇa seems to have developed this doctrine in his own teaching, which was later incorporated in the *Bhagavadgītā*. In time, the Vṛṣṇis and the Yādavas, who were already related to each other, came closer together, presumably under political pressure. This resulted in the merging of the divine personalities of Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa to form a new supreme god, Bhagavān Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. Evidence in Megasthenes and in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* indicates that this new divinity was established as early as the fourth century BCE. Indeed, the names *Vāsudeva* and *Kṛṣṇa* began thereafter to be used indiscriminately to denote the same divine personality.

A third current was soon added to this swelling religious stream, in the form of the cult of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa, which had originated among the nomadic cowherd community of the Ābhīras. Suggestions that the Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa cult shows traces of Christian influence or that it developed from Vedic sources are unacceptable. On the contrary, the religion of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa seems to have spurned the Indra-dominated Vedic religion (as is evidenced by the Govardhana episode) and to have promoted religious sublimation of sensuous love (as represented by Kṛṣṇa's relationship with the *gopīs*). The amalgamation of the Vāsudeva cult of the Vṛṣṇis, the Kṛṣṇa cult of the Yādavas, and the Gopāla cult of the Ābhīras gave rise to what may be called Greater Kṛṣṇaism. New legends came to be invented whereby Vāsudeva, Kṛṣṇa, and Gopāla were integrated into a single homogeneous mythological pattern. If Vāsudevism represented the first phase of Vaiṣṇavism, Greater Kṛṣṇaism represented its second (and perhaps most outstanding) phase.

VAIṢṆAVISM. The seventh to fourth centuries BCE were a period of great philosophical ferment in India. Vedism was on the decline, and non-Vedic religions such as Jainism and Buddhism were gradually gaining ascendancy. That period also saw vigorous attempts by the vanguards of Vedism to resuscitate the Vedic way of life and thought through the Sūtra-Vedāṅga movement. Kṛṣṇaism followed an eminently practical course with a view to consolidating its position in the face of the expanding heterodoxy on the one hand, and the resurgence of Vedism on the other. The amalgamation of the three theistic cults was an important step in the direction of such consolidation.

The other line of action adopted by Kṛṣṇaism was of a more vital character. Non-Vedic in origin and development, Kṛṣṇaism now sought affiliation with Vedism so that it could become acceptable to the still not inconsiderable orthodox elements among the people. That is how Viṣṇu of the *Ṛgveda* came to be assimilated—more or less superficially—into Kṛṣṇaism. Viṣṇu had already been elevated from the subordinate position that he had occupied in Rgvedic mythology to the position of supreme godhead (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 1.1). Further, the belief had already become well established that whenever *dharma* (righteousness) languishes and *adharma* (nonrighteousness) thrives, Viṣṇu, the supreme God, incarnates in order to save the world. Kṛṣṇa accordingly came to be regarded as an incarnation (*avatāra*) of Viṣṇu. Kṛṣṇaism thus grew in its mythological and practical scope so that in some ways it became a form of Vaiṣṇavism. One of the classic works of Kṛṣṇaism, the *Bhagavadgītā*, reflects the syncretic use of Vedic as well as Vāsudeva traditions in such a way that Kṛṣṇa himself is said to be the supreme Lord.

PĀÑCARĀTRA; BHĀGAVATA. The inclusion of the Nārāyaṇa cult into Kṛṣṇaism is generally regarded as the second major factor in the process of the so-called brahmanization of Kṛṣṇaism. However, the Nara-Nārāyaṇa cult itself seems to have originated in Badari (the northern ridge of the great Hindu Kush arch) independently of the Veda. Indeed, tradition assigns great antiquity to that cult (*Mahābhārata* 7.172.51). It is not unlikely that the ancient non-Vedic concept of Nara-Nārāyaṇa was absorbed into the Vedic ideology in the form of Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (12.3.4). The latter, in its turn, was perhaps later transformed into the pair Arjuna (Nara-Puruṣa) and Kṛṣṇa (Nārāyaṇa) of Kṛṣṇaism. Nārāyaṇa is represented as the founder of one of the two early sects of Vaiṣṇavism, namely, Pāñcarātra, as distinguished from the other early sect, namely, Bhāgavata. The distinction between these two sects is emphasized if we consider that the Pāñcarātrins were the worshipers of Nārāyaṇa, whereas the Bhāgavatas were the worshipers of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa; that the Pāñcarātrins were the followers of Tantric Vaiṣṇavism, whereas the Bhāgavatas were the followers of brahmanic Vaiṣṇavism; an Vaiṣṇavism d that the Pāñcarātrins accepted the doctrine of *vyūhas* (according to which Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha were the four "emanations" [*vyūhas*] of God, standing respectively for the Highest Self, the individual self, mind, and egoism), whereas the Bhāgavatas accepted the doctrine of *avatāra*s (ten incarnations of Viṣṇu).

Vaiṣṇavism in History. Vaiṣṇavism has generally enjoyed the patronage of various ruling dynasties, although foreign tribes like those of the Śakas and the Kushans (first centuries before and after the beginning of the common era) do not seem to have been favorably inclined toward that religion. Similar was the attitude of the early Vākāṭakas and the Bhāraśivas (second and third centuries CE). On the other hand, epigraphic and numismatic evidence shows that most of the Gupta sovereigns (who reigned from the fourth to the seventh century CE) were devout Vaiṣṇavas or Bhāgavatas, although their overall religious policy was remarkably liberal and tolerant. It was also during the age of the Guptas that most of the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas and the Saṃhitās of Tantric Vaiṣṇavism took final shape. In the course of the post-Gupta millennium (700–1700 CE), Vaiṣṇavism, like Hinduism in general, came to be fragmented into further sects and subsects. The emergence of these sects and subsects usually followed a certain set pattern: some particular religious leader would start a movement either to reform the existing vulgarized religious practices of the parent sect or to widen the appeal of that sect by abjuring social inequalities. The main purpose of these new sects and subsects was not so much to sponsor any specific philosophical or theistic tenets as to establish and popularize certain distinct kinds of *bhakti*. This renewal of *bhakti* is known to have received its main impulse from South India. It is, indeed, striking that Nakkirār (late first century CE) should mention in one of his poems "the blue one with the eagle flag" (i. e., Kṛṣṇa) and "the white one of the plowshare and the palmyra flag" (i. e., Baladeva). But it was the Āḻvārs (sixth to ninth centuries CE) who denounced all social distinctions and expressed in their Tamil songs a deeply emotional and intensely personal devotion for Viṣṇu. The *bhakti* tradition of the Āḻvārs was given a Vedantic foundation by the *ācāryas* of the Śrī Vaiṣṇava school, such as Nāthamuni, Yāmunācārya, and Rāmānuja. Two subschools evolved out of the Vaiṣṇava theology of Rāmānuja: the southern school (the Teṅkalai) insisted that *prapatti*, or complete surrender to God, was the only way to obtain God's grace, whereas the northern school (the Vaṭakalai) required the devotee to resort also to other ways of salvation prescribed by the scriptures.

Vaiṣṇava Bhakti Cult. It is in northern and central India that one sees a truly exuberant ramification of the Vaiṣṇava *bhakti* cult (thirteenth to seventeenth centuries CE). Two main currents of devotional worship can be distinguished in this connection, one relating to Rāma and the other to Kṛṣṇa. In the case of the latter, again, there are two distinct lines of development, one centering on Kṛṣṇa and his spouse Rukmiṇī (as generally sponsored by the saints of Maharashtra) and the other centering on Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā (as popularized by, among others, Nimbārka, Caitanya, and Jayadeva). One of the most remarkable Vaiṣṇava saints of India, Kabīr (fifteenth century), was born to the family of a Muslim weaver of Banaras. Early in life he became influenced by the Hindu ascetic Rāmānanda (the fifth in descent from Rāmānuja), who symbolized for the young aspirant the spirit of revolt against religious exclusivism and abstruse philosophizing. Kabīr taught Sahaja-Yoga, which aimed at an emotional integration of the soul with God. The Kabīr sect extended to Kathiawar and Gujarat but in the process split up into twelve different Kabīrpanthas. Dādū (sixteenth century CE, Gujarat-Rajasthan), for instance, was a follower of Kabīr, but he founded his own Brahma-Saṃpradāya with a view to uniting the divergent faiths of India into a single religious system. Another outstanding Vaiṣṇava saint, Caitanya (or Gaurāṅga, 1486–1533), though not the founder of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, left the indelible mark of his personality on that religious movement. He initiated a new mode of congregational worship, called *kīrtana*, which consisted of choral singing of the name and deeds of God, accompanied by drums and cymbals and synchronized with rhythmic bodily movements, all this culminating in ecstasy. Among other typical teachers and saints who fostered Vaiṣṇava *bhakti*—each in his or her own way—may be mentioned Jñāneśvara (thirteenth century, Maharashtra), Narsī Mehtā (fifteenth century, Gujarat), Śrīpādarāja and Purandaradāsa (both fifteenth century, Karnataka), Śaṃkaradeva (c. fifteenth-sixteenth century, Assam), Mīrā Bāī (sixteenth century, Rajasthan), Tulsīdās (sixteenth century, Uttar Pradesh), and Tukārām (seventeenth century, Maharashtra).

Literature. In the literature of Vaiṣṇavism, the first place—in time as in importance—has to be conceded to the *Mahābhārata*. Notwithstanding its ultimate encyclopedic character, there is no doubt that the *Mahābhārata* was, at an earlier stage, redacted in favor of Kṛṣṇaism, Kṛṣṇa having been represented almost as its prime mover. The inclusion in the Great Epic of such Vaiṣṇava religious tracts as the *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Nārāyaṇīya* and of the *Harivaṃśa* (as an appendix) confirms its basic Vaiṣṇava orientation. The Rāmāyaṇa, on the other hand, can hardly be called sectarian.

Among the eighteen Purāṇas, six—the *Viṣṇu*, *Nārada*, *Bhāgavata*, *Garuḍa*, *Padma*, and *Vārāha*—are traditionally regarded as Vaiṣṇava or *sāttvika*. Out of these, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* has all along been looked upon as an authoritative scripture of Vaiṣṇavism. From among the sectarian Upaniṣads, which, incidentally, are fairly late (second to fifteenth centuries CE), seventeen are said to be Vaiṣṇava. Several of them are of the nature of Tantras. However, the principal Tantric Vaiṣṇava sect is the Pāñcarātra. Traditionally, 108 Saṃhitās of the Pāñcarātra are mentioned, although their number is sometimes given as 215 or even 290. Among the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, which are variously referred to as *Ekāyanaveda*, *Mūlaveda*, or *Mahopaniṣad*, the *Sāttvata*, the *Pauṣkara*, and the *Jayākhya* are said to constitute the "jewel triad" (*ratnatrayī*). The more commonly known *Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā* is believed to have been produced in Kashmir in the early fifth century. The four main Tantric topics dealt with in the Saṃhitās are *jñāna* (soteriological theology), *yoga* (psychophysical discipline), *kriyā* (cultic practices), and *caryā* (personal and social behavior). Side by side with the Pāñcarātra, there also developed a Tantric Vaiṣṇava cult known as Vaikhānasa. It may be noted that specific Saṃhitās govern the religious practices at specific Vaiṣṇava temples. Profuse philosophical literature has originated in the four major schools of Vaiṣṇava Vedanta. Reference may also be made to the various manuals dealing with *bhakti*, such as the *Bhaktisūtra*s of Śāṇḍilya and Nārada (tenth century).

There are also quite a large number of prayers and hymns of praise (*stotras*), known for their great literary and religious appeal, which are addressed to Viṣṇu in his various forms. All this literature is in Sanskrit. However, many of the newly arisen sects and subsects of Vaiṣṇavism adopted as their gospels the sayings and sermons of their promoters (or of the immediate disciples of those promoters), which were usually delivered not in Sanskrit but in the vernaculars of the people for whom they were meant, and these were preserved in oral or written form.

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VAIṢṆAVISM: BHĀGAVATAS

Quite probably Hinduism's most famous and widely encountered epithet for divinity conceived as ceaselessly and actively solicitous of human welfare is *Bhagavat* ("having shares"). *Bhagavān* (the more commonly cited nominative singular form of the word) occurs as early as the *Ṛgveda.* It expressly refers to Rudra-Śiva in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (5.4), and it is the common honorific of the Buddha in the Pali texts. But *Bhagavān* doubtless is most familiar in reference to Viṣṇu-Nārāyana/Vasudeva-Kṛṣṇa. Indeed, *bhāgavata* ("related to/devoted to Bhagavān") may be the most common, even earliest, general designation of a devotee of Viṣṇu.

If it is readily agreed that history's most prominent *bhāgavata*s are Viṣṇu *bhakta*s, there is disagreement and not a little confusion concerning what—if anything—distinguishes them from *pāñcarātrika*s and other Vaiṣṇavas. In fact, *bhāgavata* frequently has meant simply a Vaiṣṇava (or proto-Vaiṣṇava) as such without further characterization. Until perhaps the eleventh century, this nonsectarian sense generally prevailed, and *bhāgavata*s were part of a growing but diffuse movement that emphasized a personal, active devotional relationship between the human and the Absolute but did not have a single, fixed set of specific beliefs and rituals. The variety of attitudes is readily seen by comparing Bhagavatism's most famous texts, the *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The *Bhagavadgītā* is formal and intellectualized, and offers *bhakti* as a refined yoga, a way of release. Thus, its tenor contrasts distinctively with the vibrant emotionalism of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa's bhakti*. Further, the religion of the *Bhagavadgītā* harkens expressly to Vedic sacrificial models, whereas the religious inspiration of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is more varied.

Some have claimed that Bhagavatism and, indeed, the "*bhakti* idea" are rooted outside of Vedic ceremonialism altogether—that they originated from "indigenous" or "tribal" sources or perhaps are linked to extra-Indian (Iranian) prototypes. Suggestions that they are ultimately alien impositions or incursions, however, ought to be treated cautiously. For one thing, the available evidence will allow only the most hedged, vague, and inadequate historical account. For another, no aspect of Bhagavatism is encountered apart from the embracing set of characteristics of Hindu religious civilization that interpenetrate and link it with Vedic/Brahmanic values. Extant texts and current practices are embedded in this larger context, and this enables a reference without discomfort to "Hinduism" and to mean by it more than a mere collocation of discrete sects. As the *śāstri*s and *paṇḍit*s—the erudite commentators whose explications are the dynamics and the definition of Hindu tradition—have consistently attempted to show, often with considerable ingenuity, it is diversity rather than simple pluralism that ultimately characterizes Hinduism.

Linguistically, *bhaga, Bhagavat/Bhagavān,* and *bhakti* are derived from the Sanskrit root *bhaj,* meaning "apportion, distribute" as well as "partake, participate, choose." Already in the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā, bhaga* means "portion, share," *inter alia,* and it occurs also as the name of one of the divine *Āditya*s. *Bhagavān* thus denotes "having a share(s), lucky, fortunate, blessed." But the Bhagavān is more than simply fortunate. He is someone (human or divine) who both "takes a share in" and bestows shares. Being lucky encompasses beneficence.

Crucially, the Bhagavān known to the historical Bhāgavata movement is no other than the Absolute itself. Bhāgavatas identify themselves as beneficiaries of the Bhagavān's essential nature: "choosing, loyal to, devoted to" the Bhagavān. While "sectarian" Bhāgavatas answer variously when asked the precise nature of their relation with the Bhagavān and how they, as *bhaktas,* can achieve some kind of union with Him, they often refer to a "perfect embrace."

EARLIEST BHĀGAVATAS AND THE PĀÑCARĀTRIKAS. Perhaps the earliest inscriptional evidence of Vaiṣṇava *bhāgavata*s dates from about 115 BCE, at a temple site at Beshnagar (Bhilsa District, Madhya Pradesh). Here, Heliodoros, native of Takṣasilā and ambassador of the Greco-Bactrian king Amtalikita (Gr., Antialkides), declares himself a *bhāgavata* in the dedication of a Garuḍadhvaja (a column with Garuḍa, the bird that is Viṣṇu's distinctive vehicle, as its capital) to Vāsudeva, *devadeva,* "lord of lords." The inscription attests to Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu worship in North India in the late second century BCE among "foreigners" as well as native Indians (Heliodoros's mission was to king Bhāgabhadra, apparently another *bhāgavata*). Despite his name, of course, it is not known how "foreign" this Heliodoros was; and the suggestion that the Vasudeva "sect's" popularity among foreigners indicates its distance from Brahmanic convention, or even its particular success among the *kṣatriyas* (nobles), is only conjecture.

Somewhat later—in the first century BCE—a cave inscription at Nanaghat (Western Maharastra) includes reference to Vāsudeva and Saṃkarṣaṇa (the latter known from the *Mahābhārata* as Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa's brother); at Ghosundi (Rajasthan), Vāsudeva and Saṃkarṣaṇa are also invoked in a fragmentary inscription at what is presumed to be a temple enclosure. Similar evidence is found near Mathurā (Uttar Pradesh), a celebrated center of Kṛṣṇa devotion.

These lithic records, in addition to references in the Pali Buddhist *Niddesa,* Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (4.3.92–95), and Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* seem to confirm the existence of a *bhāgavata* movement in north-central and northwest India in the centuries immediately preceding the common era. Still, none of this evidence clears up Vāsudeva's background or the way he became identified with Viṣṇu. There is unmistakable evidence of identifications but no clear pattern of the process(es) whereby they emerged. Even in the face of the most familiar evidence there is controversy. Witness, for example, J. A. B. van Buitenen's insistence that Viṣṇu "does not figure at all in the *Gītā* as author of the Kṛṣṇa *avatara*" (*The Bhagavadgītā in the Mahābhārata,* Chicago, 1981, p. 167; cf. pp. 27–28), and Alf Hiltebeitel's counterargument that such claims (that Kṛṣṇa in the *Bhagavadgītā* "is not yet identified with Viṣṇu") are made "despite the clear evidence of the text" ("Toward a Coherent Study of Hinduism," *Religious Studies Review,* 1983, vol. 9, p. 207).

Beyond the psychological likelihood that certain aspects of Vedic belief and ceremony engendered at least some "proto-*bhakti*" sentiments, there are more substantial hints of *bhakti*-like attitudes discernible in a few hymns of the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā.* Surely the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* shows that the basic elements of a Bhāgavatism are essentially in place, even though the Bhagavān in this text is Rudra-Śiva. However, it is in three works—the *Mahābhārata* (Book Twelve), the *Harivaṃsa* and the *Bhagavadgīta*—that a quite elaborate "Vaiṣṇava" Bhāgavatism first emerges in literature. Ironically, though, the *Mahābhārata*'s *Nārāyaṇīya* section (12.326–352) is almost too rich a source. It refers to "Sāttvatas," "Bhāgavatas," "Ekanti-bhāgavatas," and the "Pāñcarātra;" and, again, it is difficult to tell if these designate essentially one and the same movement or discrete sectarian groups.

Commonly, Bhāgavata and Pāñcarātra are held to be distinct movements. It also has been proposed that the Pāñcarātrikas are historically the first Bhāgavata sect or school. In both views, the majority of Bhāgavatas are considered to be both "eclectic" and conservative, concerned with reconciling and integrating *bhakti* with Vedic social and ritual order. Pāñcarātrikas, on the other hand, are characterized as coming from the fringes of the Aryan cultural and religious universe. This view tries to persuade one to see Bhāgavatas in a strict sense as *smārta*s ("orthodox" brahmans) of sorts and, by extension, *gṛhastha*s ("householders"). By contrast, the original Pāñcarātrikas would be socially marginal renunciant-ascetics—even "proto-*tāntrikas.*" Some scholars also point out that the absence of the distinctive Pāñcarātra notion of *vyūha*s ("manifestations" of the divine) or, indeed, of any direct reference to the Pāñcarātra in either the *Bhagavadgītā* or the *Bhāgavata Purana* signals discrete historical traditions. Similarly, some have argued that the cosmogony and cosmology depicted in the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās (the earliest of which date perhaps from the sixth century CE) emphasize distinctively the world-creating and world-maintaining instrumentality of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa's *śakti,* whereas the *Bhagavadgītā,* in making roughly the same point, draws rather on other imagery: the Bhagavān is fully and freely at work in the world without being limited by it in any way.

But early Bhāgavatas and Pāñcarātrikas seem rather to represent different tendencies of conceptualization and ritual orientation than formally distinct sects. Early Pāñcarātrikas, then, may well have been certain among the Bhāgavatas who were closely associated both with renunciant and with formal ritualist traditions. Their developing ideas and ritual practices possibly yielded, in their Saṃhitās, the first sectlike tradition among the Bhāgavatas. As Adalbert Gail put it succinctly, all Pāñcarātrikas were Bhāgavatas but not all

Bhāgavatas were Pāñcarātrikas. (Adalbert Gail, *Bhakti im Bhāgavatapurāṇa,* Wiesbaden, 1969, p. 7.)

Bhāgavatas, Smārtas, and Vaikhānasas. Although it would be entirely wide of the mark to think of the earliest Bhāgavatas principally as brahmans accommodating ideas newly discovered by renunciant adventurers or encroaching from tribal or other extra-Vedic populations, the manifest processes whereby Bhagavatism becomes an idiom of Hinduism center among brahmans. Of them, those who carefully uphold and observe the precepts set forth in Vedic Smārtasūtras are known as Smārta brahmans. Historically, this appellation has come to designate in particular those brahmans who adhere to principles and teachings usually attributed to Śankara (or, occasionally, to Kumārilabhaṭṭa). These Smārtas are often mistakenly identified simply as Śaivas, but in fact, Smārta ritual centers expressly on observances enjoined by the *sūtra*s and performance of *pañcāyatanapūjā* to five divinities: Śiva, Viṣṇu, Durgā, Sūrya, and Gaṇeśa.

Even taking into account Śaṅkara's (or Kumārila's) traditional reforming role, most scholars see in the Smārtas not a sect but rather a formalization and renewal of persisting Vedic values better thought of as constituting a Hindu "orthodoxy" or "orthopraxy." And, too, reaffirming obligations to Smārtasūtra injunctions was to some extent a reaction to the emerging strength and popularity of the general *bhakti*/*bhāgavata* movement. In a sense, then, the Smartas are an "antisect."

Some have claimed that it is precisely among groups or "schools" of careful adherents to one or another Smārtasūtra that there is found a Bhagavatism that is consciously concerned with linking itself to Vedic and Brahmanic proprieties. Hence it has been suggested that the Vaikhānasas represent either a Vedic ritual school accommodating Bhāgavata elements or a group of Bhāgavatas attempting Brahmanic legitimation by adopting the trappings of Smārtahood. Which hypothesis is closer to the historical truth cannot be determined now, but certainly Vaikhānasas are Bhāgavatas; and Vaikhānasas differ from Pāñcarātrikas in important part by identifying themselves as strict *vaidikas* (i.e., conforming to the Vedas) who carefully maintain Smarta standards.

Early Bhāgavatas of Tamil Nadu: The Āḻvārs. Although assumed to be rooted in North India, both Pāñcarātra and Vaikhānasa traditions are historically more prominent in south India than in the north, particularly in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh. The spread of such movements as the Pāñcarātra, however, most likely was not the first introduction of Viṣṇu *bhakti* to the South, for Tamil literature of the first and second centuries already attests to the existence of a Viṣṇu cultus. Together with the Śaiva Nāyaṉārs, the most famous early South Indian *bhakta*s are the Āḻvārs, Tamil Vaiṣṇava poet-ecstatics who apparently lived and sang praise to Viṣṇu from the seventh to the ninth centuries.

In fact, what is especially noteworthy about these Tamil Bhāgavatas—a fitting designation although the word *Bhagavān* does not appear in their poetry—is the strongly emotional nature of their *bhakti.* In an important sense, it is in and through the Āḻvārs that bhakti and Bhagavatism acquire a voice independent of Vedic or Vedantic formalism. With the Āḻvārs, bhakti is neither the crowning achievement of yoga nor, as Śaṅkara especially would have it, the foremost among preliminary practices prior to final realization; rather, it is a self-validating expression of sentiment and a definition of the human-divine relationship. In the Āḻvārs' Tamil poetry, *bhakti* is first heard in its independent maturity—as song.

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa and Its Influence. Certainly written in South India and receiving more or less final form by the tenth century, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* was strongly influenced by the Tamil Alvars to such a degree that some portions of the text are little more than paraphrases or outright Sanskrit translations of Alvaric originals. It is in *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* that an intellectually and emotionally rich Bhāgavata perspective first appears in Sanskrit literature.

Only subsequent to the appearance of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* does a vigorous, specifically sectarian Bhagavatism emerge; the most famous Vaiṣṇava devotional sects trace their origins or crucial reforms to a period from the twelfth and (particularly) the thirteenth centuries to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Especially prominent among these are the four so-called classical *sampradāya*s ("traditions, sects"), all linked in one way or another to South India: Rāmānuja's Śrīsampradāya, Madhva's Brahmasampradāya, Nimbārka's Sanakādisampradāya, and Viṣṇusvāmin's Rudrasampradāya, this last-named absorbed by Vallabhācārya's Vāllabhāsampradāya. Connecting these sects are commentaries in which their founders elaborate not only Bhāgavata devotional attitudes but also alternative interpretations of the Vedantic *pramāṇatraya* ("three authorities"): the *Bhagavadgītā,* the Upaniṣads, and the *Brahma Sūtra.* Through these commentaries Vaiṣṇava Bhagavatism becomes a full, articulate participant in Vedantic Brahmanism. No doubt the adherents of Hinduism's various sects have tended to be relatively few. Most Hindus are not sectarians in any rigorous sense, identifying rather with individual *sampradāyas* without becoming initiates or being strictly bound to their teachings and practices. But if it could be written at all, a "history" of Bhagavatism would trace the rise of individual Bhāgavata sects, and, cumulatively, the particularities of each would highlight the concrete actualities of Bhagavatism.

The Bhāgavatas of Karnataka and the Mādhvas. The movement founded by Madhva (also known as Ānandatīrtha; 1199–1278) is commonly held to be the first founded solely on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa.* (Although the preexistent Śrisampradāya of Rāmānuja is usually considered a Pāñcarātra-based sectarian development, its principal indebtedness may be rather to the Āḻvārs.) Earlier than Madhva and even the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* a formal Bhāgavatasampradāya had emerged in the Kannara/Tulu country of western Karnataka. Probably influential in the development of Madhva's thought and still active today, this group descends from certain Smārta brahmans who became increasingly attached to Viṣṇu (possibly due to the growing general popularity of an informal Bhagavatism flowing in particular from the Maharashtra region).

Madhva's fame in the history of Vedantic thought rests on his unconditionally "dualist" position. According to him, the ineradicable distinction between the Absolute and humans must be understood. Madhva's goal is neither to become one with the Absolute nor to realize essential unity with it but rather to participate in it. Knowledge and its concomitant joy in eternal individuality are the heart of Madhva's teaching, which represents the most eloquent articulation in traditional Vedantic idiom of devotees' heartfelt sentiments. And it is perhaps in Madhva's traditions and practices that the complexities of earliest Bhagavatism most authentically survive.

VĀRAKARĪS AND OTHERS: BHAKTAS OF MAHARASHTRA. Bhāgavatas are known to have existed in Maharashtra from before the beginning of the Common Era. A particularly vigorous and complex vernacular Maratha *bhakti* tradition began to emerge in the thirteenth century, however, partly in consequence of the coming together of several traditions both within and beyond Maharashtra. Most significant of these appear to have been the Mādhvas, the Nāthas, the Sants, and the resurgent Vārakarī tradition.

The so-called Haridasas or Vaiṣṇavadāsas, vernacular hymnists to Viṣṇu, seem to have been inspired directly or indirectly by Madhva's teachings. Their influence quickly spread beyond the Kannada-speaking area, partly because of increasing attention they paid to Viṭhobā/Viṭṭhal, the regional divinity whose cult center was and remains Pandharpur in Maharashtra. Viṭhobā may originally have been (partly) the focus of a Śaiva cult, but the identification "Viṭhoba-Kṛṣṇa-Rāma" quickly established Pandharpur as the principal pilgrimage center for Maharashtrian Bhāgavatas—a very significant factor in the spread of this popular, vernacular Bhagavatism in Maharashtra and also farther south and east.

In the mid-1200s the "radical" and secretive Mahānubhāva (Manbhau) sect arose in Maharashtra, founded by Cakradhāra, who was a Gujarati. This Kṛṣṇa-centered movement evidences influences as various as Pāñcarātra and Vīraśaiva. But toward the end of the century, Jñāneśvar (or Jñāneśvara; also known as Jñāndev or Jñānadeva) founded or "reformed" the Vārakarī order, which was to become the most celebrated of Maharashtra's bhakta traditions. The *Jñāneśvari,* a Marathi commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā,* is Jñāneśvar's best-known work. His *abhaṅga*s (lyrical devotional hymns), however, may well have been more influential in the development of Maharashtrian bhakti, remaining a favored devotional vehicle of his successors. Tradition has it that Jñāneśvar's father had been a Nātha, which suggests that there were some Śaiva influences on the development of Jñāneśvar's own thought.

Possibly more important even than Jñāneśvar for the growth of the Vārakarīsampradāya was Nāmdev (or Nāmadeva; 1270–1350?), a native of Pandharpur. Maharashtrian Bhagavatism owes to Nāmdev a strong tradition of depreciating the externalities of devotional service. Giving up *pūjā* and pilgrimages and rejecting monkish asceticism, Nāmdev celebrated an inner quest for purity of spirit and direct communion with the Bhagavān through reciting his holy names. This rejection of the image cult has suggested an Islamic influence, but although Muslims were a significant minority in Maharashtra in Nāmdev's time, no clear evidence supports this suggestion. In addition, Nāmdev's influence has remained strong, even though subsequent important Maharashtrian Bhāgavatas such as Eknāth (or Ekanātha; 1548–1598?) and Tukrām (or Tukārāma; 1608–1649) did not advocate abandoning *pūjā* and the image cult. However, they stressed that cult images are more significant as "symbolic" aids to worship than as the literal, living presence of divinity.

Another noteworthy feature of Kṛṣṇa Bhagavatism in Maharashtra is the emphasis on Kṛṣṇa as the faithful husband of Rukmiṇī, herself viewed as embodying the Bhagavān's dynamic and creative nature. This contrasts markedly with the focus of many Kṇa-Bhāgavatas farther north and east—especially in Bengal and Orissa—for whom the central female is rather Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa's "mistress" and the personification of the Bhāgavata's longing for the Lord.

RĀDHĀKṚṢṆA BHĀGAVATAS. Young Kṛṣṇa's amorous play with the *gopī*s epitomizes the many ways that *bhakti* is "new" in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa. Kāma* ("desire"), traditional enemy of the spiritual quest, is transformed through erotic imagery and becomes a symbol for the Bhāgavata's devotion to the Bhagavān. Selfless maternal affection for the child Kṛṣṇa influences the *gopī*s' love for the mature Kṛṣṇa. Their passion becomes *prema, kāma* transcendent: a love transcending the worldly, selfish love in the structured dharmic realm of spouse and family. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* hints that one *gopī* may be special to Kṛṣṇa, but does not name her. By the twelfth century, however, Rādhā is known in North India as Kṛṣṇa's favorite, eventually taken as an *avatāra* of Śri-Lakṣmī. Rādhā is first celebrated in Sanskrit in Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* (early thirteenth century?). Subsequently, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa together are central to Bhāgavata sects founded by Viṣṇusvāmin, Nimbārka, Vallabha, and Caitanya.

NIMBĀRKA. Possibly a friend of Jayadeva and a contemporary of Madhva (though doctrinally linked rather to Rāmānuja), Nimbārka (thirteenth century?) was a Telugu brahman who settled early and permanently at Vṛndāvana. As was characteristic of Bhāgavatas, Nimbārka was captivated by the problem of the relation of the Absolute to the world. As a Vedantin, he proposed an alternative to the positions of Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, and Madhva through a realistic *dvaitādvaita* doctrine of *bhedābheda,* "distinct yet not different [from the phenomenal world]."

Unfolding in Nimbārka's writings (all in Sanskrit) is the notion of *prapatti* ("surrender"); the idea was derived from Rāmānuja and was especially elaborated by certain of Rāmānuja's successors. According to Nimbārka, this is the necessary first of two stages of the Bhāgavata's right relationship to the Bhagavān. The roles of human and divine in the drama of salvation are at issue; *prapatti* proposes that the initiative for this process is exclusively the Bhagavān's. The Bhāgavata can only surrender utterly to the Bhagavān's grace, abandoning all sense of personal capacity for efficacious action. To the sincere *prapanna* ("suppliant") the Bhagavān gracefully bestows direct perception of himself.

Although Nimbārka's Sanakasampradāya, extensively reformed in the fifteenth century, is itself generally restricted to an area around Mathurā and to some centers in Agra and in Bengal, Nimbārka's influence seems apparent in the teachings of Caitanya. Strongly influenced by Ramanujist tradition, Nimbārka distanced himself from an early, rather eclectic *smārta* Bhagavatism, emerging as among the most adventuresome of those Bhāgavatas who explored bhakti's more radical implications.

VIṢṆUSVĀMIN AND VALLABHA. Viṣṇusvāmin was the reputed founder of the Rudrasampradāya, which was regarded, along with those of Rāmānuja, Madhva, and Nimbārka, as one of the four great Bhāgavata schools or sects. Viṣṇusvāmin lived perhaps in the thirteenth century and, according to one account, was the *mantrī* ("minister") of a South Indian prince. Some traditions hold that Viṣṇusvāmin was a teacher both of Maharashtra's Jñāneśvar and of Madhva, but the evidence is meager and conflicting. And, although Viṣṇusvāmin apparently was a Vedantin, his commentaries on the *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Brahma Sūtra* have not survived. Tradition holds that he was a "dualist" who taught that "creation" was inspired by Brahmā's primordial loneliness and that individuals and the world itself proceeded from the Absolute as sparks leap from a flame.

Apparently, it is in Vallabhācarya's teachings that Viṣṇusvāmin's thought survives. Vallabha (1479–1531), son of a Telugu brahman and *Yajurveda* schoolman, was born in what is now Madhya Pradesh and spent his childhood mostly in Banaras. His Vedantic teachings are known as *śuddhādvaita* ("pure, or purified, nondualism"). In his view, Vallabha "corrected" or "purified" Śaṅkara's *advaita* by demonstrating that *māyā* ("appearance, illusion") is entirely a power of the Absolute (that is, Kṛṣṇa), and thus is in no sense independent of it. Real fragments of that Absolute, individuals are lost in forgetfulness and egotism until Kṛṣṇa manifests himself. That crucial act of grace inaugurates the *puṣṭimārga* ("way of sustenance [of the soul]"), leading to eternal, joyous (re-)union with Kṛṣṇa.

Vallabha's personal example was no less consequential than his theology. Tireless pilgrim, dedicated attendant on images, he became for his followers the preeminent, paradigmatic *sevaka* ("servant") of Kṛṣṇa. Decrying external acts empty of sincere emotion, Vallabha the ritualist urged that all acts be performed fully in a spirit of sweet and playful joy, a spirit captured most impressively in the *raslīlā* celebrations associated with the Vallabhācārīs.

In literature, the emotional fervor engendered amongst the Vallabhācārīs is particularly evident in the poetry of Sūrdās (1483–1563). Occasionally, the emotional abandon urged by Vallabha's example and nurtured by his successors led to "excesses" that, in the nineteenth century, even summoned restrictions from civil authorities. The teachings of Vallabhācārya are part of the inspiration for the "radical" Rādhāvallabhī and Sakhībhava movements in which Rādhā rather than Kṛṣṇa becomes central, Sakhībhava adherents going so far as to wear women's clothing and to attempt to lead the life of Rādhā. Overall, Vallabhācārya's *puṣṭimārga*—prominent and influential across North India—is a particularly impressive and vital expression of Bhagavatism and its pervasive influence on learned tradition and popular piety.

CAITANYA. Bengal's Sena dynasty (fl. twelfth through thirteenth centuries) championed the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* and its spirit is witnessed early in the Bengal/Orissa region in the Sanskrit *Gītagovinda* as well as in the devotional Bengali lyrics of such poets as Ḍimboka, Candidāsa, and Vidyāpati, who flourished from the twelfth through the sixteenth century. Doubtless the most famous Bhāgavata of this complex cultural region is Viśvambara Miśra, known best by the name he assumed as a *saṃnyāsin:* Kṛṣṇacaitanya. Born in Nadiya, probably in 1486, Caitanya is reported first to have been influenced by an itinerant Madhva teacher, though it is reasonable to assume that vibrant local devotional traditions were very significant as well. A definitive "conversion" to Kṛṣṇa Bhagavatism seems to have occurred in his early manhood. Henceforth, Caitanya was a phenomenon rarely observed even in Bengal's diverse culture. He became an extreme example of "god-intoxication"; and, swept at one moment by the ecstasy of experiencing Kṛṣṇa directly, and at the next moment by the agony of separation (*viraha*), he is reported to have staggered, fallen, danced, sung, roared, wept, laughed, and ranted in ways that attracted, challenged, and even threatened many of his contemporaries.

Only a few lines traditionally attributed to Caitanya survive. But his personal example and direct teachings drew about him disciples whose biographical, ritual, and theological writings—especially in the course of the sixteenth century—quickly and securely established an enduring religious movement that is the basis of the Gauḍīyasampradāya and the Hare Krishna group of the present time.

From the writings of his principal immediate disciples, the Gosvāmins, it is learned that Caitanya's "religious Vedanta" is most aptly characterized as *acintyabhedābheda:* Kṛṣṇa, the Absolute, and the individual *jīva*s ("souls") are "inconceivably discrete (yet) not different." But it is less for this variant on a familiar theme of Vaiṣṇava Vedānta than for the living example of his person that Caitanya is most significant historically. From "intentional" enactment of Kṛṣṇa's sports Caitanya drifted almost insensibly to a personal sense of reactualizing them, or, at least, so he was experienced by many of his followers. Devotees and object of devotion lost clear-cut boundaries in such "performances," which became nearly a "Tantric" *sādhana* ("actualization"). As such, these witness also the potent influence of Bengal's (ultimately Buddhist?) Sahajiya tradition. However, the latter's monistic thrust properly differentiates it from the fundamentally dualistic vision evident in Caitanya's alternating joy and despair in his separateness from Kṛṣṇa. Caitanya, as other Bhāgavatas, remained a *bhakta,* a devotee whose enduring problematic was also his raison d'être.

SEE ALSO Āḻvārs; Bengali Religions; Bhagavadgītā; Bhakti; Caitanya; Hindi Religious Traditions; Jayadeva; Līla; Madhva; Marathi Religions; Nimbārka; Rādhā; Rāmānuja; Vaikhānasas; Vallabha.

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G. R. WELBON (1987 AND 2005)

VAIṢṆAVISM: PĀÑCARĀTRAS

A movement or sect called Pāñcarātra figures significantly in some of the earliest textual evidence used by scholars to trace the historical emergence of Hindu, specifically Vaiṣṇava, devotional (*bhakti*) cults. Pāñcarātra is known to have influenced the development of Vaiṣṇava sectarian thought in several parts of India, and it remains a vigorous presence in South India today as an essential constituent of Śrī Vaiṣṇava religion and one of two Vaiṣṇava *āgama*s (traditions) that inform South India's Hindu temple culture.

The beginnings of the historical Pāñcarātra—and even the original sense of the word *pañcarātra*—remain matters of uncertainty and considerable scholarly dispute. Initially, the movement may not have been associated with any single doctrinal position. And when it first became associated with one, that position seems only secondarily to have been Vaiṣṇava. "The origin of Pañcarātra is obscure," J. A. B. van Buitenen observed, "because it has no[t] one origin" (van Buitenen, 1971, p. 6).

The problems begin with the word itself. Deprived of context, the compound *pañca-rātra* yields no clue beyond its literal sense: as a noun, it means "five nights" or "night of (the) five"; as an adjective, "five-night (ed)." Explanations given in the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās (classical school manuals, none of which may be earlier than the sixth century CE) seem clearly ex post facto rationalizations embedded in apologetic and polemic. However faithfully such explanations record what certain Pāñcarātrikas (members of the Pāñcarātra tradition) came to mean by the word, they offer no secure insight into what it meant originally.

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 13.6.1.1 asserts that the primordial Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa, "wishing to become all things," performed Puruṣamedha ("human sacrifice"), a *pañcarātra sattra* ("five-day sacrifice"). In light of this occurrence (apparently the earliest) of the word in Vedic-Brahmanic literature, some scholars have found irresistible the temptation to seek the original meaning of the name *Pāñcarātra* in the Vedic sacrificial milieu. Thus, as F. Otto Schrader concluded, "it appears . . . that the sect took its name from its central dogma which was the Pāñcarātra Sattra of Nārāyaṇa interpreted philosophically as the fivefold self-manifestation of God by means of his Para, Vyuha, Vibhava, Antaryāmin, and Arcā forms" (Schrader, 1916, p. 25). Quite possibly this passage from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* evidences Nārāyaṇa's integration and legitimization into the Vedic ritual and intellectual world; but it may as well be an accommodation of certain Pañcarātric associations as the source of them. In any case, except for Nārāyaṇa's centrality, the details of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* ritual neither confirm nor reinforce the preoccupations and central features of historical Pāñcarātra literature and practice.

Moreover, van Buitenen has argued persuasively that particular literary, doctrinal, and ritual associations such as those mentioned above are only secondary or subsequent specifications of an older, more wide-ranging acceptation of the word. In his view, *pañcarātra* initially referred to a characteristic of the way of life of itinerant recluses: their living apart from "towns" (that is, major settlements) except during the two-month rainy season. A *pāñcarātrika* in such early texts as the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṃgraha*, then, "is not distinguished by any particular faith or creed, but by a more or less ascetic life-rule," one prescribing five nights in the forest for every night spent in a town (van Buitenen, 1971, pp. 14–15). If van Buitenen is correct, it would not be the first time in India that practice has crucially preceded systematic theory. And his thesis would support a plausible solution to the longstanding puzzle concerning the relationship between Pāñcarātrikas and Bhāgavatas: the former may simply have been Bhāgavatas who led generally reclusive and ascetic lives.

EPIC PĀÑCARĀTRA. While certain texts (e.g., Ānandagiri's *Śaṅkaravijaya*) distinguish between Pāñcarātras and Bhāgavatas—and, indeed, consider Vaiṣṇavas distinct from both—it is not clear that the two necessarily were discrete in any sectlike way. The essence of "epic" Pāñcarātra is *bhakti:* unconditional devotion to the Lord (Bhagavat). The earliest unambiguous evidence of this "historical" Pāñcarātra seems to be that found in *Mahābhārata* 12.321ff, the *Nārāyaṇīya,* or *Nāradīya,* section, which introduces a religious attitude and a cosmology that agree in essential details with the teachings of the later Saṃhitās. Responding to a query concerning what god to worship, this "secret" teaching tells of a "hidden" god, invisible to all but his *ekānta-bhaktas* ("exclusive devotees"), to whom he graciously reveals himself. Such an *ekāntin* ("exclusivist") was King Uparicara, who worshiped Nārāyaṇa according to Sātvata rites and, believing kingdom, wives, and wealth to be his by Nārāyaṇa's boon, offered all these possessions to the Lord (*Mahābhārata* 12.322.17ff). Other *ekāntin*s inhabited Śvetadvīpa ("white, or pure, island"), located to the north in the Milk Ocean. Knowing Pāñcarātra teachings, they saw Brahman-Nārāyaṇa while others were blinded by his radiance (*Mahābhārata* 2.323.26ff).

Sātvata is another name for the Vṛṣṇi, who are part of a larger population of Yādavas, commonly thought to have been the society in which Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva *bhakti* rose. Epic Sātvatas are Nārāyaṇa *bhakta*s ("devotees"); but the *Nārāyaṇīya* explains that Nārāyaṇa, "formerly single-imaged," caused himself to be born as the "fourfold" son of Dharma: Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇa, and Hari (*Mahābhārata* 12.321.15–16).

The unitary god's multiple births or manifestations are familiar in Vaiṣṇava religious thought in general; and the historical Pāñcarātra seems to have contributed significantly to developing and enriching this notion. Doubtless, the epic Nārāyaṇa's four *vyūha*s ("appearances, modes of being") elaborate upon longstanding habits of identifying (or confusing) one divinity with another (or a divinity with a devotee), habits reinforced by factors such as the multiplication of divine epithets and the intensifying interaction between socio-religious groups, their ideologies and practices. Practically, this scheme facilitated the organization and "rationalization" of historically discrete devotional cults under a single, overarching principle, here Nārāyaṇa-Vāsudeva. In the *Nārāyaṇīya,* in fact, is found not one but two sets of multiple births that possibly developed independently. In addition to the more or less abstract Nara-Nārāyaṇa-Kṛṣṇa-Hari tetrad, there is the genealogical series Kṛṣṇa-Saṃkarṣaṇa (=Balakṛṣṇa)-Pradyumna-Aniruddha; that is, Kṛṣṇa, his brother, his elder son, and his grandson. Which set is the prior cannot be determined, although the latter is ultimately the more significant.

But something even more important is at work here: Pāñcarātrikas wanted to show how their supreme god could pervade the world and yet not be limited by it. To account for this, they drew upon several explanatory aids. And *vyūha*s were not the least important among them; for, as Jan Gonda observes, "already in Vedic ritualism the idea of *vyūha* implied an effective arrangement of the parts of a coherent whole" (Gonda, 1970, p. 50).

Epic *pāñcarātrikas,* then, are first and foremost *bhāgavata*s and *ekāntabhakta*s; and it is reasonable to conclude that the roots of their devotionalism are extra-Vedic. The Pāñcarātrikas are distinguished from similar groups of devotees by their particular efforts to show that their Lord is the underlying reality of all gods and that he is everywhere in the world without being subject to its manifest limitations. Crucial in this enterprise is their thoroughgoing exploitation of a theistic Sāṃkhya to explain the relation between this world and the supreme reality, as will be elaborated upon in the next section. Further, there is an equally insistent attempt to link the Nārāyaṇa-Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa of religious experience to prestigious Vedic explanations, which, by allusion, include even the fourfold Puruṣa of the *Puruṣasūkta* (*Ṛgveda* 10.90).

PĀÑCARĀTRA THOUGHT IN THE SAṂHITĀS. The principal texts of historical Pāñcarātra are the Saṃhitās ("collections"), of which there are 108 works according to tradition, and more than double that number reckoning all titles cited in lists. Far fewer texts are readily available for study, and among them the most significant seem to be *Pauṣkara, Jayākhya, Sāttvata* (constituting the "three gems" and presumably among the oldest), *Ahirbudhnya, Pārameśvara, Sanātkumāra* (quoted more than once by Yāmuna), *Parama, Padma, Īsvara,* and *Lakṣmī.* It is uncertain exactly when any of these was composed. Some may be as early as the sixth or seventh century CE although confirming citations date no earlier than the tenth century, and several are referred to only in the thirteenth or fourteenth century and later.

Formally, these texts closely resemble the Śaivāgamas (indeed, in this context, the terms *saṃhitā, āgama, tantra,* and *śāstra* are essentially interchangeable). Traditionally, they purported to deal with four topics: *jñāna* ("knowledge"), *yoga* ("disciplined concentration"), *kriyā* ("action"), and *caryā* ("conduct"). In fact, only one or two actually approximate this paradigm. The majority concentrate almost exclusively on *kriyā* and *caryā:* prescriptions for constructing and consecrating temples and "images" (of various materials) in which Bhagavān Nārāyaṇa is pleased to dwell, and for conducting the appropriate daily and festival services. Essentially, this is the literature of temple priests, and the bulk of it deals with practical details. The explicit *jñāna* sections (*pāda*s) are usually brief and bound up with stories about the creation of the world.

The Pāñcarātra's cosmogony is complex and many-tiered; and it incorporates influences and otherwise distinct ideas from many sources, Vedic and extra-vedic. But, while they differ on certain details and in the elaborateness of their presentations, the extant Saṃhitās share an understanding about the principal features of the three-stage "order of creation" (*sṛṣṭikrāma*); and this core account may be sketched here in simplified outline. At the beginning (of every world age), the *śakti* ("energy, force, power") of *parabrahman* Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu awakens, opening her eyes as "action" (*kriyā*) and "becoming" (*bhūti*). She is Lakṣmī, distinct from Viṣṇu yet at the same time as inseparable from him as sunlight from sun. Although she acts independently, each act merely implements a wish of Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu's. As *kriyāśakti,* Lakṣmī is the "instrumental cause of the universe" and identical with Viṣṇu's great discus, Sudarśana. As *bhūtiśakti,* she is the "material cause," governed by *kriyāśakti* "as the thread governs pearls in a necklace."

In this *śuddhasṛṣṭi* ("pure creation"), the first *guṇa*s (qualities) appear. Non-prakritic (because they are "pre-prakritic"), these qualities of the supreme Lord number six: knowledge (*jñāna*), lordship (*aiśvarya*), power (*śakti*), strength (*bala*), virility (*vīrya*), and splendor (*tejas*). The *guṇa*s then pair together as knowledge/strength, lordship/virility, and power/splendor; and these three pairs respectively constitute the *vyūha*s Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha. The Lord is entirely present (with all his six qualities) in every *vyūha,* but only one pair of qualities is openly manifest in each.

These *vyūha*s appear successively, then act together—again sequentially—in the second, intermediate or "mixed" (*śuddhāśuddha*) creation. There, "impure" creation initially is carried embryo-like as an undifferentiated potentiality in Saṃkarṣaṇa's body. Pradyumna differentiates it as *puruṣa* and *prakṛti* ("spirit" and "material potential") and transfers it to Aniruddha, who in turn organizes it by means of his *śakti.* He is the *brahman* and *māyā* (apparent reality) of the material world, presiding over the cosmic eggs whence life as humans know it—the "prakritic" *guṅa*s (*sattva, rajas, tamas*), *karman,* and time—devolves in the third, impure (*aśuddha*) creation, itself consisting first of a subtle and then a gross stage. Here the account links to familiar Sāṃkhya categories: Vāsudeva appears as the supreme *puruṣa.* Through his contact with the (material) body arises the *jīva,* otherwise called Saṃkarṣaṇa, who in turn produces *manas,* that is, Pradyumna. And from Pradyumna issues the creative agent, the *ahaṃkāra* who is Aniruddha.

In addition to their cosmogonic roles and cosmological significance, the *vyūha*s have important moral, theological, and pedagogical functions: Saṃkarṣaṇa teaches the true monotheism; Pradyumna translates that teaching into practice; and Aniruddha instructs about Pāñcarātra doctrine and the attainment of release.

*Vibhava*s ("manifestations") or *avatāra*s ("descents") of the Lord are subordinate to and dependent upon the *vyūha*s. They are of two kinds: those belonging to *śuddhasṛṣṭi* are *mukhya* ("primary"), and the major Saṃhitās agree that they number thirty-nine. "Secondary" (*gauṇa*) *avatāra*s usually are said to descend from Aniruddha. Primary and secondary *avatāra*s differ importantly in their natures and in the benefits to be derived by devotedly concentrating on them. Those who seek mokṣa should worship primary *avatāra*s, which spring directly from the Lord's body "like flame from flame." Secondary *avatāra*s are "ordinary" beings pervaded by a fraction of the Lord's *śakti* to accomplish particular purpose for world maintenance. Worshiping them yields worldly rewards such as wealth or sovereignty.

With this theory of secondary *avatāra*s one reaches the central preoccupations of the compilers of the Saṃhitās. It is not only "ordinary beings" who are fit receptacles for the Lord's descent: properly consecrated through Pāñcarātra ritual, a representation in stone, metal, wood, or clay also can become an *avatāra.* Descending into the material form with a part of his inexhaustible *śakti* when the appropriate consecration rituals are performed, the Lord thereby becomes fully present in the object, which is then known as *arcā avatāra,* or "worthy of worship."

PĀÑCARĀTRA IN PRACTICE. At the heart of epic and later Pāñcarātra is the driving insistence that salvation comes only through knowledge of ultimate truth, a knowledge that is the grace of the Lord revealed by single-minded devotion. This knowledge, open to members of all four *varṇa*s (classes), depends on an understanding of the Pāñcarātra teachings. Such understanding requires the assistance of a qualified teacher (*guru*), who guides the aspirant until he determines that the student is fit to be initiated. Initiation (*dīkṣā*) consists of five rituals (*pañcasaṃskāra*): branding the initiate's shoulders with the discus and conch emblems (Tāpa), instruction in the application of the cosmetic sectarian mark on the forehead (Puṇḍra), assigning a new name to the initiate (Nāman), confiding a secret *mantra* and explaining its sense (Mantra), and teaching the details of external ritual (Yāga). In addition, the adept learns a yoga for internal worship, that performed in the heart.

Services to the Lord combine with a life of purity and harmlessness (*ahiṃsā*) to the end of realizing "devotional union" with the Lord. The Pāñcarātrika is assured that there will be moments when "absolute union" with the Lord will be experienced. But this is not a realization of primordial unity in any metaphysical sense. Rather, it is an active experience of rapt devotion to the Lord, whereby individuals never lose their individuality. Indeed, as "parts" of Lakṣmī or Śrī, they too are eternally distinct from the Lord. Even during the intervals between world ages, they remain separate from if latent in him.

Pāñcarātrikas have made a considerable point of stressing that they are *vaidika*s, hence that Pāñcarātra not merely ranks alongside the Veda but is in fact part of it. Nārāyaṇa-Vāsudeva, according to them, is the god of the Upaniṣads, author of the Veda and the world. They assert, in effect, that the known world is incomprehensible in terms of *karman* alone. Underlying it, grounding everything, must be the supreme person.

The mildest rejoinders to such Pāñcarātra apologetics suggested that, at the very least, there was no way to prove their Vedic claims. Most responses were more severe. *Manusmṛti* 10.23 declares, for example, that Sātvatas and *ācārya*s are offspring of despised unions. And commentators identified both as temple functionaries. Denying the propriety of the lifestyles of temple priests, Smārta brahmans consider all their claims suspect. Association with a presumably extra-Vedic (i.e., tribal or nomadic) society—the Sātvata-Yādavas—combined with the importance assigned to the dynamic, creative, female principle, Lakṣmī, doubtless contributed strongly to the (negative) assessment that Pāñcarātrikas were *tantrika*s (practitioners of Tantra). In an important sense, the assessment is correct; indeed, even the Pāñcarātrikas themselves called their system a *tantra*.

PĀÑCARĀTRA IN HISTORY. It is generally accepted that the historical Pāñcarātra first emerged in northern, probably northwestern, India—it being clear, however, that Pāñcarātra itself was more an increasingly detailed set of cosmological speculations and devotional attitudes and procedures than it was a sect proper. This Pāñcarātra "system of thought" became the rationale of increasing numbers of Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavatas who were involved in temple and domestic devotional ritual. Its influence seems especially strong among the Mahānubhāvas of Maharashtra (from the mid-thirteenth century) and among the Narasiṃhas.

Even more apparent than its northern heritage is the fact that Pāñcarātra has prospered more obviously in South India than in the north for at least the past millennium. Pāñcarātra's destiny in the south is closely related to the rise of the Śrī Vaiṣṇava tradition, in which Pāñcarātra cosmological and ritual theory and practice combine with the unique vernacular devotional poetry of the Āḻvārs. The early Śrī Vaiṣṇava "doctors" Nāthamuni, Yāmuna, and Rāmānuja become the most noteworthy personalities associated with the propagation and defense of Pāñcarātra ideas. Later developments in Śrī Vaiṣṇava theology and the emergence of two distinct traditions—Vaṭakalai and Teṉkalai—realize and expand upon more of what was present in Pāñcarātra thinking from the start than is often recognized. Through the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas, Pāñcarātra thought informed Rāmānanda (fl. mid-fifteenth century?) and his following of Rāma *bhakta*s, thus reentering North India. Again through Śrī Vaiṣṇavism, Pāñcarātra teachings strongly influenced the non-brahman Sātānis in Karnataka.

The circumstances of Pāñcarātra's introduction into South Indian temples are not entirely clear. Perhaps temple procedures had earlier been only customary and generally informal. In that case, the Pāñcarātra systematically introduced order and regularity. It is also possible, however, that (at least some of) the earlier Viṣṇu temple ritual was conducted according to Vaikhānasa prescriptions. More self-consciously linked to Vedic ceremonial, Vaikhānasas tended to a certain conservatism, resisting the incorporation of devotional material from the Āḻvārs (to which the Pāñcarātra were quite receptive). At the same time, Vaikhānasas are closer to earlier Pāñcarātra than to its later form in their conception of such deities as Rudra-Śiva as manifestations of Viṣṇu, and thus both groups appropriately included ritual proceedings that the evolving Śrī Vaiṣṇavas often found offensive. On the other hand, however, modern-day Vaikhānasas have argued that both Pāñcarātra "*tāntrika*s" and the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas offend the Lord precisely because they allow "saints" and teachers of Śrī Vaiṣṇava tradition to intrude into temple devotional ritual in ways that improperly detract from the worship of Lord Viṣṇu.

SEE ALSO Āḻvārs; Avatara; Bhakti; Hindu Tantric Literature; Kṛṣṇaism; Marathi Religions; Śrī Vaiṣṇavas.

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Of course, one wants to encounter Pāñcarātra through primary sources. For this, F. Otto Schrader's classic *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā* (Madras, 1916) remains the best point of departure. H. Daniel *Smith's A Descriptive Bibliography of the Printed Texts of the Pāñcarātrāgama,* vol. 1 (Baroda, 1975), and vol. 2, *An Annotated Index to Selected Topics* (Baroda, 1980) are indispensable guides. Sanjukta Gupta's translation of the *Lakṣmī Tantra* (Leiden, 1972) is excellent, and S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's reading of the *Paramasaṃhitā* (Baroda, 1940) is adequate. Finally, a precious record of actual practices is Kadambi Rangachariyar's *The Sri Vaishnava Brahmans* (Madras, 1931).

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VAJRABODHI (671–741) was an Indian Buddhist monk and Zhenyan teacher in China. Vajrabodhi (Chin., Jingangzhi) was the second of three Vajrayana missionaries to eighth-century China. He was born of a South Indian brahman family, and his father was a priest for the royal house. Vajrabodhi probably converted to Buddhism at the age of sixteen, although some accounts place him at the Buddhist university of Nālandā at the age of ten. He studied all varieties of Buddhism and was said to have studied for a time under the famous Buddhist logician Dharmakīrti. Under Śāntijñāna, Vajrabodhi studied Vajrayāna teachings and was duly initiated into yoga, the "Three Mysteries," and *dhāraṇi.* Leaving India, Vajrabodhi traveled to Sri Lanka and Śrīvijaya (present-day Sumatra), where he apparently was taught a Vajrayāna tradition distinct from that taught at Nālandā. From Śrīvijaya he sailed to China and by 720 was ensconced in the Jianfu Temple at the Chinese capital, Changan. Accompanying him was his soon-to-be-famous disciple, Amoghavajra.

Like Śubhākarasiṃha, who preceded him by four years, Vajrabodhi spent most of his time in ritual activity, in translating texts, and in the production of Esoteric art. Particularly important was his partial translation of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (T. D. no. 865) between the years 723 and 724. This Yoga Tantra— along with the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (T. D. no. 848), translated by Subhakarasimha the same year—provides the foundation of the Zhenyan school in China and the Shingon and Esoteric branch of the Tendai school (Taimitsu) in Japan. Like Śubhākarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi had ties to high court circles and enjoyed the patronage of imperial princesses; he also worked with the Chinese monk Yi Xing. Vajrabodhi died in 732 and was buried south of the Longmen caves. He was posthumously awarded the title Guoshi, "Teacher of the Realm."

Vajrabodhi's importance was twofold. Although the doctrines of the Yoga Tantras were known to Śubhākarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi was the first translator and systematic teacher in China of the *Sarvatathagatatattvasamgraha* and of Vajrayāna as practiced in South India and in Srivijaya. Second, Vajrabodhi reinforced the presence and visibility of the Vajrayana at the Chinese court, a presence that, under his disciple Amoghavajra, would become the dominant force in the court during the second half of the eighth century.

SEE ALSO Mahāsiddhas; Zhenyan.

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CHARLES D. ORZECH (1987)

VAJRADHARA (Tib., Rdo rje chang [Dorje chang]; Mongolian, Ochirdana) is, in the last stages of Indian Tantric Buddhism and in the continuing Tibetan traditions, the distinct embodiment of the highest state of being, the primordial Ādibuddha, and the revealer of all the Tantras. But he was not always thus, for in the beginning in India *Vajradhara* was simply another name for Vajrapāṇi (Tib., Phyag na rdo rje [Chagna dorje]), both *bodhisattva* and deity. One can explain this development as the logical expansion of the tiny terminological difference between the less concrete "bearer (*-dhara*) of the *vajra*" and the unambiguous "*vajra* in hand." Vajrasattva (Tib., Rdo rje sems dpa' [Dorje sempa]; Chin., Wo tzu lo sa tsui; Jap., Kongosatta) further complicates the historical picture. "*Vajra* being" was at first another early synonym for Vajrapāṇi, then both a synonym for Vajradhara and a distinct deity in his own right. Nor had Vajrapāṇi played a single unitary role in the history of Buddhism in India and beyond.

THE REAL VAJRADHARA. Given the logic of terminological abstraction, one might expect Vajrasattva to be loftier than Vajradhara (when they are distinguished). But it is Vajradhara alone who represents one of just two possible representations of the *dharmakāya*, the highest, in Tibetan Buddhism. The other is Samantabhadra ("All Good"; Tib., Kun tu bzang po [Kuntu zangpo]), depicted completely naked to illustrate his distance from conventions. In the Mahāyāna and Tantric Buddhist analysis of the nature of enlightenment, the *dharmakāya* is the least compromised form of the Buddha or a buddha, out of space and time. Thus its representation should not be taken literally, however anthropomorphic in appearance.

Vajradhara is indeed depicted seated cross-legged in a *vajraparyaṅka* pose, on a moon disk and lotus, two-armed, hands crossed over his heart in the *vajrahūṃkara* or union gesture. His left, female hand is inside (signifying his inner wisdom and emptiness) and bearing the bell; his right, male hand holding the *vajra* is above the left to symbolize the method and compassion directed outwards. He is blue, like his historical "forefather," Vajrapāṇi. If in union, Vajradhara's consort is red Vajrayoginī (Vajravārāhī), embodiment of *prajñāpāramitā* (the "perfection of wisdom"), skull in left hand and flaying knife in right. Emptiness expanded, like the personification of *prajñāpāramitā*, he should not be mistaken for an individual buddha-being. Although *dharmakāya*, and therefore not individual, he wears the regal finery of a *saṃbhogakāya*—eight jewel ornaments and five silks. In paintings he is frequently surrounded by the eighty-four *mahāsiddhas*, Tantric Buddhist saints.

In Rdzogs chen (Dzogchen), the "Great Perfection," or Atiyoga traditions of the Rnying ma (Nyingma, "old") school of Tibetan Buddhism, and in Bon, the so-called pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet, Samantabhadra, not Vajradhara, is the *dharmakāya*, albeit also known as Mahāvajradhara Samantabhadra (Kun bzang rdo rje chang chen [Kunzang dorje chang chen]). Vajradhara instead manifests as the *saṃbhogakāya*, while the Rdzogs chen Samantabhadra is utterly separate from the Mahāyāna *bodhisattva* of that name.

At these rarefied elevations of the *dharmadhātu*, the pure *dharma* realm, Vajradhara is real, definitive (Skt., *niścitārtha*; Tib., *nges pa don gi*), sheer concept, and the nature of everything. Such pantheism requires that nothing is not Vajradhara, if one could but realize this truth. Vajrasattva, meanwhile, is simply the *saṃbhogakāya* of the intangible Samantabhadra.

RELATIVE/CONVENTIONAL VAJRADHARA. To teach *bodhisattvas* and humans, the ultimate essence takes a form, a provisional symbolic (Skt., *neyārtha*; Tib., *drang don rtags*) one. This side of the dichotomy further subdivides into *saṃbhogakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya*, bodies of so-called "enjoyment" and "emanation." The first is supramundane, visible only to enlightened audiences such as dwell in paradisiacal buddha-realms, Akaniṣṭha, and so forth. The *nirmāṇakāya* is a buddha's manifestation in the world, as Śākyamuni or *bodhisattva*.

Vajradhara revealed the *mahāmudrā* teachings in India to Tilopa (c. 988–1069), thereby founding the Bka' brgyud (Kagyu) lineage. Bka' brgyud subsects agree that Tilopa instructed the Bengali Nāropa (1016–1100), who taught the Tibetan seeker Mar pa (Marpa, 1002/12–1097), who then carried the lineage back to Tibet and passed it on to Mi la ras pa (Milarepa, 1028/40–1111/23). In the Bka' brgyud traditions, Vajradhara receives special worship as both the revealer of mysteries and the mystery itself.

Vajradhara's ultimate position is as Khyab bdag rigs drug pa, all-pervasive lord of the sixth family (Khyab dag, Samantabhadra in Rdzogs chen traditions). The six families are the typical Indian upward extension of the earlier *maṇḍala* of five, in turn the expansion of the earlier three (via an occasional intermediate four). These structures belong to different historical phases of Tantric Buddhism, chronologically successive, but carried along and incorporated into succeeding classification systems. Kriyā Tantras have three families; Yoga Tantras, five; and the highest, Yoganiruttara Tantras, six. The sixth is overlord of the five as the zenith above four cardinal directions around a unifying center. Sometimes Vajrasattva, a further essentialization of Vajradhara's immanent nature, is conceptually located symmetrically opposite him at the nadir.

More than a millennium earlier, Vajrapāṇi had been a mere *yakṣa* sprite, albeit the "master of the mysterious [*yakṣas*]" (*guhyakādhipati*). The epithet stayed with him and grew ever more meaningful until he was the "master of the mysterious" truth at the heart of the secret esoteric tradition, and, as Vajradhara, the ultimate source of all its unfolding scriptures.

VAJRAPĀṆI UNARMED. Vajradhara was once but a synonym of Vajrapāṇi, originally the Buddha's humble attendant who happened to wield a mighty weapon. In early Indian Buddhist art his weapon is personified, in the form of Vajrapuruṣa. But by the time Vajradhara is clearly distinct from his namesake, the attribute has been further depersonified into its essence, with the *vajra* no longer a weapon but the underlying principle of phenomenal reality.

SEE ALSO Vajrapāṇi.

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VAJRAPĀṆI. "As for Vajrapāṇi . . . I confess to finding him by far the most interesting divine being throughout the whole history of Buddhism, for he has a personal history and considerable personal character." David Snellgrove's words were published in his magnum opus, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism* (p. 134) in 1987, the year of this encyclopedia's first edition. Only now has Vajrapāṇi (Tib., Phyag na rdo rje [Chagna dorje]) gained his own independent entry. His promotion in the secondary literature echoes his unparalleled rise within the history of Indian and Tibetan Buddhism (with successes also in Central Asian, Chinese, Southeast Asian, and Japanese Buddhisms). From a half-tamed spirit who became the Buddha's constant companion, this protean shape-shifter graduates first into a *bodhisattva* and then into a deity before transcending everything as the primordial Ādibuddha, Vajradhara. However, Vajrapāṇi's progress extends backwards too, before Buddhism, to the beginnings of Sanskrit literature, the Vedas.

INDO-EUROPEAN ETYMOLOGY AND DIVINITY. In Sanskrit, *vajrapāṇi* means "he who has a *vajra* in hand." The word *vajra* refers to a thunderbolt, thunder crash, or lightning flash, and to its embodiment in unbreakable diamond (cf. the Tibetan neologistic translation *Rdo rje* [*dor je*], "Lord of Stones") and the invincible weapon made thereof. *Vajra* is linguistically related to its Indo-European cousin, the Zoroastrian Zend *vazra*, Mithra's "club" (cf. Vedic Mitra), and the English cognates *vigor*, *wacker*, and *wake*.

In pre-Buddhist Indian literature, the *vajra* is wielded by powerful gods, above all Indra, lord of the gods, sky, and rains. From the *Ṛgveda* onward, Indra's attribute is the *vajra*. Nevertheless, while the *Ṛgveda* often refers to *vajrabāhu*: (*vajra* in arm) and *vajrahasta* (*vajra* in hand), their synonym, *vajrapāṇi*, is not found before the *Ṣaḍviṃśabrāhmaṇa*.

The *vajra's* bearer has close correspondents in Greek, Roman, and northern European mythology. Zeus and Jupiter, kings of the gods and sky gods, hold the thunderbolt, while the Norse Þórr (Thor) brandishes a meteoric hammer that flashes lightning. Greco-Roman depictions of the bundle of thunder and lightning are barely distinguishable from the double-ended trident *vajra* used today across the northern Buddhist world. A Buddhist legend explains the adapted form, since the Buddha had grasped Indra's weapon and blunted it, forcing the aggressive open prongs together to create a peaceful regal scepter.

Following his Ṛgvedic supremacy, Indra, whose avatar Vajrapāṇi originally is, comes down in the world. A second-rank divinity, his supremacy is usurped by his storm-god colleague Rudra (Śiva), an opponent Vajrapāṇi will meet again many centuries later. In the *Mahābhārata*, for example, Indra is defeated, kidnapped, and humiliated, whether with the epithet *vajrapāṇi* or *vajradhara*. By this point, Vajrapāṇi had begun an alternative career that would lead him to the innermost heart of the Buddhist fold.

Separated from his godly prototype, Vajrapāṇi is an ambivalent *yakṣa*, neither divine nor human, albeit the general of the *yakṣa* army (*yakṣasenādhipati*) and master of the whole *guhyaka* (secret) class of *yakṣas* (*guhyakādhipati*). His mastery over secrets was reinterpreted to apply to the mysteries of esoteric Buddhism. With him, military metaphors are always explicit and sustained, and his *vajra* was conceptually assimilated to the legal staff (*danda*) of a law enforcer.

VAJRAPĀṆI AND THE BUDDHA. Although Vajrapāṇi's initial Buddhist incarnation may have been as the Buddha's associate, he was not a pushover. In a rare appearance in the Pali canon, Vajrapāṇi extracts a response from Ambaṭṭha to the Buddha's twice-unanswered question about his ancestry. To illustrate the threat that a third refusal will result in his head being shattered, Vajrapāṇi appears in the sky, visible to only the two interlocutors, wielding a blazing iron thunderbolt. The terrified Ambaṭṭha's tongue is loosened, and he keeps his head.

In the fifth century CE Buddhaghosa, the preeminent Pali commentator, glosses Vajrapāṇi as Indra, possibly reflecting the contemporary Brahmanization of Buddhism during and after the Gupta period. But the memory of their earlier identity is re-remembered everywhere in Indian Buddhist history. Vajrapāṇi and Indra are certainly depicted together enough times to have autonomous existences.

Numerous postcanonical narratives depict Vajrapāṇi's feet on the ground. Many Gandharan Buddhist bas reliefs from northern Pakistan from the first centuries of the Common Era show a Herculean strongman, under obvious Hellenistic influence, holding a *vajra*. Like a bodyguard, Vajrapāṇi is ever-present (*nityānubaddha*), mostly silent, at the Buddha's side. His desolation at the Buddha's deathbed even inspired an entire sūtra, transmitted in Chinese: *On Guhyaka Vajrapāṇi's Grief and Love When the Buddha Entered into Nirvāṇa*.

However close to the Buddha, Vajrapāṇi remained a menial. Smashing a boulder dropped by Devadatta, Vajrapāṇi's ill-judged blow sent a shard into his Lord's foot. Later, to spare the Buddha's nonviolent reputation, he defeated the *nāga* dragon Apalāla. Varying accounts of the episode, detailed in Étienne Lamotte's authoritative *Vajrapå-i en Inde* (2003), eventually credit him with single-handed conquest, in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*, localizing the event in northwest India.

When with the Mahāyāna, the historical Buddha and his human entourage lost their preeminence, while Vajrapāṇi, still judiciously aggressive, became venerable.

THREE *BODHISATTVAS*. Around the beginning of the Common Era, the young Mahāyāna Buddhism enthusiastically adopted Vajrapāṇi, if at first as a glorified protecting assistant, in such early classics as *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (The perfection of wisdom in eight thousand verses sūtra).

With the Mahāyāna multiplication of *bodhisattvas*, Vajrapāṇi also becomes one, and he too is multiplied in the new tradition's proliferating style. The *bodhisattva* equivalent of the Buddha's intimate attendant, he mirrors Ānanda's function, with added Mahāyāna expansiveness: just as Ānanda guards and transmits the Śrāvakayāna sūtras, Vajrapāṇi protects and compiles fresh Mahāyāna sūtras. He is by the side of countless buddhas in multiple buddha realms, and constantly attends any *bodhisattva* who has attained the eighth to tenth of the ten *bodhisattva* stages.

Of the myriad Mahāyāna *bodhisattvas*, few merited dedicated religious cultivation. Apart from Maitreya, in particular, three stand out. Early Buddhist protectors, the Brahmanical gods Indra and Brahmā, are consequently recast as Vajrapāṇi and Padmapāṇi, bearers of the *vajra* and lotus respectively. Padmapāṇi became identified with the great *bodhisattva* of compassion, Avalokiteśvara, a Mahāyāna discovery, prompting Vajrapāṇi's subsequent parallel upgrade. With Mañjuśrī as the *bodhisattva* manifestation of Śākyamuni Buddha, the triad is complete.

In *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (Mañjuśrī's fundamental instructions) in the earliest Kriyā Tantra phase of Tantric Buddhism, the trio lead three families (Skt., *trikula*), symbolized by the wheel, lotus, and *vajra*, specializing in wisdom, compassion, and power or energy (positive transmutations of the immemorial Buddhist root poisons: ignorance, greed, and hatred). Spiritual sons and heirs of the three crowning buddhas (Vairocana, Amitābha, and Akṣobhya (Tib., Mi bskyod pa [Mi kyö pa]), immoveable as the adamantine *vajra*), the three are ranked vertically, or at least on a slope. On the less auspicious left, Vajrapāṇi, with his entourage of fierce goddesses, remains inferior to the two embodiments of more primary Buddhist qualities. Their inequality means that one consecrated in the *vajra* family is entitled to perform fierce activities (coercing, destroying, and slaying), but not the beneficent ones, while those initiated into the gentler families are also entitled to perform the fierce activities in an emergency.

Bodhisattvas, not buddhas, the lords of the three families (Tib., *Rigs gsum mgon po* [Riksum gönpo]) are commemorated throughout the Himalayas wherever there is Buddhism, in wayside shrines, images, or a row of three stupas—white for compassionate Avalokiteśvara, orange for wise Mañjuśrī, and black or blue-grey for powerful Vajrapāṇi. Most common are *maṇi* walls of piled-up flat stones carved with the *mantras* of the three *bodhisattvas*: *oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ; oṃ vāgīśvarī hūṃ; and oṃ vajrapāṇi hūṃ*. Later Tibetan historians retrospectively identified their incarnations in the three kings who promoted Buddhism in Tibet: Srong brtsan sgam po (Songtsen gampo, r. 627–649/650); Khri Srong lde btsan (Trisong detsen, r. 755–c. 797); and Ral pa can (Rälpachen, r. 815–838), respectively Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, and finally the fierce Vajrapāṇi. Many people have been, and continue to be, recognized as incarnations of Vajrapāṇi, and of the others. While Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara inspired philosophers and enduring Mahāyāna cults, Vajrapāṇi was going right to the top.

Five Buddhas. Tantric Buddhism is the Vajrayāna, the "Vajra Way." Naturally, the *vajra* holder will be most powerful in such an eponymous religion. In earlier Kriyā and Caryā Tantras, the *vajra* family had been inferior, but in the Yoga Tantras, the family system operates with theoretical equality, graphically expressed in the *maṇḍala*'s horizontal layout.

In the Yoga Tantra *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (Congregation of the truth of all the buddhas, seventh century CE at the latest), Vajrapāṇi comes to the fore. With the main Vajradhātu *Maṇḍala*, his family is paramount, pervading all others. The buddha family's Vajradhātu *Maṇḍala* is scarcely distinguished from the *vajra* family's Trailokyavijaya *Maṇḍala*, where the expertise remains slaying and destroying. Here are located the non-Buddhist deities that Vajrapāṇi has forcibly converted, the achievement that gave him everlasting fame in Indian and Tibetan Tantric Buddhist institutional literature.

Without a single Tantric Buddhist origin myth, alternative stories compete. The literary winner is the account of Vajrapāṇi's defeat of Maheśvara Śiva. Many texts narrate Śiva's slaying and subjugation by Vajrapāṇi. Key is the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha's* telling, translated in Snellgrove (1987, pp. 136–140). Enlightened, Vairocana generates Vajradhara, from whom arises Vajrapāṇi to order Maheśvara into the *maṇḍala*. Śiva objects to obeying a mere *yakṣa*, but Vajrapāṇi threatens to destroy the whole threefold world (*trailokya*). Even when reduced to a prostrate corpse and then resurrected, the proud god refuses to submit. Finally, Vajrapāṇi triumphs and stands with his right foot on Maheśvara, and his left on that god's consort, Umā. Thus is mythologized the assimilation of non-Buddhist traditions, mediated by Vajrapāṇi, who acquires a new title, Trailokyavijaya, "Conqueror of the three worlds."

In the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha,* Vairocana had been in the center of the *maṇḍala*, but in the transitional Yoga/Yogottara *Guhyasamāja Tantra* (Secret union Tantra), the *vajra* family's buddha, Akṣobhya, takes the central position as the direct Sambhogakāya incarnation of Vajradhara. Vajrapāṇi's erstwhile synonym is now the sum of everything, and will be of supreme importance in the Tibetan tradition. In Yoganiruttara cycles the chief deities are all *vajra* family. Akṣobhya's emanations—Heruka, Hevajra, Saṃvara, Yamāri, Vajrakīla, Buddhakapāla, and Mahāmāya are buddhas in the style of Vajrapāṇi, with Akṣobhya on their crown, blue, fierce, and personifications of *vajra* power.

Multiple Vajrapāṇis. Already before the plethora of Yoganiruttara wild buddhas, VajrapāṇI—the *bodhisattva* himself—had multiple wrathful aliases in addition to Trailokyavijaya, conqueror of Śiva: these included Mahābala (great strength), subjugator of Māra and subject of the *Mahābala Sūtra* (dateable to between the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* and the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*); Ucchuṣma (the "incinerator" of impurities); Kuṇḍali; "fierce" Caṇḍavajrapāṇi (Tib., Phyag rdor gtum po [Chagdor tumpo]); and four-armed Bhūtaḍāmara (Tib., 'Byung po'i dul byed [Chungpö dulched]), his spirit-subduing form. Many of these independent deities are still cultivated today in the Tibetan tradition. The triple practice of Hayagrīva, Vajrapāṇi, and Garuḍa for the removal of obstacles, particularly *nāga* afflictions, reflects Vajrapāṇi's association with Garuḍa, natural enemy to snakes and *nāgas.*

Iconography. Given the wealth of identity-shifts Vajrapāṇi has enjoyed over the last 2,500 years, his iconography is manifold. From his late Mahāyāna phase on he is crowned with the *vajra* family buddha, Akṣobhya. Like Akṣobhya, he is blue, the color of space or the night sky, or black like thunderclouds or kohl. Vajrapāṇi wears the tiger skin that represents hatred harnessed (elephant skin signifies ignorance, and a flayed human skin, desire). The tiger skin's phallic stripes make it male, while the consort wears a female leopard skin. Yet, Vajrapāṇi is rarely depicted in union. The emphasis on wrath seems to have precluded passion, however explicitly phallic the *vajra* is in Tantric Buddhism (where it is regularly united with the female "lotus"). Usually Vajrapāṇi wields only a *vajra* (five- or nine-pronged) in his raised right hand, while his left is held at the heart in the threatening (*tarjanī*) gesture. His left hand can hold the noose to bind enemies, actual or metaphorical, or a bell. In more wrathful manifestations, the big-bellied dwarf has three eyes, a skull crown, and a snake necklace, and he steps towards the right to show his energy, standing on a sun disk on an open lotus, orange hair flaring upwards as if on fire. His *bodhisattva* form is peaceful, holding a lotus with *vajra* atop in his right hand, and making the gesture of generosity with his left.

Vajrapāṇi's Commentary. In addition to all his ahistorical history, Vajrapāṇi was also the name of one of the three "*bodhisattva*" authors who interpreted Tantric Buddhism in the light of the *Kālacakra Tantra* (Wheel of time Tantra) in the late tenth century CE. His *Laghutantraṭīkā* (Commentary on the shorter Tantra) analyses the first ten and a half stanzas of the *Cakrasaṃvara Tantra* (Wheel of bliss Tantra).

SEE ALSO Vajradhara.

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ISABELLE ONIANS (2005)

VAJRASATTVA (Tibetan, Rdo rje sems dpa' [Dorjé Sempa]; Chinese, Jingang sadou; Japanese, Kongōsatta), the "Adamantine Being," is a *bodhisattva* affiliated primarily with the Buddha Akṣobhya (Unshakeable) but in many contexts is identified conceptually with Vajradhara (Vajra Holder). Vajrasattva is traditionally depicted iconographically as white in color with one face and two hands. In his right hand he holds close to his heart a *vajra* (thunderbolt), representing the active means toward enlightenment, and in his left hand beside his left hip an upturned bell (*ghaṇṭā*), a symbol of emptiness (*śūnyata*) and the perfection of wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*). Lavishly attired in the colorful garments of a princely *bodhisattva,* he sits with legs crossed in the *vajra* posture (*vajrāsana*) on a moon disk above a white lotus blossom. In some cases he is shown sitting with his right leg outstretched, and in others he is standing. He wears a crown often inscribed with an image of Akṣobhya. From his richly adorned body, rays of light (often dark blue) radiate outward to form a golden halo adorned with wish-fulfilling jewels and an outer rainbow. In this way he represents the embodied essence of all the peaceful buddhas.

Iconic images of Vajrasattava are found in statuary form and more frequently in paintings, especially of the *maṇḍala.* As a central deity of esoteric Buddhism or Vajrayāna (Adamantine or Thunderbolt Vehicle), Vajrasattva first rose to prominence in the Yoga class of Tantras. The ritual practices centered on him, including visualization of the *maṇḍala* and recitation of his hundred-syllable *mantra,* are popular among all followers of Tantric Buddhism, particularly in Tibet and in Japan. Vajrasattava's significance in the development of the Buddhist Vajrayāna tradition in India and in neighboring regions and beyond is well confirmed, although the precise details of his role in that historical process are complicated and require understanding of his divine adamantine allies, the closely related deities Vajrapāṇi (Vajra-in-Hand), Vairocana (Resplendent), and Vajradhara.

VAJRASATTVA IN INDIA. Vajrasattva first emerges as a central deity in the Yoga Tantras. The foundational text of this literary category is the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṁgraha* (Symposium of Truth of All the Tathagathas), also known simply as the *Tattvasaṁgraha.* Other significant Yoga Tantras include the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra* (Tantra on the Elimination of All Evil Rebirths), the *Vajraśekhara Tantra* (Vajra Pinnacle Tantra), and the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* (The Litany of Names of Mañjusrī). Evidence suggests that the *Tattvasaṁgraha* and associated Tantric works date to the beginning of the eighth century, although some scholars now argue that the *Tattvasaṁgraha* itself may have been completed slightly earlier at the end of the seventh century.

Vajrapāṇi, a closely affiliated divine precursor to Vajrasattva, first takes center stage, along with the famous *bodhisattvas* Avalokiteśvara (Lord Who Looks Down) and Mañjuśrī (Gentle Glory), in the proto-Tantric *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (Fundamental Ordinance of Mañjuśrī). In this text, the three deities are described as taking up honorable positions around the Buddha Śākyamuni: Avalokiteśvara, identified here as Padmapāṇi (Lotus-in-Hand), to his right; Vajrapāṇi to his left; and Mañjuśrī (Gentle Glory) appearing below Śākyamuni at the center. This formal arrangement of Buddhist deities seems to represent an early and simplified prototype of the more elaborate fivefold arrangement of buddhas that would later become fully systematized in the Yoga Tantras. In the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa,* Avalokiteśvara is associated with the symbol of the lotus, the divine emblem of purity and compassion. The central figure of Mañjuśrī is symbolically identified as *tathāgata* (Thus Gone), a term synonymous with the Buddha and enlightenment. For Vajrapāṇi and his retinue, the preeminent symbol is the *vajra,* signifying divine and magical power—the power to pacify, augment, control, and destroy. It is largely for this reason, owing to the power associated with the *vajra,* that Vajrapāṇi is the one given the daunting task of subjugating and converting to Buddhism the Hindu god Śiva (Maheśvara) in a dramatic and influential tale first recounted in the *Tattvasaṁgraha.*

It is in this work, also, that Vairocana first appears as a manifestation of the unity of all buddhas. The *maṇḍala* of Vairocana, introduced in the *Tattvasaṁgraha* with the name Vajradhātu (Adamantine World), places Vairocana in the center surrounded by the Buddhas Akṣobhya in the eastern quarter, Ratnasambhava (Jewel Born) in the south, Amitābha (Boundless Light) in the west, and Amoghasiddhi (All Accomplishing) in the north. In time this symmetrical arrangement of five principal buddhas became standard, though with the identity of the central deity frequently changing to reflect the affiliated lineage of a particular Tantric ritual tradition. Nevertheless, the Yoga Tantras continue to maintain that in whatever form the central deity manifests, whether as Vairocana, Vajradhara, Vajrasattva, or some other buddha figure, he is always to be understood as the same in essence, that is, as the unity of all buddhas.

With the development in the Yoga Tantras of this fivefold buddha *maṇḍala* coincided the expansion of various buddha families (*kula*). It was in the proto-Tantric *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* that this concept of families first emerged, with the introduction of three divine groups, Tathāgata/Buddha (Mañjuśrī), Lotus (Avalokiteśvara), and Vajra (Vajrapāṇi). The *Tattvasaṁgraha* added to this list a Gem (*ratna*) family, and a fifth, Action (*karma*) family, seems first to have been introduced in the *Vajraśekhara Tantra.* The Yoga Tantras, moreover, refer also to a transcendent sixth family represented by a supreme primordial buddha (Ādibuddha), understood as the source of the five principal buddhas. This supreme buddha is known variously as Mahāvairocana (Great Resplendent), Samantabhadra (Universal Goodness), Vajradhara, or more commonly, Vajrasattva.

Given the overall emphasis on power in Tantric Buddhism, it is the Vajra family that reigns supreme in the Tantras. Thus, it is the buddhas and *bodhisattvas* who embody the symbolism of the *vajra*—identified as such in the very names themselves—that stand at the center of the Tantric universe represented graphically in the form of the *maṇḍala.* Although originally Vairocana held the central position in the *maṇḍala* outlined in the *Tattvasaṁgraha,* it is Vajradhara, the transcendent sixth buddha, who, linked by name and power to the older Vajrapāṇi, comes eventually to replace Vairocana as the quintessential Tantric deity. Vajradhara is also identified with Vajrasattva, the *bodhisattva* associated most closely with the fierce Buddha Akṣobhya. In some of the later Tantras, therefore, Akṣobhya is placed in the center of the *maṇḍala* and Vairocana is shifted to the east in Akṣobhya's former position. Vajradhara and Vajrasattva, both symbolically identical, and thus interchangeable, remain the transcendent embodiments of adamantine power, the source and unity of all buddhas.

VAJRASATTVA IN TIBET. In Tibetan Buddhism, the iconography and ritual traditions of Vajrasattva are derived largely from the class of Indian Buddhist Yoga Tantras referred to above, though additionally in Tibet there are other primary Tantras associated with this deity. The most significant is the eighth-century *Gsang ba'i snying po* (Sanskrit, **Guhyagarbha,* "Secret Nucleus"), a work belonging to a distinctively Tibetan cycle of *mahāyoga* scriptures collectively titled *Sgyu ʿphrul drwa ba* (Sanskrit, *Māyājāla,* "Web of Magical Emanation"). In the *Gsang ba'i snying po,* Vajrasattva appears at the center of the *maṇḍala* of the peaceful deities (Tibetan, *zhi ba'i lha*). This *maṇḍala* is the tranquil counterreflection of an elaborate arrangement of fierce divinities (Tibetan, *khro bo'i lha*). Together, both *maṇḍalas* constitute the Tantric system of the peaceful and wrathful deities most famously represented in the *Tibetan Book of the Dead* literature.

In Tibet there are numerous ritual programs (Tibetan, *sgrub thabs;* Sanskrit, *sādhana*) dedicated to Vajrasattva, and their practice is widely popular among all the main orders of Tibetan Buddhism. These Vajrasattva rituals serve as purificatory practices and constitute a key component of the preliminaries (*sngon ʿgro*) to Tantric initiation and empowerment. In this context, Vajrasattva's hundred-syllable *mantra,* recited during the preliminary rites, is held to be a particularly potent method for purifying past sins and unwholesome *karma.*

For the Rnying ma pa (Ancient Ones) school of Tibetan Buddhism, Vajrasattva is also celebrated as a key lineage holder of the Rdzogs chen (Great Perfection) teachings, and is credited with the transmission of this esoteric system into the human realm in a vision revealed to the Indian mystic Dga' rab rdo rje (Sanskrit, Prahevajra).

VAJRASATTVA IN JAPAN. The identification of Vajrasattva as a divine lineage holder of the Tantric Buddhist teachings is found also in Japan, specifically in the esoteric (*mikkyō*) sūtras of the Japanese Shingon tradition. Here, Vajrasattva, known as Kongōsatta in Japanese, is recognized as the direct recipient of the esoteric teachings of the supreme Buddha Mahāvairocana (Japanese, Dainichi), the teacher of the *Mahāvairocana* and the *Vajraśekhara Sūtras.* Vajrasattva thus appears as second patriarch after the Great Vairocana in all established Shingon transmission lineages. From Vajrasattva the teachings were then transmitted in the human world to Nāgārjuna, and, through a succession of further Indian masters, eventually extended to the Japanese Buddhist priest Kūkai (774–835).

As in the Indian and Tibetan traditions, Vajrasattva in Japanese Shingon represents the adamantine enlightenment of all buddhas. Recognized as the active and manifest power of Mahāvairocana, he holds leadership positions within the two exclusive *maṇḍalas* of the Shingon tradition, the *taizō* (Sanskrit, *Garbhadhātu,* "Womb/Matrix World") and *kongōkai* (Sanskrit, *Vajradhātu,* "Diamond World"). In the ritual arena, during the esoteric initiation ceremonies and construction of the *maṇḍala,* Vajrasattva is invoked by practitioners to help them attain buddhahood in this lifetime.

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VAJRAYĀNA SEE BUDDHISM, SCHOOLS OF, *ARTICLE ON* TANTRIC RITUAL SCHOOLS OF BUDDHISM

VALHǪLL is the hall of Óðinn (Odin) in Norse mythology. The fullest descriptions of it are found in the *Prose Edda* (c. 1220–1230) of the Icelandic mythographer Snorri Sturluson and in the Eddic poem *Grímnismál* (Lay of Grímnir), one of Snorri's main sources; tenth-century skaldic poems also make particular use of the conception. These and other texts describe Valhǫll as a stately palace, with a roof of shields and spears. A wolf hangs by the west portal and an eagle droops above; both these animals are associated with Óðinn, the god of the spear, and their actions recall his self-sacrifice. Valhǫll had 540 doors, through each of which 800 warriors could pass at once. (These numbers probably employ the Germanic long hundred and should be read as 640 and 960, respectively.)

Valhǫll served specifically as a hall for the *einherjar*, the dead warriors of Óðinn. These chosen heroes were fetched from the battlefield by valkyries, who also served them mead in Valhǫll, a scene probably reflected on such picture stones as the eighth-century Ardre VIII from Gotland, Sweden. Legendary heroes, human kings, and even the god of poetry, Bragi, are numbered among the *einherjar* in Valhǫll. The god Baldr's arrival is mentioned once, although the mythology usually associates him with Hel. The *einherjar* spend their days in endless combat, but in the evenings they join in reconciliation for feasting and drinking. The boar Sæhrímnir is boiled each day for their food but is restored again each night. Mead runs from the udders of the goat Heiðrún. She stands above Valhǫll, feeding on the foliage of Læráðr (Yggdrasill), the World Tree. The stag Eikþyrnir also chews on the tree; from his horns fluid runs into Hvergelmir, the Well of Wisdom, and thence into mighty rivers. The proximity of the tree and well suggests that Valhǫll is located at or near the center of the world.

The *einherjar* (those belonging to one army, or splendid warriors) share a special relationship with Óðinn. Called his *óskasynir* (adopted sons, or beloved sons), they are his retainers, destined to fight with him in the final battle at Ragnarǫk. This relationship may be the key to the religious background of Valhǫll. Some scholars have sought this background in ecstatic cults of Óðinn, characterized by initiation into warrior bands (perhaps secret cult groups that used animal masks). Valhǫll would then represent a mythic projection of the Germanic chieftain's hall, and the activities within would be a similar projection of the warrior life. Certainly other sources emphasize the ritual importance of feasting and drinking.

Many scholars believe that the Norse sources express a late development of conceptions of Valhǫll, appropriate particularly to the warrior elite of the Viking age. At an earlier period, Valhǫll may have simply indicated a grave mound. Supporting this notion is the Icelandic conception of a local mountain inhabited by dead family members; the sagas report that feasting was occasionally glimpsed within. Furthermore, in Sweden, certain rocks associated with the dead are called *valhall.* If this explanation is correct, *valhǫll* (carrion hall) may actually be derived from *valhallr* (carrion rock, or carrion hill,). Since *val-* may also mean "foreign," *valhǫll* might also denote "foreign hall," and the term is used of kings' halls in the Eddic poem *Atlakviða.*

SEE ALSO Baldr; Eddas; Óðinn; Snorri Sturluson.

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The standard treatment of Valhǫll remains that of Gustav Neckel, *Walhall: Studien über germanischen Jenseitsglauben* (Dortmund, Germany, 1913). Franz Rolf Schröder's *Germanentum und Hellenismus* (Heidelberg, Germany, 1924) discusses the development of the concept of Valhǫll under Middle Eastern influence; for instance, he points out that the sacred number 432,000 is the product of the 540 doors multiplied by the 800 warriors. In an important article, "Valhall med de mange dørrer," originally published in 1931 and reprinted in his *Norrøne studier* (Oslo, 1938), Magnus Olsen argues for Roman influence in the form of amphitheaters, perhaps even the Colosseum; there, crowds surged through many doors, warriors fought regularly, and the emperor presided, not unlike a god. On ecstatic cults of Óðinn, see Otto Höfler's *Kultische Geheimbünde der Germanen* (Frankfurt am Main, Germany, 1934); this volume is all that appeared of a projected two-volume work. In her *Prolonged Echoes,* vol. 1, *The Myths* (Odense, Denmark, 1992), pp. 253 ff, Margaret Clunies Ross discusses the picture of what she calls the "Valhǫll complex" in Snorri Sturluson's *Edda* as an attempt to portray Óðinn as warrior chieftain in charge of a warrior elite. Ann-Lili Nielsen, "Hedniska kult—och offerhandlingar i Borg," in *Religion från stenålder till medeltid,* edited by Kerstin Engdahl and Anders Kaliff (Linköping, Sweden, 1996), discusses cult activities in the chieftain's farm found in Lofoten, Norway, some of which may be relevant to notions of Valhǫll.

John Lindow (1987 and 2005)

VALKYRIES, supernatural female figures of Norse myth and literature, share many features with the *dísir, fylgjur, hamingjur,* Norns, and *landvættir* in the extant texts, and there is little terminological consistency. A primary function of the valkyries is indicated by the etymology of the word *valkyrja,* a compound of *valr* (carrion) and a *nomen agentis* based on the verb *kyrja* (to choose). Regarded as the maidens of Óðinn, the valkyries chose who was to die in battle and brought the chosen ones to him in Valhǫll, where they joined the *einherjar,* Óðinn's warriors. Valkyries rode through the air, bore weapons, and could be fierce in appearance, although they may have been shape-changers. Their personal names ordinarily make reference to battle. In Valhǫll, valkyries served mead to the *einherjar,* a scene perhaps portrayed on the Ardre VIII picture stone (Gotland, Sweden; eighth century) and elsewhere. Sometimes, however, valkyries protected heroes in battle, a characteristic shared with the *fylgjur.* The valkyrie Sigrdrífa of the Eddic poem *Sigrdrífumál* may be associated with healing, which suggests the *matronae* of early Germanic religion. Like the Norns, valkyries weave fate in the poem *Darraarljóð.* There is also confusion with human or semidivine heroines, and in one heroic cycle a valkyrie is twice reborn in different identities.

Given the existence of the *matronae* in ancient Germanic times, the general prominence of male gods and the relative importance of the Æsir over the Vanir in Norse mythology, it seems apparent that female figures were of greater importance in Germanic religion than Norse mythology would indicate. Scholars have regarded the valkyries as derived from earlier goddesses of death or perhaps a fertility cult, but their association with Óðinn may be ancient and primary. If so, believers may once have attributed to valkyries shape-changing powers and the ecstatic "sending" of their spirits.

See Also Eddas; Óðinn.

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John Lindow (1987 and 2005)

VALLABHA (1479–1531), also called Vallabhācārya, was a Vaiṣṇava Hindu philosopher and religious leader. Vallabha was born in central India at Campāraṇya (Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh) into a family of Vaiṣṇava brahmans originally from the Telugu country. During his childhood, which was spent in Vārāṇasi (Banaras), Vallabha displayed unusual precocity in mastering the scriptures of orthodox Hinduism. In the course of his life he visited most of the holy places of India, publicly expounding his own interpretation of the events of Kṛṣṇa's life as presented in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa.* In a series of debates with adherents of the nondualism (*advaita*) promulgated by the eighth-century philosopher Śankarācārya, Vallabha defended the doctrines of devotional worship (*bhakti*). On one of these occasions he was offered and accepted the position of leader (*ācārya*) of the Vaiṣṇava school established earlier by Viṣṇusvami.

Vallabha's own sect, the Vallabh Sampradāy, originated from two events that occurred in the Braj region around the city of Mathura. In the first of these, Kṛṣṇa appeared to Vallabha in a vision and revealed to him the *brahmasambandha mantra* by which human souls could be brought into direct relationship (*sambandha*) with the Supreme Being (*brahman*). In the second, Vallabha discovered on Govardhan Hill the stone image called Śrī Govardhananāthajī ("the auspicious lord of Govardhan"), usually abbreviated as Śrī Nāthjī; the statue is a representation of Kṛṣṇa holding up Govardhan Hill as a shelter for his devotees. The *brahmasambandha mantra* remains to this day the primary component of the rite of initiation into the Vallabh Sampradāy, and Śrī Nāthjī, now at Nathdwara (Udaipur District, Rajasthan), is the sect's chief divine image. Vallabha was married and had two sons, Gopīnātha (1512–1543) and Viṭṭalanātha (1516–1586).

After Vallabha's death, first Gopīnātha and then Viṭṭalanātha took charge of the sect. Each of Viṭṭalanātha's eight sons formed his own branch of the sect and the leadership within these branches passes down by inheritance through Vallabha's male line. With most of its membership drawn from the mercantile section of Hindu society, the Vallabh Sampradāy is found in all important Indian cities but is strongest in the states of Rajasthan and Gujarat and in the city of Bombay. Vallabha's sect was in decline during most of the nineteenth century, but in recent years it has regained its position of eminence among devotional varieties of Hinduism.

According to Vallabha the chief philosophical flaw in Śankarācārya's concept of *advaita* is that it accepts illusion (*māyā*) as a force independent of *brahman.* Vallabha rectified this defect by presenting *māyā* as one of the powers of the Supreme Being. In this way he made pure (*śuddha*) the nondualism of his philosophical system, which is, in consequence, called *śuddhādvaita.* The fundamental principles of *śuddhādvaita* are as follows: Kṛṣṇa is the Supreme Being and sole existent entity. Both human souls and the material universe are real but limited manifestations that Kṛṣṇa projects out of himself. The souls on earth have, however, forgotten their true nature as fragments of the divine and have become centered on themselves. This egoism is the primary sin that dooms human beings to separation from Kṛṣṇa and to an endless succession of births and deaths. In his mercy Kṛṣṇa himself came in human form to earth in the Braj area and showed through his own actions the way to salvation through *bhakti.* The divine grace, which cannot be earned through mere piety or ritual, is available to anyone, regardless of sex or caste, who will forget the ego and center himself or herself on Kṛṣṇa. Since Kṛṣṇa's grace is said to be the way (*mārga*) for the nourishment (*puṣṭi*) of the soul, followers of Vallabha call their religion the Puṣṭmārg. Salvation, the goal of the Puṣṭmārg, consists of eternal association with Kṛṣṇa in his paradise beyond ordinary time and space.

SEE ALSO Bhakti; Kṛṣṇa; Vaiṣṇavism, article on Bhāgavatas.

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VALLÉE POUSSIN, LOUIS DE LA SEE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, LOUIS DE

VĀLMĪKI.

Legendary sage and author of the Hindu epic *Rāmāyaṇa,* Vālmīki also plays a role in the epic itself. The first book of his *Rāmāyaṇa* tells the story of the invention of poetry by Vālmīki: One day Vālmīki saw a hunter kill the male of a pair of birds making love. Filled with compassion for the birds, the sage spontaneously uttered a curse at the hunter for his cruelty. Vālmīki's words came forth as well-formed, beautiful verse. The sage himself was surprised by his utterance, which was immediately memorized and recited on the spot by his disciple Bharadvāja, who had accompanied him. Later, after Vālmīki returned home, Brahmā, the creator, visited him and asked him to compose the story of the virtuous hero Rāma as outlined by the *ṛṣi* Narada, using the new meter that Vālmīki had created. Indian literary tradition therefore considers Vālmīki as the first poet (*adikavi*) and his *Rāmāyaṇa* the first poem (*adikavya*).

In the seventh book of the epic, Vālmīki is spoken of as a friend of King Daśaratha. Rāma's brother Lakṣmaṇa leaves the pregnant Sītā (Rāma's wife) in Vālmīki's hermitage. Finally, it is Vālmīki who shelters Sītā, raises her twin sons, and plays the role of reconciler between Rāma and Sītā by testifying publicly to Sītā's purity. In this context, Vālmīki describes himself as a son of Pracetas, which makes him a member of the family of Bhṛgus, an influential lineage of brahmans in ancient India.

A folk legend records that the sage was born out of an "anthill" (Sanskrit, *valmīka*) and therefore was called Vālmīki. This legend also records that he was originally a bandit, but some sages, pitying him, taught him the *mantra* "marā, marā, marā." As he repeated the syllables, they produced the name *Rāma,* and while he was deeply immersed in meditating on the name of Rāma, ants built anthills around him. This story appears with minor variations in the *Skāndapūrāṇa* and also in the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* and *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa.* Many popular *bhakti* Rāmāyaṇas, including the *Krittivāsa Rāmāyaṇa* of Bengal, adopt this story.

Thus, there are two kinds of biographies for Vālmīki. One type describes Vālmīki as a sage-poet born of a high-caste brahman family and endowed with supreme wisdom and the divine sensibilities that made him the creator of poetry, while the other type describes him as a sinner transformed into a saint. The first type of biography is in conformity with the status of the *Rāmāyaṇa* as the great epic that it is in the Brahmanic tradition. The second type of biography relates to the status of the *Rāmāyaṇa* as a *bhakti* poem that transforms its readers from sinners into devotees of the god Rāma. The two types of biographies thus reflect the two major orientations and interpretations of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Hindu culture.

Scholars have suggested a historical Vālmīki, who probably was a resident of Kosala (a region of the modern state of Uttar Pradesh) and traveled extensively in North India, though he did not know much of the South. This opinion is based on the textual evidence from the *Rāmāyaṇa* that gives detailed and geographically correct descriptions of

North India, whereas its descriptions of South India are purely fanciful. It is also suggested that Vālmīki was one of the *kuśīlava*s ("singers, bards") who sang the epic. No firm evidence is available, however, in support of a historical Vālmīki. Tradition holds, however, that Vālmīki is also the author of the medieval work *Mahārāmayaṇa,* or *Jñānavāśiṣṭa,* a philosophical text in the form of a dialogue between the sage Vaśiṣṭa and Rāma.

SEE ALSO Rāmāyaṇa.

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VAN DER LEEUW, GERARDUS SEE LEEUW, GERARDUS VAN DER

VAN GENNEP, ARNOLD SEE GENNEP, ARNOLD VAN

VAN RUUSBROEC, JAN SEE RUUSBROEC, JAN VAN

VANUATU RELIGIONS.

Formerly known as the New Hebrides, Vanuatu is a Y-shaped archipelago of mostly volcanic islands located about sixteen hundred kilometers northeast of the Queensland coast of Australia. The physical, linguistic, and cultural diversity of the 100,000 or so indigenous inhabitants of the sixty-three occupied islands is extreme even for the western Pacific, a diversity that is fully reflected in religious belief and practice. While the dominant traits in all contexts may be described as Melanesian, Polynesian influences, including those pertaining to religion, are sufficiently widespread and important to set this area apart from the rest of Melanesia. This article will ignore the profound impact of Christianity on contemporary religion, but it should be stressed, however, that much of what is described here as traditional continues today to be a major part of belief and practice, even among those who have been converted to Christianity for some generations.

SUPERNATURAL POWERS AND SPIRIT BEINGS. The traditional religions of Vanuatu, like religions universally, have as their identifying theme the cultural and social elaboration of people's ideas and emotions concerning the nature and locus of supernatural powers. Throughout the archipelago such powers, though mostly associated with various classes of spirit beings, are also commonly attributed to a wide range of "natural" phenomena, including humans, animals, birds, fish, plants, and stones. It is this diffuseness of supernatural power, together with its transferability, by means of ritual, from its various sources to human agents, that gives Vanuatu religions their distinctive character. The primary aim of Vanuatu religious practitioners is, through ritual, to gain direct control of extraordinary powers, rather than to supplicate spirit beings to act on their behalf. The ni-Vanuatu ("people of Vanuatu"), though deeply concerned with establishing and maintaining positive relations with the relevant power sources, cannot be said to worship such sources. Their religions, though replete with the powerful, the sacred, and the tabooed, are almost wholly devoid of deities, priests, and acts of worship.

As R. H. Codrington (1891, p. 123) long ago noted, the ni-Vanuatu recognize two classes of spirits, those who were once living people and those who were not. Though the former, which include both the ghosts of the dead and ancestral spirits, are everywhere the prime focus of ritual attention, it is the latter who figure most prominently in an elaborate body of mythological tales.

MYTHOLOGY. A widespread feature of Vanuatu mythology is the representation of the leading figures as of two distinct kinds—on the one hand, the exclusively male beings whose personal names are often local variants of such well-known Polynesian gods as Tangaroa or Māui, and on the other, the sexually variable, though frequently female, beings whose personal names are of a purely indigenous kind. The Polynesian-type beings—such as Qat and his eleven Tangaro brothers in the Banks Islands; Takaro and his brothers or supporters on Maewo, north Raga, and Ambae; Tahar in the Small Islands; Takaru and Tokotaitai in Malo; Barkulkul (or variant) in south Raga and north Ambrim; Ambat, Hambat, Kabat, and so forth on Malekula; and a variety of local variants of Māui from Efate southward—are commonly associated with the sky, mountain peaks, treetops, volcanic fires, the sun and the moon, acts of a creative or originating kind, and the attainment of a satisfactory life after death. By contrast, the non-Polynesian-type beings—such as Sukwe or Marawa in the Banks; Gaviga in Maewo; Mwerambuto or Nggelevu in Ambae; Lehevhev (or variant) in Malekula and surrounding islands; Marrelul in south Raga; Bugliam in north Ambrim—are commonly associated with the underground, caves, mazes, snakes, spiders, rats, acts of a devouring or destructive kind, and the failure to attain a satisfactory afterlife.

PIG SACRIFICES. Though both classes of mythological beings are often depicted as having transformative powers that are greatly in excess of those normally possessed by humans, they are only rarely the subject of ritual attention and are generally deemed to be of small consequence in human affairs. There is, however, one major exception: Throughout the northern and central islands there existed in the past, and still exists today in modified form in some of the northern islands, an elaborate institution that centers on the ceremonial slaughter of pigs, most especially tusked boars and hermaphrodites. Though this institution has important secular functions throughout the area, most notably in providing an elaborate social and political hierarchy, the key symbolic act, that of pig sacrifice, is nevertheless of deep religious significance. This is evident in two contexts, one of which relates the institution to the mythological beings and the other to the ancestral spirits. In mythology there is a widespread belief that there are two alternative fates that await the spirits of the recently dead: All those who have sacrificed at least one high-grade tusked boar are admitted to a pleasant abode presided over by the principal benign spirit; all others are excluded from this abode, usually through being devoured by the principal malignant spirit.

These mythic themes are, however, of relatively minor significance in accounting for the religious importance of the institution compared with the belief that the sacrificial act results in the transfer of ancestral power from the slaughtered animal to its human executioner. Through a complex cognitive and emotional process the killing of the pig has as its end result a further advancement in the spiritual progress of the sacrificer toward the attainment of full ancestral status. Men who have advanced to high rank through the slaughter of numerous tusked boars are regarded as having attained a spiritual condition not very far removed from that of the ancestors. Such men must eat and sleep alone because of the danger that their high spiritual condition poses for others, especially women and children.

ANCESTRAL SPIRITS. Further evidence for the importance of the ancestral spirits, especially in the context of the sacrificial rites, can be found in the Ambrim practice of setting up carved tree-fern effigies of the dead. Also on Ambrim, as on Malekula, Epi, and as far south as Efate, the slit-gongs, which are used both at pig sacrifices and at funerary rites, stand upright on the ceremonial ground and are carved and painted so as to represent human forms. On the Small Islands, and most probably elsewhere also, the sounds that issue from the gongs are said to be the voices of the ancestral spirits. In the southern districts of Malekula, life-size effigies of the dead are made in which the head is formed from the deceased's skull. These effigies are kept for some generations in the men's clubhouse and, though not the focus of specific rituals, are nevertheless treated as being in some degree sacred.

On Ambae Island, where one finds none of the above iconographic representations of ancestral spirits, they are nevertheless regularly made small offerings of food in the hope that they will not cause their descendants any problems. Such offerings are usually made in a generalized way to any potentially troublesome spirits that may be lurking in the vicinity of the living. Occasionally, ghosts, as well as other varieties of spirit beings, are believed to befriend individual humans and to assist them by imparting magical knowledge.

SECRET-SOCIETY RITES. In the period immediately prior to the spread of Christianity, there existed on many of the northern and central islands, though especially in such matrilineal areas as the Banks, Maewo, north Raga, and Ambae, a variety of more secret and voluntary cults that centered around the acquisition of highly dangerous powers of a predominantly destructive kind. Whereas the kinds of powers invoked through pig sacrifices derive from the benign ancestors and impart to practitioners a positive and highly esteemed form of sanctity, those invoked in the secret society rites derive either from malignant ghosts of the dead or from what may be described as the "dark" side of human spirituality. Prominent symbolic themes include representations of ghosts and sharks, usually in the form of masks and headdresses worn by members, and of such normally abhorrent and dangerous activities as incest, genital exposure, contact with menstrual blood, and sodomy. The powers generated in the context of these rites were primarily utilized by participants to create fear in others, and were hence closely associated both with warfare and sorcery. It is therefore no surprise that such rites mostly ceased to be practiced at about the same time that warfare was prohibited and sorcery came under increasing Christian and governmental attack.

MALE INITIATIONS. Though similar cultural themes figure in the ritual corpus of the more patrilineal areas of north Vanuatu (notably in Malekula, the Small Islands and Ambrim), in these communities they occur in the context of compulsory initiations into manhood rather than voluntary initiations into discreet secret societies. That the two institutions are closely related is evident in the common occurrence of shark symbolism, representations of threatening ghosts, long periods of seclusion, the importance of the phallus as a locus of power, and either real or symbolic ritual male homosexuality. But whereas the secret rites were deemed both dangerous and antisocial, the compulsory versions were, and in most communities still are, positively valued as generating a form of sanctity similar to that attained by pig sacrifices. Everywhere the key symbolic act is the removal of either part or all of the novice's foreskin and the subsequent wearing of a penis wrapper. Through such an act a boy takes his first step toward achieving spiritual maturity, a goal only fully attained when, after the slaughter of numerous additional tusked boars throughout his life, he finally succeeds, at death, in breaking his dependence on and identification with women. Needless to say, many men do not progress very far in their efforts to attain such a goal.

WOMEN'S RITES. The ritual life of women, though everywhere less elaborate than that of men, is nevertheless of importance in those relatively few areas about which there exists adequate knowledge. In some of the districts of Malekula there is a ritual association known as Lapas whose membership is restricted to women and which in many respects parallels the principal male ritual association, Nimangki. As in the latter, the women kill pigs, purchase sacred insignia, erect effigies of the dead, and are secluded for some days in a ceremonial house that may not be entered by nonmembers of the association, especially men. Furthermore, just as the men are believed to generate through their ritual actions a specifically male form of sanctity or holiness, so too are the women deemed to generate a specifically female sanctity. These two forms of sanctity, though both ultimately derived from the ancestral spirits, are nevertheless so entirely antipathetic to one another that they must be rigorously kept apart. Hence the pervasive importance of the sex dichotomy in the religious life of the people of Malekula, the Small Islands, and Ambrim.

Elsewhere (though most notably in the northern matrilineal islands of Maewo, north Raga, and east Ambae, where the sex dichotomy is a great deal less pervasive and important) the women, though the principal participants in and organizers of rites that are of primary concern to themselves, such as first menstruation or body tattooing, do not exclude the men from such activities. Likewise, the men, though again the key actors in the sacrificial rites of the graded society, encourage their womenfolk to kill an occasional pig and take supplementary titles. In west Ambae the women even participate as novices in the local versions of what are elsewhere exclusively male secret-society rituals.

SORCERY AND MAGIC. Various kinds of sorcery and magic are practiced throughout Vanuatu, though the former was, at least until recently, of special importance in Ambrim, while magic, rather than religion, seems to be the dominant ritual theme in some of the southern islands, notably Tanna. Indeed, in Tanna there are no major communal rites of the clearly religious kind that have been described for the northern islands. Even the male initiation rites, which, as in the north, focus on circumcision, seclusion, and the donning of penis wrappers, are seemingly of a more secular and ceremonial, rather than religious and ritual, character; the emphasis is primarily on individual status transition rather than on joint initiation into a secret male cult. However, ethnographic information concerning the traditional cultures of all the southern and central islands, including Tanna, is either fragmentary and unreliable or nonexistent. Since this applies most especially to their traditional magico-religious systems, the intention here is to not be too emphatic in thus relegating the religious component to a secondary position.

MOON WORSHIP. Such caution seems especially relevant in the case of Aneityum, where, in addition to the widespread practice of making offerings, usually of food, though sometimes also human sacrifices, to a variety of unnamed spirit beings (*natmas*), a more elaborate ritual of worship, including prayer, song, dance, and offerings of food and kava placed on wooden altars, was periodically performed in sacred groves dedicated to the moon. As on the neighboring islands of Aniwa and Futuna, the moon, who is known by the Polynesian name *Sina,* is represented in mythology as the wife of the sun. Unfortunately, little has been recorded of this mythology and even less of what seems to have been an important religious practice.

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VĀRĀNASĪ See BANARAS

VARDHAMĀNA MAHĀVĪRA See MAHĀVĪRA

VARṆA AND JĀTI. The two separable but intertwined concepts of *varṇa* and *jāti* may be regarded as different levels of analysis of the Indian system of social structure called *caste*. While some scholars regard *varṇa* and *jāti* as reflecting quite separate dimensions of Indian social and religious thought, others insist, following the native traditions of Hinduism, that the two are inextricably linked. In any event, whereas the term *caste* is sometimes applied to social formations in places other than India, the terms *varṇa* and *jāti* are invariably applied exclusively to the Indian social (and religious) contexts.

The caste system has occasionally been regarded as so intrinsic, so enduring, and so distinctive to India and its long history that it is thought to be both the kernel of Indian culture and virtually identical to the definitional essence of Hinduism. While there are many different beliefs and practices associated with the Hindu religion, and while sectarian, regional, linguistic, and other variables make it difficult indeed to see any unifying features in that religion, it has been argued that the caste system and its attribution of hierarchical superiority to the *brahman* caste is one (and perhaps the only one) feature all (or at least the vast preponderance) Hindu traditions share. Although there are many problems in defining *Hinduism* as "the religion of caste" (not the least of which being that in India caste cuts across religious boundaries; there are Muslim, Sikh, Parsi, and Christian—as well as Hindu—castes), the fact that the two are sometimes equated indicates the importance, ubiquity, and deep roots of caste in Indian society and history.

The word *varṇa* means "color"—not, as was previously thought, to refer to "race" but rather in the sense of "characteristic" or "attribute." The best translation is probably "class." As applied to the realm of society, it refers to four social classes that epitomized Vedic (and Aryan) India: the *brahmans* or priests, the *kṣatriyas* (warriors and rulers), the *vaiśyas* (commoners; merchants and agriculturalists), and the *śūdras* (servants). These four classes, while separate in terms of function and given hierarchically different values, are also quite obviously interdependent. Taken together, they constitute a complete and well-ordered society according to a religiously and ideologically imbued indigenous social vision.

Evidence of such a division of society into four classes (ideologically, at least, if not in actuality) first appears in a cosmogonic hymn found in the earliest text of Indian history, the *Ṛgveda*. In that hymn, the entire universe is produced from the primordial sacrifice and dismemberment of a Cosmic Man, including the four classes of the social order: "When they divided the Cosmic Man, into how many parts did they apportion him? What do they call his mouth, his two arms, his thighs and feet? His mouth became the *brahman*; his arms were made into the *kṣatriya*; his thighs the *vaiśya*; and from his feet the *śūdras* were born" (*Rgveda* 10.90.11–12).

Here, then, is the much repeated and cited charter myth of an ideal Indian society. Each class is produced from the body part of the Cosmic Man that most resembles the supposed traits and assigned function of that class. From the mouth comes the *brahman* class, the priests charged with ritual functions and the oral preservation of sacred texts. From the arms, the source of physical strength and power, derive the *kṣatriya* warriors and rulers, and from the "thighs" (perhaps a euphemism for the genitals) arise the *vaiśya* commoners, who are charged with material wealth and fecundity. And from the feet, the lowest and most impure of the body parts but also the foundation upon which everything rests, come the *śūdras,* or servants.

In this system (as it was represented in the religious texts composed and preserved by the *brahmans*), the *brahmans* are invariably portrayed as hierarchically superior. They are created prior to others and therefore take precedence over others; they are created from the uppermost portion of the creator god and therefore are at the top of the social order; they are charged with (and indeed have a monopoly on) religious functions and are therefore the most pure, the most sacred, of the four classes. The *brahmans*, it is said, are also the most "complete," or the perfected instance of the human being. Indeed, some texts go much further and claim that members of this class are "human gods" (*manushya deva*s): "There are two kinds of gods, for the gods are gods, and those *brahmans* who have studied and teach the Veda are human gods. . . .With oblations into the fire one pleases the gods, and with sacrificial fees one please the human gods" (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 2.2.2.6).

As such, the *brahmans* are sometimes said to represent the principle of "purity" in Indian social thinking. The supposed inherent characteristics and distinctive activities (the sacerdotal duties, but also practices such as nonviolence and vegetarianism) are thought to be the standard against which others are gauged. The other classes (and castes) are thus ranked into a hierarchical order of relative purity—to the extent they resemble the *brahman*, their status increases, while to the degree that they diverge from the *brahman* and the principle of purity their place in the system is diminished.

This elegant and orderly vision is complicated and compromised, however, by the high place of the second of the four *varṇa*s, the *kṣatriyas*. Even in the religious texts, they are ranked only below the *brahman* priests, and it is possible, if not likely, that in actuality throughout Indian history (at least up until the time of the British Raj, when traditional political power was dispossessed) they took the highest places in the social order. The characteristics and duties of the *kṣatriyas*, however, are quite different from those of the *brahmans* (and the "purity" they supposedly embody). They control the worlds of politics and power, coercion and physicality. The functions of both rulership and the military are, ideally, monopolized by the class most suited to them, the *kṣatriyas*.

The high place of the *kṣatriya* in a hierarchy supposedly governed by relative resemblance to the *brahman* has sometimes been explained as the pragmatic insertion of a secular principle of "power" into a system otherwise organized according to religious "purity." Be that as it may, together, the two highest *varṇa*s clearly constitute the "ruling classes" of the caste system. In the religious texts, the cooperation of the two is constantly emphasized for the proper ordering and operation of society (and, indeed, the cosmos as a whole). And in practical ways, bonds between the two highest *varṇa*s are both symbolized and actualized in the important traditional (and symbiotic) relationship between the king and his court priest (the *purohita*).

The *vaiśya* class comprises all those engaged in the many professions other than, on the one hand, those of the priests and rulers and, on the other, those of the lowly servants. Farmers, traders, proprietors, bankers, herders—all these, and others involved in professions entailing wealth, increase, and productivity of all kinds, were classified as *vaiśyas*. Finally, at the base are the *śūdras* who, it is said, have but one duty to perform: to serve the others. While the *brahman*, *kṣatriya*, and *vaiśya varṇa*s are designated the "twice-born" classes (because of the ritual "second birth" that boys from these classes undergo, which makes them eligible to study the sacred Veda), the *śūdras* are labeled "once-born" and are prohibited from studying (or even hearing) the Veda and from other religious prerogatives.

The relationship between the "classes" or *varṇa*s and the "castes" or *jāti*s (the latter term is related to the word for "birth," indicating that one is "born into" his or her caste) is a subject of scholarly debate among anthropologists and Indologists. For some, the terms are virtually interchangeable, and indeed the texts of the indigenous tradition often use the terms synonymously. Other scholars, also following the native traditions, see the *jāti*s as historically deriving from intermixtures between members of an original four classes. Still others see the two as fundamentally different but nevertheless intellectually related, noting that the *varṇa* system forms the superstructure for the more complex system of *jāti*s. The *varṇa*s, under this conceptualization, are the "base categories" of social analysis, which can then generate any number of new, ranked social groupings, which may be termed *jāti*s. Many anthropologists observe that while there are but four *varṇa*s there are thousands of discrete *jāti*s found "on the ground" in Indian society. For some of these observers, the *varṇa*s are at best "theoretical," while it is the *jāti*s that form the real social units of actual Indian society.

For many in Indian society, however, the *jāti* to which they belong is conceived of in terms of one or another of the classical *varṇa*s. All *brahmans*, regardless of their identification as members of a wide variety of locally various, distinct, and endogamous *jāti*s, claim membership in a pan-Indian and ancient *varṇa*, and the same is true with members of various *jāti*s identifying themselves as *kṣatriyas*, *vaiśyas*, and *śūdras*. There are also large numbers of people assigned to *jāti*s regarded by those of higher rank to be outside of or below the *varṇa* system altogether. These are what were once termed *untouchables* or, to use the preferred term of self-identification, the *dalit* castes.

In anthropological discourse, it is usually the *jāti*s that are the referent of the term *caste*. Each *jāti* typically preserves a mythical account of its origins and a distinctive set of life-cycle rites observed by its members. Each is overseen by a local council that oversees and enforces a set of rules governing, among other things, acceptable occupation. It is, indeed, occupation that usually lends its name to the *jāti* (e.g., Barber, Potter, Leatherworker), although, especially outside the traditional rural areas, these caste labels no longer necessarily apply to the actual economic pursuits of individuals. While the indigenous tradition insists on ancient roots for these occupational assignments, some modern scholars have suggested that the castes of present-day India need not ever have been derived from ancient occupational associations that over time became hereditary and endogamous marriage groups.

Another definitive characteristic of the *jāti*s is the set of rules governing marriage. A member of a particular caste is not to marry outside of that caste, and to disobey the rules of endogamy usually results in expulsion from the group. Those who are so punished become, literally, "outcastes." This practice reinforces the widely held belief that the multitude of *jāti*s came into existence from the four original *varṇa*s through an intricate series of mixed unions and subsequent expulsions.

Commensality, food exchange, and other transactions between castes are also highly regulated. Acceptance or nonacceptance of food (cooked in different ways or uncooked), grain, water, and leftovers play a large role in the relative placement of castes at the local level.

The *jāti*s, like the *varṇa*s, are organized hierarchically, although with many local variations. Often enough, these hierarchical placements are disputed and subject to constant renegotiation and jockeying for position. Research on the caste system has focused on the following areas: criteria for ranking, regional differences in ranking, ranking and social distance, local conflicts over rank order, strategies and circumstances of change in rank order, and the significance of hierarchy in Indian thought and society.

Essential to the traditional underpinnings of both the *varṇa*s and the *jāti*s is the belief in *karma* and rebirth. Birth into a particular class or caste was traditionally understood to be the result of *karma* created in the past, and thus any attempt or even inclination toward changing one's social situation in this life was severely discouraged. Caste was religiously ordained and legitimated in the concept of one's "own duty" or *svadharma.* And, as it is put in one of the sacred texts of the Hindu tradition, the *Bhagavadgītā*, "it is better to do one's own duty poorly than to do another person's duty well." If one performs his inborn caste duty well in this life, the promise is of a higher birth in the future.

The religious basis of the caste system is perhaps the principal reason for its endurance and pervasiveness in Indian history and society. The caste system can provide a modicum of stability, especially in times of political chaos or change. In the past there have, however, also been religious movements that have challenged, but never successfully undermined, the caste system. These include some of the cults within Hinduism itself, as well as certain elements within Buddhism, Sikhism, and some of the groups associated with the Neo-Hindu movement of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. And while the caste system endures in modern India, many forces are challenging its traditional pillars and especially the abuses that often have accompanied the system. The political rise of the *dalits*, the breakdown of traditional caste boundaries due to urbanization and modernization, reformational movements, and the general influx of democratic, secular and, to some extent, Western values into contemporary India have shaken, but not destroyed, this millennia-old institution.

SEE ALSO Priesthood, article on Hindu Priesthood; Rites of Passage, article on Hindu Rites; Untouchables, Religions of.

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VARUṆA replaced the earlier god Dyaus as the sky god in the Vedic pantheon, but early in his mythological career he became the god of the night sky; the myriad stars were his eyes and, still later, his spies. The importance of such a sky god seems to belong to the pastoral history of the nomadic Aryans. The Bogazköy inscription of the fourteenth century BCE mentions a Mitanni god, Uru-van-nas-sil, Varuṇa's prototype. Ouranos, Varuṇa's Greek parallel, was also a sky god.

With his thousand eyes, Varuṇa watched over human conduct, judging good and evil deeds and punishing evildoers. Varuṇa is the only god in the Vedic pantheon with such strong ethical bearings. The word used in the Vedas to refer to his eyes, *spaśa,* derived originally from the verbal root *spac* ("see"), later came to mean "spy." Still later, in the epics and the Purāṇas, the word underwent further linguistic evolution and became *pāśa* ("noose"); Varuṇa then ensnared the wicked in his noose.

Scholars have traced Varuṇa's name to various Indo-European roots such as *uer* ("bind"), *ver* ("speak"), *vṛ* ("cover"), *vār* ("shower"), as well as to noun stems like Lithuanian *weru* ("thread"). It is possible that these all contributed to the many layers of his mythological attributes.

Ahura Mazdā, the supreme god of the Avesta, is another parallel of the Vedic Varuṇa. In Vedic the Avestan name would be rendered *Asura Medhya* ("holy spirit"), and indeed the Vedas frequently refer to Varuṇa as an *asura.* In the Avesta, Mithra is closely related to Ahura Mazdā, just as the Vedic Mitra is related to Varuṇa. Mitra is the god of the daytime sky whose eye is the sun. Together Mitra and Varuṇa constitute the sky god and replace the earlier Dyaus. In the *Ṛgveda,* Varuṇa enjoyed sovereignty and supremacy for a brief period; he was frequently called *samrāj* ("emperor"), an epithet used only occasionally for Indra. The Rājasūya sacrifice, offered for attaining imperial grandeur, belongs to Varuṇa and Mitra; in the *Ṛgveda* Varuṇa is said to have performed this sacrifice, presumably with the intention of becoming the supreme god in the pantheon.

Because of his innumerable star-eyes, Varuṇa was regarded as omniscient. His knowledge and his function as a moral judge were the chief sources of his power, as he had no remarkable achievements to his credit. He watched over human beings: When two persons conversed, he was the invisible third; when anyone sinned, Varuṇa afflicted the transgressor with disease, and until the god relented, the victim would not be restored to health. In the solemn Varuṇapraghāsa rite, a seasonal sacrifice, the sacrificer's wife was required to confess her sin (i.e., conjugal infidelity) before the officiating priest. This is a unique instance of confession of sin in the early Vedic literature, and Varuṇa was the god associated with this sacrifice. The punishment he meted out in such cases was called a "seizure," hence the elaborate prayers to Varuṇa for forgiveness of sins.

In later literature Varuṇa's ethical role diminishes, but early texts frequently associate his majesty or supremacy with his function as upholder of the moral order referred to in the *Ṛgveda* as *ṛta* or, sometimes, *dharma* (i.e., "that which upholds") or *satya* ("truth"). In the Avesta this all-pervasive moral order that controls and regularly maintains the cosmic forces is *arata, aša, urta,* or *arta;* a cardinal concept in Zoroastrianism, it is first mentioned in the Tel-el-Amarna Tablet (c. fourteenth century BCE). *Ṛta* is Varuṇa's special domain, and it is often mentioned in connection with him.

Another concept associated with Varuṇa is the magical power known as *māyā;* for example, Asura's (i.e., Varuṇa's) *māyā.* In the Vedic context *māyā* meant both wisdom and power. With his *māyā* Varuṇa envelops the night and creates the dawn. *Māyā* predominantly links him with demons, for in later literature *asura* meant "demon," and demons wielded *māyā.*

Varuṇa's dark associations bring him close to the primarily chthonic gods such as Yama, Nirṛti, Soma, and Rudra. As a chthonic god, Varuṇa is associated with snakes (indeed, in Buddhist literature he is sometimes called the "king of snakes"), with barren black cows, or with deformed and ugly creatures. His ritual symbols are dark, depraved, and deformed things or creatures. His son Bhṛgu is said to have descended into hell. His connection with Vasistha, however, goes back to Indo-Iranian times: In the Avesta, Asha Vahishta (Vedic, Ṛta Vaśiṣṭha) is one of the Amesha Spentas who were Ahura Mazdā's active assistants. Varuṇa is Soma's brother. Of his wife, Varuṇani, nothing more than her name is known.

The dynamic character of Varuṇa's mythological career subsided in the later Vedic literature, where he is associated with the celestial waters. In the epics and Puranas, however, his domain shifted from the firmament toward the earth, and he became the overlord of the terrestrial waters, rivers, streams, and lakes, but primarily of the ocean. He dwelt in royal splendor in an underwater palace. Like Poseidon, Greek god of the ocean, he is often associated with horses. Finally, he is relegated to the position of "lord of the West," another dark and chthonic association. Here the circle of his mythological career closes, because as a *dikpāla* ("lord of a quarter [of the sky]") he is no more than a wholly passive god.

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VASUBANDHU (fifth or fourth century CE) was an eminent Indian Buddhist teacher. Said to be a younger brother of the great Māhāyana teacher Asaṅga, Vasubandhu was first ordained in the Hīnayāna Sarvāstivada school but later converted to the Mahāyāna. Like his brother Asaṅga, Vasubandhu became a great exponent of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda teachings. He is believed to be the author of the *Abhidharmakośa* and many Māhāyana treatises.

Various problems continue to vex historians concerning the biography of Vasubandhu. The *Bosoupandou fashi zhuan* (Biography of Master Vasubandhu, T.D. no. 2049), translated—or rather, compiled—by Paramārtha (499–569), one of the main exponents of Yogācāra doctrine in China, is preserved in the Chinese Tripiṭaka and is the only complete biography. Apart from this, fragmentary information is found in various Chinese sources, the most important of which are the writings of the great Chinese translator Xuanzang (600–

664). Various histories of Buddhism written by Tibetan historians also give accounts of Vasubandhu's life. But Chinese and Tibetan sources alike disagree with the *Biography of Master Vasubandhu* (hereafter *Biography*) in many places. Moreover, two or three persons in Buddhist history bear the name *Vasubandhu:* According to some texts, a *Vasubandhu* is the twenty-first patriarch in the transmission of the Buddha's Dharma; elsewhere, Puguang (one of the direct disciples of Xuanzang) refers to an "ancient Vasubandhu" who belonged to the Sarvastivada school; and both Puguang and Yaśomitra, a commentator on the *Abhidharmakośa,* refer to a third, known as Sthavira-Vasubandhu. The identification of and relationship between these three persons is still unclear.

BIOGRAPHY. Vasubandhu's *Biography* can be divided into three sections. The first section is introductory. It begins with a legend of Puruṣapura (modern Peshawar), the native city of Vasubandhu, and then introduces his family: his father, the brahman Kauśika, and the latter's three sons, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, and Viriñcivatsa. After a brief reference to Viriñcivatsa's life, an account is given of Asaṅga's life, including the famous story of his meeting with the *bodhisattva* Maitreya in the Tusita Heaven.

Vasubandhu's life comprises the second section. It begins by sketching the history of the Sarvāstivāda school in Kashmir and tells of the composition of the Abhidharma treatises and the great commentary on them, the *Mahāvibhāṣā,* there. Knowledge of the *Mahāvibhāṣā*'s contents was jealously kept secret from outsiders, the account alleges, but somehow it became known in Ayodhyā (near modern Faizābād), a city far removed from Kashmir. At the time, Vasubandhu was residing in Ayodhyā, then the capital of the Gupta dynasty. Vindhyavāsin, a Sāṃkhya teacher and a disciple of Vārṣaganya, came to Ayodhyā to challenge the Buddhists there to a debate while Vasubandhu and his colleague Manoratha were absent. Their fellow teacher Buddha-mitra thus had to meet the challenge alone, but because of his age he was defeated. This defeat deeply mortified Vasubandhu, who wrote a treatise, *Paramārthasaptatikā,* in order to confute Vindhyavāsin. It was after this that Vasubandhu composed his *magnum opus,* the *Abhidharmakośa* (hereafter *Kośa*), in six hundred verses (*kārikā*s). The *Kośa* was an eloquent summary of the purport of the *Mahāvibhāṣā,* and it is reported that the Kashmiri Sarvāstivādins rejoiced to see in it all their doctrines so well propounded. Accordingly, they requested a prose commentary (*bhāsya*), which Vasubandhu wrote. But the Kashmiris soon realized, to their great disappointment, that the work in fact *refuted* many Sarvāstivāda theories and upheld the doctrines of the Sautrāntika school. With the composition of the *Kośa,* however, Vasubandhu came to enjoy the patronage and favor of two Gupta rulers, Vikramāditya and his heir Bālāditya, who can be identified, respectively, as Skandagupta (r. about 455–467) and Narasiṃhagupta (r. about 467–473). Vasurāta, a grammarian and the husband of the younger sister of Bālāditya, challenged him to a debate but was defeated. Then Saṃghabhadra, a Sarvāstivada scholar from Kashmir, appeared to dispute the *Kośa.* He composed two treatises, one consisting of 10,000 verses and another of 120,000 verses. (According to Xuanzang's report, it took twelve years for Saṃghabhadra to finish the two works.) He challenged Vasubandhu to a debate, but Vasubandhu refused, saying, "I am already old, so I will let you say what you wish. Long ago, this work of mine destroyed the Vaibhāṣika (i.e., the Sarvāstivāda) doctrines. There is no need now of confronting you. . . . Wise men will know which of us is right and which is wrong."

The third section of the biography describes Vasubandhu's conversion to Mahāyāna Buddhism. According to this account, Vasubandhu, now proud of the fame he had acquired, clung faithfully to the Hīnayāna doctrine in which he was well versed and, having no faith in the Mahāyāna, denied that it was the teaching of the Buddha. His elder brother, Asaṅga, a Mahāyānist, feared that Vasubandhu would use his great intellectual gifts to undermine the Mahāyāna. By feigning illness he was able to summon his younger brother to Puruṣapura, where he lived. There Vasubandhu asked Asaṅga to explain the Mahāyāna teaching to him, whereupon he immediately realized the supremacy of Mahāyāna thought. After further study the depth of his realization came to equal that of his brother. Deeply ashamed of his former abuse of the Mahāyāna, Vasubandhu wished to cut out his tongue, but refrained from doing so when Asaṅga told him to use it for the cause of Mahāyāna. After Asaṅga's death, Vasubandhu composed commentaries on various Mahāyāna *sūtra*s, including the *Avataṃsaka, Nirvāṇa, Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Prajñāparamitā, Vimalakīrti,* and *Śrīmālādevī.* He himself composed a treatise (or treatises) on the "representation only" *(vijñaptimātra)* theory and commented on the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha, *Triratna-gotra, *Amṛta-mukha,* and other Mahāyāna treatises. He died in Ayodhyā at the age of eighty.

The *Biography* contains legendary or even mythical elements; the time sequence of events is ambiguous and differs greatly in places from the accounts in Xuanzang's *Xiyu ji.* For example, the *Biography* has Vasubandhu composing the *Kośa* at Ayodhyā and states that his conversion takes place at Puruṣapura; the *Xiyu ji* places the composition of the *Kośa* in the suburbs of Puruṣapura, and the conversion at Ayodhyā. According to the *Biography,* Vasubandhu's teacher was called Buddhamitra, who, it relates, was defeated in a debate by Vindhyavāsin. The *Xiyu ji,* however, never mentions Buddhamitra and names Manoratha as the teacher of Vasubandhu. In the *Biography,* Vasubandhu engages in his literary activity on behalf of the Mahāyāna after Asaṅga's death. Xuanzang, however, tells a strange story that suggests that Vasubandhu died before Asaṅga. Paramārtha and Xuanzang are the two most credible authorities for Vasubandhu's life, but serious discrepancies still exist between their accounts.

THE DATE OF VASUBANDHU. Vasubandhu's life has been variously dated at 900, 1,000, and 1,100 years after the Buddha's *nirvāṇa.* The figure 900 appears in the *Biography,* but elsewhere Paramartha is also said to have given another figure, 1,100. The figure 1,000 is found in Xuanzang's report, but the figure 900 seems also to have been adopted by his disciples. Various theories concerning the date have been offered by scholars. Noël Péri and Shiio Benkyō give as Vasubandhu's dates the years 270 to 350 CE. Ui Hakuju places him in the fourth century (320–400). Takakusu Junjirō and Kimura Taiken give 420 to 500, Wogihara Unrai gives 390 to 470, and Hikata Ryūshō gives 400 to 480, placing him in the fifth century.

In order to resolve these issues, Erich Frauwallner (1951) proposed a new theory whereby two Vasubandhus, Vasubandhu the elder and Vasubandhu the younger, are distinguished. The elder would be the younger brother of Asaṅga. It is his activity that, according to this theory, is described in the first and third sections of the *Biography* and may be dated at around 320 to 380. The younger would be the author of the *Kośa.* His activity constitutes the second section of the *Biography.* Since he was associated with the two Gupta rulers, he may be dated around 400 to 480. Frauwallner supposes that Paramārtha confused the two Vasubandhus and conflated them into a single person. This mistake, he maintains, was inherited by later historians, including Xuanzang.

Frauwallner's lucid and revolutionary theory has been endorsed by many scholars. But it does not seem to convince all. Especially doubtful is his treatment of early Chinese documents, many of which have been claimed by scholars to be spurious. Japanese scholars, who opposed the theory of dating in the fourth century by negating the evidence employed in its support, would reject Vasubandhu the elder for almost the same reasons. At any rate, Frauwallner's theory and the issues it raises remain a hypothesis.

LITERARY ACTIVITY. Vasubandhu is renowned as the author of one thousand works, five hundred in the Hīnayāna tradition and five hundred Mahāyāna treatises. However, only some forty-seven are extant, nine of which survive in the Sanskrit original, twenty-seven in Chinese translation, and thirty-three in Tibetan translation.

Among the independent expositions of Vasubandhu's own philosophy and doctrines, the *Abhidharmakośa* is the most voluminous. In the countries of "northern" Buddhism, including Tibet, it came to be regarded as a fundamental text to be studied by all students of the tradition. The *Karmasiddhi* (Demonstration of Karma) is a short, quasi-Hīnayāna treatise colored, as is the *Abhidharmakośa,* by Sautrāntika leanings. From the Yogācāra point of view the most important of Vasubandhu's works are the *Viṃśatikā* (Twenty verses), *Triṃśikā* (Thirty verses), and *Trisvabhāvanirdeśa* (Exposition on the three natures). Although these three texts are all very brief (and the last was totally unknown in China), they form a sort of trinity and represent Vasubandhu's final accomplishment as a Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda teacher. The *Triṃśikā* is especially important in that it became the basic text of the Faxiang (Jpn., Hossō) school. The *Foxing lun* (Treatise on Buddha nature), although thought to be apocryphal by not a few scholars, exerted great influence on Sino-Japanese Buddhism by advocating the concept of *tathāgata-garbha,* or Buddha nature. Vasubandhu's works also include books on logic, polemics, and other sciences.

Vasubandhu's commentaries on sūtras and *śāstra*s are by no means less important than the above-mentioned independent treatises. He wrote commentaries on three treatises: the *Madhyāntavibhāga* (Discrimination between the middle and the extremes), *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* (Ornament of the Mahāyāna Sutras), and *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga* (also, *-vibhaṅga*; Discrimination between existence and essence). These three treatises are all ascribed to Asaṅga's teacher Maitreya and are therefore fundamental texts for the Yogācāra school. Vasabandhu also composed a commentary on Asaṅga's *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* (Compendium of Mahāyāna), the first systematic presentation of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda doctrines. His commentary (*upadeśa*) on the *Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra* is important in that it became a basic treatise of the Pure Land faith in China and Japan. The Indian Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda is represented in China by three schools, all of which developed around Vasubandhu's works. The first to appear, the Dilun school (established in the first half of the sixth century), took his commentary on the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* as its central text. The second, the Shelun school, emerged in the second half of the same century organized around a Paramārtha's translation of the *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha.* The last to appear, the Faxiang school, founded by Xuanzang and his disciple Kuiji in the seventh century, took the *Triṃśikā* as its basic text.

With these works, Vasubandhu proved to be a highly influential Mahāyāna teacher. He is reverently called a *bodhisattva,* or even "the second Buddha," in various traditions from India to China. Vasubandhu brought to fruition doctrinal developments in the Mahāyāna, especially in the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda tradition, that had been begun by Maitreya and Asaṅga and advanced by other unknown teachers. He thus marks a culmination in Buddhist history. Before him, his school concerned itself chiefly with Buddhist practice (hence the name *Yogācāra*); after him, it emphasized theoretical problems such as the analysis of consciousness (hence the name *Vijñānavāda*), so that various ontological, epistemological, and logical investigations became more and more conspicuous. Compared with Asaṅga, who was gifted as a religious leader, Vasubandhu seems more scholarly, abhidharmic, and theoretical.

SEE ALSO Asaṅga; Buddhism, article on Buddhism in India; Buddhism, Schools of, articles on Chinese Buddhism, Mahāyāna Buddhism; Maitreya; Yogācāra.

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After Frauwallner, there is no independent biographical study on Vasubandhu, except a paper by Hikata Ryūshō, "A Reconsideration on the Date of Vasubandhu," *Bulletin of the Faculty of the Kyushu University* 4 (1956): 53–74, which does not refer to Frauwallner and a criticism of Frauwallner's theory by Padmanabh S. Jaini, "On the Theory of Two Vasubandhus," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 21 (1958): 48–53.

Vasubandhu's thought is the subject of numerous studies. Among the most useful are Louis de La Vallée Poussin's *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi, la siddhi de Hiuan-tsang,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1928–1929); Sylvain Lévi's *Un système de philosophie bouddhique: Materiaux pour l'étude du système Vijñaptimātra* (Paris, 1932); and Yuki Reimon's *Seshin Yuishiki no kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1955–1956).

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VATICAN COUNCILS

This entry consists of the following articles:

VATICAN I
VATICAN II [FIRST EDITION]
VATICAN II [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

VATICAN COUNCILS: VATICAN I

When Pius IX decided to convoke an ecumenical council, his purpose, clarified by advice solicited from various bishops whom he regarded as trustworthy, was to complete the work of reacting against naturalism and rationalism. He had been pursuing this goal since the beginning of his pontificate by endeavoring to establish Catholic life and thought once again on the solid foundation of divine revelation. As a result of suggestions from the bishops he had consulted, he added to this purpose, first, defining the true nature of the relation between church and state while taking into account the new situation produced by the French Revolution and its consequences and, second, adapting church law in ways made necessary by the profound changes that had taken place during the three centuries since the last ecumenical council.

PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS. Despite the reservations of some in the Curia Romana, which caused him to delay for two years, Pius IX was encouraged by prominent members of the episcopate to announce his intention of convoking a council; on July 29, 1868, he officially summoned all the bishops of Christendom to come to Rome by December 8, 1869, along with others who had the right to attend (especially the superiors general of the major religious orders). During the preliminary consultations a number of bishops had suggested taking advantage of the council to try to renew contacts with separated Christians. Two apostolic letters, dated September 8 and 13, 1868, invited the Eastern prelates not in communion with Rome, the Protestants, and the Anglicans in order that they might be able to take part in the council. But this clumsy approach was considered very insulting by those addressed and may be regarded, from an ecumenical viewpoint, as one of the most distressing examples of a lost opportunity.

In the Catholic world the announcement of the council almost immediately intensified the opposition between currents of thought that had been in confrontation for several years: Neo-Gallicans and liberal Catholics, on the one hand, and ultramontanes and opponents of modern freedoms, on the other. The choice of the consultors who were to prepare the drafts of the conciliar decrees—the group included sixty Romans and thirty-six from abroad, almost all of them known for their ultramontane and antiliberal views—disturbed those who had been hoping that the council would provide an opportunity for bishops from the outer reaches of the church to open up the church somewhat to modern aspirations and who thought they could discern a strategy at work: namely, to prepare for the council in secret, with no challenges raised by debate and with the curial viewpoint alone represented, and then to have the fathers accept without discussion a series of ready-made propositions.

The unfortunate "Correspondence from France" that was published on February 6, 1869, in *La civiltà cattolica,* the organ of the Jesuits in Rome, seemed to confirm this expectation by predicting a definition of papal infallibility by proclamation and thus without any possibility of restatement or discussion by the fathers. The reaction was especially intense in the Germanic countries. In particular, Ignaz von Döllinger, the well-known professor at the University of Munich, whose hostility toward the Curia had been on the increase for a number of years, published under the pen name *Janus* a violent and one-sided polemic against the overemphasis on papal primacy and Roman centralization. Polemical articles, though more moderate in tone, were also published in the newspapers of France, where liberal Catholics regarded as inopportune the definition of papal infallibility for which the ultramontanes were calling. The question of papal infallibility, which had not come up in the initial program for the council, suddenly became a major issue during the months preceding the opening of the council. A number of prominent bishops, such as Victor Deschamps, archbishop of Malines, and Henry Edward Manning, archbishop of Westminster, asked insistently that advantage be taken of the council for a solemn definition of this truth, since it was now being publicly challenged. On the other side, at their annual meeting in Fulda (September 1869), the majority of the German bishops discreetly expressed clear-cut reservations with regard to such a definition.

Though unmoved by such theological discussions, a number of European governments did become apprehensive about possible conciliar decrees on civil marriage, the place of religion in public education, and the legitimacy of freedom of worship and the press. Such apprehensions could only be intensified by the desire that many bishops and some Catholic newspapers expressed, namely that the *Syllabus of Errors* (1864) be made the basis for the council's deliberations, a desire that seems to have been welcome in Rome. All those in the church who feared the triumph of the ultramontane party at the council did what they could to intensify this governmental mistrust in the hope of procuring diplomatic warnings and cautions. At one point, France considered appointing a special ambassador to the council, as it had at the time of the Council of Trent, while Prince von Hohenlohe, chancellor of Bavaria, attempted to have the European governments take joint steps. In the end, these governments chose to limit themselves to an attitude of distrustful expectation.

CONCILIAR DEBATES. The council opened on December 8, 1869, in the presence of about 700 bishops, about two-thirds of those with the right to attend. Among them were 70 prelates of the Eastern rite who were in union with Rome, most of these being from the Middle East, and almost 200 fathers from non-European countries: 121 from the Americas (49 from the United States), 41 from Southern Asia and the Far East, 11 from Oceania, and 9 from the African missions, which were then in their infancy. One must remember that while the prelates from other parts of the world made up a third of the gathering, many of them were actually from Europe (the missionaries in particular) and that there was as yet no native bishop in Asia or Africa. This predominantly European gathering was also predominantly Latin. There was indeed a sizable English-speaking group (in which those of Irish origin were predominant) and about 75 Germans and Austrians. Spaniards and Latin Americans numbered barely one hundred; the French made up 17 percent of the gathering (the majority of the missionaries of that time were from France), and the Italians over 35 percent. In addition, two-thirds of the consultors, or experts, and all of the secretaries of the commissions were Italians, as were the five presidents of the council; of the primary leadership offices, only that of secretary general was not occupied by an Italian, namely, the Austrian Joseph Fessler.

The first three sessions of the council were spent on the election of the commissions. The most important of these was the doctrinal commission (*Deputatio fidei*), from which all bishops suspected of being opposed to a definition of papal infallibility were excluded by the maneuvering of a pressure group of which Archbishop Manning was one of the main leaders. This maneuver, which many wrongly believed was ordered by the Curia, was a serious mistake for two reasons: first, it gave the impression that the elections were only a front, with the result that fathers in various groups now began to have doubts about the freedom of the council; and, second, it prevented a possible dialogue that might have reconciled the two opposing viewpoints.

On December 28 the council began at last to examine the first drafted constitution, which was directed "against the numerous errors deriving from modern rationalism." This draft, which was the work of the Jesuits Johannes Baptist Franzelin and Clemens Schrader, drew strong criticism because of its substance, which some found to be out of touch with contemporary forms of rationalism and too apodictic on points freely discussed among theologians, and especially because of its form, which was judged to be overly polemical and insufficiently inspired by pastoral concerns. After six meetings for discussion, which had the advantage of showing that the council would be freer than some had feared, the presidents announced on January 10 that the draft would be sent back to the commission for recasting and that meanwhile the council would tackle the drafts on church discipline. In this area twenty-eight drafts had been prepared that were rather tame and showed hardly any pastoral openness to the future; to these were added eighteen others, much superior in character, on the adaptation of canon law to the new circumstances of the religious orders and congregations. The discussion of the first four drafts that were distributed quickly got bogged down in details, especially since the time available to the speakers was unlimited. As a result, in order to speed up the pace of the work (as the great majority of the fathers wanted), the pope, on February 20, 1870, amended the regulations that had been distributed at the opening of the council. By and large, the modifications were to the good, but some fathers, who had already resented having a set of regulations imposed on them from above, saw in these modifications a new threat to full freedom of discussion.

While the examination of texts that had little chance of proving explosive was advancing with prudent caution in the council hall, the attention of both the fathers and the public was increasingly focused on the question of infallibility. Raised again by a clumsy statement of Bishop Felix Dupanloup in November 1869, the question soon led the fathers, who had initially tended to group together along national and linguistic lines, to form new groups that were inspired by ideological considerations.

On the one side, many fathers who were very hostile to their contemporaries' infatuation with liberalism were not at all reluctant to have the council restate the principles according to which, in classical teaching, the relations between church and state should be ruled in an ideal Christian society. Many—often the same— wanted a solemn definition of the personal infallibility of the pope. Even though they did not approve of all the centralizing steps taken by the Curia, they were convinced that the Gallican and Febronian theses, which tended to diminish the primacy of the pope in favor of the episcopate, were simply a departure from the ancient tradition to which, as they saw it, witness was given by certain scriptural texts (esp. *Mt.* 16:18), certain patristic formulas (e.g., the maxim "Rome has spoken, the question is closed"), and the whole body of great scholastic doctors from Thomas Aquinas to Roberto Bellarmino and Alphonsus Liguori. Those fathers met the historical difficulties of their adversaries with an appeal to the living faith of the church and were especially impressed by the almost universal acceptance, in the church of their time, of the thesis of the pope's personal infallibility, a thesis repeated on a number of occasions during the preceding twenty years by many provincial or regional councils. Reasons of a nontheological kind strengthened many of these prelates in their conviction: their veneration of Pius IX; their belief that an increased emphasis on the monolithic character of the Roman church could only draw to this church various non-Catholics who were distressed by the hesitancies and lack of resoluteness of the churches separated from Rome or by the contradictions of philosophical systems (Manning, a convert, laid great stress on this point); their concern to lend as much weight as possible to the principle of authority in a world weakened by aspirations toward democracy, a type of government they regarded as a mitigated form of revolutionary anarchy; and their desire, in the face of the religious crisis they saw growing before their eyes, to give an increasingly centralized form to the defensive and offensive strategy of the church.

A comparable mixture of doctrinal considerations and nontheological motives inspired other prelates to think that such projects would overthrow the traditional constitution of the church and might well threaten the most legitimate aspirations of civil society. Some bishops remained very attached to a conception of the ecclesiastical magisterium according to which the pope can never decide a point of doctrine independently from ratification by the body of bishops. More widespread seems to have been the concern to safeguard the second element in the divinely appointed structure of the hierarchy; to many of the fathers the proposed definition of papal infallibility seemed part of a program aimed at practically destroying the episcopate. In addition, the way in which the question of infallibility was presented in the most prominent ultramontane newspapers could only confirm in their views those who were convinced that "the intention was to declare the pope infallible in matters of faith in order thereby to make people think him infallible in other matters as well" (Leroy-Beaulieu), that is, in matters more or less related to the political order. But surely it was to be expected that the governments would not permit a development along these lines without reacting to it, to the great detriment of the local churches.

Over and above immediate tactical considerations there was a question of principle that greatly disturbed all those who believed that the future in the political realm belonged to liberal institutions and that the church had everything to lose by standing forth as the champion of autocratic authoritarianism. There were also concerns of an ecumenical kind: the proposed definition would render even more difficult any rapprochement with Eastern Christians; it would intensify the militant hostility of some Protestant groups; it might even lead to a new schism in German intellectual circles, which had been deeply impressed by Döllinger's campaign. Those who declared their opposition to the definition were less numerous than those in favor of it—thus the designation of them as the "minority"—but the most prominent among them enjoyed great authority by reason either of their theological competence or of the important sees they occupied: the entire Austro-Hungarian episcopate under the leadership of Cardinal Othmar Rauscher, a renowned patrologist and strong defender of the rights of the Holy See against Josephist, or liberal, claims; all the major sees of Germany; a sizable number of French prelates, including the archbishops of Paris and Lyons; several archbishops of North America; the archbishop of Milan, the most populous of the Italian dioceses; and three Eastern patriarchs.

The two groups had an opportunity to count heads as early as January. The infallibilist pressure group, again acting independently (but in close contact with the Jesuits of *La civiltà cattolica*), circulated a petition asking the pope to put on the assembly's agenda a draft definition of papal infallibility, which the preparatory commission had preferred not to offer on its own initiative. The petition finally collected 450 signatures, and, despite a counterpetition signed by 140 bishops, Pius IX decided on March 1 to include the desired passage in the draft of the constitution on the church that had been distributed to the fathers some weeks earlier on January 21.

The minority, now deeply disturbed, busied itself organizing the resistance that had until then been scattered and unfocused. The real center of this opposition was a young layman, John Acton, who as a historian shared the prejudices of his master, Döllinger, against the dogma and who feared even more the indirect effects of the definition on the future chances of Catholicism in a society increasingly based on the idea of freedom. Conzemius's publication of the Acton-Döllinger correspondence (3 vols., Munich, 1963–1971) has made fully clear the important role, unsuspected until now, that Acton played in organizing the conciliar minority.

The leaders of the minority did not limit themselves to making personal appeals to fathers they hoped they could win to their side. Convinced as they were of the deadly effects on the church of the definition now being readied and of the legitimacy of taking all effective means to stop it, a number of them thought it necessary to rouse public opinion and so bring outside pressure to bear on the authorities of the council. Several of these fathers even tried to win governmental support, especially at Paris, because they knew how influential any mediation by Napoleon III would be, since his military and diplomatic support was indispensable in preserving what was left of the pope's temporal power.

CONCILIAR CONSTITUTIONS. Amid the growing restlessness outside the council in the salons, newspapers, and chancelleries, the assembly itself was going ahead with its work. The draft of the constitution against rationalism, which had been recast by bishops Martin, Deschamps, and Pie with the help of the Jesuit Joseph Kleutgen, came before the council again on March 18. The new version was favorably received by the fathers, and any discussion was now concerned only with individual points or improvements of details. On April 24 the council unanimously gave its solemn approval to its first dogmatic document, the constitution *Dei filius*, which responded to pantheism, materialism, and modern rationalism with a substantial exposition of Catholic teaching on God, revelation, and faith; this exposition was to be for almost a century the basis of the treatises which made up fundamental theology.

Chapter 1 condemns pantheist views and briefly sets forth Catholic teaching on providence. Chapter 2 defines, against atheism and traditionalism, the possibility of knowing the existence of God with certainty by the natural light of reason and, against deism, the absolute necessity of revelation if man is to have knowledge of the supernatural order. Chapter 3 defines the reasonableness of the act of faith as against the illuminism of some Protestants and against those who deny the value of the external motives of credibility, such as miracles. It states that faith is both a free assent and a gift of grace and reaffirms the obligation of believing all the truths the ordinary ecclesiastical magisterium proclaims to have been revealed. It asserts that the church, which proposes the truths to be believed, at the same time carries within itself the guarantee of its own divine origin and that with his grace God confirms believers in their faith. Chapter 4 explains the relations that should exist between faith and reason, science and revelation: there are mysteries that cannot be demonstrated by reason, but reason can legitimately reflect on supernatural truths. While claiming a proper freedom for science, the council warns against abuses of this freedom. Finally, it explains what true dogmatic development is and condemns systems according to which philosophy may give new and more perfect meanings to revealed dogmas.

It quickly became clear that, given the pace at which work was proceeding, the constitution on the church, the text of which had been distributed to the fathers on January 21, would not come up for discussion for several months; this was even more true of its eleventh chapter, which dealt with the special prerogatives of the pope. Consequently, as early as March, new petitions requested that this chapter, which made the council restive, be discussed out of its proper order as soon as the examination of the constitution against rationalism was concluded. Despite the reservations of three of the five presidents of the council, Pius IX, who was increasingly displeased at the opposition of the minority group, decided to alter the schedule. In order to avoid the anomaly of treating this chapter before the others, it was expanded into a short, independent constitution devoted entirely to the pope.

The general debate on the text as a whole began on May 13 but was reduced from the outset to a discussion of the opportuneness of the definition; at times the discussion was impassioned. After some fifteen meetings, the fathers went on to examine the details of the texts; this discussion focused essentially on the chapter devoted to the definition of papal infallibility. The proposed text, although the commission had already improved it by comparison with the original draft, did not yet take sufficient account of the legitimate role that belonged to the episcopate, alongside and in collaboration with the pope, in the supreme teaching office of the church. Fifty-seven speakers took the floor, emphasizing theological arguments or historical difficulties, as well as the practical advantages or drawbacks of a definition in the circumstances of that time. These debates, though often tedious, at least gave an opportunity to qualify certain expressions and led to the elimination of some opposition.

Meanwhile, the behind-the-scenes lobbying intensified. For, apart from the zealots of the majority and the partisans of unyielding resistance, the great majority of the fathers were men of moderation who were deeply grieved and troubled by all the agitation. Far from desiring to see their opponents crushed, they wanted only to find a compromise formula that would keep the divisions within the assembly from becoming public. This was especially true of the Italians, as Michele Maccarrone has clearly shown. By reason of their numbers these men, who had played no part in the initial steps taken to introduce the famous question, were a decisive bulwark of the informal "third party" that had been taking shape since the beginning and was finally able to win the day against the neo-ultramontane and anticurialist extremists.

There is reason for thinking that a much larger section of the minority would have finally accepted the nuanced solution that was gradually worked out if Pius IX had not been so intransigent. For recent research has also shown, with the help of previously unstudied documents, that the pope several times directly intervened on the side of the majority extremists as the discussion became protracted. Whatever the personal responsibility of Pius IX may have been, it is a fact that last-minute efforts to rally the opponents through small concessions proved fruitless, despite the good impression made by the recapitulatory explanation given by Bishop Gasser in the name of the theological commission (this authoritative commentary is of key importance for a grasp of the nuances of the conciliar text). When a final appeal of the minority to Pius IX had no result, some sixty bishops decided to leave Rome before the final vote in order not to have to cast a negative vote in the presence of the pope on a question that directly concerned him. The other members of the minority judged that the successive improvements of the text as well as Bishop Gasser's commentary had removed the principal substantive objections and they decided therefore to approve the final text. This text was solemnly accepted on July 18 by nearly everyone present.

Officially entitled First Constitution on the Church of Christ, the constitution *Pastor aeternus* expounds Catholic teaching on the privileges of the pope. After a lengthy introduction on the institution of the church by Christ and on the place therein of papal primacy as the foundation of the church's unity, chapter 1 asserts, against some Gallicans and Febronians, that Peter received directly from Christ, and not through the church, a primacy of jurisdiction over the entire church. Chapter 2 states that by Christ's will this primacy is to be continued perpetually in the successors of Peter, the bishops of Rome. Chapter 3 solemnly defines the nature of the pope's primacy: the pope has an ordinary, immediate, "episcopal" jurisdiction not only in questions of faith but also in matters of church discipline, and this authority, which does not depend on approval by an ecumenical council, is to be exercised over pastors as well as the faithful. The concern to provide explicit safeguards for the authority of the bishops is at the root of the third paragraph, the main point of which is that bishops govern their flocks as "true pastors" and are therefore not mere delegates of the pope.

The fourth chapter declares that authority as supreme teacher is included in the primacy and then recalls how over the course of time the popes had always exercised this function by drawing upon the faith of the universal church as expressed in particular by the teaching of the bishops. The chapter then goes on to define solemnly that this supreme teaching office has attached to it the prerogative of infallibility, provided the pope is speaking *ex cathedra*, that is, provided that "in exercising his office as teacher and shepherd of all Christians he defines, in virtue of his supreme apostolic authority" (that is, with the intention of unequivocally putting an end to all discussion) "that a doctrine concerning faith or morals must be held by the universal Church; such definitions are irreformable of themselves and do not require ratification by the episcopate (*ex sese non autem ex consensu Ecclesiae*)." This final formula is a bit ambiguous, for, according to the commentary given by Bishop Gasser in the name of the doctrinal commission, while the words reject the *consensus Ecclesiae* as the source of papal infallibility, they do not mean to deny that the pope, as spokesman for tradition, must remain in constant close contact with the "mind of the Church" (*sensus Ecclesiae*) in the exercise of his ministry.

After the vote taken on July 18 the council continued its work for two more months, but at a slower pace, since the majority of the fathers had left Rome for the summer. The occupation of Rome by the Italians on September 20 brought the work to a definitive end, and on October 20 the pope announced that the council was adjourned indefinitely.

The termination of the debates did not immediately bring a calm to all hearts. The agitation continued for some time, and there were sad apostasies, especially in the Germanic countries where the Old Catholic schism developed around some university professors who appealed to Döllinger's writings. Among the bishops of the minority a few, Hefele and Strossmayer among them, wavered for several months, but in the end none of them refused to accept the new dogma.

When the immediate results of the council were compared with its ambitious program (fifty-one drafts had still to be voted on) and especially with the great hopes the convocation of the council had raised, the First Vatican Council seemed to many to have been a failure, its principal outcome having been to aggravate the disunity among Christians. With the passage of time, however, people became aware of important results flowing from the intense intellectual ferment the convocation of the council had produced. The work done by the commissions which dealt with the improvement of church law was not wasted, nor were the many suggestions sent in writing by those at a distance. Extensive use was to be made of these materials in the encyclicals of Leo XIII and especially in the revision of the Code of Canon Law under Pius X. The first dogmatic constitution that had been passed in April 1870 exercised a clarifying influence on subsequent theological teaching, especially in the burning question of the relations between reason and faith. On the other hand, it also strengthened the tendency to enlarge the role of authoritative doctrinal interventions in the development of Catholic thought; this tendency was strengthened even more by the definition of papal infallibility.

While the solemn approbation given to the ultramontane movement, which continued to develop for another half century, did not bring about the revolution in church government that some opponents had anticipated, it did nonetheless lead to more numerous direct interventions of the Holy See in the dioceses and to an emphasis on Roman centralization. At the same time, however, it must be recognized that by defining very strictly the rare cases in which the privilege of papal infallibility comes into play, the council ruled out the exaggerated ideas that were beginning to spread abroad before 1870 under the influence of bishops like Manning and journalists like Veuillot. In the final analysis, the nuanced character of the definition, which was the result of impassioned discussion and satisfied the legitimate demands of many minority bishops, was the best safeguard against the excesses of what has been called "neo-ultramontanism," a fashion of excessive devotion, more sentimental than theological, to the pope.

See Also Döllinger, Johann; Gallicanism; Modernism, article on Christian Modernism; Pius IX; Ultramontanism.

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VATICAN COUNCILS: VATICAN II [FIRST EDITION]

The idea of holding a church council, which can be attributed to Pius XI and Pius XII, four hundred years after the Council of Trent and one hundred years after the First Vatican Council, as well as the realization of this idea, must be seen in historical perspective. The principal formative influence on the life of the Roman Catholic church until the Second Vatican Council, besides the impact of the institutional and doctrinal differentiation of Christian churches resulting from the Reformation, was the Council of Trent (1545–1563), especially through its decisions on faith and morals. Although the First Vatican Council, through its definition of the universal jurisdictional primacy and infallibility of the pope, had expanded to some extent the decisions made at Trent, it did so without addressing the question of the relationship of primacy and episcopacy. The problem of conformity between proclamation of the faith and pastoral care was not considered, nor were the altered circumstances resulting from industrialization. On the one hand, the French Revolution and secularization had shaken the foundations of radical episcopalism evidenced in such national movements as Gallicanism, Josephism, and Fabronianism, but on the other hand, an extreme papalism (or rather curialism) was no longer possible after the dissolution of the Papal States.

The way was clear, however, for new forms of thinking about and actualizing the church and its relationship to the world. Before discussing the conduct of the Second Vatican Council itself, we shall examine these tendencies briefly.

THE CHURCH BEFORE THE COUNCIL. The liturgical movement, whose roots go back to the time of the Reformation, reached a peak of activity in the twentieth century. The movement sought to revive liturgical forms in order to create the church anew by means of daily participation in the objective events of liturgy and the mysteries of the church. Connected with this was a new valuation of sacramentality and of the proclamation of the word (for example, in kerygmatic theology, that is, pastoral theology, culminating in the development of a new practical theology). The liturgical movement found magisterial support in the encyclical *Mediator Dei* (1947) of Pius XII.

Paralleling the liturgical movement was the biblical movement, which rediscovered the immediate religious meaning of holy scripture by means of new translations into vernacular languages and the formation of Catholic Bible associations. The Bible was studied according to the norms of modern scholarship and the canons of scientific exegesis. The epoch-making encyclical *Divino afflante Spiritu* (1943) of Pius XII removed the prevailing ecclesiastical obstacles to a truly critical study of the Bible.

The involvement of the laity in the ministry of the church also changed. Catholic Action was founded in 1923. Laypeople were becoming conscious of their responsibilities and rights in the church. Manuals on doctrine and moral theology written especially for lay-people appeared, culminating in Yves Congar's *Lay People in the Church* (rev. ed.; Westminister, Md., 1965).

The church's consciousness of itself changed. This was primarily a matter of the dissolution of the one-sided canonical understanding of the church as juridical, an understanding that had been set forth in the late Middle Ages and was firmly established once and for all by the Code of Canon Law (1917). The change was signaled in 1922 by Romano Guardini, who declared the "awakening of the church in souls," and was confirmed in 1943 by the understanding of the church as the mystical body of Christ set forth in Pius XII's encyclical *Mystici corporis,* which, however, still identified the church with the official hierarchical Roman church. The change culminated in ecclesiological projects during and after World War II that engendered an understanding of the church as people of faith subject to the Word.

The ecumenical movements, which since the beginning of the twentieth century had brought together and united the non-Catholic Christian church communities through world church conferences and the founding of the World Council of Churches, stood distanced for a long time from the Roman Catholic church. The opening of the Roman offices for ecumenism by John XXIII was made possible by contacts and conversations between Protestant and Catholic theologians and church leaders that took place for mutual defense against antiecclesiastical totalitarianism. These contacts were expanded after the founding of a Catholic ecumenical board in Fribourg, Switzerland, in 1951. The question of the reunification of all Christians appealed to parts of Catholic Christendom and exercised a great influence on theological reflection about the church's unity in diversity and its understanding of ministry, eucharist, and primacy.

Another important tendency in the Roman Catholic church before the calling of the council involved changes in theology itself. Certain theological efforts and approaches went beyond basic or scholastic theology and carried on a dialogue with the consciousness of the times and with the theologians of the separated Christian churches. The most important stages were attempts to overcome through kerygmatic theology the objectivistic and unhistorical or superhistorical point of view of neoscholasticism; "nouvelle théologie," which emphasized open thinking and opposed scholasticism; transcendental theology, which reflected on the conditions of the possibilities of man; the acquisition of a genuinely theological understanding of history in hermeneutical theology; and finally the inclusion of the societal dimension in political theology. These positions gained more and more significance with regard to the church's self-understanding and its relationship to the world. It became a church that no longer defined itself in the triumphalist terms of the Counter-Reformation but understood itself as a pilgrim church waiting for its eschatological completion.

The inner transformation of the church corresponded to a new orientation in the relationship of the church to the world. Integralism, the world viewed simply as material for the activity and self-preservation of the church, and esotericism, the world as irrelevant for salvation, prompting flight from it, needed new alternatives. Here especially the theology of earthly realities (Gustave Thils), the theology of the world, and the various projects in moral theology or ethics were preparatory for a new outlook. The true relationship of the Christian and of the church to the world lies between integralism and esotericism. And this middle ground must not be understood as a cheap compromise necessitated by circumstances, a compromise possible only because, unfortunately, the world cannot ever be integrated totally into the ecclesial-religious sphere or because the pious cannot avoid serving the profane reality of life. This is a middle that stands above the extremes as an original unity. Of itself, it actually constitutes the unity and difference between the explicitly Christian and churchly, on the one hand, and the world and worldly activity, on the other. And here there must be a clear distinction between the relationship of the official church to the world and that of the Christian to the world.

HISTORY AND THEMES OF THE COUNCIL. The Second Vatican Council was the twenty-first ecumenical council (according to the official count of the Roman Catholic church), held from 1962 to 1965 at Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome. On May 17, 1959, after the first official announcement on January 25, 1959, John XXIII designated a commission that was to make preparations for the council under the direction of the cardinal secretary. All bishops, the Curia Romana, and the theological and canonical faculties voted on topics for discussion. On June 5, 1960 the pope ordered ten specialized commissions to work on the schemata (protocols). There were also two permanent secretariats (one for the mass media, another for Christian unity). A central preparatory committee was responsible for organizing the work of the council. The formal summoning of the council to Rome occurred on December 25, 1961. On January 2, 1962 the opening was set for October 11, 1962. According to the rules of procedure, ten cardinals were to head the ten council commissions assigned to work into the protocols the suggestions introduced in the general assembly. Two-thirds of the members of these commissions were to be chosen by the assembly; one-third were to be named by the pope. The council decisions required a two-thirds majority.

As so-called *periti* (expert advisers), about two hundred theologians (generally professors of theology) were called to Rome. Of the 2,908 legitimate delegates, 2,540 participated in the opening. Of the invited non-Catholic Christian churches and communities, seventeen were present through thirty-five representatives. In the end, twenty-eight non-Roman churches, including the Russian Orthodox church, were represented by ninety-three observers. There were eighty-six governments and international bodies represented at the opening.

The council met in four sessions: October 11 to December 8, 1962; September 29 to December 2, 1963; September 14 to November 21, 1964; and September 4 to December 8, 1965. Ten public sessions and 168 general assembly meetings were held.

From the time of its proclamation, the council was intended to have a double goal: reform within the church and preparation for Christian and world unity. But already in the opening address this goal was expanded and deepened. The council was given the task of proclaiming the entire Christian truth "through a new effort" whereby it was of great consequence to distinguish between the truths and the "way in which they are proclaimed." *Aggiornamento* (Ital., "coming together") was to demonstrate the credibility of the church, and the church's relationship to non-Christians was to be improved.

In the first session, which included the first thirty-six general assemblies, the commission members were not chosen according to the prepared list but rather, at the suggestion of Cardinal Achille Liénart (Lille), according to recommendations of the different groups of bishops. John XXIII died on June 3, 1963. His successor, Paul VI, continued the council. At the reopening of the second session (general assemblies 37–89) on September 29, 1963, Paul VI emphasized the pastoral orientation of the council. It was to deal with the nature of the church and the function of the bishops, to make efforts toward the unity of Christians, and to set in motion a dialogue with the contemporary world. From the presidency, which had been expanded to twelve members, four moderates were named (Cardinals G. P. Agagianian, Julius Döpfner, Jacobus Lercaro, and L. J. Suenens), who were alternately to direct the general assembly. The protocols were contracted to seventeen, and a press bureau was set up. In the third session (general assemblies 90–127), the pope, by way of the theological commission, had the so-called *nota explicativa praevia* ("previous explanatory note") included in the Constitution on the Church as an authoritative explanation of the chapter on the collegiality of pope and bishops in their responsibility for the whole church. The decisions of the First Vatican Council were thereby once again maintained. At the opening of the fourth session (general assemblies 128–168), Paul VI announced the establishment of a synod of bishops to be convened regularly. This was to emphasize the idea of collegiality between the pope, the bishop of Rome, and the other bishops. All the decisions of the council were confirmed and proclaimed in public session. Paul VI solemnly closed the council on December 8, 1965. The task of carrying out the decisions of the council was assigned to the appropriate commissions. The Secretariat for Christian Unity continued in existence, and two new bodies were set up: a secretariat for relations with non-Christian religions and one for relations with unbelievers.

The Second Vatican Council was a council of the church about the church. In order to protect its freedom, John XXIII specifically avoided formulating a systematic plan of discussion. The council was to be pastorally oriented so that the church could ask itself all the questions about the contemporary situation that were being asked within it and in the world. Beyond that, however, nothing was really prescribed. That fact is demonstrated by the seventy preconciliar proposals for future council decrees, which had to do with almost everything with which the church could at all concern itself. Although the selected topics, reflected in the sixteen documents accepted by the council, may appear to be haphazard, these four constitutions, nine decrees, and three declarations do form a unified network that makes the council a council about the church.

The subjects treated in the documents produced by the council can be summarized briefly. The basic self-understanding of the church is addressed in the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church. The inner life of the church is discussed in various documents: the work of salvation through liturgy (the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy); the church's function of oversight (the Decree on the Bishops' Pastoral Office in the Church and the Decree on Eastern Catholic Churches); the teaching office (the Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation, including discussions of scripture, tradition, and teaching office, and the Declaration on Christian Education); and vocations (the Decree on the Ministry and Life of Priests, the Decree on Priestly Formation, the Decree on the Appropriate Renewal of the Religious Life, and the Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity). The mission of the church to the world is likewise elaborated on in several documents: the church's relationship to non-Catholic Christianity (the Decree on Ecumenism and the Decree on Eastern Catholic Churches); its relationship to non-Christians (the Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to non-Christian Religions, which makes special reference to the Jews, and the Decree on the Church's Missionary Activity); its relationship to the contemporary secular situation of the world in general (the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World and the Decree on the Instruments of Social Communications); and its relationship to the philosophical pluralism of the present age (especially in the Declaration on Religious Freedom).

The council's understanding of the church. The church is the subject not only of the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church *(Lumen gentium)* but also of all the other documents. The Second Vatican Council, in contrast to Trent and to Vatican I, was oriented neither toward dogma nor toward theological controversy; rather it was pastorally oriented in that it set forth the meaning of the church, its message, and its missions for the world and for humanity. The church, it declared, wishes to encounter humanity through acceptance and solidarity, through dialogue and cooperation.

In *Lumen gentium* the council set aside juridical and controversial questions and defined the church first as a mystery, as a sacrament of unity between God and human beings and among human beings themselves. It presented the mystery of the church in the perspective of salvation history as people of God, body of Christ, and temple of the Spirit, and it articulated the mission of the church for faith and for service in word and sacrament. It made the designation of the church as people of God its central statement and thereby set aside a one-sided hierarchical understanding of the church. It emphasized the pilgrim character and historicity of the church as well as its instrumental quality and its non-identity with the kingdom of God. The ministry of the church was characterized as gift and service. The council, in full support of Vatican I, dealt extensively with the college of bishops. It accentuated the principles of collegiality and synod as structural elements of the church and the meaning of the local church as representative of the whole church. With reference to the priesthood of all believers, the council stressed the dignity, role, and responsibility of the laity as well as the presence of the church in the world, which is often possible only through the laity.

Concerning the question of the identification of the Roman Catholic church with the church of Jesus Christ, the exclusive *est* ("is") was replaced by the more open *subsistit* ("subsists," *Lumen gentium* 8). The council characterized the church's relationship to the other churches and Christian confessions not through the instrumental definition of union with Rome but through the living realities in these communities that are constitutive of church. These realities make it legitimate, and also necessary, to address and recognize other churches as means of salvation. The relationship of these churches to the Roman church is defined by the formula *"coniunctum esse"* ("to be joined together"). This union is rooted in baptism, faith in God and Christ, and in other sacramental and spiritual realities. The call to Christian unity is understood not merely as a summons to the others but as an appeal to the church itself, a call for its own constant conversion. According to Vatican II, therefore, the unity of the church is not to be sought by imposing uniformity, that is, by an all-defining centralization, but in a legitimate plurality that strengthens unity and does not endanger it.

A council of the world church. The council seemed to be the first act in which the Catholic church began to realize itself as a truly worldwide community, but this does not dispute the importance of preceding events. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the church slowly and tentatively developed from a potential world church to an actual world church, from a European, Western church with European settlements around the world, to a universal church present in the whole world, even if in very differing degrees of intensity, and no longer seen in terms of European-North American affiliates. Throughout the world the church was developing a native clergy that was conscious of its independence and responsibility for itself. This world church acted for the first time at the council with historical clarity concerning faith and morals. In spite of the undeniably powerful presence and influence of the European and North American regional churches, the members of this council, in contrast to all previous councils, were bishops from the whole world and not simply, as at Vatican I, European missionary bishops sent out to the whole world.

The council was also the cause of the abolition of Latin as the common cultic language. There will always be an ultimate liturgical unity among the regional liturgies because of the unity of the church and the sameness in theological essence of the Christian cult, but from the diversity of cultic languages there will develop, in a necessary and irreversible process, a diversity of liturgies. The relationship between sameness and diversity of the regional liturgies cannot be certainly and precisely predicted. In the long run, the liturgy of the universal church will not be a mere translation of the liturgy of the Roman church but rather a liturgy formed from the unity in diversity of regional liturgies in which each has its own unique form that does not result from its language only but also from other cultural factors such as gesture and dance. If the essence of the church, and thereby the essence and character of a local church, derives essentially from the liturgy, which is one of its highest actualizations, then a truly independent local church is formed. Such a church is more than an administrative district of a uniform, centrally organized state.

Relationship to the world. In several decrees, to which belong primarily the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the World *(Gaudium et spes)* and the Decree on Religious Freedom, the council attempted to describe its fundamental relationship to the secular world on the basis of its nature and not simply by the force of external circumstances. The council spoke about the renunciation of external means of force in matters of religion, the dignity even of an errant conscience, and the building of a legitimate secular world that was not to be judged by ecclesial standards alone. These may seem like statements forced upon the church against its most inner sensibilities by a secularized world rather than as objective expressions of the reality of Christianity itself. One must consider, however, that the church, even where it has or could have greater power in the secular realm, must support the renunciation of that power, as the council stated, because this is required of the church by virtue of its own nature (although in its history it has all too often disregarded this requirement). The temptation for the church to reassert a false superiority over the world continues to exist, but since the decisions of Vatican II the church in principle can no longer yield to this temptation, because the council formulated an irrevocable norm. No longer, since the decrees of the council, can the limitation of freedom in the name of goodness and justice be so easily rationalized by the church. For the sake of the common good, as the council says, there will always be force and power in the world. But with Vatican II the church renounced a share of that power, which it had previously claimed without inhibitions whenever it could. A border over which it was no longer possible to return, not even in small matters, had thus been crossed.

Theology of the council. The theological situation in which the council found itself was transitional and difficult to define. On the one hand, neoscholastic theology was self-evident; it was the dominant theological position represented in the proposals that had been prepared for the council by Roman commissions. Linked inextricably with the Latin language, this neoscholastic theology used the New Testament in the old style as a collection of proofs *(dicta probantia).* On the other hand, the theology of the council was more critically related to scripture than was neoscholasticism. It had opened itself to subject matter that did not originate in the repertory of neoscholasticism. It exercised a certain braking effect against theological excess (for example, in Mariology). It made an effort to be considerate of ecumenical needs. It also held that one could say something theologically important even if one did not proclaim it solemnly as dogma. The theology of the council was, then, a theology of transition. The question still remains whether, how, and how quickly this theology will be further developed now that it has received a certain official legitimation by the council. Although impulses from the conciliar theology can be felt in the work of the Sacred Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith since the close of the council, that office remains too neoscholastic in its anxious defense against certain modern theological efforts and too fearful and not creative enough about the questions that engage contemporary theology.

Roman theology will not be able to lead the theology of the whole church back over the border crossed at the council. On the contrary, theology will almost of necessity become a world theology, in accord with the council. That is, it will no longer exist in the non-European and non-North American countries simply as a Western expression. Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa have already announced a claim to a theology of their own. Liberation theology does not have to remain the only watchword for such an independent Latin American theology. Perhaps East Asia will also soon develop a theology of its own in a creative dialogue with its own culture and history. These theologies will have to concern themselves with the questions that are foremost in the respective cultural arenas and are not the same everywhere. The undeniable diversity that emerges from this process will help shape and determine the character of the whole of theology. European and North American theology can actually contribute to the development of non-Western theologies, in spite of the hoped-for independence of the rest of the world, because the West, with its Enlightenment and technological rationality, is becoming in increasing measure a partner in the fate of the rest of the world practically and theologically.

Change in ecumenical attitude. The council signified a break in the history of the relationship of the Catholic church both with other Christian churches and communities and with the non-Christian religions of the world. Naturally there were always contained in the faith consciousness of the church convictions that in principle legitimized the newly emerging relationship of the Catholic church with other Christian churches and communities and the non-Christian religions. But in the past these convictions had no effective impact. The theological grounds that legitimized this new breakthrough were already present in the past: the conviction of God's will for universal salvation in Christ and the doctrines of the possibility of justification without sacraments, of the implicit desire to belong to the church, and of the validity of baptism even outside the Catholic church, among others. This legacy, which is theologically self-evident and was always present, can give the impression that nothing has actually changed in the relationship between the church and the rest of humanity. But the Catholic theologian, in contrast to an all too naive nontheologian, cannot understand the new closeness and the positive relationship of the Christian confessions among themselves and the relationship of Christianity with the non-Christian religions as if serious differences, divisions, or tasks for unification do not exist. The Catholic theologian does not understand the Catholic church to be only a particular form of historical coincidence, which religious history or church history has produced among many other equally valid forms.

Christianity has always been convinced that there is a true history of revelation and faith in which the same thing does not just happen again and again but in which new and radical changes occur. Naturally, with the event of Jesus Christ there occurred an unsurpassable summit and irreversible stage of revelation history that should not be hidden or trivialized. Nonetheless, the council initiated a point of view that it ratified as truly Christian, namely, that Catholic Christianity had assumed a different and new position relative to other Christians and their churches and relative to the non-Christian religions of the world.

The crucial point in this ecumenical change of attitude, in the broadest sense, is that the extent and radicality of this change is hidden and rendered innocuous in our ordinary consciousness by a modern liberal and relativistic mentality that assumes *a priori* that such a new ecumenical openness and readiness to learn is banal and self-evident. It should not be denied that this modern liberal mentality was part of the climate in which the new ecumenical consciousness could grow for the first time. But this consciousness also and especially grew out of a genuinely Christian root; it is in itself Christian. It definitively leaves behind an older mentality that had been operative for a millennium and a half; moreover, it remains obligatory for the history of the church, like other great decisive moments of faith history.

Without denying the seeds of the future in the past, it is necessary to maintain that before the council the Catholic church considered the non-Roman Catholic churches and communities to be organizations and societies of people who differed with the old church only through errors and deficiencies and who ought to return to it in order to find in it the full truth and fullness of Christianity. From the point of view of the old attitude, the non-Christian religions were all forms of paganism, that is, religion that human beings, sinfully and without grace, produced on their own. (This was also the opinion of Martin Luther and Karl Barth.) It was not at all explicit in the actual consciousness of the church that the non-Catholic churches could bring with them in an ecumenical accord a positive legacy of Christian history into the one church of the future, or that the non-Christian religions could exercise in their institutionality a positive salvific function for non-Christian humanity. Those views were changed by Vatican II, and since then a position of acceptance can no longer be excluded, because it is understood not as an aspect of the liberal modern mentality but rather as an integral element of Christian conviction.

Universal optimism about salvation. Given the multifaceted nature of Augustine's theology, the following characterization may not do him justice in every respect. One may also not ignore the fact that the history of the church's faith consciousness has progressed by many small steps from Augustine to the present. But if one considers these limitations and that many historical causes have functioned as catalysts in the above-mentioned change of faith consciousness of the church, one can still say that Augustine inaugurated and gave to Christianity a consideration of world history in which, because of the incomprehensibility of God's providence, world history remained the history of the damned, of whom in the end only a few were saved through a rarely given grace of election. The world was dark for Augustine and only dimly illumined by the light of God's grace, the gratuitousness of which was manifested in its rarity. Even if Augustine knew that there were many in the church who seemed to be outside it, and vice versa, the circle of those who are to be saved was nearly the same as the group of those who believed explicitly in a Christian and ecclesiastical way. The rest, because of an incomprehensibly just judgment of God, were among the damned of humanity. On the whole, hell was the future of world history.

Augustine's pessimism about salvation was slowly reconstructed and transformed in the theoretical and existential consciousness of the church by an extremely painstaking process. The emerging optimism about salvation, consisting of insights acquired one by one, was viewed as limited only by the bad will of the individual, and even then it was hoped that the power of grace would once again transform this malice into free love for God. Until the council, however, the church had not yet actually ratified and taught these insights with dogmatic finality. It did teach, however, that even those who are convinced atheists are connected with the Easter mystery of Christ as long as they follow their consciences; moreover, all human beings who know God in some way are in touch with God's revelation and can, in the theological sense of a saving act, believe. The church through Vatican II declared that even those who search in shadows and images for the unknown God are not far from the true God who wills that all human beings be saved if only they make an effort to lead a righteous life. It was emphasized by the council that the church is not so much a society for those who are saved but the primary sacramental symbol and germination cell of salvation for the whole world.

One could say that the council's optimism about universal salvation remained hypothetical, that salvation could fail for individuals through unrepented guilt, and that, hypothetically, such optimism was the normal teaching of the church even before the council. It is true that the church, even after the council, does not proclaim universal reconciliation. It is likewise true that before the council the church already taught belief in a universal salvific will. But this preconciliar teaching was thought of very abstractly and was equipped with not a few "ifs" and "buts" that could no longer be maintained after the council. The council courageously postulated a real revelation and therefore a real possibility of faith where the Christian proclamation does not yet reach. It did not even consider a profession of atheism to be unequivocal proof of the hopelessness of salvation, which certainly did not agree with the traditional doctrine previous to the council. With its rejection of a *theoretical* doctrine of universal salvation, the church, in the council and in its practical attitude, proceeded from the principle that the grace of God is offered to a person's free choice and that in this freedom it is also universally effective. This attitude has naturally had a long developmental history. In Vatican II, however, it became clear and irreversible because such a hope can certainly grow, but it cannot actually any longer diminish.

The world church made its appearance as such in the council, and it says to the world, at once incomprehensibly and self-evidently, that in all the abysses of its history and all the darkness of its future this world is surrounded by God and God's will. In boundless love this God is self-communicated to the world as its ground, power, and goal. Out of such love, God assures the effectiveness of this offer to the freedom of history. In the council the church became new because it became a world church. As such, it proclaims to the world a message that, although it certainly has always been the heart of the message of Jesus, is proclaimed today more unconditionally and more courageously than before—and thus it is new. In both respects, in the proclaimer and in the message, something new has happened that is irreversible.

SEE ALSO Roman Catholicism; Trent, Council of.

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VATICAN COUNCILS: VATICAN II [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

Until Vatican II (1962–1965) pronouncements of the Catholic Church were deduced from objective truths expressed in essentialist, ahistorical language. In contrast, the sixteen documents of the Twentieth Ecumenical Council are marked by a sense of historicity. Analogously, before Vatican II, authority in the church was exercised in a monarchical manner. In the documents of Vatican II, collegiality and subsidiarity became hallmarks of authentic authority.

The Methodological Shift. Neither the implications of historicity for morality and doctrine nor a more inclusive understanding of the exercise of authority have run a smooth course since the close of the council. Nothing, however, that has transpired during that time remains unaffected by these two characteristics that permeated the council's deliberations. Indeed one's attitude toward the work of the council is most frequently dictated by one's acceptance or nonacceptance of the paradigm shift in ecclesial self-understanding occasioned by the twin concepts of historicity and shared authority. Further, developments in liturgical practice, more than in any other area, illustrate the interplay of historicity and authority.

Historicity. Common to modern philosophers of history and cultural anthropologists is the understanding that humans are shaped by the empirical, particular circumstances of their lives. Within these circumstances a set of meanings and values emerges that develops into particular cultures, which, because of their particularity, cannot claim absolute universality for their values. Cultures generate horizons in which participants of that culture live, think, ask questions and receive answers, seek meaning, perceive value, and create symbol systems. However, these cultures are not static. Due to various influences, they change and develop. Some would say cultures are open-ended and that the ever-receding horizon is God—a horizon, however, never reached. The Jesuit theologians Karl Rahner (1904–1984) and Bernard Lonergan (1904–1984) worked with this notion of horizon. If one adopts this position, one can speak of absolute truth only within a certain horizon. Human beings can know truth but never completely possess it. Indeed within this understanding truth is more a lure, urging individuals and communities to a fuller self-appropriation, than it is an object to be possessed.

This understanding of human history and culture profoundly influenced the documents of Vatican II and the theology developed from these documents. Pius XII's landmark encyclical *Divine Afflante Spiritu* (1943) marked the beginning of a new era in Catholic biblical studies, one marked by an acknowledgement of the historicity of sacred texts. However, not until after Vatican II and the promulgation of *Dei Verbum* (1965) were nonscholars introduced to new ways of appropriating the Scriptures and modern biblical scholarship found its way into seminaries. Consequently whole areas of doctrine, such as original sin, which had been based on a literal understanding of Scripture, had to be rethought.

Besides applying the concept of historicity to Scripture, theologians applied it to theology. Whereas most theologians would agree that truth may be unchanging, they would also stipulate that it is expressed in historically conditioned categories and that, as history and culture change and develop, so do doctrines. This profoundly affected the study of Christology. As Elizabeth Johnson has pointed out, the emphasis on the historicity of Jesus, coupled with the fifteenth centenary anniversary of the Council of Chalcedon (451 CE), opened a whole new corpus of reflections on the humanity of Jesus and its relation to divinity. If Jesus was historically conditioned, so were his life choices and teachings and so was the founding of the church.

Once historicity has been accepted as a category or lens through which one looks at the dogmas of faith, the entire symbol system is open to reinterpretation. The hierarchy—those entrusted with the authentic passing on of the faith—often equates historicity with the danger of relativism. As philosophers and theologians have pointed out, historicity is not antithetical to truth, nor does it necessarily result in relativism. The relation between historicity and relativism remains, however, a principal focus of magisterial concern.

Of special concern to the hierarchy is the preservation of the teachings that Jesus is the universal savior of humankind and that Christianity is not simply one great religion among others. The Vatican II document on the church, *Lumen Gentium* (1964), spoke to both issues. Concerning the latter, it invited a renewed discussion of interfaith dialogue with its striking but somewhat ambiguous statement that truth subsisted (*subsistit*) in the Catholic Church while inviting the faithful to discover the truth in other religions. Pontiff John Paul II, following in the footsteps of John XXIII, has been particularly open to Christian-Jewish relations. He has, however, at the same time been extremely cautious in accepting any account of the salvific quality of religions, which would, in his opinion, relativize the absolute role of Christ. Various of his writings have addressed this issue. Notable among them are *Redemptor Homines* (1979) and *Ecclesia Asia* (1999), which was a response to the Synod of Asian Bishops and their attempt to enter into dialogue with indigenous and world religions in their respective areas.

AUTHORITY. It is perhaps in the area of authority that the church reveals its deepest frustration. This is not unexpected and perhaps unavoidable. Although the council enunciated the principals of collegiality and subsidiarity, it retained as fundamental its hierarchical structure. For example, *Lumen Gentium* (21–23) specified that bishops receive their authority from Christ, not from the pope, and that the universal church results from the union of local churches. It further stated that the pope and bishops form a college of discourse. Yet bishops may not exercise their authority without the approbation of the pope, but there is no imperative that the pope consult the bishops. This situation represents a clash of concepts regarding the exercise of authority. What was intended as a complement to Vatican I's promulgation of papal infallibility remains a source of frustration because of its conceptual ambiguity.

Subsidiarity, the principal that decisions and actions should occur at the lowest possible level of authority and competence, is vexed by the same concern. The fathers of the council clearly had in mind a new model of leadership, but their trust that the ambiguities resulting from the document's conflicting models of authority would be resolved in the life of the church was overly optimistic.

Symbolic of this and bringing together the various issues relative to authority is the 1968 encyclical of Paul VI, *Humanae Vitae*. In this encyclical Paul VI restated the traditional prohibition of artificial birth control although the majority of members of a panel of experts constituted by him, consisting of scientists and theologians, clergy and laity, advised him to do otherwise. This event marked a crisis of papal authority because many laity and moral theologians dissented from this teaching, something nearly unthinkable before Vatican II. To stem the increasing occurrences of dissent on this and other issues, the Vatican commissioned *The Catechism of the Catholic Church,* which was published in 1994. This publication offers the official teaching of the Catholic Church in all areas of faith and morals.

Christus Dominus (1965), *The Decree on the Pastoral Office in the Church*, provided for regional synods of bishops to address particular questions of their cultures and jurisdictions. In 1968 the bishops of Latin America met in Medellín, Colombia, and from this meeting liberation theology was born. This must be ranked among the most far-reaching effects of the council. Liberation theology is based on the premise that the appropriation of the gospel's message of the Kingdom of God implies the responsibility of the church, actualized in local communities, to seek not only the spiritual but also the material welfare of its members.

Liberation theology recognized too the systemic nature of sin and advocated a more just distribution of the world's goods. Often a Marxist economical analysis (although not a Marxist ideology) was applied to an oppressive situation. This use of Marxist economic categories raised the suspicions of ecclesial authorities. Although warnings were issued, liberation theology was never condemned by John Paul II. Born on Latin soil and addressing issues of the materially oppressed, liberation theology also gave impetus to the liberation movements of women, African Americans, and other marginalized groups. The fundamental option for the poor voiced by these liberation theologians has remained the motif of those movements throughout the world that strive for social justice.

LITURGY. Modifications in liturgical rites, especially the Eucharist, are the most notable results of the council and have affected the laity more than most other outcomes of the council. The changes in the liturgy also illustrate the ancient maxim, *Lex orandi, lex credendi* (as the church prays, so the church believes). Most conspicuous of these transformations are the celebration of Mass in the vernacular, the change from the celebrant facing the altar to facing the people, receiving the sacred host in one's hand rather than on the tongue, receiving the consecrated wine, and the incorporation of the laity into the ritual, including the introduction of lay lectors and lay ministers of the Eucharist into the celebration.

These changes bespeak a new ecclesiology that stresses the communion that exists among the members of the church and the fact that the priest leads the congregation rather than acts as a mediator between God and the assembly. These modifications also lessen the mystique that previously surrounded the celebrant as well as the emphasis on the distinction between the ordained and the laity. The architecture that characterized most churches constructed in the first few years after the council also emphasized these ecclesiological changes. Many of these were churches in the round, with the pews surrounding the altar. Except for statues of Mary and Joseph and perhaps the patron saint of the community, there was an absence of statues. This was to emphasize the centrality of Christ and direct the congregation's attention to the celebration of his mysteries in the Eucharistic observance. Consequent on this new emphasis, there was a great reduction in the number of private devotions such as novenas and the public recitation of the rosary.

It is in regard to the liturgy that the magisterium exercises the most caution and control. As lay persons become more involved in ministry, at times out of necessity, the Vatican has found it necessary to institute regulations that emphasize the difference in kind between clergy and laity. Any modifications initiated by the local church, including the use of inclusive language, must be approved by Rome, and that approval is difficult to obtain. Rahner had great hope that the Roman Church would finally become a world church. This, he said, would involve not only the celebration of the liturgy in the vernacular but the liturgy's being celebrated in the cultural idiom of a particular people. The Roman Church insists on the translation of the Roman liturgy into the vernacular. In the spirit of Rahner, one must ask if one must put on the mind-set of a white European male to embrace Catholicism.

Lumen Gentium declared that all persons were called to the perfection of love. For the first time in centuries the vocations of married couples and single men and women were regarded as having the same potential for holiness as those called to priesthood and religious life. A perhaps unforeseen consequence partially accounted for by this teaching was a vast exodus of men and women from consecrated life. Coupled with a great decrease in the numbers of those embracing such a life, the church is facing a dilemma in how to provide the Eucharist for the faithful. Paul VI in his declaration *Inter Insigniores* (1976) declared that women could not be admitted to ministerial priesthood. This position has been even more forcefully stated by John Paul II. Both Paul VI and John Paul II have restated the dedication of the Roman Church to the discipline of mandatory celibacy. This issue of who may preside at the Eucharist remains a central point of contention among the magisterium, theologians, and laity, especially as the number of priests continues to decline. The same may be said for the issue of optional celibacy. Perhaps the questions of ordination and celibacy, more than many others, illustrate the crisis resulting from the clash of cognitive viewpoints and the tension that sometimes characterizes the relationships among the pope, theologians, and laity since Vatican Council II.

SEE ALSO Liberation Theology; Lonergan, Bernard; Priesthood, overview article; Rahner, Karl; Roman Catholicism.

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VEDĀṄGAS. Vedāṅgas (Sanskrit, "limbs of the Veda") are subjects supplementary and subsidiary to the Vedas, the sacred texts of the pre-Hindu religion of ancient India. While the earliest sections of the Vedas date back to at least 1000 BCE, and probably earlier, the first works classified as Vedāṅga were composed not before the sixth or seventh centuries BCE, and the initial appearance of much of the classic literature of this genre is usually dated to no earlier than the fifth and fourth centuries BCE.

The Vedāṅgas are those subjects that were to be studied in order to correctly understand the Vedas and perform the rituals those texts enjoin. The texts categorized as Vedāṅgas are in the form of technical treatises written in the extremely condensed, aphoristic, and mnemonic style known as *sūtra* (literally "thread," referring to the idea that each aphorism is woven together with the others into a whole rather than tied sequentially into a linear chain). Because of the brevity and concision of their prose style, these works require further explication on the part of a teacher or through written commentary.

Although clearly appendages to the sacred Vedas, the Vedāṅgas were among the earliest texts to be categorized as *smṛti,* that is, "remembered" or traditional texts passed on from teacher to pupil and ultimately traceable back to a human author. While thus differentiated from the absolutely authoritative Vedas (which were classified as "revealed" or *śruti,* and regarded as not being the product of human beings), the Vedāṅgas are nevertheless often treated as approximating, if not fully equaling, the status of the Vedas themselves. The Vedāṅgas are, as one scholar has said, "at the same time without and within the Veda."

The Vedas and Vedāṅgas depict a religion entirely concerned with the performance, meaning, and implications of ritual and fire sacrifice. But as opposed to the often loosely structured hymns, myths, and speculative prose characteristic of the Vedas per se, the Vedāṅgas are precise, rationally and systematically organized, and highly technical.

The subjects covered in the six primary Vedāṅgas—ritual action *(kalpa),* grammar *(vyākaraṇa),* phonology or phonetics *(śikṣā),* prosody *(chandas),* etymology *(nirukta),* and astrology and astronomy *(jyotiṣa)*—all emerged out of necessities related to correct ritual performance. In this sense it can be said that all the earliest sciences of ancient India spring from ritual (and not, as in ancient Greece, for example, from mathematics). The Kalpasūtras are directly concerned with the rules for the correct performance of the ritual acts. Grammar, phonology, prosody, and etymology originated in order to ensure the proper and exact preservation and recitation of the Vedic *mantras* (inherently powerful verbal spells) that were an essential part of the performance of the ritual. And the science of *jyotiṣa* came into being to guarantee precision in the calculations for accurately timing the occurrences of the various rituals.

The Vedāṅgas, then, are "limbs" of the Vedas in that they help one correctly preserve, understand, and apply the material in those sacred texts. It is said in later texts that grammar is the mouth of the Vedas, etymology is its ears, ritual procedure is its hands, phonetics is its nose, prosody its feet, and astronomy/astrology its eyes.

Of the six primary Vedāṅgas, phonetics or Śikṣā (literally meaning "the study" or "teaching") is usually listed first and is regarded as the most important. Because the Vedas were preserved and transmitted orally, rules for precise pronunciation were crucial for maintaining the accuracy and integrity of the texts. Phonetics emerged as the first branch of linguistics, and its categories—*sound, accent, quantity, articulation, recital,* and *connection*—were fundamental for the subsequent development of linguistic studies. Important works on phonetics were composed by Pāṇini, Nārada, Vyāsa, and others.

Vyākaraṇa ("distinction," "separation") is so termed because grammar distinguishes roots, suffixes, and prefixes: it is the science that analyzes the parts and structure of a word and the method for such divisions. It also explains how correct words and sentences are formed from basic elements so that the intended meaning is clearly expressed, and is therefore also a crucial science for both the preservation and the understanding of the Vedas. Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (Eight chapters) is the foundational text on grammar, along with important commentaries by Kātyāyanīputra (Kātyāyana) and Patañjali.

Chandas, or prosody, is the Vedāṅga that gives rules for the various meters in which the Vedas are recited, and lays out their classification and characteristics. The meters are divided into fourteen types ranging from those with twenty-four letters (the *gāyatrī*) to those with seventy-six. The word *chandas* is sometimes used a synonym for Vedic speech itself, as opposed to common language *(bhāṣā).*

According to tradition, there were originally some fourteen works of etymology included in the Vedāṅga designated *Nirukta.* Only one of these survives. The sole extant representative of the Vedāṅga dealing with etymology is the *Nirukta* by Yāska (dated ca. 500 BCE), which is a commentary on an older work (called the *Nighantu*) consisting of lists, groupings, and synonyms of words from the *Ṛgveda.* Yāska provides etymologies for these words and explanations of the stanzas from the *Ṛgveda* in which they occur. In the *Nirukta,* Yāska says he composed his text to insure that the correct meaning of the Veda is preserved even as people's abilities decline the further removed they are from the time of the original seers, who "heard" the Veda with direct intuitive insight. Without the aid of etymology, Yāska claims, the meaning of the Veda cannot be properly determined.

Vedic rituals were performed regularly at the various "junctures" of time: sunrise and sunset, the advent of new and full moons, the turn of the seasons, and the beginning of the new year. The ancient Indian science of astronomy developed out of the need for exact computations of the proper times for performing those rituals. Additionally, works on this subject also address what we would label astrology: the casting of horoscopes and predictions made on the basis of the location of the planets and stars, which helped the specialist adduce the most auspicious times for important events.

Finally, the Vedāṅga called *Kalpa* (from the Sanskrit root meaning "to prepare, design, arrange, or accomplish") consists of the rules and procedures for the actual performance of rituals. Kalpasūtras were produced by different ritual schools attached to one or another of the Vedas and are named after their mythical or semi-mythical founders (e.g., Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, etc.). A full Kalpasūtra consists of four principal components. First, there is the Śrautasūtra, which deals with the rules for performing the most complex rituals of the Vedic repertoire. Next comes the Gṛhyasūtra, which lays out the injunctions governing performance of the simpler "domestic" or household rituals. Third is the Dharmasūtra, which extends the reach of ruled, ritualized behavior to ethics and purity as they pertain to nearly every sector of daily life. Finally, a complete Kalpasūtra will also contain a Śulbasūtra that gives the rules of measurement for the construction of ritual altars. From this last component developed the Indian sciences of geometry, trigonometry, and algebra.

In addition to these six primary Vedāṅgas, four secondary "limbs" *(upāṅgas)* to Vedic literature are also sometimes listed: history *(purāṇa),* logic *(nyāya),* ritual exegesis *(mimamsa),* and teachings on religious duty *(dharmaśāstra).* To this list of four Vedas, six Vedāṅgas, and four Upāṅgas are added four so-called "secondary Vedas" *(upavedas)*—medicine *(āyurveda),* the science of archery *(dhanurveda),* musicology *(gandharvaveda),* and political science *(arthaśāstra)*—to complete the list of eighteen divisions of the literature of the "orthodox" tradition stemming from the Vedas.

SEE ALSO Nyāya; Purāṇas; Śāstra Literature; Sūtra Literature.

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VEDĀNTA. The word *vedānta* literally means "end [*anta*] of the Veda," that is to say, the concluding part of the *apauruṣeya,* or revealed Vedic literature, which is traditionally believed to comprise the Saṃhitās, the Brāhmaṇas, the Āraṇyakas, and the Upaniṣads. Vedānta thus primarily denotes the Upaniṣads and their teachings. Metaphorically, Vedānta is also understood to represent the consummation or culmination (*anta*) of the entire Vedic speculation, or indeed of all knowledge (*veda*). The Hindu philosophical tradition, however, generally recognizes three foundations (*prasthāna*s, literally, "points of departure") of Vedānta, namely, the Upaniṣads, the *Bhagavadgītā,* and the *Brahma Sūtra.* Of these three, the *Bhagavadgītā,* which primarily deals with the problems of social ethics, and which attempts a kind of religio-philosophical synthesis, can hardly be characterized as a strictly Vedantic treatise. Historically, one may speak of three periods of Vedānta—the creative period represented by the Upaniṣads, the period of systematization and harmonization of the Upaniṣadic teachings represented by the *Brahma Sūtra,* and the period of exposition, elaboration, and diversification represented by the commentaries on the *Brahma Sūtra,* the commentaries on those commentaries, and many independent treatises. The traditional grounding of Vedānta is thus consistently emphasized, it being implied that Vedānta is largely an exercise in scriptural exegesis rather than an independent philosophical formulation.

UPANIṢADS. More than two hundred texts call themselves Upaniṣads, but they include even such recent works as the *Christopaniṣad* and the *Allopaniṣad.* The *Muktikopaniṣad* gives a traditional list of 108 *Upaniṣads,* but, even out of these, many texts seem to have been called Upaniṣads only by courtesy. Usually 13 Upaniṣads, namely, *Iśa, Kena, Kaṭha, Praśna, Muṇḍada, Māṇḍūkya, Taittirīya, Aitareya, Chāndogya, Bṛhadāraṇyaka, Svetāśvatara, Kauṣītaki,* and *Maitrāyaṇī,* are regarded as the principal Upaniṣads (eighth to fourth century BCE). They are traditionally connected with one Vedic school (*śākhā*) or another, and several of them actually form part of a larger literary complex.

The Upaniṣads do not, by any means, constitute a systematic philosophical treatise. They rather represent the fearless quest for truth by essentially uninhibited minds. They seek, among other things, to investigate the ultimate reality "from which, verily, these beings are born, by which, when born, they live, and into which, when departing, they enter" (*Taittirīya Upaniṣad* 3.1.1), to delve into the mystery of the *ātman* "by whom one knows all this" but whom one cannot know by the usual means of knowledge (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 4.5.15), and generally to promote "that instruction by which the unheard becomes heard, the unperceived becomes perceived, and the unknown becomes known" (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 6.1.3). It is true that the Upaniṣads arose out of a kind of intellectual and social revolt against the closed mechanical sacerdotalism sponsored by the Brāhmaṇas. But the Upaniṣadic teachers soon realized that the ultimate reality could not be comprehended through mere logical reasoning, for "words return [from it] along with the mind, not attaining it" (*Taittirīya Upaniṣad* 2.9.1). "Not by reasoning is this apprehension attainable," they declared (*Kaṭha Upaniṣad* 1.2.4). It is accordingly seen that the Upaniṣads present only the results of their speculation without making much ado about the logical processes, if any, which lead to those results. For the Upaniṣads the true consummation of all knowledge lies in the direct experience of the ultimate reality.

The Upaniṣads, however, presuppose a certain development of thought. The origin of some of their doctrines can be traced back to the *Ṛgveda,* or in certain cases, even to the pre-Vedic non-Aryan thought complex. It will also be seen that, from the methodological as well as from the conceptual point of view, the Upaniṣads owe not a little to the Brāhmaṇas, as a reaction against which they were largely brought into existence. The word *upaniṣad* is usually understood in the sense of esoteric teachings imparted by the teacher to his pupils who sit (*sad*) near (*upa*) him in a closed exclusive group (*ni*). But literally the word would rather seem to denote "placing side by side; equivalence, correlation," and then, secondarily, doctrines taught through equivalences or correlations. In a sense, the Upaniṣads represent an extension of the tendency of the Brāhmaṇas toward *bandhutā,* that is, toward perpetually establishing equivalences between entities and powers apparently belonging to different levels and to different spheres. It is, of course, inevitable that there should be no uniformity of method and teaching in such composite and heterogeneous texts as the Upaniṣads, but there certainly is a definite uniformity of purpose and outlook in them.

The Upaniṣads clearly betray a trend toward inwardization and spiritualization, which presumably has its origin in their general aversion for the physical body and sensual experience (*Maitrī Upaniṣad* 1.3). The Upaniṣadic teachers have consistently emphasized the view that the essential or real self (*ātman*) has to be differentiated from the empirical or embodied self (*jīva*). Indeed, true philosophical knowledge consists in not confusing the one for the other. This teaching is very well brought out in the famous parable from the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (8.7–12), in which Prajāpati is seen leading Indra progressively on the path of true knowledge and ending with the final instruction that the essential Self is different from and transcends the embodied self in its conditions of wakefulness, dream, and deep sleep. The essential Self is of the nature of pure self-consciousness. It is neither the knower nor the known nor the act of knowing, though this last necessarily presupposes the existence and direct awareness of the essential Self. The essential Self does exist—it is *sat* (existence)—but not in any particular form; it is pure *sat,* that is to say, it is of the nature of existence *as such.* It is also conscious, but not of any particular object, internal or external; it is pure *cit* (consciousness), that is to say, it is of the nature of consciousness *as such.*

In another significant analysis of the human personality (*Taittirīya Upaniṣad* 2.2.5), the Upaniṣadic teacher proceeds from the grosser to the subtler forms of the Self, it being implied that each succeeding subtler and more internal form is more real and essential than the preceding one. He there speaks of the physical form (*annamāyā*), the vital form (*prāṇamāyā*) which inheres within the physical form, the mental form (*manomāyā*) which inheres within the vital form, the form of consciousness (*vijñānamāyā*) which inheres within the mental form, and finally concludes by affirming that within the form of consciousness inheres the subtlest and the most internal, and, therefore, the most real and the most essential form, namely, the form of bliss (*ānandamāyā*). The essential Self is thus pure existence (*sat*), pure consciousness (*cit*), and pure bliss (*ānanda*).

Side by side with the analysis of the human personality, the Upaniṣadic thinker has attempted an analysis of the external world as well. The thinker has thereby arrived at the conclusion that at the basis of this gross, manifold, changing phenomenal world—which ultimately is a conglomeration of mere names and forms—there lies one single, uniform, eternal, immutable, sentient reality (see, e.g., *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 6.1). The natural and logical next step is to identify the deepest level of the subjective person, namely, the essential Self (*ātman*), with the ultimate basis of the objective universe, namely, the cosmic reality (*brahman,* also called *sat*). The world appearance or the relation of the world to *brahman* are not major concerns in the Upaniṣads.

The Upaniṣads have not developed any epistemology. Nor have they enunciated any ethical system as such. They are more or less exclusively concerned with the ideal of *mokṣa,* or humanity's release from its involvement in the phenomenal world and its realization of the identity of its essential self with the cosmic reality. Even the doctrine of *karman* has not been systematically elaborated in the early Upaniṣads. It is regarded as something not to be spoken of openly (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 3.2.13). As for the doctrine of rebirth, its first clear indications are seen in a passage of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (6.2.15–16), where it is mentioned as one of three eschatological alternatives.

BRAHMASŪTRAS. For various reasons, the period immediately following the major Upaniṣads marked a kind of break in the continuity of Brahmanic thought and tradition. But it proved to be only an interregnum. Soon a vigorous and comprehensive cultural movement was set in motion that sought to resuscitate the Brahmanic way of life and thought by reorganizing, systematizing, simplifying, and popularizing it. The literary monuments of this movement were generally clothed in a practical literary form, namely, the *sūtra*s, or aphorisms, that were defined as being at once brief but unambiguous and to the point. By their very nature, the Upaniṣadic teachings, which were often sheer flashes of spiritual radiance rather than coherent philosophical formulations, were characterized by inherent ambiguities, inconsistencies, and contradictions. In order that they should prove reasonably meaningful, it was necessary to systematize and, more particularly, to harmonize them. This is exactly what the *Brahma Sūtra* (also called *Vedānta Sūtra* or *Uttara-mīmāṃ Sūtra*) of Bādarāyaṇa (third to second century BCE) attempted to do.

Apparently, the *Brahma Sūtra* was not the only work of this kind, for Bādarāyaṇa mentions several predecessors, as, for example, Ātreya, Āśmarathya, Kāśakṛtsna, and Jaimini. Little is known about the writings of these teachers except for Jaimini, who is believed to have been the author of the *Pūrva-mimāṃsa Sūtra.* The literary form of the *Brahma Sūtra* no doubt eminently suited its original purpose; in the course of time, however, it inevitably rendered the *sūtras* multivocal. By themselves they could hardly be made to yield any cogent philosophical teaching. Yet it seems that the *Brahma Sūtra* favors a kind of *bhedābheda,* or doctrine of distinction-*cum*-nondistinction. The world is represented as a transformation of the potency of God, God himself remaining unaffected and transcendent in the process. Hardly any of Bādarāyaṇa's *sūtra*s can be shown to be unequivocally nondualistic in purport. It also seems that the *Brahma Sūtra* is specifically disposed against Sāṃkhya dualism and Mīmāṃsā ritualism. But after all, the Vedānta of the *Brahma Sūtra* is what the different commentators have chosen to derive from them. Indeed, each commentator exploits Bādarāyaṇa's work to develop his own peculiar thesis with a relentless vertical consistency regardless of the consequences such a procedure may have on collateral issues.

GAUḌAPĀDA. The earliest complete extant commentary on the *Brahma Sūtra* is that of Śaṅkara (788–820 CE). But in his thinking Śaṅkara is more vitally influenced by Gauḍapāda (fifth to sixth century) than by Bādarāyaṇa. It is true that the doctrine of *bhedābheda* and, to a certain extent, the Yoga of Patañjali provide the technical framework for Śaṅkara's philosophy, but it is the uncompromising nondualism reclaimed by Gauḍapāda from the Upaniṣads that Śaṅkara strongly vindicates, though he never goes so far in the direction of phenomenalism as does Gauḍapāda.

Gauḍapāda is traditionally believed to have been the teacher of Śaṅkara's teacher Govinda, although there is clear evidence that he must have lived at least three centuries before Śaṅkara. True to the usual practice of Hindu thinkers, Gauḍapāda has set forth his philosophy in his commentary, in the form of *kārikā*s or memorial verses. The *Gauḍapādakārikā* constitutes the earliest treatise on absolute nondualism (*kevala advaita*). The very names of the four books that make up the work—namely, *Āgama* (Scripture), *Vaitathya* (Unreality of the World Experience), *Advaita* (Nondualism), and *Alātaśānti* (Extinction of the Revolving Firebrand)—bring out the entire teaching of Gauḍapāda in a nutshell. The first book the *Gauḍapādakārikā,* which alone is directly related to the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad,* deals with the self in its four states: wakefulness, dream, deep sleep, and the "fourth" state (*turīya*), identified with *mokṣa.* In the second book, Gauḍapāda for the first time asserts that the world does not exist in reality, but that "the Self (*ātman*) apparently creates the self by the self" through its own *māyā* and cognizes various things (*Gauḍapādakārikā* 2.12). In other words, the world subsists in *ātman* through *māyā.* The third book teaches that duality does not exist in reality. Just as space (*ākāśa*), which is without duality, is manifested as portions of space, such as the space enclosed in a pot (*ghaṭākāśa*), so too is the Self manifested as *jīva*s. Similarly, just as when the pot is destroyed the space that it had enclosed merges into *ākāśa,* so too do *jīva*s merge into the Self. In reality no *jīva* is ever born. The fourth book speaks of the two standpoints—*saṃvṛti,* or the practical standpoint, and *paramārtha,* or the highest standpoint—and of the three stages in understanding, namely, *laukika* ("ordinary"), in which both objects and a subject are cognized as real; *śuddha laukika* ("purified ordinary"), in which perceiving itself, but not the objects of perception, is cognized as real; and *lokottara* ("supramundane") in which neither objects nor perceiving is cognized. This section emphasizes that consciousness (*vijñāna*) alone is real, though it may appear in various guises as objects with beginnings and ends, movements, and so on. It is analogous to a revolving firebrand that appears as a fiery hoop; in the same way *vijñāna,* when it flickers, appears as both perceiver and perceived.

There can be hardly any doubt about the strong Buddhist influence on Gauḍapāda's thought. The Buddhist terminology used in books two to four is quite unmistakable. One may leave aside such questions as whether Gauḍapāda himself was a Buddhist, or whether the authorship of all four books belongs to him, yet the *Gauḍapādakārikā* creates an irresistible impression that the Buddhist Śūnyavāda and the Vijñānavāda schools present philosophical positions that are in no small measure consistent with those presented by the major classical Upaniṣads.

ŚAṄKARA. Śaṅkara is by far the most outstanding and the most widely known exponent of Vedānta, particularly of the doctrine of absolute nonduality (Kevala Advaita). Many works pass as having been written by him, but among the philosophical works that can be ascribed to him with reasonable certainty are the commentaries on nine Upaniṣads; the commentaries on the *Brahma Sūtra,* the *Bhagavadgītā,* the *Gauḍapādakārikā,* the *Yogasūtra-bhāṣya,* and the *Adhyātmapaṭala* of the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra;* and the *Upadeśasahāśrī* (with its nineteen verse tracts and three prose tracts). Some scholars have suggested that Śaṅkara was originally an adherent of Pātañjala Yoga and only later became an Advaitin. His background of theism and a kind of doctrine of distinction-*cum*-nondistinction, though not directly discernible, may also be validly assumed. But it is clearly Gauḍapāda who influenced Śaṅkara's teachings the most. Many of Śaṅkara's doctrines, illustrations, and arguments are clearly anticipated by Gauḍapāda, though in rather extreme forms. Indeed, in his teachings Śaṅkara may be said to have represented Guadapada's philosophy without its overtones of Buddhist Vijñānavāda and Śūnyavāda.

Śaṅkara's philosophy, like most Indian philosophy, is oriented toward the one practical aim of *mokṣa,* which implies liberation from suffering and regaining of the original state of bliss. It is based on *śruti* (scripture), especially the Upaniṣads, rather than on *tarka* (logical reasoning), which according to Śaṅkara belongs to the realm of *avidyā.* Śaṅkara takes for granted the validity of the Upaniṣads as an embodiment of the highest truth, and uses logic either to support his interpretation of the Upaniṣads or to refute other systems of thought. In his commentary on the *Brahma Sūtra* he seeks to harmonize the apparently contradictory teachings of the Upaniṣads through the assumption of two points of view, the ultimate (*pāramārthika*) and the contingent (*vyāvahārika*). He has obviously inherited this device of argumentation from Gauḍapāda. Indeed, it is in the many portions of his commentary that do not relate directly to the text of the *Sūtra* (that is, in the *utsūtra* discussions) that one gets glimpses of Śaṅkara's original philosophical contribution.

The main plank of Śaṅkara's philosophy is the belief in the unity of all being and the denial of the reality of the many particular entities in the universe. Reality is that which is one without a second, which is not determined by anything else, which is not sublated at any point of time, which transcends all distinctions, to which the familiar categories of thought are inapplicable, and which can be only intuitively realized. Such is *brahman* of Śaṅkara's Advaita. Śaṅkara's most distinctive contribution is the philosophical and dialectical development of the concept of *brahman* as without qualities (*nirguṇa*). *Nirguṇa brahman* is not to be understood as "void" or "blank"; it only signifies that nothing that the mind can think of can be attributed to it. *Sat* (pure, unqualified being), *cit* (pure consciousness), and *ānanda* (pure bliss), which are often affirmed of *brahman,* are not qualifying attributes of *brahman* but rather together constitute the essential nature of *brahman.*

Śaṅkara's main problem is how to reconcile the Upaniṣadic accounts of creation and the Upaniṣadic denial of plurality. He resolves it by pointing out that the world belongs to a level of being that is different from that of reality, namely, the level of appearance. The world (*jagat*) may be regarded as the imaginary translation of *brahman*—which is the only reality in the ultimate sense—to the space-time plane. The world is grounded in *brahman* as the illusory appearance of a serpent is grounded in a rope. The causal relationship between *brahman* and *jagat* is of the nature of *vivarta* ("manifestation, appearance"), which is to be clearly distinguished from *pariṇāma* ("evolution, transformation"). The ultimate reality that is one does not *become* many; it can only *appear* as many. *Jagat* is thus not absolutely real, for the experience of the world with its diversity of particular phenomena is sublated by realization of the one ultimate reality; but it is also not absolutely unreal, for until the world appearance is sublated by true knowledge it does possess empirical viability. Śaṅkara propounds a kind of phenomenalism without any suggestion of either nihilism or subjective idealism.

The world appearance, according to Śaṅkara's absolute nondualism, is the result of *avidyā* ("nescience"), which is a radical constitutive adjunct of the embodied self (*jīva*). *Avidyā* not only conceals (*avaraṇa*) the true nature of *brahman* but it also distorts (*vikṣepa*) it, so that *brahman,* for the time being, appears as the phenomenal world. The oneness of *brahman* experience is made to give way to the multiple experience of the world of names and forms. Viewed from yet another angle, the world is described as the result of *māyā.* If *avidyā* represents the weakness of *jīva, māyā* represents the potency imagined of *brahman* for cosmological purpose. It is by means of *māyā* that *brahman,* or rather the empirically posited creative aspect of *brahman* that is referred to as *saguṇa brahman* (God), produces the illusion of the world. It is emphasized, however, that *māyā* does not constitute a duality with *brahman,* that it does not affect *brahman,* and that it is not a permanent character of *brahman,* for when, as the result of true knowledge, the world appearance vanishes, *māyā* also vanishes and only pure *nirguṇa brahman* remains as the ultimate reality. In a sense, *māyā* and *avidyā* may be regarded as the two sides of the same coin.

The "why" of *avidyā* is, however, beyond comprehension. One, indeed, finds oneself in *avidyā.* For *jīva* is the Self (*ātman*), who, under the influence of *avidyā,* which is beginningless, has forgotten his essential identity with the one ultimate reality, namely, *brahman.* Like the world, *jīva* also is empirically real albeit transcendentally unreal; but whereas with the dawn of true knowledge the world completely vanishes, *jīva* sheds its body and other appurtenances occasioned by *avidyā* and regains its essential nature, namely, identity with *brahman.*

Śaṅkara has not developed any significant epistemology. Nor has he specifically discussed any ethical issues. He seems to take the observance of *dharma* in the phenomenal world for granted. For him the four prerequisites for *brahman* realization are discrimination between the eternal and the temporal, renunciation of nonspiritual desires, moral equipment, consisting of tranquility, self-control, and so forth, and an intense longing for *mokṣa.* Śaṅkara's personality is, in many respects, paradoxical. While strongly advocating the doctrine of Kevala Advaita, he is believed to have composed some very beautiful and moving hymns; while sponsoring a life of complete renunciation, he is himself known to have traveled almost the whole length and breadth of India as an active religious missionary with a view to founding *maṭhas* (monasteries) for the propagation of his teachings.

POST-ŚAṄKARA TEACHERS OF KEVALA ADVAITA. The school of Śaṅkara's Kevala Advaita can boast of a long line of teachers and pupils who through their writings have brought tremendous popularity to that school. Some of them have reinforced Śaṅkara's teachings with keen dialectic, some others have elaborated certain specific aspects of those teachings, while still others have presented those teachings in the form of more practical compendia. Again, some of Śaṅkara's followers have given a significant twist to the original doctrines of the great master and are, therefore, credited with having founded more or less independent subschools of Advaita.

Maṇḍana Miśra was a contemporary, perhaps a senior contemporary, of Śaṅkara. He was originally a Mīmāṃsaka and had written several treatises on Mīmāṃsā. But later he became an Advaitin. His *Brahmasiddhi* shows that he is directly influenced by Śaṅkara's philosophy. Indeed, there is a strong tradition—which is, however, equally strongly contested—that identifies Maṇḍana Miśra with Śaṅkara's pupil Sureśvara. Maṇḍana Miśra emphasizes that it is the *jīva*s who by their own individual *avidyā* create for themselves the world appearance on the changeless *brahman;* he discountenances the theory that the world originates from the *māyā* of *brahman.* Tradition is unanimous in holding that Sureśvara was a direct pupil of Śaṅkara. Sureśvara's *vārttika* on Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* is one of the longest philosophical treatises extant in Sanskrit. Its introductory part, called *Saṃbandha-vārttika,* deals with the relationship between the two sections of the Veda, the ritualistic and the spiritualistic. Sureśvara is also the author of the *vārttika* on Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* and of an independent Vedantic treatise called *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi.* Some of the important points made by Sureśvara are that ritual action is in no way helpful to attainment of *mokṣa;* that *māyā* is only an aperture (*dvāra*) through which the one *brahman* appears as many; that *avidyā* is based not upon *jīva*s but upon pure *cit* itself; and that there is no reason to characterize the world as unreal before realization of the oneness of *ātman.*

Padmapāda is believed to have been the first pupil of Śaṅkara, and was, according to a tradition, nominated by the master as the first pontiff of the *maṭha* at Puri. His only available work, though called *Pañcapādikā* ("gloss [or *ṭikā*] on five quarters"), actually consists only of the *ṭikā* on Śaṅkara's commentary on the first four *sūtra*s of the *Brahmasūtras.* Padmapāda invests *māyā* with a sort of substantiality and also assigns to it cognitive as well as vibratory activity. *Brahman* in association with *māyā* as characterized by this twofold activity is, according to Padmapāda, the root cause of *jagat,* while *avidyā* manifests itself in *jīva.*

It is, however, Vācaspati (fl. 841), author of the *Bhāmatī,* a commentary on Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Brahmasūtras,* who may be said to have founded an independent subschool of Śaṅkara's Vedānta. Vācaspati has sought to merge the teachings of Śaṅkara and Maṇḍana Miśra into one system. He propounds the view that *avidyā* has *brahman* as its object (*viṣaya*) and *jīva* as its support (*āśraya*). The *Saṅkṣepaśārīraka* of Sarvajñātmamuni (tenth century), a pupil of Sureśvara, is a popular treatise in verse on the main teachings of Śaṅkara. Sarvajñātman asserts that *brahman* is the ultimate cause of everything through the instrumentality of *avidyā.* Like the Bhāmatī subschool of Advaita, Prākaśātman (fl. 1200) inaugurated another independent subschool—the Vivaraṇa subschool—through his *Vivaraṇa* (exposition) of Padmapāda's *Pañcapādikā.* Prākaśātman endorses the view of Sarvajñātman that *brahman* is both the support and the object of *avidyā.* While in respect of *jīva* the Bhāmatī subschool puts forth the doctrine of limitation (*avaccheda*), the Vivaraṇa subschool puts forth the doctrine of reflection (*pratibimba*). The *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya* of Śrīharṣa (fl. 1190) is a Vedantic dialectic against Nyāya, while the *Vedāntaparibhāṣā* of Dharmarājādhvarīinda (sixteenth century) deals with, among other things, the epistemology of Vedānta. Among other writers belonging to the school of Śaṅkara are Vidyāranya (fourteenth century), author of the famous *Pañcadaśī;* Prakāśānananda (sixteenth century), who wrote the *Vedāntasiddhantamuktāvalī;* Madhusūdana Sarasvatī (sixteenth century), author of the *Advaitasiddhi* and the *Siddhāntabindu;* Appayya Dīkṣita (sixteenth century), who wrote the *Siddhantalesamgraha* and the *Parimala,* a commentary on the *Kalpataru* of Amalānanda (thirteenth century); and Sadānanda Vyāsa (seventeenth century), who commented on the *Advaitasiddhi* of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī and also wrote a handy compendium called *Vedāntasāra.*

ŚABDĀDVAITA. Although there is generally evident a tendency to equate Vedānta with Śaṅkara's Kevala Advaita, one cannot afford to ignore the other schools of Vedānta that have been substantially influential. The doctrine of *śabdādvaita,* a monistic ontology presenting language as the basis of reality, was propounded by Bhartṛhari (d. 651) in his *Vākyapadīya;* this doctrine cannot be said to belong to Vedānta proper, since it is not derived from any of the three *prasthāna*s. Still, according to Bhartṛhari the ideas that the ultimate reality, *brahman,* which is without beginning and end, is of the nature of the "word" and that the world proceeds from it can be traced back to the revelation of the Word *par excellence,* the Veda itself. This ultimate reality is one, but because of its many powers it manifests itself as many in the form of experiencer, the object of experience, and experience itself (the purpose of experience also being sometimes mentioned). This view of Bhartṛhari may be regarded as a precursor of Śaṅkara's theory of *vivarta.* The most important of the powers of *brahman,* according to Bhartṛhari, is time (*kāla*). The different kinds of actions and changes that bring about multiplicity in being all depend upon *kāla.* Bhartṛhari, however, adds that time itself is the first result of *avidyā.* In the state of true knowledge, there is no place for time.

BHĀSKARA. The proper post-Śaṅkara Vedānta begins with Bhāskara (fl. 850). Unlike the other post-Śaṅkara schools of Vedānta, Bhāskara's Vedānta does not seem to have gained wide currency, presumably because it was not linked up with any theistic sect. From his commentary on the *Brahma Sūtra* it becomes clear that Bhāskara knew Śaṅkara's commentary, for he follows Śaṅkara's arguments for refutation point by point. It further becomes clear that, for much of their interpretation, both Śaṅkara and Bhāskara must have drawn on a common traditional source. According to Bhāskara, *brahman* has a dual form: *brahman* as pure being and intelligence, formless, the causal principle, which is the object of one's highest knowledge; and *brahman* as the manifested effect or the world. Thus *brahman* represents unity (*abheda*) as well as distinction (*bheda*), both of which are real. *Jīva* is *brahman* characterized by the limitations of the mind substance. Thus, unlike the material world, *jīva* is not the effect of *brahman.* Bhāskara is at one with most of the post-Śaṅkara schools of Vedānta in rejecting outright Śaṅkara's view of the world appearance. Indeed, such rejection was the main obsession of those schools.

VIŚIṢṬĀDVAITA. To Rāmānuja (1017–1137) belongs the credit for successfully attempting to coordinate personal theism with absolutistic philosophy. Indeed, Rāmānuja may be said to have secured for Vaiṣṇavism the sanction of the Upaniṣads. In this, of course, he was heir to a fairly distinguished tradition of teachers such as Nāthamuni (fl. 950) and Yāmunācārya (fl. 1000), who is believed to have been Rāmānuja's teacher's teacher. Among the followers of Rāmānuja are Sudarśana Sūri (fl. 1300), Veṅkatanātha, more popularly known as Vedāntadeśika (fl. 1350), and Śrīnivāsācārya (fl. 1700). Rāmānuja's commentaries on two of the three *prasthāna*s, namely, the *Brahma Sūtra* (called *Śrībhāṣya*) and the *Bhagavadgītā,* have been preserved. Rāmānuja is also the author of an independent philosophical treatise called *Vedārthasaṃgraha.* According to Rāmānuja, God, who possesses supremely good qualities, is the only absolute reality and therefore the only object worthy of love and devotion. Matter (*acit*) and souls (*cit*), which are equally ultimate and real, are the qualities (*viśeṣaṇa*s) of God, but, as qualities, they are entirely dependent on God in the same way as the body is dependent on the soul. They are directed and sustained by God and exist entirely for and within him. Rāmānuja's doctrine is therefore known as Viśiṣṭa Advaita or the doctrine of one God qualified by *cit* (souls) and *acit* (matter). These three factors (*tattva-traya*) form a complex (*viśiṣṭa*) organic unity (*advaita*). The omnipotent God creates the world of material objects out of himself, that is, out of *acit* (which is eternal in him), by an act of will. Rāmānuja emphasizes that creation is a fact, a real act of God. What the Upaniṣads deny is the independent existence of material objects and not their existence as such. *Jīva* is made up of the human body (which is related to *acit*) and the soul (which is related to *cit*), which become associated with each other on account of *karman.* Souls are eternal and atomic and are conscious and self-luminous by their very nature. The liberated soul, which is completely dissociated from the body, becomes similar to, but not identical with, God.

In Rāmānuja's theory, God can be known only through scripture; besides the Veda, Rāmānuja recognizes the *Pañcarātra Āgama* also as revealed. For him, religious acts comprehend both Vedic ritual and the practices (*kriyāyoga*) prescribed by the Āgama. Rāmānuja recommends to all persons, irrespective of caste, rank, or sex, complete self-surrender to God (*prapatti* or *śaraṇāgati*) as the most efficacious means of attaining the *summum bonum.*

DVAITĀDVAITA. The philosophy of Nimbārka (fl. mid-fourteenth century?) is generally known as Svābhāvika Bhedābheda or Dvaitādvaita. It is set forth briefly, precisely, and without much polemic or digression in his commentary on the *Brahma Sūtra,* called *Vedāntapārijātasaurabha,* and which is elaborated in such works as the *Vedāntakaustaubha* of Śrīnivāsa (who is believed to have been a direct pupil of Nimbārka), the *Vedāntaratnamañjūṣa* of Puruṣottama (a pupil of Śrīnivāsa), and the *Vedāntakaustubhaprabhā* of Keśava Kāśmīrin (fourteenth century). Presumably influenced by Rāmānuja, Nimbārka assumes the ultimate reality of the three entities, namely, Paramātman or Puruṣottama (God), Jīva, and Jagat. He does not accept *avidyā* as a cosmic principle producing the world appearance. Rather, according to him, God actually transforms himself into the world of material objects and individual souls, but does not lose himself in these. He is simultaneously one with (*abheda*) and distinct from (*bheda*) the world of *jīva*s and matter. This is so, not because of any imposition or supposition (*upādhi*), but because of the specific peculiarity of God's spiritual nature (*svabhāva*). God alone has independent existence, while individual souls and matter, which are but derivative parts of God, are entirely dependent on and controlled by him. Liberation in Nimbārka's theory implies realization of and participation in the true nature of Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa (who is the ultimate *brahman*) and is possible only through Kṛṣṇa's grace.

ŚUDDHĀDVAITA. Tradition speaks of four main schools of what may be called Vaiṣṇava Vedānta, namely, the Śrī school of Rāmānuja, the Sanaka school of Nimbārka, the Brahma school of Madhva, and the Rudra school of Viṣṇusvāmin, which last is more commonly associated with its later exponent Vallabha (1479–1531). Many works, large and small, are ascribed to Vallabha, the most important among them being the *Aṇubhāṣya,* a commentary on the *Brahma Sūtra* (up to 3.2.34); the *Tattvārthadīpanibandha,* an independent philosophical treatise; and the *Subodhini,* a commentary on a major part of the *Bhāgavata.* Vallabha's son Viṭṭhalanātha (1516–1584) completed the unfinished *Aṇubhāṣya* and also composed independent works such as the *Vidvanmaṇḍana* and the *Śṛṅgārarasamaṇḍana.* The *Śuddhādvaitamartaṇḍa* by Giridhara (1541–1621) and the *Prameyaranārṇava* by Bālakṛṣṇa Dīkṣita (seventeenth century) are other notable works of the Rudra school. *Śuddha advaita* ("pure nondualism") and *puṣṭimārga* are the two fundamental tenets of Vallabha's Vedānta. *Śuddha advaita* implies that the one *brahman,* free from and untouched by *māyā,* is the cause of the individual souls and the world of material objects. *Jīva*s and the material world are, in reality, *brahman,* for they represent but partial manifestations of the essential attributes of *brahman. Brahman* (God) pervades the whole world. Vallabha's doctrine is therefore also known as *brahmavāda.* While explaining the relation between *brahman* and the world, Vallabha propounds *avikṛtapariṇamavāda,* the theory that the world is a transformation of *brahman,* which latter itself, however, remains unchanged. It is like gold, which always remains itself no matter how it is formed into various ornaments or objects. God manifests his qualities of *sat* and *cit* in the form of *jīva*s, but the quality of bliss (*ānanda*) remains unmanifested. Vallabha teaches that it is through *puṣṭi* (literally, "nourishment, spiritual nourishment"), or the special grace of God, that *jīva*s attain *goloka* ("the world of cows"), the world of bliss, and participate in the eternal sport presided over by Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

MADHVA. Among the Vedāntins, Madhva (1238–1317) is reputed to be a confirmed dualist (*dvaitin*). One wonders, however, whether the doctrine that Madhva advocates in his commentaries on the three *prasthāna*s and in his other works—a doctrine endorsed by other teachers of his school, such as Jayatīrtha (fourteenth century) and Vyāsarāya (1478–1539)—can be designated strictly speaking as dualism in the sense in which the Sāṃkhya doctrine is designated as dualism. Madhva no doubt speaks of two mutually irreducible principles as constituting reality, but he regards only one of them, namely, God, as the one infinite independent principle, whereas the finite reality comprising matter, individual souls, and other entities is regarded as dependent. He emphasizes that Lord Śrī Hari, who is omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent, and without beginning and end, is the highest independent reality. The ungodly traits that are sometimes imputed to his character in descriptions of his various incarnations are not native to him but are intended to delude the demons and similar evil beings. The material world is essentially real, for whatever is created by God by veridical volition cannot be unreal. Furthermore, on the strength of the evidence of direct perception, inference, and scripture (which Madhva considers to be the only valid sources of knowledge) it can be established that the distinction between God and *jīva* is real and beginningless. Indeed, Madhva asserts the verity of the fivefold distinction, namely, the distinction between God and *jīva*s, the distinction between God and insentient objects, the mutual distinction among *jīva*s, the distinction between *jīva*s and insentient objects, and the mutual distinction among insentient objects. *Jīva*s, which are infinite in number, are subject and subservient to God. There is a gradation of high and low among them in accordance with their *karman,* and this gradation persists even in the state of emancipation. *Mokṣa,* according to Madhva, implies the unblemished blissful experience of one's pure intrinsic nature as a servant of Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa, and devotion to him is the chief means of attaining *mokṣa.*

SEE ALSO Avidyā; Bādarāyaṇa; Brahman; Gauḍapāda; Madhva; Māyā; Mīmāṃsā; Mokṣa; Nimbārka; Rāmānuja; Śaṅkara; Sūtra Literature; Upaniṣads.

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VEDAS. Specifically, the Vedas are often understood to comprise four collections of hymns and sacrificial formulas. In a more general sense, however, the term *Veda* does not denote only these four books, or any single book, but a whole literary complex, including the Saṃhitās, the Brāhmaṇas, the Āraṇyakas, the Upaniṣads, the Sūtras, and the Vedāṅgas. The many texts, varied in form and content, that make up the Veda were composed over several centuries, in different localities, and by many generations of poets, priests, and philosophers. Tradition, however, will not admit the use of the word *compose* in this context, for the Veda is believed to be *apauruṣeya,* "not produced by human agency." It is eternal. Its so-called authors have merely "seen" or discovered it, and they are thus appropriately called *ṛṣi*s, or seers.

Vedic tradition notes that the *apauruṣeya* character of the Veda accords it ultimate validity in every respect. Moreover, the Veda is said to comprehend all knowledge (*veda*). Indeed, most of the later Brahmanic disciplines claim the Veda as their fountainhead. The Veda has been passed from generation to generation by oral transmission. This fact explains the name *śruti* ("what is heard") by which the Veda is known. In order to preserve this extensive literature intact without the aid of writing, and to facilitate its precise memorizing, the Vedists devised various ways of reciting the Veda (*pāṭhas* or *vikṛtis*) that involve permutations and combinations of the words in *mantra*s (versus) and prose formulas. The emergence of various schools (*sākhā*s) and subschools (*caraṇa*s) of Vedic study has also substantially helped the preservation of this large corpus of literature. At the same time, oral transmission may have resulted in the loss of a considerable portion of Vedic literature in the course of time.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE VEDA. The literary history of the Veda is usually divided into four periods: the Saṃhitā period (c. 2000–1100 BCE), the Brāhmaṇa-Āraṇyaka period (c. 1100–800 BCE), the Upaniṣadic period (c. 800–500 BCE), and the Sūtra-Vedāṅga period (c. 500 BCE onward). Broadly speaking, these four periods represent a chronological sequence, and a thread of logical development running through them invests them with a kind of unity. Yet only the literature of the first three periods is traditionally regarded as *apauruṣeya.* In particular, four collections of texts from the Saṃhitā period are commonly referred to as the four Vedas. These are the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā* (the oldest collection), the *Atharvaveda Saṃhitā,* the *Sāmaveda Saṃhitā,* and the *Yajurveda Saṃhitā.*

Before the Vedic Aryans migrated into the northwestern region of India, then called Saptasindhu ("land of seven rivers"), their ancestors had lived together with the ancestors of the Iranian Aryans, presumably in Balkh and its environs, for a fairly long time (2200–2000 BCE). It was there that the Proto-Aryan language and religion acquired their specific characteristics. The religion of the Proto-Aryans consisted mainly of the concepts of cosmic law (Vedic, *ṛta;* Avestan, *aša*) and its administrator (Vedic, Asura Varuṇa; Avestan, Ahura Mazdā), a simple fire worship, and a cult centering on the sacred drink (Vedic, *soma;* Avestan, *haoma*). *Mantra*s (magically potent verses) or hymns (groups of *mantra*s usually involving a single theme) relating to this religion were composed by the ancestors of the Vedic Aryans in an earlier form of Vedic Sanskrit. In the course of time, the ancestors of the Vedic Aryans left their home in Balkh and proceeded toward the alluring "land of seven rivers," while the ancestors of the Iranian Aryans migrated toward Iran. During their expedition to Saptasindhu and because of subsequent conflicts and colonization in that region, a significant strain was imposed on the old Vedic religion in the form of a hero cult with Indra as its chief divinity. The activity of composing *mantra*s and hymns relating to the old (Proto-Aryan) as well as the new Vedic (Indra) religion continued unabated throughout this time. Side by side with this religion of the "classes" among the Vedic Aryans developed the religion of the "masses," which was largely constituted of magic, sorcery, and witchcraft, and relating to which *mantra*s were also being composed. When, soon after, the Vedic Aryans had settled down in their new home to a life of comparative peace, leisure, and prosperity, poet-priests collected all the scattered mantras, old and new and relating to both the Proto-Aryan and Vedic religions. They revised and edited them, grouped them together into suitable hymns (where they were not already so grouped), and arranged those hymns according to a certain plan. As a result, two primary "collections" (*saṃhitā*s) were brought into existence: the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā* and the *Atharvaveda Saṃhitā* (2000–1700 BCE).

ṚGVEDA SAṂHITĀ. The *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā* has come down to the present according to the recension of the Sakala school. It consists of 1,028 *sūkta*s (hymns) made up of varying numbers of metrical verses (*mantra*s, more commonly called *ṛk*s, which accounts for the name *Ṛgveda*). The hymns are assembled in ten different books or *maṇḍala*s whose formation is governed mainly by the criterion of authorship. Among the classes of the Vedic Aryans, a few families had already acquired some measure of socioreligious prestige. The *mantra*s or hymns, which were traditionally believed to have been "seen" by the progenitor and other members of a particular family, were collected together to form the book of that family. The nucleus of the *Ṛgveda* is formed of six such family books, which are numbered from two to seven and which are ascribed respectively to the families of Gṛtsamada, Viśvāmitra, Vāmadeva, Atri, Bharadvāja, and Vasiṣṭha. Within a family book, the hymns are grouped according to the divinities to whom they are related. These divinity groups are then arranged in a certain fixed order, the group of hymns relating to Agni being placed first. Within each divinity group, the hymns are arranged in descending order according to the number of stanzas. The majority of hymns in the eighth book belong to the Kaṇva family. The first book is a collection of miniature *maṇḍala*s. Book nine is ritualistically oriented, all the hymns included in it, irrespective of authorship, being related to *soma.* The tenth book, which contains the same number of hymns as the first book (191), is a collection of residual hymns. There is another, later mechanical arrangement of the *Ṛgveda* that is obviously directed to the purpose of memorizing the *Saṃhitā.* According to this system, the entire *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā* is divided into eight divisions (*aṣṭaka*s), each division into eight chapters (*adhyaya*s), and each chapter into about thirty-three sections (*varga*s) of about five stanzas each.

The bulk of the *Ṛgveda* consists of mythology and the panegyrics and prayers that are either dependent on or independent of that mythology. The exclusively naturalistic, or ritualistic, or mystic interpretation of Vedic mythology is now generally discountenanced, and an evolutionary approach is increasingly favored. One may speak of three main phases of the evolution of the Rgvedic mythology: the phase represented by Ṛta-Varuṇa, Agni, and Soma; the phase represented by Indra and other heroic gods; and the phase represented by the admission into the Vedic pantheon of popular Aryan divinities (e.g., Viṣṇu) and pre-Vedic non-Aryan divinities (e.g., Rudra). Apart from mythology, the *Ṛgveda* also contains a few hymns of sociohistorical and philosophical purport.

ATHARVAVEDA SAṂHITĀ. The *Atharvaveda,* which is aptly described as the Veda of the masses, is more heterogeneous and less inhibited than the *Ṛgveda.* The name *Atharvāṅgirasaḥ,* often used in reference to this Veda, indicates the twofold character of its contents—the wholesome, auspicious "white" magic of Atharvan, and the terrible, sorcerous "black" magic of Aṅgirgas. Another name of this Veda is *Brahmaveda.* The name has been explained by the fact that the *Atharvaveda* consists of *brahman*s (magically potent formulas), or by the fact that this Veda is the special concern of the brahman priest in the Vedic ritual. There is another explanation of the name. Because of the peculiar character of the contents of this Veda, it was for a long time not recognized as being as authoritative as the other three Vedas (*trayi*). In reaction against this exclusivism, the Atharvavedins went to the other extreme and stated that the *Ṛgveda,* the *Sāmaveda,* and the *Yajurveda* were essentially "limited," for *brahman* alone was infinite, and this *brahman* was truly reflected only in the *Atharvaveda.* Thus, the *Atharvaveda* was called *Brahmaveda.* The *Atharvaveda* is also known by several other names, each of which emphasizes a specific trait of its character: It proves particularly efficacious in the performance of the duties of the *purohita* (royal priest), and is thus known as the *Purohitaveda;* it contains many hymns pertaining to the *kṣatriya*s (ruling or warrior class), and is thus called the *Kṣatraveda;* and it is the guide for the performers of the practices described in the five (*pañca*) main ancillary texts (*kalpa*s) of this Veda, and thus is known as the *Veda of the Pañcakalpins.*

The *Atharvaveda* is available in two recensions, the *Śaunaka* and the *Paippalāda* (which is only partially available). The *Śaunaka* recension consists of 730 hymns grouped into twenty books (*kāṇḍa*s). About five-sixths of these hymns are metrical (*arthasūkta*s), whereas the remaining ones (*paryāya-sūkta*s) are made up of prose units (*avasāna*s). The *Atharvaveda* is less sophisticated in its meter, accent, and grammar than the *Ṛgveda.* The contents of the *Atharvaveda* may be broadly classified under the following headings: charms to counteract diseases and possession by evil spirits; prayers for health and longevity and for happiness and prosperity; spells pertaining to various kinds of relationships with women; hymns concerning the affairs of the king, as well as those intended to secure harmony in domestic, social, and political fields; and formulas for sorcery and imprecation and for exorcism and counterexorcism. Finally, the *Atharvaveda* contains quite a few hymns embodying highly theosophic and philosophical speculations.

SĀMAVEDA AND YAJURVEDA SAṂHITĀS. The *Sāmaveda* and the *Yajurveda* are essentially liturgical collections and conceptually mark the transition from the Saṃhitā period to the Brāhmaṇa period. The *Sāmaveda Saṃhitā* is a collection of *mantra*s to be chanted at the various soma sacrifices by the *udgātṛ* priest and/or his assistants. The name *Sāmaveda* is, however, a misnomer; it is not a collection of *sāman*s, or chants, but rather a collection of verses, mostly derived from the *Ṛgveda,* which are intended to form the basis of proper *sāman*s (*sāmayoni mantra*s). Out of the traditionally mentioned thirteen *sākhā*s of the *Sāmaveda,* only three are known today: the *Kauthuma,* the *Rāṇāyanīya,* and the *Jaiminīya,* or *Talavakāra.* The *Kauthuma Saṃhitā* of the *Sāmaveda* is made up of two parts, the *Pūrvārcika* and the *Uttarārcika.* The *Pūrvārcika* consists of 585 *mantra*s and the *Uttarārcika* of 1,225 *mantra*s. However, the total number of *mantra*s in the *Sāmaveda,* not counting those that are repeated, is 1,549—all but 78 of them having been taken from the *Ṛgveda,* mostly its eighth and ninth *maṇḍala*s. For their use in the *soma* ritual, the *sāmayoni mantra*s are transformed into chants or ritual melodies, called *gāna*s, by means of such devices as the modification, prolongation, and repetition of the syllables in the *mantra*s and the occasional insertion of additional syllables (*stobha*s). Such *gāna*s are gathered in four books: the *Grāmageyagāna,* the *Araṇyagāna,* the *Ūhagāna,* and the *Ūhyagāna.* Of course, these *gāna* collections are quite distinct from the *Sāmaveda.* Since one *sāmayoni mantra* can be chanted in a variety of ways, it gives rise to several *gāna*s. Consequently, the number of *gāna*s is much larger than the number of *sāmayoni mantra*s. For instance, the number of *gāna*s belonging to the Kauthuma school is 2,722.

Whereas the *Sāmaveda* concerns itself exclusively with just one feature of the *soma* sacrifice, the *Yajurveda* treats the entire sacrificial system. Indeed, the *Yajurveda* may be regarded as the first regular textbook on the Vedic ritual as a whole. It deals mainly with the duties of the *adhvaryu,* the priest responsible for the actual performance of the various sacrificial rites. There are two major recensions of the *Yajurveda,* the *Kṛṣṇa* ("black") *Yajurveda* and the *Śukla* ("white") *Yajurveda.* The difference between them lies not so much in their contents as in their arrangement. In the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda,* the *mantra*s and the *yaju*s (sacrificial formulas in prose) and their ritualistic explanation and discussion (called *brāhmaṇa*) are mixed together. Thus, in its form and content the Saṃhitā of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda* is not particularly distinguishable from the Brāhmaṇa or the Āraṇyaka of that Veda. In contrast, the *Śukla Yajurveda* contains only the *mantra*s and the *yaju*s, the corresponding ritualistic explanation and discussion being reserved for the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* that belongs to that Veda.

The Saṃhitās of four schools of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda*—namely, the Taittirīya, the Kaṭha (or Kāṭhaka), the Maitrāyaṇī, and the Kapiṣṭhala Kaṭha—are available today either whole or in fragments. Incidentally, it may be noted that the Taittirīya school has preserved its literature perhaps most fully of all the Vedic schools, maintaining the continuity from the Saṃhitā period, through the Brāhmaṇa-Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad periods, up to the Sūtra period. The *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* is divided into seven *kāṇḍa*s, and, together with the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka,* it covers almost the whole gamut of Vedic ritual. However, in these texts, the different sacrifices are not dealt with in any rational order.

A significant feature of the *Śukla Yajurveda* is that its entire literary corpus has come down in two distinct versions, the *Mādhyandina* and the *Kāṇva.* However, there is little essential difference between them in content and arrangement. The *Śukla Yajurveda Saṃhitā,* which is also known as the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* in the *Mādhyandina* version, consists of forty chapters (*adhyāya*s). The first twenty-five *adhyāya*s contain *mantra*s and formulas relating to the principal sacrifices; the next four *adhyāya*s include additions to these basic *mantra*s and formulas; *adhyāya*s 30–39 deal with such sacrifices as the Puruṣamedha, the Sarvamedha, the Pitṛmedha, and the Pravargya; and the last *adhyāya* constitutes the well-known *Īśa Upaniṣad.*

SEE ALSO Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas; Pristhood, article on Hindu Priesthood; Sūtra Literature; Upaniṣads; Vedāṅgas; Vedism and Brahmanism.

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VEDISM AND BRAHMANISM.

The somewhat imprecise terms *Vedism* and *Brahmanism* refer to those forms of Hinduism that revolve primarily around the mythic vision and ritual ideologies presented by the Vedas. These terms are classifications that have been used by historians to categorize in a typological manner a variety of religious beliefs and practices in ancient and contemporary South Asia. Vedic and Brahmanic religious sensibilities are thereby distinguished from Agamic, Tantric, and sectarian forms of Hinduism, which look to a variey of non-Vedic texts as the source of religious authority. Vedism is older than Brahmanism, which developed from and remains true to the Vedic worldview but accommodated and remolded the religious ideas and practices of non-Vedic South Asian traditions.

Vedism applies more specifically to the religious ideas and expressions of the Indian branch of the Indo-Europeans who gradually entered the valley of the Indus River in successive waves in the second millennium BCE. These communities regard as sacred and authoritative texts only those orally transmitted collections of poetic hymns (*mantra*s), ritual instructions (Brāhmaṇas), and some of the early philosophical speculations (Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads) of the Vedic literary corpus. Together, these works are said to constitute sacred "knowledge" (*veda,* hence *Vedism*) and are known as *śruti,* "revealed truth."

Brahmanism developed as the Vedic Indians moved further into the subcontinent to settle in the regions drained by the Ganges River and then southward to the tip of India. It is loosely known as Brahmanism because of the religious and legal importance it places on the *brāhmaṇa* (priestly) class of society. Brahmanism takes as sacred truth, in addition to the Veda, various law books (the Dharmaśāstras and Dharmasūtras), mythic epics (the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*), and a wide range of non-Vedic myths recounted in the Purāṇas. These texts, the earliest of which may date to the second part of the first millennium BCE and the lattermost of which to the medieval period, are known as *smṛti,* "remembered truth."

Both Vedism and Brahmanism, then, accept the Veda as sacred. The difference between the two is that Brahmanism also includes doctrines and mythic themes that do not specifically derive from the Vedas and therefore is ideologically more inclusive than Vedism. Some of these ideas find expression in various ritual practices such as temple worship and the domestic ceremony known as *pūjā,* in the notion of a society arranged according to vocational function (*varṇa*) and stage of life (*āśrama*), in meditation and renunciatory practices, in vegetarianism and reverence for the cow, in the importance of the teacher (*guru*) for transmitting the tradition, and in other non-Vedic themes that play important parts in Hindu religious life and thought.

TEXTUAL CORPUS. The collection of metric and prose texts that form the Veda (or, taken individually, Vedas) is by far the largest single documentary source of archaic Indo-European religious thought. At the same time, however, this collection amply documents a particular line of intellectual development that went far beyond its archaic beginnings and gave the Veda its pivotal but never undisputed place in Indian religion and philosophy.

Though no definite dates can be assigned to the Veda or any of its parts, some of its materials, especially in the metrical texts, may be dated back to the twelfth century BCE, or even earlier, when the later Indo-Aryans were still in direct contact with the Iranian branch of the Indo-European peoples. This common Indo-Iranian period is attested by linguistic, lexical, formulaic, and cultic similarities between the Veda and the Avesta (e.g., the sacred beverage, *soma* in the Veda and *haoma* in the Avesta, and the use of these beverages in the cult; the Vedic *hotṛ* priest and his Avestan counterpart, *zaotar*). The formation of the Veda as currently known extended over the first half of the last millennium BCE, bearing witness to a gradual move from the northwest of the subcontinent, the upper Indus area, where the *Ṛgveda* had its original home, to the watershed between the Indus and Ganges basins and into the Ganges plain. This movement is epitomized in the story of the sacrificial fire, which was forced by means of a ritual formula to come out of the mouth of the legendary sacrificer Videgha Māthava (whose name recalls Videha, present-day Bihar); the fire then relentlessly rolled eastward from the Sarasvatī River in the west to the Sadanira, the boundary river of Videha, in the east, and finally was established even beyond that boundary (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.4.1.10–19). Bengal (Vanga), however, remained, as far as the Veda is concerned, a "barbarian" country.

Apart from its antiquity, the most striking features of the Veda are its rigid codification and internal organization as well as its faithful oral transmission among specialized brahmans up to the present day. Although no decisive arguments can be adduced, the codification of the Veda may date from the middle of the first millennium BCE. (This is to be distinguished from partial compilations, which are generally assumed to have already been in existence at the rise of Buddhism in the sixth century BCE.) During the second half of that millennium further ancillary texts were added to the corpus.

Organization of the Veda. The primary principle of the internal organization of the Vedic corpus is strictly ritualistic, the texts being arranged according to their function with regard to the sacrificial ritual. The initial textual layer consists of formulas (*mantras*)—both metrical and in prose—to accompany the ritual acts (*karman*) and descriptions of the ritual (Brāhmaṇas). The latter are thus differentiated in rules regulating the ritual (*karmavidhāna*) and in explanation or discussion (*arthavāda; Āpastamba Śrautasūtra* 24.1.31–34). Though this primary division gives no special place to the Upaniṣads, the speculative extension of the Brāhmaṇa texts, it clearly illustrates the ritualistic divide between *karman,* or act, and *mantra,* or formula.

The repositories of the *mantras* are known as the Saṃhitās (named after the continuous mode of recitation involving *saṃdhi,* or changes taking place at the juncture of words succeeding each other), first collected in the *Ṛgveda* or "Veda of the Stanzas." Though the time of its final compilation may not greatly differ from the period of the Brāhmaṇas, the *Ṛgveda* contains, generally speaking, the oldest materials. The exposition of the ritual (including the explanation of the *mantras* and their use) in the Brāhmaṇas provides the second layer. The third layer is formed by the Āraṇyakas ("forest books") and the Upaniṣads. They are attached to the Brāhmaṇas and are composed in the same style. The Āraṇyakas, which derive their name from their having to be studied outdoors, in the wilderness (*araṇya*) because of their supposedly dangerous or secret nature, deal with particular parts of the ritual. The Upaniṣads start from and often refer to the ritual but their meta-ritualistic content goes beyond and even supersedes it.

To these three layers of texts, which form the *śruti* (lit., "hearing"), the "revealed" tradition in the strict sense, the Kalpasūtras (*kalpa,* "arrangement"; *sūtra,* "guideline"), concisely worded manuals, must be added. These comprise the Śrautasūtras—manuals for the *śrauta* (derived from the *śruti*), or "solemn" ritual based on the Brāhmaṇas—and the Smārtasūtras, summarizing the *smṛti* ("remembrance"), the secular tradition. The latter are again divided into the Gṛhyasūtras, manuals for the domestic ritual (*gṛha,* "house"), which exhibit a ritual close to the *śrauta* pattern, and the Dharmasūtras, on religious law and custom, which are at a greater distance from the *śruti,* though they are supposedly authorized by it.

The Kalpasūtras belong to the six Vedāṅgas ("members of the Veda"), ancillary branches of knowledge meant to explain the Veda and to sustain its preservation. In addition to the Kalpa, the system of ritual rules, these branches of knowledge are Ṣikṣā ("phonetics"), Chandas ("meter"), Vyākaraṇa ("grammar"), Nirukta ("etymology"), and Jyotiṣa ("astronomy"). While the systematic elaboration and standardization of Kalpa has the rationalistic trappings that qualify it as a "prescientific" science, astronomy and especially grammar developed into full-fledged sciences independent of the Veda.

The partly chronological division in Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, Upaniṣads, and Kalpasūtras is joined by a second, equally ritualistic, principle of organization running vertically through the successive layers. This division corresponds to the four priestly functions in the performance of the *soma* sacrifice, that is, the functions of the *hotṛ* ("reciter"); the *udgātṛ* or *chandoga* ("cantor" or "chanter"); the *adhvaryu* (officiating priest), who is in charge of the ritual acts and so of the overall proceedings; and the *brahman,* who acts as a mainly silent overseer and corrects possible mistakes in the performance of the ritual. To each of these four functions a separate Veda is assigned, consisting of its own Saṃhitā, Brāhmaṇa, and Kalpasūtra. Thus the *hotṛ*'s Veda is the *Ṛgveda,* from which the invitatory and offering stanzas as well as the longer recitations (*śastra*) are taken. The Śāmaveda cites the texts of the *Ṛgveda* and their "melodies" (*sāman*) that are to be chanted by the *udgātṛ.* The *adhvaryu* operates with the *Yajurveda* or "Veda of the Formulas" (*yajus*). These "formulas" are defined as non-*ṛc* (that is, non-Ṛgvedic), although the Saṃhitā contains many Ṛgvedic *mantra*s as well. Finally, the *brahman* relies, at least in theory, on the *Atharvaveda,* but because of his overseeing function he should also be conversant with the other three Vedas.

There are, then, four Vedas. Tradition, however, emphasizes the "Triple Veda" (*trayī vidyā,* "threefold sacred knowledge"), that is, *Ṛgveda, Yajurveda,* and *Śāmaveda.* The *Atharvaveda* was added as a fourth according to a well-known pattern based on the numbers three and four: the three "twice-born" *varṇa*s (social classes) of *brāhmaṇas* (Eng., brahmans), *kṣatriya*s, and *vaiśya*s—their second birth being their initiation to the Veda—joined by the fourth *varṇa* of the *śudra*s. The pattern also represents the three aims or duties of life: *dharma* (religious law), *artha* (wealth), and *kāma* (sexuality)—to which *mokṣa* (liberation from mundane existence) is added as a fourth.

The position of the *Atharvaveda* as regards the other three Vedas is somewhat puzzling. The name of a legendary priest and his descendants, *Atharvan* is related to the Old Iranian *āthravan,* or fire priest, but does not refer to a specific priestly function in Vedic ritual. The relationship of the *Atharvaveda* with the *śrauta* ritual is a slight one. The connection with the *brahman's* function is made no earlier than in the comparatively late Brāhmaṇa of the *Atharvaveda* (*Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.2.9). The contents of its Saṃhitā appear to be related to special rites for promoting well-being, for averting or undoing evil, for curing illness, and for harming enemies, which belong to the sphere of activity of the *purohita* (domestic priest or royal chaplain) rather than to the *brahman*'s function in the *śrauta* ritual. This seems also to be underlined by the fact that the *Atharvaveda*'s Gṛhyasūtra has priority over its Śrautasūtra in both age and importance. Although the *Atharvaveda*'s codification patterned after the "Triple Veda" is comparatively late, this does not mean that its contents are equally late in origin. Thus the so-called rice-dish sacrifice (Savayajña), though recast to parallel the *soma* sacrifice, may well have ancient roots. The Savayajña gives prominence to the sacrificial meal, which in the *śrauta* ritual is reduced to a minimum. Generally speaking, it would seem that the *Atharvaveda* became a repository of rites and incantations for which the fully developed *śrauta* system of ritual had no place anymore—such as, for instance, the exaltation of the *vrātya,* the warrior-sacrificer to whom the fifteenth book of the Saṃhitā is devoted.

Finally, there is still a third principle subdividing the Vedic texts, namely by "schools," each having its own recension of one of the four Vedas. If such a "school" has its own version of the Saṃhitā it is known either as a *śākhā* ("branch") or as a *caraṇa* (liturgical observance). The most subdivided of the four Vedas is the *Yajurveda.* First, there is the division between the so-called *Kṛṣṇa* ("black") *Yajurveda* and *Śukla* ("white") *Yajurveda* schools. The older *Black Yajurveda* is characterized by alternating *mantra* and Brāhmaṇa portions in its Saṃhitās, while the younger *White Yajurveda* neatly separates the *mantra*s from the Brāhmaṇa, the celebrated *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.* Whereas the *White Yajurveda* has two closely related *śākhā*s (*Mādhyandina* and *Kanva*), the *Black Yajurveda* shows marked differentiation between *śākhā*s and their subdivisions, or *caraṇa*s (the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* with the *Mānava* and *Vārāha Sūtra*s; the closely related *Kāṭhaka,* whose *sūtra* has been lost; and the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā,* with the *Āpastamba, Hiraṇyakeśin, Bhāradvāja, Baudhāyana, Vaikhānasa,* and *Vādhūla Sūtras*).

The Saṃhitā of the *Ṛgveda* is known in only one recension but has two subdivisions, Āsvalāyana (with the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Āsvalāyana Sūtra*) and Śānkhāyana (with the *Śānkhāyana Brāhmaṇa*—also known as the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*—and the *Śānkhāyana Sūtra*). The *Śāmaveda* boasts two *śākhā*s that in fact differ only minimally, the Kauthuma-Rānāyanīya and the Jaiminīya; the Brāhmaṇa of the latter is called *Jaiminīya Brahmaṇa,* and it is known for the richness of its mythical and legendary data. Finally, the *Atharvaveda* knows two *śākhā*s, the Saunaka and the Paippalāda.

Though scholarly attention has mostly been directed toward the *Ṛgveda* and the problems raised by its language, stylistics, and mythological conceptions, from the strictly Indian point of view the main interest of Vedism is in the structure and development of ritual. This is evident in the internal organization of the Vedic corpus of texts, which, as has been seen, are arranged according to the needs of the *śrauta* system of ritual. The elaboration and standardization of this system are, however, a late Vedic development. The division of *mantra* and Brāhmaṇa is more than a technical-ritualistic one. It represents a caesura between, on the one hand, the older state of cult and belief that forms the background of the *Ṛgveda's* stanzas, and on the other the standardized system of ritual that developed in the Brāhmaṇas and was perfected in the Sūtras. It is also to be observed that, although the standardized ritual draws liberally on the *Ṛgveda* as a source of metrical *mantra*s, only part of it is actually used in the ritual. Only the ninth of the ten books (*maṇḍala*s) of the *Ṛgveda,* which contains the hymns (*sūkta*) addressed to the god Soma (in the form of the *soma* beverage), is directly related to the ritual, namely to the decanting and filtering of the *soma* (*soma pavamāna*). These hymns were assembled for the purpose of the ritual in a separate collection that was added at a later date to the *Ṛgveda* as the ninth of its ten *maṇḍala*s. Otherwise, the arrangement of the *Ṛgveda* is not related to the later ritual. In general, this text provides few, if any, clear indications about its cultic context or about the occasions at which or for which the hymns were composed.

The *Ṛgveda,* then, for all its size and suggestive contents, does not allow a clear view of Vedic religion, its cult, or its beliefs, nor do the Brāhmaṇas, with their single-minded concentration on ritual. Non-Vedic testimonies, such as the early Buddhist scriptures, may be put to use—regarding, for instance, the cult of spirits (*yaksa*s)—but they will not suffice for a well-rounded picture. Nor does archaeology offer any reliable clues. It has not even been possible to find indubitable evidence linking the Vedic data with the preceding Indus civilization. The only source for Vedic religion is the Vedic corpus, but it can only give part of the spectrum. Moreover, one must take into account the sharp divide between the *Ṛgveda* and the Brāhmaṇas.

MYTHOLOGY. As regards mythology the *Ṛgveda* is a vast storehouse of mythic motifs that are partly taken up again and recast by the Brāhmaṇas in their explanation of the ritual. It would be a mistake, however, to expect a consistent mythology or a clearly structured pantheon. Individual outlines tend to be blurred and areas of activity indeterminate, whereas attributes and positions are to some extent interchangeable among the gods. The reason for the apparent indeterminateness of Ṛgvedic mythology is not to be found in the fluidity of archaic thought. In fact, the *Ṛgveda* bears witness to a highly developed state of verbal art. Though conventional and even formulaic, the mode of expression is characterized by great sophistication and flexibility, geared to interchangeability and conflation of images and formulations. The aim is not to arrive at a precise delineation of the deity invoked and his power, but, on the contrary, to compress several associations and layers of meaning within the bounded, metrical compass of a stanza. In this respect Ṛgvedic mythology is essentially different from the mythological statements of the Brāhmaṇas. The *Ṛgveda* works by multi-interpretable suggestion and allusion rather than by explicit statement, leaving unexpressed the inner connection of the images and meanings that are suggested or alluded to. In this way a vast or even unbounded field of symbolic relationships is evoked to enhance (and exploit) the power of the deity. Hence the indeterminacy of Ṛgvedic mythology, which is a matter of principle rather than of pristine fluidity.

This feature has given rise to F. Max Müller's well-known but misleading term *henotheism,* or *kathenotheism,* to characterize Vedic religion. Insofar as it describes the apparent tendency to provide the invoked deity with a maximum of divine associations to enhance its power, the term may still be useful. It should, however, not be taken as an intermediary stage on the way to some form of strict monotheism, nor can it serve to define Ṛgvedic religious thought. It does no more than indicate a marked feature of Vedic hymnology.

The mythological statements of the Brāhmaṇas, by contrast, are directly and unequivocally linked to the ritual and its details, which they are meant to explain and justify. The tersely and concisely recounted mythical and legendary episodes lack the sophisticated associativeness and multi-interpretability that characterize the *Ṛgveda.* Their only—and explicit—association is with the ritual. The many layers of meaning are reduced and systematized in three tiers referring respectively to the ritual (*adhiyajña*), to the godhead (*adhidaiva*), and to the person of the sacrificer (*adhyātma*). Given the structure of the ritual as a collection of separate sacrifices and of each sacrifice as a lineal concatenation of clearly distinguishable acts and accompanying *mantra*s, the mythological statements that refer to the separate sacrifices or to the successive acts of each of them cannot, by their nature, present a consistently structured mythology and cosmology. Moreover, there are clear traces of non-Aryan themes—often revealed by non-Aryan names—that raise the question of their whole or only partial integration. The search for an underlying unified pattern of mythic and cosmic conception will therefore to a large extent remain a matter of speculation.

Keeping in mind this caveat as well as the indeterminacy of the *Ṛgveda* and the ritualism of the Brāhmaṇas, one may now proceed to a brief survey of Vedic mythology. In accordance with the not specifically Vedic or Indian custom of expressing the idea of totality by a number, the *Ṛgveda* often speaks of thirty-three gods. The Brāhmaṇas break down this number as eight Vasus, eleven Rudras, and twelve Ādityas, leaving two open slots. Essentially such numbers are, however, not meant to be filled out by a complete list.

Ādityas. In the same way, the most important group among the gods, the Ādityas, is equally marked by a number, namely seven or eight (although only six are named) and later, in the Brāhmaṇas, twelve. They are defined as the sons of the goddess Aditi, whose name means "boundlessness." Her name has given rise to an opposite counterpart, the goddess Diti (dropping the privative *a*), who later is considered the mother of the gods' enemies, the demonic *daitya*s, better known as *asura*s. The notion of a mother goddess or Magna Mater is, however, not very prominent in the Veda. The Ādityas are connected with light and with celestial phenomena. Āditya also occurs as the name of the sun (otherwise Sūrya), and it has been proposed that the seven Ādityas be equated with the sun, the moon, and the five planets. On the other hand they are thought to represent various aspects of rulership or sovereignty; the first three, Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman, especially represent this capacity, whereas Bhaga ("dispenser"), Aṃśa ("share"), and Dakṣa ("capability") are associated with social concepts. Some of these names, such as *Mitra, Aryaman,* and *Bhaga,* have direct correspondences in Old Iranian, but the functions associated with them differ considerably. Apart from that, the Ādityas as a group have been equated with the (somewhat different) Amesha Spentas in the Avesta.

The foremost among the Ādityas—and at the same time the most problematic—is Varuṇa. His name is, not without doubts, connected with the Greek Ouranos. He is a sovereign god, often characterized as *samrāj,* establishing and maintaining universal order, punishing transgressions, and binding the sinner with his ties. In this perspective one can also place his connection with *ṛta* (cosmic truth) and guardianship of the oath as well as with the waters, which are the abode of *ṛta.* At the same time Varuṇa exhibits a sinister and dark side, especially in his opposition to the warrior god Indra, who appears to have robbed Varuṇa of his virility and dethroned him (*Ṛgveda* 4.42; 10.124). In this connection Varuṇa's qualification as an *asura* should be mentioned. Being preeminently an *asura,* a lordly being, he can be considered as the Vedic counterpart to the Avestan Ahura Mazda, with whom he shares the connection with *rta* (OIran., *asha*). Varuṇa's *asura* quality would seem to oppose him to the *deva*s, or heavenly gods, even though the *deva/asura* opposition is less pronounced in the *Ṛgveda* than it is in the Brāhmaṇas. The problem Varuṇa presents is his two-sidedness. As the first among the Ādityas he is a *deva,* while at the same time he is prominent as an *asura.*

Varuṇa often occurs coupled with another Āditya, Mitra, who (in accordance with his name) represents contract and alliance. In the Veda he remains somewhat in the background. In the Avesta, however, he is more prominent and receives a fuller treatment; he is also a warrior and is associated with heaven and the sun. In contradistinction to the *Ṛgveda,* the Brāhmaṇas emphasize an opposition between Mitra and Varuṇa, the former being equated with the daylight, the latter with the night. The third Āditya, Aryaman, is concerned with marriage and hospitality.

Indra. The god most often encountered is the warrior god Indra, who receives the most elaborate mythological treatment of all the Vedic gods. Although he does not belong to the Ādityas he is mentioned at least once as the fourth Āditya (*Ṛgveda* 8.52.7), so as to connect him with the three first, and sovereign, deities among the Ādityas. A few times in the *Ṛgveda* he is called an *asura,* as is Varuṇa. His appearance, strength, and liberality, and his prowess in battle, in drinking *soma* (sometimes obtained forcibly), and, later, in amorous ventures—as well as his chariot, his horses, and his weapon, the *vajra* (the thunderbolt)—receive ample attention. He is, however, not only a warrior and divine prototype of the *kṣatriya* or *rājanya:* He also exhibits priestly or Brahmanic traits and as such is related to Bṛhaspati, or Brāhmaṇaspati (lord of the greatness or of the *brahman*), who is credited with some of the heroic deeds usually ascribed to Indra. (Hanns-Peter Schmidt has even argued that *Bṛhaspati* may originally have been an epithet of Indra. Incidentally, this should warn against setting too early a date for the separation of the four *varṇa*s as closed, mutually exclusive status groupings.)

Indra's most vaunted deeds are the liberation of the waters by killing the monster Vṛtra ("obstruction")—hence his epithet *Vṛtrahan,* which equates him with the Avestan Verethraghna—and the freeing of the cows (metaphorically, the heavenly lights) from the Vala cave or from the cave where the Paṇis hid their cattle. In the Vala episode he is associated with the priestly Angirases, who assist him by their chanting in opening the cave or enclosure. Here, Indra's relationship, or rather overlap, with Bṛhaspati/Brāhmaṇaspati is most clear.

Maruts and Vāyu. Indra's usual companions and warband are the Maruts, the sons of Pṛśni, the spotted cow. They are depicted as chariot fighters and support Indra in the Vṛtra battle, but they also have a priestly quality as bardic chanters. In a naturalistic perspective the Maruts are the violent storm gods, just as Indra's weapon, the *vajra,* is the thunderbolt. As such, the Maruts are akin to Vāyu ("wind"). Equally a charioteer and associated with Indra, Vāyu is linked with the Maruts. His pneumatic character seems to connect him with ancient initiation rites as well as with the later, Upaniṣadic speculations on the life breath, or *prāṇa.*

Trita. As a dragon slayer Indra has a minor double in Trita ("the third") Aptya ("the aquatic one" [?]), who is equally credited with slaying Vṛtra and Vala. These exploits, however, burden him, like Indra, with the guilt of manslaughter, which makes Trita into a kind of scapegoat. In the Brāhmaṇas he is identified with Agni, the fire, who hides from his cruel duty as the sacrificial fire. Trita is also known to the Avesta in a double form, as Thraetaona (Pers., Farīdūn) Āthwya, the slayer of the dragon Azhi Dahāka, and as Thrita, the father of Kereśāspa, equally a dragon slayer. Trita, and not Indra, may have been the original hero of the dragon fight.

Aśvins. The twin Aśvins ("possessing horses"), or, by their original name, the Nāsatyas, are chariot warriors—the chariot being typically manned by a pair, the driver and the fighter—conveying Sūrya, the bride of the sun. Equally, they are associated with the goddess Uṣas, or Dawn. They obtain the secret of the cultic *surā* beverage (distilled from grain) from the demon Namuci and honey mead (*madhu*) from the horse-headed Dadhyañc. In this connection they are also known for their qualities as healers and miracle workers.

Rudra. A different type of warrior is the terrible archer Rudra ("the red one," or "the howler"), who inhabits the mountains and the wilderness. He is identified with the destructive, uncontrolled aspect of Agni, the fire. Generally, Rudra is surrounded by fear and taboo. In the ritual he typically receives the remainder of the oblation, thus being set apart from the gods and "bought off." The group of Rudras—their later standard number is eleven—are identified with the Maruts, Rudra being said to be their father. In post-Vedic religion Rudra developed into the transcendent god Śiva.

Viṣṇu. Another Vedic god who was destined for post-Vedic prominence is Viṣṇu, who in many ways became a counterpart to Śiva. In the Vedic hymns Viṣṇu is a minor figure, associated with Indra in the Vṛtra battle. In the Brāhmaṇas he is identified with the institution of sacrifice. His characteristic deed, however, is the feat of crossing, measuring out, or conquering the universe by his three steps. This feat may be linked with his solar (and, possibly, also phallic) character as also with his later association with the *axis mundi.* As against the fearsome Rudra-Śiva, who resides outside human society, the consistently benevolent Viṣṇu takes up his position in the center of the universe and in the middle of the settled world, encompassing and organizing the universe with his three steps.

Pūṣan. The pastoral Pūṣan is the guardian of the roads, a trait that should probably be viewed against the background of the movement of cattle. The furthering of prosperity to which his name (from *puṣ,* "prosper") refers is primarily concerned with cattle (especially cows), the epitome of wealth. His guardianship of the roads easily connects Pūṣan with the path of the sun, which leads from heaven to earth. In this respect he may be viewed as a solar deity.

Agni. From the ritualistic point of view the most important deities are Agni, the fire, and Soma, the deified cultic beverage and draft of immortality (*amṛta*). In cosmic perspective they represent the fiery and watery elements. As the sacrificial fire, Agni is produced with the help of two special pieces of wood known as the "two *araṇi*s" that are manipulated in a way explicitly imitating the sexual act. The domestic fire, on the other hand, is the fire used in the marriage ritual and so is derived from the bride's paternal home. This notion should be a warning to any misunderstandings regarding the "ancestral fire"; insofar as it is ancestral it is transmitted in the female line. Moreover, the upkeep of the actual domestic fire ends with the death of the householder, when it is used for the last time at his cremation. The fire—both domestic and sacrificial—is discontinuous, its transmission broken and its possession uncertain. The mythology of Agni is replete with his fleeing and hiding in plants or trees but especially in the waters, illustrating the basic though paradoxical interrelationship between the watery and fiery elements. This paradox is further indicated by one of the names for Agni, Apāṃ Napāt ("son of the waters").

Time and again Agni has to be retrieved from his hiding places, that is, the fire must be obtained from elsewhere, from other people. Even though the "two *araṇi*s" would, in principle, ensure the undisturbed possession of the fire, which then can be produced at will after a period of inactivity or hiding when it has been symbolically taken up in the sacrificer's person, these drilling sticks are not an ancestral heirloom, but are obtained from the *adhvaryu* priest (fittingly, he is rewarded with a gift when fire is produced). Less ritualistically, the fire appears to be obtained by force or theft, as occasionally shown in the ritual texts. Conversely, the *śrauta* ritual for setting up the sacrificial fires (*agnyādhāna*)—obviously meant to have only one performance, whose effects were permanent—can be repeated after some, not clearly specified, mishap. This seems to point in the same direction: The fire may have been robbed or lost as the result of a hostile encounter. Although the Vedic myth of Mātariśvan ("swelling in the mother"[?], probably a name of Agni), who brings the fire to the human world, does not mention agonistic proceedings, the ritual seems to recall the well-known Indo-European myth of the theft of the heavenly fire.

On the other hand the fire is identified with the person of its possessor in a way that suggests the notion of an "external soul." It defines the household and its master; in the sacrificial ritual it leads the triumphant procession to the sacrificial hearth (*āhavanīya*), where it is to be installed. In this latter triumphal aspect Agni is a victorious warrior moving about on his chariot and bringing the gods to the sacrifice or conveying the offerings to them as well as receiving offerings himself. In short, he is the linchpin of the universe viewed as sacrificial process. Although the *śrauta* ritual identifies Agni with the *hotṛ* priest, it would seem that originally this functionary is no other than the sacrificer striving to prevail over other sacrificers and their fires, as is still noticeable in the rite of the Pravara, the "election" of the *hotṛ,* immediately preceding the burnt offerings.

Both mythologically and ritually, then, the relationship of humans with Agni, dispersed throughout many separate (and competing) fires as well as regularly disappearing, is critical and insecure. In his "terrible" (*ghora*) form, as Rudra, he may even endanger the sacrificer's life.

Soma. *Soma* (Avestan, *haoma*) is predominantly the plant from which the cultic beverage is prepared as well as the beverage itself. Like the fire, Agni, it has to be won or obtained from elsewhere. "The one [Agni] Matarisvan brought from heaven, the other [Soma] the eagle [*śyena*] took by force from the mountain" (*Ṛgveda* 1.93.6). In the Brāhmaṇas this bird is identified with the *gāyatrī,* which, having three eight-syllable feet, is the shortest of the Sanskrit meters and is emblematic of chant and recitation. The mountain where the *soma* plant grows is named Mūjavat. The main distinguishing feature of *soma* is that it is to be won or brought from the wilderness, far away from the settled world. In the ritual the stalks of the *soma* plant are bought from an outsider in exchange for a cow, after which the *soma* seller is beaten and chased. This latter feature, as well as other less explicit details, suggests that behind the trading lies a contest in which the seller represents the guardians of the *soma,* the heavenly Gandharvas.

Another way of winning the *soma*—or rather the *soma* draft—is by forcibly obtaining access to another's *soma* sacrifice. Though the ritual does not account for this it is a well-known mythical theme. Thus Indra robs Tvaṣṭṛ and drinks the *soma* from his ritual vessels. In another myth Indra slays Tvaṣṭṛ's son, the three-headed monster Viśvarūpa, at the sacrifice in order to obtain the *soma* draft. Or again, Indra obtains the *soma*—as well as Agni—by slaying Vṛtra, who is holding them within himself.

As a god, Soma rules over the waters and their cosmic circulation. As such he takes up a central position in the universe, parallel to that of Agni, with whom Soma is often coupled as a dual divinity in the ritual texts. Significantly the *Ṛgveda* associates him with the sun, illustrating once more the solIḍārity of the fiery and the watery elements.

As in the case of Agni, Soma's relationship with man (i. e., winning him or losing him) is of crucial importance. However, unlike Agni, he is not identified with the sacrificer, but remains external to him. He is "the king" *par excellence,* ceremonially received as such on the place of sacrifice and often referred to by this title alone in the ritual manuals. This may perhaps explain why, whereas the fire is simply brought from heaven and the evidence for force or stealth is reduced to scattered and fragmentary indications, conflict and violence are involved in winning the *soma.* If the fire, as the sacrificer's "external soul," were to be the subject of an equally open direct conflict, the consequences would be disastrous: Just how disastrous can be seen upon considering the position of Soma, "the king." After his reception, he is pressed—that is, "killed." Having been prepared, sacrificed, and consumed, Soma is, in short, immolated. Obviously, this rules out the direct identification with the sacrificer. Such an identification is, however, still discernible, but shrouded in mystery as a dark, undeclared truth. Thus, when the royal sacrificer of the Rājasūya is proclaimed king, the priests inaudibly add "Soma is our king."

The original mystery of the sacrificer's immolation has been preserved in a different and innocuous form in the ritualistic mythology of the Brāhmaṇas, where the sacrificer is stereotypically identified with Prajāpati, the "lord" (*pati*) of "beings" (*prajā*). One of the many *pati* gods, he makes a fleeting appearance in the late tenth book of the *Ṛgveda* but reaches overall preeminence in the Brāhmaṇas. This Prajāpati, then, is the epitome of sacrifice, being at once the sacrificer and sacrificial victim. By that time, however, the ritual had developed into a closed, autonomous system that is ideally parallel to but not directly linked with the reality of the sacrificer's actual life and death.

A particularly knotty problem is the original identity of the *soma* plant. From the texts it appears that it must be a plant, often thought to be a creeper, with juicy stalks delivering the *soma* juice when crushed. R. Gordon Wasson's seductively argued theory of *soma* as the "divine mushroom of immortality," specifically fly agaric, is not generally accepted. The main difficulty is that fly agaric is not indigenous to the geographical area of the *Ṛgveda.* But if Wasson is right, this would mean that the elaborate imagery of the *soma* hymns would revolve around a substance no longer used or even known. Given the conventional nature of Vedic hymnology, this is certainly not impossible. The stalks actually used in the ritual appear anyway to be a substitute for the lost original.

As to the god Soma's celestial nature and abode the question of whether he represents the sun or the moon was at one time hotly debated. Though regularly associated with the sun in the *Ṛgveda,* Soma is usually identified with the moon in the Brāhmaṇas. The waxing and waning of the moon easily lend themselves to serve as an expression of the cosmic processes of growth, death, and renewal over which Soma presides. This led Alf Hillebrandt to postulate a lunar origin and character for Soma, which he expanded into a mythology involving other gods as well. This interpretation has, however, not been generally accepted, nor has Hermann Lommel's suggestion that Soma's identification with the moon would have come about by a restructuring under external, non-Aryan influences found favor. When the naturalistic and celestial interpretation of Vedic mythology receded in favor of more sociologically, cosmogonically, or ritually oriented views, the question of the lunar as opposed to the solar interpretation slipped into the background. The naturalistic viewpoint has once again gained favor, and the debate may in some form or other be reopened. At any rate the central point of Soma's mythology is the circulation of the cosmic waters holding the ambrosia (*amṛta*) and linked with the alternation of life and death.

Female deities. As mothers, sisters, wives, and lovers of the gods, female deities receive frequent mention, but, with the exception of Uṣas (Dawn), they remain diffuse, lacking in profile and to a high degree interchangeable with one another.

First there are are the deified (primordial) waters, Āpaḥ (plural of *ap,* water), which hold the germ of life and are the abode or hiding place of Agni (Fire), the "son of the waters" (Apāṃ Napāt). As has been seen, they are also associated with Soma. Their most direct manifestation is formed by the rivers, especially those of the Punjab, such as the Sindhu (grammatically both masculine and feminine), also called Indus, and its tributaries. Mythologically the most important of them is the Sarasvatī, in the Brāhmaṇas identified with the goddess Vāc (Speech), especially in connection with the hymnic or ritual utterance. Aditi, the mother of the Ādityas, has already been mentioned. The Brāhmaṇas explain the latter's birth as the result of Aditi's eating the remainder of the rice mess (*odana*) prepared and offered by her to the gods. Other female deities are Śrī (Luster), Puraṃdhi (Bounty), and Iḍā, or Iḷā (Food, both as offering and as sacrificial meal).

The most individualized of the goddesses is Uṣas (Dawn). She is depicted as a nubile, eternally young woman, wife or lover of the sun and companion of the Aśvins. Her most important feature is her bounty and her association with the gift, especially the *dakṣiṇā,* the gift to the priests at the sacrifice. The Brāhmaṇas transfer the incest motif of the otherwise featureless sky god, Dyaus, and his daughter to Prajāpati, father of all and epitome of sacrifice, and Uṣas. Prajāpati is then chastised by the archer Rudra who shoots an arrow at him; the wound is represented by a small piece from the offering cake, "Rudra's portion," which is, because of its potency, given to the *brahman* priest to eat. It is striking that Uṣas, notwithstanding her clear delineation and the hymns addressed to her, does not have a part in the sacrificial cult.

Ancestors. Finally, mention must be made of a separate class of divine beings, the Ancestors (*pitaraḥ,* "the fathers"). To them belong the *ṛṣis*, the seers to whom the Ṛgvedic hymns are ascribed. Stereotypically the ancestors form a group of seven (lsuch as the Ādityas) to which an eighth, Agastya, is added. They are the eponyms of the *gotra*s (brahman lineages) systematically listed in the Pravara ("election") rite in the *śrauta* sacrifice where the names of the *ṛṣis* defining the sacrificer's *gotra* are mentioned.

Otherwise, the householder's lineage is defined by the last three ancestors—father, grandfather, great-grandfather—who receive offerings of water and rice balls (*piṇḍa*s) in both the domestic (*gṛhya*) and the solemn (*śrauta*) ritual. The feature distinguishing the cult of the ancestors from that of the gods is the use of the left hand; the right hand is used in the cult of the gods. Thus, though regularly associated with the gods and their deeds, the *pitaraḥ* are sharply differentiated from them. Similarly, the "way of the fathers" (*pitṛyāna*) is distinguished from the "way of the gods" (*devayāna*), the first "way" being associated with the moon and the second with the sun.

Yama. Another set of ideas regarding the world of the dead focuses on Yama and his twin sister Yamī (*yama,* "twin"). Also known in Old Iranian mythology, they form the primordial pair. The *Ṛgveda* knows, but apparently rejects, their incest: In a dialogue hymn (*Ṛgveda* 10.10) Yama refuses to respond to Yamī's entreaties. Yama is the first mortal and, in ancient Iran, the first king. In India his kingship is reserved for his righteous rule over the world of the dead, which he is the first to enter. In the *Ṛgveda* he is the son of Vivasvat, a solar figure ("the wide-shining") whom the Brāhmaṇas make into an Āditya. Although it is only in later Hinduism that Yama is equated with Dharmaraja, the king of the universal order, the idea underlying this notion does not seem to be alien to the Veda.

Interpretations of Vedic mythology. The interpretation of the Vedic mythological data has, in the last hundred years or so, variously emphasized naturalistic, ritualistic, and sociological approaches. Abel Henri Joseph Bergaigne's *La religion védique d'après les hymnes du Ṛgveda* was the first and, thus far, unequaled attempt at a unitary synthesis combining both the naturalistic and ritualistic viewpoints. The mythical motifs are classified on two levels: on the one hand the celestial processes of light and darkness, on the other the atmospheric phenomena (clouds, rain, lightning) parallel to the celestial level. Both levels are further characterized by the opposition and interaction of male and female elements. The natural processes structured in this way are then seen as reflected in the cult. Bergaigne has been criticized for his allegorical schematism and his tendency to view the *Ṛgveda* exclusively in terms of its rhetorics. But his lasting achievement is in his systematic textual approach, involving a rigorous attention to the phraseology and its formulaic aspects. On this basis, modified by Hermann Oldenberg, it has also been possible to obtain a clearer view of the formation of the *Ṛgveda.* In general, Bergaigne can be considered the founder of Vedic philology, which then is brought to full growth by Hermann Oldenberg.

The sociological approach has been forcefully represented by Georges Dumézil, who stresses the three functions of sovereignty, both spiritual and worldly (Varuṇa as against Mitra), physical force (exemplified by Indra), and fecundity or productivity (represented by the Aśvins and other groups of gods, such as the Vasus, in association with female divinities). The three functions or principles are at the same time seen as the (Indo-European) ideology governing a tripartite social organization exemplified by the three "Aryan" or "twiceborn" *varṇa*s (classes): *brāhmaṇa*s, *kṣatriya*s, and *vaiśya*s. The problem with the social and ideological tripartition is that the number three, which is indeed strikingly frequent, is usually associated with either the number two—the third forming a link or intermediary—or four, when the fourth is an indeterminate or opposite element rounding out the whole (thus the three *varṇa*s are supplemented by a fourth, the *śudra varṇa;* compare also such configurations as seven or eight Ādityas). The theory of the three functions is, however, not primarily directed at the interpretation of Vedic (and later, epic) mythology as such, but at comparative Indo-European mythology—a field of study revived and stimulated by Dumézil's numerous and erudite publications.

Another approach, which is reminiscent of Bergaigne's cosmological comprehensiveness but is not dependent on naturalistic or ritualistic viewpoints, singles out cosmogony as the key to "the basic concept of Vedic religion." The cosmogonic approach, propounded by F. B. J. Kuiper, has been influenced by earlier work (in the 1930s) of Dutch structuralist scholars on Indonesian religion and society; it is an approach in which psychoanalytic insights also are heuristically brought to bear on cosmogonic thought. In this perspective, the central feature of Vedic cosmogony and of the world it brought about is the sudden breakup of the undifferentiated primeval unity of the waters into a dualistic cosmos. The cause of this dramatic change was Indra's heroic deed. The *asura*s, who were associated with the primeval state of affairs, are defeated and replaced by the "younger" *deva*s. Henceforth, the dualistic cosmos of upper and nether world—rent apart by Indra—is determined by the conflict of *deva*s and *asura*s, which periodically breaks out again at the joints of the time cycle (as at the New Year) and is reenacted in verbal and other contests, particularly chariot races. In this scheme, the primordial unity is guaranteed by Viṣṇu, who, far from being a minor figure in the *Ṛgveda* as is usually assumed, transcends the conflict by his third step. The cosmogonic exegesis entails complex problems of textual analysis. Thus the opposition between *deva*s and *asura*s, though clear and systematic in the Brāhmaṇas, is far from unambiguous in the *Ṛgveda.* The main problem is the nature of Varuṇa, an *asura* who belongs equally to the *deva*s. In Kuiper's view Varuṇa went over to the victorious *deva*s (keeping a hidden allegiance to the *asura*s), much as Agni and Soma left Vṛtra for Indra.

Whether cosmogony can deliver a basic or unitary concept underlying Vedic religion, or at least the Veda as known to the modern scholar, is of course debatable. One may even doubt whether such a concept did indeed exist. At any rate the metaphorical language of the hymns, with its tendency to pack various meanings and images in a single suggestive stanza while leaving the connecting idea or concept unexpressed, makes it particularly hard to isolate and define such a basic concept.

There can, however, be no doubt about the importance attached to Indra's cosmogonic battle, if the number of references both in the hymns and in the prose texts is taken as a criterion. More generally, competition, conflict, and combat appear to permeate the Vedic world. If the gods are bountiful or the human patrons munificent, the point is more often than not that the bounty and munificence should not go to the opponent. In the Brāhmaṇas conflict is stereotyped as the perennial struggle between *deva*s and *asura*s, but conflict does not stop there. The *deva*s are also competing (often by running chariot races) or fighting among themselves. The hostile tension between Indra and his followers, the Maruts, that is noticeable in some hymnic passages is crudely expressed in the Brāhmaṇas as Indra plundering the Maruts. In the ritual texts the *bhātṛvya* (rival kinsman), or the *dviṣat* (the foe), is all but ubiquitous. There clearly is the idea of a stable unalterable order—often associated with the unforgiving rule of Varuṇa—but this order is destabilized from within by the dualism of conflict for the goods of life. These goods, known under various, mostly indeterminate, all-encompassing terms, are mythologically luminous and celestial in nature and are associated with the waters. Thus, for instance, Indra's freeing Agni and Soma, the fire and the waters, from Vṛtra.

The "real life" substratum of the goods of life is cattle, especially cows, which then are transformed into theriomorph divinities (as, for instance, Pṛśni, the mother of the Maruts). In this connection the complex of female deities seems to be particularly important. Thus Uṣas is directly associated with the cow given as *dakṣiṇā* (gift to the priests), and the *soma* cow (the price for which the *soma* is traded) is addressed (among other names) as Dakṣiṇā (the deified gift cow), Aditi "facing both ways" (*ubhatakṣīrṣṇī*), Rudrā (feminine form of Rudra), and Ādityā (belonging to Aditi); her footprint is that of Iḍā. Especially suggestive is the double-headed Aditi: She is reminiscent of the Brāhmaṇa motif of the rejected and therefore angered personification of the *dakṣiṇā* threateningly standing between the two parties of the Ādityas and the Aṅgirasas (a clan of ancient fire priests, especially associated with the *Atharvaveda* but here identified with the *asura*s); the two parties soothingly try to lure her, now identified with the goddess Vāc (Speech), each to his own side (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 3.5.1.18–22). The complex of female deities, then, are intimately connected with the cows (i. e., the goods of life) for which the conflicting parties contend.

This may explain the rather indeterminate nature of the female deities. They are the movable stakes in the ever-repeated contest. As such they have no fixed place or allegiance but keep shifting between the contending parties, dividing and connecting them. In this way it can perhaps also be understood that Uṣas (Dawn), though profusely eulogized, does not receive a sacrificial cult: Standing for the bounty spent, contended for, distributed, and consumed, she is—like Iḍā, the sacrificial meal—not a recipient but the gift itself.

As party to the conflict the *asura*s are originally not so much demoniacal opponents and spoilers but rather settled rulers and holders of the goods of life. They are being despoiled by the aggressive wandering *deva* warriors led by Indra, who aspire to the status of settled lords. As the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* has it in a lapidary but probably ancient phrase: "The *deva*s drove about on wheels, the *asura*s sat in their halls" (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 6.1.1.1). But eventually the *deva*s prevail over the *asura*s, and that is why the "moving-about warrior" (*yāyāvara*) holds sway over the settled people (*kṣemya*), as a parallel passage explains (*Taittirīya Saṃhitā* 5.2.1.7). Similarly, an isolated but telling rule recommends the would-be sacrificer who is going to set up his *śrauta* fires to take his cooking fire (*dakṣiṇāgni,* lit., "southern fire") from the house of a man of substance (*puṣṭa*) who is "like an *asura*" (*asura iva; Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* 8.12; cf. *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra* 5.14.1).

This does not mean that the world of the gods is modeled after human society, but rather that there is no sharp dividing line separating them. The worlds of gods and humans smoothly blend into each other, forming a universe permeated by the divine and the sacral. If Indra's heroic warrior deed established the cosmic order, it is an order of perennial conflict over the possession and the redistribution of the goods of life—a conflict in which gods and men equally take part—and the outcome is open to reversal at the next turn. This may explain the fact, usually considered a secondary extension, that Indra is in a few Ṛgvedic passages called *asura.*

The arena where the conflict was fought out was the microcosm of the place of sacrifice. The central institution that regulated and contained conflict was sacrifice (*yajña*). Though the *śrauta* ritual has no place for the enemy it does contain many mock contests, prominent among them verbal contests (*brahmodya*) and chariot races. The Brāhmaṇas do not tire of referring to enemies, and the explanatory passages continually link the sacrificial ritual and its details with the fights of *deva*s and *asura*s, while the place of sacrifice is made the battleground.

Though researchers are ill-informed about the cultic background of the hymns, which may have known a great variety of concepts and forms, sacrifice, especially the *soma* sacrifice, clearly must have been of overwhelming importance. As the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā* (1.164.50 and 10.90.16) says in an enigmatically involute statement: "With sacrifice the gods sacrificed sacrifice, these were the 'first ordinances' (*dharmāṇi prathamāni*)." The second passage concludes the hymn celebrating the sacrifice of the *puruṣa,* the cosmic man, out of whose immolated body the ordered universe, including the four *varṇas,* was created. Although this cosmogonic sacrifice recalls Indra's Vṛtra-slaying, there is no reference to a fight or contest. Rather, it suggests the "monistic" form of the *śrauta* sacrifice propounded by the Brāhmaṇas, mythologically represented by Prajāpati, who creates the world by sacrificing himself. However, judging by the explanations in the Brāhmaṇas as well as by many features of the *śrauta* ritual itself, the form of the sacrifice preceding the one taught by them appears to have been characterized by a dualistic and agonistic structure.

The dualistic character is already implied in Paul Thieme's fundamental observation that the *śrauta* sacrifice is in all its details characterized as a guest reception, the sacrificer being the host. The guests at the sacrificial feast are not only the gods but equally the priestly participants who drink the *soma* and partake of the sacrificial food and who are identified with gods. The dualism of hosts and guests is clearly marked by tension and competition. Thus the Ādityas and the Aṅgirases—who have been seen already in their (verbal) contest over the *dakṣiṇā* bounty—competed over the honor of inviting the other party to their own sacrifice. First the Aṅgirases invite the Ādityas, but the latter manage to be "one up." Devising an equally important sacrificial ritual that can be performed on short term before the time set by the Aṅgirases, the Ādityas invite the latter and win out (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 6.34).

Apparently, being invited to a sacrifice is a challenge that one cannot honorably refuse. On the other hand, not being invited is a dishonor. And so uninvited guests force their way in to obtain or rather to contend for their share, as did the Śyāparṇas at the sacrifice performed by Viśvantara Sauṣademana (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 7.27), or as did Indra at Tvaṣṭṛ's, where Indra even killed Viśvarūpa, Tvaṣṭṛ's son. It is this dualistic and agonistic form of sacrifice that the ritualists of the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras reformed and turned into the rigidly "monistic" system of ritual that is the apogee of Vedism.

RITUAL. The most striking feature of Vedic ritual is the thoroughly systematic nature of its structure and textual presentation. Whereas the Brāhmaṇas still show in many ways, but especially in the *arthavāda* discussions, traces of the formative process and sometimes explicitly mention former practices as against the new rules, the Sūtras, or "guidelines," are fully systematized to the extent of stating a set of "metarules" (*paribhāṣā*) for the proper interpretation and handling of the ritual prescripts. This systematic character, definitively clarified by Willem Caland, caused Oldenberg to speak of "prescientific science" and Sylvan Lévi of "doctrine." Frits Staal has again called attention to what he considers to be the ancient Indian "science of ritual" as a system of "rule-governed activity" per se.

The ritual system. In the first place, there is the principle of the unity of act and formula. Unless stated otherwise each act is accompanied by a formula. The system is then built up in the way of nesting units, simpler acts being integrated to form ever more intricate complexes. The basic sacrificial unit is the pouring of a small portion of the oblational substance—milk, ghee (clarified butter), cake, gruel, meat, or *soma*—into the offering fire. This smallest unit, indicated by the verb *juhoti* ("he pours"), occurs as a separate act in all *yajña*s, but it is also an integral part of a more complex sacrificial act. The simple pouring is performed by only one person, usually the *adhvaryu,* but the more complicated form requires the cooperation of several priests. While standing at the offering fire the *adhvaryu* calls out to the *āgnīdhra, "oṃśrāvaya"* ("let there be hearing"), and the latter answers with *"Astu śrauṣaṭ"* ("be it, one should hear"); then it is again the turn of the *adhvaryu,* who now calls on the *hotṛ* to recite the offering verse (*yājyā*). The verse begins with the name of the god to whom the oblation is addressed and is followed by the instruction to "worship" (*yaja*), that is, to recite the appropriate verse; the *hotṛ* complies, prefixing the words *ye yajāmahe* ("we who worship," also known from Old Iranian) and ending with the word *vauṣaṭ,* at which the *adhvaryu* pours the oblation in the fire and the sacrificial patron (*yajamāna*) pronounces the *tyāga* ("abandonment"): "for [name of the god addressed], not for me."

This scheme, indicated by the verb *yajati* ("he [i. e., the *hotṛ]* worships"), is the one used in the standard ghee libations preceding and following the main offering (*pradhāna*) in the vegetal sacrifices. In the case of the main offering the scheme is enlarged by a preceding invitatory verse (*anuvākyā* or *puronuvākyā*) to be recited by the *hotṛ,* who is called upon by the *adhvaryu* to do so. The same scheme is then further elaborated in the animal sacrifice by the participation of one of the *hotṛ*'s assistants, the *maitrāvaruṇa,* who relays to the *hotṛ* the *adhvaryu's* call for the *anuvākyā* and *yājyā* verse. In the *soma* sacrifice this complex is further enlarged by the chanting of the *stotra* ("laud," from the verb *stu,* "to praise"), which is the task of the *udgātṛ* and his assistants, and the *śastra* (recitation) of the *hotṛ,* which follows the libation and the drinking of the *soma* by the participants. In all this the basic sacrificial act remains the libation in the offering fire.

This summary description of the basic sacrificial act and its enlargement cannot do justice to the intricate detail of the rules that, apart from the sacrificial act itself, also cover the no less complicated preparatory acts—taking the vow, choosing the priests, collecting the ingredients and implements (*saṃbhāra*), arranging the place of sacrifice, readying the fires, preparing the oblational substance (*havis*), its consumption and disposal, the *dakṣiṇās*—as well as the concluding phase. But the brief summary adequately illustrates the systematic buildup of the ritual. Each sacrifice consists of a lineal succession of such standardized units of act and formula, primarily the basic sacrificial act with or without its extensions. The alignment of acts again shows the nesting principle by boxing in a unit on both sides by two other mutually connected or similar units, as for instance is the case of the main offering (*pradhāna*), which is preceded by the "fore-offerings" (*prayāja*), and followed by the "after-offerings" (*anuyāja*). In this way a complicated concatenation is achieved spanning the whole of the sacrifice, its beginning and conclusion, mirroring each other so as to enclose the whole.

The same nesting principle governs the hierarchical taxonomy of types of sacrifices, the simpler types being incorporated in the more complicated ones. The simplest type of sacrifice is the Agnihotṛa, the evening and morning offering of boiled milk. It is essentially the basic sacrificial act of the *juhoti* type, requiring only the service of the *adhvaryu.* More complicated is the *iṣṭi* (from the verb *yaj,* "to worship"), a vegetal sacrifice of one or more cakes (*purodāsa*), cereal boiled with butter and milk (*caru*), or a dish of coagulated milk (*sāṃnāyya*). It involves the taking out, husking, and grinding of the grain, preparing the dough, baking the cake (on a specified number of potsherds heated on the embers), and dividing it into portions to be distributed to the deity and among the sacrificer and his priests. Moreover, before the main offerings are made, the sacrificial fire is fueled with pieces of wood (*samidh*). The *hotṛ* recites a verse *(sāmidhenī)* as the *adhvaryu* places each *samidh* as an offering into the fire.

This series of sacrificial acts is then followed by the *pravara* ("election") of *hotṛ* and *adhvaryu,* in which the sacrificer's ancestral names are mentioned, and finally the main offerings are made according to the *yajāti* scheme. Of course, separate *juhoti* offerings are equally part of the *iṣṭi* ritual. A more complicated version of this type of sacrifice requires four priests: apart from the *adhvaryu,* the *hotṛ,* the *āgnīdhra* (counted with the *adhvaryu,* but as to his function associated with the *hotṛ*), and the *brahman.*

The next type, the *paśubandha* ("binding the animal victim"), or animal sacrifice, incorporates the *iṣṭi.* The acts concerned with the cake offering (*paśu-puroḍāśa*) are neatly intertwined with those of the animal sacrifice proper. Two more priests are added: the *maitravaruṇa,* who is associated with the *hotṛ,* and the *pratiprasthatr,* who assists the *adhvaryu.*

The most complicated type is the *soma* sacrifice, which incorporates both *iṣṭi*s and *paśubandha*s. Its distinctive liturgical feature is the extensive use of the *Śāmaveda,* practically absent in the other sacrifices, for the chanted "lauds" (*stotra*), while the *soma* ritual proper is intertwined with an animal sacrifice. This involves the services of four specialized chanters (*chandoga*) led by the *udgātṛ.* Altogether the *soma* sacrifice needs sixteen or, according to some *sūtra*s, seventeen priests, including the previously mentioned ones, divided into four groups according to the four Vedas: four *adhvaryu* priests (*Yajurveda*), four *hotraka*s (*Ṛgveda*), four *chandoga*s (*Śāmaveda*), and four in the *brahman's* group (*Atharvaveda*); the seventeenth, the *sadasya,* is assigned to the *brahman.* At the same time, however, seven, instead of only four, of these priests are counted as *hotraka*s, six of whom are actually charged with *śastra* recitations from the *Ṛgveda.*

In the *śrauta* system of ritual the *iṣṭi* in the form of the fortnightly New and Full Moon sacrifices (*Darśapūrṇamāsa*), the *paśubandha* and the one-day *soma* sacrifice known as Agniṣṭoma ("liturgy of Agni") form the basic paradigms, or *prakṛti.* These *prakṛti*s can then be modified mainly as to the sacrificial substance and the deity or deities addressed (such a modification is known as *vikṛti*). The modified part therefore is primarily the *pradhāna* offering(s) involving (apart from differences in the sacrificial substances used) different invitations and offering verses. The rest of the ritual, the *aṅga*s (members) or *tantra* ("the warp," the sacrifice regularly being said to be woven), remains, but for a few minor adaptations, essentially unchanged. Thus a particular sacrifice is said to be characterized by three criteria: *dravya* (sacrificial substance), *devatā* (deity, or deities, first addressed at the beginning when the sacrificial substance is taken out), and *tyāga* (the sacrificer's "abandonment" formula, again specifying the deity after the offering; cf. *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra* 1.2.2).

Furthermore, sacrifices can be strung together either in a continuous series (*ayana,* "course") or in periodical clusters. The latter is the case, for instance, with the fortnightly New and Full Moon sacrifice (comprising two main offerings within the same *tantra*) or with the seasonal Four Month sacrifices, which are essentially clusters of *iṣṭi*-type offerings at the beginning of a four-month period. The *soma* sacrifice in particular has lent itself to such strings, which may stretch over a number of years (theoretically even a hundred years). Although a *prakṛti* form, the Agniṣṭoma lasts only one day (apart from the preparatory days) and as such is an *ekāha;* there are strings of up to twelve days known as *ahīna.* A twelve-day series can be performed either as *anahīna* or a *sat-*

tra ("session"). The difference is that at a *sattra* there is not a sacrificer with his sixteen (or seventeen) priests but all the participants are homogenized into a single band of sacrificers who have put together their sacrificial fires, while at the same time each performs the task of a particular priest. Their leader is then called the *gṛhapati* ("master of the house"). The modifications that are needed make the twelve-day *sattra* into the *prakṛti* for all other, longer *sattras,* while the yearlong *sattra* or *gavām ayana* ("course of the cows") is again the model for all other *sattra*s within the duration of a year or longer.

The feature by which the *soma* sacrifices are usually distinguished, however, concerns the arrangements of the *stotra*s and *śastra*s. The *stotra*s involve intricate rules regarding the formation of the different standardized numbers of chanted units (*stotriyā*), composed of a group of two or three Ṛgvedic stanzas. These numerical arrangements are known as *stoma* ("liturgy"), which, like *stotra,* derives from the root *stu.*

Soma sacrifice. The *soma* sacrifice is the most important as well as the most intricate of the *śrauta* rituals. Its basic paradigm, the Agniṣṭoma, consists of an elaborate concatenation of sacrifices spanning five days and involving a whole pantheon. The first day is marked by the consecratory bath (*dīkṣā*) of the sacrificer, who remains a *dīkṣita* (initiate) and as such subject to restrictions of diet and behavior until the concluding bath (*ava-bhṛtha,* "the carrying away," i. e., of ritual matter by means of the waters). Special libations and an *iṣṭi* are connected with the *dīkṣā.* The next three days feature, in the morning and at midday, the ritual known as Pravargya and a ghee offering in the form of an *iṣṭi* called *upasad* ("sitting near" or "besieging"), after which these three days are called *upasad* days. The Pravargya ("to be removed," referring to the implements after the last performance) centers on a special clay pot (called *mahāvīra,* "great hero," or *gharma,* "heat"). Fresh milk is poured into this pot, which has been heated in the fire; of the milk boiled in this way a libation is made.

On the first *upasad* day the introductory (*prāyaṇīyā*) *iṣṭi* is performed. The *soma* stalks are bartered for the *soma* cow, and "King Soma" (in the form of the *soma* stalks) is given a ceremonial reception that takes the form of another *iṣṭi.* On the second *upasad* day the outline of the place of sacrifice (the *mahāvedī*) is traced and the earthen elevation for the offering fire is made. The third *upasad* day sees the construction of the other fire-places and of the various sheds on the *mahāvedi;* fire and *soma* stalks are brought forward in an elaborate procession and a *paśubandha* is performed. The *soma* sacrifice proper, entwined with another animal sacrifice, falls on the next, the fifth day, known as the *sutya,* or pressing day.

The *soma* stalks are pressed three times, in the morning, at midday, and in the afternoon, providing for three "services" or *savana*s ("pressings"). The pressing is done by four of the priests, who crush the stalks, spread on a bull's hide, with the pressing stones (*grāvan*). The *soma* juice is mixed with water and poured through a woolen filter into the wooden *soma* tub (*droṇakalaśa*). It is to this latter operation that the *pavamana* hymns of the *Ṛgveda* refer. Apart from the *soma* pressing, the distinctive feature of the *sutyā* day is formed by the twelve rounds—five each during the morning and midday *savana*s, and two in the afternoon—of pouring the *soma* libation, drinking the *soma,* and conducting the liturgy of the variously arranged *stotra* chants and *śastra* recitations. The afternoon service is followed by the final bath (*avabhrtha,* "carrying away" of ritual matter to the waters), which forms the counterpart of the *dīkṣā* bath. Next is performed the concluding (*udayaniyā*) *iṣṭi,* which corresponds to the introductory (*prāyaṇīyā*) *iṣṭi.* But this is not yet the end, for a last *paśubandha*—a cow for Mitra and Varuṇa—must still be conducted. Only then is the "breaking up" (*adavasānīyā*) *iṣṭi* performed, after which the sacrificer and the other participants return home (the *śrauta* sacrifice, and especially the *soma* sacrifice, take place outside the settled community, in the wilds).

This basic scheme allows for an unlimited but mostly unspectacular variation. Such variation concerns in the first place the numerical arrangement of the *stotra*s and the melodies (*sāman*) to which they are sung. Second, as already mentioned, the number of *sutyā* days can be multiplied so as to form *ahīna*s and *sattra*s. Third, special rites can be inserted, both regular sacrificial acts and rites that are, strictly speaking, external to the *śrauta* system. Prominent among the latter are consecratory baths (*abhiṣeka,* comparable to an elaborate *dīkṣā*), which have given rise to a special class of sacrifices called *sava* ("instigation"), as well as agonistic rites: chariot races, dice games, and verbal and other contests. Storytelling, singing (as different from the Śāmavedic chanting), and dancing are occasionally prescribed. Such rites are mostly inserted in the middle of the *sutyā* day, during the midday service. A well-known case is provided by the *mahāvrata* ("great vow"). Technically a *sutyā* day at the end of the yearlong *gavāmayana,* it offers an interesting array of popular, apparently ancient rites, including a chariot race, arrow shooting, and a tug-of-war between an *ārya* and a *śudra* for a hide (believed to represent the sun), as well as the copulation of a "man from Magadha" (possibly meaning a musician) and a courtesan, and, of course, singing and dancing.

Similarly, the royal sacrifices, Vājapeya, Rājasūya, and Aśvamedha (horse sacrifice), are marked by such insertions. The Vājapeya ("booty" or "victory draft") follows the scheme of a one-day *soma* sacrifice which, however, combines the *soma* rites with those of the (popular) *surā* (grain liquor). Moreover, it features a race of seventeen chariots and a curious pole-climbing rite in which the sacrificer and his wife "ascend to heaven." The Rājasūya ("royal consecration") is essentially a series of five periodical *soma* sacrifices interconnected by *iṣṭi*-type sacrifices that stretch over two or three years. The important insertions are an elaborate *abhiṣeka* (water consecration), the enthronement, a game of dice, a chariot drive or race, and the recitation of the interesting legend of Śunaḥśepa (a brahman boy bought by King Hariścandra as a substitute for his own son, whom he was bound to sacrifice to Varuṇa, the point of the story being how Śunaḥśepa liberated himself by "seeing" and reciting stanzas in praise of Varuṇa). These rites are inserted in the second *soma* sacrifice, the Abhiṣecanīya (connected with the *abhiṣeka*).

The prestigious horse sacrifice (Aśvamedha) is a three-day *soma* sacrifice. The horse, accompanied by warriors, is left to roam about for a year on a tour of "world conquest" and is immolated, together with other animals, on the second *sutyā* day (thus providing the animal sacrifice of the basic *soma* paradigm). The insertions concern first of all the treatment of the horse; the chief consort of the sacrificer has to go through a sham copulation with the immolated horse while exchanging prescribed obscene and enigmatic phrases with the other consorts. Further there is again a chariot race and a full-scale verbal contest (Brahmodya).

The Puruṣamedha, or human sacrifice, is modeled on the Aśvamedha. In this form it would seem to be no more than a theoretical possibility reflecting the Ṛgvedic *Puruṣa* hymn (*Ṛgveda* 10.90). It does, however, raise the question of human sacrifice in general, outside the strictly bounded realm of the *śrauta* ritual. Although the idea of such sacrifices appears to have been known to the ritualists, as witnessed by the Śunaḥśepa legend, the actual practice would go against the grain of the *śrauta* ritual. The Brāhmaṇas repeatedly indicate that the sacrificer offers himself in sacrifice—like his mythical prototype Prajāpati or the Ṛgvedic Puruṣa—but the ritualistic solution is to "buy oneself free" (*niṣkrīṇīte*) by substitution. Or rather, the sacrificial ritual effectively cancels the ultimate violence of self-sacrifice. In a comparable way the royal sacrificer is mysteriously identified with the sacrificed "King Soma," a mystery that as such is not meant to be concretely realized but can only be hinted at. Nor is there a need for a *human* substitute. The Puruṣamedha, then, appears to be a theoretical construct that may reflect non-*śrauta* practices translated into the terms of the *śrauta* systems.

Separate mention should be made of the Sautrāmaṇī, named after Indra Sutrāman ("savior"). It is the sacrifice of *surā,* the grain liquor. In terms of the *śrauta* system it is an animal sacrifice in which three male animals are immolated for the Aśvins (who mythologically obtained the *surā* by force from Namuci), Sarasvatī, and Indra. The special feature is, however, the preparation, offering, and drinking of the *sura.* The way the animal sacrifice and the *surā* beverage are intertwined is patterned after the *soma* ritual (though without the *stotra-śastra* liturgy). The Sautrāmaṇī, though also given as an independent sacrifice, is to follow a *soma* sacrifice in which an *abhiṣeka* has been inserted (a *sava,* as in the Rājasūya). Apparently it is meant to remedy any unspecified bad effect of such sacrifices, as it is also said to cure the sacrificer from excessive *soma* drinking. In this connection, the function of the Aśvins as healers is relevant. It should be observed, however, that the *sura* beverage is not favored by the ritualists, who concentrate on *soma* instead, and later, in the *dharma* texts, *surā* is even prohibited.

Place of sacrifice and fires. In contradistinction to the domestic (*gṛhya*) ritual, the *śrauta* ritual requires a place of sacrifice separate from the home. Of the *soma* sacrifice it is even said, "One undergoes the *dīkṣā* at home; in the wilderness one performs the sacrifice." Although the *śrauta* ritual requires the presence of the sacrificer's wife, it appears originally to have been linked with life outside the settled community. Accordingly, the place of sacrifice is a temporary structure that is left when the sacrifice has been complete.

Just as the *śrauta* sacrifices are ordered by degrees of complexity, so also the place of sacrifice goes from simpler to more complex, enlarged forms. The basic form is that used for Agnihotra and *iṣṭi.* An oblong shed, oriented to the east, with openings to the four directions, shelters the three fire hearths. The round *gārhapatya* ("householder's") hearth, where the vegetal or dairy oblations are prepared, is on the west side, the square *āhavanīya* (offering hearth) is on the east side, and the half-moon-shaped *dakṣiṇāgni* ("southern fire"), where the food given to the priestly guests is cooked, is to the southeast of the *gārhapatya.* Between the *gārhapatya* and the *āhavanīya,* the *vedi,* the altar on which the oblations are placed, is arranged in the form of a trapezium. The upper layer of earth is taken off and the dug-out space is covered with grass. With its base to the west, its upper side to the east, and its sides bent inward, it is meant to suggest the form of a woman, broad-hipped and narrow-shouldered, holding the bounty of sacrifice (that is, the oblations placed on the *vedi*). To add to the *vedi's* symbolism, the two shoulder points encompass the sides of the *āhavanīya.* Furthermore, there is a small mound (*utkara*) formed by the earth taken from the place of the *vedi* and used for rubbish disposal on the northern side. North of the *āhavanīya* a vessel with water is put down. The sacrificer has his seat south of the *āhavanīya,* as does the *brahman,* whose place is to the east of the *yajamāna's* seat; the *hotṛ* is seated at the northwestern "hip" of the *vedi* and the *āguīdhra,* north of the *vedi;* the *adhvaryu,* who mostly moves around on the place of sacrifice, has no fixed place.

For the *paśubandha* (animal sacrifice) the place of sacrifice is enlarged by adding an open space, the "great *vedi*" (*mahāvedi*), equally traced out in the form of a trapezium and covered with grass, immediately east of the fire shed. On the east side of the *mahāvedi* the new *āhavanīya* hearth (*uttaravedi,* "further *vedi*") is arranged, and east of it the sacrificial pole (*yūpa*) is erected. The center of the action is shifted to the east: The fire is brought from the old *āhavanīya* hearth in the fire shed and the latter serves henceforth as the *gārhapatya.* Outside the *mahāvedi,* to the north of it, sits the *śamitra,* the shed where the *śamitṛ* ("appeaser") kills the victim (by suffocation) after it has been taken from the *yūpa.* The same special arrangement with fire shed and trapezoid *mahāvedi* is used for the *soma* sacrifice. The *mahāvedi* is considerably larger, as various sheds are built on it. West of the new *āhavanīya* is the *havirdhāna* shed, where the two *soma* carts (one of which was used to bring up the store of *soma* stalks) are kept, as well as the *soma* tub (*droṇakalaśa*) and the other implements. On the western side, the north-south oriented *sadas* (seating hall) is erected. In the *sadas* six small fire hearths (*dhiṣṇiya*) are made, one for each of the six reciting *hotraka*s; further on are the seats of the four chanters who perform the *stotra.* The drinking of the *soma,* after the libation in the fire, takes place in the southern part of the *sadas.* The entrances of the *sadas* are on the east and the west sides. When the participants enter the *sadas* in procession, they do so in a peculiar way "as if stalking a deer" (*prasarpaṇa,* "creeping," possibly the remnant of a hunting dance). Finally there are two more sheds, each with a small fire hearth, the *āgnīdhrīya* (the *āgnīdhra's* place) and the *mārjalīya* ("cleansing"), respectively on the north and south sides of the *mahāvedi.* Outside the *mahāvedi* is placed the *utkara,* as is the *cātvāla* (cesspit), from which the earth has been taken for the fire hearths.

Normally the hearths are made of earth mixed with other materials, such as gravel, earth from an anthill, mud from a dried-up pool, and so forth. In the case of the *soma* sacrifice it is also possible to enhance the prestige of the ceremony by using brick fire hearths. For the horse sacrifice this is obligatory. The focus of attention is the *āhavanīya,* which rests on the *mahāvedi.* The *āhavanīya* consists of a five-layered brick construction. This requires a full thousand bricks of various shapes and sizes so as to fit into the prescribed pattern—the form of a bird with spread-out wings representing Agni (the bricks, being fired, are intimately connected with Agni). At the same time the brick-built *āhavanīya* is equated with the immolated and reconstructed body of Prajāpati or of the cosmic man (Puruṣa). Various objects are buried in the ground beneath the brick construction, including the skulls of a man and of four animals (horse, bull, ram, he-goat) and a gold image of a man. This rather suggests a funerary tumulus (not unrelated to the Buddhist *stūpa*). The construction of the brick hearths (Agnicayana, "piling the fire") is a complicated ritual of fetching the clay in a ceremonial procession (which can be shown to derive from a razzia or war expedition), firing the bricks, and finally building the hearths, especially the bird-shaped *āhavanīya.* The Agnicayana takes place during the *upasad* days, so as to be ready for the animal sacrifice on the last *upasad* day. After the sacrifice the brick-built fireplaces, like the place of sacrifice itself, are abandoned, not to be used again.

In this connection, mention should be made of the special ritual for the first installation of the *śrauta* fires, which forms the starting point of the *śrauta* sacrificer's career. This ritual, called Agnyādhāna or Agnyādheya, concerns the transition of the domestic householder-sacrificer to the status of an *āhitāgni,* one who has set up the *śrauta* fires. Hence the first part of the ritual is still domestic in nature, namely the cooking of a rice dish (*odana*) on a fire taken from the domestic hearth. This rice dish is offered to four brahmans (the number four characterizing the smallest possible community, as it does in the case of the Buddhist monks' community). Over the dying embers the drilling sticks (the two *araṇi*s) are held and then given by the *adhvaryu* to the sacrificer. In the early morning of the next day the fire is drilled and put on the *gārhapatya* hearth. From the *gārhapatya* a burning piece of wood is taken and brought to the *āhavanīya* hearth, accompanied by a horse and a chariot wheel that is rolled in the same direction. This procedure for bringing over and setting up the *āhavanīya* fire, though easily interpreted as a solar charm, rather suggests a warlike expedition, especially when the accompanying *mantra*s (referring to unnamed enemies) are taken into consideration. The *dakṣiṇāgni* is either drilled separately, is taken from elsewhere, or is taken from the remainder of the *odana*'s cooking fire.

The ritual involves the installation of two more fires: the *sabhya* ("of the assembly," *sabhā*) and the *āvasathya* ("of the residence," *āvasatha,* i. e., of the guests). Their installation involves a dice game for the portions of a cow, which may, however, be replaced by an *odana.* The total number of fires, then, is five, a number that is in later speculations connected with the five *prāṇa*s (vital breaths). In the *śrauta* sacrifices these two additional fires are not used, but they may well represent an ancient tradition of communal sacrificial festivals—a tradition that may live on in the *Mahābhārata*'s description of the royal *sabhā* where the Rājasūya of the Pāṇḍava protagonists took place, as well as the fatal game of dice that set off the all-consuming war between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas.

The Agnyādhāna is then rounded off by the first Agnihotra and *iṣṭi.* The main point of the Agnyādhāna is, however, the bridging of the gap between the *gṛhya* (domestic) and the *śrauta* spheres. The two sorts of fire, domestic (called *aupāsada* or *āmātya*) and *śrauta,* are discontinuous. They are to be linked to each other by the person of the sacrificer, who after the completion of the sacrifice symbolically takes the fires into himself to reproduce them for the next sacrifice with the help of his *araṇis.*

Domestic ritual. The domestic (*gṛhya*) ritual requires only the domestic fire (*aupāsada* or *āmātya*). It is, in principle, performed by the master of the house with the help of a house priest (*purohita,* lit., "put forward," apparently to ward off evil). The domestic sacrifices, including a domestic Agnihotṛa, cake and gruel offerings (*pākayajña*), and animal sacrifices, have undergone the influence of the *śrauta* system but are not directly derived from them. In many respects they may be nearer to the common source of both types of ritual, the material of this common source having been "recycled" and rigidly systematized in the *śrauta* ritual.

A prominent occasion for the animal sacrifice is the reception (*arghya*) of a prestigious guest to whom a cow is offered. The guest must then either order to kill and prepare the cow for a meal or release it. The burden for the killing falls on the guest, not on the host. This point is not without importance in connection with later notions about *ahiṃsā* (nonviolence) and the prohibition of cow slaughter. It may also explain the Buddha's refusal to have meat prepared for him.

The main part of the domestic ritual concerns the life cycle rituals. The first of these is marriage, at which time the domestic fire, derived from the fire lit for the occasion in the bride's home, is established in the new home. Further rituals are the furthering of the birth of male progeny (Puṃsavana), the birth rites (Janmakarma), first taking of solid food (Annaprāśana), first haircutting (Cūḍākaraṇa, "making the hairtuft," *cūḍā*).

Then follows the important initiation to the Veda (Upanayana, "leading up to" and acceptance of the boy by the teacher). This is said to be the "second birth" of the "twice born" *varṇa*s of *brāhmaṇa*s, *kṣatriya*s, and *vaiśya*s, which qualifies them for the use of Vedic *mantra*s and for becoming, if they so wish, *śrauta* sacrificers. The period of pupilage or fosterage (*brahmacārin,* "walking in *brahman*" lasts, in theory at least, a varying number of years according to the *varṇa* of the pupil and is concluded by the Samāvartana, the "turning around" or return from the teacher. The former *brahmacārin* is now a *snātaka,* "one who has taken the bath" that ends his duties and restrictions as a pupil; the restrictions of the *brahmacārin* include chastity and are generally similar to those of the *dīkṣita.* Originally, the *brahmacārin* would seem to have been a young warrior who commends himself as a vassal to a magnate or warlord rather than a pupil peacefully devoted to learning by heart the Veda. His "return" as a *snātaka* is preferably by chariot and thereby recalls the *dīkṣita,* who, according to the older Śrautasūtras, also sets out on a chariot to the place of sacrifice. The term *samāvartana* seems, moreover, more appropriate to the warrior's art of turning around the horse-drawn chariot at high speed than to returning home. The long period of initiation to Vedic lore, then, appears to be largely a theoretical construct preserving the memory of an older situation rather than a generally applied rule. Accordingly, the Upanayana is the decisive rite that gives access to the Veda, whether or not there is an extended period of pupilage and a *samāvartana* rite.

To the domestic ritual also belong the funerary rites. These concern the cremation of the body, the Pitṛmedha ("ancestor sacrifice"), which, as the name indicates, is viewed as a (holocaust) sacrifice. The cremation fire is the household fire or, in the case of a *śrauta* sacrificer, his three sacrificial fires, which are placed around the pyre. The wife of the deceased lies down with the body of her husband on the pyre but is then ordered with a *mantra* to stand up again before the pyre is lit (the Veda apparently knows but rejects the burning of the widow). Then the parts of an immolated cow (or other female animal) are placed on corresponding parts of the body and burned with him. If the deceased was a *śrauta* sacrificer his sacrificial implements are also placed on his body. Afterward the ashes are gathered and at a later date interred under a tumulus (*loṣṭaciti,* "earth piling").

The period of mourning and impurity (*āśarca*) of the relatives at the death of a full-grown family member lasts for twelve days and is completed by a purificatory rite including a bath. The next stage is the incorporation of the deceased (who as a *preta,* or "one gone forth," is thought to roam about) into the ranks of the ancestors (*pitṛ*) to receive his part of the cult. The cult consists in the festive Śrāddha (from *śrāddha,* "faith"), a meal offered to brahmans. On this occasion three rice balls (*piṇḍa*s) are put on the ground for the three immediate ancestors, represented by three brahmans who silently wait till the rice balls are cooled and they emit no steam. The ancestors are supposed to be fed by the steam of the hot rice balls, which are set on the ground and left there. Apart from the Śrāddha, which is very much a social occasion and is performed periodically as well as at particular auspicious occasions (such as the birth of a son), there are also daily offerings of water and food to the ancestors.

The *piṇḍa* offering to the ancestors has also found a place in the *śrauta* ritual, most notably on the preparatory day of the *iṣṭi.* Rice is cooked on the southern fire, offerings are made from it into the same fire, and three *piṇḍa*s are placed on a special *vedi* near the fire. An enlarged version of this *piṇḍa-pitṛ-yajña* is incorporated as the "great ancestor sacrifice" (Mahāpitṛyajña) in the Sākamedha, the third of the seasonal four-month sacrifices.

As already mentioned, the cult of the ancestors is characterized by the use of the left side and the left hand as well as by uneven numbers.

Interpretations of Vedic ritual. Vedic ritual is usually interpreted in the sense of magic, the Veda being the means to bring about well-being and to avoid pain, as is stated by the fourteenth-century commentator Sāyaṇa. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the ritual texts dutifully declare which desire will be fulfilled by the performance of a particular sacrifice: health, wealth (especially in cattle), progeny, headmanship, or, less materialistically, (access to) heaven. More important, the ritual system as such is given in the Brāhmaṇas as a perfectly ordered mechanism to dominate and regulate the cosmic processes, both as regards the individual's life and the universe at large. In this context the gods are not free agents but, being themselves cosmic forces, they are compelled to do the sacrificer's bidding. The place of sacrifice is a microcosmos encompassing heaven and earth, and the ritual is identical with the cosmic order. When set in motion and correctly executed the ritual automatically controls the universe. Thus, for instance, it is said that the sun would not rise if the morning libation of the Agnihotṛa were not offered in the fire (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 2.3.1.5).

The Brāhmaṇas relate the ritual microcosmos to the macrocosmos and to the individual's life through the identification of ritual acts, objects, and implements with the elements of the macrocosmos and with parts of the sacrificer's body, the sacrificer being identified with Prajāpati, the mythical embodiment of sacrifice. Although these identifications, which form the central feature of the Brāhmaṇas, suggest a rich and multilayered network of symbolic relations, they are not so much multi-interpretable symbolic statements as one-to-one equations of ritual items with human and macrocosmic ones. They are, each one separately, isolated identificatory statements. As they occur in the Brāhmaṇas they make a singularly atomized impression. Taken together they are no more than a collection lacking consistency. Whereas Vedic hymnology capitalizes on the associative ramification of symbolic connections, such connections (*nidāna, bandhu*) are, in the Brāhmaṇas, reduced to single, unmistakable identifications. The connection on which the identification is based is often a number characterizing both items, which are then said to "coincide" *(saṃpad)* or to exhibit the same count (*saṃkhyāna*): for instance, three fires, three worlds; 360 *stotriyā*s, 360 days in the year. Such equivalences are, of course, known to the Vedic hymns, but they are not directly made explicit as they are in the Brāhmaṇas. The explicit use of equivalence appears to have been viewed by the ritualists as an innovative technique—indeed their premier intellectual tool—to identify the ritual with the universe and so to reduce the universe to a strict, ritually controlled order.

The significance of identification and of the ritual system it underwrites is clearly set out in a ritualistic myth given in explanation of the *mahāvrata soma* sacrifice. Its theme is the sacrificial contest of Prajāpati and his antagonist Mṛtyu (Death). In this contest Prajāpati's "weapons" are the *stotra,* the *śastra,* and the ritual act. The arsenal of Death consists of lute playing, singing, dancing, and improper acts. For many years the contest remains undecided. But the breakthrough comes when Prajāpati finally discovers ("sees") the (numerical) equivalence, namely, of his own "weapons" with those of Death. Once the equivalence is established, Prajāpati effortlessly subjugates Death's panoply to his own, cancels the rival sacrifice, and so defeats Mṛtyu (*Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* 2.69–70). It is to be noted that Prajāpati's "weapons" are elements of the *śrauta* system of ritual, such as *stotra, śastra,* and regular sacrificial acts. It is through their equivalences that Prajāpati overcomes and integrates the countervailing power of Death. The latter's rival sacrifice, incorporating singing, dancing, and improper acts, is clearly non-*śrauta.*

Such acts are indeed part of the *mahāvrata,* which features a number of contest rites and even copulation. What the ritualistic myth relates, however, is that these rites are made harmless and are in fact superseded by Prajāpati's victory. Indeed, the term *mahāvrata* generally means no more than a *sutyā* day characterized by a particular arrangement of its *stotra*s and forming part of a *sattra* made up of similarly differentiated *soma*-pressing days. In the same way other non-*śrauta* rituals and sacrifices were remodeled and fitted into the *śrauta* system. For instance, the guest reception offered to King Soma is made into a vegetal *iṣṭi,* not essentially different from any other *iṣṭi.* A more complicated example is provided by the so-called *vrātyastoma*s, which are related to the *mahāvrata.* The *vrātya* (from *vrāta,* "gang, band," possibly derived from *vrata,* "vow") is a consecrated warrior in many ways related to the *dīkṣita.* The *Atharvaveda* in a long hymn celebrates the *vrātya* as a sacral cosmic figure. However, his disturbingly aggressive habits, which still shine clearly through the Brāhmaṇas, ill suit the perfect order of the ritual. The ritualists solved the problem they presented by remodeling the sacrifice of the *vrātya*s into the regular *soma* sacrifices of the *ahīna* type.

The Brāhmaṇa myth of Prajāpati's and Mṛtyu's sacrificial contest brings out the extent and depth of the reflection that went into the formulation of the ritual system. It also shows the aim of the ritualists' work. This is made clear by the story's conclusion: "Now there is no sacrificial contest (*saṃsava*) anymore; what was the other (rival) sacrifice, that came to nought; the sacrifice is only one; Prajāpati is the sacrifice." That is: Conflict is canceled; the enemy, Death, has been subjected to the rule of ritual. Henceforth, the single sacrificer stands uncontested on his place of sacrifice where he establishes his own perfectly ordered universe governed by the ritual. The mythological battle of *deva*s and *asura*s has been decided by the ritual system. Enemies, like the *asura*s, are still profusely mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas, but only as disembodied entities defeated in advance by the unfailing means of the ritual. The only remaining uncertainty is the ritual mistake, which, however, can be repaired by ritual means (*prāyaścitta,* "removal of concern").

The ritual system is an absolute, universal, and nonconflicting order: It is, in other words, transcendent. While the hymn's world of the gods imperceptibly shaded over the world of men, the suprahuman (*apauruṣeya*) *śruti* and its ritual is now separated by a gap from the mundane world of conflict. The *śrauta* sacrifice has been individualized and desocialized. It is the exclusive affair of the single sacrificer. He and his priests should form one single body; otherwise, they are separate individuals within a group of priests, all of whom are at once sacrificers in the *sattra.* The situation in which more than one sacrificer would exist in addition to the priests on the place of sacrifice is explicitly ruled out. This may explain the striking lack of public religious ceremonies. Although the royal *śrauta* sacrifices such as the Rājasūya (consecration of the king) contain ample indications of a former public festival, the royal sacrificer is a single sacrificer, no different from any other *soma* sacrificer. The public rites have been remodeled in accordance with the standard paradigms of the individualized ritual, or else they are dismembered as separate acts inserted into the standard *soma* paradigm. The Rājasūya, formally speaking, does not make a sacrificer a king, for it is stated that "a king who wants to attain heaven should perform the Rājasūya" (*Āpastamba Śrautasūtra* 18.8.1). That is: He is already a king who for his own reasons performs the sacrifice. This is recognized in the later *dharma* texts, which do not prescribe it as the required consecration. Similarly, the Aśvamedha sacrificer should already have the status of a world ruler (*Āpastamba Śrautasūtra* 10.1.1).

The *śrauta* ritual, as many details of its rules and the Brāhmaṇa explanations make clear, has its origin in the heroic and essentially tragic world of the warrior who like the gods must "move about on wheels" and contend for the goods of life with the *asura*-like settled magnate who "sits in his hall." He can only hope that he may survive and eventually quit the life of the warrior (*kṣattravṛtti*) so as to become a settled householder and magnate himself. The warrior lives in the wilds (*araṇya*); hence the sacrificer's setting out from home. The settled community (*grāma*) on the other hand is the sphere of the magnate. The two spheres, *grāma* and *araṇya,* are clearly hostile to each other but equally complementary. The point of contact that held both together was their conflict contained by the sacrificial contest that lived on in the hypertrophical imagination of the epic "sacrifice of battle" (*raṇayajña*). Both epics, the *Mahābhārata* as well as the *Rāmāyaṇa,* still show the alternation between the wandering warrior's life in the wilds and the sphere of settled rulership.

The *śrauta* ritual indicated a clear break with the cyclical alternation of *grāma* and *araṇya* and with the sacrificial contest as the joint holding the two together. By the elimination of conflict from the desocialized and individualized sacrifice the two spheres were definitively broken apart. This is illustrated by the *agnyādheya,* which physically separates the domestic fire from the *śrauta* fires. The resulting gap must then be bridged by the single sacrificer who alternates between his life in the world and the transcendent rule of the *śruti.* Put differently, he must fuse the two opposite rules of a substantial householder and a wandering warrior. Hence, only a householder can be an *āhitāgni,* that is, one who has set up the *śrauta* fires permanently and thereby submits himself to the absolute order of the *śruti.* This gives him access to transcendence, but by the same token this does not change his social position. Whether king or commoner, under the rule of ritual all sacrificers are equal. Sacrifice can only impoverish the *āhitāgni,* since he has to go on spending his wealth in sacrifices and *dakṣiṇā*s without a chance to recoup through reciprocity at the sacrifices of others. Accordingly, there is no obligation for the qualified householder to set up the fires and to submit to the strict discipline of *śrauta* sacrifice. If he does, he must be sure of himself and his fortune, or, as the texts put it, he must have absolute faith (*śraddhā*). It is true that the *śrauta* sacrifice promises him the fulfillment of his wishes. In the sacrificial contest the possibility of fulfilling one's wishes was clear. The goods of life were concretely set out as the stakes and prizes of the contest. The *śrauta* ritual by contrast does not and cannot make clear how the desired results are to be brought about. It is *adṛṣṭārtha* (without visible object), that is, transcendent.

It is clear, then, that the *śrauta* ritual hinges on a paradox. It offers itself as an effective magical means for the gratification of the sacrificer's worldly desires. On the other hand it withdraws from all worldly concerns from which desocialization and individualization have cut it free. It is a closed system of rationalistically devised rules, complete in itself and regardless of the uses and abuses to which it may be put. In the last resort it rejects its own potential for magical and sacral meaning. Beyond magic and sacrality it stands by itself in sovereign transcendence.

BRAHMANISM. Though admittedly a vague term, *Brahmanism* is best defined in relation to Vedism. It does not primarily concern religious cults or institutions but rather propounds particular views, laid down in texts, about humanity and the universe. These views are, however, equally fundamental to Hinduism in general. Their specificity resides in the claim to be related to or directly derived from the Veda. Brahmanism is, therefore, usually considered to be the Veda-oriented form of Hinduism, immediately following Vedism. However, since the textual tenets of Brahmanism are generally authoritative also in later Hinduism, a three-tiered succession of Vedism, Brahmanism, and Hinduism tends to be misleading. Moreover, like Vedism, Brahmanism is not likely to cover the whole of early Hindu religious belief and practice. Brahmanism is characterized by its acknowledgment of the Veda as the ultimate source of transcendent authority. Thereby it is clearly marked off from the "heterodox" sects or movements such as Buddhism, Jainism, Ajīvakas, and the materialist schools (Lokāyata, Cārvāka), which reject the authority of the Veda.

In Indian terms, the relationship between Vedism and Brahmanism is that of *śruti* ("hearing"), the transcendent "revelation" as against the worldly or human tradition, called *smṛti* ("remembrance"). The word *śruti* does not refer to the mode of receiving the revelations: The standard term is "seeing," not "hearing." *Śruti* thus refers to the transmission of the fixed and systematized texts. In this sense it is not essentially different from the *smṛti,* except for the unique care and efforts spent on its preservation and transmission. But the differentiation marked by the two terms is significant. Although the *smṛti* equally tends to give itself as revelation, namely by the godhead, the transcendent authority of the *śruti* does not derive from any godhead. It stands by itself without the intermediary of a divine agency. Its authority being ultimate, it can have no other, higher source. It therefore functions as the unassailable basis of the fluid and adaptive worldly *smṛti.* Another word for *smṛti* is *dharma,* universal law, which then is said to be derived from or to be already contained in the *śruti.* At any rate the *dharma* should not go counter to the *śruti.* In fact, however, the relationship is more complex and indeed problematic.

Texts. In addition to the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas, the texts to which Brahmanism, or, to use the Indian term, the *smṛti,* refers are the Upaniṣads, the Dharmasūtras and Dharmaśāstras, the epics (*Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*), and the Purāṇas. The Upaniṣads can be chronologically distinguished by their form: The older prose Upaniṣads are extensions of the ritualist Brāhmaṇas. Most of the younger ones, often of sectarian origin and with a wide variety of contents, are metrical. The latter genre has been productive over a long period reaching far beyond the late Vedic texts, until at least the sixteenth century CE. The Upaniṣads belong to the *śruti,* and this title is a claim to ultimate authority. In the same way, the set of 108 Upaniṣads (listed in the *Muktikā Upaniṣad*) are ascribed to the Vedic *śākhā*s (schools), but it is significant that a large proportion is ascribed to the *Atharvaveda,* in which have been collected many other materials that do not fit into the *śrauta* system.

The Dharmasūtras are in the same condensed style as the Vedic *sūtra*s and are equally affiliated with Vedic "schools" (*caraṇa*). This affiliation becomes looser with the metrical Dharmaśāstras. No less important as a storehouse of mythology, religious notions, and *dharma* are the wide-ranging *Mahābhārata* (especially its twelfth book, the *Śāntiparvan,* and its sixth book, which contains the celebrated *Bhagavadgītā*) and the *Rāmāyaṇa,* which has known a great number of reworkings. The encyclopedic Purāṇas ("ancient stories") deal, in principle, with five topics (*pañcalakṣaṇa,* "five characteristics"): creation, periodical recreation, genealogy (of gods and holy men), the world periods (*yuga*s), and the dynasties. But many other materials have been added at various unspecified times: *dharma* precepts, pilgrimage, hymns, and sectarian treatises. They have functioned over a long period as a storehouse receiving all manner of materials. The Purāṇas (the term occurs already in the *Atharvaveda*) continued the tradition of legends (*itihāsa*) that occasionally make an appearance in the *śrauta* ritual (e.g., the Śunahśepa story in the Rājasūya). *Chandogya-Upaniṣad* 3.4.1. mentions *itihāsa-purāṇa* as the "fifth Veda," which is later taken to comprise the epics as well.

Brahmanism, though primarily textual, does not have a fixed corpus of texts. Its tenets are recorded in a variety of texts stretching over a long and, in fact, indefinite period of time. Its impact has made itself felt in Hinduism, increasing and decreasing in various regions at different times. It would seem that rising regional dynasties have been instrumental in creating waves of "brahmanization." This will also have been responsible for the incorporation in the texts of materials of regional and sectarian origin. But such brahmanization equally carried the *śruti* with it, which as the source of ultimate authority was of singular importance for the ruler's legitimation.

Interiorization of the ritual. The crucial issue here is the relationship of Brahmanism with the Veda, that is, between *śruti* and *smṛti.* The *śruti* has exhausted itself in creating a closed system of ritual order. But the price that had to be paid for this achievement was the alienation from the worldly concerns of the mundane order. The *śruti* was—purposely—desocialized and individualized. This created the problem of reconnecting it again with the mundane order. Propounding an absolute and seamless order, the *śruti* rejects conflict and places the rival beyond the pale. It therefore cannot speak to man's worldly concerns. Notwithstanding the proclaimed dependence of the *dharma* on the *śruti,* the latter's contents do not provide specific guidelines for the tensions and conflicts of social life.

Once it was desocialized and individualized there was only one way open to the *śruti:* interiorization. What then takes priority is no longer the faithful execution of the ritual but knowledge of the ritual and of the identifications on which it rests. This is already prefigured in the recurrent Brāhmaṇa phrase that a particular ritual act is effective only for him "who knows thus," that is, for him who knows the relevant identification. It is thus possible to perform the ritual in thought alone (*manasā*). The transcendent order of the ritual is realized internally in the way of discipline meditation.

An illustrative example is provided by the Agnihotṛa, offered in five breaths that are equated with the five sacrificial fires (*prāṇāgnihotṛa*). In mundane terms it is simply eating one's meal embellished with mouth rinsings and simple *mantra*s. But the same pattern enables the brahman to participate in a festive meal to which he is invited (a Śrāddha, for instance). He is thus not just a guest obliged to his munificent host but an individual sacrificer who performs the sacrificial ritual independent of his host and the surrounding society. In other words, it enables the brahman to square the circle of living in society and of transcending it at the same time.

World renunciation. From the individualized sacrificer and his internalized sacrifice there runs a straight line leading to the extramundane world renouncer (*saṃnyāsin*), who gives up the three aims of mundane life—the socioreligious duties of the householder (*dharma*), the acquisition and management of wealth (*artha*), and sensual gratification (*kāma*)—to devote himself single-mindedly to a strict inner discipline that results in his liberation from earthly life (*mokṣa*). Though there is a wide variety of such inner disciplines they all share the ritualistic strictness of an internalized transcendent order. The renouncer's discipline obviously goes beyond, and in many if not most cases even rejects, Vedic ritualism. But it is the desocialization and individualization of Vedic ritual that has prepared the ground for the institution of *saṃnyāsa,* or renunciation.

In this connection two sets of ideas, both deriving from ritualistic thought, are fundamental. The first such notion is the Upaniṣadic identification of *ātman,* the individual "soul," with *brahman.* In the Vedic hymns *brahman* is the multilayered and multi-interpretable, often paradoxical or enigmatic formulation. The unexpressed inner connection is the essence of the *brahman.* The Brāhmaṇa ritualists reduce the *brahman* to the explicit identification. In both cases, however, it is this fundamental force that makes the poetic statement as well as the rite effective. In this way the *brahman* came to be seen as the transcendent principle of universal order. The *saṃnyāsin's* discipline, as already announced in the Upaniṣads, means the internal realization of the *brahman* as the principle of transcendent order through its identification with the *ātman.* It is the ultimate identification tying together and thereby canceling the dispersed identifications of the Brāhmaṇas in the single person of the renouncer, as was in fact already the case with the individualized *śrauta* sacrificer who was identified with Prajāpati or the *puruṣa.*

The other set of ideas, equally ritualistic in origin, is the concept of *karman,* or work. In the Brāhmaṇas *karman* is the sacrifice. Originally this sacrificial "work" had a social context. It rested on the competitive reciprocity of hosts and guests, the latter having to redeem themselves by acting in their turn as hosts. The individualization of the *śrauta* sacrifice, however, put an abrupt stop to all exchange and reciprocity. This meant that now the sacrificer had to exchange his *karman* with himself alone, one's *karman* inexorably bringing the next *karman* in its wake. This, combined with the not exclusively Indian notion of an unending alternation of birth, death, and rebirth (*saṃsāra*), created the urge to terminate the endless chain of ever-renewed *karman* that could no longer be transferred to the rival. The only way open was then to renounce all *karman,* all activity, by realizing internally the stasis of absolute order. Obviously, this signifies rejection of the external sacrifice as well. Even though it cancels Vedic ritualism, the ideal of terminating all *karman* can be seen as the consequence of ritualistic thought.

The crucial importance of the institution of world renunciation in Brahmanism and in Hinduism in general is that it created two opposite and incompatible spheres: the transcendent sphere of the renouncer's individualistic rejection of society as against the social world and its requirements. At the same time, however, the renouncer paradoxically needs society, which must provide for his upkeep so as to enable him to preserve his discipline. On the other hand society wants to draw him into its web again as the holder of transcendent authority. That is: The *saṃnyāsin* will gather a following. He is therefore especially known as the founder of a sect. The Indian sect typically has a *saṃnyāsin* as founder, who will be succeeded by one of his pupils to lead the worldly lay followers.

Varṇa and āśrama. The *dharma* or world order, being universal, must regulate both worldly and renunciatory life. This is the subject of *varṇāśramadharma,* the order of caste (*varṇa*) and life stages (*āśrama,* "place of exertion," hence also dwelling place of ascetics). While caste orders worldly society, the life stages give a place to its opposite, renunciation. As regards caste, it is to be noted that the *smṛti* knows two terms, *jāti* (genus) and *varṇa* (shape, color). The two terms are to some extent interchangeable, but there is a marked difference. Although there are only four *varṇa*s—*brāhmaṇa*s (Eng., brahmans), *kṣatriya*s (warriors), *vaiśya*s (producers), and *śūdra*s, who serve the three "twice-born" *varṇa*s (that is, those who have been initiated to the Vedic *mantra*s)—the number of *jāti*s is unlimited. The latter are said to have arisen in the first instance from mixed unions of the four *varṇa*s. However, the scriptural order of the *varṇa*s is based on their strict separation, that is, neither intermarriage nor commensality is allowed. As no society can exist on the basis of the single principle of separation, the *jāti*s make society function. But this equally means that *jāti* society is based on a serious transgression, namely *varṇasaṃkara,* or "mixing of the *varṇa*s."

The principle of separation can be seen as deriving from the individualization of the Vedic sacrificer that resulted from the exclusion of conflict and competition. In fact, individualization did not stop at the boundary of the *varṇa.* The scriptural rules forbid marriages among even distant relatives, and so are directed against the formation of extended marriage networks. As in the case of the sacrificer's individualization, the separation of the *varṇa* aims at a static, conflictless order through the exclusion of social relations. The scriptural order of the separate *varṇa*s is in the last resort incompatible with the reality of the associative and conflictive jātis.

Although it is not stressed in the texts, the religious principle of the *jāti* order appears to be the asymmetric interdependence of pure and impure, the impure being the "fallout" of life processes, including death and decay. Their hierarchy as well as their obvious complementarity led the French sociologist Louis Dumont to his impressive analysis of the Indian caste order as based on and encompassed by the religious principle of the pure-impure hierarchy. Although this analysis holds for the *jāti* order, it is undermined by the scriptural *varṇa,* which rejects relations of complementarity and interdependence in favor of separation and independence.

This problem is particularly clear in the case of the brahman. As the ideal repository and upholder of the transcendent *śruti* the brahman should be immaculately pure. But this requirement threatens to make him dependent on the impure—such as the sweeper or the washerman—and such relations of dependence would fatally impair his purity. Purity, then, is the absence of relations. Strictly speaking he should not be a priest, because this would involve him in social relations of a particularly dangerous—because sacral—nature. Ideally, the brahman should stand outside of society, the highest brahman being the one who has no power or wealth or even provisions for the next day, and who performs the ritual in and for himself alone. Thus he bears the brunt of the incompatibility between *jāti* interdependence and *varṇa* separation. In other words, the ideal brahman should be a renouncer. The tension between *jāti* and *varṇa* is akin to the one between society and renunciation, and derives from the same source.

The scriptural theory of the four stages of life (*āśrama*) brings social and renunciatory life together in a single scheme. These four stages are those of the pupil memorizing the Veda (*brahmacārin*); the married householder (*gṛhastha*); the cenobitic forest dweller (*vānaprastha*), who still keeps up his domestic fire; and the individualized renouncer (*saṃnyāsin*), who has interiorized the fire and consequently the ritual. Of these four it is only the *gṛhastha* who is fully a member of society and as such must perform the scriptural duties toward the Vedic seers by upholding the *śruti,* toward the ancestors by progeny, and toward the gods by sacrifice. Only after these duties, especially the continuation of the lineage, have been fulfilled, is the householder free to withdraw from the world and strive for final liberation (*mokṣa*). It would seem that the basic principle is again the opposition of social and renunciatory life. Originally, the two opposites were given their due in a pattern of the cyclical alternation of life in the established community, setting out into the wilderness and returning again. When this alternating cycle was broken, the opposite and now-incompatible phases were given their due by placing them in the linear succession of the four *āśrama*s, spanning the individual's life.

Ahiṃsā, vegetarianism, and the cow. *Ahiṃsā* (nonviolence) brings out the problematic character of the relationship between *śruti* and *smṛti.* It categorically forbids the killing of animals. Yet the *śruti* prescribes animal sacrifice and the consumption of the victim's meat, albeit only an insignificant part of it (the *iḍā*). Ludwig Alsdorf has distinguished three stages. First, there is no question of a general rule against meat consumption, but only against particular kinds of animals. Next, meat-eating is forbidden, except in the isolated context of the animal sacrifice. The third and last stage brings the absolute prohibition of meat (together with intoxicating drinks, such as *surā*). This does not, however, explain the reason for the rise of *ahiṃsā.* Non-Hindu influences, such as Buddhism and Jainism, have often been assumed to be important factors. Alsdorf suggests the pre-Aryan Indian civilization as the source of the prohibition. Hanns-Peter Schmidt, however, has pointed out that the Vedic ritual itself evinces a strong aversion to the violence of immolation. Part of the ritual is concerned with undoing the harm of the sacrificial killing. In Schmidt's view it was the internalization of the ritual that brought about *ahiṃsā.* Internalization canceled the external acts needed to undo the evil of killing, which is still involved, even in the internal food sacrifice (of the *prāṇāgnihotṛa* type). From then on the only way open was the absolute prohibition of meat.

The problem is further complicated by the sacrosanctity of the cow and the consequent prohibition—equally alien to the *śruti*—of cow's meat. Nevertheless, both *ahiṃsā* and the prohibition of cow's meat can be seen as deriving from the *śrauta* ritual, though in a different way from the one proposed by Schmidt. Originally it may have been a matter of alternating phases, namely the phase of the trekking consecrated warrior (the *dīkṣita*), who should preserve and, if possible, increase his cow herd (and consequently should not eat meat) as against the homecoming celebrated by a sacrificial festival that lifts the prohibition of meat-eating. The trekking phase of the warrior was decidedly violent, but vegetarian; the settled phase reversed the situation: Meat-eating is allowed, even prescribed, but social relations should be marked by nonviolence. In this way vegetarianism and the cow taboo can be seen as different in origin and even opposite to each other, deriving from opposite phases. With the collapse of their cyclical alternation, both the trekking warrior and the peaceful householder had to be homogenized into the single householder-sacrificer. As such he was required not only to be both nonviolent and to abstain from the cow, but at the same time to perform the sacrifice, which, even if vegetal, still involved the killing (grinding and pressing being explicitly considered as "killing") of the sacrificial substances.

Although this may explain the origin of vegetarianism based on *ahiṃsā* and of the sacrosanctity of the cow, the fact remains that there is an unresolved conflict between the *śruti* and the *smṛti.* This conflict is formulated in terms of the two opposite spheres of social life and renunciation. Eating meat is the ongoing way of the world (*pravṛtti*), but abstention (*nivṛtti,* the term for the cessation of worldly processes) brings ultimate spiritual rewards (*Mānava Dharmaśāstra* 5.56).

Cultic institutions. Separate from—but not wholly dissociated from—the impersonal cosmic principle there lies in the texts a profuse mythology. The Vedic ritual itself came to overshadow the gods as the central cosmic force and reduced them to mere names whose only place was in the *mantra*s. Accordingly, the Veda is fundamentally aniconic. Brahmanism by contrast gives way to a rich stream of theistic beliefs and practices (which may never have been absent but were simply ignored by the Vedic scriptures). The *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad,* considered as the gate to theistic Hinduism, places the "Lord" (*īśa* or *īśvara*) in the center. Being intimately connected with the impersonal *brahman* he is both transcendent and, in his relation to humans, immanent. Such transcendent and immanent gods, who as such are to be distinguished from the great many divinities, are Śiva (Rudra), to whom the title *īśa* or *īśvara* primarily refers, and Viṣṇu. Together with the personified Brahma (who hardly receives a cult) they are often represented iconographically as the *trimurti,* the "triple body" or trinity.

Theism opened the way to cultic institutions, the first of which may be considered the temple, which developed from a simple open-air sanctuary to ever more elaborate complexes with a central cella and deity (*mūrti*) in an awe-inspiring towerlike and massive structure surrounded by smaller sanctuaries and niches for other gods, the whole of which was marked off by an outer wall. Second is the *pūjā* as the fundamental cult form, both in the household and more elaborately in the temple. Though the *pūjā* had existed before, its textual canonization by Brahmanism was a new development. Its basic pattern is the hospitable reception of an honored guest who is offered a bath, clothes, food, and a resting place. In the great temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu the *pūjā* is elaborated into a full and regal ceremony involving also the god's consorts and divine retainers. In the sense of a hospitable reception offered to the guest the *pūjā* is closely related to the Vedic ritual, which, as Thieme has shown (see above), derives from the same pattern. This does not mean that the *pūjā* evolved out of the Vedic ritual. Rather, the two are different realizations of the same basic pattern.

The individualization achieved by Vedic ritualism is also a characteristic of Brahmanism. This is clearly noticeable in the *pūjā.* The domestic *pūjā,* like the Vedic *gṛhya* ritual, is strictly a family affair. The individualistic tendency is displayed most clearly in the temple. Although great crowds are usually present at the temple during particular festivals, they do not participate in the actual *pūjā.* To pay their obeisance and to obtain a view (*darśana*) of the deity, the devotees pass, one by one, before the opening of the cella. Like Vedism, Brahmanism is devoid of regular *sacra publica.* Public and royal festivals, such as the raising of the "Indra pole" (*Indradhvaja,* a sort of Maypole), are described in the epics and Purāṇas but are not in any way prescribed. In this respect it is significant that although the Śrāddha in honor of the ancestors can be celebrated as a social gathering with a large number of guests, the *dharma* texts explicitly prefer the patron to invite no more than three brahmans, or even only one (*Mānava Dharmaśāstra* 3.125, 126, 129). Whereas Hinduism involves large public festivals, Brahmanism holds on to the individualism of Vedism.

The most important cultic notion to pervade Indian religiosity as a whole is *bhakti* ("participation"), the single-minded loving devotion to the godhead (in this context usually known as the *bhagavat,* the "felicitous one"), in whose being the devotee (*bhakta*) strives to share. Though at the opposite end from Vedic ritualism and Upaniṣadic thought, *bhakti* appears to be ancient. Its attitude of loving devotion is already commended in relatively early Upaniṣads (especially the *Katha Upaniṣad*). The term makes its first entry in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad,* which is generally known for its theistic stance. It is, however, in the *Bhagavadgītā* (*Mahābhārata* 6.25–42) that *bhakti* is canonized as the third "way" (*mārga*), next to (Upaniṣadic) knowledge (*jñāna,* that is, "knowledge" of *brahman*) and ritualism (*karman*). There *bhakti* is connected with the concept of disinterested worldly action (*karmayoga,* "harnessing oneself to action"). This means that the devotee should perform all actions that his station in life requires of him (even if this means that the warrior Arjuna must kill his relatives), but without any self-interest. It is a renunciatory attitude: The devotee renounces the result, the "fruit" (*phala*) of his actions. This attitude is the answer to the gap that divides life in the world from world renunciation. But the fusion of worldly and renunciatory life can only be achieved at the price of a paradox: The devotee fully engages in worldly activity, including violent conflict, but does not engage himself.

The Bhagavat (or Bhagavan), the god of the *bhakta,* is most commonly a form of Viṣṇu. His connection with the cosmic pillar and his *avatara*s or "descents" in the world to restore the *dharma* and save humankind made him the ideal mediator between humans and transcendence. The devotee's *bhakti* is especially directed toward two of his forms of *avatara*s, namely Kṛṣṇa and Rāma. Kṛṣṇa is worshiped as the divine child or as the cowherd (*gopāla*), the beloved of the *gopī*s, the cowherd girls. As a charioteer and bard (*sūta:* the combination of the two functions is a standard one) he proclaims the *Bhagavadgītā* to the warrior Arjuna. His story is told in the tenth book of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* a fundamental text for the *bhakti* cult and for religious art, especially miniatures. King Rāma is the protagonist of the epic *Rāmāyaṇa.* The basic text of Rāma devotionalism is the Old Hindi *Rāmacaritamānasa* of Tulsīdās (fifteenth century), one of the many reworkings of the classical epic.

Concentrating on the inner life and attitude of the devotee, *bhakti* as a cult form does not need specific installations or institutions. It does know, however, a "congregational," though informal, form of worship: the singing of devotional hymns (*bhajan*). Both in its individual interiorized and in its "congregational" forms *bhakti* easily associates itself with temples and with organized sects. In fact, *bhakti* imbues all Hindu religiosity. As such it translates the Western concept of religion better than the word *dharma,* which has come into use in this sense only in the last century, and misleadingly stresses religious law and doctrine.

In the marked absence of a well-defined clergy, the most important figure in Brahmanism, as well as in Hinduism in general, is the *guru,* the spiritual teacher and guide. Ideally, he is a world renouncer or at least is known for his lack of self-interest. Although not a priest in the sense of an officiant or dispenser of sacraments, he holds an all but absolute authority—even in matters not necessarily of a spiritual nature—in the personal affairs of his devotees. Even in the context of *bhakti,* which emphasizes the direct personal relationship of the devotee to his god, the *guru* is the indispensable mediator. He can be seen as the actual recipient of the cult. Indian religiosity would be able to dispense with its gods on the condition that there is a *guru.*

Itself not a cult or a sect, Brahmanism is receptive to a great variety of beliefs, practices, and institutions. Its characteristic as well as its specific contribution to Hinduism is the faithful acknowledgement of the authority of the *śruti.* More importantly, Brahmanism carries on the individualistic tradition of interiorization that resulted from Vedic thought.

Smārtas. Brahmanism is still represented to the present day by the Smārtas (adherents of the *smṛti*). Characteristically, they are not a sect in an institutional or doctrinal sense but a loose category of (South Indian) brahmans who uphold nonsectarian orthodoxy. Their cultic practices are primarily private in character and reserve an important place for the Vedic *gṛhya* ritual. Smārtas will frequent particular temples, especially Śaiva ones, but they have no specific temples of their own. Worship takes place in the house, where a special room is kept for the *pūjā.* Smārta worship is especially concerned with the five gods Śiva, Viṣṇu, Durgā (consort of Śiva), Sūrya, and the elephant-headed Ganeśa, who are placed in the corners of a square with the preferred deity in the middle.

The Smārtas derive their tradition from Śānkara, the eighth-century founder of Advaita (monistic) Vedānta. Accordingly, they recognize the head of the monastic establishment (*maṭha*) and center of the Śānkara tradition at Śṛngeri (in present-day Karnataka) as their spiritual leader. Another tradition connects the Smārtas with Kumārila, the eighth-century teacher of Mimāṃśa (the interpretation of the Vedic ritual rules and so of the *dharma*). In this way the Smarta tradition claims to derive from both aspects of the *śruti,* the ritualistic and the Upaniṣadic (and thus the knowledge of *karman* and that of *brahman,* respectively), represented by the Vedanta tradition of Sankara and the Mimāṃśa tradition of ritualism.

The Brahmanic Smārta tradition lacks the colorful drama and institutions often and not without justification associated with Hinduism. It does not propound an enchanted world of magic and numinous power. Instead, it focuses on the central problem of *karman* and *brahman* already prefigured in later Vedism. It therefore holds on to the *śruti* as the ultimate truth and source of *dharma.* Tolerant of sectarian doctrines and practices, which it tends to harmonize, the Smarta tradition is not a sharply outlined orthodoxy. But it does represent the central concerns of Hinduism, past and present.

SEE ALSO Agni; Ahiṃsā; Bhagavadgītā; Bhakti; Brahman; Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas; Dharma, article on Hindu Dharma; Domestic Observances, article on Hindu Practices; Goddess Worship, article on The Hindu Goddess; Hinduism; Indian Religions, article on Mythic Themes; Indra; Karman, article on Hindu and Jain Concepts; Kṛṣṇa; Mahābhārata; Maṇḍalas, article on Hindu Maṇḍalas; Mantra; Mimāṃśa; Mokṣa; Prajāpati; Prāṇa; Priesthood, article on Hindu Priesthood; Pūjā, article on Hindu Pūjā; Purāṇas; Rama; Rāmāyaṇa; Rites of Passage, article on Hindu Rites; Rudra; Saṃnyāsa; Śānkara; Sarasvatī; Śastra Literature; Soma; Sūtra Literature; Temple, article on Hindu Temples; Tulsīdās; Upaniṣads; Vaiṣṇavism, article on Bhāgavatas; Varṇa and Jāti; Varuṇa; Vedāṅgas; Vedānta; Vedas; Viṣṇu; Vṛtra; Yama; Zoroastrianism.

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VEGETARIANISM See AHIṂSĀ; GREEK RELIGION; VEGETATION

VEGETATION. The world's mythology and folklore offer one example after another of sacred plants, both wild and cultivated, as well as stories about the divine origins of plants, their magic or medicinal properties, and heroic quests to obtain them. These stories reflect a dual tendency, shared by humanity's forebears in history and by its contemporaries in the so-called nonliterate societies: On the one hand there has been the tendency to "humanize" nature with sacred narratives whose purpose is to explain how the world and humankind came to be the way they are; on the other hand analogies have been consistently drawn from the physical world—in this case, plants or perhaps the tools and techniques for cultivating them—to express those things about human living that can never be fully expressed, especially the perennial anxieties, fervent hopes, and nostalgias that expose immediately the limits of one's situation in the world.

For example, the Warao Indians of the Orinoco Delta in South America have endowed basket making with a quite explicit religious meaning derived ultimately from their experience with a certain plant. Besides calabashes and makeshift containers put together by folding leaves or palm stipules, the Warao have only baskets for storage and carrying. The raw material used in the manufacture of baskets is the cortex of the stem of the *itiriti* plant, which grows in most parts of the delta. The Warao say that they owe the existence of the plant to the selfless sacrifice of an ancestor in primordial times who, seeing that his people were in need of baskets to survive, transformed himself into the first *itiriti* plant and enjoined his descendants to employ his body in the manufacture of many useful things.

The plant itself has a number of magico-religious properties, the most important being its effect on the craftsman's hands. A Warao basket maker observes that over the course of his career his palms whiten as the pithy interior of the *itiriti* passes through his hands. He believes that eventually a small hole that only he can see will appear in each palm. Often, when the craftsman splits open an *itiriti* stem to get at the pith, he can see that a small snake has tunneled up from the roots of the plant, and he understands then by analogy what the Itiriti Spirit, conceived of as a snake, is accomplishing in his body. The spirit, he believes, is boring a tunnel from his chest, where the tutelary spirits reside, through both arms to the openings in his palms. When the craftsman finally observes the exit holes in his palms, he knows he has undergone a transformation from an ordinary human to a shamanic craftsman with the same healing powers and social status as the other religious specialists in his tribe.

At least two points deserve mention. First, when the Warao craftsman produces baskets, he complies with his divine ancestor's original intention that many useful things be made of his serpentine body. He validates the Spirit's sacrificial deed through the knowledge and practice of his craft, and by having the body of the god pass continually through his hands, he effectively reconstitutes the sacrality of the primordium. In other words, he "humanizes" nature, here not so much by narrating what took place in the beginning as by acting it out.

Second, thanks to the analogies he draws from the plant, the snake, and the physical effect of his contact with the sacred fiber, the basket maker possesses a language suitable for expressing—as well as a technique suitable for achieving—the transformation from ordinary status to that of shamanic craftsman, by means of which he gains a place for himself after death in the presence of the Creator Bird of Dawn. Such is the spiritual achievement to which he dedicates the better part of his life. Just as he masters his craft by understanding the nature of the material he employs and the secret of the manufacturing process, so, by analogy, does he achieve spiritual mastery over himself and the world. The Warao example thus illustrates an important function of religious symbols generally: By making it possible for the human situation to be translated into cosmological terms and vice versa, religious symbols reveal a fundamental oneness between human life and the structure of the world, drawing human beings out of their isolation in subjectivity and allowing them to take a stance vis à vis their own lives and the world that one could easily describe as a kind of transcendence.

Warao basket making describes only one of the ways that plants have entered and shaped religious life. The effectiveness of medicinal plants is often ascribed to the spirit or power they embody. For example, the Apinagé of South America believe that for each species of edible animal there is a corresponding wild plant that can be used should a person undergo the harm of ingesting the animal's soul.

Poisons have played extremely important roles in human affairs, especially in the hands of sorcerers and priest-physicians charged with knowing how to treat their toxic effects and who are themselves capable of using the poison against an enemy. The Canelos Quichua and the Jivaroan people in Ecuador say that forest demons reside in plants from which the poisonous curare is prepared, and it is they who kill the victim when a poisoned arrow penetrates the body.

The beer that the Chaco Indians brew from algaroba or other fruits is said to derive its intoxicating powers from the spirit present in the tree and especially in its fruits. As the beverage ferments, the indwelling spirit approaches the height of its powers. The mysterious process of fermentation can be hurried along by various ceremonies, the beating of drums, or the shaking of rattles.

Any plant that somehow bears or manifests the vital forces at work in the world, spontaneous growth and renewal, may host divine or magic powers; contact with such a plant will commonly transfer those powers for the benefit of one who understands its secret. An endless variety of agricultural rites and beliefs entail the recognition of a force manifested in the harvest. The Indochinese have a rice spirit that makes their crops grow and bear fruit. They treat the rice in flower as they would a pregnant woman, taking care to capture the spirit in a basket and store it carefully in the granary where rice is kept. When barley starts to germinate, the Ewe of West Africa ensure the fertility of the fields by consecrating a number of young girls to the python god. As the god's representatives, priests consummate a sacred marriage, and the girls or women thus consecrated engage in ritual prostitution for a period of time in the enclosure of the sanctuary. Elsewhere the presence of the sacred tree at wedding celebrations underscores the link between vegetation and human sexuality. In Java, when rice blossomed it was customary for the husband and wife to mate in the field.

These examples all express not only a certain solidarity between plants and human beings but also an ambiguous vulnerability or susceptibility to the spirits of plant life that causes humans to wish to coordinate their activities with the mysterious rhythms and circulating energies of vegetation.

It should also be clear that the sacrality of vegetation differs in marked ways from, for example, the sacred as it is revealed through the sky and its symbols. Whereas the latter communicates distance, overarching sovereignty, and "spirituality" in the sense of being elevated, not physical, and timeless, human relations with the plant world are characteristically close, physical, and time-bound (owing especially to the cyclic nature of plant life).

It is exceedingly difficult to account for the distance between ours and a properly religious world in which the spiritual powers of vegetation are a self-evident truth, at least not without demeaning the intelligence of religious people by repeating arguments akin to the Greek polemics against Egyptian religion or the Israelite polemics against the worship of idols. The Greek writer Plutarch, for example, insisted that the Egyptians worshiped plants, and they did so, he said, because of a verbal misapprehension. According to Plutarch, primitive peoples had once believed that the food plants they consumed were gifts from the gods, but later the habit of associating the gods' names with various plants caused their descendants to forget, that is, people of later times began to confuse the plant with the divinity who made it. Scarcely more helpful were writers in the twentieth century who, influenced by Darwin, simply reversed the order of Plutarch's hypothetical "devolution" of religion into superstition. Their claim was that theism came late not early in human history and that the known nonliterate peoples, like the earliest peoples on record, are as yet incapable of consistent, complex religious thought and self-understanding.

By contrast, a historian of religions would choose to say that even an expression such as "plant worship" is something of a misnomer, for it is usually not the plant itself that is worshiped but the sacred power present or embodied in the plant or symbolized by the plant; and that wherever the sacred is revealed, whether in vegetation, animal life, stones, or sky, it engages the whole human person—meaning his or her emotional, imaginative, and intellectual faculties taken together—in a vital relationship. There is no reason to assume that the earliest human forebears were any less intelligent than than those of the present. In fact, if one compares the mythopoeic thought of nonliterate or "primitive" peoples with modern scientific thought, the differences—and in this most scholars would now agree—turn out to be due to emotional attitude and intention rather than to any disparity of intellect.

In what follows this article has tried to simplify things as much as possible by reducing the topic of vegetation to its two most important and revealing elements: the symbolism of the tree and the ideas and practices made possible by the discovery of agriculture. These two are in any case the models without which further discussion of vegetation as a religious phenomenon would prove difficult.

TREE SYMBOLISM. In myth and ritual, trees serve as symbols of orientation, knowledge, and life.

The cosmic tree. One of the most widely disseminated motifs in mythology and religious iconography is that of the sacred tree as both *imago mundi* and *axis mundi.* There seems no way to reconstruct with certainty the process whereby the tree came to represent both the cosmos as a whole and its cardinal axis, joining the three domains (heaven, earth, and underworld) together and making communication among them possible.

It is known that the earliest sacred places were small-scale reproductions of the world in toto achieved by forming a landscape of stones, water, and trees. Australian totem centers were often located in a sacred group of trees and stones, and the tree-altar-stone pattern characterized sacred places throughout India and East Asia. Often a vertical post or pillar was added, presumably as a stylized tree meant to enhance the sacred power already present in this microcosmic landscape. Finally, it would seem that over the course of time the elements of such a landscape were reduced to the single most important element: the tree or sacred pillar.

One does not have to go far in the history of religions to find examples of the cosmic tree as an image of the world. The ancient Babylonians knew the black Kiskanu Tree that grows at Eridu, the center of the world. It shines like lapis lazuli—meaning that it shines like the night sky—and spreads its branches out toward the cosmic ocean that surrounds and supports the world. The Upaniṣads speak of the universe as an inverted tree that buries its roots in the sky and spreads its branches over the whole earth. A Scandinavian creation story in the *Vǫluspa* tells of a cosmic tree called Yggdrasill with branches that reach to heaven and cover the whole world and roots that run under the earth and support it. At the base of the tree lies the cosmic serpent Niðhǫggr, gnawing at its roots, and at the top is an eagle who battles daily with the serpent. Yggdrasill thus mirrors the precarious fate of the cosmos; though it may be bruised and shaken, the tree's ultimate renewal will mark the beginning of a new age and a new earth.

Furthermore, the cosmic tree also expresses one of the most profound nostalgias of religious people, namely, the desire to orient themselves to the center of the world. Like other symbols for the center, the tree image calls attention to the vertical plane of the universe, and that means to the underworld as well. Chinese mythology tells of a miraculous tree that grows at the center of the universe and that unites the Nine Springs and the Nine Heavens. In other words, it marks the point at which the various cosmic levels intersect. The Abakan Tatars describe an iron mountain on which grows a birch tree with seven branches symbolizing the seven levels of heaven. A shaman is said to climb this tree in his ecstatic ascent. The Qurʾān refers in several places to the tree Zaqqūm, which has its roots in the lowest reaches of Hell. Its leaves are small, and its fruits bitter. It reverses the image of the heavenly Tuba Tree that is situated at the celestial Kaʿbah directly above the earthly Kaʿbah and linking the two.

The Tree of Knowledge. Perhaps partly because of its role in the cosmos as the cardinal axis and partly because of its connections with certain deities, the sacred tree sometimes has oracular functions, making it a tree of knowledge. Two of the roots of Yggdrasill reached to the sources of divine wisdom: one to the Spring of Mímir ("meditation" or "memory"), the other to the Fountain of Urðr ("fate"). Similarly, the Oak of Zeus at Dodona was said to have oracular powers on account of the extreme depth to which its roots extended. Whether in the creation story of the *Book of Genesis* the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge are in fact one tree or two has been open to dispute, but some have argued persuasively that only by eating first of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil could the hidden tree that conferred immortality be found.

The Tree of Life. When historians speak of the cosmic tree, they have in mind those meanings conveyed through the symbolism of the tree that refer specifically to the structure and organization of the cosmos. But the tree, quite simply because of its other vegetative qualities—those related to its growth cycle and regenerative capacities—also conveys to religious people another set of ideas, expressive of the world's inexhaustible fertility. Most scholars, when they consider tree symbols with an eye to this latter array of meanings, refer to the tree of life as opposed to the cosmic tree; and it is true that in specific instances one or the other tends to be more fully expressed. Still, in some myths they are the same tree or at least are located near one another at the center of the world. For example, the second chapter of *Genesis* states that immediately after the Lord God breathed into Adam's nostrils, he

> planted a garden in Eden, in the east; and there he put the man whom he had formed. And out of the ground the Lord God made to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food, and the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. (*Gn.* 2:8–10)

The garden stands, then, at the center of the world, and the tree at its center.

Numerous myths and iconographic motifs connect the tree of life (or its equivalent) with the Great Goddess and water and so confirm the basic meaning conveyed through the symbol: that is, a common concern for, and perhaps a deep anxiety over, life's changing cycles of fruitfulness and decay, youth and old age, poverty and abundance, sickness and health.

One of the most common themes associated with the tree of life describes how the cosmos itself and the various deities came into being. According to the Egyptian Pyramid Texts, Atum first emerged from a lotus drifting over the primordial watery abyss, but the rest of the gods originated from trees, including Hathor, the Great Mother, from the sycamore.

Excavations in the Indus Valley have unearthed artifacts picturing goddesses of the *yakṣinī* type beside a *Ficus religiosa* or plants emerging from a goddess's genital organs. In a pictorial theme found over a wide expanse of Africa and Asia, the goddess rises between two branches of a tree in the center of a circle.

The lotus, while not a tree, shares the same connection with the Great Goddess and cosmic fertility. The lotus is already a sacred flower in the Brāhmaṇas, where it represents the female generative organ, and that is its root meaning whether it becomes the female goddess, the cosmic lotus of Viṣṇu's navel and hence the womb of all creation, or the seat of divinity and spiritual power. It tells the story of being issuing forth pure and bright from the dark possibilities of watery chaos.

The legendary soma plant also has a connection with water, for the *Ṛgveda* describes it both as a spring or stream and as a paradisiacal plant that promises life, fertility, and regeneration. The *Book of Revelation* makes even clearer the cosmological and redemptive significance of water and the tree together:

> Then he showed me the river of the water of life, bright as a crystal, flowing from the throne of God and of the lamb through the middle of the streets of the city; also, on either side of the river, the tree of life with its twelve kinds of fruit, yielding its fruit each month; and the leaves of the trees were for the healing of the nations. (*Rv.* 12:1–2)

One last theme deserves mention. Often a hero goes off in search of the tree of life (or some other divine plant for which the tree is a model) and the immortality it will bring. The quest usually entails great dangers and trials, for the tree of life is hidden (as the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden may have been) or guarded by monsters, like the golden apples in the Garden of Hesperides, and therefore difficult if not impossible to reach. For example, in the Babylonian variant of the theme, Gilgamesh seeks a thorny herb of life that the sage Utanapishtim tells him is at the bottom of the sea. A serpent thwarts his attempt and gains immortality for itself instead.

Similarly, Iranian tradition has an earthly tree of life with a heavenly counterpart. Like soma, earthly *haoma* is sometimes thought of as a plant and sometimes as a spring.

The heavenly variety gives immortality to all who eat of it and grows where Ahura Mazdā first planted it, among the thousands of other medicinal herbs at the source of the waters of Ardvisura, on an island in the great sea Vourukasha. Angra Mainyu counters Ahura Mazdā's creation with a creation of his own in the shape of a lizard that swims through the waters to attack the miraculous *haoma* tree.

THE DISCOVERY OF AGRICULTURE. The term *Neolithic Revolution,* its second component notwithstanding, denotes a period of gradual technological, economic, and religious innovation that took place roughly between 9000 and 7000 BCE, during which time many societies drifted away from their hunting and gathering economies toward an economy based on the domestication of animals and plants. Domestication resulted in the appearance of agriculture as a special form of animal and plant production and put human beings in the position of being, in a sense, creators of their food.

This new food-producing role brought with it many changes. For one thing, agriculture altered the division of labor, as women began to assume the better part of the responsibility for subsistence. It meant that early cultivators had to develop more accurate techniques for reckoning time, inasmuch as the complex activities in which they were now engaged had to be planned months in advance and coordinated both with the yearly cycles and with the different cycles of plant life.

Agriculture also enriched the meaning of work. To be sure, farming is a profane skill, but for religious people it has always been first and foremost a ritual. It deals, for example, with the mysterious forces of growth somehow at work in the seed and furrow. It is carried out on the body of Mother Earth herself. It requires the planter to integrate his movements with beneficent and dangerous periods of time; and it forces him to contend with the spirits of vegetation, particularly those, like the tree and forest spirits, who grow angry when the land is cleared. It requires ceremonial action to assist the growth of crops and renew the earth's life-giving energies, and it draws the farmer into contact with the dead, for the earth is their abode.

Above all, agriculture provided for a vast store of analogies that made it possible for human beings to see the necessary links that joined plant life, women and sexuality, earth, moon, water, death, initiation, and resurrection in a single, integrated view of life. In effect it allowed the whole world to be apprehended as a living organism, governed by rhythmic cycles in which death and life belong necessarily to one another, and in which rebirth is all the more miraculous for the astonishing increase of new life that accompanies it. Long and intimate dealings with the soil and its seasons fostered the great hope that, like the seed hidden in the earth, the dead can hope to return to life in a new form: that is, death might be no more than a provisional change in the human mode of being. On the other hand, it also pointed to life's essential transitoriness and fragility.

Simply put, the discovery of agriculture created an opportunity for the human mind to grasp certain truths that had been much harder to grasp before. A primitive hunter, for example, would have understood the rhythm of the seasons perfectly well, but for agriculturalists that rhythm was the basis for a theoretical construction that gave meaning to life, and they experienced this rhythmic quality of life amplified many times over in patterns of activity and rest or of scarcity and plenty; in rituals meant to drive out the old season; in rites of sowing and harvest; and even in orgies, whose aim was to reproduce on the human level what was taking place in the ground and what did take place in the beginning—like seeds that lose their shape, disintegrate, and become something different, human beings lose their identities and try to enter a state of chaotic formlessness analogous to the formless state prior to the creation of the world.

Agriculture had certain tragic implications as well. As producers of their food, early humans learned to take responsibility for the vegetable kingdom, for its perenniality, even if that meant, as in the case of human sacrifice or cannibalism, the killing of their own kind so that life could be renewed. For example, an important Aztec festival dedicated to the maize goddess Chicomecoatl began every year just as the maize plant attained its full growth. A young female slave or captive, painted red and yellow to represent the colors of the plant, performed a ritual dance nightly for the duration of the festival. On the last night all the women in the community danced with her and chanted the deeds of Chicomecoatl. At daybreak, the men joined them in a solemn dance of death that brought the exhausted victim to the top of the pyramid of sacrifice. There the woman was finally offered up in a gruesome rite to the goddess. In this way the maize goddess, herself exhausted by her season's labors, was thought to be restored. For precisely the same reasons, the Khonds, a Dravidian tribe of Bengal, practiced human sacrifice at least until the middle of the nineteenth century, consecrating their victims to the earth goddess, Tari Pennu or Bera Pennu.

These examples give some hint of the essential, underlying ambivalence toward farming and vegetable life that has found expression in almost every known myth concerning the origins of agriculture and the introduction of food plants. The German scholar Adolf E. Jensen divides these myths into two categories. One group of myths he attributes to cultivators of tuberous plants. Perhaps the most famous story comes from the Ceramese Islanders in Indonesia and tells how a young maiden, Hainuwele, was killed and buried on the ninth night of the Maro festival. Her father dug up the corpse, cut it in pieces, and buried the pieces around the sacred dancing ground. Then from the various parts of her body food plants sprang forth. This primordial murder radically changed the human condition. On the one hand, it was a creative death that permits the goddess to be continually present in the lives of her descendants, for every time one of them consumes a plant that sprang from her divine body, he or she partakes of the actual substance of the goddess. On the other hand, the story reveals how death and sexuality first entered the world and attributes all the religious and social institutions that are still in place to a criminal act at the beginning of time.

Myths belonging to Jensen's second category he attributes to cereal growers, and they recall a primordial theft of the food plant in question from heaven. The Dogon, for example, tell of a primordial blacksmith who stole cereal grains from the sky god and brought them back to earth hidden in his hammer. The Gula and Kulfa of the central Sudan say that a female spirit pressed beeswax to the soles of her feet so that the grain that the sky god had spread out would adhere. The Chané in the western Gran Chaco believe that the fox god hid the small seeds of the algaroba fruit in a hollow tooth.

While there are differences between the two types of myths, a rigid distinction between them would be difficult to defend, partly because the origin of cereals is often attributed to a primordial murder as well; but it would also distract attention from the variety of origin myths and the different themes they choose to emphasize. For example, one could construct another category of myths that tell of a benevolent woman who secretly provides food for human beings until she is discovered in the act of producing plants asexually from her body. According to one variant of the story, food plants (tubers and cereals both) came originally from the sweat or excreta of the goddess. Members of the tribe learn about the revolting source of their food and kill her; but following the advice she gives just before her death, they also bury the pieces of her dismembered body, whereupon food plants and other elements of culture (agricultural implements, for example) spring from the corpse.

All of the foregoing myths have one thing in common: They present the introduction of agriculture as an ambiguous event caused by a crime or mistake that took place during primordial times and fraught with difficult consequences. It would seem, in fact, that myths that account for the origins of agriculture also have things to say about the highly ambiguous achievement of civilization itself, and to the degree that *civilized* is the equivalent of *human,* they address those ambiguities that define humanity's common lot.

Many of those ambiguities can be seen played out in the myth of Prometheus and in that story's profound effects on the religious life of the ancient Greeks. It is a story that recounts much more than just the origins of agriculture. In the myth from Hesiod, gods and humans lived together and shared food in the primordial Golden Age. On the day he distributed the share from the first sacrificial animal, Prometheus established the diet that differentiates humans and the gods. Through Prometheus's deceit, humans received the edible portions, leaving the gods with only the bones and fat. Zeus took his revenge by hiding fire so that it was impossible for humans to cook their meat. Prometheus then stole the seed of fire, hiding it in the hollow stalk of a fennel plant, and presented it as a gift to humankind. Feeling cheated, Zeus hid the seed of wheat, burying it in the earth, with the result that henceforth men would have to labor in the fields for food. At the same time, he created the first woman, whom Hephaistos modeled out of clay, and thus sexuality entered the world too.

The myth of Prometheus was commemorated in ancient Greece as the passing of the Golden Age and the beginning of human time. For the Greeks, Prometheus had fulfilled the will of Zeus, who condemned human beings to the experience of hunger and death, but he had also provided the food needed to survive. Moreover, in leaving nothing for the gods except, significantly enough, the smells rising from the sacrifice, he validated the gods' supremacy, for in a sense the need to consume food is inversely proportional to the vital energy that makes gods different from humans in the first place.

The state sacrifice, though it was the cornerstone of Greek religion in the cities, reflected the ambivalence of the myth that served as its model or charter: On the one hand it brought gods and humans together to commemorate the start of human life, but it also underscored the distance separating people from the gods they worshiped. Various religious groups opposed the sacrifice out of a desire for a religious experience that was unlike that offered by official religion and that promised the devotee closer contact with the divine. Among the most important of these groups were the followers of Pythagoras, who embraced vegetarianism as a way of rejecting wholesale the type of communion with the gods that animal sacrifice had established as the norm. The foods they valued were cereals such as wheat and barley and plants such as mallow and asphodel, for in the Golden Age those plants—even though the first two are cultivated grains—were said to have sprung spontaneously from the earth and were the foods that men and gods had once eaten together. In other words, through rediscovering this lost commensality, the Pythagoreans hoped to achieve a return to the Golden Age. Like other forms of vegetarianism, the Pythagorean type is an example of ascetic practice that aims to purify and transform human life and, in a way, to undo the effects of civilization. Recalling the equivalence of the terms *civilized* and *human,* one might interpret Pythagorean vegetarianism as an example of one of the many different ways that people living in a world shaped by the ideas and values of agriculture have expressed their lives and imagined ways of transcending their all-too-human circumstances.

SEE ALSO Agriculture; Center of the World; Greek Religion; Haoma; Human Sacrifice; Lotus; Quests; Soma; Trees.

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VELES-VOLOS. The alternative names *Veles* and *Volos* denote different aspects of a deity of the pre-Christian Slavs, the god of death and of cattle. The bifurcation in meaning must have taken place in the East Slavic area, since *Volos* is confined to East Slavic; in South and West Slavic, the only known form is *Veles*. *Volos* very likely derives from the older **Velsu*. Some scholars (e.g., Michael Shapiro) consider Veles-Volos not as a composite figure but as distinct twin gods. It is true that the names *Veles* and *Volos* never occur together; however, both are associated with death and evil and with pastureland and cattle, as linguistic analysis suggests. Furthermore, the two aspects of Veles-Volos have close parallels in individual gods of other Indo-European pantheons, such as the Baltic Vels and Velinas, the Germanic Odin, the Indic Varuna, and the Iranian Ahura Mazdā.

Downgraded to a demon in the Christian era, Veles is known in Czech demonology of the fourteenth to sixteenth century as well as in the toponymy of the South Slavic area. The medieval Czech phrase *k Velesu za more*, used to denote "beyond the sea (or water)," literally means "to Veles in the otherworld."

The character and function of Veles-Volos can, to some degree, be reconstructed by linguistic analysis, especially of names of parallel deities in other Indo-European pantheons. The Lithuanian name **Velinas* (now *Velnias*,"*devil*") and the Latvian name *Vels* or *Velis*, for example, identify a Baltic god of death and the underworld (recorded as a god at the end of the eighteenth century and later described as a devil, an adversary of Perkūnas, the Lithuanian god of thunder. The Lithuanian term *vėlė* or *velė* means "shade of the dead." Other related terms include the Latvian *Velu laiks* and Lithuanian *vėlinės* ("days of the dead"), the Tocharian *wäl* ("to die") and *walu* ("dead"), and a host of Germanic relatives: Old Icelandic *valr* ("dead on the field of battle") and *Valhǫll* (abode of warriors fallen on the field of battle), Old English *wæl* ("corpse left on the battlefield"), and Old Norse *vollr* ("meadow," i.e., "the pastureland of the departed"), a term paralleled in meaning by the Hittite *wellu-* (**wel-nu*).

The Indo-European root **wel-* ("sight, insight, foresight") underlies the name of the Baltic deity Velinas or Velis, whose clairvoyance (by means of a single eye) is one of his chief attributes. The Old Russian "*Velesov vnuk*" ("grandson of Veles") is an epithet for the musician and prophetic poet Boian of the epic *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, and the Old Russian word *v'lkhv* means "sorcerer, magician, poet."

Another name for Veles is *Chernobog*, signifying the "black god" known to all Slavs. This name is still preserved in Slavic toponymy, and a curse invoking Chernobog is still used in the Ukraine: "May the black god kill you."

Volos is first mentioned in the Russian *Primary Chronicle* (c. 1111 CE), and in two tenth-century treaties with the Greeks, as *skot'i' bog* ("god of cattle"). The etymology of the phrase reveals connections with theriomorphism, disease, and evil spirits. The Russian word *volos* ("hair, fur") also refers to a parasite that lodges under the skin of human beings and animals; the disease it causes is variously called *volos*, *volost'*, or *vo-losti*. The carrier of the disease, a worm, is also called *volosets* or *zmeevik*, from *zmei* ("serpent"). The related Russian words *volosen* and *volosatik* mean "evil spirit" or "devil." *Medved'* ("fierce beast"), a term meaning "bear" in Russian dialect, is known from literary texts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and is used as an epithet to describe the adversary of the prophet Elijah, the Christian successor of the Slavic thunder god, Perun.

The importance of Volos is indicated in various references to his idols. The eighteenth-century Russian collection *Skazanii o postroenii grada Iaroslavlia* (Legends about the Founding of Yaroslavl), first published in 1876, mentions a place where a statue of Volos once stood: "The sounds of heavy breathing, of the psaltery, and of singing could often be heard from there, and dancing could be seen." Another text in the *Skazanii* mentions that cattle were driven around the idol of Volos. Of great interest also is a description of how a priest, Volkhv, first offered by fire a sacrificial victim, prophesied in the name of Volos, and was then himself sacrificed to the god, a parallel of the Germanic deity Odin's sacrifice to himself.

Etymologies, historical records, and comparative studies of Indo-European mythologies allow us to reconstruct the ancient Veles-Volos as a multifaceted god who was, on the one hand, a frightening god of death and, on the other, a divine seer: a god who ruled over the magic art and over cattle, who was a steadfast protector of peaceful settlements and a stern chastiser of their violation, and who was an adversary of the thunder god.

In the Christian era, Volos became identified with the saints Blasius (Vlasii) and Nicholas (Nikola), the patrons of flocks and crops. The connection between Volos and Blasius may be based on actual and functional similarity, considering that Blasius was "the guardian of the flocks" to the Byzantines. Northern Russian icons portray Vlasii seated on a horse or on a stone, surrounded by cows, sheep, and horses. In central and northern Russia, particularly in the Yaroslavl and Novgorod districts, the cult of Vlasii was popular up to the end of the nineteenth century. On February 11, his name day, peasants did not work, thereby appealing to the god to preserve their village against epidemics of plague or cholera. Icons depicting Vlasii were placed in stables, and there was a custom of carrying the icon around each sheep, horse, and cow. In springtime, when the animals were driven out to pasture, special prayers were said: "Let the smooth lambs, the fat oxen go out playing, and let them come back hopping." The saying "Those who celebrate Saint Vlasii will always be in plenty" points to his ancient role as god of wealth.

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VENERABLE BEDE See BEDE

VENERATION See ANCESTORS; CULT OF SAINTS; ICONS; IMAGES, *ARTICLE ON* VENERATION OF IMAGES; RELICS; SAINTHOOD; WORSHIP AND DEVOTIONAL LIFE

VENIAMINOV, INNOKENTII See INNOKENTII VENIAMINOV

VENUS is perhaps the most singular example from among the divinized abstractions that make up the Roman pantheon. The word *venus,* in its origin, is a neuter noun of the same kind as *genus* or *opus.* It is discernible in the derived verb *venerari* (**venes-ari*), which is confined to religious usage by all the authors of the republican period, especially Plautus. The Plautinian construction (not maintained by classic use) is of particular interest: *veneror . . . ut,* which can be translated, "I work a charm [upon such-and-such a divinity] in order to [obtain a result]." This notion of charm or seduction that defines the word *venus* is represented in Hittite (*wenzi*) and in the language of the Veneti (*wontar*). Yet the root *ven-* did not produce a divinity anywhere except in Latin. It is significant that, in the Oscan region (where is recorded a form that is probably borrowed from Latin), the homologue of the Latin *Venus* is *Herentas,* formed from another root: *her-,* "to will."

The neuter *venus* is part of a remarkable semantic series of the same kind as *genus/Genius/generare,* except that here the first term and not the second was divinized, passing from the neuter to the feminine: *Venus/venia/venerari* (sometimes *venerare* in Plautus). To the persuasive charm that the goddess embodies and that the *venerans* ("he who venerates") practices upon the gods, there corresponds the symmetric notion of *venia* in the sense of "grace" or "favor"—a notion that belongs to the technical vocabulary of the pontiffs (Servius, *Ad Aeneidem* 1.519).

This metamorphosis of a neuter noun into a goddess (in contrast, it is the shift from feminine to masculine that marks the divinization of Cupido) was very likely furthered by the encounter of this divinity with the Trojan legend. This legend must have facilitated the relation drawn between a Venus embodying charm in its religious meaning and an Aphrodite personifying seduction in the profane sense. The notion of Aphrodite as mother of the Trojan hero Aeneas, the legendary founder of the Roman race, allowed for the application of a Greek legend to Roman benefit. The myth illustrated the rite. It made explicit in plain language the ritual employed by a Roman *venerans* when soliciting the *venia deum,* the favor of the gods. Set forth as their ancestor, the "pious" Aeneas conferred upon the Romans a privileged status in the eyes of the gods. Was it not therefore their lot as his descendants, the Aeneads, to be assured of obtaining the *pax veniaque deum* (the peace and grace of God), as frequently expressed by Livy, thanks to the mediation of Venus, the preferred daughter of Jupiter? This, to be sure, was on the condition that they fulfill the duties of *pietas* ("piety"). This explains the famous declarations whereby the Romans claimed the title of "the most religious people in the world" (Cicero, *De natura deorum* 2.3.8, *De haruspicum responsis* 9.19).

The divinization of the notion of *venus* had to take place in a syncretic environment, Lavinium, which lent to Venus the smile of Aphrodite. According to tradition, Aeneas established at Lavinium, in Latium, a cult of Venus Frutis (the appellation *Frutis* is very likely connected etymologically to *Aphrodite*), and in the same place a federal temple of Venus, common to all Latins, was set up. Archaeology has uncovered at that site a *hērōiov,* the shrine of a hero, which the discoverer identifies as the mausoleum of Aeneas mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.64.1–5).

The Trojan interpretation of Venus explains the development of her cult. Thanks to the enlightenment afforded by the association with the Trojan legend, the Romans were able to recognize their national Venus in the Aphrodite of Mount Eryx in Sicily at the time of the First Punic War and so erected a temple to her later on the Capitoline. On the basis of this same enlightenment, the goddess was associated with Jupiter in the cult of the Vinalia, the wine festival thought to have been instituted by Aeneas. The first temple erected in the goddess's honor had been dedicated to Venus Obsequens ("propitious Venus"). It had been vowed in 295 BCE by Q. Fabius Gurges while battle raged against the Samnites. Its dedication day, August 19, coincided with the Vinalia Rustica. The Trojan interpretation was imposed in definitive and official fashion in the first century BCE: Julius Caesar offered a temple in the middle of the forum to Venus Genetrix as the grandmother of the Julian gens and the mother of the Aeneades. Lucretius's literary expression *Aeneadum genetrix* thus was awarded liturgical consecration.

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VERGIL (also spelled Virgil; Publius Vergilius Maro; 70–19 BCE) was born in Andes, near Mantua, and educated in Cremona and Milan before coming to Rome. His youthful poems include *Catalepton* 5 and 8. After publication of the *Eclogues* in about 39 to 38 BCE, he joined the literary circle of Maecenas, the close friend and ally of Octavian (the future Augustus).

Vergil's early poems reflect his Epicurean orientation, and evidence of his participation in the Epicurean community at Naples is found in a papyrus from Herculaneum, where he is mentioned by name (Gigante, 1983). The *Eclogues* reflect the turbulence during the civil wars following the death of Julius Caesar, the defeat of the tyrannicides, and the narrow avoidance of war between Octavian and Antony by the signing of the Treaty of Brundisium. In *Eclogue* 4, Vergil celebrates this treaty, proclaiming that an unnamed child is about to be born, and his birth will usher in a new Golden Age. Vergil's Golden Age in the fourth *Eclogue* resembles that of Hesiod, where little human effort is required, but Hesiod's negative connotation of decline is reversed by Vergil's proclamation that the Golden Age is about to return. The idea that it can recur is linked with a Sibylline prophecy of the "final age" before a new cycle of ages begins again. The role of Dikē (Justice) and agriculture derives from Aratus's version (*Phaenomena* 96–136); that Apollo will rule this age is consistent with Augustus's coming religious renewal. The theme of the Golden Age appears again in the *Georgics,* where Vergil says that Jupiter deliberately brought an end to the inertia characteristic of the Hesiodic Golden Age and imposed *labor* (toil) on mortals so that they could develop skills and intelligence. Vergil here develops the idea that a new Golden Age will be based on agriculture rather than leisure. In the *Aeneid* he says that Saturnus brought a Golden Age to Italy, where it was enjoyed by the Latin people but was lost through war. Jupiter prophesies it will recur under the rule of Augustus (Johnston, 1980).

Scholars have tried in vain to identify the child with whose birth the new Golden Age will begin. Candidates have included a child of Mark Antony, of Augustus, or of Pollio (for identifications, see Coleman, 1977; and Clausen, 1994). Christians associated it with *Isaiah* 7:14 and 9:6–7, a theme supported by the Jewish associations of Pollio, the poem's dedicatee. References to Sibylline oracles, the return of Virgo

(Justice), and other references in the poem were given biblical interpretations. Lactantius interpreted the poem as a prophecy of the birth of the Christ child, and Vergil was thus viewed as a "pre-Christian" and "a vehicle of divine inspiration" (Tarrant, 1997). The emperor Constantine, who had been associated earlier with the reference to Apollo in *Ecclesiastes* 4:10, accepted this reading, although saints Jerome and Augustine rejected it (Clausen, 1994, pp. 119–129). The messianic or Christian interpretation reigned through the nineteenth century despite scholars such as Christian Gottlob Heyne, who rejected it (1767). Eduard Norden (1924) connected the poem with Egyptian and Middle Eastern theology and rituals of Helios (December 25; which H. J. Rose associated with Apollo) and of Aion (January 6, formerly the winter solstice). Günther Jachmann (1952) argued that the child was meant to be a symbol of the new age.

At the end of the Republic, a prevailing attitude of neglect toward the gods caused great concern among intellectuals and leaders. Julius Caesar, and then Augustus, engaged in a series of religious reforms. Augustus was concerned with maintaining the traditional values of an agricultural society in the new Rome; he did not return to such republican practices as auguries and prodigies, which had been abused, but focused on reforms in Roman private religion, such as developing the priesthood of the *Fratres Arvales* (Arval brothers), and restoring neglected rites as well as the temples of the gods. Particularly important is the cult of Apollo, who, before the time of Augustus, was worshiped outside the *pomerium* with other foreign gods; under Augustus his temple was placed in the heart of the city on the Palatine Hill. Vergil's *Georgics* (completed in 29 BCE and read by Vergil to Augustus), a poem on the art of agriculture, invokes the gods of the countryside as well as the deities whom Augustus elevates.

VERGIL'S *AENEID*. The *Aeneid* (published by Varius after Vergil's death in 19 BCE) tells of the fall of Troy and the search by the surviving Trojans, led by Aeneas, to found a new homeland. The poem embodies the religious motifs of Vergil's earlier works: the struggles (*labores*) necessary to build a new society, embodied in the suffering of Aeneas, who was later depicted on the Ara Pacis as a heroic founder figure, like Romulus. In the poem Aeneas, whose regular epithet is *pius* (pious), is the embodiment of *pietas* (piety, which many medieval readers interpreted as "pity" and hence interpreted his killing of Turnus as a lack of *pietas*). Aeneas's piety is reflected in his religious attitude, in his patriotic mission, and in his relations with his father, son, and companions as he labors selflessly to fulfill the commands of the gods and to found a new home for his people and his family. The motifs of the loss and promised return of a Golden Age are prominent, particularly in the second half of the poem, in the prophecies of the gods that such an age will recur under Augustus, and in the revelation that the Latin race, which once enjoyed such an age, lost it through the madness of war.

In the *Aeneid* fate and the gods provide divine machinery that advances the plot: Aeneas is driven by his destiny or fate to found a new civilization, and the anthropomorphized gods aid him in his pursuit of that destiny. Although his destiny is fixed, Aeneas's mortal failings threaten to undermine his pursuit of that goal, as when he is motivated to die in battle in Book 2 or when he is tempted to remain at Carthage with Dido in Book 4. Jupiter, who to some degree is the personification of fate, serves throughout the poem as the final power who resolves conflicts between other gods who oppose what fate has ordained. Venus, mother of Aeneas, supports his quest, and Juno, for a variety of reasons, opposes it. The deities participating in the action include Greco-Roman gods, particularly Apollo (who is closely associated with Augustus and Actium) and Herakles (who serves as a model for Aeneas and for Augustus), as well as Eastern deities (Cybele) and indigenous deities (Faunus, Tiber-god, and Portunus). For Aeneas, as representative of the Trojans, prayer and ritual are constant concerns. This is reflected throughout the poem, as when the Trojans arrive at or depart from Thrace, Delos, Actium, and Castrum Minervae; after visions of the Penates, Anchises's ghost, and the Tiber-god; at signs from Venus; when Aeneas's ships are converted into nymphs; and in the honors he pays to the dead.

The underworld in Book 6 of the *Aeneid*. Aeneas enters the underworld at Lake Avernus in Cumae, guided by the Cumaean Sibyl, after performing funeral rites for Misenus and obtaining the Golden Bough, required for passage into the underworld. His descent to the underworld to consult with his deceased father, Anchises, is the main theme of Book 6. Vergil's underworld is more complex than previous accounts. Whereas Homer's Odysseus goes only to the entrance, Aeneas descends through each level until the road diverges, one leading to Tartaros, the lowest level, which he is not permitted to enter (the sinners and their punishments are described by the Sibyl), and one leading to Elysium, a *locus amoenus* (a pleasant place), thus providing the first distinction in destinies according to the manner in which one has lived one's life.

Vergil describes the levels of the underworld, beginning with the evil shapes and spirits at the entrance, which are harmless. On one side of the River Acheron huddle the dead who have not been properly buried. After crossing the river, they confront the dog Kerberos, then those who have died prematurely, including Dido. Next he sees Trojans and Greeks who died at Troy, and finally he comes to the parting of the ways, which leads him to Elysium, where he meets with Anchises and beholds the future heroes of Rome. His departure from the underworld, through the gates of ivory, is mysterious because Vergil says that *falsa insomnia* (false dreams) pass through these gates (6.896), as opposed to the "true dreams," which pass through the alternate gates of horn.

VERGIL AS A SUITABLE MODEL FOR CHRISTIAN SPECULATIONS UNTIL DANTE. By the fourth century CE Vergil had become the common property of pagans and Christians. Not only were his works central to literary education, but the themes of his works—the miraculous child of the fourth *Eclogue* as a prophecy of the birth of Christ, the reading of the first half of the *Aeneid* as an allegory for the progress of the soul to maturity, and Vergil's description of the underworld in Book 6—were seen as suitable models for Christians. Like the Cumaean Sibyl guiding Aeneas through the underworld, Vergil guides Dante Alighieri to the brink of *Paradiso*, which he is not permitted to enter because, having lived before the time of Christ, he cannot be a Christian. Vergil leads the way to a Christian era and represents the imperial values that a Christian must leave behind.

SEE ALSO Afterlife; Descent into the Underworld; Fate; Golden Age; Roman Religion; Sibylline Oracles.

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VERIFICATION SEE LOGICAL POSITIVISM

VESTA. The name *Vesta,* with the archaic suffix *-ta,* is derived from the root *a1eu, "to burn." It encompasses two stems: stem 1, *a1eu-s, is found in the Greek *heuo* and the Latin *uro,* "I burn"; stem 2, *a1u-es, lies at the base of the Latin *Vesta* and most probably also of the Greek *Hestia.* The intrinsic bond between the goddess and fire, *ignis Vestae* ("fire of Vesta"; Paulus-Festus, ed. W. M. Lindsay, 1913, p. 94 L.), was understood perfectly by the ancients, even though they were sometimes tempted to propose fanciful etymologies; Festus, for example, in order to explain Vesta's round sanctuary identifies her with the round earth (Paulus-Festus, ed. W. M. Lindsay, 1913, p. 320 L.). The semantic connection between the Latin goddess and the Greek goddess was conceded by Cicero (*De natura deorum* 2.67), who also believed that Vesta had been borrowed from the Greeks.

Although the cult of Vesta was known throughout the Italic regions, evidence of it comes above all from Latium.

The cult of Vesta was established at Lavinium, so that it is possible that her worship with colleges of virgins in attendance was at one time more widespread throughout Latium. The goddess is clearly listed in the famous catalogue of Sabin divinities introduced in Rome in archaic times (Varro, *De lingua Latina,* 5.74). The tradition that the *virgines Vestae,* like most other Roman religious institutions, were instituted by king Numa is given by Livy (1. 20.3), Gellius (1.12.10) and Ovid (*Fasti* 6.259) but may be no more than a reconstruction from the established connexion between Numa and the nymph Egeria who inspired him: the Vestals drew water from the well of the Camenae, where Numa and Egeria met (Plutarch, *Numa* 13). Another origin, Romulean or Alban, may be infered: according to Livy (1.3.11), Ovid (*Fasti* 3.11–52), and Plutarch (*Romulus* 3), Rhea Silvia, daughter of Numitor and mother of the twins Romulus and Remus, was consecrated to the cult of Vesta by King Amulius, who wanted to deprive her of descendants. Tarpeia, who betrayed the Romans during the war between Romulus and Titus Tatius, was also perhaps a Vestal Virgin (Livy 1.3.11).

Since the cult of Vesta goes back to the origins of the Latin city, it escaped the anthropomorphism of the Etruscan and Greek environments, as evidenced by Ovid, who writes that even in his time the *ignis Vestae* was sufficient by itself and had no cultic statue (*Fasti* 6.295–298). When Cicero (*De natura deorum* 3.80) tells of the episode in which the *pontifex maximus* Q. Mucius Scaevola was slain in 82 BCE in front of "the statue of Vesta" he must be referring to an honorific statue located in the vestibule or outside the sanctuary.

Situated near the *via Sacra* in the Forum, in front of the *Regia* and linked with the *Atrium Vestae* ("house" of the Vestals), the goddess's round sanctuary (*rotunda aedes;* Paulus-Festus, ed. Lindsay, 1913, p. 321 L.; Ovid, *Fasti* 6.267) was differentiated from a four-sided temple oriented to the four cardinal points. This contrast, which the ancients attempted to explain by gratuitously comparing the goddess with the earth, becomes clear in the light of comparative studies. Vedic religion distinguished "the fire of the master of the house," which is "this world and, as such, is round," from "the fire of offerings," the smoke of which "carries men's gifts to the gods: this is oriented to the four cardinal points and is thus four-sided" (Dumézil, 1974, p. 320).

Vesta's influence was upon the altars and hearths (Cicero, *De natura deorum* 2.67). The recommendation that Cato (*De agricultura* 143) made to the farmwife *(vilica),* who held the same place in the country as did the mistress of the house *(domina)* in the city, was appropriate for anyone responsible for the hearth: "Let the hearth be maintained by being swept each day before bedtime."

Since the goddess also watched, "as it were, over the hearth of the city" (Cicero, *De legibus* 2.29), she was designated *Vesta publica populi Romani Quiritium* in the official religion. At her service there were the six Vestal Virgins, whose principal task was to maintain the fire (Cicero, *De legibus* 2.29). This fire was renewed once a year on March 1, the beginning of the ancient year (Ovid, *Fasti* 3.135–144). "If by chance this fire were extinguished, the virgins would be flogged by the pontiff. Custom then obliged them to rub on a piece of 'fertile' wood [*felix materia*] until the fire thus produced could be carried by a Vestal in a bronze sieve to the sanctuary" (Paulus-Festus, ed. W. M. Lindsay, 1913, p. 94 L.). Although the Vestals were directed by a superior, the *virgo Vestalis maxima,* they were placed under the authority of the *pontifex maximus,* who was to flog them in case of carelessness. They had to maintain absolute chastity for the entire duration of their service (Ovid, *Fasti* 6.283ff.). The loss of virginity meant capital punishment: the guilty Vestal was buried alive in the Campus Sceleratus ("field of crime") near the Porta Collina. Cicero (*De legibus* 2.8.20) gives two reasons for the virginity of the priestesses. The first is a practical one: married women have others duties. The second is inspired by Roman morality, and Cicero imagines the Vestals as setting a public example for all women. The preparation of the various items needed for sacrifices was also entrusted to the Vestals. The *muries,* a brine produced by adding water to oven-cooked coarse salt (Festus, p. 152 L.), and the *mola salsa,* baked wheat flour sprinkled with salt (p. 124 L.), which was spread over the heads of the victims *(immolare)* before they were slain *(mactare),* were both prepared by the Vestals (Paulus-Festus, ed. W. M. Lindsay, 1913, p. 97 L.). Scholars have defined the duties of the Vestals as a kind of housekeeping at the state hearth, and there is a debate as to whether they represent, in the cult, the king's daughters or the king's wife.

The girls chosen to be "priestesses" of Vesta were said to be "seized" (*capere*) by the *pontifex maximus,* and this "capture" had important juridical consequences: from that moment, the girl was no longer subordinate to the *patria potestas* (Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*1.12.9; Gaius, *Institutiones* 1.130), nor to a tutor (Gaius, *Institutiones* 1.145); she may, of her free will, dispose of her fortune, and she also may appear in court as a witness (Gellius 7.7.2). So the Vestals Virgins enjoyed a number of civil rights that originally a Roman woman did not possess. From the beginning, this female priesthood was endowed with outstanding rights (civil rights and not only cultic honors), which led some scholars to regard the Vestal Virgins as forerunners of the "emancipation" of Roman women (Guizzi, 1968, p. 200). Some scholars pretend that there was cooperation and solidarity between Vestal Virgins and Roman women (Gagé, 1963). But only "presence" is attested and there is no proof for an act of solidarity (Cancik-Lindemaier, 1990, 1996).

The goddess's feast, the Vestalia, was held on June 9. From June 7 to 15, her sanctuary was open exclusively to women, who were allowed to enter only with bare feet. On the last day it was cleaned. The end of this operation was noted in the calendars by the letters *Q(uando) ST(ercus) D(elatum) F(as)* (literally, "Once the dung is removed, the day is profane"). This archaic notion, which marks the specific moment at which the day changes from being a *dies nefastus* ("forbidden or holy day," a day on which no public business could be transacted) to being *fastus* ("profane"), recalls the time "when a pastoral society in camp had to clean away the *stercus* [dung] of its flocks from the site of its sacred fire" (Dumézil, 1974, p. 320).

The sanctuary also contained some talismans that served as pledges of Rome's perpetuity. Among these was the Palladium, the statue of Pallas Athena, reputedly of Trojan origin (Servius, *Ad Aeneiden* 7.188; Livy, 27.27.14; Cicero, *Pro Scauro* 48). In contrast to the sacrificial ingredients preserved in the anterior part of the sanctuary *(penus exterior),* these "pledges of destiny" (*pignora fatalia;* Ovid, *Fasti* 6.445) were kept in the "holy of holies" *(penus interior)* that was closed off by a tapestry (Festus, p. 296 L.) and accessible only to the Vestals. This gave rise to the anecdote about the *pontifex maximus* L. Caecilius Metellus, who in 241 BCE, after having saved the Palladium from a fire, penetrated to the forbidden place and was struck blind (Pliny, *Natural History* 7.141) Thus, the symbolism of the "eternal fires" of Vesta (Ovid, *Fasti* 3.421) was reinforced by the presence of these "pledges of destiny."

The importance of Vesta is evident in the liturgy. The goddess was invoked at the end of every prayer and sacrifice (Cicero, *De natura deorum* 2.67), paralleling the opening invocation of Janus, who led the sequence of divinities. (This liturgical rule was the opposite of the Greek practice, which prescribed "beginning with Hestia."). Esteem for the Vestals followed naturally. Once a year they appeared before the *rex sacrorum* ("king of sacrifices") and said to him, "Vigilasne rex? Vigila!" ("Are you watchful, king? Be watchful!"; Servius, *Ad Aeneidem* 10.228). In a solemn ceremony at the Capitol, the *pontifex maximus* officiated along with the chief Vestal (Horace, *Odes* 3.30.8). One can thus understand Cicero's statement *(Pro Fonteio* 48): "If the gods were to scorn the Vestal's prayers, it would be the end of our power."

In the third century BCE Vesta did not entirely escape a syncretism that made her the homologue of Hestia: during the *lectisternium* of 217 BCE she was coupled with Vulcan/Hephaistos. Thus the beneficial fire, kept inside the city, was uncustomarily associated with the harmful fire, relegated to outside the *pomerium,* the religious and ritual boundary of the city (Vitruvius, 1.7.1). Another innovation started with Augustus, who upon becoming *pontifex maximus* in 12 BCE, even while respecting the old sanctuary of the Forum, had a chapel of Vesta (Aedicula Vestae) built on the Palatine near his palace and adorned it with a cultic statue (*Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum,* Berlin, 1863, vol. 1, no. 317).

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VESTMENTS SEE CLOTHING

VIA NEGATIVA is a technical term for the negative way of theology, which refuses to identify God with any human concept or knowledge, for God transcends all that can be known of him. Yet the term points to the possibility of union with God and the experience of his presence.

Via negativa was described by Dionysius the Areopagite (c. 500 CE) in his treatises *Divine Names* and *Mystical Theology.* He developed further the ideas of the fourth-century Cappadocian fathers, particularly that of Gregory of Nyssa, but the term derives originally from the writings of the Neoplatonic philosopher Proclus (411–485). The writings of Dionysius were translated by John Scottus Eriugena (c. 810–880), who made *via negativa* the basis of his theology, arguing that it was more effective than the affirmative path. Since

Eriugena the term *via negativa* has been used by other theologians of mystical contemplation, particularly by Meister Eckhart (1260–1327) and Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464).

The affirmative way of theology, *theologia kataphatika,* uses terms from one's own experience to describe God and his qualities. According to the affirmative theology, every term that refers to the good and the beautiful in this world can be applied analogously to God: "God is good," "God is love," "God is light," "God is truth." Yet the seeker after God becomes aware that God transcends all qualities or attributes that are applied to the creator by his creatures. God is good, but he is beyond and above any concept of goodness that one may imagine. What humans affirm about God does not express his reality. Whatever one may say of God one can also deny. People call him "Person," but, at the same time, they know that he transcends personal categories and empirical existence. God dwells in light that none can approach (*1 Tm.* 6:16), or he dwells in darkness, in which all names disappear. He transcends any concept that may be applied to him. This *via negativa* is the basis of "negative theology" (*theologia apophatika*), which presents God as ineffable and a mystery.

Via negativa is both a way to the knowledge of God and a way of union with him. God is known by *via negativa* when upon removal from the names, definitions, and statements used about God all that he is not. God cannot be named or defined. Any name or definition imposes limits, and God is above (*huper*) them. Incommensurable and incomprehensible, he cannot be reached by discursive reasoning; he is not an object of knowledge, for he is above knowledge. *Via negativa* means radical denial of all definitions, transcending reason while not abandoning it. The person following *via negativa* in order to know God engages in a paradoxical search. On the one hand, he or she denies that God can be identified with anything or that God can be expressed in words or concepts; on the other hand, the seeker must follow the road of *via negativa* to be united with the ultimate reality. The life of those who seek union with God is one of purification of soul and overcoming of passion as an approach to that union. God is nearer to people than they are to themselves, yet he is inconceivable. Hence, those who experience union with God speak in negative rather than positive terms; God is even more incomprehensible than he is at the beginning of the religious quest. Worship, expressed in prayers and hymns, reflects *via negativa.* God, who transcends reason and thought, is honored in silence as well. Negative theology conveys the purest form of devotion and the experience of God's ineffable presence.

Dionysus the Areopagite thought of God as a being beyond any conception or name, who "transcends all affirmation by being the perfect and unique cause of all things, and all negation by plenitude of his simple and absolute nature." Any concept that can be applied to the world cannot be used regarding God. He is present in the world by providence, but not in his essence. Yet one can know God in the silence of unknowing. "Unknowing" (*agnosia*), a key word in the mystical theology of Dionysius, means much more than absence of knowledge. To know God by unknowing is to surrender one's mind to him. God is not an object of knowledge. As the soul is saved by losing itself, so the mind knows God by unknowing. The mind is abandoned to be found and saved, for it is the mind itself that sees God at the last stage of union and contemplation. Knowledge of God is not simply knowledge but union with him. Still, God is incomprehensible even when this union is realized. To attain "superessential darkness" is the goal of *via negativa.*

The Christian experience of God must be distinguished from that of Neoplatonic mysticism. Although Dionysius the Areopagite was a devoted disciple of Proclus, the last great Neoplatonist, his description of the experience of God is not Neoplatonic. The Neoplatonists would say that God is incomprehensible to the human soul, but that this is because of the soul's union with the body. The "unbodying" of humans leads to liberation: When the soul, free from the body or from finitude, returns to the One, it attains perfect unity with it. The One is no longer incomprehensible. The apophatic, negative way is transformed into a cataphatic, positive one. This Neoplatonic outlook is far from the views of Dionysius.

Via negativa was important in later Christian theology as well, as in the work of the fifteenth-century German Catholic cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, who built upon and developed some ideas of Dionysius and Eriugena. With his conception of "learned ignorance," Nicholas teaches that God is ineffable, infinitely greater than anything that words or concepts can express, and that by the process of elimination and the use of negative propositions one comes nearer to the truth about Him. Negative propositions are true, whereas affirmative ones are inadequate, Nicholas asserts. He emphasizes that negative theology "is so indispensable to affirmative theology that without it God would be adored, not as the Infinite but rather as a creature, which is idolatry."

Via negativa is present in the Eastern religious traditions as well. The Hindu seeker's goal is union with *brahman,* the ineffable, the nonconceptual. The Upaniṣads contain innumerable statements expressing or reflecting the unknowability and intangibility of ultimate reality. *Brahman* is "without beginning, without end, eternal, immutable, beyond nature, is the Self" *(Kaṭha Upaniṣad).* The Self is to be described as *neti, neti* ("not this, not this"). The ignorant do not know *brahman,* for *brahman* remains hidden behind names and forms. To know *brahman* is to know what is beyond knowledge, and one who knows *brahman* becomes one with *brahman (Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad).* Having attained the ultimate reality, the sage declares: "I am life" *(Taittirīya Upaniṣad).* Meditation as practiced in Eastern religions reflects *via negativa* more strongly than is the case in modern Western religions.

The Dao of Daoism, like *brahman* of Hinduism, is ineffable, indescribable, indefinable, ungraspable. The Dao is actionless, yet active. The Dao, the way of all life, is "beyond the power of words to define." The terms applied to the Dao are all relative, "none of them absolute" (Bynner, 1944, p. 25). The Dao gives life to everything, yet it is humble and lowly: "Existence, by nothing bred, breeds everything" (Bynner, p. 27).

Via negativa also permeates the Buddhist view of *nirvāṇa.* According to the Theravāda teaching, *nirvāṇa* is a state into which one enters by achieving victory over craving through the extinction of desire. The nature of *nirvāṇa* is beyond ordinary human existence; no images or concepts derived from the world of human experience are adequate for describing or analyzing it. By using only negative terms, such as "unborn, not become, not made, uncompounded," the Buddha pointed to the nature of *nirvāṇa.* Something very positive is conveyed in this negative way, for these negative terms overcome limitations that are implicit in positive terms.

The Mahāyāna conception of *nirvāṇa* dispenses with the image of entering *nirvāṇa* and emphasizes the state of ultimate perfection. The *arahant,* the saint of the Theravāda, is interested in "entering" *nirvāṇa;* but the *bodhisattva,* the saint of the Mahāyāna, when he reaches the state of perfection, does not "stay" in *nirvāṇa* but brings perfection back into *saṃsāra,* the flux of events in this world. How is this state of perfection of the *bodhisattva* described? Again, only a negative approach is found to be adequate. The experience of the *bodhisattva* does not fit ordinary experience. The perfection of the *bodhisattva* is experienced as "compassionate oneness with others," when any thought of the self as separate is transcended, when *nirvāṇa* and *samsara* are known to be not two different realms of existence but one. To refuse to "enter" *nirvāṇa,* to remain in the world for the sake of others, is in fact to be in *nirvāṇa.* This state of perfection can be adequately expressed only in negative terms: "*nirvāṇa* is the annihilation of ego conception," or, "*nirvāṇa* is bliss unspeakable," that is, perfect, timeless bliss. A notion common to these and similar statements is that human language is inadequate for the expression of *nirvāṇa,* which is "the recognition of the oneness of existence." The Buddha said, "I will teach you the truth and the path of the truth." The truth is *nirvāṇa,* but *nirvāṇa,* the experienced eternal in Buddhism, is ineffable. *Brahman* is ineffable. Dao is ineffable. God is ineffable.

What positive theology affirms about God is not false, but it is inadequate. Negative theology affirms that God excels in everything. Yet the apophatic way alone, without the cataphatic, may lead anywhere. Cataphatic theology, without an apophatic dimension, may build a system of concepts without an underlying experience of God. The absolute terms of negation that are common to the mystical traditions (*emptiness, void, darkness, nothingness*) are paradoxically positive in content. They are the product of the experience of the divine, the numinous. They are symbols that point to God, who is the "Wholly Other," with whom nothing in this world can be compared. *Via negativa* indicates and expresses his unconditional existence.

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VESELIN KESICH (1987)
Revised Bibliography

VICO, GIOVANNI BATTISTA

(1668–1744), Neapolitan philosopher of history and culture. Vico was born and lived his life in Naples except for nine years (1686–1695) spent as tutor to the Rocca family at Vatolla. He received a degree in law from the University of Naples (Salerno) in 1694. Vico was professor of Latin Eloquence, that is, rhetoric, at the University of Naples from 1699 to his retirement in 1741. Because of the low salary of his position, Vico provided for his family by working as a private tutor and by writing on commission.

As part of the duties of his professorship, Vico presented a series of inaugural orations marking the beginning of each university year. The last of these, *De nostri temporis studiorum ratione* (On the Study Methods of Our Time), published in 1709, contains the first statement of Vico's original philosophical position. This was followed by an attack on Descartes, *De antiquissima Italorum sapientia* (On the Ancient Wisdom of the Italians) in 1710, in which Vico states his famous principle of *verum et factum convertuntur*—the convertibility of the true and the made. Between 1720 and 1722 Vico wrote two works and a series of annotations that comprise a large study known as *Il diritto universale* (Universal Law), in one chapter of which Vico gives a first sketch of his concept of a new science of nations. The first version of his major work, now known as the *Scienza nuova prima* (First New Science), was published in 1725. The two parts of his autobiography were completed between 1725 and 1728. The definitive version of his major work, entitled *Principi di scienza nuova di Giambattista Vico d'intorno alla comune natura delle nazioni* (Principles of New Science of Giambattista Vico Concerning the Common Nature of Nations), was published in 1730 and revised in the year of his death. This version has come to be known as Vico's *Scienza nuova seconda* or simply as Vico's *New Science.* Vico's work was very little known in his time. It was revived in the nineteenth century by Jules Michelet and early in the twentieth century by Benedetto Croce and Fausto Nicolini. More recently Vico's thought has been given a further revival in works by a number of European and Anglo-American scholars.

In the *New Science* Vico claims that religion, marriage, and burial are the three "principles" *(principi)* at the basis of all human society. Vico intends to emphasize the genetic and etymological meaning of the word *principi* as "beginnings." The institutions of religion, marriage, and burial are the necessary and sufficient conditions required for a minimal human society, one that can generate and transmit culture. Vico's emphasis is on religion, the first term in this list of principles or institutions; through its beginning, marriage and burial begin.

In Vico's view, religion arises from a primordial fear of the actions of a divine being and from the attempt to establish a relationship to this being through auspices. The primordial phenomenon through which the divine appears is thunder and humankind's fear of it. In Vico's account, the first humans, who have grown to gigantic size and who are living in the great forests of the earth since the biblical flood, produce the first act of human speech by calling the thunderous sky Jove. Every people, or nation, has its Jove. Human speech and the culture of any nation begin at the sudden transformation of the physical states of the thunderous sky and humankind's fear of it into a spiritual meaning, the presence of a god. Jove is the first name forged in human consciousness. This is done not through an act of reasoning but through an act of imagination, or what Vico calls *fantasia. Fantasia* is not the passive formation of images from sensation, but an active power to form or make something true in human experience. Vico calls Jove an "imaginative universal" *(universale fantastico),* which is the term he uses for the form of thought that characterizes the primordial religious-mythic or poetic mind.

In Vico's view, the nations of humanity begin at various times and places independent of each other, but all share a common nature. They all have structurally similar beginnings in the Jove experience and they all undergo the same course *(corso)* of historical development that passes through three ages, that of gods, heroes, and men. Within a *corso* various organized religions evolve from the impetus of the original religious mentality and life. The world of nations is a panorama of *corsi* and *ricorsi.* That all nations have a common nature—that they begin in an act of naming the divine and develop according to the pattern of three ages—is in Vico's view evidence of providence in history.

Providence, for Vico, is evident in this three-stage life of any nation. In the age of gods men see all of nature and social institutions in terms of the presence of gods. Social order exists through fathers who found cities and take auspices of the divine. In the age of heroes *fantasia* is directed to form not gods but certain human figures, such as Achilles, as imaginative universals. In the age of men all life and thought becomes secularized: abstract thought rather than *fantasia* dominates; natural piety fades; the forms of social life become dissolute. When this occurs a given *corso* comes to an end and a civilization falls. At this point God reestablishes the providential structure of history by a *ricorso* in which a new beginning is made by a return of the survivors to the original severe conditions of life and primordial religious experience.

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VICTORINES See HUGH OF SAINT-VICTOR

VIERKANDT, ALFRED (1867–1953), was a German sociologist. His early work focused on anthropology and social psychology. Born in Hamburg, Vierkandt studied at the University of Leipzig, where he was awarded the Ph.D. degree in 1892. He began teaching at the University of Berlin in 1900. In 1921 he was given the newly founded chair in sociology at Berlin, and he was awarded an honorary doctorate in 1932 by the University of Würzburg. Forbidden by the Nazis to lecture and give examinations, he was forced into retirement in 1934. After 1945 he took over the leadership of the Kant Society, and in 1946 he resumed teaching at the University of Berlin. He died in Berlin in 1953.

The influence of his teacher at Leipzig, Wilhelm Wundt, can be seen in Vierkandt's first major anthropological work, *Naturvölker und Kulturvölker* (1896), in which his differentiation between "primitive" and "civilized" peoples reflects Wundt's distinction between association and apperception. In his lectures Vierkandt dealt with the psychology, religion, art, and social conditions of "primitive people" with special attention to ethics and the philosophy of religion. Vierkandt focused upon the impact of a culture upon the individual through language, myth, and custom in his idea of the determining influence of the group on the individual's character development. In *Die Stetigkeit im Kulturwandel* (1908) Vierkandt not only presented a theory of cultural continuity and cultural change but also attacked the mechanical theories of diffusionism then prevalent.

After World War I Vierkandt shifted his focus and sought to outline the contents and methodology for the discipline of sociology. In *Gesellschaftslehre: Hauptprobleme der philosophischen Soziologie* (1923; 2d ed., 1928), he described sociology as the study of the "ultimate facts" of society, which, for him, were manifested in the specific properties of the group and in the characteristics of group life, the group being the carrier of interaction between its members. He further proposed a phenomenological method for this study. Vierkandt also acted as editor for a comprehensive dictionary, the *Handwörterbuch der Soziologie* (1931; reprint, 1959), to which most of the leading German sociologists of his day contributed. His study *Familie, Volk, und Staat in ihren gesellschaftlichen Lebensvorgängen* (1936) received little attention during the Nazi period but was republished in 1949 under the title *Kleine Gesellschaftslehre.*

Vierkandt's focus on the group as having an identity in itself instead of just being the sum of its individual members suggested a new approach to understanding the phenomena of religious life. Although his attempt to introduce phenomenology as a methodology for sociology has been rejected as not acceptable if sociology is to be a science, his view of religion as a distinctive phenomenon to be studied has been taken up and developed by historians of religions. Vierkandt understood culture as a historical phenomenon, something that gradually develops with its own inherent dynamism, and thus he advocated a nonreductive approach that does not seek to explain the phenomenon by some outside "key" but rather looks at the inner essence of the thing itself. This has been the basis for most approaches to the study of religions.

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WALLACE B. CLIFT (1987)

VIETNAMESE RELIGION. Like the whole complex of Vietnamese culture, Vietnamese religion has long been presented as a pure copy of the Chinese model. Trained for the most part in the discipline of Chinese studies and associating mostly with the literati class and the townspeople, scholars have been constantly confronted by their interlocutors with the Chinese ideal, notably in the domains of moral and aesthetic norms, and they have gauged the value of a rite or particular behavior according to its degree of conformity with the rules laid down by the Han Chinese texts.

Historically, the Red River Delta, cradle of Vietnamese civilization, was occupied by the Han for more than a thousand years. Moreover, the Middle Kingdom, as highly centralizing as the Roman Empire, had an especially effective organization wherein each parcel of conquered territory was put under absolute control and strict surveillance militarily, administratively, and ideologically. Chinese writing served as a unifying and assimilating instrument of the first order. Nonetheless, Dongsonian civilization, which flourished in this region before its destruction by the Han invasions, must have possessed a certain vigor, for despite the very long coercive occupation that followed it, the Vietnamese preserved their language and a part of their culture, finally succeeding in the tenth century of the common era after numerous revolts in liberating themselves from their deeply implanted Chinese occupants. Paradoxically, the consolidation for independence reinforced the prestige of the Chinese model among the literati. Their influence in this regard even resulted in the promulgation in 1812 by Emperor Gialong, who had recently reunified the country, of a new code that was nothing more than a translation of a Manchu dynasty treaty, despite the fact that for more than three centuries, the Vietnamese had a set of original laws known as the Lê Code.

Yet, in a population that was more than 90 percent rural, ideology directly concerned only a relatively small number of people, those who wielded power and prestige. The ideals and beliefs they held touched but superficially the great masses, who remained bound to a set of rules transmitted orally and put to the test through daily observance. That the Vietnamese spoke a language belonging to a different family (Austroasiatic rather than Sino-Tibetan) was a considerable asset for the preservation of these rules. In addition, the development in the tenth century of the *chu nôm*, a demotic system of writing based on Chinese graphs, allowed for a closer contact between this popular culture and the literati class. This open attitude toward national beliefs and practices was reinforced with the extension of the *quôc ngu*, the romanized system of writing introduced in the seventeenth century by Alexandre de Rhodes. This system acquired its full acceptance, however, only in the nineteenth century and did not become universal until the twentieth century.

In the religious sphere, this situation created a coexistence, on the one hand, of a Chinese model followed strictly by the most erudite or those instructed in the faith, and on the other, of popular cults observed by the great mass of people. Between the two there evolved a phenomenon of osmosis leading to a syncretism with multiple nuances.

The expansion southward along the entire length of the Vietnamese territory added further to this diversification of the religion by the absorption, on the small coastal plains, of the Chams, whose religious affiliation was divided between Brahmanism and Islam, and on the Mekong Delta, of the Khmer adherents to Theravāda Buddhism. These three religions, with that of the Proto-Indo-Chinese on which they were grafted, effected a syncretism probably more intimately overlapping than was the Triple Religion (Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism) of the Vietnamese with these same Proto-Indo-Chinese foundations. Even at its source, at the edge of the Red River Delta, mention must be made, albeit in passing, of the Tai influence on the beliefs and practices not only of the Muong, who speak archaic Vietnamese, but also on those of the Vietnamese, properly speaking, who inhabit the villages of the foothills.

The twenty-year separation between the northern and southern halves of the country introduced further variations in the religions. A great number of Catholics from the North took refuge in the South in 1954, where their political weight allowed them to extend their influence. It should not be forgotten that outside of the Philippines, where the majority of the population is Catholic, Vietnam has the strongest Christian minority in Asia.

Whatever the case may be, this article examines Vietnamese religion before the entry of the country into its Marxist period, focusing not on the Chinese model, already treated elsewhere, but rather on those aspects that touch directly on Vietnamese religion.

On the level of the individual, a fundamental concept is that of souls or vital principles. This concept governs as many aspects of daily conduct as it does basic rituals such as funeral rites or ancestor worship. In this domain, Chinese influence predominates. One encounters the scholarly Han tradition of the three souls and the seven corporeal souls. They too carry Sino-Vietnamese names: *hôn* (Chin., *hun*) and *phach* (Chin., *po*). However, if one follows Leopold Cadière, to whom we owe the most profound study on the subject, notable variations appear between the system of the literati and the vocabulary and conceptions of the common people. For example, with regard to *phach*, the inferior vital principles, its Vietnamese equivalent, *voc,* remained confined to the physical aspect of the body (especially the external appearance of the body). Moreover, the most current term used is in fact Vietnamese: *via*, which is in the same semantic range as *phach* (from form of the body to animal soul). Qualities of these *via* vary according to individuals as well as within the same individual. A person endowed with heavy *via* exercises a harmful influence on others, while light *via* brings beneficial influence.

Appropriate funeral rites are absolutely essential for the benefit of the departed. There is fear of two categories of malevolent spirits, the *ma* (Chin., *ma*) and the *gui* (Chin., *guı̆*), souls of the dead without sepulchers. In contrast, one can benefit from the aid of the *thân* (Chin., *shen*), souls of ancestors, understood in a noble sense. These three entities, expressed in Sino-Vietnamese words, testify to the survival of the *hon.*

From words of the same family comes the Vietnamese *hoi*, with its Sino-Vietnamese doublet *khi* (Chin., *qi),* whose meaning ranges from breath, inhalation, emanations from living or dead bodies, to supernatural influence over a person's life and destiny. This influence can emanate not only from a human but also from an animal, the ground, stones, plants, and so forth. The concept provides the essential basis of popular cults as well.

The Chinese model reposes on the complex called *tam giao* (Chin., *sanjiao*, triple teaching or triple religion), that is, Buddhism (Phât giao; Chin., Fojiao), Confucianism (Không giao; Chin., Kongjiao), and Daoism (Lao giao; Chin., Daojiao), or the teachings of the Buddha, Confucius, and Laozi, respectively. Prior to 1975, when asked his religion, an educated Vietnamese generally would have answered that he was a Buddhist. On the civic or family level, however, he followed Confucian precepts; on the affective level or in the face of destiny, he turned to Daoist conceptions. Even if Mahāyāna Buddhism had an effect on his relationship with the otherworld, his personal behavior would have remained impregnated with Daoism. This fact was evident in his concern to conform with cosmic harmony, to pay careful attention to sources and currents of energy traversing the universe, and to parallel equivalents between these and the human body. These concerns were manifested in his desire to withdraw into nature as well as in his recourse to geomancy and diverse divinatory procedures, even to magic. It was primarily Confucianism and Buddhism, however, that affected his moral conduct.

It goes without saying that, as in China, each of the elements composing the Triple Religion in no way presented itself as impervious to the other two. Mutual borrowings throughout the course of centuries increased to the point that it was sometimes difficult to know with certainty which rite or belief to attribute to which element. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, disputes, sometimes very intense, pitted Buddhists against Daoists and caused them to accuse each other of plagiarism on a number of points. Recourse to divination in its multiple forms was not a monopoly of Daoists; Confucians also employed this means of decoding destiny.

This mixture was more deeply rooted among the common people, where features of each of the Three Ways were known only very superficially. Nevertheless, their respective dosages seem to have been in inverse proportion to that predominating among the literati. There was among the common people much less preoccupation with correct rules of government and with mandates from Heaven than with recourse to aid of supernatural beings to resolve the grievous problems of the here and now or to assure for oneself a decent future, both here and in the otherworld. It is true that the observance of ancestor worship attested to the ascendancy of Confucianism, but the different Buddhas and *bodhisattvas* tended to join the ranks of the multiple divinities and deities of the Daoist pantheon. Daoism itself was immeasurably enriched with popular autochthonous beliefs and practices, to which it lent a certain respectability by a tint of sinicization; furthermore, magic played a proportionally more important role in activities of a religious type.

The geographical situation of Chinese-occupied Vietnam placed it in a privileged position on the route of Indian merchants and missionaries traveling from India to China and of Han and Vietnamese pilgrims taking the reverse route. From the first centuries CE, Indian monks were personally active in spreading Buddhist doctrine throughout the Middle Kingdom, including South China. It is thus that some Vietnamese participated in the first translations of canonical texts. From the sixth century, and especially the seventh century, Theravāda Buddhism in Vietnam gave way to Mahāyāna, which was also prevalent in China. And in the pagodas, the three Buddhas (*tam thê phât*; Chin., *sanshi fo*) of the present, the past, and the future occupied the principal altar, other altars being invaded by statues of numerous *bodhisattvas*. Distinctly autochthonous *dhyāna* (*thiên*; Chin., *chan*) sects sprang up in the course of the centuries, and Vietnamese, in ever-increasing numbers, went on pilgrimage to India. The assistance given by eminent Buddhist monks to those who liberated the country from the Chinese accorded to Buddhism a considerable hold over the first dynasties. One was even to see kings abdicating to end their days in monasteries.

Confucianism, which regulated the examinations for the recruitment of the literati (in other words, the mandarin cadres), was from the time of the Ly (1009–1225) the dominant official ideology. Moreover, beginning with the reigns of the Lê, Confucianism provided the state and family moral code and rituals of a once-again independent Vietnam that subsequently was to behave as a southern replica of the Celestial Empire. Before the image of the Son of Heaven, its suzerain, the emperor of Dai-Viet, was responsible for his acts before the all-powerful God. If he did not observe the rules correctly, the mandate to govern that he received from Heaven would be withdrawn from him by different means: war, revolution, lack of a male heir, and so forth.

In matters of cult ministry, the eminent positions occupied by Heaven and earth found expression through the sacrifices offered to them by the sovereign, who officiated in person. These ceremonies, said to belong to the *nam giao* (Chin., *nanjiao*, sacrificial mound), appanage of imperial power, had always been vested with exceptional majesty and pomp. The *lê tich điên* (Chin., *jitian*, opening ceremony of the rice fields) also belonged to this cult complex. Here, too, the sovereign himself officiated—although he soon came to delegate the performance of this ceremony to a high-ranking mandarin. By tracing nine furrows on the royal field, the sovereign or his representative would open the plowing season.

Ancestor worship occupied a central place in the family cult. It represented the ritual expression of a cardinal virtue, filial piety (*hiêu;* Chin., *xiao*), the pivot of interpersonal relationships. The Vietnamese followed with devotion the precept of Mengzi, "duty toward parents is the foundation of all others," that permeated all rules of conduct. The necessity of perfecting oneself morally and intellectually, loyalty to one's friends, respect for one's superiors, fidelity to the sovereign—all these were believed to arise from the domain of filial piety.

The extent of the economic impact of ancestor worship on a family depended on the wealth of that family. Reserved exclusively for the maintenance of such worship and for the performance of its ceremonies were revenues from property (rice fields, houses, etc.) that constituted the *huong-hoa* (Chin., *xianghuo*), the portion of the incense and the fire transmitted by inheritance from the father to his eldest son. It should be noted that Confucianism did not succeed in lowering the Vietnamese woman to the inferior rank occupied by her Chinese counterpart. Even in wealthy families the wife had the same status as her husband in family ceremonies, including those pertaining to ancestor worship in its strict sense. As the ideology of the mandarin type of government, Confucianism, by its very nature, became a target of Marxist-Leninist regimes. In Vietnam the offensive has been less virulent and of shorter duration than in the People's Republic of China; it is true that Vietnam has not experienced any extremist phenomenon comparable to that of the Cultural Revolution in China.

Responsive as the literati were to the abstract universal order proposed by Confucianism, the idealized transposition of the bureaucratic hierarchy, they were equally responsive to the concrete universal order conceived by Daoist doctrine, with its correspondences (the human body, the microcosmic replica of the macrocosm) and its complementary contradictions (*âm* and *duong*, the Vietnamese equivalents of *yin* and *yang*). The peasant, on the other hand, retained of Daoism principally the imagery presented in the temples (*đên*) in various forms. Dominating the whole ensemble was the August Jade Emperor, Ngọc-Hoang (Chin., Yuhuang), assisted by his two chief ministers, Nam-Tao (Chin., Nancao, the Southern Constellation) and Bac-Đâu (Chin., Beidou, the Northern Constellation), who were charged respectively with keeping account of the birth and death of human beings and of governing a multitude of deities ranked according to an organization duplicating the imperial bureaucracy. Among these deities a special place must be assigned to Tao-quân (Chin., Zaojun), the hearth deity, who at the end of each year reports on the acts and deeds of humans; the days surrounding this event are a period of transition that provides an occasion for the Vietnamese to celebrate their most spectacular collective feast, the Têt Nguyên Đan (Chin., Yuandan), the celebration of the New Year. In popular Vietnamese consciousness Tao-quân is actually a composite of three personages, a woman and her two husbands, whose unhappy marriages were the subject of legends. The other important category in Vietnamese practice is represented by the immortals, whose Chinese nucleus of eight personalities has been enlarged by the addition of native deities.

The recourse to mediums and ritual decorative features representing the pantheon dominated by the Jade Emperor made possible the assimilation of Daoist elements into a certain number of Vietnamese popular cults. The one that came closest in form to a Daoist cult was that attributed to Trân Hung Đạo, a spirit served by a male medium (*ông đông*). Trân Hung Đạo is a Vietnamese national hero from the thirteenth century, conqueror of the Han armies of the Mongol dynasty. The medium would perform a violent ritual in the course of which he inflicted on himself bloody ordeals and healed the sick by exorcising them of the traitor or vanquished general who possessed them.

The cult of the *chu vi*, dignitaries served by female mediums (*ba đông*), borrowed from Daoism some elements of the decor, and at least in the north, the possession of the mediums by some immortals (whereas in the south it was spirits rather than immortals who descended). Here the medium (a *ba đông* in this case) is mounted not by one god but successively, in the course of the same séance, by different spirits of both sexes and of different ages.

At the collective level, the cult of the tutelary deity (*thanh-hoang*; Chin., *shenghuang*), the protector of the commune, held an eminent place in Vietnamese popular religion. Indeed, the most important public building in a village was the *đinh*, both a communal house and a place of worship; it sheltered the altar of the tutelary deity and served as a meeting place of the notables for the settlement of questions of administration and internal justice. The *đinh* was the center of collective life on the social as well as the religious level. It constituted the core of the system of peasant relations with the world beyond (through the intervention of the *thanh-hoang*) as well as with the state (the tutelary deity was confirmed by an imperial warrant obtained at the request of the notables).

The *thanh-hoang* could be a celestial deity, a deified legendary or historical personage, or even a disreputable person, such as a thief or a scavenger, whose violent death at a sacred hour endowed him with occult powers. It even would happen, although quite rarely, that an influential mandarin who had rendered an important service to the village became a guardian spirit during his lifetime. A deity who failed to protect the village at a critical moment or whose perfidy was denounced by a mystical revelation would be chased away and replaced by another deity.

A maintenance service for the fire and the incense was celebrated throughout the year, and ceremonies were held at the *đinh* on the first and fifteenth day of each month and on certain calendar feasts. The most important feast of the year was the Vao Đam, or Vao Hội (to be in festivities), which took place in spring or autumn, or on the anniversary of the birth or death of the tutelary deity. This feast lasted for two weeks, during which time it was forbidden to hold any funeral ceremonies. It was celebrated in great pomp with a series of processions, offerings, and prayers. Many villages undertook the organization of various entertainments: theater, cockfights, bullfights, and chess games with the people themselves acting as the chess pieces. Particular to this feast was a rite called Hem, often held secretly, recalling the salient features of the deity's life. It was celebrated at night when commemorating a dishonorable act: a scene of robbery for a thief deity, an enactment of excrement collection (with the excrement replaced by peeled bananas) for a scavenger deity, and so forth.

Certain trees, rocks, and natural boundaries were objects of cults that could lead to the construction of small altars. This veneration, very often fearful, could have varied origins. The tree, for example, could influence by the simple force of its being. It could also shelter a malevolent spirit, such as a *ma*, the soul of an unburied dead person, or of a *con tinh*, the soul of a young girl or woman who died before having experienced the joys of marriage. The man she succeeded in seducing would lose his reason and die unless exorcised in time. Sometimes, however, the tree or stone was not simply the habitat of a spirit but was in itself a deity: a deity-tree or deity-stone, such as one finds among the Proto-Indo-Chinese of the hinterlands.

The dominant features of Vietnamese religion were its openness to all forms of spirituality and its profusive character that resulted from this openness. These features were manifested on the level of the literati, whose most erudite members sought to abide by the texts of the Triple Religion or at least of one of the religions, as well as on the popular level, where the cult of the tutelary deity was observed and that was above all responsive to the different spirits peopling the environment as well as to the counsels of specialists. A village might possess a temple of one or another of the Three Ways, peopled with saints of the other two. There might at the same time be a temple by the seaside dedicated to the whale deity washed up and stranded on the shore. It should be noted that the intransigence of Christianity would eliminate from the territory of a converted village all monuments consecrated to another cult. This did not, however, prevent the majority of Christian peasants from having at least a minimum of respect for the spirits haunting the premises.

This general tendency toward syncretism made possible a strong implantation of Catholicism (but not of Islam) and encouraged Vietnamese, when emigrating in large numbers to foreign countries, to worship local deities until these were assimilated. This tendency has resulted, likewise, in the rise of new forms of syncretisms such as the Hoa-hao or Cao Dai, the first grafted on a Buddhist core, the other on a Daoist one.

SEE ALSO Ancestors, article on Ancestor Worship; Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Southeast Asia; Chinese Religion, overview article and article on Popular Religion; Chinese Religious Year; Confucianism, overview article; Daoism, overview article; Southeast Asian Religions, article on Mainland Cultures; Yinyang Wuxing; Yuhuang.

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GEORGES CONDOMINAS (1987)
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Revised Bibliography

VIJÑĀNABHIKṢU (c. sixteenth century CE) was an Indian philosopher and exponent of a syncretic Sāṃkhya-Yoga and Vedānta system. Nothing is known of the birthplace of Vijñānabhikṣu, but some scholars have suggested that he was a native of Bengal. His direct disciple was Bhāvāgaṇeśa, who may be the same as Gaṇeśa Dīkṣita, the author of a commentary on the *Tarkabhāṣā.*

Vijñānabhikṣu holds a significant position in the history of Indian philosophy. A Sāṃkhya-Yoga thinker, he is nonetheless recognized as having developed a distinct philosophical position all his own. He was the author of as many as sixteen or eighteen works, four or five of which are available as printed texts. The most notable are *Yogavārttika, Sāṃkhya-pravacana-sūtrabhāsya,* and *Sāṃkhyasārah.* He also wrote commentaries on the *Brahma Sūtra* and on many Upaniṣads, including the *Kaṭha, Kaivalya,* and *Taittirīya.*

Although Vijñānabhikṣu was undoubtedly an original thinker, his originality was strongly tempered by his syncretic tendencies, as seen in his combining of Sāṃkhya-Yoga with Vedānta thought. One of his unique views was that the individual's ultimate goal is not the cessation of sorrow (*duḥkha*), but the cessation of the *experience* of sorrow. He maintained that the state of *mokṣa* ("liberation") is not blissful and that when the scriptures talk about the blissful state of the self (*ānandamaya*), what they really mean is the absence of sorrow.

Vijñānabhikṣu was primarily a yogin, both in theory and practice. In his *Yogavārttika,* he claimed that Yoga (as taught by Patañjali) is the best path to liberation. He believed that it was necessary to reconcile Vedānta philosophy with Yoga philosophy in order to combine knowledge and praxis. He was critical of Advaita Vedānta and charged that the Advaitins were crypto-Buddhists.

For Vijñānabhikṣu, sentient beings (*jīva*s) are not identical with *brahman* (Īśvara or Parameśvara) but are just parts of *brahman.* The relationship is one of the-part-and-the-whole, not total identity; the *jīva*s are the sparks of the fire that is *brahman. Brahman* creates the world, often referred to as *māyā* ("illusion"). However, according to Vijñānabhikṣu, the world is not illusory, because *prakṛti* ("matter, nature"), being part of *brahman,* is eternal and real. The creation is a real, not an illusory, transformation *(pariṇāma),* as in the Sāṃkhya view.

Bhikṣu's interpretation of the *Yoga Sūtra* differed from that of either Vācaspati Miśra or Bhoja. His interpretation of *vikalpa* ("mental discrimination") indicates a Buddhist influence. The Yoga school regards *suṣupti* ("dreamless sleep") as a *vṛtti* ("transformation") of consciousness, while the Vedānta school argues that it is not a *vṛtti* at all. Bhikṣu reconciles these viewpoints by saying that there are two states of dreamless sleep: *ardha* ("half") and *samagra* ("full"). The Yoga school talks about the first, while the Upaniṣads talk about the second.

God, the creator, is not simply an agent (as the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas hold) who creates the universe as a potter produces a pot. The causality of God is said to be very different from the three types of causality mentioned by Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika: *samavāyin* ("inherent"), *asamavāyin* ("noninherent"), and *nimitta* ("efficient cause"). Rather, Vijñānabhikṣu refers to *adhiṣṭhāna kāraṇa* ("ground cause, container"). For Śaṃkara too, *brahman* is the ground for all changes and causation. But while Śaṃkara believes that all changing phenomena are unreal and the ground cause is real, Bhikṣu asserts that all changes are real and that the unchangeable ground cause, *brahman,* sustains this principle of change within its individual unity. By rejecting nondualism, Bhikṣu also fostered the *bhakti* movement. He interpreted *bhakti* as true devotion in the service of God, and referred to the Bhāgavata description of *bhakti* as "the emotion that melts the heart and brings tears to the eyes."

SEE ALSO Patañjali the Grammarian.

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VILNA GAON SEE ELIYYAHU BEN SHELOMOH ZALMAN

VINAYA SEE BUDDHIST BOOKS AND TEXTS, *ARTICLE ON* CANON AND CANONIZATION—VINAYA

VINOBA BHAVE SEE BHAVE, VINOBA

VIOLENCE. Humans, as individuals and as groups, have the potential to be violent. Physical violence is disruptive and damaging to other individuals and groups because it conflicts with some of their basic rights. Individuals try to protect themselves from injury, and societies try to channel and curb violence both through symbolic action and through concrete counterviolence. Individuals and groups, on the other hand, may feel the necessity to resort to physical violence, while ritualization and symbolism may make violent acts easier to perform.

Religion is the most powerful symbolic system humans have developed. Throughout history, religion and violence have been in close contact. The detailed history of this contact still has to be written, although there is no lack of research on individual epochs and episodes, often stimulated by contemporary events. Recent examples include the surge in religiously motivated violence during the 1990s, reflected in the destruction of Yugoslavia or the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians. Both the actors on the ground and commentators from the outside understood these conflicts as religious confrontations, at least in part. During the same period, the rapid spread of religious fundamentalism, Christian as well as Islamic, led to further reflection on the relationship between religion and violence. The trauma of the attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., which were quickly interpreted as religious as well as political phenomena, provoked yet another body of studies. On the other hand, general studies of the relationship between religion and violence are rare, and they often appear to be somewhat one-sided. Religion is usually perceived either from the perspective of those institutionalized monotheist religions that dominate the contemporary world, or from a secular position. Since even general research has grown out of actual necessities in most cases, relatively little attention has been given to the place of violence within polytheistic religious systems.

INTRODUCTION. Earlier philosophical reflection treated violence within the wider context of ethics or anthropology. Ethological research, in which Konrad Lorenz's investigation of aggression as a basic biological drive was the perhaps most influential theory in the mid-twentieth century (Lorenz, 1959), was a later field for the study of violence. In the early twenty-first century, however, research on societal and political violence has been carried out primarily in the area of conflict and peace studies. These disciplines evolved as a response to World War II—the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) being founded in 1959 and the *Journal for Peace Research* in 1961—and gained momentum during the Vietnam War. The origin of these fields of study in actual political events accounts for their perspective. Researchers in these areas are interested in the political and social conditions under which collective violence originates as well as finding ways to counteract collective violence. They challenge Lorenz's assumption that violence is a biological given of the human condition. Most of these researchers, however, regard religion as relevant only as a social or political variable, and often overlook the consequences of the possibility that it might be an anthropological constant (Burkert, 1996).

As a heuristic approach—that is, one intended to stimulate exploration—the topic of religion and violence can be subdivided into three different questions: (1) religion can be used to legitimate and condone or even to stimulate and incite to violence—this is the most common view, and examples range from the role of priests in warfare to religious riots and wars; (2) violence, both direct and symbolic, through rituals, narrations and images, can be seen as inherent to religion; (3) religion can be a healing force after violence has been committed, as part of its function to create or restore social cohesion.

DEFINITIONS. In current research, violence is understood in several different ways. In common speech, violence usually refers to physical force directed against another human being in order to inflict bodily harm or, in extreme cases, death. This narrow use of the term is easily extended to include physical violence against other living beings and material objects. Violence may be a spontaneous emotional reaction to a provocation; premeditated; or institutionalized and ritualized, as in the violence associated with warfare, torture, or punishment. In conflict research, the term tends to be used in an even wider sense. Johan Galtung, the founder of peace studies, introduced the concept of *structural violence* as a supplement to *direct* (physical) *violence.* Structural violence refers to the coercion inherent in societal structures that is used without the agreement of the victims and against their interests, such as the exploitation of workers in capitalistic economies or the exclusion of foreigners from a state. Its effectiveness relies on the threat and plausibility of direct violence (Galtung, 1969).

A third type of violence is *cultural violence,* which is structural violence of such long duration that it is embedded in and protected by cultural institutions. Religious violence, or the violence inherent in the three institutionalized monotheistic religions of the West, is the most obvious example of cultural violence (Galtung, 1990). The contrast between direct and structural violence is useful because it demonstrates that direct violence is not necessarily an aberration but a direct consequence of structural violence, and thus of social developments and institutions. This connection has consequences for those who wish to combat violence. Cultural violence, on the other hand, might appear as a simple extension of structural violence to a specific content; it might be seen as inherent in such cultural institutions as those associated with religions. The consequences for the question of religion and violence, however, have to be explored in considerably greater depth than has been done hitherto (Galtung, 1997–1998). As to the social conditions under which direct collective violence is likely to develop, studies converge to show that such violence is likely to occur when "political power is centralized, non-democratic, and highly dependent on one's group membership, be it race, ethnicity, religion, or some cultural division" (Rummel, 1997, p. 170). This summary suggests that religion, not only in its monotheistic variants, is one among several possible triggers for violence, but fails to explore the question as to whether there is a privileged connection between the two.

RELIGION IN THE SERVICE OF VIOLENCE. Every society is committed to the use of direct violence, if only to defend itself against outside and inside enemies. In developed societies, however, the state usually claims a monopoly on the use of violence. Violence inside the state is regulated by its laws and structured by its justice system, violence against other states by concepts of warfare, among which the Roman notion of the *bellum iustum,* or just war, had the most important transhistorical consequences. In polytheistic systems, both law and warfare are protected by such specific deities as the Greek Zeus, the guardian of justice inside society, and Athena, the goddess of properly conducted defensive wars of the city-state of Athens. Monotheist systems place both areas under the tutelage and protection of their respective gods. This divine protection finds expression in the rituals surrounding both the performance of justice and warfare. War often was constructed as a time outside of society's normal order and taking place outside civic space; rituals opened and ended this period, such as the Spartan sacrifices to Artemis Agrotera, "Wild Artemis," before a battle, or the many rituals of integration performed for returning warriors (Parker, 2000). Religion thus marks the borders of war's confined territory. This role of religion was rarely contested in the name of a nonviolent and pacifist theology, as in the Buddhist concept of *ahiṃsā.* As long as early Christianity remained at the margins of the state, it was mostly a pacifist faith, following the nonviolent teachings of the New Testament (Swift, 1979). This attitude changed, however, when the Roman Empire adopted Christianity as its official faith. Christian leaders were then confronted with the necessity of violence related to warfare. The prosecution of war was left to the laity but was legitimated from Scripture, albeit under very clearly stated conditions (e.g., Augustine of Hippo [354–430], *Letter* 189). Unlike Christianity, Judaism and Islam never had a tradition of nonviolence; war thus presented many fewer theological problems. Nevertheless, in these religions too war needed sanction and regulation. Islam in particular developed the concept of *jihād* (literally, "the exercise of faith"), the just defense of the faith (Colpe, 1994; Lewis, 2003).

Despite these restrictions on open violence, Christian and to a lesser extent Muslim history is full of religious wars, most conspicuously the crusades that also turned against Orthodox Christian Byzantium and the European wars of religion that followed the Reformation, such as the Thirty Years' War of 1618–1648. The development of explicitly religious wars changes the relationship between religion and violence: religion now is the very source of violence, at least in the reading of the actors themselves. It has always been easy to find political and economical motives for these religious wars, in contrast to the indigenous understanding of them. The key problem then has been to assess the extent and sincerity of the combatants' religious motivations. To some extent, the answer has always been determined by axiomatic choices.

In the past, historiography tended to emphasize "rational" political and economical motives. More recently, however, indigenous insistence on religious motives has been taken more seriously: religion has come to be seen as more than just a thin veil hiding more important motivations (Holt, 1993). This reevaluation of motives is true also for the riots that accompanied religious practice before the rise of monotheist systems. When two neighboring villages in Roman Egypt fought each other over the killing of a sacred animal (Plutarch, *On Isis* 72; Dio Cassius 42.34; Juvenal, *Satire* 15), or when the killing of a sacred cat by a Roman soldier triggered riots (Diodorus Siculus 1.83.8), later scholars often pointed to rival political and economic ambitions, tensions created by the presence of foreign armies in Egypt, or popular impressions that local traditions were threatened. But in all cases, the native discourse as well as the discourse of the Roman administrators and commentators was religious. The same was true of the riots against the early Christians that triggered such major persecutions as the one in Lyons in 177 CE. The objections against the Christians were usually couched in the language of sacrifice and perverted sexuality; economic problems entered only marginally, as when Paul threatened the prosperous business of the Ephesian silversmiths (*Acts* 19).

But it was not until Natalie Zemon Davis published a seminal paper in 1973 on religious riots in early modern France that historians were compelled to take religion seriously as a motive for violence. With the establishment of the secularized state, matters became more complicated. Research on religious violence in nineteenth-century France has shown that as a consequence of the French Revolution, "the boundary between religious, social and political violence was extremely porous" (Ford, 1998, p. 105). Anticlerical riots in the name of a secularized state against the Catholic Church confused the distinction between political and religious violence more than the riots against Roman occupiers that were triggered by the killing of a sacred animal. In the latter case, violence was used against foreigners who were seen to violate the norms of the indigenous religion. In the former case, violence resulted from the political desire to curb the influence of a religious institution.

VIOLENCE AS INTRINSIC TO RELIGION. The key question in this debate is whether religion as such contains violence or whether it is only associated with it. The answers given by various scholars range from agreement to fierce denial, but the question may be too simplistic. Many religions contain rituals, stories, and representations that are directly violent. The pantheon of a polytheistic religion usually contains one or several *violent divinities;* these are often connected with the irrational violence of warfare, such as Ares in Greece or Erra in Mesopotamia. But these gods represent a violence kept at a distance and with which humans are uncomfortable. Civic cults of Ares are extremely rare, and gods as well as humans are said to hate him (*Iliad* 5.889). The myth of Erra describes his rule as only short-lived and characterized by senseless destruction that necessitates the reconstruction of Babylon (Maschinist and Sasson, 1985). These divinities define a world in which war is a bitter necessity that should be as infrequent as possible.

Other stories, however, place violence at the foundation of the present-day cosmic order. Marduk, the god of Babylon, creates the world from the body of his opponent Tiamat and human beings from the blood of her closest ally, while in Greek mythology Zeus fights the Titans and the monster Typhon before he can establish his rule (Trumpf, 1959). In one possible reading of the New Testament, the Christian God must let his son die as a victim of human violence in order to found the new messianic world order. Order can be created only through the destruction of its antecedents and its enemies. This order is also precarious because these hostile forces are still active and must be kept at bay. Thus protective violence is always necessary; for example, the Indian goddess Durgā is a powerful demon killer who protects the world "every time when demons create danger" (*Devīmāhātmya* 11.55).

Animal and human sacrifice. The notion of protective violence leads to the practice of *animal sacrifice,* a rite that is widespread in agricultural cultures. The victims are usually domesticated animals. The performers often regard the killing of animals as unproblematic because it prepares them for a common meal with the gods. Moreover, meat is a staple food in these cultures. Ritualization and mythologization explain and legitimate the public slaughter of animals, as does the ritualization of hunting and warfare. The very fact of ritualization, however, might point to the existence of a latent problem, in that the ritual and the discourse about it must give some kind of meaning to the killing. Sometimes, the indigenous discourse about animal sacrifice and its practice point to the awareness of the problem. In some Polynesian cultures, the victim—a pig—is never killed and sometimes never eaten by its owner because it is considered "a brother of humans." The complex ritual behavior allows the owner of a pig, however, to also eat pork (Lanternari, 1976, pp. 298–303).

In Indo-European sacrificial ideology, the stories talk about the killing of a human being (Lincoln, 1991, pp. 167–175). Thus the problem of killing interferes with the necessity of eating to the point that animal sacrifice is altogether abolished. This abolition leads to vegetarianism, as with the Pythagoreans in Greece or the Buddhists and Jains in India. In these instances, animals are regarded as too closely related to humans to be killed. But with the exception of Buddhism, the rejection of animal sacrifice remained an option only for individuals, and could be given up again (e.g., Findley, 1987).

Human sacrifice as the ultimate form of sacrificial violence exists at least in the discourse about sacrifice, even in societies in which actual human sacrifice is unattested. Greek and Roman myths, for example, establish some violent rituals on a past history of human sacrifice that the present and less cruel rite replaced. Stories that legitimate direct violence against others (Christians, Jews, Gnostics, religious reformers, political rebels) typically accuse them of practicing child sacrifice and even cannibalism. Accusations of Satanism in the 1980s and 1990s adopted the same strategy to trigger (and, presumably, legitimate) judicial violence in private relationships (Frankfurter, 2005). In other societies (Celts, Aztecs), human sacrifice is attested with varying explanations of the practice. In some cases, the foundational violence is taken more seriously and avoided by exchanging an animal for a human victim (Lincoln, 1991, pp. 176–207).

Not all modern theories of animal sacrifice pay attention to its inherent violence. The two best-known theories that address the problem, Burkert's and Girard's, were both published in 1972; their connection with the wider cultural interest in violence seems obvious. Although their theories assume different origins for animal sacrifice (hunting rituals in Burkert's case, scapegoat rituals in Girard's), they both arrive at similar conclusions regarding the function of sacrificial violence—namely that the ritualized killing of a living being channels the group's innate violence and renders it harmless. Violence is inherent in the religious act because violence as a threat is innate in humans, and religion offers a symbolized way to domesticate and defuse it. In the meantime, other scholars have challenged some of the premises of these constructions (Hamerton-Kelly, 1987), and the debate continues. The main thrust of this group of theories is that religion does not contain or breed violence, but is rather a powerful instrument to counteract it.

The problems surrounding questions of violence in the major monotheistic religions, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, are more intricate and more controversial. Contemporary critics underscore the fact that the two main characteristics of monotheistic faiths, revelation and universalism, make them by their very nature potentially violent. Revelation can lead to conflicts with those who contest this revealed truth, and universalism can lead to missionary expansion (Galtung, 1997; Assmann, 2002). These consequences, however, are not inevitable; the certainty of revealed truth generates conflicts only when the claim of another truth becomes threatening to one or both parties. Early Christianity collided with the Roman religious system when its refusal of sacrifice to the emperor was seen as a threat to the divine protection of the empire (Fox, 1986, pp. 452–455). The Roman Catholic Church came into conflict with such other Christian groups as the Montanists, or with pagan diviners (Fögen, 1993) whose rituals or beliefs challenged its monopoly of truth.

In all cases, the situation is more complex than a simple conflict between religious systems. Modern analysts perceive political and economical reasons for outbreaks of violence as well as a conflict of personalities; the Montanist claim of charismatic prophecy, for example, challenged the established hierarchy of the church (Trevett, 1996). But again, when indigenous actors give religious motivations for violent behavior, they should be taken at their word. The religious motivations of the Islamic terrorists who attacked the United States on September 11, 2001, were intended to be taken seriously, as were the claims of Mormon fundamentalists who killed "recalcitrant" wives (Krakauer, 2003). Although Islam has a tradition of avoiding religious conflicts with non-Muslims, Islamic fundamentalism as it developed in early twentieth-century Egypt expressed its resistance to Western values in a religious key (Ali, 2002), as did Western fundamentalism with respect to the modernization of society.

Religious imagery and violence. A key role is often attributed to the *religious imaginary* of narrations and images. All societies possess traditional (or even sacred) stories about the violent acts of their gods, demons, heroes, or ancestors. Many of these tales value these acts positively and regard them as a necessity, as in foundation myths or stories about defense against spiritual or human enemies. Even when violence is perpetrated by others against members of one's own group, the result can be turned into a positive statement, as in the narratives of Christ's crucifixion or the deaths of Christian, Jewish, or Muslim martyrs. Another type of positive narrative of violence is found in apocalyptic visions from the Jewish-Christian *Book of Enoch,* which was composed in the second century BCE, to the contemporary series of "Left Behind" novels that are popular among American Christian fundamentalists in the early twenty-first century. In apocalyptic visions, violence serves as a deterrent from sin or as a tool of mission and conversion. In martyrologies, the stories (whose recitation was part of the liturgy of the early Church) encouraged their audiences to withstand the violence of persecution in order to preserve the faith. Stories, however, can always be reenacted; violent stories can, under certain circumstances, generate real violence (Lüdemann, 1997; Ellens, 2004, vol. 1). The texts do not always function as directly as they did during the French wars of religion, however, when executions and mutilations reproduced the details related in apocalyptic narratives (Crouzet, 1990).

The early Christians sometimes provoked the Roman authorities in order to suffer martyrdom in a sort of passive violence. In a theologically highly contested move, contemporary Palestinian suicide bombers turned active violence against their enemies and themselves in order to become martyrs. The investigators of persons suspected of witchcraft in early modern Europe projected their own concepts of demonic behavior on their victims in order to legitimate their own punitive violence (Frankfurter, 2005). The reasons for this "dark side" of religion are complex, but a major factor appears to be the tradition of reading sacred books in order to find models for religiously (and thus ethically) correct action. This pattern of reading is central to Christian, Muslim and Jewish religious education. To deny that some of the stories taken as models encourage violence, or even to point out that the sacred books contain at least as many stories that inculcate nonviolence, compassion, and love, serves only an apologetic function. The researcher seeks to analyze why certain epochs, circumstances and charismatic personalities preferred one type of story or the other, and why certain epochs and circumstances actualized the dormant potential of the religious imaginary. It is instructive to see how one of the most violent symbolic systems, Tantrism, is serving in its Himalayan version as the most powerful spiritual guide to total ascetic calm (Huntington and Bangdel, 2003), while Bengali Tantrism served as an ideological source for political violence during the struggle for Indian independence, its goddess Kalī coming to represent Mother India as a violent rebel (Urban, 2003, pp. 73–133).

RELIGION AND THE END OF VIOLENCE. Religion plays a vital but relatively unexplored role in the aftermath of violence. On one level, rituals mark the end of such periods of violence as warfare. Cathartic rituals and rituals of thanksgiving reintegrate the returning warriors into the fabric of peaceful society; the ringing of church bells and modern peace celebration liturgies also preserve this religious symbolism.

On another level, religion is used to heal the wounds caused by a violent conflict. In early nineteenth-century France, Catholic missionaries kept the memory of the horrors of the reign of terror alive by staging processions that retraced the way to the guillotine of prominent victims. The declared aim of these ritual processions was to remember the violent acts and, through confession, to expiate them. According to Catholic teaching, forgiveness and expiation are possible only after penitence, and penitence presupposes memory of the sinful deed, even if this remembrance contradicted the official policy of *oubli,* forgetting, as practiced by the Restoration monarchy (Kroen, 1998). After the violent civil wars in Zimbabwe in the 1980s, both the official Catholic Church and the country's indigenous religions were concerned with healing; because, in an indigenous reading, the violence had unleashed the demons of the murdered, Catholic exorcists and traditional diviners and spirit mediums stepped in (Ranger, 1992, pp. 705–706). The extraordinary situations that prevailed in both nineteenth-century France and twentieth-century Zimbabwe after a period of unusually high levels of violence generated new rituals within the matrix of traditional ritualism. The same dynamics are visible elsewhere; for example, Andean peasant communities readapted "new discourses and practices . . . according to community memory about ancient practices" after the violence of the *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path) insurrection (Gamarra, 2000, p. 286). It appears that most communities can deal with "ordinary" levels and forms of violence with the help of their traditional symbolic systems. On the other hand, extraordinary violence, especially the violence generated by prolonged periods of intensive or brutal civil war, demands adaptations of the symbolic language that gives meaning to violence.

SEE ALSO Apocalypse, overview article; Martyrdom; New Religious Movements, article on New Religious Movements and Violence; Nonviolence; Sacrifice; War and Warriors, overview article.

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FRITZ GRAF (2005)

VIRACOCHA is the name or title in the Quechua language of the Inca creator god at the time of the Spanish conquest of Peru in the sixteenth century. According to Inca beliefs, Viracocha (also called Ticciviracocha) made earth and sky, then fashioned from stone a race of giants. Displeased with them, he turned some giants back into stone and destroyed the rest in a flood. He then caused the sun and the moon to rise from Lake Titicaca, and created, at nearby Tiahuanaco, human beings and animals from clay. He painted clothing on the people, then dispersed them so that they would later emerge from caves, hills, trees, and bodies of water. He gave the people social customs, food, and other aspects of civilization. Appearing as a bearded old man with staff and long garment, Viracocha journeyed from the mountainous east toward the northwest, traversing the Inca state, teaching as he went. At Manta, on the coast of Ecuador, he spread his cloak and set out over the waters of the Pacific Ocean.

Viracocha is described by early Spanish chroniclers as the most important Inca god, invisible, living nowhere, yet ever-present. Texts of hymns to Viracocha exist, and prayers to him usually began with the invocation "O Creator." A temple in Cuzco, the Inca capital, was dedicated to him. He also appeared as a gold figure inside Cuzco's Temple of the Sun. Near this temple, a *huaca* (sacred stone) was consecrated to Viracocha; sacrifices were made there, particularly of brown llamas. At the festival of Camay, in January, offerings were cast into a river to be carried by the waters to Viracocha.

Viracocha may have been identified with the Milky Way, which was believed to be a heavenly river. His throne was said to be in the sky. The sun, the moon, and the star deities were subservient to him. Inti, the sun, was the imperial god, the one whose cult was served by the Inca priesthood; prayers to the sun were presumably transmitted by Inti to Viracocha, his creator.

Because there are no written records of Inca culture before the Spanish conquest, the antecedents of Viracocha are unknown, but the idea of a creator god was surely ancient and widespread in the Andes. Viracocha—who was related to Illapa ("thunder," or "weather")—may have been derived from Thunupa, the creater god (also the god of thunder and weather) of the Inca's Aymara-speaking neighbors in the highlands of Bolivia, or from the creator god of earlier inhabitants of the Cuzco Valley. The god's antiquity is suggested by his various connotations, by his imprecise fit into the structured Inca cult of the solar god, and by pre-Inca depictions of a deity very similar to Inca images of Viracocha. Viracocha is sometimes confused with Pachacámac, the creator god of adjacent coastal regions; they probably had a common ancestor.

The eighth king in a quasi-historical list of Inca rulers was named for Viracocha. The god appeared in a dream or vision to his son, a young prince, who (with the help of the god, according to legend) raised an army to defend Cuzco successfully when it was beleaguered by the rival Chanca people. This prince became the ninth Inca ruler, Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui (r. 1438?–1470?), the great man of Inca history, who glorified architecturally the Temple of Viracocha and the Temple of the Sun and began the great expansion of the Inca empire. According to some authors, he was called Yupanqui as a prince and later took the name *Pachacuti* ("transformer"). He is usually referred to simply as Pachacuti (Pachacutic or Pachacutec), although some records refer to him more fully as Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui. It was he who provided the list of Inca rulers.

SEE ALSO Inti.

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ELIZABETH P. BENSON (1987)

VIRGIN GODDESS is a nonhomogeneous, highly problematic concept for scholarly use, for it was partly made up by the religious politics of Greek city-states in order to further their patriarchal aims, and for the other part has been popularized by a certain kind of feminist interest promoted by followers of the contemporary goddess religion. Goddess worshipers in Western postmodern societies promote a biologistic understanding of femaleness that is focused on the procreative capacity of the female body, and therefore venerate one or several goddesses as givers and takers of life. In relating all possible functions of goddesses from all times and religions to sexuality and fertility, the goddess movement(s) reveal an outlook on the essence of femaleness that resembles that of ancient Greek gender ideology, even though it arrives at a different evaluation of it.

HISTORY AND CRITICAL REEVALUATION OF THE NOTION OF THE VIRGIN GODDESS. The use of the term *virgin goddess* is grounded in the assumption that prehistoric societies in Europe and elsewhere worshiped a goddess who could appear in three forms: as maiden (often used synonymously with *virgin*), mother, and aged wise woman. A dyad of the goddess as mother and maiden had already been introduced by Jane Harrison (1903), and then taken up by the Jungian scholar Mary Esther Harding (1935), but the idea of a female divine trinity was for the first time formulated by the poet and essayist Robert von Ranke-Graves in his work *The Greek Myths* (1955). The origin of this construction is unclear, but it was very probably influenced by the trinitarian structure of God according to Christian dogma. Ranke Graves connected the threefold manifestation of the divine matriarch to the phases of the moon (waxing moon, full moon, waning moon) and to the three cosmic spheres: the "upper air" for the maiden, earth and sea for the mother, and the underworld for the old woman. Admittedly owing this construction mainly to his intuition, Graves also may have been inspired by the popular ideas of Johann Jakob Bachofen (1861) about the religion of a matriarchal age in early human history. Bachofen claimed that the relations of the sexes always found a cosmic expression in the relations between sun and moon, and according to his hypothesis the *gynaikokratia*, the Greek term for matriarchy, a social order that is dominated by assumignly female values, was characterized by the reign of the moon (and the night) over the sun (and the day). More recently, these kinds of ideas have been taken up by Heide Göttner-Abendroth (1993) and Marija Gimbutas (1989; 1991). Gimbutas, who used a great deal of nineteenth-century theory (Hegel, Bachofen, and James George Frazer) in her interpretations of Stone Age artifacts, promoted the idea of a parthenogenetic primal goddess that might have emerged in the Paleolithic era. According to her hypothesis, the primal goddess, who was avirgin in the sense that she did not have sexual intercourse with a male, was equated with nature as a whole and therefore did not have a particular shape. The earliest goddess images, the so-called Paleolithic Venuses (dated before 10,000 BCE), are images of the awesome creative power associated with woman and nature. The goddess could be represented by triangular stones or by stone or bone carvings emphasizing her vulva, buttocks, and breasts. In the Neolithic or early agricultural era (which began c. 9000 BCE in the Near East), goddess images symbolized the cosmic energy of birth, growth, death, and regeneration, on which farming, and indeed all life, depends. She was often depicted in zoomorphic shape or with animals as her companions (these figures are known as Ladies of the Animals). The anthropomorphic goddess images, according to Gimbutas, gradually became differentiated into two functions, one as "the giver and taker of all," and the other as rebirth and regeneration. Eventually these two images were characterized as the Mother and the Maiden. The Mother was the sustaining power, represented especially by the enduring earth, the bedrock that underpins all life. The Maiden, related to the forces of renewal and regeneration, was represented especially by new life, plant and animal, that emerges in spring. The Mother, the eternal, and the Maiden, the ephemeral power of nature, were understood to be two aspects of the same whole. Gimbutas's theories are very popular among people interested in female spirituality, but they have provoked criticism from professional historians and archaeologists, who argue that hardly anything can be said with any certainty about Neolithic female figurines because of the lack of written information about them.

But some adherents of contemporary goddess religions have taken up Gimbutas's conception and believe that farming societies of the Neolithic venerated a threefold goddess as maiden, mother, and old woman. Moreover, they argue that this pattern is still recognizable in religions of the ancient world. Within the context of a constructed female monotheism, all astral, war, and hunting goddesses venerated in ancient cultures are viewed as expressions of the Maiden, and as a particular focus of interest, this maiden goddess is interpreted as an antecedent of the virginal goddesses of Olympic religion in Classical Greece. Thus, the concept of the Virgin Goddess emerged, although so-called virgin goddesses share no other feature than their youthful virginity, and even this is interpreted in peculiar and inconsistent ways. In various contexts, virginity can mean maidenhood in the sense of prematurity, it can mean temporary or constant willful abstinence from sexual activity, and it can denote a struggle for independence from male domination. By their divine functions, so-called virgin goddesses do not form a coherent group at all, and they have no automatic connection to the category of mother goddesses. The assumption that mother and daughter (maiden)are two aspects of the same deity was taken from certain images in Minoan religion, where a woman figure appears with one or two maidens. The interpretation of these groups is uncertain, and their occurence is by no means universal, but culturally restricted to the Minoan and early Cycladic sphere. Generally, ancient polytheistic religions possessed a great number of highly differentiated female and male deities, and the accessible evidence does not allow for interpretations along the lines of monotheism.

In sum, ideas about the Virgin Goddess are based on several shortcomings and conflations. The monotheistic character of a Neolithic goddess cannot be proven. It remains an hypothesis that may be of some relevance in the interpretation of prehistoric religions, but the evidence from those early civilizations that can inform their modern interpreters through written testimonies reveals a different picture. There is every reason to assume that the idea of the Goddess as one whose mythology focuses on the theme of fertility and procreation is a rather late concept which appeared no earlier than in Hellenistic times (from about 300 BCE). Divine oneness as the source for the multiplicity of goddesses and gods is an outcome of philosophical speculations undertaken to systematize and rationalize mythological traditions. Early panthea and also the figurines and statuettes of the Stone Age show a great variety. In Mesopotamia and Egypt there was a vast number of female and male deities with most diverse powers and responsibilities. It seems unlikely that the prehistoric figurines and statuettes that may represent female godheads—even that is uncertain—should indicate a uniform concept of the female divine. Nothing suggests that the numerous sky goddesses, patronesses of war, and Ladies of the Animals and Hunting, as well as several female astral deities, were to be subsumed under anything like the concept of the Maiden or Virgin Goddess.

Moreover, chastity and virginity only became a feature of Olympic goddesses in Greek and then particularly in Hellenistic cults; in other ancient religions, particular sexual or antisexual attitudes of goddesses were not addressed. Instead, it seems that sexuality was considered an integral part of godheads as well as of humans. Thus, linking later virginal goddesses to earlier figures who were supposedly parthenogenetic (i.e., able to create life exclusively out of themselves) is problematic. The assumption of a Virgin Goddess with a history beginning earlier than in Classical Greece lumps together phenomenologically and historically different qualities. It must be concluded that a pre-Greek concept of virgin goddesses did not exist, and that even from the Classical Greek period onwards, virgin goddesses were never categorized as a group. If anything, it could be stated that goddesses of the ancient Mediterranean with virginal features are peculiar developments of archaic mistresses of the animals and the goddesses of the early city-states in Mesopotamia (Inanna-Ishtar) and Asia Minor (Cybele), whose power over natural forces was also called upon for the protection of the urban sphere, but great caution is required to avoid generalizations inapplicable to highly differentiated divine figures.

GREEK VIRGINITY AND ITS IMPACT ON GODDESSES. Nevertheless, it is interesting to see on which types of goddesses the Greeks imposed virginity and in which ways they thereby influenced their appearances and their spheres of action. But first, the implications of virginity, and specifically of Greek virginity, need to be clarified. Ideas about the interrelatedness of female sexuality and threat become apparent as ancient iconographic motifs, which are known from northern Mesopotamian representations on seals and also in evidence during the orientalizing period in Greece (eighth century BCE), but in the Classical era they became a generally recognizable cultural feature.

Two issues are important when considering the meanings of Greek virginity. The first regards the status and reputation of women in the urban milieus of Classical Greece, both of which were formed and dominated by patrilineal and patriarchal order. Greek societies were structured by the *oikoi* (households), and each *oikos* was ruled by a male head of the family. Girls were born and raised in one household, but later, through marriage, they passed into another domain of living, bringing a dowry as their share of the patrimonial inheritance into another man's household. Thus, a daughter was a threat to men's possessions and to their wishes for a stable existence. In order to guarantee the procreation of the society of the *poleis*, it was naturally necessary to have women crossing the borders between the *oikoi*. As a consequence, the female sex was associated with all things hated and abhorred: with changeability, unboundedness, pollutedness, formlessness, uncontrolledness, and natural chaos—all oppositions to cultural order represented by men. According to patriarchal ideology, femininity stood for the ability or rather the fate to cross boundaries. The means to control this necessary but dangerous inclination of women was first and foremost a control of their sexuality through the institution of legitimate marriage. In this context the polarity between virgin and wife developed. This polarity is expressed in Greek in the opposition between *gunē,* which means both "woman" and "wife" and is used to refer to married women, and *parthenos,* which means "maiden, girl, or virgin" and "virgin" and is used to refer to unmarried girls. Only by a rigid control control of women's sexuality could a man be certain that his children were his. Therefore, it was decreed that a woman must be a virgin at marriage and refrain from sexual intercourse with any man but her husband. Since marriage meant subjection of the female and her control by the male-defined cultural order, virginity made her an outsider and a potential threat. In other words, for the Greeks, virginity became a means to express what was to their standards a paradox—a female who is independent from and even capable of exercising power over men.

For those Greek goddesses who were perceived according to the virgin pattern, this meant that they never became fully subordinated. Consequently, virgin goddesses do not always necessarily abstain from sexuality; they may be virgins in the sense of being unmarried, or even in the sense of not being confined through marriage to a male god. The complex nature of the virgin goddesses is further explicated by the fact that the unmarried girl or woman poses a threat to patriarchal social order because her sexuality is not under the control of man. They carry the connotation of being wild or untamed. This wildness can manifest itself in at least three forms: as a connection to wild places and wild animals not tamed or under control of the city; as passion for the ritual shedding of blood, which draws hunters and warriors away from the city and the family; and as untamed sexuality, by which men are seduced and can be endangered.

A second issue that is important for the rise of Greek virgin goddesses has to do with intellectual currents towards more transcendental conceptualizations of the divine. This move took place in a number of ancient civilizations which are known as the cultures of the Axial Age, according to a theory by the German existentialist philosopher Karl Jaspers (1883–1969). The gender-specific implications of this theory have not yet been analyzed, but it can be said that in the majority of the civilizations of Jaspers's Axial Age the transcendental is ascribed to male godheads, whilst female deities were linked to nature and the material world. The emergence of the idea of transcendence and the transcendental in the intellectual history of humankind thus supported the polarization of the genders, that is, the belief in fundamental differences in female versus male nature. One way of mediating between the two became the construction of virginity as a "male femaleness," and thus with a kind of physical femaleness that was not acted out and lived as such.

Greek goddesses in general, and the Greek virgin goddesses in particular, combine protective and transgressive qualities in their relation to the cultural standards of the *poleis.* This results from the ability to overcome boundaries, which in Classical Greek culture was ascribed to women and goddesses alike. Virginity could underline as well as constrain this trait. It allowed for a kind of freedom, independence, and power that was usually refused to females, but it also ensured that married women, who represented by definition the kind of femininity that was demanded by their society, remained securely cut off from these privileges. Goddesses, however, unlike ordinary women, could make exceptions here.

INDIVIDUAL VIRGIN GODDESSES AND HEROINES. It is helpful to consider in more detail the expression of virginity by, or the impact of the virginity concept on, some mythological figures.

Kore. Strangely, the Greek goddess Kore, whose very name translates as "maiden," has so far attracted comparatively little attention by propagators of the threefold goddess. Kore was closely related to death, which corresponds with general Greek ideas about human *parthenoi.* Their state of being was regarded as very similar to being condemned to death. In rites that should prepare them for marriage, girls from aristocratic families underwent rites connected with the cults of either Artemis or Athena, initiating them to the theme of sexuality by exposing them to a death-like experience. In Kore's myth this is symbolized by her abduction by Hades, the god of the underworld. The sixth century BCE saw a very rich production of Kore statues, mainly, apparently, for a grave cult. On the Athenian Parthenon there were six Korai, who probably functioned as grave-servants for Erechteus, the legendary first king of Athens.

Hestia, Artemis and Iphigeneia, and Athena. Greek goddesses virgin in the sense of sexual abstinence by an adult woman were Hestia, Artemis, and Athena.

Hestia, the personification of the hearth and the sacrificial fire, transcends the boundary between humankind and the goddesses and gods. She had a major role in female rites of passage such as marriage and childbirth. Because the mythology as well as the iconography of the goddess Hestia are poorly developed, further implications of her virginity are not traceable.

Artemis was the goddess of wild places, flocks, and the hunt; she was named Potnia Theron ("lady of the wild animals") in the *Iliad,* and "slayer of wild beasts" in the Homeric hymns. She had particularly close ties to deer, as indicated by the legend that pregnant does swam to her island in order to give birth, and to bears. Bears play a significant role in the rites and roles of a cult dedicated to Artemis Brauronia, which were performed by young girls. The stages of the ritual are not clear, but it included libations and spinning and weaving, and it was finalized with a goat sacrifice. In Artemis's mythology, even human—and particularly maiden—sacrifices are significant. According to a study by Ken Dowden (1989), such plots can be interpreted as literary encodings of girls' initiation rites performed in the service of this goddess. Near the temple of Artemis Brauroneia there was a shrine for Iphigeneia, the daughter of Agamemnon and Klytaimnestra, who on her way to her wedding with Achilleus was almost sacrificed to Artemis. A deer was then slaughtered instead of the girl, and Iphigeneia was whisked away by the goddess herself in order to serve her on the Tauris Peninsular. Artemis was there venerated under the name *Parthenos,* or as Iphigeneia, which confirms the closeness of the two figures. Artemis was a virgin herself and shunned men except for her brother Apollo, and she insisted ruthlessly on the chastity of her mythical attendents, the nymphs. Yet, the goddess as well as the nymphs were intimately familiar with sexuality, the female cycle, and childbirth. The sexual appeal of nymphs is apparent in, for example, the story of Odysseus and Kalypso, in which Artemis was explicitely invoked as Elei-theia and Locheia, goddess of childbirth. She was one of the most powerful patronesses of life and death and all passages between them.

The Greek Artemis is clearly the heiress of the Mistress of the Animals, but her wildness was acceptable in a patriarchal culture only if it was understood that she was not like other women. Thus she was superficially bereft of her female sexuality, and although she always remained the goddess of women and female affairs, she was often portrayed as a masculinized huntress, clad in a short tunic, slaying wild animals with arrows from her quiver. However, the image of the Ephesian Artemis, which stressed her nurturing qualities by depicting her as a mature female with many breasts, proves that the Homeric shape of the goddess was not authoritative.

Worshiped in her temple, the Parthenon, Athena Parthenos was a very different expression of a virgin goddess than Artemis, for she was very much identified with the city and its distinct, male-defined culture. Athena was said to have been born from the head of her father Zeus, and in the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus she was said to have declared that she sided with her father against her mother in all things except marriage, which she shunned. She was born fully armed as a warrior and was usually depicted wearing a helmet and holding a spear and shield. Her title *polias* indicated that the city was her home; her titles *promachos* and *nike* named her victorious against its enemies. She avoided the company of women but nurtured such heroes as Odysseus, Theseus, Herakles, Perseus, and Erichthonius. Her virginity meant that she could consort with men as an equal and engage in the masculine pursuit of war. However, she also figured in important initiation rites for girls, the *Arrhephoria,* the theme of which seems to have been an encounter with overpowering and frightening aspects of male sexuality. Moreover, she was patroness not only of the masculine art of warfare but also of the arts and crafts associated with women, including pottery, weaving, and healing. One of the rituals performed in her honor involved the weaving and presentation of a new robe *(peplos)* for her ancient wooden statue; girls and women played important roles in these rites.

Hera and Aphrodite. If the designation *virgin goddess* is interpreted in the sense of a refusal to be submissive to a male partner, two other Olympians deserve mention here, although both are sexual and, according to Olympian mythology, sexually active.

Hera, known as wife of Zeus and as mother of Hebe, Eleitheia, Ares, and Hephaistos, was also known as an independent goddess. Before Zeus entered Greece, Hera was the indigenous goddess of the island of Samos, which was once called Parthenia, and of Argos; even at Olympus, her temple is older than that of Zeus. Her union with Zeus as presented in the *Iliad* was a sacred marriage that brought fertility to the earth. However, another legend reports that every year she renewed her virginity at a sacred spring called Canathus in Nauplia.

Aphrodite, too, although fully and joyously sexual, can be viewed as virginal in the sense of self-determined. Her sexuality is unbridled, untamed, and her own. She is married to Hephaistos, according to Olympian mythology, but she is neither submissive nor faithful to him. Although she is a mother, her child Eros ("love, desire") is but a reflection of her sexuality. Aphrodite is related to the Lady of the Animals, as indicated in the Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite,* where she is portrayed as followed by wolves, lions, bears, and leopards, in whom she awakens the spark of desire, and she is also connected to the Near Eastern goddesses of sexuality and of warfare such as Anat, Ishtar, and Astarte. Like Inanna-Ishtar and Astarte, she is identified with the morning and evening stars, which mark the transition between night and day. Aphrodite is an island goddess who entered Greece through Phoenician ports in Cythera and Cyprus; her temples were often found in the marshy ground where sea transforms into land, or on the cliffs where the sea rises as mist to the land. Thus, the nature of her sacred places underlines her transcending capacities as they are also expressed through her irresistable sexual appeal.

Sophia. Although in the classical culture of Greece the meaning of virginity was not necessarily confined to sexual abstemiousness, certain currents in Hellenism and particularly in Hellenistic Judaism became obsessed with the religious benefits of chastity. This development applied to men and women alike, but in the context of virgin goddesses only the implications for female virginity are relevant.

Due to the "ascetic tension" (Fraade, 1989) in Judaism in the Hellenistic age, the feminine aspect of the Old Testament God acquired an independent identity, with a huge impact also on Gnosticism and emerging Christianity. In several Jewish texts of that period (e.g., *Proverbs*, Ben Sira, c. 200 BCE, *Wisdom of Solomon*, c. 150 BCE), Sophia as a personification of divine wisdom figures prominently, and chastity is described as one of her important traits. Another female figure in a number of writings (e.g., *Proverbs* 9; fragment from cave four in Qumran) is clearly recognizable as Sophia's counterpart: the "strange woman," one of whose most obvious marks is her lasciviousness, as opposed to the wise woman's purity. Thus, a discourse developed in which virginity was regarded as a means to, and even as a code for, salvation. According to Gnostic mythology, the origination of the lower worlds of psychic and material quality (as opposed to the upper world of spiritual substance) results from the fall of a female soul—later replaced by the Jewish Sophia—and her involvement in passion and sexual activity. In the end, the soul is restored by union with a male salvational figure in a "virginal" bridal chamber. In Sethian Gnostic texts, the original, purely spiritual creation of the *pleroma*, or fullness, is ascribed to the goddess Barbelo, who is characterized as a "male virgin." The *Apocryphon of John*, the *Gospel of the Egyptians*, and *The Three Tablets of Seth* know of her as the "thrice male" and the "masculine female virgin."

The Virgin Mary. Many features of ancient virginal goddesses survive to the present day in the Virgin Mary. Throughout the Near East, Europe, and Latin America, churches to the Virgin Mary were built at the holy places of the goddesses. Even though she is not prominent in the New Testament, Mary eventually became the repository for all the lingering images of the goddesses. To the Greeks she is *panaghia,* which means simply "the all-holy." In the *Gospel of Matthew,* a prophecy from Isaiah that reads "Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son" (*Mt.* 1:23) is applied to the birth of Jesus. Although the Hebrew word *almanah* in the original prophecy might be translated "young woman" without the necessary imputation of *virgin*, both the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint, and the *Gospel of Matthew* use *parthenos.* Lest there be any ambiguity as to its interpretation, the author of *Matthew* clarifies, Joseph "knew her not until she had borne a son" (1:25). The theme of Mary's continual virginity despite of Jesus' birth emerged already in second-century theological discourse, there. The church agreed at the Council of Ephesus in 431 that Mary would be called *theotokos* ("God bearer"), and confirmed this title at the Council of Chalcedon in 451.

The dogmatic establishment of Mary's virginity is a continuation of the Greek strategies to mark particular and powerful women as virgins, but it also needs to be understood as a confirmation and even superelevation of the most important function of Greek goddesses: the mediation between different spheres of existence, which in Mary's case is the mediation between humans and the divine.

Kumari. A different kind of virgin goddess, which is completely detached from the specific cultural conditions of the eastern Mediterranean, can be found in Nepal. Here, the goddess Taleju, an aspect of Durga, inhabits a human virgin who is correspondingly worshiped as the goddess herself. The custom of having an immature girl residing in Taleju's temple in Kathmandu is said to go back to a legend from the late sixteenth century about the king Jaya Prakash Malla, who used to play dice with the goddess when she regularly visited him in his palace. On one occasion he developed "unholy thoughts" about his companion; she recognized this and then disappeared. When the remorseful king begged forgiveness, Taleju said she would return only in the form of a virginal little girl who would have to live next to the royal palace. Since then, the living Kumari is chosen from the Sakya community in the Kathmandu valley. Although Taleju is a Hindu goddess, the living Kumari comes from a Buddhist family (the Sakyas are descendents from the Buddha's clan) and is selected by high-level Vajracharya priests. Apart from her virginity, further criteria are an unblemished body and a fearless mind. When the girl approaches puberty, she ceases to be Kumari and in theory can live a normal life. However, she does not receive school education or any other training that would prapare her for such a life, and moreover she is unlikely to get married because she is still believed to be possessed by supernatural powers.

Possible meanings of virginity in Indian and Himalayan religions are less well researched than for Greek and Hellenistic antiquity, and particularly the political aspect of it—as it is suggested by the close bond with the Nepalese royals—has so far been neglected. Interpretations given agree on the assumption that the phenomenon should be explained in the context of shaktism. According to this branch of tantrism, the goddess is understood as creative energy. This energy remains untouched and therefore complete, as long as the goddess is virgin.

SEE ALSO Goddess Worship, overview article; Lady of the Animals; Mary, overview article; Virginity.

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VIRGINITY is the condition of young male and female persons who have not had sexual intercourse and have preserved their sexual innocence. This state is partly biologically determined, in that children do not yet have sexual potency; but that condition can be voluntarily or obligatorily extended until marriage, so that virginal status becomes a social fact. The significance of virginity, therefore, has to be understood in a wider social context, in which it bears specific symbolic meanings. A basic fact in every society is the organization of the relationship of men and women into various kinship systems to guarantee the reproduction of the human species. Being a complete man or woman presupposes sexual potency and activity. A virgin boy or girl has not yet reached the condition of full maturity, and therefore retains a purity that makes him or her more suited for certain religious functions or specific activities.

In Classical Greece and Rome, virgin children of living parents often assisted with religious ceremonies. In Greece, they had the task of cutting the olive branches with which the victors at Delphi and at the Olympic games were crowned. They also had a ceremonial role at weddings comparable to that of bridesmaids and pages, who are supposed to be unmarried and consequently virgins. In Christianity, virgin children or eunuchs (i. e., artificial virgins) often functioned as singers in the choir, because their pure status made them more appropriate for contact with the divine world.

Virginity is also believed to bring a man or woman into closer contact with nature, because he or she is still unspoiled by sexuality. In the Babylonian *Epic of Gilgamesh* Enkidu, who was created by the gods as Gilgamesh's opponent, lived among the animals until he was seduced by a prostitute. After that the animals left Enkidu, who was forced to join human society. For the same reason the Kaluli, a tribe of Papua New Guinea, believe that virgin youths are the most effective hunters, and the belief is endorsed by a Kaluli myth featuring Dosali, the mythical model of perfect manhood, and Newelesu, his clownish, violent, and uncivilized antithesis. Both stay a night with the Mother of the Animals. Dosali behaves like a decent guest and gets a lot of game. Newelesu forces the old woman to have intercourse with him, and all the animals flee the house. A virginal man still has close rapport with the animal world, because he is less entangled in the social world of marriage, exchange of property, alliance, and all other issues linked with the world of settled married people.

The virginity of an unmarried girl is likewise temporary, a transitory biological condition with a strong social value. The virginity of young women often acts as a symbol of the social purity of the whole group to which the women belong. In some societies, therefore, the chastity of the young women is a matter of concern for the whole group. In India, the purity of the social group, the caste, is dependent on the purity of the women, who transmit caste membership. Therefore the whole group scrupulously guards the chastity of the young girls until their marriage, and often kills them if they break the interdiction of sexual intercourse. In other societies, for example, in Samoa, a group of islands in the Pacific Ocean close to the equator, the virginity of the daughter of the chief was a symbol of the integrity of the whole society, whereas other girls were permitted to have sexual relationships as they pleased.

In all societies where men exchange women, as is the case in almost all Mediterranean and Arab countries, and where virginity is expected at marriage, the virginity of the woman is an essential part of the marriage contract between the families and the chastity of the young woman is of direct family concern. A bride who is not a virgin breaks the contract and is often severely punished, even with death.

Virginity, however, has yet another aspect, in addition to sexual purity as a link to nature or as a symbol of social purity. Because of their lack or renunciation of sexual experience, virgins are not completely male or female, and consequently defy in a sense gender specificity. In a state of ambiguity, they have aspects of both genders, as sometimes becomes clear in mythology. Persephone, the corn maiden of Greek mythology, lives half the year with her mother Demeter and the other half with Hades, god of the underworld. As a virgin she belongs to both the female and the male world; she is a typically intermediary figure, a go-between. This mediating function of virgins makes them particularly appropriate for contact with the supernatural and implies their sacredness.

In imitation of this quality, chastity or temporary sexual renunciation is often a prerequisite for a visit to a temple or for the performance of religious rites. The participants in the Eleusinian mysteries were obliged to observe a period of chastity, just as in the Middle Ages lay people who wanted to take the Holy Communion had to remain chaste for some days before and after. The priests in Israel had to live apart from their wives during the period of their service in the Jerusalem Temple, and the priests of the Dea Syria, the Syrian mother goddess of fertility, were the so-called Galli, men who had emasculated themselves in the service of the goddess and had in this way made themselves into artificial virgins.

Priestesses of various cults in Greco-Roman antiquity had to be virgins. The Vestal Virgins are a good example of how an intermediary position implies sacredness and contact with the divine world. The Vestals were virgins, but they also had the main characteristics of married women: Their dress was similar and they had some legal rights. They were also treated as brides. For example, they wore permanently the hairstyle typical of a bride on her wedding day. They even showed some male characteristics: Like male magistrates they had the right to be escorted by a lictor. They were in every respect ambiguous, and so especially fit to mediate between human society and the powers that watched over it.

As brides the Vestal Virgins were permanently on the brink between the unmarried and married status. Their anomalous sacred position also entailed living outside a normal household: They lived together in a special house separated from common society. The same ambiguity is symbolized by the sacred fire that the Vestals guarded. Fire is life-giving and life-destroying; it is pure and sterile and a symbol of fertility, and thus a sacred symbol linking two spheres. The Vestals were not an isolated case. The priestess at the Delphic oracle, the Pythia, was required to be an elderly woman of over fifty who might have been married but had to dress as a young virgin. In this way she acted as an intermediary between divine decisions and human affairs.

All these examples of virginity refer to a temporary status—even the Vestals were allowed to leave their service after thirty years and to marry if they wished. The symbolic aspect of virginity was often a motive for a permanent virginity, or what is often called celibacy. A permanent status of virginity, for instance, occurs in Buddhism as a requisite for monks and in the Roman Catholic Church. Virginity was a widespread phenomenon in the early Christian church and was based upon specific concepts of human status and salvation. In view of the impending end of the world the apostle Paul considered the status of unmarried virgin as the most desirable (*1 Cor.* 7), in accordance with certain ascetical trends in the New Testament. Baptism in Christ represents the reunification of male and female, "being one in Christ Jesus" according to *Galatians* 3:28, and implies the abolition of sexual differentiation.

In particular during the second and third centuries CE, the ideal of following Christ as a virgin became a dominant element in the nascent Christian church. This development required broadening the idea of virginity to include those who had been sexually active but now chose to abstain. Just as Christ was unmarried and single, so his followers too should be virgins. But *imitatio Christi* means more than just an ascetic life of sexual renunciation. It is actually a reversion of the fateful division of humankind into sexually active males and females after the Fall, which started with the creation of Eve from Adam as described in *Genesis* 2:21f. According to an apocryphal logion of Christ quoted in *2 Clement,* a treatise dating back to the middle of the second century CE, the kingdom of God will come "when the two will be one, and the outer like the inner, and the male will be united with the female, so that there will be neither male nor female, but the two will be one."

The same language occurs in logion 22 of the *Gospel of Thomas,* an apocryphal gospel that originated in the Syriac-speaking East and dates from about 200 CE. The reunification of male and female is explained as the transformation of women into men. When Simon Peter said to Jesus and the disciples, "Let Mary go out from among us, because women are not worthy of the Life," Jesus said, "See, I shall lead her, so that I will make her male, that she too may become a living spirit, resembling you males. For every woman who makes herself male will enter the kingdom of Heaven" (logion 114).

This transcendence of sexuality is also described as becoming like children who do not yet know sexual shame. In the same *Gospel of Thomas* the disciples ask Jesus, "When wilt Thou be revealed to us and when will we see Thee?" And Jesus said, "When you take off your clothing without being ashamed, and take your clothes and put them under your feet as the little children and tread on them, then shall you behold the Son of the Living One and you shall not fear" (logion 37). When the apostle Thomas converted a royal bridal couple from "filthy intercourse" to a pure virginal life, as is related in the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas,* written in the Syrian East around 225 CE, the bride took off her veil, because "the veil of corruption is taken away from her, and the deed of shame has been removed." According to her own words, she is "betrothed to the true Husband," a situation recalling *Genesis* 2:24f.: ". . . and they shall be one flesh. And they were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed."

The union between the virgin and Christ the true bridegroom was often celebrated in the ritual of the Bridal Chamber that is attested in nascent Syrian Christianity as well as in sectarian gnostic groups. It represented the union with Christ the Second Adam that restored the asexual androgynous condition of humankind in paradise before the Fall. Where there is no longer male or female, a new world has come that is paradise regained. The life of the virgins is, therefore, often characterized as angelical life (*bios aggelikos*), referring to *Luke* 20:27–40.

The Christian virgins who had overcome gender differentiation demonstrated their paradisiacal state in different ways. They sometimes lived chastely together in one house or community, to show how they could live without passions. Often they lived singly outside common human society in isolation, for example, in the desert, because neutralization of sexuality implies a renunciation of all ties that link a person with society, since marriage and procreation are linked with its survival. Sexually and socially the virgins were ambiguous: They were neither male nor female, and they lived an angelical eternal paradisiacal life among or on the outskirts of human mortal society. They even demonstrated the new life in their dress: The virgin Thecla in the apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thecla* dressed like a man and had her hair cut short. She is reminiscent of Joan of Arc, the virgin of Orléans, who also dressed like a man and played an intermediate role.

The virginal life meant perpetual struggle with bodily passions, the manifestations of Satan. Like Christ, Christian virgins could win that struggle and undo the inheritance of Adam's fate of sexuality and death. Their life is, therefore, often depicted as a permanent war or struggle, a motif that had its roots in the antique world and exercised a deep influence on Christian tradition. The virgins became saints who mediated between this world and God because they kept an intermediate, ambiguous position. Their symbolic behavior pointed to their mediating function, as did that of the stylites, early Christian ascetics who lived on the tops of pillars representing the link between heaven and earth.

But the most anomalous phenomenon connected with virginity is virgin birth. A virgin mother is a powerful symbol of the relationship between the natural (human) and supernatural (divine) world. Through the Virgin Mary, Christ became the mediator *par excellence,* being God and human at the same time. Thus virginity is also a sign of the power to cross the boundary of biological existence, to mediate between body and socioreligious ideals, between what is and what ought to be. In this way people can order their biological existence and social world through the most powerful symbols they have, the sexual bodies that are their only way of survival and their eternal fate.

SEE ALSO Celibacy; Chastity; Eremitism; Virgin Goddess.

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VIRGIN MARY SEE MARY

VISION QUEST. The personal vision is a fundamental feature of American Indian cultures across the continent and across all linguistic boundaries. While there are always people who have visions of a quality that sets them apart from others, people in all American Indian communities treasure their own visions and respect those of others. Whether wake-state or sleep-state, the vision in American Indian cultural contexts is always a communication between a human person and one or more nonhuman spirit persons.

While these vision experiences sometimes occur spontaneously, they occur most frequently in the context of intentional seeking done in a carefully arranged ceremonial manner in what is called in English the *vision quest* or *rite of vigil.* The details are always dependent on the particular purpose for the quest and the particularities of community custom. The general structures, however, tend to be similar across the continent. Adolescents might undertake the rite of vigil for one or two days and nights; adults might extend the ritual, which includes fasting, from four to seven days, and occasionally even longer. These occasions typically were, and are yet today, life-altering experiences for Native women and men. Fletcher and La Flesche report that a young man's vision became his personal connection with the "vast universe" of the immaterial spirit world, "by which he could strengthen his spirit and his physical powers" (p. 131).

The vision quest is a common American Indian ceremonial tradition that is or was practiced in nearly every tribal community. Indeed, Ruth Benedict, an early ethnographer, could claim that the vision was the single unifying factor in all North American Indian religious experience. While the ceremony varied from community to community and according to the particularity of the occasion, Benedict is essentially correct in claiming that it was, and is, structurally and functionally similar across all these communities, even as she distinguishes characteristics unique to the Plains. In every case, these were intense occasions of personal retreat from human community, of intentional self-deprivation, and of prayer.

A number of consistent factors tie these phenomena together. In almost every case the faster is separated from the human community and isolated in places remote from the civic center of the village. Lakota peoples sometimes refer to it as "going on the hill." A total abstinence from food and water is fundamental to the ceremonial exercise. The ceremony is one of constant prayer. The duration of the ceremony—usually dependent on the prior commitment of the faster—varies from one day and night (for an adolescent) up to four to seven days and sometimes longer (for an adult).

Finally, the American Indian vision phenomenon is always predicated on an understanding of the world as peopled by both material and immaterial beings, with the visionary moment as that which allows a human person to communicate with, and especially to receive communication from, immaterial spirit beings. Thus, the occasion always includes the possibility of receiving some sort of personal power as a gift from a spirit.

Much of the literature concerning the vision quest is somewhat unsatisfactory, either because of its great superficiality or because it attempts to impose colonial structures of meaning on indigenous phenomena. For instance, the majority of professional literature on the vision quest presumes the accuracy of nineteenth-century ethnographic collections of vision recitations as if the whole of the recitation is accurately represented in the brief paragraph typically recorded by the ethnographer; and as if the typically language-deficient ethnographer has also accurately translated the native language in which the vision would have been recited.

These anthropological renditions are typically rather short and cannot have been the whole of the vision experienced by the informant. In fact, it is a universal Native American characteristic that the vision, as an intensely personal experience, is never shared fully but is kept throughout life as a private revelation. Thus, the ethnographer was almost always not privy to the whole of the vision encounter. Moreover, few ethnographers, most of whom were Native Americans themselves, were fluent in the languages of those they presumed to study, meaning that almost all translations relied on others whose English may have been only nominally better than the ethnographer's understanding of the native language. The most egregious example of this is John Neihard's poetic and romanticized interpretation of Lakota elder Nicholas Black Elk's words in *Black Elk Speaks.* The work is based on Neihard's daughter's stenographic notes of Ben Black Elk's relatively naive boarding-school English translation of his father Nicholas's sophisticated and abstract Lakota spoken narrative, a sophistication that is inexorably stripped away on its path toward the English printed version.

Perhaps the most significant shortcoming of the professional literature is its proclivity, from the late nineteenth century to the present, to treat all Native American cultural phenomena, including the vision quest, as historical artifacts that have no place in contemporary American Indian societies. The more recent academic treatments almost universally base their interpretations on these older nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century ethnographic texts, treating them as if they actually represented a "textus receptus," an absolutely authoritative text, with regard to Native religious traditions.

While many early ethnographers included interpretive commentaries about visions and the vision quest, there is only one important recent interpretation, in Lee Irwin's *The Dream Seekers: Native American Visionary Traditions of the Great Plains.* Unfortunately Irwin's book, for all of its innovative insight, falls into the pattern just described. It is not an analysis of new data but merely rehashes the old ethnographies, presupposing their authority and veracity, but this time using modern psychiatric and neurological investigations of human dreaming as an interpretive device for understanding the vision as a sleep-state experience. This leads Irwin to place the Plains visionary experience under the more general category of dreaming. It should be clearly emphasized here that the vision as experienced in American Indian communities is not invariably, nor even usually, a sleep-state phenomenon, but is often experienced while one is awake.

It is a common theme in the professional literature to see the vision quest as definitive evidence of the radical individualism of Plains Native people. Nothing could be further from reality; in fact just the opposite is true. There is always a symbiotic relationship between the person engaging in the fast and the community to which she or he belongs, even though the ceremony involves the deeply personal sacrifice of rigorous fasting and prayer over several days. The vision itself certainly is a deeply personal experience, and the learning that comes from the experience affects the life of that one person directly. The effort expended in such serious fasting (total abstinence from food and liquid) is obviously a personal commitment and a personal trial. Moreover, the adult faster may have decided on the undertaking either by personal direction from the spirit world or because of some personal crisis. Or the person may have made an entirely voluntary choice to engage in the ceremony as a distinct personal moment to engage in prayer and to seek some spiritual communication that might provide that person's life with meaning, direction, and even personal spiritual power. Yet in each case the person undertaking the ceremony understands the benefits that also accrue to the communal whole. Whatever personal power the faster may gain is ultimately intended to serve the interests of the community.

One quintessential sign of the communal nature of the vision quest is the common practice in Lakota and other communities for the people to greet the faster with a handshake and a thank-you for the faster's accomplishment as she or he completes the ceremony. In a typical vision quest, moreover, the community or some part of the community participates in preparing the person to engage in the ceremony. There may be teachings that need to be shared and even preliminary ceremonies that have to be performed. Then through the duration of the fast the community will constantly be conscious of and in prayer for the one who is actually performing the ceremony in isolation.

A short word must be added with respect to the great appeal of this particular ceremony to non-Native adherents of New Age movements and practices. The vision quest is traditionally a ceremonial act performed by a single person in isolation, but always as a part of a particular community and acting for the good of the whole. Given that personal power and assistance is sought from the Mysteries for the ultimate benefit of the whole community, when a non-Native New York City resident flies off to South Dakota, for instance, to perform the rite of vigil on a Lakota reservation under the guidance of a Lakota spiritual leader, one must wonder what close community of political and spiritual existence has made such rigorous claims on this person's spiritual strength and why he or she has chosen to make the rite so far away from his or her community of residence. From a Native American perspective, this particular performance of the rite has little or no meaning, and thus it must be invested with an entirely new and non-Native meaning. Thus, while non-Native rites that are modeled after American Indian vision quests may provide a response to various spiritual urges and needs, and may correlate well with a Euro-American sense of individualism, ritual practices of that sort bear faint resemblance to the vision quests undertaken in Native communities.

On the other hand, the vision quest, with its resultant access to vision experiences, was and is an egalitarian and democratic phenomenon in American Indian communities. That is, against Albers and Parker (1971), it is a rite that is available to every member of a Native tribal community and was never reserved only for an elite few, such as medicine people or other spiritual leaders, even though certain kinds of medicine power do seem to run in families for a variety of reasons. Indeed, in many tribal communities it was common practice to require every adolescent male to make this rite of vigil as a rite of passage from childhood to adulthood. Georges Sioui, among others, correctly notes that the vision quest might be required of males but was always equally available to females, for whom the exercise would not be mandatory simply because of the privileged status of women in most Native tribal communities.

Historically then, all males in many Native American communities would have made a vision quest as a rite of passage before entering into adult responsibilities and possibly community leadership of any kind. Recognized spiritual leaders, on the other hand, would all have engaged in at least one vigil of some length during which they would have received a vision that communicated their specific medicine power, a situation that continues in the present. Moreover, they would usually engage in repeated exercises of the vigil (today this is sometimes done annually), even if for much shorter durations. While this may also be true of other community members who do not receive such medicine visions, the substantial difference in the visioning of these recognized healers is their more open line of communication with those spirit beings who have selected them as interpreters. Thus, the annual vigil might be an occasion for some new spirit being to introduce itself to the healer and offer a different sort of spiritual power not previously accessible to that healer. This increases the healer's personal repertoire of power to help the community.

At the same time, there is no sense of class stratification embedded in the vision experience, as some contemporary interpreters with a Marxist orientation would suggest. Healers would have been supported historically by the rest of a community because of their inherent practical usefulness to the community, and community gifts served to free them from the pressures of subsistence hunting and the like. Becoming a political leader was not predicated on access to vision power. On the other hand, leadership in Native American communities was spread in such diffuse ways through the community that different sorts of leadership were exercised by a variety of people at any given time. And it needs to be said clearly that questing for a vision was a very egalitarian phenomenon, something that was available to every person.

This ceremony continues today in many American Indian communities and continues in forms that are consistent with the historical practice of the rite in these communities.

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TINK TINKER (2005)

VISIONS. Usage of the term *vision* goes back to the thirteenth-century Italian theologian Thomas Aquinas, who first used the word to refer to a "supernatural" manifestation. It describes a religious experience that involves seeing and, frequently, the other senses as well. The quality of the experience suggests that the content of the perception is real, a direct, unmediated contact with a nonordinary aspect of reality that is external and independent of the perceiver. "[Vision] is very real," says Lame Deer, a medicine man of the Sioux nation. "It hits you sharp and clear like an electric shock. You are wide awake and, suddenly, there is a person standing next to you who you know can't be there at all" (*Lame Deer, Seeker of Visions,* New York, 1972, p. 65).

The explanation that visions are due to imaginings, pseudoperception, or errors of perception is an expression of the cultural difference between the visionary and the present-day Western psychologist in their views concerning the nature of reality, a topic that would stray too far afield here. But a stand should be taken against those psychiatrists who clinically equate vision with hallucination. In hallucination the content of what is reported is something to which nothing real corresponds; it is a delusion. For the health professional the presence of delusions is a sign of insanity, and in an application of the so-called pathology model of religious experience, visionaries are classified as mentally ill—a diagnosis often imputed to shamans. Yet in clinically healthy subjects visions dissolve spontaneously (as will be seen below), and, what is even more important for the institutionalization of the visionary experience, they can be induced and terminated ritually. This cannot be said of the hallucinations that are associated with insanity. Furthermore, one should be wary when encountering references to dreams in religious contexts. Semantically, the English word *dream* includes the notion that its content does not represent anything real. Non-Westerners, however, often set in opposition a dream category that is taken to be "real" or "valid" with one that is considered "ordinary." The latter category includes fleeting, or "invalid," dreams. The dreams referred to in such remarks as "Old Spotted Wolf had a painted lodge, which he was advised to make by the buffalo, in a dream" (George B. Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians,* vol. 1, 1972, p. 234), the dreams known from shamanistic traditions of flying, initiation, and dismemberment, and even the many revelatory dreams of the Hebrew scriptures (Old Testament) should all properly be considered visions.

VISIONARY EXPERIENCE. Contrary to commonly held Western views, having a vision is not a singular or rare event. The father of this Western misconception is once more Thomas Aquinas, who held that the human world and the sacred realm are separated by a wide chasm. A report of a vision was therefore indicative of a rare event, something that could take place only under extraordinary circumstances. In reality, visions are known to all societies, and their use in ritual is widespread.

When a type of behavior thus crosses boundaries, irrespective of ethnic or religious divisions, one may have to look to physical rather than cultural reasons. After all, human beings constitute one species only. Humans all have the same kind of body, the same nervous system. And, indeed, countless reports and modern field observations by anthropologists indicate that, when a person has a vision, certain physical changes occur. In what is popularly called a trance, the pupils may widen, muscles become rigid, and breathing seem shallow. Some visionaries will fall into what appears to be a deep sleep or even a dead faint. In such a trance, as Barbara W. Lex, a medical anthropologist, maintains, two opposing arousals of the nervous system are experienced. Their alternating action produces relaxation, and this accounts for the trance's beneficial effect. Simultaneously, the brain synthesizes β-endorphins (the body's own painkillers), as this writer learned in a study in which the trance experience was induced in a religiously neutral environment. (See Ingrid Müller's M. D. dissertation, University of Freiburg im Breisgau.) These endorphins are thought to be responsible on the biological level for the joy, euphoria, and "sweetness" that are often reported in the visions of Christian mystics. As this writer learned from fieldwork, these physiological changes must be produced before the visions can occur. In some mysterious way, then, the body becomes a perceiving organ for the sacred dimension of reality.

This manner of viewing the visionary event runs counter to another cherished notion inherited from the Middle Ages, namely that humans are dualistic in nature, consisting of a body and a separate soul. Rather, it seems to modern science that human beings are biopsychological systems. This view echoes ideas put forth by Galen, a Greek physician of the second century CE, who contended that mind and matter are different aspects of the same stuff. In other words, not the soul but the entire human being is having the vision.

The ritual trance, or ecstasy, as an altered state of consciousness, is responsible for even basic perceptions of a nonordinary quality. "Hearing" voices is not plain hearing. Those who experience voices can readily distinguish them from ordinary speech. "I do not hear it in so many words," explained a German university student who reported being possessed by demons and hearing Jesus and Mary speaking to her; "I am given to know." (See Felicitas D. Goodman, *The Exorcism of Anneliese Michel,* New York, 1981.) "Seeing" also takes place on a different level. As a blind !Kung San explained, the great god kept his eyeballs for him in a little pouch, giving them to him only during the medicine dance; and when the dance was over, he had to return them to the god. That is, he could see only while in trance. A changed quality is also reported during experience with an incubus—that is, when a spirit has sexual intercourse with a human being. In classical Greek tradition such sexual contact might make a diviner out of a woman, as happened when Apollo "raped" Cassandra. The Inquisition endlessly quizzed women accused of witchcraft concerning intercourse with Satan. When given the chance, these women testified that this was not like making love in ordinary reality.

Under certain circumstances, about which very little is known, clinically healthy human beings may inadvertently create the necessary biopsychological preconditions for a visionary experience—that is, they may "stray" into it. When this happens, as this writer found during fieldwork observations of a millenarian movement in the Yucatán, in Mexico, a regular pattern will assert itself, which, if experienced in its entirety, will take about thirty-five or forty days. The trance episode is apparently most intense at the beginning, and what is seen by participants during this time typically is white. The man who started the Yucatán millenarian movement initially saw white demons. A woman from another apostolic congregation in the same area saw "white angels on white horses galloping by, carrying white flags, very, very white." From the New Testament it is known that when the women went to Jesus' tomb, whatever they saw there—an angel, two angels, two men, or one young man—the vision was bathed in dazzling light, white as snow. The initial vision of Kotama, the founder of Sūkyō Mahikari, one of the "new religions" of Japan, was of a white-haired old man standing in a white cloud. The next phase of the trance is characterized by a gold or orange glow: The Yucatecan apostolic saw burning candles; Kotama's old man was washing clothes in a golden tub. Finally, there is a "double" vision, with ordinary and nonordinary perception overlapping. The Yucatecan went to the cathedral in Mérida and saw a procession of priests whose heads were those of demons. The woman from the other apostolic congregation saw a big Bible fastened above the entrance to the hospital where she was taken. The prophet Muḥammad watched the angel Gabriel astride the horizon, and no matter which way he turned, the angel was always there on the horizon. The widely reported voices are probably also part of this last phase in many instances, as another superimposition of a visionary (i.e., auditory) perception on the ordinary environment. Kotama's episode, for instance, concluded with a voice telling him his new name and giving him instructions. Eventually the vision dissolves, leaving only ordinary reality as the perceptual field.

Not everyone goes through the entire visionary sequence. It is possible to stray into it anywhere along the way. But whether complete or not, its extraordinary and impressive character can result in a conversion experience for the visionary and if the social configuration is right, religious innovation follows. According to legend, the Buddha's enlightenment came at daybreak after a sequence of visions in which he saw first all his own rebirths, then other beings dying and passing into the five destinies of existence, and finally the chain that bound all beings to continued, recurrent death and rebirth. Muḥammad's prophethood was heralded by a complete visionary sequence. First he experienced "true visions" resembling the brightness of daybreak. Several days later the angel Gabriel came to him with a coverlet of brocade (gold?) with some writing on it and commanded him to read it. Still later, Muḥammad beheld Gabriel on the horizon. A hundred years ago Wovoka, the Ghost Dance messiah, told of his vision that, "when the sun died, I went up to heaven and saw God and all the people that had died a long time ago. God told me to come back and tell my people they must be good and love one another, and not fight, or steal, or lie. He gave me this dance to give to my people." And in this century, the cargo cults of Melanesia have been characterized by spontaneously occurring visions. Leaders of various cults have told of hearing voices, seeing lights, and meeting native gods and fairylike beings of the forests and waters. They have spoken, too, of journeys to heaven (an idea borrowed from Westerners) and of visits to the Hiyoyoa, their own otherworld.

While these spontaneous episodes of visionary experience dissolve without the aid of ritual, there is another class of vision in which this is not the case. This is the so-called shamanistic illness, reported predominantly in Asia but also in Africa, North America, and, sporadically, other areas as well. Medical anthropologists suspect that in some instances the triggering mechanism may be biochemical, for example, resulting from a socially prescribed change in nutrition, but such causes cannot often be pinpointed. Its onset is variously signaled by high fever, swelling of either the limbs or the entire body, prolonged unconsciousness, and inability to eat; at times, there is also an indomitable urge to flee into the wilderness. These changes are preceded, accompanied, or followed by visions. The condition, which may linger for years, is classed not only as an illness but also as a sign that the sufferer is destined, singled out by an agency of the sacred ranges of reality, for a future as a religious specialist. Cure is effected by a ritual that is usually initiatory in nature.

One example among many comes from the German ethnographer Peter Snoy. In his book *Bagrot* (Graz, 1975), Snoy tells of a Yeshkun shaman from the Karakoram Mountains (part of the Himalayan system). When this man was about twenty he was walking home one day when suddenly he saw five fairies dancing in the fields. They did not talk to him, but the next day he had the unconquerable urge to run away into the mountains to join them. He started raging, and five men finally managed to tie him up. He was kept tied up in his house for a whole year, and the fairies visited him several times each day, descending through the smoke hole and singing and dancing for him. Eventually, the man's village arranged an initiation feast for him. A goat was sacrificed, and he drank its blood, which the fairies told him was milk. And for the first time he danced, performing what is in his society an important part of shamanistic séances. Subsequently, the man worked as a healer and diviner.

Reporting from Africa, the British social anthropologist Adrian Boshier, in "African Apprenticeship" (in *Parapsychology and Anthropology,* New York, 1974), tells the story of Dorca, a Zulu *sangoma,* that is, a diviner and healer. For three years, Dorca was sick in bed. During this time her spirit left her body every night, and she saw many things and visited places where she had never been. One night in a vision her dead grandfather came to see her. He told her that he liked her very much and that his spirit would enter her body so that she would be able to help her people. She refused, but spirit *sangoma*s came to her every night, showed her beads and herbs and a feather headdress she was to make, and sang her a song that she was to learn. Finally her grandfather's spirit threatened to kill her if she continued to resist. Her mother thereupon took her to the house of an aunt who was also a *sangoma.* There Dorca sang the spirit song and danced for many hours. This was the beginning of her training as a *sangoma.*

In most non-Western societies, visions are an integral part of religious ritual. As Lame Deer says, "By themselves these things [rituals] mean nothing. Without the vision and the power this learning will do no good" (1972, p. 13). It is understandable, therefore, that such societies cannot rely on the fortuitous occurrence of visionary experiences but need ways for inducing them.

Many strategies for inducing visions utilize rhythmic stimulation. Inuit (Eskimo) ritual specialists use drums, as do various Siberian shamans, for whom the drum represents the magic horse on which they ride to the beyond. Such stimulation is so effective that by merely shaking a gourd rattle and using traditional postures, a visionary experience can be induced in volunteers in a religiously neutral environment. (See this writer's article "Body Posture and the Religious Altered State of Consciousness: An Experimental Investigation," *Journal of Humanistic Psychology,* 1984.) Other methods involve sensory deprivation, as used by the Shakers and by the Spiritual Baptists of Saint Vincent Island in their mourning ritual; isolation and fasting, as practiced by the Oglala Indians and other societies; and fasting and self-mortification, as in the initiation ritual of the Plains Indians, during which adolescents seeking a vision would fast, bathe in icy streams, and crawl naked over jagged rocks in order to acquire a guardian spirit. Christian mystics employed similar strategies. The German monk Suso (Heinrich Süse, c. 1295–1366), for instance, was able to achieve several visions daily for a period of about sixteen years by fasting extensively and by sleeping in a tight undergarment through which nails protruded into his skin.

Even intense concentration in combination with nothing more than certain breathing techniques may bring about visions, as has been learned from the Chinese Daoist philosopher and mystic Zhuangzi (369–286? BCE). Zhuangzi told of a master called Ciqi, who "sat leaning on his armrest, staring up at the sky and breathing—vacant and far away." The changes wrought in him were striking to his companion, who asked, "What is this? Can you really make the body like a withered tree and the mind like ashes? The man leaning on the armrest now is not the one who leaned on it before" (quoted in *Poetry and Speculation of the Rg Veda* by Willard Johnson, Berkeley, 1980, p. xxvii). Ciqi explained that by virtue of this change he was able to hear the piping of the earth and the piping of the heavens.

Other societies employ a number of different psychedelics to achieve visions. The use of such drugs goes back to antiquity and is widely distributed geographically. Mushrooms such as the fly agaric *(Amanita muscaria)* were probably known to Mesolithic Paleosiberians (about 8000 BCE). Mesoamerica and South America are particularly rich in plants that contain the requisite alkaloids, and many societies there utilize them ritually. But there are also reports of their religious application from every other continent. At first glance, the use of psychedelics seems to represent an easy way of achieving visions, and for this reason many North American Indians reject them. As Lame Deer said contemptuously, "Even the butcher boy at his meat counter will have a vision after eating peyote" (1972, p. 64). Actually, though, matters are not quite that simple. Many of the substances bring about an undifferentiated condition of intoxication, and seeing the right vision requires training. Thus Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff, in his book *Amazonian Cosmos* (Chicago, 1971), discusses the use of *Banisteriopsis caapi* by the Desana Indians of South America. He tells that during intoxication, the Desana religious specialist needs to learn to see the Milky Way as a road, the hills and pools as communal houses of the spirits, and the animals as people. Those who are unable to go so far in their visions see only clouds and stones, "and the birds laugh at them." In another instance reported by Reichel-Dolmatoff, during a communal rite of the same society, the men take the drug, and the priest, who has abstained, talks them through their visions.

FORMS OF VISIONS AND TYPES OF SOCIETY. It appears that, cross-culturally, the neurophysiology of visionary experience remains the same. Neither does the form in which it is expressed vary much, if one contemplates only the religions of a particular type of society, of agriculturalists, for instance. However, salient differences appear when comparing the religious expression of one societal type with that of another, that of agriculturalists, for example, with that of hunters. There are, of course, syncretic patterns, for societies change, and so do their religions. But it is still possible to recognize certain fundamental forms.

(In the following passages, the "ethnographic present" is used in giving examples from non-Western societies, although in many instances the rituals mentioned have fallen victim to Western conquest and aggressive missionizing.)

Visions of hunter-gatherers. The way of life of the hunter-gatherer is the most ancient and venerable of all human adaptations. Humans' antecedents were hunters and gatherers for a million years or more before any cultivation of the soil was introduced. In such societies that are still extant, visionary experiences are varied, involving a highly sophisticated use of religious trance. Hunter-gatherers understand the ordinary and the nonordinary aspects of reality to be closely intertwined, indeed to coexist in time and space, as one Pygmy elder from the Ituri rain forest expressed it. All adult men can easily switch from seeing ordinary reality to seeing its nonordinary aspect, having learned to do so early on, usually during initiation rites. In the sacred range a man can see the "spirits," that is, the nonordinary aspects of stones, mountains, waters, and winds, of plants, insects, and animals. He sees the spirits of the unborn, one of which he has to take to his wife before she bears his child. The spirits of the dead gather around when a feast is being prepared or during a medicine dance, and they need to be invited to take part. An individual spirit of a dead loved one may appear to teach a man or a woman a new song, game, or ritual. A murderer's essence may loiter at the tomb of his victim, and beings of curious shape may warn the living of danger. If they penetrate someone's body, they make him ill by leaving behind a bone, visible to the healer, who will remove it in a curing ritual by sucking it out. People also tell of seeing strange neighbors, such as the "no-knees" of the San, beings who catch the sun as it sets and kill it. After the sun has been cooked, the no-knees eat it and throw its shoulder blade to the east, where it rises once more.

The most spectacular institutionalized visionary experience of hunter-gatherers, however, is the spirit journey, a perfect expression of the hunter's life way, in which individual initiative is of paramount importance. The Pygmies embark on this journey by "crossing a river." On the "other side," they may visit the realm of the spirits of the dead, where everything is reversed but still as orderly as is earthly existence. For the !Kung San of the Kalahari Desert the great god used to let down a cord from the sky by which he allowed the medicine man to climb up to visit him. Nowadays, however, during the medicine dance, medicine men send their spirits out to fly into the veld while their bodies lie lifeless, for there is nothing to hold them up. They might see the spirits of the dead there, or the great god, or perhaps they go because they need to order a lion to stop disturbing people by roaring at night. An Australian medicine man takes a postulant up to the sky by assuming the form of a skeleton and fastening a pouch to himself into which he places the postulant, who is reduced to the size of a very small child. Sitting astride a rainbow, the medicine man pulls himself up with an arm-over-arm action. When near the top, he throws the young man out onto the sky as part of his initiation. An Inuit shaman will swim muscle-naked through rock to the underworld in order to seek out Tornassuq, the earth spirit, and inquire of him the reasons for recent misfortunes of his band. Other spirit journeys, as told of by North American Indians, are undertaken to recover a lost soul, whose absence makes its owner sick.

Visionary experiences serve many important functions within hunter-gatherer society. On the individual level, a vision bestows well-being and strength as well as power to speak impressively, to cure and to divine, and to protect the group against danger from the outside. For the community, visions are a part of many rituals. A spirit journey, for example, is an important communal event. When an Inuit shaman starts out on his trip, the entire village is present, and all are there when he comes back to tell of his adventures. Among the Salish, a tribe of North American Indians, the dramatization of the journey in a spirit canoe in quest of a lost soul is a most impressive performance. What was perceived in a vision is represented on cave walls, or on rocks, painted on bark, or carved in bone for all to see. For a while, such innovative iconography will be confined to the originating group, but unencumbered by written tradition, it eventually diffuses to neighboring bands and even to the wider cultural area, continually reinvigorating religious life.

Visions of horticulturalists. About ten to twelve thousand years ago human beings began growing some of their own food instead of merely collecting it. The areas cultivated were no more than gardens, hence the name *horticulturalist.* Horticulturalists also continued hunting, some extensively, others less so, depending on the ecology of their respective region. While European tradition retains no memory of the hunter-gatherer past, the horticulturalist way of life is reflected in recorded history. What is known of the Celtic, Germanic, and Greek societies clearly indicates their horticulturalist character. Societies of this type survive in Southeast Asia and, especially, in Mesoamerica and South America. Their members' visions have much in common with those of hunter-gatherers, but not all horticulturalists learn the behavior. Instead, there is a more or less pronounced tendency for religious specialists to assume the spiritual role that is performed by all male hunter-gatherers.

The spirit journey of the hunter-gatherer has undergone significant permutations in various horticulturalist societies. Their legends tell of full-fledged spirit journeys like those of the hunter-gatherers: of the Teutonic god Óðinn (Odin) who travels the earth, of a famous medicine man of the South American Guaraní who calls on First Woman in her maize garden in the mythical East. But horticulturalists cannot explore such distant ranges with impunity. Just as Orpheus cannot retrieve Eurydice from the underworld, no Amazonian Akwe-Shavante can ever visit the village of the spirits of the dead, although some have had offers from the spirits of friendly departed relatives to take them there. Instead, horticulturalists undertake a lesser experience, an actual journey that culminates in the desired vision. Initiates of the Eleusinian mysteries of ancient Greece descended into caves; the Huichol Indians of Mexico travel over land in search of peyote; adherents of Shinto climb Mount Fuji. Even the North American Indians' vision quest and their search for the guardian spirit is of this nature. The spirit journey may also be entirely vicarious, as when the Brazilian Yanomamö Indians send their friends, the miniature *hekura* spirits who live under stones and in mountains, to enemy villages to eat the souls of the children there. (See Napoleon A. Changnon, *Yanomamö: The Fierce People,* New York, 1977.) Visions are given shape in paintings on rock and in carvings, embroidery, and clay. They invest the practitioner not only with personal stature but also with power that leads to success in curing, hunting, and war, all in the service of the community.

Visions of nomadic pastoralists. Nomadic-pastoralist societies appear in a number of different adaptations. Some such societies arose from hunters who had attached themselves to wild herds of animals, such as reindeer, or from hunters who had acquired pet animals, such as horses, which had expanded into domesticated herds. Other nomadic-pastoralist societies arose as extensions of agriculturalist societies, and still others developed in which only the men are pastoralists, while the women cultivate the soil. The visionary experiences of nomadic pastoralists correlate with the differences in their origins.

Among reindeer herders, for instance, such as the Evenki of northern Siberia, the hunter's richly appointed sacred dimension is still preserved, although it is accessible only to the shaman. In his visions, the shaman constructs the fence that surrounds his clan's territory and protects it against enemy shamans. He communicates with the ruling spirits, the "masters" of waters, mountains, forests, and species of beasts. In his spirit journeys he guides departing souls to the lower world, at which time he must ask the mistress of that world for permission for the soul to enter. He also travels to the upper world, where he calls on Grandfather Spirit and the supreme spirit ruler of all animal and plant life as well as on the spirits of the sun, moon, stars, thunder, clouds, sunset, and daybreak. He even knows the way to the storehouse of the unborn, which is guarded by Bear. In addition, he masters the art of the vicarious spirit journey by swallowing his helping spirits and then sending them out to hunt down a disease spirit or fight an enemy shaman. He is healer and diviner, and the marvelous ritual dramas of his visions were, until their destruction by Soviet authorities, at the heart of his society's social life.

Traditions die hard, however. The Hungarian horse nomads have been cut off from their own cultural area in Inner Asia for over a millennium. By the year 1000 they had been converted to Roman Catholicism, and their economy changed radically. Yet to this day they retain a clandestine shamanistic tradition, with one *táltos* (shaman) fighting the other in visionary battles, and with "women of knowledge" who are able to see the spirits of the dead.

In passing to a discussion of nomadic-pastoralist societies with important ties to agriculture, this article leaves the visionary world of the hunters entirely behind. The Nilotic Dodoth, for instance, whose women garden while the men tend the cattle—a pattern found only in Africa—have but one god. This god is so remote and vague that little is known about him. He communicates with humans by such messengers as shooting stars, and no shaman ever visits him, although his worshipers send him sacrificial oxen. The most important ritual specialist among the Dodoth is the diviner, whose oracles have a literal quality: "[Lomotin] would see it raining in a dream, then see a red ox being sacrificed and he would know, when he awoke, that the sacrifice of such an ox would bring rain. He was uncannily right" (Elizabeth Marshall Thomas, *Warrior Herdsmen,* New York, 1965, p. 173).

For the Tuareg, nomads of the Sahara and nominally Islamic, God (Allāh) is equally a distant overseer, who sends the spirits of Islamic saints as messengers, or angels, who are often identified with lightning. In a faint outline of pre-Islamic religion, Tuareg men have dealings with spirits called *kel asouf,* which attach themselves to their hair, help them divine, and are seen doing battle with each other.

The messenger complex is reminiscent of Judeo-Christian tradition, and, indeed, both Judaism and Islam have their roots in nomadic pastoralism. Angels as messengers abound in both the Hebrew scriptures and the New Testament, from the one that spoke to Hagar, the mother of Ishmael, to the heavenly host who announced the birth of Jesus and the white-haired angel wearing a golden girdle who appeared to John according to the *Book of Revelation.* Muḥammad's numerous contacts with the angel Gabriel have been mentioned before.

Spirit journeys are reported both of Moses and of Muḥammad, with the former, for instance, going up Mount Sinai and there encountering God, and the latter rising through the night, ascending to heaven, and conversing with God. Traces of these journeys are even contained in the New Testament, as in *Matthew* 4:1–3: "Then Jesus was led into the desert by the Spirit to be tempted by the devil. And he fasted forty days and forty nights and afterwards he was hungry. And the tempter came to him."

The spirit journey was later taken up by the Islamic Ṣūfī mystics. The first one of these to give a personal account of such experiences was Najm al-Dīn (c. 1145–1223), the famous mystic and teacher of the city of Khorezm, an important center of learning at the time. Among the many mystic experiences he reported are visions of Muḥammad as well as numerous spirit journeys. (See *Die fawāʾih al-ğamāl wa fawātiḥ al-ğalal des Nağmuddīn al-Kubrā,* translated by Fritz Meier, Wiesbaden, 1957.) Kubrā's spirit journeys were not metaphorical but were entirely real to him. He experienced the sensations of being lifted off the ground into the air, of being borne aloft by angels, and of flying. It was not his body that flew but "he himself, his heart or holy spirit, which leaves the body through a hole on the right side, opened by the formula of contemplating God." Once in heaven, he encountered God's properties at various locations, and while passing them he incorporated them into his being. Kubrā, who traveled widely and who carried Classical Greek and medieval Christian ideas back with him to Inner Asia, no doubt also knew about the Jewish mystics of his time, such as Mosheh ben Naḥman (Nahmanides) and perhaps also of the Italian friar Francis of Assisi.

By the early thirteenth century, however, mysticism was no longer part of European popular culture but was, rather, an enterprise of the intelligentsia, who induced mystical experiences for personal enlightenment. In fact, Moses ben Naḥman was criticized for having made mysticism accessible to the masses, because it gave rise to visionaries, who supposedly were followed blindly by the credulous. Thomas Aquinas's premise that visions are a rarely occurring bridge between the human and the divine must be seen in this context. Barely two generations later, Suso warned some nuns not to attempt any mystic experiences, although he himself had extensive visions. Once, while in a faint, "it seemed to him in a vision that he was being conducted to a choir, where the mass was being sung. A large number of the heavenly host was present in that choir, sent by God, where they were to sing a sweet melody of heavenly sound. This they did, and they sang a new and joyous melody that he had never heard before, and it was so very sweet that it seemed to him that his soul would dissolve for great joy" (*Briefbüchlein,* translation by this writer). The mystics soon found themselves in opposition to orthodoxy in all three monotheistic traditions, and within the century both Franciscans and Ṣūfīs were being executed for blasphemy. The pagan traditions of popular culture, with its legends of a wild huntsman and witches' sabbaths, deteriorated without institutionalization or support from the larger society, eventually to be wiped out by the Inquisition.

Visions of agriculturalists. As humans turn to tilling ever larger open fields and to the consuming task of exerting control over their habitat, the institutionalization of the visionary experience disappears entirely, and even spontaneous occurrence is suppressed because of its perceived threat to the written tradition. It is difficult, for instance, to gain recognition for a new shrine from the Vatican authorities, because claims of "genuine" visions are rarely credited. The predominant experience in the religions of large agricultural societies, such as Chinese popular religion, Christianity, and Hinduism, is instead spirit possession.

The urban adaptation. The situation in modern urban centers is similar to that in agriculturalist religions. Large urban movements such as pentecostalism or Umbanda, an Afro-Brazilian healing cult, as well as some Japanese "new religions," rely on possession. If visions occur at all, they usually come about outside the religious context, as was the case with the near-death experiences investigated by the physician Raymond A. Moody, Jr.

In general, it seems that as human beings develop various adaptations to their habitat beyond that of hunting and gathering, the frequency and rich variety of visionary experience in their world begins to diminish. Indeed, this reduction appears to be in inverse proportion to their control over the habitat, for as control over ordinary reality increases, the grasp on the sacred dimension as it is expressed in visions starts to slip away. In the spirit journey the initiative belongs to humans; in spirit possession humans are manipulated. Institutionalization of the visionary experience causes it to dissolve even faster—in the West, ending with the mystics. Since the biological capacity described earlier remains intact, however, a resurgence of all modes of ecstasy may be seen as more leisure time becomes available in the postindustrial era. Tendencies toward such a development are evident in the countercultures of both the United States and Europe.

SEE ALSO Angels; Cargo Cults; Drums; Hierophany; Images; Psychedelic Drugs; Revelation; Shamanism; Spirit Possession.

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VIṢṆU. In the age of the *Ṛgveda,* India's oldest religious document (c. 1200–1000 BCE), Viṣṇu must already have been a more important divine figure than it would appear from his comparatively infrequent appearances in the texts. He is celebrated in a few hymns, of which stanzas 1.22.16–21 came to be a sort of confession of faith, especially among the Vaikhānasa Vaiṣṇavas, who adapted them for consecratory purposes and for invoking the god's presence and protection. These stanzas eulogize the essential feature of the character of the Vedic Viṣṇu: namely, his taking, from the very place where the gods promote human interests, three steps, by which he establishes the broad dimensional actuality of the earthly space in which all beings abide (see also *Ṛgveda* 1.154.1 and 3, etc.). His highest step is in the realm of heaven, beyond mortal ken. Thus, his penetration of the provinces of the universe, in accordance with the traditional Indian interpretation of the character of the original god as the representative of pervasiveness, must be considered a central feature in the vast complex of ideas for which the name of the early Viṣṇu stood.

Virāj, the idea of extending far and wide the female principle of creation and the hypostasis of the universe conceived as a whole, came to be one of Viṣṇu's epithets. Being essential to the establishment and maintenance of the cosmos and beneficial to the interests of humans and gods, his pervasiveness obtained ample room for the former and divine power for the latter. To the sacrificer, who ritually imitates Viṣṇu's three strides and so identifies with him, the god imparts the power to conquer the universe and attain "the goal, the safe foundation, the highest light" (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.9.3.10). Viṣṇu's pervasiveness also manifests itself in the central cosmic axis, the pillar of the universe, whose lower end is visibly represented by the post erected on the sacrificial ground. This axis reaches the earth in the center or navel of the universe, putting the cosmic levels into communication with each other; it thus provides a means of traveling to heaven as well as a canal through which heavenly blessings reach humanity. In this navel is located the sacrifice with which Viṣṇu is constantly identified.

In the *Ṛgveda* Viṣṇu is Indra's ally and intimate friend. In the later Vedic Brāhmaṇa literature, two Ṛgvedic myths connected with Viṣṇu, or with Viṣṇu and Indra, are further developed so as to become, like two other myths, the seeds of some of the god's *avatāras*. After Indra slew a boar that kept the goods of the *asuras* (antigods), Viṣṇu, (i. e., the sacrifice) carried the animal off, with the result that the gods obtained the goods of their enemies. This boar, then identified with the creator god Prajāpati, is also said to have raised up the earth (*Śatapatha Brāh.* 14.1.2.11); in course of time Viṣṇu fuses with Prajāpati, and in the *Mahābhārata* (3.142.56, Bombay ed.) it is he who saves the overcrowded earth by raising it up. The great fish (*Śatapatha Brāh.* 1.8.1) that delivers Manu, the first human, from the deluge appears later as a form of Brahma (*Mahābhārata* 3.185) and becomes in the postepic Purāṇas an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.

A conglomeration of religious currents contributed to the development of post-Vedic Viṣṇuism. In the centuries before the beginning of the common era, Viṣṇu fused with several divine, mythical, and heroic or legendary figures. Among them are (1) the primeval cosmic man (Puruṣa), embodying the idea that creation is the self-limitation of the transcendent person (*Ṛgveda* 10.90), which became the keystone of Vaiṣṇava philosophy; (2) the creator god Prajāpati; (3) Nārāyaṇa, a divine figure featured in the narrative of three ascetics who do not succeed in beholding him because this is a privilege of those who follow the path of *bhakti* (*Mahābhārata* 12.321ff.); and (4) Kṛṣṇa, who in the *Bhagavadgītā* (*Mahābhārata* 6.23–40) teaches, in human shape, how to combine a socially normal life with a prospect of final liberation. Although the names of these figures, when borne by Viṣṇu, came to represent particular aspects of his character and activities, they often also continued to indicate the principal persons of sometimes almost independent mythical themes. This plurality of names also helped to overcome incongruities caused by the fact that Viṣṇu is both the supreme being and a deity responsible for particular duties and activities: "the only [triune] God, Janārdana [Kṛṣṇa], is called Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, accordingly, as he creates, preserves, or brings to an end" (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 1.2.62).

In the epic period (c. 500 BCE–200 CE) Viṣṇu definitely assumed that aspect of the godhead that he holds up to the present day, that of preserver and protector of the world, lord and ruler of all. Yet many of his names and epithets continue to refer to character traits proper to a great god in the mythological sphere. Moreover, the deeds and characters of parochial gods, especially those of Indra, are transferred to him. Whereas in the *Ṛgveda* he is not credited with warlike activities of his own but rather assists Indra in his encounters with demons, he is already at an early date described as fighting and killing antagonists who, like Jambha, the disturber of sacrifice, were in older versions slain by Indra.

In the extensive postepic Vaiṣṇava literature many mythical episodes are inserted to show that God, when devoutly worshiped, is willing to appear in one of his forms in order to help or protect his devotees. For instance, in the story of the two demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha—who in the older version (*Mahābhārata* 3.194) intimidated Brahmā and in the later version (*Jayākhya Saṃhitā* 2.45ff.) stole the Veda so that the world fell to a bad state—the gods and demons praise Viṣṇu, who by his supernormal knowledge restores the Veda and who, after a battle of many thousands of years, kills the demons with a body consisting of *mantra*s that represent his *śakti* (superempirical creative power). From this story originates his epithet *Madhusūdana,* or "destroyer of Madhu."

Viṣṇu is usually depicted as a four-armed, dark blue young man bearing in his hands a conch (an auspicious object that represents fertility and is supposed to strengthen the divine powers), a discus (his invincible flaming weapon), a mace, and a lotus (which, rising from the depths of the waters, evidences their life-supporting power). He wears the miraculous jewel Kaustubha (which emerged from the churning of the ocean). The characteristic curl of hair on his chest is called the *śrīvatsa* ("favorite of the goddess Śrī"), and characterizes him as the universal sovereign. These mythological attributes are often used as aids to devotion. The mere presence of Viṣṇu riding the eagle Garuḍa, the theriomorphic manifestation of his nature and energy, suffices, in myth, literature, and plastic arts, to subdue the demoniac serpents.

In the post-Vedic period Viṣṇu's consort is known by two names, *Śrī* and *Lakṣmī;* originally these were two different goddesses, the former representing fortune and prosperity, the latter being closely connected with the ripe corn. Like Viṣṇu, Śrī-Lakṣmī is eternal and omnipresent. Associated in every possible way with the lotus symbol, she is said to have risen from the ocean to preside over earthly welfare. It is with the Goddess in such form that Viṣṇu is united in all of his incarnations: He, "the husband of Śrī," is the creator; she, creation; she is the earth, he, its support; he is one with all male beings, she, with all female beings; and so on. In mythical imagery, Lakṣmī never leaves Viṣṇu's side. In later Hinduism, she is, as Viṣṇu's *śakti,* the instrumental and material cause of the universe, God himself being the efficient cause. Indissolubly associated with each other, they constitute the personal *brahman,* also called Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. Nevertheless, they are distinct: She alone acts, but everything she does is the expression of his wishes. Lakṣmī also makes an appearance in various mythical stories under different names (Mahālakṣmī, Bhadrakali, etc.). Many of these denote special aspects of Prosperity (Śrī-Lakṣmī); some appear, as companions of Viṣṇu, as the goddesses Victory (Jayā), Renown (Kīrti), and so on. While his alliance with his second consort, Bhūdevī, the Earth, stamps him as a bigamist, Viṣṇu's relations with many incarnations of his spouse are often characterized by youthful passion, reckless adventure, and human—often too human—emotions. He ravishes Rukmiṇī—even though she has been intended for Śiśupāla, whom he beheads—and marries her (*Mahābhārata* 2.37ff.); soon she is said to be an incarnation of Śrī, destined to marry Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa (*Harivaṃśa* 104ff).

In his supreme and at the same time triune character, Viṣṇu, the Lord and highest Person, the unmanifest primordial principle, absorbs the universe at the end of a *yuga* (age of the world) by successively becoming the glowing sun, the scorching wind, and a torrential rain (*Matsya Purāṇa* 1.67).

When the world has again become the undifferentiated water from which it once arose, Viṣṇu—according to some, together with Lakṣmī—sleeps on a thousand-headed serpent called Śeṣa, "the remainder" (because it represents the residue that remained after the universe and all its beings had been shaped out of the cosmic waters of the abyss), or Ananta, "the endless one" (who, symbolizing eternity, is identical with the ocean out of which the world will evolve as temporal existence and ultimately also with Viṣṇu himself). With the serpent and the ocean upon which this animal floats, Viṣṇu then constitutes the triune manifestation of the single divine cosmic substance and energy underlying all forms of phenomenal existence. During his sleep the world is "thought," nonexistent. When he awakes, he engages in meditation for its recreation. A lotus grows from his navel, and on this flower is born the demiurge Brahmā, who creates the world. Then, while residing in the highest heaven (Vaikuṇṭha), Viṣṇu in the form of Puruṣa preserves the world until it is once again ripe for dissolution.

The development of many myths and mythical narratives attests to Viṣṇu's adaptability and versatility. For instance, the older sources (*Mahābhārata* 1.16ff.) state only that Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa advised the gods and the *asura*s to churn the ocean in order to acquire from it *amṛta;* then, in the form of an anonymous woman, he recovered this drink of continued life from the *asura*s. Later versions relate his appearance as a fascinating young woman, Mohinī ("the deluding one"), tricking the *asura*s and distributing the *amṛta* among the gods.

In innumerable tales attesting to the popular belief in Viṣṇu's intervention in the vicissitudes of individual lives, the mythical element is no less mixed up with legend than in the many hagiographic compilations, which, like devotional literature in general, reactivate the power inherent in the mythical stories. Invocation of the god's protection is therefore often accompanied by a reference to one of his great exploits or important mythical aspects. Thus Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu, who made the gods happy by slaying Kaṃsa (*Mahābhārata* 2.13.29ff.), will no doubt prove a competent and reliable helper. Hearing the holy story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*—the heroic deeds of Viṣṇu descending to the earth to save humankind—is said to be a dependable way to long life, moral purity, and good fortune (*Rāmāyaṇa* 7, final chap.).

Synthesizing its theology, philosophy, mythology, and religious practice, Vaiṣṇavism distinguishes five forms of God:

(1) God in his transcendent form with the six attributes: omniscience, activity based on independent lordship, ability, force, virtue combined with energy, and brilliant self-sufficiency.

(2) The *avatāra*s, in which God sends forth his Self to save the *dharma* (order, stability) and humankind and to protect the good and destroy the wicked, evidencing his providential concern with humanity as a whole. However full of the wonderful and miraculous, the *avatāra* myths represent Viṣṇu as an essentially human character whose actions are within the limits of human understanding.

(3) The emanations (*vyūha*) of his power, namely, Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa), Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha (Kṛṣṇa's brother, son, and grandson), which, like the *avatāra*s, represent an attempt at maintaining a fundamental monotheistic principle while incorporating manifestations of his being. This is also an attempt to harmonize theology with mythology and philosophy, for by assigning to these figures functions in a systematic explanation of the universe, theologians can account for Viṣṇu's part in its creation, preservation, and absorption.

(4) The immanent God, the inner ruler.

(5) The *Mūrti* (image or statue), God's most concrete form.

SEE ALSO Avatāra; Bhagavadgītā; Goddess Worship, article on The Hindu Goddess; Indian Religions, article on Mythic Themes; Kṛṣṇa; Mahābhārata; Mūrti; Prajāpati; Vaikhānasas; Vaiṣṇavism.

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JAN GONDA (1987)
Revised Bibliography

VISUAL CULTURE AND RELIGION

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
OUTSIDER ART

VISUAL CULTURE AND RELIGION: AN OVERVIEW

If the word *culture*, as Raymond Williams once pointed out (Williams, 1976, p. 76), is among the most complicated words in the English language, what can anyone hope to achieve by clapping the word *visual* in front of it? Not surprisingly, the use of the term *visual culture* among scholars of art, film, and media is quite varied. For many it simply refers to forms of imagery beyond the pale of traditional fine art, such as film, mass-produced prints, and advertisements. For others the term signifies something procedural: the method of study or the set of questions and themes that occupy a particular body of scholarship. For yet others the term marks a significant turn in the practice of art history, which involves pedagogical as well as political commitments that depart from traditional art historical practice. No discipline takes images with the single-minded seriousness of art history, and because art historians have been prominent in debating the use of the term, a review of developments in that discipline is a helpful way of approaching the definition of visual culture. From there it will be possible to consider the implications of visual culture for the study of religion.

VISUAL CULTURE AND ART HISTORY. The rise of interest in popular culture, film, women's studies, ethnicity and race, and sexuality challenged the dominance of traditional scholarship in the humanities, which was historically invested in the canon of fine art and literature. For a long time art historical interpretation had also avoided political interpretation of images and had largely ignored contemporary imagery, especially mass-produced imagery, because it lacked the craftsmanship of fine art. Nor did it accommodate the categories of genius, professional artist, and masterpiece or the criteria of museum value that dominated the discipline and its canon of fine art. But during the 1960s and 1970s art historians and art critics who were engaged by contemporary art's disavowal of traditional tastes or the celebration of political critiques of established authority in cultural and social affairs became interested in issues of reproduction, the conceptualization of viewing as a social and psychological act, and the ways of seeing that shaped the meaning of images. The social history of art sought to situate works of art within the ideological constructions of class and gender that were inseparable from any act of representation.

By the 1980s a rising tide of scholarship in art history had begun to explore canon formation, gender, sexuality, and the art of marginalized cultures, races, and ethnicities. A "crisis in the discipline" was discussed in professional forums, and the first instances appeared of what came to be known as the "new art history" (Rees and Borzello, 1988). Of special importance was the application of deconstruction, semiotics, and psychoanalytic theory (of greatest influence were the writings of Jacques Derrida, Roland Barthes, and Jacques Lacan). Practitioners of the new art history were intrigued by the visual construction of power relations, which they conceptualized as the "gaze," the visual field that evaluates space and object as intelligible forms.

Work in the 1980s and 1990s also explored the nature of representation, often in connection with the discussion of postmodernism and inspired by the oracular writing of Jean Baudrillard. A number of important studies during this time complemented the social history of art with greater attention to audience and reception, finding an important connection to the interest in the gaze and the visual construction of reality. At issue was the status of art history, the authority of its claims, its autonomy from the prevailing interests of the elite that controlled cultural institutions, as well as a host of questions about the nature of representation.

The reflection on ideology, the nature of vision, the gendered gaze, and the constructedness of representation led some art historians to greater awareness of the audience and its role in the interpretation of art. Prominent theoretical studies in the sociology of art assisted art historians along this line of thinking. Anthropological studies have produced ethnographies of image users. David Freedberg's *The Power of Images* (1989) problematized for art historians the capacity of images to incite fear and desire among viewers, for whom the appeal of images was not a matter of taste or connoisseurship but their ability to act upon people, other images, or the viewer's own desires and anxieties. Freedberg's book and several other studies in the next years helped art historians redefine the scope of art history. The study of response (Freedberg, 1989; Elkins, 2001) and reception (Heinich, 1996; Doss, 1999) decentered the traditional focus of the discipline as the discourse on images to a discourse on the use and conceptualization of images.

The 1990s and early 2000s witnessed a surfeit of publications under the new rubric of "visual culture" (Evans and Hall, 1999; Sturcken and Cartwright, 2001; Bryson, Holly, and Moxey, 1994; Mirzoeff, 2002). Generally speaking, scholars have made use of the term to designate the subject of their interpretation as well as the method or interpretive framework on which they have relied. But the definition of visual culture (not to mention its value) remains contested ("Visual Culture Questionnaire," 1996). Perhaps the most common meaning of the term is the most simple and least helpful: visual culture is whatever traditional art history does not do—film, advertisements, cartoons, tattoos. Another approach improves modestly on that one: visual culture is any treatment of imagery or of viewing imagery that is especially mindful of such concepts as the gaze, gendered practice of viewing, postmodern accounts of representation, and so forth. A third, common definition identifies visual culture as distinctly modern, as the product of modernity or postmodernity, as the hypervisual world of simulacra and mass-produced images whose principal purpose is propaganda for state and commerce, which, in radical political economy, are regarded as the same thing. Such a view ignores the ancient power of images in human culture and assumes a presentist perspective and one that tends strongly to reduce images to a means of persuasion. Those who criticize visual culture as an approach to studying imagery argue that the term is incapable of clear definition and is inclined to level artistic quality in a reading of images that regards distinction as unacceptable because it is elitist ("Visual Culture Questionnaire," 1996).

Defining Visual Culture. None of the definitions listed above is strongly compelling. And none of them offers much of substance to the study of religion. Indeed religion plays no role whatsoever in the great majority of visual culture studies cited above. Art historians who identify their work as the study of visual culture have largely concentrated on revisionist analyses of major works of art, the visual construction of gender, the cultural politics of imagery, and the dynamics of the gaze. All of these are quite applicable to the study of religious visual culture, but because many art historians assume that post-Enlightenment modernity is characterized by secularization, religion is considered vestigial and reactionary and therefore uninteresting. By contrast, the following definition of visual culture seeks to offer a way of interpreting images that will contribute to the understanding of religion. Given the dominance of art history as a discipline in the discussion over the last two decades of the twentieth century, the definition of visual culture outlined here is grounded in the development of art history. Defining the term turns on differentiating studies according to the object of their scrutiny.

As it was practiced for much of the twentieth century, art history focused on considerations of style, subject matter, patronage, and the meanings to be derived from these coordinates. Such an approach privileges the visual object—the painting or sculpture—as the principal concern, as the object of explanation. Iconography and stylistic analysis are the primary tools of this approach and serve well to scrutinize the work of art as a highly intentional object, one bearing the intent of the artist, the impress of the artist's visual tradition, and the aims and preferences of the patron, whether prince, collector, church, or state. This manner of analysis preserves the artist as a genius, a skilled maker who endows the work with a supreme intention, a meaning to be excavated by the art historian and matched to the material evidence of the image as the definitive meaning of the work.

Skill at formal analysis, detailed knowledge of the history of style and iconography, facility with the vast tools at the art historian's disposal for such research—iconographical indexes and lexicons, archival collections, museum holdings—form the skills base for competence in this line of inquiry. Art historians proceed by comparing one image under question with the preceding history of visual types in order to determine the relatively unique treatment of the image, positing that every change in its presentation of its subject corresponds to a particular intention of the image maker. The artist's monograph, one of the standard productions of art history in the twentieth century, develops a narrative of artistic production along the biographical lines of the artist's life. Juvenilia, professional formation, early work, mature work, and late productions, analyzed largely in terms of style and subject matter, are the familiar categories of this genre of art historical inquiry. The aim is a definitive edition of the artist's "oeuvre." In any genre of art historical inquiry that focuses on the image, stylistic features of the image are customarily considered to be freighted with intent: style is a kind of signature, the imprimatur of the image maker as well as the visual preference of the image's patron and its primary audience, those who bring to it a visual literacy that maker and patron can presume. With these assumptions and techniques, art historians are able to produce highly detailed analyses of objects, sorting out their histories, makers, and the genres of meaning that proceed from object-centered analysis and interpretation.

Another approach privileges ideas over the object. This approach might be called the intellectual history of art, or the history of ideas about art, or the history of art theory and aesthetics. Whatever one prefers to call it, this avenue of inquiry makes important contributions to the understanding of taste, evaluation, and the interpretation of art. In sum it seeks to delineate the theory of images that informs a particular philosophy, theology, culture, historical moment, or taste. The theory-centered approach may not tell in as detailed a fashion as stylistic or iconographic study why an image looks the way it does, but the intellectual history of art has much to offer regarding why art was valued or not at a particular time, how it was justified or criticized, and how it was interpreted. When conducted by skilled interpreters, this approach enhances studies of art objects by scrutinizing the intellectual schemes that deployed various iconographies, preferred certain styles, interpreted them in a certain manner, and offered rationales for the importance and use of art in the contemporary culture. The intellectual history of art can have everything to do with the history of patronage and the formation of subcultures for whom artistic taste and literacy were definitive. Moreover the history of great interpreters of art—from philosophers like G. W. F. Hegel or Arthur Schopenhauer to important theorists such as Charles Baudelaire or Walter Benjamin—is a special topic of study among intellectual historians of art.

A third approach to the study of the visual arts may be called institution-centered because it scrutinizes the social formations of patronage, art instruction, art criticism, and the many organizations that sponsor and regulate the production and presentation of art, including guilds, museums, galleries, exhibitions, collectors, dealers, and artists' societies. Art historians and sociologists of art study the ways in which these institutions exert an influence over the training and career of artists as well as the public display of art and the evolution of taste.

Finally, the approach defined here as visual culture takes yet another form. Although it makes important use of and relies on object-centered and theory-centered studies of imagery, the visual culture approach focuses primarily on visual practices, that is, the things people do with images. A practice-centered approach scrutinizes the social siting of images, the rituals that engage them, behaviors and attitudes toward images, all manner of use, such as devotion and healing, and the power of images as protective devices. Questions of central interest include the migration of images, how they are displayed or hidden from view, the trade or traffic in images, and their hoarding, destruction, and exchange. These queries explore the range of visual practices that help build, maintain, and transform the lifeworlds of those who use them.

Scholars of visual culture are also interested in the ways of seeing that inform images and their reception. Vision is not a passive operation but a creative and constructive one. Seeing orders the world and imposes structures and expectations upon human experience. This is evident in the widely varying systems of composing the visual field in images. Linear perspective, the system privileged in the West since the Italian Renaissance but continually modified and subverted by artists ever since, remains one important perceptual scheme, but one whose artifice and historicity become clear when compared to other models from different parts of the world and different historical epochs.

Methodologically the study of religious visual culture will make use of those procedures that examine the object (iconography, stylistic analysis, archeological analysis) as well as those methods that scrutinize the image's cultural or social function and its reception, including ethnography and sociological methods, such as sample surveys. Scholars of visual culture require the skills of visual analysis practiced by art historians as well as facility with the intellectual history of art and visual theory. Each of those approaches provides necessary interpretive practices to the visual cultural approach because a visual practice presumes a particular theory of the power or efficacy of images and puts an image to work in part because of its appearance and material presence. Examples include Allen F. Roberts and Mary Nooter Roberts (2003); Erika Doss (1999); David Morgan (1998); Donald J. Cosentino (1995); and Sally M. Promey (1993).

THE INTERPRETATION OF RELIGIOUS VISUAL CULTURE. What does the application of this definition of visual culture do for the study of religion? Religion is often defined as a system of beliefs or organized propositions to which believers assent. But this manner of describing religion reduces it to an intellectual dimension of human experience, ignoring the embodied, lived aspects that are much more characteristic of the experience of religion reported by or observed among practitioners. Scholars of religion engaged by the material culture of belief have made this case (McDannell, 1995; Kieschnick, 2003) and have sought to show that objects of everyday use and commercial nature play an important role in the practice of religion. Inexpensive, common objects, such as devotional pictures, commemorative statuary, prayer beads, wall hangings, and photographs of saints or loved ones, participate fundamentally in rituals of memory, devotion, and the formation and instruction of the young.

An important way of understanding religious objects and images is grasping their social or communal function (Morgan and Promey, 2001, pp. 1–17; Huyler, 1999; Tanabe, 1998; Eck, 1981, pp. 33–43). Another way is narrating their stories, as objects, in the ongoing history of a community or place (Davis, 1997). Still other scholars focus on the community's circulation or traffic of images (Roberts and Nooter Roberts, 2003; Cosentino, 1995) or the importance of cult or devotional images in the public performance of identity (Dean, 1999; Phillips, 1995) or in an extended community or loosely identified cohort, such as admirers of Elvis Presley (Doss, 1999). In every such case the image is not an end in itself but part of a larger fabric of social life. The scholar examines the image as a totem or joint property or shared emblem or ritual artifact or commodity—that is, as part of a social practice. The object of interpretation is not so much an image as the act of using an image, what may be called a visual practice. The image itself is incomplete without its ritual context or practice. Not only is this the case with the need to consecrate images such as statues or icons of Buddha (Kieschnick, 2003, p. 60; Freedberg, 1989, p. 82), but as far as explanation is concerned, the image's meaning is not to be limited to the image itself, such as its style or subject matter.

Because an image gains significance in its circulation, exchange, veneration, and narration, those must each be studied in order to understand the image in situ. And an image's meaning is never fixed or complete but forever undergoing mutation and stratification, as the meandering narratives that Richard Davis relates in his 1997 study of the "lives" of Hindu statuary. Sculptures of Hindu deities were consecrated after having been fashioned, then installed in temples, where they might become well known for their power to act on behalf of petitioners. When Muslims invaded the subcontinent, priests tried to anticipate the destruction of the cult statuary by removing it from the temple, deconsecrating it, and burying it. Sometimes the statues were forgotten where they lay until their rediscovery, when a new chapter in their lives would begin with reconsecration and reinstallation in a temple or, during the British Empire period, their appropriation by the colonial force and exhibition in museums or palaces as ethnographic objects or as trophies. Images created to illustrate an early book on Hindu myth and culture by a British missionary (Ward, 1817–1820) circulated in Europe and the United States, serving as one of the earliest visualizations of Hindu deities. Such images illustrated the Protestant imagination of "pagan idolatry," which was rudimentary to the Protestant understanding of mission. It is important to understand images in a robust way, as sustaining many, often staunchly rival, cultural perspectives. Images, in other words, are the lens through which cultures perceive one another.

Images are actually deposits, pastiches, thickly sedimented repositories of previous lives consisting of fragments of memory that are made to adhere to one another. This allows them to be forms of resistance as well as subordination. The story of Our Lady of Guadalupe illustrates this dynamic of imagery. One account written over one hundred years after the apparition was said to have taken place (1531) was produced, according to one scholarly authority, by a Mexican Creole, Miguel Sánchez, whose purpose was to advocate the propriety of *criollismo,* those born in Mexico of Spanish-born parents. An alternative account, the *Nican mopohua,* written at the same time, portrayed the Virgin's revelation as directed to the indigenous population (Poole, 1995, p. 126). Modern advocates of liberation theology and Chicano and neo-Aztec identities have seen Guadalupe as yet another kind of symbol and have relied on the *Nican mopohua* (Brading, 2001, pp. 342–360).

Not only are images historical pastiches, they also frequently integrate other forms of representation. Word and image, for examples, can be made to cooperate in powerful ways in order to avoid proscriptions against imagery that are sometimes enforced by religious traditions that consider the written or spoken word to be the privileged medium of divine revelation and authority. Such traditions include Sikhism, Islam, Judaism, and certain versions of Protestant Christianity, such as Puritanism and other Calvinist sects. As anxious as each of these traditions may profess to be regarding the inappropriateness of visual imagery, each contains abundant examples of devotional and instructional uses of imagery. Recalling the contribution of Islam to their spirituality, Sikhs, for instance, stress the importance of avoiding imagery in worship. Yet images of the gurus and Sikh history abound in temples and in private homes. Among the most interesting figures in the tradition, the man who is portrayed more than any other Sikh, is Gurū Nānak, the founder of the faith and an immensely charismatic leader and teacher, who is shown emanating an aura, his eyelids half closed, his large eyes focused on the blissful state of his soul (Brown, 1999). The image models the visual presence or demeanor of peace that Sikhs recognize in those who have achieved spiritual wisdom. One image of Nānak consists of the text of one of his writings contained in the *Gurū Granth Sāhib*, the collection of hymns and verse that form the central document and authority of the faith. Nānak is his word, his wisdom is manifest in his visual appearance. The intermingling of word and image stresses this unity and both enforces and obviates the injunction against imagery in worship: one sees Nānak and his wisdom, but one sees his word, which one is not allowed to confuse with an image and thereby lose sight of the true goal of the spiritual life (Singh, 1990, p. 12).

The capacity of images to embody teachers, prophets, saints, or deities goes to the heart of the power of images in religious life. Relics and icons are among the most universal features in world religions. In many Buddhist traditions, for example, relics of the Buddha and paintings and sculptures of him form the core practices of devotion among both elite and popular Buddhists. Images are able to incite and direct devotion precisely because they take the place of the holy one, inviting the believer's physical acts of veneration or adoration, which are relayed through the image to the person. Mahāyāna Buddhism has a long tradition of regarding the Buddha's sūtras as his embodiment (Tanabe, 1988). Orthodox and Catholic Christians revere different versions of the image of Christ imprinted miraculously on a veil or burial cloth. Relics are considered especially powerful sacred points where petitions can secure blessing. In such instances images participate in a metaphysical economy of dispensing merit accrued by saints or deities whose good works and holiness are a kind of spiritual capital that can be accessed through the veneration of imagery. In the case of Buddhist visual piety, a common practice among Southeast Asian Theravāda Buddhists is the ritual application of gold leaf to statues of the Buddha. This act is accompanied with prayers for blessing and karmic merit. Children accompany their parents and grandparents on these occasions and are taught the practice.

In addition to encouraging the cultivation of devotional relationships with the saint or deity, images are able to prompt and guide memory as well as creative thought or association. Used on such ritual occasions as marriage, baptism, and rites of passage, images mark the occasion and then commemorate it by virtue of domestic or public display thereafter. Images are also commonly exchanged or given as gifts on these occasions, signifying important relationships and status within family, clan, or community. If they serve to shape and secure memory and therefore operate as conservative devices, images can act as generative engines of creative or figurative thinking. Tarot cards are a good example of this, as are maṇḍalas in meditative visualization. On these occasions, images invite associative processes of thinking that are virtually unlimited. Images such as those on tarot cards provoke association and suggest narratives. Because they literally assert nothing, images invite interpretation. Their ambivalence urges a proliferation of conjecture and association. The result in the case of visual imagery, as well as in literary imagery in such apocalyptic literature as the *Book of Revelation* or the figurative language in such sacred poetry as the *Psalms* or allegory as in the *Song of Songs*, is an open-ended generation of interpretive possibilities. The text or image can be made to mean virtually anything, allowing a fit to be tailored to any occasion or situation. Images and texts like this offer powerful creative resources to religious traditions. It is evident in traditions as diverse as various astrologies or the Yi Jing's system of divination or the Hasidic practice of numerology in which the numeric value of scriptural words discloses deeper levels of meaning. Many religious traditions, or popular subcultures within them, practice sortilege, the apparently random selection of a passage in a book such as the Bible or the Qurʾān, which is then read as an oracle speaking to the person who selected it. In every case chance is incorporated into a material practice that reduces open-ended possibility into a suggestive prompt. Chance is transformed into a revelatory process.

CHALLENGES TO THE STUDY OF RELIGIOUS VISUAL CULTURE. The place of images in religious study is fascinating in part because of the flurry of misconceptions associated with images, many of which hinge on the idea that images mark an inferior religion or an inferior subculture within a religion. The study of religion is often hampered by prevailing notions like this, which garner an appearance of authority but are often ideological mirages, conjured to serve particular interests. For instance, it is a commonplace that Islam, Judaism, and Protestantism do not engage in religious uses of images. Another such commonplace is that religions that do employ images do so only at the level of popular piety. The "higher" forms of Buddhism, Hinduism, and Christianity are sometimes said to eschew any role for imagery. Misleading claims like these need to be traced to their sources in order to recognize the cultural work they are intended to perform. All of these assertions originate in polemic: Protestant polemic against Catholicism; an academic elite's polemic against popular, devotional religion; a Buddhist elite's polemic against popular practice; the polemic of the Brahmanic revival against Hindu "polytheism," and so forth. Any study of the visual culture of religion must anticipate this especially tenacious feature of scholarly and theological discourse. Moreover one does well to avoid the art historian's tendency to focus exclusively on objects and the religion scholar's traditional emphasis on doctrine, philosophy, or theology. The aim inspiring the study of the visual culture of religion is deeper understanding of the lifeworlds that religious peoples construct and sustain in their visual practices and in the aesthetic imagination that envisions their worlds or those they seek to create.

SEE ALSO Art and Religion; Iconography; Icons; Idolatry; Images; Media and Religion; Popular Culture.

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DAVID MORGAN (2005)

VISUAL CULTURE AND RELIGION: OUTSIDER ART

One of the defining characteristics of the emergent academic field of visual culture studies is its insistence on a methodological principle of complete inclusion. Everything within the realm of visual objects and practices is worthy of consideration—especially imagery traditionally neglected or felt to be outside the purview of "classical," "fine," "canonical," or "high art." Those who are concerned about all that has been ignored and devalued in the domain of image making have a special affinity for the maverick and controversial movement called contemporary folk, grassroots, self-taught, vernacular, or outsider art. Outsider art has no easily definable stylistic tradition or distinct movement in the conventional art history sense but instead refers to a loose grouping of persons, practices, and attitudes distinguished primarily by their peripheral relationship to elite culture and the mainstream art world. This marginality is largely determined by various psychological (e.g., psychosis, mental-physical disability, or visionary experience) and sociological (ethnic-racial, demographic, economic, class, age, or educational) factors. This unruly field is rambunctious, resisting any consistent definition or nomenclature, a situation that has given rise to an almost incessant and, at times, tedious, "term warfare."

The current vogue for the terminology of "outsider art" in the English-speaking world originates from the title of the British scholar Roger Cardinal's 1972 book, which roughly translated the expression *Art Brut.* Art Brut was first used by the French avant-garde artist and cultural critic Jean Dubuffet (1901–1985) (Danchin, 2001). For Dubuffet, Art Brut was art that expressed raw creativity and imagery supposedly uncontaminated by bourgeois culture—an art perhaps best found within mental wards. Cardinal and others expanded on Dubuffet by using the "outsider" terminology in neoromantic ways that eventually embraced a motley assortment of artists and practices. In addition to psychotic, mediumistic, spiritualist, and children's art, outsider art—especially in North America—came to include naive, folk, tramp, African American, prison, Hispanic American, vodou, tattoo, yard, and circus artwork done by persons often self-taught in the use of artistic methods and materials. The unfettered creativity, obsessive drive, and apparent primitivity of this kind of art are striking. Equally important, however, are the connections with religious experience and practice as seen by the prominence of nonordinary states of consciousness and different kinds of visionary experience, the use of conventional and unconventional religious imagery, and the drive to construct alternative and often strange paradisial worlds (Beardsley, 1995).

Outsider art may at times draw upon bits and pieces of the history of mainstream art, but rarely is it self-consciously ironic or concerned with the kind of referential "originality" associated with academic art making (Russell, 2001; DeCarlo, 2002). It is an art that has its own ambiguous inner intentions and private passions. In this sense, outsider artists often strive to communicate something deeply personal, hidden, unseen, or repressed about this and other worlds. There is almost always something more than just "art as art" going on. Moreover, this obsessively intense "something more" often takes various stylistic forms and quirky contents that may be most meaningfully called "visionary," "spiritual," "ecstatic," "revelatory," or "religious." The increasing popularity of outsider art in Europe and the United States during the last twenty years or so of the twentieth century appears in fact to be rooted in an almost quasi-religious "quest for authenticity" or "nostalgia for paradise" among a secularized middle-class audience of enthusiasts, collectors, and dealers. Artist and audience in the outsider field often seem similarly driven by unconscious, and sometimes conscious, motivations that are broadly religious and redemptive (Fine, 2004).

HISTORY OF THE SELF-TAUGHT AND OUTSIDER FIELD OF ART. The diverse history of the self-taught and outsider field is yet to be written (Rhodes, 2000; Hartigan, 1991; Peiry, 2001; Russell, 2001). Aside from some very general associations with shamanistic phenomena, human eccentricity, psychosis, and compulsive image making, the origins of this movement in Western tradition go back to the discovery of primitive culture, art, and religion (in both a tribal and orientalist sense) by the newly conceived human sciences toward the end of the nineteenth century (e.g., psychology and psychiatry, comparative religions, anthropology, folklore studies, and critical-historical disciplines such as art history). The impact and influence of primitivism as both a disturbing and a liberating break with classical traditions established in the Renaissance and the eighteenth century were profound in many different cultural domains at the beginning of the twentieth century. Primitivism was therefore a formative factor in the development of modern art, as seen in the concerns and methods of individual artists, such as Paul Gauguin, Henri Rousseau, Pablo Picasso, and Paul Klee. At the same time, there were clear connections between primitivism and the Dada and surrealist movements (Rhodes, 1994). These associations, as well as the affinity with what would be called outsider art, is seen in surrealism's passionate interest in a primal creativity rooted in the unconscious mind, in occult or "automatic" forms of religious experience and behavior, and in various disruptive and unconventional artistic practices.

The other major influence on the genre of outsider art was the identification of so-called "psychotic art" after the cataclysm of World War I (MacGregor, 1989). Several groundbreaking psychological studies appeared at this time, the most important of which was *The Artistry of the Mentally Ill (Bildnerei der Geisteskranken),* written in 1922 by the German psychiatrist Hans Prinzhorn (1886–1933). Prinzhorn focused his attention on the artistic productions of schizophrenics and spent considerable time developing an elaborate expressionist theory of image making that tried to identify a set of basic artistic impulses. Another highly influential German psychotherapeutic study was Walter Morgenthaler's (1882–1965) *A Mentally Ill Person as Artist (Ein Geisteskranker als Künstler),* published in 1921. This work concentrated on the brilliantly obsessive drawings by the Swiss mental patient Adolf Wölfli (1882–1965), now recognized as one of the grand European masters of the outsider tradition of art.

Dubuffet said that he happened to see a copy of Prinzhorn's book and was haunted by the images. This epiphany eventually led to Dubuffet's dramatic declaration of Art Brut in the 1940s—a theretofore unrecognized tradition of artistic production in which creativity and image making were theoretically free from the asphyxiating influences of elite culture (Peiry, 2001). Dubuffet's definition of Art Brut was initially associated with the art of the mentally ill as witnessed by Prinzhorn and Morgenthaler, but over the years his understanding of the field wavered between dogmatic rigidity and inclusive flexibility—as, for example, seen in the supplemental category of *Neuve Invention* (Fresh Invention), intended to include artists less radically cut off from mainstream cultural tradition. The Art Brut tradition—and its institutional embodiment in the Collection De L'Art Brut in Lausanne, Switzerland—continues as an increasingly conspicuous aspect of the European art scene.

Self-taught or outsider art in the United States gradually came into prominence from the 1970s through the 1990s in association with various artistic movements and eclectic interests. Perhaps the most important of these movements was the changing nature of what was originally called "folk art," rural traditions that were becoming more individualistic, eccentric, and aesthetic in their methods and subject matter. These transformations within the realm of contemporary folk art were already evident in early exhibitions of naive and primitive folk art in the 1940s and 1950s (Janis, 1999) and then even more significantly in the later work of rural craftspeople, such as the Kentucky wood-carver Edgar Tolson (1904–1984) (Ardery, 1998). Another important trend emerged from the maverick interests and curatorial philosophy of Herbert Hemphill (1900–1900) at the new Museum of American Folk Art in New York City (Hemphill and Weissman, 1974; Hartigan, 1991). Hemphill boldly stretched the parameters of folk art to include, within the jumbled cultural situation of the last quarter of the twentieth century, all manner of strange and forlorn artistic production.

In the 1980s several innovative art dealers on the margins of the mainstream New York art world, most notably Phyllis Kind, who was originally based in Chicago, daringly started to exhibit European Art Brut along with various homegrown talent. These exhibits included such artists as the Chicago Imagists; newly discovered psychotic masters, such as Martin Ramirez (1895–1963) and Henry Darger (1892–1973); and a number of so-called "contemporary folk artists" from the American South, such as the amazingly prolific, self-taught visionary preacher-painter Howard Finster (1916–2001). During this same period, there was also an increasing awareness of numerous environmental works by compulsive creators around the world (e.g., Ferdinand Cheval [1879–1912] in France, Simon Rodia [c. 1879–1965] in North America, and Nek Chan in India) and, ever since the groundbreaking show in 1982, Black Folk Art at the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, D.C., an increasing recognition of the rich tradition of self-taught African American artists (e.g., Bill Traylor [1854–1947], Sam Doyle [1905–1986], Jimmy Lee Sudduth, Thornton Dial, Mose Tolliver, Purvis Young, Charlie Lucas, Gregory Warmack or Mr. Imagination, and Lonnie Holley).

By the early 1990s these movements had awkwardly coalesced into the field called self-taught/vernacular/outsider art. During the late 1990s and after the beginning of the twenty-first century, there has been an increased outpouring of exhibitions, catalogs, articles, and books. These developments were mirrored by a growing number of organizations, journals, and cultural institutions—including the emergence of a lively but sporadic secondary market of auctions and trade fairs (Maizels, 2002). Unfortunately most of the published discourse about self-taught and outsider art has been largely within the popular genre of pretty picture books replete with potted anecdotal biographies of the artists. There is still very little serious commentary on self-taught and outsider art, especially from multidisciplinary and cross-cultural perspectives that comparatively and critically analyze the artists and artworks with an eye to artistic quality, cultural embeddedness, and historical significance. The field of self-taught and outsider art also raises many interesting but largely unexplored questions about the nature of intense visionary experience, psychosis, and artistic creativity as related to religious traditions, such as shamanism, mysticism, and other forms of ecstatic cult practice.

SELF-TAUGHT AND OUTSIDER ART AND RELIGION. Self-taught and outsider art frequently expresses specific religious belief systems by using traditional, eclectic, hybrid, or even wildly strange imagery. Examples from the spectrum of religious iconography and intention are seen in the mostly conventional Protestant evangelical apocalypticism of Myrtice West's paintings, which are based on the *Book of Revelation,* the idiosyncratic religious allusions in Saint OEM's art (Eddie Owen Martin, 1908–1986), the pop cultural appropriations in Howard Finster's scrappy "messages" from God and Elvis, and the dark distortions of Roman Catholic themes in Henry Darger's illustrations of cosmic conflict involving "little girls with penises." Outsider art's early association with madness, ecstatic experience, spiritualism, mediumship, conspiratorial occultism, and syncretistic religion also indicates that there are many connections with, to borrow from William James, the "varieties of religious experience"—that is, states of extraordinary and visionary consciousness, obsessive practice, and unusual imagery on the margins of mainstream or organized religious traditions. Witness, among many possible examples, the detailed divine cosmology constructed by Wölfli, the "Bible code" imagery seen in Norbert Kox's work, or the architectural spiritualism pervading Achilles Rizzoli's (1896–1981) meticulous drawings. Another very evocative but controversial, example of these associations is the apparent allusion to various "Africanisms" or fragmented or creolized aspects of traditional African religious forms seen in African American art (Thompson, 1984). Finally, self-taught and outsider art involves specific stylistic features (such as a penchant for compositional *horror vacui* [the avoidance of empty space], a juxtaposition of image and word, an emphasis on sign as subject, and thematic repetition), the use of cast off or recycled materials, and a tendency to construct monumental assemblages and environmental works that often have religious and visionary significance.

Even more provocative than these associations with conventional and unconventional forms of religion are the suggestions in outsider art of deeper links between religious and aesthetic experience. Most broadly, art and religion deal with imaginative creations that are felt or sensed to surpass (emotionally, spiritually, essentially, or aesthetically) the merely material or rational. The underlying conviction for both is that there is some experienced dimension of meaning, sacredness, power, sublimity, or beauty in or beyond the surface of things. Art and religion—and in a heightened way, outsider art and visionary experience—are therefore overlapping interpretive categories that partially name or define certain important aspects of human experience, expression, and practice in both a quotidian and extraordinary sense. To some extent it seems that all religious behavior originally draws on visionary experience and involves aesthetically expressive practices of making invisible spirit or meaning visual and therefore memorable and real in persons, things, and actions. Indeed effective religion is (perhaps) always artistic in its expressive ways and ritual means, whereas the most powerful art (perhaps) always manifests some real ecstatic motivation and performative intensity. One should look then to what is artistic in religious practice and to what is experientially and practically religious in art. Both art and religion involve the basic everyday human drive for order. Both refer to the possibility of feeling "in place" and seeing "something more" within and behind the changing surface of things (something unexpected, something strange, something special, something sacred). And it is this kind of creative "meaning making" that is related to the imaginative "world building" or "making special" aspects of religion and art (Dissanayake, 1992; Morgan, 1998).

Significantly the special synergy of artistic and religious experience and expression seems particularly vivid within the field of self-taught and outsider art. Whereas most people are relatively content to live within the fractured and often depressing worlds given to them, outsider artists, who in their art compulsively–ecstatically construct new self-identities and elaborate artistic environments, are those few brave, tormented, and virtuosic souls who are driven to transgress the confining boundaries of all conventional worlds. Their special romantic, nostalgic, or primitive appeal is that they are primordial creators, inventors, or world makers in a rough and unexpected sense. These marginalized and often psychologically wounded artist-healers can be metaphorically placed in a lineage embracing the Paleolithic shaman, tribal blacksmith, trickster-fool, medieval mystic, Renaissance magus, and romantic artist. All have that conjoined religious and artistic ability to make their visions real and therapeutic for others.

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NORMAN J. GIRARDOT (2005)

VISUALIZATION SEE BUDDHISM, SHOOLS OF; DAOISM; MEDITATION

VITAL, ḤAYYIM (1543–1620), noted Jewish mystic. Ḥayyim Vital was born in Safad, the Galilean town north of Tiberias that was the site of an important renaissance of Jewish mystical activity in the sixteenth century. His teacher in rabbinic subjects was Mosheh Alshekh, who ordained him as a rabbi in 1590. In 1564 he became a student of Mosheh Cordovero, the most important teacher of Qabbalah (Jewish mysticism) in Safad before the arrival of Isaac Luria. When Luria came to Safad in 1570, Vital became his chief disciple, the role for which he is best known.

Following Luria's death two years later, Vital was one of several disciples who assembled a written version of the master's teachings, since Luria himself had recorded almost nothing on his own. Vital's corpus, the *Shemonah sheʿarim* (Eight gates), is the most detailed version and the main one in which Lurianic teachings were circulated widely from about the year 1660. During his lifetime Vital sought to guard Luria's teachings jealously and to assume authority as the sole legitimate interpreter of his master's ideas. Thus in 1575 he secured the pledge of twelve of Luria's former disciples to study Lurianic teachings only with him, as well as a promise not to reveal more of Luria's doctrines than Vital wished. Such tactics were rooted partly in Vital's conviction that he alone was capable of explaining Luria's work, as well as in personal rivalries among Luria's disciples. In any case, this study fellowship lasted only a short time, for in 1577 Vital moved to Jerusalem where he served as a teacher and head of a school. In later years he lived again in Safad and in Damascus, where he died in 1620.

Besides his work as a teacher of Lurianic ideas and practices, Ḥayyim Vital composed a number of qabbalistic treatises on his own. He wrote a commentary to the *Zohar,* the classical text of thirteenth-century Qabbalah, based upon the teachings of Mosheh Cordovero, to which he subsequently added notes in accordance with Luria's ideas. An interesting and important treatise intended to appeal to a wide audience is Vital's *Shaʿarei qedushah* (The gates of holiness). This book presents Vital's cosmological and anthropological views, culminating in an account of the process by which an individual might achieve a state of prophetic illumination. An adept, according to Vital's four-part program, must repent for all sins, meticulously observe all religious obligations, practice acts of purification such as ritual baths and the wearing of clean clothes, and enter into a state of perfect silence and solitude. Following these preparatory exercises the soul begins an ascent to its personal source in the divine realm as the adept meditates upon the ten *sefirot,* the divine qualities of personality that characterize the qabbalistic system. Successful contemplation results in various experiences of mystical inspiration, including having a revelation of the prophet Elijah.

Vital also composed a diary, *Sefer ha-ḥezyonot* (Book of visions), which reveals his interest in all manner of magic and esoterica. Here Vital discloses his youthful enthusiasm for alchemy, which he later lamented, as well as his habit of visiting fortune-tellers and magicians in order to learn about the past history of his soul and promises for the future. *Sefer ha-ḥezyonot* also records his rich dream life, in which Vital communicates with various teachers and sages.

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LAWRENCE FINE (1987)
Revised Bibliography

VIVEKANANDA was the religious name of Narendranath Datta, or Dutt (1863–1902), a leading spokesman for modern Hinduism and neo-Vedānta in the late nineteenth century, and the founder of the Ramakrishna Mission in India and the Vedanta Society in the West.

LIFE. Narendranath came from a Bengali family, *kāyastha* by caste, that since the early nineteenth century had improved its social status through the process of westernization. Narendranath's great-grandfather had clerked for an English attorney in Calcutta, while his grandfather took the vow of *saṃnyāsa* (renunciation) and abandoned his family shortly after the birth of his son, Vishwanath, who would be Narendranath's father. Vishwanath became a prosperous lawyer in the Calcutta High Court. The Datta home was a cosmopolitan one, in which the worlds of Bengali Hinduism and Indo-Muslim culture merged with European learning. Vishwanath knew Sanskrit and Arabic, enjoyed the poems of Ḥāfiẓ, and read the Bible and Qurʾān for pleasure. Narendranath received schooling in both Bengali and English, eventually earning his bachelor's degree in 1884. Narendranath had a prodigious intellect; he loved to read, ranging over Sanskrit texts, English literature, philosophy, and history. His reading in the cultures of ancient Egypt, Rome, the Muslim world, and modern Europe all provided insights into the trajectory of Indian history and contributed to his understanding of the relationship between East and West. Later in life he would elaborate these conclusions in a well-known Bengali work, *Prācya o pāścātya* (East and West).

During his college years, Narendranath belonged to the Brāhmo Samāj, a reformist movement begun in 1828 by Rammohan Roy (1772–1833) that promoted a vision of Hindu monotheism and rejected such practices as image worship and renunciation. Narendranath approved of the Brāhmos' rationalism and concern for social service, but he could not accept their repudiation of *saṃnyāsa*, a path for which he—like his grandfather—felt some affinity. In the 1870s the Brāhmos found themselves torn between the relative importance of social reform, emphasized by Sivnath Sastri (1847–1919), and devotional worship, promoted by Keshab Chandra Sen (1838–1884). While Narendranath shared Sivnath's goals, he also found himself drawn to Keshab's eclectic spiritual vision. After 1875 Keshab began visiting a little-known holy man named Ramakrishna (1834/6–1886), a celibate devotee of the goddess Kālī, a man unlearned in a formal sense but wise in religious experience. Narendranath first met Ramakrishna in 1881. Although impressed by the depth of Ramakrishna's renunciation and spiritual attainments, he was disturbed by Ramakrishna's image-oriented worship of Kālī and his apparent lack of social concern. While Narendranath believed in the formlessness of God, Ramakrishna urged him to meet God in person by worshiping Kālī.

Official accounts say that at their first meeting Ramakrishna took Narendranath aside and said to him, "Lord, I know you are that ancient sage, Nara, the Incarnation of Narayana, born on earth to remove the miseries of mankind." Narendranath was reportedly "altogether taken aback" by this and concluded that Ramakrishna was a madman (*Life*, 1989, vol. 1, p. 76). At the same time, Narendranath was captivated by Ramakrishna; here was a man who claimed to have seen God and who spoke of religion as something real to be experienced directly. Nevertheless, such mystic talk was far removed from the safety of Narendranath's rationalism.

Unable fully to come to terms with Ramakrishna's views, Narendranath withdrew periodically during his college years to immerse himself in Western philosophy and science, as well as in Indian music, for he excelled as a singer. Narendranath's singing affected Ramakrishna deeply, and he pursued Narendranath as someone who had the potential for spiritual greatness.

In 1884, Keshab died; two months later, Narendranath's father died. Keshab's death meant his followers were deprived of the spiritual charisma that united them, while the death of Vishwanath plunged Narendranath's family into financial ruin. Narendranath, at twenty-one, had to abandon his plans to go to England to study law. There were lawsuits within the family over property. In such a context, the loss of two father-figures plunged Vivekananda into the depths of spiritual uncertainty. In 1885 he accepted Ramakrishna as his *guru* and began a period of intensive religious training that lasted until Ramakrishna's death in August 1886. During the intervening months, Ramakrishna brought Narendranath to a personal experience of Kālī that he considered his pupil's final test.

The origins of the Ramakrishna Mission lie in the final months of Ramakrishna's life, when he nurtured Narendranath's spiritual development and prepared for his own death. Ramakrishna asked Narendranath to look after the welfare of the disciples, but left no explicit instructions beyond saying, "Keep my boys together" and "Teach them" (Williams, 1989, p. 325). Official accounts report that just before his death Ramakrishna transferred his spiritual powers to Narendranath, saying, "by the force of the power transmitted by me, great things will be done by you" (*Life*, 1989, vol. 1, p. 182). With his passing, Narendranath was left to make sense of the powerful mystical experiences induced by his master and to ensure that the other disciples lived up to the master's ideal of renunciation. The precise date for the emergence of the monastic movement differs "according to the perspective of the chroniclers" (Pangborn, 1976, p. 98). Some choose the day in January 1886 when Ramakrishna distributed ochre robes to the disciples; some choose Christmas eve of that year, when Narendranath led the disciples in a vigil of renunciation around a bonfire; others emphasize the day in January 1887 when the disciples held a fire ceremony at which they adopted monastic names, prefixed by the title *swami* (Skt., *svāmī*, "master"). Narendranath would initially be known as Swami Vividishananda, though this would change.

Narendranath taught the disciples as best he could for several years, yet he remained uncertain of his own religious views. In 1890 he set off from Calcutta with nothing but a staff and begging bowl on an extended pilgrimage throughout India, during which he attempted to reconcile the philosophical and devotional insights of Ramakrishna with the social concerns of the Brāhmo movement. Internally, he sought realization of the absolute; externally, he sought knowledge of India and the world. This search would eventually take him far beyond India, though India remained the focus of his patriotic spiritual vision. When he heard that a World's Parliament of Religions was to be held in Chicago in the autumn of 1893, Narendranath conceived a plan to seek Western material support for the revitalization of Hinduism and in return to share Hindu spiritual insights with the world. He obtained travel funds from the *māharājā* of Khetri, who suggested he adopt the religious name *Vivekananda* (Skt., "he whose bliss lies in discerning knowledge"). With his patron's support and a new monastic name, he left for the United States.

Although Vivekananda was not the only Hindu representative at the World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago, he was the most dynamic. In contrast to the learned dissertations by other Hindu speakers, Vivekananda gave a powerful argument for the universal truth of Hinduism, which he claimed was grounded in experience, not dogma. "The Hindu religion does not consist in. . .attempts to believe a certain doctrine. . .but in realizing," he claimed (*Complete Works*, 1964, vol. 1, p. 7). His lectures brought him widespread attention in the press and numerous speaking engagements. Having attracted a dedicated group of Western followers, he shifted his plans from raising money for India to creating a worldwide religious movement based on the eternal truths of Hinduism. With that purpose, and with his new Western disciples as the core, he founded the Vedanta Society in New York in 1895. He soon had chapters in London and Boston, for which he summoned two swamis from India to help direct their work. The mission to the West was well under way by the end of 1896 when Vivekananda left for India to begin the second phase of his program.

Vivekananda's arrival in India early in 1897 with a group of Western disciples was treated by the Indian press as a triumphal return, but not all Hindus were happy with his aggressive proselytizing of Westerners or with his unorthodox ideas. Ramakrishna's former disciples, whom Narendranath had left seven years earlier, were themselves uncertain how to respond to Narendranath-turned-Vivekananda and his Western disciples. They were even more uncertain when Vivekananda revealed his plan to turn them into a band of modern *saṃnyāsin*s dedicated to social service (*sevā*), a plan he claimed Ramakrishna had intended.

Vivekananda's dynamism and persuasive powers carried the day; the disciples were won over to his program of *sevā.* To implement this program, Vivekananda instituted the Ramakrishna Mission on May 1, 1897, organizing the monks in a new Ramakrishna Math (Skt., *maṭha*, "monastery"). In 1898, with money from Western disciples, he purchased a site on the Ganges near Calcutta for a center to house what would become the Ramakrishna Math and Mission. The worldwide organization was established by 1899, at which point Vivekananda turned over the active work of the movement to his Indian and Western disciples. After visiting friends in the United States and Europe from 1899 to 1900, Vivekananda returned to India in semiretirement. He died on July 4, 1902.

TEACHINGS. In less than forty years of life, and in less than ten years of intensive effort, Vivekananda redefined India's relationship to the West, prescribing Hindu spirituality as the antidote to Western materialism. Vivekananda's teaching was not the Hinduism of the orthodox, nor was it the reformed monotheism of the Brāhmos. In its eclectic universalism it shares much with Keshab Chandra Sen's spirituality, yet its spiritual fountainhead lay in the mystic insights of Ramakrishna.

Vivekananda taught the virtues of what he called "Practical Vedānta," a universal Hinduism that combined practical work for the world with the quest for ultimate union with the One. Put simply, Practical Vedānta teaches that while humans may proclaim *śivo'ham*, "I am God," this very insight also obliges them to acknowledge the truth of *daridra nārāyaṇa*, "God dwells within the poor." Thus, nondual insight provides an ethical imperative for social service. With fiery rhetoric, Vivekananda exhorted listeners to "Arise, awake, and stop not till the desired end is reached" (*Complete Works*, 1964, vol. 3, p. 318). He called upon his followers to promulgate a manly religion that would have the energy and courage to overcome India's discriminatory caste practices and interreligious strife. Such would be true service to Ramakrishna's Divine Mother as embodied in India herself.

By adopting Vedānta as the essence of Hindu spirituality, Vivekananda built upon a revalorization of Vedānta that had begun with Rammohan Roy and the Brāhmo movement. However, Vivekananda's neo-Vedānta combines Brāhmo worldliness with the mysticism of Ramakrishna, which Vivekananda understood in terms of the classical system of nondual philosophy known as Advaita Vedānta. Scholars debate whether Ramakrishna viewed himself as a Vedāntin; the case can be made that his nondualism was more Tantric than Vedāntic. What is clear is that Vivekananda's Practical Vedānta represents a creative transformation of Ramakrishna's teaching. Some argue that the officially sanctioned neo-Vedānta of the Ramakrishna movement reflects the impact upon Vivekananda of Western reconstructions of Advaita Vedānta as found in influential writers like Arthur Schopenhauer and Paul Deussen. Others view Vivekananda's concern with social service as a result of his exposure to Christianity and modern Western thought as a young man. The influence of Brāhmo thought must also be acknowledged. Clearly the genesis of Vivekananda's teaching lies in a context of cultural change in which competing Hindu philosophies like Vedānta and Tantra were actively converging with Western norms of egalitarianism, positivism, and rationality, as well as with Orientalist constructions of Hinduism and Indian culture more broadly.

LEGACY. Vivekananda's teaching of the universal truths of Hinduism and his example of a selfless love for the Indian people had an immense impact on modern Hindu discourse and apologetics in the early twentieth century, gaining appreciation and reinforcement from figures like Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948) and Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan (1888–1975). One of his greatest legacies may be seen in the place accorded to religious experience (*anubhava*) within modern Hindu thought. As we have seen, to Vivekananda, experience was the source of truth, not books or dogmas; "until your religion makes you realize God, it is useless" (*Complete Works*, 1964, vol. 1, p. 326). For Vivekananda, it was Hinduism's genius to have discovered the deepest truths of yogic experience through the teachings of Vedānta. In Radhakrishnan and other early twentieth-century Hindu apologists, this neo-Vedānta appeal to experience would be elevated to the very core of religion itself, providing colonized Hindus with a powerful strategy for responding to Western, Christian denunciations of Hinduism. Indeed, the neo-Vedānta evocation of India's spiritual wisdom became something of a spiritual rallying cry for nationalist mobilization.

Recognizing the degree to which the Indian nationalist movement came to be couched in Hindu idioms, scholars have raised questions regarding Vivekananda's responsibility for the subsequent development of more aggressive forms of Hindu chauvinism and for the increased polarization of Hindus and Muslims. The question is both legitimate and complex. On the one hand, Vivekananda's Vedāntic universalism does carry an implicit claim for the superiority of Hinduism; on the other, he regularly praised the spiritual ideals of Islam, the possibilities for Hindu-Muslim cooperation, and the need for religious tolerance more broadly. If Vivekananda's name and message are occasionally used to promote the idea that India is a Hindu nation, this is perhaps a case of unintended consequences, a reminder us of the complex dynamics of religion and politics in the colonial and postcolonial context.

In a similar fashion, feminist scholarship has encouraged the exploration of issues of gender, power, and identity as these are manifested in the life and teachings of Vivekananda and the Ramakrishna movement. Himself a spiritual seeker drawn to a celibate *guru* with a visceral fear of women and heterosexual contact, Narendranath toured the West as the dynamic and alluring Vivekananda, whose colorful silk robes and turbans captivated women in audiences from Boston to Pasadena. Indeed, he attracted a number of devoted women disciples in the West, such as Christine Greenstidel, Marie Louise, and Margaret Noble. Noble, who adopted the name Sister Nivedita, was very close to Vivekananda, traveling extensively with him in India and participating in his broader attempt to Indianize the notion of womanhood in the service of mother India. Such relationships, when set over against Vivekananda's rhetoric of masculinity, provide fruitful ground for exploring the gendering of nationalist projects, as well as the limitations imposed on women agents by this very process. As with Vedānta and Hinduism, the legacy of Vivekananda with respect to issues of gender and Indian identity is a complex and fascinating one.

SEE ALSO Brāhmo Samāj; Ramakrishna; Saṃnyāsa.

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VLADIMIR I (d. 1015), founder and saint of the Russian Orthodox church. Vladimir (Volodimir, Valdimar?; meaning "he who rules the world") was the Varangian, or Scandinavian, prince of Kiev who established Christianity in the lands of Rus' and is thereby recognized as the founder of the Russian (and Ukrainian) Orthodox church. According to the legends recorded in the Russian *Primary Chronicle* (c. 1111), Vladimir, in his search for a religion for his pagan people, was courted by Latin Christians from the West as well as Jewish Khazars and Muslim Bulgars. He chose Greek Christianity when, the chronicle declares, his ambassadors reported to him after visiting the Cathedral of the Holy Wisdom (Hagia Sophia) in Constantinople: "We knew not whether we were in heaven or on earth. For on earth there is no such splendor or such beauty. . . . We cannot forget that beauty" (quoted in Dvornik, 1956, p. 205).

Vladimir married the Byzantine princess Anna and was baptized, with the Byzantine emperor as his godfather, by the bishop of the Greek city of Kherson, whose clergy came, at Vladimir's command, to christen the Kievan peoples in the Dnieper River in the year 988. Vladimir was partly motivated in his choice of religions by the political, military, and economic advantages of an alignment with the Byzantines, and he is also considered to have been influenced by the baptism of his grandmother Olga, who had become Kiev's ruler in 945 upon the death of her husband, Igor. Olga was a committed Greek Christian baptized in 957, perhaps in Constantinople with the empress Helen as her godmother.

Russian legends magnify the radical change in Vladimir after his conversion and the establishment of Christianity in Kiev, both in the prince's personal life and in his public policies. He is said to have abolished torture and the practice of capital punishment, an unheard-of action for his time and one allegedly opposed by the Greek bishops. He also gave up his five wives and hundreds of concubines (the *Primary Chronicle* speaks of eight hundred) in favor of monogamous fidelity to his Christian bride. He publicly desecrated statues to Perun and the other local gods and constructed a new cathedral for his Christian bishop. He also introduced the use of the Slavonic language into church worship, using the literary language developed a century earlier by the Greek missionary brother-saints, Cyril and Methodius, for their Slavic converts in Moravia and Bulgaria. The introduction of this language is considered to be the single most important factor in guaranteeing the Christian unity and development of the various peoples under his rule.

Vladimir was succeeded by his son Iaroslav the Wise (1036–1054) after a bloody war between Vladimir's sons from 1015 to 1036, during which his son Sviatopolk, who was ultimately defeated by Iaroslav, killed two other younger sons, Boris and Gleb. Boris and Gleb, who, in order to save the lives of their followers, refused to enter into battle against Sviatopolk, became the first canonized saints of the Russian church, known in tradition as the "passion-bearers." Vladimir, with his grandmother Olga, is a canonized saint of the Russian Orthodox church with the liturgical title of "equal to the apostles" because of his role in Christian conversion.

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VOCATION is a divine call or election, of a revelatory character, addressed to religiously gifted or charismatic personalities. It forms the first phase of their initiation into an often unwillingly accepted intermediary function between human society and the sacred world. Unlike functionaries with a special, well-defined religious task in a given group or culture (such as priests or even heads of families and elderly men, who bring offerings and give religious instruction), vocation is often felt by persons outside or on the fringe of the established institutions, whose charismatic and often abnormal psychic character makes them appear as prophets, founders or reformers of religion, saints, or shamans. Those called, therefore, often make their appearance in periods of social turmoil or crisis. Sometimes they start a new religious movement that implies a break with the past, or else they exorcise illness, famine, or drought, which destabilize personal or social health.

Vocation is experienced as divine revelation through various media (voices, visions, and dreams, exceptional accidents, severe illness, absentmindedness or insanity, and attacks of epilepsy), and it is sometimes accompanied by special cosmic phenomena such as a solar eclipse, an earthquake, or lightning. It usually provides the persons "called," often after initial resistance and unwillingness, with special knowledge and missionary zeal for the rest of their lives.

A true prophet was the Iranian Zarathushtra (Zoroaster), who probably lived at the beginning of the first millennium BCE and was called by his god, Ahura Mazda, to preach the coming of his reign. Zarathushtra's prophecy is characterized by an intimate personal relationship with his god and a highly moral and intellectual tone. It was Zarathushtra "who first thought the good, spoke the good and did the good, . . . the first revealer" (*Yashts* 13.88). Although of a wealthy aristocratic family, his vocation brought him into poverty, permanent conflict with the established priesthood, and even exile.

Further important material is provided by the reports on the vocation of the prophets of Israel and other chosen persons, as told by themselves or contained in the historical books of the Hebrew Bible. The prophet Isaiah tells about his vocation which took place in a vision in which he heard the voice of the Lord:

> In the year that King Uzziah died I saw also the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple. Above it stood the seraphim, . . . and one cried to another and said, Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts. . . . Then said I, Woe is me! for I am undone; because I am a man of unclean lips. . . . Also I heard the voice of the Lord, saying, Whom shall we send, and who will go for us? Then said I, Here am I, send me. (*Is.* 6:1–8)

Seeing visions, hearing voices, and being filled with a divine spirit are the most frequent media through which the prophets of Israel received their vocation to preach the word and will of their God, whose appearance often has ecstatic character. Their activities are sometimes accompanied by miracles, as in the story of Elijah and the priests of Baal (*1 Kgs.* 18), where Elijah brings down the fire of the Lord from heaven and performs the role of rainmaker, bringing a period of serious drought to its end. Like most of the other prophets of Israel, Elijah was in strong opposition to the religious establishment and practices of his time.

In the New Testament, Jesus' baptism in the river Jordan, during which he saw the heavens open, the Spirit descending like a dove upon him, and a voice from heaven saying: "Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased" (*Mk.* 1:9–11 and parallels), is a traditional vocation with the fixed elements of a vision, the Spirit, and a voice immediately followed by the temptation in the wilderness, which forms Jesus' initiation into his public role, again in opposition to the Jewish establishment of his days. The persecutor Saul became the apostle Paul through a vocation consisting of a vision of heavenly light, a voice calling to him, and a temporary blindness. After three days he was cured and filled with the Holy Spirit (*Acts* 9). The vocation initiates a process of rebirth, making Saul into the second founder of Christianity.

Mani (b. 216 CE), the founder of Manichaeism, received his first vocation at the age of twelve when an angel appeared to him like "a flash of lightning," ordering him to leave the community in which he was reared. The angel was sent by the King of Light and in Manichaean sources is called the Twin or the Paraclete. It was a kind of heavenly double that guarded him during his youth, showed him many "visions and sights" and appeared again to him "in great glory" when he was twenty-four years old. The Twin revealed to him all the mysteries of the world: "what my body is, in what way I have come, . . . who my Father on high is, . . . the boundless heights and the unfathomable depths." The spirit sends Mani, who is very hesitant about his vocation, out into the world to proclaim his saving message, promising him: "You, then, expound all that I have given to you. I shall be your ally and protector at all times." Here again the first vocation is followed by a period of mental preparation in close relationship with the spirit, who functions as a guarding spirit and eventually brings about the revelation of perfect divine knowledge.

Muḥammad, the prophet of Islam, obtained his vocation (in 609 or 610 CE when he was about forty years old) after a long period of mental crisis and growing unhappiness with religious practice in his birthplace, Mecca; as a result, there ensued serious conflicts with the local tribal establishment and his eventual departure (Hijrah) for Medina in 622 CE. The Qurʾān contains some scanty allusions to the Prophet's vocation, which took place in a nocturnal vision, perhaps at Jerusalem, in which he saw Allāh or the angel Gabriel, who gave him the essence of the Qurʾanic message (*sūrahs* 17:1, 53:1–18, 81:19–26). Muḥammad was so confused that he believed himself mad. Later Islamic tradition developed this theme into the legend of Muḥammad's nightly ascension to heaven and descent with the heavenly Qurʾān.

The history of Christianity and its various offspring shows a wide variety of vocations of saints, reformers, and prophets. Joan of Arc (1412–1431) received a vocation as a little girl in a garden. She heard a loud voice and saw a brilliant light and the archangel Michael escorted by a legion of angels. Michael the Archangel announced the arrival of Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, who urged her to help the French king and save France, a task she accepted after long hesitation.

Most nativistic cults and messianic movements that are the result of an acculturation conflict are initiated by the vocation of a prophetic leader, involving a remarkable amalgam of elements from the old and the new religion. Such is the case in the Shaker religion in the northwestern United States and in the Ghost Dance movement among the North American Indians. The second wave of the Ghost Dance was initiated by the Indian laborer Wovoka in 1890. During a solar eclipse he had an attack of fever and heard his fellow tribesmen make a loud noise to drive away the monster that devoured the sun. Then he had the following vision:

> When the sun died, I went up to heaven and saw God and all the people who had died a long time ago. God told me to come back and tell my people they must be good and love one another and not fight, or steal or lie. He gave me this dance to give to my people.

Other less peaceful messianic movements also began with the vocation of a prophet. W. W. Harris of Cape Palmas in Liberia was jailed in 1912 because his preaching was suspected of inciting rebellion against the Liberian government. In a nocturnal vision the angel Gabriel appeared to Harris and called him to become the prophet of Africa; thus began his very successful missionary travels along the west coast of Africa, which lasted for two years.

Also well-known is the vocation of the shaman, which forms the first phase of a long and difficult initiation into this ecstatic religious function that mediates between the world of the spirits and the world of men. Shamanism occurs all over the world, but principally in northern and Inner Asia and in North America. The vocation of the future shaman manifests itself in a significant change of behavior, in mental illness, hallucinations, epileptic attacks, strange accidents or ordeals, in all of which the activities of the guardian spirit are experienced. A shaman of the Yakuts in Siberia told how he became ill at the age of twenty, saw visions and heard strange voices, and struggled with the spirit for nine years. In the end he almost died; finally he began to be a shaman, and his illness was cured. The vocation of the shaman is in almost all cases associated with an initiatory sickness that brings him to the threshold of death, often resulting in a complete disintegration of his personality, which is then reintegrated in the initiation. It is a process of death and rebirth. The future shaman sometimes sees in dreams or visions his head chopped off, his body reduced to a dismembered skeleton or boiled in a kettle, symbols belonging to archaic cultural patterns in which the myth of life out of death is predominant. The powerful symbolism of the shamanic vocation as the initiatory phase of a process of rebirth is the most profound expression of the meaning of every vocation: being called and reborn into a new condition of life in order to minister to and save fragile human lives with the help of the divine world to which the vocation gives entrance.

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VODOU is a sometimes misleading, but nevertheless common, name for the religious practices of the majority of Haitians. Outsiders have given the name Vodou to the complex web of traditional religious practices followed in Haiti. Only recently, and still to a limited extent, have Haitians come to use the term as others do. Haitians prefer a verb to identify their religion: they speak of "serving the spirits."

A mountainous, poverty-stricken, largely agricultural country of approximately eight million people, Haiti has a land area of 10,700 square miles and occupies the western third of the island of Hispaniola, which it shares with the Dominican Republic.

This is where Caribbean Vodou began, but Haiti is not the only place Vodou in practiced. Vodou is also a central part of everyday life in Haitian diaspora communities in New Orleans and Santiago, Cuba, both products of the upheaval caused by the Haitian Revolution (1791–1804). More recent political and economic struggles in Haiti have also led to Vodou communities in New York City, Miami, Montreal, and Paris.

In Haiti, *vodou* originally referred to one ritual style among many in their syncretic religious system, the style most closely connected to Dahomey and the Fon language. The word *vodou* is derived from the Fon *vodun,* which means "god" or "spirit." *Hoodoo* is a related term from the same Fon word, yet, in the United States, it is almost always used as a derogatory term that focuses on black magic spells and charms.

Sensationalized novels and films, as well as spurious travelers' accounts, have painted a negative picture of Haitian religion. Vodou has been depicted as primitive and ignorant. Vodou rituals have been described as arenas for uncontrolled orgiastic behavior, and even cannibalism. The same writers stir up fear of Vodou and suggest that if whites get too close to a Vodou ceremony terrible things could happen. These distortions are attributable to the fear that the Haitian slave revolution sparked in whites. Haiti achieved independence in 1804, and thus became the first black republic in the Western Hemisphere at a time when the colonial economy was still heavily dependent on slave labor.

In Vodou there are three (not always clearly distinguished) categories of spiritual beings: *lemò*, *lemistè*, and *lemarasa* (respectively, "the dead," "the mysteries," and "the sacred twins"). While certain Vodou prayers, songs, and invocations preserve fragments of West African languages, Haitian Creole is the primary language of Vodou. Creole is the first and only language of more than one half the population of Haiti. It has a grammatical structure familiar to speakers of West African languages and an eighteenth-century French vocabulary mixed with a smattering of English words and expressions.

Although individuals and families regularly serve the Vodou spirits without recourse to religious professionals, throughout most of Haiti there is a loosely organized priesthood open to both men and women. The male priest is known as an *oungan* and the female priest is a *manbo.* There is a wide spectrum of Vodou ritualizing. There are individual acts of piety, such as lighting candles to petition particular spirits, and elaborate feasts, sometimes lasting days and including the sacrifice of several animals as part of the meals offered to the spirits. Energetic singing, dancing, and polyrhythmic drumming accompany the larger rituals. In the countryside, rituals often take place outdoors, on family land set aside for the spirits, and there is often a small cult house on that land where the family's altars are kept. Urban Vodou rituals tend to take place in an *ounfò* ("temple"). Urban altars, dense with sacrificial food and drink, sacred stones, and chromolithographs of the Catholic saints and other images, are maintained in *jèvo* ("altar rooms") off the central dancing and ritualizing space of the temple, the *peristyl.* In the cities, those who serve the spirits also tend to keep more modest altars in their own homes.

The goal of Vodou drumming, singing, and dancing is to *chofè*, to "heat up," the situation sufficiently to bring on possession by the spirits. As a particular spirit is summoned, a devotee enters a trance and becomes that spirit's *chwal* ("horse"), thus providing the means for direct communication between human beings and the spirits. The spirit is said to ride the *chwal.* Using the person's body and voice, the spirit sings, dances, and eats with the people and also deals out advice and chastisement. The people in turn offer the spirit a wide variety of gifts and acts of obeisance, the goal being to placate the spirit and ensure his or her continuing protection.

There are marked differences in Vodou as it is practiced throughout Haiti, but the single most important distinction is that between urban and rural Vodou. Haitian society is primarily agricultural, and the manner in which peasants serve the spirits is determined by questions of land tenure and ancestral inheritance. Urban Vodou is not tied to specific plots of land, but the family connection persists in another form. Urban temple communities become substitutes for the extended families of the countryside. The priests are called "papa" and "mama"; the initiates, who are called "children of the house" or "little leaves" refer to one another as "brother" and "sister." In general, urban Vodou is more institutionalized and often more elaborate in its rituals than its rural counterpart.

AFRICAN INFLUENCE. Haiti's slave population was built up in the eighteenth century, a period in which Haiti supplied a large percentage of the sugar consumed in Western Europe. Vodou was born on sugar, sisal, cotton and coffee plantations out of the interaction among slaves who brought with them a variety of African religious traditions, but due to inadequate records, little is known about this formative period in Vodou's history. It has been argued by Haitian scholars such as Michel-Rolph Trouillot that the religion did not coalesce until after the revolution, but others suggest it had an effective presence, particularly in northern Haiti, during the latter part of the eighteenth century. James G. Leyburn in *The Haitian People* (1941) and Carolyn Fick in *The Making of Haiti* (1990) argue that Vodou played a key role in the organization of the slave revolt.

Among the African ethnic groups brought to Haiti as slave laborers, the most influential in shaping Haitian culture, including Vodou, were the Fon, Mahi, and Nago from old Dahomey (the present Republic of Benin), those who came to be known as the Yoruba (Nigeria), and Kongo peoples (Angola, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo). Many of the names of Vodou spirits are easily traceable to their African counterparts; however, the spirits have undergone change in the context of Haiti's social and economic history. For example, Ogun among the Yoruba is a spirit of ironsmithing and other activities associated with metal, such as hunting, warfare, and modern technology. Neither hunting nor modern technology plays much of a role in the lives of Haitians. Haiti, however, does have a long and complex military history. Thus, the Haitian spirit Ogou is first and foremost a soldier whose rituals, iconography, and possession-performance explore both the constructive and destructive uses of military power, as well as its analogues with human relations—anger, self-assertion, and willfulness.

Africa itself is a powerful concept in Vodou. Haitians speak of Ginen ("Guinea") both as their ancestral home, the Guinea coast of West Africa, and as the watery subterranean home of the Vodou spirits. Calling a spirit *franginen,* ("fully and completely African") is a way of indicating that the spirit is good, ancient, and proper. The manner in which an individual or a group serves the spirits may also be called *franginen,* with similar connotations of approval and propriety.

ROMAN CATHOLIC INFLUENCE. For the most part, the slaveholders were Catholics and baptism for slaves was mandatory by French law. Many have argued that slaves used a veneer of Catholicism to hide their traditional religious practices from the authorities. While Catholicism may well have functioned in this utilitarian way for slaves on plantations, it is also true that the religions of West Africa from which Vodou was derived, already had a tradition of borrowing the deities of neighbors and enemies alike. Whatever Catholicism represented in the slave world, it was most likely also used as a means to expand Vodou's ritual vocabulary and iconography, thus helping captive laborers function in a nominally Catholic world. In 1804, immediately after Haiti declared its liberation, the Catholic Church withdrew all of its clergy from the new republic. Yet Catholicism survived in Haiti for fifty years without contact with Rome and it did so through the imitative ritualizing of a Vodou figure known as *prêtsavan* ("bush priest") as well as the competitive market for healing charms and talismans that was kept going by defrocked Catholic priests and the self-appointed "clergy" who ended up in Haiti in the early nineteenth century.

Catholicism has had the greatest influence on the traditional religion of Haiti at the level of rite and image rather than theology. This influence works in two ways. First, those who serve the spirits call themselves Catholic, attend Mass, and undergo baptism and first communion. Because these Catholic rituals at times function as integral parts of larger Vodou rites, they can be even directed to participate by their Vodou spirits. Second, Catholic prayers, rites, images, and saints' names are integrated into the common ritualizing of Vodou temples. The prêtsavan is an active figure in Vodou. He achieves his title by knowing the proper, that is the Latin or French, form of Catholic prayers.

Over the years, a system of parallels has been developed between the Vodou spirits and the Catholic saints. For example, Dambala, the ancient and venerable snake deity of the Fon people, is venerated in Haiti both as Dambala and as St. Patrick, who is pictured in the popular chromolithograph with snakes clustered around his feet. In addition, the Catholic liturgical calendar dominates in much Vodou ritualizing. Thus the Vodou spirit Ogou is honored in Haiti and in the Haitian diaspora on July 25, the feast day of his Catholic counterpart.

Bondye, "the good God" is identified with the Christian God, and is said to be the highest, indeed the only, god. The spirits are said to have been angels in Lucifer's army whom God sent out of heaven and down to Ginen. Although the Vodou spirits may exhibit capricious behavior, they are not evil. Rather, they are seen as intermediaries between the people and the high god, a role identical to the one played by the so-called lesser deities in the religions of the Yoruba and Fon. Bondye is remote and unknowable. Although evoked daily in ordinary speech (almost all plans are made with the disclaimer *si dye vle* ("if God wills"), Bondye's intervention is not sought for help with life's problems. That is the work of the spirits.

Both the Catholic Church in Haiti and the government of Haiti have participated energetically in the persecution of those who serve the Vodou spirits. The last "antisuperstition campaign" was in the 1940s, but clerical and upperclass disdain for the religion has persisted much longer. In the twentieth century, Catholic clergy routinely preached against serving the spirits, and those who served them remarked, "That is the way priests talk." Many Catholic holy days have a Vodou dimension that church officials routinely manage to ignore.

For years Catholicism was the only religion in Haiti with official approval. Thus, the degree to which Vodou has been attacked, oppressed, tolerated, or even encouraged through the years has been largely a function of local politics. Presidents Dumarsais Estime (1946–1950) and Francois Duvalier (1957–1971) stand out from other Haitian heads of state because of their sympathy with Vodou. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who was first elected president in 1990, was also a supporter of Vodou; in fact he changed the balance of religious power. On April 5, 2003, President Aristide fully recognized and fully empowered Vodou as a Haitian religion that could legally exercise its influence throughout Haiti according to the constitution and the laws of the republic.

VODOU SPIRITS. The Vodou spirits are known by various names*: lwa*, a common name with an uncertain origin; *sen,*"saints"; *mistè,* "mysteries"; *envizib,* "invisibles"; and more rarely, *zanj,* "angels." At some point in the development of Vodou the spirits were sorted into *nanchon*, "nations." The nanchon at an early point in their development appear to have functioned primarily as ethnic slave categories. The majority of the nation names are easily traceable to places in Africa: Rada, Ibo, Nago, Kongo. Later, however, these so-called nations became religious categories, diverse ritual styles of drumming, dancing, and honoring the Vodou spirits.

The Rada spirits (named after the Dahomean principality Allada, once a busy slave depot) comprise a collection of ancient, sweet-tempered, wise, and usually patient *lwa.* Then there are the fiery and powerful Petwo spirits. The origin of the name "Petwo" is contested, but the strong Kongo influence is not. The home of the Ogou, also hot spirits, is the Nago *nanchon*, a Dahomean name for Ketu Yoruba. Most big feasts end with the playful Gede, inveterate rule breakers, who insist they are a *fami* ("family"), not a *nanchon.* In rural Vodou, a person may inherit responsibilities to one or more of these *nanchon* through maternal or paternal kin. Familial connections to the land, where the *lwa* are said to reside in trees, springs, and wells, may determine which particular spirits are served. In urban Vodou, there are a few important spirit *nanchon* that make their appearance, according to seniority and importance, in most major rituals. In Port-au-Prince, two *nanchon,* the Rada and the Petwo, have emerged as dominant largely by absorbing other *nanchon.* Rada and Petwo spirits contrast sharply. The Rada are *dous,* "sweet," and the Petwo*, cho,*"hot." When an individual, family, or temple is described as ritualizing in a mode that is *Rada net* ("straight Rada"), a great deal is being said about how that person or group functions socially as well as ritualistically. Each spirit has drum rhythms, dances, and food preferences that relate to its identifying characteristics. For example, Danbala, the gentle Rada snake spirit, is said to love *orja,* thick sugary almond syrup. His devotees perform a graceful spine-rippling dance called *yanvalu.* By contrast, the Petwo rhythm played for rum-drinking spirits is energetic and pounding, and the accompanying dance is characterized by fast, strong body movements.

THE VODOU VIEW OF PERSON. In Vodou teachings the human being is composed of various parts: the body, that is, the gross physical dimension of the person who perishes after death, in addition to two to four souls, of which the most widely acknowledged are the *gwo bonanj,* and *ti bonanj. The gwo bonanj* ("big guardian angel") is roughly equivalent to consciousness or personality. When a person dies the *gwo bonanj* lingers, and immediately after death it must be protected because it is most vulnerable to capture and misuse by sorcerers. During possession, it is the *gwo bonanj* who is displaced by the spirit and sent to wander away from the body, as it does routinely during sleep. The *ti bonanj* ("little guardian angel") may be thought of as the spiritual energy reserve of a living person and, at times, as the ghost of a dead person.

Each person has one special *lwa* who is their *mèt-tet,* "master of the head." (The top of the head and the back of the neck are places where spirits may enter and leave.) The *mèt-tet* is the most important *lwa* served by a particular person and it reflects that person's personality to some degree. A Haitian whose family serves the spirits may inherit spiritual responsibilities to a deceased family member's *mèt-tet.* That is a big responsibility, but there are also things that can be gained. If the *mèt-tet* is conscientiously fed and honored, good luck and protection from both ancestor and *lwa* will be gained. In addition to the so-called masters of the head, most people who serve the spirits have a small number of other *lwa* with whom similar reciprocity has been established.

Unlike Catholic saints who are usually known through formulaic hagiography, Vodou *lwa* have richly developed histories, personalities, needs, desires, character strengths, and flaws, and even taste in food and drink. Because the *lwa* are fully developed characters and interact so intimately with *vivan-yo,* "the living," the practice of Vodou also functions as a system for categorizing and analyzing human behavior, in the individual and in the group. One of the characteristics of virtually all Caribbean African-based religions is the great amount of care given to analyzing social behavior and dealing with the results of that behavior.

VODOU AND THE DEAD. Cemeteries are major ritual centers in both urban and rural Haiti. The first male buried in any cemetery is known as Bawon Samidi. Bawon's wife (or sister) is Gran Brijit, the first woman buried in the cemetery. Most cemeteries have a cross for Bawon either in the center of the cemetery or near its gate. Lakwa Bawon ("Bawon's Cross") marks the site's ritual center. Lighted candles and food offerings are left at the base of this cross. People stand with their hands on the cross praying aloud. Rituals for healing, love, or luck performed in rural cult houses or urban temples are not considered complete until physical remnants of the "work" are deposited at crossroads or at Bawon's Cross, which is itself a kind of crossroads marking the intersection of the land of the living and the land of the dead.

Haitians who serve the *lwa* usually make a clear distinction between the dead and the spirits. Yet a few of the ancestors, particularly if they were exceptional people when alive, actually evolve into spirits or *lwa.* Jean-Jacques Dessalines, Toussaint L'Ouverture, and John Kennedy have all been reported making cameo appearances through possession in Vodou ceremonies. The group of spirits, known as the Gede, have Bawon as their leader and are spirits of the dead as might be expected, but they are not ancestral spirits. Instead, they stand in for the entire community of human beings now deceased and in this context, Gede's crude comic performances make some sense. They are designed to bring the haughty to their knees and convince them that in the end, human beings all face the same fate. The Gede are inclusive, with no limits, and therefore almost any image will work on a Gede altar. Statues of the Buddha, LaoTzu, King Kong, St. Gerard, and Elvis Presley have all been sighted on Vodou altars. In and around Port-au-Prince, the capital of Haiti and its largest city, the Gede are the object of elaborate ritualizing in the cemeteries and Vodou temples during the season of the Feast of All Souls, Halloween.

The Gede are not only spirits of death but also boosters of human sexuality, protectors of children, and irrepressible social satirists. Dances for Gede tend to be boisterous affairs, and new Gede spirits appear every year. The satirical, and often explicitly sexual, humor of the Gede levels social pretense. The Gede use humor to deal with new social roles and to challenge alienating social structures. Through possession-performance, they not only appear as auto mechanics and doctors, they also critique government bureaucrats, military figures, and Protestant missionaries.

VODOU CEREMONIES. In some parts of rural Haiti, the ideal Vodou ceremony is one that serves the spirits as simply as possible because simplicity is said to reflect discrete but strong spiritual power, the African way of doing things (Larose, 1977). In practice, rural ritualizing tends to follow the fortunes of extended families. Bad times are often attributed to the displeasure of family spirits. When it is no longer possible to satisfy the spirits with small conciliatory offerings, the family will hold a large drumming and dancing feast that includes animal sacrifice. Urban Vodou, by contrast, has a more routine ritualizing calendar, and events tend to be larger and more elaborate. Ceremonies in honor of major spirits take place annually on or around the feast days of their Catholic counterparts and usually include sacrifice of an appropriate animal—most frequently a chicken, a goat, or a cow.

In both rural and urban settings, a rich variety of ceremonies meet specific individual and community needs: For example, healing rites, dedications of new temples and new ritual regalia, and spirit marriages in which a devotee is wed to a spirit usually of the opposite sex and must pledge sexual restraint one night each week, when he or she receives that spirit in dreams. There is also a cycle of initiation rituals that has both public segments and segments reserved for initiates. The latter include the *kanzo* rituals, which mark the first stage of initiation into Vodou, and those in which the adept takes the *ason*, the beaded gourd rattle symbolizing Vodou priesthood. Certain rituals performed during the initiation cycle, such as the *bule zen* ("burning the pots") and the c*hirè ayzan* ("shredding the palm leaf") may also be used in other ritual contexts. Death rituals include the *desounen*, in which the soul is removed from the corpse and sent under the waters of Ginen, which is followed by the *wète mò nan dlo* ("bringing the dead from the waters"), a ritual that can occur only after a person has been dead for one year and one day. Herbal good-luck baths are routinely administered during the Christmas and New Year season. Elizabeth McAlister's 2002 book on Rara has convinced scholars, in the habit of dismissing Rara as an entertaining aspect of Carnival, of the deeply religious character of these irreverent parades that pour from the Vodou temples into the cemeteries and streets during the Catholic Lent.

Annual pilgrimages draw thousands of urban and rural followers of Vodou. The focal point of these Catholic-Vodou events is often a church situated near some striking feature of the natural landscape that is sacred to the *lwa.* The two largest pilgrimages are one held for Ezili Danto (Our Lady of Mount Carmel) in mid-July in the small town of Saut d'Eau, named for its spectacular waterfall, and one held for Ogou (St. James the Elder) in the latter part of July in the northern town of Plain du Nord, where a shallow, muddy pool adjacent to the Catholic church is dedicated to Ogou.

VODOU AND MAGIC. Serge Larose (1977) has demonstrated that magic is not only a stereotypic label that outsiders have applied to Vodou, but also a differential term internal to the religion. Thus an in-group among the followers of Vodou identifies its own ritualizing as "African" while labeling the work of the out-group as *maji* ("magic"). Generally speaking, this perspective provides a helpful way to grasp the concept of magic within Vodou. There are, however, those individuals who, in search of power and wealth, self-consciously identify themselves with traditions of what Haitians would call "the work of the left hand." This includes people who deal in *pwen achte* ("purchased power points"), which means spirits or powers that have been bought rather than inherited, and people who deal in *zonbi.* A *zonbi* may be either the disembodied soul of a dead person whose powers are captured and used for magical purposes, or a soulless body that has been raised from the grave to do drone labor in the fields. Also included in the category of the left hand are secret societies known by such names as Champwel, Zobop, Bizango, and Zanglando. In Urban settings in the late twentieth century secret societies began to operate as if they were a branch of the Mafia, but their deep history is quite different: They once represented religiously enforced rural law and order. The secret societies were groups of elders who used their power not for personal gains but to enforce social sanctions. For example, Wade Davis (1985) says that *zonbi* laborers were created by secret society tribunals who voted to use *zonbi* powder against a sociopath in their community.

The "work of the left hand" should not be confused with more ordinary Vodou ritualizing that can have a magical flavor, such as divination, herbal healing, and the manufacture of *wanga,* charms for love, luck, or health, or for the protection of the home, land, or person. Much of the work of Vodou priests is at the level of individual client-practitioner interactions Theirs is a healing system that treats problems of love, health, family, and work. Unless a problem is understood as coming from God, in which case the Vodou priest can do nothing, the priest will treat it as one caused by a spirit or by a disruption in human relationships, including relations with the dead. Generally speaking, Vodou cures come about through ritual adjustment of relational systems.

VODOU IN THE HAITIAN DIASPORA. Drought and soil erosion, poverty, high urban unemployment, and political oppression have led to massive emigrations from Haiti in the last half-century. Vodou has gone along with the Haitians who, in search of a better life, have come to major urban centers of North America. In New York, Miami, and Montreal, the cities with the greatest concentrations of Haitian immigrants, Vodou ceremonies are carried on in storefronts, rented rooms, high-rise apartments, and basement storage areas. North American rituals are often somewhat truncated versions of their Haitian counterparts. There may be no drums, and the only animals sacrificed may be chickens. However it is possible to consult a manbo or oungan in immigrant communities with ease, and the full repertoire of rituals can be followed there, in one form or another. Even the pilgrimages are duplicated. On 16 July, rather than going to the mountain town of Saut d'Eau to honor Ezili Danto, New York Vodou practitioners take the subway to the Italian-American Church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in East Harlem.

SEE ALSO Santería; Yoruba Religion.

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KAREN MCCARTHY BROWN (1987 AND 2005)

VOGUL RELIGION SEE FINNO-UGRIC RELIGIONS; KHANTY AND MANSI RELIGION; SOUTHERN SIBERIAN RELIGIONS

VOLOS SEE VELES-VOLOS

VON GLASENAPP, HELMUTH SEE GLASENAPP, HELMUTH VON

VON GÖRRES, JOSEPH SEE GÖRRES, JOSEPH VON

VON HARNACK, ADOLF SEE HARNACK, ADOLF VON

VON HÜGEL, FRIEDRICH SEE HÜGEL, FRIEDRICH VON

VOODOO SEE VODOU

VOTIVE OFFERING SEE VOWS AND OATHS

VOWS AND OATHS.

With the vow to accomplish something, a person dedicates himself to the task wholly. Whoever takes an oath to accomplish something is required to answer for it, for he has named himself or some one of his belongings as a pledge of his commitment and is thus bound by his very life, his honor, and his property.

Vows and oaths therefore affect a person's whole being; they put one's very existence in pawn. There is a distinct difference, however, between an oath and a vow: a vow is merely a personal promise, whereas an oath is a promise made before some institutional authority. In taking an oath, a person not only assumes an obligation but also becomes liable to prosecution; the state and society have an interest in his act. Oaths serve as objective guarantees of what is promised. Swearing to tell the truth, one guarantees that what one says is true. Oaths are self-endorsing.

The practice of oath taking by which a person places his very life at risk is an extremely ancient one. It is an institution of coercion, "the most powerful coercion known to primitive man" (Thurnwald, 1925, vol. 2, p. 39). Oaths are encountered among all peoples and in all cultures. They are a primal symbol of religion.

Because they are absolutely binding by nature, and because they are subject to both misuse and overuse, oaths are nevertheless looked upon with some suspicion in the fields of ethics, politics, and jurisprudence. They have to be judged in themselves, in relation to the particular substance of the promise they contain and the nature of the guarantee, as both tend to vary considerably depending on the level of the given culture and the conventions of the applicable code of law.

GIVING AND RECEIVING—AN INSTITUTION OF LIFE. In the archaic scheme of things, objects of barter, things that must be paid for, are not simply goods but rather gifts. They establish a substantial bond between giver and receiver, for the latter is obligated to provide something in exchange for the gift. Such exchange affects the social position of the participants: it turns the giver into a receiver and makes of the receiver a giver.

In this economy of mutual giving, the objects exchanged have both an objective and a subjective significance; they not only create the partnership, they also serve to insure it. They are subject to recall. They give rise to rights and obligations. They are pledges.

Vows and oaths have the same archaic structure. They create and solidify partnerships based on reciprocal giving. One swears by specific things, and in the exchange these pledges become extremely important. They guarantee the peace, subjectively and objectively. The bond of order they establish is affirmed in the oath itself, so that the oath, like the things by which it is sworn, is part blessing and part curse: it obligates one to a bond, and binds one to an obligation.

In many languages the word for "oath" is somehow associated with fate. The Assyrian *mamuti* translates as "oath," but it also means "obsession" and "curse." The related term *tamitu* is also used for "oath," but in addition it can refer either to a divine oracle or the question put to the god (Pedersen, 1914, p. 2). Clearly one is oneself possessed by what one possesses. Property can have a fatal power.

The Arabic word *baiʿ* translates as both "purchase" and "sale," but it also means "convenant." The exchange of wares, accompanied by ceremonial gestures of bonding such as reciprocal touching and shaking of hands, confers certain rights and obligations to both parties. One sells a certain object, but one also sells oneself. The bond linking buyer and seller is an oath. Implicit in the word *baiʿ* are both the sealing of a compact and an exchange of oaths (ibid., pp. 52–58). The former secures the connection, while the latter constitutes "religion" (from *religare,* "to tie fast") in the truest sense, bondage to the gift of life. The Anglo-Saxon verb *swerian* ("to swear") suggests something of the magic in such a bond, for at one time it meant to recite mystic charms and spells in a strange, singsong kind of chant. Old Frisian *swera* meant simply "to sing"—in the service of religion.

Oaths in early Germanic times were not only a religious rite, they were themselves the religion. An oath was an *actus religiosissimus* in the truest sense (Lex, 1967, p. 24). The Middle High German word for "oath" contains the Indo-European root **it* or **lig,* meaning bond. An oath is an added confirmation, an absolute guarantee, of the word and intent of the person swearing, and it is also the fetter that binds him to the truth. The Latin term for "oath" is *ius iurandum* ("sworn law"). Oaths were firmly established legal instruments with statutory force: "An oath is an assurance backed by religious sanctity; and a solemn promise given, as before God as one's witness, is to be sacredly kept" (Cicero, *De officiis* 3.104). The oath of allegiance was known as the *sacramentum.*

The things one swears by are pledges, and the promises to which one binds oneself in swearing by things are oaths. With the specific things to which he appeals, a person guarantees that to which he has committed himself. They can be demanded of him; they become objects for litigation. Greek mythology (according to Hesiod) speaks therefore of the oath as the offspring of contention. It issues from conflict over things to which one is obligated, namely heaven and earth, life and death, gods and men. The obligation to them is binding, and the bond with them brings with it obligation. The very earth avenges itself on the perjurer, for with his oath he has placed it in pawn. The Greeks speak of having to pass through the portals of the oath, for *horkos,* their word for "oath," designates a separate space before which one has a sense of dread (*aidōs*), a border region. The strongest oaths of all were those sworn on the bank of the Styx, the underworld stream whose waters expose the guilty and cleanse the innocent of false accusations.

Oaths are a divine judgment. The good and evil that they decide between amount to fortune and misfortune. Hence one speaks of eating and drinking one's oath. It either confirms or threatens one's very existence.

Oath taking may entail trial by fire, duels, symbolic destruction of specific objects, or hypothetical self-condemnation. The Maasai of East Africa bite off a few blades of grass, then exclaim: "May this grass prove poisonous to me if I have lied before God!" (Lasch, 1908, p. 80).

The reciprocal giving and taking in the economy of barter is something that serves to solidify society, for the one who gives also has a right to receive. Gifts are therefore challenges: they bind the receiver to the giver; they are what establishes a compact with him. They are an opening ceremony. While they serve to guarantee the fulfillment of oaths, they also anticipate the fulfillment of a vow, which is not a pledge to the past, but to the future. A vow presumes a compact that is yet to be. Votive gifts are only down payments on future covenants. They serve as symbols in the here and now of future fulfillment, and they have personal meaning. They give objective reality to a subjective religion.

Like votive gifts, magical rites and animal and human sacrifice are typical examples of such objectivization. So are the conjuring of rain in Arizona, New Mexico, and southern Europe, and so were temple prostitution in the Near East, cult chastity among the Romans, continence in preparation for specific tasks (as in war vows), or the habit in Latin countries of placing votive offerings in the form of garments and models of healed limbs on altars and temple walls. Popular faith abounds with customs of this kind. In them, promises take the form of gifts, and gifts serve as promises, concrete expressions of personal religion.

VOWS AND PERSONAL RELIGION. Gifts initiate the reciprocity of giving and receiving, and they have been used for that purpose since archaic times. They have personal importance, for the promises they imply must be kept only if the gifts are found acceptable.

Vows are promises of the same kind. Whether they are fulfilled is not a matter for the law but rather hinges on the person governing the giving and receiving. Nothing is given that is found unacceptable, and nothing is accepted that cannot be given. All involuntary vows are invalid. All voluntary ones are valid provided they satisfy the controlling authority, the religion, under which they are made. The same authority has the option of annulling them.

The Bible, Judaism, Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism all limit the use of vows. They have rules applying to the pledges of individuals as well as those of whole groups, such as communal orders and sects.

The terms for *vow* in the Bible are the Hebrew *nazir* and the Greek *euchē* ("prayer"). There a vow is an unconditional pledge of special submission to Yahveh. The Nazirite, or the man who has made such a vow, must refrain from drinking wine (*Nm.* 6:3), cutting his hair (*Nm.* 6:5), and coming into contact with a corpse (*Nm.* 6:6). The charismatic warrior Samson is an example of such a man (*Jgs.* 13ff). What distinguishes a person under such a vow is not his asceticism but rather his symbolic strength, his total commitment to the advancement of Yahveh's cause. This same vow is met with in the New Testament as well: Paul had placed himself under one (*Acts* 18:18) even before the Jerusalem congregation required it of him (*Acts* 21:23–24). Such a vow can be either for life or for only a specified period.

The Talmud and Mishnah treat all kinds of vows, that is, vows of abstinence as well as vows of consecretion, under the single rubric of *nedarim,* "vows" (*Ned.* 3.4). They advise that any such pledges be restricted as much as possible to basic religious practices. While admitting their usefulness as insurance of unconditional compliance with sacred obligations, the Jewish texts warn that vows must not be undertaken lightly and add that they have only limited validity when made by minors.

Christian vows consist of promises to obey the so-called gospel counsels: poverty, chastity, and obedience. They are taken in the various monastic orders and are implicit in their rules. Affirmation of the counsels is a sign of the Christian's calling within the church to give himself to God, to preach the gospel, and to personify the Lord's dominion. It constitutes an anticipation of heavenly existence. By referring to the calling and thereby underscoring the voluntary and charismatic aspects of monastic life, this article deliberately skirts the notion of ascetic self-indulgence and personal gain rejected by Luther in his Reformation tract *De votis monasticis.* There is such a thing as an unconditional pledge that is of necessity only temporal and is therefore not binding for all eternity.

The Qurʾān and the six canonical works of the *sunnah* warn against excessive use of vows (*nudhūr;* sg., *nadhr*) and make quite clear just what the nature of such pledges ought to be. According to the earliest thinking, they are best related to the basic religious duties and devotions, the intensity of which they tend to heighten. Thus one might vow to pray at specified places and times, to fast on unusual occasions, to undertake pilgrimage to shrines other than Mecca, or—most important of all—to provide additional, voluntary alms. Moreover, it is acceptable to vow to free slaves or to be especially attentive to fellow Muslims, to visit the sick, to attend services for the dead, and to accept invitations to weddings. Restrictive vows, entailing abstinence from certain foods, celibacy, extreme penance, and professions of contrition, are not considered binding. They are rejected for the simple reason that a person who presumes to declare forbidden what is generally allowed is no different from the one who allows what is in fact forbidden. Therefore the Qurʾān explains that monasticism is an innovation "that was not instituted by God, one that was only invented by the generations before you" (*sūrah* 57:27).

In the broadest sense, vows are unconditional promises to do something specific—good or evil. In the narrower sense, they are unqualified pledges to do good, not evil, and as such they are directed solely to God. Often they are cast in hypothetical terms: one "promises to do this or that under the condition that this or that is forthcoming" (Gottschalk, 1919, p. 30). Muḥammad is supposed to have said that a vow does not hasten anything and cannot forestall anything. However the miser's vow makes him better, for essentially he tells God: "Give, that I may give—*da ut dem!"* (ibid., p. 4).

Vows encourage the fulfillment of obligations and the accomplishment of certain tasks. War vows and vows of revenge are clear examples of this; they enlist self-sacrifice and deprivation in the cause of securing just retribution. The *bodhisattva* vow of Mahayana Buddhism consists of the promise not to wish to enter *nirvāṇa* until all creatures have been released from the cycle of rebirth and have attained perfection. It first appears in the legend of the Buddha Amitabha in the second century BCE, and it continues to characterize the aspirations of major sects in China and Japan. It is the key to the salvation doctrine of Amida Buddhism. For if one gives what one receives, so does one receive what one gives. In promising to wait for salvation, one finds salvation in the waiting. Such a vow has cosmic significance. It constitutes sacrifice and self-denial.

OATHS AND THEIR INSTITUTIONAL FORMS. Oaths have both a constitutive and an instrumental force. They convey the truth of an assertion, but they also serve as a means whereby it can be determined whether or not that assertion is true. They confirm a promise, and at the same time provide by their very form proof positive of the accuracy of its content.

The instrumental nature of oaths becomes particularly apparent when a judicial system becomes detached from the life of the community, when state and culture are no longer one and the same. In such cases, oaths no longer reveal their constitutive force. In a state trial they function as legally binding proofs. They are one method of arriving at the truth in legal proceedings, and as such they take on regulative importance.

The ritual of oath taking takes numerous forms. In every case there are strict rules governing the behavior of all participants, the rights and obligations of the person swearing, and the specific form in which he pronounces and confirms his pledge. There is a mystique associated with the taking of oaths, one that was especially pronounced in the Indo-European cultural sphere. An obsession with form is typical of such rites, each role being carefully prescribed. An oath could miscarry if for some reason it was impossible to observe strict conventions in the swearing of it.

These conventions applied not only to the person taking the oath but also to his oath-helpers. The use of witnesses is characteristic of the Germanic peoples and is in fact unique to them. They might be members of the oath taker's family or men with whom he has sworn brotherhood. They were not obliged to confirm the substance of his assertion but only to attest to this credibility. Once his oath had been taken, they were called upon to swear—by twos, threes, sixes, or twelves—that it was "pure and not forsworn."

Such oaths of purification could still count for naught in the event of so-called *eidschelte* (ON, "oath challenge"). If the accused chose to force down the raised hand of the person swearing, a duel had to be fought to decide the issue.

The spot where an oath could be sworn, its wording, and all of the attendant gestures were strictly prescribed. The setting was called the *malstat* ("justice site"), *dingstat* ("trial site"), or *richtstat* ("judgment site"). This was where the community regularly gathered for its *Þing,* or legislative assembly, and it was here that sacrifices were offered to the gods and trials were held. An oath circle would be inscribed on the ground and the person swearing required to stand inside it. Under no conditions could he leave the circle or even place a foot outside its perimeter until the ritual was ended.

The wording of oaths differed considerably depending on the authority before which they were sworn and the persons or objects serving as pledges. A man might swear by his sword, his threshold, the plank of his ship, his wife and children, his own life, or one of the gods. The oath taker was required to stand and recite the *argumentum iuramenti,* called the *eidstab* ("oath stave"), in a clear voice and without assistance. On occasion the phrases might first be spoken by either the judge or the accuser, then repeated word for word by the accused. This type of oath was known as a *gestabter eid* ("directed oath").

While swearing, the oath taker had to be touching his pledge with his free hand. It was this physical contact "that established the supernatural bond of the oath, the *mysterium iuramenti,* and gave it its magical force" (Brunner, 1906–1928, vol. 1, p. 257). If the oath was sworn by a god, such contact was accomplished through substitution. An animal was sacrificed to the god and the so-called *eidring* ("oath ring") dipped in its blood. The oath taker then took hold of the ring with one hand while raising the other. Local custom dictated how many of the fingers of his raised hand were to be extended, whether two, three, or all of them.

Everyone participating in the rite had to perform his role in accordance with fixed rules. No distinction was made between the miscarriage of an oath and outright perjury. Form and content were considered one and the same. If one of the oath-helpers swearing overstepped the margin of the oath circle by a fraction of an inch, forgot a portion of the formula, used a wrong word, lowered his hand too quickly, or failed to touch the pledges as required, the oath was useless and the guilt of the accused was established. It was clear that he had perjured himself, and he was required to leave the settlement in dishonor, stripped of all communal ties. Later it became customary to punish a perjurer by chopping off either the fingers he had used in swearing or his entire hand.

In Germanic law a man's whole life might hinge on his oath. Depending on its force in a trial, he could be either saved or doomed. Oaths of fealty and vassalage have the same constitutive importance, as does the citizen's oath of the Middle Ages. The Swiss *Eidgenossenschaft* ("sworn confederacy") takes its strength from the constitutive force of the citizen's oath, and the country's civil code is based on it.

There are, however, a number of traditions in which oaths are accorded only instrumental importance. This is the case in Greek rhetoric, Roman and Islamic law, and in the various modern judicial systems. For them an oath is not proof in itself but only a means of proof. It can be of assistance in determining the truth, yet it is not considered the truth itself.

In Roman civil cases the oath "occupies a less important position than in Germanic ones, for while in the latter it is a statutory right of the accused that regularly takes precedence over other proofs, in the former it only appears at the request of the adversary or the judge when there are no other means for bringing the truth to light" (Bethmann-Hollweg, 1864–1874, vol. 2, p. 573). It serves as a kind of confirmation, strengthened by the fact that God is called to witness it. Here the form and content of oaths, their religious and legal significance, and their ethical and political aspects are distinctly separate.

The ancient writers produced numerous logical, rhetorical, philological, philosophical, and theological treatises on the problem of intent in oaths (*restrictio mentalis*), on the meanings of their terms and their differing connotations, on the degree to which an oath is binding depending on the rank of the deity by which it is sworn, and on the question of how frequently oaths may be required. They speak of sophistic oaths, in which the sense and the wording differ, of involuntary oaths (unlike Plato and Aristotle, Democritus considered all oaths to be valid, even involuntary ones), and finally of the proper form for the naming of pledges. One reads of Rhadamanthys's struggle against the misuse of oaths and of Herakles' effort to do away with them altogether. The Hippocratic oath sworn by physicians has a venerable tradition, surviving as it does into the current time. Always there have been disputes over just what one ought to swear upon (as in the oath of allegiance or loyalty oath) and the degree to which one commits oneself (oaths of office, oaths of vassalage, the oath to the Führer).

In the Bible, oaths are treated in both their constitutive and instrumental senses. The Lord swears an oath by himself (*Dt.* 29:9ff.). That oath is the basis of the covenant with Israel, and he is bound and obligated by it. But for it, he would not have stood behind his chosen people and liberated them from bondage. That divine oath has constitutive force even for God himself. Men are permitted to swear oaths only as long as they call upon God in doing so, but they have not always observed this restriction. Hence Jesus' admonition not to swear at all (*Mt.* 5:34–37). Oaths are to be sworn before the Lord as God; they are not suited for the reinforcement of an intention that does not relate to him (*Mt.* 23:16–22). Jesus rejects the instrumental use of oaths. He nevertheless admits them when they serve to reaffirm the promise implicit in the Lord's name (*Mt.* 5:33). He also admits affirmation in the form of "Yea, yea," "Nay, nay." (*Mt.* 5:37).

This rule is applied by the early Christian church both positively (*Heb.* 6:13–19) and negatively (*Jas.* 5:12). Swearing is permitted, yet oaths are still rejected. Meanwhile the oath had come to serve in an instrumental sense as a confirmation of faith. In 251 CE the antipope Novatian required an oath of allegiance from his followers; he was the first pontiff to do so. Later it became customary for bishops and teachers to take oaths of office, Christian significance was given to the fingers extended when swearing, and oaths were sworn on the Gospels and on relics.

One persistent problem has been whether priests ought to be required to swear oaths to secular authority, as in the oath to the emperor in antiquity, to the Republic during the French Revolution, or to the Führer under National Socialism. The Reformation rejected papal oaths. Various Christian sects—Anabaptists, Jehovah's Witnesses, Mennonites—refuse to take oaths of any kind.

SEE ALSO Binding; Covenant.

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ELMAR KLINGER (1987)
Translated from German by Russell M. Stockman
Revised Bibliography

VRIES, JAN DE (1890–1964), was a Dutch folklorist and historian of religions. Jan Pieter Marie Laurens de Vries was born in Amsterdam on February 11, 1890, and died in Utrecht on July 23, 1964. In 1926, de Vries was appointed to the chair for ancient Germanic linguistics and philology (comprising also Indo-European comparative grammar) at the University of Leiden. Among the numerous positions he held was the editorship of the fifth edition of Winkler Prins's *Algemene Encyclopedie* (General Encyclopedia; 16 vols, 1932–1938); this function occupied him for the entire period of publication. He established also a famous series of classical Dutch literary works, "Bibliotheek der Nederlandsche letteren" (1938–), sponsored by the Society for Dutch Literature and the Royal Flemish Academy of Language and Literature. Internationally famous as a Germanist, he became known in even wider circles as a folklorist. During the 1930s he pleaded fervently and often that the study of folklore (*volkskunde*) be considered a separate discipline, after having already championed the subject in congresses of philologists. The interest in the creativity of the *volk* (from which during this part of his life he excluded the intelligentsia and the urban proletariat, a view evinced in *Volk van Nederland,* published in 1937, which was a work by various authors that de Vries organized and edited, and of which he wrote a major part) was no doubt in tune with some scholarly and general interest fostered all over Europe at the time.

Unlike most scholars, de Vries had a career and lived in a time of history in which one's true colors could not always be kept concealed. After World War II, he was dismissed from his position at the University of Leiden because of his stance and his acts during the war. Under German occupation (1940–1945) he had served as vice-chairman of the Kultuurkamer (the body whose approval was required for any artistic or literary production). In the summer of 1940, shortly after the German invasion, he wrote a pamphlet, *Naar een betere toekomst* (Toward a Better Future), that promulgated his antidemocratic views and hailed the newly opened way toward a world in which the individual would be subordinate to a more encompassing, national structure. He published with National Socialist publishers, worked for a National Socialist journal, and by the end of the war even became a "sympathizing member" of the Schutzstaffel (SS). Many of de Vries's readers, and especially his students, have observed a mystifying inner contradiction in him.

No doubt, there is a conflict that is at the same time an essential ingredient in his work. De Vries was not only an industrious scholar but a very critical mind, a man who despised the crowd, yet longed for a truly harmonious community, which he thought was reflected among ancient Germanic and Norse tribes. Solitary, romantic in his tastes, and of superb intelligence, he seemed blind to the vulgarity of Nazism, to which he committed himself with a fatalistic faithfulness, even seeing its impending defeat, and all the while incapable of realizing the harmony with people for which he longed. It is quite remarkable that de Vries's scholarly work does not show any feature of Nazi ideology or any of the kitsch it spawned. He pursued his scholarly goals unabated during, and also after, the war.

After his retirement in 1955 from a position as secondary schoolteacher in Dutch literature that he held for seven years, he wrote an impressive number of important books. Among them are his *Kelten und Germanen* (1960); *Forschungsgeschichte der Mythologie* (1961), in which his admiration for romantic impulses in history stands out clearly; and *Nederlands etymologisch woordenboek* (1963–1971). The best-known handbook of Germanic religion is the second edition of his *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* (2 vols., 1956–1957). De Vries is among the foremost scholars who recognized the importance of Georges Dumézil's work. Throughout his career, however, de Vries maintained his own originality and erudite, critical competence in details. For instance, he points out the lack of clear evidence in Germanic sources for the existence of secret men's societies, yet, with implicit as well as explicit criticism on theoretical models employed by others, he demonstrates various other specific expressions of socioreligious cohesiveness.

SEE ALSO Indo-European Religions.

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Further biographical information about de Vries can be found in my article "Jan de Vries (1890–1964)," *History of Religions* 5 (1965): 173–177, and in P. J. Meerten's article "Jan de Vries," *Volkskunde* 65 (1964): 97–113.

KEES W. BOLLE (1987)

VṚNDĀVANA is both a mythical site, mentioned in the Purāṇas, and a town in modern India that is one of the most important Hindu pilgrimage centers of North India and the focus of much religious activity. As a sacred locality known in scripture, Vṛndāvana is ancient, but as a town it is comparatively new.

MYTHICAL SITE. Vṛndāvana (literally, "sacred basil grove") is described in the Purāṇas, most notably in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* as a beautifully forested land associated with the cowherd god Kṛṣṇa. According to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* Kṛṣṇa was born in the royal city of Mathura, but to avoid slaughter by his wicked uncle Kaṃsa his father secretly took him across the Yamuna River to the cowherd settlement of Gokula, where he passed the early years of his infancy. Kaṃsa soon learned of Kṛṣṇa's whereabouts, however, and began to send various demons to destroy him. When the danger grew too great, the cowherds who had taken in Kṛṣṇa moved to a new site—the beautifully forested land of Vṛndāvana—and there set up an idyllic village. In the land of Vṛndāvana, Kṛṣṇa charmed the elders of the village with mischievous pranks and frolicked in the forest herding cattle with his young companions. Most important, though, it was in the forests of Vṛndāvana that Kṛṣṇa would meet with the adolescent *gopī*s (cowherdesses) of the village under the autumn moon for love trysts. Kṛṣṇa's passionate affairs with the *gopī*s have been elaborated on extensively since medieval times, and one *gopī* in particular—Rādhā—rose to the position of Kṛṣṇa's favorite. The intimate relationships exemplified between Kṛṣṇa and his lovers in Vṛndāvana came to symbolize the human's true relationship with the divine. For the practicing Vaiṣṇava, Vṛndāvana is an eternal world, a heavenly paradise that the liberated soul achieves after ultimate success.

MODERN-DAY TOWN. The modern-day town of Vṛndāvana (also known as Brindavan) is located on the west bank of the Yamuna River, about eighty miles south of Delhi and forty miles north of Agra, and is situated in the modern Indian state of Uttar Pradesh. Vṛndāvana can best be understood, however, by viewing it as part of Vraja (Braj), a distinct cultural region, complete with a distinct language (Vrajabhāṣa, or Brajbhāṣa) and history, defined by its association with the Kṛṣṇa myth. Through complex historical developments of the sixteenth century, this region came to be identified as the very land where Kṛṣṇa actually lived long ago. The town of Vṛndāvana, in particular, was built on a site identified as the forest where Kṛṣṇa met with Rādhā and the other *gopī*s for their nightly trysts.

The historical development of Vṛndāvana was due primarily to the disciples of the Bengali saint Caitanya (b. 1486 CE), who came to be known as the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas. The "reclaiming" of the sites of Kṛṣṇa's exploits on earth was a cherished dream of Caitanya. Although the saint himself visited the area surrounding Vṛndāvana only once, he had sent before him a close disciple named Lokanātha Ācārya and then later, a group of theologians known as the Six Gosvāmins of Vṛndāvana. The establishment of Vṛndāvana as an important religious center is chiefly the work of this group of theologians, especially two brothers among them, Rūpa and Sanātana Gosvāmin. These brothers were to have the first of the magnificent temples of Vṛndāvana built in the sixteenth century with the help of wealthy rajas of Rajasthan. They were also responsible for establishing the location of many of the sites associated with the Kṛṣṇa myth and for creating a center of Vaiṣṇava learning in Vṛndāvana.

Three other Vaiṣṇava sects were involved in the development of Vraja culture that took place in and around Vṛndāvana, namely, the Rādhāvallabhas, the Vallabhācāryas, and the Nimbārkas. Vṛndāvana continued to grow and develop as an important center for all Vaiṣṇavas, and with the construction of a large Śrī Vaiṣṇava temple in Vṛndāvana in the mid-nineteenth century, all major sects of Vaiṣṇavism came to be represented in Vṛndāvana.

Today hundreds of pilgrims flock into Vṛndāvana daily, their numbers increasing substantially during the four monsoon months when, as legend has it, all other pilgrimage sites come to reside in Vṛndāvana. These pilgrims come to walk the very land trodden by Lord Kṛṣṇa and to see the natural objects transformed by his contact. They come also to see Kṛṣṇa in another important form—as an image (*mūrti*) residing for the benefit of his worshipers in the many famous temples of Vṛndāvana. But most important, they come during the rainy season to see the numerous plays staged all over Vṛndāvana that depict stories of Kṛṣṇa and his intimate companions. Vṛndāvana continues to thrive—many new temples are being constructed today—making it a living center of traditional Hindu culture.

SEE ALSO Caitanya; Hindi Religious Traditions; Kṛṣṇa; Rādhā; Vaiṣṇavism, article on Bhāgavatas.

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DAVID L. HABERMAN (1987)
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VṚTRA, whose name is probably derived from the Sanskrit verbal root *vṛ,* meaning "hold back, restrain, envelop," is a serpent slain by Indra in the *Ṛgveda.* This act, which is Indra's most famous, most important, and most frequently mentioned achievement, is the subject of several complete Ṛgvedic hymns (notably *Ṛgveda* 1.32 and 10.124). Vṛtra had coiled around a mountain, preventing the waters from flowing down; Indra pierced him with his thunderbolt and released the waters. This act has many symbolic resonances: slaying the dragon, releasing the waters or rains, bringing the ambrosial *soma* down from heaven or the mountains (an act that Indra is elsewhere said to accomplish by stealing it, on the back of an eagle), conquering the enemies of the invading Indo-Aryans (for Vṛtra is called a *dāsa,* or "slave," the name given to the indigenous non-Aryans), creating the world out of the body of the slain dragon, or rescuing it from the dragon who had swallowed it. The thunderbolt of Indra is a cloud, which, as a phallic symbol, is a source of seed as well as rain; Vṛtra is a cloud pierced in his loins or his bellies; and the cows to which the waters are compared are also rain clouds. Vṛtra, who is depicted as a serpent or as a dragon whose arms and legs Indra has cut off, is a symbol of danger, constriction, drought, and loss. The battle is waged with magic as well as with physical weapons; Indra uses magic to make himself as thin as a horse's hair, and Vṛtra uses magic to create lightning and fog. Indra wins, of course, and the hymns end on a note of affirmation for Indra's victory.

The killing of Vṛtra was closely associated with the killing of other demonic enemies, particularly Triśiras Viśvarūpa (the "three-headed, many-formed" son of Tvaṣṭṛ, the artisan of the gods), Namuci ("don't-let-go"), and Ahi (the Serpent, perhaps just another name for Vṛtra). Vṛtra is the younger brother of Triśiras, created by their father to take revenge upon Indra for the killing of Triśiras. This mythology is elaborated in the Brāhmaṇas (c. 900 BCE), where it is said that when Indra killed Visvarupa he cut off his three heads, which became three birds; Tvaṣṭṛ performed a sacrifice to create Vṛtra. Namuci is a demon whom Indra is said to have killed with foam (*Ṛgveda* 8.14.13); later, Indra kills both Vṛtra and Namuci with foam at the juncture of day and night (*Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* 1.7.1–7), when he had promised Namuci that he would kill him neither by day nor by night, neither with anything dry nor with anything wet (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 12.7.3.1–2). In the *Mahābhārata* (5.9–13), Indra kills Vṛtra alone by tricking him in this way. The cosmogonic implications of the killing of Vṛtra are spelled out in the Brāhmaṇas: Vṛtra lay covering all the space between heaven and earth until Indra killed him (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.1.3.4–5); when Indra killed Vṛtra, Vṛtra said to him, "You are now what I was; now cut me in two" (ibid., 1.6.3.1–17).

The killing of Vṛtra, particularly when combined with the accessory acts of killing Trisiras and Namuci, fits a pattern that has strong resonances in other Indo-European mythologies. In the Avesta, Thraetaona kills a three-headed demon and sets free the cows that have been imprisoned. In Greece, Herakles kills the three-headed Geryon, and the Roman Hercules kills Cacus, the son of Vulcan (who is, like Tvaṣṭṛ, the blacksmith of the gods). Þórr (Thor), Indra's parallel in Eddic literature, kills the World Serpent. And in a more general way, Vṛtra can be assimilated to all the dragons killed by all the great heroes—to Python slain by Apollo, to the dragon killed by Saint George, and so forth.

As Indra's powers diminished during the period of transition from the *Ṛgveda* to the Brāhmaṇas, the killing of Vṛtra was no longer regarded as an act that he could accomplish in single combat. Other gods help him (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 2.3.5), or he uses the power of sacrifice rather than brute force (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 2.5.4.1–9); finally, as with Namuci, he hedges with words to break his treaty (ibid., 1.6.3.10). In the *Mahābhārata,* Indra is so overpowered by Vṛtra's superior magic and prowess that the demon can be slain only with the aid of Śiva (who creates a fever in Vṛtra) and Viṣṇu (who places his own power in Indra's thunderbolt). Moreover, even after killing Vṛtra, Indra is so weakened and defiled (polluted by the sin of brahmanicide for having killed Vṛtra, a priest) that he runs away and hides in a lotus stalk; still the fury (*kṛtyā*) of brahmanicide incarnate seizes Indra until Brahmā distributes the sin among fire, water, the trees, and the celestial nymphs, and purifies Indra with a horse sacrifice (*Mahābhārata* 12.272–273).

Thus the ancient myth of the dragon whose body is dismembered to form the world (as Tiamat's body does in the Mesopotamian myth) is transformed into an epic myth in which the sin of the warrior who kills the dragon is dismembered, as it were, to provide the substances that guarantee the fertility of the world. In either case, it is, ultimately, the dragon that is the source of that fertility; the darker side of creation and the sin that inevitably arises in dealing with it, rather than the hero and his virtue, is the source of life.

SEE ALSO Indian Religions, article on Mythic Themes; Indra; Snakes.

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WENDY DONIGER (1987)

VULVA SEE YONI

W

WACH, JOACHIM [FIRST EDITION] (1898–1955), German-American historian of religions. Wach was born in Chemnitz, Saxony, and died while vacationing in Orselina, Switzerland. He was a descendant of Moses Mendelssohn, a lineage that affected his life and career both positively and negatively. His paternal grandfather, the noted jurisconsult Adolph Wach, married Lily, the daughter of Felix Mendelssohn, the composer. His father, Felix, married Kathe, granddaughter of the composer's brother, Paul. Young Wach was early exposed to music, literature, poetry, and both classical and modern languages. After two years of military service (1916–1918), Wach enrolled at the University of Leipzig, but in 1919 and early 1920 he studied with Friedrich Heiler at Munich and with Ernst Troeltsch at Berlin. He then returned to Leipzig to study Oriental languages and the history and philosophy of religion. For a time he came under the spell of the enigmatic poet Stefan George, whose writings spoke of a heightened sense of "experience," through which one perceives the multiple threads of the tapestry of life as a transparent whole. Wach received his Ph.D. degree in 1922 from Leipzig with a thesis entitled "The Foundations of a Phenomenology of the Concept of Salvation," published as *Der Erlösungsgedanke und seine Deutung* (1922).

When Wach started teaching at Leipzig in 1924, the discipline of the history of religions *(Religionswissenschaft),* still in its infancy, faced serious dangers. On the one side, its right to exist was questioned by those who insisted that whoever knows one religion (i.e., Christianity) knows all religions; on the other, its religio-scientific methodology was challenged by reductionist psychological and social-scientific approaches. Thus in his habilitation thesis, *Religionswissenschaft: Prolegomena zu ihrer wissenschaftstheoretischen Grundlegung* (1924), Wach insisted on the integrity and autonomy of the history of religions, liberated from theology and the philosophy of religion. He emphasized that both historical and systematic dimensions are necessary to its task, and he argued that the discipline's goal was "understanding" *(Verstehen):* "The task of *Religionswissenschaft* is to study and to describe the empirical religions. It seeks descriptive understanding; it is not a normative discipline. When it has understood the historical and systematic aspects of the con-

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CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT CORNER. Engraving of a commune of witches, undated. *[©**Bettmann/Corbis**]*; Tenth-century ivory diptych showing the crucifixion, the Madonna and Child, and Christian saints. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican Museums. *[©**Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.**]*; *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse,* woodcut, c. 1496, by Albrecht Dürer. *[©**Burstein Collection/Corbis**]*; Dogon altar object from Mali. *[©**Werner Forman/Art Resource, N.Y.**]*; King Gudea with a vase overflowing with water and fish, c. 2140 BCE. Louvre, Paris. *[©**Erich Lessing/Art Resource, N.Y.**]* .

crete religious configurations, it has fulfilled its task" (p. 68). His *Religionswissenschaft* is still regarded as a small classic in the field.

Wach's agenda centering on understanding led him to produce a three-volume work on the development of hermeneutics in the nineteenth century (*Das Verstehen,* 1926–1933). The first volume traced the hermeneutical theories of such major figures as Friedrich Schleiermacher, G. A. F. Ast, F. A. Wolf, August Boeckh, and Wilhelm von Humboldt. The second volume dealt with theological hermeneutics from Schleiermacher to Johannes von Hofmann, while the third volume examined theories of historical hermeneutics from Leopold von Ranke to historical positivism. Understandably, Wach felt it absolutely necessary to establish solid hermeneutical foundations for the history of religions.

Wach was convinced that the history of religions *(Religionswissenschaft)* should not lose its empirical character. He felt that C. P. Tiele and P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye had failed to make an adequate distinction between the history of religions and the philosophy of religion. He was critical both of those who started with philosophy and developed science and of those who started with science and moved toward philosophy. In his view, the history of religions lay, rather, precisely between the two. In this respect he followed Max Scheler, who posited a "concrete phenomenology of religious objects and acts" between a historical study of religions (a positive *Religionswissenschaft*) and the essential phenomenology of religion *(die Wesensphänomenologie der Religion).* According to Scheler, this intermediate discipline aims at the fullest understanding of the intellectual contents of one or more religious forms and the consummate acts in which these intellectual contents have been given. It was Wach's conviction that an inquiry such as Scheler envisaged could be carried out only by employing the religio-scientific method of *Religionswissenschaft.*

Wach's reputation for erudition attracted many students to Leipzig. However, his productive career there came to an abrupt end in April 1935. The government of Saxony, under pressure from the Nazis, terminated Wach's university appointment on the ground of his Jewish lineage, even though his family had been Christian for four generations. Fortunately, through the intervention of American friends, Wach was invited to teach at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, where he stayed until 1945. His adjustment to the new environment was by no means easy; he was especially anxious about his mother, sister, and brother, who were suffering under the Nazi tyranny. From 1945 until his death ten years later, Wach taught the history of religions at the Divinity School of the University of Chicago.

Wach always asserted that the method of the history of religions must be commensurate with its subject matter, that is, the nature and expressions of the religious experience of humankind as that experience has been unfolded in history. Following his mentor, Rudolf Otto, Wach defined religious experience as the experience of the holy. Throughout his life, he never altered his views on the basic structure of the discipline: its twin tasks (historical and theoretical); the centrality of religious experience and its threefold expressions (theoretical, practical, and sociological); and the crucial importance of hermeneutics. But Wach emphasized three different methodological accents in three successive phases of his career.

During his first phase, Wach was preoccupied with the hermeneutical basis for the descriptive-historical task of the discipline. He was greatly influenced by the philological hermeneutics of August Boeckh, who defined the hermeneutical task as "recognizing" that which had previously been "cognized," that is, as articulating what has been recognized in its pristine character, even to the extent of "reconstructing" in its totality that which does not appear as a whole. Accordingly, Wach insisted that the historian of religions must first try to assimilate that which had been recognized as a religious phenomenon and "reproduce" it as one's own. Then he must observe and appraise that which has become one's own as an objective something apart from oneself.

During his second phase, Wach attempted to develop the systematic dimension of the history of religions by following the model of sociology. In Wach's view, the sociological (systematic) task of *Religionswissenschaft* had two main foci: (1) the interrelation of religion and society, which requires an examination, first, of the sociological roots and functions of myths, doctrines, cults, and associations, and, second, of the sociologically significant function and effect of religion in society; and (2) the study of religious groups. In dealing with religious groups, and especially with the variety of self-interpretations advanced by these groups, Wach employed the typological method. As he stated in his *Sociology of Religion* (1944), he was convinced of the need to develop a closer rapport between *Religionswissenschaft* and other disciplines, especially with the social and human sciences. In this sense, his *Sociology of Religion* was an attempt to bridge "the gulf which still exists between the study of religion and the social sciences" (p. v). Yet the ultimate aim of his sociological (systematic) study of religion was "to gain new insights into the relations between the various forms of expression of religious experience and eventually to understand better the various aspects of religious experience itself" (p. 5).

During the third phase, Wach's concern for an integral understanding of the various aspects of religious experience and its expressions led him to reassess not only the relationship of *Religionswissenschaft* with the social sciences but also its relationship with normative disciplines such as philosophy of religion and the various theologies. After Wach's sojourn in India, where he delivered the Barrows Lectures at various universities in 1952, this concern became more pronounced. It was, in fact, one of the key motifs of his lectures on the history of religions sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies in 1954. Increasingly the vocabulary of "explaining" *(Deuten, Erklären)* came to be used side by side with that of "understanding" *(Verstehen)* in his lectures. Wach shared his dream of pursuing a new grand synthesis for the study of the human religious experience, a sequel to earlier works such as *Religionswissenschaft* and *Das Verstehen,* with friends during the Seventh Congress of the International Association for the History of Religion, held in Rome in the spring of 1955. But death came that summer and robbed him of this venture.

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JOSEPH M. KITAGAWA (1987)

WACH, JOACHIM [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS].

True to his highly cultured family background, Joachim Wach remained a passionate devotee of music, literature, and the arts throughout his life. This devotion dovetailed with his scholarly interest in religions. During his years as a student at Leipzig, where he majored in the history of religions and minored in philosophy of religion and "Oriental" studies, his friends included poets, musicians, and dancers, in addition to scientists and physicians. After taking his doctorate, he spent two years studying at the University of Heidelberg, where he attended lectures by the eminent historian and literary scholar Friedrich Gundolf (1880–1931), who had a lastingly influence on Wach. It was during those Heidelberg years that Wach became associated with the poet Stefan George (1868–1933), who, with his famous circle, or *Kreis,* of disciples (including Gundolf, one of Wach's closest links to the group), aspired to create a new world and culture of pure, sublime art. The most significant aesthetic commitment of his life, Wach's allegiance to the George-*Kreis* is thought to have been largely the source of his lasting concern with the problem and mission of understanding (*Verstehen*), and to have stamped his whole personality for life (see Flasche, 1978, p. 14).

There is abundant lore about Wach's lifelong active interest in literature and the arts. During his years as professor at the University of Chicago (1945–1955), he was known for listening as he worked to recordings of music by his ancestor Felix Mendelssohn, and for being able to quote from memory lengthy passages from the verse of Goethe, Schiller, and other classic German poets. Nonetheless, the bearing of his aesthetic reflections upon his formation as a historian of religions is generally underappreciated. In this respect he was not alone among some of the most influential mid-twentieth-century comparatists of religions. To him, as to Gerardus van der Leeuw, would apply what Joseph Kitagawa once said of Mircea Eliade, namely, that he had a passion for culture (*paideia*) in the Greek sense of the word. As with van der Leeuw, the accomplished poet and musician, and Eliade, the celebrated novelist and short-story writer, Wach's passion for *paideia* meant that his vocation of studying and interpreting a universal range of religious phenomena was complemented by, and inextricably related to, a rich variety of aesthetic concerns.

Presumably, the influence of the George-*Kreis*, especially through Gundolf, was among the chief factors that led Wach from the outset of his career to liken the investigation of religions to the contemplation of literature and the arts. As the *Kreis* is thought to have instilled in Wach a preoccupation with hermeneutics, so is it clear that Gundolf's ideas about the relation between the artist and the artist's work stimulated Wach's thinking about the relation between religious experience and the various forms of religious expression (practical, theoretical, and sociological). Wach opined that the great experiences from which all religious traditions originate "exist for others only in the degree to which they are expressed and where there is genuine religion, it will necessarily be expressed" (Wach, 1958, p. 59). He ascribed this idea to C. P. Tiele. However, it also calls to mind the claim in Gundolf's classic biography *Goethe* (1922) that, while the artist's experience (*Erlebnis*) may be superficially distinguishable from the artist's work, the artist exists only insofar as he "expresses himself" (*sich ausdrückt*) through the work (p. 2).

Wach associated the study of religions with the study of the arts as early as in his Habilitation thesis *Religionswissenschaft* (1924), known in translation as *The History of Religions.* Dismissing the common notion of understanding as empathy (*Nachfühlen*) or imitative experience (*Nacherleben*), and characterizing understanding instead as "an entirely spontaneous, productive act," he contends in this work that to interpret a religion or a work of art requires no consideration of its originator's "psychological condition" (Wach, 1988b, p. 111). While he followed Wilhelm Dilthey in likening the interpretation of a religion to that of an art work, Wach discounted the common analogization of having a religious sense to possessing an ear for music. Inasmuch as he dismissed the assumption that persons who profess no religious faith or confession are "religiously unmusical" (p. 115), he differed from Max Weber. The latter considered some people, including himself, to be "religiously unmusical," and cast them as antithetical to the religious "virtuoso" (a term adapted from musicology). Wach instead remained in harmony with the theory of Rudolf Otto, contending that "humanity, by nature, is attuned to religion," and therefore: "The study of music knows that there is no such thing as an unmusical person; such a person often lacks only the training and development of an ear for music. It would be good, too, if historians of religions would realize that a poorly developed religious sense never means that such a sense is lacking altogether" (p. 115).

Of all the arts, Wach invoked poetry the most extensively to illustrate his notion of understanding. To counter a common misinterpretation of Dilthey's view of the relation between experience (*Erlebnis*) and understanding, he contended that the possibilities of human experience are not limited to the totality of a person's external experience of life (*äussere Lebenserfahrung*): one need not have been in love, waged battle, or grown old to understand a lover, a general, or the aged. Poets afford practical illustrations of, and in some instances reflect theoretically upon, the fact that external experiences (*Erfahrungen*) can be presaged by internal experience (*inneres Erleben*). This is not to deny the formative bearing of external experience upon poetry. In probing the theoretical ramifications of this problem of imagination (*Phantasie*), experience (*Erlebnis*), and poetry, Wach was well aware of Dilthey's observation that poetic creation invariably originates from "life-experience" (*Lebenserfahrung*). Like Dilthey, who qualified that "only those moments of [the poet's] existence [*Dasein*] that disclose to him one of life's characteristics possess a deeper relationship to his poetry" (quoted in Wach, 1988b, p. 218n.), Wach emphasized that what ultimately matters for poetry is what the poet makes of external experiences through inner, imaginative power: "It is by imagination that experiences first bear fruit. To an amazing degree, imagination may supplement experiences and even substitute for them" (Wach, 1988b, p. 113).

Such reflections were germane to Wach's conception of his *religionswissenschaftlich* enterprise. His distinction between life-experiences and what the poet imaginatively makes of them harks back to Aristotle's distinction between history as that which conveys particular truths (telling what happened), and poetry as that which conveys universal truths (telling what might happen). Much as Aristotle viewed poetry as something graver and more scientific than history (see *Poetics* 1451a–b), so Wach deemed *Religionswissenschaft* to be hermeneutically more sophisticated than the positivist, historicist approach to religion. While the historicist was preoccupied with thoroughness of arbitrarily selected data, Wach urged the scholar of religions "to determine by comparison and phenomenological analysis if anything like a structure can be discovered in all these forms of expression, to what kind of experience this variegated expression can be traced, and, finally, what kind of reality or realities may correspond to the experiences in question" (Wach, 1951, p. 30).

Wach indicated how his pondering of poetry informed his conception of his scholarly vocation. In his view, the novelist Thomas Mann's idea of the poet's yearning (*Sehnsucht*) "signified the soul's inner ability and readiness to transcend itself," a task the soul accomplishes through the imagination: "For imagination allows ideas to be grasped, feelings to be felt, and realms of the soul to be traversed that actual experience [*Erfahrung*] could never teach the poet" (Wach, 1988b, p. 113). In this respect the poet resembles the scholar, whose "interest is stimulated by the appearance of a great personality, of significant processes, or of a tragic event" (p. 113). Given the same "inner affinity" as that between the poet and the poet's object, "the person who wishes to understand enters into a mysterious communication with the object of study that allows him to penetrate to its core" (p. 113). With an imagination thus aroused, the person feels drawn to seek a broader, deeper, more precise understanding of the object of interest, and "yearns to develop further those dispositions of the soul that have not yet been realized. Thus, the limits of the empirical personality are expanded" (p. 113). This analogy between poetic yearning and the aroused scholarly imagination anticipates Eliade's well-known construal of literary creation and aesthetic imagination as cognitive, epistemological instruments useful to the scholarly enterprise.

Although Wach often appealed abstractly to the categories of "poet" and "poetry," sometimes particular works by specific literary artists proved revelatory to him as a historian of religions. For example, he found Friedrich Hölderlin's poetic depiction of the bond between Empedocles and Pausanias to exemplify the typal master-disciple relation (Wach, 1988a, pp. 15–16, 19, 22), and his essay on "religious existence" in Fyodor Dostoevsky's novels praises the German Catholic theologian Romano Guardini for revealing in those texts the "groundlines of a Christian anthropology" (Wach, 1934, p. 196). Wach's *Sociology of Religion* (1944) is replete with allusions to prevalent symptoms of the interplay between religions and the arts, such as the "aesthetic finish" of Trobriand magic; the priestly fostering of sacred song, music, dance, and literary and visual arts; Australian Aboriginal totemic practices; and certain rituals associated with prophets. However, Wach elsewhere qualified that the practical, "activistic" orientation of religious experience, involving "an imperative, a commitment which impels man to act," distinguishes it from "aesthetic experience, of which it shares the intensity, and joins it with moral experience" (Wach, 1951, p. 33).

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WAHHĀBĪYAH. An Islamic renewal group established by Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. AH 1206/1792 CE), the Wahhābīyah continues to the present in the Arabian Peninsula. The term *Wahhābī* was originally used by opponents of the movement, who charged that it was a new form of Islam, but the name eventually gained wide acceptance. According to the teachings of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, however, the movement is not a new Islamic school but, rather, a call or mission *(daʿwah al tawḥīd)* for the true implementation of Islam. The Wahhābīyah often refer to "the mission of the oneness of God" *(daʿwat al-tawḥīd)* and call themselves "those who affirm the oneness of God," or *muwaḥḥidun.*

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT. Renewal movements have deep roots in Islamic experience. The Qurʾān and the *sunnah,* or normative practice of the prophet Muḥammad, provide standards by which the belief and actions of Muslims in any age can be judged. A strict interpretation of these fundamentals has often provided the basis for an active call for reform. The Wahhābī call is one of the most famous of these so-called fundamentalist movements. Specifically, it can be seen as a continuation of the strict Sunnī tradition associated with the Ḥanbalī school of law based on the teaching of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 855 CE).

Aḥmad ibn Taymīyah (d. 1328) was a Ḥanbalī scholar whose works have had a major influence on the thinking of fundamentalist advocates of renewal. He became well known for his opposition to devotional innovations and popular religious customs not specified in the Qurʾān or *sunnah.* His preaching against even established scholars made his work controversial, while his polemical skills made him popular.

The core of his teaching was the "science of the oneness of God" *(ʿilm al-tawḥīd)*, which stresses the comprehensive nature and unity of the Islamic message. Rationality, mystic intuition, and the legal prescriptions are seen as parts of a single whole. Ibn Taymīyah rejected claims by Islamic mystics that "the law" and "the [mystical] path" were somehow separate. He also stressed that independent interpretation *(ijtihād)* by scholars was possible, although subject to clear rules. He actively opposed what he considered innovations in devotional practices, such as the visitation of the tombs of famous figures. In these and other themes Ibn Taymīyah provided a basis for later Sunnī fundamentalism, including the Wahhābīyah.

The Ḥanbalī school did not gain a mass following in the Islamic world, but groups of Ḥanbalī scholars had local influence in some regions. One such region was the Najd in central Arabia, where the Ḥanbalī tradition continued in towns with established families of Ḥanbalī teachers. Nevertheless, the local lifestyle in the Najd did not reflect a fundamentalist spirit. People commonly believed that trees and rocks possessed spiritual powers and that the graves of holy men were places of special holiness. Such a society contained many elements that Islamic fundamentalists view as manifestations of polytheism (*shirk*) and the ignorance of the pre-Islamic era (Jāhīliyah).

Najd was not unique in the eighteenth-century Islamic world. While Islam had flourished in the strong empires of the fifteenth and sixeenth centuries, by the eighteenth century, compromises with local religious customs and ineffective political organizations led Muslims from West Africa to Southeast Asia to call for Islamic renewal. The Wahhābī movement emerged at the very center of this world.

HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT. Wahhābī history can be divided into three periods, in each of which the movement is associated with the establishment of a state as well as a community of believers. While the call has been Wahhābī, the state in each case was based on leadership by the Saʿūd family.

The era of Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, born in the central Arabian town of al-ʿUyaynah in 1703, traveled and studied widely. In the process, he developed a belief in the need for purification of Muslim beliefs and practices, and this belief became his life's mission.

At first the mission took the form of preaching opposition to popular religious practices and Shīʿī Islam, in Basra and eastern Arabia. Returning to his homeland to continue this call, he initially won some support from the ruler of al-ʿUyaynah, but the vigor of his purification efforts soon aroused opposition, and he was forced to leave.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb then went to al-Darʿī yah, where the ruler was Muḥammad ibn Saʿūd. In 1744 the two men formed an alliance that became the basis for both the subsequent Saudi states and the Wahhābī movement. The ruler and the teacher worked together in the creation of the first Saudi-Wahhābī state.

The deaths of Ibn Saʿūd in 1765 and of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb in 1792 did not stop the expansion of the mission or the state. Political leadership remained in the hands of the Saʿūd family, while the family of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, subsequently called "the family of the shaykh," or Āl al-

Shaykh, maintained a position of intellectual leadership in the later history of the state and movement.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Saudi-Wahhābī community controlled most of the Arabian Peninsula and the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. This central position and attacks on Ottoman territories in Iraq and Syria brought a reaction, however: The Ottoman sultan ordered the governor of Egypt, Muḥammad ʿAli, to use his newly reformed army to defeat the Wahhābīyah. In 1812, the Egyptian army took Medina and in 1818 captured the Saudi capital of al-Darʿī yah. With this defeat, the first phase of Wahhābī history came to an end.

The second Saudi-Wahhābī state. The Egyptian army did not remain long in central Arabia, and Saudi leaders soon reestablished their state with a new capital at Riyadh. Key figures in this restoration were a grandson of Muḥammad ibn Saʿūd, Turkī (d. 1834), and his son Fayṣal (d. 1865). Although smaller than the first, the new state restored the political and religious mission of the original one. An important part of the Wahhābī heritage is the work of administering and consolidating a functioning fundamentalist state in the nineteenth century.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the Saudi ruling family divided, and in the conflicts that followed the death of Fayṣal, other Arabian chieftains began to take control of Saudi lands. By the 1890s, the leaders of the Saʿ ūd family were forced into exile and the second state came to an end.

The twentieth-century revival. The third period of Wahhābī history began in 1902, when a young Saudi prince recaptured Riyadh. This man was ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥman, often called Ibn Saʿūd (1879–1953). ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz reconquered many of the lands of the first Saudi state in a series of bold diplomatic and military moves. The final steps came in the 1920s when, among other areas, Mecca and Medina again came under Saudi-Wahhābī control. Although geographic expansion stopped during that decade, the new Wahhābī state continued to develop.

The twenty-first century state is based on the pillars of Saudi leadership and the Wahhābī mission. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz consciously adhered to Wahhābī teachings, and the official constitution of the state is the Qurʾān. The "family of the shaykh" and the learned teachers play important roles as advisers and legitimizers of the state. At first they were important in administration but later were active primarily in traditional education and legal interpretation. A key to early Saudi military success was the creation of the Ikhwān, tribal soldiers organized in special settlements as warriors for the faith. A critical transition in the development of the state came in 1929, when the Ihwān unsuccessfully revolted against the pragmatism of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's policies. Because the Wahhābī program is identified with the Saudi state, state policies represent an important definition of its mission. Thus the pragmatic style became characteristic of the Wahhābī movement during the twentieth century. In the spectrum of Islamic reform movements, however, the Saudi state continued to reflect a fundamentalist orientation.

Since the consolidation of the Saudi monarchy, the predominant tone of the Wahhābīyah has evolved significantly. Generally, fundamentalism works to change the existing social order. It is not a conservative style. However, the success of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and his successors in creating a relatively prosperous state has favored a more pragmatic and conservative policy. While still within the tradition of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, the twenty-first century version of the Wahhābī mission works within the framework of a modernizing state.

A major factor in this development is the impact of Saudi oil revenues. Exploitation of oil resources began during the lifetime of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and Saudi Arabia became a major oil-exporting state under his sons and successors, Saʿūd (r. 1953–1964) and Fayṣal (r. 1964–1975). Saudi policy in the early twenty-first century is designed to implement the fundamentalist call in a wealthy and modernizing state. An example is Fayṣal's ten-point program presented in 1962, which, like subsequent policies of Fayṣal's successors, Khālid (r. 1975–1982) and Fahd (r. 1982-), affirms that a modernizing state can be based on the Qurʾān and the *sunnah.*

BASIC IDEAS AND CONCEPTS. Despite the development of a more pragmatic ideology, the basic concepts of the Wahhābī program have remained quite constant. The oneness of God, or *tawḥīd,* is the fundamental concept in Wahhābī writings. It is an affirmation of the comprehensive nature of the statement "There is no god but [the one] God." *Tawḥīd* means that the political and economic realms are as much subject to God as are the realm of creeds. Any action or belief that seems to recognize ultimate authority or spiritual power in something other than God becomes polytheism.

In the eighteenth century the concept of *tawḥīd* provided the basis for opposition to saint worship and other popular religious customs. In the consolidation efforts of the nineteenth century, *tawḥīd* formed the logical basis for the legal decisions and religious positions of the scholars in the state ruled by Turkī and Fayṣal. In the twenty-first century pragmatic fundamentalism of the Saudi state *tawḥīd* provides an Islamic basis for comprehensive planning and a Muslim orientation to all aspects of policy.

A second basic concept is *ijtihād,* or independent informed reasoning, which directs a person with the proper training to base opinions on direct analysis of the Qurʾān and the *sunnah.* The analyst using *ijtihād* is not required to accept the conclusions of the great medieval scholars. In fact, blind adherence to the teachings of such scholars could be regarded as polytheism.

The Wahhābīyah have not carried the emphasis on *ijtihād* to the extreme of rejecting all medieval Islamic scholarship. Instead, they have stayed within the Ḥanbalī tradition but have felt free to go beyond its limits at times. In the thinking of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, this flexibility opened the way for a more vigorous rejection of Sufism (mysticism) than is found generally among the Ḥanābilah. It also allowed the shaykh more freedom in developing the Islamic policy of the first Saudi-Wahhābī state and in later years has given the Wahhābīyah some freedom in adjusting to the changes of the modern era.

A different set of concepts involves aspects of life that the Wahhābīyah reject, including innovation (*bidʿah*), idolatry or polytheism (*shirk*), and sinful ignorance (*jāhilīyah*). These concepts are in counterpoint to the positive positions involved in *tawḥīd* and *ijtihād.* The opposition to innovation is not simply a rejection of all change. After all, the Wahhābī movement began with the call for major changes in society. The Wahhābīyah oppose innovations for which a justification cannot be found in the Qurʾān or the *sunnah.* In this way many medieval devotional practices were rejected as "innovations." At the same time, the exercise of *ijtihād* can provide justification for changes that fall within Islamic limits.

Idolatry and sinful ignorance represent a violation of *tawḥīd;* they are the identifying features of the real nonbeliever. In the early days of the Wahhābī mission, opposition to idolatry and ignorance focused on concrete issues such as saint worship, veneration of trees and stones, and ignoring explicit Qurʾanic commands. In the twentieth century these concepts have been expanded to include ideologies that are viewed as atheistic (such as communism). Originally in Islamic history the so-called Age of Ignorance or Jāhilīyah was the period before the time of Muḥammad. However, in modern fundamentalist thought, the concept of Jāhilīyah has been broadened to include willfully ignoring the guidance for human life given in the Qurʾān and the *sunnah.* Such defiance makes people nonbelievers to be opposed by Muslims of the Wahhābī tradition.

GENERAL IMPACT AND SIGNIFICANCE. The establishment of the Saudi-Wahhābī state in the Arabian Peninsula represents the most concrete heritage and impact of the Wahhābī movement. Since the eighteenth century the Wahhābīyah have represented the spirit of fundamentalism in the central lands of Islam, establishing the tradition of a community based on the Qurʾān and the *sunnah.* However, the significance of the movement goes beyond the state. In the rigor of their attachment to the renewal mission, the Wahhābīyah have provided an example of what was and is possible. The implementation of the call for renewal contributed to the general spirit of fundamentalism in the eighteenth century. Some Muslims were directly inspired by Wahhābī teachings while others were affected more by their general effort. The fame of the Wahhābīyah spread to such an extent that by the nineteenth century almost any movement of rigorous fundamentalist reform came to be called a "Wahhābī movement."

The Wahhābīyah are the best-known example of a Muslim movement calling for strict recognition of the oneness of God, with all of the social and moral implications of that belief, and advocating the reconstruction of society on the basis of a strict and independent interpretation of the fundamentals of Islam. This message helped to inspire movements ranging from holy wars to modernist rethinking of medieval formulations. Following the Shīʿī fundamentalist revolution in Iran in 1979, the Wahhābī movement as represented by the policies of the Saudi state became a more conservative influence in a context of more radical Islamic revivalism. However, the Wahhābī mode of activist renewal also became identified with many of the militant Islamic movements of the early twenty-first century. As happened in the nineteenth century, "Wahhābī" came to be the term used to describe terrorist and militant groups as well as puritanical advocates of Islamic renewal. Both as the followers of the specific movement that developed in the Arabian Peninsula and as the adherents of movements of the "Wahhābī-type," the Wahhābīyah have had and continue to have a significant role in the modern history of the Islamic world.

SEE ALSO Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Muḥammad.

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WAKANDA See POWER

WALĀYAH, or *wilāyah,* an Arabic verbal noun derived from the root *wly,* carries the basic meanings of "friendship, assistance" and "authority, power." A fundamental notion of Islamic social and spiritual life, the term is used with a complex variety of meanings related to the function, position, authority, or domain of authority of a *walī* (pl., *awliyāʾ;* "next of kin, ally, friend, helper, guardian, patron, saint"); a *mawlā* (pl., *mawālī;* "cousin, close relation, ally, client, patron, master"); or a *wālī* (pl., *wulāh;* "administrator, governor, ruler"). It appears in Persian as *valāyat, vilāyat,* and in Turkish as *vilayet.*

A distinction is often made between *walāyah* and *wilāyah,* with the latter form generally preferred to convey the meaning of "power," "authority," or "domain of authority" (e.g., a political subdivision of a country). However, the vocalization is not normally indicated in the texts, and the classical Arab lexicographers are not unanimous on this point.

QURʾANIC USAGE. Although the verbal noun *al-walāyah,* thus vocalized according to the standard text, occurs only twice in the Qurʾān (surahs 8:72 and 8:44), other derivatives of the root *wly* are found in more than two hundred instances. Most frequently, the verbal forms *wallā* and *tawallā* are used, in the sense of "turning" either one's back or face—properly or metaphorically speaking—toward somebody or something (e.g., a hostile army, a sacred place, a prophetic message; God himself "turns to" or "takes care of" the pious, as in 7:196 and 45:19).

The nominal forms *walī* and *mawlā* are used, without apparent distinction, for the two partners of a close social relationship, such as kinship and alliance, but also for those of the God-human relationship. A *walī* or *mawlā* can claim certain rights of inheritance and has certain duties or responsibilities to assist an ally against enemies, in such cases as the retaliation for unjust killing of kinsmen (*wilāyat al-dam;* see 17:33). Inheritance and assistance expected of a *walī* may also be of a spiritual kind, as in the Qurʾanic version of the birth of John the Baptist, which seems to echo a messianic idea implicit in the Judeo-Christian background of that theme: Zacharias, having no (natural) son and fearing therefore the claims of his *mawālī* (secondary heirs, perhaps priest colleagues), asks God to give him a "noble offspring" (3:38), a "*walī* from thee, who will be my heir and will inherit [prophethood?] from the family of Jacob" (19:5–6).

Similarly in 4:75, but without the notion of kinship and inheritance, the oppressed (Meccan Muslims), left alone after the prophet Muḥammad's emigration, ask God to bring them out of "the city of the unjust" and to provide for them "a *walī* from thee and a helper [*naṣīr*] from thee" (see also 17:80). According to 41:28–31, the enemies of God will dwell forever in the fire, whereas the angels will descend upon the righteous as their "friends [*awliyāʾ*] in this life and the next," so that they shall have no fear; indeed, according to 10:62, the "friends of God [*awliyāʾ Allāh,* i. e., the pious] shall have no fear"—a verse frequently quoted in Ṣūfī manuals.

God's unique position as the most powerful friend and helper *(walī naṣīr)* is one of the major themes of Qurʾanic preaching, and several verses make it clear that those who "turn away" (e.g., 9:74) and/or "are lead astray by him" (e.g., 18:17) have no *walī* (42:8) or *mawlā* (47:11), that is, no one to turn to for help or guidance. The same message is also conveyed by the parable of the rich but impious owner of the two gardens and his poor but godfearing companion (18:32ff.), which closes with one of the two Qurʾanic verses in which *al-walāyah* actually occurs: it is the rich man who ends up the loser in spite of the prosperity of his gardens and the power of his clan, for, "Ultimately, the *walāyah* belongs to God, the Truth!" (18:44).

While this verse gives an idea of the prophet Muḥammad's attitude during the early stages of his career as a religious "warner" at Mecca, the other verse in which *al-walāyah* occurs (8:72) reflects the situation immediately after his emigration (Hijrah) in 622 CE from Mecca to Medina, where he began to organize his new community. The verse defines the relationship between three groups of believers (Muslims) in terms of *walāyah*: (1) those who emigrated and "fought on the path of God," (2) those who gave them asylum (in Medina) and helped them, and (3) those who did not emigrate. The first two groups, who came to be known later as the emigrants *(muhājirūn)* and the helpers *(anṣār)*—the nucleus of the future Muslim community *(ummah)*—are, according to this verse, allies or friends of each other *(awliyāʾ);* but "as for those who believed but did not emigrate, you have no *walāyah* with them [or: you should disregard their *walāyah*] until they emigrate!"

Traditional interpretation of this verse refers to a ceremonial "brothering" *(muʾākhāh)* supposed to have taken place between the emigrants and their Medinese helpers. This event was to cancel the old ties of *walāyah* linking the emigrants to their blood relations back in Mecca; this radical measure was, however, later abrogated or modified through verses 8:75 and 33:6, which state that blood relations are "closer [*awlā*] in the Book of God." Regarding this "brothering," W. Montgomery Watt suggests that "Muḥammad was prepared to use the kinship principle to increase the cohesion of his religious community in Medina" ("The Charismatic Community in Islam," *Numen* 7, 1960, p. 84). However, since it is not clear who "those who believed but did not emigrate" were in the first place, the ties of *walāyah,* to be ignored "until they emigrate," may have been those of friendship or alliance rather than kinship, as is also suggested by the parallel passage 4:89.

At any rate, emigrants and helpers were the "true believers" (8:74), and "those fighting" *(mujāhidūn)* were definitely placed in a higher rank than "those sitting" (at home), according to 4:95–4:96. Clearly, the new charismatic community of true believers was an alliance of those following the Prophet and was directed against his opponents. Further, it should be noted that these opponents were also seen as forming such an alliance of "*awliyāʾ* of each other," whether they were "the disbelievers" (8:73), "the hypocrites" (9:67–72), "the unjust" (45:19; 6:129), or "the Jews and Christians" (5:51). As is well known, the new Muslim community was patterned after the model of the nation of Abraham, but with Abraham as neither Jew nor Christian (see 3:64–68). The Jews in particular are frequently challenged in the Medinese surahs, notably to prove their claim to be "the exclusive friends of God" (*awliyāʾ Allah min dūn al-nās,* 62:6–8; 2:94–95).

Walāyah as a socioreligious concept seems indeed exclusive: one turns either to the right or to the wrong side, and the two sides are always engaged in battle: "Those who believe fight on the path of God, while those who disbelieve fight on the path of al-Ṭāghūt; thus, fight against the *awliyāʾ* of Satan!" (4:76). (*Al-Ṭāghūt,* perhaps derived from Ethiopic *ṭāʿōt*, "idols," is used for Satanic powers and often applied to tyrants or unlawful rulers, especially in Shīʿī interpretations.)

God and his antagonist(s) lead their respective allies or friends their way: God as the "*walī* of the believers" leads them from darkness to light, whereas the disbelievers, who have al-Ṭāghūt as *awliyāʾ*, are led by them from light to darkness (2:257). The world seems to be divided into two antagonistic groups: the party of God (*ḥizb Allāh*, 5:56) and the party of Satan (58:19), but the party of God, that is, "whoever turns to [or follows, *yatawallā*] God and his messenger [the prophet Muḥammad] and those who believe," is winning (5:56), while "whoever takes Satan rather than God as *walī* is surely going to lose!" (4:119). As though the divine *walāyah* were spread among the charismatic community, verse 5:55 states that "Your *walī* is only God, his Messenger, and those who [truly] believe, who perform the prayer and give alms, bending the body." Thus, unlike the purely God-oriented *walāyah* of the "poor companion" of Mecca, the Medinese *walāyah* seems to be the charisma of the party of God, in which the person of the Prophet himself plays the central role. Though never elevated to divine status, this role of the Prophet is stressed in the later parts of the Qurʾan generally; it culminates in the solemn pledge of allegiance *(mubāyaʿah)* made to him in lieu of God in 628 at al-Ḥudaybīyah (surah 48:9–10). The ceremonial contract of allegiance *(bayʿah)* made with his successors—caliphs, imams, and later also Ṣūfī shaykhs—all of whom would claim *wilāyah* of a certain kind, was to reiterate this charismatic basis of Islam symbolically.

LEGAL USAGE. A trace of the pre-Islamic kinship principle may be seen in the fact that the Qurʾanic commandments preserve the blood feud in restricted form, namely, as a right of the victim's *walī* to kill the murderer personally (17:33). In Islamic law, this particular right of the *walī*, which is known as *wilāyat al-dam* or "*wilāyah* of blood," is one among other forms in which the requital *(qiṣāṣ)* may be exercised.

Sunnī laws of inheritance, which were elaborated in the second Islamic century by the jurist al-Shāfiʿī (757–820), generally follow Arab tradition. The primary heir is the *walī* as the nearest male agnate in descending or ascending order *(ʿaṣabah);* but shares *(farāʾiḍ)* are also provided for secondary heirs in accordance with the Qurʾanic dispositions in surah 4:7ff. Under certain conditions, the inheritance of a manumitted slave goes to his former owner, who has become his patron *(mawlā)* and is counted as such among the agnates according to Shāfiʿī law. A similar kind of legal kinship was presumed in the early Umayyad period between non-Arab converts to Islam and their Arab patrons, who "adopted" them as clients *(mawālī).*

Al-Jurjānī (1339–1413) defines *walāyah* as legal kinship *(qarābah ḥukmīyah)* resulting from either manumission or "adoption." *Wilāyah*, on the other hand, he defines as the legal power "to carry through a decision affecting another person, whether the latter wishes or not." The notion of *wilāyah* as legal power is not, as such, Qurʾanic but was probably developed from the early second century AH onward in two different, though not unrelated, social spheres: family law and political thought.

Family law. The Qurʾanic laws of inheritance are laid down in 4:1ff., together with general rules and indications concerning marriage and the gift of the bridal dower to the brides (or wives), as well as the protection of the goods of orphans and fair treatment of the mentally weak *(safīh),* who should be represented by their *walī* in legal matters (2:282). A number of specific legal responsibilities of a *walī* regarding brides, orphans, minors, and otherwise legally incompetent persons *(safīh)* were eventually defined as a kind of guardianship or trusteeship. Among these, the most important socially is undoubtedly the "guardianship of marriage" *(wilāyat al-nikāḥ),* the office of the bride's nearest relative, her *walī*, who must give her in marriage by contractual agreement with the bridegroom. The *walī* may refuse consent or, as *walī mujbir*, force his ward into marriage under certain circumstances. According to Joseph Schacht, the *wilāyat al-nikāḥ* was not, as a legal institution, "originally as self-evident as it became later," and "marriage without a legal *walī* continued the easygoing practice of the pre-Islamic Arabs" during the early Islamic period (Schacht, p. 182f.).

Political thought. *Wilāyah* in the sense of political authority and sovereign power refers first of all to the authority of the "successor of the Messenger of God" *(khalīfat rasūl Allāh),* that is, the caliph, who is to be obeyed *(muṭāʿ)* as leader or guide *(imām)* of the Muslim community and as "commander of the faithful" *(amīr al-muʾminīn).* Although there is fundamental disagreement between Sunnī and Shīʿī Muslims concerning the nature and scope of this authority, and the persons invested with it, both refer to the same *locus classicus* to justify their claims: "Obey God and the Messenger and 'those in command' [*ūlī al-amr]* among you!" (surah

4:59); it is therefore called *wilāyat al-amr*. This usage of *wilāyah* should be seen in relation to the development of the charismatic alliance of those who "follow [*yatawallā*] God, the Messenger, and the [true] believers," or the party of God (5:55–56).

The question of who "those in command" were and how the alliance was to be preserved after the death of the Prophet was, perhaps not surprisingly, the primary concern of the early opposition parties. Among these, there were notably those who sided with Muḥammad's paternal cousin *(mawlā)* and son-in-law through Fāṭimah, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭalib (d. 661), known as the party of ʿAlī *(shīʿat ʿAlī),* later simply known as the Shīʿah, and those known as the dissidents (*khawārij,* Khārijīs). The early Shīʿah seem to have assumed that ʿAlī was entitled to inheritance from the Prophet not only as his kin but also as his "emigrant brother"; his preeminent position is thus unique.

But the kinship principle alone was evidently not sufficient to guarantee ʿAlī's exclusive right to what came to be known as *wilāyat al-amr:* it had to be completed by the principle of designation. This was made possible thanks to an inherent ambiguity of the term *mawlā.* According to a famous *ḥadīth* (prophetic tradition), the Prophet had made the following declaration at a solemn meeting after his last pilgrimage to Mecca and shortly before his death: "Am I not closer [*awlā*] to the believers than they are to themselves? . . . He whose *mawlā* I am, ʿAlī is his *mawlā!* God, befriend the one who befriends him [*wālī man wālāhu*], and treat as an enemy the one who treats him as an enemy!" (see also surah 33:6). The earliest sure evidence for an interpretation of this *ḥadīth* as asserting ʿAlī's *wilāyah* or right to be obeyed is found in the *Hāshimīyāt* of the pro-ʿAlid poet of Kufa, al-Kumayt ibn Zayd al-Asadī (680–743). ʿAlī, however, was elected caliph only after the assassination of ʿUthmān, the third of the four Rāshidūn ("rightly guided") caliphs in Sunnī Islam. ʿAlī's caliphate was overshadowed by civil war, and he was himself assassinated by a Khārijī.

In the heresiographical literature the Khārijī movement is associated with the doctrine that anyone, "even an Abyssinian slave," could serve as imam as long as that person was found to be a true believer. As may be seen from the earliest available Khārijī (Ibāḍī) texts (of uncertain date, between AH 70 and 150), a distinction between the "imams of truth" and the "imams of error" was essential to their doctrine, with the understanding that the first were to be obeyed as "*awliyāʾ* of the believers" and the second to be fought as unbelievers. The Khārijīs also developed the principle of *walāyah* in the sense of "associating with" or "following" *(muwālāh, tawallī)* prophets and "true believers," and its correlative, "dissociating" or "freeing oneself" from the opposite powers *(barāʾah, tabarruʾ).* Exactly the same double principle (later known in Persian as *tawallā* and *tabarrā*) was adopted by the Shīʿah, but with the essential difference that the true believers to be followed were necessarily ʿAlī and subsequent imams issuing from his "holy family" *(ahl al-bayt, āl Muḥammad).*

The assassination of ʿAlī, far from helping the Khārijī cause of Muslim "integralism," led to its very opposite. The successful Umayyads established the dynastic principle in the Sunnī caliphate and introduced the practice of the designation of the heir apparent *(walī al-ʿahd)* by the reigning caliph. Although the authority of an Umayyad caliph was hardly religious in nature, he was considered not only "successor of the Messenger of God," but also "representative of God" on earth *(khalīfat Allāh),* a Qurʾanic phrase that refers specifically to David as God's "viceroy among men" (38:26) and that continued to be applied to the caliph well into the Abbasid period.

The dissatisfaction of the religious community with Umayyad worldliness, as well as the hopes of the Shīʿah, helped, among other factors, to bring about the so-called Abbasid Revolution in the Eastern caliphate. The descendants of Muḥammad's paternal uncle al-ʿAbbās were presented as members of the "providential family"; they showed, once in power, a marked zeal for religious affairs. The *ʿulamāʾ* (religious scholars) were now elaborating a Sunnī doctrine of *wilāyat al-amr* in close collaboration with the caliph. Harūn al-Rashīd is addressed by the jurist Abū Yūsuf (d. 798), a disciple of Abū Ḥanīfah, as "*khalīfah* of God on his earth," to whom God has "delegated the command" *(tawliyāt al-amr)* and "given a light" to guide the subjects through clarification of the law and its enforcement. At the same time, Abū Yūsuf also strikes a Ṣūfī note. He exhorts the caliph to fulfill the duties of his high office and expresses the hope that God will not "abandon him to himself" (i. e., to his human weakness); that he will, rather, take care *(yatawallā)* of him as he takes care of his friends *(awliyāʾ),* "given that he is the [ultimate] *walī* in the matter."

During the later Abbasid period, when the real power was no longer exercised personally by the caliph, he was still considered the representative or guardian of the law *(walī al-sharʿ).* According to al-Māwardī (975–1080), it is the religious law itself that requires entrustment of all matters or delegation of general authority *(wilāyah ʿāmmah)* to the elected or designated imam from the Quraysh, that is, the Abbasid caliph. The caliph in his turn delegates authority *(tawliyah)* to viziers, military commanders, governors, and judges, so that all public functions *(wilāyāt)* emanate in theory from the authority entrusted to him and are legally validated by it. But al-Ghazālī (1058–1111), recognizing that the caliph has no longer the military power *(shawkah)* to defend religion, justifies the transfer of this legal authority to the Seljuk sultan or king *(pādishāh).* Al-Ghazālī argues, with traditional Persian wisdom, that "religion [*dīn*] and kingship [*mulk*] are twin brothers in need of each other"; in effect, non-Arab sultans and kings were now to play the role of the "shadow of God on earth."

SHĪʿĪ CONCEPTS. Contrary to the Sunnī acceptance of *wilāyah* as a state-building idea, the mark of Shiism is *walāyah* as devotion to ʿAlī and "the imams from the house of the Prophet," that is, descendants of ʿAlī who are considered imams. Despite several unsuccessful ʿAlid attempts to seize power, or perhaps because of them—the martyrdom of ʿAlī's second son Ḥusayn (d. 680) is an important aspect of Shīʿī Islam—imams of various lines of descent became the focus of a veneration that went far beyond the charismatic alliance of surah 5:55–56, from which "orthodox" Shīʿī doctrine nevertheless takes its pedigree: in effect, it became the apotheosis of the imam. In this process, through which Shiism became the major receptacle of messianic hopes and gnostic ideas in Islam, converts *(mawālī),* especially those of Iraq, seem to have played an essential role.

The transfer of *wilāyah* from Muḥammad to ʿAlī was understood as part of a more general *Heilsgeschichte,* a universal process of revelation to be completed by the imams as inheritors of the hidden *(bāṭin)* substance and knowledge of previous prophets, Arab and non-Arab, or as a process of transmigration *(tanāsukh)* that leads up to the final revelation of truth and justice with the coming, or return, of "the one who stands up" (*al-qāʾim,* probably the gnostic *hestōs*). Despite the repudiation of the more extremist ideas of their enthusiastic followers *(ghulāt)* by the imams themselves, and although the imams are not placed above Muḥammad's law according to standard Shīʿī doctrine, its major dogma insists that only the transfer of *wilāyah* from Muḥammad to ʿAlī and subsequent imams makes Islam the "perfect religion" (surah 5:3). In fact, *walāyah,* as adherence to the imams and as recognition of their mission as the true "holders of the [divine] Command" *(ūlī al-amr)* and the exclusive possessors of the true meaning of the Qurʾan and the "knowledge of the hidden" *(ʿilm al-ghayb),* remains the key to salvation, without which no pious act of obedience to God *(ṭāʿah)* is truly valid. It is for these reasons that *walāyah,* and not the profession of monotheism *(tawḥīd)* as in Sunnī Islam, appears as the principal "pillar of Islam" in the classical collections of Shīʿī traditions, both those of the Ithnā ʿAsharīyah, or Twelvers (e.g., al-Kulaynī, d. 940), and those of the Fatimid Ismāʿīlīyah (e.g., Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, d. 974), who follow a common line of imams up to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 765).

The concrete meanings and functions of *walāyah,* however, were quite different in the two cases. Contrary to the generally quietist or neutral attitude of the Twelvers, the Ismaʿīlīyah were politically active and succeeded in establishing, by the end of the third century AH, a Shīʿī counter-caliphate in North Africa and later in Egypt that constituted a serious challenge to the Abbasid order. For the function of *walāyah* in this process, it seems significant that the Fatimid campaign in North Africa is seen in Ismāʿīlī sources (Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān) as a parallel to the prophet Muḥammad's emigration (Hijrah) from Mecca to Medina: just as the Qurʾanic emigrant fighters are placed above those sitting at home, the front fighters of the Fatimid agent Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī (d. 911) are distinguished as *awliyāʾ* from the ordinary (Ismāʿīlī) believers *(muʾminūn).* The Fatimid caliph, referred to as *walī Allāh* and imam "of the time," was evidently seen in the role of the Prophet himself. He was not only the political head of a counter-caliphate, but also the spiritual center of an esoteric hierarchy, the *daʿwah* (lit., the "call" or "mission"), initiation into which was expected to provide gradual access to gnosis *(ʿilm)*—a cause that al-Ghazālī feared would undermine Islam from inside.

From the point of view of an Ismāʿīlī missionary *(dāʿī)* such as Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *wilāyah* was indeed much more than the legal foundation of the imamate: standing esoterically *(bāṭin)* for the true knowledge *(ḥaqīqat al-ʿilm)* bestowed primordially on Adam and inherited by prophets and imams, it is the very foundation of the sacred history of prophecy itself and its necessary fulfillment in the imamate. According to the grand *dāʿī* al-Muʾayyad fī al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 1077), prophets and imams, each in their time, are the examples of "absolute human being" (*al-insān al-muṭlaq,* the gnostic Anthrōpos). As the prophet Muḥammad is the Seal of the Prophets (surah 33:40), so the final (?) imam of resurrection *(qiyāmah)* is the Seal of the Imams *(khātam al-aʾimmah).*

The idea of the imam in Twelver Shiism, by contrast, is marked by the "occultation" *(ghaybah)* or absence of the twelfth imam, believed to have "disappeared" in AH 260 (873/874 CE); at his return *(rajʿah)* at the end of time he will "fill the earth with justice as it is now filled with injustice." In the absence of the imam, the *ʿulamāʾ* assumed authority in theological and juridical matters much like their Sunnī counterparts before; they insisted, however, on the presence of the infallible *(maʿṣūm)* Hidden Imam as a "grace necessary upon God" *(luṭf wājib)* that would validate their consensus *(ijmāʿ).* Gnostic Shiism, alien to the rationalism of the *ʿulamāʾ*, reappears within Twelver Shiism by the fourteenth century in a Ṣūfī form. Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī (d. after 1385) interprets Ibn ʿArabī's doctrine of the "two seals of *walāyah*" in terms of Twelver Shīʿī imamology, with ʿAlī as the "seal of absolute *walāyah*" and the twelfth imam as the "seal of particular Muḥammadan *walāyah*"; *walāyah* itself is both the "inner dimension of prophethood" *(bāṭin al-nubūwah)* and the transcendental vocation of humankind, or the trust offered (*al-amānah, sūrah* 33:72).

At the same time, Ṣūfī orders such as the Ṣafawīyah and the Kubrawīyah gradually turned Shīʿī, possibly as an indirect result of the Mongol invasions. The Ṣafawīyah, supported by Türkmen "tribal Shiism" and claiming descent from the imams, became even "extreme Shīʿī"; once its leaders assumed rule of Iran (with Shah Ismaʿīl I in 1501), they introduced Twelver Shiism, in a form hardly compatible with "orthodox" Shīʿī doctrine, as state religion; their prayer carpet *(sajjādah),* symbol of the dignity of the Ṣūfī *shaykh,* or Ṣūfī *wilāyah,* became the symbol of the quasi-divine throne of Persia *(qālīčah-i salṭanat).* Their success also brought about, perhaps paradoxically, the establishment of a real Shīʿī "clergy" and its eventual politicization. For the first time in Twelver Shīʿī history, the rationalist (Uṣūlī) school of the clergy formally acknowledged in 1817/1818 a division of labor between the *ʿulamāʾ* and the rulers—a long-established Sunnī practice—claiming general viceregency *(wilāyah ʿāmmah)* of the Hidden Imam for themselves, against the more traditionalist ideas of the Akhbārī school, and against the Ṣūfīs.

The very complex religious, social, and political situation in nineteenth-century Iran is also highlighted by the tensions between the majority of the clergy and the Shaykhī school, who developed a mystical concept of the "perfect Shīʿah" on the basis of Akhbārī traditionalism and the philosophy of Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1640). In the Shaykhī scheme, the imam presides over the realization of an individual's vocation in the realm between matter and spirit, or the *mundus imaginalis (ʿālam al-mithāl),* not over the realization of a political project.

It should be noted that the leader of the Islamic Revolution of 1978–1979, Ayatollah Khomeini, made a fundamental, albeit theoretical, distinction between two kinds of *wilāyah:* that of the learned jurist *(wilāyat al-faqīh),* called relative *wilāyah (wilāyah iʿtibārīyah)* and that of the traditional imams of the prophetic house, called real or creative *wilāyah (wilāyah takwīnīyah).*

Ṣūfī Concept. *Walāyah/wilāyah* is also a key concept for Sufism; indeed, it is the very principle of Sufism itself according to al-Hujwīrī's eleventh-century systematic exposition of its doctrine, the *Kashf al-maḥjūb* (Unveiling of the Veiled). Yet once again, two notions appear to be involved. To use the typological distinction made above between "Meccan" and "Medinese" *walāyah,* one might suggest that the spiritual attitude of early Sufism, with its ideal of poverty *(faqr, darvīshī)* and reliance upon God *(tawakkul),* is more in line with the former. The Khorasani saint Ibrāhīm ibn Adham (d. 776), quoted by the reputed teacher of most of the Baghdad Ṣūfīs, the theologian al-Muḥāsibī (d. 857), puts it succinctly this way: "If you wish to be God's friend [*walī*] and care that he loves you, then leave this world and the next and do not heed either; free yourself from both and turn your face to God, so that he turns his face to you!"

A number of prophetic traditions, often in the form of *ḥadīth qudsī* (non-Qurʾanic "words of God" transmitted by a prophet), suggest that there are indeed such friends of God. As with the Qurʾanic notion of *awliyāʾ,* there is a certain ambiguity as to whether these friends of God are human or angelic beings. "Approaching [God] and approached by him," they have reached such a stage that God says: "I am his ear by which he hears, his eye by which he sees, his tongue by which he speaks, his heart by which he understands"; even the prophets will envy them at the Day of Resurrection. No tradition refers to them by name; indeed, according to a famous tradition, they are hidden "under God's tents, unknown to anyone but him." On the other hand, they are reminders of God for people and stand under his special protection: whoever turns against them, turns against God. "Marvelous is their story, and they know marvelous stories. The [heavenly] Book stands through them, and they stand through it; the Book speaks through them, and they speak through the Book."

Many of the traditions regarding these "friends of God," the first comprehensive collection of which is found in Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī's *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ,* are attributed to pre-Islamic prophets, especially Yaḥyā ibn Zakarīyāʾ (John the Baptist) and Jesus. This may suggest a gnostic origin; some are clearly of a mythological nature. According to the tradition known throughout the Ṣūfī literature as the *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd, there are 355 or 356 such figures, upon whom life and death of all nations depends: 300 "whose heart is after the heart" of Adam; 40 who are in the same relationship to Moses (or Noah); 7 to Abraham; 5 (or 4) to the angel Gabriel; 3 to Michael; and one to Seraphiel (Isrāfīl, the angel of resurrection). If one of them dies, God substitutes for him one of the next lower class. The substitutes of the lowest class (the 300) are taken from the common people *(al-ʿāmmah).* The single one is commonly called the "pole" *(quṭb)* or the "rescue" *(ghawth),* while terms such as *abdāl* (usually for the 40 or the 7) and *ṣiddīqūn* (see surah 4:69) refer either to a class, or to saints generally, like *awliyāʾ.*

Wilāyah, then, is the special charismatic quality of a Ṣūfī, that which enables him to be the subject of miracles or, more precisely, charismata *(karāmāt).* The classical Ṣūfīs, especially the Khorasani school, were divided over the question of whether *awliyāʾ* should themselves be aware of their sainthood and whether the charismata should become public knowledge. For Bāyazīd al-Basṭāmī (or Bisṭāmī, d. 875 or earlier), the *awliyāʾ* should be hidden like the "brides of God"; he was extremely critical of public shows. By contrast, Tirmidhī al-Ḥakīm (ninth century), the reputed founder of the Ṣūfī doctrine of *wilāyah,* dismissed such restraint as a subtle form of self-consciousness. According to the definition of Timidhī's contemporary and disciple Abū ʿAlī al-Juzjānī (which became more or less authoritative), a *walī* is "in oblivion [*fanāʾ*] of himself but subsisting [*baqāʾ*] in contemplation." Other well-known definitions distinguish an "active" from a "passive" aspect (al-Qushayrī), or a *walāyah* of "lordship" (*sūrah* 18:44) from a *wilāyah* (?) of "love" (al-Hujwīrī).

Typical connotations of Ṣūfī *wilāyah* are "insight into the hidden" (*al-ʿilm bi-al-ghayb,* Tirmidhī) and control of souls *(taṣarruf),* psychognostic and pedagogic abilities, and the power to drive Satan away. Medieval Ṣūfī "saints" are famous for having the power to help the Muslim armies, and to intercede *(shafāʿah)* on behalf of the sinners. In postclassical Ṣūfī texts, *walāyah* or *wilāyah* generally refers either to the highest mystical stage that may be attained or to the authority exercised by a Ṣūfī master, or to both at the same time. Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 1221) identifies its highest stage with the experience of divine creative power *(takwīn).* By contrast, his followers in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, receptive to Shīʿī ideas but not yet themselves Shīʿah, notably ʿAlāʾ al-Dawlah al-Simnānī (d. 1336), emphasize the double experience of the prophet Muḥammad—his *walāyah* or mystical experience and his *nubūwah* or prophetic authority—as a necessary model for their own double experience of mystical attainment and Ṣūfī authority.

One of the major theoretical problems discussed in Ṣūfī circles from the beginning was the exact nature of the relationship between the *awliyāʾ* and the prophet Muḥammad, that is, between the Ṣūfī and the prophet Muḥammad. The imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq is quoted by Abū Nuʿaym as follows: "Whoever lives in the 'outward' [*ẓāhir*] of the Messenger [Muḥammad] is a Sunnī, and whoever lives in the 'inward' [*bāṭin*] of the Messenger is a Ṣūfī." In the Qurʾanic commentary of the Ṣūfī Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 896 in Basra), the heart or spiritual reality of Muḥammad is seen as the divine element enshrined in him and the source for the illumination of human hearts; his pre-Adamic Light-nature *(nūr Muḥammad)* is the source of the prophetic ancestors of humankind, and of "those desired [by God]," that is, *awliyāʾ.*

Divine *walāyah,* on the other hand, is conferred directly on the elect, who are also those who have the right understanding of God and of the Qurʾān, according to al-Tustarī. The fact that the Prophet is "the *walī* of the believers" (surah 5:55) means only that he was notified (in this world) by God to befriend those whom God had befriended (or elected) in the first place. There does not seem to be an essential distinction in al-Tustarī's view between prophets generally and *awliyāʾ,* although *ṣiddīqūn* occupy a lower rank; the charismata of the *awliyāʾ* are signs *(āyāt)* of God's power, and al-Tustarī himself claims to be the "proof of God" *(ḥujjat Allāh).* The Baghdad Ṣūfī Abū Saʿīd al-Kharrāz, (d. 890/891), on the other hand, polemizes against "certain Ṣūfīs" who "place the *awliyāʾ* above the prophets." For al-Kharrāz, prophecy is a grace additional to *wilāyah,* since prophets are *awliyāʾ* before they become prophets. The *awliyāʾ* are always placed under a prophet known by name, on whose behalf they call people to God, and their charismata are clearly of a secondary nature in comparison with the signs that are given exclusively to prophets.

Tirmidhī goes a step further in elevating the status of Muḥammad the lawgiving prophet, while at the same time elevating his own status: on the one hand, *awliyāʾ* and ordinary prophets rank lower than lawgiving prophets, among whom Muḥammad is unquestionably the greatest. All parts of prophecy are united in him; he is perfect in this sense, and impeccable *(maʿṣūm).* But his being "the Seal of the Prophets" means just this, not that he was the last in time, Tirmidhī insists. There is also a mysterious "Seal of the *Awliyāʾ,*" to be sent by God at the end of time. Tirmidhī often uses Shīʿī (although not necessarily Ismāʿīlī) language, but clearly not with a Shīʿī intention: he explicitly denies that the "family of the Prophet" is the "kinship family." But the danger of a confusion with the Ismāʿīlīyah was evidently felt by al-Hujwīrī, who, writing in the mood of the "Sunnī Revival," omits the doctrine of the Seal from his summary of Tirmidhī's teaching. Yet it was brought to light again, and enriched with elements of a breathtaking complexity, by Ibn ʿArabī (1164–1240), the real master *(shaykh akbar)* of subsequent Ṣūfī thought. Ibn ʿArabī summarizes his concept of the relationship between the two Seals with the following proposition: "The Seal of the Prophets, considered from the point of view of his own *walāyah,* is toward the One who seals the *walāyah* in the same position as all other prophets and lawgiving messengers are toward him, for he is *walī,* lawgiving messenger, and prophet." But *walāyah* itself is divided into two, and, accordingly, there are two Seals of *Walāyah* in the shaykh's doctrine: Jesus, Seal of "General *Walāyah,* and Ibn ʿArabī himself, or his spiritual reality, Seal of "the Particular Muḥammadan *Walāyah.*" This doctrine, provocative as it sounds, is, however, balanced by the self-evident necessity for both Seals of *Walāyah* to follow the law of the Seal of Prophecy; and everything is placed under the primordial "reality of Muḥammad," also called "reality of realities," or the *logos.*

SEE ALSO Caliphate; Ghaybah; Imamate; Iṣmah; Nubūwah; Ummah.

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Hermann Landolt (1987)

WALDENSIANS. The Waldensians, also called the Poor Men of Lyons, originated with Pierre Valdès, or Peter Waldo, a wealthy merchant of Lyons, France. The dates of his birth and death are not known, nor is his exact name. The name Peter was given to him later by his followers, probably to stress his affinity with Peter, first of Christ's disciples. About 1170 Valdès was converted from his worldly life after hearing the story of Saint Alexis, who on his wedding day abandoned his bride and all his worldly possessions to become a pilgrim. The account led Valdès to seek the advice of a priest on how he, too, could obey God and become perfect. The reply he received was the same text from *Matthew* (19:21) that Francis of Assisi was to come upon forty years later: "If you wish to be perfect, go, sell your possessions, and give to the poor, and then you will have treasure in heaven; and, come, follow me." Valdès acted on the injunction, and took to a life of wandering poverty and preaching, living on alms, in emulation of Christ's life on earth.

He was soon joined by others, among them priests who translated into French passages from the Bible for the group's use in preaching. Vernacular translations from the Bible were one of the Waldensians' hallmarks. Before long their unauthorized preaching alarmed the local clergy, and the archbiship of Lyons ordered them to cease. Valdès refused, with the reply that was to be the central Waldensian tenet, that God was to be obeyed before humans (a reference to *Acts* 5:19).

The Waldensians decided to take their case to the pope, Alexander III, and a party of them traveled to Rome for that purpose. They arrived during the Third Lateran Council in 1179, were heard, and their beliefs were examined. Alexander confirmed their vow of poverty, but he also, in effect, confirmed the archbishop of Lyons's ban on their preaching by declaring that they could preach only if they first gained the permission of the local clergy. That, however, was not enough for Valdès; he continued to preach, and although he made a profession of faith before a synod at Lyons in 1180, he and his followers were excommunicated in 1182 or 1183. At the Council of Verona in 1184, where the first concerted attack on heresy was begun, the Waldensians were included among the heretical sects condemned, a condemnation to be repeated many times during the next three centuries.

The Waldensians are the classic case of popular piety become heresy. What had begun as one more attempt, not uncommon in the twelfth century, by a few individuals to return to evangelical principles, ended outside the church. The Waldensians differed in that they, alone among these groups and individuals, were neither absorbed into a religious order nor eventually disappeared as a sect, but survived the Middle Ages to become one of the new reformed churches—albeit a small one—of the sixteenth century. They did so, in part at least, because, of all the heretical sects, they remained closest to the teachings of the gospel which they sought simply to preach and practice without theological or metaphysical overtones. Theirs was above all a moral and spiritual Christianity. In that there were strong similarities between Valdès and Francis of Assisi. But where Francis and his band were accepted both by the local church hierarchy and by the pope, Innocent III, Valdès was not, and he rebelled. Even so, there is no evidence that he ever departed from the church's teachings, and every indication that during his lifetime he devoted himself to combating heresy, especially that of the Cathari. The closeness of the Waldensians to orthodox belief is suggested by the reconversion of two groups under Durand of Huesca and Bernard Prim in 1207 and 1210, and their formation into separate religious orders by Innocent III to oppose the Cathari.

That was probably the period when Valdès died. By then the Waldensians had spread from Lyons into Languedoc and northern Italy as well as into Germany, in due course extending into central Europe. They became the nearest thing to a popular counterchurch, with their own congregations and priests and their own religious forms. But they did not operate as a single church. That was due partly to circumstances and partly to their popular, almost exclusively lay, character. In 1205 there was a schism between the Lombard Waldensians and those from north of the Alps, the followers of Valdès. The Lombards had instituted their own sacraments and ceased to lead the life of wandering preachers but lived in towns and by manual labor. The followers of Valdès maintained their original pattern of mendicant preaching and poverty. The Lombards elected their own head, whereas for Valdès only Christ could be the head. Despite a further attempt to heal the split in 1218 and some degree of contact, the two different wings went their own ways.

The Waldensians were the one genuinely popular heresy (before the Hussites) who drew their support from artisans and peasants. Although they had their base in the cities, especially in Lombardy, they were also of the countryside, especially north of the Alps and in the Alpine valleys of Piedmont, where geography protected them. Cohesion was maintained by the Waldensian priests, often called the "perfect," an analogy with the Catharist perfect but having a very different character. The Waldensian perfect, especially north of the Alps—and by the fourteenth century the Waldensians had in effect become a northern phenomenon, with their main strength in Germany and central Europe—were preachers acting as Christ's apostles as Valdès had done. But now they acted clandestinely. They visited individual Waldensian believers and administered their simplified version of the sacraments. In return they were supported by the believers materially, sometimes by a voluntary tax or payment. Otherwise, the ordinary Waldensian led an ordinary life, earning his living and observing outward obedience to the Roman church. That may well have involved less of a conflict than among the ordinary Cathar believer. The difference between being a Waldensian and an orthodox Christian was less one of belief than of adherence to the Waldensian perfects, regarded by the Waldensian believers as Christ's true representatives. The opposition between them and the Roman church was the main source of Waldensian belief as it developed after the death of Valdès.

The Waldensians claimed that they were the one true church to whom the apostolic succession had passed after the so-called Donation of Constantine, which gave to the pope headship of the western Roman Empire. Although a forgery, the Donation was believed to be true until the fifteenth century, and the Waldensians were not alone in treating it as the cause of the Roman church's decline. From it they argued that the Roman priests were not true priests and, following Valdès, further held that any man, and, indeed, woman, pure in spirit and in the quality of his or her life, was a priest and ordained by God. Like the Cathari, the Waldensians accepted women as perfect, although there seems to have been a decline in the number of female perfect in the fourteenth century. Once adopted, those Waldensian beliefs became irreconcilable with those of the Roman church. The Waldensians also came to reject the Roman church's sacramental forms and most of its prayers and ceremony, including prayers for the dead, a belief in purgatory, or the very need for churches. In their place they had their own modified spiritual forms of baptism (and only for adults, not children), confession, and marriage. At the same time, true to the literal interpretation of Christ's own gospel teaching, they rejected all nonspiritual activities, including the swearing of oaths, the exercise of legal authority, the waging of war, or the taking of life.

In all those ways they sought to obey God rather than human authority by turning away from the laws of the Roman church to direct communion with Christ through God's word in the Bible. Their influence is to be seen upon the Hussites.

SEE ALSO Cathari; Hus, Jan.

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GORDON LEFF (1987 AND 2005)
Revised Bibliography

WALDMAN, MARILYN ROBINSON (1943–1996), was an American-born historian of religion with unusually strong commitments, knowledge, and convictions regarding Islam and Muslims. Born in Dallas, Texas, Marilyn Robinson Waldman was of Eastern European Jewish descent. Following undergraduate studies in African history at Radcliffe, she studied Islamic and African history at the University of London (1964–1965) and earned a PhD in Islamic history at the University of Chicago, where Marshall G. S. Hodgson was her most influential teacher. In her work, she combined clarity and toughness of mind with humanity and humor. She loved to find laughter where she could.

Though her life was cut short by cancer at age fifty-three, Waldman established a remarkably prolific record as a speaker, traveler, teacher, consultant, organizer, and university administrator. She was famously active in the American Academy of Religion, the American Society for the Study of Religion, the American Institute of Iranian Studies, and the World History Association. Additionally she served on the editorial boards of numerous journals and consulted on curriculum and program reform for a number of schools. At The Ohio State University (OSU), where she spent her entire professional career, she served on literally dozens of committees and held appointments in the Department of History, the Middle East Studies Program, and the Center (later Division) of Comparative Studies in the Humanities, an experimental interdisciplinary unit that she directed for several years and, in large measure, reinvented.

Professor Waldman's radical reconfiguration of the Center of Comparative Studies is telling of her broader intellectual concerns. Though staunchly committed to a strong presence for religious studies in the public university, she took the bold step of rejecting familiar arguments about the autonomy and "irreducibility" of religion, and thus argued against the need for an autonomous department of religion. She worked to establish an alternative institutional structure that would fully integrate the comparative study of religion with the comparative studies of literature and science, and indeed all versions of human inquiry. Committed to this truly interdisciplinary vision, she invested the same passion, vigor, and skill and the same quality of attention, care, and time in nurturing the Center as she did in raising her family or growing her garden. Overcoming much resistance, she shaped Comparative Studies according to her vision of a "meandering mainstream," a phrase that served as the title of her inaugural address to OSU's College of Humanities in 1988. She urged that comparison be embraced, not avoided; in fact, she regarded comparison as not just an academic exercise, but a ubiquitous human activity, a strategically deployed, socially consequential undertaking in which people are constantly involved. Though her vision has proven difficult to sustain, she regarded such a non-conventional academic unit as Comparative Studies to be not just an option but a necessity, and fought for its integrity and continuation when it was threatened by the wave of restructuring at Ohio State in the early 1990s.

Deeply concerned to find ways of framing the study of religion that avoided the problems of essentialism and reification, Professor Waldman was impressed by the claim that the category of *religion* is created for the scholar's analytic purposes through imaginative acts of comparison and generalization. In a plenary address at the Midwest American Academy of Religion (1990) she reminded her audience that "religion" is a word that the people whom scholars study do not use, or at least do not use in the way scholars do; in short, religious studies does not have a fixed or fixable object of its attention. Accordingly, she advocated what she termed "stipulative definitions" of religion, which would allow for adjustment or change over time. In her view, religion is neither a thing, nor even a phenomenon, but rather a construct that, imagined by scholars, provides, among others things, "an angle of vision" or a "take" on human beings' ways of living in the world.

Of special concern for Marilyn Waldman were the connections between religion, power, and authority, most notably in relation to prophethood and religious leadership. In fact, informed especially by years of studying Islam, she explained in the same plenary address (1990) that,

> Given my own research, I would say that the imagination and study of religion focuses us on strategies for dealing with power and authority that rely on the ability to perceive and/or generate paradoxes, disjunctions, contradictions, conflicts, competition, and discontinuities, and to make sense of them, and in making sense of them, to make connections not otherwise possible. . . . Perhaps the most fundamental paradox of all is the insistence on establishing human priorities on the basis of an extra-human source and standard . . . , that is, an insistence on distinguishing special from ordinary, and degrees of specialness and ordinariness, up and down the line, not just a focus on ultimate concern which has been the basis of many efforts to define religion. All sorts of other paradoxes flow from this one.

Given this set of interests, among Dr. Waldman's primary and enduring concerns was to bring Islam out of its marginal position in the academic study of religions. In a 1989 address to the North American Society for the Study of Religion (NASSR) entitled "Islam and the Comparative Study of Religion" she noted that Islam has seldom played a prominent role in the theorizing of the broader history of religions. In her view this was a missed opportunity for both Islamicists and comparativists, especially those like herself with special interests in religious leadership and prophethood; but once again she argued that the situation might be rectified by "reconsidering how we do comparison." Providing an early formulation of what she would term comparison via "catchments" in her final book project, *Power and Prophecy,* she argued for the creation of heuristic contexts of comparison wherein scholars, including scholars of Islam, could carry on a kind of hypothetical conversation or, as she wrote, operate with "an extra-language that will allow speakers of other languages to converse with each other in new ways." Ever mindful of the ways in which uncareful comparative strategies could reify and distort the specifics of Islamic history, she insisted that "Above all, I want my system to be fluid and tentative, to be able to account for the historical changes and momentary variation of internal systems of thought."

With the Iranian revolution, Marilyn Waldman's enduring historical and theoretical concerns about Islam were intensified and widened into more practical concerns. Her efforts to put her knowledge of Islam into more general circulation led her to cultivate a second career as a public speaker on issues of broad general concern; in all, she gave more than five hundred community presentations. The titles of some of her public lectures give a sense of how she projected her academic interests into the wider community: "Human Rights and Islamic Law" (1980), "Women Leaders: Why Are There More outside the U.S.?" (1989), "Behind and beyond the Gulf War" (1992), and "Islam in International Affairs" (1993).

This sense of obligation and her relentless efforts "to carry our knowledge into the wider world" earned her the 1992 Richard Bjornson Distinguished Service Award from the Ohio Humanities Council. As she stated in her acceptance speech, she believed in "disseminating the public significance of academic scholarship as widely as possible." Her public scholarship, she said, improved her academic scholarship, "not just the other way around." In 1987 she addressed Ohio State's summer commencement and in 1989 she served as guest lecturer on OSU's Alumni Association tour of Egypt. The Islamic Council of Ohio recognized her in 1989 for her efforts to advance public understanding of Islamic history.

If scholarship is judged by the questions it stimulates rather than the answers it provides, then Marilyn Waldman was a true scholar, for in her effort to fight stereotypes, she thrived on raising questions and complicating them through comparison. Underneath all of her pursuits was her desire to get to the heart of what it means to be human. "For me," she said, "it's not just a question of *whether* we survive, but *how* we survive, and what human possibilities we open up for ourselves in the process" ("The Meandering Mainstream: Reimagining World History," OSU Inaugural Address, 1988). She believed, as she wrote in the preface to her final book, "the commitment to cross-cultural interpretation is a moral act, a practical necessity, and an intellectual challenge; the circumstances of our time make it possible for us to address all three, and unwise to neglect any of them" (2005). A quote from Spinoza, which she had pinned to the bulletin board outside her office, sums up her investments, both personal and professional: "I have made a ceaseless effort not to ridicule, not to bewail, nor to scorn human actions, but to understand them."

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The Exemplary Faculty Award that Marilyn Waldman received from OSU's College of Humanities (1996) attests to the delicate balance she negotiated in the ways that she imparted her knowledge and understanding. Her enduring influence probably owes more to the people she affected in conferences, meetings, and classes than to her published writings. Nonetheless, the following titles are worth consulting, as they reflect the scope and depth of her thinking.

The Islamic World, which she coedited with William H. McNeill (Oxford, 1973; reprint, Chicago and London, 1983), contains translations of representative works by Muslim writers from all periods of Islamic history. *Toward a Theory of Historical Narrative: A Case Study in Perso-Islamicate Historiography* (Columbus, Ohio, 1980) challenges prevailing practice in Islamic historiography by undertaking a multifaceted analysis of a single text, *Tārīkh-i Bayhaqī,* written by a tenth-century premodern Muslim historian. It urges historians to abandon traditional attempts to deduce supposed historical realities from historical narratives, and argues that such narratives should be seen rather as part of a history of images and representations of the past.

Together with her colleague Richard Bjornson, Marilyn Waldman conceived and edited the series *Papers in Comparative Studies,* which explored issues of fundamental human concern from a variety of disciplinary and cultural perspectives. For example, *Religion in the Modern World,* edited by Waldman and Hao Chang (Columbus, Ohio, 1984), explores the relationship of religion to modernity; *Rethinking Patterns of Knowledge,* edited by Waldman and Bjornson (Columbus, Ohio, 1989), straddles fields such as medical research, mathematics, environmental engineering, zoology, psychology, history, literature, religious studies, and the performing arts; *The University of the Future: Problems and Prospects,* edited by Waldman and Bjornson (Columbus, Ohio, 1990), comments on the relationship of higher education with government and corporate America; *Judaism and Islam: Fostering Understanding,* edited by Waldman and Helena Schlam (*Jewish Education News,* 13[1], Columbus, Ohio, 1992) and *Muslims and Christians, Muslims and Jews: A Common Past, a Hopeful Future,* edited by Waldman alone (Columbus, Ohio, 1992), offer a clear, nontechnical, and accessible public scholarship; and *Understanding Women: The Challenge of Cross Cultural Perspectives,* edited by Waldman, Artemis Leontis, and Mügé Galin (Columbus, Ohio, 1992), investigates the study of women, advocacy for women, and women themselves around the globe, touching on issues of colonialism, Orientalism, racism, modernization, and feminism.

At the time of her death, Dr. Waldman was working on yet another re-visioning of her thoughts on religion, authority, and comparison, under the working title of *Inviting Prophets and Entertaining Comparisons.* In this study of religious leadership, prophecy, and prophethood, comparison figures large as both subject and method. She uses the theme of "privileging communicator" to help her meditate on the benefits and perils of cross-cultural comparison, category formation, and the role of perspective in constructing knowledge in *Power and Prophecy: A Comparative Study of Islamic Evidence* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005).

MÜGÉ GALIN (2005)

WALĪ ALLĀH, SHĀH.

Shāh Walī Allāh (AH 1114–1176/1703–1762 CE), Quṭb al-Dīn Aḥmad, was born in a village called Phulit in the district of Muzaffarnagar and was raised in Delhi under the close supervision of his father, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, an erudite scholar-educator, Ṣūfī, and accomplished jurist, and one of the compilers of *Fatāwā-i ʿĀlamgīrī,* a major work on Ḥanafī *fiqh,* commissioned by the Mughal emperor Awrangzeb (r. 1658–1707).

Walī Allāh memorized the entire text of the Qurʾān by the age of seven; studied the texts of the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth* (prophet's sayings); and was initiated into three Ṣūfī orders, the Chishtīyah, Qādirīyah, and Naqshbandīyah, by his father. In 1719, after his father's death, Walī Allāh assumed the responsibilities of full-time teaching and the running of Madrasah-i Raḥīmīyah, founded by his father. He traveled to Mecca and Medina for pilgrimage in 1730, stayed there for fourteen months, studied *ḥadīth* and Islamic law with prominent Muslim scholars belonging to the Mālikī and Shāfiʿī schools of law, and was initiated to the Shaṭṭārīyah and Shādhilīyah Ṣūfī orders. These experiences proved to be a catalyst in expanding Walī Allāh's intellectual horizons. The most productive period of his intellectual output started after his return to India, resulting in forty-one major and minor works on wide-ranging topics, including biography, ethics, law, metaphysics, mysticism, and sociopolitical issues that confronted the Muslims of his period.

Walī Allāh was an heir to the intellectual and theological heritage of such Indian Muslim thinkers as Maulana ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm Sialkotī (d. 1657), Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī (d. 1648), Naqshbandī master Khawājah Baqī-billāh (d. 1603), and his teachers in the Ḥijāz. His scholarship reflects the influence of many of the ideas of his predecessors; however, he differed from them in his integrative and analytical approach to various branches of the Islamic sciences, and he devised methods to reconcile conflicting opinions. In his writings he demonstrated that *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, Qurʾān, *sunnah*, *taṣawwuf*, and Islamic history were all indispensable for the proper understanding and practice of Islam. He asserted that legislative interpretations ought to be compatible with the needs of a given period, and that jurists ought to express their independent opinion freely.

Walī Allāh lived during a period of rapid decline of Muslim political power. He was convinced of his divinely ordained role in Indo-Islamic society and embarked upon a comprehensive plan for religious renewal of the Muslim community. A serious thinker of the eighteenth century, Walī Allāh took upon himself the role of *mujaddid* (renewer and purifier of faith) of the twelfth century AH, a master of time (*qāʾim al-zamān*), and the pivot and head of the mystical hierarchy (*quṭb*). As a *mujaddid* he was concerned about practical ways of directing and enriching the tradition of scholarship and developing leadership for the community. He was especially interested in training the *ʿulamāʾ* (singular *ʿālim,* a traditionally educated Islamic scholar) by devising proper curricula and by spelling out a method of writing Qurʾanic exegesis in *al-Fawz al-Kabīr fī Uṣūl al-Tafsīr* (written in Persian), rather than writing glosses over the exegeses. With the rise of Shīʿī political power in Northern India, Walī Allāh stressed the importance of proper understanding of classical Islamic history in *Izālat al-Khafāʾ ʿan Khilāfat al-Khulafāʾ* (written in Persian) and *Qurrat al-ʿAynayn fī Tafḍīl al-Shaykhayn* (written in Persian). These two books were written not to reject Shiism, but to curb the spread of "innovation [*bidʿah*] of Shiism," which had created doubts on the legitimacy of the caliphate of the first four caliphs (632–661) in the minds of the Sunnīs. Based on reasoned discussion, Walī Allāh dealt with controversial issues in *Izālat al-Khafāʾ* (vol. 1, pp. 8–9). He argued that these caliphs played a crucial role in: (1) the compiling of Qurʾanic text and practicing the Qurʾanic ordinances; (2) establishing *ḥadīth* as a systematic source of Islamic law; and (3) developing the judicial process and juridical ordinances. To deny the key role of the caliphs in the history of Islam, in his view, amounted to destroying the very foundation of Islamic religious sciences.

Above all, in his monumental work *Ḥujjat Allāh al-Bālighah* (written in Arabic), Walī Allāh integrated the spiritual and material domains of human life; the dynamic and evolutionary relationship of human beings, life, and the universe; and the relationship of metaphysics, politics, and economics. His emphasis on the need to exercise independent reasoning on religious issues (*ijtihād*), his stress on the benefits of making the Qurʾanic text available to the community through translation (a controversial move at that time), and his belief in the power of the prophet Muḥammad's sayings and his practical model (*sunnah*) to reform communal behavior and morals made Walī Allāh the forerunner of the modernists and reformers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Madrasah-i Raḥīmīyah served as an institution of learning and research for the *shāh* and his descendants for over a century and half. Walī Allāh's career as a full-time educator lasted twelve years, until 1730, when he left for Mecca for *ḥājj*. During his absence and after his return, he assigned teaching responsibilities to a few of his pupils who were trained as teachers, while he himself concentrated on writing works of lasting value. After Walī Allāh's death, his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and his younger three brothers not only managed the *madrasah* but also brought about changes in the methods and content of instruction. They maintained high standards of scholarship, took interest in social and political issues much like their father, and saw the number of students increase from thirty-five during Walī Allāh's period to many thousands drawn from across India. This institution reached new heights in prominence under the leadership of Muḥammad Isḥāq (d. 1845), who succeeded his maternal grandfather, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, after his death in 1824.

SHĀH WALĪ ALLĀH'S LEGACY. Although today Walī Allāh is ranked as the most influential thinker of the modern period, he was not well-known in his lifetime, even in his home country of India. His works did not become the core of the curriculum even in his own *madrasah*, and they were not discussed, critiqued, or annotated by his progeny, as was the practice in traditional schools. His ideas, however, became attractive to modernists, reformers, and traditionalists of diverse schools of thought about three generations later. The prominent reformers and thinkers of the nineteenth and twentieth century, such as Aḥmad Khān (d. 1898), Iqbāl (d. 1938), and Mawdūdī (d. 1979), among many others, acknowledged their indebtedness to Walī Allāh. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, with Islam becoming a world religion, reference to Walī Allāh's works is a symbol of legitimacy for thinkers and organizations in Indo-Pakistan and abroad.

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Torah, Injīl (New Testament), and Zabūr (Psalms of David); familiarity with these scriptures was a prerequisite for the study of Qurʾanic exegesis at the *madrasah* (p. 22); (2) Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, the towering modernist of the nineteenth century, attended lectures of Muḥammad Isḥāq, along with a large number of men and women in Delhi (p. 30); instruction of girls at his house in the morning was part of Shāh Isḥāq's daily routine (p. 78).

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Sajida S. Alvi (2005)

WALKER, JAMES R. (1849–1926) was a physician with the Indian Service of the United States government who became an important scholar of Native American religion. He was born near Richfield, Illinois, on March 4, 1849. He joined the Union Army in 1864 at the age of fourteen and was eventually assigned to the U.S. Sanitary Commission to care for the sick and wounded during the Civil War. Walker resumed his schooling after he returned to Illinois at the end of the war and earned the degree of Doctor of Medicine from Northwestern University Medical School in 1873. He joined the government's Indian Service in 1877 and first served as a physician at Leech Lake Indian Reservation in Minnesota. In 1893 he was transferred to the Colville Reservation in Oregon, in 1896 to the Indian Industrial School at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and later in 1896 to the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. It was at Pine Ridge that Walker developed a lifelong interest in the Lakota (Oglala Sioux) Indians and ultimately became one of the foremost scholars of Lakota religion, preserving a multifaceted documentary record as important to the Lakota people themselves as to academic researchers.

When Walker arrived at Pine Ridge, he found that health conditions were abysmally low. Tuberculosis afflicted almost half the Lakota population, particularly children. The Oglalas had no confidence in white doctors, preferring to rely on their medicine men (traditional religious healers). While Walker at first felt antagonistic toward the medicine men, he soon realized that if he could win them over he would have powerful allies in combating the disease. He learned that they attributed the symptoms of tuberculosis to a worm eating away the patient's lungs. By mounting sputum samples from infected individuals on slides and inviting the medicine men to examine them under a microscope, Walker was able to demonstrate to the medicine men that their theory was correct, although the "worms" were many times smaller than they had believed.

On this common ground Walker was able to gain the cooperation of the medicine men in imposing sanitary precautions to control the spread of tuberculosis. His interest in the Lakotas' medical and religious systems grew. He decided that to be effective as a physician on the reservation, he himself must become a medicine man. In the fall of 1896, some of the leading medicine men at Pine Ridge told him, "We have decided to tell you of the ceremonies of the Oglalas. . . . We will do this so you may know how to be the medicine man for the people" (Walker 1980, p. 68).

Walker's scholarly investigations intensified after 1902, when he met Clark Wissler, an anthropologist from the American Museum of Natural History in New York. Wissler was collecting objects for the museum and recording ethnographic notes. He recognized in Walker a kindred spirit and invited him to collaborate by recording vital statistics for physical anthropology studies and undertaking studies of traditional children's games, mythology, and religious ceremonies. These activities occupied Walker for the remainder of his life.

Walker's method of data collection was to transcribe interviews, commission drawings and written texts in Lakota, and make sound recordings of songs on a graphaphone, which was a device invented in 1886 that could record sound waves directly on a wax-coated cylinder. He relied on a few close consultants—Short Bull, who had been a leader of the Ghost Dance; George Sword, who wrote down many texts in Lakota and served as Walker's mentor; Thomas Tyon, who wrote texts and functioned as an interpreter—but also recorded material from more than thirty other individuals.

The study of the Sun Dance, the central Lakota religious ceremony held each summer as a ritual for renewal, was a particular challenge for Walker since the dance had been banned by the Office of Indian Affairs and was no longer performed. Of necessity Walker had to reconstruct the ritual and its meanings on the basis of interviews with the medicine men and others who had participated in the ceremony. This aspect of Walker's work complemented a series of studies of the Sun Dance among Plains tribes sponsored by the American Museum. The unparalleled richness and comprehensiveness of Walker's account of the Oglala Sun Dance, in comparison to other monographs in the series (Wissler 1915–1921), reveals his unique degree of insight into American Indian religion.

Published in 1917, Walker's "Sun Dance and Other Ceremonies of the Oglala Division of the Teton Dakota" situated the ritual in its fullest social, philosophical, and religious contexts. He laid out the common people's understanding of the ritual and of the religious system it represented, then outlined the esoteric knowledge of the medicine men. The meaning of each ritual detail was explicated with references to sacred myths. To structure the description, Walker synthesized all of his data to produce a systematized account that might be considered an instructional manual for performing the Sun Dance. In the process of compiling his systematic account, he eliminated the inconsistencies that were so apparent in his interview notes. He appended accounts of the Hunka (adoption) and Buffalo (girl's puberty) ceremonies, together with some brief philosophical and religious texts, an important interview with a medicine man named Finger, and a series of longer myths and tales.

Walker retired from the Indian Service in 1914 at the age of sixty-five and moved to a ranch in Colorado. By then, most of the medicine men with whom he had worked had died. In 1916 he completed writing his Sun Dance monograph; two years later ill health forced him to retire to Wheatridge, a suburb of Denver. Much of his time in Wheatridge was devoted to writing an Oglala mythology about the creation of the world and the origin of human beings. Walker used the same method as before, systematizing conflicting versions. The many overlapping drafts that survive attest to his struggle to synthesize all he had learned about Lakota religion. He died on December 11, 1926, leaving the mythology unfinished.

Walker's work is valued in the early twenty-first century not only for his own writings, but even more for the mass of interview material and other manuscripts that he left behind. Three volumes of documents have been published (Walker 1980, 1982, 1983) that have become primary sources for the study of Lakota religion. The often conflicting and very personal voices recorded in these documents add nuance and richness to Walker's syntheses. They are part of his legacy, a historical record of an American Indian religion remarkable for its detail and depth of insight. The record of his studies fulfils the commitment he made to the medicine men that their knowledge would be preserved in writing, "that future generations of the Oglalas should be informed as to all that their ancestors believed and practiced" (Walker 1980, p. 47).

SEE ALSO Lakota Religious Traditions; North American Indian Religions, article on History of Study.

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WANDJINA.

Australian Aborigines traditionally believed that a person's spirit existed before entering the human life-cycle and that it survived after bodily death. Life-spirits were identified as originating in a number of mythological beings, of which those called *wandjina* were important in central and northern Kimberley, with the mythical snake Ungud and other animal spirits playing less significant parts.

Identification of a person's life-spirit, or conception totem, was revealed to his or her father or to another senior male of the group during a dream. Dream communication with the mythological beings played a significant role in Aboriginal religion, for although the events of the creation period, or *lalai,* were generally known, the present state of the beings was of ongoing significance, and that could be revealed only through the dreaming process. The father-to-be was entitled to identify the origin of a life-spirit, but in other circumstances, a specialist, or *banman* ("dreamer"), could communicate with the mythological beings. Life-spirits of *wandjina* origin came from the clouds, (that is, the sky) to live in water. They entered the mother-to-be either directly or through food gotten from water: for example, fish. In his dream, the father would see the spirit and identify its place of origin, from which he could deduce the mythological being who then became the conception totem. One Aboriginal man summarized the sequence of events as follows: "Our fathers found us in the form of fish or turtles, but the Wandjina is our real father. He put us in the water from the sky. . . . We came from heaven through the water by dreams." The life-spirit is regarded as a reincarnated *wandjina,* and a person whose spirit is so derived will speak in a way that indicates continuity of the (mythological) past and the present.

The *wandjina* are depicted in paintings on the walls of caves. On approaching these shrines, Aborigines call out to the *wandjina* to announce the arrival of visitors. If this is not done by a person with the correct status, the spirits become upset and take revenge on the Aborigines. Sometimes Aborigines perform a ritual in which smoke from green branches is held beneath the paintings. Similar gestures are made as placatory gestures at the end of mourning ceremonies.

Many of the paintings are spectacular. The *wandjina* are anthropomorphic in form and are usually larger than life size. Individual figures may be as large as six meters long. Against a whitened background, the figures are painted in red ochre and black charcoal. The faces and heads are emphasized, with large eyes (usually black, sometimes also engraved) and haloes around the heads. On these haloes, and projecting from them, may be radiating lines. A curious feature of each face is the absence of a mouth, although the nose is invariably present. The *wandjina* may be represented by a face only, but often the whole body is shown. The shoulders are always white, and there is a small shieldlike motif high on the chest. The body is filled-in with a dot or short-dash pattern, and body ornamentation is indicated by waist and arm bands.

In Aboriginal mythology, the *wandjina* are said to have lived during the creation period. They came from the sky or the sea, traveled a short distance (usually), and then transformed themselves into the paintings. For the most part, the *wandjina* set examples of disruptive behavior, seducing others' wives and quarreling among themselves. All myths about the *wandjina* share one central action, in which the *wandjina* round up the Aborigines and slaughter them with lightning and flood because two Aborigine boys have offended them by torturing an owl, their sacred bird. Other episodes are purely local in significance. The paintings, are the transformation of the living spirits into a new form. Their general human appearance is unmistakable, and Aborigines identify many of the features in the paintings as human characteristics. In these intepretations, the haloes are hair, the lines radiating from the heads are feathers, the dots on the bodies are body paint, and the bands around the waists and limbs are body ornaments. However, the human model is not the only one the Aborigines use in interpreting the paintings. *Wandjina* may take the form of clouds, and so the paintings may be interpreted as depicting the spirits in cloud form. In this case, the eyes are seen as dark patches of cloud, the haloes as the edges of clouds, the radiating lines as lightning, and the dot patterns as falling rain. Yet another model for interpretation is the owl, the bird sacred to the *wandjina.* Attention is then drawn to the round white faces, the large eyes, and the presence of beaks but the absence of separate mouths. In this interpretation, the body decoration represents the dappled markings of an owl's breast feathers.

The *wandjina* are often referred to as "the rainmakers." Toward the end of the dry season, when the heat has intensified, Aboriginal men who have *wandjina* as their conception totems may sing songs and perform rituals which are intended to entice the *wandjina* to send rain and alleviate their condition. Kimberley receives monsoonal rains starting in late December. Their arrival is a dramatic event. In the weeks preceding the arrival of the "wet," there are local showers and spectacular displays of lightning. With the rain come the banks of cumulonimbus clouds, which change shape rapidly and appear to have a life of their own. In them, the Aborigines see the *wandjina.* The call to the spirits, made in the songs and rituals, has been answered.

The rain that the *wandjina* bring is recognized by the Aborigines as a major factor in the fertility of the land. By the end of the dry season, when the Aborigines have burned off all the grass, the earth is parched and hot. Nothing grows, and animals hide from the heat. When the rains come, the earth, which is itself alive, drinks. Plants flourish. Animals emerge from their hiding places. To shelter from the rain the Aborigines build huts of bark or thatch or move into caves. Where the caves are painted, the figures on the walls appear brighter: In many cases, the painters have used huntite, a hydroscopic mineral, as the pigment for the white background, and so there is a noticeable change in the hue of the paintings when the humidity intensifies. As the wet season progresses, there may be flooding. The *banman* then must try to reduce the rain through further songs and rituals. These songs narrate episodes in the mythology of the *wandjina.*

Physical evidence implies that the *wandjina* have been repainted many times. Aborigines say that the original figures came into existence when the spirits transformed themselves into the paintings, and that the role of the Aborigines in the past has been restricted to maintenance. Some of the pigments are quite unstable in the presence of the high humidity that prevails during the wet season, and for this reason regular maintenance would always have been necessary. The custodian of a painting might invite a noted artist to carry out the restoration, in which case a payment of goods to the artist would have been required.

The *wandjina* are seen by the Aborigines as fertility gods. By sending rain, they ensure the survival of life on earth. More directly, by sending the life-spirits for humans, they ensure the continuity of human life. The enormous powers of the *wandjina* can be seen in the displays of thunder and lightning that precede the monsoon and in the rains themselves. If provoked, the *wandjina* could use their powers to destroy life as they did in the mythological past. Through the rituals performed at the caves, through the songs, and, especially, through the mechanism of dream-communication, Aborigines have traditionally sought to influence the *wandjina* and thus to gain for themselves some measure of control over the natural world.

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WANG BI (226–249 CE) was the scion of an important Shandong clan with great intellectual ambitions and "over eighty members" who reached the highest echelon of power in the preceding Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE). The collapse of this dynasty resulted in the division of the country into three competing states, as well as the collapse of the state-sponsored and privately sponsored educational system, together with the authority of official teaching. It was chance that put arguably the richest and most intellectually diverse manuscript library to survive the conflagration and civil war of the collapsing Han dynasty into Wang's possession. His talents thus flourished during a rare and short moment in history, a time when philosophical originality and iconoclasm were much appreciated and youthful genius was revered. Wang Bi was spurred on by a rich and open competition, and a government reform project that was guided from 240 to 249 CE by He Yan (d. 249), a man considered by his contemporaries to be the ultimate *arbiter elegantiarum*, as well as a brilliant philosophical debater. The closure of the project came with a coup and the execution of its leaders in 249, the same year in which Wang Bi, just twenty-three years of age, died in an epidemic.

In a reaction to the bookwormishness of the Han scholars, Wang Bi rediscovered the warnings of such philosophical writings as the *Laozi* (*Dao de jing*), the *Analects* (*Lunyu*), and the *Book of Changes* (*Zhouyi*) about the inability of definitory language to deal with the necessarily unspecific root of all specificity. This root was thus linguistically "dark" (*xuan*), and the entire philosophical enterprise around Wang Bi was therefore later called *Xuanxue,* the "scholarly exploration of that which is dark," rather than being associated with any of the traditional philosophical "schools." In this philosophical, rather than school-dominated, enterprise, the appropriation of different texts by the different schools was rejected, and so was their habit of ranking their own founder highest. In Xuanxue, Confucius ranked philosophically higher than Laozi because—by not writing a book but only editing what became the "classics" and allowing his *verba et gesta* to be recorded by his students (*Analects*)—he proved himself superior in understanding the philosophical problem of language.

Xuanxue scholars reread the classics as writings that made conscious and sophisticated use of a flawed instrument—written language—because it was the only way to preserve the sage teachings of old. These works thus had to be viewed as pointing beyond themselves, and they received their unity not from the textual surface, but from their elusive common object. Wang Bi outshone his contemporaries in the philological brilliance and consistency of this type of "commentary of meaning," and his commentaries on the *Laozi* and the *Book of Changes*, together with an essay each on their structure, have time and again found copyists and sponsors, so that they alone of the plethora of commentaries written by his peers survive to this day, together with fragments of his commentary on the *Analects.*

Wang Bi extracted from these classical texts a political philosophy that was rooted in ontological analysis. The teachings of the "schools" about political strategies aimed at bringing about and maintaining social order lack a dialectical understanding of the dynamics of the relationship of the ruler to the people. Wang Bi argued that rulers following these teachings end up bringing about the very chaos they are trying to overcome. Only by going back to the fundamental dynamics prevailing between the "one" and the "many" can the laws be found that govern the dynamics between the one ruler and the multitude of the people. Wang Bi thus explores the ontological question of the necessary features of that by which the entities ("the ten thousand kinds of things") are, and by which they are in a regulated and orderly fashion. This exploration of the "one" provides the basis to determine the features and acts necessary for a ruler to secure social and political order. The "one" of the ten thousand kinds of entities can only be the "one" by being their—and their regulated order's—condition of possibility, and by not specifically interfering with the regulated order of the remaining entities. Otherwise, the "one" would only be another entity among the multitude. The emulation of this non-interference (*wuwei*) by the ruler in his relations with society thus becomes a philosophical imperative. Given the ruler's theoretically absolute powers and the commonsense assumption that their active use will be instrumental in establishing order, Wang Bi's proposal is philosophical by being counterintuitive, while its necessity is shown by the evident presence of chaos.

The thirty-year civil war ending Han rule (at great loss) was a timely reminder. In any given historical situation, however, the vicious circle between a ruler's efforts to establish order and the counterproductive dynamics these efforts set in motion is already in operation. The ruler's generous encouragement of some virtuous persons provokes the resentment of those not so favored; his use of surveillance machinery to ward off evildoers calls forth a rise in the arts of dissimulation. Accordingly, an actual historical ruler must not just "maintain" order, he must "bring back" society ("the hundred families" from the historically real chaos to find rest and order in his *wuwei. Wuwei* thus is a proactive policy of projecting the non-use of the absolute powers of the ruler through a public performance of this non-use; projections of "simplicity," "uncouthness," "dumbness," "femaleness," and the pointed abolition of state surveillance (an eyesore for many intellectuals in a state of Wie during Wang Bi's time) are some of the particular proactive forms of "non-interference" that Wang Bi extracts from the texts he analyzed. In this manner, the ruler will erase his own function as the point of orientation of all social competition, with the consequence that the hundred families will fall back to their "natural" station. Then the self-regulating mechanisms come into play in the same manner as they do in nature, where, as Wang Bi writes, "heaven and earth do not make grass for cattle, but cattle still eat the grass." The implied addressee of Wang Bi's philosophy is the ruler, and the quest is for the philosophical bases of social order. Philosophical questions are only pursued to the point where relevancy for the political application ceases.

Wang Bi's *Commentary to the Zhouyi* entered the canon in the seventh century, and it influenced all later commentaries on this text. His *Commentary to the Laozi* had a similar impact. His commentarial method is characterized by an insistence on internal coherence, a refusal to randomly impose terms or methods to solve problems of consistency, and full attention given to clues within the texts that help determine the appropriate manner of reading these texts.

SEE ALSO Guo Xiang; Laozi.

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WANG CHE SEE WANG ZHE

WANG CHONG (27–100? CE), critic and skeptic who proposed naturalist explanations for the relation between Heaven and man. Born into a poor family in Guiji (in modern Zhejiang), Wang studied in the Imperial Academy but then held office for a brief period only. Most of his life he lived in seclusion, devoting himself to writing. He wrote three works, *Zhengwu* (The conduct of government), *Lunheng* (Critical Essays), and *Yangsheng* (On the cultivation of life). Of these only *Lunheng* has been preserved.

According to Wang himself, the spirit of his *Lunheng* may be summed up in one sentence: he detests what is fictitious and false. The fiction that Wang detested most was the theory of "mutual response between Heaven and man," which had dominated the mind of Han China since Dong Zhongshu had first propounded it 150 years earlier. According to this theory, aberrant natural phenomena (such as floods or the appearance of strange creatures) were omens, Heaven's comments on man's behavior. Wang wholly rejected this teleological cosmology, arguing instead that the Way of Heaven is one of spontaneity (*ziran*) and nonactivity (*wuwei*). "Heaven," he wrote, "does not desire to produce things, but things are produced of their own accord; Heaven does not desire to create things, but things are created of themselves." Because he defines Heaven in terms of spontaneity and nonactivity, Wang's philosophy usually has been characterized in modern times as naturalistic, even though he was traditionally classified as an eclectic (*zajia*).

Wang's definition of Heaven led him to a thorough denunciation of all theories that claimed conscious interactions between Heaven and man. He compared man's place in the universe to a louse in the folds of a garment: if a louse cannot, by its actions, affect the movements of the man who wears the garment, then how can a man who lives on the earth's surface affect, much less cause, by his actions, the movements and changes of Heaven? For this reason, it is simply false to suppose that a causal relationship exists between auspicious or calamitous natural events on the one hand and good or bad government on the other. All the seeming coincidences between natural phenomena and human actions must be understood as pure chance.

Another area of Wang's philosophy that has been influential is his conception of life and death. Several of his essays are devoted to a vigorous refutation of the popular belief of his time that the soul can survive the body. He maintained that a man's soul exists within his body and that at death, when the body decomposes into dust and earth, his soul also disintegrates. He used a famous metaphor to illustrate this body-soul relationship: human death is like the extinction of a fire; when a fire is extinguished, its light ceases to shine, and when a man dies, his consciousness also ceases to exist. To assert that the soul survives the body is like saying that the light survives the fire. Wang also argues against the existence of ghosts, another form in which the human spirit was believed to survive the body. According to Wang, since all accounts of ghosts report that like living persons they wear clothes, and since clothes certainly have no souls that can survive decomposition, how then can ghosts be seen with clothes on? In taking this atheistic position, however, Wang follows the Confucian rather than the Daoist tradition. In the Daoist thought of Han times, the soul leaves the body at death and returns to its "true home," where it continues a mystical existence.

Writing against the predominant beliefs of the day, Wang was indeed a bold thinker in his attempts to demolish a great variety of unfounded superstitious beliefs. But in other respects he was very much a product of his time. He accepted without question some of the fundamental assumptions of the yin-yang dualism and the theory of the Five Elements. He shared the contemporary view that life, whether cosmic or individual, arises out of the interaction and combination of the basic vital forces *(qi)* of yang and yin, and all things are made up of the five elements of wood, fire, soil, metal, and water. What essentially distinguishes Wang's cosmology is the absence of a cosmic purpose.

In Wang's naturalism is also grounded his theory of predetermined fate. Success or failure in the life of an individual or even of the whole state is, according to Wang, determined by what he called "fate" *(ming)*. Fate, to Wang, controlled even precise areas of life. He held, for example, that a man's longevity, intelligence, social position, and wealth is fixed at birth by the kind of *qi* with which he is endowed. Order or disorder in the state is also predetermined. Thus Wang did assume a connection between celestial phenomena and human fate. However, he interpreted auspicious or calamitous natural events merely as signs of a predetermined fate, not purposive expressions of Heaven's pleasure or displeasure.

Wang was relatively obscure during his life, but his *Lunheng* was rediscovered in the early third century and paved the way for the growth of neo-Daoist naturalism during the Wei-Jin period (220–420).

SEE ALSO Afterlife, article on Chinese Concepts; Soul, article on Chinese Concepts; Yinyang Wuxing.

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YÜ YING-SHIH (1987)

WANG CH'UNG SEE WANG CHONG

WANG FU-CHIH SEE WANG FUZHI

WANG FUZHI (*zi*, Erhnung; *hao*, Chuanshan; 1619–1692), a Neo-Confucian philosopher. Now recognized along with Huang Zongxi and Gu Yanwu as one of the major thinkers to emerge in seventeenth-century China, Wang was almost unknown in his own lifetime outside of a small circle of followers in his native Hunan. He devoted his life to the task of revitalizing and restoring the cultural heritage and political autonomy of a Confucian China whose decline and fall, culminating in the overthrow of the Ming dynasty and the Manchu conquest, left him a virtual refugee in his own country. He was only thirty-one when in 1650 his patriotic foray into the political arena of the court of the Ming pretender Yungli ended in temporary imprisonment as a result of factional strife. Thereafter he had to content himself with propounding his ideas in a prodigious number of works, none of which was published during his lifetime owing largely to the fiercely anti-Manchu sentiments and politically subversive theories expressed in them. Nevertheless, as he himself declared, "With my country ruined and my home destroyed, I set forth my opinions for posterity . . . In the future there will arise those who will carry on the task." In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, however, such historical and political writings as his *Du Tongjian lun* (On reading the *Comprehensive Mirror*), *Song lun* (On the history of the Song dynasty), *Huangshu* (Yellow book), and *E-meng* (Strange dream)—all published for the first time in 1865—fired the imagination of patriotic reformers and revolutionaries who regarded Wang as a prophet of modern Chinese nationalism. Tan Sitong, Zhang Binglin, and Mao Zedong all acknowledged him as a source of inspiration.

The same patriotic fervor that has attracted modern Chinese originally impelled Wang to undertake a radical reappraisal of the whole history of Chinese civilization. What had gone wrong? What were the remedies?—these were the two questions that inspired and informed all Wang's studies, which spanned the whole range of traditional Chinese scholarship. In typical Confucian fashion, however, his central concern was ideological: what had gone wrong with the transmission of the Confucian tradition, and what constituted the true development of orthodox Confucianism? This concern was shared by many scholars at the close of the Ming dynasty, particularly by those associated with the Donglin Academy who, reacting against Buddhist influences and contemporary tendencies in the school of Wang Yangming, tried to give Confucianism a new direction. Wang Fuzhi admired their efforts to encourage scholar-officials to abandon the selfish pursuit of personal fulfillment and absolute truth and commit themselves to a social and political program in which moral philosophy was applied to contemporary realities. Indeed, as a young man he was certainly influenced by them. But whereas these scholars tended to arrive at various compromises between the Cheng-Zhu tradition and the more moderate forms of the Wang Yangming tradition, Wang Fuzhi went further. He came to the conclusion that the moral decline of China could be traced to Sung times, when the Cheng-Zhu school had first turned away from the "true doctrines" of Zhang Zai (1020–1077).

Although there had been some revival of interest in Chang's thought among Wang's contemporaries, Wang went so far as to declare himself a latter-day disciple of the Song philosopher, according him precedence over Zhuxi (1130–1200), whose systematization of the Confucian tradition in a grand synthesis (incorporating certain of Chang's ideas in the process) had created the Cheng-Zhu school of Neo-Confucianism, the dominant orthodoxy until the twentieth century. Wang, however, proceeded to elaborate his own extremely coherent philosophical system on the basis of his Sung mentor's cosmology. He adopted Chang's concept (itself a refinement of such early Daoist naturalist views as found in the first-century-CE *Lunheng* of Wang Chong) of a universe that consisted of one vast mass of ether (*qi*) in a perpetual state of flux, agglomerating to form objects and dispersing to return to the "void" of apparent nonbeing as its *yin* and *yang* aspects interacted. Wang explicitly rejected the Cheng-Zhu school's doctrine on principle (*li*) and ether, which entailed a dualistic approach both in its basic metaphysics and in its treatment of human nature. For Wang there was no duality: principle lay within the ether, and all ether was principle. His monistic conception of the universe led him to attack both Zhuxi's attribution of evil to the physical nature and his consequent rejection of human desires.

Wang held that nothing was inherently evil: evil arose simply as excessive or incongruous activity in natural encounters within the movement of the organic whole. Man's vital role as an integral part of this dynamic universe was to ensure its harmonious functioning through cultivating himself and ordering human society. To fulfill this role required an understanding of the universal processes; these could be observed at work in the course of history and in codified form in the ancient divinatory classic the *Yi jing* (Book of Changes). Zhang Zai too had set great store by this text, but his treatment of the archetypal patterns and symbols of the *Changes* had been mystical, the expression of his ideas poetical—as in his influential *Ximing* (Western Inscription)—and he had paid little attention to history. Wang's approach was altogether more analytical, rational, and pragmatic—even utilitarian. Wang's emphasis on variable factors of time and place and prevailing conditions in determining what was appropriate, and hence, in a morally ordered universe, right, led him to make a critical evaluation of political institutions throughout Chinese history and to formulate his own proposals for reform based on radical changes in the system of land-tenure and taxation. In contemporary China Wang has been admired, patriotism apart, as a major contributor to the native tradition of philosophical materialism and as a historian critical of the old society.

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WANG YANGMING (1472–1529), literary name, Wang Shouren; the most influenctial Confucian thinker in Ming-dynasty China and one of the most important scholar-officials in Chinese history. Wang's intellectual impact on East Asian culture and his transformation of the spiritual orientation of the Confucian tradition in China made him one of the greatest philosophers of the relation between knowledge and action in any age or culture.

Born to a prominent gentry family in the Yangtze River delta, Wang was subject as a youth to great social pressure to excel in Confucian learning. Hagiographical accounts relate that in his early teens Wang startled his teacher when, in response to the teacher's admonition that the most important thing in life was to study hard in order to pass the examinations with distinction, Wang said: "To learn to become a sage is of the utmost importance." Wang's competitiveness with his father, who had himself won highest honors in the triennial metropolitan (jinshi) examinations, and his rebelliousness against the conventions of the time led him to the pursuit of a spiritual path characterized by Daoist and Chan practices. His failure to pass the metropolitan examinations three times before he succeeded and his dissatisfaction with the vulgarity of other officials after he eventually obtained an official post further enhanced his determination to search for an alternative form of life.

Wang is noted for his lifelong quest to understand the mind and nature. His biography records that on his wedding day he became so absorbed in conversing with a Daoist priest about prolonging life through nourishing the vital force in one's body that he did not return home until the next day. At an early age he began a traditional education grounded in the Confucian classics, but he also studied military affairs, literary style, Buddhist philosophy, and Daoist technique of longevity. In 1492, intent on putting Zhu Xi's (1130–1200) doctrine of the investigation of things (*gewu*) into practice, he devoted himself to the study of the principle (*li*) inherent in things by meditating in front of a bamboo grove for seven days. His abortive attempt to understand Zhu Xi's assertion that personal knowledge can be acquired through an understanding of external phenomena compelled him to probe the internal resources of his own mind-and-heart (*xin*).

Wang started his official career at the age of twenty-eight. His primary goal in life, however, was to become an exemplary teacher so that he could share his intellectual insight and spiritual quest with friends and students. In fact, it took him some time to come to terms with his role as a scholar-official. While cultivating the Daoist arts of overlasting life in a cave near his home, he contemplated forsaking the world altogether. It was only after he had fully convinced himself that his longings for his father and the grandmother who had raised him were irreducible human feelings, necessary for the survival and well-being of the human community, that he decided to return to society permanently in order to transform it from within.

One of the most important events in this initial stage of his official career was his friendship with Zhan Ruoshui, the disciple of the eminent Confucian master Chen Bosha (Chen Xianzhang, 1428–1500). Wang sealed a covenant with Zhan to promote true Confucian learning, the kind of learning that stresses an experiential understanding of the body and mind. Such learning they clearly differentiated from the study of the classics for the sake of passing the examinations.

Wang advocated his first doctrine, "the unity of knowing and acting," shortly after his decision to return to society. According to his famous dicta, "knowledge is the beginning of action; action is the completion of knowledge" and "knowledge in its genuine reality and earnest practicality is action; action in its brilliant self-awareness and refined discrimination is knowledge," have become defining characteristics of Wang's philosophy of mind, what Wing-tsit Chan refers to as his dynamic idealism.

However, far from being a speculative thinker who made no attempt to put his ideas into practice, Wang described his doctrine as the result of a hundred deaths and a thousand hardships. Indeed, he once almost lost his life when he protested against a powerful eunuch. For this, the emperor had him flogged forty times at court and banished to a small postal station in a remote mountainous area in present-day Guizhou. However, it was there that he experienced enlightenment and developed a unique approach to Confucian learning that emphasized the learning of the body and mind.

A salient feature of Wang's thought is his inquiry into the internal landscape of the mind as the center of moral creativity. This emphasis is predicated on a vision that encompasses both the ontological reality of Heaven and the social reality of human relationships. In his philosophy, which is religious as well as ethical, self-cultivation is a holistic process of learning to be fully human. Wang argued that self-cultivation begins with a critical understanding of one's selfhood, but he remained fully within the Confucian tradition in placing the self at the center of relationships. Thus, for Wang the quest for self-knowledge necessarily involves active participation in the human community.

The Confucian idea of the human is not anthropocentric. Rather, humanity in its full realization here signifies an anthropocosmic reality often symbolized by the notion of the unity of people and Heaven. This realization requires that we as humans respond to the ultimate source of creativity, namely, the way of Heaven (*tiandao*). Thus, Wang's second important doctrine is "the preservation of the heavenly principle and the elimination of human desires." Human desires are egoistic demands and private, selfish ideas. The true self, which is not only the deepest source of moral creativity but also the heavenly principle (*tianli*) inherent in our nature, is an open system. It extends horizontally to the human community as a whole and, simultaneously, it reaches upward to Heaven. Therefore, the unity of people and Heaven is not merely an idea but an experienced ethico-religious reality.

Wang's attempt to integrate heavenly principle (ontological reality) and human relationships (social reality) in the moral creativity of the self (subjectivity) is well articulated in his third and most mature doctrine, often translated as "the extension of the innate knowledge of the good" (*zhi liangzhi*; Chan, 1969, p. 656). Actually, the doctrine can well be stated as the full realization of our primordial awareness, an awareness that we are capable of self-perfection. This doctrine may be regarded as a creative interpretation of the classical Mencian thesis of the goodness of human nature. Following Mengzi's notion that the moral feelings of the mind-and-heart are humanity at its best, Wang insisted that the uniqueness of being human lies in our ability to perfect ourselves through self-effort. The reason that some of us have become sages (the most genuinely realized humans) is because inherent in our heavenly endowed nature is our great body (*dati*), which never ceases to guide us toward the highest excellence of humanity. Wang underscores this dimension of Mengzi's teaching by adding the verb *zhi* (to extend, to fully realize) to the original Mencian term liangzhi (innate goodness or primordial awareness), thus transforming it into an active, dynamic, and creative principle of self-cultivation.

Wang formulated his interpretation of the Confucian way by wrestling with Zhu Xi's balanced approach to Confucian learning. Briefly stated, Zhu Xi held that moral development could only be attained through the simultaneous activities of dwelling in the spirit of reverence (*jing*) and investigating the principle inherent in all things. Wang, however, maintained that establishing the will to be good must be the focus of moral self-cultivation: neither the pursuit of empirical knowledge in and of itself nor the psychology of being serious and respectful will automatically bring about a good moral life.

In maintaining that the primary purpose of moral education is to establish in ourselves that which makes all humans great Wang aligned himself with Zhu Xi's intellectual rival, Lu Xiangshan (Lu Jiuyuan, 1139–1193). This concept that the quest for moral creativity begins with self-awareness was criticized by fellow Confucians as being Buddhistic, but Wang himself never doubted the authenticity of his Confucian message. He conscientiously defended the content and method of his teaching by reference to the very books chosen by Zhu Xi to represent the core of the Confucian tradition. Since the thirteenth century, the Four Books—the *Lunyu* (Analects), the *Mengzi* (Mencius), the *Zhongyong* (Doctrine of the Mean), and the *Daxue* (Great Learning)—had served as virtual scripture for the educated elite in East Asia. Wang's challenge to Zhu Xi's interpretive authority was only partially successful, but the mark that he left on the overall design of Confucian education in indelible. His celebrated *Daxue wen* (*Inquiry on the Great Learning*), which recapitulates the major themes in his philosophy, has become one of the most frequently cited treatises on Confucian humanism.

Inquiry on the Great Learning was written in 1527, roughly a year before Wang's death. It addresses the Confucian's ultimate concern, forming one body with Heaven and earth and the myriad things, with great sensitivity:

> That the great man can regard Heaven, Earth, and the myriad things as one body is not because he deliberately wants to be so, but because it is natural to the humane nature of his mind that he do so. Forming one body with Heaven, Earth, and the myriad things is not only true of the great man. Even the mind of the small man is no different. Only he himself makes it small. (Chan, 1969, p. 659)

Wang uses a descending scale of human sensitivity to depict the ordinary human responses to a variety of situations that easily evoke sympathetic feelings in us: encountering a child about to fall into a well, hearing pitiful cries and encountering frightened birds and animals, seeing plants broken and destroyed, seeing tiles and stones shattered and crushed. The feelings of alarm, commiseration, pity, and regret aroused in us vary in their emotional intensity, but indicate that fellow human beings, animals, plants, and stones all form one body in our primordial awareness.

This seemingly romantic assertion of the unity of all things is actually predicated on an ontological vision rooted in classical Confucian humanism. What Wang advocated was a representation of the Mencian thesis that if we fully realize the sprouts (*duan*) of humanity in our minds and hearts, we can experientially understand our human nature; if we understand our nature, then we know Heaven. Knowing Heaven, in the perspective of Wang's *Inquiry on the Great Learning,* is to regard Heaven, earth, and the myriad things as one body, the world as one family, and the country as one person.

Yet this explicit emphasis on commonality and communality was not abstract universalism. On the contrary, a major contribution of Wang's philosophy is its subtle appreciation of concrete personal experience in moral self-cultivation. Wang's insistence that only through polishing and disciplining in actual affairs of life can one learn the art of being human suggests a strong existential quality in his teaching. Wang himself, as a witness to his own teaching, acquired much practical knowledge: he concerned himself with local administration, legal cases, and military tactics. In fact, he was the only civilian official to be awarded a military lordship because of his unusual meritorious achievements in suppressing a rebellion that could have fundamentally changed the history of the Ming dynasty.

The Yangming school, known as the Yomeigaku in Japan, has profoundly influenced modern East Asia. The spirit of the samurai, which emphasises firm purpose, self-mastery, and loyalty, and the dynamic leadership of the Meiji Restoration in 1868 were partly Wang Yangming's gifts to Japan. In China, reformers such as Liang Qichao (1873–1929) and Tan Sitong (1865–1898), revolutionaries such as Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925), and philosophers such as Xiong Shili (1885–1968) and Liang Souming (b. 1893) have all been inspired by Wang's legacy, the *Chuanxi lu* (Instructions for Practical Living), which consists of his dialogues with students, scholarly letters to friends, and several short essays.

SEE ALSO Confucianism; Li; Lu Xiangshan; Mengzi; Zhu Xi.

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WANG ZHE

WANG ZHE (1112–1170), also known by his clerical name, Zhongyangzi; Daoist master of the Jin period (1115–1234) and founder of the Quanzhen sect. The third son of a great landowner in Xianyang, Shaanxi province, Wang received a Confucian education and entered the district school in Xianyang at the age of twenty. Following a disagreement with his teacher, however, Wang was denied permission to sit for the civil service examination and had to settle for success in the less prestigious military examination. Although at first enthusiastic about a career in the military, Wang grew discouraged by his failure to advance in rank and resolved to abandon the military for a life of seclusion on Mount Zhongnan. He practiced Buddhism for a time, but in the sixth month of 1159 he received secret oral teachings from Lü Chunyang and Zhong Liquan. Thereafter, he converted to Daoism and was ordained a priest *(daoshi).*

Accounts of Wang's career as a Daoist emphasize the ascetic character of his practice. On one occasion he is said to have slept on ice; at another time he dug a hole two meters deep in which to meditate, naming this austere cell "the grave of a living corpse." In 1163 he filled in this hole and built a small hermitage in the village of Liujiang, where he began to proselytize his newly attained religious faith. These efforts won him few converts at first, however, for he was regarded as little more than a madman. In 1167 he burned the hermitage and journeyed alone to Shandong province, where Ma Danyang of Ninghai became his disciple. Thereafter, in contrast to his experience in the Shaanxi region, many potential disciples came forward. Of these, Wang chose six to receive his transmission. With Ma Danyang they were called the Seven Perfected Ones of Quanzhen Daoism. Wang was successful in organizing five Daoist societies in the northern coastal area of Shandong. These include the Sanjiao Jinlian Hui (Golden Lotus Society of the Three Teachings) and the Sanzhai Pingdeng Hui (Equality Society of the Three Teachings). Following his success in Shandong, he decided to return to his home in Shaanxi. He set out with Ma Danying and four other disciples but died en route at Kaifeng in Henan province.

The Quanzhen school drew upon Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism, the so-called Three Teachings, for its doctrine and practice. With a strong affinity for Chan practices, it emphasized meditation, clerical itinerancy, and nonreliance on the scriptures. The teachings of this school are summarized in Wang's *Lijiao shiwu lun.* Wang Zhe was also an accomplished poet. Even today his anthologized poetry, especially the *Zhongyang quanzhen ji* and the *Zhongyang jiaohua ji*, are highly regarded.

SEE ALSO Daoism, article on the Daoist Religious Community.

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WAQF

WAQF. The Arabic term *waqf* (pl. *awqāf)* denotes in Islamic law the act of founding an endowment, the endowment itself, and also the endowment institution. A synonym, mainly used by Mālikī jurists, and hence in North Africa, is *ḥabs, ḥubs, ḥubūs, ḥabīs* (pl. *aḥbās*). The literal meaning of both roots is "stop," "block," or "suspend." In the context of the endowment institution, these terms refer to the legal situation of the property (*al-ʿayn*), which by the act of endowing is blocked from taking part in any commercial transaction, while its yields (*al-manfaʿah*) are devoted to charitable purposes.

The *waqf* is conceived of as a continuous, voluntary charity for the sake of Allāh and his religion. The founding of endowments is highly recommended to believers, and they are promised rewards for their meritorious acts in the hereafter.

For a long time, studies of the Islamic endowment institution centered on its legal aspects. In the last few decades of the twentieth century, a large number of scholars turned their attention to economic, social, political, and cultural aspects of the *waqf.* Discrete studies revealed the true dimensions of the institution, its actual working, ways in which the letter of *waqf* laws was made to coexist with the requirements of real life, the broad spectrum of purposes financed by endowments, and their impact on the public sphere and on the discourse between rulers and society. A great deal of traditional wisdom concerning the *waqf* was questioned, and differentiation was introduced into general statements traditionally accepted and repeated over and over again. Moreover, new insights were gained on a variety of other subjects, such as gender relations, urban studies, and many economic, social, and cultural aspects of the regions studied. A true picture thus emerged of the central importance of the endowment institution as a means for financing Islam as a society and as an integrative institution of the community of believers (the *ummah*) in the premodern era.

The origins of the endowment institution are traced traditionally to early *ḥadīth*s (traditions deriving from the

Prophet and his companions). The rules governing endowments were elaborated in the course of the eighth and ninth centuries. Modern research points to either the Byzantine *piae causae*, ancient Arabic customs, or pre-Islamic Iranian law as the main inspirations or influences on the legal form of the *waqf.*

Waqf law is an integral part of the *sharīʿah* (the sacred law). Application of the law, and difficulties and conflicts arising from it, have thus been handled by the *ʿulamāʾ* (the *sharīʿah* specialists), who alone were qualified to interpret the laws. The law covers every aspect of the *waqf* and differs in detail according to the schools of law and even within one school. Major elements of the law concern the beneficiaries of endowments, their administration, and the type of property that may be constituted as *waqf* and its legal status.

An endowment enters into effect immediately upon its foundation (unless it is a testamentary *waqf).* It is considered irrevocable by most jurists and must be perpetual. A valid purpose for the benefit of which the proceeds of an asset can be endowed is defined as *qurbah;* that is, anything likely to bring the founder nearer to God. This very broad definition includes contributions toward the general welfare of the community of believers, as well as care for the family or other individuals. The founder of an endowment is thus allowed almost complete freedom to determine its beneficiaries. The founder can designate a general charity of his or her choice as immediate beneficiary of the endowment. The *waqf* would then be referred to as *waqf khayrī* (charitable endowment). Alternatively, the founder can designate a succession of beneficiaries, the primary and intermediary of whom are either specific members of the founder's family or other individuals, male or female. The endowment would then be described as *waqf ahlī* or *dhurrī* (family *waqf).* However, families are not conceived of as permanent. Since no endowment is valid unless it is perpetual by nature, the founder has to name, as ultimate beneficiary, at the end of the chain of family members, the poor or a general charity *(khayrī)* of an equally permanent character. A third kind of endowments—*waqf mushtarak*—consists of a combination of *ahlī* and *khayrī* elements.

Endowments soon became by far the most popular form of voluntary charity in Islam. They were made by all strata of the population—rulers, high officials, men and women, rich people as well as people of modest means. Endowed assets covered considerable proportions of all kinds of properties in every Muslim town, as well as vast agricultural areas. They included large as well as modest properties. Endowments benefited individuals and groups, such as family members, freed slaves, and other individual Muslims, members of professional guilds, inhabitants of specific neighborhoods, groups of common origin, the poor in general, or the poor belonging to a specific social groups, even groups of animals. They were also the principal vehicle for financing public services, political and economic interests, including the religious cult, education and learning, welfare and health services, municipal services, colonization, urbanization, and economic infrastructure. The scope of voluntary charity in Islam, the purposes it served, and its importance in the public sphere thus reached proportions beyond what was common in other civilizations.

Non-Muslims living under Muslim rule (*ahl al-dhimmah*) could and actually did found *waqfs*. Their beneficiaries had, however, to qualify as *qurbah* according to both Islam and the founder's religion. An endowment by a non-Muslim in favor of his offspring, of the poor of his religious community, the poor of his church, synagogue, or neighborhood, or the poor in general, was valid under these rules. Endowments by a non-Muslim to benefit a mosque or in favor of a synagogue, a church, priests, or monks were invalid. Ways were found, however, to circumvent these limitations so that non-Muslim religious establishments could benefit from endowments.

Charity, piety, and the hope for recompense in the world beyond were the ideological motivations for founding endowments. Several, more practical reasons are mentioned in the literature to explain the proliferation of endowments in the Muslim world. Political reasons, such as enhancing their prestige and securing local support, followers, or clients, were found to have been at the root of endowments by rulers, governors, high officials, and local notables. Circumvention of the inheritance laws was a major motive for establishing *waqfs*, particularly, though not exclusively, among the common people. Islamic inheritance law divides the estate among a very large number of heirs. Disposition by testament is limited to one-third of the estate and may not be made in favor of a legal heir. Testamentary endowments had to follow these rules. Regular *waqfs*, that is, endowments that enter into effect immediately on their pronouncement, put no restrictions on the founder as far as the beneficiaries or their shares are concerned. The natural inclination to determine who will inherit one's property could, thus, be satisfied. Moreover, according to Abū Yūsuf—one of the founders of the Ḥanafī school of law, whose rulings have been widely followed—founders can name themselves as first beneficiaries of their endowments, and thus enjoy the income from the property as long as they live. This regulation prompted people belonging to the Malīkī school of law, particularly in Algeria and Tunisia under Ottoman rule, to establish their endowments with a Ḥanafī *qāḍī* and according to Abū Yūsuf's ruling. Moreover, contrary to inheritance, the endowment kept the property intact, dividing among the beneficiaries the income thereof only. It could thus secure a regular income to the founder's descendants in generations to come. Modern research put differentiation into some of the traditional, sweeping arguments, which listed the protection of property from confiscation or exemption of endowments from taxes as motivations for founding *waqfs*. Endowments were shown not to have been immune from confiscations. They were, in fact, subject to taxation, unless special exemption was granted by the authorities.

Founders of endowments are free to appoint a succession of administrators (*nāẓir*, *mutawallī*, *qayyim*) to their *waqfs*. The first administrators are frequently the founders themselves (according to the Malīkīs this invalidates the endowment). When no administrator is provided by the founder, the *qāḍī* appoints one. The necessary qualifications of administrators, the limits of their freedom of action, and the circumstances in which they can be dismissed are all laid down in the law. Administrators are entitled to about 10 percent of the income from the endowment under their control. They are responsible for the maintenance of the property, renting it out, and distributing the proceeds among the beneficiaries according to the provisions laid down by the founder in the endowment deed (*waqfīyyah*). Major institutions financed by endowments, such as those benefiting large mosques, soup kitchens, or the poor of the holy places of Islam, were, however, handled differently. All endowments whose beneficiary was one of these institutions were lumped together to form the patrimony of that particular institution. The political authorities usually had either direct or indirect say in the appointment of their administrators and hence also in some matters concerning their management and the distribution of their income. Administrators of family and public *waqfs* acted under the *qāḍī*'s supervision, who alone was entitled to approve extraordinary transactions. *Qāḍī*s in the Ottoman Empire were assigned specific duties concerning public foundations: they audited the administrators' financial statements, assisted in preparatory works preceding major repair and maintenance works on *waqf* properties, and kept a watchful eye on the administrators appointed by the Ottoman center.

Basically, only immovable property of a permanent, eternal nature that yields a usufruct (*manfaʿah*) can be endowed. There are, however, some exceptions, such as horses and weapons for holy war; movables that follow endowed property (trees, slaves, animals, agricultural tools), books, various utensils, and *mīrī* land in the Ottoman Empire, whose ownership (*raqabah*) belonged to the state (these endowments were called *waqf ghayr ṣaḥīḥ*). The most notable exception are cash *waqfs* (*waqf al-nuqūd*), which were widespread, particularly in the core lands of the Ottoman Empire.

Among classical jurists, opinions differ as to the ownership of the endowed property. Many jurists hold that upon endowing the asset, ownership is transferred to God. Others claim that it is transferred to the beneficiaries or remains with the founder; neither, however, has actual rights of disposal. All jurists agree that once the property is endowed it becomes inalienable and is thus withdrawn from any commercial transaction. It cannot be sold, mortgaged, or the like. Moreover, no long-term or permanent leases are allowed in principle, for fear that they would eventually lead to the loss of the asset to the *waqf*. Administrators of endowed property were thus left with one option only for engendering profit from assets under their control—letting them for a short period, usually limited to one year for urban properties and three years for rural ones. In time, two main ways were, however, devised by jurists in order to overcome economic problems arising from the rule of inalienability: long-term or perpetual leases (differing in some details and known by different names in various parts of the Islamic world; for example, *ḥikr*, *ʿanāʾ*, *ijāratayn*, *khulū* or *murṣād*, *inzāl*, *jalsah*) and exchanges (*istibdāl*, *muʿāwaḍah*) of endowed assets. (The Shāfiʿī and the Shīʿī schools do not allow *istibdāl;* in the other schools, conditions governing exchanges vary slightly.) These transactions were allowed only in very exceptional circumstances, when the property was dilapidated and there was no other way for the *waqf* to secure income from the asset. Each such case had to come before the *qāḍī*, who, before approving the proposed transaction, examined all elements of the contract and made sure it was in the best interest of the *waqf*.

For a long time, criticism of the endowment institution, by both Muslim and Western writers, focused on the administration of public *waqfs*, its inefficiency, neglect of the endowed properties, and particularly on abusive practices on the part of administrators, rulers, and governors, who frequently enlisted in their manipulations the assistance of corrupt *qāḍīs*. Allowing for the proliferation of long-term or perpetual leases and exchanges of good and undamaged properties came under particularly heavy fire. Indeed, modern studies have documented the dismemberment of *waqfs* as a result of such corruptive practices. However, other discrete studies have shown that inefficiency, neglect, and embezzlement were neither inherent to the system, nor necessarily the rule. Instances were documented attesting to careful and dynamic management of public endowments, rational use of their funds, and the introduction of policies that, by means of a flexible interpretation of *waqf* laws, catered to the economic and social needs of the population and at the same time secured the interests of the *waqf*.

In the course of the nineteenth century, institutional reforms were introduced in both the Ottoman Empire and Egypt with a view to concentrating endowments under governmental supervision. An important by-product of these reforms was the publication of semi official codifications of *waqf* laws. Attempts were made under protectorate and mandatory rule to further improve the management of *waqf* properties. Much more radical steps were taken by colonial regimes, for instance the French in colonial Algeria. With the establishment of modern states in the Middle East, and particularly after the overthrow of monarchical regimes in some of these states, public criticism of the *waqf* increased. It now centered around the most basic characteristics of the institution and their incompatibility with economic development, budgetary policy of a modern state, and the social and political objectives of the new regimes. Consequently, reforms in *waqf* law were undertaken, particularly in the course of the second half of the twentieth century. Administration of endowed property was concentrated under special governmental ministries. In some countries (e.g., Turkey, Egypt, Syria, and Iraq) reforms amounted to the nationalization of public *waqf* properties, the total or partial abolition of family endowments, and, in some cases, prohibition of their establishment in the future. Former *waqf* lands were distributed as part of agrarian reforms. Various, less radical reforms in the law pertaining to endowments were introduced in other countries (e.g., Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen).

SEE ALSO Islamic Law, article on Personal Law.

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MIRIAM HOEXTER (2005)

WAR AND WARRIORS

This entry consists of the following articles:

AN OVERVIEW
INDO-EUROPEAN BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

WAR AND WARRIORS: AN OVERVIEW

For the purposes of this article, war may be defined as organized and coherent violence conducted between established and internally cohesive rival groups. In contrast to numerous other modes of violence, it is neither individual, spontaneous, random, nor irrational, however much—like all varieties of violence—it involves destructive action, even on a massive scale. Being a complex phenomenon, war has multiple dimensions that are deeply interrelated, chief among them being economic, ideological, and social factors.

Of these, perhaps the most obvious and important (at least according to the majority of modern analysts) are the economic factors that precipitate war, war being the most extreme form of competition for chronically scarce resources, such as women, territory, movable wealth (including livestock), and/or the labor power of subjugated populations. One must note, however, that scarce and valued resources are not exclusively of a material nature, prestige being a crucially important example of a nonmaterial resource that is highly desired and that figures prominently in warfare. It is possible, in fact, to speak of a prestige economy that exists not only side by side but intimately interwoven with the material economy of any given people, and warfare provides a convenient means of reaping rewards in both. Thus, for instance, success in raiding was requisite for a Crow warrior to advance his position, for this provided him first with goods—above all, horses—that not only enriched him but also could be used to place others in his debt through a process of redistribution. Further, raiding furnished the successful warrior with a set of heroic deeds of which he could boast on regular, formalized occasions, thereby further elevating his standing in the group. Success in battle also opened up religious prerogatives for him, insofar as many important and prestigious ritual roles were reserved for those who had accomplished specific, highly regarded feats of war, such as touching coup, winning horses, killing an enemy, or leading a successful raiding expedition.

Indeed, accomplishments in battle provide a common means, in many cultures and periods in history, whereby individuals can seek to elevate not only their own individual prestige above that of their peers but also that of their group above others (conquered rivals, as well as those who remain outside the fray). Thus, for instance, among the Jalé-speaking peoples of highland New Guinea, the performance of stereotyped, formulaic songs is a prominent part of every public celebration. These songs, which preserve the memory of past warfare, are a crucial element in the local prestige economy as well as a stimulus to further conflicts, for they celebrate the glory of the group that sings them, while also heaping derision upon their foes:

> The man Wempa will never eat again,
> nor will Alavóm ever eat again.
> But we live to see the sweet potatoes roast,
> The sweet potatoes from Wongele and Tukui (Koch, 1974, p. 85)

One may observe similar processes in the well-wrought poetry of praise for successful warriors and blame for those who are less than successful (e.g., Hector's rebukes of Paris), which figures prominently in the Homeric epic. Moreover, the heroes depicted there are presented as acutely self-conscious with regard to issues of prestige, as is evident, for example, in Sarpedon's speech just prior to the Trojan assault on the Greek camp, an assault that leads to his death. Here is related a description of a warrior, himself the son of Zeus, weighing the relative value of the material and nonmaterial rewards of combat and setting greatest stock on the winning of a prominent and enduring reputation. In the last analysis, the pursuit of such a reputation—elsewhere called "undying fame" (*kleos aphthitos*)—becomes nothing less than a quest for immortality, although, ironically, it is a quest that regularly costs the quester his life. Among the most interesting aspects of this passage, however, is the absence of any tension or contradiction between the warrior's pursuit of material gain (booty, also land and privileged banquet portions) and his pursuit of glory. On the contrary, one sees an effective coalescence of the material and the prestige economy, encompassed within an ideology and a poetics that decidedly emphasize the latter:

> Glaukos, why is it you and I are honoured before others
> with pride of place, the choice meats and the filled wine cups
> in Lykia, and all men look on us as if we were immortals,
> and we are appointed a great piece of land by the banks of Xanthos,
> good land, orchard and vineyard, and ploughland for the planting of wheat?
> Therefore it is our duty in the forefront of the Lykians to
> take our stand, and bear our part of the blazing of battle,
> so that a man of the close-armoured Lykians may say of us:
> Indeed, these are no ignoble men who are lords of Lykia,
> these kings of ours, who feed upon the fat sheep appointed
> and drink the exquisite sweet wine, since indeed there is strength of
> valour in them, since they fight in the forefront of the Lykians.
> Man, supposing you and I, escaping this battle
> would be able to live on forever, ageless, immortal,
> so neither would I myself go on fighting in the foremost
> nor would I urge you into the fighting where men win glory.
> But now, seeing that the spirits of death stand close about us
> in their thousands, no man can turn aside nor escape them,
> let us go on and win glory for ourselves, or yield it to others. (Homer, *Iliad,* trans. Lattimore)

The assignation of prestige to deeds of valor (the etymological connections between *valor, valiance,* and *value* are significant, as are those between *virtue* and *virility*) is but one means whereby ideological factors influence warfare, albeit a tremendously important one. No less important is the way in which other ideological constructs supply the means necessary to persuade individuals to join in combat, providing them with motivation sufficiently great that they are willing to risk their lives, even in situations (as is true for the vast majority of warriors over the course of history) wherein they stand to reap quite little in the way of personal gain—material or immaterial—from even the greatest of military successes.

It is in this fashion that religion has played a most important role in war throughout history, and the examples of religious justifications that have been used to legitimate even the most tawdry of struggles are legion. Among these must be noted calls to convert the heathen (as in the Christian Crusades and more recent European wars of colonial expansion); promises of a favorable afterlife for warriors who die in battle (as within Islam, Shintō, or among the ancient Aztec, Germans, and others); and ethical dualisms whereby warfare is cast as an unremitting struggle between good and evil (as in ancient Iran or the modern United States).

Among the most contemporary students of war, ideological factors are generally viewed as subordinate or epiphenomenal to material ones, religious and other forms of legitimation being understood as the convenient or even necessary means that serve to mask or mystify the acquisitive competition that is the primary motivation for armed conflict. Others, however, have challenged this view, particularly with regard to warfare in the ancient and preindustrial world, where (in their view) religious motivations played a much more powerful and directly causal role. A favorite example cited by adherents of this position is the case of Aztec warfare, which they claim was pursued above all else to obtain the victims necessary for the performance of human sacrifice, the central ritual act of the Aztec empire. Such a line of analysis, however, has been rendered untenable by the most recent studies of Aztec sacrifice, which reveal it to have been not an act of transcendent religiosity performed for its own sake and at any cost but, as John Ingham has cogently argued, an expression and an instrument of the same drives for wealth, power, and prestige that prompted Aztec warfare and imperial expansion in general. In Ingham's words:

> Whatever else it may have been, human sacrifice was a symbolic expression of political domination and economic appropriation and, at the same time, a means to their social production. . . . The sacrificing of slaves and war captives and the offering of their hearts and blood to the sun thus encoded the essential character of social hierarchy and imperial order and provided a suitable instrument for intimidating and punishing insubordination. (Ingham, 1984, p. 379)

In this case, then, and others like it, one must conclude that, far from having been the ultimate cause of war, religion was intimately bound up with other causal factors more familiar to the world of *Realpolitik.*

Beyond the material and ideological factors, there are also powerful social factors that must be taken into account. Briefly, two social conditions are necessary for the occurrence of war, given the definition proposed above ("organized and coherent violence conducted between established and internally cohesive rival groups"). First, a given group of individuals must understand themselves as a group; that is, they must be bound together in some abiding fashion by sentiments, traditions, kinship ties, institutions, residence patterns, language, and the like. Second, they must understand members of some other group ("the enemy") as radically alien to them, outsiders to whom they are not connected and with reference to whom they need not refrain from violence. As the Jalé put it in a striking proverb: "People whose face is known should not be eaten." Moreover, prior to the outbreak of hostilities or at the very least shortly thereafter, this same set of conditions—internal solidarity coupled with external alienation and hostility—will prevail on the other side as well.

In short, warriors must be persuaded not only to risk their own lives but also to take the lives of others, and not merely random others but those whose otherness is most radically marked. Involving organized and relatively large-scale lethal violence as it does, warfare always poses serious ethical problems within the already thorny set of issues surrounding homicide. As a starting point, it must be noted that humans kill one another for many reasons and under many sets of circumstances, and all groups possess certain norms regulating how such killings are to be regarded and judged. Sometimes they are defined as murder (i. e., illicit homicide); in other instances they are not, for there are conditions under which the taking of a life is legally, morally, culturally, and/or religiously sanctioned or even (this is particularly relevant to the case of war) celebrated.

A fundamental concern in such adjudications, and one infinitely more complex and malleable than is ordinarily acknowledged, is the question of whether the victim(s) or would-be victim(s) of a given homicide are truly human. In any number of instances (e.g., infants, slaves, prisoners, outlaws, heretics and other social deviants, the aged and infirm, etc.), an individual may conveniently be defined by the killer (and the community that passes judgment upon the killing) as something less than human: a "monster," a "beast," a "vegetable," and so forth. Patterns of verbal abuse, in fact, whereby such persons are referred to as animals, rotting matter ("garbage," "trash"), and the like, regularly accompany and assist the lethal redefinitions whereby it is established that effecting the death of such an individual is a permissable or even a worthy act.

Nor is it only individuals who may be defined as somehow less than human and thus freely killable. On the contrary, social borders are regularly constructed and maintained such that entire groups of others ("aliens" in the fullest sense of the word) are regarded thus by their neighbors and enemies. Such a state of affairs is evidenced, for example, in the frequent occurrence of self-referential ethnonyms by which a given people denote themselves as "humans," implicitly (and in many instances, explicitly) relegating all others to the category of nonhumans—nonhumans who may, moreover, be freely killed as the occasion arises.

An instructive case is that of the Yanoama of the Amazon Basin, who not only call themselves "humanity" (the meaning of their name) and all others "lesser subhuman beings" (*nabä*) but carry the process still further: Members of one Yanoama village habitually accentuate the minor differences of dialect (or the like) that separate them from residents of other villages, then they deride the others for being less than fully *Yanoama,* which is to say, somewhat subhuman. Relations between Yanoama villages are always tense, partly as a result of this pattern of marking social borders and partly as a result of pronounced competition over women, for it is the goal of all Yanoama males to retain the women of their village while obtaining those of other villages through marriage or war. The central value of Yanoama life is *waiteri* ("fierceness"). To survive in this fiercely competitive atmosphere, a village must ally itself with others to resist the aggression of still others. As a means of overcoming the suspicions that normally prevail between villages, allies seek to bind themselves to one another through trade, marital exchanges, and reciprocal feasting, but the process is never a simple one. To form an alliance is to signal weakness, and allies, sensing this weakness, press ever-increasing demands for women as a condition for the alliance's continuation. Alliances thus often end in enmity, in warfare, or in an act that the Yanoama view as the ultimate form of fierceness and violence, being a parody and an inversion of the fragile festivals of intervillage solidarity: that is, a treacherous feast in which the male guests are all slaughtered and their women taken.

Again, with regard to the radical nature of social boundaries in situations of conflict and war, one may note the case of the Anggor in western New Guinea. As Peter Birkett Huber reports, each Anggor village "can be considered a cosmos in itself, an autonomous and essentially harmonious moral system confronted by a uniformly hostile, dangerous, and chaotic outside world. Violence between these villages is consequently not a form of policy or a distinct kind of political situation, but an inescapable feature of man's existential condition" (in Nettleship, Givens, and Nettleship, 1975, p. 620). Most violence perpetrated by residents of one Anggor village on those of another takes the form of sorcery, but revenge expeditions are ultimately organized and battles ensue in which Anggor warriors venture out from their homes to confront chaos itself and, by means of this confrontation, reassert the solidarity of their group and the order of their cosmos by inflicting retaliatory deaths on their enemies outside.

Although these are somewhat extreme cases, they are by no means unique, and all warfare involves sociopolitical suspensions of the ethical, whereby the otherness of the enemy is radically accentuated, a situation that permits and legitimates their victimization. War is, in truth, that situation in which the killing of other people on a grand (or even total) scale is rendered not only licit but requisite, even glorious, by virtue of the fact that they belong to a rival group to whom ethical norms do not extend, the enemy having been effectively defined as subhuman or even nonhuman.

Yet another example of these principles is found in the shields that form a crucial part of a warrior's equipment among the several Dayak peoples of Borneo. In general, shields function not only as an important implement of defense in warfare prior to the introduction of gunpowder but also as a movable social border that separates one's self, one's group, and that territory in which one feels some measure of security from the enemy. In an advance, shields mark the incorporation of conquered territory, booty, and prisoners into one's own group; in retreat, they mark the group's contraction, as land, stragglers, and the fallen are left outside. In the classic warfare of the Zulu, for instance, and in other powerful kingdoms of southern Africa, rival armies assumed formation in lines opposite to one another, each warrior holding a five-foot rawhide shield in front of him with his left arm. Standing behind this row of shields, the opponents exchanged insults with one another, verbal combat (in the forms I have discussed) preceding physical. Thereafter, the regiments closed, and each one tried to break through the enemy's walls of shields. Finally, when an army felt itself defeated, its members dropped their shields in token of surrender, whereupon the battle would cease. What was signified in this action was that the vanquished group renounced the social borders that they had previously maintained, thereby relinquishing their independence and accepting incorporation as a subjugated part of the victors' polity.

Dayak shields are used in similar fashion and bear similar significance but are remarkable for the iconographic content of the designs painted and carved upon them. Most noteworthy is the bifurcation of design, for on the inside of most Dayak shields—that is, the side facing toward the bearer—is the image of two protective ancestral figures; on the outside is a snarling monster. The import of the ancestors is not hard to judge; being the founders of the bearer's social group, they define that group and represent it. Insofar as there are others who descend from these same ancestors, the warrior has comrades who will take up arms together with him to defend their group against outsiders (i. e., those descended from other ancestral lines). The group's sense of identity and solidarity are thus nothing more than the sentiments called forth by the image of these ancestors, and it is such sentiments—much more than the wooden shields—that provide protection and security in battle and beyond.

The monsters on the outer face of Dayak shields are more difficult to interpret, however, for they are susceptible to multiple readings. On the one hand, these ferocious figures, marked most prominently by bulging eyes and exaggerated fangs, would seem to represent the enemy, particularly when considered in juxtaposition to the ancestral figures. Accordingly, one may posit a series of correlated binary oppositions, the effect of which is to dehumanize the enemy (in fashions similar to those discussed above) and thereby render his killing licit:

Inside: Outside::
Ancestors: Monsters::
Own Group: Enemy::
Protection: Menace::
Solidarity: Hostility::
Deaths Suffered Deaths Inflicted
:
must be avenged constitute revenge
Killings illicit: Killings licit or even requisite

In light of such observations as this, this writer is inclined to propose certain revisions to a classic text of Simone Weil, her justly celebrated meditations on "The Iliad, or The Poem of Force," written in 1940, shortly after the fall of France to Nazi arms and also after her own combat experience during the Spanish Civil War. In this essay, reflecting on death in battle, particularly as described in this epic, Weil came to define force as "that x that turns anybody who is subjected to it into a *thing,*" going on to observe, "excercised to the limit, it turns man into a thing in the most literal sense: it makes a corpse out of him. Somebody was here, and the next minute there is nobody at all; this is a spectacle the *Iliad* never wearies of showing us" (Weil, 1983). To be sure, there is a power and a grandeur in so stark a formulation, yet, given what has been outlined above, particularly regarding the nature of social borders in warfare and those patterns of dehumanization whereby an enemy is defined as subhuman, nonhuman, and/or monstrous, one must reject the idea that it is force itself, acting as some sort of quasi-personified agent, that "turns a man into a thing." Rather, the process is quite the reverse, and one can say with more justice and precision, *pace* Weil, that it is only when human actors come to regard others as "things" that they become capable of employing force, particularly lethal force, against them. Force here only completes that process of "turning into a thing" that begins in the sentiments and social patterns of human subjects.

To return to the Dayak shields, however, there is more that can be said. Thus far, this article has suggested that the image of the monster may be taken to represent the enemy, as seen through the dehumanizing gaze of the warrior. Such an interpretation, moreover, is consistent with a view of the shields as a marker of social borders, for in this instance one may clearly perceive the tenuous nature of such borders, something that becomes particularly obvious within the situation of the battle, for it is then quite literally only the thickness of the shield itself that separates the ancestral (representation of) community from the monstrous (figure of the) outside, safety from danger, self from other. In addition, there is significant material evidence to support such a view, for in the construction of many Dayak shields the monster images are rendered more grotesque still by the use of human hair as ornament: hair taken from the trophy skulls of slain enemies. Such enemies, having been viewed as monsters, were treated as monsters, and their corpses were used to depict the monsters that they were.

This datum, however, suggests another line of interpretation that may be advanced regarding the complex and polyphonous image of the monster. For it is obvious that the outer side of any shield is directed toward the enemy, especially toward one's immediate adversary in hand-to-hand battle. Further, it is equally obvious that the intended (and also, one assumes, quite real) effect of such an image is to intimidate or even terrify opponents, for in its very material substance (the actual hair of fallen victims), this shield announces the force, the valor, and also the cruelty of its bearer. It supplies graphic and tangible witness to the fact that he has taken enemy lives in the past and stands ready and able to do so once more. The shield thus displays the bearer's face as seen through the eyes of his opponent or (to put it differently) the face that he wishes to present to all enemies: for he becomes a monster against those whom he regards as monstrous, even as they do conversely to him.

Here is reached the final paradox of war and the warrior: a corollary to the pattern that has been observed whereby one must dehumanize one's enemies in order to employ force against them. In practice, it appears that a warrior must also dehumanize himself before he can become an instrument of slaughter, effectively eradicating such human tendencies as guilt, fear, and compassion. A well-articulated example of this is found in the samurai ideal of "no-mind," this being that psychomental state—cultivated by years of meditation and training in martial arts—in which the samurai's body and arms act as if automatically, with no hesitation born of thought, weakness, or doubt. Elsewhere, warriors frequently speak of themselves as animals: "lions" or "leopards" (East Africa); "two-footed wolves" (India and Iran); berserkers, of "those who wear the bear's shirt" (Scandinavia); or "crazy-dogs-wishing-to-die" (Crow), to cite but a few examples. To these data one might add the fact that Yanoama warriors march off to battle imitating the noises of a host of carnivorous beasts, from insects on up. The war song of the Yanoama is also noteworthy as a supreme statement of the warrior's auto-dehumanization, being entitled "I am a meat-hungry buzzard."

SEE ALSO Human Sacrifice; Martial Arts; Violence.

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WAR AND WARRIORS: INDO-EUROPEAN BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

As Georges Dumézil, the leading contemporary expert on comparative Indo-European mythology, long ago demonstrated, war gods and the ideology that is associated with them played an extremely important role in the pantheons of most, if not all of the early Indo-European-speaking societies. To cite several well-attested examples: the ancient Indic war god Indra, by far the most prominent of the Vedic divinities, the ubiquitous Roman god Mars, the Greek war god Ares, and the Norse god

Þórr (Thor), thunderbolt-wielder *par excellence* and the most popular of the ancient Scandinavian divinities. Moreover, heroes and demigods, like Arjuna, Herakles, Siegfried, Cú Chulainn, Arthur, and Achilles, all occupied important positions in their respective traditions. Indeed, like most pastoral nomads, modern as well as ancient, the ancestors of the Greeks, Hittites, Aryans, Celts, Germans, and so forth, seem to have regarded warfare as a fundamental fact of life and to have held both the war band and its collective representations in high esteem.

THE INDO-EUROPEAN MÄNNERBUND. As Stig Wikander pointed out (1938), the *Männerbund,* or war band, was clearly among the most important of ancient Indo-European social institutions. Examples of this phenomenon are legion, from the *kṣatriya* caste (or class, at least in the earliest period) of traditional India to the ancient Germanic *comitatus.* Moreover, the presence of such a social stratum—that is, a class of military specialists whose prime purpose was to exercise physical prowess, either in defense of the society or in order to conquer new territory—was a uniquely Indo-European phenomenon. Armed with the shaft-hole battle-ax, among other weapons, and propelled by the light, horse-drawn battle chariot, this warlike elite greatly facilitated the spread, beginning around 3500 BCE, of the several Indo-European communities from the Proto-Indo-European homeland in what is now southern Russia to the territory associated with this widespread language family in historic times.

AMBIVALENT ATTITUDES TOWARD THE WARRIOR. Nevertheless, despite his importance in the scheme of things, there seems to have been a deep-seated ambivalence in the Indo-European attitude toward the warrior, if not toward warfare, and this, too, is reflected in the belief system. On the one hand, the war leader, or **reĝ,* from which Latin *rex,* Sanskrit *rāj,* Old Irish *rig,* and so forth, derive, together with his war band, was generally regarded as the immediate secular authority, and his commands were typically obeyed without question. On the other hand, the *rex, rāj,* and so forth, was everywhere subordinate to—or at least no more prestigious than—the priests or holy men (e.g., the Indic brahmans, the Celtic druids, the Roman *flamines maiores*). And it is clear that ultimate sovereignty was vested in this most sacred of the ancient Indo-European social strata. Moreover, one finds everywhere a tension between the two classes in question, a sense that although the warrior was vital to the survival of the community, he was nevertheless a thoroughly ambivalent figure and prone to commit random acts of violence or treachery against nonwarrior members of his own society when not engaged in fighting external enemies. Indeed, throughout the ancient Indo-European-speaking domain one repeatedly encounters such concepts as *furor* (Latin) and *ferg* (Old Irish), as well as the Norse image of the *berserkir,* all of which are expressions of what was believed to be the warrior's inherent (and, on occasion, uncontrollable) ferocity.

Thus, the role of the warrior, and especially the warrior-leader, was steeped in paradoxes. He was at once at the apex of the social order and a potential threat to that order. Indeed, the contradiction here, which is reflected throughout Indo-European religious beliefs, is inherent in the profession of arms: it involves a social institution dedicated to the destruction of society. What follows is, in the main, a survey of these warrior-related beliefs, as interpreted by Dumézil.

THE IDEOLOGY OF THE SECOND FUNCTION. According to Dumézil, the ancient Indo-Europeans conceived of the world and their relationship to it in terms of three fundamental, hierarchically ranked ideological principles, or "functions." In descending order, the so-called first function includes the social and supernatural manifestations of ultimate sovereignty and is typically manifested in a pair of divinities, such as the Vedic divinities Mithra and Varuṇa, the Norse gods Tyr and Óðinn (Odin), and so forth, as well as in the priestly social strata mentioned above. The final function, or third function, reflects the sum total of activities and beliefs relating to the mass of society, the maintenance and promotion of fertility, physical well-being, and so on. However, it is the intermediate function, or second function, which includes the social, religious, and mythological manifestations of the exercise of physical prowess, that is of concern here, for it contains the ideology underlying the Indo-European conception of warfare and warriors.

As has been noted, that ideology is inherently ambivalent, for the canonical representations of the warrior figure are two in number. One is the apotheosis of the chivalrous warrior, the warrior who for the most part confines his violent behavior to the battlefield and does not habitually attack "civilians." This figure is perhaps best reflected by the aforementioned divinities Indra, Mars, and Þórr, as well as in the Indian epic hero Arjuna, and, at least to an extent, in the Greek figures Herakles and Achilles. The other representation of the warrior is diabolical in nature; the emphasis here is on unpredictability and sheer nastiness. Examples are to be found in the Vedic figure Vāyu, who is equated with the wind, especially the ill wind that blows up suddenly out of nowhere and does indiscriminate damage; the Norse anti-hero Starkaðr; and the aforementioned Greek divinity Ares, whose companions were Deimos ("fear") and Phobos ("fright"). Thus, the warrior has both a "light" and a "dark" side to his nature.

In several recent works, chief among them the second volume of the *Mythe et épopée* series (1971), Dumézil has suggested that this "dark/light" dichotomy can be detected throughout Indo-European ideology. That is, certain divinities are more remote from man, more unpredictable, and therefore "dark" in character (e.g., Varuṇa as well as Vāyu in the Indic tradition), while others, like Mitra and Þórr, are closer to humans and therefore "light" in character. Thus, the distinction between the two types of warrior figures, which almost certainly is rooted in a perception of social reality, may be but one example of a much more deep-seated Indo-European ideological theme.

THE THREE SINS OF THE WARRIOR. However, even the most chivalrous of Indo-European warrior figures, divine as well as heroic, sometimes manifest "dark" traits. Typically, this involves the commission of three "sins," one against each of the three ideological functions. The best example, perhaps, can be seen in the ancient Indic traditions about the recalcitrant behavior of the otherwise "light" divinity Indra. In *Mahābhārata* 5.9.1–40, Indra slays Viśvarupa, the monstrous, three-headed son of Tvaṣṭṛ, who has been threatening the divine community. However, as Tvaṣṭṛ is chaplain to the gods, his son is by definition a divine brahman, and Indra has therefore committed an act of brahmanicide, an unpardonable sin (and act of rebellion) against the first function and its representatives. Later, Indra is confronted by the warrior demon Namucī with whom he had earlier sworn a pact of eternal friendship. As that pact contained the promise not to kill Namucī with anything either wet or dry, Indra forges a weapon made of foam—which, in the eyes of the ancient Indians at least, was neither wet nor dry—and, when the unsuspecting demon's attention is diverted, he decapitates him. This, of course, is a sin against his own function, as the slaying was done by trickery, rather than in a fair fight. Finally, the god assumes the form of a man called Gautama and, so disguised, has intercourse with the man's wife. This is an abuse of the ideology of the third function, that is, Indra performs an illicit act of procreation.

As a result of these transgressions, Indra progressively lost his first function, majesty, or *tejas;* his second function, physical prowess, or *bālam;* and his third function, beauty, or *rūpam;* all of which, as Wikander and Dumézil have demonstrated, were eventually reincarnated in the offspring of the epic hero Paṇḍu (Yudhisṭhira, Arjuna, Bhīma, Nakula, and Sahadeva). The important thing here is that, from the standpoint of the Indo-European ideological system, Indra had by these acts clearly demonstrated his inherent recalcitrance and therefore his ultimate inferiority to Mitra, Varuṇa, and other representatives of the first function in the divine scheme of things. The lesson, of course, is that warriors, even the best of them, are capable of disrupting the social and natural order and therefore not to be fully trusted.

Another canonical example of the "three sins" can be found in the Greek traditions about Herakles, who (1) refuses to obey his sovereign, Eurystheus, (2) slays a fellow warrior, Iphitos, in violation of what amounts to a truce, and (3) although legally married to Deianira, abducts and then violates Astydamia after killing her father and sacking his city. The third prime example involves the Norse warrior Starkaðr, who sacrilegiously sacrifices his sovereign to the god Óðinn, abandons his cohorts in battle, and, for money, slays the Danish king Olo while he is relaxing in a bath. Still other examples have been noted in the careers of Ares, Agamemnon, Siegfried, Sir Gawain, and Achilles.

As Dumézil puts it, what is the case here is a "drama in three acts," as it were, and in a very real sense it is a tragedy, as with each "sin" the warrior in question—god as well as hero—loses his powers or his life force. Thus, after violating Astydamia, Herakles is rendered powerless by his outraged wife and eventually causes himself to be burned on a funeral pyre, while Starkaðr commits suicide after killing Olo. The net effect is what amounts to a "cautionary tale": warriors, even the best of them, are ultimately unreliable, and if their *furor,* and so forth, is allowed to go unchecked, the social order as a whole may very well collapse.

THE KILLING OF THE THREE-HEADED MONSTER. Among the more important themes involving Indo-European warrior figures is the killing of a three-headed monster. As has already been seen, Indra's first "sin" stemmed from such a slaying. But the theme in question is distinct from that of the "three sins" and needs to be considered separately. Indeed, Indra is by no means the only Indic figure who slays a tricephalus. In *Ṛgveda* 10.8.8 Viśvarupa's slayer is called Trita-Āptya, or the "third" of three Āptya brothers, and although the figure is sometimes held to be a hypostasis of Indra, there is no clear implication that Trita-Āptya's action is considered a "sin." The same can be said for the behavior of the onomastically related Iranian figure Thraetaona, who kills a three-headed monster called Aži Dahaka ("foreign snake").

Other reflexes of this theme can be found in the Greek story of Herakles versus the three-headed figure Geryon, the Norse myth of how Thor bested the giant Hrungnir, who is described as having a "three-horned" heart, the Irish account of the hero Cú Chulainn versus the three sons of Nechta Scéne, and the well-known Roman pseudo-historical account of the conflict between Horatius and the three Curiatii. The last two accounts are, or course, euhemerized, in that the three-headed monster has been transformed into a threefold set of human adversaries (in the Roman version they are a set of Alban triplets). Nevertheless, in the other accounts, the slayer performs the same service to his community: he eliminates a threat to the three fundamental elements of the tradition (i.e., the three functions)—hence presumably the three heads or triple character of the adversary.

But the recalcitrance and, indeed, antisocial proclivities of the Indo-European warrior are also very much in evidence here. In the Roman version, for example, when the victorious Horatius (also the last survivor of a set of triplets) learned that his sister mourned the death of one of the Curiatii—she had been betrothed to him—he slew her in a fit of rage. As a result the Roman hero was forced to walk under a beam to divest himself of his *furor* before returning to polite society. Similar rituals of purification seem to have been characteristic of other early Indo-European societies; indeed the later Roman custom wherein a victorious army had to pass under a "triumphal" arch before it disbanded seems, in light of this evidence, to have been rooted as much in a need to divest the army of its collective *furor* as in a desire to humiliate the war captives that marched in chains behind the general's chariot.

THE WAR OF FOUNDATION. Another widespread Indo-European theme in which warrior figures necessarily play an important part is what Dumézil variously calls "the war of foundation" and the "war between the functions," that is, a conflict between representatives of the first two functions and those of the third. The best examples come from the Germanic and Roman traditions. In the former, the Æsir, including Óðinn, Tyr, and, of course, Þórr, fight a war with the so-called Vanir divinities, the most prominent of whom are Njǫrðr, his son Freyr, and his daughter Freyja. As described in the *Ynglingasaga,* the Æsir fight their Vanir opponents to a standstill, and then, in reconciliation, incorporate them into the pantheon, rendering it complete.

Although scholars such as the late Karl Helm have interpreted this myth as a reflection of the conflict that must have occurred between the earliest Germans and the indigenous inhabitants of northern Europe, Dumézil has found a parallel in the Roman pseudo-historical account of the Sabine War, as preserved by Livy and others, and is therefore convinced that the theme is in fact Indo-European. In the latter case, shortly after founding the city of Rome, Romulus and his companions trick their wealthy neighbors, the Sabines, steal their wives and daughters, and then, as part of the truce following an inconclusive war, incorporate the whole Sabine community into the Roman body politic. In both examples, the defeated groups clearly represent the third function—neither the Vanir nor the Sabines were famed for their military prowess, and each was closely associated with fertility and the mass of society—while the victors represent the first two. Indeed, the Sabines eventually came to form one of the three founding tribes of Rome, the Titienses (named for the Sabine king Titus Tatius), completing a triad that also included the Ramnes (founded by Romulus and charged with priestly duties), and the warlike Luceres (reputedly named for the Etruscan hero Lucomon).

Thus, while the Roman version of the theme masquerades as history, it is as mythological in its roots as the Norse account of the conflict between the Æsir and the Vanir and ultimately stems from the same Indo-European mythologem. This conclusion is buttressed by several other examples of what appear to be "wars of foundation"—or at least traditions about an internecine struggle that broadly conforms to the pattern just discussed. One is the Vedic reference to a conflict between "two forces," or *ubhe vīrye,* that are expressed in the principles later incarnated, respectively, in the *vaisya* (third function) and in the *brahmaṇa* and *kṣatriya* (first and second functions). Another can be found in the Homeric accounts of the Trojan War (e.g., the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*), as well as in accounts of its aftermath (e.g., Euripides' *The Trojan Women*). The Greeks, led by Agamemnon and, after he returns to the fray, championed by the famed warrior Achilles, represent the first two functions, while the Trojans, consistently described as possessing vast wealth, are, like the Vanir and the Sabines, almost certainly representatives of the third function. Moreover, the fate of the Trojan women closely parallels that of their Sabine sisters: they are abducted by the victorious Greek kings and heroes.

Yet another possible example of a "war of foundation" can be seen in the Irish accounts of the conflict between the Tuatha Dé Danann and the Fomhoire, which culminated in the Second Battle of Magh Tuiredh. After this battle, the defeated Fomhoiran figure Bres, who together with his kind seems generally to reflect the third function, is incorporated into the body politic created by the victorious Tuatha (first and second functions), rendering it complete.

SWORD CULTS. An important feature that appears in several ancient Indo-European traditions is what can best be described as the cult of the named, magical sword. Found among the Celts, Germans, and particularly the North Iranian-speaking steppe peoples (Scythians, Alans, Sarmatians, etc.), the cult seems to have spread westward in the early centuries CE. Perhaps the best-known example here is contained in the medieval tradition surrounding King Arthur's magical sword, Excalibur. Another example is Roland's famous sword, Durandel. But as early as the fifth century BCE Herodotus described the Scythian practice of worshiping swords as manifestations of "Ares," and in the fourth century CE Ammianus Marcellinus described the Alanic custom of thrusting swords into the earth and worshiping them as "Mars." The modern Ossets, a Caucasian people who have the distinction of being the last descendants of the ancient Alans, still preserve an epic tradition in which magical swords play an important role (see, for example, Dumézil, *Légendes sur les Nartes,* Paris, 1930, pp. 61–63).

Although this theme cannot be documented throughout the ancient Indo-European domain and may well be rooted in the steppe traditions, its subsequent distribution from Britain to the Caucasus renders it a potentially important element in the Indo-European warfare mystique.

THE WARRIOR-DIVINITY AS A FERTILITY FIGURE. To conclude this brief survey of Indo-European warrior figures and the beliefs and practices associated with them, it is necessary to point out that several of the best known of these figures also had strong associations with plant, animal, and human fertility. Mars, for example, in certain of his aspects (e.g., the so-called Agrarian Mars) was regularly worshiped as a fertility figure. The Norse god Þórr was also invoked as an agricultural deity, and his sexual prowess is in some respects as remarkable as his fighting ability. The same can be said for several other Indo-European figures who are otherwise clear-cut representatives of the "second function," including, as has been seen, the demigod Herakles.

The warrior also has important connections with the principle of sovereignty, that is, the first function. As Dumézil points out, the Indo-European king is everywhere drawn from the warrior elite and must undergo a ritual wherein he acquires symbols of the other two functions as well as those relevant to his own. He thus necessarily becomes a transfunctional (or better, perhaps, a parafunctional) figure. Indeed, all Indo-European royal consecration ceremonies, from ancient India to modern Britain, emphasize this element.

Thus, Dumézil's conception of this most important component of the Indo-European ideology is much more complex than it might seem at first glance. There was, for example, a *Mars qui praeest paci* and there were *arma Quirini* (that is, armed representatives of the "third function"). Moreover, most of the female warrior figures—such as the Greek goddess Athena, who leaped into existence fully armed from the forehead of Zeus and who was typically portrayed in the costume of a warrior maiden—were also trifunctional figures in that they incarnated divine wisdom and the domestic arts as well as military prowess (cf. the three Irish Macha figures and the triple-figured Hindu goddess Durga). For the most part, however, these fertility attributes seem to have been secondary, and the prime function of figures such as Mars and Þórr, if not Athena, was to ensure military success.

In sum, despite their periodic bouts of antisocial behavior and occasional double-duty as agricultural divinities, to say nothing of their periodic elevation to the transfunctional role of king, the great Indo-European war gods, as well as their heroic counterparts (Arjuna, Achilles, Siegfried, Cú Chulainn, et al.), everywhere occupied a fundamental niche in the belief systems in question. And this niche was paralleled by that occupied by the warrior stratum in the real world of the ancient Indo-Europeans. Although never at the apex of the social or divine pyramid (unless elevated to the kingship), the warrior, mortal as well as divine or legendary, was a figure to be reckoned with, and the ideology associated with his was (and still is) perhaps the most distinctive feature of the Indo-European worldview.

See Also Berserkers; Blades; Frenzy; Indo-European Religions, article on History of Study; Secret Societies.

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WARAO RELIGION.

The Orinoco Delta, a landscape of swamps, islands, and waterways, is the territory of the Warao. Located between the modern republics of Venezuela, Guyana, and Surinam, the Warao today number approximately sixteen thousand. Heirs to a seven-thousand-year tradition of fishing adaptation, some twenty dialectal subgroups of Warao have been identified (Kirchoff, 1948, p. 869). Warao formerly was considered a linguistic isolate; recent research however indicates certain vocabulary correspondences with the Chibchan languages of northwestern South America (Wilbert, 1970, p. 22). Cultural and dialectical differences exist among the various Warao groups, but they are linked by a system of common beliefs.

Information on Warao religion is derived from three major areas: traditional narrative, cosmology, and shamanism.

Traditional Narrative. Traditional narrative is clearly cosmogenic in nature in that it recounts the origin of the plants, animals, and spirits that occupy the Warao universe. It also relates the feats of culture heroes, outlines the taboos people must observe, defines the soul, death, and reincarnation, and depicts other realms of being.

Myth explains that in precultural times the Warao lived in the sky, where a hunter's shot went wide one day. While searching for his arrow, the man found a hole. Descending by a rope to the earth, he discovered an abundance of food.

On his return he informed the Warao of his extraordinary find. The other Warao immediately began lowering themselves to earth, until at one point a pregnant woman became stuck in the hole. Only her anus protruded, which became the morning star; or, in another version, her legs extruded, forming the stars in the Big Dipper. Thus some of the Indians were forced to remain behind. On earth, the Warao learned from the spirit of palm leaf fiber that they must suffer and work. And so the first baby was born, the first sickness was inflicted by evil spirits, and the first death occurred (Wilbert, 1970, p. 309).

According to another tale, the sun was originally the property of one man. The world was dark, and men could procure food only with difficulty. One man, hearing the complaints of his wife, decided to send his two daughters in search of the sun. The first failed because she took the wrong turn and was raped by a monster. The second successfully reached the house of the sun's owner, had sexual intercourse with him, and received, as a gift, the sun in a container. Before she left, the man advised the girl not to break the sun. But on the girl's return home, amid the family's rejoicing, a piece of the sun broke off and escaped into the sky.

Aloft in the sky, the sun moved so swiftly through the day that men were unable to procure food. To remedy this situation, the Indians caught a turtle that they presented to the sun as a pet. Now obliged to wait for his slow-moving pet, the sun moved across the sky much more slowly, giving the Warao many hours of daylight in which to fish and to gather food (Wilbert, 1970, p. 311).

In another tale, the origin of the moon is sketched. Every night a young man was having incestuous relations with his two sisters as they slept. Anxious to learn the identity of their violator, the women smeared black genipa juice on their bodies. Waking the next day, they discovered the incriminating dye on their brother. Overcome with shame, their brother flew into space, where he became transformed into the moon. On occasions when the moon turns pink, the Warao believe that it bleeds. They therefore consider all women to be daughters of the moon, because they bleed periodically in menstruation (Wilbert, 1970, p. 63).

With profound sentiment, the Warao narrative also describes the origin of death. At the beginning of the world, the Warao chief warned his people not to sleep that night for they all would be visited first by death and then by a good spirit. To gain immortality, he urged them not to answer the first call but to respond to the second. That night silence reigned through the settlement. Toward midnight a voice was heard. One youth who had fallen asleep woke with a start and answered the first call, the call of death. In fulfillment of the chief's prediction, from that time on all Indians have had to die (Wilbert, 1970, p. 192).

COSMOLOGY. According to Warao cosmology, the earth is a disk floating on water; its crust is fractured by the many waterways of the Orinoco Delta. The sea extends to the horizon, where, contained within a vast gorge, it is bordered by mountains. At the cardinal and solstice points, these mountains soar upwards in the form of petrified trees.

The Warao universe is divided into various realms. The celestial realm is a smaller disk that parallels the terrestrial one. The maximum height of the solsticial suns determines the bell-shaped cosmic vault, which rests on the world's axis. Located to the northeast of the zenith is an ovoid house that is two-storied; the lower level is inhabited by a plumed serpent and the upper level by the Creator Bird, the ancestral shaman and his wife, and four pairs of insects. In the central space of the upper floor the male residents assemble to play a game that perpetuates humanity on earth. At the end of each game the plumed serpent emerges from below to produce a luminous ball. Ropes of tobacco smoke connect the house with the zenith and with the world's axis.

Coiled around the earth disk is a huge marine serpent that controls the tides and is the source of all forms of life. Below the terrestrial-aquatic is the subterranean realm, at the center of which resides the four-headed serpent-goddess of the nadir; her heads, crowned with deer horns, mark the four cardinal directions. The northern seas of the summer solstice are inhabited by the Butterfly God, and the southern seas of the winter solstice by the Toad God. The eastern and western seas are the domains, respectively, of the Avian God of Origin and the Scarlet Macaw. The ancient forefathers, called *kanobotuma,* reside at the four mountains at the cardinal points and once a year visit the Warao. At festival time, the forefathers enter the house of worship in a barrel of roasted palm pith, and, as carved images nailed to a central platform, they participate in the sacred dances of propitiatory ritual in which the Warao implore their gods of origin for protection (Wilbert, 1981, pp. 37–40).

SHAMANISM. Among the Warao common maladies are treated with simple herbal remedies. A serious illness or death, however, is always attributed to the malevolent action or intention of a supernatural agent. Three major types of sickness, and three specialists to treat them, are distinguished. *Bahana,* which results from the introduction of material objects into the body, is cured by the healer *bahanarotu. Hoa,* inflicted by plant and animal theophanies, must be attended by a shaman called *hoarotu.* And *hebu,* the possession by an ancestor spirit, is treated by the *wisiratu,* who is the shaman or priest who presides over the house of worship and who acts as the mediator between the *kanobotuma* and the Warao (Wilbert, 1970, p. 24). When someone is sick, all three practitioners assemble to diagnose the illness and to determine which specialist must perform the appropriate ceremony.

At the beginning of the Warao cultural epoch, the primordial shaman ascended to the zenith, called the "bosom of the world," from which radiates a network of paths across the celestial canopy. Deities travel along these pathways, as do Warao shamans in their journeys to other worlds. Amid this traffic, men provide offerings for the gods, and the gods bestow life and health on humankind (Wilbert, 1981, p. 39).

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ANDRÉS ALEJANDRO PÉREZ DIEZ (1987)
Translated from Spanish by Gabriela Mahnand Pita Kelekna
Revised Bibliography

WARBURG, ABY.

Aby Moritz Warburg (1866–1929) was a German art historian and *Kulturwissenschaftler* (scholar of cultural studies) who developed new concepts in the understanding of the cultural expression of human consciousness and behavior. Although he was not well known during his lifetime and long after that remained a mere name to all but a small circle of art historians, Warburg has gradually become recognized as a major figure in the study of religion. His importance for contemporary research lies not only in issues connected with iconology; his profound curiosity for both psychology and anthropology allowed him to develop new and successful strategies for deciphering complex and impenetrable imagery, and his interest in the nature of communication and the transformation of the symbolic meaning of signs established him as an exponent of the modern study of symbolism.

Warburg was born in Hamburg on June 13, 1866, the firstborn son of the banker Moritz Warburg and Charlotte Oppenheim Warburg. According to the Warburg legend, Aby Warburg rejected his birthright as his father's successor in the firm at the age of thirteen. He instead demanded not only an allowance according to his financial needs but also the financing of an expensive life devoted to research, which achieved its climax in the public activities of the Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg (KBW, later known as the Warburg Institute) and the outstanding scholars associated with it.

WARBURG'S WORK. In 1886 Warburg began his studies in art history, history, and archaeology in Bonn at one of the most famous German universities of the late nineteenth century. From 1888 to 1889 he attended a seminar of August Schmarsow in Florence. From the writings of Giorgio Vasari interpreting the rise of painting as an increase in the ability of artists to copy nature, Warburg learned that the artists of the Florentine Quattrocento were not the faithful and dedicated imitators of natural appearance that they were reputed to be. In particular the drapery style of Filippino Lippi and Sandro Botticelli deviated from realism in the addition of swirling garments and flying hair. In his Ph.D. thesis, concerning Botticelli's *Geburt der Venus* und *Der Frühling,* Warburg made a convincing argument for this unexpected observation by uncovering the historical circumstances of its making. He was able to prove that antiquity was visualized with the aid of dynamizing formal additions because the poets and philosophers in the immediate circle of Botticelli's patrons derived a certain mental image from ancient writers who delighted in descriptions of enchanting movement. Only in the High Renaissance was the illustration of imaginary themes as visualized through fantasy developed into a language of idealization that became the typical stylistic idiom of the period.

Warburg's new inclination to explain stylistic elements and their change in psychological terms was partly influenced by his teachers in Bonn and later Strasbourg, where he completed his dissertation. Hermann Usener, whose lectures on Greek mythology Warburg had attended, focused on the problem of mental mechanisms as reflected in the origins of mythology. Influenced by the Italian evolutionist Tito Vignoli and Charles Darwin's *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (1872), Warburg was able to trace human expression back to animal reactions deriving ultimately from fear. By interposing an interval of reflection between impulse and action, human beings are capable of turning the uncontrolled reactions of emotion into symbols of gesture and art. Warburg's monistic psychology of art, however, is not only based on this early theory of stimulus and response, a predecessor of ethology, but also on theories derived from John Locke's associationism, as specified by the German philosopher Johann Friedrich Herbart. According to the historian Karl Lamprecht, one of Warburg's teachers in Bonn, the collective mentality of a society was determined by the character of inherent mental images (*Vorstellungen*) as symbolized in art. Warburg used these new and scientific approaches to get at the mental images that become apparent behind art, literature, and religious ceremonies.

In conveying his program Warburg concentrated mainly on the elucidation of the rather narrowly confined cultural circle of the Renaissance. After his marriage to the artist Mary Hertz in 1897, he moved to Florence (1897–1904) to bring the famous patrons of Florentine art and their concerns to life. The complexity of the Florentine society of the fifteenth century was reflected in the famous works of art commissioned by Lorenzo de' Medici and his circle. At the artists' studios in Florence a new style emerged out of a renewed study of antiquity that contradicted the usually accepted costume realism *alla franzese* (French style of representation) that dominated art up to that time. It was not the dismissal of a too earthbound and materialistic fashion in order to reveal the body and its language of passion that puzzled Warburg but the discovery that the artistic loyalties of Lorenzo's circle were by no means undivided. On the contrary, the classical ideal had to overcome a heavy medieval style of calm realism originating in Flanders, and this struggle against strong opposing forces was the reason for the assertiveness and strength of the finally triumphant style *alla antica* (antique style of representation). Antiquity, with its language of passion, therefore could only be welcomed when it helped to squash the tendency toward nonreflective, shallow realism. Without a counterpoise, or in Warburg's terms, without a sense of distance, the same images would lead to empty rhetoric and eventually to the degradation of art.

The classical elements and their change of meaning in particular led Warburg to a line of research that nearly dominated his career after about 1908. The Quattrocento frescoes in the Palazzo Schifanoia depict the Greek planet deities in their typical manner of representation according to medieval traditions of mythology but also the illustrations of fictitious constellations, the Decans, astrological imagery that reached the Renaissance through Arabic sources. Only the High Renaissance succeeded in surmounting the demons of astrology and allocating them to the aesthetic and distanced sphere of pure beauty. The different renderings of the planet gods from medieval disguise to their former Olympian form is a perfect illustration of how primitive anxieties influence people's mental images. From a psychological point of view, the constellations that humans project onto the bewildering quantity of stars and their identification with mythical beings has to be understood as a first step toward orientation in a hostile world. This distance, as acquainted by the power of reflection, gets lost again if the same images evolve into a mere screen for contemporary fears and wishes.

During that time Warburg's interest in questions of mastering fear with the help of cultural media was not only theoretical. Personal experience with a life-threatening illness and the ubiquitous menace of Jewish existence had frequently led to attacks of anxiety that colored his philosophy of culture. With the collapse of Germany after World War I, Warburg's mind was unable to withstand the threatening impressions, and his referral into psychiatric clinics in Hamburg and Jena became inevitable. Only the skilled Swiss psychologist Ludwig Binswanger finally succeeded in reintegrating Warburg's personality. During his stay at the sanatorium in Kreuzlingen, Warburg struggled to regain clarity by giving his lecture "A Serpent Ritual" to his fellow patients. This lecture was based on a journey he took in 1895 and 1896 to the United States, where he had studied the culture of American Indians at the Smithsonian Institution and in the Indians' genuine Lebensraum on the arid plateaus of New Mexico. The recourse to his visit to the Hopi Indians in 1895–1896, which supplied him with material for later reflection, was significant when considered under different aspects. The study of traditional religion and art, with its primitive and violent emotions, led him back to the supposed origins of culture, where ritual and symbolic processes develop a particular sense of distance, acquired through reflection, that allows the sublimating transformations of frightening impressions into a fragile *sophrosyne* (the antique virtue of self-possession and composure).

During Warburg's illness his assistants Fritz Saxl (1890–1948) and Gertrud Bing (1892–1964) did much more than continue the work of the KBW, which had such an eminent and probably even sacral meaning for their mentor. The library was more than a systematic collection of books shaped for Warburg's special research program; it was the reflection of his thought and mental process. Warburg, who never tired of shifting and reshifting his books in accordance with his actual system of thought, looked upon his library as a fortress against the forces of darkness and hell. In this sense the library, with its ties both to science and to an obscure and demonic world, became a "consecrated space" where the fight against demonic forces in his struggle for clarity derived its greatest strength.

In the years of Warburg's recovery Saxl completed a paper by Warburg on astrological prophesies in the period of the German Reformation. In addition Saxl and Bing began preparations for an extensive project that was planned as a comprehensive study of the results of Warburg's former work. As soon as Warburg's health improved, he and his assistants began to pave the way for the *Mnemosyne-Atlas*, a reflection of the ancient images and symbols as preserved in the collective memory of the European race. According to Warburg's theory, any experience leaves an engram in the nervous system, which acts as a sort of energy storage space. This accumulated energy becomes tangible in paintings and symbols. In this context the act of painting, as well as the act of symbolizing in ritual, is a process of progress in the sense that it is an attempt to control a threatening energy that is fed by the collective memory of the societies under question. Warburg was not able to finish his life's work. He died in Hamburg in October 1929 at the age of sixty-three.

CONTINUING HIS WORK. Warburg's death, although a great loss for his family, friends, collaborators, and disciples, was by no means the end of the research program he had summoned into existence. During Warburg's illness Saxl had opened the KBW to the public and had transformed the formerly private institution into one of high-level research. It is mainly due to Saxl that an interdisciplinary circle of scholars, including Ernst Cassirer (1874–1945) and Erwin Panofsky (1892–1968), became attached to the Warburg Institute. During their long cooperation Saxl not only looked after Warburg's publications and popularized his research but, together with Bing and Edgar Wind (1900–1971), carried on Warburg's mission and saved the library for generations to come.

Even after Warburg's death and the successful emigration of his library to London, Warburg's former disciples and assistants kept close links to the work and thinking of their mentor. Many of the publications of Bing, Wind, Saxl, and Carl Georg Heise (1890–1979) grew from the distribution and reception of Warburg's ideas. Mainly by elaborating upon and systematizing Warburg's theoretical and conceptual assumptions were they able to acquire new and authentic positions in art history that made them into the leading experts in their subjects. Saxl, first interested in astrological and mythological Scripture, later included ancient religions as one of his main subjects of research. His work *Saturn and Melancholy* (1964), which he wrote together with the skilled historians of art and culture Erwin Panofsky (1892–1968) and Raymond Klibansky (1905–), became influential in future research. Wind, who joined the Warburg Institute in 1928, focused on the Italian Renaissance but was also influential in developing iconography as a method in art history and the history of religions. Ernst Gombrich (1909–2001), a young art historian with close ties to the Viennese school, gained a leading position in the world of art historians by writing the *Intellectual Biography* of Warburg, which has continued to be influential in the reception of Warburg's works. Gombrich's psychological view of art as a mutuality of creativity allowed for a new concept of the history of art that includes prehistorical and non-European art and its iconography. Panofsky, probably the most renowned art historian of his century, became associated with the Warburg circle during his scholarship at the University of Hamburg. His main concern was to safeguard methodological approaches in art history. It was Panofsky who finally established iconology as a method of research and who elaborated upon its theoretical foundation. Chiefly through his synopsis of the manifold disciplines of research, Panofsky was able to carry on the inheritance of Warburg.

SEE ALSO Iconography.

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INA WUNN (2005)

WARD, MARY. Mary Ward (1585–1645) was the founder of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, earlier known as the "English Ladies." She is recognized for pioneering the active, unenclosed life for nuns within the Roman Catholic Church, and her institute was the first systematic attempt to adopt for women the Jesuit missionary purpose and governance, with its emphasis on mobility and centralized structure under a superior general answerable directly to the pope. Traditionally, and in canon law, the members of women's religious orders were enclosed and monastic, a definition that was reinforced by the Council of Trent (1545–1563) as part of its reform of Catholicism. Mary Ward's was not the only contemporary initiative to challenge the status quo, but it was the most far-reaching and controversial—and remained so long after her death. She was convinced that "women in time to come will do much," but it was not until the aftermath of the French Revolution, in response to a powerful female movement to revitalize Catholicism, that the centralized active model was approved for women, and her vision was fully realized.

Born into a family of minor landed gentry in the northeast of England, Mary Ward was educated at home, where she learned Latin and showed a gift for modern European languages. The Wards belonged to the persecuted English Roman Catholic minority, and Mary was taught her faith by the Jesuit chaplains secretly employed in their households, and by female relatives, several of whom served prison sentences for persistent nonconformity to the established Church of England. A culture of heroism for their faith was evident within the Ward kinship network, most notably when three of her uncles died resisting arrest for their part in the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 to blow up the Houses of Parliament in an attempt at the political restoration of Catholicism.

In the same year Mary rejected a proposal of marriage favored by her father and her confessor in order to pursue a religious calling. She traveled to Stt Omer in Flanders, first joining the Poor Clares and then in 1607 to 1608 successfully founding a new Poor Clare convent in Gravelines for Englishwomen. She seemed settled, but in 1609 she experienced the first of a series of mystical illuminations, which she described as "seeing intellectually," that determined her subsequent decisions: "there happened to me a thing of such a nature that I know not, and never did know, how to explain. It appeared wholly Divine, and came with such force that it annihilated and reduced me to nothing" (Wright, 1997, p. 3). Understanding that she was to leave the convent to undertake some work willed for her by God, she returned to London. After a second illumination she gathered a group of young women of similar social background who trusted her leadership. In 1610, with the support of the Jesuits and the local bishop, they opened a quasi-religious house in St. Omer giving instruction and teaching girls evangelical activism and prowress. A third illumination in 1611, reinforced by a fourth in 1615, led Mary to understand that her community should adopt, with some adaptations, the constitutions of the Society of Jesus, their *Formula Instituti.* The vision made clear to her that the Society would not approve, as indeed it could not, since its founder had forbidden it to direct the work of nuns.

After 1615 Mary developed her institute, writing constitutions and forming its members as teachers and domestic missioners for work in England. Between 1616 and 1628 it expanded, attracting support from leading churchmen and nobility. New houses and schools were opened across the continent: in Liège (1616), Cologne and Triers (1620–1621), Rome (1622), Naples (1623), Perugia (1624), Munich (1627), and Vienna (1627). At the same time it attracted a good deal of hostility, and petitions were received in Rome from Jesuits, English clergy suspicious of the Jesuits, and individuals scandalized by their boldness and public life. New names—"Jesuitesses" and "galloping" or "gadding girls"—were added to that of "English Ladies," and they were accused of usurping priestly roles.

From the outset Mary sought papal approval for the institute. In 1621 she made a journey of 1,000 miles on foot from Brussels to Rome to present her constitutions to Pope Gregory XV, who, impressed with her character, referred the documents for consultation. But by 1628 the controversy had damaged the institute beyond recovery, so that Mary's re-presentation of her case to Pope Urban VIII in 1629 could not avert condemnation. Individual houses of the institute were firstly warned and from 1628 onwards suppressed by the Spanish Inquisition, culminating in the promulgation of the papal bull *Pastoralis Romani Pontificis* in January 1631 emphatically suppressing the whole institute and leading to Mary's imprisonment on heresy charges.

Although Mary was cleared of heresy by Urban and continued to live in Rome with companions, the remainder of her life was dominated by ill health. In 1637 she returned to England, where she died close to her Yorkshire home on January 20, 1645. Loyal companions slowly restored the institute from a base of strength in Munich under the protection of Maximilian of Bavaria. In 1749 Pope Benedict XIV issued a landmark judgement, *Quamvis Justo,* approving the restored institute's members as active unenclosed religious, provided they worked under local bishops and ceased to claim that their institute had been founded by Mary Ward. It was a further 160 years before another pope, Pius X, rehabilitated her as founder of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Interest in Mary Ward grew during the twentieth century and, in the context of changing attitudes, her reputation grew to the point where in 1982 John Paul II extolled this "remarkable Yorkshire woman . . . a pioneer of the active unenclosed congregations for women."

SEE ALSO Nuns, article on Christian Nuns.

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SUSAN O'BRIEN (2005)

WARLPIRI RELIGION. While the boundaries of Warlpiri territory have moved through time, the central-western part of the Northern Territory has generally been regarded as the heart of Warlpiri country. Until they were forced to sedentarize by the Australian government in the early 1940s, the Warlpiri people led an independent hunting and gathering life in an area spreading over approximately 53,200 square miles (137,800 square kilometers). While mandatory sedentarization deprived Warlpiri men and women of their socioeconomic roles as gatherers and hunters, they sustained what continues to give them their raison d'être: their connections to the land, their cosmology, and their ancestors. The Warlpiri reside mainly in the settlements of Yuendumu, Lajamanu, Ali-Curang, Willowra, and Nyirrpi (and their outstations) and represent the most populous Aboriginal group in central Australia. The fact that most Warlpiri continue to reside on lands they traditionally inhabited accounts in part for the vigor of Warlpiri ritual life.

THE *JUKURRPA*. When discussing their religion, Warlpiri men and women invoke a key concept: the *Jukurrpa*. The *Jukurrpa* provides the Warlpiri with links to their ancestral past and land, as well as to their ancestors and to each other, reifying contemporary social relations and articulating omnipresent connections at the core of Warlpiri sense of identity (Dussart, 2000). A thorough grounding in the notion of *Jukurrpa* in all its iterations and contexts is necessary to understand the richness of Warlpiri ritual life.

Jukurrpa has often been translated in English as "Dreaming," "Dreamtime," or "Ancestral Times" (Mulvaney, Morphy, and Petch, 1997), but these translations obscure rather than explain the richness of Warlpiri cosmology. *Jukurrpa*, as explained by contemporary Warlpiri, has five related distinct and interrelated usages. Contrary to the simplified definitions appropriated by Western "spiritualists" in the 1990s, *Jukurrpa* refers first to an ancestral period during which the world was fashioned by Ancestral Beings who instituted social and religious orders for humans. Although *Jukurrpa* refers to a fictitious past, the Warlpiri maintain that it continues to exist in the present. According to an immutable law, when the *Jukurrpa*, which has always existed, manifested itself, the ground was flat and shapeless. Mythical heroes and heroines emerged from the earth, traveled around the countryside, performed marvelous acts, and continue to live in the *Jukurrpa* (Stanner, 1966, p. 266). Their travels transformed the shapeless ground into features (hills, watercourses, trees, and so on) and left behind them "ancestral powers." Features in the landscape readily apparent are proof that the *Jukurrpa* is true (*yijardu*) and that its essence is ever present.

The second usage is to designate the whole category of Ancestral Beings. The actions of these legendary beings, who emerged from the earth, shaped the landscape, and performed marvelous acts, are still reenacted by the Warlpiri in their ritual performances. Every spot visited became a sacred site and every sacred site became part of a specific *Jukurrpa* itinerary. Some Ancestral Beings remained near their place of emergence, while others traveled through territories that belong to neighboring Aboriginal groups. In their travels, Ancestral Beings left behind "life forces" (Peterson, 1969, p. 27). The Warlpiri identify three main kinds of life forces: *kuruwarri*, *pirlirrpa*, and *kurruwalpa*.

The *kuruwarri* are the marks, signs, and designs mythical beings left behind, while the unseen aspect of the *Jukurrpa* is invoked by the use of the word *pirlirrpa*. *Kuruwarri* and *pirlirrpa* are complementary categories, with the former referring to the visible (and the latter to the invisible) traces of the *Jukurrpa*. *Pirlirrpa*, however, has a more specific application: to the "spirit" or "essence" of the individual, a spirit that enters via the semen of the father and the egg of the mother and that localizes itself in the two kidneys. Male and female elements are thus found in every individual. The *pirlirrpa* is believed to imbue people, Dreaming stories, and the ceremonies that invoke the *Jukurrpa*. It is the potency of *pirlirrpa* that guarantees the effectiveness of a ritual in the maintenance of the *Jukurrpa*.

The essence of the *Jukurrpa*, called *kurruwalpa*, is associated exclusively with the act of conception. Whereas the *pirlirrpa* is linked physically to the individual wherever that individual may be, the essence or spirits associated with conception are all site-specific. While a mother is walking along, a *kurruwalpa* will penetrate her—through the womb, foot, or navel—in a fashion that animates the fetus. When the *kurruwalpa* emerges, that particular site becomes known as the conception site of the soon-to-be-born child. Later on, the child will have special rights and ritual obligations over the site and the Ancestral Beings associated with it.

Even though it is often argued in anthropological literature that ancestors (i.e., deceased humans) and Ancestral Beings are fused indistinguishably, the actual relationships between ancestors (*nyurnupatu*) and Ancestral Beings (*Jukurrpa*) are far more complex. It is true that, while telling a *Jukurrpa* story, a Warlpiri person may refer to his or her deceased father as, say, "an Ancestral Emu" (*Yankirri*), implying the *Jukurrpa* Ancestral Being of that name. Such reference is particularly common when the cosmologically constituted connection to that Being can strengthen the narrator's ceremonial and territorial rights associated with the myth of a particular Ancestral Emu. This does not mean, however, that the deceased is instantly folded into, or immediately becomes one with, some larger cosmological force situated in the *Jukurrpa.* In point of fact, further interrogation reveals that at least two generational levels must exist between the deceased and a speaker for the former to merge fully with the *Jukurrpa*, a process of genealogical amnesia that transforms humans into Ancestral Beings.

The third sense of the *Jukurrpa* employs the term to denote specific narratives or Dreaming stories—as, for example, in the myth of an Ancestral Rain Being—such that not only the Being, but also the *ngurrara* (homes) it created in its travels are referred to as *Ngapa Jukurrpa* (Ancestral Rain Dreaming, or Rain Dreaming). Before returning to their site of emergence, Ancestral Beings may travel far, traversing many other homes (each portion of which represents a particular portion of the itinerary and a particular story) and many other countries owned and overseen by different kin groups, including many who are not Warlpiri. Other Ancestral Beings do not stray far from their site of emergence.

The fourth usage refers to a specific segment of an ancestral itinerary at a given site and its vicinity. One or several songs, designs, and dance sequences are associated with a segment of a Dreaming, which are enacted during ritual ceremonies. The same basic elements of designs, songs, and dances performed by men and women are stylistically arranged according to age and gender that characterize a specific ritual activity.

Finally, *Jukurrpa* is used to refer to nocturnal dreams. When asleep, dreamers may have a dream in which they "see and hear" Ancestral Beings. If the dreamers can remember song(s) sung by the Ancestral Beings as they wake, their dreams, after thorough examination by *Jukurpa* experts, are usually integrated within an existing *Jukurrpa* itinerary. It is through such dreams that the Warlpiri have learned about (and continue to learn about) the *Jukurrpa.* The Warlpiri maintain that nothing is new, but simply forgotten. The *Jukurrpa* is believed to be immutable, whereas the reality of life is that cosmology and religious order are dynamic.

RITUAL MANAGEMENT. While the *Jukurrpa* has and will always be, humans in specific kin formations have the responsibility to reproduce and maintain it by enacting Dreaming stories in ritual performances as prescribed by the Ancestral Beings. Through the performance of ceremonies, the Warlpiri reaffirm their ties to the land, the *Jukurrpa*, and to one another. This is achieved following specific patterns of kinship—patterns that have been modified since sedentarization. Before being forced to settle, the Warlpiri lived a seminomadic life traveling in small groups of up to thirty relatives and in-laws (like most central Australian Aborigines). They camped for short or long periods of time with either spouse's families, and they would gather in great numbers with other central desert Aborigines for ceremonial purposes. Ritual activities such as initiations and betrothals usually took place at specific sites along the itinerary evoked in performances orchestrated by groups of kin responsible for the area and the associated *Jukurrpa.* Since sedentarization, ceremonial performances tend to be performed near settlements.

Dreaming stories, sites, and associated rituals are owned and managed along complex lines of subsection and kinship association. The Warlpiri have an Arandic system of kin classification (first identified by Mervin J. Meggitt [1962]). The Warlpiri divide the world into two groups of people: those they are related to and those who are not their relatives. Relationships with kin may be actual (when both parents are shared), close (when they share one relative, even distant), or "classificatory" (when kinship ties are established through land and daily life). The basic egocentric distinctions of the Arandic system are grouped into a set of sociocentric terms known as subsections, which in turn are further grouped into patrilineal, matrilineal, and generational moieties. Each descent group is associated with one or other of the four patrisubsection couples used to identify patterns of landownership.

The basic structure of landownership, and by implication ritual transmission and social organization, is constituted along lines of patrilineal descent. A person's patrimoiety is referred to as *kirda,* while the opposite patrimoiety is referred to as *kurdungurlu.* The real significance of *kirda* and *kurdungurlu* in the organization of religious life and land tenure derives from the more specific uses and the rights associated with them. Generally, a man or a woman inherit rights as *kirda* to more than one country and associated *Jukurrpa.* A *kurdungurlu* is a person who has inherited responsibilities through a matrilaterally traced interest. So each Warlpiri person has rights and responsibilities over countries and Dreamings as *kirda* and as *kurdungurlu.* However, acquisition of knowledge and responsibilities to act as *kirda* or *kurdungurlu* for sites and *Jukurrpa* acquired through classificatory kin associations is common and the result of residential alliances developed since forced sedentarization.

A *kirda* is often referred to in Aboriginal English as the "owner" of a *Jukurrpa* and its associated sites. Owners are responsible for the maintenance of the well-being of the land and its people by performing ritual ceremonies. The *kurdungurlu* is like a "manager" of a *kirda*'s Dreamings and associated sites and ritual performances. Reenactment of a *Jukurrpa* by *kirda* requires the surveillance and advice of *kurdungurlu.* The *kirda-kurdungurlu* relationship is, in theory, reciprocal, but in practice (and since sedentarization) this relationship is more often based on alliance rather than on descent.

In all their discussions of landownership, *Jukurrpa*, and ceremonial responsibilities and rights, Warlpiri men and women explain how transmission lines to obtain and pass on religious knowledge in no way restrict the role of either gender in the inheritance or performance of that knowledge. While men and women are identified as *kirda* or as *kurdungurlu* for specific Dreamings and related sites, certain segments along the *Jukurrpa* geospecific itinerary may be shared by both genders, while others are exclusively enacted in men- or women-only performances.

CEREMONIES. The *Jukurrpa* is primarily maintained through the singing, dancing, and painting performed during land-based ceremonies. By enacting their Dreaming stories, Warlpiri men and women resolve conflicts, maintain and restore the health of the land and all that live on it, and uphold their ties to the land, to their ancestors, and to one another. In theory, *kirda* and *kurdungurlu* should never be negligent. If they do not enact their *Jukurrpa* correctly (*junga*) not only the land may become ill, but the people, animals, flora, and resources attached to it are put at risk as well. As one important Yuendumu ritual leader, who passed away and thus cannot be named, explained "if you do not care for country, that country will simply die. We cannot forget our *Jukurrpa* [and our obligations to it]."

Colonial and postcolonial forces have irrevocably changed Warlpiri ritual activities. A number of ceremonies have disappeared, and others have been altered. Regardless, initiation ceremonies with plural motives—such as male circumcision and betrothal, men- and women-only ceremonies, ceremonial cycles performed by both men and women, and rituals surrounding conception, death, love songs, and curing—now form the core of Warlpiri religious activity.

Some of these performances may last weeks, while others are performed in less than half a day. Ritual cycles tend to occur during a specific time of the year, such as during the wet season, which also coincides with Western-style holidays; adults and children are able to participate in these long initiation ceremonies. Other ceremonies, such as women-only performances called *yawulyu*, may occur throughout the year.

Three main distinctions are generally made when identifying who can participate, orchestrate, and witness ritual activities. These distinctions are defined by three ceremonial events: *tarruku*, *wiri*, and *warraja.*

Tarruku events are considered dangerous, potent, and powerful. Only the most senior persons knowledgeable in the specific segments of a *Jukurrpa* can orchestrate *tarruku* performances. *Tarruku* events associated with male initiation cannot be witnessed by women, though senior women are aware of their content and purposes. Others, such as *wiri,* can take place during ceremonies orchestrated by initiated men and enacted by both men and women. *Wiri* performances are considered potent but not as dangerous as *tarruku* events.

Senior Warlpiri men and women use the term *warraja* to refer to ritual events open to all: initiated, noninitiated, non-Warlpiri, and non-Aboriginal people. *Warraja* events are public but remain imbued with the potency of the *Jukurrpa.* These events may be performed by men or women or both.

As in all typologies, the ones for *tarruku*, *wiri*, and *warraja* are at best truncated. Explanations of ritual activities and terms employed to categorize them are done by specific persons for a specific audience. For example, a person who has not been given the rights to sing and dance in ritual activities because of his or her age could use *tarruku* to designate all ceremonies performed by the senior Aborigines. In brief, many religious Warlpiri terms, such as *tarruku*, *wiri*, and *warraja*, are imbued with supplemental meanings according to the ritual status, age, and gender of who uses them and in front of whom they are used.

Even though Warlpiri men and women unfailingly maintain that the *Jukurrpa* has not changed, they readily admit that their ritual repertoire has undergone transformation since forced sedentarization. Biomedical Western practices have reduced the frequency of birth and health-curing rituals. The performances of love and sorcery rituals, which increased in the early years of sedentarization, are now in decline. While certain ritual activities have faded away, some have been modified and others added to the religious repertoire. Inter-Aboriginal ceremonial cycles described as *tarruku* and *wiri* (which cannot be described here) and *warraja* have been organized since settled life. Creolized ceremonies blending elements of Christianity and Warlpiri religion have emerged and have had a measured impact on Warlpiri ritual life as a whole). Regardless, even though ritual repertoires may be smaller and the duration of performative events are shorter, the vitality of and the importance of the *Jukurrpa* has retained its intensity.

Initiation and conflict-resolution rituals continue to be regularly performed, as they play crucial roles in the production of Warlpiri identity in neocolonial Australia. These ceremonies are usually enacted during school breaks and near settlements to maximize participation and valorize the importance of such events.

RITUAL PERFORMANCES. There are two main groups of ceremonial performances. The first set is associated with rites of passage (initiation, betrothal, and death), and the second includes performances outside elemental ones connected to the cosmological construction of Warlpiri identity.

The main ritual cycle linked to initiation is called *kurdiji.* This is a ritual in which men and women perform gender-specific and joint ceremonies and that marks the first stage of a boy's initiation into manhood through the act of circumcision. Warlpiri boys have to undergo this procedure, which is restricted to men when they are between twelve and fifteen years old. It is during *kurdiji* that preferred marital associations are sealed between the initiand's family and the future spouse's family, whether the future wife is born or not. After the circumcision of their first son, mothers, if they wish, will be able to begin their ritual career. Mothers give away their sons; sisters dance so their brothers enter manhood; fathers, mothers' brothers, and future in-laws seal their newly articulated kin and spiritual responsibilities. After *kurdiji* ceremonies, both male and female participants have acquired sets of kinship obligations as well as spiritual responsibilities.

The young circumcised men, aided by their relatives, will have to go through other initiation ceremonies to be able to participate fully in their thirties in the ritual life of their settlement. The second stage of initiation is called *kajirri* and *kankarlu*, or "high school" in Aboriginal English (Meggitt, 1966; Peterson, 1970). *Kajirri* is associated with a set of Dreaming itineraries and *kankarlu* with others. Young men will be initiated in one or both of these cycles. Their participation will be predicated on their associations with the *Jukurrpa* itineraries evoked, the timing of the events, and their availability. *Kajirri* and *kankarlu* require planning on a grand scale because they demand the participation of Aboriginal people outside Warlpiri territory. They are usually performed only once every few years, and young men in their late teens are strongly encouraged to participate to further their understanding of their *Jukurrpa* and their responsibilities to the land and their ancestors, and to undergo other genital transformation. Young men who have undergone the initiation ceremonies of *kurdiji* and *kajirri* (or its variant, *kankarlu*) can be subincised, a highly restricted surgical intervention. Senior men and women active in ritual life participate in initiation ceremonies and perform gender-specific ceremonies in which they reenact restricted versions of Dreaming stories. Kinship ties among Warlpiri and other Aboriginal families are cemented and reaffirmed during *kajirri* and *kankarlu* events, prompting participants to perform other rituals together.

There are no marriage ceremonies among the Warlpiri, unless future spouses get married in a church as Christians. Betrothal takes place during initiation ceremonies. The ceremonies marking a person's death are called *malamala*, or "sorry business" in Aboriginal English. *Malamala* ceremonies are performed by a dead person's relatives. Widows, mothers, and mothers-in-law go to a "sorry camp," where they are placed under a speech taboo that can last from several weeks to several months (Kendon, 1988). Men conduct "sorry business" but are not put under a speech taboo. Male relatives self-inflict wounds to their bodies to show their sorrow at the loss of their relative. The name of the deceased as well as all words sounding the same are placed under a speech taboo. All individuals sharing the name of the deceased or something that sounds similar are subsequently identified as *kumanjayi*, or "no name" (Nash and Simpson, 1981). All performances of the *Jukurrpa* associated with the deceased are suspended until proper "finishing-time" rituals are conducted to lift the various bans imposed after death. With death, the *pirlirrpa*, or "essence of the individual," enters a liminal state identified as *yama* or *marnparrpa*. Since Warlpiri do not regard death as "natural," male relatives conduct a ritual in which they accuse various individuals of neglectful and malign actions that led to the death of their relative.

Every place and object owned by the deceased is put under taboo, and the ground where he or she walked has to be swept to ensure that the spirit of the deceased does not remain among the living. Plagued with social problems and deadly diseases, the Warlpiri are involved in *malamala* almost on a monthly basis. At the "finish-time" ceremonies, women are relieved from their speech taboo and other restrictions on remarriages are lifted, as is the ban on enacting the itineraries of the *Jukurrpa* associated with the deceased. Other individuals bearing the name of the deceased can resume the use of the name. The "finish-time" event can take place a few months or many years after the death of the individual whose country is "opened up" again. This process of reintegration has wide-ranging implications, offering insight into the relationship between the living, the dead, and the Ancestral Beings.

The second set of rituals mentioned earlier are the following ceremonial cycles: *jardiwanpa*, *kura-kurra*, *ngajikula*, and *puluwanti.* These are undertaken jointly by senior men and women. These four ceremonial cycles are distinguished by the Ancestral Beings they invoke. Most of the ceremonies are restricted, except for the last night of the cycles when the initiated, both young and old, are engaged in the final steps of conflict resolution. These ceremonial cycles contain a great deal of intra- and intersettlement importance, and their highly valued content is regularly exchanged with neighboring Aboriginal groups.

Since sedentarization, there has been a steady decrease of public performances called *purlapa. Purlapa* events are performed only by men and, like most public performances, they proclaim the richness of the *Jukurrpa* beyond the settlement, circulate ritual knowledge, and in the process sustain if not revivify social networks. In this sense, public performance simultaneously functions as a mirror and a projector of Warlpiri culture. Today, women's public rituals called *yawulyu* play such roles. The transfer of performative responsibility reflects more than the mutability of Warlpiri ceremonial life under postcolonial pressures, as it underscores the gender-specific methods by which sedentarized Warlpiri kin groups sustain their religion and their prestige within and beyond the confines of their settlements.

Yawulyu rituals are only performed by women. These ceremonies can be either restricted or public, and they have plural functions. In their *yawulyu* ceremonies, women enact the myths for which they are *kirda* assisted by their *kurdungurlu*, and most of them are performed in the settlements where the participants live. *Yawulyu* are performed to enhance women's knowledge of the *Jukurrpa*, sexuality, fertility, well-being, and physical and spiritual growth, as well as to educate non-Aboriginal peoples about the importance of the land and the *Jukurrpa.* Through the performance of public *yawulyu* ceremonies, Warlpiri women have come to play crucial roles as gatekeepers of Warlpiri identity beyond the confines of the settlement.

Church *purlapa* is the Aboriginal English term used for creolized performances merging some components of Christian and Warlpiri religions. Only formally constituted in the late 1970s, church *purlapa* are performed by both men and women. Missionaries representing various branches of the Christian church have long struggled to convert the Warlpiri and have had a small but noticeable impact within certain settlements. Since the mid-1990s, the younger generations have been far more actively engaged in orchestrating Christian ritual activities, such as church bands.

CONCLUSION. Despite colonial and postcolonial pressure, the *Jukurrpa* as a cultural form continues to provide a fundamental structure to the lives of the Warlpiri people. The *Jukurrpa* cannot change and gives to Warlpiri men and women feelings of continuity in a world of uncertainty. In their enactment of *Jukurrpa* itineraries, the Warlpiri reaffirm their ties to their lands, their ancestors, themselves, and other Aboriginal people. Even though the frequency of ceremonial performances has diminished and the length and site of performances modified, the power of the *Jukurrpa* remains strong. Through their ritual activities, Warlpiri participants demonstrate the importance of the *Jukurrpa* and their land to the world at large.

SEE ALSO Australian Indigenous Religions, overview article; Cosmology, article on Australian Indigenous Cosmology; Dreaming, The.

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WATER. In the mythical narratives in which it is frequently employed, the image of water takes on many different aspects. This article shall try to classify its appearances and seek to understand how the diverse functions that it fulfills are ordered.

AT THE TIME OF ORIGINS. Many peoples tell how the world, already created in ancient times, was transformed and became what it is now. According to certain Australian traditions, the earth was originally surrounded by water, and in it were many spirits. Through the action of one of these spirits, the earth grew warm, and the first humans emerged from it. According to the Zuni Indians, a complex network of waterways circulates underground; the first Zuni were born there, at the lowest level. A pair of twins created by the Sun then made them climb to the surface. A pond marks the spot where they finally saw the light of day. A northern Australian myth tells the story of a *dema* (ancestral) deity. After one of his sons struck him with a lance, he threw himself into the sea; there, another of his children drew the lance out of his flesh where it had remained embedded. During the voyage the god then undertook, a spring appeared everywhere he rested. Finally, he plunged into the river Victoria, whose waters he proceeded to stir up until they formed deep branches in the forest; he then disappeared under a rock. From time to time he rises to the surface and causes storms; according to some accounts, he also occupies the region of the rainbow, where rain is formed.

Myths of this type show us water as present in the world from the most ancient times on, but they ascribe to it many different situations. Whether peripheral to the land or underground, water is first a significant element of the universal order. Sometimes it figures simply as a geographical feature—the sea or a river defining the shape of a country. However, there is something more to take note of. Water can be passive, with a spirit independent of it taking the sole initiative in the act of transformation. And yet water is tied mysteriously to the birth of the first humans or to the destiny of a god, who, after disappearing into its depths, remains bound up with storms and rain. The scope of these differences becomes clear when considering lengthier accounts.

In seeking the origin of all things, many peoples relate how water appeared in the course of cosmogonic events. Their explanations fall into three principal mythic systems. According to the first system, the world is created by a god who remains largely transcendent to it. In this case water, like the entire world, is a product of divine action. According to the Desána of South America, "Sun created the universe. . . . [He] created the earth, its forests and its rivers. . . . He also created the spirits and water demons" (Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff, *Desana: Simbolismo de los Indios Tukano del Vaùpès,* Bogotá, 1968, pp. 48–49). An African lament evokes "the one eternal God, the creator of the ocean and of dry land, of the fish in the sea and the beasts in the forest" (Louis Vincent Thomas, *Les religions d'Afrique noire,* Paris, 1969, p. 218).

In the second mythic context, the cosmogony takes on the aspect of a genealogy. The first ancestor is an entity whose simultaneously cosmic and divine attributes appear in the proliferation of his offspring. The waters that are then born throughout the generations are themselves generative. In a Greek system, the ancestral Earth gives birth to Heaven and to Pontos, the realm of the sea, composed of salt water. Earth then couples with each of these male principles. The first of the children she conceives from Heaven is Okeanos, a freshwater river, with deep eddies; he becomes the father of all the springs and rivers. Thus the deity who goes beyond the world remains immanent within it: In a way, he is present in the waters.

Finally, spirit may be presented as one of the primary agents of the formation of the world. Take for instance this Bambara myth: Out of the original void and motion a force, and then spirit, come forth. While the principles of things are being ordered, a mass falls and gives birth to the earth. However, a part of spirit arises; this is Faro, who builds the heaven. Faro then falls to earth in the form of water, thus bringing life to it. Dispenser of life, water is a manifestation of the divine spirit itself.

It is, however, in another type of cosmogony that the breadth and diversity of the functions of water become most intelligible. Here, water symbolizes what existed before the unleashing of the cosmogonic process, or the state of the world in the first phases of its history. There are numerous variations on this theme.

1. In its fluidity and elusiveness water may suggest the absence of form, the unsubstantiality and confusion from which the world will emerge. Inert, water has no power; a god or other beings independent of water will be the sole agents of creation. For instance, the following tale was told in the Admiralty Islands. In the beginning, there was nothing but an immense sea; in it swam a great serpent. Wanting a place where he could rest, he said, "Let a reef arise!" A reef then arose from the water and turned into dry land.

Biblical cosmogony illustrates the meaning of water in myths of this sort. The Bible brings together various symbols, including the desert, the void and darkness, the abyss, and the mass of water that the abyss contains and above which hovers the breath of God. This divine breath alone signifies reality. The other images have a negative value, evoking the idea of nonexistence; theologians will see in them a symbol of nothingness. Vedic language can go even further:

> Neither Non-Being nor Being existed then.
> Neither air nor the firmament above existed.
> What was moving with such force? Where? Under whose care?
> Was it the deep and fathomless water? (*Ṛgveda* 10.121.1)

In this question, the image of water alludes to the state of things prior to the distinction between being and nonbeing.

2. Water has no form of its own, but rivers have a bed and the sea has a bottom. This simple fact inspires several myths. Here is a Siberian example:

> In the beginning, water was everywhere. Doh, the first shaman, flew over the primordial ocean in the company of some birds. Finding nowhere to rest, he asked the red-breasted loon to dive into the ocean and bring back some earth from the bottom. This the loon did, and on his third attempt, he managed to bring back a little mud in his beak. Doh made of this an island on the original ocean which became the earth.

The original ocean can thus cover some solid element. Moreover, despite its fluidity, water itself has substance; it is itself matter, and may contain suspended matter. In some myths the gods capture this matter or condense it. Thus the *Atharvaveda* (12.1) reads: "[The Earth] was originally a wave in the heart of the Ocean; the Sages went looking for it with their magic." A Guinean myth tells how Ha made an immense sea of mud and, then, by solidifying the mud, created the earth. According to the *Kojiki*, Izanagi and Izanami drove a lance into the sea that extended below them. When they withdrew it, the salty drops that fell from it solidified and formed the first land: the island of Onogoro. A Greek commentator on the myth of Proteus expresses himself in more abstract terms:

> There was a time when all that existed was formless and muddy . . . there was nothing but matter that had been spilled out. A formless inertia reigned until the artisan of all things, having attracted order in order to protect life, imposed its imprint on the world. He disjoined the heavens from the earth, separated the conti-

> nent from the sea, and each of the four elements . . . assumed its own form. (Heraclitus, *Homeric Allegories* 64ff.)

In this type of myth, water no longer signifies nothingness; it possesses a true existence. The gods use it, but it remains inert; they alone are active.

3. Very similar accounts, or even variants of the same myth, however, endow water with a certain spontaneity. This is the case in a story told by the Muskogee of North America. Before creation, they say, a vast expanse of water was the only thing visible, and two pigeons flew over the waves. At one end, they noticed a blade of grass growing on the surface of the waves. From this grass the earth gradually took shape, and at last the islands and continents took on their present form. One may also refer to an Orphic Greek cosmogony, according to which the primordial water appears to have been muddy. The matter it contained was condensed to become earth, and then from water and earth was finally born the mysterious god who would engender the cosmic egg. Despite their very different styles, both of these myths share one feature: Something happens in the original waters, without the intervention of any power external to the waters themselves. They therefore possess a certain intrinsic power. Other myths go on to explain the nature of this power.

4. In Hindu cosmogonies, waters are often represented as a receptacle of the divine egg or seed, which grows in the waters, carrying the god full of activity. But they do not give birth to what they carry. "In the beginning, he created only the waters, and then, in the waters, he laid his seed. And this became a golden egg. . . . In this egg Brahmā was born of himself, the ancestor of all living things" (*Mānava Dharmaśāstra* l.8–9). Auspicious for the development of the divine embryo, such waters fulfill an almost amniotic function. Egyptian mythology has a similar body of water, known as Nun. The primordial water is considered divine. It bears its own name and assumes human attributes. It can speak, and it can form a couple with its feminine double, the goddess Naunet. In Heliopolitan tradition, it is in Nun that the autogenous solar god is born and later rests. There he begins his creative or generative activity, and there, perhaps, the first gods begin their existence.

5. The image of a vivifying water that favors the birth of a god or the growth of an embryo is in fact very close to that of a fecund and procreative water. Some Egyptian texts give the impression that Nun himself engendered the solar god, whom he calls "my son." Nun has thus been called the "father of the gods." For a more clear-cut example of an image of procreative water, however, one may turn to the Babylonians. The Babylonians recognized two beings, Apsu and Tiamat, who existed prior to the formation of heaven and earth. They are at one and the same time waters, whose currents, in the beginning of time, mingled in a single mass, and two personified divinities, one masculine and one feminine. Their union produces another divine couple, who in turn will have their own offspring, so that Apsu and Tiamat become the ancestors of all creatures and, in this sense, the first authors of the cosmogonic process. Greece had a similar system, which Homer has preserved. Simultaneously currents of water and anthropomorphic deities, Okeanos and Tethys couple and give birth; their descendants will include all beings who will constitute, rule, or people the universe.

Essential to the life of plants, animals, and humans alike, water can be identified with the life-bearing forces and with fecundity itself. The regenerative nature can appear in a less biological fashion. One reads in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (11.1.6.1): "In the beginning, the waters and the ocean alone existed. The waters had a wish: 'How shall we procreate?' They made an effort. They practiced ascetic heating [*tapas*], and so it happened that a golden egg appeared." This egg contained Prajāpati. Thus not only is water filled with the desire for procreation (*kāma*), it is also capable of truly creative effort and ascetic heat (*tapas*).

When looking at the role water plays in the later phases of the creation of the world, one sees these observations confirmed. Within one and the same cosmogonic system, waters can successively assume attributes that enable one to distinguish different systems within the most ancient phases. For example, it was seen that the embryo of Prajāpati developed in the primordial waters. But then Prajāpati himself undertakes the creation of the waters. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (11.1.6.16–19), Paramestin, son and hypostasis of Prajāpati, wished to become all things on earth. So he became water. Similarly, Prajāpati will become breath, and Indra, the word. These notions are not contradictory; they represent different stages in creation. Whatever their amniotic qualities, the primordial waters are formless and not especially substantive, since Prajāpati still remains an embryo within them. After his birth, however, the god creates more defined and concrete waters outside of himself. In this way the text shows that the deity penetrates the waters just as he penetrates the entire universe.

Other narratives make simpler distinctions among the successive states of water. If primordial waters are an inert mass, it would be logical for them, during the course of creation, to be influenced by the actions of the gods who rule them. In the Bible, God creates a space in the midst of the original waters, dividing it into two masses, the upper and the lower waters. After creating a solid mass, he then separates that from the lower waters, thereby forming the sea and dry land.

Waters also submit to the demiurgical action in more ambiguous accounts. Here is a Fali (African) myth: One of the first animals, the tortoise, gave the world its first structure by laying out a ditch on the waters. After the first crisis, when rain threatened to submerge all things, the toad—another of the first animals—completed the structure. He separated standing water from running water and opened up a second path for the waters, cutting through the earlier ditch. Thus he divided the world into four parts.

Passive waters can also be mere instruments in the hands of those who confront each other in the course of great cosmogonic battles. In Hindu mythology, the demon Vṛtra holds back the waters and prevents them from irrigating the earth. Indra, who is waging a difficult war against him, is finally victorious and gives life to the world by releasing the waters. Mesopotamian myths are more complex. When the god Enlil decides to destroy humanity, he first holds back the rains and prevents underground waters from reaching the surface. Then, in a second attempt, he unleashes the waters, causing a flood.

Although waters thus appear to be temporarily mastered by the gods who use them, they are not completely inert. Not only do they seem to help Indra in his combat, but they are used by the gods primarily because they have a power of their own. The gods retain them because they are fertilizing; they unleash them because they are destructive.

The life-bearing and generative qualities that have been recognized in some of the primordial waters become manifest in the later phases of the cosmogony. Thus in a later stage of the Sumerian cosmogony, Enki, the Sumerian water god, impregnates Nintur, a goddess close to the earth, by scattering his seed on a riverbank; he then becomes the father of the goddess Nimu. With Nimu he begets Ninkurra, and with Ninkurra, Ottu. Similarly in Greece, whether they be the primordial pair (as in Homer) or be born of Heaven and Earth (as in Hesiod), the river Okeanos and his spouse Tethys have many offspring in the form of springs and rivers; the latter also procreate. In this manner waters contribute to the growth and enrichment of the universe. They also do so in another way: Enki fills ditches, canals, and fallow land with water, thus participating in the organization of the world.

Amma, the Dogon creator god, also has close affinities with heaven and water. His children, the snake-shaped Nommo, who are associated both with water and with the primal word, are the most active and successful agents of the cosmogonic impulse. They contribute to the birth of sexuality and permit the birth of the first ancestors. The latter, who in turn acquire the dignity of Nommo, keep close ties with water. After eating the first dead person, one of them furnishes society with the principles of its structure by vomiting up water—a prefiguration of torrents and ponds, the source of the five rivers, and of the waters of parturition.

Finally, water is sometimes tied more specifically to the birth of humanity. A trout out of water couples with a man from the underground lakes to beget the first clans of the Desána. According to some New Guinea traditions, the *dema* deities once lived under the earth, except for one of them who dug a hole in the ground. The others came out through the hole; then it filled up with water, and fish began to swim in it. After a complex sequence of events the fish became men. Finally, in Greek mythology, men often appear by coming out of a river.

One may now consider instances in which waters are portrayed as destructive. Several examples can be found in the ancient Near East. The Ugaritic Baal, god of the storm and of rain, symbolizes the forces of life. He periodically struggles against Mot, the incarnation of drought and death. He must also combat and conquer Prince Yamm, that is, the sea prince. Because of the gaps in knowledge it is difficult to locate this conflict within the mythical history of the world. So much, however, is certain: Yamm is threatening, and Baal's victory is necessary to the survival of the universe.

Things are clearer in the *Enuma elish*. Troubled by the proliferation and activity of their offspring, Apsu and Tiamat, whose mingled waters had given birth to the most ancient beings of the Babylonian myth, one day tried to destroy their descendants. Apsu, who was the first to try, was quickly conquered by Ea's magic. Ea then built his temple on the waters of Apsu, which were henceforth underground. Tiamat, who tried next, was more formidable, but was killed in the end by Marduk. By blowing into and swelling up the monstrous body of Tiamat, the young god separated the celestial waters from the earth; he opened the way to mountain rivers as he imposed his order on the entire universe. The primordial beings thus appear to want to abolish the agitation that accompanies the rise of the world in order to recover the peace they knew in the undifferentiated state of the first ages. Their inertia proves destructive. Tiamat appears as a monster in the army of monsters she has raised. The original divine waters must be conquered before the organizing gods can accomplish their work by pushing them back to the ends of the world.

WATER IN THE PRESENT WORLD.

One again encounters the different qualities, functions, and powers of water when looking at the position it holds in the completed world. Waters are one of the great domains of the ordered universe. Evoking the totality of the world, an Egyptian tale lists the sky, the earth, the domain of night, the mountains, and the waters. The *Ṛgveda* refers more simply to the sky, the waters, the earth. But despite such seemingly straightforward classifications, water is not thereby reduced to its palpable appearance; it continues to occupy places that are inaccessible to us; it possesses unsuspected qualities and powers.

The cosmic waters.

For many peoples waters constitute the limits of the universe. They make up a vast expanse, in the middle of which lies the earth, like an island. They may be divided into two oceans on either side of the world, or they may flow in a river that surrounds the world, like the Greek Okeanos. They also frequently occupy the lower regions of the world in a more or less complex network of waterways underground. Or again, sometimes the entire earth is believed to rest on water. Finally, water is also found in the upper regions, above the heavens. Thus water can surround the world in any of the three dimensions of space. For the Desána Indians, a region bathed in water extends under the earth; water also circulates in the filaments of the Milky Way. In Mesopotamian texts the earth is built on the waters of Apsu, while the waters of Tiamat occupy the space above the heavens.

Waters can also help to define the center of the world. According to the Fali myth already cited, this center is located at the intersection of two open trenches in the waters. A character from an Iroquois myth runs around a lake to make the earth grow; the earth then develops on all sides under his steps. The great Ugaritic god El dwells at the source of the rivers in the midst of the course of the two oceans. The Guaraní Indians call the original abode of their ancestress the "Gushing Spring." It is the true center of the earth, the true center of the land of their first last father.

Because they occupy highly significant parts of the universe, waters help to define cosmic order. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* says categorically: "The waters are the order of the world" (11.1.6.24). In particular, bodies of water often establish important boundaries. In one widespread image, a lake or river separates the land of the living from the world of the dead. Examples of such a body of water include the river one crosses to reach the Babylonian Land of No Return and the Acheron of the Greeks. Furthermore, just as one must cross the waters to enter the realm of death, one must also cross the waters to enter the land of the living; according to the Ewe people, a child crosses a river when it is born.

Not all peoples make an explicit relationship between cosmic waters and the waters nearer at hand. Several do, however. Thus rains are sometimes believed to come from the celestial waters, and rivers from waters underground, if not from the waters surrounding the earth. Some texts provide more complex images. In a Babylonian poem, springs and rivers arise from the head of Tiamat's corpse; they therefore seem to come from the waters that occupy the upper regions of the world, even if these are near the earth, at the ends of the horizon. In ancient India, the Ganges was thought to descend from the heavens.

Waters and the divine. Wherever they are found, waters are often bound up with divine powers. The Hindu world generally holds them to be goddesses. More explicitly, in other cases, it is the sea, certain rivers, and certain springs that are considered to be gods. People in Vedic India, for instance, sacrificed to rivers. The Tigris and the Euphrates appear in a list of Hittite deities. Rivers are invoked in one Homeric oath.

There is something remarkable about these water deities. They are something more than representations of a purely natural element. Thus while the Egyptian Nun is a waterway on which the boat of the Sun sails at night, he is also a personage who can speak. Similarly, the name of the Ugaritic god Yamm means the sea itself; another of his names evokes the image of a river, but he also appears with the features of a prince or judge who sends ambassadors to the divine assembly. The Greek Pontos is the salty expanse of the sea; he is also a masculine being who couples with Earth and sires offspring. In Egypt, the Nile (and its floodwaters) is honored as Hapi, an anthropomorphic god. Water is thus the manifestation of a divine power that does not exactly coincide with the tangible appearance of the liquid element. Nevertheless, its immanence within this element is such that water can be perceived as the divinity itself.

In other cases, however, waters simply serve as the abode of spirits or sacred powers. Such spirits may inhabit a lake, a river, or the waves of the sea, or like others may live in a grove, a rock, or a mountain. Several gods that exercise a more extended authority should be mentioned separately. First of all, there are lords of rain, who are in some sense believed to cause it. However, rain also depends on beings whose powers are not restricted to the control of rain. In order to obtain rain, therefore, one must invoke several gods together, or certain ancestors who have become powerful spirits. Rain is sometimes conceived of as a gift from the supreme being, or the god of rain may be made into the supreme being itself.

Several ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern peoples had a storm god. He rides or gathers the clouds, causes thunder and lightning to strike, and makes the rain fall. This storm god occupies a preeminent position among the gods; he can reign over them, protect the cities or their kings, and extend his power over the entire universe. Less prominent in the Hindu pantheon, the storm god Parjanya is a destroyer of demons; in some texts, he seems to be in command of the whole world.

The power of the gods that reign over the waters in a more general fashion is similarly extensive. The Sumerian god Enki, who comes by sea from a faraway land, established his residence or temple on the underground waters of Apsu, whom he has subdued. Enki is the lord of the waters. After being the major organizer of the world and one of the creators of humanity, he remains the master of fate. Along with An and Enlil, he belongs to the supreme triad. The same can be said of Ea, his Akkadian counterpart. King of the abyss, god of the vast sea, lord of the terrestrial waters, Ea has his place in the celestial world, and his counsel is heeded by the gods. Thus the power of the god of water usually transcends the domain of water.

The inverse phenomenon is also found. The authority of a more universal god is exercised in privileged fashion on the aquatic world. In the Veda, for example, Varuna is a major god who rules over nature, gods, and humans; he is the guardian of *ṛta*, the religious order of things. He is often closely linked to water. With Mitra, he can cause rain; with Indra, he can declare: "It is I who have swelled the rushing waters" (*Ṛgveda* 4.42). He rests on the waters, and his golden house is built on them. The two oceans are his entrails; he is hidden in each drop of water.

The situation is more highly defined in Greece. Poseidon, the god of the sea, is not essentially an aquatic deity. His name and several myths prove that he has close affinities with the earth. Son of the ancient king Kronos, he was given sovereignty over the seas when the paternal heritage was divided up; one of his brothers got the netherworld and the other, the heavens. Thus he commands the waters and raises tempests, but he is not immanent in them. Other gods—Pontos, Nereus, and Proteus—are more intimately tied to water. But in the case of Poseidon, sovereignty originates in a region beyond the domain where it is exercised. Whatever their wealth and power, waters are not the source of a political type of power. Political power is closer to the heavens; this is why it cannot be held by a god of the storm.

The qualities and powers of water. In their varied manifestations, the water gods and the waters themselves possess in the present world qualities or traits comparable to those that have been seen in the primordial cosmogonies. The waters that extend beyond the world and delimit it may in some cases be a symbol of the void, as they once were of nothingness; but this is not certain. These faraway waters sometimes feed terrestrial waters: They must have the same density. Water's fluidity and elusiveness are, however, manifested in the faculty of metamorphosis found in certain aquatic spirits or divinities. In a Vietnamese tale, a water spirit takes the shape of a seductive boy. Hindu nymphs turn into birds, and Greek sea gods, Proteus, Nereus, and his daughter Thetis, assume several forms in succession to escape those who attempt to detain them. This ability can be transferred. In Burmese narratives, the water of a certain pond transforms the person or animal who drinks it, the former into an ape, and the latter into a human.

Water is essential for human life; it ensures human nourishment by fertilizing the land. It is more than nourishment, because it is the source of nourishment. It may, therefore, be compared not only to milk, but more particularly to the cow. Because of its utility, it is perceived as a privileged support of vital forces. The Vendas, for instance, equate water with the blood, while the Desána view the rivers as umbilical cords joining people to the amniotic waters underground. In both Hindu and African texts, it is common to speak of the waters giving life and engendering humankind.

This is why water is found associated with sexuality. The Diola sing: "Women's sexual organs are full of water . . . , if Ata Sembe sleeps with a woman, he will always get her pregnant" (Louis Vincent Thomas, *Les religions d'Afrique noire*, Paris, 1969, p. 202). In this respect, waters often assume a feminine character. The Apsarasas of India and the Greek Naiads and Nereids are young women, caught up in erotic adventures. But the waters can also be masculine. "They rest on sperm, as Varuṇa rests on the waters," says the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 3.9.22. To the Greek poets, the heavens send rain, like seed, to the earth, in an amorous outburst. The Egyptian god of the floodwaters of the Nile—Hati, the dispenser of life—is androgynous, and the Nile is imagined as half man and half woman. Its waters are male, and its arable land is female. Together, they are father and mother. In Greece the rivers are strongly masculine, and like the gods of the storm and of rain, have the attributes of a bull.

As vital principle, water allows people to ward off illness and to keep death away. Because water makes the plants of the pharmacopoeia grow, or because of the effects of its intrinsic qualities, the Veda associates it with the origin of medicine. In particular, water is believed to be highly effective against the venom of snakes. In a more positive sense, water is said to give vigor, make old men young, and prolong life.

Water is even capable of conferring immortality. Gilgamesh finds the herb of life, which enables people to escape death, at the bottom of the waters. Several peoples speak of a "water of life" that bestows immortality. Similarly, to give her son Achilles eternal life, Thetis wants to plunge him into the waters of the Styx. The Greeks in general establish a relationship between Okeanos and ambrosia, as the Indians do between water and *soma.*

There is a more enigmatic aspect of water: It possesses wisdom and knowledge. Water seeks the truth, one reads in the Vedas. The Mesopotamian water god Ea, full of wisdom, dispenses counsel to the gods. As a sage, he protects the mythical old wise men who were born in the abyss in the form of fish. The most ancient Greek water gods engender daughters whose names denote qualities of intelligence. Among the Oceanids, these are Metis ("prudence") and Idyia ("the knowing one"); among the Nereids, Panopeia ("the all-seeing one") and Nemertes ("the veracious one"). The latter, says Hesiod, has the same quality of spirit as her father. Nereus is in fact frank, loyal, and gentle, always concerned with justice. He resembles Proteus, who knows the present, the past, and the future.

Where does this wisdom of water come from? A Guaraní narrative establishes a relationship between the freshness of water and the freshness of the soul accompanied by moderation. In a Vedic text the waves, which stave off all evils, also keep away lies. A Greek text associates the extent of knowledge with the immensity of the depths of the sea. But perhaps the wisdom of the water gods is a function of their age. In the Hellenic world, the wisest among them are called "the old men of the sea."

Waters, which at one and the same time are sages and generative forces—to the point of symbolizing at times the creative power itself—are close to the word. To the Dogon, water and the word are joined in the person of the Nommo, whose civilizing activity simultaneously links the arts of civilization with the word and with wetness; one finds similar associations among the Bambara. In *Ṛgveda* 10.125, the ritual word itself, whose efficacy is cosmic, says of itself: "My origin is in the waters, in the ocean." Water is not always beneficent, however. In the present world, water can be hostile to humans, just as it could be destructive in the remote time of myth. There are catastrophic rains and floods; people drown in rivers and seas. These are not simply accidents but the manifestation of evil powers allied with the liquid element. One example alone illustrates this: Indigenous peoples of the north of Australia have a serpent-shaped spirit that lives in the clouds during the dry season and in marshes during the rainy season. It is he who drowns humans in floods, he who swallows them up when they venture out into swamps.

The negativity of water can take other forms. For the Desána, water is a symbol of illness. In one Mesopotamian text, bad coughs are caused by Apsu. An account from Gabon goes even further: The water spirit embodies rain, cold, and death. Mesopotamia also has waters of death, just as it has waters of life.

This hostile power is sometimes incarnated in monstrous creatures. The Desána believe that a formidable centipede lives in the sea; they also talk of maleficent serpentine creatures, some of whom eat children. The descendants of Pontos, the Greek god of the sea, include several hybrid beings with destructive powers, such as the Gorgons, who dwell near the waters of Okeanos, and the Hydra, in the marsh of Lerna. One recalls that Tiamat took on the form of a monster. Such monsters survive in the beliefs of ancient Israel; they are the leviathan, Rahab, and the dragon Tannin.

In the Hebrew scriptures, the ocean itself is often represented as an adversary of Yahveh. Of course, in imposing his order on the world, Yahveh conquered the waters and subdued the monsters they harbor; he is henceforth their master. However, their menace continues; the sea monster might reawaken, and if he does, God, who watches him, will kill him.

At times beneficent and at others maleficent, close to the principles of life and to creative power but nonetheless capable of destruction, a relative of gods and monsters, water bears within it all the ambiguities of the sacred. It is an agent of purification not only because it bathes, dissolves, and carries off material filth; its cathartic power is even more mysterious. According to a Babylonian text, water banishes all evils, even those that have not yet had an impact but that have been foretold by bad omens. In a Vedic hymn, water frees humanity from the consequences of false oaths and from all the sins people have committed.

The purity conferred by water is a positive trait. Water conveys to humankind certain of its virtues. It causes vision, according to a Vedic text. In a Greek legend, Pherecydes predicts an earthquake after drinking some water from a well. When Okeanos and Tethys purify Glaucus, they render him capable of undergoing the deification process to which he is subject. Thus, waters are fully purifying to the extent that they are also, to a certain extent, sacralizing.

Several of the qualities of water just discussed are manifest in the world of the dead. For certain Zuni societies, the ancestors inhabit a village at the bottom of a lake. The members of the society believe that when they die they will go to sleep and wake up as young children in this village, at the bottom of the "whispering waters." These waters seem to be the symbol of a blissful condition where ancestral life and childhood commingle. The beliefs of the Desána go even further. A region bathed in water, Axpicon-dia, extends beneath the earth; from there came the first organizer of the world. It is a uterine domain, the source of all life, to which the people yet to be born are tied by a sort of umbilical cord. The best of the Desána will go there after death. Happy death is thus conceived as a return to the amniotic waters. Among the Polynesians, the dead inhabit a sad region, located beyond the seas; the chiefs, however, go to a different land, where the god Tane gives them a water of life that brings them back to life.

Nun, the primordial water, crosses through the Egyptian land of the dead. At night, the boat of the sun sails over its waves to the east. In some texts, the dead board this boat and make its journey with it. In other texts, they bathe in Nun, into which the sun god also dives. Assimilated to him, they come out again, regenerated. But the infernal waters are not always beneficent and life-giving. They contain reefs that the ferryman's boat must steer clear of; they contain dangers and are disquieting. The Nun was supposed to be the site of mysterious drownings.

Among the Greeks, Hades contains rivers and lakes. The names of two of these rivers reveal their nature: *Pyriphlegethon* (*Puriphlegethōn*) means "burning and flaming like fire"; *Cocytus* (*Kōkutos*) means "groan, lamentation." The rivers terminate in the abyss of Tartaros where, according to Plato, evil souls suffer a temporary punishment. Other souls, however, purify themselves on the banks of the lake Acherousias, where they pass before reincarnation. Proclus states more clearly that the souls purified in Acheron attain a better fate.

One frequently recurring idea is that the dead are thirsty. Drink refreshes them; thanks to it, they regain some form of life, as suggested by Egyptian texts. Not all waters, however, are equally beneficent to the dead. In certain Greek traditions, there are two springs in the netherworld; the initiate knows he must drink from the one that comes from the Lake of Memory. Plato mentions a Plain of Forgetfulness where the Lake of Negligence is found. One of the infernal waters thus suppresses memory while the other maintains and reaffirms it, acting like the water of wisdom and knowledge already discussed. The importance of this opposition is apparent in the privilege granted to Pythagoras and Empedocles, who were said to have been allowed to retain the memories of their previous existences. It would appear from a reading of Empedocles that this privilege belongs to the souls who will shortly escape reincarnation.

CONCLUSION. In conclusion, the wide range of meaning given to the image of water is not without limits, and even opposing meanings given in different myths are not incoherent. These diverse meanings are in large part suggested by the diversity of human experience of water as a natural phenomenon.

Water can be ambiguous. As a fluid, it can symbolize a pure absence or an as yet still amorphous material that will be used by the gods. It may fulfill a positive function. It bathes, dissolves, and purifies. Essential to human life and necessary for the growth of plants, it symbolizes a generative or life-giving quality, very similar to creative power. It is thus divine and sacralizing. Yet it is also capable of playing a negative role. The gods can utilize the destructive power of its waves. Active in itself, whether divine or monstrous, water erodes everything that takes form and tends to annihilate all distinctions in its own inconsistency. Finally, just as rivers and seas contribute to defining the contours of a country, so the dividing of the waters helps to define cosmic order.

The image of water therefore is not univocal. It can never be interpreted without considering the totality of the myth in which it figures. But it is not indifferent, defined only by the position it holds in the mythic system of a given society. Capable of calling forth the memory of various concrete experiences and numerous emotions, it carries specific meanings within it in a potential state. Each narrative actualizes some of these meanings.

No rule of logic requires that the meaning that water assumes in the evocation of the time of origins must remain unchanged during the course of the cosmogonic process or in the present world. On the other hand, in the small number of mythic systems that this author has studied in some depth, it has been striking that the uses of the image of water, often quite diverse, nevertheless remain coherent, owing to the theological intention that inspires the whole of a given system.

SEE ALSO Ablutions; Baptism; Flood, The; Lakes; Rain; Rivers; Spittle and Spitting; Tears.

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WAWALAG. The most important myth and ritual constellation in Australia's north-central Arnhem Land belongs to the Dua moiety. (Everyone and everything in this entire region belongs through patrilineal descent to one or the other of the two moieties, Dua and Yiridja.) The myth focuses on two sisters in human form who were swallowed by the Great Python, Yulunggul. The sisters are known in northeastern Arnhem Land as the Wawalag and in north-central Arnhem Land as the Wagilag. The dramatic story line, told in narrative or song form or in a combination of both, is now a popular subject of bark paintings created for sale to non-Aborigines.

SUMMARY OF THE WAWALAG STORY. The two sisters leave their home near the Roper River in Wawalag country for their long journey toward the north coast. In some versions the elder, Waimariwi, is pregnant and in some versions already has a small child (or two). The younger, Boaliri, has just reached puberty. (In one version, she is pregnant.) Along with digging sticks and long food-collecting baskets (signifying a feminine domestic role) and one or two dogs, they bring heavy baskets of stone spear blades (also of the Dua moiety) from the stone-chipping quarries in Ridarngu-language territory, home of the Yiridja moiety, a source of eligible spouses for Dua moiety Wawalag people. The sisters give names to the places along their way, as well as to all the vegetable foods and small creatures they collect. They are tired when at last, late one afternoon, they come to a quiet water hole shaded by paperbark trees and cabbage palms. They do not know it is the home of the Great Python. They collect stringybark to make a small hut, paperbark for comfortable sleeping mats, and firewood to cook their meal.

At this juncture the emotional tone of the myth changes sharply. Either shortly before the sisters arrive at the complex of named sites centering on the water hole (Mirara-minar, or Muruwul), or soon after that, the elder sister (or the younger, according to which version is followed) gives birth to a child; in some versions, one of the sisters is menstruating. Now, blood (or the smell of blood) comes close to the water hole or falls into it.

The sisters begin to worry about the possible proximity of a Snake, but since it is too late to move on, they settle down to eat their supper. However, every item of food, as they reach out their hands for it, jumps from the hot coals and makes for the water hole. Dark clouds gather, and rain begins to fall, lightly at first, then heavily, with wind, thunder, and lightning engulfing the hut in a fierce storm sent by the Great Python. During the night the sisters, in turn, dance, sing, and call out ritually in an attempt to calm the storm. In one version the younger sister performs in men's singing style, using two clapping sticks. The elder sister's efforts are more successful. They sing songs with increasingly greater sacred power: songs about the Great Python, about circumcision ritual, about blood, Kunapipi (Gunabibi) songs, secret-sacred songs. Then, thinking all is quiet, they fall asleep while the Great Python, who has emerged from his water hole, sings. Finally, he coils around the hut, puts his head inside, bites their noses, drawing blood, and swallows them—along with the stone spear blades, the baskets, the child(ren), and the dog(s). Later, when an ant bites him, he jumps and vomits them but then he swallows the sisters again.

He raises himself, with his head toward the sky, and talks with other great snakes to the east and southeast about what each of them had been eating. He mentions other food, but finally admits he has eaten the Wawalag and their stone spear blades. Lowering himself to the ground again, he sinks into his water hole with the sisters still inside him. An additional section in versions recorded by William Lloyd Warner (1937, pp. 257–259) tells how the women and children are revived. Then Yulunggul kills them again, swallows them, and takes them back along an underground watercourse to Wawalag country, where he leaves the women, who turn to stone, but keeps the boys inside him because they are of the Yiridja moiety and he is Dua. Then come the linking episodes between the myth as such and its ritual counterparts, including dreams in which the Wawalag sisters teach men the secret-sacred songs and rites that become the responsibility of men of appropriate ritual and territorial status.

COMMENTS AND INTERPRETATIONS. The Wawalag myth is usually long and quite detailed, covering small as well as large events, conversations, songs (referred to by name or included within the text), names of places and foods, brief descriptions of the environmental setting, and symbolic and ritual allusions. This simplified outline constitutes merely a set of clues to the content of the myth. As far as Aboriginal people in north-central and northeastern Arnhem Land are concerned, the range of acceptable versions—and therefore of acknowledged and potential meanings—hinges on factors of sex, age, ritual status, and regional perspectives. This last includes recognition of priority of rights and priority of ownership of the myth, accorded to a cluster of clans in north-central Arnhem Land.

The most extensive published account of the myth and associated rites derives from Warner's field research in the region, conducted in the late 1920s (Warner, 1937, e.g., pp. 248–259, pp. 376–411). He notes a number of differing versions but adds that "all the fundamental features and most of the secondary ones were always present, no matter how poor the narrator." Ronald M. Berndt (1951) studied the myth from the northeastern Arnhem Land side, with special reference to the Kunapipi complex. In both accounts, the principal meaning to local people lies in the dynamic interrelationship between the myth and three major ritual complexes: the initiatory Djunggawon, the Kunapipi, and the Ngurlmag; Warner adds (p. 249) a fourth, which he calls the Marndiella (Mandiwala). But these ritual meanings themselves include social implications and ramifications that are noted or hinted at in the myth. For example, in some versions the Wawalag sisters would have circumcised their son(s) if the Great Python had not intervened.

In men's versions (Berndt, 1951; Warner, 1937), the sisters commit incest before they begin their journey northward, and it is this "wrongdoing," as well as the "polluting" of the water hole with blood, that is responsible for their being swallowed by the Snake. Women's versions, however (Berndt, 1970), do not mention incest. They imply that, if there had been incest, it would have taken place at the Snake's water hole. Warner actually mentions that "incest" had occurred, in the sense that the women and children swallowed by the Snake are called "sisters" and "sisters' children" by him (pp. 193, 253). In the subsequent conversation between the Snakes (p. 257), when the Wessel Island Snake hears the truth, he is "disgusted. 'You've eaten your own [sisters and sisters' children],' he said. This was a terrible thing." Men's versions do not dwell on this point; instead they blame the women for their earlier "sin."

In regard to the blood in the water hole, the situation is less straightforward than it seems. Men's versions, reported by men, tend to emphasize pollution, uncleanliness, or the "profaning" effect of menstrual or afterbirth blood. In many versions, and in associated discussions, the expressions used include "attraction" as well as "anger" and "repulsion," an approach that is certainly compatible with "eating" rather than with more direct killing; moreover, the terms for "eating" in these dialects can apply to sexual intercourse as well as to the ingestion of food. Attitudes toward blood are a central feature in definitions of sacredness in this region. Distinctions between men's blood and women's blood in relation to ritual and natural circumstances of bloodletting or blood emission have been associated with an arbitrary division between sacred and profane that needs much more rigorous scrutiny.

Nancy D. Munn (1969) is concerned with the general issue of the nexus of the Wawalag myth and its ritual interconnections; taking "collective symbolic forms as instruments for transforming subjective experience," says Munn, "the myth conveys body destruction images saturated with negative feeling which the rituals convert into feelings of well-being" (p. 178). She also comments specifically on the importance of blood in the combination of myth and ritual. Basing her analysis on Warner's material, Munn notes that ritual swallowing by the Snake in contemporary settings is a men-only affair. Women's biological association with menstruation, for instance, aligns them closely with the Wawalag sisters, so that mythically they have already been swallowed: To be swallowed again in a ritual context would lead to their physical death, as it did for the Wawalag. Men's ritual bloodletting is symbolically equivalent to the emission of blood by the Wawalag, but in real life the two are incompatible. In terms of seasonal renewal, Munn says, it is men's blood, drawn and applied in the course of specific rites, that revitalizes the creatures who left the Wawalag sisters' fire and that "swings the wet season back into the dry, while women's blood regenerates the cycle of food loss and death and so turns the dry season into the rainy one." (p. 198). In its nonsymbolic state women's blood is too close to natural physical reality; it must be transformed and brought under men's control in its ritual equivalent. On the other hand, Munn has already referred to "the significance of blood as a symbolic inheritance binding the two sexes as parties to an exchange: the two women gave men their blood and naming powers (or lost these powers through their death) and men, in return, memorialize the two women" (p. 184).

The theme of blood as an important but contentious issue in myth-based rites and relations between men and women, with special reference to the Wawalag myth, is also treated by Chris Knight, who suggests that "the symbolic potency of the menstrual flow was central to the establishment of culture itself." He argues (1983, pp. 42, 43) that women, because of their basic natural periodicity, have a life potency that is far stronger than that of men. And he asserts (1984, p. 154) that such myths have to do with women's ability to synchronize their menstrual cycles in a natural process used by men as a basis on which to construct their own ritual models.

Natural blood from women and ritual blood from men can be powerful in different ways—and mutually dangerous. They represent different kinds of sacredness, a possibility that Émile Durkheim began to explore in his distinction between "positive" and "negative" sacredness but did not carry through to a more comprehensive conceptualization. The Wawalag story has as its central focus a powerful mixture: blood, water, and the Snake. It is this mixture that produces the wet season, crucial for human beings and all other living things in the natural environment. The fertility of the land and all its inhabitants could not be achieved either by the Wawalag alone or by the Snake alone. It came about as a result of the conjunction between them. And it can be ensured, in local belief, only through regular ritual reenactment of the event and its mythic and symbolic interconnections.

SEE ALSO Australian Indigenous Religions, overview article; Gadjeri; Yulunggul Snake.

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WAYANG KULIT See DRAMA, *ARTICLE ON* JAVANESE WAYANG

WEALTH. The relationship between religion and wealth can be analyzed in various ways. Economists of all persuasions have stressed the negative impact of religion on wealth. Adam Smith believed that clergymen, like lawyers and buffoons, are members of an unproductive, frivolous profession. Today, many argue that religion is one of the principal causes of economic underdevelopment. For example, in places like rural Burma, more than 30 percent of the regional income is spent on monks, monasteries, and religious festivals. In India, belief in *karman* (the sum of one's actions in successive states of existence), *dharma* (duties defined by the religious caste system), and *saṃśara* (a cyclical sense of time and rebirth) has been widely criticized as a major cause of poverty. In Muslim countries, some believe that the Islamic law (*sharīʿah*), insofar as it sanctifies the religious secular customs of the past, has made modernization difficult and slow.

While the German sociologist Max Weber emphasized the negative role of the religions of the East, he also called attention to the positive impact that religions based on this-worldly asceticism have had on economic development. Weber contended that Calvinism provided the "spirit" necessary for the initial rise of capitalism in the West. His argument, which has been criticized by many as being misinformed and ethnocentric, has nevertheless inspired many attempts to find analogies of the Protestant ethnic in successful non-Western countries. Some scholars who have accepted Weber's general thesis have modified its logic. For example, R. H. Tawney, who was reluctant to talk about the causal impact of Calvinism, recognized its importance as a "tonic" in the building of capitalism. Other scholars have found fault with Weber's idea that the rise of capitalism is necessarily accompanied by a decline in religion and magic. While Weber credited sectarianism with a positive role in the rise of capitalism, Liston Pope and others have pointed out the political conservatism and economic passivity of such groups in the southern United States.

If, on the other hand, scholarship on the impact of wealth upon religion is examined, one finds this impact characterized both positively and negatively. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels believed that Protestantism was the "most fitting form of religion" for the capitalist and that in the religions of the masses one could hear the "sigh of the oppressed creature." Along similar lines, twentieth-century scholars have drawn attention to the influence of economic deprivation on the spread of messianic and millenarian movements. Both Marxists and Weberians believe that an increase in wealth discourages a truly religious spirit. Some scholars, however, argue that a comfortable income seems to encourage piety and have drawn attention to the "dechurching" of the working classes.

Finally, there are scholars who have addressed the differences between religion and economics rather than their interrelationship. Emile Durkheim, for example, contrasted the centrifugal impact of economic life with the centripital or integrating force of religion. Historians and sociologists of a materialistic bent have tended simply to ignore the problem of religion.

CHARACTERISTIC RELATIONS BETWEEN RELIGION AND WEALTH. There is no simple way to characterize the relationship between religion and wealth in light of the determinate role played by the specific historical and social context. Religion's effect on the wealth or poverty of a country is usually achieved through, or in conjunction with, a complex of other social factors including secular institutions, modal personality systems, and values in general. Among the possible relations between religion and wealth, one that is generally overlooked is the ability, or inability, of religion to step out of the way of economic development. In such a relationship, religion plays the quiescent part of *laissez faire, laissez passer* that classical economics assigned to the state. Examples of this kind of passive collaboration with economic development can be seen in civilizations like Europe or Japan in which religious law does not absolutize or sanctify secular conditions of the past, it can also be seen when religious leaders do not interfere in the work of development; when religion abandons traditional, communitarian values; when it ignores the ethical problem of the unequal burdens imposed by development; or when its rituals and taboos passively give way before the requirements of industry. It could be argued against Weber that the most significant contributions made by Protestantism to the development of capitalism were its general indifference to the social problem of poverty, its hostility to the labor movement, and its assumption that individualism is as "natural" in economics as it is in religion.

Since the relation between religion and wealth changes from one type of society to another, one must also attend to the historical stage and specific socioreligious traditions involved. In primitive, archaic, or prehistoric societies, religion tends to be diffuse and undifferentiated from the "material" side of life. Ownership and wealth are woven into a rich tapestry of myth, ritual, and values. Taboos and religious sanctions ensuring the common good and survival of the group put limits on possessions, competition, and market functions. Primitive myths and rituals often express the importance of a proper "ecological" relationship between nature and possessions. In hunter-gatherer societies, the lord of the animals not only guarantees a good hunting season, but also protects the animals from extinction. As the technological base of society changes—from, for example, hunting to agriculture—new religious symbols begin to appear. While hunters revere the symbols of animals (often their blood and bones), seeds and plants become the foci of the magic and religion of the cultivator. Since religion and wealth were so closely related in prehistoric societies, it has been strongly debated whether the "laws" of modern economics and the alleged natural instincts of "economic man" can be directly applied to people in less developed societies.

With the advent of cities, settled agriculture, writing, and the historic religions (e.g., Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Christianity, and Islam), the relation between religion and wealth changes. To coordinate societies and economies that were increasingly complex, sacred kings appeared who had in their control not only political power, but also magical power over the well-being of crops, society, and the cosmos itself. Literate priestly classes created sacred texts and laws on the proper use and distribution of wealth. From Africa to the Far East, ancestral spirits were worshiped in order to bring wealth and prosperity to the family. Other deities appeared who had specific functions as gods of wealth and good fortune; by offering tokens of their wealth to these gods (or to priests), people hoped to receive still more wealth and good luck. This ritual exchange is expressed in the sacred Latin formula *do ut des* ("I give to you so that you will give to me") and in the Sanskrit phrase *dadami se, dehi me,* which has almost the identical meaning. In general, the traditional religions sanctioned the family ownership of wealth, not individually owned private property. In Israel and Greece, religious authority guaranteed the integrity of family property with inviolable sacred landmarks and herms (phallic representations of Hermes). In the ancient Near East, and later in the Far East and Catholic Europe, religious institutions themselves became powerful landlords, controlling trade and the use of large tracts of land.

Reflecting the structure of society, ethical relationships (whether in ancient India, China, or the first-century Roman empire) were both hierarchical and reciprocal. Louis Dumont has called this an ethic of "hierarchical complimentarity." Masters and slaves, husbands and wives, older and younger brothers, teachers and students, rulers and the ruled all had responsibilities for each other. This responsibility included the distribution of scarce resources. In Islam, for example, an alms tax (*zakāt*) was used to support the poor (as well as to spread and defend the faith).

Hinduism. Throughout the ancient world, scattered proverbs and "wisdom literature" served as the only ethical guides to economics. Because traditional society was based on a zero-sum economy, greed was roundly condemned in scripture, myth, and folklore. As time passed, more specific guidance was offered. In India, Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (c. 300 BCE to 300 CE) described an economy based on agriculture, guilds, family ownership, and a bureaucratically centralized state. Most interesting is the way that this text elevates the pursuit of wealth and power (*artha*) above traditional duty (*dharma*). Like the much earlier Code of Hammurabi in the Near East, the *Arthaśāstra* recognizes the taking of interest on loans. In contrast, the *Laws of Manu,* which took final shape during the period from about 200 BCE to 200 CE, reverses the relationship between *artha* and *dharma* and idealizes a more or less static economy based on caste duties (*varṇa dharma*). Generally insensitive to economic opportunity, the *Laws of Manu* limits moneylending to the *vaiśya* caste, allowing brahmans and the *kṣatriya* to lend money only for sacred purposes and then only "to a very sinful man at a small interest."

Buddhism. While Buddhism has often been regarded as an "otherworldly" religion, it was first propagated by merchants and depended for its existence upon the financial support of lay householders. Sacred texts specified for the laity "right livelihoods," which excluded the caravan trade, trafficking in slaves, weapons, poisons, or alcohol, and tanning, butchering, and other occupations, and directed how to make, reinvest, and share their wealth with others. Donations to the monastic community (*saṃgha*) became the layperson's primary way of building up merit. In Mahayana Buddhism, the aspirant to Buddhahood, the *bodhisattva,* was sometimes described as a rich man who provided material and spiritual sustenance for others. As was the case in the Hindu tradition, it was not wealth, but the "attachment" to wealth that was believed to be an impediment to enlightenment.

Confucianism and Daoism. In China, Confucianism and Daoism tended to favor a primitive system of "private" property that has been described as "free enterprise." This description, however, must be qualified. The Confucians were generally opposed not only to state monopolies but also to competition for profit. The development of a free labor market was delayed by the strength of the family and by the belief that each person should follow the rites, morality, and etiquette *(li)* of his family. As in medieval Catholicism, the merchant was assigned a lowly role. However, Chinese society did have some of the rudiments of a *laissez-faire* system. The Confucian historian Sima Qian (145 BCE to c. 90 BCE) claimed that government intervention in the economy would be unnecessary if farmers, merchants, and other workers fulfilled their duties. The Daoists, emphasizing frugality and voluntary simplicity, were also opposed to the direct intervention by the state. The succinct expression, "the more laws are promulgated, the more thieves and bandits there will be," is found in the *Dao de jing.*

Judaism and Islam. In Judaism and Islam, wealth was regarded as part of creation and therefore as good. Since God was the "owner" of the world, absolute property rights were impossible. Wealth was a sign of divine approval and poverty was thought to be the result of sin. The identification of wealth and righteousness, sin and poverty was disputed by only a few religious leaders, such as the prophet Amos, who spoke of the poor as "the righteous." Because property was deemed inalienable, it could not be taken from a family even by the king. The biblical custom of the Year of Jubilee (*Leviticus* 25) indicates that religious tradition established limitations on the possession of land and slave. In both Judaism and Islam, religious laws concerning usury restricted markets in money.

Christianity. The New Testament radically inverted the traditional attitude toward wealth and power. In the Magnificat (*Luke* 1:52), it is stated that with the coming of the Son of man, God has "put down the mighty from their thrones and exalted those of low degree." Some pericopes, such as *James* 5:1-4 and *Revelation* 18, express an openly hostile attitude toward the rich. Soon, however, leaders like Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–c. 213) began to soften the hard sayings of Jesus about riches to accommodate well-to-do converts. The problem with wealth now became one of "attitude," a position that was not unlike the Hindu and Buddhist problem of "attachment."

Although the early church fathers rarely addressed the issue of economic justice, they shared the antichrematistic outlook of the New Testament and often taught a Stoic indifference (*apatheia*) to the things of this world. Another Stoic idea in their writings would have important consequences for radical sectarians much later on: the notion that the earth is a "common treasury" given by God to all people. Laboring under fervent eschatological expectations, the early Christians were more concerned about the injustice experienced by the oppressed than about the philosophical definition of the justice that was their due. Poverty, as the result of pride and greed, could be alleviated only by the voluntary charity of the church. Soon bishops became administrators of elaborate welfare systems. Only a few Christians, such as Ambrose (339–397), Victricius (c. 400), and Gregory I (c. 540–604) imply that poverty is a matter of justice. When the Parousia failed to occur as expected and as the Roman empire began to collapse, the church was forced to deal more positively with a world that had not come to its expected end. As part of a strategic compromise, the church borrowed deeply from such pagan doctrines as Stoic natural law, which provided a quasi-secular theory of juridical equity. Later, in the scholastic period, the distribution of wealth was treated from a point of view that combined scripture and the writings of the church fathers with the works of Aristotle and Islamic thinkers. One result of the synthesis was a hardening of the church's position against usury.

While the Protestant reformers were generally stricter in matters of economic morality than the casuists of the late scholastic period, they were followed by others who opened the door of compromise. Usury became legal in Protestant countries, which were fast becoming the most economically advanced in Europe. Protestants repudiated indiscriminate almsgiving and took repressive measures against the indigent. It is debatable whether concern for their own election or simple indifference to poverty contributed more to the economic success of the Protestant nations. Methodists, Baptists, Pietists, and other sectarians developed an economic rigorism that was similar to the medieval Catholic doctrine of "good works." Although by the nineteenth century English Methodists and Dissenters had risen to the level of the prosperous middle class, some supported political reforms that would primarily benefit the victims of economic development. Most Dissenters and Nonconformists assumed a conservative, antilabor stand or a position of indifference. This was especially true when they themselves became the majority or the "Establishment," as in the American South.

CONTEMPORARY RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES TOWARD WEALTH. In modern times, traditional religious attitudes toward wealth and power have come under heavy criticism. This is largely due to structural changes in society's industrial base, especially the growth of competition and rapid social mobility, and to the spread of possessive individualism and hedonism in consumer-oriented economies. In communist societies, religious values have been attacked as feudalistic or bourgeois. But in capitalist countries too, modern social roles make the ethics of brotherhood and the spirit of "hierarchical complementarity" seem unrealistic. Traditional charity seems to put the poor at the mercy of the rich. Other traditional attitudes, such as the eschatological indifference of the New Testament and the otherworldly asceticism of the Middle Ages, seem incredible if not irresponsible. Considerations such as these have led to a secularization of economic values in both capitalist and socialist countries. R. H. Tawney claimed that the religious ethic has declined because the church has ceased to think, but it could be asked whether even a "thinking" religion has anything significant to say about contemporary economic problems. The Social Gospel movement of the early twentieth century had some impact on the clergy and on intellectuals but failed to make contact with the working class itself. The "liberation theology" coming out of Latin America and other developing areas has been sympathetically received by only a few in the industrialized West. Many have criticized it as Marxism disguised as Christian social concern. In Asian countries, several forms of "Buddhist socialism" have appeared. Muslims have developed various forms of "Islamic socialism" (which generally recognizes private property rights) and other kinds of "Islamic economics," often based on the welfare state and religio-nationalistic idealism. Such relatively recent movements in Islam have vehemently rejected Western hedonism and exploitation.

In North America, popular religious groups generally emphasize spiritual inwardness or salvation techniques, ignoring questions about economic and social justice in this world. The secularization of social and economic thought in the academic world is all but absolute. Theories that have the greatest impact in contemporary professional circles usually have the least explicit religious content. This lack of religious influence is especially poignant since religious ethics, both in the East and in the West, have sometimes been the last repositories of the common good.

SEE ALSO Almsgiving; Charity; Economics and Religion; Mendicancy; Morality and Religion; Tithes; Zakāt.

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WEBER, MAX (1864–1920), German sociologist, was the most influential (and in many respects the most profound) of twentieth-century social scientists. Educated as a legal historian, Max Weber made original contributions to the study of modern social structure, to the analysis of the economy and the law, to the comparative analysis of civilizations, and to the methodology of the social sciences. Engaged in the politics of his place and time, he brought to his inquiries into authority and power an acute sense of reality. What gave significance and unity to his entire work, however, were his dark reflections on the problem of meaning in human culture. He was acutely aware of the conflict between what he called the metaphysical needs of the human spirit and the constraints of social existence, with the limits of human historical automony. It was in this context that his studies of religion acquired a depth and a pathos unmatched to this day.

Weber was the son of a prominent Berlin lawyer typical of the educated bourgeoisie of the German empire under Wilhelm I, immobilized between his abstract attachment to liberal values and his actual predilection for national power. His mother was a devout Lutheran given to charitable works. The view that the dualism that permeated his life and work, between a sublime sensitivity to ethics and a no less pronounced regard for the iron demands of power, came from the conflict of values in his family is no doubt too simple. The dualism, however, was there, and another aspect of it was expressed in his own marriage to the strikingly independent feminist, Marianne Weber. The politicians and scholars of late nineteenth-century Berlin were familiar figures in the household of the Weber's father. Max himself eventually became a leading, if not the leading, figure of the cultural and political elite of early twentieth-century Germany. Ernst Troeltsch was his colleague and friend at Heidelberg, and the great figure of modern German social Protestantism, Friedrich Naumann, was a close associate. The young Georg Lukàcs, the revolutionary Ernst Toller, and the poet Stefan George frequented his home. Holding chairs successively at Freiburg, Heidelberg, and Munich, Weber quickly rose to fame as both scholar and publicist. He was an editor of the most distinguished social scientific journal of the time, the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik.* He did some of his own most important writing for the encyclopedic project that he planned with Joseph Schumpeter, Werner Sombart, and others, the *Grundriss der Sozialökonomik,* 14 vols. (1914–1928). His political activity included work with Naumann's Evangelischer Sozialkongress and with the "Socialists of the Chair" (a group of university professors advocating social reforms, using the Verein für Sozialpolitik as their main instrument of collective reseach). He frequently contributed articles and editorials to the press. A member of the German delegation to the Versailles peace conference (he abjured the treaty), Weber died before he could participate in the tormented politics of the Weimar republic—or the Third Reich. This bare sketch of his career suggests the complexities with which he struggled: His work is best understood as a desperate effort to effect a precarious synthesis between the contradictory ideas and warring impulses that threaten to sunder modern culture.

Weber's methodological work is often portrayed as an attempt to obtain detachment and distance from the flux and passions of history. This is perhaps true, but his methodology is inseparable from his metahistorical vision of the world. In opposition to those whom he dismissed as enthusiasts or sectarians, he espoused a politics of realism. For Weber, social science is a disciplined way to know reality, but its scientific status does not entail the promulgation of articulated general laws of the kind developed in physics. Rather, social science for him is concerned with particular historical complexes and sequences. Their unique status does not preclude, and indeed makes more necessary, empirical analysis of their origins and structure. The manifold nature of social phenomena means that the starting point of empirical analysis is a question or a problem generated by the interests and values of the social scientist and his public. Once a particular set of interests and values generates a problem, however, its elements and terms can be stated with relative objectivity. A probable sequence of causation can be reconstructed, often with the aid of an instrumental abstraction that Weber terms an "ideal type." Against this model, the complexity and nuance of reality are illuminated.

Weber, then, insists on the distinctiveness of the human and social sciences but rejects a capitulation to total subjectivism or relativizing historicism. Social science relies on understanding of human motive in social contexts; he conceives of motive as the beliefs or values underlying action rather than a system of biological drives. Weber is therefore an exponent of an empirical and systematic hermeneutics that provides the essential elements for his reconstruction of institutions in their historicity. His methodological strictures, however, cannot be understood apart from his own empirical inquiries.

These inquiries are a singular amalgam of cultural and social analyses. In them the social organization, politics, and culture of the modern Western world are depicted as results of an irreversible process of rationalization. Behavior is controlled by explicit and formal norms, the person is legally separated from the function or office, and the relationship of ends to means is subject to continuous examination and revision. Rationalization makes possible an enormous expansion of market relationships and, therewith, the explosive productivity of the capitalist economy. The separation of market from community, household, and state is the work of modern law and lawyers. Bureaucracy, with its rules, is the opposite of a hindrance to economic development; it is its precondition.

In these arguments Weber is describing, of course, many of the processes others have termed secularization. Indeed, much modern analysis of secularization leads back to his work. His unmatched portrayal of the autonomy of modern social structures and his relentless critique of oversimplified notions of social conflict contributed to that systematic reinterpretation of Marxism that is one of the more enduring achievements of twentieth-century thought. Weber insists on the relatively restricted historical focus of Marxism and argues that the modern bureaucratic state (and ideologies like nationalism) has attenuated class conflict where it has not subordinated it to other social processes. The struggle of bureaucrats against citizens, he argues, is often as important as class conflict proper. Withal, his notion of the nature of social causation is far from linear. His structural approach to the history of institutions is infused with a large component of Social Darwinism. Society is a system of meanings imparted to routine and of legitimations attached to power. It is also the locus of perpetual conflict in which groups and nations struggle for their very existence.

It was in this intellectual framework that, despite his description of himself as "religiously unmusical," he undertook those studies of religion and society that still read as if they were new. He began with the studies of Protestantism exemplified but hardly terminated in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1905). It is not his intention, he writes, to oppose a one-sided idealistic interpretation of the rise of capitalism to an equally one-sided materialistic one. In fact, his work on Protestantism employs many of the sociological concepts later expanded in his studies of ancient Judaism, and of Chinese and Indian religions.

The analysis of the social identity of the bearers of Protestantism, the distinctive tasks imposed by its beliefs, and above all, the practical consequences drawn by Protestants from doctrine for the conduct of their lives, anticipates the recurrent elements of his sociology of religion. The idea of inner, worldly asceticism in *The Protestant Ethic* and of the pursuit of sanctification by ceaseless devotion to the world's work ultimately leads to the exquisitely passionate typology of paths to salvation that crowned his comparative studies.

Weber's early work on Protestantism places much emphasis on the differences between Calvinism and Lutheranism, the archetypical Protestant sects, and has much to say on Roman Catholicism as well. When Troeltsch, in his *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* (1912), achieved what was for the time being a definitive sociology of Christianity, Weber sought more distant horizons. He began to study the "universal historical relationship of religion and society." He dealt with prophets and priests in ancient Judaism, with the alternation and fusion of world rejection and world affirmation in Buddhism and Hinduism, with Mandarin rationality and Daoist pantheism in China, and with much else as well. He contrasted the religions of virtuosi with those of popular strata and explored the world religions' very different consequences for communal life, economic system, and political structure. He examined their origins in the psychological response to social conflict, considered their compromises with social constraints, and showed how religions generated entire systems of belief and value, indeed, how they gave institutional structure and cultural content to civilizations.

Weber's studies of the world religions, like his work on Protestantism, reflect his spiritual critique of modern culture. The world religions were theodicies, and in general attempted to answer the implacable questions of human existence. They sometimes affirmed their worlds, sometimes rejected them, and invariably formed them. Some believers thought of themselves as active instruments of the supernatural and others as passive vessels of divinity. All struggled against accident and appearance and sought the essence of things. Religions invariably conflicted with the concrete structures of existence, with family and the state, with economic forces, and with the immediate demands of sexuality. The "disenchantment of the world" effected by Calvinism also banished from the world the metaphysical pathos of religion. Contemporary bureaucratic and capitalist society is calculable and efficient. It is also without poetry and speaks only banal prose. Religious revivals, because inauthentic, are bound to fail. The substitute religions of aesthetics and sexuality in the modern world cannot perform the moral functions of the historical religions. In any event, they are baubles for the intelligentsia, not doctrines that can move nations. The West's course of cultural and social development is indeed unique, but it is impossible not to be skeptical about its ultimate value. Contemplation of the world religions can teach one stoicism about his or her own fate and admiration for the deep spirituality of other civilizations. The refusal of artificial spirituality and of nostalgia is the necessary corollary of the political attitude that Weber so favors. His ethic of responsibility is a piece of residual Protestantism, a determination to do the work of the world even when that world is brutal, corrupt, or merely profane.

Weber's influence on modern thought is ecumenical and large; it is also contradictory. Thinkers as different as Raymond Aron, Georg Lukàcs, Karl Mannheim, and Carl Schmitt have fashioned or refashioned his ideas to suit their purposes. His comparative and historical work influenced the *Annales* school in France well before World War II. The initial introduction of Weber's thought into the United States was the work of the reflective political economist G. A. Frank Knight. The European émigrés of the 1930s not only brought Weber with them, but they also brought the world of thought (and politics) that rendered his work significant. Talcott Parson's reading of Weber was, by contrast, narrow and even tendentious. Among the American social scientists who have both grasped and extended Weber's legacy are Robert N. Bellah, Reinhard Bendix, Clifford Geertz, Alvin Gouldner, and C. Wright Mills. Not surprisingly, American Protestant theologians such as H. Richard Niebuhr and Reinhold Niebuhr and historians such as Perry Miller have recognized the implications of Weber's oeuvre for their evaluation of the fate of the churches in the New World. They (with, to be sure, many of their Continental counterparts) have developed Weber's ideas for purposes true to one of Weber's main intentions: the self-critique of Protestantism.

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WEBS AND NETS. In general symbology, the act of weaving is usually understood to represent processes of creation and growth. Cognate symbols such as net, web, rope, fabric, and the like are frequently employed to suggest the unfolding of individual human lives and of the universe as a whole. These symbols bear also negative connotations as instruments of binding or tools of entrapment. Included in the symbolism of the net, for instance, are those negative forces that interact with positive ones to make of life the ambiguous reality that it is, a condition composed of pleasure and pain, health and disease, life and death, and so on.

In ancient Greece, the net of life and death is said to have been fashioned by the Moirai, personifications of the abstract concept *moira* ("fate, destiny"). These three stern, grim-faced women spin the web of destiny for each person at the time of his or her birth. In Homer, it is the gods who do the spinning (*Iliad* 24.525f.). Sometimes this is done by Zeus (*Odyssey* 4.207f.), but *moira* itself may also be the agent (*Iliad* 24.209f.). Odysseus declares to his blind psychopomp, Tiresias, "My life runs on as the gods have spun it" (*Odyssey* 11.104). In Plato (*Symposium* 196b), the art of weaving as practiced by the goddess Athena is attributed to Eros, the god of love.

Images of the crafts of weaving, plaiting, and interlacing strands to form nets, webs, sieves, and fabrics appear frequently in the literature of ancient Hinduism. In one creation hymn of the *Ṛgveda,* the cosmogonic agent is described as "stretching the warp and drawing the woof . . . spreading [the fabric of heaven] upon the dome of the sky" (*Ṛgveda* 10.90.15). Elsewhere in this source (1.164.5), the "concealed footprints of the gods" seem to be thought of as an analogue for the sacrificial laws that are "woven" whenever the gods, in their function as divine priests, perform the sacrifice by the weaving of words.

In the *Mahābhārata, kāla* ("time, destiny") is represented as a cosmic weaver who composes the fabric of life for each individual and for the entire universe by intertwining the white threads of light, life, and well-being with the black threads of darkness, death, and sorrow.

Echoing earlier images such as *indrajāla* ("Indra's net") and *brahmājāla* ("Brahmā's net"), Vedānta texts sometimes compare the ultimate basis of the universe to a cosmic spider that in the beginning spins forth the multitudinous lineaments that form the fabric of the world and at the end withdraws those same threads back into its body.

Indian Buddhism makes similar use of these symbols, as an epithet of the *bodhisattva* Mañjuśrī—Māyājāla ("net of illusion")—and the title of a canonical text, the *Sandhinirmocana* (Untying the knots), attest. Echoing the term *bhavajala* ("net of existence") contained in the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgītī,* Śāntideva, a Mahāyāna poet-philosopher of the seventh century CE, employs the image of a fisher's net to describe the desperate plight of living beings: "chased by fishers, the emotional defilements, into the net of birth . . ." ("klesavagurikaghra-tah pravisto janmavaguram"; *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 7.4).

In defining the essential elements of the process of enlightenment, the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* (9.35) likens the realization of voidness (*sūnyatā*) and the cultivation of skillful means (*upāya-kauśalya*) to the warp and woof, respectively, of a fabric: "Just as the particulars of its knotting [*paṃśu*] determine whether a cloth [*vastra*] is colorful or not, so the liberating gnosis is determined as colorful [i. e., endowed with positive qualities] or colorless by the power of motivation."

SEE ALSO Binding; Fate; Knots.

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J. BRUCE LONG (1987)

WEIL, SIMONE (1909–1943), essayist and religious mystic. Born in Paris of secularized Jewish parents, Simone Weil was part of a family whose outstanding trait was intellectual precocity. As a student at France's École Normale, a school noted for its lofty intellectualism and academic rigor, she scored highest on a nationwide entrance examination and in 1931 graduated with the highest rank. The most remarkable quality of this woman, beyond her surpassing intellectual brilliance, was her disposition to extend herself physically in following her sympathies. She also suffered from excruciating headaches, which added to the frailty and exhaustion that came from nervous disability and undernourishment.

From 1931 to 1934, Weil taught school in several French towns and engaged in political activity in behalf of unemployed and striking workers. This political activity, together with her eccentricities of dress and manner, did not make for a successful teaching career. Weil's growing concern with Marxism led her to take a job in a Paris factory, which she stayed with only four months. In 1936 she went to Spain to join Loyalist frontline troops as a battalion cook, but colossal ineptitude for this work, plus a growing conviction that neither side wore the mantle of righteousness, led to her withdrawal from this venture as well.

Beginning in 1937, after several mystical experiences, she became a Christian, relating that in one of these experiences "Christ himself came down and he took me." After this experience her writing was largely concerned with religion. Weil did not write any books. What we know about her thought comes from her letters, journal, and essays, which may account for the lack of a coherent and developed statement of her religious views. The closest she came to a formal religious affirmation was to the Roman Catholic church but, curiously, she refused its baptism, partly on the grounds that Christianity claimed the Old Testament as the foundation of its truth. She rejected this because she felt that the Old Testament contained too much of war and was too tribal to sustain the Catholic claim to universality.

As a thinker in religion Weil is especially significant for her insights into the effect of mass material culture on the human spirit, especially in terms of the vitiating of freedom and the fragmenting of the idea of community. She died in England during World War II from what is now presumed to have been anorexia nervosa.

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WILLIAM D. MILLER (1987)

WELLHAUSEN, JULIUS (1844–1918), was a German Orientalist of signal importance for the study of the history of ancient Israel and early Islam. Wellhausen began his career as professor of Old Testament at the University of Greifswald (1872–1882) and continued as Semitist at the universities of Halle (an der Saale, 1882–1885), Marburg (1885–1892), and Göttingen (1892–1913). He received his early training from Heinrich Ewald (1803–1875) in Göttingen. Wellhausen represents a high point in the literary-critical method in Protestant historical theology: For Wellhausen the critical analysis of literary tradition according to motives and sources, whether in the Old and New Testaments or early Islam, constituted the basis for any historical research. He was critical of the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule (e.g., the work of Hermann Gunkel) that was in the early stages of development at this time.

Wellhausen's work began with his Old Testament studies. With his works "Die Composition des Hexateuchs" (in *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie,* 1876–1877; published as a book in 1885) and *Geschichte Israels* (vol. 1, 1878; 2d ed. published as *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels,* 1883), he provided the final breakthrough in the Pentateuch criticism that had been initiated by Edvard Reuss, Karl Heinrich Graf, Abraham Kuenen, and Wilhelm Vatke. With this advance in research Wellhausen also created the basis for a modern view of the history of ancient Israel, which he himself then presented in his work *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* (1894). Wellhausen was the first to make use of the insight that the "law" (*torah*) as it dominates the Pentateuch as it is known, does not represent the earliest constituent of this collection but rather the final (postexilic) stage of its composition. He recognized, too, that the remaining historical sources (Yahvist, Elohist, and Deuteronomic sources) are older than this, the so-called Priestly source. For Wellhausen, Judaism is a new stage in the history of Israel and is to be distinguished from ancient Israel. For this reason Wellhausen also carried through the notion of historical development to its logical end.

In order to better understand ancient, pre-exilic Israel he applied himself increasingly to the study of Old Arabian and early Islamic history. Employing here a method that was characterized by a critical analysis of the sources, he gave impetus to the study both of pre-Islamic religious history (*Reste arabischen Heidentums,* 1887) and of the life of Muḥammad (*Muhammad in Medina*, 1882; *Medina vor dem Islam,* 1889), and early Islamic history (*Prolegomena zur ältesten Geschichte des Islams,* 1889; *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam,* 1901). The consequences of these works are still felt today. His most significant achievement, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz* (1902), provides the crowning finish to his work.

Following this, Wellhausen devoted himself primarily to study of the New Testament. His explanations and translations of the Gospels and the histories of the apostles brought him less acclaim than his earlier works, but these, too, still belong in the inventory of indispensable historical-critical research. Wellhausen's works are outstanding not only for their masterful command of the source materials but also for an excellent and impressive style that is particularly conspicuous in his translations.

SEE ALSO Religionsgeschichtliche Schule.

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KURT RUDOLPH (1987)
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Revised Bibliography

WENSINCK, A. J. (1882–1939), was a Dutch Semiticist, historian of Syriac mystical theology, and Islamicist. Arent Jan Wensinck, born in Aarlanderveen, the Netherlands, began his scholarly career with a year's study of theology in Utrecht. He then changed to Semitic studies, including Arabic, working first in Utrecht under M. T. Houtsma (1850–1943) and then in Leiden under M. J. de Goeje (1835–1909) and Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936). He obtained his doctorate at the University of Leiden in 1908 and subsequently became privatdocent for Syriac and Aramaic at the University of Utrecht. In 1908 he became secretary of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam.* From 1912 until 1927 Wensinck was professor of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac at the University of Leiden, and in 1927 he succeeded Snouck Hurgronje as professor of Arabic and Islam at the same university, at which post he remained until his death.

Wensinck is best known as an Islamicist. He studied Muḥammad's life; he was familiar with the immense *ḥadīth* literature; and he wrote a masterly study on the development of Islamic creeds (*ʿaqīdah*s) and their theological background. Against the same background he described the rise of a distinct Islamic culture during the first centuries of Islam, paying much attention to the development of liturgy and ritual. Wensinck also contributed significantly to the accumulated the knowledge of Syrian mystical theology, after this field was opened by the works of Paul Bedjan and others.

Wensinck's major importance, however, seems to lie in his combination of various specializations within the historical study of religions. He was able not only to establish historical affiliations but also to reveal patterns within the Semitic religious world, patterns common to Israelite, Christian, and Islamic religious data. He explored areas as varied as cosmology, ritual behavior, ethics, mysticism, and folk religion, writing on such varied topics as New Year celebrations, the veneration of martyrs, and the notion of intention in law. Focusing on data relating to devotional and mystical life and thought, Wensinck showed the historical relationship between Muslim and Syriac Christian mysticism: Just as Isaac of Nineveh influenced Muslim mystics, Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī influenced Bar Hebraeus in a later period. Wensinck contributed much to the understanding of al-Ghazālī as a mystic.

At the end of his life Wensinck provided an incentive to study the Aramaic background of the New Testament, which has proved to be a fruitful field of research. Thanks to his sharp, refined mind Wensinck was particularly suited for research in the field of religion, where he let the texts speak for themselves.

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Wensinck was an editor of both *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 4 vols. with supplement (Leiden, 1913–1934), and the *Handwörterbuch des Islam* (Leiden, 1941); he contributed numerous articles to each. In 1916 Wensinck had initiated another international project, the *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane,* 6 vols. (Leiden, 1936–1971), and he remained the supervisor of it until the end of his life. *Semietische studiën uit de nalatenschap van Prof. Dr. A. J. Wensinck, 7 Augustus 1882–19 September 1939* (Leiden, 1941) contains a number of Wensinck's papers in English and French, as well as a bibliography of Wensinck's published work. For a study, in Dutch, of Wensinck's work, see W. C. van Unnik's essay "Professor A. J. Wensinck en de studie van de Oosterse Mystiek," in his *Woorden gaan leven, 1910–1978* (Kampen, 1979), pp. 238–263.

JACQUES WAARDENBURG (1987)

WESLEY BROTHERS. John Wesley, English clergyman (1703–1791), attempted to revive the spiritual life of the Church of England but instead founded Methodism, a worldwide family of independent churches. His father, Samuel (1662–1735), and his mother, Susanna Annesley (1669–

1742), changed their allegiance to the Church of England quite independently of each other before their marriage in 1688. John was probably their fifteenth child, and his brother Charles (1708–1788) the eighteenth. John was educated at the Charterhouse School, London, going on to Christ Church, Oxford; Charles attended Westminster School, and also went on to Christ Church, as had their elder brother Samuel (1691–1739), an ordained clergyman, a schoolmaster at Westminster and Tiverton, and a competent minor poet.

John Wesley's preparations for ordination in 1725 led to a deepened spiritual awareness. He was elected fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1726, served two years as his father's curate at Epworth and Wroot in Lincolnshire, and returned to Oxford in 1729 to resume his tutorial duties. He also took over the leadership of a religious study group organized by Charles. Similar groups soon arose. They were collectively known as "The Holy Club" and "Methodists," because of the methodical way in which they immersed themselves in the devotional classics and attempted to recreate the life of the apostolic church. In 1735 his sense of a mission to Oxford caused Wesley to refuse nomination at Epworth as his dying father's successor, but later that year he agreed to assume the spiritual leadership of the new colony of Georgia, recruiting as colleagues several Oxford Methodists, including his brother Charles, who was speedily ordained for the task.

John Wesley returned from Georgia after two frustrating years, realizing that his ministry lacked the spark of the personal assurance of salvation which he had witnessed among the Moravians there. Spurred on by another Moravian, Peter Böhler (1712–1775), who was in England on his way to America, he prayed for and received this spiritual certainty on May 24, 1738: "I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that he had taken away *my* sins, even *mine,* and saved *me* from the law of sin and death."

After a three-month pilgrimage to the Moravian headquarters in Germany, Wesley persuaded many of the old religious societies in London to adopt his modification of the Moravian "choirs" to form cells known as "bands" for intensive spiritual sharing among five or six persons of the same sex and marital status. This fostered his own eager attempts to bring others to a personal experience of Christ as Savior and Lord—which offended more formal church people as "enthusiasm." He also formed new societies from those who asked for his spiritual direction. He enriched his followers' faith and worship with song, and with his brother Charles published a new volume of hymns and sacred poems every year from 1737 to 1742.

Pulpits were repeatedly closed to Wesley because he preached on salvation by faith. Encouraged by his former pupil, George Whitefield (1714–1770), on April 2, 1739, in Bristol, he "proclaimed in the highways the glad tidings of salvation . . . to about three thousand people." Nor did he respect parish boundaries, writing, "I look upon all the world as my parish." His "field-preaching" was supported by a wide-ranging preaching itinerancy, spreading from London to Oxford and Bristol, and thence in 1739 to Wales, in 1742 to Newcastle, in 1743 to Cornwall, in 1747 to Ireland, and in 1751 to Scotland.

To aid him in his task Wesley strove to enlist other clergy in a similar preaching itinerancy, or at least to convince them to maintain deeply spiritual ministries in their own parishes. it soon became clear that his ordained colleagues were too few for the proliferating societies, and Wesley turned to laymen as preaching helpers, thereby scandalizing many otherwise sympathetic clergy. In 1744 he invited the handful of cooperating clergy to meet with him in London to confer about the whole work and its lay helpers, the first of the annual conferences which in 1784 he incorporated as the governing body for Methodism after his death. The early conferences defined Methodist teaching on sin and salvation, teaching which he embodied especially in his *Sermons.* The *Sermons* formed a major part of his huge publishing enterprise, begun at Oxford, which undergirded Methodist private devotions, public worship, evangelistic mission, and the organization of the network of society and preachers.

From the outset Wesley's purpose had been to revive his beloved church from within. However, he was not content to go through normal channels—so frustratingly slow—but maintained an unshaken determination to follow what he believed to be providential guidance in experimentation. Thus he began field-preaching, the employment of lay preachers, the development of his own "connexion" of societies not answerable to church authorities, the building of his own "preaching-houses," the constitution of his own administrative annual assembly, legally incorporated in 1784, the ordination of his own preachers in that same year, as well as his publication of a revised *Book of Common Prayer.* All these things, together with his eventual readiness to open his own buildings during normal times of worship in the established church, proved that although he protested to his dying day that he was a loyal member and minister of the Church of England, his loyalty was certainly not to the church's outward form as it was familiar to him, but to what he considered its essence. Yet there seems little doubt that his remarkable ministry of sixty-five years brought about not only the formation of a new denomination but also the desired reformation of his native church.

SEE ALSO Methodist Churches.

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Works by John Wesley

Under my editorial supervision, a new edition of *The Works of John Wesley* (Oxford, 1975–1983; Nashville, 1984–) is in progress. Thirty-five volumes are projected, of which volumes 1, 2, 7, 11, 25, and 26 have so far appeared. The most useful selection of Wesley's theological writings currently available is to be found in *John Wesley,* edited by Albert C. Outler (New York, 1964).

Works about John Wesley

No one has yet succeeded in presenting a full and fair portrayal of John Wesley in one volume, even a large one, although biographies by both Colwyn E. Vulliamy and Vivian H. H. Green can be recommended. Vulliamy's *John Wesley* (London, 1931) will please the general reader; Green's *John Wesley* (London, 1964), a more penetrating though brief study, will suit the scholar. Both will perhaps benefit from my own book, *John Wesley and the Church of England* (Nashville, 1970), in which I trace Wesley's life against the background of his gradual and largely unacknowledged estrangement from the established church.

FRANK BAKER (1987)

WEST AFRICAN RELIGIONS.

West Africa lies between 5° to 23° north latitude, 23° east longitude, and 20° west longitude. It covers about one-fifth of the territory of sub-Saharan Africa and has a population of slightly more than 120 million people, about half of the total intertropical population of Africa. West Africa contains about six hundred ethnic groups, a loose designation with no scientific specificity. Throughout West Africa one finds large cultural variety with various local features.

Traditional religions in West Africa are original systems of relations between human beings and the not ordinarily seen—but not wholly invisible—realm of the divine. There is no concept of original sin for either the individual or the group, but there is a central notion of redemption. The idea of humanity is equated with the lineage, especially with the clan, which is perceived as a social entity bearing the spiritual principle that defines the clan's originality and distinguishes it from other clans. In this context redemption is based in the individual; through the individual as intermediary, redemption extends to the level of the entire family or clan. Individuals can be seen, then, as their own redeemers; eschatology is thus a short-term operation, part secular and part religious. The role of this eschatology is to assure individuals of their reincarnation as ancestors or, still better, of their return to the earth to be among their people at some future time. Because of the diversity of West African peoples and religions, it is impossible to treat them all in a general review such as this one. Hence, in the interest of providing a panoramic view of West African religious experience, it has been necessary to emphasize some traditions and overlook others.

THE CREATOR AND CREATION.

Knowledge of the supreme being does not center on a particular set of religious teachings. Rather, one might say, religious adherents achieve their knowledge of God's nature indirectly through iconic images, symbols, metaphors, and metonyms. The principal element of this knowledge is the belief in the distance of God. Compared with a human, earth creature par excellence, the supreme being is so far away in space and in emotional perception that it sometimes cannot even be given a name, much less invoked or honored in worship. The Bwa of Mali, for example, have a name for God, but no cult is directed to God. The strategy of the African thought process concerning the nature of God is evident. The distance of God generates a religious need in humans; the absence of the divine gives birth to a quest for what is absent, a quest often satisfied through intermediaries more accessible than God.

The supreme being is not uniformly remote throughout West Africa. In a number of traditions, the supreme being is directly involved in everyday life, acting instead of, or in conjunction with, the lesser spirits. In these traditions, people feel a proximity to God that is analogous to the feelings they might have for their kin, and they appeal to and consult God through cults and rituals. Such is the case with Amma, supreme being of the Dogon, whose cults exist throughout all the villages of the Bandiagara cliffs in Mali. Similiar, though less striking, examples are the cult of Rog among the Serer, that of Ata Emit among the Diola, and that of Chukwu among the Igbo. In other traditions, as among the Ashanti, for example, contact with the supreme being is even more intimate: nearly every morning elders pour libations and offer prayers to Nyame (and often Asase Yaa), thanking him for his beneficence and asking for continued prosperity. Supreme beings who are not remote are accorded a variety of characteristics; it is often believed that they control rain and fertility, are a source of appeal in times of affliction, a force for justice in the world, and the guardians of the moral order.

Intermediary spirits are often punctual divinities or gods of specific circumstances, for example, patrons of such important events as war and hunting (Ogun of the Yoruba and Edo; Ta Tao of the Ashanti; Aflim, Dade, Kumi, and Otu of the Fanti; Gua of the Ga, and others). They may also be associated with atmospheric phenomena such as rain and wind, thunder and lightning, and rainbows (So of the Ewe, Xevioso of the Fon, Ṣango of the Yoruba, and others). Finally, they may be deities of natural phenomena central to human life, such as the earth (Asase Yaa of the Ashanti, Tenga of the Mossi, Oduduwa of the Yoruba, Odua of the Gu, Ayi or Li of the Ewe, and others), the river (Faro of the Bambara, Yemọja and Ọya of the Yoruba), the sea (Xu of the Fon), and the sun (Wende of the Mossi, Olorun of the Igbo, and others).

Reference should also be made here to the masters of smallpox, which is a feared and sacralized disease in West Africa. Smallpox is incarnated in the Sakpata divinity of the Fon and Ewe, in Ojuku of the Igbo, and in Ṣọpọna of the Yoruba. The religious importance of this illness lies in its royal character. In the myths of origin of the Kouroumba royalty (Yatenga kingdom in northern Burkina Faso), the first king descended from the sky carrying smallpox and was cured by agriculturalists. Smallpox is believed to be a sickness from the heavens that brings the mark of the starry firmament to the skin. Because its cure was provided by earth dwellers, the divinity who incarnated the disease is both God of the sky and of the earth.

Unlike all the secondary divinities, the supreme being is the creator. The creator alone enjoys this prerogative, although he does not constantly become involved in the details of creation. For example, the creator assigns the task of organizing the creation to a lesser spirit, or monitor, who thus becomes the first means of contact between the supreme being and humans. This occurs among the Bambara (Faro is the monitor for Bemba), the Yoruba (Oduduwa is the monitor for Ọlọrun), the Dogon (the Nommo are the monitors for Amma), and the Bwa (Do is the monitor for Debwenu).

Questions about the relations between the supreme being and the lesser spirits have been phrased in a number of ways. Are the lesser spirits extensions of the supreme being, or emissaries? Are they children of the supreme being? Do they have independent wills, and is there antagonism between them and the supreme being? In a sense, there is no one answer; questions such as these cannot be answered according to set theological principles but vary according to the believer's level of knowledge. Noninitiates and those who have little training tend to believe that the lesser spirits are separate from the supreme being (whether they are in a collaborative or conflicting situation with the supreme being) rather than being refractions of his power. Only initiates possessing great knowledge abandon this anthropomorphic view of divine realities. For them, the separation is an artificial concern brought about by the language of theology, invented by people who are unable to speak of God without humanizing God.

Africanists have often tried to establish complete inventories of the divinities encountered in one group or another. Some, for example, have found three hundred divinities among the Ewe, while others have identified from five to six hundred. This passion for inventories and numerical estimation is praiseworthy enough, but it is of no scientific interest. What seems clear in the present state of research is that the different cultures in West Africa all possess the idea of a creator divinity in a more or less developed fashion. This creator is not worshiped with altars, prayers, and sacrifices in all parts of West Africa, which can give the mistaken impression that relations between the human and the divine are not fully articulated.

We must take great caution when we use the word God in speaking of the supreme being of Africans, to whom this word does not have the same meaning as it does, for example, to Christians. Among the two best-studied populations of West Africa, the Bambara and the Dogon, it appears that God is a being who engendered himself; the creation he produced was contained in himself in the form of symbols before it was externalized. Analogous reservations must be made concerning the terms *to create* and *creation.* We often tend to associate these with the verbs to do or to make, but while this association is often accurate in African cosmological myths, it is not always so. Among the Bambara and the Dogon, for example, creation occurs by the thought and the word of God rather than by a manual act.

THE LIVING AND THEIR ANCESTORS. Not all deceased persons are elevated to the rank of ancestor, and death is not always a requirement for becoming an ancestor. In each society it is the living who select members for the rank of ancestor. Thus the notion of ancestralization relates, above all other considerations, to a social and religious model rooted in the idea of exemplarity, that is, in a model to be imitated in order to avoid perdition. Conduct in the human realm determines whether one is ancestralized and reincarnated (a good fate) or exiled into the bush to wander alone, eaten by animals and plagued by mosquitoes (as among the Diola), or condemned to the peppery place of potsherds (as among the Yoruba)—all bad fates. It is significant to note here that a bad fate is never eternal; the concept of eternal damnation is foreign to African religious thought.

To become an ancestor, one must possess certain qualities. The first requirement is longevity; this cannot be achieved through human measures to conserve health but must be bestowed by God. Thus only the elderly can become ancestors. Also important is the individual's physical integrity and morality. Those who die from an ignominious disease (such as leprosy), the insane, those who suffer an accidental death (after a fall or by being struck by lightning), thieves, and those who have committed reprehensible acts cannot become ancestors. Finally, the person's social standing in the community is important. An outsider (a slave, for example), although accepted by, and integrated within, the society, is excluded from the ranks of the ancestors. But above all, the preeminent attribute that allows one to become an ancestor is the self-knowledge that gives a person self-control; this poise is the moral quality par excellence. All ancestors were, during their lifetime on earth, models of wisdom, self-control, dignity, and purity.

Since death does not mark the end of human existence but only its changed status, death usually constitutes the necessary condition of being an ancestor. However, this is not true in all West African societies. In a sense, to become an ancestor, an individual must achieve a certain distance from his descendants. This distance is not created solely by death: age itself can provide sufficient reason for becoming an ancestor. Thus, among the Mossi of Burkina Faso a great-great-grandfather can become an ancestor during his lifetime but only in a marginal sense. Such an ancestor can, should the occasion arise, be reborn during his lifetime in one of his descendants. This assertion is based on research among the Mossi, among it research conducted by Doris Bonnet. When an old person returns during his own lifetime in the body of a newborn, the infant is not likely to live long. These beliefs deserve more extensive study, particularly because the Mossi are not the only group in sub-Saharan Africa to hold them. Recent research reveals a similar situation among the Mongo people. The ancestor cannot, however, benefit from the worship of his family group until after his physical death, which is marked by a second funeral or by rituals performed at the burial sites (such as libations and sacrifices, both widely prevalent in sub-Saharan Africa) and modifications to the burial site itself (for example, construction of altars on top of the ancestor's tomb).

Another important characteristic of the world of the ancestors is its representation as a perfect community. Unlike the society of the living, the community of ancestors is cleansed of antagonism and tension. Ancestors can, of course, become angry or even suffer, but such feelings arise only as the result of neglect or of negative actions on the part of their living descendants.

The universe of the ancestors, sometimes seen as slow moving, is quite active. Although recollection of the ancestors fades because of the weakness of the collective memory of those on earth, the world of the ancestors is constantly renewed and kept vivid in the minds of the living through fresh deaths and reincarnations. Indeed, both worlds are enhanced by this process. For example, each death brings an ancestor into play in the world of the living; by dying or crossing the boundary caused by age, ancestors gain greater access to spiritual power and can thus assist their descendants as intermediaries. But at the same time, by gaining additional ancestors in their ranks, the ancestors acquire new cultural experiences and their world becomes enriched just as the world of the living is enriched by new births. Lastly, ties between the world of the living and that of the ancestors are further reinforced by reincarnation, or the return of the ancestor. Each ancestor can take corporeal form and return to the world when a suitable occasion arises or when he simply longs to return to earth. In a general way each society possesses rules that regulate the ancestor's method of return. These are usually very precise; among the Sara of Chad, for example, a grandfather always inhabits the body of the first grandson born after his death. Among the Yoruba, the process of return involves consultation with the supreme being. Before an ancestor is reborn, the ancestral guardian soul appears before Ọlọrun to receive a new body, a new breath, and its destiny for its new life on earth. The guardian soul kneels before the supreme being and asks for whatever destiny it wishes, but Ọlọrun will refuse to grant its desires if they are made arrogantly or selfishly. In most cases, the ancestor makes the decision concerning his or her own incarnation, while the living, with the help of various mediums or diviners, attempt to determine the ancestor's will.

The living interact with ancestors by offering them libations and sacrifices. Libations generally precede sacrifices and constitute an overture to dealings with the ancestors. The sacrifice, which is the high point of the ceremony, actively unites the living, in their quest and anticipation, with the dead, in their obligation to respond favorably. Dealings between the ancestors and the living should not be seen as one-sided attempts by weak humans to seek aid from the heavenly powers (as is the case in revelatory religions). These interactions are, in fact, bilateral obligations: humans need the ancestors because of powerlessness and his indigence; ancestors need to be remembered by humans so they can return to earth by being reborn within the bodies of children within their lineage. The relations between the living and the dead can thus be seen as a kind of individual redemption brought about by humankind's quest for immortality.

Fresh water, millet flour mixed with water, and millet beer or palm wine are usually used in the libations. Fresh water, which usually precedes and sometimes introduces the other two offerings, is an emollient; when poured on the altar it serves as a tender and affectionate gesture to the ancestor. Water and millet flour rise when they are combined, evoking the act of swallowing and its immediate involuntary result, digestion. This offering pushes the ancestor into action. Millet beer and palm wine are stimulants that excite and exalt the ancestors. In a way these drinks make the ancestors lose control and behave as the living wish them to. This last libation represents the final resort to the will of the ancestors before the noblest offering, animal sacrifice, is made.

Animal sacrifice is the most profound means of communicating with the invisible world. The most frequent sacrificial victims are white chickens (male and female) and goats. Sometimes a royal family may sacrifice horses or, as was once the case among the Mossi, human beings. Sometimes cattle are sacrificed, but this occurs only on rare occasions. As sacrificial animals, cattle are reserved for extraordinary events and people (for example, the absolution of an incestuous act, the funeral ceremonies of a chief). The rarity and great significance of these sacrifices can be explained by the fact that West Africa is largely a region of agriculturalists, not pastoralists.

Altars for the ancestors vary but most often consist of one or several stones placed on the ground. They can also be chairs (Ashanti, Ewe, Attie), pottery, clay stools, or doorposts. The officiating priests are either the eldest of the lineage (clan) or a person specifically designated by the group. There are cases, however, as among the Dogon, in which the role is filled in part by a person designated by the ancestor himself.

PLACES OF WORSHIP. Generally West Africans have given more attention to the altar as the locus of the divine than to the sanctuary built to shelter it. There are exceptions: in Nigeria, Benin, Ghana, and Mali, there exist religious buildings in which one part is meant for the public and the rest for protection of cultic materials. (Public here refers to the faithful who have been or will be initiated.) Usually admission to the public parts of the sanctuary is available to the faithful who have been introduced to knowledge of the mystery evoked by the place of worship. The reserved part is only accessible to the high dignitaries of the community of the specific cult. In practice this separation suggests that religion does not merely pose problems of faith and adherence to a system of beliefs; more importantly, it raises questions about knowledge and power. Religion is parceled out in as many sectors, either exclusive of one another or complementary over time, as there are different domains of knowledge.

The linkage between religion and knowledge, particularly prominent in West Africa, is not surprising. Indeed, one can say that it constitutes the characteristic trait of sub-Saharan cultures. The higher one's position becomes in the religious hierarchy, the more knowledge one possesses. The greater one's knowledge, the more likely one will be invested with religious power. All this reveals, on the one hand, the connection between sacred knowledge and power (including political power)—every sage exercises real power over the community he is part of—and, on the other hand, the ways that knowledge is distributed. For example, during initiation rites, knowledge is distributed to the adept drop by drop, as if such instillation were the only possible method of instruction. If any other pedagogic method were used, the adept would reject the knowledge, much like his body would reject the intrusion of a foreign element such as a different blood type. However, there is another reason why knowledge is parceled out bit by bit. The adept is tested at each level to see how he or she reacts to it to ensure that the power that comes with such knowledge is not misused. In many West African societies, for instance, the sacred power to cure affliction through the manipulation of spiritual powers and material substances is not far removed from the practice of sorcery. Both sorcery and the practice of healing often involve the use of similiar techniques and medicines; what distinguishes them is the practitioner's intention to do good or evil. Hence, before giving an adept religious knowledge, measures must be taken to ensure that he or she will use this power for the good of the community. An individual with sacred knowledge who is deluded by his or her own power, greed, envy, or malice can have disastrous effects upon the community.

Worship sites are numerous and varied and can be classified according to the four elements: water, earth, air, and fire. Throughout West Africa, water inspires feelings of uncertainty, fear, reassurance, and security; most importantly, it is seen as the source of life. Each body of water has its own spirit. Metonymically speaking, the body of water is both a sort of water god worshiped by riverine peoples and a temple of water in which the faithful, bearing offerings, immerse themselves. For example, the part of the Niger River that crosses Bambara country is said to be the body of Faro, the water spirit, who is responsible for the fecundity, multiplication, and proliferation of all living things. Among the Yoruba of Nigeria it is thought that Yemọja, daughter of Ọbatala and Oduduwa, gave birth to all the waters of the country and that she is the patroness of the River Ogun, her favorite sanctuary. For the Edo of Nigeria, the waters of the regions belong to Oba. In Ghana and the Ivory Coast, the rivers, streams, and still waters are the property of Tano and Bia. Fresh water, by its very nature favorable to life, is humane. Seawater is inhumane and savage; it needs to be tamed. This negative view of seawater may have been formed during the era of colonization and slavery (both the early Europeans and slave traders arrived by sea); more likely, however, it may simply stem from the profound attachment to land that is often found throughout Africa.

Sanctuaries related to the land have as much, if not more, variety as those related to water. One must remember that at least 90 percent of the West African population is composed of sedentary agriculturalists and that for them land is the true reservoir of life. Land sanctuaries share one special feature. They are not temples in the true sense of the word because the land has no edifice; the land itself is a religious and sacred monument and thus it would be unseemly to try to limit it, to pretend to enclose it within walls. The sanctuaries of the earth are everywhere that human beings carry out gestures of deference to the nourishing soil. Mountains, grottoes, rocks, and stones that strike the religious imagination, pits and crevasses open to the unknown—all lend themselves admirably to being transformed into places of worship. Cultivated fields are particularly designated for sacralization.

The temples of the air, namely sacred trees and groves, are the most numerous sites of worship and the closest to the religious affections of West Africans. They are considered to have an airy nature because they are in harmony with atmospheric changes and with the seasons. There is not a single human community in West Africa that does not have high regard for this vegetation. The tree stands as an intermediary between the human being and spiritual powers. This mediation is often so central that humans are considered to be an emanation of the vegetation. The Bambara believe in a kind of metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls, in which one guidepost in the journey is a tree. One also encounters this belief among the Fon, for whom certain myths speak of how men and women descended from the branches of a tree in former times. Similarly, West African women desirous of becoming pregnant often implore a tree to give them a child. Trees acquire even more intense religious value when nature integrates them into sacred groves, which are the scenes of religious assemblies and initiation rites.

In West Africa, where there are no volcanoes, temples connected with fire are the most humble, the closest to daily life, and also the most ubiquitous. They are associated with the part of the home in which women prepare food. The fire, which transforms food, brings light and warmth to its users and mediates between the living and the dead. If the faithful lack the resources to provide a sacrificial victim, they can use ashes from the hearth fire as a replacement. The omnipresence of this temple of fire is matched by the reality of the forge in almost all West African groups, even though the profession of blacksmithing is generally considered to be limited to members of a guild. The forge is more than a workshop; it is also a place of worship, a shelter in which human justice gives way to the gentleness of heaven. The most typical characteristic of the forge lies in the fact that it constitutes a place of creation comparable to that held by the creator when the foundations of the world were established. This explains why fire becomes a sanctuary wherein the prayer of an empty womb beseeching fecundity will, according to the beliefs of the faithful, surely be answered.

Generally speaking, religion in West Africa is men's business. Nevertheless, women, especially after menopause, often become ritual specialists (for example, among the Guere, Ubi, and Wobe of the Ivory Coast; the Dogon of Mali; the Mende of Sierra Leone; and especially, the Yoruba and Igbo of Nigeria). Religious duties, which are numerous and complex, are ordinarily the responsibility of the eldest member of the group. All cultic practices include an oral liturgical element that is of central importance because the word, invested with the characteristics of both water and heat, has fertilizing power.

INITIATION AND SPIRITUAL LIFE. Initiation rites engender an internal disposition that guarantees a way of life different from ordinary existence. This disposition is acquired through the development of spiritual techniques that train the body and promote a sense of the abolition of finitude.

Initiation rites in West Africa fall into two types. In Nigeria, Benin, Togo, and Ghana (that is, among the Yoruba, Hausa, Ewe, Fon, Ashanti, and related groups), initiation is of a type one may term *epispanic*. Here the initiates attract (Gr., *epispaō*) the divinity to themselves, and the impact of the meeting between the human and divine translates into what is commonly called possession or trance. The introduction to and training for the spiritual life are accomplished either by individual training (as, for example, among the Ashanti and the eastern Yoruba) or by collective training in convents, as is the rule among the Ewe, Fon, western Yoruba, and Itsha. This form of initiation is available to both men and women. The physical tests that neophytes undergo during their initiation have a specific goal, even though the initiates may not be aware of it. It involves a spiritualization of the senses, particularly vision, hearing, and taste.

The second type of initiation, termed *allotactic* (Gr., *allos*, other; *taktikē*, from *tassein*, to marshal), is common from Ghana to Guinea. Here the neophytes go to seek God. Clearly the physical tests here are equally rigorous as those in epispanic initiation, but what matters above all in allotactic initiation is the accession of the neophytes to a transforming knowledge that permits them to get closer to particular spiritual beings and even to become a bit like them, in other words, to become immortal, for only through immortality do human beings guarantee their chances for reincarnation. Such transforming knowledge cannot be gained in several months or even in several years. Among the Senufo of Mali and northern Ivory Coast, initiation into the Poro society lasts more than twenty years. For the Bidjogo of Guinea-Bissau initiation takes almost the same time. Men and women are segregated in this form of initiation. Allotactic initiation clearly demonstrates the leitmotiv of African spirituality, the human struggle against total disappearance from the earth.

African spirituality demonstrates that human beings are not born spiritual; rather, they must become spiritual. Hence, adherents to West African religions find recourse to initiatory techniques that view the body as the starting point of religious and mystical feelings. The body becomes the authentic symbol of the elevation of the human being to the peak of spirituality. Mystical life in African religion does not detach humanity from the earth; instead, it permits human beings to live and relive indefinitely on earth.

SEE ALSO Akan Religion; Bambara Religion; Diola Religion; Dogon Religion; Edo Religion; Fon and Ewe Religion; Fulbe Religion; Igbo Religion; Mawu-Lisa; Tiv Religion; Yoruba Religion.

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Dominique Zahan (1987)
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Revised Bibliography

WEST SYRIAN CHURCH SEE SYRIAC ORTHODOX CHURCH OF ANTIOCH

WHEATLEY, PAUL (1921–1999) was a professor at the University of Chicago who specialized in comparative urbanism and historical urban geography. If ever there was a contemporary scholar outside the field of religious studies itself who made a persuasive and elegant case for relating the study of religion to comparative worldviews and complex social processes, it was Paul Wheatley. His magisterial book *The Pivot of the Four Quarters: A Preliminary Enquiry into the Origins and Character of the Ancient Chinese City* still stands as a model for comparative studies of the social and religious dimensions of traditional urban settlements. The excellence of this book can be attributed in part to Wheatley's extraordinary linguistic abilities, his insightful handling of primary texts, and his elegant application and testing of his theories on the nature of the city, social stratification, and the religious imagination. Wheatley came to this achievement through his intensive study of historical geography. He was the first British geographer to explore sources in Chinese and Arabic, which he combined with Latin and Greek texts in his early book *The Golden Khersonese: An Historical Geography of the Malay Peninsula Before AD 1500.*

EARLY CAREER. Paul Wheatley was born in 1921 in Gloucestershire, England. He spent part of his youth in the village of Enham (later also named Alamein), a community set aside for families of seriously injured veterans of World War I. During Wheatley's youthful excursions around Coatswell and Salisbury, he developed interests in two landscapes: the geography of that part of England and the celestial landscapes that he observed during nighttime travels. In his early schooling he excelled in Latin and Greek; by 1939 to 1940 he had completed his first college degree in classics (Latin and Greek, philosophy and religion) in a two-year accelerated program offered by Kings College, London. Wheatley also studied two subjects that became foundational for his later study of urbanism, namely geology and geomorphology (the study of the origin and development of the earth's surface features). In 1940 Wheatley volunteered for service in the Royal Air Force (RAF). He served as a navigator, a parachute instructor in North Africa and Italy, and a trainer for British paratroopers preparing for the invasion of France in June 1944. He saw intense combat as a member of Squadron 150 of the RAF's Bomber Command and Pathfinder Group 205, surviving a crash landing in Iraq as well as forced parachute jumps behind the German lines in Italy and later in Yugoslavia.

POSTWAR WORK. After Wheatley returned from his war service, he met Henry Clifford Darby (1909–1992), a distinguished professor of geography, and became involved in Darby's historical geography project, which made use of the 1068 Domesday Book of William I, King of England from 1066 to 1087. Wheatley's interest in local geography and place names coupled with his knowledge of Latin allowed him to assist in the reading of the medieval manuscripts that Darby was analyzing. Wheatley eventually contributed the Staffordshire chapter and coauthored the Somerset chapter in Darby's book *The Domesday Geography of England,* which was published in 1954. In 1949 Wheatley received the Alexander von Humboldt Prize and was awarded his bachelor's degree with first class honors in geography from the University of Liverpool. He then joined the faculty of University College, London, where Darby had relocated. In 1952 Wheatley left England for the University of Malaya in Singapore (now the National University of Singapore), where he first served as the "neophyte colonial lecturer" and later as lecturer in geography.

During the next seven years Wheatley traveled extensively in the Malay Peninsula, did field archaeology, expanded his linguistic abilities, taught courses at the university, and founded the *Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography.* He also made use of classical Greek, classical Malay, Arabic, and Chinese sources to prepare two works that served both as source books and as innovative interpretations of the historical geography of the region. These were *The Golden Khersonese* and *Impressions of the Malay Peninsula in Ancient Times* (Singapore, 1964). In 1957 Wheatley married Margaret E. Ashworth, a member of the geography faculty at the University of Malaya. They moved to the United States in 1958, where Wheatley served on the faculty of the University of California at Berkeley until 1966. While helping to raise his two sons, Julian and Jonathan, Wheatley became deeply interested in the problem of urban origins. He discovered an intricate set of relationships between the rise of permanent social stratification and the organizing capabilities of religious thought as manifested in monumental ceremonial centers. He began an intensive analysis of the origins of cities as indicated in Chinese sources and expanded his focus to deciphering the process of primary urban generation in Mesoamerica, Mesopotamia, the Indus Valley, Nigeria, Peru, and Egypt.

MATURE WORK. Wheatley's most influential monograph was *The Pivot of the Four Quarters: A Preliminary Enquiry* *into the Origins and Character of the Ancient Chinese City* (Chicago, 1971). In this study Wheatley sought to understand the complex forces that led to the genesis of the first cities, especially the factors associated with permanent social differentiation. In each instance of urban origins, he found that "the earliest foci of power and authority took the form of ceremonial centers, with religious symbolism imprinted deeply on their physiognomy and their operation in the hands of organized priesthoods." Priestly elites in all seven areas of primary generation (northern China, Mesopotamia, Egypt, the Indus Valley, southwestern Nigeria, central Mexico, and Peru) had developed "greatly amplified ethical systems" which were part of a "new instrument for the organization of sacred, economic, social and political space" (p. 305). Wheatley stated concisely that these ceremonial centers "functioned as instruments for the dissemination through all levels of society of beliefs which, in turn, enabled the wielders of political power to justify their goals in terms of the basic values of that society, and to present the realization of class-directed aims as the implementation of collectively desirable policies" (p. 305).

Wheatley found the key to the efficacy of these ceremonial centers in a religious mode of thought that he called "cosmo-magical symbolism." This mode of thought "presupposes an intimate parallelism between the mathematically expressible regimes of the heavens, and the biologically determined rhythms of life on earth (as manifested conjointly in the succession of the seasons and the annual cycles of plant regeneration)" (p. 414). In Wheatley's understanding, there were at least three patterns of urban order that emerged from cosmo-magical thought: the pattern of building monumental capitals around supremely important ritual structures; the use of cardinal axiality (designing the city with fixed reference lines to the four principal points of the compass) to organize large urban populations, transportation systems and even general systems of market exchange; and the imprinting of episodes from the culture's mythology in the layout and ornamentation of major buildings. Wheatley illustrated these complex interrelations with the use of maps and narratives, showing the ways in which the morphology of specific ceremonial cities influenced the formation of economic and social order as well as reflecting cosmo-magical thought.

Wheatley's position was and remains a major challenge to materialist interpretations of the causes and nature of urban organization and authority. While several of his major books resulted from intensive analysis of the geographic and economic, especially exchange patterns of and within urban centers, Wheatley insisted that the evidence showed repeatedly that rulers just as often subordinated their technology and economic practices to religious symbolism as the other way around.

From 1966 to 1971 Wheatley served on the faculty at University College, London, where he produced several definitive essays in urban studies, including "City as Symbol" (1969) and "The Concept of Urbanism" (1972). He also contributed a prefatory essay to *An Historical Atlas of China* (1966). From 1971 until his retirement in 1991, he served as professor of geography and social thought at the University of Chicago. During Wheatley's years on the Chicago faculty, he was a member of the Committee on Social Thought and its chairman from 1977 to 1991. The novelist Saul Bellow was one of the distinguished members of this committee and included a flattering literary portrait of Paul Wheatley in his novel *Ravelstein* (2000). Wheatley was remarkably productive during his Chicago years, publishing on various questions of urban origins and history in *From Court to Capital: A Tentative Interpretation of the Origins of the Japanese Urban Tradition* (1978), *Nagara and Commandery: Origins of the Southeast Asian Urban Traditions* (1983), and the monumental two-volume *Melaka: The Transformation of a Malay Capital, c. 1400–1980* (1983), which he edited with Kernial Singh Sandhu. His editorial collaboration with Sandhu continued in *Management of Success: The Moulding of Modern Singapore* (1989). Wheatley's final book, published posthumously, was *The Places Where Men Pray Together: Cities in Islamic Lands, Seventh to Tenth Centuries* (2001). During these years he also served on numerous external committees, including the Jerusalem Committee, a group that advised Mayor Teddy Kollek (b. 1911) on the future organization of the city; the Ford Foundation, on academic fellowships for Vietnamese refugees; and the regional advisory board of the *Southeast Asian Journal of Ethnicity.* In addition, Wheatley served on the editorial boards of *Urbanism and Social Change*, the *Journal of Urban History*, the *Journal of Oriental Studies,* and other scholarly periodicals.

Wheatley was highly skilled in the use of human language, and wrote elegantly and movingly in his essays and books about the topics that engaged him. After his death in 1999, a eulogy about him stated, "Wheatley was a man of ideas, of exacting standards and often of forceful expression. . . . Only the grand thesis was good enough for him. A belief in the value of a comparative world view and an inter-disciplinary approach inspired his lifelong exploration of urbanism and his conviction that the emergence of the city was a turning point in the history of human society."

SEE ALSO Chinese Religion, overview article; Cities; Geography.

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DAVÍD CARRASCO (2005)

WHEEL SEE CAKRAS; CIRCLE

WHITE, ELLEN GOULD (1826–1915), prophetess and cofounder of the Seventh-day Adventist church. Ellen Gould Harmon was born November 26, 1827, on a farm near Gorham, Maine. As a child she moved with her family to Portland. When she was nine or ten, an angry schoolmate hit her in the face with a rock, knocking her unconscious for several weeks. The accident left her a semi-invalid, unable to continue her schooling (except for a brief period at the Westbrook Seminary and Female College) and unlikely to fulfill her ambition of becoming a scholar.

Raised a Methodist, Ellen in 1840 joined the Millerites, who believed that Christ would return to earth in 1843 or 1844. When he failed to appear on October 22, 1844, the date finally agreed upon, disappointment and confusion swept through the Millerite camp. In December, while praying with friends for guidance, seventeen-year-old Ellen went into a trance, the first of many visions during which she claimed to receive divine illumination. In this state God assured her that the Millerites' only mistake lay in confusing the second coming of Christ with the beginning of the heavenly judgment, which had indeed begun on October 22. In 1846 Ellen was shown the importance of observing the seventh-day sabbath. In both instances her visions supported doctrines that others were already teaching, a pattern that came to characterize her role as a religious leader.

In 1846 Ellen married James White, who became her editor, publisher, and manager. For several years they traveled throughout the Northeast preaching their sabbatarian message. When children began arriving, Ellen reluctantly left them with friends. In 1852 the weary, impoverished couple settled in Rochester, New York, where they collected their children about them and James acquired a printing press. After three discouraging years, the Whites moved to Battle Creek, Michigan, where in the early 1860s they formally created the Seventh-day Adventist church, then numbering about 3,500 members.

Health concerns dominated Ellen White's life during the 1860s. Since her childhood accident she had suffered almost constantly from an array of illnesses: heart, lung, and stomach ailments, frequent "fainting fits" (sometimes once or twice a day), paralytic attacks, pressure on the brain, breathing difficulties, and bouts of anxiety and depression. At times she feared that Satan and his evil angels were trying to kill her. In 1863, only months after using water treatments to nurse her children through a diphtheria epidemic, she received a special vision on health. Adventists, she learned, were to give up eating meat and other stimulating foods, shun alcohol and tobacco, and avoid drug-dispensing doctors. When sick, they were to rely solely on nature's remedies: fresh air, sunshine, rest, exercise, proper diet, and, above all, water. A second vision on health led her in 1866 to establish the Western Health Reform Institute in Battle Creek, the first of a worldwide chain of Adventist sanitariums.

During the 1870s the Whites spent considerable time proselytizing on the West Coast. In 1881, James died. Following a yearlong depression, Ellen White resumed her ministry through missions to Europe (1885–1887) and to Australia and New Zealand (1891–1900). Upon returning to the United States in 1900, she purchased a farmhouse near Saint Helena, California, from whence she continued to guide her growing church. Although she never assumed formal leadership of the Adventist organization, White wielded enormous influence, especially late in her career, in matters relating to both doctrine and policy. While in semiretirement, she directed a major campaign to build an Adventist sanitarium "near every large city" and to open a medical school, the College of Medical Evangelists (now Loma Linda University), in southern California. She died on July 16, 1915, at age eighty-seven; over 136,000 Seventh-day Adventists mourned her passing.

Although better at speaking than writing—her modest reputation among non-Adventists derived largely from her lectures on temperance—Ellen White enjoyed her greatest success as an author. Between the late 1840s, when her first broadsides appeared, and 1915, she published over a hundred books and pamphlets and contributed thousands of articles to church periodicals. Since her death the Ellen G. White Estate has brought out dozens of additional books, compiled from her letters, sermons, and articles. Few subjects escaped her attention. Among her most notable works were three sets of books on biblical history and eschatology: *Spiritual Gifts* (1858–1864), *Spirit of Prophecy* (1870–1884), and the "Conflict of the Ages Series" (1888–1917), which included *The Great Controversy between Christ and Satan,* her major eschatological work. Her health writings began with a tract on the perils of masturbation, *An Appeal to Mothers* (1864), and culminated with the widely circulated *Ministry of Healing* (1905). In *Education* (1903), she emphasizes "the harmonious development of the physical, the mental, and the spiritual powers." Between 1855 and 1909 she published thirty-seven volumes of *Testimonies for the Church,* in which she relayed counsel that she had received in visions. The most popular of her books was *Steps to Christ* (1892), a brief devotional work that sold in the millions.

Since early in Ellen White's career critics have alleged that she sometimes contradicted herself, failed to acknowledge—and on occasion denied—her indebtedness to other authors, and allowed her testimonies to be manipulated by interested parties close to her. In response, she insisted on the consistency, originality, and independence of her inspired writings. "I do not write one article in the paper expressing merely my own ideas. They are what God has opened before me in vision—the precious rays of light shining from the throne" (*Testimonies for the Church,* vol. 5, p. 67). In recent years scholars have uncovered evidence that she borrowed extensively from other authors and that her literary assistants provided more than routine editorial and secretarial services.

Although Ellen White preferred to style herself as "the Lord's messenger" rather than as a prophetess, she classed herself with the biblical writers. "In ancient times God spoke to men by the mouth of prophets and apostles," she wrote in 1876. "In these days he speaks to them by the Testimonies of his Spirit" an unambiguous reference to her own work (*Testimonies,* vol. 4, p. 148). Many early Adventists, including her own husband, resisted efforts to equate her writings with the Bible and to make acceptance of her inspiration a "test of fellowship." Nevertheless, by the early twentieth century Adventist churches were "disfellowshipping" members who questioned her gift, and were relying on her views to determine the correct reading of scripture. Among the faithful the very phrase "Spirit of Prophecy" became synonymous with Ellen White and her writings, which they regarded as authoritative not only in theology but in science, medicine, and history as well.

SEE ALSO Seventh-day Adventism.

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To date, no full-scale biography of Ellen White has appeared. Of the several autobiographical accounts, the most complete is *Life Sketches of Ellen G. White* (Mountain View, Calif., 1915), the last part of which was compiled by assistants. In 1981 Arthur L. White, a grandson of the prophetess, brought out the first installment (volume 5, covering the years 1900–1905) of a projected six-volume official biography, *Ellen G. White* (Washington, D. C., 1981–), which, though unabashedly apologetic, presents considerable new detail. My own work *Prophetess of Health: A Study of Ellen G. White* (New York, 1976) offers a nonapologetic interpretation of White's health-related activities. For guidance in using White's own writings, there is a splendid three-volume *Comprehensive Index to the Writings of Ellen G. White* (Mountain View, Calif., 1962–1963).

RONALD L. NUMBERS (1987)

WHITE BUFFALO CALF WOMAN is a central figure in Lakota Indian history and contemporary life. Known in the Lakota language as *Pte-san win-yan,* she brought the Sacred Buffalo Calf Pipe and the Seven Sacred Rites to the Lakota people. The Lakota consider her extremely holy. Some regard her as the reappearance of *Woȟpe* (Falling Star or Beautiful Woman) who, like *Pte-san win-yan,* embodies the ideals of Lakota womanhood. White Buffalo Calf Woman is one of many female sacred powers in Native American myth and ritual, including Corn Woman (Cherokee), Changing Woman (Navajo), White Painted Woman (Apache), Our Grandmother (Shawnee), and Thought Woman (Keres).

Some tribal histories indicate that *Pte-san win-yan* arrived among the Lakota in the late 1700s during their difficult transition from the Great Lakes to the Great Plains. Buffalo were integral to Lakota life on the plains, providing everything the people needed for survival. According to written accounts of Lakota oral tradition, White Buffalo Calf Woman appeared to the Lakota long ago when the people were very hungry. Two men who were scouting for food one day noticed a beautiful woman approaching them from a distance. She wore a dress of fine white buckskin and carried a bundle on her back. As she drew closer, one of the hunters felt desire for her, but the other scout cautioned him, recognizing that she was sacred or *wakan.* As the desirous scout reached for her, he and the woman were enveloped in a swirling cloud which lifted to reveal a pile of bones beside the sacred woman. She then directed the remaining scout to return to the camp and instruct the people to prepare a large tipi for her arrival. The sacred woman appeared the following day, singing as she entered the camp and then the tipi:

> With visible breath I am walking.
> A voice I am sending as I walk.
> In a sacred manner I am walking.
> With visible tracks I am walking.
> In a sacred manner I am walking.
>
> (DeMallie, p. 284)

Sent from the buffalo, she gave the Lakota the White Buffalo Calf Pipe Bundle and taught them how to pray with the Sacred Pipe, *Ptehincala hu cannunpa.* Through the Sacred Pipe, humans became related to and at one with the entire cosmos. She instructed the people on how to live in good relation with one another, and she taught them the Seven Sacred Rites that accompany the Pipe. Finally, she pledged to return to the Lakota in the future. As she left the camp, she stopped, lay down, and rolled over, becoming a black buffalo. Stopping a second time, she changed into a red buffalo. The third time she was transformed into a yellow buckskin buffalo; and finally, the fourth time, before walking out of sight, she became a white buffalo. The Sacred Pipe is now in the possession of Arvol Looking Horse, Nineteenth-Generation Keeper of the White Buffalo Calf Pipe Bundle.

As Lakota mythology suggests, White Buffalo Calf Woman plays an important role in Lakota ritual. The Seven Sacred Rites, which she either brought to the people or modified through the addition of the Sacred Pipe, include ceremonies for purifying the body and spirit (*inika(tm)e*), commonly known as the sweat lodge; dancing looking at the sun, or the Sun Dance (*wiwanyag wachipi*); crying for a vision, or the vision quest (*hanbleceyapi*); making of relatives (*hunkapi*); throwing of the ball (*tapa wanka yap*); preparing a girl for womanhood (*i(nati awichalowan*); and keeping of the spirit (*wana(tm)i gluhapi*). The Sacred Pipe is integral to each of these rites and to the annual ceremonial cycle as a whole, which begins in early spring when the sun enters the Lakota constellation that implies the Pipe, thereby igniting the celestial Sacred Pipe and renewing life on earth. White Buffalo Calf Woman is particularly crucial to the Sun Dance and girls' puberty ceremonies, wherein a woman is the embodiment of *Pte-san win-yan,* bringing the Sacred Pipe to the Sun Dance arena in one rite and instructing the girl on Lakota women's codes of conduct in the other.

Many events seemingly threatened the interrelatedness of the Lakota and the buffalo: the outlawing of Lakota ceremonies in the nineteenth century, the imposition of Christianity, the prohibition against traditional buffalo hunting, the decimation of the buffalo herds by non-Indians, and acts of genocide against the Lakota people. However, White Buffalo Calf Woman and the buffalo in general remain the center of Lakota cultural survival. In fact, the birth of several rare white buffalos in the 1990s signaled to some Lakotas the return of *Pte-san win-yan.* Lakotas are working to protect and restore buffalo herds and their natural habitats and to revitalize and strengthen Lakota ceremonies. The White Buffalo Calf Woman Society has been established to support women victimized by domestic violence. In addition, Arvol Looking Horse has emerged as a highly visible religious leader among the Lakota. He and others have led many Big Foot Memorial Rides to help heal the wounds of the 1890 Wounded Knee Massacre and to foster leadership among Lakota youth.

SEE ALSO Gender and Religion, article on Gender and Native American Religious Tradition; Lakota Religious Traditions; North American Indians, article on Indians of the Plains.

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MARY C. CHURCHILL (2005)

WHITEFIELD, GEORGE (1714–1770), English evangelist and itinerant revivalist in America. Born in humble circumstances in Gloucester, England, Whitefield received his bachelor of arts degree from Oxford in 1736, the same year in which Bishop Martin Benson ordained him as deacon in the Church of England. Associated with John and Charles Wesley in an effort to revive a sedate and passionless Anglicanism, Whitefield followed with keen interest the missionary labors of the Wesley brothers in the newly founded colony of Georgia in North America. After nearly three years of preaching in the New World, the Wesleys returned to England discouraged and dismayed by the enormity of the religious challenge abroad. Neither they nor Whitefield's own admirers, however, could discourage the twenty-three-year-old Whitefield from setting out for Georgia on the first of seven voyages to America.

After an absence of less than one year, Whitefield returned to England late in 1738 to receive his ordination as priest, to strengthen his ties with the trustees of the Georgia colony, and to learn that England's hierarchy looked askance at his cavalier attitude toward canon law and the liturgical form of the national church. No less an authority than London's bishop, Edmund Gibson, published in 1739 a pastoral letter condemning "enthusiasm," a dangerous zeal associated with young Methodism in general, and with young Whitefield in particular. For evidence that Whitefield claimed a special and direct guidance from the Holy Spirit, Bishop Gibson turned to the young zealot's first journal, written from December 1737 to May 1738, in which "enthusiasm" seemed so conveniently and convincingly represented. Whitefield responded to this and to many other charges contained in the letter: that he preached extemporaneously in the open fields, that he criticized the national clergy, and that he claimed to "propagate a new Gospel, as unknown to the generality of ministers and people"—all this, said the bishop, in what is surely a Christian country already. Even as Whitefield sought to defend himself against the bishop's attack, he found pulpits in England closed to him and the clergy there growing increasingly wary of him. Overtures from the Georgia trustees enticed him once more, as he was now offered a pastoral charge in Savannah, together with a promise of five hundred acres of land for a proposed orphanage. Two weeks after the Gibson letter was published, Whitefield was on his way back to America.

This second visit, lasting from November 1739 to January 1741, was Whitefield's most successful evangelical tour of the American colonies. Wherever he went up and down the Atlantic coast, his reputation as a dramatic, divine messenger preceded him. Enormous crowds gathered in eager anticipation, in churches or outdoors, in town squares or country meadows. Calvinist in his own theological stance, Whitefield found his greatest reception from similarly oriented denominations: Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Dutch Reformed, and (later) Baptists. While the first Great Awakening could certainly have occurred without him, it is difficult to imagine that burst of intercolonial and interdenominational pietism arising so swiftly and to such heights apart from the labors of this thundering, persuasive, and tireless traveler.

Even as Bishop Gibson found in Whitefield's own writings his best evidence for the evangelist's excesses, so critics of revivalism in America rifled through his published journals for the ammunition so amply supplied there. Whitefield, for his part, repeatedly and needlessly alienated those who stopped short of uncritical adulation and applause. And although he eventually moderated his censorious tone (and even more important, stopped publishing his journals), damage was done to the evangelical cause on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. Whitefield also damaged his relationship with the Wesleys by publishing an attack in 1741 upon the Arminianism evident in John Wesley's sermon "Free Grace."

Still, by the thousands the people came to hear and to believe, in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and England as well as throughout the American colonies. For an entire generation Whitefield not only created an evangelical Atlantic community, he embodied it. Any pious project that required broad support found George Whitefield either assisting or directing the effort. He raised funds for Princeton University, helped Dartmouth emerge as a school open to Native Americans, promoted union in England among Calvinist Methodists, pleaded for more support of the Bethesda (Georgia) orphanage, took up collections for victims of natural disasters in Europe or elsewhere, and sustained the hopes of hundreds of thousands that a great and sweeping revival of piety would enliven and awaken all of Christendom.

In 1770 Whitefield made his seventh and final trip to America. After preaching on Saturday, September 29, to an impromptu crowd gathered in the fields of Exeter, New Hampshire, he urged his horse on to Newburyport, Massachusetts. The next morning at six o'clock, he died. He lies buried beneath the pulpit in the town's Presbyterian church.

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EDWIN S. GAUSTAD (1987 AND 2005)

WHITEHEAD, ALFRED NORTH (1861–1947),

English mathematician and philosopher, much of whose influence has been on theology. Whitehead grew up in a vicarage in the south of England and studied at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he subsequently became a fellow and taught mathematics. In 1890 he married Evelyn Wade. The couple had three children, Eric, North, and Jessie. After 1914 Whitehead taught mathematics at the Imperial College of Science and Technology in Kensington. In 1924, at the age of sixty-three, Whitehead moved to Harvard University, where he taught philosophy until 1936. The death of his son Eric in World War I is reported to have deepened Whitehead's religious interests.

Whitehead did not make any major contribution to mathematics as such. His early writings were chiefly on the philosophy of mathematics (*Treatise of Universal Algebra,* 1898) and logic (with Bertrand Russell, *Principia Mathematica,* 1910–1913). Later he involved himself increasingly in the rethinking of the natural world required by developments in physics, publishing *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Natural Knowledge* (1919), *The Concept of Nature* (1920), and *The Principle of Relativity* (1922). His writings also expressed still broader interests, as, for example, in *The Organization of Thought* (1922), which was largely included with other writings in *The Aims of Education* (1929). After moving to Harvard he developed a full-fledged cosmology in such works as *Science and the Modern World* (1925), *Religion in the Making* (1926), *Symbolism, Its Meaning and Effect* (1927), *The Function of Reason* (1929), *Process and Reality* (1929), *Adventures of Ideas* (1933), and *Modes of Thought* (1938).

Whitehead's cosmology may be understood best by contrasting it with the doctrine of mechanism. The world appears to contain both living, self-activating entities, such as birds and dogs, and inanimate, passive objects, such as stones and drops of water. Mechanism took the latter as fundamental and analyzed everything into inanimate and passive units. In classical atomism the ultimate entities are indestructible bits of matter. Contact imparts motion, but otherwise the atoms do not affect one another. Whitehead described his position as a philosophy of organism, arguing that not only living cells but also molecules and subatomic entities are internally interconnected with their environments.

All philosophies must explain both enduring things and events. Most Western philosophies have taken enduring things as basic and have explained events as the interaction of these. Mechanists see events as changing spatial configurations of unchanging material substances. Whitehead proposed that events are fundamental and that the relatively unchanging entities are "societies" of events exhibiting constancy of pattern.

A particular problem for mechanism is conscious experience. Some mechanists hold that this lacks full-fledged reality. Others accept a dualism of mind and matter. Whitehead rejected both positions, holding that an instance of human experience is an organic event and that it provides the model for discerning the basic structure of all individualized events.

Whitehead believed that cosmology and religion are bound closely together, whether or not the cosmology is theistic. Some who respond religiously to Whitehead's vision of the world want to separate it from talk of God, either because they are offended by such talk or because they are committed to other doctrines of God. Whitehead, on the other hand, believed that his cosmology was incomplete without God, although the God of organic events is quite different from that of the world machine. Instead of imposing laws of motion, God is the source of novelty, purpose, and freedom. God radically transcends each creature, but it is the divine presence that directs and enables each to reach toward richness in its own immediacy and in those future events to which it contributes. This cosmic urge to life is called by Whitehead the "primordial nature" of God.

Whitehead holds that God is not an exception to the principle of interrelatedness of actual things. Just as God is effective in the world of temporal events, so temporal events in turn enter into the divine life. What perishes in the world is everlasting in God. This aspect of God Whitehead calls God's "consequent nature." Apart from the consequent nature of God the utter transitoriness of events would undercut the human sense of meaning and importance.

Whitehead described God as lure for adventure and ideal companion in polemical contrast to a supernatural will untouched by the suffering of creatures. His doctrine also differed systematically from the understanding of God as being itself developed especially by Thomas Aquinas. Since the ideas of sovereign will and being itself have shaped much of Christian theology, some have denied that Whitehead's doctrine can be accepted by Christians. Others have been attracted to Whitehead's idea of a conscious, all-loving, all-knowing, everlasting actuality from whom creatures derive all that is good. His image of God as "the fellow sufferer who understands" has gained increasing acceptance.

Whitehead's thought played an important role in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago from the late 1920s. Charles Hartshorne systematically developed Whitehead's dipolar theism. Elsewhere, however, Whitehead's influence was sharply circumscribed by dominant intellectual trends. Analytic philosophy and positivistic science rejected the cosmological enterprise. Neo-Thomist Catholics reemphasized the idea of God as being itself. Neoorthodox Protestants stressed God's sovereign will. However, beginning in the mid-1960s, analytic philosophy and positivistic science lost their hegemony; Vatican II, the writings of Teilhard de Chardin, and the rise of liberation theology generated a dynamic openness among Roman Catholics; and a somewhat chaotic pluralism replaced the neoorthodox consensus among Protestants. In this new context Whitehead's influence has grown among philosophers, scientists, and humanists, as well as among theologians. His Christian followers employed his conceptuality in reformulating many Christian doctrines. They led in discussions of problems of religion and science, especially with regard to ecology. They found allies among feminists and points of contact with Teilhardians and liberation theologians. They have helped shape interreligious dialogue.

Although most of Whitehead's influence has been among North American Protestants, he has a following among Catholics and Jews as well. There is also increasing interest in Europe, Asia, and Latin America. His influence is institutionalized in the Society for the Study of Process Philosophies, the European Society for Process Thought, the Japan Society for Whiteheadian and Process Thought, the Center for a Post-Modern World in Santa Barbara, and the Center for Process Studies in Claremont, California, and its journal, *Process Studies.*

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JOHN B. COBB, JR. (1987)

WICCA.

Wicca originated in 1940s England as an attempt to recreate what was believed to be an ancient religious system indigenous to Britain and Europe, characterized by the veneration of nature, polytheism, and the use of magic and ritual. It was heavily influenced by the occult revival of the late nineteenth century, including secret, magical societies such as the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn (established in 1888), the notorious magician Aleister Crowley (1875–1947), Freemasonry, and Spiritualism. The rediscovery of classical ideas of nature and deity in Romantic literature and archaeology provided additional sources, as did British folklorist and Egyptologist Margaret Murray's (1862–1963) "anthropological" study of witchcraft in Europe, *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* (1921).

These threads were woven into early Wicca by Gerald Brosseau Gardner (1884–1964), a British civil servant who had spent much of his working life in the Far East and had a lifelong passion for folklore and archaeology, visiting many sites of archaeological significance on travels to the Near East. Gardner returned to England when he retired in 1936, living in London and the New Forest before moving to the Isle of Man in 1954. Once back in England, Gardner, already a Freemason, joined the Folklore Society, the Co-Masons, the Druid Order, and the Rosicrucian Fellowship of Crotona. This latter group, he claimed, contained a hidden, inner group of hereditary witches who initiated him in 1939. They also allegedly allowed Gardner to publish their rituals in fictional form in his novel *High Magic's Aid* (1949), which he wrote under the pseudonym Scire. Gardner was not able to publish more open accounts of witchcraft under his real name until the 1736 Witchcraft Act was repealed in 1951 and replaced with the Fraudulent Mediums Act, which gave freedom for individuals to practice witchcraft as long as no harm was done to person or property. Released from a law that subjected any person alleged to have magical powers to prosecution, Gardner wrote *Witchcraft Today* (1954), which contains an introduction by Margaret Murray, followed by *The Meaning of Witchcraft* (1959), taking both himself and witchcraft into the public spotlight.

In *Witchcraft Today* Gardner set out his belief that witchcraft was not only the original indigenous religion of Britain, dating from the Stone Age, but that it had survived the persecutions of the Great Witch Hunt in early modern Europe, continuing in secret but now threatened with extinction. These claims followed closely Murray's thesis that an old religion involving worship of a horned god representing the fertility of nature had survived persecution and existed throughout western Europe. Murray argued that the witch-cult was organized in covens that met according to the phases of the moon and the changing seasons, conducting rituals that involved dancing, feasting, sacrifices, and ritualized sex in honor of the horned god. Later, in *The God of the Witches* (1933), Murray traced the development of this vegetation god and introduced the idea of a fertility goddess into the cult.

Gardner's absolute belief in and perpetuation of Murray's argument led many early Wiccans to believe that they were continuing this ancient tradition of witchcraft, although scholars had refuted the validity of her use of trial records since *The Witch Cult* was first published and dismissed most of her evidence over time. Most, though not all, Wiccans today acknowledge that there is little evidence for a continuous, pre-Christian witchcraft tradition indigenous to western Europe, but Gardner's aim of reviving what he believed to be a dying religion appears to have been fulfilled. His numerous media appearances brought Wicca to public attention throughout the 1950s, during which time he encouraged people to set up covens operating according to the outlines in his books and initiated many people into Wicca. One of these was Doreen Valiente (1922–1999), one of the key figures in modern Wicca. She worked with Gerald Gardner as his high priestess and revised the Book of Shadows, a book of rituals, information, and lore for which he claimed ancient provenance, which she felt to be too influenced by the writings of Aleister Crowley. Valiente eventually left his coven in 1957, after falling out with him over ever-increasing publicity seeking, and periodically withdrew from the public face of Wicca throughout her life. She was nevertheless consistent in her support for what she termed the old pagan religions: in 1964 she was president of the Witchcraft Research Association, she was a founding member of the Pagan Front in 1971, and in November 1998 she spoke at the annual Pagan Federation conference in London. Her life within Wicca, witchcraft, and paganism is documented in many of her books, including *The Rebirth of Witchcraft* (1989), *Witchcraft for Tomorrow* (1978), and *Witchcraft: A Tradition Renewed* (1990, with Evan Jones).

Another key figure is Patricia Crowther (b. 1932), who was initiated by Gerald Gardner in 1960 and established covens in Yorkshire and Lancashire. She was an actress and dancer whose husband, Arnold Crowther, was an old friend of Gerald Gardner. Patricia Crowther is the author of a number of books on witchcraft, including *Lid Off the Cauldron* (1981) and her autobiography, *One Witch's World* (1998), published as *High Priestess: The Life and Times of Patricia Crowther* (2000) in the United States. In the early twenty-first century, she continued to run a coven in Sheffield, and it was an ex-member of her coven, Pat Kopanski, who was instrumental in the initiation into Wicca of Alex Sanders (1926–1988), who developed a second branch of Wicca in the 1960s.

Sanders was a resident of Manchester who claimed a witch ancestress from Snowdonia, in North Wales. His branch of Wicca was based on Gardnerian lines, but Alexandrian Wicca, as it came to be known, was more heavily influenced by ceremonial, ritual magic—Sanders worked for the John Rylands library in Manchester, where he read classical texts on ritual magic, and he had been trained as a medium through visits to a Spiritualist church with his mother during childhood. In 1961 Sanders allegedly wrote to local Wiccans whom he had seen on television, but they took a dislike to him, and it was apparently not until 1963 that he was initiated into Wicca by a priestess in Derbyshire. Sanders went on to act as high priest to a coven in Nottinghamshire, but the group dissolved in 1964, and he then met the seventeen-year-old Arline Maxine Morris (b. 1946). They began running a coven together in 1965, were discovered by a local newspaper, and went on to manipulate the media to such an extent that they became the most famous witches in the world by 1966. Such media attention attracted many people and led to a whole network of covens springing up around them, although longer-established Gardnerian Wiccans denounced Alex as a charlatan. Like Gardner, Sanders sought publicity for Wicca, often of a sensational nature, and by the 1970s he had become known as the King of the Witches.

In 1967 Alex and Maxine Sanders moved to London, and in 1969 Alex Sanders was sensationally publicized in a newspaper article. This article led to many media appearances, a romanticized biography, *King of the Witches,* by June Johns (1969), and a film, *Legend of the Witches* (1969), as a result of which Alexandrian Wicca grew exponentially. In 1973 the relationship between Alex and Maxine broke down, and they divorced in 1982 but remained friends. While Maxine continued to run the coven, Alex retired from the limelight to Sussex, where he continued to teach Wicca until his death from lung cancer on Beltane Eve 1988. He was also a prolific initiator, and many covens in Germany, the Netherlands, and elsewhere in northern Europe sprang from visits to him during this period.

A number of the Sanderses' initiates—particularly Stewart Farrar (1916–2000), Janet Farrar, and Vivianne Crowley—have been responsible for writing extremely influential books on Wicca. Stewart met Alex and Maxine Sanders while working as a journalist in 1969 and was initiated by Maxine in 1970. He and Janet ran their own coven in London, married in 1974, and subsequently moved to Ireland in 1976. Here, they continued to train and initiate people in Wicca and became prolific Wiccan authors whose many books include *What Witches Do: A Modern Coven Revealed* (1971), *Eight Sabbats for Witches* (1981), *The Witches' Way* (1984), *The Witches' Goddess* (1987), *The Witches' God* (1989), *Spells and How They Work* (1990), and, with Gavin Bone, *The Pagan Path* (1995) and *The Healing Craft* (1999). *The Witches' Way* contains the bulk of the contemporary Gardnerian rituals and was published with the active help of Doreen Valiente, who wrote most of them and had herself made a large amount of material available in her 1978 book, *Witchcraft for Tomorrow.* It thus made the core ritual format and texts of Gardnerian Wicca available to all. After Stewart's death, Janet married Gavin Bone, and they continue to initiate, write, and speak at pagan conferences.

Wiccan priestess, psychologist, and university lecturer Vivianne Crowley was initiated into both Alexandrian and Gardnerian Wicca, and in 1979 she founded a Wiccan coven that combined the two traditions. In 1988 she founded the Wicca Study Group along with her husband, Chris, and it is now Europe's largest Wiccan teaching organization. She is a member of the Pagan Federation council, serving as honorary secretary (1988–1994), prison chaplaincy coordinator (1991–1995), and interfaith coordinator (1994–1996). Crowley has a doctorate in psychology and has trained in transpersonal counseling with the Centre for Transpersonal Psychology in London. Her books include the best-selling *Wicca: the Old Religion in the New Millennium* (1989; 1996), *Phoenix from the Flame: Pagan Spirituality in the Western World* (1994), *Principles of Paganism* (1996), *Principles of Wicca* (1997), and *A Woman's Guide to the Earth Traditions* (2001).

Wicca is not, however, confined to northwestern Europe. It has become a global phenomenon and can be found in most countries populated by people of European descent, including the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. It has spread through such people as Ray Buckland, an initiate of Gerald Gardner, who subsequently emigrated to the United States in 1967, taking Gardnerian Wicca with him. Buckland later became disillusioned with the perceived hierarchy in Gardnerian Wicca and went on to form a more egalitarian tradition of Wicca, which he called Seax, or Saxon Wica [sic]. He is the author of several do-it-yourself guides to Wicca, including *The Tree: Complete Book of Saxon Witchcraft* (1974). The explosion in how-to books on Wicca since the 1980s and, more recently, internet sites has become the main means by which Wicca has spread and grown, evolving and at times mutating quite dramatically.

During the late 1970s and 1980s, for example, a further important development in Wicca took place as the feminist consciousness movement influenced the emergence of feminist Wicca and witchcraft in North America. The Hungarian-born American feminist activist Zsuzsanna Budapest was one of the prime movers behind the development of feminist witchcraft, forming the women-only Susan B. Anthony Coven, running a shop called The Feminist Wicca in California, and self-publishing *The Feminist Book of Light and Shadows* (1978). The book was a reworking of available Gardnerian Wicca, which excluded all mention of men and male deities and included her own rituals, spells, and lore. It was later expanded and published as *The Holy Book of Women's Mysteries* in 1986.

Starhawk (Miriam Simos) (b. 1951) is one of the most prominent feminist pagan activists in the United States. Her feminist activism in the 1970s led her to the Goddess movement, and she studied feminist witchcraft with Budapest and Faery Witchcraft with Victor Anderson. After practicing as a solitary, Starhawk formed Compost, her first coven, from participants in an evening class on witchcraft and then a second, Honeysuckle, for women only. She was elected president of the Covenant of the Goddess in 1976–1977, published her first book, *The Spiral Dance,* in 1979, and was one of the founders of the Reclaiming Collective in San Francisco in 1980. *The Spiral Dance* has proved to be an ever-popular volume since it was first published in 1979, selling over 100,000 copies in its first ten years of publication. The book is based on Anderson's Faery tradition but incorporates strictly feminist principles into modern witchcraft, principles that are expanded in her later books *Truth or Dare* (1987) and *Dreaming the Dark* (1988). Starhawk combines nature worship, politics, activism, psychology, and goddess worship in an attempt to heal spiritual and political divisions in society and individuals. Such themes come out even more strongly in her two novels, *The Fifth Sacred Thing* (1993) and *Walking to Mercury* (1997). European Wiccan attitudes towards Starhawk's redirection of witchcraft toward political activism tend to be cautious. Recently, Starhawk has actively reclaimed her Jewish roots as well as being a witch, an exploration that has led to her sometimes referring to herself as a "Jewitch."

The religion described by Gardner and developed since the 1950s positions nature as central, through deities representative of nature and rituals associated with seasonal change, and through the growing concern for the environment since the 1970s. Although some versions of feminist Wicca focus exclusively on the divine female, perceptions of deity in Wicca are directly linked to nature and are generally regarded as empowering for both men and women, since they include both goddesses and gods. For example, *The Great Charge,* rewritten by Doreen Valiente from earlier versions, focuses specifically on the goddess as the embodiment of nature, and is one of Wicca's most well-known liturgical texts. It describes the goddess as "the beauty of the green earth, the white moon among the stars, the mystery of the waters" and as "the soul of nature who gives life to the universe." Her counterpart is Lord of the Greenwood, Sun King, Corn King, Leader of the Wild Hunt, and Lord of Death, a god intimately connected with nature represented through the seasonal cycle of festivals.

Each year most Wiccans celebrate eight festivals, known as sabbats; these make up a ritual cycle known as the Wheel of the Year. Four main rituals are celebrated at the four seasonal festivals described by Murray as the witches' sabbats and based on the agricultural year. These are Candlemas on February 1, May Day on May 1, Lammas on August 1, and Hallowe'en on October 31. During the 1980s these festivals became Celticized as a result of the Farrar's relocation to Ireland and North American interest in Celtic ancestry; they thus tend now to be known as Imbolc, Beltane, Lughnasadh, and Samhain respectively. The four other festivals that make up the Wheel are astronomically fixed: the Winter and Summer Solstices around December 21 and June 21, and the Spring and Autumn Equinoxes around March 21 and September 21. The Winter Solstice is often called Yule and, particularly in North America, the Summer Solstice tends to be called Litha, with the equinoxes known as Ostara (Spring) and Mabon (Autumn).

At each of the festivals, deities are addressed in aspects appropriate to the season. For example, at Hallowe'en or Samhain, gods and goddesses associated with death and the underworld such as Hekate, Hades, Rhiannon, or Anubis might be addressed, as Wiccans celebrate death as part of the cycle of life and seek to prepare themselves for the dark winter months ahead. The Wiccan sabbats are intended to deepen the participants' understanding of the cycle of life, death, and rebirth as revealed in the changes evident in nature, for deities, humans, and the natural world are all seen as interconnected. For this reason many Wiccans living in the Southern Hemisphere have reversed the festivals. For example, Summer Solstice rituals take place on December 21 to celebrate the fullness of life reflected in nature at that time of the year in such countries as in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.

Most Wiccans live in urban areas, and rituals that celebrate nature and venerate nature deities help them to feel more in touch with the natural world. This, along with a rise in active concern for the environment since the 1970s, has been a major reason for the growth in popularity of Wicca and Neopaganism in general throughout the latter half of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. However, Wiccans demonstrate a range of attitudes toward protecting the natural world, from radical environmentalism and direct protest to more abstract views derived from the idealized nature of Romanticism or from Western esotericism. In the latter, nature is a reflection of a greater divine reality, being at once both an intermediary between humanity and divinity and being imbued with divinity itself. Thus, environmental activism does not necessarily follow from a ritual or spiritual engagement with nature, although this is often the case in North American Wicca as practiced and taught by Starhawk, for example. Nature, and Wiccans' understandings of it, are extremely complex; one cannot assume that Wicca and environmentalism go hand in hand.

Such complexity is evident in the diversity of Wiccan traditions that have emerged around the world. Practices borrowed from Native Americans have been adopted and adapted by Wiccans in North America, for example, while many European Wiccans turn to Saxon, Celtic, or Germanic traditions, seeking inspiration from the supposed indigenous traditions of northern Europe. The classical pagan cultures of Greece, Egypt, and Rome are also mined for inspiration. Feminist witchcraft has had a great impact on Wicca in North America, which has then spread to New Zealand and Australia, but has been less influential in Britain, where the Gardnerian and Alexandrian traditions remain strong. Nevertheless, the multitude of North American Wiccan derivations—including Starhawk's Reclaiming, Faery Wicca, Dianic Wicca, and Seax Wica—have crossed back to Europe, and Starhawk's version in particular has grown in popularity because of its stress on political and environmental action.

Wicca has no centralized, institutional structure, and Wiccans have only a few beliefs to which they all adhere. These include the Wiccan Rede or Law—"Do what thou wilt an it harm none"—and the Law of Threefold Return, which states that whatever a person does, for good or ill, will return to them threefold. The lack of any central organizational structure allows for an enormous level of variety, and Wicca at the beginning of the twenty-first century looks likely to retain its complexity and differentiate further as it continues to spread and grow.

SEE ALSO Crowley, Aleister; Freemasons; Neopaganism; Rosicrucians; Spiritualism.

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JOANNE E. PEARSON (2005)

WIDENGREN, GEO. One of the most famous historians of religions of the twentieth century, Geo Widengren (1907–1996) was born on April 24, 1907, in Stockholm, Sweden. From his early youth, he devoted his entire life to conducting research and teaching in the universities of Sweden. He studied Iranian and Semitic languages and religions under the supervision of Henrik Samuel Nyberg (1889–1974), the patron of the Uppsala Oriental school for many decades. Immediately after graduating in 1936, Widengren published his Ph.D. thesis under the title *The Accadian and Hebrew Psalms of Lamentation as Religious Documents.* His most important book from his early career, however, is *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran*, one of the most influential monographs of the Swedish school of Iranian studies. Widengren was appointed professor of the history of religions at the University of Uppsala in 1940, a post he held until 1973. During his tenure at the University, Widengren supervised many dissertations, including *Feuerpriester im Kleinasien und Iran* (1943, published 1946), written by his younger colleague, Stig Wikander (1908–1983).

In his early writings, Widengren was influenced not only by the works of scholars such as Nyberg and Tor Andrae, but also by Richard Reitzenstein and Raffaele Pettazzoni. Consequently, his books include themes, motifs, and methodological assumptions that often appear in the influential paradigms of the history of religions in the interwar period. His strongest influence came from Nyberg; like him, his mentor specialized in several philological fields and wrote critical appraisals of textual sources pertaining to both the Semitic and Iranian religions. Widengren's work, however, was usually much more accurate, insightful, and innovative than that of most of his predecessors. After publishing his first monographs, Widengren became inspired to synthesize the philological, historical, archaeological, and ethnological studies pertinent to the Near and Middle East using the phenomenological method—involving description, arrangement, interpretation and typology of historical data—that he applied in his imposing treatise *Religionens värld* (World of religion; Swedish edition 1945, German revised translation 1969). If, for instance, the formula *Hochgottglaube* (Faith in a high God) as a recurrent pattern in Near Eastern religions depends at least partially on the impact of the Germanic ethnologic school (as postulated by Wilhelm Schmidt and his followers of the Vienna school), Widengren illustrates the hypothesis by a more comprehensive and insightful usage of the sources.

As Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin wrote in his 1996 obituary, Widengren had a comprehensive knowledge of all the religions and literatures of the ancient Near and Middle East. His academic expertise encompassed the whole territory conquered by Alexander the Great, from Greece on the west to the eastern border of Iran and Central Asia, for over a thousand years. Widengren's oeuvre must therefore be viewed as sustaining the Swedish school of history of religions, located mainly in Uppsala (see Widengren, 1953; and Carl-Martin Edsman, 2001), although he could sometimes be polemic, as were his fellow renowned representatives of the Uppsala school, Stig Wikander and Carl-Martin Edsman.

Widengren's series of monographs titled *King and Saviour* (Parts I-V, 1945–55) represents probably the best example of his fine mastery of sources and method. Writing about a major theme in such an extensive cultural geography as that of the "Heavenly Book," for instance, he reviewed religious concepts and symbols from Accadian, Arabic, Aramaic (Mandaic, Samaritan, Syriac), Armenian, Greek, Hebrew, Iranian, Sumerian, and Ugaritic vocabularies, but never lost sight of the local oral traditions that are so influential to the formation of a religious corpus.

Widengren also wrote extensively on Gnosticism (authoring various books and many inspiring articles despite his avowed distance from the new approaches adopted by scholars after the publication of the Coptic editorial tractates), Manicheism (including a short but valuable encompassing survey), and Mandeism. His main contribution to the latter field, published in 1982, discussed all the favorite motifs of the German and Nordic *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* related to astronomical symbolism, apocalypticism, the destiny of the soul after death, the influence of Mesopotamian and Iranian motifs in Mediterranean religions of antiquity and Middle Ages, and special topics such as the origin and diffusion of *The Hymn of the Pearl* or the vividly disputed shamanic patterns in Zoroastrianism. Widengren's long-lasting familiarity with several ancient and early medieval Iranian civilizations allowed him to study the cultural ties between the Islamic and Iranian beliefs as represented in motifs such as the "tree of life" or the "heavenly ascension" of Muḥammad, (Widengren, 1950 and 1951). For a time, he explored the relevance of Jungian psychology to the study of religions (Widengren, 1967), but he never participated in the Ascona Eranos meetings, nor contributed to the *Eranos Jahrbücher.* Instead of assuming a nonhistorical description of religion after studying ancient documents, Widengren expressed his immense erudition by outlining an evolution of ideas and by linking his conclusions to historical events. His book *Iranisch-semitische Kulturbegegnung in parthischer Zeit* (1960) remains a seminal study, and his many articles on sacral kingship were planned to comprise a great autonomous book, never published.

Religious scholars in the 1960s critiqued these themes, but Widengren continued to defend the importance of Iranian influence throughout his career (see Widengren et al., 1995). In Europe, as in North America, his view supported a pan-Iranist model of historical diffusion. In the twenty-first century, however, religious scholars have largely refuted his vision of ancient Iran as the source of many ancient and modern religious motifs.

Monographs like Widengren's *Mani and Manicheism* proved his ability to elegantly master in a rather small space the complex problem of the Manichean relationship to Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and Christianity, including developing a political and historical synopsis of Iran under Shapur.

Together with his Italian and Dutch colleagues Raffaele Pettazzoni, Gerardus van der Leeuw, and C. J. Bleeker, Widengren founded the International Association of the History of Religions (IAHR), and he participated in the first IAHR congress, held in 1950 in Amsterdam. He also helped establish the international journal of the IAHR, *Numen.* First published in 1954, the journal quickly developed into one of the major periodicals in the field of religious studies. In this journal, Widengren published a long article (which scholars continue to consult) pertaining to the state and future tasks of Iranian religious history (*Stand und Aufgaben der iranischen Religionsgeschichte*, 1954 and 1955).

Contributing to the initiative of Erik Gren and of other colleagues in close connection with the Nordic School of Oriental and Religious Studies, including Alfred Haldar, Ivan Engnell, Nils Simonsson, and Stig Wikander, Widengren assumed the role of co-editor of *Orientalia Suecana,* which soon became a major scholarly organ and promoter of research. His erudite skills and intellectual stamina were represented in the journal by his rare and illuminating studies such as his micro-monograph on clowns, harlequins and dervishes and their habits in the ancient and medieval near and middle east.

Widengren served as the president of the IAHR from 1960 to 1970. He presided over the Twelfth Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions in Stockholm in August 1970, at which time he resigned his post. Widengren also worked as one of the editors of those proceedings, thus helping to ensure international recognition of the Swedish school of religious studies.

During the last twenty years of his life, Widengren refined some previously developed themes, including the role of Zoroastrianism under the Sassanids and Syriac religious literature. His successor in the chair of Uppsala, the Egyptologist Jan Bergman, edited a double-volume Festschrift, *Ex Orbi Religionum. Studia Geo Widengen oblata,* and dedicated it to Widengren in 1972 to commemorate his sixty-fifth birthday. Having received worldwide acclaim from his fellow historians, Widengren died on January 28, 1996. Unfortunately, however, no comprehensive record of his publications exists.

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EUGEN CIURTIN (2005)

WIKANDER, STIG. Oscar Stig Wikander (1908–1983) was born in Nörrtalje, a small town close to Stockholm, Sweden, on August 27, 1908. He entered the University of Uppsala in 1925, majoring in classical and oriental languages. Wikander's mentor in Asian studies was the great Iranologist and Semitist Henrik Samuel Nyberg, whose principal ideas, expressed in the synthesis *Irans forntida religionen* (1937), exemplify the Uppsalian school's specific contribution to religious studies. In 1931, Wikander became a member of the prestigious Société Asiatique in Paris. He also studied at the University of Copenhagen under the guidance of Arthur Christensen, where he delivered on February 24, 1936, a paper entitled "*Karnamak-i-Artaxer* och den iranska historietradition" (*Karnamak-i-Artaxer* and the Iranian historical tradition). In 1938 Wikander defended his Ph.D. thesis on the Aryan *Männerbund,* under the supervision of Nyberg, but was awarded only a medium qualification: *med beröm godkänd* (*cum laudatur approbatur*).

In Lund in 1943 Wikander submitted another paper, *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien and Iran* (The Fire Priests in Asia Minor and Iran), under the guidance of his colleague, Geo Widengren, which he hoped would establish his academic career. This paper was published with the same title in 1946. While writing *Der arische Männerbund* (The Aryan warrior bands) and before the beginning of World War II, Wikander built strong ties with the German academic community, in particular with Otto Höfler and Walther Wüst from Munich. Wikander's private correspondence as well as his articles published in Swedish journals before the war provide concrete testimony on his ambiguous position on the Nazi political, as well as academic, situation. In February 1944 he left for the Eastern Front (Greece and Turkey), enrolling in the Swedish Red Cross organization. After teaching Iranian languages at the University of Lund from 1941 to 1953, he was appointed professor of Sanskrit and Indo-European languages at the University of Uppsala. Wikander held this position until late 1974. He died on December 20, 1983, in Uppsala, after suffering during the last years of his life from the painful loss of his mental clarity.

During his life Wikander published numerous articles, but only three books: *Der arische Männerbund* (1938); *Vāyu: Texte und Untersuchungen* (1941), and *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran* (1946). They made him known as an eminent Iranist, although he was a controversial representative of the Uppsalian school. Even though he published no further books after World War II, these three works represent a common methodology: a historical and even social reconstruction on the basis of predominantly philological data. In these works, Wikander embraced Nyberg's distinction between *Mithragemeinde* and *Gathasgemeinde,* the general theory of a pre-Zoroastrian religion, and he used it as a basis for a philological analysis aimed at reconstructing the social institution and religious cults of the pre-Zoroastrian (Indo-Iranian or Arian) warrior communities, whose principles were very different from the moral Zoroastrian rules. Wikander aimed to prove that such warrior organizations had an important social, political, and religious role within Arian society. He argued that analysis of these structures should be the main focus of research into Indo-Iranian religions. At the same time Wikander supported Widengren's theory about the high gods of ancient Iran presented in *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran* (1938).

Wikander's 1938 thesis had been preceded by various ethnological and anthropological investigations undertaken during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (i.e., the work of such scholars as Leo Bittremieux, Leo Frobenius, Heinrich Schurtz, and Hutton Webster), most of them concerned with African secret societies. Though benefiting from many of these works Wikander was inspired mainly by Otto Höfler's *Kultische Geheimbünde der Germanen* (1934). Both Wikander and Widengren took into consideration the relevance of primitive African materials; while Widengren found identical structures between African and ancient Iranian ideas concerning the high gods, Wikander considered the political role of Arian warrior bands to be deeper than that of primitive African secret communities, emphasizing in this way the superiority of Arian structures.

Apart from his book on Vāyu, whom he treated as a high god of the war, Wikander continued to examine the paradigm of warrior bands and masculine society, but with a different theoretical approach. The conclusion of his controversial "Études sur les mystères de Mithras" (1950), meant to criticize Franz Cumont's theory of the Iranian origin of the Western Mithraic cults, suggests that this Western phenomenon could have had its origin among warrior bands from the Balkans that worshipped the god Sabazios. The existence of an Iranian influence could be certified in the Balkans by the common symbol of the Thracian or Danubian cavalier. Wikander's article on Indo-Iranian twin-gods, published as a tribute to Georges Dumézil, points out how the main attributes of Nakula and Sahadeva received, from *Ṛgveda* to *Mahābhārata,* new warlike connotations. Finally, at the Congress of Mithraic Studies (Teheran, 1975), Wikander presented the Avestan text *Mihr Yasht* as indicating a purely masculine society, comparable to the Roman society of mysteries and following the general pattern of the archaic *Männerbund,* but from a phenomenological, not historical or sociological, point of view.

Wikander conceived his other two books, *Vāyu* and *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran,* as complementary and circumscribed to the same purpose: to broaden the reconstruction of the morphology of the socio-religious observances of ancient Indo-Iranians, centered on the cults devoted to the high gods Mithra and Vāyu-Anahita. Though this general theory is considered outdated, Wikander's work on fire-priests can still be used as an introduction to the cults related to Anahita, being valuable for the multiplicity of sources (Greek, Latin, Byzantine, and Arabic) upon which Wikander built his arguments.

Almost all of these theories have been criticized or rejected, including the relevance of the high gods for the ancient Iranian area, the discontinuity between Indo-Iranian preexistent religious forms and Zoroastrian reform, the consistency of a particular cult specific to masculine societies devoted to the Vāyu-Anahita gods, and so on. In addition, Wikander's philological interpretation of key terms, such as the Vedic *maryá,* the Old Iranian *mairya-,* and the Middle Iranian *mērak* (or *mērag*), which he thought proved the existence of warrior bands, seems doubtful. After World War II, Wikander abandoned the philological perspective of socio-religious reconstruction. On this point, he faced the same theoretical difficulties as Dumézil (at least before his *Naissance d'archanges,* 1945) in presuming to be able to reconstruct, on the basis of mere textual evidence, the three functions as social estates, real institutions of the ancient Indo-Europeans—that is, the *sacerdotium,* the caste of warriors, and the caste of growers and breeders (*brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya,* and *vaiśya*). However, by revising his methodology toward a more structural approach, Wikander could begin a fruitful dialogue with Dumézil.

In an article first published in the Swedish journal *Religion och Bibel* under the title "Pāṇḍava-sagan och Mahābhāratas mytiska förutsättningar" ("The legend of the Pāṇḍava and the mythical substructure of Mahābhārata," 1947) and later only partially translated by Dumézil in his *Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus* (1941), Wikander proposed the principle of homogeneity and coherence from old Vedic theology to the epic construction of *Mahābhārata.* By assuming Dumézil's theory of trifunctional partition, Wikander attempted to demonstrate that the five principal actors in *Mahābhārata* (Pāṇḍavas Yudhiṣṭira, Arjuna and Bhīma, and Nakula and Sahadeva) are the exact epic transposition of the trifunctional Vedic gods, namely Mitra and Varuṇa, Indra, and the twin-gods Nasatyas. A second important article, published in *Nouvelle Clio,* "Sur le fonds commun indo-iranien des épopées de la Perse et de l'Inde" (1949), shows the extent to which Wikander preserved the relevance of the hypothesis of the common Indo-Iranian mythology, but from a new, Indo-European, comparative perspective. In this field, Wikander made a major contribution with his article "Germanische und indo-iranische Eschatologie" (1960), in which he emphasized the structural, mythological correlation between the Indo-Iranian and German-Scandinavian epic from an eschatological point of view. He expanded this view of Indo-Iranian eschatology in one of his six 1967 Haskell Lectures, "Indo-European Eschatology."

Few aspects of Wikander's work were sympathetic to the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule,* as was certainly the case with his compatriot, Widengren. One could invoke Wikander's criticism of Cumont's theory about the Iranian origin of the Western Mithraic cult or his general suspicion of the fervent pan-Iranian theories of Michael Rostovtzeff or Lars-Ivan Ringbom. More eloquent is a short passage from "The Indo-European Eschatology": "I am not qualified to take up those problems about Iranian influence on the religions of the Bible and the religions of the Greco-Roman syncretism. But, I cannot refrain from regretting that the discussion follows an all too old and antiquated pattern."

During the last period of his life Wikander turned his attention mainly to the phenomenon of Gnosticism. He published four articles on Gnostic symbols in the work of Erik Johan Stagnelius, the famous Romantic poet of Sweden. Wikander's "Ingmar Bergman's Mythic Ironies" on the Gnostic symbolism in some of Bergman's films, belongs to the same area of interest. It was based on a conference entitled "Bergman, a Gnostic?" held in Chicago in 1967. Wikander was also interested in Mircea Eliade's scholarly works on religious symbolism (in particular for their examination of the transition from archaic to modern societies). In addition, Wikander worked on projects concerning the epic literature of the Kurds, which he analyzed while traveling in Syria and Lebanon. He transcribed and translated several epic texts in an attempt to reveal the correspondence between the religious observances of contemporary Kurdish communities and Old Iranian ones. Many of Wikander's studies on Kurdish folklore remain unpublished.

There are many unpublished manuscripts in Wikander's archive at Uppsala University Library. The most relevant for the history of religions are the Haskell Lectures ("The Ideology of the National Epic," "Heroic Age or Mythic Age?" "Problems of Indian Epics," "Problems of Iranian Epics," "From Myth to History," and "The Indo-European Eschatology"), held in Chicago at the invitation of Eliade. These lectures show the influence of Eliade's work (in particular his *Le mythe de l'éternel retour* [1949] and parts of *Aspects du mythe* [1963]) on Wikander's thought (especially regarding the relation between myth and history). Another important manuscript entitled "Den ariska romantiken" (The Arian Romanticism) is a sort of history of nineteenth-century European oriental studies, with special attention given to Swedish authors. Wikander mainly analyzed the European adoption of the term *Arian* and the ideological development of its meaning according to English, French, German, and Italian Romantic and post-Romantic writers.

In 1947, Wikander and the Swedish linguist Bertil Malmberg founded the journal *Studia Linguistica* in Lund. Wikander also planned to publish with Kasten Rönnow a series called *Quæstiones indo-iranicæ,* but only one work was eventually published—Wikander's book on Vāyu. For several years he served on the advisory board for the Uppsalian journal for Asian studies, *Orientalia Suecana.* In 1974 the president of the Society for Mithraic Studies, Harold W. Bailey, invited him to join the advisory board of the *Journal for Mithraic Studies.* He also served with Franz Altheim, Dumézil, and Eliade on the scientific committee of *Mankind Quarterly* during the first years of its publication.

Wikander took part in a number of congresses, including the International Congress for Oriental Studies (Paris, 1948; Munich, 1957), the IAHR congresses (Amsterdam, 1950; Marburg, 1960), the first International Congress for Sanskrit Studies (New Delhi, 1972), and the second International Congress of Mithraic Studies (Teheran, 1975). He also served as visiting professor at Columbia University in New York (1959–1960), at Colegio de México (spring-summer, 1967), and at the University of Chicago (fall-winter 1967).

In conclusion, Wikander's academic works reveal a surprisingly complex personality, whose place in the framework of the history of religions should be fully reconsidered. Until then, the correspondence between Wikander and Eliade proves it to be extensive.

SEE ALSO Indo-European Religions; Mithraism.

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MIHAELA TIMUS (2005)

WILĀYAH SEE WALĀYAH

WILLIAM OF OCKHAM (1280?–1349?), English philosopher and theologian. William of Ockham was born between 1280 and 1285 at Ockham in Surrey, England. He entered the Franciscan order and studied at the Franciscan house in Oxford but without taking his doctorate; hence his title of "Venerable Inceptor," which indicated that he had not received a degree.

Ockham's career is divided into two phases. During the first phase he wrote his major theological, philosophical, and logical works; the most important were his *Commentary on the Sentences* and his *Sum of Logic.* The second phase began when in 1328 he fled from the papal court at Avignon with the general of the Franciscan order, Michael of Cesena, to the German emperor Ludwig of Bavaria, at Munich. Ludwig had become the adversary of John XXII, and Ockham joined the other Franciscan dissidents there who had quarreled with the pope over his denial of the Franciscan claim to be following Christ's life of absolute poverty. Ockham, who had originally been summoned to Avignon to answer accusations of error in some of his theological and philosophical doctrines, spent the remainder of his life polemicizing against papal claims to absolute jurisdiction in temporal and spiritual matters. He died at Munich, probably in 1349.

Ockham was the most influential thinker of the later Middle Ages. Philosophically, he was the first to found his outlook upon the discrepancy between the individual nature of all created being and the universal nature of the concepts and terms constituting our proper knowledge. Since, he said, only individuals were real, all universal and general notions only had real, as opposed to conceptual or grammatical, meaning if they referred to real individual things. In contrast to the overwhelming weight of medieval tradition, Ockham held that there were no such things as universal natures or essences. Instead, therefore, of seeking to explain the individual as the particularization of the universal, as in the statement that the individual man Socrates is the expression of the essence humanity, or that a white object is the manifestation of the quality whiteness, Ockham inverted the order and sought to explain how the mind arrives at the universal concept of humanity or whiteness from exclusive experience of individual men or white objects. He did so psychologically,

logically, and grammatically by seeking to show how the mind forms concepts and what their relation is to the terms and propositions in which knowledge of them is expressed. He thereby gave a new direction to philosophical inquiry, which effectively denied an independent place to metaphysics.

Theologically, the effect was to undermine the bases for a natural theology, since whatever lay outside intuitive experience of individual things lacked evidential status. Not only did that exclude proofs, as opposed to persuasions, for God's existence, but it confined theological discourse to the elucidation of the meaning of the articles of faith rather than providing rational support for their truth. Their truth was a matter of belief. And central to belief was the Christian's recognition of God's omnipotence. By Ockham's time, the affirmation of God's omnipotence had assumed a new importance, partly at least in response to the determinism of Greek and Arabic philosophy. It had come to be expressed in the distinction between God's ordained power *(potentia ordinata),* the power by which he governed the workings of the universe he had created, and his absolute power (*potentia absoluta*), which denoted his omnipotence taken solely in itself without relation to any order, and so is limited by nothing other than logical self-contradiction, which would have impaired it.

It was Ockham who more than anyone gave this distinction the currency which it acquired in the middle of the fourteenth century. He applied it to restate the accepted Christian truth that God could do directly (or indeed differently or not at all) what, ordinarily, by his ordained power, he did by secondary causes. Ockham was thereby reaffirming God's role as the direct ruler as well as creator of the universe. What was novel was the range and frequency of Ockham's application of God's omnipotence to virtually every aspect of creation: nature, knowledge, and matters of belief. Thus God himself could directly cause or conserve an effect that normally had a natural cause: the Eucharist, for example, where the appearance of the elements of the bread and wine could remain after consecration without any longer existing as physical substances. Similarly, absolutely, God could cause direct intuitive knowledge of an object that was not immediately present to the knower. He could do so, not by creating an illusion that what appeared to exist did not really exist, but by himself directly conserving knowledge of an object that was real but not present, such as someone seen in Oxford who was at Rome. Theologically, the implications were perhaps most far-reaching of all—and here Ockham was following Duns Scotus—by substituting God's immediate agency for the agency of the church, above all in directly accepting individuals for eternal life without the requisites of sacramental grace. God was thereby rewarding an individual action or will and not the preceding grace that ordinarily an individual had first to receive as the condition of the reward. Although neither Duns Scotus nor Ockham went beyond stating such a conclusion as the consequence of God's freedom from created forms, many of their successors gave the notion much wider application, which virtually denuded sacramental grace of its intrinsic efficacy. The effect was to reinforce the tendency in the religious outlook of the later Middle Ages to make God's will the sole arbiter in individual justification and predestination. It had as its accompaniment a corresponding stress upon individual religious experience based upon faith as the foundation of all theological discourse and alone bringing certainty in a contingent universe.

The extent of Ockham's influence during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries can be seen in the dominance of the so-called nominalist school that developed first at Paris University and then spread to the new universities founded throughout the German-speaking lands. Its hallmarks were precisely an emphasis upon God's absolute power and therefore on the immediacy of God's will in deciding whom to justify and accept for eternal life. With Ockham's attack upon the concept of the pope's plenitude of power, and his insistence upon the sole authority of faith residing in every believer to decide questions of doctrine, he did perhaps more than any other single thinker to transform the philosophical and theological outlook of the later Middle Ages.

SEE ALSO Nominalism.

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GORDON LEFF (1987 AND 2005)

WILLIAMS, ROGER (1603–1683), English and American Puritan minister and prophet of religious liberty, founder of Rhode Island. Born in London, Roger Williams was the son of Alice and James Williams, a merchant tailor. Of his early education little is known, but his ability at shorthand probably attracted the attention of Sir Edward Coke, then lord chief justice, who enabled him to attend Charterhouse School, from whence he won a scholarship to Cambridge (B.A., 1627). After several years' further study in divinity at that Puritan stronghold, Williams became chaplain in the household of Sir William Masham, and he married Mary Barnard, who was to bear him six children. As a convinced Puritan at the time when Bishop William Laud was vigorously opposing the movement, he found it advisable to join the great migration to New England in December 1630.

Called to serve the church at Boston, Williams refused to accept the post because the Massachusetts Bay Puritans had not fully broken with the Church of England or rejected legal religious establishment, and Williams was by then a thorough Separatist. Instead, he ministered for several years at Plymouth Colony, where the Separatist element was stronger, and undertook missionary work among the Algonquin Indians, learning their language. Williams returned to Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1633, however, accepting a call to the church at Salem. But he angered colonial leaders by insisting that the churches profess separation, by claiming that the royal charter did not provide a valid title to the land, by denying that the unregenerate could take an oath of loyalty (which for him was an act of worship), and by arguing that magistrates could not punish breaches of the first commandments (which deal with religious obligations), but only of those that deal with moral or civil matters. Brought to trial in October 1635, he was banished. Williams fled southward, purchased land from the Indians, and founded Providence, Rhode Island, in 1636. In a departure new in Christian civilization, no church was established in the new colony—religious liberty was for all, even those with whom Williams was in sharp theological disagreement.

Williams earned his living by farming and (until 1651) trading with Indians at a lonely outpost on Narragansett Bay. His knowledge of Indian ways and his friendship with them permitted him to mediate among them, as well as between them and the English, on many occasions. His skill prevented what could have been a powerful Indian alliance against the colonies in 1637. His political abilities were also exercised in helping to keep order among the growing towns of Rhode Island. To secure a charter so that Rhode Island would not be swallowed up by Massachusetts Bay Colony, he journeyed to England in 1643–1644. He became known to the rising Puritan leadership through such writings as *A Key into the Language of America* (1643) and *The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution, for Cause of Conscience* (1644), a hastily written but forceful scriptural argument for religious freedom. Successful in obtaining the charter, Williams returned home, but political changes soon jeopardized that achievement. he sold his trading post to finance a return to England (1651–1654), where he associated with such powerful figures as John Milton and Oliver Cromwell. Again he published extensively, notably *The Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody, Experiments of Spiritual Life and Health,* and *The Hireling Ministry None of Christs,* all in 1652. Called home by political turmoil and family need, he left John Clarke of Newport to complete the diplomatic mission; Clarke remained until 1663, finally securing a permanent charter for Rhode Island from the Restoration government. Meanwhile Williams served three years as president of the colony he had founded.

Williams's deepest concern throughout his life was with matters of religion, the central theme of his extensive writings. He remained faithful to common Puritan presuppositions but doggedly pursued their implications to radical conclusions few could accept. A Calvinist in theology, he emphasized the authority of the Bible as the means by which the spirit of God speaks, interpreting many of its passages in typological and millenarian ways. His greatest divergence with other Puritans was over the doctrine of the church. He sharply differentiated the pure church from the secular world, but he had difficulty identifying it amid the warring sects of his time. Briefly in 1639 he believed that the Baptists came the closest to his ideal of the church. Williams was baptized by affusion (pouring), baptized others, and participated in the founding of the first Baptist church in America at Providence. He soon left the congregation, however, and became known as a "seeker," but was not a member of any Seeker group, although he was acquainted with the Calvinist Seekers in England in the early 1650s.

Williams became convinced that the apostasy of the churches since Constantine had engulfed Christendom and that until God raised up new apostles the true church could not be discerned. Meanwhile, God called "prophets in sackcloth" to preach and witness to the truth, but not to gather churches. As a "prophet in sackcloth" Williams ministered among both English and Indians, but he remained highly critical of Christendom in all its forms, as well as of clergy who earned their livings by ministering. he believed that the truly faithful must be prepared for misunderstanding and persecution, having as their sole defense the sword of the spirit—the word of God. Magistrates have no competence in matters of religion, he insisted, for their rule extends only to civil matters.

Although Williams believed ardently in religious freedom, he was not a tolerant man; he could attack vigorously with tongue and pen (though never by force) those with whom he disagreed in matters of theology and biblical interpretation. He was deeply opposed to George Fox and the Quakers; as a Calvinist he objected to their separation of Word and Spirit, as well as to what was for him their inadequate Christology. He hoped to debate Fox when the latter was in Rhode Island in 1672, but had to settle for sharp exchanges with other Quaker leaders, about which he wrote in his most polemical work, *George Fox Digg'd out of His Burrowes* (Boston, 1676).

Williams's role as a pioneer of religious liberty and the separation of church and state has been rightly celebrated as his major contribution; the twentieth-century renaissance in Puritan studies has made clear how deeply his work was rooted in his religious commitments.

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ROBERT T. HANDY (1987)

WILLIBRORD

WILLIBRORD (658–739), pioneer of the English missionaries who crossed the seas to proclaim the gospel to the non-Christian peoples of the continent of Europe. Born in Northumbria, Willibrord as a boy came under the influence of the great Wilfrid, archbishop of York. From 678 to 690 he was in Ireland, and while there he became filled with the desire, which never left him, to preach the gospel to non-Christians.

In 690 Willibrord went to Friesland in the Netherlands, which became his home for forty-nine years. This part of Europe was in a state of great disorder from which it was emerging through the rise of Carolingian power, destined to reach its climax in the empire of Charlemagne. Pepin I gave Willibrord the land near Utrecht on which later Willibrord was to build his cathedral. In 695 he was consecrated archbishop by the pope, who intended to establish Utrecht as a regular province of the church with archbishop and diocesan bishops. This goal was never attained, and after the death of Willibrord, Utrecht gradually lost its importance.

None of the correspondence of Willibrord has survived, and we have hardly anything from his hand. This makes it difficult to get a clear idea of his personality and his work. He seems to have been characterized not so much by brilliance as by steadfast continuance in the work that he had set himself to do. It is clear that his aims were greater than his achievements. He penetrated Denmark and brought back thirty boys who presumably were to be trained as missionaries to their own people, but nothing came of this. It is not clear whether he ever consecrated other bishops. He did, however, in 698 found the Monastery of Echternach in Luxembourg, which later became a great center of missionary work.

Willibrord opened a door to the evangelists of the rising English church, worked out a model of what a missionary should be, and set an example followed by many successors. The churches in the Netherlands are right in regarding him as the apostle of Frisia and the founder of the church in their land.

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STEPHEN C. NEILL (1987)

WINE See BEVERAGES; EUCHARIST

WINTER SOLSTICE SONGS

WINTER SOLSTICE SONGS. In Europe the celebration of the winter solstice, the longest night of the year, is a heritage that goes back to prehistoric times. The classical Greek and Latin authors, as well as the fathers of the church, attest to the fact that the festivities centered around the winter solstice in antiquity perpetuated traditions still more ancient that were deeply rooted in folk practice. Despite regional differences in the evolution of these feasts and in their cultural significance, they all included elements of sun worship, revels, masquerades, and divination since the winter solstice was considered to be a time of great importance. The fertility of the fields, the reproduction of the cattle, the health of the people, and the conclusion of marriages in the coming year were all deemed to depend on the observance of the solstice rituals.

The celebration of the winter solstice also included the singing of special songs. Unfortunately, very little is known about the songs performed during the cycle of the Roman imperial feasts, the Saturnalia, the Dies Natalis Solis Invicti (the birthday of the Iranian god Mithra), and the Calendae Ianuari, which occasioned the exchange of congratulations and the start of the new administrative year. All that has come down to the present day are the texts of certain congratulation formulas. From Augustine one learns that in the fifth century CE, on the day of such feasts, songs that from the Christian point of view were "most vain and filthy" were still performed. In comparison with the celebration of the winter solstice in northern Europe, however, the Roman feasts, through their insertion into the official calendar and through their fusion with elements imported from different provinces of the empire, may be considered a relatively late cultural synthesis.

The winter solstice feasts celebrated in northern Europe display different features and have a much more archaic character. Nearly all records of the winter solstice feasts in this area relate only to the Germanic peoples. Nevertheless, this article shall try to demonstrate, most of these customs and beliefs can also be found in the folk traditions of eastern Europe.

According to Latin historians and church chronicles, as well as evidence derived from the laws and capitularies prohibiting pagan practices and early Anglo-Saxon and northern

European literature such as the Icelandic sagas, the Germanic midwinter Yule feast celebrated the reappearance of the sun and had a marked funeral character. It was commonly believed that the spirits of the dead were most haunting during the period of the winter solstice. They would return to their former dwelling places in order to participate in the feasting, and unless they were treated with due honor, they would do harm to the living. On the other hand, the welcoming of the spirits, who were impersonated with masks, was believed to insure peace, health, prosperity, and fertility in the coming year.

Despite the relative richness of data about the mythology and customs of the Germanic peoples, precise information about the specific myths, tales, or songs that were performed during the Yule feast is lacking. Sources that mention the performance of Icelandic sagas on Yuletide are not really an exception. The Icelandic sagas, however, cannot be considered specialized songs of the winter solstice since they were also performed on other occasions, such as weddings and night gatherings. It must also be borne in mind that the Icelandic sagas, although partly based on older oral literature, were composed during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and thus cannot properly be included among the pagan folk traditions of the winter solstice.

Through missionary propaganda and the skillful strategy of the church, these traditions were partly obliterated and partly assimilated into the patterns of Christian ideology. The winter holy days of the church were originally based on the calendar of the later Roman empire. While ostensibly expelling pagan winter customs, the winter holy days actually adopted some of them under Christian cover, first those of the Mediterranean area, then some of the ancient winter solstice traditions of the Germanic peoples. Thus in the sounds of modern hibernal holy days one can still hear the echoes of the pagan celebrations of the winter solstice.

But the link that still connects the ancient winter solstice celebration to the present day must be sought in the traditions of the peasantry. If in the urban world the church succeeded in gradually assimilating pagan customs, wiping out their memory and finally supplanting them, its success among the peasants came later and was less definitive. Judging by the repeated admonitions that medieval priests addressed to the country folk, it seems clear that the peasants continued to cling to the pagan customs of the winter solstice, especially in northern Europe, where conversion to Christianity came late. Some of these customs still linger in the folk traditions of the Germanic peoples: To this day, the peasants of those countries attribute magical powers to the ashes of the old "Yule log" burned on Christmas and to the bread especially baked for this holy day.

It is not by chance that only in eastern Europe is found a living folk tradition that in part continues the ancient pagan winter solstice traditions. In this outlying region of the continent, at the turn of the twentieth century, and in some areas even until the onset of World War I, the numerically superior peasant class continued to live in relative isolation, under conditions that were in many ways archaic. Owing partly to this gap in socio-historical evolution, elements of the sun worship referred to among the Germanic peoples in the sixth and seventh centuries can still be found in eastern European folklore. The survival here of winter solstice traditions is also to be explained by the fact that in this area the fight against pagan customs was far less methodical than in the west. Lacking adequate theological training, the village priests of eastern Europe were not intransigent adversaries of paganism; they themselves sometimes contributed unintentionally to the survival of pagan customs or to their symbiosis with Christianity.

The eastern European solstice songs, performed by organized groups of adults during the winter holy days, resemble Christmas carols in the time of their performance and in some minor parallels in subject matter. Unlike Christmas carols, however, which circulated mainly in manuscript and in printed editions, the eastern European songs belonged to oral tradition. At their core, they preserved pagan rituals and myths that are integrated into a rich complex of folk customs of eastern Europe.

Circulating in impoverished form among the Poles, Bylorussians, Moravians, and Serbians, and still in use in certain districts of Greece, the repertoire of winter solstice songs of eastern Europe is rich and well preserved among the Ukrainians, Bulgarians, and especially among the Romanians. The composer and ethnomusicologist Béla Bartók, who collected Romanian folklore from before World War I, noted that "among all the eastern European peoples, the Romanians have preserved best till this day these partly ancient songs of the winter solstice" (Bartok, 1968, p. xxviii).

It can be demonstrated on linguistic grounds that the terms designating the winter repertoire in eastern Europe (i.e., the Ukrainian *koliada* or *koliadka,* the Belorussian *kaliada,* the Bulgarian *koleda,* and the Romanian *colinda* or *corinda*) are all derived from the Latin *calendae.* When one adds to this the fact that early Christian documents, as well as archaeological evidence, prove that the Roman winter feasts enjoyed great popularity in the Eastern Roman Empire, one can conclude that the folk terminology designating the eastern European repertoire of winter solstice songs almost certainly referred originally to the Calendae Ianuari. However, whether or not the eastern European songs themselves derived from the Roman winter feasts may be decided only by an analysis of the genre at the level of ritual acts and at the level of verbal expression.

The performance of the eastern European repertoire of solstice songs, which this article shall conventionally call "winter carols," is governed by unwritten regulations and occasionally shows traces of rituals, representations, and beliefs of mythological origin. Because of the present-day decline in the performance of the winter carol, in what follows this article shall take into consideration not only contemporary evidence but also certain data concerning regulations and beliefs that were obtained from the older generation of carolers or that were recorded in archives.

Owing not only to local circumstances but also to the multiform, diffuse character of the myth itself, the performance of winter carols differs not only from people to people but very frequently from district to district inside the borders of the same country. Thus while this article shall insist on the commonality of the custom among the Ukrainians, Romanians, and Bulgarians, the writer shall also point out certain local peculiarities that eventually could contribute to clarifying the significance of the winter carol.

As mentioned above, the winter carols are performed during the period of the Christian holy days. According to certain witnesses, this period was once dedicated exclusively to winter carols, the performance of other songs being forbidden. In the past, various benefits were attributed to the performance of winter carols during the traditional period: an increase of the wheat and hemp harvest, welfare and health, the fecundity of the cattle. On the other hand, the performance of the carols at other times could harm the harvest and impair the health of children. Such opposing effects—beneficial and harmful—occasioned by the observance or neglect of the time period prescribed by tradition bears witness to the sacred character of the carols.

According to tradition, winter carols are performed by groups of varying composition and organization. Widely distributed and well structured among the Bulgarians, Romanians, and Ukranians are groups composed of young men, and this may be considered the predominant traditional type. Some of the traditional rules connected with this type of group emphasize the ritual character of the caroling. Thus among the Bulgarians, illegitimate children and those having a physical defect were not permitted to join the group of young men. Archival records and frequent references in the carols to "lads" and "youngsters" show that in the past, at least in certain districts of Romania, caroling was the exclusive prerogative of young unmarried men. In certain districts of Romania, during the winter holy days, the young men of the group were obliged to live together in one dwelling and avoid sexual relations with women. During the same period, young carolers were permitted to behave rather wildly, even to cause minor damage, without being punished.

Today the group of young carolers includes married as well as unmarried men. The organization of such groups starts at the beginning of the Christmas fast (November 15) or at the latest a couple of days before Christmas. On this occasion different duties are assigned to the members of the group. Among the Bulgarians, Romanians, and Ukrainians, it is standard to elect a chief invested with absolute authority over the group and to name a young caroler whose task will be to carry the presents that are given as rewards to the carolers. Among the Ukrainians, the local priest traditionally arbitrated the election of the chief, and the carolers carried the cross with them.

Caroling often entails more than simply singing songs. In certain districts of eastern Europe the caroling is accompanied by the noise of bells, drums, or trumpets, probably aimed at neutralizing the influence of the spirits of the dead, who are widely believed to be especially dangerous during the winter solstice. The Hutzuls, a Ukrainian ethnic group living in the northeastern Carpathian Mountains, associate caroling closely with dance and perform hieratic dances while singing the carols. In certain districts of Romania young carolers would dance with girls after singing the carols in order to bestow upon them joy and good health. In some areas caroling has also been associated with masks. In various districts of Romania, for instance, the dance of the Turka or the Stag (both zoomorphic masks) is performed while, or after, a certain carol is sung.

In Bulgaria, Romania, and the Ukraine, the actual performance of the winter carols takes place on the night of Christmas Eve, on Christmas Day, and sometimes on New Year's Day as well. In certain regions of Romania, groups of carolers sing a special carol at dawn while facing in the direction of the rising sun. The carols may be performed while standing by a window outside a house, in the house itself, or on the road as the carolers go from house to house. By custom the carolers must perform their carols at all the houses of the village, and in turn the people must welcome and reward them. The most common gift is a pastry especially baked for Christmas. It is believed that by eating morsels of this cake or, alternatively, by burying it in the ground or feeding it to cattle, one can ensure the good health of one's children and animals, as well as increase the fertility of the fields. Possibly related to Mediterranean and Near Eastern vegetation rituals is a custom recorded at the beginning of the twentieth century in certain districts of Romania: At the time the young men's group is disbanded, a simulation of the death and resurrection of one of the carolers is enacted. Finally, at the end of the holiday period, the carolers hold a banquet to which they invite the girls of the village.

Winter carols are classified in different ways. Some are named in accordance with the time or place of their performance, for example, "Carol at Night," "Carol at Dawn," "Carol at the Window." Most of the titles refer to the person addressed, such as "Carol for a Girl," "Carol for a Young Man," "Carol for a Widow." Very often the titles refer to the profession of the addressee: "Carol for a Shepherd," "Carol for a Plowman," "Carol for a Midwife," "Carol for a Priest," and so forth. Here and there, in houses where a member of the family has died, the carolers sing a special piece called "Carol for the Dead." Such titles, which have become rare in modern times, derive from an earlier period when the carols were connected with funeral rituals. While some of the winter solstice rituals were intended to repel the spirits of the dead, others were aimed at winning their good will by inviting them to join the feasts and honoring them with songs, offerings, and banquets. The belief that during the period between December 24 and January 6 the souls of the dead come out of their graves and haunt the living is widespread in eastern Europe. In order to appease them, both Slavic peoples and the Romanians used to leave a table laden with food and drink on the night of December 23.

Despite the Latin etymology of the terms designating the eastern European winter carol, the analysis of beliefs and rituals that underlie the performance of the genre does not support the hypothesis of a Roman origin of the custom. It may be assumed that the substratum of the winter carol precedes the romanization of the Thracian populations of eastern Europe. The regulations regarding the organization of young men's groups, as well as other related features, suggest the preservation of vestiges of puberty rituals. Most of the rituals and beliefs associated with the gift of the cake to the carolers, as well as certain remnants of sun worship (e.g., "Carol at Dawn"), seem to belong to a much more archaic stratum than do the Roman winter feasts, and they bear striking resemblances to the northern European celebration of winter solstice. One may deduce that the introduction of Roman winter festivals would not have entailed the abolition of the local festivals. The coincidence of data and certain analogies between the two traditions (revels and masquerades) could not but favor the perpetuation of the local folk tradition under the emblem of the conquerors. The Romans, for their part, were adept at assimilating foreign customs, rituals, and gods through their well-known system of *interpretatio Romana.* It seems very probable that, due to the political and cultural prestige of the imperial winter festivals, local customs relating to the winter solstice, as well as rituals performed at other periods of the year (such as the agrarian rituals performed on the vernal equinox, the old New Year), came to be focused around the new Roman New Year.

The foregoing considerations can be extended through an analysis of the actual repertoire of the winter carols themselves, their fundamental types and motifs. Here one encounters the same problems that are involved in the description of the practice of caroling but now at the linguistic level of the carol itself.

Students of the winter carols generally divide them into two groups: secular and religious. In doing so they mean to distinguish between winter carols that were not influenced by the church and those in which Christian characters or references do appear. A good number of both secular and religious carols contain properly mythological materials, such as the types of carols that present a non-Christian myth of creation in Christian dress. One type of carol, for example, tells how, at the beginning of the world, Judas plunged the universe into darkness by stealing the sun and the moon. Saint John or Saint Elijah then brought the celestial bodies back and thus dispersed the darkness. Another type relates how God created the world by placing the sky on four silver pillars. Despite the references to saints or to God, the versions of creation disclosed by the winter carol have nothing in common with the biblical account in *Genesis* and obviously convey pagan myths about the foundation of the world.

Another category of winter carols, very possibly produced by peasant women, may be connected to feminine rites. In Romania until World War I a female folk society, called Ceata Fetelor, preserved traces of initiation rites for girls, practiced matchmaking charms, and was deeply involved in caroling. Apparently similar societies once existed among other east European peoples as well. Of course, only some of the carols dedicated to unmarried women may be associated with feminine rites. Most of the Romanian, Ukrainian, and Bulgarian carols in this category bear the mark of the traditions and history peculiar to each of these peoples. Common to all three is the well-known allegory of the wedding, which presents the bridegroom in the form of a hunter who pursues a deer.

The Romanian and Bulgarian repertoires contain a large number of carols that deal with hunting. Usually dedicated to young men, these carols were no doubt originally connected with puberty rites. The ritual significance of the hunt as a task preliminary to marriage can still be discerned in the carols that culminate with the killing of the game. As a rule, the victim is an edible wild animal, very often a stag, and the young man plays the part of an accomplished hunter. In a further extension of meaning, the hunter is frequently called the bridegroom, and the hunt is sometimes viewed as a preliminary condition for marriages. Particularly relevant for the relation between the hunt and marriage is the ending of this type of carol: In its death agony, the wounded animal announces the impending marriage of the hunter. It follows that the young man hunts as a candidate for marriage and that the shooting of the game makes him eligible as a bridegroom.

In a distinct group of carols, the hunter-quarry relation is associated with the miracle of metamorphosis. The hunter is confronted by an ambiguous character whose human or social identity is hidden behind the outer form of a wild animal, usually a stag. The creature's ambiguity is manifest from the very beginning: The stag has white or golden horns (colors with a well-known ritual significance); it laughs, sings, and openly defies the hunter. At the revelation of the animal's hidden identity, which entails the recognition of its prestige and authority, the hunter silently gives up the hunt, sometimes breaking his bow into pieces. Here the hunt becomes the scene of a young man's encounter with the sacred. There is undoubtedly a relation between such metamorphoses described in the hunting carols, the dances with zoomorphic masks that sometimes accompany caroling, and the confrontations with disguised characters that often take place in puberty rites.

In addition to carols focused on hunters, shepherds have produced a repertoire of carols of their own. Many of these are clearly related to rites intended to encourage the growth of the shepherd's flock. Others have a cryptic character. For instance, in "Mioritza, the Clairvoyant Lamb," a carol known only to the Romanians, a shepherd is ritually condemned to death for reasons that remain obscure.

While the exact ritual significance of some of the carols sung within the restricted circle of the shepherds remains unclear, the significance of caroling within the context of the more ample agrarian rituals is more explicit. This is especially true of the Bulgarian, Romanian, and Ukrainian carols. These carols tell how God, the saints, or the carolers themselves sprinkle the courtyards and fields with water in order to increase the harvest. Quite often, the carol text preserves not only the ritual formula but a descriptive trace of the ritual actions as well:

> Water in his mouth he has taken.
> The cornfield he has sprinkled.
> And thus he spake:
> "Wheat, grow you up to my belt
> And you, hemp, up to my armpits."

In the Romanian and Bulgarian repertoires one frequently encounters references to the sun, the sister of the sun, and sometimes to the daughter of the sun. Such personifications are typical of the sun worship that is proper to cultivators and seem to have been connected with the winter solstice celebration. In certain Romanian winter carols, the sun is presented as descending from the sky with a sickle under its arm or as the owner of a ship that harbors the soul of the deceased. Some of the refrains of the Romanian winter carols refer to the sun, its rays, or the dawn, and in certain contexts the sun is referred to as "sacred." It would be impossible to distinguish a category of carols exclusively on the basis of references to the sun or to agricultural rituals. Rather, one finds such references scattered throughout carols of all sorts—hunting carols as well as those influenced by Christianity. It is clear that the point of view and the mentality of an agrarian society are predominant in the winter carol and that it is still rooted in prehistory. Nevertheless, an analysis of hunting carols reveals that many motifs that were passed down from prehistory were reinterpreted to reflect interests of herdsmen and plowmen.

Even the archaic Romanian carol about the hunters who were turned into stags, a carol that served Béla Bartók in 1930 as the libretto of his *Cantata Profana,* did not escape the influence of herdsmen and plowmen. All the versions tell of an old man who, in teaching his sons to hunt, neglected other professions:

> And he taught them not
> Any kind of trade:
> Neither husbandry
> Nor herding of cattle
> Only [taught them] hunting.

From the perspective of herdsmen and plowmen, hunting as an exclusive profession becomes a culpable activity.

Another important change can be seen in another set of carols in which the hunter is confronted with strange animals: Not only miraculous stags but also fish that jump out of the sea in order to graze on flowers or pick apples, or (among the Romanians) a lion endowed with horns or equated with a human being or a dragon. Unlike the animals in the carols that feature the metamorphosis of the hunter's prey, however, these creatures do not pretend to have a hidden identity, and consequently they are neither spared nor feared. They are characterized by the harmful role they play. They are considered malefactors not so much because they steal to eat but because of the damage they do. The fish is blamed less for stealing apples than for spoiling them, and the lion is deemed guilty not only for plundering the vineyard but also of ravaging it.

Although it is possible to draw a parallel between the wild behavior ascribed to these creatures and the disorders permitted to neophytes in a puberty ritual, it is nevertheless evident that the relations between the harmful animals and the hunter described in this category of carols overstep the bounds of the ritual. While the hero continues to play the part of the hunter, he is at the same time represented as the owner of a house or a vineyard or as the protector of an apple tree. Crossing the borderline that separates what is wild from what is cultivated, the harmful animals endanger the interests of the farmers. The ritual matrix of the hunting carol is reduced to an empty shell in order to make way for the message of an agrarian society. The young hero has not dropped the emblem of the hunter; he has nonetheless become a manifest representative of the farmers' interests.

It was not only the agrarian mentality that brought about change in the winter carol but other factors as well; first among these was the influence of Christianity, which took several forms. It is probable that the earliest direct influence of the new faith was the introduction of Christian refrains into the carols. One of the oldest of these is the "hallelujah," which one finds preserved in a corrupted form. In a more indirect way, Christianity served as a vehicle for conveying legends and beliefs from the Mediterranean and Near East to eastern Europe. For instance, the story found in an apocryphal gospel, which tells of the Mother of God asking a palm tree to lend her its shade, reappears in a winter carol, where the palm tree has become the poplar and fir common to eastern Europe. Such apocryphal legends form the basis of many of the carols.

Only a part of the corpus of religious carols was inspired by Christian apocrypha spread through the Slavonic-Byzantine church. Many others combine Christian themes with the local folk culture of eastern Europe. Here the distinction between religious carols and secular carols breaks down. Symbolic of this lack of a clear boundary is a magnificent robe, described in the carols as adorned with the heavenly bodies, which may be worn in turn by God himself, by Jesus, by a shepherd, or by the boy who, in the carol, is chosen as chief of the army. Similarly, the fusion of Christian motifs with older beliefs could result in surprising, hybrid characters. Judas, for instance, may be equated with a subterranean demon, with a serpent, or with an aquatic monster.

One occasionally encounters carols that betray a degree of tension between Christianity and the folk mythology.

Thus in some of the hunting carols a stag pretends at first to be Saint John, and then denies it and reveals itself to be a sacred beast that measures the earth and the sky. In a large number of the carols, however, there is no such tension. Jesus is depicted dancing with the sister of the sun, Saint Nicholas saves the ships of the sun from sinking, and the birth of Jesus is announced by a fairy. In the mild climate of folk Christianity, which survived until quite late in eastern Europe, the association of the saints with mythological characters was neither resented nor felt to be inappropriate or desecrating.

One of the most straightforward forms of interaction between Christianity and folk motifs was the simple substitution of Christian saints for earlier mythological figures. At a deeper level, however, the Christian ideas of sin and punishment could occasionally give a new meaning to both the motivation and the denouement of the original myth.

Judging by a textual analysis of the carols and related documents, it appears that the process of the christianization of the carols has intensified in the last three or four centuries as a consequence of the increased influence of the church. Yet one can detect in the carol repertoire an old Christian nucleus. The fact that some of the "religious" types conform well to the patterns of the genre and bear folk titles apparently proves their penetration into the winter carol's repertoire at an early date. Among these old Christian carols we may mention the type that represents Jesus surrounded by sheep, a type eventually inspired by the early Christian symbol of the good shepherd, and those that tell of a monastery by the sea or describe the Mother of God with the baby Jesus in her arms.

What one might call the "poetics" of the genre of the winter carol is in fact an ensemble of canons closely connected with the ritual function that the winter carol is intended to serve. Each carol consists of two parts: a first part that is sung, and that includes one or more descriptive or narrative sequences, and a second part that is spoken, and that includes a congratulation formula.

Although relatively concise and placed at the end of the carol, the congratulation formula was of the utmost importance. In a context where ritual formulas were believed to have concrete effects, the wish expressed through the congratulation formula was not intended as the mere expression of a desire but as a means of influencing reality.

The first part of the carol is in a sense the incarnation of the wish expressed in the congratulation formula. Thus, the carol's descriptions and narratives present a series of models, which may be ritual, social, heroic, professional, moral, or physical. Like the fairy tale, the winter carol conveys the singer or listener into a world where dreams come true. But contrary to the fairy tale, which projects the wish into the realm of fiction and places the events in a remote age, the winter carol presents one with a concrete and immediate model of an ideal of life or behavior, an ideal that is supposed to be realized through the compulsory influence attributed to the congratulation formula.

In practice, the carol is always addressed to a specific person, and the name of this person is usually assigned to the hero in the carol. Thus the hero who shoots the stag or captures the lion in the carol is symbolically identified with the person at whose house the carol is performed. A happy ending is dictated by the logic of the ritual: In order to confirm and support the wish expressed in the congratulation formula, the hero, identified with the addressee, must attain victory and receive its rewards. It is to be noted that today this ritual symbolism is perceived as a mere stylistic device, however, or as an homage paid to the host.

There are, of course, exceptions to the aforementioned canons. Some of these are the result of the carols' different ritual functions. As noted, the winter carol can also have a funerary function. In the carols for the dead the rule of the happy ending must naturally be canceled. Other exceptions are to be explained on the basis of the process of a carol's composition. Compiled in stages and from different sources, a carol sometimes includes characters or sequences incongruous with the canons of the genre. The saints, for instance, cannot be identified with the addressee of the carol and consequently cannot take on their names. Various devices are employed to circumvent such difficulties. Thus in various Christian carols, in order to comply with the canons of the genre and at the same time avoid desecrating the sacred character of the saints, a human character is introduced—usually "the Good Man"—who receives the name of the addressee.

The vision presented by the winter carol is one in which harmony and peace reign over the world. The heroes appear in a halo of happiness, beauty, and glory, and conflicts are attenuated or resolved. Even tragic endings are accompanied by serene images: In "Mioritza, the Clairvoyant Lamb" the moon keeps watch over the corpse of the slain shepherd, and according to a winter carol on the theme of the foundation sacrifice, the baby of the immured victim is not abandoned but is nursed by full-uddered deer that descend from the mountains.

The sparkling festive atmosphere peculiar to the winter carol is enhanced by a profusion of gold and white (both originally magical colors) that pour over the most humble objects and turn them into sources of light and wonder. The broom, for instance, is made of gold, as is the spindle and the cradle, while the sea and the heath are all white.

Typical of the winter carol is its refrain. Although part of the refrains that survive are preserved in distorted versions, one occasionally detects certain analogies with the invocations. The refrains, as well as the versification in general, are closely intertwined with the melody, which, by itself, deserves the highest interest of the specialist.

From a stylistic point of view one may distinguish two types of carols: the Ukrainian type, which has a pronounced descriptive character and long final formulas, and the Romanian-Bulgarian type, which includes epic segments and closes with concise formulas. The stylistic and typological analogies between the Romanian and Bulgarian repertoires suggest that the basic form of the eastern European winter carol was the creation of the Thracians, on either side of the Danube. The fact that a number of mythological carols are common to the Ukrainians, Romanians, and Bulgarians suggests that the Slavs took the custom of the carol from the Thracians at an early date, enriched it with their own traditions, and dispersed it over a wide area. The rich and original character of the Romanian repertoire recommends it as the best source for study of the genre.

This general survey of the complex elements involved in the performance and texts of the eastern European winter carol requires that certain distinctions be made. Thus one may conclude that if the Christian influence is rather insignificant at the level of the customary practices associated with the carol, it cannot be neglected at the level of the text. Without shattering the mythological basis of the genre, the church succeeded in giving a Christian hue to a portion of the winter carol repertoire and, here and there, exerting an even stronger influence. The part played by the congratulation formulas in the structure of the carols may be seen as an echo of the Roman custom of exchanging congratulations on the occasion of the Calendae Ianuari. But in the empire's eastern provinces, the Roman New Year provided only a new label and framework for the well-rooted autochthonous celebration of the winter solstice.

Judging by certain aspects of the custom, and by references within the texts, the eastern European winter songs seem to have served as incantations directed against the evil influences of the dead and to have included elements of sun worship. Viewed from this perspective, the eastern European carol still displays its link with the ancient rituals of the winter solstice, but it has a diffuse ritual character. It incorporated not only the winter solstice rituals but also rituals of puberty, agrarian rituals of the vernal equinox, and the rituals and myths of the New Year.

In the folk traditions of eastern Europe the winter carol represents one of the oldest cultural strata. In it are found the vestiges of prehistoric rituals and cosmogonic myths, and this fact alone makes it important to the history of religions, ethnology, ethnomusicology, and linguistics. But the winter carol is more than a fossilized genre that provides data for the reconstruction of an earlier age. It has conveyed elements of myth and ritual that express fundamental experiences of humankind and thus still appeal to the contemporary reader. Moreover, the eastern European winter carol contains more than ancient myths and rituals; over the centuries, it has integrated a vast range of motifs into a complex synthesis. It may be fairly judged to be one of the purest voices that, emerging from the depths of magical belief, ever reached the heights of poetry. Had it not been embedded in provincial languages, the eastern European winter solstice song would have long ago joined the choir of those perennial songs inspired by faith that delight and strengthen the spirit of humankind.

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WINTI SEE AFRO-SURINAMESE RELIGIONS

WISDOM.

The term *wisdom* has been used with a great variety of meanings in the course of history. A survey quickly shows that every culture has or has had its ideal of wisdom and recorded it in oral or written sapiential literature. In particular, the relation, both historical and systematic, between wisdom on the one hand and religion and philosophy on the other, varies a great deal. This article can give only a limited selection from the broad range of sapiential traditions and ideas.

GENERAL TERMINOLOGY. As far as we can judge from the terms used and their history, wisdom was originally a practical matter, namely "insight" into certain connections existing in human life and in the world and modes of behavior derived from this insight and put into the service of instruction and education. The Indo-European root of the word *wisdom*, **ueid-*, connotes "perceiving, seeing" (compare Greek *idein*, "idea," and Latin *videre*, "to see"). The German language has preserved the ancient connection between *Weisheit* ("wisdom"), *Wissen* ("knowledge"), and *Wissenschaft* ("science"). A person's wisdom depends on what he or she has seen and thereby come to know. It is therefore a practical knowledge, the primordial shaper of human behavior toward the environing world (to the extent that this knowledge resists the pressures for immediate action). The same practical element is manifest in other cultures as well. Thus the Hebrew *ḥokhmah* has to do with "skill, ability" (*ḥkm*); the Akkadian *némequ* with "dexterity and skill"; Greek *sophia* with "cleverness" or "skill" in any of the arts or professions of life (carpentry, medicine, poetry, music, etc.). The Akkadian word for a teacher of wisdom or learned person, *ummanu*, was borrowed from Sumerian and originally meant "master craftsman." The cultivation and transmission of cumulative experience in coping intellectually with the world was done mainly in schools that were the seedbeds of literary culture and the forerunners of the later "schools of wisdom" or universities. Oral tradition was likewise controlled by specific groups that were responsible for the maintenance of tradition.

WISDOM, RELIGION, AND PHILOSOPHY. If religion can be broadly conceived as a way of coping, theoretically and practically, with the problems of the world, nature, and society, then wisdom is one part of this effort. In fact, wisdom and the various contents of the religions have historically been closely connected. Wisdom was regarded as an area of religious tradition and derived its authority from its relation to particular gods (especially the sun, as in Mesopotamia and Egypt) or religious principles (e.g., concepts of world order, such as the ancient Egyptian *maat*). In this form, wisdom contributed to the development of theological thought and is part of its history ("priestly wisdom"). Particular divinities were venerated in cult and magic (the two are difficult to distinguish) as protectors or representatives of religious knowledge (Ea and Marduk in Babylonia, Ptah in Egypt). The legitimation of wisdom by more or less religious figures, such as kings, teachers, and priests, belongs in the same context. We know instances of wisdom being personified as a divine hypostasis (e.g., in Buddhism, Judaism, gnosticism, Zoroastrianism). In many religions wisdom is an attribute of the divinities; in monotheistic religions it is an attribute of the supreme God. The wisdom of God transcends that of human beings and makes it pale into insignificance; in Christianity the wisdom of God even turns human wisdom into folly (see below). This Christian revaluation of the value set upon wisdom in antiquity did not, however, lead to an abandonment of wisdom but to its relativization and to a radical transformation of the whole concept.

This more or less positive relation between wisdom and religion is only one side of the coin. Just as often, wisdom went its own way alongside official religion; it was even, as in the ancient Middle East, in tension or conflict with it. To the extent that this was true, it was a profane, secular way of coping with the world that avoided or excluded any appeal to traditional religious entities (gods, cult, priests). It thus paved the way for philosophical and ultimately also for scientific thinking (see the etymological connection mentioned earlier between the German words for wisdom and science). This development is most easily seen among the Greeks, where the concept of philosophy, or "love of wisdom," took shape. According to tradition (Diogenes Laertius, 1.12; Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 5.3.8) the term went back to Pythagoras and was then taken over by Plato and Aristotle, who gave it its normative meaning. It is clear that the projection of the Platonic conception of philosophy and science back onto Pythagoras meant a reinterpretation of the latter's simple, prescientific notion of wisdom. Pythagoras was undoubtedly a teacher of wisdom, not a scientist or mathematician in the later sense of these words; his explanation of the cosmos had at its center a number symbolism that could not yet be called scientific, since in it number, ritual, and doctrine of the soul still formed a unity (Burkert, 1972). In any case, *philosophy* retained its practical meaning of "way of life" down through the centuries and has not lost it even today. Ancient Greek wisdom, documented in gnomic poetry (Hesiod, Mimnermos, Solon, Phocylides, Theognis), with its simple key idea of "moderation" (*mēden agan*) or "fitness of act to time and situation" (*kairon gnōthi*), found its extreme application in the so-called Sophists, who converted wisdom (*sophia*) into practical rationality and thereby brought its dangers to light for the first time. In contrast to the Sophists, Socrates avoided the concept of wisdom and reserved this quality for God alone (Plato, *Apology* 20–22). For Plato wisdom was the supreme virtue (*Republic* 441c–d). Aristotle distinguished between the practical wisdom of everyday life (*phronēsis*) and speculative wisdom (*sophia*), which concerns itself with "first things" (*Nicomachean Ethics* 4.5.2, 15.1.5). The distinction marked the transition to systematic wisdom, or philosophy. Nonetheless, in the history of philosophy its ancient root—"wisdom for living"—has repeatedly surfaced; in particular it has found ever new expression in ethical systems and endeavors (e.g., those of Spinoza, Kant, Fichte, and Schopenhauer). In his *Wörterbuch der Philosophie* ([1910–1911] 1980, vol. 1, p. 446), Fritz Mauthner formulates the difference between wisdom and practical "prudence," and between wisdom and philosophy or science with their goal of theoretical knowledge, as follows:

> In my opinion, *wisdom* seems to mean not only that those who have this quality, possession, or way of thinking are able on every occasion to act or think with rare prudence in pursuing their theoretical or practical goals; it means that in addition they are able to judge the value of the theoretical and practical goals in question. It also means perhaps that such persons act according to their judgments. Schopenhauer was certainly a philosopher but hardly a wise man. Montaigne was a wise man but not really a philosopher. We think of Socrates as being both wise man and philosopher.

PROBLEMS OF A TYPOLOGY. Since it is not possible at present (or ever, in my opinion) to write a history of the various ideas of wisdom, scholars have quickly settled for providing at least a typology of the concepts of wisdom. Wisdom has taken these broad forms: an anthropological ability to cope with life (the oldest and most widespread form); a rational system (interpretation of the cosmos, philosophy, beginnings of science); and a personification, hypostasis, goddess, or attribute of God.

Any attempt at greater detail becomes mired in the problems of the given historical context. It is possible, for example, with Edward Conze to compare the Buddhist (Mahāyāna) Prajñāpāramitā ("perfect wisdom") with the figure of Sophia in early Judaism and to find surprising similarities (Conze, 1968, pp. 207–209). There are even chronological correspondences: the hypostatization of both ideas of wisdom began about 200 BCE and yielded similar conceptions. Yet differences of content are unmistakable: Prajñāpāramitā is a personification of Buddhist insight into the "emptiness" of the world and has no connection with an idea of God; the Jewish Sophia became a divine hypostasis that can also be mediator of creation and identifiable with the Law (Torah). The situation is the same with parallels between Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Iranian ideas of wisdom, each of which retains its own special character and cannot be wholly assimilated to the others and made to coincide with them. By and large, the only common element is the shift in the thematization of wisdom from an anthropological skill to a central religious figure or person who mediates wisdom. In this shift wisdom changes from subject to object; an anthropological capacity for insight becomes a form of revelation about the cosmos or God. The content of wisdom as insight into the coherence of the world and life takes on a religious and, to some extent, esoteric character (as in the *Wisdom of Solomon*, gnosticism, and Mahāyāna Buddhism). This development did not occur wherever ideas of wisdom existed (thus except for Israel and Iran it did not occur in the Near East or in Greece). It looks as if a necessary condition of this development is the existence of a canonical literature that accepts the idea of wisdom. "Revelation" is identified with wisdom inasmuch as wisdom becomes the content of revelation and as a result either heightens the importance of canonicity or permits an extension of canonicity (as, for example, in the Prajñāpāramitā literature or the gnostic writings).

This literary documentation for the idea of wisdom makes possible some typological classifications that should not be overlooked. Thus the "typical" wisdom genre is the *gnōme* (Lat., *sententia*), that is, the tersely formulated "sentence" or maxim, or, more generally, the proverb. The oldest collections of wisdom traditions are collections of proverbs that can be developed into literary works on the theme of wisdom or can at least supply material for such ("teachings," "disputations," dialogues). Omens, riddles, fables, parables, and metaphors are also frequently storehouses of wisdom. Wisdom is thus not limited to a particular literary form, although it is closely linked with the proverb and maxim. Its origin in the oral tradition of the preliterary period of history can be demonstrated only through inference from the presence of such traditions among contemporary nonliterate peoples. There is hardly a people that does not possess some stock of wisdom traditions; this stock is the source of wisdom in the original sense of the term. Its beginnings are lost in the darkness of prehistory. The question whether the often asserted "international" character of wisdom literature is to be explained by evolution (from an original common possession) or by diffusion (through spread and borrowing) cannot be further answered. There are many arguments for the second hypothesis, but the first theory can also be helpful in examining many cultures. In any case, both forms of development can be seen at work in the course of history (the ancient Near East is a classic example of the borrowing of wisdom traditions). The important thing, however, is what particular cultures, literatures, and religions did with the common treasury of wisdom; these results are attractively multifaceted and pluralistic.

THE MANY FORMS OF WISDOM. Space allows only a limited survey of some of the principal forms taken by ideas of wisdom. The emphasis will be on the ancient Near East, which decisively molded the image of wisdom (transmitted through the biblical heritage). Only a brief glance can be taken at India and East Asia, which developed an independent form of wisdom that has influenced the culture and life of these peoples down to our own day.

Mesopotamia (Sumer and Babylonia). The Near East possessed expressions of wisdom at a very early date, although these did not lead later on to a unitary concept of wisdom. The dominant element in this wisdom was skilled proficiency in insightful understanding of the world, human beings, and society. No one doubted the divine origin of wisdom, even if an increasing awareness of the difference between divine and human wisdom manifested itself in later literature and led to a crisis in the wisdom tradition. The basic idea of the wisdom tradition was what scholars have named the "act-consequence connection," that is, the early insight that specific actions have or can have specific consequences in the lives of human beings. People attempted to find rules of behavior by observing their human environment, but they did not advance as far as systematic reflection or even develop an ethic of behavior (this step was left for the Greeks and the Chinese). Their observations, handed down in the form of aphorisms, provided valuable counsel for kings, officials, and scribes. The storehouse for this wisdom was the school, and its teachers were the scribes, who were therefore regarded as wise beyond others. Wisdom derived its authority from its being traced back to divinities (especially Utu, Shamash, Ninurta, Enki, Inanna) or prehistoric wise men (Shuruppak, Gilgamesh). Because of its origin and approach this wisdom had a eudaimonistic and at times even a mantic character, but in the late period it turned pessimistic and skeptical. The dogma of the act-consequence connection to a great extent prevented the raising of new questions; when these were finally asked they led to a helpless skepticism (the problem of Job, the suffering just man; the problem of a just world order). Modesty, uprightness, consideration for others (love of neighbor), and deliberation were the principal virtues; their cultivation brought life, happiness, children (sons), and God's providential care.

The decisive force in the development of ancient Mesopotamian wisdom was that of the Sumerians. The Akkadians for their part mainly translated, transmitted, and interpreted, while adding a few new forms of their own (*Wisdom of Ahikar,* omen literature). The beginnings of wisdom are to be found in the early "lists" or "inventories" in which language was used as a means of "inventorying" the world and thus to some extent ordering or systematizing it. This kind of wisdom has therefore been called "list wisdom" and understood as a first approach to scientific effort (Soden, 1936). More developed approaches led from a simple listing of objects to an appraisal of them; this has come down to us in the form of disputations (literature of disputes over relative values). This kind of wisdom has been described as "value wisdom" (Hans Heinrich Schmid, *Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit,* Berlin, 1966). The rise of proverbs relating to occurrences in nature and society brought for the first time the formulation of simple factual situations (called therefore the "wisdom of events"). This stage paved the way for wisdom sayings in the narrower sense. The latter emerged from observation of human behavior (initially without thematizing the act-consequence connection), first in proverbs and then clearly in various "counsels," which unfortunately have come down to us only in fragmentary form (*Counsels of Shuruppak, Counsels of Wisdom*). Wisdom gradually made its way into various other genres; meanwhile links were also established between wisdom and ideas of a socio-ethical and legal kind from royal and legal texts (e.g., conceptions of protecting the weak, widows, and orphans; doing good and hating evil; practicing righteousness). Wisdom thus sought to formulate and thereby give insight into the basic rules governing the cosmos. The gods had established a just world order; it was for human beings to learn this order and act accordingly. The challenge to this outlook by, for example, historical events led to a crisis of wisdom, since the act-consequence connection came into question and the theme of the "suffering just man" became topical. This was the subject of the "Job poems," which followed the "complaint and response paradigm" (*ersha-hunga*). To this genre belong the following: *Sumerian Job, the Poem of the Righteous Sufferer* (also called *I Will Praise the Lord of Wisdom* [*Ludlul bel nemeqi*], from its opening words), the *Babylonian Theodicy,* and the satirical *Dialogue of a Master and Slave* (or *Dialogue of Pessimism*), which probably does not belong to the wisdom literature but is nonetheless very informative in regard to it. The conclusion reached in these works is that God's action is inscrutable and his wisdom different from that of human beings. The act-consequence connection is pushed into the background but not abandoned, since insight into the order governing the world is denied to human beings. In all this we can see wisdom in the process of leaving our earth and becoming a supratemporal system and part of the divine world (to which in fact it had always belonged).

Egypt. Unlike Mesopotamia, Egypt did not have a "list wisdom" as a preliminary stage of wisdom; instead the sapiential saying (maxim) served as the starting point of a wisdom literature (the various "counsels"). The sapiential saying either contained a simple statement about the world and social relationships or it already connected consequences with specific actions that were either recommended or disapproved. Unlike the Mesopotamians, the ancient Egyptians developed the concept of a cosmic order (*maat*) that became basic to the idea of wisdom. The goddess Maat was a daughter of Re, the sun god, and symbolized truth, justice, and order in cosmos and society. The pharaoh was her representative on earth. The wise had to act like Maat; agreement with her bestowed success, disagreement brought punishment (unhappiness). Subordination to Maat was therefore the mark of the wise. Wisdom supplied the needed rules, which were based on tradition and experience (which included successive reinterpretations). Examples of wisdom or, as Egyptologists prefer to say, of "counsels" or "instructions," go back to about 2800 BCE. Only the names of the earliest have come down to us (*Instructions of Imhotep, Instructions of Djedefhor*). The *Instruction of Ptahhotep* is the oldest surviving document of this genre (fifth dynasty). It is filled with optimism about the order (*maat*) that exists and is known and with an unbroken confidence in the act-consequence connection. Modesty, uprightness, self-control, subordination, silence, are virtues of the wise. The idea of the silent sage influenced Egyptian biographical literature. Citations from the wisdom literature can be demonstrated in numerous inscriptions.

Most of the remaining "instructions" are from the Middle Kingdom (c. 2135–1660 BCE) and are "tendentious writings" that discuss problems of wisdom and are therefore also called "disputation literature." Among them are the *Instruction for Merikare* (tenth dynasty), in which the first mention is made of the judgment of the dead; the *Instruction of King Amenemhet to His Son Sesostris* (twelfth dynasty), which was probably a model for *Proverbs* 22:17–24:22, although the former is more pessimistic and materialistic; and the *Instruction of Cheti, Son of Duauf,* a piece of publicity for the civil service. The threat to the old order shows through in the *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage* and the *Protest of the Eloquent Peasant.*

To the period of the New Kingdom (c. 1570–1085 BCE) belong the *Instruction of Ani* (eighteenth dynasty), which defends traditional authority against criticism, and the *Instruction of Amenemope* (twenty-second dynasty), which is strongly pietistic and calls for humility toward the hidden rule of the sun god. From the late period (first millennium CE) we have only the very homespun *Instruction of the Papyros Insinger* and the instruction of a certain Ankhsheshonk. Characteristic of later wisdom (from the eighteenth dynasty on) is the realization, in Egypt no less than in Babylonia, of the limitations of human knowledge and the freedom of the divinity; this meant that the act-consequence connection, though weakened, was not completely abandoned, but was considered to reside in the impenetrable recesses of the godhead. Authority, tradition, humility, circumspection, and silence continued to be themes of wisdom. In fact, in the late period wisdom and piety came to be more closely identified.

Maat yielded to the godhead (Re). Devout individuals had as their partner no longer Maat but God; God became the guarantor of the act-consequence connection, which was hidden from the devout but which they nonetheless humbly accepted as existing. Wisdom now consisted in this knowledge of God and his free will, a knowledge that was familiar to the Bible and probably exerted an influence on it. For that matter, a monotheistic or henoheistic current runs through the entire wisdom literature.

Ancient Israel, Judaism. Israelite wisdom literature (*Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes*) underwent developments comparable to those in Babylonia and Egypt. In its earliest, preexilic form, wisdom is here, as in the ancient Near East generally, not specifically religious but focused on the act-consequence connection in the cosmos and in individual lives (see *Prv.* 22:13–23:11). It is not opposed to faith in Yahveh but on the other hand has only peripheral contacts with it (see *Prv.* 16:1–22, 16:28–29). Yahveh, like the ancient Near Eastern and Egyptian sun god, is guarantor of the cosmic order that governs the lives of human beings. Wisdom is primarily concerned with this-worldly questions affecting the order and security of human life; observation and insight into what goes on in the world and society play their part here. From a literary standpoint the proverb or maxim is the basic form of transmission (*Proverbs, Ecclesiastes*; later on, the *Book of Ben Sira* and the *Wisdom of Solomon*). Ascription to Solomon (c. 970 BCE) has a historical basis to the extent that international communication (especially with Egypt) flourished during that period (see the *First Book of Kings* 5:9–14). From that time on in Israel, as elsewhere, the "wise man" (*ish ḥakham*) had his place alongside the priest and the prophet, and the area of tradition with which he dealt soon became one of the most important in Israelite literature (see *Ben Sira* 24:3–7).

In its historical development this literature reflects shifting approaches to wisdom until the latter's crisis and disintegration (*Job*, *Ecclesiastes*). To begin with, ancient wisdom is increasingly theologized, that is, connected with the Yahvistic faith, but also systematized or dogmatized and reduced to a series of anthropological contrasts (see *Prv.* 10–15). The wise and the foolish are turned into contrasting types, as are the devout and the ungodly, the sensible and the ignorant, and so on. The act-consequence connection changes (in the post-exilic period) to a connection between behavior and its results (*Prv.* 10:30, 11:3–4). Corresponding dualistic traits make their appearance as human beings are divided into the just and the wicked, and the cosmos into good and evil, just and unjust. Wisdom itself withdraws into heaven and is personified (see below). The ancient program of wisdom, which urged insight into human beings and the world through observation and its application, comes under the control of strict monotheism and the doctrine of creation, both of which leave little room for independent human thought. As a result, the crisis of dogmatized wisdom becomes radical and leads in the *Book of Job* to its rejection. As in the Babylonian world, an appeal is made at this point to the inscrutability of God (see *Jb.* 40), a solution that is accepted in later Judaism. At the same time, however, a return to the ancient, authentic concept of wisdom is urged (*Jb.* 38–39): understanding of the world consists in the acknowledgement of its given order, even though insight into it is limited. The most radical break with the wisdom tradition comes in the Hellenistic period in the person of Qohelet (the purported author of *Ecclesiastes*), who abandons the act-consequence connection as a means of insight, is skeptical about an order in the world, and demonstrates the meaninglessness of human existence. Wisdom is no longer available in this world (see also *Jb.* 28). Reverence is still shown toward creation and its distant creator, but the "historicality of human existence" and its transitory character are thematized for the first time. Qohelet offers no solution for the crisis; the world and human beings remain unintelligible.

This situation, which we meet only in the Bible, had consequences that probably led to the disintegration of the biblical worldview in gnosticism. But Jewish apocalypticism too had some of its roots in wisdom: the removal of wisdom from the world led to an eschatological hope; the introduction of dualism into the cosmos (see above) led to the apocalyptic doctrine of the two kingdoms; historical events had deprived the scribes, who were the transmitters of wisdom, of their ancient theater of operations, the royal court, and they dreamed of its future restoration. Gnosis and apocalyptic were connected.

Hellenistic influence probably played a part also in the complete transformation of the figure of wisdom (Ḥokhmah). It becomes a suprahuman, otherworldly personage, a divine hypostasis (*Prv.* 8:22–31; *Ben Sira* 4:11–19, 24:3–22; *Wis.* 6–9), a mediator of revelation and creation (*Prv.* 3:19, *Ben Sira* 24:3); it is even identified with the Torah, or Law, as the content of the word of God (*Ben Sira* 24:8, 24:23; *1 Bar.* 3:9–4:4). It takes on the traits of a goddess (perhaps Isis Panthea) and, as Lady Wisdom, becomes the antagonist of Lady Folly, another personification, modeled on Aphrodite or Astarte (*Prv.* 7:9–13, 9:1–18). "Kinship" with her, such as the just or the wise have, bestows immortality (*Wis.* 6:17) and even makes one like God (*Wis.* 6:18). This shift from a horizontal role, as an anthropological skill in understanding of the world, to a vertical role leads in the *Wisdom of Solomon* (first century BCE) and then especially in the work of Philo Judaeus (first century CE) to the idea of wisdom (Gr., *sophia*) as an otherworldly figure accessible only through esoteric "knowledge." Communication with this distant heavenly wisdom is accomplished in the philosophy of Philo through the Logos (the divine intelligible word), which represents "wisdom close to us." Sophia is thus accessible only through revelation and knowledge of the Logos. It is no longer available in this world, but has vanished from it (Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Enoch* 42:1–8, 4 Ezr. 5:9–10, Syriac *Apocalypse of Baruch* 48:36). At this point the way is already being paved for the gnostic conception of wisdom.

CHRISTIANITY AND GNOSIS. Early Christianity accepted the early Jewish conception of wisdom at various levels. On the one hand, the early Jesus tradition (the purported source of the sayings of Jesus, known as the Q source) took over the ancient Israelite proverbial wisdom (explicit reference is made to Solomon in *Mt.* 12:42, *Lk.* 11:31); on the other hand, Jesus himself is understood as the embodiment of wisdom (*Lk.* 7:35 and parallels; cf. *Mt.* 23:34–36 with *Lk.* 11:49). He is "filled with wisdom" from his childhood (*Lk.* 2:40, 2:52) and surpasses even Solomon in this respect (*Mt.* 12:42, *Lk.* 11:31). His deeds and teachings demonstrate his wisdom (*Mk.* 6:2, *Mt.* 13:54). Scholars therefore speak of a "wisdom-Christology" as one of the earliest forms of christological statement. In the letters of Paul wisdom plays an important role in his dispute with the community in Corinth (*1* and *2 Corinthians*), where a wisdom that was probably already interpreted in a Gnostic manner was being preached and was finding expression in ecstatic utterances (revelations). In response, Paul conceives the momentous idea that Christian wisdom, represented by the Redeemer, is foolishness (*mōria*) to the world, this wisdom being the cross that as sign of the "weakness of God" (*1 Cor.* 1:25) is the very sign of his "strength." God has destroyed "the wisdom of the wise" and turned it into "foolishness" (*1 Cor.* 1:18–22, 2:6–8). In the presence of the true wisdom of God, which has been revealed in Christ, the traditional wisdom of this world has been reduced to naught, but at the same time it has also been fulfilled. Those who believe in Christ possess "the power of God and the wisdom of God" (*1 Cor.* 1:24, 1:30, 2:10–12, 3:18). Old Testamental and Jewish wisdom literature of two centuries before the common era is here given a completely new interpretation and thereby rescued from the crisis into which it had fallen; on the other hand, limits are also set for any future Christian conception of wisdom. The critical acceptance of ancient wisdom traditions and the ambivalent response of Christian theology to philosophy both have their roots here (see Thomas Aquinas on the one side and Martin Luther on the other). Meanwhile, as the *Letter of James* in particular shows, the principle is still accepted that wisdom shows its truth in ethico-moral practice: Christian life is wisdom made manifest (*Jas.* 3:13–17; cf. *Jas.* 1:5). The ancient idea of wisdom is thus revived here; it becomes a Christian virtue for coping with life.

In my opinion, Gnosticism has its roots in those parts of early Jewish sapiential teaching that, like *Ecclesiastes*, challenged the traditional picture of the world. Independently of this heritage from tradition and the history of ideas, Gnostic literature too continues to present wisdom in the guise of transmitted sayings, for the most part in Christian form (from the Nag Hammadi corpus, the *Gospel of Thomas* and the *Gospel of Philip;* see also *Silvanus* and the *Sentences of Sextus*), but also in new forms of its own (*The Thunder, Perfect Mind*). Most notable, however, is the figure of Sophia, or Pistis Sophia ("faith wisdom"), an ambivalent embodiment of the Gnostic Pleroma, especially in the Barbelo and Valentinian forms of gnosis. According to some heresiological accounts and original (Nag Hammadi) texts, Sophia is a companion of the most high God; more precisely, she is the feminine aspect of his first manifestation or emanation, whose masculine aspect or consort may be identified with the Primal Man, the Son of man, or Christ (Seth). A second, lesser Sophia must also be included in the series of "syzygies" (paired aeons) that derive from the first pair. Other passages— and these are in the majority—describe Sophia variously as one of the final aeons: the one that, as mother of the demiurge (Ialdabaoth), is indirectly involved in the fate of the created world. But she is simultaneously active in the work of redemption, repairing the harm done by the loss of the spark of light, inasmuch as Sophia herself, split into two parts—an upper and a lower, a greater and a lesser, a part of life and a part of death, of truth and of lie, or simply as Sophia and Achamoth (the Aramaic word for "wisdom")—suffers in an exemplary fashion the fate of the fall and redemption. This version is characteristic of the so-called Barbelo Gnostics and of the Valentinians; it is also attributed to the Cainites and the Ophites, as well as to the Sethians. Several texts from Nag Hammadi also belong here (e.g., *Apocryphon of John*, *Hypostasis of the Archons*, *Gospel of the Egyptians*, *Trimorphic Protennoia*). Gnostic wisdom (*sophia*) serves to express many sides of gnostic thought. It serves as an image of the self-estrangement of God in emanation and reflection; thus it represents the feminine aspect in God, while leaving his perfect unity undiminished. But Wisdom is also (as aeon) the consort of the Savior and is intimately connected with both demiurgic (cosmological) and soteriological processes. This has nothing to do with feminist ideas; behind it, rather, stands the heritage of the Jewish wisdom tradition in its later form.

Iran and Zoroastrianism. It is often forgotten that Iran too has produced an extensive wisdom literature that goes by the Middle Persian name of *handarz* (early New Persian, *andarz*), meaning "advice, instruction." This too has been handed down in various forms of *gnomai.* It is preserved only in Middle Persian, but it doubtless had Avestan (Old Iranian) precursores (such as the now lost *Barish nask*). At the center of this literature is "wisdom" (MPers., *khrad*, or *xrat*), whose representatives or transmitters were kings of the prehistoric period (e.g., Jam, Ōshnar) and the Sasanid period (e.g., Chosrau I), viziers (e.g., Wazurgmihr ī Bokhtagān), and priests (e.g., Ādurbad ī Mahraspandān). Here again collection and transmission were the work of priestly schools or the (fire) temples. Since thought, along with speech and action, played a dominant role in Zoroastrianism, great attention was paid to the teaching of religious knowledge. This knowledge was identified with wisdom. But in fact the "knowledge" in question was not only religious, theological, and cultic. Iran had either taken over (via Hellenism) or had itself produced a great deal of secular knowledge.

Nonetheless, the religious framework within which the wisdom tradition was placed played a very important role. According to one of the principal works, *Mēnōg ī Khrad*

(Spirit of Wisdom), all wisdom flows from a single wisdom that goes back to God. Two works in particular are important in this context. One is the sixth book of the encyclopedia *Dēnkard* (Acts of Religion); the other is *Dādistān ī Mēnōg i Khrad* (Book of Judgments of the Spirit of Wisdom). Both originated in the Sasanid period but preserve older material as well. Book 6 of the *Dēnkard* goes back in part to the Avestan Barish nask; other material comes from oral tradition. Its content is largely religious and has to do with Zoroastrian teaching on cleanliness; it is therefore highly ritualistic in character. In this context wisdom is correct knowledge and correspondingly correct behavior in things religious. "This world was created by Ōhrmazd the Lord [Av., Ahura Mazdā] with knowledge (*dānāgih*). He maintains it with sagacity (*frazānagīh*) and manliness (*mardābagīh*); ultimately He will become joyful through it" (Shaked, 1979, sec. 311). This is interpreted as follows by the sages (*dānāgān*): "The thing of Wisdom (*khrad*) is this: sagacity (*frazānagīh*), manliness (*mardābagīh*) and the hope of the Renovation" (ibid., sec. 312). The same passage goes on to say: "The substance of wisdom (*khrad*) is similar to that of fire. For nothing in this world may become so perfect as that which is done by wisdom (*khrad*)" (ibid., sec. 313). In the *Dēnkard*, "character" (*khēm* or *xēm*) is superior even to wisdom, since "wisdom is in character; and religion is in both wisdom and character" (ibid., sec. 6; see also sec. 2). Ōhrmazd creates creatures through "character," "holds them with wisdom, and takes them back to himself by religion" (ibid., sec. 11).

In other, more secular *handarz* texts wisdom is at the head of the virtues and leads human beings to a knowledge of their duties. Ōhrmazd created the following spiritual realities that help human beings to that goal: "innate wisdom, acquired wisdom, character, hope, contentment, religion [*dēn*], and the consultation of the wise" (*Āyadgar ī Wazurgmihr* 43, cited in Shaked, 1979, p. xxvi). Acquired wisdom is gained through education; innate wisdom preserves human beings from fear and sin. Clearly, in Zoroastrianism wisdom is firmly embedded in a religious context (although secular wisdom is not completely absent). Wisdom is primarily a matter of Zoroastrian knowledge; the latter defines its essence. It is therefore the duty of the faithful to follow the "wise" (teachers, priests) and ask them questions; association with them brings God close to one. Parts of Iranian wisdom literature, however, are also marked by a fatalistic pessimism reminiscent of *Ecclesiastes* (Shaked, 1979, sec. D). "Destiny" (*bakht*, *brēh*, *zamān*) determines human beings; their action is geared to its accomplishment. We see here the influence of Iranian teaching on fate (i. e., Zurvanism), an influence also to be seen in modern Persian literature wherever this is in continuity with ancient Iranian wisdom traditions (proverbial literature, didactic poetry).

Wisdom clearly emerges as a heavenly person or hypostasis, the Spirit of Wisdom (Mēnōg ī Khrad), in the work of the same name. Wisdom is here viewed as one of the "holy immortals" (Amahraspandān; Av., Amesha Spentas); in fact, the author devotes more prayers to her than to the others (1.53). She is "original wisdom (*āsn khrad*) from the heavens and the worlds"; she dwells with Ōhrmazd and combines all wisdom in herself (57.3–32); she was created by Ōhrmazd (8.3, 8.8), and through her he created the world (1.11, 1.49, 57.5); through her Ōhrmazd keeps the world in existence (1.12). Her most important function is instruction or, as the case may be, revelation. Each of the sixty-two chapters following upon the introduction to the work begins with questions by an (anonymous) "wise man" (*dānāg*), which Wisdom then answers at length. The book is thus a compendium or catechism of Zoroastrianism and derives its authority from the heavenly wisdom of God. The "wise man" who passes its contents on is evidently a representative of the Zoroastrian community or priesthood. He had wandered through the world, from land to land and city to city, looking for wisdom, until he realized that true wisdom was to be found in his religion; then this wisdom appeared to him in bodily form as Ōhrmazd's Spirit of Wisdom (Mēnōg ī Khrad) and instructed him (1.14–61). The most likely equivalent of this Wisdom in the Avesta is Vohu Manah (Vahuman, Vahman), the Good Mind; "primordial or inherent wisdom" *(āsn khrad)* is found in Yasna 22.25 and 25.18 (*āsnō khratush*) in connection with the Zoroastrian concept of faith ("the innate understanding Mazda-made").

India. Some of the earliest Indian wisdom literature is found in the collections of proverbial wisdom that were made for rulers or kings, as, for example, the well-known *Pañcatantra* or the *Hitopadeśa* (Instruction in What Is Beneficial). The *Mahābhārata*, the Indian national epic, contains in its didactic sections a good deal of ancient wisdom tradition; this includes the *Bhagavadgītā* in particular. The important part played by knowledge or insight (*jñāna*) in ancient Indian thought (especially in the Upaniṣads) has given wisdom a central position in India. It is difficult to distinguish this wisdom from philosophy, and philosophy in turn from religion; each shares in the character of the others. The *Bhagavadgītā* praises "the way of knowledge or wisdom" in preference to the way of action (*karman*): "A man of faith, intent on wisdom (*jñāna*), his senses (all) restrained, wins wisdom; and, wisdom won, he will come right soon to perfect peace" (4.39; trans. Robert C. Zaehner, The *Bhagavad-Gita*, London, 1973). Brahmanic philosophy or religion did not, however, reach the point of personifying wisdom or knowledge. This step was taken only in Buddhism, in which the Indian ideal of knowledge, the way to deliverance from the cycle of births (*saṃsāra*) without reliance on the priestly tradition or extreme asceticism took new forms. But the objectification (hypostatization) of redemptive knowledge or transcendental wisdom (*prajñā*; Pali, *pañña*) came only in Mahāyāna Buddhism, beginning in about 100 BCE in southern or northern India. A whole literature arose (originally in Sanskrit) consecrated to what it termed the "perfection of wisdom" (*prajñapāramitā*; lit., "the wisdom that has gone beyond"). The earliest Prajñapāramitā works were composed between 100 BCE and 150 CE; from the fourth to the seventh centuries CE compendia and short versions were redacted under the influence of the Mādhyamika school; from the sixth century on, Tantrism also gained control of these texts and gave them ritualistic interpretations (to the extent even of introducing antinomian practices). As mentioned above, there are a number of parallels between the Buddhist and the early Jewish conceptions of wisdom. The Buddhist "wisdom books" (Conze, 1975) introduce a specifically new type of knowledge about redemption: an insight into the "emptiness" (*śūnyatā*) of existence that promises deliverance. These teachings are presented in the form of dialogues between the Buddha and some of his disciples. The manner of presentation lends authority to the new teaching and gives it canonical status. Here the virtue (*pāramitā*) of "insight" (*prajñā, paññā*), perhaps under the influence of the South Indian mother goddess, is sometimes personified as a goddess of wisdom, Prajñāpāramitā. In this form she is regarded as "mother" of all the Buddhas (*buddhāmati*, *jināna mātā*) and *bodhisattvas.*

> If a mother with many sons had fallen ill, They all, sad in mind, would busy themselves about her: Just so also the Buddhas in the world-systems in the ten directions Bring to mind this *perfection of wisdom* as their mother. The Saviours of the world who were in the past, and also those that are (just now) in the ten directions, Have issued from her, and so will the future ones be. She is the one who shows the world (for what it is), she is the genetrix, the mother of the Jinas, And she reveals the thought and action of other beings. (Conze, 1973, p. 31)

Prajñāpāramitā is depicted iconographically with two, four, six, ten, or twelve arms. Her color is gold or white; her symbols are the lotus and a book (colored blue or red). She often resembles depictions of Mañjuśrī (the male personification of wisdom) or Sarasvatī (the Hindu goddess of learning, eloquence, and intelligence) or Avalokiteśvara, Tārā, and Cunda. To ordinary Buddhists she is a goddess who can be invoked and who bestows merit, well-being, and blessing. Buddhist theologians, however, see in her simply a "spiritual" manifestation of redemptive or enlightening ("*bodhi*-giving") wisdom, which contains and sustains all things and is called "mother of enlightenment." Here the very essence of Buddhist doctrine is manifested and personified. The various interpretations of this doctrine in the Mahāyāna schools (Mādhyamika, Yogācāra, Tantra) are also reflected in the figure of Prajñāpāramitā and the literature about her. One of the best-known hymns to her was composed by Rāhulabhadra (c. 150 CE):

> Homage to Thee, Perfect Wisdom, Boundless, and transcending thought! All Thy limbs are without blemish, Faultless those who Thee discern. . . . Teachers of the world, the Buddhas, Are Thine own compassionate sons; Then art Thou, O Blessed Lady, Grandam thus of beings all. . . . When as fearful Thou appearest Thou engender'st fear in fools; When benignly Thou appearest Comes assurance to the wise. . . . By all Buddhas, Single Buddhas, By Disciples courted, too, Thou the one path to salvation, There's no other verily. . . . By my praise of Perfect Wisdom All the merit I may rear, Let that make the world devoted To this wisdom without peer. (Conze, 1959, pp. 168–171)

The Tantric school produced magical incantations or formulas (*mantras*) for Prajñāpāramitā, which were given by the goddess herself. The recitation of these sayings has liberating power; it is also meritorious on behalf of others. In this form of Buddhism the figure of Wisdom unites in itself all aspects of religion, both in theory and in practice. In fact, Prajñāpāramitā is probably its most notable expression.

China. Finally, I shall add a brief word on China, where, in contrast to India, wisdom has minimal connections with religion. In Confucianism it has an unambiguously ethico-moral character. We are reminded of the Greeks when we find wisdom consisting in the avoidance of extremes and the following of the mean. *Chih* ("wisdom") is one of the five cardinal virtues that characterize the Confucian "wise man" (*chün-tzu*). It includes knowledge of human nature and society, a command of language, and a practical behavior that obeys the Confucian rules *(li)*. "The sense of right and wrong is the beginning of wisdom (*chih*)" (Fung Yu-lan, 1952, vol. 1, p. 121). Every human being has the native ability to become wise and needs only instruction and practice, since in the prevailing Chinese view human nature is good (another point reminiscent of Greek thought). Confucianism nonetheless also offers the ideal of the "noble man" or "holy man" (*sheng-jen*) who surpasses even the wise man, since he complies perfectly with all the principles *(li)*, lives in harmony with nature and society, and thus is the peerless teacher of an age. The ancient meaning of wisdom as the practical management of life through knowledge of the world and human beings has probably found its most impressive development in China and has for thousands of years profoundly shaped the character of the people. Wisdom is embodied in behavior and can be acquired by practice; it then becomes a habitual attitude.

SEE ALSO Avalokiteśvara; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Mahāyāna Philosophical Schools of Buddhism; Goddess Worship, article on The Hindu Goddess; Ḥokhmah; Jñāna; Knowledge and Ignorance; Li; Mañjuśrī; Mengzi; Prajña; Sarasvatī; Sophia; Tārā; Tathatā; Upāya; Wisdom Literature.

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WISDOM LITERATURE

This entry consists of the following articles:

BIBLICAL BOOKS [FIRST EDITION]
BIBLICAL BOOKS [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]
THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

WISDOM LITERATURE: BIBLICAL BOOKS [FIRST EDITION]

Certain books within the Hebrew scriptures stand out as significantly different from the narrative and legal material comprising the Pentateuch as well as from prophetic and apocalyptic literature. This "alien corpus" is altogether silent with regard to the dominant themes found in the rest of the Bible, for example the promise to the patriarchs, the deliverance from Egypt, the Mosaic covenant, the centrality of Jerusalem and the Davidic dynasty, the prophetic word, and so forth. In the place of such emphases one finds ideas and literary forms that are closer to certain Egyptian and Mesopotamian works. That literary corpus contains a rational principle of the cosmic order that is worthy of study (*ḥokhmah* in ancient Israel, *maat* in Egypt, *me* in Mesopotamia) and expresses a belief that conduct in accord with this principle brings well-being. Or the literature gives voice to various levels of doubt about the validity of this understanding of reality, a skepticism spawned by life's inequities. Since study of the underlying principle of the universe rather than proclamation of the divine word comes to prominence here, modern scholars designate these texts as wisdom literature.

CHARACTERISTICS OF WISDOM LITERATURE. Decisive differences do exist between Israel's sapiential literature, on the one hand, and certain texts written in Egypt and Mesopotamia on the other. Egyptian wisdom functioned almost exclusively at the royal court. Its aim was to provide proper education for future bureaucrats in the pharaoh's court. Accordingly, this literature largely assumed the form of instruction (e.g., the *Instruction of Ptahhotep*, the *Instruction of King Amenemhet to His Son Sesostris*, and the *Instruction for Merikare*) and its setting was usually the scribal school (praise of which occurs in Papyrus Sallier, Papyrus Anastasi, and the *Instruction of a Man for His Son.*) In Mesopotamia the study of school texts also played an important role, but the fundamental feature of wisdom was cultic, indeed, magical, and the goal of wisdom was to manipulate the paraphernalia of the cult in order to ensure one's existence.

Israelite wisdom finds primary expression in the books of *Proverbs*, *Job*, and *Ecclesiastes* within the Palestinian (Masoretic) canon and in *Ben Sira* (*Ecclesiasticus*) and the *Wisdom of Solomon* in the Alexandrian canon (the Septuagint). Its influence extends beyond these texts to *Psalms* (*Ps.* 1, 19, 33, 39, 49, 127) and various other books. The precise extent of this influence is the subject of considerable discussion; scholars have claimed much of the Hebrew scriptures for the sages (*Genesis* 1–11, the Joseph story, *Deuteronomy*, *Amos*, *Isaiah*, *Micah*, *Jonah*, *Habakkuk*, *Esther*, the succession narrative in *2 Samuel* 9–20, *1 Kings* 1–2, and more). While such claims appear to be exaggerated, they do serve as a reminder that the sages did not dwell in isolation from the prophets, priests, and raconteurs in ancient Israel.

With the exception of *Job*, these Israelite wisdom books are pseudonymous. There is no historical basis for the attribution of the older collections within *Proverbs* to Solomon or for Solomonic authorship of *Ecclesiastes* and *Wisdom of Solomon;* in Egyptian wisdom literature pseudonymity and literary fiction of royal authorship also play a significant role. The unique example of pride of authorship is Yehoshu'a ben Sira, the author of *Ben Sira*, who claims to have run a school about 190 BCE during the high priesthood of Shimʿon II. Confirmation of this date comes from information provided by Ben Sira's grandson, who translated the Hebrew text into Greek around 132 BCE, and from the hymn in praise of Shimʿon. *Proverbs* contains several different collections from various times, some of which may be preexilic. *Ecclesiastes* probably comes from the end of the third century BCE, while *Wisdom of Solomon* is known to be considerably later, because it was written in Greek and because its thought patterns and rhetoric are thoroughly hellenized. In dating *Ecclesiastes*, grammar and syntax seem conclusive. *Job* is particularly hard to date, but a combination of things, including both language and thought, suggest the sixth century BCE or slightly later.

THEMES, LITERARY TYPE, AND FUNCTION. In general, wisdom literature comprises two quite distinct types: brief observations about the nature of reality and instructions deriving from experience or extensive reflection on the deeper meaning of life. The former are formulated in parallel half lines for the most part; one statement is thus balanced by another, either synonymously or antithetically. Three variants are "Better is this than that" (e.g., *Prv.* 15:16); a graded numerical proverb, such as "Three things . . . yea, four" (e.g., *Prv.* 30:18–19); and "There is . . ." (e.g., *Prv.* 20:15). Most of these brief aphorisms are complete in themselves, although larger paragraphs appear in the latest collection in *Proverbs* 1–9, *Ecclesiastes*, and, especially, *Ben Sira*, constituting paragraphs that resemble brief essays on a specific topic. Speculative wisdom literature (*Job* and *Ecclesiastes*) prefers dialogue and monologue as its peculiar mode of expression.

Another way of categorizing various types of wisdom literature derives from the four uses to which the texts were put: juridical, experiential, theological, and natural. Since the king was the final court of appeal, and since society relied on royal power to implement justice, the judicial ability to ferret out the truth amid competing claims was greatly prized, as the widely disseminated story about Solomon's royal verdict in the case of two harlots' dispute over a surviving infant suggests (*1 Kgs.* 3:16–28). Experiential wisdom encompasses the overwhelming majority of biblical proverbs. These represent conclusions based on experience, and they endeavor to assist others in the difficult task of coping. Some are content with stating the way things are; others engage the pedagogic enterprise with zeal, offering warnings and motivations for following a particular path of conduct. Theological wisdom is concerned with the first principle of knowledge in religious devotion, the fear of the Lord. It speculates on the presence or absence on earth of the divine rational principle (personified wisdom), and sometimes equates revelation of Torah and human reasoning. Natural wisdom refers to encyclopedic data about heavenly bodies, atmospheric conditions, wild animals, and so forth. Although prominent in Egypt and Mesopotamia, such noun lists (onomastics) did not survive in biblical wisdom, although the divine speeches in the *Book of Job* resemble them in some ways.

The function of Israelite wisdom literature is by no means clear, partly because of the difficulty in tracing the history of this sort of thinking. At least three distinct stages seem likely. Wisdom's earliest phase seems to have coincided with early clan existence, when parents instructed their children in the ways of the world. The vast majority of proverbs attributed to Solomon may well have arisen in this early period because they rarely reflect the situation of the royal court. In the second phase, with Solomon perhaps, and certainly with Hezekiah, wisdom makes itself at home in the court. This phase placed a distinct mark on only a few proverbs, although it did evoke a tradition about "men of Hezekiah" who transmitted the collection in *Proverbs* 25–29. With *Ben Sira* the third phase comes to light, school wisdom. Precisely when this phenomenon first surfaced remains hidden. Certainly, the first epilogue to *Ecclesiastes* (12:9–12) identifies the unknown author of that book as a "wise man" who taught "the people," and the strange pen name *Qohelet* has often been interpreted as one who summoned people to a place of worship and study. (It is more likely that the word alludes to his assembling of proverbs about life's absurdity.)

SCHOOL TEXTS. For various reasons, several scholars have proposed that biblical wisdom literature originated in Israel in monarchic or premonarchic times as texts for study in schools. This theory is based on analogy with schools in the pharaoh's court and in the Mesopotamian temple precincts. Israel's familiarity with international wisdom cannot be denied; witness Solomon's relations with Egypt, the incorporation of a portion of the *Instruction of Amenemope* in *Proverbs* 22:17–23:33, and the *Sayings of Agur and of Lemuel's Mother* in *Proverbs* 30:1–4 and 31:1–9. Corroborative evidence has come from the nature of canonical wisdom—its exceptional literary quality, its conscious rhetoric and pedagogic thrust. To these have recently been added data from Palestinian inscriptions (alphabetic series, drawings, inaccurate spellings, transposed letters, large and poorly formed consonants, and so forth). None of this evidence is altogether compelling, although its cumulative force merits consideration. The preservation of wisdom literature implies such a group of individuals, whether they attended a formal institution or not. At least one scholar has simply called this phenomenon "Israel's intellectual tradition."

Internal evidence suggests that the *Book of Proverbs* was written for the instruction of young men. That conclusion seems inevitable for at least two reasons: the direct address to "my son" and the extensive warning against the foreign woman, Dame Folly, together with the erotic language about Dame Wisdom, which is appropriate only if the audience is male. This erotic language becomes fully evident in the *Wisdom of Solomon* where readers are invited to strive for marriage with Sophia ("wisdom"), here a divine attribute. Male dominance also explains the misogyny within canonical wisdom, particularly in *Ben Sira* but also in *Ecclesiastes* (although this explanation has been disputed). If the author of the epilogue to *Ecclesiastes* is trustworthy, a democratization may have taken place under this collector of sayings who taught "the people."

WISDOM AS A WAY OF THINKING. Just what did the teachers wish to communicate to their students? The sages endeavored to discover ways to secure one's existence and to enrich it, as in *Ecclesiastes'* question "What is good for humans?" Their ultimate goal was to achieve life's good things: a good name, longevity, wealth, wise children. Believing that the creator had implanted within the universe the secrets to success, these sages looked for analogies that unlocked the doors to such insight. Observation of nature and human nature, the study of animals and insects—these were the ways in which they obtained information that was then applied to their own concrete situation. They also moved beyond the visible universe to speculate about God's nature and activity, and even their quest for pleasure was grounded in religious conviction. Since order in society, like cosmic order, is divinely ordained, the wise individual is not disruptive of society. Entirely missing, therefore, is the prophetic sense of social revolution. In its place prudence reigns, and a calculated use of bribes, silence, and the concealment of real thoughts and feelings. Self-control and the right word were their aim. The seekers of wisdom sought to know the appropriate word or proper deed for a given occasion, the one that would confirm their membership in the company of the wise and therefore the righteous.

A CRISIS OF THE INTELLECT. Experience was sometimes ambiguous, forcing the wise to question their own hardened dogmas. That was especially the case with regard to the conviction that virtue flourished and vice resulted in calamity. Belief in reward and retribution evoked powerful protests from the authors of *Job* and *Ecclesiastes*. In Mesopotamia a similar crisis of faith produced such works as the Sumerian *A Man and His God*, *I Will Praise the Lord of Wisdom*, the Babylonian *Theodicy*, and the *Dialogue of a Master and Slave*. Furthermore, to the biblical sages life was infinitely more complex than their proverbial formulations might suggest. They therefore ventured to speculate about things that could not be verified in experience. Religion thus emerged into prominence, both as the essential ingredient of all knowledge and as a faith claim. Whereas Yahvism tended to ground its claims in history, the wise took creation as their starting point. They even posited a feminine principle (*ḥokhmah*) as active in the process of creation (*Prv.* 8:22–31), eventually identifying it with the Torah of Moses (*Sir.* 24:23). In general, creation faith functions to undergird belief in divine justice; only the creator has sufficient power and knowledge to assure justice on earth. As long as sages believed in the power of the human intellect to secure their existence, grace remained in the background. In time, loss of faith in the power of wisdom creates a vacuum into which competing forces come. These opposing responses are pessimism and divine mercy, and their spokesmen are *Ecclesiastes* and *Ben Sira*, respectively.

Skepticism's roots go back a long way prior to the time of *Ecclesiastes* (e.g., *Jgs.* 6:13, *Prv.* 14:1, 14:13, 16:9, 16:33). Integral to the earliest sapiential expression is the concession that human ingenuity has its definite limits. Those who devise plans for battle must ultimately acquiesce before an incalculable divine will. Life has its mystery, which cannot be penetrated. Even instances of injustice cropped up now and then. In time, those cracks in the fundamental conviction of the sages became more frequent, and the idea of wisdom's hiddenness suddenly emerged as a viable epistemological option. The poem, probably by another author, that has been inserted into the *Book of Job* (28) marvels at the remarkable achievements humans have to their credit but expresses the opinion that wisdom is accessible to God alone. The author of *Ecclesiastes* admits that wisdom is very deep, so much so that it cannot be fathomed. Ben Sira cannot endorse such skepticism, although he does advise against trying to understand that which is too difficult. In a sense, the nature of human knowledge has been greatly qualified as a consequence of man's limited powers.

Sometimes an inability to comprehend life's mysteries ends in awe rather than skepticism. That is the insight put forth with poetic brilliance in the *Book of Job*. The decisive issue here is whether faith can transcend self-interest. To be sure, the book offers counsel on how to respond when trouble strikes innocent victims, but even more central is the issue of whether anyone will serve God for nothing. Job's final submission before a self-manifesting deity points to a wholly different response from that of skepticism or banality: a bowed knee and silenced protest, a seeing with the eye of faith. A similar response occurs in Psalm 73, which is often included in discussions of wisdom literature, where the believer comes close to abandoning the faith because of the prosperity of the wicked but in the end recognizes God's presence as the highest good.

WISDOM AS A TRADITION. Such shifts in perspective indicate that the wise were very much aware of history even if they did not ground their teachings in it. Indeed, a decisive transition takes place in the early second century with Ben Sira. In part a result of the Hellenistic environment within which he wrote, this borrowing of various features from Yahvism, for example, references to the primeval history, patriarchs, and prophets, was Ben Sira's way of salvaging the ancient teaching in a changing society. By means of mythological speculation he was able to identify earlier revelation with divine wisdom (*Sir.* 24:23) and locate its residence in Jerusalem (*Sir.* 24:1–12). Again and again Ben Sira alludes to biblical stories, until finally he compiles a hymn in praise of ancient heroes of the faith (*Sir.* 44:50).

The unknown author of *Wisdom of Solomon* continued Ben Sira's reliance on canonical tradition as a framework, particularly the account of Egyptian bondage and divine deliverance. This Exodus material generated unusual interest for the Jews who resided in Alexandria a millennium later. In this instance the author reflects on the events of the Exodus in Midrashic style; the running comments on scripture are designed to evoke psychological factors such as dread even though the central focus is a frontal attack on idolatry. Nevertheless, the Hebraic tradition shares equal billing with the Hellenic, and this is entirely new for the wisdom literature. The Greek influence is considerable: the style is replete with Greek rhetoric, and the content is equally Greek in origin, including the four cardinal virtues, the notion of immortality, the twenty-two attributes of deity, the description of the curriculum in a local school, the rhetorical device called *sorites*, and much more.

PERSONIFIED WISDOM. The change within wisdom thinking from the sixth to the first century BCE is nowhere clearer than in the notion of personified wisdom. In the latest collection of *Proverbs* (1–9) Wisdom appears in the guise of a teacher; here she invites and threatens young men, seeking to deliver them from Dame Folly. In *Proverbs* 8 Dame Wisdom is a celestial figure who assists God in creation; she is the manifestation of divine thought, depicted in veiled erotic language. Interpreters have often compared this theologoumenon to the Isis myth and to the teachings about the Egyptian goddess Maat. Elsewhere in *Proverbs* (3:16), Wisdom holds life in her right hand, riches and honor in her left hand, just as Maat is depicted as holding in each hand emblems that symbolize these qualities. In the *Book of Job* there is mention of an impenetrable wisdom who is known to the underworld by rumor but to whom only God has direct access (*Jb.* 28:20–28).

In contrast, Ben Sira writes that wisdom existed in heaven but searched the whole earth for a place of residence and finally chose Jerusalem as a permanent abode. This celestial figure then loses her enigmatic character, however, and becomes identical with the Mosaic law. Divine wisdom is thereby domesticated on earth, and Greek philosophy and the Hebraic tradition become equal in this aspect. In *Wisdom of Solomon* this heavenly figure is a divine attribute that guides the chosen people to their destiny. Those who desire to succeed in life must win her favor, and she is therefore to be courted like a bride.

To sum up, poetic imagery in *Proverbs* has by the time of *Wisdom of Solomon* become an actual figure who functions to bring well-being to God's people. By way of *Ben Sira* this imagery was particularized to refer to an actual body of literature, the Mosaic law. From first to last, however, wisdom's role in the initial act of creation was an active one. The intention was to give a name to the order that governs reality itself and thus to suggest a universe in which right thinking and acting would prosper. The author of *Ecclesiastes*, who did not endorse such faith, maintained silence with regard to personified wisdom. Instead, he echoes one feature of the poem in *Job* 28: the profundity of wisdom and, therefore, its hiddenness (*Eccl.* 7:23–29).

A CORPUS OF LITERATURE. The thesis of a shift in wisdom thinking that took place with *Ben Sira* and *Wisdom of Solomon* does not imply monolithic thought prior to the second century, but it does assume that certain essentials held the literature together despite individual characteristics. A closer look at the actual contents of this literature may illustrate this point.

Proverbs. The *Book of Proverbs* comprises at least nine separate collections, four major ones—(I) 1–9, (II) 10:1–22:16, (III) 22:17–24:22, (IV) 25–29—and five minor ones—(V) 24:23–34, (VI) 30:1–9, (VII) 30:10–33, (VIII) 31:1–9, (IX) 31:10–31. Two (VI and VIII) are attributed to foreign authors (Agur and King Lemuel's mother, respectively), and another (III) makes extensive use of an Egyptian source (Amenemope). Three (I, II, and IV) are credited to King Solomon, and one (V; cf. III) is simply called "More Sayings of the Wise." Only two brief collections (VII and IX) have no superscriptions. The probable order of dating is IV, II, III, and V, from oldest to most recent; the relative ordering of the others is uncertain. The initial collection is probably the latest one, with the possible exception of IX. Affinities with Canaanite literature suggest an early date for VI and VIII, but their religious content renders the issue unclear. In any event, much of the material probably arose in preexilic times.

In the older collections the dominant form is a single verse parallel with another. The parallel verse may be synonymous, antithetical, or ascending (climactic). Each brief aphorism registers an observation that compels assent; therefore, the sentence argues from what is presumed to be a general consensus. The other major proverb type is the instruction, which urges a particular course of action and reinforces it with threats of punishment or promises of reward. Instruction pervades the latest collection, but the decision about the date of composition is not based on form. In Egypt "instructions" (a form that has its own genre identification, and covers a wide spectrum of texts) date from very early times, while the late *Teaching of ʿOnkhsheshonqy* resembles the brief aphorisms in the earliest collections of *Proverbs.* Thus we see that dating from form is tricky. In the later biblical material single proverbs give way to brief essays, some of which make their point by citing a proverb and developing it. *Ben Sira* develops this trend so that paragraph units result. In *Proverbs* one finds extended treatments of such themes as the relative value of various professions (38:24–39:11), the place of physicians in society since God punishes the wicked by sending illness (38:1–15), duty to parents, drunkenness (19:1–3), headstrong daughters (42:9–11), dreams, discipline (30:7–13), passions (40:1–11), and shame (41:16–42:8). The different form in *Proverbs* 1–9 is accompanied by a more self-conscious theology. Whereas wisdom literature throughout the ancient Near East prefers the general name for God, these chapters use the name *Yahveh* quite freely. Furthermore, they insist that the fear of the Lord is the *sine qua non* of true intelligence. It is possible that one passage (6:20–35) draws on language from *Deuteronomy* in juxtaposing the fire of lust and the lamp of parental instruction. In these chapters, too, personified wisdom functions to mediate divine presence. Accordingly, she addresses the people in the manner of a prophet or a prophetic depiction of God, and she offers life itself.

There are some brief sayings elsewhere in the *Book of Proverbs* that are wholly secular in tone. That does not necessarily indicate an early date. It is more likely that religious and secular proverbs existed simultaneously but that they served different constituencies. Some of these secular sayings call attention to social inequities without any indication that such situations should be rectified. Other proverbs identify areas in which humans confront their limits. Those who wage war can make careful plans, but the battle's outcome rests in divine hands. This awareness of finitude crops up in Egyptian wisdom as well, where royal wisdom abounds. The attribution of wisdom to Solomon is therefore an interesting parallel, although it cannot be known whether this tradition of Solomonic authorship has any basis in history. One thing appears certain: the supposed Solomonic enlightenment never existed, and the type of wisdom credited to that king in *1 Kings* 4:29–34 (English version) does not correspond with sayings in the collections bearing his name. Nevertheless, Solomon may have sponsored a group of sages in his court, as Hezekiah did in the late eighth century. These sages may have shown their appreciation by attaching the king's name to their compositions. Unfortunately, these collections do not require an assumption of courtly provenance, although they do contain an occasional reference to royalty. The same is true of *Proverbs* 25:2, which states that God's glory consists in concealing things, whereas a king's glory lies in searching them out.

In general, the thrust of the sayings in the *Book of Proverbs* has a universal quality. Similar aphorisms exist in Egyptian wisdom and, to a lesser extent, in Mesopotamian. The biblical proverbs contrast the wise and the foolish (called the silent and the heated in Egyptian wisdom literature), offer advice on table manners, warn against laziness and sexual debauchery, endorse eloquence, observe human foibles for what they are, talk about responsibilities in given vocations, compare human conduct to that of animals or insects, encourage strict discipline of children, inculcate respect for parents and persons in authority, and treat social relations in all their complexity. Extended treatises occur outside the initial collection on significant issues, for instance, the dangers of strong drink and the virtues of a good wife.

The Book of Job. The fundamental presupposition underlying virtually all these proverbs is a belief in reward and retribution. The universal creator oversees the governance of the universe and makes certain that those who merit life's good things receive them. The author of the *Book of Job* questions this principle, although at first the argument set forth by his hero rests on the very premise it refuses to acknowledge. Were it not for this principle, Job would have no basis on which to complain, since there would be no anticipated correlation between conduct and life situation. The author of *Ecclesiastes* is much more thorough in rejecting this dogma, for in his view time and chance strike everyone without respect to behavior. In both cases, later tampering with the author's final product has radically altered its meaning.

The *Book of Job* resembles disputes in Mesopotamian wisdom (such as *I Will Praise the Lord of Wisdom*), but it also has elements of a lament (one critic has called the book a paradigm of an answered lament). An old folk tale in epic prose sets the stage for the poetic dispute: a patient Job loses everything and praises God nonetheless until God rewards him by doubling his original possessions. Apart from this narrative framework, *Job* consists of a dispute between Job and his three friends and a second dispute between God and Job. Speeches by the youthful Elihu interrupt these two disputes; like the poem in *Job* 28, these speeches (*Jb.* 32–37) are probably secondary. The hero of the poetic speeches is far from patient. Instead, he complains bitterly because God has become a stranger to him for no discernible reason. Although his three friends encourage him to pray for forgiveness, Job insists that he has done nothing to deserve such harsh treatment. His bitterness arises from a sense of an oppressive divine presence and an awareness that the deity he once knew can no longer be found. Now and again Job entertains the notion that a vindicator will set things right and establish his innocence. At last, despairing of assistance from his friends, Job utters an oath of innocence highly reminiscent of Egyptian cultic practice and challenges God to slay him or confirm his oath of purity (*Jb.* 31). God responds to the challenge but hardly in the way Job expected (*Jb.* 38–41). In a style similar to school questions in Egyptian texts, the deity addresses Job with a host of questions that force him to look beyond his own situation and survey the vast scope of creation. The shift in focus corrects Job's anthropocentricity while acknowledging divine solicitude for wild creatures beyond the parameters of human habitation. The divine speeches evoke a feeling of unworthiness in Job, who confesses that this new insight about God overshadows his former knowledge as immediate information does secondhand information. The resolution comes through repentance, if that is the true meaning of Job's final response to God. The Mesopotamian parallels to *Job* find their answer in the cultic realm, and proper ritual plays a significant role.

Ecclesiastes. Israel's contribution to skeptical literature, the *Book of Ecclesiastes*, presents reflections on life's vanity and concludes that everything is empty, like breath itself. Purporting to be written by the wisest and wealthiest king in Israel, it claims that all pursuits achieve no lasting results. For this book's author, wisdom no longer possesses the power to guarantee success; all human endeavors amount to a senseless "chasing after wind." He feels that even though some sages claim to know the truth about reality, they do not really penetrate to the heart of things (8:17). The great shadow hanging over life is death, which makes no distinctions between good and bad people or between animals and humans. The universe is out of kilter, and God is indifferent to what takes place on earth (9:11–12). As a consequence humans are advised to follow a path of moderation, to be neither overly righteous (like Job) nor excessively wicked (7:15–18). Such dark thoughts eventuate in hatred for life (2:17), and stillborns are considered more fortunate than the living (6:1–6). To be sure, wisdom does bestow a relative advantage over folly, as light is usually superior to darkness. But oppression runs rampant, and there is no comforter. The positive advice given is to enjoy life during one's youth, before death wields its awesome power. The book closes with a poem about old age and death (comparable texts have been found in ancient Sumer and Egypt). Unhappy with the negative note on which the book ends, someone added an epilogue that characterizes the teacher and his work (12:9–12), to which yet another epilogue has been attached (12:13–14). This final word neutralizes the entire book by summing up its contents as fearing God (piety) and keeping the commandments (praxis).

Ben Sira. The author of *Ben Sira* strives mightily to combine traditional religious belief and the wisdom tradition. Although capable of soaring to lofty heights in poetic verse, his heart is especially stirred when priestly interests and prerogatives come to mind. This fact has led some critics to the view that religion (the "fear of the Lord"), not wisdom, was central to Ben Sira. The same emphasis occurs in the long poem celebrating heroes of the past, a poem that concludes with a lavish description of the high priest in attendance at the altar (44–50). Competing traditions are held in check in *Ben Sira.* This accounts for the acceptance of old belief in the functioning of reward and retribution, along with special attention to divine mercy.

In some respects *Ben Sira* resembles *Proverbs*, even with regard to the subject matter. Nevertheless, whereas *Proverbs* for the most part couches its teaching in succinct observations, *Ben Sira* systematically elaborates upon one topic after another. In so doing *Ben Sira* occasions a decisive stylistic change: refrains occur with regularity. The same phenomenon is typical of Egyptian instructions; in fact, Egyptian influence in *Ben Sira* is likely (cf. *The Satire on the Trades* and Papyrus Insinger).

One important concern in *Ben Sira* is theodicy, the defense of divine justice. *Ben Sira* employs an ancient form of debate to achieve the defense and adds two distinct answers, one metaphysical and the other psychological, to the problem of theodicy: that the universe itself fights on the side of virtue and punishes wickedness, and that reward or punishment may be inner states of tranquillity or anxiety. Furthermore, God will set things right in a moment, so that one cannot be adjudged righteous or sinful until death; a similar expectation of future divine action furnishes comfort to the author of Psalm 73. Such faith finds appropriate expression in prayer and in hymnic praise; both modes of worship characterize Ben Sira the teacher. Wisdom has now become an integral facet of Yahvistic faith.

Wisdom of Solomon. The combination of piety and practical ethics continues in *Wisdom of Solomon*, which presents Hebraic ideas in Hellenistic dress. In this Hellenistic setting religious syncretism poses a problem of grave proportions; to combat the attractiveness of idols as an expression of devotion to the gods, the author ridicules this type of worship mercilessly. A similar attitude pervades the author's references to Egyptian rulers; like the earlier sages, this unknown author deals with only two categories of people, wise and foolish, who are, respectively, good and evil. The new element is an identification of good and evil along ethnic lines, a precedent for which occurs in *Ben Sira.* The earlier universalism that was an identifying mark of wisdom has faded under the mighty impact of national religious tradition.

Perhaps the single most radical departure from older sapiential teachings is the elevation of the erotic dimension as the dominant metaphor for the educational enterprise. Knowledge is a highly desirable bride of the one who is favored by the deity. The paradigm that functions effectively in this respect is grounded in the legend about King Solomon, wisest of men. But such intellectual superiority came as a divine gift in response to humble prayer. The power of wisdom transcends the personal inasmuch as it governs the affairs of a nation. In fact, wisdom functions in the same way that the holy spirit is described as functioning in the rest of the Hebrew Bible: as a personification guiding the prophets and leaders of Israel. Once again, an earlier characteristic of wisdom literature, its individualism, gives way to the nation of Israel.

With increased stress on divine activity come two further transformations of ancient wisdom: humanism bows before revelation, and eudaemonism bows before duty. Belief in immortality relieves the human finitude of its tragedy, because pleasures may be delayed until the next life.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS. The Jewish Alexandrian philosopher Philo Judaeus, who was born about 20 BCE, avails himself of Logos speculation from Greek and Jewish thinkers to present wisdom as the ordering principle of the universe and an expression of the divine will. Comparison with the Stoic Logos principle was almost inevitable, because this similarity in the two intellectual systems served as a bridge to bring them closer together. Like the author of *Wisdom of Solomon*, Philo was steeped in Hellenistic thought and expression. Nevertheless, the content of his thought is often thoroughly Judaic. Scholars cannot decide whether the language of mystery religions belongs to the heart of his message or is mere window dressing.

Philo does not borrow exclusively from Israelite wisdom literature but makes free use of the patriarchal stories. His elaborate allegorical exegesis of biblical texts is largely Greek, although certain writings from Qumran also employ a complex kind of hermeneutics (cf. the *Habakkuk Commentary*). This ancient sect in the region of the Dead Sea largely ignored the wisdom literature, with one possible exception—the erotic dimension of knowledge.

Late Jewish narratives—*Tobit*, for example—make occasional use of motifs and data from canonical and noncanonical wisdom. Certain affinities between older wisdom and *Pirqei avot* (Sayings of the Fathers) have often been cited, but these seldom extend beyond surface resemblances. Within the Apocrypha, *2 Esdras* (*4 Ezra*) wrestles with the difficult problem of theodicy, and the pseudepigraphic *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* contains ethical teachings that resemble wisdom texts.

The New Testament. The wisdom tradition seems to have influenced the unknown author of the earliest source for the Gospels, known as Q. Jesus is credited with a number of gnomic sayings, most of which function to orient by disorientation: they challenge listeners by forcing them to rethink their own presuppositions about a given situation. One noteworthy feature of these sayings attributed to Jesus is their unusual attitude toward women. Whereas aphorisms concerning women in the first-century Greco-Roman world and in Jewish literature contain a strong misogynistic element, the brief sayings placed in Jesus' mouth are remarkably free of this sentiment.

The prologue to the *Gospel of John* utilizes Logos speculation to express the belief that Jesus was an earthly incarnation of the deity, and the *Gospel of Matthew* dares to identify Jesus with divine wisdom, the embodiment of Torah (*Mt.* 11:25–30). Outside the Gospels, Paul's letters rely on Judaic speculation about wisdom to express Jesus' role in creation itself. Furthermore, just as the sages had developed a theory in opposition to theodicy as an extreme response to evil (that is, the very wish to defend God's honor is blasphemous, since the deity is by definition just), Paul ridicules human wisdom and proclaims that God's love and power are demonstrated by Jesus' death on the cross. It is conceivable that Paul's opponents were witnessing the birth of Christian Gnosticism, perhaps even performing midwife service. One other New Testament text is strongly influenced by Hebrew wisdom, the short *Letter of James*, which draws freely upon brief aphorisms to inculcate certain teachings in the minds of listeners.

Gnosticism. The influence of the wisdom tradition in Gnosticism is somewhat anomalous. In Jewish tradition wisdom played a vital role during the creation of the world. For the Gnostics the present material universe is the product of demiurges, inferior divine beings. Nevertheless, wisdom speculation was too appealing for Gnostics to ignore, although they soon found ways to overlook wisdom's role in creating the universe. Three documents deserve consideration here: the *Gospel of Thomas*, the *Sentences of Sextus*, and a nongnostic text from Nag Hammadi, the *Teachings of Silvanus*. The influence of the wisdom tradition on Thomas may explain why instead of a passion story one finds a collection of sayings. The *Sentences of Sextus* (second century) contains over four hundred maxims of non-Jewish origin whose purpose is to describe the ideal Christian. The *Teachings of Silvanus* is a text that manifests typical Jewish stylistic forms: the address to "my son," which is reminiscent of the *Book of Proverbs;* poetic parallelism; and certain subjects and expressions that correspond to canonical ones. All this indicates that early Christians may have been drawn to some features of Hebrew wisdom and that they agree with their predecessors who believed that the intellect was a sufficient means of coping with reality and achieving the good life.

SEE ALSO Biblical Literature; Ecclesiastes; Job; Psalms.

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WISDOM LITERATURE: BIBLICAL BOOKS [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

The subject of wisdom literature in the Bible has flourished in the last decades of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century. New material and approaches have helped bring some aspects into clearer focus, while others remain just as obscure as ever.

It was previously thought that the authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls were uninterested in wisdom; with the fuller publication of more Qumran texts, however, they discovered that the opposite was true. In addition to copies of the biblical wisdom books and some Targums (Aramaic translations) of *Job*, wisdom texts from the Qumran Dead Sea scrolls also include: some sapiential psalms from Cave 11 (11Q5); parts of six copies of a large instruction known as "Sapiential Work A" (1Q26, 4Q415–418, 423); descriptions of a wicked woman the wise are to avoid and a woman the wise are to follow (4Q184 and 4Q185), perhaps to be identified with the Dame Folly and Dame Wisdom of *Proverbs*; a series of beatitudes (4Q525); other collections of maxims or instructions (4Q424 and 4Q420–421); a hymn about acquiring knowledge (4Q413); and several others. Many of these works were probably not composed by the Qumran community; rather, they likely existed beforehand and were merely copied by them. Unique among Jewish instructions, a fragment of Sapiental Work A (4Q415 2 ii 1–9) seems to be directly addressed to a woman; a wife is given conventional advice: to cling to her husband, to honor her father-in-law, and so on.

Scholars continue to investigate biblical wisdom's relation to the wisdom traditions in the neighboring Near Eastern literatures, as well as its place in world religions. In the case of Ancient Egypt, further explorations of the subgenre of instructions have yielded more specific similarities in language and form with those in the Bible. Moreover, the tale of Aḥiqar,

the earliest text of which is written in Aramaic and dates to the fifth century BCE in Egypt, but which was subsequently transmitted in over a dozen languages, contains a series of proverbs that demonstrate the popularity and continuity of the proverb tradition in the Near East across the centuries. With regard to Mesopotamia, the Sumerian "proverb" or "rhetoric collections" have been more fully published and studied, and other wisdom pieces have been considered in connection with the Bible. For instance, the so-called Sumerian poem about early rulers, preserved in three Old Babylonian copies and in seven Sumero-Akkadian bilingual fragments from thirteenth-century Syria, constitutes a particularly interesting case. In this composition, the universal literary motif of the fleeting nature of glory and fame, epitomized by the medieval theme *ubi sunt qui ante nos fuerunt?* (where are they who were before us?), seems to lead to a more optimistic corollary, the *carpe diem* (seize the day) theme, which can be compared to several passages in *Ecclesiastes.* Outside the ancient world, scholars have found many parallels to the biblical *Proverbs* in Arabic and African sapiential traditions, and they have shown that proverbial sayings and their many settings are cross-culturally quite similar, as are the multiple settings from which they arise. These correspondences do not necessarily imply genetic or historical relationships between the traditions, however; instead, they may actually indicate cross-cultural commonplaces.

New approaches to the Bible's wisdom tradition also include feminist interpretations, among other. For example, the existence of female sages has been explored, as has women's verbal use of proverbs. While some scholars have looked to ancient Near Eastern goddesses as precursors of Dame Wisdom and Dame Folly (the Egyptian Isis, the Canaanite Astarte, and the Mesopotamian Inanna, among others), others have suggested that Dame Wisdom is a hypostasis of Yahweh or a literary device, or a "literary compensation for the eradication of the worship of these goddesses" (Hadley in Day et al., *Wisdom in Ancient Israel,* p. 236).

Still, despite numerous recent monographs and articles on biblical wisdom literature, little consensus has been reached on some of the important issues; namely, the setting of wisdom in ancient Israel, the existence of a school or court tradition as in Mesopotamia or Egypt, the existence of sages as a professional class, the precise definition of "wisdom literature" (including its specific rhetoric, vocabulary, and themes), and the appropriateness of the generic label "wisdom" or the unity of all ancient Near Eastern texts deemed such, and so forth. One of the most basic questions yet to be answered definitively is whether there were schools in ancient Israel.The best supporting epigraphic evidence may perhaps be found in several inscriptions with sequences of numbers and measurements especially from the regions of Kadesh Barnea and Kuntillet ʾAjrud, as well as abcedaries (rudimentary alphabets) from various locations. These scarce indications, however, cannot compare to the abundance of evidence that exists for the scribal traditions in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia.

Concerning vital questions about the nature of biblical wisdom literature, therefore, one can anticipate continued lively debate among scholars, and hopefully subsequent advancement of our understanding.

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WISDOM LITERATURE: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

There is great ambiguity in defining wisdom literature within Jewish and Christian studies. This literary corpus has been defined alternately as (1) a precise canonical division of biblical books attributed to Solomon (traditional view); (2) the literary product of a particular social class (i.e., the sages of Israel); (3) an empirical literature developed to address the problems of government and administration; (4) an instructional literature developed to teach social conduct in the family unit; (5) a literary observation on creation in reaction to the failure of prophecy; (6) an international literature often characterized as universal, eudaemonistic (i.e., happiness as life's goal), secular, or humanistic; (7) a literature whose goal is to facilitate the reading and interpretation of sacred tradition and scripture itself; (8) a literature expressive of an intellectual tradition distinguishable from other types of thought in Hebrew culture; and, (9) most broadly, any literature that expresses a particular view toward reality (especially in clan, court, or scribal settings) in answer to the question "What is good for men and women?"

This representative—but by no means exhaustive—list of definitions reflects the lack of consensus about what wisdom is and how the wisdom tradition can be said to have shaped a literary genre called wisdom literature. The problem of definition may be elucidated by examining the relevant wisdom terms and patterns of usage in canonical deuterocanonical and extra-canonical texts through the Second Temple period (536 BCE–70 CE).

PROFESSIONAL CLASS OR CANONICAL DIVISION? Despite the pervasive use of the words *hokhmah* (wisdom) and *hakham* (wise) and the Greek equivalents *sophia* (wisdom) and *sophos* (wise) in the Bible and Septuagint (third-century BCE Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures), they do not technically describe either a professional class or a canonical division of scripture. Although the word *hak-ham* appears in *Jeremiah* 18:18 in a context that to some scholars suggests three professional classes (priests, prophets, and sages), such a reading is by no means conclusive and has been forcefully challenged by Roger Whybray (1968), among others. Other texts suggestive of a professional class of *ha-khamim* (sages) are similarly inconclusive (see *Is.* 5:21, 29:14, 31:2; *Jer.* 8:8, 9:22). Aside from these biblical references, certain external evidence of international school and scribal structures has been used to posit similar biblical institutions. However, lack of direct biblical evidence makes these theories somewhat speculative.

Whether wisdom constitutes an intra-canonical category is likewise debatable. Not until the apocryphal *Book of Ben Sira* (second century BCE) is there even an allusion to the tripartite canonical division: law, wisdom, and prophets (expressed in this unusual order at 39:1)

WISDOM-TORAH IDENTIFICATION. A related and more sharply defined issue in *Ben Sira* is the clear and striking identification of Torah and wisdom in chapter 24. Here

Wisdom, personified as a preexistent entity with God at creation, is said to have found a resting place in Israel (*Book of Ben Sira* 24:9). Furthermore, wisdom is peculiarly merged with Torah so that there is no Torah study without the study of wisdom. Beyond the early association of wisdom and Torah in *Deuteronomy* 4:6, the logic of this identification may be sought in the second-century BCE encounter between Judaism and Hellenism, whose rich philosophical traditions challenged Israel to provide a philosophical foundation for its own sacred history. In such a setting wisdom takes on a decidedly apologetic task. For the author of Ben Sira, Torah is mediated or interpreted by wisdom—the same wisdom perhaps that provides the international standard for the conduct of human affairs. The concerns of *Ben Sira* are echoed in *Baruch* (*Bar.* 3:9–4:4) and perhaps even in the final stages of earlier biblical books in which wisdom interprets sacred tradition.

This wisdom-Torah association persists in the later rabbinic literature. More typical of rabbinic interpretation, the Mishnah tractate *Avot* entertains the same wisdom-Torah juxtaposition but comes to the opposite conclusion: Rather than wisdom leading inevitably to Torah, knowledge of Torah now must precede and temper wisdom. In the words of the rabbinic sage Simon the Just:

> He whose wisdom takes precedence over his fear of sin, his wisdom will not endure. . . . That is why a person should first . . . carry out the commandments, even if he does not understand the reasons why. . . . He whose wisdom exceeds his works is one who does not carry out what he learns; therefore his knowledge of the Torah will not keep. (*Avot* 3.12)

In the Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran, in which the wisdom tradition is variously supplemented or even supplanted by apocalypticism, there is surprisingly little *hokhmah/hakham* vocabulary. Nevertheless, selected scrolls (1 QS, 1 QH, 1 QM) are strongly reminiscent of the late wisdom writings (e.g., Book of *Ben Sira, Baruch, Wisdom of Solomon*). Here an esoteric wisdom aids in the interpretation of Torah; what can be known about the origin and end of the world is not clearly discernible either in creation itself or in Torah plainly interpreted. Torah mysteries are revealed to the sectaries who become by membership in the community initiates into divine mysteries (1 QS 9:17–18; 1 QH 1:21). And yet, this esoteric wisdom is still linked to ethics and piety as in the older wisdom–Torah dialectic. The created order is still cause for praise despite its secrets (1 QH 1:11–12), and the secrets will finally be revealed to the remnant of those who obey to the commandments:

> But with the remnant of those who held fast to the commandments of God He made his Covenant with Israel forever, Revealing to them the hidden things In which all Israel had gone astray. (1 CD 3:13–14; as cited in Vermes, 1962, p. 85)

A similar wisdom-Torah dialectic, now with different aims, may be at work in the New Testament *Gospel of Matthew* in which Jesus is depicted as both a new Moses (e.g., *Mt.* 5:17–20; 23:34–40) and as Wisdom's representative (*Mt.* 11:19, 25–30; 23; cf. *Book of Ben Sira* 51) and in the *Letter of James* in which the "wisdom from above" (*Mt.* 3:17) seems to replace explicit Torah language.

The coexistence of such varied perspectives on the role of wisdom testifies to the highly pluralistic milieu of Hellenistic Judaism. Ultimately, for Judaism, Torah remained the standard by which all other scripture was to be interpreted, for despite the eventual recognition of the prophets and the writings as canonical divisions, at no time were these placed on equal footing with Torah. To the contrary, the challenge at Yavneh in the first century to the canonicity of Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes testifies to their tentative status, although the view that these books "defile the hands" (i.e., are to be revered as sacred writings) prevailed.

WISDOM ATTRIBUTED TO SOLOMON. The ascription of three books to the hand of Solomon, Judaism's preeminent wise man (*1 Kgs.* 3–5), is evidence of another link between wisdom and sacred history. *Proverbs, Song of Songs,* and (obliquely) *Ecclesiastes* all claim or allude to Solomonic authorship. The curious circumstance that *Ecclesiastes* is ascribed not to Solomon but to Qohelet, who is nevertheless described in language appropriate only to Solomon ("Son of David, king in Jerusalem"), is regarded by Brevard S. Childs (1979) as evidence of canonical shaping. By means of this device, the reader who knows the tradition of wisdom surrounding Solomon is instructed to read *Ecclesiastes* as an authoritative part of that tradition. If this assessment is correct, the assignment of texts to Solomon provides the earliest glimpse of a biblical category functioning as (what is now referred to as) wisdom literature.

Although modern scholars such as Whybray, Gerhard von Rad, Walter Bruggemann, and Joseph Blenkinsopp have tended to attribute a secular humanistic orientation to the literature of the Solomonic enlightenment, Jewish historian Josephus Flavius (37/38–c. 101), the rabbis, and the early church fathers offer evidence for the inadequacy of this assessment. Both Flavius and Origen (c. 185–c. 254) refer to the Solomonic works as theologically didactic, that is, teaching divine wisdom. In his famous discussion of the twenty-two books of scripture "justly accredited" and "containing the record of all time," Josephus observes that "four contain hymns to God and precepts for the conduct of human life [*hypothekas*]" (*Against Apion* 1.39). These four are thought to be *Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes*, and *Song of Songs.*

In the prologue to his *Commentary on Song of Songs*, Origen places "three books written by Solomon's pen [in] didactic order" from *Proverbs* to *Ecclesiastes* to *Song of Songs.* In this order, he writes, the books present three general disciplines by which one attains knowledge of the universe. The Greeks call them ethics, physics, and enoptics (Origen, *Commentary on Song of Songs*).

Origen's thought was further systematized in the fourth century by Gregory of Nyssa (c. 335–c. 395), who writes that

God used Solomon as an instrument to show "in systematic and orderly fashion, the way which leads upward to perfection." These three books, analogous to stages of growth in the physical body, reveal a particular order of development that brings human beings to virtuous life. From *Proverbs*'s neophyte wisdom, suitable for the child, to *Ecclesiastes*'s teaching that "beauty is that beyond anything grasped by the senses," to *Song of Songs*'s "initiation of the mind into the innermost divine sanctuary," the human soul is directed gradually toward its final "mingling with the divine" (Gregory of Nyssa, *Homily on the Song of Songs*).

WISDOM SINCE THE ENLIGHTENMENT. With the Enlightenment and the rise of modern biblical scholarship came a departure from the traditional definition of wisdom literature as material attributed to Solomon. Attention turned now to the issues of form and redaction criticism and particularly to newly discovered ancient Near Eastern wisdom parallels (especially Egyptian texts). In this period the term *wisdom literature* came to be a standard designation for a vaguely defined type of Old Testament literature.

Interest in the implications of scientific findings for the standing of wisdom in biblical theology also arose in the modern period, doubtless in reaction to the Enlightenment preoccupation with historical critical method. Von Rad's (1972) three-part chronological division of Old Testament wisdom history into old (secular) wisdom, theological wisdom, and apocalyptic wisdom is perhaps the most comprehensive result of such study, although it has received sharp criticism by such scholars as James Crenshaw and Gerald Sheppard.

In the 1950s a new and extensive exploration of wisdom influence on biblical texts generally not defined as wisdom literature was initiated by von Rad's (1966) study of the Joseph narrative in *Genesis.* Von Rad's claim that the *Genesis* narrative, through its use of wisdom themes and vocabulary, presents Joseph as one trained in the wisdom of the Egyptian court drew much criticism but also gave rise to a generation of similar studies. Studies of other narrative texts, like Whybray's (1968) *Succession Narrative* and Talmon's (1963) study of the *Book of Esther*, followed von Rad's lead. Legal and prophetic texts were similarly explored by Moshe Weinfeld, Joseph Jensen, William Whedbee, and others.

CROSS-CULTURAL STUDIES OF WISDOM IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST. The international context of biblical wisdom is already suggested by the claim in *1 Kings* 4:30 that Solomon's wisdom surpassed that of all the peoples of the East and Egypt. The comparison of Egyptian instructional literature to *Proverbs* by Adolf Erman (1924) and Paul Humbert (1929) opened a new phase of inquiry into wisdom literature as a genre. From the Egyptian *sebayit* (teaching) with its central idea of *maat* (the divine order of truth established by God) to the Sumerian and Assyro-Babylonian instructional texts of Mesopotamia, parallels to nearly every presumed wisdom category in the Hebrew scriptures have been found. Egyptian texts relating advice to the student were found to bear strong resemblance to the biblical *Proverbs,* whereas texts listing the works of nature, such as the *Onomasticon of Amenemope*, were compared to texts such as *Job* 38–39. Likewise, the biblical theme of the suffering of the righteous and the skeptical tradition of Qohelet found rough parallels in certain Egyptian texts (such as the papyrus *Dispute over Suicide*) and even stronger resonance in Mesopotamian texts like the poem *Ludlul bel nemeqi* (the Babylonian Job), the *Dialogue of Human Misery,* and the *Dialogue of Pessimism.*

Despite these strong family resemblances, however, many scholars have objected that ancient Near Eastern parallels have been exaggerated in the secondary literature. W. G. Lambert's (1960) pivotal study of Babylonian literature stresses the inapplicability of biblical definitions of wisdom to the Akkadian word *nemequ,* usually translated "wisdom." Unlike biblical wisdom, *nemequ* most often refers to skill in cult and magic lore in which the wise man is the initiate. Although Babylonian literature exhibits thought patterns similar to those often characterized as biblical wisdom (e.g., proverbs, advice on living), "there is no precise canon by which to recognize them" as wisdom texts (Lambert, 1960). In any case Lambert cautions that the term *nemequ* does not adequately define these writings.

Equally problematic is the attempt to equate proverbial or folk sayings with wisdom. Once again the cross-cultural resemblance is undeniable and yet one cannot limit wisdom to proverbs without depriving the term *wisdom* of its rich nuance. Proverbs, after all, occur in the widest variety of cultures, often without any religious content or implication. The discovery of Egyptian parallels to biblical proverbs is far from establishing an international standard for wisdom.

WISDOM AS A CATEGORY IN THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS. If it is somewhat problematic to speak of a cross-cultural wisdom literature in the ancient Near Eastern context, it is even more difficult to do so in the context of contemporary comparative religions. It would be tempting, for example, to draw a correspondence between Buddhism's *prajñā,* sometimes personified as a goddess who brings enlightenment to all buddhas, and the personified Wisdom of *Proverbs* 8. Both figures are praised in hymns that endow them with feminine traits, and yet the practices directed toward achieving the two states—*prajñā* and biblical wisdom—are near opposites. Buddhism, particularly Mahāyāna Buddhism, undertakes to awaken *prajñā* "found slumbering under ignorance and karma which come from our unconditioned surrender to the intellect" (Suzuki, 1958 p. 5), whereas biblical wisdom is often characterized as an intellectual tradition. In other words, wisdom in the biblical tradition is often associated with knowledge, and *prajñā*—more like antiknowledge—is characterized by detachment from the intellect and the cultivation of a transcendental insight into things "just as they are" (*yatha bhutam*), without conceptual distortion.

Closer to what scholars associate with biblical wisdom is the wisdom of Zoroastrianism, which is manifest in perfect control over the will, shown in "good deeds, righteousness and good repute," according to *Denkard,* a ninth-century encyclopedia of Zoroastrianism. The source of this wisdom is the Creator "who is essential wisdom"; the created "receive it through their own faculties" (*Denkard* 380.19–382.3). As in much of the Bible, wisdom and righteousness go hand in hand.

Islamic mysticism offers another example of wisdom as anti-intellectualism. For the Ṣūfīs, all wisdom (*aqul;* universal reason) is included in the letter *alif,* the first letter of the Arabic alphabet and symbol for God. It requires no study of books or philosophical quest because knowledge is immediately derived from God. Furthermore, it is typical of Persian mystical literature to elevate love over intellect or to substitute "rapture for reasoning" (Schimmel, 1975, p. 431).

Each of these traditions undoubtedly exhibits internal diversity and nuance in its definition of wisdom equal to or exceeding the variations in biblical and other ancient Near Eastern texts. The problems encountered in the comparison of the latter, texts from similar temporal and geographical settings, are only exacerbated in the broader cultural context of contemporary history of religions. If there is no consistent use of the term in the ancient Near East, there is far less consistency of definition about a wisdom genre outside of that milieu. The question remains, then, whether wisdom can be spoken about as a category of literature either within the Bible or in the broader and more problematic cross-cultural context of world religions.

SEE ALSO Ḥokhmah; Prajñā; Sophia.

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ALEXANDRA R. BROWN (1987 AND 2005)

WISE, ISAAC M.

WISE, ISAAC M. (1819–1900), pioneer and leading organizer of American Reform Judaism. Born near Eger, Bohemia (now Cheb, Czech Republic), Isaac Mayer Wise led an impoverished childhood. He received a traditional Talmudic education, which, though irregular, gave him an extensive acquaintance with rabbinic literature and an appetite for wider knowledge. In 1846, after holding a minor rabbinical position in Radnitz, he left for America.

Essentially Wise was an autodidact. He appears to have imbibed Mendelssohnian ideas in Europe, but on his arrival in New York there was nothing to distinguish him from conventional Orthodoxy. The mainspring of his Reform inclinations, which surfaced in America, appears to have been a sense of the needs of Judaism in the New World. He became the rabbi at a synagogue in Albany, New York, and not only instituted reforms there but began to write and lead efforts designed to bring direction to the scattered elements of American Jewry—to formulate a particularly American Judaism. A quarrel within his synagogue over certain of these reforms led to his being forcibly ejected from his position in 1850; he thereupon started his own congregation. In 1854 he moved to Cincinnati, where he remained until his death. During the course of his lifetime Wise was twice married; he had ten children with his first wife and four with his second.

In Cincinnati, Wise started a weekly, *The Israelite* (later renamed *The American Israelite*), which was quickly followed by a German periodical for Jewish women, *Die Deborah.* He wrote voluminously: history, theology, poetry, catechisms, and liturgical writings issued from his pen. Wise's overriding concerns were to provide the American Jewish community with a synod that would set qualifications for American rabbis and to establish a college that would train them and legitimize changes in ritual. This program incurred the suspicion not only of Orthodox Jews but also of the more doctrinaire Reform Jews, and it led to violent polemics with his colleagues.

Nevertheless, as a result of Wise's propaganda the Union of American Hebrew Congregations was established in 1873 in Cincinnati, and in 1875 the union opened Hebrew Union College, with Wise as its president. His energy, resilience, and single-minded devotion to his tasks nursed the college through a difficult beginning, and when in 1889 the Central Conference of American Rabbis was established Wise became its president. His place in the history of American Judaism rests on his intuition of the needs of an as yet inchoate community and his persistence in bringing his ideas to fulfillment.

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S. D. TEMKIN (1987)
Revised Bibliography

WISE, JOHN

WISE, JOHN (1652–1725), Congregational clergyman and proponent of ecclesiastical liberty in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. A graduate of Harvard College in 1673, Wise by the end of the 1670s had settled in the town of Ipswich as its parish minister, remaining in that capacity and locale until his death. Wise is remembered chiefly for his defense of a pure "congregational" polity, each local church being left free to conduct its own affairs without hindrance or help from "higher" or more numerous clerical authorities. In *The Churches Quarrel Espoused* (1710) and again in *A Vindication of the Government of New-England Churches* (1717), Wise ridiculed the notion that pastors were unable to lead their own flocks, perform their proper duties, or steadily "steer in all weather that Blows." It was quite unnecessary, he argued, and indeed potentially dangerous, to resort to councils or synods—to consociations or committees—to "advise" or "assist" the independent congregation. If people cannot direct their own worship, he continued, perhaps they are incapable even of choosing their own spouses. Some may even think that a committee is needed to "direct all Wooers in their Choice for the Marriage Bed; for that there is many a fond Lover who has betrayed the glory of Wedlock by making an unwise and unfortunate Choice; and why not particular Beds be overruled, as well as particular Churches?"

With such wit joined with even more convincing arguments from antiquity, from nature, and from Christian scripture, Wise argued narrowly for the congregational way, but he also argued broadly for local rule and individual liberty. That Wise's plea for ecclesiastical liberty had inescapable implications for civil liberty found explicit recognition in the republication in 1772 of both works noted above. After the Sugar Act (1764), the Stamp Act (1765), the Townshend acts (1767), and the Boston Massacre (1770), New Englanders welcomed the assurance that a natural person is "a Free-Born Subject under the Crown of Heaven, and owing Homage to none but God Himself."

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EDWIN S. GAUSTAD (1987 AND 2005)

WISE, STEPHEN S.

WISE, STEPHEN S. (1874–1949), American rabbi, Zionist leader, and social activist. Scion of a family of European rabbis, Stephen Samuel Wise was brought to America as an infant from Budapest to join his father, Aaron Wise. Educated at Columbia University, he received private rabbinic training and was ordained by Adolf Jellinek of Vienna. From service as assistant rabbi at the Conservative synagogue B'nai Jeshurun in New York, he moved to the pulpit of Reform Temple Beth Israel in Portland, Oregon, and returned to New York in 1907 to found and head the Free Synagogue. Its pulpit would be free, said Wise; its pews would welcome all; its purpose would be to make its congregants more "vitally, intensely, unequivocally Jewish."

A religious liberal and social activist, Wise used the pulpit and lecture platform to promote both liberalism and social justice. As an American clergyman he involved himself in civic affairs and social and economic issues, helping to found both the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (1909) and the American Civil Liberties Union (1920); as a rabbi he made the plight of brethren abroad, Jewish rights at home, and the democratization of Jewish communal life his central concerns. Above all was his lifelong devotion to the cause of Zionism. He was a founder of the Federation of American Zionists in 1898, and he twice served as president of the Zionist Organization of America (1913–1920; 1936–1938).

To help democratize the structure of the American Jewish community, Wise took leadership in the organization of the American Jewish Congress. He was its president from 1921 to 1925 and honorary president until his death. In the wake of the rise of Nazism, he organized the World Jewish Congress in 1936 and served as its president. To bring greater unity to American Jewry, he founded a nondenominational rabbinical seminary, the Jewish Institute of Religion, in 1922. Wise was acclaimed as one of the most stirring of pulpit orators and platform lecturers of his generation.

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ABRAHAM J. KARP (1987)
Revised Bibliography

WISSOWA, GEORG

WISSOWA, GEORG (1859–1931), was a German philologist and historian of Roman religion. Georg Otto August Wissowa was born near Breslau, the son of a civil servant. His grandfather was a noted Tacitus scholar and the director of Breslau's Catholic Gymnasium, where Wissowa himself was educated, graduating with superior marks in 1876. That same year he entered the University of Breslau, where he studied under the classical philologist August Reiffersheid, who introduced him to the study of Roman religion. In 1880 Wissowa successfully defended his doctoral dissertation, "De Macrobii Saturnalium fontibus." He subsequently continued his studies in Munich under Heinrich von Brunn, then one of Germany's foremost students of Roman antiquities. From Brunn he gained an appreciation of the importance of art and monuments for the understanding of Roman religious life, and in 1882 he produced a habilitation thesis on the images of Venus in Roman art ("De Veneris simulacris romanis"). Through Brunn, Wissowa also met that towering genius of Roman historical studies, Theodor Mommsen, whose methods he later applied to the study of Roman religion.

Upon the acceptance of his thesis, Wissowa joined the faculty at Breslau as a privatdocent, but he spent his first year in that position doing research in Italy (his only trip to the homeland of Roman civilization). In 1886 he accepted a post as associate professor at Marburg, where he was promoted to professor ordinarius in 1890. In 1895 he left Marburg for the University of Halle (Saale), where he spent the remainder of his career.

During the early part of his career Wissowa wrote nearly a dozen articles dealing with Roman religious antiquities. There were, in fact, preliminary studies for what was to be his chief contribution to the science of religion, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (1902; 2d ed., 1912). In this work he traced the development of Rome's religion and described in detail its gods and practices. The book's importance lies in Wissowa's successful identification of the several strata of Roman religion, his clarity and precision in delineating the nature of its various facets, and his masterful treatment of its evolution by adoption of foreign forms. He demonstrated once and for all the essential dissimilarity of Greek and Roman religion, emphasizing that the latter was highly legalistic and almost totally lacking in mythology. In an era dominated by the comparative approach to religion popularized by James G. Frazer's *The Golden Bough,* Wissowa anticipated more recent anthropology by insisting on the need to understand Roman religion on its own terms and as an organic unit (cf. his remarks on Frazer in *Religion und Kultus,* 2d ed., p. 248,

n. 3). *Religion und Kultus der Römer* soon became the foundation for all subsequent work in its field. Though other general treatments of the subject have appeared since its publication, it remains a standard and indispensable authority.

Hardly less important for the study of religion was Wissowa's decision to take on the task of reediting August Pauly's *Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertums-wissenschaft.* The resulting compendium, not completed until 1972, became a standard reference for all students of the ancient world. It naturally included numerous articles on ancient gods and cults, many of them written by Wissowa himself. He was, in addition, a contributor to W. H. Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* and to James Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.*

Wissowa continued to be an active author and teacher until 1923, when his health failed. He spent the last eight years of his life as an invalid. It is to be regretted that his physical condition prevented him from participating in the discussion of new archaeological evidence unearthed during the 1920s that was to prove of major significance for the history of Roman religion.

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In addition to the works cited above, Wissowa wrote a collection of articles, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte* (1904; reprint, New York, 1975), which supplement *Religion und Kultus.* Of his many other valuable articles, I would single out as particularly interesting "Zum Ritual der Arvalbrüder," *Hermes* 52 (1917): 321–347.

A bibliography of Wissowa's works (nearly complete, but add the articles listed in the index to the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* edited by James Hastings, Edinburgh, 1908–1927) may be found at the end of Otto Kern's obituary for Wissowa in the *Biographisches Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde* 60 (1934): 120–145. This article and Kern's *Georg Wissowa: Gedächtnisrede* (Halle, 1931) are the fullest treatments of Wissowa's life.

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HENRY JAY WATKIN (1987)
Revised Bibliography

WITCHCRAFT

This entry consists of the following articles:

CONCEPTS OF WITCHCRAFT
AFRICAN WITCHCRAFT

WITCHCRAFT: CONCEPTS OF WITCHCRAFT

The term *witchcraft* embraces a wide variety of phenomena. Its meaning varies according to historical and cultural context. The word *witch* derives from the Old English noun *wicca* (sorcerer) and the verb *wiccian* (to cast a spell). The original concept of witchcraft corresponds to what anthropologists call *sorcery*: the attempt to influence the course of events by ritual means. Sorcery is widespread and found in almost every culture and historical period. Two other, quite different, phenomena have also been called *witchcraft.* The first is the alleged diabolical witchcraft of early modern Europe and its colonies; the second is Neopagan witchcraft, a twentieth-century revival. This article will distinguish sharply among these three phenomena, because the connections between them are few and tenuous.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONCEPTS OF SORCERY AND WITCHCRAFT. Anthropologists distinguish between sorcery and witchcraft. Sorcery is a system of beliefs and practices whose goal is to manipulate nature in order to bring about specific changes that benefit the sorcerer or her or his clients. Witchcraft is the belief that certain members of society are inherently able to harm others. Sorcery involves a set of skills that can be learned; witchcraft is usually thought to be inborn and inherited. In practice, however, sorcery and witchcraft beliefs often exist side by side, and it is sometimes difficult to separate the two.

The simplest forms of sorcery involve the performance of one action in order to bring about another, such as performing sexual intercourse in a sown field to assure a good harvest, or putting pins in an image to cause injury. However, sorcery often goes beyond the performance of magical acts and invokes the help of spirits. In order to cure illness, a Guatemalan sorcerer may perform rituals invoking the aid of San Simon, a Catholic saint who has absorbed the characteristics of an indigenous Mayan deity. If a member of the Lugbara tribe of Zaire and Uganda were injured, he might appeal to the shrines of his dead ancestors for help. This type of magic has much in common with prayer: both magic and prayer attempt to assure a spirit's assistance. However, while prayer usually implores a deity's cooperation, magic sometimes attempts to compel the gods to collaborate.

Sorcery implies an underlying belief system in a coherent universe in which all parts are interrelated, and influencing one part can affect another. In such a universe, relationships exist linking human beings with stars, plants, minerals, animals, and other natural phenomena, as well as supernaturals, such as gods, nature spirits, and angels. This belief system is known as the "magical worldview." Its thought processes are intuitive rather than analytical, but they have their own internal logic, and are thus not inherently irrational. They can arise out of an emotionally charged experience: for example, if in a rage you curse someone who has offended you, and shortly afterwards this person dies, you may feel both guilty and powerful, and henceforth assume that certain powers are available to you. Empirical science ignores such events because they cannot be verified through experimentation, but societies whose worldviews are not exclusively empirical regard them as direct and convincing evidence of a coherent, magical universe.

Almost all societies have some form of sorcery; in many, it plays an important function. In cultures without access to medical technology, sorcerers may function as healers. Even when medical cures are available, people may still resort to sorcerers to heal certain kinds of illnesses that do not respond readily to pharmaceutics or surgery. Healers, medicine men, and so-called witch doctors are sorcerers who by definition have a positive function in society, for their work is to cure victims of the effects of witchcraft or malevolent magic. Individuals may consult healers to obtain relief from disease or other misfortunes attributed to witchcraft or sorcery; tribal and village authorities may summon them to combat drought or other public calamities. Dances and other rituals serve to detect and repel witches and evil spirits. Such protective sorcery assumes special social importance in times of famine, war, or severe stress in the community.

In some cultures, sorcery and religion come together: a priest or priestess may perform ritual acts to make rain, ripen the crops, procure peace, or ensure victory in war. When such acts are performed publicly, for the public good, they are generally viewed as benevolent and have a positive social function. But when they are performed privately and for the benefit of a few individuals, they are often regarded with suspicion. The distinction between public and private magic often becomes the distinction between "good" and "bad" magic. Both Vodou and Santeria, Afro-Caribbean religions in which elements of magic exist within a religious framework, make formal distinctions between public religious ceremony and private sorcery done against certain individuals; the latter is condemned. Private sorcery provides the poor, the weak, and the powerless with a tool of resistance and revenge. During periods of great social tension, such as plague or warfare, recourse to sorcery tends to increase and intensify, as more individuals feel powerless at the mercy of larger forces.

Periods of social strain are also characterized by a rise in witchcraft accusations. Unlike sorcerers, witches do not actually have to perform any actions to harm their victims. The Azande of southern Sudan believed that witchcraft was a psychic act; it required no magic spells or actions, and could even be done involuntarily. Witchcraft was inherited from the parent of the same sex. Witches were believed to possess *mangu,* a substance thought to be lodged in the intestines and to confer the spiritual power to harm. Witches were also believed to be able to send their spirits out at night to eat the souls of their victims, causing them to sicken and die. The Azande often blamed any kind of misfortune, from cracked pots to serious illness and death, on witchcraft. Their suspicions fell first upon neighbors with whom they had a disagreement. In order to identify whether witchcraft was responsible for their problems, they would consult oracles. If the oracle's response indicated that witchcraft was to blame, the Azande would confront the alleged witch and ask him to blow water over an offering in order to "cool" his emotions towards the victim. This act alone was usually enough to undo the witchcraft and mend social relations. Only in severe cases would disagreements result in the trial and execution of the witch.

The Navajo Indians of the American Southwest believed in witches called *skinwalkers* who would transform into wolves or coyotes at night in order to stalk their victims. Skinwalkers were said to assemble secretly in order to concoct a poison made from corpses that they used to kill their enemies. They were thought to fly through the air at night to blow the corpse poison into the smoke holes of their victims' hogans (a hogan is a Navajo dwelling). Both the Azande and the Navajo had healers who specialized in curing cases of witchcraft; however, among the Navajo, these specialized healers sometimes became suspected of witchcraft themselves. This occurs in many societies where sorcerers are enlisted to undo witchcraft, because it is assumed that those who have the power to heal can also use that power to harm.

Cultures with a belief in witchcraft often imagine witches as the very opposite of everything considered right in society. A witch is someone who disregards social rules, flouting even the most basic rules regarded as standards of decency in a particular society. Witches are often said to commit murder and incest, to engage in cannibalism and indiscriminate orgies, to have the ability to transform into animals, and to eat or otherwise abuse corpses. In other words, witches are people who violate the most basic rules in human society. Because the basic rules that maintain social order are similar cross-culturally, witches tend to be imagined in similar ways. It follows that individuals who flout other kinds of social rules, or who appear anomalous in other ways, stand a chance of being accused of witchcraft. For example, among the Azande, those who did not behave as good neighbors, who had many quarrels within the village, or who had a history of violent behavior were more frequently accused of witchcraft. Among the Navajo, those who appeared greedy, selfish and refused to share with their families, or who were marginal to the community and lived in peripheral areas were vulnerable to witchcraft accusations. Belief in witchcraft thus serves as a form of social control, reinforcing sanctioned behaviors and creating a threat against those who violate social norms.

Witchcraft beliefs also function as an attempt to explain the reasons behind otherwise unexplained negative events: illness, calamities, natural disasters, and death. Some anthropologists have argued that witch beliefs disappear once more scientific explanations for illness and natural phenomena are available. But even when humans understand the physical causes of a misfortune, the question remains: why does it strike some people, but not others? When a granary collapsed, killing a man inside it, the Azande were perfectly capable of understanding that it had given way because it was in a state of disrepair and weakened by termites. Still, the question for them remained: why had it collapsed at that very moment, and why when that particular man was inside? It is this question, the question why things happen as they do, that witchcraft beliefs attempt to tease out.

Witchcraft beliefs may also serve to explain the unexplainable. In all human cultures there are some experiences that are difficult to explain. These include experiences as diverse as sleep paralysis, near-death experiences, and dissociative states that produce very strong physical sensations that can lead believers to interpret them as signs of a spiritual reality that is contiguous to our material reality. Such experiences figure prominently in folklore about witches and witchcraft. In Newfoundland, for example, people often attribute the experience of sleep paralysis to being "hagged" or "hag ridden," believing that a malevolent witch sends her spirit out at night to torment them in their sleep. Because sleep paralysis often produces a physical sensation of a weight on the chest or a presence pressing down on the sleeper, the belief that witches cause this phenomenon may have arisen as an attempt to explain it.

Unlike sorcery, witchcraft beliefs are not true universals; that is, they do not occur in all cultures. They are most often found in small-scale agricultural societies with a stable settlement pattern, where neighbors have intimate knowledge of one another and social relationships are intense and multilayered. They also tend to be more frequent in cultures with little access to Western scientific knowledge and technology. Witchcraft beliefs are rare in large-scale societies with a great deal of social mobility. But similar phenomena, or so-called witch-hunts, do occur in developed societies with excellent access to information and scientific knowledge, for some of the same reasons they occur in small-scale societies: the desire to effect social control and to blame others for factors causing social tensions.

WITCHCRAFT AS A HISTORICAL PHENOMENON. Patterns of sorcery have existed in virtually all societies in the past, including Western society. The classical Greco-Roman and Hebrew societies from which Western civilization sprang entertained a great variety of beliefs and practices about sorcery, from public rituals that melded with religion to legends about hideous *striae* and *lamiae* reported by the poet Horace. He portrayed these witches as clothed in rotting shrouds, with disheveled hair, clawing the soil with taloned fingers as they invoked the gods of the underworld. The Greeks distinguished between three varieties of magic. The highest was *theourgia*, a kind of public liturgy "working things pertaining to the gods" (*theoi*), in which magic and religion blended. *Mageia* was the next variety; its practitioners worked technical magic privately to help themselves or their clients. *Goeteia* was the lowest form; "howlers" of incantations and mixers of potions, its practitioners were widely feared.

The sorcery of most cultures involved incantations supposed to summon spirits to aid the sorcerer. In many societies the connection between sorcery and the spirits was not explicitly formulated. But in both Greco-Roman and Hebrew thought the connection was defined or elaborated. The Greeks believed that all sorcerers drew upon the aid of spirits called *daimones* or *daimonia*. A Greek *daimon* could be either malevolent or benevolent. It could be almost a god (*theos*), or it could be a petty spirit. In the thought of Plotinus (205–270 CE) and other Neoplatonists, the demons occupied an ontological rank between the gods and humanity. The Hebrews gradually developed the idea of the *mal'akh*, originally a manifestation of God's power, later an independent spirit sent down as a messenger by God. In Greek translations of Hebrew, *mal'akh* became *angelos*, "messenger." Christians eventually identified "angels" with the Greek *daimones* and defined them as beings ontologically between God and humanity.

But a different element gained influence through the apocalyptic writings of the Hellenistic period (200 BCE–150 CE): the belief in evil spirits led by Satan, lord of all evil. The idea had limited precedents in earlier Jewish thought but gained prominence in the Hellenistic period under the influence of Iranian Mazdaism, or Zoroastrianism. Under such influence, the Christians came to divide the Greek *daimones* into two groups, the good angels and the evil demons. The demons were supposed to be angels who, under Satan's leadership, had turned against God and thereby become evil spirits. Sorcerers sought to compel spirits to carry out their will, but angels under God's command could not be compelled; thus it was supposed that sorcerers might well be drawing upon the aid of evil demons. This was the central idea of the second main variety of witchcraft, the alleged diabolism of the late medieval and Renaissance periods in Europe.

EUROPEAN WITCHCRAFT. Although simple sorcery had always existed, a new concept of witchcraft evolved in medieval and early modern Europe. The Christian concept of the devil transformed the idea of the sorcerer into that of the witch, consorter with demons and subject of Satan. Since 1880 this kind of diabolical witchcraft has been subject to four major schools of interpretation. The first, rooted in classical nineteenth-century liberalism, perceived witchcraft as an invention of superstitious and greedy ecclesiastics eager to prosecute witches in order to augment their own power and wealth. The second school, that of Margaret Murray, argued that witchcraft represented the survival of the old pagan religion of pre-Christian Europe. This religion (which never existed in the coherent form she believed) she supposed to be the religion of the majority of the people down into the seventeenth century, although subject to constant persecution by the Christian authorities. Murray's theory had great influence from the 1920s through the 1950s; unsupported by any credible evidence, it is now rejected by scholars. The third school emphasizes the social history of witchcraft, seeking to analyze the patterns of witch accusations in Europe much as anthropologists have done for other societies. The fourth school emphasizes the evolution of the idea of witchcraft from elements gradually assembled over the centuries. Most scholars currently belong to one or the other of the last two schools.

Historical development. The first element in diabolical witchcraft was sorcery, which existed in Europe as it did elsewhere. It persisted through the period of the witch craze and indeed has persisted to the present. Without this fundamental element, belief in diabolical witchcraft could not have existed. The second, related aspect was the survival of elements from pagan religions in the folklore of Christian Europe. In some parts of Europe, women believed that they participated in nighttime spiritual journeys led by the goddess Diana or by other supernatural female figures. These nighttime spiritual assemblies would dance, feast, and occasionally enter the homes of neighbors, rewarding the hospitable and punishing the slovenly. The wild ride with Diana was a form of folk belief in the "wild hunt," a troop of spirits led by a female or male deity that rode out at night, striking terror in those who encountered it.

During the Middle Ages, the Christian view of these beliefs changed. Early in the period they were seen as merely superstitious and mistaken, but towards the tenth and eleventh centuries they began to be considered heretical. The *Canon Episcopi*, a legal document of the Frankish kingdom issued about 900 CE, condemns "wicked women. . .who believe that they ride out at night on beasts with Diana, the pagan goddess. . . .Such fantasies are thrust into the minds of faithless people not by God but by the Devil." Gradually, the folk concept of the wild hunt, with its feasting, music, and dancing, was transformed into the diabolical sabbat, a nocturnal assembly of witches under the direction of the devil where horrible acts took place.

Another element in the development of diabolical witchcraft in Europe was Christian heresy. The classical formulation of diabolical witchcraft had been established by the fifteenth century. Its chief elements were: (1) a pact with the devil; (2) formal repudiation of Christ; (3) the secret nocturnal meeting; (4) the ride by night; (5) the desecration of the Eucharist and the crucifix; (6) orgy; (7) sacrificial infanticide; and (8) cannibalism. Each of these elements derived from one or another charge made against medieval heretics. Heresy became the medium through which sorcery was linked with the devil.

At the first formal trial of heretics in the Middle Ages, at Orléans in 1022, the accused were said to hold orgies underground at night, to call up evil spirits, to kill and cremate children conceived at previous orgies and use their ashes in blasphemous parody of the Eucharist, to renounce Christ and desecrate the crucifix, and to pay homage to the devil. The history of such charges goes at least as far back as the court of Antiochus IV Epiphanes of Syria (176–165 BCE), who made similar accusations against the Jews; the pagan Romans used them against the Christians, and the early Christians used them against the Gnostics. An early eleventh-century pedant must have resurrected the charges from patristic accounts of Gnostic heresy and applied them to the Orléans group, applying the archetypal thinking common in the Middle Ages: a heretic is a heretic, and whatever one heretic does another must also do. Thus the *idea* of heresy, more than any actual heresy itself, became the basis for the connection of heresy with witchcraft. Some later heretical groups, such as the sect of the Free Spirit, also were accused of similar diabolical crimes. Not all heretics were so charged, however. On the whole, the accusations were limited to those who had some connection with dualism, the doctrine that not one but two eternal principles existed. The two principles, one evil and one good, struggled for control of the cosmos. Dualist influence on most medieval heresies was indirect, but upon Catharism it was both direct and pronounced.

Catharism was a dualist heresy imported into western Europe from the Balkans in the 1140s. Strong in southern France and northern Italy for well over a century, it dominated the culture of Languedoc and the Midi in the years around 1200; it was suppressed by the Albigensian Crusade and eradicated by the Inquisition. The Cathari believed that matter, and the human body in particular, were creations of the evil god, whose intent was to hold the spirit imprisoned in the "filthy tomb of the flesh." The evil god is Satan, lord of this world, ruler of all material things and manipulator of human desires for them. Money, sex, and worldly success were the domain of the devil. These doctrines brought the devil closer to the center of attention than he had been since the time of the "Desert Fathers" a thousand years earlier. If only to refute Catharist theories, Scholastic theologians had to give the devil his due. The Catharist designation of Satan as the lord of the things of this world may also have led some who desired those things in the direction of Satan worship.

Scholastic theology was the next major element in the formation of the witch concept. Tradition going back to the early church fathers had suggested that the Christian community, which formed the mystical body of Christ, was opposed by an opposite group forming the mystical body of Satan and consisting of pagans, heretics, Jews, and other unbelievers. It was not only the right but the duty of the Christian to struggle against this evil host. Saints' lives and legends of the intense struggles of the Desert Fathers against demonic forces kept this tradition alive, and it was reinforced by Catharist dualism. In the twelfth through fourteenth centuries the Scholastics developed the tradition of the body of Satan, refined its details, and supplied it with a rational substructure. They extended the devil's kingdom explicitly to include sorcerers, whom they considered a variety of heretic. Simple sorcerers became, in the dominant Scholastic thought of the later Middle Ages, servants of Satan.

The link between sorcerers, heretics, and Satan was the idea of pact. The notion of pact had been popularized in the eighth century by translations of the sixth-century legend of Theophilus. In this story, Theophilus was a clergyman who sold his soul to the devil in exchange for ecclesiastical preferment. He met the devil through a Jewish magician and signed a formal pact with "the evil one" in order to fulfill his desires. The Scholastics derived a number of sinister ideas from the legend of Theophilus. Their theory transformed the person making the pact from a relatively equal contracting party to an abject slave of Satan who abjured Christ, did feudal homage to "the dark lord," and kissed his master's genitals or backside in token of his submission. The Scholastics also broadened the idea of pact to include implicit as well as explicit consent. One did not actually have to sign a contract to be a member of Satan's army; anyone—heretic, sorcerer, Jew, Muslim—who knowingly opposed the Christian community—that is, the body of Christ—was deemed to have made an implicit pact with the devil and to number among his servants.

The shift from Platonic to Aristotelian philosophy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries encouraged the process of demonizing witches. Platonic thought allowed for the existence of a natural, morally neutral magic between divine miracle and demonic delusion; but Aristotelianism dismissed natural magic and denied the existence of occult natural forces. If no natural magic existed, it followed that wonders were worked either through divine miracle or demonic imposture. Magicians compel or exploit supernatural powers, and since God and the angels cannot be compelled or exploited, the powers with which sorcerers deal must be demonic, whether they know this explicitly or not. Thus, Scholastic logic dismissed simple sorcery as demonic witchcraft.

Theology, then, made a logical connection between witchcraft and heresy. Heresy is any persistently held belief counter to orthodox doctrine. One who used demons serves the devil rather than God, and if one serves the devil, one acknowledges that correct theology involves serving the devil rather than God: this was the worst imaginable heresy.

The final element in the transformation of sorcery into diabolical witchcraft was the Inquisition. The connection of sorcery with heresy meant that sorcery could be prosecuted with much greater severity than before. Late Roman laws against sorcery were extremely severe, but during the early Middle Ages simple sorcery, or natural magic, was treated with relative leniency. Often it was ignored; when detected, it might bring no more than a fairly stiff penance. Elements of simple sorcery were incorporated into Christian practice, as seen in the combination of Christian prayer and pagan spells commonly said by parish priests in England during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Penalties for heresy, on the other hand, were severe. Suppression of heresy in the earlier Middle Ages was inconsistent, but in 1198 Innocent III ordered the execution of those who persisted in heresy after having been convicted and excommunicated. Between 1227 and 1235 a series of decrees established the papal Inquisition. In 1233 Gregory IX accused the Waldensian heretics, who were in fact evangelical moralists, of Satan worship. In 1252 Innocent IV authorized the use of torture by the Inquisition, and Alexander IV (1254–1261) gave it jurisdiction over all cases of sorcery involving heresy. Gradually almost all sorcery came to be included under the rubric of heresy.

The Inquisition was never well organized or particularly effective; in fact, most cases of witchcraft were tried before the secular courts. Nonetheless, the Inquisition provided one essential ingredient of the witch craze: the inquisitors' manuals. These manuals told inquisitors what signs of Satanism to look for, what questions to ask, and what answers to expect. Having obtained the answers they expected by using torture or the threat of torture, the inquisitors duly entered the answers in formal reports, which then added to the body of "evidence" that witches flew through the air, worshiped the devil, or sacrificed babies. It is unlikely that no one in the period ever practiced Satanism, but it is even more unlikely that any widespread Satanism existed. The great majority of the accused were innocent, at least of diabolism.

The witch craze. The number of executions for witchcraft was measured in the hundreds until the end of the mid-fifteenth century, but from 1450 to 1700—the period of the Renaissance and the origins of modern science—as many as a hundred thousand may have perished in what has been called the great witch craze. The witch craze can be explained by the dissemination, during a period of intense social unrest, of the intellectual elements summarized above by the Inquisition, the secular courts, and above all the medium of the sermon. The popularity of the sermon during the later Middle Ages and the Reformation explains how beliefs about witches spread in a period when the leading intellectual movements, such as nominalism and humanism, downplayed or even ignored witchcraft. The invention of the printing press also did its part in spreading the evil. In 1484 Pope Innocent VIII issued a bull confirming papal support for inquisitorial proceedings against witches, and this bull was included as a preface to the *Malleus maleficarum* (The Hammer of Witches), a book by two Dominican inquisitors. Published in 1486, the *Malleus* went into many editions in many languages, selling more copies in Protestant and Catholic regions combined than any other book except the Bible. The *Malleus* colorfully detailed the diabolical, orgiastic activities of witches and helped persuade public opinion that a cosmic plot directed by Satan threatened all Christian society.

Fears of cosmic plots increase in periods of high social tension. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries witnessed a growth of existential anxiety, a widespread belief that the antichrist, the return of the savior, and the transformation of the world were at hand. As the religious split between Catholicism and Protestantism widened during the sixteenth century and flared up into religious warfare, eschatological fears deepened. Catholics saw the Protestants as soldiers of Satan sent to destroy the Christian community; Protestants viewed the pope as the antichrist. Terror of witchcraft and prosecution of witches grew in both Catholic and Protestant regions, reaching heights between 1560 and 1660, when religious wars were at their worst. No significant differences distinguished Catholic from Protestant views of witchcraft. The Protestants, who rejected so many of the accretions of doctrine in the Middle Ages, accepted beliefs about witches almost without modification. Martin Luther (1483–1546) declared that all witches should be burned as heretics in league with Satan; persecutions in the regions ruled by the Calvinists were comparable to those in Catholic and Lutheran areas.

Tens of thousands were persecuted and hundreds of thousands terrified and intimidated during one of the longest and strangest delusions in history.

The discourse of diabolical witchcraft was often invoked by ordinary people to prosecute neighbors for petty jealousies and resentments characteristic of small-scale societies. The craze was restricted almost exclusively to western Europe and its colonies. Since diabolism is virtually meaningless outside a Christian conceptual framework, it could not spread to non-Christian areas. Although the Eastern Christian church shared the same beliefs in the powers of Satan as the Western church, it experienced no witch craze. The absence of the witch craze in the Eastern church illustrates the hypothesis that for a craze to break out, three elements are required: (1) the appropriate intellectual structure; (2) the mediation of that structure from the elite to the people at large; and (3) marked social tension and fear.

Skeptics such as Johann Weyer (fl. 1563) and Reginald Scot (fl. 1584), who wrote against belief in witchcraft, were rare and were often rewarded for their efforts by persecution; Weyer, for example, was accused of witchcraft himself. More typical of the period were the works of the learned King James I of England and VI of Scotland (d. 1625). Personally terrified of witches, James encouraged their prosecution, wrote a book against them, encouraged the statute of 1604 against pact and devil worship, and commissioned a translation of scripture (the Authorized Version or King James Bible) that deliberately rendered certain Hebrew words (such as *kashshaf)* as "witch" in order to produce texts such as "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live" (*Ex.* 22:18), which supported the king's design of suppressing witchcraft legally. In 1681 Joseph Glanvill was still able to publish a popular second edition of a work supporting belief in diabolical witchcraft. But by that time the craze was beginning to fade. Cartesian and scientific thought had no room for witchcraft; ecclesiastical and civil authorities agreed that witch prosecutions had got out of hand; and European society was settling down to two centuries (1700–1900) of relative peace and prosperity. The greatest outburst in those centuries was the French Revolution; it occurred in an intellectual context (the Enlightenment) in which revival of witch beliefs was impossible. European society found other rationales by which to demonize aristocrats, Jews, communists, capitalists, imperialists, or whomever was selected as an object of hatred. The date of the last execution for witchcraft in England was 1684, in America 1692, in Scotland 1727, in France 1745, and in Germany 1775.

WITCHCRAFT AND SOCIETY. The most important social function of the belief in diabolical witchcraft was scapegoating. Sometimes this process was conscious and cynical, as when Henry VIII added witchcraft to the list of charges trumped up against Anne Boleyn. Much more often it was unconscious. If one is impotent, or one's crops fail, or one becomes ill, it helps to blame a witch, not only because it relieves one of guilt but also because the belief that a witch has caused one's problems gives one the illusion of being able to solve them. If God or fate has caused your illness, you may have no remedy; if a witch caused it, then you may recover once the witch has been found and punished. Some scholars have hypothesized that witchcraft accusations function as a form of psychological projection: according to this unconscious mechanism, reviled characteristics are projected onto another individual or social group. "I hate you" becomes "You hate me," leading to suspicions and accusations of witchcraft against the target. During the period of the witch craze, projection had the important function of promoting the cohesion of Christian communities by the postulation of a powerful external foe. Witches thus served a purpose similar to that of external enemies in modern warfare, for they united the people against a common threat.

Historians have noted correlations between witch accusations and social position. Persons between the ages of forty and sixty were most commonly accused; the accused had fewer children than normal; children were seldom accused of witchcraft but were often believed to be its victims; people accused of witchcraft had been previously accused of other crimes more frequently than normal, especially offensive language, lying, theft, and sex offenses. Chronic grumbling, abrasive personality, quarreling, and cursing also increased one's chances of being accused. The social status of accused witches was usually low or lower middle, though sometimes magistrates, merchants, and other wealthy persons were involved. Anyone connected with medicine, especially midwives, was prone to suspicion, because illness and death could so easily be blamed upon witchcraft.

The most striking social correlation is between witchcraft and women. Although in certain areas and for brief periods of time more men were accused than women, over the entire history of the witch craze 75 percent of the accused were women. In the sixteenth century many more women were living alone than men. Given the patriarchal structure of European society at the time, a woman living alone without the support of father or husband had little influence and little legal or social redress for wrongs. Such women were often reduced to begging and depending on the charity of their neighbors. They also naturally tended to grumble or curse more than persons having effective influence in society. A physically weak, socially isolated, financially destitute, and legally powerless old woman who provoked resentment in her neighbors became an easy target for projection.

But the explanation lies only partly in specific social conditions. The misogyny underlying the association of women with witchcraft sprang from deep and ancient psychological roots. C. G. Jung, Mircea Eliade, Wolfgang Lederer, and others have commented on the powerful ambivalence of the feminine in religions, mythologies, and literatures dominated by males. The male view of the archetypal feminine is tripartite: she is the sweet, pure virgin; she is the kindly mother; she is the vicious, carnal hag. From the twelfth century, Christian society developed a compelling symbol incarnating the first two types in the Blessed Virgin Mother of God. As the power of the symbol of the Virgin Mother grew, the shadow side, the hag symbol, had to find outlet for its corresponding power. In ancient polytheistic religions the dark side of the female archetype had been integrated with the light side in the images of morally ambivalent goddesses such as Artemis. Split off from the positive side of the archetype, the Christian image of the hag became totally evil. In the period of the witch craze, this one-sided image was projected upon human beings, and the witch, no longer simply a sorceress, became the incarnation of the hag. Other androcentric assumptions in male-dominated religions encouraged the connection. The biblical narrative of creation blamed Eve for having succumbed to the temptation of the serpent, resulting in the expulsion of humans from the Garden of Eden. God, the chief power of good, was imagined in masculine terms, and so the devil, the chief power of evil, was supposed to be masculine also. Since it was believed that the devil's followers submitted to him sexually, it was naturally supposed that they should be women, some of whom described their intercourse with the devil in lurid detail.

The outbreak of witch trials in Salem, Massachusetts, during 1692 has been the subject of careful social analysis. Although the first hanging of a witch in New England occurred in 1647, it was at Salem in 1692, when the craze was already fading in Europe, that the colonies produced their most spectacular series of witch trials, in which nineteen persons were executed. After a group of young girls suffered an unusual combination of symptoms and visions, their elders suggested that they might be the victims of witchcraft, and the witch-hunt began. At the time, Salem village was in the throes of a long dispute concerning the church. An unpopular minister, John Burroughs, was succeeded by a controversial one, Samuel Parris, in 1689, just at the time when England was undergoing a revolution and the lines of authority were blurred. The villagers split into factions supporting and opposing Parris, and, since no structured means of expressing dissent existed, its release took the form of vituperation and slander. Continuing incursions of hostile Indians further exacerbated the situation, leading some settlers to conclude that a diabolical conspiracy was to blame.

The outbreak was the violent expression of deeply felt moral divisions; the moral divisions were generated by the quarrel over the governance of the church, and the quarrel over governance was exacerbated by the Indian wars and deep-seated conflicts between prominent families. Salem was a small, premodern village in which everyone knew everyone else, a situation that encouraged people to correlate unfortunate events with unpopular individuals and to blame them for their misfortunes. Intensely religious to a degree seldom paralleled in Europe at the time, the New England Puritans could not view the strife in their village in purely personal or political terms. They interpreted it in religious terms, as a manifestation of the cosmic struggle between Christ and Satan, good and evil. The tradition of belief in the existence of witchcraft was a vehicle perfectly adapted to the expression of such assumptions. Many towns and villages had political controversies without becoming centers of the witch craze; clearly such controversies do not automatically produce witch accusations and cannot be considered their cause. Most sophisticated scholars give full weight to the history of religious concepts and avoid simplistic correlations between external phenomena and witch beliefs. Disasters and controversies can produce witch accusations only in the presence of certain value systems. But such social tensions, once those value systems are there, can provoke the outbreak of a witch persecution.

MODERN WITCHCRAFT. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe, with their secularism, scientism, and progressivism, were not conducive to witch beliefs of any kind. Yet Romanticism, an intellectual movement that arose in Europe at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, laid the groundwork for a new permutation, which became the third main variety of witchcraft: Neopaganism.

Romanticism located authenticity in the folklore of European peasants, which was presumed to contain elements of ancient pagan religions. This led to a renewed interest in both folklore and paganism, reflected in the art and literature of the time, and to a revisionist interpretation of the witch. Franz-Josef Mone, Jules Michelet, and other writers of the mid-nineteenth century suggested that European witchcraft was really a widespread fertility cult surviving from pre-Christian paganism. Such arguments influenced anthropologists and folklorists at the turn of the century, such as James Frazer, Jessie Weston, and Margaret Murray. In 1899, amateur folklorist Charles Leland published *Aradia: The Gospel of the Witches*, a text claiming to present evidence that witchcraft was the survival of a pagan cult of Diana. *Aradia* influenced Murray and other twentieth-century anthropologists. Meanwhile, interest in the occult gained fashion among intellectuals and poets such as Algernon Blackwood and Charles Baudelaire. By the early part of the twentieth century, occultism enjoyed a certain popularity, especially among bohemians; magicians such as Aleister Crowley, who styled himself "the Great Beast," attracted a following. Their doctrines were a mixture of ritual magic, sorcery, dubious historical and philosophical arguments, and a longing for enchantment in an increasingly mechanized world.

Out of the crucible of early twentieth-century British occultism emerged modern Neopagan revival Witchcraft, or Wicca. Around the time that the poet Robert Graves was writing his imaginative *White Goddess* (1948) about an alleged worldwide cult of the moon goddess, the Englishman Gerald Gardner was recording the first documents that led to the formation of this new religious movement. According to his followers, Gardner, who was born in 1884, was initiated into the ancient religion in 1939 by a witch of the New Forest named Dorothy Clutterbuck. In fact, Gardner probably cobbled together elements of revival Witchcraft from his experiences with various occult and theatrical groups, including the Co-Masons, the Rosicrucian Theatre, and the Crotona Fellowship. Gardner's claim to be the mediator of an ancient religion was spurious, but he launched a growing religious movement that has gained many adherents throughout the world. Whatever its origins, it has become a legitimate religious movement in its own right.

The overall world numbers of revival Witches are difficult to calculate, but scholars estimate that in North America alone there are about 500,000. There are numerous denominations of Neopagan Witchcraft, including Gardnerian Craft, which traces its lineage to Gardner's 1950s coven; Reclaiming Witchcraft, an American variant with an eco-feminist perspective; and Dianic Witchcraft, an all-female tradition. The tenets of Witchcraft as it has evolved include a reverence for nature expressed in the worship of a goddess and (sometimes) a god; the practice of group magic aimed at healing or other positive ends; colorful rituals whose goal is to produce ecstatic experience; and an acceptance of the sensual, bodily aspects of human existence. It rejects diabolism and even belief in the devil on the grounds that the existence of the devil is a Christian, not a pagan, doctrine. It offers a sense of the feminine principle in the divine, a principle almost entirely forgotten in the masculine symbolism of the great monotheistic religions. And its eclectic paganism promotes a sense of the variety and diversity of the sacred.

Modern Neopaganism has no connections with diabolism. Diabolism, in fact, has almost ceased to exist in the late twentieth century. Though a few groups claiming to practice Satanism, such as the American Church of Satan and the Temple of Set, do exist, their practices are more like ironic rejection of bourgeois conventions than true devil worship. Sorcery, on the other hand, continues to flourish worldwide. *Curanderos* in Mexico and the American Southwest still practice healing with herbs and charms. Fear of sorcerers persists as widely as sorcery itself. In many parts of Africa, sorcery and counter-sorcery continue to be a part of everyday life, especially away from urban centers.

During the 1980s and 1990s, fears of Satanic activities briefly reemerged in North America. In these so-called Satanic panics, rumors spread about far-reaching diabolical conspiracies whose activities allegedly included the sexual abuse and murder of children, the practice of cannibalism, and the induction of new victims into the cult through role-playing games and rock music. The panics were most intense in small towns whose industrial base had been eroded by economic transformation, resulting in financial collapse. They were exacerbated by social changes, such as the rising divorce rate, the increasing number of women in the work force and of children in day care, and new definitions of gender roles, which led to social tensions. Some fundamentalist Protestant ministers fomented the panics by acting as conduits for the rumors. The panics culminated in a series of lengthy trials against the operators of several preschools and day-care centers, who were charged with sexually abusing children in the context of Satanic rituals. Though the charges were later proved to be completely false, a number of people were sentenced to prison. As in most cases of witchcraft accusations, Satanic panics projected fears and anxieties that arose out of social transformation onto completely innocent people. No evidence of diabolical conspiracies or Satanic ritual abuse rings has ever been found.

CONCLUSIONS. One of the most surprising aspects of the study of witchcraft is that African, Asian, European, and Native American cultures all postulate similar behaviors on the part of witches. Witches are often elderly and socially isolated; they meet at night in small groups to plot evil deeds; they are able to leave their bodies or change their shapes; they can suck the blood, drain the energy, or devour the internal organs of their victims; and they murder family members, commit cannibalism, fly through the air, hold indiscriminate orgies, and seduce sleeping people. These similarities go beyond the possibility of coincidence. While some anthropologists believe they are the result of diffusion from a single early Paleolithic human culture, others argue that they are the product of projection, a psychological defense mechanism that helps human beings maintain an image of themselves as good by projecting negative, undesirable impulses away from the self and onto an other. All societies designate certain behavior as bad, undesirable, or negative; however, the impulses behind the behavior are part of human nature, and cannot be completely banished from human consciousness. In projection, the forbidden thoughts or impulses are attributed to an "other," whether a group or an individual. Projection may work on both an individual level and a societal one. For example, a person may have long-standing disagreements with a neighbor. One day, the neighbor curses at some chickens that have wandered into the yard; the next day, some of the chickens sicken and die. The individual may assume the neighbor caused the loss. On a societal level, a village may blame a bad harvest or a plague on the presence of witches in the community. In both cases, the witch is imagined as an antisocial force embodying the essence of evil. When the witch is construed as the opposite of right society, projection is at work.

All cultures grapple with the problem of evil. We observe people performing monstrous acts of destruction and cruelty against their own self-interest as well as that of the community. We watch illness and natural disaster strike randomly without any sense of justice or fairness; around us, good people suffer and die while the wicked prosper. Many feel that evil exists in the world to a degree far beyond what one might expect in nature. This pervasive power, whose purpose seems to be to corrupt and destroy the cosmos, can be perceived as coming from an external being. The witch as an embodiment of this evil is a powerful metaphor whose power may be diminished from time to time, but is unlikely to disappear.

SEE ALSO Cathari; Healing and Medicine; Magic; Neopaganism; Theurgy; Vodou; Wicca.

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WITCHCRAFT: AFRICAN WITCHCRAFT

As a set of beliefs that varies region by region and has a good many consequences in everyday life, African witchcraft is in many respects similar to corresponding sets of beliefs found among peoples of other continents. African systems, however, are of great interest because they have some unique features and because they have provided material for the formulation of definitions and the development of theories of worldwide application.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS. Most African societies—though not all—hold the cardinal belief that certain members of the community are in the habit of using supernatural means for illicitly destroying the interests, or even the lives, of their fellows. This basic tenet has led Africans to attribute to persons designated by terms we might translate as "witches" or "sorcerers" characteristics that resemble those of their counterparts elsewhere. Beliefs about witches are, of course, not directly observable, but they may have overt consequences in everyday life.

Subjective aspects. Thus African witches (in the generic sense, including sorcerers) are believed to harm others either because they possess powers (of which they may not be aware and which their fellows find incomprehensible) that emanate from their aberrant personalities or because they perform antisocial magic, technically referred to as "sorcery" (see below). Furthermore, they resemble witches in other continents in that they are believed to employ certain species of animals and, in some instances, spirits or humanoid creatures as their servants, messengers, or familiars. Familiars are sometimes reputed to drive their owners to their evil practices.

Like their counterparts elsewhere, African witches are believed to belong to associations that meet periodically (usually around a fire) to discuss the promotion of their interests, the regulation of relations among them, and to celebrate recent antisocial accomplishments by, for example, having a ghoulish feast of the revived body of someone they have killed supernaturally. These associations form distorted reflections of the societies in which they are believed to exist. On the one hand, they may mirror the authority structure of the polity of which they are a part, as when, among the Chewa, their meetings are presided over by a village headman who is himself a witch. On the other hand, among some peoples the organization of witch societies may contrast with that of everyday society; among relatively egalitarian peoples witch societies are more hierarchical and vice versa. In any case, witch societies invariably invert normal ethical standards by delighting in the practice of promiscuous sexual activity (including incest), by going naked, by frequenting forbidden places such as graveyards, and by murdering and eating their fellow human beings, often their close relatives (African witches are believed to attack their neighbors and kinsmen rather than distant and unrelated persons).

As in other parts of the world, African witches are often reported to be preponderantly women (although there are notable exceptions, such as among the Azande, Bemba, and Tonga). However, it is important to note that the actual summation of cited cases of witchcraft may yield a gender ratio that is at variance with the traditional one expressed in general statements made by informants. Thus, although Chewa tradition holds that most witches are women, it is men, the more socially and politically active sex, who form a clear majority of those cited in instances of witchcraft.

Finally, in Africa as elsewhere, the belief in witchcraft—together with other components of the religious system—provides an explanatory framework, a means by which the misfortunes that befall people may be understood and, in terms of their beliefs, avoided in the future. African societies vary in the degree that witchcraft (as opposed to the other elements of religious belief) plays in the explanation of everyday events and, more importantly, crises. Thus, among the Lugbara, misfortunes appear to be attributed more often to the intervention of ghosts rather than witches, whereas among the Chewa the reverse is true. But in all societies where witchcraft is a component of the belief system—and this applies to the majority of African societies—witchcraft beliefs are of paramount importance insofar as they explain the persistence of evil and the inability of humans to eradicate it. As J. D. Krige (1947) puts it:

> Witches and sorcerers are considered [by the Lovedu] to be the embodiment of malignant forces ever on the alert to enter into unholy matrimony with the criminal impulses of the human heart. Witchcraft particularly [as opposed to sorcery—see below] is the essence of evil, vicious and inscrutable, that whirls through the universe and seeks asylum in sinful souls in which the germs of wickedness lie ready to be quickened into life.

Overt consequences of belief. Some of the consequences of witch belief are visible to the ethnographer. This is because, given that people believe in and are concerned about witches, they take steps to protect themselves from them and (as individuals or assisted by professionals such as diviners, or perhaps backed by the political authorities) to detect, prosecute, and sometimes destroy by vengeance-magic those they assume to be bringing them harm. Many of the processes involved in self-protection, divination, and revenge are spiritual, usually involving magical substances (often translated as "medicines") of botanical origin, though activated by ingredients of animal or human origin which are of symbolic significance, such as a piece of human caul (protective in function) added to the powdered root of a particular species of tree to make a protective amulet.

Protective steps include not only wearing amulets but also taking "medicines" orally, washing the body in infusions of them, or rubbing them into incisions made in the skin. Huts and field crops can also be treated to make them invisible to, or impenetrable by, witches. Divination includes the use of oracles such as those of the Azande of the southern Sudan (adjective and singular noun, Zande), the best known of which consists of feeding benge, a poisonous substance, to chickens, mentioning the name of a suspect each time, and determining the guilt of a particular suspect by noting whether the chicken poisoned in accompaniment to his name dies.

Elsewhere in central Africa an ordeal is held in which a poison (*mwafi*, *mwabvi*, etc.) is administered to the human suspects themselves (and sometimes to the accuser as well to check that he is acting in good faith), and a person is deemed guilty if he retains the poison (an action that will cause him eventually to purge, faint, or actually die) and innocent if he vomits it. In southern Africa witches may be "smelled out" in a public ceremony by a diviner, who is guided by his audience's verbal responses to his tentative naming of the suspects. All over Africa diviners use a variety of techniques—dreaming, manipulating various kinds of apparatus, throwing dice ("bones"), opening the Bible or the Qur'an at random—to help clients identify their attackers.

From several parts of Africa it has been reported that persons found to be guilty of witchcraft were traditionally burned. This penalty is also suffered by convicted witches in some other parts of the world.

DISTINCTIVE FEATURES. A comparison by E. E. Evans-Pritchard (1929) of Zande and Trobriand magic (and thus of the variant of witchcraft sometimes separately designated as sorcery—destructive magic illegitimately applied) suggests that whereas Melanesians regard the verbal element, or spell, in an act of magic (in general and sorcery in particular) as all-important and insist on its being word perfect, Africans place greater emphasis on the material element, or "medicines." Hence in Africa the verbal element is less important, more properly being regarded as a relatively informal address made to the "medicines" to activate them and make them attack the proper victim.

Another feature setting off African witch beliefs from those found elsewhere is the range of animal species that witches are assumed to use as familiars. Whereas in Europe, cats, dogs, and weasels are commonly believed to be witches' familiars (dogs and foxes in Japan), in Africa hyenas, owls, and baboons are commonly listed. While not unparalleled elsewhere, witches in some African societies are believed to be served by familiars of human origin or appearance, such as a "zombie" (*khidudwane*) among the Lovedu of the northern Transvaal or a "hairy dwarf" (*tokoloshe*, *tikoloshe*) among the Zulu and Xhosa-speaking peoples of Natal and the eastern Cape Province of South Africa. Within Africa, regional variations apply to the main list of familiars, with hyenas cited more often in central Africa and baboons in southern Africa.

There are similar regional differences in other aspects of witch beliefs and their everyday concomitants. For instance, while in most parts of the continent people accused of witchcraft are likely to refute the accusation and with it the long list of crimes (e.g., murder, incest, necrophagy) that it implies, there is a tendency, reported mainly from West Africa, for people to confess their witchcraft, sometimes voluntarily.

DEBATE OVER A BASIC DISTINCTION. An outstanding instance of how African ethnography has stimulated worldwide debates over terminology is provided by Evans-Pritchard's seminal book on the Azande (1937). In witchcraft theory, the Azande make a distinction between two entities, *mangu* and *ngwa. Mangu*, a hereditary substance which can be discovered by autopsy in the stomach of a witch, exerts a baleful mystical influence over the lives of others in the community when it is activated by hatred. On the other hand, *ngwa* ("magic") is not identified with a particular substance; less of an object, it is subdivided into "good" magic (*wene ngwa*) and "bad" or "criminal" magic (*gbigbita ngwa*). Evans-Pritchard translates *mangu* as "witchcraft" and *gbigbita ngwa* as "sorcery." He sums up:

> To Azande themselves the difference between a sorcerer and a witch is that the former uses the techniques of magic and derives his power from medicines, while the latter acts without rites and spells and uses hereditary psycho-physical powers to attain his ends. Both alike are enemies of men, and Azande class them together. (Evans-Pritchard, 1937, p. 387)

Although Evans-Pritchard emphasized that he expressed no opinion on the applicability of this distinction to peoples other than the Azande, several anthropologists working in Africa have found parallels to it, and this would, at first sight, justify its more general use. Thus the distinction between "night witch" and "day witch" made by the Sotho-speaking peoples of the plateau of South Africa, as well as the Lovedu, parallels that made by the Azande between witch and sorcerer. Similarly, among the Chewa of east-central Africa the distinction between *nfiti yeniyeni* ("real witch") and *mphelanjilu* ("killer for malice") is similar, though not as clear since both are commonly referred to as *nfiti.* However, among the Nguni-speaking peoples of South Africa (including the Zulu, Pondo, Bhaca, Xhosa, etc.) the distinction is tenuous, applying simply to the mode of attack, that is, "with animals (familiars)" or "with medicines."

Some anthropologists question the value of employing the witch-sorcerer distinction more widely than in the context to which Evans-Pritchard limited it. This position is taken by both Victor Turner (1964) and Mary Douglas (1967) in their respective review articles on the books by John Middleton and E. H. Winter (1963) and Maxwell Gay Marwick (1965). Turner's conclusion is that "almost every society recognizes such a wide variety of mystically harmful techniques that it may be positively misleading to impose upon them a dichotomous classification" (Turner, 1964, p. 323); Douglas suggests that it would be better to use traditional English terms freely and to classify beliefs according to whatever criterion is significant (Douglas, 1967, p. 73).

A related debate has stemmed from the reports by Godfrey Wilson (1936) and Monica Wilson (1951a, 1951b) that the Nyakyusa of southern Tanzania believe that "the defenders" of the village, by exercising a supernatural power known as "the breath of men," protect their fellows and punish those who transgress; it is claimed that this power "comes from the same source as the power of the witches" (Wilson, 1951a, p. 97). In its antisocial form, that is, if it is illicitly used (and victim-transgressors are often likely to assert this), this power is indistinguishable from the witchcraft of other societies. Thus the Nyakyusa, who like peoples all over the world divide magic into good and bad forms, also dichotomize mystical influence in the same way, with "the breath of men" as its approved form and witchcraft as its disapproved form. Wilson reminds us that Henri A. Junod, in his classic study of the Tsonga of southeast Africa, first published in 1912–1913, came to the tentative conclusion that these people believe that the power of the magician, who protects the interests of society, and that of the witch, who destroys them, is derived from the same source (Junod, 1927, pp. 504–505, 516).

Alan Harwood (1970) has found a belief parallel to that of the Nyakyusa among the neighboring Safwa. Like the Azande, the Safwa distinguish between the power derived from medicine (*onzizi*) and a power that they refer to as *itonga* and that they believe to be inherited and hidden in its operation. But unlike the Azande (according to Evans-Pritchard's account) and like the Nyakyusa, the Safwa subdivide not only medicine but also "hidden power" into approved and disapproved forms. As to hidden power, "good *itonga*," according to Harwood, is believed to be used in divination to protect members of the community from external attack and to punish some of them for uncooperative behavior; "bad *itonga*" is used to introduce foreign substances into another person's body or into his gardens to diminish their effectiveness and is said to enable its possessors to "consume" members of their own lineage (Harwood, 1970, pp. 59–60). *Itonga* is thus conceived of as a neutral spiritual power and, since it is innate and can harm people, its bad (antisocial) form can reasonably be equated with the witchcraft of other societies. Harwood believes that, "appearances to the contrary, the Safwa are not alone with their neighbours the Nyakyusa in believing that the mystical power of 'witches' is morally neutral, and that perhaps the ethnocentric preconceptions of ethnographers are responsible for the dim light in which African 'witches' have traditionally been painted" (Harwood, 1970, p. 69). In particular, after carefully reexamining Evans-Pritchard's account of Zande witchcraft, Harwood concludes that Evans-Pritchard's finding that the Zande word *mangu* denotes an exclusively antisocial power—and should therefore be translated as "witchcraft"—is mistaken and comes from his having taken the perspective of the witch doctor (diviner) rather than that of the ordinary villager.

THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO AFRICAN WITCHCRAFT. With its rich variety of social structures and belief systems, Africa has provided useful material for the development of theories that account for the continued existence of witch beliefs and contribute to our understanding of the dynamics of society in general.

Evans-Pritchard's approach (1937) explains Zande witch beliefs mainly by showing their concordance with the basic assumptions and modes of reasoning, or philosophy of life, prevailing in the society and, somewhat incidentally, by relating them to social conditions, including stratification. The theoretical approaches to witchcraft taken by J. D. Krige (1947) in reference to the Lovedu, Monica Wilson (1951) in her comparison of the Mpondo of South Africa with the Nyakyusa, and Siegfried Frederick Nadel (1952) in his comparison of four West African peoples are of a more psychological orientation, showing varying degrees of similarity to Clyde Kluckhohn's analysis of Navajo witchcraft (1944). These writers explain witch beliefs as giving expression to the stresses, strains, and predilections that arise in the particular circumstances of the society concerned. The basic defect in these psychological approaches is that, based as they are on speculative propositions, for example, those of depth psychology, they do not generate hypotheses that are testable. More recently this approach has developed into, or been displaced by, a Lévi-Straussian structuralist model in which a society's cognitive system is taken to be a logical system in its own right rather than just a secondary reflection of social relations. This approach is found in Edwin Ardener's analysis of the witch beliefs of the Bakweri of west Cameroon (1970) and in subsequent studies by W. David Hammond-Tooke on the Cape Nguni of South Africa (1974) and by Michael D. Jackson on the Kuranko of northeast Sierra Leone (1975).

A more sociological orientation is found in the approaches of James Clyde Mitchell (1956), Middleton (1960), and Marwick (1952, 1965). By comparing the incidence of accusations and believed attacks of witchcraft in different categories of relationship, these writers relate witch beliefs to periodic social processes, such as the division of lineages into segments as their size increases in successive generations. Associated with this approach is a reemphasis of the principle, implicit in the writings of most students of witchcraft, that a society's conception of the characteristics of the witch reinforces its norms by providing a negative example.

All three types of approach try to make sense of what in modern society are regarded as bizarre and fallacious beliefs, and because they provide functionalist justifications of the continuance of witch beliefs, they have been criticized. For instance, James R. Crawford (1967) has argued that placing too much emphasis on the idea that an allegation of witchcraft is merely a symptom of social malaise leads to a failure to recognize that the allegation usually embitters social relations and increases social tension by adding a new dynamic dimension to them, for example, making a previously private quarrel public. Similarly Douglas (1963) has pointed out that, though an accusation of witchcraft may facilitate developmental processes, such as lineage segmentation, "it is also an aggravator of all hostilities and fears, an obstacle to peaceful co-operation . . ." and "orderly social relations."

Turner warns against the use of any single explanation of the complex circumstances leading to an accusation of witchcraft, arguing that "each instance or set of accusations has to be examined within a total context of social action, which includes the operation of biotic, ecological, and inter-group processes, as well as intra-group developments" (Turner, 1964, pp. 315–316).

In the light of the criticisms that have been made of prevailing theories, we would do well to adopt a more comprehensive model for the analysis of African witchcraft. Ecological circumstances, including the prevalence of disease vectors and the level of medical understanding and associated hygiene, contribute to morbidity and mortality rates and thus provide the raw material of misfortunes requiring explanation; social structure and associated tradition lay down the general direction that the explanations (including accusations of witchcraft) will take. But far from resolving the tensions that cause them, accusations may often exacerbate them.

WITCHCRAFT UNDER MODERN CONDITIONS. The colonial authorities in Africa banned many divinatory practices such as the poison ordeal and smelling-out ceremonies, and they usually declared the imputation of witchcraft legally punishable. This led Africans to adopt alternative, and usually secret, ways of identifying those whom they believed to be witches. Antiwitchcraft cults developed and often recurred in many African societies, and some writers attribute their rise to the suppression of the traditional means of detection. Some of the African churches independent of the missions include witch finding among their activities.

The impression of most ethnographers has been that Africans' preoccupation with witch beliefs has increased in modern times and that this is to be explained by the conflict between the values of the economically egalitarian indigenous societies and the more individualistic ones of the intruders. Certainly people who have advanced educationally and financially are often concerned about protecting themselves from the witchcraft of those retaining a more traditional way of life.

This majority view was contested by Godfrey and Monica Wilson (1945, p. 120), who believed that the relative importance of witchcraft was declining and that of science increasing. Some statistical evidence has come forward recently (Mitchell and Mitchell, 1980; Hammond-Tooke, 1970), and this supports the Wilsons' view in that it demonstrates that modern social changes tend to be accompanied by a progressive, if slow, secularization of the beliefs that traditionally explained misfortunes.

SEE ALSO Nyakyusa Religion; Southern African Religions, overview article; Tswana Religion.

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MAXWELL GAY MARWICK (1987)
Revised Bibliography

WITTGENSTEIN, LUDWIG (1889–1951), one of the most influential philosophers of the twentieth century. Born of a wealthy family in Vienna, Wittgenstein did most of his philosophical work at Cambridge, England. He became a British subject in 1938 and succeeded G. E. Moore as professor of philosophy at Cambridge in 1939. His two principal works were largely responsible for the "linguistic revolutions" in twentieth-century Anglo-American philosophy. The *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* (German edition 1921, English translation 1922, second English translation 1961), completed in the Austrian army during World War I, was the only one of Wittgenstein's books published during his lifetime. It inaugurated a logical-structuralist approach to philosophical analysis. The *Philosophical Investigations* (Oxford, 1953) initiated what came to be called ordinary language philosophy. Some dozen other books of lectures, notes, letters, and various manuscripts and manuscript fragments have been published posthumously; the most important is probably *On Certainty* (Oxford, 1969). This material, on which Wittgenstein was working at the time of his death, seems to point the way toward still a third period of his philosophy.

Wittgenstein concerned himself primarily with the nature of language, a concern that for him entailed the understanding and clarification of meaning. Thus he believed language to be the proper subject of philosophy, for it is according to the terms of language that the world and human life become comprehensible. The function of philosophy is to see language clearly and thereby dissolve (particularly at certain critical nodes) metaphysical problems and anxieties created by deep misunderstandings about the grammatical possibilities of language. Wittgenstein excelled in the subtle examination of how ordinary words with ordinary uses come to seem fraught with metaphysical complexities.

The spirit in which these profound philosophical (and not merely linguistic) studies were carried out was the very reverse of a positivistic or scientistic one, though some of Wittgenstein's early interpreters, such as Bertrand Russell, misunderstood him on this point. In his notebooks, excerpts from which have been published under the title *Culture and Value* (1977; Eng. ed., 1980), he declared himself out of sympathy with the scientific and progressivistic spirit of the age. Even in his early letters to Paul Engelmann and Ludwig Flicker, he made it clear that the purpose of the *Tractatus* was an ethical and not a scientific or positivistic one.

Wittgenstein once told a friend that he could not help seeing everything from a religious point of view. He belonged to no religious group or institution, though his mother was Catholic and he had been baptized a Catholic. (Three of his grandparents are said to have been of Jewish extraction.) During World War I he came under the influence of Tolstoi's writings on the Gospels and adopted a Tolstoyan mode of life, giving away his considerable inheritance and living ascetically as a village schoolteacher in southern Austria. To his friends he expressed admiration for Kierkegaard and Augustine and for some of the writings of George Fox and the prayers of Samuel Johnson. Engelmann reported that Wittgenstein believed in the Last Judgment but could make little out of the biblical doctrine of creation.

Wittgenstein wrote very little specifically on religion; the most important documents in this regard are *Lectures on Religious Belief* (Oxford, 1966) and *Remarks on Frazer's "Golden Bough"* (London, 1979). Yet his philosophy is permeated with a religious spirit. It was one of his strongest convictions that religion should be shown and demonstrated in everything rather than talked about as a separate matter. He advised his students that philosophical problems must arise out of a genuine need rather than as an expression of wit and cleverness. The important question about a philosopher, he said, is how much his ideas cost him. Wittgenstein believed that a philosophy is no better than the life out of which it arises and that in order to see things clearly it is necessary, above all, to destroy vanity. Unexamined biases and commitments are a mortgage against clarity.

Wittgenstein's reserve on the subject of religion arose not only from his feeling that it is more important to talk to God than to talk about God, but also from his awareness that in the present age religious expressions are almost certain to be misunderstood. Thus he considered dedicating one of his books, later published after his death as *Philosophical Remarks,* "To the glory of God," but decided against it.

What is evident from the study of Wittgenstein's life and work is that he was a clear-cut "supernaturalist," in the sense that he sharply separated God from the world. He told a student, Friedrich Waismann, that it is more profound to believe that something is good because God commands it than to believe that God commands it because it is good.

Religion for Wittgenstein was a matter of belief, and such beliefs outranked any explanations, reasons, or logic. Wittgenstein had no patience with either sociological or psychological "explanations" of religion, and even less with scientific attempts to bolster religion or to create religious emotions as responses to scientific wonders. Religion had to do with a different and more important dimension than that of fact: the dimension of how we are to live.

His most important contribution to the philosophy of religion was in his analysis of belief in *Lectures on Religious Belief,* included in *Lectures and Conversations,* compiled by Yorick Smythies, Rush Rhees, and James Taylor (Oxford, 1966). Here Wittgenstein examines the role played by religious beliefs in the guidance of life and attempts to disentangle them from all factual matters, including claims about existence. He makes the important point that denying a religious belief or disagreeing with it is not contradicting anything, since the essence of religious belief has nothing to do with whether something is or is not the case, or was or will be the case. Rather, it has to do with how we live and die. When people are willing to suffer and die for their religious beliefs, it is not for some factual proposition that they are willing to suffer and die, though it may appear so. Thus a belief in the Last Judgment should not be taken as an assertion that a certain event is or is not going to take place, but as something like an icon guiding our thoughts and actions, particularly in times of crisis. The attempt to make religious beliefs appear reasonable Wittgenstein regarded as often "ludicrous."

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HENRY LE ROY FINCH (1987)

WOLFF, CHRISTIAN (1679–1754), rationalist philosopher of the German Enlightenment. Born in Breslau, Wolff was educated there and at the University of Jena. Though he had studied theology and philosophy, Wolff's main interest while at the university was in mathematics. Wolff earned his master's degree from the University of Leipzig in 1703; in 1707, with the help of a recommendation from Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, he was appointed professor of mathematics and natural sciences at the relatively new University of Halle, where he taught until 1723. In that year he moved to the University of Marburg, subsequently returning in 1740 to Halle, where he remained until his death.

Wolff's education familiarized him with Lutheran, Calvinist, and Roman Catholic viewpoints in theology, with Aristotelian and Cartesian school traditions in philosophy, and with emerging empirical methods in Newtonian science. The most important single influence on Wolff's thought was Leibniz, but it is too simple to say that Wolff merely systematized the views of his great predecessor.

Wolff began lecturing on philosophy in 1709. In 1713 he published his first major work in the field, a German logic. Later German works dealt with metaphysics (1720), ethics (1720), politics (1721), physics (1723), teleology (1724), and physiology (1725).

In 1728 Wolff turned his attention beyond the borders of Germany to the larger intellectual world. This new international audience was addressed in Latin in a series of works that are larger, more extensive in scope, and some would say more "objective" or "scholastic" in character than their German predecessors. They include treatises on logic (1728), ontology (1729), cosmology (1731), empirical and rational psychology (1732 and 1734), natural theology (2 vols., 1736–1737), universal practical philosophy (2 vols., 1738–1739), natural law (8 vols., 1740–1748), *jus gentium* (1749), and ethics (5 vols., 1750–1753).

Two aspects of Wolff's life and thought are perhaps most significant for the history and development of religious thought. The first of these is his clash with Pietist theologians at Halle. Wolff's commitment to rational method, the content of his metaphysics, his success with students, and an abrasive personal style soon generated criticism. Among the issues at stake were Wolff's acceptance of the Leibnizian doctrine of preestablished harmony and his emphasis on God's intellect as the controlling framework for divine freedom and power. Wolff was accused of idealism, fatalism, determinism, Spinozism, and atheism—all fairly standard charges at the time, though in this case not without some basis in fact. When their efforts to alter his views or to limit his influence within the academic world did not succeed, some of Wolff's opponents made an external appeal to political authority. The result, in 1723, was an order from King Frederick William I—issued without a hearing—that removed Wolff from his professorship and banned him from Prussia within forty-eight hours on pain of death. This was perhaps a more serious escalation than even Wolff's enemies might have desired, with ominous implications for academic freedom. In fact, another post was immediately available at Marburg in Hesse-Cassel, and exile only heightened Wolff's popularity. Moreover, upon the accession of Frederick the Great to the Prussian throne in 1740, Wolff was recalled in triumph to Halle. In the meantime, he had switched from German to Latin in his writing and had published an eloquent essay on the freedom to philosophize in his "Preliminary Discourse on Philosophy in General" (1728).

The second issue worth noting is Wolff's commitment to natural theology. Wolff saw his philosophy as a support rather than a hindrance to religion. His account of God's existence and attributes was meant to lay the basis for a secure theology and ethics. This is in keeping with his goal to achieve through philosophy both a science and a wisdom. In retrospect, what Wolff has given posterity is the epitome of a rationalist tradition in philosophical theology. His demonstrations of the existence of God, for example, include both *a priori* and *a posteriori* proofs, forms of the ontological, cosmological, and teleological arguments. Their exposition presented Kant with a ready-made target for his well-known critique.

In both his teaching and early writings, Wolff made a major contribution toward establishing the German language as an accepted instrument for scientific work. The common opening phrase in the titles of his central German works ("Rational thoughts on . . .") and the equally common subtitle of his Latin volumes ("Treated according to the scientific method") mark Wolff's abiding concerns for method, order, and system. Wolff divided human knowledge into three parts: history (knowledge of the fact), philosophy (knowledge of the reason for the fact), and mathematics (knowledge of the quantity of things). He subdivided philosophy into metaphysics, physics, and practical philosophy; further divided metaphysics into ontology, cosmology, psychology, and natural theology; and popularized the distinction between empirical and rational modes of knowing. These divisions are implemented in both his German and Latin writings, which themselves enjoyed a huge success, often appearing in multiple editions right up to the time of his death. Wolff's views soon dominated the academic scene in Germany; his students filled key posts in institutions of higher education, and his prestige was immense. Kant called Wolff "the greatest of all the dogmatic philosophers." Despite contemporary adversities and relative obscurity today, Wolff was undoubtedly the most influential philosopher in Germany between the death of Leibniz in 1716 and the publication of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* in 1781.

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WOLVES. Wolf symbolism embraces the dual aspects of good and evil human nature. Although the dark, menacing image of the fearless predator and ravening killer preponderates, wolves also personify a protective spirit and the nurturing mother. In classical times the wolf, perceived in both aspects, symbolized transition. The "hour of the wolf," for example, is the time of emergence from darkness into light or, contrarily, of reversion to the world of darkness and ignorance. The biblical verse "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb" (*Is.* 11:16) is a metaphor for the assimilation of the lower to the higher and participates in the symbolism of the center. The Roman *signa* represents the wolf mounted on a cube (earth) and on a sphere (heaven). As an alchemical symbol, the wolf, together with the dog, stands for the dyadic nature of Mercurius, the philosophical mercury, the *nous* ("intelligence").

Many of the ancient war gods bore the name Wolf. Apollo, more widely known as a sun god, was associated with the wolf, and the epithets "wolf-born" and "wolfish Apollo" occur in Greek and Roman literature. In the *Aeneid,* the god assumed the form of a wolf in order to destroy the sorcerers of Rhodes, and a bronze statue of a wolf still stands at his shrine at Delphi. The Romans associated the wolf with the god Mars, and their legions marched into battle under the protection of the sacred wolf displayed on their banners. The Lupercalia, a festival of ancient Rome, has been interpreted as a wolf festival with wolf priests. Wolf deities were worshiped in Iran and Scythia, and in Japan the wolf was long regarded as a great god. The Teutonic war god Woðan (whose name derives from *wut,* "fury") and his Scandinavian counterpart, Óðinn (Odin), were accompanied by wolves when waging war. The Finns called wolves "dogs of the death spirit." American Indian tribes whose gods bore wolf names preceded their war sorties with wolf dances to ensure victory.

The most sinister wolf image is that of Fenrir, or Fenrisúlfr (Fenriswolf), in Norse mythology. The son of the trickster Loki, this monster embodied the destructive potential of chaos in the universe. Immured by the gods in the bowels of the earth, he broke out of his prison and devoured the sun and so brought about the twilight of the gods. In the thirteenth-century Icelandic Eddas, the cyclic cosmic battle between the gods and antigods is called "the war with the wolf."

Exaltation of wolves rather than fear of them prevailed in archaic times, for, as hunters, humans identified themselves with the wolf, the exemplary predator. Animals were considered divine in those early societies and were the nucleus around which religious belief crystallized. The discovery of Neolithic figurines of men wearing wolf masks and wolf skins suggests ceremonies of a religious and initiatory character. When wolf totems were created and the name of the animal taken by the tribe, it was often in the belief that the tribe was descended from a wolf ancestor, an idea that reflects a religious concept of great antiquity. The Chinggisids attributed their origin to a wolf who had come down from heaven to mate with a doe. Analogous myths existed among various tribal peoples of Inner Asia. The wolf also figured in the mythology of the American Indian hunting societies, such as the Cheyenne, and for some tribes of the Plains and the Eastern Woodlands, it was a clan or gens animal. Awed by the skill of the wolf as predator, these tribes incorporated its image into their rituals and ceremonial dances with the aim of acquiring the animal's stamina and courage. Conversely, the wolf was anathema for agricultural societies, although, according to Herodotus, the priests of Ceres had wolf guides.

In ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome, the wolf, symbolizing the warrior-hero, was a guardian figure on monuments. An emblem of valor, it was a dominant image in the *Volsungasaga* and in the Teutonic military societies, the Berserkers and Männerbünde. Fostering the cult of the fanatical warrior, these martial brotherhoods held initiation ceremonies for the purpose of transforming the neophyte into a wolf. By donning the skin of the invulnerable animal, the initiate was thought to acquire its ferocity and power. Such traditions of initiatory transformation are documented in cultures as remote as those of Iceland and Africa.

The widespread and enduring association of wolves with ferocity and greed, darkness and death, prevailed among the Hindus and Celts. For the Chinese, the animal signified avarice and voracity, for the Zoroastrians and Armenians, evil more malign than that of the serpent charms used to destroy it. The Abyssinians regarded wolves as demons in animal form. In Judaism, wolves connoted bloodthirstiness and the spirit of persecution, and the biblical epithet "stiff-necked" derived from the belief that the animal was unable to turn its head. In both testaments of the Bible, wolves are characterized as "ravening." The image of the wolf as Satan or his henchman, a devourer of human souls, pervaded Christianity. The wolf represented the heretic, despoiler of the sheepfold of the faithful, of which Christ was the shepherd-protector. In "The Parson's Tale" Chaucer speaks of "the devil's wolves that strangle the sheep of Jesus Christ." Dante, in the first canto of his *Inferno,* names the she-wolf "laden with all craving" as one of the three dangerous beasts in the dark wood of fear; and in the eighth circle of Hell, thieves, liars, and hypocrites are condemned for "the sins of the wolf."

In many societies, the wolf was the symbol of outlaws, fugitives, and exiles, all of whom were believed to be under the protection of wolf gods. In the laws of the Hittites as well as those of Edward the Confessor, such men were required to wear a wolf-headed mask. Around 350 CE, the first bishop of the Goths applied the term *wolf* to any man who had committed a capital crime.

Early associated with sorcery and superstition, wolves were said to be the mounts of warlocks and witches. In Norse mythology, they consorted with the Norns, and Circe's palace was surrounded by tame wolves that she had subdued by enchantment. "Tooth of wolf" is an ingredient of the witches' brew in Shakespeare's *Macbeth,* and various parts of the animal's body were included in the armaments of magic of American Indian medicine men.

Perhaps the most colorful of the beliefs relating to wolves is that of lycanthropy, the ancient belief in the transformation of human into werewolf. This fearsome, night-roaming beast, avid for human blood, has been an almost universal specter. Legends of werewolves are known in almost every part of the world, and where no wolves have existed, the belief in were-animals has been associated with the fiercest native animal: the tiger in India, the jaguar in South America, the hyena in Africa, and the fox in Japan and China, where stories of the werefox have been preserved in the lore of popular Taoism. Werewolves played a role in the shamanism of Asia, and Inuit (Eskimo) and Chukchi shamans transformed themselves into wolves when in trance. Herodotus wrote of the Neuri turning into wolves annually, which suggests periodic religious ceremonies in which wolf masks and wolf skins were worn. Socrates refers to werewolves in Plato's *Republic;* Pliny gives an account of werewolfry in his *Natural History;* and Vergil wrote that the creatures were produced by means of magic herbs. Such beliefs may have had their origin in the mythico-religious complex of wolf gods or in rituals of the return of the dead. But it was in medieval Christian Europe that the werewolf most obsessed the human mind, and the Catholic Inquisition exploited the panic it aroused to further the suppression of heresy.

Wolves have been represented in Christian art as susceptible to spiritual persuasion and reform. The wolf of Gubbio, which had terrorized that Italian village, was converted by Francis of Assisi and is often depicted as his companion. Odo of Cluny, the tenth-century French saint, is said to have been rescued by a wolf when assailed by foxes, and the manuscript of the life of Edmund the Martyr (ninth century) contains an illustration of a wolf guarding the saint's severed head.

Wolves as nurturing figures occur in myth and legend, often mothering human infants who become founders of dynasties or nations. The best known of these, the Capitoline wolf that nursed Romulus and Remus, the legendary founders of Rome, is by no means the only surviving monument to this widespread legend. Coins antedating the founding of Rome bear the images of wolves with twin children. Apollo's children by human mothers were also said to have been suckled by wolves.

Siberian and American Indian shamans regarded wolves as guardians or helpful spirits and a source of great power. The doctoring societies of the Quileute and Makah Indians of the Northwest Coast performed wolf dances to heal the sick, and the image of a wolf head was believed to be a safeguard against evil. For many Indian tribes the wolf represented the corn god. The Keresan Pueblo tribe of the Southwest ordered the world according to the four cardinal points plus the zenith and nadir, and each of the six points was said to be dominated by a god, with the wolf in the west.

Wolves are often represented in fairy tales and fables as helpful animals; they manifest a sagacity and acumen superior to human knowledge.

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Revised Bibliography

WOMAN SEE FEMININE SACRALITY

WOMEN'S STUDIES IN RELIGION.

Women's studies in religion comprise the many and varied scholarly approaches to the study of religion that arise from commitment to the equal dignity of the sexes, that employ the category of gender as a necessary and key variable in the inquiry, and that focus explicitly on the dynamic and reciprocal interplay between religion and women's lives. Taken together these diverse approaches constitute a major body of research that has irreversibly altered the landscape of religious studies.

Women's studies emerged as a new field of inquiry across a number of academic disciplines in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when the entry of greater numbers of women into higher education coincided with the second wave of feminism. The largely Western phenomenon of the women's liberation movement politicized women (and men) as they became aware of the historical legacy and cultural pervasiveness of sex discrimination and gender stereotyping. Recognizing these damaging features within their own disciplines, female students and teachers began to explore these and the many other ways that gender matters shape their subjects and the manner in which they are taught and on this basis to develop critiques of and alternative approaches to the subject matter and the methods of its study. As a result women are the focus of study as never before, and in most fields of academic research gender is considered an indispensable analytical category.

The initial impetus for women's studies in religion was (and to some extent remains) the need to counter what Rosemary Radford Ruether described as "the buried continent of unconscious androcentrism" that has shaped religion and its study (Ruether, 1985, p. 706). Feminist conscientization rendered this latent male bias visible, and women's scholarship began to expose its full extent. It became clear, for example, that there was a dearth of research into women's religious experience and participation, leading to gaps in knowledge and understanding. In part this was due to the paucity of available source material relating to women's religious lives, but it was also the result of scholarly neglect. Where such material had been the subject of scholarly attention, there was a tendency to impose false assumptions about innate sex differences and gender roles onto the interpretation of data, based on Western constructions of femininity and masculinity.

A disproportionate amount of research was devoted to men's religion and to the elite males who had shaped religions. Those aspects of religion that were singled out as characteristic, significant, and worthy of study were often male-dominated, with females less prominent and portrayed as occupying inferior or supporting roles. As Rita Gross, one of the founders of the field of women's studies in religion and a graduate student of Mircea Eliade during the late 1960s, stated, "One did not receive a coherent, connected account of women's religious lives and activities, but only glimpses, as they entered or left the stage of men's lives" (Gross, 2002a, p. 45). This (often inadvertent) male focus created a skewed picture of the religions of the world. Human religiosity was described (unwittingly) in terms of male religious experience. For instance, the state of knowledge about religious initiation was based largely on research into male initiation. To a significant degree, it was the religious experience of males and not humankind that was being recorded for posterity, thereby distorting the historical record. Furthermore religious texts and traditions, themselves largely the products of male authorship and systematization, are often framed in predominantly androcentric terms and are often carriers of patriarchal, sexist, and even misogynistic material. Women scholars of religion were faced with the dual problem that androcentrism was a feature of both the shapers of religion and the shapers of its study. One of the continuing tasks therefore of women's studies in religion is to seek out and correct androcentric bias in primary and scholarly sources.

The academic community of scholars of religion was made aware of its own partiality and blindness to gender injustice thanks to the pioneering research of scholars such as Carol P. Christ, Rita Gross, Judith Plaskow, Rosemary Radford Ruether, and Valerie Saiving, who pointed to the suspect nature of previous generalizations, theories, and models that were based on incomplete or erroneous pictures of religion. In light of this critique, women's studies began to reconfigure approaches to studying religion by introducing new data, methodologies, and alternative organizing principles to those that had traditionally constituted the theoretical framework of religious studies.

In 1972 the first Working Group on Women and Religion was held at the Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Religion (AAR)—the largest professional body for scholars of religion; the first signs of the anticipated integration of women's studies into the mainstream of the discipline. A year later, in 1973, the Women's Studies in Religion Program was founded at Harvard Divinity School, the foremost research center for the study of gender and religion in the early twenty-first century.

THE CONTEMPORARY PURVIEW OF WOMEN'S STUDIES IN RELIGION. From these beginnings, women's studies in religion have proliferated and diversified. The heterogeneity of the field extends far beyond the differences that exist as a result of religious diversity. Neither can women's studies scholars be characterized as a homogeneous group. While the majority of scholars in the field are women, there are growing numbers of men whose research concentrates on the study of women's religion, such as David Kinsley and Arvind Sharma. As with all subject disciplines, there are ideological divisions that give rise to internal debate and disagreement on theoretical, methodological, and programmatic issues. In order to discuss the contemporary diversified nature of women's studies in religion and examine the questions that enliven scholarly debate, it will be necessary to classify the field into four chief areas of study, though it is well to note that many women's studies scholars are engaged in research that spans these categories.

Recording and analyzing the diversity of women's religious lives. First and foremost, what unites all scholarly approaches to women's studies in religion is that such studies seek to contribute to human knowledge and understanding of the rich global diversity and complexity of women's religious lives cross-culturally and historically and, where necessary, to correct any absence from or distortion in the historical record. The extraordinary diversity of women's religious lives, in the present and in the past, is one of the chief findings of women's studies in religion (see Durre Ahmed, 2002; King, 1987; Plaskow and Christ, 1989). There is burgeoning scholarship on contemporary women's participation in the religions of the world (e.g., Holm, 1994; Sharma, 1987, 1994a, 1994b), in women's involvement in new religious movements (e.g., Palmer, 1994; Puttick, 1997), and in the recovery of women's religious history from all periods—including prehistory (e.g., Bynum, 1992; Kraemer, 1992; Newman, 1995). After centuries of neglect, women's religious lives—be they those of extraordinary mold breakers or those of the conventional majority—are being indelibly written into human history, allowing for the first time comparative study of materials and practices that have yielded, across cultures and historical periods, patterns of commonality in female religious experience and expression (e.g., Falk and Gross, 2001). Prompted by the feminist critique of androcentrism in religion, much of the initial focus in women's studies was on the negative influence of religion on women's lives. Subsequent primary research has disclosed more fully the positive motivations for women belonging to religions, including the role played by religions in conferring value to women's lives, in legitimating everyday female activities, in nurturing identity, in providing sanctuary from life's frustrations, and in empowering resistance to oppression in all its forms.

Although most religions are male-dominated in terms of power structures, female adherents are the majority participants in many religions, and a small number of religious movements and sects—such as Afro-Brazilian healing cults, Japanese *Ryūkyū* religion, Christian Science, and Black Carib religion—can be described as women's religions to the extent that the leaders and most of the adherents are female (see Sered, 1994). Women's sacral power is honored cross-culturally through specialist roles as ascetics, diviners, healers, mystics, prophets, shamans, and witches. Frequently women are leading organizers and participants in purification, fertility, birth, and funerary rites and carry the burden of preserving oral traditions. Within many religions women prepare ritual food and observe low-profile and often private rites within the household (e.g., praying, fasting, chanting) as a means of protecting their families and their livelihoods from harm.

Although leadership positions are more associated with male religious roles, women share with men authority and leadership positions in many religions, whether as bishops, priests, and preachers in certain Christian denominations, as priestesses in traditional African religion and Haitian vodou, as Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist Jewish rabbis, as Buddhist teachers, and in the rare but not unheard of cases of Hindu gurūs and Daoist priests. Some religions offer females certain roles and communities that allow them to be independent from the conventional domestic arrangements of marriage and childbearing, as in women's religious orders in Buddhism and Christianity. Stories of powerful female heroes, teachers, and saints are preserved in many traditions. Women have been active as founders of new religious movements, including Mother Ann Lee, the eighteenth-century founder of the Shakers in North America, and Nakayama Miki, the nineteenth-century founder of Japanese Tenrikyō. In the late twentieth century women-dominated goddess-based feminist spiritualities became popular. Amid this colorful diversity it is clear that the reasons women become involved with and remain in religions are many and complex and are subject to the influence of various social, political, and economic factors that inform women's needs and desires (see Woodhead, 2001, 2002).

If women's studies, particularly ethnographic and sociological research, have uncovered the diverse nature of women's participation in religion, they have also demonstrated the shadow side of the role that gender ideology plays in patterning and stratifying religious participation. Religions can be sites of discrimination against women, who frequently find themselves subject to male domination, excluded from certain (prestigious) roles and sacred spaces, and recipients of fewer legal privileges and their putative nature, bodies, and sexuality devalued and subject to ritual proscriptions. Even in religions such as Bahā'ī, Islam, Jainism, Sikhism, and Zoroastrianism that introduced improvements in women's rights over the prevailing culture, male dominance persists. As a result women may be positioned in ambiguous and complicated relationships with their religions that require them to adopt creative strategies in negotiating fitting places for themselves within their traditions.

The application of gender analysis to religious traditions. A second major strand of women's studies in religion is the application of gender analysis to religious traditions. This entails analysis of the ways in which religions in the past and in the present have developed and deployed gendered systems of thought, symbolism, and religious practices and how these (and other forces) have shaped women's religious lives for good or ill. This in turn leads to evaluation of humanity's pluriform religious heritage and the envisaging of its future forms in light of this gender-based inquiry.

Much (though not all) of this analysis arises from women's dissatisfaction with the gendered organization of their religions and initially was carried out predominantly by feminist scholars in North America and Europe examining the negative impact of religion on women's lives. Faced with the realization that androcentric and patriarchal values were as deeply embedded within religions as within the rest of human culture, these feminists sought to delineate and critique their malign omnipresence in religious scriptures, texts, teachings, rituals, forms of worship, institutional hierarchies, the construction of religious language and symbolism, and so on. An influential early feminist critique of religion was Mary Daly's *The Church and the Second Sex* (1968), which built on Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* (1949) to argue for an end to what Daly described as "Catholic antifeminism." Five years later Daly's position was firmly post-Christian. Her landmark *Beyond God the Father* (1973) advocated a radical feminist spirituality disconnected from patriarchal religion. Daly's contribution catalyzed feminist reactions to religion; numerous scholars set to work unpicking the fabric of religions and pointing to their distorted patterns of thought. No historical religion has since escaped feminist scrutiny.

Alongside the feminist critique and deconstruction of religious traditions, men and women sensitive to questions of gender (not all of whom identify as feminist) are engaged in the study of the positive elements in their tradition that offer resources for a renewed, nonoppressive contemporary religious expression. For example, there is considerable interest in the study of divine females such as Buddhist bodhisattvas, Hindu goddesses, and Daoist celestials. Mostly this research involves the recovery and restoration of previously overlooked or neglected elements of religion and includes, for instance, the retrieval of women's histories (including the documentary recording of the legacy of the women's movement itself), the rehabilitation of suppressed or marginal female characters (e.g., mythical female figures such as Lilith), the reappropriation and, where necessary, reinterpretation of scriptures and teachings, and the preservation of endangered but valuable religious traditions and practices that are meaningful for and often performed by women but threatened by forces such as urbanization and industrialization.

As a result of this work of critique and recovery, women are actively engaged in reconstructing and transforming religions so that they are in line with gender justice and better nurture female identities. This is occurring in an enormous variety of ways: through the rethinking and reformulation of the philosophical and theological aspects of religion—increasingly achieved by bringing other academic disciplines into creative conversation with the theoretical elements of religion (e.g., reinterpreting the meaning of and employing new images for the divine); through the creation of new religious practices (e.g., the use of new forms of prayer, ritual, and worship); and through the establishment of new social organizations (e.g., women's support, networking, and campaign groups). Correspondingly the aim is to replace all institutional practices and thought patterns that deny or undermine women's full participation and flourishing. As such this constructive and corrective task is praxis-based and politico-ethical in character, involving advocacy for women's rights (e.g., campaigning for the greater presence of females in leadership positions) as women worldwide seek to make their religions more conducive to women's authentic agency and development.

This threefold project of critique, recovery, and reconstruction has been carried out most extensively within Christianity and Judaism, where it has often (though not unproblematically) gone by the name of feminist theology. However, the same process is occurring to some degree in all religions and constitutes the greater bulk of writing in women's studies in religion (e.g., Gross, 1993; Mernissi, 1991; Plaskow, 1991; Robinson, 1999; Ruether, 1983; el Saʾdāwī, 1980).

Some women, like Daly, have found the feminist critique of religion to be decisive. They argue that the historical religions cannot be reformed in line with gender justice and identify as postreligious and secular (e.g., Taslima Nasrin) or prefer to express their religious experience and spirituality through means other than traditional religion (e.g., Carol P. Christ; Daphne Hampson).

The development and study of new religious movements that express women's spiritualities. This brings us to a third area of activity in women's studies in religion: the development and study of new religious movements that draw on the articulation of women's spiritualities. Within the Western world, the demise of organized religion has been accompanied by a growth in unofficial spiritualities, many of which largely attract female adherents. For example, one of the fastest growing is the mind-body-spirit movement that offers holistic means to self-improve one's bodily and spiritual well-being using techniques such as yoga, meditation, Tai Chi, and reflexology.

The most studied strand of new women's spiritualities is often termed *feminist spirituality.* Feminist spirituality, while of importance in its own right as a religious phenomenon, offers women's studies an important example of a form of religious expression that has been created explicitly by (mainly Western) women for women who have chosen to jettison the negative patriarchal inheritance of historical religions and create anew an inclusive worshipping community based on feminist principles. Some of the chief exponents of spiritual feminism are Zsuzsanna Budapest, Carol P. Christ, Naomi Goldenberg, Asphodel Long, Melissa Raphael, and Starhawk. The way spiritual feminists choose to express their religious sense varies. Thus while the label spiritual feminism unites adherents under a common identity, it is more accurate to speak of feminist spirituality movements in the plural since there are differences in approach and focus. Feminist spirituality movements reject institutional structures, organizational hierarchies, creeds, and fixed forms of worship. The form of spirituality these movements espouse is gynocentric and ecological. The focus is on the celebration of female sacral power, which is accompanied by a positive evaluation of the female body, sexuality (including the erotic), and fecundity. Nature is revered for its powers of birth and regeneration, and humanity is understood to be intimately connected to and responsible for the natural world.

As a response to and reaction against patriarchal religion and, more specifically, as a result of the rejection of the use of male imagery and language for the divine, spiritual feminists often draw instead on the symbolic power of the Goddess. For instance, female gods such as Ishtar, Diana, or the Great Mother may be invoked in feminist rituals, and appeal may be made to various ancient Goddess traditions (e.g., Gimbutas, 1974; Spretnak, 1981). The way the Goddess is conceptualized in these movements varies. She may be worshipped as supreme being, personification of the earth, or alternatively, function as a nonrealist symbol of female perfection. In any case the Goddess is visualized through immanent or other means than traditional, transcendent categories. The term *thealogy* (in contradistinction to theology), coined by Naomi Goldenberg (1979, p. 96), is now widely employed to signal the importance of Goddess worship and symbolism to the movements and to refer to the growing body of literature that offers scholarly reflection on spiritual feminism (e.g., Christ 1979, 1997; Eller, 1993; Goldenberg, 1979; Long, 1994; Raphael, 1999). However, some spiritual feminists prefer not to be defined in relation to the enterprise of theology to the degree that it is viewed as an inherently patriarchal discipline that entails a retreat from praxis into systematic theorizing about doctrine. Other elements that have proved attractive to spiritual feminists include pagan and Wiccan traditions. Participatory rituals, occasionally with magical overtones, are often held to coincide with pagan feasts such as the spring equinox and summer solstice. Some of the key figures in feminist spirituality identify as witches (e.g., Zsuzsanna Budapest; Starhawk). This both reclaims the witch as a positive female role and at the same time honors those women who were historically persecuted for witchcraft because of their refusal to succumb to (often religious) authority.

Feminist spirituality movements are deliberately eclectic and syncretistic, and this, combined with the rejection of institutional organization, accounts for their variety. To a certain extent these feminist strategies of connection and appropriation are similar to those employed by women who seek to rebuild the traditional religions. Both entail the recovery of suppressed or forgotten symbolism and traditions and the construction of new religious expressions on this basis. However, the borrowing of religious symbols—such as the incorporation of goddess traditions into feminist spirituality—risks offending those from the indigenous cultures of Africa, America, Australia, China, and India whose symbols have been reappropriated for use by Western women if it is done without due sensitivity to their proper context. There is also debate about whether spiritual feminists are engaged in the recovery or imaginative re-creation of religious history. Controversially the archaeologist Marija Gimbutas postulated the existence of peaceful goddess-worshipping matrifocal cultures in Neolithic Europe that were superseded by warfaring patriarchal tribes that worshipped male gods. That a prepatriarchal golden age of female-affirming religious culture ever existed has been disputed—even by feminists sympathetic to Goddess spirituality (e.g., Eller, 2000; Hewitt, 1993). Irrespective of whether conjecture plays a part in such hypotheses, innovation in ritual celebration is of more importance to feminist spirituality movements than appeal to historically verifiable traditions.

The critique and transformation of the academic study of religion. A fundamental task of women's studies scholarship has been to interrogate and overhaul the presuppositions, explanations, key principles, and accepted canons and methods that shape the academic study of religion. As has been indicated, women's studies in religion arose from the realization that the academic study of religion was an androcentric enterprise. A central goal of women's studies has therefore been to dismantle the epistemological and methodological architecture of the discipline constructed from within the parameters of androcentrism and to rebuild religious studies so as to incorporate into its framework critical awareness of the role gender plays both in shaping religion and in shaping its study in order to offer a fuller and truer account of the religious experiences of humankind.

As women's studies entered the scholarly arena, the academic study of religion was dominated by the *Religionswissenschaft* school, led by scholars such as Mircea Eliade, Joseph Kitagawa, and Charles Long. The laudable ambition of this influential movement was to study any and all human religious phenomena dispassionately, impartially, and nonjudgmentally, free from religious and all other bias that might interfere with the goal of the objective and scientific study of religion. Religion was understood to be a universal human phenomenon that, despite its cross-cultural and historical variety, has distinctive transcultural features in common (such as initiation rites) that are shared by the timeless, supposedly genderless, and otherwise decontextualized *homo religiosus,* "religious man." This ahistorical, undifferentiated generic subject was soon subjected to critical scrutiny by women's studies scholars and *homo religiosus* exposed as the false universal it was.

The androcentrism of the *Religionswissenschaft* school was diagnosed by Gross: "*Homo religiosus* as constructed by the history of religions does not include women as religious subjects, as constructors of religious symbol systems and as participants in a religious universe of discourse" (Gross, 1977, p. 10). While it was claimed that women were included under the generic *man*, examination of scholarship by historians of religion demonstrated that this was not the case. For instance, Saiving found that Eliade's *Rites and Symbols of Initiation* (1958) devotes just 9 of its 175 pages to female initiations (Saiving, 1976, p. 184). While this is attributable to the lack of reliable ethnographic data on women's rites, Saiving takes issue with Eliade's extrapolation from the more extensive data on male initiation rites to his conclusions about initiation as a human phenomenon: "What he says about the *human* meaning of initiation corresponds almost exactly to what he says about *male* initiation" (Saiving, 1976, p.189). Similarly, though Eliade's magisterial three-volume work *A History of Religious Ideas* (1978–1985) seeks to relate "the spiritual history of humanity" (Eliade, 1978, p. xvi), Christ finds: "The history of religion which Eliade tells is distorted by dualism, Idealism, and false universalization of male experience" (Christ, 1991, p. 94). If women's religious data is omitted from the construction of models and theories about religion, it comes as no surprise when women are treated as curious exceptions to the (male) norm. Thus Gross notes: "Most of the time, Eliade writes about women as symbols to *homo religiosus*, rather than as real people. When he does, infrequently, write about women as real people, it is because their behavior represents a special case that does not fit his general descriptions or theories" (Gross, 2002a, p. 46).

While the *Religionswissenschaft* school had been sensitive to the dangers of allowing Christian models of religion to function as a key to the interpretation of other religious traditions, the movement had been blind to the way gender affects scholarship. The quest for a universal account of religion as such was conducted using inadequate data, erroneous inferences and dubious hypotheses. Women's studies scholarship demolished the assertion that the discipline of religious studies was scientific and impartial and demonstrated the illusory nature of the claim to objectivity. As Kinsley indicates: "The effect [of women's studies] has been to show, often in shocking and dramatic ways, the extent to which history of religions has not been true to its own mandate. It has been neither all-inclusive nor objective in its study of human religiousness" (Kinsley, 2002, p. 2).

This powerful feminist critique of the scientific study of religion crystallized a thoroughgoing reconceptualization of the subject, initiating a change in the discipline that has been characterized by several scholars as no less than a conceptual paradigm shift (see Christ, 1987, 1991; Gross, 1983; King, 1995; Warne, 1989). Within religious studies as a whole there is an increased sensitivity to the influence of gender in shaping religious and research perspectives and greater caution in the formulation of generalizations about religious beliefs, symbolism, and practices. The methods of studying religion have been expanded as women's studies scholarship has penetrated the specialist academic disciplines in the study of religion. While the study of religious texts remains an important element in religious studies, it has been recognized that, to the extent that it exists, sacred literature is of limited use for ascertaining the reality of ordinary women's (and men's) religious lives on the ground. Women are often absent from holy writings, and when women are mentioned in texts and teachings, there is the danger of distorted or idealized portrayals of their lives.

Women's studies have helped to dislodge the discipline's overemphasis on and priority given to text-based research by shifting the focus to other sources and methods of obtaining information about women and their religions. Within the specialisms of anthropology and sociology of religion, more extensive use of fieldwork has improved data gathering through the increased use of interview techniques and the collection of oral testimonies. With greater numbers of female researchers engaged in fieldwork, there is wider access to women's spaces, allowing more detailed study of female-dominated religious subcultures. Scholarly interest in popular and folk religion, where women are often more prominent, has also aided the documentation of women's religious participation.

One important methodological question that arises with respect to the conduct of fieldwork concerns the relationship between the researcher and the subject of research—the observer and the observed. Women's studies scholarship exposed the false claims to objectivity made by scholars within the so-called scientific study of religion, and this has given rise to a wider hermeneutical suspicion of the ethos of objectivity, including a questioning of whether the methodological values of impassive detachment and scholarly neutrality are genuinely attainable (and desirable) in the field and whether fieldwork observations can supply an accurate account of religion uninfluenced by the observer's presuppositions, values, and evaluative and interpretive faculties (see Franzmann, 2000; Knott, 1995). The issues at stake can be ethically perplexing, involving, for example, matters of whether fieldwork necessarily objectifies women who are studied; whether the establishment of trust and friendship have a place in ethnographic research; whether scholarly noninvolvement implies tacit approval of unjust power relations between those who are studied; and how far a researcher should stand back from cultural practices that she or he judges to be harmful, degrading, or otherwise questionable (see Jacobs, 1991).

Feminist and other researchers committed to social justice for women may find the research values of noninterference and neutrality conflict with a perceived duty to engage in the consciousness-raising of research subjects and to speak out against the discrimination and oppression of women. Some female scholars suggest the values of engagement and empathy—as important feminist commitments—should replace the ethos of objectivity as the appropriate feminist and morally responsible means of conducting research in religion (e.g., Christ, 1987, 1997). In order to take proper cognizance of the inherent presence of scholarly subjectivity and the perspectival nature of human knowing, it has become common for women's studies scholars (and other scholars of religion) as creators of knowledge, in an act of self-reflexivity, to disclose to their readership as prolegomenon to their research, their authorial standpoint, social position, interests, background, and any other relevant features in order to make explicit those factors that may shape and color the research questions, objectives, methods of study, and conclusions. The theoretical aspects of feminist epistemology and standpoint theory find an important place in feminist philosophy of religion (see Anderson, 1998; Jantzen, 1998).

EXPERIENCE, IDENTITY, AND DIFFERENCE. The process of articulating one's standpoint as a situated subject has become a critically important exercise in women's studies, not least as a means of shedding light on three dominant but problematic analytical themes: experience, identity, and difference. To be a person in the world necessarily entails location in a particular place and time, and humans are further shaped (though not determined) by social identities and roles that contribute to self-understanding and form identities, that make one subject to different life experiences, that give one particular outlooks or perspectives on the world, and that enable differences to be discerned between oneself and other differently situated subjects. A greater appreciation of the role of social location in creating and shaping human diversity has allowed women's studies in religion to offer more sophisticated analyses of the factors that affect women's religious lives and to dispel some of the generalizations about "women's experience" that characterized certain less-critical early feminist critiques of religion (see Davaney, 1987). If previously more sweeping assertions were made about women's lives on the basis of a monolithic understanding of womanhood, there is now recognition of the analytical inadequacy of "woman" as a unified category. Women have diverse needs, desires, ideals, and so on and are embodied subject to differentials such as sexuality, religion, nationality, ethnicity, "race," class, caste, and age. As such women's religious lives are shaped by a complex interaction of forces, and they cannot be understood adequately using the category of gender alone. For example, the plight of *dalit* women in India is as much concerned with issues of economics and caste as it is with gender (see Jogdand, 1995).

It is clear that women who belong to religions in the advanced industrialized countries of the Northern Hemisphere are affected differently by political, economic, and environmental forces than those within the more rural economies of eastern Europe and the Southern Hemisphere. Traditional forms of religion and ritual practices and the family units that preserved them are subject to transformation through the impetus for economic development and the demise of rural communities. While many women are affected by these changes transculturally, the effects are often most acute in developing countries since it is women in traditional societies who tend to safeguard and preserve religious customs and values from the modernizing and Westernizing tendencies that globalization brings. In this context, in countries such as India and Pakistan, women have found themselves pedestalized by religious nationalisms eager to promote them as antisecular symbols of national pride, identity, and purity. When it comes to ecological activism, religious women have campaigned more vigorously for sustainable development and global resource management in countries that are directly affected by the destruction of habitat through deforestation, the industrial pollution of rivers, and the stripping of natural resources compared to those in more affluent nations, where a sense of connection to and responsibility for the environment has to a large extent been compromised by mass consumption and consumerism (see Ruether, 1996).

Crucially the way geopolitical economic forces affect contemporary religions cannot be understood without recognition of the influence of the shameful history of Western imperialism, colonial expansion and exploitation, racism, slavery, and the imposition of Christianity onto indigenous peoples. These wrongdoings were perpetrated under the guise of promoting civilization and religious salvation, and their enduring legacy has been Third World debt, apartheid, racial discrimination, religious unrest, the emergence of fundamentalisms, tribal warfare, genocide, displaced peoples, and an obscene discrepancy between the economies of the rich North and poor South. The historical legacy of Western imperialism and its contemporary afterlives cast a long shadow over international relations and religious identities.

This historical background has had a profound influence on women's studies and continues to act as an obstacle to the global solidarity of women. While women are united in fighting sexism, they are divided by injustice with regard to "race," religion, class, nationality, economics, sexual orientation, and so on. In these respects women can be the perpetrators as well as the victims of discrimination and injustice—as were white Western women during the colonial era. For those women still experiencing the aftermath of colonial empire building, the Western message of women's liberation is an ambivalent one. Feminism is a suspect category for a significant number of nonwhite and non-Western women who associate the term with the bourgeois liberal individualistic claims of white, educationally privileged, and economically elite middle-class women whose gender analyses do nothing to address the racism, classism, and economic injustice suffered by most of the world's women. For some, feminism also stands for sexual licence and family breakdown. For these reasons, many nonwhite and non-Western women—including some who campaign for women's liberation—eschew the feminist label (see Isasi-Díaz, 1993, p. 4).

In the early days of the women's movement many Western women were unaware of these sensitivities. Western feminists would often write as though gender were the only lens through which women's lives could be understood, whereas for some women the discriminating factors were as much associated with economic injustice, racial prejudice, and imperialistic domination. The idealism of the women's movement tended to neglect these conflictual elements, and those involved in women's studies failed to see the monopoly of power that Western women possessed as shapers of the new discourse (see Williams, 1985). Feminist theory, it was thought, included all women and could address their universal concerns.

In the same way that the *Religionswissenschaft* school had initiated a flawed attempt to distill the essential nature of pure religion, uncontaminated by social, political, or any other context that gives religion its variety and complexity, so too Western feminists constructed anemic accounts of women's nature and experience that had the blood of real lives drained out of them. Women's studies scholars were falling into the same homogenizing traps and reproducing the same errors as their male predecessors. The social, political, and other contextual elements that form women's lives and create distinct identities were submerged under the rhetoric of a nebulous undifferentiated "women's experience." In a repeat performance of the mistakes of androcentric scholarship, the formulations of feminism that were articulated represented the interests and perspectives of the white Western women who had created them, and the dominant feminist critiques of religion were based on the predominant religion of the West, Christianity. These analyses lacked the standpoints of other women from different contexts whose life experiences could provide additional perspectives that previously had been omitted.

CONTEXTUALITY AS A CHARACTERISTIC OF WOMEN'S STUDIES IN RELIGION. The scope of women's studies broadened as new writings emerged from women keen to assert their distinct identities and name their particular experiences (see Kwok, 2002). These built on the feminist critique of religion but also reacted against it. For example, African American women (avoiding feminist nomenclature) adopted Alice Walker's term *womanist* to describe their theological and ethical projects, located in the experiences of not only sexism by males but also racial and economic oppression by the white majority in the United States (e.g., Cannon, 1988; Grant, 1989; Williams, 1993). Initially united by their Christian heritage, womanists have since shed their exclusively Christian focus. Similarly Ada María Isasi-Díaz and colleagues coined the term *mujerista* theology to express the religious reflection and liberative praxis that arises from the ethnically diverse Latina women living in the United States who are united by their common experience of sexism, poverty, and racism (Isasi-Díaz et al., 1992). Numerous other local and contextualized women's theologies also emerged differentiated on geographical, ethnic, and other grounds that reflect the pluralism of Christianity (humanity's most populous and geographically dispersed religion) and that express the shared perspectives of women united by marginalization, communal struggle, and religious empowerment (e.g., Brock et al., 1987; Katoppo, 1979; King, 1994; Oduyoye, 2001; Kwok, 2000).

As a result of this proliferation of contextualized approaches, women's studies in religion are more diverse, complex, and internally divided but also more inclusive as the many social allegiances and religious loyalties of women are given expression. Further diversification seems inevitable as increasing numbers of women from traditions other than Christianity organize themselves into distinct local constituencies.

The ideological diversity that exists leads to dissonant responses to religious issues that concern women. For example, there is no consensus on the use of the *ḥijāb* (veil) in Islam, which has become a particularly contested and polysemic religious symbol. The requirement that Islamic women dress modestly in public is interpreted differently in different social and historical locations. The practice of veiling is frequently characterized by non-Muslims as nothing other than an illustration of the religion's oppression of women. While some Muslim feminists may agree with this assessment and applaud the influential action of Egyptian feminists who first cast off the veil in the 1920s, other Muslim women, where veiling is not compulsory, have reclaimed the practice both as a symbolic act asserting Islamic identity over against Western liberalism and in order to enter public life free of the male gaze (see Leila Ahmed, 1992; Hoodfar, 2001).

The veiling issue illustrates the complexity and multiple layers of meaning that religious symbols can have for women and also demonstrates the need for women's studies scholars to actively foster intercultural and interreligious sensitivity and dialogue as a means of overcoming prejudicial intolerance and supremacist tendencies and of learning from encounters with those who are other. This has been theorized by writers such as Rita Gross, Ursula King, and Maura O'Neill and put into practice by initiatives such as the Asian Women's Consultations on Interfaith Dialogue (AWRC) (AWRC, 1990, 1995; Gross, 2002b; King, 1999; O'Neill, 1990). Nevertheless further critical reflection and practical measures by women are required in this area—especially given the continuing augmentation and exploitation of religious suspicions and hostilities for political, terror, and militaristic purposes.

To the extent that religions have sought to control and circumscribe female sexuality, women who have chosen to live outside the framework of heterosexuality and straight conventions have found themselves doubly oppressed by religious teachings, ideals, and practices that concern sex and gender. Yet lesbians and other queer women have found homes in religions and have drawn on their marginal experience to theorize about religion and sexuality and to campaign for societal acceptance and civil rights. Women who have identified as lesbians, such as Rebecca Alpert, Mary Daly, Beverley Harrison, Carter Heyward, Mary Hunt, Audre Lorde, and Elizabeth Stuart, have made important contributions to what has become a subject discipline in its own right: in 1986 the American Academy of Religion Lesbian-Feminist Issues and Religion Group was established (see Alpert, 1997; Daly, 1978; Harrison, 1985; Heyward, 1984; Hunt, 1983; Lorde, 1984; Stuart, 2003). In addition to exploring the intersection of religious and sexual identity, these writers have expanded the understanding of terms such as *eros*, *embodiment, desire,* and *friendship.*

INTERDISCIPLINARITY AS A CHARACTERISTIC OF WOMEN'S STUDIES IN RELIGION. As women's studies in religion have embraced these new identities and contingencies, the purview of the field has grown and diversified by the welcome introduction of new intellectual resources and interdisciplinary approaches that have preserved women's studies from becoming stagnant and irrelevant. For example, the insights of postcolonial theory are commonly employed by female scholars from non-Western contexts (e.g., Donaldson and Kwok, 2002). The Argentinean liberation theologian Marcella Althaus-Reid has combined the class analysis of liberation theology with feminism, postcolonial theory, and queer theory to offer new insights into the oppression of the economically and sexually disenfranchised (Althaus-Reid, 2000, 2004). Sharon Welch and Mary McClintock Fulkerson have both incorporated poststructuralist theory into their influential feminist liberation theologies, and Fulkerson has also drawn on the empirical social sciences (Fulkerson, 1994; Welch, 1985). Terms such as *woman*, *experience*, *identity*, *subjectivity,* and *difference* are critically examined using the tools of postmodern feminist theory (see Chopp and Davaney, 1997). Religious feminists are examining issues of sexual difference, the symbolic order, and the divine through the psychoanalysis and philosophy of French feminists such as Luce Irigaray and Julia Kristeva (e.g., Joy et al., 2002, 2003; Kim, et al., 1993). Perhaps most significantly for women's studies, the intellectual vibrancy of gender studies—which continues to anchor theoretical work in women's studies—is leading to increased interdisciplinary collaboration between male and female scholars of religion (e.g., Peskowitz and Levitt, 1997).

FROM WOMEN'S STUDIES TO GENDER STUDIES IN RELIGION. The evolution of gender studies as an academic discipline in its own right has had a considerable impact on women's studies in religion. If women's studies scholars have learned that factors other than gender must also be taken into account when seeking to understand women's religious lives, gender studies have shown that gender itself is not a straightforward category: sexed identities are more diverse, fluid, and performative attributes than previous scholarship and religious or cultural prescriptions had appreciated (e.g., Butler, 1990). These insights, which gave birth to queer theory, have resourced lesbians and other women who point to the inadequacies of religious attitudes to sexual orientation. Feminist theory has benefited from the more nuanced accounts of gender that now exist, which have challenged the feminist fundamentalisms that stress either secure and normative sex differences or that appeal to aspirations of androgynous sameness. The advent of gender studies has also created a much-needed intellectual space for men's studies in religion to flourish (e.g., Boyd et al., 1996). This, along with the synergistic collaboration of male and female scholars of religion who employ gender theory in their work, has raised important foundational questions about the future of women's studies in religion.

One question involves whether gender theory as a discourse might subsume feminist theory and how such a scenario would affect women's studies. It has already been noted that some female scholars of religion do not identify themselves or their work as feminist. It is for this reason that the phrase *feminist studies in religion* was considered an inadequate title for this encyclopedia entry. The question of appropriate nomenclature for the discipline is more than an exercise in terminology. The term *gender studies in religion* better reflects the fact that both females and males are affected (albeit diversely) by the many ways gender matters shape religions. It also addresses the concerns of the significant numbers of female and male students who (rightly or wrongly) find feminism threatening and women's studies courses exclusionary. Increasingly academic work in women's studies is based in gender studies departments. In these respects gender studies in religion is a more inclusive subject discipline and offers a more adequate terminological label than either feminist or women's studies in religion. However, while the trend toward gender studies may attract more students into the field, it may also call into question the continued need for separate women's studies courses on educational curricula, leading to closures or mergers of academic programs. The danger is that absorption into gender studies may further dilute the status and visibility of scholarship that concentrates on women's religion or lead to a loss of provision altogether.

THE ACADEMY AND WOMEN'S STUDIES IN RELIGION. As a cross-disciplinary subject, work in women's studies in religion is often carried out as a subsidiary aspect of established cognate disciplines within religious studies, theology, or (less frequently) women's and gender studies departments. As a result the subject has struggled for acceptance in the academy, and it remains marginalized and underfunded. Nevertheless women's scholarship is supported and shared through numerous international and faith-based organizations, networks, and conferences. The World Wide Web has proved particularly effective in making widely available religious and other online resources to large numbers of interested women inside and outside of academia.

Of the enormous body of literature devoted to women and religion, Serinity Young's *Encyclopedia of Women and World Religion* (1999) deserves mention as the first comprehensive reference work in the subject. And if women's studies in religion have often been forgotten within the wider women's studies discourse, this oversight has been corrected in the *Routledge International Encyclopedia of Women,* in which "Religion and Spirituality" comprises one of its thirteen major sections (Kramarae and Spender, 2000). Established periodicals that publish on women and religion include Arvind Sharma and Katherine Young's *Annual Review of Women in World Religions*, the American *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, and in the British Isles *Feminist Theology,* which has a broader compass than its name suggests. From Australia come the biannual *Women-Church: An Australian Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* and the annual online journal *Seachanges: The Journal of Women Scholars of Religion and Theology*. Christian journals include the *Yearbook of the European Society of Women in Theological Research; In God's Image,* the Asian women's theological journal; *Revista Con-spirando: Latin American Review of Ecofeminism, Spirituality, and Theology. Hawwa: Journal of Women of the Middle East and the Islamic World* and *Al-Raida*, published by the Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World, are English-language journals. Within Judaism there exists *Bridges: A Journal for Jewish Feminists and Our Friends; Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies and Gender Issues;* and *Women in Judaism,* a multidisciplinary electronic journal. While such journals facilitate scholarly exchange, it is still mainly Western women who have access to these and other resources.

While few doubt that the entry of women's studies in religion into the academic arena constituted a major event in the history of the study of religion, the extent to which women's studies have transformed the discipline of religious studies is a moot point (see Plaskow, 1999; Warne, 1998). The pattern across specialisms is uneven. Whereas anthropological, psychological, and historical studies of religion have integrated feminist insights into mainstream scholarship, feminist writings remain on the fringes of sociology and philosophy of religion (see Sharma, 2002). There is more work to be done before the marginalization of women's scholarship finally comes to an end. However, much has been achieved. One need only compare the revised edition of this encyclopedia with its first edition (1987) to see the abundant growth and reconceptualization of the subject on the grounds of gender. Ursula King's trenchant criticisms of the neglect of women's scholarship in the first edition did not go unheeded (King, 1990). This second edition of *The Encyclopedia of Religion* gives eloquent testimony to the manifest influence of women's scholarship in engendering religious studies.

SEE ALSO Androcentrism; Ecology and Religion, overview article; Eliade, Mircea; Feminine Sacrality; Feminism, article on Feminism, Gender Studies, and Religion; Feminist Theology, overview article; Gender and Religion, overview article, article on History of Study; Gender Roles; Goddess Worship, overview article; Gynocentrism; Lesbianism; Men's Studies in Religion; New Religious Movements, article on New Religious Movements and Women; Patriarchy and Matriarchy; Spirituality; Thealogy; Wicca.

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Encyclopedia of Women and World Religion. For an indication of how the field has changed since its inception, compare this entry with its forerunner "Women's Studies" by Constance H. Buchanan in the first edition of the *Encyclopedia of Religion.* Gross's *Feminism and Religion* offers a detailed overview of the impact women's (and especially feminist) studies have had on religion; and their direct influence on the subject specialisms and methods of religious studies are discussed by Sharma (2002). The edited collections listed here typically offer a combination of essays on theoretical questions in gender and religion and on the contemporary and historical impact of religions on women's lives. All the works below are referred to in the *Women's Studies in Religion* entry.

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JULIE CLAGUE (2005)

WŎNHYO (617–686), Buddhist philosopher and putative founder of the Pŏpsŏng (Dharma-Nature, also called Haedong) school of Korean Buddhist thought. Wŏnhyo is indisputably the greatest Buddhist exegete produced by the Silla kingdom's Buddhist tradition, if not Korea's premier philosopher of all time.

Wŏnhyo was born into the Sŏl clan, a tribal league of the Chinhae region of the southern Korean peninsula, which had been assimilated into the Silla aristocratic system *(yuktu p'um)* in the early years of the common era. After his ordination into the Buddhist order, Wŏnhyo and his close friend, Ŭisang (625–702), founder of the Korean Hwaŏm (Chin., Huayan) school, twice decided, we are told, to undertake a pilgrimage to China in order to study with the renowned Chinese translator Xuanzang (d. 664). On their first trip in 650 the two Silla pilgrims were arrested as spies by Koguryŏ border guards and spent several weeks in prison before being repatriated. During their second attempt in 661 it is said that the friends traveled to a port in the Paekche region, where they hoped to board a ship bound for the mainland. Forced by a heavy downpour to spend the night in what they thought was an earthen sanctuary, they learned the next morning that it was actually an ancient tomb littered with human skulls. Marveling at his mind's ability to transform a thoroughly gruesome site into a comfortable haven, Wŏnhyo realized his world was created by the mind alone. His enlightenment rendered his planned pilgrimage to China unnecessary, and he returned to his home country to undertake a life of writing, preaching, and proselytizing. Sometime during his career, a liaison with a widowed princess led to the birth of a son, Sŏl Ch'ong (c. late sixth to early seventh century), who developed the Idu system of transcribing Korean, the first indigenous writing system used on the peninsula. Along with lecturing on Buddhism to the Silla aristocracy, which had only recently (and grudgingly) converted to the religion, Wŏnhyo also traveled among the peasant populace, instructing them with popular songs and verses. Hence, Wŏnhyo's prodigious efforts at proselytism helped to cement Buddhism's place as the national religion of Korea during the early years of the Unified Silla period (668–935).

Wŏnhyo was a prolific writer and commentator, authoring some one hundred works, of which over twenty are still extant. His interests ran the gamut of Buddhist materials then available in East Asia, from Mādhyamika, to Yogācāra, to Pure Land. Wŏnhyo played a major role in introducing to the Korean intelligentsia to Buddhist scriptures and commentaries, which, prior to his time had been virtually nonexistent in Silla. Wŏnhyo was the first Korean Buddhist to attempt to reconcile the disparate teachings of Chinese and Indian Buddhist philosophy, in particular the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra traditions. In his commentaries he eschewed the explication of scriptures according to the hermeneutics of any particular school; rather, he attempted to reveal the unifying principle, the "one mind," that vivified each of those texts. In one of his principal works devoted to his synthetic philosophy, *Simmun hwajaengnon* (Ten approaches to the reconciliation of doctrinal controversy), Wŏnhyo states that his fundamental intent is to harmonize the differences that characterize the various schools of Buddhist philosophy and merge their views into two all-inclusive perspectives. These were, first, the dependent origination approach *(saenggi-mun),* in which the myriads of qualities were shown to be the products of a perdurable causal process, and, second, the return to the source approach *(kwiwŏn-mun),* in which all such phenomenal characteristics were abandoned so that one could return to their ultimate source, the one mind. This dichotomy is seen, with slight variations, in many of Wŏnhyo's writings.

Perhaps Wŏnhyo's most influential works were his commentaries to the *Tasheng qixin lun* (Awakening of faith in Mahāyāna) and the *Huayan jing* (Skt., *Avataṃsaka Sūtra, Flower Garland Sūtra*). In the former commentary, Wŏnhyo outlines a four-stage soteriology—from nonenlightenment, to apparent enlightenment, advanced enlightenment, and finally ultimate enlightenment—that demonstrates how ordinary persons can hope to achieve spiritual liberation. Both of these texts had such a profound effect on the philosophical development of Fazang (643–712), the systematizer of the Chinese Huayan school of Buddhist thought, that Wŏnhyo is now considered to be an important vaunt-courier of that school. Wŏnhyo's many outlines *(chongyo)* to Buddhist sūtras also sought to treat those texts in terms that would result in fraternal harmony rather than sectarian controversy. The synthetic tendencies in Wŏnhyo's thought were to inspire all future Korean Buddhist writers and establish doctrinal synthesis as the hallmark of the Korean Buddhist tradition. It is for this reason that Wŏnhyo is traditionally regarded as the founder of the synthetic Pŏpsŏng school, one of the five Buddhist scholastic schools of the mature Silla tradition.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Korea; Fazang; Huayan; Ŭisang.

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WORD SEE LANGUAGE; LOGOS

WORK. Once, at the dawn of creation, in the Golden Age, when earth and sky were conjoined (or when there was only sky), when only children, or the first human pair, inhabited the world, there was no "work." Only God, or the gods, worked their divine eternal play, the uncompelled sport of inexhaustible creativity. Only the primordial smith, the primal maker, seeded or molded the earth as archetypal sower or first craftsman. The fruits of the earth were available to all.

The world range of the myth indicates the universality of the theme. In ancient narratives from the Vedic, Greek, and Judeo-Christian traditions, from Africa, from North and South America, the subsequent fall from this paradisiacal state is widely associated on the one hand with some false move or a human choice based on some petty, selfish desire and on the other with the plunge into the *condition humaine*—nakedness, the loss of immortality, the withdrawal of the sky, the opening of Pandora's box of woes, the cycle of birth and death, and the sentence to hard labor for life.

The tale is compelling on several counts. Most people experience lack of ease in their endeavors—as Marsilio Ficino notes in a letter on the work of the mind (*Epistolae* 2.1), they seem to be rolling the stone of Sisyphus up the steep slopes of the mountain—and wish to find rest. Equally it can be argued that on some level everyone, even the unemployed, the idle rich, and the thief, is working at something and longs to find fulfillment in that work. Indeed, the history of labor, from Adam and Eve to the arts (or, by extension, to the most advanced technology), is literally the history of humankind.

At the same time, myth provides the notion of a deeper level of universality: The sentence to work symbolizes humanity's physicality in the world in the sense its separation from the divine, the cosmic, the natural. From this breach follows all suffering and toil. Significantly, in some versions of the story the point is made that in fact some form of work was originally designated for human beings. The *Book of Genesis*, for instance, indicates that Adam was first placed in the garden to work (or till) and keep it (2:15; cf. 2:5); only after the Fall is there talk of toil or suffering *(ʿitstsavon)* and the sweat of the brow. Similarly, according to a common African theme God originally meant the world to be a tilled garden, with no bloodshed, work, or sorrow. Depicting a reversed sequence of the human encounter with toil and ease, ancient Chinese myth relates that the primal figure Gun labored in vain to tame the great flood; only his son Yu, by going with the flow of things, was able to complete the task and make the earth suitable for cultivation. A distinct line is drawn between the first human participation in divine work—the easy yoke of conformance to the cosmic order—and the labor under which humans burden. In the words of the Hebrew scriptures, this is the heathen world of the "work of men's hands" (*Dt.* 4:28, *2 Kgs.* 19:18, *Is.* 2:8), the cosmos bereft of hierophany. It is a treadmill on which humans are bound to do it all themselves, including the manufacture of their own clay gods.

PHYSICAL WORK. Removed from sacred context, human activity is in itself simply neutral bodily movement. Whether the task is slopping the pigs or pushing papers around in a corporate office, work may be experienced as exhausting or, if the natural and efficient operation of the body is discovered, it may be felt as easy, enjoyable, even rewarding, at least up to the point when muscle fatigue or mental torpor takes over. But work unrelated to any higher meaning threatens to inspire the "work ethic" that so fascinated Max Weber: Labor itself becomes the end of life, at best valorized as the worship of accomplishment, success, or physical prowess, at worst crystallized into a nightmare of the most menial physical chores, undertaken in a tortured attempt to keep one's own body (and perhaps the body of one's immediate family) alive "between a sterile earth and an uncontrollable sky" (Agee, 1960, p. 325).

By contrast, esoteric traditions in both primal myth and organized mystical discipline assign human activity to a hierarchy of levels among which physical human bodies constitute only the most readily discernible plane. Transcending that plane is the world of the mind, which has its own work and rest; beyond that, the realm of the inner self, or spiritual being. Within this context, religious work is the actualization of principle through action, to be realized on all three levels.

Physical work may be taken as a starting point of experience, since one has to begin where one is: in the physical world. But bodily work serves as a metaphor for work on some other level, as in the New Testament parables about laborers, or in this passage by the Palestinian tanna Ṭarfon: "The day is short, and the work is great, and the laborers are sluggish, and the reward is much, and the Master is urgent" (*Avot* 2.20, cited in *Sayings of the Fathers*, New York, 1945, p. 43). The performance of physical work may even be experienced as metaphor, as when sweeping the floor is taken as a spiritual task and becomes a means of revelation (cleansing myself, or the face of God).

Religiously viewed, physical work serves outwardly to maintain the world, in the sense of renewing its structure (maintaining the order of the cosmos) or in the simple sense of paying creation back for the life than one has received as a gift. Both work itself, as a reflection of the primal structuring of the world, and the cycles of rest that punctuate it are ways of acknowledging the creative source as supreme. The injunction to serve the earth directly, to earn one's daily bread literally, is an expression of this inexorable law of just returns. It is honored by the apostle Paul ("If any would not work, neither should he eat"; *2 Thes.* 3:10), the Chan master Hyakujo ("No work, no food"; in Paul Reps, *Zen Flesh, Zen Bones*, New York, 1957, p. 70), and Gandhi in his invocation of the *Bhagavadgītā* 3.12 ("He who eats without offering the sacrifice eats stolen food"). Since the world itself is based on sacrifice (the supreme deity's creation of everything from nothing, or from his own substance), "this body, therefore, has been given us, only in order that we may serve all Creation with it" (Gandhi, 1960, p. 12). This fullhearted acceptance of the human condition as a call to labor in the sweat of one's face may be the supreme act of obeisance (the Ṣūfī servant of God prostrate in the dust of the desert), or it may be an act of total obedience in penance for the original sin of disobedience, as Simone Weil proposed (Weil, 1952).

In another view, physical work expresses the primary function of the human being among all creatures: Humans are enjoined to subdue the earth and thus to reassert the hierarchical order of creation. At the same time, work subdues the earth of the human body, as anyone who has engaged in extended physical exertion will testify. Not only Western monastics but the Eastern Fathers as well called for severe labor (along with weeping) as ascetic practice. The early Shakers (for whom the terms *work* and *worship* were as synonymous as they were for the Benedictines) called their frenzied exercises *laboring* and communally shook off their physicality to the tune of such songs as *The Zealous Laborer* ("Oh, how I long to be released / from every feeling of the beast"). Yet consciously applied physical work is more than simple mortification of the flesh. It can be a strengthening, cleansing, a temporary bypass of the usual, interfering complex of mental associations, comparable to any other form of meditation.

MENTAL WORK. In an essay that serves to define work at the mental level, Simone Weil reflected that the purpose of academic study is ultimately to "help form . . . the habit of that attention which is the substance of prayer" (Weil, 1973, p. 108). From the view of esoteric tradition, the function of mental work is to direct activity to the level of spirit (or the harmonious universe, or the gods). This is accomplished, first, by practicing a condition of attention at rest in which physical or intellectual activity can proceed naturally, and second, by deliberately dedicating the activity to the sacred realm. The outward work may be offered for the welfare of all (the bodhisattva's vow) or to the god or goddess in charge of the specific field of endeavor; or its fruits may be sacrificed to the supreme self. By this direction of attention or intention, outward work of whatever kind is acknowledged to be sacred or construed as living prayer in the sense of the Christian monastics' *laborare est orare* or what the Tibetan monk

Chögyam Trungpa has called "meditation in action." Such mental work serves the heart of orthodox spiritual praxis, which decrees all activity to be valorized at every moment by dint of its relationship to the divine and all work to have for its goal the realization of one's natural being. This is the alchemical *opus* of transformation to a higher state.

SPIRITUAL WORK. Preparation for the spiritual event of self-realization is traditionally the only real work there is. It demands the most stringent of efforts, calling as it does for the elimination of such obstacles as egocentrism and attachment to results and the abandonment of compulsive human activity (the attempt to make things go as one would like them to). In the Ṣūfī classic *Manṭiq al-ṭayr* (The conference of the birds) Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār warns that on the path to God "a hundred difficulties will assail you. . . . You will have to make great efforts. . . . The Spiritual Way reveals itself only in the degree to which the traveller has overcome his faults and weaknesses, his sleep and his inertia, and each will approach nearer to his aim according to his effort" (trans. Nott, New York, 1954, pp. 98, 107).

Yet it is in keeping with the mystical paradox that whenever this spiritual effort is encountered consciously, the outward effort is negated. When the simple working of the laws of nature are perceived through attention, experienced as my own nature, and allowed to act unimpeded by personal interference, work on any level becomes "not doing," "nonaction," "inaction." In the words of Zhuangzu, "The mind of a perfect man is like a mirror. It grasps nothing. It expects nothing. It reflects but does not hold. Therefore, the perfect man can act without effort" (trans. Watson). Similarly, the *Dao de jing* refers repeatedly to the sage who works without doing; the *Bhagavadgita* states that "the knower of truth, seated in the Self, thinks 'I do nothing at all, though seeing, hearing, touching, smelling, eating, going, sleeping, breathing, speaking, letting go, grasping, opening and closing the eyes' "(5.8f).

Nondoing is an entirely pragmatic matter, as witnessed even by the dry psychological records of Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi's "flow experience" reports, descriptions of moments in which subjects engaged fullheartedly in activity have experienced a release from habitual limitations and the work is seen to "flow by itself." "The secret of power," wrote Emerson, "is delight in one's work. . . . Place yourself in the stream of power and wisdom which animates all whom it floats, and you are without effort compelled to truth, to right and a perfect contentment." The arts have been classically sacralized in this sense, of course. The spirit of the Shaker craftsmen no less than that of medieval scribes fostered an atmosphere of meditative stillness in which the direction of the work would present itself effortlessly in the moment of the creative act. Similarly, Simone Weil's statement that "attention consists of suspending our thought, leaving it detached, empty, and ready to be penetrated by the object" has the ring of an instruction in Zen art. In a frequently translated passage from Zhuangzu, Prince Wenhui learns the art of life from his cook, who explains his observation of the Dao in carving up an ox: There are natural spaces through which the blade simply passes, and the carcass falls apart of itself.

Surely this is the message of Jesus' invitation "Come unto me, ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest" (*Mt.* 11:28). If the Dao can arise in the interstices between a cleaver blade and the joint of the bullock, why not in the space between an iron and a shirtsleeve, or between an editor's blue pencil and the manuscript page? In that space, work itself literally constitutes rest, earth and sky are conjoined, and the sentence of human work resolves back into its source, becomes what it has always been in reality: God's work, the play of his creation.

SEE ALSO Art and Religion; Attention; Fall, The; Golden Age; Shabbat.

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The richness of the subject is hardly matched by the number of works that directly address it at any length. Dennis Clark's *Work and the Human Spirit* (New York, 1967) offers a very general sociocultural discussion from the Christian view. Etymological considerations are well served by Klaus R. Grinda's study *Arbeit und Mühe: Untersuchungen zur Bedeutungsge-schichte altenglischer Wörter* (Munich, 1975), which demonstrates that words in English meaning "work" and those meaning "effort, labor, suffering" stem from entirely separate semantic fields. Readers who wish to address the theme of sacred and profane meanings of work may be moved by James Agee's intense, poetic vision of physical toil at a level utterly bereft of sacrality; see the section "Work" in Agee and Walker Evans's *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (1941; Boston, 1960), pp. 319–325.

Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1958; New York, 1976) presents his classic interpretation of the development of the "work ethic" of modern capitalism through the influence of ascetic Protestant doctrine. Gandhi's plea for widespread commitment to "bread labor" as a service to creation is offered in a small collection of his published statements and newspaper essays, *Bread Labour: The Gospel of Work* (Ahmedabad, 1960). For a document of the Catholic view of work, see the encyclical *Laborem exercens* from the pen of John Paul II, published as *On Human Work* (Washington, D.C., 1981). Much of the discussion is devoted to social-humane issues, but see pages 9–15 and the section "Elements for a Spirituality of Work" on pages 53–60.

Simone Weil's *The Need for Roots* (1952; New York, 1971) presents her vision of physical labor as simultaneously the most torturous "subjection to matter" and the most transcendent human activity. Her wonderful essay "Reflections on the Right Use of School Studies with a View to the Love of God," in *Waiting for God* (1951; New York, 1973), pp. 105–116, offers profound insights regarding attention in work at any level. The same volume includes a brief discussion of physical work on page 170.

Finally, two books explore in depth the theme of craft as a way of self-knowledge: Carla Needleman's *The Work of Craft* (New York, 1979) and D. M. Dooling's *A Way of Working: The Spiritual Dimension of Craft* (New York, 1979), a collection of essays by various hands.

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KAREN READY (1987)
Revised Bibliography

WORLD RELIGIONS. There are three overlapping yet divergent senses in which the term *world religions* is commonly used today. In its broadest sense, it is shorthand for the "religions of the world," that is, any religion that currently exists or formerly existed somewhere in the world. The emphasis, however, tends to be on extant religions rather than those that flourished in the past, and in this connotation another often favored synonym is "living religions" or "living faiths." In the second, somewhat more restrictive and evaluative sense, only a certain number of religions is meant: usually, "the major religions of the world," meaning the type of religions that can claim to have played a distinct and significant role in the historical process of a nation or a region, or the type of religions that purportedly have had universal aspirations and an appeal that transcends the limits of a particular locality or ethnic group. Thirdly, especially when the term appears in the context of an academic curriculum, course title, book title, and so on, *world religions* is often adopted expressly to signal that the subject matter covered therein is not limited to Christianity, the Biblical tradition, or the so-called Judeo-Christian perspective, but is inclusive of all or many other religions. Whichever sense of the term is meant, it is far more frequently used in the plural form than in the singular. In fact, the cardinal presupposition underlying the concept of world religions is the multiplicity of religion; it is predicated on the idea that *religion* is a genus comprising many species, and that Christianity, for example, is but one of them. This idea, though a truism nowadays, is distinctly modern, if not to say altogether unprecedented in the history of the West.

Although regularly mentioned in scholarly tracts as well as in nonscholarly media, *world religions* is not a technical term. There has been little critical discussion of the concept or its history; nor is there an established definition agreed upon by religion specialists. The term itself originated in certain academic contexts of the nineteenth century, and it was indeed a matter of considerable scholarly debate among European scientists and theologians then, but those arguments are now largely forgotten and further obscured by contemporary usage, which appears to take little account of past concerns. It is therefore best to understand that the meaning of this term at present is largely determined by conventional practice rather than by any scholarly consensus or rigorous analytic considerations. At the same time, the notion of world religions can be shown to have a complex historical relation to some earlier conceptual schemes for delineating the variety of religious traditions, schemes that it presumably has replaced.

Until the early decades of the nineteenth century, a well-established convention going back to the Middle Ages had been to divide the world population into four groups: Christians, Jews, Muḥammadans (as Muslims were commonly called then), and, finally, those others who were attached to countless varieties of idolatry (also called pagans, heathens, or polytheists). This four-part classification implied, however, not a recognition of four distinct religions as we think of them now, but a division of the world's nations into, first, the correctly faithful believers in the true and only God (i.e., Christians of various sorts), then two major groups with errant or heretical opinions and attitudes toward God (Jews and Muḥammadans), and then the rest, who were altogether ignorant of God and therefore paid inappropriate reverence to various substitute objects, or idols. In effect, in this frame of mind, there was only one religion—the true one—and others were various ways of straying from it. The plurality of religions presupposed by the concept of world religions, therefore, came as a sea change in the way in which Europeans thought about themselves—understood first and foremost as Christendom—and about their relation to the rest of the world.

ORIGIN AND EARLY USES OF THE TERM. The coinage of the term *world religion*—in German, *Weltreligion*—was probably not unrelated to the advent of similar terms, such as *world history* (*Weltgeschichte*, a concept especially associated with G. W. F. Hegel) and *world literature* (*Weltliteratur*, associated with Goethe), which began to circulate in the early nineteenth century. Whatever this relation may have been, there is little doubt that the term originated in German. In summarizing the nineteenth-century controversy over the notion of world religions, the Dutch historian of religion P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, in his *Manual of the Science of Religion* (1891, p. 54), credibly notes that the word was first introduced by Johann Sebastian von Drey in 1827. A prominent German Catholic theologian and cofounding editor of the *Tübingen Theological Quarterly*, Drey in that year published in this journal a two-part article entitled "Von der Landesreligion und der Weltreligion" (loosely translated, "on the religion of a country and the religion of the world"), wherein he argued that the Christian Church, in its true catholicity, was an institution pertaining to what was universally human, and as such it differed fundamentally from the cult of any particular nation. In effect, *world religion* was the term he applied uniquely and exclusively to Christianity (*Christentum*), in contradistinction from all the indigenous religions of Europe and elsewhere, roundly called paganism or heathenism (*Heidentum*). What is significant here, therefore, is not only the appearance of the term—albeit in the singular—but also the pairing of *world religion* with its presumed other, *Landesreligion,* or, literally, "religion of the land," meaning "religion of a country," or more commonly, "national religion."

Half a century later, this pairing of terms was to acquire further significance in the context of a debate among certain Dutch and German scholars. The debate had to do with the distinction between two supposedly different *types* of religion: purportedly "universalistic" religions on the one hand and religions that were said to be ethnically, nationally, or racially particular on the other. Meanwhile, the most pertinent development in the intervening decades was the European "discovery" of Buddhism. As Philip Almond has shown in *The British Discovery of Buddhism* (1988), it was only in the course of the nineteenth century that Europeans came to believe that: (1) that certain traditions of ritual practice and cultic observance, philosophic systems, legends, and clerical institutions found in various parts of Asia actually constituted a single religion; (2) the essential identity of these greatly divergent and diffuse phenomena could be traced back to a particular historical moment and location in northern India, indeed, to a specific historical personage who lived several centuries before Jesus of Nazareth; and (3) the successful dissemination of this religion in Asia was such that it either rivaled or possibly surpassed Christianity in the size of its adherents. Among the ramifications of this understanding of Buddhism as a distinct religion was a sudden awareness that there was another religion in some way comparable to Christianity. Like Christianity, which grew out of an older religion unique to the ancient Israelites, it was thought that Buddhism grew out of Hinduism (more commonly called Brahmanism then), the quintessential religion of India. Buddhism, too, supposedly began as a reform movement initiated by an extraordinary but historical figure, Gautama, bearing a moral message and spiritual appeal to all humanity. Like Christianity, it was also observed, Buddhism disappeared eventually from the land of its origin but spread swiftly beyond national, ethnic, and regional boundaries, not to mention among people of different social strata. In effect, European scholars came to recognize in Buddhism a second world religion, though this did not necessarily lead them to relinquish the claim for the unique and absolute superiority of Christianity.

The discovery of Buddhism was among the most important achievements of the European scholarship on India, which had gained momentum since Sir William Jones's celebrated pronouncements in 1786 suggesting the affinity—and hence the likely commonality of origin—between the classical languages of India and of Europe. This was to be the basis of the idea of the Indo-European (or Aryan) language family, a group of related languages purportedly characterized and distinguished from other groups by the purity of their grammatical form (i.e., inflection). This idea helped redefine Europeanness, aligning Europe with ancient India and Persia, while separating it from the Semitic (those who spoke languages allegedly marred by "imperfect inflection," exemplified by Arabic and Hebrew), as well as from all the rest—that is, the speakers of the noninflectional (or agglutinative) languages of Asia and Africa. In the course of the nineteenth century these groupings of languages became increasingly understood not only in the linguistic sense, but also in an ethnic and, finally, a racial sense. In view of the newly emergent idea of Aryan Europe and, concomitantly, the possible ancestral relation to the "noble race" ("Arya") of ancient India, the recognition of Buddhism as a world religion had implications far beyond the technical question of how to classify religions of the world.

The question of religious versus racial identity was brought into even sharper focus by a related notion—also based on the new understanding of language groups—that Christianity, insofar as it began as one of the numerous Jewish sects, is Semitic in its historical origin, no less so than Islam and Judaism. This notion was at once intriguing and disturbing to many nineteenth-century Europeans who considered themselves Aryan yet claimed Christianity as their own, so much so that various theories were advanced implying that Christianity was only incidentally and tangentially related to the religion of the ancient Israelites. Some argued that Christianity grew not so much out of ancient Judaism as out of Panhellenism—that is, the widespread Greek culture of the Mediterranean world in late antiquity (for example, Emile Burnouf, *La Science des religions: Sa méthode et ses limites*, 2nd edition, 1872). Others propounded a theory of the Indian origin of Christianity (Louis Jacolliot, *La Bible dans l'Inde: Vie de Iezeus Christna*, 1869) or even went so far as to suggest that Christianity began in a community of Buddhist missionaries residing in Egypt (Arthur Lillie, *Buddhism in Christendom, or, Jesus, the Essene*, 1887).

Although these enormously popular nineteenth-century speculations have been largely discredited by mainstream scholarship, it is important to remember that such efforts to Hellenize and Aryanize Christianity and to separate it from its presumed Semitic parentage was not unrelated to the new recognition of Buddhism as a world religion, and, moreover, to the understanding that Buddhism was an Aryan religion in its essential beginning, though now extant only among the non-Aryan nations of eastern Asia in its various corrupted forms. At the same time, Islam—the powerful domain of an alien religion well known to European Christians for centuries—came to be increasingly represented as the religion of the Arabs, therefore, as a quintessentially Semitic religion. This opinion—which formed the basis of the argument that it was not a world religion—was held by some prominent scholars, despite the widely acknowledged fact that the great majority of Muslims, then as now, were not Arabs.

These newly emergent trends of thought were largely implicit, and yet essential to the scholarly debate about world religions that took place in the 1870s and 1880s. The scholars who engaged in this debate appear to have been uniformly of the opinion that Buddhism, in addition to Christianity, was a world religion, thus differing in their conception of the term from that of Drey half a century earlier. The controversy was above all over the status of Islam. Some scholars counted, as a matter of course, Christianity, Buddhism, and Islam as world religions (presumably on the grounds that all three were major religions, each with a transnational spread, thus de facto demonstrating their "universalistic" aspirations and capabilities); other scholars, however, strenuously maintained that Islam was not a world religion but instead quintessentially a national religion specific to the Arabs, that it was adopted by non-Arabs only for extraneous political reasons or because it was imposed upon them by force (see Kuenen, 1882; Pfleiderer, 1907). These contentious arguments led some others to question the cogency of distinguishing world religions from national religions in the first place, and to mitigate the earlier claims for the scientific usefulness of these categories (see Rauwenhoff, 1885; Tiele, 1885; Jastrow, 1901).

There was no clear resolution to the debate in the end; rather, it appears that the matter was decided by default. For, by the early decades of the twentieth century, when the use of the term *world religions* in the plural became well established, it was simply taken for granted that Christianity, Buddhism, and Islam were world religions. Ernst Troeltsch, for example, in his essay entitled "The Place of Christianity among the World Religions" (1923), named all three as world religions without any explanation. More fundamentally, the demarcation between *world religions* and *national religions* was effectively undermined, as the latter category dropped out of use entirely.

Perhaps no one was more instrumental in making this turn definitive and authoritative than Max Weber. In the last decade of his life, he undertook an ambitious multivolume project under the general title *The Economic Ethic of the World Religions* (*Wirtschaftsethik der Weltreligionen*), which remained unfinished at the time of his death in 1920. As can be discerned from his introductory essay of the same name, originally published independently in 1915, he treated *world religions* strictly as a conventional nomenclature referring to the major religions of the world, and he included Hinduism and Confucianism in the list; in addition, he found it necessary to consider in the same context "Ancient Judaism," though he stopped short of naming it a bona fide world religion. Weber was of the opinion that any numerically substantial or otherwise significant religion was of interest precisely because of its uniquely characteristic ethos, each specific to the history and culture of a particular people. Put differently, all of those Weber called "world religions" were, in his view, what nineteenth-century scholars called "national religions."

ADAPTATION OF THE TERM IN ENGLISH. The use of the term *world religions* in English most probably began with its appearance in C. P. Tiele's article "Religions," published in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1885). This was a rather literal translation of the term *wereldgodsdiensten* from his native Dutch; for, until then and sometime thereafter, the usual translation of *wereldgodsdiensten* and *Weltreligionen* was either "universal religions" or, as Tiele himself sometimes preferred, "universalistic religions." Although the nineteenth-century Dutch and German scholarly debate over the notion of world religions did not extend to the English-speaking world, it was known among the scholars (Jastrow, 1901, pp. 122–123), and perhaps more importantly, a parallel distinction between what continental European scholars called "national religions" and "world religions" had been drawn under different names. To cite two of the most prominent examples, the renowned Christian socialist and progressive Anglican Frederick Denison Maurice published his Boyle Lectures under the title *The Religions of the World and Their Relations to Christianity* (1847). He argued that, although all religions purported to unite and encompass all humankind in their aspiration to rise above the merely human, only Christianity actually achieved this goal, and that all other "religions of the world" were but melancholy testimonies to the impossibility of fulfilling their ideals on their own terms. In short, in his view, Christianity alone accounted for the whole, and was therefore universal, while all other religions were limited and particularistic. A second example is from across the Atlantic: the distinguished Unitarian minister James Freeman Clarke of Boston published a series of articles in 1868—issued in 1871 in a single volume as *Ten Great Religions: An Essay in Comparative Theology* and reprinted many times—where he drew the same distinction between the truly universal religion, which he termed "catholic religion," namely Christianity, and all the rest, which he called "ethnic religions."

It was in this sense of "universal religion" that the term *world religion*, in the singular, first came to be used by certain Anglophone theologians toward the end of the nineteenth century. John Henry Barrows—an American Presbyterian minister who served as the president of the World Parliament of Religions in 1893—lectured in India under the title "Christianity, the World-Religion" (1897), signaling his conviction that Christianity alone was the truly universal religion. Similarly, William Fairfield Warren—the occupant of arguably the first chair of comparative religion at an American university and later president of Boston University—gave the same appellation to Christianity when he wrote *The Religions of the World and the World-Religion* (1892). Far from being a synonym for "religions of the world," then, for these authors, *world-religion* (in both cases hyphenated) signified one unique religion, their own, which, in their opinion, happened to be universally viable. In effect, they viewed the contrast between Christianity and all other religions as Maurice and Clarke had, and at the same time, their usage of the term *world-religion* was consistent with Drey's original sense of *Weltreligion*.

It is difficult to determine with certainty how this exclusivist or Christian supremacist connotation of *world-religion* came to be displaced or overridden by the other pluralistic use of the term assumed by Tiele and others, or, for that matter, how the novel theory originating in the scientific discourse of continental Europe—suggesting, specifically, that Buddhism at least should be regarded as a world religion in addition to Christianity—was first received in the English-speaking world generally. As it happened in the German-speaking world, the claim for the "uniquely universal" status of Christianity eventually became less pronounced in the notion of world religion(s), while the other, seemingly indifferent sense of the term, comprising any numerically significant religions, eventually prevailed.

It was during the decades between the two world wars that the use of the term *world religions*, as well as the standard list of about a dozen religions so designated, became conventional. What is remarkable about this turn of events is, first, the relatively precipitous establishment of the convention, and secondly, its unchallenged stability to this day. It is also striking that the rhetorical emphasis shifted, suddenly turning to what was regarded as current, alive, and immediately present, whereas during the nineteenth century all of the non-Christian religions—with the conspicuous and ever troublesome exception of Islam—were represented as bygone religions, as fossil-like remnants of "ancient," "archaic," "defunct," or "past" religions that had been superceded by the coming of Christ.

Since the beginning of the early twentieth century, then, there has been a list of world religions that could be called standard or customary, albeit with some individual variations—some addition, subtraction, further division, or merging. The typical list almost invariably includes Christianity, Buddhism, Islam, Hinduism, and Judaism; it also frequently identifies Confucianism, Daoism, and Shintō (at times grouped together as "Chinese and Japanese religions" or "East Asian religions"), as well as Parsiism (or Zoroastrianism), Jainism, and Sikhism.

In addition to these purportedly major religions, a typical world religions textbook or curriculum often includes discussion of traditions that are supposedly minor in scale, numbers, or world-historical significance. In earlier times, these minor traditions were often referred to as "savage" or "primitive" religions, though nowadays these appellations are generally avoided and variously replaced by "primal," "preliterate," "tribal," or even "basic" religions. The content of the category, under whatever name, has remained more or less constant; it refers to those cultic practices, mythic lore, and cosmologies that fall outside of the above-named major religions. Such small-scale religions are recognized generically as a type, and examples of this type are said to be found in profusion, particularly in Africa, the Americas, the Pacific islands, Oceania, Central and Southeast Asia, and other pockets of indigenous tribal life. Within this group, individual cases and examples are specified by their geographical location or by certain subcategories coined by European scholars in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, such as shamanism and animism. Whether these minor traditions en masse are treated as part of world religions or as constituting a category in addition to world religions depends on whether a given author defines the term *world religions* as "all religions of the world" or as "major religions." In any case, the supplementary status of "the rest" seems inevitably to have remained anomalous and problematic, thereby threatening the symmetry and stability of each classification system, whether it be the fourth category (idolaters) in the traditional system, that of national religions in the nineteenth-century scientific system, or the generic category of tribal religions among world religions in the system in use at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

SEE ALSO Comparative Religion; Study of Religion.

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There has been little scholarly discussion or critical examination of the idea of *world religions*. Regarding the ideological implications of applying this concept to a specific geographical location, Timothy Fitzgerald considers the case of India in "Hinduism and the World Religion Fallacy," *Religion* 20 (1990): 101–118. Russell T. McCutcheon critiques an aspect of the current pedagogic practice of religious studies, as predicated on the notion of world religions, in *Manufacturing Religion: The Discourse on Sui Generis Religion and the Politics of Nostalgia* (New York, 1997). For an overall history of the idea of world religions, see Tomoko Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions* (Chicago, 2005).

It is important to consider this history in relation to the formation of the concept of religion(s) more generally, and for this purpose particularly informative are two articles by Jonathan Z. Smith, "Religion, Religions, Religious," in *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, edited by Mark C. Taylor, pp. 269–284 (Chicago, 1998), and "Classification," in *Guide to the Study of Religion*, edited by Willi Braun and Russell T. McCutcheon, pp. 35–44 (London, 2000).

Historically, F. Max Müller has been regarded by many scholars as the progenitor of the science of religion and of the modern scholarly classification of religions, as delineated in his *Introduction to the Science of Religion* (London, 1873); it is all the more notable, then, that Müller expressly avoided engaging in the debate concerning the notion of world religions and that he never made use of the term. For critical discussions by his contemporaries of the category of world religions and systems of classification, the following texts may be consulted: C. P. Tiele, *Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst tot aan de heerschappij der Wereldgodsdiensten* (Leiden, 1876), translated by J. Estlin Carpenter as *Outlines of the History of Religion to the Spread of the Universal Religions* (London, 1877), as well as Tiele's entry, "Religions," in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Edinburgh, 1885); Abraham Kuenen, *Volksgodsdienst en Wereldgodsdienst* (1882), translated by P. H. Wicksteed as *National Religions and Universal Religions* (London, 1882); L. W. E. Rauwenhoff, "Wereldgodsdiensten" (in Dutch), *Theologisch Tijdschrift* 19 (1885): 1–33; P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, vol. 1 (Freiburg, Germany, 1887), translated by Beatrice S. Colyer-Furgusson as *Manual of the Science of Religion* (London, 1891); Maurice Vernes, *L'Histoire des religions; son espirit, sa méthode, et ses divisions, son enseignement en France et à l'etranger* (Paris, 1887); Morris Jastrow

Jr., *The Study of Religion* (New York, 1901); and Otto Pfleiderer, *Religion und Religionen* (Munich, 1906), translated by Daniel A. Huebsch as *Religion and Historic Faiths* (New York, 1907).

Regarding the earliest examples of texts employing the modern notion of world religions (though not necessarily adopting the term) and exhibiting more or less the same list of religions as is encountered today, the following were among the most renowned and authoritative: George Foot Moore, *History of Religions,* 2 vols. (New York, 1913–1919); Robert Ernest Hume, *The World's Living Religions: An Historical Sketch* (New York, 1924); and John Clark Archer, *Faiths Men Live By* (New York, 1934). Whereas nineteenth-century books, pamphlets, and lectures on the subject of world religions were often intended for future Christian missionaries and for others likewise seeking a confirmation of Christian superiority in comparison to other religions, the texts just mentioned are meant expressly for liberal arts college students and for the general public. In this connection, also noteworthy is what appears to be the first correspondence course in world religions and an early instance of a university extension enterprise based in Chicago. The textbook for the course—twelve monthly issues containing essays by prominent scholars, including Müller (Oxford), Jastrow (Pennsylvania), and Chantepie de la Saussaye (Amsterdam), among others, and edited by Edmund Buckley—is entitled *Universal Religion: A Course of Lessons, Historical and Scientific, on the Various Faiths of the World* (Chicago, 1897).

The earliest books that mention *world religions* in the title—in English and in the contemporary sense of the term—are Charles Samuel Braden's *Modern Tendencies in World Religions* (New York, 1933) and *Modern Trends in World-Religions*, edited by A. Eustace Haydon (Chicago, 1934).

Meanwhile, the extant portion of Max Weber's unfinished project, *Die Wirtschaftsethik der Weltreligionen* (literally, *The Economic Ethic of the World Religions*), was published posthumously as *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*, 3 vols. (Tübingen, Germany, 1921). The introductory essay by the same name as the overall project had been previously published independently in *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* (1915); it has been translated as "The Social Psychology of the World Religions" and included in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, edited and translated by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York, 1946), pp. 267–301. Weber's most famous work, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, translated by Talcott Parsons (New York, 1930), constitutes but a segment of this massive project, as do three other monograph-length works by him that were separately published in English: *The Religion of China*, translated by Hans H. Gerth (New York, 1951); *Ancient Judaism*, translated by Hans H. Gerth and Don Martindale (New York, 1952); and *The Religion of India*, translated by Hans H. Gerth and Don Martindale (New York, 1958).

The subject of world religions in general gained much popularity in the English-speaking world in the second half of the twentieth century. In the decades following World War II, curricula for the secular study of religions proliferated, particularly in American colleges and universities. Concurrently, there appeared a number of texts that came to have enduring influence and that have undergone many reprints and revised editions. Those include *The Religions of Man* by Huston Smith (1st ed., New York, 1958); *The Concise Encyclopedia of Living Faiths*, edited by R. C. Zaehner (New York, 1959); *The Religious Experience of Mankind* by Ninian Smart (1st ed., New York, 1969); and *Religions of the World* by E. Geoffrey Parrinder (New York, 1971).

TOMOKO MASUZAWA (2005)

WORLD'S PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS.

Held in Chicago from September 11 to 18, 1893, in conjunction with the Columbian Exposition, the World's Parliament of Religions was a milestone in the history of interreligious dialogue, the study of world religions, and the impact of Eastern religious traditions on American culture. The parliament's several delegates from Asia were among the first authoritative representatives of their traditions to travel to the West. The earliest Vedāntist and Buddhist organizations in the United States to cater primarily to Westerners can be traced directly or indirectly to the conference and its delegates.

Though awakened by the "Yankee Hindoo" motif of New England transcendentalism during the early part of the nineteenth century and furthered by the educational efforts of the Theosophical Society (founded in New York in 1875), American interest in Eastern spirituality was enhanced by the publicity created by the conference. The number of courses in "comparative religion" at American colleges rose appreciably as a result of the event. At the same time the parliament provided an occasion for dialogue, enabling Christian apologists to present forceful counterarguments to those of their Eastern colleagues, linking faith in Christ with "progress" and moral superiority and justifying missionary endeavor. Indeed, while the parliament was undeniably liberal Protestant in tone, it was also a pioneering ecumenical event, international in scope. Roman Catholic and Jewish spokespeople took their places alongside representatives of those "mainstream" Protestant denominations that were, at that time, usually perceived as the dominant form of American religious life.

The idea of sponsoring a parliament of religions was proposed to the Columbian Exposition by Charles C. Bonney (1831–1903), a civic leader and devout layman of the Swedenborgian Church; his role could be said to epitomize the rising influence of the laity in American religion at the time. Paul Carus (1852–1919), the Open Court Press editor and publisher, influential through his early introduction of Eastern classics to Western readers, was also an active promoter of the event. The leadership of the parliament itself, however, was clerical—preeminently in the person of John Henry Barrows (1847–1902), a prominent Chicago Presbyterian minister.

Nonetheless, the most lasting impression at the conference was made by three colorful, articulate representatives of

Hinduism and Buddhism: Swami Vivekananda (1863–1902), Anagārika Dharmapāla (1864–1933), and Shaku Sōen (1859–1919). Vivekananda, a disciple of the saintly Ramakrishna Paramahaṃsa (1836–1886), was the founder of the Ramakrishna Mission, which has planted outposts of intellectual Hinduism (frequently known as Vedanta Societies) throughout the West. Dharmapāla, a Singhalese reformer, was the founder of the Maha Bodhi Society, which aimed at revitalizing and promoting Buddhism in dialogue with modern thought; the society came to have a great deal of interaction with Western Buddhists. Shaku, a Japanese Zen priest, was particularly influential through his students, who included the first Zen monks to settle in America (a decade or so later) and the layman D. T. Suzuki (1870–1966), whose books have done much to introduce Zen to the West.

The parliament was not without difficulty or dissent. Islam was inadequately represented; the participation of Roman Catholics sparked much controversy within their church; and many conservative Protestants were horrified by the entire project. The gathering's coincidental connection with the American "triumphalism" of the Columbian Exposition, in the heyday of Western expansion, sent a strangely ambiguous message. But the parliament's American fruits, in the form of both increased academic study of world religion and non-Western religious presences in America, foreshadowed the religious pluralism of the twentieth century and remain visible in the twenty-first.

At the same time, non-Western delegates like Vivekananda (though often seen by conservative coreligionists as too prone to universalism and modernism) became key promoters of reform within their own faiths. Moreover, the parliament was viewed by nationalists as legitimating their homeland's spiritual culture against colonialism, and so played a role in the cultural and, ultimately, political renaissance of nations like India and Sri Lanka.

In 1993, on the centenary of the first parliament, a second Parliament of the World's Religions (apart from one or two smaller interreligious events called congresses or parliaments) brought some six thousand attendees to Chicago. The effects of a hundred years were evident. Among the most conspicuous delegates were Tibetan Buddhists, Western Neopagans, and Native Americans, all unrepresented in 1893. The distinguished student of American religious pluralism Diana Eck noted in a major address that when Swami Vivekananda came to Chicago there were no known Hindus in that city, while in 1993 some twenty Hindu temples served the Chicago area. The same was true also with Buddhism, Islam, and other religions once mysterious to most Americans.

The twentieth-century event was far more participatory than the earlier one, despite the dramatic opening procession in 1893. The halls of the hotel in which the 1993 event was held echoed with the sounds of chants, gongs, drums, and prayers as well as speeches. This parliament focused not only on getting acquainted but also on the application of the world's religious energies to the world's problems. A parliamentary document, "Toward a Global Ethic," called on the planet's spiritual leaders to work assiduously toward universal justice, peace, nonviolence, and ecological awareness. The major address at the closing ceremony was given by the Dalai Lama, who urged the implementation of these values.

For all that, it cannot be said that the 1993 parliament had the impact of the first. It was but one voice and one interreligious experience among many in the late-twentieth-century world, whereas the first parliament in a real sense created, or epitomized, a new era in world spiritual interaction.

A third Parliament of the World's Religions, inspired by the second, was held in Cape Town, South Africa, in December 1999. While inspiring for the some six thousand attendees, it too was of less historical significance than the first.

SEE ALSO Ramakrishna; Suzuki, D. T.; Vivekananda.

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ROBERT S. ELLWOOD (1987 AND 2005)

WORSHIP AND DEVOTIONAL LIFE

This entry consists of the following articles:

JEWISH WORSHIP
CHRISTIAN WORSHIP
MUSLIM WORSHIP
HINDU DEVOTIONAL LIFE
BUDDHIST DEVOTIONAL LIFE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA
BUDDHIST DEVOTIONAL LIFE IN EAST ASIA
BUDDHIST DEVOTIONAL LIFE IN TIBET
DAOIST DEVOTIONAL LIFE

WORSHIP AND DEVOTIONAL LIFE: JEWISH WORSHIP

Although never discouraging private, incidental prayer, Judaism gives absolute priority to the formal worship of the community. Jewish law (*halakhah*) establishes that even individuals praying privately must first recite the fixed texts, meeting their own needs through added intentionality (*kavvanah*) before adding freely composed prayers only in restricted locations. This worship functions as a constant reminder to Jews of their existential situation: they are members of the people Israel, living a life enabled by God in a divinely created and maintained world, corporately heirs to the irrevocable covenants between God and Israel. The formal prayers grow from this relationship, expressing praise, petition, and thanksgiving to God, as well as reminding Jews of the expectations it places on them for a life lived constantly in the divine presence. In reciting these prayers, Jews locate themselves within a sacred history that extends from creation, through the exodus and Sinai revelation, to the future messianic fulfillment of God's promises.

Jewish worship includes prayers by which to respond to the inherent holiness found in every moment of life, from the seemingly mundane (like the proper functioning of bodily orifices), to the seemingly miraculous (like seeing rainbows and flowering trees). It touches on every moment of normal waking life, from rising, dressing, eating, and studying to interpersonal relations. The Babylonian Talmud (Menaḥot 43b) cites the second-century CE Rabbi Meir that everyone must recite one hundred blessings daily. By this practice, one acknowledges the sanctity of all these moments, praising God as sovereign of the universe for all aspects of the divine relationship with creation.

The first preserved Jewish prayer books, from the ninth century CE, begin as lists of these hundred blessings. Jewish worship calls for the regular recitation of many of these blessings during statutory formal worship of God, thrice daily with additional services on holidays. Concatenations of blessings structure the central statutory prayers. These prayers ideally are recited with a *minyan*, a quorum of ten worshipers, usually but not necessarily in a synagogue, in the presence of a Torah scroll. Individuals, however, may recite most of these prayers for themselves. Any member of the *minyan* (adult Jews, traditionally only men) may lead public prayers, taking on the role of the *sheliaḥ tsibbur*, the emissary of the congregation. No clergy are necessary, although a congregation may appoint a *hazzan*, or cantor, as a professional *sheliaḥ tsibbur*, and in modern liberal contexts rabbis often lead services.

ORIGINS. This system of worship apparently developed in response to the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple by the Romans in 70 CE. While the Temple functioned, Jewish corporate worship of God was sacrificial, consisting of daily and festival sacrifices offered by the priestly families on behalf of the nation and in response to God's biblical covenantal commands. These sacrifices, like those of the Jews' neighbors, required scrupulous attention to detail, both in the choice of unblemished sacrificial victims and in the performance of the cultic acts. Priests offered lambs morning and afternoon, as well as incense and grain offerings and additional sacrifices to mark Sabbaths and holidays. Individual Jews who could attend brought various other offerings, either from personal obligation or in celebration. Many holy days called for special Temple rituals: the sacrifice of paschal lambs at Passover, the complex expiatory offerings of the high priest on Yom Kippur, the blowing of the *shofar* (ram's horn) on Ro'sh ha-Shanah, circumambulation with *lulav* (palm branches) at Sukkot, or the singing of *hallel* (*Psalms* 113 to 118) on most festivals.

We know of few settings where Jews gathered for worship outside of the Temple while it functioned. Synagogues existed in Israel and in the Diaspora, but probably as places for reading and studying scripture or for meetings, not for regular communal prayer. Communities whose local priests were serving in Jerusalem (the *maʿamad)* apparently gathered for a scripture-centered worship during those weeks. At least one dissident group, objecting to the administration of the Temple, retreated to the Dead Sea and conducted regular, nonsacrificial worship. Textual evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls, as well as from liturgical passages in contemporary Jewish literature, suggests that a recognized register of prayer language was emerging, in Hebrew and in continuity with biblical prayer texts. Jewish prayer in Greek likely also existed in some circles, but evidence is sparse.

RABBINIC PRAYER. With the destruction of the Temple, the covenantal, biblically-mandated worship of God ceased, creating a spiritual crisis. Many competing substitute methods of worship were likely proposed, most of which failed to gain authority. Some Jews may also have chosen simply to wait for a restoration of the cult, as had happened after the destruction of the Solomonic Temple by the Babylonians. The worship system that became universal Jewish prayer seems to have begun as a substitution for sacrifices among the rabbinic class under the leadership of Rabban Gamliʿel at Yavneh in the last decades of the first century CE. In a revolutionary move, Rabban Gamliʿel decreed that instead of priestly, sacrificial worship in Jerusalem, now every Jew everywhere was responsible for daily verbal prayer (Mishnah *Berakhot* 4:3). Sages of his academy organized a prayer of eighteen blessings, known then as "the prayer" (*ha-tʾfillah*) to be recited at every weekday service, with shorter versions for holy days. Later Jewish communities call this prayer the *ʿamidah*, for the standing posture in which it is recited, or *shʾmoneh ʿesreh*, the eighteen. The recitations of this prayer assumed the names of the daily sacrifices and were recited at corresponding hours while facing Jerusalem's Temple Mount. The content of this prayer is complex, but its focal point on weekdays is a petition for messianic redemption, including the rebuilding of the Temple. On Sabbaths and holidays, a single blessing reflecting on the holiness of the day replaces its thirteen petitionary blessings.

Scholars today debate whether Rabban Gamliʿel's court decreed simply the thematic structure of this prayer, enabling individuals to develop their own precise language, or whether they promulgated a verbatim tightly composed set of prayers. Classical rabbinic texts preserve only snippets of these prayers. The sheer variety of language that developed in subsequent centuries around the common Yavnean structure suggests some freedom. In either case, we know little about how quickly Jews throughout Israel, let alone throughout the Diaspora, responded to this revolutionary decree. Materials embedded in the late-fourth-century Christian Apostolic Constitutions (VII:33–38) suggest that Greek versions were also extant.

It is possible that rabbinic prayers became Jewish prayers more broadly and became the worship of the preexistent synagogue only as rabbinic influence grew in the third and fourth centuries. Archaeological evidence points to a flowering of synagogue construction in Byzantine Palestine, and these synagogues show some evidence of rabbinic presence. Rabbinic tradition records that only in the third century did rabbis rule that only blessings formulated as "Blessed are You, Lord our God, King of the universe" were appropriate (Babylonian Talmud *Berakhot* 40b). This is also the period where rabbis finalized the protocols for joining the *t'fillah* with the recitation of *sh'ma'*.

The *sh'ma'*, the recitation of *Deuteronomy* 6:4–9, 11:13–31, and *Numbers* 15:37–41, forms the second major component of rabbinic prayer. Its origin is obscure, but its recitation morning and night as a liturgical unit surrounded by blessings is presumed in the earliest rabbinic texts. In reciting these biblical passages, one declares loyalty to God and God's commandments. The passages command Jews to surround themselves physically with reminders, placing the text on the entrances to their house (*mezuzah*), wearing it on their forehead and arm (*t'fillin*), and knotting fringes on the corners of their clothes (*tsitsit*). The complex blessings surrounding the biblical passages focus on Judaism's central theological tenets: God is creator, the revealer of Torah, and the one who saves.

Whether or not all synagogue communities conducted rabbinic prayer, the rabbis presumed early that their worship would take place in the presence of the Torah scroll and that the *sheliaḥ tsibbur* for the *t'fillah* would stand before the ark housing it—presumably located in the communal synagogue. The third major component of rabbinic prayer is native to the synagogue: the public reading and exposition of scripture. This apparently had its roots in the Second Temple period. The rabbis maintained the pattern of reading Torah on the Sabbath and the Monday and Thursday market days. Cyclical reading of the entire Torah apparently developed gradually during the rabbinic period, with two cycles emerging: an annual cycle with the entire Pentateuch being read in one year, and a so-called triennial cycle with the entire text being read twice in seven years. Originally, each community followed its own cycle. By the Geonic period (late sixth to eleventh centuries), the Babylonian annual cycle gradually displaced all alternatives. Since then, on Simḥat Torah (Rejoicing of the Torah) at the conclusion of the fall festivals, Jews complete *Deuteronomy* and immediately begin *Genesis*. Evidence for ritual reading from the Prophets (*haftarah*) appears first in *Luke* 4:17. These readings, only performed on Sabbaths and festivals, are not cyclical. They correspond either to the content of the Torah reading or to the day and are not uniform universally. They include only a small fraction of the prophetic corpus.

A specified number of congregants participates in the lection each time, either by personally reading a section of the text or, more frequently, by reciting blessings over the text read by a designated reader. The pentateuchal text must be chanted from a properly prepared parchment scroll that contains a perfect copy of the entire Torah; the scroll itself, like ancient Hebrew texts, contains neither vowels nor musical notation. In this way, the reading ritually recapitulates the revelation of Torah at Mount Sinai. Today, the rest of the congregation follows in printed Bibles that often include vernacular translation or commentaries. Until medieval Jews adopted other vernaculars, Aramaic translation (*targum*) accompanied all readings of scripture. The scrolls of *Song of Songs*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Ecclesiastes*, and *Esther* are read on Passover, Shavu'ot, the Ninth of Av, Sukkot, and Purim, respectively.

Psalms also play an important role in Jewish worship, but not in a lectionary context. The synagogue perpetuates the Temple's festival recitation of *hallel* (*Psalms* 113 to 118), as well as the daily psalms originally recited by the Levites there (*Psalms* 24, 48, 82, 94–95:3, 81, 93, 92). Other psalms eventually became standard as introductory morning prayers (*p'suqei d'zimra*, verses of song). Although the full list varies from rite to rite and is expanded on Sabbaths, all today include daily the core of *Psalms* 145 to 150 as well as *Exodus* 15.

Other nonsacrificial Temple rituals specific to various holidays were also integrated into the synagogue service, often in the additional service *(musaf)*. The Ro'sh ha-Shanah *musaf* includes an elaborate ritual for the blowing of the *shofar*; the Yom Kippur *musaf* includes an extended recollection of the high priest's rituals in the Temple; Sukkot rituals include waving the four species (*lulav*) during *hallel* and parading with them with special songs before or after *musaf.* Jews of priestly descent also pronounce the priestly benediction (*Nm.* 6:24–26) over the assembled congregation. Outside of Israel this occurs only during the *musaf* of festivals; in Israel, Sabbaths are added. In Jerusalem, in proximity to the location of the Temple, priests pronounce it daily.

The Hebrew of the core prayers described above also alludes deeply to biblical language but rarely cites verses verbatim. Probably in the mid-first millennium it became common to construct new prayers as florilegia of biblical verses. Prayers of this style appear around the earlier core, both in the introductory psalms and in the supplicatory prayers (*taḥanun*) that came to follow the *'amidah*. However, allusions to the Bible and to midrashic comment on it continued to inform the rich body of liturgical poetry (*piyyut*) that embellished the core prayers on Sabbaths and holidays in that period and later. Prayers constructed of verses characterize the liturgy of Karaite Jews, a group rejecting rabbinic teachings that emerged in the closing centuries of the first millennium.

MEDIEVAL ADDITIONS. Various elements of private liturgy also became part of public prayer in the medieval period, out of concern for their popular neglect. These include the series of blessings intended to accompany one's actions while rising in the morning (*birkhot hashaḥar*) and a symbolic study of both written and oral Torah. This Torah study provides another opportunity to recall and vicariously participate in the Temple sacrifices by reciting the biblical and rabbinic texts describing them.

This complex of prayers constituted public worship for all Jews until modernity. All the regional rites preserved this basic structure, differing only in specific wording and, especially, in their poetic additions. Medieval Jews increasingly considered their received rites to be authoritative and unalterable, appropriately meeting God's desire for worship. Medieval and early modern Jews adapted their fixed prayers to new situations through interpretative strategies, investing their received prayers with new, frequently mystical, meanings. These meanings could find expression through meditations on the fixed texts or though additions in the interstices of the prayer book of *qavvanot*, texts expressing the mystical intentions of the prayers. Frequently, one generations' innovative response became the fixed liturgy of their descendents. Most widely accepted were memorial prayers added in the wake of the Crusades and liturgies influenced by the customs of sixteenth-century Lurianic Qabbalah, like the *Psalms* and songs welcoming the Sabbath (*qabbalat shabbat*).

Especially with the expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492, the regional nature of the rites changed. Rather than adapting to the rites of their new homes, the refugees who were dispersed throughout the Mediterranean and Europe preserved their Sephardi (Iberian) rites. This led to the demise of almost all Mediterranean and Eastern rites and meant that communities now sometimes supported multiple synagogues with different customs. Heredity more than location determined liturgical details. Influenced by Lurianic mysticism, Hasidism, beginning in the eighteenth century, deliberately adopted elements of Sephardi-rite liturgy into their eastern European Ashkenazi context.

Little is known about women's participation in this system. Women seem to have attended services more in late antiquity and in Christendom than under Islam. From the twelfth century, there is evidence in the Rhineland both for women's sections of synagogues and for women who led other women in prayer there. In some places women prayed the statutory prayers but in their vernacular; others learned Hebrew; others were probably regularly "prayerful" but did not know the official prayers. Prayer books produced for women presume their participation in the normative liturgy, but such early modern Yiddish prayers (*teḥines*) often parallel rather than participate in the "men's" liturgy.

MODERNITY. With Napoleon (1769–1821), western European Jews became citizens and sought to become full members of greater society. This meant, for some, transforming Jewish worship into something less strange in Christian eyes. Elements of this transformation included increased decorum, more formal music, more preaching, and shortened prayers (by removing much *piyyut* and mystical accretions). Reform Judaism adopted vernacular prayer and theologically driven changes to its contents. This allowed for radical abbreviation of the traditional liturgy, but the structure described above usually remained discernable. Rabbis and cantors were increasingly liturgical experts performing for a largely passive audience. After 1948, the presence of the State of Israel encouraged a cultural expression of Judaism, generating a return to Hebrew prayer and concepts of Jewish peoplehood. In this period, women too became full participants in the non-Orthodox synagogue, counting for the *minyan* and serving as its professionals. Feminism has generated another set of changes to prayer language with demands for egalitarian language. While Orthodox Judaism (as it became known in this period) can allow only aesthetic changes to the worship service, a full spectrum now exists between it and the most radical Reform settings, where immediate response to cultural change is normative.

SEE ALSO Biblical Temple; Domestic Observances, article on Jewish Practices; Folk Religion, article on Folk Judaism; Priesthood, article on Jewish Priesthood; Rites of Passage, article on Jewish Rites; Siddur and Maḥzor; Synagogue.

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WORSHIP AND DEVOTIONAL LIFE: CHRISTIAN WORSHIP

The death of Jesus of Nazareth by crucifixion and his resurrection on the first day of the week constitute the root paradigm of Christianity and, as such, are central to Christian worship in all its dimensions. Because that death and resurrection occurred at Jerusalem at the time of the Jewish Passover (Heb., Pesaḥ; *pascha* in the Greek transliteration of the Aramaic), this paradigm is frequently referred to as "the paschal mystery." Paul's *First Letter to the Corinthians* (5:7) identifies the death of Jesus with the sacrifice of the Passover lambs, and that same identification is made in the *Gospel of John* (19:32–36 refers to the prohibition against cracking the bones of the lamb eaten at Passover). References in early Christian literature to the Cross or to the death of Jesus should most frequently be understood as including Jesus' resurrection and glorification, the total paschal mystery as that paradigm of salvation in which the Christian participates.

CHRISTIAN INITIATION. The public ministry of Jesus began with his baptism by John in the river Jordan. The accounts of that baptism report that when Jesus came up from the water the Holy Spirit descended upon him and the voice of God proclaimed him to be the Son of God. This outpouring of the Holy Spirit is referred to (*Acts* 10:38) as an anointing by virtue of which Jesus is the expected "anointed one" (the Messiah, or Christ). Such ritual washings as the baptism of John were common in Judaism in the first century of the common era, and many scholars suppose that the early Christian baptismal rituals were influenced by the initiatory ritual employed for converts from paganism to Judaism, where circumcision was followed by a ritual washing.

Early Christian baptism. The earliest accounts of Christian baptism focus on the confession of Jesus as Lord, usually in response to preaching, and on the ritual washing. The earliest church order, *Didache* (before CE 100), describes that washing, following extended catechesis, as preferably accomplished by immersion in running water, but it allows for water to be poured over the initiate three times. In either case, the baptism is to be performed "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." It is uncertain whether such references to the anointing and sealing of Christians as that in *2 Corinthians* 1:21 refer to an actual anointing with oil in first-century initiatory ritual, but such anointings do appear in the course of the second century. In Syria an anointing prior to the water bath was called *rushma* ("mark") and has been interpreted as a Christian surrogate for the circumcision that preceded the water bath in Jewish proselyte baptism. Elsewhere such baptismal anointing was associated with the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon Jesus and so was performed after the water bath. Such postbaptismal anointing (referred to as the "seal") was frequently accompanied by imposition of the baptizer's hands upon the initiate. Such is the pattern reported for North Africa by Tertullian (*On Baptism* 7–8).

The most extensive of the early church orders, the *Apostolic Tradition* (third century), usually assigned to Hippolytus at Rome, reveals a more extensive initiatory process. After three years as catechumens (learners), candidates for baptism are selected after careful scrutiny and enter a final period of intensive preparation under direct supervision of the bishop. At the end of that period, concluded with a two-day fast, the initiates keep vigil through the night from Saturday to Sunday until cockcrow. Then, stripped of their clothing and having renounced Satan and his service, they are anointed with an exorcised oil. Next, entering the water, they profess belief in each of the persons of the Trinity in response to a threefold creedal examination and are immersed after each profession. Coming up from the water, they are anointed with another oil, the "oil of thanksgiving" (later known as *chrisma* or *muron*), and reassume their clothing. They are then led to the bishop before the gathered congregation and anointed again by him with the imposition of his hands upon their heads. The bishop then kisses each initiate, and they take their places in the congregation to participate in the prayer of the community and in the eucharistic meal for the first time. This complex initiatory ritual set the pattern discernible, with significant variations, in later centuries. The Eastern churches maintain only one postbaptismal anointing, while the anointing by the bishop was eventually separated from baptism in the Western church, coming to be known as "confirmation."

It is widely supposed that the initiation described in the *Apostolic Tradition* took place on Easter at the conclusion of the paschal vigil. In the course of the third century such paschal baptism became the norm in most churches, and many scholars have suggested that the custom was much more ancient. Such a time for baptism is rendered particularly appropriate by the baptismal theology of Paul (*Rom.* 6), which associated baptism with participation in Christ's burial and resurrection, and by Jesus' references to his coming passion and death as his "baptism" (*Lk.* 12:50).

Normalization of infant baptism. While primitive baptismal practice with its extensive catechesis took adult baptism to be normative, in the third century the baptism of young children, although opposed by some, was practiced frequently. By the fifth century it was perhaps more common than the baptism of adults, and by the sixth century the catechumenate was reduced to a formality. Vestiges of that formative process perdured, nonetheless, and were still evident in the rites used by Western Christians at the time of the Reformation. The reforms of the sixteenth century removed from the baptismal rite many of the ceremonies that had belonged formerly to the catechumenate, and the postbaptismal anointings were also dropped from Protestant baptismal practice. Infant baptism continued to be the norm, however, and increasingly a postbaptismal formative process of instruction and discipline led to a rite of confirmation after age seven for both Catholics and Protestants, although for Catholics that rite usually followed well after admission to the Eucharist.

Opposition to the baptism of those too young to make a personal profession of faith occurred from time to time in the Middle Ages and became a significant wing of the Reformation with the Anabaptists. Since the seventeenth century, such refusal to practice pedobaptism and the insistence on believers' baptism has been characteristic of several Protestant churches, the Baptists being the most numerous. While Roman Catholics, Anglicans, and churches of the Evangelical and Reformed traditions continue to baptize infants, as do the Eastern churches, liturgical studies in the twentieth century have focused attention on the rich initiatory rituals of the patristic age, and restoration of that classic passage through catechesis to baptism, anointing, and eucharist has held an important place in the agenda of recent liturgical reform, the Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults in the Roman Catholic church being a significant instance.

THE HOLY EUCHARIST. As early as the *Didache,* participation in the communion meal, or Eucharist, was limited to the baptized, and such participation in the Eucharist is regularly found as the conclusion of the initiatory process. The Eucharist is, indeed, the locus of that *koinōnia,* or communion, which is the mode of the Christian's unity with other Christians in the unity of the church, and of the church's unity with Christ: a unity expressed and realized in the believer's feeding on Christ's body and blood through the eucharistic signs of bread and wine. The *Didache* speaks of the Eucharist as a sacrifice, and this may reflect a sense of continuity with the *zevaḥ todah,* the "thank offering" of the Second Temple period in which those who offered a sacrifice consumed part of it, thus keeping communion with God, to whom the victim was offered.

In later centuries both this offering of the eucharistic gifts of bread and wine to God as a memorial of and thanksgiving for Christ's death and resurrection, and the consecration of these gifts to identify them with Christ's body and blood, would achieve explicit expression in the eucharistic prayer, the central prayer of the Eucharistic liturgy. The *Apostolic Tradition* presents the text of a eucharistic prayer that opens with a dialogue between the officiating celebrant and the congregation which has remained virtually unchanged in the West, and proceeds to a thanksgiving for the redemptive work of Christ, which comes to its climax in a recitation of the charter narrative describing the institution of the Eucharist by Jesus on the night before his crucifixion. The earliest such institution narrative is that in Paul's *First Letter to the Corinthians* (chap. 11), written around 55 CE, which many exegetes consider to have been a text transmitted through liturgical tradition.

In the *Apostolic Tradition* that narrative's concluding command, "When you do this, make my memorial," is followed at once by the clause that accompanies the narrative in virtually all early liturgies, although the wording varies considerably. Such a clause, known technically as *anamnēsis* ("memorial"), is generally believed to have been attached to the institution narrative from the first inclusion of that narrative within the body of the eucharistic prayer. In the prayer of the *Apostolic Tradition* the *anamnēsis* reads, "Remembering therefore his death and resurrection, we offer to thee this bread and cup, giving thanks to thee that thou hast made us worthy to stand before thee and to minister to thee." This is the earliest extant example of such an inclusion of the narrative and the *anamnēsis* in the body of the eucharistic prayer, but it is typical of the prayers of the fourth century and later. In the *Apostolic Tradition* the *anamnēsis* is followed by an invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the oblation of the church, praying that all who receive the holy gifts, being united, may be filled with the Holy Spirit for the strengthening of faith.

Such an invocation of the Holy Spirit is referred to as an *epiklēsis.*

That pattern for the eucharistic prayer was expanded in most of the Eastern empire in the fourth century. In the first place, after the opening dialogue, a praise of God as creator, hymned by the heavenly hosts, was added before the christological thanksgiving. Such an opening praise of the creator, ending in the singing of the Sanctus (a liturgical hymn already in the Temple liturgy reflected in *Isaiah* 6:3 and continued in the synagogue liturgy after the destruction of the Temple), is characteristic of eucharistic prayers of Cappadocia, Syria, Palestine, and eventually Alexandria. A second development in these fourth-century prayers is the focusing of the *epiklēsis* on the oblations of bread and wine, invoking the Holy Spirit for their consecration as the body and blood of Christ. Also, the older content of that supplication, the gathering of the church into union with God, was expanded into a series of intercessions.

Influenced perhaps by a transitional phase in liturgical evolution at Alexandria, a different pattern for the eucharistic prayer emerged in the West. First visible in northern Italy in the late fourth century (in *De sacramentis,* a series of postbaptismal instructions commonly ascribed to Ambrose of Milan), this Western eucharistic prayer appears in virtually its final form in the *Gelasian Sacramentary,* an eighth-century document reflecting usages of sixth-century Rome. In this Western pattern the opening dialogue leads into a variable prayer of praise and thanksgiving, sometimes general in its content but more frequently phrased to reflect the varying emphases of particular feasts or seasons of the liturgical year. This variable praise leads into the Sanctus, and thereafter the prayer is relatively invariable and comes to be known as the Canon Actionis or Canon Missae, titles that reflect its regularity. This canon is supplicatory throughout, with intercessions and commendations of the eucharistic gifts preceding and following a prayer for their consecration, the institution narrative, and *anamnēsis.*

This Canon Missae became the standard eucharistic prayer for all the Western church from the ninth century. Unlike the Eastern prayers discussed above, this Western prayer contained no explicit invocation *(epiklēsis)* of the Holy Spirit for the consecration of the eucharistic gifts as Christ's body and blood. Theological reflection associated that conversion of bread and wine increasingly with the words of Jesus in the narrative of the institution: "This is my body" and "This is the chalice of my blood of the new and eternal covenant." While occasional theologians expressed the view that such identification of the gifts with the body and blood of Christ was to be understood symbolically or typologically, a more realistic interpretation prevailed, especially from the eleventh century, and this encouraged a perception of the Eucharist as a sacramental representation of Christ's redemptive sacrifice, complete and efficacious even if none but the celebrating priest received Communion. That the people were disinclined to frequent Communion is indicated by the requirement of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) that all must communicate at least once annually.

In spite of the moderating expressions of sensitive theologians, such emphasis on the sacrificial character of the Mass (as the Eucharist was known in the West) and diminution of its character as communion meal grew stronger in the later medieval period and established the eucharistic agenda of the Reformation. While the reformers' understandings of Christ's presence in the Eucharist varied widely, there was broad agreement on two matters: the suppression of all reference to the Eucharist itself as a sacrifice and insistence on general reception of Holy Communion as constituting the divinely instituted memorial of Christ's death on Calvary, itself the sole and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the world. For the reformed liturgies the narrative of the institution of the Eucharist, already central in medieval tradition as the formula of consecration, achieved even greater prominence, its scriptural origin excepting it from the general reaction against liturgical elements that could be ascribed to human composition.

Protestant eucharistic liturgies in general sought to give expression to the cardinal principle that it is only faith in the sufficiency of Christ's redeeming work which justifies sinners. Protestants opposed all liturgical practice that could be interpreted as a human "good work." Even so, such major reformers as Martin Luther and John Calvin assumed that the Eucharist would continue to form the core of the Christian observance of Sunday as it had from the first century, but the popular disinclination to frequent Communion proved too strong in the end, and in Protestant worship the Eucharist became an occasional observance, being celebrated only monthly or even less frequently. This brought the reading and preaching of the word of God much more strongly to the fore and established the contrast between Roman Catholic and Protestant forms of worship still visible today, although the extent of that contrast has been reduced vastly in the twentieth century, especially as a result of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965).

THE LITURGY OF THE WORD. As early as the second century the eucharistic meal was preceded by readings from the scriptures, preaching, and extended prayers of intercession. Justin Martyr, in chapter 67 of his first *Apology,* addressed to the emperor Antoninus Pius around 155 CE, describes the assembly of Christian worshipers on Sunday and tells us that on such occasions there were readings from the "memoirs of the apostles" or the prophets for as long as time permitted. Then the "president of the brethren" preached about what had been read, exhorting the congregation to perform good deeds. After that, the congregation prayed in common for themselves and for all the church. At that point, the gifts of bread and wine for the Eucharist were placed on the table, and the eucharistic prayer was begun.

The basic outline of the Liturgy of the Word has remained largely the same to the present, although introductory entrance rites (chants and prayers) appropriate to rich new architectural settings of the liturgy were added from the fifth century on. By that time, too, other musical elements, such as the singing of psalms or verses with "Alleluia" between scripture readings, as well as within the Eucharist proper, had begun to appear in many areas. In spite of these enrichments and eventual variation in the number of scripture readings, the basic picture given by Justin is still clearly discernible.

PREACHING. While in most traditions today the sermon retains the place it had in the second century, at the conclusion of the scripture readings, preaching has never been limited to that liturgical context. Throughout Christian history the gift of prophetic proclamation has been exercised within, parallel to, and apart from the regular ritual patterns of Christian worship. While preaching has regularly been considered a responsibility of officiating clergy, it has not been limited to them. At times, patterns in the official cultus have come to leave little place for preaching, and in such circumstances preaching has flourished alongside that cultus and on occasion as a vehicle of opposition to it. Even where preaching continued within the traditional Latin liturgy in the later Middle Ages, it frequently formed the centerpiece of a larger bloc of catechetical and devotional material in the vernacular, known by the collective term *prone.* Its variable content established by the preacher, a prone might include such didactic materials as the Ten Commandments or the Apostles' Creed, practical pastoral elements such as the announcement of proximate fasts or festivals or the publication of the banns of marriage, and devotional elements such as intercessions (replacing the Latin prayers of the faithful, which had fallen into desuetude in the early medieval period). Such a prone, including the sermon, might be found before the eucharistic liturgy, at its midpoint following the scripture readings, or apart from the liturgy. This provided the format for the Preaching Service, which achieved great popularity in some quarters of the Protestant Reformation where proclamation of the word of God in preaching took on the character of an alternative to the liturgical tradition. Such a preaching tradition continues to form the mainstream of much Protestant worship today, set in a context of instructional and devotional elements of the free composition that characterized the medieval prone. Other strongly homiletical traditions have set the sermon in the context of the Liturgy of the Word, even when no eucharist followed, or in the context of the traditional Liturgy of the Hours.

LITURGY OF THE HOURS. Scholars disagree in their reconstructions of the regimen of daily prayer among Christians of the first two centuries, but there is broad agreement that this regimen, however described, grew out of the Christian continuation of patterns of daily prayer in first-century Judaism and the daily service of the synagogue, which furnished the public framework of that prayer.

The *Didache* (chap. 8) orders the Lord's Prayer three times a day, but it is not clear what hours are intended. The third-century *Apostolic Tradition* speaks of seven times for prayer during the day, the frequently mentioned third, sixth, and ninth hours, plus evening, midnight, cockcrow, and morning. These hours, interpreted as commemorative of moments in Christ's passion or focused on expectation of his triumphant return, are set forth as occasions for private prayer, although it seems that the morning hour (and occasionally the evening) were also times of public assembly. In the fourth and following centuries, public offices of prayer in the morning and evening form the daily pattern of the church's liturgical prayer, although monastic influence led to a much more complex regimen. The fully developed monastic liturgy consisted of a major vigil at cockcrow, and other assemblies for prayer at around 6:00 AM and at every third hour thereafter until the hour of retiring. The establishment of urban monasteries in connection with major basilicas brought a conflation of this monastic regimen with the simpler cathedral hours of prayer, and in the medieval period all clergy were obligated to recite a liturgy of the hours deeply shaped by the presuppositions of the monastic tradition.

Sixteenth-century reforms of the hours of prayer, such as that by Thomas Cranmer in the English *Book of Common Prayer,* returned to the simpler regimen of two hours in the day, morning and evening, but Cranmer's work still betrayed such monastic characteristics as the systematic reading in course of all the psalms (albeit within the space of a month, rather than a week as had been the custom). Twentieth-century reform of the Liturgy of the Hours in the Western churches has continued this emphasis on the morning and evening offices as times of public liturgical prayer, while providing for certain of the intervening hours for private use.

LITURGICAL ARTICULATION OF TIME. The Liturgy of the Hours reveals the Christian perception of times as themselves symbolic of the paschal mystery and as the framework within which the church watches for the coming of Christ. However, derived as this daily regimen was from the traditions of Judaism, the hours of the day were not the only time cycle to receive Christian expression. This was equally true of two other important cycles in the Old Testament, the week and the year.

Liturgical week. None of the numerous scholarly efforts to get behind the Jewish seven-day week and to discover its origin apart from the history of Israel has achieved definitive success. That seven-day cycle seems to have been present with the earliest settlement of Israel in Canaan, and the question of the ultimate origin of the week must remain unsettled. What can be said more surely is that the cycle was defined by the treatment of every seventh day as a day of rest for servants and draft animals and, by extension, for the whole people. This Sabbath (meaning "to stop" or "that which stops") recurs every seventh day without regard to other time cycles, such as the month or the year, making the week an independent cycle. Not originally a day distinguished by obligations of worship, the Sabbath came to afford peculiar opportunity for public worship because of the rest from ordinary employment which it demanded.

While early Christians participated in the worship of the synagogue as opportunity afforded, it is likely that the Sabbath, with its extended synagogue liturgy, was an especially important occasion for Christian witness. Some have suggested that the Christian observance of the first day of the week, Sunday, found its beginnings in the gatherings of Christians for their characteristic table fellowship following the conclusion of the liturgy at the closing of the Sabbath at sundown. Others have insisted that it was in the evening from the first day to the second (Sunday to Monday) that Christians began to assemble, on the model of the appearances of the risen Christ reported in *John* 20. What seems sure in either case is that the first Christians continued to observe the week as defined by the Sabbath and that, once growth of the movement required gatherings at a longer interval than daily, assemblies of a specifically Christian character were on the first day of the week, the day of Christ's resurrection.

Several writers have suggested that, because that weekly assembly was the time of the Eucharist, the Lord's Supper *(kuriakon deipnon; 1 Cor.* 11:20), the first day of the week came to be known as "the Lord's Day" *(kuriakē hēmera).* Whether that is the reference of that phrase in *Revelation* 1:10 or not, it is clear that the term was used for the first day of the week as early as the *Didache* (chap. 14). Sources from the second century speak of that first day of the week, the first day of creation, as the Eighth Day, the day beyond the creation itself and the day of the new creation accomplished by Christ's paschal sacrifice (*1 Cor.* 5:7). Such thought reflects the strong sense of Christ's spiritual presence in the community constituted by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit (*Acts* 2), a "realized eschatology" that throughout Christian history expresses the sense of the presence in worship of both Christ's redeeming action in the past and a prolepsis of his future appearing in judgment at the end of history. The meeting of that memory of the past and that hope for the future in the Eucharist on each Lord's Day has been a constant dimension of classical Christian liturgical experience.

Beyond that festal Sunday, the weekly celebration of the paschal mystery, Christians very early began to observe every Wednesday and Friday as fast days (*Didache* 8). Friday was the day of Jesus' crucifixion, and most early interpreters of this custom treat Wednesday as the day of his betrayal by Judas Iscariot. However, one third-century source, *Didascalia apostolorum,* places Jesus' arrest in the early hours of Wednesday, a chronology that would put his last supper with his disciples on Tuesday night rather than on Thursday, as is the more common tradition. This alternative chronology, Annie Jaubert has suggested, may reflect the impact on early Christianity of the Essene community at Qumran. The unique calendar of that group always situated the Passover in the night from Tuesday to Wednesday and was so arranged that all important liturgical days occurring on fixed dates of the month would fall on Wednesday, Friday, or Sunday. (It remains unclear how such a calendar of exactly 52 weeks, only 364 days, would adjust for its significant error.) Tertullian speaks of these Wednesday and Friday fasts as "stations," a term encountered earlier in the *Shepherd of Hermas,* and it is clear that in the third century they were days of liturgical assembly, even for the Eucharist, in addition to the assembly on Sunday. While always secondary to Sunday, the primitive prominence of Wednesday and Friday continued in the later history of the Christian week and is still manifest in various ways in the several traditions.

According to Tertullian (*On Fasting* 14.3) it appears that some Western Christians (probably Romans) were deviating from the common practice of the church by ordering certain Sabbaths (i.e., Saturdays) in the year to be observed with fasting, a custom that Innocent I (*Epistle* 25, CE 416) reports for every week at Rome. Tertullian had complained that fasting on the Sabbath was forbidden except for the Sabbath before Easter. In this he seems to reflect correctly a tradition still followed in all the Eastern church, a tradition probably rooted in the Jewish prohibition against fasting on the Sabbath. This suggests a much stronger continuation of Sabbath observance among Christians than some writers (e.g., Willy Rordorf) have supposed. Such continuation of observance, if there was any, would concern the Sabbath rest rather than a day for liturgical worship. The association of rest from secular employment with Sunday rather than the Sabbath stems from the time of Constantine, but the direct identification of Sunday as the Christian Sabbath and its rigorous observance according to Old Testament norms appears first in English and Scottish Protestantism, especially in the seventeenth century. Apart from that, the term *Sabbath* has continued to be understood to refer to the seventh day of the week and was employed to designate that day in all medieval liturgical books.

Liturgical year. While it seems likely from such texts as *Acts* 20:7 that the beginnings, at least, of the Christian week go back to the apostolic period, other passages such as *Colossians* 2:16 suggest that liturgical time patterns of Judaism were considered, at least in the gentile mission, to be matters of little importance, given the expectation of the proximate Parousia. Still other texts, however, make it clear that even Paul, the apostle to the gentiles, was far from insensitive to the festivals of Israel and did not hesitate to relate them to the paschal mystery.

The Christian Pascha. Many scholars have, with modifications, held to the notion that the celebration of the annual paschal festival of Easter was established on the Sunday after Passover at Rome in the apostolic period. This assertion can be documented only from the fifth century, and many other scholars consider it to be contravened by documents of the second century that seem to assert that there was no annual observance of Pascha (Easter) at Rome prior to Soter, bishop there from 165. According to Karl Holl, the Passover, continued by Christians at Jerusalem in the night from 14 to 15 Nisan, was accommodated to the structure of the week, by moving the feast to Sunday, only after the establishment of a gentile hierarchy in Jerusalem following the Bar Kokhba Revolt (c. 132–135). Prior to that, the Christian Pascha would have been observed annually on the same date as the Jewish Passover, being in fact a continuation of the Jewish festival, reinterpreted in light of the tradition that identifies the crucifixion of Jesus as coinciding with the slaughter of the lambs for the festival of Passover at the Temple. By the time of such an adjustment of the Christian Pascha to the structure of the week, Christians of Jewish background had been driven out of Aelia Capitolina, the new Roman city built on the ruins of Jerusalem, to settle elsewhere, some in Mesopotamia, others in Asia Minor. It is in that latter area, especially, that we discover our earliest documents of a Christian celebration of Pascha, kept on the Jewish date in the night following 14 Nisan, the anniversary of the Crucifixion. Late in the second century, controversy developed over whether the Christian Pascha should be observed on that date or whether its preliminary fast should be terminated only on Sunday, the weekday of the Resurrection. This controversy was finally concluded by a decision in favor of a Sunday Pascha by the first ecumenical council at Nicaea in 325. By that time, however, the Pascha was almost universally observed on Sunday, and the original one day of fasting (now the Sabbath) had been extended to six days, the Holy Week that is still the most solemn time of the year for Christians.

Even when transferred to Sunday, the paschal solemnity continued to be spoken of as a memorial of the passion of Jesus. Much more than that was included in the content of the festival, however, and it can best be described as a total festival of Christ celebrating the incarnation, passion, death, resurrection, and glorification of the Savior. That unitive content was refracted, especially during the fourth century, and distinct events came to be associated with particular days: the death of Jesus with Friday of Holy Week, his resurrection with Easter Sunday, his ascension into heaven with the fortieth day after Easter, and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the church with the fiftieth day, corresponding to the Jewish Feast of Weeks (Shavuʿot), or Pentecost. From the end of the second century, at least, that entire fifty-day period from Pascha to Pentecost had been kept as the extended paschal rejoicing, and recent reforms of the liturgical year have sought to restore the integrity of that festal period.

Christmas and Epiphany. Since the eighteenth century it has been commonly observed that the celebration of the nativity of Christ on December 25, first discernible at Rome around 336, represents a Christian adaptation of the winter solstice festival established by the emperor Aurelian in 274 CE. Some more recent studies have revived interest in the hypothesis of Louis Duchesne, who suggested that the date was arrived at by counting forward nine months from March 25, a date taken in the West in the third century to be that of Jesus' death. Duchesne held that the impatience of symbolic number systems for fractions made this to be as well the date of Christ's conception. However arrived at, that date would have coincided with the solar festival at Rome, and later data make it clear that the themes of the two festivals merged in the celebration of Christmas.

Coincidence with pagan festivals has also been argued for the early Eastern date for the nativity of Jesus, January 6, the Epiphany (Gk., *epiphaneia,* "manifestation"), although the argument is much less firm in this case. Here again, Duchesne's computation from a fixed date for Christ's death (April 6 in Asia Minor, according to the fifth-century church historian Sozomen), taken to be as well the date of the Incarnation, would yield the nativity nine months later, on January 6. That date seems to have been treated as the beginning of the year and, with that, the beginning of the reading of the gospel. Preference for a particular gospel in a particular church would lead to the association of different themes with the festival of Epiphany: at Jerusalem the reading of *Matthew* led to an emphasis on the nativity; at Alexandria a preference for *Mark* emphasized the baptism of Jesus; at Ephesus the predominance of *John* stressed the Cana wedding feast. While such an explanation is only hypothetical, those three themes are associated with Epiphany in the later fourth century. By that time the December 25 festival of the nativity had been accepted in the East (with the exception of Jerusalem and Armenia), and the January 6 festival of Epiphany had been adopted in the West. At Milan, Epiphany celebrated the baptism of Jesus, but at Rome it formed a duplication of the nativity observance, limited to the commemoration of the visit of the Magi. That visit of the Magi, the baptism of Jesus, and the miracle at Cana formed the *tria miracula* that were celebrated at Epiphany in Gaul. There a preparatory period, eventually six weeks, preceded the nativity festival, and this was adopted in the seventh century at Rome, though shortened first to five weeks and later to the present four. As Epiphany and Christmas had been considered the beginning of the liturgical year, so this season of preparation came to be considered the beginning of the year, and it is with the first Sunday of Advent that Western liturgical books begin.

Lent. The emergence of Pascha as the preferred time for the rites of initiation, in accordance with the death/resurrection theology of baptism taught by Paul, led to the development of a period for final catechesis and ascetical formation prior to paschal baptisms. While such a period is indicated as early as the third-century *Apostolic Tradition,* its length is indefinite prior to Nicaea. Thereafter it is spoken of as the fast of forty days and spans a period of six weeks either prior to Easter (as in Rome and fourth-century Alexandria) or prior to Holy Week (as in Syria, Constantinople, and eventually all the Eastern churches). The forty-day duration of the fast has traditionally been associated with Jesus' fast immediately following his baptism by John, and recent studies have supported Coptic sources that place the original fast of forty days immediately following Epiphany (celebrating Jesus' baptism) at Alexandria. After Nicaea the prepaschal situation of the fast is universal, although its separation from the six-day paschal fast in the Eastern rites may still reflect the wider separation of them in early Alexandria. There, Coptic tradition maintains, the fast of forty days concluded with the administration of baptism in the sixth week and the Feast of Palms on the following Sunday, an arrangement similar to the later Byzantine conferral of baptism on the Saturday of Lazarus, the day before Palm Sunday. After Nicaea that Palm Sunday is the day before the paschal fast and, in the late fourth century, is considered to be the first day of Holy Week at Jerusalem.

Although preparation for baptism constituted the original agenda of the Lenten period, by the end of the fourth century in the West it was also a period for the ritual humiliation of penitents, those who for grave sin had been severed from the communion of the church. Such penitents were publicly reconciled in Holy Week so as to be able to celebrate Easter as restored Christians, and their penitential exercises during Lent gave that color to Lenten piety. In Byzantine tradition, which has known no such formal reconciliation of penitents in Holy Week, the Western penitential concern was long absent from Lent, although similar penitential piety did enter that tradition through monasticism from the eighth century on.

Christian liturgical traditions that observe the Lenten fast experience Lent as a time of ascetical development, of "dying to self," so as to participate fully in the renewal of life in the celebration of Christ's resurrection. This participation in Christ's dying and rising, focused in the annual observance of Lent, Holy Week, and the fifty days of Easter rejoicing, is that same paschal mystery experienced by each Christian in baptism, in every celebration of the Eucharist, and indeed in every dimension of the complex of worship and sacramental life for which the paschal mystery of Christ's redemptive death and resurrection is the root paradigm.

SEE ALSO Anamnesis; Baptism; Christian Liturgical Year; Christmas; Church, article on Church Membership; Cult of Saints; Easter; Epiphany; Eucharist; Initiation; Jesus; John the Baptist; Liturgy; Lord's Prayer; Monasticism, article on Christian Monasticism; Pilgrimage, articles on Eastern Christian Pilgrimage, Roman Catholic Pilgrimage in Europe, Roman Catholic Pilgrimage in the New World; Sacrament, article on Christian Sacraments.

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WORSHIP AND DEVOTIONAL LIFE: MUSLIM WORSHIP

The nature of Muslim devotional life in Islam is rooted in its basic theological presuppositions. The three primary fundamentals of religion (*uṣūl al-dīn*) are *tawḥīd* (belief in the unity of God), *nubūwah* (belief in prophets), and *qiyāmah* (belief in the Day of Judgment). The acceptance of these three beliefs is required of all Muslims. Collectively, they constitute the essence of the Islamic worldview.

Tawḥīd is the core concept of Islam. The sovereignty of a monotheistic God, who is omnipotent, omniscient, and simultaneously transcendent and immanent, is Islam's definitive tenet. For Muslims there is one and only one true God, who is identical with the God of Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. The necessity of obedience to God's will is thus the foundation for all devotion in Islam. Every human being should aspire to live as a servant *(ʿabd)* of God. For this reason, the required ritual acts of worship are referred to collectively as *ʿibādah*, which can be translated as either "worship" or "service." According to the concept of *nubūwah*, God communicates through prophets (*nabīs*) and messengers (*rasūls*). Thus, human agency is essential to the process of revelation. The centrality of this concept can be seen in the fact that the first human being, Adam, is also the first prophet, as humanity should never be without divine guidance. It is through the prophets in their roles as messengers and models of behavior, especially the final prophet, Muḥammad, that humanity learns how to live in obedience to God's will. Devotional life in Islam rests simultaneously upon the worship of and obedience to God, and allegiance to and veneration of the Prophet Muḥammad, who serves both as a teacher and an exemplar.

The doctrine of *qiyāmah* asserts that there will come a time when all human beings will be judged according to their beliefs and actions. Thus, whether interpreted literally or figuratively, *qiyāmah* asserts that human beings are fully responsible before God for their actions. Despite the apparent logical contradiction between an omniscient and omnipotent God and human free will, Islam clearly asserts that, however this contradiction is resolved, individuals must act as if they had free will and fulfill their ritual and ethical obligations with clear intention.

Within this theological context, acts of devotion and worship serve two interrelated purposes. The first is as the fulfillment of God's commandments. As such, they are evidence of obedience to God in preparation for the Day of Judgment. But devotional actions also serve to transform the worshipper, bringing him or her into greater conformity with the divine will. Devotion in Islam is not simply an end in itself; it is also a means for facilitating proper ethical behavior. God calls on humanity not only to follow commands related to the proper performance of ritual, but also to live lives devoted to justice *(ʿadl)* and ethical behavior (*akhlāq*). One who lives his life in the constant remembrance of God will develop the virtue of *ihsān* (beneficence) and become a more perfect human being. Devotional actions within Islam are thus simultaneously evidence of obedience to God and mechanisms for the spiritual education of believers.

ʿIBĀDAH. The most obvious form of worship and devotion within Islam are those actions commonly referred to as "the Five Pillars of Islam." These are: the confession of faith (*shahādah*), ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*, or *namāz*), the fast (*ṣawm*) during the month of Ramaḍān, the *ḥajj*, or pilgrimage to Mecca, and the paying of alms to the needy (*zakāt*). These are the minimal required devotional practices of exoteric Islam. Collectively, they are referred to as *ʿibādah* because they indicate and affirm the worshipper's status as a servant *(ʿabd)* before God. All of these actions require the worshipper to first make an intention to perform them (*nīyah*), thus affirming the doctrine of human responsibility inherent in the doctrine of *qiyāmah*. All of the actions of the *ʿibādah* result in *thawāb,* or spiritual benefit, for the worshipper.

It is through the recitation of the Shahādah—also called the *kalimah*, or word of belief—that one becomes a Muslim. The Shahādah contains two declarations, which must be recited publicly in Arabic. The first, "*ashhadu an lā ilāha illā Allāh*" (I bear witness that there is no god but God), is an affirmation of *tawḥīd*. The second, "*ashhadu an Muḥammadan rasūl Allāh*" (I bear witness that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God), is an affirmation of *nubūwah*. This public recognition of the unity of God and the spiritual authority of Muḥammad, made with proper intention, is sufficient to make one a member of the Muslim community.

ṢALĀT is the daily ritual prayer. Many Muslims consider prayer to be the most important of all Islamic devotional actions. Each prayer consists of a sequence of prescribed actions coupled with the recitation of devotional phrases in Arabic and short *sūrahs* from the Qurʾān. Each of these sequences is referred to as a *rakʾah*. Sunnī Muslims are required to pray five times a day—after dawn, at noon, in the afternoon, at sunset, and in the evening. Each of these prayers consists of between two and four *rakʾahs*. Twelver Shīʿī Muslims pray the same number of *rakʾahs* each day but combine their prayers into three sessions. The fact that prayer punctuates the day at regular intervals affirms the importance of the Qurʾanic concept of *dhikr*, or the remembrance of God. Generally, within Islam the root of human disobedience and sin is seen as forgetfulness. Prayer at regular intervals encourages Muslims constantly to remember the presence of God.

The time of each prayer is announced by the *adhān* or "call to prayer." Each *adhān* is recited in Arabic and includes declaration of the Shahādah and the *takbīr*—the affirmation that "God is Greater" (*Allāhu akbar)*. Recited by the *muʾadhdhin* publicly from a minaret, the sound of the *adhān* has become one of the defining characteristics of living in a Muslim environment.

As with all acts of *ʿibādah,* the act of prayer begins with the making of proper intention or *nīyah*. This is followed by *wuḍūʾ*, or ablutions, as one must approach God in a state of physical purity. One prays facing in the direction of the Kaʿbah in the holy city of Mecca. This directional focus is called the *qiblah*. Within a mosque, the *qiblah* is marked by a niche called the *miḥrāb*. Thus, Muslims in communal prayer throughout the world stand in straight lines, except in the sacred precinct surrounding the Kaʿbah itself, where it becomes apparent that Muslims in prayer are actually arranged in concentric circles facing the Kaʿbah and each other.

The act of *ṣalāt* in Islam is a physical performance. Worshippers use their bodies and their voices to physically express obedience to God. The performance of prayer calls for the worshipper to engage in a series of postures culminating in complete prostration as physical evidence of submission and obedience to God. The language used in *ṣalāt* is not the vernacular of the individual worshipper but rather the Qurʾanic Arabic of the time of the Prophet. In performing *ṣalāt* individual believers repeat actions initially performed by the Prophet Muḥammad. Whenever Muslims engage in prayer they form a chain of piety back to the very origins of Islam and affirm a single ritual community with all other Muslims both spatially and temporally. It is an affirmation of *tawḥīd* and *nubūwah,* which links together all Muslims into a common devotional community.

Prayer can be either individual or communal. On Fridays the congregational prayer may take place in a special building called a *masjid*, literally a "place of prostration." Prayers are said behind an *īmām khaṭīb*, who stands at the *miḥrāb* and leads the community through the actions of the *ṣalāt*. At these Friday prayers the *īmām khaṭīb* delivers a sermon called a *khuṭbah,* which generally takes the form of a commentary on a Qurʾān verse, exhorting believers to lead more devout and ethical lives. It should be noted that the *khuṭbah* can also be used for political purposes. For this reason, Muslim rulers have generally attempted to maintain a degree of control over the content of the *khuṭbah*.

Along with the five daily prayers and the Friday congregational prayer, there are special prayers associated with religious holidays and funerals. There are also prescribed supererogatory prayers, which, while not required, are recommended and can be performed at other times of the day. Finally it should be noted that *ṣalāt*, the ritual prayer in Arabic, is not the only form of prayer in Islam. While the term *du ʿāhamza* has a variety of meanings, it most commonly refers to personal prayer recited in one's own language. The saying of *du ʿāhamza* is an essential aspect of piety of Islam, which affirms the personal relationship of individual believers with God.

While literalist traditions within Islam have seen the act of *ṣalāt* as the simple fulfillment of a divine command, Muslim mystics and esoteric interpreters have noted that there are both exoteric (*ẓāhirī*) and an esoteric (*bāṭinī*) dimensions to *ṣalāt*. For them, prayer is a mystery that imprints upon the bodies and the souls of worshippers and assists in their spiritual transformation.

RAMAḌĀN AND *ZAKĀT*. Muslims fast during the lunar month of Ramaḍān, abstaining from food, drink, and sexual intimacy from sunrise until sunset. They should also attempt to avoid negative and hostile emotions. The fast is incumbent upon all adult Muslims, although the sick, the aged, pregnant and nursing women, and travelers are exempt from its demands. The Ramaḍān fast acts to remind believers of their dependence upon God and affirms their servitude before the divine will. According to some Muslim commentators, it also helps to build an attitude of self-discipline and patience (*ṣabr*) and nurtures a sense of empathy and compassion for the sufferings of the poor.

The fast has both individual and social dimensions, as individual believers experience the fast in the context of community. Families tend to wake collectively to prepare breakfast before sunrise. The breaking of the fast at sunset, called *ifṭār*, is the occasion for shared meals with family and friends. It is not unusual for people to gather in the evening to listen to recitations of the Qurʾān. The Qurʾān is, in fact, traditionally divided into thirty equal portions, each called a *juzʾ*, so that the entire text may be recited over the month-long period of the fast. The end of the Ramaḍān fast is marked by the festival of ʿĪd al-Fiṭr. This is a day for giving charity, exchanging gifts and cards, and visiting one's friends and relatives. The sense of a shared ritual duty helps to create the sense of a single community bound by common practice and belief.

Zakāt refers to the payment of a percentage of one's wealth as alms to the poor. The giving of *zakāt* may appear to be an ethical rather than a devotional act. It is, however, almost always mentioned in the Qurʾān in tandem with *ṣalāt*. The giving of *zakāt* cleanses one's wealth and renders it legitimate. The giving of *zakāt*, like *ṣalāt* and *ṣawm*, affirms the notion that humans are not autonomous beings but rather servants of God. One's wealth is in fact only an *amānat* (trust) from God, who is the real owner. Therefore, while almsgiving is an ethical action designed to support the community, it is also an affirmation of *tawḥīd*.

THE *ḤAJJ*. At least once in a lifetime Muslims should, if possible, make the pilgrimage to Mecca during the month of Dhū al Ḥijjah to perform the rites of the *ḥajj*. There is a lesser pilgrimage called the *ʿumrah*, which can take place any time, from which a believer also gains *thawāb*; but it is the collective and communal action of the *ḥajj* that is required (*wājib*) by Islamic law.

In no other ritual context are the doctrines of *tawḥīd*, *nubūwah*, and *qiyāmah* so clearly apparent. The *ḥajj* takes place in the city of Mecca and its environs, where the religion of Islam was born. Having faced all of their lives in the direction of the Kaʿbah for prayer, worshippers now travel to the site of the *qiblah*. Here they encounter the structure containing the room that once housed the polytheistic deities of the Arabs, until cleansed of them by the Prophet Muḥammad and left empty to symbolize the unity of God—the essential symbol of *tawḥīd*. The most common image associated with the *ḥajj* is the circumambulation of the Kaʿbah, called the *ṭawāf*. As they circle the Kaʿbah seven times, each pilgrim recites the *talbiyah*, proclaiming in Arabic, "Here I am. O my Lord, Here I am."

However, the central act of the *ḥajj* takes place on the ninth day of Dhū al-Ḥijjah at the Mount of Mercy, on the plain of ʿArafāt, where the Prophet delivered his farewell sermon. This event is called the *wuqūf* (standing). Having previously entered into a state of ritual sanctity known as *iḥrām*, the pilgrims stand draped only in two seamless pieces of white cloth. Dressed identically, all traces of worldly hierarchy are eradicated and each stands equally before God, awaiting divine mercy. This action is not only an affirmation of *tawḥīd*; it is also an evocation of the *qiyāmah*, when all believers will stand at their graves dressed in their funeral shrouds to await the judgment of God.

The events of the *ḥajj* are also evocative of *nubūwah*. Because Mecca is the birthplace of Muḥammad, wherever one looks one is confronted with the remembrance of the Prophet. Although it is not technically part of the *ḥajj*, most pilgrims travel to the city of Medina to visit his tomb. Elements of the *ḥajj* also evoke the memory of other prophets as well, especially Ibrāhīm. Near to the Kaʿbah is the *maqām* of Ibrāhīm, where he stood to lay its cornerstone. The well of Zamzam marks the place where Hagar and Ismāʿīl were rescued from thirst by the angel Jibrīl, who struck the earth with his wing to bring forth water.

On the tenth day of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, pilgrims sacrifice an animal in memory of Ibrāhīm's sacrifice. This is the feast of ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā, the second major festival in Islam after ʿĪd al-Fiṭr. On this day Muslims throughout the world make their own sacrifices, sharing the meat with their own families and giving a portion to the poor.

THE QURʾĀN AS AN OBJECT OF DEVOTION WITHIN ISLAM. Devotional piety within Islam is not restricted to the *ʿibādah*. For example, the veneration of the Qurʾān is a ubiquitous form of piety. As the concrete presence of the word of God the Qurʾān is not only a source of knowledge, it is also a focus of devotion and veneration. As God's word it must be treated with respect. One should not handle it while in a state of ritual impurity. It is a violation of religious etiquette to place anything else, even another book, upon the Qurʾān. Devout Muslims wrap the Qurʾān in silk and store it as the highest object in the room. The recitation of the Qurʾān is an act of piety; professional reciters of the Qurʾān are considered great artists, whose recordings are popular throughout the Muslim world.

Phrases from the Qurʾān are used in numerous formulaic ways throughout the day. For example, the opening *sūrah, al-Fātiḥah*, is recited on numerous occasions, such as when visiting the tombs of Ṣūfī saints. Pious Muslims will often evoke the phrase *bismillāh* (in the name of God) before initiating any activity—especially at the beginning of a journey. One should not speak of future actions without saying *inshāʾallāh* (God willing), affirming thereby that only God is the true author and knower of future events. The evocation of God's word is, in a very real sense, the evocation of God, and as such it facilitates *dhikr*. Such actions are thus invocations of *tawḥīd*.

VERNACULAR TRADITIONS WITHIN ISLAM. Because Arabic is the language of the Qurʾān, and because *ṣalāt* is performed in Arabic, Islam's rich vernacular devotional traditions are often overlooked. In the South Asian musical tradition of *qawwālī*, the Prophet Muḥammad and Ṣūfī saints are praised in Urdu and Panjabi. The Shīʿī tradition has produced moving poetry of mourning for Imām Ḥusayn in Urdu and Persian called *marsiyeh*. The Ismāʿīlī tradition includes the recitation of devotional poetry called *ginān*s. There is a rich tradition of devotional poetry in Swahili connected with the birthday of the Prophet. Among the Alevis of Anatolia there is a profound musical tradition called *nefes* in which songs about the Twelve Imāms and the great *pir* Haci Bektash Veli are sung in Turkish to the accompaniment of the *saz*. While *ʿibādah* provides evidence of the unity underlying the world of Islam, these vernacular practices are examples of its rich diversity. Much of this vernacular literature is connected with that aspect of Islamic piety that involves devotional allegiance to persons.

The piety of devotional allegiance. Many of the most popular forms of Muslim devotion are those associated with devotional allegiance to holy persons, especially the Prophet Muḥammad. The person of the Prophet is as important as the Qurʾān in Islamic piety. As one Shīʿī scholar has pointed out, when the earliest Muslims accepted Islam there were only a few verses of the Qurʾān. At that time the fundamental action of accepting Islam was to give allegiance to the Prophet. This is the root of the piety of devotional allegiance.

Certain radical reform movements within Islam, most notably Wahabism, have been critical of devotion to the Prophet, seeing it as a form of *shirk* (associating partners with God). But for most Muslims, devotion to Muḥammad follows instinctively from their love for God. If all Muslims should love God, what better expression of that love can there be than to love the one whom God loves best? And that person is Muḥammad, who bears the title *Ḥabībullah*, the beloved of God.

There are a variety of expressions of devotion to Muḥammad. In many places the birthday of the Prophet is celebrated as a holiday (ʿĪd Mīlād al-Nabī), with special vernacular poetry recited for the occasion. *Naʿt*, the a cappella recitation of devotional verse about the Prophet Muḥammad in Arabic and vernacular languages, is especially popular in South Asia. Another important form of devotion to the Prophet is the recitation of *durūd*, the formulaic blessing of the Prophet recited in Arabic. Muslims often recite *durūd* in conjunction with pilgrimage (*ziyārat*) to the tomb of the Prophet or Ṣūfī saints. It is commonly believed that if one recites *durūd* at the tomb of the Prophet in Mecca he will actually hear it. The recitation of *durūd* is also thought to produce spiritual effects, such as the appearance of the Prophet to the devotee in a dream.

One of the central beliefs associated with this concept of devotional allegiance is the belief in the continuing spiritual existence of the Prophet Muḥammad. Although the Prophet died a physical death like any other human being, most Muslims believe that he is still available to his devotees as a spiritual presence. He is said to be "present and watching" (*hāḍr-o nāẓir*). Despite the fact that radical groups like the Wahabis firmly reject this notion, its supporters point to *ḥadīths* that state that the Prophet is a manifestation of a preexistent light—the prophetic *nūr*. Thus the Prophet is not merely a model of behavior, he is also an object of veneration.

Devotional allegiance in Shīʿī Islam. For many Muslims the piety of devotional allegiance extends beyond the person of the Prophet Muḥammad to include those who are identified as his legitimate representatives and successors. Once again, if one is to love the Prophet, should one not express that love by loving those whom he loved? Within Shīʿīsm this love focuses on the *ahl al-bayt* (the family of the Prophet; literally, "the people of the house") especially the Shīʿī *imāms.* The first *imām,* ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, Muḥammad's cousin and son-in-law, is especially venerated. He is identified as *Mushkil Kusha*, the remover of obstacles. It is not uncommon in Asia for Muslims—Sunnīs as well as Shīʿah—to say *"Ya ʿAlī Madad"* ("Oh ʿAlī, help me") when attempting a difficult task. Not only is the tomb of ʿAlī in Najaf in Iraq a center of pilgrimage, but his purported tomb in Mazār-I Sharīf in southern Afghanistan is also a major pilgrimage site for Muslims.

The Prophet's grandson, Imām Ḥusayn, also has a major role in Shīʿī devotional life. As the martyr of Karbalāʾ, killed by the Caliph Yazīd on the tenth of the lunar month of Muḥarram, he has a special place in the hearts of Shīʿī Muslims. While the Shīʿah believe that all the *imāms* share in the same spiritual light, Imām Ḥusayn was the last of the immediate *ahl al-bayt* who lived with the Prophet in Medina. This immediate family—consisting of Muḥammad, his daughter Fāṭimah, her husband ʿAlī, and their two children, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn—are often represented iconographically by the image of a five-fingered hand. In South Asia these five persons are venerated as "the five pure ones" (*panjatan pāk*). As the final surviving grandson of the Prophet, Ḥusayn's murder is an axial event and has deep spiritual significance.

During the first ten days of Muḥarram, Shīʿī Muslims enter into a state of ritual mourning. People dress in black and recite mournful poetry. They also gather in mourning assemblies to hear the retelling of the story of Karbalāʾ. It is commonly believed that Fāṭimah attends these assemblies and gathers the tears of the mourners to present them before God on the Day of Judgment. The day of ʿĀshūrāʾ on the tenth of Muḥarram is a particularly fervent day of devotional activity, when the community gathers to mourn and share food.

The precise nature of mourning for Imām Ḥusayn varies from region to region. In Iran there are stylized *taʿziyah* plays, which depict the events of Karbalāʾ. In South Asia there are processions culminating in ritual funerals for the *imām.* But for Shīʿī Muslims everywhere, participation in these events is a crucial marker of religious identity. There is a famous aphorism: "Every day is ʿĀshūrāʾ, every place is Karbalāʾ." The events of Karbala are not seen as mere historical events. Beneath the appearances of ordinary reality the eternal struggle between "Good and Evil" that took place paradigmatically at Karbalāʾ is always reoccurring. Humanity is always being asked to choose between the path of Imām Ḥusayn and the path of Yazīd, the path of light and the path of darkness. The ritual recreation of the events of Karbalāʾ during the month of Muḥarram is a way of preparing for participation in the eternal spiritual struggle between "Good and Evil."

It should be noted that devotion to ʿAlī and his descendants extends into the Sunnī community as well. For example, the day of ʿĀshūrāʾ is commemorated by many Sunnīs. More importantly, the great majority of Sunnīs who accept the validity of the Ṣūfī tradition accept ʿAli as the master of the esoteric sciences. He is venerated as *Shāh-i Awliyāʾ* (King of the Saints). Within the Ṣūfī traditions, devotional allegiance extends to include the various *awliyāʾ* (sing. *walī*; saints) of the Islamic mystical traditions. Like the Prophet, they are simultaneously models of behavior and objects of devotion; and, as with the Prophet, people seek their intercession. Within the worldview of Sufism it is believed that the *awliyāʾ*, who trace their spiritual lineage back to the Prophet through a chain of spiritual transmission, have achieved a state of annihilation in God. For those who practice it, devotion to the *awliyāʾ* is intimately connected to notions of *tawḥīd* and *nubūwah.*

Devotion to Ṣūfī saints takes a variety of forms. Some people visit living saints to formally become their disciples (*murīds*) on the Ṣūfī path (*ṭarīqah*). Those on this path practice specific devotional exercises. Chief among these is *dhikr*, which involves the individual or collective repetition of the names of God in order to produce an altered state of consciousness called *ḥāl* or *wajd.* But many people visit the *awliyāʾ* simply to seek their blessing or to request some material benefit, such as the birth of sons, better jobs, or successful marriages.

More common than visitation to living spiritual masters is pilgrimage (*ziyārat*) to the tombs of deceased *awliyāʾ*. The gravesites of important Ṣūfīs have, over time, become the locations of major tomb complexes. Such *ziyārats* are found in nearly every corner of the Islamic world. The tombs of such major figures as Aḥmad Yasavī in Central Asia, Aḥmad al-Badawī in North Africa, Muʿīn al-Dīn Chishtī in India, and Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī in Anatolia are not only local but regional and even international centers of pilgrimage. It is commonly believed that, like the Prophet, the *awliyāʾ* continue to exist as spiritual presences at their tombs. As with visits to living *awliyāʾ*, pilgrims come to seek both spiritual and material blessings. Pilgrims may make vows in connection with their requests, which they later fulfill by performing pious action. Ṣūfī shrines have thus become centers for the feeding of the poor, as pilgrims often fulfill their vows by feeding the less fortunate.

There is a general air of piety and devotion within the precincts of a Ṣūfī tomb. The *awliyāʾ* are the true rulers of this world, and one approaches them as one does a monarch, with humility and respect. There is thus a proper etiquette (*adab*) for interacting with the *awliyāʾ*, whether as living masters or at their tombs.

In many parts of the world the death or birth anniversary of the *awliyāʾ* is celebrated with religious festivals that at first glance may seem to conflict with the piety inherent in *ziyārat*. In South Asia, for example, these celebrations, called *ʿurs*, include fairs (*melas*) and carnival attractions, as well as pious devotions. Not surprisingly, aspects of these manifestations of the piety of devotional allegiance are frequently attacked by Muslim reformers, who see in them, at the very least, a form of popular innovation, and at the worst a kind of *shirk* that violates *tawḥīd*. Defenders of these traditions, however, have argued that those who take part in these popular expressions of piety are ultimately expressing their devotion to God and his Prophet. As such, their actions are within the proper purview of Islamic piety.

SEE ALSO Attributes of God, article on Islamic Concepts; Dhikr; God, article on God in Islam; Islamic Religious Year; Kaʿbah; Pilgrimage, article on Muslim Pilgrimage; Ṣawm; Shahādah.

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VERNON JAMES SCHUBEL (2005)

WORSHIP AND DEVOTIONAL LIFE: HINDU DEVOTIONAL LIFE

Although there is great variety in the forms of devotional life in Hinduism, some common themes may be identified that characterize the general religious impulse behind their variety. One important theme is that of ritual enhancement: Devotional practice aims at sustaining or improving the circumstances of the worshiper. These aims may be immediate and practical, such as the healing of disease, avoidance of the destructive influences of malevolent forces, fertility of crops, animals, and persons, and maintenance of family solidarity; or they may be more soteriological in character, such as the pursuit of liberation (*mokṣa*) from the bondage of rebirth. In this way, devotional life may be seen as a series of elaborate strategies for the enhancement of an individual's or group's situation as defined in terms of both worldly and transcendent goals.

A second theme centers on the ordering function of devotional life. Ceremonies frequently require the creation and/or maintenance of conditions of ritual purity. This purity may be temporary, brought about through bathing, cleaning, and providing substances deemed pure and religiously efficacious for the various rites, or it may be of a more permanent sort, such as the employment of members of castes, especially in their roles as priests, who are deemed sufficiently pure within the caste hierarchy to make their participation in devotional performances ritually effective.

A third theme is that of negotiation or exchange, in which devotional performances become occasions for giving human resources of food, gifts, and devotion to supernatural entities and powers in exchange for human well-being, which is understood to flow from those persons and powers as a consequence of the rite. While this negotiation process may have as its goal the pursuit of order and the existential enhancement of the worshiper, it may also involve episodes that are chaotic and/or playful.

The major forms of devotional practice in the Hindu tradition include sacrifice (*yajña*); ceremonies for the ancestors (*śrāddha*); life cycle rituals (*saṃskāra*); meditational or ascetic practices (*tapas*); worship of deities (*pūjā*); pilgrimage (*yātra*); personal vows (vrata); festivals and fairs (*utsava, melā*); sacred calendars (*pañcāṅga*); and religious healing or exorcism (*cikitsā*). Some of these devotional practices have ancient textual warrants for their authority that date back to the period of the Vedas and that are perpetuated by members of the traditional priestly castes, especially brahmans. Others are preserved in oral tradition among castes and communities further removed from the ritual texts and practices of the traditional religious elite groups. In both cases, these devotional traditions rest on the assumptions of their participants that they possess long-standing authority and efficacy.

SACRIFICE. As both the Vedas and the Brahmanas, books of ritual instruction and commentary, attest, sacrifice (*yajña*) is among the earliest forms of devotional life. The sacrifices are distinguished in the later literature between those performed in temporarily constructed enclosures or in the open air for larger communities (the *śrauta,* lit. "solemn," rites) and those that are restricted to individual households and are performed indoors. At the center of Vedic sacrifice is the use of fire and the ritual transformation of the patron or sacrificer (*yajamāṇa*), who is given rebirth through the sacrifice into the world of the gods. Fire is personified as the god Agni, who mediates between the worlds of gods and humans and who is associated with the warmth of the world and its creatures. Priests who maintain sufficient purity act on behalf of the patron who sponsors the sacrifice and for whom the benefits of the rite accrue. The Vedic *śrauta* sacrifices frequently employed sixteen or seventeen brahmans in various specialized roles. The priests offered oblations of milk, butter, honey, grains, fruits, animals, water, and soma, the elixir of immortality (*amṛta*), along with recitations of mantras. The *śrauta* sacrifices included the Agnihotra, a relatively simple morning and evening series of offerings; the Aśvamedha, in which a horse roamed for a year to measure the boundaries of the kingdom and then was captured and sacrificed to the gods for the protection and well-being of the kingdom; the Rājasūya, which consecrated the king by putting him through a ritual rebirth that included the rebirth of the cosmos; and the Agnicayana, which reinvigorated the cosmos by constructing an altar of fire, feeding the gods offerings of divine drink, and providing a voice for divine speech through the sustained recitation of sacred formulas.

Usually a king or tribal leader served as the sponsor of such sacrifices on behalf of his clan and the world as a whole. In this way, the sacrifice had as a specific goal the enhancement of a particular individual and as a general goal, universal enhancement. The fire served as the symbol connecting personal, political, cosmological, and metaphysical understandings of the world through its capacity to serve as element, deity, animating power in all beings, and receptacle of offerings. These offerings usually involved the blood sacrifice of animals and the brewing of soma, a beverage having hallucinogenic properties and believed to contain immortalizing power much desired by the gods. The aim of the *śrauta* rites was to reestablish or maintain the welfare of the universe. They provided food, long life, sons, cattle, and power; they did not seek to confer release from the world (*mokṣa*) but to sustain it in its optimal form. The sacrifice, with its fire at the center, served as the axis around which the cosmos, containing all that moves and does not move, journeyed through time and space. Since the Vedic period these rites have undergone gradual eclipse, and in the present day they are performed only occasionally by groups of brahmans who raise the funds for their performance through contributions.

Following similar patterns resting on the same religious beliefs and assumptions, the domestic (*gṛhya*) rituals articulated the religious concerns of people rooted in the world of family and kingdom. The head of the household served as the patron or sacrificer before the household fire by offering butter and grain cakes variously directed at the gods, ancestors, all beings, sages, and humans, all of whom often appear in the guise of guests and beggars. These rites, along with the life-cycle rituals (*saṃskāras*), continue to be performed by traditionalist brahmans. In addition, the Vedic tradition of sacrifice has had a profound influence over other forms of devotional life beyond the boundaries of Brahmanical practice, from temple worship to popular fairs and festivals.

ANCESTOR RITUALS. The Śrāddha rites, or ceremonies performed for the dead, begin at the conclusion of the corpse's cremation. According to the textual traditions of the Gṛhyasūtras, which were contemporary with the Brahmanas, the rites should last for a year, although twelve days as a symbolic year is the more common pattern. These Śrāddha rites continue to be performed among brahmans and other castes traditionally understood to be "twice-born" and therefore eligible for the benefits of Vedic rites and knowledge. After the eldest son, serving as the sacrificer, has ignited the cremation fire and the body is consumed, a temporary ritual body (*piṇḍa*) fashioned from cooked rice is assembled over a period of ten days. This body contains the ghost (*preta*) and serves as a receptable for subsequent offerings, thus enabling the deceased to be nourished on the long journey to join the ancestors in the divine world. On the final day the assembled body is cut into three pieces and merged with *piṇḍa*s representing the deceased's father, grandfather, and great-grandfather dwelling in the earth, atmosphere, and heavens, respectively. These rites establish the deceased harmoniously within their appropriate worlds and prevent them from becoming hungry and haunting their living descendants. In this way the ceremony honors and serves the needs of the ancestors, seeks their influence within the world of the dead for the benefit of the living, and protects the living community from potential peril wrought by ancestors insufficiently sustained in their respective worlds.

Other ceremonies, performed on the new-moon day of each month, provide ritual veneration of the ancestors as part of the regular rhythms of the religious calendar. In these rites a brahman—and in some parts of India, a crow—represents the ancestor and receives offerings of pindas, water, and sesame seeds from his descendants. Annually the descendants journey to sacred sites and rivers to have pinda ceremonies performed.

LIFE-CYCLE RITES. The literal meaning of *saṃskāra* is "refined" or "well-accomplished," and thus the *saṃskāra*s, or life-cycle rites, are directed at the ritual perfection or consecration of an individual at various moments in life. The traditional number of these rites varies with different texts and performance traditions, most of them having from twelve to sixteen rituals that might be performed throughout a person's life. These include rites for auspicious conception, the birth of a son, safe delivery, birth (Jātakarman), naming the child, first solid food, first haircut, initiation into learning the Vedas (Upanayana), and first hearing of the sacred Gayatrī mantra—thus marking the transition into the first of the four life stages (*asrāmas*), namely, studentship (*brahmacarya*). The marriage rite (Vivāha) marks the onset of the second stage, that of the householder (*gṛhastha*). *Saṃskāra* performance calls for fire, offerings, and brahmans to receive the offerings that remain after the gods and ancestors have been honored.

Although today only a relatively few groups of brahmans maintain the *yajña* traditions, the larger patterns of Vedic sacrifice have continued to shape later devotional life. The sacrifice's concern for achieving ultimate conceptual order and performative effectiveness found new voice in the speculative and ascetic traditions making use of a number of meditative techniques, the best-known of which is yoga. The concern for the constituency of the ancestors continued to be articulated in the Śrāddha rites, in which descendants construct new and purified bodies for the dead. The worship of the gods, which is not emphasized in yoga and Śrāddha practices, becomes highly developed in the tradition of *pūjā*, which makes use of permanent or disposable images of gods and goddesses.

ASCETIC AND MEDITATIONAL PRACTICES. The practice of sacrifice in ancient India yielded a tradition of speculation on the sources and meanings of the sacrifice itself. The ritual commentaries (Brāhmaṇas) invited meditations on the homologies between elements of the sacrifice and those of the cosmos and the individual in order to identify that which lay at the source of all reality. Knowledge paralleled ritual exactitude as a source of power to participate in and even transcend profane time and space. The practice of asceticism (*tapas*) provided the moral, physical, psychological, and intellectual environment in which the one who knows the inner meanings of the sacrifice might achieve proximate or ultimate religious transformation.

Ascetic and meditational practice is probably the most ancient Hindu religious practice. Evidence from images and cylinder seals from the Indus Valley of the third millennium BCE suggests that ascetic practices were part of this pre-Vedic culture. As speculation about the homologies between the sacrifice and the *yajamāṇa* (patron or sacrificer) grew during the late Vedic and Brahmanic periods, the fire of the sacrifice became identified with the bodily warmth produced during prolonged periods of meditation. As an acquired skill resulting from intense practice, *tapas* was principally a technique for achieving power and therefore had no inherently moral quality; it became a means by which one might appropriate the creative heat that animates the Vedic fire and thereby direct its power toward one's own ends. In the epic and Puranic traditions, gods and demons alike make use of ascetic practice in order to overpower or resist their opponents. As the internalization of the creative heat of the cosmos, *tapas* came to be recognized by virtually every religious and philosophical tradition in South Asia as a valuable or necessary component in the pursuit of both proximate and ultimate religious goals. The *Bhagavadgītā* classifies *tapas* according to its uses or goals; it recognizes the purpose of release from rebirth, which it considers to be a "pure" goal; the purpose of obtaining supernatural powers; and the purpose of increasing one's enjoyment of worldly pleasures. These three goals are classified as *sattva* ("luminosity"), *rajas* ("energy"), and *tamas* ("inertia"), respectively.

The traditions of *tapas* that have been most systematically formulated are those of *rajāyoga,* that is, the classical system of Yoga as taught by Patañjali; the controlling of bodily and mental states, or *haṭhayoga;* and the use of complex visual and aural symbolization drawing upon sexual and ritual imagery in order to achieve powerful and highly desirable religious experiences, or Tantra. As a form of *tapas,* Yoga draws upon ancient traditions of South and Central Asian shamanism in which trances were induced through strict regulation of diet, breathing, bodily movement, and autosuggestion in order to ascend into ecstatic states. During the Upaniṣadic period (c. 800 BCE–200 CE) there emerged further systematic formulations that classified bodily and mental states in a finely distinguished hierarchy leading to *mokṣa* (release from rebirth) as its ultimate goal. One of the most important of these various meditational traditions found precise articulation by Patañjali in his *Yoga Sūtra,* written probably during the Gupta period (320–540 CE), with important later commentaries such as the sixteenth-century *Yogavārttika* of *Vijñānabhikṣu.* The social contexts of yogic devotional practice were small communities of ascetics assembled around a *guru* ("teacher") who was highly regarded for his skills in the practice and for personal religious charisma. This classical formulation of Yoga remained largely compatible with Brahmanical orthodoxy and orthopraxis.

The practice of asceticism found particular favor among sectarian devotees of Śiva, the mythological embodiment of ascetic power. This tradition combined the classical with the more esoteric and eroticized practices and postures of the non-Vedic traditions of Tantra.

Unlike the ascetic traditions of Brahmanic culture, which held sensory experience suspect and emphasized celibacy and the restraint of erotic impulses, Tantric practice pursued the senses by integrating erotic desire into ascetic transcendence. Building on the techniques of *haṭhayoga,* the *vāmamarga,* or "left-path"—indicating deviation from the "right-path," or Brahmanic orthopraxis—provides for practitioners to become initiated into "circles" (*cakra*s) in which males identify with Śiva and females with Śakti, his consort. While Vedic and Tantric mantras are chanted the adept heightens his or her sense experience by consuming *Cannabis sativa* followed by fish, meat, aphrodisiacs, and liquor, and by engaging in sexual union with the consort. The female practitioners, called *śakti*s, imitate the active role of the Goddess in the cosmos by initiating sexual union with the males who take the role of Śiva. By a highly stylized process the male adept simultaneously retrains his mind, his breath, and the flow of his semen. The intensity of these forms of control is understood to pull up the animating power of the universe (*kuṇḍalinī*) through the physical body into the subtle body and finally to merge with the Śiva-Śakti principles at the center of the cosmos. This experience is believed to result in a quick, though potentially quite dangerous, path to *mokṣa.*

Tantric practice and imagery inspired much of India's erotic art, much of which is founded on the iconography of Śiva's ithyphallic emblem (*liṅga*) located in the center of Śakti's "seat" or "vulva" (*pīṭhā*). By reversing the logic of orthoprax asceticism, which stressed renunciation of sensuality as the means of overcoming attachment to the world and its consequences for karman and suffering, Tantra exploited sensual experience and placed the practitioner in the midst of heightened sensuality, using its power for mystical ends. This radical reinterpretation of the traditions of *tapas* never won favor in the Brahmanical tradition, but remained a marginal movement. It did, however, influence temple devotional life, especially in South India.

WORSHIP OF DEITIES. Derived from the Sanskrit root meaning "honor" or "worship," *pūjā* involves the ritual offerings of foods, service, and gestures of respect usually bestowed upon deities in their iconic forms. As a devotional tradition, *pūjā* appears to have emerged during the late Brahmanic period from the practice of honoring brahmans during their visits to the home. The practice then became amalgamated into later *bhakti,* or devotional Hinduism, through its classical textual formulation from the sixth century onward in ritual sections of the Puranas. Today, *pūjā* is one of the most pervasive forms of Hindu worship, and is observed with varying degrees of complexity by most Hindus. The enduring popularity of *pūjā* as a devotional undertaking may be in part its ability to combine elements of Vedic practice with popular religious sentiment.

*Pūjā*s vary widely in ritual complexity, from simple offerings of sips of water, flowers, food, the recitation of mantras, the singing of devotional songs (*āratīs, kīrtanas*), and the waving of lighted camphor before the image, to extended ritual episodes that draw on Vedic texts involving offering hospitality, invocations, bathing and dressing the image, and offering many kinds of foods, flowers, and leaves. The image of the deity is frequently made of perishable materials such as clay or wood, and may be brought ceremoniously into the home. It is placed in a part of the household set aside for the deity's residence and then ritually enlivened by establishing in it vital breath (*prāṇapratiṣṭhā*). There it dwells as a living member of the household for a period of time and is then taken to a nearby river, temple tank, or ocean to be immersed, thereby dissolving back into its primal elements.

Similar patterns of hospitality and praise may be seen in *pūjā*s performed in temples. The temple traditions rely heavily on the images and mythologies of divine kingship: The deity is the king or queen of the universe and the shrine is his or her palace. The temple images are periodically enthroned and taken in procession around the ritual boundaries of the kingdom, where they are seen and adored by multitudes of worshipers. The priests perform the duties associated with *pūjā* in both large public settings and small private ones for client worshipers.

Central to the religious appeal of *pūjā* for many Hindus is the experience of *darśana* ("auspicious seeing"). When an image of a deity is prepared and placed on view in the home or temple, appropriately honored and attired in festive costume, the deity makes himself or herself available to be seen by worshipers. The deity "sees" them and extends his or her grace to them, tangibly in the form of *prasāda,* the sacred food that, having been offered to the god or goddess and thus become sanctified by its proximity to the deity, is now returned to the worshiper. At the same time, the deity is "seen" by the worshiper, thereby establishing a visual and personal moment of mutual religious contact.

PILGRIMAGE. As with many other religious traditions, Hinduism has long valued visits to sacred places. These places are frequently associated with geographical features such as rivers (Gangotri, Allahabad, Banaras), places marking land's end (Kanya Kumārī, Rameśvaram, Dvarkā), and mountains (Bādrināth). Other shrines derive their sanctity from the deities who reside there, for example, Viṣṇu at Puri and Tirupati, Kṛṣṇa at Vrndāvana, Śiva at Ujjain and Nāsik, the Goddess at Kāmakhya, Madurai, and Kālighaṭ. Some pilgrimage centers have appeal throughout the subcontinent, drawing pilgrims from upper classes and providing religious merit for those who journey the distance to receive the *darśana* of the deity enshrined there. Other centers are more regional, or local; they serve pilgrims from the more immediate areas and may have large constituencies from particular castes and groups of castes. The pan-Indian shrines are generally the centers for the "high gods and goddesses" of the Hindu pantheon who are celebrated in the Sanskrit lore of the epics and Purāṇas, whereas the regional and local shrines house deities whose lore is carried more commonly through oral and non-Sanskritic literary sources; these regional deities are, however, frequently associated with one of the "high gods." Pilgrimages (*yātra*) may be made at any time, but those undertaken in conjunction with sacred times in the religious year are understood to be particularly efficacious.

Pilgrims make the often arduous journey to shrines for many reasons: in order to honor the deity who lives there, to bring offerings, to celebrate the magnificent and heroic deeds performed there as told in the sacred lore of the shrine, to receive the deity's grace through the experience of *darśana,* or "beholding," to gain personal religious merit, to derive specific benefits such as healing or the expiation of past misdeeds, or to enhance their personal status in their home communities when they return. Pilgrims often visit shrines as part of the performance of a vow (*vrata*) in which the pilgrimage becomes a gesture of gratitude given in exchange for benefits bestowed by the deity. Pilgrimages also serve as occasions in which Hindus temporarily move out of the hierarchical structures of home and village and enter into a more amorphous realm in which the pilgrims encounter one another as parts of a single generic religious community with the shrine as its symbolic center. Finally, pilgrimages to shrines serve as occasions for religious educations and microcosms of the religious life; they are journeys, at once personal and collective, through auspicious temporal and spatial contexts that enhance the devotees' religious appropriation of their lives.

VOWS. A *vrata,* or vow, is a ritual practice undertaken for a specific length of time in order to achieve a particular goal. It is usually undertaken by an individual and may include various forms of renunciation, such as fasting, celibacy, and an increased intensity of religious awareness that usually takes the form of reciting stories (*kathā*). A *vrata kathā* ("vow story") can be either ancient or contemporary, and its purpose is to disclose the origin of the vow and its efficacy. As a form of devotional practice, *vrata* is more commonly observed by women, and is often directed toward goddesses. The aims to be achieved through their observance of *vrata*s are often quite immediate and pragmatic: the birth of children, particularly sons; success in business and on examinations; abundant harvests; healing of illness; return of an errant spouse; and so forth. The *vrata* involves a basic exchange in which the devotee demonstrates her (or his) heightened religious devotion and faith which the deity receives as a gift and in which she or he delights. In return, if the deity is satisfied that the vow was pure in its intent and execution, she or he rewards the devotee according to the request made in the vow. In this way the tradition of *vrata* makes use of the Hindu renunciatory impulse in order to contribute to the maintanence and enhancement of the everyday world.

FAIRS AND FESTIVALS. Just as nature passes through seasons of cold weather, heat, and the rains, Hindu religious life passes through seasons marked by various collective religious observances. Each deity has his or her own month or season. Which festivals are observed is shaped in some measure by caste and sectarian affiliation. In North India, for example, the religious year begins in the month of Caitra (March–April), with the first festival being Navarātri, or "Nine Nights," in honor of the Goddess. As the hot season approaches the festival life takes on a more austere and ascetic character. It is the season for honoring the goddess Śītalā, the bringer of fever diseases. Her images are cooled with water in an effort to prevent her (and the cosmos she embodies) from becoming overheated and thus conveying fever to worshipers. The monsoon, occurring during the months of Āśādha (June–July) and Śrāvaṇa (July–August), disrupts travel from place to place. It is the time when the various mendicants cease their pilgrimages and settle in shrines and hermitages for the rainy season to observe Cāturmāsya, or the "four-month" retreat. This period has its mythical parallel in Viṣṇu's cosmic sleep. The full-moon night of the month of Āśādha (June-July) is called Guru Pūrṇimā and is the time when Hindus pay homage to their religious teachers.

With the conclusion of the rainy season, festival life increases in intensity through the relatively cool and dry months that follow. The months of Śrāvaṇa (July–August) and Bhādrapada (August–September) are filled with religious fairs (*melā*s) held at shrines and temples, where the images of the deities are displayed for worshipers to receive their *darśana* (auspicious viewing). *Melā*s are also recreational and commercial occasions for merchants and traders to set up temporary booths and sell their wares. An important festival during the waxing fortnight of the month of Śrāvaṇa is Nāga Pañcamī ("serpent's fifth"), because it falls on the fifth night of the fortnight. Snakes are particularly dangerous during the rainy season because the flooding forces them out of the subterranean holes in which they had taken refuge during the preceding hot, dry months. Although especially associated with Śiva, the veneration and propitiation of the serpent is acknowledged by Hindus from many different ranks. The full moon of the month of Śrāvaṇa is the occasion for the honoring of brothers and sisters in the celebration of Rakṣā Bandhana ("tying the amulet"), in which sisters tie elaborately decorated wrist-ornaments on their brothers.

The goddess Gaurī and the gods Gaṇeśa and Kṛṣṇa are celebrated during the month of Bhādrapada (August–September), followed in the fall season by the month of Āśvina (September–October) with the rituals of remembrance of the ancestors (Pitṛ Pakṣa) in which the annual Vedic *śrāddha* ceremonies are performed. This is followed by the second Navarātri, or nine-night worship of the Goddess, called Durgā Pūjā. Rāma is worshiped with sacred dramas and processions celebrating his victory over the demon Rāvaṇa. During the following month of Kārtika (October-November), the popular festival of Dīvālī, a Vaiṣṇava celebration particularly popular among merchant castes, marks another year's return of Lakṣmī, the goddess of wealth and good fortune. It is a time of housecleaning and refurbishing, the purchase of new clothing and cooking pots, and general renewal of life. It is a highly auspicious time in the Hindu year, and Hindus, especially in the north, celebrate it with great enthusiasm.

The cold season lasts through the months of Mārgasīrṣa, Pauśa, and Māgha, and brings about a decrease in the rhythm of fair and festival activity. The sun is worshiped especially during this season, and it is a good time for Hindus to undertake pilgrimages to near or distant shrines. As the weather begins to warm again during the months of Phālguna (February–March) and Caitra (March–April) the major celebration is Māhaśivarātrī ("great night of Śiva"), the principal festival in honor of the god Śiva. Kṛṣṇa, the erotic cowherd, is celebrated with the dionysian festival of Holī in which devotees dance, play pranks, and douse one another with colored water. Although the new year does not actually begin for another fortnight, Holī serves as the event of chaotic renewal that marks the end of the old year and begins the new year with appropriate exuberance.

As classified and prescribed by the sacred calendar, the Hindu year provides a temporal structure for an array of religious moods and activities to take place. As one moves through the days and weeks of the year, various occasions—both solemn and raucous—affirm the many gods, goddesses, ancestors, and auspicious as well as inauspicious powers. As a totality of time, the religious calendar provides an eternal architecture through which time as the experience of irreversible duration may pass. Every year is new and different from the last, yet through the observances of sacred festivals and fairs each year is a repetition of the enduring and paradigmatic forms of religious experience and community life.

SACRED CALENDARS. The Hindu sacred calendar is called the Pañcāṅga ("five limbs"). It contains the temporal structure of opportunities for religious enhancement by identifying those segments of time that are appropriate for various undertakings, whether they be moments of auspicious power or moments of danger. The Hindu year is based on the twelve lunar months, which are slightly shorter than the solar months of the Western calendar. Each month is made up of two fifteen-day fortnights (*pakṣa*s, "wings"). The first is the waning or dark (*kṛṣṇa*) fortnight moving toward the new moon night (*amāvāsyā*); the second is the waxing or bright (*śukla*) fortnight, which culminates in the full moon night (*pūrṇimā*). Each day of the month is thus described by its place in fortnight (e.g., "the fourth day in the bright fortnight"). Days occurring during the bright half of the month are generally regarded as inherently auspicious, because time, like the moon, is moving toward fulfillment; days occurring during the dark or waning half of the month tend to be associated with danger and inauspiciousness and often call for more cautious behavior and an increase in asceticism. Because the lunar months are shorter than the solar, the calendar adds an extra month every two to three years to make it coincide with the solar calendar.

The lunar days and weeks move through cycles overseen by deities. For example, Sunday is ruled by the Sun (Ravi) and is therefore called Ravivāra; Monday is governed by the Moon (Soma) and is called Somavāra; Tuesday is overseen by Mars (Maṅgala) and is known as Mangalavāra; Wednesday, ruled by Mercury (Budha), is called Budhavāra; Thursday, ruled by Jupiter (Bṛhaspati), is called Bṛhaspativāra; Friday, ruled by Venus (Śukra), is called Śukravāra; and Saturday, ruled by Saturn (Śani), is called Śanivāra. The Pañcāṅga details the auspicious and inauspicious powers inherent in each lunar day (*tithi*). This information is useful to Hindus in planning new undertakings such as setting out on journeys, opening businesses, and, especially, performing weddings. Because time is not merely neutral duration but already carries with it certain identifiable—and to some extent predictable—powers, the moment of one's birth serves to define or characterize one's character and destiny. Astrological information regarding the precise time of one's birth carries considerable weight in arranging marriages, and it is commonplace for the horoscopes of prospective brides and grooms to be scrutinized to determine if the potential marriage carries sufficient auspicious powers to ensure its success and its capacity to enhance the lives of others in the extended family. In cases where the astrological signs may be inauspicious, avoidance or compensatory ritual undertakings may be recommended by astrological specialists.

RELIGIOUS HEALING AND EXORCISM. The Hindu cosmos is a complex structure of interacting, and at times competing, powers with which (or whom) Hindus must align themselves to their maximum advantage through devotional actions that generate personal and collective enhancement. This enhancement is frequently represented through imagery and ritual strategies having to do with purity, renunciation, and propitiation. The pursuit of these forms of enhancement shape particular ritual actions, diets, and social associations. Nevertheless, even when these efforts are undertaken, but especially if they are neglected or held in contempt, individuals can fall prey to malevolent forces. These malevolent forces take the forms of "hungry ghosts"—those spirits who are trapped in the interstitial realm between the living and the dead—witches, demons, and sometimes deities (such as Śītala, the goddess of smallpox) who themselves have been victims of misfortune. They tend to inhabit territories of maximal pollution such as graveyards and cremation grounds, places where violent and untimely deaths have taken place, or in marginal areas, such as forests, at the edge of the inhabited worlds. They appear under cover of darkness, frequently attacking their victims in dreams. Diseases, particularly diseases of a psychosomatic or psychological character for which precise empirical diagnosis is lacking, are often understood to be the result of the malevolent intervention of one of these spirits, either out of the spirit's own bad temper or as the consequence of a curse of a worldly opponent.

Individuals are diagnosed as possessed by malevolent entities if, in addition to physical symptoms such as fever, they exhibit erratic behavior such as falling into trance and verbally abusing members of their family. Certain exorcist-healers are called upon to induce the evil spirit to come out. These healers, frequently from low-caste or tribal communities, are recruited on the basis of their personal charisma and their knowledge of and fearlessness within the territory of the demonic. They bring a specialized knowledge of mantras and medicines to the treatment of their clients or patients. Often the exorcist goes into shamanic trance and takes onto himself the voice and persona of the demon or argues with it in a way suggestive both of juridical proceedings and drama. The patient is frequently accompanied by members of his or her family, so that the diagnosis and treatment of the illness serve to integrate into rather than isolate the patient from his or her family. In some cases, shamanic healers maintain regular practices in or around religious shrines and pilgrimage centers and serve clientele who come to the shrine for general religious merit and treatment for specific disorders.

CONCLUSION. While each of these general types of devotional practice has nearly infinite variations in textual tradition and local custom, they all serve as structures for symbols, actions, and understanding that help to locate Hindus in complex and at times conflicting worlds of meaning. The devotional practices of Hinduism hold in common the goal of moving individuals, groups, and the whole cosmos toward conditions of greater well-being. This movement is always undertaken in the face of counter movements, symbolized by particular forces such as demons or the more abstract formulations of cosmological entropy expressed in theories of the yugas or in the belief in the deterioration of wisdom, virtue, and well-being through the mere passing of time. Devotional practices give Hindus something to do in the face of the desire for enhancement and the anxiety over its erosion or nonattainment, something to do that brings them together as siblings, families, castes, communities, and as the whole culture itself.

SEE ALSO Bengali Religions; Bhakti; Cakras; Dīvālī; Domestic Observances, article on Hindu Practices; Haṭhayoga; Hindi Religious Traditions; Hindu Religious Year; Holī; Iconography, article on Hindu Iconography; Indian Religions, article on Rural Traditions; Kuṇḍalinī; Marathi Religions; Music, article on Music and Religion in India; Navarātri; Patañjali the Grammarian; Pilgrimage, article on Hindu Pilgrimage; Poetry, article on Indian Religious Poetry; Pūjā, article on Hindu Pūjā; Rites of Passage, article on Hindu Rites; Saṃnyāsa; Tamil Religions; Tantrism, article on Hindu Tantrism; Tapas; Temple, article on Hindu Temples; Vedism and Brahmanism; Yoga.

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Revised Bibliography

WORSHIP AND DEVOTIONAL LIFE: BUDDHIST DEVOTIONAL LIFE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Mainland Southeast Asia comprises the modern countries of Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Burma (Myanmar), and Vietnam, as well as parts of Malaysia and Yunnan province in China. However, it is more useful to examine the Buddhism of the region in terms of language group or culture than of these relatively recent nation-states. This Buddhism is in no sense monolithic, and one may reasonably speak of "Buddhisms" of the Thai, Lanna Thai, Shan, Lao, Khmer, Mon, Arakanese, and Burmese. These Buddhisms are "Theravādin" in the sense that they are transmitted by monastic orders that descend from Sri Lankan ordination lineages, and in the sense that these orders are custodians of a foundational literature, the Pali canon. The use of Pali, the classical Indic language of Theravāda Buddhism, links the Buddhisms of the region and gives them common access to the rich narrative and philosophical heritage of Sinhalese Buddhism, to which they ultimately refer. But each Buddhism also has its own Pali and vernacular compositions, preserved in manuscript, inscription, and recitation, and in its own practices and rites.

Until the late colonial period, "Theravāda" was not the marker of identity for either members of the order or lay followers. For them what we call *Buddhism* was the *sāsana*, the teaching of the Buddha, and the system of ethics and mental culture that he instituted. Even the monastic ordination lineages did not describe themselves as Theravādin; instead they identified themselves with ethnic or geographic terms, such as "Sinhala monks," "Mon lineage," or "Lanka lineage." By the late nineteenth century, Theravāda developed as a self-conscious religion in the European sense of the term, and the term is now a potent marker of identity in South and Southeast Asia and, increasingly, the West.

Devotion is essential to the Buddhisms of Southeast Asia (as it is to all Buddhisms). In a certain sense the whole edifice of Buddhism rests upon devotion, insofar as devotion is one of the primary driving forces of the ideology of merit, which has produced much of the region's material and spiritual culture. As part of a complex of beliefs and practices, however, it resists reification and isolation, and must be viewed in its ritual and social contexts.

ACTS OF DEVOTION. Devotion may be public or private. Public devotion is a social act that announces an individual's active participation in a Buddhist community. Private devotion confirms and strengthens an individual's consciousness as a Buddhist. In both cases it is ritualized and formulaic, but at the same time it is flexible and renewable.

Devotion is expressed through rituals that engage the "three doors" of body, speech, and mind. It is enacted physically through prostration, raising the hands with palms pressed together, and sitting with legs tucked behind. With speech one murmurs or recites formulas. The mental workings of devotion—the worshipper's wishes and aspirations—are ultimately private, but, as seen below, they have often been recorded in inscriptions.

The simplest act of devotion is homage in front of an image, usually of the Buddha, accompanied by offerings of flowers, incense, and candles. Its focus is the "three jewels": the Buddha, the *dhamma*, and the *saṃgha* (always in the same order), and for that reason three incense sticks are usually offered. Reflections on the virtues of these three are the "three recollections" that structure daily chanting programs. First, praises will be offered to the Buddha, and his blessing and protection will be invoked; the same will then be done for the *dhamma* and the *saṃgha*.

The Buddha is seen as the acme of wisdom, power, and compassion. His many names express his many virtues: the Awakened One, the Blessed One, the Teacher, the Protector, the Omniscient One, the Ten-Powered One, and so on. His power comes from his practice of the perfections (*paramī*) during countless previous births. This aspect of the Buddha is seen in the *Ṃhākāruṇiko Ṇātho* (Stanzas on the greatly compassionate protector):

> For the welfare, benefit, and happiness
> Of all breathing things
> The Greatly Compassionate Protector
> Fulfilled all of the perfections
> And realized ultimate awakening:
> By virtue of these words of truth
> May all afflictions never be.

The Buddha's virtues are so many that he is ultimately beyond praise. This idea is expressed in a Pali stanza included in old Thai liturgical manuscripts (Skilling, 1998):

> If a person had a thousand heads—
> Each head with a hundred mouths,
> Each mouth with a hundred tongues— If he could live
> as long as an aeon
> And possessed great supernormal power:
> He would still be unable to enumerate The virtues of
> the
> Teacher in full.

DEVOTION AND LITURGY. Devotion has produced a vast liturgical corpus in Pali and in vernaculars. The shared use of Pali does not mean that the regional Buddhisms chose the same texts for recitation or gave the Pali the same pronunciation and cadence. Texts and recitation styles differ widely in the Mon, Khmer, Burmese, Thai, and Lao traditions. Even within a single tradition they vary according to ordination lineage and individual temple custom.

Liturgy lies at the heart of Buddhist practice. An integral part of living Buddhism, it is a teaching vehicle for both monastics and lay followers. In public rituals there is often a leader—a layperson, nun, or monk—who recites the formulas through a microphone, to be followed by the assembly. The recitation of formulas is a powerful vehicle of inspiration. Choral chanting by well-trained monks or nuns has a musical aesthetic that, combined with the fragrance of incense, the serenity of images, and the rich tapestry of mural paintings, is one of Buddhism's most sensuous expressions.

Throughout the region liturgy opens with a simple statement of reverence towards the Buddha, repeated three times: *Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa* (Homage to the Blessed One, the Worthy One, the Truly and Fully Awakened One). In public rituals this is followed by the taking of the five, eight, or ten precepts. After this a specific ritual will take place: offering food, offering robes, recitation of texts appropriate to the occasion, and so on, enacted with appropriate formulas. Some rituals end with the spreading of loving kindness towards all beings, or a brief session of silent meditation. At the end of an offering ceremony the monks chant verses that rejoice in the merit performed (*anumodanā*). The liturgy closes with invocations of blessing through the power of the three jewels:

> May all blessings come to be, may all deities protect:
> By the power of all buddhas (*dhammas*, and *saṃghas*)
> May you always be well.

The generic name for apotropaic texts is *paritta* (protection). The core texts of the *paritta* come from the *tipiṭaka*, and have been used in all traditions of the region for centuries. These are supplemented by noncanonical protections, among which the *Jinapañjara*, *Sambuddhe*, and *Bāhuṃ* are three of the most popular. The *Jinapañjara* (Cage of the conquerors) stations buddhas, arhats, and the *parittas* themselves around the body at specific points, thereby making a protective cage. The *Sambuddhe* stanzas (Skilling, 1996) invoke the power of multitudes of buddhas, and the *Bāhuṃ* invokes the eight victories of the Buddha, such as his defeat of Māra or his taming of the maddened elephant Nālāgiri. The interdependence of liturgy and art is seen in the fact that the eight victories are depicted in temple murals in Cambodia and Thailand.

The formula requesting the chanting of *paritta*, recited by lay followers to the monks three times at the beginning of the ceremony, succinctly expresses the function of *paritta*:

> To ward off disaster, to accomplish all blessings,
> To eradicate all suffering, fear, and illness:
> Please recite the auspicious *paritta*.

A bewildering variety of chanting books, in all shapes and sizes, is readily available in the region's bookstalls. In Thailand the sixteenth printing of the *Royal Chanting Book* (ten thousand copies) is 427 pages long; first published in 1880, it is available in Pali only and in Pali with Thai translation. Other popular sellers are the *Seven* or the *Twelve Protections* and the *Manual for Laymen and Laywomen*. Cambodian *paritta* collections include the *Anthology of Pali Paritta* and *Pali Recitations*; for laypeople there is the *Householders' Practice*. A comprehensive collection used in Burma is the *Great Paritta*. Popular throughout the region are books devoted to magic diagrams, talismans, and spells.

Many of these collections are bilingual. Translations may follow the Pali, or face it on the opposite page. In one translation style the Pali is embedded in the translation: Pali and vernacular follow each other phrase by phrase. An early Thai collection in this style, the *Translated Chants*, dates to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Other devotional poems or chants are composed directly in the vernacular. There is, however, no body of devotional literature, either authored or anonymous, comparable to the vernacular Indian *bhakti* literature.

Books serve as aids to memory. Monastery regulations and ritual needs require monks and novices to commit liturgical repertoires to memory. Long-term monks memorize the *pātimokkha*, the monk's code, which takes up to an hour to recite. Nuns are adept at chanting, and in Thailand today it is primarily nuns who preserve the vernacular *Phra Malay* recitation, often chanted at funerals. The presence of nuns at ceremonies was noted by early Western travelers to Siam, such as Jeremias van Vliet, an agent for the Dutch East India Company at Ayutthaya from 1629 to 1634:

> Besides these male priests, there are connected with the principal temples many old women, who also have to shave their heads. They are dressed in white linen, and they are present at all sermons, songs, ceremonies and other occasions connected with the religion. They are not, however, subject to any extraordinary rules, and they do everything out of religious fervour and free will. Also they have to live on the alms which they receive from the people. There are no young maidens or pregnant women among them. (van Vliet, 1910, p. 77)

Lay knowledge of chanting varies. Most people are familiar with the basic chants—the three refuges, the precepts, and the formulas of offering—and can at least repeat them after a leader. Many memorize short texts like the *Jinapañjara*, *Sambuddhe*, or *Bāhuṃ* stanzas, and recite them in their private devotions. The same text can be recited more than once. In Thailand the number of repetitions may be determined by one's day of birth; for example, a person born on a Monday should recite the Pali stanzas beginning "*yaṃ dunimittaṃ*" ("Whatever ill omens. . .") fifteen times daily. Some learn to recite chants backwards, in the belief that this increases the efficacy of the syllables.

Demonstration of devotion is not limited to temple ritual. Verses of homage to the three jewels open classical and popular texts. The *Cintāmaṇi*, a manual of Thai language and prosody dating to seventeenth-century Ayutthaya, contains many examples of homage to the Buddha, some quite elaborate, in a range of meters. Thai religion has always been inclusive and eclectic, and homage does not neglect the classical deities of India or local spirits of all stripes. Reverence is also due to teachers and parents, and when they are invoked five joss-sticks or five candles may be offered.

The opening of *Samutthakhot Kham Chan*, a metrical adaptation of the nonclassical *Samuddaghosa Jātaka*, offers extravagant praise to the Buddha followed by homage to Brahmā, Śiva, and Viṣṇu. A Southern Thai verse version of a well-known *jātaka*, "The Story of the Six-Tusked Elephant King" (*Phraya Chaddanta*), invokes the protection of a catalogue of deities:

> I pay homage to my teachers
> Who have trained and instructed me
> That I might compose this tale.
> I pay homage to the Buddha,
> To the *dhamma*, and the *saṃgha*,
> To my Mother who protected me—
> May I be free from danger.
> I pay homage to my Father
> Who cared for me until I grew up. I pay homage to
> Goddess of Grain
> Who guards us all and always.
> I pay homage to all spirits
> Who dwell on earth up to the sky:
> To Vessuvanna, to Thousand Eyes,
> To Indra and Brahmā who always
> Protect against danger, obstacles,
> Disaster, and misfortune. May that called danger
> Never approach or trouble me!

Modern studies tend to compartmentalize divinities, goddesses, and spirits as "Hindu," "non-Buddhist," or "animistic," assigning them static textbook identities that miss the point. In the tolerant pluralism of Southeast Asian culture they are part of a seamless hierarchy of power and merit, with the Buddha, at least ideally, at the top.

THE CULT OF IMAGES. The production and worship of images of the Buddha has fired the religious imagination to the point that images are everywhere—not only in temples, but in the open air, homes, and schoolyards. Altars bear not just one image, but dozens. In Thailand nearly every roadside shop boasts a shelf lined with deities, raised up on a wall facing the entrance. Many of these shrines are extraordinarily eclectic, with a profusion of figures from the revered King Rāma V (r. 1868–1910) to bearded Chinese deities. A seventeenth-century Persian visitor to Ayutthaya observed that:

> The Siamese persevere in worshipping idols. . .They are not even like the other idolaters who worship one special idol which has a determined shape and form. In Siam anyone who pleases makes an image out of plaster, wood, or mud, sets it up in a particular spot and worships it. . .The scholars of Siam exclaim, "Since we cannot experience direct contact with God in all His glory and perfection, we are obliged to seek him through substitutes, which we can behold with our own eyes. Therefore we make the idols our masters and gods." (Ibn Muhammad Ibrahim 1972, p. 114)

Although Ibn Muhammad Ibrahim's understanding of the Buddha as "God" may not be strictly accurate, he does grasp one important point: images can be made by anyone. The production of images is deemed a source of great merit; according to a uniquely Theravādin belief, it helps to preserve the *sāsana* for its allotted five-thousand-year life span. The result of this potent authorization is that those who are able to do so sponsor images, often as a family or group project. In most cases an altar is not the product of a conscious and finite iconographic program. Living altars continue to grow, to accumulate new images in accordance with the imperatives of merit. Since to restore an image is also a source of merit, the images themselves undergo periodic repair and are never finished. This is also true of temple buildings, mural paintings, and manuscripts: they must constantly be renovated, restored, and rewritten, in the insatiable quest for merit and perfection.

In the middle of the twentieth century a Thai scholar remarked that:

> Perhaps more than any other country in the world, Thailand is the land of Buddha images. They range in size from tiny miniatures to huge giants. They are made of many different kinds of materials—stone, plaster or terracotta, wood, crystal or jade, silver, or gold. . .For more than 1300 years the artists of our country have concentrated on making Buddha images, to such an extent that at the present time the images far outnumber the human population. (Luang Boribal Buribhand, 1956, p. 3)

If one counts the small amulets highly prized by the Thai, the statement may well be true. But the other cultures of the region share the same ideology of merit, and also produce images in large numbers. A popular custom was to turn spacious limestone caves into cathedrals filled with images, such as the Pak U grottoes on the Mekong River near Luang Prabang in Laos, or, in Burma, the Pindiya Caves in the Shan States and the Kaw-gun caves on the Salween River near Moulmein. The latter was eloquently described by a "bygone traveler":

> Everywhere, on the floor, overhead, on the jutting points, and on the stalactite festoons of the roof, are crowded together images of Gautama—the offerings of successive ages. Some are perfectly gilded; others encrusted with calcareous matter; some fallen, yet sound; others mouldered; others just erected. Some are of stupendous size; some not larger than one's finger; and some of all the intermediate sizes—marble, stone, wood, brick, and clay. Here and there are models of temples, some not larger than half a bushel, and some ten or fifteen feet square, absolutely filled with small idols, heaped promiscuously one on the other. A ship of five hundred tons could not carry away the half of them. (O'Conner 1904 [1993], p. 289, condensed)

When an image is installed there is an inauguration ceremony and a celebration, which may last a week or more. At certain times of the year, often the solar New Year, images may be carried in procession on land or water with grand festivity and merrymaking. Such a procession was witnessed by Ibn Muhammad Ibrahim:

> There are also special occasions when the idols are mounted on traveling palanquins and brought in from the outlying temples to the city temples where the king and monks worship. In such a case the Siamese say that one idol has come to visit another. . . .Then the city population gathers together and they play drums and flutes. The devout bring flowers and leaves from the trees and fasten them on the temple walls to make festoons. They also fashion artificial flowers from paper. (Ibn Muhammad Ibrahim, 1972, pp. 118–119)

Other foci of devotion are *cetiyas*, bodhi trees, and replicas of the Buddha's feet or footprints. In Southeast Asia *cetiya* and *stupa* are generally synonymous, and refer to solid freestanding structures built to house relics. *Cetiyas* come in all shapes and sizes; as reliquaries they are often called *Phra That* (from Pali and Sanskrit *dhātu*, "relic") or *Phra Mahathat* (from *mahādhātu*, "great relic") in Thai, Lao, and Lanna Thai. *Cetiyas* can enshrine images, scriptures, and other objects of reverence, as well as rich offerings of gold, gems, and pearls. Relics are frequently installed in Buddha images, sometimes (if the chronicles are to be believed) miraculously. A well-known verse venerates most of the sacred objects together: "I pay homage to all *cetiyas*, all and always, wherever they are established— / Physical relics, Great Awakening Trees, and images of the Buddha."

Relics and images are installed with pomp and celebration. In 1718 in the central Thai principality of Chainat, for example, high-ranking monks were invited from the capital (at that time Ayutthaya) to lead the festivities for the Great Relic. These included one day each of recitation of the "(Summarized Account of) the Buddhist Councils" (*Saṅgāyanā*), of the *tipiṭaka*, and of the "Great Birth" or *Vessantara Jātaka*. The site was decorated with offerings, parasols, banners, flowers, torches, and candles, and there were performances of masked dance, shadow-puppet plays, and drama. The event was carefully recorded in a large stone inscription that stands at the temple today (*Prachum Silacharuk* 4, no. 97, 1970, pp. 73–74).

Cetiyas fill temple compounds and dot the countryside of the region. Bodhi trees are planted in temple precincts. A liturgical genre, both Pali and vernacular, offers homage to the trees of past and future buddhas. Theravādin tradition lists ten future buddhas, starting with Metteyya (this does not mean that there are no others—there are, but they are not named). A class of texts known as *Anāgatavaṃsa* (Chronicle of the future) is devoted to them. A Thai-language version of one such text explains at the end that, "Any human beings, female or male, who offer homage and bow in respect to the ten Lord Buddhas along with the ten Glorious Great Awakening Trees . . . will gain fruit and benefit. They will not be born in hell for as long a period as one hundred thousand aeons. This is a result of the wholesome intentions of the person who recollects the ten Lord Buddhas."

Shrines housing replicas of the soles of a Buddha's feet (positive models) or of his footprints (negative impressions) as the primary icon are common. The replicas are made on stone slabs, wooden panels, or cloth painting. In addition to replicas, there are also "natural" footprints, believed to have been left by a buddha—not only Śākyamuni, but also his three predecessors in this "Auspicious Aeon." According to old traditions, Śākyamuni left the impression of his foot or feet at five sites in India and Sri Lanka. These are listed in chants that venerate the five prints "from afar": that is, it is possible to render homage and request protection without going on pilgrimage, although several of the sites have been localized in Burma and Thailand and are relatively accessible.

Other verse compositions, in Pali, Khmer, Burmese, and Thai, list the one hundred and eight auspicious signs that adorn the soles of the Ten-Powered One's feet and invoke their protection. A Southern Thai text on the signs opens as follows:

> May I offer obeisance to the supreme feet of the Buddha,
> The glorious and resplendent pair.
> My ten fingers raised in a row are bright like golden candles;
> My two eyes are alight like a pair of lamps: these I offer.
> My hair-knot is like a flower-garland, like beautiful golden nenuphars.
> My melodious voice is like an offering of incense and candles.
> My heart I dedicate like fragrant scents.

The text ends with the promise that whoever recites the names of the signs will gain vast merit and meet the future Buddha Metteyya. Such texts can be recited at home, or in the presence of one of the replicas of the Buddha's footprints enshrined in temples and pavilions throughout the region.

DEVOTION AND CUSTOM. Devotion has its own protocols—it invests parts of the body, direction, and space with its own values. Shoes must be removed before entering a temple or shrine, or—mainly in Burma—at the very first gate, before entering the precincts of monasteries and pagodas. Feet should not be pointed at images or objects of respect, which should be placed higher than the worshipper. One should keep to the right of revered objects, and use the right hand when making offerings. Damaged or discarded objects of reverence are not thrown away or sold: they are left in temples or at the foot of bodhi trees. To steal or damage an image of the Buddha, a bodhi tree, a *cetiya*, or a religious text is a heinous crime that will send the culprit straight to hells of unremitting torment. Such values were incorporated into legal codes, for example the *Three Seals Code* of medieval Siam, which stipulated severe if not gruesome punishments for those guilty of such crimes.

In some cultures access to sanctuaries is determined by gender. In Burma, only males are allowed onto the upper platforms of pagodas—for example, at the Shwedagon Pagoda in Rangoon, where they can sit in meditation or apply gold leaf directly to the revered shrine. In Northern Thailand, women are barred from the raised platform upon which the images are installed; in Northeastern Thailand, females cannot enter the ordination hall; and in Central Thailand they cannot sit on the raised platform within the ordination hall.

Devotion has its own vocabulary. Special terms, often derived from Sanskrit, are used to describe images: one does not buy an image, one *rents* or *reveres* it. One does not take it home: one *invites* it into one's house. The features of the image are spoken of in a special language used also for members of the royal family. Venerated images are addressed directly, in the second person, with kinship terms identical to those used for revered monks, such as "Great Father."

DEVOTION AND MATERIAL CULTURE. Worship has had an immense impact on material culture and technology, and thereby on the economy. Special utensils, crafted from bronze, silver, or gold, fulfill ritual functions. Offerings to monks or idols require fine trays and bowls made from lacquer or metal. At the end of a merit-making ceremony, water is poured from a bronze vessel into a small bowl, both purpose-made. In Thailand the monks hold ornate fans in front of themselves when performing certain ceremonies; the fans are a unique art form.

Skilled bronze casters, stonecutters, and woodcarvers produce images in a range of styles, sizes, and materials. Gold beaters produce delicate squares of gold leaf to apply to images. Garland makers station themselves at pagoda gates, threading fragrant flowers such as jasmine and roses into beautiful shapes. Annual rituals have led to the development of unique products, such as the giant candles offered to monasteries at the beginning of the three-month rains-retreat, or the fine threaded sweets prepared at Nakhon Si Thammarat in Southern Thailand to offer to *pretas* (so-called hungry ghosts, tormented by hunger because their mouths are the size of needles).

The premodern landscape was transfigured by devotion. Land, groves, fields, and villages were offered to temples and exempted from taxation. The architecture of the region is in part a response to the needs of devotion. Monastic complexes include buildings for public worship, from simple open-sided pavilions to grand and ornately decorated halls. Large stupas have broad circumambulatories. In Thailand, distinctive shrines—often miniature versions of grander structures—stand raised on pillars in gardens: these are the spirit houses, which accommodate the spirit of the land. Opulent shrines to Brahmā, Indra, or other deities stand in front of banks and office buildings.

Special shops cater to the needs of the faithful, offering a wide range of paraphernalia, including incense, candles, images, monastic requisites, and shrine tables. Crafts and trades were integrated into city plans: the gold beaters' quarters in Mandalay and Bangkok, the religious supplies stores in central Bangkok, and the image makers district in Thonburi, across the river from Bangkok. The economy of worship played a role in the exploitation of natural products and translocal trade. Lime, laterite, and stone were quarried for use as construction materials (lime for the manufacture of stucco to decorate religious structures). Gold, bronze, and tin were mined, exported, or imported, and from antiquity the tropical forests of Southeast Asia supplied the international market with aromatics and exotic timber.

DAILY ROUTINES AND RITUAL CALENDARS. The daily monastic routine includes morning and evening chanting structured around homage to the three jewels. The time of the chanting (from four in the morning on) and the selection of texts vary from temple to temple. Lay people may start their day with chanting and meditation before a private altar. In Thailand the day ends with an act of homage, as recommended by the nineteenth-century poet Sunthorn Phu in his *Svasti Raksa*, a book of stanzas on etiquette for the maintenance of one's well-being:

> When you go to bed,
> Don't forget to salute the pillow,
> While saying your praise and gratitude
> To your parents and your teachers. (Umavijani, 1990, p. 86)

The lunar calendar is used for religious purposes. Special offerings are made on the "holy days" of the four quarters of the moon, especially the lunar fortnight, when the monks recite the *pātimokkha*. The Thai cycle of court festivals is described in several late-nineteenth-century texts, including an elegant verse composition by Prince Maha Mala and two detailed historical studies by King Chulalongkorn (Rāma V). In Thailand today the highlights of the year are the great full-moon celebrations or *pūjā* of the months of Māgha, Visākha, and Āsāḷha. On these nights, lay people throng to circumambulate *uposatha* halls and *cetiyas*, carrying candles, incense, and flowers. The monks recite Pali texts and give sermons explaining the significance of the ceremonies, which mark events in the life of the Blessed One. Visākhā Pūjā, which usually falls in April, commemorates the birth, awakening, and passing away of the Master, while Āsāḷha Pūjā marks his first sermon in the Deer Park at Sārnāth near Vārāṇasī—the "Turning of the Wheel of the *Dharma*." The rich ritual calendar includes the day-long "Sermon on the Great Birth"—the *Vessantara Jātaka*—formerly one of the greatest entertainments of the year, and in the countryside still indispensable as a rainmaking festival. At the New Year people fashion *cetiyas* from sand, and decorate them with papers parasols, flags, and banners.

For the monks the most important event is the three-month Vassa, or "rains-retreat," during which they remain in their home-temple and do not travel. In Thailand males often ordain as monks especially for this three-month period in order to deepen their understanding of the Awakened One's teaching. Male government officials may obtain fully paid leave for this purpose. Although the Vassa is originally and primarily a monastic retreat, during this period devout lay followers may stay overnight in the temple each lunar quarter to chant and meditate. A few take extra vows of abstention or devote themselves to meditation throughout the three-month period. In Northern Thailand, collections of texts to be chanted during this period are called *Nangsu non wat* (Books for staying overnight in the temple), and special quarters are erected for females within the temple precincts. Other monastic rites that take place after the rains are Pavāraṇā, when monastics invite their fellows to point out any wrongs they may have committed during the rains-retreat, and Parivāsa, penitence for having concealed breaches of certain monastic rules. In Thailand and Cambodia the latter has become ritualized; large numbers of monks from many temples gather at a designated site for the period. Another important festival is the offering of Kaṭhina robes to the monks.

People make special offerings on their birthdays, or in memory of their parents or loved and respected ones on the anniversary of their deaths. They may offer food to the monks on the early morning alms-round, or to the *saṃgha* in general at a temple. Monks are invited to bless newlyweds at wedding ceremonies. At funerals the monks recite texts for the benefit of the deceased. In Thailand they recite extracts from the *abhidhamma*, often every night for forty-nine days in front of the coffin in special funerary pavilions in the temple precincts. For the final passage, the cremation, monks recite a simple stanza on impermanence. On this occasion sons may "ordain in front of the fire," that is, become a monk for a few hours or a few days in order to offer the merit to a deceased parent.

In Thailand a major source of temple income is the annual festival (*ngan wat*), a full-fledged fair with Ferris wheels, rock music concerts, and entertainments of every description. For several days the temple becomes a noisy hive of activity. Another grand affair is the consecration of the monastic boundary, or *sima*. In Central Thailand this has become a weeklong fund-raising event usually held to coincide with the Chinese New Year in order to attract the wealth of the powerful business and merchant communities of Chinese origin. Less frequent are image-consecrations, for which revered monks are invited to chant special Pali stanzas.

PILGRIMAGE. From chronicles and inscriptions we know that pilgrims from Southeast Asia regularly visited the holy sites of India and Sri Lanka. Royal missions were sent to repair the temple at Bodh Gayā, the "Diamond Seat" where Śākyamuni achieved awakening. In the Pala and Sena periods, Southeast Asian monks traveled to study at the famed universities of Northern India and the monasteries of Sri Lanka, carrying images, scriptures, practices, and ideas back and forth. Pilgrims and monks also traveled throughout Southeast Asia, which had its own study centers and pilgrimage sites.

The most important pilgrimage sites are reliquary shrines (*cetiya*, stupa) and footprints of the Buddha. *Cetiyas* housing hair and bone relics of Śākyamuni are found throughout the region; many boast a chronicle that validates their claims to the pilgrims' devotions and offerings. In lower Burma two of the greatest attractions are the old Mon stupa of Shwedagon, which enshrines the relics of four buddhas, and the extraordinary pagoda of Kyaiktiyo, which perches precariously on a massive boulder at the top of a hill. In upper Burma pilgrims are drawn to the Mahamuni image in Mandalay and to Mandalay hill. But there are many others: "Most of the commanding heights in Burma have long since been crowned with pagodas, and a visit to any of these gratifies the innate piety and gaiety of the people" (O'Connor, 1904, p. 347).

For the Lao, one of the holiest stupas is Phra That Phanom on the western bank of the Mekong River. Northern Thailand has a tradition of pilgrimage to twelve sites determined by one's year of birth according to the twelve-year cycle. These include the Shwedagon Pagoda in Burma, the old Mon stupa at Hariphunchai in northern Thailand, and the stupa at Wat Suthep overlooking the Chiang Mai Valley. In Southern Thailand the tall, tapering reliquary at Nakhon Si Thammarat draws busloads of pilgrims from the Thai and Chinese Buddhist communities in Malaysia and Singapore. On the way they stop at other sites, such as Wat Pa Kho in the narrow Sathing Phra peninsula, where a footprint was left on top of a hill by a revered seventeenth-century monk named Luang Pu Thuat. To attract wealthy Chinese pilgrims, temples along the route have built statues of Kuanyin, the "Goddess of Mercy," some of them immense.

Pilgrimage centers in central Thailand include Thung Yang in Uttaradit province, where there is a large stone slab where the four buddhas have sat, and the fifth, Metteyya, will sit. Thung Yang was formerly the goal of royal pilgrimage (e.g., during the reign of King Borommakot of Ayutthaya, who restored the complex of sites). Its foundational legend is narrated in both Pali and Thai texts. To the west of the old capital of Ayutthaya and the present capital of Bangkok is Phra Taen Dong Rang, a localized site of the Buddha's passing away, which was visited in 1836 by the poet Nai Mi, who wrote:

> We brought incense, candles, and choice flowers
> And gathered to pay homage to the stone couch
> Between a pair of Rang trees.
> Their branches, twigs, and sprouts bowed low in homage.
> Oh, the Rang trees still adore the Teacher—
> How sad that we were born too late to meet him!
> All we can see is the stone couch,
> Our minds overwhelmed with sorrow and dismay.
> Tears stream down as we call to mind
> The Holy Omniscient One.

Rang tree is the Thai name for the Indian sala tree. At the same site the poet saw a stone held to be the blood that the Buddha vomited during his final illness, and the site of his cremation on a nearby hill.

From the seventeenth century on, the leading Thai pilgrimage site has been Phra Phutthabat, in Saraburi province to the east of Ayutthaya, identified with one of the five places where the Omniscient One left his print. The annual pilgrimage was a grand affair. Commoners streamed in by boat, horse, and oxcart, and on foot. Stalls were set up at the approach to the shrine, and for a week there were festivities of all kinds—acrobatics, shadow and puppet theatre, dance-drama, and fireworks. King and court made the pilgrimage regularly, first by boat and then by elephant with opulent pageantry. The king would make grand offerings, and perform a unique sword-dance on elephant-back in homage to the footprint. Surviving records—poems, official documents, and a seventeenth-century Dutch account—leave no doubt about the significance of the pilgrimage.

IDEOLOGIES OF BENEFIT AND EXCHANGE. The human predicament is a life of insecurity, suffering, and impermanence, inevitably ending in death. The Buddha taught people to recognize the predicament, identify its roots, and then to practice in order to free themselves from it. Therefore it is said that the Buddha arose in the world "for the benefit of the many, for the happiness of the many, from compassion for the world, for the welfare, benefit, and happiness of gods and humans." Buddhism is a quest for security and benefit, and it is the Buddha who explains the "ultimate blessings" (*maṅgala*).

Tradition lists "three bases for the performance of merit" (*puññakiriyavatthu*): giving or charity, precepts or ethical conduct, and mental culture or meditation. The performance of these leads to three types of felicity (*sampatti*): felicity as a human, felicity in heaven, and the felicity of *nirvāṇa*. Worship and devotional life are directed towards these three goals, which are often referred to in sermons and narrative literature. They are inspired and guided by the ideology of benefit or advantage. The Pali term for this is *ānisaṃsa* (Skt., *ānuśaṃsa*, Tib., *phan yon*). It is a key concept not only in Theravāda Buddhism but in all Buddhisms; it is prominent in the earliest texts—the sūtras of the Pali

Nikāyas and Sanskrit Āgamas—for example in the *Metta-ānisaṃsa-sutta* of the former, which promises eleven benefits for those who practice loving kindness: they will sleep well, they will wake happily, they will not have bad dreams, and so on. Thai Buddhists developed a genre of sermon, both in Pali and in Thai, that lauds the specific benefits of specific meritorious acts, such as producing an image of the Buddha, offering candles at the beginning of the rains-retreat, or erecting sand *cetiyas*. *Anisamsa* texts are known in other traditions, such as the Sanskrit *Triratnabhājana-ānuśaṃsa* (Advantages of revering the three gems) from Nepal, or the *Advantages of the Diamond Sūtra* from Tibet.

Another key term in the pragmatics of offering is *paṇidhāna* (Skt., *praṇidhāna*): wish, aspiration, or prayer. When making offerings, one makes a silent wish for specific benefits. This is the private and personal aspect of devotion mentioned above. There are also generalized and public aspirations, such as prayers for the health and welfare of teachers, preceptors, parents, rulers, and all sentient beings. Many of the earliest Buddhist inscriptions (starting from the second century BCE) in India record aspirations. The practice was followed in Southeast Asia; some of the Thai and Cambodian aspirations recorded on stone are long and elaborate verse compositions.

The ideology of *ānisaṃsa* and *paṇidhāna* is one of exchange. One takes refuge in the three jewels, and in return they grant protection or fulfill wishes. When supplicants pray before an image they promise something in return—special food, servants, or entertainment, for example—if their wish is fulfilled. In earlier periods servitors, livestock, groves, fields, and land were granted to images. Such grants were recorded in inscriptions and legal documents, which today are primary sources for the study of economic history. Today live music and dance are offered in some temples; in others one sees small model dancers.

Together, the complex of worship—the chants of refuge and homage, the prayers and aspirations—invokes and constructs an intricate universe of relations and obligations. Offerings are made to the Buddha, and merits are shared with relatives, deities, and spirits, who in turn are asked to offer protection or grant wishes. Offerings to the monks transmit merit to deceased relatives; Buddha images convey benefits. The question of whether it is the image or the Buddha that is addressed and responds can never be resolved, since in the imagination they are both the same and different.

MODERNITY AND BEYOND. *Modernity* and its cognates are troubled and troublesome terms. In this entry they are used as unavoidable conventions for a modernity that begins in the early nineteenth century and continues through the twentieth century to the present. In the last half of the twentieth century the impact of new ideologies and technologies effected enormous change throughout the region.

The Western calendar and the "working week" have broken the rhythm of the lunar calendar, especially in the cities, where urban life has its own priorities. Urban migration has disrupted the agricultural calendar and the transmission of knowledge within village communities, as has compulsory secular education. This—along with the rapid spread of modern communications, culminating in the internet—has contributed to the erosion of community memories. People have less time for festivals and religious practice; ceremonies and chants have been simplified and abridged, and also standardized as a result of centralized monastic education and print technology. This has led to an impoverishment of liturgical and ritual repertoires, since many of the older chants and rites have fallen into disuse. Old temple districts and craft quarters have been savaged by ruthless construction of roads and commercial buildings, and temple precincts have become parking lots. Festivals are packaged for tourist consumption.

The commercialization of worship in the cash economy has led to questions about the nature of devotion. Is Buddhism being packaged and sold like any other product? Have devotees turned into consumers? Have values gone awry? Do people equate the degree of merit with the financial value of their offering? Some temples, such as Wat Chonlaprathan in Nonthaburi, Thailand, explicitly discourage lay followers from offering commercialized products. The temple donates excess offerings to orphanages, prisons, or victims of natural disasters; on festival days this amounts to several truckloads.

But the human predicament remains. Buddhist teachings address human needs, and they have always shown resilience and adaptation. The vitality of Buddhist worship and practice is undaunted by modernity. On offering-days devotees bring traffic jams into temple compounds. Radio, television, and the internet are used to propagate Buddhist values. New generations explore the relationship between the teachings of Buddhism and contemporary understandings of society and the universe, proposing compatibilities with science, ecology, feminism, and human rights. Throughout Thailand there has been a rapid development of the cult of Kuan-yin, whose image graces separate shrines or altars beside the presiding Buddha. Migration has led to the construction of Khmer, Lao, Burmese, and Thai temples abroad, especially in the United States, where new forms of worship are developing.

SEE ALSO Buddhist Religious Year; Pilgrimage, article on Buddhist Pilgrimage in South and Southeast Asia; Pūjā, article on Buddhist Pūjā; Saṃgha, overview article.

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erecting sand *cetiyas*—is Louis Gabaude, *Les cetiya de sable au Laos et en Thaïlande: Les textes* (Paris, 1979). The present entry is based on Pali and Thai sources and field observations. Translations are the author's unless otherwise noted; in some cases the translations are condensed.

The chanting books mentioned in the essay are as follows:

Bhanavara Pali (Pali recitations)

Chet tamnan, Sattaparitta, Cularajaparitta (Seven protections)

Gihipatipatti (Householders' practice)

Khu mu ubasok ubasika (Manual for laymen and laywomen)

Mahaparitta (Great *paritta*)

Parittasamodhana Pali (Anthology of Pali *paritta*)

Sipsong Tamnan, Dvadasaparitta, Maharajaparitta (Twelve protections)

Suat mon chabap luang (Royal chanting book)

Suat mon plae (Translated chants)

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PETER SKILLING (2005)

WORSHIP AND DEVOTIONAL LIFE: BUDDHIST DEVOTIONAL LIFE IN EAST ASIA

Buddhist practice in East Asia extends across almost two millennia and several different religious cultures and languages. This means that there is a rich and complex set of practices to consider—far too many to attempt a comprehensive presentation within the scope of this article. The character of East Asian Buddhist practice differs both from that of the Western traditions, which have informed the way in which ritual and practice are understood in religious studies, and from many of the popular representations of Buddhism. These differences constitute a series of theoretical issues, which include the relation between the categories of ritual and meditation, the relation between local and translocal traditions of practice, the complex relation between practice and ideology, the social dimensions of East Asian Buddhist practice, the multivalence of practices, and the emic categories for types and structures of ritual practice. The following will discuss specific instances of East Asian Buddhist practice in relation to these issues.

RITUAL AND MEDITATION. Contemporary Western religious discourse frequently differentiates between ritual and meditation as mutually exclusive categories, often implicitly valuing meditation and dismissing ritual. However, the cultic practices of East Asian Buddhism cannot be so clearly distinguished, as they have both ritual and meditative aspects. For example, the most familiar Buddhist practice is doubtless sitting meditation as found in the Zen (Chin., Chan; Kor., Sŏn) tradition. Often considered the epitome of meditation, upon examination one finds such meditation to be a highly ritualized practice. All aspects of behavior during Zen meditation are prescribed, from bodily posture while sitting to the manner of walking while circumambulating the temple between sitting sessions and the manner in which one enters the meditation hall and takes one's seat. Even outside of the meditation period, the manner of one's behavior in all activities—particularly during meals, and excepting only break periods—is carefully prescribed.

Conversely, the rituals of the Japanese Tantric tradition of Shingon are filled with meditative elements. For example, the Full Moon Visualization practice (Jpn., *gachirin kan*), which is one of the introductory practices in the training of a Shingon priest (Skt., *ācārya*; Jpn., *ajari*), includes gazing at a white circle until one is able to see the image mentally, without the support of the visual object. One then imagines this white circle expanding to fill the entirety of the universe and shrinking to a tiny spot at the very center of one's visual field. The Full Moon Visualization practice also exemplifies the continuity between Indian and East Asian Buddhist practices. The practice matches the *kasiṇa* practice recorded for example in Buddhaghosa's *Path of Purification* (Pali, *Viśudhimagga*). The *kasiṇas* are a set of ten visualizations of a circular device made of a variety of substances and colors (Skt., *rūpa*), one of which is a white circle. Thus, it forms part of a tradition of practice that, while originating in a specific historical and cultural location, was relocated across China to Japan, becoming thereby translocal.

LOCAL AND TRANSLOCAL. All religion is local. Some practices, however, are portable, and being carried across linguistic and cultural boundaries become translocal. Frequently, this process of movement between religious cultures leads to confrontation, interaction, and appropriation of practices, symbols, and ideas. In East Asia many practices are shared by Buddhist, Daoist, neo-Confucian, Shintō, and Shugendō traditions. Despite this long history of religious interaction, Buddhist practices do demonstrate a high level of continuity between their Indian origins and their East Asian instantiations. This continuity, however, should neither be interpreted as providing a basis for claims of authority or authenticity, nor taken as grounds for claims that some practices are pure while others are syncretic. It is simply the case that Buddhist practitioners both maintained practices originating in India and integrated East Asian religious elements into Buddhism.

One example of the interaction between local and translocal traditions of practice is the Ghost Festival (Skt., Avalambana or Ullambana; Chin., Yu lan pen; Jpn., Urabon or Obon). While drawing on Indian antecedents, the Ghost Festival originated in medieval China and continues in present-day Japan and in Japanese Buddhist temples in the United States. The founding story for the Ghost Festival is that of the monk Maudgalyāyana (Chin., Mulien), who saves his mother from her current birth as a hungry ghost (Skt., *preta*; Jpn., *gaki*) by making offerings to monks coming out of their summer retreat (Skt., *varṣā*; Chin., *anju*)—a three month period of reclusion and intensified practice. The rainy-season retreat dates from the time of the historical Buddha, Śākyamuni, and was in fact common to other groups of wandering ascetics in fourth century BCE India.

While based on Indian monastic antecedents, the Ghost Festival complex was adapted to local values and local practices. Developed in response to the Chinese emphasis on filial devotion (*xiao*), the Ghost Festival was promoted to high levels of popularity. Additionally, the involvement of laity and the emphasis on the agricultural cycle with its symbolism of renewal are aspects of the Chinese Ghost Festival that distinguish it from the Indian precedents. In China the schedule of the Ghost Festival correlates strongly with the agricultural cycle. There, the monastic summer retreat began in the middle of the fourth lunar month and ended in the middle of the seventh lunar month, while in India and Central Asia there was much more variation in the monastic schedule.

One of the specific rites that frequently forms part of the Ghost Festival in some contemporary Japanese Buddhist traditions is the feeding of the hungry ghosts. The dead are conceived under two categories: those who have a relation with a living family and those who do not (Jpn., *muenbotoke*). The former can proceed through a cycle of rituals over a period of thirty-three years and become a member of the anonymous collectivity of the ancestors. In the contemporary Japanese Shingon tradition of Tantric Buddhism, these memorial rites proceed through an increasingly extended cycle and are associated with a group known as the Thirteen Buddhas (though technically not all are buddhas): first seventh day, Acala (Fudō); second seventh day, Śākyamuni (Shaka); third seventh day, Mañjuśrī (Monju); fourth seventh day, Samantabhadra (Fugen); fifth seventh day, Kṣitigarbha (Jizō); sixth seventh day, Maitreya (Miroku); seventh seven day, Bhaiṣajyaguru (Yakushi); hundredth day, Avalokiteśvara (Kannon); first anniversary, Mahāsthāmaprāpta (Seishi); third anniversary, Amitābha (Amida); seventh anniversary, Akṣobhya (Ashuku); thirteenth anniversary, Mahāvairocana (Dainichi); and thirty-third anniversary, Ākāśagarbha (Kokūzō).

However, those who do not have family relations who can insure that this process is completed are in danger of becoming hungry ghosts—dangerous and dissatisfied—wandering the human realm at the time of the Ghost Festival. During the Ghost Festival in contemporary Japan one can see offerings to hungry ghosts placed outside the homes of those who also have offerings to their own ancestors on their family altar.

Hungry ghosts are described as having huge bellies, indicative of their hunger, at the same time they have exceedingly slender necks, blocking them from taking in as much as their hunger drives them to desire. In another description, whenever they do take food their mouths burst into flames, giving them their alternate name of “flaming mouths.” By the power of the ritual, the throats of the hungry ghosts are opened and they are able to consume the offerings made to them. Indeed, after consuming the offerings, their evil *karma* is extinguished and they are reborn in a Pure Land.

Another practice that combines local and translocal religious forms, and also continues into the present, is pilgrimage. Classic Chinese pilgrimage sites for Buddhists were Mount Tiantai and Mount Wutai. The former was important as the location in which Zhiyi (538–597) established the Tiantai tradition (Jpn., Tendai). Consequently, monastic pilgrims, even from Japan, were drawn to Mount Tiantai. For example, Ennin (794–864) of the Japanese Tendai tradition centered on Mount Hiei outside Kyoto spent nine years in China and recorded his travels in a historically important journal. Of more popular appeal was Mount Wutai, widely considered to be the residence of Mañjuśrī, the *bodhisattva* of wisdom. So popular was Mount Wutai that it drew pilgrims not only from within China itself, but also from Mongolia, Inner Asia, and Tibet.

In Japan, Mount Kōya is an important pilgrimage site, particularly the tomb of Kūkai (774–835; posthumous title, Kōbō Daishi, founder of the Japanese Tantric Shingon tradition), where he is said to remain in perpetual meditation. Although the most important center of Shingon Buddhism, because of Kūkai’s wide appeal, Mount Kōya serves as a pan-Buddhist pilgrimage site. Also associated with Kūkai is the pilgrimage route encircling the island of Shikoku. Beginning and ending on Mount Kōya, the route comprises eighty-eight temples. Despite the association with Shingon, specific temples along the route are affiliated with a variety of Japanese Buddhist sects, and have an equally wide variety of chief deities (Jpn., *honzon*). Specific sites along the route mark events in Kūkai’s life, and thus the entire route is often asserted to have been established by him. However, the route only became a pilgrimage circuit much later, becoming most popular in the first half of the nineteenth century. The circuit character of the Shikoku pilgrimage is shared with many South and East Asian pilgrimages, and distinguish these from Western pilgrimages, which tend to be linear.

Throughout its history in East Asia, Buddhist practice interacted with other religious traditions, with borrowing being done in both directions. In Japan the rise of distinct, self-identified Shintō traditions in the fifteenth century saw the adaptation of Buddhist practices into Shintō forms. For example, Yuiitsu and other Shintō lineages developed their own rituals of fire offerings (Skt., *homa*; Jpn., *goma*), clearly modeled on Tantric Buddhist practices. Practice of the *homa* seems to have been entirely exterminated from the Shintō tradition by the suppression of Buddhism (Jpn., *shinbutsu bunri*) in the second half of the nineteenth century, which involved the enforced "purification" of Shintō. Shugendō, the way of mountain ascetics, also developed a *homa*, this one being performed out of doors (Jpn., *saitō goma*). Shugendō *saitō gomas* continue to be performed in contemporary Japan, sometimes on the grounds of Buddhist temples or Shintō shrines, and they have also become part of the Japanese new religions (Jpn., *shin shūkyō*). Conversely, in interaction with Chinese religious culture, within which the Northern (Big) Dipper was a key element—Buddhist practitioners created a *homa* with that constellation as the chief deity.

Understanding the relation between local and translocal practices requires an examination not only of the textual record but also of the artistic record. While sometimes appearing to be normative, textual sources may in fact only represent one local version of a practice. Like other visualization practices, visualization of the Land of Bliss (Skt., Sukhāvatī; Jpn., Gokuraku) originated in India, was practiced in Central Asia, and was subsequently transmitted to East Asia. The artistic record found in Central Asian cave temples at Turfan show great variety in the visualization sequence and in the elements to be visualized. As Pure Land visualization was transmitted further east—to Dunhuang, China, and Japan—the practice became much more standardized, closely matching the version found in the *Contemplation Sūtra* (Skt., *Amitāyur dhyāna sūtra*; Chin., *Kuan wu liang shou ching*; Jpn., *Kammuryōju kyō*).

PRACTICE AND IDEOLOGY. The relation between practice and ideology, or doctrine, is complex. Both practice and ideology influence one another. For example, practices are molded by conceptions of the path to awakening, while cosmological conceptions reflect states of mind created through meditative practice. Likewise, practices appropriated from another religious tradition or relocated into a new religious milieu may be reinterpreted in order to fit into their new setting. An emphasis on the integrity of practice and ideology is found within Buddhist conceptions of the path to awakening. One of the traditional Buddhist ways of talking about the path is to organize it under the three categories of precepts, meditation, and wisdom (Skt., *śīla*, *samādhi*, and *prajñā*). These are known as the three learnings (Skt., *trīṇiśikṣāṣi*; Jpn., *sangaku*). Contrary to the idea propagated by some that meditation alone is adequate, the three learnings are understood to form an integrated whole and to all be equally necessary.

The *Contemplation Sūtra* provides a doctrinal justification for both recitation of the name of Buddha Amitāyus (Amitābha) and visualization of his image. Both kinds of practices are forms of "keeping the Buddha in mind" (Skt., *buddhānusmṛti*; Chin., *nianfo*; Jpn., *nembutsu*), and as such are considered to imbue the practitioner's mind with the qualities of the Buddha. This is very similar to the idea of "becoming a buddha in this body" (Jpn., *soku shin jo butsu*), which informs Tantric Buddhist practice in East Asia. This idea is reflected in the identification of the practitioner's body, speech, and mind with the body, speech, and mind of the Buddha, which is key to many East Asian Tantric Buddhist rituals.

SOCIAL DIMENSIONS. An additional consideration is the common conception of Buddhist practice as primarily being a matter of a solitary practitioner seeking awakening. The vast majority of Buddhist practices in East Asia are social activities, either involving the monastic community or the larger community. Even the practice of seated meditation as found in the Zen lineages, often considered paradigmatic of Buddhist practice, is rarely performed as an individual practice in East Asia the way it is in the contemporary West. Rather, it is performed as part of a larger, monastic context, meaning that it is performed both communally and as part of a larger set of monastic practices. What has formed the popular image of the solitary practitioner is the noteworthy exception that becomes legendary for that very reason.

Buddhist practitioners and institutions have also long been deeply involved with the state, being institutionally dependent on the court for approval of monks and for economic support. As a consequence, there are many rituals directed toward the protection of the state, from the alleviation of droughts to protecting the state from invaders. Sometimes called "national protection" (Chin., *hu guo*) Buddhism, this meant providing ritual services for the benefit of the court. Perhaps the most important ritual for national protection is the Humane Kings ritual, such as that created by Amoghavajra (Chin., Bukong) when he reworked the *Scripture for Humane Kings* in eighth-century China. The scripture is classed as one of the perfection of wisdom (Skt., *prajñāpāramitā*) sūtras, though it is apparently unique in promoting not wisdom (Skt., *prajñā*) as key to movement along the path to awakening, but rather forbearance (Skt., *kṣānti*; Chin., *ren*) as most important. This plays on the homophone with the Confucian virtue of humaneness (also *ren*). The equation of these two virtues allowed for the promotion of Buddhism in fifth-century China, when the first version of the *Scripture for Humane Kings* (traditionally considered a translation by Kumārajīva) appeared—a time when Buddhism was struggling for legitimacy in a Confucian world.

For most of East Asian Buddhism, the Pure Land practice of reciting the name of the Buddha Amitābha serves to advance the search for rebirth in the Land of Bliss. Both in China and Japan, mixed groups of monastic and lay adherents were formed to support their members in this practice, in some instances meeting monthly for extended periods of recitation. Some groups combined lectures on the *Lotus*

Sūtra with recitation practice. Of particular importance was supporting dying members so they could pass away either reciting the name Amitābha or at least hearing the name recited. The earliest of these groups is thought to have been established in 402 CE by the monk Huiyuan on Mount Lu. Comprising 123 adherents, both lay and monastic, it is known by its later appellation, White Lotus Society. Half a millennium later in Japan a similar group was formed on Mount Hiei. Known as the Samādhi Society of Twenty-Five (Jpn., Nijūgozanmai-e), this group was founded in 986 and reorganized in 988 by the monk Genshin.

MULTIVALENCE OF PRACTICES. Some of the most common categories for the discussion of religious practices are based on distinctions between elite and popular (social status) or between monastic and lay (institutional affiliation) forms of practice. These categories, however, are often misleading in the case of East Asian Buddhism, where—as we have seen with the Pure Land recitation societies described above—the same practices were commonly engaged in by both monks and laity. Geoffrey Samuel has proposed a more nuanced three-part division based on goal or motivation. Of course, all category systems are provisional. The limiting factor in this case is that motivations may differ between different people, and the same practice may be engaged in with different goals in mind. Thus, rather than utilizing Samuel's threefold division as a means of categorizing ritual practices per se, it provides us with a means of acknowledging the multivalence of ritual practices. The strength of this categorization is that it is based on Buddhist categories themselves, rather than being imposed from outside.

Samuel's three categories are: pragmatic, *karma*-oriented, and *bodhi*-oriented. Pragmatic practices are directed toward providing immediate benefits in this life. *Karma*-oriented practices deal with the issues of death and rebirth, such as past and future lives. *Bodhi*-oriented practices are those in which the goal is awakening. Understanding East Asian Buddhist practices as having these three dimensions is important because it demonstrates the breadth of religious practices and concerns in Buddhism, a breadth often obscured by the typical representation of Buddhism in contemporary Western religious culture, which focuses solely on an individualized quest for awakening. Some of the practical concerns include healing, exorcism of demonic possessions, and apotropaic protection from demonic attack and possession.

Healing has been a primary human concern in Buddhism, as in other religious traditions. In medieval Chinese Buddhism, for example, there are many stories of recitation of *mantras* and sūtras healing the practitioner, either lay or monastic, from illness or demonic possession. Common among these recitative practices are recitation of the name of the Buddha Amitābha (Chin., Amitou; Jpn., Amida) and the *Diamond Sūtra* (*Prajñāpāramitā hṛdaya sūtra*). Like constructing roads and bridges, and providing economic support for monks and monasteries, such recitative practices were understood to generate merit that could benefit the practitioner either in this life or the next.

Recitative practices also served karmic functions, and their efficacy was not considered to be limited to Buddhist settings, but rather extended across the Chinese cosmology. An anecdote tells of a man of good standing who, upon entering a Daoist temple while drunk, playfully pulled the writing brush from the hand of the statue of the judge of evil. Later he is met by a messenger who has been ordered by the judge to bring him before the otherworldly court. Reciting the *Diamond Sūtra* in secret, he is reprimanded severely by the judge of evil, but eventually forgiven when he promises to recite the *Diamond Sūtra* seven times a day for the rest of his life. Many other texts, including the *Lotus Sūtra* and its "Guanshiyin" chapter, which itself circulated as an independent text, were the object of recitation practice.

This recitation of sūtras is one part of what has been called the "cult of the book," in which texts were given religious significance in ways other than being read for their didactic content. Both hagiographic collections, such as the *Lives of Eminent Monks* (*Gaoseng zhuan*) by Huijiao (496–554), and miracle tales written by laypersons record a variety of devotional practices directed toward sūtra texts. Sūtra texts were collected, preserved, and displayed, which seems to continue the equation made between the Buddha and his teachings—sūtra texts themselves were treated as comparable to relics; that is, as vehicles for the presence of buddhas and *bodhisattvas.* The physical presence of a sūtra text also provided protection when worn on the body like an amulet, and miraculous punishments were said to follow on acts of desecration against sūtra texts.

Similar to healing, exorcistic, and apotropaic rites are practices related to personal hygiene, which are found throughout East Asian monastic Buddhism. One particular set of these practices is focused on avoiding the polluting and demonic forces of the toilet. A sixteenth-century Korean Sŏn manual reflects beliefs and practices inherited from China, which are still found in some Japanese temples as well. Before entering the latrine, a monk is to snap his fingers three times to warn the demons dwelling there. This is followed by a series of five *mantras*—for entering the latrine, for purification, for cleansing the hand, for getting rid of filth, and for a pure body.

Illness and demonic possession do not seem to have been clearly distinguished, as illness was often understood as a sign of demonic possession—seen, for example, in the Japanese *Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari*), written by Murasaki Shikibu at the very beginning of the eleventh century. Exorcistic rituals date back much further in China, however. Compiled in the middle of the fifth century CE, the Buddhist *Book of Consecration* employs a practice of impressing a seal empowered with the names of powerful spirits. Despite the text's use of the Sanskrit term *mudrā*, which literally means "seal," the Buddhist form of this ritual draws on earlier Chinese practices. Seals were used as the symbol of authority and power, and by carving seals with the names of powerful spiritual entities, such as the Yellow God, Monarch of Heaven, and impressing these either directly on buildings or on pieces of paper hung on a house, one could be protected from demonic forces. Such apotropaic uses clearly match exorcistic uses in which the seal is applied to the body of the afflicted person.

TYPES AND STRUCTURES. Buddhist practitioners have categorized ritual practices according to their purposes. These native taxonomies demonstrate the continuity of Buddhist thought, which originated in Indian Buddhism and is found in Tibet as well as East Asia. These categories are applied, for example, to the *homa*, which has its origins in pre-Buddhist Vedic votive rituals employing fire as a means by which the offering is transferred from the officiant to the deities evoked. In the esoteric Buddhist traditions, there are five purposes for which the *homa* may be performed: for pacification (Skt., *śāntika*; Jpn., *soku sai*); for increase (Skt., *pauṣṭika*; Jpn., *zō yaku*); for subjugation (Skt., *ābhicāruka*; Jpn., *gō buku* or *jō buku*); for subordination (Skt., *vaśikaraṇa*; Jpn., *kei ai*); and for acquisition (Skt., *aṅkuśa*; Jpn., *kō shō*). The use of the same ritual for differing purposes is evidenced by this practice. Each of these five kinds of *homa* are interpreted as having both a practical purpose and as conducive to awakening. For example, the *homa* of pacification functions practically to protect the practitioner—or the ritual sponsor—from accidents, disasters, and misfortunes. The esoteric interpretation is that the ritual extinguishes obscurations (Skt., *kleśa*; Jpn., *bonnō*). Indeed, the ideology of esoteric Buddhism presents a view in which there is no real difference between these two effects, based on the equation of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* found in the Madhyamaka tradition. An instance of the practical application of the *homa* of pacification is found at the Shin Daibutsu temple in Mie prefecture, where the ritual is performed for the protection of truck drivers who work in the logging industry.

The contents and organization of many of the rituals of East Asian Buddhism were based on a common set of elements and structures. In China, one of the most widely practiced monastic rites was repentance. Repentance rituals were built up out of a set of common elements. The earliest set of these elements appears in the *triskandha* ritual found in the *Ugra-paripṛcchā Sūtra*, translated into Chinese in the last decades of the second century CE. Typically, the *triskandha* is a three-part ritual involving repentance, rejoicing in the merits of others, and requesting the buddhas to teach. This was not a fixed form, however. In some versions, rejoicing in the merits of others is replaced with committing oneself to changing one's future behavior. Requesting the buddhas to have pity on the practitioner replaces requesting the buddhas to teach. The formulaic character of repentance rites indicates that these are not confessions of particular sins that one has committed, but rather a ritualized repenting of all of the karmic offenses that one may have performed—not only in this lifetime, but indeed in all previous lifetimes throughout beginningless time.

The ritual format of repentance rites expanded over time, coming to include from four to eleven ritual actions, known as "limbs." While there are eleven elements in both the Indian and Chinese forms, differences between the two traditions lead to a total of fourteen. These are making offerings (Skt., *pūja*, *pūjanā*; Chin., *gongyang*), going for refuge (Skt., *śāraṇa-gamana*; Chin., *sangui*), receiving the five precepts (Chin. only, *shou wujie*), relying on the Buddha's path (Skt. only, *mārgāśrayaṇa*), offering praise (Skt., *vandanā*; Chin., *zan fo*), performing veneration through prostrations (considered part of the offerings in Sanskrit; distinguished in Chinese, *li fo*), confessing or repenting (Skt., *pāpa-deśanā*; Chin., *chanhui*), rejoicing in the merits of others (Skt., *punyānumodanā*; Chin., *suixi*), requesting the buddhas to teach (Skt., *adhyeṣanā*; Chin., *quanzhu, qing*), requesting the buddhas to remain in the world (Skt., yācanā, not distinguished from requesting the buddhas to teach in Chinese), sacrificing the self (Skt., *atmatyāga*, *ātmabhāvananiryātana*; Chin., *sheshen*), giving rise to the thought of awakening (Skt., *bodhicittotpāda*; Chin., *fa putixin*), transfering merit (Skt., *pariṇāmanā*; Chin., *huixiang*), and making vows (Skt., *praṇidhāna*; Chin., *fayuan*).

The structure of the *homa* ritual demonstrates another organizing structure. The fundamental ritual metaphor is that of feasting an honored guest, which originates in Vedic ritualism and was adopted into all Tantric traditions. The ritual proceeds through a regular sequence beginning with preparing the site and offerings, inviting the deities into the ritual space, making offerings and ritually identifying with the chief deity, separating from the chief deity and returning the deities to their place in the *maṇḍala*, and finally ending the ritual and opening the ritual space.

CONCLUSION. The range and variety of East Asian Buddhist practice can be exemplified by examination of a specific cult, such as that of Kṣitigarbha, the Earth Treasury *Bodhisattva*. There are three primary axes of this cult: devotional practices, repentance rituals, and funerary rituals. The devotional practices include recitation of the name of the *bodhisattva*, creation of different kinds of representations of the *bodhisattva* and their veneration, and recitation and copying of the *Sūtra of the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha*. Recitation of the name and veneration of the image of Kṣitigarbha seem to have been influenced by the Pure Land tradition's practices. The link between Pure Land and the cult of Kṣitigarbha is indicated by the changes to the standard Amitābha triad of Amitābha Buddha and his two attendant *bodhisattvas*, Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta. In some cases Mahāsthāmaprāpta is replaced by Kṣitigarbha. A variety of repentance rituals focusing on Kṣitigarbha were also written.

The diversity of East Asian Buddhist practices constitute a rich field of study, especially given the difference between these practices and both the intellectual heritage of Western religious studies and the popular representation of Buddhism in the West. The issues raised by the study of East Asian Buddhist practice include the integrity of ritual and meditation, the dynamics of local and translocal practices, the complex relation between practice and ideology, the social dimensions of practice, the multivalence of practice, and the emic categories for types and structures of practice.

SEE ALSO Amitābha; Buddhist Meditation, article on East Asian Buddhist Meditation; Buddhist Religious Year; Nianfo; Priesthood, article on Buddhist Priesthood; Sūtra Literature; Temple, articles on Buddhist Temple Compounds.

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RICHARD K. PAYNE (2005)

WORSHIP AND DEVOTIONAL LIFE: BUDDHIST DEVOTIONAL LIFE IN TIBET

Tibetan Buddhism is a continuation of the form of Buddhism that gradually developed over fifteen hundred years in India. The Indian masters who came to Tibet as missionaries encountered folk traditions and beliefs and either suppressed them or incorporated them, in modified form, into the Buddhist universe. Tibetan Buddhism is therefore a complex and layered set of philosophical concepts, rituals, and local beliefs symbolically represented by a pantheon of deities who are either considered Buddhist or have been integrated into Buddhism. The faith of the people is rooted in the historical presence of the Buddha Śākyamuni, his teachings, and the monastic community (i.e., "the three refuges"). Their faith focuses on the celestial Tantric emanations of Śākyamuni, especially on the "wrathful tutelary deities" and the *bodhisattvas*, in particular Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, Vajrapāṇi, and Tārā in all her forms; these *bodhisattvas* symbolize compassion, knowledge, and power to overcome obstacles. Tibetans also believe in numerous spirits of the land, sky, and underworld. While they consider these spirits to be inferior to the elevated Buddhist pantheon, Tibetans believe that they can have more immediate influence on their daily mundane life than the *bodhisattvas*, and therefore they worship them.

There is a complementarity between the monastics who live in communities and the lay people. According to the Tibetan Buddhist idea of spiritual evolution, merit and wisdom must be gathered for a person to advance towards better rebirths and eventual buddhahood. A lay person mainly concentrates on merit, while also gathering wisdom by supporting the members of the monastic community, who pursue study, reflection, and contemplation in order to gain wisdom. The duty of monastics is to attend to the spiritual aspect of humankind, while lay people provide material support to the religious communities.

Karma, the consequence of the actions of past lives, along with the consequences of this life's actions in a subsequent life, form the theological basis of the people's beliefs. The maintenance of the right attitude and the right mind so as to accumulate merit is the key to a better future life; few people hope to reach the enlightened state, by which they will escape the wheel of reincarnation. Each being has to practice religion in the best way possible at the level reached in this present life. The worship and devotional life of Tibetans reflect these specificities of Tibetan Buddhism.

For most people, including monastics, worship as an individual or a community revolves around thanksgiving and pleasing the deities in order to be safeguarded; worship also involves beliefs concerning protection against evil influences, which can take the form of spirits, and the accumulation of meritorious actions. Most of the devotional life of Tibetans is made up of rituals or actions directed toward these aims.

In monastic communities, besides individual practices, worship takes the form of common daily rituals to the Buddha, *bodhisattvas*, and deities who are specific to each religious tradition within Tibetan Buddhism. The recitation and chanting of prayers accompanied by music is one of the best-known features of Tibetan Buddhism. Certain sequences of prayers and gestures form a liturgy, also called ritual, which can be performed for different purposes and be more or less elaborated. Sacrificial cakes (*gtor ma*) made of cereals and butter are erected and offered to deities by the monastics. Each deity has a specific sacrificial cake. Sand *maṇḍalas*, which take days to make according to a prescribed text, are sometimes offered and then destroyed at the end of the ritual, demonstrating the impermanence of all things. Monastics have other important ceremonies as well: rituals of ordination (for novices and fully ordained monks), monthly rituals of purification, summertime rituals of retreat, and rituals of accession to higher ranks and offices within the monastic hierarchy.

Lay people visit temples on auspicious days to offer butter lamps and incense sticks, and to prostrate in front of the deities, asking for their blessings. They can also offer tea or make any other kind of offering to the whole monastic community, actions that will bring them merit. Out of devotion, lay people often use all their extra earnings to make religious contributions towards new statues or paintings in a temple, or toward building a Buddhist memorial *mchod rten* (chorten, in Sanskrit, stupa), or to go on pilgrimage. These actions are believed to not only add merit to a person's *karma*, but also to increase positive influences for the whole community and beyond to all sentient beings. Collective or individual practices are based on the same belief. Devotional actions are not only meant for oneself but for humankind, and they take different forms.

Nyung gnas (*nyungne*, prayer and fasting), which can last for several days, is practiced mainly by groups of village women and nuns for the benefit of all. *Dbyar gnas* (*yarne*) is the summer retreat made by monastic communities after the model of Buddha's life. The *Phyag 'bum* (*cha bum,* 100,000 prostrations) are also performed by individuals as a spiritual and devotional exercise that should be done once in a lifetime; it is very strenuous and usually takes three months to complete. A person performing a large number of prostrations can wear a leather apron and gloves, especially during pilgrimages.

Recitation of formulas called *mantras*, which are dedicated to a single deity, is performed with a 108-bead rosary or a prayer wheel and is the most common and ubiquitous form of worship. The two main formulas are *oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*, the six-syllable *mantra* of Avalokiteśvara, the *bodhisattva* of compassion, who can release sentient beings from the six realms of rebirth, and *oṃ vajra gurū siddhi hūṃ*, the *mantra* of Padmasambhava, whom Tibetans call Gurū Rinpoche. Women have a special devotion for Tārā, the savior and female aspect of Avalokiteśvara, and they recite her *mantra* as protection. These *mantras* can be recited whenever people have free time and while traveling. Elderly people devote most of their time to recitations for their own accumulation of merit, as well as for the merit of all sentient beings. Collective 100,000 recitations are also organized by monastic communities.

Circumambulations around holy places are the third most popular form of devotion, following prostration and recitation; all three are often combined. The holy place could be a monastery, a temple, a *mchod rten* (Buddhist memorial), even a whole city like Lhasa or a mountain like Kailash in Western Tibet. Buddhists perform their circumambulation with the holy place on the right-hand side (Bonpos keep it on the left-hand side). The manner of performing circumambulation is left to each person's initiative; the practice may be performed daily or on auspicious days, and may include fast walking and half or complete prostrations individually or in a group.

The cult of relics is another manifestation of worship in Tibetan Buddhism. Miraculous imprints of parts of the body of a saint are found in rocks, and people touch them with their forehead in order to attain blessings. Bones found after the cremation of high lamas and even mummies are enshrined in *mchod rten* and are objects of great veneration and a source of blessings. One impressive example is the temple containing the reliquary *mchod rten* of the Dalai Lamas in the Potala in Lhasa. Tibetans, in an uninterrupted flow, pass in front of them, touch them with their forehead, burn incense sticks, and pour butter and oil into the butter lamps. This manifestation of faith is all the more poignant now that the Potala is officially a museum and people have to move very quickly through the temple. In addition, designated holes and passages in rocks at "power places" are associated with a means to purify oneself from sins. They are matrices symbolizing rebirth to a new life.

All these devotional manifestations find their apex in pilgrimages. During pilgrimages, monastics and lay people alike combine all of them. This is probably one reason why pilgrimages are so highly regarded in Tibetan Buddhism. They often represent a lifelong dream, the realization of which demands financial investment and hardship for most people. But these material conditions make the pilgrimage even more meritorious, and the devotion shown by pilgrims amply demonstrates the total spiritual fulfillment of this act.

Holy cities like Lhasa, monasteries like Bsam yas (Samye), and sacred mountains like Gang Tise (Kailash), A myes ma chen (Amnye Machen) in northeastern Tibet, and Tsa ri (Tsari) in southeastern Tibet are the most rewarding in terms of blessings and merit. But people also make pilgrimages to sites that are not far from their region, and some pilgrimage destinations are purely local. Travel to a distant pilgrimage site, which can take weeks to reach, is usually organized by a group of villagers headed by a monk. With the assistance of a religious guidebook, the monk points out the important places en route and explains their symbolic meaning. The skor ra (kora), or circumambulation of a mountain (mountains are considered the abode of a manifestation of the Buddha), can take several days.

Only the most determined do the full prostration all the way; helped by a friend, they may live off alms on a physically exhausting but spiritually fulfilling journey. Today in Lhasa one can still meet such leather-clad pilgrims who have prostrated all the way from their home regions to the holy city, continuing their devotion through the fumes and the noise of the traffic. The pilgrim is oblivious to the ugly aspects of the modern city and sees only the holy places. India and its historical Buddhist sites, such as Bodh Gayā, are the ultimate pilgrimage destinations for Tibetan Buddhists.

One of the strongest aspects of Tibetan devotional life is the veneration in which high incarnate lamas (addressed as *rinpoche*, "precious jewel") are held. Such a lama is a *sprul sku (tulku),* which, in Tibetan, means a body of incarnation, implying that he is a human embodiment, a quintessential representative, of the Buddha or a *bodhisattva,* or the present form of a saint. The Dalai Lama is the best known of such high lamas: he is the incarnation of the *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara, the all compassionate, and the Buddhist protector of Tibet. However, there are hundreds of incarnate lamas. Some are the embodiment of a long lineage of past lamas, some are more reputed for their spiritual achievement and teachings than others, but all command a veneration that is difficult to describe in rational terms. Being in their presence, listening to their teaching, and getting blessed by them are among the greatest benedictions a devotee can hope for. This explains the gathering of thousands of people who come from all over the world when one of these high incarnates gives a public initiation. It also explains the blessing on the head given by the touch of a lama's photograph.

According to Tibetan Buddhism, rites fall into four main categories: (1) pacification rites (to pacify, bless, and heal); (2) augmentative rites (to increase lifespan and good luck, and to generate bounty and wealth); (3) empowering rites (to enhance control of divine and human individual and social forces, and to tame and discipline); and (4) wrathful rites (to protect against evil and remove obstacles; exceptionally, these rites may involve the taking of sentient life). This four-fold philosophical categorization of rites is understood by most educated monks, but common people often do not perceive the rites in this way. They see rites as a means to remedy a particular situation.

An important aspect of devotional life is made up of rituals performed at home. Each house has an altar room or, in the case of very poor people, a corner devoted to religious activities. Monastics, or simply religious practitioners in some areas, are called into a family's house and stay there for one or several days, depending on the length of the ritual they have been asked to perform. The reading of a specific text, often a version of the *Prajñāpāramitā* in 100,000 verses (*'bum*) or 8,000 verses (*brgyad stong pa*) is done, if possible, once a year in each household to insure blessings to the family. On a grander scale, a noble family can ask for the reading of the 120 volumes of the Bka' 'gyur (*Kanjur)*, considered to be in the Tibetan Buddhist canon the words of the Buddha. There are religious communities that specialize in reading the scriptures.

Other rituals have different purposes, and they usually involve lengthy preparations in the making of sacrificial cakes, effigies, or thread crosses, and the gathering of special ingredients and vessels. A ritual has more value if it is presided over by a reincarnate lama. The purpose of these rituals is to cleanse the house after a birth or a death; to ensure the prosperity of the family, the harvest, and the cattle; to ward off evil spirits who have caused sickness or misfortune; to call back prosperity and fortune or *g-yang* (*yang*); to protect members of the family while they travel; or to redeem sins. It may be in the rituals that the assimilation of pre-Buddhist or non-Buddhist beliefs into Buddhism is most obvious. The best example might be the state oracle ceremony, still performed today. During every New Year festival, the oracle monk of Gnas chung (Nechung) monastery, next to 'Bras spung (Drepung) near Lhasa and now rebuilt at Dharamsala in India, dressed in ceremonial garments and crowned by heavy headgear, is brought before the Dalai Lama in public. While in a trance, possessed by the deity Rdo rje drag ldan (Dorje Dragden), he blesses the state and the people and shoots a symbolic arrow at the heart of the scapegoat effigy in which all the evil of the previous year is magically entrapped. The effigy is then burned in a bonfire. In coded language, the oracle monk provides information to the state, responds to questions, and gives warnings of impending dangers.

Many rituals that Tibetans perform as part of their devotional life find their origins in the pre-Buddhist religion, commonly called Bon. Once a year, community rituals dedicated to the local guardian deity of the territory are performed; these involve the burning of incense and juniper, as well as the erecting of prayer flags near the abode of the deity, usually on a mountain. The burning of juniper, called *bsangs* *(sang)*, is also done daily by each family in order to please the local deity. This does not prevent Buddhist prayers being said every morning in the family altar room, where butter lamps and water bowls are placed as offerings to the Buddha and *bodhisattvas*.

The great capacity of Tibetans to assimilate or maintain, side by side, different beliefs in a religion called Tibetan Buddhism has led to a rich devotional life that is supported by an unwavering faith in meritorious acts and compassionate beings.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, article on Buddhism in Tibet; Buddhism, Schools of, articles on Early Doctrinal Schools of Buddhism, Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism; Maṇḍalas, article on Buddhist Maṇḍalas; Tibetan Religions, overview article.

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FRANÇOISE POMMARET (2005)

WORSHIP AND DEVOTIONAL LIFE: DAOIST DEVOTIONAL LIFE

The Chinese have traditionally rendered a cult to a vast array of spiritual beings that includes, in addition to their own ancestors, great heroes of the past, spirits of place, and the souls of the unfortunate dead. Every geographical unit had its own god of the soil; every social grouping has its patron deity and temple. There were gods who judged the souls of the dead and gods who kept watch on the conduct of the living; there were gods of healing and gods who spread epidemics. Even the latrine, as a distinct place, had its guardian spirit.

Chinese popular religion is essentially concerned with the cultivation of the good graces of these spirits, most of whom are at once potentially harmful and potentially beneficial. Their cults represent alliances or covenants between the worshipers and the worshiped: in exchange for the protection and assistance of the spiritual potentate, the faithful render it a cult. It is a reciprocal relationship, with obligations on both sides. These features of the religion of the people also characterize state-sponsored religion from very early times, as may be seen in the third-century BCE descriptions of the gods of the realms' mountains and rivers in the *Shanhai jing* (Classic of mountains and seas): sovereignty over a given territory required knowing the nature of the local gods and making the prescribed sacrifices to them.

Daoism, by contrast, is the cult of the Dao ("way"); it denies neither the existence of the gods nor the legitimacy of the cults rendered them. It simply accords them an insignificant place in the world of the Dao. "In a world governed according to the Way," says Laozi (fourth century BCE), "spirits are impotent, or rather, it is not that they are impotent, but that they have no power to harm people."

Unlike the gods of the popular pantheon, the Dao "gives life yet lays no claim, is generous but exacts no gratitude" (*Laozi* 2); it "clothes and feeds the myriad creatures but does not lord it over them" (*Laozi* 34). The natural model for this "highest good" is water. "Because water excels in benefiting the myriad creatures without contending with them and collects in a place ordinary people despise, it comes close to the Way" (*Laozi* 8). "Greatly virtuous behavior," therefore, "consists in following the Way" (*Laozi* 21), and the Daoist is simply one who, because he "acts in accord with the Dao, is like the Dao" (*Laozi* 23).

A book of philosophical maxims, the *Laozi* says nothing of the practices that most probably lie behind Laozi's principles. Recent studies of hitherto neglected texts, such as the *Neiye* ("inward training"), said to date to about the same time as the *Laozi,* have helped to fill this gap by showing that meditation practices were already highly developed at that time. The discovery in tombs dating to the early imperial period (early second century BCE) of medical texts and texts of macrobiotic hygiene has also opened up new perspectives on what some now call "proto-Daoism." These new sources show that the human body was already then understood as a kind of microcosm, subject to the same rules of order and disorder as the macrocosm. In both worlds, the normal circulation of *qi* (breath, vapor, energy) was seen as essential to health, and techniques were therefore proposed for ensuring and improving this circulation. Prominent among these techniques were breath and sexual cultivation.

The *Liexian zhuan* (Biographies of the immortals), a second-century collection of seventy hagiographic sketches, gives a good idea both of the range of these practices and of their social function. All the practices focus on the human body, which is conceived of as a kind of "energy bank" whose original capital can either be spent—the result is death—or "nourished" and so augmented until one obtains immortality. Adepts "nourished their energy" (*yang qi*) with a great variety of natural products thought to be particularly potent. The most remarkable of these products is without doubt the "essence of the mysterious female," obtained by means of the "arts of the bedroom." But most of the products were of either a plant or mineral variety: roots, thistles, chrysanthemums, pine seeds, mica, and cinnabar are among those mentioned. Inasmuch as most of these products could be found only by patient searching in uninhabited regions, the future immortals (*xian*) appear as solitary individuals who, having learned the techniques of searching and use from a master, disappear into the mountainous wilds or the "Far West" and are never seen again. But some return on occasion to cure people or save them from a natural disaster.

One Cui Wen Zi, for example, after having lived for a long time in obscurity at the foot of Mount Tai—also called the Eastern Peak and considered to be the dwelling place of the souls of the dead—returns one day to human society to sell his "yellow potions and red pills." When later a great epidemic breaks out and the deaths number in the tens of thousands, the civil authorities come to Cui begging him to save the people. Carrying a red banner in one hand and his yellow potion in the other, Cui goes from house to house, and all who drink his potion are saved.

Cui later goes off to Sichuan in western China to sell his pills. Although no cult is established in his honor, many of the immortals do become cult objects. Huang Yuanqui, a Daoist (*daoshi*) who descends occasionally from his mountain to sell drugs, comes to be worshiped because he saves the local people from an earthquake by giving them advance warning of its imminence. A female Daoist (*daoren*) by the name of Changrong likewise becomes the object of a cult when, over a period of two hundred years, she wins fame by giving away to widows and orphans all the money she makes selling a special plant from her mountain as a dye. Another mountain-dwelling Daoist first appears to give one Shantu a recipe or an herbal drug that not only heals his wounds but also completely satisfies his hunger. When Shantu returns to become his disciple, the Daoist reveals himself to be an "angel of the Five Peaks," that is, one of the divine messengers of the five sacred mountains of China.

HEAVENLY MASTER DAOISM. If most of the immortals of the *Biographies* were hermits of the distant past, the second century CE also witnessed the appearance of the first mass movements in Daoism. The most important proved to be that of the Way of the Heavenly Masters (*Tianshi dao*), which has survived to the present. Sometime in the middle of the second century—the traditional date is 142 CE—Zhang Daoling, on the basis of a revelation received from the Most High Lord Lao (the religious title of the philosopher Laozi), founded a "church" composed of twenty-four "governances" (*zhi*). The twenty-four governances on earth corresponded to twenty-four energies in heaven, and the term therefore implied that the world of the Heavenly Masters was "governed" according to the same principles as heaven.

Behind this program for an orderly world lay a detailed cosmology. The Dao was conceived of as a giant body containing three pure energies in a chaotic state. Over time, these energies separated out to form a three-layered universe composed of the heavens above, the earth beneath, and the waters under the earth. Each of these three layers spread out to the "eight confines," that is, the four directions plus the four corners. The twenty-four governances are the replica of these twenty-four regions of the universe; both are expressions of the twenty-four celestial energies, each of which is dominant in turn for fifteen days each year: 24 x 15 = 360.

The new religion was called the *zhengyi mengwei dao* ("way of the alliance of the orthodox one with the gods"). The Orthodox One was the "unique energy" of Lord Lao—his revelation—communicated to Zhang Daoling. The gods were taken over from the popular pantheon, but they included only the gods who assisted in governing the universe, that is, the gods of the hearth and of the soil, who reported at regular intervals to heaven on the conduct of the family or the community of which they had charge. In addition, there were the Four Generals, who "hold the year-star in place," that is, regulate time, and the Three Officers, who control the Three Realms of heaven, earth, and the waters. Explicitly excluded from this pantheon were the souls of the dead, which played so large a part in popular religion. They were considered "stale energies" that needed to be recycled, and whose worship, as it retarded their recycling and so contravened the natural order, could only cause harm to the living.

The Three Officers were particularly important because they were cosmic inspector gods. It was to them that ill adepts had therefore to address documents of confession, for all illness was considered to be the result of sin. Each of the Three Officers governed a portion of time, as well as a portion of space. Every year, at the beginning of their respective reigns, assemblies of the gods were held to bring the registers of merit and demerit of all beings up to date. On those days, called the days of the Three Assemblies, the Daoist faithful gathered for communal rituals and meals called *zhai* or *chu*. The word *chu* means "kitchen" and therefore refers primarily to the communal meal. The word *zhai* came to mean "vegetarian meal," in part because Daoist meals did not involve animal sacrifices like the meals associated with popular cults; however, its basic meaning is "to equalize," in the sense of "to compose oneself" in preparation for an important encounter, especially with the gods. The term "merit meals" was also used because, as with the meals in the popular cults, the food eaten was first offered to the gods. It was thus consecrated food that brought merit and blessing to its partaker.

The days of the Three Assemblies were also the occasions for bringing the registers of the faithful up to date. This was the job of the *jijiu* (libationers), as the heads, male or female, of the twenty-four governances were called. Everyone in his or her governance, layperson or priest, had a register that corresponded to his or her level of initiation. The texts concerning these registers are unfortunately late (sixth to eighth century) and contradictory, but we can deduce from them that the faithful were organized in a military hierarchy, conceived, no doubt, on the model of the heavenly host that was holding its assembly at the same time.

According to some texts, the body of the Dao—the universe—contains a grand total of 36,000 energies. The bodies of earth dwellers, however, contain only half that number, and adepts must, therefore, learn how to recognize the energies within their bodies so as to "hold them in place" and attract their 18,000 celestial counterparts to come and "attach themselves" to them. This latter term indicates how Daoism borrowed the practices of popular cults and rationalized them by making them controlled techniques in the context of a complete cosmological system, because it is the same term used to describe the phenomenon of possession—the god "attaches himself" to the medium—on which many popular cults are based.

The expedition of petitions was also a characteristic feature of Heavenly Master Daoism. One surviving collection lists the names of some three hundred such texts, together with the offerings that were to accompany them. The petitions are confessions of sin, statements of merit obtained by the performance of a given ritual, and prayers for children, for long life, and for deliverance from every imaginable kind of difficulty (drought, locusts, rats, tigers, sorcery, epidemics, etc.). The offerings invariably include rice, silk, money, incense, oil, and the paper, brushes, and ink needed to write the petition. The generic term for such offerings came to be *jiao,* a word that originally referred to the ceremonial offerings made in connection with a marriage or with male puberty rites. What distinguished such an offering from other offerings was that it was not performed "in response" to someone or "in exchange" for something. It was, in that sense, a gratuitous act, as opposed to an act of gratitude.

Jiao offerings of this kind remain to the present day the one truly distinguishing feature of Daoism in general. Nowadays, in addition to rice, they include tea, fruits, wine, precious objects, candles, even the texts used during the rituals. They are called "pure offerings" in order to distinguish them from the offerings of popular religion, which still include meat, either cooked or raw. These two different types of offering show better than anything else the real differences between the alliances of ordinary people with their gods and the Alliance of the Orthodox One with the Powers: ordinary alliances are "deals" between nonequals, and the offerings are often described quite frankly as "payoffs," such as one would make to a local hoodlum or mandarin. At the same time, such an alliance has nothing permanent about it: it can be broken by either of the contracting parties for "breach of contract."

The Alliance of the Orthodox One with the Powers, being based on the structure of the universe itself, cannot be broken; it can only be recognized. Ritual action that is in accord with this structure automatically brings a response of "merit," for like is attracted to like. Adherents of the Alliance, therefore, must transcend the expectations of reciprocity and mutual obligation that normally determine social and spiritual relations and take responsibility for their own destiny. They must learn to become, like a king, "solitary, single" (*Laozi* 42). All of this is expressed in the "pure offering," an offering that is pure because it includes no blood sacrifices, but also because it expresses the pure intentions of the participants in the offering. It is these pure intentions that will ineluctably attract to the participants the pure energies that bring fortune, health, and salvation. The *jiao* offering continues to celebrate, thus, both a marriage and a coming of age.

In addition to the vast range of rituals performed, either on the occasion of set feast days or at moments of crisis, Heavenly Master Daoism involved private practices. Recitation of sacred texts (of the *Laozi* in the first place, but also of rhymed verses describing the spirits inside the body) was one of them. By recitation, the adept assimilated the text and thereby gained mastery over the spirits described in it. Cycles of recitation imitated the gestational cycles in the body of the Dao, and mastery over the energies within attracted their counterparts without.

Great emphasis was also placed on moral behavior, and each step up in the hierarchy of registers brought with it an increase in the number of commandments to be observed

(180 for libationers). The basic idea of these many commandments was to preserve and nourish the pure energies within rather than squandering them on the outside in the pursuit of pleasure. Because infractions of the commandments were thought to lead to illness, rituals of confession were from the very beginning a central part of the movement. In the "vegetarian vigils" *(zhai)* that became characteristic of Daoism from the mid-fifth century on, partly under Buddhist influence, litanies of confession came to play a major role in all Daoist liturgies.

INDIVIDUAL PRACTICES. The rise of communal Daoism did not put an end to the kinds of individual practice alluded to in the *Biographies of the Immortals.* Beginning in the fifth century, individual eremetism gradually gave way to monastic communities called *guan.* The word means "to observe" or "to visualize"; it refers especially to the "inner vision." Such inner vision being the fruit of individual practice, the constitution of "hermitages" clearly did not put an end to the individual practice of the arts of immortality. These arts included techniques of visualization, breath control and circulation, gymnastics, special diets, intercourse, and alchemy. Early forms of external alchemy involved a fairly broad range of minerals and metals, with cinnabar and lead being central to the process. Later forms used lead and mercury. Internal alchemical methods ranged from the relatively empirical, scarcely distinguishable from the more ordinary techniques of breath circulation, to the extremely abstract and symbolic, virtually indistinguishable from traditional cosmological speculation. What these various techniques and recipes shared was a common symbolic and cosmological framework and the fact that they were transmitted from master to disciple in separate lineages.

Breathing techniques included purely internal methods such as embryonic breathing and circulating the energy while ceasing to breathe. Other methods involved the absorption of outside energies followed by the wedding of these energies to their internal counterparts. Such techniques were usually practiced at times determined by the system of symbolic correspondences. Absorption of the energies of the five directions, for example, was linked to the cycle of the sun, whereas that of the energies of the sun and the moon was linked to the phases of the moon. The adept was to inhale the energies of the four directions on the first and central days of the corresponding season (the "eight segmental days" [*ba jie ri*] because they divided the year into eight equal segments) and those of the center on a day in the sixth month when the central element, earth, was dominant.

The adept who practiced the "method [*dao*] of the absorption of the essences of the sun and the moon" did so on set days on each month: on days 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, and 15. At daybreak, according to the fourth-century *Tai-shang lingbao wufu xu* (Preface to the five symbols, potent treasure of the most high), the adept would face the sun, close his eyes, and visualize a small boy, dressed in red, inside his heart. He would massage himself with both hands from his face to his chest twelve times; then,

> the yellow energies of the true red of the solar essence come before his eyes. They enter his mouth, and he swallows them eighteen times, sending them downward with a massaging movement. He prays, "Original Yang of the Solar Lord, join your power to mine so that together we may nourish the young boy in my Scarlet Palace." After a moment, he visualizes [the energies] going down to the crucible [*dan tian,* in the depths of the belly], where they stop. This leads to eternal life. (*Tai-shang lingbao wufu xu* 1.19a)

From very early times, imaginative visualization played a central role in the Daoist's search for transcendence. In the *Laozi zhongjing* (second century CE), for example, the adept learns to visualize a whole series of gods, from the Supreme Great One above his head to the spirit of his feet. Inside his body, at each of several levels and with constantly shifting names, he visualizes a kind of holy family composed of a Mother of the Dao and Father of the Dao, together with their infant Real Person. The resultant familiarity with the divine forces of his body becomes vital to survival during a three-day retreat at the time of the autumn equinox, when celestial gods come to inspect the human world: by "holding these forces in his mind's eye" (*cun*), he prevents them from leaving his body. Having thus preserved all his own energies, the adept ultimately succeeds in attracting their celestial counterparts and thereby achieves immortality.

The visualizations in the eleventh-century *Lingbao bifa* are very different, focused not on individual gods but on metaphorical representations of the energies of the viscera that combine in an extraordinary variety of ways. After a first cycle of visualizations concentrated within the trunk of the body, a second cycle expands to include the head. In the third and final cycle the adept achieves complete unity of concentration and energy. This enables him to make, cautiously at first, journeys of the mind outside the body and, finally, complete liberation.

A similar process of interiorization occurs in the rituals of communal Daoism, partly as a result of Tantric influence. The esoteric aspects of rituals for presenting memorials, for example—the hand gestures, the dance steps, the visualizations—become ever more important and complex. In extreme cases the external, written memorial disappears altogether. Perhaps most remarkable of all is the appearance, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, of rituals of "universal salvation" (*pudu*) performed by individual laypeople in the quiet of their own meditation rooms. Down to the present day the ritual of universal salvation is normally the most public, not to say noisy, of all rituals.

It is probably also during the Song dynasty that communal Daoism of the kind described above died out. (It seems to have survived only among the Yao tribes of southern China, Thailand, and Laos into the twentieth century.) Lay initiation disappeared, and the priest became a ritual specialist serving a community that had by and large ceased to understand the nature of the rituals for which it still felt a need. The result was not only an increase of ritual secrecy and esoterism, but also a proliferation of rituals. (Urbanization and mercantilization of the economy were also factors in this.) One of the most interesting cases of a new ritual is that of the posthumous ordination of laymen. People became thereby in the next life what they had ceased to be in this life, members of a Daoist community. The religious affiliation of common people in this life tended now only to be with the temples and gods of the very popular religion Daoism had originally set out to combat and replace. Daoism was on its way to becoming what it is in modern times, the servant of the religion of the people, called on primarily to perform offerings that legitimize the gods of the people by showing them how the order of the Dao works, and integrating them thereby into that order.

SEE ALSO Alchemy, article on Chinese Alchemy; Daoism, overview article; Jiao; Priesthood, article on Daoist Priesthood; Xian; Zhenren.

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JOHN LAGERWEY (1987 AND 2005)

WOVOKA (c. 1856/8–1932), Paiute religious prophet and messiah of the Ghost Dance of 1890; also called Jack Wilson by white settlers. Although he often referred to himself as Kwohitsauq ("big rumbling belly"), after his paternal grandfather, he was given the name Wovoka (or Wuvoka, "cutter") by his father, Tävibo ("white man"), who was reported to have trained his son in Paiute shamanistic practices. Tävibo had been an active participant in the 1870 Ghost Dance led by the Paiute shaman-prophet Wodziwob. Central tenets of this earlier Ghost Dance were related to the later teachings of Wovoka, which in turn led to the Ghost Dance movement of 1890. Among these earlier revelations was the prediction of the return of the ancestral dead. This imminent return was to be assisted through the practice of a round dance, which would also effect an earthly cataclysm and so result in the removal of white men.

In addition to Paiute shamanic practices and the Ghost Dance of 1870, Wovoka was influenced by his contact with Skokomish Shakers, Mormons, and other Christians. The Puget Sound Shaker religion of the Skokomish leader Squsacht-un (called John Slocum by whites) was primarily concerned with healing. It combined native shamanistic and Christian religious practices. These Shakers produced twitching-ecstasies and trances that sometimes lasted for days. Wovoka's later teachings were also similar to Mormon doctrines regarding the rejuvenation of the American Indians, the radical transformations in the earth's terrain, and the return of the Messiah. Moreover, Paul Bailey indicates in his biography of Wovoka (1957) that the famous Plains Ghost Dance shirt bears a resemblance to Mormon holy garments. Finally, after his father died, Wovoka was hired by a white family named Wilson. This position brought him into close contact with Presbyterian Christianity, which involved Bible reading, moral exhortations, and pietistic stories about Jesus.

Around 1888 Wovoka is reported to have undergone his first deathlike trance-journey to heaven. From this point his teachings were derived from conversations with the ghosts of the dead. Wovoka's oral revelations were associated with the ritual performance of the round dance, which promoted moral and spiritual renewal. His teachings were transmitted by means of a syncretic mythology and dramatized through the skillful use of his personal power symbols.

Wovoka's foremost revelations came in a deathlike coma experienced while he was suffering from scarlet fever during the solar eclipse of 1889. During this trance-coma Wovoka related that he saw God on a transformed earth where Indians and game animals abounded. Wovoka's messages increasingly focused on the presence of the Messiah, a role he himself gradually assumed. His mythology centered on the imminent revival of deceased Indians, who would be reunited with their living kin in an earthly paradise. His description of the fate of whites varied. He predicted that they would be either swept away by the cataclysm or amalgamated into the restored humanity. Many of these doctrines, such as the transformed earth, were more fully explicated by Wovoka's disciples, who disseminated the Ghost Dance in the years following 1889.

The later Ghost Dance, similar to that of the Ghost Dance of 1870, was a kind of round dance that lasted for five nights. Men and women, their fingers intertwined, shuffled sideways around a fire, dancing to the songs that Wovoka received from the dead. While the Paiute participants themselves did not go into a trance, Wovoka did occasionally journey in a trance state to the ghosts, who assured him that Jesus was already on the earth with the dead, moving about as in a cloud. Moreover, along with their remonstrations against lying, drinking, and fighting, the dead said that Indians should work for the whites and have no more trouble with them.

Wovoka's personal power-symbols were typical of native shamanic practices. Along with his sombrero he used eagle, magpie, and crow feathers and red ocher paint from the traditional Paiute holy mountain (now called Mount Grant). As with so many visionary symbol systems, their meaning is not fully known, but Wovoka often incorporated these symbols into his teaching so as to foster belief in his messianic role among his followers.

Wovoka went somewhat into hiding when news of the Wounded Knee massacre of 1890 reached him. He vigorously condemned the misunderstanding of his teachings, especially as reflected in the Lakota armed resistance. He also denied any influence in the development of the Ghost Dance shirts. He later reemerged as the continuing leader of the much diminished Ghost Dance. He readjusted his predictions of imminent earthly transformation, explaining that Indian ritual and ethical behavior had not conformed properly to his visions. Wovoka died on September 20, 1932, in Schurz, Nevada; his death was preceded a month earlier by that of his wife, Mary, his companion for over fifty years.

More is known of Wovoka than of other similar religious figures, but he can be seen as part of a larger revivalistic movement of the period. Various tribal groups, caught in the death throes of their traditional cultures and the inescapable morass of governmental reservation policy, responded to Wovoka's revelations from a variety of motivations that mediated between their present distress and their future hopes. Wovoka's injunctions against warfare, immoral behavior, and some traditional medicine practices enabled many who participated in the Ghost Dance to begin the psychic transitions needed to respond to the changing circumstances of life. Most important in this connection was Wovoka's orientation away from exclusive tribal recognition toward a pan-Indian identity.

SEE ALSO Ghost Dance; North American Indian Religions, article on New Religious Movements.

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JOHN A. GRIM (1987)

WRITING, SACRED See CALLIGRAPHY; SCRIPTURE

WUNDT, WILHELM (1832–1920), German physiologist, philosopher, and psychologist, was best known as the founder of experimental psychology. Born the son of a Lutheran pastor, near Mannheim, Wundt studied at Tübingen, Heidelberg, and Berlin, took his Ph.D. and M.D. degrees at Heidelberg, and taught at the universities of Heidelberg, Zurich, and Leipzig. Early in his teaching career at Heidelberg he wrote *Beiträge zur Theorie der Sinneswahrnehmung* (1858–1862), considered to be the first treatment of psychology as an experimental science, and *Vorlesungen über die Menschen- und Tierseele* (1863). Perhaps his most important work for psychology was *Grundzüge der physiologischen Psychologie* (1874), in which he advocated investigating the immediate experiences of consciousness using a method of introspection. In 1874 he was made professor of inductive philosophy at Zurich. In the following year, he accepted a professorship at Leipzig, where in 1879 he founded what is generally regarded as the world's first psychological laboratory. In 1881 he founded a journal of psychology, *Philosophische Studien,* which primarily published the results of research conducted at his Leipzig institute and which helped to establish experimental psychology as a separate discipline.

During his long career at Leipzig, Wundt's most important works were *Grundriss der Psychologie* (1896) and his *Völkerpsychologie* (10 vols., 1900–1920). These two works represent diverse streams that Wundt held together: his interest in physiological psychology and his more philosophical approach to the analysis of ethnic groups. For him, they were not so disparate; he considered psychology the science that could study the phenomena of human consciousness in both its individual and its group manifestations. In his *Völkerpsychologie* Wundt considered an immense amount of anthropological data. He viewed religion, myth, morality, art, and language as phenomena of long duration and therefore as constituting a psychic reality distinct from individual consciousness. Wundt discerned a "folk soul," which for him was not a substance but rather a psychic actuality that could be studied. The idea of a collective unconscious was quite foreign to Wundt, who rejected any idea of the unconscious, advising his students that its study by psychology was a mistake. Wundt focused instead on the objective forms of language, morality, and religion. Nevertheless, his earlier association studies anticipated and inspired the work of his student, Emil Kraepelin, in psychopathology, and stimulated the development of the association test used by C. G. Jung and his associates in Zurich.

Although social psychologists (except possibly for those in Germany during the Nazi period) have rejected any notion of a folk soul and have operated from premises different from those established by Wundt, social psychology has continued the study of the objective forms of religion in society.

Wundt's interests in the universality of mythological motifs and the nature of the language of religion have been taken up by students in the fields of history of religions (although the evolutionary approach implicit in Wundt's more philosophical works has been rejected) and psychology of religion, especially from Freudian and Jungian perspectives.

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WALLACE B. CLIFT (1987)
Revised Bibliography

WYCLIF, JOHN (1330?–1384), English scholastic theologian, trenchant critic of abuses in the church, and promoter of a vernacular translation of the Bible. Wyclif was the most learned man of his generation in England. The rigor of his scholastic logic and, in his last years, his appeal to scripture as the sole authority for the church's life, led him into heresies. During his time and to this day, he has had both sympathetic admirers and caustic critics. Nonetheless, the real, human Wyclif remains an enigma. We know little about him except that he led an austere life marked by tireless study, lecturing, and writing.

Nothing certain is known about Wyclif's family or its resources. John Wyclif (or Wycliffe) was born near Richmond in North Riding, Yorkshire. At an early age he entered Balliol College, Oxford, and then served as its regent master from 1360 to 1361. The date of his ordination is unrecorded. Later he resided at Queen's College, where he studied for and received his bachelor of divinity degree (1369) and his doctor of divinity degree (1372). Early connections with Merton College and Canterbury Hall are disputed.

University scholars without means of their own were dependent upon "provisions to livings" of parishes or prebends and canonries in collegiate churches or cathedrals. From this income they were expected to pay vicars for service during their absence. Wyclif was no exception. In 1361 Balliol gave him its choicest living at Fillingham, Lincolnshire. The following year he received from Pope Urban V a prebend at Aust in the collegiate church of Westbury-on-Trym near Bristol, but he neither resided there nor ever provided a vicar. In 1368 Wyclif exchanged Fillingham for Ludgershall, a less lucrative living in Buckinghamshire, because it was nearer to Oxford. He left this in 1374 for a royal provision at Lutterworth, Leicestershire. There he spent the last three years of his life. He died on December 31, 1384, after a massive paralytic stroke.

In philosophy Wyclif was a realist and in theology an advocate of Augustine's doctrines of predestination and grace. Only in the mid-1370s did he come into prominence outside Oxford for his views on *dominium* (lordship and ownership). Between 1376 and 1379 he published successively *On Divine Lordship, On Civil Lordship, On the Duty of the King,* and *On the Church.* In these treatises Wyclif argues that only God is the true Lord and owner of his whole creation. Whatever authority and property human beings possess they have from God, to whom they owe faithful service. Only the predestined have any right to them, but, like Augustine, Wyclif believed that no one could know who was and who was not among the elect. Hence one should suffer patiently under unjust and greedy masters until they repent or are removed and dispossessed.

Both estates of the realm, civil and ecclesiastical, should be under the authority of the king in all temporal matters. The ecclesiastical estate (including theologians) is of greater dignity because it is called to serve in spiritual teaching and guidance. It should be stripped of all temporal possessions, except what was necessary for food, clothing, and lodging, and no clergy should hold any civil office. The king should remove all unworthy clergy. All ecclesiastics, from the pope on down, should live in poverty as Peter and the other apostles did.

Although Wyclif's views were largely theoretical and not altogether unprecedented, they were noticed by Edward, Prince of Wales (the "Black Prince," 1330–1376), and his younger brother John of Gaunt (1340–1399), who became duke of Lancaster in 1362. The two virtually ruled England during the declining years of Edward III (1312–1377) and probably saw in Wyclif a front for their aim to plunder the church's wealth. In February 1377, Wyclif was summoned before the bishops at Saint Paul's, London, to answer for his views. He arrived accompanied by four friar doctors of theology and by John of Gaunt with some of his supporters. At once a bitter altercation broke out between Gaunt and Bishop William Courtenay of London, and the duke's party with Wyclif left before Wyclif could be heard or condemned.

In May, Gregory XI sent bulls to England denouncing nineteen propositions from Wyclif's writings and asking for a thorough investigation and Wyclif's arrest. Before the bulls arrived, however, ten-year-old Richard II had become king, and nothing became of the pope's directives. The archbishop of Canterbury, Simon of Sudbury, asked the faculty at Oxford to give an opinion on the propositions. They were unanimous in stating that some of them "sounded ill" but that they "were all the same true." In March, Wyclif appeared before Sudbury and Courtenay at Lambeth, just as a message arrived from the king's mother forbidding them to pass judgment on Wyclif. A mob broke into the meeting, and the bishops concluded the meeting by merely enjoining Wyclif from publicly disputing and preaching about his controverted views.

If Wyclif's mouth was shut for a time, his pen was not stilled. In 1378 he wrote *On the Truth of Holy Scripture,* in which he affirms that the Bible taken literally is the sole law of the church and that a translation without interpretation is needed so that the humblest person can learn from it. The treatise *On the Eucharist* (1379) cost him much support. In it he denies the dogma of transubstantiation: it is unscriptural, unknown in the church before the twelfth century, idolatrous, and contrary to his realist position that no substance can be changed into another substance. Yet he affirms the real presence of Christ's body and blood sacramentally in bread and wine. His last major work, the *Trialogus* (1382), gives a summary of his views.

Wyclif's enemies blamed him for the Peasants' Revolt in 1381, but there is no evidence to support the connection. After Archbishop Sudbury's murder during the rebellion, Courtenay succeeded to the primacy (1382–1396), determined to root out Wyclif's teachings at Oxford. In May 1382 he presented twenty-four propositions from Wyclif's writings to a council of bishops and theologians in London. Ten were voted heretical, the others erroneous. Leading Oxford supporters of Wyclif were summoned to appear and persuaded to recant. In November, Courtenay held the Convocation of Canterbury at Oxford, where all doctors, masters, and bachelors made their submission.

Yet Courtenay never moved against Wyclif personally. Wyclif had retired to Lutterworth in 1381 and suffered his first stroke in 1382. In his last years Wyclif may have supervised the translation of the Latin Vulgate Bible and the training of "poor preachers," cleric and lay (the Lollards), to spread the gospel, but his personal involvement has been disputed. The translation has come down in two principal versions, a literal version and a later, more idiomatic English version.

The marriage of Richard II to Anne of Bohemia (1382) brought several leaders of the Czech reform movement to England who took many of Wyclif's writings back home. Jan Hus, the principal champion of that movement, admired Wyclif and quoted extensively from his writings, but he used them with care, especially those on the Eucharist. The Council of Constance in 1415 burned Hus as a "Wycliffite" heretic and ordered that Wyclif's remains be exhumed and burned. Bishop Richard Fleming of Lincoln did this in 1428 and cast the ashes into the Swift River.

The extent of Wyclif's influence on the sixteenth-century Reformation is open to debate. Luther knew of him through Hus's writings. In England, Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury (1533–1556), owned a copy of the *Trialogus* printed at Basel in 1525. Yet references to Wyclif, always with approval, are scanty in his writings. Cranmer's views on the Eucharist were similar to Wyclif's, and he too worked for an English translation of the Bible. He would have supported the reform of the church by the king, but not its disendowment and reduction to apostolic poverty.

After Elizabeth I's settlement of the church in 1559, Wyclif became a hero and a martyr to those who dissented from it. Yet even they, contrary to Wyclif, would have had the church the dominant power in the kingdom. Wyclif's importance lies partly in his influence on Jan Hus, but even more in his propagation of reformed principles.

SEE ALSO Cranmer, Thomas; Hus, Jan.

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Massey H. Shepherd, Jr. (1987)

X–Y

XAVIER, FRANCIS (1506–1552), cofounder of the Roman Catholic Society of Jesus (the Jesuits), missionary, and saint. Francisco de Jassu y Xavier was born in the family castle in the kingdom of Navarre (now northern Spain), the fifth and youngest child of noble, wealthy, and pious Catholic parents. His early education took place at home and under the tutelage of local priests. In 1525 the keen, ambitious student left home permanently, bound for Paris. A handsome, slender, athletic youth, about five feet four inches tall, he was noted then, as throughout his life, for his cheerful and vivacious personality. At the University of Paris, Xavier gained a master of arts degree in philosophy in 1530, taught this subject for several years (1530–1534), and then studied theology until 1536.

During his years at the university, Ignatius Loyola, a fellow student since 1528, became an increasingly important influence on Xavier, and by 1533 Xavier had become one of his disciples. In 1534 Xavier made the Spiritual Exercises under the direction of Ignatius and on August 15 he joined Ignatius and five other students in a chapel in Montmartre, a district of Paris, where all of them vowed to lead lives of apostolic poverty, to labor for the salvation of their neighbors, to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and to place their services at the disposition of the pope. Together with three other students who joined the group when it renewed its vows a year later, these men were the ten founders of the Society of Jesus.

Beginning the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Xavier left Paris in November 1536 with eight of his companions and, traveling by foot, reached Venice nearly two months later. Ignatius met them there. In Venice, Xavier, along with Ignatius and four other companions, was ordained a priest in June 1537. War with the Turks ruled out a voyage across the Mediterranean to Palestine, so in 1538 Xavier went to Rome and there shared in the discussions that led to the founding of the Society of Jesus. Until his departure from Rome in 1540, he served as secretary of the new religious order.

When the pious King John III of Portugal put out a call for missionaries, especially for the care of recently converted Paravas (Bhavatas) in southern India, Xavier left Rome

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Clockwise from top left corner. Scupture of a *yakṣa* at the Great Stupa at Sāñcī, India. *[©Charles & Josette Lenars/Corbis]*; Detail of a nineteenth-century Chinese ceramic plate with the yin-yang symbol. *[©Werner Forman/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Postclassic Mixtec sculpture in gold of Xiuhtecuhtli, the fire god. Museo Nacional de Antropologia, Mexico City. *[©Werner Forman/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Eighteenth-century Tibetan bronze of Yama, the Lord of Death. *[©Werner Forman/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Nineteenth-century Yoruba wood carvings commemorating the death of twins. Nigeria. *[©Werner Forman/Art Resource, N.Y.]* .

for Portugal, traveling overland to Lisbon in the entourage of the Portuguese ambassador. While awaiting the annual departure of the India fleet, Xavier performed various priestly tasks in the city and at the royal court. His ship set sail in April 1541, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and wintered in Mozambique, where Xavier's two Jesuit colleagues remained. After further stops at Melinde (Malindi, in modern-day Kenya) and the island of Socotra (off the coast of modern-day Somalia, where Xavier had to be dissuaded from remaining), the voyage ended in May 1542 in Goa, a district on the west coast of India and the main Portuguese center in that country.

Until the end of the rainy season in September, Xavier ministered to the Portuguese and native Christians in Goa. Accompanied by three native helpers, he then sailed to the southern tip of the continent. For the next three years his apostolate was centered in Malabar and Travancore, the coastal regions northwest of Cape Comorin; in the regions northeast of the cape as far as São Thomé (modern-day Madras); and on the neighboring island of Ceylon. Much of his ministry consisted of instructing the thousands of Parava pearl divers and fishermen who had been converted to Roman Catholicism around 1535 but whose religious knowledge remained minimal. Spectacular numbers of conversions were made: Xavier reported baptizing over ten thousand villagers in Travancore in one month.

In September 1545 Xavier sailed from São Thomé to Malacca, a Portuguese settlement on the Malay Peninsula; then to the Moluccas, or Spice Islands, in the East Indies, where his main concern was the native Christians, left without clergy in the Portuguese centers of Amboina and Ternate; and then as far north as the Moro Islands. He returned to Malacca in June 1547 and to Goa in March 1548. After further work along the Fishery Coast he returned to Goa once again. In April 1549 he set sail with three Japanese converts and two fellow Jesuits to inaugurate the Christian mission in Japan. When he departed from Japan for Goa twenty-seven months later, he left behind some two thousand converts. Hoping to initiate a Christian mission to China, he took ship from Goa in April 1552, but he was not allowed to disembark on the Chinese mainland. After three months of fruitless waiting on the desolate island of Sancian (near Canton), he died on December 3 following a brief illness. His incorrupt body was taken in 1554 to Goa, where it is still enshrined and greatly venerated.

Xavier is ranked among the greatest missionaries in Christian history. His numerous far-ranging journeys were not those of a spiritual adventurer, restlessly seeking new fields to conquer. He served not only as missionary but also as apostolic nuncio and Jesuit superior, with the duty of investigating mission possibilities in areas then little known to Europeans. He was both a pioneer and organizer of the Jesuit missions in the Far East, intent on obtaining suitably trained European co-workers. He was eager to supply mission stations with churches, schools, and personnel and to be kept informed about them. Both his actions and his writings show practicality, prudence, and sound spirituality. His success was promoted also by his exemplary apostolic zeal, his personal holiness, and his ability to mix easily with persons of all classes, races, and beliefs. In addition, he was a man much devoted to prayer, a mystic. Unlimited confidence in God, his most basic spiritual trait, freed him from discouragement in the face of obstacles and reverses. These characteristics, together with his reputation as a wonder-worker, led Christians, Muslims, and pagans alike to refer to him as "the holy father," and "the great father." Since his death, he has been venerated as the ideal missionary and, as such, has inspired thousands to devote their lives to spreading the gospel far afield. In 1622 he was canonized, and in 1927 he was designated by Pius XI as patron of all missions. His annual liturgical feast is celebrated on December 3.

SEE ALSO Jesuits.

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JOHN F. BRODERICK (1987)

XENOPHANES (c. 580–470 BCE), Ionian poet, satirist, philosopher, and theologian, was born in Colophon, a wealthy city of Ionia under the influence of the Lydian kingdom. Because of Persians' invasion of the city, he had to flee to South Italy. He spent much of his life wandering through Sicily and Greece until he joined a Phokaian colony sent to Elea in Lucania, and he taught there, founding the Eleatic school. His pupil Parmenides was the founder of Western metaphysics. A friend of Empedocles, Xenophanes attacked

Pythagoras and was attacked by Heraclitus. He has been considered both an amateur thinker and "a paradigm of the [pre-Socratic] genius" (Barnes, 1982, p. 82). In fact, he was a significant thinker and an innovator in many fields of research, such as natural sciences, morality, and gnosiology. His approach to the problems of human knowledge is so particular (and somewhat contradictory) that he can be defined as a sceptic, an empiricist, a rationalist, a fallibilist, a critical philosopher—or, more accurately, a natural epistemologist. A precise definition of his epistemological attitude clearly influences any evaluation of his theology (see fragment 34: "No man has seen, or ever will see, the exact truth about the gods").

As a religious thinker, Xenophanes has been identified as the founder of the Greek enlightenment, prior to Heraclitus and Hecataeus. From the complex of his polymath oeuvre (of which only 43 fragments and 52 controversial *testimonia* have been preserved) he emerges as a critical thinker, sceptical about any claims to knowledge in religious matters. As a consequence of the elusiveness and versatility of his thought in these matters, an ample variety of opinions has risen about his religious positions. If one emphasizes single facets of his teaching, it is possible to consider him a traditional polytheist, a revolutionary monotheist, a pantheist, or even an atheist or precursor of negative theology. What is clear is that with him there emerged in Greece the first form of scientific inquiry into indigenous and alien religious realities.

Xenophanes' first concern was God and the divine. He wrote: "One god is greatest among gods and men" (fragment 23). This does not mean that he was a monotheist. The fragments warrant attributing to Xenophanes the novel idea of a single god of unusual power (*henotheism*), but not the stronger view that beyond this one god there could be nothing else worthy of the name. God is a body (testimonium 28), spherical in form, being alike and perceptive in all his parts (testimonia 1, 28, 33, and 34) and in a way coextensive with the whole universe (testimonium 31), and identical with the One (testimonia 30, 34 and 35). God is ungenerated and eternal (testimonia 28 and 31), motionless (fragment 26), and at the same time "shaking all things by the thought of his mind" (fragment 25). Apparently, this view anticipates Anaxagoras's Nous (intellect, mind—the intellectual principle that is separate from the mass that it governs), which is the ultimate source of movement, and the Aristotelian doctrine of the prime unmoved mover. Xenophanes was the first to regard the soul *(psuchē)* as "breath" (*pneuma*), that is, moving air, full of vital energy (testimonium 1). His concept of time is cyclic: there is an unlimited number of worlds existing successively without overlapping one another, and a new generation begins again after each cosmic catastrophe (testimonia 1, 33, and 37)—the first manifestation of the doctrine of the Eternal Recurrence, later adopted by the Pythagoreans, the Stoics, and Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900). Earth (Gaia) is the root and the ultimate destination of all things (fragments 27, 28, 29, 33)—perhaps a survival of ancient pre-Olympian religiosity.

From the theological reflection combined with the scientific speculation, Xenophanes moved to scathing criticisms of the most objectionable aspects of Greek religion. He attacked poets (including Homer and Hesiod) for saying false and immoral things about the gods in their tales of divine warfare with Titans, giants, and centaurs (fragment 1); as well as in their attributions to the gods of things that are matters of reproach even among men—theft, adultery, and mutual deceit (fragments 11 and 12). Further, he repudiated the whole enterprise of divination through natural signs (testimonium 52) and the connected popular belief in the godship of celestial bodies (fragment 32 and testimonia 32 and 38–46). Subjects of stern rebuke are also the contemporary outbreaks of ecstatic religion such as the naturalism of the Bacchic cult (fragment 17) and the Pythagorean belief in the reincarnation of the human soul in any animal form (fragment 7). Had Xenophanes limited himself to these assertions, he would have emerged only as an innovative theologian, albeit one less insightful and less audacious than his near contemporary and fellow Ionian, Heraclitus of Ephesus. Nor would he have found a place among the pioneers of the comparative study of religion. As can be inferred from Aristotle's and Plutarch's testimonies (testimonium 13), the Ionian thinker perceived a marked affinity between the cult of the Greek Leucothea, worshipped with funeral dirges (*threnoi*) although considered a deity (ergo, immortal for the Greeks), and the cult of the Egyptian Osiris, who was ritually mourned by his worshippers (as befitted a dead god) but was at the same time honored as a very high-ranking god. Thus, Xenophanes seems to have virtually highlighted—two and a half millennia before James Frazer (1854–1941)—the typological category of the dying/rising gods present on both sides of the Mediterranean. This ability for critical perception, which earned Xenophanes the mantle of "precursor of comparative ethnology" (Pettazzoni, 1954, p. 134), is certainly connected with his experience as an Ionian citizen who since birth had been familiar with the beliefs and customs of the other peoples of Anatolia: the Lydians, the Carians, and the Median-Persian invaders. Xenophanes could autoptically realize that the routes through which humans (and, by paradoxical analogy, the other animals) reach the representation of the divine are numberless. Starting with his criticism of the anthropomorphism typical of the Greek conception of divinity (fragment 14), Xenophanes came to make two famous assessments: "The Ethiopians say that their gods are snub-nosed and black, the Thracians that theirs are blue-eyed and red-haired"(fragment 16); and "But if horses or oxen or lions had hands or could draw with their hands and do the works that men can do, horses would draw the forms of the gods like horses, and oxen like oxen, and they would make their bodies such as they each had themselves"(fragment 15). This can be viewed as the first application of a comparative perspective to the study of religion.

SEE ALSO Atheism; Images; Knowledge and Ignorance; Monotheism; Parmenides; Plato; Pythagoras; Sociology; Stoicism; Transmigration.

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GIOVANNI CASADIO (2005)

XIAN. Usually written using the characters for "man" and for "mountain," the character for *xian* is said originally to have been composed of those for "man" and for "ascend." An early dictionary explains that it refers to those who, "when they grow old, do not die." *Xian* means "to move into the mountains"; that is why it is written with the character for "man" next to that for "mountain." Together, these etymologies circumscribe a field of meaning that links the search for survival beyond death to mountains and to the heavens—a range that quite accurately reflects both the practice and the status of *xian* throughout Chinese history. It also explains why the term is translated in English either as "immortal" or "transcendent."

The *xian* is in the first place a human being. But unlike ordinary human beings who die and become ancestors (or roving ghosts), the *xian* survives beyond death and becomes, as a result, the focus of tales and even of worship. The earliest images of these extraordinary beings date to the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) and sometimes portray them with wings, a feature expressed in later texts that refer to them as *yuren*, or "feathered humans" (this term is also a synonym for Daoists). One of the earliest tales describes them as living on distant, perhaps imaginary isles in the sea off the eastern coast of China. The First Emperor (r. 221–206 BCE), having heard of them and being desirous of surviving beyond death like them, dispatched three thousand lads and lasses to find them, but the ships never returned, and rumor had it, in later times, that they had found and populated what is now known as Japan.

Other early tales recount the earthly lives of future *xian*. Not surprisingly, many of them were indeed mountain-dwellers: people who had left their homes and families to become hermits and devote themselves to the search for survival. They went to the mountains not only to find the necessary solitude, but also because they could find there the herbs and minerals they needed to secure, at the very least, longevity. *Xian* who had lived several centuries became a standard trope in hagiographies, as were the capacity to foresee the future, ubiquity, and "ascension to the heavens in broad daylight."

Of the seventy immortals whose legends are recounted in the earliest collection, the *Liexian zhuan* (Biographies of the immortals; second century CE), over twenty may be classified as gods. Some, such as Chisongzi (Red Pine), the Master of Rain, are known to have been the focus of official worship, but most are worshiped as local saints. A woman by the name of Changrong, for example, is said to have been a "person of the Dao" living on Mount Chang. For over two hundred years she was seen coming and going, "and her complexion was that of a twenty-year-old." For generations, she sold plants used for dyeing and gave the money thus earned to widows and orphans. "Thousands worshiped her." Hanzi, a lover of dogs, was led by one into a cave where he discovered a magic world of palaces, forests, and immortals guarding the gates. He also encountered his dead wife, who urged him to join her. A year later he did so, and from then on only left the mountain on occasion "to succor his lineage. The people of Shu built a temple for him at the mouth of the cave. Over several thousand *li* in the southwest, people worship him."

The immortals of the *Liexian zhuan* are prescient, and this enables them to save local populations from floods by giving advance warning. Others provide drugs that save people from epidemics. Of some it is said simply that they disappear without a trace, of others that their corpse disappears and only a sacred writ or some clothing are found in the grave, of still others that people catch a glimpse of them now and again over decades or centuries.

Immortals are usually thought of as a quintessentially Daoist category, a classification that is probably legitimate in modern times, when the Eight Immortals with their drunken whimsicality and endearingly unorthodox behavior come to be almost synonymous with Daoism, at least in the popular mind. A Daoist work of the Yuan, the *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (Comprehensive mirror of the real persons and immortals who have embodied the Dao through the ages) by Zhou Daoyi (fl. 1294–1307), would seem to confirm this Daoist identity by linking *xian* and *zhen*, immortals and real persons, to the idea of "embodying the Dao." In fact, the term *zhen* has an even longer pre-Daoist history than *xian*. At the time of the compilation of the *Liexian zhuan*, Daoism did not yet exist as a self-conscious religious movement or institution, and only two or three of its *xian* were explicitly said to have been "people of the Dao" while alive. A good number of the immortals in the *Liexian zhuan* turn up again in two works of the fourth century: the *Sou Shen Ji* (In search of the gods) of Gan Bao (b. 280) and the *Shenxian zhuan* (Biographies of the gods and immortals) of Ge Hong (283–343). While Ge Hong's work is generally classified as Daoist, that of Gan Bao is not: it is said to belong to the category mirabilia. Classifications aside, what the titles of their texts confirm is that *xian* and *zhen*, immortals and gods, were not hermetically sealed categories. *Xian*, insofar as they do constitute a distinct type of divine entity, should probably be distinguished from *zuxian*, or ancestors: both once lived on earth, and both continue to interact with humans after their death (both are also referred to as *shen*, "gods"). But in the case of ancestors, this interaction occurs primarily, though not exclusively, within the lineage, while in the case of immortals, virtually all links with lineage are severed: they belong to and embody the Dao; that is, they "live as long as Heaven and Earth."

SEE ALSO Daoism, overview article and article on The Daoist Religious Community.

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JOHN LAGERWEY (2005)

XIAO.

For the three thousand years of China's recorded history, *xiao* (filial piety) has been the cornerstone of Chinese religious, social, and ethical life. According to China's oldest dictionary, *xiao* simply means "to serve one's parents well." This concept's unchanging spirit has been that one surrenders pleasures and even necessities to ensure the happiness of one's parents. Within the family, this moral value has subordinated the young to the old and the individual to the collective. Since Confucianism maintained that the ruler-subject relationship was merely an extension of that between parent and child, within the larger community, *xiao* has produced loyal and obedient citizens. Due to its overwhelming importance, each of China's great religious traditions—Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism—appropriated and popularized its understanding of it. Moreover, *xiao*'s appeal extended well beyond China to all of East Asia.

Although long a salient feature of Chinese society, *xiao*'s meanings and requirements have undergone much change. Around the year 1000 BCE, *xiao* probably originated as a form of sacrifice given to the powerful dead, which included one's ancestors, in-laws, and allies. Soon its focus narrowed to service to one's senior patrilineal kin, both living and dead. By the fifth century BCE, Confucians began to remold filial practices into specific ceremonial forms, which their ritual codes spelled out in great detail. Through daily morning and evening audiences, sons and daughters (in-law) were supposed to nourish their parents, obey their instructions, anticipate their wishes, and ensure their comfort. This service did not end with death; rather, it intensified. For three years, a son or daughter was supposed to serve the parents' spirits through ascetic mourning rituals: he or she should dress in rough hemp clothes, live in a hut near the parent's tomb, and forego meat, alcohol, music, and sex. After the conclusion of these rites, he or she continued to serve the dead by preserving the patrimony and producing heirs—acts that ensured that the ancestral sacrifices would be ceaseless. During the third century BCE, most notably in the *Xiao jing* (Classic of filial piety), a short work that almost every imperial dynasty promoted, Confucians assimilated *xiao* to the lord-retainer tie. They argued that, since in a larger sense a ruler parents his people through the care he lavishes on them, a retainer should serve his ruler as he would his father. Hence, by definition, a filial child should also be a loyal subject.

After China's unification in 221 BCE, imperial governments found *xiao*'s hierarchy-affirming message to be irresistible; consequently, dynasty after dynasty lavished awards on outstanding filial children. The Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) even selected its officials on the basis of their reputation for filiality. By the fourth century, each officially sanctioned dynastic history devoted a chapter to the previous era's filial paragons. By the Tang (618–907), unfilial behavior, such as failing to sufficiently nourish one's parents or marrying while mourning them, became punishable by law. Buddhists, too, discovered that to appeal to Chinese sensibilities they had to emphasize filial piety; thus, they stressed that their religion best served one's parents because it saved them from the torments of purgatory and delivered them to Buddhist heavens. Daoists likewise insisted that mastery of the immortality arts would not only secure salvation for oneself, but also for seven generations of one's ancestors.

By the late imperial period (960–1911), the overwhelming emphasis placed on filial piety led to increasingly extreme manifestations of it. Inspired by Buddhist tales of self-sacrifice, filial children would slice off part of their flesh and feed it to their parents to cure them of incurable diseases. Moreover, although classical texts stressed the need for filial children to remonstrate with their errant parents, late imperial filial piety emphasized the inviolable obedience owed to parents and discounted the possibility that they could ever be wrong. At the same time, filial directives increasingly fell upon women in their role as daughter-in-law. Hence, women were credited with increasingly extreme and self-destructive forms of filiality. In the twentieth century it is precisely this fanaticism that lead intellectuals such as Lu Xun (1881–1936) to condemn filial piety (and Confucianism, which it exemplified) as an impediment to modernization and westernization.

SEE ALSO Chinese Religion, overview article.

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XIAO BAOZHEN (d. 1166 CE), Daoist master of the Jin period and founder of the Taiyi sect of Daoism. A native of Ji prefecture (present-day Henan province), he was also called Yuan Sheng. Neither his occupation before becoming a Daoist master nor the training he undertook to that end is known. During the Tianjuan period (1138–1140) of Emperor Xizong's reign, Xiao established the Taiyi sect in Ji prefecture. Of the three new Daoist sects established in the northern reaches of the Jin kingdom (Quanzhen, Zhenda, and Taiyi), Taiyi was the most similar in character to existing Daoist teachings. Its practices centered on the talisman called Taiyi Sanyuan that had allegedly been transmitted to Xiao from an immortal. Although the contents of the talisman are not known, it is clear that the sect placed great importance on talismans and incantations. Because of Xiao's ability to relieve people's suffering, disperse evil spirits, and cure illnesses, he gradually attracted many disciples and succeeded in establishing the Taiyi sect. As Xiao's teachings became a source of salvation for people wracked by the social unrest of the time, his sect's power grew apace. Hearing of his growing reputation, Emperor Xizong invited him to the court during the eighth year of his reign (1148). While at court, Xiao demonstrated his spiritual prowess by curing a sick person. Deeply impressed, the emperor presented Xiao with a name plaque inscribed "Taiyi wanshou gong," the name he bestowed on Xiao's Daoist temple in Ji prefecture, thereby indicating official recognition and patronage of Xiao's sect. Xizong is also said to have been converted to Taiyi Daoism by Xiao.

Although part of Xiao's teachings centered on the use of talismans, he did not adopt elixirs of immortality or other elements of the immortality cult. Instead, he upheld the "middle way," forbidding the drinking of intoxicants and the consumption of the five pungent substances. He also forbade priests to marry. It is clear that the rules of conduct that he taught were strict and aimed at transforming Daoist speculative theories into a disciplined monastic practice. He also required that successive head priests of his school take his own name. Unfortunately, many elements of his life remain unclear.

SEE ALSO Daoism, overview article and article on the Daoist Religious Community.

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XINXING (540–594), Chinese Buddhist monk and founder of the Sanjie Jiao, or Three Stages sect. A native of Henan Province, Xinxing entered the religious life at an early age and eventually took full monastic orders *(upasampadā)* at the Fazang Si near the city of Ye, the capital of the Northern Qi dynasty and a thriving center of Buddhist learning. With the eclipse of the Northern Qi by the Northern Zhou dynasty and the initiation, in the year 574, of a vigorous proscription of Buddhism by the new government, Xinxing renounced his vows and lived as a common laborer. It was during this period that he formulated the religious doctrines that would form the basis for the Sanjie Jiao.

The foundation of Xinxing's thought was the conviction, common to many segments of the Buddhist community during the latter half of the sixth century, that the Buddha's teachings had recently entered a period of degeneration and decline foretold in several Buddhist scriptures. This period, known as *mofa*, or the Latter Days of the Law, was believed to be one in which the spiritual capacities of sentient beings would be so far diminished as to render them incapable of observing the Vinaya or of distinguishing good from evil and truth from falsehood. Because it was an age far removed from that of Śākyamuni (fifteen hundred years from the date of his *parinirvāṇa* by the reckoning of many of Xinxing's contemporaries), sentient beings were deemed no longer subject to his guidance and unable even to practice Buddhism as it had traditionally been taught, let alone to attain enlightenment. Adherents of this doctrine believed that *mofa* would last for ten thousand years, at the end of which time the teachings of Śākyamuni would disappear from this world.

Against this starkly eschatological background, Xinxing argued for a reappraisal of contemporary Buddhist practice, one that would bring it into conformity with the greatly altered historical conditions prevailing during the *mofa.* He believed that it was only when religious practices matched the capacities of sentient beings and the historical conditions under which they lived that genuine enlightenment was possible. Unlike thinkers of the Pure Land tradition, who saw in the onset of *mofa* the need to replace the traditional range of Buddhist practices with a single, "easy," discipline, the worship of the Buddha Amitābha, Xinxing claimed that the practice most appropriate to the *mofa* age was a radical recognition of the Buddhahood inherent in *all* sentient beings. Calling his teaching that of the Universal Dharma *(pufa),* Xinxing advocated rigorous moral training to combat the degeneracy of the age and a catholic embracement of "all Buddhas and all *dharma*s," predicated upon the underlying Buddha nature in all things. Members of his school were thus conspicuous for the public obeisance they made to others as a recognition of their potential Buddhahood, and for their strong emphasis on charitable activities. The sect came to receive lavish donations and eventually instituted *wujin zangyuan* ("inexhaustible treasuries") as a means of dispensing its charities to the needy and to the *saṃgha.*

With the reunification of the empire under the Sui (589), Xinxing was summoned to Chang'an by the emperor Wen (581–604). At the suggestion of one of his ministers, five temples were built in the capital for followers of the sect, thus providing an institutional base around which the sect flourished for the next decade. During this brief period of official favor and patronage Xinxing produced many of his most important works, including the *Sanjie fofa* and the *Duigen qixin fa.* In all, his works are believed to comprise at least forty fascicles, some of which were only recovered in this century among the documents unearthed at Dunhuang.

In the year 600, the Three Stages sect suffered the first in a series of proscriptions. The enormous wealth of the sect, its essentially negative assessment of the moral condition of society, and its contention that human institutions, particularly governments, were incapable of conferring any lasting spiritual benefits, made it a conspicuous target for the civil authorities. Throughout the Tang dynasty the sect suffered numerous attempts to seize its wealth and outlaw its writings, until it finally succumbed under the general suppression of Buddhism in the year 845.

SEE ALSO Mappō.

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XI WANG MU, whose name is usually rendered as "queen mother of the west," appeared in the earliest stages of Chinese mythology and was a focus of intense religious devotion during the first few centuries of the present era. It is possible that she is mentioned in the oracle bone inscriptions of about 1500 BCE, but she appears with more certainty in the *Zhuangzi* (fourth century BCE) and later writings. Xi Wang Mu is described as one who had "attained the Dao," but nothing is known of her beginning or her end; she was said to dwell in the never-never land of the far west. In some sources she is described as a being of hybrid form. Usually her realm is pictured at the summit of a mountain called Kunlun, but there are also references to a cave residence. She is said to possess certain magical powers and to live in material splendor, surrounded by rare jewels. She may be accompanied by spirits, also of hybrid form, and Kunlun is sometimes described as a being protected by encircling waters, or as beyond human reach.

The queen was also credited with various cosmic powers. She may have controlled certain constellations, and she may have been able to maintain or to disrupt the rhythms that kept the universe in operation. She is also believed to have held the secret of the elixir of immortality, which she made available to suppliants in the form of a potion.

These characteristics feature in several versions of a Chinese myth relating a meeting between partners. According to one version, in order to keep the cosmic rhythms in motion it was necessary for two stars (who were otherwise separated by the Milky Way) to meet annually at a crucial point during the summer. The same theme is seen in accounts of meetings held during the summer between the Queen Mother of the West and various earthly monarchs. Sometimes the queen is described as receiving a king in her own abode; sometimes she travels to earth in all her glory to meet a king or emperor in his realm. The purpose of these ceremonial meetings was to enable the human partner to obtain the drug of immortality. In another version the queen is partnered by a mythical consort known as the King Father of the East.

According to several accounts, a soteriological movement that centered on the invocation of the queen swept through wide areas of northern China in 3 BCE. Descriptions of this movement refer to such practices as the exchange of tokens or talismans, the performance of religious services, and singing or dancing, as well as a certain amount of permissive or unrestrained behavior. The purpose of these gatherings was to prepare for the arrival of the queen and to convey or to acquire the promise of deathlessness. But it was not until the middle of the first century CE that the queen began increasingly to be associated with immortality.

Early Chinese notions of an afterlife had envisaged a “paradise of the east” situated in islands such as Penglai. In addition to the attempts made by talismanic means to guide the souls of the deceased to paradise by way of those islands, considerable effort was stimulated by a completely different notion, one that sprang from intellectual rather than religious motives. It was hoped that the provision of symbolic objects of a different sort, notably a particular type of bronze mirror, would set a deceased person within the most favorable cosmic circumstances. By this means a correspondence would be forged between the individual’s personal circumstances of life and death and the eternal cyclical movements of heaven and earth. But from perhaps the middle of the second century BCE emphasis was being directed to the acquisition of immortality through the agency of the Queen Mother of the West, in one of two ways. Either she might be induced to provide the elixir that would ensure continuity of life on earth, or the soul might journey to the land where the queen presided, a realm populated by mythical beings who took part in a superhuman existence.

The custom of burying talismans to ensure the happiness of the deceased was established in China long before the first century CE, but from this time on the Queen Mother of the West appears repeatedly in funerary iconography. Her attributes, as shown on stone reliefs, frescoes (rarely), and bronze mirrors, include a characteristic headdress or crown and sometimes a throne, composed of part dragon and part tiger, on which she is seated in majesty. She is accompanied by one or more hares who are engaged in compounding the elixir, a three-legged bird (sometimes three separate birds), and a nine-tailed fox, all of whom have special duties and properties. She may be attended by an armed guardian. Sometimes suppliants are shown beside the queen, praying for the drug or drinking a dose in a cup. In a few instances she is portrayed at the top of a pillar that is virtually inaccessible to man; rarely, her partner is shown beside her, similarly enthroned.

In time the symbolic power of this type of iconography weakened, so that the details that originally possessed talismanic significance were reduced to decorative motifs and reproduced inaccurately. At the same time it is likely that the queen’s religious significance and her popularity began to decline as Buddhist influence began to grow in China, beginning perhaps in the third century CE. Traces of Buddhist characteristics can be seen in versions of the myth of the queen that appeared from the third century CE. This shift in emphasis culminates in the well-known account of a banquet given by the queen during which Monkey steals the peaches of immortality from her table. Monkey’s subsequent punishment and adventures are all placed within a Buddhist context.

SEE ALSO Afterlife, article on Chinese Concepts; Chinese Religion, article on Mythic Themes.

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XUANZANG (596?–664), religious name of the Chinese pilgrim-monk who became a leading cleric of the early Tang dynasty after returning from an eighteen-year journey to the homeland of Buddhism in India. Famous in his own day as a Buddhist scholar and adviser to the emperor, Xuanzang eventually came to be best known as the historical prototype for the legendary Tripiṭaka, Master of the Three Collections of the Buddhist Dharma, whose mythical adventures with his companion, the supernatural monkey king Sun Wukong, are elaborated in the great sixteenth-century Chinese folk epic, the *Xiyou ji* (Journey to the West).

Born into a family of relatively important government officials and court scholars under the Sui dynasty (581–618), Xuanzang grew up during a period of great turmoil and transition, a time that saw the reunification of the Chinese empire after almost three centuries of division. With the encouragement perhaps of his father, he decided early to follow the example of an elder brother in pursuing a monastic career. The young monk is depicted as a precocious, even impetuous student, one who diligently sought out the best scholars of the realm, only to decide while still in his twenties that he had already exhausted the resources available to him in China. To truly master the Buddhist teaching, he felt, he would have to travel to the source of the tradition, to the Ganges River valley, thousands of miles away across some of the most inhospitable terrain in Asia.

In 627 Xuanzang set out on his pilgrimage, surreptitiously crossing the western frontier of China after failing to secure the official bureaucratic approval he had sought. After an arduous journey across mountain and desert with several long sojourns at the oases of Central Asia, he finally reached India two years later, there slowly to make his way to the various sites associated with the career of the Buddha and also to spend a number of years studying with Buddhist teachers, including the aged Yogācāra master Śīlabhadra at the great university-monastery of Nālandā. We are told that the gifted Chinese monk mastered the intricacies of Buddhist philosophy, both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, while also pursuing studies in the standard curriculum of the day: Vedic literature, logic, grammar, medicine, and mathematics. Excelling at philosophical debate, an important spectator sport in the prosperous urban centers, Xuanzang's fame increased steadily. He was chosen to represent Nālandā in important contests, and in 642, fourteen years after leaving China, he was summoned to the court of King Harṭa, a patron of the arts and ruler of most of northern India. With the generous patronage of Harṭa, which ensured his victory at a royal debate held in Kanauj later that year, Xuanzang reached the apogee of his career in India and began to make plans for a return to China.

After traveling for more than a year, Xuanzang arrived back in China in 645 bringing an extensive collection of Buddhist texts and artifacts. The new Tang dynasty was a powerful and recently consolidated regime ready to initiate an expansionist policy in the west, a campaign that would eventually extend China's frontier across much of the very terrain that Xuanzang had come to know so well. The emperor Taizong was quick to recognize the strategic military value of his extensive knowledge of the geography, customs, and politics of the many kingdoms to the west, but Xuanzang politely declined to return to lay life in order to serve as a court official. The monk did agree, however, to record his knowledge in a long and detailed travelogue, the *Da Tang xiyu ji* (Record of western realms), a document that remains one of the best historical sources for Central and South Asia during this period. In recognition of his unique knowledge, Xuanzang was received as a national hero and eventually installed as the director of a lavishly funded translation project that greatly expanded the Chinese Buddhist canon.

Taizong's imperial patronage gave Xuanzang a position of great prestige and power within the Chinese Buddhist establishment of Chang'an. As a Buddhist philosopher and scholar, he is probably best characterized as a radical conservative. The radical aspect of his character was evident already in the restlessness of his youth, in the dissatisfaction with the state of Chinese Buddhism that inspired his long pilgrimage to India. His primary concern was to preserve faithfully the roots of the tradition, and he had little interest in the new, more indigenous Chinese Buddhist thought that was being formulated in the late sixth century. It was surely no accident that once in India he allied himself with the most conservative faction of Mahāyāna thought then current, the scholastic Yogācāra doctrine represented by Śīlabhadra, a school that was vigorously resisting the innovations of *tathāgata-garbha* thought and Tantric practice. The Yogācāra thought he followed sought to revitalize the old Abhidharma program of systematic soteriology, undertaken anew in light of the Mahayana concept of emptiness (*śūnyatā*). His respect for older Buddhist traditions is demonstrated further by his devotion to the Maitreya cult and by the conspicuous absence of any reference to the increasingly popular Amitābha cult in his travelogue and his biographies.

In spite of his prestige, Xuanzang's best efforts to restore a more Indian style of scholastic Buddhism in China were swept away by the new schools of Chinese Buddhism, schools that better addressed the Chinese philosophical problematic. Court patronage proved fickle, the influence of his disciples waned quickly, and in the end his teaching survived as a distinct lineage only in Japan, where it was known as the Hossō school. Modern scholars have gained an invaluable picture of early India through Xuanzang's prodigious efforts. Yet it is not as scholar or philosopher that he is most venerated within the tradition. For East Asian Buddhists, Xuanzang came to epitomize the sincerely devout and pious pilgrim, the itinerant seeker ever in arduous pursuit of ultimate enlightenment.

SEE ALSO Kuiji; Yogācāra.

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XUNZI (“Master Xun”) was, after Confucius and Mencius (Mengzi), the third great Ru or “Confucian” of the classical period of Chinese thought. Despite conflicting and fragmentary evidence regarding his exact dates, Xunzi appears to have lived from approximately 310 to 220 BCE, through the climax of the Warring States period of Chinese history. This was a time of social turmoil and terrible interstate warfare, culminating in 221 BCE with the annexation of all the original “central states” of China by the western state of Qin. Xunzi rose to a position of intellectual and cultural eminence during his own lifetime, three times serving as head libationer among the assembled scholars in the state of Qi, traveling widely to different states, and even briefly holding a significant administrative post in the state of Chu.

Xunzi saw himself as defending the true Confucian heritage from threats both internal and external to the tradition. He appears familiar with all the known currents of thought of the period, and often aggressively attacks some central point of a previous thinker while quietly borrowing other elements of their thought that seem valuable to him when properly assimilated into his Confucianism. He wrote focused, well-constructed essays in a pugnacious and frequently colorful style, which taken as a group present a remarkably coherent and powerful religious philosophy. His intellectual goal was to rearticulate Confucianism on a more sophisticated and realistic anthropological, political, and cosmological basis, while preserving the hopeful humaneness of the Confucian Way.

In contrast to Mencius, who retains the Zhou dynasty idea of a purposive *tian* or “Heaven” that lifts up worthy leaders at regular intervals to put the Confucian Way into practice, Xunzi argues that Heaven is not humanlike and is unconcerned with human affairs. It follows its own path, does not reward goodness or punish evil, and does not send meaningful omens or respond favorably to appropriate sacrifices. To view the arts of sacrifice and divination as techniques to manipulate spiritual or material realities, Xunzi thinks, is a profound error; such ceremonies, as well as other rituals, are done to bring order to human life and thereby give it beauty and proper form. For Xunzi, Heaven does occupy the supreme position in the cosmos, and along with Earth deserves ritualized respect as one of the “three roots” of human existence; this is so because Heaven and Earth through their interactions mysteriously generate all life, including human life. But humans have a crucial role to play, governing themselves and indeed ordering the whole world, on the basis of steady cycles of change within the cosmos. Heaven, like a ruler, occupies the central position of the cosmos; but human beings, like ministers of state, actively order the natural and social worlds according to the Way. This Confucian Way is for Xunzi the human Way, in explicit contrast with the Heavenly Way, and it is crucial for us “not to compete with Heaven over responsibilities.”

For Xunzi the Way is the ultimate human tradition, created over time by the ancient sages in response to human nature and the environment, and yet still universally binding on all human beings. This Way is both necessary and suitable for us, Xunzi argues (notoriously in the view of later Chinese commentators), because humanity's innate impulses are *e,* "bad," in the sense of "ugly" or "foul." This is a direct attack on Mencius, who taught that people all possess four "sprouts" or "beginnings" of virtue within their hearts, which we must attend to and follow if we are to become good (in Mencian terms, we will "cultivate" our "sprouts" until they are fully grown). Xunzi adamantly rejects these agricultural metaphors for self-cultivation, and the whole anthropological edifice they are meant to symbolize. Following our uncultivated intuitions and impulses will lead only to strife, Xunzi thinks, as people struggle with each other for social dominance and limited material resources. We have no reliable inborn moral intuitions; we must learn the Way from others, and only over time will its fittingness and power become apparent to us.

Xunzi speaks of the formation of virtuous people as a long, initially difficult and unpleasant process akin to crafting beautiful and useful implements out of less than ideal raw materials. Mere indoctrination or coercion will be insufficient, however; people must be exposed to the gracious humaneness of the Confucian Way, and judge for themselves that it is more desirable than their current anxious, dangerous, and painful lives, even from an ignorant starting point.

A beginning Confucian student needs above all to find and follow a wise teacher, and congregate with fellow students of the Way. Xunzi describes in some detail the practices of self-cultivation he recommends, the most prominent of which are textual study of the Confucian classics, the practice of ritual, and musical performance and appreciation.

Xunzi's treatment of ritual is particularly noteworthy. His use of the term is very broad, encompassing not only sacrifices and discrete ceremonies, but also deportment, etiquette, speech, and even dress; such matters of interpersonal "style" are crucial elements of Xunzian ethics. According to Xunzi, ritual works at personal, social, and even cosmic levels, properly ordering all things into harmonious wholes. Over time, by means of diligent ritual practice, the Xunzian student will "cut and stretch" his dispositions to feel, judge, and act so that they come to perfectly accord with the rites; by doing this he will come to follow and "enact" the Way. For Xunzi, Confucian learning is a sham unless it is grounded in a bodily appropriation of the Way, so that a person's every movement and word is appropriate; this sort of self-mastery can only be attained by practicing ritual and music. Fully cultivated leaders will both exemplify and implement the Way in society at large, ushering in a humane society where the poor, weak, and infirm never lack for basic necessities, the strong are restrained from predation and redirected to more public service, and the surplus bounty of a harmonious state will be used to elevate and enrich the lives of all, according to their virtue and social standing (which ought, in a Xunzian world, to coincide). Even the natural world will share in greater fecundity and order when brought under Confucian stewardship, as people's needs are met in harmony with natural processes. This ideal state of affairs, which Xunzi calls "forming a triad with Heaven and Earth," is the fullest flowering of the human Way.

Xunzi's ideas had a significant impact on the formation of later Confucian imperial bureaucracy and methods of education. Moreover, his students preserved texts (such as the *Odes*) that proved indispensable to later Chinese tradition. Nevertheless, his two most famous students were viewed by later Confucians as apostates from the Way who brought disgrace upon their teacher by aiding Qin's ruthless drive to unify China. And later, during the Confucian revival of the Song dynasty (960–1279 CE), Mencius's views on human nature became canonical, with Xunzi's thereafter considered heterodox. He was thus occasionally disparaged but largely ignored until modern times. He is the subject of considerable current scholarly interest in the West because of his philosophically complex and sophisticated version of Confucianism.

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AARON STALNAKER (2005)

YAʿAQOV BEN ASHER (c. 1270–1343), Hispano-Jewish codifier. Yaʿaqov was a son of the great German halakhist Asher ben Yeḥiʾel, who settled with his family in Toledo in 1303. Yaʿaqov ben Asher never accepted rabbinical office and at times suffered economic adversity, but he continued his father's lifework—the revival of Talmudic studies in Castile and the fusion of Franco-German and Spanish *halakhah.*

Yaʿaqov's *magnum opus* was his code, the *Arbaʿah ṭurim* (lit., "four rows"; see *Ex.* 28:17). It consists of four books: *Oraḥ ḥayyim,* on liturgy and holidays; *Yoreh deʿah,* on "the prohibited and permitted" and other topics, including mourning, charity, education, and filial piety; *Even ha-ʿezer,* on family law; and *Ḥoshen mishpaṭ,* on civil law. Yaʿaqov sought to attain coherence and order in Jewish law, but in a manner less radically reductive and homogenizing than that of Maimonides in his *Mishneh Torah* a century and a half earlier. Instead of excising all disagreement and discussion, as Maimonides had done, Yaʿaqov skillfully integrated into his code brief discussions of legal cruxes and of the divergent views of major authorities who represented different schools, generally concluding with his father's view.

The language of the *Ṭurim* is clear and simple. Unlike *Mishneh Torah,* its arrangement aims at functionality rather than conceptual categorization. This practical orientation is evident also in its omission of all laws not applicable since the destruction of the Temple. Nor does the *Ṭurim* attempt the grand synthesis of law and theology to which *Mishneh Torah* aspires. It does, however, contain many homiletical and hortatory passages (especially in the section prologues) based on classical *aggadah* and the author's own pure and simple piety. Only rarely are there reflections of the Ashkenazic Hasidism of Yaʿaqov's German forebears and of his opposition to philosophical rationalism. The spirituality underlying Yaʿaqov's piety occasionally breaks through the surface, as in his recommendation, inserted matter-of-factly in "the laws of prayer," that one emulate the "men of piety and good deeds [who] would so meditate and concentrate in prayer, that they achieved a stripping away of corporeality and an intensification of the rational soul, which brought them close to the level of prophecy."

The *Ṭurim* became an immensely popular work among both Sephardic and Ashkenazic Jews and occasioned many commentaries. It was the second Hebrew book published (Piove di Sacco, 1475) and in the sixteenth century served as the basis for Yosef Karo's classic code, the *Shulḥan ʿarukh.*

Yaʿaqov also composed a commentary on the Torah (1806) that clearly summarizes the brilliant but difficult thirteenth-century Pentateuch commentary of Moses Nahmanides, without the latter's qabbalistic exegesis. To each section, Yaʿaqov prefaced homiletical interpretations based on the numerical value of letters *(gemaṭriyyah)* and the orthographic peculiarities of the Masoretic text. Ironically, these interpretations, mentioned as a relatively inconsequential afterthought in Yaʿa-qov's introduction, became extremely popular, eclipsing the main body of the commentary.

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YAKṢAS SEE NĀGAS AND YAKṢAS

YAKUT RELIGION.

The Yakuts, who numbered 328,000 during the 1979 census, are the northernmost of Turkic peoples. Beginning in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, under pressure caused by Buriat encroachment, they gradually emigrated northward from the Lake Baikal region of southern Siberia. They moved upstream along the course of the Lena River and finally settled in northeastern Siberia, the coldest region in the world. The horses and cattle bred by these semisedentary people have successfully adapted to the rigorous climate; however, hunting and fishing provide the Yakuts with a significant additional source of income. The Yakuts are organized in patrilineal and exogamic clans regrouped into tribes.

Under pressure from the Russians, who subjugated them during the first half of the seventeenth century, the majority of Yakuts were baptized by the end of the eighteenth century. They adopted Christianity primarily for material reasons (e.g., gifts of crosses, shirts, and various privileges). At the same time, they secretly preserved their own religious system, shamanism, which was modified superficially as the result of contact with Russian Orthodoxy. The practitioners of shamanism accepted the new idea of a reward after death and attributed the traits of God, the Virgin Mary, and the guardian angels to some of their spirits.

COSMOLOGY. The Yakut universe is composed of three superimposed worlds. The "upper world" comprises nine skies of different colors. Spirits reside in each sky: In the east are the *aĭyy*s, bright, creative spirits, and in the west are the *abaasy*s, dark, harmful spirits. (The Yakuts are situated in the east.)

The "middle world," flat and octagonal, is populated by humans and by a host of spirits. The forest of this world is a formidable territory because the greatest number of spirits are found there: Although they grant game, they also capture the souls of hunters who have pleased them.

The "lower world" is a crepuscular region solely inhabited by the harmful spirits who roam among a metallic, iron vegetation. Here, the "sea of death," composed of children's cadavers, churns its waves. The term employed for "lower world," *allaraa,* signifies "below, downstream, in the north." (The rivers of Siberia flow northward, hence the use of the same term for both "downstream" and "north.") It is possible that the lower world is not conceived of as a sinister and subterranean replica of the middle world but rather as a watery abyss in the northern regions. In any case, the contrasts of above and below and of upper and lower do not figure predominately in the Yakut religion. More important is the division of the sky into east (good) and west (evil): This division allows for the classification of the spirits.

THE PANTHEON. The bright, creative spirits, *aĭyy*s (from the Turkic root "ai," "to create"), assure the Yakuts their survival by granting them the souls of children and also of horses, cattle, and dogs, the Yakuts' only domesticated animals. However, the Yakuts must pay homage to the aiyys with milk offerings and prayers and must consecrate animals to them from their herd. The consecrated animal (yzykh) is not slain; it is sent back to the herd and is treated with respect, for it no longer belongs to humans but to the spirit to which it was consecrated. This spirit will reward the people for their care by granting fertility to the herd. The *aĭyy* cult, called "white shamanism," disappeared in the eighteenth century and never was studied properly.

The White Lord Creator, Iurung Aiyy Toion, is the master of all the *aĭyy*s who are imagined to be like rich Yakuts and are organized in clans, as are the Yakuts themselves. Associated with the sun and the heat of summer, the White Lord Creator resides in the ninth sky, where "the grass is as white as the wing of a white swan." He rules the world, sends the soul (kut) to children, and assures fertility in cattle and the growth of plants, but he does not interfere in human affairs on his own initiative. During the great spring feasts called "libations" (*ysyakh*), he is first offered libations of fermented mare's milk; later, horses are consecrated to him. Occasionally a goddess, the wife of this god, is mentioned; she would become an avatar of the goddess of the earth. Such an identification of the goddess may be a vague indication of a marriage between the sky and the earth.

The *aĭyysyt*s, a group of spirits, female for the most part, attend to human reproduction and the reproduction of certain species of animals (especially the domestic species). The *aĭyysyt* who attends to human reproduction brings the soul of the child created by Aĭyy Toĭon. She also comes to help women during childbirth. She is often associated with Ieĭiëkhsit, and is occasionally confused with her. When they are associated, Aĭyysyt is the one who grants the soul and Ieĭiëkhsit is the one who delivers it. (The latter has been likened to a guardian angel.) Aĭyysyt and Ieĭiëkhsit are both proper nouns and epithets that can be applied even to male personages: When one is begging for offspring one uses the epithet Aĭyysyt, and when one desires an intermediary the epithet Ieĭiëkhsit is used. The three *aĭyysyt*s of man, of horned livestock, and of dogs are all feminine spirits, but the spirit that grants horses, "the formidable Dzhësëgëĭ," is masculine. When mares and cows reproduce, and each time a child is born, relatives and cousins come together to offer a ritual of renewal to the spirit that granted the soul. However, the ritual for the spirit-master of horses is conducted by the (male) ruler of the house, while the other two rituals are celebrated by the women.

The goddess of the earth, who lives among beautiful white birches far from the evil spirits, takes care of the traveler, blesses the harvests, and occasionally decides the fate of the newborn. The spirit-master of the domestic fire assures the survival of the household: In his embers tremble the souls of children and calves yet to be born. He removes harmful spirits and purifies the accessories of the hunt that are soiled by the presence of a menstruating woman. This spirit-master also serves as an intermediary for other spirits by delivering offerings to them that are thrown into his flames in their honor. In exchange, one must not forget to feed him by throwing him a mouthful of food before each meal; otherwise, he may take revenge by, for example, burning down the house.

On the opposite side, in the western sky, loom the black spirits, *abaasy*s (the Turkic root is probably *ap,* "enchantment"), "gigantic as the shadows of larches under the full moon." In fact, they appear to be more terrible than they really are, because once they have sent diseases (most often, various types of insanity), they will take them away if the shaman sacrifices horses with suitable coats. The supreme ruler of the nine clans of *abaasy* is Ulu Toion ("powerful lord"), who gave the Yakuts fire and perhaps one of the three souls that the Yakuts believe each person possesses (according to some, the soul he gave was the *siur,* vital energy). He is the protector of the black shamans, *abaasy oĭun* (lit., "shamans in contact with the *abaasy*s").

Other harmful abaasys populate the earth and the lower world. The two most celebrated are the ruler of the lower world, Arsan Duolan (a pale replica of Ulu Toĭon), who sends infant mortality and obstinacy, and Kudai Bagsi, the ruler of the smiths, who cures the apprentice smith of his initiatory illness if the shaman offers him a black bull.

Among the harmful spirits are the unsatisfied deceased (*iuërs*) those who died without completing a full life cycle, such as young girls who died without having been married. The souls of suicides and of shamans become the most formidable *iuërs*.

In the domestic environment and in natural phenomena that directly influence humanity's well-being, there exists a supernatural force that the Yakuts call *ichchi* ("master, possessor"). This force is personified in the spirit-masters who reside in the object, house, or territory they possess. To ensure that a tool be effective or that a house not collapse, to avoid being crushed by a tree or hurled into the waters when crossing the forest or the river, one must make an offering to one's spirit-master.

Since the Yakuts believed the spirits were organized in clans as they themselves were, they recognized their right to have tribal property. This property was the game and fish existing in the territory of these spirits. They accorded part of this to humans in exchange for food (milk products, alcohol, flesh of domestic animals) in an alliance that is similar to that formed between bartering human tribes. However, the spirits never give enough souls of game, cattle, and children. This is where the shaman intervenes.

THE SHAMAN. To obtain the souls of wild game, the shaman provides the master of the particular kind of animal in question with food in return: He smears the blood of a sacrificed animal on a wooden statuette where he has caused the spirit-master of the forest, the rich Baianaĭ or Baryllakh, to descend. He then gives a symbol of these souls (e.g., feathers, etc.) to the members of the clan. To obtain the souls of children and additional cattle, the shaman himself goes to the beyond to confront the *aĭyysyt*s. At first the spirits refuse, remembering the wrongs that humans have committed. Then, after considering the supplications of the shaman, they give him the souls. The position of the shaman has changed: He no longer barters, he implores, because the *aĭyy* spirits, dispensers of cattle and human offspring, are venerated, unlike the spirits of the hunt or of illnesses, whom the shaman treats as equals.

To cure illness, which the Yakuts conceive as the installation of an evil spirit in the body of the ailing person and also as the theft of the soul by a spirit "soul-eater," the shaman trades the soul of the sick person for that of a sacrificed animal, which he sends into the otherworld. These negotiations with the spirits take place during the shamanic séance, which is generally held nocturnally at the afflicted person's home, with relatives and neighbors in attendance. The séance includes a purification ceremony; a convocation of the spirits through the shaman's chanting, accompanied on the tambourine; a voyage of the shaman himself into the otherworlds to find the spirits (a voyage mimicked by the shaman's dance); and an act of divination.

The shaman is aided by his principal spirit (*ämägät*), generally the shaman's ancestor, who chose the shaman from among his descendants in order to pass on the shamanic gift, a gift that always remains in the same family. Women also can become shamans (*udaghans*), but female shamans are less numerous because the clans are patrilineal. Once chosen by the ancestor, the soul of the future shaman takes on the form of a young bird and is educated atop either the mythic larch of the upper world or the pine tree of the lower world. It is during his initiation that the shaman seals his alliance with the spirits. In the course of his sleep, his body is cut up in the lower world and consumed like a sacrificial animal by several spirits. The spirits then reconstitute his body. Recreated in this manner, the shaman acquires rights over the spirits who have consumed his flesh and who will subsequently help him remove illnesses.

The shaman is also aided by zoomorphic spirits who transport him in the air or under the ground and who fight at his side. Moreover, the shaman possesses an animal double (usually a male moose or bull); it is in this form that he fights against shamans of enemy clans. If the shaman's animal double has been killed, he himself dies. The shaman also fights against the souls of dead avengers, the spirits of illnesses and epidemics. He also assures the survival of his clan by divination—predicting the future, the areas where game will be most plentiful, and so forth. In this dark universe, where mad spirits who populate three-fourths of the sky in the west predominate, where the bright spirits (*aĭyy*s) often refuse to grant offspring and prosperity, and where "soul-eating" spirits lurk about the earth and in the lower world, the shaman is the Yakuts' only support.

SEE ALSO Shamanism, article on Siberian and Inner Asian Shamanism; Southern Siberian Religions.

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LAURENCE DELABY (1987)
Translated from French by Sherri L. Granka

YAMA. In the earliest Ṛgvedic hymns, Yama is a benign god who looks after the well-being of the dead, whom he entertains with food and shelter. His abode and its environment are pleasant and comfortable; survivors supplicate him for the care of their departed relatives.

Yama is the son of Vivasvat and Saraṇyū; he has a twin sister, Yamī. In the *Ṛgveda,* Amṛta ("ambrosia") is Yama's son, but in the *Atharvaveda,* Yama has a son, Duḥsvapna ("bad dream"), by Varuṇānī. In the epic-Puranic literature, the Aśvins are his brothers, and Śani and Manu are his half brothers. The Aṅgirasas are his associates.

The name *Yama* is derived from a stem meaning "twins"; Latin *gemini* and the Avestan names *Yima* and *Yimeh* are cognates. In a Ṛgvedic hymn, Yamī implores Yama to unite with her, but he rejects her advances. The hymn has an abrupt, inconclusive end. In Buddhist literature, Yama is identified with Kāma ("desire") and Māra ("death"). In the Vedic literature, Yama has close relations with Rudra, Soma, Agni, Kāla, and Nirṛti. Yama also bears a remote relationship to Varuṇa.

Yama in the Vedas was the first mortal to die. He then went to heaven, where he ruled over the dead. But toward the close of the Vedic period sinister traits began to appear in him, and they grew stronger with time. Yama then became the god of death and the lord of Hell. In the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad,* as death personified, he holds a long discourse with the boy Naciketas, whom he initiates into the mysteries of life, death, and immortality. Prayers are offered to Yama for longevity and deliverance from recurring deaths. Yama also grants release from *aśanāyā* (hunger). In many rituals of ancestor worship, oblations are offered to Yama with prayers for averting recurring deaths. In the Gṛhyasūtras, oblations are offered to Yama's men, presumably his associates, in the realm of the dead.

Of the two paths in later Vedic eschatology, Devayāna and Pitṛyāṇa, the latter is that of the fathers and of spirits doomed to rebirth. These spirits proceed through Soma, the moon, and are judged by Yama. In the epics and Purāṇas, Yama has a palace, Śubhāvatī, in the netherworld. Yama's realm begins, in Buddhist literature, to shift from the heaven of the gods until, in the Hindu epics and Purāṇas, it assumes distinctly sinister characteristics. As god of death and lord of Hell, Yama is dark and malevolent, yet still a giver of boons.

The south is the region of Yama (as it is that of the Avestan Yima) and the region of death. Yama has two dogs, Śyāma and Śabala, who are associated with the final judgment of souls, as are Hades' dog, Kerberos, the Egyptian Anubis, and Yima's four dogs. Yama is also associated with oil and with the dove, eagle, and raven (all of which are endowed with sinister traits). The epic and Puranic Yama has a buffalo for a mount. Dread monsters (*rākṣasas*), semidivine *yakṣa*s, demons, cruel messengers, the Aṅgirasas, and the souls of the departed throng his realm. His ritual oblations in ancestor worship are gruesome and evil. The symbols associated with his various aspects as Kāla, Mṛtyu, and Antaka are images of repulsiveness, cruelty, and deformity. In descriptions of Yama red and black colors predominate.

In the final stage of his evolution, Yama shares two significant characteristics with Śiva: He is Kāla ("time") and Dharmarāja ("lord of righteousness"). As Kāla, he is also Antaka, the "ender" (i. e., Death). As Dharmarāja, he takes over Varuṇa's role as the moral judge and punisher whose assistants torture the wicked in hell. At this stage his name is clearly derived differently, from the root *yam* ("to control"), from which are derived *yantraṇa* ("constriction") and *yantraṇā* ("torture"). As Dharmarāja, Yama can also be lenient to supplicants and revoke his own order (as he did for Sāvitrī) or modify it (as he did for Pramadvarā in the *Mahābhārata*).

Numerous episodes in the epics and Purāṇas contribute to Yama's almighty and sinister image. This image contrasts with his early Vedic appearance as a minor god who is simply a "gatherer of men." A cluster of hymns in the tenth and last book of the *Ṛgveda* presents him as a benign god like any other in the pantheon. But from the *Yajurveda* (especially in the Puruṣamedha sacrifice), where different oblations are prescribed for each of the various aspects of Yama, his personality undergoes a radical change: From the benevolent god of the dead he becomes the dread god of death. The theophany of Yama as Kāla, Antaka, and Dharmarāja brings him closer to Śiva.

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SUKUMARI BHATTACHARJI (1987)
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YAMAGA SOKŌ

YAMAGA SOKŌ (1622–1685), Japanese Confucian of the school of Ancient Learning (Kogaku). Sokō was born in Aizu, the son of a masterless warrior named Yamaga Sadamochi (1585–1664) and Sadamochi's mistress, Myōchi (d. 1677). He began studying the Confucian classics at the age of five or six, and at eight he was en rolled at the Hayashi school in Edo (present-day Tokyo). As a youth, he also studied Japanese literature, Shintō, and military science—the latter with Obata Kagenori (1572–1663) and Hōjō Ujinaga (1609–1670).

Sokō first achieved fame in 1642 when he published *Heihō yūbishū* (Collected Writings on Military Methods and Preparedness), a fifty-volume work on military science that treated a whole range of subjects from castle defense to warrior organization. Over the next two decades his lectures on military affairs and the Chinese classics attracted growing numbers of local warriors and lords. In 1652 Sokō entered the service of Asano Naganao (1610–1672), lord of the Akō domain, and served him until 1660, when he resigned to devote himself to teaching. Despite his service in the Asano house and his success as a teacher, Sokō longed to become a direct retainer of the shogun. Although he nearly realized this ambition on several occasions, his hopes were dashed in 1666 when the senior councillor Hoshina Masayuki (1611–1672) had him exiled to the Akō domain. The ostensible reason for this was the publication of *Seikyō yōroku* (Essentials of the Sages' Teachings), in which Sokō criticized the officially sanctioned Neo-Confucianism. During his exile Sokō was well cared for by the Asano family, had an endless stream of visitors from Edo, and wrote more than seventeen books, the most important of which were *Takkyō dōmon* (A Child's Queries During Exile), *Chūchō jijitsu* (The Truth about Japan), and *Haishō zanpitsu* (Last Testament in Exile). When he was pardoned in 1675 he returned to Edo, where he resumed his teaching career, once again lecturing on military science and Confucianism. He died of jaundice in 1685.

Sokō is best known as a military thinker, Confucian scholar, and nationalist. Early in his life he concentrated on formalizing and systematizing the essentially medieval mores, customs, and institutions of the warrior class. In the early 1650s, he developed the notion of what he called *bushidō* ("way of the warrior"), which, borrowing heavily from Neo-Confucianism, provided a philosophical basis for military science and described the ideal behavior of a class whose chief function was no longer to fight but to govern.

Sokō is also known as an advocate of Ancient Learning. While he had once subscribed to Neo-Confucianism, he came to oppose it, calling for a return to the teachings of the ancient Chinese sages and Confucius. In *Seikyō yōroku*, he attacked Neo-Confucianism's introspective concerns and in their stead, advanced a new utilitarianism, stressed the importance of social relationships, and recommended the revival of ancient Chinese regulations and rituals. Sokō began the work that Itō Jinsai (1627–1705) and Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728), his successors in the school of Ancient Learning, would complete. While in exile, Sokō became an ardent nationalist. In *Chūchō jijitsu* and *Takkyō dōmon* he argued that Japan's idigenous religion, Shintō ("way of the gods"), was superior to Confucianism and that Japan itself was superior to China and all other countries in the world.

Sokō's writings reveal, first, an impressive eclecticism that reflects his having studied, at different times, Neo-Confucianism, Shintō, military science, Buddhism, and even Taoism. They also reflect his concern, associated with his utilitarianism, with the actual affairs of daily life and the larger problem of how best to govern the country. Finally, Sokō's writings give evidence of his fierce loyalty to the shogun and the government he headed. Although Sokō never became a direct retainer of the shogun, he taught hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Tokugawa retainers and formulated political principles aimed at strengthening shogunal rule.

SEE ALSO Bushidō; Confucianism in Japan; Itō Jinsai; Ogyū Sorai.

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YAMATO TAKERU.

YAMATO TAKERU. Yamato Takeru, whose name means "brave man from the Yamato region," is a legendary character described in the records of the Yamato kingship, including the *Nihonshoki* (720 CE) and *Kojiki* (712 CE). According to the *Nihonshoki* and *Kojiki*, Yamato Takeru was the son of Keiko Tenno, the twelfth emperor. He laid the foundations for the Yamato kingship to rule almost all of the Japanese islands by conquering previously unsubjugated peoples, such as the Kumaso in the southwest and the Emishi in the northeast. Yamato Takeru's conquests finally ended when he died after his defeat by a mountain god just before returning to the Yamato region. Today, Yamato Takeru is not considered to have been an actual living person, but his character may reflect memories of Yuryaku Tenno, who lived during the fifth century.

The descriptions of Yamato Takeru's character are similar in the *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki*, but his relationship with his father, Keiko Tenno, is described very differently in the two books. In the *Nihonshoki*, Yamato Takeru is the one and only crown prince who is relied on by his father as a man of perfected character in terms of the ideal Chinese Confucian. But in the *Kojiki*, Yamato Takeru is just one of many princes, and he is hated by his father because of his extraordinary powers as a trickster-like character. Yamato Takeru's expedition is also described differently in the two books. In the *Nihonshoki*, he leads his father's army, whereas in the *Kojiki* he is forced to enter enemy territory almost alone, as if he had been expelled from the Yamato region, even though he had shown obedience to his father. The relationship described in the *Kojiki* could be thought of as an Oedipus complex in reverse, with the father showing hatred for the son regardless of the son's affection towards him.

Legends of Yamato Takeru are also found in the *Fudoki*, a compilation from the early eighth century CE explaining the origins of the names of places across the Japanese islands. There are some suggestions in the *Fudoki* that Yamato Takeru was classified as an emperor. From the evidence of the *Nihonshoki*, *Kojiki*, and *Fudoki*, there are at least three different types of legends concerning Yamato Takeru. Although they are not unified, all of these books concern the Yamato kingship.

In the medieval era, there were repeated attempts to unify the numerous records of Yamato Takeru. Most of the stories of the period, in the *Heike monogatari* and other works, were based on the *Nihonshoki* account. They emphasize the Yamato Takeru legend as a story about the miraculous powers of the Kusanagi sword, one of three items making up Japan's imperial regalia. This emphasis reflected the fact that at this point in history the warrior class controlled the political power of Japan, and the imperial family feared losing cultural power as well. Thus, the imperial family and their supporters sought to exemplify the family's strength and lineage through their possession of the legendary sword.

Beginning in the middle of the early modern period, Yamato Takeru came to be characterized as a figure with rich human emotions, especially the feeling of sorrow. Scholars of Japanese classical studies, such as Motoori Norinaga, drew more upon the *Kojiki* account. In the modern era and moving into World War II, the Japanese government used the figure of Yamato Takeru to represent and glorify the loyal subject, implying that it was honorable to die in war for the country and the emperor. After Japan's defeat, Marxists historians, such as Ishimoda Shō, re-presented the story of Yamato Takeru as crystallizing memories of pre-imperial Japan. Ishimoda believed that the national epics of Japan were equal to the Greek and Roman mythologies. They could be traced back to the stage before the construction of an artificial national identity through the *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki,* when there was, according to Ishimoda, a pure national sensibility. The image of Yamato Takeru has been transformed through interpretive acts in every period of Japanese history and used to legitimate the standpoint of each interpreter. For many, the legend of Yamato Takeru was thought to preserve historical traces of national memories of how ancient Japanese society was established. The image of Yamato Takeru will no doubt continue to change over time in order to meet new needs.

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YAMAZAKI ANSAI (1618–1682), Japanese Confucian and Shintō scholar of the early Tokugawa period. The son of a samurai who lost his position in the turbulence of the early Tokugawa period, Ansai was set at a young age on a career as a Zen priest. However, in his twenties he became acquainted with the anti-Buddhist writings of the Song Chinese Neo-Confucian scholar Zhu Xi. Inspired by them, he rejected Buddhism in favor of Confucianism, left the monastery, and devoted himself to the study and explication of the ideas of Zhu Xi. He attracted many disciples, drawn primarily from the samurai class, and developed close relations with a number of important political figures. He thus played a significant part in the spread of Confucian learning among the Tokugawa samurai class. Ansai was also deeply interested in the fusion of Confucianism and Shintō that had been developed by contemporary Shintō scholars such as Yoshikawa Koretaru. From Yoshikawa, Ansai received the Shintō religious name of Suika Reisha, and Ansai's own version of Confucian-flavored Shintō is known as Suika Shintō.

Insisting that, like Confucius, he sought only to transmit, not to create, Ansai wrote little of a systematic, interpretive nature. His preferred method was to compile selections of excerpts from the writings of Zhu Xi and to express his own views on Zhu Xi's teachings through lectures on these excerpts and a few chosen texts. Ansai's ideas were thus conveyed primarily in the form of lecture notes taken down by his disciples. As reflected in these notes, Ansai's lectures, delivered in a forceful, colloquial style, sought both to come to terms with the complexities of Zhu Xi's metaphysics and to deliver them to a relatively uneducated audience in a simple, direct fashion. This approach was undoubtedly an important factor behind the popularity and influence of his school.

Similarly, Ansai stressed mastery of a few basic texts rather than wide reading. Whereas other Tokugawa Confucian scholars, such as Hayashi Razan, emphasized the importance of erudition and thereby presented Confucian learning as the special province of the professional scholar, Ansai decried the pursuit of erudition as encouraging dilettantism and as counterproductive to the development of a firm sense of moral priorities. Confucian scholars of other schools criticized his position as narrow and rigid, but it did serve to offer a large audience entry into the forbidding body of Chinese Confucian literature.

Ansai insisted that his selection of the core teachings of Zhu Xi constituted the orthodox tradition. In fact, however, he modified Zhu Xi's ideas in several important ways. For instance, he gave added emphasis to the moral importance of the relation between lord and vassal, depicting the obligation of the vassal to the lord in absolute terms comparable to that between parent and child. The Ansai school position on this subject contributed to the growth of the idea, found widely in the late Tokugawa period, of the absolute, eternal nature of the obligation of loyalty to the imperial line.

Another area in which Ansai deviated significantly from Zhu Xi was in emphasizing the importance of "reverence" over "investigation of the principle of things" in the process of the individual's cultivation of his innate moral nature. The resulting stress on cleaving to the norms of Confucianism and on rigorous introspection to ensure that one's behavior conformed to those norms contributed to the characteristically stern and dogmatic tone of the Ansai school.

Ansai's linking of Confucianism and Shintō was another distinctive feature of his teachings. Unlike other Confucian scholars such as Hayashi Razan, who sought to equate Shintō and the Confucian way, Ansai presented them as two distinct manifestations of a universal truth, each particular to the country in which it originated. Ansai's joining of Shintō and Confucianism added a note of mystery and religious authority to Confucianism that furthered its acceptance in Tokugawa society, while his insistence on the particularly "Japanese" character of Shintō endowed his school with a nationalistic flavor that tended to increase with the passage of time. However, many of the connections Ansai made between Shintō and Confucianism were forced and far-fetched, and his leading disciples, although declaring themselves faithful to the essence of Ansai's teachings, broke with him over the question of the relationship between Confucianism and Shintō. This break led in later years to the division of the Ansai school into two major branches, one Confucian and one Shintō.

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YĀMUNA (fl. c. 1022–1038), known in Tamil as Āḻavandār; Hindu philosopher, theologian, and devotional poet. Yāmuna lived in the Tamil-speaking area of South India and represented a learned family of brahmans who played a leading role in the formulation of the Śrī Vaiṣṇava tradition and of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school of Vedānta, which is most widely associated with the name of Rāmānuja. The Śrī Vaiṣṇavas made a major contribution to the development of Hindu religion by being the first Brahmanic movement to integrate fully into the classical Vedic tradition a popular, predominantly non-Brahmanic religious movement, the ecstatic devotion (*bhakti*) of the Tamil hymnists called the Āḻvārs. This synthesis of popular or vernacular elements with Vedic or Sanskritic ones provided a highly influential model for a number of later Hindu theistic sectarian movements.

Yāmuna is recognized as the fourth in the preceptorial line of *ācārya*s, or teachers, who provided the intellectual leadership of the Śrī Vaiṣṇava sect, and is the first for whom there are extant works. His incompletely preserved literary corpus thus provides the major beginning point for a study of the formulation of this important movement and its school of philosophical theology, Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta. Yāmuna's name is closely linked with that of his grandfather, Nāthamuni (c. tenth century), who is acknowledged as the first teacher in the Śrī Vaiṣṇava line. Nāthamuni, in addition to propounding a system of logic and epistemology (*nyāya*), was the head of a family of prestigious Bhāgavata brahmans devoted to Hare Krishna and is the one to whom tradition ascribes the canonization of the Tamil hymns of the Āḻvārs in the collection entitled the *Divyaprabandha.* While the evidence for this traditional ascription is inconclusive, Yāmuna's two devotional hymns to Visnu and Śrī, the *Stotraratna* and the *Catuśślokī,* reflect the influence of the Āḻvārs' ecstatic devotional style.

According to the tradition, Yāmuna's greatest contribution lay in attracting to the Śrī Vaiṣṇava sect Rāmānuja (eleventh to twelfth centuries), their sixth teacher and the classical exponent of Viśiṣṭadvāita. Although the two never met, it is clear from the literary evidence that Yāmuna was the seminal thinker who provided the primary inspiration for Rāmānuja's major Vedantic writings. The basic structure for Rāmānuja's commentary on the *Bhagavadgīta* was provided by Yāmuna's versified summary, the *Gitarthasamgrahā;* and in his other works Rāmānuja regularly refers to and quotes from Yāmuna's major Vedantic philosophical writings, the *Siddhitraya,* a triad of critical works *(Ātmasiddhi, Saṃvitsiddhi,* and *Īśvarasiddhi)* that are now only fragmentarily preserved, having been eclipsed by Rāmānuja's own definitive works.

Another of Yāmuna's major contributions as represented by his largest completely preserved work, the *Āgamaprāmāṇya,* was his defense of the Pañcarātra revelation or scriptures (Āgamas) as being equal to the Vedas in authority. These Pañcarātra Āgamas, also called Tantras or Saṃhitās, provide the scriptural basis for the earliest post-Vedic, Tantric tradition to arise during the first millennium CE. Yāmuna's defense of these temple-oriented ritual texts as compatible with the Vedas and Vedānta facilitated a radical enlargement and enrichment of the Hindu scriptural base, as did the incorporation of the Tamil hymns of the Āḻvārs.

SEE ALSO Āḻvārs; Rāmānuja; Śrī Vaiṣṇavas; Tamil Religions; Vaiṣṇavism, articles on Bhāgavatas, Pāñcarātras.

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YANTRA. Geometrical diagrams known as *yantras* form a very special class of religious symbols in Hinduism. Their forms and functions within the tradition vary according to their uses. The most important ones are those that serve as supports for daily ritual worship and as meditational aids to stimulate inner visualizations; others are employed in astrology and temple rites; some are meant for proficiency in occult arts, and many of these are used as talismans.

Meditational *yantras* are an indispensable constituent of Tantric worship and are a substitute for the deity's iconographic image. Basically, a *yantra* used in this context is an abstract icon of some personification or aspect of the deity. Most Indian divinities have been assigned aniconic symbols in their specific *yantras*. Whereas an anthropomorphic image is a static presentation, the *yantra* is a dynamic symbol of the totality of the cosmos. Hence it is represented as an expanding form emanating from the central nucleus, a dimensionless point, the *bindu.* A linear configuration, the *yantra* usually has around its center several concentric primal shapes, such as triangles, hexagons, circles, octagons, and rings of lotus petals. The figure's periphery is a square enclosure with four sacred doors opening toward the four cardinal directions. The centrifugal *yantras* are conceived of as a sacred dwelling in which the presiding deity and its retinue take up residence. The seat of the principal deity is in the center, while those of its emanations, or *parivāra devatās,* are arranged concentrically in successive circuits known as *āvaraṇas* ("veils"), so called because they conceal the luminous splendor of the deity in the center.

At the subtlest level, *yantras* translate into visual terms the theory of cosmogenesis. They are to be read as dynamic graphs of the creative process of cosmic evolution and involution that takes place from the center and moves outward. The creative process is represented by the unity of the male and female principles, which, descending into the world of multiplicity, are symbolized by the concentric geometric circuits. The best example of this type of *yantra* is the Śrīcakra of the cult of the goddess Tripurasundarī. It is composed by the interlacing of two sets of triangles: Four apexes point upward, representing Śiva, the male principle, and five apexes point downward, representing sakti, the female principle. The Śrīcakra is devised to give a vision of the totality of existence, so that the adept may internalize its symbols for the ultimate awareness of his own unity with the cosmos. Every meditational *yantra* is in essence a psychic improvisation in which the closed concentric circuits of various geometric shapes, from the periphery to the center, correspond to the planes of the adept's consciousness.

Architectural *yantras* contribute substantially to the conceptual basis of the Hindu temple. An early example is the Vāstupurusa Maṇḍala, of which Hindu manuals of architecture provide thirty-two variations. The *maṇḍala* represents the diagram of the ordered cosmos. In Tantric temple rites, *yantras* were laid into the foundation of the womb chamber and were also embedded in cult figures installed in the shrine. *Yantra*s were also used as compositional diagrams in the execution of sculptural images adorning the walls of the temple. The architectural *yantra* functions as an ideogram, while the temple is a materialization of the concepts it embodies.

Occult *yantra*s are distinguished from all other *yantra*s by their practical applications. They serve as powerful diagrams of magical potency, used mainly in preventive medicine, as good luck charms, for exorcism, to ward off calamities, and so forth. The occult figures are not stereotyped; their designs vary according to the object of worship. One of the most popular is the Dhāraṇa Yantra; worn as an amulet for protection, this *yantra* is given to a person after the priest has consecrated it in a life-giving ceremony. Another kind that serves the same purpose is the magical square. The proven efficacy of such *yantra*s is explained in psychological terms. To the individual who wears a *yantra* as a talisman or an amulet, the diagram manifests itself as a repository of power through which the presence of the divinity can be invoked at will. Ultimately, the efficacy of the *yantra* is brought about by the adept's own willpower, working through faith.

*Yantra*s are most commonly drawn on paper or engraved on metals or rock crystals, although any flat surface, such as a floor or wall, can be used. The *yantra*s are always used in conjunction with mantras, or mystical sound-units, that correspond to the deity's subtle form. Mantras are employed to energize the latent force inherent in the deity's *yantra.* Indeed, it is said that a *yantra* without its seed mantra is as lifeless as a corpse.

SEE ALSO Maṇḍalas, article on Hindu Maṇḍalas; Mantra; Temple, article on Hindu Temples.

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MADHU KHANNA (1987)
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YAO AND SHUN were legendary sage-rulers of antiquity in China. According to traditional Chinese historiography, Tang Yao (Yao of the Tang clan or state; personal name, Fang Xun) or Tang Dao ruled from 2356 to 2256 BCE. A ruler of great virtue, he considered his son Dan Zhu (or, in some versions, his ten sons) unworthy to rule the empire, and thus selected Shun to be his successor, having first given to him his two daughters in marriage. Yu Shun (personal name, Zhong Hua) served Yao first as a minister, then in Yao's old age as regent, finally succeeding him and ruling for fifty years. Shun in turn considered his son Shang Xun (or, in some versions, his nine sons) unworthy to rule and so he selected Yu as his successor. Yu became the founder of the Xia, traditionally considered to be the first hereditary dynasty in China.

In Zhou dynasty (eleventh to third century BCE) texts, history conventionally begins with the time of Yao. All the great cosmological events took place during his rule. The ten suns appeared, nine of which were shot down by the archer Yi; Buzhou Mountain, the pillar of the northwest, was brought down by Gonggong; and the great flood occurred, which was eventually controlled by Yu. During the Warring States period (403–221 BCE), however, other rulers, some of whom were originally the mythical ancestors of other houses, began to be placed before Yao, and in the *Shi ji,* the universal history compiled by Sima Qian during the second century BCE, Yao and Shun are but the most recent of five emperors.

Yao abdicated to Shun because of Shun's virtue. An exemplar of filial piety since the Zhou period, Shun often appears on temple frescoes, usually following a plow drawn by an elephant. His filial piety is exemplary because his wicked father, Gu Sou ("blind man"), and his younger brother Xiang ("elephant") both tried to murder him. They first tried to kill him by removing the ladder and setting fire to a granary while he was repairing its roof; then they filled in a well that he had been sent to dredge. The earliest version of this story is in the *Mengzi.* In the more elaborate Han dynasty version found in *Lienu zhuan* (Biographies of exemplary women), Yao's daughters advised Shun how to escape his father's evil schemes. Shun continued to serve his father as a son should and without resentment; according to the *Mengzi*, his father was in the end pleased.

Although Shun is a symbol of filial piety, in accepting the succession to Yao and in marrying Yao's two daughters, he both went against his father's will and displaced Yao's son from the succession. His role therefore is paradoxical, and his story exemplifies the conflict between the principles of rule by virtue and rule by hereditary right that is a common theme in the succession legends recorded in Zhou dynasty texts. Motifs in the story of Shun's succession, such as the ruler's perception of his successor's virtue in spite of his lowly position and his willingness to rely on a man of low birth, also occur in the legends that surround the foundation of the hereditary dynasties.

Elements in the stories of Yao and Shun in early texts suggest still earlier legends concerning clan origins. The earliest record of the story of Yao and Shun is found in the "Yao dian" chapter of the *Shang shu,* a Zhou dynasty text. In this text, Yao is called *di* (lord), a title that suggests Shangdi, the high lord of the Shang dynasty (c. sixteenth to eleventh century BCE) who is later equated with Tian (Heaven). The succession story of Yao to Shun may contain the remnants of an earlier cosmogonic myth in which the Lord on High first gave the rule to Shun, the progenitor of the Shang people. Shun has been identified with Di ku (who gave birth to the first Shang ancestor, Xie, by means of the egg of a black bird) and with Zhun, the husband of Xihe (who gave birth to the ten suns) and possibly the highest ancestor claimed by the Shang kings in their oracle-bone inscriptions. Shun is also closely associated with the Eastern Yi tribe. His two wives are sometimes identified with the goddesses of the Xiang River in the "Nine Songs" of the *Zhuzi.*

The philosophers of the Warring States period recounted the story of Shun's succession to Yao with differing emphasis and attitudes concerning the role of the sage and the right to hereditary succession. Recently discovered philosophical texts written on bamboo slips and buried in tombs around the end of the fourth century BCE include several accounts of Shun's accession to Yao with many details not found in the traditional texts. These suggest that the idea that a virtuous ruler should appoint a sage rather than an heir as his successor was an important philosophical position in this period.

SEE ALSO Chinese Religion, article on Mythic Themes; Kingship, article on Kingship in East Asia.

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SARAH ALLAN (1987 AND 2005)

YATES, FRANCES AMELIA was born on November 29, 1899, in Southsea, Hampshire, and died in Surbiton, Surrey, on September 29, 1981. By the time a brief illness ended a long life of intense and single-minded scholarly endeavor, her reputation had reached almost cult status.

Yates was the fourth and youngest child of James Alfred Yates and Hannah Eliza Malpas. Her father, having entered Portsmouth Naval Dockyard as an apprentice, had risen to chief constructor of the British navy. One of her elder sisters was a schoolteacher and novelist, the other an art-student-turned-missionary. On the death in action of her only brother in 1915, the ambitions of a close-knit family came to center on her. Hopes of following her brother to Oxford having been disappointed, partly because of interruptions to early formal schooling, she took a London first-class degree in French by correspondence, following it with a graduate thesis on French religious drama of the sixteenth century. She never married.

Yates would often later pay tribute to the material and intellectual support of her family and its tradition of what she called "effort." Observantly Anglican, liberal in their opinions, interested in ideas, devoted to Shakespeare, and sympathetic to matters French, they left their mark on her strongly individual mind and personality. They enabled her to begin the life of a modestly circumstanced private scholar; from a newly purchased family house in Claygate, in the countryside outside London, where she lived uninterruptedly from 1925 until almost the day of her death, she would go to read in the British Museum Library and the Public Record Office. The hallmark of her work was always firsthand acquaintance with her sources.

On those sources was based her first book: the prize-winning and still standard *John Florio: The Life of an Italian in Shakespeare's England* (1934). Here, as throughout her work, the religious dimension—the Florios were Protestant refugees—is a major concern. *A Study of Love's Labour's Lost* (1936), her second book, explored Shakespeare's ideas about language. Less successful, it led her in 1937 to the Warburg Institute, then newly escaped to England from Nazi Germany, which became her intellectual second home. She began to use its excellent library and to learn from Fritz Saxl, Gertrud Bing, Edgar Wind, and Rudolf Wittkower how to apply an encyclopedic historical approach to the study of Giordano Bruno, which had led her there in the first place. When, in 1941, she was given a part-time place on the staff, it was virtually her first paid employment; she remained part of the institute until she died, bequeathing to it her residual estate to found research fellowships.

The new approach she learned there, combined with her innate intellectual courage, is already clear in her independent line on Giordano Bruno's religious and philosophical position in essays she wrote in 1937–38; it was consolidated in "Queen Elizabeth as Astraea" (1945), a ground-breaking inquiry into the messianic ideas behind the cult of the English ruler. The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century, which followed in 1947, was a remarkable, original, and wide-ranging investigation of how academic study had once been directed at promoting religious and civil harmony; it was also a demonstration of the historical significance of ideas and ideals judged worthless and ineffectual by progressist opinion. The power of heterodox thought, already a theme in her early work on Bruno, is again apparent in her pioneering essays of 1954 and 1959, for which she learned Catalan, on the universalist mystic Ramon Lull, whom she judged important for later philosophers, especially Bruno. *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition,* published in 1964 when she was in her mid-sixties, is—along with *The Art of Memory* of 1966—the book for which she is best known. In each she argued at length for the importance of Hermeticism as the secret heart of Renaissance Neoplatonism, especially invoking Giulio Camillo Delminio in relation to the Renaissance transformation of artificial memory systems. Her opening for Anglophone scholars of Renaissance occult belief, studied historically and not from the believer"s point of view, as a legitimate subject for investigators of Renaissance thought in general has had a profound effect, not least in arousing the opposition of historians of science.

In the background of everything that Frances Yates wrote was a vision: peace and harmony denied by faction and fanaticism. *The Valois Tapestries* (1959) was a study of the politico-religious context and purpose of these great works of art; she republished it in 1975, at the same time as a collection of related essays, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century. Shakespeare's Last Plays: A New Approach* of the same year was the closest she came to the definitive work on the mind of Shakespeare she had always hoped to write. In her *Theatre of the World* (1969), the grand theme is hardly apparent; this book was rather aimed at showing influence from the Vitruvian tradition on the structure of Elizabethan public theaters. The magus figure of John Dee is, however, seen as important for the transmission of these ideas. In the politico-religious context of the age of James I and the Winter Queen of Bohemia, which is the subject of *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (1972), Dee plays an expanded role, which is further enlarged in Yates's final book, *The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age* (1979).

Frances Yates, it has been said, created her own discipline. She was widely honored for it by invitations, honorary degrees, and international prizes from universities, academies, and other bodies in Britain, Europe, and the United States, and by her appointments as OBE (Officer of the Order of the British Empire) in 1972 and DBE (Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire) in 1977; her writings have been translated into many languages. Despite a certain personal diffidence, she was undeterred by opposition, retaining a conviction that her approach was both right and fruitful.

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J. B. TRAPP (2005)

YAZATAS. The term *yazata* occurs in the Avesta, the collection of sacred books of Zoroastrianism, as an attribute or designation of divine beings. From this term is derived the Middle Persian *yazd* ("god"; pl., *yazdān*). The word appears frequently in the Avesta, although not in the five *Gāthās* ("songs") attributed to Zarathushtra (Zoroaster); in Gathic it appears only in the *Yasna Haptanhāiti* (Yasna of the Seven Chapters), ascribed to Ahura Mazdā. Its meaning in this text is "worthy of worship, worthy of sacrifice" (from the verb *yaz,* "to venerate, sacrifice"), identical to that of its Vedic counterpart, *yajata.* This is the general meaning of the term, which is used to refer to divine beings, usually secondary gods, personifications, or cult gods of the pre-Zoroastrian Indo-European pantheon that had been absorbed into the religion. Thus, as Zoroastrianism reached a compromise with ancient polytheism, *yazata* came to designate a deity who was readmitted to the cult. At the beginning of the hymn dedicated to Vayu (*Yashts* 15), for example, the god is called *yazata* in a sentence that is evidently meant to justify the integration of the hymn within the canonical list of the *Yashts*, a section of the Avesta.

In the Zoroastrianism that evolved following the prophet's reforms, some of the ancient *daiva*s—the word is used here in its most general and archaic sense, to mean "gods"—became or were reinstated as *yazata*s. That is, they were transformed from beings whose worship was forbidden (*daiva*s in the later sense of "demons") back into beings whose worship was permitted or even recommended. The *Yashts* is very instructive in this regard: many passages in various hymns provide justification for the readmission to the cult of one or another *daiva*, and often it is Ahura Mazdā himself who is said to approve such a reintegration.

The meaning of *yazdān* in Pahlavi texts (from the ninth and tenth centuries CE) is derived from this general meaning of *yazata*. It is used for various categories of divine beings: for the gods in general, for the ancient *yazata*s in particular, and for the Amesha Spentas (MPers., Amahraspandan). The *yazdan*s rule over the months, the days, and five liturgical periods of the day.

But in the Avesta *yazata* has a precise meaning: any entity to whom a hymn is dedicated. Besides Ahura Mazdā and Vayu, *yazata* refers, as has been noted (Kellens, 1976), to the following beings: Mithra, Sraosha ("discipline"), Arshtāt ("justice"), Nairyōsanha ("of manly utterance"), Verethraghna ("victory"), Ātar ("fire"), Apąm Napāt ("son of the waters"), Zam ("earth"), and Gairi Ushidarena ("mountain dawn-abode"). But in the so-called Younger Avesta it is, above all, the deities who form the escort of Mithra who are defined as *yazata*s. From this it follows that not all the beings to whom a hymn in the Avesta is dedicated are in a strict sense *yazata*s and that *yazata* is not the Avestan equivalent of the Old Persian *baga*; the latter has no specific meaning but only carries the general sense of "god," as does the parallel Avestan *bagha*.

SEE ALSO Amesha Spentas; Daivas.

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GHERARDO GNOLI (1987)
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YEHOSHUʿA BEN ḤANANYAH (first and second centuries CE), Palestinian tanna who taught in Jerusalem and later at Yavneh and Peqiʿin. Legend has it that when he was a child his mother carried him to the study hall so that he would become accustomed to hearing words of the Torah (J.T., *Yev.* 3a). Because he was a Levite, it is assumed that he sang in the Temple before it was destroyed. He is said to have made his living as a needlemaker or blacksmith.

Yehoshuʿa achieved prominence as a leading rabbinic authority of his day. He was one of the five prominent disciples of Yoḥanan ben Zakkʾai (*Avot* 2.8). With Eliʿezer ben Hyrcanus, Yehoshuʿa is alleged to have carried Yoḥanan ben Zakkʾai out of Jerusalem in a coffin in 68 CE during the siege of the city by the Romans (B.T., *Git.* 56a). During Yehoshuʿa's later career he was the center of contention within rabbinical circles. Several sources recount how he was humiliated by the *nasi*ʾ Gamliʾel (B.T., *R. ha-Sh.* 25a). Yehoshuʿa's dispute with Gamliʾel over whether the evening prayer was compulsory or voluntary brought about the events that led to the deposition of Gamliʾel and the ascension of Elʿazar ben ʿAzaryah to the office of *nasi*ʾ (B.T., *Ber.* 28a).

Yehoshuʿa was involved in many legal disputes with Eliʿezer ben Hyrcanus; one celebrated argument concerned the ritual cleanness of the ovens of ʿAkhnʾai (a kind of tiled oven). Yehoshuʿa ruled that the ovens were ritually unclean; Eliʿezer said that the ovens could not become ritually unclean (B.T., *B.M.* 59a–b). Eliʿezer announced that a heavenly voice had declared his own position correct. Yehoshuʿa responded with the famous declaration: "It [the Torah] is not in heaven" (a quotation from *Dt.* 30:12)—that is, the rabbis alone have the authority to decide matters of law, not a supernatural voice or even a direct revelation.

An important teaching attributed to Yehoshuʿa shows a positive attitude toward outsiders: He declared that pious Gentiles will be able to enter heaven (Tosefta, *San.* 13.2). According to tradition, he engaged in many discourses with political figures and various groups, including the Roman emperor Hadrian, the elders of Athens, and the Jews of Alexandria.

Recent scholarship has questioned the legitimacy of attempts at reconstructing the lives of Yehoshuʿa and his fellow rabbis from the scattered traditions in rabbinic literature. No systematic analysis has been made of Yehoshuʿa's philosophical or religious beliefs.

SEE ALSO Tannaim.

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TZVEE ZAHAVY (1987)
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YEHOSHUʿA BEN LEVI, Palestinian amora of the early third century. A native of Lydda (modern-day Lod), Yehoshuʿa reflects the interests and traditions of Judaea at a time when rabbinic activity was becoming increasingly concentrated farther north in Galilee.

Yehoshuʿa's son married into the patriarchal house (B.T., *Qid.* 33b), a fact that may explain the notorious incident in which Yehoshuʿa arranged for a wanted Jewish nationalist to be handed over to the Romans (J.T., *Ter.* 8.10, 46b). In general, he was an active representative of Jewish interests before the Roman authorities, both in the regional capital at Caesarea (J.T., *Ber.* 5.1, 9a) and, apparently, even in Rome (*Gn. Rab.* 33.1, 78.5). On the other hand, by ordaining his own disciples (J.T., *Ned.* 10.8, 42b), Yehoshuʿa contributed to one of the important developments in Palestine in the third and fourth centuries—the weakened prestige of the patriarchate among the rabbis of the Land of Israel.

Yehoshuʿa's main distinction was as a master of *aggadah* (nonlegal rabbinic thought), a rubric of learning that he associated with the "honor" promised in *Proverbs* 21:21 (B.T., *B.B.* 9b). He was a fervent advocate of Torah study (B.T., *Mak.* 10a, *Meg.* 27a, *ʿEruv.* 54a). His descriptions of the fates of the righteous and the wicked after death (B.T., *ʿEruv.* 19a) and his reported conversations with the Angel of Death and with the prophet Elijah (B.T., *Ber.* 51a, *Ket.* 77b; J.T., *Ter.* 8.10, 46b) made him a favorite subject of later legend. It was to him that Elijah allegedly made his famous remark that the Messiah might come any day—any day, that is, that Israel was ready to listen to God's commands (B.T., *San.* 98a).

Although Yehoshuʿa was technically not a tanna, he lived close enough to the tannaitic period, and his teachings were honored enough, that one of his sayings was added to the closing paragraph of the Mishnah (*Uqts.* 3.12) and another was included in the supplementary chapter added to the Mishnaic tractate *Avot* (known as *Ethics of the Fathers,* 6.2).

SEE ALSO Amoraim.

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ROBERT GOLDENBERG (1987)
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YEHUDAH BAR ILʿAI (second century CE), Palestinian tanna. Born in Usha, in the lower Galilee, he was a student of ʿAqivaʾ and Ṭarfon and was ordained as rabbi by Yehudah ben Bavaʾ during the Hadrianic persecutions in the aftermath of the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

Numerous traditions attributed to Yehudah are preserved in rabbinic literature where he is usually referred to without patronymic. Along with Meʾir, Shimʿon, and Yose, he is one of the most frequently quoted authorities of his generation. His importance is reflected in the tradition that tells us that his contemporaries were called "members of Yehudah bar Ilʿai's generation" (B.T., *San.* 20a). Yehudah is also one of the most important transmitters of rabbinic teachings from the Sanhedrin at Yavneh before the Bar Kokhba Revolt to the Sanhedrin at Usha afterward. He cites numerous legal rulings in the names of ʿAqivaʾ, Ṭarfon, and other masters of the period of rabbinic activity at Yavneh.

To date, no systematic analysis has been made of Yehudah's traditions, probably because of the sheer size of the corpus of sayings attributed to him. There are, for example, some 180 disputes recorded between Yehudah and Neḥemyah, yet these represent only a fraction of the entire collection ascribed to Yehudah. Jacob Epstein (1957) believes that the corpus of his traditions was one of the primary documents used in the redaction of the Mishnah by his student Yehuda ha-Nasiʾ. Several of his rulings deal with the standardization of rabbinic liturgy (*Ber.* 4.1), the regulation of prayer (*Ber.* 4.7; Tosefta, *Ber.* 1.9; Tosefta, *Ber.* 3.5), and the regulation of daily liturgical blessings (Tosefta, *Ber.* 6.18). Other rules ascribed to Yehudah emphasize the importance of concentration and intention during the performance of rituals (Tosefta, *Ber.* 2.2) and the importance of maintaining the proper frame of mind during recitation of prayers (*Ber.* 2.2). Yehudah is also associated with legislation concerning the recitation of blessings over foods (*Ber.* 6.4; Tosefta, *Ber.* 4.4–5) and with blessings over natural wonders, both those for which one is permitted to recite blessings (*Ber.* 9.2) and those for which one is forbidden to recite blessings because it would appear to be a form of idolatry (Tosefta, *Ber.* 6.6). Yehudah's legal, exegetical, and theological sayings range across the whole spectrum of rabbinic thought and life.

See Also Tannaim.

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Tzvee Zahavy (1987)
Revised Bibliography

YEHUDAH BAR YEḤEZQE'L (c. 220–c. 299), a leading second-generation Babylonian amora, based in Pumbedita. He studied chiefly with Rav and then Shemu'el. Although remaining subservient to the exilarch (B.T., *Qid.* 70a–70b), the leader of the Jewish community appointed by the Persian authorities, Yehudah was empowered by him to apply rabbinic law in the marketplace and in civil and other matters that fell under his jurisdiction, especially through the enforcement of documents (B.T., *Mo'ed Q.* 4b, *Yev.* 39b).

As a teacher of rabbinic tradition, Yehudah cited the Mishnah to draw out its subtle legal points and to emend or explain it to make it fit the physical and social conditions of Babylonian Jewry or extra-Mishnaic tannaitic traditions (Epstein, 1964). In interpreting and rewording the comments of Rav and Shemu'el, Yehudah played a crucial role in preserving and employing their teachings (Bokser, 1980, esp. pp. 399–406, 414–415).

Yehudah was accorded high status due to his communal role, expertise in tracing people's genealogy, and devotion to Torah study (see, e.g., B.T., *Mo'ed Q.* 16b–17a, *Ḥag.* 15b). People believed that he was able to communicate with the dead, intercede for rain, and give insightful advice on health and other practical matters (B.T., *Ber.* 20a and parallels, *'A. Z.* 28b–29a). He lectured in the *pirqa',* a popular instructional gathering for both aggadic and halakhic subjects aimed at the general public but to which disciples were also expected to attend (B.T., *Shab.* 148a).

Notably, Yehudah speculated on the creation (B.T., *Shab.* 77b), handed down teachings on sacred objects such as the *mezuzah* and fringes *(tsitsit)* (B.T. *Men.* 35b, 39b, 41a), and proposed additional blessing formulas for the wedding ceremony (B.T., *Ket.* 7b–8a) and other situations. He reportedly concentrated on *neziqin* (Torts)—the area in which he had received actual authority from the exilarch. Stating that the laws of *neziqin* had to be carried out to obtain saintliness (B.T., *B.Q.* 30a), Yehudah asserted that equity in one's daily life was a criterion of one's faith. This rootedness in the practical realm and concern that people relate to the society in which they live may be further reflected in his teachings that discouraged his disciples from emigrating from Babylonia to Palestine (B.T., *Ber. 24b; B.T., Ket.* 110b–111a); he believed they should not hold their personal religious goals over the needs of the community in the here and now, in the Diaspora.

See Also Amoraim.

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Baruch M. Bokser (1987)
Revised Bibliography

YEHUDAH HA-LEVI (c. 1075–1141), Jewish poet, theologian, and physician. Born in either Tudela or Toledo, Spain, to a wealthy and cultured family, Yehudah ben Shemu'el ha-Levi was well educated. He studied the Bible, rabbinic literature, Arabic poetry, philosophy, and medicine. During his early travels in southern Spain he won acclaim for his poetic talent and was warmly received by many prominent Jewish families. However, in the wake of the Almoravid invasions of the area to halt the Christian *reconquista,* his enjoyment of courtly life was cut short. Eventually he settled in Christian-held Toledo, supporting himself as a physician and continuing to write. But he viewed with growing alarm the disruption of Jewish life throughout Andalusia. Sometime after 1125, in response to the queries of a Karaite thinker, ha-Levi began to draft a defense of Judaism, which developed into his most famous work, the *Kuzari.* In the summer of 1140, various personal, political, and religious considerations prompted him to depart for Palestine. Legend claims that he was killed within sight of Jerusalem, although recent studies suggest that he died *en route,* in Egypt.

Ha-Levi's poetry is generally regarded as the finest Hebrew verse written in the Middle Ages. Besides addressing all the traditional secular and religious themes of his day, he also developed, in his poems of Zion, an entirely new genre expressing both his own and his people's longing for renewal in their ancestral home. This longing was intensified by the upheavals and persecution suffered by Jews on both sides of the Mediterranean following the Almoravid invasion of Andalusia and the First Crusade. As ha-Levi observes,

> Between the hosts of Seʿir [Christians] and Qedar [Muslims], My host is utterly lost. . . . When they wage their wars, we fall with their fall.

Dismayed by the upheavals within Spanish Jewish life and sensing its eventual dissolution, ha-Levi began to question the value of some of its main cultural pursuits, especially philosophic speculation about religion:

> Let not the wisdom of the Greeks beguile you Which has no fruit, but only flowers. . . . Why should I seek out crooked ways And forsake the mother of paths?

While philosophy could produce a tantalizing array of opinions, it could not satisfy the spiritual hunger of men seeking concrete guidance for their actions. This required a return to the wellsprings of traditional Jewish piety, since one could approach God only by following "the mother of paths," the Torah.

> I have sought Your nearness. With all my heart have I called You; And going out to meet You I found You coming toward me.

Still, for ha-Levi, the path of return and religious renewal inevitably led to the Land of Israel as the chief site of past revelations and as the focus of God's promised redemption:

> Have we either in the East or the West A place of hope wherein we may trust, Except the land that is full of gates Toward which the gates of Heaven are open?

Ha-Levi's only theological work, the *Kuzari* (Book of the Khazars, or Book of refutation and in defense of the despised faith), develops these and other themes in a five-part dialogue, mainly between a pagan Khazar king who is converted to Judaism and the Jewish sage who instructs him. The king's conversion was factual, but ha-Levi created this dialogue with him to answer contemporary criticism of Judaism by representatives of philosophy, Christianity, Islam, and Karaism. The philosopher is clearly the most formidable spokesman of those who leave it to human reason to determine how best to serve God. The fact that a pagan king must evaluate their competing claims aids ha-Levi in giving all the participants, and notably Judaism, a fair hearing. It also underscores, inasmuch as a king is preeminently a man of action, the importance of practice over theory.

The story opens as the king repeatedly dreams that an angel is telling him that his intention is pleasing to God but his mode of worship is not. Convinced that this vision is genuine, he invites first an Aristotelian philosopher and then scholars of Christianity and Islam to instruct him.

The philosopher, expressing views reflecting the influence of Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Bājjah, denies the presuppositions of the king's dream. God as a perfect and changeless First Cause has neither likes nor dislikes, he says, or even knowledge of the king's mutable behavior, for all these would imply deficiency and imperfection in God. Still, a human may perfect him or herself and even achieve prophecy by studying the eternal system of necessary causes that emanate from God, thus attaining union with the Active Intellect, the source of all human knowledge. Since the principal requirement for achieving that union is the purification of one's soul, it does not matter from a purely rational standpoint which religious regimen one follows.

The king finds the philosopher's argument plausible, but says it does not provide what he seeks. Nor does he find that philosophers are able to prophesy. Consequently, he turns to the Christian and Muslim scholars. Their expositions directly address his concern, but they do not provide adequate evidence for their respective claims. Still, because both scholars agree that their beliefs are based on God's well-attested revelation to Israel, the king finally consults a Jewish scholar.

The rabbi declares his faith in the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who led the Israelites out of Egypt, miraculously sustained them, and gave them his law in the Torah of Moses. Subsequent discussion of these claims eventually convinces the king of their truth because they are supported by what he regards as compelling grounds: public, empirical, direct, and miraculous evidence. Over 600,000 initially skeptical Israelites saw and heard God personally reveal his commandments at Mount Sinai and transmitted a unanimous, reliable report of that occasion to subsequent generations.

The king regards the rabbi's account as superior not only to that of the other scholars but also to that of the philosopher. The philosopher infers the existence and nature of God from some aspect of the world's order, but such speculation is tenuous and uncertain, and it evokes no reverence for its object. By contrast, there is nothing tenuous or uncertain about the veracity of a collective experience of God, transmitted by a reliable, uninterrupted tradition.

The rabbi goes on to depict those few who are able to prophesy as quite literally belonging to the divine realm. Relying heavily on conceptions current in Shiism, he argues that in relation to the traditional hierarchy of inorganic matter, plants, animals, and human beings, this elect group *(ṣafwah)* constitutes an essentially separate order, manifesting extraordinary faculties and behavior. Because they are by nature conjoined with "the divine thing" *(al-amr al-ilāhī)*—ha-Levi's multivalent term for diverse aspects of divine immanence—they alone can communicate God's will to ordinary persons, whereas human speculation and cosmic powers, like the Active Intellect, cannot. Tradition identifies Adam as the first to possess this prophetic faculty or inner eye. From him it passed to the biblical heroes until it reached the children of Israel. Prophecy flourished among them because, like choice fruit, it was cultivated in the ideal climate of the Land of Israel, through use of the Hebrew language and adherence to the regimen of God's own laws. With exile and the neglect of many commandments, prophecy ceased, yet it will reappear once the original conditions are restored.

After converting, the king learns more about these matters and also that Israel remains a living focus of divine providence in the world, despite its exile and degradation. While other nations and religions imitate its religious institutions, they are "dead" by comparison; they rise and fall according to chance and natural causes, being subject neither to miraculous deliverances nor to catastrophic defeats. Israel, however, like a seed cast upon the ground, is governed by a secret, providential wisdom, whereby it transforms its surroundings and will eventually produce a unified humanity obedient to God's will.

The pious human personifies this obedience with a faith that is natural and wholehearted, neither the product of speculation nor vulnerable to it. Ruling one's self and one's inclinations, the individual is uniquely suited to rule the city, for like Plato's philosopher-king he or she gives everything its due by exercising rational choice. The behavior of the pious human thus conforms to the rational, political laws (such as decrees of justice) that are preambles to the divine traditional laws (such as ritual rules), preceding them in nature and in time. The former constitute the indispensable prerequisite for the existence of any group, even a den of robbers. But the divine laws are more important than the rational laws, because they specify the application of the latter and also bring people to communion with God and to happiness in ways that reason cannot explain.

In their knowledge of God, both the pious and the prophets apprehend all that the philosophers do and more. They, too, recognize God generically as Elohim, the governing cause of the universe from whom the natural forms of all things emanate in regular ways, indifferent to the needs and merits of human beings. But they also experience God individually as YHVH (Adonai), who reveals himself to those suitably prepared and who overrides natural causes on their behalf at predetermined times. Only as YHVH does God evoke love and service, for in communion with him humans find their greatest happiness, and in separation from him, their greatest misery.

The rabbi's final exposition and critique of philosophy attempts to show the king that he need not be persuaded by many of its key claims, since they are untenable. Earlier he had suggested that the philosopher seeks wisdom only because he lacks a reliable tradition embracing wisdom, while Israel has received divine wisdom in a Torah that contradicts nothing truly demonstrated by philosophy. Apparently influenced by al-Ghazālī's *Incoherence of the Philosophers,* he now suggests that what has been so demonstrated is confined largely to mathematics and logic. In physics, he argues, the philosophers' account of the four elements is empirically unsubstantiated. In psychology, their theory of the Active Intellect entails numerous absurdities, and in metaphysics, their views on divine causation are riddled with inconsistency. The most we can know regarding metaphysics is that only God governs material things by determining their natural forms. Since philosophy offers little wisdom about matters of such importance, a turn toward the divine wisdom embodied in Israel's ancestral tradition is called for. But, as the rabbi recognizes, a wholehearted turn toward the ancestral tradition can be completed only by a return to the ancestral land. Accordingly, as the dialogue closes, he follows the logic of his position and departs for the Holy Land.

Ha-Levi was the first medieval Jewish thinker to appreciate fully the challenge posed to Judaism by Aristotelian rationalism and to address it in a philosophically literate way. Speaking as a religious empiricist and working from the sources of Judaism, he produced what has become a classic theological defense of Judaism as a suprarational religion of revealed practice.

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BARRY S. KOGAN (1987)
Revised Bibliography

YEHUDAH HA-NASIʾ (135?–220?), called "Rabbi" or "Our Holy Rabbi," was a Palestinian tanna. Yehudah was the son of Shimʿon ben Gamliʾel of Yavneh. With Yehudah the office of *nasiʾ* (patriarch, head of the court) reached its zenith. Reestablished by the Romans after the disastrous defeat of the Bar Kokhba Revolt in 135 CE, the position of *nasiʾ* by the end of the century afforded Yehudah an authority recognized by Jews and Romans alike. Even the Jewish community in Babylonia looked to him as the head of the Jewish people.

As *nasiʾ* Yehudah first established his court in Beit Shearim. However, for reasons of health he spent the last seventeen years of his life in Sepphoris (J.T., *Ket.* 12.3, 35a). Yehudah's major task as *nasiʾ* was to secure the economic recovery of Israel after the destruction caused by the Bar Kokhba Revolt. He and his court exempted several places from tithes (J.T., *Dem.* 2.1, 22c–d), enacted laws that allowed Jews to regain ownership of land confiscated by the Romans during the Bar Kokhba Revolt (B.T., *Git.* 58b), eased the laws of the sabbatical years to increase the food supply in Israel (J.T., *Taʿan.* 3.1, 66c), took over the important task of proclaiming the new month and intercalating the year (J.T., *San.* 1.2, 18c), and introduced regulations that eased taking testimony and dispatching messengers to declare the court's decision concerning the new months (J.T., *R. ha-Sh.* 2.1, 58a). His support of the rabbinic class found expression in his exempting the sages from some taxes (B.T., *B. B.* 8a).

The significance of Yehudah's tenure as *nasiʾ* is seen in the many stories that depict his close relationship with the Roman emperor (B.T., *ʿA. Z.* 10a–b, *San.* 9 1a–b; J.T., *Meg.* 1.11, 72b; J.T., *San.* 10.5, 29c; *Gn. Rab.* 11.4, 67.6, 75.7, 84.3). For example, the following is in *Berakhot* 57b of the Babylonian Talmud: "And YHVH said to her, 'Two nations are in your womb' [*Gn.* 25:23]. Do not read nations *[goyim]*, but 'lords' *[geʾim]*, and Rav Yehudah [third-century amora] said in the name of Rav: 'These are [Marcus Aurelius] Antoninus and Rabbi, whose table never lacked either radish, lettuce or cucumbers either in summer or winter.'" These many stories are meant to equate Yehudah (Rabbi) with the leader of the most powerful political force of his time. Whether or not the conversations reported in these texts actually occurred is open to question. However, the point they make is clear: Our patriarch is as powerful and important as their emperor.

At the same time that the sages picture Yehudah as an outstanding political leader, they also describe him as an exceptionally learned rabbi. One proverb stated that "from the days of Moses until the days of Rabbi we did not find both Torah and Greatness in one place" (B.T., *Git.* 59a). It is recorded that Yehudah wandered from academy to academy so he might learn from all five of ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef's major students as well as from the other leading sages of his time (B. T., *ʿEruv.* 53a, *Yomaʾ* 79b, *Yev.* 84a, *Shab.* 147b, *Meg.* 20a).

In addition Yehudah ha-Nasiʾ exhibited the qualities of the "ideal sage." Shiʿmon ben Menasyaʾ said, "All of the seven characteristics which the sages attributed to the righteous—comeliness, strength, riches, wisdom, old age, honor, and children—all of them were established in Rabbi and his sons" (*Avot* 6.9). Although Yehudah was so wealthy that his house steward was said to be richer than the Persian ruler Shāpūr I (r. 241–272 CE; B.T., *B. M.* 85a), his generosity was also well known. He invited the sages to his table, and during years of need he opened his private storehouses to the hungry (B.T., *ʿEruv.* 73a, *B. B.* 8a). When a person strayed from the correct path, Yehudah was there to guide him or her gently back to God (B.T., *B. M.* 85a). He showed kindness and compassion to all of God's creatures, even to the insects (*Gn. Rab.* 33.3). He was willing to learn from all, and he never treated his contemporaries with disrespect or contempt; he often accepted their teachings when those differed from his own (B.T., *Ket.* 93a). One proverb stated that "when Rabbi died humility and fear of sin ceased" (B.T., *Sot.* 49b). He was noted for his support of the Hebrew language (in place of the vernacular Aramaic). It was claimed that he spoke only Hebrew in his house and that the sages came to him seeking explanations of Hebrew words and phrases (B.T., *B.Q.* 82b, *R. ha-Sh.* 26b; J.T., *Sheviʿit* 9.1 38c).

No other political leader so captured the minds and imaginations of the ancient rabbis. Upon Yehudah's death the sages decreed a fast and offered prayers of supplication, and a voice from heaven proclaimed that "whoever has been present at Rabbi's death is destined to enjoy life in the world to come" (B.T., *Ket.* 103b–104a). His burial place in Beit Shearim was visited by generations of Jewish pilgrims.

Among the tannaim and the amoraim, only Yehudah is pictured as combining the learning of a rabbinic sage who mastered the oral Torah with the skill of a seasoned politician who was an equal to the emperor of Rome. Other sages interacted with Roman and Sassanian leaders, while other rabbis were noted for their areas of knowledge. But Yehudah alone among the rabbis is praised equally for his knowledge and piety and for his political skills. His uniqueness is attested by his often being cited merely as Rabbi, the only sage who is cited merely by title without a reference to his name. Similarly he is the only patriarch known as Ha-Nasi, the Patriarch, par excellence. The tradition presents a unique rabbi whose knowledge of the rabbinic tradition and whose political skills permitted him to bring together the rabbinic and nonrabbinic classes of society and to rebuild the Palestinian Jewish community after the devastating defeat of Bar Kokhba. Even though he could be intimidating and arrogant (B.T. *Ket.* 103b, *Yeb.* 9a, J.T. *Naz.* IX:57d), these traits are played down by the tradition.

During Yehudah's tenure as *nasi'*, the foundation document of postbiblical rabbinic Judaism, the Mishnah, was created. This collection of primarily legal statements formed the basis of both the Babylonian and the Jerusalem (Palestinian) Talmuds, repositories of Jewish law and lore from the first six centuries of the common era organized as commentaries on the Mishnah. The appearance of the Mishnah also marked a crucial stage in the process of the development of Judaism from a temple-oriented cult to a Torah-oriented culture of study and exposition.

Generations of scholars have maintained that Yehudah was the sole editor of the Mishnah. Many have attempted to explain the processes by which he created this document from sources composed by Hillel the Elder, ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef, and Meʾir. Basing their theory largely on the letter of Sheriraʾ Gaon (tenth century CE), these scholars have argued that Yehudah merely did what others before him had done—he faithfully preserved and transmitted what he had received from his teachers. Although nothing was written down before Yehudah, the earlier oral traditions were part of a memorized corpus that was carefully preserved and that included the names of those who had written opinions or of the majority. Yehudah organized this material into a unified text according to comprehensive principles.

Jacob Neusner, in *Judaism: The Evidence of the Mishnah* (1981), concluded, on the basis of detailed literary analyses, that the Mishnah is not the work of one person. However, there is no doubt that the Mishnah's reputation was enhanced by its completion at Yehudah's court and that its importance in the history and development of Judaism stems from the central place Yehudah and his colleagues occupied in the minds and imaginations of subsequent generations of Jews.

SEE ALSO Judaism, overview article; Mishnah and Tosefta; Rabbinic Judaism in Late Antiquity; Tannaim.

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GARY G. PORTON (1987 AND 2005)

YE SHES MTSHO RGYAL (YESHE TSOGYAL) (777–873) is a leading female figure and role model for Tibetan Buddhists. She is especially important for the Rnyingma (Nyingma) school of Tibetan Buddhism as a key figure in myth, dreams, iconography, and meditative practice. But she is also significant for Tibetans more generally, especially for her role in the stories of the establishment of Tibetan Buddhism in the eighth century CE.

Yeshe Tsogyal is said to have been one of the queens of the pivotal Tri Songde Tsan (eighth century), the king who brought Indian masters of Buddhism to Tibet and who built the first monastic community at Bsam yas (Samye). There are no contemporary inscriptions that mention her, and so there is some question about whether she is really a historical figure. But she appears at a relatively early point—by at least the twelfth century—in the mythologized accounts of the conversion of Tibet to a Buddhist country, and references to her clan title Mkhar chen Bza' (Karchen Za) also make her historicity credible. It is certainly possible that there was such a queen who became involved in Buddhist meditative practices, even if her story was elaborated greatly as the narrative of Tibet's conversion developed.

The earliest known reference to her life appears in a one-page notice in a history by the Treasure-discoverer Nyangrel Nyima Özer (1136–1204). A full-length presentation of her life from the fourteenth century has recently been identified, but she is best known for the version by Tagsham Nuden Dorje (b. 1655), a visionary of the seventeenth century. This work has been translated into English twice. In this story her early rejection of suitors and her desire to practice Buddhism are recounted, placing her story squarely within the norms of standard Buddhist hagiography, albeit with a number of twists specific to women's situations. Yeshe Tsogyal's plight is noticed by King Tri Songde Tsan, who takes her as one of his queens, but he soon offers her in turn to the Indian Tantric master Padmasambhava, whom the king had invited to Tibet to teach Tantric Buddhism. Padmasambhava and Yeshe Tsogyal become a Tantric couple and Padmasambhava transmits to her the full range of Tantric teachings. Early lineage stories of one of those teachings, on the Indic deity Vajrakā, lists Yeshe Tsogyal as a primary lineage holder.

Yeshe Tsogyal then proceeds alone to a mountain hermitage to practice what she has learned. She practices austerities and endures extreme hardship, reaching key stages of realization. At a certain point she is advised through visionary means to take a Tantric consort of her own. In a rare twist from the usual androcentric rendition of this stage on the path, Yeshe Tsogyal sets out to procure a partner, who turns out to be an attractive but indigent man in Nepal, and she brings him back to the caves of Tibet to teach him the requisite techniques of sexual yoga.

Yeshe Tsogyal's hagiography deals with several specifically female situations, one of which is found in its provocative account of her rape by seven bandits. During this ordeal she turns the situation into a teaching for the bandits and ultimately helps them on their own path to buddhahood. She also continues to serve as a premier disciple of the master Padmasambhava. An important element of her story is that she assists the master in recording and then concealing Treasure (*gter ma*) teachings for future generations of Buddhists in Tibet. After Padmasambhava's departure to the Pure Land, Yeshe Tsogyal remains as a teacher of many, and finally dies surrounded by a large number of disciples.

One more element of her life story in the Tagsham version is that she defeats in debate certain rival teachers from the Bon religion. This episode seems to be missing in earlier renditions of her life, but it connects her to larger conceptions about Tibet's past and its identity vis-à-vis Buddhism. Nonetheless, Yeshe Tsogyal was also adopted as a heroine for Tibetan followers of Bon, and another full-length version of her life was recently identified in the Bonpo canon of scriptures.

The appeal of Yeshe Tsogyal is undoubtedly tied primarily to her image as a female master of meditation and yoga. That she serves as a role model for Tibetan women involved in the lay yogic path can be seen from the fact that outstanding female religious leaders in Tibet have been regularly identified as her "emanation," up to the twenty-first century. But she is also a popular source of visionary revelation for both male and female meditators. Yeshe Tsogyal often appears in the dreams and visions of yogis of the Nyingma school, during which she gives indications of how to uncover a Treasure revelation of their own, along with other key teachings. In addition, practitioners of visualization meditation in the Nyingma tradition will often use her image as the object of their imagination in the Tantric rites known as *sādhana* meditation. One of the most popular cycles of meditation that contains instructions for visualization of Yeshe Tsogyal is the Heart Sphere Teachings (Klong chen Snying thig), revealed by Jigme Lingpa (1729–1798) in the eighteenth century. Tantric empowerment rites that focus on her image continue to be given to students in Tibet today, as well as in the exile communities of Tibetan Buddhists in South Asia.

SEE ALSO Padmasambhava; Treasure Tradition.

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JANET GYATSO (2005)

YESHIVAH. In contemporary usage, the Hebrew term *yeshivah* refers to an academy for the advanced study of Jewish religious texts, primarily the Talmud. Since the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE, the *yeshivah* has been one of the most important institutions of Jewish communal life. Although many *yeshivah* students go on to become rabbis and although the texts taught in *yeshivot* are among those a rabbi is expected to master, it should be emphasized that a *yeshivah,* an all-male institution, is not a rabbinical seminary. Its function is not to train professional religious leaders but rather to provide a framework for study. In the Jewish religious tradition, study of the Torah is seen as a central and meritorious religious act in and of itself, regardless of its relevance to the student's career plans. While *yeshivot* have been a common feature of Jewish communities, they have not been equally prevalent in every location and time. In various communities and at various times, aspiring scholars would study individually under the guidance of more advanced scholars and rabbis without taking part in a formal educational framework. The *batei midrash,* or communal study halls, that were common in many communities facilitated this practice. However, for much of Jewish history, advanced study rarely occurred outside the framework of the *yeshivot.*

The term *yeshivah* appears in tannaitic sources, where it refers to a rabbinical court *(beit din),* not to an institution of learning. The Jews of Palestine in the first and second centuries CE made no distinction between higher education and judicial activity, and they had no tradition of academic career training. Study of Jewish law *(halakhah)* was not seen as something that could or should be isolated from its practical applications.

Little is known of the precursors of the *yeshivot. Yeshivot* became central institutions in Palestine after the destruction of the Second Temple and in the absence of other central institutions. The academy founded by Yoḥanan ben Zakkʾai at Yavneh in 68 CE and its successors, first in Judaea and later in the Galilee, functioned, according to rabbinic tradition, as the continuation of the Sanhedrin (the legislative body that convened in the Temple) and as the training ground for future scholars and leaders.

***YESHIVOT* IN BABYLONIA.** After the death of Yehuda ha-Nasiʾ, the patriarch of Judaea (c. 220 CE), the *yeshivot* of Babylonia began to grow in importance and soon became the most highly esteemed authorities in the Jewish world. For a period of eight hundred years, Babylonian *yeshivot* functioned not only as the central religious-legal institutions of Babylonian Jewry, alongside the lay authority of the exilarchate, but also as the final arbiters of halakhic questions for most of the Jewish communities of the world.

Amoraic period. At any given time during the Talmudic period, there were usually two leading *yeshivot* that often competed for honor and prestige. The first of these was the *yeshivah* of Nehardea, which flourished in the first half of the third century under the leadership of the Babylonian sage Shemuʾel (d. 263?). Although the date of its foundation is unknown, it was already regarded in Shemuʾel's time as a venerable institution and as an important center for the transmission of Babylonian Jewish traditions. In 219 Abbaʾ bar Ayyvu (c. 155–247), known as Rav, a Babylonian who had spent many years in Palestine and was familiar with Palestinian traditions, settled in Nehardea. Shortly after, he moved to the town of Sura and opened a *yeshivah* there. Both Rav and Shemuʾel had able successors, and even though the institutions they led sometimes changed location or were temporarily closed, they endured until perhaps the thirteenth century. The *yeshivah* of Nehardea moved to Pumbedita in the wake of the destruction of Nehardea in 259, and in the late ninth century it moved to Baghdad, followed soon after by the *yeshivah* of Sura.

The degree to which these Babylonian *yeshivot* (or *metivtot,* as they were known in Aramaic) can be classified as educational institutions is still a subject of debate. They certainly continued to function as courts, and the scholars who were clustered around them formed an equivalent to the Sanhedrin. It would appear, though, that from early on young students came to study with the eminent *roʾshei yeshivah* (masters of the *yeshivah*) and that the pedagogic function of the *yeshivah* was seen as important.

According to later sources (which may not be completely reliable), the *roʾshei yeshivot* in Babylonia were often appointed by the exilarch (*roʾsh ha-golah,* lit., "head of the exile"). The veteran scholars of the *yeshivah* sat at assigned seats in the study hall in a seating order based on age and scholarly reputation, wherein the more advanced sat in the front rows (this seating plan was also characteristic of non-Jewish academies in Babylonia). The contact between the *roʾsh yeshivah* and the students was often indirect. It was apparently a common practice for the *roʾsh yeshivah* to deliver his lecture in a soft voice and to have his words declaimed by an *amoraʾ* (speaker) in a loud voice. Since many of the authoritative teachings of the Jewish tradition were transmitted orally, recourse was made to *tannaʾim* (repeaters) who had committed them to memory.

Twice a year, in the spring and the fall, this pattern of study changed radically, with Jewish laymen flocking to the *yeshivot,* apparently by the thousands, for a month of popular and intensive study. These months were known as *yarḥei kallah* ("months of assembly").

Geonic period. From roughly 550 to 1050 CE, Babylonian *yeshivot* continued to flourish as centers of both education and legal decision making. Students came not only from Babylonia but from Egypt, North Africa, Spain, Italy, and elsewhere to study and to prepare themselves for leadership roles in their home communities. Legal questions (accompanied by donations) were sent from many Jewish communities in the Mediterranean basin, and the *responsa* were copied down for the guidance of later generations. The Geonim, as the heads of the *yeshivot* were called in the post-Talmudic period, wrote legal treatises and other works that were widely distributed. The widespread respect and authority that the Geonim enjoyed no doubt contributed to the acceptance of the Babylonian Talmud as the authoritative source of Jewish legal and aggadic thought. Their institutions were funded not only by donations but by tax revenues from certain Babylonian Jewish communities. Much less is known about the *yeshivot* in the Land of Israel in this period.

The general decline of the Abbasid empire, long centered in Baghdad, anti-Jewish persecutions in the tenth and eleventh centuries in Iraq, and the rise of new Jewish centers elsewhere led to the decline of the Babylonian *yeshivot* and a corresponding rise in the importance of *yeshivot* in other locations. However, none of these newer *yeshivot* achieved the centrality and influence that the *yeshivot* of Babylonia had enjoyed. According to Avraham ibn Daud's account in *Sefer ha-qabbalah* (The book of tradition; c. 1161), around the year 990 a ship bringing four scholars to a *kallah* month was captured by pirates. Three of the scholars were sold as slaves in various ports—one in Egypt, one in North Africa, and one in Spain (the fourth met an unknown fate)—where each became the leader of an important *yeshivah.* While the legend is not a reliable historical source, it does illustrate the continuity between later *yeshivot* and their Babylonian predecessors as well as the weakening of the ties between other Jewish communities and Babylonia.

***YESHIVOT* IN THE MEDIEVAL DIASPORA.** From the tenth century onward, *yeshivot* were to be found in most Jewish communities. In Spain, one of the first important *yeshivot* to develop was that of Cordova; others were located in Lucena, Toledo, Barcelona, and elsewhere. These *yeshivot* were often located in or near community structures such as synagogues. The curriculum of these *yeshivot* centered on the Babylonian Talmud and its legal application and at times included qabbalistic literature. The well-known interest of some Spanish Jews in secular subjects found no expression in the *yeshivot;* their study of languages and sciences was usually carried out with the help of tutors or, occasionally, through enrollment in a non-Jewish school. The size and importance of a *yeshivah* was directly related to the fame and prestige of its head, the *roʾsh yeshivah.* Most of the central rabbinical figures of Spanish Jewish history, including Nahmanides (Mosheh ben Naḥman, c. 1190–1270), Shalomoh ben Avraham Adret (c. 1235–1310), and Nissim Gerondi (d. 1380?), headed *yeshivot.* The notes taken by students were passed from hand to hand and formed the basis for many of the Spanish glosses on the Talmud.

In North Africa, *yeshivot* were often located close to Muslim academies, though the question of intellectual relations between Jewish and Muslim schools has yet to be explored. The first important *yeshivah* in North Africa was that of Kairouan, which had close ties with Babylonian *yeshivot.* The *yeshivah* of Kairouan rose to importance in the tenth century and upon its decline in the following century, the *yeshivot* of Fez and Tlemcen in Morocco became prominent. Fusṭāṭ, near present-day Cairo, was also the site of an important *yeshivah.*

In the Ashkenazic communities of northern Europe, the great intellectual flowering that produced Gershom ben Yehudah (c. 965–1028), Rashi (Shelomoh ben Yitsḥaq, 1040–1105), and the Tosafists was achieved to a large extent within the *yeshivot.* These *yeshivot* differed from their predecessors in that they were chiefly educational institutions and no longer functioned as courts or as facilities for scholarly assembly. They tended to be small institutions with just a few tens of students who often lived with the *roʾsh yeshivah* and studied in a separate room in his house. Many of these students were Talmudic scholars in their own right, and they were not so much disciples of the *roʾsh yeshivah* as his partners in study. Beginners would prepare for admission to the *yeshivah* by studying with special teachers. The course of study in the *yeshivot* centered on Talmud and led to the conferment of formal degrees. The lowest, corresponding roughly to the bachelor of arts degree granted by universities of the time, was that of *ḥaver* ("fellow"), while more advanced students looked forward to receiving the title *morenu* ("our teacher"), which entitled them to open their own *yeshivot.* As in the medieval universities, the curriculum emphasized discussion and disputation rather than literary creativity; this phenomenon is reflected in the Jewish scholarly literature of the period, which was mainly in the form of commentaries and glosses and not extended expository works. Like their counterparts in the universities, *yeshivah* students were highly mobile and often studied in many schools in the course of their academic careers.

Both in Mediterranean countries and in northern Europe, *yeshivot* stressed creative study for their advanced students rather than rote learning. Often students were required to resolve logical problems and contradictions in a text, or between authoritative texts, in a manner that led to a deeper understanding of the issues. In a very real sense, this kind of intellectual development was an organic continuation of earlier patterns. The members of the medieval *yeshivah* related to the Talmud in very much the same way as the tannaim (the rabbis whose teachings are collected in the Mishnah) related to the Hebrew Bible and as the amoraim (the rabbis whose teachings are collected in the *gemaraʾ)* related to the Mishnah.

There was a significant flow of ideas between the *yeshivot* of various areas. Rashi, who lived in northern France, was accepted in Spain and North Africa as the authoritative commentator on the Talmud, and the work of his successors in northern Europe, the Tosafists, was eventually carried on in Spain. This tradition concentrated on reconciling texts and statements scattered through the rabbinic literature so that it would form a harmonious whole.

One of the distinctive characteristics of the curriculum of the late medieval Ashkenazic *yeshivah* (thirteenth to seventeenth century) was the development of *pilpul,* a type of argumentation that uses highly contorted, often hair-splitting reasoning to resolve hypothetical cases or to reconcile opposing views. Most *pilpul* took place in oral debates, and few texts from the period survive. Many scholars found *pilpul* a fascinating intellectual stimulus, but others criticized it for its artificiality. *Pilpul* was eventually abandoned in favor of the more logical approach of the Spanish scholars, whose works were widely disseminated in northern Europe after the development of the printing press. Another activity popular in *yeshivah* circles of the time was the collection and study of *minhagim,* or local customs.

***YESHIVOT* IN THE MODERN WORLD.** The continuity of the Ashkenazic *yeshivah* was broken in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in two different ways. In German-speaking lands, there was a gradual decline of interest in Talmudic and rabbinic literature, exacerbated by the Haskalah (Jewish Enlightenment movement) and the increasing assimilation of Jews into the general community. In Polish lands there was a sharper break that was associated with (but not totally explained by) the Cossack rebellion of 1648, which destroyed many communities and their *yeshivot.* The failure of the Polish Jewish community to reestablish the network of *yeshivot* immediately after the rebellion was due, in part, to the economic decline of the Jewish community and perhaps also to the spread of Hasidism, which encouraged the study of Talmud but placed less emphasis on formal education.

The nineteenth century saw important growth in the number and role of European *yeshivot.* In central Europe a key part was played by Mosheh Sofer (1762–1839), the rabbi of Pressburg, Hungary (now Bratislava, Slovakia). He was appointed to the position in 1806, and as his fame grew he became a major force in developing an active Orthodoxy in reaction to the Reform movement, which was gaining adherents in his native Germany and Hungary. One of the elements of his program was the development and expansion of the Pressburg *yeshivah,* whose student body soon numbered several hundred. Sofer's students went on to occupy many of the important rabbinical posts in the Habsburg Empire. The *yeshivot* they founded were a great influence on the lives of students who studied there during their formative adolescent years and were a major factor in the stability and cohesiveness of Hungarian Orthodoxy. In Germany, however, no major *yeshivot* developed. The rapid pace of acculturation, the need for a general education for economic advancement, and the lack of prestige for Talmudic knowledge among wide sectors of the Jewish community were largely responsible for this.

The revival of *yeshivot* of eastern Europe began in the early nineteenth century with the foundation in 1803 of a *yeshivah* in Volozhin, White Russia, by Ḥayyim ben Yitsḥaq (1749–1821). It differed from earlier Ashkenazic *yeshivot* in that it was neither a private institution nor a communal one, but rather a regional institution supported by donations collected by fundraisers from Jews throughout Lithuania and later even farther afield. As such, the *yeshivah* of Volozhin was free from local pressures. This organizational model was not immediately imitated, and most Talmud students continued to study in *batei midrash* (local study halls). In the latter part of the nineteenth century there was a sharp rise in the number of *yeshivot* that were founded to counteract the appeal of secular education and Haskalah. Important *yeshivot* were founded in Telz, Slobodka, Ponevezh, Slutsk, Novorodok, and elsewhere. Many were founded to advance the aims of the Musar movement, founded by Yisraʾel Salanter (1810–1883), which called for the study and practice of ethical behavior. These *yeshivot* appointed special preceptors *(mashgiḥim)* to teach and supervise ethical behavior; they functioned alongside the standard Talmud teachers, not always without friction. Other *yeshivot* emphasized new methods of study that stressed analysis of texts rather than legal casuistry. At the same time, and because of the same stimulus of competition from secular education and nontraditional influences, the Hasidic communities also began to establish *yeshivot.*

In the period between the world wars, all *yeshivot* in areas controlled by the Soviet Union were closed. However, in Poland, Lithuania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, *yeshivot* continued to flourish. These *yeshivot* were funded largely by subventions from Jews in the United States. The Holocaust led to the destruction of all of these institutions.

Today the two main centers of *yeshivot* are Israel and the United States. Until after World War II, *yeshivot* in the United States were relatively unsuccessful in attracting students and had little influence on Jewish life. Most of the Jews who came to America from eastern Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were not well educated, and the conditions of immigrant life in America were not conducive to the perpetuation of traditional customs. Those *yeshivot* that did exist followed the established patterns of the Old World. One important exception was the Rabbi Isaac Elhanan Theological Seminary, which grew into Yeshiva University. This institution, founded in the late nineteenth century in New York City, successfully introduced a new curriculum that included traditional Talmudic studies in the morning and secular studies, leading to the bachelor of arts degree, in the afternoon. After World War II there was a major increase in the number of American *yeshivot* and in the size of their student populations, as well as an improvement in the quality of instruction. These changes were due in part to the arrival of refugees from eastern Europe, who brought with them a strong commitment to tradition and expertise in Talumdic learning, and in part to the emergence of a native-born and self-confident American Jewish Orthodox community.

A similar pattern is found in the Land of Israel. In the early modern period, Sefardic Jews and Jewish communities in North Africa and Asia continued their traditional practice of financially supporting *yeshivot,* many of which were in the Land of Israel. They tended to be academies of established scholars rather than educational institutions in the Ashkenazic mold. These *yeshivot,* with their mature student bodies, often emphasized the study of Qabbalah or of Jewish law, not Talmudic study exclusively. The scholars who constituted the membership of the *yeshivot* were given stipends. When the Ashkenazic immigration to the Land of Israel began in the late eighteenth century, Ashkenazic *yeshivot* began to appear. They were intended for younger students, and the program of study was devoted almost completely to Talmud.

As the Jewish community in Palestine grew, there was a corresponding growth in the number of *yeshivot.* In the interwar period there was even a case of a *yeshivah* that was transferred *in toto*—student body and staff—from Slobodka in Lithuania to Hebron in Palestine. After the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 this growth continued, now with the financial support of the Israeli government. As in America, the *yeshivah* high schools drew many of the sons of observant families. The special security problems of Israel led to the establishment of *yeshivot* for soldiers, who were permitted to interrupt their military service for periods of Talmud study.

Today almost all *yeshivah* students are unmarried. Another institution, the *kolel* (pl., *kolelim*), provides married students with stipends to enable them to study full-time. Unlike *yeshivah* students, they usually study independently, without formal guidance or supervision. The *yeshivot,* with the *kolelim,* are now among the most important institutions of contemporary Orthodoxy. They play a major role in securing the loyalty of the younger generation to traditional patterns and values. It has become standard practice for groups within the Orthodox community to establish separate *yeshivot* for their youth. Now, for example, every Hasidic sect has its own *yeshivah. Roʾshei yeshivah* are among the most important leaders of Orthodox Jewry, and they often supplant the authority of communal rabbis.

There are probably more young men studying Torah (and especially the Talmud) full-time today than ever before. Only a small minority go on to serve as rabbis. While in traditional *yeshivot* the student body continues to be all male, similar institutions of study for women have been developed. Recently, the term *yeshivah* has often been applied to Jewish day schools, on both the elementary and high school level, that have a program that includes general studies as well as

Jewish studies. But the Orthodox *yeshivot* have managed to adapt to new conditions without compromising their basic commitment to the perpetuation of tradition.

SEE ALSO Amoraim; Hasidism, overview article; Holocaust, The, article on History; Judaism, overview article, articles on Judaism in the Middle East and North Africa to 1492, Judaism in Northern and Eastern Europe to 1500; Musar Movement; Rabbinate; Rabbinic Judaism in Late Antiquity; Schenirer, Sarah; Shemuʾel the Amora; Tosafot.

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There are a number of valuable monographs on *yeshivot.* The most recent book on the Babylonian *yeshivot* is David M. Goodblatt's *Rabbinic Instruction in Sasanian Babylonia* (Leiden, 1975). For the other end of the time spectrum, William B. Helmreich's *The World of the Yeshiva* (New York, 1982) provides a useful description of modern American *yeshivot.* A number of unpublished Ph.D. dissertations are relevant: Armin Harry Friedman's "Major Aspects of Yeshiva Education in Hungary, 1848–1948" (Yeshiva University, 1971), M. Breuer's "The Ashkenazi Yeshiva toward the Close of the Middle Ages" (Hebrew University, 1967), I. Gafni's "The Babylonian Yeshiva" (Hebrew University, 1978), and my own "Three Lithuanian Yeshivot" (Hebrew University, 1982); the latter three are in Hebrew with detailed English summaries. The most valuable collection of primary sources on the history of Jewish education, which includes a great deal of material on *yeshivot,* is Simha Assaf's *Megorot le-toledot ha-ḥinukh be-Yisraʾel,* 4 vols. in 2 (Tel Aviv, 1936–1954).

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YETSIRAH, SEFER SEE SEFER YETSIRAH

YHVH SEE ATTRIBUTES OF GOD, *ARTICLE ON* JEWISH CONCEPTS; GOD, *ARTICLE ON* GOD IN POSTBIBLICAL JUDAISM; GOD, *ARTICLE ON* GOD IN THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES

YI SEE REN AND YI

YIJING (635–713), Chinese Buddhist translator and traveler to India. Born Zhang Wenming, a native of Qizhou (modern Shandong province), Yijing left his family at the age of seven and lived in a Buddhist monastery, where he studied under the guidance of two monks, Shanyu (d. 646) and Huizhi. The former was a learned scholar with a broad range of religious and secular knowledge; the latter was an expert on monastic discipline (Vinaya). Yijing was ordained at the age of fourteen and was urged by Huizhi to follow the Vinaya strictly. He studied the monastic rules for another five years and became well versed in its regulations as well as in the interpretations given by Fali (d. 635) and Daoxuan (d. 667), the two leading and influential masters of monastic discipline. He was then allowed to lecture on the subject at the monastery. With the encouragement of his teacher, Yijing left the monastery for Chang'an, the capital of Tang-dynasty China. It was a time when Xuanzang's (d. 664) famed journey to India and his translation of Buddhist texts into Chinese were still held in highest esteem, especially in the capital. Xuanzang's legacy inspired Yijing to make his own mission to India. He first returned to his monastery at Qizhou, then proceeded to Guangfu (Canton) with the blessings of his teacher. Although other monks had planned to join Yijing, all but one dropped out at the last moment.

In 671 the two monks boarded a Persian merchant ship and arrived at the kingdom of Śrīvijaya (South Sumatra), where Yijing's companion died. Yijing stayed on for six months and then embarked alone for Tāmraliptī in eastern India via the kingdoms of Malayu, Kacha, and one of the Nicobar islands. At Tāmraliptī he studied Sanskrit for a year. He then traveled to Nālandā with another Chinese monk, Dachengdeng (d. 675). They went on pilgrimages to Gṛdhrakūṭa at Rājagṛha and to Mahābodhi at Bodh Gayā. Thereafter, they traveled to Vaiśālī, Amaraba, and Kāśī (Banaras), visited Jetavana Monastery at Śrāvastī and the "heavenly stairs" (said to have been built by the god Śakra for the Buddha to use in descending from Heaven) at Sāmkāśya, and journeyed to Sārnāth and Kukkuṭapāda.

At the end of his journey, Yijing settled at Nālandā, where for a period of nine years he studied the five prevailing Buddhist curricula. These were Buddhist logic, the *Abhidharmakośa*, monastic discipline (Vinaya), and the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra philosophies. Yijing pointed out that each of these disciplines is for a specific purpose, but that none is absolute by itself.

With the manuscripts he had collected at Nālandā, Yijing left central India for Tāmraliptī in 685. He embarked on a ship from the same port in 686, and after short stops at Kacha and Malayu, arrived at Śrīvijaya in 687. When he had been there a little over two years, however, Yijing found himself short of supplies for copying Sanskrit manuscripts. He went to the port to send word to China for supplies, but the ship that was to carry his message unexpectedly set sail while he was still on board. This accident brought Yijing back to Guangfu on August 10, 689, leaving behind his collection of Sanskrit manuscripts, amounting to half a million words. He recruited four assistants and returned to Śrīvijaya on December 18, 689. Yijing remained in the country, copied scripture, and studied under the distinguished teacher Śākyakīrti. He also wrote an account of Buddhist practices and a report regarding a group of Chinese monks who had traveled to India in search of Buddhism. Yijing sent these reports, together with his translations of Buddhist texts, to China through one of his assistants in 692.

Accompanied by two assistants, Yijing himself returned to Guangfu in 694. Five months later he traveled to Luoyang, the eastern capital, where in 695 he was personally received with great honor by the empress Wu Zetian (r. 684–704). He was accommodated at Foshouji Monastery and worked as an assistant translator in the bureau of translations headed by Siksananda. From 700 until his death, Yijing headed his own bureau of translation of Buddhist canons at Luoyang and Chang'an. Altogether he translated fifty-six works in 230 fascicles, among them scriptures, commentaries, and Vinaya texts. The empress and her successors patronized his work and even provided forewords to Yijing's translations. Various honors and rewards were bestowed upon the monk, and he was awarded the title "Master of the Tripiṭaka."

The works translated by Yijing include a broad range of Buddhist texts, including the Āgamas, the Avadānas, and Mahāyāna sūtras and *sastra*s. Also translated were eleven Buddhist *tantra*s and eighteen works on monastic discipline, as well as exegetic works that are important not only for Chinese Buddhism but also for the religion as a whole. His version of the *Suvarnapra-bhasa-uttamaraja Sūtra* (Golden light sūtra) is widely acknowledged by scholars as the best Chinese translation of that scripture and one that has influenced all East Asia. His translation of the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya texts has systematically preserved one of the most influential monastic traditions in India. His translations of the Yogācāra texts and of Buddhist logic are quite significant. Yijing's own writings are also valuable. His two records, of Buddhist practices in South Asia and of Chinese monks who traveled to India in the seventh century, are extremely important sources for historians of religion. His glossary, the *Fanyu qianziwen* (A thousand Sanskrit words), is the earliest extant Sanskrit-Chinese dictionary. Although Yijing's translations have been overshadowed by those of his predecessor, Xuanzang, a sample examination of both renderings of the *Viṃśatikā* (Liebenthal, 1934) concluded that Yijing was a better translator than Xuanzang.

Yijing died on February 16, 713. He was buried with grand honors, and was posthumously honored with the title Director of Foreign Office (*honglu qing*). A memorial inscription was composed by Lu Can at imperial request. A temple called Jin'guangming ("gold light") was raised at his burial site in 758.

SEE ALSO Pilgrimage, article on Buddhist Pilgrimage in South and Southeast Asia.

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YIN-YANG WU-HSING SEE YINYANG WUXING

YINYANG WUXING.

Yinyang (umbral and bright) and *wuxing* (Five Phases: water, fire, wood, metal, and earth) are the core concepts of traditional Chinese cosmology. This cosmology perceives the universe as an organic whole, in which the spiritual, natural, and human worlds are ordered into a single, infinitely interconnected system. Modern scholars retrospectively call it *correlative cosmology*, since it is based on "correlative thinking."

Correlative thinking is by no means uniquely Chinese; it has appeared in all civilizations and still underlies the operations of language and serves as one of the building blocks of thought. Chinese cosmology is a distinctive and extraordinary elaboration of such a mode of thinking. It groups phenomena into heuristic or analogistic categories, within and among which relationships are held to be relatively regular and predictable. Eventually, all things in the universe are categorized and correlated, and everything affects everything else. Entities, processes, and classes of phenomena found in the human world (the human body, behavior, morality, the sociopolitical order, and historical change) are set in correspondence to various entities, processes, and classes of phenomena in nature (time, space, the movements of heavenly bodies, seasonal change, plants and animals, etc.).

This elaborate classification and correlation structure is based on various numerical systems, such as interlaced pairs (correlated to *yinyang*), sets of fours (correlated to the four directions and four seasons, and further divided into twelve months, twelve Earthly Branches, and *jieqi* seasonal nodes), sets of fives (correlated to *wuxing* or Five Phases), and sets of eights (correlated to the Eight Trigrams). While these numeral systems had different origins and represented divergent ways of classification and correlation building, the systems of *yinyang* and *wuxing* were combined and used to synthesize all other systems into an elaborate and coherent cosmology. Therefore the Chinese have used *yinyang* and *wuxing* as a general term to refer to this cosmology as a whole and the correlative thinking beneath it.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT. The words *yin* and *yang* first appeared in texts of the Warring States period (403–221 BCE), with their root meanings of "a hillside in shade" and "a hillside in sunlight," or, by extension, "cool" and "warm." A reference to a physician named Ho, in his speech dated 541 BCE, shows the first link of *yin* and *yang* to the six *qi*, the energetic fluids in the atmosphere and inside of the body. With this linkage to the *qi*, *yin* and *yang* acquired cosmological meaning. By the third century BCE, a wide variety of dualistic phenomena were being characterized in terms of *yin* and *yang*, as demonstrated in a comprehensive list (see Table 1) from an excavated text from Mawangdui.

The chain shown in Table 1 could go on infinitely, until everything is paired and divided accordingly. More often the *yang* chain is superior to the *yin* chain, but the two are mutually dependent. The use of the terms *yin* and *yang*, with their connotations of the changing ratio of shadow and sunshine on a hillside during the course of a day, aptly suited the Chinese concept of dualism, which was never absolute or antagonistic. Chinese culture tends to treat opposites as relativistic and complementary, while the West treats them as conflicting. Coolness exists only relatively to its complement, warmth—a minister is *yin* in relation to his ruler, but *yang* in relation to his wife. The *yin* of winter moves inevitably to the *yang* of summer, and back again: each contains the germ of the other.

Wuxing, the categories of five, also appeared during the Warring States period. Like *yingyang*, these categories had ancient roots. They may derive from astronomical considerations of the five visible planets, or from the numerology of the magic squares (a 3 x 3 grid arrangement of the integers 1 through 9, with 5 at the center; each row, column, and diagonal yields a sum of 15), or more likely, from the ancient spatial concepts of the four quarters of the world and four cardinal directions, with a fifth, the center, added to the four.

Towards the end of the Warring States period and during the first empires immediately following (221 BCE–220 CE), *yinyang* and *wuxing* were integrated and elevated to become the core system for synthesizing the divergent classification systems. From their initial appearance as loosely defined and unsystematically used terms, and through the long process of synthesis and standardization, these concepts went through many changes. Their meanings varied in different historical periods, as well as in different applications during the same period. For example, the Chinese term *wuxing* literarily means five "goings," "doings," or "conducts." The Confucians used the term to refer to the Five Virtues (benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and sagehood), rather than water, fire, wood, metal, and earth. At the same time, the set of water, fire, wood, metal, and earth were called by different terms, including *wuxing*, *wucai* (Five Materials), *wude* (Five Powers), and *wuwei* (Five Positions).

This is why the translation of these concepts is extremely controversial. While *yin* and *yang* are left untranslated, *wuxing* has many translations: formerly as Five Elements, and then as Five Materials, Five Forces, Five Agents, Five Entities, Five Powers, Five Processes, or Five Phases ("Five Phases" has gained increasing acceptance). But the term is only appropriate from the Han (206 BCE–220 CE) onward, referring to cosmic cycles; using "Five Phases" to translate *wuxing* in pre-Han sources poses the danger of anachronism. Scholars more often prefer to leave *wuxing* untranslated, so that its exact meaning can be determined by the specific historical period and context.

Like *yinyang*, the term *wuxing* was used to classify phenomena that shared a common attribute (see Table 2). Although lacking the apparent inevitability found in the binary oppositions of *yinyang*, the classification of phenomena into categories of five spread widely throughout Chinese civilization. Medical practitioners described Five Viscera, musical experts worked with a scale of Five Tones, political theorists spoke of Five Powers of dynastic transmission, religious specialists named Five Gods.

More than just categories for classification, *yinyang* and *wuxing* explain the changes in all the phenomena and interactions among them. Things within the same category affect one another through resonance, because they share the same kind of *qi*. For example, if a ruler acts benevolently during the months of spring, the *qi* of the wood phase that is thus engendered will encourage the growth of plans. If, on the contrary, during the spring months he inappropriately engages in war and punishment, thus generating the metallic *qi* of autumn, then the springtime growth of plants will be hindered.

Yinyang and *wuxing* are seen as existing in interactive cycles of succession, through which things in different categories interact and transform one another. These cycles are regular and predictable, various permutations of the pair and the set of five formed cyclical orders to be applied in specific circumstances. *Yin* and *yang* were used to describe cyclical dualistic phenomena, such as the shifting proportions of sunlight and darkness throughout the solar year and the waxing and waning of the seasons. The Five Phases exist in various kinds of cycles, and the two most common and widely used were the mutual conquest and mutual generation cycles. In the former, water conquers fire (extinguishing), fire conquers metal (melting), metal conquers wood (chopping), wood conquers earth (plowing), and earth conquers water (damming). In the latter, wood generates fire (burning), fire generates earth (ash), earth generates metal (ore), metal generates water (melting), and water generates wood (irrigation). The conquest cycle was applied to, for example, the sequential planting and harvesting of crops throughout the growing year, and the generation cycle was applied to the succession of the seasons.

The inventor of the *yinyang* and *wuxing* system remains unknown. Traditionally, the invention was attributed to Zou Yan (fourth century BCE), the believed founder of a school of "naturalist" philosophy called *yinyang* and *wuxing jia*, a philosophical system that combines science and magic. But archaeological discoveries in the last decades of the twentieth century provided a body of new sources challenging this attribution. Some scholars identified affiliations of *yinyang* and *wuxing* with other philosophical schools, such as Confucianism. But many others found ample evidence in the new sources that the cosmology originated from the world outside of philosophical schools, the world of technical tradition occupied by court historians, astronomers, diviners, physicians, and music masters. Scholars have been debating whether the cosmology originated from technical professions and later was adopted and synthesized by philosophers, or whether it entered the technical world from philosophy. But whether the technical tradition and philosophy had such a clear distinction in the Warring States period is itself a debatable question. Even if they were differentiated, they both were overwhelmingly concerned with politics, history, and morality, rather than pure technical or philosophical speculations.

SIGNIFICANCE IN CHINESE CIVILIZATION. *Yinyang* and *wuxing* have played a significant role in Chinese civilization; as a twentieth-century Chinese scholar put it, they are "the law of Chinese thinking." During the formation of the first empires, *yinyang* and *wuxing* formed the cosmological foundation for the imperial ideology. Zou Yan and his followers used the conquest cycle of Five Phases to articulate their theory of dynastic transmission. According to this theory, a dynasty that was ruled by the power of the wood phase would be conquered by a new ruling house associated with metal, which in turn would be conquered by a dynasty of fire. For the rise of each new dynasty, heaven would show favorable signs to verify its legitimacy. The sign would be yellow for a dynasty ruled by the power of earth, and green for a dynasty of wood. Accordingly, Zou Yan arranged ancient history in such a cycle of conquest and predicted that a new dynasty of water, in black color, was due to rise. The first empire of Qin (221–206 BCE) adopted this theory and claimed the phase water and the ritual color black.

Attributes of *Yin* and *Yang*

A *Yang*	B *Yin*
Heaven	Earth
Spring	Autumn
Summer	Winter
Day	Night
Big states	Small states
Action	Inaction
Ruler	Minister
Above	Below
Man	Woman
Father	Child
Older	Younger
Noble	Base
Controlling others	Being controlled

TABLE 1. *Derived from Graham, 1989, p. 331. Table provided courtesy of the author.*

This imperial ideology was by no means a homogenous one. *Yinyang* and *wuxing* provided the shared discourse for political debates and struggles throughout the Han dynasty. The dispute over the two cycles of the Five Phases, conquest and generation, articulated the competition between two concepts of sovereignty and two ways of government. The conquest cycle represented a sovereignty based on force and punishment, and the generation cycle represented one based on ethical principles, rituals, and hierarchies. Confucian philosopher Dong Zhongshu (179–104 BCE) rejected the implication of Zou Yan's theory that there are different ways of government, each legitimate. He stated that a change of government would serve only to illuminate the Dao of heaven, rectifying the deviations from it by the preceding dynasty. Dong's followers further used the generation cycle of Five Phases to explain dynastic transmission, thus shifting the ground for imperial sovereignty from conquering force to nurturing morality. This system of dynastic transmission and imperial symbolism was adopted by Wang Mang in establishing the New Dynasty (Xin, 9–23 CE), and was continued by the later Han (25–220 CE) and all dynasties of the remaining imperial history.

Outside of political ideology, *yinyang* and *wuxing* were fully integrated into every domain of Chinese culture and the

Attributes of *Wuxing*

Phase	Planet	Color	Season	Direction	Taste
Wood	Jupiter	Green	Spring	East	Sour
Fire	Mars	Red	Summer	South	Bitter
Earth	Saturn	Yellow	Midsummer	Center	Sweet
Metal	Venus	White	Autumn	West	Acrid
Water	Mercury	Black	Winter	North	Salty

TABLE 2. *Table provided courtesy of the author.*

everyday practice of the people, becoming a common property of Chinese philosophy, religion, medicine, and science as a whole. *Yinyang* and *wuxing* were used by court historians, astronomers, diviners, ritual experts, physicians, and music masters in predicting, planning, and checking government functions. By ordering time, space, body, and all phenomena into a single predictable order, the state used this cosmology as the means of creating a tightly integrated order and of controlling the actual daily practice of administration. *Yinyang* and *wuxing* also penetrated a wide terrain of technical, mantic, and religious practice; they were integrated into the calendar, medicine, and divination, and were used to order the daily affairs of the populace in marriage, funerals, rituals, travel, diet, healing, trade, house building, farming, hunting, and the making of food, wine, and clothing. Even after the introduction of modern science and the decline of y*inyang* and *wuxing* as a political ideology towards the end of the imperial era, *yinyang* and *wuxing* remained the conceptual foundation of popular religion, martial arts, geomancy, and traditional Chinese medicine, all of which are still operating today.

SEE ALSO Daoism, overview article; Dong Zhongshu; Onmyōdō.

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YISHMAʿEʾL BEN ELISHAʿ (c. 50–c. 135 CE), Palestinian tanna. Yishmaʿeʾl was ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef's most famous contemporary; rabbinic tradition has constantly placed the sayings of these masters in opposition to each other.

Although some have argued that Yishmaʿeʾl was a member of the priestly class, nothing in the traditions attributed to him supports this claim except for a number of dubious passages (B.T., *Ber.* 7a, *Ḥul.* 49a–b; Tosefta *Ḥal.* 1.10; *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* 38 [cf. *Mekhiltaʾ de-Rabbi Yishmaʿeʾl, Nez.* 18]). One story recalls that as a child he was captured by the

Romans and placed in prison, where he was discovered by Yehoshuʿa, who predicted great things for the child (B.T., *Giṭ.* 58a); however, not all manuscripts containing this story mention Yishmaʿeʾl, and his appearance here is suspect. He is said to have studied with Yehoshuʿa, Eliʿezer, and, especially, Naḥunyaʾ ben ha-Qanah, who is said to have taught him the importance of exegesis of the Torah by means of logical arguments (B.T., *Shav.* 26a). The Talmud states that he rejected the study of Greek wisdom; he argued that one should study Torah day and night (B.T., *Men.* 99b), and his sayings demonstrate a tendency to reject Gentiles and their wisdom (*ʿA.Z.* 1.2, 2.3, 4.1).

Yishmaʿeʾl's importance has been based on his role as a biblical exegete. The opening of *Sifraʾ,* a collection of exegetical comments on *Leviticus,* states that Yishmaʿeʾl's exegesis of the Bible relied on thirteen principles. Based on this passage, most scholars of rabbinic Judaism have contrasted Yishmaʿeʾl's "logical" method of interpreting scripture with the more "imaginative" techniques employed by ʿAqiva.ʾ Yishmaʿeʾl is said to have ignored such things as the repetition of words or phrases in biblical verses and the appearance of certain adjectives, adverbs, and conjunctions, while these supposedly were crucial to the exegetical enterprises of ʿAqiva.ʾ Yishmaʿeʾl's statement that such features of biblical Hebrew should be ignored because "Scripture speaks in the language of common men" (*Sifrei Nm.* 112) is taken as the underlying assumption of his exegetical techniques. However, recent scholarship has challenged this traditional picture.

It has been demonstrated that Yishmaʿeʾl and ʿAqivaʾ often used the same "logical" exegetical techniques normally attributed to Yishmaʿeʾl and that they both employed the more "imaginative" exegetical methods usually assigned to ʿAqiva.ʾ In addition, it has been shown that we have no evidence that Yishmaʿeʾl employed the majority of the thirteen exegetical techniques attributed to him in the opening of *Sifraʾ*. In fact, he most often employed methods not found in that list, such as the analogy, but that were commonplace among the Hellenistic rhetoricians of his age.

Given the fact that the traditions attributed to Yishmaʿeʾl and ʿAqivaʾ do not support the common scholarly picture, we must consider what has happened. It is likely that toward the end of the rabbinic period, two major schools of biblical exegesis had developed, one "logical" and one "imaginative." In an attempt to claim that these opposing views were very old, the later sages attributed their creation to Yishmaʿeʾl and ʿAqiva,ʾ for the importance of ʿAqivaʾ in all areas of rabbinic thought, including biblical exegesis, had by then been well established. Thus Yishmaʿeʾl's importance probably stems from the frequent juxtaposition of his sayings with those of ʿAqiva,ʾ one of the most important sages of Jewish history, and not from anything he actually said or did, or at least not from anything attributed to him in the sources we have at hand.

SEE ALSO Tannaim.

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YISRAʾEL BEN ELIʿEZER SEE BAʿAL SHEM TOV

YI T'OEGYE, pen name of Yi Hwang (1501–1570), founder of the Yŏngnam school of Korean Neo-Confucianism. T'oegye is credited with having established in Korea the orthodox Neo-Confucian tradition as propounded by the Cheng-Zhu school, so-called after its putative founders Cheng I (1033–1107) and Zhu Xi (1130–1200), and is widely regarded as the greatest of all Korean Neo-Confucian thinkers.

Yi T'oegye was born in Yean in Kyongsang Province, in the southeastern part of Korea. He began his studies with his uncle, Yi U, and continued them at the Royal College in Seoul, which he entered in 1523. He passed the preliminary civil service examination in 1528 and the final examination in 1534, after which he joined the small governing elite by embarking upon a long official career. His career, which followed the pattern typical of the elite of the period, included posts in such metropolitan bureaus as the Office of Diplomatic Correspondence, the Censorate, the Office of the Crown Prince Tutorial, and the Royal College. He also served as a magistrate in local government. Despite the rather volatile political atmosphere of the time, his career was a smooth one. The highest positions he held included appointments as Minister of Rites, Fifth State Councillor, Director of the Office of Royal Decrees, and Director of Special Councillors. In 1569 he retired from public life and returned to his place of origin. The kings he served, Chungjong (r. 1506–1544), Myŏngjong (r. 1545–1567), and Sŏnjo (r. 1567–1608), all treated him with great respect. Legend has it that King Myŏngjong, to whom T'oegye submitted his celebrated *Ten Diagrams of Sage Learning (Sŏnghak sipto),* was supposed to have been a devotee.

Despite his long and illustrious public career, T'oegye is remembered as having maintained, or perhaps even initiated, the tradition of scholarly independence from the state. While he did not shy away from public life, T'oegye seems to have been constantly attracted to independent scholarship and educational activity. He frequently professed his desire for the life of a private scholar devoted to learning and teaching. Whenever possible, either between official posts or during his service, he attempted to pursue this ideal. During his tenure as the magistrate of P'unggi County, T'oegye successfully campaigned for government support of a private academy in the area, setting a frequently observed precedent. Eventually, he founded the Tosan Academy in his place of birth, which attracted numerous students through the generations. It was to this academy that he retired periodically in pursuit of scholarship. His alleged preference for the scholarly life influenced the attitudes of later scholars; indeed, the majority of the scholars of the Yŏngnam school (School of Principle) remained private scholars. This of course reflected political realities such as violent factionalism and fierce competition for office. But these scholars also preserved a certain pride in their independence from the state and in their exclusive devotion to scholarship. They believed they were true heirs of T'oegye not only in their scholarship but also in their mode of life.

T'oegye based his philosophy largely on that of Zhu Xi. He endorsed Zhu Xi's dual theory of *li* (Kor., *i;* "principle") and *qi* (Kor., *ki*; "material force"), but labored over the question of whether Zhu Xi's priority of principle over material force referred to a valuative or existential priority. He concluded that the priority of principle obtained in the realm of values. His belief in the superiority of principle, which he identified with original nature and the moral mind, defined his position on the *sadan* (Chin., *ssu-tuan*; "four beginnings") and the *ch'ilchong* (Chin., *qi-qing*; "seven emotions") in the famous debate with Ki Taesung (1527–1572). Here, T'oegye argued for their separate origins, proposing that the Four Beginnings were initiated by principle and the Seven Emotions by material force. In order to maintain this position, however, T'oegye saw principle as having a generative power of its own. This position became a focus of the scholarship of the Yŏngnam school.

A perhaps more meaningful aspect of his scholarship is his position on moral cultivation. Dismissing Wang Yangming's (1472–1529) theory of the unity of knowledge and action as irresponsible in its disregard for the rationality of man, T'oegye was firmly committed to the need for a daily regimen of moral cultivation, a slow and painstaking process. He regarded sincerity and reverence as fundamental necessities in the acquisition of knowledge, which could be sought only through laborious step-by-step inquiry and meditation. The rather quiescent and meditative quality of his scholarship was inherited by his followers and remained a distinctive feature of the Yŏngnam School.

SEE ALSO Confucianism in Korea.

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YI YULGOK pen name of Yi I (1536–1584), Korean Neo-Confucian thinker whose stature in the tradition is equalled only by that of Yi T'oegye. Yulgok is credited with having established the Kiho ("material force") school in Korea. Born in Kangnŭng in Kangwon Province in western central Korea, not far from the capital, Yulgok began his studies with his mother, Sin Saimdang, a well-known poet and painter. Her death when he was sixteen seems to have brought about a profound personal crisis. After three years of mourning, Yulgok retreated into a Buddhist mountain temple intending to become a monk. Although he changed his mind after a year of studying the Buddhist scriptures, his resulting familiarity with Buddhism supposedly influenced his scholarship. In 1564 he placed first in both the preliminary and final civil service examinations and thus acquired the nickname Lord First Candidate of the Nine Examinations. His ensuing reputation as a brilliant scholar and a quick study led to his meteoric rise in the bureaucracy. He served in numerous offices in both metropolitan and provincial government. In 1568 Yulgok traveled to China on an ambassadorial mission. His official posts included appointments as minister of military affairs, minister of public works, and minister of personnel, in which post he died at the age of forty-nine. He enjoyed a close relationship with King Sŏnjo (r. 1567–1608), whom he served as a royal tutor.

As was typical of Yi dynasty officials, Yulgok's illustrious public career was interrupted by short periods of retirement either for personal reasons or because of an unfavorable political climate at court. Nevertheless, he is regarded as representing the activist tradition of Confucian scholar-statesmanship. In this respect, Yulgok is viewed as the opposite of T'oegye, his scholarly rival, who is known for his preference for private life. This reputation seems to be based on Yulgok's wide range of interests and concerns. Unlike T'oegye, whose scholarship was confined mainly to philosophical issues, Yulgok was keenly interested in the practical aspect of government. He wrote copiously on such matters as fiscal reform, the problems of resettlement of landless peasants, military organization and finance, questions of disseminating Confucian mores to the populace, the relationship of the monarch and the bureaucracy and their respective roles, potential frictions within the bureaucracy, and the regulation and curricula of private academies. His proposal for a strong army of one hundred thousand, although unheeded, is often cited as prophetic in view of the disastrous Japanese invasions of the 1590s. He is said even to have written a memorial on his deathbed emphasizing the need for more effective government policies. His successors, the scholars of the Kiho school, inherited this activist tradition, and perhaps it is not purely coincidental that they maintained power throughout the Yi dynasty.

While Yulgok remained within Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy (named for the Chinese thinkers Cheng I and Zhu Xi) he rejected the dual theory of *i* (Chin., *li;* "principle") and *ki* (Chin., *qi;* "material force") held by Zhu Xi and T'oegye. While he accepted a conceptual distinction between the two, he maintained that they were inseparable in both function and manifestation. Rather than seeing principle as one, unchanging and immanent in all things, he saw the principle in each thing as distinct, conditioned by its material force and thus always changing. His belief in the primacy of material force as the determinant of an entity led to a corresponding theory of the *sadan* (Chin., *situan;* "four beginnings") and the *ch'ilchŏng* (Chin., *qi-qing;* "seven emotions"). Taking issue with T'oegye's position that the Four Beginnings and the Seven Emotions had separate origins, Yulgok insisted that they are both manifestations of material force that contain principle. Moreover, he held that the Four are "good" manifestations of material force. The difference between the Four and the Seven lies in how they are manifested, that is, the Four Beginnings are the Seven Emotions themselves manifested as good. This was a clear departure from the idea that principle and material force were the sources, respectively, of good and evil. The scholars of the Kiho school continued to develop the primacy of material force, posing a scholarly as well as political alternative to the Yongnam school of Yi T'oegye.

SEE ALSO Confucianism in Korea; Yi T'oegye.

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YOGA. Etymologically, the Sanskrit word *yoga* derives from the root *yuj,* meaning "to bind together," "hold fast," or "yoke," which also governs the Latin *iungere* and *iugum,* the French *joug,* and so on. In Indian religion the term *yoga* serves, in general, to designate any ascetic technique and any method of meditation. The "classical" form of yoga is a *darśana* ("view, doctrine"; usually, although improperly, translated as "system of philosophy") expounded by Patañjali in his *Yoga Sūtra,* and it is from this "system" that this article must set out if the reader is to understand the position of yoga in the history of Indian thought. But side by side with classical Yoga there are countless forms of sectarian, popular (magical), and non-Brahmanic yogas such as Buddhist and Jain forms.

Patañjali is not the creator of the Yoga *darśana.* As he himself admits, he has merely edited and integrated the doctrinal and technical traditions of yoga (*Yoga Sūtra* 1.1). Indeed, yogic practices were known in the esoteric circles of Indian ascetics and mystics long before Patañjali. Among these practices Patañjali retained those that the experiences of centuries had sufficiently tested. As to the theoretical framework and the metaphysical foundation that Patañjali provides for such techniques, his personal contribution is of the smallest. He merely rehandles the Sāṃkhya philosophy in its broad outlines, adapting it to a rather superficial theism and exalting the practical value of meditation. The Yoga and Sāṃkhya *darśana*s are so much alike that most of the assertions made by the one are valid for the other. The essential differences between them are two: (1) Whereas Sāṃkhya is atheistic, Yoga is theistic, since it postulates the existence of a "Lord" (Īśvara); (2) Whereas according to Sāṃkhya the only path to final deliverance is that of metaphysical knowledge, Yoga accords marked importance to techniques of purification and meditation.

Thanks to Patañjali, Yoga, which had been an archaic ascetic and mystical tradition, became an organized "system of philosophy." Nothing is known of the author of the *Yoga Sūtra,* not even whether he lived in the second or third century BCE or in the fifth century CE, although claims to both datings have been vigorously defended. The earliest commentary known is the *Yogabhāṣya* of Vyāsa (seventh to eighth century CE), annotated by Vācaspatimiśra (ninth century) in his *Tattvavaiśāradī.* These two works, indispensable for understanding the *Yoga Sūtra,* are complemented by two works of later centuries. At the beginning of the eleventh century King Bhoja wrote the commentary *Rājamārtaṇḍa,* which is very useful for its insights into certain yogic practices, and in the sixteenth century Vijñānabhikṣu annotated Vyāsa's text in his remarkable treatise the *Yogavārttika.*

IGNORANCE AND SUFFERING. "All is suffering for the sage," writes Patañjali (*Yoga Sūtra* 2.15), repeating a leitmotif of all post-Upanṣadic Indian speculation. The discovery of pain as the law of existence has a positive, stimulating value. It perpetually reminds the sage and the ascetic that the only way to attain freedom and bliss is withdrawal from the world, radical isolation. To liberate the self from suffering is the goal of all Indian philosophies and magico-mystical techniques. In India, metaphysical knowledge always has a soteriological purpose, for it is by knowledge of ultimate reality that humanity, casting off the illusions of the world of phenomena, awakens and discovers the true nature of spirit (*ātman, puruṣa*). For Sāṃkhya and Yoga, suffering has its origin in ignorance of spirit, that is, in confusing spirit with psychomental states, which are the most refined products of nature (*prakṛti*). Consequently, liberation, absolute freedom, can be obtained only if this confusion is abolished. As the structure and unfolding of nature and the paradoxical mode of being of the self (*puruṣa*) are discussed elsewhere, here only the yogic practices themselves will be examined.

The point of departure of yogic meditation is concentration on a single object: a physical object (the space between the eyebrows, the tip of the nose, something luminous, etc.), a thought (a metaphysical truth), or God (Īśvara). This determined and continuous concentration, called *ekāgratā* ("on a single point"), is obtained by integrating the psychomental flux, *sarvārthatā* ("variously directed, discontinued, diffused attention"; *Yoga Sūtra* 3.11). This is the precise definition of yogic technique, and is called *cittavṛtti-nirodha,* "the suppression of psychomental states" (*Yoga Sūtra* 1.2). The practice of *ekāgratā* tends to control the two generators of psychomental life: sense activity (*indriya*) and the activity of the unconscious (*saṃskāra*). A yogin is able to concentrate his or her attention on a single point and become insensible to any other sensory or mnemonic stimulus. It goes without saying that *ekāgratā* can be obtained only through the practice of numerous exercises and techniques. One cannot obtain *ekāgratā* if, for example, the body is in a tiring or even uncomfortable posture, or if the respiration is disorganized, unrhythmical. This is why yogic technique implies several categories of physiological practices and spiritual exercises, called *aṅga*s, "members," or elements. The eight "members" of classical Yoga can be regarded both as forming a group of techniques and as being stages of the ascetic and spiritual itinerary whose end is final liberation. They are (1) restraints (*yama*), (2) disciplines (*niyama*), (3) bodily attitudes and postures (*āsana*), (4) rhythm of respiration (*prāṇāyāma*), (5) emancipation of sensory activity from the domination of exterior objects (*pratyāhāra*), (6) concentration (*dhāraṇā*), (7) yogic meditation (*dhyāna*), and (8) enstasis (*samādhi;Yoga Sūtra* 2.29).

In addition to this classical Yoga comprising eight *aṅga*s, there exist a number of *ṣaḍaṅgayoga*s, that is, yogic regimens having only six members. Their main characteristic is the absence of the three first *aṅga*s *(yama, niyama, āsana)* and the introduction of a new "member," *tarka* ("reason, logic"). Attested already in the *Maitrāyani Upaniṣad* (second century BCE-second century CE), the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* appears especially in certain sects of Hinduism and in the Buddhist Tantras (Grönbold, 1969, 1983).

RESTRAINTS AND DISCIPLINES. The first two groups of practices, *yama* and *niyama,* constitute the inevitable preliminaries for any asceticism. There are five "restraints," namely, *ahiṃsā* (restraint from violence), *satya* (restraint from falsehood), *asteya* (restraint from stealing), *brahmacarya* (restraint from sexual activity), and *aparigraha* (restraint from avarice). These restraints do not bring about a specifically yogic state but induce in the adept a purified state superior to that of the uninitiated. In conjunction with the *yama*s, the yogin must practice the *niyama,* that is, a series of bodily and psychic disciplines. "Cleanliness, serenity, asceticism [*tapas*], study of Yoga metaphysics, and an effort to make Īśvara [God] the motive of all his actions constitute the disciplines," writes Patañjali (*Yoga Sūtra* 2.32). Obviously, difficulties and obstacles arise during these exercises, most of them produced by the subconscious. The perplexity arising from doubt is the most dangerous. To overcome it, Patañjali recommends implanting the contrary thought (*Yoga Sūtra* 2.33). To vanquish a temptation is to realize a genuine, positive gain. Not only does the yogin succeed in dominating the objects that he or she had renounced, but also obtains a magic force infinitely more precious than all these objects. For example, he who successfully practices *asteya* "sees all jewels coming near to him" (*Yoga Sūtra* 2.37).

ĀSANA AND PRĀṆĀYĀMA. The specifically yogic techniques begin with *āsana,* the well-known bodily posture of the Indian ascetics. *Āsana* gives a rigid stability to the body while at the same time reducing physical effort to a minimum and finally eliminating it altogether. *Āsana* is the first concrete step taken with a view to abolishing the modalities peculiar to the human condition. On the bodily plane, *āsana* is an *ekāgratā;* the body is "concentrated" in a single position. Thus, one arrives at a certain neutralization of the senses; consciousness is no longer troubled by the presence of the body. Furthermore, a tendency toward "unification" and "totalization" is typical of all yogic practices. Their goal is the transcendence (or the abolition) of the human condition, resulting from the refusal to obey one's natural inclinations.

The most important—and certainly the most specifically yogic—of these various "refusals" is the disciplining of respiration (*prāṇāyāma*), the refusal to breathe like the majority of humankind, that is, unrhythmically. Patañjali defines this refusal as follows: "*Prāṇāyāma* is the arrest [*viccheda*] of the movements of inhalation and exhalation and it is obtained after *āsana* has been realized" (*Yoga Sūtra* 2.49). He speaks of the "arrest," the suspension, of respiration; however, *prāṇāyāma* begins with making the respiratory rhythm as slow as possible; and this is its first objective.

A remark in Bhoja's commentary (on *Yoga Sūtra* 1.34) reveals the deeper meaning of *prāṇāyāma:* "All the functions of the organs being preceded by that of respiration—there being always a connection between respiration and conciousness in their respective functions—respiration, when all the functions of the organs are suspended, realizes concentration of consciousness on a single object." The special relation of the rhythm of respiration to particular states of consciousness, which has undoubtedly been observed and experienced by yogins from the earliest times, has served them as an instrument for "unifying" consciousness. By making respiration rhythmical and progressively slower the yogin can penetrate—that is experience in perfect lucidity—certain states of consciousness that are inaccessible in a waking condition, particularly the states of consciousness that are peculiar to sleep.

Indian psychology recognizes four modalities of consciousness (besides enstasis): diurnal consciousness, consciousness in sleep with dreams, consciousness in sleep without dreams, and "cataleptic consciousness." Through *prāṇāyāma,* that is, by increasingly prolonging inhalation and exhalation (since the purpose of this practice is to allow as long an interval as possible to elapse between the two phases of respiration) the yogin can experience all the modalities of consciousness. For the uninitiated, there is a discontinuity between these several modalities; one passes from the state of waking to the state of sleeping unconsciously. The yogin must preserve continuity of consciousness; that is, he must penetrate each of these states with determination and awareness.

But the immediate goal of *prāṇāyāma* is more modest; it induces the respiratory rhythm by harmonizing the three "moments" of breathing: inhalation (*pūraka*), retention (*kumbhaka*), and exhalation (*recaka*) of the inhaled air. These three moments must each fill an equal space of time. Practice enables the yogin to prolong them considerably. The yogin begins by holding his or her breath for sixteen and a half seconds, then for thirty-three seconds, then for fifty seconds, three minutes, five minutes, and so on. (Similar respiratory technique were familiar to the Daoists, to Christian hesychasts, and to the Muslim contemplatives; see Eliade, 1969, pp. 59–65).

YOGIC CONCENTRATION AND MEDITATION. Making respiration rhythmical and, as far as possible, suspending it greatly promotes concentration (*dhāraṇā; Yoga Sūtra* 2.52–53). The yogin can test the quality of his concentration by *pratyāhāra,* a term usually translated as "withdrawal of the senses" or "abstraction" but more acurately rendered as the "ability to free sense activity from the domination of external objects." According to the *Yoga Sūtra* (2.54) and its commentators, the senses, instead of directing themselves toward an object, "abide within themselves" (Bhoja, on *Yoga Sūtra* 2.54). When the intellect (*citta*) wishes to know an exterior object, it does not make use of sensory activity; it is able to know the object by its own powers. Being obtained directly, by contemplation, this knowledge is, from the yogic point of view, more effective than normal knowledge. "Then the wisdom [*prajñā*] of the yogin knows all things as they are" (Vyāsa, on *Yoga Sūtra* 2.45). Thenceforth, the yogin will no longer be distracted or troubled by the activity of the senses, by the subconscious, and by the "thirst of life"; all activity is suspended. But this autonomy of the intellect does not result in the suppression of phenomena. Instead of knowing through forms (*rūpa*) and mental states (*cittavṛtti*) as formerly, the yogin now contemplates the essence (*tattva*) of all objects directly.

Such autonomy allows the yogin to practice a threefold technique that the texts call *saṃyama.* The term designates the last three "members" of yoga (*yogāṅga*), namely concentration (*dhāraṇā*), yogic meditation (*dhyana*), and stasis (*samādhi*). They do not imply new physiological practices. *Dhāraṇā,* from the root *dhṛ,* meaning "to hold fast," is in fact an *ekāgratā,* undertaken for the purpose of comprehension. Patañjali's definition of *dhāraṇā* is "fixation of the thought on a single point" (*Yoga Sūtra* 3.1). According to some authors (cf. Eliade, 1969, pp. 66–68), a *dhāraṇā* takes the time of twelve *prāṇāyāma*s (i. e., twelve controlled, equal, and delayed respirations). By prolonging this concentration on an object twelve times, one obtains yogic meditation, *dhyana.* Patañjali defines *dhyana* as "a current of unified thought" (*Yoga Sūtra* 3.2) and Vyāsa adds the following gloss to the definition: "continuum of mental effort to assimilate the object of meditation, free from any other effort to assimilate other objects." It is unnecessary to add that this yogic meditation is absolutely different from any secular meditation.

SAMĀDHI AND THE LORD OF THE YOGINS. Yogic enstasis, *samādhi,* is the final result and crown of all the ascetic's spiritual efforts and exercises. The term is first employed in a gnoseological sense: *Samādhi* is the state in which thought grasps the object directly. Thus, there is a real coincidence between knowledge of the object and the object of knowledge. This kind of knowledge constitutes an enstatic modality of being that is peculiar to yoga. Patañjali and his commentators distinguish several sorts, or stages, of *samādhi.* When it is obtained with the help of an object or idea (that is, by fixing one's thought on a point in space or on an idea), it is called *samprajñāta samādhi,* "enstasis with support." When, on the other hand, *samādhi* is obtained apart from any relation to externals, when it is simply a full comprehension of being, it is *asamprajñāta samādhi,* "undifferentiated stasis."

Because it is perfectible and does not realize an absolute and irreducible state, the "differentiated enstasis" (*samprajñāta samādhi*) comprises four stages, called *bīja samādhi* ("*samādhi* with seed") or *sālambana samādhi* ("*samādhi* with support"). By accomplishing these four stages, one after the other, one obtains the "faculty of absolute knowledge" (*ṛtambharāprajñā*). This is in itself an opening toward *samādhi* "without seed," pure *samādhi,* for absolute knowledge discovers the state of ontological plenitude in which being and knowing are no longer separated. According to Vijñānabhikṣu, *asamprajñāta samādhi* destroys the "impressions [*saṃskāra*] of all antecedent mental functions" and even succeeds in arresting the karmic forces already set in motion by the yogin's past activities (Eliade, 1969, p. 84).

Fixed in *samādhi,* consciousness (*citta*) can now have direct revelation of the self (*puruṣa*). For the devotional yogins, it is at this stage that the revelation of the Supreme Self, Īśvara, the Lord, takes place. Unlike Sāṃkhya, Yoga affirms the existence of a God, Īśvara. He is not a creator god, for the cosmos, life, and humanity proceed from the primordial substance, *prakṛti.* But in the case of certain persons (i. e., the yogins), Īśvara can hasten the process of deliverance. Īśvara is a self (*puruṣa*) that has been eternally free. Patañjali says that the Īśvara has been the guru of the sages of immemorial times (*Yoga Sūtra* 1.26) and that he can bring about *samādhi* on condition that the yogin practice *īśvarapraṇidhāna,* that is, devotion to Īśvara (*Yoga Sūtra* 2.45). But it has been seen that *samādhi* can be obtained without such mystical exercises. In the classical Yoga of Patañjali, Īśvara plays a rather minor role. It is only with the later commentators, such as Vijñānabhikṣu and Nilakaṇṭha, that Īśvara gains the importance of a true God.

THE YOGIC POWERS; DELIVERANCE. By practicing *saṃyama*—that is, by means of concentration, meditation, and the realization of *samādhi*—the yogin acquires the "miraculous powers" (*siddhi*s) to which book 3 of the *Yoga Sūtra,* beginning with *sūtra* 16, is devoted. The majority of these powers are related to different kinds of supranormal or mystical knowledge. Thus, by practicing *saṃyama* in regard to his or her own subconscious residues (*saṃskāra*), the yogins come to know their previous existences (*Yoga Sūtra* 3.105). Through *saṃyama* exercised in respect to "notions" (*pratyaya*), the yogin knows the mental states of other people (3.19). *Saṃyama* practiced on the umbilical plexus (*nābhicakra*) produces knowledge of the system of the body (3.28), on the heart, knowledge of the mind (3.33), and so forth. "Whatever the yogin desires to know, he should perform *saṃyama* in respect to that object," writes Vācaspatimiśra (on *Yoga Sūtra* 3.30). According to Patañjali and the whole tradition of classical Yoga, the yogin uses the innumerable *siddhi*s in order to attain the supreme freedom, *asamprajñāta samādhi,* not in order to obtain a mastery over the elements (*Yoga Sūtra* 3.37). A similar doctrine is found in Buddhism (Eliade, 1969, pp. 177–180; Pensa, 1969, pp. 23–24).

Through the illumination (*prajñā*) spontaneously obtained when reaching the last stage of his or her itinerary, the yogin realizes "absolute isolation" (*kaivalya*), that is, liberation of the self (*puruṣa*) from the dominance of nature (*prakṛti*). But this mode of being of the spirit is not an "absolute emptiness"; it constitutes a paradoxical, because unconditioned, state. Indeed, the intellect (*buddhi*), having accomplished its mission, withdraws, detaching itself from the *puruṣa* and returning into *prakṛti.* The self remains free, autonomous; that is, the yogin attains deliverance. Like a dead person, the yogin has no more real relation with life, but is a *jīvanmukta,* one "liberated in life." The yogin no longer lives in time and under the domination of time, but in an eternal present.

To recapitulate, the method recommended by the classical form of Yoga comprises a number of different techniques (physiological, mental, mystical) that gradually detach the yogin from the processes of life and the rules of social behavior. The worldly person lives in society, marries, establishes a family; Yoga prescribes solitude and chastity. In opposition to continual movement, the yogin practiced *āsana;* in opposition to agitated, unrhythmical, uncontrolled respiration, the yogin practices *prāṇāyāma;* to the chaotic flux of psychomental life, the yogin replies by "fixing thought on a single point"; and so on. The goal of all these practices always remains the same—to react against normal, secular, and even human inclinations. The final result is a grandiose, although paradoxical, mode of being. *Asamprajñāta samādhi* realizes the "knowledge-possession" of the autonomous Self (*puruṣa*); that is, it offers deliverance, freedom, and, more specifically, the consciousness of absolute freedom.

SEE ALSO Cakras; Īśvara; Jīvanmukti; Patañjali the Grammarian; Puruṣa; Sāṃkhya.

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YOGĀCĀRA.

The Yogācāra school is, with the Mādhyamika, one of the two main traditions of Indian Buddhism. As the name indicates (*yogācāra* means "one whose practice is yoga"), this school attaches importance to the religious practice of yoga as a means for attaining final emancipation from the bondage of the phenomenal world. The stages of yoga are systematically set forth in the treatises associated with this tradition. The particular doctrinal stance of the school is suggested by its alternate name, Vijñānavāda, or the "doctrine" (*vāda*) that all phenomenal existence is fabricated by "consciousness" (*vijñāna*).

In concert with those who uphold the doctrine of "voidness" (*śūnyatā*), the Vijñānavādins maintain that phenomenal existences are devoid of intrinsic nature, but unlike the Mādhyamika, they admit the reality of the consciousness by which phenomenal existences, subjective as well as objective, are fabricated. This consciousness, however, is not deemed to exist in the ultimate sense. It subsists for but a moment and is replaced by the consciousness in the next moment. It has no substantiality and its origination is dependent on the consciousness of the preceding instant. To use the Yogācāra terminology, consciousness is of dependent nature (*paratantra-svabhāva*) and, as such, is not ultimately real. The Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras teach the voidness, or the nonexistence, of all entities. However, it is a fact of experience that phenomenal existences appear as if they were real. By admitting the reality of the consciousness, the Yogācāra clarified the foundation of our daily experience.

According to the *Saṃdhinirmocana Sūtra*, a Yogācāra text, the Buddha set the "wheel of the doctrine" (*dharmacakra*) in motion three times. On the first turning, the Buddha taught the doctrine of the four noble truths (*catvāry āryasatyāni*), the Hīnayāna path culminating in arhatship; on the second, he taught the doctrine of universal voidness designed to advance practitioners along the path to Buddhahood. But because the complete meaning of the Buddha's teaching was not fully elucidated during these "turnings," the Buddha set the wheel in motion a third time, with the intention of making explicit (*nītārtha*) what was only implicit (*neyārtha*) in the *sūtra*s composed in earlier times.

FORMATIVE PERIOD. The Yogācāra philosophy was systematized by Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, thinkers who lived in the fourth or fifth century. However, some important Yogācāra works, namely, the *Saṃdhinirmocana Sūtra*, the *Yogā-*

cārabhūmi, and the treatises ascribed to Maitreya(nātha), predate them.

The *Saṃdhinirmocana Sūtra*'s major contribution to the Yogācāra school is its formulation of the doctrine of the three "characteristics" (*lakṣaṇa*) of entities: the imaginary character (*parikalpita-lakṣaṇa*), the dependent character (*paratantra-lakṣaṇa*), and the perfected character (*pariniṣpanna-lakṣaṇa*). (All are explained in chapter 6.) The imaginary character is the assignation of conventional names to things with respect to their intrinsic nature (*svabhāva*) and specific qualities (*viśeṣa*). The dependent character is the conditioned origination (*Pratītya-samutpāda*) of things. The perfected character is the "thusness" (*tathatā*) of things or the emptiness of intrinsic nature in things. These three characteristics are closely related to the "triple unreality" discussed in chapter 7. Since the characteristic features of things are established merely by the act of assigning them conventional names, these features are ultimately unreal. Thus, the imaginary character of things is related to the unreality of their characteristic features (*lakṣaṇa-niḥsvabhāvatā*). Since the origination of things is dependent on causes and conditions, it is also not real. Thus the dependent character is related to the unreality of origination (*utpatti-niḥsvabhāvatā*). The ultimate reality is manifested through the thusness of things or the emptiness of intrinsic nature in things. Thus, the perfected character is related to the unreality of intrinsic nature, which is the ultimate reality (*paramārtha-niḥsvabhāvatā*).

The doctrine of three characteristics and triple unreality expresses what the Buddha had in mind when, in the Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras, he taught that all entities are devoid of intrinsic nature. It is understood that the Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras put forth a teaching, the meaning of which is inexplicit and must be drawn out (*neyārtha*). The *Saṃdhinirmocana Sūtra* unfolds (*nirmocana*) the "intention" (*saṃdhi*) of the Buddha that was hidden in the doctrine of voidness. This purpose is brought to full expression through the doctrine of triple unreality. Thus, this *sūtra* is of explicit meaning (*nītārtha*).

Chapter 5 of the *Saṃdhinirmocana Sūtra* presents the concept of *ālaya-vijñāna* ("storehouse consciousness"), which is characteristic of the Yogācāra teachings. It describes this consciousness as possessing "all the seeds" (*sarvabījaka*) from which future phenomenal existences will grow. The storehouse consciousness is attached to the sense faculties and to the impressions of "differentiations" (*prapañca*) left by the conventional usages regarding phenomenal existences and is called "attachment consciousness" (*ādāna-vijñāna*). Chapter 9 gives a detailed explanation of the practices of tranquilization (*śamatha*) and contemplation (*vipaśyanā*) through which a practitioner acquires the ability to concentrate his mind on certain ideas and to visualize and efface them at will. This practice forms the basis of the Yogācāra view that there is no external object.

The *Yogācārabhūmi* (Stages of the follower of yoga practice) is a voluminous, comprehensive work comprising five parts. The main part, which is called "Basic Text of the Stages," treats the seventeen stages (*bhūmi*) to be successively passed through by a follower of yoga practice. It begins with the stage of sense perceptions, proceeds through many stages of meditation and other practices, reaches the stage of "disciples" (*śrāvaka*), then of "isolated Buddhas" (*pratyekabuddha*), then of *bodhisattva*s, and ends with the stage of complete *nirvāṇa* (*nirupadhiśeṣa-nirvāṇa*, or "*nirvāṇa* with no residue"), the ultimate goal.

The Buddhist tradition in China attributes this work to Maitreya, but in Tibet it is known as a work of Asaṅga. Regarding the composition of a treatise dealing with seventeen stages, Paramārtha's *Life of Vasubandhu* (T.D. no. 2049) and Xuanzang's *Da Tang xiyu ji* (T.D. no. 2087) provide the following account. Asaṅga often went up to the Tuṣita Heaven, where he was taught the Mahāyāna doctrines by the *bodhisattva* Maitreya. Complying with the request of Asaṅga, who wanted Mahāyāna Buddhism to spread among the people, Maitreya came down to the continent of Jambudvīpa and gave a series of lectures on the seventeen stages. He lectured every night for four months; the next day Asaṅga, for the sake of the other attendants, gave a full explanation of what the *bodhisattva* had taught. (Asaṅga was the only attendant who had access to the *bodhisattva;* the others could merely hear him from afar.) This account may explain why the Chinese and the Tibetan traditions differ on the authorship of the *Yogācārabhūmi*. Some scholars assume that Maitreya, from whom Asaṅga is said to have received instruction on the Yogācāra doctrine, was a historical person; others, however, debate Maitreya's historicity. Recent studies of the *Yogācārabhūmi* have proved that it was not the work of a single person; it is now supposed that the text was gradually enlarged by successive generations of Yogācāra scholars.

The *Yogācārabhūmi* enumerates, classifies, and explains all elements that relate to the practice of each of the seventeen stages in the same manner as that of Abhidharma treatises. The doctrine of *ālaya-vijñāna* is found in the first two chapters of the "Basic Text" and in some sections of the "Compendium of Ascertainment" (an auxiliary division), while the doctrine of the three characteristics of entities is mentioned only in the latter division. The chapter dealing with the "stage of *bodhisattva*s" *(bodhisattvabhūmi)* is devoted to the detailed analysis of the religious practices of *bodhisattva*s, systematically explaining the matters with which their practices are concerned, the ways that their practices are to be conducted, and the results to be attained by the practices. It is known that this chapter once existed as an independent text.

In the Tibetan Buddhist tradition the following five works are ascribed to Maitreya(nātha): *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, *Madhyāntavibhāga*, *Dharmadharmatāvibhaṅga*, *Ratnagotravibhāga*, and *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*. The last two are not considered Yogācāra works.

The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* (Ornament of Mahāyāna Sūtras), which presents a systematic exposition of the practices of *bodhisattva*s, consists of about 800 verses and is divided into 21 chapters. According to the Tibetan tradition, the verse text was written by Maitreyanātha and the prose commentary by Vasubandhu; the Chinese tradition assigns both to Asaṅga. This treatise has the same structure as the chapter in the *Yogācārabhūmi* dealing with the stage of *bodhisattva*s *(bodhisattvabhūmi).* The subject matter of chief concern to *bodhisattva*s—ultimate reality—is expounded in chapter 6, and the state of having attained the ultimate reality—enlightenment *(bodhi)*—is elucidated in chapter 9. The theoretical basis of the practices of *bodhisattva*s is given in chapter 11. The *Madhyāntavibhāga* (Discrimination of the middle and the extremes), which gives the Yogācāra interpretation of the doctrine of voidness (*śūnyatā*), consists of about 110 verses and is divided into 5 chapters. Both the Chinese and the Tibetan traditions ascribe the verse text to Maitreya and the prose commentary to Vasubandhu. This treatise places voidness in the middle (*madhya*) of the two extremes (*anta*), that is, existence and nonexistence. The *Dharmadharmatāvibhaṅga* (Discrimination of phenomenal existence and ultimate reality), a short treatise written in concise *sūtra* style, is commented upon by Vasubandhu. It was not transmitted to China. It shows that phenomenal existences, which are characterized by the duality of subject and object or of denoter and denoted, are in reality modifications of a conscious principle called "unreal imagination" (*abhūta-parikalpa*). Through the cognition of the true nature of phenomenal existences, the ultimate reality—the "thusness" (*tathatā*) that is free from the duality—is realized.

These works, attributed to Maitreya, describe the ultimate reality with such positive terms as "sphere of religion" (*dharmadhātu*), instead of characterizing it merely as "void" or "empty" (*śūnya*). Like space, ultimate reality is all-pervasive, and there is no phenomenal existence independent of it. It is also called the "essence of phenomenal existences" (*dharmatā*). The idea that the mind (*citta*) is essentially pure (*prakṛti-viśuddha*) and brilliant (*prabhāsvara*), a stance neglected in the dogmatics of the Abhidharma treatises, is fully supported, and the ultimate reality is identified with this pure and brilliant mind.

Whereas the concept of *ālaya-vijñāna* is not found in these works, the concept of "unreal imagination" (*abhūta-parikalpa*) plays an important role. The opening verse of the *Madhyāntavibhāga* clearly states that in emptiness (*śūnyatā*) there exists the unreal imagination. However, the unreal imagination is not admitted to exist in the ultimate sense. It is essentially "unreal," but it is supposed to exist as the basis of the wrong assumption of the reality of phenomenal existences, which are characterized by the duality of subject and object, denoter and denoted, and so on. Much importance is attached to the doctrine of the three characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*) or natures (*svabhāva*) of entities. In chapter 3 of the *Madhyāntavibhāga* this doctrine is considered the fundamental truth (*mūlatattva*), and some important doctrines, such as that of the four noble truths, the two truths (ultimate and conventional), and so on, are elucidated in terms of the three natures. The stages of yogic practice (*yogabhūmi*) through which a practitioner is led to the "transformation of the basis of his existence" (*āśraya-parāvṛtti*) and attains the ultimate reality, are explained systematically in chapter 11 of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra.*

PERIOD OF SYSTEMATIZATION. Asaṅga and Vasubandhu are the most prominent figures in the history of the Yogācāra school. Asaṅga first belonged to the Mahīśāsaka school of Hīnayāna Buddhism, but later, under the influence of the *bodhisattva* Maitreya, he became an advocate of the Mahāyāna. His treatises combine Abhidharmic analysis of the elements constituting phenomenal existences with Mahāyāna ideas. He composed, among others, the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* (Compendium of the Mahāyāna), a comprehensive work on Yogācāra doctrines and practices. In the first two chapters of this work he gives a full treatment of the doctrines of *ālaya-vijñāna* and of the three natures (*trisvabhāva*) of entities, thus laying the firm foundation of the philosophical system of the Yogācāra school.

According to Paramārtha's *Life of Vasubandhu,* Vasubandhu was a younger brother of Asaṅga. He wrote two Yogācāra treatises: the *Viṃśatikā* (Treatise of twenty verses) and the *Triṃśikā* (Treatise of thirty verses). The *Viṃśatikā* repudiates the realist view that the image of an object in the consciousness has a corresponding reality in the external world and demonstrates that the image of an object appears in the consciousness as the result of a particular change (*pariṇāma-viśeṣa*) that occurs in the stream of the successive moments (*saṃtati*) of consciousness. The *Triṃśikā* presents a lucid, concise exposition of Yogācāra dogmatics. The first half of this treatise analyzes the structure and the function of consciousness; the second elucidates the three-nature doctrine and the stages of practice. Regarded as the standard textbook of the Yogācāra school, the *Triṃśikā* has been the subject of many commentaries by post-Vasubandhu scholars. Vasubandhu also composed a short treatise in verse dealing with the three-nature doctrine, the *Trisvabhāvanirdeśa.*

A number of other Yogācāra works have been handed down under the name of Vasubandhu, such as commentaries on the treatises attributed to Maitreya, on the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* of Asaṅga, and on some Mahāyāna *sūtra*s. The philosophical ideas expressed in these commentaries are not identical with those presented in the *Viṃśatikā* and the *Triṃśikā*. In the last two works, the influence of the Sautrāntika school of Hīnayāna Buddhism is noticeable, but this is not the case with the commentaries. Accordingly, some modern scholars believe that there were two Vasubandhus: one, Asaṅga's brother, composed the commentaries on *sūtra*s and treatises; the other, the author of the *Viṃśatikā* and the *Triṃśikā*, also wrote the *Abhidharmakośa*, a summary of Sarvāstivāda dogmatics, and an autocommentary written from the Sautrāntika viewpoint. However, further investigations must be made before a more definite conclusion can be drawn. The fundamental doctrines of the Yogācāra school as formulated by Asaṅga and Vasubandhu are surveyed below.

Representation only (vijñaptimātra). The Yogācāras maintain that phenomenal existences, which are generally supposed to have objective reality in the external world, are no other than the "representations" (*vijñapti*), or images, of objects appearing in our consciousness (*vijñāna*). According to the Yogācāras, the image of an object is produced by the consciousness itself; there is no external object independent of the consciousness.

The *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* indicates that the image of an object in the consciousness does not presuppose the existence of the object in the external world. Some of the reasons mentioned are as follows;

1. The one and the same thing is represented differently by beings in different states of existence; for instance, that which is perceived by a man as a stream of clean water is represented as a flaming river by an inhabitant of hell and as a stream of pus and filth by a *preta.* This shows that an object represented in the consciousness is a product of mental construction.

2. It is a fact of experience that a cognition arises even when there is no object, as in the case of a recollection or dream. It is also known that a person who has advanced in yoga practice perceives a future object.

3. Through the practice of meditation (*dhyāna*) or tranquilization of the mind (*śamatha*), man comes to acquire the ability to visualize an object at will.

4. A practitioner who has stepped into the "path of insight" (*darśana-mārga*) attains "supermundane cognition" (*lokottara-jñāna*), in which there is no image of an object. This cognition, which has no corresponding reality in the external world, is thus experienced in daily life as well as in the process of religious practice.

Consequently, it is known that the form of an object that appears in the consciousness does not belong to a thing in the external world but is attributed to the consciousness itself.

Modification of consciousness *(vijñāna-pariṇāma).* The Yogācāra maintains that human beings and objective things, to which various terms—such as "self" (*ātman*), "living being" (*jīva*), "pot," and "cloth"—are applied, are in reality the "modifications of consciousness." The consciousness that undergoes modification consists of three strata: (1) the six kinds of consciousness produced through the visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory, and tactile senses and the mind; (2) the "I-consciousness," called *manas*, which accompanies the six kinds of consciousness; and (3) the subliminal consciousness, called *ālaya-vijñāna* ("store consciousness"), in which the "impressions" (*vasana*) of past experiences are accumulated as the "seeds" (*bija*) of future experiences. While the *ālaya-vijñāna* is latent, the six kinds of consciousness and the I-consciousness are in manifest activity and are thus called the "consciousness-in-activity" (*pravṛtti-vijñāna*). The *ālaya-vijñāna* and the consciousness-in-activity are dependent on each other: the latter is produced from the seed preserved in the former and leaves, in turn, its impression on the former. Thus the *modification* (*pariṇāma*), or "change," of consciousness takes place in two ways: (1) a seed planted by the consciousness-in-activity becomes ripe in the *ālaya-vijñāna;* and (2) the consciousness-in-activity arises from the seed. The term "modification" was first used by Vasubandhu, but the idea of the mutual dependence of the *ālaya-vijñāna* and the consciousness-in-activity was formulated by Asaṅga in the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha.*

The *ālaya-vijñāna* subsists only for a moment, then is replaced by another consciousness in the next moment. The successive moments of the *ālaya-vijñāna* form a stream that continues to flow until the seeds planted in it are completely destroyed. In each moment there arises the consciousness-in-activity, and thus a consciousness complex is formed. A human being is a stream of the consciousness complex, and the things that are thought to exist in the external world are but the images that appear in this stream of consciousness.

Three natures *(trisvabhāva).* The three natures of entities, that is, the imagined nature (*parikalpita-svabhāva*), the dependent nature (*paratantra-svabhāva*), and the perfected nature (*parinispanna-svabhāva*), were expounded in the *Saṃdhinirmocana Sūtra*, but this text does not discuss the interrelation of the three natures and consequently the doctrine's religious significance is not quite clear. In the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*, in which the three-nature doctrine is a major topic, Asaṅga sets forth the view that the imagined and the perfected natures are two aspects of the dependent nature; the dependent nature, he explains, appears as the imagined nature by dint of a false imagination and as the perfected nature when the false imagination is removed. It is thus shown that the three-nature doctrine is closely related to Yogācāra soteriology. The doctrine, as formulated by Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, may be briefly summarized as follows. The consciousness that arises in each moment with the image of an object is of dependent nature because its origination is dependent on the impressions of past experiences preserved in the *ālaya-vijñāna.* Because of his false imagination, man ordinarily takes this image for a real object and applies a name to it. The object thus superimposed upon the image in the consciousness is of imagined nature. When the false imagination is completely removed through the practice of yoga, man realizes the absence of the superimposed object, that is, the perfected nature.

TRANSFORMATION OF THE BASIS *(ĀŚRAYA-PARĀVṚTTI).* The stages of yogic practice leading to the "transformation of the basis of existence" are systematized in some early Yogācāra works, and no substantial changes were made by Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. After passing the stage of accumulating merits and learning the Buddha's teaching, a yogācāra proceeds to the stage of "preparatory exercise" (*prayoga*). Through this stage he comes to understand clearly that a name or a concept has no corresponding reality in the external world and that the intrinsic nature and specific qualities of things are products of subjective construction. Thus, he realizes that there is no real object to be "seized" (*grāhya*) and, consequently, that the consciousness as the "seizer" (*grāhaka*) is also devoid of reality. At this moment he steps forward into the "path of insight" (*darśana-mārga*) and attains the immediate awareness of the ultimate reality. There arises in him the force to destroy the seeds of defilement that have accumulated from beginningless time in the *ālaya-vijñāna.* This force gradually becomes more powerful as he proceeds to the "path of intensive practice" (*bhāvanā-mārga*). Finally, the seeds are completely destroyed and the stream of the *ālaya-vijñāna* no longer constitutes the basis (*āśraya*) of his existence. In its place the ultimate reality reveals itself as the real, undifferentiated basis of all living beings. Through this transformation of the basis (*āśraya-parāvṛtti*) the *yogācāra* reaches the final stage of his yogic practice and attains Buddhahood.

LATER PERIOD: TRANSMISSION INTO CHINA AND JAPAN. After Vasubandhu, scholars in the Yogācāra school formed two subschools. One maintained that the consciousness (*vijñāna*) is necessarily endowed with the "form" (*ākāra*) of an object and that of a subject; the other held that the forms of object and subject are of imagined nature and false and that the consciousness itself, which is a pure luminosity, is real. Proponents of the former were called, from the eighth century onward, the Sākāra-vijñānavādins (that is, the upholders of the doctrine that the consciousness is endowed with forms) and proponents of the latter were termed the Nirākāra-vijñānavādins (that is, the upholders of the doctrine that the consciousness possesses no form). Dignāga (c. 480–540) and Dharmapāla (c. 530–561), prominent scholars in Nālandā, are recognized as the early representatives of the former and Sthiramati (c. 510–570) in Valabhī as an advocate of the latter. The Sākāra-vijñānavāda is doctrinally related to the Sautrāntika school, and a branch of the Nirākāra-vijñānavāda, represented by Śāntirakṣita (c. 725–788) and Kamalaśīla (c. 740–795), is united with the Mādhyamika. Scholarly activities continued in both subschools until the twelfth century, when Buddhism declined in India. In the last period, Ratnakīrti and Jñānaśrīmitra (eleventh century) maintained the former, and Ratnākārasanti (c. eleventh century) was a powerful advocate of the latter. Dharmakīrti (c. 600–660) and Prajñākāragupta (c. eighth century) are recognized by both subschools as exponents of their respective doctrines.

As early as the fifth century some Yogācāra works were translated into Chinese, but a real interest in Yogācāra was not aroused until Bodhiruci (?–527) arrived in China in 508 and translated Vasubandhu's commentary on the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*, the *Shi di jing lun* (T.D. no. 1522), in which the doctrine of the *ālaya-vijñāna* is presented. This work was accepted as an authority among Buddhist circles in North China, and gave rise to the Dilun sect. In the meantime, Paramārtha (c. 499–569), who came to South China in 546, introduced several Yogācāra treatises to the Buddhist circles. He attached importance to the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*, and his translation of this treatise, namely, the *She dasheng lun* (T.D. no. 1593), was treated as the basic text of the Shelun sect. In the seventh century, Xuanzang (602–664) traveled to India and studied Yogācāra doctrines at Nālandā under Śīlabhadra, a disciple of Dharmapāla. After returning to China in 645, Xuanzang translated a number of important Yogācāra works. In his translation of Dharmapāla's commentary on the *Triṃśikā Vijñaptimātratāsiddhiḥ* of Vasubandhu, he incorporated the views of ten other commentators and composed the *Cheng weishi lun.* This work was recognized as authoritative for Yogācāra dogmatics by the Faxiang sect, which was founded by Kuiji (632–682), a disciple of Xuanzang. Both the Dilun sect and the Shelun sect were absorbed into and replaced by the Faxiang sect, which itself soon declined under the new trend of Buddhism represented by the Huayan and Chan sects.

The dogmatics of the Faxiang (Jpn., Hossō) sect were introduced into Japan during the Nara period (710–784) by some monks who had studied in China. The *Cheng weishi lun* was earnestly studied there by Buddhist scholars of different sects until recent years.

SEE ALSO Ālaya-vijñāna; Asaṅga; Buddhism, article on Buddhism in India; Buddhism, Schools of, article on Chinese Buddhism; Buddhist Philosophy; Dharmakīrti; Dharmapāla; Dignāga; Indian Philosophies; Kamalaśīla; Kuiji; Mādhyamika; Maitreya; Paramārtha; Pratītya-samutpāda; Śāntirakṣita; Sautrāntika; Śīlabhadra; Sthiramati; Śūnyam and Śūnyatā; Tathatā; Vasubandhu; Xuanzang.

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Hattori Masaaki (1987 and 2005)

YOGANANDA (1893–1952) was one of the earliest and most influential of the Hindu gurus to come to the West. Growing up in Calcutta in Bengal, India, he was a product of the Bengali Neo-Vedāntic Renaissance and was influenced by the saint Sri Ramakrishna (1836–1886).

The Neo-Vedāntic Renaissance originated in Bengal, one of the areas of India with the most exposure to Western culture as a result of British colonialism. The movement sought to reassert the vigor and worth of Hindu spirituality and philosophy while being open to influences from other religions and Western science and values. Yogananda was affiliated with a lineage of gurus that sought to integrate Hindu spirituality with a modern, Western-influenced lifestyle. Yogananda felt that he had a special destiny: to introduce Hindu concepts and spiritual techniques to westerners. He did this by disseminating a practice called *kriyā yoga* through his organization, the Self-Realization Fellowship, and by the publication of his books. His most famous published work is his *Autobiography of a Yogi*, first published in 1946, which has been translated into eighteen languages.

Youth in India. Yogananda was born Mukunda Lal Ghosh, the son of a railway executive in Bengal. His parents were disciples of Lahiri Mahasaya (1828–1895), a householder guru (he continued his married family life while being a guru) who taught a spiritual technique called *kriyā yoga.*

As a boy, Mukunda's first mentor in spirituality was "M." or Mahendra Nath Gupta, a disciple of Sri Ramakrishna and author of *Śrīśrīrāmākṛṣṇakathamṛta,* which was shaped by Swami Nikhilananda into *The Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna.* M. took Mukunda to worship at the Kālī temple at Dakshineswar, which had been Ramakrishna's residence, and stimulated Mukunda's first mystical experience. One day after M. and his young protégé were exiting a bioscope (an early motion picture), M. tapped Mukunda on his chest. Suddenly all noise on the busy street stopped for Mukunda. He saw the pedestrians and vehicles, but all was silent, and he observed a luminous glow emanating from all phenomena. This experience was the basis of Yogananda's later teaching that the physical world has the reality of a motion picture or a dream.

In 1910 Mukunda became the disciple of Swami Sri Yukteswar (1955–1936), who was a direct disciple of Lahiri Mahasaya. Mukunda completed his A.B. degree at Serampore College. He then took vows of *sannyasa* (renunciation) and became Swami Yogananda. In 1917 Yogananda demonstrated his considerable administrative ability by founding a boys' school, which he ran under the auspices of an organization he named the Yogoda Satsanga Society.

Mission in the United States. After Swami Yogananda came to the United States from India in 1920, he attracted numerous disciples by means of his public lectures and writings. Yogananda built up an organization called the Self-Realization Fellowship (SRF) to disseminate his presentation of the wisdom and spiritual techniques of Hinduism. Yogananda first came to the United States to deliver an invited lecture to the International Congress of Religious Liberals, sponsored by the American Unitarian Association. He subsequently spoke to large audiences across the United States from 1924 to 1927. In 1925 an estate was acquired at Mount Washington in Los Angeles, California, to be the headquarters of his organization, which was incorporated in 1935 as the Self-Realization Fellowship. In that same year his guru gave him the title Paramahansa ("supreme swan") indicating that he had achieved the highest enlightenment and, while in India on a visit, he initiated Mohandas Gandhi into *kriyā yoga*. In 1946 Yogananda published his most famous book, *Autobiography of a Yogi*, in which he describes his meetings with Eastern and Western saints and discusses visions and miracles that demonstrate the availability of supernormal powers and enlightenment to adepts of all religious traditions. In the ensuing years the SRF established a hermitage at Encinitas, California, a temple in San Diego, the Church of All Religions in Hollywood, and the Lake Shrine at Pacific Palisades, California, where a portion of Gandhi's ashes are kept. By 2004 the SRF additionally had forty-four centers and meditation groups in the United States as well as centers and groups in seventeen other countries.

Yogananda is regarded by his disciples as a *premavatār*, an incarnation of divine love. Yogananda stressed the deep emotional love for God that is associated with Hindu *bhakti yoga*. Members of the SRF revere Krishna and Christ as the two great gurus from whose works the teachings of Yogananda's lineage of gurus are derived. The SRF offers instruction in *kriyā yoga* and related philosophy and practices conveyed in a correspondence course called the SRF Lessons. Students pledge to keep the *kriyā yoga* technique secret from non-initiates. The SRF also has a monastic order for women and men headquartered at Mount Washington.

Yogananda passed away on March 7, 1952, after speaking at a banquet of the India Association of America at the Biltmore Hotel in Los Angeles. His devotees believe that the lack of corruption displayed by his body for twenty days after his death was the physical manifestation of his yogic mastery. Rajarsi Janakananda (formerly James J. Lynn) took over the leadership of the SRF until his death in 1955. An American woman, Sri Daya Mata, has served as SRF president since 1955. The Self-Realization Fellowship continues to disseminate Yogananda's books and to offer instruction in *kriyā yoga* and other spiritual techniques. Although Yogananda has passed from the material world, he is regarded as a still-living master who continues to guide his disciples.

SEE ALSO Gandhi, Mohandas.

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YOḤANAN BAR NAPPAḤAʾ (d. 279?), leading Palestinian amora. Yoḥanan's father and mother had both died by the time he was born (B.T., *Qid.* 31b), and his apparent patronymic refers either to his trade as a smith *(nappaḥaʾ)* or to his legendary, "inflaming" good looks. Yoḥanan is always referred to either by his given name or by the epithet *bar Nappaḥaʾ,* never both.

Yoḥanan's studies began during the lifetime of Yehuda ha-Nasiʾ, known as "Rabbi," the redactor of the Mishnah. Later, Yoḥanan remembered having attended Rabbi's lectures and not understanding them (B.T., *Ḥul.* 137b). A native of Sepphoris, Yoḥanan began his studies there, but ultimately he became head of a prestigious rabbinic academy in Tiberias, where he spent the major part of his career. The only Babylonian for whom he spontaneously expressed respect was Rav, with whom he had studied under Yehuda ha-Nasiʾ; he later came to acknowledge the mastery of Shemu'el (B.T., *Ḥul.* 95b), but the two never met. In general, Yoḥanan's career was limited to the rabbinate of the Land of Israel, though his reputation traveled far beyond that country and even in Babylonia equaled that of the great Babylonian masters (B.T., *ʿA.Z.* 40a).

Yoḥanan inherited a considerable amount of wealth but was said to have allowed it to dissipate in his pursuit of advanced learning. He became the teacher, senior colleague, and brother-in-law of Shimʿon ben Laqish. The latter, according to Talmudic tradition, was originally attracted to Yoḥanan because he was so handsome. Shimʿon became Yoḥanan's colleague and eventually the two were inseparable. It is recorded that Shimʿon died because of a slight from his companion. Later legend explained Yoḥanan's own death as the result of his grief over this incident. Yoḥanan was also embittered by the death within his lifetime of ten of his children (B.T., *B.M.* 84a, *Ber.* 5b).

In his halakhic teaching, Yoḥanan devised a number of rules for determining which of several conflicting opinions in the Mishnah was to be followed—for example, when Meʾir and Yehuda disagree, the *halakhah* ("law") follows Yehuda; when Yehuda and Yose disagree, the *halakhah* follows Yose (B.T., *ʿEruv.* 46b); whenever Shimʿon ben Gamliʾel gives a ruling in the Mishnah, the *halakhah* follows him except in three cases (B.T., *Giṭ.* 75a); when Yehuda ha-Nasiʾ disagrees with his colleagues, the *halakhah* follows him (J.T., *Ter.* 3.1, 42a). He also formulated the much-quoted norm that the law always follows anonymous Mishnaic rulings (see, for instance, B.T., *Shabbat* 46a, and J.T., *Shabbat* 3.7, 6c). Yoḥanan's influence on the development of rabbinic scholarship in the Land of Israel was so great that Moses Maimonides considered him the redactor of the Jerusalem Talmud, although this is surely an exaggerated report.

According to one tradition, the custom of placing decorative art on walls (probably the walls of synagogues) arose in Yoḥanan's time "and he did not object" (J.T., *ʿA.Z.* 3.3, 42d). Yoḥanan also became an authority on calendrical astronomy (J.T., *R. ha-Sh.* 2.6, 58a-b; B.T., *Hul.* 95b). With respect to nonlegal lore, Yoḥanan was known as a student of *merkavah* mysticism, which he unsuccessfully offered to teach to his own student Elʿazar ben Pedat. The long *aggadah* (nonlegal rabbinic thought) on the destruction of Jerusalem that starts in the Babylonian Talmud tractate *Giṭṭin* 55b is attributed to him, as are other narratives that purport to recount important events in the history of the rabbinate (B.T., *Hor.* 13b) or the circumstances that gave rise to particular rabbinical enactments (B.T., *B.Q.* 94b, *Bekh.* 30b). Yoḥanan also gave considerable attention to the etiquette of prayer and to methods for increasing its effectiveness. According to legend, his final instructions were that he was to be buried in neither a black nor a white shroud so that he would not be ashamed to find himself in the company of either the righteous or the wicked.

SEE ALSO Amoraim.

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Revised Bibliography

YOḤANAN BEN ZAKKʾAI (c. 1–80 CE), sage and leader of Judaism in the Land of Israel after the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 CE. Known to us only from sources brought to closure two and more centuries after his death, beginning with the Mishnah (c. 200), two facts about his life are certain: he lived before the destruction, and survived it.

Yoḥanan was the principal figure in the formation, in the aftermath of the calamity, of a circle of disciples with whom he laid the foundations of the Judaism presented by the Mishnah. This work of legal-theological formation defined Judaism as it would be known from the second century onward. Yoḥanan himself is represented in the Mishnah principally through attributions to him of certain temporary ordinances, meant mostly to take account of the destruction of the Temple as an event in the sacred calendar of Judaism. These reforms, involving very trivial matters, signified a policy of surviving and carrying on. They meant that even without the Temple it would be possible to worship God and observe the festivals formerly focused upon the Temple. To Yoḥanan are attributed, also, certain interpretations of biblical stories, one of which stressed that Job had served God out of awe and reverence, not (merely) love. Finally, he is represented as having attempted to exercise authority even over the priesthood, which had formerly run the country. His rulings in matters of genealogy, on which priestly authority rested, indicate that he held that sages' mastery of Torah was paramount, priests' genealogical standing derivative. In these aspects Yoḥanan carried forward the position of the Pharisees of the period before the destruction. They had maintained that lay people might observe at home certain rules that were kept by the priests in the Temple, so indicating that the priests enjoyed no monopoly over access to the sacred.

In compilations of stories produced much later than the Mishnah, Yoḥanan's career is fleshed out. His surviving the destruction is represented as an encounter between Israel, the Jewish nation, and Rome, with a sage, Yoḥanan himself, negotiating on behalf of the Jews with a Roman general. In the principal version Yoḥanan is portrayed as having escaped from Jerusalem before it was fully invested and as having come before the Roman general Vespasian. He asked for the right to go to Yavneh, a coastal town where loyalists were held. There he would teach his disciples, establish a house of prayer, and carry out the commandments, the religious deeds of Judaism. He further informed Vespasian that the general would become emperor. (In other versions Yoḥanan is supposed to have asked for "the chain of Rabban Gamli'el and physicians to heal Rabbi Tsadoq.")

Yoḥanan's message to Israel, portrayed in other late sources, involved three elements. First, not to take too seriously the claims of messiahs: "If you have a sapling in your hand and people say to you, 'Behold, there is the Messiah,' go on with your planting, and afterward go out and receive him." Second, to obey God's will as the response to defeat: "Happy are you, O Israel! When you obey the will of God, then no nation or race can rule over you! But when you do not obey the will of God, you are handed over into the hands of every low-born people." Third, what God wants is acts of loving kindness. Yoḥanan held that even though sin could no longer be atoned through sacrifice in the Temple, "We have another atonement as effective as this. And what is it? It is acts of loving-kindness, as it is said, 'For I desire mercy, not sacrifice'" (*Hos.* 6:6).

Whether or not these tales go back to the person, or even the time, of Yoḥanan ben Zakkʾai, we do not know. But they are the foundation legends of the kind of Judaism that has been paramount from the second century to the present, and Yoḥanan, above all, is credited with the definition of that Judaism.

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YOM KIPPUR See RO'SH HA-SHANAH AND YOM KIPPUR

YONI is a Sanskrit word with various meanings such as "womb, vulva, vagina; place of birth, source, origin, spring; abode, home, lair, nest; family, race, stock, caste," and so on. It is etymologically derived from the verbal root *yu* ("join, unite, fasten, or harness"), from which is derived the English *yoke; ni* is added to the root to form a noun with active meaning. Thus *yoni* is "what joins or unites." The word *yoga*, derived from the same root, means "union, connection." The two words *yoni* and *yoga* are thus similar to the word *religion*, from the Latin *religio* ("binding, fastening, reuniting, or relinking").

Icons representing the *yoni* alone or in conjunction with the male generative organ, the *liṅga*, are widespread in both popular Hinduism and in the Tantric traditions of India; such images, known in English as yonis and lingams, stand for the generic goddess, Devī, in her many aspects, and the god Śiva. These traditions are the heirs of a female-dominated symbol system characteristic of the pre-Vedic worldview. Before the Indus and Ganges valleys were populated from the north by Aryan pastoral nomads, bearers of a more androcentric religion, there flourished an agricultural civilization known as the Indus Valley civilization (c. 4000–1000 BCE). Archaeological remains from the sites at Harappa and Mohenjo Daro abound in mother-goddess figurines, large stone yonis (and lingams), and a variety of seals. One of the most intriguing of these seals bears the figure of a man in a cross-legged posture typical of yogic discipline. The religious complex of ideas and practices called *yoga* has been identified as being pre-Vedic in origin; the yogic posture of the figure on this Indus Valley seal is one of the strongest pieces of evidence for the pre-Vedic origins of yoga. Scholars have until recently identified this horned yogic person as a proto-image of Śiva. More recent research has identified the scene depicted on the seal as being linked with an archaic form of the still-practiced buffalo sacrifice to the Goddess. On the seal the Goddess is represented next to her mount, the lion, which is shown in a dynamic posture facing the seated figure on its right, corresponding to the northern direction with the Goddess. The yogic posture of the buffalo-horned god has been interpreted as expressive of the destructive and creative power entailed by the sacrifice. The sacrifice itself aims at a symbolic unification with the Goddess. In many popular South Indian myths concerning this sacrifice, the buffalo is depicted as desiring or actually uniting with the Goddess in the guise of a lower-caste husband or suitor. As David Shulman has shown in his discussion of South Indian mythology (1980), Śiva becomes the buffalo. Through sacrificial death, Śiva as the buffalo consort of the goddess is reborn from her. In these myths and representations one seems to be able to apprehend the common etymology of the terms *yoni* and *yoga.* Union with the Goddess is the ultimate aim of the sacrifice; it is at one and the same time an abstract concept and a concrete act of union with the Goddess's icon, namely her yoni.

The symbolism on this famous Harappan seal, thus interpreted in the light of contemporary ritual practices and myths, brings up the extremely widespread symbolic themes of the mysterious and potent link between the yoni and death, and sacrificial death in particular. Perhaps the earliest evidence of the theme is to be found in the European Paleo-

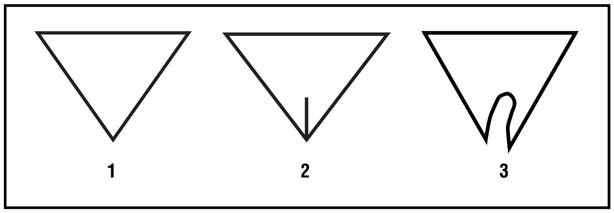

Figure 1. Yoni symbols.

lithic caves dating from about 20,000 to 11,000 BCE. Yoni symbols have been found in profusion in these caves, many of them identical to some of the Indian representations of the *yoni*. The most often found Paleolithic *yoni* symbol is the same as the Tantric symbol, namely a downward-pointing triangle (see figure 1.1), with variations (figure 1.2, 1.3). What is even more remarkable is the association between the yonic triangle and representations of the bison found at several Paleolithic caves, since the bison is the Western cousin of the Eastern buffalo.

The most striking such representation is the one found at the Abri du Roc aux Sorciers at Angles-sur-Anglin, France, dating from about 13,000 to 11,000 BEC. A colossal group of three female torsos with exaggerated *yoni*s, all represented as cleft downward-pointing triangles (figure 1.2), are etched in the living rock wall. The three female figures are standing on a bison. The relief of two recumbent female figures dates from the same period; they flank both sides of the entrance to a shallow cave at La Madeleine in France. The figure to the right has at its center the same downward-pointing cleft triangle to represent the *yoni* (the left image is too damaged to discern the sexual parts); below the figure on the left is a bison.

The famous "Woman with the Horn," dating some five to seven thousand years earlier, depicts a nude female holding a bison horn in her right uplifted hand; it is incised on the rock wall of a shelter at Laussel in France. The bison horn is marked with thirteen lines, most likely representing the thirteen lunar months in the year. The crescent shape of the horn bears an unmistakable likeness to the lunar crescent. The analogy between the cycles of the moon and the menstrual cycle of women is found in most cultures of the world. The parallelism is most directly stated by the !Kung hunters and gatherers of the Kalahari Desert of southern Africa, among whom the menses are simply called "the moon."

Only a few miles from the Laussel rock shelter is situated the most grandiose of all Paleolithic painted caves, that of Lascaux. That caves were symbolic of the earth's womb is strongly suggested by the cave at La Madeleine, with its entrance flanked by two nude women. On the rim of the entrance to the Lascaux cave is incised a cluster of what André Leroi-Gourhan has termed "female vulvas in the shape of claviforms." Thus to enter a cave was to enter the deep, labyrinthine, dark womb of Mother Earth.

In India in the early twenty-first century there are several popular pilgrimage sites where the icon of the Goddess is situated deep in a cave whose access is through an extremely narrow, dark, and winding passageway. The most famous such natural icon of the Goddess's *yoni* is found in Assam in eastern India, at the shrine of Kāmakhya Devī. It is a natural cleft in the rock that is said to menstruate once per year, the period coinciding with the main festival of the Goddess in June at the time of the arival of the monsoon. The shrine of Kāmakhya Devī is linked with the myth of Satī, the consort of Śiva, who immolated herself after her father scorned her husband by not inviting him to a great sacrifice. The disconsolate Śiva carried Satī's corpse with him in his wanderings, and parts of her body fell to earth. Her *yoni* fell where the shrine of Kāmakhya Devī is located. At the shrine of Vaishno Devī in Jammu, pilgrims crawl on their bellies along a dark and wet narrow corridor to reach the cave of the Goddess. A spring originates there, completing the birth-rebirth imagery. Clearly the yonic symbolism of caves is extraordinarily ancient.

The cave at Lascaux is immense, with several corridors and large chambers covered with spectacular rock paintings of animals. These caves were not habitats but ritual centers for the Paleolithic hunters and gatherers. The painted herds found in their depths, visible only by the flickering light of torches, may represent the animals in the earth's womb out of which animals come in the daylight and into which they return at night, only to reemerge in the morning. A painted scene in the innermost recess of this complex of caves, called "the Crypt" because it is sixteen feet below the general level of the cavern floor, has been interpreted by Joseph Campbell as representing a similar theme, that of the regenerative power of death. The scene shows a bison with a spear entering through its anus and emerging from its genitals, where its entrails hang out in the form of four concentric ovals. Next to the bison lies a bird-headed or bird-masked ithyphallic man and next to him a spear-thrower and a bird-topped staff. The figure in all likelihood represents a shaman, since birds are in contemporary shamanistic contexts the typical vehicles for the shaman's trance flight to the underworld or the heavens.

The symbolic equivalence between spear and phallus is ethnographically widespread, as is the analogy between concentric ovals or other labyrinthine or spiral patterns and the female generative organs. The association between the *yoni* and a wound is widespread as well. It is an analogy still expressed today in South India and Sri Lanka. An ancient Tamil poem brings together the phallus-spear and *yoni*-wound analogies by depicting a man who views his newborn son for the first time wearing full warrior attire, a bloody spear in his hand and a freshly self-inflicted wound on his neck. Leroi-Gourhan, who has made an intensive study of the Paleolithic cave paintings, identifies the bison's hanging entrails as a *yoni* symbol. The speared bison, most probably a sacrificial victim, represents in death a sexual union. The scene is hauntingly reminiscent of the sacrifice of the buffalo-man to the Indian Goddess, also equivalent to sexual union. The womb-cave of the earth is a generative power, which brings forth life through death.

The view of the womb as the originator of both life and death is succinctly captured in the following Hindu saying: "Again birth, again death, again sleep in the mother's womb." In many so-called primitive cultures, the departed ancestors live in a place from which they come back to enter the *yoni*s of women to be reborn. In the Trobriand Islands of Melanesia unborn and the dead are the very same beings. After death and the observation of the proper funerary rituals, the departed ancestor or ancestress goes to the island of Tuma. It is from that island that the departed return in the form of the soul of unborn children to enter the *yoni*s of Trobriand women. In aboriginal Australia, the sacred engraved ancestral stones called *tjurunga*s are hidden in hollows and caves; by visiting these sites the women become impregnated. It is in the light of such cyclical views of generation and regeneration that one can understand rituals in which death and the act of generation are made to coincide as they apparently do in the Lascaux crypt; the end is also the beginning.

Entering the womb/caves of the Paleolithic hunters and gatherers must have been a numinous experience for the participants, who had to creep through dangerously narrow, dark passageways to a world beyond night and day, beyond time itself. It is indubitable that the nearly universal analogy between the earth and woman implicit in the womb/cave identification is at least as old as those remotest of cultures.

The theme of the earth as a womb into which the dead are placed is found throughout the Neolithic period. In her work summarizing the archaeological finds in southeastern Europe and the eastern Mediterranean areas (6500 to 3500 BCE), Marija Gimbutas (1982) gives ample evidence of the prominence of triangular *yoni* designs as well as of goddess images in the act of giving birth, legs wide apart. The dual nature of the goddess as both giver and taker of life is most vividly represented in the many shrines found at the site of Çatal Hüyük in Anatolia. Breasts rising out of the shrine wall have open nipples out of which vultures' beaks protrude; the skull of the vulture is inside the breast. The wall paintings in these shrines show vultures pecking at the flesh of headless corpses. The evidence from burial sites in the shrines led the excavator of Çatal Hüyük, James Mellaart, to the conclusion that before burial in the earth, the corpses were exposed on elevated platforms for the purpose of excarnation. This is a practice still followed by Zoroastrians. In some of the shrines, images of the naked goddess are represented giving birth to a bison or a ram's head. In other sites of this area, designated by Gimbutas as Old Europe, the dead are placed in egg-shaped pithoi in a fetal position. Like the grave pit, the pithos was considered to be a womb from which the child or adult could be born again. Often the body was sprinkled with red ocher, a symbol of blood, to assure the restoration of life.

Cave mouths and clefts in rock walls are not the only yonic associations one encounters cross-culturally. Mountains themselves have been associated with the *yoni,* as the Latin term *mons veneris*, meaning the yonic triangle, attests, since it literally means "mountain of Venus." Springs, rivers, ponds, lakes, and seas have female meanings in many cultures of all levels of complexity. From the *yoni* gush forth the maternal waters at the time of birth. The earth's stones and metals have been analogized to the Goddess's bones. In the realm of vegetation some of the best-known yonic icons are fruits whose shape are in some ways analogous to that of the *yoni.* Some of the best-known are the pomegranate (Europe and West Asia), the mango (South Asia), the kidney bean (Rome), the fig and the almond (the Mediterranean world), and the peach and the apricot (Europe).

The active character of the etymology of the word *yoni* reveals itself in the mythological realm as the *śakti*, or power of the Goddess. These are contemporary Hindu concepts that seem to be the heirs of one of the oldest religious traditions of humankind. In the Tantric tradition—and much popular Hinduism as well—the Goddess is the active principle in the cosmos without whom her male consort Śiva would be just a corpse. The life-giving, animating power of the cosmos is Śakti, a personification that in its most concrete manifestation resides in the *yoni.* In the esoteric Tantric traditions in both Hinduism and Buddhism, the *yoni* is worshiped in an elaborate secret ritual in the form of several symbolic representations. It is worshiped literally as well: a woman sits nude and cross-legged, exposing her *yoni*, to which the worshipper makes a series of offerings. For Tantrics, all women are living incarnations of the Goddess. In popular Hinduism, the *yoni*s of sculpted female figures on entrance gates are ritually fingered by worshipers as they enter a place of worship.

Popular belief in Hindu India holds that vaginal fluids enter the man's penis during intercourse. This belief corresponds to the standard Indian poetic image for sexual union, that of the male bumblebee gathering honey in female flower buds. In intercourse, through the woman's vaginal fluids a man receives the *śakti* that is his wife's. Such ideas underlie the custom of the establishment of concubines for kings, chiefs, and other important males, a practice found not only in India but in certain West African and Pacific cultures as well. These ideas are by no means encountered solely among complex cultures based on agriculture, such as traditional Hindu India, but are also found among hunters and gatherers. A !Kung woman from the Kalahari Desert, named Nisa by her anthropologist biographer (Marjorie Shostak), says the following about women's genitals: "Women possess something very important, something that enables men to live: their genitals. A woman can bring a man life, even if he is almost dead. She can give him sex and make him live again. If she were to refuse, he would die!"

The life-giving power of vaginal fluids is most concretely exemplified among the Kiwai people of New Guinea. Vaginal secretions are used extensively in garden rituals. For example, when the first shoots of yams, the culture's staple diet, have sprouted above ground, the mother of the owner of the garden smears her hands with her vaginal fluids and tugs at one of the shoots. At the time of planting taro, the mother lies down nude in the garden; and her husband inserts the digging stick in her vulva and then digs the hole in the ground between her legs. The fertile powers of the vulva and its secretions could not possibly be more concretely stated.

In most agricultural societies the furrow or the seed hole stand for the vulva. The seed stands for semen, and the plough or digging stick for the phallus. Sītā, the heroine of the Indian epic the *Rāmāyaṇa,* was born in a furrow; indeed, her name means "furrow." When she was abducted by the demon king Rāvaṇa, the vegetation wilted and the animals ceased to reproduce. Rāma, her royal husband, unable to unite with her, had to endure a barren realm until he was able to bring her back.

Underlying the symbolic associations between the earth, its caves, furrows, and waters and the vulva is the notion of the transformative powers of female sexuality. In the furrow the seed transforms itself into fruit or grain; in the cave/womb of the earth death transforms itself into life; in the womb of woman, male and female sexual fluids transform themselves into a human being. The transformative powers of the vulva account for much of the symbolism of initiation rites cross-culturally. The transformation of a child into a sexually potent adult or of an uninitiated person into an initiated one is very often effected by a symbolic return into the womb, the original transformative matrix. It is interesting to note that in Hindu India both the Vedic initiation for a *brahman* male and the Tantric initiation rite use basically the same womb symbolism. The following passage from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (1.3), most graphically describes this process:

> Him whom they consecrate the priests make into an embryo again. He should be bathed in water. . . , anointed with *navanita* or clarified butter [a symbol of embryo, according to the text] and purified with *darbha* or *kusa* grass. Then collyrium is to be put in his eyes, just as it is in the eyes of the new born. After this, the candidate will have to enter and stay in a hut shaped like a female organ.

The absence of any other openings except for the eastern entrance can only be explained in terms of a womb symbolism. The native North American Navajo myth of Changing Woman makes it clear that impregnation by the Sun took place through the hogan's eastern entrance. Thus the initiand is transformed into a bringer of fertility to herself, the people, and the earth in a fashion identical to that of Changing Woman. The transformation was accomplished through a stay in a symbolic vulva that, through song, became the primordial hogan at the womb-gate of the earth.

Aside from the transformative religious mysteries of sacrifice and initiation, the obvious life-giving and growth-promoting powers of the vulva and its secretions have given rise to a widespread use of representations of the female genitalia as apotropaic devices. The custom of plowing a furrow for magical protection around a town was practiced all over Europe by peasants. It was still observed in the twentieth century in Russia, where villages were thus annually "purified." The practice was exclusively carried out by women, who, while plowing, called on the moon goddess. A similar apotropaic function seems to have prompted the placing of squatting female figures prominently exposing their open vulvas on the key of arches at church entrances in Ireland, Great Britain, and German Switzerland. In Ireland these figures are called Sheelagh-na-gigs. Some of these figures represent emaciated old women. These images are illustrations of myths concerning the territorial Celtic goddess who was the granter of royalty. When the goddess wished to test the king-elect, she came to him in the form of an old hag, soliciting sexual intercourse. If the king-elect accepted, she transformed herself into a radiantly beautiful young woman and conferred on him royalty and blessed his reign. Most such figures were removed from churches in the nineteenth century.

This Celtic tradition bears a remarkable resemblance to certain Hindu myths and rites. The goddess Lakṣmī is also a granter of sovereignty. In union with her, a man becomes a king. If she leaves such a man, he loses his sovereignty and/or the power to ensure the fertility and well-being of his realm. Lakṣmī's iconography is intimately associated with the lotus, one of the most ubiquitous South Asian *yoni* symbols. The lotus itself can stand for Lakṣmī. Her consort, Viṣṇu, who is an embodiment of sovereignty, has as one of his four attributes the lotus, which he holds in one of his hands. This denotes his union with the Goddess, the source of his sovereignty. Such beliefs underlie the apotropaic character of the couples engaged in sexual intercourse often found sculpted on the outer walls and entrances of Hindu temples. The magical protective function of the female genitalia is dimly preserved in the European folk custom of hanging a horseshoe over the threshold. The horseshoe, made from a substance from deep inside the womb of the earth—iron—is shaped like the loop in the yonic triangles.

A remarkable parallel to the Celtic Sheelagh-na-gig is found in the Palauan archipelago. The wooden figure of a nude woman, prominently exposing her vulva by sitting with legs wide apart and extended to either side of the body, is placed on the eastern gable of each village's chiefly meeting house. Such figures are called *dilugai.* Interestingly, the *yoni* is in the shape of a cleft downward-pointing triangle. These female figures protect the villagers' health and ward off all evil spirits as well. They are constructed by ritual specialists according to strict rules, which if broken would result in the specialist's as well as the chief's death. It is not coincidental that each example of signs representing the female genitalia used as apotropaic devices are found on gates. The vulva is the primordial gate, the mysterious divide between nonlife and life.

A final major cluster of meanings associated with the vulva relates to its association with wealth. Such an association expresses itself in a broad variety of cultures and in different ways. Shells in general have been and still are symbols of the vulva; the earliest known example is a Magdalenian (Upper Paleolithic) fragment of bone from Arudy in southwestern France depicting a horse's head in the act of licking a yonic shell. However, the link between the vulva and wealth has been represented perhaps most prevalently by the cowrie shell, which has served as a medium of economic exchange in several cultures, particularly in West Africa and India. This smooth univalve bears in its shape and coloring an unmistakable resemblance to the vulva, which undoubtedly accounts for the association in as widely separated regions as West and North Africa, South Asia, Japan, and the Pacific Islands.

The complex of ideas relating wealth and fertility to the vulva is further illustrated by an example from the West African Tiv culture. One of their most sacred objects, symbolizing the fertility of their tribal land and the well-being of its inhabitants, is a human tibia, decorated and ornamented in the shape of a woman, with cowrie shells for the eyes and sometimes on the front of the body as well. It has a hole at the place of the navel; the decorations around it are the same as the scarifications produced on women's bodies at puberty. When disaster threatens or has taken place, and also in annual renewal ceremonies, this object, called the *imborivungu* ("owl pipe") is used ritually. In a secret ritual the elders pour blood from a miscarried fetus into its navel hole. The *imborivungu* is then shaken over fields and in wells to ensure the fertility of the land and of the women. In this example, the yonic cowries, along with the abdominal designs, identify the sacred object as a fertile woman. The ritual is intended to bring about both material abundance—since good crops are the primary source of wealth in agricultural societies—and the fertility of women. Here again one finds the nearly universal equation between the fertility of the earth, the source of wealth, and the fertility of women.

SEE ALSO Caves; Feminine Sacrality; Paleolithic Religion; Prehistoric Religions, article on Old Europe.

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YORUBA RELIGION.

The twelve to fifteen million Yoruba people of southwestern Nigeria, the Republic of Benin (formerly Dahomey), and Togo (topographically the area is defined as that between 6°0–9°5’ 2°41’–6° east longitude) are the heirs of one of the oldest cultural traditions in West Africa. Archaeological and linguistic evidence indicate that the Yoruba have lived in their present habitat since at least the fifth century BCE. The development of the regional dialects that distinguish the Yoruba subgroups and the process of urbanization, which developed into a social system unique among sub-Saharan African peoples, took place during the first millennium BCE. By the ninth century the ancient city of Ile-Ifẹ was thriving, and in the next five centuries

Ifẹ artists would create terracotta and bronze sculptures that are now among Africa's artistic treasures.

Both Yoruba myth and oral history refer to Oduduwa (also known as Odua) as the first king and founder of the Yoruba people. Some myths portray him as the creator god and assert that the place of creation was Ile-Ifẹ, which subsequently became the site of Oduduwa's throne. Oral history, however, suggests that the story of Oduduwa's assumption of the throne at Ifẹ refers to a conquest of the indigenes of the Ifẹ area prior to the ninth century by persons from "the east." While it is increasingly apparent that the sociopolitical model of a town presided over by a paramount chief or king (*ọba*), was well established in Ifẹ and present among other Yoruba subgroups, the followers of Oduduwa developed the urban tradition and enhanced the role of the king. In later years, groups of people who sought to establish their political legitimacy (even if they were immigrants) were required to trace their descent from Oduduwa. Such people were known as "the sons of Oduduwa," and they wore beaded crowns (*adenla*) given to them by Oduduwa as the symbol of their sacred authority (*aṣẹ*).

Origin myths, festival rituals, and oral traditions associate the indigenous peoples with Ọbatala, the deity (*oriṣa*) who fashions the human body. And because he too was an *ọba,* his priests wear white, conical, beaded crowns similar to those reserved for "the sons of Oduduwa." The myths and rituals also refer to a great struggle between Ọbatala and Oduduwa at the time of creation, following Oduduwa's theft of the privilege granted by Ọlọrun (Olodumare), the high god, to Ọbatala to create the earth and its inhabitants. In the town of Itapa, the sequence of rituals that composes the annual festival of Ọbatala reenacts a battle between Oduduwa and Ọbatala, Oduduwa's victory over and the banishment of Ọbatala, and the rejoicing that took place among the gods and humankind with the return of Ọbatala at the invitation of Oduduwa. And there is the tradition among the Ọyọ Yoruba of the unwarranted imprisonment of Ọbatala by Ṣango and the thunder god's release of the wandering, ancient king after famine and barrenness threatened field and home.

In these myths and rituals there is a historical remembrance of a usurpation of power and the acknowledgment that a violent conflict and a tenuous reconciliation gave birth to modern Yoruba culture. The remembrance, however, has not only to do with a past time, with historical and cultural origins; it is also a statement about the nature and limits of the authority of kings in defining the moral basis of Yoruba society. It is also about the importance of Ile-Ifẹ as the symbol of Yoruba cultural homogeneity, while acknowledging the distinctiveness and the independence of other Yoruba subgroups.

There are approximately twenty subgroups, each identifiable by its distinctive variation in linguistic, social, political, and religious patterns born of the history of the region. Among the principal groups are the Ẹgba and Ẹgbado in the southwest, the Ijẹbu in the southern and southeast, the Ọyọ in the central and northwest, the Ifẹ and the Ijẹṣa in the central, the Owo in the eastern, and the Igbomina and Ekiti in the northeast regions. Throughout Yorubaland, the social system is patrilineal and patrilocal, although among the Ẹgba and Ẹgbado there are elements of a dual descent system. The extended family (*idile*), which dwells in the father's compound so long as space and circumstance permit, is the essential social unit and the primary context in which self-awareness and social awareness are forged. Thus, Ọdun Egungun, the annual festival for the patrilineal ancestors, is the most widespread and important festival in the Yoruba liturgical calendar. Elaborate masquerades (*egungun*), are created of layers of cloths of dark colors with white serrated edges. The costume covers the dancer, who moves about the compound or town with stately pace, occasionally performing whirling movements, causing the cloths to splay out in constantly changing patterns. In movement and appearance the masquerade depicts the presence and power (*aṣẹ*) of the ancestors. The ancestors are those persons who established the "house" (*ile*) and the family and who continue to stand surety for its integrity and survival against threats of witchcraft and disease, so long as their heirs acknowledge the ancestral presence.

While masquerades for the patrilineal ancestors are found among all the Yoruba, there are other masked festivals that are distinctive to particular areas, reflecting the regional history that has shaped the Yoruba experience. The Yoruba peoples of the southwest (the Anago, Awori, Ẹgbado, Kẹtu, and Ẹgba) celebrate the Gẹlẹdẹ festival at the time of the spring rains. The festival honors *awon iya wa* ("the mothers"), a collective term for the female power (*aṣẹ*) possessed by all women but especially manifest in certain elderly women and in female ancestors and deities. It is the awesome power of woman in its procreative and destructive capacities that is celebrated and acknowledged. Among the Ijẹbu peoples of the south the annual festival for Agẹmọ, an *oriṣa* whose power is represented by the chameleon, brings sixteen priest-chiefs famed for their magical or manipulative powers from towns surrounding the capital city of Ijẹbu-Ode into ritual contests of curse and masked dance with one another and then into the city, where they petition and are received by the Awujale, the *oba* of Ijẹbu-Ode. The secret power of the priest-chiefs meets the sacred power of the crown. Each is required to acknowledge the role of the other in the complex balance of power that constitutes Ijẹbu political life. The Ẹlẹfon and Ẹpa festivals are masquerades performed in the towns of such Yoruba subgroups as the Igbomina and Ekiti in honor of persons and families whose lives embodied the social values by which Yoruba culture has been defined in the northeastern area. The helmet masks with their large sculptures are balanced on the dancers' heads and are the focus of ritual sacrifice (*ẹbọ*) and songs of praise (*oriki*) throughout the festival. They are images of the sacred power of those who founded the town or contributed to its life in important ways. Thus, while individual masks are associated with particular families, they also refer to the roles of hunter, warrior, king, herbalist-priest, and leader of women, roles that transcend lineage ties and express in their collectivity cultural achievement. Their powers are akin to those of the *oriṣa,* the gods of the Yoruba pantheon.

According to the Yoruba, there are 401 *oriṣa* who line the road to heaven. All of them are thought to have been humans who, because they led notable lives, became *oriṣa* at the time of their death. For example, Ṣango, the god of thunder, was a legendary king of Ọyọ before he became an *oriṣa.* The extraordinary number of *oriṣa* reflects the regional variation in their worship. Ṣango is the patron deity of the kings of Ọyọ, and his shrines are important in those towns that were once part of the old Ọyọ empire (c. 1600–1790). But in Ile-Ifẹ, or in communities to the south and east, the role of Ṣango and the degree to which he is worshiped diminishes markedly. As one moves from one part of Yorubaland to another, it will be Ọṣun, goddess of medicinal waters, or Oko, god of the farm, or Erinle, god of forest and stream, or Ọbatala or Agẹmọ whose shrines and festivals shape the religious life of a people. Furthermore, the *oriṣa* have multiple names. Some call Ṣango Ọba Koso ("king of Koso"); others greet him as Balogunnile Ado ("leader of warriors at Ado"). Ṣango is also addressed as Abinufarokotu ("one who violently uproots an *iroko* tree"), Ọkọ Iyemọnja ("husband of Iyemonja"), or Lagigaoogun ("he who is mighty in the use of magical powers"), names that reveal the varied and distinctive experiences of his devotees and their relationship to the *oriṣa.* The multiplicity (or fragmentation) of the *oriṣa* is also a consequence of the historical dislocation of peoples that occurred during the intertribal wars of the nineteenth century. When persons and groups were forced to move from one area to another, their *oriṣa* went with them, shaping and being shaped by the new world of their devotees' experience.

Of all the *oriṣa* it is Ogun, god of iron and of war, whose worship is most widespread. It is said that there are seven Ogun, including Ogun of the blacksmiths, Ogun of the hunters, Ogun of the warriors, and Ogun Onire. Ire is a town in northeast Yorubaland where Ogun was once the leader of warriors and where he "sank into the ground" after killing persons in a great rage, having misunderstood their vow of ritual silence as a personal affront. As with other *oriṣa,* Ogun expresses and shapes a people's experience with respect to a particular aspect of their lives. In the case of Ogun, it is the experience of violence and culture: His myths and rituals articulate for the Yoruba the irony that cultural existence entails destruction and death. One must kill in order to live. And such a situation carries with it the danger that the destruction will go beyond culturally legitimate need, destroying that which it should serve. Thus, to employ Ogun's power, one must be aware of Ogun's character (*iwa*) and be cognizant that the beneficent god can become the outraged *oriṣa* who bites himself.

As with Ogun, each of the *oriṣa,* in the diversity and individuality of their persons and attributes, may be understood as providing an explanatory system and a means of coping with human suffering. Rarely does only one *oriṣa* lay claim to a person. Ogun or Ṣango or Ọṣun may dominate one's life and shape one's perception of self and world, but other *oriṣa* will have their artifacts on the shrine, as well as their claims and influence upon one's life. Just as the Yoruba dancer must respond to the multiple rhythms of the drums, so must the soul attentive to the powers of the *oriṣa* respond to their diverse claims. The complexity of the response may overwhelm one. But as in the ability of the dancer to be conscious of and respond to every instrument of the orchestra, so in sacrificing to all the *oriṣa* who call, the worshiper (*olusin,* "he who serves") can know the richness of life and its complexity and can achieve the superior poise, the equanimity of one who possesses *ase* amid the contradictions of life. Thus, when one considers the configuration of *oriṣa* symbols on a devotee's shrine or the cluster of shrines and festivals for the *oriṣa* in a particular town or the pantheon as a whole, as a total system, one discerns that the total assemblage of *oriṣa* expresses in it totality a worldview. And it is in the reality of this worldview that Yoruba experience, at the personal and social levels, is given coherence and meaning.

In addition to the *oriṣa* of the pantheon, there is one's personal *oriṣa,* known as *ori inun* ("inner head"), which refers to the destiny that one's ancestral guardian soul has chosen while kneeling before Ọlọrun prior to entering the world. It is a personal destiny that can never be altered. Birth results in the loss of the memory of one's destiny. But one's "*ori*-in-heaven," which is also referred to as *ekejimi* ("my spiritual other"), stands surety for the possibilities and the limits of the destiny that one has received. Hence, one must make one's way in life, acknowledging one's *ori* as an *oriṣa* who can assist one in realizing the possibilities that are one's destiny. One can have an *ori buruku* ("a bad head"). In such a case a person must patiently seek to make the best of a foolish choice and seek the help of the other *oriṣa.*

In *oriṣa* worship it is the wisdom of Ọrunmila, the *oriṣa* of Ifa divination, and the work of Eṣu, the bearer of sacrifices, that stand for the meaningfulness of experience and the possibility of effective action. The vast corpus of Ifa poetry, organized into 256 collections called *odu* (also known as *oriṣa*) is a repository of Yoruba cultural values. It is the priest of Ifa, the *babalawo* ("father of ancient wisdom"), who knows Ifa and performs the rites of divination. Using the sixteen sacred palm nuts or the *opele* chain, the priest divines the *odu* whose verses he will chant in addressing the problem of the suppliant and determining the sacrifices that must be made. For the Yoruba, every ritual entails a sacrifice, whether it is the gift of prayer, the offering of a kola nut, or the slaughter of an animal. In the Ifa literature, sacrifice (*ẹbọ*) has to do with death and the avoidance of such related experiences as loss, disease, famine, sterility, isolation, and poverty. It is an acknowledgment that human existence is ensnared in the interrelated contradictions of life and death. But sacrifice is also viewed as the reversal of the situation of death into life. Sacrifice is the food of the *oriṣa* and other spirits, and one sacrifices that which appropriately expresses the character (*iwa*) of the particular *orịṣa* or spirit of one's concern. Hence, Ogun receives a dog, the carnivorous animal that can be domesticated to assist the hunter and warrior. Sacrifice is the acknowledgement of the presence of powerful agents in the world, and the sacrificial act brings the creative power of the *orịṣa*, the ancestors, or the mothers to the worshiper; sacrifice can also temporarily stay the hand of Death and ward off other malevolent spirits (*ajogun*). Such is the power of Ẹṣu, the bearer of sacrifices, the mediator and guardian of the ritual way, the "keeper of *ase*."

Those who have observed the ritual way and achieved the status of elders in the community may also become members of the secret Ọṣugbo (Ogboni) society. Although Ọṣugbo is found throughout Yorubaland, its role and rituals vary from one region to another. Ọṣugbo members, who come from various lineage groups, worship Onile ("the owner of the house"). The "house" (*ile*) is the image of the universe in its totality, of which the Ọṣugbo cult house is a microcosm. The *ẹdan* of the Ọṣugbo society, which are small, brass, linked staffs that depict male and female figures, are the sign of membership and the symbol of the Ọṣugbo understanding of reality. The secret of the Ọṣugbo appears to be that its members know, and are in touch with, a primordial unity that transcends the oppositions characterizing human experience. Expressing the unity of male and female, the *ẹdan* and their owners possess the power of adjudicating conflicts among persons or groups; when blood has been shed illicitly (as in a murder) it is the Ọṣugbo members who must atone for this "violation of the house."

The worldview of the Yoruba is a monistic one. The universe of their experience is pervaded by *aṣẹ*, a divine energy in the process of generation and regeneration. *Aṣẹ* is without any particular signification and yet invests all things and all persons and, as the warrant for all creative activity, opposes chaos and the loss of meaning in human experience. Thus, for the Yoruba the universe is one, and it is amenable to articulation in terms of an elaborate cosmology, to critical reflection, and to innovative speculation.

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YOSE BEN ḤALAFTAʾ (second century CE), Palestinian tanna. Born in Sepphoris, Yose was a student of Yoḥanan ben Nuri, ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef, and Ṭarfon. Like many of his contemporaries, he worked at a humble occupation—he was a tanner (B.T., *Shab.* 49a–b)—but he was also a leader of the rabbinic court at Sepphoris (B.T., *San.* 32b). He is associated with early mystical traditions, and it is said that he studied with Elijah the prophet (B.T., *Ber.* 3a, *Yev.* 63a).

Numerous traditions attributed to Yose are preserved in rabbinic literature. He is one of the most frequently quoted authorities of his generation, along with Meʾir, Shimʿon, and Yehudah. Jacob Epstein believes that the corpus of his traditions was one of the primary documents used in the redaction of the Mishnah.

Yose was a product of rabbinic learning and culture in a time of adjustment after two devastating wars with Rome. His rulings and teachings, like those of other rabbis of the time, reflect the struggle to overcome the uncertainty of Jewish life in the Land of Israel and the attempt to establish a sense of order in religious and social life. Yose's legal, exegetical, and theological sayings contributed greatly toward this goal.

Yose's traditions evince a special interest in the events of biblical history, as well as in the entire range of theological topics, including the nature of God, the centrality of the Torah, and the special nature of Israel. His legal rulings reflect the concerns and activities of the rabbis of his generation, from agricultural taboos, table manners, and rules for holidays and family life to regulations for the rabbinic system of purities. Yose is associated, for example, with legislation concerning the recitation of blessings over foods in which he rules that one who alters the formula for blessings established by the sages does not fulfill his obligation (Tosefta, *Ber.* 4.4).

To date, no systematic analysis has been made of Yose's traditions, probably because of the sheer size of the corpus of sayings attributed to him.

SEE ALSO Tannaim.

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TZVEE ZAHAVY (1987)
Revised Bibliography

YOUNG, BRIGHAM (1801–1877), second president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter LDS); chief architect of the form of Mormonism that flourished in the intermountain region of the western United States in the nineteenth century and expanded throughout the United States and into many other countries.

Although he insisted on baptism by immersion, which he thought scripture required, Brigham Young joined the Methodists several years before he heard about Joseph Smith's "golden bible." A skilled carpenter, painter, and cabinetmaker, Young came from a family of devout Methodists whose extreme poverty impelled them to leave New England for western New York, a family history that paralleled that of the Smith family. While Mormonism attracted many of his family members, Young held back. He read the *Book of Mormon* soon after its publication in 1830 but waited two full years before becoming a Latter-day Saint. Thus he was not converted in the very beginning when Mormonism's primary appeal was its claim that it had restored the priesthood of ancient Israel and that it was the only true church of Jesus Christ. He became a follower of the Mormon prophet, Joseph Smith, in 1832, when the character of the new movement was becoming as Hebraic as it was Christian, given the emphasis being placed on its "gathering" doctrine, its temple-building plans, its patriarchal office, and its assertion that Mormons are God's only chosen people. Convinced that these elements separating Mormonism from traditional Christianity were scripturally correct, Young accepted them wholeheartedly. Moreover, when temple ordinances were introduced that added plural marriage and baptism for the dead to Mormonism, and when the movement organized itself into a political kingdom, he accepted these innovations as well, albeit somewhat less enthusiastically.

After his rebaptism, Young devoted his entire energies to Mormonism. Following a preaching mission in the eastern United States, he moved to Ohio, assisting with the construction of the Kirtland temple and much else. He went with Zion's Camp, a paramilitary expedition that failed to rescue beleaguered Missouri Saints from their enemies, but nevertheless tested the mettle of future LDS leaders. Called to the highest council in Mormondom, the Quorum of the Twelve, in 1835, and made its president in 1841, Young rendered signal service, particularly in organizing the exodus when the Saints were driven from Missouri in 1839 and in establishing a successful Mormon mission in England in the early 1840s. In Nauvoo, Illinois, during the final years of Smith's life, Young served in the prophet's inner circle as the LDS political kingdom was organized and the secret practice of plural marriage instituted.

The struggle for succession to LDS leadership after Smith's murder in 1844 intensified a division within the movement. On one side were Saints who, regarding Mormonism as an idiosyncratic version of primitive Christianity, opposed plural marriage and the political organization of a kingdom in an Old Testament mode; on the other were Saints who supported these innovations as a part of the restoration of the "ancient order of things." Although most historical accounts present Young as the clear winner in this succession struggle, recent demographic studies reveal that he was the acknowledged leader of the latter group, but that he by no means led the whole of the LDS community after Smith's death.

For the thousands who followed him, however, Young managed to effect the transfer of Mormon culture from Illinois to the Great Salt Lake Valley while preserving the vision of Mormonism that Joseph Smith held at the end of his life. He did this by assuming ecclesiastical, political, and spiritual leadership of his followers. In Nauvoo, he took practical charge of the chaotic situation and arranged the departure of the Saints. In 1847, he was sustained as president of the church by those who went west with him. In 1851, the federal government recognized his leadership by appointing him as governor of Utah Territory. From these dual positions of power, he established a new "Israel in the tops of the mountains" in which, in the manner of Solomon of old, he reigned supreme as prophet, church president, and political leader. Unlike Joseph Smith, however, Young was not a prophet who delivered new revelations and added lasting theological elements to the movement he headed. His great contribution was realizing Smith's vision through the creation of a literal LDS kingdom. Even changed, as it was at the end of the nineteenth century, this kingdom continues to animate and inspire Mormonism in much the same way that Solomon's kingdom has animated and inspired Judaism and Christianity across the ages.

SEE ALSO Mormonism.

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Until very recently, historical accounts of Young's life and career were either faith-promoting paeans of praise, based on nineteenth-century official LDS publications, or ill-concealed attacks, based on published sources unfriendly to the Mormons. Neither genre has disappeared, but as much of the primary source material on which studies of Young must rely is now available to scholars, new studies presenting a more balanced assessment of this important Mormon leader are appearing. The most significant of these new studies are Leonard J. Arrington's *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York, 1985); Newell G. Bringhurst's *Brigham Young and the Expanding American Frontier* (Boston, 1985); and Ronald K. Esplin's "The Emergence of Brigham Young and the Twelve to Mormon Leadership, 1830–1841" (Ph. D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1981). Two valuable editions of primary source materials are *Letters of Brigham Young to His Sons,* edited by Dean C. Jesse (Salt Lake City, 1974); and *Diary of Brigham Young, 1857,* edited by Everett L. Cooley (Salt Lake City, 1980). Stanley P. Hirshson's *The Lion of the Lord: A Biography of Brigham Young* (New York, 1969) is not recommended; despite its reputable publisher and respected author, it is based on published sources, most of which are unfriendly to the Mormons.

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JAN SHIPPS (1987)

YOUTH, FOUNTAIN OF SEE REJUVENATION

YU, also known as Yu the Great; demiurge who rid China of a great flood, legendary founder of the Xia dynasty, and oldest pan-Chinese culture hero. (Huangdi, Yao, and Shun are in fact of later origin.) According to traditional accounts, Yu combated the flood by following the examples found in nature. Draining fields, dredging rivers, and cutting passes through the mountains, he thus succeeded where his father, Kun, who used dikes to restrain the floods and block their course, had failed (*Shu jing, Yu gong*; *Shi ji*). Credited with the shaping of China's waterways and irrigation systems, he became the patron saint of all hydraulic engineering (*Shi zi*, *Huainanzi*). Yu also was a miner and a master of metals. He invented bronze weapons and cast the Nine Caldrons of Xia, symbols of his sovereignty, on which the various regions of his empire were pictured (*Zuo zhuan*). The famous *Shanhai jing* (Book of Mountains and Seas) is said to be the text corresponding to these images. Founder of metal-working confraternities, Yu is the patron saint of esoteric and magical arts that are at the roots both of alchemy and of Daoist longevity techniques.

Yu is one of the legendary model sovereigns upon whom the Yellow River and the Luo River deities bestowed the mystical diagrams Hetu ("river chart") and Luoshu ("Lo writing"). In Daoist traditions, these sacred emblems were reinterpreted into the *lingbao wufu* ("five talismans of *lingbao*"), which Yu received from a god as a source of magical aid in his Herculean labors. He is said to have hidden them in a sacred mountain, whence they were rediscovered to become the nucleus of a Daoist corpus of sacred scriptures (*Wu Yue chunqiu*; *Lingbao wufu xu*).

One of the oldest rituals of Chinese culture, still practiced today by Daoist priests, is the Yubu, or "pace of Yu." Exhausted by his labors, Yu is said to have been stricken by hemiplegia, which gave him a limping gait (*Shi zi*). Others say that spirits gave him control over men and nature by teaching him a hopping dance with one foot trailing behind the other. The ancient sovereigns danced in order to subdue rebels (*Huainanzi*), and sorcerers performed this dance to enter into trance. The Daoists adopted the Pace of Yu both to gain access to supernatural powers such as those granted by plants that confer immortality and to overcome demonic forces (*Baopuzi*). For them, it was not merely the gait that was important but also the labyrinthine pattern traced by the officiant's feet, the pattern of a hexagram, or, more often, the meander of the Big Dipper. The Pace of Yu or the "shaman's pace" (*wubu*) is considered to contain the magic rhythm for creating cosmic order and for summoning and subduing gods and demons. It became the favorite gait for the *daoshi*'s liturgical procession through the heavens (*Daozang* 987, *Taishang zongzhen biyao* 8, 1116 CE). The Pace of Yu is still performed today as part of Daoist rituals in Taiwan.

See Also Chinese Religion, article on Mythic Themes.

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Anna Seidel (1987)

YUHUANG,

the Jade Emperor, has been the supreme deity of the Chinese popular pantheon since at least the tenth century CE.

An essential and deeply rooted feature of Chinese culture is the concept of a single, centralized empire under the sovereignty of an emperor who is a sacerdotal as well as a secular ruler. This concept influenced religion in many ways. Both the Daoist and the popular pantheon are modeled on the civil bureaucracy of the Chinese state. Communication between the gods and encounters between deities and mortals often involve ritual similar to that between the vassal and his sovereign or the administrator and his superior.

The highest deity of the religion of antiquity, the Emperor on High (Shangdi) already was the ruler of a heavenly court. About the supreme deity of folk religion we know nothing until the ninth century CE. Belief and cult of the Jade Emperor took shape during the time of the most perfect realization of the bureaucratic universal empire, the Tang dynasty (618–906). Poems and paintings of the tenth century attest to a fully developed myth, in which the Great Jade Emperor (Yuhuang Dadi) is attended by his heavenly court composed of all the deities who rule above and below the earth, the gods of stars, wind, rain and thunder, mountains and lakes, and others. The Song emperor Zhenzong (r. 998–1022) reinforced his own authority by claiming descent from mythical culture heroes, a lineage that had been revealed to him by an emissary of the Jade Emperor. In 1017, a state cult was instituted for the Jade Emperor, and he was canonized under the title Great Heavenly Emperor, Majesty of [the Heaven of] Jade Purity (Yuqinghuang Da tiandi).

Jade Emperor is not a name but the title of a ruler with a particular function. Patterned after the terrestrial emperor, the Jade Emperor is the supernatural ruler of the universe, including the divine pantheon. His foremost role is to confer all advancement in the supernatural bureaucracy and in the religious hierarchies of this world, and to oversee the investiture of emperors and of gods, as in the popular novel *Fengshen yanyi* (The Investiture of the Gods). Supreme arbiter, judge, and sovereign of the universe, he is nevertheless merely the executor of orders emanating from the highest heavenly triad, the Daoist Three Pure Ones (San Qing) who are deities too remote and formidable for the popular cults.

His feast day is the ninth day of the first lunar month. His popular name is Master Heaven (Tiangong). He is represented in the dragon-embroidered robe and pearly headgear of the Chinese emperor, seated on a throne and surrounded by his courtiers. His canonical scripture, the *Yuhuang benxing jing* (twelfth to thirteenth century; *Daozang* nos. 10, 11, 12), plays an important role in Daoist ritual.

See Also Chinese Religion, article on Mythic Themes; Kingship, article on Kingship in East Asia.

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Anna Seidel (1987)

YULUNGGUL SNAKE.

Yulunggul is the Great Python of north-central Arnhem Land, who swallowed the Wawalag sisters and their child(ren). Yulunggul is most often identified as male, with or without female counterparts. One northeastern Arnhem Land version specifies Yulunggul as female but with symbolic male (phallic) implications.

William Lloyd Warner's account (1937, e.g. p. 257) notes a variety of snakes, goannas, and snails as sons of Yulunggul. In a couple of women's versions, Yulunggul's python children, who live in the water hole with him, ask him to regurgitate what he has eaten so that they can eat it too. Warner refers to Yulunggul as "great father" (Yindi Bapa or Bapa Yindi), but it is possible that he misheard the more usual expression, "great snake" (Yindi Baapi).

Unlike so many of the great mythic characters, who came from elsewhere to sites that were to be spiritually associated with them, Yulunggul had always been at his special water hole, known as Mirara-minar and Muruwul; there is a cluster of names and waters in that area. The Wawalag sisters, in contrast, were travelers from a distant country and were strangers: the kinship terms identifying them as sisters of Yulunggul's were not consanguineously based. Nevertheless, all of the mythic Snakes in north and northeastern Arnhem Land, including Yulunggul, were good site guardians and knew who the travelers were.

The Wawalag sisters brought with them inland-type songs. These are in the compressed, key-word style typical of the Kunapipi (Gunabibi)—unlike the long, drawn-out songs of north-central and northeastern Arnhem Land, such as Yulunggul sang. The longer songs include names for physical and other attributes of the Snake that are used as personal names by present-day Aborigines of appropriate social and territorial status, and they include singing words for the monsoon, the coasts and offshore islands, and the rough seas. This introduction to inland people and inland songs and religious rites was not achieved without trauma, in the context of the myth, but it marked the acceptance of "new" items on a longterm basis.

In one of his roles Yulunggul is, explicitly, a culture-area indicator, or a boundary marker. During his conversation with the other great Snakes after he has swallowed the Wawalag, he faces east. This conversation is like a statement about a broad cultural zone that shares a range of common understandings and rules, though there are local variations. Its principal binding force is its religious system, actively expressed through ritual collaboration. The Snakes (in Warner's version, p. 253) underline this accord, agreeing that although they speak "different languages" (dialects), they share the same religious commitments. Significantly, then, Yulunggul looks to and talks to his counterparts in the east, turning his back on western Arnhem Land. That region is clearly outside the eastern Arnhem Land bloc, notwithstanding its mythic swallowing and vomiting Rainbow Snakes and some cultural exchange and transmission; traditionally the westerners did not circumcise, and their marriage rules and language patterns were very different.

There are divergent views on whether Yulunggul is a Rainbow Snake manifestation. In the Milingimbi versions, when the two men from Wawalag country came to Miraraminar, the water "shone like a rainbow. When they saw this they knew there was a snake there." (Warner, p. 258, also 385). Where his Rainbow Snake identification is not accepted, mainly on the eastern side of Arnhem Land, it is sometimes explained with, "Yulunggul is separate: he is *himself*."

As a weather symbol, Yulunggul has his own personal niche in the pantheon of deities (Warner, p. 378). He has both freshwater and saltwater affiliations. Although he is anchored spiritually to a special site, he is also spiritually mobile. He is the spirit of the monsoon, the west and northwest wind that brings the fertilizing rains of the wet season. Just as the copulations of the Snakes and clouds during the wet season ensure fertility in the dry season, so Yulunggul's "union" with the Wawalag transformed him into a symbol of seasonal fertility. He continued to inhabit his water hole but gained prominence in two additional dimensions. One was his role in the ritual constellations "given" to posterity by the Wawalag sisters. The other was spiritual mobility. In some Milingimbi versions (Warner, p. 254), he flies across the country with the Wawalag and their child(ren) inside him, naming various places and allocating local dialects. More generally, in all available versions he is identified in spirit with the *baara,* the fast-moving, rain-bearing monsoon storms and clouds from the west and northwest.

The full force of the monsoon can have a formidable impact on the people, creatures, landscape, and waters in its path. A skillful storyteller can convey the force dramatically in narrative versions of the Yulunggul myth. Warner (pp. 379–381) tried to communicate the power of the monsoon through a quotation from a geographer about the Darwin area, but the cycle of the seasons is much less "uniform" than his source suggests. It is the variability and unpredictability of the monsoon that has convinced Aborigines of the need to work ritually to regularize it.

In his Milingimbi study, Warner (pp. 381–382) mentions a number of named seasons, but his whole emphasis is on a twofold division between "wet" and "dry." Men are identified with the Snake, as a "purifying element" (p. 387), "with the positive higher social values," ritual cleanliness, the sphere of "the sacred" (p. 394), women with the dry season, "uncleanliness," and "the profane." Lévi-Strauss recognized the contradiction between these statements and the claim that Aborigines regarded the wet season as bad (too much rain, no food) and the dry season as good (plenty of food, greater mobility). But the seasonal picture and other suggested dichotomies are oversimplified and unreal.

Yulunggul's territorial, seasonal, and religious-ritual roles make him a powerful and majestic figure. Much of his ritual symbolism is secret-sacred, not to be discussed publicly, but his public persona is awesome enough. All of this gives rise to some intriguing questions. For example, in a Milingimbi version that is found only in Warner, after Yulunggul had regurgitated the sisters and they lay "dead," a great Yulunggul *didjeridu* (drone pipe) came out of Yulunggul's water hole of its own volition and revived them with the help of green ants. Yulunggul was angry. He "killed" the sisters and swallowed them again. The *didjeridu* that features so prominently in Kunapipi and associated rituals, however, *is* Yulunggul, and its sound is his voice. How to reconcile the contradiction? Contradiction is, up to a point, the essence of myth, and perhaps it merely reflects the approach of Yulunggul to the Wawalag sisters in the events of the myth as usually told and interpreted, in a relationship about which there is still much more to be said.

See Also Rainbow Snake.

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CATHERINE H. BERNDT (1987)

YUNUS EMRE (d. 1321), Turkish mystic, initiator of popular mystic poetry in Turkish literature, and one of the greatest poets in that language. Apart from a few notes in sixteenth-century biographical works, the life of Yunus Emre remains shrouded in legend. More reliable biographical data can be gathered from his own corpus, which recent research (particularly by Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı) has sifted out from the mass of poems produced by contemporary or later anonymous authors who attributed their own work to him.

According to available evidence, he was born in the village of Sarıköy (modern Emre) in central Anatolia, educated in the classical Islamic sciences, and later trained in the mystic path by a certain Tapduk Emre, whom he often mentions in his poems with great veneration. He seems to have lived mostly in the region of his birth and to have died and been buried in the same village. There is also evidence that he traveled to Syria and Azerbaijan, as well as to Konya, where he may have met the great mystic poet Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, whose thought and mystic fervor exercised considerable influence on him.

Yunus Emre’s writings include a short didactic *mathnavī* and his *dīvān,* or collected poems. The *mathnavī, Risalet ün-nushiyye* (Book of Counsels), written in 1307, is an allegorical poem of 575 couplets in classical Persian meter, with a prose introduction. Elaborating on certain human virtues and vices along orthodox Muslim lines, it is rather sober and uninspired in style and not typical of his work. Rather, his fame rests primarily on his *dīvān,* which is the first one in Turkish literature. It consists of about 350 poems, most of which dwell on variations of pantheistic thought, the tribulations of the initiate, the various stages of the mystic path, guidance to the “straight path,” the nature of real knowledge *(ʿirfān)* as different from worldly science *(ʿilm),* the confession of one’s errors and shortcomings and the enjoyment of self-accusation *(melāmet),* and nostalgic and evocative themes of the years away from home. Smaller numbers elaborate on orthodox religious themes, with frequent reference to the Qurʾān and the traditions of the Prophet, and to popular stories of prophets and saints, or address the obsessive idea of death, otherworldliness, and eternity.

These poems are addressed to the masses of ordinary people. They are mainly written in the spoken Turkish of the early fourteenth century, with a moderate number of Arabic/Persian loanwords, and the predominant meter follows the traditional Turkish syllabic form. Their great popular appeal over the centuries can be ascribed to Yunus’s simple and direct style, his enthusiastic lyricism, and the skill with which he made mystic and pantheistic philosophy accessible. Both the style and the language of his poems continued to exert a tremendous influence on most of the popular mystic poets down to the eighteenth century.

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FAHİR İZ (1987)

YURUPARY is the lingua franca name for an Amazonian culture hero who established order in nature and society and taught men rules of ritual conduct. The term refers also to sacred flutes and bark trumpets, taboo to women and children, played in a secret men's cult into which boys are periodically initiated, and to the celebrations held by the cult. These instruments, kept hidden under water, represent Yurupary in spirit form, and their sound is his voice. By extension the term is used throughout Amazonia to refer to cannibal forest spirits. Christian missionaries have also erroneously identified Yurupary with the devil and attempted to eradicate his cult.

The Yurupary cult is found among nearly all the Indians of northwest Amazonia living in the area of the Japurá, Negro, and middle Orinoco rivers. In particular, it is characteristic of the Arawakan groups (Baníwa, Baré, etc.) of the upper Río Negro and of their Tucanoan-speaking neighbors (Cubeo, Tucano, Desána, Barasana, etc.) of the Uaupés, whose culture shows strong Arawakan influence. The Arawakans call Yurupary Kowai, and a number of other names are used by the Tucanoans. These Indians share many cultural features, including division into patrilineal, exogamous phratries made up of a series of ranked clans, patrilocal marriage, and residence in communal longhouses.

Similar secret men's cults with flutes, trumpets, bullroarers, and masks are a typical feature of many Indian groups of lowland South America, most notably the Mundurucú of the lower Tapajós, the Yagua and Tikúna of the upper Amazon, the tribes of the upper Xingu, and the nearly extinct Selk'nam of Tierra del Fuego.

YURUPARY MYTH. Numerous versions of the Yurupary myth have been published. What follows is a synthesis of these myths, designed to bring out the major episodes and themes. Yurupary was the child of Ceucy (the Pleiades), who was made pregnant by the juice of a *caimo* (*Pouteria caimito*) or *cucura* (*Pourouma cecropiaefolia*) fruit. She was a virgin, and a disguised incestuous union with a father, brother, or son identified with the sun, moon, thunder, or the constellation Scorpius is implied. Yurupary is himself often identified with the Sun. Lacking a vagina, Ceucy had a painful labor and had to be pierced by a fish. Her baby, taken from her at birth, was brought up by his shaman father or brother. Yurupary had no mouth so he had to be fed on tobacco smoke. He was asked if he was man, animal, or fish, but by shaking his head he indicated that he was none of these. Only when asked if he was Yurupary did he nod his head in agreement, an agreement that, by a process of elimination, also suggested that he was connected with the vegetable world. When given a mouth, he emitted a terrible sound, and sounds emerged from holes in his body, which was that of a monkey but with human face, feet, and hands.

He grew very rapidly and became a shaman leader who taught his people rituals and a regime of taboos and fasts and decreed that no woman should see him or hear his secrets on pain of death. He ordered the men to collect fruit from trees, and he conducted the first initiation rite, at which young boys saw him dressed in full costume.

While the boys were still under initiation taboos, he took them to collect *uacú* fruit (*Monopteryx angustifolia*), which, despite prohibitions, they roasted and ate. Angered by their disobedience, Yurupary sent a thunderstorm, and the boys took shelter in his mouth (or, in some versions, his anus), which they mistook for a cave. Having ingested all but one of them, Yurupary disappeared to his house in the sky, and the lone survivor returned home with the dreadful news.

The parents, angered by their loss and fearful of this cannibal monster, resolved to kill him. They tempted him back with offers of ever more exotic kinds of beer until, offered one he had never tried, Yurupary agreed to return. He knew they wished to kill him and made it known that he could be killed only with fire.

Arriving at dusk, Yurupary vomited up the boys (or their bones), into either an initiates' seclusion enclosure or flat baskets, along with the fruit the boys had collected. He danced and sang all night, getting increasingly drunk on beer and *yagé,* a hallucinogenic drink, and at dawn his hosts threw him on a fire. There followed a huge conflagration, which was the prototype of all future slash-and-burn fires. The burning of a cultivation site is now identified with this first fire. As he died, Yurupary announced that henceforth, though he would be immortal, all men would die.

From the ashes a *paxiuba* palm (*Iriartea exorrhiza*) grew, together with vines for ritual whips and for poison and stinging ants, snakes, and other noxious creatures that shed their skins. The palm was his bone, and the poisonous plants and animals were his soft parts. The palm ascended rapidly to the sky, taking with it Yurupary's soul, which became a star in the constellation Orion. Squirrels cut the palm into sections, which were distributed among men and animals as their different voices. This distribution marked the differentiation of men from animals and, among men, the distinction between the different clans and phratries, which have corresponding linguistic differences. The sections of paxiuba palm, which correspond to paired parts of Yurupary's anatomy—arm and leg bones and fingers—make up the *yurupary* instruments, which are also in pairs, and their sound is his voice. From other parts of his body—skull, brain, tongue, and so on—were made gourds, tobacco snuff, coca, and beeswax, which play an important role in the rites.

Later on, the Sun told his son to rise early and play the *yurupary* instruments at the river. His daughter overheard and got up while her lazy brother slept on. She found the instruments and ran away with them, accompanied by the other women. With the women in possession of the instruments, the social order was reversed: While the women dedicated their lives to ritual, the men menstruated and did all the heavy agricultural work.

The men then set about regaining the stolen flutes. With the aid of ritual whips and small piston whistles, they frightened the women into submission. In punishment for the rebellion, the men caused the women to menstruate and declared that if women should ever see the Yurupary rites and instruments they would be killed.

YURUPARY CULT. A number of themes emerge from this myth that relate to the symbolic significance of the cult. Most notable are the astronomical character of the major protagonists; the importance of the vegetable world and its links with human fertility and growth; the links between periodicities in the human and natural worlds; the contrasts between men and women, humans and animals, life and death, and hard and soft parts of the body; and the ambiguity of Yurupary as both benevolent lawgiver and cannibal monster. The myth also serves as a charter for rituals which form the most important expression of the religious life of the people concerned and accounts for the origin of the sacred objects used by them.

There are two kinds of Yurupary ritual, one less sacred than the other. In the former, quantities of forest fruit, gathered by the men, are brought to the longhouse to the sound of the flutes and trumpets. During the day women and children are excluded from the house, but at dusk the instruments are removed and the women join the men to dance and drink manioc beer. The men chant origin myths and drink *yagé* to put them in contact with the spirit world. They also whip one another and the women and children to make them grow strong. The rites are held to increase the abundance of fruit and mark the ripening of each species. They also represent an exchange, in that the fruits are a gift from the spirits and in that fruit is often exchanged between longhouse communities.

These rites also form the first stage of initiation into the cult. Young boys are brought into the house along with the fruit, shown the flutes, given coca, snuff, and yagé, and whipped to make them grow. After participation in one or more such rites they then graduate to the more sacred rites, which are held once per year at the start of the rainy season as the Pleiades set at dusk. For these latter rites greater numbers of more sacred instruments are used, together with gourds of snuff, coca, and beeswax. These and other items, when assembled together, make up the body of the first ancestor, Yurupary or his equivalent. At the climax of the rites the ancestor appears in the form of two men dressed in full ceremonial regalia and adopts the initiates as his sons. The boys are shown the flutes and whipped, then taken to the river to bathe while water poured from the flutes is "vomited" over their heads.

The initiates are then secluded for two months in an enclosure that is out of sight of the women. They must fast; rigid taboos govern various aspects of their behavior; and they are taught to make baskets, an exclusively male task. The adult men are also under strict taboos and all are in a state described as being like that of menstruating women. The women fend for themselves and a state analogous to the matriarchy of the myth pertains. This period is brought to an end when the initiates are given chili peppers to eat and hot liquids to drink, ending a taboo on contact with sources of heat. There follows a festive dance at which the initiates give women the basketry they have made, and thereafter the food taboos are progressively lifted and life returns to normal.

THEMES AND INTERPRETATIONS. A number of different interpretations have been proposed for this cult and, given the simultaneous operation of a number of different symbolic levels, they are not necessarily incompatible. At a sociological level, the cult involves the ritualized opposition between men and women, an opposition that permeates the Indians' secular and ritual life. The *yurupary* instruments are the means whereby men dominate women. Not only are women excluded from important rituals but they are also excluded from the knowledge of mythology and shamanism that this entails. Such knowledge is also a source of prestige and power. In the same vein the cult emphasizes the equivalent status of women and uninitiated children and allows the subjection of young men by their elders, who have greater ritual knowledge and experience.

Among the Tucanoan Indians Yurupary is also an ancestral cult related to their patrilineal ideology. The death of the ancestor and the distribution of his flute-bones provides a model for the division of human society into discrete phratries and, at a lower lever, for the segmentation of each phratry into a number of clans descended from a common ancestor. The ritual adoption by the ancestor of his sons, the initiates, each one the potential founder of a new patriline, reenacts and repeats this initial process of segmentation. The instruments, each set of which is owned by a clan, are the sons of the ancestor and founders of the clans, and they bear the names of these ancestors.

The exclusion of women further emphasizes clan solidarity and patrilineal ideology by implying that the clan can reproduce itself without the intervention of women from outside. Latent in the Yurupary and related myths is a tension between the extremes of incest—as in the start of the myth—and its opposite, reproduction without the intervention of women—as when Yurupary is burned and becomes his sons, the flutes. Note too that Yurupary's bones become masculine flutes while his soft parts become things with feminine (and poisonous) connotations. This tension relates to that between a patrilineal ideology and the requirement that women must be brought in from outside for sexual reproduction. The symbolism of the cult plays upon this by dividing men and women into opposed groups while stressing the complementarity between male and female principles.

The Yurupary rituals can be seen as reenactments of elements of the central myth, and the symbolism of swallowing and regurgitation, a familiar theme of many initiation rites, is clearly present. The ritual, the myth, and statements by indigenous informants all suggest that the initiates are killed and swallowed and reborn by being vomited up again, a theme that can be linked to the etymology of Yurupary—from *yuru* ("mouth") and *pary* (initiates' enclosure, or a trap made of woven palm splints). The vegetable nature of Yurupary, shown in his fast growth and his associations with fruit, is clearly related to the association of the initiates with fruit and the stress on their growth. The cult involves magic designed to increase the fertility of nature and to ensure the growth and fertility of human beings. Whipping to promote growth is common throughout Amazonia, as is the use of stinging ants for the same purpose.

The myth accounts for the origin of human mortality and links it with human and natural periodicity. While death is final, society endures through sexual and social reproduction. Ritually this process is accomplished by a symbolic death and rebirth whereby young boys come to replace their ageing elders. The myth implies that death is not final: Yurupary's soul becomes an immortal star and his bones become flutes, and are his representatives on earth. The myth draws a parallel between his death and slash-and-burn agriculture, whereby new plants grow from the ashes of dead trees. The instruments thus mediate between life and death and turn their opposition into an alternating cycle.

The theme of periodicity also relates to that of menstruation, which figures in both the myth and the rites. The myth implies that menstruation and possession of the flutes are equivalent but inversely distributed between the sexes. Women are held to approximate Yurupary's immortal state both because they reproduce themselves through their children and because menstruation is seen as analogous to the sloughing of their skins by the immortal snakes and other creatures who came from Yurupary's ashes. Though men lost the power to menstruate they gained the *yurupary,* which, although clearly masculine symbols, have an important feminine aspect appropriated and controlled by the men. The cult implies that whereas women give birth to children, only men can "give birth" to fully social adults.

That Yurupary and his mother and father are all identified with heavenly bodies further relates to this theme of periodicity. The myths and rites relate to the apparent movement of the stars in relation to that of the sun. The azimuth of the Pleiades corresponds with the winter solstice, Orion moves along the celestial equator, the azimuth of Scorpius corresponds with the summer solstice, and the heliacal rise of the Pleiades corresponds with the setting of Scorpius. Throughout northwest Amazonia the Pleiades are a seasonal marker, their heliacal rise coinciding with the start of the dry season and their setting with the rains, and the "opposition" between the Pleiades and Scorpius is a common symbolic theme in South American Indian cultures. Yurupary himself has both solar and masculine characteristics and a lunar, more feminine side.

Many of the themes mentioned above reappear in secret men's cults elsewhere in lowland South America. Among the Mundurucú the opposition between the sexes is more pronounced and antagonistic and corresponds with an apparent fear and jealousy of female sexuality and reproduction on the part of the men. With them, as with the Yagua, the link between sacred instruments and fruit is replaced by a link between the instruments and game animals. The flutes guarantee an abundance of game and luck in the hunt, in return for which they must be constantly fed. In the Xingu area the cults are again linked with the fertility of fruit. Among the Tikúna, sacred instruments are associated with female initiation involving the pulling out of the girls' hair. Female hair figures also in the Yurupary cult, for sacred masks representing Yurupary were made from hair shorn from girls at first menstruation. Finally, myths of matriarchy are common to all these groups.

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No really full and general account of the Yurupary cult, dealing equally with mythology, ritual, and its social structural context, exists. Silvia Maria da Carvalho's *Jurupari: Estudos de mitologia brasileira* (São Paulo, 1979) is a comparative analysis of the Yurupary and related myths. The analysis, while not based on primary field research, provides a comprehensive survey and makes a number of significant points of interpretation but is marred by thinly supported discussions concerning population movements, evolution, and diffusion. Hector Orjuela's *Yurupary: Mito, leyenda y epopeya* (Bogotá, 1983) relies also on published works and again provides a valuable compilation of the relevant myths. The interpretation is, however, patchy, and includes unsubstantiated assertions concerning the supposed Colombian origins of the myth. Jacqueline Bolens's "Mythe de Jurupari: Introduction à une analyse," *Homme* 7 (1967): 50–66, is a structuralist analysis of several classic versions of the Yurupary myth that, though short, contains some important insights concerning the symbolism involved.

My book *The Palm and the Pleiades: Initiation and Cosmology in Northwest Amazonia* (Cambridge, 1979), based on field research, provides a full account of Yurupary myths and rituals among the Tucanoan Barasana and their neighbors and is perhaps the most accessible and rounded interpretation of the cult. It also gives a comprehensive bibliography.

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STEPHEN HUGH-JONES (1987)
Revised Bibliography

Z

ZAEHNER, R. C. (1913–1974), was an English Orientalist and historian of religions. Robert Charles Zaehner, born April 8, 1913, began studies in Persian while on a scholarship in classics at Oxford and received a master's degree in Oriental languages. After leaving his position as research lecturer at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1939, he entered government service and was attached to the British embassy in Tehran during World War II. He accepted appointment as lecturer in Persian at Oxford in 1950; and, after serving briefly as acting counselor in the British embassy in Tehran, he was designated to succeed Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan as Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics at Oxford in 1952, a professorship he held until his death on November 24, 1974.

At the least, Zaehner was a controversial figure during his remarkably productive two-decade career as Spalding Professor, and an altogether equitable assessment of his substantial publications on mysticism, the religions of India, Islam, and the comparative study of religions is difficult. If a historian of religion should be thoroughly grounded as a specialist in at least one major religious tradition, then Zaehner's credentials, in this respect, can scarcely be criticized: His primary research on Zoroastrianism, especially evident in his invaluable *Zurvan* (1955), unquestionably demonstrated his specialist's knowledge. If, too, a historian of religions may be expected to learn the original language or languages of primary sources in traditions that have special significance for his research, then Zaehner's study of Sanskrit in order to read classical Hindu sources again adds to his credentials. And, if an unwavering concern to allow source materials to speak in their own voices is essential to the prospering of serious primary and comparative investigations of religions, then Zaehner served his field of study well.

But if it is supposed that proper comparative history of religions must be so conducted as almost to render invisible the interpreter's presence, then Zaehner poses a problem. He is neither bland nor unobtrusive. In an age of increasingly "objective" and almost anonymous scholarship, Zaehner seldom left his readers uncertain of his position. He lauded, lamented, scolded, praised, and condemned. Unquestionably, he took seriously the materials he studied. Above all, he seems to have wanted the sources to present them-

Clockwise from top left corner. Relief of the third-century Zoroastrian high priest Kerdēr. Naqsh-e-Radjab, Iran. *[The Art Archive/Dagli Orti]*; Bronze Zeus or Poseidon from the Artemisius at Cape Sounion, 460 BCE. National Archaeological Museum, Athens. *[©Erich Lessing/Art Resource, N.Y.]*; Relief depicting the Zoroastrian god Ahura Mazdā at the ruins of Persepolis. Takht-i Jamshid, Iran. *[©Charles & Josette Lenars/Corbis]*; Zen garden at Ryoanji in Kyoto, Japan. *[©Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis]*; Ziggurat of Nanna at Ur, c. 2100 BCE. Iraq. *[©Charles & Josette Lenars/Corbis]* .

selves fully and authentically and not partially or tendentiously. What Zaehner himself took to be authentic, of course, was disputed on more than one occasion. Thus, for example, Zaehner's struggle with the specter of Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan's happy Neo-Hindu universalism provoked counter-assertions from Zaehner about the theistic dimension of Hindu thought that have been found extreme by many specialists.

For Zaehner, his source documents and what they represented were alive and not safely dead or distant. Misunderstood, his attitude could appear to be no more than a throwback to apologetic comparative studies of an earlier day. And it often was misunderstood. But in fact it seems that—his conversion to Roman Catholicism in the mid-1940s notwithstanding—Zaehner conceived his own "mission" to be the pursuit of comparative religious studies in ways that would not violate the uniqueness and integrity of the individual religions he studied. Unshakably convinced of the authenticity of his own youthful mystical experiences and the truth of his conversion (as he was certain that chemically induced altered states of consciousness were worse than bogus mysticism), Zaehner was altogether ready to take religious documents completely seriously. And, believing himself to be a religious man, he had no difficulty accepting the existence and (occasionally wrongheaded) sincerity of other religious men.

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Zaehner's command of Zoroastrian material is indisputably documented in *Zurvan: A Zoroastrian Dilemma* (Oxford, 1955) and his more accessible and wide-ranging *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism* (London, 1961). Among the latter's several strengths not the least is its thorough and unusually entertaining bibliography. Zaehner's *Hinduism* (London, 1962) is among the most helpful overviews; and his *The Bhagavad-Gita,* a translation and commentary (Oxford, 1969), is one of the most significant scholarly encounters with this text. Vigorous and insightful also are Zaehner's Jordan Lectures, *Hindu and Muslim Mysticism* (London, 1960) and his *Mysticism: Sacred and Profane* (Oxford, 1957). The complex range of Zaehner's thought and style is nowhere better illustrated than in his stimulating and controversial Gifford Lectures, *Concordant Discord* (Oxford, 1970). Possibly the most engaging introduction to Zaehner's work, however, may be the eight late essays published posthumously as *The City within the Heart* (London, 1980), which is introduced by philosopher Michael Dummett's warm tribute.

G. R. WELBON (1987)

ZAKĀT is a Qurʾanic term that signifies the specific obligation of giving a portion of an individual's wealth and possessions for primarily charitable purposes. The word is derived from a root meaning "to be pure" and also carries additional connotations of "increase" and "virtue," as well as "giving." It is also used in the Qurʾān together with other terms such as *ṣadaqāt* that also carry the connotation of giving and of charity.

The Qurʾān links *zakāt* to other primary acts of belief: "Piety does not consist of merely turning your face to the east or to the west. Rather, the pious person is someone who believes in God, the last day, the angels, the book, and the prophets and who out of his love gives his property to his relatives, orphans, the needy, travelers, supplicants, and slaves; and who performs the required prayers and pays the *zakāt*" (Qurʾān 2:177).

The verb *zakā* suggests the idea of growth to emphasize that the giving of one's resources is simultaneously an act that entails the cleansing of oneself and one's property and, through sharing, an enhancement of the capacity of others. More specifically, this kind of giving is considered in the Qurʾān to be analogous to a fertile garden whose yield is increased by abundant rain (Qurʾān 2:265). It is this multiple connotation of *zakāt* that is reflected in subsequent interpretations in the institutionalization of the principle in Muslim thought and practice. The centrality of *zakāt* is underscored by the many times it is coupled with the command for prayer and also identified as a continuation of the practice of past prophets.

It is clear that the Qurʾān envisaged a broad framework both for those who might benefit from the more formalized practice that was evolving in the early Muslim community and for the fiscal support of the community's needy. *Zakāt* and other forms of giving served to benefit the early Muslims who had migrated from Mecca with the Prophet. It was also used to encourage others to join the Muslim community and to support the Muslims in the conflict against Mecca. The Qurʾān specifies the types of recipients who ought to benefit from it: those afflicted by poverty; those in need and incapable of assisting themselves; those who act, sometimes in a voluntary capacity, as stewards and custodians to ensure the collection and appropriate expenditure of funds; those who should be attracted to the faith; captives who need to be ransomed; debtors; travelers; and finally those engaged in serving God. All of these categories came to be strictly defined in later legal and exegetical literature. But other verses also suggest broader uses that might include those who during periods of hardship or transitions were not visibly in need and who nonetheless either required assistance to enhance their livelihood or needed to be directed towards new occupations and economic opportunities. While one aspect of *zakāt* was clearly projected towards charitable acts for the poor and the needy, the practice also encompassed the wider goal of applying the donations to improve the general condition and economic well-being of other recipients and constituencies and those working to foster the growth of the new community.

The fact that the Prophet eventually organized the collection and distribution of *zakāt* suggests that the process was being cast into specific institutional forms even in his day. It was, according to early Muslim sources, applied to crops, animals, merchandise, gold and silver, and so on. Such wealth and possessions qualified only when they were above a certain minimum number or amount. The collector was urged to be fair and to persuade rather than impose. According to the Qurʾān, some of the Bedouin groups that had converted to Islam remonstrated about the paying of *zakāt.* Al-Bukhārī (d. 870), the compiler of the most respected collection of Sunnī prophetic *ḥadīth*, cites a report in which the Prophet sent a representative to Yemen to invite the local tribes to convert to Islam and pay *zakāt.* When Abū Bakr became caliph after the Prophet's death, a number of tribes refused to pay the *zakāt* because they felt that the death of the Prophet absolved them from the obligations contracted with him. In order to ensure adherence to the practice and to put down the rebellion Abū Bakr was compelled to send forces against the rebels, restoring order and proper remission of *zakāt.* It appears therefore that based on the example of the Prophet and the early Muslim community, while the practice of *zakāt* had become well-established, its particulars and regularization were still in the process of development.

The juristic literature produced by succeeding generations of scholars further formalized the collection and disbursement of *zakāt* as part of the larger systematization of legal obligations. While in some instances rulers and states collected *zakāt*, inefficiencies and corruption resulted throughout Muslim history in a variety of collection practices, so that individuals were still free to disburse *zakāt* as individuals or in community contexts through appropriate intermediaries.

The work of the Hanafī jurist Abū Yūsuf (d. 808), *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, which was written during the reign of the Abbasid caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 786–809), is an instructive example of the collaboration between jurists and rulers to appropriate and extend such practices as *zakāt* as part of the fiscal working of the state. A jurist such as al-Shāfiʾī (d. 820) was able to systematize and rationalize prevailing practice in his work. Generally, such works built upon the references to *zakāt* and *ṣadaqāt* in the Qurʾān, detailing the payments based on the ownership of property, possessions, precious stones and money, animals, and income generated from farming and trading. They prescribed when an amount was to be paid and to whom, as well as what minimum amounts were due in each category. It is interesting to note that the *zakāt* was also extended to include underground resources, such as minerals and treasure troves. These juristic works enumerate in great deal the character and terms of *zakāt*, developing into an elaborate formalized obligation, presented as a religious duty. Many of the sources however continue to emphasize the moral agency of the act, linking its obligatory character to religious merit and reward. Moreover, they often identified *ṣadaqāt* and *zakāt* as a means of seeking God's pleasure and the reward of the afterlife.

Developments in legal theory also reflect the way different groups in Islam interpreted *zakāt.* Shīʿī sources, citing ʿAlī ibn Abī Tālib and the other early *imāms*, emphasize the need to pay the *zakāt* to the rightful authorities. Among the Shīʿah, this was to be entrusted to the *imām* or those designated by him and disbursed in accordance with the spirit of Qurʾanic values. Among the Ithna Ashari Shīʿah, who believe that the *imām* is in a state of physical absence from the world (*ghayba*), *zakāt* was to be entrusted to those considered his trusted worldly representatives. Their role was to ensure that *zakāt* reached the appropriate recipients. Among the Ismāʿīlī Shīʿah, *zakāt*'s formal aspect is complemented by a spiritual significance, and it was the role of the *imām* to interpret and sustain the values of *zakāt* in changing contexts. The Zaydi tradition insisted that it must be paid to official collectors representing the Zaydi state under a legitimate *imām.*

The Sūfīs emphasize the mystical value of *zakāt.* In certain circles, individuals were known to distribute their entire possessions as *zakāt.* Some groups sanctioned the acceptance of *zakāt* as a gift emanating directly from God. Over the period of Muslim history, the practices relating to *zakāt* evolved into various forms, but it remained an important practice, mirroring beyond all the formal details the principle and moral commitment to share one's wealth.

As Muslims seek to address questions of identity and development in the modern world, *zakāt* has afforded them the opportunity to rethink the relevance of past practices within their changed contexts, which include living in nation-states or as minorities in many parts of the world. A majority of Muslims live in areas of the world that are considered to be less developed than the more industrialized regions. Hence, issues of social justice and the equitable distribution of resources figure prominently in discussions of the present-day significance for building civil society according to the values of past tradition. Some Muslim theorists have advocated the reintroduction of the obligatory *zakāt* tax as one element of a general tax policy to add the moral aspect of social benevolence to a modern economic policy.

Additionally, some countries have developed nonstate financial agencies to allow for individuals to voluntarily contribute *zakāt.* In Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, and Yemen, legislation was created to encompass *zakāt* as part of the state fiscal practice. The majority of Muslims, however, continue the practice of *zakāt* as a voluntary act of giving and as an expression of personal faith, intending it to serve the needs of those less privileged in their communities and elsewhere in the world.

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AZIM NANJI (2005)

ZALMAN, ELIYYAHU BEN SHELOMOH

SEE ELIYYAHU BEN SHELOMOH ZALMAN

ZALMOXIS was the founder, possibly legendary, of a priestly line of succession closely linked with kingship of the Getae and the Dacians, the northernmost Thracian peoples of the ancient world. Whether he is a figure of legend or of history is moot, as are questions of his religious functions. Associated both with priesthood and with kingship, he was divinized and became the object of a widespread cult among both northern and southern Thracian peoples.

NAME. The name *Zalmoxis* is attested by ancient authors from Herodotus and Plato (fifth-fourth centuries BCE) to Diodoros of Tyre (second century CE) and Jordanes (sixth century CE). Herodotus spells the name *Salmoxis;* Strabo gives it as *Zamolxis.* The genuine form, however, is *Zalmoxis,* support for which is found in such Thracian names as *Zalmodegikos* and *Zelmutas* and in numerous composites formed with *-zelmis, -zelmos,* and *-selmios. Zamolxis* is only a metathesis, frequent since Strabo (first century BCE), with no parallels in Thracian onomastics.

Porphyry (third century CE) explains the etymology of *Zalmoxis* through the Thracian word *zalmos* ("skin"; Gr., *dora*), and in supporting this thesis he offers an etiologic legend that tells of the covering of Zalmoxis at birth with a bearskin (*Life of Pythagoras* 14–15). Dimiter Detschew (1957, p. 175) has proved that Indo-European correspondents of *zalmos* also mean "shield, protection," which is perfectly fitting to both a god and the highest priest. But Porphyry also gives another explanation of the meaning of the name: "foreigner" (Gr., *xenos aner*). On this basis Paul Kretschmer compared the metathetical form *Zamolxis* with the Phrygian *zemelen* ("barbarian slave"; Gr., *barbaron andrapodon*), with *Zemelo,* the name of a Thraco-Phrygian earth goddess (compare the Greek *Semele*), and with the Slavic *zemlja* ("earth") and thus explained *Zamolxis* as meaning "lord of men" (for *-xis,* compare the Avestan *xshaya-,* "lord, king"). Hence was developed (mainly by I. I. Russu) the theory of the chthonic character of this god, which led to the ongoing dispute over his real functions.

According to Herodotos (*Histories* 4.94), some Getae also gave Zalmoxis the name *Gebeleizis* or *Beleizis,* which Kretschmer has related to the same Indo-European root, **gʾhem-el-* ("earth"), that he traced in *Zamolxis.* Given that Herodotus spoke about a thundering god, Wilhelm Tomaschek corrected the name to *Zibeleizis,* meaning "thunder sender" (compare the Lithuanian *žaibas,* "thunderbolt," which has no clear etymology). More recently, Cicerone Poghirc (1983) has proposed, for reasons of textual criticism, the reading *Nebeleizis,* meaning "god of the [stormy] sky" (compare the Slavic *nebo,* "sky," and the Greek *nephele,* "cloud").

TESTIMONIES. Herodotos (4.95) refers to a story told by the Greeks in the Pontic colonies (on the western shore of the Black Sea) according to which Zalmoxis was a Getic slave of the Greek Pythagoras, who lived in Samos. After Zalmoxis was freed, he became wealthy and went back to his native country, where he taught the northern Thracians the Greek way of life based on Pythagorean ideas about immortality, vegetarianism, and so forth (see Strabo, *Geography* 7.3–5). In his homeland Zalmoxis had an *andreion* built (a room for the exclusive use of men), where he received the chiefs of the Getae and taught them that neither they nor their posterity would die. This concept of immortality refers in all probability to a paradise where warriors would enjoy eternal life and everlasting pleasure after death. While he imparted this teaching of the afterlife, Zalmoxis had an underground chamber constructed. When it was finished, he retired to it for three years, during which the Thracians mourned his death, but in the fourth year he reappeared, showing that death is not irreversible.

With slight variations, this legend is repeated by several Greek and Latin writers. Herodotos, however, opines that Zalmoxis was not a slave of Pythagoras but did in fact live long before him. Strabo adds that Zalmoxis learned from Pythagoras and from the Egyptians, whom he visited. He says that Zalmoxis was a prophet who became a priest of the principal god of the Getae and an associate of the king; later he was divinized. He dwelled in a cave, on the holy mountain Kogaionon, where scarcely anyone but the king and his messengers could join him (7.3–5). The kingship of Zalmoxis and his teaching on immortality are confirmed by Plato (*Charmides* 156d–e), who adds further that Zalmoxis had taught a highly praised method of psychosomatic medicine based on charms (*epoidai,* 157a).

Another piece of basic information provided by Herodotus (4.94) concerns the principal rite of the Getae, which consisted of killing a messenger every four years (or five years, according to Greek computation). A man chosen by lot from among the warriors was given a message to be delivered to the god. Then he was cast on top of three spears. If he died instantly, this was interpreted as a good omen. If he failed to die, the sacrifice had to be repeated, and the first messenger was cursed. This cursing suggests that purity of some kind was required.

According to the Roman geographer Pomponius Mela (first century CE), Getic warriors were not afraid of death. Pomponius gives three different explanations for their contempt of life, each one believed by some among them: belief in metensomatosis (reincarnation); belief that the soul survives after death in a happy place; and belief that life is worse than death, although the soul is mortal. Of these interpretations, only the second refers to the genuine teaching of Zalmoxis according to Herodotus (4.95).

Herodotus's reference to Zalmoxis/Gebeleizis introduces the latter as a heavenly god. This description is supported by the claim that during thunderstorms the Getae shot arrows into the sky, thus threatening their god (4.94).

Decaeneus (also known as Dekaineous, Deceneus, and Dicineus), a high priest of Zalmoxis during the reign of the Getic king Burebista (c. 80–44 BCE), is mentioned in an account by Strabo (7.3–5), his near contemporary. According to a Greek commonplace, Egypt was a land where wisdom could be acquired, and Strabo also says that Decaeneus wandered there and learned soothsaying (7.3–11). The story that he ordered grape vines cut down in the kingdom of Burebista and an allusion to the vegetarianism of the Getae may be based on actual facts. It is also not impossible that Decaeneus was acquainted with the idea of metensomatosis, which fits well in the Pythagorean pattern of the religion of the Getae. An authentic feature of Getic high priesthood was Decaeneus's dwelling in a cave on Mount Kogaionon (Strabo, 7.3–5).

INTERPRETATIONS. The history of the interpretations of Zalmoxis is somewhat disappointing. Distinguished scholars have disagreed about whether Zalmoxis's cult was a form of monotheism or of polytheism (it was not more monotheistic than, say, the Cretan cult of Zeus Idaeus); about whether Zalmoxis was a god or a man, perhaps a religious reformer; and about whether he was connected with the earth or with the sky (in fact he was associated with both). Spiritualistic evolutionists have tried to show that the cult of Zalmoxis represented for the Daco-Roman population a sort of primordial revelation and a *praeparatio evangelica.* Rationalists and Marxist evolutionists have tried to demonstrate that it was, on the contrary, much more "primitive" than some testimonies indicate. Hadrian Daicoviciu, for instance, shared this last hypothesis even though it contradicted his own pertinent interpretation of the calendar temple of Sarmizegetusa Regia (modern-day Gradistea Muncelului, Romania), according to which the Dacian priests were steeped in sophisticated astronomical speculations (*Dacii,* 2d ed., Bucharest, 1972).

The excellent study *Zalmoxis, the Vanishing God* (Chicago, 1972) by Mircea Eliade put an end to these discussions by showing that the testimonies concerning the cult of Zalmoxis have to be trusted and interpreted on the basis of a close comparison with other religious materials. According to Eliade, Zalmoxis was a mystery god in whose cult the divinity's "occultation" and "epiphany" were celebrated. In his attempt to decipher the Greek interpretation of Zalmoxis in its genuine dimensions, Eliade established important links between Zalmoxis and Archaic Greek traditions concerning soothsayers and medicine men like Pythagoras himself.

ZALMOXIS AND THE GREEK SEERS. In the most ancient testimonies, Zalmoxis is constantly related to Pythagoras. Pythagorean features of his cult are further specified until the times of Strabo and Pomponius. A corpus of these features can be established as follows: Zalmoxis has an underground chamber built, disappears for three years, and then reappears (katabasis, occultation, and epiphany); he makes prophecies; he and his priests and successors live in a mountain cave, practice psychosomatic medicine, and make astronomical computations; there is among the Getae a group of ascetics who live in poverty and continence, abstaining from animal food. The core of the Zalmoxean teaching is the doctrine of immortality of the soul, which should actually be interpreted as a promise to the brave warriors that they would survive in paradise. Later, some among the Getae may have been acquainted with the idea of metensomatosis. All this sounds so Pythagorean that the Greeks were even disposed to understand the less attractive practice of human sacrifice without much ethical comment.

One of the false problems connected with Zalmoxis that has received much attention from scholars is whether the god—if he was a god at all—ought to be interpreted as a chthonic or as a heavenly divinity. In fact, from the perspective of the history of religions, this is not a logical contradiction, since divinities of the sky can be strongly connected with the earth, and vice versa. Furthermore, even in Greek religion, which is usually the model according to which Zalmoxis is interpreted, such heavenly divinities as Zeus and Apollo were worshiped in caves, whereas such a typically chthonic divinity as Persephone was associated very early with heavenly immortality. Pythagoras himself, who was apparently connected with Apollo of Hyperborea, is also the character who descends to the underworld and who exhibits important features that establish his relationship with a chthonic goddess, or "great mother." Zalmoxis's "Pythagorean" structure connects him with both the earth and the sky.

Among the Greek characters belonging to the same class of seers, soothsayers, medicine men, and semidivinities as Pythagoras, the one who most closely resembles Zalmoxis is Epimenides of Crete, worshiped as a god in a local cult. Epimenides is said to have dwelled in the grotto of the infant

Zeus on Mount Ida, where he slept for several decades. He avoided food and used only a plant called *alimos,* or hungerbane, to keep hunger in abeyance. He could foretell the future, he practiced purifications, and he was able to remember his previous existences as a human being. In one of these incarnations he was Aeacus, brother of Minos, who was a son of Zeus. Minos visited his godly father in the Idaean cave every eight years, and thus it is not surprising that Epimenides used this place for incubation. During his catalepsy, his soul was reported to be together with the gods, listening to their speeches.

According to another legend, once when Epimenides was about to dedicate a sanctuary to the nymphs a heavenly voice instructed him to dedicate it to Zeus instead. This could be interpreted as an indication that the Idaean cave did not belong to the sphere of influence of those divinities who normally preside over such places, that is, the nymphs, but to the heavenly god *par excellence,* Zeus. In fact, Epimenides was considered a "new infant" (*neos kouros*), the Idaean Zeus reborn. It is, then, no surprise to learn that he was the guide of Pythagoras when the latter descended into the Idaean cave. Nor is it surprising that Epimenides, the author of oracles and theogonies, worshiped by the Cretans as a god, was nevertheless transformed by the Neoplatonic Iamblichus (c. 250–330 CE) into a pupil of Pythagoras in precisely the same way as this happened with Zalmoxis; among Greek seers of pre-Socratic times Pythagoras was simply more famous than Epimenides.

The chthonic side of Epimenides is revealed by his dwelling in a cave and by his relationship with the nymphs. In the legends of Pythagoras and Zalmoxis this chthonic side is revealed by a detail that has only recently received a consistent interpretation. Walter Burkert (1972) has shown that Pythagoras was probably viewed as a representative of the chthonic goddess Demeter, a hypothesis confirmed by the tradition that Pythagoras once exhibited a "golden thigh." This probably means that the legend attributed to Pythagoras a tattoo on his thigh, which was the mark, or seal, of the Anatolian great goddess. At the same time it was an indication that Pythagoras could travel to Hades (Burkert, 1972, pp. 160–161).

In his *Life of Pythagoras* (15), the Neoplatonist Porphyry reports a strange legend according to which Zalmoxis was a disciple of Pythagoras; at the time of the revolt of the citizens of Croton against Pythagoras, Zalmoxis was captured by bandits who tattooed him on his face, which he kept covered ever after. This brief account seems to be extremely important, since tattooing among southern Thracian nobles is attested as early as Herodotus (5.6) and confirmed by several testimonies, and yet Artemidorus of Ephesus (fl. 100 BCE) reports that, whereas the southern Thracian nobles had their children tattooed, the Getae tattooed only the children of their slaves. From a fragment attributed to Clearchus of Soloi (sixth century BCE) one could infer that Getic women were tattooed over the whole body. The rhetorician Dio Chrysostom (first century CE) specifies that only the wives of Thracian nobles were tattooed, with red-hot irons.

Tattooing among the Thracians was probably a religious mark; among the northern Thracians, the Getae and the Dacians, it could have been associated with the pain once inflicted upon Zalmoxis by his captors. Since tattooing among the Getae is twice mentioned in relationship to slavery, one could infer that the ancient legend making Zalmoxis a slave was based on this character's genuine myth, which might have originally included suffering and imprisonment. Plutarch of Chaeronea (first century CE) reports that the Thracians tattooed their women in order to avenge the sufferings inflicted by Thracian women upon Orpheus. Plutarch, who was far better acquainted with Orpheus than with Zalmoxis, could have misinterpreted here an actual tradition connected with Zalmoxis. It is possible to a certain extent to state that the Getae tattooed their slaves and perhaps their wives as a religious record and possibly as revenge for the mark impressed upon Zalmoxis while he was a captive.

Much less convincing is the interpretation of Rhys Carpenter in his *Folk-Tale, Fiction, and Saga in the Homeric Epics* (Berkeley, Calif., 1946), which is based on the testimony of Porphyry (*Life of Pythagoras* 14), according to which a bearskin was put on Zalmoxis at his birth. According to Carpenter, Zalmoxis actually was a bear, whose hibernation (i.e., occultation) was taken by the Getae as a religious model.

CONCLUSION. God or man, possibly also a religious reformer of the Getae, Zalmoxis fits almost perfectly into the Pythagorean pattern of a Greek seer and medicine man such as Epimenides, who was also worshiped as a god. His myth is scarcely known, but it could have contained an episode of captivity and, possibly, suffering. Ritual tattooing among the Getae was related to this episode, and might have been inflicted upon slaves and women as an expiation of a mythical sin. Zalmoxis probably taught immortality for valiant warriors. He was worshiped in a grotto, which might have played an important part in the initiation of priests and warriors. A chief priest, his representative in the grotto, was considered a prophet, and he gained such influence in political matters that the state of Burebista could be properly called a theocracy. A sanctuary, possibly the old sanctuary with an underground chamber at Sarmizegetusa Regia, described by Ion Horaţiu Crişan in *Burebista and His Time* (Bucharest, 1977), was provided with a subterranean room, a substitute for the grotto. This indicates that the legend of the occultation of Zalmoxis referred to by Herodotus was connected with the existence of such an ancient sanctuary.

SEE ALSO Geto-Dacian Religion; Thracian Religion.

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IOAN PETRU CULIANU (1987)
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Revised Bibliography

ZAMAKHSHARĪ, AL- (AH 467–538/1075–1144 CE), fully Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd ibn ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī; Muslim philologist and Qurʾān commentator. Born in Khorezm in northern Persia, al-Zamakhsharī traveled little outside his native province except for several years spent studying and writing in the holy city of Mecca. He was a native Persian speaker, but he believed strongly in the superiority of the Arabic language and excelled in Arabic philology. According to various historical records, he wrote some fifty works; thirty of these are known to exist today, a majority of which have been published in the original Arabic. Most of these works deal with the Qurʾān or the Arabic language in general.

Al-Zamakhsharī's major work, and the one for which he is most famous, is his book of Qurʾān interpretation *(tafsīr), Al-kashshāf ʿan ḥaqāʾiq ghawāmiḍ al-tanzīl* (The unveiler of the realities of the secrets of the revelation), a work completed during a two-year stay in Mecca around 1134. The work is a phrase-by-phrase philosophical and philological commentary on the entire text of the Qurʾān, written in a concise, careful, and somewhat difficult style. Notable is its lack of tradition-oriented material; virtually no reports are attributed to the early authorities on interpretation; rather, all comments are directly stated with no concern for their authority in the past. Generally, al-Zamakhsharī presents first what he considers to be the obvious meaning of a verse and then notes other possible interpretations on the basis of grammar and textual variant readings, while always paying full attention to the notion of the rhetorical beauty *(iʿjāz)* of the Qurʿān.

The distinctiveness of al-Zamakhsharī's Qurʾān commentary lies in his Muʿtazilī theological leanings. Beginning in the tenth century, the Muʿtazilah were apparently a powerful theological force in al-Zamakhsharīs birthplace. He states explicitly that *Al-kashshāf* was written in order to provide the needed comprehensive Muʿtazilī commentary to the Qurʾān. The most obvious result of this theological position in the commentary is the way in which he resolves apparent conflict between various verses of the Qurʾān. The Muʿtazilī doctrines of the unity and justice of God and the consequent ideas of the human free will and the need to deanthropomorphize the Qurʾān become the prime themes of the distinctive passages of interpretation. A typical example is found in his treatment of surah 6:125:

> *Whomever God desires to guide:* those upon whom God bestows his benevolence, which only happens with those who are worthy. *He expands his breast to Islam:* bestowing his benevolence on them so that they long for Islam, and their souls feel at home there, and they desire to be Muslims. *Whomever he desires to lead astray:* those whom God leaves alone and wishes to abandon to their own deeds. What is meant is one who is not worthy of his benevolence. *He makes his breast narrow, tight:* He keeps his benevolence from them, so that their hearts harden, and they refuse and resist truth, and thus faith finds no path into them.

Here the emphasis is always upon the prior moral condition of the individual, to which God responds by enhancing the condition that the individual has already chosen.

Likewise the doctrine of the created Qurʾān (as opposed to the orthodox dogma of the preexistent, uncreated Qurʾān) is present throughout al-Zamakhsharī's work; apparently *Al-kashshāf* originally began, "Praise be to God who created the Qurʾān," but this was changed to "God who gave" or "God who sent down" in order to temper the tone somewhat.

Despite its theological argumentation, al-Zamakhsharī's Qurʾān commentary has been widely read and copied, especially in the eastern parts of the Islamic world. The work has consistently been subject to both explication and attack by later authors, who have provided many supercommentaries and derivative commentaries. The work by al-Bayḍāwī (d. sometime between 1286 and 1316), *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-taʾwīl* (The lights of the revelation and the secrets of the interpretation), is the most famous attempt to distill the essence of al-Zamakhsharī's work while attempting to omit those views which were reprehensible to orthodoxy. For the Muʿtazilah, on the other hand, *Al-kashshāf* represents the peak of intellectual achievement in Qurʾān commentary.

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ZAPATISMO AND INDIGENOUS RESISTANCE.

The EZLN's (Zapatista Army of National Liberation) seizure of five municipalities on January 1, 1994, in Chiapas follows a tradition of insurrections and armed rebellions dating back to the arrival of Europeans to the region. Examples of these insurrections include the Zoque community rebellion, 1532–1534; Mayan descendants executed a Spanish mayor in 1693; the Cancuquero people, in alliance with other communities, rose up in 1712; and in 1869–1870 the Chamulas and Tzotziles rebelled. San Cristóbal de las Casas, the main city in which the first EZLN uprising played out, is named for Bartolomé de las Casas (sixteenth-century Spanish archbishop and defender of the thesis that the indigenous peoples, contrary to the Catholic Church's position, indeed possessed souls). The experience of the indigenous struggle against the Spanish crown and then the Mexican nation-state took on more clear articulations with the leadership of Emiliano Zapata, who drew upon Zapotec cultural traditions, and the modern anticapitalist conceptualizations of Marxism, Leninism, and anarchism during the Mexican Revolution. Zapata brought the indigenous traditions that informed the politics of the *ejidos* and the autonomy of the land together with modern revolutionary articulations of the seizure of power. This mode seeks either to maintain the state structure according to Leninist inspiration or to eliminate it according to Bakuninian thought and indigenous beliefs and convictions surrounding land autonomy. Zapata agreed with the anarchist Flores-Magón brothers and favored the dissolution of the state. The most important document of this period (which divides the urban and the *villista* camps from the land-based Zapatista camp during the Mexican civil war) was the "Plan de Ayala," written by the Zapatista Army of the South on December 11, 1911. The plan sustains that the people must remain armed until the land is concretely transferred back into the hands of the indigenous peoples.

In the 1960s, during the worldwide intellectual movements, the student movements, the inspiration of the Cuban revolution, and the Soviet and Chinese forms of Marxism, the ELN (Army of National Liberation) and other groups developed in Mexico. This party became one of the few that remained active in the 1970s after the student massacre at Tlatelolco under the Diaz Ordaz presidency in 1968. When the urban revolutionaries, among them the future subcomandante Marcos, arrived in Chiapas in the early 1980s with the intent to develop an armed Zapatista uprising, they found the region in a state of political agitation. The diocese of San Cristóbal formed part of the political action inspired by Liberation Theology, and the Mayan communities were clear about the urgent need for liberation in order to continue to exist as autonomous cultures with their own worldviews and pertinent social structures. The Zapatista revolutionaries installed themselves in Las Cañadas and learned from the local peoples. The EZLN began to take shape in accordance with the beliefs and worldviews of the people—the value of the word and the ethical responsibility of language making up a central axis of the movement.

President Carlos Salinas de Gotari eliminated Article 27 from the Mexican constitution (which prohibits the privatization of the *ejido* lands) in 1992, making possible the liquidation of these common lands and thus facilitating the pauperization and eventual cultural and physical disappearance of the inhabitants. On January 1, 1994, NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) took effect for the United States, Canada, and Mexico and with it the Anglo–North American exploitation of Chiapas, a state rich in uranium, petroleum, jungle, and hydroelectric resources. The EZLN opened its campaign at dawn with eighteen thousand Mayan men and women—masked and armed with automatic guns, single-shot rifles, and wooden replicas painted black—making known the First Declaration from the Lacandon Jungle against neoliberalism and globalization.

THE WORD. In *Balún Canan* (1957) the Chiapas author Rosario Castellanos wrote of the ongoing plight of the indigenous people of the region:

> *Y entonces, coléricos nos desposeyeron, nos arrebataron lo que habíamos atesorado: la palabra, que es el arca de la memoria. Desde aquellos días arden y se consumen con el leño en la hoguera. Sube el humo en el viento y se deshace.*

> *Queda la ceniza sin rostro. Para que puedas venir tú y les baste un soplo, solamente un soplo.*
>
> And then, furiously they dispossessed us, they carried off what we had treasured: the word, which is the ark of memory. Ever since those days they smolder and are consumed with the logs of the bonfire. The smoke rises in the wind and dissolves. Faceless ash remains. So that you can come, and with only a puff, just a puff. (Castellanos, 1984/1957, p. 9)

Globalization, like other words of its kind—*modernization, pacification,* or *industrialization*—connote neutral if not humanitarian processes in the world of mass media and consumer culture; people take them for granted without seeing their morphology and ideological weight. Such words appeal to first world consciousness, and people accept them, act upon them, and live with them as though they were trees that express the passage of time. If one attends the words carefully, looks at the meaning attached to each root, prefix, and suffix, and reinserts them into the memory and the narrative of time, one can reestablish the connection between word and deed, and one can recover meaning.

Within modernization are assumptions of backwardness. Within industrialization lies the classification of inefficiency and "primitive," small-scale production. Within the idea of normalization is assumed erraticness, abnormality, diversity, and the need to establish patterns in what is unpredictable through Western paradigms. Calling for stabilization attributes chaos to the object of that stabilization and the need to make it secure. Pacification deems the people and place in question warlike. Secularization identifies the necessity to eliminate religious thought and the sacrality of the everyday: sunrise, harvest, slaying animals, and eating. Secularization also proposes science as truth and unideologically suspect.

The postmodern era of the world economy has its socially accepted words, as did the era of modernity and colonial economy. The moral high ground of the civilization depended on the belief in the savagery and cannibalism of the Other. Christianization assumed paganism, idolatry, and witchcraft. Supporting colonization assumed the inferiority of cultures and the inaptitude of targeted "races" for self-government and for the management of the resources of the land they inhabit. Inside the mission of population lies the assumption that the people of the targeted lands are not people.

These words are euphemisms, coded signifiers that say nicely, according to their contemporary social mores, what may otherwise offend the morality and self-image of the people whose cultures promote and support these market-driven processes. This long-standing language strategy belongs to the strategies of discourse and rhetoric, particularly writing discourse in its character of self-reflective materiality and class-constructed hegemony.

When these words are naturalized, they become necessary, indisputable, and unavoidable. Embedded in language, they form part of the macronarrative into which every culture's history is made to conform, describing how all the world's peoples fit into the history of the Western tradition. The words originate in the language of the dominant narrative (Spanish from the sixteenth century to the early nineteenth century and English in the era of the American economic system). These are the words of the macronarrative that deems the social organization of non-Western peoples as "underdeveloped" or "developing." The unavoidability of the terminology becomes another layer in the mission of modernity, science, and progress—the belief in the superiority of secular society and republican governance. This conviction, bolstered by self-professed objectivity, overlooks the fact that modernity is a historical phenomenon not unlike the previous era's belief in the Catholic Church.

To see globalization or any other such terms as natural, neutral, or necessary, one accepts the implicit negation that such cultural processes of transformation are dual, involving a subject and an object: the one who globalizes, modernizes, democratizes, and so on and the one that is globalized, modernized, or democratized. They are not horizontal dialogues between subjects as the colorful image of "global culture" suggests. One entity carries out the project, and another entity purportedly receives the benefits. The straightforward characterization of subject and object, however, overlooks the histories that demonstrate quite the opposite, that the modernizer, for example, benefits more economically from the modernization project than does the object of that modernization.

Globalization is a capitalist project requiring expansion in order to grow (key word of the economic vocabulary). Growth, acquired by the institution of profit, is the core of globalization. When internal markets and tariffs become a barrier for the health of accumulation and the movement of the capitalist economical machinery, expansion is imperative. This expansion goes hand in hand with the justification of political and military invasion—a traditional way of creating markets and resource pools with positive industrial and commercial results.

This phenomenon is paradoxical because what is discussed is the globalization of capital, and capital is an object, not a subject. Given that paradox, globalization is not the expansion of the will of a subject over an object but the contrary, the globalization of an object (capital) over subjects (the people and cultures of the world). Globalization is the action of an agent of capital over nature, resources, people, language, ideas, and imagination in order to expand the sphere of influence of that capital to increase the amount of capital in return. It is an operation where humans are agents of an object that oppresses them, that robs them of subjectivity and agency, and that functions through them. The will of the object loosely follows "the economical laws," it is the invisible hand. In practice, in a highly racialized, socially divided and gendered society, the rationale for participating—ideologically speaking—is given by the most prestigious and influential part of society. Women, people of color, and other social classes unenfranchised with the international corporate economic forces only participate, consciously or unconsciously, as collaborators or assimilated people. The project is not in their interest but in the interest of inertia. Even though some reap more material benefit as agents of capital, they are all oppressed by it, all doubly objectified.

ZAPATISTA WORLDVIEW. Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos wrote in "Como nace la palabra en la montaña" from *Relatos de El Viejo Antonio*:

> *Decía el Viejo Antonio que los viejos más viejos de los dioses enseñaron a los hombres a leer el cielo y el suelo. en esas dos grandes hojas del cuaderno del mundo (dijo el Viejo Antonio que dijeron los más grandes dioses, los que nacieron el mundo), los hombres y mujeres verdaderos pueden leer la orientación para que su corazón camine. Cuando el cielo calla, cuando el sol y la luna reinan con silencio, y cuando el suelo se esconde tras su dureza su quehacer interno, los hombres y las mujeres de maíz guardan la palabra y la trabajan pensando. Cuando el techo de la tierra se agrieta con nubes, lluvias y viento, cuando la luna y el sol sólo asoman cada tanto, y cuando la tierra se abre con verde y vida, los hombres y mujeres verdaderos nacen de nuevo la palabra en la montaña que es su casa y camino.*
>
> Old Man Antonio used to say that the old ones older than the gods taught men to read heaven and the ground. In those two big pages of the notebook of the world [Old Man Antonio said that the biggest gods said this, the ones who gave birth to the world] the true men and women can read the directions so that their heart can walk. When heaven becomes quiet, when the sun and the moon rule with silence, and when the ground hides its inner workings behind its hardness, the men and women of the corn hold the word and work thinking. When the roof of the earth cracks open with clouds, rain and wind, when the moon and the sun only appear once in a while, and when the earth opens up with green and life, the true men and women bare the word again in the mountains which are their home and their path. (p.131)

The recovery of the word is central to the project of democracy, liberty, and justice for the Zapatistas of Chiapas. Changing the world and countering the force of the global economy that have been destructive to indigenous cultures and their integrated worldviews means changing the word. Achieving democracy, one of the central goals of the movement, necessitates mending the relationship between language (oral and written) and meaning. This recuperation establishes a move from a liberal (formal) democracy to a participative or authentic democracy as signified by the word itself: *demos*, coming from the Greek root meaning "people," and *–cracy*, meaning "from government." The search for the true word is the search for collective participation and consensus. The Zapatista practice *mandar-obedeciendo* (to command-obeying) better explains this idea: the leader has to be part of the bases and represent them according to their will. Thus Subcomandante Marcos has a secondary rank (deputy commander) in the Zapatista army, because the *comandante* are the Mayan people of Chiapas. The recovery of the word then means that this subordinated rank of Marcos is not a rhetorical construction to justify his power but instead a word, which represents a real subordination of an individual to the collective.

The recovery of the word is deeply rooted in the historical silence and invisibility in which the original people autochthonous to the Mayan homelands and the Americas were compelled to remain for five hundred years. The silence was enacted by European conquerors, their descendants, and their religious-cultural-governmental structures that are the foundation for the New World governments and institutions that have developed into a dialogical relationship of imitation, counteridentification, and reform with the worldview and corresponding structures of the conquerors. They have established a religion, which separates the natural and the social from the divine. This religion allows for the brutal exploitation of the planet, creating an economic system that separates producers from consumers and making room for profit and poverty, and institutionalizing a political system that has divided the representatives from the represented, allotting space for the burial of local holistic worldviews and the fragmentation of communities.

The weight assigned to the truth in the act of recuperation of the word is a frontal challenge to the hegemonic ideology that sustains itself in the double standard of domination and justification. It is not enough that the word represent reality or that its utterer have honest intentions to do so; only with the practice of horizontal (not hierarchical) dialogue can democracy be held accountable.

The recovery of the word not only implies the return of the original inhabitants to the scene of the continent but also the return of the autochthonous worldviews, which present new ways of dealing with human liberation in the postmodern world. This implies a new praxis beyond the structure of the liberation movements that are born of modernity and based on a historical trajectory anchored in the European, such as Marxism and industrialization.

The Zapatista collective (wearing masks in order to emphasize the collectivity of the group and to reflect the government's rhetoric of hiding meaning, holding weapons, and taking over five municipalities) forced the dialogic exercise of democracy with the formal democratic government of the Republic of Mexico, which is complicit in global economics. In this way the movement recovered the meaning of the word, putting indigenous beliefs about the necessary connection between language and meaning at the forefront and holding the formal democratic institution accountable to the word with which it describes itself. The Zapatistas are willing to remove their masks if the government does the same: the Zapatista mask functions as a metaphor for the hiding of the true face: "Detrás de nuestras máscaras estamos ustedes (Behind our masks are you)," writes Marcos. The mask is a means for maintaining the memory of the lies behind the official truths that are based in different forms of privilege. The purpose of the word is to communicate, to exchange ideas, to understand, and to create consensus. With the social distortion of oppression in any of its forms (class, race, and gender), the word also has been distorted to fulfill the will of the privileged groups, creating the need of ideology or false consciousness to make people collaborate willingly with their own oppressors. Dialogue, on the other hand, set within a horizontal arrangement, is a tool for democracy where participation is exercised with respect and human dignity.

The recovery of the word becomes an ethical imperative in the modern and postmodern world, a world that has privileged economic goals and systematically forgotten the promise of meaning. Proponents of globalization have arranged the world in a way that enables them to live relatively unaffected by the consequences of the enactments of falsely named operations, operations like democratization or stabilization. They have established a monologue and constructed a dehumanized common sense through euphemism and other distortions. Ironically the proponents of globalization have become the emblematic figures for human perfection, spreading the institutionalization of the misuse of words like *democracy* and *peace* in the targeted path of economic expansion. The expansion in turn has fractured the integrated worldviews of the indigenous peoples of the locations of economic homogenization. They have created an equation that imposes a Western particularism as the universal standard: socioeconomic improvement means capitalism, security means militarism, humanity means ideologically in agreement with the globalizing forces.

For the original people, the reintegration of meaning and the word is essential for liberation on all fronts, including the cultural, spiritual, economic, and intellectual. Their naked exploitation at the hands of the agents of capitalism makes the confrontation with meaning inescapable. Their experiences reveal the incongruous relationship between the Western word and its manifestations. The word has to represent reality: killers must be killers, abusers must be abusers, and democracy must be democracy. Original people do not need to sever meaning from word to live. They, because of their place in the structures of globalization, live with the violent consequences of the separation of word and meaning. NAFTA came into being on January 1, 1994. At the dawn the same day the EZLN invaded San Cristóbal de las Casas in Chiapas, Mexico, and the four other municipalities. The NAFTA agreement, they explained, was a sentence to death to more than a million Mayan people and their worldviews. For the NAFTA project, Chiapas was one of the most important states to be incorporated into this new brand of hegemony called globalization due to the unusually rich and diverse natural resources of the land. These natural resources and the Mayan people to work in a new setting of *maquiladoras* were all part of the strategic plan to make southeast Mexico a participant in the global economy. The EZLN understood well the move and confronted the army, starting a rebel movement that has attracted sympathizers from all over the world in its years of resistance, motivating indigenous movements the world over to struggle against globalization.

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ZARATHUSHTRA. Zarathushtra (known in the West under his Graeco-Latin name of Zoroaster) is seen by all Zoroastrians and by most modern scholars as the founder or the prophet of Zoroastrianism, the dominant religion in the Iranian world up to the ninth century CE. Since modern scholarship dates the earliest texts of Zoroastrianism (attributed to Zarathushtra himself) to the beginning of the first millennium BCE and there is broad agreement over the fact that these texts were not written down before the fifth century CE, it is not surprising that the historicity of Zarathushtra has been doubted by several modern scholars. Two different approaches are available for an introduction to this pivotal person in the development of one of the oldest and most influential of all religions. The first is based on the Zoroastrian traditions concerning his life and mission and the second on the findings of modern scholarship. These two approaches, which often interlock in both religious and academic writings, need to be discussed separately here not only to avoid anachronisms but also because modern assumptions about Zarathushtra’s activities tend to distort the image of the prophet in premodern Zoroastrianism itself. Modern scholars agree on the fact that Zarathushtra can only count as the author of a tiny portion of the corpus of the Avesta. However, in premodern Zoroastrianism the text of the entire Avesta and its commentaries were seen as the revelation brought to the world by Zarathushtra according to the wish of the supreme god Ahura Mazdā. Therefore the "sources" available for reconstructing his life and activities cannot be immediately settled.

ZARATHUSHTRA IN ZOROASTRIANISM. The focus here is on the image of Zarathushtra in "classical" Zoroastrianism, that is, the Zoroastrianism of the Pahlavi books (dated to the ninth century CE), with additional materials from earlier texts and evidence from non-Zoroastrian sources. If Zarathushtra counts as the "founder" of Zoroastrianism at all in these sources, it is usually in his capacity of the chosen person who brings Ahura Mazdā's revelation to the world. This revelation is usually referred to as *dēn*, a word that has a wide range of meanings but most often simply means "religion." This is not a banal detail: most Zoroastrian texts use the words "it is revealed in the religion" as an introductory formula to the claim that what is being transmitted is part of the "original" revelation of Ahura Mazdā to Zarathushtra. This revelation, the religion, was prepared by Ahura Mazdā even before the work of creation. Small parts of it were revealed by Ahura Mazdā to earlier persons from the mythical history of the Iranians as is told explicitly in the Pahlavi books and follows naturally from the fact that Ahura Mazdā regularly speaks to such important early humans as the first man (Gayōmard), the first human couple (Mašya and Mašyāna), and the first king (Yima). It is also part of the evolved theology of Zoroastrianism: if Ahura Mazdā is good and the religion is necessary for the benefit of humankind, Ahura Mazdā should be protected from the reproach that he had left humankind unaware of his intentions up to the time of Zarathushtra.

Other traditions, however, mention that all "prophets" before Zarathushtra refused to bring his revelation into the world and that it was only Zarathushtra who took this work upon himself. The revelation he brought consisted of the whole Avesta (in its own special language) with its commentaries (in the vernacular). This is evident especially from later texts (in Pahlavi), which had to account for the fact that the religion was formulated and that priestly decisions were based on the *Zand*, the (exegetical) translation of the Avesta, rather than on the Avestan texts themselves (several of which had been lost). The *Gāthās* were occasionally attributed to Zarathushtra in a more direct sense than the other parts of the revelation. In the Avesta, Zarathushtra is presented "while singing the Gāthās" (Y. 9.1), and the recitation of the *Gāthās* in the *Yasna* liturgy is preceded by important introductory formulae. But the suggestion by a nameless heretic that one should accept as Zarathushtra's revelation only the *Gāthās* is firmly rejected in the *Dēnkard*, one of the most important Pahlavi texts (*Dēnkard* 3.7).

As bringer of the revelation, Zarathushtra occupies a pivotal place in the history of the world. From the early texts onward, this aspect of his life is stressed regularly. In order to emphasize his importance, the world before Zarathushtra is portrayed as a world where demons roam freely. With the first utterance of the sacred Ahuna Vairya-prayer, Zarathushtra smashed the shape of the demons and repelled them from the face of the earth.

The Zoroastrian tradition has preserved a lengthy legendary biography of the prophet, the value of which is enormous for a proper understanding of Zoroastrianism and its sense of history. Every aspect of his life is characterized by miracles and portents. His coming to the world came to be seen as preordained: his guardian spirit (*fravashi*) was created millennia before his actual birth. His birth in itself was miraculous in many ways: the various constituent elements of his human life (body, soul, guardian spirit, "glory") were all transmitted by Ahura Mazdā and several of his divine helpers in a very complicated process, which involved his father and mother and various elements from the natural world.

During the pregnancy of his mother, the demons and evil priests were struck by terror and feelings of impending disaster for their ways of life. At birth, Zarathushtra laughed, and as a boy, he showed every sign of great accomplishments. The most crucial episodes from his life took place when he was thirty years old. Having moved to the "land of the Aryans," he entered a river to draw water for the morning rituals. Purifying himself, he encountered a shining figure on the banks of the river who introduced himself as Wahman (Vohu Manah, "good thought") and brought him to heaven, before Ahura Mazdā. There were a total of seven meetings between Zarathushtra and Ahura Mazdā. During these, Ahura Mazdā gave Zarathushtra the revelation and ordered him to spread it in the world.

This was not an easy task. Zarathushtra had to overcome the opposition of the wicked priests and their secular overlords of the religion(s) he meant to replace and was, initially, not very successful in doing this. Success only came after a lengthy stay at the court of King Wištāsp. After a series of philosophical debates, an episode of treachery leading to his arrest and incarceration, and Zarathushtra's success in curing the king's favorite horse, he finally found an audience willing to listen to his words. He recited the revelation for the king and his family, and they were the first to convert outside his own family. From the conversion of Wištāsp onward, the history of Zoroastrianism was to be a history of growth and success, but hostilities continued nonetheless. According to late traditions, Zarathushtra lived to be an old man but was eventually murdered and received into heaven.

A part of Zarathushtra remained, however: his semen is kept in a lake, where it will rest until the period of the separation of good and evil begins. When this time arrives, a virgin will bathe in the lake and become pregnant, giving birth to Zarathushtra's son(s), the Savior(s), who will lead humankind in bringing about the Renovation of the world. Thus Zarathushtra is represented, in Zoroastrian traditions, in all periods of world history, from the beginning of creation up to the desired end.

Many elements from these Zarathushtra legends can be found already in the Avesta. His meetings with Ahura Mazdā are alluded to in what is undoubtedly an old text, the confession of faith (*Fravarānē*, Y. 12). Parts of the Avesta are cast in the literary genre of questions and answers between Zarathushtra (asking the questions) and Ahura Mazdā (giving the answers) and thus stress the fact that he was responsible for the whole revelation. Although the *Gāthās* contain little if any information relevant for his personal life according to modern opinions, many elements from the Zarathushtra legends can be traced back to (often obscure) passages from the *Gāthās*. Although Zarathushtra played a role in the Zoroastrian version of the history of the world that is almost incommensurate with human capacities, there is no evidence that he was ever seen as something other than human.

In contemporary Zoroastrianism, pictures of Zarathushtra are omnipresent in houses as well as fire-temples and sanctuaries. It is not certain how old this custom is, but the iconography used in the Iranian and Parsi communities cannot be traced to a period before the late eighteenth century. Small devotional rituals can be performed in the presence of these pictures: lighting a candle or an oil lamp or decorating the picture with a garland of flowers. On the sixth day of the first month of the Zoroastrian calendar, Zoroastrians commemorate Zarathushtra's birth and the beginning of his meetings with Ahura Mazdā.

In ancient and medieval non-Zoroastrian sources, Zarathushtra is often mentioned. Usually he is presented as the founder of the Persian priesthood (the magi) and the founder of the religion of the Persians. From an early period, Zoroaster was also annexed in Western traditions. Among Greeks and Romans, he came to be known as an early sage, who invented magic and astrology. The Western traditions on Zoroaster owe little to Zoroastrian ideas. This is true for antiquity but also for the remarkable popularity of Zoroaster in western European traditions from the Renaissance up to the late eighteenth century.

ZARATHUSHTRA IN MODERN SCHOLARSHIP. The traditional biography of Zarathushtra is of course a myth. This myth is of great importance for a proper understanding of Zoroastrianism, but it yields little information on the historical Zarathushtra. Modern scholars (and indeed most modern Zoroastrians) do not accept the entire Avesta as the work of Zarathushtra, not to mention the vast body of exegetical literature in the *Zand*. When the Avesta and other Zoroastrian texts reached Europe in the late eighteenth century, the study of these texts remained under the influence of traditional Zoroastrian understanding only for a short while. The academic study of Zarathushtra and his message had to disengage itself more and more from the tradition that grew out of it. In the middle of the nineteenth century the German Orientalist Martin Haug demonstrated that a small part of the *Yasna* (sacrifice), the text of the daily high ritual, was written in a different language than the rest of the Avesta; that this language was more archaic; and that the texts in this more archaic language were the only texts that could be accepted as Zarathushtra's own words. These are the *Gāthās* (songs), five in number, to which modern scholarship has now added a few prayers and a short ritual prose text, all written in the same archaic dialect. These texts have now been recognized as the only possible source of information for the earliest period of Zoroastrianism. They are attributed to Zarathushtra himself by many scholars, but others have voiced doubts about the historicity of Zarathushtra or about the possibility of gaining accurate knowledge about him from these texts.

The corpus of relevant texts is thus small and unfortunately difficult. It is not only full of words of disputed or unknown meaning, but especially the difficulty of the poetic *Gāthās* is seen as intentional. Although earlier scholars thought of these texts as "verse sermons" or solemn declarations of new religious insights, it is now generally assumed that the poems are to be interpreted as visionary poetry composed in a ritual setting. The Old Avestan prose text, by contrast, is much less opaque. Since the texts do not refer to historical or geographical settings known from other sources, the possibility of contextualizing these texts is slim. Even though there is no shortage of speculation on this matter, it seems impossible to date the texts with precision or to situate them in a geographical environment. The texts mention the names of several persons, all known from the later Zoroastrian tradition, but it is a moot point whether that tradition has preserved knowledge of these persons or has invented a narrative in which these persons could fit.

In order to confront these difficulties, most scholars use two different sets of comparative materials. The first of these are the later Zoroastrian traditions, which reflect the religion that grew out of these early texts. The second set of comparative texts is offered by the hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, which were composed in a language that resembles Old Avestan closely and are full of set expressions and poetic usages that both traditions share.

There are certain dangers in using either approach to the exclusion of the other. Both sets of *comparanda* are, in a sense, quite far removed from the Old Avestan texts. Using both sets of data in combination seems to be the best option to guard against anachronisms (by reading later developments into the early texts) and against reading into these texts Vedic ideas that may never have been present in them. The truth is that the *Gāthās* are different from the Vedic hymns. There are certain similarities in poetic expressions and in the grammar of the texts, but the poems as compositions are completely different, as are the main components of the contents of the *Gāthās*.

Since contexts are unavailable, only rough indications of dating and localization, based on the content of the texts and the archaisms of their language, can be given. There seems to be a broad agreement that the texts (and therefore Zarathushtra himself) should be dated around the beginning of the first millennium BCE in an eastern part of the Iranian world, perhaps the area known as Bactria-Margiana (present-day Afghanistan and Turkmenistan).

Two names stand out in importance in the *Gāthās.* The first of these is the name of the god who is celebrated in these hymns: Ahura Mazdā, "the Wise Lord." The second is the name of the most important man in these hymns: Zarathushtra, who occurs regularly as singer of the hymns and as performer of the rituals that the hymns accompanied. Following an established poetic pattern, the singer of the hymns declares that he is going to proclaim certain truths about the gods, the world and reality. In these proclamations, Ahura Mazdā is extolled as the creator of the world, dispenser of justice, lord of all that is good, and rightful recipient of prayer and sacrifice. But he is not alone: there are his children and his (spiritual) creations, personifying mental attitudes and human virtues, who aid him in the struggle against evil, which is taking place in front of one's own eyes. For there are evil beings in this world and in the spiritual world; although they are worshipped by those of little intellect, they should not be worshipped, for they cause nothing but harm to humankind and to the world at large. These evil beings are called *daēvas* and they too appear to be ruled by a separate being, who is chiefly alluded to as the "evil one," "the deceitful one," or "the one of evil doctrine" and who is said to have destroyed existence once (but will not do so again: [Y. 45.1]; the interpretation of this verse is debated). In several passages, two spirits are referred to who are each other's total opposites and between which humans must choose. If one makes the wrong choice, this has consequences for his or her afterlife. Indeed many passages have a marked focus on the implications of human choices for their fate in the other world.

The marked polarity between good and evil in these texts, focusing chiefly on the options for "righteousness" or "deceit," also splits human society. Even though some scholars have doubted the interpretation of the *Gāthās* as containing elements from Zarathushtra's biography, there are many passages that hint at an acute crisis, instigated by enemies and borne by the majority of the people surrounding Zarathushtra. In these passages, various individuals and groups of enemies are mentioned, together with examples of their hostilities. This may reflect an actual struggle between competing groups of religious specialists, divided over matters of ritual and ideas about the gods and reality.

Many passages of the *Gāthās* show that rituals and religious views mattered not only for this world but also for the afterlife. Those who oppose truth will certainly be held accountable for their wrong choice through an ordeal and a judgment of their souls. A blessed existence is promised the righteous ones and a life of woe the wicked.

In a number of passages, all rather cryptic, there are allusions to the most influential of all Zoroastrian ideas: that the world as humans know it will come to an end in a decisive, collective transformation according to the wish of its creator. The most important passage is Y. 30.7–11, which contains the famous words "thus may we be those who will make existence brilliant" (Y. 30.9). Although other suggestions have been made, it is most likely that these verses indeed refer to the notion that the battle between good and evil, and therefore the world and "history," will eventually come to an end. This is certainly how it has always been understood in the tradition.

In spite of the many lexical parallels with hymns from the *Ṛgveda*, these are all aspects from the *Gāthās* for which one would look in vain in the Vedic corpus. The god Ahura Mazdā is as absent from India as the important Indian gods are from the *Gāthās.* Although ideas on the importance of ritual for the life and well-being of the people are characteristic for both traditions, the pervasive focus on the distinction between good and evil, their existence as (the only) two "primal" spirits, and their impact on the lives of humans in this world—in the afterlife and in the transformation of the world—is wholly specific for the *Gāthās.* Something resembling the Gathic insistence on the primary nature of Ahura Mazdā and his sole responsibility for the origins of everything—and especially the idea that history would come to an end—is likewise difficult to find in early Indian literature. There are no indications whatsoever that these were ideas that had grown slowly among the Iranians. For these reasons, the idea that a single person, Zarathushtra, was responsible for the *Gāthās* and in a real sense the founder of the religion that grew out of them raises fewer historical difficulties than the idea that such a person did not exist. One can question the suitability of the concept of "originality" in the writing of history but not doubt the possibility of real innovations. All the evidence suggests that the oldest Zoroastrian texts, which were preserved in a different language among a much larger body of ritual literature, offered a new vision of reality, using traditional words and concepts for the (successful) propagation of an innovative message.

SEE ALSO Amesha Spentas; Avesta; Saoshyant; Zoroastrianism.

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ALBERT DE JONG (2005)

ZĀWIYAH See KHĀNAGĀH

ZAYNAB BINT ʿALĪ

(c. AH 5–62; 626/7–682 CE), daughter of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Fāṭimah al-Zahrāʾ, was the first granddaughter of the prophet Muḥammad. She is best known for her courageous and eloquent role supporting her brother, the second Shīʿah Imām Ḥusayn, at the time of his martyrdom in the Battle of Karbala, and for protecting his family in the following months of Umayyad imprisonment.

LIFE. Zaynab was born in Medina a few years after Muḥammad's immigration thereto in the early days of Shaʿbān of the year AH 5 (626 or 627 CE). She was the third child born to ʿAlī and Fāṭimah—after Ḥasan (the first Shīʿah *imām*) and Ḥusayn—with about a year's interval between each child. Her birth was followed by that of a sister, Umm Kulthūm. Tradition states that Zaynab was named by Muḥammad, who attributed her name to divine inspiration.

Little is known of her early life. Muḥammad died when she was about five, followed by Fāṭimah a few months later. She married her paternal cousin ʿAbd Allāh (whose father was ʿAlī's brother Jaʿfar al-Ṭayyār ibn Abī Ṭālib, and whose mother was then ʿAlī's wife and hence Zaynab's own stepmother, Asmāʾ bint ʿUmays). Zaynab is reported to have had five children with ʿAbd Allāh: ʿAlī (known as ʿAlī al-Zaynabī, whose numerous descendants took pride in tracing their lineage to Zaynab), ʿAwn al-Akbar (killed at Karbala), ʿAbbās (no information about him), Muḥammad (possibly killed at Karbala), and one daughter named Umm Kulthūm (married to her paternal cousin Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Jaʿfar ibn Abī Ṭālib, after rejecting the suit of the Umayyad Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiya).

When Zaynab's father ʿAlī became caliph in 656 and moved his capital from Medina to Kūfah, Zaynab and ʿAbd Allāh accompanied him there. She lived in Kūfah through four years of military confrontations with the insurgent governor of Syria, Muʿāwiya ibn Abī Sufyān, and with the Iraqi Kharijite rebels, until ʿAlī was killed in 661 by one of the latter. She was then thirty-five years old.

Zaynab is mentioned a few times in the accounts of ʿAlī's caliphate as a devoted and beloved daughter. Moreover, it is reported that ʿAlī taught her a devotional poem that she often recited, and that she herself taught Qurʾān interpretation to women in her house in Kūfah. It is thus likely that she was trained by her father (who is considered the most learned of sages), and that she herself played a teaching role among the women of the early Muslim community.

After ʿAlī's death, his son Ḥasan stepped down from the caliphate and Muʿāwiya became the first Umayyad caliph. Ḥasan returned to Medina with the family, and was subsequently poisoned by Muʿāwiya in 669. There are reports of Zaynab's caring attendance on Ḥasan during his last few days.

Ḥasan was followed as head of the Prophet's family by his brother Ḥusayn. In 680, Muʿāwiya died, having appointed his son Yazīd to the caliphate. At that time—according to some sources, after consulting with Zaynab—Ḥusayn refused to pledge allegiance to Yazīd, and set off with his family and supporters for Mecca and then Kūfah to meet up with his Kūfan supporters and overthrow Yazīd. Some of Ḥusayn's well-wishers tried to dissuade him from going, and these included Zaynab's husband ʿAbd Allāh (who had by then lost his sight, according to some sources), but when Ḥusayn remained adamant, ʿAbd Allāh sent Zaynab and his two sons ʿAwn and Muḥammad with him (there is conflicting evidence regarding whether this Muḥammad was ʿAbd Allāh's son from Zaynab or another wife).

En route to Kūfah, Ḥusayn's entourage was stopped at Karbala and surrounded by a military unit sent by the Umayyad governor of Kūfah, ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād. On 10 Muḥarram 61 (680), after three days without food or water in the scorching desert, Ḥusayn, his supporters, all but one of the men from his family, and many of the male children were slaughtered. They were reported to be seventy-two in number, including the family members, who numbered eighteen. ʿAwn and Muḥammad were among those killed, according to some reports, encouraged by their mother to fight in defense of their uncle. Zaynab was then fifty-four years old. Her grief-filled speeches are recorded by many historians.

After the massacre, the Umayyad army looted Ḥusayn's camp and set off with his women and children for the court of Ibn Ziyād. Upon reaching Kūfah, Zaynab, with the other women, was paraded unveiled and shackled through the very town where her father had ruled, with the heads of Ḥusayn and his companions raised on spears beside them. Ibn Ziyād then ordered the execution of Ḥusayn's only remaining son, the 23-year-old ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (the third Shīʿah *imām*); Zaynab protected his life saying Ibn Ziyād would have to kill her before he killed ʿAlī, which shamed him into withdrawing the execution order. A moving oration delivered by Zaynab in Kūfah is recorded in some sources. The prisoners were next sent to the court of the Umayyad caliph Yazīd in Damascus, where one of his Syrian followers asked for Ḥusayn's daughter Fāṭimah al-Kubrā, and once again it was Zaynab who came to the rescue and protected her honor. The family remained in Yazīd's prison for a time; the sources do not specify the number of days or months. The first assembly (*majlis*) of mourning for Ḥusayn is said to have been held by Zaynab in prison. In Damascus, too, she is reported to have delivered a poignant oration.

Zaynab and her family were eventually released and escorted back to Medina. After her return to Medina, little is known of her in the year and a half before her death, except through much later, conflicting reports. According to one report, she stayed and died there. Another report states that due to persecution from the governor of Medina, she traveled to Fustat (later Cairo) in Egypt with several other women from the family of the Prophet; she lived in Fustat for over a year, narrating the Karbala tragedy and preaching the love of the family of the Prophet, and died there. A third report states that she went with her husband to his Syrian estates in a year of drought and died there. Sources also differ as to the year of her death. According to most of them, she died on 15 Rajab AH 62 (682 CE), when she was fifty-six years old.

ROLE IN MUSLIM PIETY. Zaynab is best remembered for her role in Karbala. Through the centuries, she has continued to hold a prominent place in Muḥarram orations, as well as in lamentation poetry composed in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, and other languages commemorating the Karbala tragedy. She is portrayed in these variously as an object of pity, a compassionate saint, and a powerful intercessor. On a somewhat more militant note, she was used in pre-revolution Iran as a model for inspiring political opposition among women—in the Iranian revolution of 1979, female commandos came to be known as "the commandos of her holiness Zaynab" (*Komāndo-hāye Hazrat-e Zaynab*).

Every day, hundreds of Muslim men and women, but especially women, visit the mausoleums dedicated to Zaynab in Damascus and Cairo. In fact, some scholars call Zaynab the patron saint of Muslim women. At the shrine, visitors ask for her help *(madad)*, and they beseech her intercession (*shafaʿa*) with God on their behalf for a myriad of petitions, such as curing illness, passing school examinations, or finding a good husband or wife for themselves or their children. Many miracles are attributed to her, such as the curing of chronic illness. Mostly Shīʿah visit the Damascus shrine, and Egyptian Sunnīs of a Ṣūfī bent visit the Cairo shrine, where tens of thousands celebrate Zaynab's birthday *(mawlid)* for seven days annually.

Zaynab is known by several titles. She is called Zaynab al-Kubrā (the senior Zaynab) to distinguish her from Zaynab al-Ṣughrā (the junior Zaynab, the name of her full sister, Umm Kulthūm, and also perhaps of another half-sister). Zaynab is called al-ʿAqīla (literally, "secluded one," or "pearl," perhaps connected to a suggested etymology of her name: *zayn* + *ab*, "adornment of father"), as well as Thānī-ye Zahrāʾ (the second Fāṭimah Zahrāʾ). In Egypt she is known as al-Ṭāhirah (the pure one) and by a number of "mother" epithets (Umm Hāshim, mother of the Prophet's family; Umm al-ʿawājiz, mother of the weak; Umm al-masākīn, mother of the poor; Umm al-yatāmā, mother of the orphans; and Umm Miṣr, mother of Egypt). She is also known simply as al-Sayyida (the Lady), a fitting title for a woman who came to be considered a role model for Muslim women, typifying courage, fortitude, leadership, eloquence, devotion, and faith.

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B. Tahera Qutbuddin (2005)

ZEALOTS. The Zealots were Jewish revolutionaries in first-century Israel whose religious zeal led them to fight to the death against Roman domination and to attack or kill other Jews who collaborated with the Romans. Scholars disagree as to whether the name *Zealots* designated all revolutionary groups of the first century or only one of the factions active during the Roman-Jewish War of 66–70 CE. Josephus Flavius (37–c. 100 CE.), the Jewish general who surrendered to the Romans and whose official Roman history of the war furnishes the major source, is ambiguous in his use of terminology. References in the New Testament, the Pseudepigrapha, and the rabbinic literature add to the confusion.

In 6 CE, Judah (Yehudah) the Galilean showed zeal for God's law and land when he led a revolt against the Roman census in Judaea. He and his followers fought to cleanse the land by taking vengeance against Jews who cooperated with the Romans. Judah considered such cooperation to be idolatrous recognition of a lord (Caesar) other than God. By such vengeance, he and his followers sought to appease God, who would thereby honor their cause against the Romans. The revolt failed, but Judah had originated the so-called Fourth Philosophy ("No Lord but God") based on the first commandment. Judah's descendents emerged again after all of Judaea became a Roman province in 44 CE. Their subsequent revolutionary actions against the corrupt and incompetent Roman authorities contributed to the outbreak of war in 66 CE. Josephus usually refers to Judah's group as Sicarii, after the *sikkah* ("dagger") used in assassinations.

Although Josephus refers to Judah's faction as a Jewish sect, it is not clear that his group is to be identified with a revolutionary faction called the Zealots or indeed that there was such an organized group early in the first century. Many Jews venerated "zealous action" as a model of piety, using the biblical figure Phineas as a prototype (*Num* 25:1–15). Such persons endured persecution for the Law or sought to destroy those who violated the Law as a means to cleanse the land of defilement and thereby turn back God's wrath. Individuals, such as Simon the "zealot" (a disciple of Jesus: *Luke* 6:15; *Acts* 1:13), were zealous for God over a variety of legal issues. Sometimes, as was the case with the Maccabean revolt in 167–142 BCE, zeal was a dominant motivation for revolution. However, not all zealots were revolutionaries, and not all revolutionaries were motivated by zeal. It is not until his account of the war period that Josephus refers to one of the wartime revolutionary groups formally as "the Zealots."

Amid the growing unrest in the decades leading up to the war, there was broad resistance to Roman occupation, including protests against provocative actions by the procurator Pilate (ruled 26–36 CE), a threatened strike against raising crops for the Romans when the emperor Gaius Caligula sought to put a statue of Zeus in the Temple (41 CE), riots at feast time in Jerusalem in reaction to offenses by Roman soldiers, official delegations to Rome protesting inept procurators, prophetic actions and oracular pronouncements by apocalyptic figures, banditry, kidnappings, and assassinations. Resistance to Roman rule was widespread and cut across all sectors of society. The war broke out in 66 CE when the procurator Florus tried to seize money from the Temple treasury, after which the populace drove Florus out of Jerusalem and successfully held off Cestius Gallus, the Legate of Syria, when he arrived to restore Roman order. The Jewish declaration of war came when the lower priests ceased the sacrifices to God on behalf of the emperor. Subsequently, the traditional high priests assumed control of the wartime government and prepared for the Romans to return.

For the war period, Josephus identifies (in addition to the wartime government) five revolutionary groups, each with its own social and geographic origins, motivations, methods, and goals (*Jewish War* 7:262–267). Not all the groups embraced a "zealous" mentality, and they were often in conflict with each other except when confronted with the common Roman enemy. Josephus mentions the Zealots last in order.

1. The Sicarii fought for "No Lord but God" under the messianic leadership of Judah the Galilean's descendants. When other revolutionary groups forced them out of Jerusalem in 66 CE, they remained during the rest of the war on the fortress Masada, where in 74 CE they chose suicide rather than capture by the Romans.
2. John of Giscala (Yoḥanan ben Levi), leader of a Galilean contingent, gained the confidence of the wartime government, which he then betrayed to the Zealots.
3. Simeon bar Giora, from Gerasa in the Decapolis, raised an army of freed slaves and peasants, then overran Idumea. In 69 CE, he was joined by some nobles and seized most of Jerusalem. A messianic strongman, Simeon led the coalition of revolutionary groups in the defense of Jerusalem in 70 CE.
4. The Idumeans, a local militia, helped the Zealots to overthrow the provisional government.
5. The Zealots, primarily priests from Jerusalem and the Judaean peasantry, declared war by stopping the official sacrifices for Caesar. Later, under democratic leadership, they occupied the Temple, chose a high priest by lot, and, in 68 CE, overthrew the wartime government.

The war lasted four years. From 66 to 68 CE, the Roman general Vespasian overran the countryside of Galilee and Judaea, thereby isolating Jerusalem. When he became emperor in 69 CE, his son Titus assumed the siege of Jerusalem, eventually destroying the city in 70 CE, burning the Temple, executing Jewish warriors, and consigning many families to slavery after a triumphal procession in Rome. Flavius Sylva led Roman troops to overcome Jewish holdouts in a few fortresses, including Masada, by 74 CE.

The causes of the war were many and complex: incompetent and corrupt Roman governors, deteriorating Roman policies toward Jews, a determined Jewish opposition to foreign domination, economic exploitation of peasants (the war was also a peasant revolt against the Jewish elites), widespread banditry, apocalyptic expectations, the conviction that God would honor the Jewish cause, and a zealous commitment to cleanse the land of idolatry.

Major scholarly controversies, arising primarily from the biased and often unreliable accounts of Josephus (in *The Jewish War,* as well as his *Jewish Antiquities* and *The Life*), have centered on the ancient usage of the term "Zealot," the extent of religious zeal among the revolutionaries and the populace, the nature and makeup of each revolutionary group, whether the wartime government was moderate or revolutionary, and the relative importance of social, economic, political, and religious factors as causes of the war.

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DAVID M. RHOADS (1987 AND 2005)

ZEKHUT AVOT (Ancestral merit). *Zekhut avot* is a Hebrew phrase that refers to the merits of the ancestors of Israel. Biblical teaching frequently presupposes that reward and punishment have a collective dimension. Many passages are directed to the people of Israel as a whole—for example, *Deuteronomy* 11:13–17. Some passages suggest that later generations benefit or suffer as a result of the actions of their ancestors, as in *Exodus* 20:5–6 and 34:7; *Deuteronomy* 7:8–10; and *Lamentations* 5:7. Other statements that deny or downplay transgenerational recompense, such as *Ezekiel* 14 and 18, balance these judgments. Later rabbinic and medieval interpretation tended to restrict the penal aspect, limiting it to grievous sins like idolatry and to cases in which the sons perpetuated the sins of their fathers. Examples include B.T. *Makkot* 24 and the commentaries of Abraham Ibn Ezra (1093–1167) and Naḫmanides on *Exodus* 20. Some biblical verses single out the particular benefit derived from the merit of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as in Leviticus 26: 42. Several rabbinic debates argued for and against the possibility that the attainments of later generations justified divine solicitude for their forebears.

The rabbinic concept of *zekhut avot* (merits of the fathers, with occasional mention of their wives) in the narrow sense of the term derives from the special standing of the original progenitors. Nonetheless, the term is occasionally applied to other Jewish figures such as the sons of Jacob, to Noah's merit in preserving humanity, or to any kind of inherited merit. Examples of the latter can be found in M *Eduyot* 2:9 and Maimonides' commentary. Some sources speak of the merit of descendants justifying the fathers; others disagree. To the extent that *zekhut avot* is construed narrowly, it is distinguished from universal philosophical concepts of divine justice; it belongs rather to concepts related to the idea of election. When *zekhut avot* is assimilated to natural mechanisms of collective or transgenerational deserving, it is more easily regarded as an application of general principles. In this framework one must also consider the negative impact of unworthy parents on their children's destiny.

Solomon Schechter's century-old dictum that ". . . the notion of imputed righteousness and imputed sin. . . have. . . never attained such significance in Jewish theology or in Jewish conscience as is generally assumed" remains true. (Schechter, 1909, p. 170) Consequently the rabbinic material has not generated a systematic theological consensus. In classic medieval Jewish philosophy, *zekhut avot* is not central to the major discussions of providence and theodicy. The explorations of exegetes, nonphilosophical theological thinkers, and modern academic scholars have shed light on aspects of the theme by adopting both synchronic and diachronic approaches.

TERMINATION OF *ZEKHUT AVOT*. Several amoraim (third- and fourth-century interpreters of the Mishnah) claimed that *zekhut avot* no longer applies, although they differed as to the date in the First Temple period when it ceased to operate (B.T. *Shab.* 55a and *Leviticus Rabba* 36). These views limited appeal to the merits of the fathers; they are better suited to conceptions of *zekhut avot* rooted in the principle of election than to universal models of reward and punishment. Medieval commentators noted that the cessation of *zekhut avot* flies in the face of Jewish liturgy, which frequently cites *Leviticus* 26:42, especially in the *selihot* (penitential) service. Rabbi Jacob Tam, who was a twelfth-century French commentator, posited that while the merits of the fathers were depleted, the covenant with them (*berit avot*) is irrevocable (*Tosafot Shab.* 55). He thus shifted a crucial employment of the concept from consideration of merit by itself to the abiding remembrance of divine promise.

DIACHRONIC FACTORS. Some scholars have detected an evolution in rabbinic thought regarding the specific merits of the patriarchs behind the concept of *zekhut avot.* Thus Urbach maintains that statements made after Bar Kokhba's revolt (132–135 CE), were more likely to anchor the *zekhut* in willingness to offer up one's life in obedience to God, in accordance with the increasing emphasis on martyrdom in the second century. At this stage the binding of Isaac described in *Genesis* 22 became the paradigm of *zekhut avot.* The liturgy described in the Talmud refers to the merit of the ashes of Isaac's virtual immolation; one passage, commenting on *Isaiah* 63:16, imagines Abraham and Jacob declining to intervene on behalf of Israel while Isaac alone offers his merit (B.T. *Shab.* 89b). Kasher likewise discerns a movement away from defining Abraham's merit as faith towards an emphasis on heroic action, a development interpreted as a reaction against the early Christian understanding of *Genesis* 15:6.

It has also been argued that different sources offer different accounts of the benefits of *zekhut avot* for the people of Israel. Goshen-Gottstein observes that biblical sources stress the value of patriarchal merit in the inheritance of the land of Israel. This theme, however, is downplayed in the rabbinic literature.

***ZEKHUT AVOT* AND COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY.** Rabbi Avraham Yitsḥaq Kook (1865–1935) developed an influential theory regarding the place of *zekhut avot* in Jewish theology. For Kook, *zekhut avot* finds its place within a metaphysical doctrine of social organisms. Inherited spiritual traits affect the Jewish people, as well as non-Jewish social entities and humanity as a whole. Negative traits also leave their imprint on later generations. Faithful to the rabbinic principle that "the measure of beneficence is greater than that of retribution," Kook maintained that the favorable impact far exceeds the negative (*Yoma,* 76a). With the Babylonian exile it was judged preferable to loosen the ties between the generations; this interpretative development is reflected in *Ezekiel* 18 and B.T. *Makkot* 24a.

An earlier Hasidic master, Rabbi Judah Alter of Gur (1847–1905), likewise reflected a metaphysical orientation presented from a social perspective. He insisted that even if one accepts the view that *zekhut avot* ended, the merit of the seventy grandchildren of Jacob who arrived in Egypt remains operative. That is because the passage of time weakens the Jewish people's connection to the forefathers, but not their connection to the more "accessible" merit of the intermediate generations.

SEE ALSO Election; Kook, Avraham Yitsḥaq; Merit, overview article.

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SHALOM CARMY (2005)

ZEME. In Baltic religion, earth (Latv., *zeme;* Lith., *žeme*) is sacralized. On this basis, the Latvian goddess Zeme and the Lithuanian goddess Žemýna (diminutive, Žemynele) evolved. Called in Latvian Zemes Māte ("earth mother"), she takes a central place in the religious system of the Baltic peoples. Attested by Tacitus, who reports that the ancient Balts venerated a *deum matrem,* her role is determined by her femininity: Like a mother she is connected with the promotion of fertility. Everything in nature that is born, grows, and dies belongs to her. Thus humanity, too, is drawn into this all-embracing cult, beginning at birth and ending with death.

Description of Zeme as *māte* is dependent on which of a variety of mother roles she plays, a variety that can be seen particularly clearly in Latvian traditions. Here appear such descriptions as *Lauku māte* ("field mother"), *Meža māte* ("forest mother"), *Krūmu māte* ("bush mother"), *Ogu māte* ("berry mother"), and *Sēņu māte* ("mushroom mother"), among a number of others. In the main, these are poetic personifications of aspects of nature without any religious connotations. The juxtaposition of religious and poetic personifications is a well-known occurrence, but this does not deny that in differentiating the variety of functions of Zeme as *māte*, new beings are created. These then become independent and assume the particular specialized function that is appropriate in a given tradition.

The central place of Zeme is revealed especially in cultic practices; together with those of Laima, these are the most fully developed in Baltic religion. There was, for example, a notion that children are created from springs, lakes, trees, and hills, all places that are connected with the earth. It is therefore understandable that at the birth of a child offerings were made to Zeme. These offerings were placed either by trees and stones close to the home or were thrown into the hearth fire. The offerings were accompanied by prayers: "My dear earth, my mother, sustain me, feed me." More widespread still were rituals concerned with encouraging fertility in both crops and animals. Thus, at the commencement of work in the fields in spring, the farmer plowed a piece of bread into the first furrow. On this day, too, a special meal was eaten at which the first measure of ale was thrown on the earth together with a small piece of meat. In the spring, when the animals were sent out to pasture for the first time, offerings were made, normally eggs, a special gruel, and ale. The entire household, led by the paterfamilias, joined in the sacral meals, for which a piglet or cockerel was occasionally slaughtered.

More frequent still were rituals connected with the gathering of the harvest in autumn. After the last sheaf had been taken in, bread and salt were buried in the soil in its place, to the accompaniment of a prayer: "Dear earth, as you have given, so also do I give to you." A kind of cultic drama, in two parts, was then enacted. The first part, in which the female head of the household also generally participated, took place in the field. A festive meal was eaten, including special cakes, and, as at all country feasts, ale was drunk. This meal of thanksgiving was made festive by singing and dancing. The songs were commonly characterized by bravado directed at neighboring farmers who had not yet succeeded in harvesting their crops. After the feast, the participants returned home crowned with garlands made from ears of grain and bearing their tools, scythes and rakes, similarly decorated. The second part of the drama took place at the homestead. At the gate, the workers were met by the head of the household, who offered them a drink, usually ale, but often vodka in a later tradition. Afterward, the festivities continued inside the house, with more singing and dancing.

This résumé of the fertility cult of the Baltic earth mother shows that it embraced the countryman's whole life from the time of his birth, including all aspects of his activities at work. The practice of customary rites attests to the fact that by following them the individual believed that he secured the patronage of Zeme, the mother goddess. So intensive was this cult that even until the eighteenth century country people first said prayers to the earth and then kissed it both in the morning, at the beginning of their work, and in the evening, when their work was done. In these religious instances, the holy earth is the mother of all life. As the extensive collection of nineteenth- and twentieth-century folklore materials demonstrates, this understanding was never completely lost, in spite of centuries of Christian missionizing.

Complementing this positive aspect of the cult of the sacred earth, the giving of life, is its negative counterpart, the taking of life, for the rhythm of nature shows that everything that comes from the earth must at some point return to it. Zeme, the mother of life, is ruler of everything created on earth and of everything that takes place there. That is her positive aspect. Yet experience of life forces the conclusion that the earth is also responsible for the individual's negative experiences, that is, death and one's fate thereafter. Thus the earth goddess adopts simultaneously her other morphological role, that of a chthonic goddess. In this role she rules what takes place below the earth, and she is given titles appropriate to this function. In Latvian she is called Smilšu Māte ("sand mother"), a name arising from the custom of burying the dead in sandy knolls, or she is described directly as Kapu Māte ("mother of the grave") or Nāves Māte ("death mother"). Thus the mother of life, promoter of bounty and fertility, becomes her opposite, the mother of death. Although paradoxical, this morphological transformation is nonetheless understandable, for in the eyes of the Baltic farmer the processes of birth and death were manifest both in nature and in his immediate and extended families. The dead were buried in a nearby grave mound, and were thus ever-present as a reminder to the living.

In Baltic religion there is no metaphysical ontology contrasting the notions of life and death. Instead, these notions are simply two aspects of a single goddess. In the sources this is stated metaphorically: Not only may one address petitions and give thanks to Zeme as Zemes Māte, but one may have an amicable discussion with her as Nāves Māte, offering her substitutes for a dying person—an oak log to decompose or an ax or a plow to rust away. This final, unique trait of the Baltic earth goddess is explicable by reference to the farmer's close ties to the land.

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ZEN.

[*This article treats the development of the Zen sect in Japan. The historical antecedents of this school, the practices and institutions of Chinese Chan Buddhism, are discussed in* Chan.]

The Zen Buddhist sect in Japan consists of three main schools and several additional smaller movements. The largest denomination is the Sōtō school, founded by Dōgen Kigen (1200–1253), which has two head temples, Eiheiji in Fukui prefecture and Sōjiji in Kanagawa prefecture, and claims nearly fifteen thousand temples, over thirty monasteries and (six) nunneries, and more than eight million adherents, making it one of the largest of the traditional Japanese Buddhist schools. The second largest Zen denomination is the Rinzai school, founded by Myōan Eisai (1141–1215), which is divided into fifteen streams associated with different head temples and claims about six thousand temples, forty monasteries and (one) nunnery, and two million adherents. The largest of the streams is Myōshinji temple in Kyoto, which claims about half of the total Rinzai temples and monasteries and over one-third of the adherents. The third Zen school is the Ōbaku school, founded by Yinyuan Longqi (Jpn., Ingen Ryūki, 1592–1673), which has a head temple of Manpukuji in the town of Uji outside Kyoto and claims nearly five hundred temples, two monasteries, and under half a million adherents. In addition, there are several modern movements or "brotherhoods" (*kyōdan*) based on Zen meditation or other training techniques that all together claim about one hundred temples and 200,000 adherents.

The Zen sect was first established in the early medieval period as a controversial form of "New Kamakura Buddhism," along with the fledgling Pure Land and Nichiren cults. Zen was proscribed in the 1190s for a few years, and for several decades thereafter it was vigorously opposed by the dominant Tendai sect at Enryakuji temple located on Mount Hiei to the northeast of Kyoto. During the 1240s and 1250s, major Rinzai and Sōtō Zen temples were built in Kyoto, Kamakura, and Echizen province, and by the beginning of the fourteenth century, Zen had become the leading religious institution in Japan with an ever-expanding network of temples and a wide-ranging, nearly all-pervasive influence on many different levels of society and culture.

During the late medieval and early modern eras, Zen underwent various periods of apparent decline and renewal, especially when it stood in competition with diverse forms of Japanese religiosity in other Buddhist, as well as Shintō and Confucian, movements during the Tokugawa era (1600–1868). In the modern period, Zen has spread to become a worldwide phenomenon greatly admired for its unique features of spiritual practice, including strict monastic discipline and contemplation of pedagogical riddles, or *kōans,* that have a resonance with contemporary spiritual and intellectual trends in psychotherapy, phenomenology, and environmentalism. At the same time, the Zen sect has received criticism both from within and outside of Japan for contributing to social ills ranging from nationalism and nativism to discrimination against women and outcastes.

FORMATIVE PERIOD (LATE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES). The origins of Zen in Japan stem from the Nara and early Heian eras, when sitting meditation and some representative early Chan texts were introduced by monks who had traveled to China, including Saichō (767–822), and were practiced or studied for several centuries under the auspices of the Tendai sect as one of several styles of training available to novices. Zen began to be established as a separate, autonomous sect by the end of the twelfth century (corresponding to the beginning of the Kamakura era) when several prominent Tendai monks made pilgrimages to the mainland in search of authentic Buddhism after a hiatus in exchange with China that lasted nearly two hundred years. These monks, including Eisai and Dōgen, returned with the newly fashioned Song dynasty (960–1279) approach to Chan. The style of Song Chan that was brought to Japan included an emphasis on monastic institutional structure and rules of conduct, as well as voluminous texts containing biographies of eminent monks and records of their sayings and dialogues, in addition to extensive poetic and prose commentaries on *kōan* cases.

The earliest Zen schools were created either by Japanese monks who went to China and returned to establish important temples and lineages or by Chinese monks who came to Japan and played a crucial role in the rapid development of Zen. Monks in the first category, in addition to Eisai and Dōgen, include: Enni Ben'en (1202–1280), who studied at Mount Jing, the leading temple of the Chinese Chan Five Mountains (Chin., *Wushan*; Jpn., *Gozan*) system and became abbot of Tōfukuji temple in Kyoto; Shinchi Kakushin (1207–1298), who introduced to Japan the most prominent *kōan* collection, the *Wumen guan* (Jpn., *Mumonkan*); and Nampo Jōmin (also known as Daiō Kokushi, 1235–1308), who received transmission from the Chinese master Xutang (1185–1269) and created the lineage that founded Daitokuji temple in Kyoto.

Notable among Chinese monks who came to Japan are: Lanxi Daolong (Jpn., Rankei Dōryū, 1213–1278), who was the founding abbot of Kenchōji temple in Kamakura in 1253 with the support of regent Hōjō Tokiyori (1226–1263); Wuan Puning (Jpn., Gottan Run'ei, 1197–1276), who came at the request of Tokiyori but spent only four years in Japan trying to introduce authentic Chinese-style Zen, serving for a time as abbot of Kenninji temple, which Eisai had founded in Kyoto in 1202 as the first major Zen monastery in Japan; Daxiu Chengnian (Jpn., Daikyū Shōnen, 1214–1289), who founded Jōchiji temple in Kamakura; and Wuxu Zuyuan (Jpn., Mugaku Sogen, 1226–1286), who was the founding abbot of Engakuji temple in Kamakura with the support of regent Hōjō Tokimune (1251–1284).

Even before Eisai spent four years studying Chan during his second trip to China, which lasted from 1187 to 1191, a monk named Kakua (b. 1142) reached the Chinese mainland in 1171 and, on his return, had an audience with Emperor Takakura (1161–1181). In response to a question about the meaning of Zen, Kakua responded by simply playing his flute, while the emperor and his retainers looked on in puzzlement. This anecdote is contained in the valuable historical record of Buddhism in Japan, the *Genkō shakusho*, produced by the Zen monk, Kokan Shiren (1278–1345).

Around the time of Kakua's and Eisai's travels, an anomalous monk not mentioned in Kokan's record, Dainichi Nōnin (d. 1196?), started the first organized Zen movement, known as the Daruma school. Nōnin was not considered legitimate because he never traveled to China, but instead sent two of his disciples to receive transmission from Zhuan Deguang (1121–1203) of the Dahui Zonggao lineage. His movement was prohibited by imperial decree in 1194, and its temples were destroyed, although some followers persisted at Hajakuji, a Tendai temple in remote Echizen province (currently Fukui prefecture) until 1241 when they all joined Dōgen's upstart Sōtō school. Nōnin sought to create a pure Zen school free of Tendai esoteric ritualism, but by abandoning requirements to follow the precepts or practice meditation, his approach was accused of antinomian tendencies by both Eisai and Dōgen, as well as by Tendai leaders.

Early Rinzai school. Eisai, who is probably best known for introducing tea to Japan, received transmission in the Huanglong (Jpn., Ōryū) lineage of the Linji (Jpn., Rinzai) school of Chan and, like Nōnin, tried to create a pure Zen approach in Japan. However, to distinguish his role from Nōnin's and gain acceptance from the mainstream Buddhist institution, in the *Kōzen gokokuron* that was composed in 1198 Eisai repudiated the Daruma school's antinomianism and argued for the consistency of Zen meditation with established Tendai practices. Eisai also emphasized the importance of following the Chinese Chan way of administering the mixed precepts (that is, the 250 Hīnayāna and forty-eight Mahāyāna precepts), after several centuries in Japan during which only the bodhisattva vows were followed. In the two main temples Eisai established with the support of Hōjō Masako (1157–1225)—Kenninji and Jufukuji in Kamakura—there was an eclectic training known as *Enmitsu-zenkai* that combined Tendai perfect practice *(engyō)* and esotericism *(mitsu* or *mikkyō)* with Zen-style sitting meditation (*zazen*) and disciplinary rules *(jukai)*.

The next major development in the spread of Rinzai Zen involved Enni Ben'en, who like Eisai and Dōgen started out studying Tendai Buddhism in Japan and traveled to China from 1235 to 1241 to gain transmission from the Five Mountains temple system. On his return, Enni was awarded the abbacy of Tōfukuji temple, constructed along the lines of a grand Song Chan compound. For the first time in the three-quarters of a century since Kakua, a major temple was built exclusively for Zen training with the support of Buddhist and imperial authorities. However, in the end, Tōfukuji also provided facilities for the observance of Shingon and Tendai rituals, in accord with the wishes of its patron, Fujiwara Michiie (1192–1252). Since it was located near Kenninji, Enni often made daily visits and tried to restore the authentic Zen practice that had declined somewhat following the death of Eisai. Tōfukuji was also situated near Dōgen's first temple, Kōshōji, in southeast Kyoto. In the following years, Shinchi, who traveled to China from 1249 to 1254, was frequently summoned to lecture on *kōans* and related Zen topics before the imperial court, which further legitimated the Rinzai school.

Based on the intense interest of Hōjō Tokiyori in promulgating Zen by building Song-style temples and lending other forms of patronage and support, Zen became firmly ensconced in Kamakura, which was the temporary capital for several decades in the thirteenth century. For Tokiyori, Zen was the ideal ideology for the emerging samurai class because of its focus on self-control and creative self-expression in a highly disciplined communal environment. Lanxi and the other monks who arrived from China tended to emphasize the importance of monastic discipline governing every aspect of the daily behavior of monks. Because of their Chinese provenance, the Kamakura temples became the most prominent ones in the Japanese version of the Five Mountains system, outranking Kyoto temples, with the exception of Nanzenji.

Early Sōtō school. Whereas numerous prominent Japanese and Chinese monks were involved in the establishment of the Rinzai school, the development of the Sōtō school was primarily based on the efforts of Dōgen, who traveled to China from 1223 to 1227 with one of Eisai's disciples, Myōzen (1184–1225). After an itinerant phase during which he traveled around several of the Five Mountains Chan temples in search of an authentic teacher, in the summer retreat of 1225 Dōgen gained enlightenment under the tutelage of Caodong (Jpn., Sōtō) school master Ju-ching through the experience of "casting off body-mind" (*shinjin datsuraku*). On returning to Japan, Dōgen stayed for a few years at Kenninji before opening Kōshōji, which was the first Zen temple in Japan to have a Chan style monks' hall for *zazen* training, where Dōgen began delivering sermons and indoctrinating disciples in Chinese discipline. He preached a message of the universality of enlightenment for all those who practice "just sitting" (*shikan taza)*, including women and laypersons.

At the peak of his career in the summer of 1243, Dōgen departed from his temple in Kyoto with a small, dedicated band of disciples and moved to Echizen province, where he established Eiheiji temple. The reasons for the move are obscure, but it seems to be connected with several factors that occurred in the couple of years previous. These include the rapid ascendancy to the Tōfukuji abbacy of Enni after his return from China, which may have intimidated Dōgen since the massive Rinzai temple dwarfed Kōshōji, and the conversion of former Daruma school monks at Hajakuji to Dōgen's movement, which may have given him an incentive to take up residence in Echizen. Dōgen's patron Hatano Yoshishige also owned land in the Echizen region, which was the vicinity of the sacred mountain Mount Hakusan, long a center of *yamabushi* activity affiliated with a branch of the Tendai sect centered at Onjōji (also known as Miidera) temple, east of Kyoto and near Lake Biwa.

During a transitional year, until he settled in the summer of 1244 in his new temple, Dōgen was extremely creative in producing over a third of the fascicles included in his major text, the *Shōbōgenzō*, which consists of informal sermons delivered in the vernacular (*kana*) in the abbot's quarters. At Eiheiji, Dōgen turned to another style of literature that was included in the *Eihei kōroku*, which consists of formal sermons delivered in the dharma hall in Sino-Japanese (*kanbun*), as prescribed by Chinese Chan monastic rules texts. During the Echizen/Eiheiji period, Dōgen stressed that enlightenment is available only for male monastics, but he also developed methods for evangelizing and administering precepts to the lay community. According to some reports, Dōgen visited Hōjō Tokiyori in Kamakura for half a year in 1247 to 1248, but he turned down an invitation to head a temple there due to misgivings about the mixing of Zen and the new samurai lifestyle. This would have occurred just a few years before Kenchōji was constructed and became a leading Rinzai center under Lanxi.

ZEN PRACTICE AND TRAINING. Much of the difference in the styles of theory and practice that has evolved between the Rinzai and Sōtō schools, such as the Rinzai emphasis on *kōan* training and the Sōtō emphasis on just-sitting meditation without a focus on *kōan* cases, reflects historical developments subsequent to the formative period of Zen in Japan. The differences tend to stem especially from the Tokugawa and early Meiji eras, periods when all forms of Buddhism had to define themselves in distinctive ways in a competitive religious environment strictly supervised by civil authorities. Discrepancies in style should not be imposed retrospectively, which might obscure the fact that the two schools are linked by fundamental similarities in approach.

On the level of doctrine, both schools stress the importance of post-enlightenment cultivation, as found in Dōgen's teaching of *shushū ittō* (oneness of practice and realization) and the doctrine proclaimed by Daitō Kokushi (Shūhō Myōchō, 1282–1337) of *shōtaichōyō* (sustained nurturing of the seed of truth). Genuine practice must not end at the time of realization, but should continue after the initial experience of enlightenment and be integrated with each aspect of daily life. This practice can take the form of meditation, performing daily chores on the monastic compound, collecting alms from the lay community (*takuhatsu*), participating in the way (*dō* or *michi*) of the arts, communing with nature during a mountain retreat (*yamazato*), or residing in a secluded hermitage on or off the temple grounds.

Monastic regulations. For both schools, all aspects of monastery life are governed by the codes of discipline and ethics, as covered in detail in an extensive body of texts dealing with monastic regulations (*shingi*). These codes were originally imported from China, most notably the 1103 text, *Chanyuan qinggui* (Jpn., *Zen'en shingi*), which was derivative of early Buddhist Vinaya rules and supposedly based on a much shorter source text attributed to the Tang dynasty master Baizhang (749–814), known for his injunction, "a day without work is a day without food." The *Chanyuan qinggui* was adapted in Japanese texts and required for all monks by numerous thirteenth-century Rinzai and Sōtō leaders, including Eisai in 1195, Dōgen with several texts beginning in 1237, Lanxi in 1278, and Enni in 1280. The seminal source of Chan rules was also referenced in *shingi* texts by Sōtō master Keizan Jōkin (1264–1325) in 1325, Rinzai master Musō Sōseki (1275–1351) in 1339, and the *Ōbaku shingi* in 1672.

Whether or not it was literally followed, the spirit of "no work, no food" pervades the *shingi* collections, which include rules on the observance of precepts and ethical conduct, as well as on daily activities and annual ceremonies. These works depict a communal life of meditation, frugality, manual labor, and active debate between master and disciple, with regularly scheduled public assemblies and impromptu lectures and instruction. They also describe the functions of abbot, officers, stewards, rank-and-file monks, and novices, in addition to the management of kitchens, the dharma hall, and the larger monastery estate. The *shingi* rules provide requirements for the dharma transmission and awarding of seals (*inka*), as well as commissioning portraits of masters (*chinsō*) and selecting successors to the abbot. Topics such as quarreling and discipline, wandering, and the role of women are given careful consideration. Furthermore, the relation between a school's head temple (*honji*) and branch temples (*matsuji*) is delineated in both the *shingi* records and the laws of the civil society.

Zen monasteries in Japan follow the style of the "seven-hall compound" (*shichi-dō garan*) originally developed in China. The schema below bears anthropomorphic symbolism in that each of the seven buildings is associated with a part of the Buddha's body, so that entering the temple grounds is considered the equivalent of communing directly with the Buddha. The halls include on the main axis: the mountain gate or entrance associated with the groin, the Buddha hall for displaying icons and hosting banquets associated with the heart, and the dharma hall for sermons before the assembly associated with the head. The right leg is associated with the bathhouse and the right arm with the kitchen, whereas the left leg is associated with the latrine and the left arm with the monks' hall.

Four additional mainstays of the structure of Zen temples are: the abbot's quarters, known as the "ten-foot square hut" *(hōjō)*, following a passage in the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* in which an informed layman holds forth in a humble abode with the ability to outsmart bodhisattvas; the hall to commemorate the local earth deity (*dōjishin*) associated with protection of the temple grounds; a bell tower that houses a large Buddhist bronze bell rung at the New Year and other festivals, as well as purification ceremonies; and a reading room for the study of sūtras and related Buddhist and literary works. The abbot's quarters is usually located above the dharma hall, with the earth deity hall and bell tower to the right, and reading room to the left.

***Zazen* and *kōan* practice.** Life in Zen monasteries is centered on *zazen* meditation, which is conducted at least four times daily, as well as for longer, more intensive weeklong sessions known as *sesshin*, especially on special occasions such as Rohatsu (December 8 celebration of the anniversary of the Buddha's enlightenment). During these special occasions, meditation may be prolonged for up to twenty hours a day, leaving time only for minimal sleeping and eating. In addition to the traditional seated posture, there is a form of meditation known as *kinhin*, which is a walking exercise developed in Japanese Zen.

Another main ingredient of Zen practice is the use of *kōans* as both a literary device and a tool for contemplative training. Diverse styles of commentary were developed during the medieval period (discussed below), involving the use of prose, poetic, and sometimes diagrammatic remarks on the inner meaning of case narratives found in a handful of collections preserved from China, such as the *Wumen guan*, *Biyan lu* (Jpn., *Hekiganroku*), and *Zongrong lu* (Jpn., *Shōyōroku*). A new *kōan* exercise developed in Japan is the brief face-to-face interview of the disciple by the master. This is known in the Rinzai school as *dokusan* (literally "individual study"), which is similar to the Sōtō school practice of *nyūshitsu* (literally "entering the room [of the abbot]"). Both terms refer to private instruction in which the teacher evaluates and motivates the aspiring student to attain a higher level of understanding.

Furthermore, nearly all Japanese Zen monasteries and temples have performed a myriad of functions related to the spirits of the dead, including funerary rites that bestow a posthumous ordination name (*kaimyō*) to ensure that the deceased attains *nirvāṇa* (*nehan*) in the afterlife. Zen temples are also involved in memorial services, as well as the annual Obon or Ghost Festival, held either on July 15 or August 15 (the ceremony was originally held at the time of the full moon of the seventh month of the Chinese calendar). It is believed that during this period the spirits of deceased ancestors visit the living, and Buddhist rituals play an important purification function. Despite an apparent emphasis on uniformity and ritualism, several of the most prominent masters of the medieval period were known for a rugged individuality and eccentricity in their commitment to a life of poverty and reclusion, as well as the creative expression of self-awareness.

MEDIEVAL PERIOD (TO 1600). Beginning with the rise of the new political leadership of the Ashikaga government in 1338, which consolidated its power through alliances with Zen clergy and consciously emulated the Song way of propagating the religion, Zen became a dominant force affecting both the aristocratic elite in the urban centers and the rural population. Zen contributed to the fine, literary, applied, performing, and martial arts, ranging from calligraphy, poetry, gardening, tea ceremony, theater, and sword fighting, among numerous other forms, and also assimilated and domesticated many aspects of popular religion and folklore, including autochthonic gods, demons, and exorcistic rites. Furthermore, Zen began its involvement in constructing the *bushidō* code of honor and loyalty to the warlord by integrating and adapting traditional art of war strategies to monastic training. Nō theater, which is often based on plays dealing with ghosts of defeated samurai wrestling with demons in the afterlife, and which is written and performed with an uncannily studied contemplative simplicity, represents a realm of the arts where many of these cultural elements have converged.

The developments that took place in establishing Zen in the thirteenth century ensured that the Rinzai school would grow mainly in the Kyoto and Kamakura areas with the support of the shogunate, whereas the Sōtō school would spread in the northwestern region, as well as other outlying territories, based on proselytizing to an agrarian population. The two schools were separated by other factors in addition to geography and patterns of patronage and participation, yet there were underlying points of connection both institutionally and in terms of styles of religious practice disseminated through a network of temples known as the *Rinka* monasteries.

Five Mountains system. The Rinzai school formed the main hierarchical institutional structure known as the Five Mountains system, which was patterned after the Chinese Chan monastery system At its peak it claimed a network of over three hundred temples centered at Nanzenji in Kyoto under the protection of the military regime (*bakufu*). The third Ashikaga shogun, Yoshimitsu (1358–1408), established in 1386 a definitive ranking of five temples each in Kyoto (Tenryūji, Shōkokuji, Kenninji, Tōfukuji, Majuji) and Kamakura (Kenchōji, Engakuji, Jufukuji, Jōchiji, Jōmyōji). A head administrative monk (*sōroku*) was appointed superintendent or the supreme official ruling over the system.

The hallmark of the Five Mountains system was the creation of multiple artistic forms referred to collectively as *Gozan bunka*, with special emphasis on literature, especially *kanbun* poetry, known as the tradition of *Gozan bungaku. Gozan* poetry, which usually consists of four-line verses containing seven characters (*kanji*) in each line, deals with Buddhist doctrines and practice, as well as themes that are more general and are used to articulate indirectly an understanding of Zen awareness. One of the main topoi is the contemplation of nature as perceived in secluded landscapes or mountain retreats, as in the following verse by one of the luminaries of the movement, Musō Sōseki (1275–1351):

> Autumn's colors dropping from branches in masses of falling leaves, Cold clouds bringing rain into the crannies of the mountains: Everyone was born with the same sort of eyes—Why do *mine* keep seeing things as Zen *kōans*? (Pollack, 1985, p. 37).

Musō, founder of Tenryūji temple in Kyoto, was immensely successful and popular with all factions as an abbot who gained the attention of Emperor Hanazono and political leaders, monks in training, and the general populace. His book *Muchū mondō* (Dialogues in a dream) explains Zen in everyday language in response to questions raised by the warrior Ashikaga Tadayoshi. He was said to have left ten thousand followers at the time of his death. However, Musō was also criticized by rivals such as Daitokuji master Daitō for not rising above a doctrinal understanding of Zen—that is, for failing to embody a genuinely creative Zen approach that was evident in some of the leading Rinka temple masters.

Rinka monasteries. In addition to the Five Mountains temples of the Rinzai school, which were considered the leading rank in the Zen network, another series of temples that included representatives from both the Rinzai and Sōtō schools was known as *Rinka* or *Sanrin* temples; both designations refer to "forests" (*rin*) of Zen monks. The term, which implies the legions of monasteries in the countryside or hinterlands that were outside, and probably resentful of, the domain of the shogun, is perhaps applied most accurately to Eiheiji and other Sōtō temples. But the term is at least in part a misnomer because this group also included prominent Rinzai temples in Kyoto that enjoyed imperial patronage, especially Daitokuji of the Daiō-Daitō line and Myōshinji temple. Myōshinji was impressively developed by Daitō's disciple, Kanzan Egen (1277–1360), and eventually it broke off to become an independent head temple that surpassed Daitokuji in the size and scope of its network.

Whereas the Five Mountains temples were known for their poetry, one of the main features of the Rinka temples was the formation of a curriculum of *kōan* studies that took on many different dimensions. Daitō is particularly notable for writing two commentaries on the *Biyan lu* collection of 100 *kōan* cases by using the style of capping phrases (*jakugo*), originally developed by Chinese Chan commentators as ironic remarks that illuminate each line of the case narrative. In Sōtō Zen, there were various styles of commentary known as *shōmono*, which included formal/public and informal/private styles. One of the main examples of *shōmono* literature was the subgenre of *kirigami* (literally "strips of paper") commentaries, in which a master would write down quickly an esoteric comment, usually accompanied by a drawing or illustration, that was handed to a disciple as a training tool or an emblem of attaining transmission. Given the transitory quality and secretive nature of this style, the *kirigami* were left uncollected and were lost until recent scholarship rediscovered and interpreted numerous examples.

A prominent example of medieval Zen art is the famed rock garden at Ryōanji temple in Kyoto, which was perhaps designed by the painter Sōami (1472–1525). A classic of the *kare-sansui* (dry mountains-rivers) style that contains only rocks and sand constructed in patterns but no living form except moss, the Ryōanji garden is surrounded by earthen walls in three directions and faced with the corridor of the *hōjō* (abbot's quarters) building. In the rectangular space measuring thirty meters from east to west and ten meters from north to south, fifteen rocks of various sizes are arranged on white sand in five groups, each comprising five, two, three, two, and three rocks. The most popular explanation of this garden is that the rocks represent a mother tiger and her cubs, swimming in the river of the white sand toward a fearful dragon. The asymmetric composition achieves a certain balance and harmony that creates energy and rhythm in the midst of subtlety and simplicity.

Another important development of the Rinka period was the way creative Rinzai masters sought to recapture the iconoclasm and eccentricity of early Chinese Chan figures, as epitomized by Ikkyū (1394–1481), who was said to have destroyed his transmission seal for being an empty symbol devoid of significance and to have refused to award such a symbol to any of his disciples. Ikkyū became an acolyte at the age of five and excelled at Chinese poetry and calligraphy as well as painting. Throughout his life he railed against the corruption of priests and the meaningless formalities of Zen monastic life, yet he succeeded to the abbacy of Daitokuji and also won widespread acceptance by the common folk for his inventiveness and independence.

One of Ikkyū's noted calligraphies contains the saying, "Entering the realm of Buddha is easy, entering the realm of the demon [*ma*] is difficult." On one level, this expression, along with Ikkyū's lifestyle, which included the celebration of visits to brothels and the "red thread" of passion, could be interpreted as endorsing the kind of antinomianism that was consistently rejected by Zen monastic leaders. However, another implication of the saying is that, for Ikkyū, asserting the priority of purity while occupying a state of transcendence is a relatively simple task that is not necessarily as demanding as maintaining a genuinely authentic state of mind while being tempted and tested in the midst of impurity. An underlying theme is that Buddha and demon are not distinct, but symbolize interior forces of wisdom and delusion that are inextricably and dialectically linked as complementary opposites embraced by a deeper level of nondual awareness.

Sōtō school assimilationism. Within the Sōtō school, the fourth generation patriarch Keizan maintained Dōgen's twin emphasis on continuing a commitment to rigorous meditation and adhering to monastic regulations, but he also assimilated many elements of Tendai esotericism, as well as folklore religiosity in his approach to Zen. Before joining Sōtō, Keizan had been a follower of the remnants of the Daruma school. Through Keizan's efforts, Sōtō Zen spread primarily northward from Echizen to the Noto peninsula, where Sōjiji temple was established. Long a rival with Eiheiji for the designation of the school's head temple—Eiheiji enjoyed the prestige of the founder's legacy, but Keizan's temple could claim more than nine times as many branch sites—Sōjiji was moved at the end of the nineteenth century. It was relocated in a neighborhood outside Yokohama in the Kanto region, which had become over the centuries a major center of Sōtō school activity.

A key to the success of this lineage was Keizan's evangelical disciple Gasan Jōseki (1275–1365), who was abbot of Sōjiji for forty years. Along with his followers, such as Tsūgen Jakurei (1322–1391), Gasan helped the rapid spread of Sōtō Zen in the countryside areas by taking over many abandoned Tendai and Shingon temples and assimilating folklore divinities, which were called upon to protect the welfare of the sacred sites. While greatly concerned with construction projects for bridges, dams, and irrigation canals to help win popular support, Gasan was also a scholastic monk who promulgated the dialectical doctrine of the "five ranks" *(go-i)* rooted in Chinese texts.

One of the legacies of the popularization campaign is that some of the most prominent Sōtō temples are associated with shamanistic and esoteric practices. They are best known to their congregations of lay followers for espousing a syncretic approach to attaining worldly benefits (*genze riyaku*), such as prosperity, fertility, or safety during travels, rather than for traditional Zen practices of meditation and monastic discipline. A prime example is Saijōji temple near the town of Odawara, which was founded by Ryōan Emyō (1337–1411), who was said to have transformed into a winged *tengu* (the mountain goblin of Japanese lore) to enhance his powers for protection of the temple grounds.

Another such example is Myōgonji temple in the town of Toyokawa in Aichi prefecture, anomalously affiliated with Eiheiji rather than Sōjiji, which is also called Toyakawa Inari because the main icons on the compound are not images of Buddha but rather the fox deity (Inari), originally a Shintō fertility symbol that became a force spiritually protecting the Buddhist teachings. Followers who flood these prayer temples (*kitō jiin*) for New Year's Day or other annual festivals may not even be aware that rituals and chants are being performed by monks trained at head temples or monasteries, where the primary training is in meditation with the aim of overcoming worldly attachments.

One of the features of medieval Sōtō Zen was the role played by female monastics at several nunneries who sought to keep alive the integrity of the tradition of clerical discipline espoused by Dōgen, and who also developed unique rituals for healing and purification. It is unclear, however, whether and to what extent Dōgen himself endorsed the equality of women, as there are several seemingly contradictory passages in his writings on this topic.

EARLY MODERN PERIOD (1600–1868). Zen Buddhism during the Tokugawa era was affected by several trends that influenced all Buddhist schools, including the rise of Confucianism and the return to prominence of Shintō under the banner of National Learning (*kokugaku*) thought. Both ideologies were taught at academies that helped support the rule of the shogunate. The *danka* (loosely "parish") system in which all families were assigned to a Buddhist temple strengthened the numbers of Buddhist affiliates but tended to weaken the spirituality and integrity of Zen monastic life. It has long been said that Zen apparently entered a prolonged period of decline (*daraku*), but the early modern period was actually characterized by many important luminary figures and elements of revitalization.

Ōbaku school. One of the new developments was the formation of a third movement, the Ōbaku school, which was based on the teachings of Chan masters of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). The reintroduction of Chinese religion and culture was an anomalous event, since the Tokugawa regime restricted all foreign travel, but Yinyuan and his followers were able to enter Japan after receiving an invitation from Sōfukuji in Kyushu and exert great influence. This school emphasizes the preservation of the sūtras, as well as the combination of *zazen* meditation with Pure Land, other-power (*tariki*) practices for the veneration of Amida (Skt., Amitābha) Buddha, and the recitation of the *nembutsu* chant, which is generally thought to stand in contrast with the Zen self-power (*jiriki*) approach.

Rinzai monks. The Rinzai school of this period featured several prominent monks, including Takuan Sōhō (1573–1645), whose writings synthesize Zen principles of mental cultivation and swordsmanship. This is a form of training in which a warrior must be able to respond to a rival or threat spontaneously and with an unclouded and imperturbable mind that can be attained through meditation. According to Takuan, controlling the battleground and the sense of winning and losing is a matter of mastering the impulses of the mind and casting off fetters and delusions. While Takuan found the Zen mind in the highly specialized world of the warrior, another key monk of the day, Bankei Yōtaku (1622–1693), stressed the role of the mind manifested in ordinary activity, such as walking, standing, sitting, and lying down, which are all exemplary of the imperishable "unborn" Zen state of awareness.

The most important monk of the Tokugawa era was Hakuin Ekaku (1686–1768), who single-handedly reformed Rinzai school practice in a way that has persisted for over three centuries. Hakuin was known for both his appropriation of the strict training style of the Chinese masters of the Tang and Song periods and his appeal to the common folk, who found him a charismatic spiritual leader. Hakuin perfected a new system of *kōan* study by cataloging and rating the challenging quality of several hundred cases available in the primary collections, as well as creating one of the most famous riddles, "We know the sound of two hands clapping, what is the sound of one hand?" Hakuin gave form to a training method that integrates the techniques of practice sessions (*sesshin*) and master-disciple pedagogy (*dokusan*), along with public sermons *(teishō)* and capping phrase (*jakugo*) commentary provided by the master.

Hakuin also emphasized the role of intense mystical experience in developing Zen awareness. The experience begins with the Great Doubt, in which all perceptions are called into question and stripped away of conventional attitudes. The Great Doubt may seem to lead to a nihilistic state of perpetual anxiety, and this condition is identified by Hakuin as the Zen Sickness, which can affect enlightened and unenlightened alike. However, the goal of the spiritual path is to move beyond debilitating anxiety and attain a more advanced level of insight through experiences that are sudden and dramatic. Hakuin had several instances of subitaneous awakening; for example, it is recorded in his biography, "One night, he sat up in complete absorption until dawn. Suddenly, he heard the bell from a far off temple. As soon as this distant sound entered his ears, it penetrated to the core and made all perceptions of the external world fall away. It was like the ringing of a magnificent bell resounding in his ears."

Sōtō scholasticism. The Sōtō school underwent a significant revival of scholastic studies, producing many new editions and interpretations of the seminal works by and about Dōgen's life and thought. Manzan Dōhaku (1636–1714) was the originator of this movement and was responsible for acquiring a new rule of transmission and succession for the post of temple superior from the shogun government. Tenkei Denson (1648–1735) developed a novel, if idiosyncratic, view of Dōgen's *Shōbōgenzō* by favoring the controversial 60-fascicle edition, and Menzan Zuihō (1683–1769) was the premier cataloger and revisionist of the writings and biographies of Dōgen. The Sōtō school also published a comprehensive 95-fascicle edition of the *Shōbōgenzō* in 1690, which was reissued in the early nineteenth century, although the authenticity of this version has been questioned by modern scholars.

The Tokugawa era also saw several highly creative Zen spirits, including the lay practitioner and humanist thinker Suzuki Shōsan (1579–1655), who practiced an unorthodox style of meditation that owed to both samurai culture and Buddhist chanting rituals; the great *haiku* poet Bashō (1644–1694), who followed a Zen lifestyle as a lay disciple that influenced the inspiration and manner of his verse; and Ryōkan (1758–1831), a Sōtō monk affectionately called the Great Fool (Daigu) for the childlike innocence expressed in deceptively simple poems that celebrated the Zen values of poverty and nonattachment. Like other early modern Zen leaders who paid obeisance to Chan and early medieval Zen heroes and icons, Ryōkan expressed his gratitude for Dōgen in some of his poetry.

MODERN PERIOD (1868–PRESENT). Zen Buddhism in the Meiji era (1868–1912) was greatly affected by the response of Japanese society to modernization and westernization that resulted in the emerging of a nationalistic, pro-Shintō stance and the suppression or modification of traditional Buddhist institutions in several campaigns. These included the persecution of *haibustu kishaku*, which led to the destruction of Buddhist iconography, the new regulations of *shinbutsu bunri*, or the separation of Buddhist temples from Shintō shrines that had long been amalgamated; and the legislation of *nikujiki saitai*, forcing marriages and meat-eating upon Buddhist clergy and nearly ending centuries of celibacy and pacifism.

Reactions to modernity. One reaction to the disturbing trends was embodied by Ōtori Sessō (1814–1904), a Sōtō monk who worked for the Ministry of Doctrine to modernize Buddhism and eliminate the dissonance between traditional monasticism and secularized, industrialized society. Ōtori was also active in creating linkages between monks and laypersons, and in 1891, the Sōtō sect produced an abbreviated version of Dōgen's *Shōbōgenzō* as a source of guidance for lay practitioners. This very short text, the *Shushōgi*, does not even mention the need for *zazen* but instead emphasizes a life of gratitude and penitence. Several lay or *kyōdan* organizations became established as autonomous movements.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Zen had begun to emerge out of the cocoon of the Asia/Pacific cultural context to become a religious phenomenon that was spreading worldwide. Several factors influenced this development. One factor was that immigrant communities in Hawaiʻi, the American West Coast, and Brazil were serviced by missionaries and international outreach components of Zen temple institutions, especially for funerals and memorials.

Another factor was that non-Japanese were introduced to and became fascinated with the philosophy and practice of Zen. A key turning point was the 1893 World Parliament of Religions in Chicago, an interreligious congress that was attended by the widely traveled Shaku Sōen (1859–1919), a disciple of the eminent Rinzai monk, Imakita Kōsen (1816–1892), who was abbot of Engakuji temple in Kamakura. The parliament was also attended by the young D. T. Suzuki (1870–1966), who served as Sōen's interpreter. Suzuki went on to stay for long periods in the United States and have a lengthy career as the main exponent of Zen Buddhism in the West. He published dozens of books in English on various dimensions of Zen in relation to Japanese culture as seen from comparative theoretical perspectives. He also greatly influenced the famous 1956 essay by Alan Watts (1915–1973) on different styles of the appropriation of Zen practice in the West, "Beat Zen, Square Zen, and Zen." Famous American Beat poets were indebted to Suzuki, whose role was inherited by Masao Abe (b. 1915), who specialized in interfaith dialogue involving various Western religious traditions.

In the post–World War II period, historical accounts of Chan and Zen were significantly improved through the scholarship of Yanagida Seizan (b. 1922), a professor of Kyoto University, who was associated with scholars at Komazawa University in Tokyo, which specialized in Sōtō studies. Yanagida established an institute for international studies of Zen, as well as mentoring a number of influential Western scholars.

In addition to the efforts of Suzuki, Yanagida, and Abe, among others the spread of international interest in Zen was enhanced by the comparative philosophy of the Kyoto school led by Nishida Kitarō (1870–1945) and his main follower, Nishitani Keiji (1900–1990). Their works explicating the notion of "absolute nothingness" (*zettai mu*) as the key to understanding the Zen experience of enlightenment have been analyzed in relation to leading Western philosophers from ancient to modern times. The significance of Zen thought is now frequently examined in conjunction with the main trends of Western thought.

SOCIAL CRITICISMS OF ZEN. At the same time, since the 1970s a social criticism of Zen's role in relation to political and cultural affairs has been taken up by commentators in Japan and the West. Ichikawa Hakugen (1902–1986) was a Rinzai monk writing during the Vietnam War era. Ichikawa reflected on the role of Japan as an aggressor against China in World War II and argued that leaders of Zen, including Kyoto school thinkers who treated the theme of national polity in their works during the 1930s, when they were under considerable political pressure, needed to accept responsibility for contributing to prewar nationalism and imperialism. A movement that began within the Sōtō school in 1985 known as Critical Buddhism (*Hihan Bukkyō*) has demanded that Zen temples reform the practice of distributing posthumous ordination names because it discriminates against the outcaste (*burakumin*) community. In a related development, Sōtō nuns have criticized the misogynist aspect of Zen rules and customs as part of a broader gender criticism of Japanese Buddhism.

A wave of books published in the West beginning in the 1990s, including Brian Victoria's *Zen at War* (1997), James W. Heisig and John C. Maraldo's *Rude Awakenings* (1995), Jamie Hubbard and Paul L. Swanson's *Pruning the Bodhi Tree* (1997), Christopher Ives's *Zen Awakening and Society* (1992), and Bernard Faure's *Chan Insights and Oversights* (1993), has called attention to apparent limitations in the Zen view of transcendence. In striving to rise above the pettiness of worldly strife and conflict, Zen may overlook—and therefore implicitly sanction—problematic issues in everyday society. Some elements of this critique were anticipated in the famous novel *Temple of the Golden Pavilion* (*Kinkakuji*, 1956) by Yukio Mishima (1925–1970), which is based on the true story of an acolyte who burned down the most elegant temple in Kyoto. In that sense, the charge of antinomianism leveled at the fledgling Zen movements at the end of the twelfth century has resurfaced in a contemporary context.

SEE ALSO Buddhism, articles on Buddhism in Japan, Buddhism in the West; Bushidō; Dōgen; Eisai; Gozan Zen; Ikkyū Sōjun; Musō Sōseki; Suzuki, D. T.

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STEVEN HEINE (2005)

ZEUS, the son of Kronos and Rhea, is the main divinity of the Greek pantheon. Besides Hestia, he is the only god in the Greek pantheon with an undisputed Indo-European provenance, to judge from his name: it derives from the root **diéu-* (day; Latin *dies*, meaning “[clear] sky”) and has close parallels in the Latin *Iu-piter* or the Ancient Indian (*Ṛgveda*) *Dyaus* (*pitar*). The Homeric and later epithet *pater* (father) closely corresponds to the Latin or early Indian way his name is expanded: his mythical and religious role as father must be already Indo-European. Despite the frequent Homeric formula "Zeus, father of men and gods," however, Zeus is father not in a theogonical sense, but, as the Homeric variant Zeus *ánax* (Lord Zeus) shows, in the sense of having the power of a father in a strict patriarchal system. This explains why all the Olympian gods are either his siblings (Poseidon, Hera, Demeter) or his children by different mothers (Athena, Apollo, Artemis, Hermes, Dionysos, Aphrodite, Ares, Hephaistos). This role—which implies unrestricted power over all members of the family, but also its check through father-like benignity—continues as the fundamental role of Zeus throughout antiquity and finds its expression in the standard iconography of Zeus as a bearded and powerful middle-aged man.

MAIN FUNCTIONS. In Greece, however, the Indo-European role of Zeus as the god of the bright sky is transformed into the role of Zeus as the weather god, whose paramount place of worship is a mountaintop; cult worship in such a peak sanctuary is specific to him. Among the many mountains connected with Zeus, many are reflected only in an epithet that does not necessarily imply the existence of a peak sanctuary, since few such sanctuaries are excavated. Those attested in literature are mainly connected with rain rituals (Zeus Hyetios or Ombrios), although the sanctuary on the Arcadian Mount Lykaion had a much wider function: it preserves traces of earlier initiatory rituals, and it turned into the federal sanctuary of all Arcadians, just as the sanctuary of Jupiter Latiaris on the top of the Mons Sacer, the "Sacred Mountain," was the federal sanctuary of the cities of archaic Latium. As Zeus "the Gatherer of Clouds" (*nephelêgeretas*, a common Homeric epithet), he was generally believed to cause rain, both in serious expressions ("Zeus rains") and in the comic parody of Aristophanes (*Clouds* 373). With the god of clouds comes the god of thunder (*hupsibremétês,* or "He Who Thunders High Up") and of lightning (*terpsikéraunos,* or "He Who Enjoys Lightning"). A spot struck by lightning and thus touched by the god is inaccessible for humans (*ábaton*) and often sacred to Zeus Kataibates ("He Who Comes Down"). As the Master of Lightning, Zeus has the Cyclopes at his command, the divine blacksmiths who fabricate for him the lightning as his main weapon. As the Master of Tempest, he also is supposed to give signs to mortals through thunder and lightning, and to strike evildoers, as he struck the giants and the monstrous Typhon at the beginning of his reign.

This entire complex finds expression in the myth that Zeus has his (palatial) home on Mount Olympus, together with all the gods of his household. Olympus had been transformed from a real mountain into a mythical place even before Homeric poetry. Homer described it as a place that "neither winds assail nor rains drench nor snow covers, but cloudless clarity and brilliant light surround it" (*Odyssey* 6.43). The myth, in turn, generated cult on one of the several peaks of the mountain (Hagios Antonios) that is archaeologically attested for the Classical period.

But for the early archaic Greeks, and conceivably for the Mycenaeans, Zeus was a much more fundamental divinity. According to the succession myth in the Hesiodeic *Theogony*, Zeus deposed his father Kronos—who in turn had deposed and castrated his father Uranus, and who had swallowed all his children to prevent them from deposing him. Baby Zeus escaped only because his mother Rhea fed Kronos a swaddled stone in place of the infant. After his accession to power, Zeus fought the giants and the monster Typhon who attacked his reign, and he disposed the actual order of things by attributing to each divinity his or her respective sphere: to his brothers Poseidon and Hades/Plouton, he allotted two-thirds of the cosmos—to Poseidon the sea, and to Hades the netherworld; to his sisters Hera (who was also his wife) and Demeter and to his many divine children he gave their respective domains in the world of the humans (mankind had been preexistent to Zeus's reign). The main outline of this myth is known also in the Homeric poems that either precede or follow Hesiod's *Theogony* closely; thus, early Greek narrative poetry, and through it, early Greek society, shared this fundamental myth. It makes Zeus the ruler ("king": *anax* or, after Homer, *basileus*) over both the other gods (whom he overrules by sheer force, if necessary) and the world of man: the order of things as they are now is the order of Zeus.

Closely related succession myths are attested from Hittite Anatolia and from Mesopotamia. In Hittite mythology, the succession passed through Anu (Sky), who was deposed and castrated by Kumarbi, finally to Teshub, the storm god, who corresponds to Zeus; other myths tell of the attacks of Kumarbi and his followers on Teshub's reign, which corresponds to the Greek myths of how young Zeus had to defend his rule against Typhon and the Titans. Myths from Mesopotamia present a similar, though more varied structure; the Babylonian *Enuma elish* moves from a primeval pair, Apsu and Tiamat, to the reign of Marduk, the city god of Babylon and in many respects a Zeus-like figure. A later version of the Typhoeus myth (preserved in Apollodorus's *Bibliotheke* 1.6.3) locates part of it on Syrian Mount Kasion (Phoen., Sapon), the seat of a peak cult of Baal Saphon, who the Greeks named Zeus Kasios; Baal shares traits also with Marduk. The Greek concept of Zeus the kingly ruler of the present world is as unthinkable without Oriental influence as is the figure of Zeus the Master of Storms.

In many instances, human affairs follow the plan of Zeus (for example, the Trojan War, or the return of Odysseus in Homeric poetry), despite apparent setbacks. He might help to bring things to perfection, if asked in a prayer to do so (Zeus Teleios, "He Who Perfects"), and he might signal his will, either asked for or not, in dreams, augural signs, or thunder and lightning, but also but by provoking ominous human utterances (*pheme*). In cult, this function is expressed in rare epithets such as Phanter (He Who Signals), Terastios (He of the Omina), and Phemios or Kledonios (He Who Gives Oracular Sayings).

CULTS. Zeus has few major polis festivals, and only a few month names attest an important early festival of Zeus: the

Bronze Age month Diwos (attested in Knossos on Crete) to which the Macedonian, Aetolian, and Thessalian month name Dios corresponds; the Attic month Maimakterion which derives from the minor festival of a rather shadowy Zeus Maimaktes (presumably a storm god); the Cretan month [V]elchanios which belongs to a typically Cretan (Zeus) Velchanos who perhaps originally was an independent storm god. Of some interest among city festivals are also the sacrifice of a bull of Zeus Polieus in Kos and the festival of Zeus Sosipolis in Magnesia on the Maeander, both attested by sacrificial prescriptions preserved by Hellenistic inscriptions; these texts show the pomp with which Hellenistic cities celebrated the god whose cult expressed their identity and their hopes for the future. In both cases, the texts emphasize the choice and importance of the sacrificial animal as the center of Zeus's cult.

The Diasia, "the greatest Athenian festival of Zeus" (Thucydides 1.126.6), had a much less auspicious character. The festival was celebrated in honor of Zeus Meilichios, who took the form of a huge bearded snake. The cult place was outside the town, and the cult contained either animal sacrifices or bloodless cakes; sacrificial animals were entirely burnt. This meant that the festival did not culminate in a common banquet that released the tension of the sacrifice. Instead, there is evidence of common meals in small family circles and of presents given to the children—in this phase of the ritual, the community has disintegrated and nuclear families have become highly visible. Such a mood fits the date of the festival, Anthesterion 23 (February/March); the main event of the month had been the Anthesteria, which had a similar, but even more marked character of uncanny disintegration: on its first day, every participant was drinking, and ghosts were roaming the city. Phenomenologically, both festivals belong to a New Year-like transition at the turn from winter to spring.

Thus, although Zeus's polis festivals were not very widespread, he was from early times prominent as a Panhellenic deity who transcends the single polis (as he is the only Olympic divinity who, in the Homeric poems, sides with neither side in the war). The *Iliad* mentions the oracular sanctuary of Dodona in northwestern Greece that was dedicated to Zeus Naios, and its strange, barefoot priests who slept on the ground (*Iliad* 16.233–5, *Odyssey* 19.296–301); later, priestesses derived the oracles from the sound of a holy oak, the flight of doves, and the sound of a bronze basin. Questions from and answers to the many private worshipers were written on lead tablets that are preserved in considerable number. But Zeus's main Greek sanctuary was in Olympia, in the southwestern Peloponnese, with its games that were held every four years. The games began with an impressive sacrifice to Zeus Olympios on an ash altar whose growing height made it an impressive sight; a Panhellenic contest followed whose main events were a foot race and a chariot race. Their foundation (in the year 776 BCE, according to tradition) marked the end of the isolation of the Dark Age communities; the common festival took place at a spot well-removed from a single polis and was under the protection of a superior god. The analysis of the sacrifices points to an origin in initiation rituals of young warriors. The sanctuary contained an archaic temple of Hera and a large temple of Zeus, built in the 460s BCE; its cult state, an enthroned Zeus, was a major work of the Athenian sculptor Phidias and evoked wonder and admiration throughout antiquity.

Inside the polis, Zeus has his own specific province and cares for the smaller units whose lawful unification forms the polis. His own domain is the agora: as Zeus Agoraios, he presides over the just political dealings of the community; in this function, he can be counted among the main divinities of a city, including Hestia Prytaneia and Athena Poliouchos, or Polias. On the level of smaller units, he is one of the patrons of phratries (Zeus Phratrios or Zeus Patr[o]ios), sometimes together with Athena Phratria or Patr[o]ia (see Plato, *Euthydemus* 302d); or of clans (Zeus Patr[o]ios). In this function, he also protects the single households. As Zeus Herkeios (He in the Yard), he receives sacrifices on an altar in the courtyard, which had to be in every Athenian family home (Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens* 55); as Zeus Ephestios (He on the Hearth), sacrifices were offered on the hearth of a house.

There are functions of Zeus on the level of the family that easily are extended both to individuals and to the polis. Since property is indispensable for the constitution of a household, Zeus is also Zeus Ktesios, the protector of property. As such, he receives cults from families, from cities, and from individuals. In many places, Zeus Ktesios has the appearance of a snake—property is bound to the ground, at least in the still-agrarian conception of ancient Greece, and its protectors belong to the earth (see Ploutos ["Riches"], whose mother is Demeter, and Plouton ["The Rich One"] one of the many names of the god of the netherworld). The same holds true for Zeus Meilichios (The Gentle One). On the level of the individual, Xenophon attests Zeus Meilichios's efficiency in providing funds (*Anabasis* 7.8.1), and in many communities, Zeus Melichios protects families or clans. In Athens he receives the polis festival of the Diasia; there and elsewhere, he also has the form of a snake. And finally, one might add Zeus Philios, protector of friendship between individuals (as among an entire polis).

The Zeus cults of Crete fit only partially into this picture. Myth places both his birth and his grave in Crete: according to Hesiod, in order to save him from Kronos, Rhea gave birth to Zeus, then entrusted the baby to Gaia, who hid it in a cave near Lyktos, on Mount Aigaion (Hesiod, *Theogony* 468ff.). Later authors replaced Gaia by the Kouretes—armed demons, whose noisy dance kept Kronos away—and name other mountains, usually Mount Ida or Mount Dikte. This complex of myths reflects cult in caves that partly go back to Minoan times, and armed dances by young Cretan warriors, like those attested in the famous hymn for Zeus from Palaikastro (sanctuary of Zeus Diktaios), which belong in the context of initiatory rituals of young warriors; in the actual oaths of Cretan ephebes, Zeus plays an important role. In this function, Zeus exceptionally can be young: the Palaikastro hymn calls him *koûros* (young man); the statue in the sanctuary of Zeus Diktaios was beardless, and coins from Knossos show a beardless (Zeus) Welchanos. There certainly are Minoan (and presumably Mycenaean) elements present in the complex, but it would be wrong to separate Cretan Zeus too radically from the rest of the Greek evidence; both the cults of Mount Lykaios and of Olympia contain initiatory features.

THEOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS. In Homer's epics (much more than in actual cult), Zeus had reached a nearly overpowering position. During the Classical and Hellenistic ages, religious thinkers developed this into a sort of "Zeus monotheism." By the time of Aeschylus (525–456 BCE), Zeus had begun to move away from simple human knowledge ("Zeus, whoever you are . . . ," *Agamemnon* 160) to a nearly universal function ("Zeus is ether, Zeus is earth, Zeus is sky, Zeus is everything and more than that," *Fragment* 105); and Sophocles (c. 496–406 BCE) sees Zeus's hand in all human affairs ("Nothing of this which would not be Zeus," *Women of Trachis* 1278). The main document of this monotheism is the hymn to Zeus by the Stoic philosopher Kleanthes (d. 232/231 BCE), where Zeus, mythical image of the Stoic logos, becomes the commander over the entire cosmos ("no deed is done on earth . . . without your office, nor in the divine ethereal vault of heaven, nor at sea") and its "universal law," while at the same time he is the guarantor of goodness and benign protector of man ("protect mankind from its pitiful incompetence"). This marks the high point of a development—other gods, though briefly mentioned, become insignificant beside universal Zeus.

SEE ALSO Greek Religion; Hades; Hera.

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FRITZ GRAF (2005)

ZHANG DAOLING, semilegendary figure of the second century CE, depicted in hagiographies as a master of long life (*changsheng*) who put his disciples to tests, vanquished demons, and prepared the elixir of immortality. He is said to have received in 142 CE a revelation from Taishang Laojun the deified Laozi, who bestowed on him the title of Celestial Master (*tianshi*). The god gave him the "Doctrine of the Orthodox One [Resting on] the Authority of the Alliance" (*zhengyi mengwei dao*), revealing that the demoniac Six Heavens had been abolished and their reign replaced by a golden age governed by the Three Heavens. The people were to honor no gods other than those of the Alliance, the masters were to eschew all payment, and blood sacrifices were to be banished.

Subsequently, Zhang Daoling gathered together many disciples in Sichuan and launched a campaign for the reform of the religious practices of a people described as having lapsed into degeneracy. He started a health cult and wrote several books; however, his works are now lost and consequently nearly nothing is known about his doctrines. He is said to have established the basis of a theocratic state divided into twenty-four parishes corresponding to the twenty-four breaths of the year (one every fifteen days). This was later altered to twenty-eight, to correspond to the divisions of the Chinese zodiac. The followers of the sect were obliged to pay a tax of five pecks of rice, whence came the description of the sect as the Way of Five Pecks of Rice (Wudoumi Dao).

Zhang Daoling is considered the founder of the Daoist sect of the Celestial Masters (Tianshi Dao). His eldest son, Zhang Heng, succeeded him, and Zhang Heng in turn was succeeded by his son, Zhang Lu. Under Zhang Lu's leadership the movement rose in rebellion against the Han. The Way of the Celestial Masters was the first organized Daoist movement and has continued down to the present day in Taiwan through a succession of Daoist masters who are allegedly lineal descendants of Zhang Daoling. Many texts in the *Daozang* (the Daoist canon) derive from this religious movement, whose tendency is liturgical, demonological, and more or less shamanistic.

SEE ALSO Daoism, overview article and article on The Daoist Religious Community; Laozi.

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ISABELLE ROBINET (1987)

ZHANG JUE (d. 184 CE), founder of the Yellow Turban sect. Zhang Jue was heir to the doctrines of Yu Ji, a sorcerer and healer who preached and practiced in Shandong and who was probably the author of the *Taiping qingling shu* (Book of Great Peace, or Book of Great Equality), a text now lost. Having received a revelation that the "blue heaven" of the Han dynasty was to be replaced by a "yellow heaven" (yellow is the color of the Center) in the first (*jiazi*) year of the next new cycle of sixty years (i.e., 184 CE), around the year 175 Zhang Jue dispatched eight apostles to convert the people of the central and eastern provinces of China. They preached doctrines closely related to those of the Five Pecks of Rice sect in Sichuan. Like the leader of the latter sect, Zhang Lu, Zhang Jue healed the sick by group confession (sins were believed to be the cause of sickness), organized collective worship under a quasi-military church hierarchy, and used sexual techniques to achieve sanctity.

Zhang Jue's followers were called Yellow Turbans (Huangjin) from the yellow kerchiefs they wore on their heads in token of their expectation of the "yellow heaven." They worshiped Huang-Lao and were intent on inaugurating a golden age—the age of Great Peace—and a utopian state based on egalitarian ideas, as opposed to the Confucian ideas of social hierarchy. They regularly retired to oratories ("pure chambers," *jingshi*) where they healed the sick by confession of sins and recitation of sacred scriptures. The followers of the sect were governed by moral codes and divided into thirty-six *fang* (a word that means both "regions" and "magic recipes"), local communities headed by "generals." The "three Zhangs," Zhang Jue and his two brothers, Liang and Bao, were respectively generals of Heaven, Earth, and Man, symbolizing their embodiment of the all-embracing triad.

Over a ten-year period, Zhang Jue enjoyed great success. He had several hundred thousand followers in eight provinces by the time he initiated the Yellow Turban rebellion in 184. Although Zhang Jue and his brothers were caught and executed in the same year, they left behind a great number of communities of believers, and as late as 205 the Yellow Turbans still posed a military problem for the government. The Yellow Turban uprisings in eastern and northern China, taken together with Zhang Lu's uprisings in the west, weakened the Han dynasty and contributed to its fall.

SEE ALSO Daoism, overview article and article on The Daoist Religious Community; Millenarianism, article on Chinese Millenarian Movements; Taiping; Zhang Lu.

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ZHANG LU (fl. 184–220), grandson of Zhang Daoling, founder of the sect of the Celestial Masters, and the sect's third Celestial Master. In 184 CE Zhang Lu led the sect in rebellion against the Han dynasty and established an independent state in Hanzhong, in the west, which he governed for thirty years. In 215 he surrendered to the Han general Cao Cao and was rewarded with honors that included a fiefdom. After the founding of the Wei dynasty in 220 by Cao Cao's son, Zhang Lu lived some years at the Wei court. It may be said that both the existence of the sect as an organized church and its official recognition by the government were due to his efforts. The Celestial Masters sect became the first institutionalized Daoist movement, distinguished on this point from the other popular beliefs and messianic movements of the time, and especially from the Daoist seekers after long life, who were unorganized and scattered. The movement of the Celestial Masters spread to North China by the end of the third century and, by the end of the fourth century, to all of China. It counted among its adherents many powerful families.

The church was divided into twenty-four dioceses (later twenty-eight), corresponding to the twenty-four breaths of the year (one every fifteen days) and, later, to the twenty-eight divisions of the Chinese zodiac. The hierarchy of the church and its way of addressing the powers on high were modeled on imperial and bureaucratic usages. The church set up wayside inns all over the state where food and shelter were available to travelers at no charge. Each household of followers contributed a tax of five pecks of rice, whence the name of the sect, the Way of Five Pecks of Rice (Wudoumi Dao).

The focal center of each diocese was the oratory, presided over by "libationers" (*jijiu*), a married hereditary priesthood. These priests mediated between the faithful and the divine and knew as well how to ward off demons. The petitions of the faithful, transmitted by the rising smoke of incense and by the spirits exteriorized from the priest's body, were borne to the Three Heavens. Letters could be sent to the Three Officials of Heaven, Earth, and Water (*san guan*). One copy, placed on a mountain, rose to Heaven, another was buried in the ground for the Earth official, and a third was cast into the river for the Official of Water. Other rituals involve talismans drawn by priests; these were burned, their ashes were mixed with water, and the talismanic holy water was then drunk by believers. The sung liturgies were based on religious texts, in particular on the *Dao de jing*. The *Xiang'er*, a commentary on the *Dao de jing* attributed to Zhang Lu, was used as a kind of catechism in the instruction of the faithful. Morals and law were combined: diseases were believed to be caused by evil deeds, and hence the sick were healed by rites of expiation, ceremonials, confessions, and punishment. The misdeeds of the faithful, such as theft and drinking, also fell under the jurisdiction of the sect. Road repair or imprisonment was the usual punishment.

The year was marked by a religious calendar. At the equinoxes, offerings were made to the god of the earth and the god of the soil, and healing talismans were distributed to the sect's followers. At the solstices, sacrifices were made for the salvation of the souls of the dead. Communal feasts (*chu*) were offered during the first, seventh, and tenth months, and also on religious occasions such as an initiation or the consecration of an oratory. At each new moon a communal sexual ritual was celebrated, the Union of the Breaths (*heqi*), which Buddhist sources describe as a licentious orgy, but which some texts still extant show to be a ceremony of highly stylized erotic choreography of religious and cosmic significance.

The sect of the Celestial Masters is still in existence, and its leaders claim direct descent from Zhang Daoling and Zhang Lu. Many of the present rituals, sacrifices, and festivals derive from rituals of the Celestial Masters of the third century.

SEE ALSO Daoism, overview article and article on The Daoist Religious Community.

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ISABELLE ROBINET (1987)

ZHANG XUECHENG (1738–1801), Chinese historian and philosopher. A native of Shaoxing (Kuaiji district), Zhejiang Province, and son of a district magistrate, Zhang went to Beijing as a student in 1762, and in the next ten years became acquainted with many of the leading writers of the day. Among his associates and mentors were, notably, Zhu Yun (1729–81), whom he acknowledged as his master, and the philosopher and philologue Dai Zhen (1724–77), whom Zhang admired for his philosophical essays but criticized strongly for his opposition to the ideas of the Song dynasty Confucian moralist Zhu Xi (1130–1200). As a youth Zhang developed a keen interest in the art and theory of historical writing, admiring the Tang dynasty historiographer Liu Zhiji (661–721). As early as 1770 he had begun to formulate a theory of the development of civilization based on the Han court librarian Liu Xin's theories of the history of types of writing. In 1778 he passed the examinations for the highest civil service degree (*jinshi*), but he never took office, and supported himself usually through teaching appointments in local academies, commissions to compile local and family histories, and research and writing sponsored by patrons (notably Bi Yuan, 1730–97).

Zhang articulated his vision of the human past in his local history of Hezhou (1775; only fragments are extant), his *Jiaochou tongyi* (Philosophy of Bibliography, 1779), and especially in his monograph-length essay *Yuandao* (The Analysis of the Way, 1789). He saw all moral conventions, institutions, traditions of learning, and genres of writing as taking form in an early state of the human condition in which there was no distinction between public (official) and private aspects of life, when all kinds of writing were naturally beautiful or useful according to their function, anonymous and unmarred by personal vanity. This ideal state of affairs ended some centuries before Confucius. Thereafter, "officials were no longer teachers," and there was no longer a "unity of government (*zhi*) and doctrine (*jiao*)"—Zhang's idiom (following the Song polymath Ouyang Xiu, 1007–1072) for saying that the primal unity of the human spirit was sundered forever, in an alienation of intellect from action. Intellectual history since that time has been a dialectical process of always incomplete vision of the truth, ages of philosophy, of scholarship, and of literary art succeeding each other endlessly, each age blind to the values it fails to realize. Zhang crystalizes his vision in the famous one-line evaluation of the Confucian Classics, opening his collected essays, *Wenshi tongyi* (General Principles of Literary and Historical Criticism): "The Six Classics are all history." By this he means that they are not authored books that formulate the *dao* of human society, but are exemplifications of this *dao*, being documents, residues of the functioning of the ancient society and state, an age when "the *dao* and its embodiments were one" (*dao qi heyi*). This *dao* cannot be reduced to "empty words" (*kong yan*) and formulas; it must be grasped intuitively through the study of institutions and human acts, which the historian must present just as they were, without bias.

In this aspect of his thought Zhang is close to the Ming dynasty Confucian moralist Wang Shouren (Wang Yangming, 1472–1529); but unlike Wang he never himself had a religious drive toward self-cultivation. Zhang had several Buddhist friends, whom he teased good-naturedly, but he was open-mindedly willing to own that Buddhism might be saying something true and valuable in its own way. He could hardly be called a Daoist, but his vision of intellectual history owes not a little to Zhuangzi. He had strong conservative prejudices about the status of women, expressed in several vigorous essays attacking the poet Yuan Mei (1716–1798). Zhang was impatient with the philological scholarship fashionable in his time, his thinking being more akin to the so-called Tongcheng circle of literary men. He much admired the early Qing historian Huang Zongxi (1610–1695) and other Zhejiang authors, and is sometimes classed as a "member" of an "Eastern Zhejiang school" of historical learning.

SEE ALSO Wang Yangming.

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Revised Bibliography

ZHANG ZAI (1021–1077), also known as Zhang Hengqu, the second major Neo-Confucian thinker in the traditional lineage of Neo-Confucian teachers. Zhang Zai was a native of Chang'an in modern Shaanxi. His study of what became central Neo-Confucian texts began at the age of twenty-one when he corresponded with and then met Fan Zhongyan (989–1052), a prominent Confucian official. Fan suggested that Zhang Zai begin his study with the *Zhongyong* (Doctrine of the mean). This advice led Zhang Zai to study Confucianism, but like many Neo-Confucians he also studied Buddhism and Daoism, particularly their religious practices such as meditation. Eventually, however, he rejected their philosophies and returned to Confucian classics. Zhang Zai was appointed to office in 1057 and became widely recognized as one of the major interpreters of Confucian teachings. He eventually resigned from office over disagreement with the reform measures of Wang Anshi (1021–1086), a figure of major political influence during the Song dynasty. Zhang was appointed once again, only to retire and die on the trip home from the capital in 1077.

For Zhang Zai, the focus of his return to Confucian teachings was his interest in two of the classics, the *Yi Jing* (Book of changes) and the Z*hongyong,* works that served as the foundation of his philosophical and religious thought. Zhang Zai's prominent position in the lineage of Neo-Confucian teachers, a position in part the result of the lineage drawn up by the great synthesizer of Neo-Confucianism, Zhu Xi (1130–1200), derives from the interpretive stance he developed toward these works and from his position as teacher to both Zheng Hao (1032–1085) and Zheng Yi (1033–1077), two of the most prominent figures in the development of Neo-Confucian thought.

Like Zhou Dunyi (1017–1073), the first major Neo-Confucian teacher, Zhang Zai based much of his philosophy upon the *Yijing.* For Zhang Zai, the *taiji,* or Great Ultimate, refers to the source of all existence, which he takes to be *qi,* the material or vital force of existence itself. Thus *taiji* is identified with *qi* and yin and yang, the symbols of polar opposites in Chinese thought, as well as with the Five Elements *(wuxing),* the basis of an early cosmological theory of the nature of change. Although later modified by other thinkers, this *qi*-based monism continued to play an important role in Neo-Confucian metaphysics.

Zhang Zai's thought had far-reaching religious implications as well. While Neo-Confucianism has often been thought to be primarily a rationalistic system whose major influence was intellectual, a more recent reassessment of the tradition suggests that Neo-Confucianism also contains a profound religious dimension. The focus of this religious perspective is the central role assigned to the figure of the sage *(sheng)* and to the goal of sagehood. To become a sage became increasingly important as the goal of Neo-Confucian learning and self-cultivation.

When Neo-Confucianism is considered in this context, Zhang Zai's philosophical system is fully religious. In Zhang Zai's most celebrated work, the *Ximing* (Western inscription), the monistic metaphysical structure of *qi* is enlarged to include a poetic vision of the unity and interdependence of the universe and its multifaceted phenomena:

> Heaven is my father and Earth is my mother, and even such a small creature as I finds an intimate place in their midst.
>
> Therefore that which extends throughout the universe I regard as my body and that which directs the universe I consider as my nature.
>
> All people are my brothers and sisters, and all things are my companions. (de Bary and Bloom, 1999, p. 683)

Some have called this passage the foundation of Neo-Confucian ethics. Others have expanded its meaning to include not only ethics but a religious dimension that ultimately comprehends the religious goal of sagehood.

Later Neo-Confucians primarily valued Zhang Zai's doctrine of the sage "forming one body with the universe." This doctrine represents both the Neo-Confucian contiguity with its classical Confucian heritage and an enlargement of the Neo-Confucian system. At the center of Zhang Zai's teaching is the idea of *ren,* humaneness or human-heartedness, in many ways the salient teaching of the classical Confucian tradition. This basic quality, which was for Confucius and Mencius the bond between human society and the ways of Heaven *(tian)* and hence fundamental to the underlying moral structure of the universe, was expanded by Zhang Zai to encompass the universe itself, since for the sage to form "one body with the universe" suggests the complementarity and fundamental identify of microcosm and macrocosm. The doctrine illustrates as well Zhang Zai's belief in the fundamental goodness and purpose of the universe and in the potential of the individual to realize the ideal of the sage.

In the teaching of "forming one body with the universe," Zhang Zai also claimed to distinguish Confucianism clearly from Buddhism and Daoism. For him the universe and its processes have a real existence. In turn, human life is looked upon as intrinsically valuable and ultimately the very foundation for the realization of sagehood. For Zhang Zai, such a view is clearly distinguishable from Daoism and Buddhism, both of which require a radical departure from the universe as it is given in order to fulfill the soteriological quest. In Zhang Zai's terms, Daoism and Buddhism both emphasize escape from the world, while Confucianism finds fulfillment and ultimate identity precisely within the changes found in this world, a world of *qi* rather than of emptiness. The sage accepts the ultimate reality of *qi* and its inherent goodness, he acknowledges the infusion of *ren* throughout the very structure of the universe itself, and thus he can fulfill the ideal of the sage, "forming one body with the universe."

SEE ALSO Confucianism; Qi; Ren and Yi; Taiji.

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ZHENREN.

The term *zhenren* ("real person") is first encountered in parts of the *Zhuangzi* that are thought to date from the third century BCE. *Zhenren* may also be translated "perfect person" or "true person" (most Sinologists now translate it "Perfected"). Zhuangzi's "real person" is one who does not oppose the human and the natural, who knows how to accept both defeat and victory, joy and sorrow, life and death without being affected by them. Ordinary people, according to Zhuangzi, "wallow in their passions because they are out of touch with the workings of Heaven. The 'real person' of ancient times knew neither to love life nor to hate death. . .He took pleasure in what he received; he forgot what he gave back. This is what it means not to throw away the Dao with the heart, not to use what is human to help out what is heavenly. This is what is called a 'real person'" (chap. 6). The "real person" is thus one who possesses what is for Zhuangzi the highest form of knowledge, the knowledge that enables him to "make all things equal" and so renders him invulnerable to the vicissitudes of human life.

Zhuangzi uses a range of terms to refer to this ideal person, among them "divine person" (*shenren*), "accomplished person" (*zhijen*), and "saintly person" (*shengren*). The last term in particular, being the standard term in the *Laozi,* appears much more frequently than "real person." But the term *saintly person* had the disadvantage, at a time when the battle between the different schools of philosophy had reached its pitch, of referring also to the Confucian ideal person. In the *Laozi* itself, in fact, it refers indifferently to the ruler of men and the person who, even if he does not rule, is worthy of ruling. By Zhuangzi's time the feudal system of the Zhou dynasty (c. 1150 to 256 BCE) was in its final agony, and interstate relationships were characterized by ruse and violence. This political context forced philosophers to choose between "man" and "nature," between politics and integrity, and the term *saintly person* came increasingly to serve only as the designation of the Confucian (that is, political) ideal. In its place the Daoists put the "real person." This person does not yet, by definition, refuse all contact with human society and politics, but if he should happen to "get involved," he will not allow himself to "feel involved."

In chapter 21 of the *Zhuangzi* we thus read of Sun Shu Ao, who had "thrice been named prime minister without considering it glorious and thrice been dismissed without looking distressed." Someone asks Sun Shu Ao whether he has some special way of "using his heart." "Why should I be any better than anyone else?" he responds. "When [the nomination] came, I could not refuse it; when it left, I could not keep it. Neither getting it nor losing it had anything to do with me." Such a man, comments Zhuangzi through the mouth of none other than Confucius, is "a real person of old."

This phrase, "a real person of old," shows that the concept of the "real person" is associated from the very first with the notion of a golden age in times past, a paradise lost. On the individual level, it is linked with the preservation of one's original purity and integrity; "The way of whiteness and purity consists exclusively in keeping one's spirit. If you keep your spirit and do not lose it, you will become one with your spirit" (*Zhuangzi,* chap. 15).

Zhuangzi makes no explicit reference to the techniques that enable one to maintain one's purity and "keep" one's spirit, but they are implicit in the vocabulary used to describe the "real persons of old." The reference to these techniques is even clearer in another third-century BCE text, the *Lushi chunqiu* (Annals of Mr. Lu): "One who daily renews his seminal energy and gets rid entirely of perverse energies, and [so] lives out his heaven [-appointed] years, is called a 'real person.'" The reference is all the more interesting in that the next line reads: "The saint-kings of the past perfected their persons, and the empire then perfected itself. They regulated their bodies, and the empire was regulated." To solve the crisis of the body politic, says this author, we must find individuals who, like the saints of old, concentrate on the vital energies of their own bodies.

A long dissertation on the Daoist ideal in chapter 7 of the *Huainanzi* by Liu An (c. 180–122 BCE) adds little of substance to Zhuangzi's conception of the "real person." Liu An's language, however, is more explicitly physiological and cosmological: the essence of the "saintly person" or "real person"—the terms remain interchangeable—is "one with the root of Great Purity, and he wanders in the realm of no-form. . .He makes ghosts and gods to do his bidding." In chapter 14 we learn that the "real person" has such cosmic powers because he has "never become distinct from the Great One." By "closing up his four gates"—the eyes, ears, mouth, and heart—and keeping his vital forces from being wasted on the outside, he "regulates what is within and knows nothing of what is without" (chap. 7).

The *Huainanzi* is no more specific about how to become a "real person" than the *Zhuangzi.* But Liu An's "real person" is obviously far less concerned with the world of politics and society than the "real person" of Zhuangzi, and he is correspondingly more concerned with his interior world of spirits, souls, and oneness. Within the scope of that world, moreover, he has attained what can only be called superhuman powers. These powers are precisely those later ascribed to exorcists and Daoist priests.

A wide range of techniques leading not just to supernatural powers but to immortality are described in the *Liexian zhuan* (Biographies of the immortals, second century CE). The "way of the immortals" might involve a diet of pine seeds or sap, of mushrooms, or simply of clouds; it might mean the ingestion of a variety of elixirs or mineral drugs, the "circulation of energy and the transmutation of the body," the elimination of the five cereals from one's diet, or "nourishing one's energy." "Nourishing one's energy" usually refers to an art of intercourse in which the semen, rather than being allowed to flow out of the body, is "returned" by way of the spinal column to "repair the brain." In the *Liexian zhuan* this technique is specifically attributed to Laozi, who is one of only three immortals in this text to be called a "real person."

The second, Master Fuju, makes a living as a wandering mirror-polisher in the region of Wu (southeastern China). He also regularly heals sick clients with "purple pills and red drugs," and the local people first recognize in him a "real person" when he saves thousands from an epidemic with his medicine. Later, before leaving for one of the "isles of the immortals" in the Eastern Sea, he creates a stream with miraculous healing powers for the local people, who, after his departure, set up dozens of sanctuaries for his worship. The third "real person," Zhuhuang, is himself first cured of an ailment by a "Daoist" *(daoshi)* living on a mountain and is then given a book called *Laojun huangting jing* (The Yellow court classic of Lord Lao). When he finally returns home eighty years later, "his white hair had all turned black."

In his *Lunheng* (Critical disquisitions), Wang Chong (27–97 CE) refers to the belief that Laozi became a "real person" by "nourishing his spermatic essence and being chary of his energy" (chap. 7). A commentary from the second century CE on the *Laozi*, the *Heshang gong,* confirms that the "real person" is one who "cultivates the Dao within his body by being chary of his energy and by nourishing his spirits" (chap. 54). The first glimpse of what all this means comes from the oldest extant version of *The Yellow Court Classic,* which alludes to the "Real-Person Infant Elixir" inside the body.

The *Laojun zhong jing* (Classic on the center of the person, second century CE) identifies the "Real-Person Infant Elixir" as the "father and mother of the Dao, [those who] give birth to the infant" (1.6b). He (or she) is also called the "master of the real self, who is constantly instructing me in the techniques of eternal life, the way of gods and immortals" (1.7b). This internal "real person" also appears in the *Taishang lingbao wu-fu xu* (Preface to the five symbols of the numinous treasure of the Most High), a work of the fourth century. The main technique for obtaining immortality described in this text involves absorption of the energies of the heavens of the five directions. The energies of the center are used to nourish the "real person" whose name is Infant Elixir, and who dwells in the Yellow Court.

Every adept thus contains within his or her body a "real person" in embryo. It is the adept's "real self," and if it is properly fed and instructed, it will grow up to replace entirely the "old self." For this nourishment and instruction it relies on what Zhuangzi called "real persons of the past": in the text of *The Five Symbols*, for example, it is the Real Person of Bell Mountain who reveals to the legendary Emperor Yu the "oral instructions for the way to eternal life" (1.6a). When a hermit later explores a cave in which Yu had buried a set of the five symbols called "real writs," he discovers it to be a "residence full of real persons" (1.9a). The most important of the myriads of "real persons" who come thus to inhabit Daoist caves and heavens is Laozi himself, who is in fact already the real self the adept will become.

In general, the religious content of the term *real person*, implicit already in the *Zhuangzi,* becomes entirely explicit by the fourth and fifth centuries: he or she is the revealer of sacred texts. The revelations on Mount Mao (Maoshan), for example, which date to the years 364 to 370 and which form the scriptural basis for the Maoshan tradition, are almost all attributed to *zhenren,* many of whom are female. The Lingbao canon of the late fourth/early fifth century also contains texts ascribed to real persons. But an even more important development is their appearance on the ritual arena, where "flags of the real persons" are hung up to mark the Gate of All Real Persons. According to a text attributed to Lu Xiujing (406–477), this gate represents the divinized spirits of the sacred mountains and rivers of China. The gods of the Five Sacred Peaks, in particular, are referred to as real persons, a usage that was continued in the Tang dynasty (618–907 CE), when Sima Chengzhen convinced Emperor Xuanzong (r. 713–756) to replace the worship of the blood-eating gods of these mountains with the vegetarian real persons of Daoist worship. The same emperor in fact considered himself a *zhenren* and had his statue set up next to that of his divine ancestor, Laozi, to illustrate his semi-divine status. He also conferred the title real person on four Daoist philosophers, among them Zhuangzi.

By the Song dynasty (960–1279), living Daoists were also being called "real persons." The title of the massive Yuan collection of Daoist hagiographies, the *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (Comprehensive mirror of the real persons and immortals who have embodied the Dao through the ages), shows that *real person* and *immortal* had become synonymous terms that could be combined to refer to any Daoist of some renown. Among the most famous were the seven disciples of the founder of the Quanzhen movement, known collectively as the Seven Real Persons.

SEE ALSO Alchemy, article on Chinese Alchemy; Daoism, overview article; Laozi; Priesthood, article on Daoist Priesthood; Zhuangzi.

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ZHENYAN Buddhism is a form of Vajrayāna Buddhism that flourished in China from the seventh to the twelfth century. The term *zhenyan* is a translation of the Sanskrit word *mantra* and literally means "real word." The school is also called Mijiao (esoteric teaching) to distinguish it both from all other forms of Buddhism, which are regarded as exoteric, and from Indo-Tibetan Vajrayāna. The Chinese translation of *mantra* by the word *zhenyan* underscores the importance of a realized ontology. *Zhen* designates the real, apprehended through words, meditation, and action: it is reality realized.

Although the term *zhenyan* is conventionally used to designate sectarian lineages during the Tang (618–907) and Song (960–1278) dynasties, it may also indicate Tantric precursors of the organized lineages and the continued presence of Zhenyan elements in other sects and in popular cults.

HISTORY. Buddhism spread across Asia on two levels: clerics with a theological bent missionized the literate elite while healers and wonder-workers ministered to the peasants. Early proto-Tantric materials in China appear at both levels, although their application is largely associated with wonder-workers. Zhu Lüyan translated the first text containing *dhāraṇīs*, the *Modengqie jing* (T.D. no. 1300), in 230 CE, yet there is little evidence that it aroused interest at the Wu court in the South. Fotudeng (d. 348) worked among the people and served the rough latter Zhao emperors Shi Luo (r. 330–333) and Shi Hu (r. 333–348) with a repertoire of mantras and *dhāraṇī*s. Like later Zhenyan masters, he used ritual to bring rain, to make military prognostications, to heal, and to influence politics.

During the Six Dynasties period (221–584), the magical use of mantra and *dhāraṇī* found greater acceptance in North China while other Buddhist traditions dominated the literary culture of the South. The unification of China under the Sui (584–618) and Tang dynasties wedded the interests, culture, and family lines of the barbarian North with those of the Han South. Meanwhile in India, Tantric ritual, spurned earlier as heterodox by the Buddhist establishment, was being codified and blended with Mahāyāna theology, resulting in the formation of the Vajrayāna. During the first century of Tang rule other Buddhist schools held sway, and Daoists were patronized by emperors who made much of the fact that they bore the surname (Li) of the sage Laozi.

Tantric teachings remained eclipsed until the arrival of Śubhākarasiṃha (Shanwuwei) in 716 and his translation of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (T.D. no. 848). Vajrabodhi (Jin'gangzhi) and his disciple Amoghavajra (Bukong) arrived in 720 and produced two selective translations of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (T.D. no. 866, 865). For the next fifty years the wonder-working abilities of these *ācārya*s (teachers) and the prestige of their newly imported teachings bolstered the school until, under Amoghavajra and Emperor Daizong (r. 762–779), Zhenyan replaced Daoism as the dominant religious force among the elite.

During the Tang there were two closely related Zhenyan lineages. Śubhākarasiṃha and his disciple Yixing concentrated on the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* and its *Commentary* (T.D. no. 1796) and on the *Susiddhikāra Sūtra* (T.D. no. 893). Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra, and Amoghavajra's disciples Hanguang, Huiguo, and others concentrated on the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* and also incorporated teachings associated with the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra.* Thus, each lineage had a characteristic textual emphasis. Only the best disciples were initiated into both. Amoghavajra's synthesis was the most influential, although the lineage and teachings of Śubhākarasiṃha continued to be transmitted. Both lineages had links to non-Esoteric sects; that of Śubhākarasiṃha has great influence in Tiantai, while that of Vajrabodhi developed links to Huayan. A similar situation developed in Japan as the Shingon and Tendai Esoteric lineages (Tōmitsu and Taimitsu, respectively) interacted with each other and with other sects. Following Amoghavajra's death in 774 his disciples continued to perform rituals in the Imperial Chapel, at the Green Dragon and Da Xingshan temples in Chang'an, and at the Golden Pavilion on Mount Wutai. At the beginning of the ninth century Japanese clerics such as Saichō (767–822), the founder of Tendai, and Kūkai (774–835), founder of Shingon and disciple of Huiguo, studied the teachings in China. Zhenyan continued to be popular at the court and spread among the upper classes in the provinces. It suffered during the Huichang persecution of 845 but was not completely extinguished.

Zhenyan showed renewed vitality during the Song dynasty owing to a final wave of missionaries from India. Shihu, Fatian, and Faxian presided over an Esoteric revival, translating new scriptures and producing complete translations of earlier works, such as Shihu's 1002 CE version of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (T.D. no. 882). Zhenyan ritual elements continued to penetrate other Buddhist sects and when its lineages died these elements continued in the other sects and in popular traditions. Esoteric Buddhism had two further revivals. The first was under the impact of Lamaism during the Yuan (1206–1368), the second during the nineteenth century with the reintroduction of the school from Japan.

TEXTS. Zhenyan teachings are drawn from two major texts, the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha.* The *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* was probably written in North India during the seventh century. The text begins with a theological prolegomenon describing Mahāvairocana Buddha's palace at the summit of the cosmos (Akaniṣṭha Heaven). The palace and the cosmos are manifestations of Mahāvairocana's wondrous transformation power (*adhiṣṭhāna*), which is based on the realization of ultimate unconditioned reality (*śūnyatā*; emptiness). The unconditioned and the cosmos manifested through transformative power are presented as a *maṇḍala*, first as an exterior *maṇḍala*, then as the *maṇḍala* realized ritually in the heart of the practitioner. The massive *Commentary* (T.D. no. 1796), giving Śubhākarasiṃha's oral explanations as recorded by Yixing, is indispensable. Another arrangement of the *Commentary* by Zhiyan and Wengu was influential in Tiantai circles.

There are three versions of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, those of Vajrabodhi (T.D. no. 866), of Amoghavajra (T.D. no. 865), and the complete version of Shihu (T.D. no. 882), which dates from the Song. Those of Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra are highly abridged selections from the text. The *Saravatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, apparently written in South India, also begins in the Akaniṣṭha Heaven and presents a series of *maṇḍala*s based on a fivefold visionary structure through which the *bodhisattva* Sarvārthasiddha realizes his identity with Mahāvairocana as the unconditioned *dharmakāya.* Thus, he also realizes his identity with all of the Buddha's wondrous transformations, which form the conditioned world. Amoghavajra's *Shibahui zhigui* (T.D. no. 869) is important in understanding the *Tattvasaṃgraha.*

A third text important to the Zhenyan school is the *Susiddhikāra Sūtra* (T.D. no. 893), a ritual compendium translated by Śubhākarasiṃha and closely associated with the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra.* During the ninth century some lineages regarded the *Susiddhikāra Sūtra* as the synthetic conjunction of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha,* calling Zhenyan the "Triple Great Dharma." Some of Amoghavajra's disciples referred to the total Zhenyan teaching as "the Manuals of *Siddhi*, the Eighteen Assemblies [of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*], and the Mahākaruṇāgarbha Maṇḍala [of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*]" (T.D. 50.294b).

TEACHINGS. The basic teachings of Zhenyan are common to both textual traditions. Zhenyan teaches the ritual realization of the paradoxical identity of *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra,* of the unconditioned and the world, of Buddha and humans. This conjunction is a primary organizing motif in the major texts and in Chinese commentary and ritual adaptions.

The Three Mysteries. Zhenyan proclaims the goal of enlightenment in this world, in this body, not in some distant land aeons hence. According to the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, "the complete Zhenyan altar is first established in your own body. . . . [Mahāvairocana] is in this body" (T.D.

18.36c). This immanental realization and a closely guarded initiatory structure distinguish Zhenyan from exoteric Buddhism. Enlightment is actualized in ritual through the three mysteries (Chin., *sanmi*; Skt., *triguhya*) of body, speech, and mind. The practitioner realizes that his body, speech, and consciousness in meditation are identical with those of Mahāvairocana. The Three Mysteries therefore allow the practitioner to realize that *bodhi*, the thought of enlightenment, exists within us. Enlightenment is accomplished through a ritual realization of the enlightened state guided by iconographic, mantric, and meditational conventions.

A key to realizing the Three Mysteries is meditation on the Sanskrit seed syllable *A*. The *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* says, "What is the Zhenyan Dharma? It is [the teaching of] the letter *A*" (T.D. 18.10a). *A,* the first letter in the Sanskrit alphabet, is also a negative prefix. Thus, it represents the conjunction of the conditioned and the unconditioned, of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, and is the symbol of Mahāvairocana and of *bodhi*. Through ritual and meditation this seed is nurtured in the heart, and the meditator becomes Mahāvairocana.

Bodhisattva path. In Mahāyāna Buddhism the path toward Buddhahood is the arduous one of the *bodhisattva.* It begins with the arousal of the thought of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*) and passes through ten stages over a period of three great *kalpa*s (aeons). Zhenyan collapses the path into a ritual process; the three *kalpa*s are interpreted not as units of time but as defilements to be eliminated. "If one transcends the three *kalpa*s in one's lifetime, then in one life one attains Buddhahood. Why should time be discussed?" (T.D. 39.600c). From the Esoteric perspective, the last stage of the path is contained in the first. Thus, there are two interpretations of the statement in the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* that "*bodhi* is the cause, compassion (*karuṇā*) the root, skill in means (*upāya*) the outcome" (T.D. 18.1b–1c). The exoteric view indicates the development of the *bodhisattva* through time. From the Esoteric viewpoint, all three—*bodhi,* compassion, and skill in means, the beginning, middle, and end of the path—are accomplished ritually as a piece. They are a whole, as are roots, trunk, and branches of a tree. Zhenyan collapses the beginning and end of the path: the disciple and the Buddha are really identical.

The goal: siddhi. Success in Zhenyan ritual is called *siddhi* (accomplishment; Chin., *chengjiu*). There are two major typologies of *siddhi.* The first is found in the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* and is associated with the lineage of Amoghavajra; the second is propounded in the *Susiddhikāra Sūtra* and in Śubhākarasiṃha's *Commentary.* According to the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, mundane, or outer *siddhi* (*laukikasiddhi*) is overtly aimed at the application of wondrous transformative powers (skill in means) to aid in the salvation of beings. Supermundane, or inner, *siddhi* (*lokottarasiddhi*) is aimed at the achievement of enlightenment. All Zhenyan ritual has both components. Burnt offerings (*homa*), for example, involve placing things in a fire and might be performed to expel invading armies. The same rite has an inner meaning: one's defilements are incinerated and enlightenment attained. Ritual activity in the world, which is performed for the salvation of beings, is paradoxically an exercise in one's own enlightenment. The second typology of *siddhi*, which may reflect Tiantai or even Daoist influence, posits three levels of *siddhi*: superior, middling, and inferior. Superior *siddhi* is said to lead to transcendence and emptiness. Middling *siddhi* leads to the various heavenly realms, while inferior *siddhi* leads to command of illusion. We are further told that inferior *siddhi* may yield superior attainment and vice versa (T.D. 18.614a–614c).

BUDDHOLOGY. Zhenyan teaching on the nature and function of the Buddha is similar to that of other Vajrayāna traditions. Zhenyan posits two theories concerning the Buddha's bodies. The first is the triple-body theory. The *dharmakāya*, or body of *dharma*, represents the unconditioned thought of enlightenment in itself; *saṃbhogakāya,* or body of bliss, represents the wondrous powers achieved through compassionate deeds; *nirmāṇakāya* is the form taken by a Buddha to apply those powers in aid of suffering beings. The three bodies thus parallel the triade *bodhi*, compassion, and skill in means. In Zhenyan ritual, the three bodies are realized simultaneously. Enlightenment and salvific activity form a conjunction in compassion. The consecration ritual (*abhiṣeka*) is therefore the paradigm of all ritual, for in it the disciple is consecrated as *saṃbhogakāya. Bodhi* (*dharmakāya*) and skill and means (*nirmāṇakāya*) are joined in compassion (*saṃbhogakāya*). The second theory distinguishes three wheel bodies (*san lunshen, tricakrakāya*). The first wheel, *svabhāvacakrakāya*, is Buddhahood in itself. It manifests itself in beneficent or horrific forms. Beneficent manifestations such as Avalokiteśvara (Guanyin) practice compassion and, according to Amoghavajra, are equivalent to the *saṃbhogakāya.* Horrific manifestations such as the *vidyārāja*s Trilokyavijaya and Acala, utilize skill in means to chastise and discipline beings. The Three Wheels are ultimately one. Much of Zhenyan ritual is devoted to the third wheel.

The two *maṇḍalas*. Unlike most Vajrayāna traditions, Zhenyan focuses on a pair of *maṇḍala*s, the Womb Maṇḍala, drawn primarily from the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra,* and the Diamond Maṇḍala, drawn from the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha.* The Womb Maṇḍala of Great Compassion (Mahākarunā-garbhodbhāva Maṇḍala) is a graphic representation of the cosmos as the wondrous transformations, born of compassion and based on *bodhi,* of Mahāvairocana. The term *garbha* has two meanings. It is *bodhi,* the embryo of enlightenment present in all beings, as well as the womb of compassion and skill in means in which the embryo grows. The *maṇḍala* has three courts. The first is an eight-petaled lotus on which Mahāvairocanais enthroned amid four buddhas and four *bodhisattvas.* This court represents the seed of *bodhi,* of enlightened wisdom present in the cosmos. An intermediate court is dominated by beneficent manifestations that embody compassion, such as Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, and Kṣitigarbha. The Court of the Outer *Vajra*s represents

Māhavairocana's skill in means as manifested through the *vidyārāja*s and the Hindu gods in the traditional Buddhist six destinies (*gati*). Thus the *maṇḍala* embodies the triade *bodhi*, compassion, and skill in means.

The Diamond Maṇḍala is actually a selection of nine *maṇḍala*s from the many presented in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*. The central *maṇḍala*, the Vajradhātu Mahāmaṇḍala, is the most important since the others are derived from it. The Vajradhātu Mahāmaṇḍala represents the fivefold wisdom that is the basis of enlightenment. The *maṇḍala* has three courts. The first is the Akaniṣṭha Palace of Mahāvairocana, who is enthroned on a lunar disk and surrounded by four Buddhas representative of aspects of his wisdom. Surrounding the palace are the Buddhas of the past, present, and future (the *bhadrakalpa*), whose compassion causes the enlightenment of beings. The outer perimeter of the *maṇḍala* is populated by twenty Hindu divinities who act as protectors of the Dharma. Each of the other *maṇḍalas* described in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* focuses on a particular aspect of the whole.

Both the Womb Maṇḍala and the Diamond Maṇḍala are external projections of a reality that must be realized internally through the Three Mysteries. Each *maṇḍala* and each of the two texts has a separate initiatory tradition through which the disciple ritually realizes the reality of Mahāvairocana in the center of the cosmos.

ZHENYAN AS CHINESE VAJRAYĀNA. The Zhenyan *ācārya*s lived in a great cosmopolitan city, Chang'an, a milieu in which Confucian, Buddhist, and Daoist, and even Muslim and Nestorian ideas were freely exchanged. Many of Zhenyan's distinctive teachings were articulated for this audience. Zhenyan's preoccupation with two *maṇḍala*s is a distinctively Chinese adaption of Vajrayāna teachings. Since the two textual lineages came to be regarded as a pair, the *maṇḍala*s drawn from them also constitute a pair. Just as each *maṇḍala* expresses the conjunction of conditioned and unconditioned reality, so too, during the late eighth century, did the pair became a graphic shorthand for that conjunction. Through a reinterpretation of Chinese philosophical categories the Womb Maṇḍala was said to represent Mahāvairocana's numinous reality *(li), bodhi* as universally present in the Buddha's compassionate activities. The Diamond Maṇḍala represented the enlightened mind in itself, wisdom *(zhi).* There is evidence that this synthesis was taught by Amoghavajra's disciple Huiguo, and it may even have been initiated by Amoghavajra.

Another distinctive innovation is the selection of nine *maṇḍala*s from the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* and their arrangement in a three by three square. The configuration is clearly based on the *Luoshu*, one of a pair of ancient Chinese cosmograms representing the earthly realm. This cosmogram was the basis of an imperially sponsored Daoist cult of Taiyi (surpassing unity), in which the sovereign of the universe circulated through a court of nine thrones. Moreover, Amoghavajra changed the *maṇḍala*'s traditional Indian attributions. Mahāvairocana, formerly associated with the color blue and the element ether, was now associated with yellow and earth, the traditional attributes of the Chinese sovereign and those chosen by the Tang rulers. It is even possible that the paired cosmograms, the *Hetu* and the *Luoshu*, influenced Zhenyan's pair of *maṇḍala*s.

Another Chinese development was Amoghavajra's promotion of Vajrayāna as the best method both for the attainment of enlightenment and for the protection of the state. Such a teaching appealed to the mid-Tang emperors, for it joined lofty theological pursuits with practical application, and after the An Lushan rebellion the emperor needed all the aid he could get. A series of rites was developed for the protection of the state, for the prolongation of the emperor's life, for the salvation of the imperial ancestors, and for the propagation of rain. The emperor was hailed as a *cakravartin*, the universal worldly ruler and counterpart of the Buddha. The state was portrayed as a Buddha land.

The promotion of the state cult focused on deities who were compassionately active in the world. The *vidyārāja*s, or protectors, were important, as were Avalokiteśvara and Kṣitigarbha, both of whom figured prominently in rites for dead imperial ancestors. Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra, representing wisdom and the fulfillment of vows, were frequently paired, as for instance, at the Golden Pavilion on Mount Wutai and in Taiyuan, the imperial clan seat.

THE LEGACY OF ZHENYAN. Although sectarian Zhenyan disappeared after the Song dynasty, it had widespread influence on Chinese Buddhism. The use of mantra and *dhāraṇī* permeated other Buddhist groups, including some Pure Land and Chan sects. Tales of wonder-working *ācāryas* added to popular lore. Zhenyan and Daoism influenced each other. During the Six Dynasties, Tantric rituals such as consecration (*abhiṣeka*) and pseudo-Sanskrit mantras were already in use in Daoist circles. Zhenyan ritual structures, used in rites for imperial ancestors, and even some of the divinities, such as Dizang (Kṣitigarbha), were emulated in Daoist Esoteric rites dating from the Song. These ancestor rites have remained an economic mainstay for both the Daoists and the Buddhists. The tremendous increase in the popularity of Guanyin during the Tang and Song is also attributable in part to Zhenyan. Guanyin, in one form or another, is invoked in many of Zhenyan's public rites. Thus, even after its demise as a recognizable sect, Zhenyan continued to shape Chinese tradition. Finally, it transformed Japanese Buddhism through the teachings of such clerics as Saichō and Kūkai, who formally introduced the sect to Japan.

SEE ALSO Amoghavajra; Avalokiteśvara; Bodhisattva Path; Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; Buddhism, Schools of; Karuṇā; Kṣitigarbha; Mahāsiddhas; Mahāvairocana; Maṇḍalas, article on Buddhist Maṇḍalas; Mañjuśrī; Nirvāṇa; Prajñā; Saichō; Shingonshū; Soteriology; Śubhākarasiṃha; Upāya; Vajrabodhi.

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Works in Asian Languages

There is as little secondary material on the Zhenyan school in Chinese as there is an overabundance of it in Japanese. Chinese scholarship on Buddhism has suffered through a period of relative decline in interest during the nineteenth and early twentieth century and then through a period of outright supression during the second half of the twentieth century. Scholarship on Buddhism, Daoism, and other religious traditions is beginning to revive, but for the moment one must make do with a few works that present a decidedly Marxist reading of Zhenyan in particular and of Chinese Buddhism in general. The most extensive and informative work is Guo Ming's treatment of Esoteric Buddhism in his *Sui-Tang fojiao* (Ji'nan, 1980), pp. 573–610. More heavy-handed Marxist interpretations are Gao Guanru's entry on Esoteric Buddhism in *Zhongguo fojiao,* vol. 1 (Beijing, 1980), pp. 312–318, and Fan Wenlan's *Tangdai fojiao* (Beijing, 1979), pp. 36–46.

There is a wide range of secondary works in Japanese, but nearly all treat Zhenyan from the perspective of Shingon. The best of these, however, are distinguished by careful scholarship and sophisticated historical and doctrinal reasoning. Matsunaga Yūkei's *Mikkyō no rekishi* (Kyoto, 1969) is comprehensive, readable, and views Esoteric Buddhism in the context of the Tantric systems of India and Tibet. Although old, somewhat hard to find, conservative, and written in Classical Chinese, Omura Seigai's *Mikkyō hattatsushi*, 5 vols. (1918; reprint, Tokyo, 1972) is by far the best textual history of Zhenyan. Finally, I would still recommend two old works by Toganoo Shoun. His *Himitsu bukkyōshi* (Kyoto, 1933), which was reprinted as vol. 9 of *Gendai bukkyō meicho zenshū*, edited by Nakamura Hajime, Masutani Fumio, and Joseph M. Kitagawa (Tokyo, 1964), provides excellent historical coverage, and his *Mandara no kenkyū* (Kyoto, 1936), which chronicles the development and use of *maṇḍala*s in Esoteric Buddhism beginning in India, has yet to be surpassed. Most Japanese works still hold that Tantra emerged in Buddhism at the time of its first textual appearance, that is in the seventh century. Alex Wayman has recently put forward persuasive arguments for dating some Buddhist Tantric texts some three to four centuries earlier in "The Early History of the Buddhist Tantras, Especially the Guhyasamāja Tantra," in his *The Buddhist Tantras: Light on Indo-Tibetan Esoterism* (New York, 1973).

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ZHIYAN (602–668), second patriarch of the Huayan school of Buddhism in China. Born in the town of Tianshui near Chang'an, the capital of the Tang dynasty, Zhiyan was the son of an official in Shenzhou province. When Zhiyan was twelve years old his family was visited by the first patriarch of the Huayan school, Dushun, who claimed that Zhiyan was his son and should be returned to him. This declaration was taken by Zhiyan's parents to mean that Zhiyan was to become a Buddhist monk, and they thus entrusted him to Dushun.

Ordained in 615, Zhiyan studied Buddhism, mainly the thought of the *She dasheng lun (Mahāyānasaṃgraha)* and, later, the thought of the *Huayan jing (Mahāvaipulya-buddhagaṇḍavyūha Sūtra),* under many famous Buddhists. During this period he also mastered Sanskrit. His reading of the *Huayan jing shu* (Commentary on the *Huayan jing*) by Huiguang, the founder of the Nandao branch of the Dilun school, greatly contributed to his religious development. Shortly after this he met a monk who taught him to consider the meaning [of] the Huayan teaching of *liuxiang* ("six aspects" of reality). At the age of twenty-seven, having followed this monk's teaching, he is said to have realized the truth of the "One Vehicle." Thereafter, he wrote his commentary on the *Huayan jing,* the *Souxuan ji.* By pursuing this religious path Zhiyan became the leader of the Huayan school at the Zhixiang Si on Mount Zhongnan. Although Zhiyan did not seek social influence, honor, and wealth, he did engage in social activity when, late in his life, he became a private teacher of Xian, the king of Pei. This occurred while he was staying at the Yunhua Si in Chang'an.

Zhiyan's greatest influence was in the development and systematization of Huayan doctrine. His work was to pave the way for Fazang's subsequent completion of Huayan thought. Zhiyan created the method of classifying the Buddhist teachings into five grades, arranged according to the subtlety of the doctrines, and founded the teaching of *fajie yuanqi* ("dependent origination of the True Realm"). These doctrines were given their final form by Fazang, one of his disciples. However, Zhiyan had his own character, one different from both those of his teachers and of his disciples. For example, he placed high emphasis on Tanqian's *Wangshifei lun,* a work that praised what it termed *wuxin* ("the mind beyond functions"), a mental state based upon the thought of Zhuangzi, and esteemed Xinxing's Sect of the Three Stages, which was generally treated as heretical. Zhiyan's extant works are as follows:

1. *Souxuan ji* (T.D. no. 1732)
2. *Yisheng shixuan men* (T.D. no. 1868)
3. *Wushiyao wenda* (T.D. no. 1869)
4. *Huayan jing kongmu zhang* (T.D. no. 1870)
5. *Jin'gang jing lüeshu* (T.D. no. 1704)

Zhiyan had two disciples of special importance for the tradition. The first, Fazang (643–712), went on to become the great systematizer and so-called third "patriarch" of Huayan Buddhism in China. Through his efforts, Huayan became one of the prestigious and lavishly patronized traditions of the Tang dynasty (618–907). The other, Uisang (625–702), returned to his native Korean state of Silla and was instrumental in establishing Huayan as one of the most important Buddhist traditions there.

SEE ALSO Fazang; Huayan; Ŭisang.

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ZHIYI (538–597), third patriarch of the influential Tiantai school of Chinese Buddhism. This man is often regarded as having united Chinese Buddhism into a coherent whole by resolving doctrinal and practical strains that had plagued Buddhism virtually from the time of its introduction into China. His literary output was prodigious: about one thousand pages of the *Taishō* edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon are devoted to his extant works, a sum that would correspond to about nine thousand pages in unannotated English translation.

More important, however, than the sheer volume of his works is their synthesizing nature. Zhiyi was born at a time when Chinese Buddhism was beginning to move from unquestioning fidelity to Indian Mahāyāna doctrines and practices toward a more mature synthesis of Indic and Chinese religious values. Zhiyi was not the only man of his era to contribute to this synthesis: it is well known, for instance, that he borrowed heavily from the "three southern and seven northern" teachers in constructing his own system of doctrinal classification (*panjiao*). However, Zhiyi's scheme of doctrinal classification proved to be more comprehensive and influential than those of his predecessors and contemporaries, in part because of his success at incorporating religious practice as well as doctrine into his great synthesis. In short, he is credited with having united practice with doctrine and doctrine with practice, whereas his predecessors had attempted only to arrange the various doctrines in the sūtras into an understandable and consistent whole. His role in uniting these two tendencies in Chinese Buddhism has often been compared to the political achievement of his patron Sui Wendi, the first emperor of the Sui dynasty, who succeeded in uniting the north and south of China for the first time in some three and a half centuries. The analogy is apt in that Buddhist historiography commonly views the north of China before the Sui as having been oriented toward the practical side of Buddhism, just as its leaders were men of action, often non-Chinese in ancestry, while the South then tended toward the theoretical or doctrinal side, its leaders and upper classes being aristocrats and Chinese scholar-officials. Thus in uniting doctrine and practice, Zhiyi united southern and northern religious cultures in a way comparable to the feat of his imperial patron. In his own words, these two aspects of Buddhism must be considered analogous to the "two wings of a bird" or the "two wheels of a cart," each valueless without the other. Zhiyi, therefore, was a kind of nodal point in the development of Chinese Buddhism, embracing in his synthesis virtually all that went before, and influencing virtually all that came after.

In terms of formal lineage Zhiyi stands third in the line of Tiantai patriarchs, following the semilegendary Huiwen and the historically attested Huisi. However, Zhiyi is generally regarded as the de facto founder of the Tiantai school, named for the mountain where Zhiyi built his most important monastery. Because it was associated so closely with the rulers of the Sui, Tiantai suffered an eclipse with the rise of the Tang dynasty (618–907 CE), whose rulers were eager to dissociate themselves from the ideological underpinnings of Sui rule. The school was revived a century and a half later by the monk Zhanran (711–782), one of whose disciples transmitted the Tiantai teachings to the Japanese monk Saichō (767–822). Saichō in turn introduced the lineage to Japan, where it soon became the dominant tradition. Its center, Mount Hiei near Kyoto, became the training ground for most of the key figures in the development of Kamakura Buddhism. The Tiantai lineage continues to the present day, with active branches in Taiwan and especially Japan, although nothing is known about the situation in China proper.

Among Zhiyi's works the two most prominent are the *Fahua xuanyi* (Profound meaning of the *Lotus Sūtra*) and the *Mohe zhiguan* (The great calming and contemplation, or The practice of meditation according to the Mahāyāna). The former is his principal work on doctrine, the latter his principal work on practice, but Zhiyi was careful to relate each aspect to the other in both works. He applied a tripartite analysis to both doctrine and practice, which he classified as sudden, gradual, or variable. The "sudden" doctrine (or teaching) refers to the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, understood by Zhiyi and some of his predecessors as the text expounded by the Buddha to a mostly uncomprehending audience immediately after his enlightenment. It is referred to as "sudden" because it purports to reveal the Buddha's direct experience of enlightenment just as it is, without making any concessions to the need of its audience for a more "gradual" exposition of the nature of the experience. "Gradual" doctrines (or teachings) refer to the succeeding four stages of the Buddha's teaching, during which he was said to have gradually trained his listeners, in sūtra after sūtra of deepening truth, for the final revelation of the *Lotus* and *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*s, commonly believed to be the last discourses of the Buddha. "Sudden meditation" is the kind of meditation expounded in the *Mohe zhiguan*, in which preliminary practices are dispensed with and "ultimate reality is taken as the object of meditation from the very beginning." Gradual meditation, like the gradual teaching, moves step by step toward the goal. Finally, by "variable" Zhiyi meant certain texts and practices that could function as either sudden or gradual, depending upon the level of religious attainment of the practitioner.

The strength of Zhiyi's system lies in its comprehensiveness. By showing how a variety of disparate texts and practices, each of which had its own adherents, could be the product of a historically continuous revelation, beginning with the Buddha's preaching of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* and culminating in the message of the *Lotus* and *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*s, Zhiyi was able successfully to integrate them all into a single, coherent system. His great synthesis made it possible for the many branches of Chinese Buddhism to be regarded by their adherents as aspects of a loosely integrated, self-consistent whole.

A related and highly influential teaching of Zhiyi is the doctrine of the Three Truths: Empty, Provisional, and—Zhiyi's addition—Middle. This may be regarded as a Chinese emendation, or even improvement, on the pivotal Indian Mahāyāna concept of the Two Truths, first expounded by Nāgārjuna. While the Indians discerned two levels of meaning in the sūtras (i.e., in the Buddha's pronouncements) and regarded the Empty (*śūnya*) as superior to the Provisional, Zhiyi and the Chinese Buddhist tradition after him were uncomfortable with this Indian equation of ultimate truth and emptiness. To them, such a formulation seemed too nihilistic. Zhiyi was able to find passages in Nāgārjuna's works that justified the addition of a third Truth, namely the Middle, which he also styled the Perfect Teaching. This third level of truth became characteristic of the fundamental orientation of Chinese Buddhism, affirming as it does that ultimate reality (or truth) is not to be found apart from mundane reality (or truth), that the world as it is is already identical to the Absolute. The corollary of this doctrine is the assertion that all beings have the buddha nature, that is, that without exception all beings have the capacity for buddhahood. Scarcely any school or teacher in East Asian Buddhism has deviated from these two related teachings, and their influence upon Chan and Zen was particularly significant. While Zhiyi cannot be said to have originated them—he was always careful to provide scriptural citations for his doctrines, and other Chinese monks were exploring similar notions before him—he argued them with greater eloquence and made them an essential part of his incalculably influential summation of Buddhist doctrine and practice.

SEE ALSO Tiantai.

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NEAL DONNER (1987)
Revised Bibliography

ZHOU DUNYI (1017–1073), also known as Zhou Lianxi, was the first major neo-Confucian thinker generally credited with formulating a Confucian cosmology and metaphysics. Zhou Dunyi was a native of Daozhou in modern Hunan province in China. Zhou held a series of modest official positions throughout his career but because he refused to participate in the official civil service examinations, he was limited in the positions he could occupy and never achieved high level appointments with their accompanying status and recognition. He briefly served as tutor to both Cheng Hao (1032–1085) and Cheng Yi (1033–1107), the brothers who were to become major exponents of what later became known as the two principal schools of neo-Confucianism. Apart from his interactions with the Cheng brothers, he was generally not a well known figure until Zhu Xi (1130–1200) later raised his status to one of the founding figures of the neo-Confucian movement. It seems to have been primarily for his role in the development of a neo-Confucian cosmology and metaphysics that Zhou Dunyi was considered by Zhu Xi to be the first teacher in the traditional lineage of neo-Confucians. Zhou Dunyi's major exposition of this cosmology and metaphysics, an interest new to the Confucian school, is found in his two major works, the *Taijitu shuo* (An explanation of the diagram of the Great Ultimate) and the *Tongshu* (Penetrating the book of changes).

At the center of Zhou Dunyi's system of thought lies what is called the Diagram of the Great Ultimate, which may have been transmitted to him by a Daoist priest. For Zhou, the Great Ultimate (*taiji*) is seen as the source of all things in the universe, that which lies both within and behind all things. In its capacity for tranquillity it gives rise to *yin,* the symbol of the mysterious and the female in Chinese thought. In its capacity for activity it gives rise to *yang,* the symbol of the rational and the male. It is the source of the basic patterns or phases of change known as the Five Elements (*wuxing*) and forms the foundation of the two major symbols of the *Yi jing* (Book of changes): *qian,* the heavenly principle, and *kun,* the earthly principle, themselves again symbols of male and female. Humankind in Zhou Dunyi's system receives the highest, most rarefied form of the Five Elements, and thus is seen as capable of playing a critical role in the life of the universe. On this point the system finds its characteristically Confucian focus, for in humankind lies the foundation for understanding the universe as a whole. Particularly in the ideal form as a sage, the human being is the central figure in the universe. In this way, a metaphysical framework is established that incorporates the Confucian emphasis upon the unique relation of humankind and heaven (*tian*) that forms the basic moral structure of the universe.

One of the most frequently debated points of Zhou Dunyi's thought is the first sentence of his *Explanation of the Diagram of the Great Ultimate.* The sentence reads "The Ultimate of Non-being and also the Great Ultimate!" (Chan, 1963, p. 463). The *wuji,* or Ultimate of Non-being, is often cited as evidence of Daoist influence, for it first occurs in the *Dao de jing.* To simply identify its source does not, however, explain what particular meaning it has for Zhou Dunyi. From Zhou's point of view the entire universe, all being itself, is ultimately derived from the Great Ultimate. By suggesting that the Great Ultimate is also the Ultimate of Non-being, Zhou affirms the all-inclusive nature of the source of things. The measure of its all-inclusiveness is that even its own opposite is included: there is nothing that is excluded from the Great Ultimate. This interpretation of the Great Ultimate also has a very practical side to it, for by suggesting that the Great Ultimate includes the Ultimate of Non-being, Zhou Dunyi emphasizes the degree to which Confucianism already includes Buddhist and Daoist symbols. Thus, what the Buddhists refer to as emptiness (*kong*) or the Daoists as voidness (*xu*) is, according to Zhou, already subsumed in the Great Ultimate. This is not to be understood as some kind of syncretism, but instead as a reaffirmation of the Confucian claim for the ontological priority of the Great Ultimate and thus of the Confucian affirmation of life itself as the ultimate ground for the achievement of sagehood.

There are other areas of Daoist influence in Zhou's thought beyond that evinced in his interpretation of the Great Ultimate. At the center of his practices and teachings are the ideas of quietude or tranquillity (*jing*) and desirelessness (*wuyu*). The sage is defined by Zhou Dunyi as one who is able to achieve a state of profound quietude and who is without desires. Zhu Xi felt that such ideas if carried to excess could lead dangerously close to the ways of the Buddhists and the Daoists. It may be because of this reservation that Zhu Xi chose to emphasize the metaphysical structure of Zhou Dunyi's thought and qualified Zhou's views by insisting upon the need for serious study rather than the cultivation of states of quietude and desirelessness.

The religious significance of Zhou Dunyi's thought for the development of neo-Confucianism is found in part in the degree to which he isolates the Great Ultimate as a symbol of ultimate meaning. The significance of this symbol persists throughout the course of the neo-Confucian tradition and reaffirms the central Confucian idea of the ultimate importance of life. But Zhou Dunyi's own life serves as a neo-Confucian religious model as well. In Zhou Dunyi we have someone who told his disciples that the whole purpose of learning is to achieve the goal of sagehood, and someone who in his own life displayed a seriousness and a humility that speak directly to the authenticity of the neo-Confucian religious perspective. When asked at one point why he refrained from cutting the grass outside his window, Zhou said that the grass's feeling and his own were the same. This has suggested to most readers Zhou Dunyi's extraordinary respect for and love of all forms of life, not to the detriment of the unique role of humankind, but rather as the extension and enlargement of humankind's own focus. It also suggests Zhou Dunyi's own religious sense of the continuity of all life and its common root in the Great Ultimate.

SEE ALSO Zhu Xi.

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RODNEY L. TAYLOR (1987 AND 2005)

ZHUANGZI. Zhuangzi is both the name of the second foundational text of the Daoist philosophical and religious tradition and the name of the putative author of this text after whom the book was titled, who, according to early historical sources, flourished between about 369 and 286 BCE. While what we know of the philosophy of Zhuangzi comes primarily from this work, it is important to realize that the *Zhuangzi* text is not the work of a single author. At the very least there are five authorial voices: the historical Zhuangzi; his disciples; a "Primitivistic" Daoist author with ideas akin to those of the *Dao de jing,* who responded to the challenge of the followers' individualist thinker Yang Zhu; and the "Syncretic" Daoist authors who likely compiled the original recension of the text. The received version in thirty-three chapters was established by the commentator Guo Xiang (d. 312 CE), who revised a fifty-two chapter original recension first listed in imperial bibliographies circa 110 CE by removing material he thought was superstitious and generally not of philosophical interest. This received Guo version is traditionally divided into three sections: "Inner Chapters" (1–7), "Outer Chapters" (8–22), and "Miscellaneous Chapters" (23–33). This division is longstanding and is likely to have been part of the original recension.

The *Zhuangzi* has become renowned for a series of original insights into human nature and the nature of the cosmos, and many of these are found in the "Inner Chapters." These insights are communicated in a variety of literary styles: didactic narratives, poetry, and very short prose essays. Like its famous companion, the *Dao de jing,* the *Zhuangzi* is grounded in the complementary ideas of Dao and De. Dao, the "Way," is an ineffable monistic principle that infuses and guides the spontaneous processes of all phenomena; De, "Inner Power," is the manifestation of this Way within all phenomena. Despite sharing these foundational ideas, these two Daoist works discuss them very differently. The *Dao de jing* often presents the characteristics and features of the Way in a discursive style (e.g.; DDJ 1: "The Way that can be told of is not the Constant Way"). On the other hand, the *Zhuangzi* often approaches the Way indirectly through narratives and poetry. Witness the following rumination on epistemological relativity that ends with a vivid pointing to the Way:

> What is It is also Other, what is Other is also It. There they say, "this is true and that is false" from one point of view; here we say, "this is true and that is false" from another point of view. Are there really It and Other? Or really no It and Other? Where neither It nor Other finds its opposite is called the axis of the Way. When the axis is found at the center of the circle there is no limit to responding with either, on the one hand no limit to what is it, on the other no limit to what is not. . . . (chapter 2)

This questioning of the certainty of knowledge from any normal human viewpoint is another hallmark of the "Inner Chapters," as is the considerable degree of humor and irony with which the most profound insights into the cosmos are presented. This is true as well for Zhuangzi's presentation of Inner Power, which is done through narratives in which the paragons of its cultivation are skilled tradesmen and the outcasts of society. This flaunting of societal prejudices is another way in which Zhuangzi challenges entrenched beliefs and demonstrates the breathtaking freedom from fixed conventions that has delighted readers for two millennia.

The Zhuangzi of the "Inner Chapters" is also known for a thorough questioning of the canons, methods, and value of discursive logic as practiced by contemporary thinkers in the traditions of the Mohists, Confucians, and Terminologists (*ming jia*). He skewers the presumed objectivity of their categories, arguing that names are purely arbitrary and reveal no inherent truths about the things that are named. Furthermore, no matter how sophisticated the logic involved, no argument can establish objective truths because all knowing remains confined to the standpoint of the knower:

> how do I know that what I call knowing is not ignorance? How do I know that what I call ignorance is not knowing? . . . Gibbons are sought by baboons as mates, elaphures like the company of deer, loaches play with fish. Maoqiang and Lady Li were beautiful in the eyes of men but when the fish saw them they plunged into the deep, and when the birds saw them they flew away. Which of these four knows what is truly beautiful in the world? (chapter 2)

Inspired by such ideas, comparative philosophers have engaged in spirited debate about whether Zhuangzi is a skeptic, a relativist, or a perspectivist. Scholars of religion further maintain that Zhuangzi's philosophical relativism does not apply to the higher level of cognition he calls "great knowledge," which is attained through the "inner cultivation" practices that lead to mystical gnosis. These practices involve sitting quietly and systematically circulating the breath until mind and body become tranquil and the contents of consciousness gradually empty. Taken to its ultimate levels, this practice leads to a direct experience of the Way. In the "Inner Chapters" Zhuangzi epitomizes this meditative practice as "the fasting of the mind" and as "sitting and forgetting:" "I let organs and members drop away, dismiss hearing and eyesight, part from the body and expel knowledge, and merge with the Great Pervader. This is what I mean by 'just sit and forget'" (chapter 6).

Yet for Zhuangzi this experience of "merging with the Great Pervader" (the Way), although profound, is relatively easy compared to the challenges of bringing this gnosis into the everyday world: "to stop making footprints is easy but it is difficult to walk without touching the ground" (chapter 4). This type of ungrounded "walking" has a significant epistemological dimension: a distinctive mode of cognition that Zhuangzi refers to as "flowing" (*yin-shi:* literally "to affirm by following along") in contrast to the "fixed" mode of cognition (*wei-shi:* literally "to affirm by forcing") that is bound to one individual perspective (chapter 2).

Zhuangzi further makes clear that abandonment of fixed cognition is concomitant with abandonment of attachment to the self and with the embracing of a new perspective grounded in the Way. From this perspective, just as the Way is able to "pervade and unify" all things, to see them just as they are, without bias and without preference, so too are sages able to see "all things as equal." It is just this kind of mystical seeing that is the essential defining characteristic of the "great knowledge" or "illumination" of the flowing cognition that is developed through inner cultivation practice. Zhuangzi's questioning of logic and his skepticism and relativism are based upon this shift from fixed cognition to flowing cognition, from self-centered perspective to "Way-centered" perspective. His epistemological critique is thus applied to knowledge derived from fixed cognition. Flowing cognition is exempted from this critique because it is this continually changing "Way-centered" perspective from which the critique is made.

These complementary mystical experiences (merging with the Great Pervader and pervading and unifying all things through flowing cognition) are critical for understanding other important philosophical themes for which the *Zhuangzi* is renowned. Political involvements are useless entanglements that only inhibit the opportunity to realize these experiences. Naturalness and spontaneity arise directly from the flowing cognition that is free of attachment to any one limited perspective. When sages act from this cognitive mode they can spontaneously respond without self-consciousness to whatever situation in which they find themselves. This freedom from attachment to any individual perspective also leads to the freedom from fear of death and acceptance of it as part of the natural processes of life that is another of the hallmarks of this work.

THE DISCIPLES OF ZHUANGZI. With writings as profound and vibrant as these, the historical Zhuangzi must have had quite a devoted group of followers. It is to them that we owe both the transmission of his ideas beyond his lifetime and at least six chapters of new material, much of it consisting of narratives written in the style of the "Inner Chapters" but generally not demonstrating the same creativity and rhetorical skill. Zhuangzi is a figure in about one quarter of these narratives, which were probably based on stories told by his immediate disciples and written down after his death. The chapters in this section, 17–22, are almost completely devoid of the philosophical essays, jottings, or even the diatribes we find in the first third of the book, yet they contain some of its most famous narratives.

Unlike the "Inner Chapters," which contain no references to Laozi the man and to the text of the *Dao de jing,* many of these disciple chapters use ideas and quotations from the *Dao de jing.* Thus they were most likely written after this work began circulating widely in China circa 260 BCE. To the extent that they recast material from the "Inner Chapters" in new narrative frameworks and frequently see it in light of ideas from the *Dao de jing,* these chapters represent a unique blending of the two intellectually foundational sources of early Daoism. Chapters 23 through 27 and 32 are much more heterogeneous in their content and contain fragmentary writings of the followers of Zhuangzi mixed with passages from the other authorial voices in the text.

THE PRIMITIVIST CHAPTERS. Four chapters (8–10, 16) and half of a fifth (11) espouse a philosophical position similar to that found in the *Dao de jing,* differing principally in that it is not addressed to the ruler. Because of their advocacy of a return to a government and social organization similar to that found in primitive tribal utopias, they have been labeled "Primitivist." They shared a utopian vision and critique of the Confucians with the Yangists and, under their influence, developed the first Daoist theory of human nature that derived from "inner cultivation" and was cast in terms of the Way and Inner Power. Rather than totally eschewing political life, they advocated a government by non-action *(wuwei)* similar to that found in the *Dao de jing.*

The Primitivists argue that it is the inherent nature of all people to be "simple and unhewn." The "simple" (*so*) and the "unhewn" (*pu*) are important ideas in the *Dao de jing* wherein to be simple means to be unselfish (DDJ 19) and to be "unhewn" means to be without desires (DDJ 19, 38). These ideas suggest a state of mind totally devoid of self-consciousness, a state of mind in which people act spontaneously and without self-reflection. It is a state of mind that is reminiscent of the flowing cognition of the "Inner Chapters." For the Primitivists, it is human nature to attain this state of mind when people are left on their own, when the institutions of culture do not interfere with spontaneous human tendencies. To attain this state is to realize one's Inner Power.

Throughout their writings the Primitivists harken back to an earlier utopian age when people lived in selfless harmony with one another and with all things in the world and when the Way and Inner Power were fully realized. The Confucian sage-rulers, who established cultural norms and thereby forced people to think about how to attain them, destroyed this harmony and made it much more difficult for people to attain the simple and unhewn state of mind. However by doing away with the sages and their cultural norms we can return to a primitive utopia. Then society can be governed by a ruler who learns how to practice non-action.

Chapters 28–31 of the received recension of the *Zhuangzi* are similar in thought to five essays from the first two chapters of the compendium *Lüshi chunqiu* (240 BCE), which constitute the only surviving works of the lost Yangist tradition. While some regard these *Zhuangzi* chapters themselves as Yangist, close examination reveals that they are a heterogeneous collection of writings likely compiled and created by the Primivitists to respond to the intellectual challenges of the Yangists in the debates at the Qin court of Lü Buwei, where the *Lüshi chunqiu* was written.

THE SYNCRETIST CHAPTERS. The final stratum of the *Zhuangzi* contains a distinctive and largely consistent viewpoint that connects with the rest of the text and with a larger philosophical context. It is contained in three complete essays: (1) the first two-thirds of chapter 13, "The Way of Heaven"; (2) chapter 15 "Inveterate Ideas"; and (3) the final chapter, 33, "Below in the Empire," as well as in narratives that play key roles in chapters 12 and 14. This material shares a common cosmology of the Way and interest in inner cultivation that we have seen in most of the rest of the text but veers in a different direction in its political thought, advocating a hierarchical social and political structure that incorporates the best ideas of other earlier intellectual lineages within a Daoist cosmological framework. Nonetheless, it agrees with the Primitivist idea that government should be led by a sage enlightened through inner cultivation techniques. In its general intellectual viewpoint it exemplifies many of the characteristics of the Daoist tradition that were first enunciated by the Han dynasty historian, Sima Tan (d. 110 BCE), the man who coined the very term "Daoism" (*daojia*). According to him, Daoists assert that:

1. Humans can cultivate themselves to attain harmony of body and mind and to realize their essential connection to the Way and to the entire cosmos.
2. When rulers become adept at such "inner cultivation" they can govern dispassionately and humanely according to the greater patterns of heaven and earth, upon which they model their social and political institutions.
3. While remaining faithful to this general Daoist orientation rulers should make use of the best ideas of other early intellectual lineages.
4. With these institutions and practices established, rulers can govern by taking no action while leaving nothing undone.

All these ideas are found in the Syncretist *Zhuangzi.* Inner cultivation practice is advocated to attain a deep and tranquil state of mind to enable both sages and rulers to act efficaciously in the world. They then make use of this experience to act spontaneously and harmoniously while being guided by the greater patterns of the cosmos. This is the Syncretists' version of attaining the flowing mode of cognition advocated in the other parts of the text. The Syncretist author of chapter 13 argues that this flowing mode can be applied to a variety of life circumstances: ruler and minister, politician and hermit, sage and commoner can all utilize flowing cognition; but when it is applied to rulership, it attains its greatest flourishing. Government by enlightened sages who attain flowing cognition is the pinnacle of Daoist political thought for the Syncretist: it is symbolized by the phrase "in stillness a sage, in motion a king," which is elsewhere referred to as being inwardly a sage and outwardly a king. It is with this cultivated mind that the sage ruler establishes human society in parallel to the greater patterns of the cosmos. This coordination of human society with cosmic patterns is a characteristic tenet of the early Daoist syncretic lineage that historians first called the "Way of the Yellow Emperor and Laozi" (*Huang-Lao zhi dao*), and some scholars have argued that these Syncretist chapters are the products of this intellectual lineage.

The final chapter of the *Zhuangzi,* "Below in the Empire," exemplifies this kind of syncretism in its analysis of earlier intellectual traditions. After establishing its own position, the comprehensive "Way of Heaven and Earth," it analyzes how each of these earlier traditions understood one part of this comprehensive Way but ultimately failed to grasp the whole. Zhuangzi himself is included in this analysis. The Syncretist author praises Zhuangzi for his depth of mystical cultivation but chides him for failing to realize that there are practical affairs in the world that must be attended to. It is an interesting yet telling comment. The Syncretist criticizes the very impracticability for which Zhuangzi later became renowned.

Thus the text called the *Zhuangzi* is a multilayered work that transmits the ideas of an important early Daoist philosophical and religious lineage founded by the historical figure of Zhuangzi towards the end of the fourth century BCE. His writings were conveyed to later generations by his disciples who added to the work over the better part of a century, during which the developing text passed through the Qin court of Lü Buwei, circa 240 BCE, and was completed at the court of Liu An (c. 180–122 BCE), second king of Huai-nan, circa 150 BCE. While the lineage of Zhuangzi elaborated upon the master's original thought by developing Primitivist and Syncretist political dimensions, each in its own way remained true to his advocacy of cultivating the spontaneous flowing mode of cognition.

SEE ALSO Daoism, overview article.

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There are three scholarly modern translations of the *Zhuangzi* currently in circulation that are worthy of consultation. All others are outdated, derivative, or not grounded in Sinological scholarship. There are the complete translations of Burton Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York, 1968), and Victor Mair, *Wandering on the Way: Early Taoist Tales and Parables of Chuang Tzu* (Honolulu, 1998). Both are more literary than philosophical, and while each is appealing for its rendering of the humorous flair of the original, the Mair translation is preferable because of its well-founded semantic subdivisions within each chapter and Mair's tendency to translate the meaning of proper names, which skillfully helps to communicate the irony of these names in the original narratives.

The philosophically most interesting and the most linguistically precise translation is Angus Charles Graham, *Chuang Tzu: The Inner Chapters* (London, 1981; Reprint, Boston, 2000). Despite its title, it contains about eighty percent of the original text organized by each of the five philosophical positions Graham has identified in the work: (1) the historical Zhuangzi; (2) his disciples; (3) The Primitivist; (4) The Yangists; and (5) The Syncretists, with additional passages translated under narrative categories such as "stories about Zhuangzi," etc. This is at once a strength and a weakness of the Graham translation: it clearly distinguishes philosophical voices that most translations do not. However, organizing the translation along these lines makes it maddening to attempt to compare different translations or to check Graham's translation with the original Chinese text.

There are a number of excellent essay collections that deal with various aspects of the philosophy and the textual history of the *Zhuangzi:* Roger T. Ames, ed., *Wandering at Ease in the Zhuangzi* (Albany, N.Y., 1998); Scott Cook, ed., *Hiding the World in the World: Uneven Discourses on the Zhuangzi* (Albany, N.Y., 2003); Paul Kjellberg and Philip J. Ivanhoe, eds., *Essays on Skepticism, Relativism, and Ethics in the Zhuangzi* (Albany, 1996); and Victor Mair, ed., *Experimental Essays on the Chuang Tzu* (Honolulu, 1983). Each collects essays by at least a dozen specialists in either Chinese thought or in comparative philosophy, and each has its stronger and weaker contributions, with none standing out from the rest.

There is a thoughtful collection of essays on various aspects of the philosophy of *Zhuangzi* by Jean Francois Billeter titled *Études sur Tchouang-Tseu* (Paris, 2004). It assembles five of his essays published in academic journals and adds a number of new ones. Harold D. Roth's *A Companion to Angus C. Graham's Chuang Tzu: The Inner Chapters* (Honolulu, 2003) is a useful collection of Angus Graham's essays on *Zhuangzi* that also includes Graham's rare textual notes to his translation of *Zhuangzi* and an assessment of his text-analytical scholarship by Roth. In addition there are several other works on the textual history of the *Zhuangzi:* Angus C. Graham, "How Much of *Chuang Tzu* did Chuang Tzu write?" reprinted in Roth, *A Companion,* presents his ideas of the stratification of the text; Liu Xiaogan, *Classifying the Zhuangzi Chapters* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1994) is a thorough book-length study of this same topic that reaches similar conclusions on the strata but sometimes different conclusions about the authorship of these strata; Harold D. Roth's "Chuang Tzu" in *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide,* compiled and edited by Michael Loewe (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), succinctly summarizes Western and East Asian scholarship on the textual history and textual analysis of the *Zhuangzi.* Finally, Harold D. Roth's "Who Compiled the *Chuang Tzu?*" in *Chinese Texts and Philosophical Contexts,* ed. Henry Rosemont, Jr. (LaSalle, Ill., 1991) argues that the Syncretist compilers of the *Zhuangzi* were members of the early Daoist Huang-Lao lineage who were part of the intellectual circle of Liu An, second king of Huai-nan in about 150 BCE.

HAROLD D. ROTH (2005)

ZHUHONG (1535–1615), also known as Master Yunqi; an important Buddhist leader in the late Ming dynasty (1368–1644). A reformer of monastic Buddhism, a synthesizer of various Buddhist traditions, and a successful promoter of lay Buddhism, Zhuhong was also regarded posthumously as the eighth Pure Land patriarch. However, his influence has never been confined within any sectarian boundary. He has, in fact, been credited with the renewal of Buddhism in Ming China.

Zhuhong was a native of Hangzhou. He became a student in the local school at the age of sixteen and quickly achieved a reputation for his knowledge of Confucianism and Daoism. He sat for the higher civil examinations several times but was without success. His interest in Pure Land Buddhism dates from the time when he daily witnessed an old woman calling the name of the Buddha Amitābha (Chin., Emituofo). Thereafter, he kept a vegetarian diet, studied Buddhist scriptures, and practiced *nianfo* (recitation of Amitābha's name). When Zhuhong was twenty-seven his father died. Shortly afterward his wife and only son also passed away. He then remarried a pious Buddhist laywoman and resolved that if he failed to pass the provincial examinations by the age of thirty and the metropolitan examinations by the age of forty, he would become a monk. Three years later his mother died. When success in the examinations still eluded him he bade farewell to his wife (who later became a nun) and in 1566 entered the monastic order.

After he became a monk, Zhuhong followed the mendicant tradition, spending the next six years traveling throughout the country seeking instruction from prominent teachers. He achieved his first enlightenment on his way to Dongzhang in Shandong. He also took part in five sessions of Chan meditation held in different monasteries in the Zhejiang area. In 1571 he returned to Mount Yunqi in his native Hangzhou. It is said that through the performance of Tantric rituals and the invocation of the Buddha's name, Zhuhong cleared the region of tigers that had been harming men and beasts, and brought rain during a severe drought. In gratitude, villagers rebuilt an abandoned old temple, which he named Yunqi Monastery upon its completion in 1577. Zhuhong stayed there until his death in 1615, making it a model of monastic discipline and a center for the joint practice of Pure Land and Chan, a syncretic tradition that was initiated by the Chan master Yanshou (904–975) and that reached its culmination with Zhuhong.

The joint practice of Chan and Pure Land rested on the assertion that the two paths were essentially the same insofar as both led to the same goal: the stopping of wrong thoughts and the end of the cycle of *saṃsāra* (Chin., *shengsi*). Zhuhong wrote a four-volume commentary on the smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra* (Chin., *Emituofo jing*) in which he provided a creative interpretation of "one mind" (*yixin*). Using the Huayan categories of particularity (*shi*) and universality (*li*), Zhuhong divided the attainment of *nianfo* into the "one mind of particularity" and the "one mind of universality." The former is achieved through concentration, which suppresses ignorance, while the latter is achieved through insight, which destroys ignorance. By the "uninterrupted experience and embodiment" of the Buddha's name, he believed, one could attain insight into the true nature of things, the object of Chan meditation. The link between Chan meditation and *nianfo* practice was precisely this one mind. Zhuhong firmly believed that this one mind was nothing other than that to which Bodhidharma was "directly pointing."

Zhuhong was an energetic evangelist of vegetarianism and kindness to animals. Under his advocacy, the practice of "release of life" (*fangsheng*), that is, buying fish and other creatures from marketplaces and setting them free, became very popular among lay Buddhists. He wrote the *Zizhi lu* (Record of Self-knowledge), which was modeled on the ledgers of merit and demerit long favored by Daoists, to inculcate Buddhist values among the general populace.

Zhuhong was interested in harmonizing Buddhism with Confucianism. He was less impressed by Daoism and clearly hostile toward Catholicism, as can be seen from the four rebuttals supposedly addressed to Matteo Ricci and contained in Zhuhong's collected works, *Yunqi fahui.*

SEE ALSO Jingtu.

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CHUN-FANG YÜ (1987)

ZHU XI (1130–1200), philosopher, scholar, and formulator of what would for centuries be regarded as mainstream neo-Confucianism. The son of an official, Zhu Xi passed the highest civil service examination when he was only eighteen. In 1151 he was appointed a district registrar in Fujian province, where he served until 1158. He did not accept another official post until 1172, when he became prefect of Nankang in Jiangxi. Except for a month and a half in 1194, when Zhu Xi served at court, his government service was entirely at the local or regional level.

As a local official he built a strong record of conscientious service looking after the economic as well as moral welfare of the people. One notable acccomplishment was the establishment of communal granaries as a measure to combat famine. Less successful was his attempt to conduct a land survey. Most influential in the long run were his activities on behalf of education, especially the rehabilitation of private academies such as the White Deer Grotto Academy in Nankang. Such academies played a prime role in propagating neo-Confucianism.

In office or out, Zhu Xi was ever mindful of the plight of the Song dynasty, which had lost China's northern heartland to the non-Chinese Jin only three years before his own birth. In memorials and personal audiences he urged moral reform of the government beginning with the emperor himself. Both his ideas about moral government and his discussions on specific policy issues, however, had little influence on government. Zhu's brief period at court came to an end when a hostile faction came to power. Not content with purging their opponents from government, the men who ousted Zhu Xi went on to denounce him and fifty-eight other philosophers as guilty of "spurious" or "false" learning (*weixue*). Zhu Xi was still in political disgrace at the time of his death.

In his prolific writings and recorded conversations with disciples Zhu Xi ranged over many areas of inquiry encompassing a host of topics and issues. His greatest achievement lay in shaping the varied and diffuse ideas of his eleventh-century predecessors into a coherent, organic philosophy. In the process he not only defined neo-Confucianism but established the Confucian core curriculum. It was Zhu Xi who joined the *Daxue* (Great learning) and the *Zhongyong* (Doctrine of the mean), originally two chapters in the *Li ji* (Book of rites), with the *Lunyu* (Analects) of Confucius and the *Mengzi* to comprise the so-called Four Books, a collection that formed the basis for the education of the Chinese elite until 1905.

Zhu Xi's thought was deeply religious in several senses. On a personal level, his was a creed to guide people's conduct as well as thinking, a quest for wisdom as well as truth, focused on an ideal of self-perfection (sagehood) to be pursued with the most earnest dedication. Part and parcel of this attitude was his reverence for Confucius and other past sages as well as his passionate concern with proper behavior and ritual. Furthermore, his view of the world and man was grounded in a sense of a transcendent reality and a vision of the unity of the cosmos and humanity.

Like Cheng Yi before him, Zhu Xi considered both the physical world of nature and the moral world of human relations as structured by *li* ("principle"), but he went beyond Cheng Yi to identify principle with the "supreme polarity" (supreme ultimate; *taiji*) discussed by Zhou Dunyi (1017–1073) in his *Taijitu shuo* (Explanation of the diagram of the Supreme Polarity). Above and prior to form, the Supreme Polarity is itself without form. It contains all principles even as it is their source. It generates tranquillity and activity, the cosmic forces of yin and yang; indeed, its activity and tranquillity are yin and yang. It is transcendent but also immanent, for Zhu Xi stressed the unity of the one and the many. To illustrate this, he used the metaphor of the single moon that shines on and is reflected in rivers and lakes everywhere. Everything has the Supreme Polarity within it, yet the Supreme Polarity remains one whole.

Zhu's contemporary, Lu Jiuyuan (Lu Xiangshan, 1139–1193), objected to Zhou Dunyi's formulation, "the Non-Polarity [*wuji*, or Ultimate of Non-being] and yet the Supreme Polarity," as constituting the Daoist emphasis on non-being. But Zhu Xi insisted on retaining this formula because it makes clear that there is nothing beyond or prior to the *Taiji* and that *Taiji* cannot be limited or qualified in any way. As indicated in the diagram, the Non-Polarity and the Supreme Polarity are not two entities. According to Zhu Xi, in some contexts the *Taiji* need not itself be thought of as an entity at all.

Zhu Xi compared the relationship between *Taiji*, which he identified with principle or pattern *(li)*, and the flux of activity and tranquillity, which he identified with material force *(qi)*, to that of a man riding a horse, going wherever the horse goes in an inseparable union. In a crucial disagreement with Buddhists, Zhu Xi emphasized that principle is not something empty and detached, insisting instead that principle and concrete things never exist in isolation from one another. Without the material force *(qi)*, principle *(li)* would have nothing to attach itself to. Accordingly, *qi* plays an important role in Zhu Xi's thought, so much so that an extensive literature has debated whether his thought may be more properly characterized as monism or dualism. Perhaps one may say that he was capable of adopting both perspectives, but that in ultimate metaphysical terms he saw reality as one.

Human beings are, of course, very much part of this reality. Like all Neo-Confucians, Zhu Xi accepted Mengzi's teaching that human nature is fundamentally good and that it contains within it the "beginnings" of the virtues. He equates this nature with principle: it belongs to the individual but is also shared with the world. While nature is good in its original quiescent state, once aroused to activity, goodness consists in following it, while evil results from going against it. What makes evil possible is that in man, as in the cosmos, principle needs to attach itself to material force in order to become actualized. Just as water may be clear or turbid, the physical nature people receive at birth may be pure or gross in varying degree. The more turbid the physical nature, the more seriously will principle be obstructed, but human beings, unlike animals, are able to penetrate their turbidity to recover the underlying principles.

Essential to Zhu Xi's view of man and the process of self-perfection is the activity of the "mind-and-heart" (*xin*, hereafter "mind"). Drawing on Zhang Zai, Zhu Xi held that the mind unites and controls the nature and the feelings. Thus, unlike Lu Jiuyuan and the "school of Mind" (Xinxue), Zhu Xi does not identify the mind with principle. For him, principles are contained in the mind, which, however, is constituted of highly rarefied *qi*. While the nature, identified with substance *(ti)*, is good, the feelings, identified as function (*yong*), need to be maintained in proper balance. Some, such as the feeling of commiseration, are good, but there is always the danger posed by selfish desires. As a result, the human mind (*ren-xin*) is in a precarious state, ever subject to errors that prevent it from returning to the original "mind of the Way" (*dao-xin*, moral mind). The nature, as principle in general, is inert. Consequently, Zhu Xi places special emphasis on the mind as the active master whose role it is to engage in the strenuous effort to discriminate between moral error and the correct way and then to maintain constant correctness. Self-cultivation requires utmost exertion and commitment.

In his methodology of self-development Zhu Xi emphasized intellectual learning, but, in keeping with the general inclusive and synthetic cast of his mind, he by no means rejected meditation, or "quiet sitting" (*qingzuo*), as the neo-Confucians called it. He once even advised a student to spend half his day in quiet sitting and the other half in reading. As a young man Zhu Xi was greatly influenced by the concept of quietism, but changed his views under the influence of his friend Zhang Shi (1133–1180) and the ideas of the philosopher Hu Hong (1106–1162). It was not until 1169 that he worked out a doctrine of self-cultivation that involved watchfulness over one's emotions and feelings both before and after they have been aroused. Central to this doctrine was the cultivation and practice of "seriousness" (*jing*, also rendered as "reverence, mindfulness"). The *locus classicus* for the concept of seriousness, so prominent in the thought of Cheng Yi as well as Zhu Xi, is a passage in the *Yi jing* (Book of changes) that couples "seriousness to straighten the internal life" with "righteousness to square the external life."

Zhu Xi is especially noted for stressing "the investigation of things" (*gewu*, a term from *Daxue*), by which he meant the investigation of the principles of all things and events. It was on this issue that he had his famous debate with Lu Jiuyuan in 1175 at the Goose Lake Temple in Jiangxi. In contrast to Lu, whose philosophy of inwardness de-emphasized external learning or book knowledge, Zhu Xi maintained that principle was to be investigated in the external world as well as within one's self. According to Zhu, the extension of knowledge (*zhi-zhi*, another term from *Daxue*) is a gradual process of investigating the principles of one thing after another until a great breakthrough takes place and the perfection of knowledge is attained. Like other Confucians, he taught that such knowledge must necessarily be manifested in action, but unlike the Ming dynasty philosopher Wang Yangming (1472–1529), Zhu Xi taught that knowledge must precede action.

The prime virtue, the source of all other virtues and thus the object of all endeavor is "humaneness" (*ren*, also rendered as "humanity, benevolence"). In keeping with the centrality of this concept in Confucian thought, Zhu Xi gave much attention to working out his own theory of humaneness. Rejecting an interpretation given by one of Cheng Yi's disciples, who defined it as consciousness, as well as that of another disciple, who equated it to unity with all things, Zhu Xi characterized *ren* as the principle of love and the very character of the mind. Vital and creative, *ren* is the spirit of life found in the mind of Heaven and earth. Thus, through humaneness people partake of the creative process of the universe.

This creative process is natural and unending. Because the universe constantly rotates, the heaviest material force concentrates at the center to form the earth while the most rarefied *qi* is farthest out, forming the sky, sun, moon, and celestial bodies. When Zhu Xi discussed the "mind of heaven and earth," the word translated as "heaven" is *tian*, which, depending on the context, can also be rendered as "sky" or "nature." Asked about its meaning in the classics, Zhu Xi replied that in some cases it meant "the lord" and in some "principle." The question of whether Zhu Xi was a deist was much debated among Jesuit and other Western scholars of Chinese philosophy and forms an important chapter in the history of Western sinology rather than in that of neo-Confucianism in China or East Asia.

In both his official capacity and in his personal life Zhu Xi participated wholeheartedly in religious ceremonies, including, for instance, prayers for rain in times of drought, sacrifices to former sages, and ancestor worship. As a man of his time, he believed in the existence of ghosts but sought to explain natural phenomena in terms of *li*. He strongly rejected the Buddhist idea of reincarnation, Daoist beliefs in longevity, and shamanism. Living in disgrace in his old age, he wrote a memorial condemning the men in power, much to the alarm of his disciples, who were concerned for his safety. Finally, they persuaded him to let divination decide whether to risk sending the memorial. Zhu Xi accepted the negative verdict of the milfoil. It was a dramatic and poignant expression of his conviction of the unity of the universe and man.

A brief summary of as subtle and prolific a thinker as Zhu Xi inevitably runs into the danger of oversimplification. It also tends to disguise the extent to which the modern scholar is engaged in a task of interpretation and reconstruction, for Zhu Xi, like other Chinese thinkers, did not set forth his ideas in a systematic magnum opus. Although there are some essays on specific subjects, for the most part he developed his ideas in commentaries on the classics, letters to friends, prefaces and the like, as well as in conversations recorded by disciples. His works are a rich source for modern students of many aspects of twelfth-century China and continue to provide scholars within the tradition with numerous issues for cogitation and debate. Recent years have seen major advances in the study of Zhu Xi, but the work continues.

SEE ALSO Chinese Religion; Confucianism; Li; Lu Xiangshan; Mengzi; Qi; Ren and Yi; Taiji; Tian; Zhang Zai; Zhou Dunyi.

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CONRAD SCHIROKAUER (1987 AND 2005)

ZIMMER, HEINRICH ROBERT

ZIMMER, HEINRICH ROBERT (1890–1943), German Indologist and comparative mythologist. Son of the Sanskritist and Celticist Heinrich Friedrich Zimmer (1850–1910), Heinrich (Henry) Robert Zimmer was born in Greifswald, in present-day Germany, on December 6, 1890. Beginning his studies in Berlin in Hebrew literature, Germanics, and art history, he received his doctorate in 1913 with a thesis on India's traditional system of *gotras.* After service in World War I, he qualified as professor at Greifswald and then moved to Heidelberg in 1922. Zimmer's marriage to Christiane von Hofmannsthal, daughter of the Jewish poet Hugo von Hofmannsthal, and his consistent outspokenness as an anti-Nazi were causes for his eventual dismissal from the university in 1938. After lecturing at Oxford and Johns Hopkins universities, Zimmer was appointed visiting lecturer at Columbia University in 1941. He died of pneumonia two years later, on March 20, 1943.

Although the son of one of Germany's pioneering Indologists, whose *Altindische Leben: Die Kultur der vedischen Arier* is a landmark in Vedic studies, Heinrich Zimmer is most often linked rather to two other persons: Joseph Campbell and, particularly, C. G. Jung. Jung apparently first learned of Zimmer through the latter's *Kuntsform und Yoga im indischen Kultbild* (1926), a work that introduced Tantric studies to Jung and to much of educated Europe. Zimmer and Jung first met in 1932, and their deep friendship, based on shared strong interests, had important consequences for both; not least important was their joint founding of the Psychology Seminar of Zurich. As editor of Zimmer's posthumous English publications, upon which Zimmer's reputation principally rests, Joseph Campbell's role also has been extremely important.

Zimmer's passionate interest in Indian thought and spirituality as witnesses to the universal aspirations of the human spirit marked something of a departure from contemporary and immediately preceding continental approaches to the study of India's religions, and is reminiscent rather of the attitudes of such late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century German Romantics as Wilhelm and Friedrich Schlegel. With Sir John Woodroffe (also known as Arthur Avalon), who seems strongly to have influenced his own thought, Zimmer was among the first in the twentieth century to urge that understanding the adventure of Indian religious and philosophical thought would help one better understand one's own situation in the world. This enthusiastic, personal element represents an early flowering of a new, "second-generation" attitude in the European study of non-European religious thought and culture. Rather than holding the "alien" cultural material at arm's length, Zimmer embraced it (though he was never able to fulfill his wish to visit India). While his enthusiasm led to certain excesses and disputable interpretations of India's religions, Zimmer's own example eloquently suggests the importance of such enthusiasm for true understanding. In Jung's words, Zimmer's was "a spirit that overcame the limitations of the specialist and, turning towards humanity, bestowed upon it the joyous gift of eternal fruit" (Jung, *Collected Works,* vol. 11, 1963, p. 577).

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Had Zimmer written nothing else, his *The Art of Indian Asia,* 2 vols., completed and edited by Joseph Campbell (New York, 1950), would have assured his reputation and importance. Four others of his works are available in English. His important *Kuntsform und Yoga im indischen Kultbild* (Berlin, 1926) is now translated into English by Gerald Chapple and James B. Lawson as *Artistic Form and Yoga in the Sacred Images of India* (Princeton, N.J., 1984). Joseph Campbell also completed and edited three further works. Possibly the most engaging of these is Zimmer's *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization* (New York, 1946), which remains among the more useful introductions to traditional Indian thought and culture. The essays constituting *The King and the Corpse* (New York, 1948) well illustrate Zimmer's broad interests in comparative mythology and folklore. No doubt the liveliest introduction to the sweep of classical Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain philosophy is his *Philosophies of India* (New York, 1951), though some of his interpretations must be treated with caution.

A charming autobiographical sketch written by Zimmer only three months before his death is included as an appendix in Chapple and Lawson's translation of *Kunstform und Yoga* along with a select bibliography (pp. 243–267). *Heinrich Zimmer: Coming into His Own,* edited by Margaret H. Case (Princeton, N.J., 1994) is a volume of illuminating essays stemming from a 1990 Columbia University conference celebrating Zimmer's birth centenary. Among these essays are two personal reminiscences (one by Zimmer's daughter), Zimmer's own estimate of Jung's significance for his work, and helpful assessments of Joseph Campbell's role in preserving and transmitting Zimmer's scholarship by Wendy Doniger and Gerald Chapple. Inter alia, Chapple notes the substantial amount of Zimmer's scholarly and popular writing in German that remains untranslated.

G. R. WELBON (1987 AND 2005)

ZINZENDORF, NIKOLAUS

ZINZENDORF, NIKOLAUS (1700–1760), German nobleman, theologian, leader of the Moravian church; born Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf on May 26, 1700, in Dresden, Saxony. At his baptism his parents invited the electress of Saxony to be his godmother and the Pietist leader Philipp Jakob Spener to be his godfather. These choices represented the influences of noble lineage and pietistic devotion that were to be so decisive in Zinzendorf's later life.

Even as a child Zinzendorf displayed an extraordinary interest in religious matters. At the age of ten, following private tutoring, he was sent to the Halle boarding school run by the Pietist leader August Hermann Francke. In 1716 he transferred to the orthodox Lutheran University of Wittenberg to prepare for a career as a lawyer, but he continued to read theological literature in his free time. His perennially irenic approach to theological disputes showed up in his ultimately unsuccessful attempts to arrange colloquiums for the exchange of views between the Pietists of Halle and the orthodox of Wittenberg.

With his formal training completed, Zinzendorf studied briefly at various universities and developed friendships with leading personalities, including the Jansenist cardinal archbishop of Paris, Louis de Noailles. Although Zinzendorf would have probably preferred ordination as a Lutheran pastor or to work with Francke at Halle, his family did not consider such possibilities appropriate for a nobleman, and he became a legal counselor. In September 1721 he married Countess Erdmuth Dorothea Reuss, also a committed Pietist, with whom he fathered twelve children.

In 1722 Zinzendorf purchased the Berthelsdorf estate from his grandmother and soon found himself with an unexpected opportunity to exercise his religious leadership when a group of religious refugees from neighboring Bohemia settled on his estate. They were heirs of the traditions of the Unity of Brethren, a group that had thrived a century earlier during the Hussite reformation. Persecution had forced them to continue their religious practices underground and sometimes to leave their homeland as refugees. The leadership of these people consumed Zinzendorf's considerable energies for the rest of his life. The newly established town of Herrnhut, with its unique communal organization and economic self-sufficiency, became the center for the developing Moravian church, as it became known in the late 1740s.

In 1735, after examination by the theological faculties of the Universities of Stralsund and Tübingen, Zinzendorf's desire to receive Lutheran ordination was finally realized. With the revival of the Brethren's clerical orders, he was consecrated a Moravian bishop in 1737. These events signaled the emergence of a new denomination and created legal difficulties for Zinzendorf, resulting in banishment from Saxony from 1736 to 1747. During this period he visited Moravian settlements and missions in Europe, England, the West Indies, and America. From the mid-1740s to 1750, Zinzendorf and some of his followers displayed a marked tendency to carry certain of his ideas to emotional excess. This approach was finally rejected and years later came to be regarded as the "sifting time." The Moravians were granted religious freedom in Saxony in 1749, and six years later the count returned to spend his last days in Herrnhut. When the countess died in 1756, Zinzendorf entered into a morganatic marriage with Anna Nitschmann, a leader of the Single Sisters Choir, one of the church's residential groups.

Zinzendorf's extensive involvement in the practical life of the church and his belief that it was not possible to produce a system of theology kept him from producing a comprehensive presentation of his often-original ideas. Throughout his life he worked at new translations of the Bible, incorporating the use of popular language, rearrangements of the books in order of historical origin, harmonization of the Passion accounts, and an abridged Old Testament. He also produced attempts at Lutheran and Reformed catechisms, prepared numerous sermons, and wrote religious poetry and hymns.

In his theology Zinzendorf sought an alternative to the rationalism of the Enlightenment and the sterility of Lutheran orthodoxy. His answer was "heart religion." His christocentricity derived from his belief that God is a person, not a system, and can be known only through the Son, who reveals the Father. To experience Christ in the inner senses is the true essence of religion. From this central idea flows Zinzendorf's interest in experiential language, including reference to the Holy Spirit as "Mother." Likewise, "heart religion" knows no creedal or institutional boundaries; hence Zinzendorf's radical ecumenicity. The relationship with Christ produces joy in the believer; Zinzendorf's thought departed from traditional Pietism's emphasis upon struggle and conversion to focus on the results of this relationship. A startlingly creative thinker in his day, Zinzendorf's influences are apparent in the later theology of Friedrich Schleiermacher with his attention to religious feeling and in the Christocentric emphasis of Karl Barth.

See Also Moravians.

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David A. Schattschneider (1987 and 2005)

ZIONISM. The origin of the word *Zion* is unclear. It most likely derives from a word meaning "rock" or "stronghold" or perhaps "a dry place." The first occurrence of the name is in *2 Samuel* 5:7, where David captures the Jebusite city of Jerusalem. The "fortress of Zion" appears to have been the Jebusite name for the place that was henceforth to be called "the citadel of David." But although Jebusite in origin, the name Zion (Hebrew, *Tsiyyon*) was assimilated into the Israelite vocabulary and became associated with the Davidic monarchy and its capital in Jerusalem. In writings of such prophets as "First Isaiah" and Jeremiah and in *Psalms,* the name Zion is used as a synonym first for the Temple in Jerusalem, then for the kingdom of Judah, and finally, in postexilic literature, for the Land of Israel. In the Babylonian exile the psalmist wrote: "By the waters of Babylon / There we sat down, yea, we wept / When we remembered Zion" (*Ps.* 137:1). Thus what was first a specific place-name came to represent symbolically the whole Land of Israel, whose people had been exiled. The particular associations between Zion and the Davidic monarchy gave the word a special resonance in later messianic literature that expressed longing not only for the return of the people to their land but also for the reestablishment of the kingdom of David.

A particular tension has informed the Jewish relationship to Zion since biblical times. On the one hand, the Land of Israel is regarded as a land specially promised to the ancient Israelites and their descendants (the term *Holy Land,* however, only appears once in the Hebrew Bible). According to this position, the Israelite God can be worshiped only on this sanctified territory. Thus when David flees from Saul to the land of the Philistines, he laments that "[men] have driven me out this day that I should have no share in the heritage of the Lord, saying 'Go and serve other gods'" (*1 Sm.* 26:19). In Psalm 137, verse 4 the writer wonders, "How shall we sing the song of YHVH in a foreign land?" In both biblical and rabbinic law, much of the agricultural, ritual, and even civil law applied only to the Land of Israel.

On the other hand, a strong universalist tendency already developed in biblical times held that God rules over all the world and can be worshipped anywhere. This tendency became particularly prominent as a result of the Babylonian exile and found expression in such exilic writers as "Second Isaiah" (*Is.* 40ff.). In some of this literature there is even a hint of criticism against those who wished to limit worship of God to Zion: "Thus says YHVH: with heaven my throne and earth my footstool, what house could you build me, what place could you make for my rest?" (*Is.* 66:1).

The realities of Jewish life during and after the Second Temple period (538 BCE–70 CE) made a combination of these positions necessary. From the time of the Babylonian exile, a large Jewish community developed outside the Land of Israel and became particularly prominent during the Hellenistic and Roman Empires. Even before the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE and the Bar Kokhba Revolt (132–135 CE), the Jews of the Diaspora probably constituted a majority of the Jewish people. Nevertheless these Jews maintained a strong connection with the Land of Israel and its religious institutions. They made regular pilgrimages to the Temple and contributed money to it for sacrifices. After the Temple was destroyed, the Palestinian community remained important until the late third century, when it began to decline, and following the Muslim conquest in the seventh century, it ceased to play a significant role in Jewish life. Even after the Temple was destroyed, the Land of Israel continued to function as a religious center for Diaspora communities, owing in part to the continuing authority of the Palestinian rabbis. But at the same time the emerging rabbinic center in Babylonia challenged its Palestinian counterparts and insisted on the equal—or sometimes even the greater—importance of its own community. From a legal point of view, these rabbis did not legislate that one must live in the land in order to fulfill all those commandments that could only be realized there. But they did make the decision of a man to "go up" to the land binding on his wife.

The rabbis developed rituals that could be practiced anywhere and yet were designed to preserve the memory of the Temple *(zekher le-hurban).* Such ceremonies included leaving a small area of wall unfinished in one's house. It was during this period that prayers were added to the daily service that pleaded with God:

> Sound the great shofar for our freedom; raise the standard for the gathering of our exiles, and assemble us from the four corners of the earth. . . . Restore our judges as of old. . . . And to Jersualem thy city return in mercy and dwell therein as thou has spoken, rebuild it soon in our days as an everlasting building, and speedily set up therein the throne of David. (The Daily Prayer Book)

MEDIEVAL PERIOD. The spiritual connection to Zion was kept alive during the Middle Ages primarily through literature. To be sure through the centuries there were individual Jews who made pilgrimages or actually settled in the Land of Israel, but no theology of pilgrimage developed, nor was it seen as religious obligation. The theme of Zion played an important role in the medieval liturgical poems *(piyyutim)* and especially in the lamentation poem *(qinot)* recited on the Ninth of Av (the day, according to tradition, on which the First and Second Temples were destroyed).

The best examples of secular poetry devoted to longing for Zion are found during the "classical age" of the Spanish Jews (900–1200 CE). Two themes intermingle in this poetry: descriptions of the beauty of Zion and lamentations for its ruin. Some of the Spanish Jewish writers achieved high positions in Spanish society, but their work reflects persistent attachment to the land of their forefathers. Shemuʾel ha-Nagid (933–1055/6 CE) was the vizier of Granada and the commander of its army. One of his poems, "My Heart Waxes Hot within Me," celebrates victory over his enemies, but the first part is a lament over the destruction of Zion. Thus Shemuʾel's pride over his military accomplishments was tempered by the feeling that they were incomplete as long as the Jews lived in exile.

Perhaps the most outstanding representative of this school of poets was Yehudah ha-Levi (c. 1075–1141), whose

Shirei Tsiyyon (Songs of Zion) inspired many imitations later in the Middle Ages. One of his poems, ("Zion, Will You Not Seek the Welfare of Your Prisoners?") was included in the liturgy of the Ninth of Av. In another, titled, "My Heart is in the East," he wrote:

> My heart is in the East and I am at the edge of the West
> How then can I taste what I eat, how can I enjoy it?
> How can I fulfill my vows and pledges, while Zion is
> in the domain of Edom [i.e., the Christian Crusaders]
> and I am in the bonds of Arabia [i.e., Muslim Spain]?
> It would be easy for me to leave behind the good things
> of Spain, just as It would be glorious to see the dust of
> the ruined Shrine. *(The Penguin Book of Hebrew Verse)*

Ha-Levi emigrated to the Land of Israel toward the end of his life, although whether he moved out of ideological or pragmatic reasons remains disputed.

Moses Nahmanides (1194–1270), the twelfth-century Spanish commentator, philosopher, and mystic, who died in the land in 1270, advanced the most radical position on settlement in the land. Not only did he view it as a religious obligation, but he held that it was perhaps the cardinal obligation. Where other thinkers had noted the fact that perhaps a third of the laws of biblical and rabbinic Judaism pertained to the land—and especially to its agriculture—Nahmanides suggested that all of the commandments required performance in the land if they were to achieve their full mystical effect on the divine.

This proto-Zionist sentiment cannot be dissociated from medieval Jewish messianism. All messianic thinkers in the Middle Ages considered the return to Zion to be among the primary tasks of the Messiah. Even as messianic expectations were embroidered with supernatural fantasies, such as the belief in the resurrection of the dead, the core of Jewish messianism remained political and nationalistic: the Messiah would return the Jews to Zion, reestablish the kingdom of David, and rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem. The movements mentioned here were all attempts to spark the messianic process by encouraging human beings to take the first steps of resettling the Land of Israel. In the seventeenth century the Shabbatean movement caused Jews throughout the world to prepare themselves for the imminent return to Zion, a hope largely dashed when the putative Messiah, Shabbetai Tsevi (1626–1676), converted to Islam in 1667.

On the other hand, another group of medieval thinkers deemphasized the importance of immigration to Zion. Some, such as Ḥayyim Kohen (twelfth century), saw no obligation to live in the Land of Israel since the commandments pertaining to the land could not be observed until the coming of the Messiah. Meir ben Baruch of Rothenburg (c. 1220–1293) argued that it is permissible to leave the Land of Israel to study the Torah. Similarly Moses Maimonides (Mosheh ben Maimon, 1135/8–1204), the most renowned of medieval Jewish philosophers and legal scholars, gave greater emphasis to the study of the Torah than to awaiting or hastening the coming of the Messiah. In his code of Jewish law *(Mishneh Torah, c. 1180),* Maimonides did not include settling in the land as one of the 613 commandments. For Maimonides the central event in Jewish history was at Mount Sinai, and the return to Zion in messianic times would be a means toward uninterrupted study of the law revealed at Sinai. Although Maimonides clearly believed in the coming of the Messiah (which he understood as a realistic and not solely supernatural process), he subordinated Zion to Sinai.

This trend of thought became even more pronounced in eighteenth-century Hasidism, which, as Gershom Scholem (1897–1981) has argued, frequently played down expectations of the imminent coming of the Messiah. Dov Ber, the *maggid* of Mezhirich (1704–1772), believed that the qabbalistic task of "raising the sparks" might be more effectively accomplished in the lands of the exile. Naḥman of Bratslav (1772–1810), who was perhaps the most messianic of the Hasidic masters, stretched the holiness of the Land of Israel to encompass all the lands in which the Jews lived, thus spiritualizing what had hitherto been a concrete concept.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. In the nineteenth century the forces of modern nationalism, released by the French Revolution, awakened nationalist hopes among the Jews throughout Europe. Although emancipation and assimilation caused many Jews, particularly in western and central Europe, to identify with the national aspirations of the countries in which they lived, increases in anti-Semitism and the failure of emancipation to fulfill its promises refocused attention on Zion. The nineteenth century thus witnessed a fusing of traditional messianism with modern nationalism that culminated in the emergence of modern Zionism at the end of the century.

Two important intellectual developments in the nineteenth century, among both modernizing and traditional Jews, prepared the ground for Zionism. The first was the movement of Jewish Enlightenment (Haskalah), which began in Germany in the late eighteenth century and spread to eastern Europe in the nineteenth. The Haskalah developed in two directions with respect to Zion. On the one hand, there was a general tendency to promote the emancipation of the Jews in Europe by glorifying the European nations. The Reform movement in Germany, which was one product of enlightenment, deleted references to Zion in the prayer book and emphasized the patriotic attachment of Jews to their native countries. Some Haskalah writers used messianic language to describe European rulers, such as Joseph II of Austria (1741–1790) and Alexander II of Russia (1818–1881), who were perceived as particularly sympathetic to the Jews.

On the other hand, much of the new Hebrew literature written by Haskalah authors, especially in eastern Europe, harkened back to the land of the Bible. Avraham Mapu (1808–1867), the first Hebrew novelist, placed the plots of two of his novels, *Ahavat Tsiyyon* (Love of Zion, 1853) and *Ashmat Shomron* (Guilt of Shomron, 1865–1866), in romantic biblical settings. Hebrew newspapers such as *Ha-shahar* and *Ha-maggid*, published in Russia, also fostered interest in the Land of Israel and countered assimilationist tendencies by arguing for a Jewish national consciousness. In addition the activities of western European Jewish philanthropists, such as Edmund de Rothschild (1845–1934), Adolphe Crémieux (1796–1880), and Moses Montefiore (1784–1885), in settling Jews in Palestine fostered the beginnings of the modern settlement in the country. Thus both in literature and philanthropy modern "enlightened" Jews created the basis for a Zionist movement.

One secular Jewish thinker of particular importance was Moses Hess (1812–1875). Hess was one of the early leaders of European socialism. Following the 1848 revolutions, he withdrew from political activity and became interested in the history of national groups. He rediscovered his Jewish origins and became a fervent advocate of Jewish nationalism. In his *Rome and Jerusalem* (1862), he advanced a proposal for the renewal of the Jewish state, arguing that the continuation of the Jewish people could be justified only on national, rather than religious, grounds.

The second important nineteenth-century development was among traditional Jews. Tsevi Hirsch Kalischer (1795–1874) appealed to the Rothschild family to buy the Land of Israel from Muḥammad ʿAlī (1769–1849), the ruler of Egypt. Kalischer developed a plan to reinstitute the ancient sacrifices on the Temple mount as a way of hastening the coming of the Messiah. He based his messianic doctrine, which called for human initiative, on Moses Maimonides, who had argued that certain human actions might precede the actual coming of the Messiah. Later, following the Damascus blood libel affair of 1840 and the attempt by Western philanthropists to rescue the Damascus Jews, Kalischer advocated agricultural settlement in the Land of Israel. However, even in his later writings, which put forward this kind of practical suggestion, Kalischer never abandoned his messianic expectations, nor did he give up his hope that the sacrifices might be reinstituted by the new settlers.

A similar kind of religious "Zionism" can be found in the writings of Yehudah ben Shelomoh Alkalai (1798–1878), who until the Damascus Affair was an obscure preacher in the Balkans. Like Kalischer, Alkalai argued in numerous pamphlets for Jewish settlement in the Holy Land as a means toward bringing the Messiah.

The writings of Kalischer and Alkalai had little immediate effect, although there was an increase in immigration to Palestine by Orthodox Jews throughout the nineteenth century. New communities of religious Jews were established outside the walls of Jerusalem, in some cases with the help of philanthropists like Montefiore. In 1878 a group of Orthodox Jews established the first agricultural colony, Petach Tikva. Despite their traditionalist orientation, these religious Jews made important contributions in laying the groundwork for the later Zionist settlement.

MODERN SECULAR ZIONISM. The rise of anti-Semitism in France, Germany, and Russia in the last quarter of the nineteenth century raised serious questions about the prospects of Jewish integration into European society. Under the influence of modern nationalist ideas, a number of secular or partially secular Jews in several countries began to conceive of a Jewish homeland as the only answer to the Jewish situation. In addition to the political problem of anti-Semitism, many of these thinkers felt that the growing problem of Jewish assimilation could be addressed only by the creation of a Jewish society with its own national culture.

The new Zionist thinkers attempted to combine the ideas of secular nationalism with the messianic aspirations still cultivated by the large population of traditional Jews. Indeed it might be argued that Zionism emerged when it did as a result of the influence of modern nationalism, but that it emerged at all was a result of the persistence of the age-old religious longing for Zion. Yet the tensions between these seemingly similar national ideals were evident from the inception of modern Zionism, and they continue to characterize the conflict between the secular and the religious in modern Israel.

Following the pogroms in Russia in 1881, a group of eastern European intellectuals formed the Ḥibbat Tsiyyon (Love of Zion). The members of this movement came from both of the groups previously mentioned: followers of the Haskalah and religious figures. Ḥibbat Tsiyyon was primarily a practical movement that sought to foster settlement and agricultural development in Palestine. It borrowed its ideology of "productivization" of the Jews from the earlier Haskalah. The Ḥibbat Tsiyyon was a response to the mass emigration of Jews from Russia that began in the wake of the pogroms, and it tried to direct the immigration to Palestine instead of to western Europe and America. Although the Ḥibbat Tsiyyon sponsored a number of colonies in Palestine, it never became a mass movement, and its impact was largely on Russian Jewish intellectuals.

Modern Zionism really began with Theodor Herzl (1860–1904). The term Zionism was coined in 1890 by Nathan Birnbaum (1864–1937) in his journal *Selbstemanzipation* and was adopted by Herzl and his followers at the First Zionist Congress in 1897. Although some rabbis supported Herzl, most members of the movement, including Herzl himself, were secular and Westernized. Nevertheless Herzl was greeted by many eastern European Jews as a messianic figure. The first substantial Zionist emigration from eastern Europe to Palestine started after the pogroms of 1903 and 1905 to 1906 and was largely made up of young secular Russian Jews, many of whom were influenced by the Russian radicalism of the period.

The attitude toward religion among the early secular Zionist thinkers was frequently quite hostile. Traditional Judaism was viewed as the religion of the exile, and the Zionists saw themselves as a movement to "negate the exile" *(shelilat ha-golah).* This position received its sharpest expression in the writings of M. Y. Berdichevsky (1865–1921), J. H. Brenner (1881–1921), and Jacob Klatzkin (1882–1948). Berdichevsky, for example, saw the whole religious Jewish tradition, going back to Mount Sinai, as being opposed to a proud national life, and he wished to create a "new Hebrew man" based on a "Nietzschean" countertradition of strength and naturalism. Berdichevsky traced this countertradition back to the biblical period, when, he believed, the ancient Hebrews followed a revelation from Mount Gerizim, mentioned in *Deuteronomy* 27:11–26, that was opposed to the "ethical" Torah of Mount Sinai. The prophets, and later the rabbis, suppressed this Torah of nature, but it persisted in heretical movements and splinter sects, such as the first-century Zealots and the eighteenth-century Ḥasidim. This idea, that the Jews had been misled by the rabbis and had followed a tradition alien to their roots, had an important influence on the more radical secular Zionist attitudes toward the Jewish religion.

Nevertheless there were other secular Zionists who tried to base the new Zionist culture on elements from the religious tradition. Aḥad ha-ʿAm (the pen name of Asher Ginsberg, 1856–1927) tried to develop a secular Judaism based on certain principles from the Jewish heritage. He believed that the Jewish religion was one expression of a wider Jewish national culture. The elements that a secular Judaism might borrow from the tradition varied in Aḥad ha-ʿAm's writings (sometimes "absolute monotheism" was stressed, other times "liberal ethics"), but he held that the development of this culture was possible only in a Jewish national home. This national cultural center would in turn revitalize the Jewish Diaspora, which had been spiritually weakened by assimilation and the decline of the Jewish religion.

A number of the leaders of the secular Zionist labor movement also tried, with varying degrees of success, to incorporate a more positive attitude toward the Jewish religion into their secular ideologies. Aharon David Gordon (1856–1922), who was one of the pioneers of the early agricultural settlements, developed a religion of labor based on a mystical bond between the Jew and the Land of Israel. Physical labor on the national soil is a way of renewing the self and bringing it into harmony with the cosmos. Although Gordon was not a practicing Orthodox Jew, his philosophy relied heavily on Jewish mysticism and Hasidism as well as on Tolstoyan ideals.

Another labor leader, Berl Katzenelson (1887–1944), argued for the adaptation of traditional Jewish holidays and rituals to the new national home. Katzenelson, who was enormously influential as a cultural and ideological writer, laid the groundwork for a secular national culture that had its roots in Jewish tradition. Similarly the first prime minister of Israel, David Ben Gurion (1886–1973), sought to base the new national culture on a return to the Bible, a theme that had precedent among the Haskalah writers of the nineteenth century.

The ambivalence toward the Jewish tradition that one finds in many of these early secular Zionists had much to do with their biographies. In most cases they came from traditional homes and were educated in the *yeshivot* (rabbinic academies) of eastern Europe. Zionism was a radical revolution for them against the world of their childhood, but they never fully broke with their memories of this religious culture. Even if their way of life was secular, they wished to recreate an authentic Jewish culture on a new, national basis.

If the labor Zionists were ambivalent at best toward the Jewish religion, their counterparts in the Revisionist Zionist Party (organized in 1925) were militant. The Revisionists were led by Vladimir Jabotinsky (1880–1940), the Russian-Jewish journalist and poet, and they acquired the reputation of a right-wing, nationalist movement. Although Jabotinsky had a few religious followers, his movement was generally adamantly secular and opposed to religion. In the 1940s a splinter group under the poet Yonatan Ratosh (1908–1981) broke off from the Revisionists and formed the Young Hebrew, or "Canaanite," movement (the latter term was originally used by their opponents). The Canaanites saw the Jews as a religious group whose history was in the exile, whereas the new Hebrew community in Palestine was to break from the religious past and develop its own indigenous culture. The Canaanites were inspired by the myths of the ancient Canaanites that were uncovered in the Ras Shamra excavations of the 1930s. Although the Canaanites were an extreme nativist movement, their thought points to an important trend in Israeli culture away from traditional Jewish religion and toward a new national culture that might incorporate ancient Near Eastern myths.

RELIGIOUS ZIONISM. Although the majority of the Orthodox Jewish world was either indifferent or opposed to Herzl's Zionist movement, there was a significant group that responded favorably to the idea of a Jewish state. Among the first rabbis to join Herzl were Yitsḥaq Yaʿaqov Reines (1839–1915) and Shemuʾel Mohilever (1824–1898), who was perhaps the most prominent rabbi in the Ḥibbat Tsiyyon movement. In 1902 Reines formed Mizraḥi, a religious faction within the World Zionist Organization (the name is a composite of some of the Hebrew letters from the words *merkaz ruhani,* "spiritual center"). Mizraḥi consisted of two groups, one that opposed the introduction of any "cultural" issues into the Zionist movement, for fear that the secularists would set the tone in such endeavors, and another that saw that Zionism could not avoid confronting cultural questions and demanded that Mizraḥi try to influence the Zionist movement in a religious direction. Although the "political" faction was initially predominant, the Mizraḥi movement ultimately saw as its raison d'être the fostering of religious education and public religious practice in the Zionist settlement in Palestine and later the state of Israel.

Mizraḥi played a major role in mustering support for Zionism among Orthodox Jews in Europe and the United States. It created a network of schools in which Zionism was taught together with traditional religious subjects. At the same time Mizraḥi established schools in Palestine that formed the backbone of the religious educational system that is an important part of the general educational system in the contemporary state of Israel. The Mizraḥi youth movements, Young Mizraḥi and Benei Akiva, began establishing agricultural settlements in Palestine in the 1920s.

The Mizraḥi joined three other religious parties to create a religious faction in the first Israeli governing coalition. In 1956 they formed the National Religious Party (NRP) and Poʿel Mizraḥi (Mizraḥi workers). The NRP has sat in every Israeli government (with the exception of one year) to date and regularly receives approximately 10 percent of the vote. However, this percentage began to drop in the 1980s with the defection of more nationalist elements to other, nonreligious parties and the emergence of the ultraorthodox Shas Party, which appealed to Jews of Middle Eastern and North African origin. Despite its relatively small share of the national vote, the NRP has constituted an important "swing" element in Israeli governments since neither the Labor Alignment nor the Likud Party has been able to win a clear majority. Thus the NRP has exerted disproportionate influence on Israeli politics and on the role of religion in Israeli society.

Since its inception the Mizraḥi sought to avoid the problem of the relationship of Zionism to Jewish messianism. Much opposition to Zionism in the religious world stemmed from the belief that human beings should not "force the end" (i.e., initiate messianic times by secular means). Instead of answering this position with a new messianic theory, the adherents of Mizraḥi took a cautious stance, claiming that the Zionist movement constituted a "beginning of redemption." They saw their role as guaranteeing that the future redemption would not be ruined by the heretical actions of the secular Zionists.

There were, however, certain elements among the religious Zionists who took a bolder approach to the question of messianism. Primary among these was Avraham Yitsḥaq Kook (1865–1935), who became chief rabbi of Jaffa in 1904 and then chief Ashkenazic rabbi of Palestine from 1921 until his death in 1935. Kook held that redemption had begun with the Zionist movement, and in anticipation of imminent messianic times, he fostered study of the sacrificial laws in his *yeshivah.* Unlike other religious Zionists and religious anti-Zionists, Kook believed the secular pioneers were a necessary force to prepare the material foundation for messianic times. He argued dialectically that the profane was necessary for subsequent emergence of the sacred. Kook met frequently with leaders of the labor Zionist movement and developed close ties with them. As chief rabbi of Jaffa he played a central role in 1909 in the attempt to solve the problem of the *shemittah,* the agricultural sabbatical during which land owned by Jews in the Land of Israel is supposed to lie fallow. Kook arranged for sale of such land to a non-Jew, which allowed it to be worked by Jews and permitted the continuation of the agricultural settlements. Kook's unusually positive attitude toward the secular Zionist movement was based on his belief that, when Zionism succeeded, messianic times would come and the Zionist movement would itself return to its unconscious religious roots.

Kook's messianic philosophy had little direct impact on the religious Zionist parties, but it did influence a new generation of religious Israelis, particularly through the Merkaz ha-Rav Yeshivah in Jerusalem, established by Kook and headed by his son Tsevi Yehudah Kook (1891–1982) until the latter's death. This new generation did not accept the compromise position of the older leaders of Mizraḥi, who believed that the religious parties should primarily guard the religious status quo in the state of Israel. The young religious Zionists, who grew up after the creation of the state in 1948, believed strongly in Zionism as the fulfillment of traditional Jewish messianism. This belief took political expression after the Six-Day War of 1967. Young religious Israelis reestablished the settlements in the Etsion bloc south of Jerusalem and created a Jewish outpost in Hebron in 1968. (This illegal settlement was later recognized by the government and developed into the town of Qiryat Arba outside of Hebron.) In 1974, following the Yom Kippur War, these religious activists founded the Gush Emunim (bloc of the faithful) movement, which advocated the incorporation of Judea and Samaria (the West Bank of the Jordan River) into Israel. The Gush Emunim led a settlement drive in these areas, sometimes with the support of the Israeli government and sometimes illegally. They constituted a significant messianic force in Israeli politics and formed alliances with secular nationalist forces.

RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS IN THE STATE OF ISRAEL. Under both the Ottoman Empire and the British Mandate, Jewish religious courts enjoyed official jurisdiction over matrimonial and inheritance law. The office of the *hakham basi* in the Ottoman Empire was succeeded by the Ashkenazic and Sefardic chief rabbis under the British Mandate. These functions were carried over to the rabbinic courts and the chief rabbinate of the state of Israel, which were given jurisdiction over matters of personal law by a Knesset enactment of 1953. Rabbinical judges were given the same status as district court judges, and their decisions were enforced by the civil authorities. Thus in matters of marriage, divorce, and child custody, rabbinic courts—ruling according to Jewish law *(halakhah)*—have state sanction. Civil marriage and divorce do not exist, although civil marriages are recognized if contracted abroad. The Ministry of Religious Affairs deals with the needs of the various religious communities in Israel and funds the construction and maintenance of synagogues, *yeshivot,* and other religious facilities.

Although both the Conservative and Reform movements have small followings in Israel, their rabbis are not authorized by the rabbinate to perform marriages, and they do not benefit from the budgets available through the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Conversion to Judaism is supervised by the rabbinate, and thus Conservative and Reform conversions are not recognized as valid unless contracted abroad.

Although the majority of the Jewish citizens of Israel are secular or quasi-traditional, a religious status quo is maintained. The Sabbath is the national day of rest, and Jewish holidays are national holidays. Sabbath rules apply in public places at the discretion of local municipalities, but the various political parties have undertaken to maintain the practices that have existed since the creation of the state. In the 1977 and 1982 coalition agreements, the Agudat Yisraʾel Party, which represents some of the most orthodox elements, demanded certain changes in the status quo, such as cancellation of Sabbath flights by the national airline, El Al.

The problem of religion in the state of Israel is connected more generally to the question of a Jewish state. According to the Orthodox interpretation, a Jewish state would have to be a "theocratic" state governed by Jewish law *(halakhah).* At the opposite extreme, the secular nationalist argument holds that Israel should be a secular state in which synagogue and state are strictly separated and whose Jewish character is determined purely by the sociological makeup of its population. For the Orthodox the identity of the Jews can only be determined by the *halakhah:* one is a Jew only if born of a Jewish mother or converted by a *halakhic* procedure. For the secular Zionists anyone who declares himself or herself a Jew should be considered as such. Moreover some secular nationalists argue that a new Israeli identity should take the place of Jewish identity, which they regard as a religious relic of the years of exile. In a case in the 1960s the Israeli Supreme Court ruled that Jewish identity is not determined by the *halakhah.* The case concerned a Carmelite monk, Brother Daniel, who was born a Jew and had fought against the Nazis as a partisan. He requested Israeli citizenship under the Law of Return, arguing that, according to the *halakhah,* he remained a Jew even though he professed another religion. The court ruled against him with the argument that the conventional understanding of who is a Jew contradicted the *halakhah* in such a case and, since Israel is not a *halakhic* state, that the common definition should prevail. Similarly in 1970 the court ruled that a child born of a Jewish father and a non-Jewish mother might be registered as of "Israeli" rather than "Jewish" national identity. This decision would have set aside the concept of a corporate Jewish state in favor of a new secular Israeli identity. As a result of pressure from the religious Zionist parties and of discomfort on the part of many secular Zionists, the Knesset passed a law providing that only persons recognized as Jews by the *halakhah* might be registered as Jews by nationality. In 1980 the Knesset passed a law stipulating that, in matters in which there is no specific law or precedent, judges should be guided by "Hebrew jurisprudence" *(mishpat ʿivri).* Judges were directed to follow traditional Jewish law, but by avoiding the term *halakhah,* the Knesset was able to satisfy the secular refusal to accept a theocratic state. Thus the judicial system has generally attempted a secular definition of Jewish identity, whereas the legislative system, responding to religious sentiments, has avoided such a break with tradition.

The immigration of nearly a million Russian Jews following the breakup of the Soviet Union posed new challenges to Israel's identity. Many of these Russian Jews were of mixed parentage, and a large percentage (perhaps as many as a third) was not Jewish at all. The courts faced problems of whether fallen soldiers of Israel's army could be buried in Jewish cemeteries. The state faced another problem in 1994 with the immigration of Ethiopian Jews, whose religious traditions did not include rabbinic law. The rabbinate ruled that they were to be considered Jews, even though the weight of historical evidence seemed to preclude such ethnic descent on religious grounds.

ANTI-ZIONISM. There are a number of expressions of anti-Zionism based on religious motivations. In both Europe and America nineteenth-century Reform Judaism was unalterably opposed to a national definition of Judaism. The Pittsburgh Platform of 1885 specifically rejected any expectation of a return of the Jews to Zion. By 1937, however, the Reform movement had moved to a more neutral position and adopted the Columbus Platform, in which the "group loyalty" of the Jews is recognized and the Jewish community of Palestine is supported "not only [as] a haven of refuge for the oppressed but also [as] a center of Jewish culture and spiritual life" (Plaut, 1963–1965). Nevertheless a wing of the Reform movement, which formed the American Council for Judaism, actively opposed the creation of Israel in the 1940s. Following the Six-Day War, the Reform movement became explicitly Zionist and joined the World Zionist Organization. Reform Jews established several *kibbutsim* and congregations in Israel.

Among the Orthodox, Zionism was initially greeted with skepticism or hostility. The initial plan to hold the First Zionist Congress in Munich was canceled as a result of opposition by the German rabbis. In 1912 Agudat Yisraʾel was formed by rabbis from Germany, Hungary, and Poland as an organization to advance orthodoxy in Jewish life. The Agudah opposed secular Zionism but maintained an ambivalent attitude toward settlement in the Land of Israel. Following the establishment of the state, the Agudah became a political party advocating a state based on the *halakhah.* The ideology of the movement opposes participation in Zionist governments, although its representatives have nevertheless from time to time held cabinet seats and although they provided coalition support for the government after 1977. The Agudah has used its political influence to strengthen its educational and religious institutions and has sought religious concessions from the Knesset, such as exemptions for religious girls from national service and stricter adherence to Sabbath rules. As opposed to the National Religious Party, the Agudah considers itself non-Zionist and does not identify with the national goals of the state.

In the 1980s the Shas Party was formed under the spiritual leadership of Rabbi ʿOvadyah Yosef (b. 1920), an Iraqi-born sage who served as chief Sefardic rabbi of Israel. The Shas Party appealed primarily to Jews of Middle Eastern and North African origin and defined itself as non-Zionist, by which it meant that, like the Agudat Yisraʾel, it favored a theocratic state in place of the secular state of Israel. But Shas was characterized more by pragmatism, seeking state subsidies for its extensive network of schools and social services for its constituents.

A more extreme anti-Zionist group is the Neturei Karta (guardians of the city), which broke off from Agudat Yisraʾel in 1935. The Neturei Karta are largely followers of the Satmar Hasidic sect. Neturei Karta opposed the creation of the state of Israel and regarded Zionism as a heinous sin that prevents the coming of the Messiah. They believe the Nazi Holocaust was punishment for secular Zionism, and they declared their willingness to participate in an Arab government in Palestine. They clashed violently from time to time with the Israeli police in demonstrations against what they regard as violations of Jewish law in the state. The members of Neturei Karta live for the most part in Jerusalem, where they govern themselves, taking no services from the state and paying no taxes. They also have significant support from certain ultraorthodox Jews in the United States.

Conclusion. Modern Israel is the product of both secular and religious tendencies with origins in modern nationalism and in the traditional messianic connection to Zion. With the exception of the small anti-Zionist group, most Jews in the world, representing virtually the whole religious spectrum, support the basic aspirations of Zionism. Thus the character of the Jewish state—religious, secular, or some combination of both—remains an issue of political conflict among Zionists, but this conflict is also emblematic of the larger question of the relationship of religion to nationalism in the modern world.

See Also Agudat Yisraʾel; Messianism, article on Jewish Messianism.

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ZODIAC See ASTROLOGY

ZOHAR. *Sefer ha-zohar* (The book of splendor) is the central book in the literature of Jewish mysticism (Qabbalah). It is attributed to Shimʿon bar Yoḥʾai, a second century tanna, but modern scholarship has concluded that it is a compilation dating from thirteenth-century Spain. Quotations from the *Zohar* first appear in qabbalistic writings after 1280, and analysis of the book's terminology and prose style shows that its real author is Mosheh de León (1240–1305), a Castilian qabbalist.

Written mostly in Aramaic, the *Zohar* presents an elaborate and comprehensive, though not always coherent, mystical system that employs audacious anthropomorphic and sexual imagery to express a mythical and symbolic perception of divine reality without precedent in medieval Qabbalah. The *Zohar* was accepted by qabbalists as an authoritative ancient work, and its influence on the later evolution of Jewish mysticism was felt principally through the impact of its mythical conceptions on qabbalistic theosophy.

The *Zohar* encompasses a series of qabbalistic works that can be divided into three main layers:

(1) *Midrash ha-neʿelam* (The hidden Midrash) is considered to be the earliest stratum. Written partly in Hebrew, partly in Aramaic, it has overt affinities with Mosheh de León's early Hebrew works and an obvious tendency toward allegorical exegesis of biblical verses.

(2) The bulk of the *Zohar* consists mainly of a homiletical interpretation of the Pentateuch, written in Aramaic and using symbolic exegesis. To this layer belong several shorter compositions, of which the most important are *Sifraʾ de-tseniʿutaʾ* (The occult book), *Idraʾ rabbaʾ* and *Idraʿ zuṭṭaʾ.*

(3) The latest stratum is formed by two large compositions: *Tiqqunei zohar,* which is composed of seventy interpretations of the word *bereʾshit* (the opening word of *Genesis*), and *Raʿyaʾ meheimnaʾ* (The faithful shepherd), a qabbalistic interpretation of the rationale for the commandments.

Immediately after their appearance, the earlier strata of the *Zohar* were the subjects of commentaries by qabbalists. Yosef Angelino (early fourteenth century) compiled a commentary entitled *Livnat ha-sappir* on the portions of the *Zohar* that explain *Genesis* and *Leviticus.* In the late thirteenth century David ben Yehudah he-Ḥasid wrote *Sefer ha-gevul,* a commentary on *Idraʾ rabbaʾ.* In the second half of the sixteenth century several important commentaries were composed including, Shimʿon Lavi's *Ketem paz,* Mosheh Cordovero's *Or yaqar,* and works by Mosheh Isserles, Eliyyahu Loans of Worms, Avraham Axulai, Avraham Galante, and Ḥayyim Vital. All subsequent commentaries extant were written under the influence of the reinterpretation of qabbalistic ideas by Isaac Luria, a fact that diminishes their contribution to understanding the text. The most important of these are by Shalom Buzaglo (seventeenth century) Eliyyahu ben Shelomoh Zalman (known as the Gaon of Vilna [Vilnius]) in the eighteenth century, and Yitsḥaq Eiziḳ Safrin of Komarno in the nineteenth century.

There are several Hebrew translations of the *Zohar;* the earliest, dating from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, is that of David ben Yehudah he-Ḥasid, who incorporated parts of it in his own qabbalistic works. Parts of the *Zohar* have been translated into Latin by Guillaume Postel and Knorr von Rosenroth. Larger translations exist in English (by Harry Sperling and Maurice Simon, 1931–1934; by Daniel Chanan Matt, 1983); in French (by Jean de Pauly, 1906–1911; by Charles Mopsik and B. Maruani, 1981); in German (by Ernst Müller, 1932 and 1984); and in Italian (by L. Balducci, 1978).

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Moshe Idel (1987)

ZOLLA, ELÉMIRE. Elémire Zolla (1926–2002), an Anglo-Italian polymath, writer, historian of ideas, metaphysical thinker, and spiritual seeker, has a unique place in twentieth-century religious, comparative, and cultural studies. His rigorous and passionate explorations of shamanism, Gnosticism, alchemy, and esoteric doctrines, and his original views on archetypes as the unifying patterns underlying historical processes, on the mystic state conceived as the crux and marrow of human experience, and on syncretism as the equalization of philosophies and religions on a transhistorical plan, make Zolla an unusual thinker, and a candidate for a nonparochial reconsideration of his spiritual anthropology. Zolla's work is imbued with the passion for truth that Abraham Joshua Heschel immediately recognized at the time of their first encounter in Rome in the late 1960s. In fact, Zolla was the dedicatee of the Italian edition of Heschel's *Passion for Truth* (1974).

A prominent and controversial figure on the Italian cultural scene from the late 1950s, Zolla became director of the Institute of Foreign Languages and Literatures at the University of Genoa, where he was also chair of Anglo-American literature and Germanic philology (1970–1974). In those same years, before transferring to the University of Rome to serve as professor of American literature, he directed the Ticinese Institute for Advanced Studies at Lugano, Switzerland, where he organized summer courses dealing with the metaphysical assumptions of Latin, Greek, Hindu, Chinese, Iranian, Hebrew, Islamic, and African civilizations. Zolla was also the founder and editor of an Italian-language journal in cultural and religious studies, *Conoscenza religiosa* (1969–1983), and he was a regular contributor to numerous other journals, many in English. He served on the board of editors of *Cahiers de l'hermetisme*, *Connaissance des religions*, *Incognita*, and *Quaderni di Italianistica*, and was a member of the advisory board of the African Institute for the Studies of Humanistic Values at the University of Cincinnati, as well as for the Centre for the Study of Eurasian Shamanism at the University of Rome Tor Vergata, and the scientific council of the Centre d'anthropologie et de civilization Européenne at the University of Strasbourg. Zolla became professor emeritus in American literature at the University of Rome after he retired in 1991.

ESSENTIAL BIOGRAPHICAL AND ACADEMIC DATA. Zolla was born in Turin on July 9, 1926. His father, Venanzio, was a well known Anglo-Italian painter; his mother, Blanche Smith, was a musician from Kent. Zolla was brought up speaking English, Italian, French, Spanish, and German. Later he would master several other languages, including Russian (he translated Pavel Florenskii's *Ikonostas* as *Le porte regali*, Milan, 1977). He graduated in law from the University of Turin, and also attended courses in psychiatry held at the town asylum. A severe lung disease contracted at the age of twenty-two gave him recurrent reminders throughout his life of the need to cherish every drop of vital energy. From a religious point of view, he was agnostic, but a fervent believer, as he used to say, in the boundless power of belief. In the prime of his life he wrote stories, including "An Angelic Visit on Via dei Martiri," and two novels, *Minuetto all'inferno* (Minuet in hell; 1956) and *Cecilia o la disattenzione* (Cecilia or inattention; 1961).

As a literary critic he freelanced for the main periodicals of the time, contributing essays on Franz Kafka, André Gide, Thomas Mann, Marcel Proust, and James Joyce. Zolla developed a keen interest in American matters from literary, historical, juridical, and ethnological angles. On the suggestion of Mario Praz, the leading Anglicist at the University of Rome, who had been highly impressed by Zolla's earlier investigations on Herman Melville's *Clarel*, on Emily Dickinson's poetry, and on Nathaniel Hawthorne's *Septimius Felton*, Zolla was offered the post of associate professor of American literature at the University of Rome in 1959. A full professorship followed in 1967.

Eloquence, bold knowledge, and a special gift for teaching made Zolla revered and popular among his assistants and students at the universities of Genoa and Rome. New branches of study, such as Native North-American studies and ethnopoetics, along with fecund intersections with comparative and Oriental studies, developed as a result of Zolla's work. He launched research projects involving teams of junior scholars on the superman theme in modern literature and on exoticism in American literature. He also edited and introduced *Novecento Americano* (American literature in the twentieth century; 1980–1983), a three-volume textbook providing monographs on fifty major American modern writers. The studies *in mortem* produced by some of Zolla's former disciples are noteworthy when considering the legacy of Zolla's work in this area.

KEY FIGURES IN ZOLLA'S THOUGHT. In a long interview with a journalist shortly before his death, Zolla teasingly predicted: "It won't be easy to retrace the lives I have lived and the directions of my thought" (Fasoli, 1995, p. 29). On another occasion, when asked who had been a key figure in his own quest, he replied by quoting two metaphors, both of them aquatic. The first is from Zolla's collection of essays *Che cos'è la tradizione?* (What is tradition?, 1971), a work that Bernard Wall described as a manifesto of a fearless program of reaction against the spiritual atrophy of modern civilization: "Humans are like carp," wrote Zolla, "who flourish and grow when there is a rock in the center of their pond that they can swim around in harmonious circles" (p. 9). The second metaphor, from Zolla's *Verità segrete esposte in evidenza* (Neglected truths exposed, 1990), is contained in a broader reflection, abbreviated here: "Every life," wrote Zolla, "comprises an invisible interiority that is substantial to it. The only way to grasp this is to sidestep tangible appearances, to take a leap against the current like the salmon, who is the living symbol of knowledge in the Old Norse Scriptures" (p. 154). The carp circling the rock and the salmon swimming upstream towards the source—no images could better express the two leading traits in Zolla's intellectual biography and at the same time the character of his peculiar philosophical vision.

Syncretism, which Zolla vigorously defended in his essay "Il sincretismo" (1986), and metaphysical experience, which in the first lines of "Archetypes" (1981) he described as "the gathering in of the aloof mind" when it "becomes absorbed in its self-existent identity and sameness," were as much leitmotifs in Zolla's pursuit of a unitive knowledge as was his incoercible drive toward the systematic exploration of otherness, a notion that he shaped into an extraordinarily vast array of implications, much beyond its strict ethnological meaning. In a memorable lecture given at the Interreligious Colloquium at the Rothko Chapel in Houston in 1974 (see Ibish and Marculescu, 1978), Zolla described otherness as an antipodal category of the human spirit, the paradigm of an inverted world where ordinary life might flow peacefully between action and contemplation, and the esoteric life as a joyous apprenticeship in metaphysical experience. This broader notion of otherness offers a key to an unbiased investigation of Zolla's accumulated research into alchemy, including Western, Indian, and Daoist notions of immortality; esotericism, with a special bent for ecstatic Qabbalah, Sufism, Zoroastrian, and Tantric traditions; mysticism, which he explored in a monumental anthology of pagan and Christian contemplatives (*I mistici dell'Occidente*, 1963); shamanism, particularly in the Native North American and Korean contexts; and tradition and metaphysics, fields par excellence of Zolla's lifelong spiritual quest. His encounters with survivals of the past among the North American Indians, in Africa (Nubia and Cairo), and especially in the East (Israel, Iran, India, Bali, Taiwan, Korea, and Japan), were analyzed in his quarterly journal *Conoscenza religiosa.* An international group of leading specialists contributed to its sixty-eight issues.

The most perceptive interpreter of the multifaceted identity of Zolla's spiritual anthropology was probably the Romanian historian of religions, Ioan P. Culianu (1950–1991). In his view Zolla was "perhaps the most original, versatile, and untimely of Italy's foremost intellectuals, displaying supreme indifference towards the fashion of the day and therefore—needless to say—controversial" (Culianu, 1990, pp. 222–224). In his reconstruction of the image of the Indian in American literature, which Zolla made in his celebrated book, *The Writer and the Shaman* (1968), he approached the categories from the point of view of the Native American. Moreover, Culianu emphasizes that this process of lucid identification with the indigenous point of view, or with the shaman who effects his ascent to heaven in trance, or with the mystic enraptured in a circle of contemplative bliss, was possible thanks to the new position that emerged as part of Zolla's method. It is the position of the "intelligence out of love" (a fairly faithful translation of Dante's "intelletto d'amore"). To kindle a certain quality of love in the process of comprehending the inner nature of otherness was the esoteric part of Zolla's intellectual achievement. He was well aware that such an achievement could not be pursued except by swimming upstream against the current of his time. No vision could be as antipodal to the spirit of the age which was dominant on the eve of the 1968 student revolts as the one Zolla depicted in *Le potenze dell'anima* (The powers of the soul, 1968), a crucial investigation of the spiritual morphology in the history of culture.

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Eighty percent of Zolla's writings are in Italian; approximately ten percent are in English, with the remaining works in Spanish, French, and German. Essays and papers provided to international conferences are scattered in several journals and volumes of proceedings. His articles in *Il corriere della sera, La nación,* and the Sunday supplement of *Il sole 24ore* (published between 2000 and 2002) have ranged from travel accounts to social, literary, and art criticism. An annotated bibliography in Italian, updated to 1991, is available in *La religione della terra: Vie sciamaniche, universi immaginali, iperspazi virtuali nell'esperienza sacrale della vita,* edited by Grazia Marchianò (Como, Italy, 1991), pp. 35–41. This title, translated as *Earth Religion: Shamanic Paths, Imaginal Worlds, Virtual Hyperspaces in the Sacred Experience of Life,* is a collection of interdisciplinary essays offered to Zolla on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday by Francisco Garcia Bazán, Ioan Petru Culianu, Terence DuQuesne, Moshé Idel, Toshihiko and Toyo Izutsu, Wolfgang J. Jilek, Louise Jilek-Aall, Luce López-Baralt, Adam McLean, Viviana Pâques, and Lawrence E. Sullivan.

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Ten new works by Zolla appeared between 1991 and 2002, the last being *Discesa all'ade e resurrezione* (Milan, 2002), a philosophical meditation on the hermetic motif of the journey of the human soul once the flesh has been discarded. Zolla's *Il dio dell'ebbrezza: Antologia dei moderni dionisiaci* (Turin, 1998) is an exegesis of the Dionysian traces in modern literature, and *Uscite dal mondo* (Milan, 1992) is a collection of essays focusing on the goal of life in light of the amazing new perspectives offered by virtual reality technology. Among Zolla's works in English, *The Eclipse of the Intellectual* (1959), translated by Raymond Rosenthal (New York, 1968), Zolla's first controversial book in social criticism, contains a fierce attack on modern mass civilization. Zolla's influence is acknowledged in Marshall McLuhan's *From Cliché to Archetype* (New York, 1970). Stefano Cochetti notices the strong influence of Theodor W. Adorno's and Max Horkheimer's negative dialectics on it. Zolla's *The Writer and the Shaman: A Morphology of the American Indian,* translated by Raymond Rosenthal (New York, 1973), is an impressive study of the images of the Indian in American literature from the beginning of colonization to 1969.

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ZONGMI (780–841), more fully, Guifeng Zongmi; Chinese Buddhist Chan and Huayan scholar, traditionally reckoned as the fifth "patriarch" both in the Heze line of Southern Chan and in the Huayan tradition. Zongmi was born in Xichong County, Guo prefecture, in Szechwan province. His family, the Ho, was one of local prominence, and as a youth he received a traditional education in the Confucian classics. He became interested in Buddhism as an adolescent, but he continued his Confucian studies at a local academy in preparation for the imperial examinations that would open the door to an official career. In 804, however, he met the Chan priest Daoyuan and was so impressed that he abandoned his worldly ambitions and became his disciple. Later, while still a novice monk, he experienced his first awakening after reading only two or three pages of the *Yuanjue jing* (The scripture of perfect enlightenment) at the home of a lay patron. Zongmi continued his Chan study under Daoyuan, receiving full ordination from him in 808. Two years later he was introduced to the commentary and subcommentary to the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* written by the famous Huayan scholar Chengguan (738–839). This work so impressed him that in 812 he became a disciple of Chengguan and studied intensely with him for two years. In 816 he withdrew to Mount Zhongnan outside the eastern capital of Luoyang to read the Buddhist canon. He now began a productive career as a scholar, writing numerous commentaries on a wide range of Buddhist texts. His greatest exegetical energies, however, were devoted to the *Yuanjue jing*, which he regarded as better suited to the age than the *Avataṃsaka.* His scholarly activity came to an abrupt stop in 835, when he became implicated in an abortive attempt to oust the eunuchs from power at court. Afterward he withdrew from public life, and nothing further is known about him until his death in 841.

Zongmi's Chan training played a key role in the new thrust that he gave to Huayan metaphysics. His emphasis on the ultimate ground from which phenomena arise over their unimpeded interpenetration—an idea characteristic of the classical Huayan thought of Fazang (643–712)—reveals his interest in clarifying the ontological basis for religious practice. He also found in Huayan hermeneutics a framework in which to harmonize the conflicting tendencies evident in the Buddhist world of his day. His *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* (Preface to the collected writings on the source of Chan), for instance, in addition to affording valuable historical insight into the Chan of the late eighth and early ninth centuries, seeks to reconcile the split that had developed between Chan practitioners and textual scholars, as well as between the various Chan lineages. His efforts to articulate a comprehensive framework in which apparently opposing positions could be sublated also extended to non-Buddhist traditions, as can best be seen in his *Yuanren lun* (Inquiry into the origin of man). Zongmi's writings represent an important stage in the complex unfolding of the dialogue among the "Three Religions" (Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism) in Chinese history.

SEE ALSO Huayan.

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PETER N. GREGORY (1987)
Revised Bibliography

ZOROASTRIANISM.

Zoroastrianism, known to its followers as the *Zarathushti din* (Zoroastrian religion), developed from the words, ideas, beliefs, and rituals attributed to a devotional poet named Zarathushtra (later Middle Persian or Pahlavi: Zardukhsht, Zardusht; New Persian or Farsi: Zardosht). Zarathushtra eventually came to be regarded as the founder and prophet of the devotionally monotheistic, doctrinally dualistic faith named after him. So, followers of the religion are termed Zoroastrians (New Persian: Zartoshtis, Zardoshtis; Gujarati: Jarthushtis). Zoroastrians also traditionally refer to their faith as *Mazdayasna daēnā* (Middle Persian: *dēn ī Māzdēsn*) (religion of Mazdā) and to themselves as *Mazdayasna* (Middle Persian: *Māzdēsn*) (worshipers of Mazdā), thus acknowledging worship of Ahura Mazdā (Wise Lord) as God and creator. The *Fravarānē* (Profession of faith) begins with the Avestan words: "I profess myself a worshiper of Mazdā, a follower of Zarathushtra, opposing the demons, accepting the doctrine of the Ahura."

Zoroastrianism developed into the major religion—theologically, demographically, and politically—of Iran and Central Asia between the sixth century BCE and the tenth century CE, enjoying royal patronage from various dynasties. During those centuries it influenced Hellenistic, Jewish, Christian, and Muslim beliefs through contact between members of those communities and Zoroastrians. Zoroastrians assimilated aspects of monotheism and hagiography from the Judeo-Christian and Islamic traditions. After the Arab conquest of Iran and Central Asia in the seventh century CE, Zoroastrianism gradually lost adherents through conversion to Islam. During the tenth century, some adherents migrated to India, forming the minority Parsi (Persian) community that flourishes there into the twenty-first century but became endogamic within Hindu society. By the thirteenth century, Irani Zoroastrians also had become a confessional minority. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Zoroastrians relocated from Iran and India to other countries. Based on recent demographic assessments, the faith has a following of approximately 300,000 persons worldwide.

THE FOUNDER, HIS IDEAS, AND HIS REPRESENTATIONS.

The issue of Zarathushtra's image is central to Zoroastrianism and Zoroastrians. Therefore, Zarathushtra requires discussion within any overview of the religion.

Zarathushtra's dates and place. Devotees do not doubt the basic reality of Zarathushtra's existence. Yet one line of modern scholarship has been to view Zarathushtra as a legendary character. This position has resulted in suggestions that a historical Zarathushtra was not the composer of the *Gāthās* (Songs) central to Zoroastrian belief. Rather, some scholars attributed the *Gāthās* to one or more anonymous poet-worshippers who allegedly presented an epic character named Zarathushtra as the prototypical poet-sacrificer. These conclusions are based on comparing aspects of the Gathic texts with certain Vedic poems and archaic Greek epics. However, analyses of compositional style and structure indicate that the *Gāthās* were the product of a single devotional poet named Zarathushtra (Possessor of Old Camels) who ensured that memory of him was perpetuated through self-references within his compositions.

When and where Zarathushtra lived is another problematic issue. The traditional place and date for Zarathushtra's life found in a variety of Iranian (including Zoroastrian), Mesopotamian, Greek, and later Arab sources is in Iran two hundred and fifty-eight years before Alexander the Great's conquest of Iran and the death of the last Achaemenian king, Dārayavaush or Darius III (in 330 BCE)—that is, 588 BCE. However, the traditional date for Zarathushtra's life seems to have been either of Greek or more probably of Babylonian origin. Moreover, it is unlikely that the Old or Gathic Avestan dialect was still spoken at that time, as evidenced by the rapid decline in use of its west Iranian cognate, Old Persian, during the Achaemenian period. So composition of the *Gāthās* must have predated the seventh century BCE.

Another set of dates for Zarathushtra's life arose among classical writers. Diogenes Laertius (fl. third century CE), based on Xanthus of Lydia (fl. fifth century BCE) and Hermodorus (fl. fourth century BCE), gave two dates for Zarathushtra's life—six thousand years before the Achaemenian king Xerxes' forces invaded Greece (in 480 BCE) and from five to six thousand years before the Trojan War (early second millennium BCE). Pliny the Elder (23–79 CE) cited Eudoxus (fl. fourth century BCE) in claiming that Zarathushtra had lived six thousand years before the death of Plato (in 348 or 347 BCE), or five thousand years before the Trojan War. All those dates fall within the seventh millennium BCE. Moreover, classical Greek and Roman authors regarded Zarathushtra as having been an Iranian magus. One major problem with accepting seventh millennium BCE dates for Zarathushtra's life is that his words and ideas should then be present not only in the *Gāthās* but also within early Vedic texts of Hinduism and be part of Indo-European devotional literature generally. Because the material data indicates that Proto-Indians separated from Proto-Iranians during the late third or early second millennium BCE, Zarathushtra's life cannot date to before that division.

The third possible place and date for Zarathushtra are the result of enhanced knowledge of both comparative Indo-Iranian linguistics and the archaeology of Central Asia. The linguistic data suggests that the *Gāthās* must have been composed after the Proto-Iranians were distinct from the Proto-Indians (that is, by the eighteenth century BCE) but before the *Gāthās* became part of the Zoroastrian religious canon (that is, between the tenth and sixth centuries BCE), following which Old Avestan fell into disuse. Descriptive reconstruction from the Avestan texts of the society in which Zarathushtra lived correlates with the archaeological remains of the Late Bronze Age in Central Asia. That Bronze Age culture extended from the Caspian Sea through Transoxiana to Afghanistan in 2000–1750 BCE, followed by a period of societal dispersion in 1750–1500 BCE. So, Zarathushtra probably lived and preached in Central Asia between the eighteenth and fifteenth centuries BCE.

Zarathushtra's teachings. Zarathushtra's *Gāthās* provided the Bronze Age people of Central Asia with a vivid and engaging system whereby religious belief and ritual activity were utilized to differentiate between *asha* (order) and *drug* (confusion) (*Gāthās* 33.4, 34.6). Zarathushtra established *mazdā* (wisdom) and Ahura Mazdā (later Old Persian: Auramazdā, Middle Persian: Ohrmazd, New Persian: Hormazd) as means of distinguishing right from wrong (*Gāthās* 33.13, 45.6). The primordial entity Ahura Mazdā was ascribed a creative hypostasis called Spenta Mainyu (originally Spanta Manyu, Middle Persian: Spenāg Mēnōg) (Holy Spirit). Opposing order and Ahura Mazdā, Zarathushtra suggested, were confusion and the primordial entity Angra Mainyu (later Middle Persian: Ahreman, New Persian: Ahriman) (the Angry Spirit). By medieval times Zoroastrian theologians would ascribe a destructive hypostasis called Ganāg Mēnōg (Harmful Spirit) to Angra Mainyu. According to Zarathushtra, the two primordial entities were "in thought, word, and deed, the better and the worse" respectively (*Gāthās* 30.3). Ahura Mazdā came to be venerated as the "father of order" and the "creator of all these [beneficial] things" (*Gāthās* 44.3, 7).

The *Gāthās* also suggested that the corporeal (Avestan: *gaēthya*) world be regarded as an extension of the spiritual (Avestan: *mainyava*) one, explaining the differential experiences of humans in terms of struggles between order and confusion. In so doing, Zarathushtra endowed human existence with meaning during life and hope for an afterlife. Zarathushtra even articulated the notion of pious souls journeying to a paradisiacal existence in the Abode of Song.

Zarathushtra's images. As the Zoroastrians of ancient and medieval Iran interacted with other religious communities such as Jews, Christians, and eventually Muslims, a pious biography or hagiography developed around Zarathushtra. Zoroastrian writers in antiquity and the Middle Ages drew upon glimpses of his life, the names of family members and followers like Jāmāspa, and the accounts of his opponents, such as the tribal leader Bēndva in the *Gāthās,* combining those with biblical notions of piety, devotional quest, revelation, opposition, ministry, and violent demise. This organized hagiography began to develop after the Achaemenian conquest of Babylonia (in 538 BCE) under influence of Israelite accounts of the Patriarchs, was augmented during the second through seventh centuries CE by the Christian image of Jesus' life as recounted in the Gospels, and was supplemented by images from the life of the prophet Muḥammad after Arab Muslims began ruling Iran in the seventh century.

According to that later hagiographic tradition, Zarathushtra's mother, Dughdōvā, was forced to flee her hometown for another village. There, she met a pious man named Pourushaspa, with whom she conceived Zarathushtra. A light supposedly shone from Dughdōvā's womb when she was pregnant, resulting in attempts by evildoers to harm mother and fetus. Upon birth, Zarathushtra's first breath apparently sounded like a laugh rather than a cry. Surviving several attacks upon his life, Zarathushtra eventually left home at the age of twenty. After a decade of wandering and contemplation, he received revelation via Vohu Manah (Middle Persian: Wahman, New Persian: Bahman) (Good Mind) and returned to preach the religion of Ahura Mazdā. Zarathushtra was opposed by the clergy of the older cults in his homeland and had to seek refuge at the court of a neighboring ruler named Vishtāspa, who accepted the religion. Here, Zarathushtra preached and gained many followers until he was assassinated by a priest of another sect at the age of seventy-seven, or so it was written. Through these stories, Zarathushtra's image was firmly established as that of a Near Eastern prophet and eventually recorded in the *Zardukhsht nāmag* or *Zardosht nāme* (Book of Zarathushtra) and other medieval texts like as the *Dēnkard* (Acts of the religion), written in the Middle Persian and New Persian languages. This hagiography has become increasingly popular among Zoroastrians. It is often reproduced in an assortment of pious literature from novels for adults to comics for children in which Zarathushtra is regarded as one of the earliest prophets.

There are no surviving descriptions or renditions of Zarathushtra's actual likeness. Images, however, were produced by devotees and others. Raphael Santi (1483–1520), the Italian Renaissance artist, depicted Zarathushtra—back turned to viewers, wearing a golden robe, holding a globe of the Earth, facing a depiction of Ptolemy, and standing next to an image of the artist himself—on the lower right corner of the *School of Artists* fresco at the Vatican in Rome, Italy. Modern Zoroastrians have generated their own images of Zarathushtra, the most popular of which is modeled on a rock relief of Mithra commissioned by the Sasanian king Ardeshir II (r. 379–383) at Taq-e Bostan in Iran. Various versions of that image adorn fire temples and homes of contemporary Zoroastrians showing Zarathushtra with rays of light emerging from a halo and, sometimes, pointing his right forefinger upward to heaven, much like the Greek philosopher Plato in Raphael's fresco.

PRIESTS, SECTS, AND LAY LEADERS. A Zoroastrian clergyman is termed a magus (Old Persian: *magush,* Middle Persian: *mowbed, mowmard,* New Persian and Gujarati: *mobed*) and is a member of a hereditary priestly subgroup among the Zoroastrians. Over time, subgroups developed among the magi based on theological divergences. Likewise, sects arose within the Zoroastrian community itself based on differences in beliefs and praxes. At various times, certain lay members of the Zoroastrian community have also gained followers for particular tenets and traditions.

The Magi in history Herodotos (c. 484–between 430 and 420 BCE), the Greek author, mentioned that no devotional rituals would be conducted by Iranians unless a magus was present. He also listed practices and beliefs specific to the magi such as consanguineous marriage, exposure of human corpses to wild creatures and the environment for desiccation, nondesecration of nature, and dislike of creatures regarded as noxious or harmful, such as wild animals, reptiles, and insects (*History* 1.101, 132, 140). Herodotos confirms that the magi (Greek: *magoi*) began as the priestly tribe among a tribal confederation known as the Medes. It appears that they appropriated the ideas of Zarathushtra after those concepts had begun to spread among the Proto-Iranians and that they were the sole clerics of the early Zoroastrians by the time the Medes had settled permanently in Iran (ninth century BCE). The magi claimed, erroneously, that Zarathushtra had been a member of their group and had lived among them in northwestern Iran as noted by Plato (c. 428–348 or 347 BCE) *Alcibiades* 1.121). The magi modified Zarathushtra's message to accommodate their own practices within the framework of dualism between order and confusion. They brought with them the notion of a hereditary priesthood that followed their established praxis of never including women in the ecclesiastic membership, claiming that menstruation and childbirth resulted in the discharge of blood that, once outside the body, could pollute priests, ritual actions, and holy places.

Greek and Roman authors learned of Zarathushtra through contact with the magi. Hellenistic scholars such as Pythagoras (c. 570–500 BCE) came to regard Zarathushtra as a mystical figure and as the original leader of magicians—a term deriving from the Old Persian word *magush* borrowed into Greek as *mágos* and Latin as *magus.* The name Zoroaster, by which the devotional poet is commonly identified in Western literature, derives from classical Greek Zōroástrēs, meaning "golden star" and symbolizing his association with spirituality. The magi were introduced into Christian belief as the wise men from the east who supposedly journeyed to Bethlehem; thus, the sages of Zoroastrianism were used to legitimize the founder of another Near Eastern faith.

Ranks within the early Zoroastrian magi seem to have included that of *āthravan* (fire priest) and *zaotar* (invoker, libation offerer). During the Achaemenian Empire, magi served as seers, counselors, and tutors to Iranian noble families. Magi staffed fire temples at urban centers such as Kangavar and Istakhr. The chief priest at each temple probably was titled *magupati* (head magus, master magus.) Seminaries developed for training magi, as did pious foundations for meeting the expenses of temples and seminaries. The color white was reserved for magian clothing to symbolize purity. Their dress, as evidenced from artistic representations, consisted of loose pants, a long-sleeve tunic bound by a belt, and a hooded cap with side flaps for covering the mouth to prevent breath and saliva from polluting ritual items. Because they lost royal favor and state support, the magi reacted adversely to Alexander's conquest of Iran. They denounced the Macedonian conqueror by claiming that his troops slaughtered many magi and burned copies of Zoroastrian scripture—a legend that became part of Iranian official history. Under the Achaemenians and, subsequently, with the Seleucids (fourth century–first century BCE), some magi moved to Ionia and Cappadocia (now in Turkey) where they staffed fire temples into the first century BCE (as noted by Strabo, (c. 63 BCE–24 CE),*Geography* 15.3.14–15).

By the Arsacid or Parthian period (238 BCE–224 CE), magi served in ranks bearing titles such as *hērpat* (later *hērbed*) (theologian), *magpat* (ritual priest), and *bagnapat* (shrine master.) They were present in large provincial temples such as those for the holiest fires in Iran—Ādur Farrōbay, Ādur Gushnasp, and Ādur Burzēnmihr—and in village *chahār tāq* (four-arch) fire precincts. They began working with clerics of other religious groups within Iran, such as the Jewish patriarchate, to regulate religious activity across confessional lines. They also served in the imperial judiciary. Leading magi were mentioned in Sassanid royal inscriptions and other official documents. Kirdīr, who functioned as royal *hērbed* under the second Sassanid ruler Shāpūr I (r. 240–272) and his immediate successors, commissioned Middle Persian inscriptions in which his religious duties, visions of the afterlife, and image were recorded. Kirdīr claimed to have zealously attacked religious sects regarded as heresies. By the fourth century, magi were led by an official titled the *mowbedān mowbed* (chief magus of the magi), or high priest—such as Ādurbād ī Māraspandān, who served during the reign of Shāpūr II (r. 309–379)—whose position was part of the royal court at Ctesiphon (near modern Baghdad). The title *dastwar* (high priest), denoting a cleric certified in both scripture and exegesis, was used as well.

When Zoroastrians lost political control of Iran and Zoroastrianism began to lose adherents to Islam, medieval magi compiled the faith's traditions and practices into the Pahlavi books. For example, Mardānfarrokh ī Ohrmazddādān (fl. ninth century) wrote the *Shkand Gumānīg Wizār* (Doubt dispelling exposition) to critique Judaism, Christianity, Manichaeism, and Islam while defending Zoroastrian tenets. Later, between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, magi in Iran sent the *Persian Revāyats* (Treatises) to their coreligionists—the Parsis—in India to advise the latter on religious observances. As the number of Zoroastrians in Iran declined through conversion to Islam, fire temples and seminaries (Middle Persian: *hērbedestān*) fell into disuse. After the Parsi Zoroastrians had settled in western India, their magi divided into five *panths* (ecclesiastic groups). Learned among the Indian magi was Neryōsangh Dhaval (fl. late eleventh century or early twelfth century), who translated portions of the Avesta into the Sanskrit language. According to Iranian tradition, the *dastur dasturān* (high priest of high priests) moved to the central Iranian village of Torkabad north of Yazd in the twelfth century and then to Yazd itself during the eighteenth century.

Contemporary magi. The present-day priesthood, whose members are still called *mobeds,* traces its lineage to the medieval magi of Iran. They form a class (New Persian and Gujarati: *āthornān*) (members of the priestly group) distinct from the laity (New Persian and Gujarati: *behdinān* (members of the good religion). Within the modern magi, ranks persist, including that of *ostā* (teacher, an uninitiated priest), *ērvad* (teacher priest, a priest who has undergone the first level of induction), and *dastur* (high priest, usually, but not always, associated with a temple for a holy fire of the *ātesh behrām* [fire of Verethraghna], or highest ritual level). Two categories of lay individuals traditionally have assisted magi in Iran: the *ātashband* (keeper of the flames) who tends ritual fires and the *dahmobed* (junior priest) who serves as temple warden. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, another category of priestly assistants has been created by the Mobed Councils in Iran and North America, namely the *mobedyār* (lay priest), to counter the growing shortage in the number of clerics by performing basic rituals for the laity.

Magi in both Iran and India continue to wear white robes and a white turban. They don a white mouth and nose mask (Middle Persian and New Persian: *padām,* Gujarati: *padān*) to avoid polluting implements (New Persian and Gujarati: *ʿālāt*) and offerings (Avestan: *myazda,* Middle Persian: *mēzd,* New Persian and Gujarati: *myazd*) during rituals. For high or inner rituals, they are required to be in a major state of ritual purity, which is obtained via the *Barashnūm ī nō shab* (Purification of the nine [days and] nights ceremony). During rites, an appropriately inducted and purified magus can serve in ranks including *zōt* (invoker, officiating priest), *rāspī* (assistant), and *bōywalla* (incense offerer). Passed from father to son, priesthood involves studying liturgies and rituals from childhood. Training usually occurs at a seminary (now known in New Persian and Gujarati as *madrasah*). Presently, there are only two functioning seminaries for the magi—the Athornan Boarding Madressa at Dadar in Bombay (Mumbai) and the M. F. Cama Athornan Institute at Andheri West in Bombay. Despite such training, because scripture is memorized, many magi comprehend only the gist of prayers. Clerical training may be followed by formal induction as a priest via the *Nāwar* and *Martab (Maratib)* ceremonies among the Parsis and the *Navezut* ceremony among Iranis. Most magi also obtain secular education and, after undergoing only the *Nāwar* or basic *Navezut* induction, serve as part-time priests or else leave the priesthood completely for secular employment that provides greater remuneration. The resulting shortage of magi has led to abbreviation of certain rites such as purificatory ones and to a focus on daily devotions. On a regular basis, magi serve lay Zoroastrians at fire temples in countries as diverse as Iran, India, Australia, Britain, and the United States, where they are employed by local congregations.

Leaders and groups. A large array of beliefs and practices seem to have been prevalent among the ancient and medieval magi. Only as the religion declined under Muslim rule in late medieval times were certain priests able to establish the more monolithic form of Zoroastrianism that is evidenced by the Middle Persian literature of the ninth through thirteenth centuries. As a result those texts, written for the most part by a handful of related clergymen, convey a false sense of uniformity in doctrine and ritual. One of the most widespread doctrinal variations was that called Zurvanism, which regarded Zurvan (Time) as a monist reconciliation of the dualism represented by Ahura Mazdā and Angra Mainyu and as a means of explaining the evil spirit's anger. Probably arising from theological speculation during the fifth century BCE, it was still subscribed to by magi such as Zādspram in the late ninth century CE. Another sect, that following Gayōmartiya and engaging in astrological and cosmological speculation, regarded Ahura Mazdā as eternal but Angra Mainyu as produced by divine doubt (in this respect perhaps drawing upon Zurvanite ideas) before waning in the ninth century.

Premodern and modern Parsis have experienced their own sectarian schisms. Disagreement relating to the calendar caused a division of the Parsi Zoroastrian community in 1746 into Kadmīs, who readopted the *qadīmī* (ancient) Iranian calendar, and Shenshaīs (also called Rasimīs) (traditionalists), who maintained the traditional Parsi calendar. Another group, called the Fasalīs or Faslīs, formed in 1906 to rely on a *fasl* (seasonal) calendar for rituals. Observance of rituals and festivals on different days because of these calendrical differences persists to the present, even among Parsis now residing in Western countries.

As priests' erudition on scripture and exegesis declined during the twentieth century, so did the Zoroastrian community's esteem for the magi, reliance on clerical learning, and acceptance of ecclesiastical authority. Contemporary *dasturs* still issue socioreligious injunctions on matters such as conversion to Zoroastrianism, marriage with members of other faiths, appropriate roles for women, and disposal of corpses, but by and large such rulings have only moral value for receptive laity and other magi. As a result, some magi have begun following sects established by lay Zoroastrians. One such sect arose when a Parsi named Behramshah Shroff (1858–1927) claimed to have been trained by spiritual sages on Mount Damavand in Iran and preached *Ilm-e Khshnum* (Knowledge of joy). *Ilm-e Khshnum* provides esoteric teachings that combine ideas of mysticism, astrology, reincarnation, and auras with the practice of vegetarianism and the compilation of new exegeses on the Avesta while granting religious authority to laypersons. One Khshnumist subgroup—whose members are identifiable by their red prayer caps and formulaic phrases of greeting such as *khshnaothra ahurahe mazda* (satisfaction unto Ahura Mazdā)—now follows the teachings of Minochehr Pundole and so are termed the Pundolites. Among twenty-first-century Irani Zoroastrians living in the United States, a Muslim convert to Zoroastrianism named Ali Jafarey is popular. He founded the Zarathushtrian Assembly based in Anaheim, California, in

1990. Its members advocate Zoroastrianism as a universalistic faith—a viewpoint rejected by mainstream Zoroastrians who do not favor unregulated proselytism.

SCRIPTURE, EXEGESES, COMMENTARIES, AND CATECHISMS. Holy texts, interpretations of scripture, and discourses have developed and changed over the centuries. They have also been translated into a variety of languages to meet the confessional needs of linguistically diverse Zoroastrian communities.

The Avesta. Zoroastrian scripture, or Avesta (Middle Persian: *Abestāg,* probably from Old Iranian: **Upa-stāvaka,* "praise"), is a collection of texts regarded as holy and central to beliefs and practices. The canon may be divided into two groups based on linguistic differences: (1) the Old or Gathic Avestan materials, which were composed orally between the eighteenth and twentieth century BCE, transmitted and augmented for several centuries, then established as the main portion of the oral scriptural canon between the tenth and sixth centuries BCE, and (2) and the Young or Standard Avestan materials, which were composed orally, in some cases from existing verses, between the ninth and fifth centuries BCE, transmitted, augmented, then established in the oral scriptural canon by the third century BCE. The written text of the Avesta originated in the fourth century CE—probably from deliberations by magi under the royal patronage of Shāpūr II. All existing Avestan manuscripts derive from a base text dating to the ninth or tenth century.

Only about one-third of the Sassanid Avesta has survived. It consists of:

1. The *Yasna* (Middle Persian and New Persian: *Yasn,* Gujarati: *Ijeshne*) (Sacrifice, worship), comprising seventy-two chapters. *Yasna* 28–34, 43–50, 51, and 53 preserve the seventeen *Gāthās* of Zarathushtra. Chapters 35–41 comprise the *Yasna Haptanghāiti* (Yasna of seven chapters), composed in Old Avestan prose probably by devotional poets among the early Zoroastrian community. Four *mąthras* (holy words), also composed in Old Avestan perhaps by Zarathushtra himself, are preserved in the *Yasna*—namely, *Yathā Ahū Vairyō* (*Ahuna Vairya, Ahunawar*) (As is the Lord's will), *Ashem Vohū* (Order is good), *Yenghē Hātąm* (All the entities), and *Ā Airyēmā Ishyō* (May the invigorating Airyaman.) The other chapters of the *Yasna* were composed in the Young Avestan dialect. Because this scripture serves as the recitation for the central ritual of worship, *Yasna* chapter 1 invites Ahura Mazdā and other holy spiritual entities to the ritual that will be performed. *Yasna* chapters 70–72 bring the accompanying ritual to an end with worship of those spirits.
2. The *Vīsperad* (Avestan: *Vīspe Ratavō)* ([Prayers to] all the [spiritual] chiefs), comprising twenty-four short sections. It is a collection of supplementary materials, compiled in the Young Avestan dialect, to the *Yasna.* It is dedicated to Ahura Mazdā as the chief and master of all creation, and serves to extend the *Yasna.*
3. The *Khwurdag Abestāg* (New Persian and Gujarati: *Khorde Avesta*) (Concise or shorter Avesta), beginning with five prayers: *Ashem Vohū; Yathā Ahū Vairyō; Nirang-e Kusti Bastan* (Incantation for tying the cord), also known as *Ohrmazd Khwadāy* (Ahura Mazdā is the Lord); *Srōsh Bāj* (Recitation to Sraosha); and *Hōshbām* (Middle Persian: *Ōshbām*) (Dawn). Next come five *Niyāyishns* (New Persian and Gujarati: *Niyāyesh*) (Invocations of praise) to the sun, Mithra, the moon, water, and fire, in that order. Then follow prayers to the five *Gāhs* (periods, watches [of each day]). *Siroza* (Thirty days) 1 and 2 contain short invocations to thirty-three divine spirits individually. The words of four *Āfrīnagāns* (Blessings) are also given in the *Khorde Avesta.*

There are twenty-one surviving *Yashts* (Devotional poems) dedicated to various beneficent spirits in the *Khorde Avesta.* Those devotional poems are *Ohrmazd* (New Persian and Gujarati: *Hormazd) Yasht* to Ahura Mazdā; *Haft Amahraspand* (New Persian and Gujarati: *Haft Ameshaspand, Haftān*) *Yasht* to the seven Amesha Spentas (Holy Immortals); *Ardwahisht* (New Persian and Gujarati: *Ardibehesht, Ordibehesht*) *Yasht* to the male Amesha Spenta Asha Vahishta (Best Order, Prayer); *Hordād* (New Persian: *Khordād,* Gujarati: *Awerdād*) *Yasht* to the female Amesha Spenta Haurvatāt (Integrity, Wholeness, Perfection); *Ardwīsūr* (New Persian: *Ābān,* Gujarati: *Āwān, Āvā*) *Yasht* to the female water yazata (worship-worthy spirit) Aredvī Sūrā Anāhitā; *Khwarshēd* (New Persian and Gujarati: *Khorshed*) *Yasht* to Hvare Khshaēta, the yazata of the Sun; *Māh* (*Māh Bakhtār,* New Persian: *Māh Bokhtār,* Gujarati: *Mohor*) *Yasht* to Māh, the yazata of the Moon; *Tishtar* (New Persian and Gujarati: *Teshtar*) *Yasht* to Tishtrya the star Sirius, religiously often confused with the divine spirit Tīr (beneficent stars); *Druwāsp* (New Persian and Gujarati: *Drvāsp*) *Yasht* to the female yazata Drvāspā, associated with horses and cattle; *Mihr* (New Persian and Gujarati: *Meher*) *Yasht* to Mithra; *Srōsh* (New Persian and Gujarati: *Sarosh*) *Yasht Hādōkht* (that is, *Yasht* 11) or extract to Sraosha, together with *Srōsh Yasht Wadī* (*Yasna* 57) or the longer (greater) *yasht* to Sraosha, and *Srōsh Yasht ī Keh* (*Yasna* 56) or the shorter (lesser) *yasht* to Sraosha (this designation is found in *Yasna* manuscripts); *Rashn* (Gujarati: *Rashna*) *Yasht* to Rashnu, the male yazata of justice and spiritual judgment; *Frawardīn* (New Persian and Gujarati: *Farvardin*) *Yasht* to the fravashis (immortal human spirits); *Wahrām* (New Persian and Gujarati: *Behrām*) *Yasht* to Verethraghna, the male yazata of victory; *Rām Yasht* to Vayu (Middle Persian: Way, New Persian: Bād, Gujarati: Govād), the male yazata of the good celestial wind; *Dēn* (New Persian and Gujarati: *Din*) *Yasht* to the Cistā (Cisti), the female yazata of insight or religious knowledge; *Ard* (*Ahrishwang, Ahlishwang,* New Persian and Gujarati: *Ashishvang*) *Yasht* to Ashi, the female yazata of recompense; *Ashtād (Āshtād) Yasht* to Arshtāt, the female yazata of rectitude and order; *Zamyād* (*Zam*) *Yasht* to Khvarenah (glory); *Hōm Yasht* (*Yasna* 8.9–10.21) to Haoma (Parsis designate this as the *Mōtī* [larger, longer] *Hōm Yasht*) plus an extract from *Yasna* 9 (Parsis designate this as the *Nānī* or [smaller, shorter] *Hōm Yasht*); and the *Wanand Yasht* to Vega, the brightest star in the constellation Lyra.

4. The *Vidēvdād* (Middle Persian: *Wendīdād,* New Persian and Gujarati: *Vendidād*), consisting of twenty-two prose chapters in Young Avestan. The text is largely socioreligious in content, focusing on ritual purity with rules and rites for protecting the earth, cleansing after pollution by corpses and carrion, rites for exorcizing spiritual pollution, and fines for absolution from sin. Most of the ritual stipulations in the *Vidēvdād* can be attributed to practices specific to magi of the Proto-Iranian, Median, Achaemenian, and Parthian periods. Like the *Yasna,* the *Vidēvdād* is scripture that functions as the basis of a high ritual. Therefore, its manuscripts contain not only doctrine and exegesis but also performative directions for the magi to follow.
5. Additional texts for daily use that are included in premodern manuscripts and modern printed versions of the *Khorde Avesta. Nirangs* (Avestan: *nīrāngāni,* Middle Persian: *nērang*) (incantations, spells) are present, often as extracts from Avestan or Middle Persian passages. Pious believers regard them as highly efficacious in dispelling evil, producing good health, and fulfilling boons. The *Duā Nām Setāyeshne* (*Nām Stāyishn;* Invocation of praise to the names [of Ahura Mazdā]) and a list, *One hundred and One Names of Ahura Mazdā* (*Sād-ō Yek Nām-e Khodā*), were incorporated so that devotees could directly display respect for their creator. The text of the *Tandorosti* (Health of the body) is given so that it can be recited for both maintenance and return to well-being. The *Petīt* [or *Patēt*] *Pashēmānī* (Penance and repentance) also become part of many *Khorde Avestas* because it is believed that spiritual ailments which led to physical manifestations of illness could be expunged through regular confessionals. Eventually, *monājāts* (litanies) in New Persian and Gujarati (now even in English translations) were incorporated so that devotees can understand the gist of the prayers that are in languages which most individuals have not learned.
6. Several surviving Avestan texts and textual fragments, containing materials that probably were once part of scripture. A few should be mentioned. The Young Avestan *Hērbedestān* (Priestly code or book of religious education) and *Nērangestān* (Ritual code or book of ritual directions) were redacted between the sixth and ninth centuries CE. The *Pursishnīhā* (Questions [and answers]) on pious and sinful behaviors was redacted in the fifteenth century. The *Aogemadaēcā* (I profess) is a dirge that was redacted by the twelfth century. It has a Pāzand version as well. The *Hādōkht Nask* (Selection of scripture) provides an important synopsis of Zoroastrian notions of the afterlife.

Zand. Sassanid magi and learned laymen, writing in Middle Persian, produced a series of supplementary texts often drawing upon Avestan sources that no longer exist. Their endeavors were continued by other clergymen when Zoroastrians fell under Muslim overlordship in the seventh century. The major accomplishment of those priests was *Zand* (Avestan: *zantish*) (exegesis) on the Avesta. The purpose of each translation with commentary—often written interlinear with the Avestan text—into Middle Persian was to transmit the meaning of texts to members of the Zoroastrian community who no longer comprehended the Avestan language. Because of problems in determining equivalent lexical value, reconstituting the sentences, and explaining phrases, the translations often were not exact but served more as expository commentaries. Middle Persian *Zand* has survived to the present for the *Gāthās;* the *Yasna;* the *Khwurdag Abestāg,* including the *Ohrmazd, Ardwahisht, Srōsh, Wahrām, Hōm,* and *Wanand Yashts;* the *Videvdād;* the *Hērbedestān;* the *Nērangestān;* and a few other scriptures.

The Pahlavi books. Most of the Middle Persian or Pahlavi books were compiled and redacted by Zoroastrians in Iran between the ninth and thirteenth centuries. Such compilations aimed to preserve Zoroastrian doctrine, ritual, theology, mythology, history, and mores under circumstances in which the faith was becoming a minority. An encyclopedic collection, the *Dēnkard* preserves selections from the collective wisdom of the medieval magi as edited by two *hudēnān pēshōbāy* (leaders of the members of the good religion) in Fars—namely, Ādurfarrōbay ī Farrokhzādān (fl. early ninth century) and Ādurbād ī Ēmēdān (fl. early tenth century). Cosmogonical and eschatological texts include the *Bundahishn* ([Book of] primal creation; major redaction in 1078) and the *Wizīdagīhā* (Selections), by Zādspram (fl. late ninth century), which cover Zoroastrian mythical, legendary, and factual history from creation to the end of time. The *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag* (Book of righteous Wirāz, based on Sassanid-era materials but redacted in the ninth or tenth century) preserves the description of a spiritual voyage through heaven, limbo, and hell. The *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag* proved very popular as a didactic text, and so was translated into Pāzand and Old Gujarati and illustrated for the edification of premodern Parsis. A book on apocalypticism—also found in Pāzand—is the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* (Exegesis on the devotional poem to Vohu Manah), an anonymous ninth-century compilation).

Among Middle Persian catechisms are the *Mēnōg ī Khrad* ([Book of the] spirit of wisdom, sixth century), which was composed in the form of an imaginary dialogue between the Spirit of Wisdom and a sage. A later Pāzand version of it is extant as well. The *Chīdag Handarz ī Pōryōtkēshān* (Select counsels of the ancient sages, ninth century), also known as the *Pand Nāmag* (Book of advice), provides a more basic synopsis of religious values, beliefs, and practices. Among the books providing religious guidance are *Nāmagīhā* (Epistles) of Manushchihr ī Juwānjamān (fl. ninth century); the *Rivāyat* (Treatise) of Ēmēd ī Ashawahishtān (fl. mid-tenth century); and the *Pahlavi Rivāyats of Ādurfarrōbay and Farrōbaysrōsh*, which contain replies by two Irani magi to questions posed by laypersons in the years 800 and 1008, respectively. Broader in theme is the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* (Book of religious judgments), answers by Manushchīhr ī Juwānjamān to ninety-two questions from laypersons on matters of doctrine, ethics, legal issues, and social problems experienced by Zoroastrians in ninth-century Iran. Religious stipulations and ritual requirements are discussed in the *Shāyest nē Shāyest* (The proper and the improper) and its *Supplementary Texts;* both compilations, although written in the ninth century, contain Sassanid period (224–651 CE) rulings and mores.

Pāzand and Sanskrit versions. Magi living in Iran under Muslim rule produced *Pāzand* ([Text] with commentary) literature. Pāzand prayers include the *Paywand nāme,* or *Ashirwād*, which serves as the benediction for marriage ceremonies. This Pāzand tradition was continued by the Parsi priest Neryōsangh Dhaval. He transcribed select Pahlavi books into the Avestan script to make them accessible to twelfth-century magi who could not read Middle Persian. In addition to the Pāzand texts mentioned previously (in discussions of the Avesta and the Pahlavi books), there are among others the *Petīts,* the *Dibāches* (Prefatory recitations) to *Āfrīnagāns,* and *Nirangs.*

Neryōsangh Dhaval also translated portions of Avestan scripture into Sanskrit, including incomplete versions of the *Yasna,* the *Khorde Avesta,* the *Mēnōg ī Khrad,* and the *Shkand Gumānīg Wizār.* Fragments of Sanskrit translations of the *Vidēvdād,* perhaps also going back to Neryōsangh's efforts, have survived. His intension was to make Zoroastrian scripture and exegesis accessible to Parsis who knew the Indian language but not Avestan and Middle Persian. There are sixteen Sanskrit *ślokas* by Aka Adhyaru, verses dating to before the seventeenth century, dealing with miscellaneous socioreligious matters from prayer times to dress codes to purity. The *Ashirwād* was translated from Pāzand into Sanskrit by Dinidās Bahman (fl. early fifteenth century) prior to the year 1415.

New Persian and Gujarati texts. Many Zoroastrian religious documents were written in New Persian. Most famous is the Parsi community's founding legend, known as the *Qessa-e Sanjān* (Story of Sanjan) composed in 1600 CE by Bahman Kaikōbād Sanjāna, a Zoroastrian priest. Expository translations from Middle Persian texts include the late medieval *Saddar Bondahesh* ([Book of] primal creation [written] in one hundred chapters) and *Saddar Nasr* (One hundred chapters of assistance.) More original works of advice, yet drawing upon established traditions, form the *Persian Revāyats,* which date to between the late fifteen and late eighteenth centuries. Those treatises contain responses by learned Zoroastrians living in Yazd and Kermān to ecclesiastical questions posed by their Indian coreligionists. The *Farziyāt nāme* (Book of obligatory duties), by *dastur* Darab Pahlan (1668–1734), written in couplets at Navsari, India, lays out the religious duties of each individual—male and female, children and adults—through life and on every day of the month; it displayed Indian influence by advocating vegetarianism. It was translated and published in Gujarati for general readers about one century later. The Muslim scholar Ebrahim Pur-e Davoud (1885–1968) produced New Persian translations of the *Gāthās* and *Yashts* that became popular among Iranis and, upon reprint in Bombay, met with enthusiasm from educated Parsis.

In addition to translation into Gujarati of the *Khorde Avesta,* Zoroastrians in India wrote original tracts in the Gujarati language, which had replaced New Persian as their medium of communication. The *Rehbar-e Din-e Jarthushti* (Guide to the Zoroastrian religion) is a premodern catechism written by the high priest Erachji Meherjirana (1826–1900). That text was eventually translated into English with a commentary by the contemporary Parsi *dastur* Firoze Kotwal of Bombay.

English renditions. As English has become a major medium of communication among Zoroastrians—through British colonialism, Western-style secular education, globalization, and migration to the West—translations of scripture have been produced in that language. Among the most commonly utilized prayer books during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries—especially for teaching scripture to children before their initiation into the faith—with transcription of the Avestan and Middle Persian texts into the Roman (i.e., English) script and translation of those texts into English are *Daily Prayers of the Zoroastrians* by the Sri Lankan lay Parsi scholar Framroz Rustomjee (1896–1978) and *Khorde Avesta* by the Irani *mobed* Fariborz Shahzadi, who now lives in the United States. Major discourses on Zoroastrianism, written in English, have been published by *dastur* Khurshed Dabu (1889–1979) at Bombay. *Ervad* Godrej Sidhwa at Karachi and *mobed* Behram Shahzadi at Westminster, California, among many others, have also written Zoroastrian theological works in English during the twentieth century. Basically catechisms, those books serve to disseminate knowledge of Zoroastrianism—from a variety of perspectives—to clerical and secular Zoroastrians and to non-Zoroastrians who may not know any of their religion's traditional languages.

DOCTRINES AND MYTHOLOGY. Zoroastrian beliefs and myths were interconnected by ancient and medieval magi to provide believers with a unified explanation for the joys and sufferings of life while endowing existence with purpose. It is clear that Zarathushtra's own ideas were conjoined with the Indo-European and Indo-Iranian tenets that Zoroastrians inherited. Near Eastern millenary chronologies—beliefs in which a new millennium was regarded as a new age, following a violent end to the old one—then reshaped Zoroastrian beliefs as did historical events.

Dualism, pantheon, and demons. As the devotional tradition was amplified slowly after Zarathushtra's lifetime, it came to be believed that Ahura Mazdā, through Spenta Mainyu, had created six Amesha Spentas to generate and protect aspects of material creation: Vohu Manah, who oversees animals; Asha Vahishta, who symbolizes fire; Khshathra Vairya (Middle Persian: Shahrewar) (Desirable dominion, power), who manifests metals; Spenta Ārmaiti (Middle Persian: Spendarmad) (Holy disposition, later understood as Holy devotion), who represents the Earth as its mother; Haurvatāt, who characterizes water; and Ameretāt (Middle Persian: Amurdād, New Persian and Gujarati: Amardād) (Immortality, rejuvenation), who exemplifies plants. After incorporation of the *Yashts,* which originally served as devotional poems for Indo-Iranian divinities, into the liturgy of the descendants of Zarathushtra's early followers, it was assumed that Ahura Mazdā originally had created more beneficent spirits. These included the male and female yazatas like Mithra, Sraosha, Verethraghna, Daēnā, Ashi, and Aredvī Sūrā Anāhitā to assist in protecting the material creations. Zoroastrian doctrine records that, in response, Angra Mainyu supposedly produced numerous daēvas (Middle Persian: dēws, New Persian and Gujarati: divs). The daēvas (shinning ones) had been part of Indo-Iranian belief but were demonized by Zarathushtra (*Gāthās* 30.6). Such malevolent daēvas include female ones like Āzi (Middle Persian: Āz), who generates concupiscence and other desires; Jahikā (Middle Persian: Jēh) the "Whore," who supposedly misleads women to lust and prostitution; and Drukhsh Nasush (Middle Persian: Druz ī Nasush), who ferments carrion and pollution. There are also male ones, like Aēshma (Middle Persian: Khēshm), who instills wrath; Aka Manah (Middle Persian: Akōman), who instigates bad thoughts; and Būti (Middle Persian: But), who spreads idolatry. Essentially, spiritual entities venerated by the earliest Iranians were assimilated into the developing Zoroastrian faith and then assigned differential valence as either agents of order or confusion during antiquity and the Middle Ages.

During the modern period, the beliefs of Zoroastrians have gradually changed under the influences of Protestant Christianity—especially due to the activities of the Reverend Dr. John Wilson (who began preaching in Bombay in 1829, eventually converting some Parsis to Anglicanism) and other British missionaries—and colonial western ideas, moving from a dualism to an absolute monotheism in which Ahura Mazdā is regarded as the sole God. The Amesha Spentas and yazatas are now accorded a variety of positions, usually equivalent to archangels and angels, respectively. Angra Mainyu has come to be regarded as the Devil with his independent nature tempered by partial subservience to God. The daēvas have lost much of their demonic force, becoming minor bad spirits and ghouls. Yet most Zoroastrians living in the twenty-first century continue to believe that humans serve a vital function in the struggle between God and the Devil, representing order or good versus confusion or evil, respectively. Moreover, from the 1980s onward there has been a trend among orthodox Zoroastrians back to dualistic tenets while maintaining Ahura Mazdā's divine supremacy.

Cosmogony and sacred history. Human history is regarded as a divinely ordained, twelve-thousand-year period of finite time (Middle Persian: *zamān ī kanāragōmand*) bounded at its commencement and conclusion by eternity or infinite time (Middle Persian: *zamān ī akanārag*). Before finite time began, Ahura Mazdā and Angra Mainyu supposedly were separated from each other by the void or wind of Vayu and dwelt within heaven in "infinite light" (Middle Persian: *anagr rōshnīh*) and within hell in "infinite darkness" (Middle Persian: *anagr tārīgīh*), respectively.

When finite time began, creation (Middle Persian: *dahishn*) lasted six thousand years. The first three thousand years of creation were marked by the initial encounter between Ahura Mazdā and Angra Mainyu and an offer of peaceful coexistence in purity and righteousness that was rejected by the evil spirit. After Angra Mainyu had spurned Ahura Mazdā's overture of peace, the Angry Spirit was temporarily defeated by the Wise Lord, who chanted the *Ashem Vohū* prayer. On hearing these holy words, the Angry Spirit is said to have collapsed, stupefied, back into the darkness (*Wizīdagīhā* 1.1–4). The second three thousand years passed while Angra Mainyu lay in a stupor and Ahura Mazdā prepared spiritual creations—including the Amesha Spentas, yazatas, and the spiritual prototypes of all living creatures. Angra Mainyu revived and generated harmful spirits. When Angra Mainyu attacked again, Ahura Mazdā repelled the adversary for another three thousand years with the *Yathā Ahū Vairyō* prayer (*Bundahishn* 1.29–30). According to religious lore, Ahura Mazdā then transformed spiritual creations into the material universe by fashioning the Earth inside the sphere of the sky. That sphere, supposedly made of rock crystal, was thought to enclose the oceans, seven continents, and firmament with the Sun, Moon, planets, and stars. On the central continent called Khvaniratha (Middle Persian: Khwanirah), Ahura Mazdā apparently placed the first human—an androgyne named Gayō Maretan (Middle Persian: Gayōmard, New Persian: Gayumars, Keyumars) (Mortal life)—the primordial bovine, and the first plant (*Bundahishn* 1A.1–3.24). Angra Mainyu eventually was aroused from his second stupor by the demoness Jahikā.

Corporeal existence and humanity's purpose. The second six thousand years of finite time is said to be the current age of mixture (Middle Persian: *gumēzishn*) between good and evil. Angra Mainyu invaded the world, polluted it, and then slew Gayō Maretan, the primordial bovine, and the first plant with the demoness Āz's assistance, according to Zoroastrian cosmogonical accounts. Owing to Ahura Mazdā's intervention, humanity supposedly arose from the semen of the androgyne, animals and cereals from the body of the first bull, and other plants from the seed of the initial plant (*Wizīdagīhā* 2.1–22). The first human couple, Mashya (man) and Mashyāna (woman), who were born from Gayō Maretan's semen, are believed to have succumbed to lying and worshiping daēvas, resulting in their damnation (*Bundahishn* 14.11–30). Human history passed, in this scheme of religious chronology, with the rise and fall of legendary dynasties until Zarathushtra was born in the year 8,970.

Thirty years later, Zarathushtra received revelation from Ahura Mazdā and preached the Wise Lord's faith—thus beginning the final three-thousand-year sequence. According to sacral history, the era of Zarathushtra and the Kayanians was followed by the Achaemenian, Seleucid, Arsacid, and Sassanid dynasties. Thereafter, the Arabs conquered Iran establishing the Umayyad (661–750) and Abbasid (750–1258) caliphates, succeeded by semi-independent and independent Iranian Muslim states and then by Turkish invaders (tenth to fourteenth centuries). Those conquests, triggering the reduction of Zoroastrianism to a minor faith and Zoroastrians to the status of a religious minority through conversion to Islam between the eight and thirteenth centuries CE, were incorporated into the faith's mythohistory and explained in terms of a steady increase in evil (*Zand ī Wahman Yasn* 1.6–11, 3.20–29, 6.6–10). Thereafter, it is claimed, finite time will progress onward and Zoroastrianism will not be practiced widely—a situation that allegedly heralds the advent of the final days.

For devotees, the material world came to be viewed as not merely the arena in which humans combat evil. Zoroastrians regard it as the trap into which the evil spirit was lured. Once trapped in matter, Angra Mainyu ostensibly is vanquished gradually via good thoughts, good words, and good deeds by divine spirits and devotees acting in unison. This became the faith's and each practitioner's raison d'être. Zoroastrians, then, trust that humans were created by Ahura Mazdā as allies in God's cosmic struggle against Angra Mainyu and that humans consented to assume physical form to further this battle. The reward of heaven after death is offered to the souls of believers, albeit on gender-differential bases, who have upheld righteousness and combated evil during their lifetimes.

Afterlife. Zoroastrians have faith that when an individual dies, the life force leaves the corporeal body, which then becomes a corpse that demonic forces attack and cause to decay so that pollution occurs. His or her mortal soul (Avestan: *urvan,* Middle Persian: *ruwān,* New Persian: *ravān*) also leaves the body, remaining beside the head of the corpse for three days and nights (*Mēnōg ī Khrad* 2.111–114). The mortal soul of a righteous person is said to chant happily *Yasna* 43, "According to my wish," whereas the mortal soul of a sinful person wails *Yasna* 46, "To what land shall I flee? " (*Hādōkht Nask* 2.2–6, 3.2–6). On the dawn of the fourth day, the soul is led to the Bridge of the Compiler (Avestan: *Cinvat peretav,* Middle Persian: *Chinwad puhl).* Beneath this metaphysical transit point, which connects the earthly realm to the heavenly one, is said to lie hell. Individual tribunals are convened at the bridge's earthly base to determine each mortal soul's holiness. The yazatas Mithra (who presides to appraise whether the soul has kept its covenant to do good while in the corporeal world), Rashnu, and Sraosha—in some later traditions, Mithra and Sraosha are occasionally replaced by Arshtāt and Zamyād—comprise the spiritual court. Rashnu is described as weighing each soul's good and bad deeds in the pans of a scale (*Mēnōg ī Khrad* 2.118–122, 163).

If the soul's righteous acts outweigh its evil ones, the soul is greeted by its Daēnā or conscience in the form of a "a beautiful girl" (*Hādōkht Nask* 2.9) who personifies those pious actions. This good Daēnā, together with the yazatas, then escort the saved mortal soul across the bridge to heaven, where the soul will dwell until the end of time in union with its immortal spirit (Avestan: *fravashi,* Middle Persian: *frawahr,* New Persian: *farvarshi,* Gujarati: *farohar*) (*Mēnōg ī Khrad* 2.123). If a mortal soul's unrighteous acts outweigh its good ones, that soul is greeted by its Daēnā "in the form of an ugly naked whore" (*Hādōkht Nask* 3.9) who personifies the soul's evil actions. This bad Daēnā, together with other daēvas, toss the condemned mortal soul off the bridge into hell, where it will dwell and experience punishment as recompense until the end of time. In cases where a mortal soul's good and evil deeds are equal, it is consigned to limbo until the end of time.

Heaven or paradise, known as *Garō-nmāna* (also *Garō-demāna,* Middle Persian: *Garōdmān*) (Abode of song) and therefore termed *Wahisht* (the best [place]), is depicted as a physical location—a realm of joy, peace, happiness that is full of light, warmth, and all virtuous pleasures (*Hādōkht Nask* 2.15–18). Hell, known as *Drūjō-nmāna* (also *Drūjō-demāna,* Middle Persian: *Druzmān*) (Abode of Confusion) and therefore described as *Dushokh* (he Worst [place]), is also depicted as a physical location—a realm of grief, conflict, despair that is filled with darkness, cold, stench, plus harmful insects and animals like scorpions and serpents (*Hādōkht Nask* 3.15–36). Here demonic creatures, lead by Angra Mainyu, are said to gloat as they torment the impious soul together with his or her predeceased bad relatives and friends in a gloomy space. Limbo, known as *Nana* (different [place]), *Misvana Gātav* (Place of the Mixed), or *Hamēstagān* (Place of the Equally-Weighing Ones), is thought to be located between the Earth and heaven. It is described as a place where mortal souls are suspended, each in isolation, experiencing nothing at all.

Apocalypse and eschatology. Social strife, personal calamity, and pollution of body and soul are all viewed as originating from Angra Mainyu, whose presence in the material world is believed to increase as time passes. The present period will, in Zoroastrian belief, be followed by a time when three saviors—Ukhshyatereta (Middle Persian: Ushēdar) (He who makes order flourish); Ukhshyatnemah (Middle Persian: Ushēdarmah) (He who makes reverence flourish); and Astvatereta (He who embodies order), also called Saoshyant (Middle Persian: Sōshāns) (Savior)—will be born, one every thousand years, to gradually purify the world and its inhabitants (*Zand ī Wahman Yasn* 9.1–23). Eventually, during the religious year 11973, the eschaton supposedly will commence with Saoshyant resurrecting all the dead. The resurrection, performed by Saoshyant at Ahura Mazdā's command, results in each human's mortal soul and immortal spirit returning to earth from heaven, hell, or limbo and gaining a final body (Middle Persian: *tan ī pasēn*). Zoroastrians claim that Ahura Mazdā then will descend to Earth with the Amesha Spentas and yazatas. Saoshyant will separate righteous individuals from evil ones at a final, universal judgment of all humans. At that assembly, called the gathering of Isatvāstra (Middle Persian: Isadwāstar) after the prophet Zarathushtra's eldest son, each person will recognize his or her relatives and friends, and the pious shall rejoice in their goodness while the sinful lament their evil deeds. It is believed that the stars will fall from space onto the Earth, leveling the mountains into molten metal. Each sinner, having already suffered in hell after death, will be purified once more of his or her transgressions and impurities by means of an ordeal involving passage through the molten metal. A mythical bovine named Hadhayash (Middle Persian: Hadhayans) will be ritually sacrificed, and its fat mixed with a legendary white haoma to produce an elixir granting immortality of body and soul to all who consume it (*Bundahishn* 34.10–26).

Thereafter, Ahura Mazdā, the Amesha Spentas, and the yazatas will annihilate most of the daēvas and all the harmful corporeal creatures. The devil Angra Mainyu himself will be rendered innocuous and forced to scuttle out of creation back to hell. Finally, hell will supposedly be sealed shut with molten metal, safeguarding the spiritual and material worlds from evil, impurity, and pollution forever. According to Zoroastrian eschatology, once the separation (Middle Persian: *wizārishn*) of confusion or evil from order or good has been accomplished, Ahura Mazdā will renovate or "make excellent" (Avestan: *frasho-kereti,* Middle Persian: *frashagird*) the universe in the year 12000: "The renovation will take place in the world, [and the beings in] the material world will become immortal forever" (*Bundahishn* 34.32). Human history allegedly will then end, and eternity will recommence in absolute purity and perfection, with humanity dwelling in happiness upon a refurbished, flat earth.

RITUALS. Worship (Middle Persian: *yazishn*) and purification (Middle Persian: *yōjdahrgarīh*) are central to all aspects of Zoroastrian piety. Worship may occur at home or even outdoors, but is most regularly performed inside fire temples (New Persian: *āteshkade*), where holy fires of the *ātesh behrām, ātesh ādarān* (fire of fires), and *ādurōg ī dādgāh* r (hearth fire) ranks burn upon altars in fire precincts (New Persian: *āteshgāhs*). Medieval injunctions urged devotees to "go each day to the fire temple and perform worship" (*Chīdag Handarz ī Pōryōtkēshān* 45). Yet in order for worship to be efficacious, the devotee must have ritual purity.

Purity and pollution. Elaborate rules were established by the magi to prevent pollution of the material world on the basis that Angra Mainyu had produced various types of defilement, particularly through Drukhsh Nasush, whose ill effects could spread from humans and animals to fire, water, and earth. A series of purificatory ceremonies were developed to ensure socioreligious purity for high ceremonies and rites of passage. Most of those rituals have fallen into disuse in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, because beliefs regarding pollution have undergone modification as a consequence of modern science and have come to be regarded by many Zoroastrians as superstitious demonology.

The simplest ritual cleansing, known as the *Pādyāb* (Protection [preceding] water), takes only a few minutes to perform. It is undergone facing a source of light such as the Sun, Moon, stars, or lamp. After covering the head as a sign of deference, the performer dedicates his or her action to Ahura Mazdā. He or she washes the hands and forearms, the face, and the feet (if unshod), then wipes them dry. Original praxis in ancient and medieval times required that the ablution be performed first with *gōmēz* (urine from a bovine), or else with dust, before washing with water. Moreover, *gōmēz* (or else dust) and water had to be applied thrice. In modern practice, however, water is regarded as adequate for ensuring daily purity and so is applied only once due to simplification of the ritual. According to orthopractic codes, this cleansing is essential upon awakening each morning, prior to prayer and eating, after urination and excretion, and at the beginning of each period of each day. Most Zoroastrians now perform a perfunctory *pādyāb* only before entering a fire temple or after attending a funeral. After undergoing a *pādyāb,* the devotee must perform the ritual of untying and retying the *kustī* (see below).

More elaborate is the *Sade Nāhn* (Simple ritual bath). Conducted at home, fire temple, or funerary ground, it is administered during the daylight hours so that light can aid in dispelling evil. The ceremony lasts approximately half an hour. In orthodox practice, a priest who has attained the rank of purifier (Avestan: *yaozhdāthrya,* Middle Persian: *yōjdāhrgar,* New Persian: *yozhdāsragar*) must officiate. After performing a *Pādyāb* and untying the *kustī,* the candidate for purification recites the *Bāj* ([Consecratory] recitation) used for grace before meals, then chews a pomegranate leaf as a sign of wishing for immortality, drinks three sips of *nirangdin* or consecrated urine from a bovine for symbolic spiritual cleansing, and recites the *Pētit* for absolution from sin. He or she undresses, applies *gōmēz* over the body, washes with water, dries the body, dons a *sudre* or white undershirt, dresses in clean clothes, and reties the *kustī.* In modern performance, ablution with *gōmēz* is often omitted and all actions have been reduced from thrice to once. Moreover this *Nāhn* is undergone by most male and female Zoroastrians only prior to initiation and marriage. Until the mid-1900s, it was undergone by mothers forty days after childbirth (serving as a simplification of an even more detailed cleansing of thirty washings) and by pious devotees on holy days.

The most complex of Zoroastrian purification rituals is the *Barashnūm ī nō shab.* It generally was reserved for cleansing after direct contact with human carrion or to ensure that a priest was in the highest state of ritual purity. Purification was obtained via consuming *nirangdin,* followed by multiple cleansings with *gōmēz,* dust, and water while either standing within pits (in antiquity), crouching upon stones (during the

Middle Ages), or squatting on bricks (in modern times), followed by seclusion and additional ablutions for nine days and nights. The *Barashnūm ī nō shab* is still undergone, but with diminishing frequency, only by magi who conduct the most central Zoroastrian consecratory services.

Worship. Zoroastrian liturgical ceremonies can be divided into two categories: inner or high services that must be performed within a holy *gāh* (space, precinct), usually located within fire temples, and outer or regular services that can be performed at any clean location. Inner rituals include the *Yasna, Vīsperad, Vendidād, Nīrangdīn* (Consecration of liquids), and *Bāj.* Magi who conduct inner rituals have to be in high states of purity and grace. Outer rituals include the *Āfrīnagān, Staomi (Stūm;* Praise), *Farrokhsi* ([Recitation] for the Fravashis), and *Jashan* (Thanksgiving).

The *Yasna* ritual, the most fundamental of Zoroastrian devotional ceremonies, brings together fire, water, plants, animals, humans, and holy words. The *Yasna* liturgy has already been discussed. Originating among the Indo-Iranians, it was assimilated into Zoroastrianism and modified to remove immolation of sacrificial animals in the libation produced from the haoma (Vedic: soma) plant. In a variant form it is still present in Hinduism as the *yajña* ceremony. Conducted each dawn by two magi who are in the highest state of ritual purity, most of the ritual occurs within a precinct that had been made holy by demarcating and consecrating a small space from the rest of the area via furrows while reciting holy words. In ancient and medieval times, an animal regarded as beneficial, such as an ox, sheep, or goat, would be sacrificed as an offering. Since the early twentieth century, fruits, flat unleavened breads *(drōn),* and cooked foods have been substituted. Twigs from the *haoma* plant (now identified by Zoroastrians as ephedra) are purified and pounded to extract sap, which is strained and mixed with milk and water to form a libation called *parāhōm.* Aromas from the consecrated food and drink are believed to satisfy Ahura Mazdā, the Amesha Spentas, and yazatas to whom the worship is directed. Thereafter, the two priests and sponsoring laypersons consume the food offerings and infuse the liquid offering into a source of water, such as the temple's well.

The *Vīsperad* ritual's liturgy consists of the *Yasna* plus twenty-four additional passages from the Avesta. Dedicated to Ahura Mazdā, its performance comprises the *Yasna* ritual with the extended recitation. This inner ritual is performed whenever the *Vendidād* is conducted. It is performed at the *Gāhānbārs* (also pronounced *Gāhāmbārs*) (Communal feasts) too.

The *Vendidād* ritual is often conducted by an officiating priest and an assisting priest at midnight to dispel evil. Celebration of the ritual involves recitation of the *Vidēvdād* text from the Avesta with interpolation of chapters from the *Yasna* and *Vīsperad,* producing a total of forty-nine selections. The ritual is conducted in the presence of a *dādgāh* fire and lasts approximately seven hours.

Nīrangdīn rituals are conducted to obtain consecrated liquid used to purify symbolically the souls of devotees. Having purified themselves via the *Barashnūm ī nō shab* and obtained religious fortitude via a *Khūb* (Good [ritual power]), two priests obtain bull's urine. As part of the *Nīrangdīn* ceremony, the prefatory rite for the *Yasna* and other high rituals—known as the *Paragṇā* (Preceding the Yasna)—and the *Vendidād* are performed, consecrating the urine.

Bāj services involve consecration of *drōn, gōshudā* (animal products)—now usually butter—and fruits with dedication of those offerings to yazatas and fravashis. *Bājs* often are commissioned on death anniversaries by relatives of deceased Zoroastrians.

The *Āfrīnagān, Farrokhsi,* and *Staomi* outer rituals serve to honor the mortal souls and immortal spirits of both living and deceased Zoroastrians. For example, the *Staomi (Stūm)* ritual is a soliloquy of remembrance that links the present to the past and the future, uniting the living with the dead. That ritual may be conducted in any clean area where outer ceremonies are performed, such as at a Zoroastrian's house or inside a fire temple, upon a carpet or table or within a ritual precinct. At the turn of the twenty-first century, the *Staomi* consists of five stages: a *shnūman* (dedicatory formula), *Yasna* 26 or the rite proper, a *dībāca,* a series of propitiatory recitations, and a *Bāj* that serves as a closing recitation. Because of offerings and the fragrances of those offerings that are made holy during the ritual, it is believed that asymbolic gathering together of all fravashis occurs. At such gatherings, therefore, the immortal spirits can be propitiated by the living, and in turn those spirits presumably bless the living. Most frequently performed is the *Jashan* ritual, which also involves consecration of food by the officiating magus or magi who recite an *Āfrīnagān* and *Bāj.* Then the food is shared by the sponsors of the ritual, often at a communal gathering.

Festivals and popular rites. Prayer services like *Jashans* are performed in fire temples and homes on days such as *Nav Ruz,* the New Year's festival (at the vernal equinox); *Mihragān* (also called *Jash-e Mehr Ized*), the feast honoring Mithra (at the autumnal equinox), and the *Gāhānbārs.* The six *Gāhānbārs* are still celebrated by many Zoroastrians, especially those in Iran. On those occasions fruits, flowers, and cooked foods made from plants—and now less frequently from animals—are consecrated to the divinities and then consumed by the community. Originally, animals were sacrificed by Zoroastrians in both Iran and India on religious and communal festivals. But Hindu vegetarian influences on the Parsis led to the gradual phasing out of animal sacrifice, and Parsi abstention spread to Iranis in the twentieth century.

The spreading upon *Sofres* (clothes) of food offerings to beneficent spirits, often in conjunction with the *Gāhānbārs* and during pilgrimages to shrines, has become a frequent devotional practice among women, although not sanctioned by the magi. *Sofres* are widely performed by Zoroastrian women of all social classes in Iran. The rite serves as a locus of feminine spirituality, organized and attended mainly by women and their children.

Pilgrimages form part of the religious lives of devout Zoroastrians who are seeking favors from God or are fulfilling vows. Major shrines are located in the Iranian province of Yazd and each shrine has a founding legend associated with Zoroastrian attempts to withstand conversion to Islam. The six major *pirs* (shrines) are Pir-e Sabz, Pir-e Nawraki (Nāreke), Pir-e Narestan, Set-e (Se-tā) Pir, Pir-e Herisht (Hrisht), and Pir-e Bānu Pārs. Those shrines are administered by local *anjomans* (associations), often drawing upon funds from charitable foundations. Parsis consider the Irān Shāh *ātesh behrām* at the city of Udwada to be their most venerable holy fire, and so travel to worship Ahura Mazdā in its presence. In the late twentieth century, Parsis began making pilgrimages to Iran, where they visit the important functional fire temples and shrines at Yazd and Sharifabad, then view the ruins of ancient and early medieval archaeological monuments associated with the Zoroastrian dynasties of that country.

RITES OF PASSAGE. Zoroastrians past and present perform ceremonies to mark major points in their lives, much like members of other faiths. Birth, initiation into the religion, marriage, and death are important times during which religious beliefs are reaffirmed and membership in the confessional community is consolidated. Those rites of passage involve not only the Zoroastrian who is undergoing the life-altering event, but his or her family and friends as well.

Birth. Children are regarded as essential for "continuation of the corporeal lineage" to combat confusion in the material world (*Chīdag Handarz ī Pōryōtkēshān* 5). Therefore, abortion is discouraged (*Vidēvdād* 15.9–12). Birth rites still follow many guidelines found in medieval and premodern Zoroastrian writings, even though most births now occur in hospitals.

Once a woman conceives, an oil lamp or light is lit in her house to ward off evil. Also, the expectant mother should avoid contact with polluted items that may render her ritually unclean (*Saddar Nasr* 16.1, 17.2). Traditionalist Parsis mark the first days of the fifth and seventh months as auspicious, exchanging gifts between husband and wife and between each spouse's families. Upon the birth of a child, a lamp is kept lighted for between three to forty days, depending on the degree of orthopraxy in the family, so that mother and child will be protected from daēvas (*Farziyāt nāme* 2c–d). Because haoma is regarded as "death dispelling" (*Hōm Yasht* or *Yasna* 9.7), a few drops of its libation or *parāhōm* followed by a few grains of sugar would be placed upon the child's tongue by the parents, grandparents, or family priest while reciting the *Yathā Ahū Vairyō* prayer so that the child might experience a life free of sickness and full of joy. This practice was common into the eighteenth century (*Farziyāt nāme* 2a). Now, after prayers of thanks to God, breast milk or milk formulas are fed to the infant. Naming of the child occurs shortly thereafter (as noted even in the Achaemenian period by Herodotos, *History,* 1.139). Many families still consult astrologers who determine, based on the day and time of birth, the syllable with which the child's given name should commence.

Despite the positive aspects of childbirth among Zoroastrians, the accompanying discharge of tissue and blood came to be regarded as polluting. A period of isolation was prescribed for the mother—initially twelve days during antiquity (*Vidēvdād* 5.45–62, 7.60–72), extended to forty days by the Middle Ages (*Shāyest nē Shāyest* 3.15). This praxis continued into premodern times, to be followed by a ritual purification via the *Sade Nāhn* before the mother was reintroduced to the community (*Persian Revāyats* 223). Isolation and purification gradually ceased to be enforced during the early twentieth century. In the twenty-first century, most Zoroastrian women simply bathe to cleanse themselves after childbirth.

Initiation. Teaching of prayers to children by a magus or family elder usually begins at the age of seven years. Once the boy or girl has memorized at least the *Ashem Vohū, Yathā Ahū Vairyō, Kēm Nā Mazdā, Nirang-e Kustī Bastan* or *Ohrmazd Khwadāy, Jasa Mē Avanghe Mazdā* (Come to my aid, O [Ahura] Mazdā), and *Srōsh Bāj* prayers, he or she is initiated into the faith before puberty (*Farziyāt nāme* 2h–i). Failure to be initiated is thought to expose the child to demonic forces (*Vidēvdād* 18.31, 54). During the ceremony that symbolizes advent to adulthood, acceptance of religio-legal responsibilities, and spiritual rebirth, each child is vested with a cord (Avestan: *aiwyānghana,* Middle Persian: *kustīg,* New Persian: *koshti,* Gujarati: *kustī*) around the waist and a white undershirt (Middle Persian *shabīg,* New Persian: *sedra,* Gujarati: *sudre*). Origin of initiation into the sectarian community may date from the Central Asian Bronze Age, for a similar cord is tied around the shoulder of each Brahman boy during the *Upanayana* ceremony in Hinduism. Failing to wear these holy items was regarded as a sin and equated to "scrambling around naked" (*Shāyest nē Shāyest* 4.10). The *sudre* is sown from white cloth such as cotton and serves as religious armor against evil. Its neckline has a small pocket or *girehbān (girdo)* where the wearer's good deeds symbolically accumulate. The *kustī* is woven by priests' wives from wool and its seventy-two strands are said to represent the chapters of the *Yasna* (*Nērangestān* 3.1.11–21). An entire medieval text, the *Chīm ī Kustīg* (Meaning of the cord) discusses the *kustī's* theological significance.

In the twenty-first century, most Zoroastrian boys and girls undergo religious initiation between the ages of seven and fifteen. The ceremony is termed *Navjote* (new birth) or *Sedra-Pushi* (donning the white undershirt) and is conducted by one or more magi. Just before initiation, the boy or girl undergoes the *Sade Nāhn* to ensure that entrance into the devotional community occurs in a state of ritual purity. A *dādgāh* fire burns in a small altar during the ceremony; candles and oil lamps may also be lighted so that illumination drives away evil. Fruits and flowers are placed nearby as offerings to Ahura Mazdā, the yazatas, and the fravashis. Several Zoroastrians may be initiated together, irrespective of gender. Standing up, the priest(s) lead the initiate(s) in prayers while the undershirt is donned and the cord is looped around the waist thrice and tied at front and back with square knots. Family and friends gather to witness the initiation, share a festive meal, and bestow gifts upon the initiate. The initiation ceremony is still performed routinely by Zoroastrians all over the world early in the twenty-first century. Auspicious days, such as the days of each month dedicated to Ahura Mazdā and Verethraghna, often are chosen for the ceremony.

The *kustī,* which most Zoroastrians continue to wear, should be untied and retied after the *Pādyāb* purification and with the recitation of prayers at five canonical prayer times—sunrise, noon, afternoon, evening, and before sunrise—and prior to performing worship at fire temples (*Farziyāt nāme* 3). The majority of modern-day Zoroastrians wear the *sudre* and *kustī* under their clothes, but the rites of untying and retying the cord are usually performed facing the sun or another source of light by laity only upon awakening each morning, prior to sleeping at night, and for bathing. If a Zoroastrian apostate wishes to return to the community, he or she has to undergo another initiation ceremony. Admission to Zoroastrianism became patrilineal after its followers became a minority faith during the late Middle Ages. Orthodox contemporary Parsi magi initiate only children whose parents are both Zoroastrians. More liberal magi among the Parsis and Iranis initiate children whose fathers are of Zoroastrian descent. Rarely are persons whose parents were not non-Zoroastrians initiated—and such initiates still are denied entrance to Zoroastrian religious sites on the Indian subcontinent.

Marriage. The family unit has long been central to Zoroastrian communal structure, and so marriage is encouraged as a religious duty and divorce is discouraged, especially after children have been born (*Chīdag Handarz ī Pōryōtkēshān* 5). Royal records from ancient Iran, medieval religious manuals, and premodern marriage records indicate that Zoroastrian social praxis found polygyny fully acceptable. Wives were accorded differential status within the family based on their social class prior to marriage, whether they bore children, and the stipulations of their marriage contract. Only during the twentieth century was polygyny phased out under European influence, first among the Parsis and subsequently among Iranis.

Spring, reflecting fertility and growth, is regarded as an auspicious time for weddings. So are nights of the full and new moons. *Nav Ruz,* the "New Year's" festival day, is favored too. In India the monsoon seasons are avoided. Traditionally, weddings occur in the evening. Parsis conduct the service after nightfall owing to a legendary agreement with the first Hindu king whom their ancestors encountered in Gujarat. Iranis would conduct both the betrothal and wedding services at midnight, a practice now modified to early evening so that celebrations can be held with family and friends at a dinner reception. A white jacket (Gujarati: *duglī*) and trousers plus an ornate hat (Gujarati: *fethā, paghī*) are worn by Parsi grooms. White saris, with the trail draped over the head, are worn by Parsi brides. White jacket and trousers, with a simple green prayer cap, are worn by Irani grooms, although recently Western-style suits have become popular. White or green robes and shawl are worn by Irani brides, although in the twentieth and twenty first centuries Western-style wedding gowns have become popular. Symbolic items at an Irani wedding include a candelabra with candles to cast light upon the service, a tray with sweets (known as *lurk*) made of seven types of fruits and nuts representing Ahura Mazdā and the Amesha Spentas, a pomegranate and an egg symbolizing fertility, decorated sugar cones representing the sweetness of married life, a mirror for self reflection, a prayer book to provide guidance, and a needle with thread and scissors indicating domesticity. Symbolic items present at Parsi weddings include trays with coconuts and rice grains representing fertility and a censer or fire brazier. Parsi brides and grooms wear flower garlands and hold flower bouquets as well. The religious service for a wedding is conducted by one or more priests. Irani and Parsi wedding ceremonies display variations that reflect cultural differences between the two communities of Zoroastrians.

Among Iranis, the wedding service begins when Ahura Mazdā is invoked by the officiating magus. Recitations include *andarz* (advice) relating to the *gava giri* (marriage contract). Bride and groom are asked if they accept each other as partners. A wedding sermon by the priest on the benevolence of the Amesha Spentas follows. Selections from the *Srōsh Bāj* and *Yasna* 52 (which recounts a wedding homily by Zarathushtra) are chanted by the magus. Finally, the *Tandorosti* is recited. Then the couple is sprinkled with flower petals and rice symbolically to bring them good luck. Among Parsis, the *Āchu Michu* rite of Indian origin—in which eggs, leaves, nuts, sugar, coconut, rose petals and other flowers, water, and coins are utilized to symbolize aspects of creation and reproduction coupled with hopes of joy and wealth—is performed upon groom and bride by the bride's mother and the groom's mother. The officiating priest inquires from the bride and groom whether they consent to marrying each other. The bride and groom sit facing each other and the *Hathēvāro* (hand fastening) rite is performed: a white cotton sheet separates the seated bride and groom, while their right hands are bound together by the magus using white thread to indicate their holy union. The thread is then wrapped around them seven times in a clockwise manner while seven *Yathā Ahū Vairyō* prayers are recited. The sheet is then removed, the bride and groom toss rice at each other, the thread is removed as well, and the fire brazier brought close to the couple so that they may worship God in its presence. Next, with the couple seated side by side facing east, the Pāzand and Sanskrit versions of the *Ashirwād* are narrated by the officiating magus in the name of Ahura Mazdā, and the couple's oral consents are obtained for the marriage. Finally, *Tandarosti* is intoned to bless the newlyweds. A celebratory meal usually follows, hosted by the couple's parents, for their families and friends.

Death and funerary practices. If a Zoroastrian is known to be in the final hours of his or her life, the dying individual is supposed to recite the *Petīt Pashēmānīh* (also called *Patēt-e Vidardegān* [Penance for the deceased] by Iranis and *Patēt Ravān-ni* [Penance for the soul] by Parsis) in repentance for prior evil deeds, followed by several *Ashem Vohū* prayers. After the deceased's eyes are closed, the corpse is given a ritual cleaning (termed *sachkār* by the Parsis) either by professional corpse bearers (New Persian and Gujarati: *nasā sālārs*) and corpse cleaners (New Persian and Gujarati: *pākshus*) or by relatives or friends of the same sex, all of whom should be Zoroastrians. The chest is draped in a *sudre* and a *kustī* is tied around its waist. Thereafter, the deceased's body is dressed in white clothes, his or her hands are crossed over the chest, the legs are crossed by Iranian Zoroastrians but not by Parsi Zoroastrians, and the entire body is covered with a white shroud. The face remains exposed. If possible, handling of corpses is left to professional Zoroastrian corpse cleaners and bearers. Until the funeral service commences, a prayer vigil is maintained to safeguard the deceased's body and soul from demonic forces thought to be lurking in the vicinity. At the commencement of each period of the day, a rite known as *sagdīd* ([ritually] seen by the dog) is performed. The actual funeral service, termed *Gēh Sārnā* (Chanting of the Gāthās) by Parsis, occurs within twenty-four hours, during the three daylight periods, or morning, afternoon, and evening but not after sunset or after midnight. The body is placed upon a metal (which like stone is believe to withstand pollution) bier. The funeral service is followed by *sezdo* (*sijdā*) (last respects). Then the deceased's face is covered with the shroud. The bier may be carried to the funerary site with mourners following, after having recited the *Srōsh Bāj* and formed gender-specific pairs. Mourners must be led by a pair of priests or one priest plus a dog to ward off evil and pollution. Most often in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries the corpse is placed in a hearse, which is followed to the funerary site by relatives and friends in a motorcade.

In the early history of Zoroastrianism, human corpses were buried under the floors of disused buildings, following a practice prevalent among the Late Bronze Age people of Central Asia. Later, interment took place in village cemeteries. Achaemenian monarchs and their families were interred in rock sepulchers in the belief that the stone prevented the spread of pollution created by corpses' decay. Yet as praxis changed between the sixth and third centuries BCE, the original Avestan term *dakhma* for a grave or tomb came to designate a place for exposure of corpses. As initially remote locales came to be inhabited because of demographic growth, *dakhmas* developed into walled enclosures or funerary towers that came to be called "Towers of Silence" in popular parlance. The practice of exposure prior to gathering and disposal of the bones appears to have been introduced by the ancient magi in order to prevent pollution of the earth, fire, and water.

Further variations in Zoroastrian funerary practices occurred during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Exposure of corpses was gradually phased out in Sri Lanka (then Ceylon) during the late 1800s and in Iran during the 1970s. Iranis now bury their dead in graves walled with cement slabs to prevent the corpse from polluting earth and water. Parsis in India and Pakistan continue the tradition of exposing bodies to vultures in funerary towers, particularly at Bombay and Karachi, laying the bodies in specific areas or rows according to gender and age. However, in the United States, Canada, England, Australia, Sri Lanka, and even some locales in India and Pakistan, Zoroastrians—like their coreligionists in Iran—bury the dead irrespective of gender and age in rows of graves within graveyards known as *aramgāhs* (places of rest, cemeteries). In Western countries, deceased non-Zoroastrian spouses may also be buried in those graveyards.

HISTORICAL ASPECTS. Zoroastrianism was brought onto the Iranian plateau by tribes migrating southward from Central Asia around 1500 BCE. It became established as the dominant faith among the Medes, Persians, Scythians, and other Iranian groups who took up residence in various locations on that plateau. Through the Persians, Zoroastrianism spread to the indigenous Elamites of southwestern Iran as evidenced by renditions of the names of Ahura Mazdā and various yazatas preserved in Elamite ritual documents.

Ancient Iran. Median practice of Zoroastrianism is known from archaeological remains. At the citadel of Tepe Nush-e Jan (c. mid-eighth century to sixth century BCE), south of the northwest Iranian city of Hamadan, two rooms with ritual fire precincts have been excavated. Likewise, the capital city of Hagmatāna (Ecbatana, now Hamadan) had at least one small, open-sided building with four corner columns supporting a domed ceiling that seems to be a precursor of the *chahār tāq*–style of fire precinct. A relief carved above the entrance to a late Median or early Achaemenian rock tomb located at Qyzqapan in Iraqi Kurdistan depicts a priest on the left and a warrior on the right, both in Median garb appropriate to their occupations, flanking a fire altar with a stylized, semicircular flame.

Some modern scholars have questioned whether the Achaemenian rulers followed Zoroastrianism. Kūrush or Cyrus II (r. 550–530 BCE), who founded the dynasty, had magi at his royal court, according to classical writers. An open-air ritual precinct with stone fire plinths has been excavated at Parsarga (Pasargadae), the royal capital. The plinths' function is indicated by reliefs carved above the rock cliff tombs of seven subsequent Achaemenian rulers, including that of Darius I at Naqsh-e Rostam and that of Artakhshaçā or Artaxerxes III (r. 359–338 BCE) at Persepolis. The king or a magus climbed to the top of the southern plinth, faced the northern plinth, which bore a fire altar with flame, and performed devotions before Zoroastrianism's main icon. Implements such as mortars and pestles, whose dedicatory inscriptions confirm their ritual usage for pounding of *haoma* during the *Yasna* ritual, have been excavated at Persepolis. While Zarathushtra was not mentioned in imperial inscriptions, Ahura Mazdā was routinely praised in those writings. For instance, Darius I noted: “Ahura Mazdā is the great God who created this earth, who created that sky, who created humans, who created happiness for humanity, who made Darius king” (*Naqsh-e Rostam inscription A* 1–5). Following Egyptian depictions of Ra and Assyrian ones of Ashshur, Ahura Mazdā seems to have been depicted on Achaemenian royal reliefs standing within a disk which had a bird’s wings, tail, and talons, although some scholars consider the symbol to represent Khvarenah (glory) and modern Parsis regard it as a farohar. Artaxerxes II (r. 404–359 BCE) and Artaxerxes III honored Mithra and Anāhitā in conjunction with Ahura Mazdā—a practice that parallels Zoroastrian liturgies—as evidenced by their official Old Persian inscriptions (*Susa inscriptions* A 4–5, D 3–4; *Hamadan inscriptions* A 5–6, B; and *Persepolis inscription* A 25). No form of Mazdā worship other than Zoroastrianism has ever been identified. It is safe, therefore, to regard the Achaemenian rulers and many of their Iranian subjects as Zoroastrians, even though a range of other religions—such as Judaism and Babylonian cults—were practiced within the empire and Cyrus II honored other divinities like Yahweh and Marduk when he was among their followers.

Religiosity during the Seleucid period was characterized by an amalgamation of Greek, Mesopotamian, and Iranian divinities. On the Iranian plateau and in Armenia, Anāhitā—whose name was Hellenized as Anaitis and whose attributes were augmented by those of other feminine divinities, such as Artemis and Inanna-Ishtar—became the focus of an extensive temple cult with statuary and votive offerings. Among the residents of Commagene in southeastern Anatolia, Ahura Mazdā was fused with Zeus as Zeus Oromasdes. Mithra was fused with Apollo Helios Hermes, and Verethraghna (called Artagnes by the people of Anatolia) was conjoined with Hercules Ares. Colossal images of all those composite divinities were placed on a platform in an open air Zoroastrian temple at the site of Nimrud Dagh in southeastern Anatolia during the reign of Antiochus I (c. 69–34 BCE), a king of the regional Orontid dynasty (c. 163 BCE–CE 72) who had descended from Achaemenian satraps. Antiochus also had images carved of him clasping the hands of divinities (Greek: *dekhiōsis*).

Such syncretism continued during the Parthian period. Women, for example, served as professional mourners at funerals. Augmentation of the ritual role of fire occurred between middle Achaemenian and early Parthian times with the construction of monumental temples. Holy fires of the highest ritual grade, called the fires of Verethraghna, (Parthian: *ādar warahrān,* Middle Persian: *ātakhsh wahrām,* New Persian and Parsi Gujarati: *ātesh behrām*) the yazata of victory, were placed in fire temples. The most famous *ādar warahrān* of antiquity were founded during that time: Ādur Farrōbay, considered the *ādar warahrān* of clergy and nobility, at the site of Kariyan; Ādur Gushnasp, linked to rulers as the *ādar warahrān* of warriors, at the site of Takht-e Sulayman southeast of Lake Urmiya (now in Iranian Azerbaijan); and Ādur Burzēnmihr, regarded as the holy fire of farmers and pastoralists, on Revand mountain northwest of Nishapur in Parthia (now Khorasan).

Advent of the Sassanid dynasty witnessed Zoroastrianism becoming the official religion of Iran. In addition to supporting the faith financially, Sassanid monarchs are credited by the magi as having commanded codification of the Avesta. Sacral kingship based on Zoroastrianism became normative. So Sassanid rulers like Ardeshīr I (r. 224–240), Shāpūr I (r. 240–272), and Khusrō II (r. 591–628) had themselves depicted on monumental rock reliefs at Naqsh-e Rostam, Naqsh-e Rajab, and Taq-e Bostan receiving diadems of kingship from anthropomorphized images of Ahura Mazdā and Anāhitā. Every Sassanid monarch referred to himself or herself as *māzdēsn bay* (Mazdā-worshipping Lord) on their coins. That coinage routinely depicted monarchs—for example, Hormizd II (r. 302–309)—performing worship in front of fire altars. Magian ranks were regularized. Fire temples and seminaries were funded by the state and by private foundations. Committing apostasy was forbidden. As a result, under the Sassanian dynasty, Zoroastrianism became the politically and demographically dominant faith on the Iranian plateau and in western Central Asia.

Conversion to Christianity and Islam. Yet as Christian missionaries began proselytizing among Zoroastrians, and individuals from the latter groups began to adopt Christianity, Zoroastrian fire temples were transformed into churches at locales like Ejmiacin and Dvin in Armenia after the year 300. In Sassanid Iran itself, converts to Nestorianism deliberately extinguished holy fires on occasion while refusing to return to Zoroastrianism—resulting in their martyrdom at the hands of magi as documented in the Syriac martyrologies.

Confessional realignment gained momentum with the Arab Muslim conquest of the Sassanid Empire during the seventh century. The Arab conquest came to be associated with prophetic and apocalyptic expectations. It gave rise to literature that presented claims of propitious birth, flourishing of a new religion and its followers, and disintegration of older dynasties and faiths. Islamic prophecy alluded to triumph, Zoroastrian apocalypticism to doom. The prophet Muḥammad and the Muslim caliphs were presented as successors to Zarathushtra and the Sassanid monarchs. These stories were construed to cast a veil of mystery over ordinary events involving the fall of one empire with its state religion and the rise of another empire with its new faith. Since people believed these statements, they acted on those beliefs. Many despondent Zoroastrians, concluding that a true deity would not have forsaken their religion or them, eventually chose to accept the new Islamic faith, which they felt had demonstrated its ascendance through political victory. Urban Irani Zoroastrians adopted Islam from the eighth through tenth centuries, and that faith spread among rural folk from the tenth through thirteenth centuries. Most Zoroastrian ecclesiastical institutions were either transformed into Islamic mosques and Sunni *madrasahs* or else destroyed or abandoned by the fourteenth century. The *chahār tāq* style of fire precinct with its domed roof was assimilated into Muslim religious architecture as domed mosques. Moreover, as residents' confessional alliance shifted to Islam, there was gradual diminishment in contributions to pious foundations that supported the magi.

Zoroastrian leaders turned to canon law in a futile attempt to circumscribe contact of their followers with Muslims, for they rightly perceived interaction as a conveyor of religious and social changes that threatened their traditional way of life. The magi outlawed marriage, sexual intercourse, and procreation with Muslims, encouraging all Zoroastrians to ostracize those who violated these bans. Muslim elites were, however, often in positions to stifle such endeavors and encourage conversion to Islam by the people whom they referred to generically as the *māgūs* (so named by Muslims after the priesthood).

Medieval migrations. The Arab Muslim occupation of Iran triggered migrations by Zoroastrians. Zoroastrianism had already reached China during the early sixth century, where the religion came to be known as Hsien. During and after the seventh century, there were many small, poorly documented migrations away from Iran over both land and sea. Some Zoroastrians, especially Sassanid nobles and military personnel, immigrated eastward through Central Asia to northern China. Other groups of Zoroastrians probably sailed from Iran to join expatriate communities already present in southern Chinese port cities like Canton. From China, small groups even relocated to Japan. From fifteen to eighteen fire temples functioned in China until Zoroastrianism, together with other foreign faiths, was proscribed there in 845. However, Zoroastrians survived in China as late as the mid-fourteenth century, after which they were completely assimilated into the local population. The situation proved different for other groups of immigrants, specifically those who went to India and formed the *Parsi* (Persian) community that flourishes into the twenty-first century. Those Zoroastrians who remained in Iran sought refuge from Muslim lifestyles by moving to out-of-the-way locales within Fars, Yazd, and Kermān provinces.

Medieval and premodern minorities in Iran. Between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, the lives of Zoroastrians as a *dhimmī* (minority) community were governed by religious tenets and a sectarian society dominated by Muslim men. All followers of Zoroastrianism had to pay the *jizya* (poll tax) to the Sunni Muslim authorities, and the Zoroastrians' standing under Islamic law was secondary to members of the new confessional majority. Invasion and rule of Iran by the Mongols (1219–1256), Ilkhanids (1256–1335), and Timurids (1370–1507) resulted in violence against Zoroastrians producing even further conversion to Islam.

Institutionalization of Shiism under the Safavids (1501–1722) did little to strengthen relations between the Muslim and Zoroastrian communities, for the latter increasingly feared the specter of forced conversion to Islam under the religious zealousness of specific Shīʿī clerics or *mollās.* Zoroastrians living in the Yazd and Kermān areas bore the brunt of religious persecution, resulting in adoption of Shiism by some villagers, the transformation of associated fire temples into mosques, and desecration or even demolishment of nearby funerary towers. A New Persian designation, *gabr* (hollow, empty), hence "one lacking faith, infidel," came to be used by Muslims to scorn Zoroastrians as nonbelievers in God despite the claim of the latter that the Avesta was a holy book just like the *Qurʾān.* Likewise, the term *ātashparast* (fire worshipper) became a slur directed against Zoroastrians by Shīʿī Iranians, despite the former's protestations that they worshipped God and not fire. Forcible relocation of Zoroastrians occurred during the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I (r. 1587–1629) from Yazd and Kermān to the capital city, Isfahan, as laborers. In other cities of Safavid Iran, they also served as manual workers and textile weavers. Outside the cities, they toiled on farmland owned by Muslims.

European eyewitness accounts suggest that the Zoroastrian community of Iran was at its nadir during the Qajar period (1779–1921). Since Zoroastrians were considered *najes* (unclean) by the Shīʿah, they experienced hostility from the Muslim majority populace. Conversion to Islam was enforced periodically with transformation of fire temples to mosques. In the middle of the nineteenth century, Zoroastrians feared that their homes would be raided and religious texts burned. Religious rites were performed indoors, out of view of Muslims, so as not to attract the latter's attention. Only after intercession by Parsi Zoroastrians from British India was religious freedom enhanced and the *jizya* abolished by Qajar royal decree in 1882. Zoroastrian *anjomans* (associations) were established thereafter, as were women's societies and orphanages. More than three dozen schools for Zoroastrian boys and girls were founded with Parsi and Irani money. The curricula at such institutions combined Western secular knowledge and traditional religious instruction, stressing English as a language for societal advancement. Irani magi began traveling to and residing in India for clerical training—a trend that lasted until the latter part of the twentieth century, when the priesthood within Iran was able to strengthen its organizational and didactic bases. Zoroastrians, hoping for more equitable treatment under a secular national government, participated actively in the Constitutional Reform movement. Eventually, the community was allocated its own seat in the *majles* (national consultative assembly, parliament). Although the 1906 Constitution claimed "all citizens are equal before the law," the legal standing of Zoroastrians vis-à-vis Muslims remained unequal as evidenced by Article 8 of that Constitution, where Zoroastrians were assigned a legal status no different from that which they held previously as a *dhimmī* community. Therefore, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, more Zoroastrians relocated from Iran to British India to live amidst the Parsis. Carving out a distinctive economic niche in India, they became restaurateurs and liquor merchants.

Modern Iran. A brief period of respite for Zoroastrians in Iran from socioeconomic hardship and pressure to adopt Islam was experienced under the Pahlavi dynasty (1925–1979). Attempts to secularize and westernize Iranian society resulted in citizens generally being regarded as equal under the law. The *ʿAyn nāme* (Uniform Legal Code) for Zoroastrians was put into practice during the mid-1930s, establishing a nationally approved framework for their rights in personal matters such as marriage, divorce, and inheritance. The Family Protection Law of 1967 and its revisions of 1975 were another central part of the restructuring of the community's legal relationship with the nation. Glorification of Iran's pre-Islamic past for sociopolitical reasons by the state, including introduction into the official calendar in 1925 of Zoroastrian names for the months, also raised the status of Zoroastrians in the eyes of many Muslim Iranians. The Pahlavi era was marked by rapid urbanization and reform for the Zoroastrian community as educational, employment, and business opportunities burgeoned. Westernization, urbanization, and secular education led to religious change, spread in part through elementary, middle, and high schools founded by Irani Zoroastrians for edification of their children during the Pahlavi period plus those schools that had been established earlier. Irani Zoroastrian communal leaders championed their religion as an early form of monotheism, brought about calendrical reform, and simplified or replaced rites deemed antiquated in favor of ones regarded as more suitable for a community with newfound societal and economic aspirations. Even conversion to Zoroastrianism by Muslims was tacitly permitted. Reform gradually spread from the community in Tehran to other urban settings such as the cities of Kermān and Yazd. Due to state pressure on behalf of its secularization program, access to most fire temples in Iran was opened in the 1960s to members of all faiths—although they were requested (but not required) to cover their heads and remove footwear as signs of respect for the holy fires. Together with open access, yet another change occurred wherein the *Pādyāb* purificatory ritual and *koshti* (cord rite) came to be ever-less-frequently performed prior to entering the presence of a holy fire. Thus, an attenuation in notions of purity and pollution took place. By the mid-1970s, the community was finally confident that its lot had genuinely changed for the better in a secularizing Iranian state. Hence, leading members of the community at Tehran, Yazd, and Kermān still recount that Iran's reversal in 1979 to a political system in which Islam predominated once more deeply shook the foundational psyche of the Zoroastrian community and brought back a collective, multigenerational memory of harsh times from centuries past.

The advent of the Islamic Republic of Iran witnessed a return to strict socioreligious minority status for Zoroastrians. Technically protected under Article 13 of the 1979 Constitution, the community is allocated one elected representative position among the two hundred and seventy members or national representatives of the legislative branch of government, the *majles.* Despite being officially recognized as a minority and represented in public settings, Zoroastrians in Iran often are offered only limited protection on a daily basis from their Muslim neighbors. As a result, they sporadically have been targets for persecution. Community records list cases of Zoroastrian women being compelled to marry Muslim men in the presence of Shīʿī clerics or *mollās* and to publicly adopt Islam. On a daily basis, more important are the legal distinctions between Muslims and Zoroastrians, which echo, in large part, ordinances that Zoroastrians have experienced under many Islamic regimes since the middle of the seventh century. Thus, for instance, a Zoroastrian who converts to Islam is regarded by Iranian law as the sole inheritor of his or her family's assets. Likewise, a Zoroastrian who even accidentally causes the demise of a Muslim faces the possibility of capital punishment, but not vice versa. The concept that Zoroastrians are *najes* has been revived, affecting their socioeconomic lives in daily interactions with Muslims, since items the former touch, especially food, may be regarded as unclean by the latter. The insults *gabr* and *ātashparast* have once again been used against them. Chronic unemployment has become prevalent among members of both genders. One major cause appears to be discrimination by the government in access to state jobs. While employment opportunities are withheld, Zoroastrians feel they have been targeted for especially hazardous assignments when performing the military service required of all young men in Iran. Therefore, yet again Zoroastrians have begun leaving Iran.

Globalization of the faith. The initial modern exodus from Iran was during the 1980s by elite families who had been associated with the Pahlavi state and therefore feared retribution. Relocations since then have been by young men and women who are growing increasingly pessimistic about the possibility of a viable socioeconomic future for their families and themselves in Iran. Some of the migrants, fleeing Iran overland to Turkey, Pakistan, and India, then spending many months or a few years in refugee camps or under the protective welfare of Parsi communities, eventually settle in North America and in Europe. Globalization of the Zoroastrian community has also occurred through emigration of Parsis from the Indian subcontinent. During the British Raj, Parsi trading families settled in Burma (now Myanmar); Singapore; Malaysia; Hong Kong (now united with the People's Republic of China) and mainland China; Taiwan; the Seychelles; and African countries such as Zaire, Tanzania (on the island of Zanzibar), and South Africa. Some Parsis relocated to England, Scotland, and Wales during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, seeking better educational and economic opportunities. Beginning in the 1960s, yet other Parsis left to unite with relatives in Australia, New Zealand, Europe, and North America as a consequence of nationalism and religious fundamentalism in India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. Since the 1970s, Parsi immigrants have settled in the United States and Canada after gaining education and employment there.

Many among the first generation of recent Irani immigrants have settled in ethnic clusters—forming large communities in cities like Los Angeles, Toronto, and London—where they continue many of their native customs and speak New Persian. However, their children, the second generation, being born in Western countries, have tended to become better acculturated as native speakers of the English language. For them, Iran is a cultural legacy of their parents. While the first generation of Parsi immigrants remains bilingual in the Gujarati and English languages, maintaining customs from the Indian subcontinent, their children have limited facility in Gujarati and have integrated fully with local Western populations. Differences of language and custom still present challenges to the cultural and religious unity of the first generations of Parsi and Irani Zoroastrians in the West. Despite such divergences, they have worked together raising funds to establish community centers, fire temples, and cemeteries in most major cities in the United States, Canada, England, and Australia.

As Zoroastrians have spread globally, many issues have come to the fore. They include intermarriage between them and followers of other faiths and the religious identity of children from such unions; conversion to Zoroastrianism of persons who wish to adopt the religion; access to fire temples by non-Zoroastrians, including those who are the spouses and children of Zoroastrians; and ways in which the bodies of deceased Zoroastrians may be disposed, including inhumation and cremation. By and large the Parsis of India tend to be the most conservative and orthopractic. Theocratic positions taken by Zoroastrians in India are not uniformly accepted by lay and clerical Zoroastrians elsewhere, however. Occasionally, individuals who wish to join Zoroastrianism are initiated by magi outside the Indian subcontinent, but magi in the Indian subcontinent do not accept converts. Likewise, the frequency of marriage across confessional boundaries is on the rise; this is the case even among the Parsis of India. Outside the Indian subcontinent, Zoroastrians routinely permit non-Zoroastrian spouses to attend rituals at fire temples and cemeteries. Zoroastrian women, while still not part of the priesthood, now participate fully in community activities and governance.

In the late twentieth century, Zoroastrian organizations in countries around the globe began establishing and maintaining regular contact with one another. Recent demographic studies, national censuses, and community association membership rosters yield the following approximate population figures for Zoroastrians—Iranis, Parsis, and recent converts—worldwide in the early twenty-first century: 28,000 in Iran; 69,600 in India; 20,100 in the United States; 10,000 in Canada; 7,500 in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland; 4,500 in the other countries of the European Union; 2,800 in Pakistan; 2,100 in Australia; 1,200 in the United Arab Emirates; 250 in New Zealand; 190 in Hong Kong; 150 in Singapore; 130 in Bahrain; 110 in Zaire; 75 in South Africa; 70 in Sri Lanka; 50 in Myanmar; 30 in Japan; 30 in Malaysia; 30 in the Seychelles; 20 in Bermuda; 10 in Venezuela; 10 in the Peoples Republic of China; and even smaller numbers in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Yemen, Tanzania (on the island of Zanzibar), Zambia, Mozambique, Mexico, and Brazil.

SEE ALSO Ahura Mazdā and Angra Mainyu; Ahuras; Airyana Vaējah; Amesha Spentas; Anāhitā; Ateshgah; Avesta; Chinvat Bridge; Daivas; Frashokereti; Fravashis; Gender and Religion, article on Gender and Zoroastrianism; Haoma; Khvarenah; Magi; Parsis; Saoshyant; Yazatas; Zarathushtra; Zurvanism.

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ZULU RELIGION. After nearly 150 years of missionary activity the majority of the some 5.5 million Zulu-speaking South Africans are Christians. For many, however, the *amadlozi* (ancestors or shades of dead kin) who once dominated Zulu religion are still a force to be reckoned with and propitiated. The acceptance of the power of the *amadlozi* to intervene in the lives of their descendants and to help them is manifested in the beliefs and rituals of most of the African independent churches to which, indeed, over a quarter of all Zulu Christians belong. The basic concerns of traditional Zulu religion—the pursuit of health, fertility, and a balance between man and man and between man and nature—are as relevant today as ever. Since these are the very areas in which the ancestors are thought to be most powerful, offerings to the *amadlozi* occur in many contexts both traditional and Christian. These offerings take place both in the far-flung areas of rural KwaZulu (the geographical area situated on the east coast of South Africa between 28° and 31° south latitude from which most Zulu originated even if they have no ties there today) as well as in cosmopolitan urban centers where Zulu mingle with other South Africans as residents and work-seekers.

Attention is focused here upon the major enduring features of Zulu religion as first reported in the writings of early travelers and missionaries, and later in contemporary anthropological work in KwaZulu, notably that of Harriet Ngubane, whose study of the Nyuswa-Zulu provides a picture of how Zulu religion is practiced today and highlights the previously neglected role of women in belief and ritual.

In Zulu thought the ancestors are only one part of a more extensive system of beliefs. Within this system, the natural order is thought to impinge closely upon man for human beings are thought to be related both physically and psychically to their environment and to be vulnerable to harmful forces in nature. Such forces either operate automatically or are manipulated by sorcerers (*abathakathi*) who cause ill health, misfortune, and the general state of vulnerability known as *isifo*. The ancestors also harm the living but only as a warning when they are angry; in fact, the *amadlozi*, many of whom were once known to the living, are the major protectors against sorcery. Appropriate ancestral offerings are cattle or goats that are sacrificed, the meat being left overnight for the ancestors to "lick" (*khotha*) and to share with the living. Diviners called *izangoma* (sg., *isangoma*) are consulted whenever illness, misfortune, or unusual events occur, for it is they alone who can ascertain the cause. They also recommend paths of reparation in the case of ancestral anger and, in the event of sorcery, may point out the sorcerer or suggest countermeasures. Diviners are called to their profession by their own ancestors, who possess and guide them, and they undergo a lengthy training in their art. Herbalists (*izinyanga*) also treat disease and provide protective medicines but, because they are not possessed by the spirits, they lack powers of divination.

ZULU COSMOLOGY AND THE NATURAL ORDER. The Zulu say that in the beginning there was uMvelinqangi, literally the first "comer-out," who broke off from a reed bed followed by human beings, animals, and nature as a whole. He sent a chameleon to humanity with the message that they would live forever. Later, growing impatient with the chameleon's slowness, he sent a lizard with the message that all humans would die, and because it was the faster animal, the lizard arrived first. In some tales uMvelinqangi is portrayed as the source of the known social order, for he gave human beings their ancestors and decided how the ancestors should be approached and placated. There is, however, little evidence that uMvelinqangi was worshiped directly. Ideas about him probably served largely as explanatory constructs for the natural order (and some features of the social order), and in traditional times such ideas would have played a minor role in everyday religious practice. Another name for uMvelinqangi was uNkulunkulu ("the old, old one"), a term that missionaries used for "God," thus causing some confusion by conflating Zulu ideas of a pure creator with Christian notions of a creator and supreme being to whom regular worship must be directed. Distinct from uMvelinqangi is iNkosi yeZulu, the lord of the sky and personification of heaven. He is associated with thunder and lightning, which are greatly feared and against which specially trained herbalists offer protection.

Linked also with the sky or the "above" (*ezulwini*—a critical concept that contrasts with *phansi*, the "below," where the dead go before becoming ancestors) is iNkosazana yeZulu, or merely iNkosazana, the princess of heaven (uNomkhubulwana). The latter term is derived from *khubula* ("to sow again after rain or sun has destroyed crops"), and this female deity is closely associated with abundance and sufficient (but not too much) rain. She bestows fertility on crops, cattle, and human beings and is often actively placated in times of drought and searing heat. The patron of women and particularly of young girls, iNkosazana is said to appear in the fructifying mists of spring and to stand on the threshold of summer like a girl whose puberty ceremonies mark her entry to marriage and procreation. The same songs are sung both at girls' puberty ceremonies and at ceremonies held in honor of iNkosazana; in both cases the songs are thought to promote fertility and good rains. Before hoeing begins, women sometimes plant a small field for iNkosazana near a river, and a libation of beer is poured on the ground to the accompaniment of a prayer for a fruitful harvest. Other ceremonies connected with the goddess are aimed at warding off pests that affect crops, cattle diseases, and maladies common in spring and summer such as malaria and gastroenteritis. The word *ukushweleza* ("to make an apology"), which is used in connection with these rituals, suggests the placation of iNkosazana's anger and the setting of things in order so that the season will proceed without mishap. Because of its conceptual links with fertility and girls' puberty ceremonials, the cult of iNkosazana must be seen against the background of the widespread emphasis upon fertility in African cosmological systems. Her cult has a counterpart in the *uyali-vuhwera* fertility cult and the *gomana* drum cult of the northeastern Transvaal Lowveld, but the Zulu are unique among Bantu-speaking peoples in southern Africa in their conception of a female deity associated with fertility who is worshiped even today.

The natural order impinges on life in other ways which affect health and well-being. In contrast to illnesses caused by sorcery or ancestral anger, there is an extremely wide range of diseases stretching from the common cold to more serious epidemics like smallpox or measles, which are said to "just happen." These maladies may be due to natural causes such as the changing of the seasons or the inevitable processes of aging and maturation. Many are treated with medicines which are potent in themselves and do not necessarily require ritual or religious accompaniment, although protection against certain seasonal illnesses may be sought from iNkosazana. Another important class of natural illnesses are thought to result inevitably from imbalances in nature. All living things are believed to leave behind something of themselves and absorb something of the atmosphere through which they move. Such influences, called *imikhondo* ("tracks"), may be detrimental to the individual. Treatment, while bringing relief to one person, may release the dangerous element to affect others. To keep the immediate environment pure, people seek to discard *imikhondo* in public places such as highways and crossroads, where they are thought to mix with other noxious substances placed there by sorcerers; these areas are thus extremely dangerous to travelers. Moving into a new environment may in itself be dangerous, as one is not yet attuned to its influences. Several categories of people are particularly at risk from environmental influences including newcomers to an area, infants who have only recently entered the world, and all those who are temporarily in a weakened state, known as *umnyama.* This last category includes the bereaved, newly delivered mothers, homicides, and menstruating women. Although all people should be strengthened from time to time against alien environmental influences, these people must be given specific treatments, often both medicinal and ritual, aimed not only at strengthening them but also at achieving or restoring order or symmetry between them and their environment. The word commonly used to describe such treatment is *ukuzilungisa* (from *lunga*, "to be as should be," and *isa*, "to come to be"), which implies the restitution of balance not only between man and nature but sometimes between man and man or between man and his ancestors.

Certain natural processes are thought to weaken the individual. The most important and general is *umnyama*, to which reference was made above, and which may be literally translated as "darkness," "blackness," or "heaviness." This state results from contact with death or birth, which renders the individual open to sorcery, other malign influences, bad luck, and misfortune, and also makes him or her a danger to others. Women are extremely vulnerable to *umnyama* because of their biological association with procreation and because the chief mourners at funerals are always women. Indeed, Ngubane argues that because of this dual association with the beginning and end of life, women occupy a "marginal" position in Zulu cosmology and serve as a symbolic bridge between "this world" (the world of the living) and the "otherworld" (that of the spirits). Women, however, not only link this world and the otherworld, but in their roles as daughter in one kinship group and mother in another they form a bridge between two distinct patrilineages. Zulu society is strongly patrilineal, and marriage may occur only outside the clan. A bride is thus an outsider in her affinal home, yet it is only through her that her husband's group can reproduce itself. This social marginality is indicated by certain linguistic avoidances or restrictions (*hlonipha*) placed upon a bride and also by the fear that married women are potential sorcerers in their husband's homestead. Since the bearer of children is thus paradoxically also a threat to continuity of the patriline, Zulu social structure places married women in an ambiguous position which complements the marginality they derive from their biological and cultural association with birth and death. Diviners are also seen to be marginal in that they intercede between the living and the dead, between this world and the otherworld, and it is significant that most diviners are women and that men who are called to this position are transvestites.

ANCESTORS AND SOCIAL LIFE. As Eileen Jensen Krige has pointed out, "the real vital religion of the Zulus is their ancestor worship" (Krige, 1936). Indeed, when things are going well, the Zulu say that their ancestors are "with them," but when misfortune strikes, they say that the ancestors are "facing away." Revelations are made in dreams and visions as well as through misfortune, and what angers the ancestors most is neglect and failure to fulfill kinship obligations. Different aspects of the overall conception of the ancestors are indicated in the various Zulu words used for the dead. *Amadlozi* is derived from *dloza*, meaning "to care for, keep an eye on," but because the spirit world is thought to be situated "below" (*phansi*), the ancestors are often referred to simply as *abaphansi, "those of the below."* Another word frequently used is *amathongo*, from *ubuthongo*, "deep sleep," a reference to one of the ways in which the ancestors contact the living. Diviners address their ancestors as *makhosi*, from *inkhosi*, "chief," and *ubukhosi*, "authority, power, glory," thus emphasizing the major nuances of the unique relationship between them and the spirits which possess them. The word *isithunzi*, from *umthunzi*, "shadow," refers to the force or personality that leaves the body at death and wanders aimlessly until it is "brought home" (*buyisa*) by a special ceremony designed to integrate it (as an *idlozi*, or ancestor proper) into the body of powerful ancestors who have control over the living. Since the spirits are dependent upon their descendants to perform this and other ancestral rituals, the relationship between the living and the dead is one of mutuality which excludes non-kin and reflects the major emphases of Zulu kinship and particularly patrilineal organization.

A man's most important ancestors are his father, mother, father's father, and father's mother, as well as the father's brothers who act with and share sacrifices offered to deceased parents and grandparents. Among the Nyuswa-Zulu, about whom we have recent knowledge from the work of Ngubane, *amadlozi* more than three generations removed from a homestead head are not thought to be dangerous. They are said, however, to come to sacrifices along with closer ancestors, and may even possess a diviner as a supporting spirit. The living kin who gather for ancestral rituals largely include the patrilineal descendants of a grandfather, and the women who have married these men. At sacrifices, it is the genealogically senior male (*umnumzane*) who officiates. Among the Nyuswa-Zulu the married men of this cluster or segment (*umndeni*) of two or three generations often live close to each other and, under the headship of the *umnumzane*, act as a corporate group in the control and management of common resources (such as land) and in the settlement of internal disputes. The authority of the *umnumzane* is bolstered by his ritual position and the fact that younger agnates can approach the ancestors only through him. The rituals of the ancestor cult therefore both demonstrate and, in the Durkhemian sense, promote the corporate character and social continuity of the *umndeni.* On the political level, the ancestors of the king guard and protect the whole society and are sacrificed to at national festivals. Prior to the defeat of the Zulu nation and the disbanding of the army by the British, the king's ancestors were always called upon before warriors went into battle.

The ancestor cult reflects a number of other important aspects of Zulu social life. The role of the chief wife who bears the heir is emphasized, for it is on the *umsamo* of her hut (the rear part of the dwelling associated with the spirits) that sacrificial meat is placed for the ancestors to share. Individual social identities are often fixed unambiguously by calling on the ancestors. Thus a baby is placed formally under the control of the ancestors to whose line it belongs by the sacrifice of a goat known as *imbeleko*, the skin of which is used to secure the baby on its mother's back. This ceremony is usually performed by the child's father or father's father, but in the case of an unmarried woman, the responsibility lies with her father and his *umndeni* to which the child belongs.

In former times abandoned children were adopted by an *imbeleko* sacrifice, thus demonstrating that it is social rather than biological paternity which is important. By the same token, one of the objectives of wedding ceremonies is to introduce the bride, who comes from another descent group, to her husband's ancestors and to put her under their care. Neglect of this formality may result in failure on the part of her affinal ancestors to recognize and protect her and her children. Barrenness is sometimes, however, attributed to a married woman's own ancestors who may, for instance, be angry that the correct puberty ceremonies were not performed for her. They may also make her ill if they want her to become a diviner. In both cases it is her father's responsibility to set matters in order. The fact that a married woman can be affected by her own ancestors as well as those of her husband serves both to underline the separate identity of affinal groups linked by marriage and to indicate the married woman's role as a bridge between the two patrilineages. With time and the birth of children she is effectively transferred from the one descent group to the other. After menopause she may eat those parts of ancestral sacrifices reserved for members of her affinal kin group, and she may even call on the ancestors if no suitable male is present. At death she is fully incorporated into her affinal group when she is brought back by her son as one of his patrilineal ancestors. She has then completed the "long journey" (*udwendwe*) that she began as a bride, and in so doing she had mediated between the conflicting interests of patriliny and exogamy in Zulu society.

SPIRIT POSSESSION. Spirit possession is an important and dynamic aspect of Zulu life. The call to be a diviner takes the form of recognized mental and physical affliction, the cure for which are initiation and professional training. The traditional *isangoma* (and her counterpart in many Christian sects) is a pivotal force for order and rapprochement between man and the spirit world. There are, however, new forms of spirit possession that were first reported at the turn of the century, which have intensified since the 1930s. These are destructive and anarchic; Ngubane relates them to the disruptive effects of social and industrial change. *Indiki* and *ufufunyane* (or *iziwe*) are the most prevalent types, resulting from possession by the deceased spirits of foreigners, which have not been integrated into the body of the ancestors. *Indiki* are possessed by male spirits who enter the individual's chest by chance and manifest themselves in a deep bellowing voice which speaks in a foreign tongue. Treatment often involves replacing the alien spirit with an ancestral spirit, and the *indiki* may become a diviner. *Ufufunyane* is diagnosed as due to sorcery and is a particularly intractable form, for the alien spirit becomes violent when challenged. The possessed individuals become hysterical and may attempt suicide in a frenzy. Treatment involves dispelling the alien spirit—or often hordes of spirits of different race groups—and replacing them by spirits controlled by the doctor and referred to as a regiment (*amabutho*). The image is one of war against the sorcerer's evil medicine; no attempt is made to call an ancestral spirit, and no cult membership or professionalization results.

TRADITIONAL BELIEF AND ZULU CHRISTIANITY. Zulu cosmological ideas have been incorporated into Zulu Christian thought in a number of subtle ways. The word for "breath" (*umoya*) is translated as "Holy Spirit," and people said to be filled with the Holy Spirit become leaders in African independent churches that have split off from orthodox congregations. In these churches Christian beliefs coexist with aspects of traditional Zulu belief, and leadership reveals striking similarities to traditional divination in that the prophet, with the help of the Holy Spirit, explains misfortune and prescribes remedies. These may include ancestral offerings as well as orthodox Christian prayer. Protection against sorcery and misfortune is given by prayer and also medicine, and the blend of the two religious systems is basic to the vibrancy of African Christianity as it has developed, not only in the independent churches, but recently in orthodox congregations as well. Healing, purification, and the search for fertility are major issues in African Christianity, and many of the sects and churches that have proliferated in town and country serve not only the spiritual needs of their members but perform important social and welfare functions in the context of the chronic poverty and political subordination that has characterized the lives of many Zulu in the twentieth century.

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Two studies that deal with the present situation, both based on detailed anthropological research, are the Reverend Axel-Ivar Berglund's *Zulu Thought-Patterns and Symbolism* (London, 1976), and Harriet Ngubane's *Body and Mind in Zulu Medicine* (London, 1977). The first work offers an exhaustive compilation of detail, which provides some important insights, and also discusses a number of problematic conceptual issues. However, for scholars and laymen alike, Ngubane's book is the best starting point; an ethnographic study of one community, it is written lucidly and with the insight of a Zulu anthropologist. For doctors and those involved in the medical field, it is a *sine qua non* as it examines religious beliefs as part of Zulu ideas about the causation and treatment of disease.

Researchers seeking to become conversant with the details of Zulu thought patterns should consult Otto F. Raum's *The Social Functions of Avoidances and Taboos among the Zulu* (Berlin and New York, 1973), as it presents fascinating but very detailed data on a wide range of beliefs and their associated avoidances. The writings of Katesa Schlosser will also be of interest, especially *Zauberei im Zululand: Manuskripte des Blitz-Zauberers Laduma Madela* (Kiel, 1972), a study of Zulu mythology as told by a lightning doctor. Although the latter work shows how one Zulu philosopher has rethought and to some extent reinterpreted and expanded traditional Zulu cosmological notions, none of the above works concentrate specifically on change. Those interested in this aspect should consult Bengt Sundkler's *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1961), and his more recent *Zulu Zion and Some Swazi Zionists* (Lund and Oxford, 1976). The sociological and welfare concomitants of many African independent churches are discussed in the work of James P. Kiernan; see in particular "Pure and Puritan: An Attempt to View Zionism as a Collective Response to Urban Poverty," *African Studies* 36 (1977): 31–41. The continuing influence of the conception of the ancestors in literature and worldview is demonstrated by a recent collection of poems by the Zulu poet Mazisi Kunene, *The Ancestors and the Sacred Mountain* (Exeter, N. H., 1982).

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Revised Bibliography

ZURVANISM. It is difficult to determine whether veneration of a deity of time and fate, literally a father "time" figure, named Zurvan (Avestan, Zrvan; Pahlavi, Zurwān—variant form, Zamān) developed chronologically or spatially into a distinct religious movement in ancient and medieval Iran that competed with Zoroastrianism or Mazdaism. Nevertheless, Zurvanism is attested in Iranian belief generally, and Zoroastrianism specifically, from at least mid-

Achaemenian times (late fifth century BCE). By the Sasanian period (224–651 CE), Zurvanite theology and mythology seems to have gained substantial followers among the magi or Zoroastrian priests along with Iranian nobles and scholars, possibly exerting influence on doctrines at times when fatalism seemed appropriate. As a monist sect, it possibly was one form of early medieval orthodoxy in southwestern Iran, among other locales. Yet there are no Iranian temples that can be associated specifically with worship of Zurvan. Neither are there images that can be identified clearly as representing Zurvan, not even the leontocephalic, or lion-headed, spirit (later known to be associated with western Mithraism). Nor can any particular rituals be attributed to the ration of Zurvan. The entire performative dimension of religiosity appears to be have been absent in the case of Zurvan.

SOURCES AND PRINCIPLES. The *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (fifth century BCE) preserve the theophoric name Izrudukma (*Zru[va]taukhma, "of Zurvan's seed" [2084.4]) as an early reference to the importance of time in ancient Iranian society. Other ancient-to-medieval Iranian and Armenian names like Zrovandukht (daughter of Zurvan), Zarwandād (created or given by Zurvan), and Zrvandasht (preserved by Zurvan) also reflect devotees' association with this deity.

The Zoroastrian scripture, or *Abestāg* (Avesta; Praise), places only limited emphasis on Zurvan, mentioning him infrequently. One passage in the Young Avesta (composed between 900–400 BCE, with canonization lasting into the third century BCE) notes that after death the souls of the "confused ones and the orderly ones all journey along the road created by Zurvan to the bridge of the compiler created by [Ahura] Mazdā" (*Vidēvdād*, "Code to Ward Off Evil Spirits," 19.29). Another passage claims that Spenta Mainyu (holy spirit; the hypostasis of Ahura Mazdā), created Manthra Spenta (holy word)in Zurvan—that is, during time (*Vidēvdād* 19.9). Other Young Avestan references to Zurvan distinguish between Zrvan akarana (infinite or unlimited time) and Zrvan dareghō-khva-dhāta (time of the long dominion) (*Vidēvdād* 19.13, 19.16; *Yasna*, "Worship, Sacrifice" 72.10; *Sīrōza*, "[Invocations for] the Thirty Days of the Month," 1.21, 2.21; *Niyāyishn*, "Litany," 1.8). In these scriptural passages, Zurvan is associated with a range of divine spirits such as the Amesha Spentas (holy immortals), Daēna (religion, conscience), Rāman (peace), Vayu (wind or air), Thwasha (space), and Tishtrya (Sirius.) However, Zurvan is not presented as a preexisting deity, independent of Ahura Mazdā.

Clearer attestation of Zurvan's independent status comes from the reign of Artaxerxes or Artakhshaçā II (r. 404–359/8 BCE), through the writing of Theopompos (fl. fourth century BCE) as cited by Plutarch (c. 46–after 119 CE, where a millenary scheme of time—when Ohrmazd and Ahreman do battle—is the result of actions by a god who having "brought this to pass is quiet and at rest for a time" (*Isis and Osiris* 47). A few other classical sources, preserved in later redactions, also cite Zurvan. Antiochus I (c. 69–34 BCE) of Commagene referred to Kronos apeiros (unlimited time) on his Greek inscription at Nimrud Dagh in Anatolia—a document containing allusions to Iranian beliefs syncretized with Hellenistic ones. The broad dates for those documents have led to scholarly suggestions that chronological speculation may have culminated in a time-based cosmogony within the multinational, multireligious empire of the Achaemenians. Doctrinal augmentation could have occurred through confluence of Near Eastern, Greek, Iranian, and Indian notions of cosmic progenitors—such as Ra, Kronos, Zrvan, and Kāla, respectively—with the mythological Indo-European primal twins represented in the Old Avestan devotional poems as Spenta Mainyu and Angra Mainyu (*Gathas* 30.3, 45.2).

Zurvanism and medieval Zoroastrianism. Medieval Zoroastrian theology drew upon the Avesta to describe Zurvan in two forms: as Zurwān ī akanārag (infinite time) and as Zurwān ī dērang khwadāy (time of the long dominion)—an epithet shared with Vayu or Way—alternately termed Zurwān ī kanāragōmand or Zurwān ī brīnōmand (finite time). Such was the case in the *Greater Bundahishn* ([Book of] primal creation) (especially 3.14—on which see figure 1, Codex TD1 folio 14 verso, the oldest extant manuscript copy dating to 1531 CE, lines 2–3—and 3.6, 26.31), a text whose redactions spanned the Sassanian Empire and the Umayyad (661–750 CE) and Abbasid (750–1258 CE) caliphates.

In those forms, Zurvanite ideas are present in the *Mēnōg ī Khrad* (Spirit of wisdom), a Pahlavi or Middle Persian exegetical text from the sixth century CE, where Ahura Mazdā is said to have created the universe with the "blessing of infinite time," who is "infinite, ageless, undying, painless, unfeeling, incorruptible, and unassailable" (8.8, 8.9). Moreover, Zurvan was equated to Vayu as a weapon of Ahura Mazdā against falsehood (*Greater Bundahishn* 26.34).

In the ninth century CE, Zurvan was associated by Zoroastrians with the divine spirits Rām (peace), Spihr (sky), Māh (moon), and Gōsh (cow) in assisting the Amesha Spenta named Vohu Manah (Wahman; "good mind"; *Greater Bundahishn* 3.14). Likewise, the *Wizīdagīhā* (Selections) of Zādspram, a ninth-century CE *hērbed* (theologian) living at Sirkan, presented Ahura Mazdā's creative power as linked to Zurvan, who determines the course of the cosmic conflict between order and confusion (1.27–28, 2.19, 34.35). So, ultimately, these medieval sources do not clarify the degree of Zurvan's independence, in theology and ritual, from a Zoroastrian pantheon headed by Ahura Mazdā. However, even when not adopting an extreme monism of Zurvan with its ascription of the origin of all other entities to the actions of time, medieval Zoroastrianism in most sectarian forms employed a millenarian system of two, eternal, dualistic spirits in conflict during time (compare the standard account of cosmogony in the *Greater Bundahishn* 1.1–1a.14).

Christian and Muslim sources. Perhaps because of tensions within Zoroastrianism of reconciling Ahura Mazdā and Zurvan as progenitor spirits, the major extant textual

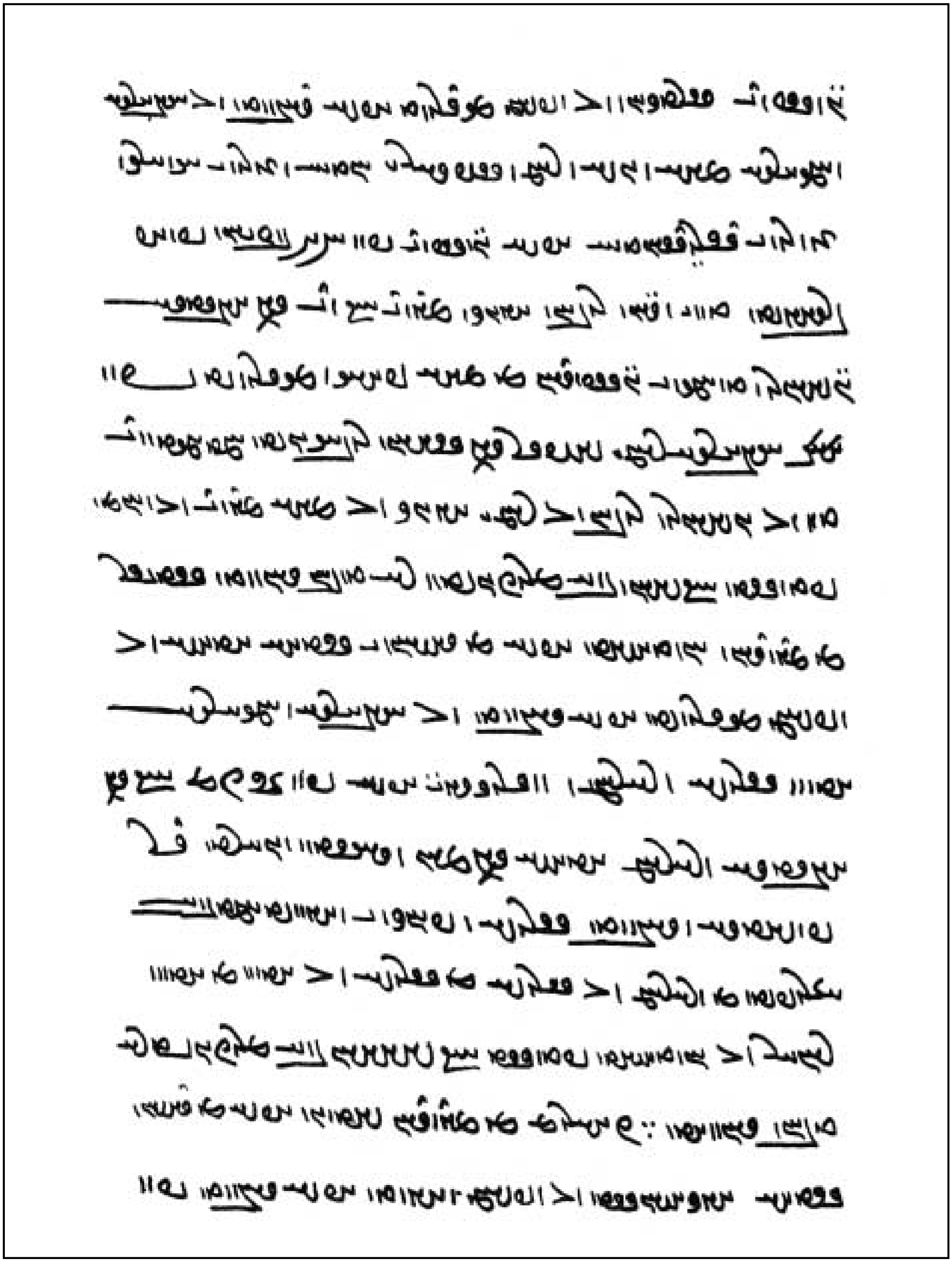

Figure 1. *Reproduced by permission of the archive of J. K.Choksy.*

sources for Zurvanism are those by Christian and Muslim writers. Armenian Christian authors who mentioned the Zurvanite creation myth include Eznik of Kołb (fl. fifth century CE) and Ełishē Vardapet (d. 480 CE). There are Syriac accounts, such as those by the Arab Christian bishop Theodore Abū Qurra (c. 740–820 CE), Theodore bar Kōnai (fl. ninth century CE), and the Nestorian monk Yohannān bar Penkayē (fl. c. seventh to ninth century CE). The Syriac documents mention divinities named Ashōqar, Frashōqar, and Zarōqar—whose names derive from Iranian words—as existing alongside Zurvan. All of the above-named writers may have utilized a common source, a work by the Cappadocian bishop Theodore of Mopsuestia (c. 350–428/9 CE), in addition to drawing upon each others' writings when possible. Syriac martyrologies of Nestorians, such as that of a woman named Anāhīd (d. c. 446 CE), mention portions of Zurvanite theology as well.

According to extant versions of the Zurvanite creation myth, as preserved by these authors, Ohrmazd (Ahura Mazdā, variously rendered as Ohrmizd, Ormizd, Hormizd, and Hormuz in the documents of Zurvanism) was conceived as the result of a rite that Zurvan had performed for a millennium to be granted a son who could create the universe. Ahreman (often written in those same sources as Ahriman, Ahrimen, Ahrman, Arhmn) was conceived unexpectedly, though not surprisingly within the ritual context, because Zurvan had doubted the efficacy of his devotive actions. Realizing that his wife would give birth to twins, Zurvan supposedly decided that the firstborn would rule the universe. Ahreman, upon learning of Zurvan's decision from a rather naïve Ohrmazd, ripped his way out of the womb and demanded his birthright. Zurvan, repulsed by this son's vileness, sought to restrict the evil twin's power by establishing a finite period of nine thousand years during which Ahreman would be in charge. Zurvan deemed that thereafter, his other son, Ohrmazd, would gain absolute power and appropriately determine the trajectory of events. Having set into motion the cosmic cycle and predetermined its outcome, Zurvan's relevance largely ended. No mention was made specifically of the origins of time or its female spouse, nor of the recipient of ritual, perhaps because it was assumed both that time in all its facets was eternal and that ritual could occur either for its own sake without a recipient or be directed at the performer.

Interestingly, a ninth-century CE Zoroastrian denunciation of this story is found in the *Dēnkard* (Acts of the religion; 9.30.4–5), where it is attributed to "the ranting of the demon Arashka" (Arashk or Areshk, "envy"). More important, Mardānfarrokh, the son of Ohrmazddād (fl. ninth century CE), author of the *Shkand Gumānīg Wizār* (Doubt dispelling exposition), condemned persons who subscribed to doctrines of time, referring to them as *Daharī* (6.2–3). This classification probably reflects a confluence of Islamic and Zoroastrian thought, because the *Dahriyya* (from the Arabic *dahr*, "time") were regarded as a heterodox sect by Sunni Muslims as well. The text of the critique itself preserves a variant of Zurvanite cosmogony. Even later, Iranian heresiographer Abū ʾl-Fatḥ Muḥammad al-Shahrastānī (d. 1153 CE) would categorize the *Zurwāniyya* as a specific sect.

Function of the Zurvanite myth. Mardānfarrokh's and Shahrastānī's comments reveal the central function of Zurvan for certain ancient and medieval Zoroastrians. It appears Zurvanism's teachings sought to reconcile the origins and functions of the dualism between Zoroastrianism's chief divinity Ahura Mazdā and chief demon Angra Mainyu through an entity whose actions created both. Zurvanism thus seems to have served as a theological and philosophical means of speculating about the origins, functions, and effects of the passage of time, the role of fate, the nature of duality, and the dilemmas of human existence within religiously constructed chronological frameworks. In other words, the Zurvanite myth provided those persons who accepted it with an explanation of how and why cosmogony occurred, stressing the roles of time as both medium and framework for creation. It proffered a theological explanation for the origins, purposes, interrelatedness, and interdependence of good and evil (Ohrmazd and Ahreman) and of their functions within human and cosmic frameworks of time. It also focused attention on the importance of performing rituals properly, for the case of Zurvan implied that if any aspect of a rite—thought, word, or deed—deviated, pandemonium could occur. Ultimately, the creation story would have been an attempt to overcome—through common origins, interrelated functions, and shared destinies that were linked and mediated by time—dilemmas posed by the creativeness and destructiveness ascribed in Zoroastrianism to spiritual forces and by the effects of those on human lives.

Manichaeism and Mandaeism. Other Iranian faiths also experienced the effect of time as a doctrinal force. Manichaeism drew upon Iranian beliefs in Zurvan, postulating a high god variously named Zurwān, Pidar Rōshn (Father of Light), and Pidar ī Wuzurgīh (Father of Greatness), who was "righteous" and dwelled "among the lights" (M 10R 11). Manichaeans believed that Zurvan was forced into conflict by an attacking Ahrimen and had created Ohrmizd to battle against the evil spirit but that the counteroffensive failed to stop evil at the beginning of time. As a result, life and death occur, Manichaeans had to strive toward purification of their spirits, and purity would set the stage for the final days of humanity. Manichaeism taught that eventually, and having enjoyed the assistance of devotees over the centuries, Zurvan would defeat Ahriman and purify all aspects of spirit or light from matter or darkness at the end of time (M 473, M 475, M 477, M 482, M 472, M 470). Likewise, Mandaean belief regarding the origins of both the good spirit and the evil spirit from a singular source, Pirā Rabbā, may bear an echo of Zurvanism. Both Manichaeism and Mandaeism may have assimilated aspects of Zurvanism through intercommunal contacts within southern and western Iran and in Iraq during the early Middle Ages.

DECLINE. Zurvanism's waning in Zoroastrianism is evidenced by very gradual omission of Zurvanite ideas in the writings of magi after the thirteenth century, perhaps because social turmoil created by the Mongol conquests facilitated the slow spread among the Zoroastrian minority of starker dualist ideas. The Muslim population of Iran, by then an absolute demographic majority, had little theological need for a figure such as Zurvan, because all aspects of life could be reconciled with the attributes of its monotheistic deity Allah. So entrenched was the notion of time as a creator spirit that doctrinal change appears to have been slow. Even texts contained in the *Revāyats* (Treatises)—compiled by Iranian magi for their counterparts in India from 1478 to 1773—while referring to time in the more generic sense of *zamān,* which had preceded corporeal creation and in which the material universe exists (*ʿUlamāʾ -e Islām*, 2, pp. 72–80), also preserves the idea that "Zamān is the creator. . . . It created fire and water; once these combined, Ohrmazd came into existence" and goes on to echo the Zurvanite creation story (*ʿUlamāʾ -e Islām*, 2, pp. 80–81). When the Gujarati *Rehbar-e Din-e Jarthushti* (Guide to the Zoroastrian religion) was composed by dastur Erachji Sohrabji Meherjirana in 1869 at Bombay (later Mumbai) in India, time had faded in importance. As veneration of time lapsed, Ahura Mazdā begun to emerge in Zoroastrian belief—especially under colonial, Christian, influences in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—as a monotheistic god par excellence, the creator of all other spiritual entities, whether evil ones like Angra Mainyu or aloof ones like Zurvan.

SEE ALSO Zoroastrianism.

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ZWINGLI, HULDRYCH (1484–1531), Swiss Protestant theologian. Born in Wildhaus, Switzerland, Zwingli was educated in Vienna (1500–1502) and later in Basel (1502–1506), where he studied under Thomas Wyttenbach. He read Erasmus during his first pastorate in Glarus (1506–1516). During his second pastorate in Einsiedeln (1516–1518), he began to preach against indulgences. In 1518 Zwingli became preacher in the Zurich Cathedral, a post he retained until his death in 1531. He married Anna Reinhart in 1524.

From the beginning of his work in Zurich, Zwingli declared scripture to be the sole ultimate authority for the life and teaching of the church, thereby repudiating hierarchical authority. He preached against indulgences, stating that Christ's sacrifice is sufficient to remit all penalties for sin. He also preached against ascetic religious orders, fasting, the invocation of the saints, and the doctrine of purgatory. As a fervent Swiss patriot, Zwingli opposed Pope Leo X's recruitment of Swiss mercenaries.

In 1522 the civil authority of the canton of Zurich declared that a disputation should take place between those who advocated and those who opposed the Reformation principle that scripture alone should be the ultimate norm of church life and teaching. In preparation for this disputation, Zwingli, the leader of the Reformation group, wrote his lengthy *Sixty-Seven Conclusions,* in which he repudiated the authority of the pope, the transubstantiation of bread and wine, the veneration of the saints, the existence of purgatory, and the necessity of fasting. The disputation was held on 29 January 1523; the council of Zurich decided in favor of the Reformation, and Zurich became a canton of the Reformation.

Zwingli's attention then turned toward a radical Reformation group, the Anabaptists, which had begun to flourish in Zurich during the early 1520s. The Anabaptists opposed the baptism of infants and denied the validity of such baptisms. They opposed any jurisdiction of the civil authorities in church life. They placed ultimate church authority in the local congregation rather than in larger church or civil councils. They aspired to establish "sinless congregations." In 1526 the government of Zurich, with Zwingli's support, suppressed the Anabaptists. The government also suppressed Catholicism in the canton. In retaliation the papal forces made war on Zurich. In a battle at Kappel on 11 October 1531, Zwingli fell and was executed on the battlefield.

While Zwingli, Luther, and Calvin had in common such great Reformation themes as the justification of the sinner by faith rather than by works and the acknowledgment that the church in all of its teaching is subject to the greater authority of scripture, there were also disagreements among them, principally in their understandings of the church, the Lord's Supper, and the relationship between church and civil authority. Zwingli's influence on subsequent Protestant teaching is apparent chiefly in these areas.

DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH. Luther and Calvin identify the church with the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments. Zwingli agrees but offers a more developed understanding of the church as community. He does so by identifying three meanings of the word *church* and then interrelating those meanings. He defines the church as (1) the communion of saints, the heavenly church called and gathered by Christ, (2) the historical church, made up of those who throughout the world confess Christ as Lord, and (3) the local congregation. It is Christ who chooses the members of his church and gathers them into a fellowship with him. This is the heavenly church that must exist here and now as the historical church, the means by which Christ makes himself visible in the world.

There is no historical church, however, except as it comprises the many local congregations. The unity of the historical church exists not by the mere assertion that all these local congregations belong to it but rather by the fact, known through faith, that all local congregations have been chosen and gathered by the same Lord. Moreover, this unity is emphasized by the fact that every congregation has the same pattern of life to emulate. The earthly Jesus chose and gathered a local congregation, the apostles. Now the risen Lord, by the power of the Holy Spirit, continues to call and gather local congregations and commands them to emulate the pattern of the first congregation, as it is described in the New Testament. Zwingli, through his interrelation of these three meanings of *church,* represents Christ's choosing and gathering of his saints as the basic meaning of the church. He then explains preaching and the sacraments as means by which Christ calls and gathers his people into fellowship with him. These same means are to be used by his people to gather themselves around their invisible Lord, thereby making him visible. The invisible "being gathered" and the visible "gathering" constitute Zwingli's church.

LORD'S SUPPER. For Zwingli, the Lord's Supper could not be understood in isolation but only as a moment in Christ's calling and gathering of his saints. The Lord's Supper is a pledge of loyalty by God's people made to their Lord, who commands this of them. It is one moment, but a central moment, of Christ's calling and gathering activity; it is not a moment in which Christ becomes suddenly present. Rather, Christ is understood to be present in the whole of that calling and gathering activity, which is the church. Zwingli does not deny that transubstantiation takes place in the Lord's Supper. He declares, however, that it is not the elements of bread and wine but rather the people who are changed; they are changed into saints by the calling and gathering activity of Christ. Luther and Calvin differed with Zwingli; both, in different ways, continued the tradition of the church that focuses attention upon the elements of bread and wine. Zwingli and Luther quarreled about this focus at the Marburg Colloquy of 1529.

CHURCH AND CIVIL GOVERNMENT. According to Zwingli, Christ not only gathers a church, he also ordains the existence of the civil community, a body of free citizens. The authority of the civil community, while ultimately Christ's, rests derivatively in the consent of the citizenry. The church and civil society each has responsibilities toward the other. The civil rulers are to keep the peace and rule according to a concept of justice derived from scripture. Preachers are, therefore, to proclaim not only the gospel but also the demands of human justice that are derived from the gospel announced in scripture. The members of the civil community are guided away from self-interest by such preaching. The civil rulers, then, have the power and responsibility to protect the church's preaching of justice and the responsibility to be guided by it. The church and its preachers have no direct power to rule in civil affairs, but they have the responsibility of preaching human justice to citizens and civil rulers.

Zwingli's emphasis on the preaching of God's justice as the basis of the human justice of the civil community and on the importance of the consent of the governed distinguishes his teaching from Luther's. Luther taught that the function of civil rulers is, primarily, to restrain disorder. Zwingli's emphasis on the preacher as the people's tribune before the civil rulers and his willingness to accept some civil jurisdiction over church life distinguish his teaching from Calvin's. Calvin advocated a stronger separation between the ecclesiastical and the civil authorities.

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